

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

The Explosive Republican House Battleground

September 22, 2011



DEMOCRACY CORPS
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

Methodology and Overview

This presentation is based on a unique survey of 1000 likely 2012 voters in 60 Republican battleground districts conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research for Democracy Corps September 14-19, 2011. Unless otherwise noted, margin of error=+/- 3.1% at 95% confidence.

The Republican-Obama Districts

- **The 2012 Democracy Corps Congressional battleground research focuses intensely on the Republican-Obama districts; 48 of our 60 districts were won by Barack Obama in 2008 but claimed by Republicans in the 2010 midterm.**
- **Our battleground also includes 12 of the most competitive districts falling outside the Republican-Obama definition. This hybrid model, which includes the 60 most crucial battleground districts, allows Democracy Corps to track public opinion in ways that will define, shape, and structure the public debate going into 2012.**
- **Redistricting will obviously affect some of these districts, but this study is meant as an instructive look at the current districts, and voters, who have swung between the parties over the past four years, in addition to gauging public opinion on these specific Republican incumbents themselves.**
- **The districts are divided into 2 tiers. Tier 1 includes the 30 most competitive districts; Tier 2 is composed of 30 secondary targets.**
- **50 of the 60 districts in this survey were included in our March battleground survey, giving us the unique ability to track changes in public mood and opinion over time in these crucial swing districts.**

Battleground Districts: Tier 1 – 30 most competitive

District	2008 Presidential vote margin	2010 Congressional vote margin	Representative	Cook PVI
AZ-1	McCain +10	Rep +7	Paul Gosar	R +6
CA-3	Obama +0	Rep +8	Dan Lungren	R +6
CA-24	Obama +3	Rep +20	Elton Gallegly	R +4
CA-26	Obama +4	Rep +17	David Dreier	R +3
CA-50	Obama +4	Rep +18	Brian Bilbray	R +3
CO-3	McCain +2	Rep +4	Scott Tipton	R +5
FL-8	Obama +5	Rep +18	Dan Webster	R +2
FL-22	Obama +4	Rep +8	Allen West	D +1
FL-25	McCain +1	Rep +10	David Rivera	R +5
IL-6	Obama +13	Rep +28	Peter Roskam	Even
IL-8	Obama +13	Rep +1	Joe Walsh	R +1
IL-10	Obama +23	Rep +2	Robert Dold	D +6
IL-11	Obama +8	Rep +14	Adam Kinzinger	R +1
IL-13	Obama +9	Rep +28	Judy Biggert	R +1
IL-14	Obama +11	Rep +6	Randy Hultgren	R +1
IL-16	Obama +7	Rep +34	Don Manzullo	R +2
IL-17	Obama +15	Rep +10	Bobby Schilling	D +3
MN-8	Obama +8	Rep +1	Chip Cravaack	D +3
NV-3	Obama +12	Rep +1	Joe Heck	D +2
NH-1	Obama +6	Rep +11	Frank Guinta	Even
NH-2	Obama +13	Rep +1	Charlie Bass	D +3
NJ-3	Obama +5	Rep +3	Jon Runyan	R +1
NJ-7	Obama +1	Rep +18	Leonard Lance	R +3
NY-25	Obama +13	Rep +0	Ann Marie Buerkle	D +3
OH-6	McCain +2	Rep +5	Bill Johnson	R +2
PA-7	Obama +13	Rep +11	Pat Meehan	D +3
PA-8	Obama +9	Rep + 8	Mike Fitzpatrick	D +2
PA-11	Obama +15	Rep +10	Lou Barletta	D +4
WA-8	Obama +15	Rep +6	Dave Reichert	D +3
WI-7	Obama +13	Rep +8	Sean Duffy	D +3

Battleground Districts: Tier 2 – 30 less competitive

District	2008 Presidential vote margin	2010 Congressional vote margin	Representative	Cook PVI
AR-1	McCain +21	Rep +9	Rick Crawford	R +8
AZ-5	McCain +5	Rep +9	David Schweikert	R +5
CA-44	Obama +1	Rep +12	Ken Calvert	R +6
CA-45	Obama +5	Rep +10	Mary Bono Mack	R +3
CO-4	McCain +1	Rep +12	Cory Gardner	R +6
FL-10	Obama +5	Rep +32	C.W. Bill Young	R +1
FL-16	McCain +5	Rep +34	Tom Rooney	R +5
IN-8	McCain +4	Rep +20	Larry Bucshon	R +7
IN-9	McCain +1	Rep +10	Todd Young	R +6
MI-1	Obama +2	Rep +11	Dan Benishek	R +3
MI-7	Obama +5	Rep +5	Tim Walberg	R +1
MI-11	Obama +9	Rep +20	Thad McCotter	Even
MN-3	Obama +6	Rep +22	Erik Paulsen	Even
NE-2	Obama +1	Rep +23	Lee Terry	R +6
NY-19	Obama +3	Rep +6	Nan Hayworth	R +3
NY-20	Obama +3	Rep +10	Chris Gibson	R +2
NY-24	Obama +3	Rep +6	Richard Hanna	R +2
NC-2	Obama +5	Rep +2	Renee Ellmers	R +2
OH-1	Obama +11	Rep +7	Steve Chabot	D +1
OH-12	Obama +7	Rep +16	Patrick Tiberi	D +1
OH-15	Obama +9	Rep +14	Steve Stivers	D +1
PA-3	McCain +0	Rep +11	Mike Kelly	R +3
PA-6	Obama +17	Rep +14	Jim Gerlach	D +4
PA-15	Obama +13	Rep +15	Charlie Dent	D +2
TX-23	Obama +3	Rep +5	Francisco Canseco	R +4
TX-27	Obama +7	Rep +1	Blake Farenthold	R +2
VA-2	Obama +2	Rep +10	Scott Rigell	R +5
WA-3	Obama +6	Rep +6	Jaime Herrera	Even
WI-8	Obama +9	Rep +10	Reid Ribble	R +2
WV-1	McCain +15	Rep +0	David McKinley	R +9

Battleground Districts: By Typology

Rural

Upscale Rural

New Hampshire-2
New York-20

Downscale Rural

Arkansas-1
Michigan-1
Minnesota-8
Ohio-6
Wisconsin-7

Exurban

Upscale Exurban

Michigan-7

Downscale Exurban

Arizona-1
Colorado-3
Indiana-8
Indiana-9
New York-24
North Carolina-2
Pennsylvania-3
Wisconsin-8
West Virginia-1

Suburban

Upscale Suburban

California-3
California-24
California-26
California-44
Florida-22
Florida-25
Illinois-6
Illinois-8
Illinois-10
Illinois-13
Michigan-11
Minnesota-3
Nevada-3
New Hampshire-1
New Jersey-3
New Jersey-7
New York-19
Ohio-12
Pennsylvania-6
Pennsylvania-7
Pennsylvania-8
Pennsylvania-15
Washington-8
West Virginia-1

Suburban

Downscale Suburban

California-45
Florida-10
Florida-16
Pennsylvania-11

Metro

Upscale Metro

Arizona-5
California-50
Colorado-4
Florida-8
Illinois-11
Illinois-14
Illinois-16
New York-25
Washington-3

Downscale Metro

Illinois-17
Ohio-1
Texas-23
Texas-27

Urban

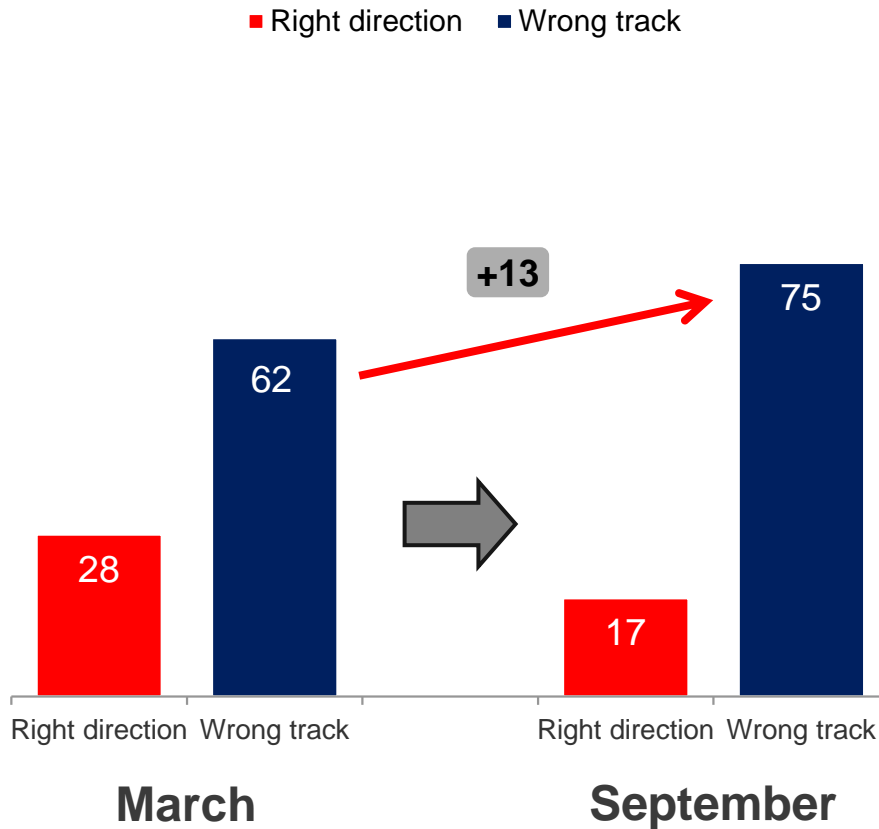
Upscale Urban

Nebraska-2
Ohio-15
Virginia-2

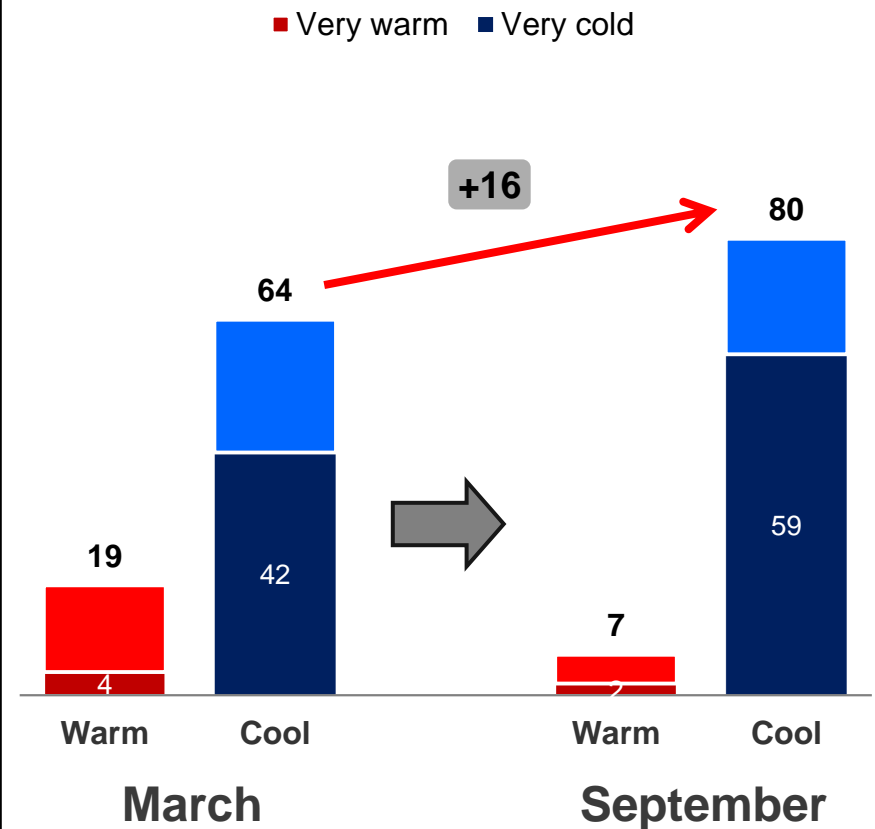
A Terrible Mood and Moment in Battleground

Wrong track, cool feelings on the economy skyrocket

Generally speaking, do you think that things in this country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

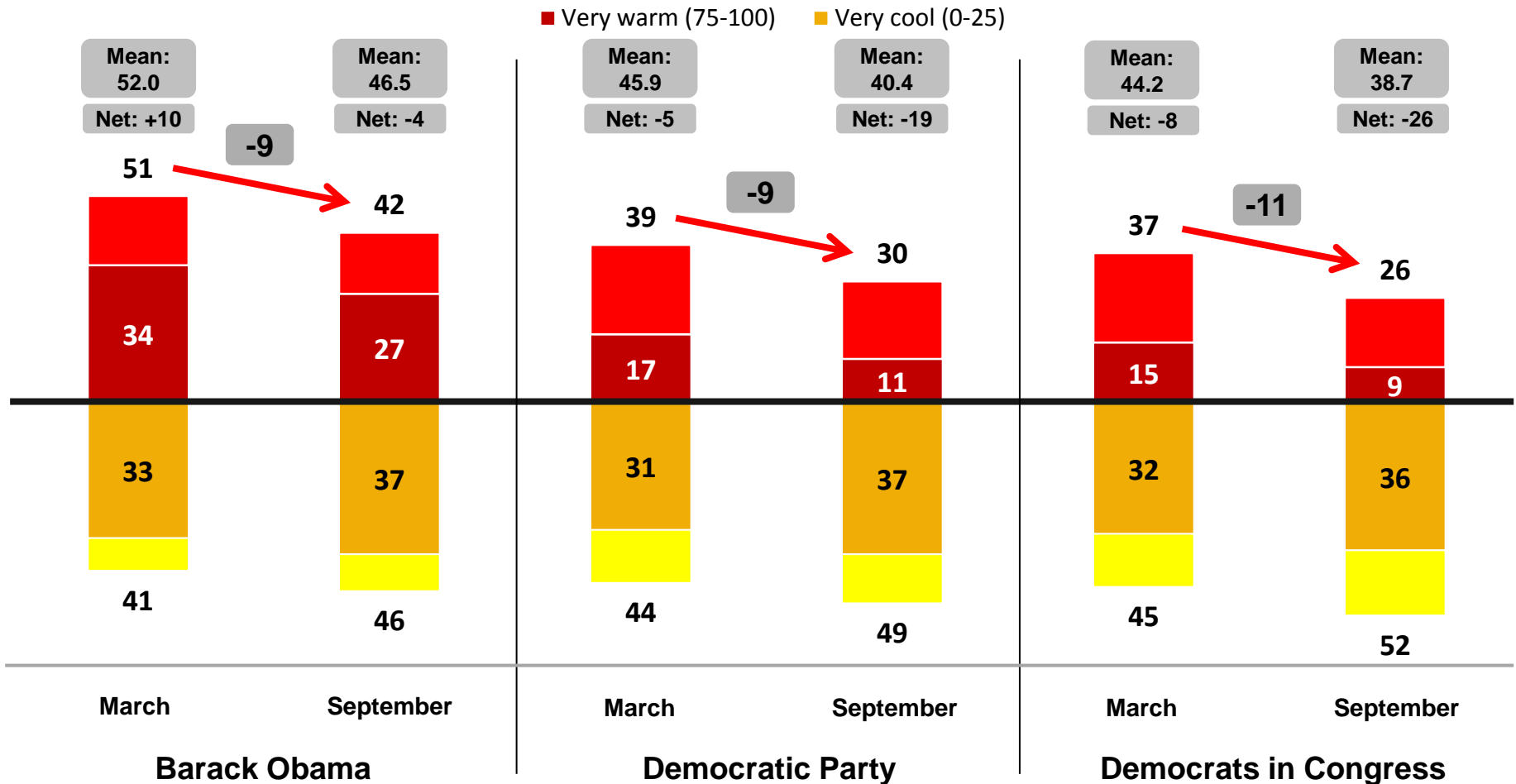


Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold... **The state of the economy.**



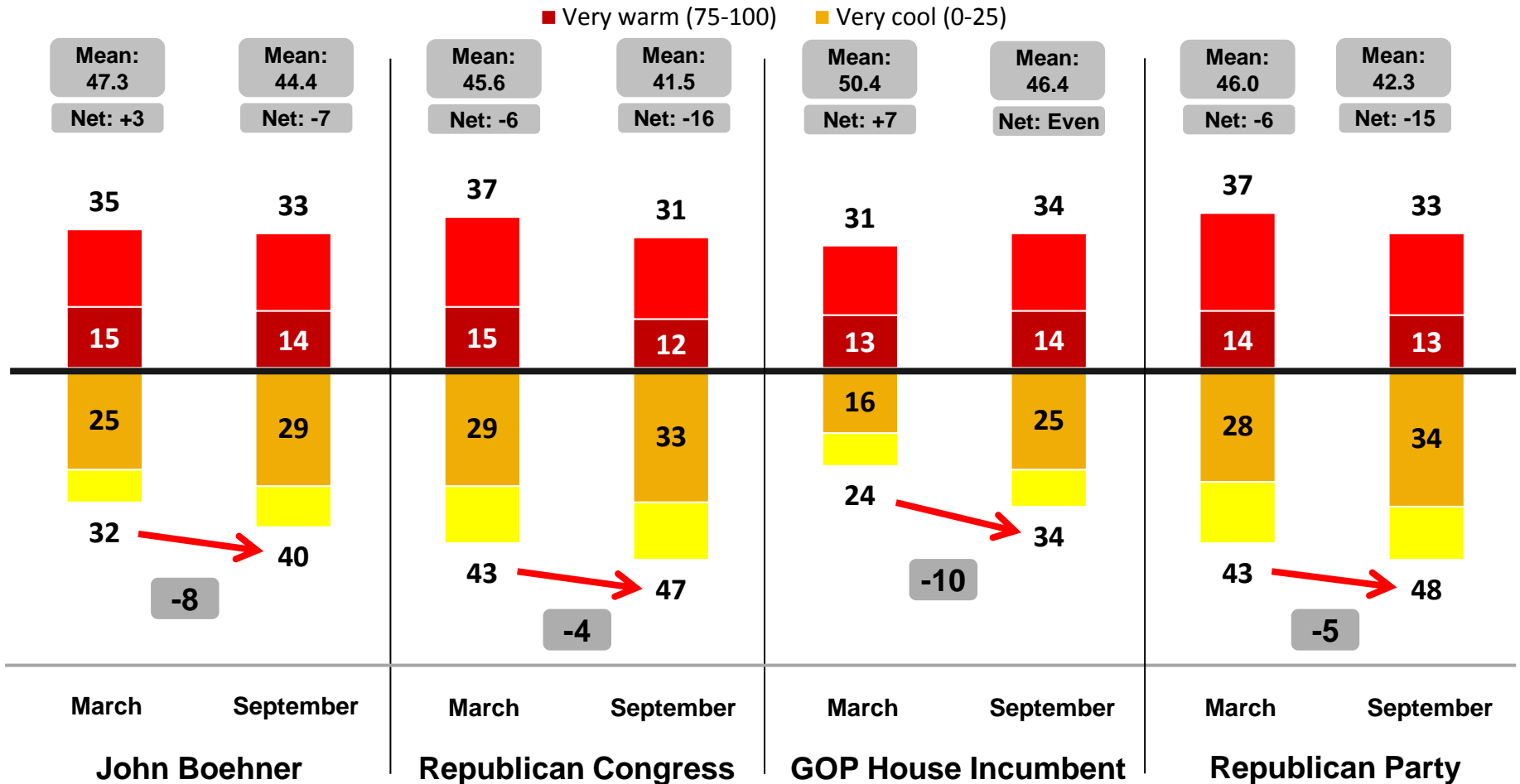
Voters becoming less favorable to Democrats BUT

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that person or organization. If you have no opinion or never heard of that person or organization, please say so.



Voters becoming more negative to Republicans

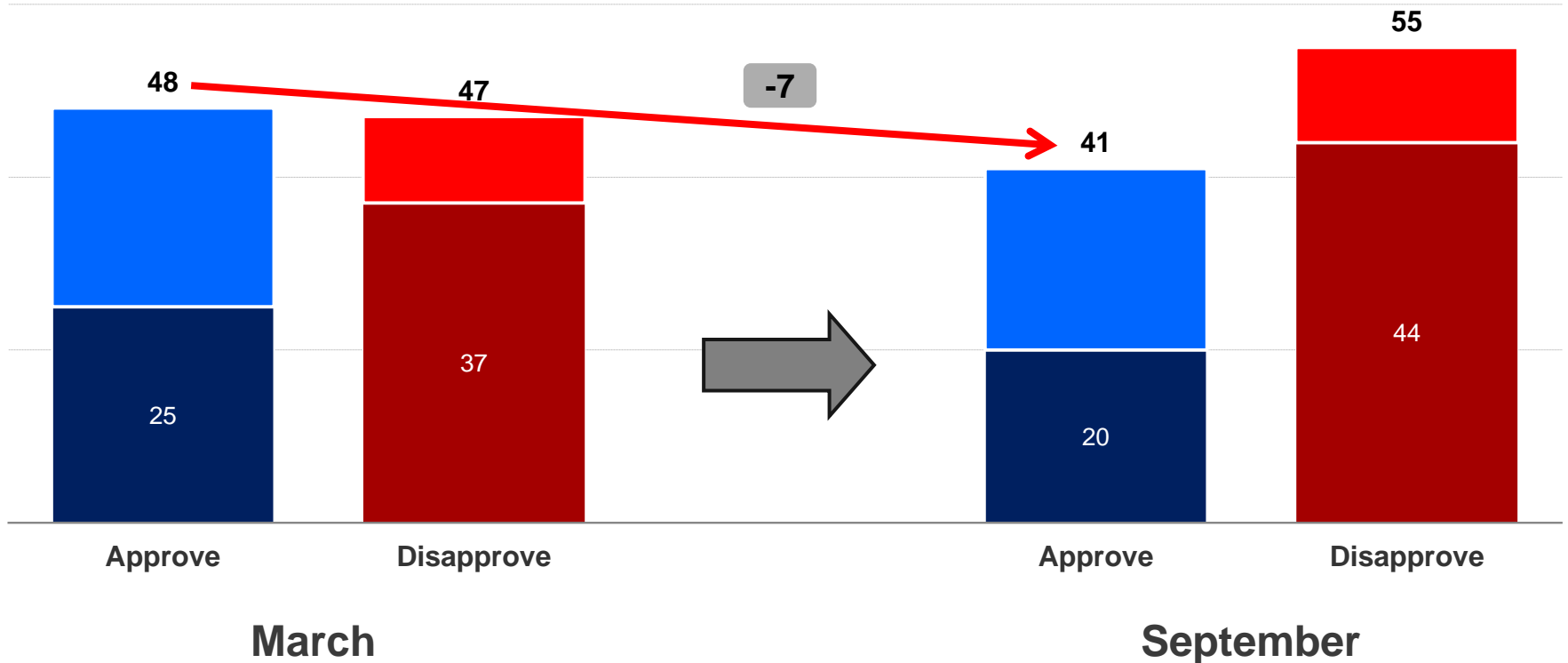
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Obama's approval down 7 points in the battleground

Do you approve or disapprove of the job being done by Barack Obama as president?

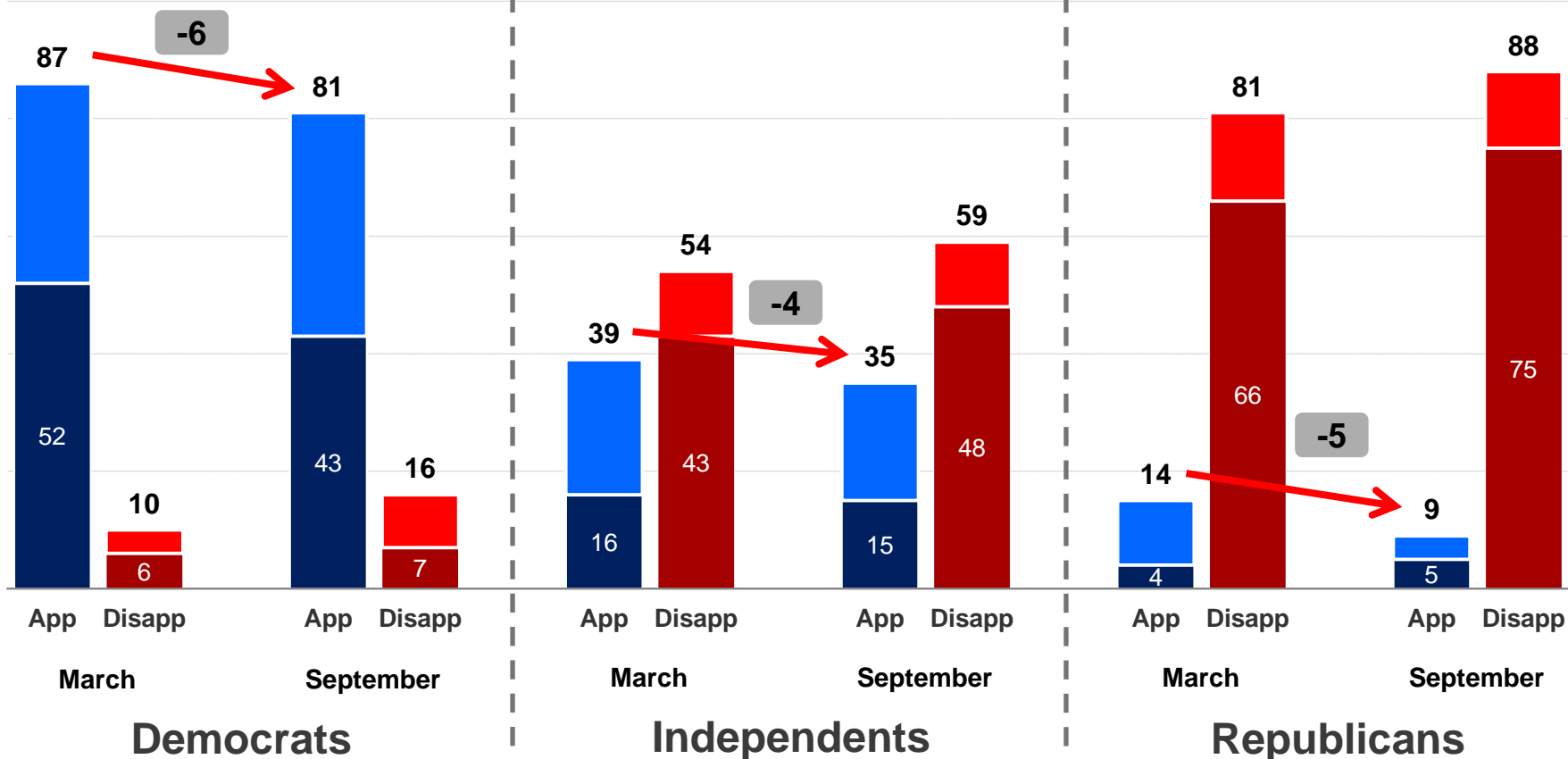
■ Strongly approve ■ Strongly disapprove



Drop in approval among Democrats

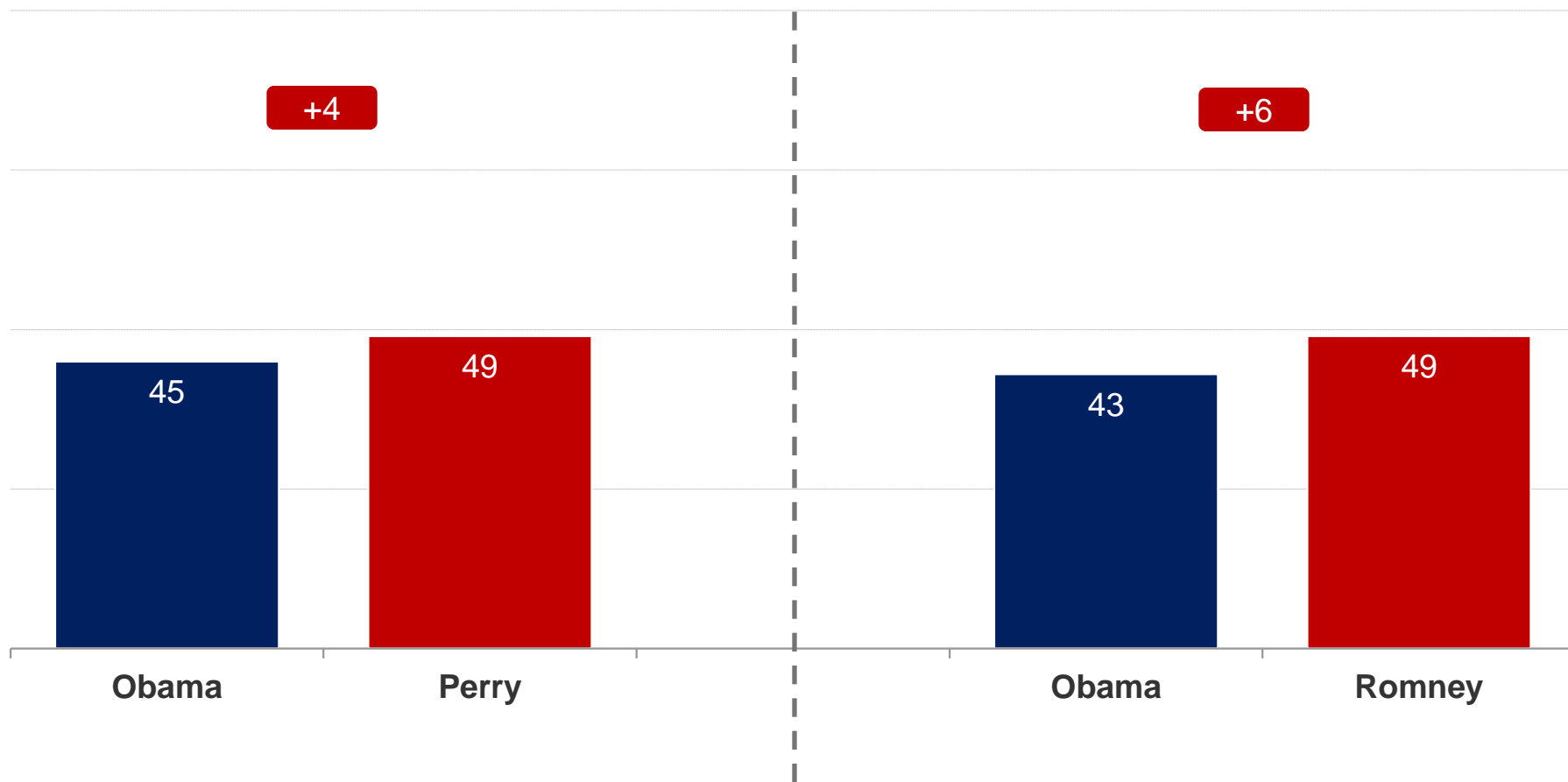
Do you approve or disapprove of the job being done by Barack Obama as president?

■ Strongly approve ■ Strongly disapprove



Obama trailing in these mostly Obama-Republican districts by 4 to Perry and 6 to Romney

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the presidential election in 2012, if the election for president were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama and Republican Mitt Romney/Rick Perry, for whom would you vote?



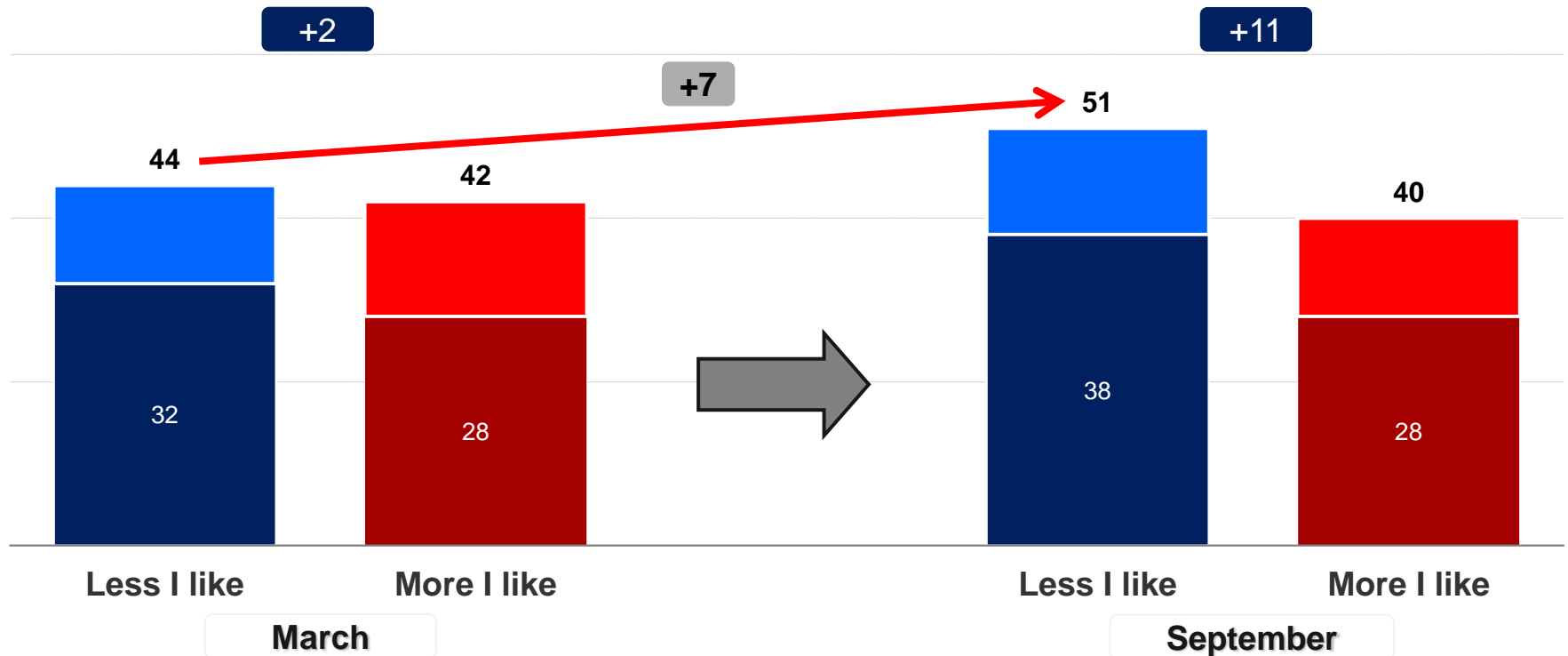
But the voters really don't like what they see in the incumbent House Republicans

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

STATEMENT 1: The more I hear from Republicans in Congress like (HOUSE INCUMBENT), the LESS I like.

STATEMENT 2: The more I hear from Republicans in Congress like (HOUSE INCUMBENT), the MORE I like.

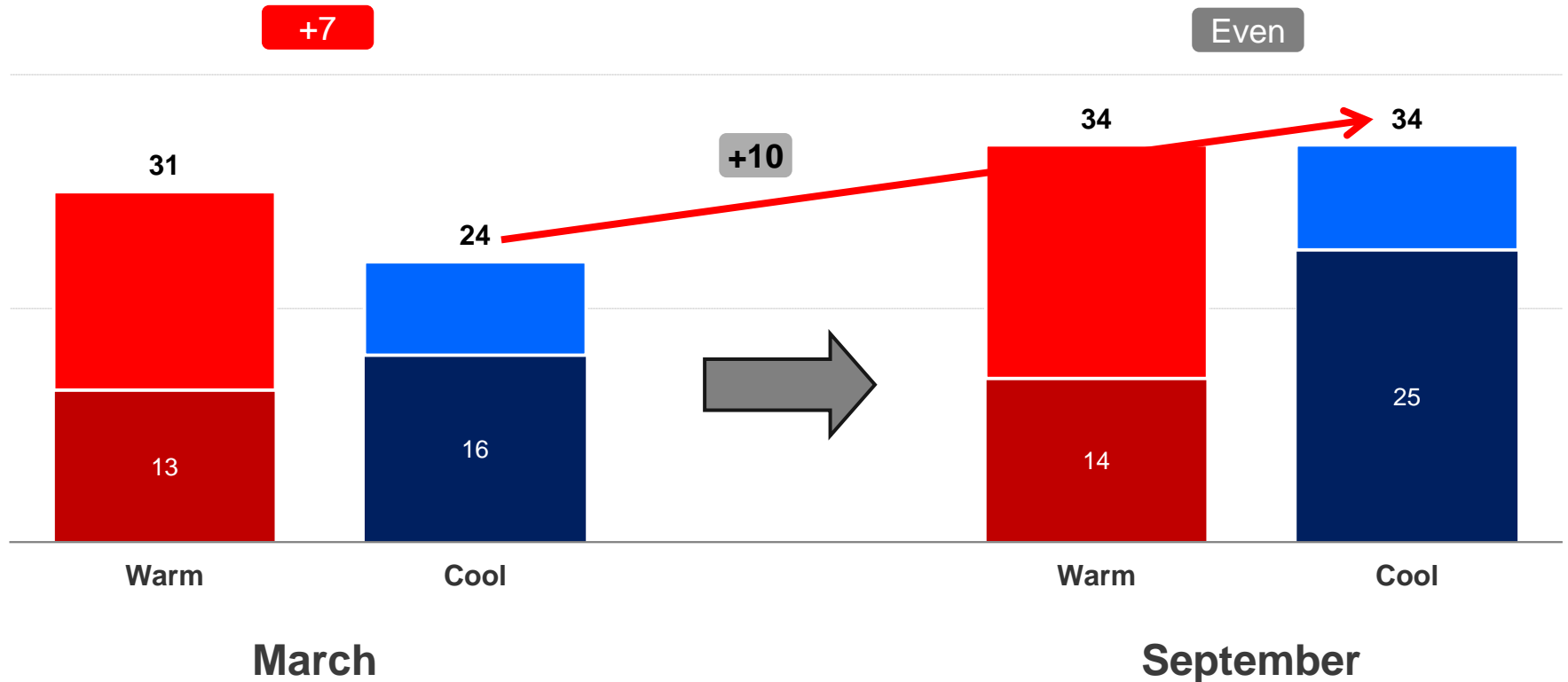
■ Less I like strongly ■ More I like strongly



Cool feelings about House incumbent up 10 points

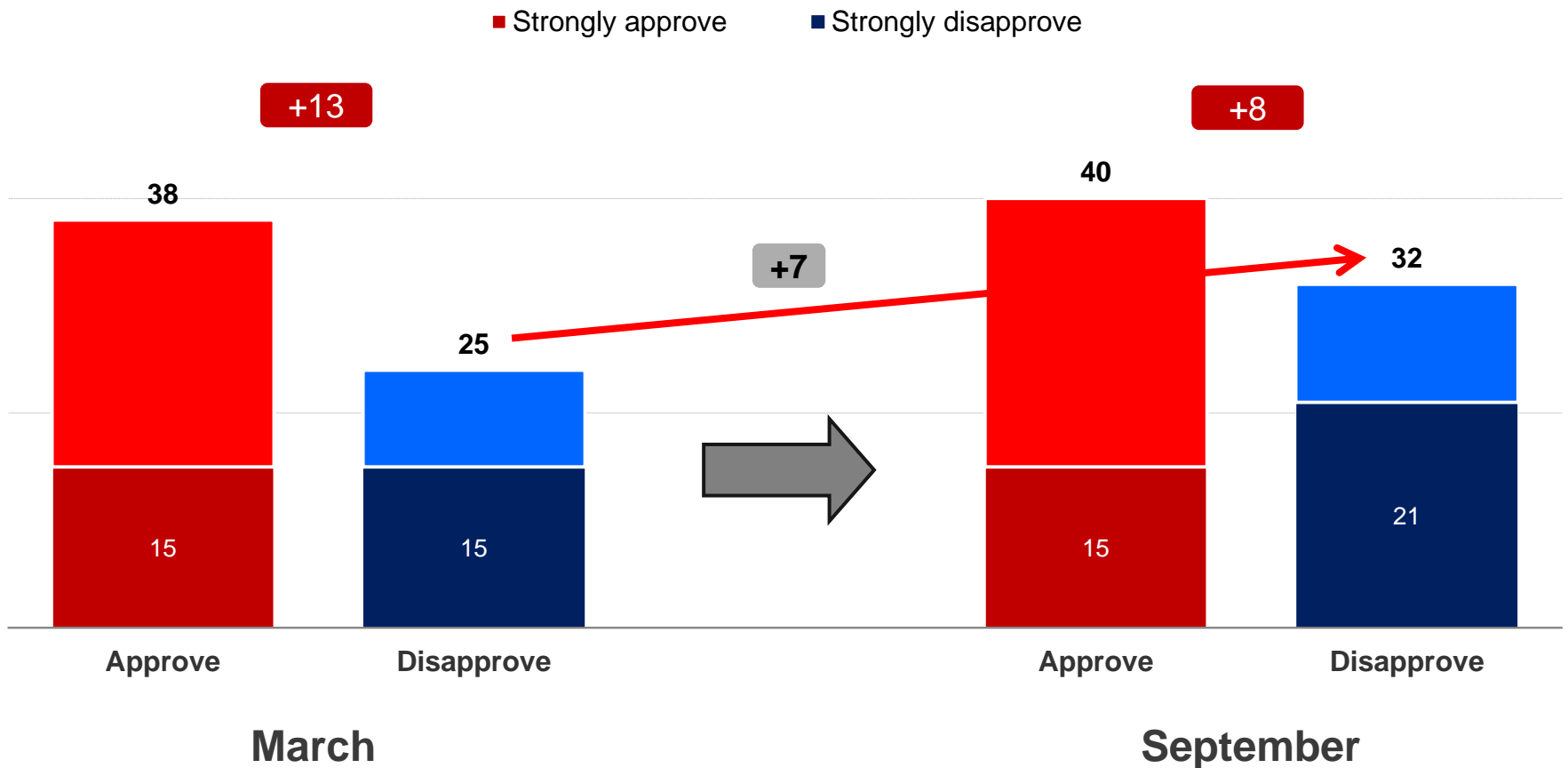
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold...**(HOUSE INCUMBENT)**

■ Very warm ■ Very cold



Incumbent House members tarnished, too: as they get better known, disapproval up 7 points

Do you approve or disapprove of the way (HOUSE INCUMBENT) is handling his/her job as a member of the U.S. Congress?



“Can’t re-elect” up 4 points since March to 49 percent

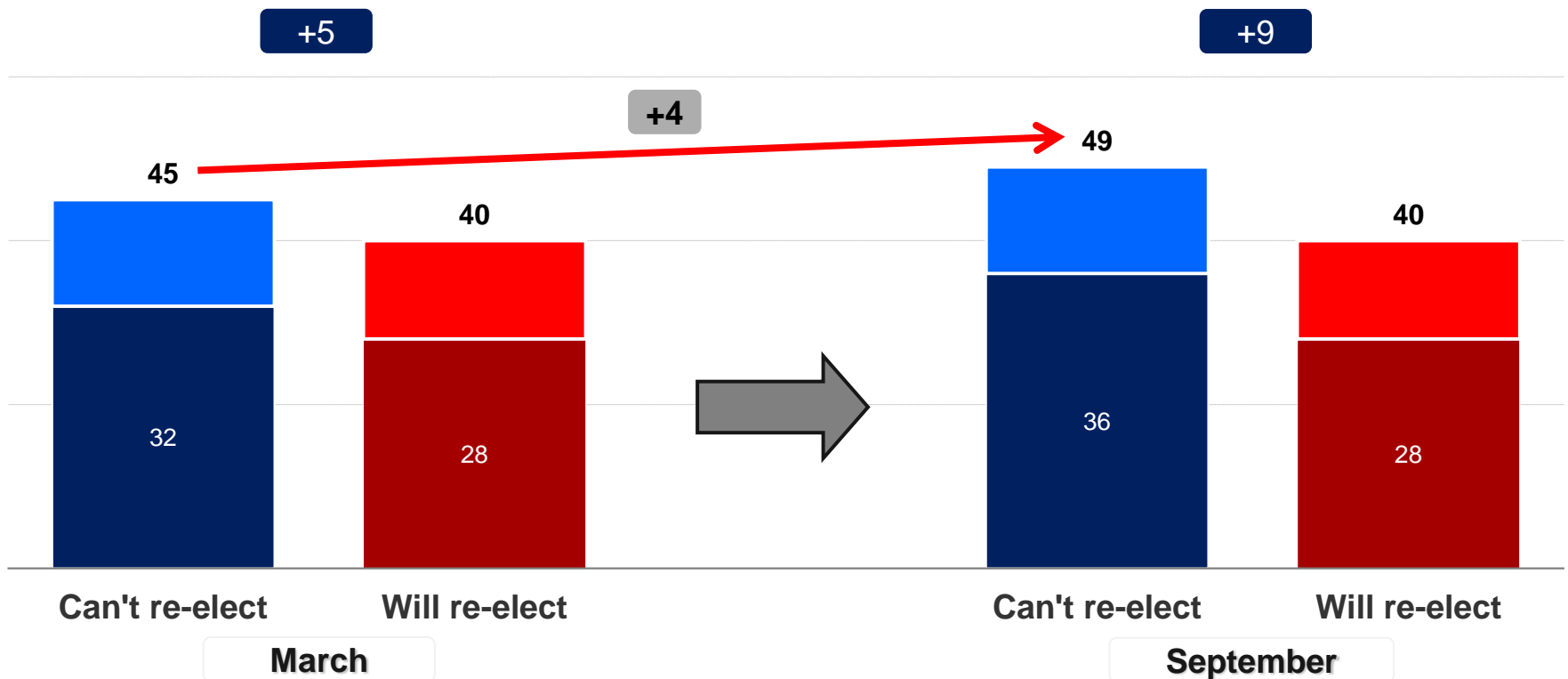
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STATEMENT 1: Next year, I CAN'T vote to reelect (HOUSE INCUMBENT) because we need new people that will fix Washington and get things done.

STATEMENT 2: Next year, I WILL vote to reelect (HOUSE INCUMBENT) because (HE/SHE) is doing a good job and addressing issues that are important to us.

■ Can't re-elect strongly

■ Will re-elect strongly



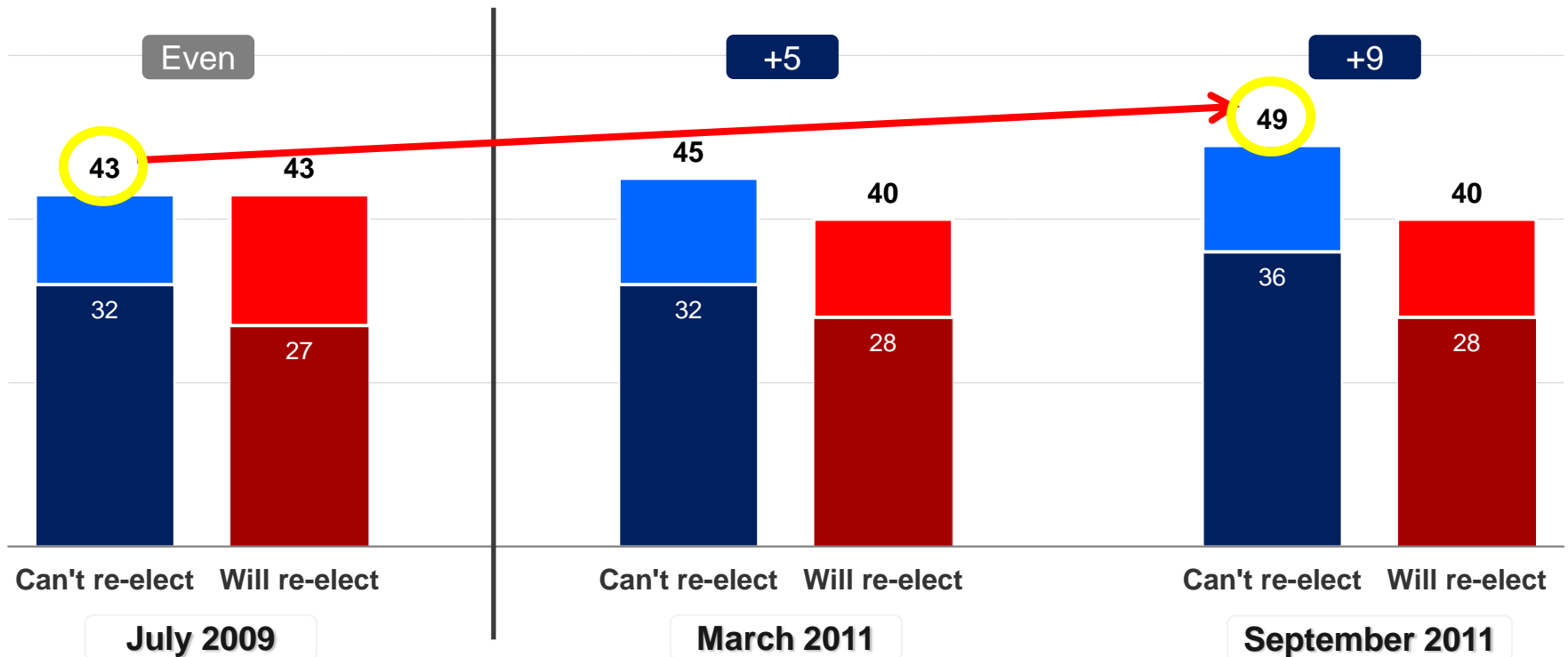
Republicans in battleground grow much more vulnerable than House Democrats 2 years ago

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■ Can't re-elect strongly ■ Will re-elect strongly



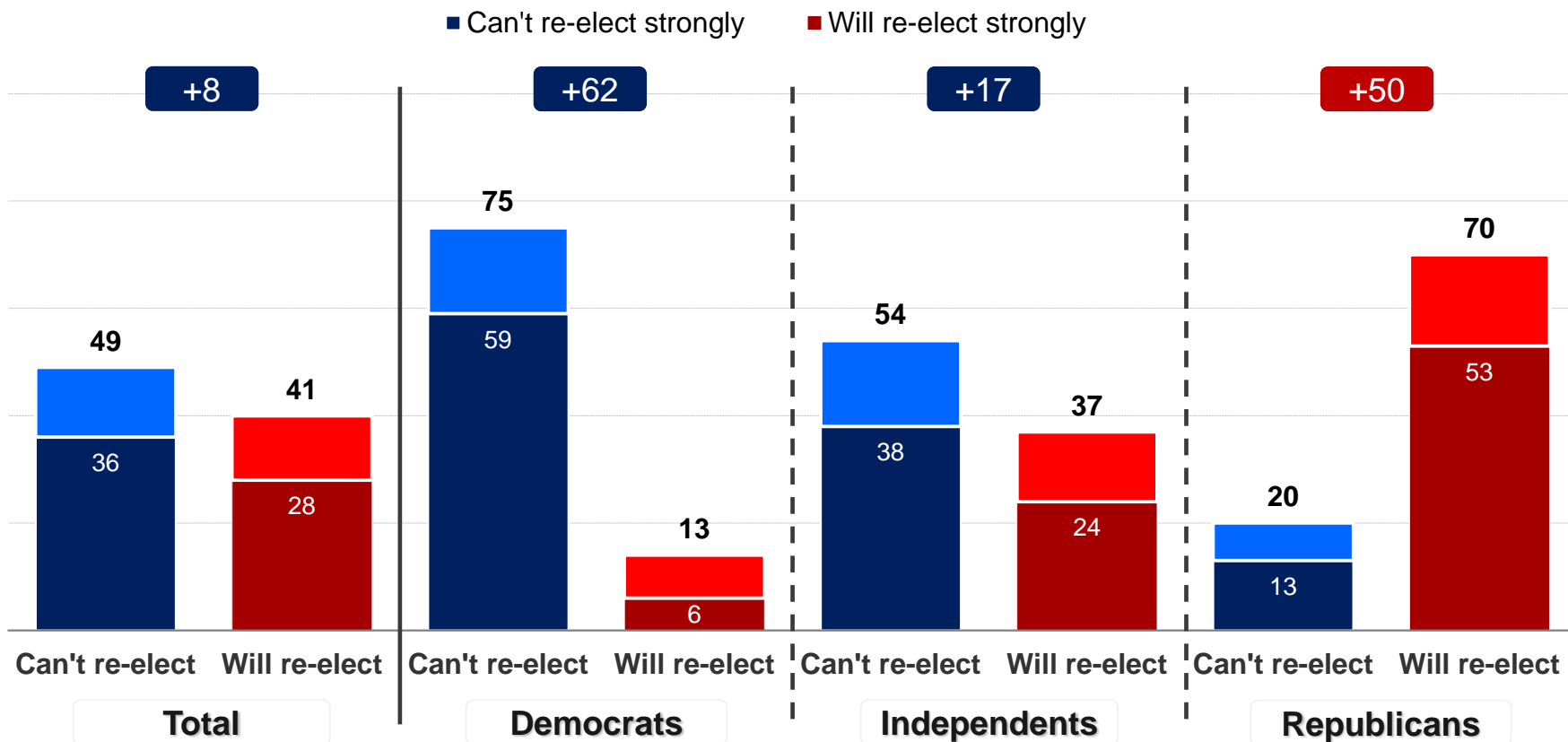
*Note: In 2011, HOUSE INCUMBENT refers to a Republican; in 2009, HOUSE INCUMBENT refers to a Democrat.

Large majority of independents say they can't vote to re-elect

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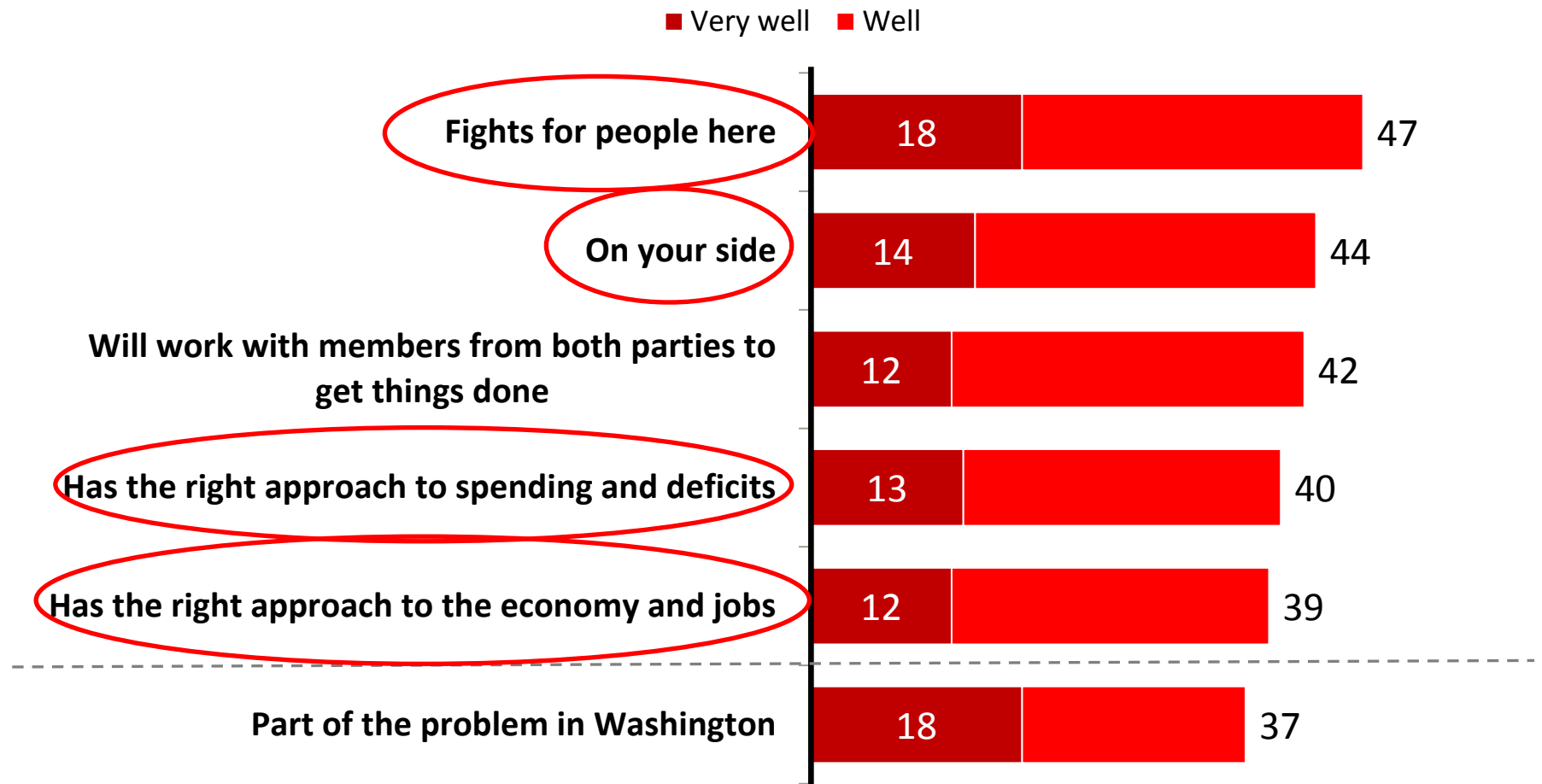
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House incumbent image very weak on things that matter

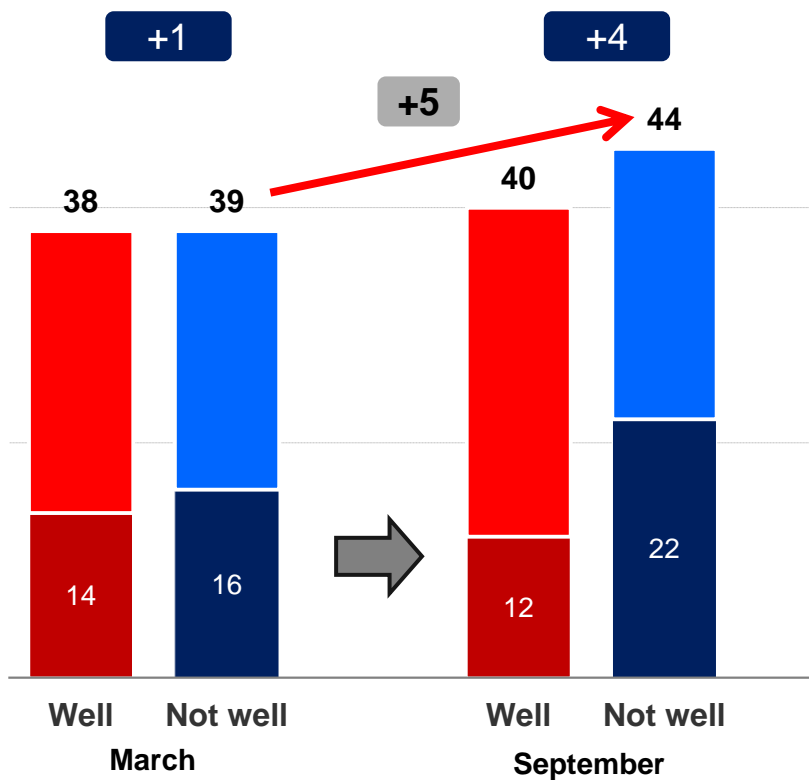
Now, I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes (HOUSE INCUMBENT) very well, well, not too well or not well at all.



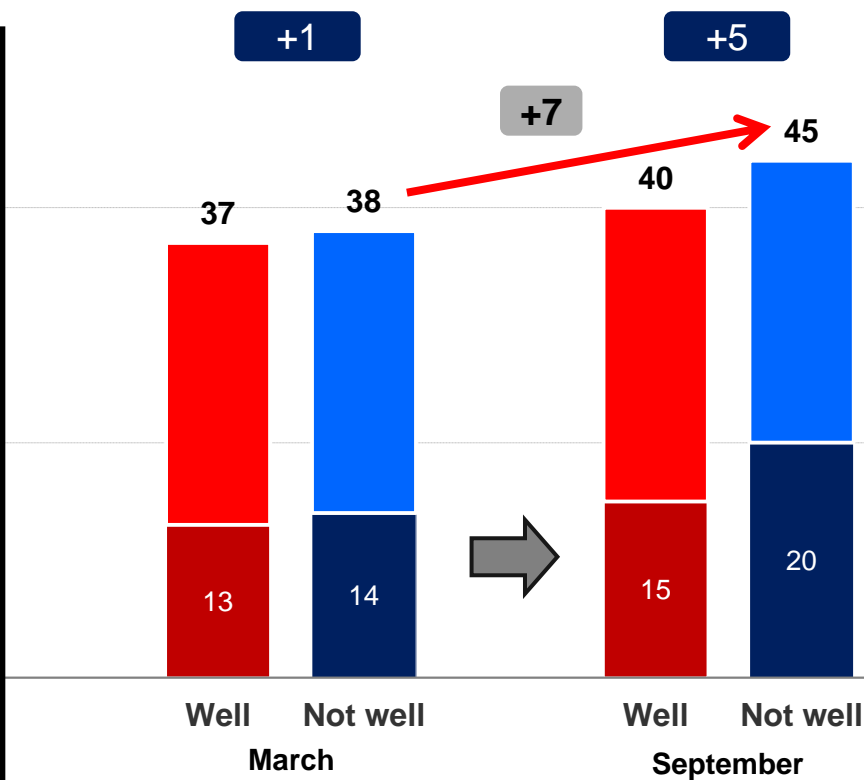
More voters now say House incumbent has wrong approach to economy & jobs and spending & deficits

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■ Very well ■ Not well at all



Has the right approach to the economy and jobs

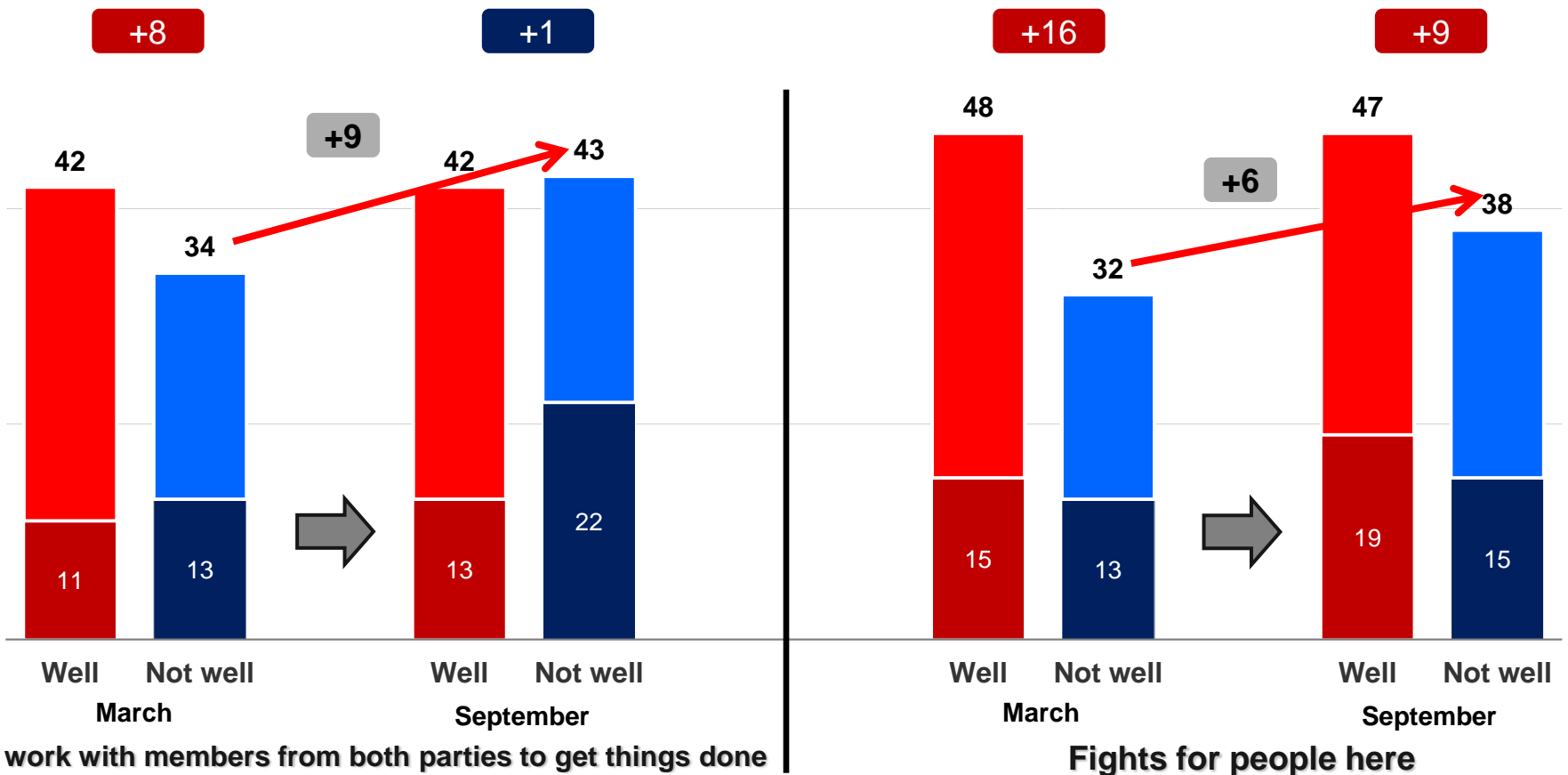


Has the right approach to spending and deficits

'Not' work with both parties up 9 points; 'not' a fighter for people here up 6

Now, I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes (HOUSE INCUMBENT) very well, well, not too well or not well at all.

■ Very well ■ Not well at all

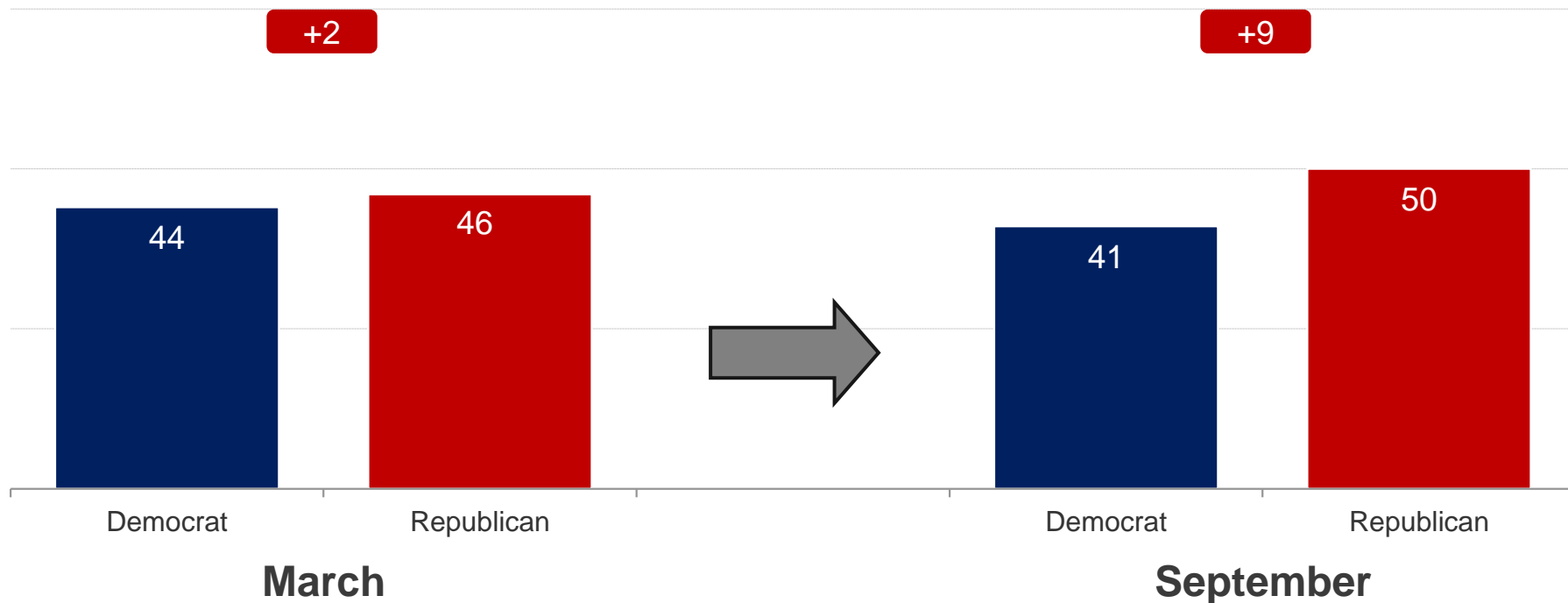


Congressional vote: battling at 50 percent

Battle for Congress: Republicans hit the 50 percent mark

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in November 2012, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or Republican (HOUSE INCUMBENT)?

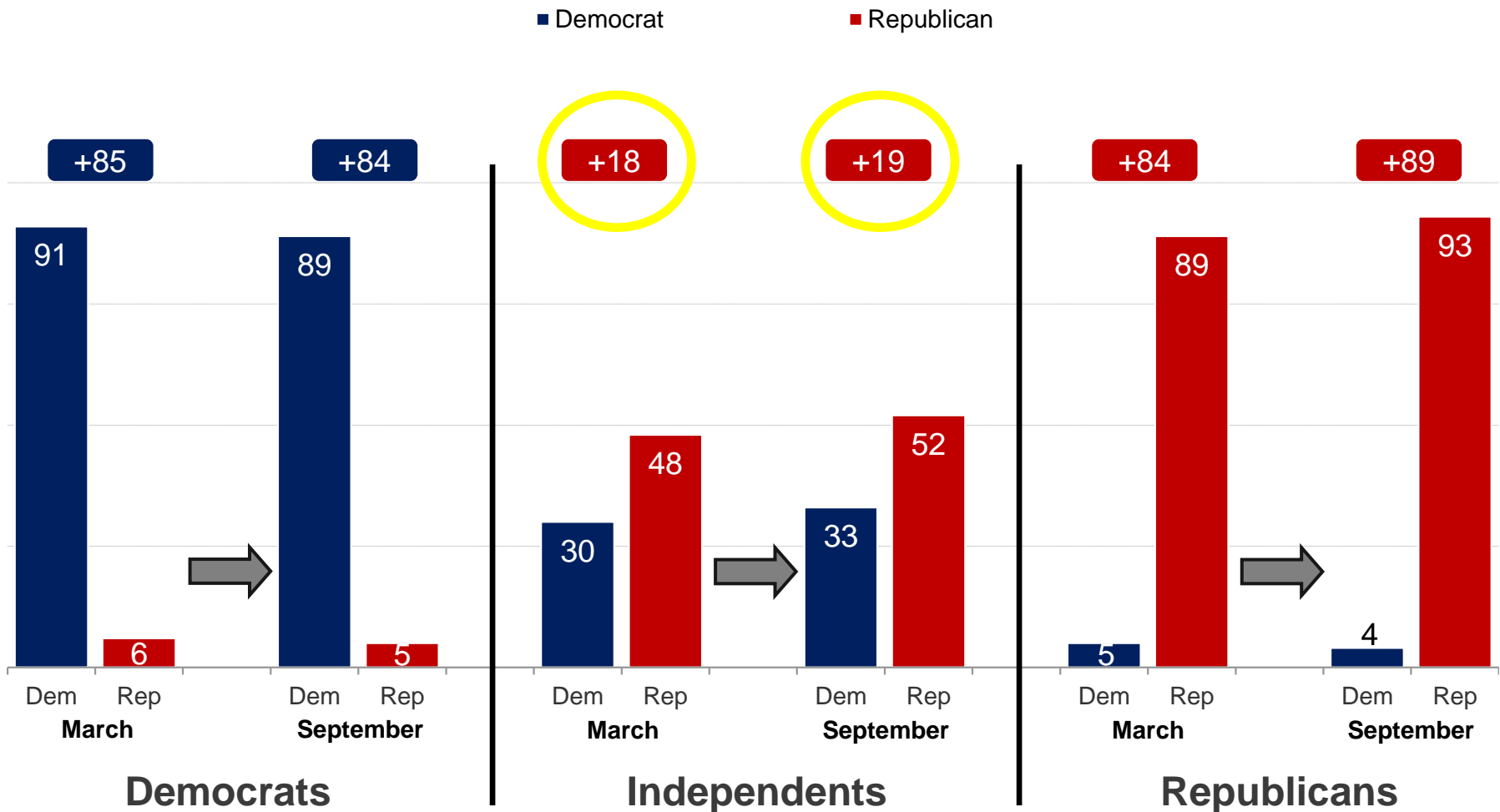
■ Democrat ■ Republican



**Note: Incumbent names were inserted with party identification. Generic challengers were inserted as "The Democratic Candidate."*

Change in vote produced by Republicans, not independents

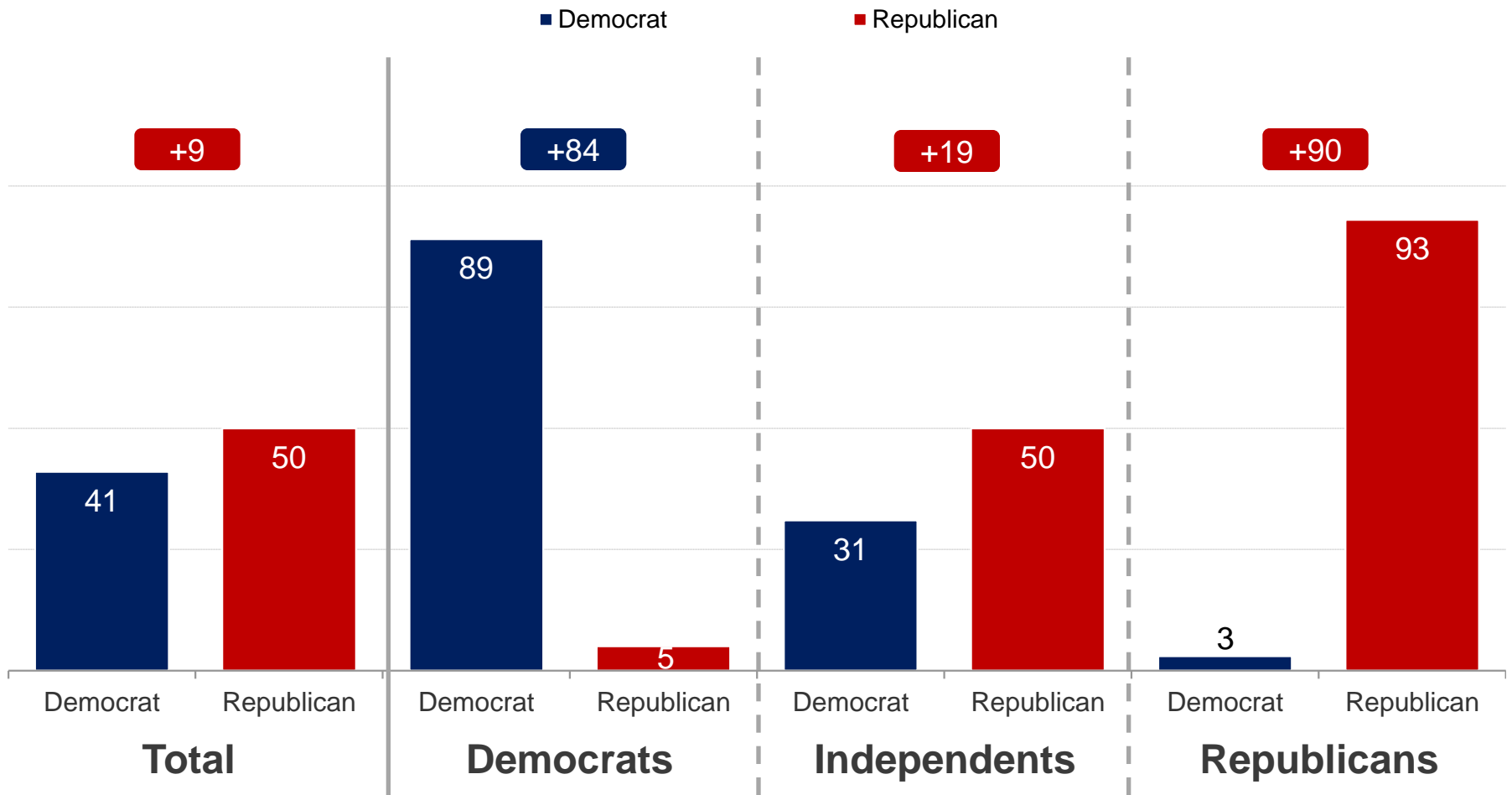
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Still a lot of work to do with independents

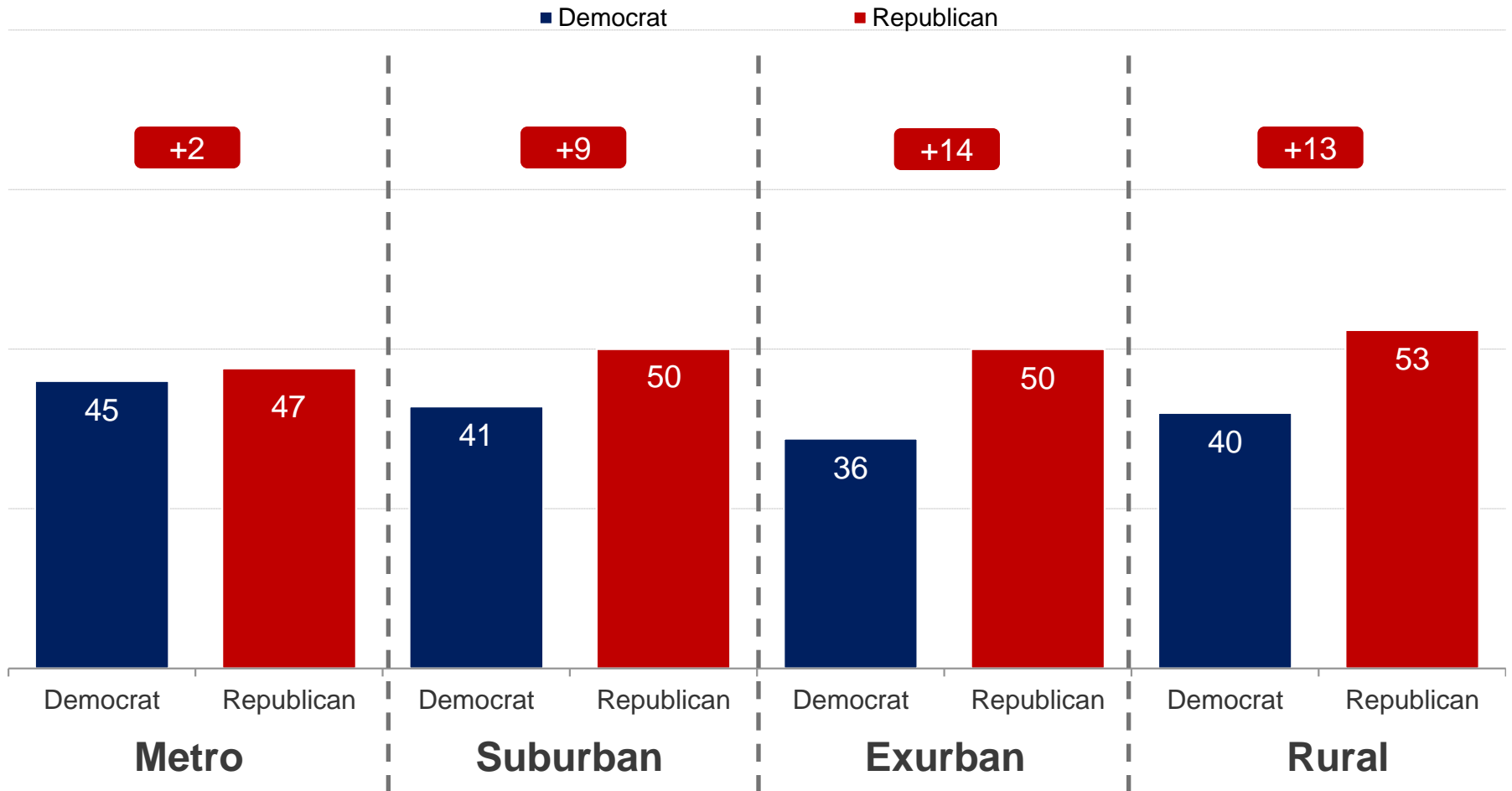
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Race closest in Metropolitan and suburban districts

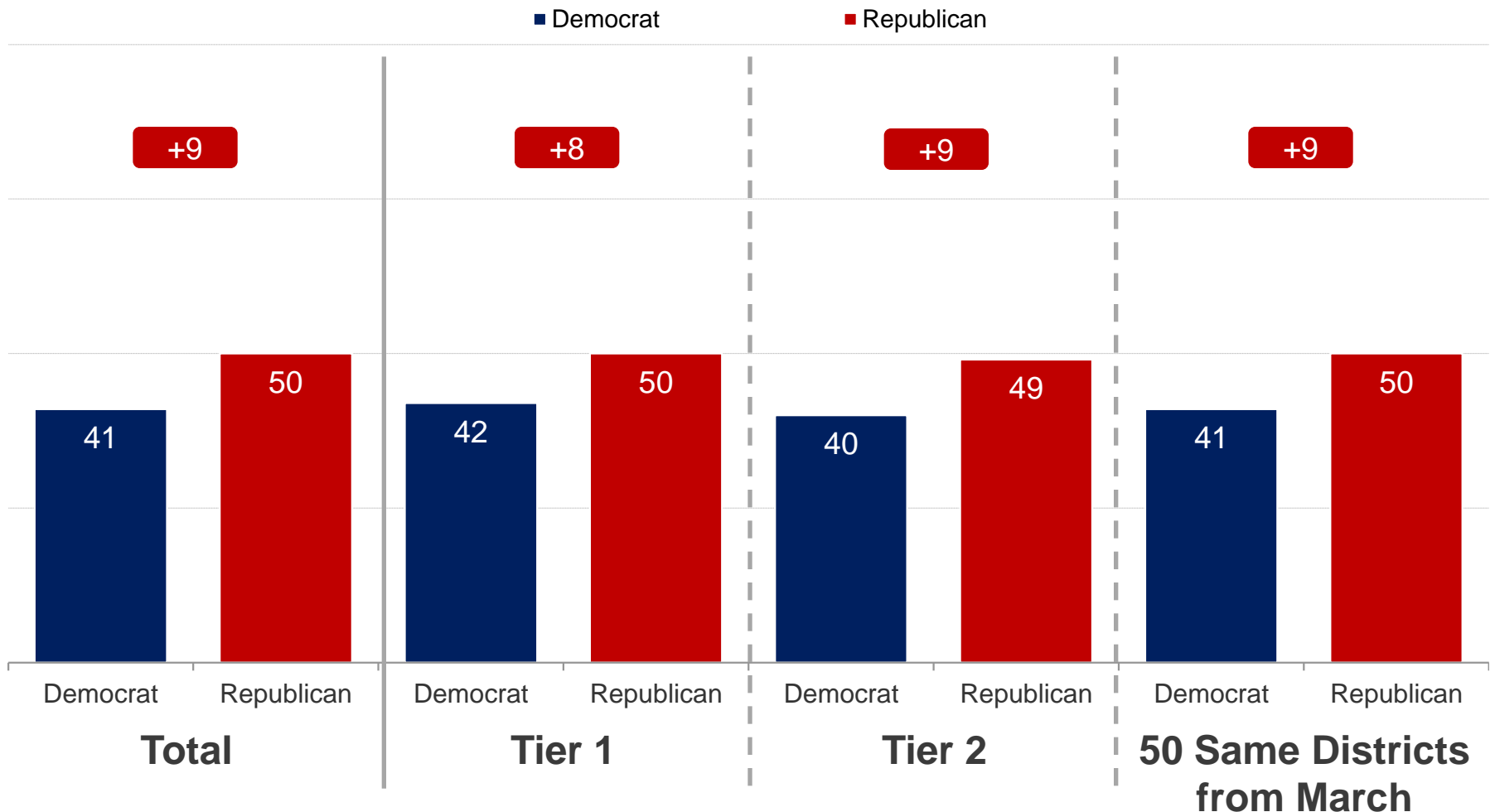
I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in November 2012, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or Republican (HOUSE INCUMBENT)?



**Note: Incumbent names were inserted with party identification. Generic challengers were inserted as "The Democratic Candidate."*

The race the same at all levels of competitiveness

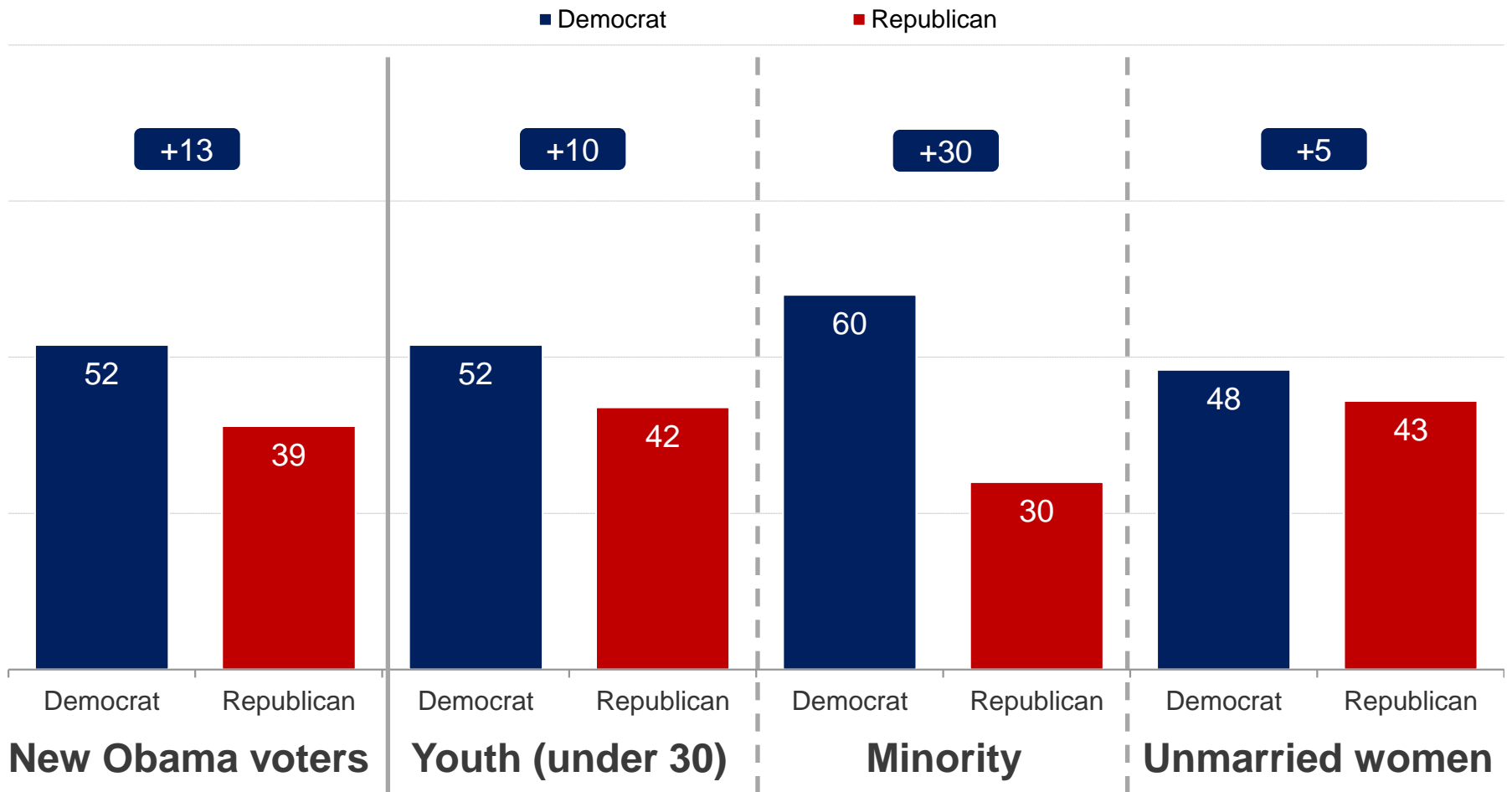
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**Note: Incumbent names were inserted with party identification. Generic challengers were inserted as "The Democratic Candidate."*

Democrats need to run stronger among the new Obama voters

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in November 2012, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or Republican (HOUSE INCUMBENT)?



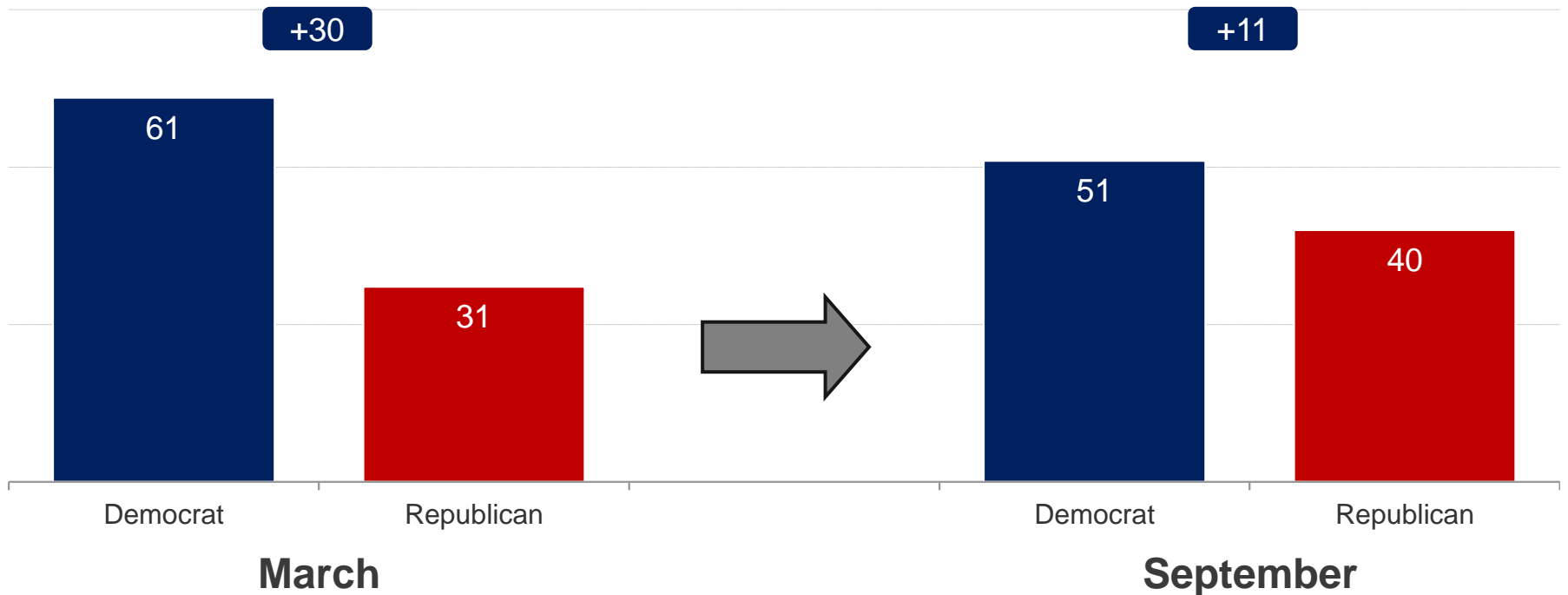
**Note: Incumbent names were inserted with party identification. Generic challengers were inserted as "The Democratic Candidate."*

But have lost ground here

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in November 2012, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or Republican (HOUSE INCUMBENT)?

■ Democrat ■ Republican

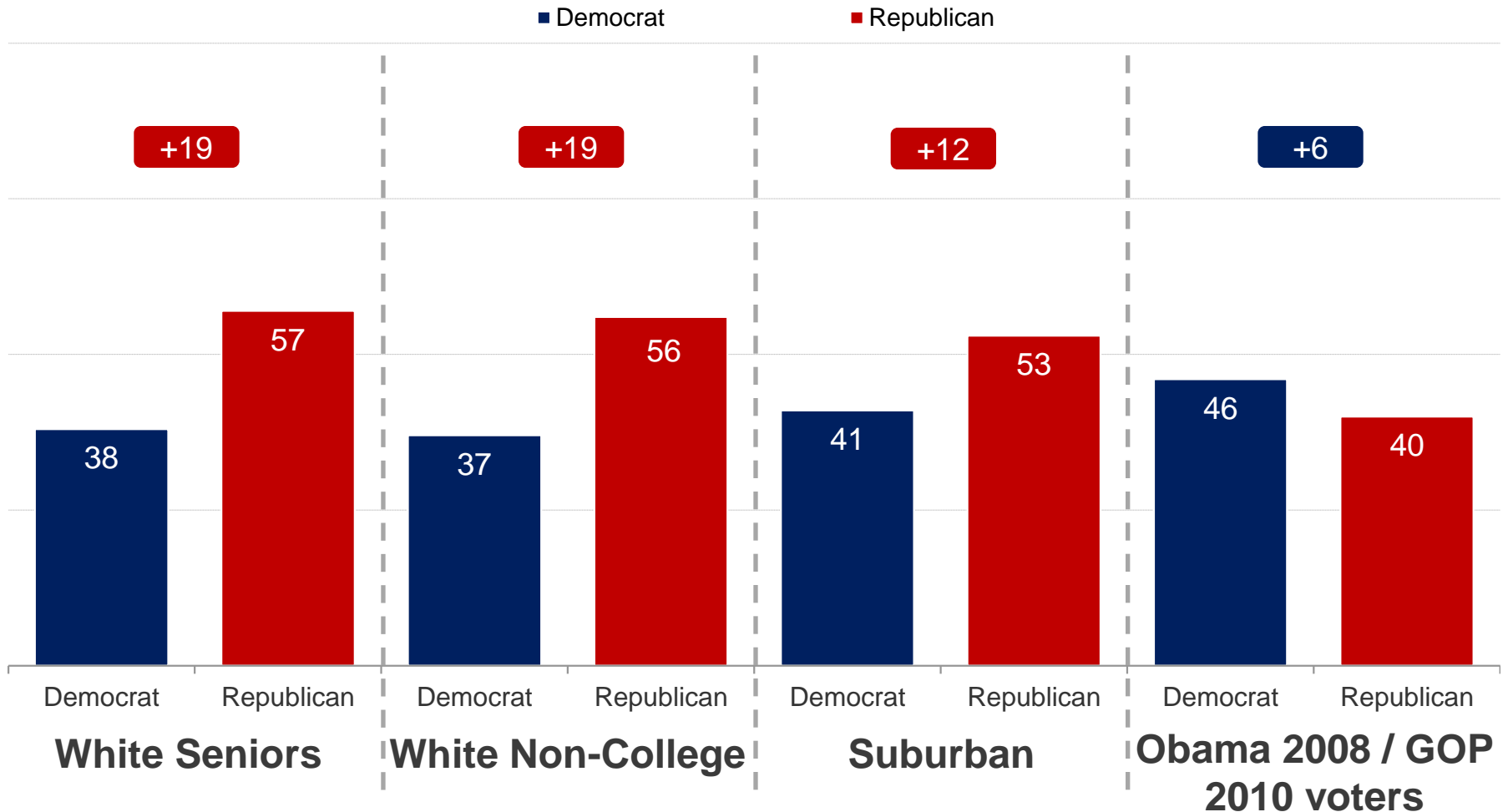
New Obama Voters



**Note: Incumbent names were inserted with party identification. Generic challengers were inserted as "The Democratic Candidate."*

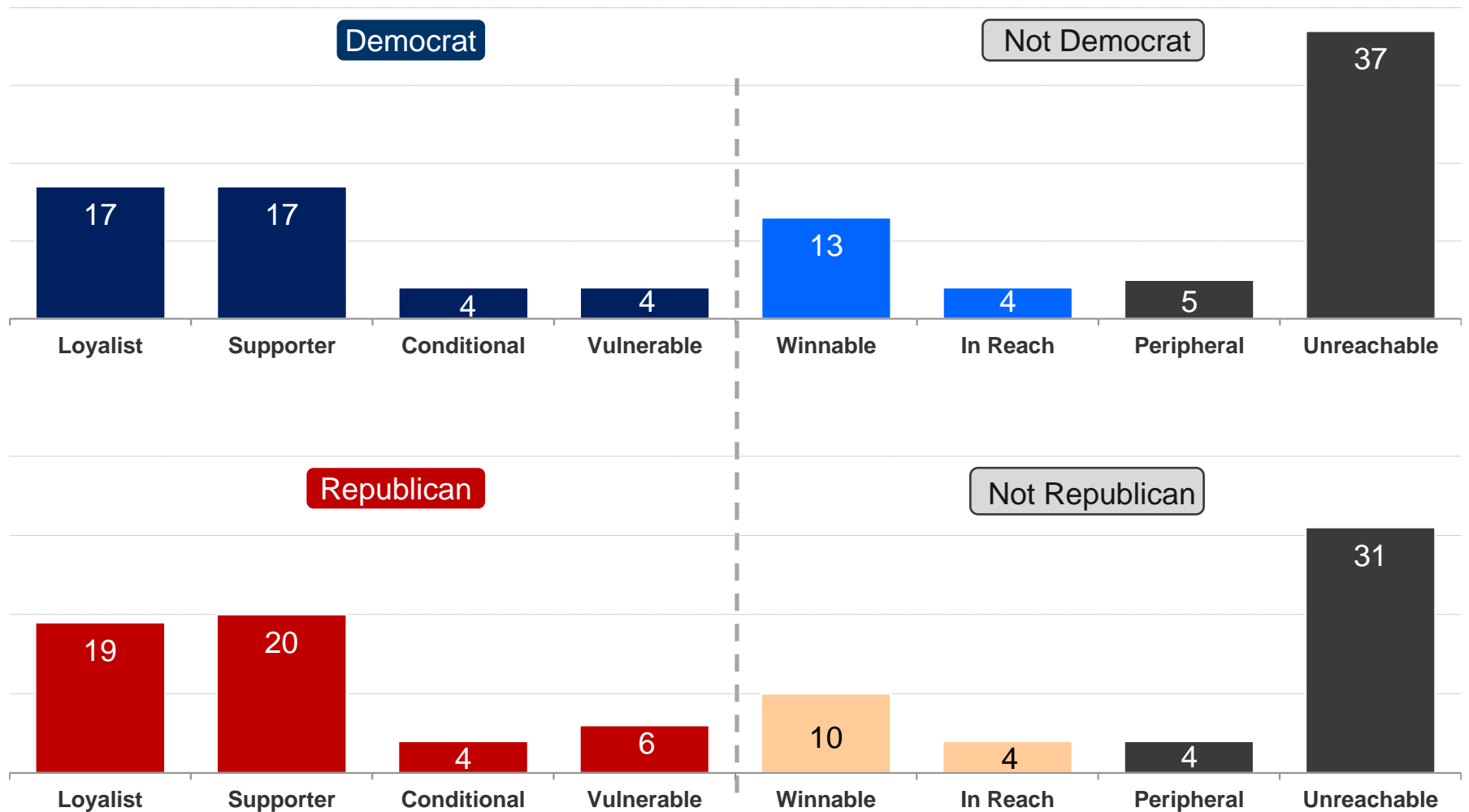
Need to narrow margin among key swing groups

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in November 2012, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or Republican (HOUSE INCUMBENT)?



**Note: Incumbent names were inserted with party identification. Generic challengers were inserted as "The Democratic Candidate."*

But Democrats have more winnable voters



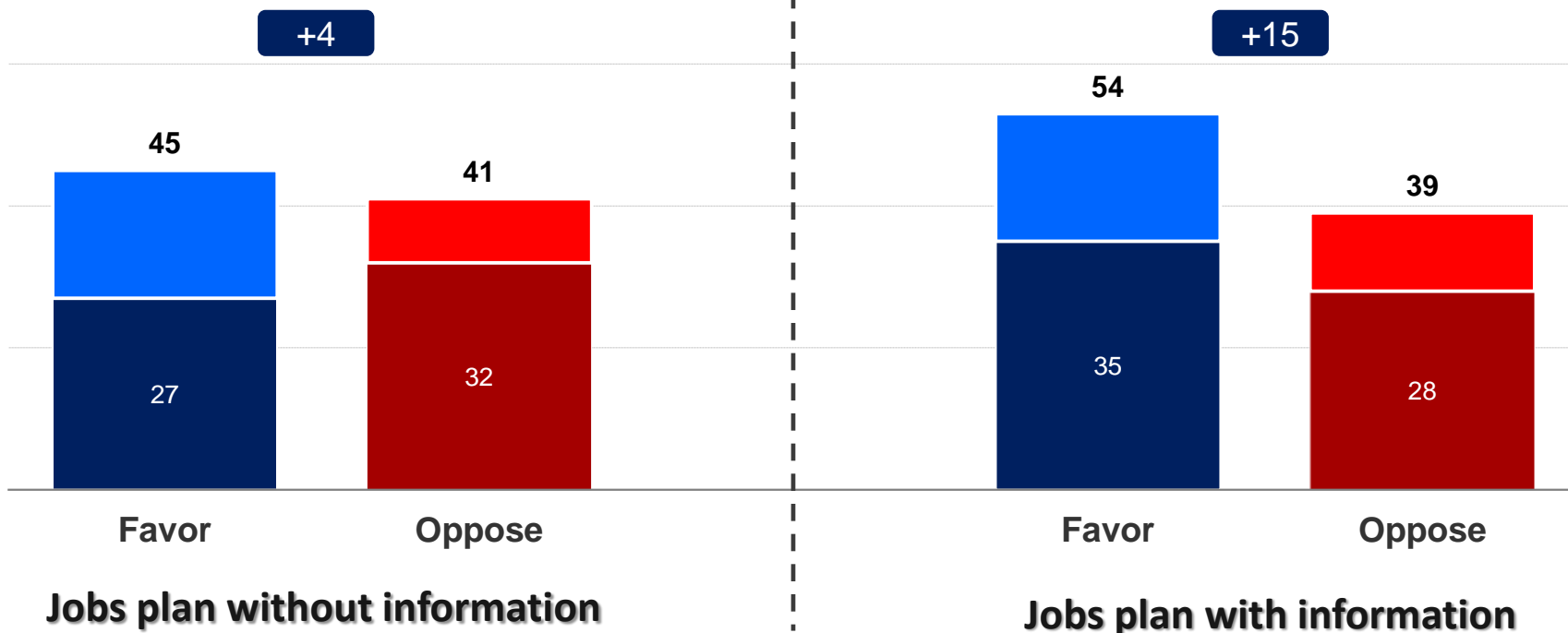
Attacks and messaging produces dramatic shifts against House incumbents

Large majority for Obama jobs plan with specifics

As you may know, President Obama recently proposed the American Jobs Act to Congress. From what you know, do you favor or oppose this plan?

As you may know, President Obama recently proposed the American Jobs Act to Congress. This plan costs 447 billion dollars. It extends the payroll tax cut worth one thousand five hundred dollars for most families, reduces payroll taxes for small businesses, and gives tax credits for companies that hire veterans or the long-term unemployed. It extends unemployment benefits, helps local governments avoid teacher lay-offs and funds school renovation and modernization. The plan will be paid for by additional deficit reduction over the next year and by eliminating many deductions for those earning over 200,000 dollars and cutting subsidies for oil companies. From what you know, do you favor or oppose this plan?

■ Strongly favor ■ Strongly oppose



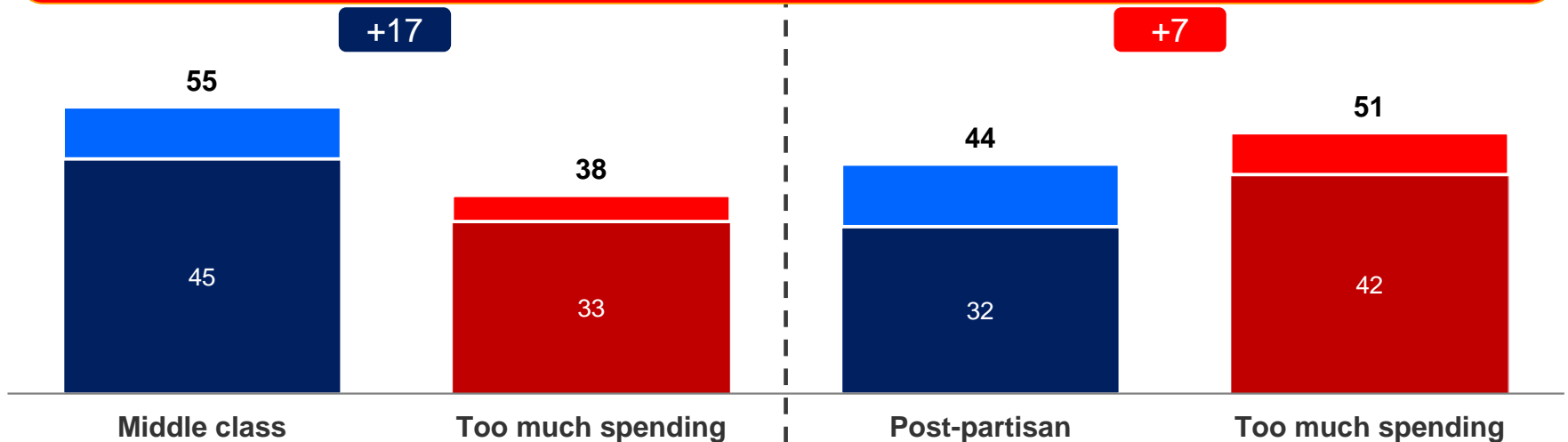
But message strength lies in sustained help for the middle class, rather than act now

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the **FIRST** statement or the **SECOND** statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

Supporters say: We need to rebuild the economy for the middle class that has been under attack for decades. We should cut payroll taxes by one thousand five hundred dollars for families and small businesses and give incentives to companies that hire returning veterans and the long-term unemployed. Get Americans back to work rebuilding our schools and installing new technology. Let's get back to an America where hard work and responsibility pays off.

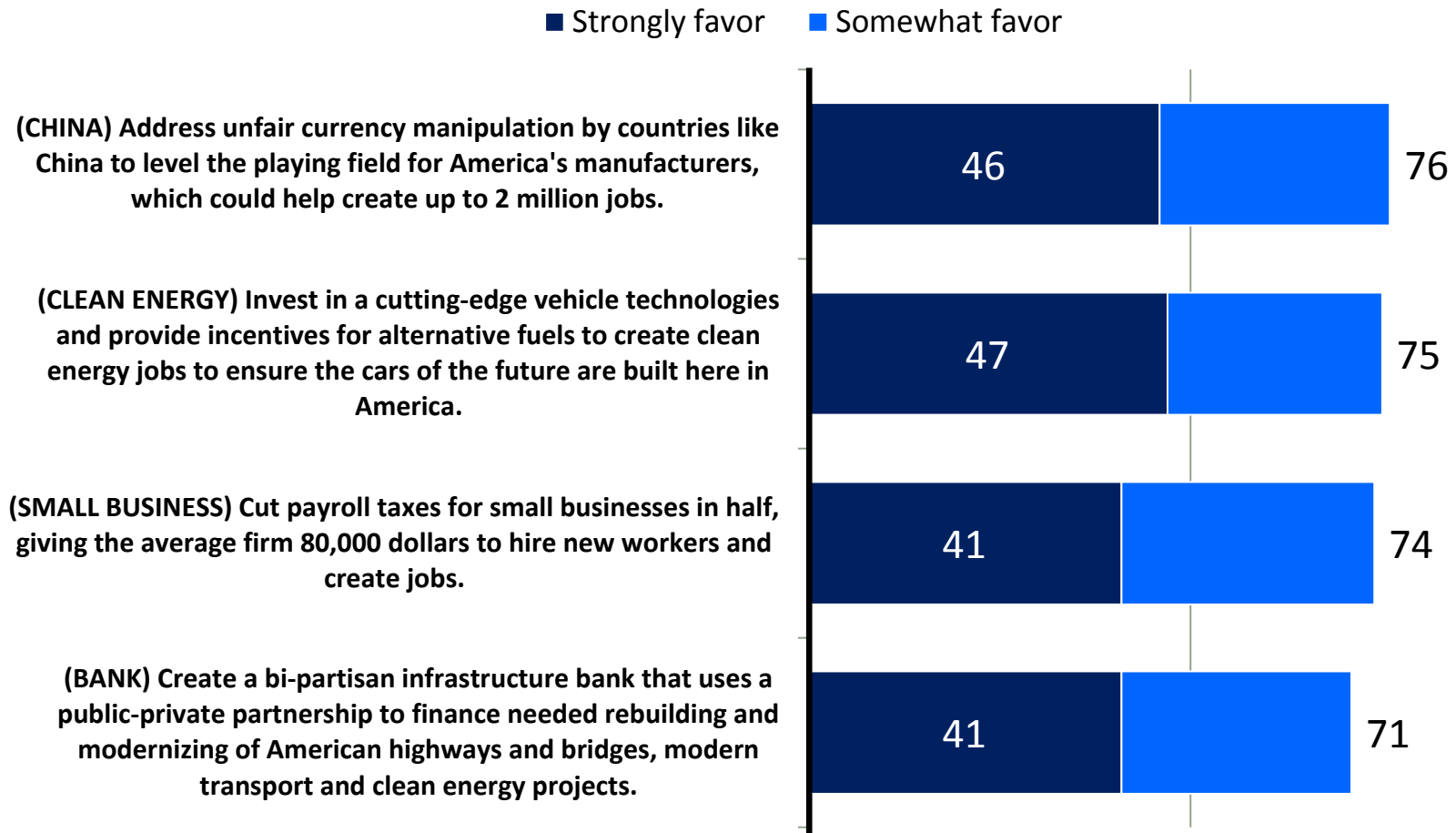
Supporters say: Regardless of the arguments we've had in the past, this plan is the right thing to do right now. Every proposal has been supported by both Democrats and Republicans. No single individual or party built America on their own. Our country has come together in the toughest times to do some of our greatest things. The people who sent us to Washington need help and they need it right now. It's time for us to meet this challenge.

Opponents say: President Obama just doesn't get it. Under his spending policies, America has lost more than 2.5 million jobs. Now President Obama is calling for nearly half a trillion dollars in more government stimulus spending when America has more than 14 trillion dollars in debt. We can't spend our way to prosperity. America needs jobs, not more government spending which will leave our children saddled with a mountain of debt.



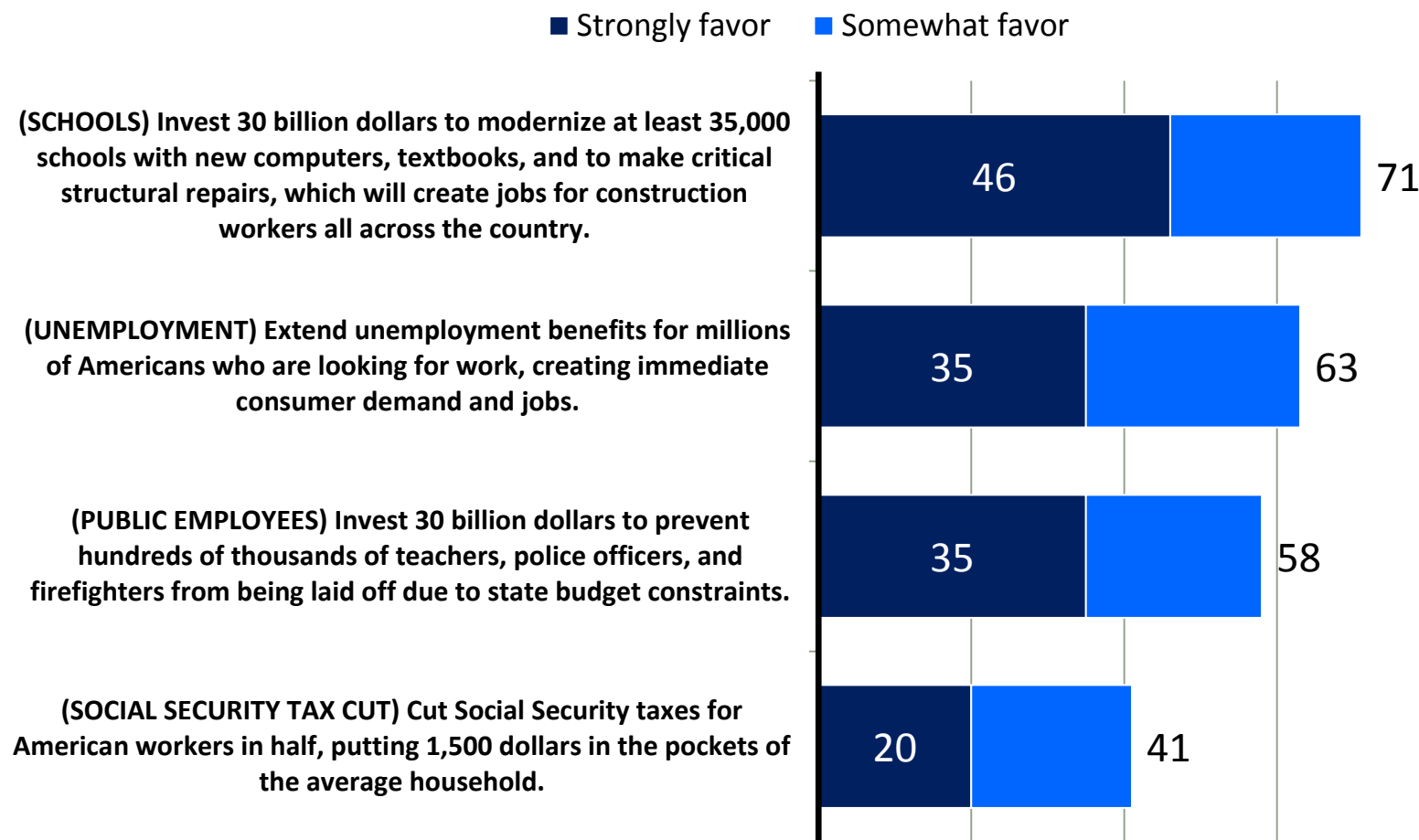
Clean energy, cutting taxes for small businesses most popular in jobs plan (asked at end of survey)

Please imagine that a Democratic candidate for Congress proposed the following ideas to help the economy and create jobs. After I read each proposal, please tell me whether you favor or oppose it.



Second tier of proposals

Please imagine that a Democratic candidate for Congress proposed the following ideas to help the economy and create jobs. After I read each proposal, please tell me whether you favor or oppose it.



Independents favor clean energy, addressing currency manipulation with China

Please imagine that a Democratic candidate for Congress proposed the following ideas to help the economy and create jobs. After I read each proposal, please tell me whether you favor or oppose it.

➤ China

Strongly favor: 60%
Total favor: 88%

Address unfair currency manipulation by countries like China to level the playing field for America's manufacturers, which could help create up to 2 million jobs.

➤ Clean energy

Strongly favor: 51%
Total favor: 76%

Invest in a cutting-edge vehicle technologies and provide incentives for alternative fuels to create clean energy jobs to ensure the cars of the future are built here in America.

➤ Small business

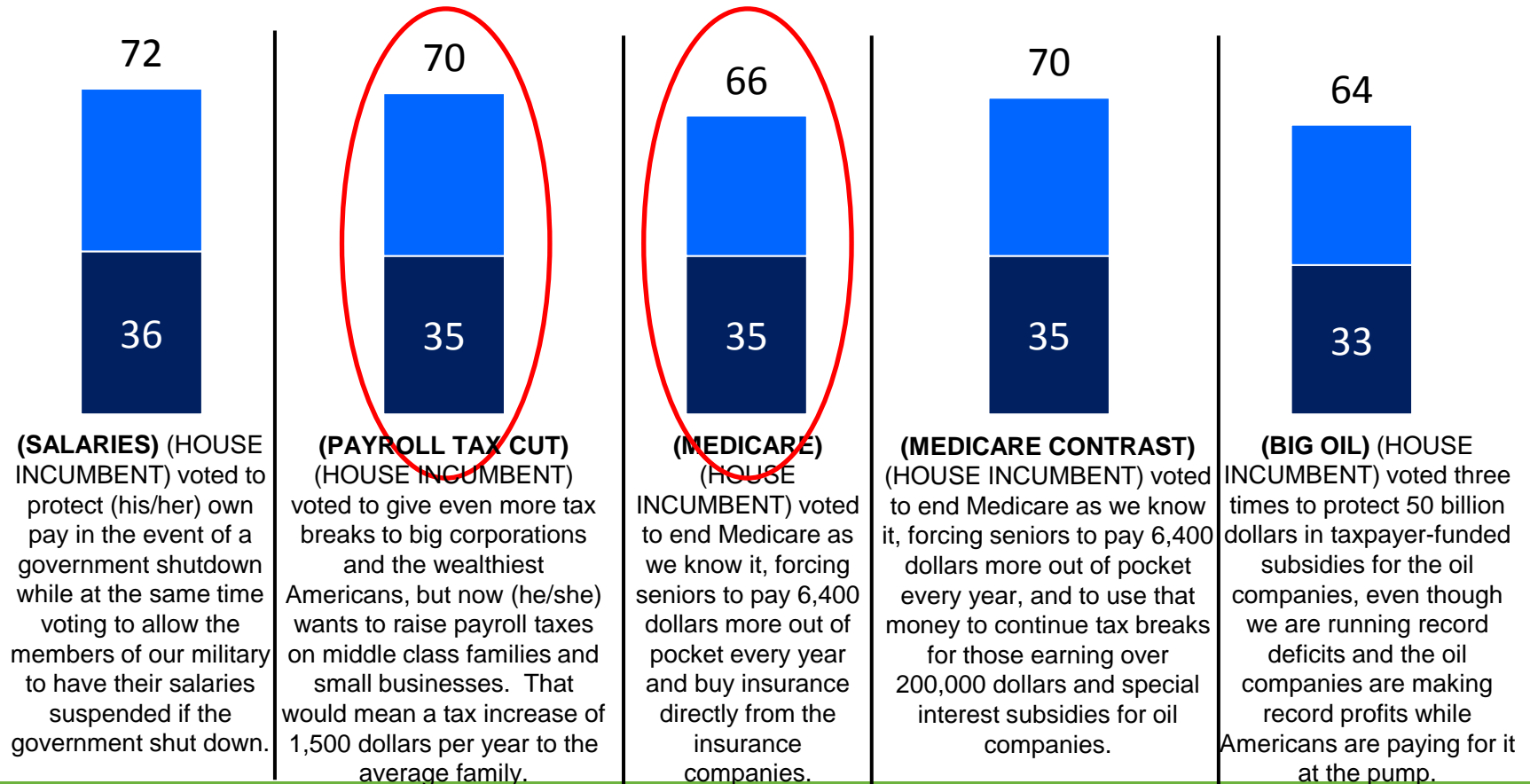
Strongly favor: 40%
Total favor: 69%

Cut payroll taxes for small businesses in half, giving the average firm 80,000 dollars to hire new workers and create jobs.

Populist payroll tax cut & Medicare attack score big

Now let me read you some statements that some people have made about (HOUSE INCUMBENT). After I read each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about (HOUSE INCUMBENT).

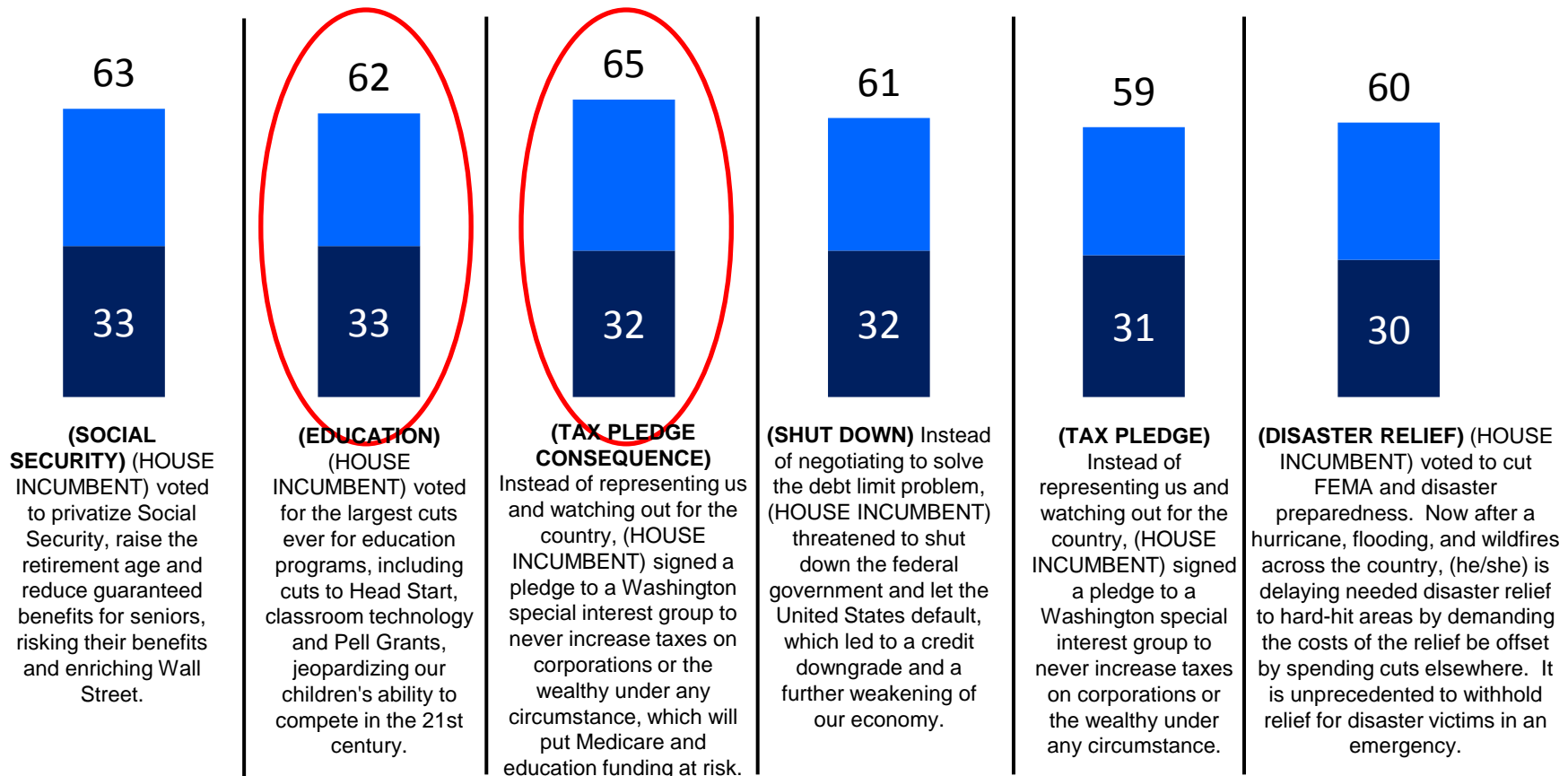
■ Very serious doubts ■ Serious doubts



Cuts to education, Medicare produce biggest shift in the vote according to regression analysis

Now let me read you some statements that some people have made about (HOUSE INCUMBENT). After I read each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about (HOUSE INCUMBENT).

■ Very serious doubts ■ Serious doubts



Independents respond best to payroll tax, Medicare attacks

Now let me read you some statements that some people have made about (HOUSE INCUMBENT). After I read each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about (HOUSE INCUMBENT).

➤ Medicare

Very serious doubts: 38%
Total serious doubts: 64%

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to end Medicare as we know it, forcing seniors to pay 6,400 dollars more out of pocket every year and buy insurance directly from the insurance companies.

➤ Payroll Tax Cut

Very serious doubts : 36%
Total serious doubts : 69%

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to give even more tax breaks to big corporations and the wealthiest Americans, but now (he/she) wants to raise payroll taxes on middle class families and small businesses. That would mean a tax increase of 1,500 dollars per year to the average family.

➤ Salaries

Very serious doubts : 35%
Total serious doubts : 75%

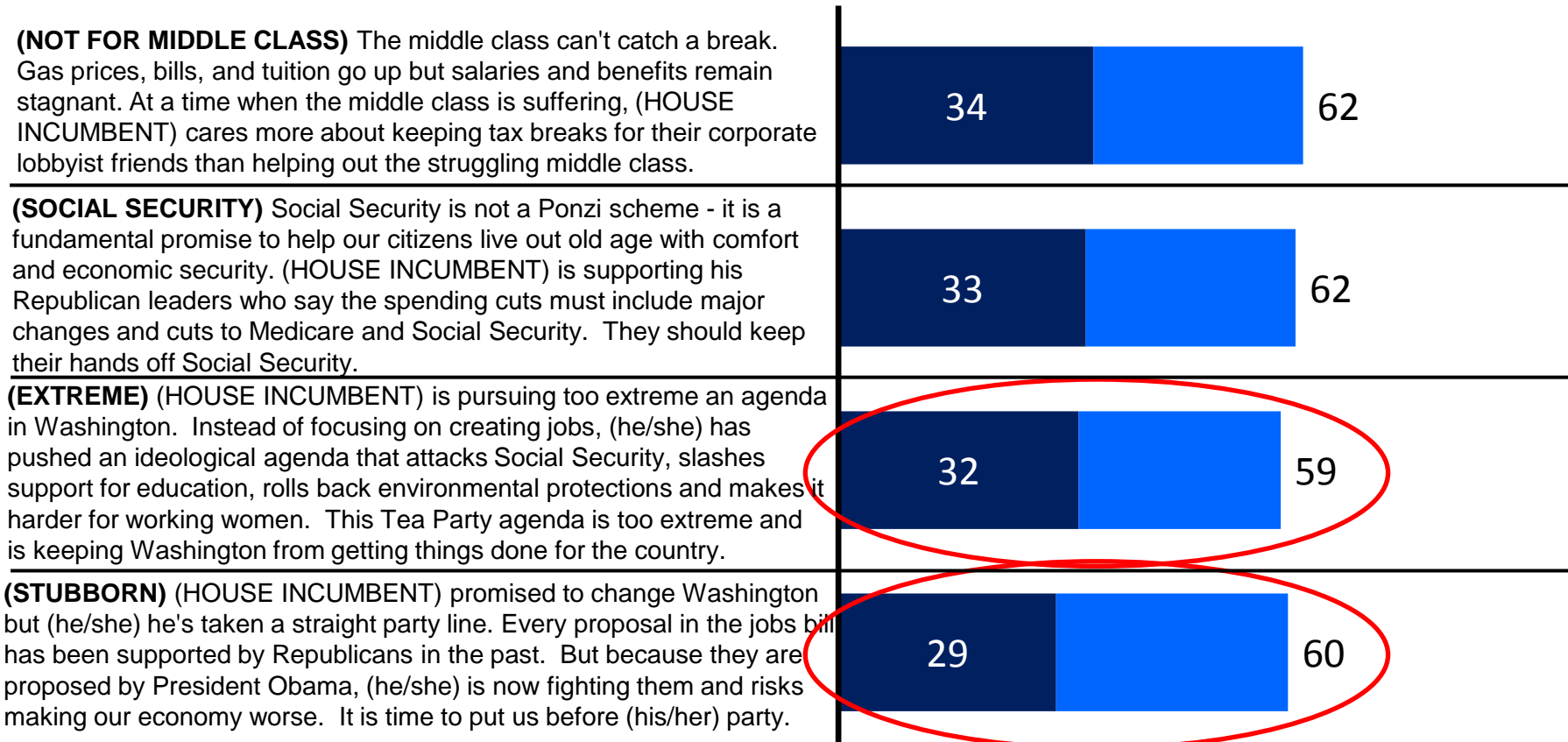
(HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to protect (his/her) own pay in the event of a government shutdown while at the same time voting to allow the members of our military to have their salaries suspended if the government shut down.

Middle class theme strongest

Failures in Washington produces biggest vote shift

Now let me read you some more statements that some people have made about (HOUSE INCUMBENT). After I read each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about (HOUSE INCUMBENT).

■ Very serious doubts ■ Serious doubts



The “don’t raise taxes” Republican argument produces biggest shift to Republicans

Now let me read you some statements that Republican (HOUSE INCUMBENT) might make about the budget and the economy. After I read each statement, please tell me how convincing a reason it is to support (HOUSE INCUMBENT) - is it a very convincing reason, a somewhat convincing reason, only a little convincing, or not at all a convincing reason to support them?

■ Very convincing ■ Somewhat convincing

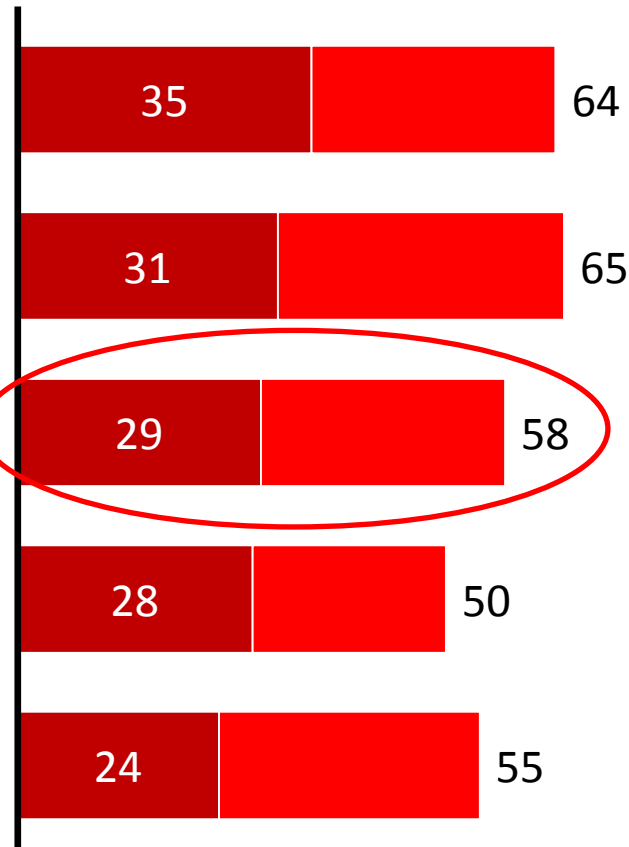
(NLRB) At a time when American jobs are disappearing, let's not punish companies that want to create good jobs here in America. Labor unions and other organizations need to get out of the way and let the private sector do what it does best - breed innovation and competition and create good jobs for hard-working Americans.

(BALANCED BUDGET) A balanced budget amendment is the only way to ensure that we spend taxpayer dollars wisely. Empty promises end here - we need to finally get our fiscal house in order so we can provide certainty about our nation's fiscal trajectory over the long haul.

(TAXES) Raising taxes in a fragile economy suffocates businesses. Never in the history of this country has an increase in taxes generated one job. To fix the economy, we need to cut taxes for job-creating businesses and eliminate burdensome regulations that keep businesses from hiring. Let's create an environment for private sector job growth.

(DOWNGRADE) When Standard and Poor's downgraded America's credit, they told us to get our fiscal house in order. The rating downgrade is a troubling indicator of our country's decline under President Obama. His failed policies have led to high unemployment, stagnant growth, and skyrocketing deficits.

(ENTITLEMENTS) Costly entitlements are broken and need to be fixed. Our plan will reform the system and bring it back into balance. Instead of stealing from workers' paychecks, we will empower them to save for the future and ensure that these programs will be there when we need them.

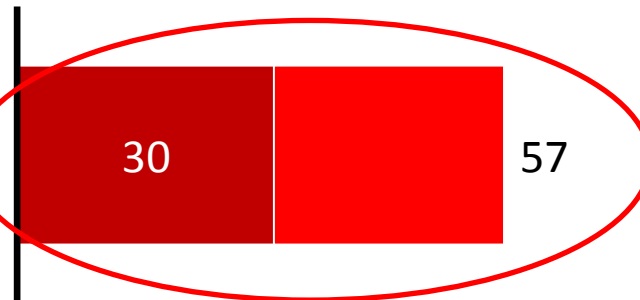


“Taxing and spending” is strongest attack on Democrats – but attacks weaker than Democratic

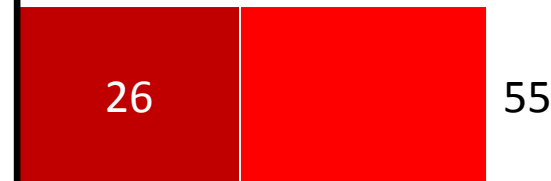
Now let me read you some statements that some people have made about Democrats in Congress. After I read each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about Democrats in Congress.

■ Very serious doubts ■ Serious doubts

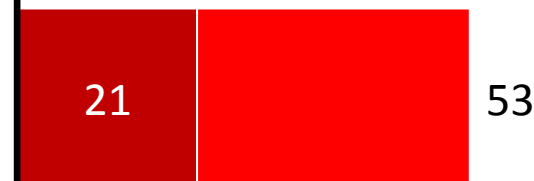
(SPENDING) Democrats keep pushing their tax and spending policies on the American people. The stimulus failed and now they want to spend even more money we don't have. Never in this history of this country has raising taxes generated one job.



(REGULATIONS) Democrats' excessive regulations and red tape are causing uncertainty for families and small businesses at the worst time. The President's health care bill and burdensome regulations on small businesses are costing our country money and jobs when we need to be creating a better environment for private sector job growth.



(SENATE) House Republicans have worked throughout the year to implement our pro-growth agenda designed to remove government barriers in order to create jobs, but the Democratic-controlled Senate has blocked us at every turn. None of the jobs measures the House has passed have been taken up by the Senate.



Big shift in congressional vote: Democrats dead even

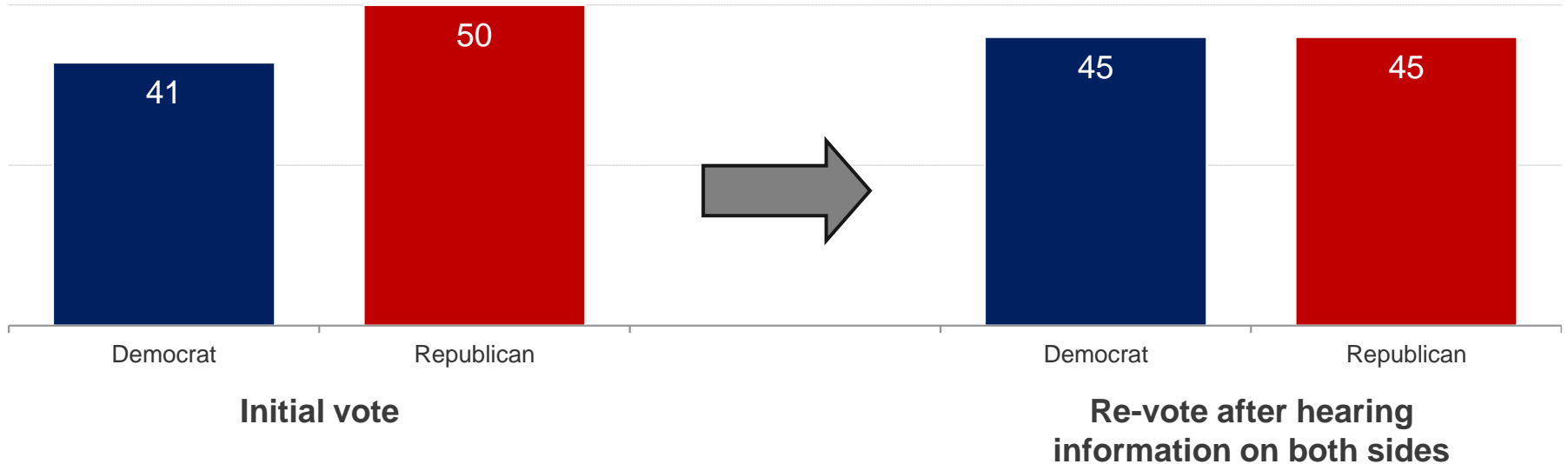
Now let me ask you again, I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in November 2012, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or Republican (HOUSE INCUMBENT)?

■ Democrat

■ Republican

+9

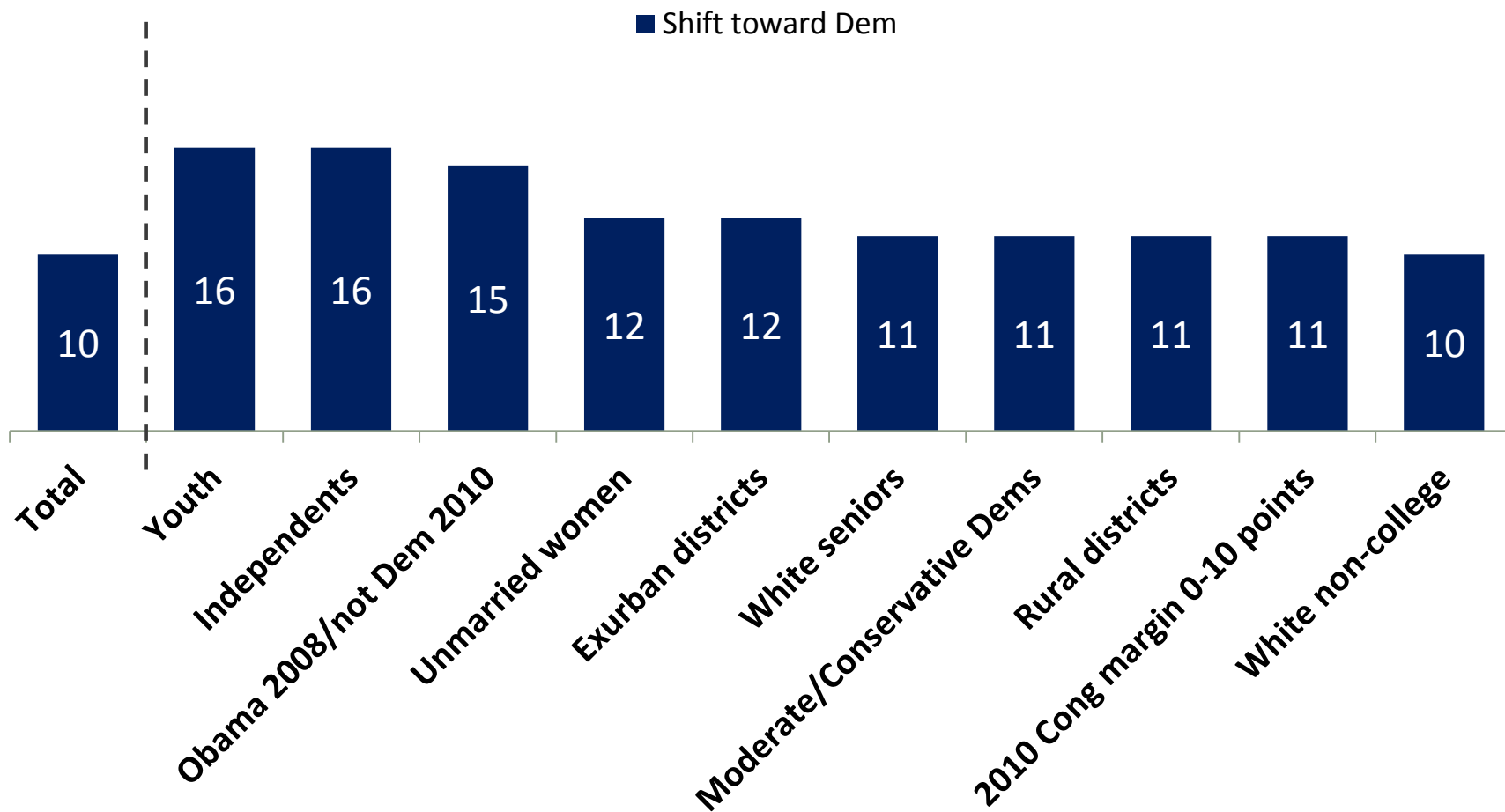
Even



*Note: Incumbent names were inserted with party identification. Generic challengers were inserted as "The Democratic Candidate."

Big shifters in congressional vote

Now let me ask you again, I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in November 2012, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or Republican (HOUSE INCUMBENT)?



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