



Battleground 2012 (XLV)

FINAL

STUDY #13161

THE TARRANCE GROUP and LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS

N = 1,000 Registered "likely" voters

Margin of error ± 3.1%

Field Dates: November 6-9, 2011

Hello, I'm _____ of The Tarrance Group, a national survey research firm. We're talking to people today about public leaders and issues facing us all. May I please speak with a (male/female) in the household who is registered to vote?

A. Are you registered to vote in your state?

IF "NO," ASK: Is there someone else at home who is registered to vote?
(IF "YES," THEN ASK: MAY I SPEAK WITH HIM/HER?)

Yes (**CONTINUE**)
 No (**THANK AND TERMINATE**)

Even though it is a long way off...

B. What is the likelihood of your voting in the elections to be held in November 2012-- are you extremely likely, very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely at all to vote?

(CONTINUE)	Extremely Likely..... 73%
	Very Likely..... 22%
	Somewhat Likely..... 5%

(THANK AND TERMINATE)	Not Very Likely
	UNSURE (DNR)

(UPELECT)

C. Are you, or is anyone in your household, employed with an advertising agency, newspaper, television or radio station, or political campaign?

Yes (**THANK AND TERMINATE**)
 No (**CONTINUE**)

*= less than .5%

And,

D. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?

IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT,

ASK: Would you call yourself a strong or a not very strong (Republican/Democrat)?

Republican/strong.....	28%
Republican/not strong	6%
Lean Republican.....	7%
Independent	14%

IF INDEPENDENT OR ANYTHING

ELSE, ASK: Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?

Lean Democrat	6%
Democrat/not strong.....	10%
Democrat/strong	27%
NO PREFERENCE (DNR)	1%
OTHER (DNR)	*
UNSURE/REFUSED (DNR)	2%

(PARTYID)

IF "1-3" IN QD, THEN ASK:

E. And, did you vote in the Republican Presidential primary election in 2008?

Yes (TO QF).....	86%
No (TO QF)	13%
UNSURE/REFUSED (DNR) (TO QF)	2%

(GOP08)

IF "1-3" IN QE, THEN ASK:

F. Do you plan to vote in Republican primary election or caucus that your state will be holding in 2012?

Yes	90%
No.....	5%
UNSURE/REFUSED (DNR)	5%

(GOP12)

****ASK OF EVERYONE****

Now, thinking for a moment about things in the country--

1. Do you feel things in the country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten off on the wrong track?

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK: And do you feel strongly or somewhat about that?

Right direction/strongly.....	8%
Right direction/somewhat	10%
UNSURE (DNR)	8%
Wrong track/somewhat	14%
Wrong track/strongly.....	61%

(DIRECT)

IF "RIGHT DIRECTION" IN QUESTION 1, ASK:

1-1. And, being as specific as you can, why do you think the country is headed in the right direction?
(PROBE, IF NECESSARY: PLEASE TELL ME MORE ABOUT THAT)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Effective leadership by Obama	67	6.7	37.9
Economy improving	45	4.5	25.2
It will take time to improve the economy	16	1.6	9.1
Other	13	1.3	7.5
We are standing up against greed and getting smarter	7	0.7	3.9
Leaders are trying	6	0.6	3.4
There are jobs coming/here	5	0.5	2.6
We are bringing the soldiers home/ war success	4	0.4	2.3
Republicans and Democrats can work together	3	0.3	1.6
Unsure/refused	3	0.3	1.5
We are working toward greener energy	3	0.3	1.4
God will not let us fail	2	0.2	0.9
We will balance the budget	2	0.2	0.9
Healthcare is good	1	0.1	0.6
People are realizing the Republicans are at fault	1	0.1	0.5
We are working with other countries	1	0.1	0.5
Education is better than previously	1	0.1	0.3

IF "WRONG TRACK" IN QUESTION 1, ASK:

1-2. And, being as specific as you can, why do you think the country is on the wrong track?
(PROBE, IF NECESSARY: PLEASE TELL ME MORE ABOUT THAT)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
The economy is poor	92	9.2	12.3
Lack of jobs/jobs going overseas	80	8.0	10.7
We have too much debt and spending	74	7.4	9.9
Leadership is poor	72	7.2	9.6
Politics are too divided	63	6.3	8.5
We need a new president/unhappy with Obama	62	6.2	8.3
Government is too heavy handed/ bailouts are harmful	50	5.0	6.7
Politicians care only about money and re-election/they are corrupt	46	4.6	6.2
Morality/ God issues	34	3.4	4.6
Republicans are stopping Congressional progress	34	3.4	4.5
The country is a mess	33	3.3	4.4
Great inequity between the wealthiest Americans and the poor	24	2.4	3.3
Entitlements are not functioning right	24	2.4	3.2
Other	13	1.3	1.8
We shouldn't be at war	13	1.2	1.7
Greed/entitlement/apathy/other vices	10	1.0	1.3
Unsure/refused	9	0.9	1.2
Education needs improvement	7	0.7	0.9
Democrats are off track	4	0.4	0.5
Viewed as weak by other countries/bad foreign policy	3	0.3	0.4

Now I would like to read you a list of issues that some people from this part of the country have said are important for Congress to focus on. Please listen as I read the list and tell me which one issue you think is most important. **(READ AND ROTATE ISSUES)**

(PROMPT IF COMBINATION/EQUALLY: “BUT IF YOU HAD TO PICK JUST ONE, WHICH WOULD YOU SAY IS MOST IMPORTANT?”)

IF CHOICE MADE IN Q3, THEN ASK: “AND WHAT WOULD YOU SAY IS THE NEXT MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM?”

	<u>Q2 MOST IMPORTANT</u>	<u>Q3 NEXT MOST IMPORTANT</u>
• The Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan	4%	7%
• Illegal immigration	3%	6%
• Taxes	2%	4%
• Terrorism and homeland security	3%	2%
• Education	7%	8%
• Health care costs	7%	9%
• Government spending and the budget deficit	19%	13%
• The economy	21%	21%
• Gas and energy prices	3%	5%
• Medicare and Social Security	6%	8%
• Jobs	18%	15%
• COMBINATION/EQUALLY (DNR)	7%	1%
• OTHER (DNR)	*	1%
• NONE (DNR)		*
• UNSURE (DNR)	*	*

(MII)

Now, thinking ahead to the 2012 Presidential elections...

4. If the election for President were being held today, and you had to make a choice, would you be voting for -
- **(ROTATE)** --
- the Republican candidate or
 - President Barack Obama, the Democratic candidate?

<u>IF "UNDECIDED", ASK:</u> And	Republican.....	41%
which party's candidate do	Lean Republican.....	2%
you lean toward at this	UNDECIDED (DNR)	13%
time?	Lean Obama.....	2%
	Obama.....	41%

(GENPRES)

ROTATE Qs 5-6

And, still thinking about this election...

5. If the Presidential election were held today and you had to make a choice, for whom would you vote...
(ROTATE NAMES)

--Mitt Romney, the Republican,
or
-- Barack Obama, the Democrat?

<u>IF "UNDECIDED", ASK:</u>	Romney/definitely	28%
And which candidate do you	Romney /probably	12%
lean toward slightly?	Romney/lean	3%
	UNDECIDED (DNR)	9%
<u>IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:</u>	Obama/lean	2%
Would you say that you are	Obama/probably	10%
<u>definitely</u> going to vote	Obama/definitely	37%
for him, or <u>probably</u>		
going to vote for him?		

(ROBAL)

And, still thinking about this election...

6. If the Presidential election were held today and you had to make a choice, for whom would you vote...
(ROTATE NAMES)

--Herman Cain, the Republican,
or
-- Barack Obama, the Democrat?

IF "UNDECIDED", ASK:

And which candidate do you lean toward slightly?

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:

Would you say that you are definitely going to vote for him, or probably going to vote for him?

Cain/definitely	27%
Cain /probably	11%
Cain/lean	2%
UNDECIDED (DNR).....	12%
Obama/lean	1%
Obama/probably	8%
Obama/definitely	40%

(COBAL)

And, still thinking about the 2012 elections...

7. If the election for CONGRESS were being held today, and you had to make a choice, would you be voting for -- **(ROTATE)** –

- the Republican candidate or
- the Democratic candidate, in your Congressional district?

IF "UNDECIDED", ASK: And

which party's candidate do you lean toward at this time?

Republican	41%
Lean Republican.....	2%
UNDECIDED (DNR)	13%
Lean Democratic	2%
Democratic	42%

(GENCONG)

Now, turning back to President Barack Obama...

8. How would you rate the job Barack Obama has been doing as President? Do you approve or disapprove of the job he is doing?

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:

And do you feel *strongly* about that?

Approve/strongly	27%
Approve	17%
UNSURE (DNR)	5%
Disapprove.....	10%
Disapprove/strongly	41%

(BHOJA)

Thinking again about Congress..

9. How would you rate the job Congress is doing? Do you approve or disapprove of the job they are doing?

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:

And do you feel *strongly*
about that?

Approve/strongly 5%
Approve 7%
UNSURE (DNR) 6%
Disapprove..... 10%
Disapprove/strongly 73%

(CONJA)

And, thinking about this issue in a different way...

10. Thinking specifically about your Member of Congress, how would you rate the job your Member of Congress is doing? Do you approve or disapprove of the job they are doing?

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:

And do you feel *strongly*
about that?

Approve/strongly 25%
Approve 21%
UNSURE (DNR) 15%
Disapprove..... 12%
Disapprove/strongly 27%

(MCONJA)

And, thinking again about Barack Obama...

11. Whether you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President, what is your impression of Barack Obama as a person? Do you approve or disapprove of him?

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:

And do you feel *strongly*
about that?

Approve/strongly 58%
Approve 16%
UNSURE (DNR)..... 7%
Disapprove..... 3%
Disapprove/strongly 17%

(BHOPA)

Still thinking about President Obama...

I am going to read you several issues. For each one, please tell me if you approve or disapprove of the job that President Obama is doing on this issue. Here is the first one...

(RANDOMIZE)

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK: Is that strongly (approve/disapprove) or somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

		APPROVE		UNSURE (DNR)	DISAPPROVE	
		<u>strng</u>	<u>smwht</u>		<u>smwht</u>	<u>strng</u>
12.	The economy (PROMPT: DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE JOB THAT PRESIDENT OBAMA IS DOING ON THIS ISSUE?)	15%	20%	2%	15%	47%
13.	Foreign policy	32%	24%	6%	11%	28%
14.	Dealing with Congress	16%	22%	5%	19%	38%
15.	The federal budget and spending	16%	17%	3%	15%	49%
16.	Jobs	18%	22%	3%	15%	43%

(BOJA1-2,4-6)

(END RANDOMIZATION)

IF "1" IN QF, THEN ASK:

Thinking about these Republican Presidential candidates in a different way...

17. Who would you say is your first choice to be the Republican nominee for President?
(READ AND ROTATE LIST, IF NECESSARY)

Mitt Romney	25%
Michele Bachmann.....	2%
Rick Perry	14%
Rick Santorum.....	2%
Herman Cain	27%
Newt Gingrich.....	14%
Ron Paul.....	5%
Jon Huntsman.....	*
Gary Johnson.....	
OTHER (Specify _____) (DNR, Record only if volunteered)	1%
UNSURE/REFUSED (DNR, Record only if volunteered).....	9%

(GOPBAL1)

IF CHOICE MADE IN Q17, ASK:

Still thinking about the Republican primary election for President –

- 18. If, for some reason, the candidate that you just mentioned chose not to run, which of the other candidates would be your next choice? Would it be --
(READ AND ROTATE LIST, IF NECESSARY)

Mitt Romney	20%
Michele Bachmann.....	6%
Rick Perry	13%
Rick Santorum.....	4%
Herman Cain	16%
Newt Gingrich.....	20%
Ron Paul.....	8%
Jon Huntsman.....	3%
Gary Johnson.....	
OTHER (Specify _____) (DNR, Record only if volunteered)	
UNSURE/REFUSED (DNR, Record only if volunteered).....	9%

(GOPBAL2)

IF “1” IN QF, THEN ASK:

Thinking one last time about this issue...

- 19. Regardless of who you plan to vote for, who do you believe is going to win the Republican nomination for President?
(READ LIST, IF NECESSARY)

Mitt Romney	48%
Michele Bachmann.....	*
Rick Perry	6%
Rick Santorum.....	
Herman Cain	22%
Newt Gingrich.....	3%
Ron Paul.....	*
Jon Huntsman.....	
Gary Johnson.....	
OTHER (Specify _____) (DNR, Record only if volunteered)	
UNSURE/REFUSED (DNR, Record only if volunteered).....	21%

(GOPWIN)

*****ASK OF EVERYONE*****

And, thinking about the economic future...

- 20. Do you believe that the next generation will be better off economically than the current generation?

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:

And do you feel strongly about that?

Yes/strongly	13%
Yes	9%
UNSURE (DNR)	12%
No.....	11%
No/strongly	55%

(ECONFUT)

And, thinking about your economic class...

21. Do you consider yourself to be:
(ROTATE CHOICES, TOP TO BOTTOM, BOTTOM TO TOP)

- Upper class,
- Middle class,
- Working class, OR
- Low income?

Upper class	4%
Middle class	52%
Working class.....	23%
Low income.....	17%
Working/middle class (DNR)	3%
Unemployed (DNR)	*
Unsure/refused (DNR)	1%

(ECONCLA)

As you may already know, President Obama and the US Congress recently agreed on a law to increase the national debt ceiling. One of the key parts of this law was the creation of a bipartisan committee to examine ways to balance the federal budget. This committee has been nicknamed the super committee.

22. How much would you say that you have seen, read, or heard about the work of this super committee? Would you say that you are – **(ROTATE FRONT TO BACK, BACK TO FRONT)** • EXTREMELY, • VERY, • SOMEWHAT, or • NOT AT ALL, familiar with their work?

Extremely familiar	5%
Very familiar.....	7%
Somewhat familiar.....	38%
Not At All familiar	50%
UNSURE/REFUSED (DNR)	1%

(SCAWA)

The legal mandate for this committee is for it to produce a bipartisan recommendation for how to reduce the federal budget deficit by one point five trillion dollars. It is possible that the committee will reach a stalemate and offer no recommendation.

23. Do you believe that this committee will reach its goal of having an approved bipartisan plan to cut the federal budget deficit by one point five trillion dollars?

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:

And do you feel strongly
about that?

Yes/strongly	11%
Yes	10%
UNSURE (DNR)	11%
No.....	13%
No/strongly	56%

(SCSUC)

Still thinking about this super committee...

If this committee is unable to make a recommendation, it will trigger across the board spending cuts to the federal budget to both domestic federal spending, including Social Security and Medicare as well as defense spending.

(ROTATE QS 24-25)

24. In thinking about this, how concerned would you be if there were across the board spending cuts to all domestic federal spending including programs like Social Security and Medicare? Would you say that you would be – **(ROTATE FRONT TO BACK, BACK TO FRONT)** • EXTREMELY, • VERY, • SOMEWHAT, or • NOT AT ALL, concerned about these spending cuts to domestic programs?

Extremely concerned.....	47%
Very concerned.....	24%
Somewhat concerned.....	20%
Not At All concerned	8%
UNSURE/REFUSED (DNR)	2%

(SCDOMC)

25. In thinking about this, how concerned would you be if there were across the board spending cuts to all defense spending? Would you say that you would be – **(ROTATE FRONT TO BACK, BACK TO FRONT)** • EXTREMELY, • VERY, • SOMEWHAT, or • NOT AT ALL, concerned about these spending cuts to defense programs?

Extremely concerned.....	27%
Very concerned.....	23%
Somewhat concerned.....	33%
Not At All concerned	16%
UNSURE/REFUSED (DNR)	1%

(SCDEFEC)

(END ROTATION)

This super committee is likely to consider a number of proposals to achieve its goal of finding a way to balance the federal budget. I am going to read a list of proposals. Please listen carefully as I read each one and tell me if you would favor or oppose that particular proposal.

(RANDOMIZE)

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK: Is that strongly (agree/disagree) or somewhat (agree/disagree)?

		FAVOR		UNSURE (DNR)	OPPOSE	
		<u>strng</u>	<u>smwht</u>		<u>smwht</u>	<u>strng</u>
26.	Making hundreds of millions of dollars in spending cuts to Medicare and Medicaid through increasing beneficiary costs (PROMPT: DO YOU FAVOR OR OPPOSE THIS PROPOSAL?)	6%	13%	5%	24%	52%
27.	Making hundreds of millions of dollars in spending cuts to federal programs like farm subsidies.	24%	23%	7%	21%	24%
28.	Reducing the size of the federal workforce and cutting funding for federal worker retirement programs.	30%	20%	4%	16%	30%
29.	Closing tax loopholes and reforming the tax code to make the tax code fairer.	72%	17%	4%	4%	3%
30.	Increasing taxes on wealthy Americans and corporations.	52%	14%	3%	10%	21%
31.	Cutting spending on defense programs, including programs for soldiers and veterans.	8%	7%	3%	23%	59%
50.	Changing the way in which increases in Social Security benefits are calculated in order to lower program costs and lower future benefits.	17%	21%	7%	21%	35%

(SCPROP1-7)

(END RANDOMIZATION)

And, in thinking about these potential spending cuts as a whole...

32. Is there one particular item on this list that you think is the worst possible item to cut?
(READ LIST, IF NECESSARY)

Cuts to Medicare and Medicaid	31%
Cuts to federal programs like farm subsidies	3%
Reducing federal workforce size and cutting retirement benefits.....	6%
Closing tax loopholes	3%
Increasing taxes on wealthy Americans and corporations	4%
Cutting defense spending	20%
Lowering Social Security program costs and future benefits	25%
ALL/COMBINATION/OTHER	4%
UNSURE/REFUSED (DNR)	5%

(SCWOR)

33. Would you support this super committee making cuts to federal spending that would directly affect you?

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:
And do you feel strongly
about that?

Yes/strongly	39%
Yes	18%
UNSURE (DNR)	8%
No.....	4%
No/strongly	31%

(SCPER)

Now, just a few final questions for statistical purposes only --

D1. What is your age, please?

18-24	9%
25-29	8%
30-34	8%
35-39	7%
40-44	13%
45-54	17%
55-64	18%
65-69	6%
70-74	5%
75-79	4%
80-84	3%
85-89	2%
90 or over.....	*
REFUSED	1%

(ACTAGE)

D2. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

(DO NOT READ, JUST RECORD)

Some grade school (1-8)	1%
Some high school (9-11)	5%
Graduated high school (12).....	23%
Technical/vocational (12).....	3%
Some college (13-15)	24%
Graduated college (16).....	27%
Graduate/professional school (16 or more)	17%
Unsure/Refused	*

(EDUC)

D3. When thinking about politics and government, do you consider yourself to be...

(READ LIST, ROTATE TOP TO BOTTOM, BOTTOM TO TOP)

Very conservative.....	20%
Somewhat conservative.....	41%
MODERATE (DNR)	2%
Somewhat liberal.....	25%
Very liberal	9%
UNSURE/REFUSED (DNR)	3%

(IDEOL)

D5. Do you consider yourself a part of or do you identify with the Tea Party movement?

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:

And do you feel strongly about that?

Yes/strongly	15%
Yes	8%
UNSURE (DNR)	4%
No.....	17%
No/strongly	56%

(TEAMEM)

Now, thinking about the election for President that was held in 2008 --

D6. Which candidate for President of the United States did you vote for? Was it -- (ROTATE) -- •John McCain, or Barack Obama?

John McCain.....	41%
Barack Obama	48%
Ralph Nader (DNR)	*
OTHER (DNR)	5%
REFUSED (DNR).....	4%
UNSURE (DNR)	1%

(PRES08)

D7. Which of these statements best describes how you have usually voted in past elections?

**(READ LIST, ROTATE TOP TO
BOTTOM, BOTTOM TO TOP)**

Straight Republican9%
Mostly Republican25%
A few more Republicans than Democrats.....10%
INDEPENDENT/THE PERSON (DNR)4%
A few more Democrats than Republicans.....9%
Mostly Democratic22%
Straight Democratic.....16%
UNSURE/REFUSED (DNR)5%

(PARTY)

D8. Are you a member of a labor union, including trade unions, service employee unions, public employee unions, and teachers unions?

IF NO, THEN ASK: Is anyone in your household a member of one of these types of labor unions?

Labor Union Member 10%
Labor Union Household 4%
Non-Union Household 83%
UNSURE/REFUSED (DNR) 2%

(UNION)

D9. What is your current marital status -- are you -- • single and never married, • married, • separated, • divorced, or •widowed?

Single 21%
Married 58%
Separated 1%
Divorced 12%
Widowed 8%
UNSURE/REFUSED (DNR) 1%

(MARITAL)

D10. Do you have children under the age of 18 living at home?

Yes 37%
No..... 63%
UNSURE/REFUSED (DNR) *

(CHILD)

D11. What is the church you or your family attends most often?
IF BAPTIST, ASK: Is that Southern Baptist or some other Baptist church?
(DO NOT READ RESPONSES, JUST RECORD)

AME (Africa Methd. Episcopal).....	1%	Lutheran	4%
Assemblies of God	1%	Mennonite	
Baptist/American	1%	Methodist/United Methodist	6%
Baptist/Missionary or Indep. or Primitive or other	5%	Mormon/Latter Day Saints.....	1%
Baptist/Southern	9%	Nazarene	
Bible Church.....	*	Non-denominational	5%
Christian Church.....	6%	Other Protestant.....	3%
Christian Reformed Church	1%	Pentecostal/Charismatic	2%
Church of Christ	1%	Presbyterian/United Presb	2%
Church of God	1%	Quaker/Amish	
Disciples of Christ		Reformed Church in America	*
Episcopalian	1%	Roman Catholic.....	21%
Evangelical	1%	Seventh Day Adventist.....	*
Friends	*	United Church of Christ	1%
Fundamentalist	*	OTHER (SPECIFY).....	2%
Eastern/Greek Orthodox.....	*	None (TO D12).....	18%
Jewish	1%	DK/REFUSED (TO D12).....	5%

(DENOM)

IF ANY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION IN D10, ASK:

D11-1. And how often do you attend church (or synagogue)?

More than once a week.....	15%
Once a week	35%
Several times a month.....	19%
Once a month.....	5%
Several times a year.....	15%
Only on holidays.....	8%
NEVER/DON'T ATTEND	2%
UNSURE/REFUSED	1%

(DENOMFRQ)

IF ANY RELIGION NAMED IN D10 EXCEPT CODE 17, THEN ASK:

D11-2. Do you consider yourself to be a born-again or evangelical Christian?

Born-again/evangelical.....	46%
Not born-again.....	51%
REFUSED (DNR).....	3%

(BORN)

****ASK OF EVERYONE****

D12. What do you consider to be your race? Are you white, African-American, Hispanic, Asian, Native American or some other race?

White..... 76%
Black/African-American 12%
Hispanic/Latino (**TO D12**)..... 7%
Asian/Pacific American..... 1%
Native American..... 1%
Other (**Specify _____**)..... 1%
UNSURE/REFUSED (**DNR**) (**TO D12**) 3%

(RACE)

FOR ALL RESPONSES EXCEPT “HISPANIC/LATINO,” ASK:

D21-1. And, do you consider yourself a Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish-speaking American?

Yes 2%
No..... 97%
UNSURE/REFUSED (**DNR**) 1%

(HISP)

*****ASK OF EVERYONE*****

D13. Sex/Emp (**BY OBSERVATION**)

ASK OF EVERYONE: Are you employed outside the house, are you a homemaker, or are you retired?

Male/employed 31%
Male/homemaker..... 1%
Male/retired 10%
Male/not in labor force 4%

Female/employed 26%
Female/homemaker 8%
Female/retired..... 15%
Female/not in labor force 4%

MALE/REFUSED (**DNR**) 1%
FEMALE/REFUSED (**DNR**) *

(SEXEMP)
