

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

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January 31, 2008

# Deep into Republican territory

Special survey in Republican battleground districts

January 21-27

1,850 Likely Voters in 40 Republican battleground districts



**DEMOCRACY CORPS**  
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

## Competitive district types: Republican-held

### Suburban (11 of 40):

27% Mid Atlantic, 20% E. Midwest, 20% Deep South

- Connecticut 4
- Florida 10
- Illinois 10
- Michigan 9
- Nevada 3
- New Jersey 7
- New York 25
- Ohio 14
- Pennsylvania 6
- Virginia 11
- Washington 8

### Exurban (8 of 40):

50% E. North Central, 28% South

- California 4
- Florida 24
- Illinois 11
- Illinois 14
- Michigan 7
- New Jersey 2
- Ohio 2
- Virginia 10

### Urban (8 of 40): 39%

E. Midwest, 20% W. Midwest, 20% Deep South

- New Mexico 1
- Florida 8
- Illinois 18
- Minnesota 3
- New Jersey 3
- Ohio 1
- Ohio 15
- Virginia 2

### Rural/Small Town (7 of 40):

55% Mtn. States, 20% Mid Atlantic, 14% Deep South, 11% Pacific

- Alabama 2
- Alaska 1
- Idaho 1
- Arizona 1
- New Mexico 2
- New York 29
- Wyoming 1

### Suburban/Rural (6 of 40):

23% Mid Atlantic, 21% Mtn. States, 18% Deep South, 17% E. Midwest

- Colorado 4
- Missouri 6
- North Carolina 8
- New York 26
- Ohio 16
- West Virginia 2

## The Battleground: culture and character

	Income	Education	Thermometer Means		
	+/- National Average	+/- National Average	NRA	Gay Marriage	Big Corporations
Suburban (11)	+\$9,938	+3.3	40.7	40.1	41.9
Exurban (8)	+\$3,741	+1.7	48.3	32.3	44.2
Urban (8)	+\$2,267	+1.2	46.1	38.2	40.8
Rural/ Small town (7)	-\$5,841	-2.4	57.7	27.5	41.4
Suburban/Rural (6)	-\$4,855	Parity	53.8	30.7	42.7

## Favorability ratings for the party's among those in the battleground

	Democratic Party				Republican Party			
	Warm	Cool	Net	Mean	Warm	Cool	Net	Mean
<b>GOP Battleground</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>-4</b>	<b>47.0</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>-14</b>	<b>43.0</b>
<b>Suburban (11)</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>+4</b>	<b>49.9</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>-27</b>	<b>38.4</b>
<b>Exurban (8)</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>-3</b>	<b>46.9</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>-13</b>	<b>44.1</b>
<b>Urban (8)</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>-6</b>	<b>47.1</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>-21</b>	<b>40.9</b>
<b>Rural/Small town (6)</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>-18</b>	<b>41.8</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>+5</b>	<b>49.0</b>
<b>Suburban/Rural (7)</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>-2</b>	<b>48.2</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>-7</b>	<b>44.6</b>

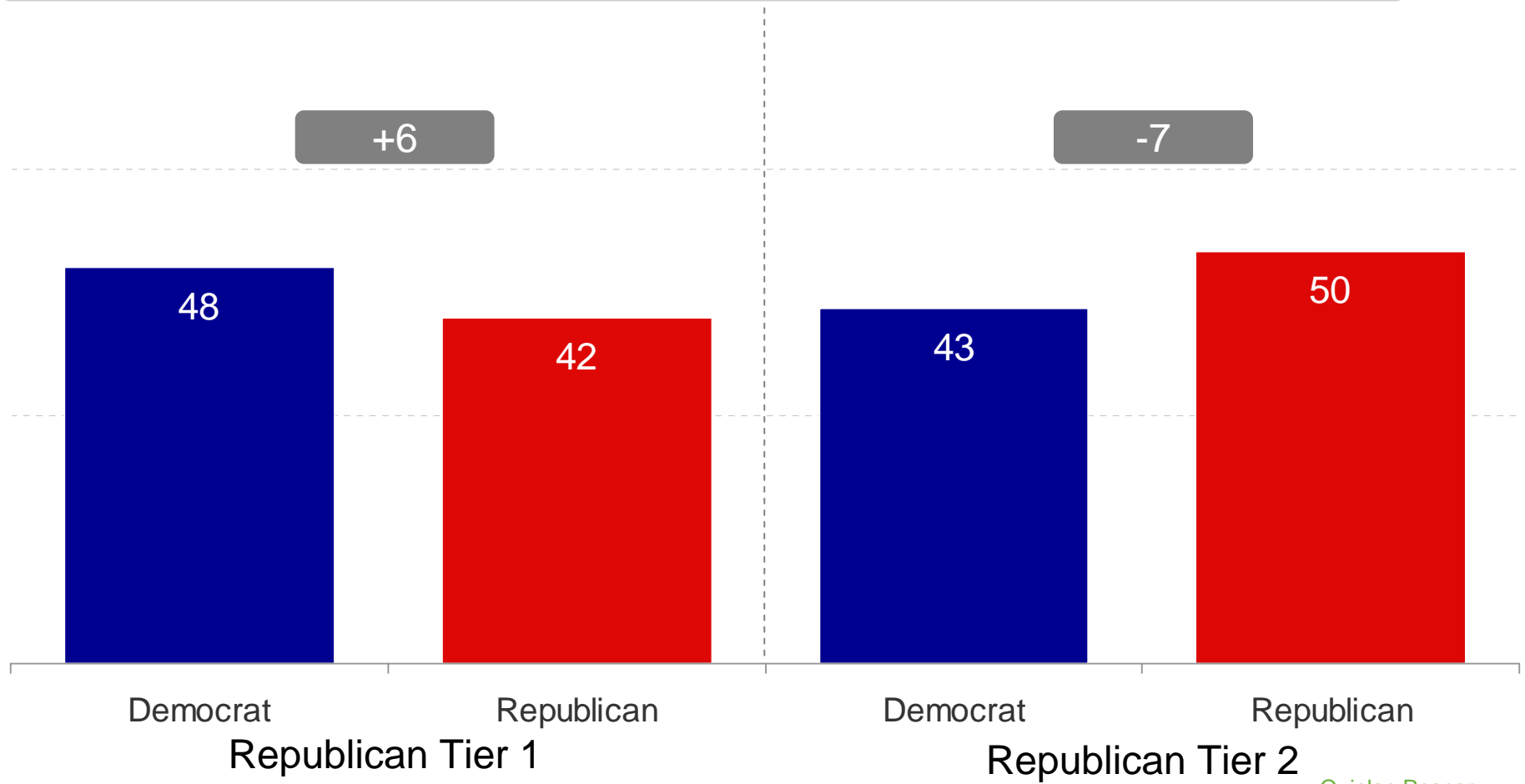
\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps combined run of surveys conducted in December, 2007 and January 2008 in the 40 battleground GOP districts of a total of 2,726 likely voters. Ian Rosner

# The congressional vote

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## Democrats ahead in most competitive Republican districts

Thinking about the election for Congress in 2008, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate\*?



\*Note: Actual names of incumbents inserted, and a generic candidate was inserted for the opposing party.

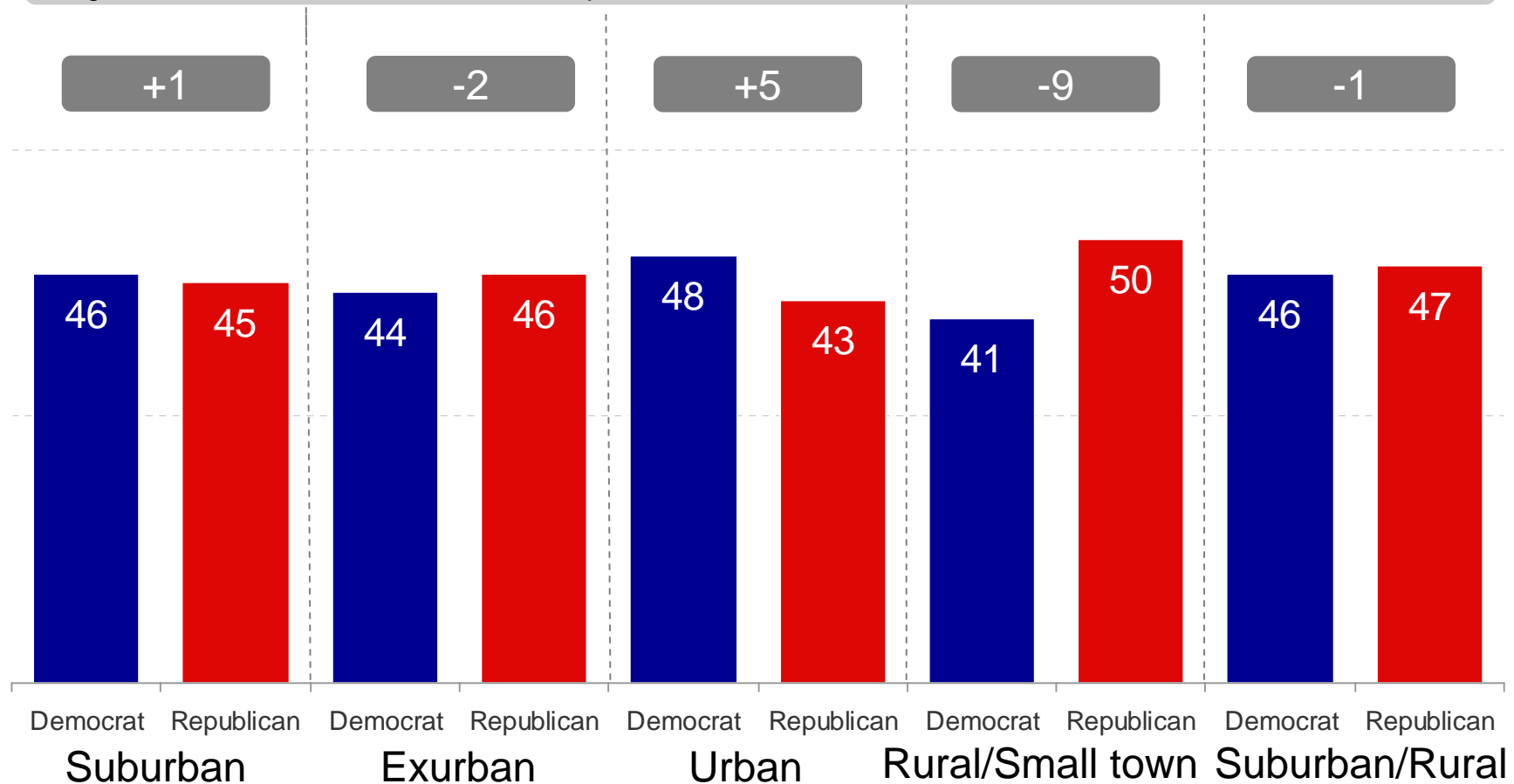
## The voting history by type of districts

	NCEC Dem Normal Performance	2002 vote			2004 Vote			2006 Vote			2008 Vote		
		Dem	Rep	Net	Kerry	Bush	Net	Dem	Rep	Net	Dem	Rep	Net
Suburban (11)	49.8	36	64	-28	50	50	0	47	53	-6	46	45	+1
Exurban (8)	44.8	32	68	-36	43	57	-14	44	56	-12	44	46	-2
Urban (8)	47.5	27	73	-46	47	53	-6	43	57	-14	48	43	+5
Rural/ Small town (7)	43.1	33	67	-34	37	63	-26	44	56	-12	41	50	-9
Suburban/ Rural (6)	46.9	37	63	-26	44	56	-12	44	56	-12	46	47	-1

*\*Note: Data from the NCEC and the Office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives and Secretary of State websites for election results.*

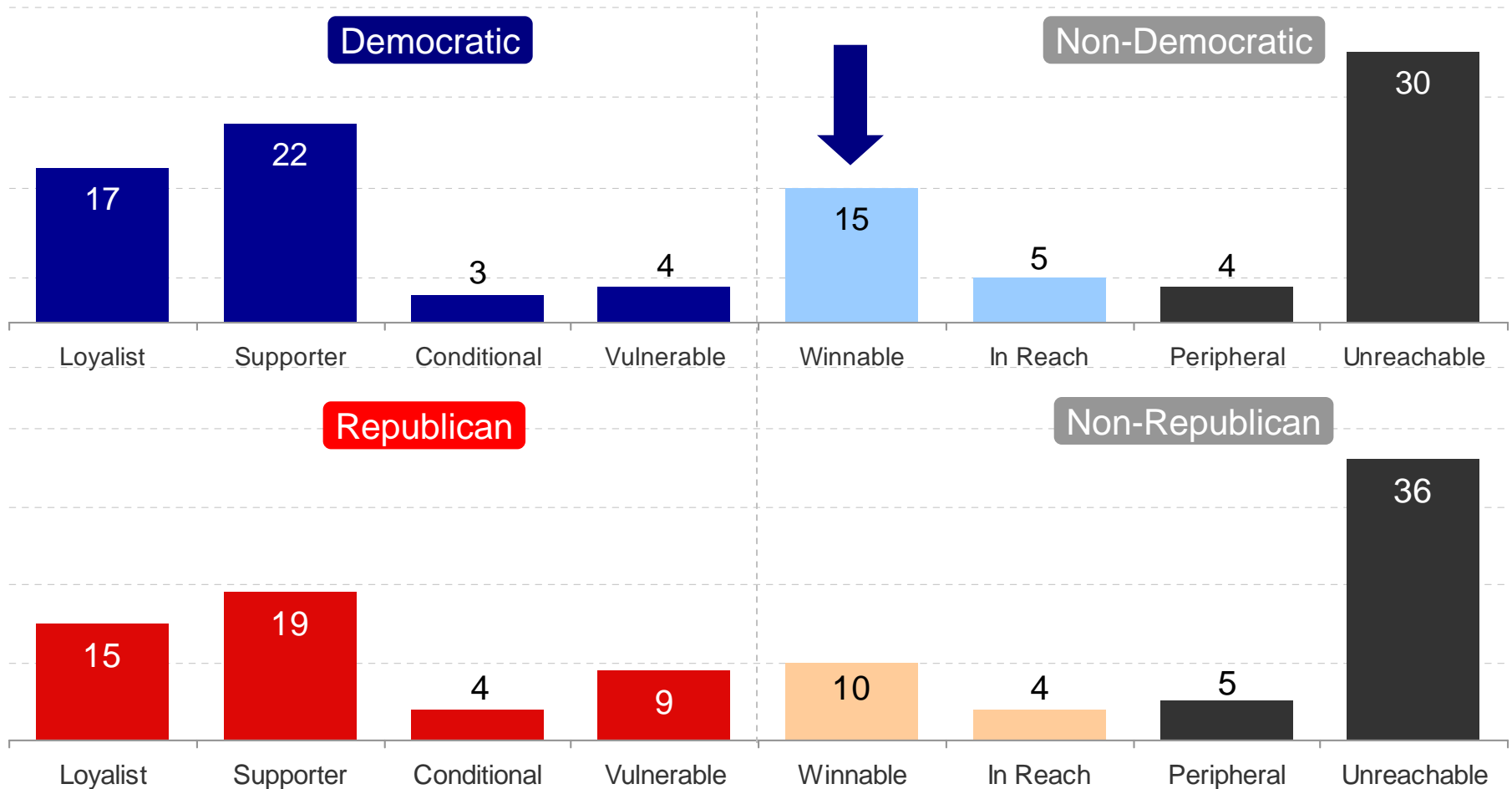
## Democrats best in urban districts, most challenged in rural-small town

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\*?

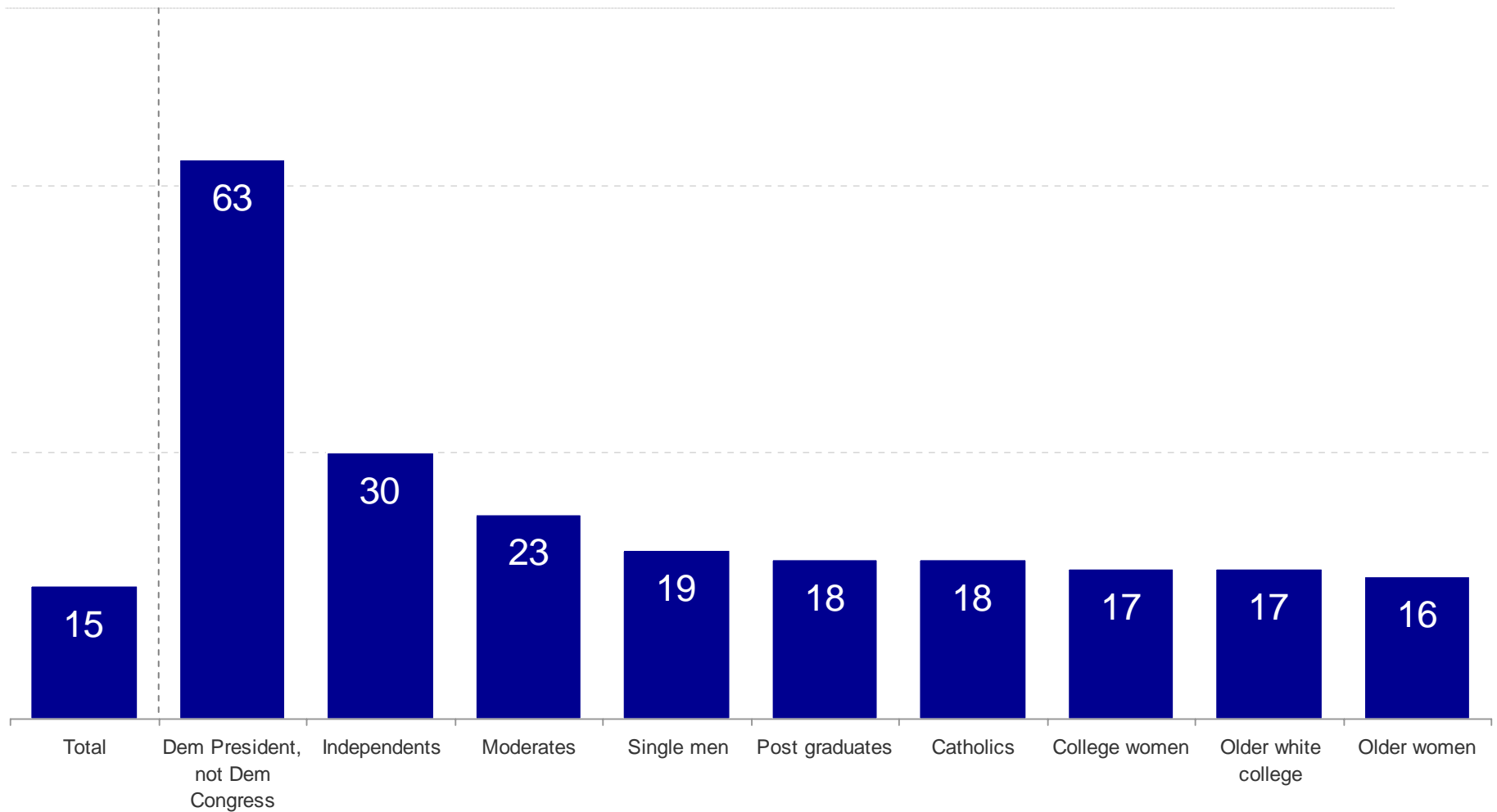


\*Note: Actual names of incumbents inserted, and a generic candidate was inserted for the opposing party.

## Congressional Voter Choice Scale: Democrats have more winnable, fewer vulnerable and fewer unreachable

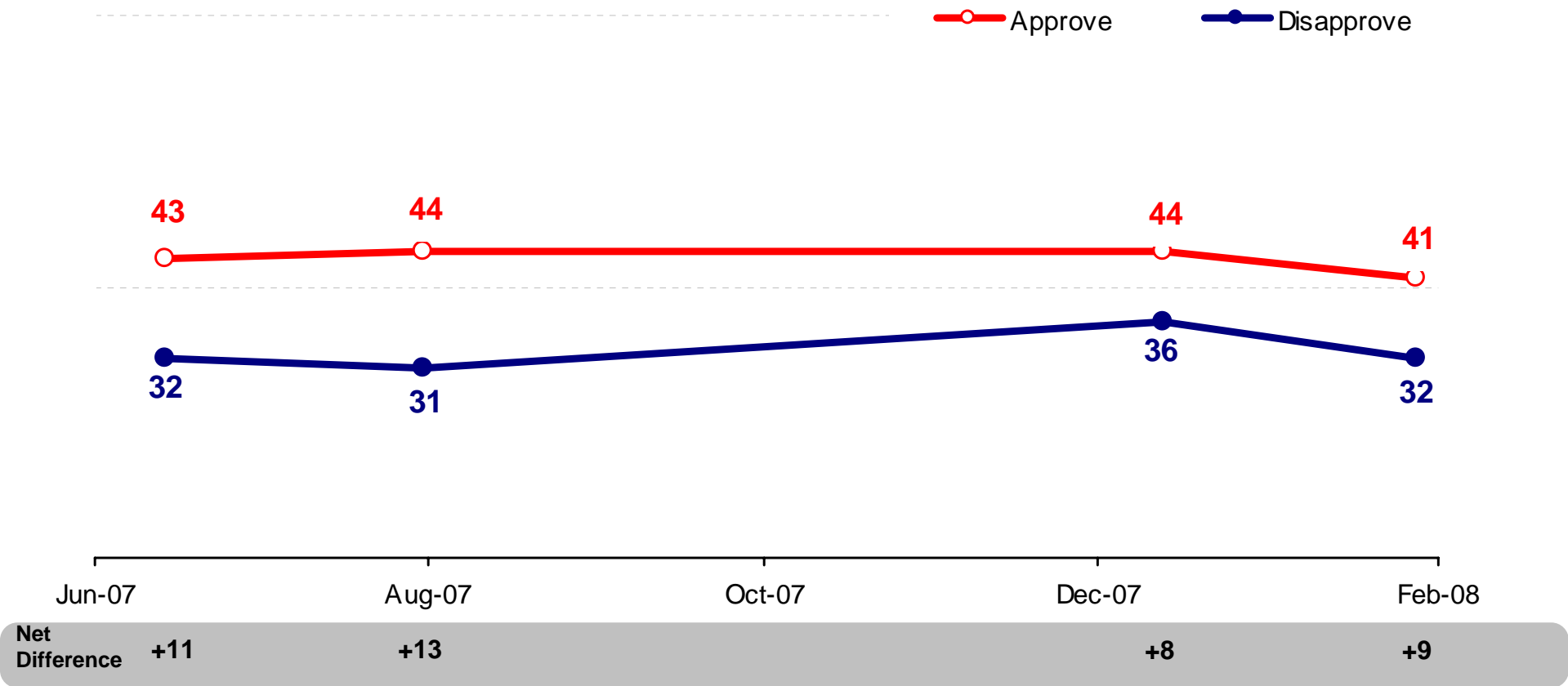


## Those groups most “winnable” from voter choice scale



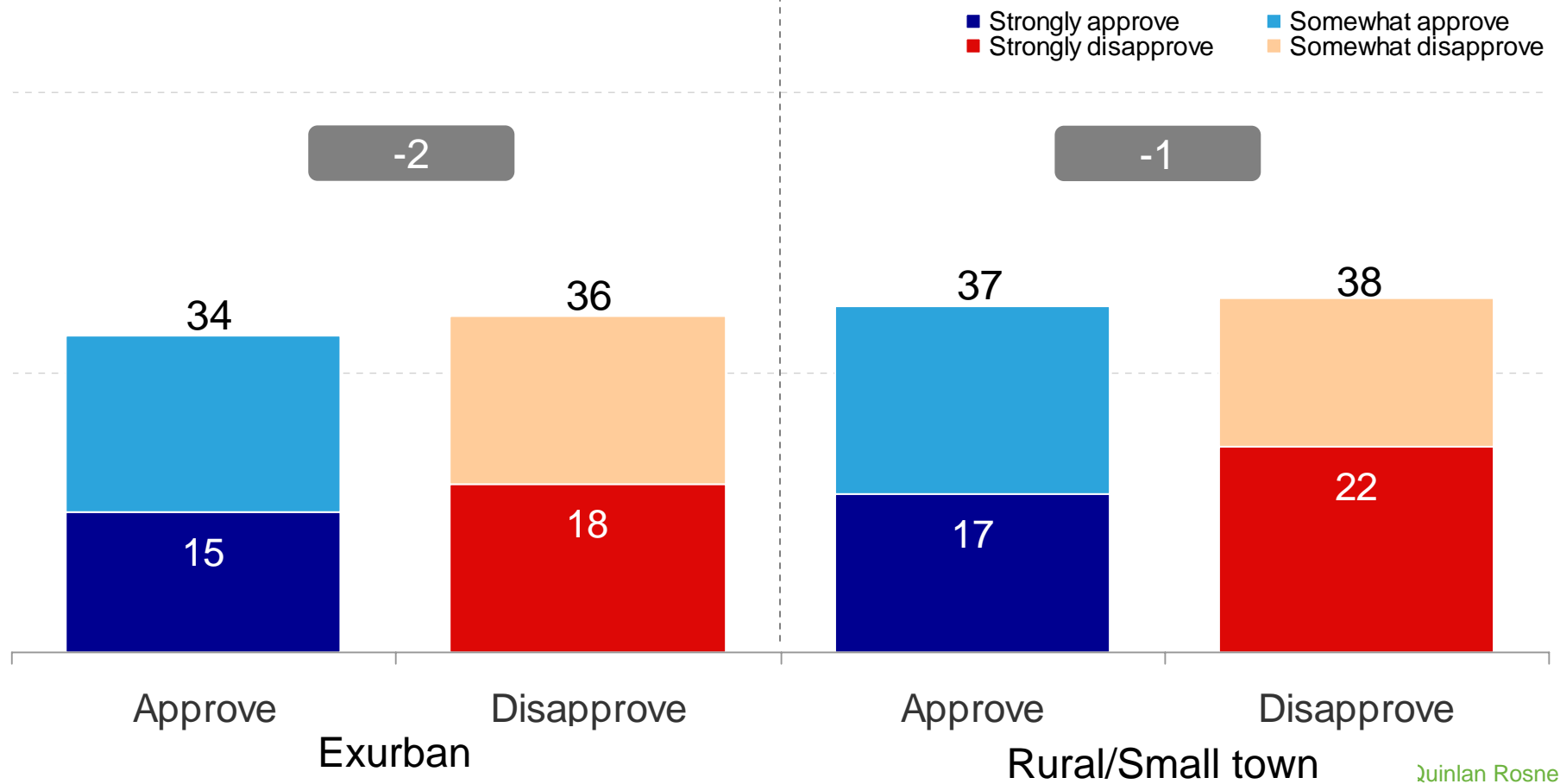
## Republican incumbent job approval low

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



# Republican incumbents approval lowest in exurban and rural/small town districts

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



Quinlan Rosner

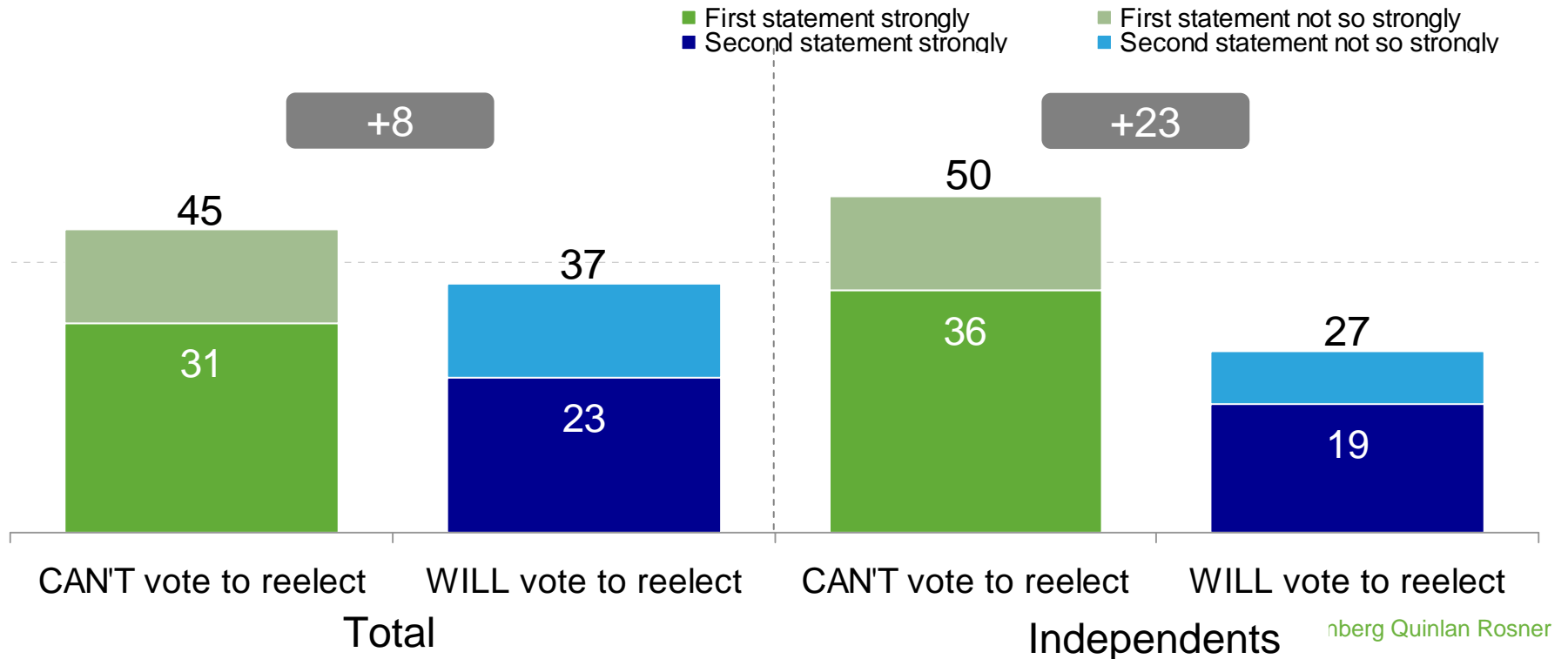
*\*Note: Name of incumbent was inserted.*

## Voters want to vote to change; not to reelect

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

Statement 1: In November, I CAN'T vote to reelect (Member of Congress) because we need new people that will work to bring the changes we need.

Statement 2: In November, I WILL vote to reelect (Member of Congress) because he/she is doing a good job and addressing issues that are important to us.



\*Note: Actual names of incumbents inserted.

## Near majority in Republican districts want to vote Democrat for change

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

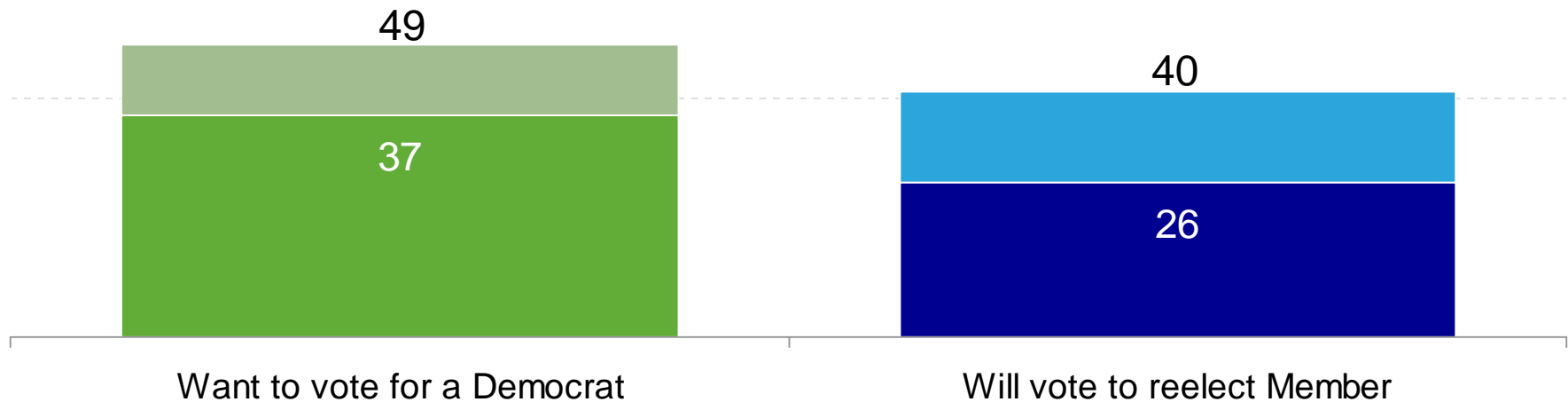
Statement 1: In November, I really want to be able to vote for a Democrat for Congress because at least he or she will fight for change.

Statement 2: In November, I will vote for (Member of Congress) because the new Democratic Congress is just business as usual and getting no more done than the last one.

■ First statement strongly  
■ Second statement strongly

■ First statement not so strongly  
■ Second statement not so strongly

+9



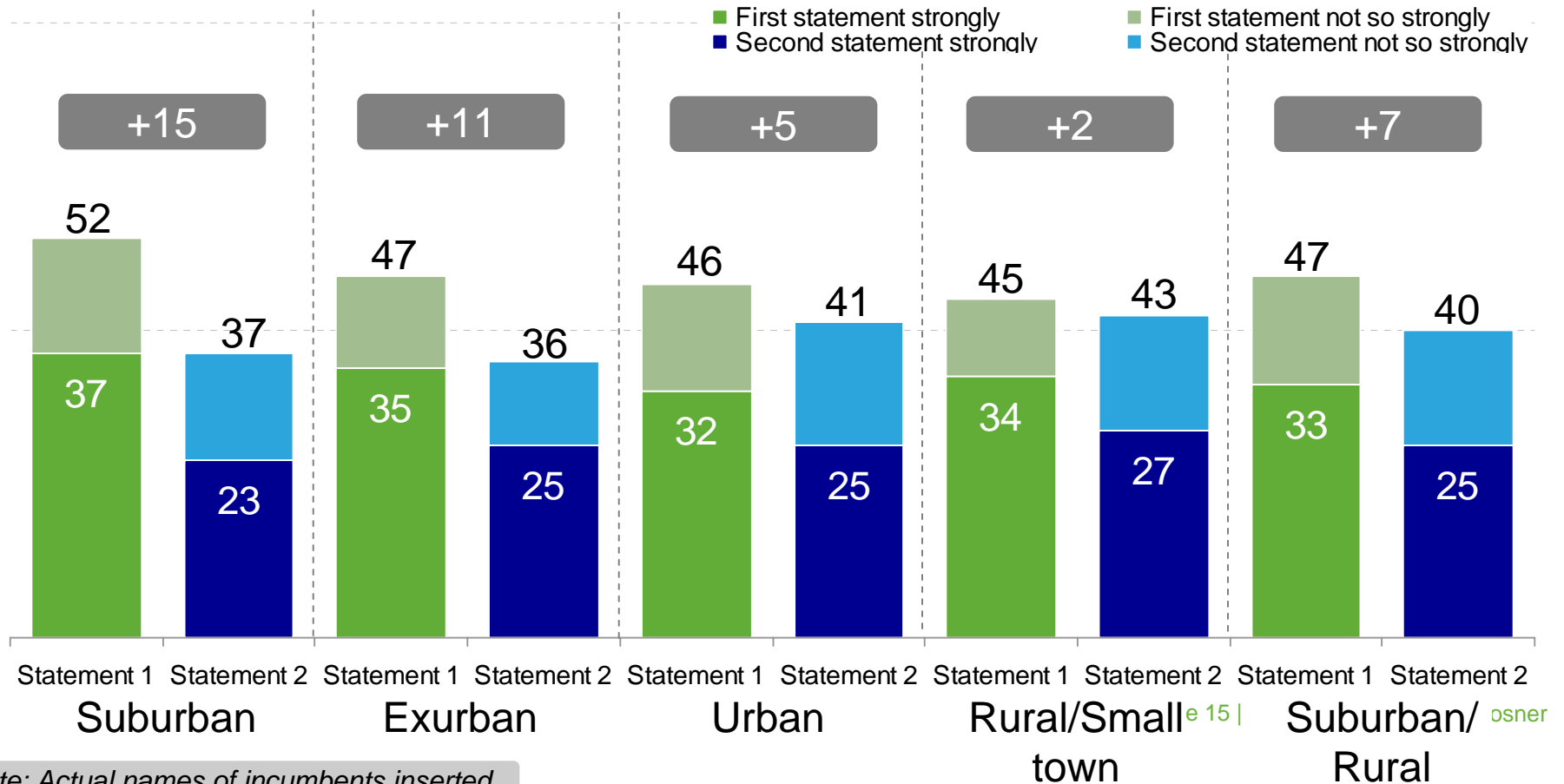
\*Note: Actual names of incumbents inserted.

## Vulnerability greatest in suburban and exurban districts

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

Statement 1 Combined: Will vote for a Democrat and for change

Statement 2 Combined: Will vote to reelect member.



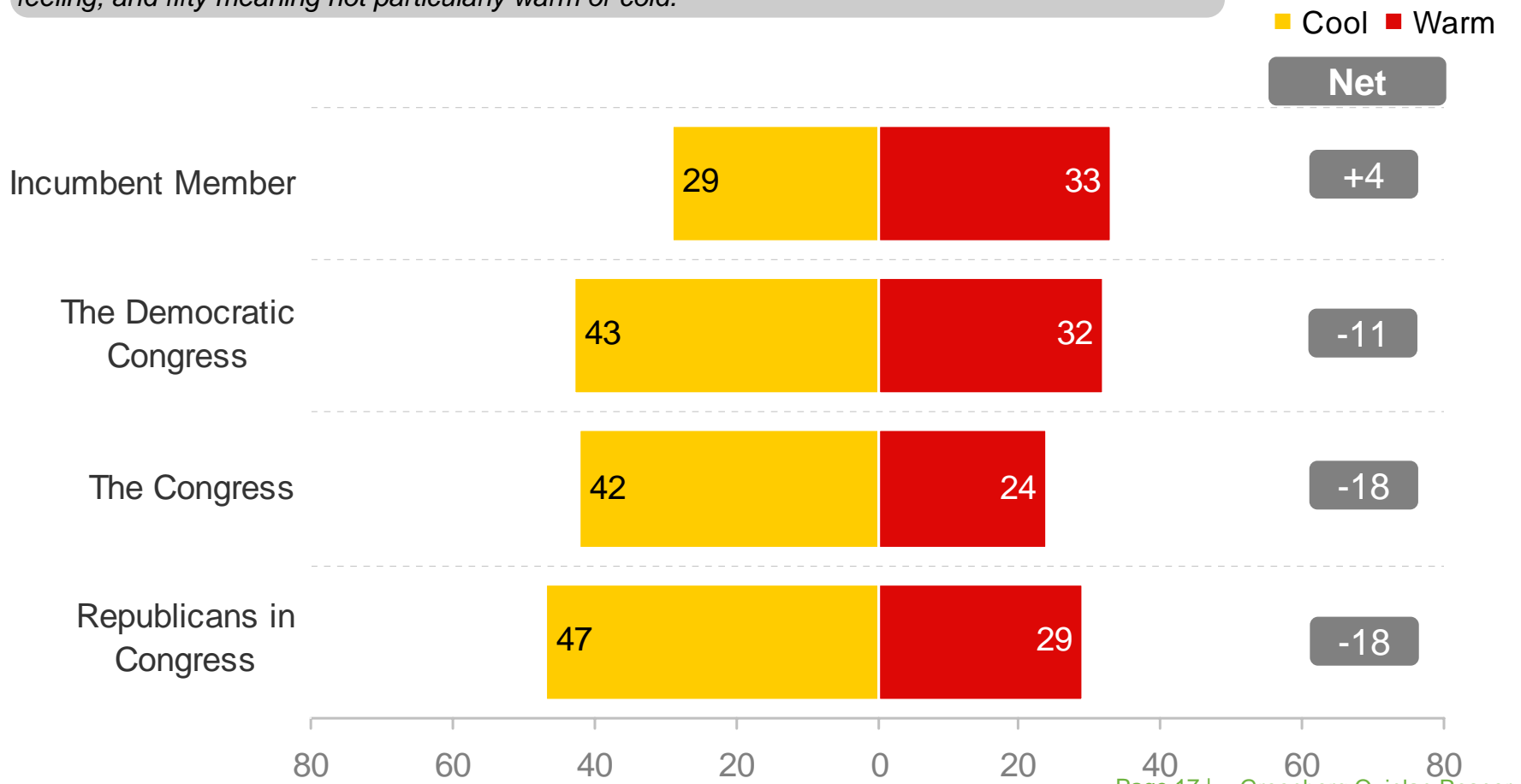
\*Note: Actual names of incumbents inserted.

# The Congress

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## Congressional thermometers

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.

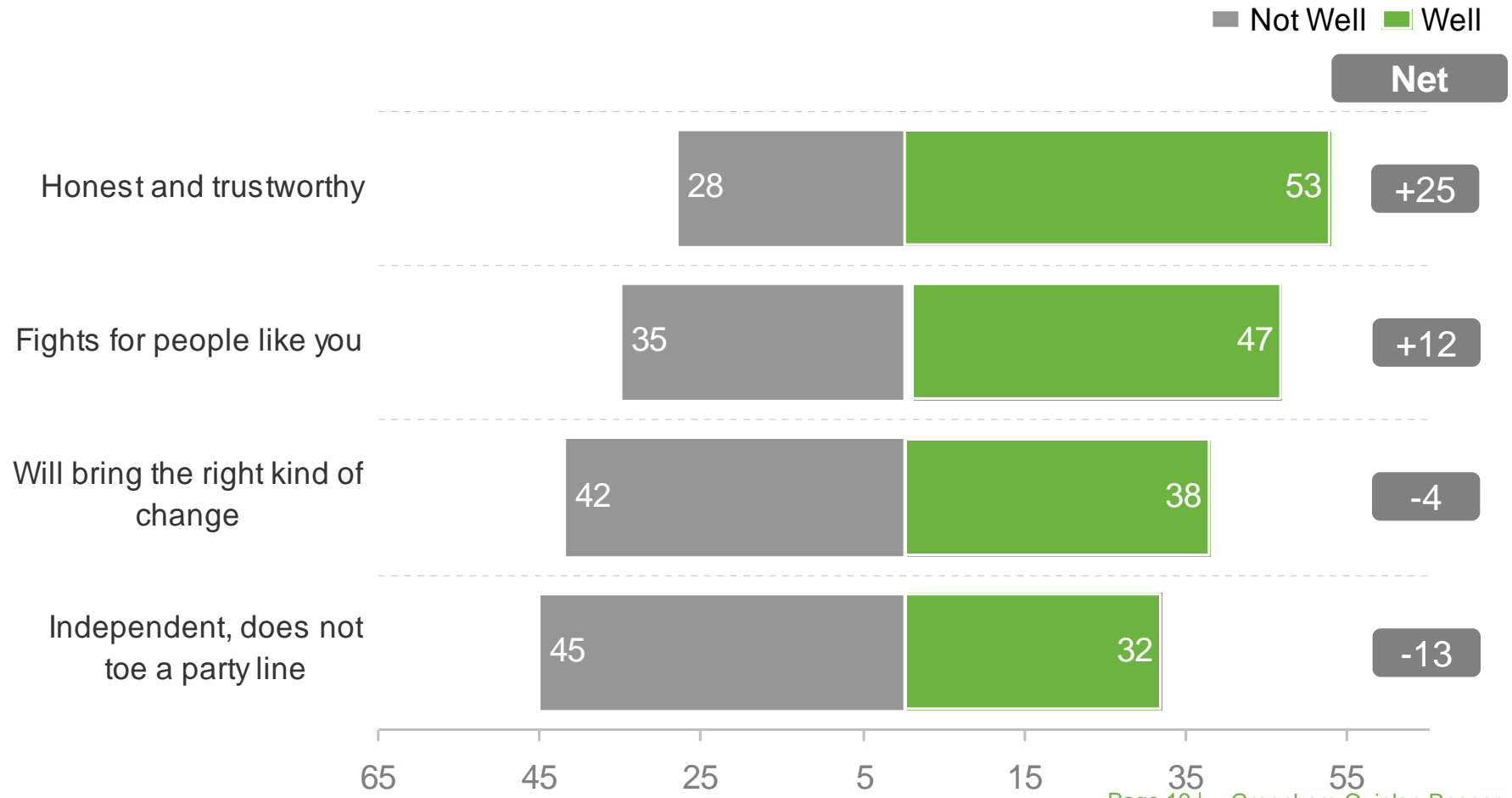


# Incumbent attributes

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## Positive attributes of incumbent: barely at 50 percent

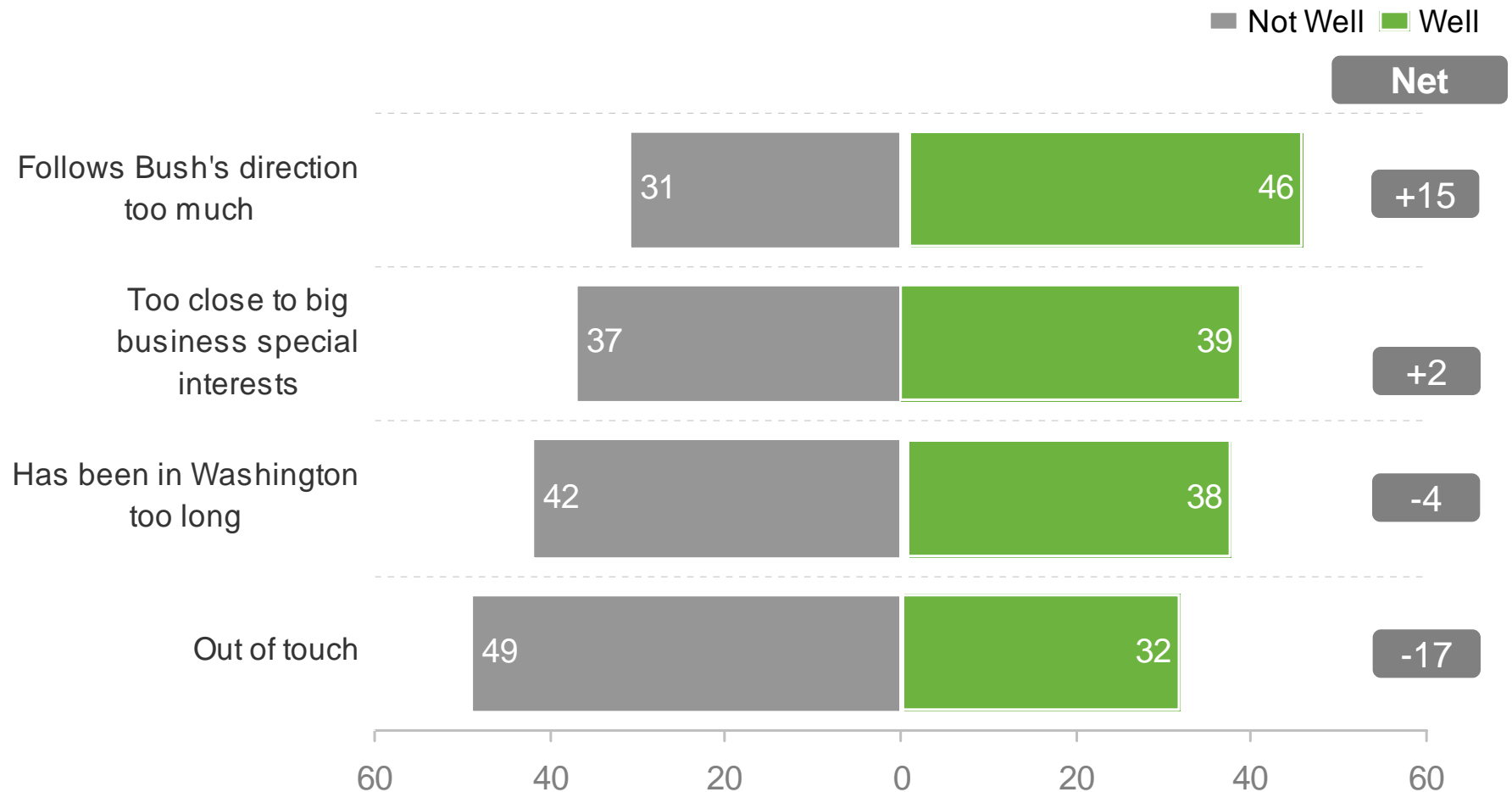
Now, I am going to read you another list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes (Member of Congress)\* very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.



\*Note: Actual names of incumbents inserted.

## Negative incumbent attributes: not well developed except Bush

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



\*Note: Actual names of incumbents inserted.

# Defining the election

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## Defining the Choice

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- *Now, I am going to read you what some people say are some differences between Democrats and Republicans running for Congress in your area. For each, please tell me if it is a difference that makes you MUCH MORE LIKELY to vote for a Democratic candidate, SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY or is it a difference that DOESN'T MAKE YOU ANY MORE LIKELY to vote for a Democratic/Republican candidate. Maybe it is NOT A REAL DIFFERENCE between Democrats and Republicans. Let me read you the first difference.*

## Democrats define choice in the election

	<b>Much more likely</b>	<b>Total more likely</b>
<b>NOTHING ON HEALTH CARE:</b> Republicans have done nothing about health care while costs skyrocketed and more lost insurance. Democrats will work for affordable health insurance for all.	<b>39</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>NOTHING ON GAS PRICES:</b> Republicans have done nothing about high gas prices and Middle East oil. Democrats will work for solar power, alternative fuels, energy independence and to stop global warming.	<b>37</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>WEALTHY VS. MIDDLE CLASS:</b> Republicans have worked for the wealthiest and big corporate special interests. Democrats will work for the middle class, not just the few.	<b>35</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>ECONOMY FOR WEALTHY VS. ECONOMY FOR MIDDLE CLASS:</b> Republicans make the economy work for the wealthiest and big corporations. Democrats will work for an economy that works for the middle class, not just the few.	<b>36</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>SINKING BILLIONS ABROAD VS. PRIORITIZING ISSUES AT HOME:</b> Republicans will continue focusing only abroad and sinking billions in other countries. Democrats will prioritize health care, energy, and our economy.	<b>35</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>MISMANAGED ISSUES VS. BACK ON TRACK:</b> Republicans have mismanaged the war in Iraq, foreign relations, oil, Katrina, and the economy. Democrats will get us back on track on dealing with important problems.	<b>36</b>	<b>52</b>

## Democrats define choice in the election contd.

	<b>Much more likely</b>	<b>Total more likely</b>
<b>SPECIAL INTERESTS AND EXTREME VS. WORK TOGETHER FOR PEOPLE:</b> Republicans have let corrupt special interests and extreme partisanship get out of control. Democrats want to see politicians in Washington work together and listen to the people.	<b>33</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>SINKING BILLIONS ABROAD VS. GETTING OUR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER:</b> Republicans will continue focusing only abroad and sinking billions in other countries. Democrats will also prioritize getting America's house in order.	<b>33</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>MORE OF THE SAME VS. CHANGE WE NEED:</b> Republicans will give us more of the same. The Democrats will bring the change our country needs.	<b>32</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>POLARIZED AND DIVIDED VS. WORK TO UNITE AND SOLVE PROBLEMS:</b> Republicans have polarized and divided the country. Democrats will work to unite it and solve real problems.	<b>29</b>	<b>48</b>

## Independents' and swing voters top choice is health care

	<b>Much more likely</b>	<b>Total more likely</b>
<b>Independents</b>		
<b>NOTHING ON HEALTH CARE</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>WEALTHY VS. MIDDLE CLASS</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>SINKING BILLIONS ABROAD VS. GETTING OUR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>Swing Voters</b>		
<b>NOTHING ON HEALTH CARE</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>NOTHING ON GAS PRICES</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>ECONOMY FOR WEALTHY VS. ECONOMY FOR MIDDLE CLASS</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>63</b>

## Regressions: Definitions that drive the Democratic congressional vote

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- Wealthy vs. Middle Class
- Sinking Billions Abroad vs. Getting our own House in Order

Gas prices and health care most important in suburban/rural and rural-small town districts

	<b>Much more likely</b>	<b>Total more likely</b>
<b>Suburban/Rural</b>		
<b>NOTHING ON GAS PRICES</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>NOTHING ON HEALTH CARE</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>SINKING BILLIONS ABROAD VS. PRIORITIZING ISSUES AT HOME</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>Rural-Small Town</b>		
<b>NOTHING ON HEALTH CARE</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>SINKING BILLIONS ABROAD VS. GETTING OUR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>ECONOMY FOR WEALTHY VS. ECONOMY FOR MIDDLE CLASS</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>47</b>

## Health care choice most important choice to exurban and suburban districts

	<b>Much more likely</b>	<b>Total more likely</b>
<b>Exurban</b>		
<b>NOTHING ON HEALTH CARE</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>WEALTHY VS. MIDDLE CLASS</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>NOTHING ON GAS PRICES</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>Suburban</b>		
<b>NOTHING ON HEALTH CARE</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>WEALTHY VS. MIDDLE CLASS</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>MISMANAGED ISSUES VS. BACK ON TRACK</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>61</b>

## Republicans wasting money abroad defining choice to urban voters

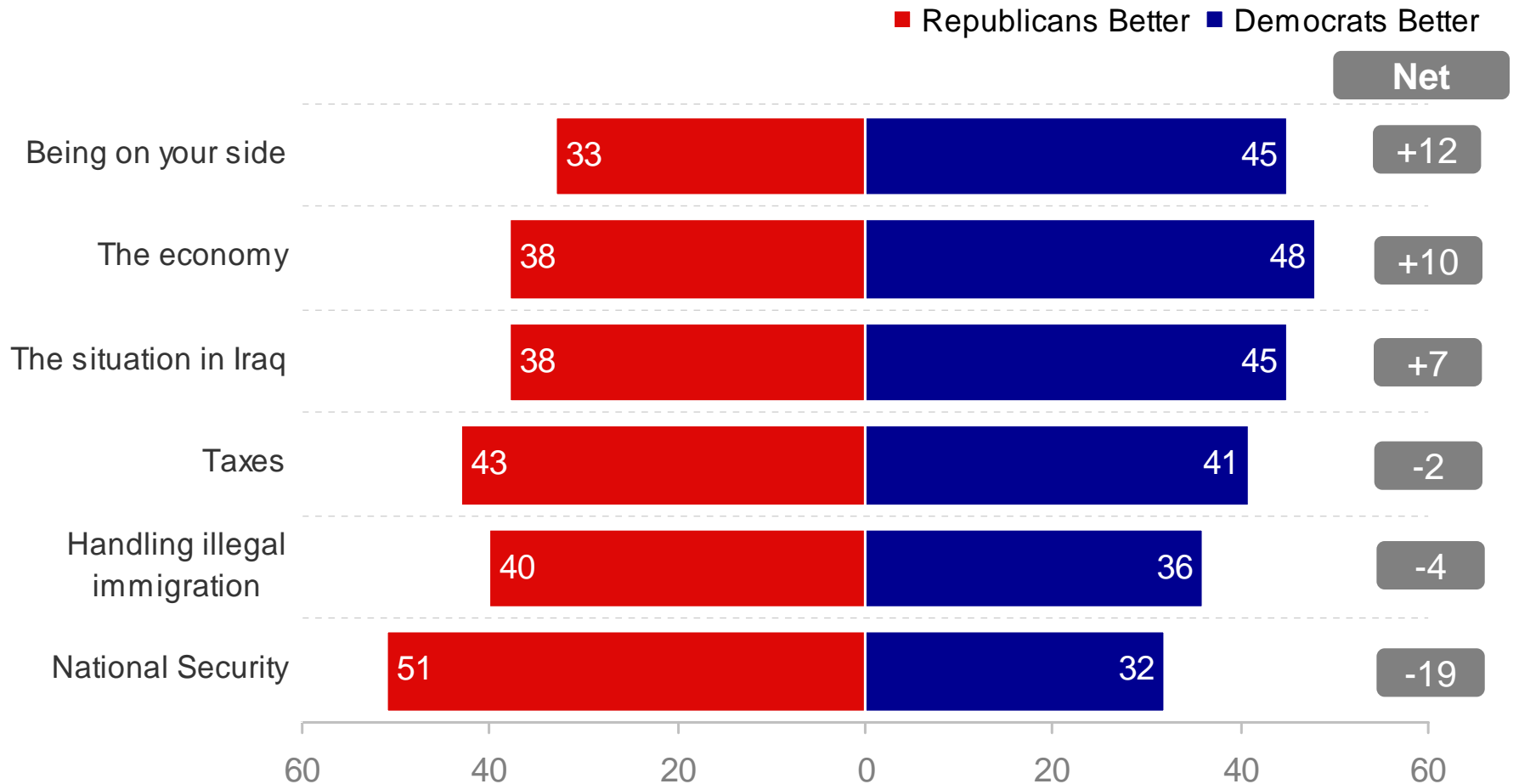
Urban	Much more likely	Total more likely
<b>SINKING BILLIONS ABROAD VS. PRIORITIZING ISSUES AT HOME</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>NOTHING ON GAS PRICES</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>ECONOMY FOR WEALTHY VS. ECONOMY FOR MIDDLE CLASS</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>57</b>

## The Republican choice for election

	<b>Much more likely</b>	<b>Total more likely</b>
<b>Democrats have already proposed massive increases in taxes and spending. Republicans believe families, the economy and the country need lower taxes.</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>Democrats want to increase taxes when our economy is in trouble. Republicans will cut taxes to strengthen our economy.</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>Democrats voted to cut off funding for our troops and want to go on defensive in the war on terrorism. Republicans will do what's necessary to keep America strong and safe.</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>Democrats take liberal stands on gay marriage, abortion and guns that put them out of touch with mainstream values. Republicans will protect our family values and support strong families.</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>Democrats have proposed big programs and government-controlled health care. Republicans will oppose big government programs and give people more choice and control.</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>49</b>

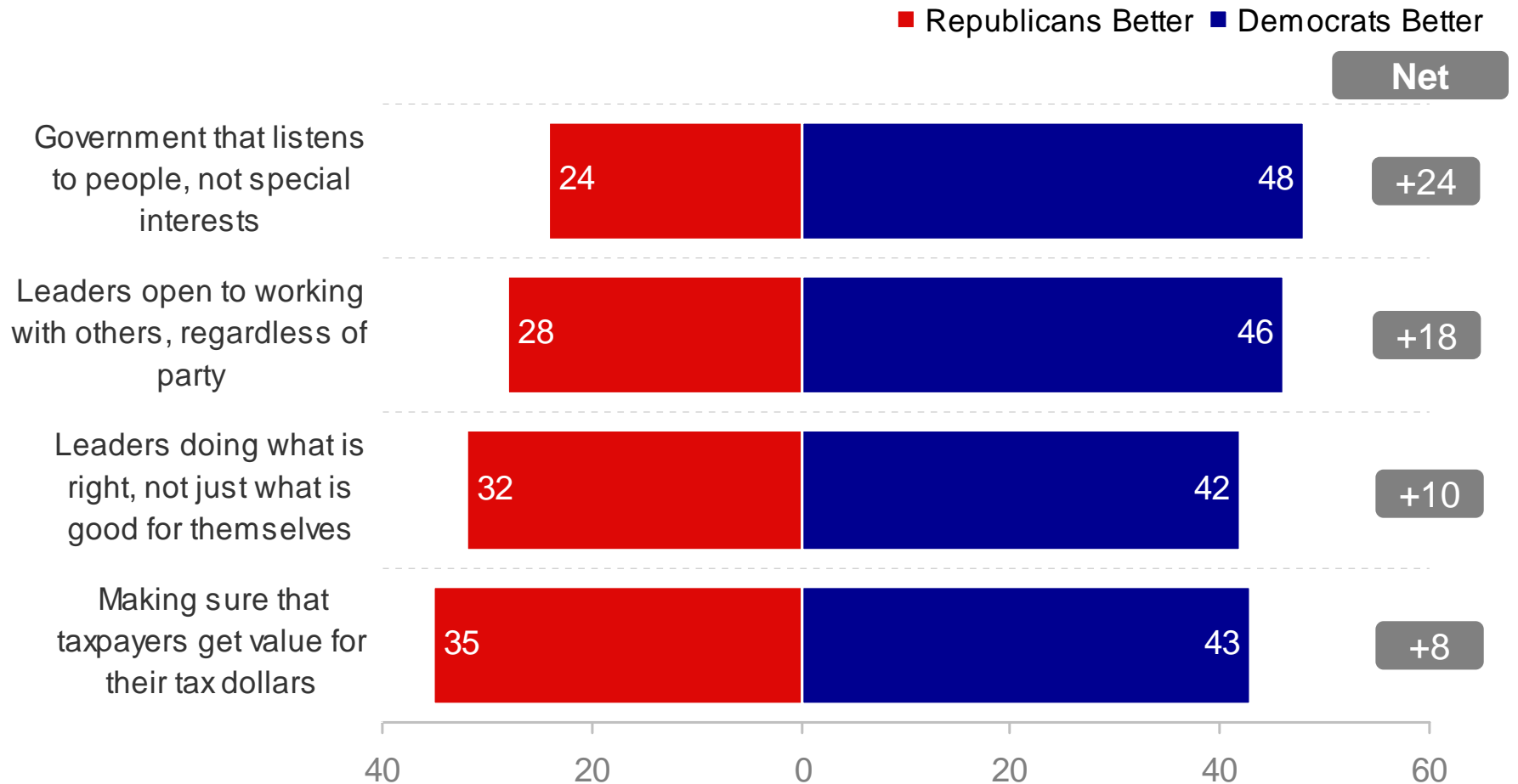
## Democrats will do a better job on being on your side – key to vote

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:



## Democrats can make government more accountable

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:



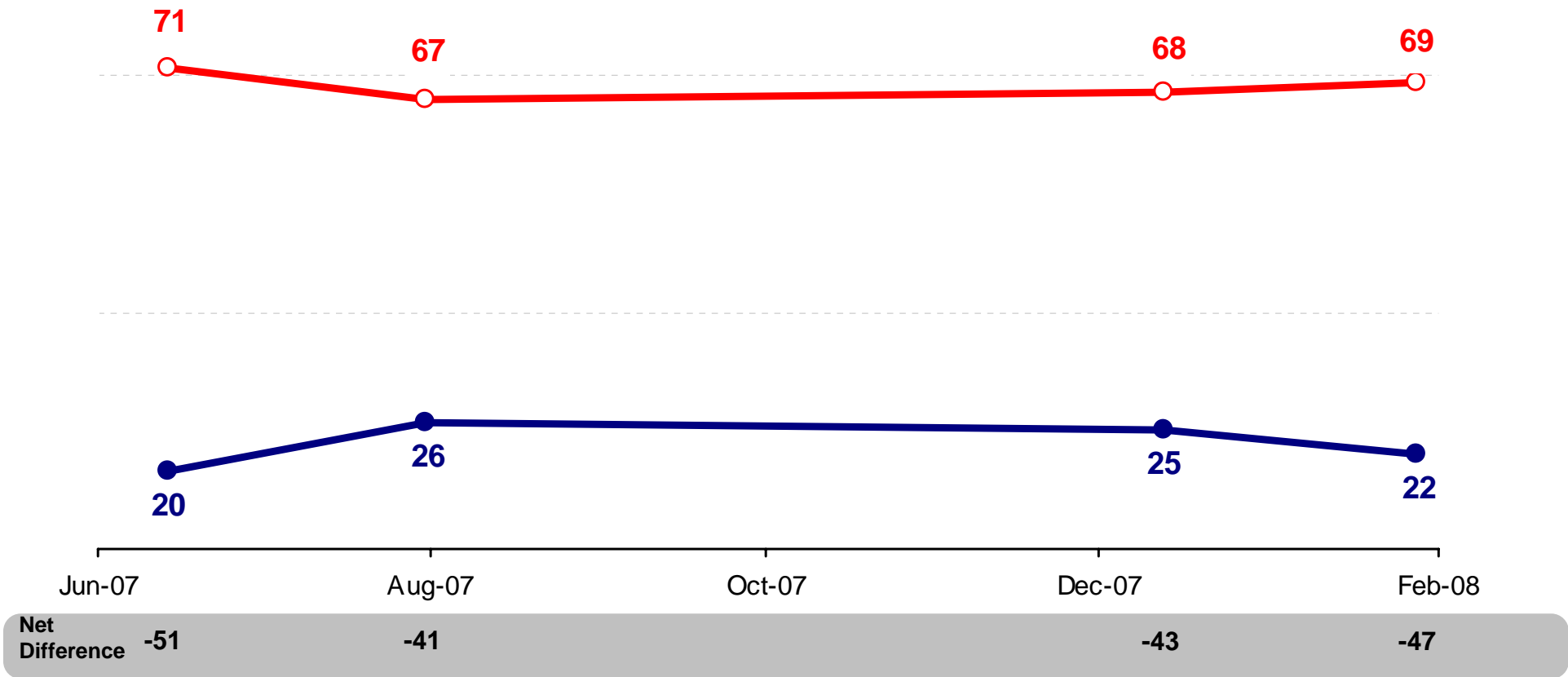
# Change mood

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## Disgust with status quo near highest level

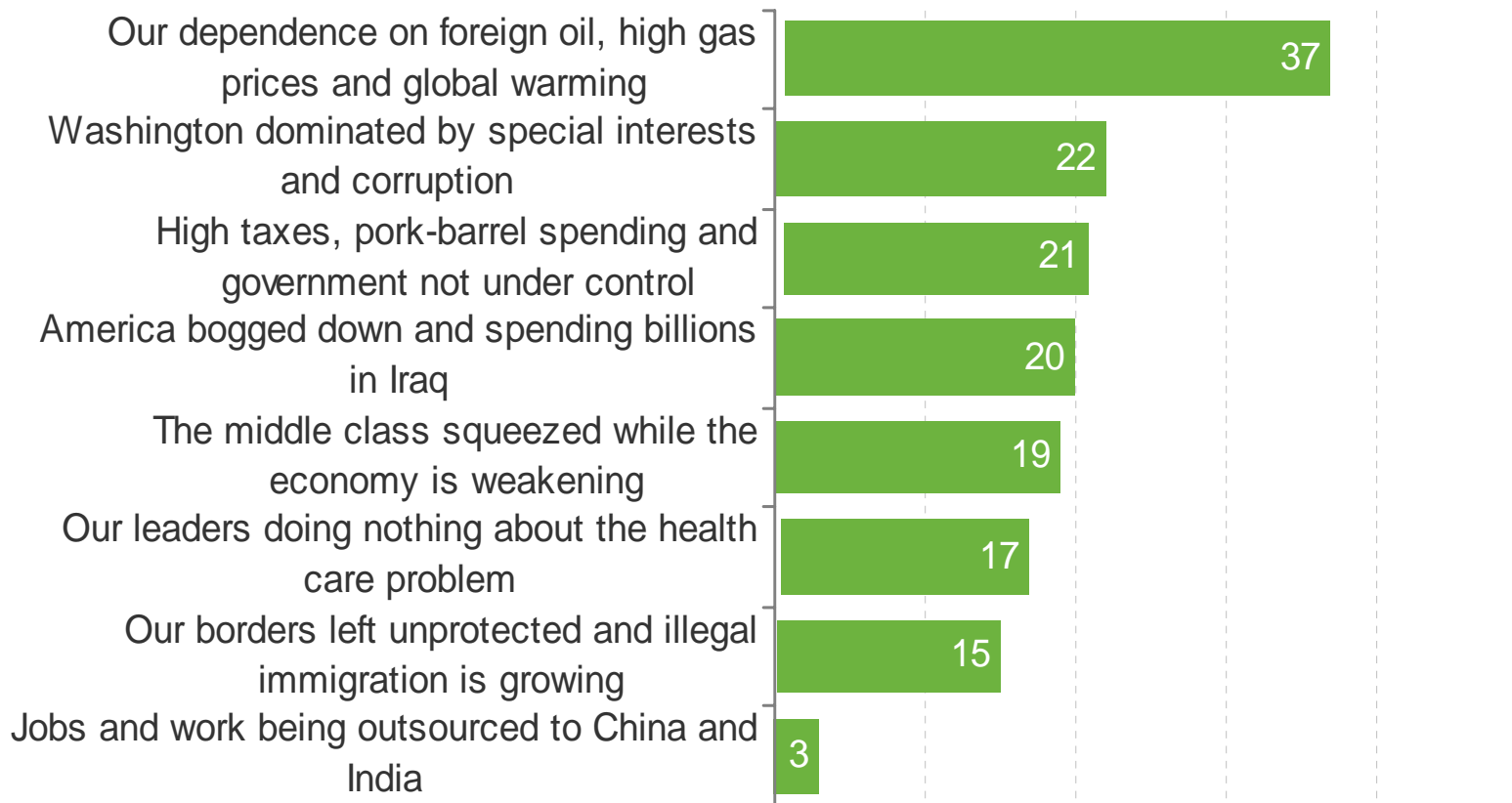
Generally speaking, do you think things in the country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

○ Wrong track ● Right direction



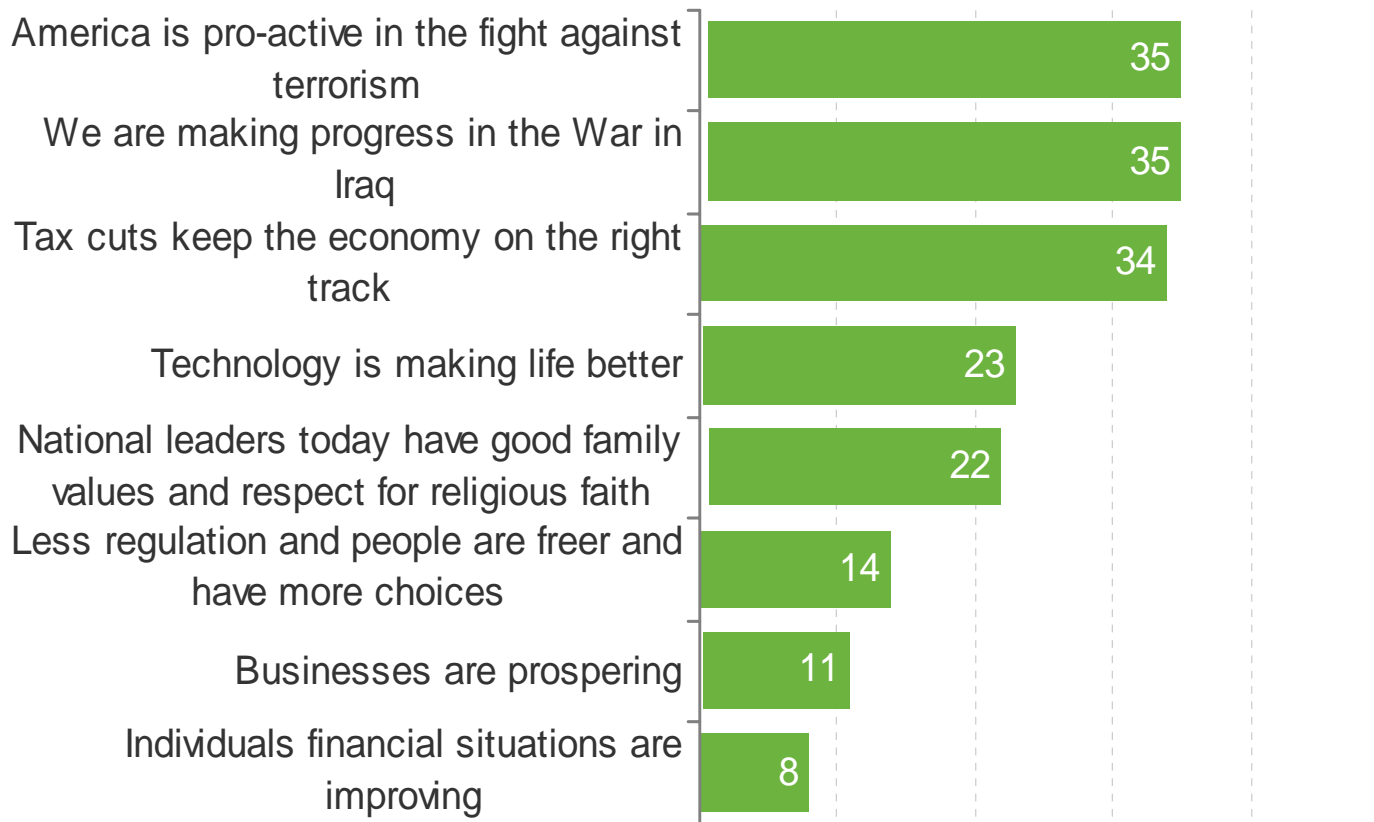
## What is wrong: underlying issues

Now I am going to read you a list of phrases that people use to describe why our country is going in the wrong direction. After I read the list, please tell me which TWO come closest to your own views of why the country is going in the wrong direction.\*



## What's right?

*Now I am going to read you a list of phrases that people use to describe why our country is going in the right direction. After I read the list, please tell me which TWO come closest to your own views of why the country is going in the right direction.*



*\*Note: This question was only asked of those who responded that the country was going in the right direction.*

# Impatience with Iraq in GOP battleground

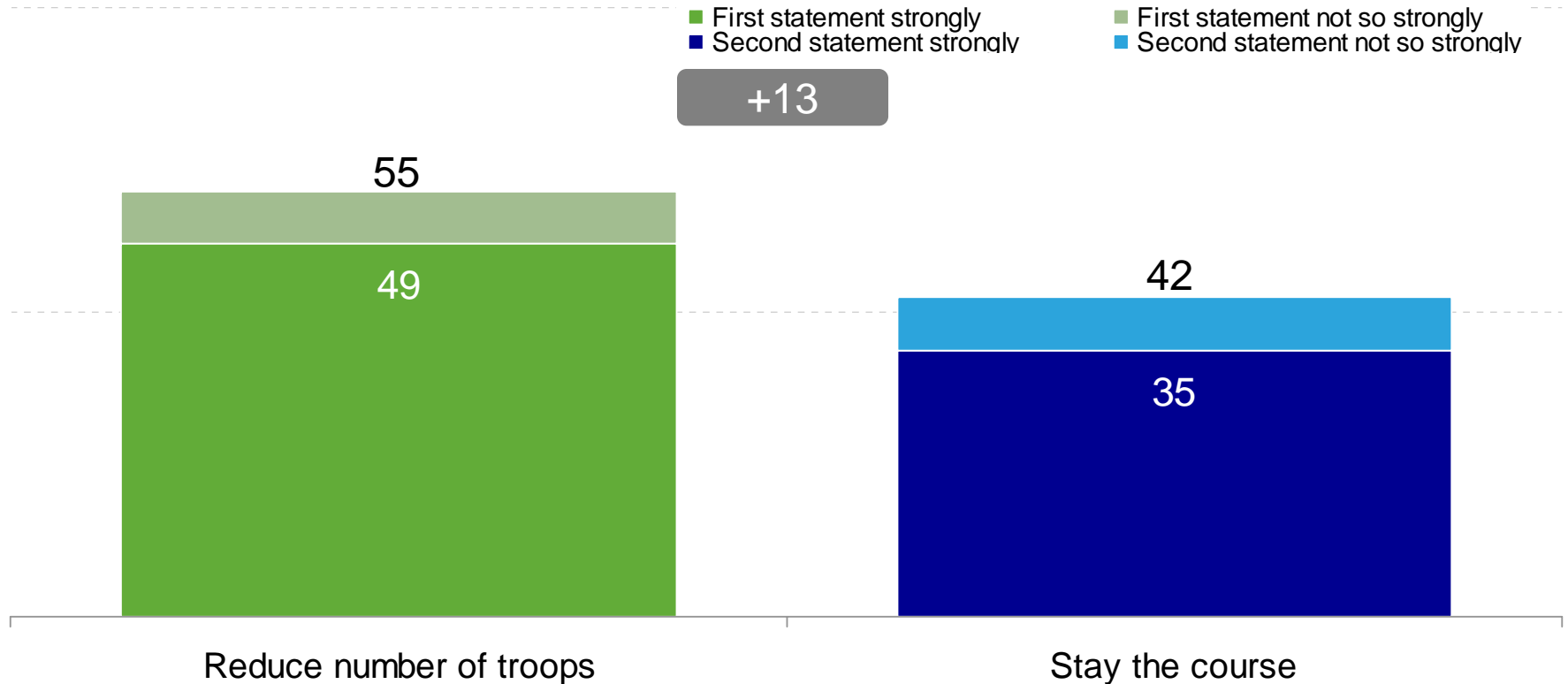
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## Majority favors reducing number of troops

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

Statement 1: We need to start reducing the number of U.S. troops in Iraq.

Statement 2: We must stay the course to achieve stability and finish the job in Iraq.



## Voters slightly more concerned Republicans will stay in Iraq too long

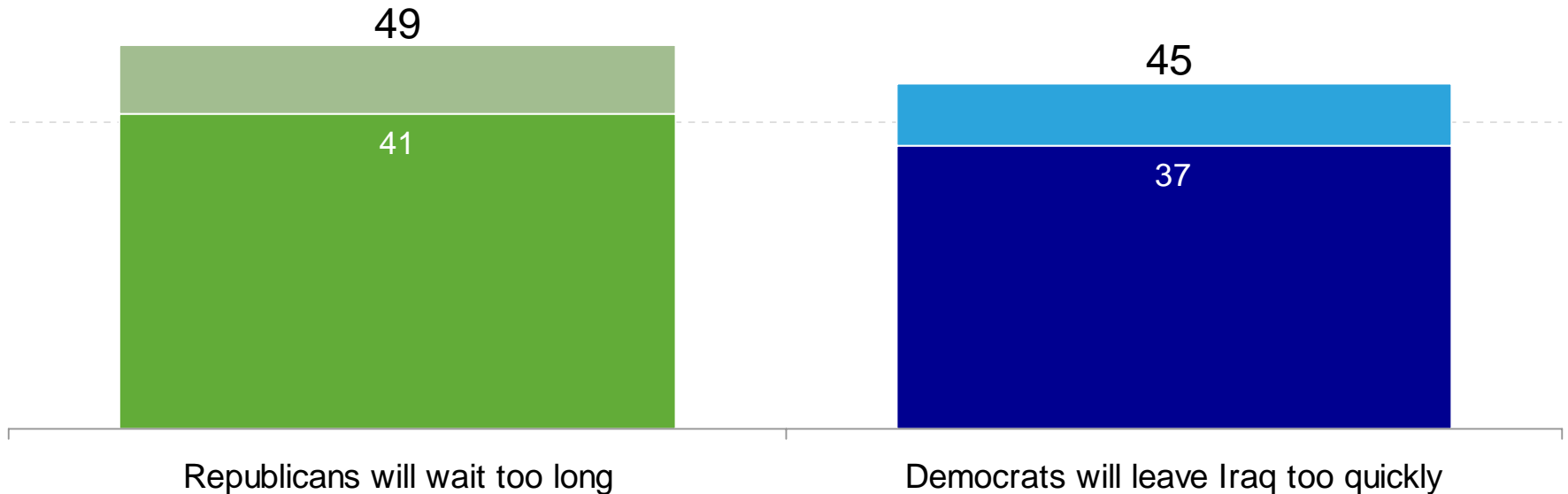
Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. As I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right:

Statement 1: I'm more concerned that the Republicans will wait too long to withdraw our troops from Iraq.

Statement 2: I'm more concerned that the Democrats will leave Iraq too quickly.

- First statement strongly
- Second statement strongly
- First statement not so strongly
- Second statement not so strongly

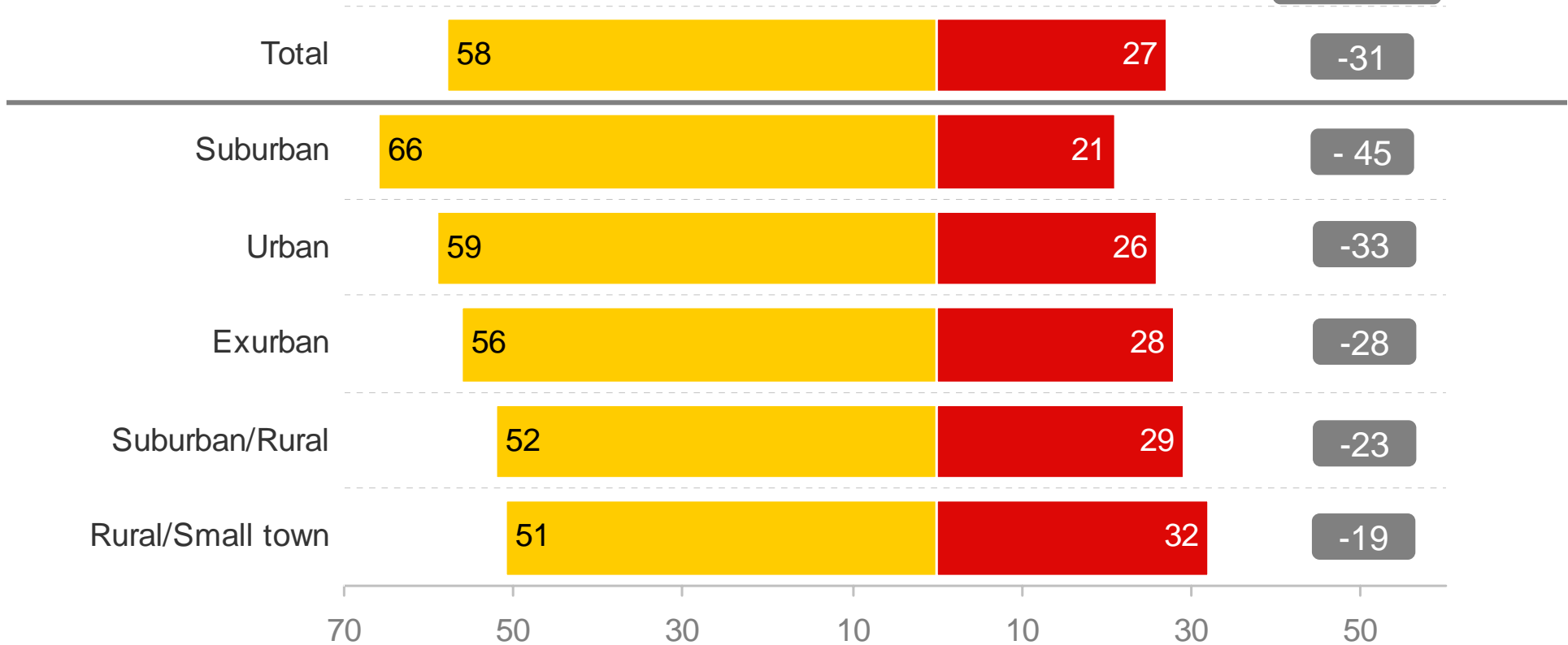
+4



## Favorability ratings toward Iraq low

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**



\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps combined run of surveys conducted in December, 2007 and January 2008 in the 40 battleground GOP districts of a total of 2,726 likely voters.

# GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

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