

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

Revolt against Congress: Game on

Survey of the Battleground House Districts

December 12, 2013



DEMOCRACY CORPS
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG



Methodology and Overview

This presentation is based on a unique survey of 1,250 likely 2014 voters in the most competitive Congressional seats across the country, conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research for Democracy Corps and Women's Voices Women Vote Action Fund (www.wvvaf.org).

The “battleground” is comprised of a total of 86 districts:

- **750 interviews conducted in 50 Republican-held districts**
 - **Tier 1 (375 interviews): the 25 most competitive Republican districts**
 - **Tier 2 (375 interviews): the 25 next most competitive “reach” Republican districts**
- **500 interviews conducted in 36 most competitive Democratic-held districts**

This survey was conducted from December 3-8, 2013 using a list of 2006 voters, 2010 voters, and new registrants. Some questions were asked only in Democratic-held or Republican-held seats. For questions asked of all respondents, the margin of error = +/- 2.77% at 95% confidence. For questions asked just in Republican districts, the margin of error = +/- 3.58% at 95% confidence. For questions asked in just Democratic districts, the margin of error = +/- 4.38% at 95% confidence.

The Battleground: background and trend data

- **The Democracy Corps Congressional battleground research is one of a kind. Nobody else conducts a poll only in the most competitive Democratic and Republican seats, using the actual names of the incumbents in each district.**
- **Respondents were selected off of a voter list who voted in the 2006 or 2010 off-year elections or new registrants with a high intention to vote in 2014.**
 - **85 percent of respondents are white.**
 - **9 percent of these voters are under 30**
 - **5 percent are Latino and 5 percent African American.**
- **We include comparisons to results from past battleground surveys from prior election cycles – when one party saw their majority reduced or increased. We compare results for the most competitive seats but note that the districts are not the same.**
- **We also include comparisons to results from past battleground surveys this year. We've added 1 Republican seat and 5 Democratic seats to the battleground since October. Any trend data in this presentation is representative of just the common 80 original districts, and thus trend data may not match total data in some cases. Additionally, due to the changing competitiveness of some Republican districts, some trend data by "tier" may not match prior data as we update our battleground to reflect the most recent district ratings.**

Battleground Tier 1 -- the 25 most competitive Republican districts

District	Representative	2012 Presidential margin	2012 Congressional margin
AR-2	OPEN (Griffin)	Romney +11.8	+15.7
CA-10	Jeff Denham	Obama +3.6	+7.1
CA-21	David Valadao	Obama +11.1	+17.9
CA-31	Gary Miller	Obama +16.6	+10.5
CO-6	Mike Coffman	Obama +5.1	+3.6
FL-10	Dan Webster	Romney +7.6	+3.5
FL-13	OPEN (Young)	Obama +1.5	+15.2
FL-2	Steve Southerland	Romney +5.9	+5.5
IA-3	Tom Latham	Obama +4.3	+8.7
IL-13	Rodney Davis	Romney +0.3	+0.4
IN-2	Jackie Walorski	Romney +14.0	+1.4
MI-1	Dan Benishek	Romney +8.3	+0.7
MI-7	Tim Walberg	Romney +3.1	+10.3
MI-11	Kerry Bentivolio	Romney +5.4	+6.4
MN-2	John Kline	Obama +0.1	+8.2
NE-2	Lee Terry	Romney +7.2	+2.4
NV-3	Joe Heck	Obama +0.8	+7.6
NJ-3	Jon Runyan	Obama +4.6	+8.9
NY-11	Michael Grimm	Obama +4.4	+6.6
NY-19	Chris Gibson	Obama +6.3	+6.9
NY-23	Tom Reed	Romney +1.2	+3.9
OH-6	Bill Johnson	Romney +12.5	+6.7
OH-14	David Joyce	Romney +3.3	+15.8
PA-8	Mike Fitzpatrick	Romney +0.1	+13.3
WV-2	OPEN (Capito)	Romney +22.0	+39.6

Battleground Tier 2 -- the 25 next most competitive Republican districts

District	Representative	2012 Presidential margin	2012 Congressional margin
AR-1	Rick Crawford	Romney +24.6	+17.4
AR-4	OPEN (Cotton)	Romney +25.9	+22.8
CA-25	Buck McKeon	Romney +1.8	+11.2
FL-16	Vern Buchanan	Romney +9.3	+7.2
IA-4	Steve King	Romney +8.2	+8.6
IN-8	Larry Bucshon	Romney +18.8	+10.3
KY-6	Andy Barr	Romney +13.6	+3.9
MI-3	Justin Amash	Romney +7.4	+8.6
MI-8	Mike Rogers	Romney +3.2	+21.3
MN-3	Erik Paulsen	Obama +0.8	+16.3
MT-AL	Steve Daines	Romney +13.7	+10.3
NC-9	Robert Pittenger	Romney +13.4	+6.1
NJ-2	Frank LoBiondo	Obama +8.2	+17.9
NJ-5	Scott Garrett	Romney +3.0	+13.1
NM-2	Stevan Pearce	Romney +6.8	+18.2
NY-2	Peter King	Obama +4.4	+17.5
OH-7	Bob Gibbs	Romney +9.5	+13.3
OH-16	Jim Renacci	Romney +8.2	+4.5
PA-12	Keith Rothfus	Romney +16.9	+3.6
PA-6	Jim Gerlach	Romney +2.5	+13.9
PA-7	Pat Meehan	Romney +1.8	+18.9
VA-2	Scott Rigell	Obama +1.5	+7.6
WA-3	Jaime Herrera Beutler	Romney +1.6	+20.2
WI-7	Sean Duffy	Romney +3.1	+12.3
WI-8	Reid Ribble	Romney +4.5	+11.9

Battleground: the 36 Democratic districts (1 of 2)

District	Representative	2012 Presidential margin	2012 Congressional margin
AZ-1	Ann Kirkpatrick	Romney +2.5	+3.3
AZ-2	Ron Barber	Romney +1.6	+0.2
AZ-9	Kyrsten Sinema	Obama +4.5	+3.1
CA-16	Jim Costa	Obama +19.2	+10.1
CA-24	Lois Capps	Obama +11.0	+9.6
CA-26	Julia Brownley	Obama +10.3	+4.0
CA-3	John Garamendi	Obama +11.2	+7.8
CA-9	Jerry McNerney	Obama +17.7	+9.4
CA-36	Raul Ruiz	Obama +3.2	+3.9
CA-52	Scott Peters	Obama +6.4	+1.1
CA-7	Ami Bera	Obama +3.9	+1.6
CT-5	Elizabeth Esty	Obama +8.2	+3.0
FL-18	Patrick Murphy	Romney +4.2	+0.6
FL-26	Joe Garcia	Obama +6.7	+10.6
GA-12	John Barrow	Romney +11.8	+7.4
IA-1	OPEN (Braley)	Obama +13.7	+16.1
IL-10	Brad Schneider	Obama +16.4	+1.0
IL-11	Bill Foster	Obama +17.2	+15.2
IL-12	Bill Enyart	Obama +1.5	+8.7
IL-17	Cheri Bustos	Obama +16.9	+6.6

Battleground: the 36 Democratic districts (2 of 2)

District	Representative	2012 Presidential margin	2012 Congressional margin
MA-6	John Tierney	Obama +10.9	+1.0
ME-2	OPEN (Michaud)	Obama +8.5	+16.3
MN-7	Collin Peterson	Romney +9.7	+25.5
MN-8	Rick Nolan	Obama +5.5	+8.9
NC-7	Mike McIntyre	Romney +19.2	+0.2
NH-1	Carol Shea-Porter	Obama +1.6	+3.7
NH-2	Ann McLane Kuster	Obama +9.6	+5.1
NV-4	Steven Horsford	Obama +10.7	+7.9
NY-1	Tim Bishop	Obama +0.5	+4.3
NY-18	Sean Maloney	Obama +4.3	+3.4
NY-21	Bill Owens	Obama +6.2	+2.2
NY-24	Dan Maffei	Obama +16.0	+4.6
TX-23	Pete Gallego	Romney +2.7	+4.8
UT-4	Jim Matheson	Romney +37.0	+1.2
WA-1	Suzan DelBene	Obama +10.8	+20.3
WV-3	Nick Rahall	Romney +32.2	+7.9

Battleground Districts: by type

Rural	Exurban	Suburban	Suburban	Metro	Urban
Upscale Rural New Hampshire-2 (D) New York-19 (R)	Upscale Exurban Michigan-7 (R) New York-23 (R)	Upscale Suburban Arizona-2 (D) California-24 (D) California-25 (R) California-26 (D) California-7 (D) California-9 (D) Colorado-6 (R) Connecticut-5 (D) Florida-16 (R) Florida-26 (D) Illinois-10 (D) Illinois-11 (D) Massachusetts-6 (D) Michigan-8 (R) Michigan-11 (R) Minnesota-2 (R) Minnesota-3 (R) Nevada-3 (R) New Hampshire-1 (D) New Jersey-3 (R) New Jersey-5 (R) New York-1 (D) New York-2 (R)	Upscale Suburban New York-18 (D) Ohio-14 (R) Pennsylvania-6 (R) Pennsylvania-7 (R) Pennsylvania-8 (R) Pennsylvania-12 (R) Utah-4 (D) Washington-1 (D) Downscale Suburban Arkansas-2 (R) California-3 (D) California-21 (R) California-31 (R) California-36 (D) Florida-13 (R) Florida-18 (D) New Jersey-2 (R) Ohio-7 (R) Ohio-16 (R)	Upscale Metro Arizona-9 (D) California-10 (R) California-52 (D) Florida-10 (R) Iowa-3 (R) Michigan-3 (R) New York-24 (D) North Carolina-9 (R) Washington-3 (R) Downscale Metro California-16 (D) Florida-2 (R) Georgia-12 (D) Illinois-12 (D) Illinois-17 (D) Kentucky-6 (R) Texas-23 (D)	Upscale Urban Nebraska-2 (R) New York-11 (R) Virginia-2 (R) Downscale Urban Nevada-4 (D)

**Note: Some new district typologies were unavailable due to redistricting. Such districts were estimated based on the majority of the makeup of the old district.*

Key findings

This poll is in the congressional battleground looking at named incumbents and is virtually the only window into what is really happening. Appreciate the attention this has gotten.

- ❑ Yes, the health care roll-out and reduced presidential standing has hurt Democrats, but keep it in perspective:**
 - Voters evenly divided on this issue; the big debate ends in a draw. Not a wedge issue.**
 - Majority want to implement in Dem districts and plurality in Republican**
 - It is hurting the GOP image and re-enforcing that members are part of partisan battle**
 - Keeps Republicans on their weakest case for their role**
 - Setting up strong Democratic attack on Speaker Boehner's failure to focus on economy and jobs**
 - Gives Democrats opportunity to use to reach affected groups, particularly unmarried women**

- ❑ The big structural forces that leave the Tea Party Republican brand deeply tarnished are undiminished:**
 - All incumbents damaged but Republicans even more so**
 - Republicans at lowest point ever on all key metrics — compared to any prior election**
 - Democrats have continuing brand advantage in these districts**
 - Want members to work with Obama, not to keep stopping agenda**
 - Serious plurality now ready to vote against member because they support Speaker Boehner and the impact on economy and jobs.**

Key findings (cont.)

- ❑ The vote is stable in the named ballot, but Republicans have weakened in the 2nd tier of less competitive seats — possibly indicative of growing vulnerability
- ❑ Democratic members feeling heat but a touch stronger, a majority want to implement and very positive response to their health care fix messages
- ❑ There is now a singular message framework from this work: “Now is the time to vote out GOP incumbents for supporting Speaker Boehner whose policies have hurt the economy and done nothing about jobs”
- ❑ Two big demographic dynamics that will determine what happens:
 - Seniors. Republicans trail their challenger among seniors in the Republican districts.
 - Unmarried women. If they turn out and vote as in 2012 and in Virginia in 2013, Democrats make major gains. They are underperforming now at 52 percent in Republican districts, but shift 9 points after health care debate and the race overall moves to even. That puts one-half of these 50 seats really at risk.
- ❑ Women’s economic agenda at the center



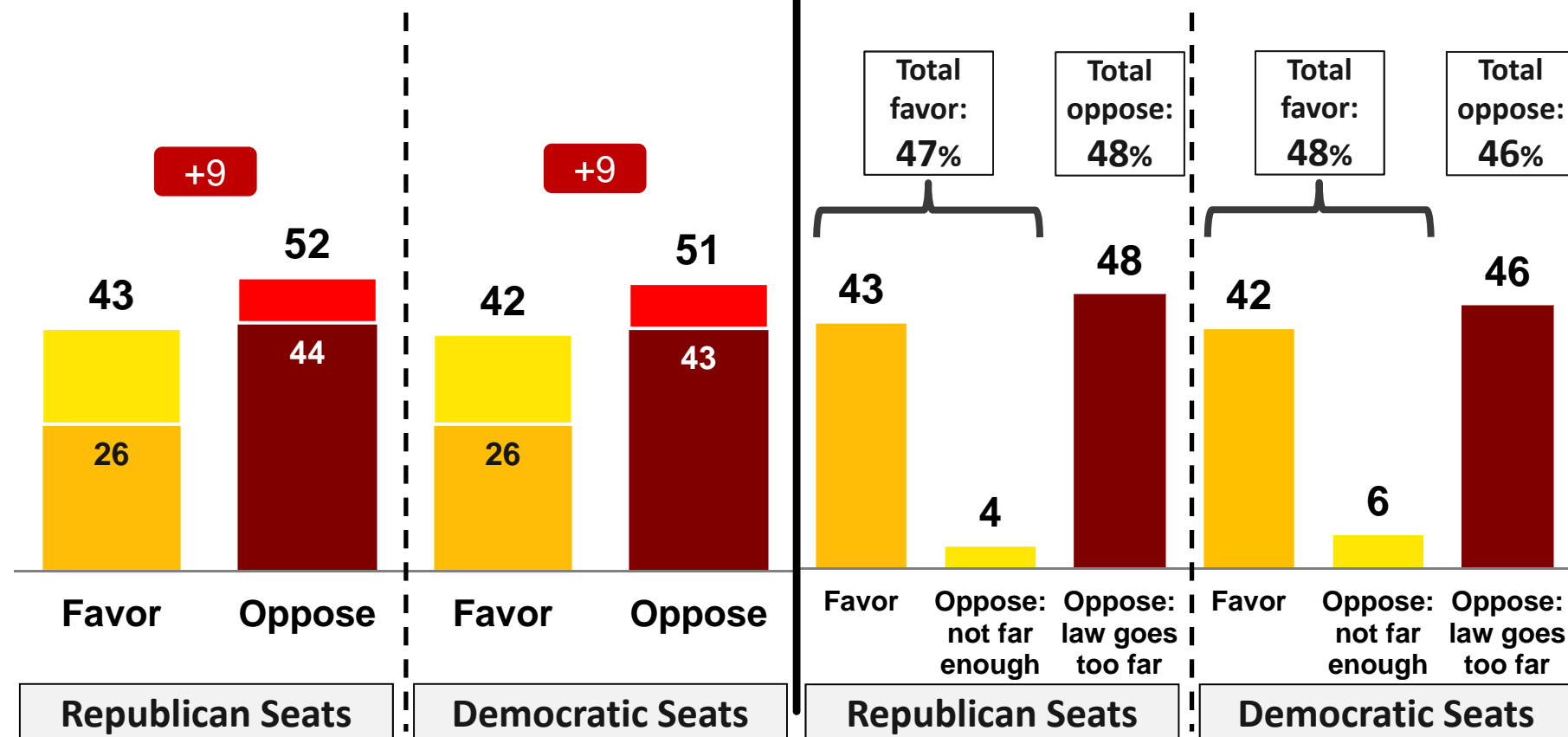
**Get perspective on Affordable Care Act:
Voters evenly split or tilt toward law**



Battleground districts divided

Overall, do you favor or oppose the health care reform law that passed in 2010?

(IF OPPOSE) Would you say you oppose the health care reform law because it goes too far in changing health insurance, or because it doesn't go far enough in changing health insurance?

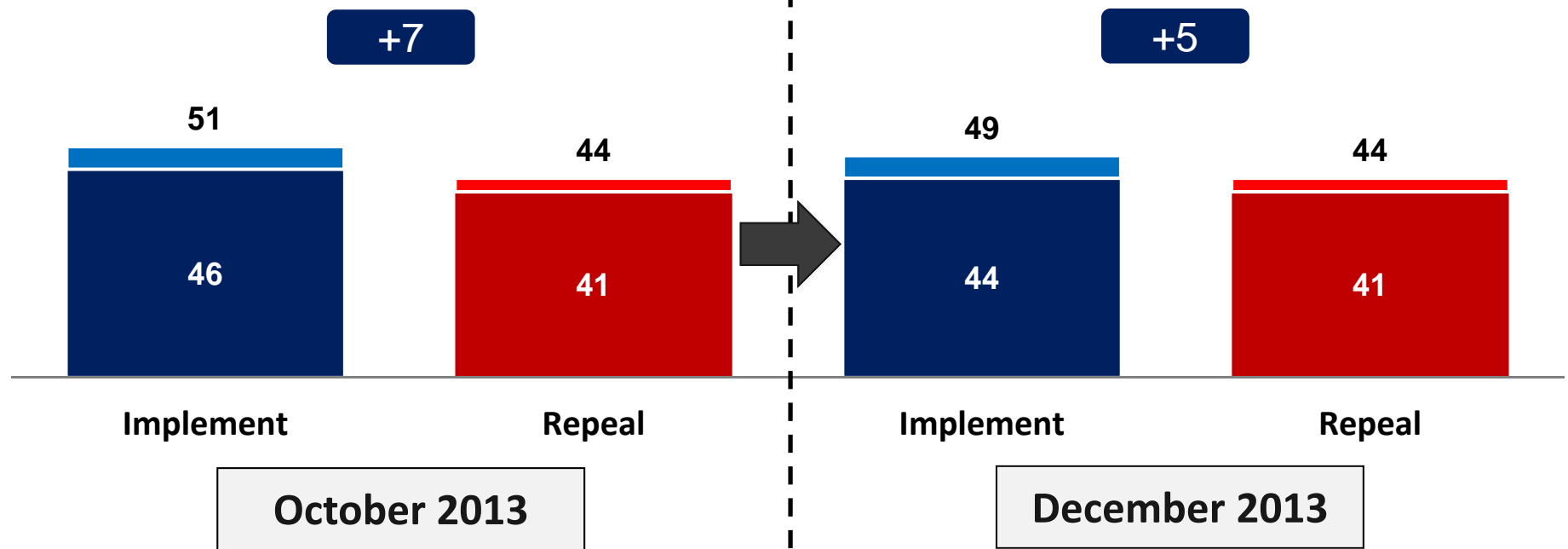


Clear plurality to go forward in implement vs. repeal debate

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.

We should implement and fix the health care reform law.

We should repeal and replace the health care reform law.

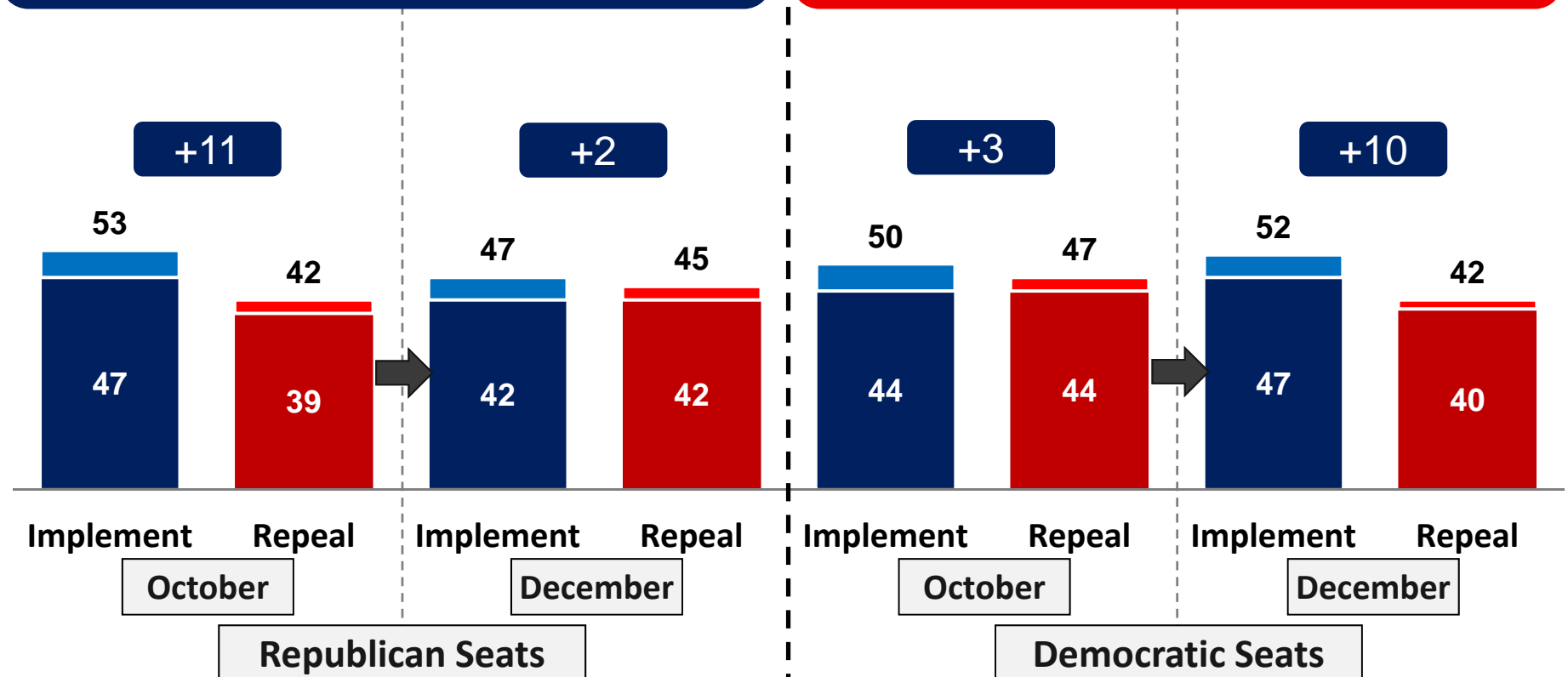


Some polarization: Democratic districts much more for implementing and Republican less, but still plurality in GOP

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.

We should implement and fix the health care reform law.

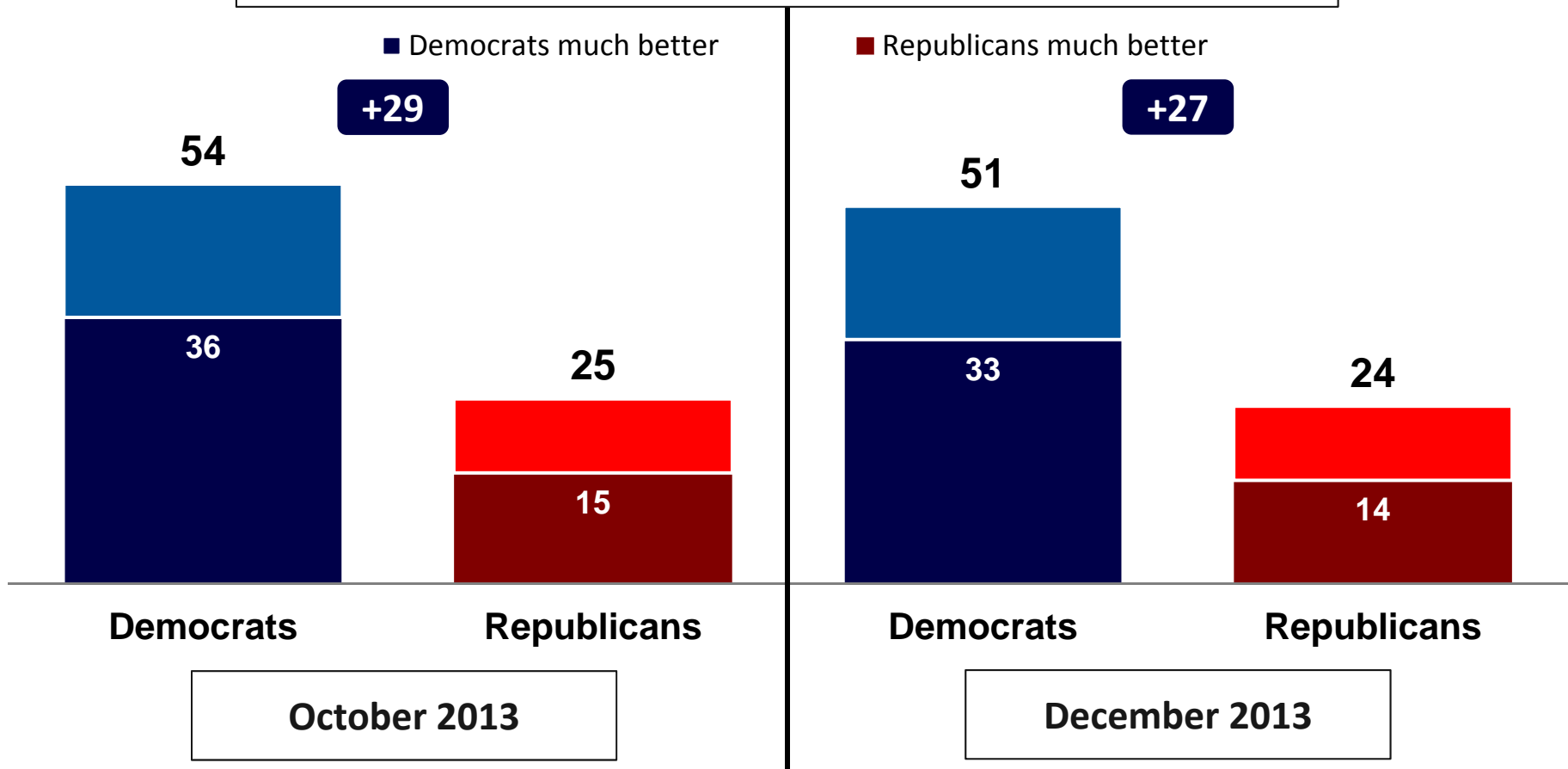
We should repeal and replace the health care reform law.



And Democrats maintain strong advantage on who voters trust to implement the law

I am going to read you an issue and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with that issue. If you do not know, just tell me and we'll move on.

Implementing the Affordable Care Act, or Obamacare



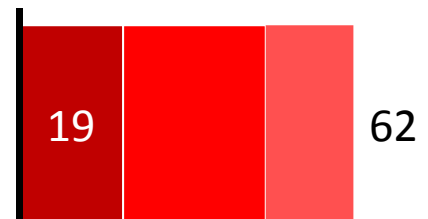
Opposing GOP House Tea Party helps GOP incumbent but fighting Obamacare disastrous

Now I'm going to read you a few statements some people may say about (the Republican candidate). For each statement, please tell me whether that makes you feel much more positive about (the Republican candidate), somewhat more positive, a little more positive, no more positive, or more negative about (the Republican candidate).

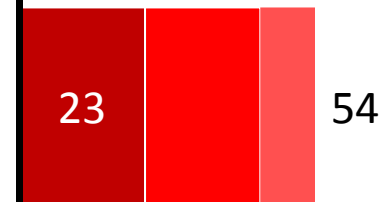
Republican-held seats

■ Much more positive ■ Somewhat more positive ■ A little

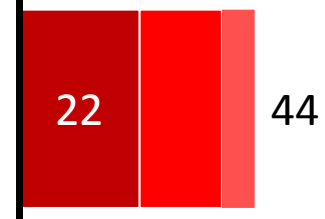
(CHECK ON EXTREME) Some Republicans in Congress supported shutting down the government, voted against equal pay for women and against protecting women from domestic violence. But (the Republican candidate) just can't go along with some of those extreme positions. (He/She) wants to work together to solve our problems and improve our economy.



(LOWER SPENDING) We should be proud of Representatives like (the Republican candidate) who have taken a principled stand and cut one point two trillion dollars in spending. (the Republican candidate) supports the hard decisions. Thanks to (the Republican candidate), our deficits are going down and we have resisted every attempt by President Obama to raise taxes.



(CHECK ON OBAMACARE) Republicans in Congress like (the Republican candidate) took the right stand in refusing to support Obamacare, which would cost jobs, hurt small businesses, force companies to lay off workers, and force us to buy low-quality insurance or pay a penalty. It's already causing millions of families to have their insurance plans cancelled.



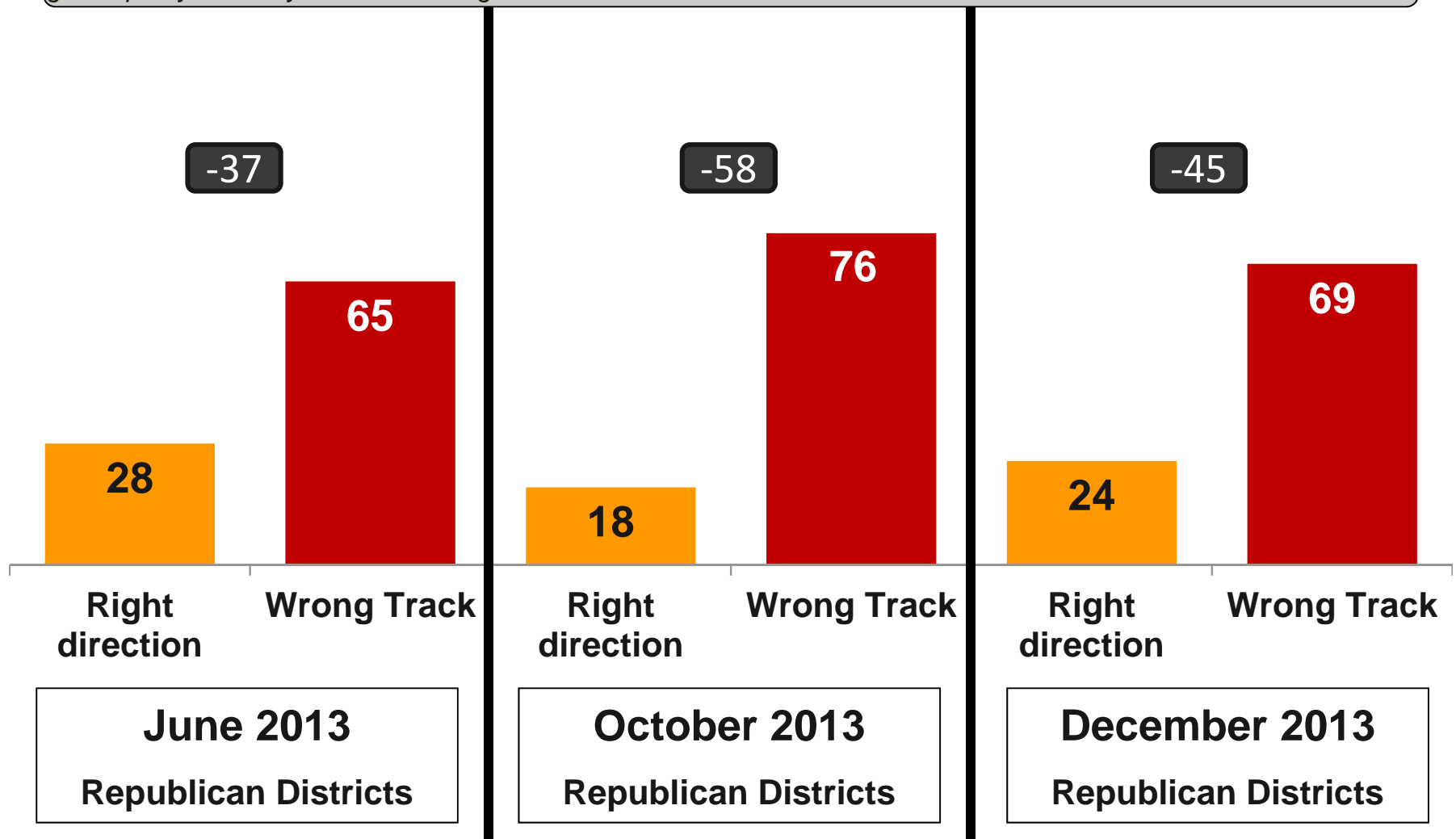


Republican incumbents becoming more vulnerable



Voters unbelievably unhappy with direction of country

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?

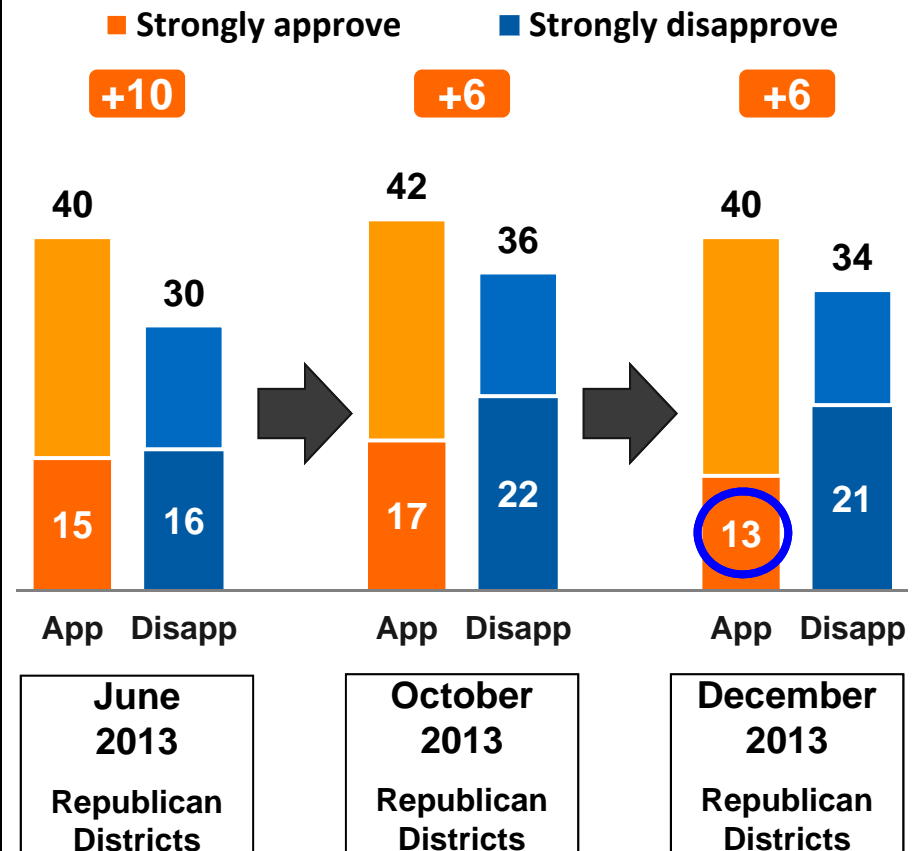
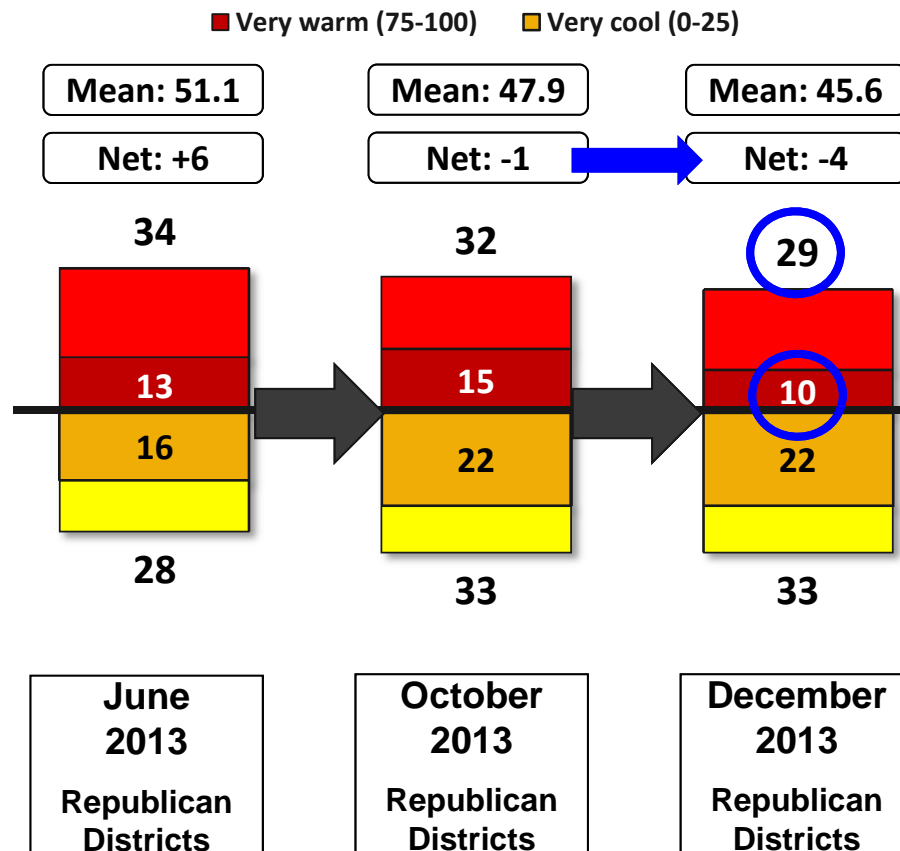


Republican incumbents' image grows even more negative

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.

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

Named Republican Incumbent

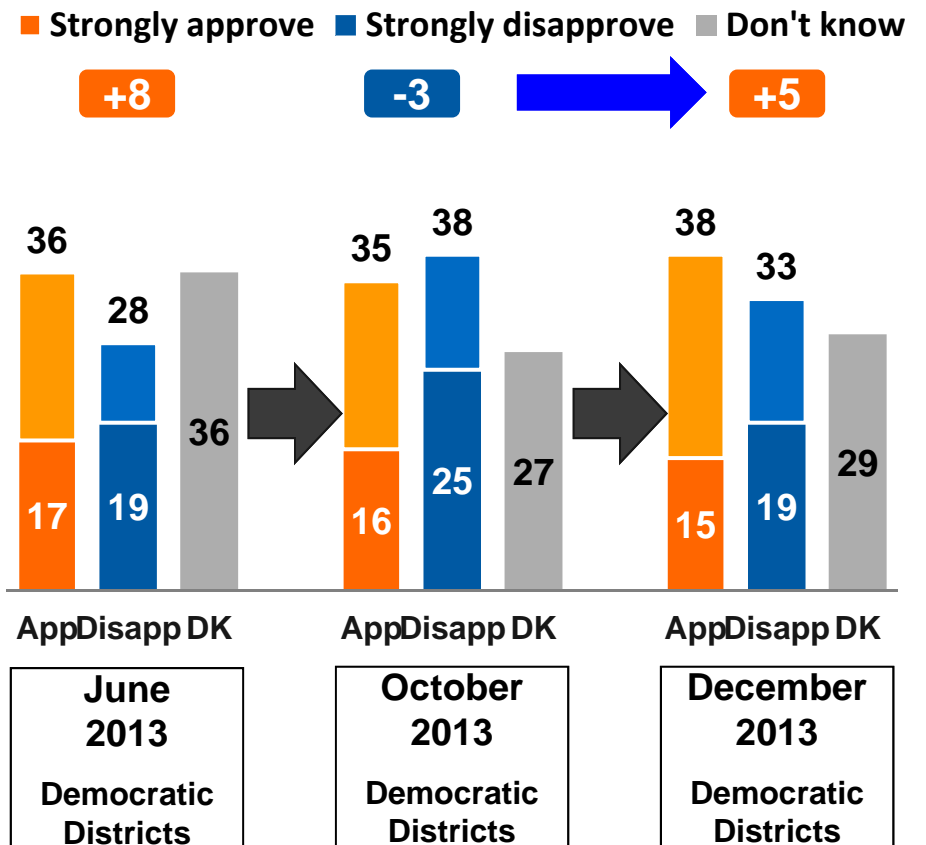
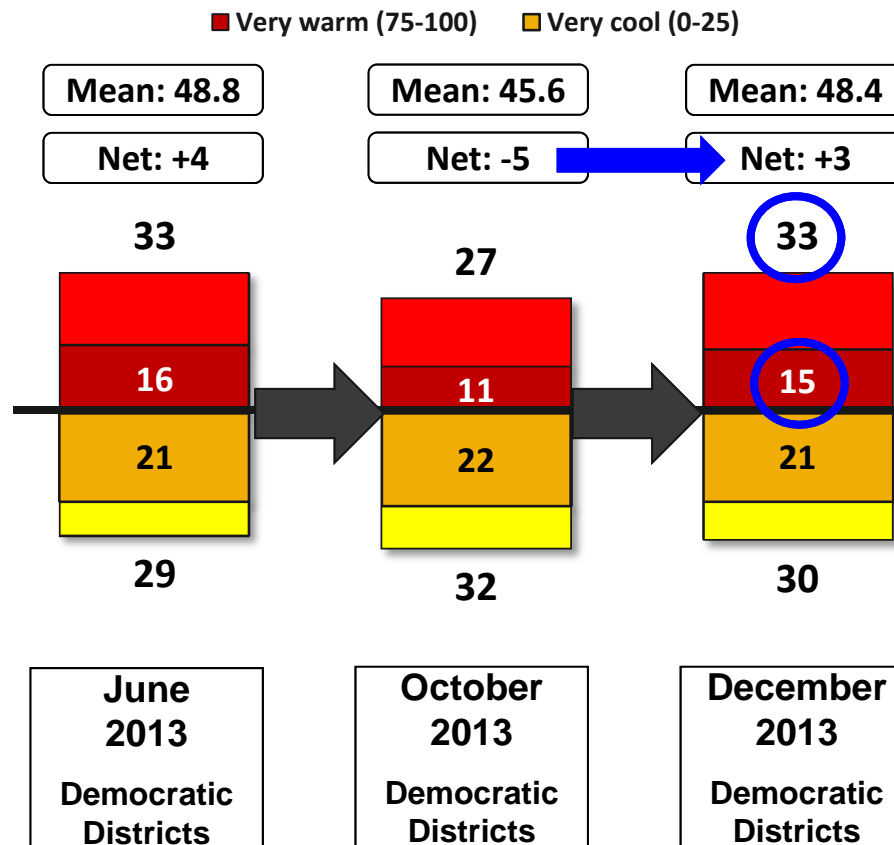


But Democratic incumbents making comeback in standing

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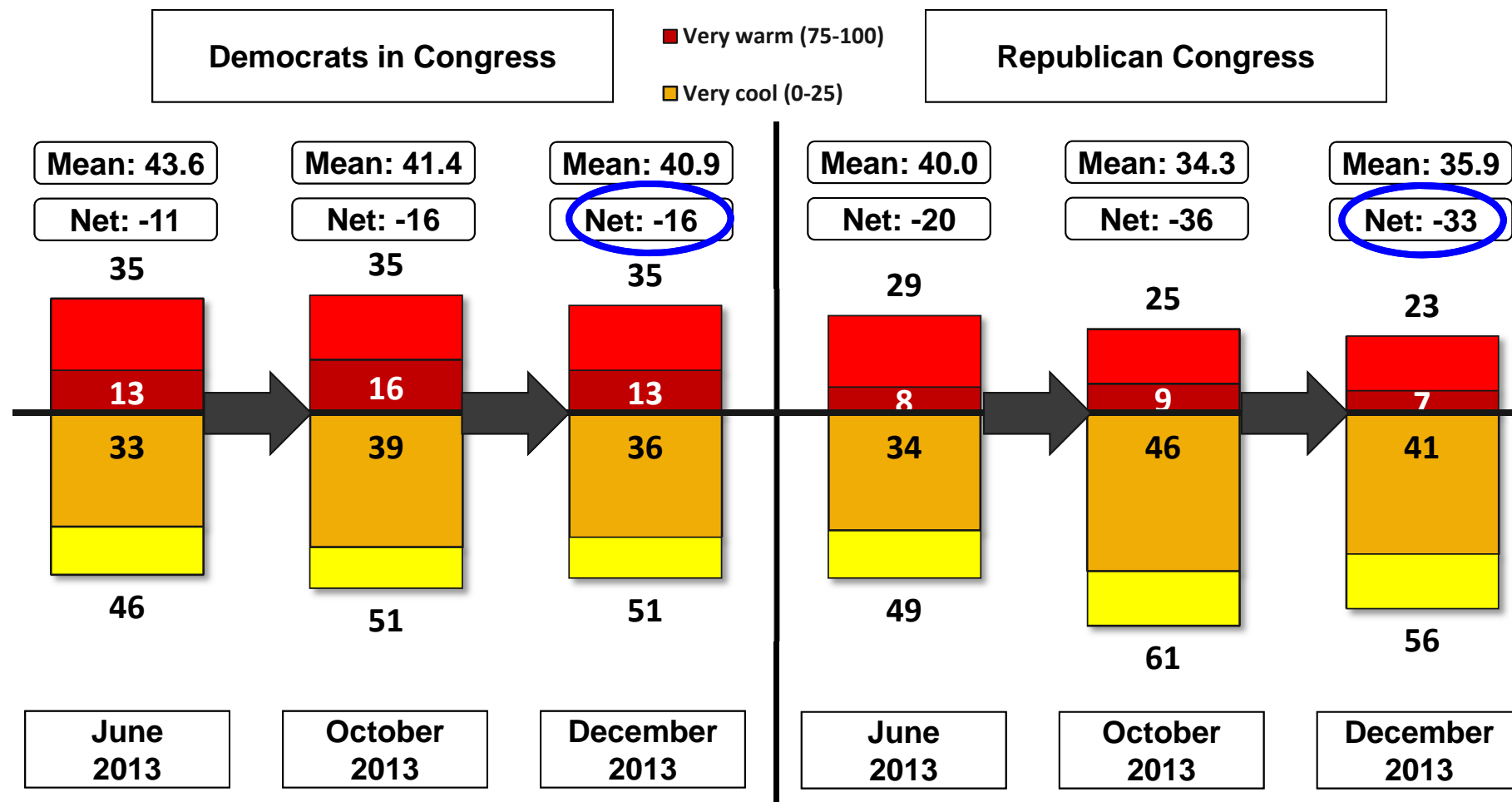
Do you approve or disapprove of the way (HOUSE INCUMBENT) is handling his/her job as a member of the U.S. Congress?

Named Democratic Incumbent



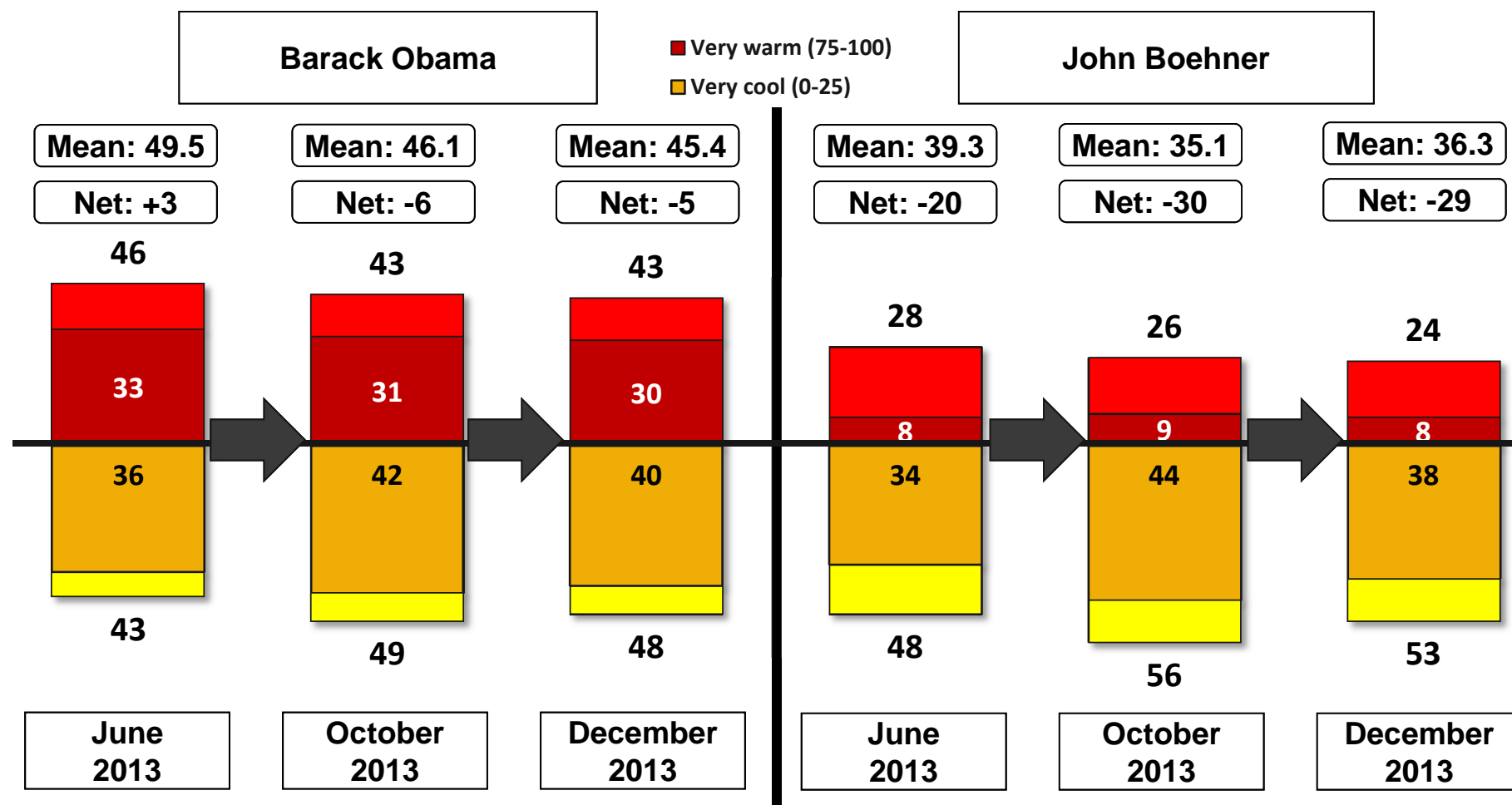
Both parties in Congress viewed badly but Republican Congress in defining position – continued drop in positive

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.



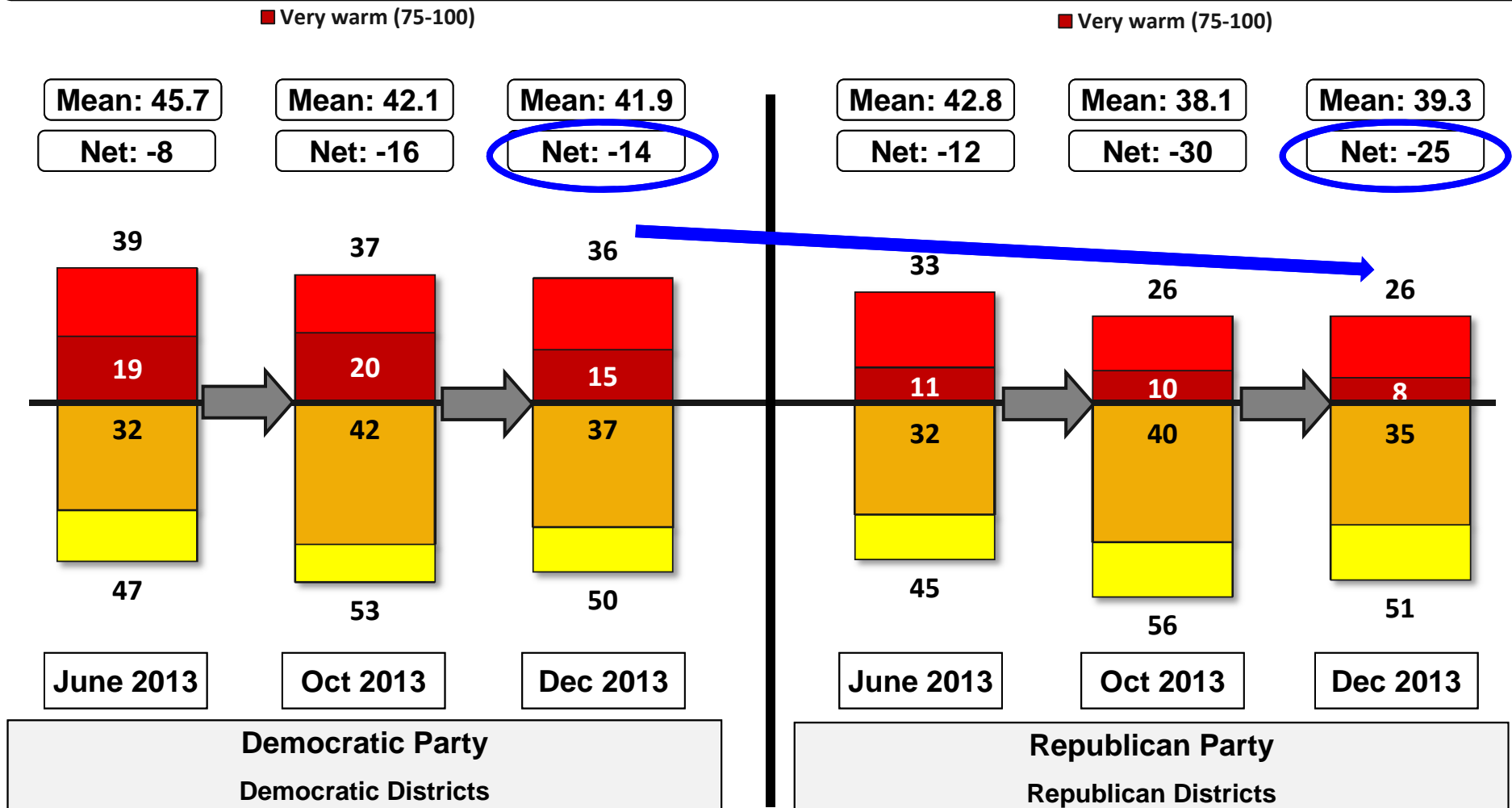
Boehner positive ratings continue to drop, with some drop off in intense negative

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.



Democratic Party 10 points more favorable in their districts than Republican Party in Republican seats

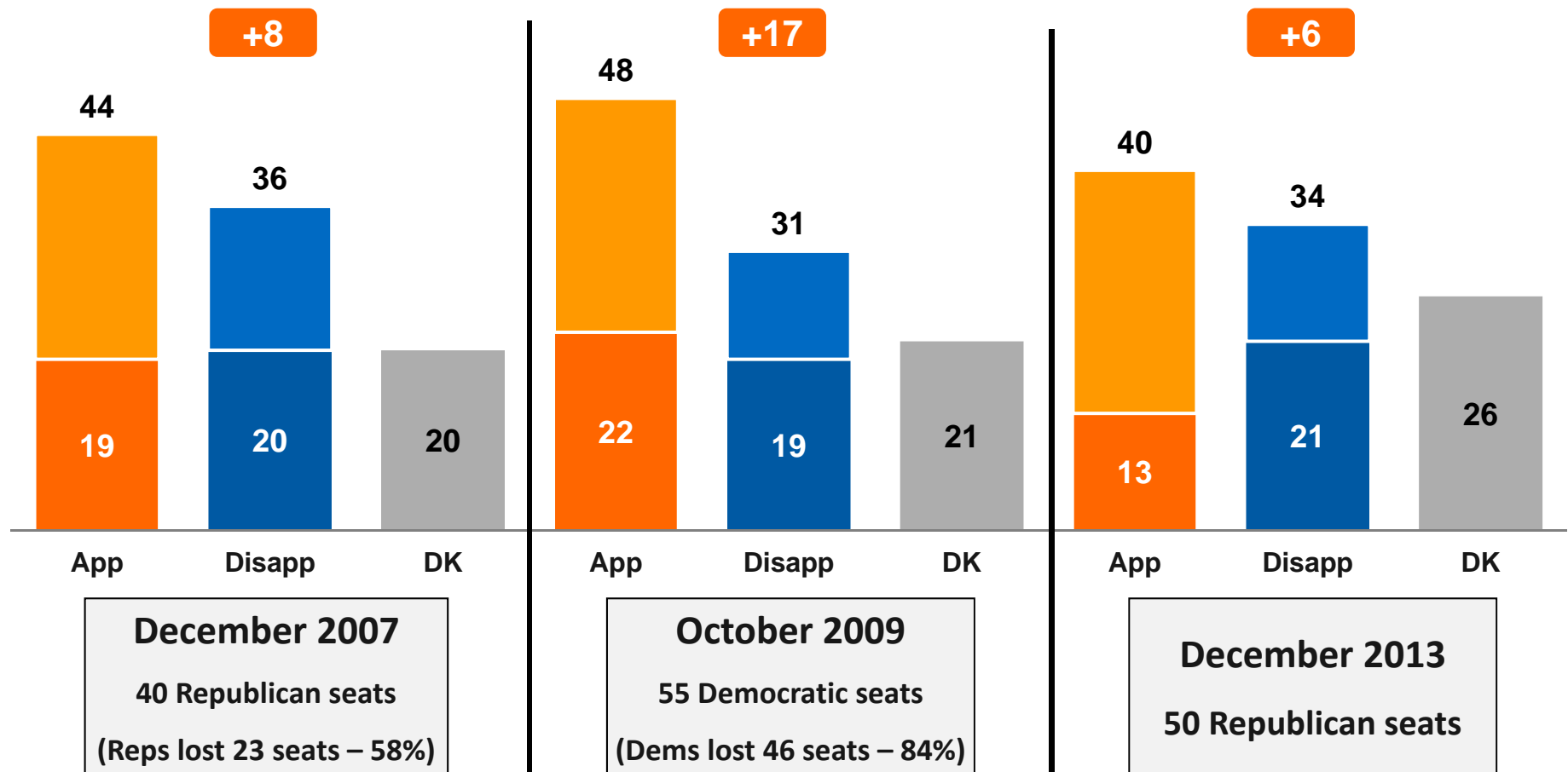
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



GOP incumbents' approval lower than vulnerable incumbents at similar points in prior wave elections

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

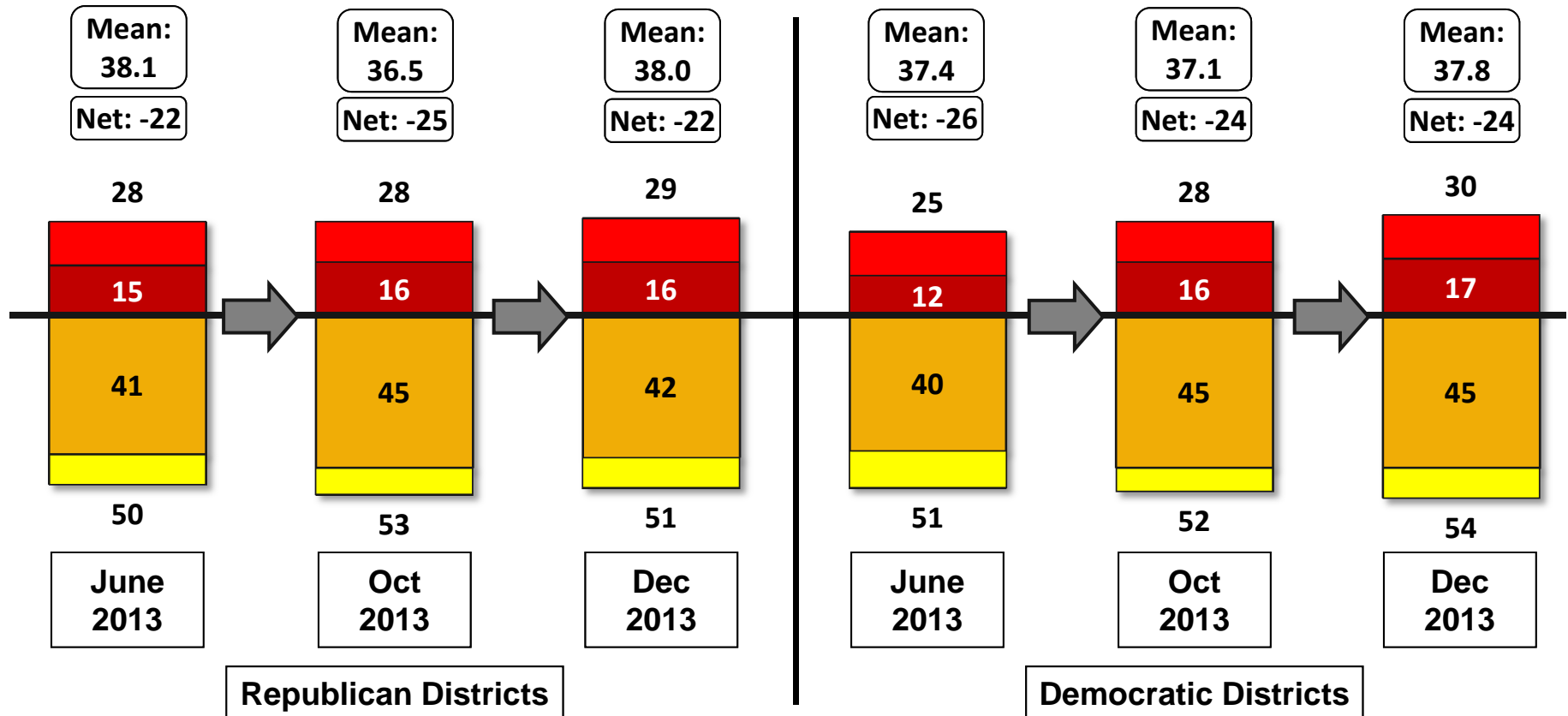


Voters across battleground reject Tea Party

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.

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

The Tea Party

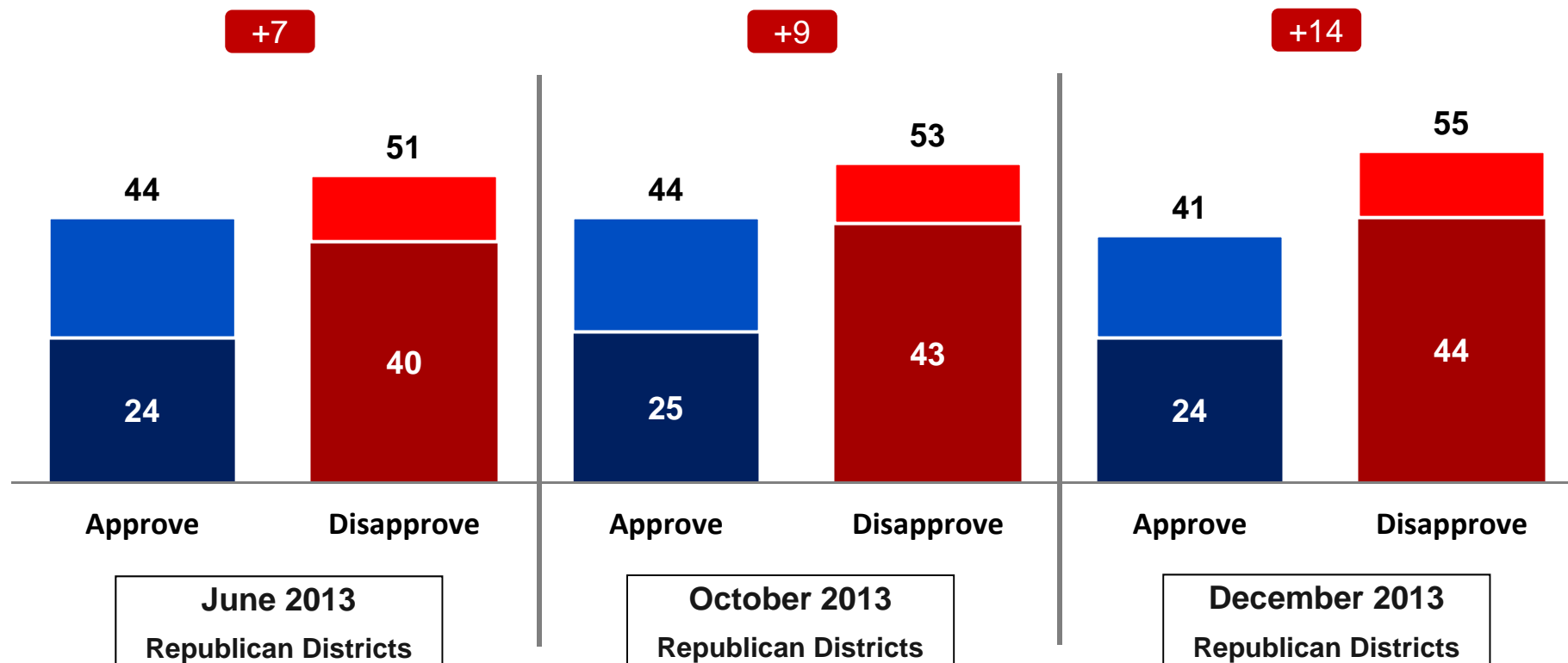


President Obama's approval rating declines in these Republican seats

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

Barack Obama

■ Strongly ■ Strongly

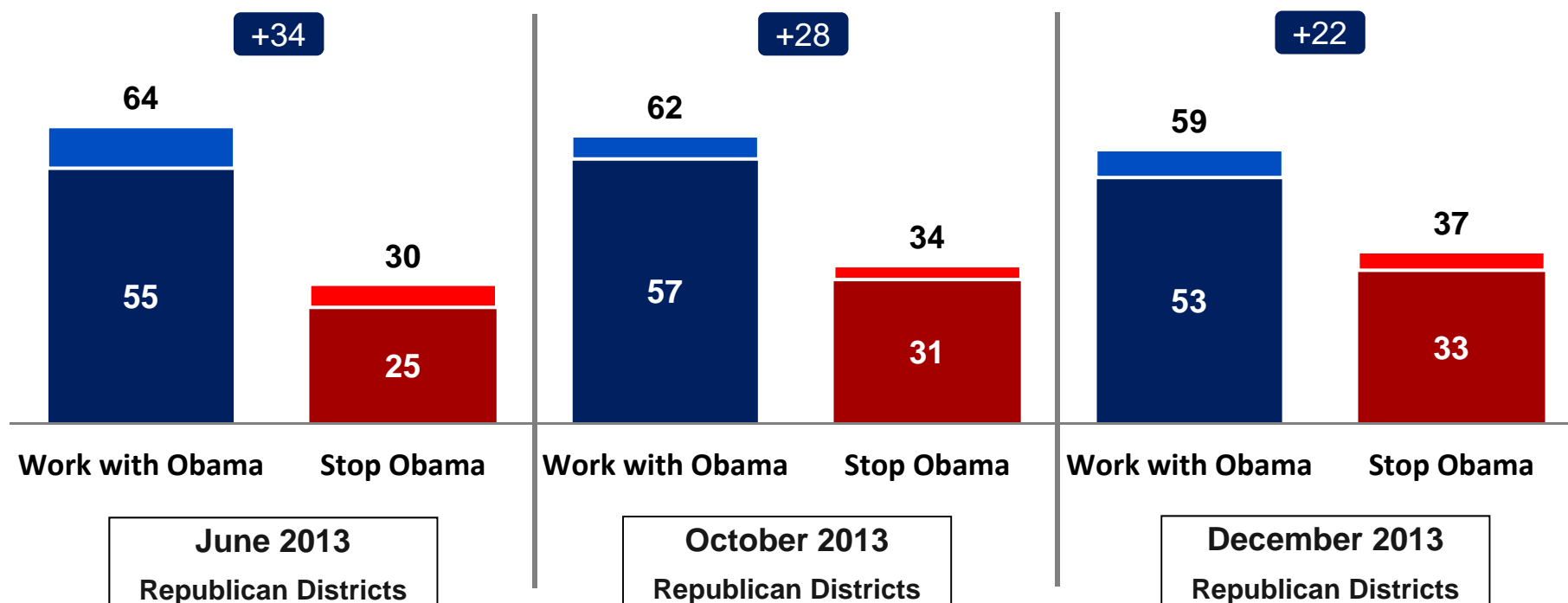


But voters totally reject Republican mission to stop Obama -- over half strongly

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.

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

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

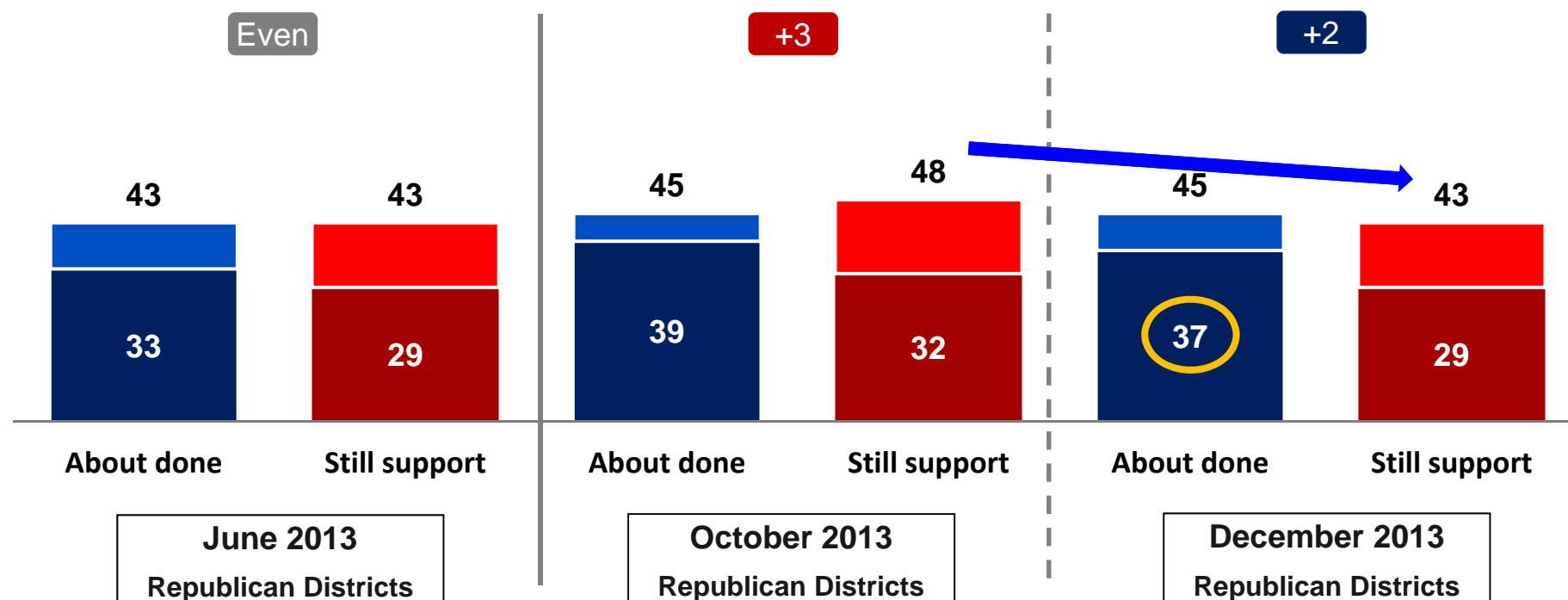


Plurality now say “I’m done” with named incumbent because of fighting with Obama and failure to solve problems

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.

I'm about done with Republicans in Congress like (HOUSE INCUMBENT) who went to Washington to stop President Obama and want to continue to fight rather than solve problems.

I'm still inclined to support Republicans in Congress like (HOUSE INCUMBENT) who shares our attitudes and values here.

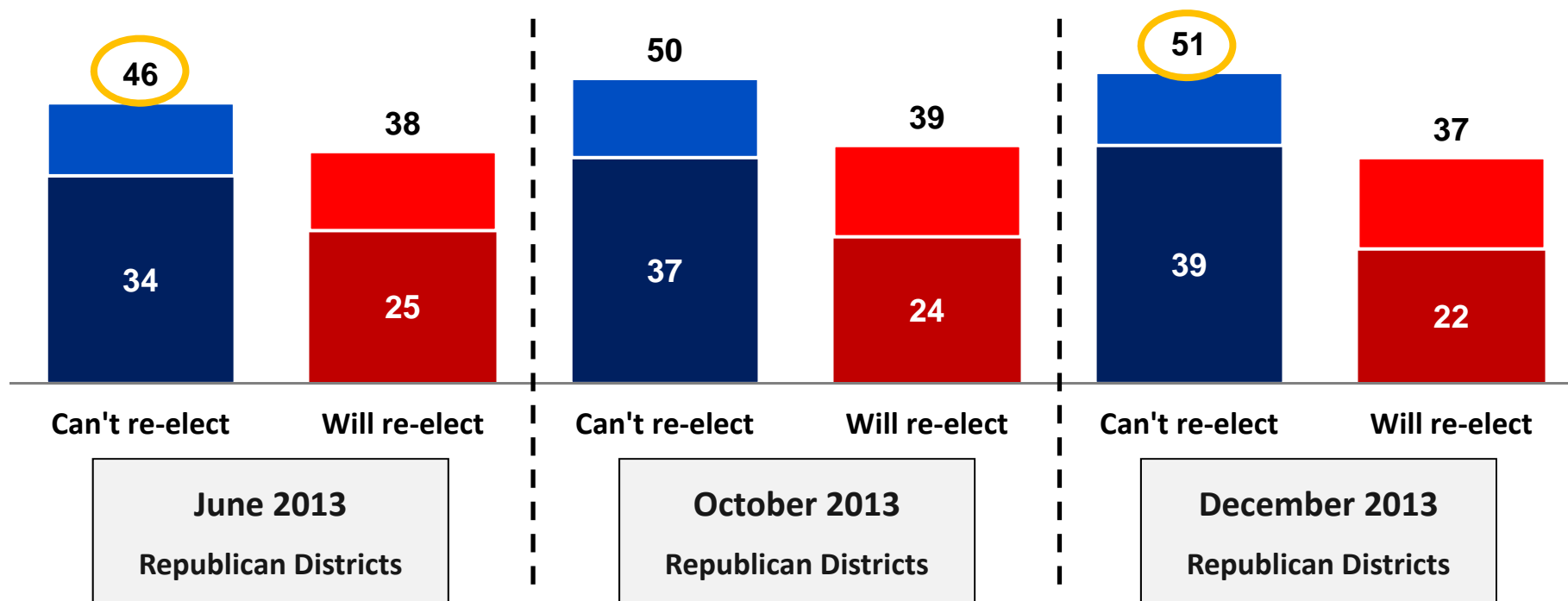


Over half of voters in GOP districts say, 'I can't vote to re-elect' named incumbent, up 5 points since the summer

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.

I CAN'T vote to reelect (HOUSE INCUMBENT) in 2014 because we need new people that will fix Washington and get things done.

I WILL vote to reelect (HOUSE INCUMBENT) in 2014 because (he/she) is doing a good job and addressing issues that are important to us.

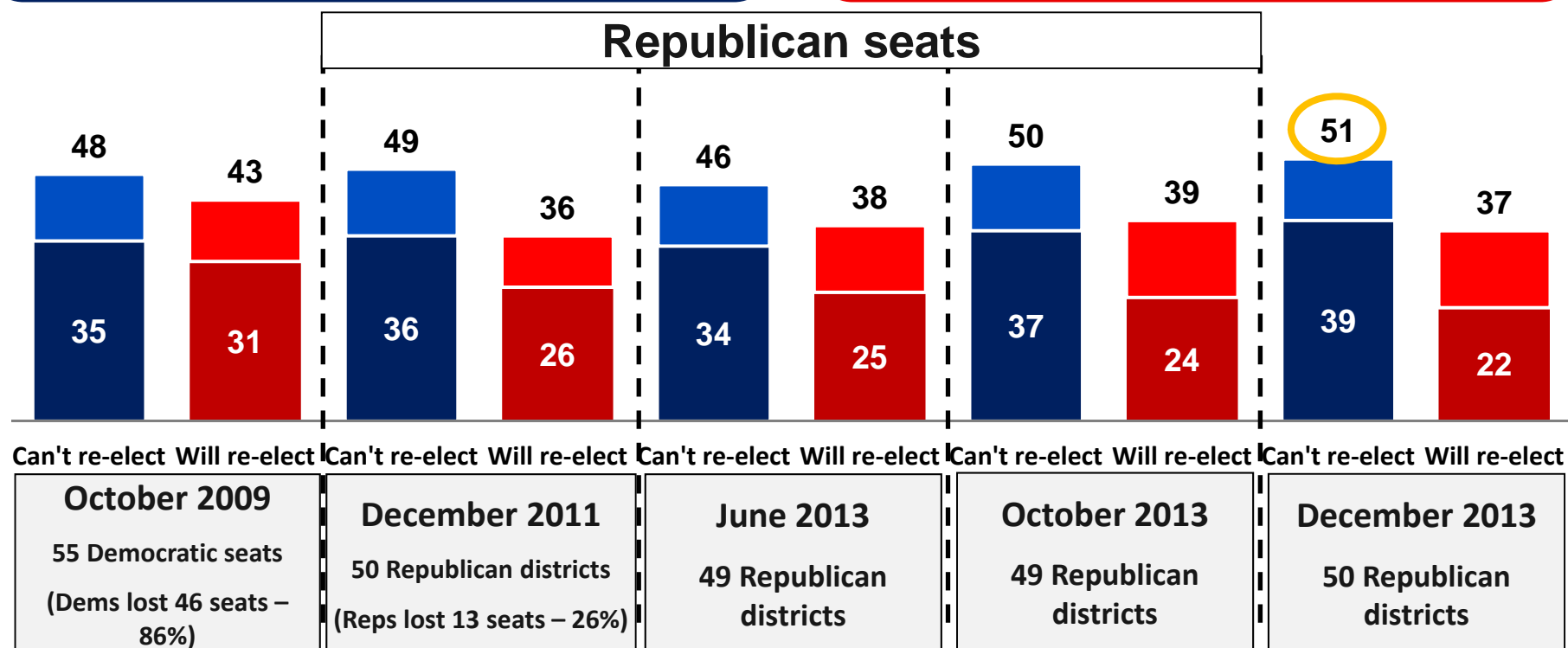


“Can’t reelect” number in GOP seats at highest point compared to past cycles

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I WILL vote to reelect (HOUSE INCUMBENT) in 2014 because (he/she) is doing a good job and addressing issues that are important to us.



Democrats now win battleground: vote out incumbent for supporting Speaker Boehner whose hurt economy and jobs

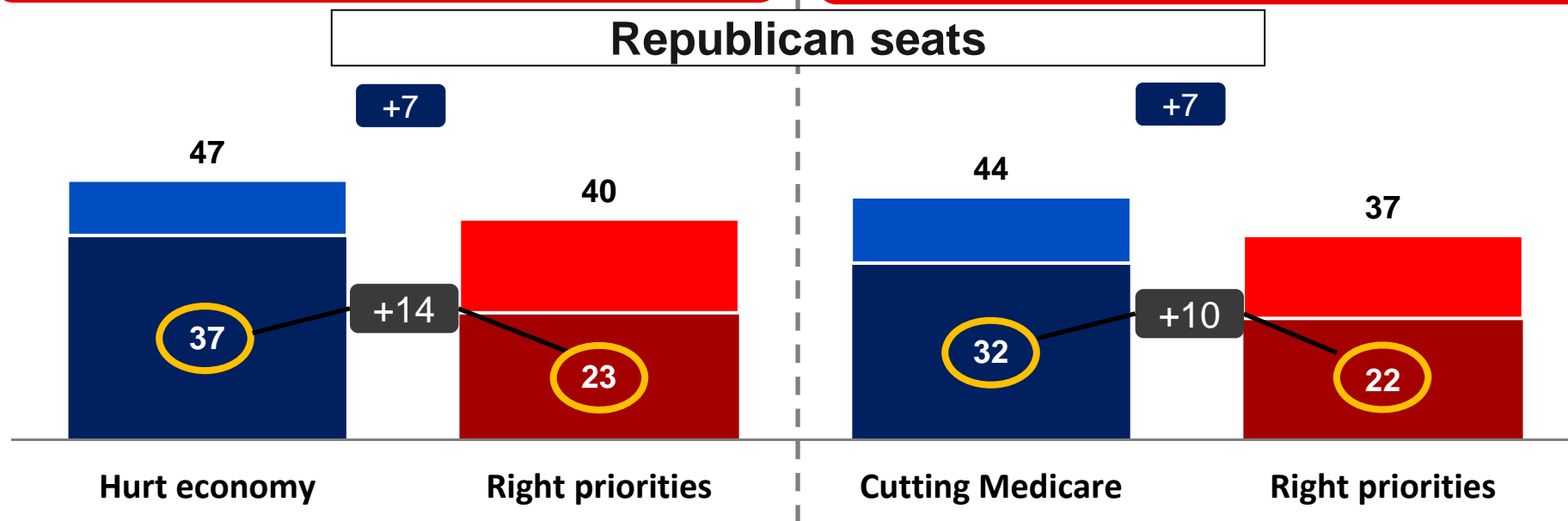
Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the **FIRST** statement or the **SECOND** statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

It is time to vote out Members of Congress like (HOUSE INCUMBENT) who may be OK but they support Speaker John Boehner and his policies that have hurt the economy and done nothing about jobs.

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) has the right priorities and (he/she) is fighting for us.

It is time to vote out Members of Congress like (HOUSE INCUMBENT) who may be OK but they support Speaker John Boehner whose top budget priority is cutting spending for Medicare and making sure there's no tax increase for richest.

(HOUSE INCUMBENT) has the right priorities and (he/she) is fighting for us.





Republican Battleground



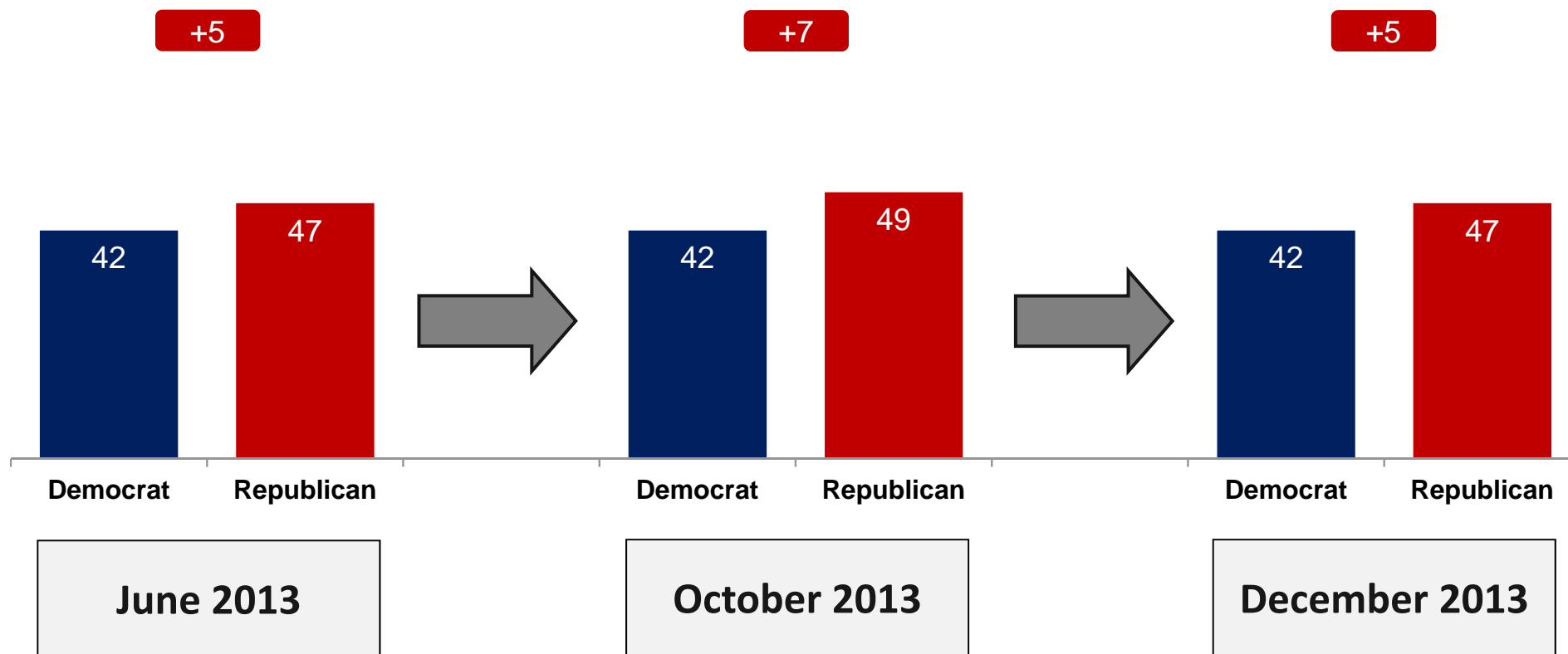
Congressional vote totally steady in 50 Republican battleground seats

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or Republican (HOUSE INCUMBENT)?

Republican seats

■ Democrat

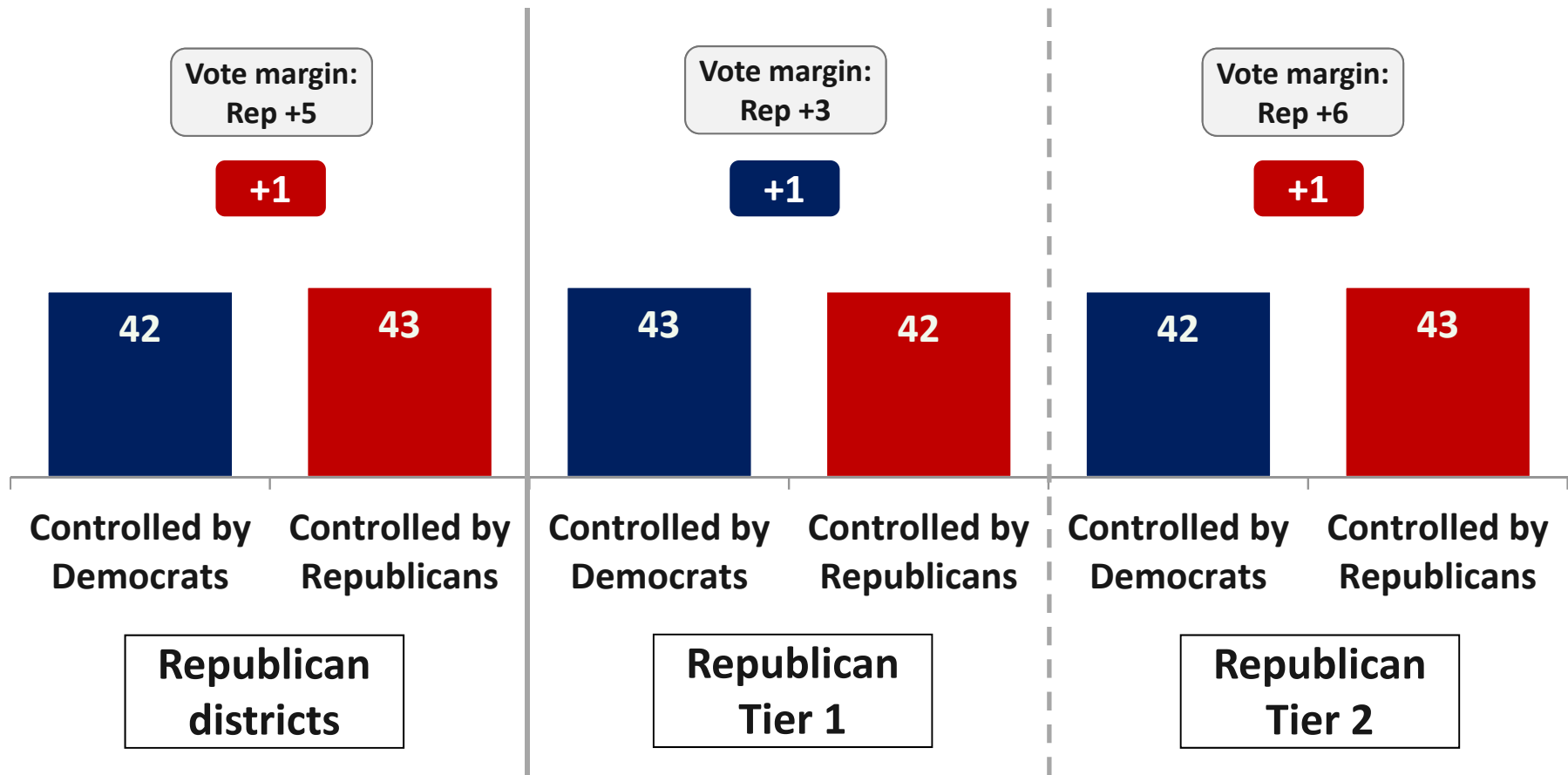
■ Republican



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

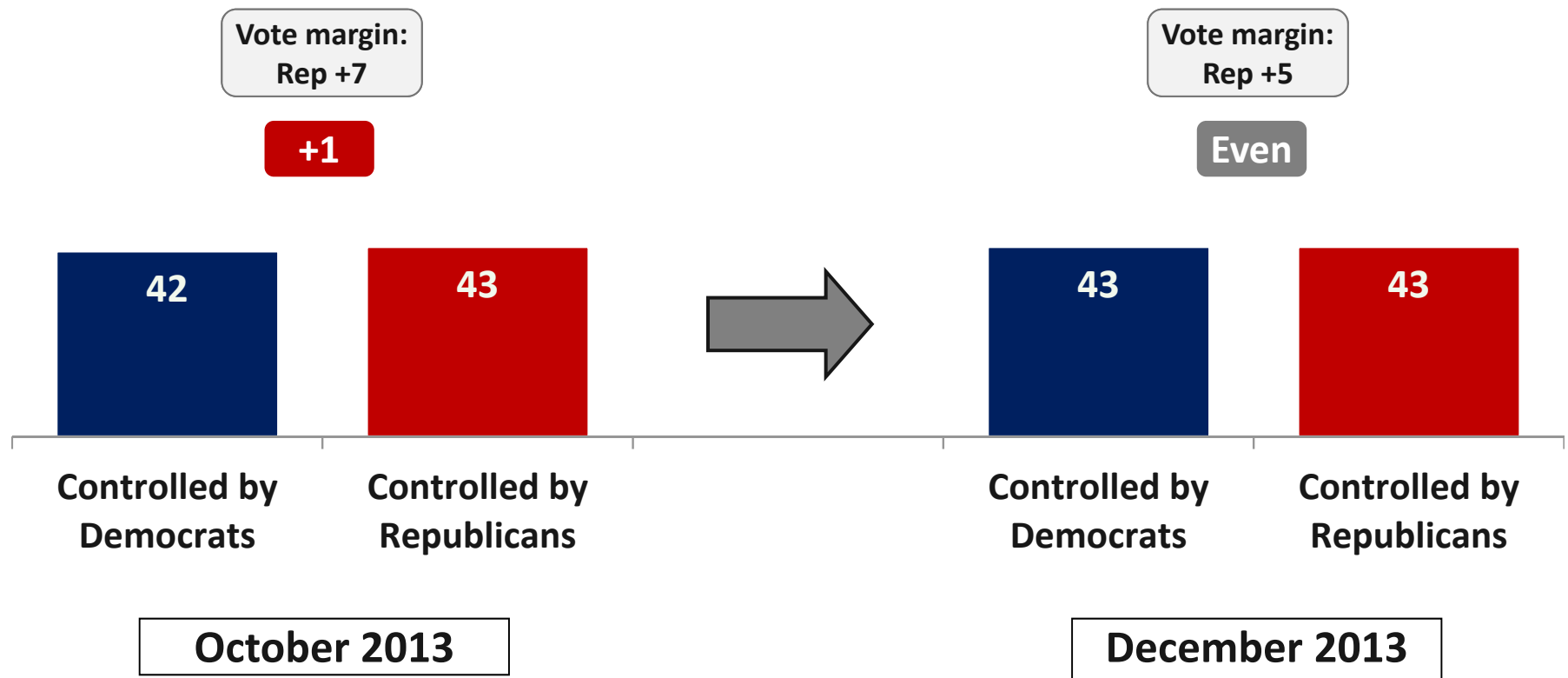
And voters evenly divided on which party should control Congress – GOP well below vote

And, although it's a long way off, what is your preference for the outcome of next year's congressional elections: a Congress controlled by Republicans or a Congress controlled by Democrats?



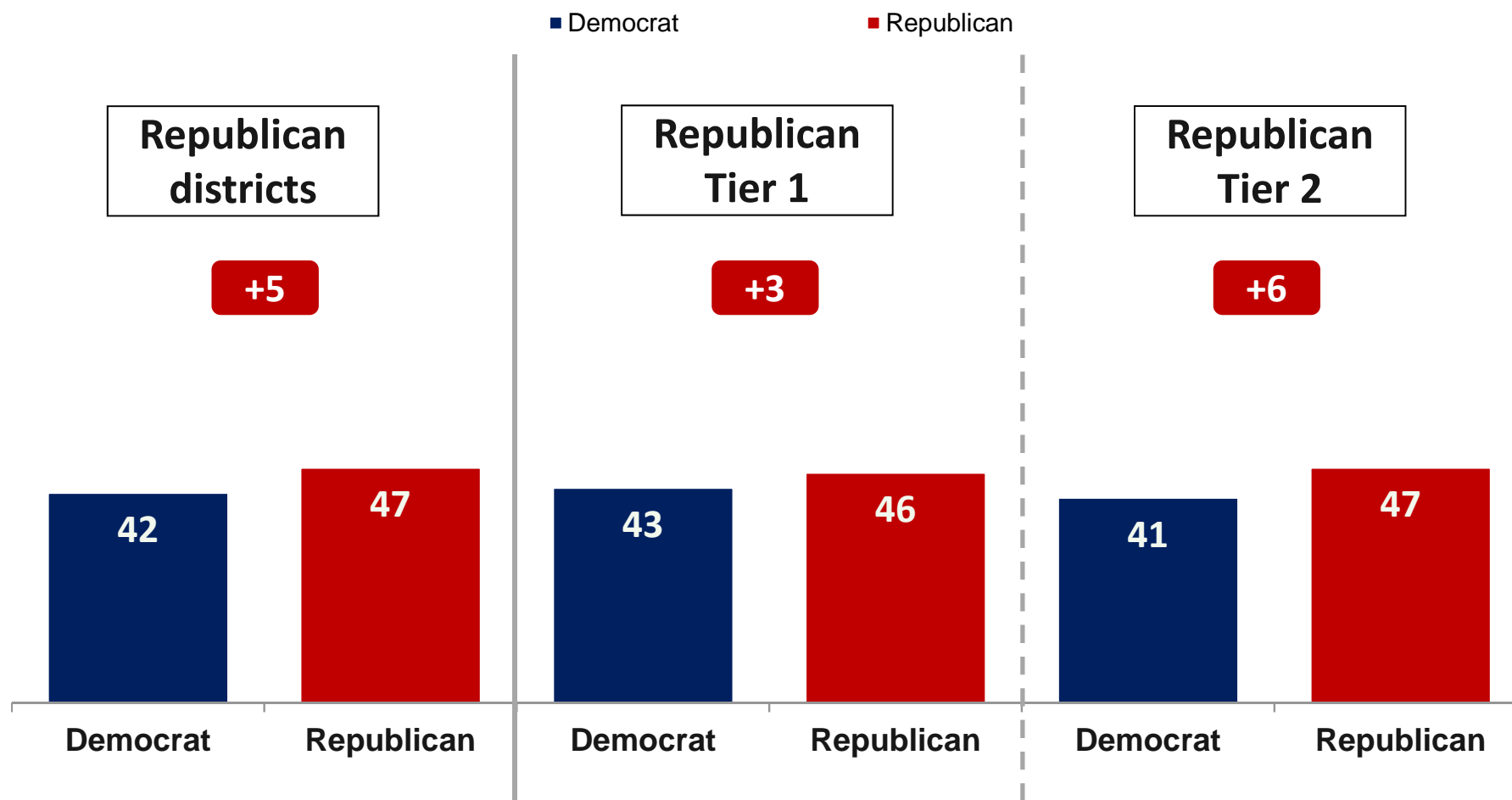
And unchanged since October; Republicans not making up ground

And, although it's a long way off, what is your preference for the outcome of next year's congressional elections: a Congress controlled by Republicans or a Congress controlled by Democrats?



Democrats close in most competitive seats and Republicans well below 50 even in safer Tier 2 seats

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, 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."*

Bigger drop in Tier 2 seats, signaling that there are many more vulnerable GOP incumbents

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or Republican (HOUSE INCUMBENT)?

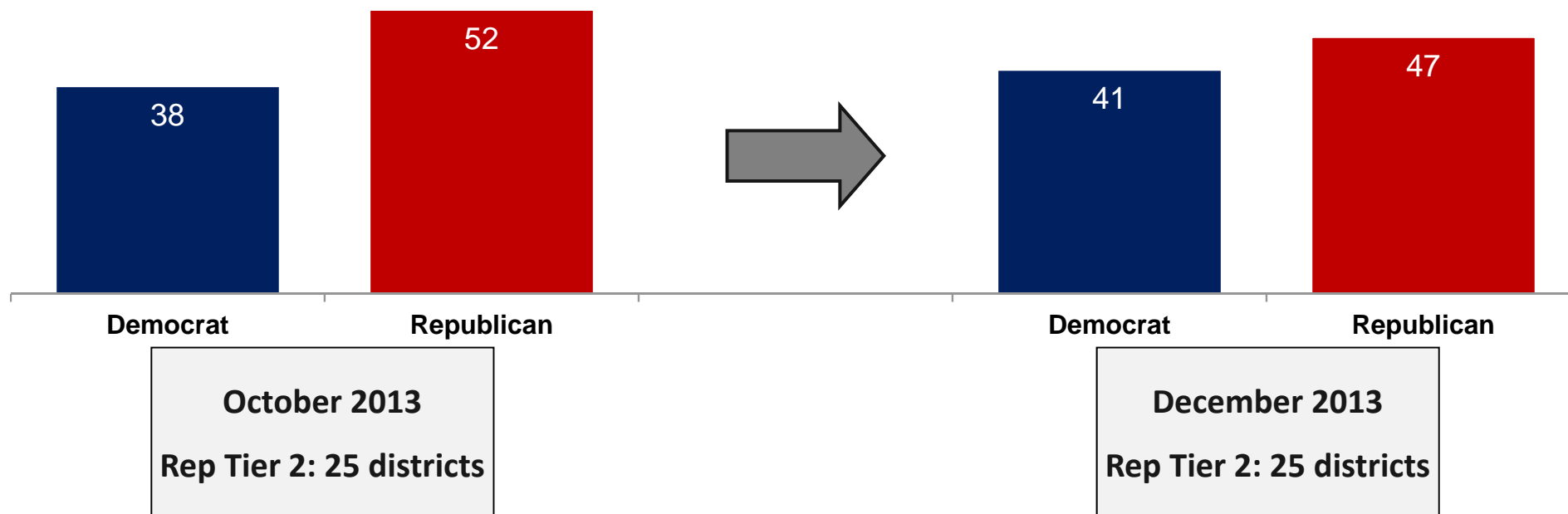
Tier 2: secondary Republican seats

■ Democrat

■ Republican

+14

+6



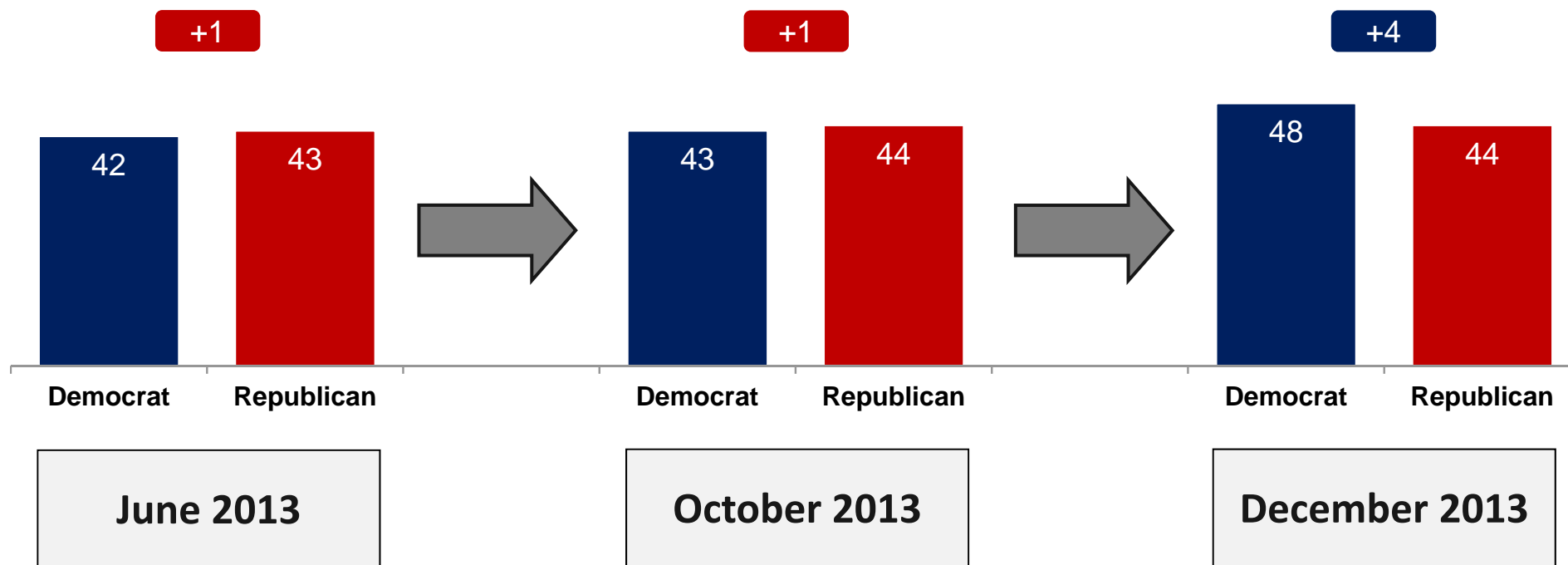
**Note: Incumbent names were inserted with party identification. Generic challengers were inserted as "The Democratic Candidate."*

Seniors main drivers of GOP vulnerability: Democratic challenger now leading by 4 in GOP districts

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or Republican (HOUSE INCUMBENT)?

Seniors

■ Democrat ■ Republican



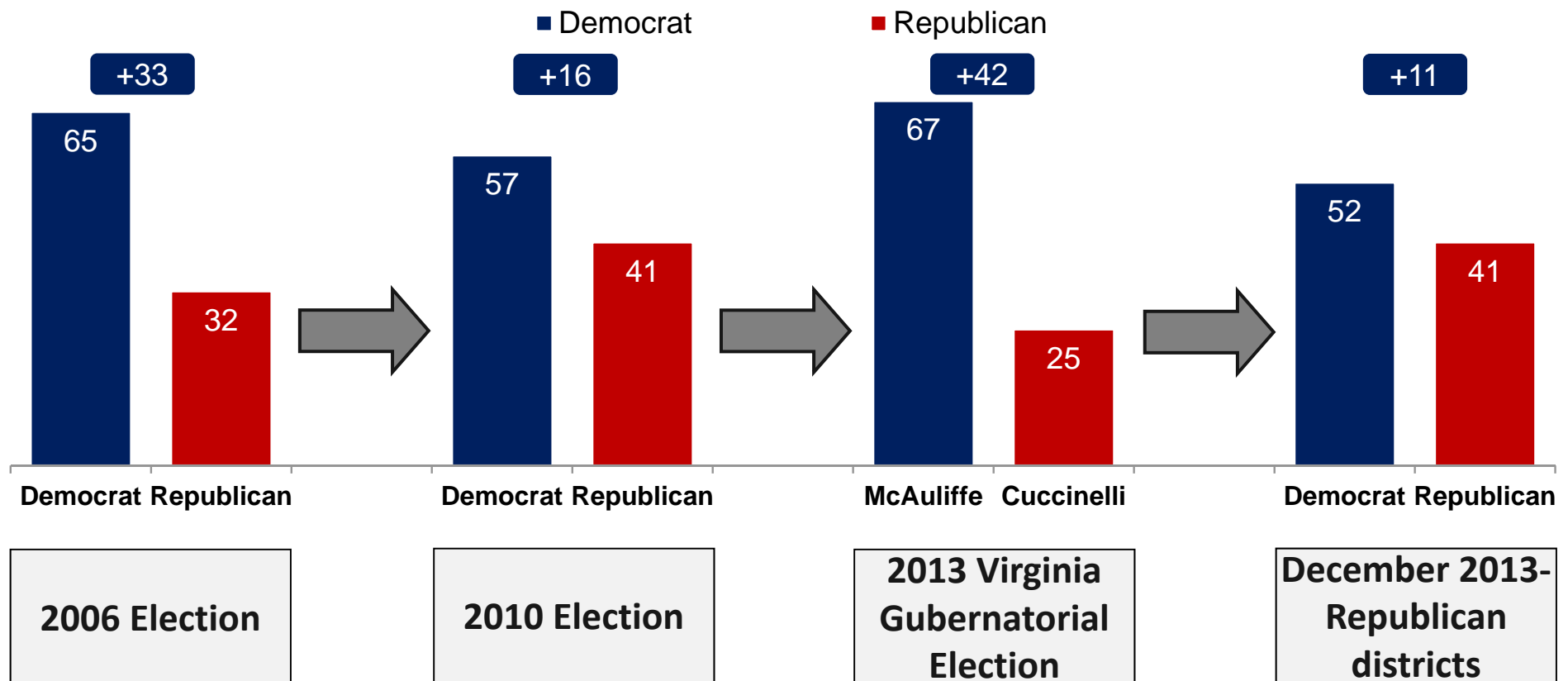
Republican seats

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

But biggest Democratic challenge, underperforming with unmarried women – the key to a turnaround

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or Republican (HOUSE INCUMBENT)?

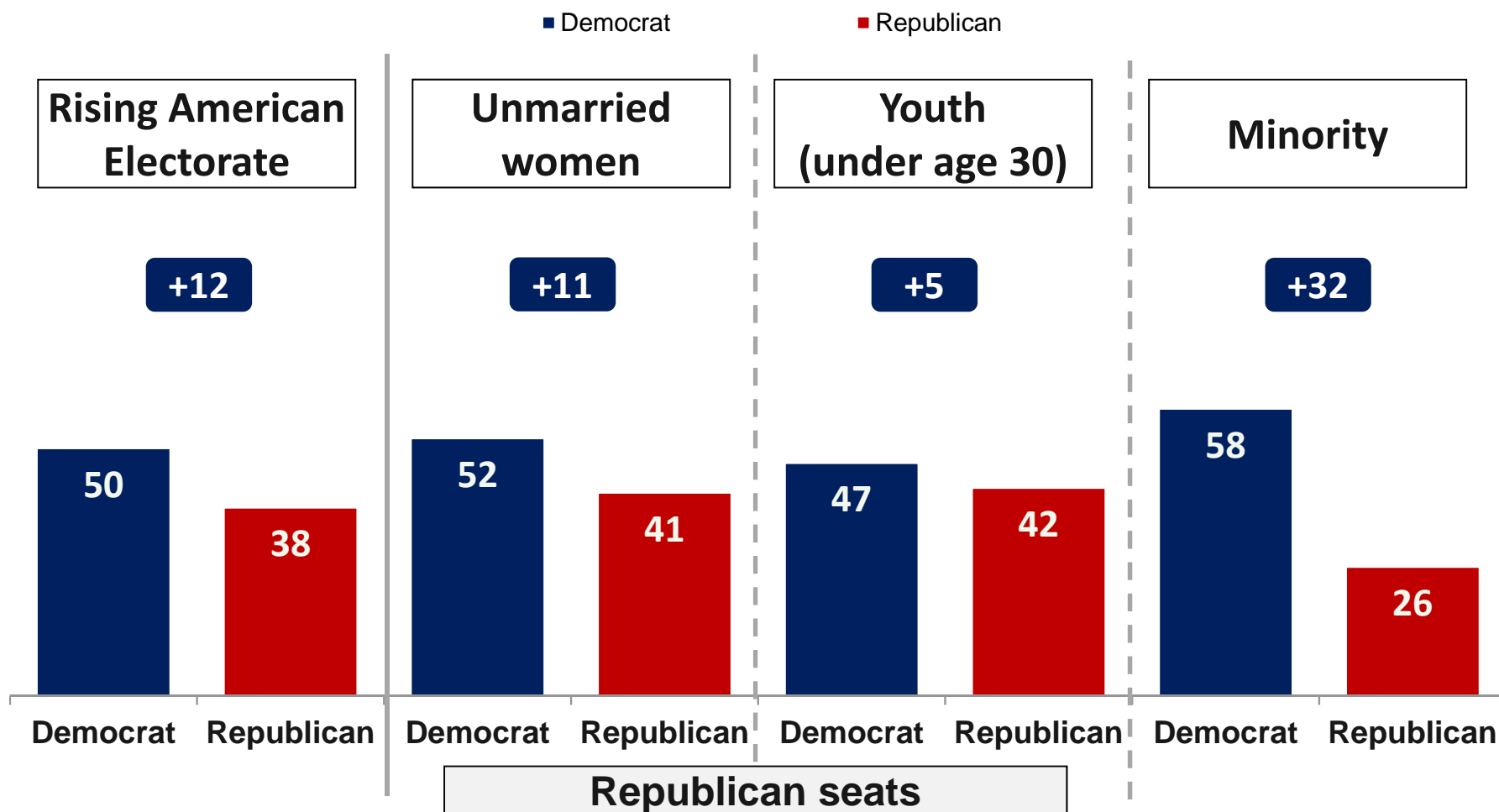
Unmarried women



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

Significant challenges with base, especially youth

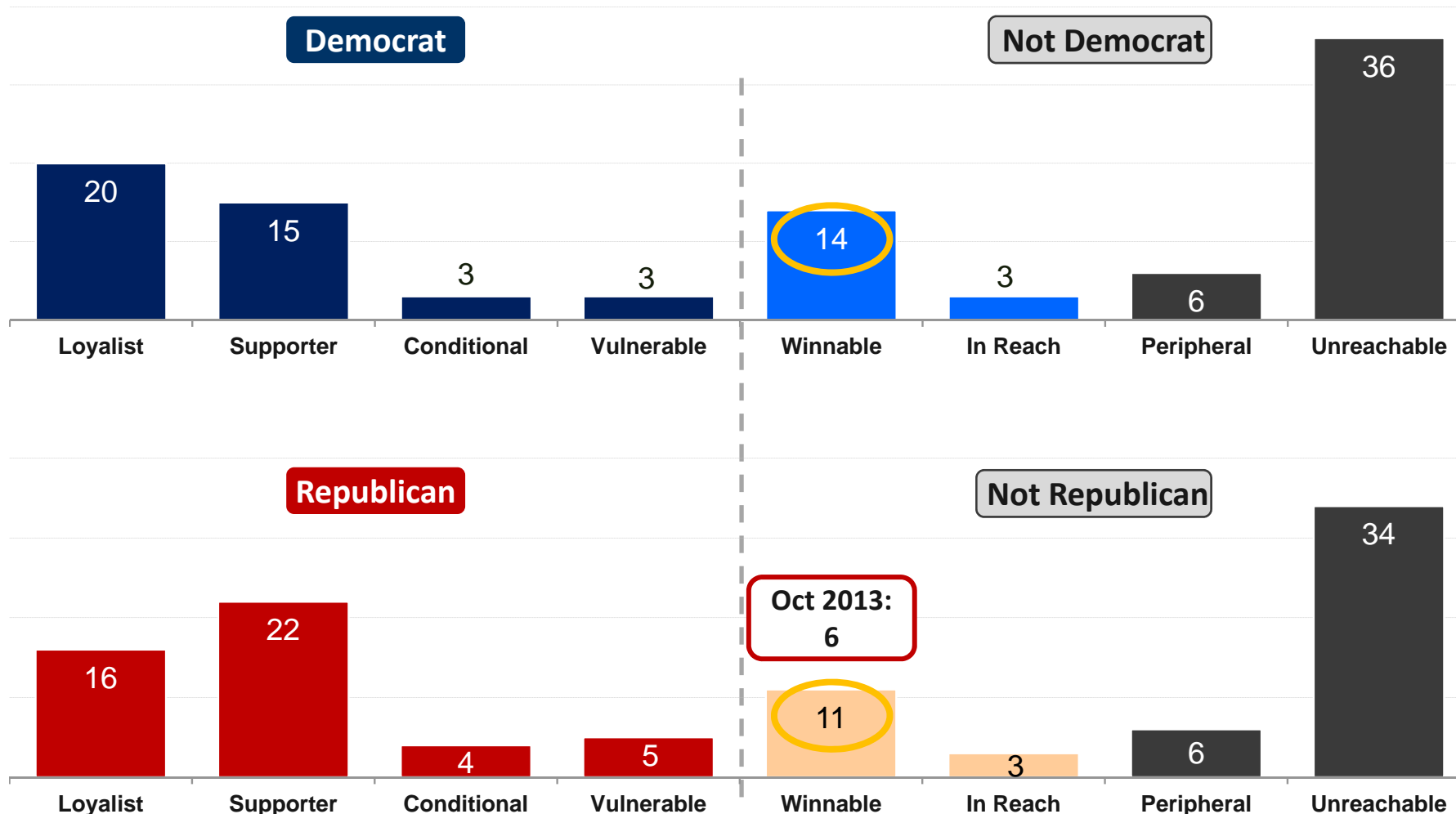
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**Note: Incumbent names were inserted with party identification. Generic challengers were inserted as "The Democratic Candidate."*

Republicans make some gains in winnable voters but dynamics still favor Democratic vote gains

Republican Seats



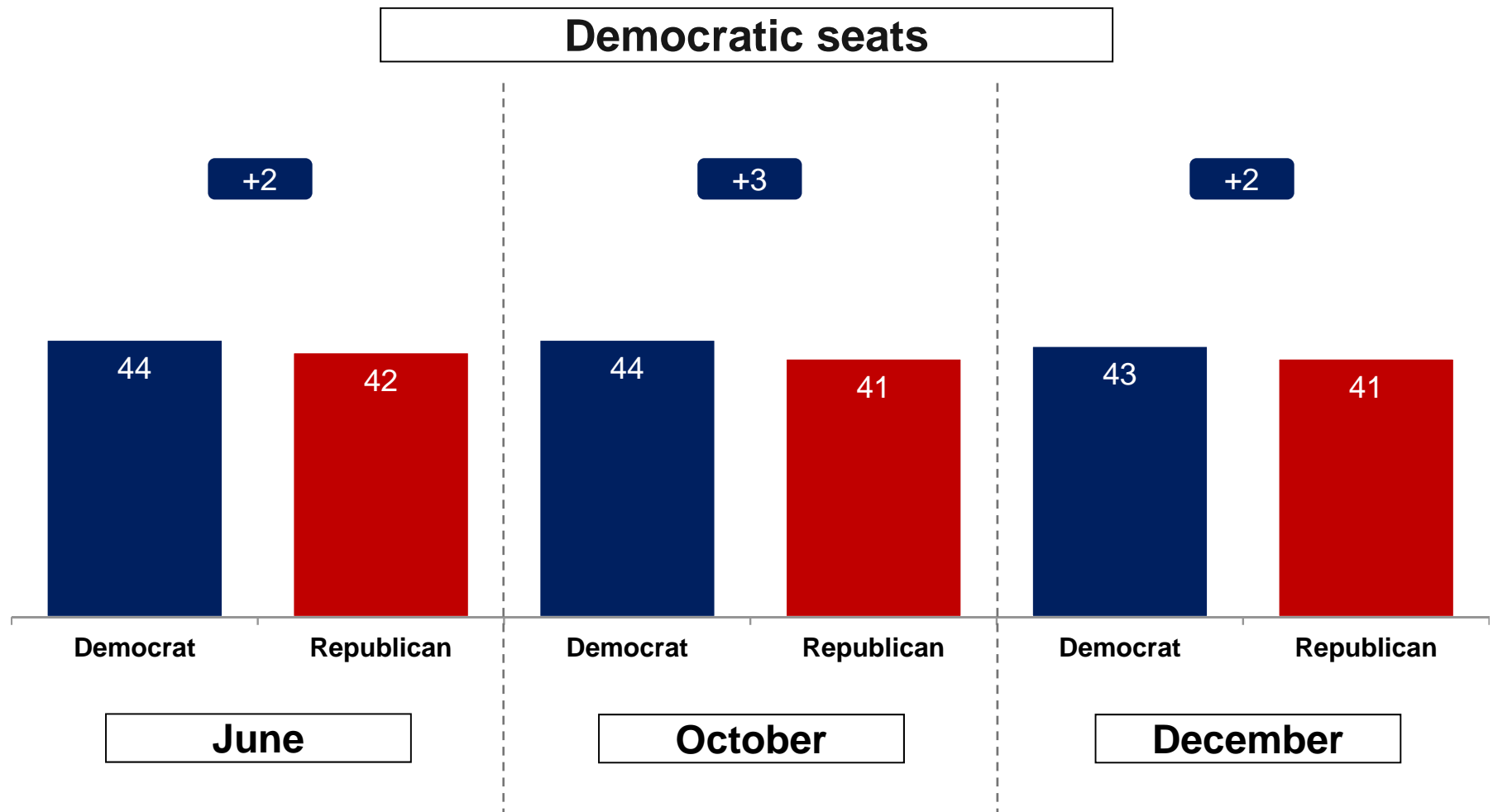


The Democratic Battleground



Democrats' standing in their districts is stable

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – Democrat (HOUSE INCUMBENT) or the Republican candidate?

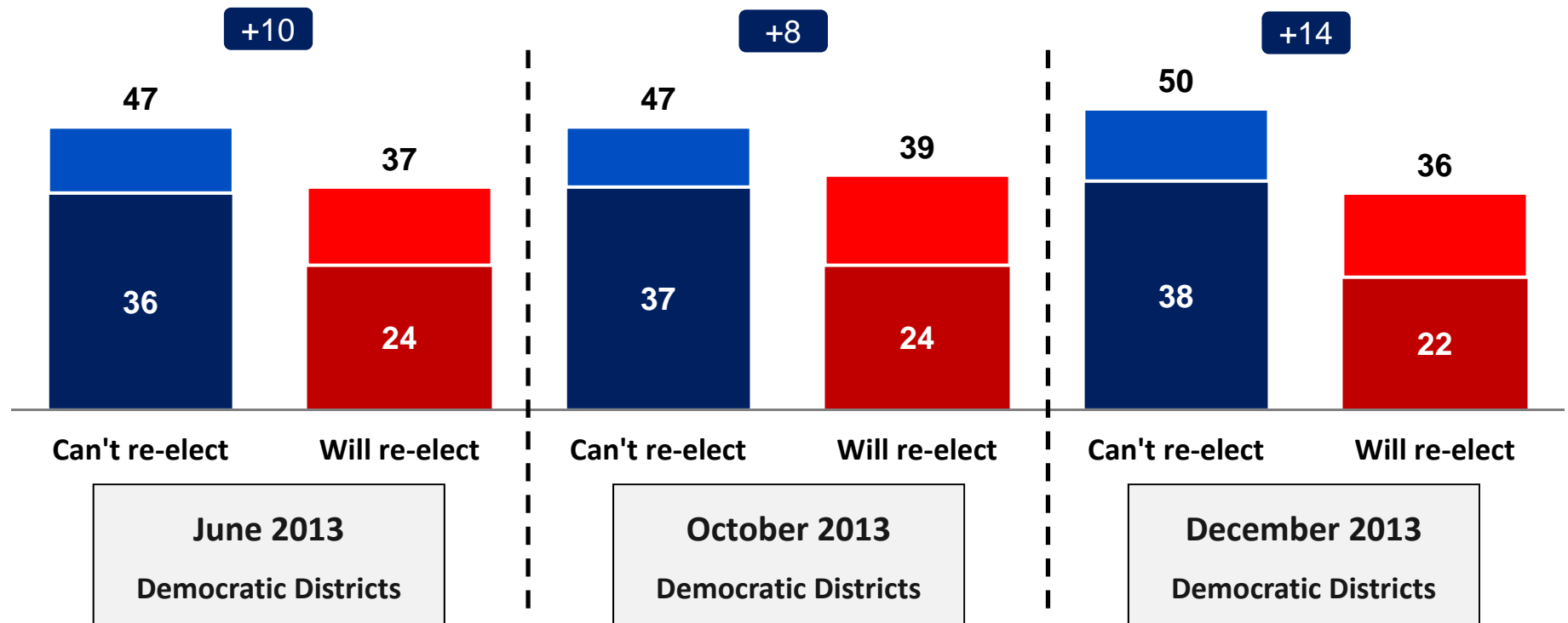


Anti-incumbent mood hits Democratic members too

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.

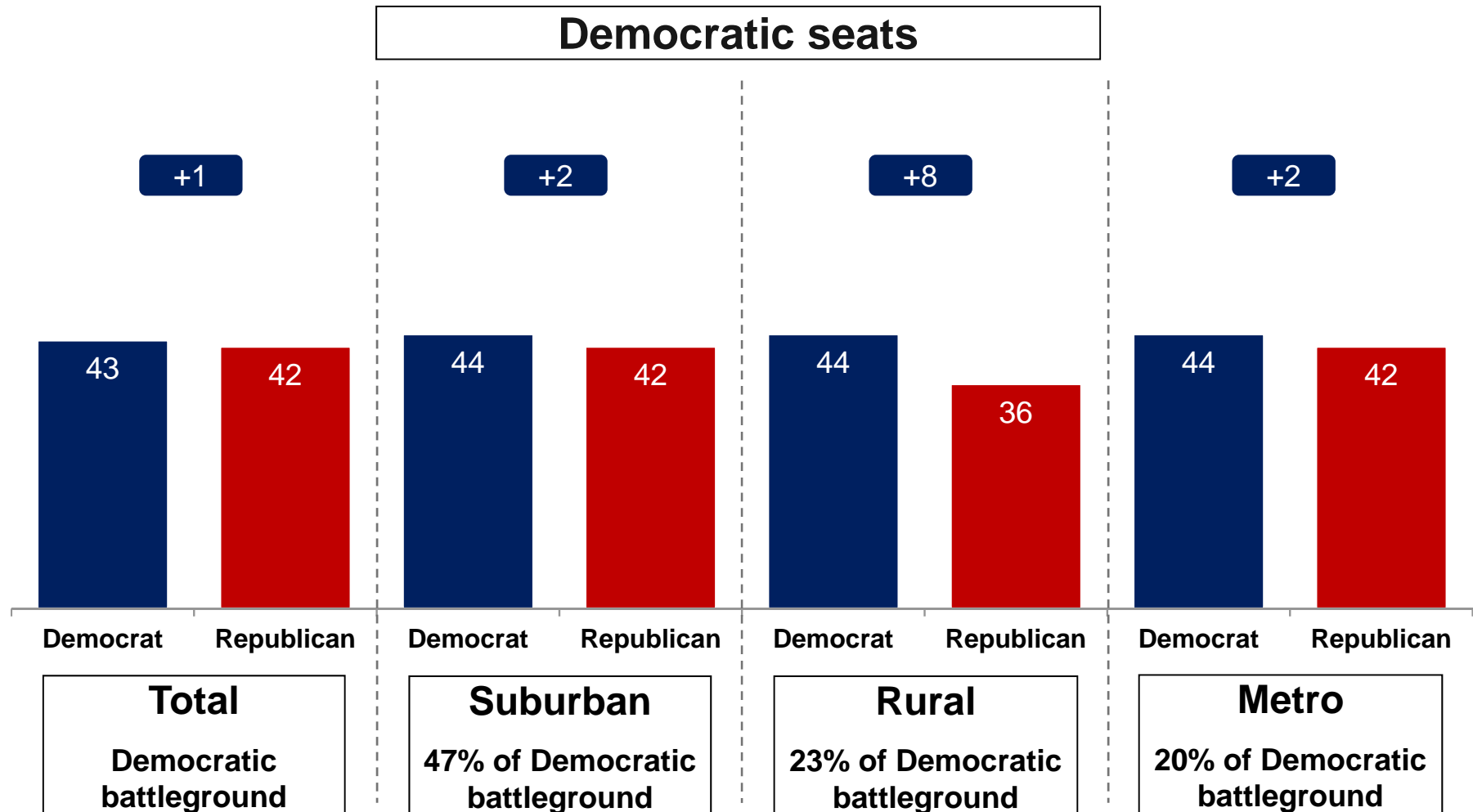
I CAN'T vote to reelect (HOUSE INCUMBENT) in 2014 because we need new people that will fix Washington and get things done.

I WILL vote to reelect (HOUSE INCUMBENT) in 2014 because (he/she) is doing a good job and addressing issues that are important to us.



Biggest lead comes in rural areas

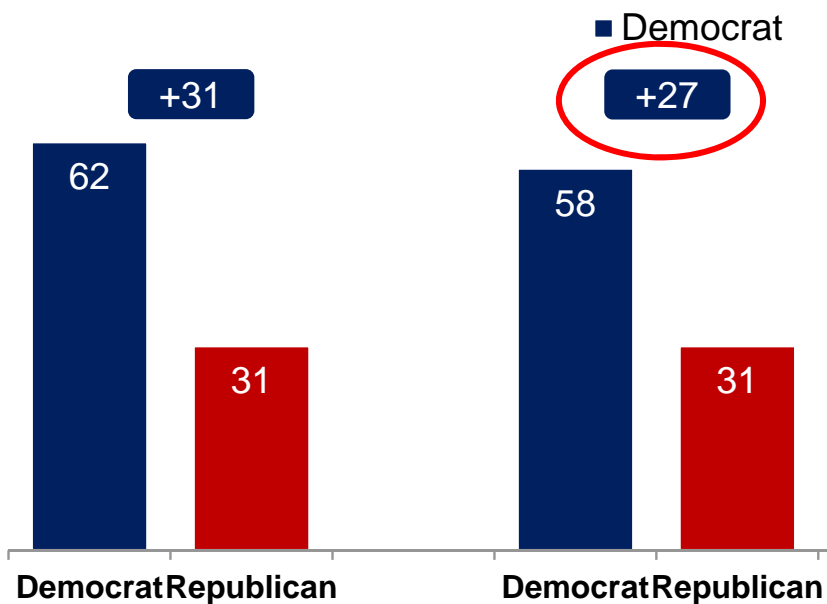
I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – Democrat (HOUSE INCUMBENT) or the Republican candidate?



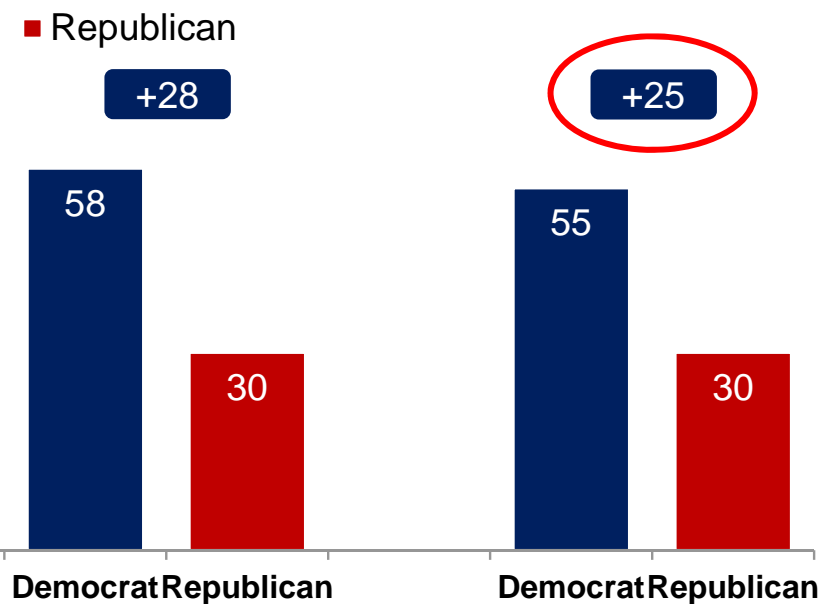
But Democratic incumbents lag among base voters— behind where they were at this point in 2010 cycle

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or Republican (HOUSE INCUMBENT)?

Unmarried women



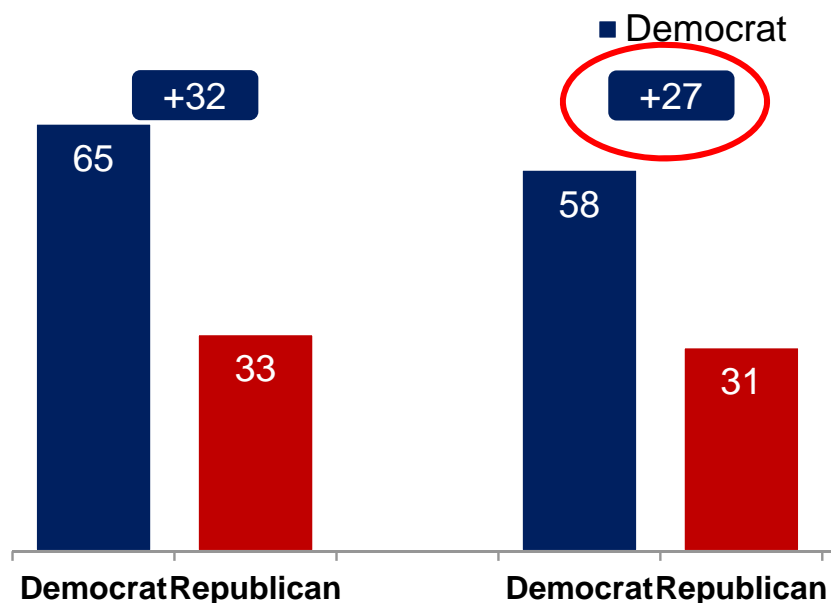
Rising American Electorate



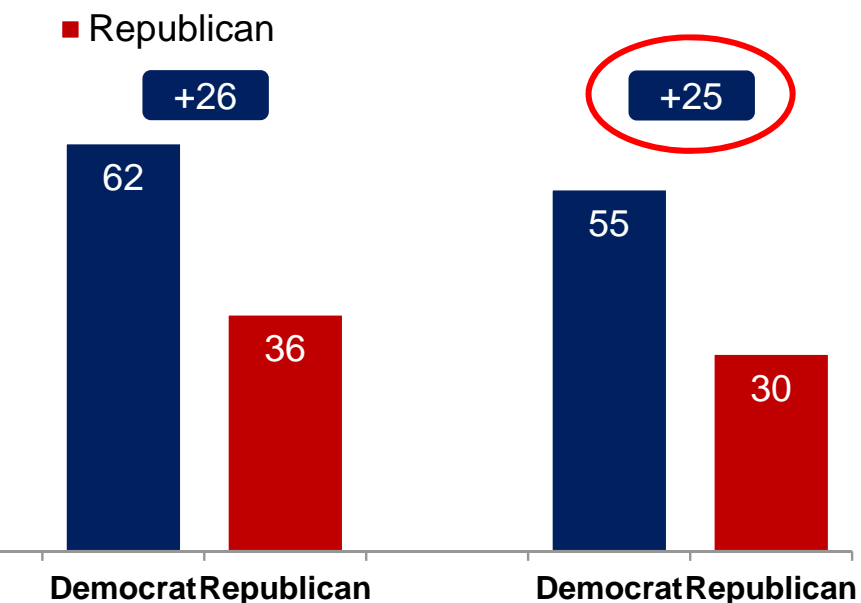
Unmarried women especially behind 2012 pace

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or Republican (HOUSE INCUMBENT)?

Unmarried women



Rising American Electorate




November 2012:
National Post-Election
Survey

December 2013:
36 most competitive
Democratic districts

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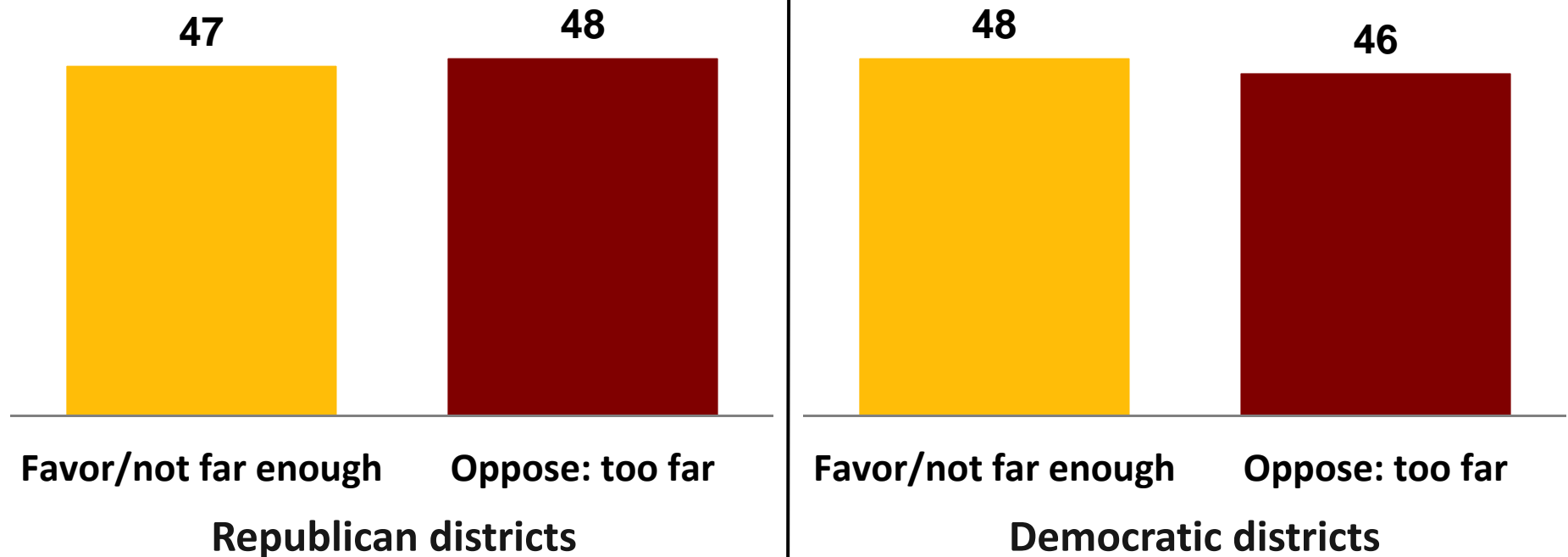
**The Affordable Care Act evenly divides
battleground at best while weakening GOP**



Voters divided, leaning for in Democratic districts

Overall, do you favor or oppose the health care reform law that passed in 2010?

(IF OPPOSE) Would you say you oppose the health care reform law because it goes too far in changing health insurance, or because it doesn't go far enough in changing health insurance?



Majority of Rising American Electorate favor the law and want to implement, but with room to improve among most affected groups

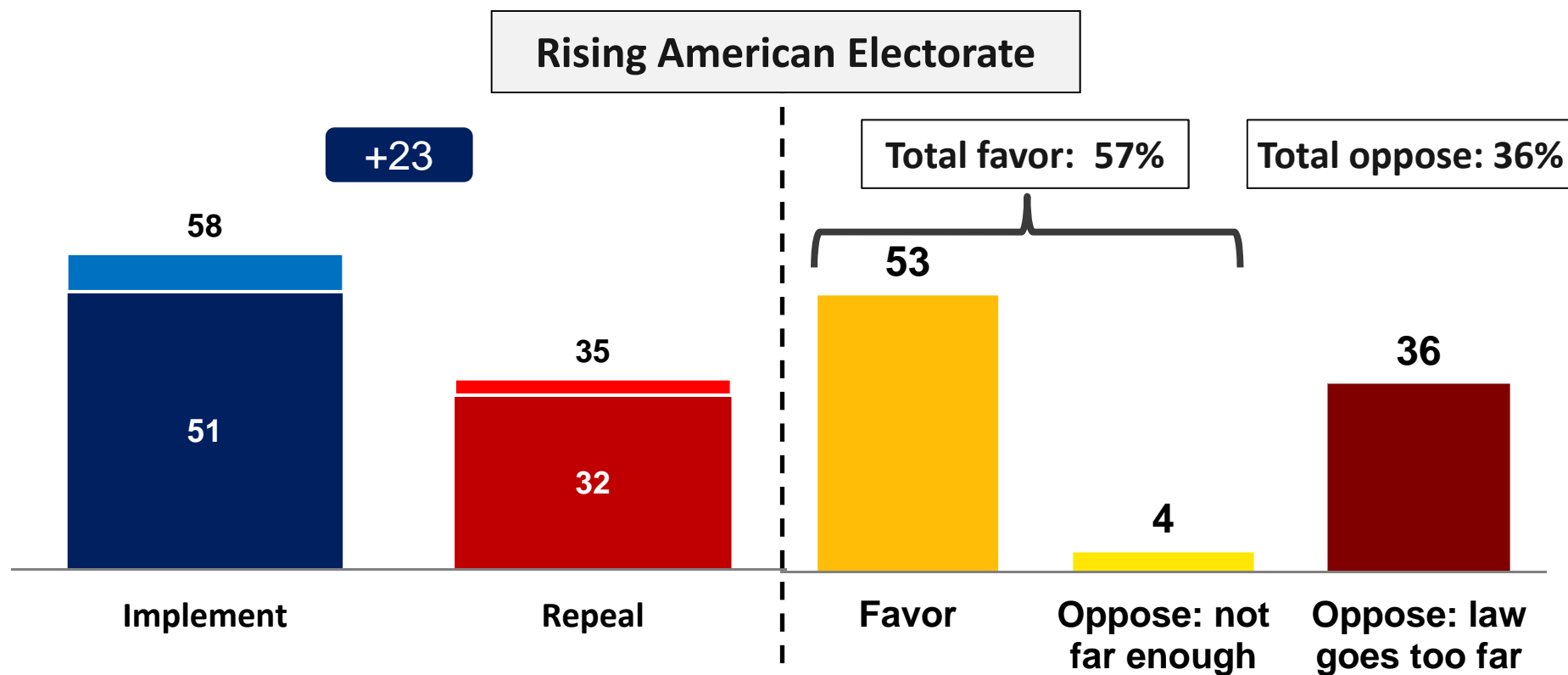
Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

We should implement and fix the health care reform law.

We should repeal and replace the health care reform law.

Overall, do you favor or oppose the health care reform law that passed in 2010?

(IF OPPOSE) Would you say you oppose the health care reform law because it goes too far in changing health insurance, or because it doesn't go far enough in changing health insurance?

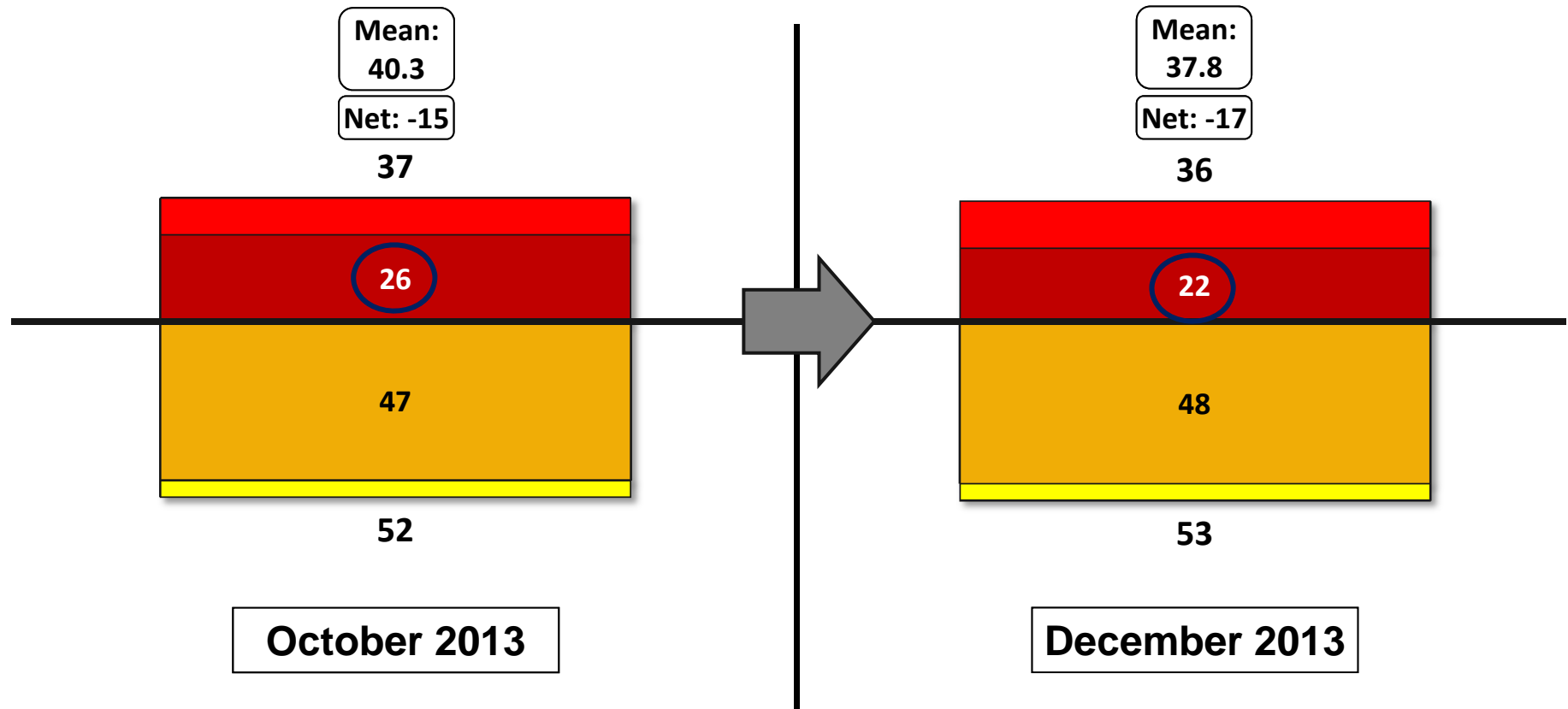


Feelings toward Affordable Care Act marginally worsen due to decrease in strong support

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.

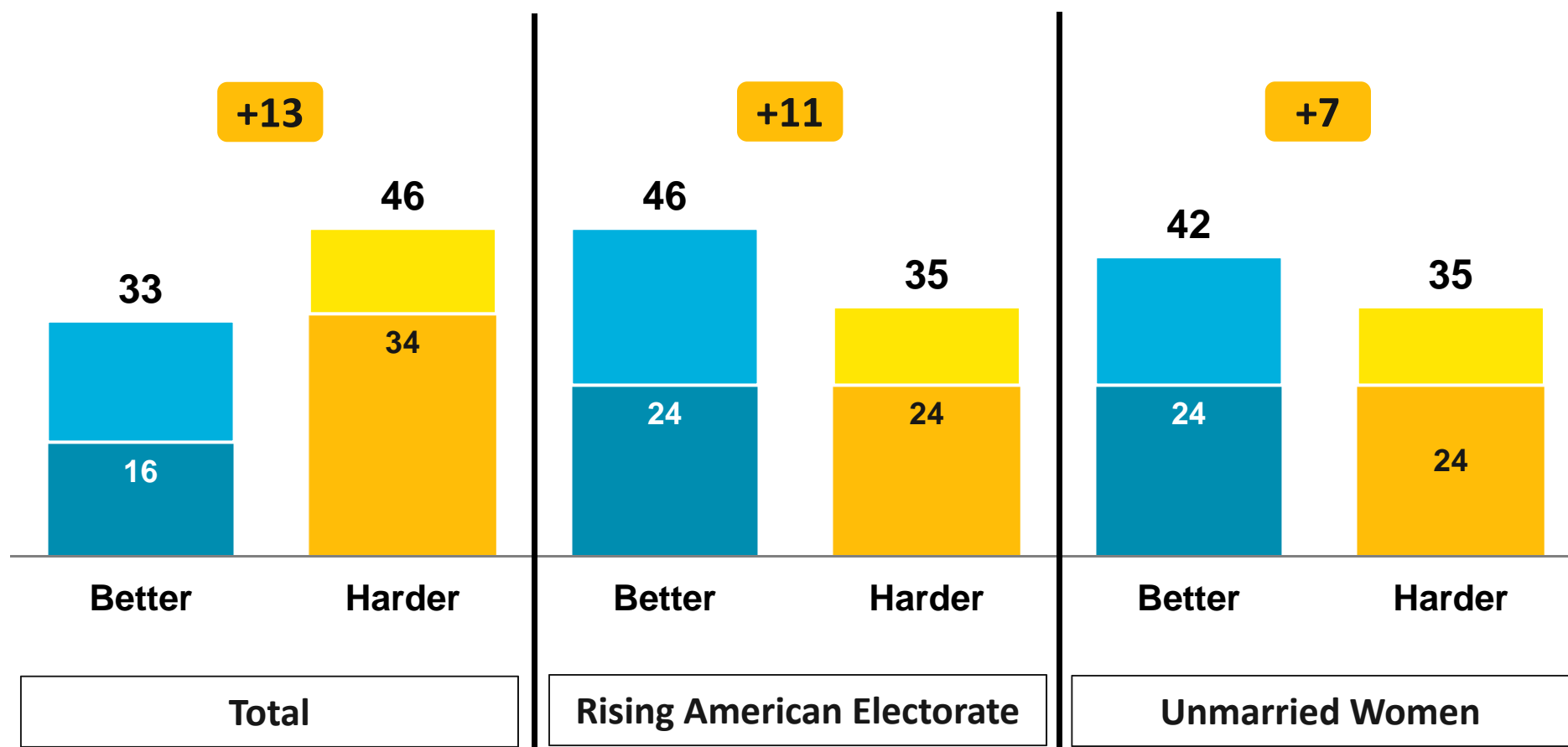
■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)

The Affordable Care Act, or Obamacare



Much work to be done on seeing benefits

All in all, do you think the health care reform law will make it better or harder for you?



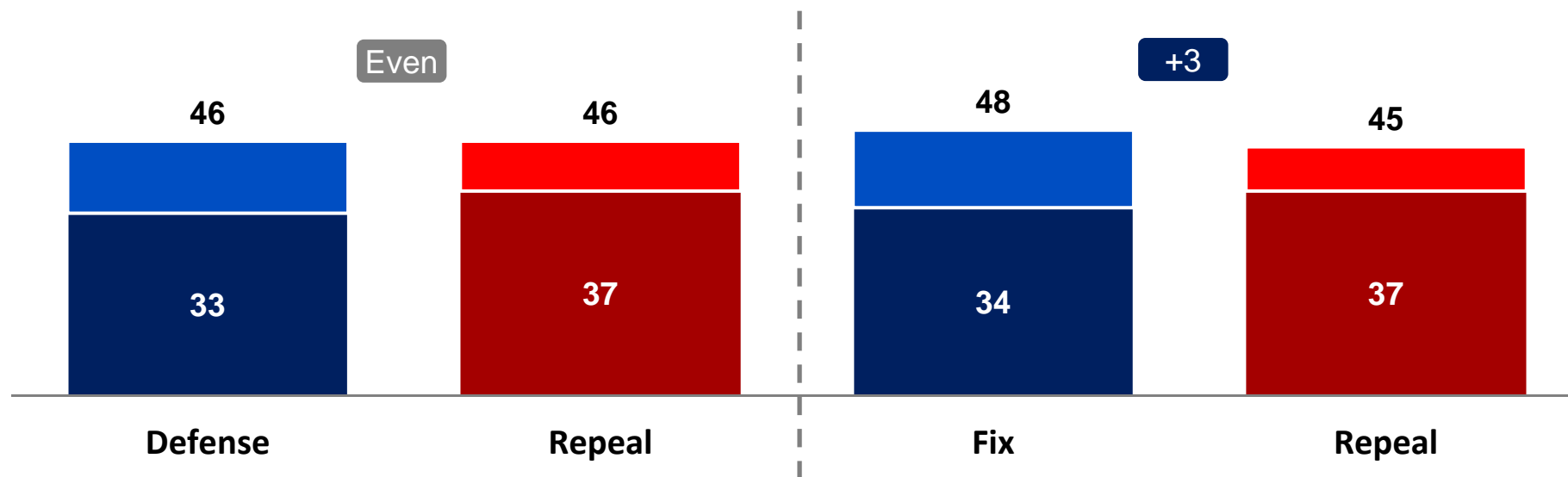
Democratic and Republic arguments battle to a draw in battleground

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements about the health care reform law. After hearing those statements, whom do you agree with more in what they are saying on health care changes – The Democratic Candidate or the Republican Candidate?

(The Democratic candidate) says: I'm angry that the healthcare website was not ready. But this law makes critical changes. Insurance companies can't raise rates when you get sick, older, or have a baby and can't charge women more than men. They can't deny coverage due to a pre-existing condition or set lifetime limits. The old system was broken. I'll work with both parties to make sure we have health insurance that's there when you need it.

(The Democratic candidate) says: I'm angry that the healthcare website was not ready. But this law makes critical changes, and I want it to work. So, I joined both parties to extend enrollment, delay fines, and stop insurers from dropping policies. This law means insurance companies can't raise rates when you get sick, older, or have a baby and can't charge women more than men. We will get health insurance that's there when you need it and fix it together.

(The Republican candidate) says: The Obamacare rollout has been a disaster, but this is just the start of the problem. President Obama and Democrats repeatedly lied to the American people. Now millions have lost health insurance, cannot see their own doctors, and are paying more and getting less. Up to 50 million people with employer provided insurance might lose their coverage. Obamacare just does not work and needs to be repealed.

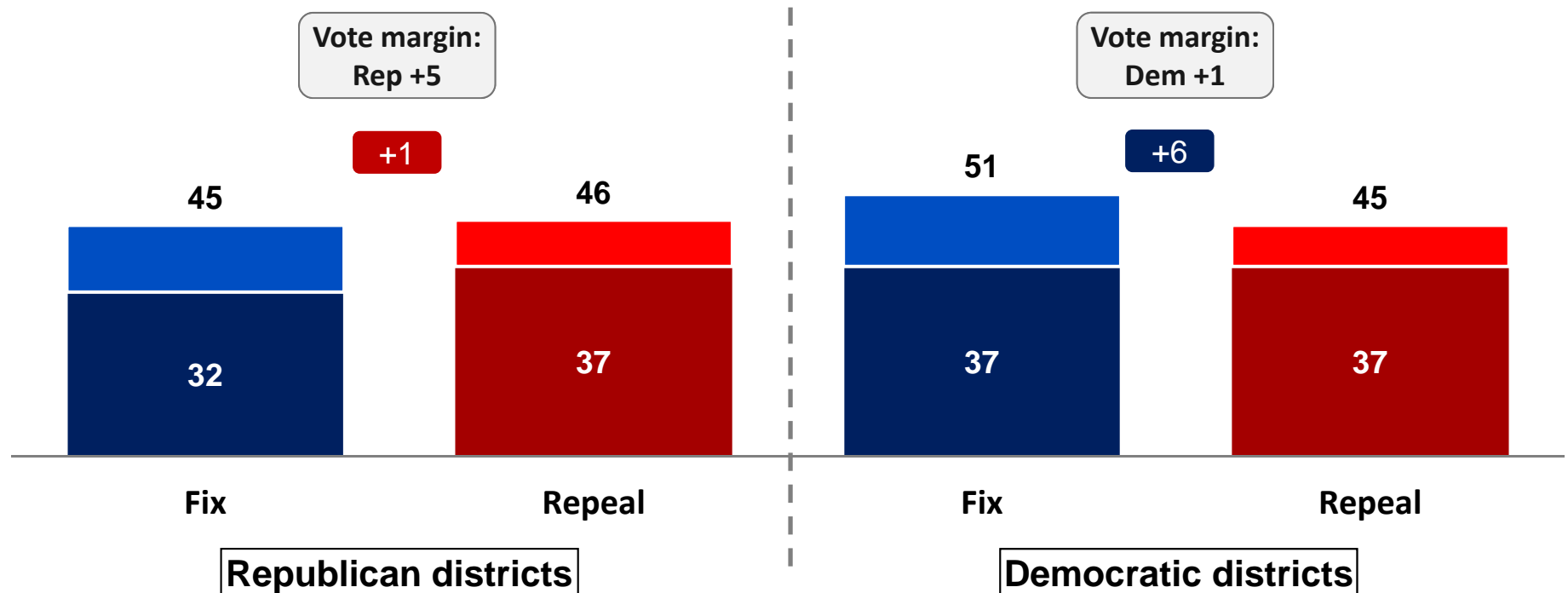


Message to fix the problems with ACA higher than Democrats' vote

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements about the health care reform law. After hearing those statements, whom do you agree with more in what they are saying on health care changes – The Democratic Candidate or the Republican Candidate?

(The Democratic candidate) says: I'm angry that the healthcare website was not ready. But this law makes critical changes, and I want it to work. So, I joined both parties to extend enrollment, delay fines, and stop insurers from dropping policies. This law means insurance companies can't raise rates when you get sick, older, or have a baby and can't charge women more than men. We will get health insurance that's there when you need it and fix it together.

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Democrats have very strong positive messages on health care – starting with insurance companies and benefits to women

Now I'm going to read you a few statements (the Democratic candidate) might say about the Affordable Care Act. For each statement, please tell me whether that makes you feel much more positive about (the Democratic candidate), somewhat more positive, a little more positive, no more positive, or more negative about (the Democratic candidate)?

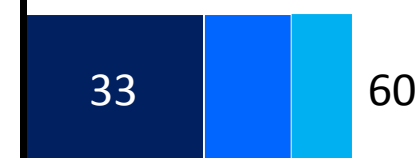
Republican-held seats

■ Much more positive ■ Somewhat more positive ■ A little

(INSURANCE COMPANIES) The biggest change in this law is that insurance companies actually have to provide health coverage when you need it. They can't raise your rates or drop you when you get sick, get older, or have a baby, charge women more than men or set life-time limits. And they can never again deny you coverage because of a pre-existing condition.



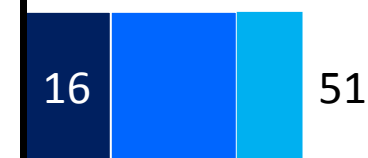
(WOMEN'S HEALTH) We must not let the opponents stop the critical changes for women in the new law. Women can no longer be charged more than men. Having a baby is no longer considered a pre-existing condition. All plans must cover preventive health services, mammograms and contraception. This coverage is long overdue and a big deal for women.



(ROOTING FOR FAILURE) Improving health care for millions of Americans is not easy and takes cooperation from all sides. But (the Republican candidate) have been rooting for the law's failure from day one and sabotaging it. Instead of rooting for failure, we should be working together to fix the law to make it work for families.



(FIX) The problems with the healthcare website and people losing their insurance are unacceptable. People were misled and that's not right. I'm ready to buck my own party to make real changes so the law works. We must get the website working, make sure people can keep their insurance, extend the enrollment period, and delay the fine for not having coverage.



Hitting Democrats on the special exemption is strongest Republican attack

Now I'm going to read you a few statements that some people might say about (the Democratic candidate). After I read each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about (the Democratic candidate).

Republican-held seats

■ Very serious doubts ■ Serious doubts

(SPECIAL EXEMPTIONS) (The Democratic candidate) voted to force middle class families and workers to abide by Obamacare, but supports a different standard for (him/her)self. When (he/she) had the chance to stop members of Congress from getting special exemptions from the new health care law, (he/she) voted to protect (his/her) own benefits.



(ACA TAXES/WON'T POSTPONE) (The Democratic candidate) voted for the new health care law which contains at least 20 new taxes totaling 500 billion dollars, including new taxes on insurance companies, which will be passed on to consumers. Obamacare is clearly not ready, but (the Democratic candidate) refused to postpone it until it is ready.



(BROKEN PROMISE) President Obama and (the Democratic candidate) repeatedly misled the American people about the health care law, and now millions of families have had their insurance plans cancelled -- plans they were told by the President that they could keep. And those who have lost coverage either can't sign up for new coverage or have seen their premiums increase dramatically.



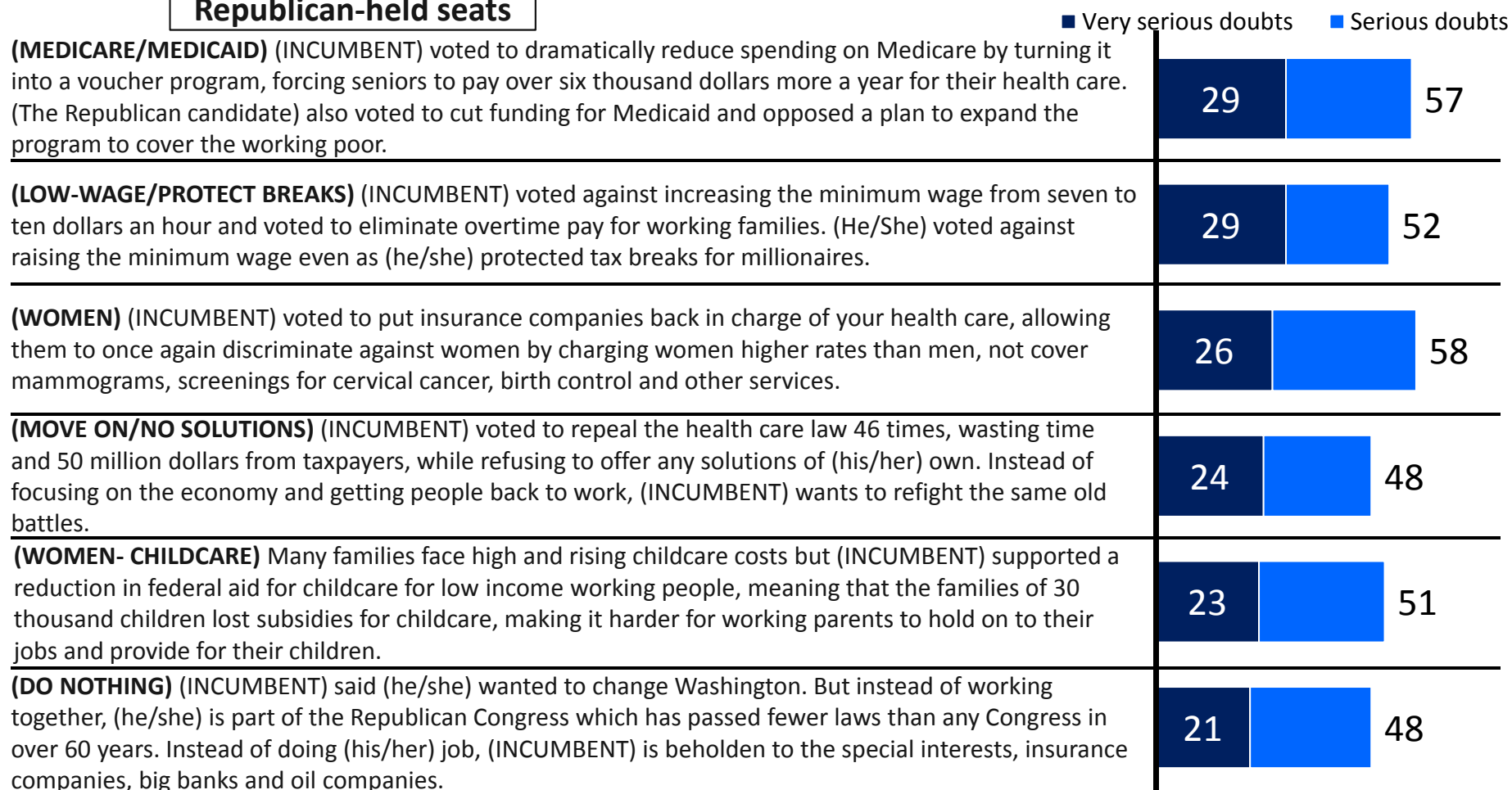
(BAD LAW) The Democrat health care law is a disaster. Millions of people are losing their health insurance. The website does not work, so people cannot even sign up for new health insurance if they want to. This is big government at its worst -- raising taxes, cancelling coverage and punishing middle class families and small businesses. This law simply does not work.



Strongest attacks are Medicare and Medicaid, women's health and minimum wage

Now I'm going to read you some things that some people might say about (REPUBLICAN HOUSE INCUMBENT). 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 (REPUBLICAN HOUSE INCUMBENT).

Republican-held seats



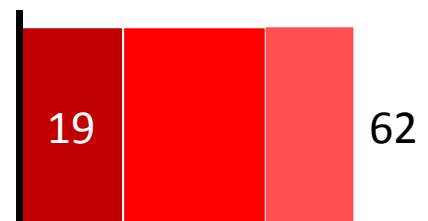
Opposing GOP House Tea Party helps GOP incumbent but fighting to stop Obamacare disastrous

Now I'm going to read you a few statements some people may say about (the Republican candidate). For each statement, please tell me whether that makes you feel much more positive about (the Republican candidate), somewhat more positive, a little more positive, no more positive, or more negative about (the Republican candidate).

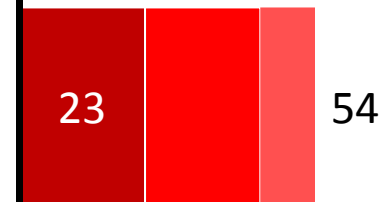
Republican-held seats

■ Much more positive ■ Somewhat more positive ■ A little

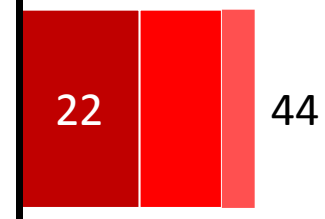
(CHECK ON EXTREME) Some Republicans in Congress supported shutting down the government, voted against equal pay for women and against protecting women from domestic violence. But (the Republican candidate) just can't go along with some of those extreme positions. (He/She) wants to work together to solve our problems and improve our economy.



(LOWER SPENDING) We should be proud of Representatives like (the Republican candidate) who have taken a principled stand and cut one point two trillion dollars in spending. (the Republican candidate) supports the hard decisions. Thanks to (the Republican candidate), our deficits are going down and we have resisted every attempt by President Obama to raise taxes.

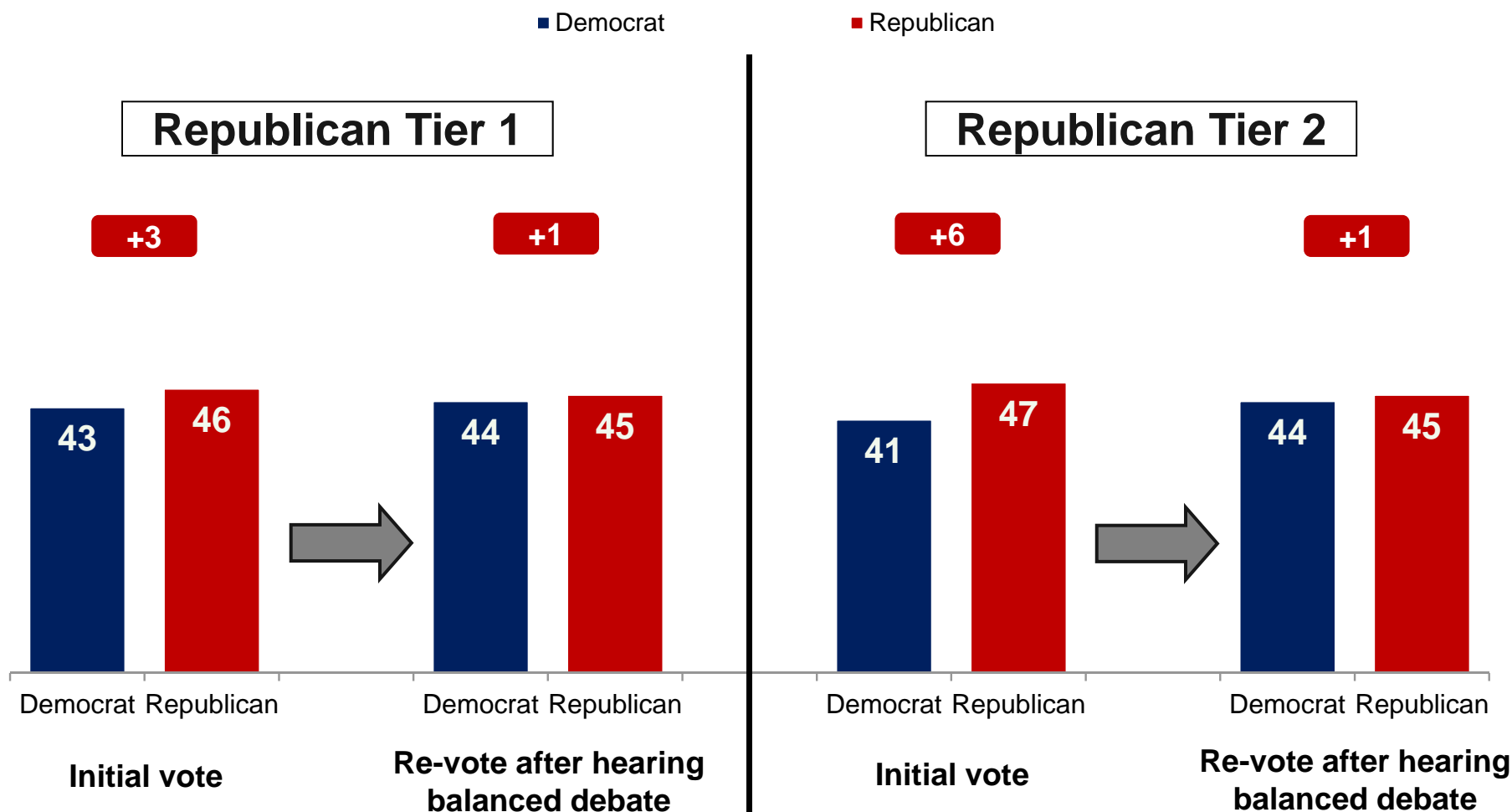


(CHECK ON OBAMACARE) Republicans in Congress like (the Republican candidate) took the right stand in refusing to support Obamacare, which would cost jobs, hurt small businesses, force companies to lay off workers, and force us to buy low-quality insurance or pay a penalty. It's already causing millions of families to have their insurance plans cancelled.



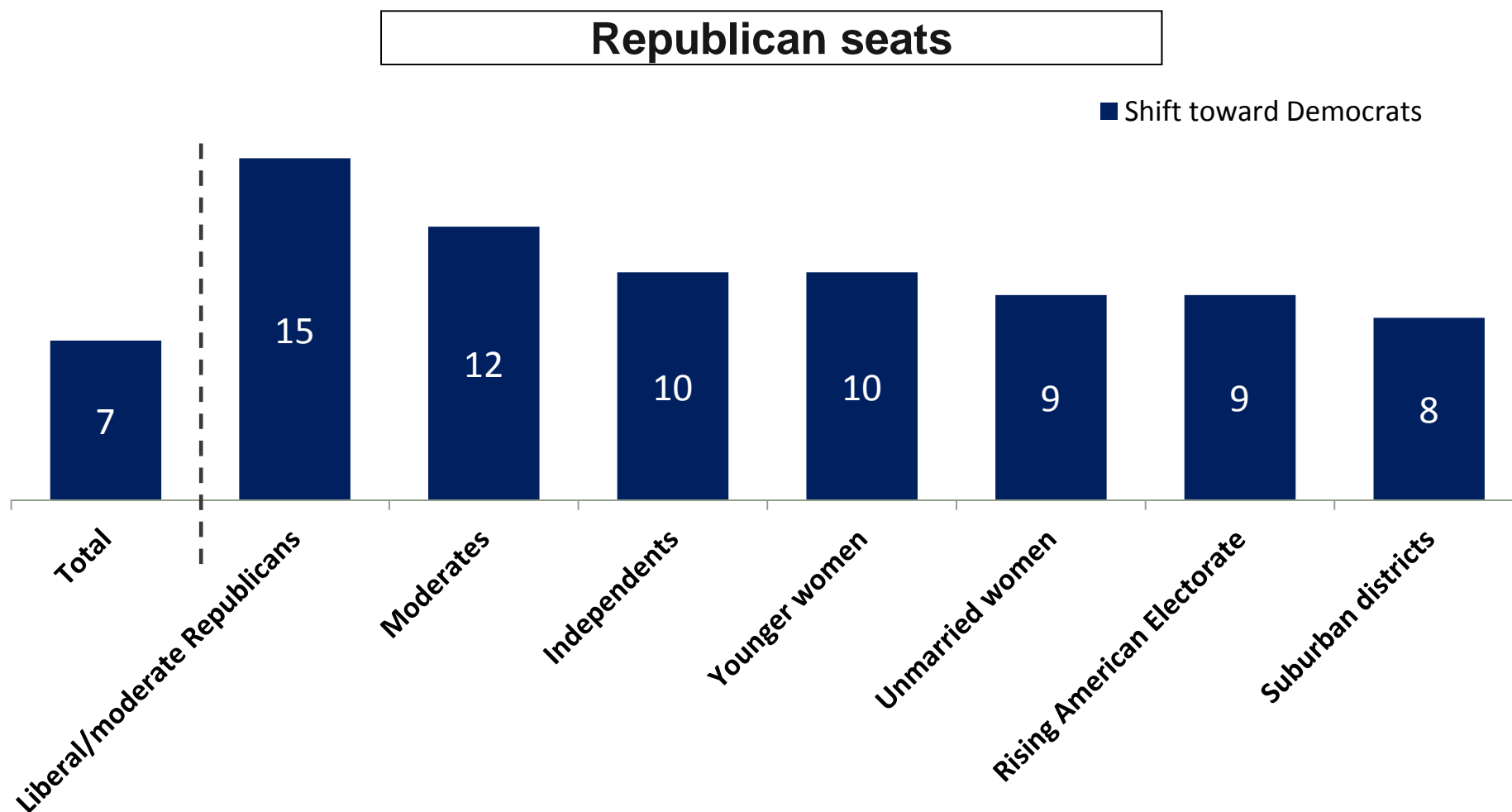
After debate, vote tightens in Republican districts – to a dead heat in both tiers

Now let me ask you again, I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



Unmarried women, moderates, and moderate Republicans produce shifts toward Democrats

Now let me ask you again, I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



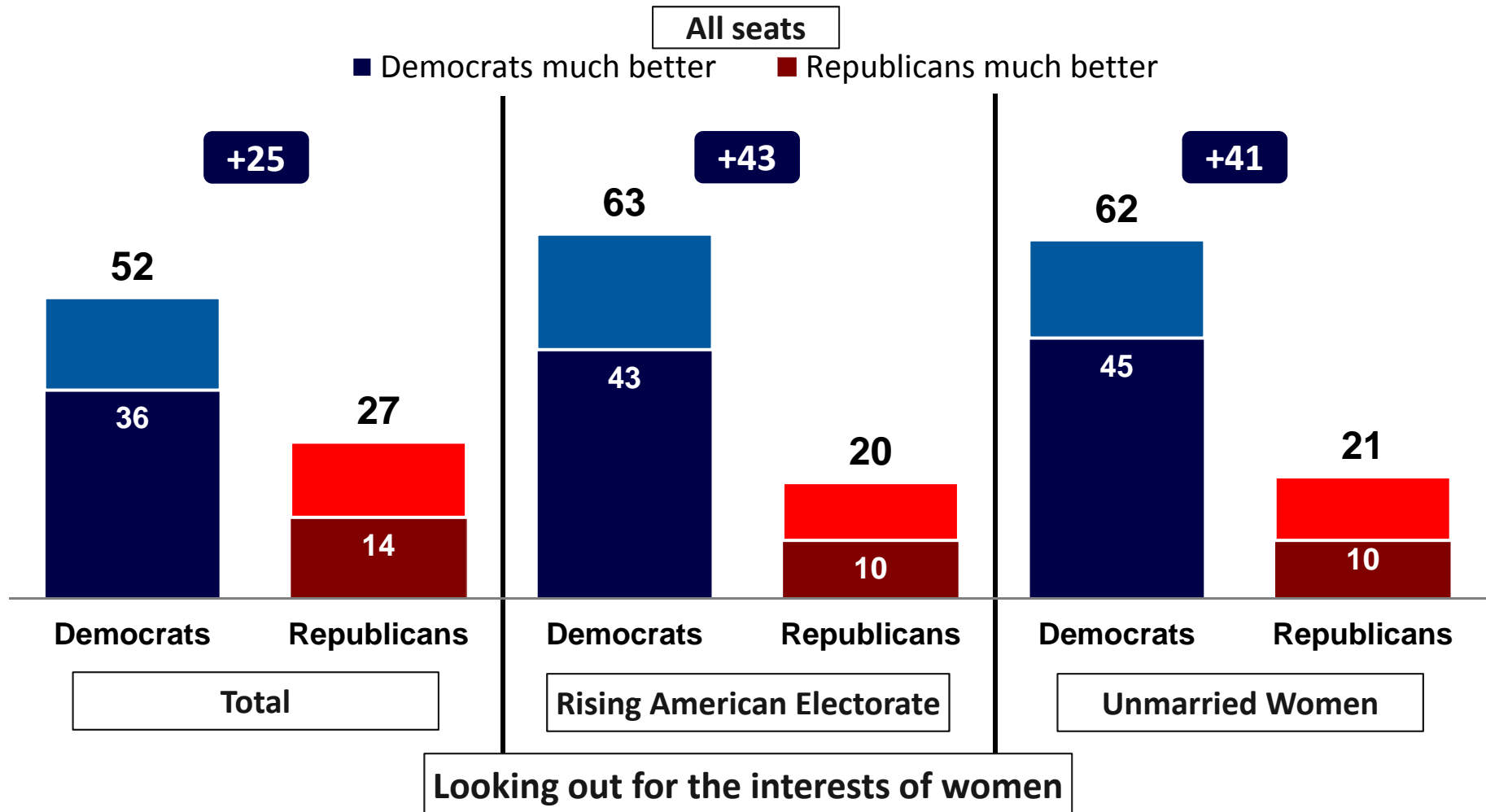


Women's economic agenda



Voters feel Democrats are looking out for interests of women—higher than vote, but lags 2012 vote margins among these groups

I am going to read you an issue and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with that issue. If you do not know, just tell me and we'll move on.



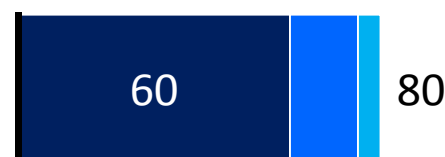
How to engage on women's economic issues? Speak to their pocketbook realities— high prices and lagging wages

Now I'm going to read you some things some people are saying about why we need to address economic issues facing women and their families. After I read each statement, please tell me whether it makes you much more supportive of policies to address issues facing women and their families, somewhat more supportive, a little more supportive, no more supportive, or less supportive of policies to address issues facing women and their families.

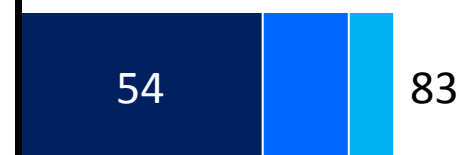
All seats- unmarried women

■ Much more supportive ■ Somewhat more supportive ■ A little

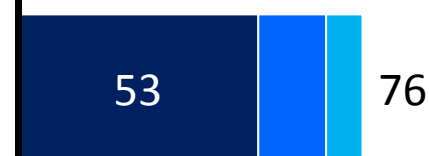
(FINANCIAL PRESSURE) With the cost of childcare, education, and groceries, it's hard to keep up, especially women. We should finally pass paycheck fairness. We need to prevent women from being fired or demoted when they get pregnant or care for children. We should expand access to scholarships and affordable childcare to make it possible for women to get ahead and succeed.



(UNFAIR) Women still make just 77 cents to every dollar earned by men. That's not fair. We must pass paycheck fairness and raise the minimum wage, prevent employers from punishing women for having children, make childcare affordable, pass paid family leave legislation, and make it possible for women to get ahead by expanding access to education for working women.



(WORKING WOMEN) Women still make just 77 cents to every dollar earned by men. Every working woman and her family make less than they should. We must pass paycheck fairness and raise the minimum wage, make childcare affordable, pass paid family leave legislation, and make it possible for women to get ahead by expanding access to education for working women.



(DISCRIMINATE) More women now work outside the home but our laws have not changed. We should ensure that women's work is valued the same as men's. This is only fair. Prevent employers from firing or demoting women when they have children, enact paycheck fairness, make childcare more affordable, and require paid family and maternity leave.



In Democratic districts, clear advantage for addressing high prices of childcare, education, and income

Now I'm going to read you some things some people are saying about why we need to address economic issues facing women and their families. After I read each statement, please tell me whether it makes you much more supportive of policies to address issues facing women and their families, somewhat more supportive, a little more supportive, no more supportive, or less supportive of policies to address issues facing women and their families.

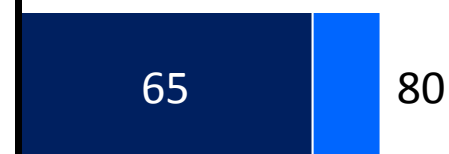
Democratic seats- unmarried women

■ Much more supportive ■ Somewhat more supportive ■ A little

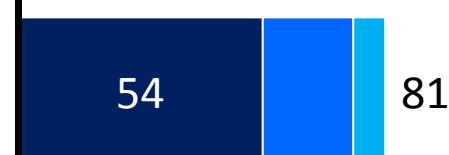
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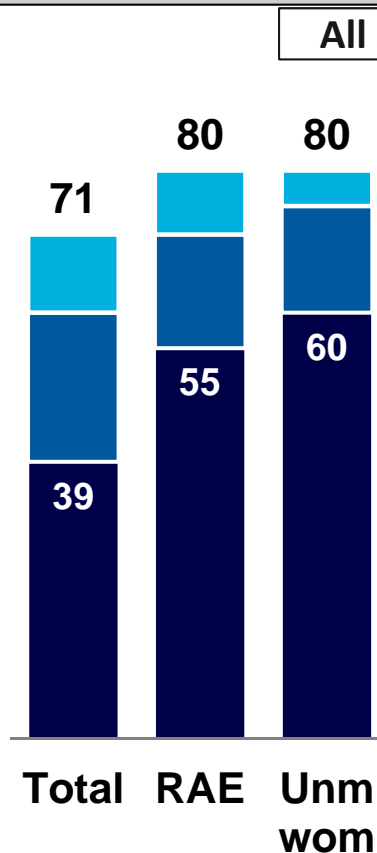


Empathizing with women in this economy, focusing on policies which promote a living wage for women very positively received among unmarried women and Rising American Electorate

Now I'm going to read you some things some people are saying about why we need to address economic issues facing women and their families. After I read each statement, please tell me whether it makes you much more supportive of policies to address issues facing women and their families, somewhat more supportive, a little more supportive, no more supportive, or less supportive of policies to address issues facing women and their families.

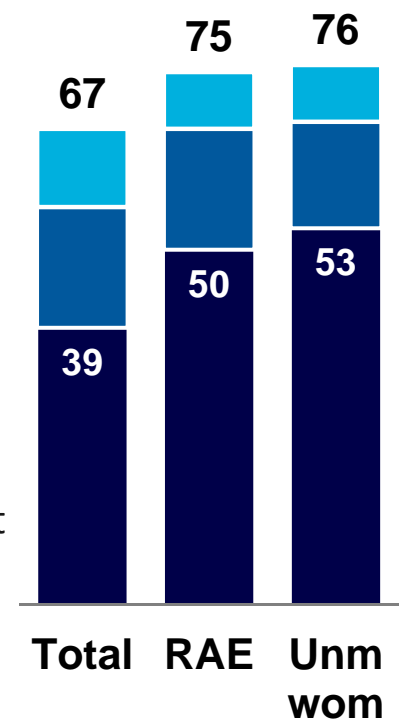
(FINANCIAL PRESSURE)

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(WORKING WOMEN)

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