

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

October 2, 2008

Political Landscape 2008

Methodology

Congressional Battleground

- Survey in 50 Battleground districts (40 Republican-held and 10 Democratic-held House districts)
- September 18-23, 2008
- 1,794 Likely Voters

Presidential Battleground

- Survey of 1044 likely voters in 16 battleground states (CO, FL, IA, MI, MN, MO, NV, NH, NM, NC, OH, PA, VA, WI, MT, IN)
- September 28-30, 2008

Presidential Battleground Survey

- 1371 likely voters
 - 11 states:
 - Coastal: FL, NC, VA
 - Midwest: IA, MI, MO, PA, OH
 - Interior West: CO, NM, NV
 - Oversamples in Florida and Interior West (300 voters in both geographies)
- July 19-27, 2008

National Survey

- 1004 likely voters
- July 24-29, 2008

Competitive Republican Congressional Districts

Republican Tier 1

- Alaska 01 - Open
- Arizona 01
- Colorado 04 - Open
- Florida 24
- Illinois 10
- Illinois 11 - Open
- Louisiana 04 - Open
- Michigan 07
- Minnesota 03 - Open
- Nevada 03
- New Jersey 03 - Open
- New Jersey 07 - Open
- New Mexico 01 - Open
- New York 13 - Open
- New York 25 - Open
- North Carolina 08
- Ohio 15 - Open
- Pennsylvania 03
- Virginia 11 - Open
- Washington 08

Republican Tier 2

- Alabama 02 - Open
- Arizona 03
- California 04
- Connecticut 04
- Florida 08
- Florida 13
- Florida 21
- Florida 25
- Idaho 01
- Kentucky 02 - Open
- Maryland 01 - Open
- Michigan 09
- Missouri 06
- New Mexico 02 - Open
- New York 26 - Open
- New York 29
- Ohio 01
- Ohio 16 - Open
- Pennsylvania 06
- Virginia 02

Competitive district types

Rural Small Town (17.5%)

- Alaska 01
- Arizona 01
- Alabama 02
- Idaho 01
- Kentucky 02
- New Mexico 02
- New York 29

Suburban (22.5%)

- Connecticut 04
- Illinois 10
- Michigan 09
- Nevada 03
- New Jersey 07
- New York 25
- Pennsylvania 06
- Virginia 11
- Washington 08

Suburban/Exurban (7.5%)

- California 04
- Illinois 11
- Michigan 07

Suburban/Rural (5%)

- Maryland 01
- New York 26

Urban/Suburban (20%)

- Florida 08
- Minnesota 03
- New Jersey 03
- New Mexico 01
- New York 13
- Ohio 01
- Ohio 15
- Virginia 02

Suburban/Rural Small Town (10%)

- Colorado 04
- Missouri 06
- North Carolina 08
- Ohio 16

Suburban/Exurban/Rural Small Town (2.5%)

- Michigan 07

Urban (10%)

- Arizona 03
- Florida 21
- Florida 13
- Florida 25

Urban/Rural (5%)

- Louisiana 04
- Pennsylvania 03

States in the presidential battleground: blue and red states

Total State List

- Colorado
- Florida
- Indiana
- Iowa
- Michigan
- Missouri
- Minnesota
- Montana
- Nevada
- New Hampshire
- New Mexico
- North Carolina
- Ohio
- Pennsylvania
- Virginia
- Wisconsin

BLUE STATES

Deep Blue

- Minnesota
- Wisconsin

Light Blue

- Michigan
- New Hampshire
- Pennsylvania

RED STATES

Deep Red

- Indiana
- Montana
- North Carolina

Light Red

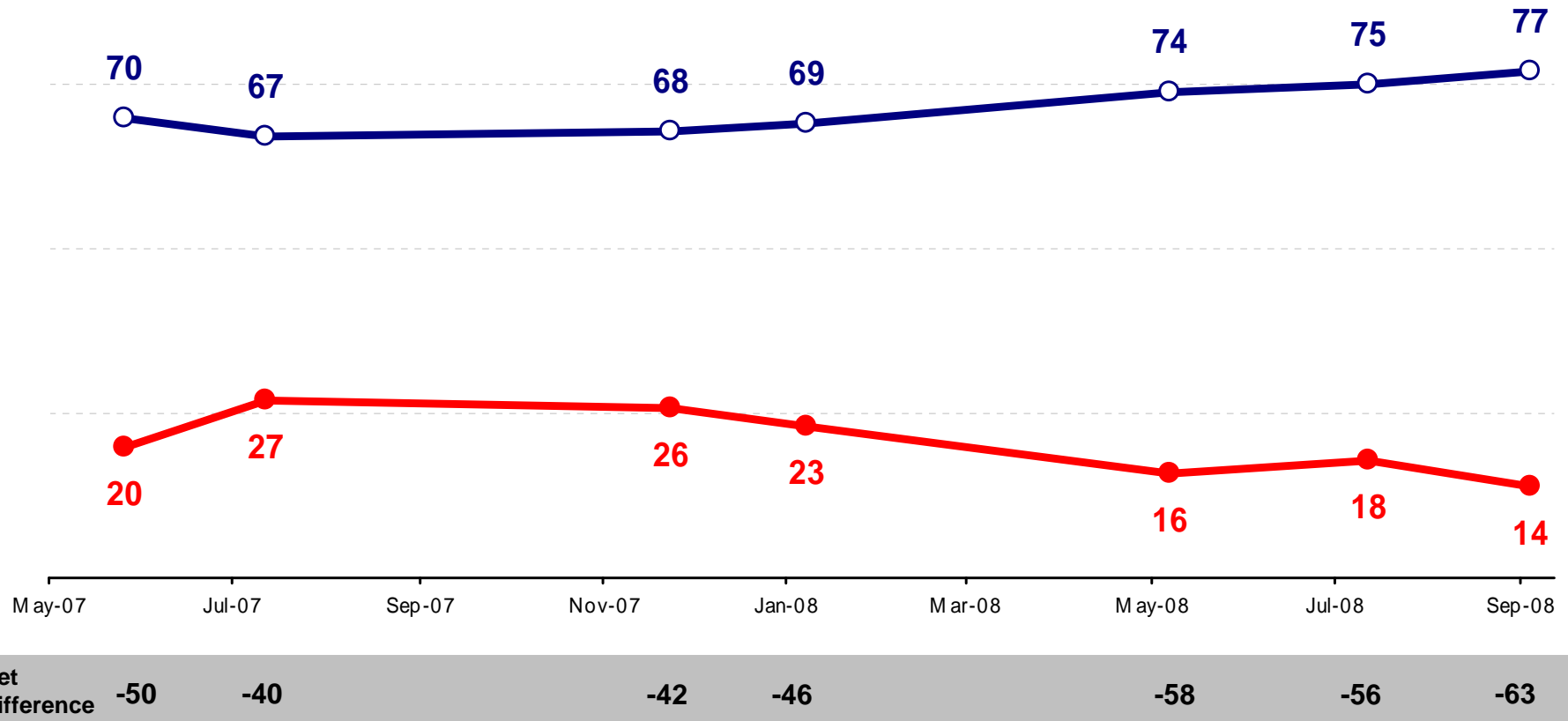
- Colorado
- Florida
- Iowa
- Missouri
- Nevada
- New Mexico
- Ohio
- Virginia

Change mood endangers more Republican seats

Rising disgust with status quo in Republican districts

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

○ Wrong track
● Right direction

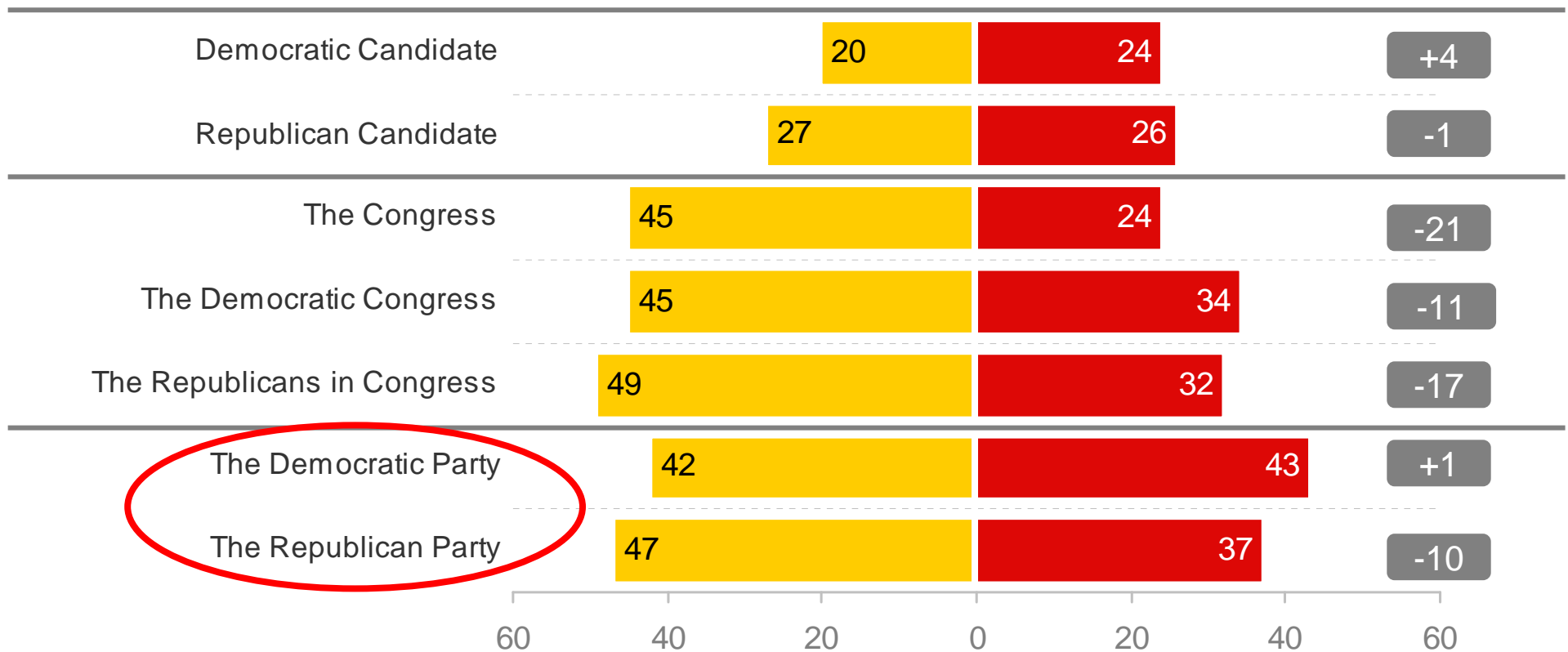


Republican brand endangering Republican candidates

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.

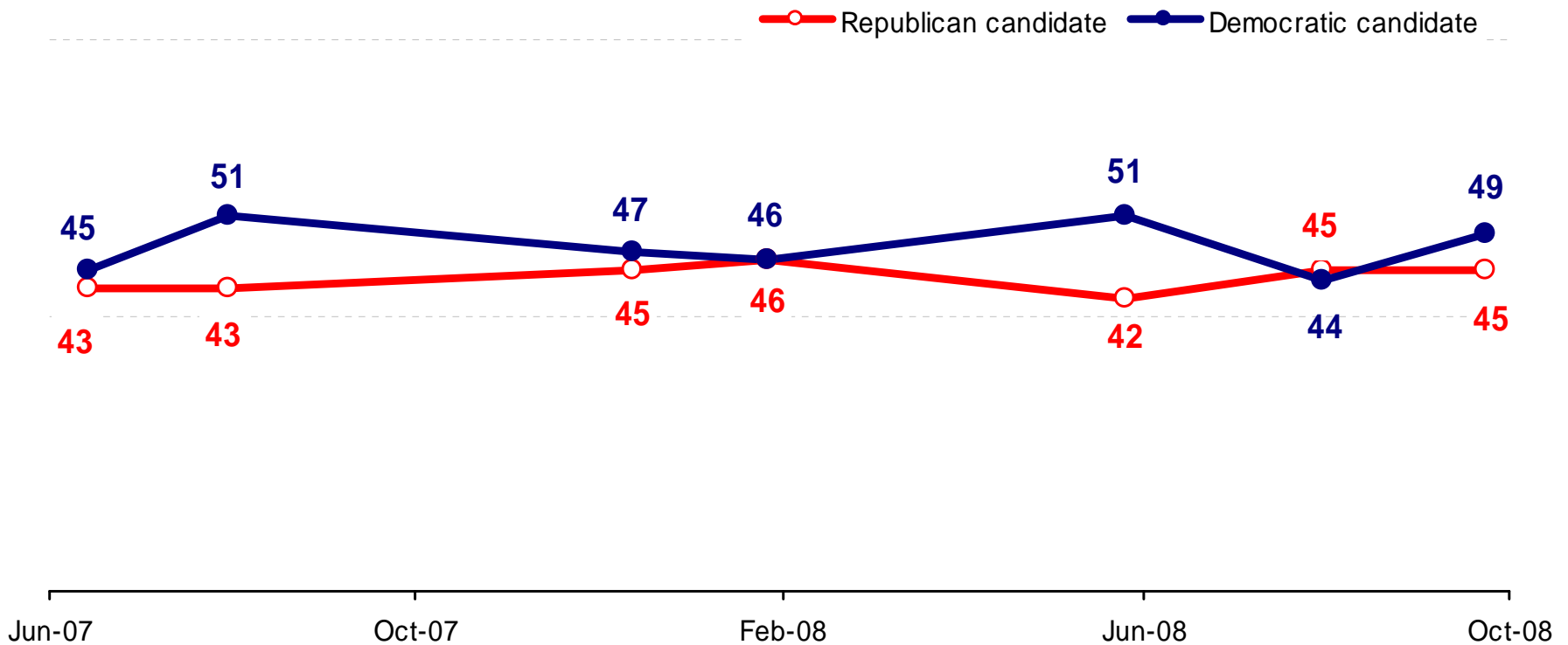
■ Cool ■ Warm

Net



Democrats take lead in 40-district Republican battleground

Thinking about the election for Congress in November, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate*?



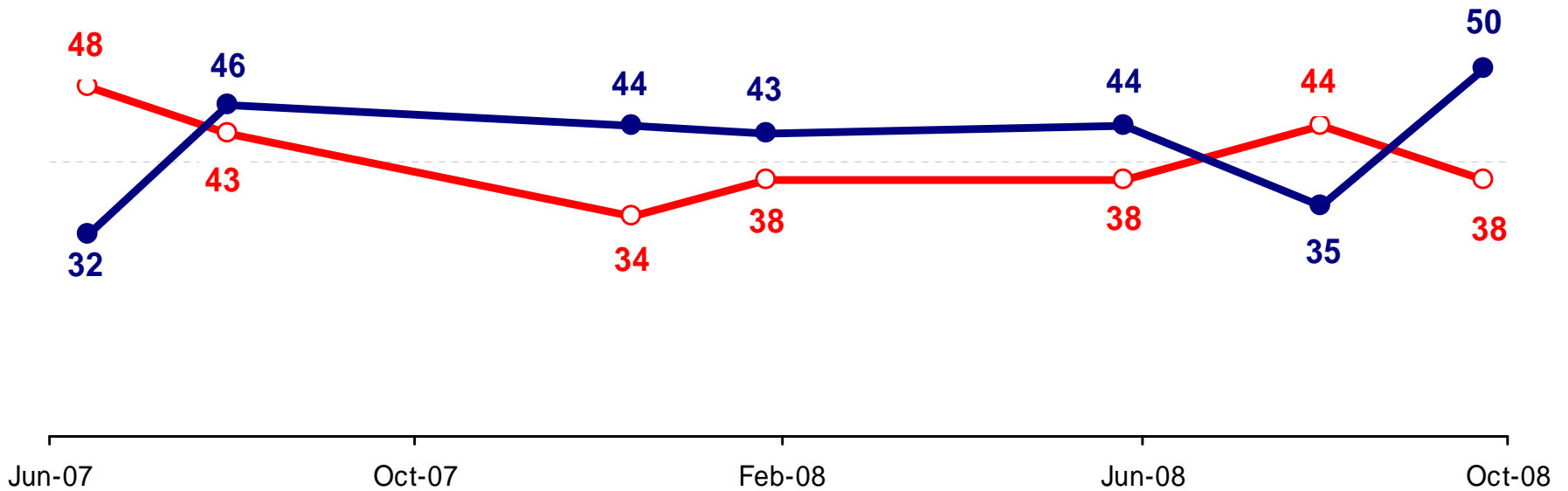
Net Difference	+2	+8	+2	0	+9	-1	+3
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*Note: For each district, the candidates' names were inserted, preceded by their party identification. In the LA-4, where the candidates are not yet official, generic candidates ("the Democratic candidate" and "the Republican candidate" were inserted.

Democrats take largest lead among independents yet

Thinking about the election for Congress in November, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?*

○ Republican candidate ● Democratic candidate

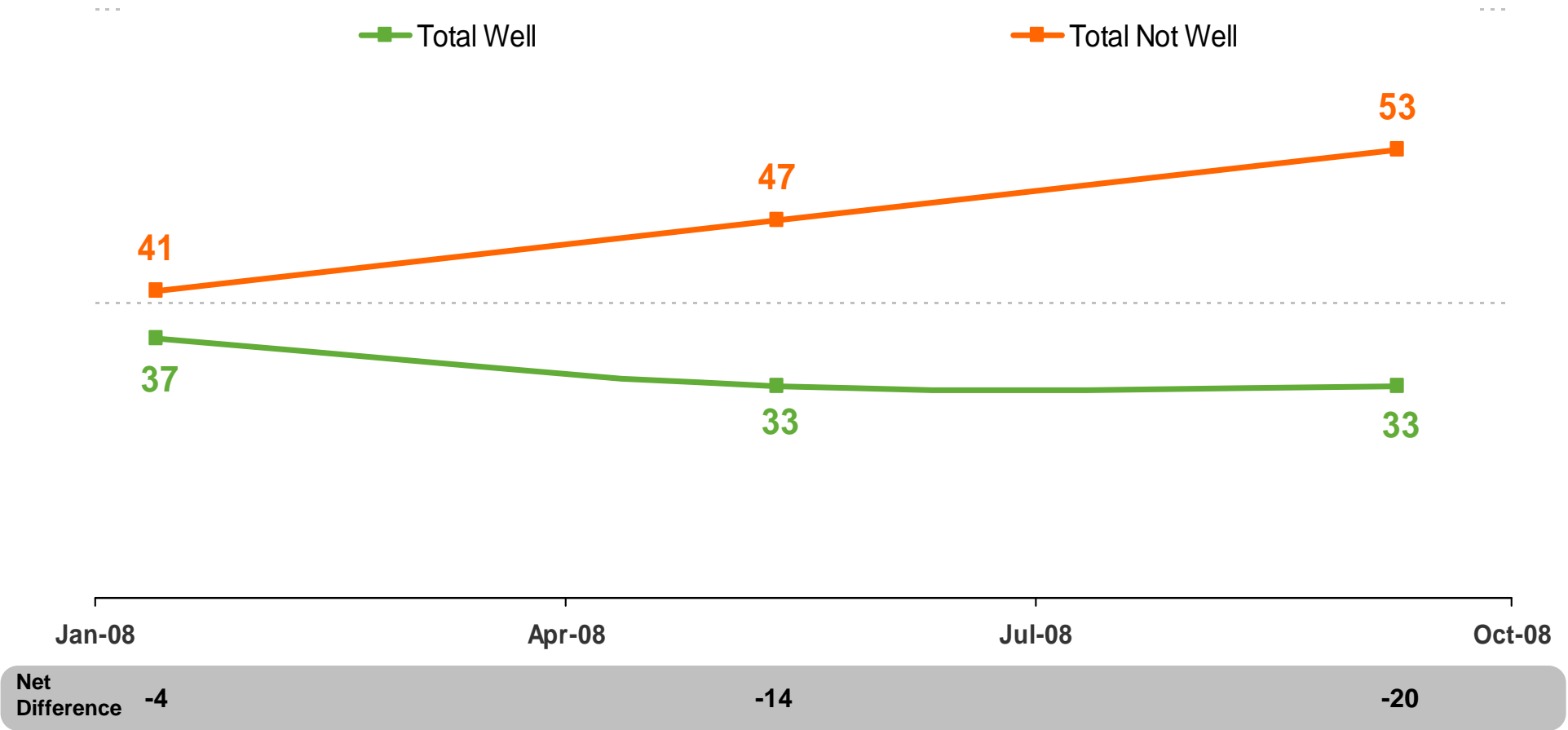


Net Difference	-16	+3	+10	+5	+6	-9	+12
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**Note: For each district, the candidates' names were inserted, preceded by their party identification. In the LA-4, where the candidates are not yet official, generic candidates ("the Democratic candidate" and "the Republican candidate" were inserted.*

More reject that member “will bring the right kind of change”

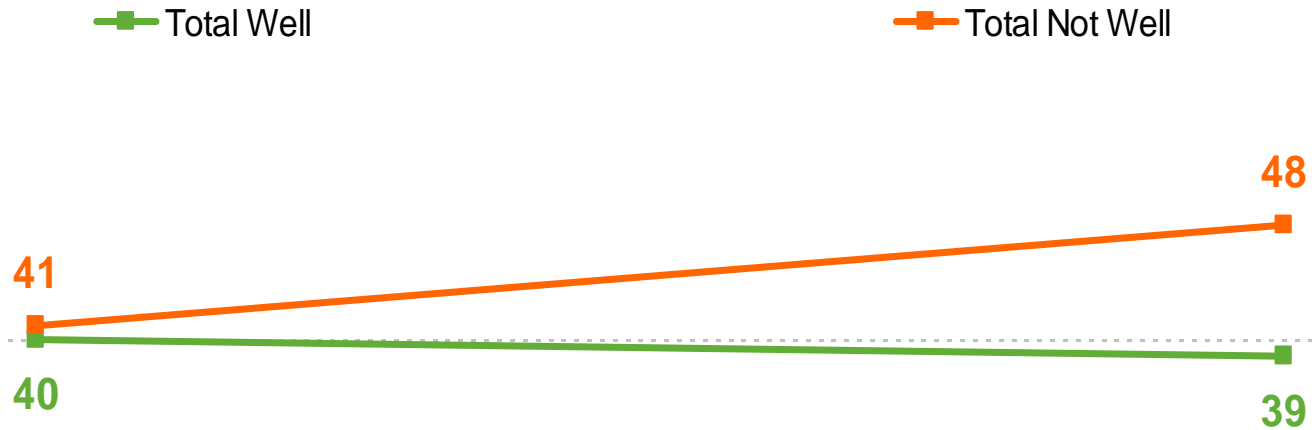
Now, I am going to read you a list of words and phrases people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes the (HOUSE INCUMBENT) very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.



*Note: Asked only of incumbents.

And majority now rejects that member “on your side”

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



May-08

Aug-08

Net
Difference

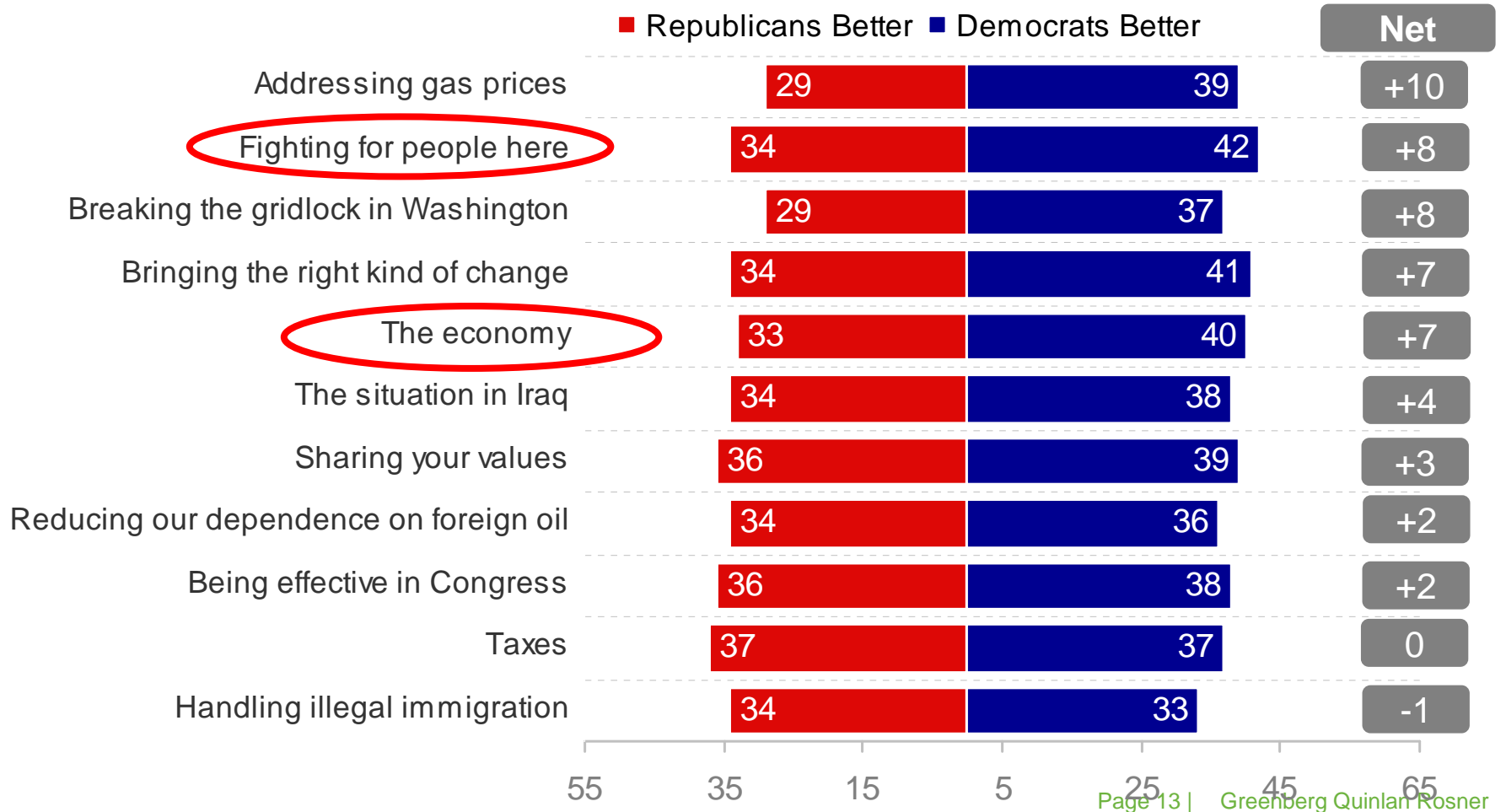
-1

-9

**Note: Asked only of incumbents.*

In GOP districts, Democrats as agents of change, better on

Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with this issue:



Campaign messaging and attacks

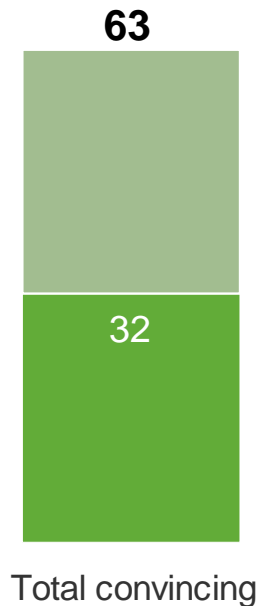
Alternative energy, middle class economy focus convincing

Now let me read you a series of statements about (the Democratic House Candidate). For each statement, please tell me whether this description is very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing or not at all convincing reason to support (the Democratic House Candidate).

New Energy Policy

- Very Convincing
- Convincing

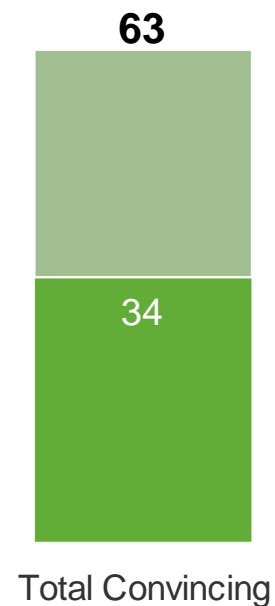
(Democratic Candidate) believes it is time to take our country back from the Washington politicians and big oil companies. In Congress (he/she) will push to eliminate huge tax breaks for big oil companies and invest that money into developing clean, alternative energy like solar, wind and biofuels that will create new businesses and jobs here in (state) and reduce gas prices.



Middle Class Economics

- Very Convincing
- Convincing

(Democratic Candidate) supports efforts to jumpstart the economy and create jobs now. (He/She) supports cutting taxes for the middle class, and he will fight to eliminate tax breaks for companies that outsource jobs and instead use those tax breaks to help companies create jobs here in (state) and the U.S. And (Democratic Candidate) will always stand up for the workers by opposing unfair trade policies.



*Note: Names of the Democratic candidate were inserted. For the prompting question, party i.d. preceded the name, but partisanship was excluded from the messages.

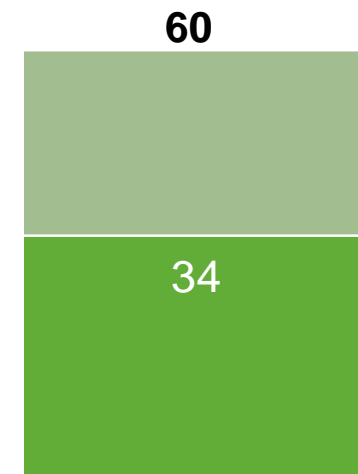
Oil company associations raise doubts about GOP incumbent

Now let me read you a series of statements about (REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE). For each statement, please tell me whether this description, if accurate, raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts or no real doubts in your own mind about (REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE).

Tax Breaks for Big Oil

While gas prices have tripled to nearly four dollars a gallon, *(Republican Incumbent)* has repeatedly voted against cracking down on gas price gouging while accepting thousands of dollars in political contributions from oil and gas interests. And *(he/she)* voted to give billions in tax breaks and subsidies to the big oil companies instead of investing that money in alternative energy to end our dependence on foreign oil

- Very Serious Doubts
- Serious Doubts



Total Serious Doubts

**Note: Names of the Republican candidate were inserted. For the prompting question, party i.d. preceded the name, but partisanship was excluded from the messages.*

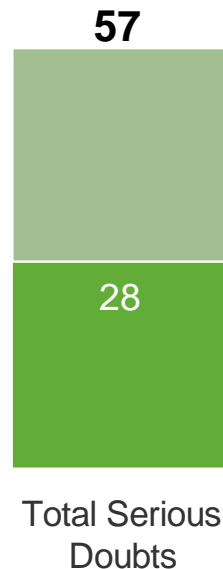
Economic concerns raise doubts about GOP Incumbent

Now let me read you a series of statements about (REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE). For each statement, please tell me whether this description, if accurate, raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts or no real doubts in your own mind about (REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE).

Bush Economic Plan

- Very Serious Doubts
- Serious Doubts

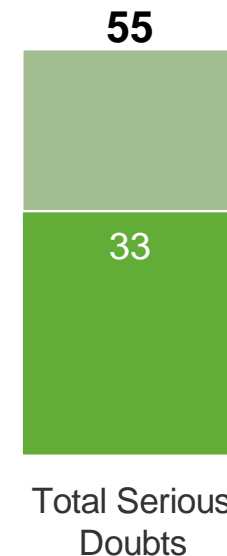
(Republican Incumbent) is out of touch with middle class families when it comes to the economy, and (he/she) supports George Bush's failed economic agenda that wastes money and benefits big corporations while leaving regular people behind. Despite the rising costs of gas, food and health care, (he/she) has voted with Bush to give tax breaks to big corporations while voting against tax cuts for the middle class.



Outsourcing

- Very Serious Doubts
- Serious Doubts

(Republican Incumbent) has repeatedly voted for trade agreements that cost (state) jobs. NAFTA has cost the U.S. over a million jobs, but (he/she) voted to expand the NAFTA trade deal to Central America. (Republican Incumbent) also voted to normalize our trade relationship with China even though America has lost more than 2 million jobs due to trade with China

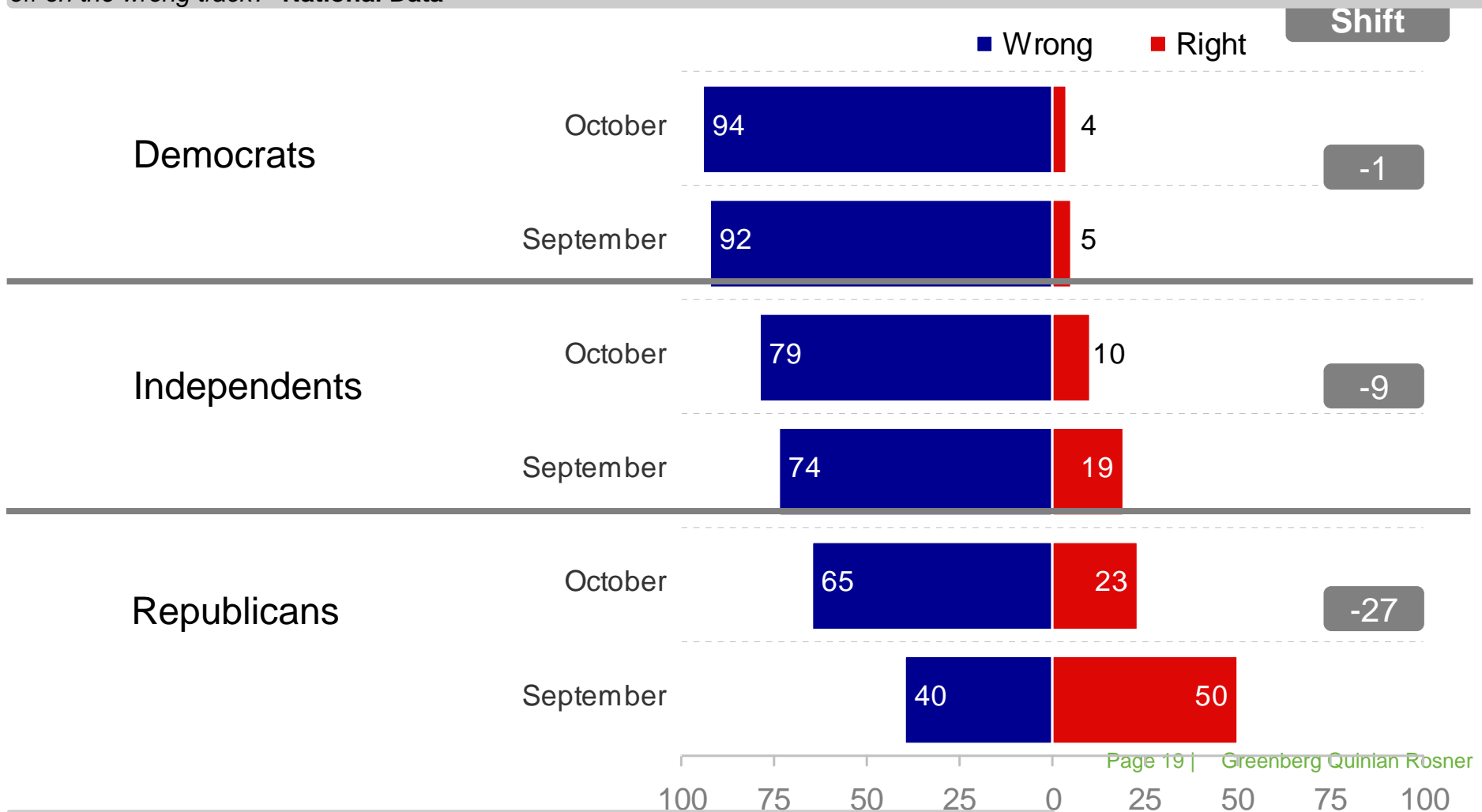


*Note: Names of the Republican candidate were inserted. For the prompting question, party i.d. preceded the name, but partisanship was excluded from the messages.

Presidential Landscape

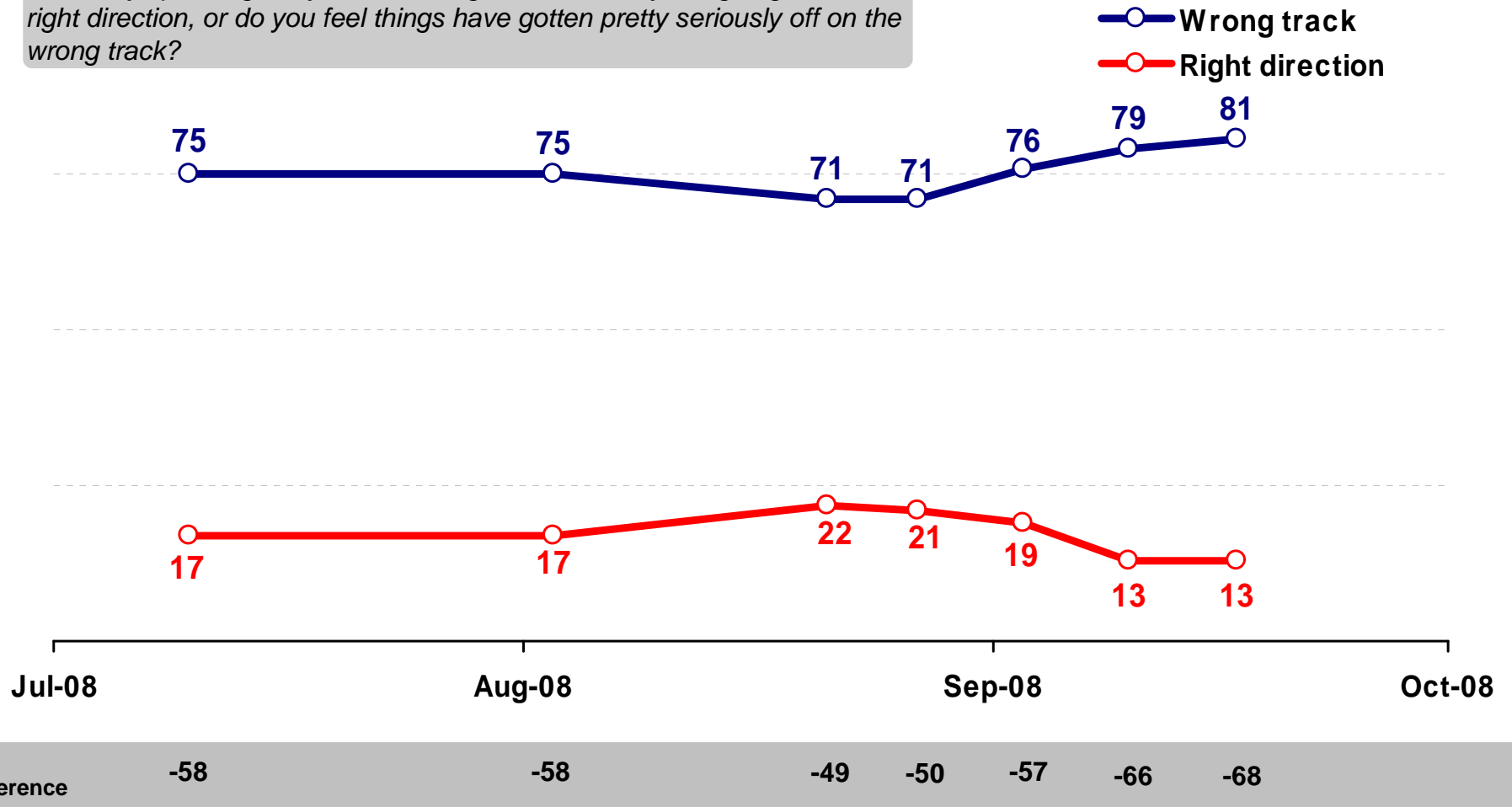
Feelings for country direction shifting negative, especially for Reps.

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



Wrong direction in battleground

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

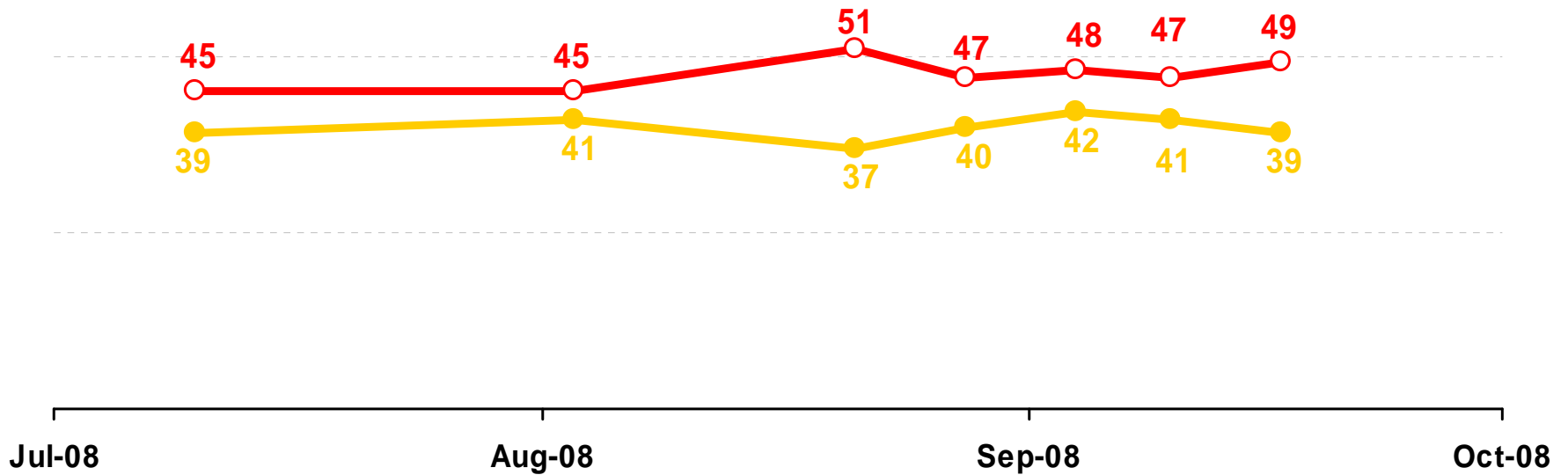


Barack Obama thermometer

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.

Battleground Data

● Cool ○ Warm



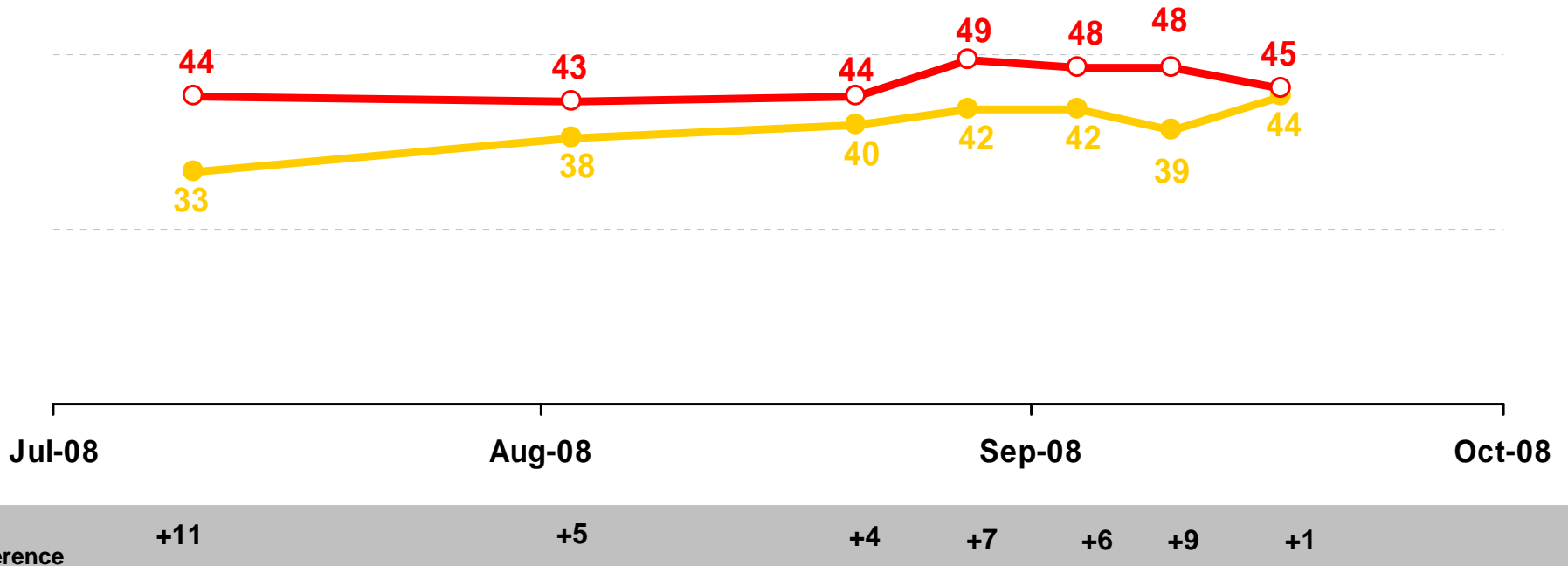
Net Difference	+6	+4	+14	+7	+6	+6	+10
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John McCain thermometer

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.

Battleground Data

● Cool ○ Warm

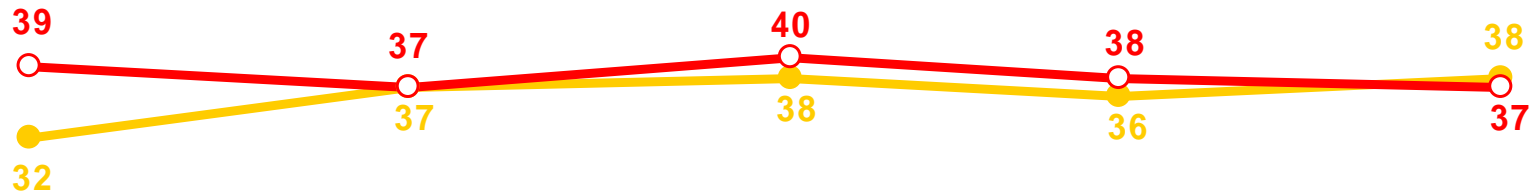


Joe Biden thermometer

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.

Battleground Data

● Cool ○ Warm



Sep-08

Oct-08

Net Difference

+7

0

+2

+2

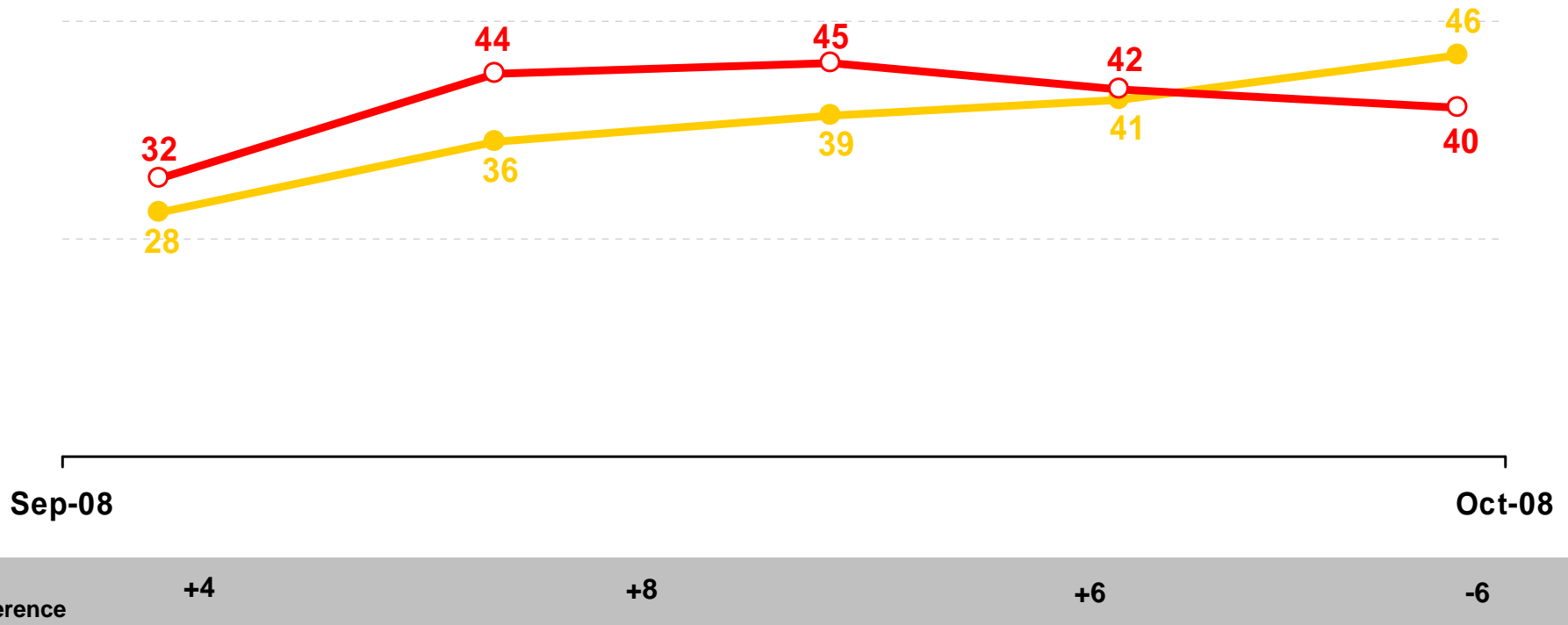
-1

Sarah Palin thermometer

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.

Battleground Data

● Cool ○ Warm

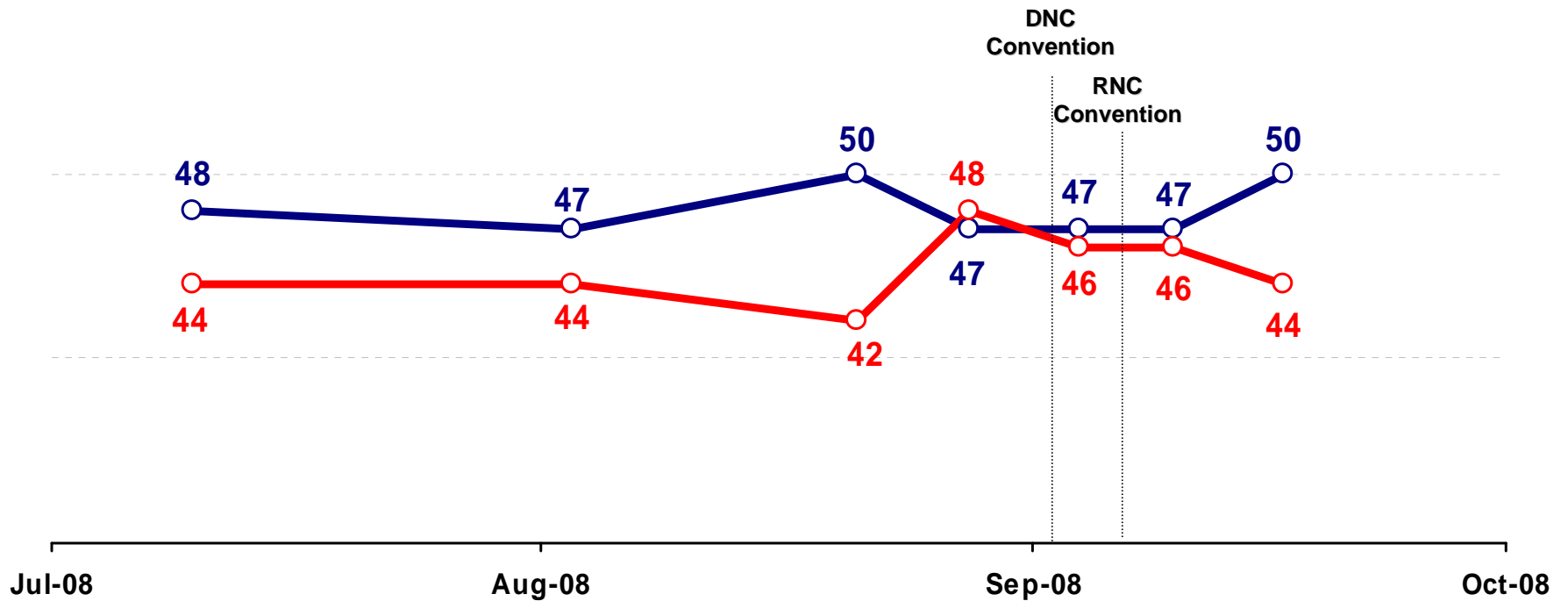


The Presidential Election

Obama gains ground

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, or Independent candidate Ralph Nader, for whom would you vote? ***Battleground Data***

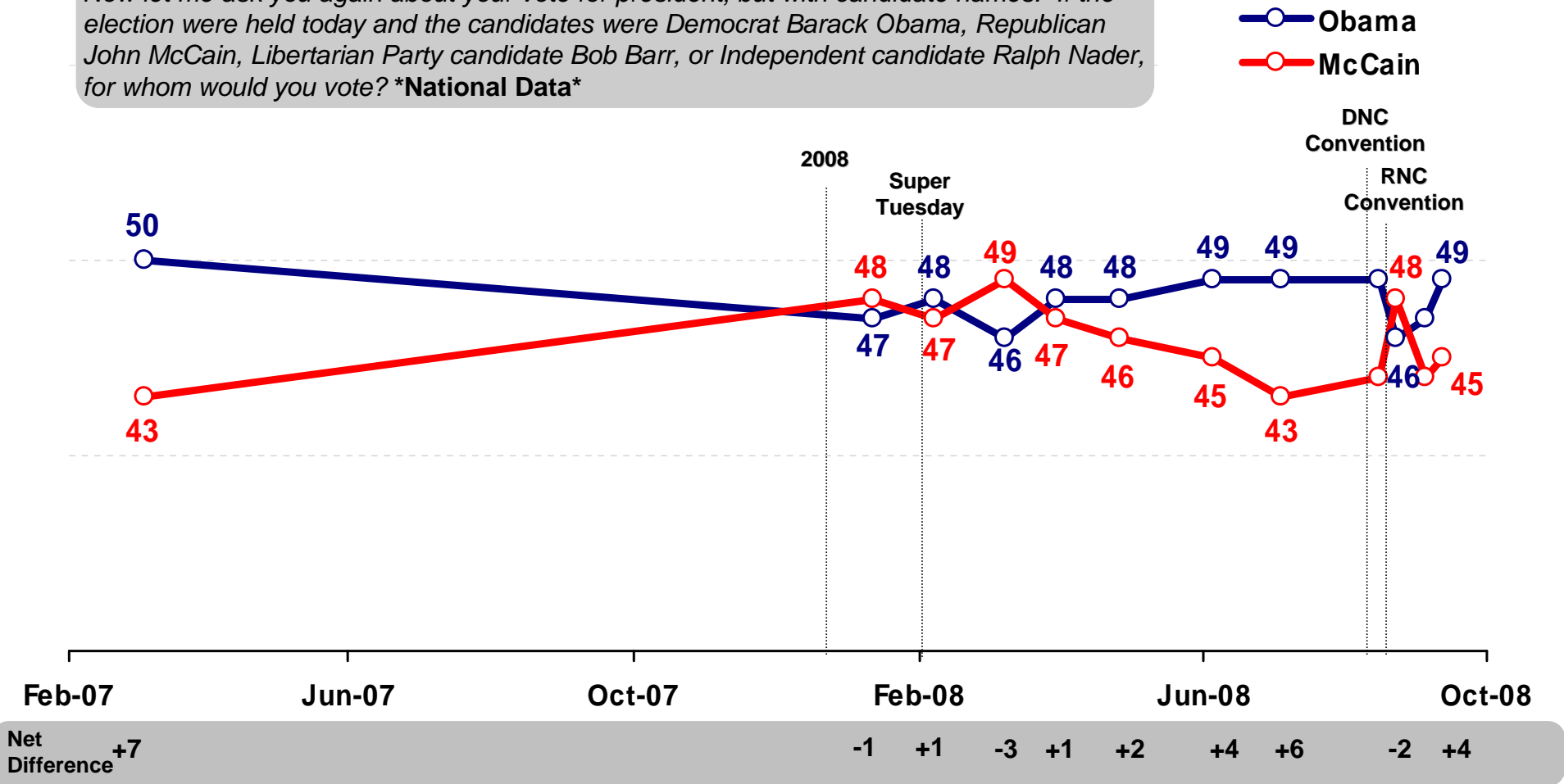
—○— Obama
—○— McCain



Net Difference	Jul-08	Aug-08	Sep-08 (before)	Sep-08 (after)	Oct-08 (before)	Oct-08 (after)
	+4	+3	+8	-1	+1	+1
						+6

Obama establishes real national lead

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, or Independent candidate Ralph Nader, for whom would you vote? ***National Data***



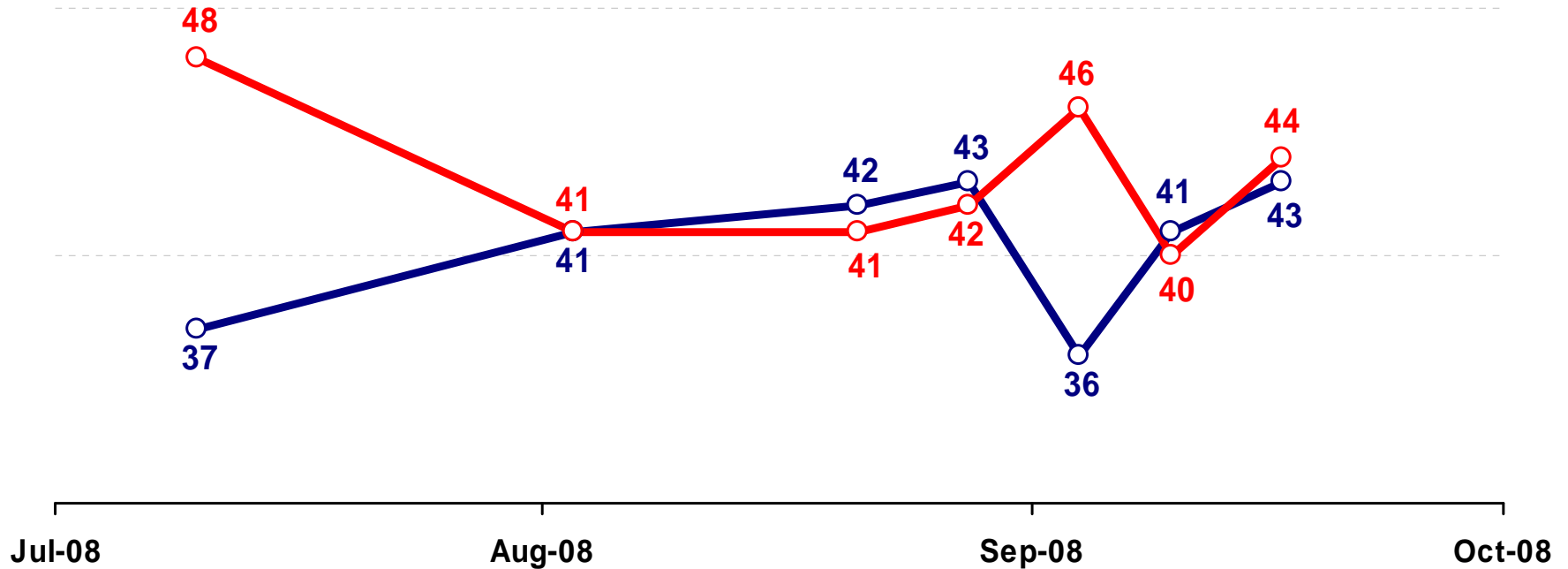
**Note: Data represents two-way vote from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last year and a half.*

Results from Democracy Corps Presidential Battleground Survey; September 28-30, 2008

Sudden shift narrows battle for battleground independents

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, or Independent candidate Ralph Nader, for whom would you vote? ***Battleground Data***

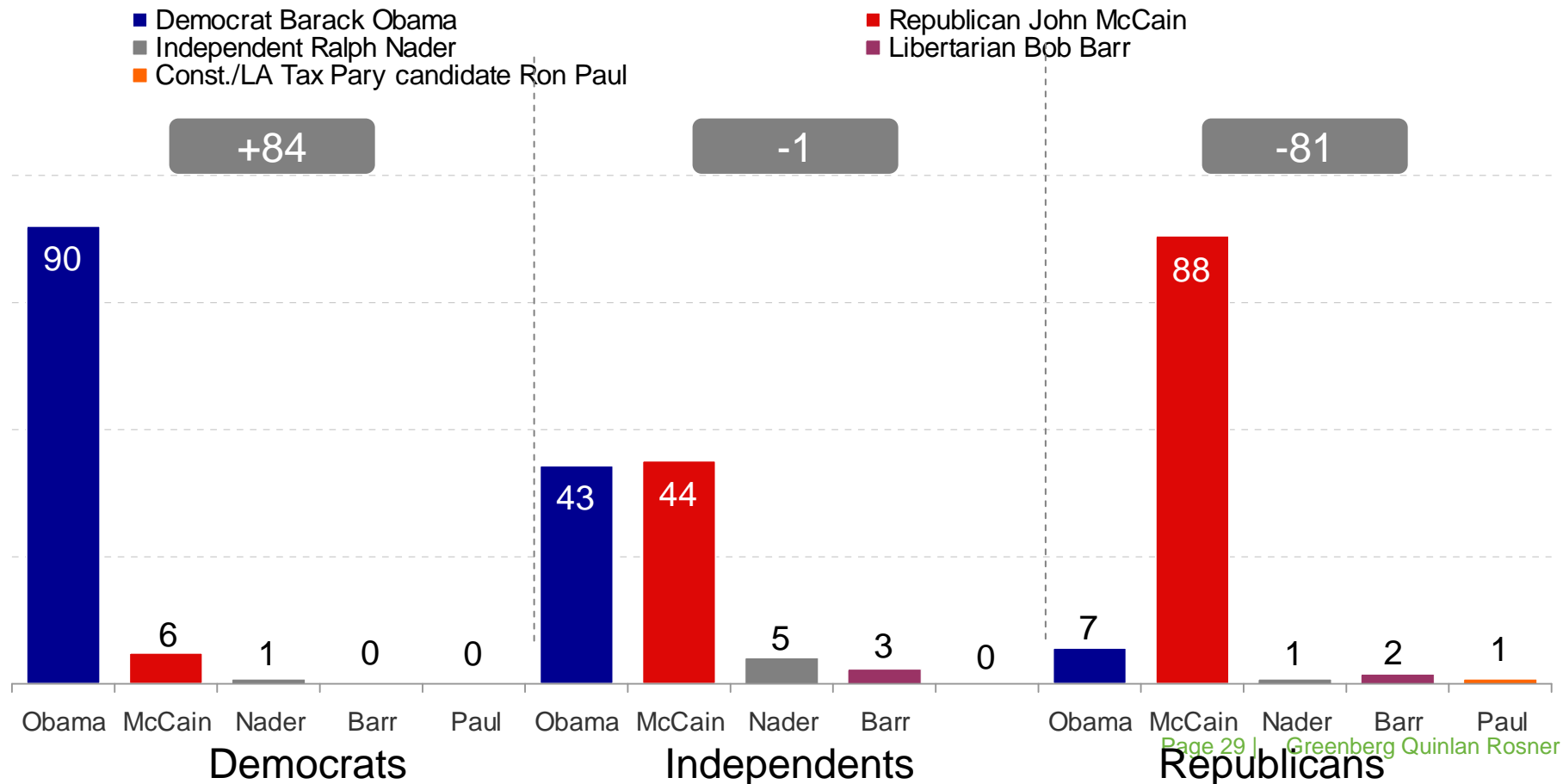
○ Obama
○ McCain



Net Difference	-11	0	+1	+1	-10	+1	-1
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Parties are consolidated; battle for independents in the battleground

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, or Independent candidate Ralph Nader, for whom would you vote? ***Battleground Data***



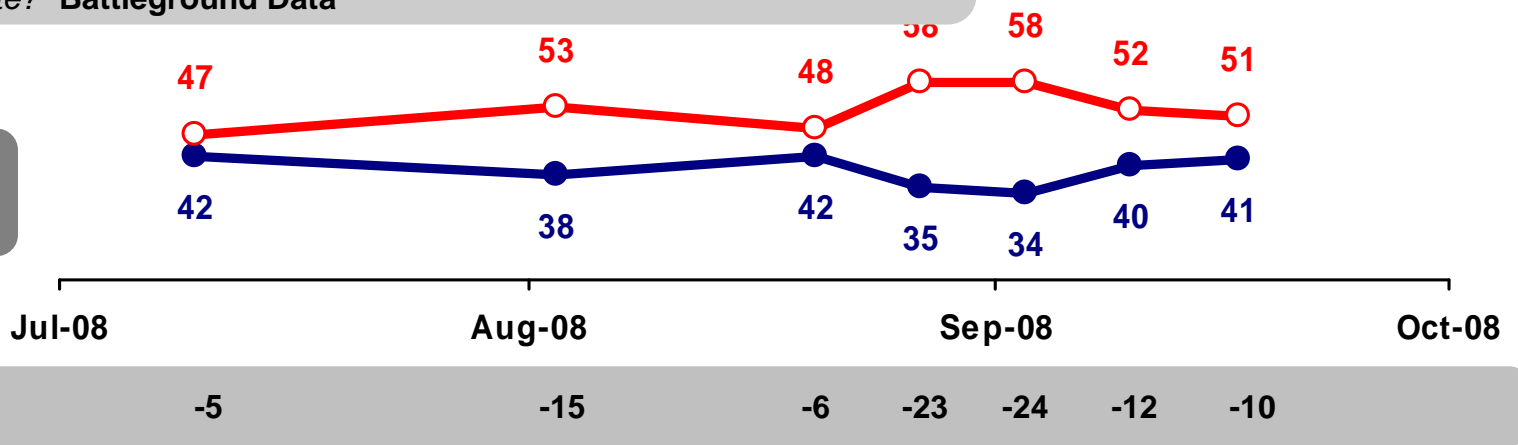
Obama has big gain with white women, regaining ground with white men

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, or Independent candidate Ralph Nader, for whom would you vote? *Battleground Data*

● Obama
○ McCain

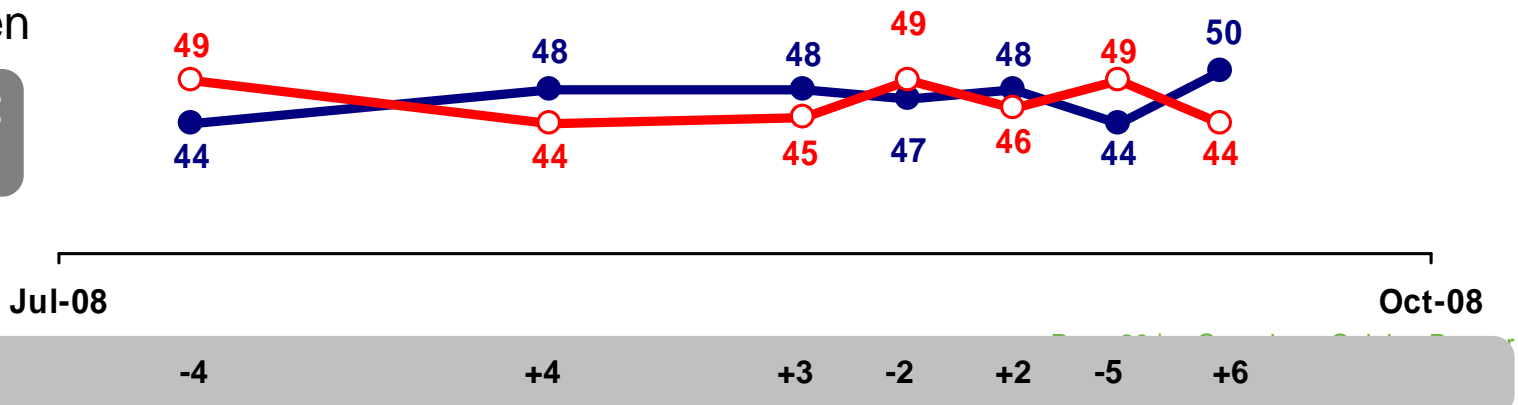
White Men

Kerry-Bush:
-20 (39-59)



White Women

Kerry-Bush:
-7 (46-53)

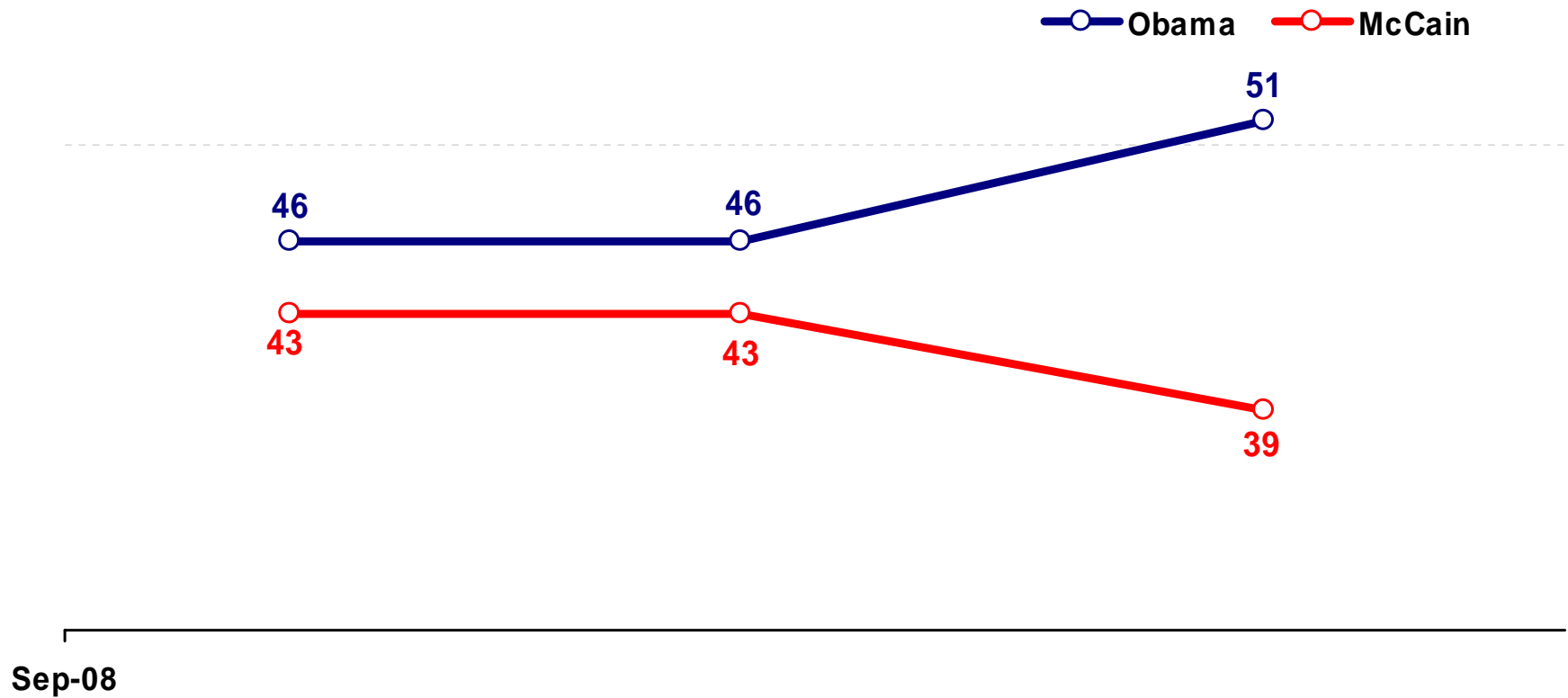


Results from Democracy Corps Presidential Battleground Survey; September 28-30, 2008

Better Job and Associations

Voters near split on who would do a better job with gas prices

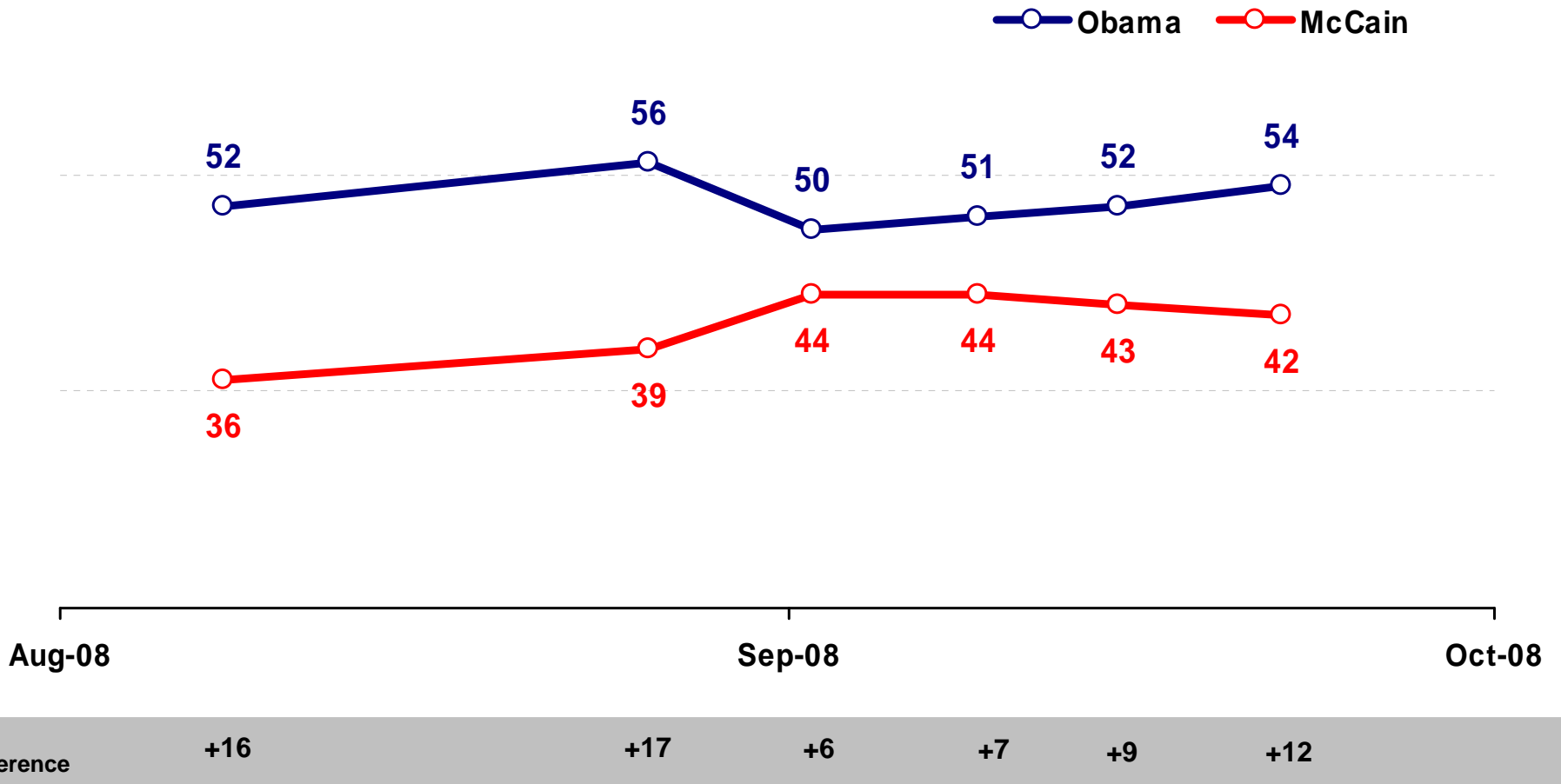
Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue. ***Battleground Data***



Net Difference	+3	+3	+12
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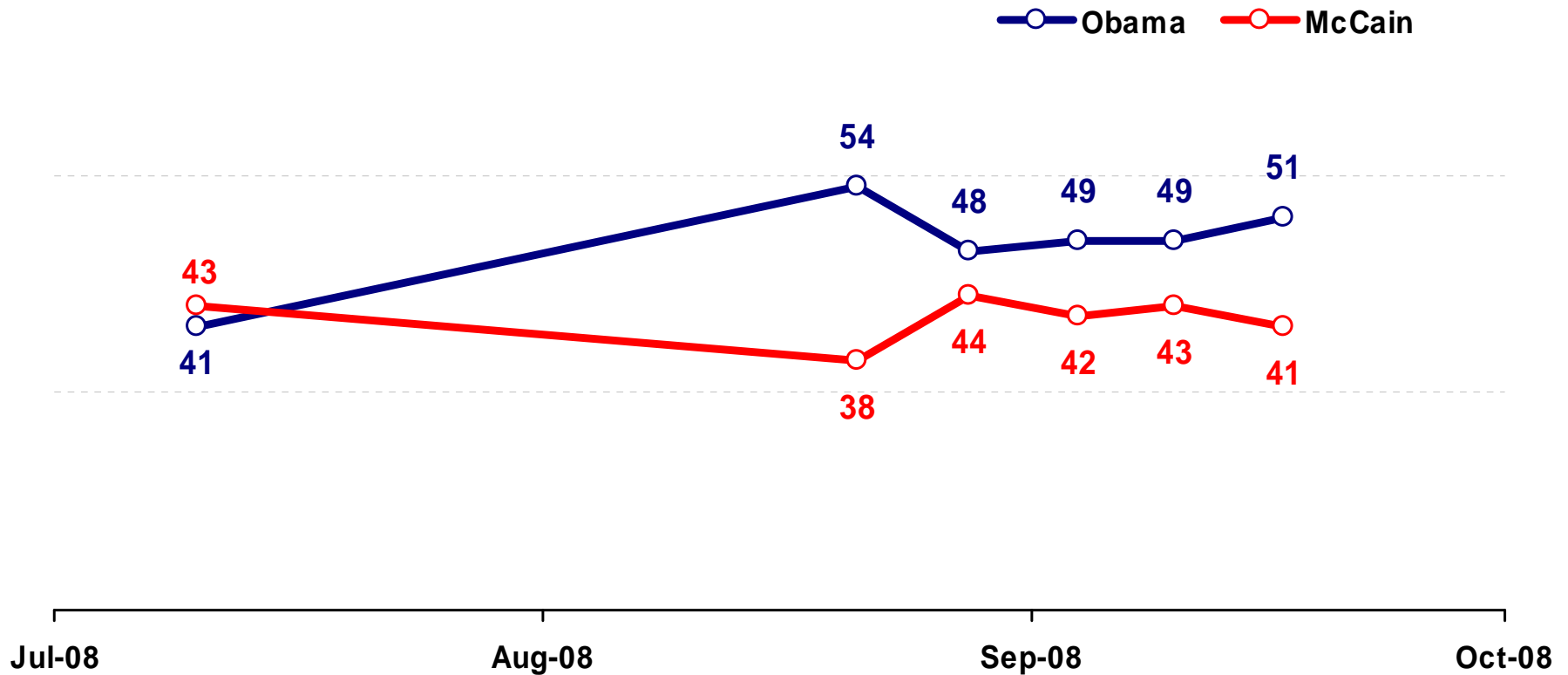
Obama's lead on "right kind of change" increasing

Now I would like to ask you which presidential candidate you associate more with these terms, Barack Obama or John McCain. Would that be much more or somewhat more? ***Battleground Data***



Obama's margin on the economy increasing

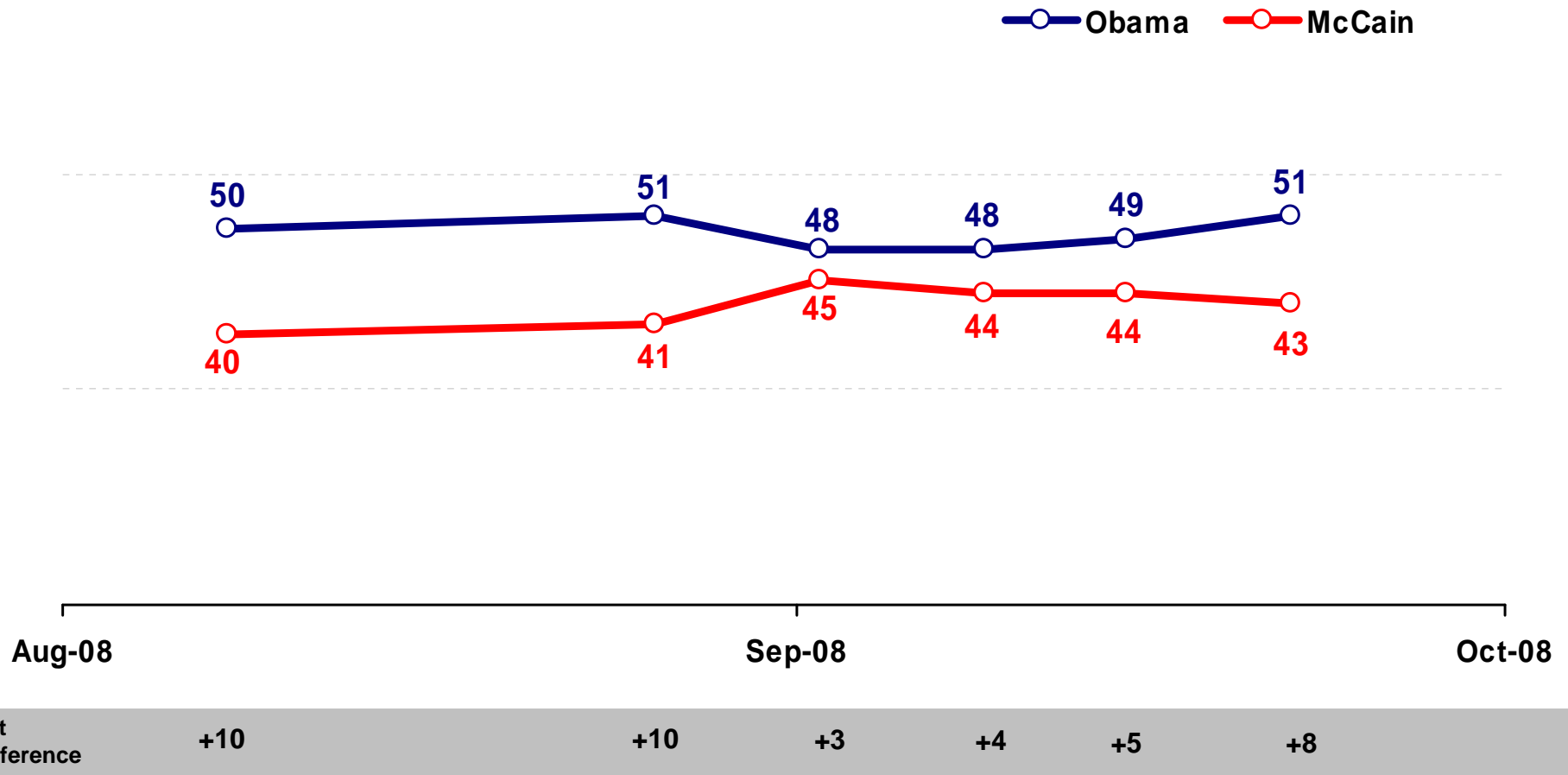
Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue. ***Battleground Data***



Net Difference	-2	+16	+4	+7	+6	+10
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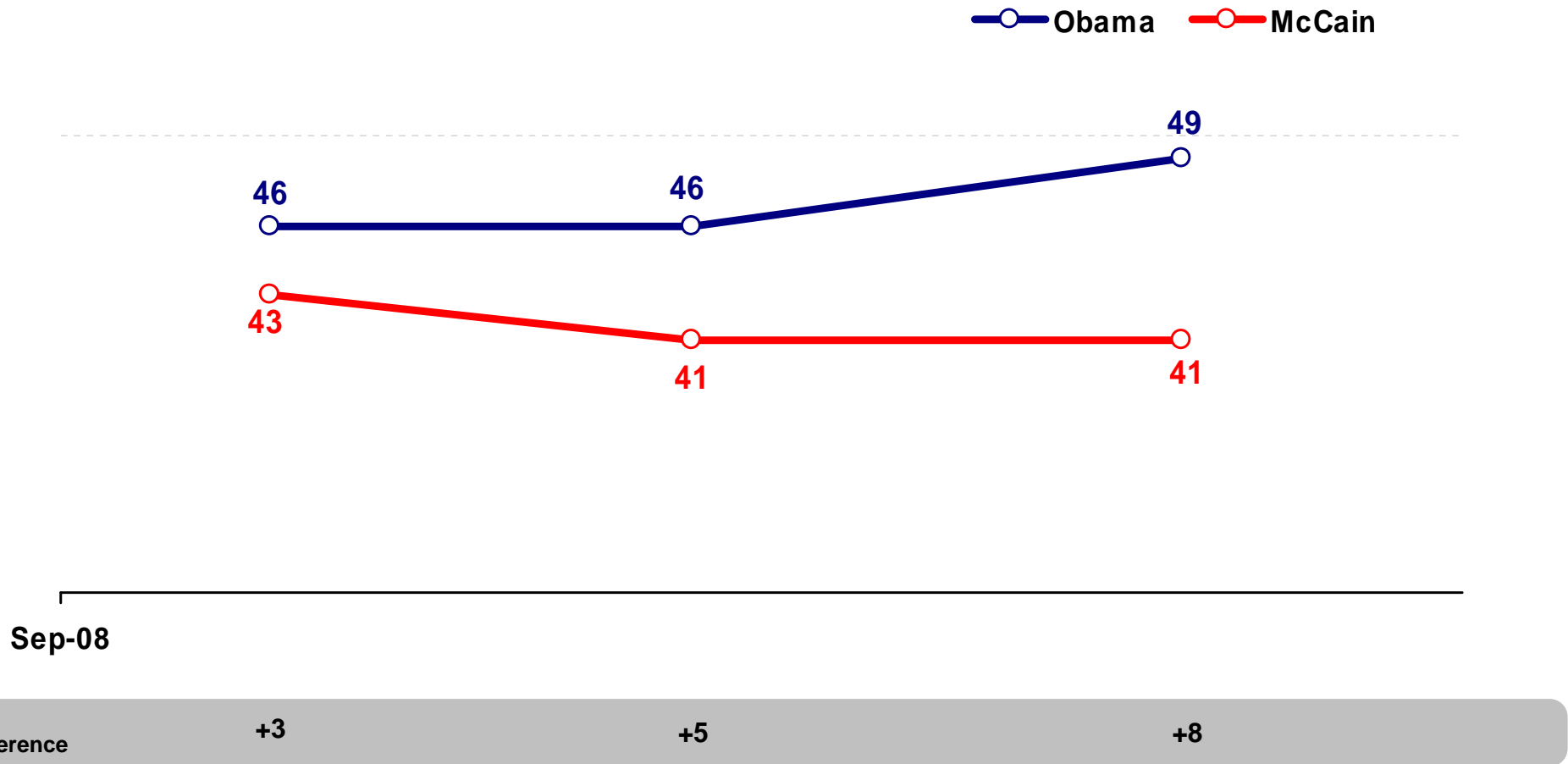
Voters see Obama as “being on your side”

Now I would like to ask you which presidential candidate you associate more with these terms, Barack Obama or John McCain. Would that be much more or somewhat more? ***Battleground Data***



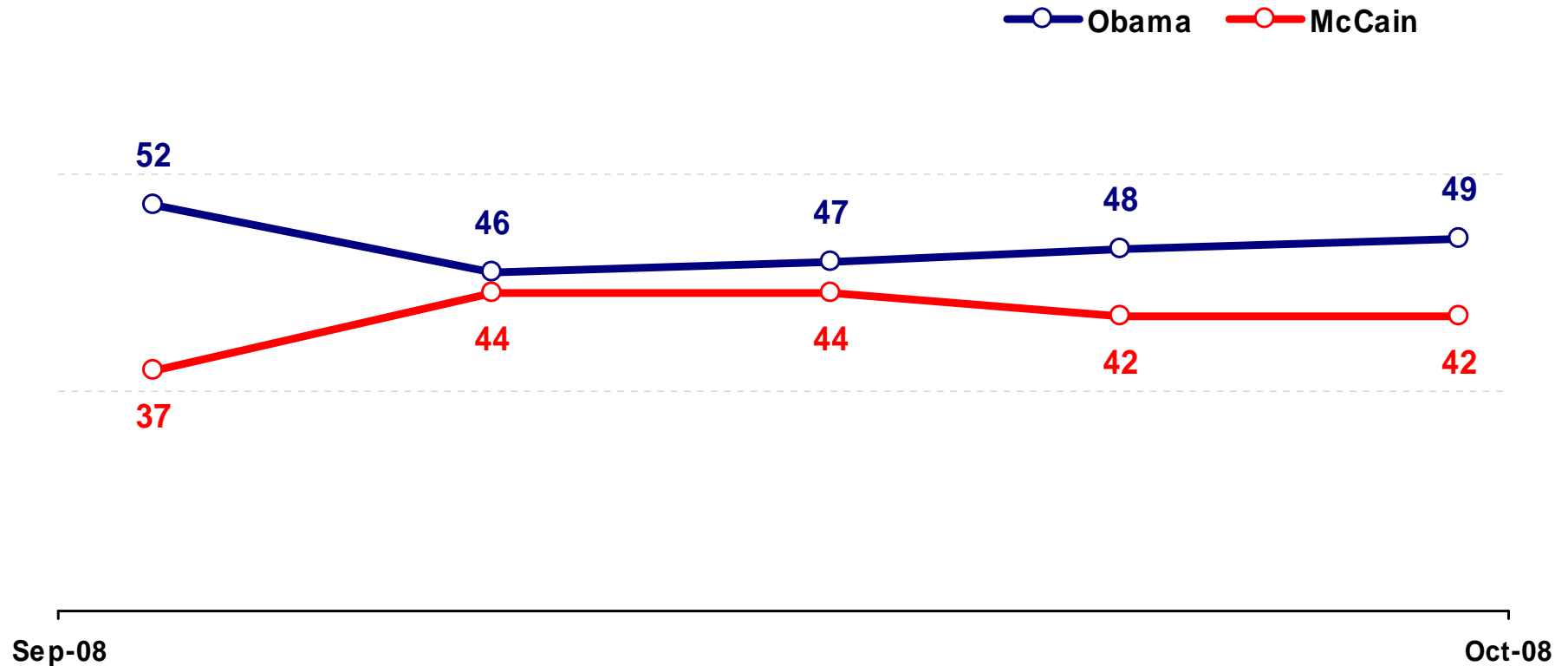
Voters favor Obama on handling financial crisis

Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue. ***Battleground Data***



Obama widening gap for “standing up to special interests”

Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue. ***Battleground Data***

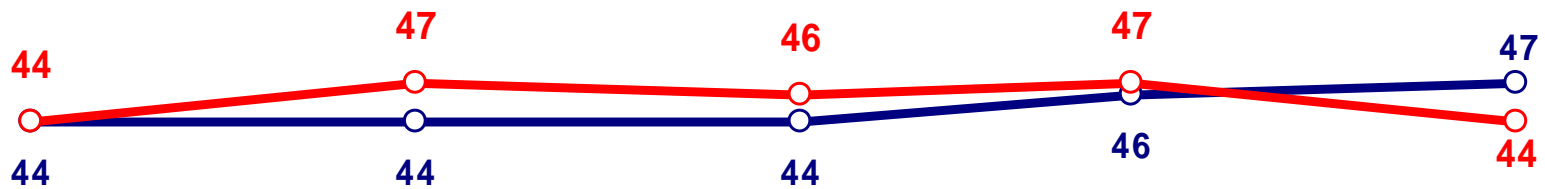


Net Difference	+15	+2	+3	+6	+7
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Voters split on who would do a better job with taxes

Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue. ***Battleground Data***

—○— Obama —○— McCain



Sep-08

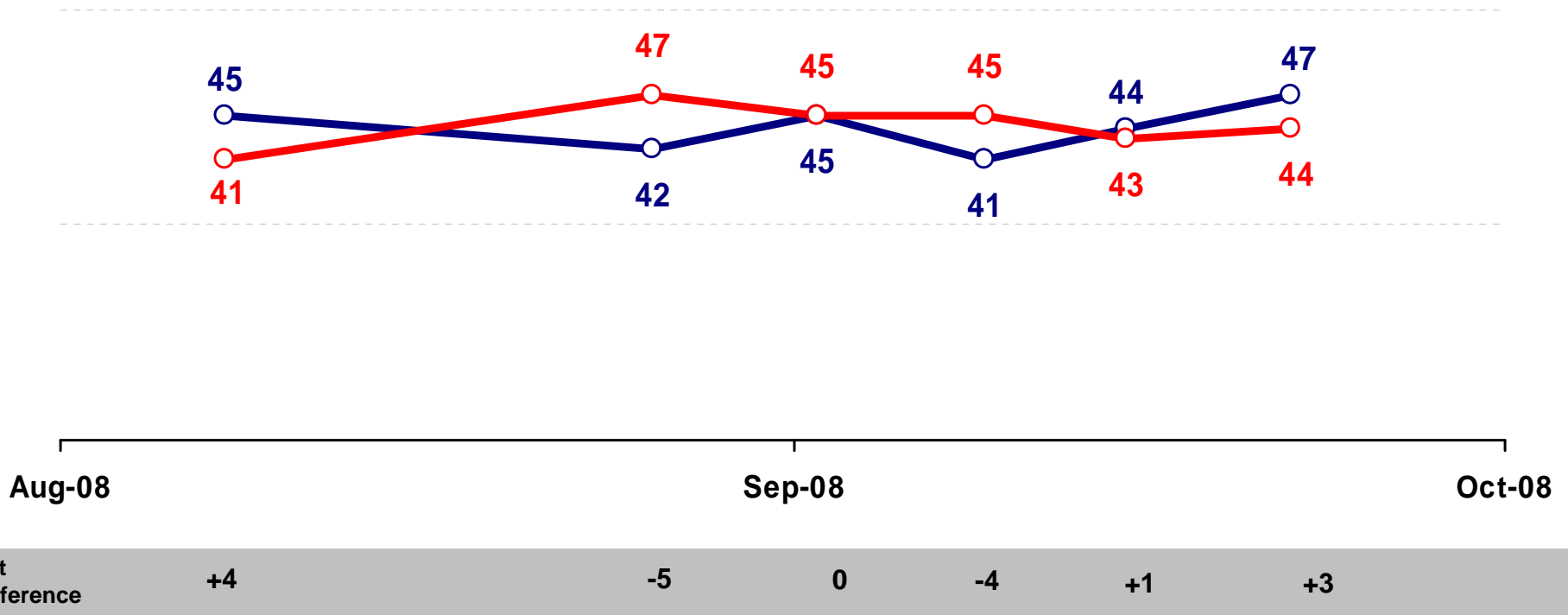
Oct-08

Net Difference	0	-3	-2	-1	+3

Battle for “independent” association

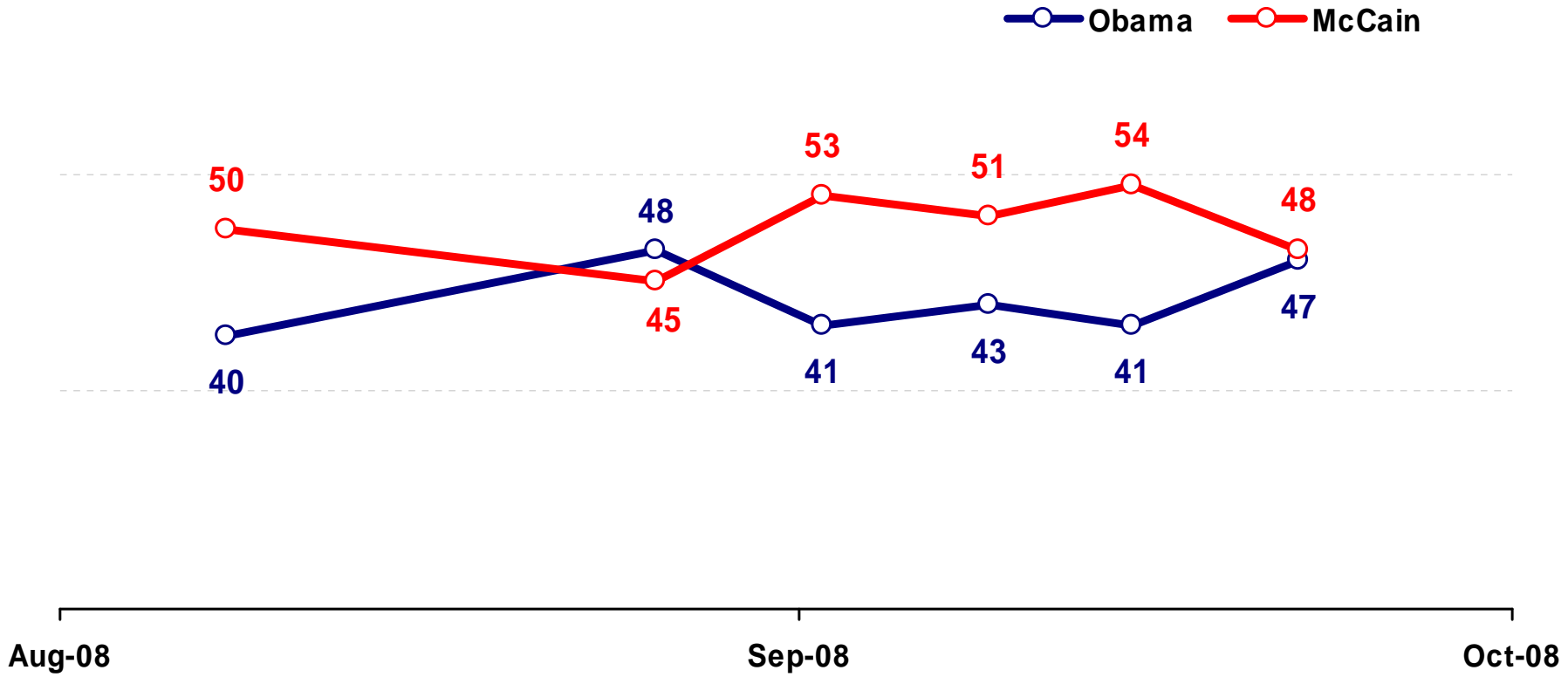
Now I would like to ask you which presidential candidate you associate more with these terms, Barack Obama or John McCain. Would that be much more or somewhat more? ***Battleground Data***

—○— Obama —○— McCain



Obama closes gap as “strong leader”

Now I would like to ask you which presidential candidate you associate more with these terms, Barack Obama or John McCain. Would that be much more or somewhat more? ***Battleground Data***

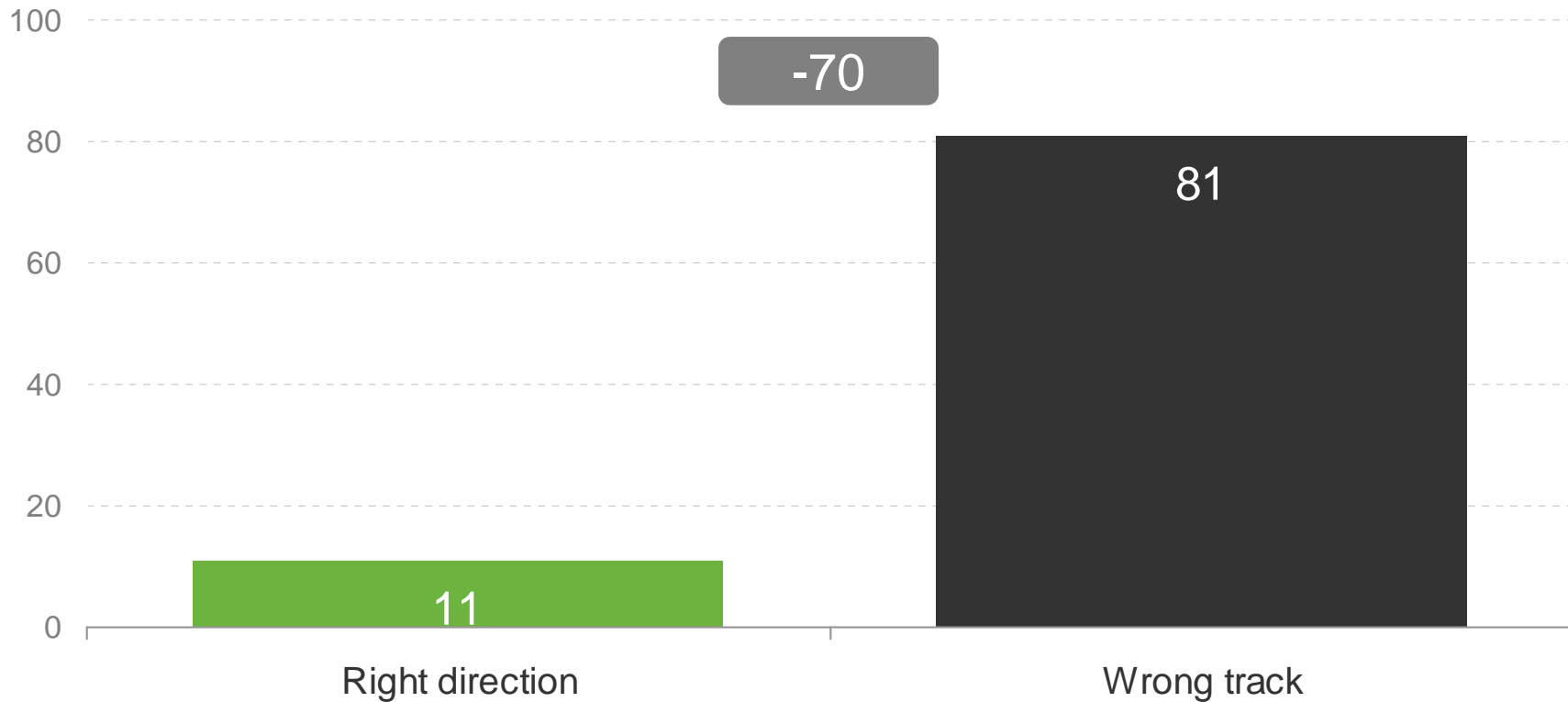


Net Difference	-10	+3	-12	-8	-13	-1
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Presidential Energy Politics

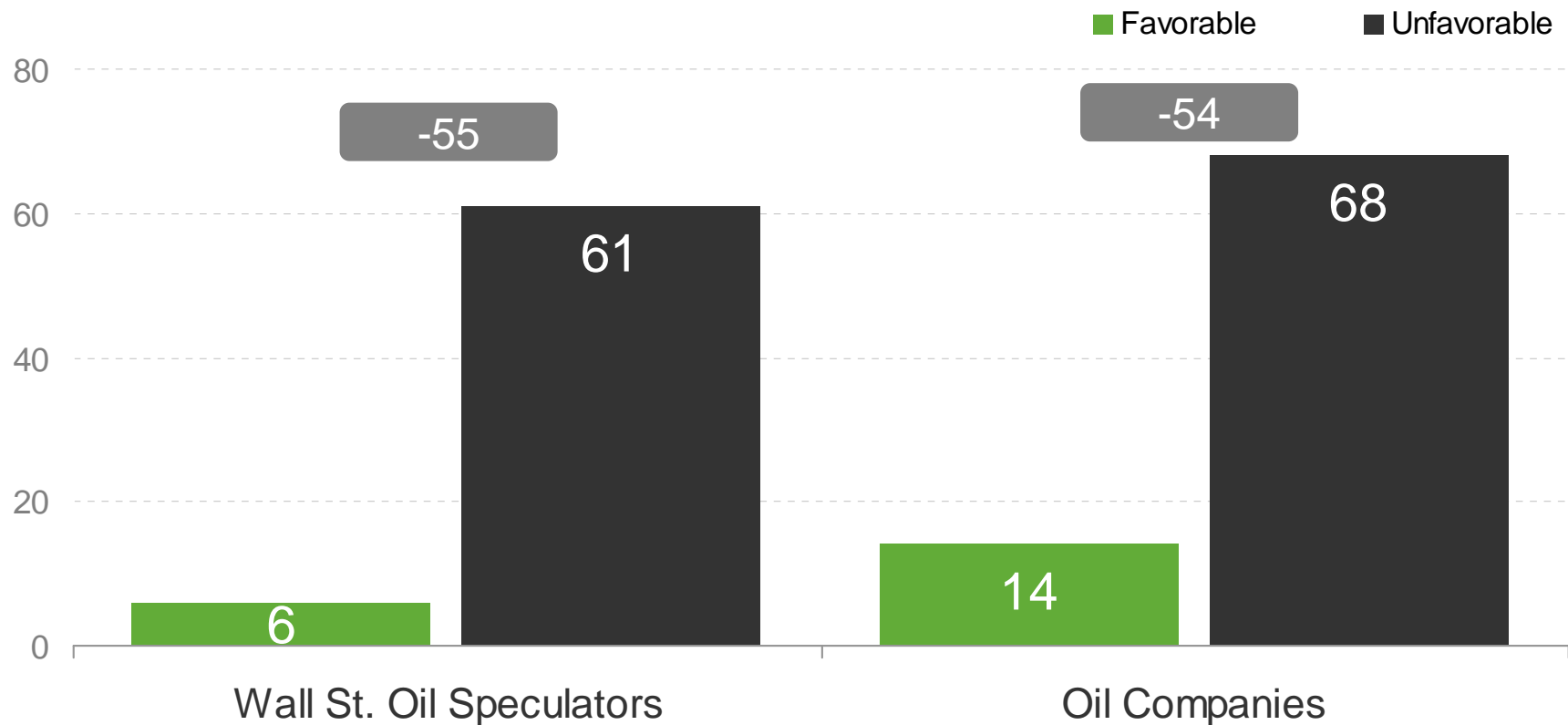
Current Energy Policy Unacceptable to Public

Focusing specifically on energy, do you think U.S. energy policy is going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?



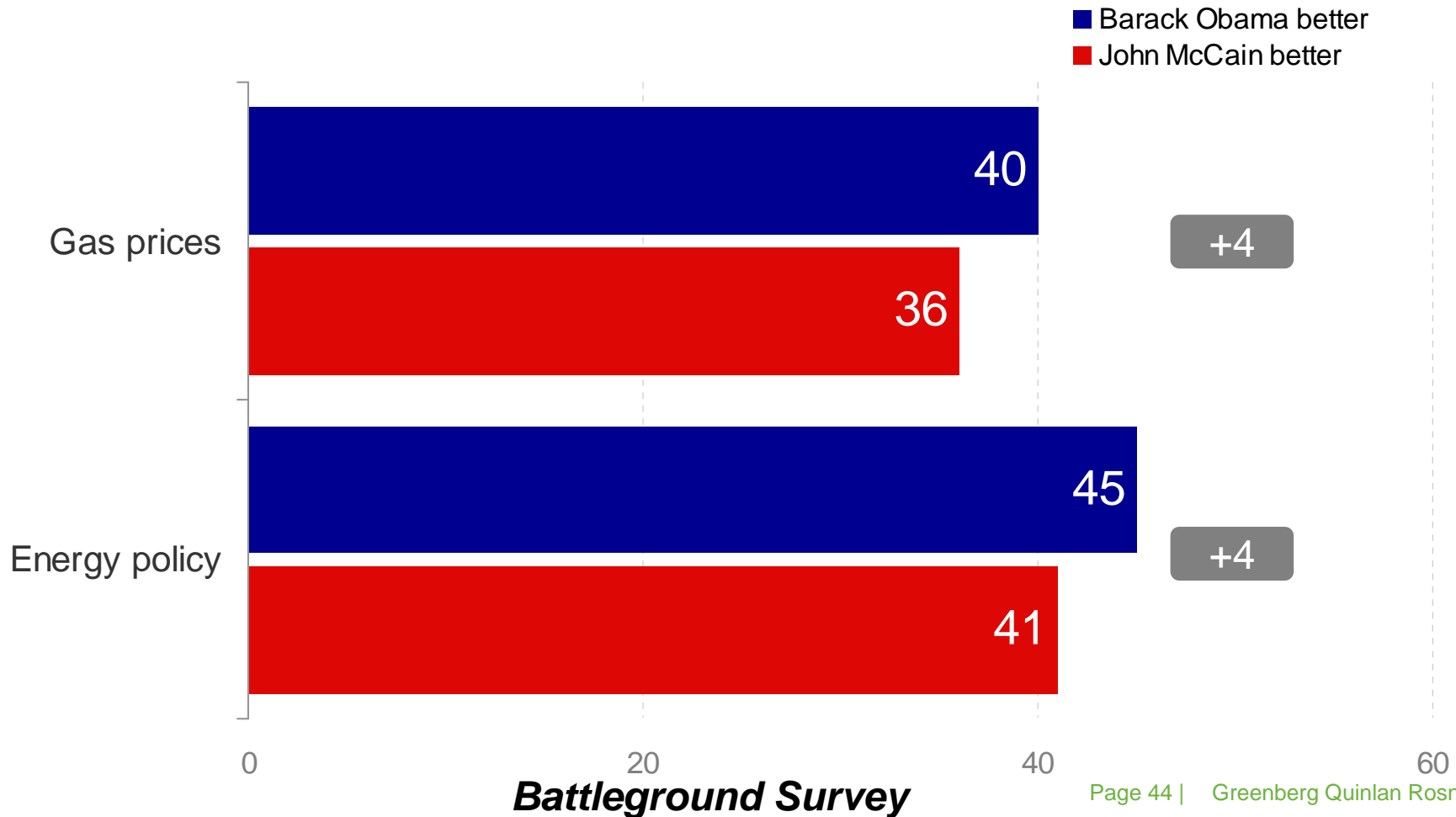
Oil Companies, Speculators both clear bad actors

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.



Obama starts with little credibility on energy

Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I would like you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue.



Most Powerful Energy Proposals

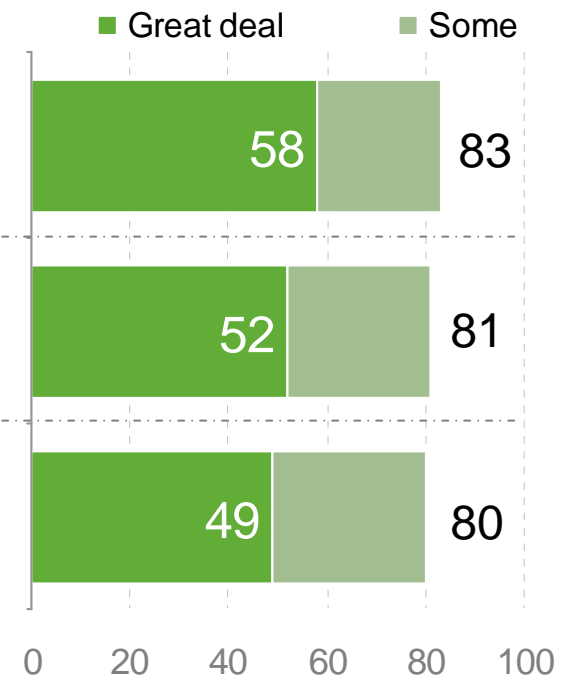
Broad, big change energy policies are most popular

- Proposals centered on investing in alternative energy production, fuel efficient and hybrid vehicles, energy efficient appliances, cracking down on speculators and ending tax subsidies to oil companies produced the broadest and deepest support—by far.

We can not drill our way out of this problem because we have less than 3 percent of the world's oil reserves. To end our dependence on foreign oil we need to quickly invest in clean, renewable energy sources like wind, solar, 2nd generation ethanol and other biofuels.

The Bush Administration should immediately grant the California Clean Car waiver which will allow new cars to go further on a gallon of gas, and we should raise the fuel efficiency stands of all cars and invest in hybrid vehicles so they do not cost more than non-hybrid cars.

We should immediately end the 13 billion dollar subsidies of oil and gas companies and give consumers a rebate to help offset the high cost of gas. Meanwhile, we should invest in clean energy technologies like wind, solar, gas efficient hybrid cars and other renewable energy sources and solutions.



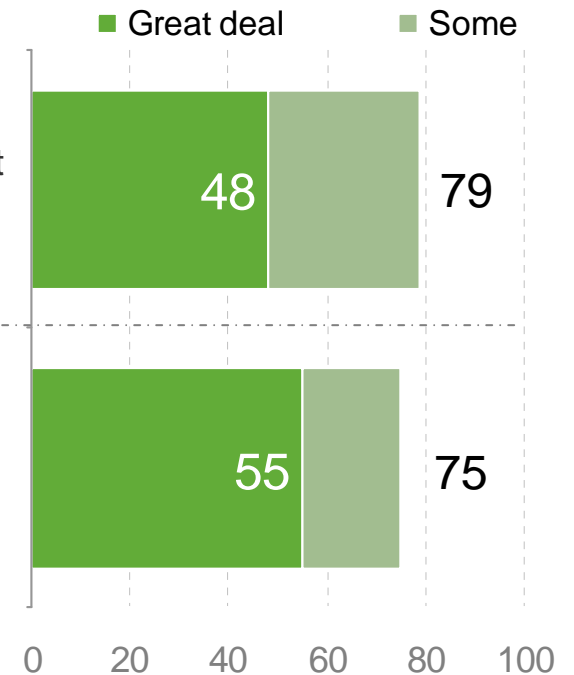
National Survey

Broad, big change energy policies are most popular (cont'd)

- Proposals centered on investing in alternative energy production, fuel efficient and hybrid vehicles, energy efficient appliances, cracking down on speculators and ending tax subsidies to oil companies produced the broadest and deepest support—by far.

We should decrease consumers' use of energy by making energy efficient appliances cost the same as regular appliances.

We should stop allowing Wall Street to artificially increase gas prices by cracking down on speculators that game the system and drive up prices.



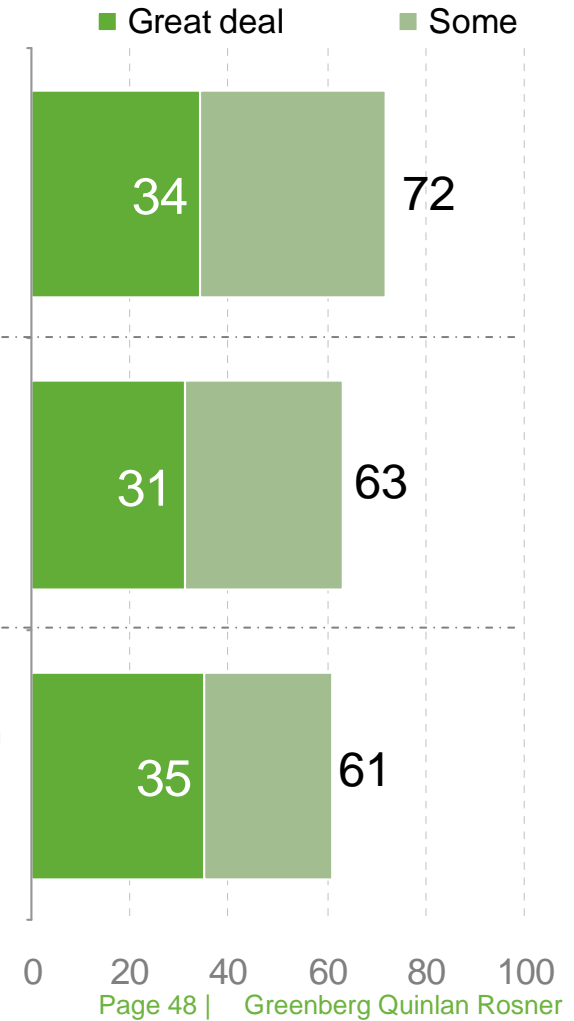
National Survey

Expanding drilling seen as impactful, but less so

We should solve the energy crisis by increasing domestic oil production but should increase the fee that oil companies must pay to drill on public land, and invest that money in the development of clean, alternative energy.

We should increase domestic oil production but only in areas that are already set aside for oil and gas development, and we should continue to protect pristine areas like the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge

We should solve the energy crisis by increasing domestic oil production in whatever ways we can, including opening up additional areas offshore in the oceans and the Great Lakes for drilling



Most Effective Democratic Message

Democrats in Congress say American families are hurting because of the high cost of gas, and we need to respond quickly to help families save money at the gas pump, reduce our dependence on foreign oil, and invest in new technologies that will produce clean, alternative energy. We need to increase domestic production in areas already open to drilling and release some oil from the strategic petroleum reserves to reduce the price of gas. We should also invest in clean, alternative energy sources like wind, solar, and ethanol, and we need to build more fuel-efficient cars to reduce our demand for oil. Clean alternative energy will also create jobs and stop global warming.

Republican Counter Message

Republicans in Congress say we need a balanced approach to energy policy to produce more energy and at the same time use less energy. We need to cut the price of gas by expanding our supply of oil and opening up more offshore areas for drilling. We should also build more refineries to expand our oil capacity here in the US. And we should invest in coal to liquid technologies to create fuels of the future. We also need to build new nuclear power plants, invest in clean coal technology, and expand alternative energy sources like solar, wind and ethanol.

Obama's Energy Statements at First Debate

“We've got an emergency bill on the Senate floor right now that contains some good stuff, some stuff you want, including drilling off-shore, but you're opposed to it because it would strip away those tax breaks that have gone to oil companies.”

[in closing...]

“...And that means, yes, increasing domestic production and off-shore drilling, but we only have 3 percent of the world's oil supplies and we use 25 percent of the world's oil. So we can't simply drill our way out of the problem.

What we're going to have to do is to approach it through alternative energy, like solar, and wind, and biodiesel, and, yes, nuclear energy, clean-coal technology. And, you know, I've got a plan for us to make a significant investment over the next 10 years to do that.”

Movement Towards Obama on Energy

ACHIEVING ENERGY INDEPENDENCE	Pre Debate	Post Debate	Shift
Total Obama	42	55	+13
Total McCain	22	11	-11
Obama-McCain	+20	+44	+24

A Strategy to Win the Energy Debate

Framing Democratic Energy Plans

- Republicans want a narrow debate over gas prices and drilling, which is what Democrats and their allies do not want.
- Frame the energy debate in broad terms. Highlight big changes that make us energy independent and boost our economy.
- Embrace a multi-faceted American energy production plan that makes clean, alternative energy a major priority.

Critiquing Republican Energy Positions

- Put Republicans on the defensive and make them responsible for our dependence on oil, high energy prices, and bad economy
 - Taking the side of big oil every time in ways that hurt ordinary people (e.g. tax cuts for big oil companies)
 - Standing against alternative energy investments and increased fuel efficiency standards
 - Having energy policies that are part of the economic policies that have put the country in an economic crisis.

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