

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

Democrats Gaining in Battleground; Ryan Budget Could Finish the Job

The Congressional Battleground

April 18, 2012



Methodology and Overview

This presentation is based on a unique survey of 1000 likely 2012 voters in 56 Republican-held battleground districts and 500 likely 2012 voters in 23 Democratic-held battleground districts conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research for Democracy Corps and Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund from March 29 – April 4, 2012. For questions asked in both Democratic and Republican districts, the margin of error = +/- 2.53% at 95% confidence. For questions asked just in Republican districts, the margin of error = +/- 3.1% at 95% confidence.

*****Note: The time series data represents the common 33 districts originally selected in March 2011 and still in the battleground for this survey. All other data, where noted, represents either the 56 Republican-held districts, 23 Democratic-held districts, or the 79 total districts in the battleground.***

The Battleground

- **The 2012 Democracy Corps Congressional battleground research focuses intensely on the Republican-Obama districts; 44 of the 56 Republican-held districts were won by Barack Obama in 2008 but claimed by Republicans in the 2010 midterm.**
- **This survey also included 23 of the most competitive Democratic-held districts. This combined Republican and Democratic model, which includes the 79 most crucial battleground districts, allows Democracy Corps to track public opinion in ways that will define, shape, and structure the public debate leading up to the election in November.**
- **Due to redistricting and methodological limitations, the makeup of our battleground is a combination of old and new district lines, using the new district lines where states have finalized new maps and where voter lists have been updated, and using the old district lines in states that either have not finalized new maps or where updated voter lists are not yet available. This hybrid model will evolve over the course of 2012, with the increasing ability to dial in new districts with each succeeding survey. In this current survey, 22 out of the 79 districts (28 percent) reflect new district lines.**
- **The Republican districts are divided into 2 tiers. Tier 1 includes the 28 most competitive districts; Tier 2 is composed of 28 secondary targets. Voters in Republican districts were given a complete survey, including incumbent traits and the Ryan budget debate; respondents in Democratic districts were asked base questions, including thermometers and votes.**
- **33 of the 56 Republican-held districts in this survey were included in our March 2011 battleground survey - the first in the 2012 cycle - giving us the unique ability to track changes in public mood and opinion over time in these crucial swing districts. The trend data in this presentation represents these common districts.**

Battleground Districts: Tier 1 – 28 most competitive Republican districts

District	Old/New Lines	2008 Presidential vote margin	2010 Congressional vote margin	Representative	Cook PVI
AZ-1	Old	McCain +10	Rep +7	Paul Gosar	R +6
CA-3	Old	Obama +0	Rep +8	Dan Lungren	R +6
CA-24	Old	Obama +3	Rep +20	Elton Gallegly	R +4
CA-26	Old	Obama +4	Rep +17	David Dreier	R +3
CA-50	Old	Obama +4	Rep +18	Brian Bilbray	R +3
FL-22	Old	Obama +4	Rep +8	Allen West	D +1
IL-8	New	Obama +24	n/a	Joe Walsh	D +5
IL-10	New	Obama +27	n/a	Robert Dold	D +8
IL-11	New	Obama +24	n/a	Judy Biggert	D +6
IL-13	New	Obama +11	n/a	Tim Johnson	D +1
IL-17	New	Obama +22	n/a	Bobby Schilling	D +6
IA-4	New	McCain +2	n/a	Steve King	R +4
MD-6	New	Obama +14	n/a	Roscoe Bartlett	D +2
MN-8	Old	Obama +8	Rep +1	Chip Cravaack	D +3
NV-3	Old	Obama +12	Rep +1	Joe Heck	D +2
NH-1	Old	Obama +6	Rep +11	Frank Guinta	Even
NH-2	Old	Obama +13	Rep +1	Charlie Bass	D +3
NJ-3	Old	Obama +5	Rep +3	Jon Runyan	R +1
NY-9	Old	Obama +11	n/a	Bob Turner	D +5
NY-13	Old	McCain +2	Rep +3	Michael Grimm	R +4
NY-25	Old	Obama +13	Rep +0	Ann Marie Buerkle	D +3
OH-6	New	n/a	n/a	Bill Johnson	R +5
OH-16	New	n/a	n/a	Jim Renacci	R +4
PA-7	Old	Obama +13	Rep +11	Pat Meehan	D +3
PA-8	Old	Obama +9	Rep + 8	Mike Fitzpatrick	D +2
PA-11	Old	Obama +15	Rep +10	Lou Barletta	D +4
WI-7	New	n/a	n/a	Sean Duffy	Even
WI-8	New	n/a	n/a	Reid Ribble	R +2

Battleground Districts: Tier 2 – 28 less competitive Republican districts

District	Old/New Lines	2008 Presidential vote margin	2010 Congressional vote margin	Representative	Cook PVI
AR-1	Old	McCain +21	Rep +9	Rick Crawford	R +8
CA-44	Old	Obama +1	Rep +12	Ken Calvert	R +6
CA-45	Old	Obama +5	Rep +10	Mary Bono Mack	R +3
CO-3	Old	McCain +2	Rep +4	Scott Tipton	R +5
CO-4	Old	McCain +1	Rep +12	Cory Gardner	R +6
FL-8	Old	Obama +5	Rep +18	Dan Webster	R +2
FL-10	Old	Obama +5	Rep +32	C.W. Bill Young	R +1
FL-25	Old	McCain +1	Rep +10	David Rivera	R +5
MI-1	Old	Obama +2	Rep +11	Dan Benishek	R +3
MI-3	Old	McCain +0	Rep +23	Justin Amash	R +6
MI-7	Old	Obama +5	Rep +5	Tim Walberg	R +1
MI-11	Old	Obama +9	Rep +20	Thad McCotter	Even
MN-3	Old	Obama +6	Rep +22	Erik Paulsen	Even
NE-2	New	Obama +1	n/a	Lee Terry	R +6
NJ-7	Old	Obama +1	Rep +18	Leonard Lance	R +3
NY-19	Old	Obama +3	Rep +6	Nan Hayworth	R +3
NY-20	Old	Obama +3	Rep +10	Chris Gibson	R +2
NY-24	Old	Obama +3	Rep +6	Richard Hanna	R +2
ND-AL	New	McCain +9	Rep +10	OPEN (Berg)	R +10
OH-7	New	n/a	n/a	Bob Gibbs	R +4
PA-3	Old	McCain +0	Rep +11	Mike Kelly	R +3
PA-6	Old	Obama +17	Rep +14	Jim Gerlach	D +4
PA-15	Old	Obama +13	Rep +15	Charlie Dent	D +2
TX-23	Old	Obama +3	Rep +5	Francisco Canseco	R +4
TX-27	Old	Obama +7	Rep +1	Blake Farenthold	R +2
VA-2	Old	Obama +2	Rep +10	Scott Rigell	R +5
WA-3	Old	Obama +6	Rep +6	Jaime Herrera	Even
WA-8	Old	Obama +15	Rep +6	Dave Reichert	D +3

Battleground Districts: Democratic tier – 23 most competitive Democratic districts

District	Old/New Lines	2008 Presidential vote margin	2010 Congressional vote margin	Representative	Cook PVI
AR-4	Old	McCain +19	Dem +17	OPEN (Ross)	R +7
AZ-8	Old	McCain +6	Dem +1	VACANT (Giffords)	R +4
CA-11	Old	Obama +9	Dem +1	Jerry McNerney	R +1
CA-20	Old	Obama +21	Dem +3	Jim Costa	D +5
CT-5	Old	Obama +14	Dem +8	OPEN (Murphy)	D +2
GA-12	Old	Obama +9	Dem +13	John Barrow	D +1
IA-1	New	Obama +18	n/a	Bruce Braley	D +5
IA-2	New	Obama +15	n/a	Dave Loebsack	D +4
IA-3	New	Obama +6	n/a	Leonard Boswell	R +1
IN-2	Old	Obama +9	Dem +1	OPEN (Donnelly)	R +2
KY-6	Old	McCain +12	Dem +0	Ben Chandler	R +7
ME-2	New	Obama +11	n/a	Mike Michaud	D +3
NY-1	Old	Obama +4	Dem +0	Tim Bishop	Even
NY-23	Old	Obama +5	Dem +1	Bill Owens	R +1
NY-26	Old	McCain +6	n/a	Kathy Hochul	R +6
NC-7	New	McCain +16	n/a	Mike McIntyre	R +11
NC-8	New	McCain +16	n/a	Larry Kissell	R +12
NC-11	New	McCain +18	n/a	OPEN (Shuler)	R +13
NC-13	New	McCain +9	n/a	OPEN (Miller)	R +10
OK-2	Old	McCain +31	Dem +13	OPEN (Boren)	R +14
PA-12	Old	McCain +0	Dem +2	Mark Critz	R +1
WV-3	Old	McCain +13	Dem +12	Nick Rahall	R +6
UT-2	Old	McCain +18	Dem +5	Jim Matheson	R +15

Battleground Districts: by type of district

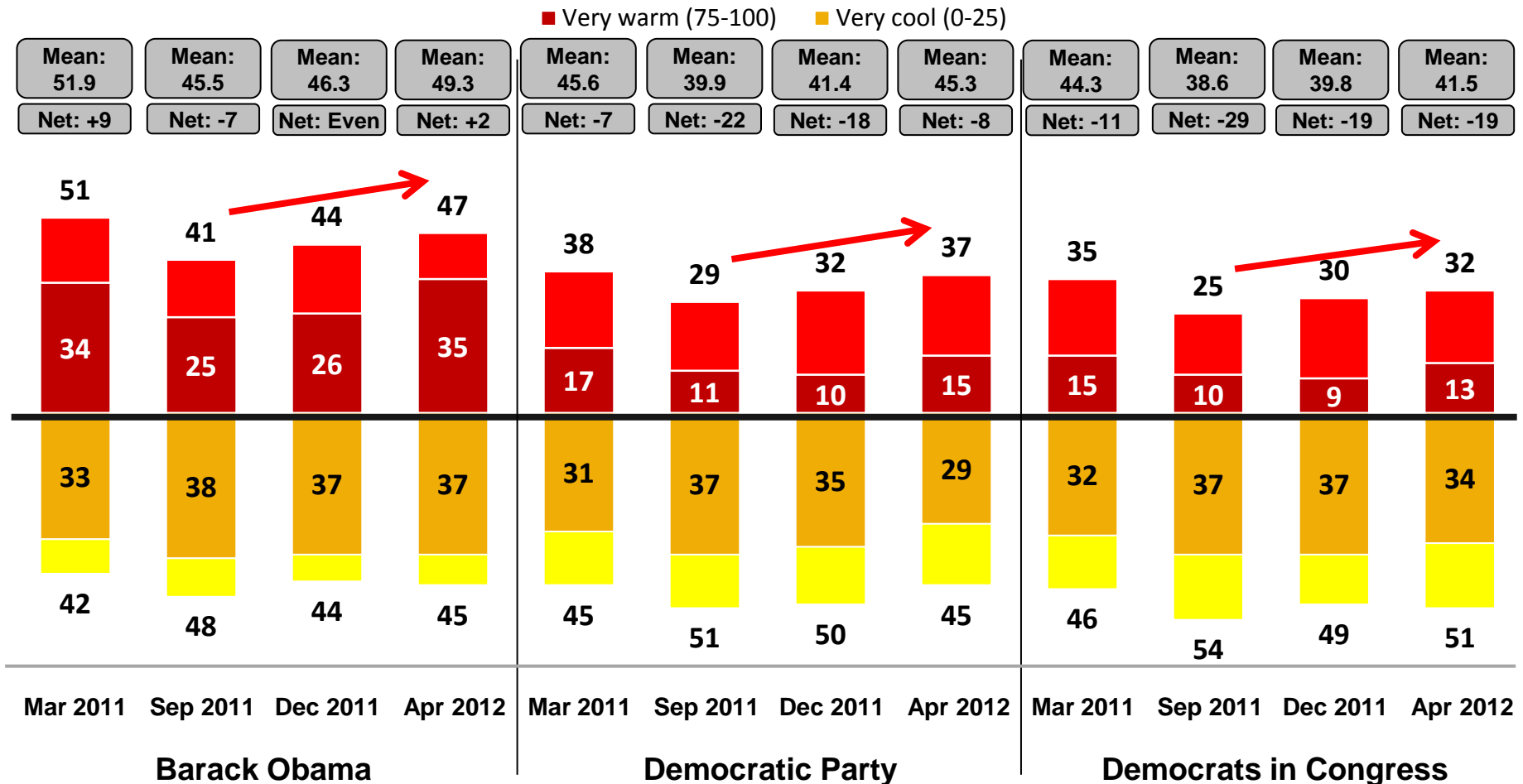
Rural	Exurban	Suburban	Suburban	Metro	Urban
Upscale Rural	Upscale Exurban	Upscale Suburban	Upscale Suburban	Upscale Metro	Upscale Urban
New Hampshire-2 (R) New York-20 (R)	Iowa-2 (D) Michigan-7 (R)	Arizona-8 (D) California-3 (R) California-11 (D) California-24 (R) California-26 (R) California-44 (R) Connecticut-5 (D) Florida-22 (R) Florida-25 (R) Illinois-8 (R) Illinois-10 (R) Illinois-11 (R) Maryland-6 (R) Michigan-11 (R) Minnesota-3 (R) Nevada-3 (R) New Hampshire-1 (R) New Jersey-3 (R) New Jersey-7 (R) New York-1 (D) New York-19 (R) New York-26 (D)	Pennsylvania-6 (R) Pennsylvania-7 (R) Pennsylvania-8 (R) Pennsylvania-15 (R) Utah-2 (D) Washington-8 (R)	California-50 (R) Colorado-4 (R) Florida-8 (R) Michigan-3 (R) New York-25 (R) North Carolina-13 (D) Washington-3 (R)	Nebraska-2 (R) New York-9 (R) New York-13 (R) Virginia-2 (R)
Downscale Rural	Downscale Exurban		Downscale Suburban	Downscale Metro	
Arkansas-1(R) Arkansas-4 (D) Iowa-3 (D) Iowa-4 (R) Maine-2 (D) Michigan-1 (R) Minnesota-8 (R) New York-23 (D) North Carolina-7 (D) North Carolina-11 (D) North Dakota-AL (R) Ohio-6 (R) Oklahoma-2 (D) Wisconsin-7 (R) West Virginia-3 (D)	Arizona-1 (R) Colorado-3 (R) Indiana-2 (D) Iowa-1 (D) New York-24 (R) Pennsylvania-3 (R) Pennsylvania-12 (D) Wisconsin-8 (R)		California-20 (D) California-45 (R) Florida-10 (R) Ohio-7 (R) Ohio-16 (R) Pennsylvania-11 (R)	Illinois-13 (R) Illinois-17 (R) Kentucky-6 (D) Georgia-12 (D) North Carolina-8 (D) Texas-23 (R) Texas-27 (R)	

**Note: For new district lines, typologies were unavailable. They were estimated based on the majority of the makeup of the old district.*

In the Republican seats, Obama and Democrats strengthening, while Republicans not improving

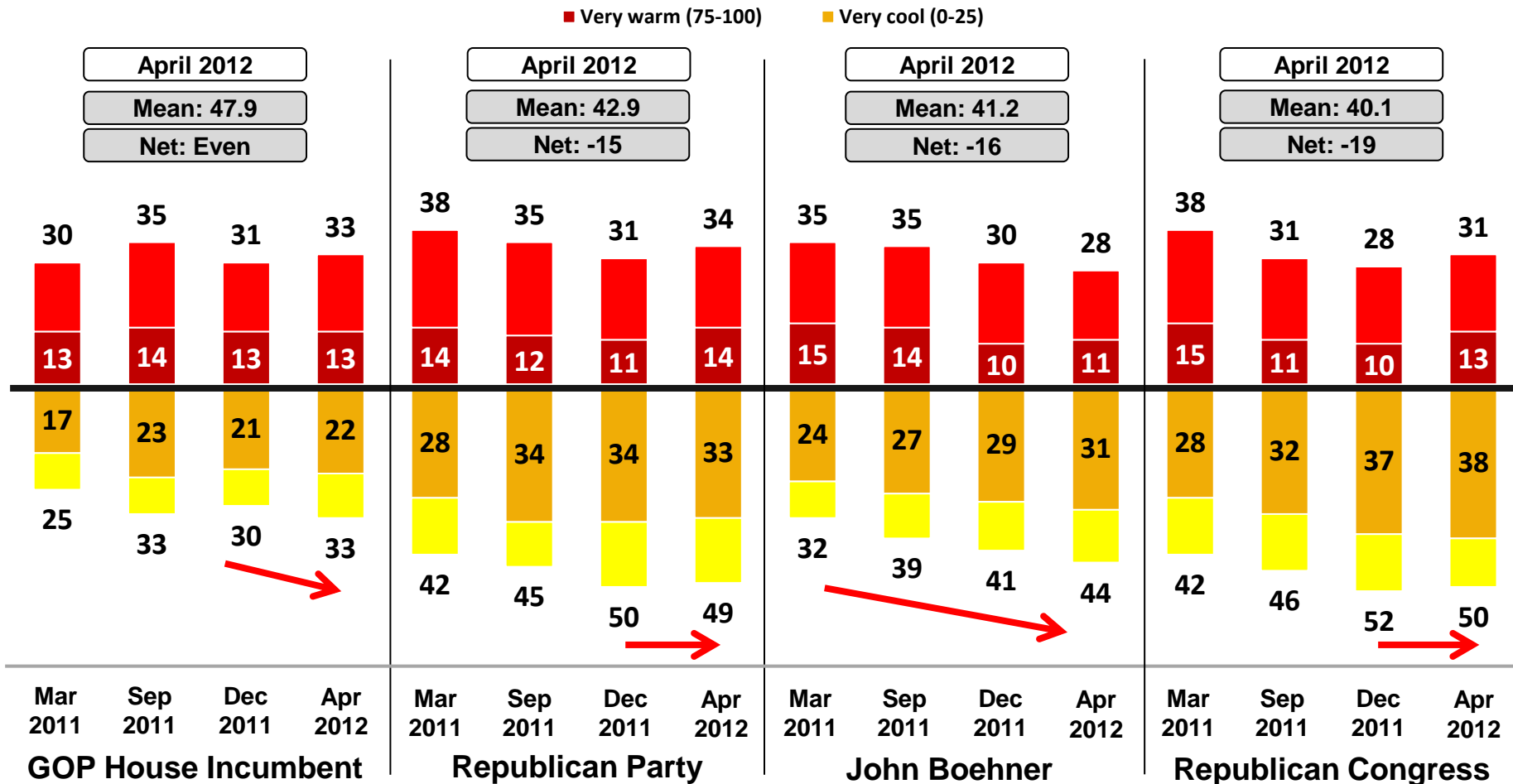
Obama, Democrats' images improve since September...

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.



...While Boehner and Republicans not gaining ground; Republican Congress at 50% negative

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.

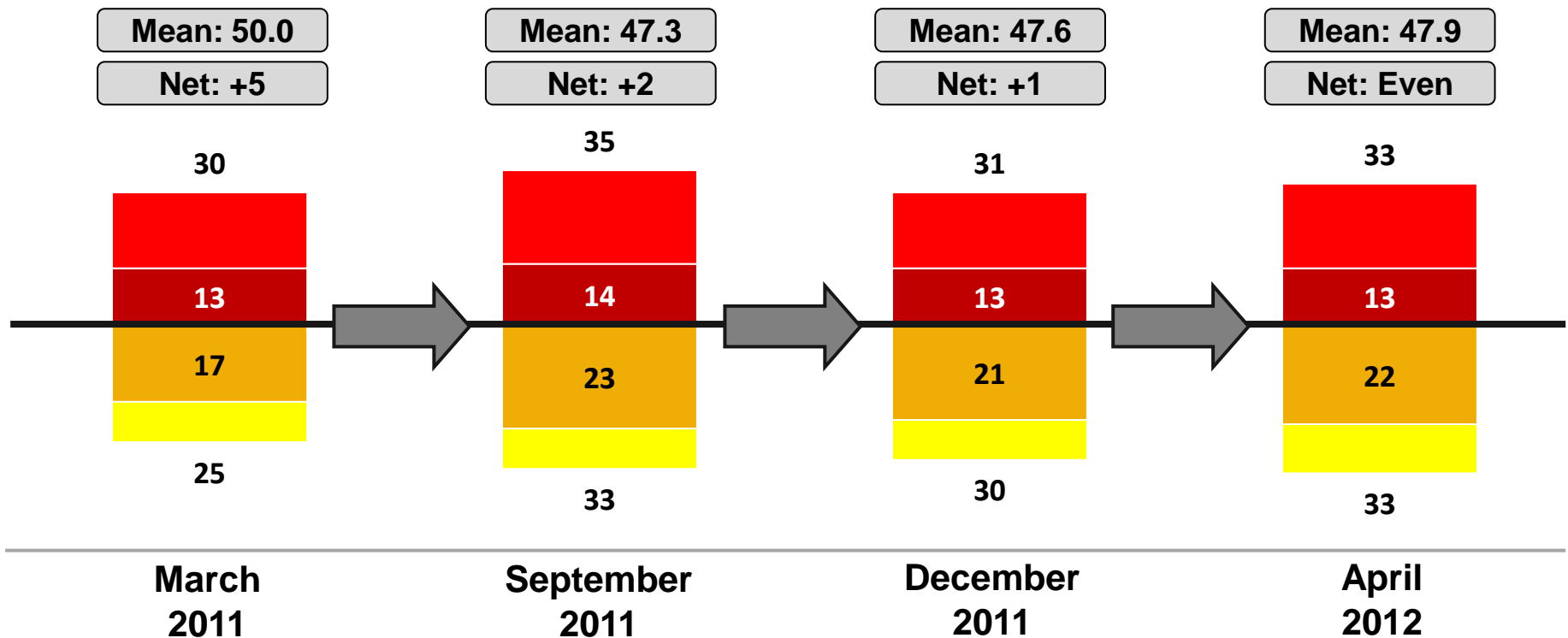


Republican incumbents not gaining favorability with voters at critical time

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.

■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)

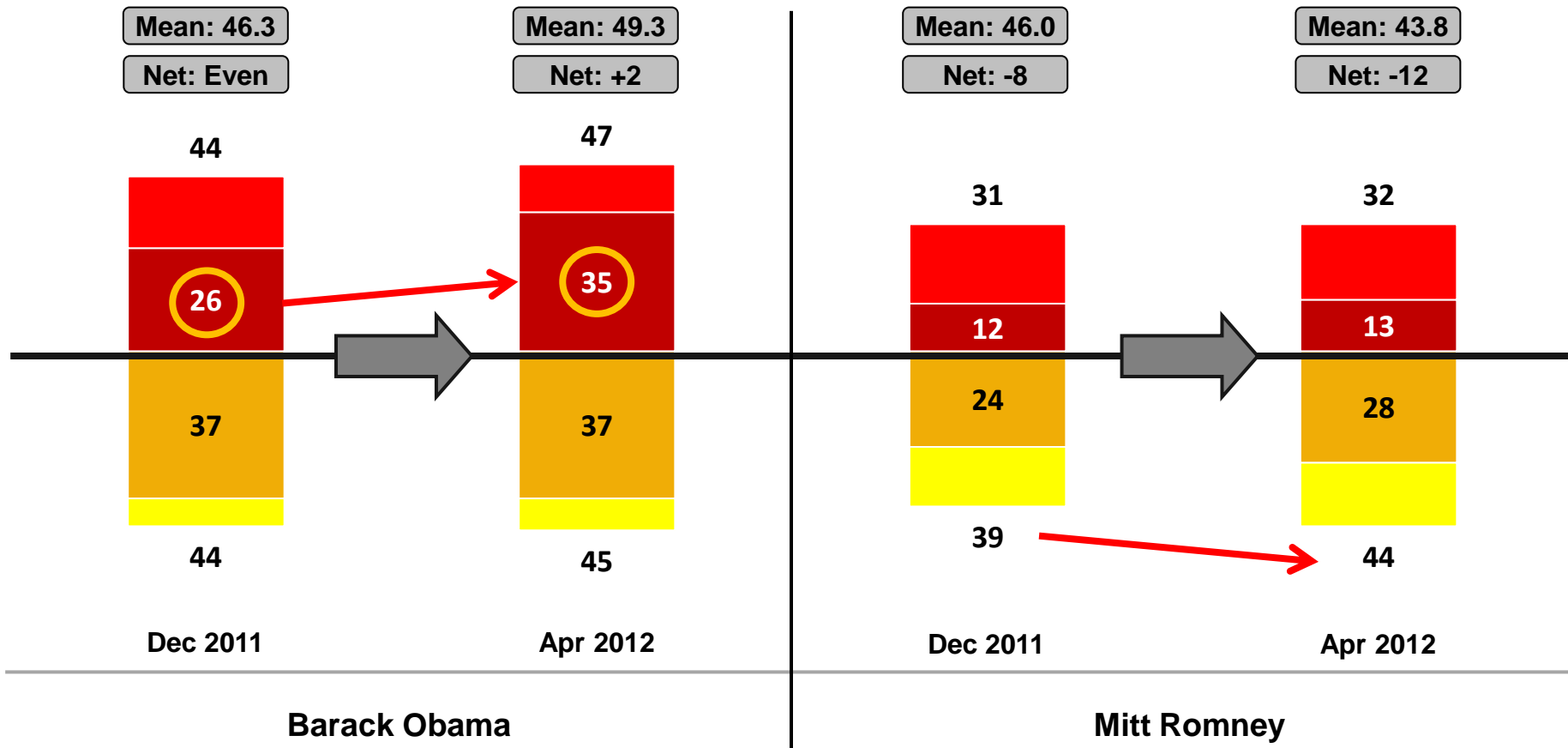
GOP House Incumbent



Obama more favorable and improving while Romney deeply unpopular and crashing

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.

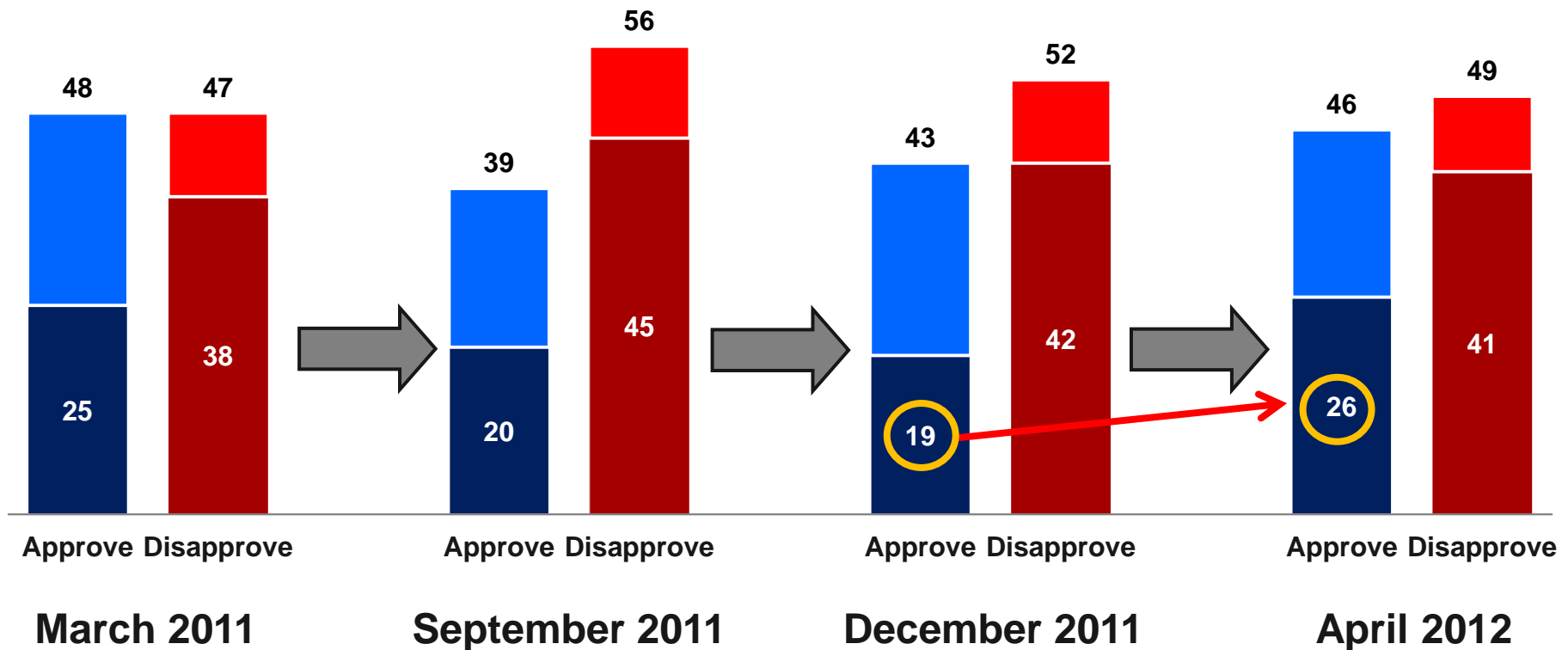
■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)



Obama's approval improves in these Republican districts, especially in intensity

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

■ Strongly approve ■ Strongly disapprove

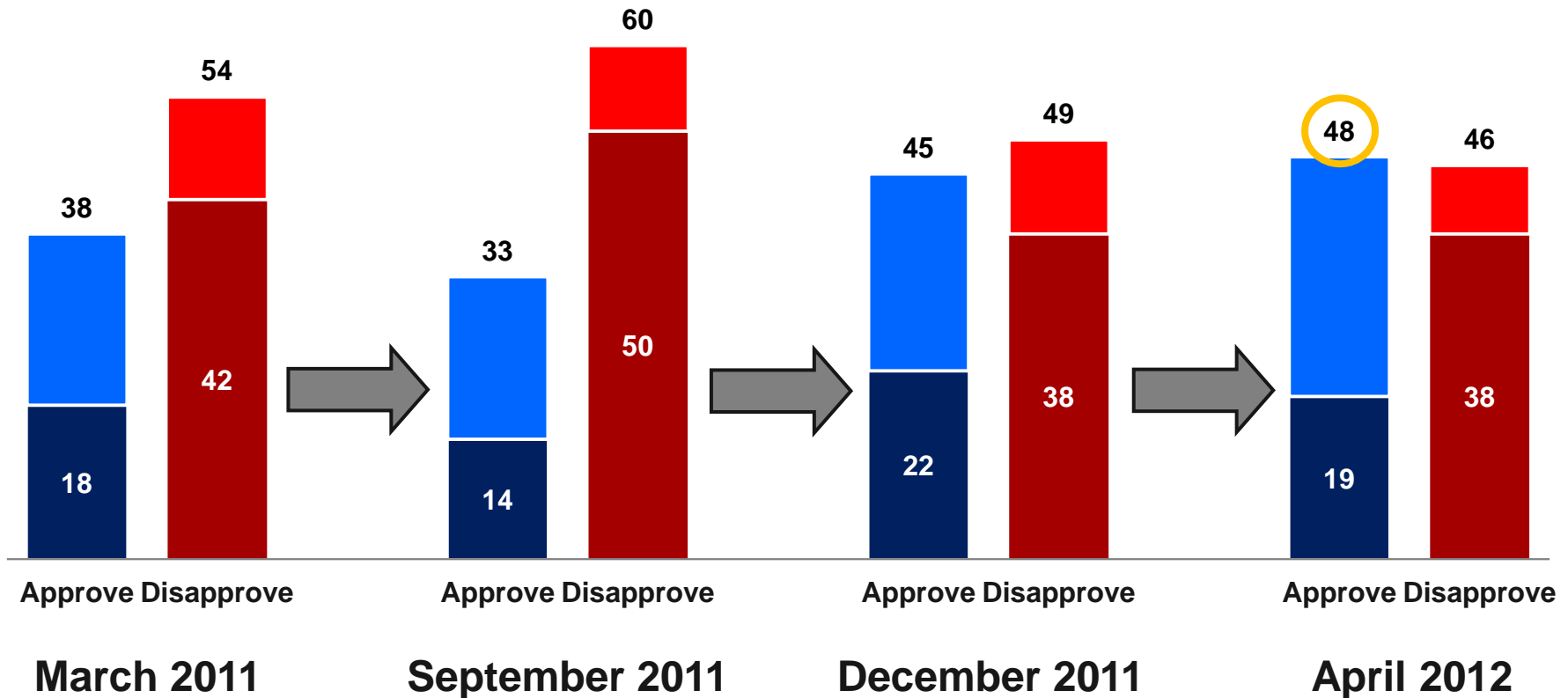


Obama's approval improving and now almost to 50 percent among independents in GOP battleground

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

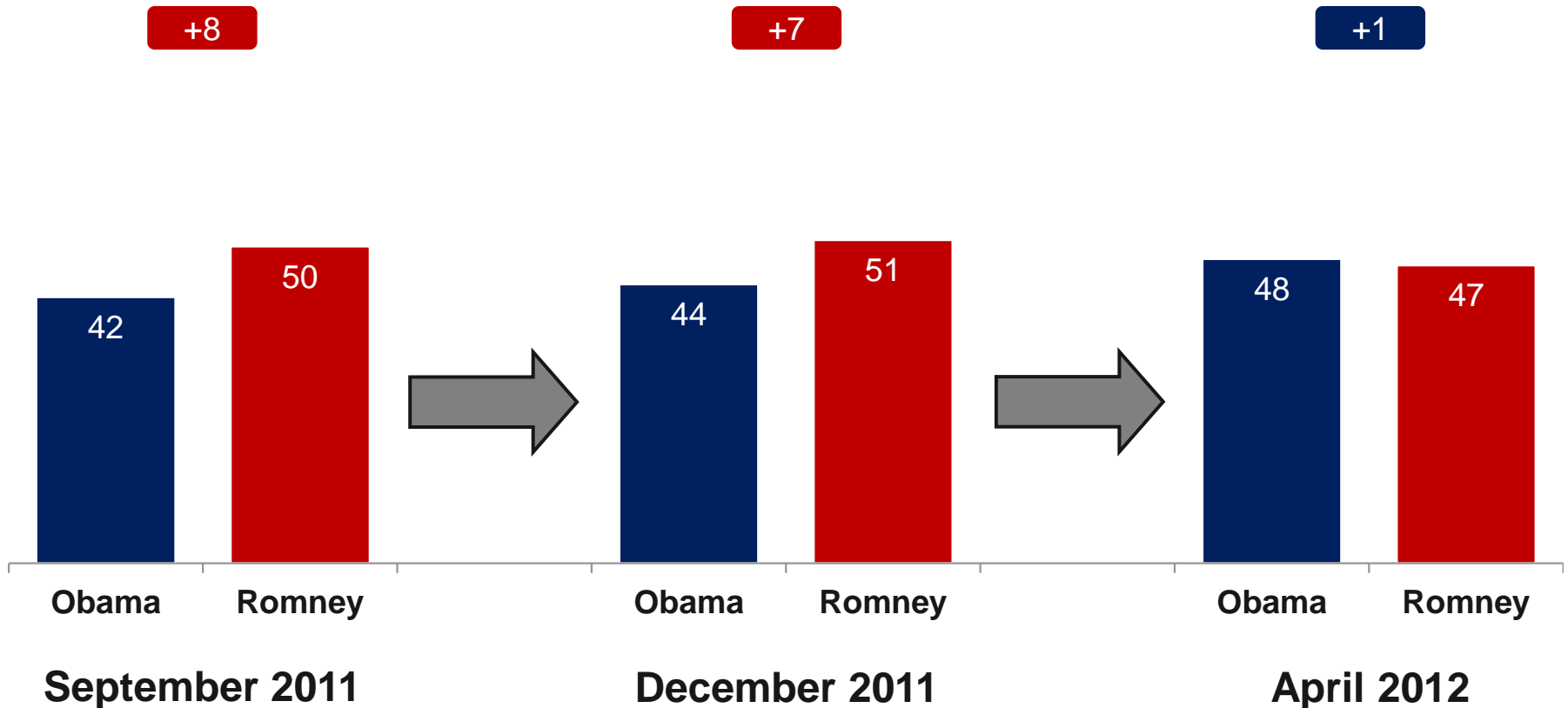
■ Strongly approve ■ Strongly disapprove

Among independents



Obama makes gains against Romney in the presidential vote and now ahead in these Republican districts

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

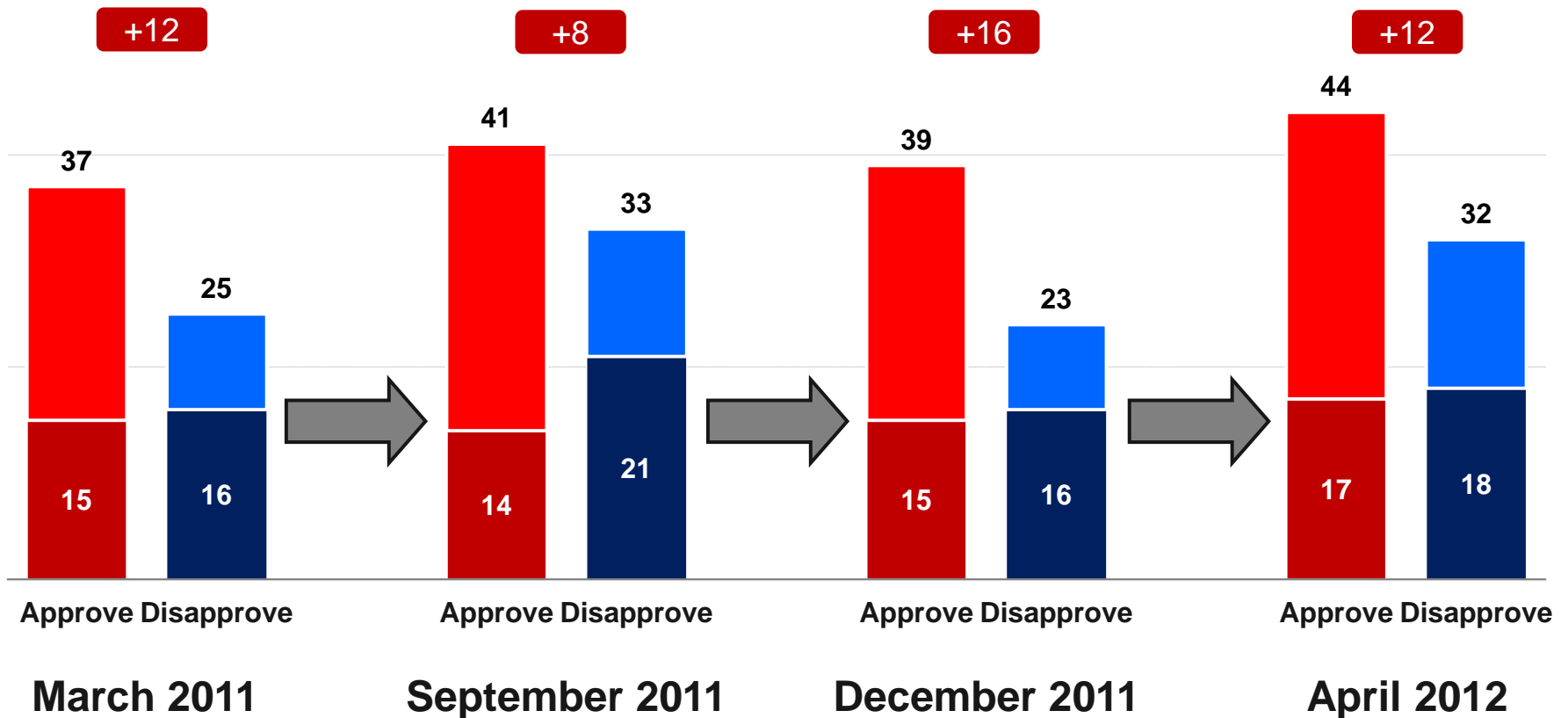


Republican incumbents out of touch with voters heading into campaign season

Republican incumbents enjoy slight improvement in 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

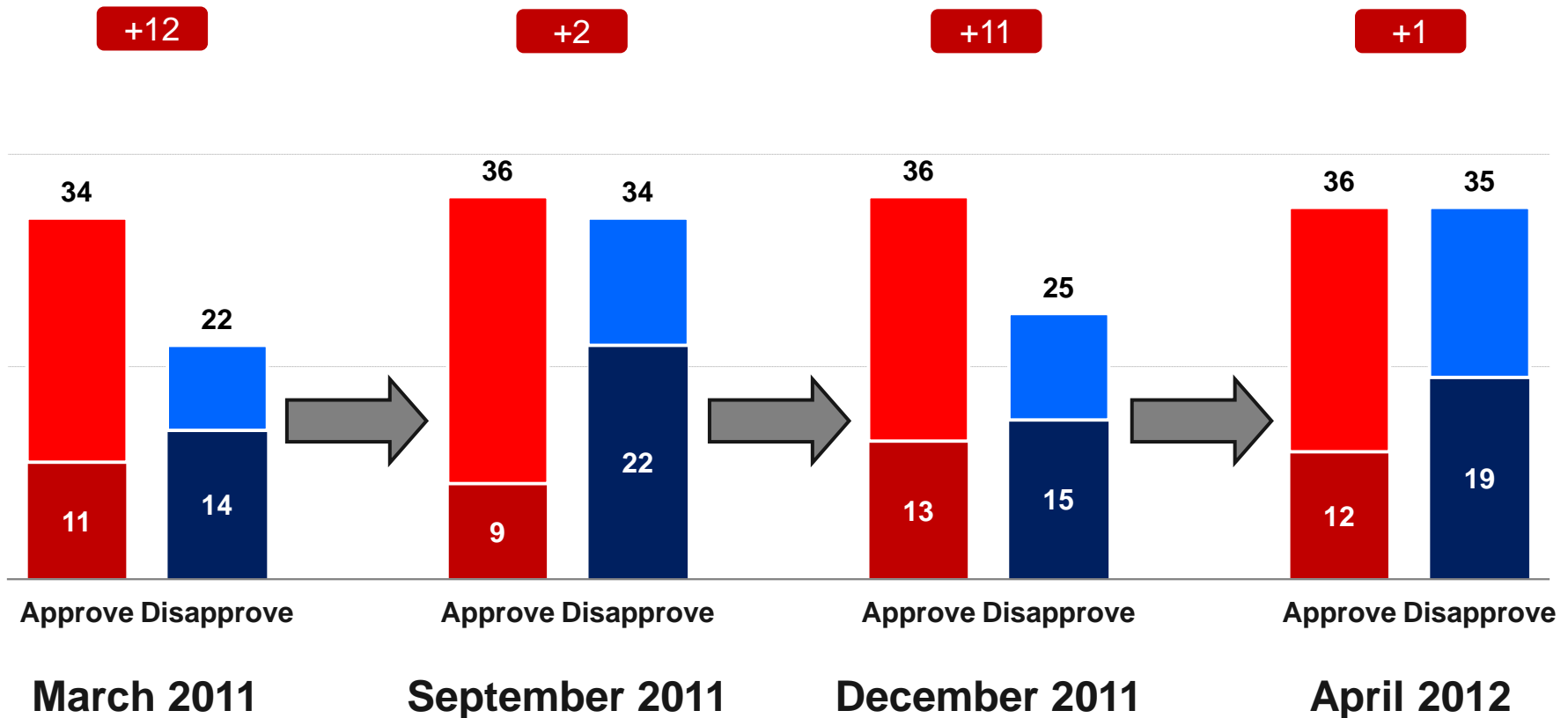


But not with the Rising American Electorate, where these Republicans' approval is stuck and disapproval up 10 points since December

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

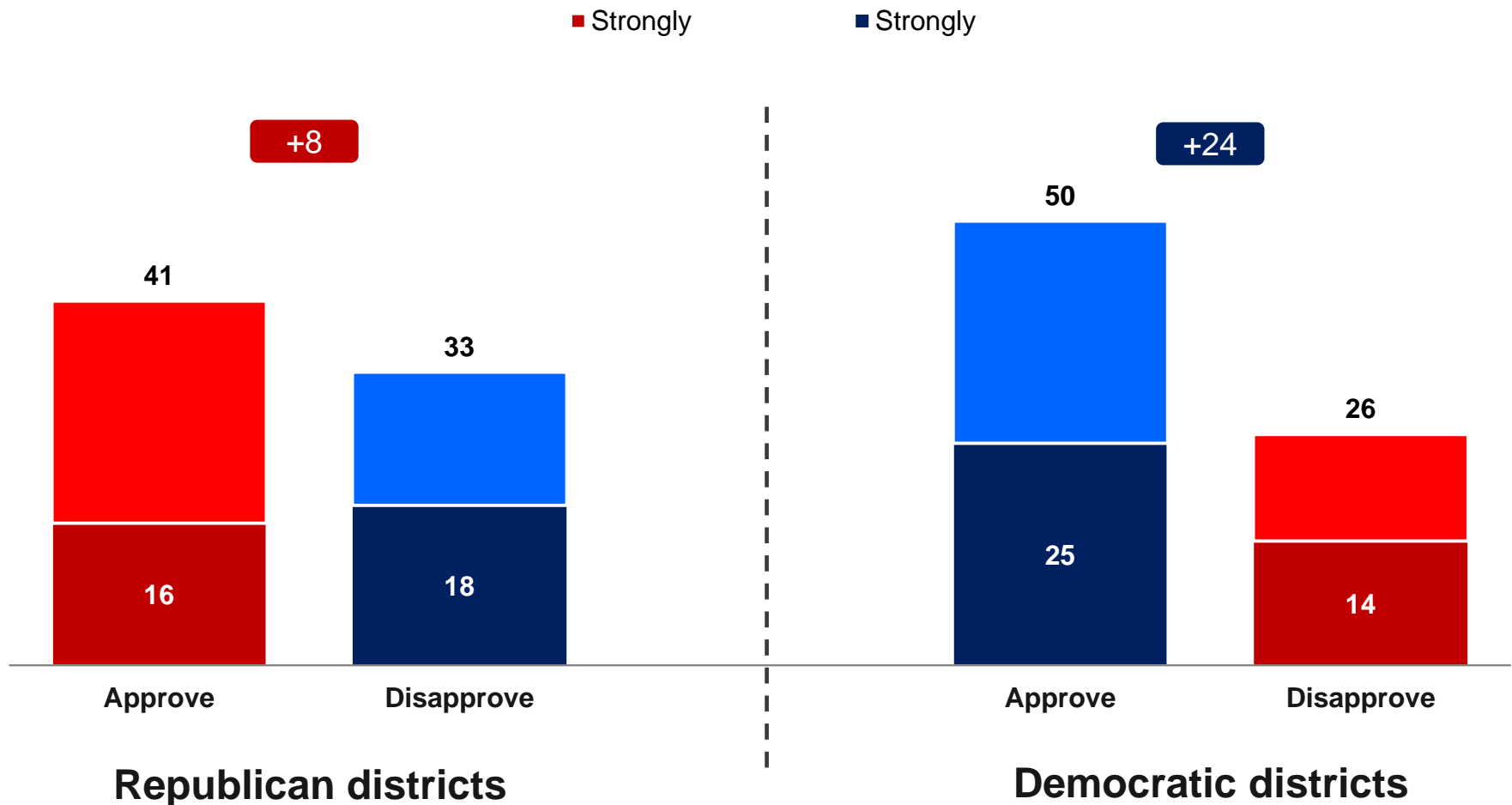
■ Strongly approve ■ Strongly disapprove

Among the Rising American Electorate



Vast difference between GOP incumbent and Democratic incumbent approval

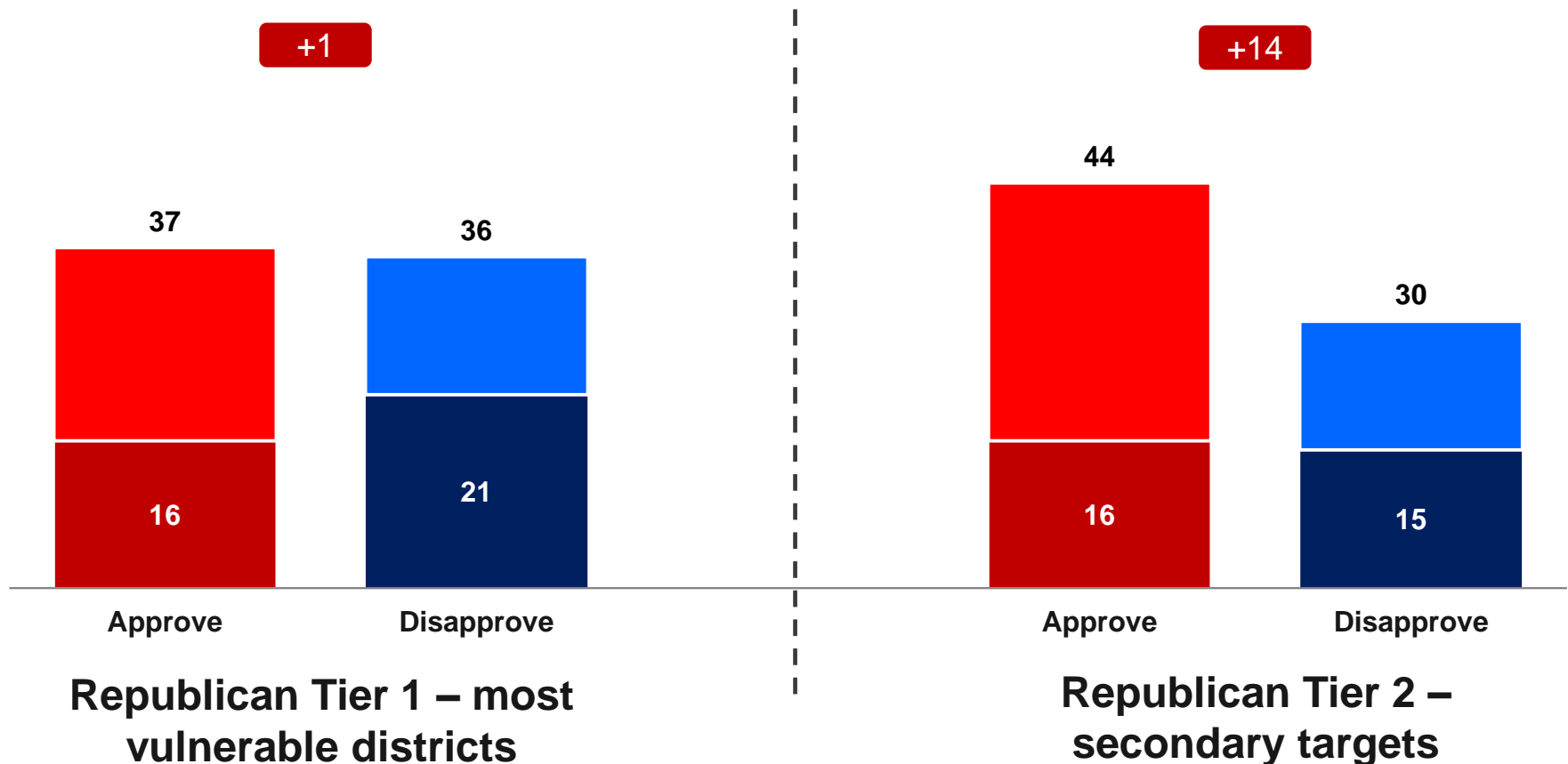
Do you approve or disapprove of the way (HOUSE INCUMBENT) is handling his/her job as a member of the U.S. Congress?



Most vulnerable GOP incumbents: just 37 percent of constituents approve

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



Democratic incumbents much more personally favorable

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.

Named Republican incumbent

Mean:
47.5

Net: -2

30

13

21

32

Named Democratic incumbent

Mean:
56.6

Net: +20

43

22

15

23

■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)

Republican incumbents see some gains in “will vote to re-elect,” “addressing issues important to us”

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: 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.

■ Will re-elect strongly

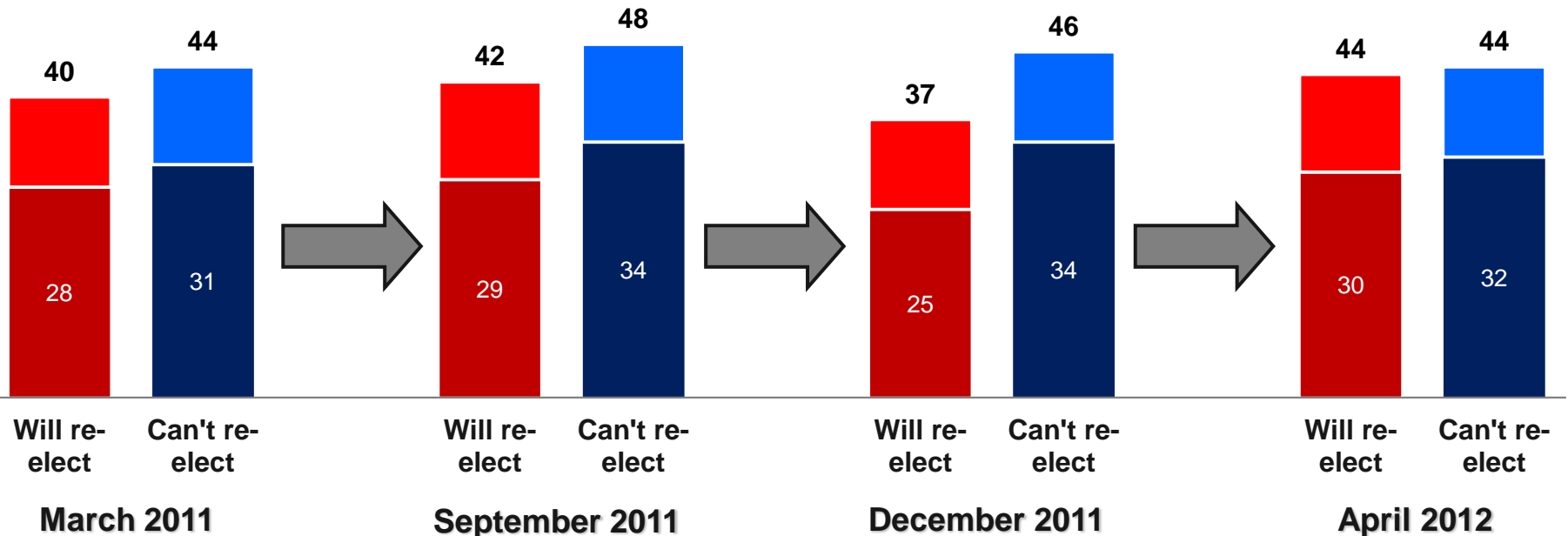
■ Can't re-elect strongly

+4

+6

+9

Even



But almost half still say they don't like what they hear from their Republican representatives

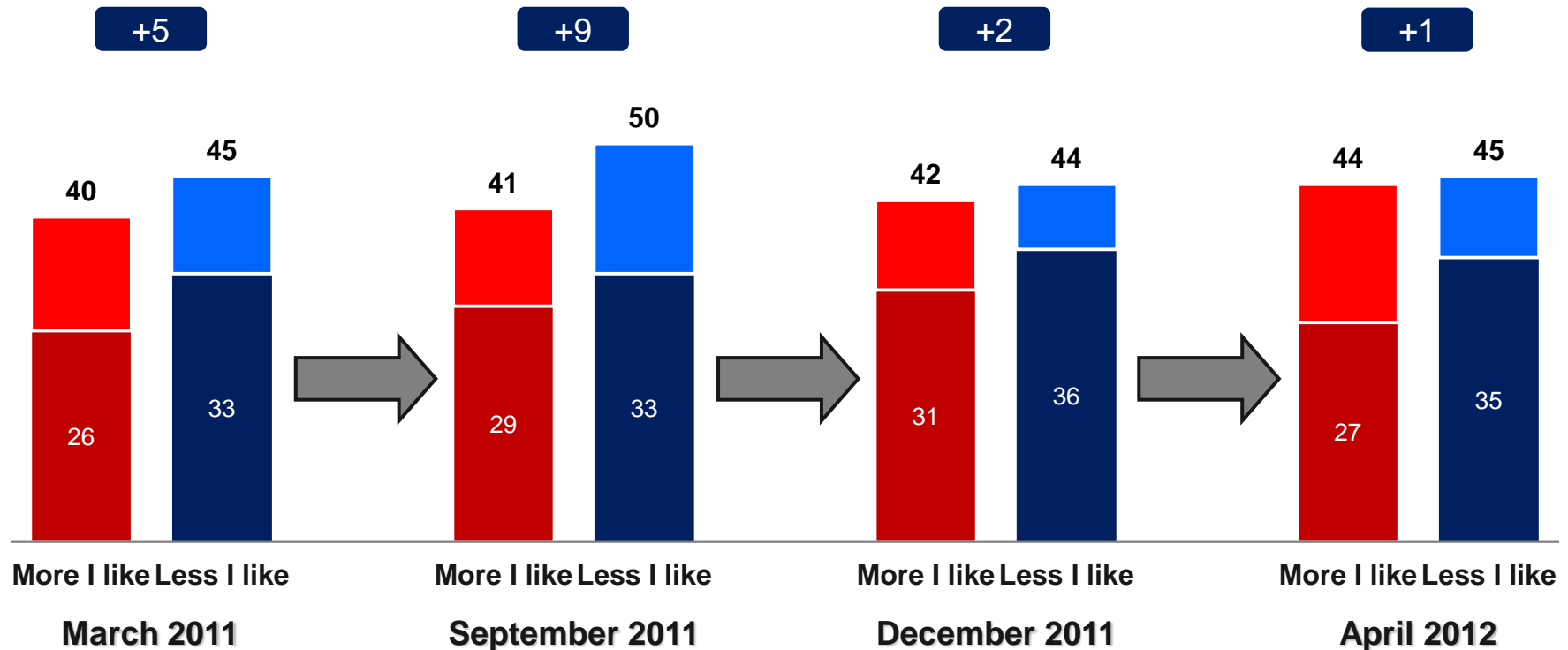
Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the *FIRST* statement or the *SECOND* statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

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.

■ More I like strongly

■ Less I like strongly



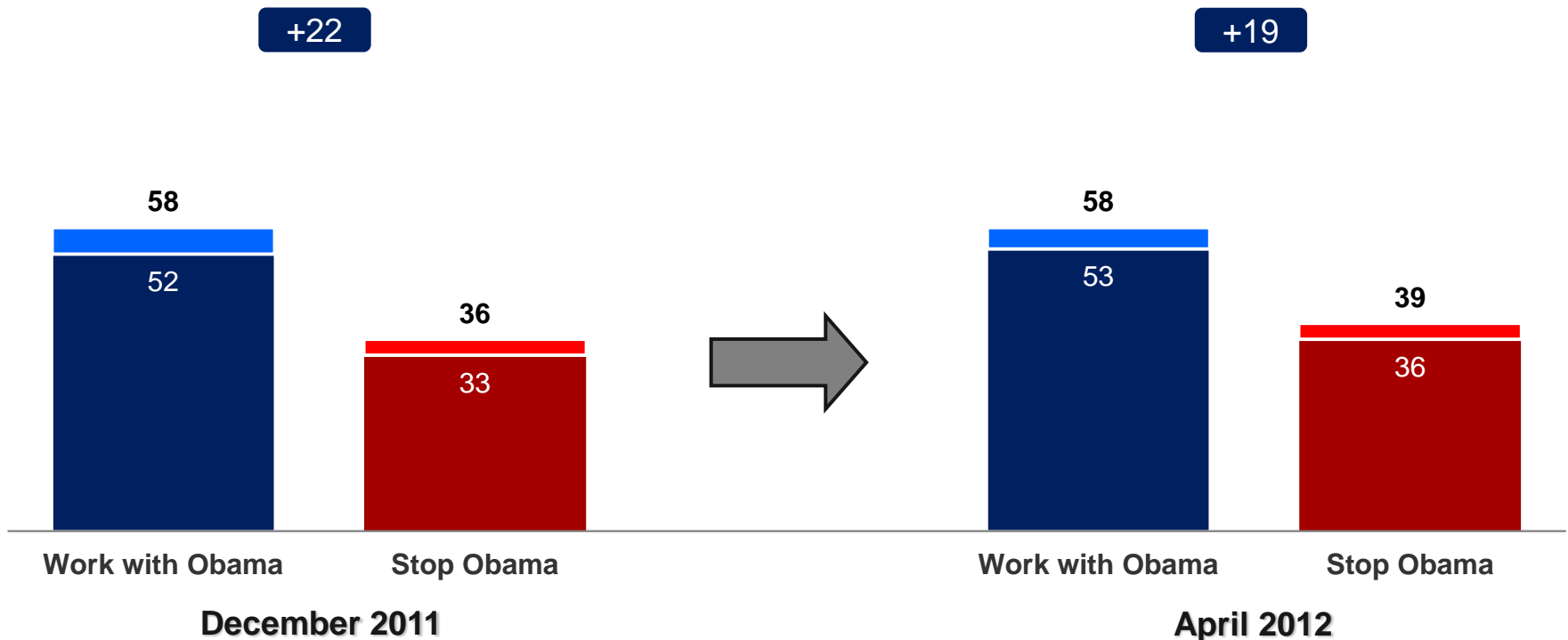
Almost six in ten voters in these Republican districts want member to work with Obama, not stop his agenda

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: I want (HOUSE INCUMBENT) to try and work with President Obama to address our country's problems.

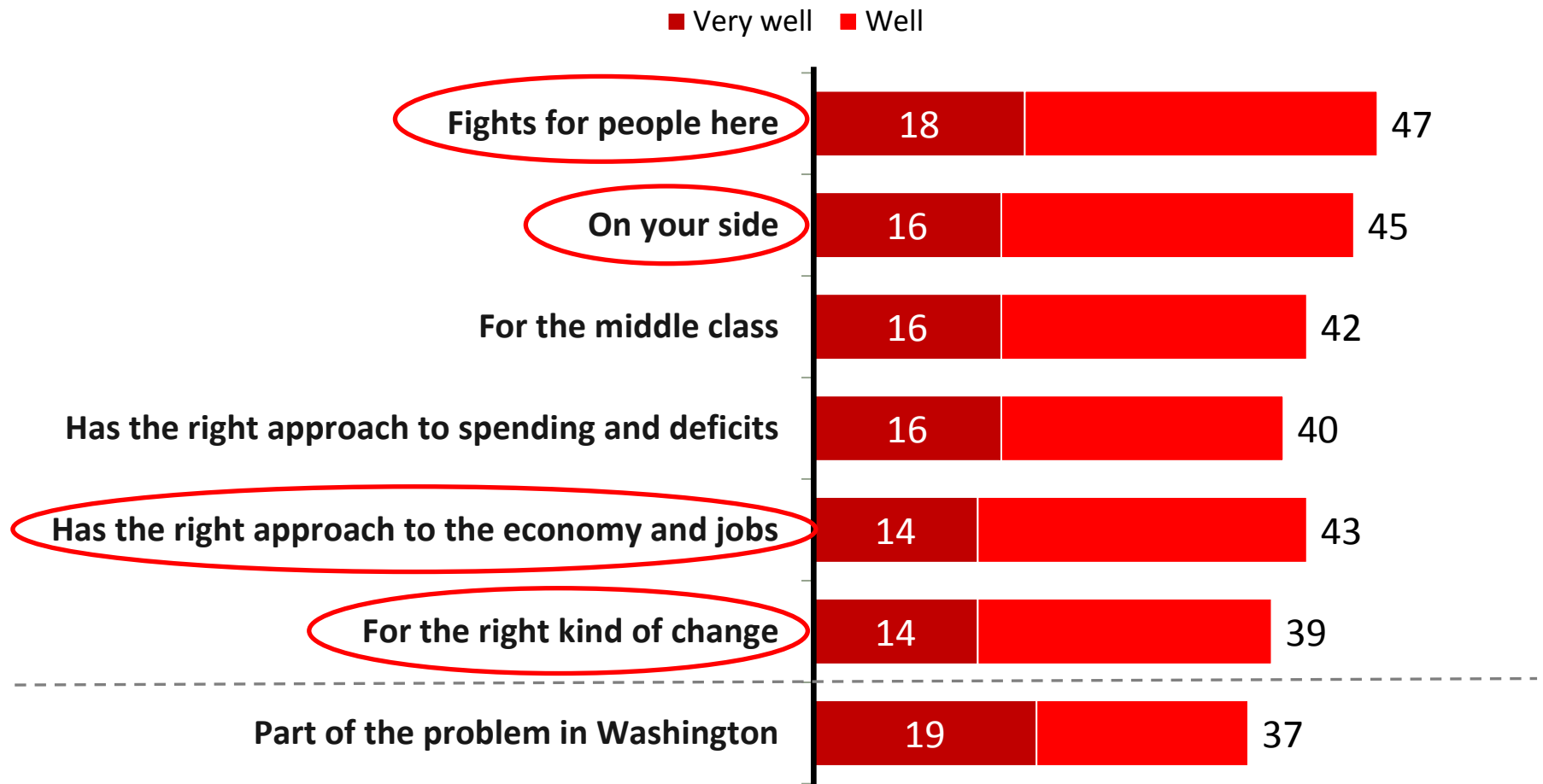
STATEMENT 2: I want (HOUSE INCUMBENT) to try to stop President Obama from advancing his agenda for the country.

■ Work with Obama strongly ■ Stop Obama strongly



After over a year in power, majorities still don't view these Republican incumbents positively – under 50 percent on all attributes

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.

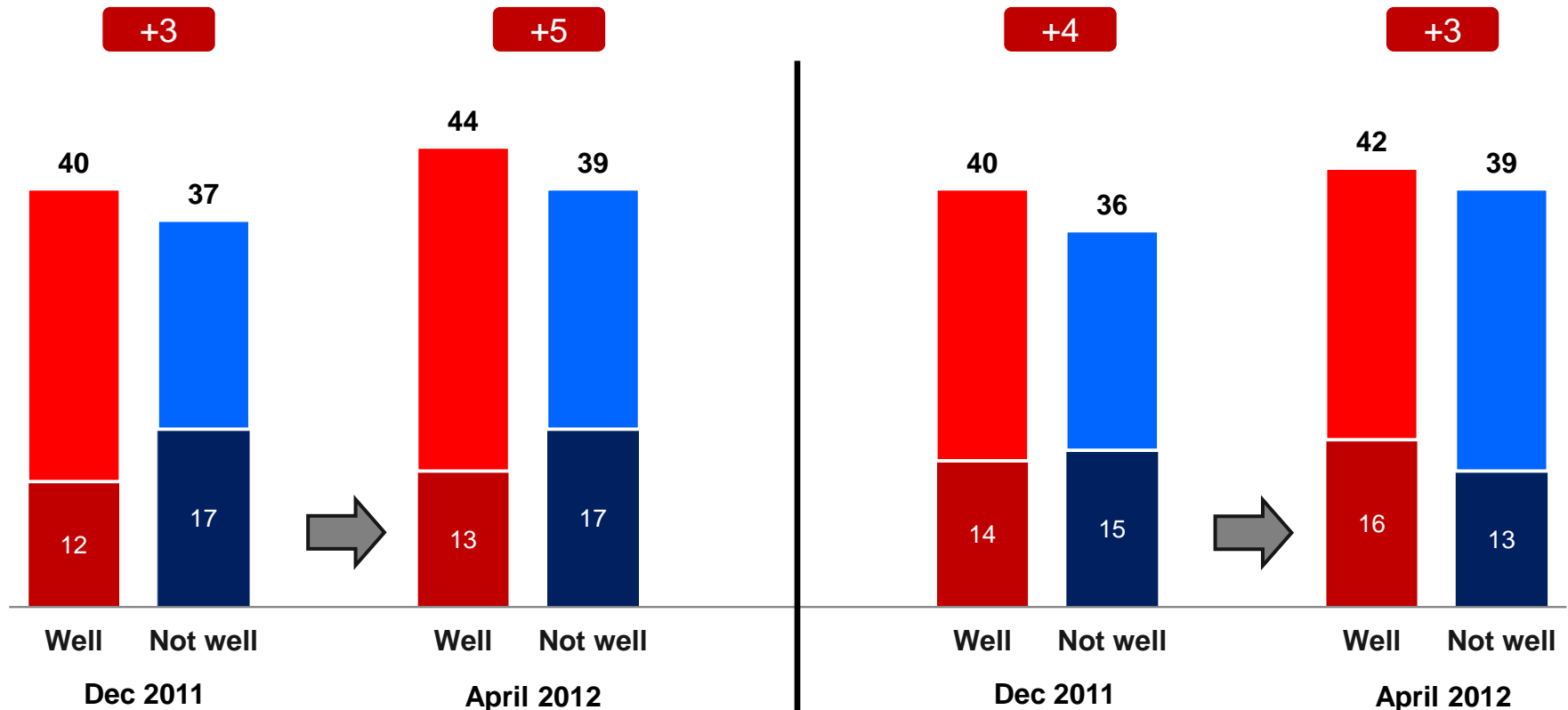


Republican incumbents not improving on ability to handle the key economic issues

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



Has the right approach to the economy and jobs

Has the right approach to spending and deficits

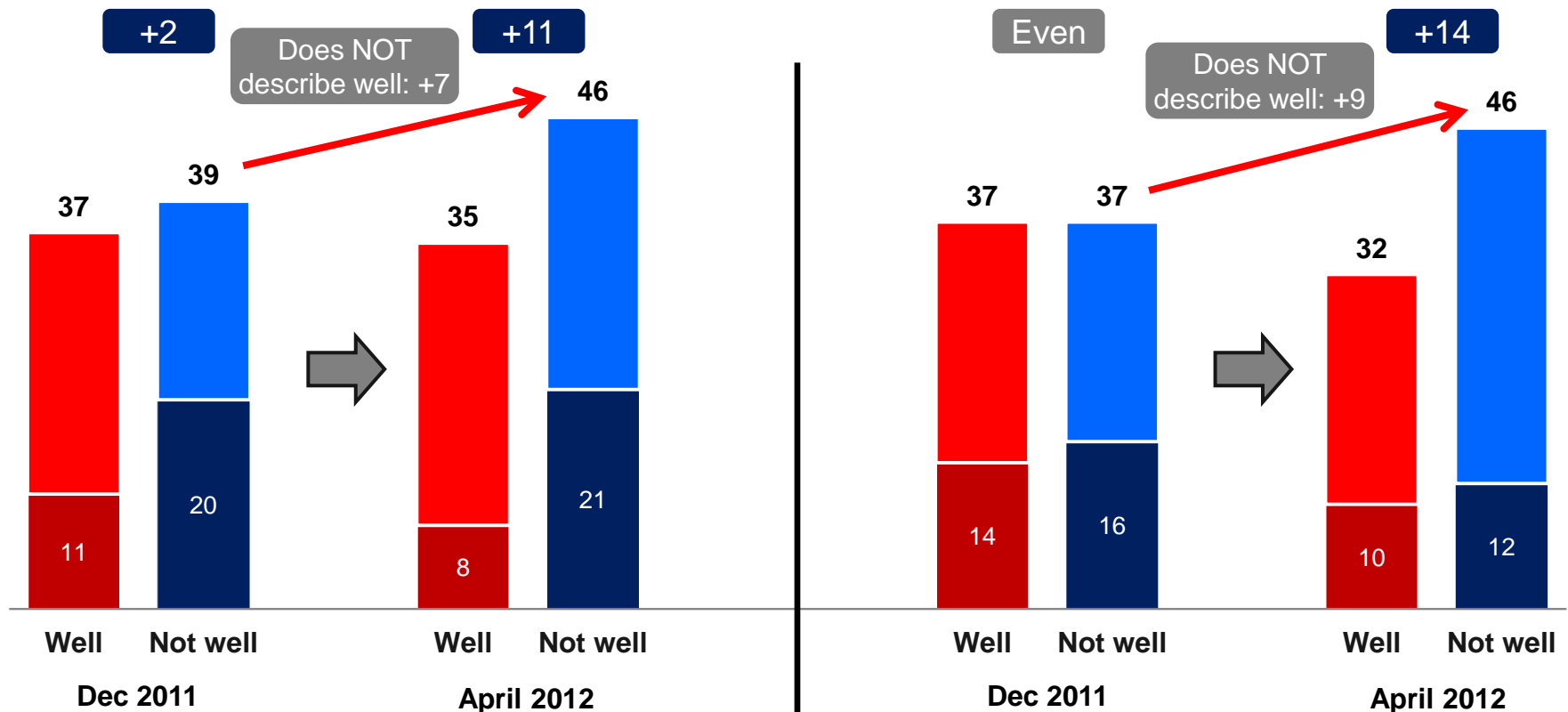
And doing worse among the Rising American Electorate since December – these Republican incumbents do not have the right approach to economic issues

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

Among the Rising American Electorate

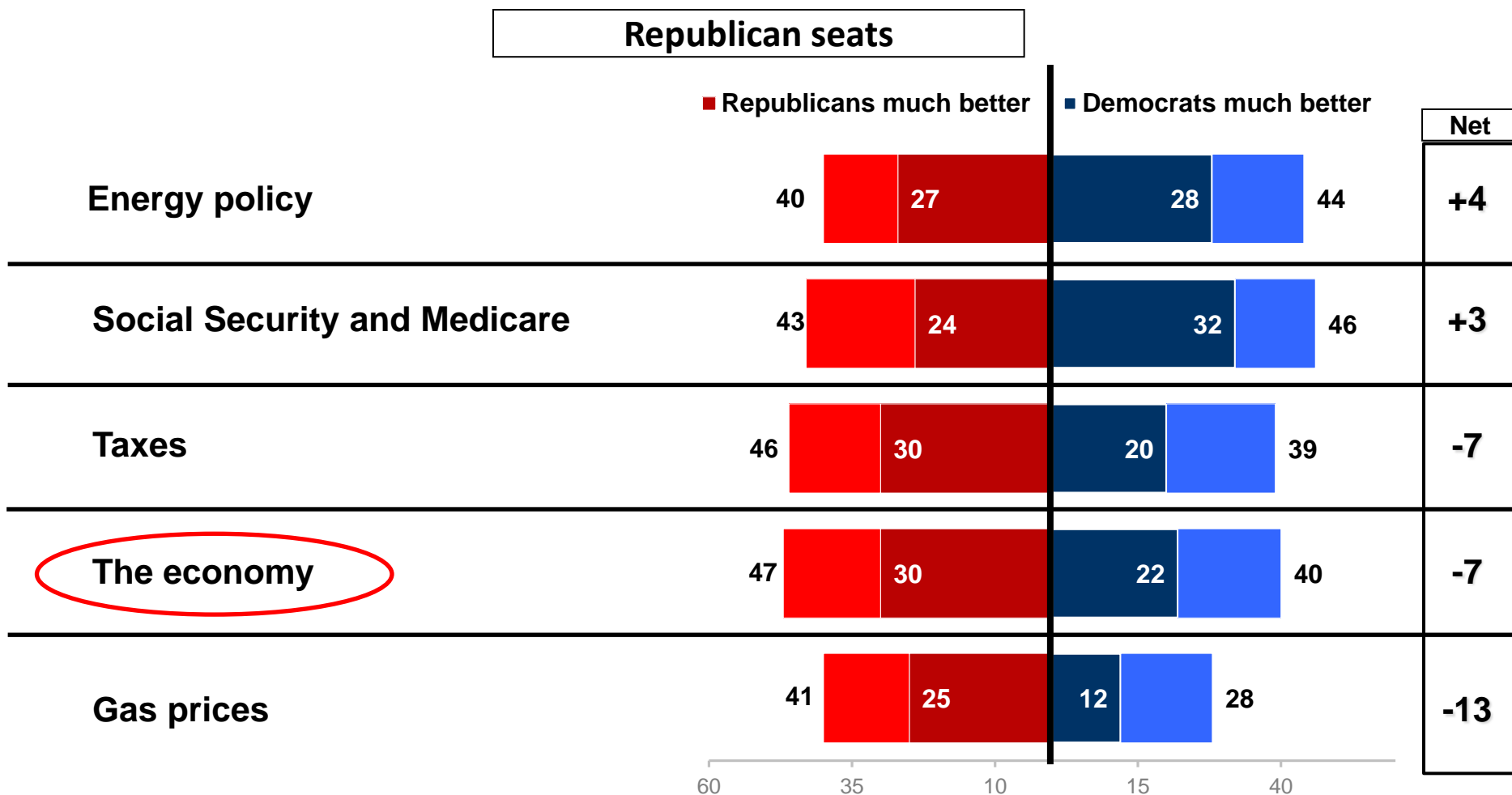


Has the right approach to the economy and jobs

Has the right approach to spending and deficits

Democrats have work to do on economy, taxes

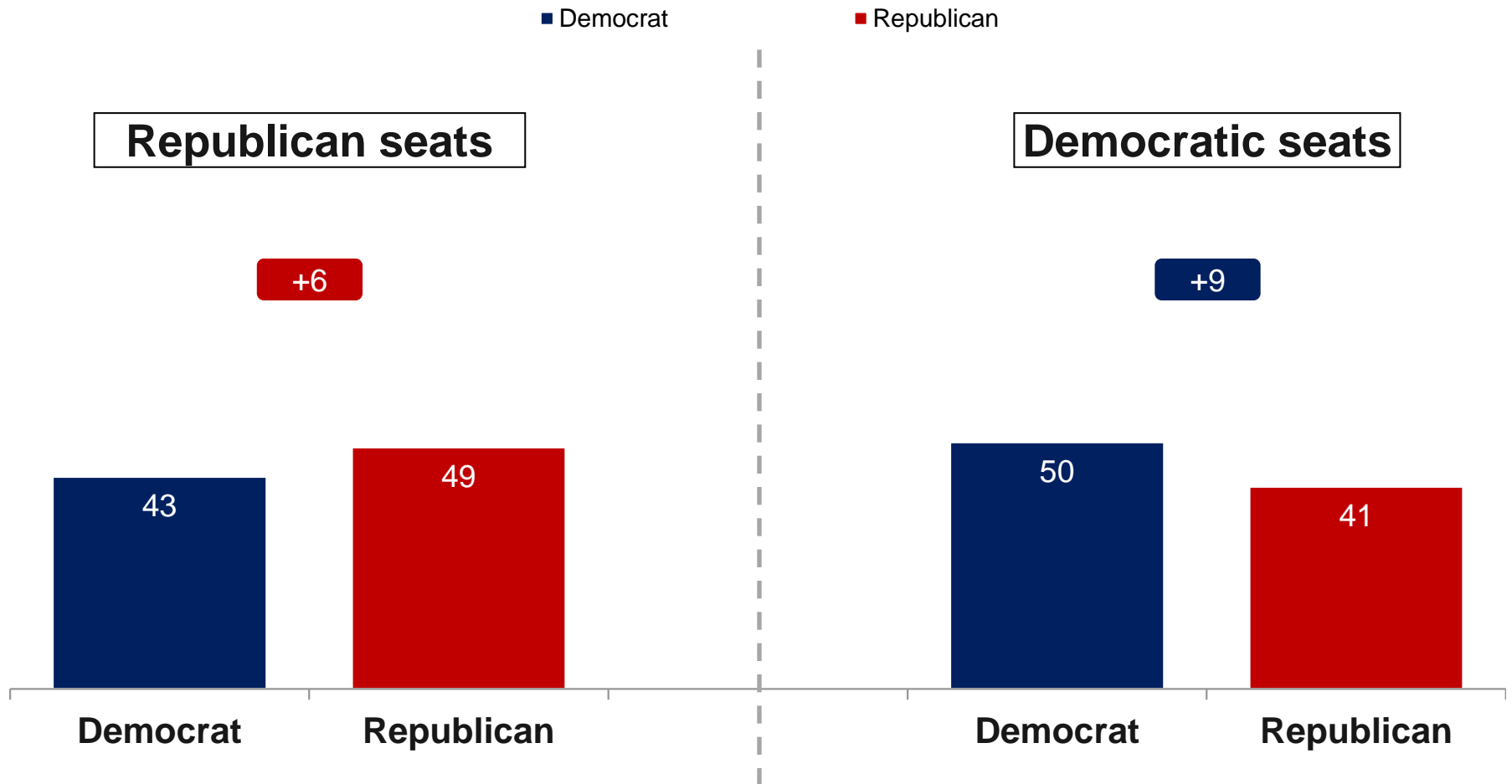
Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with this issue. If you do not know, just tell me and we will move on to the next item.



**Republicans start off 2012 vulnerable to
attack**

Democratic incumbents at 50 percent— slightly stronger than GOP incumbents

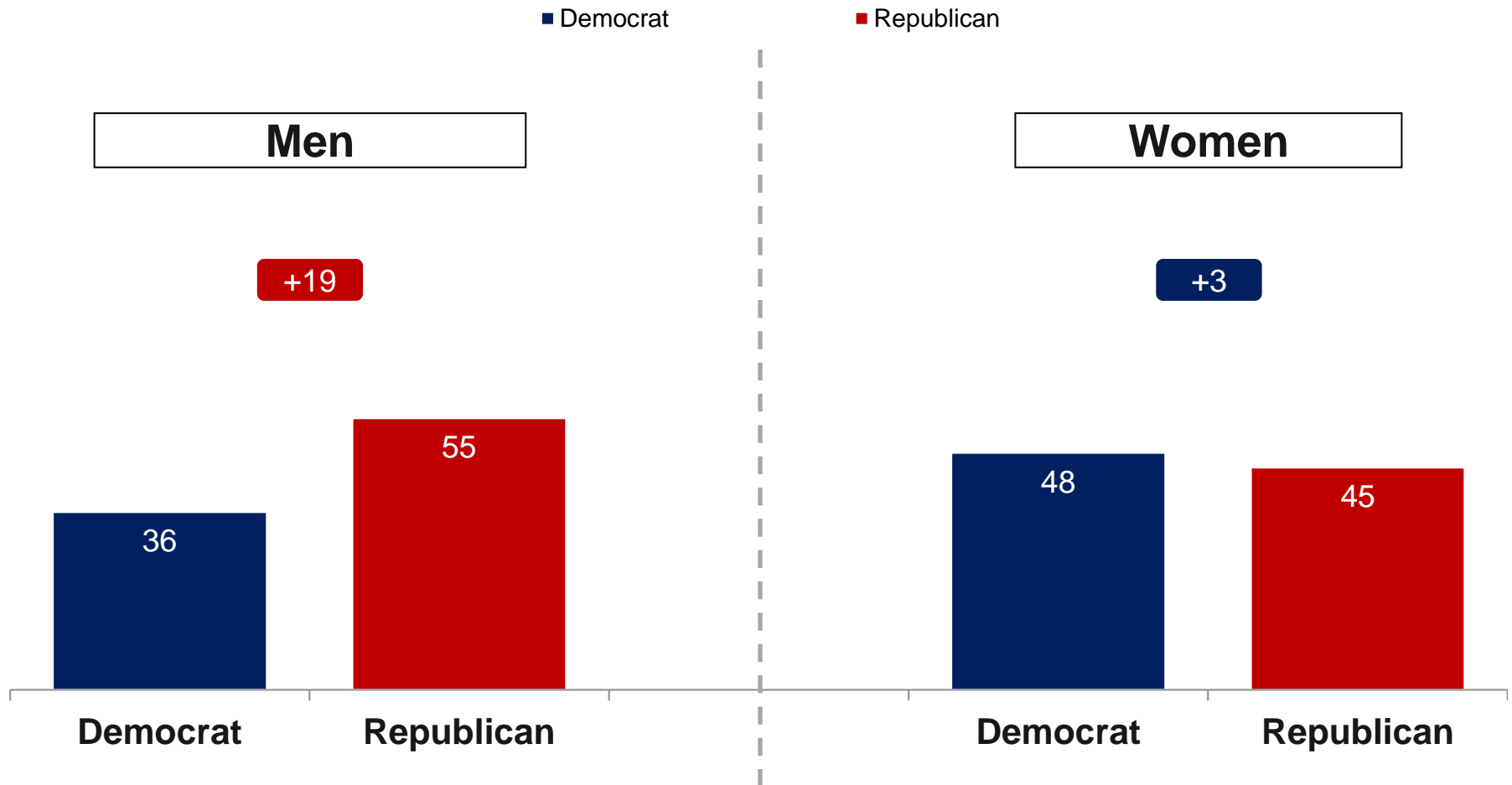
I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress this November, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



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

Democrats do better among women in Republican districts

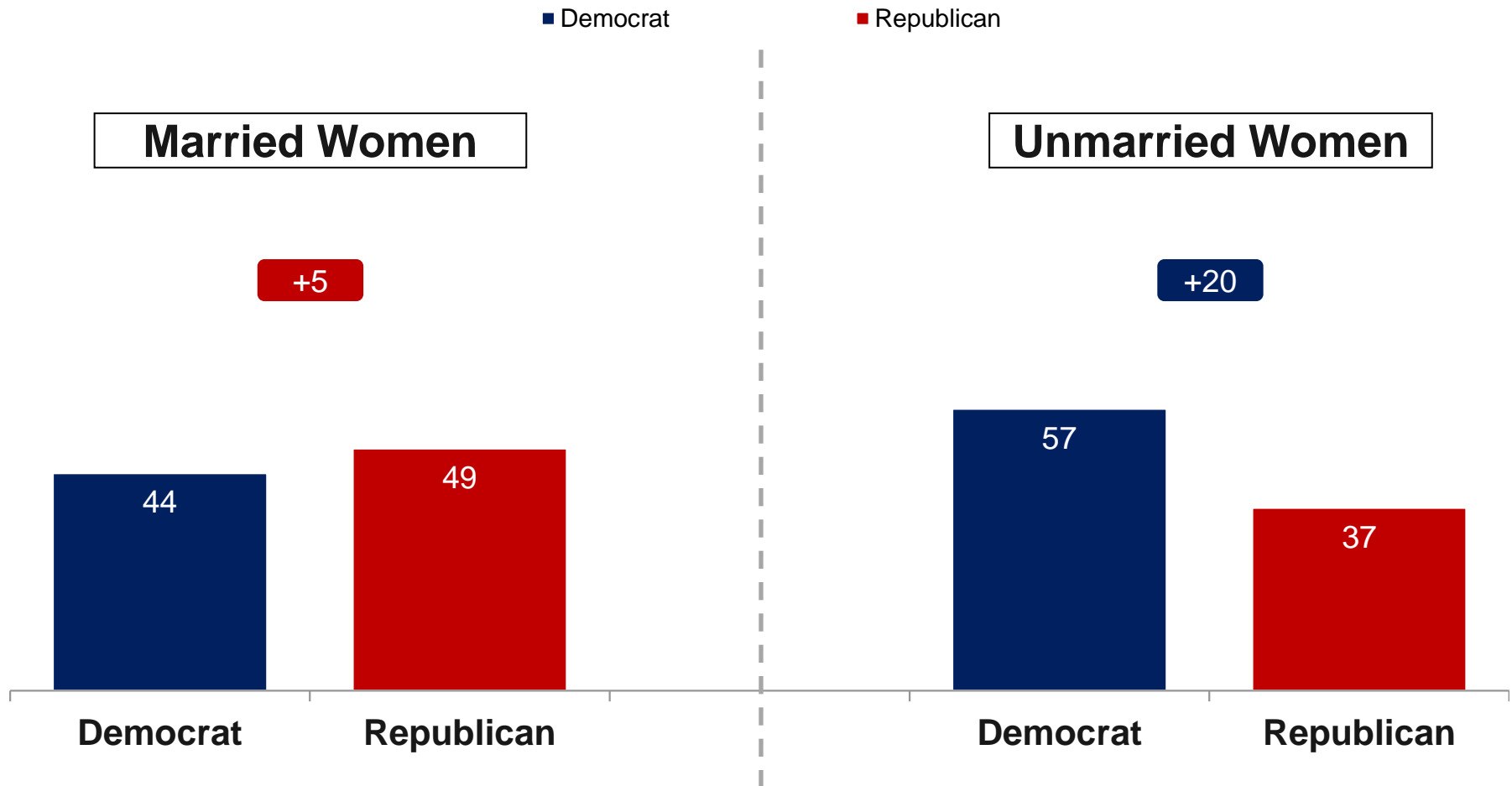
I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress this November, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



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

Women divided by marital status in Rep districts

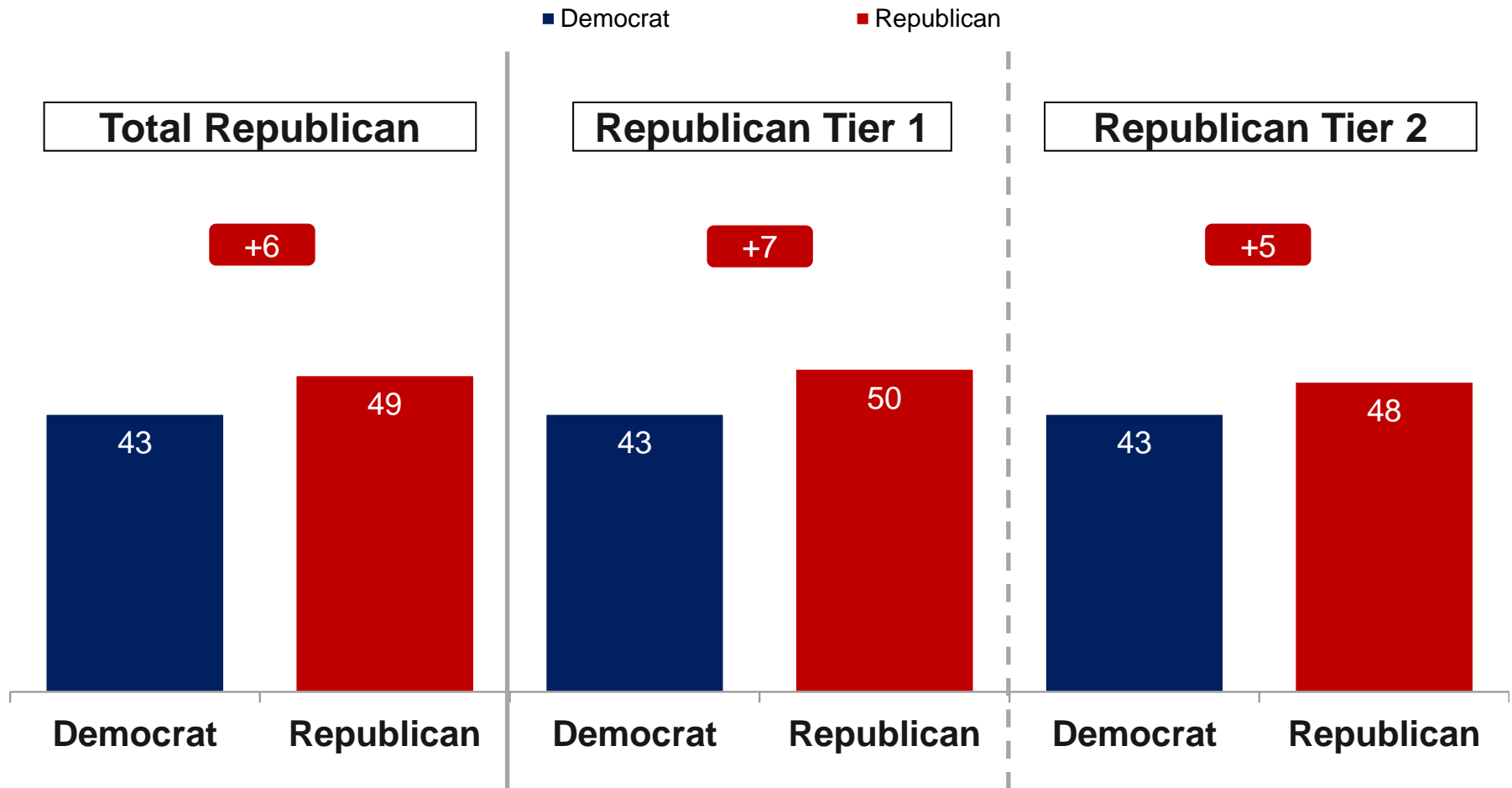
I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress this November, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



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

All Republican-held seats in play – no difference by tier

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



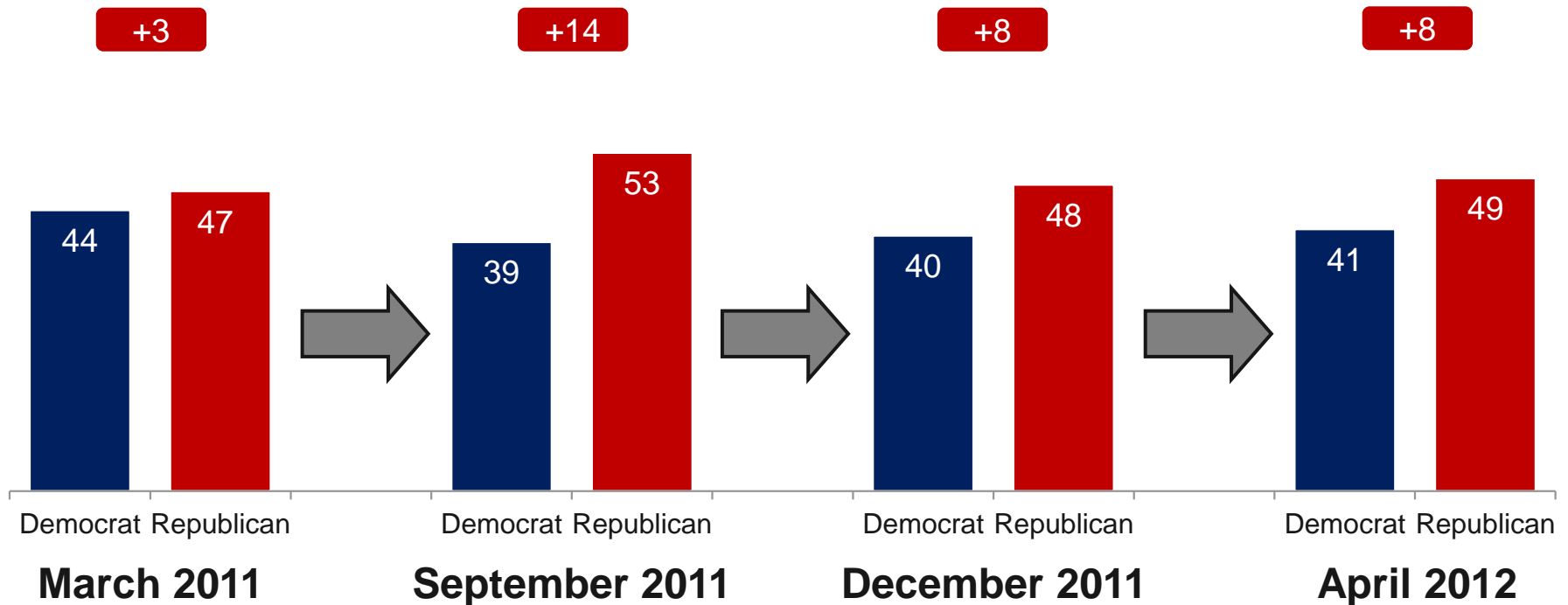
**Note: Incumbent names were inserted with party identification. Generic challengers were inserted as "The Democratic Candidate."*

Republican incumbents not improving on ballot in districts tracked since March 2011

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

■ Democrat

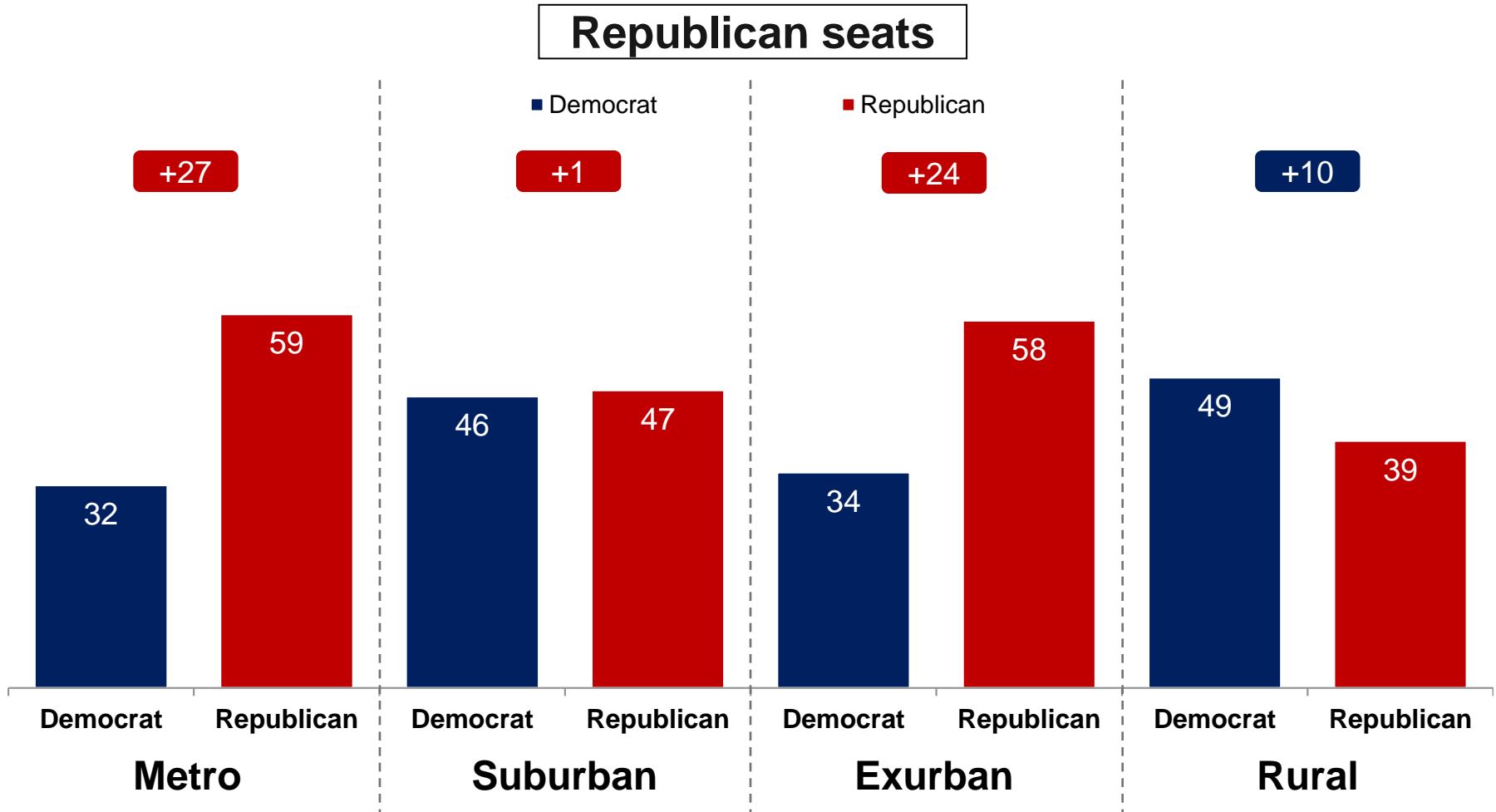
■ Republican



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

Republicans weakest in rural, suburban areas

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

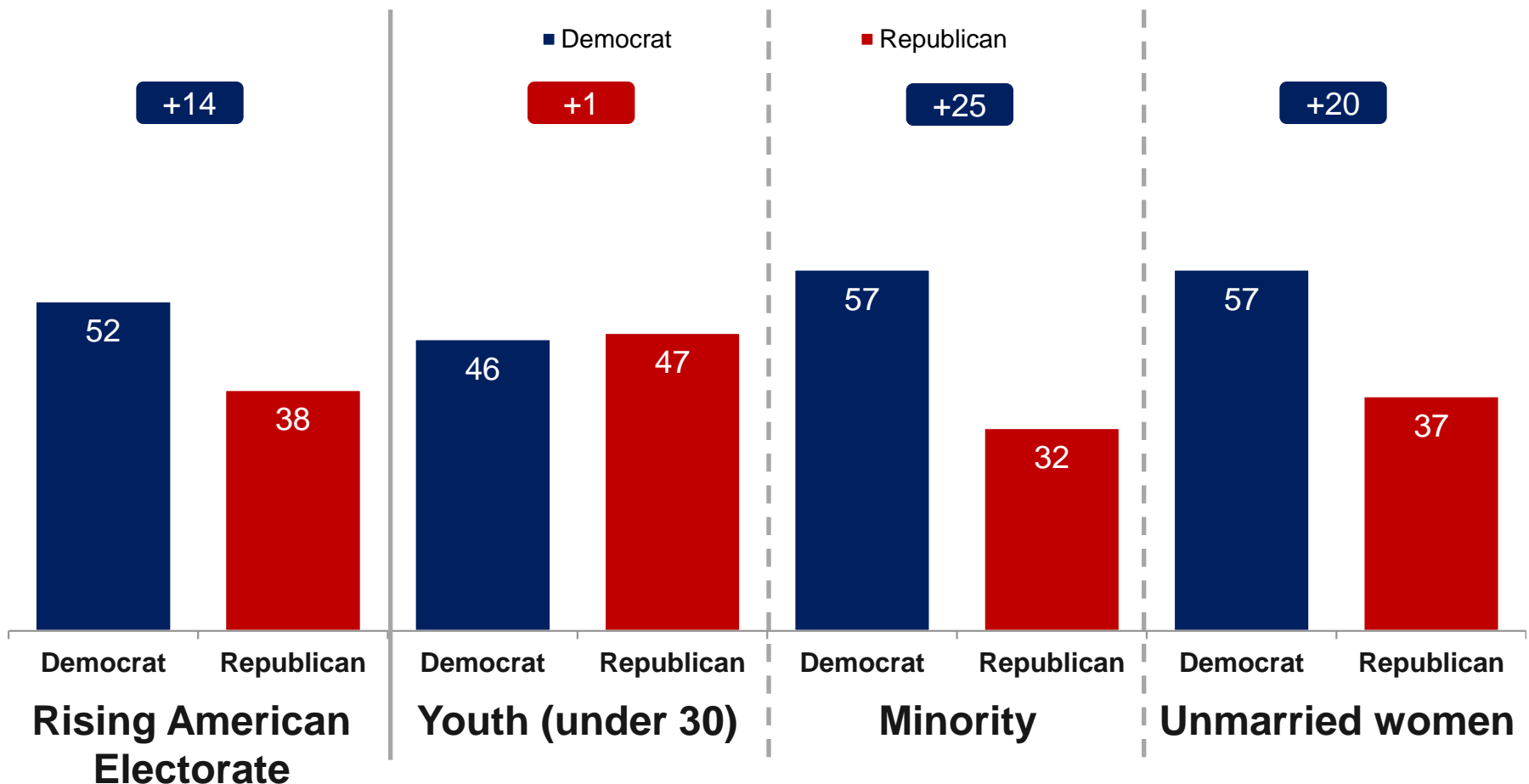


**Note: Incumbent names were inserted with party identification. Generic challengers were inserted as "The Democratic Candidate."*

Work to do among youth, but strengthening with unmarried women

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

Republican seats



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

Democrats maintaining ground among Rising American Electorate since September

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

Rising American Electorate

■ Democrat

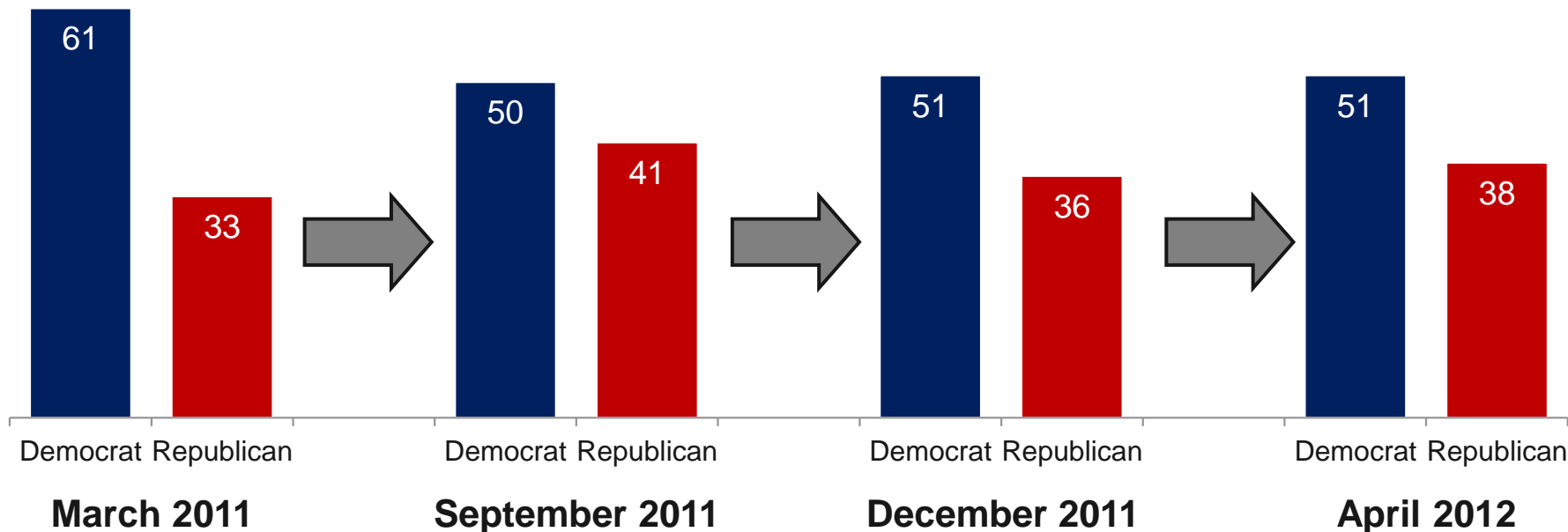
■ Republican

+28

+9

+15

+13



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

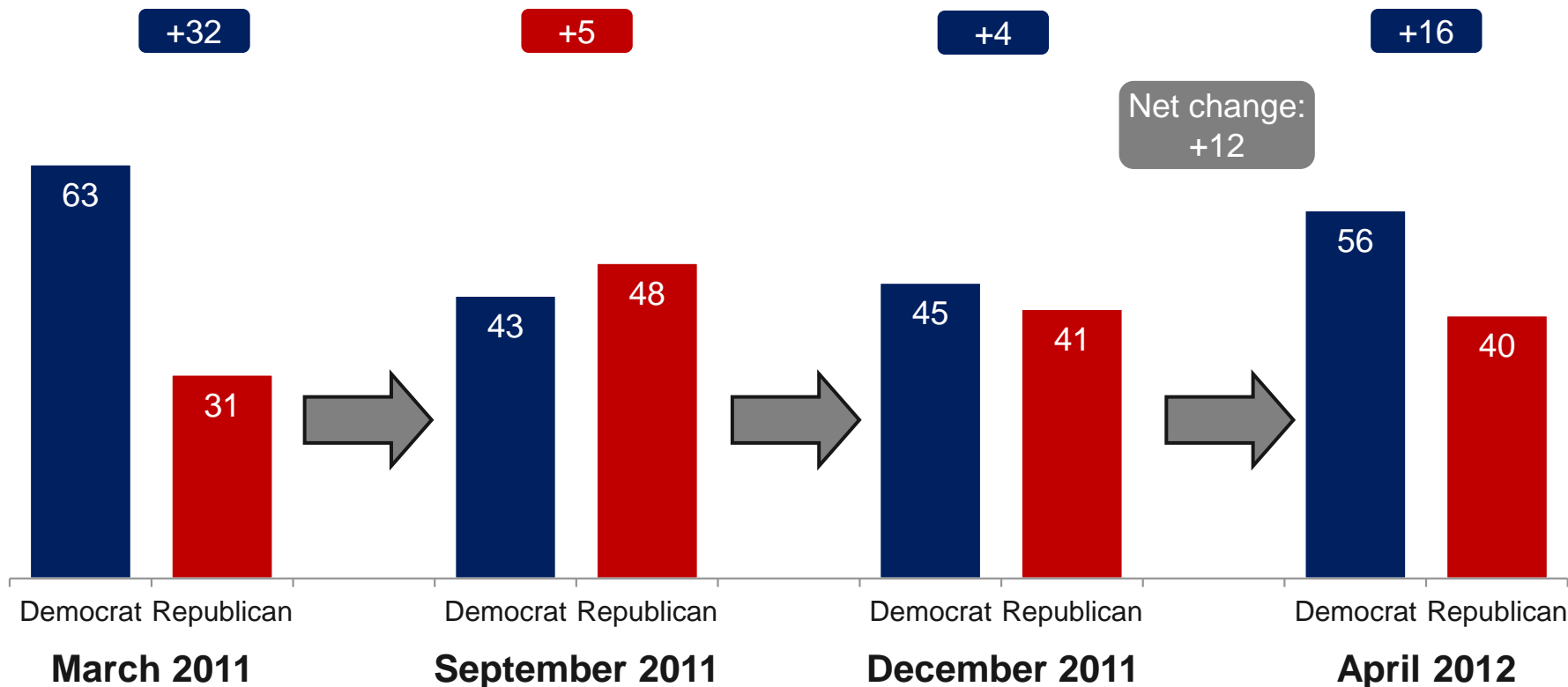
Democrats regain strong lead among unmarried women

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

Unmarried women

■ Democrat

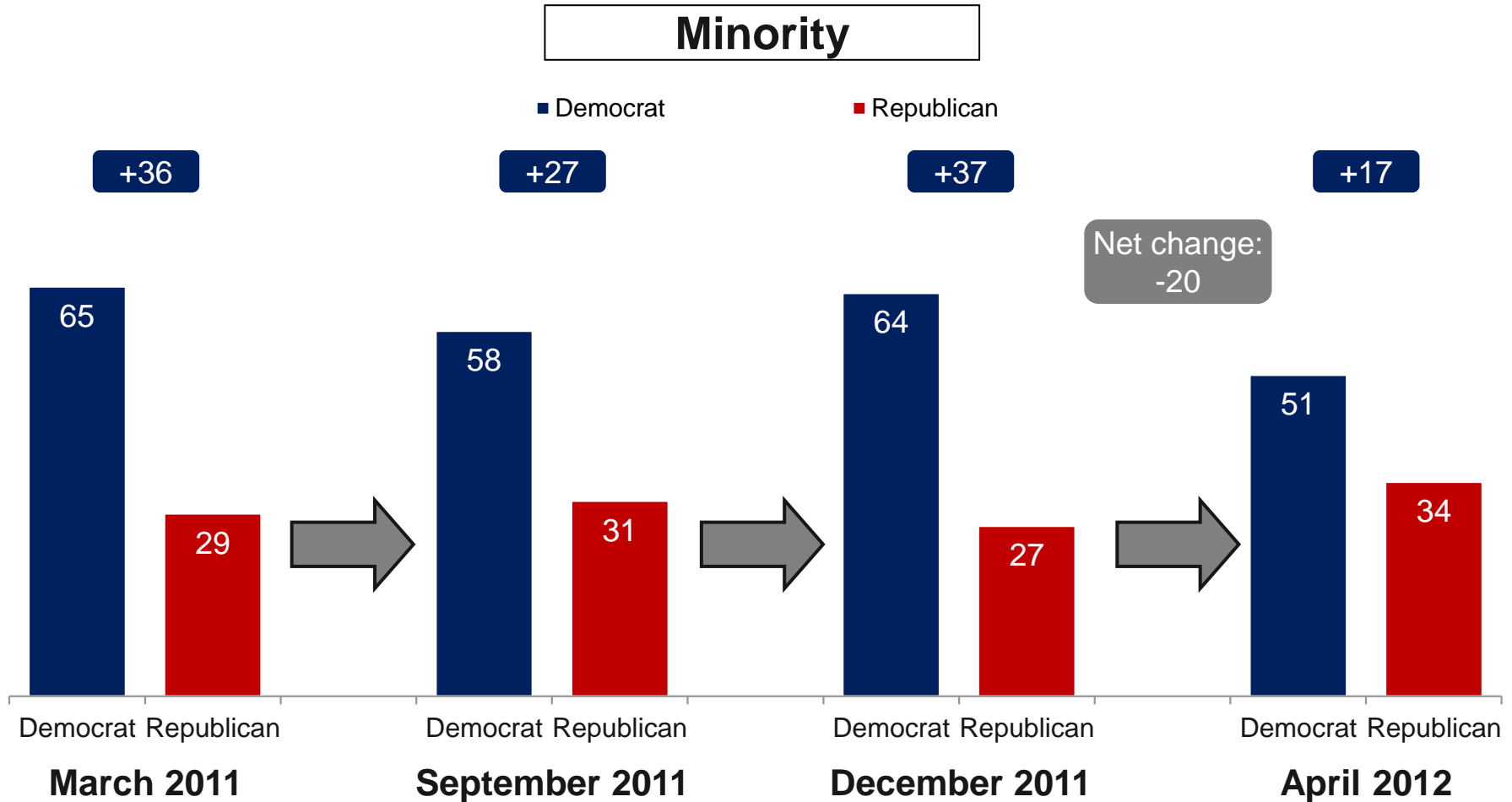
■ Republican



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

But lose ground among minority voters

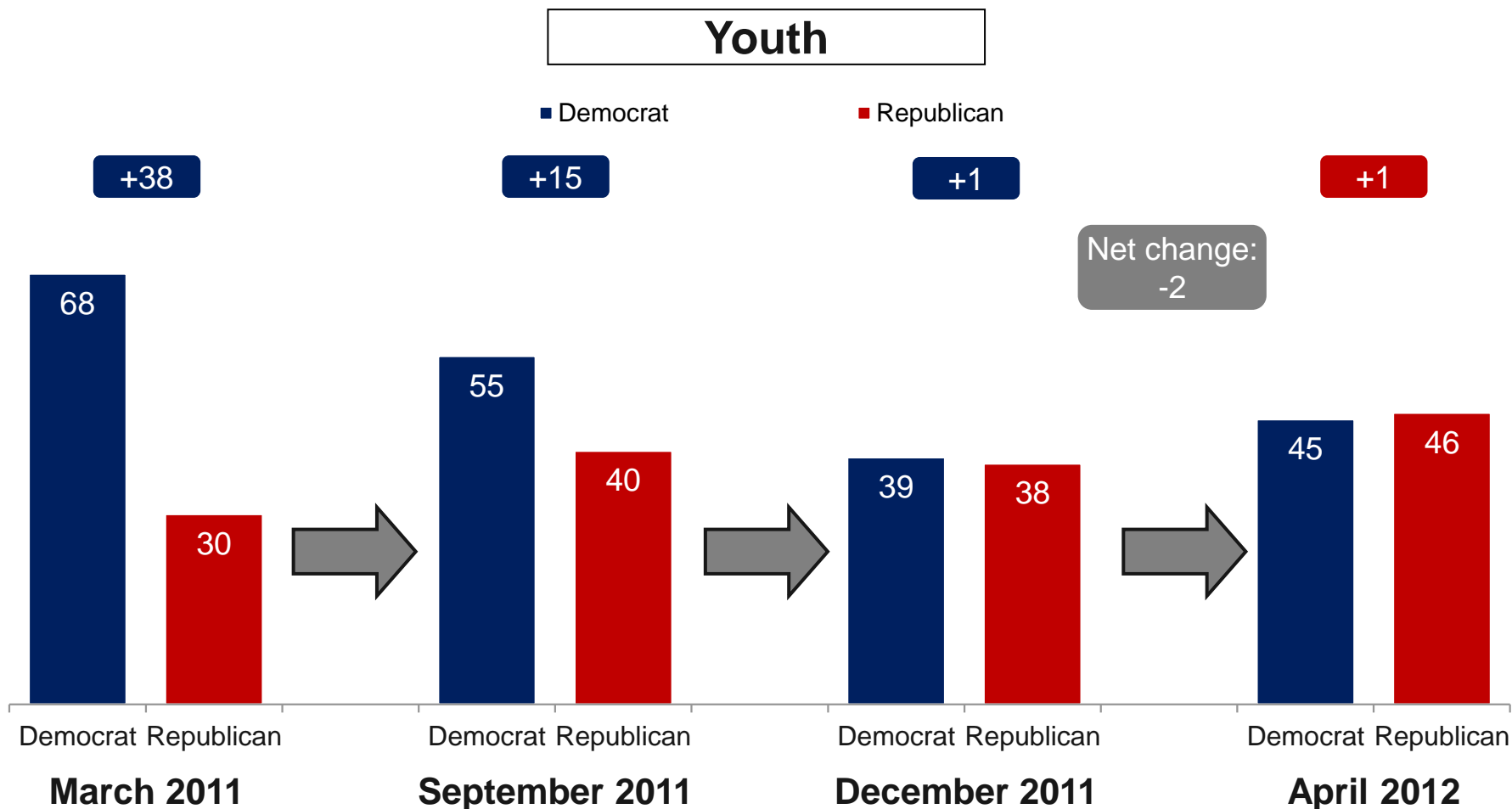
I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress this November, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or Republican (HOUSE INCUMBENT)?



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

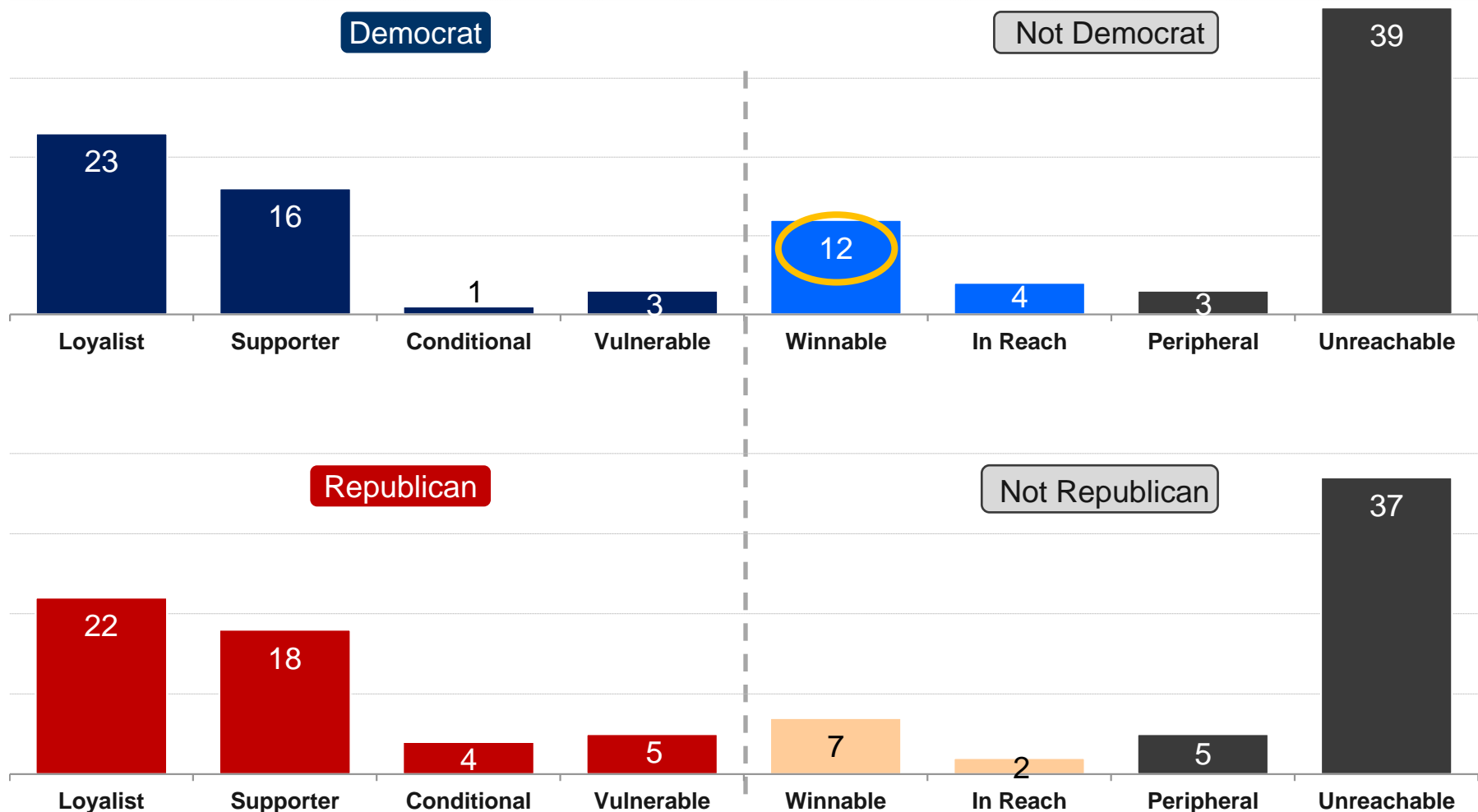
And losing youth

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress this November, 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."*

Democrats have more winnable voters in these Republican districts



The Ryan plan toxic for Republicans

Ryan still relatively unknown, but already net negative favorability

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.

Paul Ryan

**Mean:
43.1**

Net: -6

19

10

20

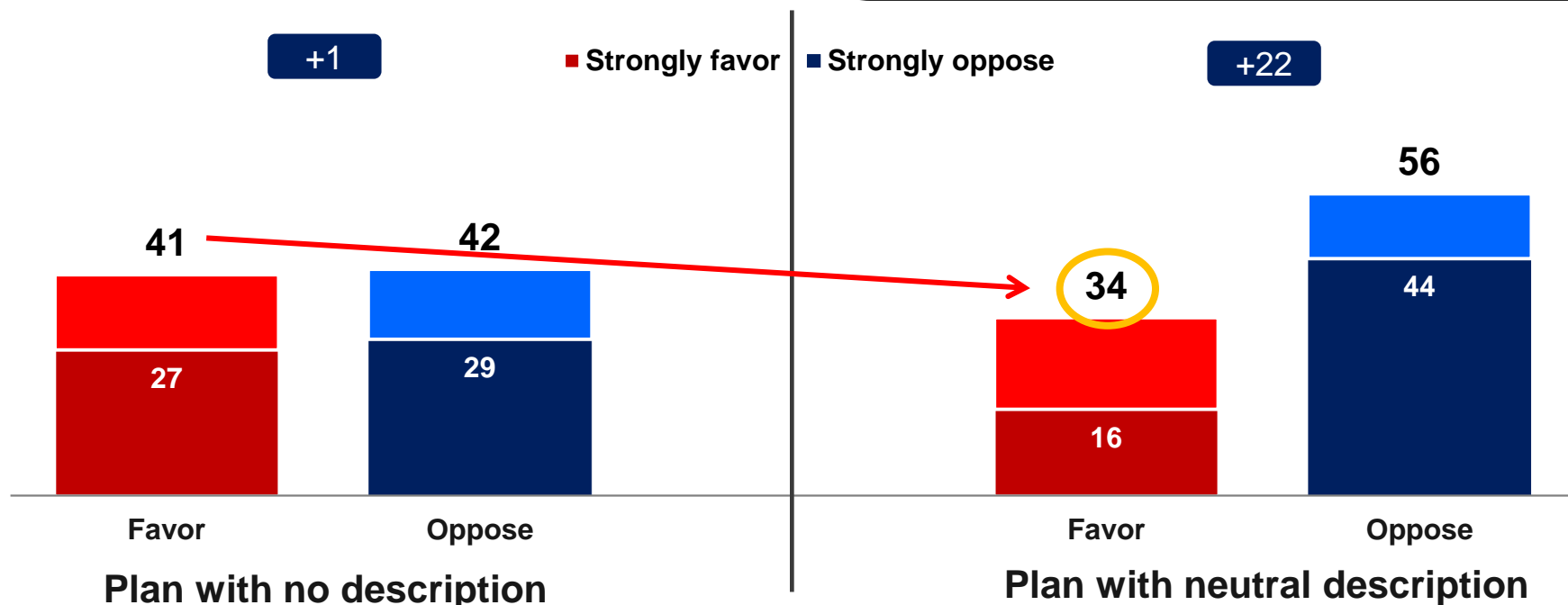
25

■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)

Only 41 percent support Republican budget that cuts spending

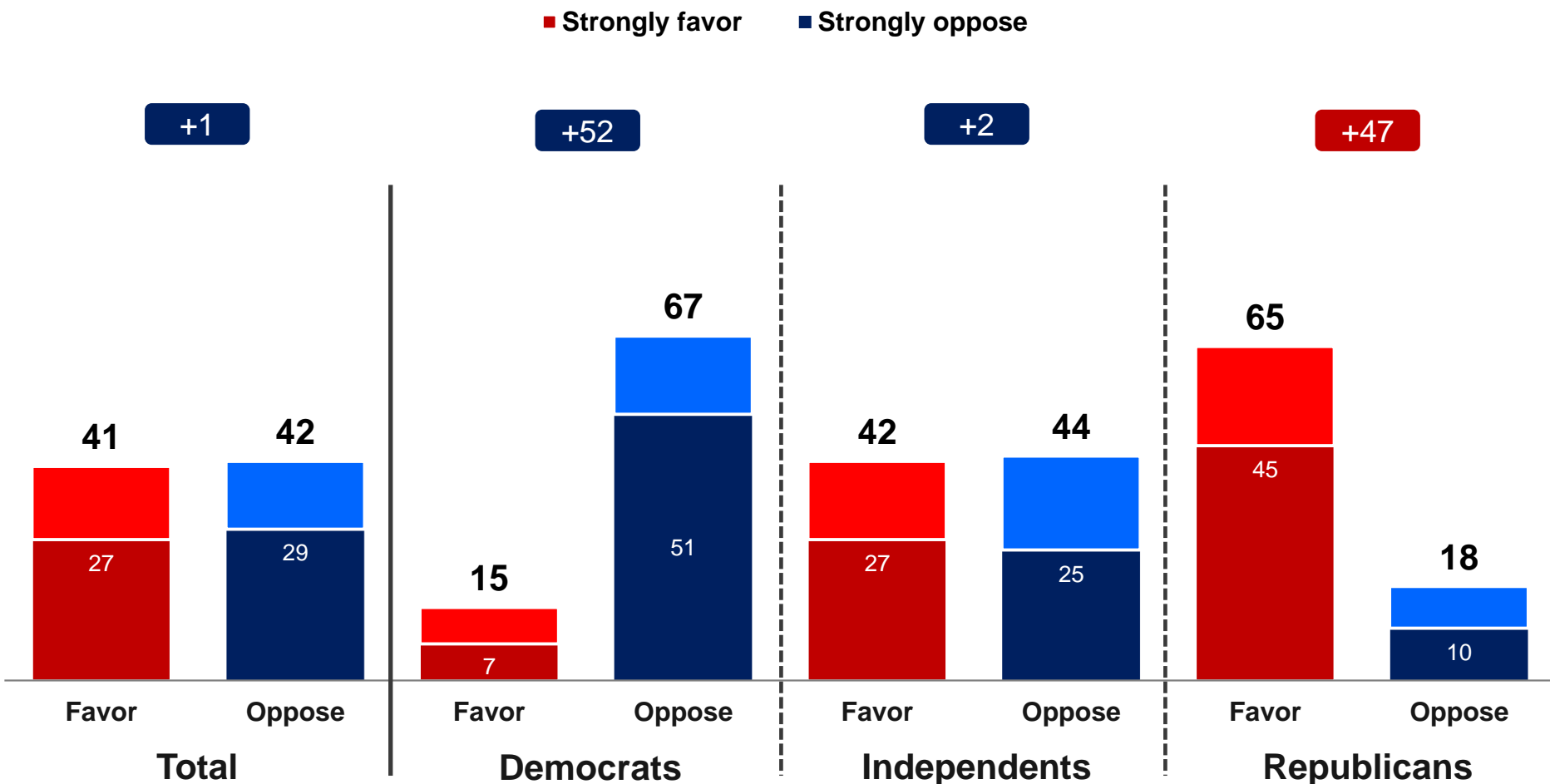
Now for something a little different. Recently, Republicans in the House of Representatives proposed a budget for the next 10 years that cuts an additional 5.3 trillion dollars from the federal budget. From what you know, do you favor or oppose this budget plan?

Let me read you some more information about the House Republicans' budget plan. This plan cuts taxes for corporations and those making over one million dollars a year by 10 percent. It eliminates tax deductions and replaces the current six brackets with two. It repeals the health care reform law and the Wall Street reform law. The budget will cut more than 1.7 trillion dollars to Medicaid over the next decade and phase out traditional Medicare over the next decade, replacing it with a voucher system in which retirees will receive money to purchase either traditional Medicare or private health insurance. Now that you've heard more information, do you favor or oppose this plan?



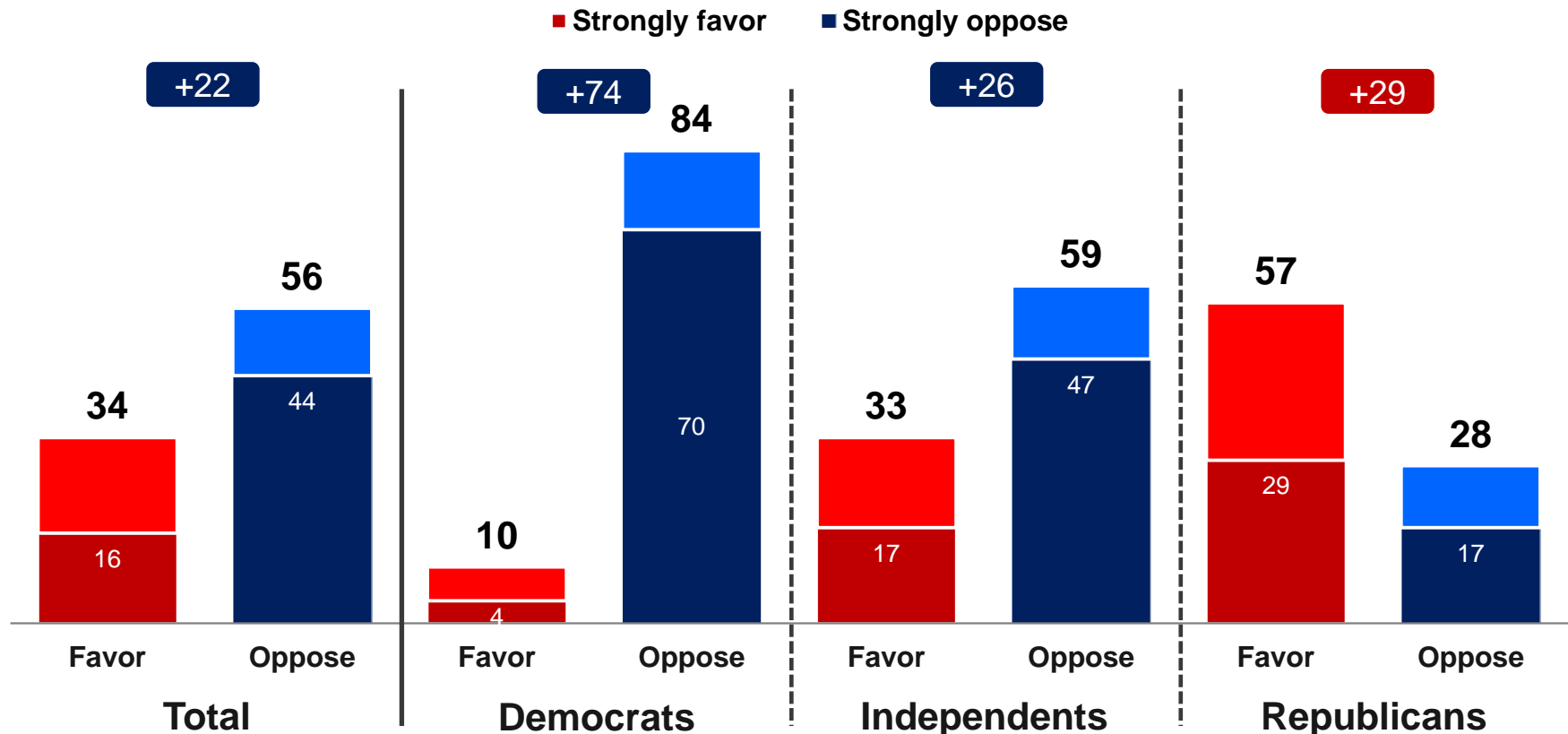
Before hearing specifics, even split on Ryan budget

Now for something a little different. Recently, Republicans in the House of Representatives proposed a budget for the next 10 years that cuts an additional 5.3 trillion dollars from the federal budget. From what you know, do you favor or oppose this budget plan?



In GOP-held districts, six in ten independents and more than a quarter of Republicans oppose the plan

Let me read you some more information about the House Republicans' budget plan. This plan cuts taxes for corporations and those making over one million dollars a year by 10 percent. It eliminates tax deductions and replaces the current six brackets with two. It repeals the health care reform law and the Wall Street reform law. The budget will cut more than 1.7 trillion dollars to Medicaid over the next decade and phase out traditional Medicare over the next decade, replacing it with a voucher system in which retirees will receive money to purchase either traditional Medicare or private health insurance. Now that you've heard more information, do you favor or oppose this plan?



Best attacks on Ryan plan: middle class tax hike, Medicare, Medicaid, eliminating popular provisions of the health care law

Now I am going to read you some of the things critics are saying about (HOUSE INCUMBENT) and the Republican Congress. After I read each one, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about Republicans in Congress and (HOUSE INCUMBENT).

■ Very serious doubts ■ Serious doubts

(MIDDLE CLASS TAX) (HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to raise taxes on middle class and working families in order to pay for tax cuts for CEOs, big corporations that outsource jobs, big oil companies that are more profitable than ever, and millionaires and billionaires, giving them a tax break of 265,000 dollars on top of the Bush tax cuts.



(MEDICARE) (HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to end Medicare as we know it and instead give seniors a voucher to pay for traditional Medicare or a private plan that is not guaranteed to keep pace with the rising costs of health insurance and inflation, forcing seniors to pay thousands of dollars out of pocket.



(HEALTH CARE) (HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to eliminate health insurance coverage for 33 million people who lack coverage now, allowing health insurance companies to deny coverage to people with pre-existing conditions, charge women the higher rates than men and eliminate coverage for millions of young people who can currently join their parents' plan.



(MEDICAID) (HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to cut Medicaid by almost half-- 1.7 trillion dollars over the next ten years-- including coverage for seniors, the disabled, and the poor, leaving 19 million people without guaranteed health care and shifting the costs to states already strapped for cash.



Attacking Republican cuts to education, low-income programs, food safety and Wall Street reform also effective

Now I am going to read you some of the things critics are saying about (HOUSE INCUMBENT) and the Republican Congress. After I read each one, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about Republicans in Congress and (HOUSE INCUMBENT).

■ Very serious doubts ■ Serious doubts

(FOOD SAFETY) (HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to cut funding for food and drug safety by almost 20 percent, which will cause the Food Inspection Service to lay-off thousands of its inspectors meant to prevent foodborne illnesses such as E. coli and Salmonella from contaminating American's food supply.



(EDUCATION) (HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted for the largest cuts ever for education programs, including cuts to classroom technology and Pell Grants, that many Americans need to move into the middle class and voted to weaken legislation prohibiting sex discrimination in federally funded education programs.



(DODD-FRANK) (HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to repeal common-sense financial reforms put in place to make sure the big banks on Wall Street can't bring down our economy again and blocked rules curbing huge bonuses for Wall Street CEOs as they continue to rake in millions of dollars.



(VULNERABLE) (HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to leave our most vulnerable citizens out in the cold during hard times, with 62 percent of the cuts coming from programs for lower-income Americans who are struggling most during the recession, including food stamps, aid for college education, federal housing aid and health care.

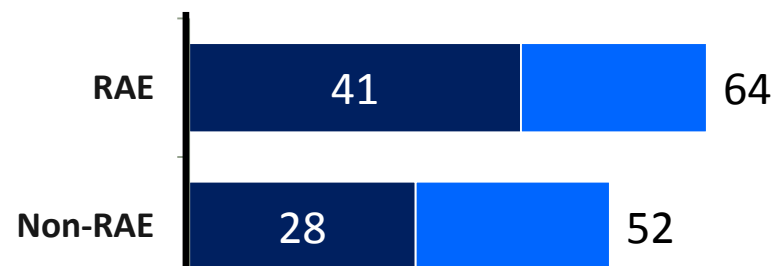


Specific attacks on Republicans' assault on women's choice and jobs are effective, especially with the Rising American Electorate

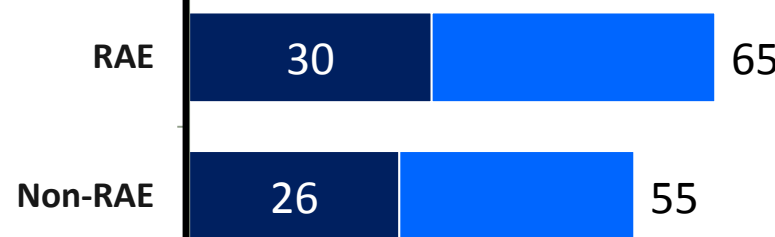
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■ Very serious doubts ■ Serious doubts

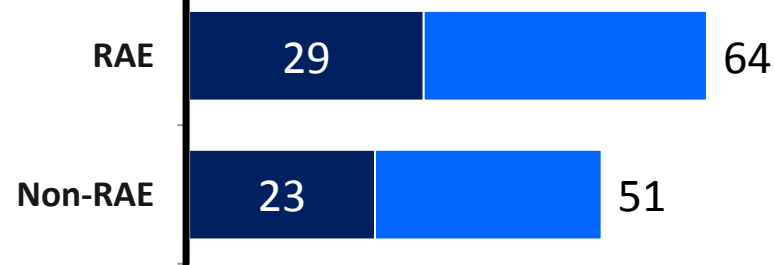
(BIRTH CONTROL) (HOUSE INCUMBENT) sponsored an amendment that discriminated against women by allowing any employer to deny health care coverage for birth control.



(ABORTION SERVICES) (HOUSE INCUMBENT) supported a measure that redefined rape in order to deny access to abortion services for crime victims.

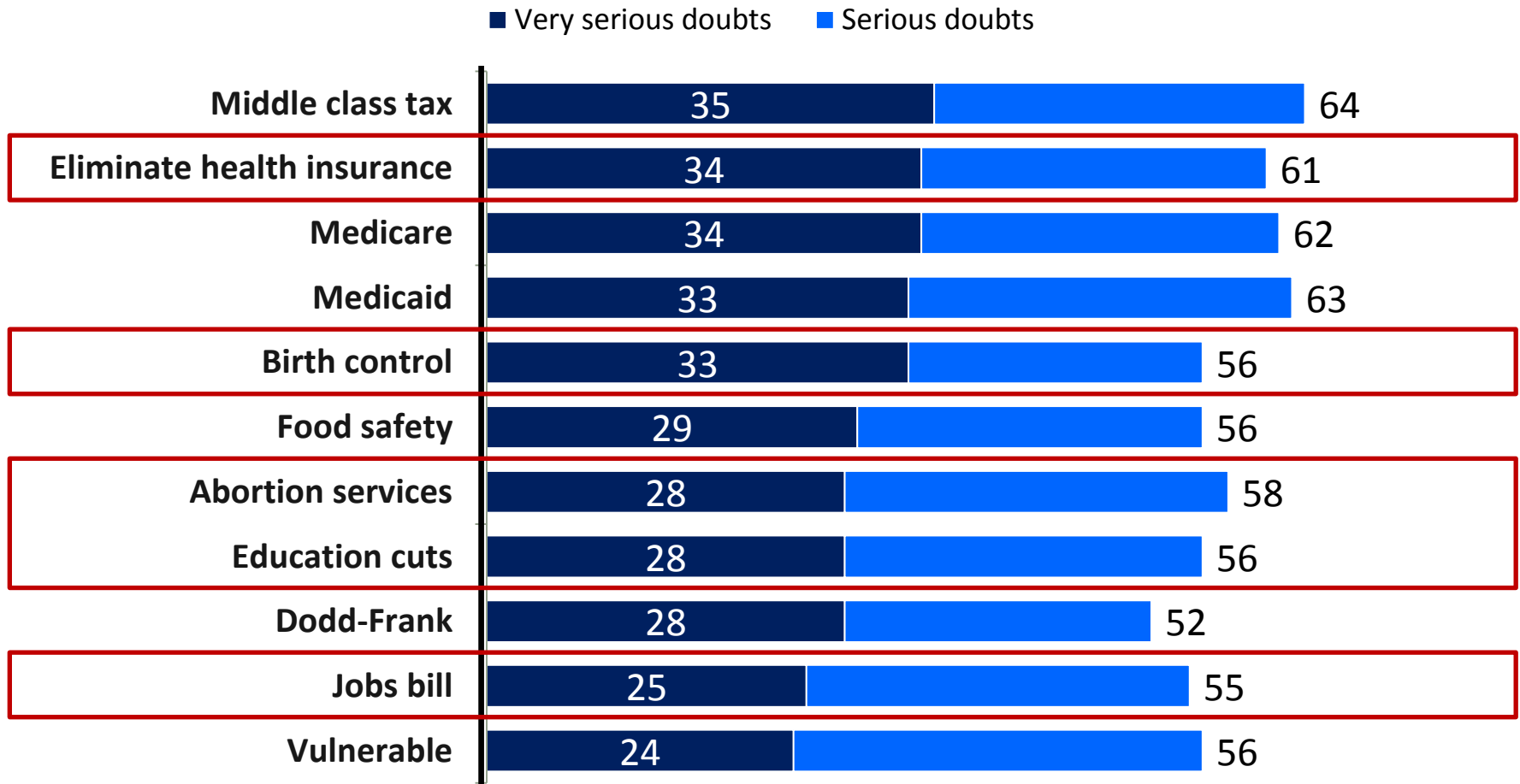


(JOBS BILL) (HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted against a jobs bill that would have saved or created millions of jobs around the country and prevented thousands of layoffs of teachers, nurses and other public employees.



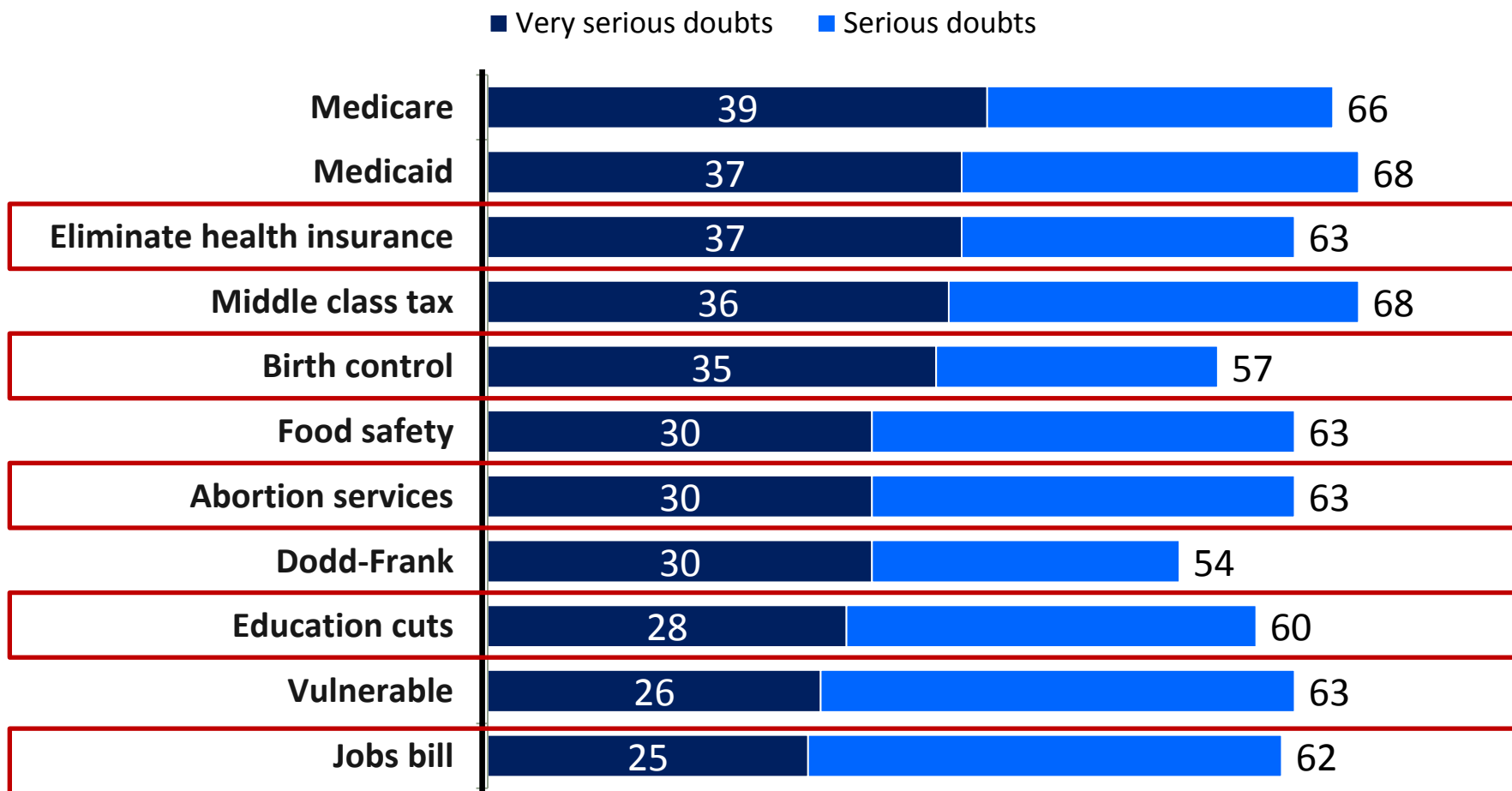
War on women attacks powerful

Now I am going to read you some of the things critics are saying about (HOUSE INCUMBENT) and the Republican Congress. After I read each one, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about Republicans in Congress and (HOUSE INCUMBENT).



Especially among women

Now I am going to read you some of the things critics are saying about (HOUSE INCUMBENT) and the Republican Congress. After I read each one, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about Republicans in Congress and (HOUSE INCUMBENT).

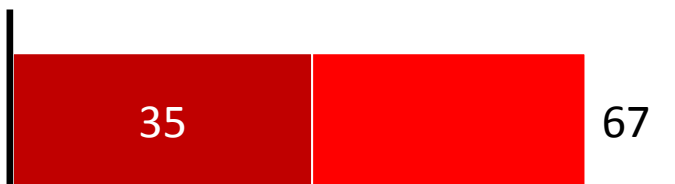


Republican's strongest arguments are on secondary issues – veterans spending and energy

Now I am going to read you some of the things (HOUSE INCUMBENT) and the Republicans in Congress are saying about their budget plan. After I read each statement, please tell me how convincing a reason it is to support (HOUSE INCUMBENT) and the Republicans in Congress -- is it a very convincing reason, a somewhat convincing reason, just a little convincing, or not at all a convincing reason to support (HOUSE INCUMBENT) and the Republicans in Congress?

■ Very convincing ■ Somewhat convincing

(VETERANS) Our plan actually increases spending on veterans programs by over 16 billion dollars over ten years, making sure our veterans returning home have the necessary support for their brave service.



(ENERGY) While Democrats have consistently blocked the expansion of domestic energy production, driving up gas prices and increasing our reliance on foreign oil, our plan promotes opening new domestic areas for exploration. Instead of propping up failed schemes like Solyndra, our plan taps into our vast reserves of oil and natural gas, creating millions of new jobs.



(DEBT) Our plan reverses the reckless over-spending and borrowing that puts America at the mercy of China and leaves our children burdened by debt. It cuts government spending from 24 percent of the economy to below 20 percent in three years and reduces our debt by 36 percent over the next ten years.



(MEDICARE) Our plan saves Medicare for current and future generations with no disruptions for those in or near retirement. It has guaranteed coverage options, including the traditional fee-for-service Medicare option, and introduces competitive-bidding among health plans to ensure high-quality coverage at the lowest costs, while keeping the control of care between patients and their doctors.



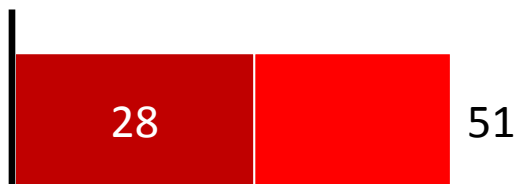
Arguments against the health care law, defense cuts and taxes not as effective

Now I am going to read you some of the things (HOUSE INCUMBENT) and the Republicans in Congress are saying about their budget plan. After I read each statement, please tell me how convincing a reason it is to support (HOUSE INCUMBENT) and the Republicans in Congress -- is it a very convincing reason, a somewhat convincing reason, just a little convincing, or not at all a convincing reason to support (HOUSE INCUMBENT) and the Republicans in Congress?

■ Very convincing

■ Somewhat convincing

(DEFENSE) President Obama's plan makes across-the-board cuts of nearly 500 billion dollars from defense spending over the next ten years, while our plan protects our safety and security by maintaining reasonable and consistent defense spending. Our troops shouldn't pay the price for Washington's failures.



(OBAMACARE) Our plan repeals Obama's trillion dollar government takeover of the health care system and gets bureaucrats out of medical practice. Obamacare will drive up health care costs and bankrupt Medicare, while our plan ensures the long-term survival of Medicare and premium support for low-income beneficiaries.



(JOB TRAINING) Our plan strengthens education, job training and assistance programs by consolidating duplicative programs and transferring those programs back to the states, allowing them to develop their own approaches to get their citizens back to work.



(TAXES) Our plan reforms the broken tax code so it's fairer, simpler and more competitive. It consolidates the tax code into just two individual brackets, one at 10 percent and one at 25 percent, eliminates special interest loopholes and cuts the corporate tax rate to 25 percent.



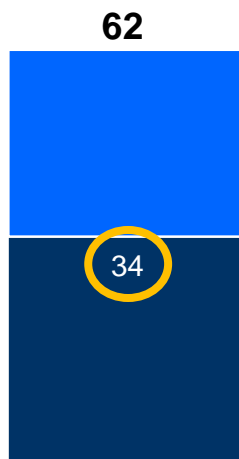
In key component of Ryan plan, Democrats' Medicare attack beats Republican response

Now I am going to read you some of the things critics are saying about (HOUSE INCUMBENT) and the Republican Congress. After I read each one, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about Republicans in Congress and (HOUSE INCUMBENT).

Democratic attack: Medicare

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to end Medicare as we know it and instead give seniors a voucher to pay for traditional Medicare or a private plan that is not guaranteed to keep pace with the rising costs of health insurance and inflation, forcing seniors to pay thousands of dollars out of pocket.

■ Very serious doubts

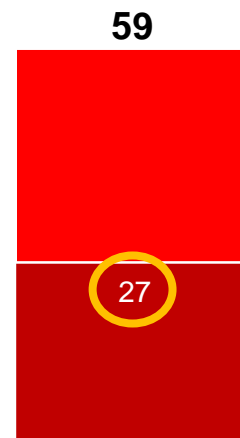


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Republican argument: Medicare

Our plan saves Medicare for current and future generations with no disruptions for those in or near retirement. It has guaranteed coverage options, including the traditional fee-for-service Medicare option, and introduces competitive-bidding among health plans to ensure high-quality coverage at the lowest costs, while keeping the control of care between patients and their doctors.

■ Very convincing



Ryan plan turns away voters en masse: huge shift in the vote and Democrats take the lead in the Republican districts

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

■ Democrat

■ Republican

+6

+3

43

49

47

44

Democrat

Republican

Initial vote

Democrat

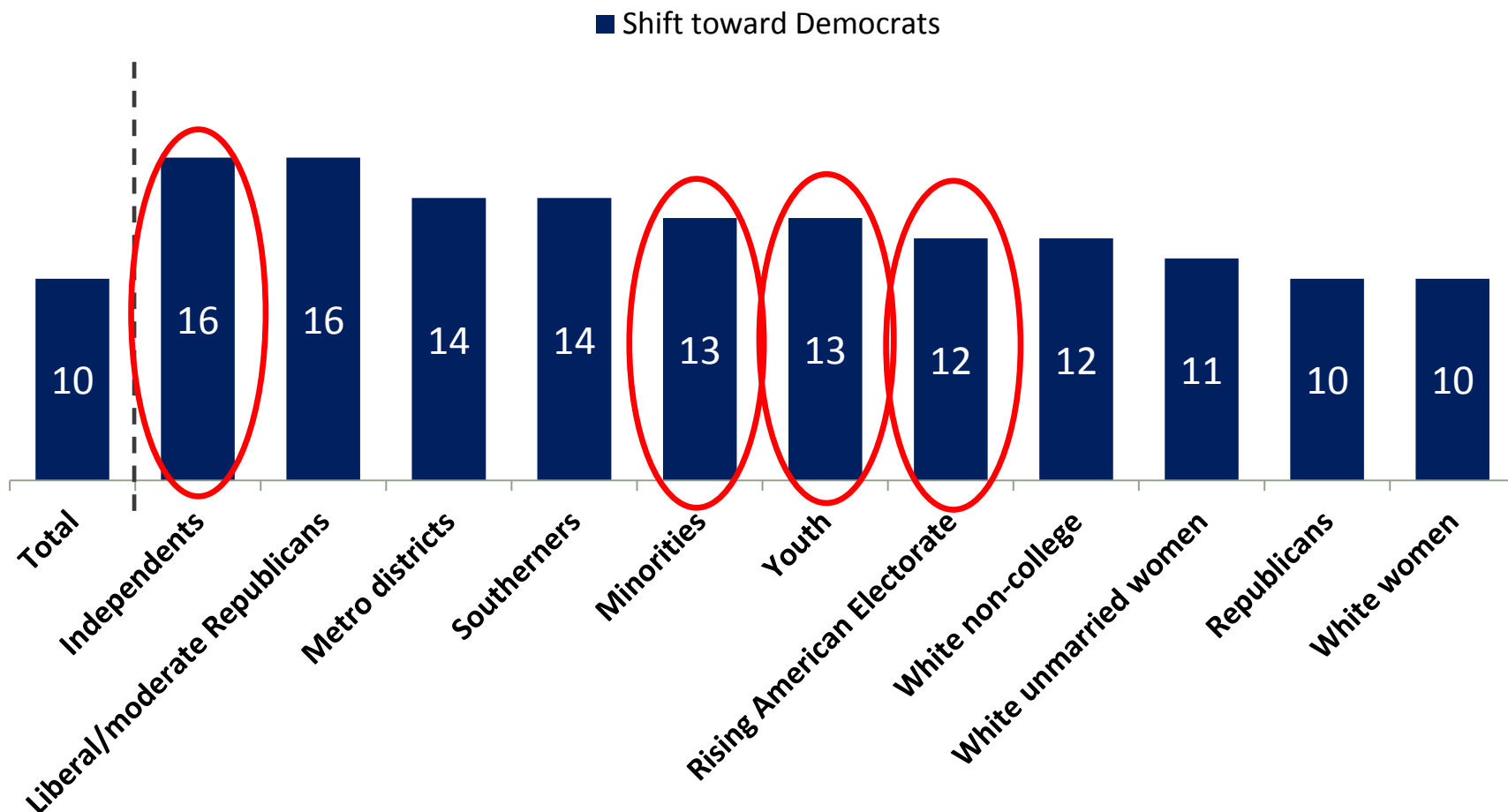
Republican

**Re-vote after hearing information
about the Ryan plan from both sides**

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

Independents, liberal/moderate Republicans, RAE among 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 this November, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or Republican (HOUSE INCUMBENT)?



Strongest attacks on the Ryan plan among independents

Now I am going to read you some of the things critics are saying about (HOUSE INCUMBENT) and the Republican Congress. After I read each one, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about Republicans in Congress and (HOUSE INCUMBENT).

➤ **Middle class tax**

Very serious doubts: 42%
Total serious doubts: 67%

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to raise taxes on middle class and working families in order to pay for tax cuts for CEOs, big corporations that outsource jobs, big oil companies that are more profitable than ever, and millionaires and billionaires, giving them a tax break of 265,000 dollars on top of the Bush tax cuts.

➤ **Health care**

Very serious doubts: 36%
Total serious doubts: 64%

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to eliminate health insurance coverage for 33 million people who lack coverage now, allowing health insurance companies to deny coverage to people with pre-existing conditions, charge women the higher rates than men and eliminate coverage for millions of young people who can currently join their parents' plan.

➤ **Medicaid**

Very serious doubts: 34%
Total serious doubts: 62%

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to cut Medicaid by almost half-- 1.7 trillion dollars over the next ten years-- including coverage for seniors, the disabled, and the poor, leaving 19 million people without guaranteed health care and shifting the costs to states already strapped for cash.

➤ **Medicare**

Very serious doubts: 27%
Total serious doubts: 59%

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to end Medicare as we know it and instead give seniors a voucher to pay for traditional Medicare or a private plan that is not guaranteed to keep pace with the rising costs of health insurance and inflation, forcing seniors to pay thousands of dollars out of pocket.

Strongest attacks on the Ryan plan among unmarried women

Now I am going to read you some of the things critics are saying about (HOUSE INCUMBENT) and the Republican Congress. After I read each one, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about Republicans in Congress and (HOUSE INCUMBENT).

➤ **Medicaid**

Very serious doubts: 47%
Total serious doubts: 76%

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to cut Medicaid by almost half-- 1.7 trillion dollars over the next ten years-- including coverage for seniors, the disabled, and the poor, leaving 19 million people without guaranteed health care and shifting the costs to states already strapped for cash.

➤ **Middle class tax**

Very serious doubts: 46%
Total serious doubts: 72%

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to raise taxes on middle class and working families in order to pay for tax cuts for CEOs, big corporations that outsource jobs, big oil companies that are more profitable than ever, and millionaires and billionaires, giving them a tax break of 265,000 dollars on top of the Bush tax cuts.

➤ **Health care**

Very serious doubts: 43%
Total serious doubts: 69%

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to eliminate health insurance coverage for 33 million people who lack coverage now, allowing health insurance companies to deny coverage to people with pre-existing conditions, charge women the higher rates than men and eliminate coverage for millions of young people who can currently join their parents' plan.

➤ **Medicare**

Very serious doubts: 39%
Total serious doubts: 70%

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to end Medicare as we know it and instead give seniors a voucher to pay for traditional Medicare or a private plan that is not guaranteed to keep pace with the rising costs of health insurance and inflation, forcing seniors to pay thousands of dollars out of pocket.

Strongest attacks on the Ryan plan among the Rising American Electorate

Now I am going to read you some of the things critics are saying about (HOUSE INCUMBENT) and the Republican Congress. After I read each one, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about Republicans in Congress and (HOUSE INCUMBENT).

➤ **Health care**

Very serious doubts: 41%

Total serious doubts: 69%

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to eliminate health insurance coverage for 33 million people who lack coverage now, allowing health insurance companies to deny coverage to people with pre-existing conditions, charge women the higher rates than men and eliminate coverage for millions of young people who can currently join their parents' plan.

➤ **Medicare**

Very serious doubts: 39%

Total serious doubts: 69%

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to end Medicare as we know it and instead give seniors a voucher to pay for traditional Medicare or a private plan that is not guaranteed to keep pace with the rising costs of health insurance and inflation, forcing seniors to pay thousands of dollars out of pocket.

➤ **Middle class tax**

Very serious doubts: 39%

Total serious doubts: 66%

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to raise taxes on middle class and working families in order to pay for tax cuts for CEOs, big corporations that outsource jobs, big oil companies that are more profitable than ever, and millionaires and billionaires, giving them a tax break of 265,000 dollars on top of the Bush tax cuts.

➤ **Medicaid**

Very serious doubts: 37%

Total serious doubts: 69%

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) voted to cut Medicaid by almost half-- 1.7 trillion dollars over the next ten years-- including coverage for seniors, the disabled, and the poor, leaving 19 million people without guaranteed health care and shifting the costs to states already strapped for cash.

Democrats start out down on who better to handle the economy in these Republican districts

Now 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... **The economy**

■ Democrats much better ■ Republicans much better

The economy

+7

40

22

Democrats

47

30

Republicans

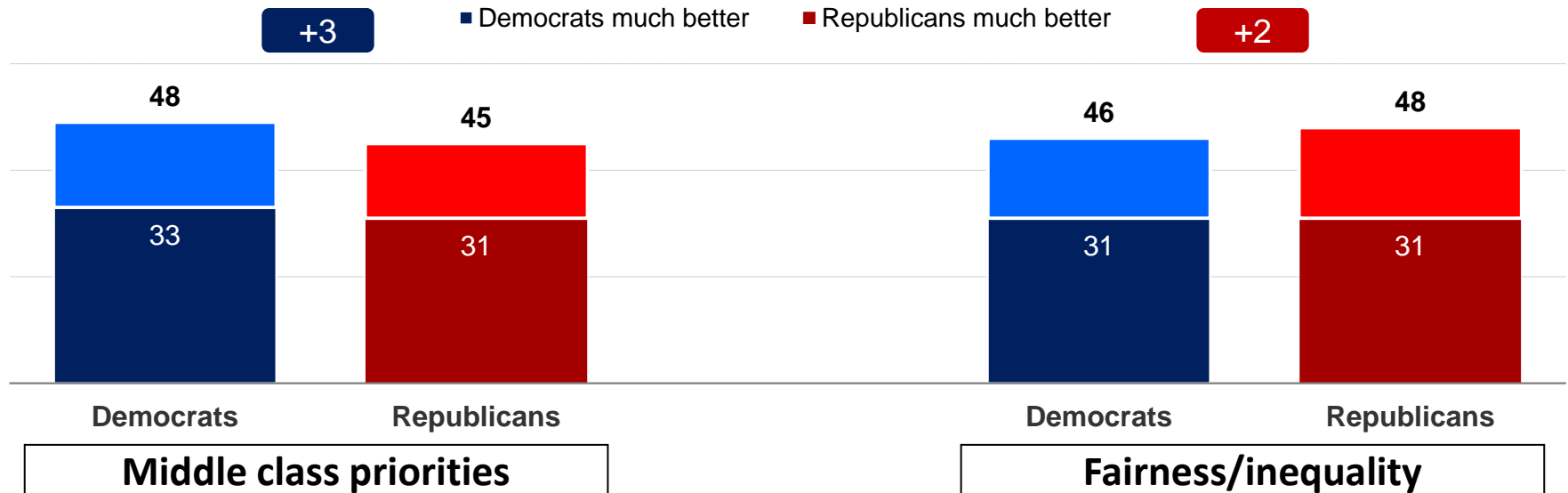
But arguments on both sides bring Democrats to even, with a middle class priorities message marginally better

After hearing both statements, who do you think would do a better job when it comes to the economy, Democrats or Republicans?

Democrats say: The middle class has been smashed. Regular Americans are working harder for less, while special interests and those at the top get all the breaks. That has to change. We need to put middle class priorities, like education and Medicare, first - not tax breaks for millionaires and big oil. But the Republicans voted to end Medicare as we know it and raise taxes on middle class families while giving even more tax breaks to big corporations and the wealthiest Americans.

Democrats say: Our economy is upside down - 99 percent of America is in a recession, but the one percent at the top are doing better than ever. That has to change. We need an economy where everyone has a fair shot and everyone pays their fair share. We should invest in education and protect Medicare. But the Republicans voted to end Medicare as we know it and raise taxes on the 99 percent while giving even more tax breaks to big corporations and the top one percent.

Republicans say: Excessive government spending like the failed stimulus bill and Obamacare has made it harder for American businesses to grow while saddling our children with debt. That has to change. We need to make it easier for businesses to create jobs by ending unnecessary regulations, cutting spending and lowering taxes. But the Democrats' solution is more government and more spending, all financed by higher taxes on families and job-creating businesses.



GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

WORLD HEADQUARTERS
10 G Street, NE
Suite 500
Washington, DC 20002
T: 202.478.8300
F: 202.478.8301

EUROPEAN HEADQUARTERS
405 Carrington House
6 Hertford Street
London, UK W1J 7SU
T: +44.(0).207.096.5070
F: +44.(0).207.096.5068

LATIN AMERICAN HEADQUARTERS
Cabrera 6060, 7D
C1414 BHN
Ciudad de Buenos Aires, Argentina
T: +54.11.4772.0813

www.greenbergresearch.com | www.gqrr.com