

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES



June 14, 2010

# The 2010 congressional battleground poll

National Survey Results



June 7-10, 2010  
1200 Likely Voters



## The survey

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**This survey was conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research in conjunction with Public Opinion Strategies for National Public Radio and is the 30th survey in the NPR series.**

**These findings are based on a national telephone survey of 1200 likely voters conducted in the Congressional Battleground, designated as the 60 most competitive Democratic districts, divided into two tiers of 30 districts each, and the 10 most competitive Republican districts. The survey was conducted June 7-10, 2010.**

- **445 Democratic Tier 1 (MoE: +/- 4.6 percentage points)**
- **445 Democratic Tier 2 (MoE: +/- 4.6 percentage points)**
- **310 Republican Tier (MoE: +/- 5.6 percentage points)**



## Tier 1: 30 most competitive Democratic-held congressional districts

STATE AND DISTRICT	DEMOCRATIC INCUMBENT	YEAR ELECTED	2008 CONG. MARGIN	2006 CONG. MARGIN	2008 PRES. MARGIN
ALABAMA 02	Bobby Bright	2008	Dem. +0.6	Rep. +39	McCain +26
ARKANSAS 01	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	<i>unopposed</i>	Dem. +39	McCain +20
ARKANSAS 02	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	<i>unopposed</i>	Dem. +21	McCain +10
ARIZONA 08	Gabrielle Giffords	2006	Dem. +12	Dem. +12	McCain +6
COLORADO 04	Betsy Markey	2008	Dem. +12	Rep. +2	McCain +0.9
FLORIDA 08	Alan Grayson	2008	Dem. +4	Rep. +7	Obama +6
FLORIDA 24	Suzanne Kosmas	2008	Dem. +16	Rep. +16	McCain +2
IDAHO 01	Walt Minnick	2008	Dem. +1	Rep. +5	McCain +26
INDIANA 08	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	Dem. +29	Dem. +22	McCain +4
KANSAS 03	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	Dem. +17	Dem. +31	Obama +2
LOUISIANA 03	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	<i>unopposed</i>	Dem. +15	McCain +25
MARYLAND 01	Frank Kratovil	2008	Dem. +0.8	Rep. +38	McCain +18
MICHIGAN 01	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	Dem. +32	Dem. +41	Obama +2
MICHIGAN 07	Mark Schauer	2008	Dem. +2	Rep. +4	Obama +6
MISSISSIPPI 01	Travis Childers	2008	Dem. +11	Rep. +32	McCain +25
NEW HAMPSHIRE 01	Carol Shea-Porter	2006	Dem. +6	Dem. +3	Obama +6
NEW HAMPSHIRE 02	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	Dem. +15	Dem. +7	Obama +13
NEW JERSEY 03	John Adler	2008	Dem. +4	Rep. +17	Obama +5



## Tier 1: 30 most competitive Democratic-held congressional districts

STATE AND DISTRICT	DEMOCRATIC INCUMBENT	YEAR ELECTED	2008 CONG. MARGIN	2006 CONG. MARGIN	2008 PRES. MARGIN
NEW MEXICO 02	Harry Teague	2008	Dem. +12	Rep. +19	McCain +1
NEW YORK 24	Mike Arcuri	2006	Dem. +3	Dem. +9	Obama +2
NEW YORK 29	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	Dem. +2	Rep. +3	McCain +2
NORTH DAKOTA 01	Earl Pomeroy	1992	Dem. +24	Dem +31	McCain +9
OHIO 01	Steve Driehaus	2008	Dem. +5	Rep. +5	Obama +10
OHIO 15	Mary Jo Kilroy	2008	Dem. +0.8	Rep. +0.5	Obama +9
PENNSYLVANIA 07	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	Dem. +19	Dem. +13	Obama +13
TENNESSEE 06	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	Dem. +49	Dem. +36	McCain +25
TENNESSEE 08	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	<i>unopposed</i>	Dem. +46	McCain +13
VIRGINIA 02	Glenn Nye	2008	Dem. +3	Rep. +3	Obama +2
VIRGINIA 05	Tom Perriello	2008	Dem. +0.2	Rep. +19	McCain +2
WASHINGTON 03	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	Dem. +28	Dem. +26	Obama +7



## Tier 2: 30 next most competitive Democratic-held congressional districts

STATE AND DISTRICT	DEMOCRATIC INCUMBENT	YEAR ELECTED	2008 CONG. MARGIN	2006 CONG. MARGIN	2008 PRES. MARGIN
ARIZONA 01	Ann Kirkpatrick	2008	Dem. +16	Rep. +8	McCain +10
ARIZONA 05	Harry Mitchell	2006	Dem. +10	Dem. +4	McCain +5
CALIFORNIA 11	Jerry McNerney	2006	Dem. +11	Dem. +7	Obama +9
COLORADO 03	John Salazar	2004	Dem. +24	Dem. +25	McCain +2
FLORIDA 02	Allen Boyd	1996	Dem. +24	<i>unopposed</i>	McCain +10
ILLINOIS 14	Bill Foster	2008	Dem. +16	Rep. +20	Obama +11
INDIANA 09	Baron Hill	2006	Dem. +19	Dem. +5	McCain +0.6
IOWA 03	Leonard Boswell	1996	Dem. +14	Dem. +5	Obama +9
MISSOURI 04	Ike Skelton	1976	Dem. +32	Dem. +38	McCain +23
NEVADA 03	Dina Titus	2008	Dem. +5	Rep. +2	Obama +13
NEW MEXICO 01	Martin Heinrich	2008	Dem. +11	Rep. +0.4	Obama +20
NEW YORK 01	Tim Bishop	2002	Dem. +14	Rep. +24	Obama +4
NEW YORK 13	Mike McMahon	2008	Dem. +27	Rep. +14	McCain +2
NEW YORK 19	John Hall	2006	Dem. +17	Dem. +2	Obama +2
NEW YORK 23	Bill Owens	2009	Dem. +31	Rep. +26	Obama +5
NEW YORK 25	Dan Maffei	2008	Dem. +13	Rep. +2	Obama +13
NORTH CAROLINA 08	Larry Kissell	2008	Dem. +11	Rep. +0.3	Obama +6
OHIO 16	John Boccieri	2008	Dem. +11	Rep. +17	McCain +3



## Tier 2: 30 next most competitive Democratic-held congressional districts

STATE AND DISTRICT	DEMOCRATIC INCUMBENT	YEAR ELECTED	2008 CONG. MARGIN	2006 CONG. MARGIN	2008 PRES. MARGIN
OHIO 18	Zack Space	2006	Dem. +20	Dem. +24	McCain +8
PENNSYLVANIA 03	Kathy Dahlkemper	2008	Dem. +3	Rep. +12	McCain +0.01
PENNSYLVANIA 08	Patrick Murphy	2006	Dem. +15	Dem. +0.6	Obama +9
PENNSYLVANIA 10	Chris Carney	2006	Dem. +13	Dem. +6	McCain +8
PENNSYLVANIA 11	Paul Kanjorski	1984	Dem. +3	Dem. +45	Obama +15
PENNSYLVANIA 12	Mark Critz	2010	Dem. +16	Dem. +22	McCain +0.3
SOUTH CAROLINA 05	John Spratt	1982	Dem. +25	Dem. +14	McCain +7
TEXAS 17	Chet Edwards	1990	Dem. +7	Dem. +18	McCain +35
VIRGINIA 09	Rick Boucher	1982	<i>unopposed</i>	Dem. +36	McCain +19
WEST VIRGINIA 01	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	<i>unopposed</i>	Dem. +29	McCain +15
WISCONSIN 07	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	Dem. +22	Dem. +27	Obama +13
WISCONSIN 08	Steve Kagen	2006	Dem. +8	Dem. +2	Obama +8



## Republican districts: 10 most competitive Republican-held seats

STATE AND DISTRICT	REPUBLICAN INCUMBENT	YEAR ELECTED	2008 CONG. MARGIN	2006 CONG. MARGIN	2008 PRES. MARGIN
CALIFORNIA 03	Dan Lungren	2004	Rep. +5	Rep. +21	Obama +0.5
CALIFORNIA 44	Ken Calvert	2002	Rep. +2	Rep. +23	Obama +1
DELAWARE 01	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	Rep. +23	Rep. +18	Obama +25
FLORIDA 25	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	Rep. +6	Rep. +17	McCain +1
HAWAII 01	Charles Djou	2010	Dem. +60	Dem. +6	Obama +42
ILLINOIS 10	<b>OPEN</b>	n/a	Rep. +5	Rep. +6	Obama +23
LOUISIANA 02	Joseph Cao	2008	Rep. +3	Dem. +14	Obama +49
MINNESOTA 06	Michele Bachmann	2006	Rep. +3	Rep. +8	McCain +9
PENNSYLVANIA 06	Jim Gerlach	2002	Rep. +4	Rep. +1	Obama +17
PENNSYLVANIA 15	Charlie Dent	2004	Rep. +17	Rep. +10	Obama +14

# Landscape in the battleground

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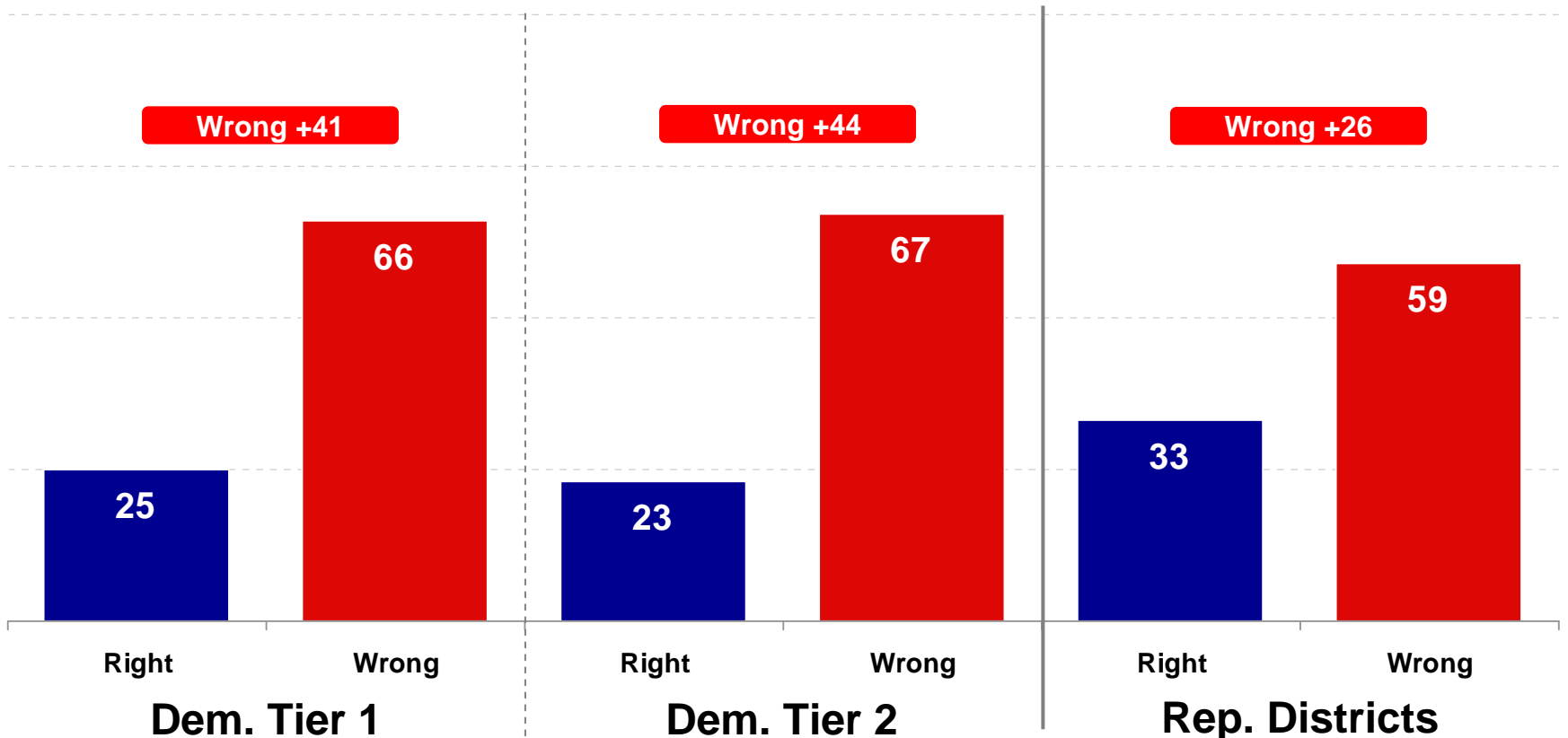




# Direction of the country more pessimistic in Democratic tiers

*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?*

■ Right direction      ■ Wrong track

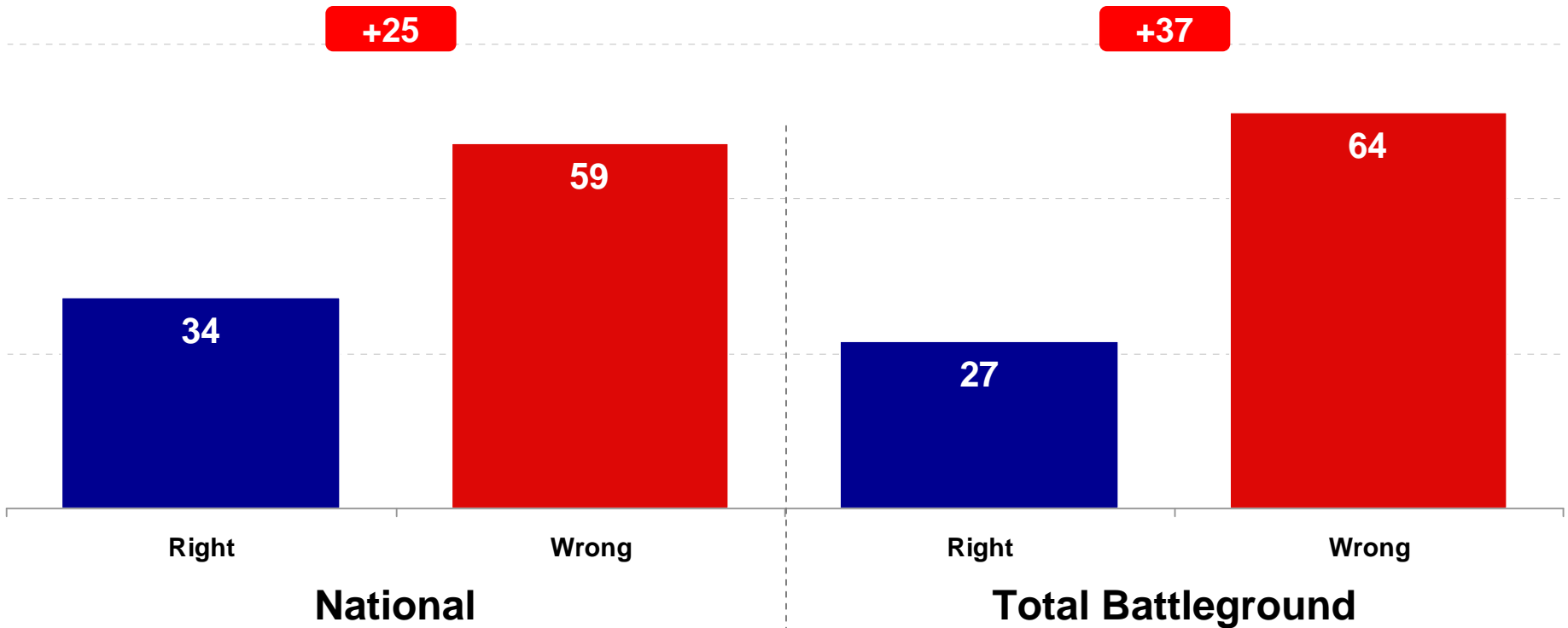




# More think country on wrong track in battleground than nationally

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?

■ Right direction      ■ Wrong track



\*Note: National data based on survey by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner for Democracy Corps and Third Way, conducted May 15-18, 2010 among 874 likely 2010 voters.



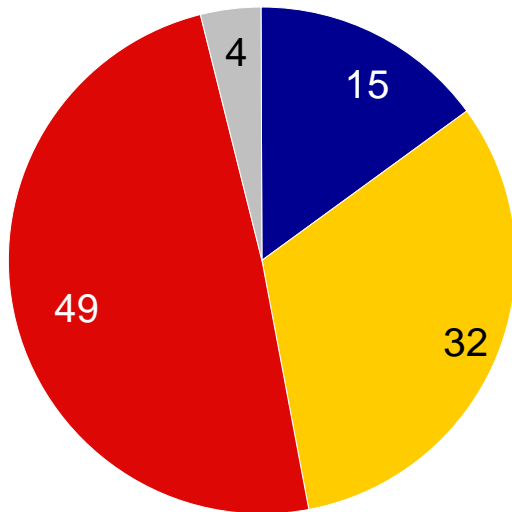
# Nearly half in Democratic tiers self-identify as conservatives

Thinking in political terms, would you say that you are conservative, moderate, or liberal?

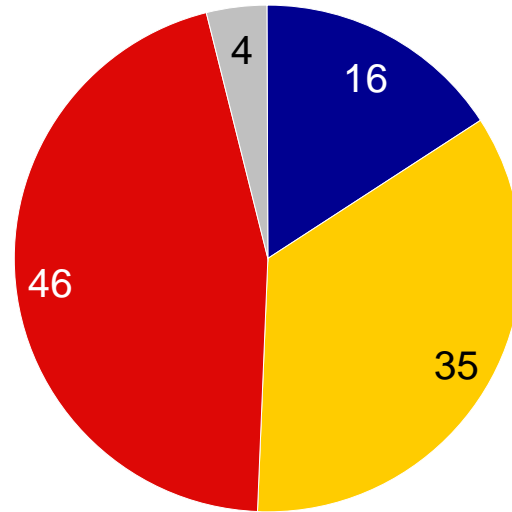
- Liberal
- Moderate
- Conservative
- DK/Refused

- Liberal
- Moderate
- Conservative
- DK/Refused

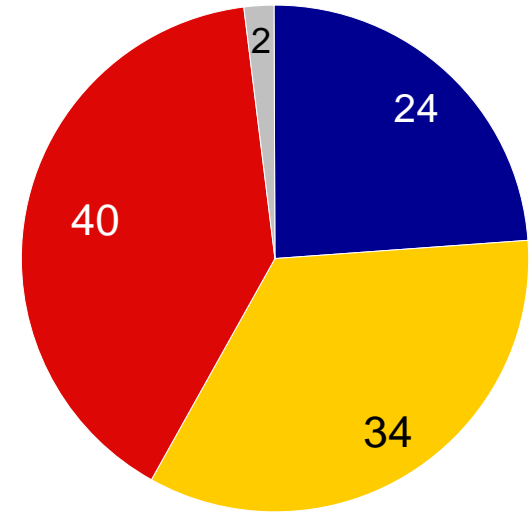
- Liberal
- Moderate
- Conservative
- DK/Refused



Dem. Tier 1



Dem. Tier 2



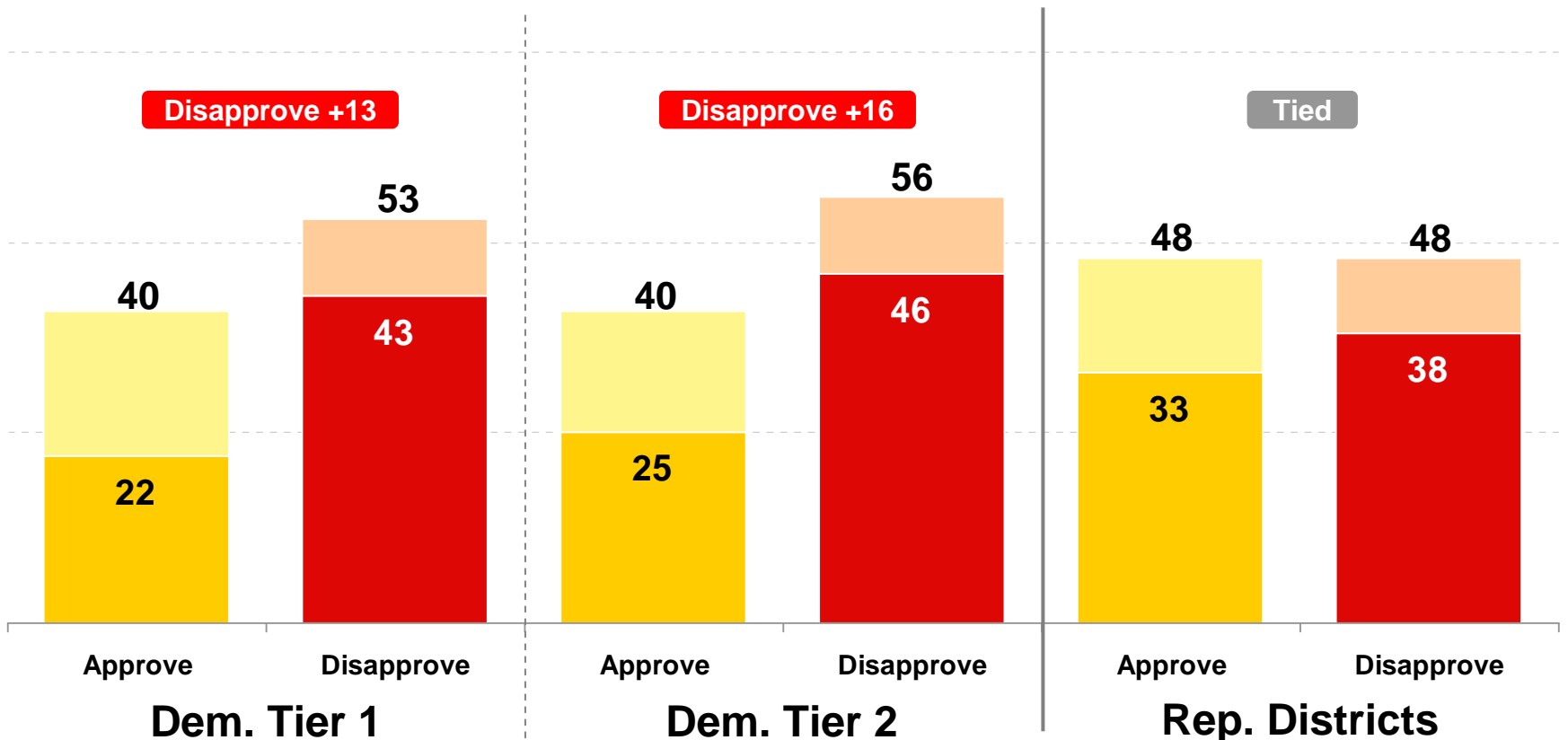
Rep. Districts



# Obama approval at 40 percent in Democratic tiers

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

■ Strongly Approve ■ Strongly Disapprove

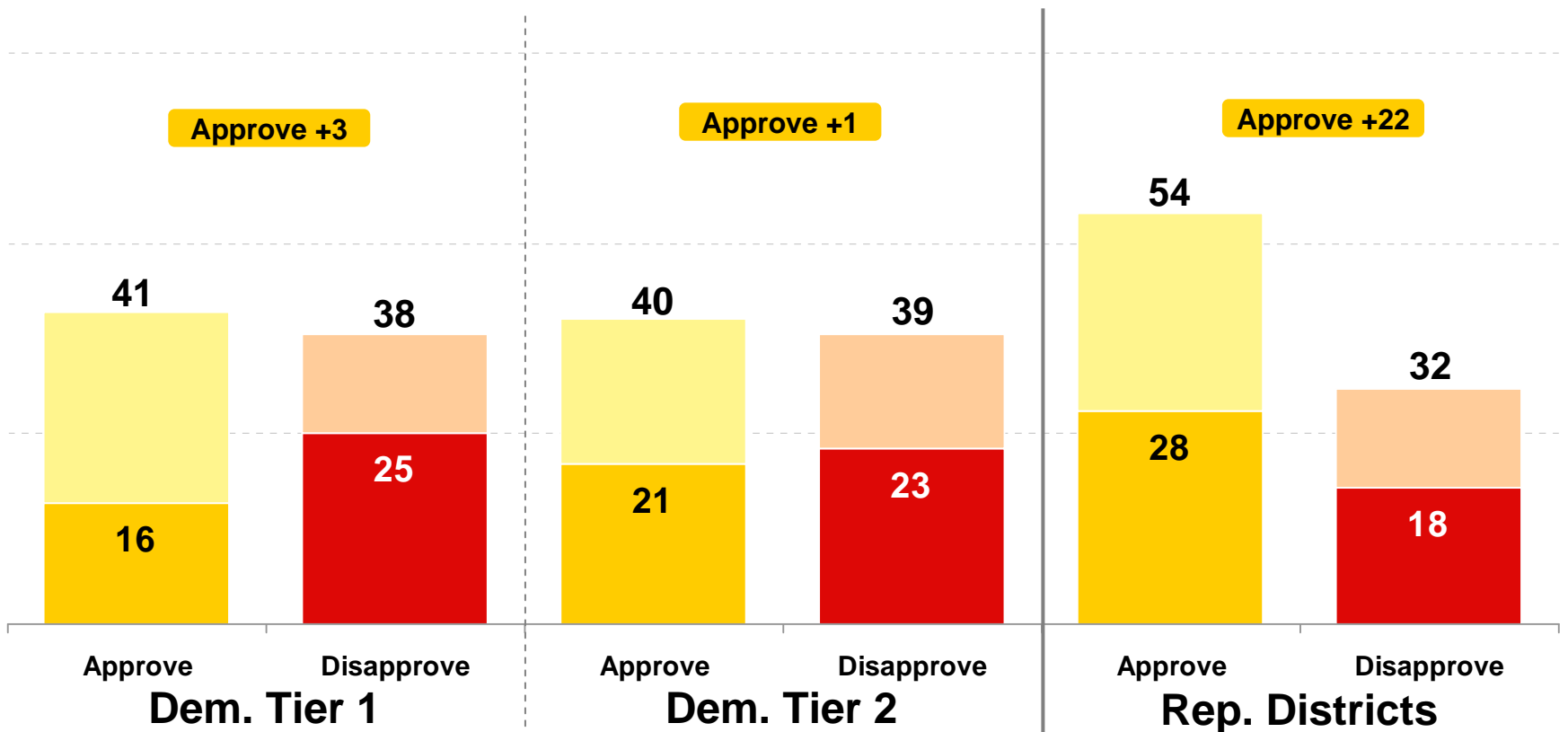




# Dem incumbents get mixed approval; GOP positive approval

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

■ Strongly Approve     
 ■ Strongly Disapprove



\*Note: The incumbent name was inserted without party identification. Question not asked in districts where the incumbent will not be running for reelection.



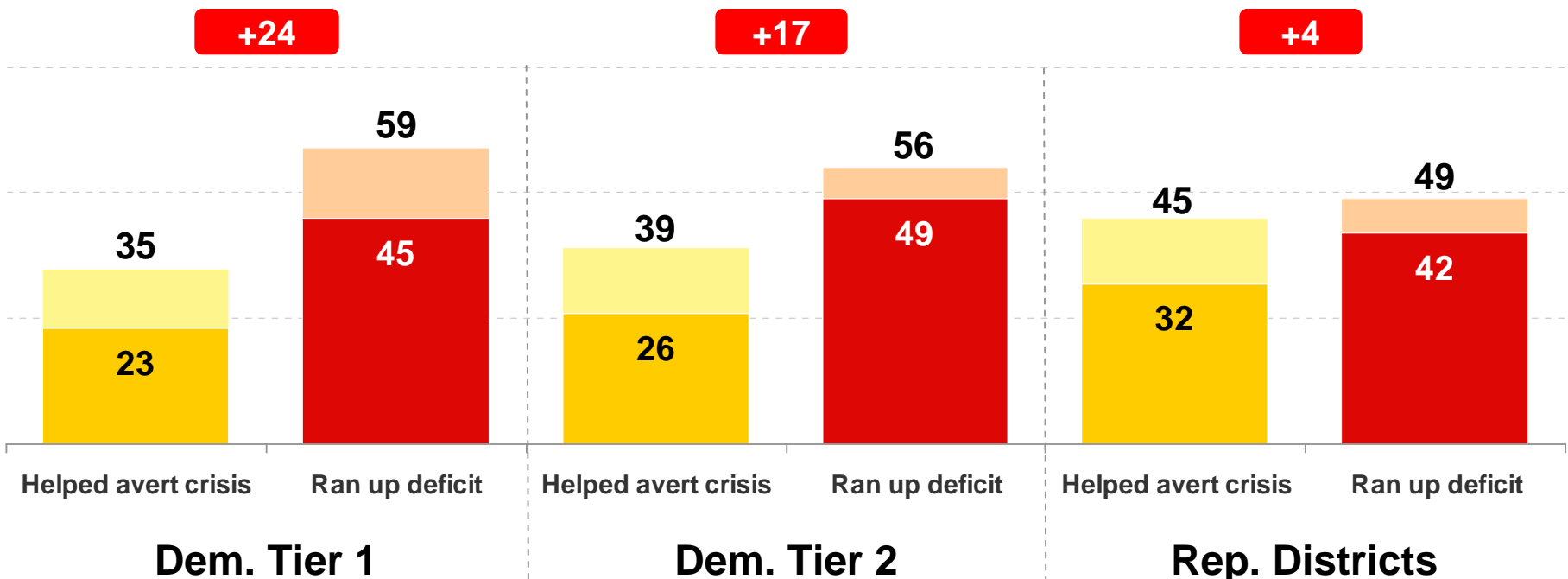
# Voters skeptical of Obama economic policies

**First Statement:** President Obama's economic policies helped avert an even worse crisis, and are laying the foundation for our eventual economic recovery.

**Second Statement:** President Obama's economic policies have run up a record federal deficit while failing to end the recession or slow the record pace of job losses.

■ First statement strongly

■ Second statement strongly





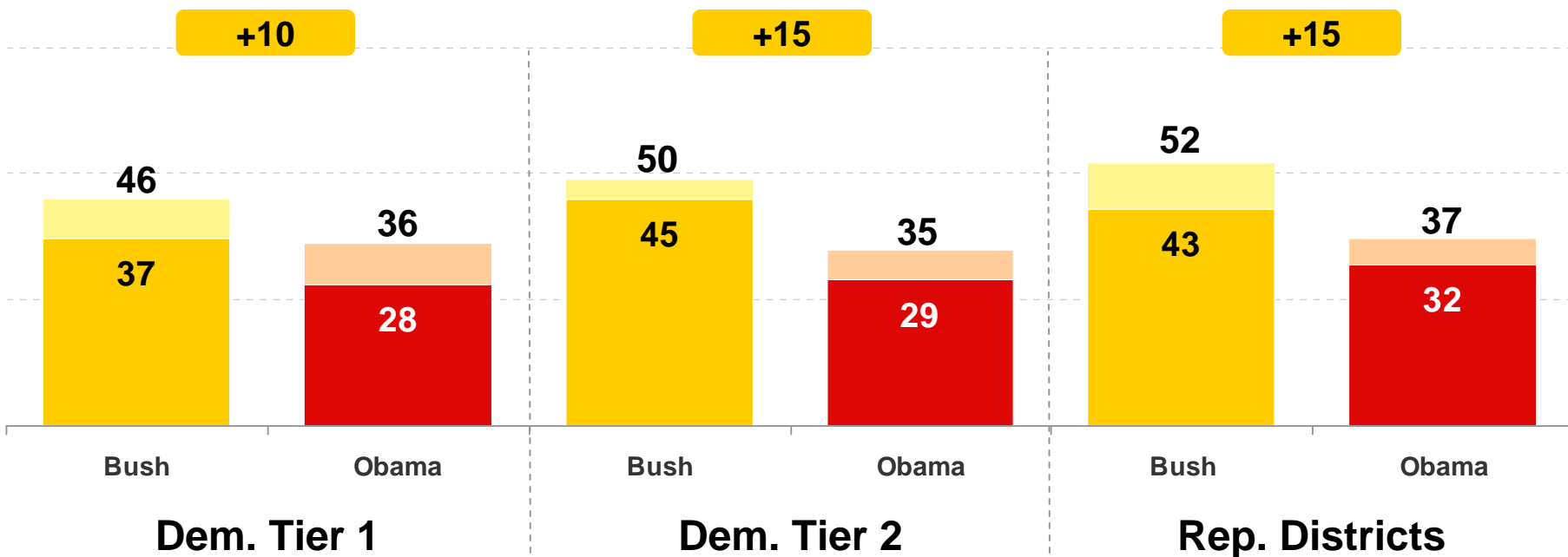
# Yet Bush blamed for state of the economy more than Obama

**First Statement:** Former President Bush is more responsible for the problems with the economy.

**Second Statement:** President Obama is more responsible for the problems with the economy

■ First statement strongly

■ Second statement strongly

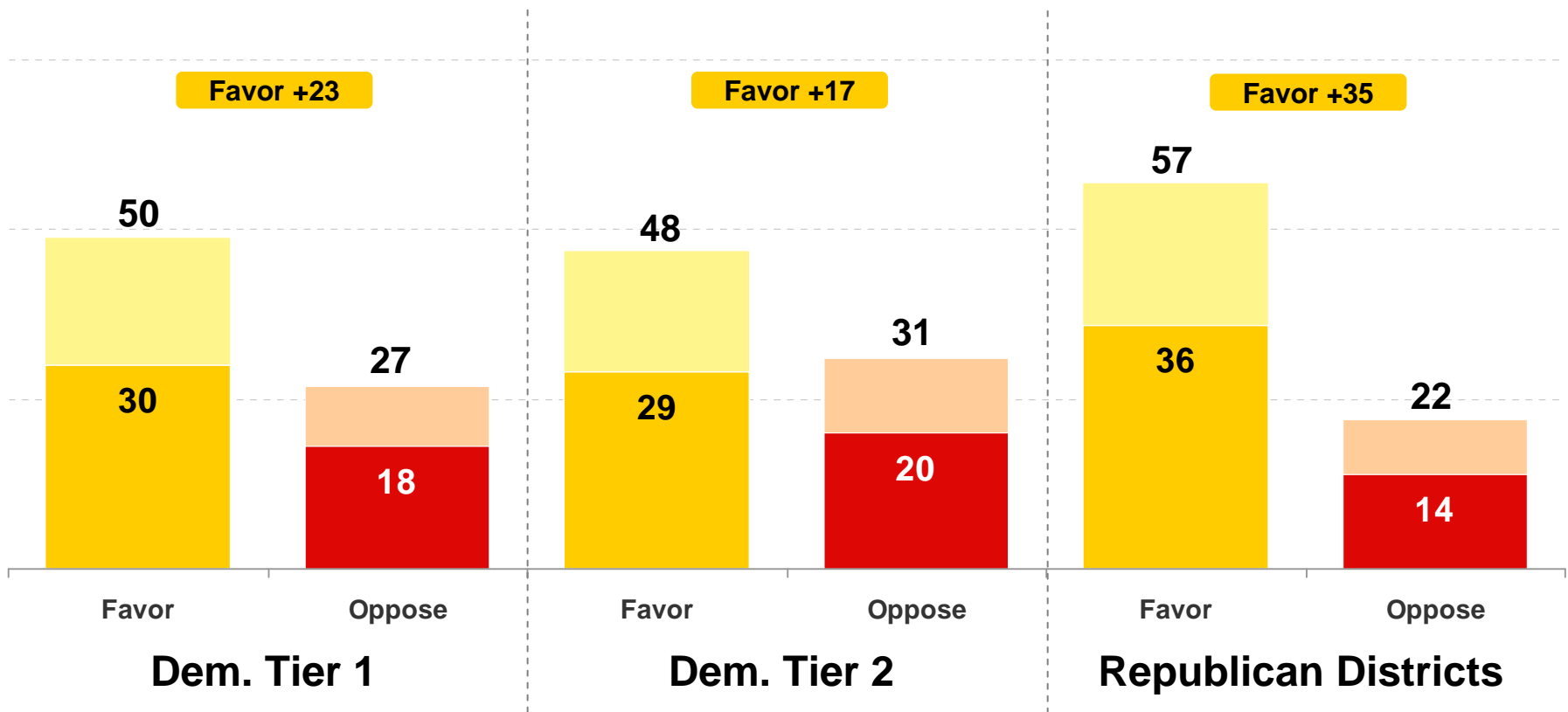




# Most support financial reform across all competitive districts

As you may know, Congress is considering a bill that would create new rules for banks and other financial institutions. Do you favor or oppose this financial reform bill?

■ Strongly Favor ■ Strongly Oppose



# The midterm elections

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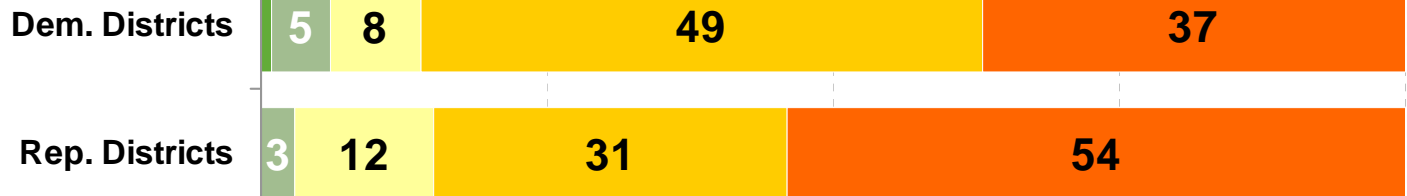
# Strong enthusiasm gap favors Republicans in Democratic districts

Please rate your level of enthusiasm about voting in this year's election for Congress on a scale from zero to ten, where zero means you're not at all enthusiastic about voting this year and ten means you're extremely enthusiastic about voting this year. You can use any number from zero to ten, the higher the number the more enthusiastic you are about voting this year.

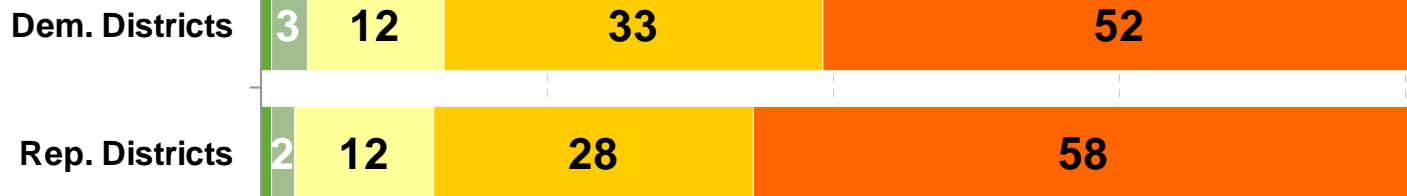
**Total  
6-10**

■ DK/Refused ■ 1-4: Not enthusiastic ■ 5: In the middle ■ 6-9: Enthusiastic ■ 10: Very

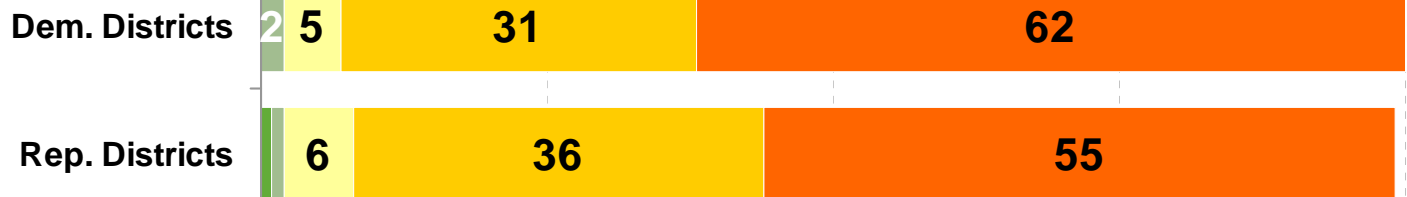
## Democrats



## Independents



## Republicans



0 25 50 75 100

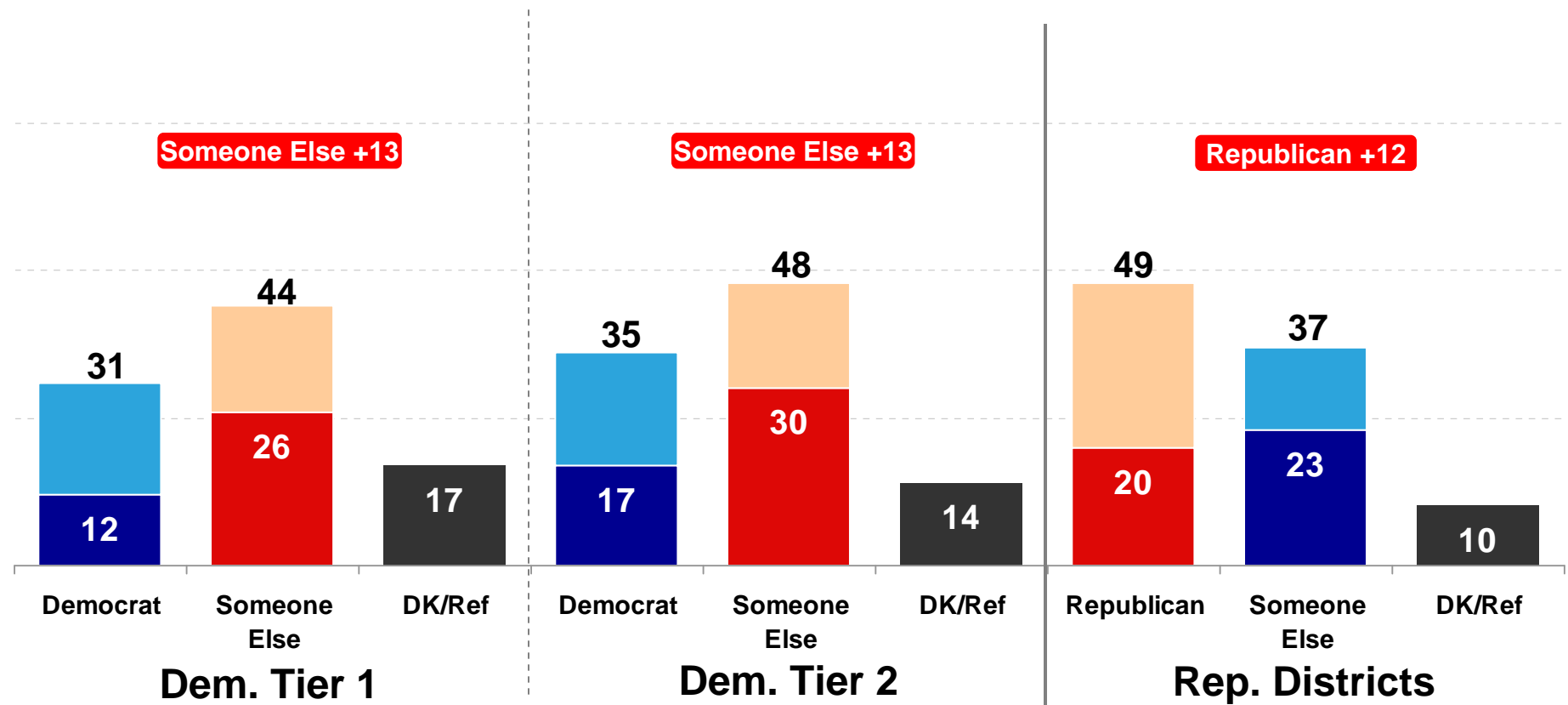


\*Note: These numbers exclusively reflect the 60 Democratic districts (Tier 1 and Tier 2), and do not include the 10 Republican districts.



# Only a third would vote to re-elect in Democratic seats

As you may know, there will be an election for your Representative in Congress in November. Do you think you will definitely vote to re-elect (HOUSE INCUMBENT) to Congress, probably vote to re-elect (HOUSE INCUMBENT), probably vote for someone else, or definitely vote for someone else?



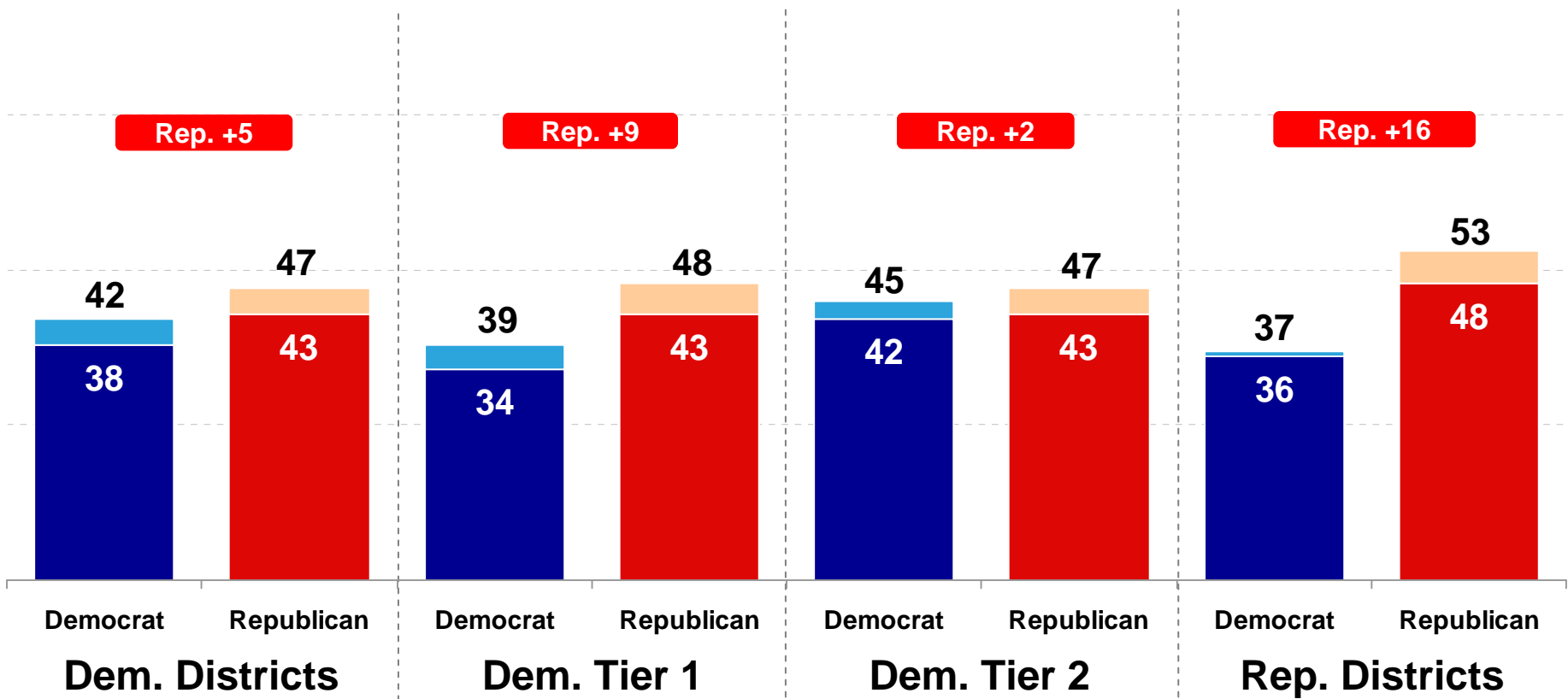
\*Note: The 2008-elected incumbent was inserted as the Democratic Candidate for all Democratic-held districts with the generic "Republican Candidate" as the challenger, and as the Republican Candidate for all Republican-held districts with the generic "Democratic Candidate" as the challenger. In districts where the incumbent has announced s/he will not run for re-election, the generic identified was inserted.



# The congressional vote

*I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress this year, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for - (DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE) or (REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE)?*

■ Democrat ■ Republican



*\*Note: The 2008-elected incumbent was inserted as the Democratic Candidate for all Democratic-held districts with the generic "Republican Candidate" as the challenger, and as the Republican Candidate for all Republican-held districts with the generic "Democratic Candidate" as the challenger. In districts where the incumbent has announced s/he will not run for re-election, the generic identified was inserted.*

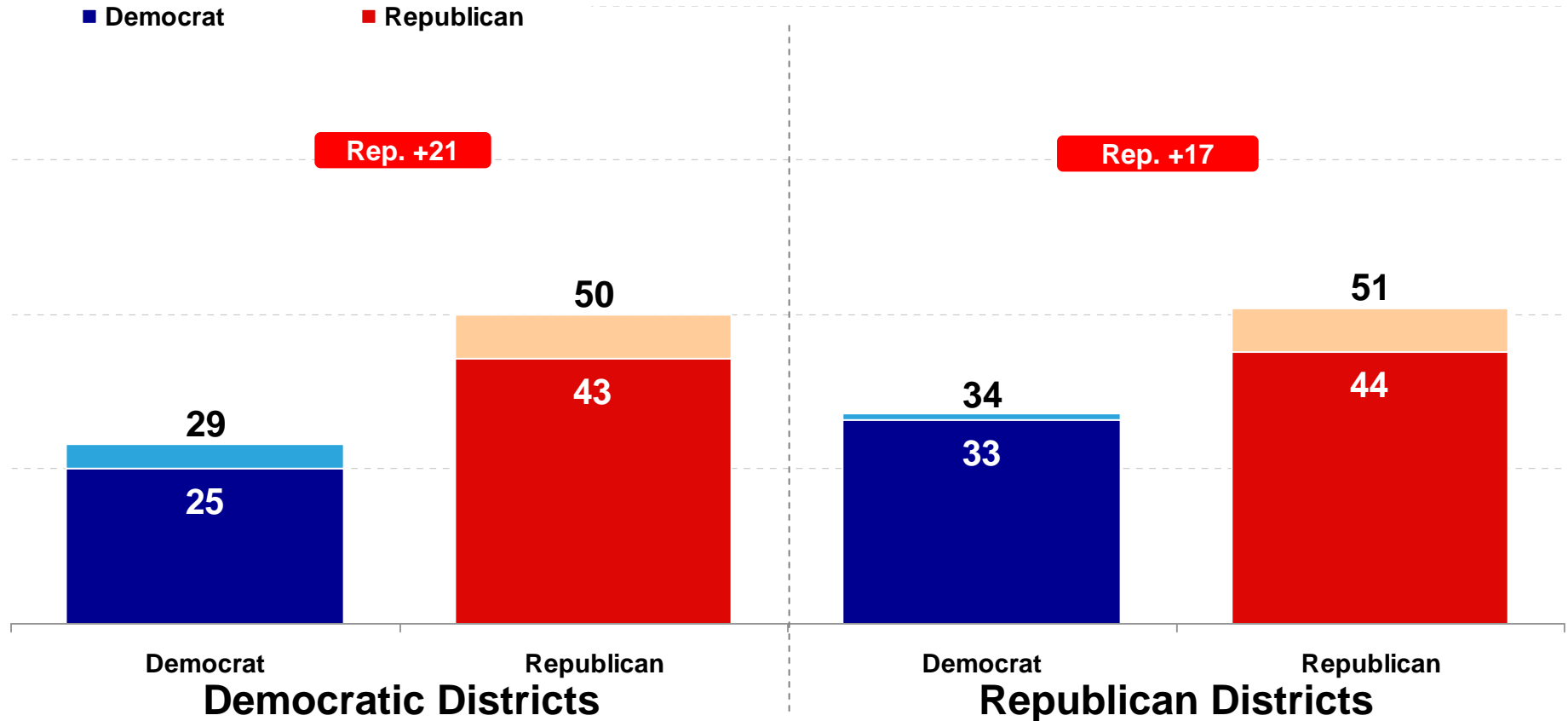


# The congressional vote among independent voters

*I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress this year, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for - (DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE) or (REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE)?*

■ Democrat

■ Republican



*\*Note: The 2008-elected incumbent was inserted as the Democratic Candidate for all Democratic-held districts with the generic "Republican Candidate" as the challenger, and as the Republican Candidate for all Republican-held districts with the generic "Democratic Candidate" as the challenger. In districts where the incumbent has announced s/he will not run for re-election, the generic identified was inserted.*

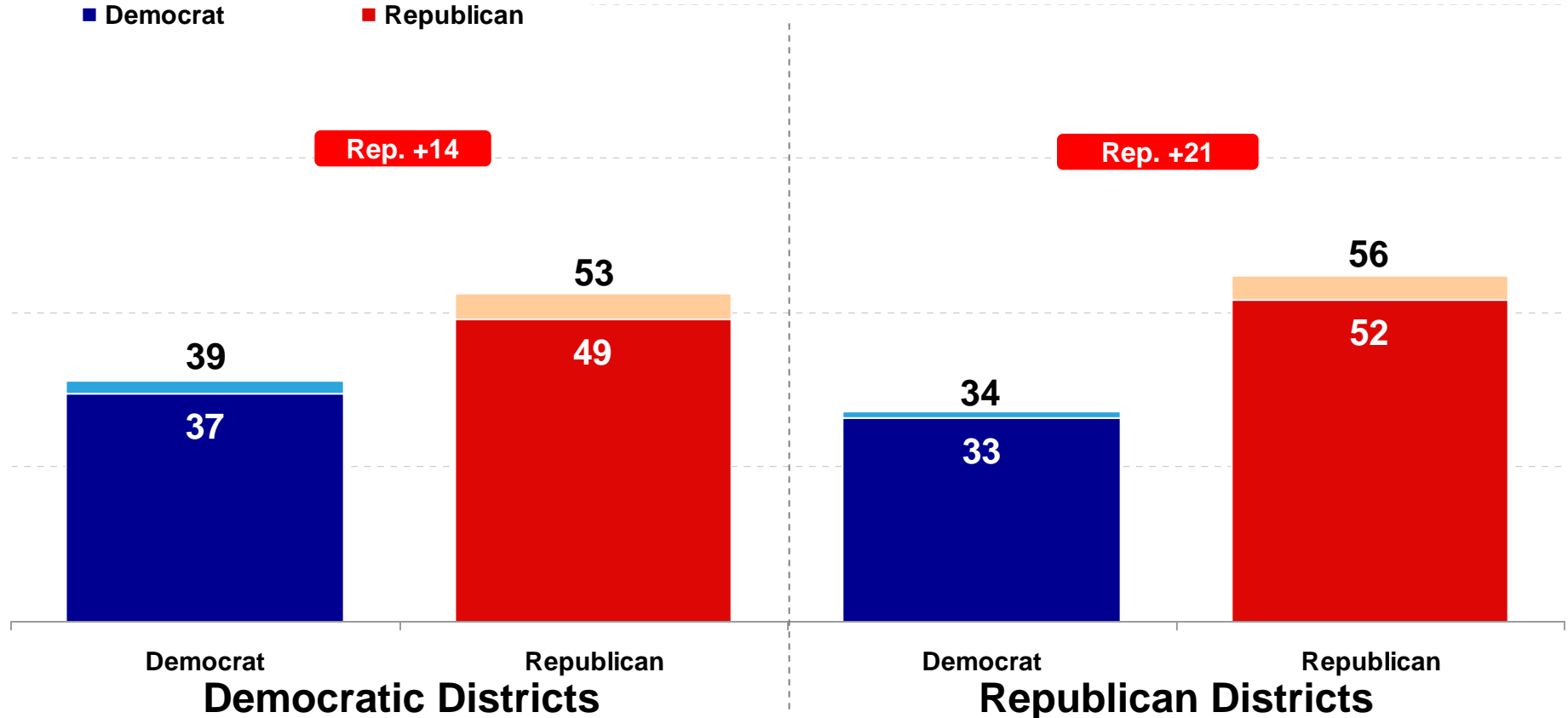


# The congressional vote among most enthusiastic voters

*I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress this year, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for - (DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE) or (REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE)?*

■ Democrat

■ Republican



*\*Note: Data reflects enthusiasm among those who indicate 8, 9, or 10 when asked about their interest in the election. The 2008-elected incumbent was inserted as the Democratic Candidate for all Democratic-held districts with the generic "Republican Candidate" as the challenger, and as the Republican Candidate for all Republican-held districts with the generic "Democratic Candidate" as the challenger. In districts where the incumbent has announced s/he will not run for re-election, the generic identified was inserted.*

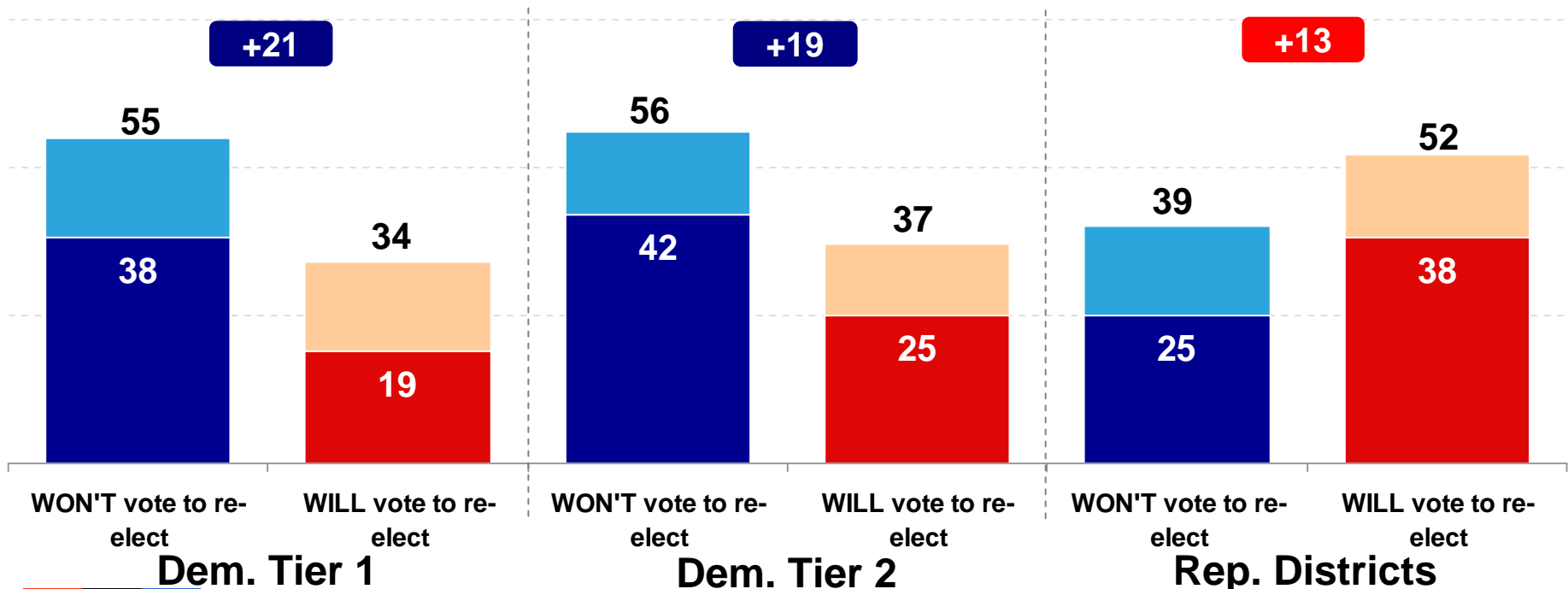


# Democratic tiers lean to voting against incumbent to get change

**First Statement:** I WON'T vote to reelect (HOUSE INCUMBENT) because we need new people who will fix Washington and get things done.

**Second Statement:** I WILL vote to reelect (HOUSE INCUMBENT) because (HE/SHE) is doing a good job and addressing issues that are important to us.

■ First statement strongly    ■ Second statement strongly





# Voters in Republican districts split over voting to support Obama

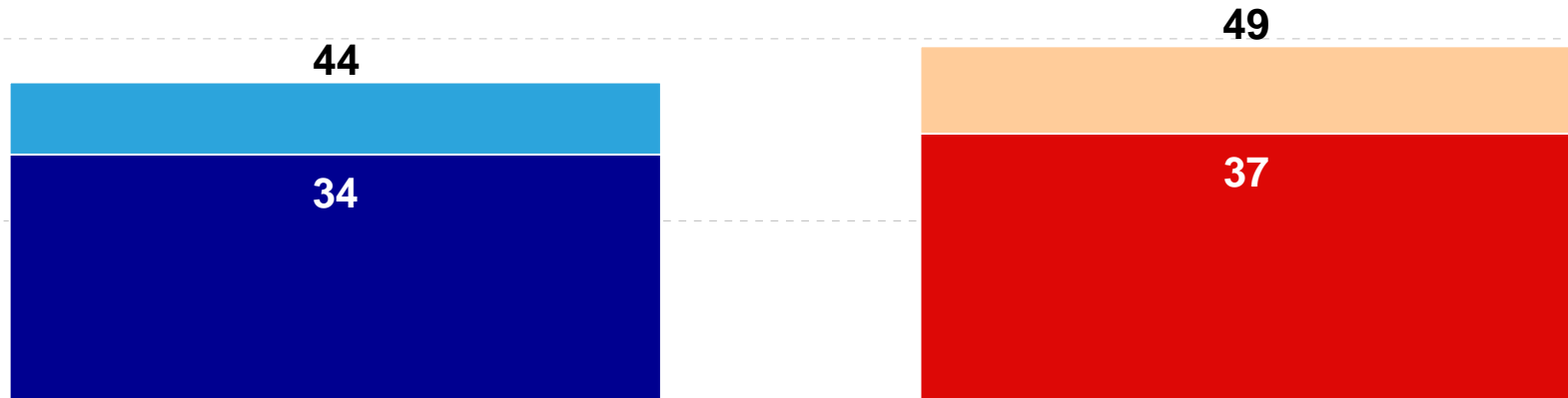
**First Statement:** I WILL vote for a Democrat for Congress because at least he or she will work with President Obama to bring the change we need.

**Second Statement:** I WILL vote for (HOUSE INCUMBENT) because the Democratic Congress is just business as usual in Washington and more of the same tax and spend policies

■ First statement strongly

■ Second statement strongly

+5



WILL Vote for Dem.

WILL Vote for Incumbent

## Republican Districts



*\*Note: Question was asked in Republican districts only. Question not asked in districts where the incumbent will not be running for reelection.*

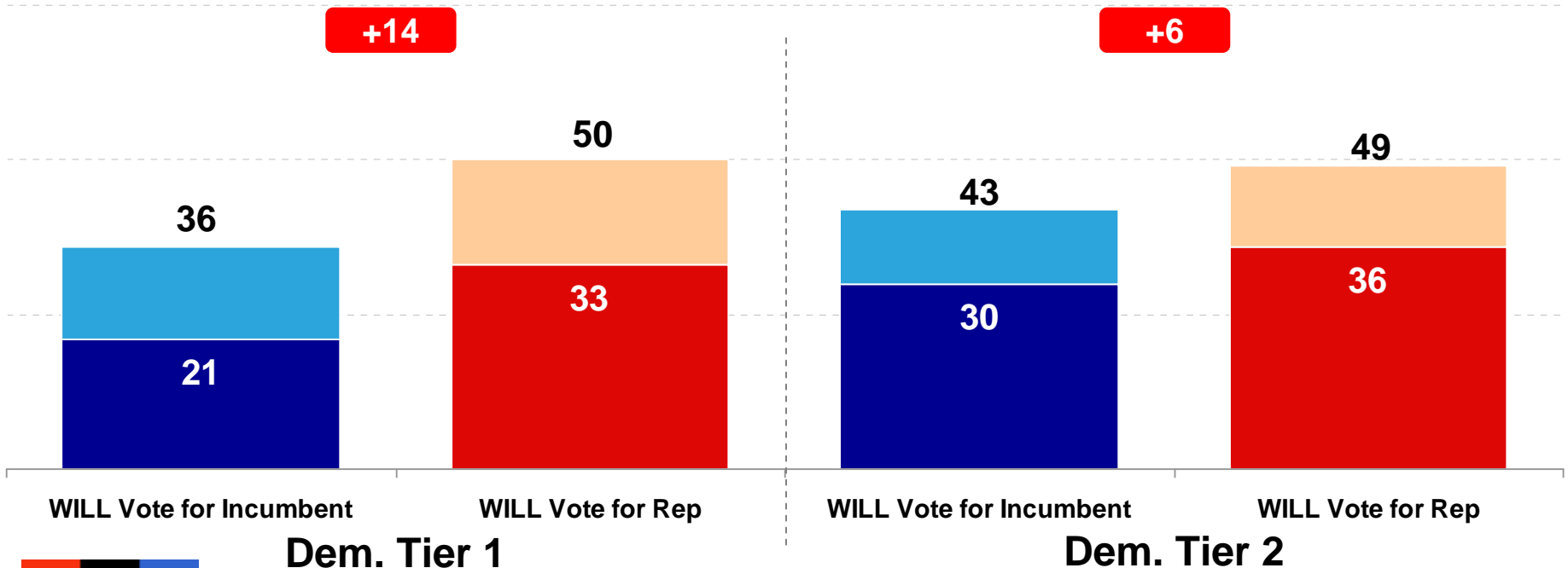


# Near majority will vote Republican to oppose waste and rubber stamp

**First Statement:** I WILL vote for (HOUSE INCUMBENT) because (HE/SHE) is fighting for change and making progress addressing the problems our nation is facing.

**Second Statement:** I will vote for a Republican for Congress because at least he or she won't be a rubber stamp for national Democrats and all of their wasteful spending

■ First statement strongly      ■ Second statement strongly



\*Note: Question was asked in Democratic districts only. Question not asked in districts where the incumbent will not be running for reelection.

# Message debates

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## Potential candidate messages: overall theme for the election

**(DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE)** *might say, "The partisan wars go on in Washington, but I'm focused on the battle for regular people. I voted for tax cuts for middle class families and small businesses and companies that create American jobs and on tough Wall Street reform. They voted to let Wall Street keep the money and do what they want, keep tax breaks for big corporations that send jobs overseas. They bailed out the banks, left the country in debt and voted against helping the unemployed in the resulting crisis. People are under the financial gun, and I vote against earmarks and to control spending."*

**(REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE)** *might say, "It's time for the Democrats to stop living in the past by blaming others for nearly ten percent unemployment and their runaway government spending. I am focused on the future. I was not part of the Republican Congress that spent too much, and my goal will be to stop the wasteful spending that has only gotten significantly worse with one party control of Washington. The Democrats are growing the size and scope of government, and it's hurting our economy. We need a check and balance to make sure Washington listens to the people, rather than just spend, spend, spend."*

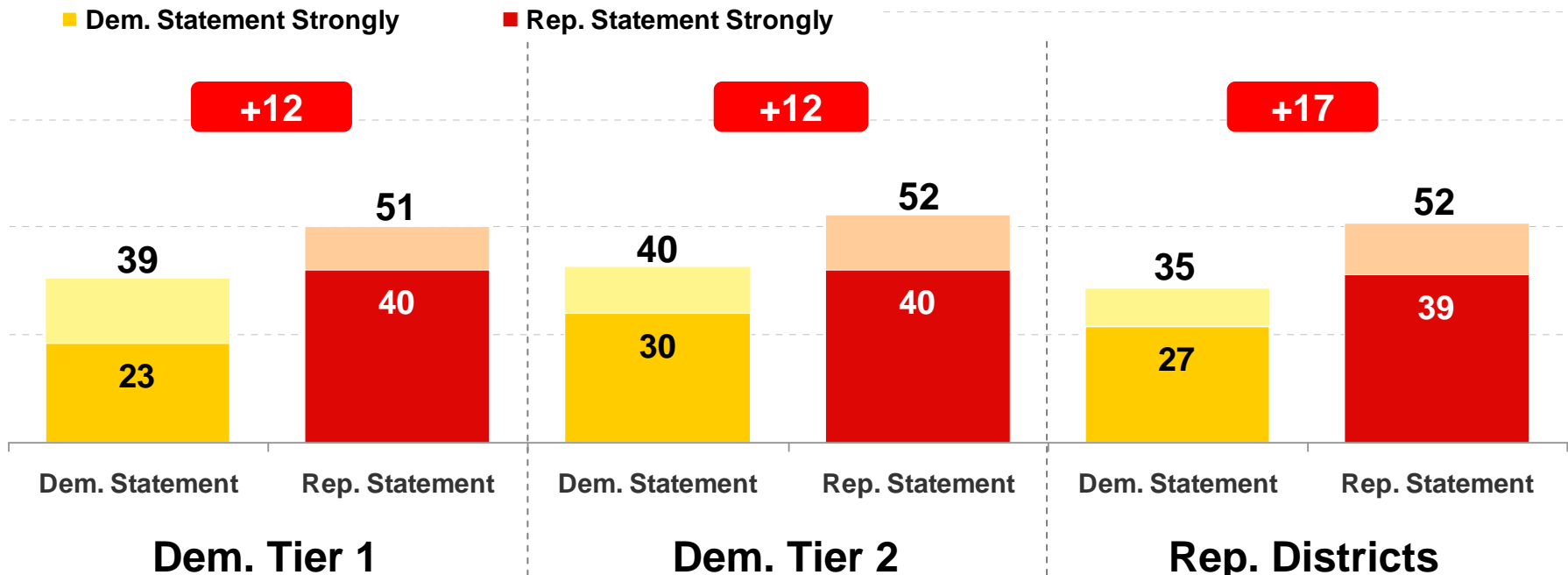


# Republicans control theme when attacking Democrats on spending

Next I'm going to read you some pairs of statements about what the two candidates in your district might say on some key issues. 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.

**DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE:** "I'm focused on the battle for regular people...they bailed out the banks, left the country in debt and voted against helping the unemployed..."

**REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE:** "Democrats need to stop living in the past...my goal will be to stop the wasteful spending that has only gotten significantly worse with one party control..."





## Potential candidate messages: the economy

**(DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE)** *might say, "They left America with rising bailouts, deficits and unemployment. So, I'm fighting for small business and the middle class, not the big guys. I helped get the biggest tax cut ever for the middle class, extended benefits and health insurance for the unemployed and passed tax credits for small business and clean energy to create new jobs here. And I'll make sure Wall Street pays back every penny and that the government reduces the deficit each year. We can't go back to policies that hurt the middle class."*

**(REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE)** *might say, "The bailouts failed. The stimulus failed. And the health care bill will cost too much money. Unemployment has skyrocketed since the Democrats started running Washington. We cannot grow the economy by growing government. The best way to revive the economy and create jobs is to reduce government spending and encourage businesses to create jobs. We need to stop burdening our children and grandchildren with Washington's reckless overspending. My top priority will be to bring down the deficit and work to create jobs, not kill jobs."*

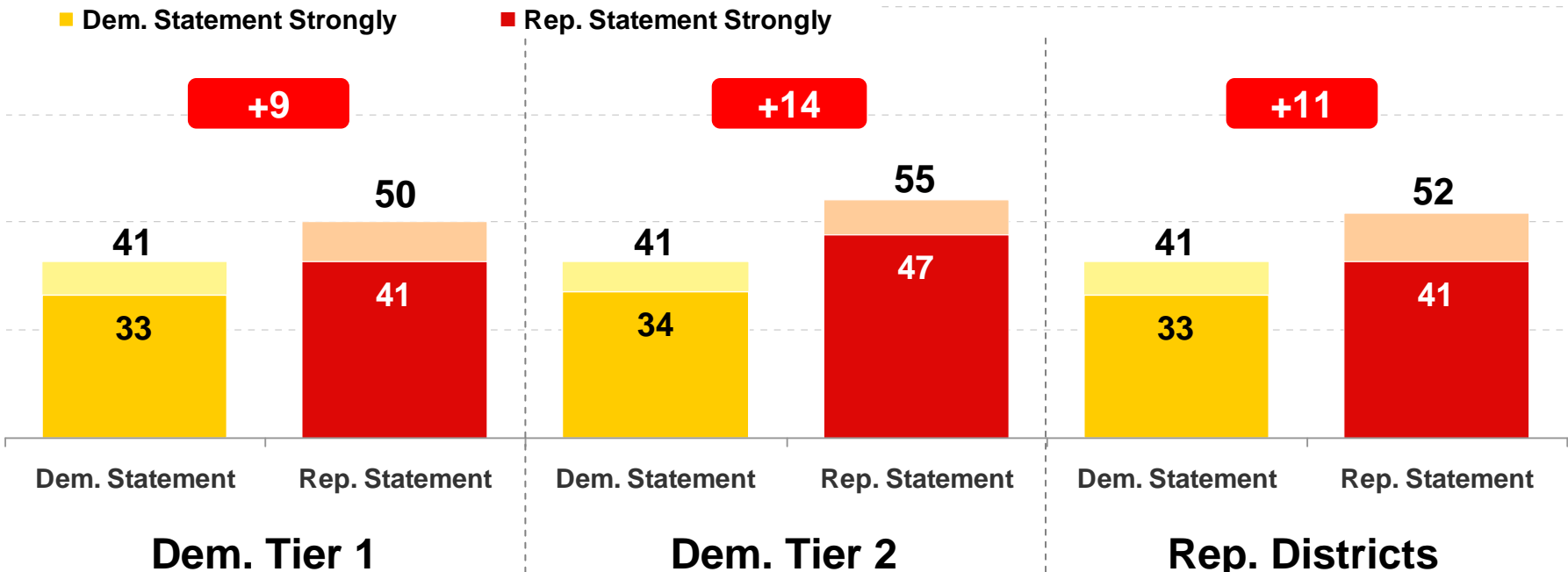


# Republican message on failure of bailouts and stimulus effective

Next I'm going to read you some pairs of statements about what the two candidates in your district might say on some key issues. 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.

**DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE:** "I'm fighting for small businesses and the middle class...I'll make sure Wall Street pays back every penny and the government reduces the deficit each year."

**REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE:** "The bailouts failed. The stimulus failed...my top priority will be to bring down the deficit and to work to create jobs, not kill jobs."





## Potential candidate messages: health care

**(DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE)** *might say, "Health reform isn't perfect, but it's a good start that puts an end to the worst abuses of the insurance companies. They want to change it so the insurance companies can deny people coverage because of pre-existing conditions and kick them off if they get sick. I'll keep working to make the law better by providing families and businesses more stable coverage and lower costs, not go back to the old way where insurance companies set the rules."*

**(REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE)** *might say, "At a cost of over one trillion dollars, the new health care law is increasing the cost of health care for middle class families, lowers the quality of care we receive, and will increase our taxes. This plan is little more than a government takeover of health care, giving government bureaucrats the power to make medical decisions. We need to change the new law by keeping the few good parts and significantly improving the rest."*

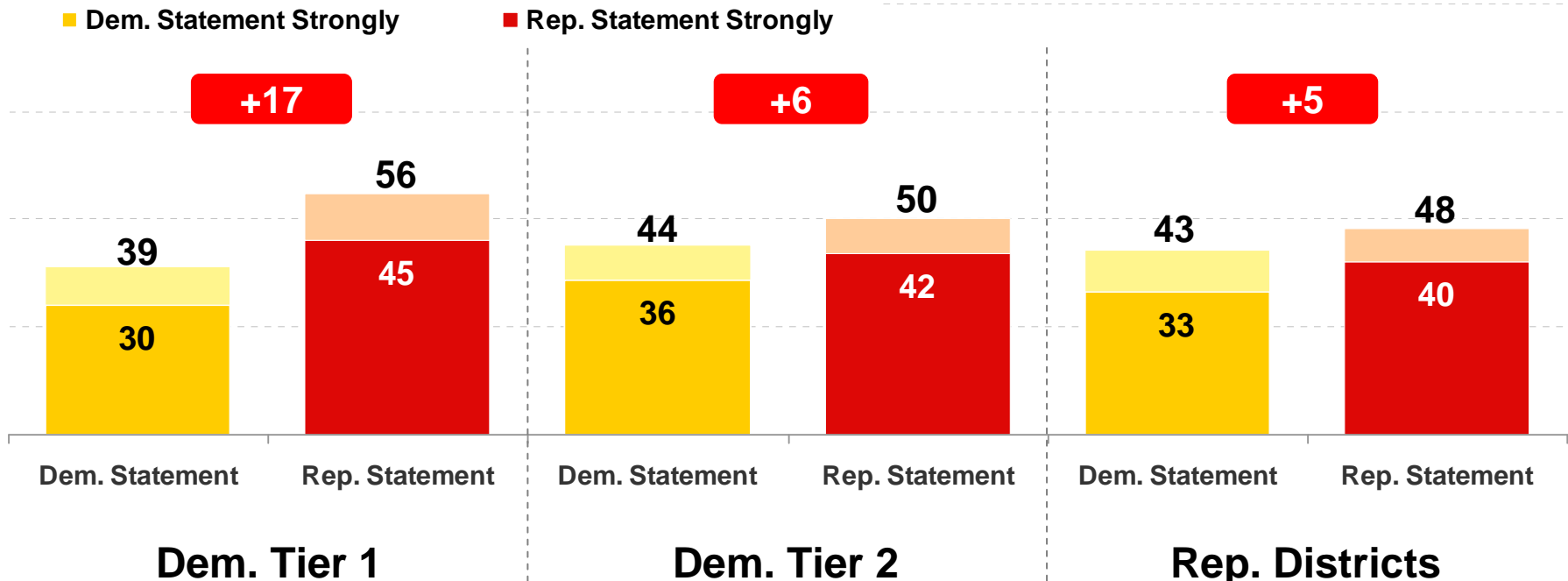


# Ineffective message in first Democratic tier, but near even in others

Next I'm going to read you some pairs of statements about what the two candidates in your district might say on some key issues. 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.

**DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE:** "Health care reform isn't perfect but it's a good start...not go back to the old way where insurance companies set the rules."

**REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE:** "At a cost of over one trillion dollars the new health care law is increasing the cost of health care for middle class families."





## Potential candidate messages: Wall Street reform

**(DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE)** *might say, "If Wall Street banks are healthy enough to pay outrageous executive bonuses then they are healthy enough to pay back every cent they got from taxpayers. I will institute tough reforms that hold the banks accountable and make sure that if a bank fails, the CEO is fired instead of getting a bonus and a bailout. That kind of greed cost too many jobs. But my opponent is standing with the Wall Street banks and their lobbyists and opposing real financial reform."*

**(REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE)** *might say, "I support fixing the way Wall Street operates, and believe Wall Street banks should pay back every cent of taxpayer money they were loaned. However, raising taxes on businesses will not create new jobs and will make our economy even worse. We need reforms that stop the abuses but don't go too far and hurt our economy. We need to allow our small businesses to borrow money so they can grow, and hire more employees to bring down unemployment."*



# Limited reform wins out over stronger regulation pushed by Democrats

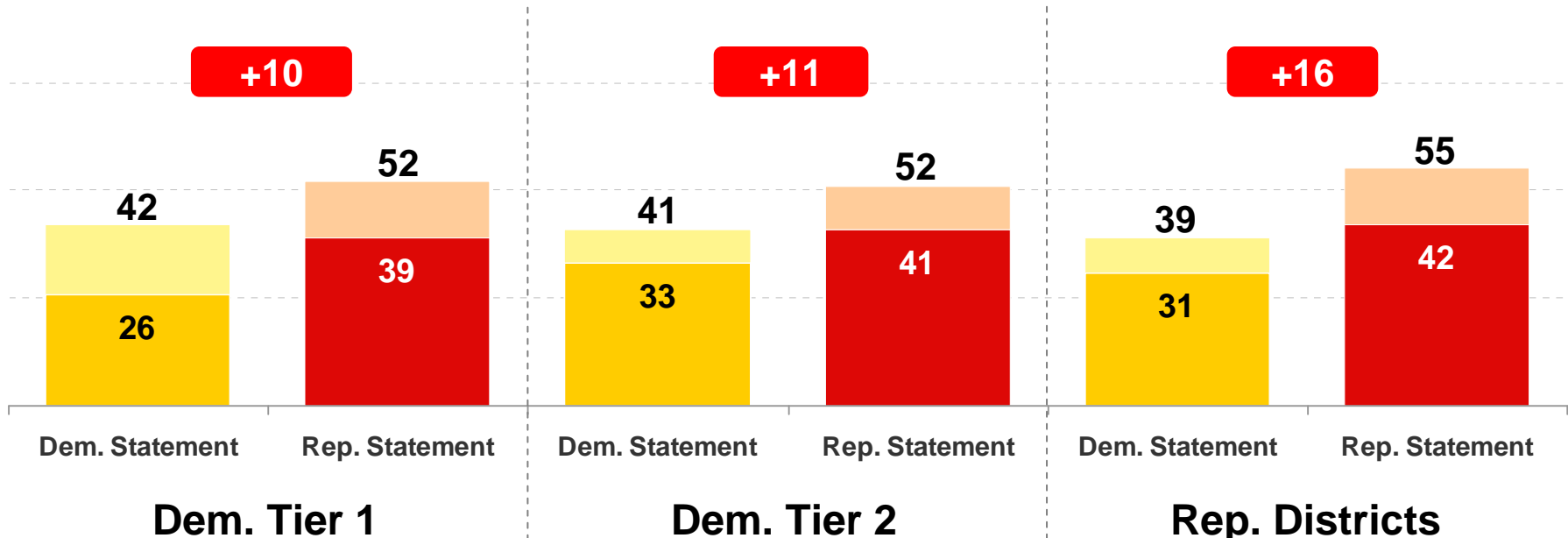
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**DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE:** "I will institute tough reforms that hold the banks accountable...my opponent is standing with the Wall Street banks and their lobbyists..."

**REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE:** "Wall Street banks should pay back every cent of taxpayer money...we need reforms that stop the abuses but don't go too far and hurt our economy."

■ Dem. Statement Strongly

■ Rep. Statement Strongly



# GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES



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