

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

# **Battleground survey: Support for ACA and ACA strategy**

April 28, 2014



**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 Public Campaign Action Fund.**

**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 April 10-15, 2013<sup>4</sup> 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 2 Democratic seats to the battleground since December. 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 26 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              | +17.0                     |
| CA-31    | OPEN (Miller)     | Obama +16.6              | +10.5                     |
| CO-6     | Mike Coffman      | Obama +5.1               | +3.6                      |
| FL-2     | Steve Southerland | Romney +5.9              | +5.5                      |
| FL-13    | David Jolly       | Obama +1.5               | +15.2                     |
| IA-3     | OPEN (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                      |
| NJ-3     | OPEN (Runyan)     | Obama +4.6               | +8.9                      |
| NV-3     | Joe Heck          | Obama +0.8               | +7.6                      |
| 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-6     | OPEN (Gerlach)    | Romney +2.5              | +13.9                     |
| PA-8     | Mike Fitzpatrick  | Romney +0.1              | +13.3                     |
| VA-10    | OPEN (Wolf)       | Romney +1.1              | +20.4                     |
| WV-2     | OPEN (Capito)     | Romney +22.0             | +39.6                     |

## Battleground Tier 2 -- the 24 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    | OPEN (McKeon)         | Romney +1.8              | +11.2                     |
| FL-10    | Dan Webster           | Romney +7.6              | +3.5                      |
| 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     | OPEN (Rogers)         | Romney +3.2              | +21.3                     |
| MN-3     | Erik Paulsen          | Obama +0.8               | +16.3                     |
| MT-1     | OPEN (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                      |
| 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

| 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-3     | John Garamendi  | Obama +11.2              | +7.8                      |
| CA-7     | Ami Bera        | Obama +3.9               | +1.6                      |
| CA-24    | Lois Capps      | Obama +11.0              | +9.6                      |
| CA-26    | Julia Brownley  | Obama +10.3              | +4.0                      |
| CA-36    | Raul Ruiz       | Obama +3.2               | +3.9                      |
| CA-52    | Scott Peters    | Obama +6.4               | +1.1                      |
| 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              | +15.2                     |
| IL-10    | Brad Schneider  | Obama +16.4              | +1.0                      |
| IL-11    | Bill Foster     | Obama +17.2              | +16.1                     |
| IL-12    | Bill Enyart     | Obama +1.5               | +8.7                      |
| IL-17    | Cheri Bustos    | Obama +16.9              | +6.6                      |

## Battleground: the 36 Democratic districts, cont'd

| 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     | OPEN (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-4     | OPEN (McCarthy)   | Obama +13.6              | +29.4                     |
| NY-18    | Sean Maloney      | Obama +4.3               | +3.4                      |
| NY-21    | OPEN (Owens)      | Obama +6.2               | +2.2                      |
| NY-24    | Dan Maffei        | Obama +16.0              | +4.6                      |
| OR-5     | Kurt Schrader     | Obama +3.4               | +11.5                     |
| TX-23    | Pete Gallego      | Romney +2.7              | +4.8                      |
| UT-4     | OPEN (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   |
|---|---|--|---|--|---|
| <b>Upscale Rural</b><br>New Hampshire-2 (D)<br>New York-19 (R)  | <b>Upscale Exurban</b><br>Michigan-7 (R)<br>New York-23 (R)   | <b>Upscale Suburban</b><br>Arizona-2 (D)<br>California-24 (D)<br>California-25 (R)<br>California-26 (D)<br>California-7 (D)<br>Colorado-6 (R)<br>Connecticut-5 (D)<br>Florida-16 (R)<br>Florida-26 (D)<br>Illinois-10 (D)<br>Illinois-11 (D)<br>Massachusetts-6 (D)<br>Michigan-8 (R)<br>Michigan-11 (R)<br>Minnesota-2 (R)<br>Minnesota-3 (R)<br>Nevada-3 (R)<br>New Hampshire-1 (D)<br>New Jersey-3 (R)<br>New Jersey-5 (R)<br>New York-1 (D)<br>New York-4 (D)<br>New York-18 (D) | <b>Upscale Suburban</b><br>New York-2 (R)<br>Ohio-14 (R)<br>Oregon-5 (D)<br>Pennsylvania-6 (R)<br>Pennsylvania-8 (R)<br>Pennsylvania-12 (R)<br>Utah-4 (D)<br>Virginia-10 (R)<br>Washington-1 (D)                    | <b>Upscale Metro</b><br>Arizona-9 (D)<br>California-10 (R)<br>California-52 (D)<br>Florida-10 (R)<br>Iowa-3 (R)<br>Michigan-3 (R)<br>New York-24 (D)<br>North Carolina-9 (R)<br>Washington-3 (R) | <b>Upscale Urban</b><br>Nebraska-2 (R)<br>New York-11 (R)<br>Virginia-2 (R) |
| <b>Downscale Rural</b><br>Arkansas-1 (R)<br>Arkansas-4 (R)<br>Iowa-4 (R)<br>Maine-2 (D)<br>Michigan-1 (R)<br>Minnesota-7 (D)<br>Minnesota-8 (D)<br>Montana-AL (R)<br>New York-21 (D)<br>North Carolina-7 (D)<br>Ohio-6 (R)<br>West Virginia-2 (R)<br>West Virginia-3 (D)<br>Wisconsin-7 (R) | <b>Downscale Exurban</b><br>Arizona-1 (D)<br>Iowa-1 (D)<br>Illinois-13 (R)<br>Indiana-2 (R)<br>Indiana-8 (R)<br>New Mexico-2 (R)<br>Wisconsin-8 (R) |  | <b>Downscale Suburban</b><br>Arkansas-2 (R)<br>California-3 (D)<br>California-21 (R)<br>California-31 (R)<br>California-36 (D)<br>Florida-13 (R)<br>Florida-18 (D)<br>New Jersey-2 (R)<br>Ohio-7 (R)<br>Ohio-16 (R) | <b>Downscale Metro</b><br>Florida-2 (R)<br>Georgia-12 (D)<br>Illinois-12 (D)<br>Illinois-17 (D)<br>Kentucky-6 (R)<br>Texas-23 (D)  | <b>Downscale Urban</b><br>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.*



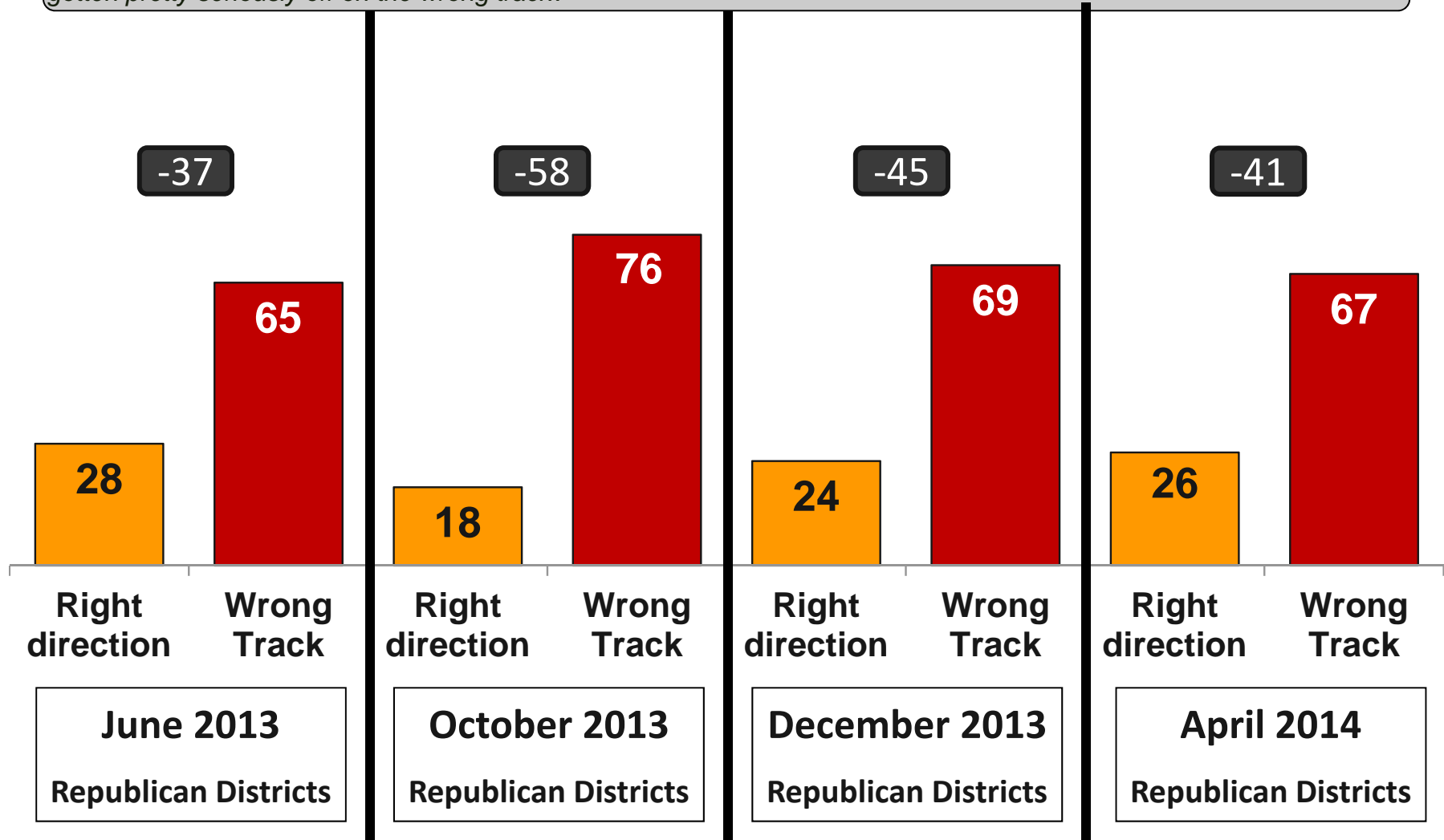


**Still strong anti-incumbent climate**



# Voters remain deeply 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 continue with low personal ratings

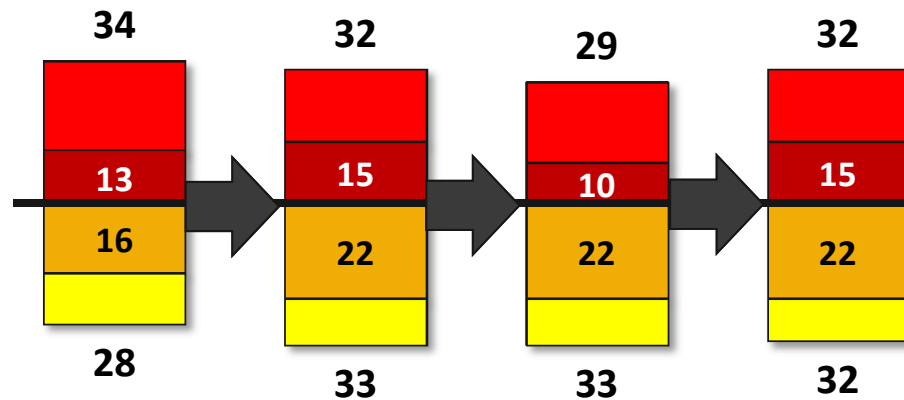
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

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

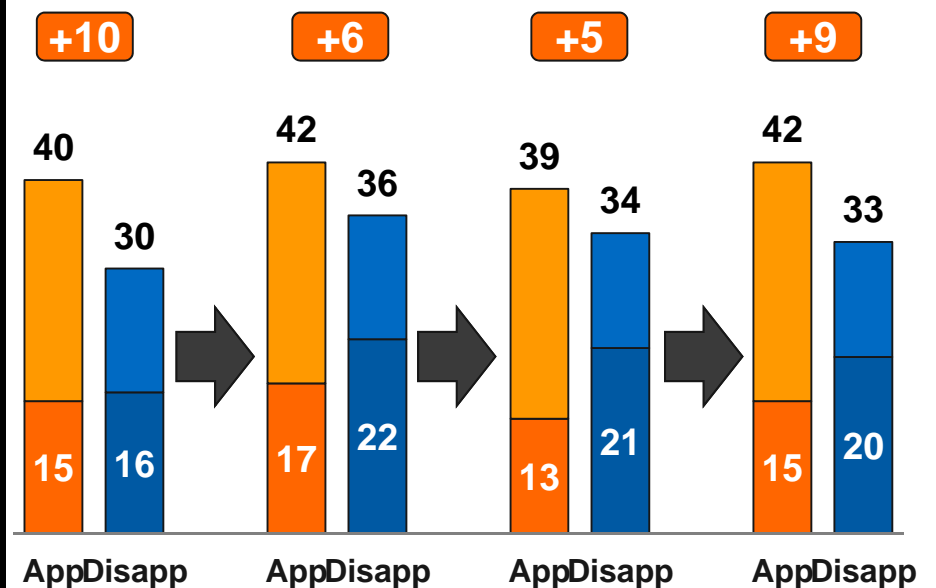
■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)

|            |            |            |            |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Mean: 51.1 | Mean: 47.9 | Mean: 45.4 | Mean: 47.4 |
| Net: +6    | Net: -1    | Net: -4    | Net: +0    |



|                      |                      |                      |                      |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| June 2013            | October 2013         | December 2013        | April 2014           |
| Republican Districts | Republican Districts | Republican Districts | Republican Districts |

■ Strongly approve ■ Strongly disapprove



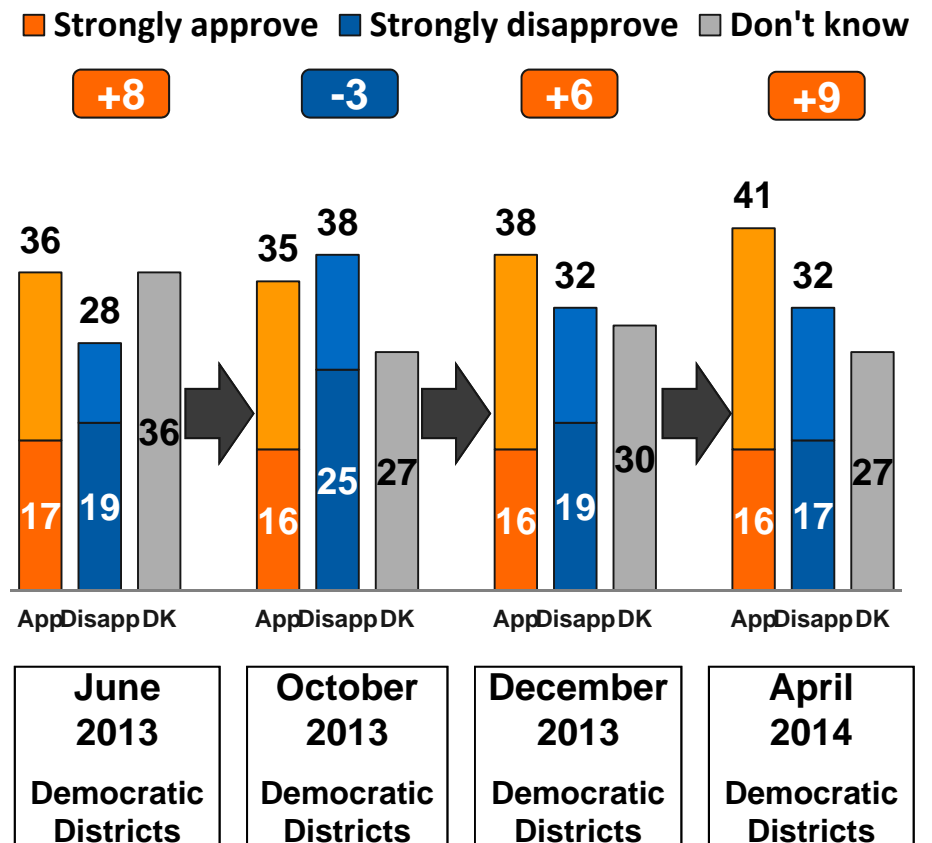
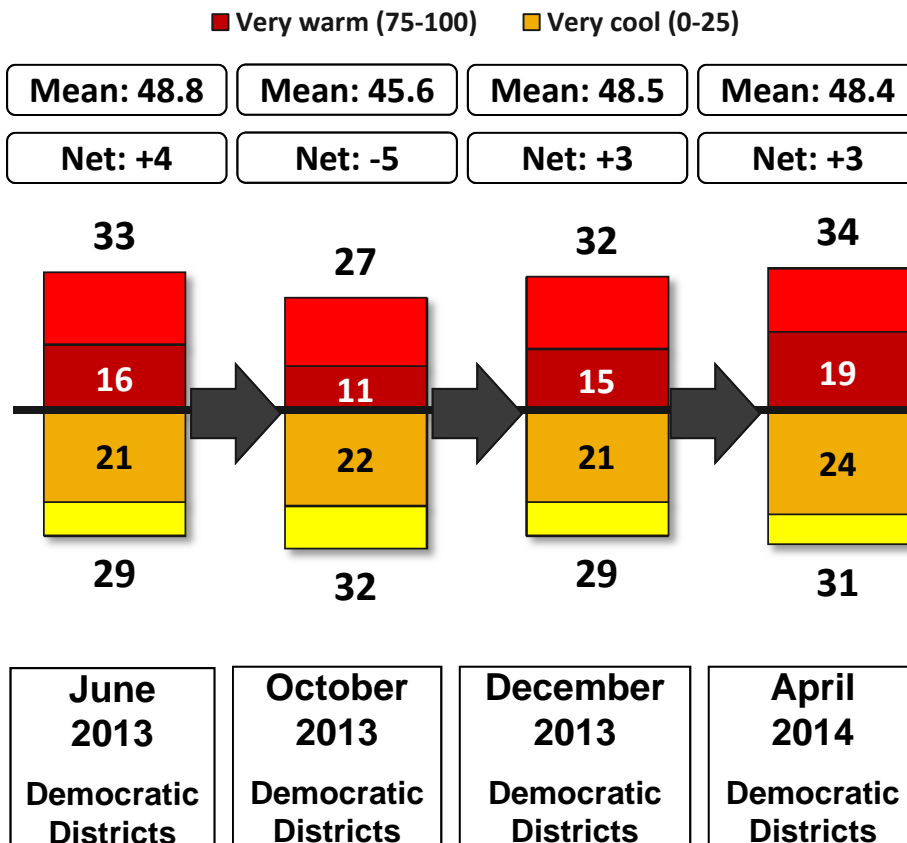
|                      |                      |                      |                      |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| June 2013            | October 2013         | December 2013        | April 2014           |
| Republican Districts | Republican Districts | Republican Districts | Republican Districts |

# Democratic incumbents similar

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.

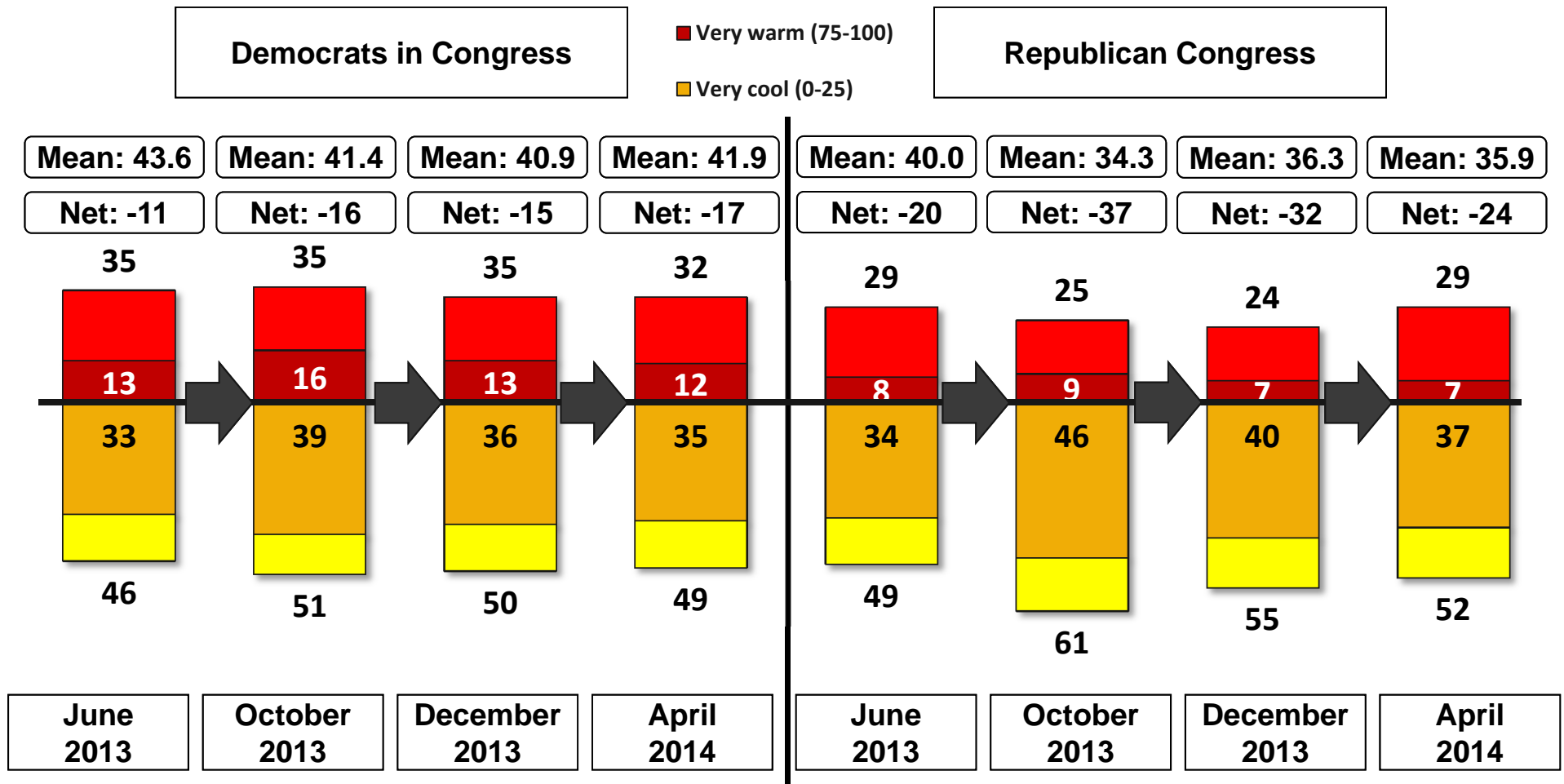
Do you approve or disapprove of the way (HOUSE INCUMBENT) is handling his/her job as a member of the U.S. Congress?

## Named Democratic Incumbent



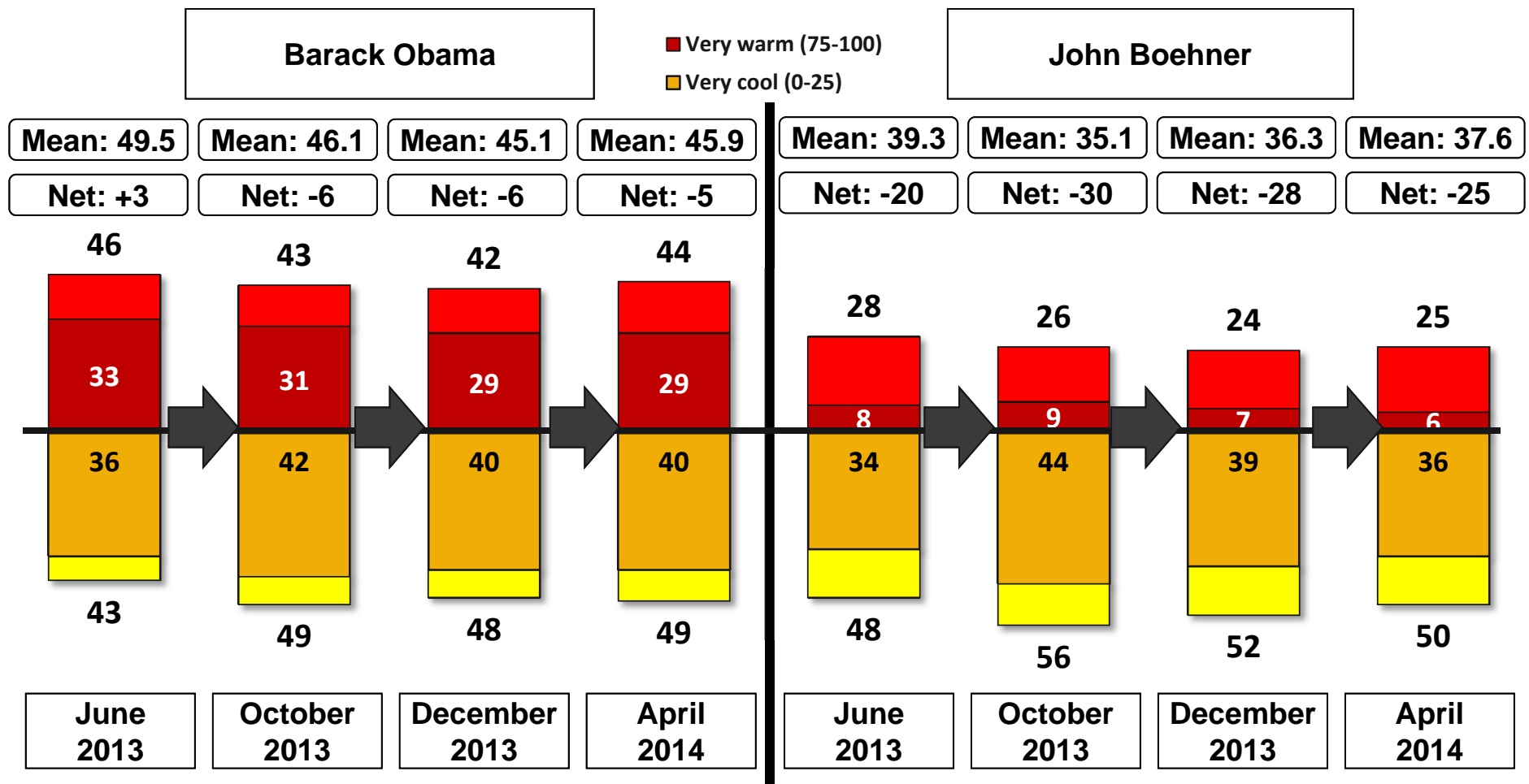
## But Republican Congress remains deeply unpopular

*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.*



# John Boehner much more unpopular than president and most unpopular Republican

*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.*

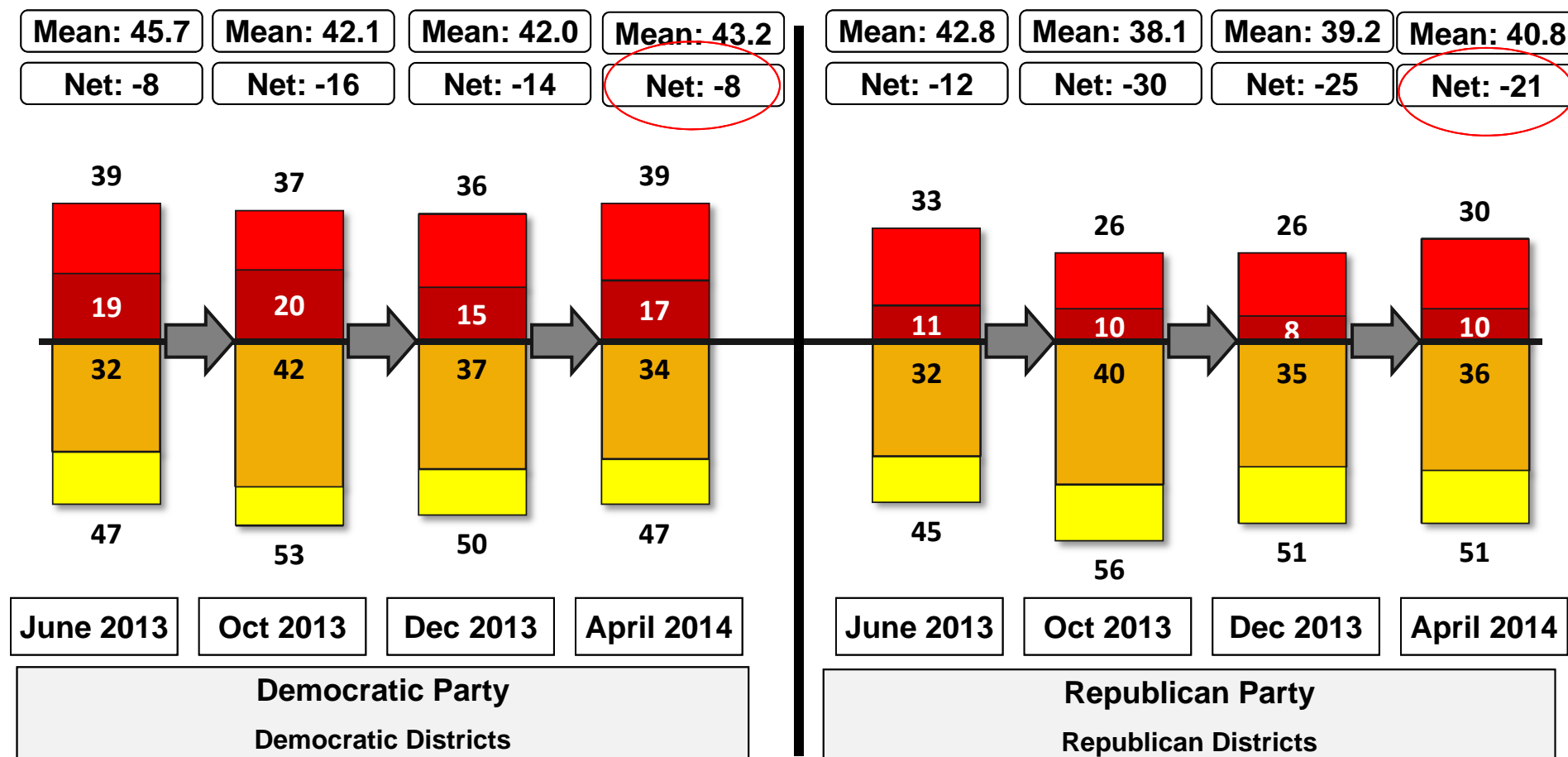


# Democratic Party 9 points more favorable in Democratic seats than Republican Party brand in GOP seats

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.

■ Very warm (75-100)

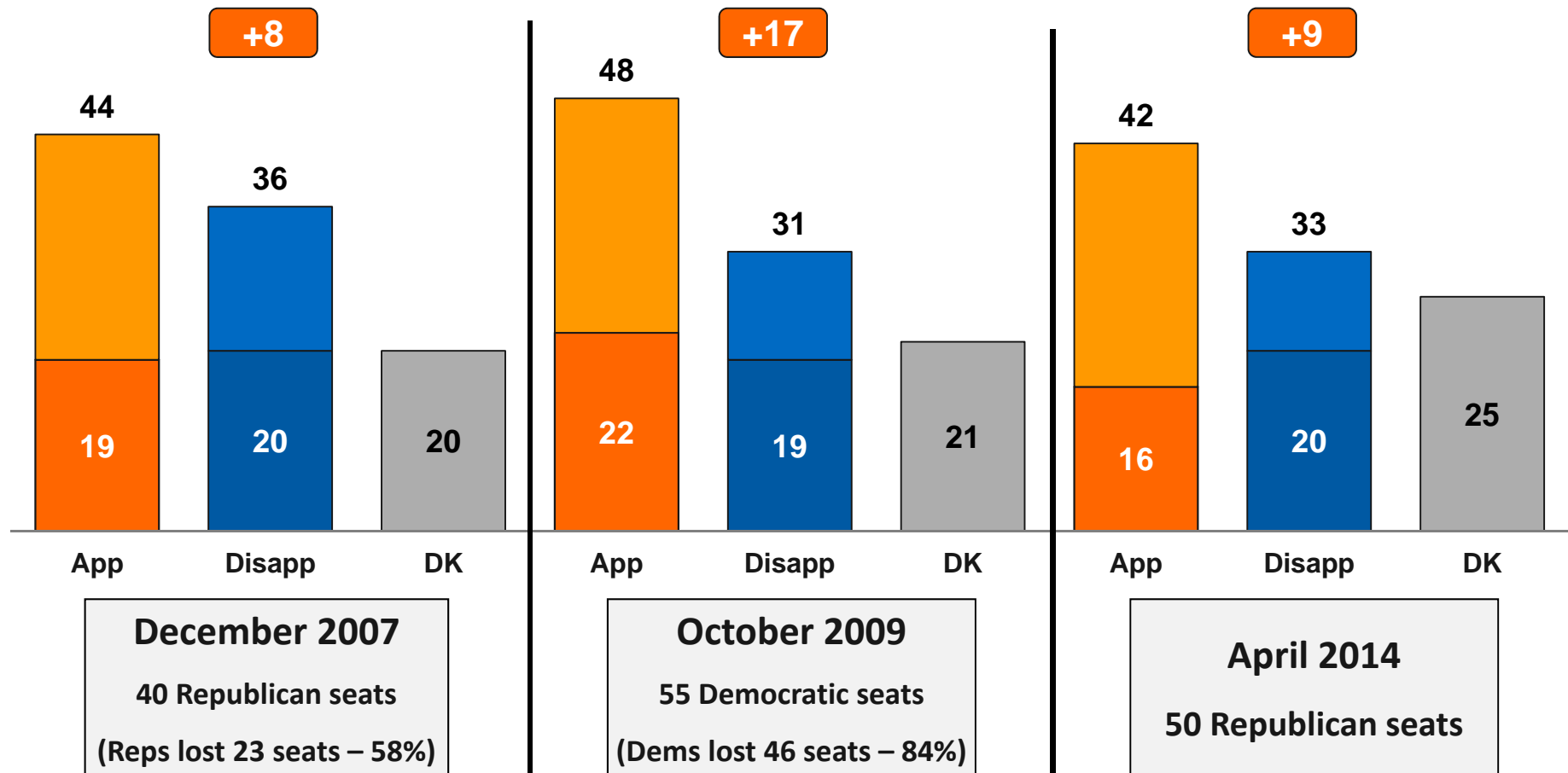
■ Very warm (75-100)



# 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



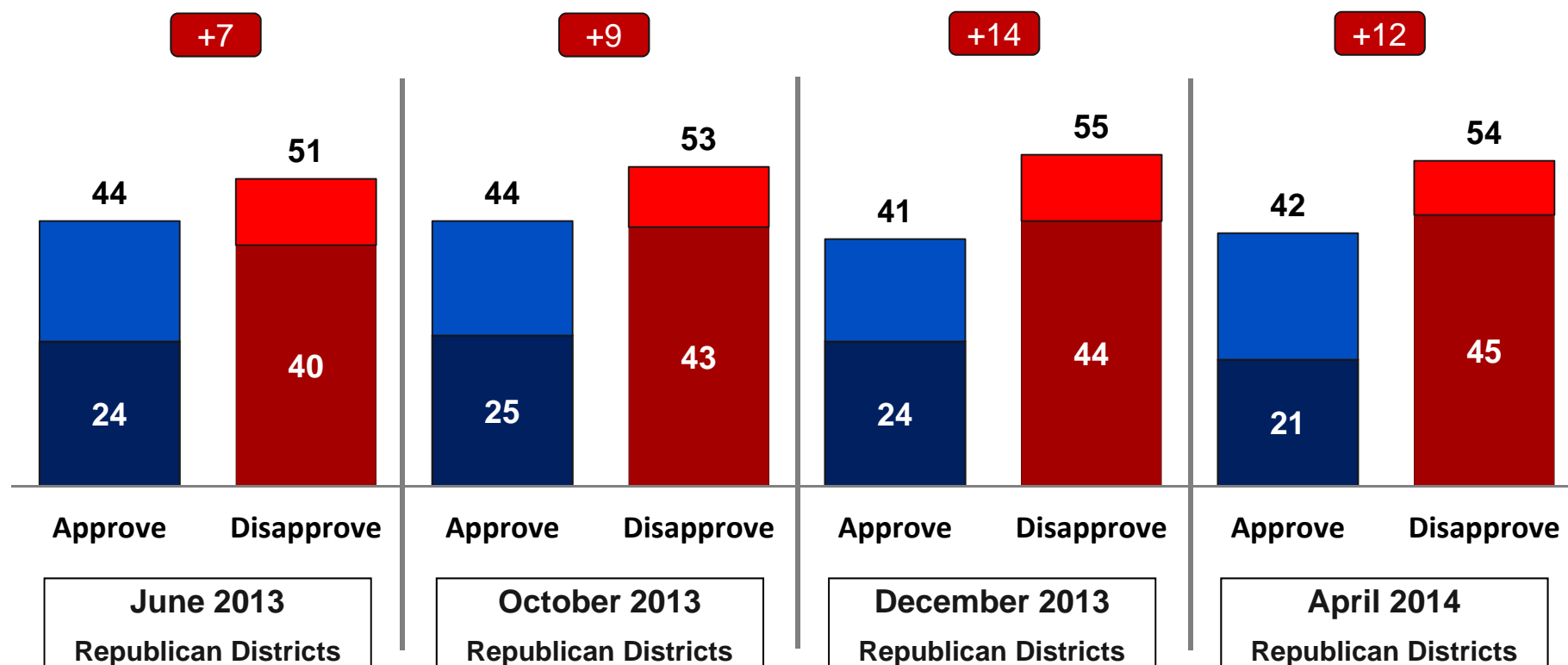


# President Obama's approval rating steady in Republican seats

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

## Barack Obama

■ Strongly ■ Strongly

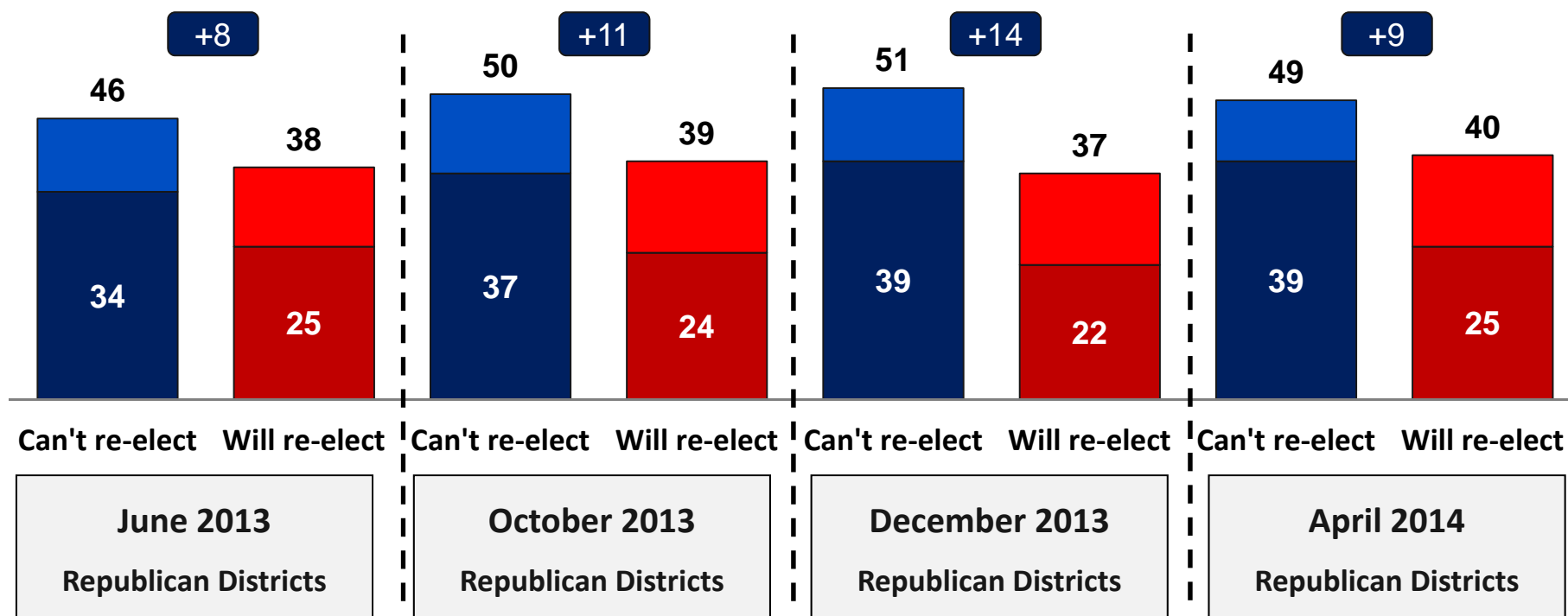


# In Republican districts, half can't re-elect because we need new people

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.

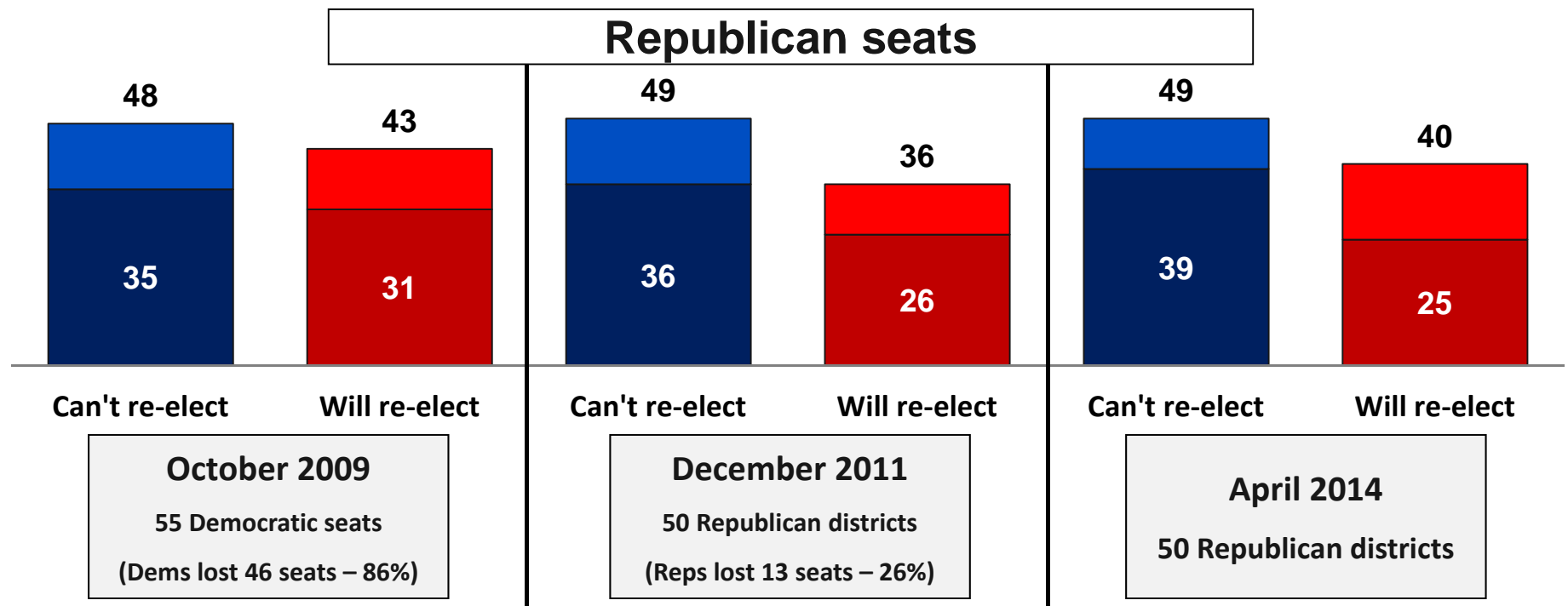


# “Can’t reelect” number in GOP seats same as in past when majority lost seats

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**Congressional vote stable**



## GOP incumbents remain just below 50 percent

*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

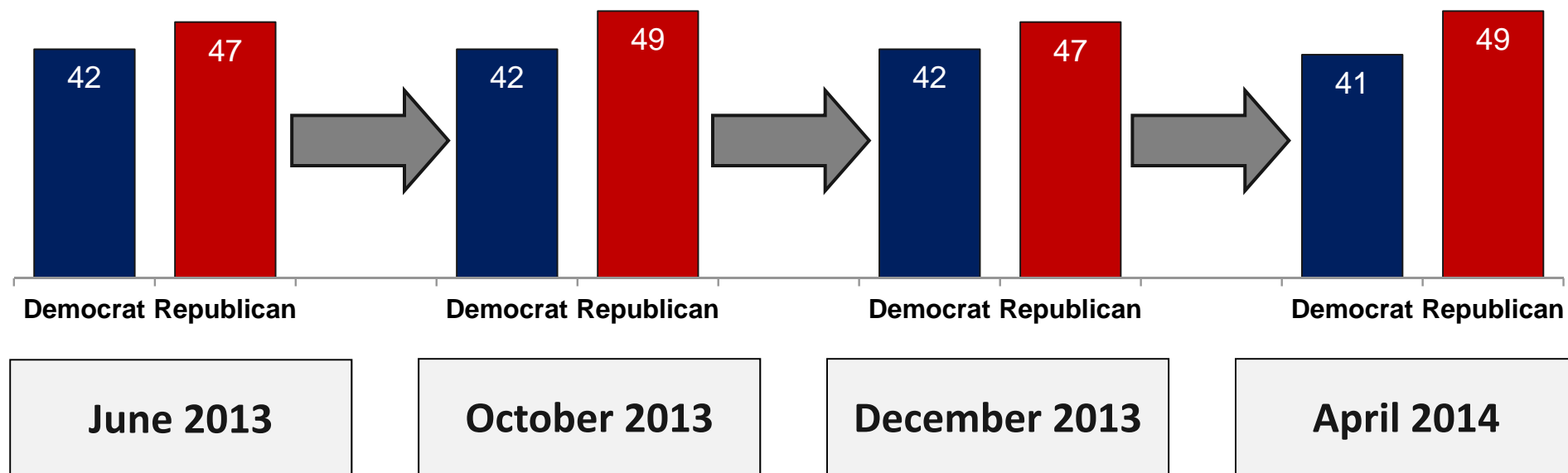
■ Republican

+5

+7

+5

+8



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

# GOP incumbents could be gradually gaining ground in tier 1 but below 50% and changes very small

*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 Tier 1

■ Democrat

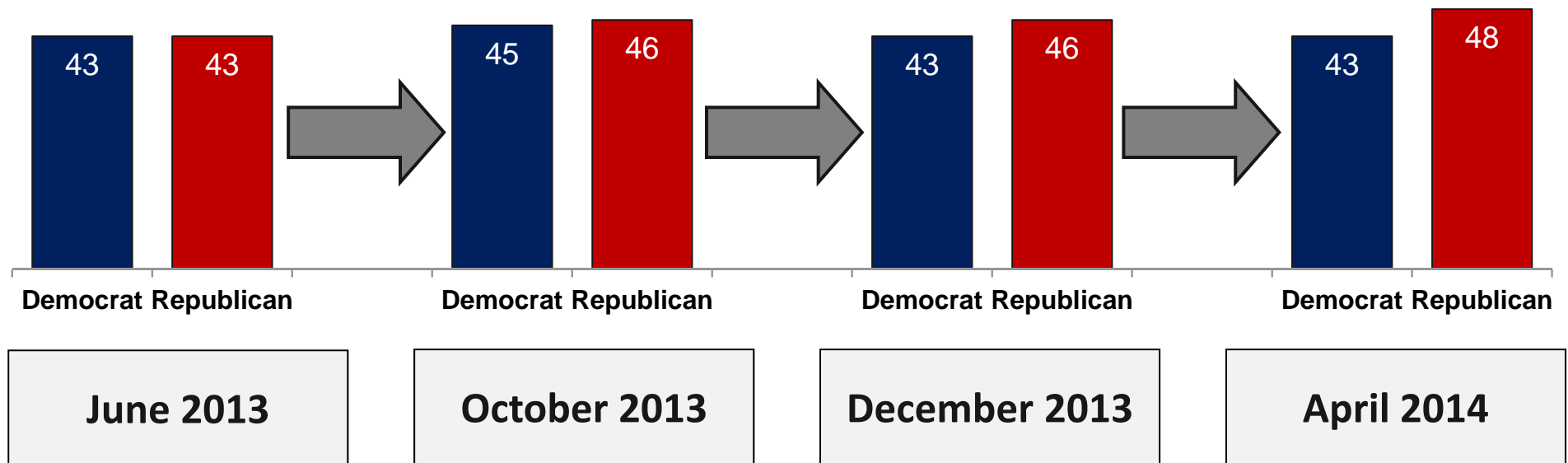
■ Republican

EVEN

+1

+3

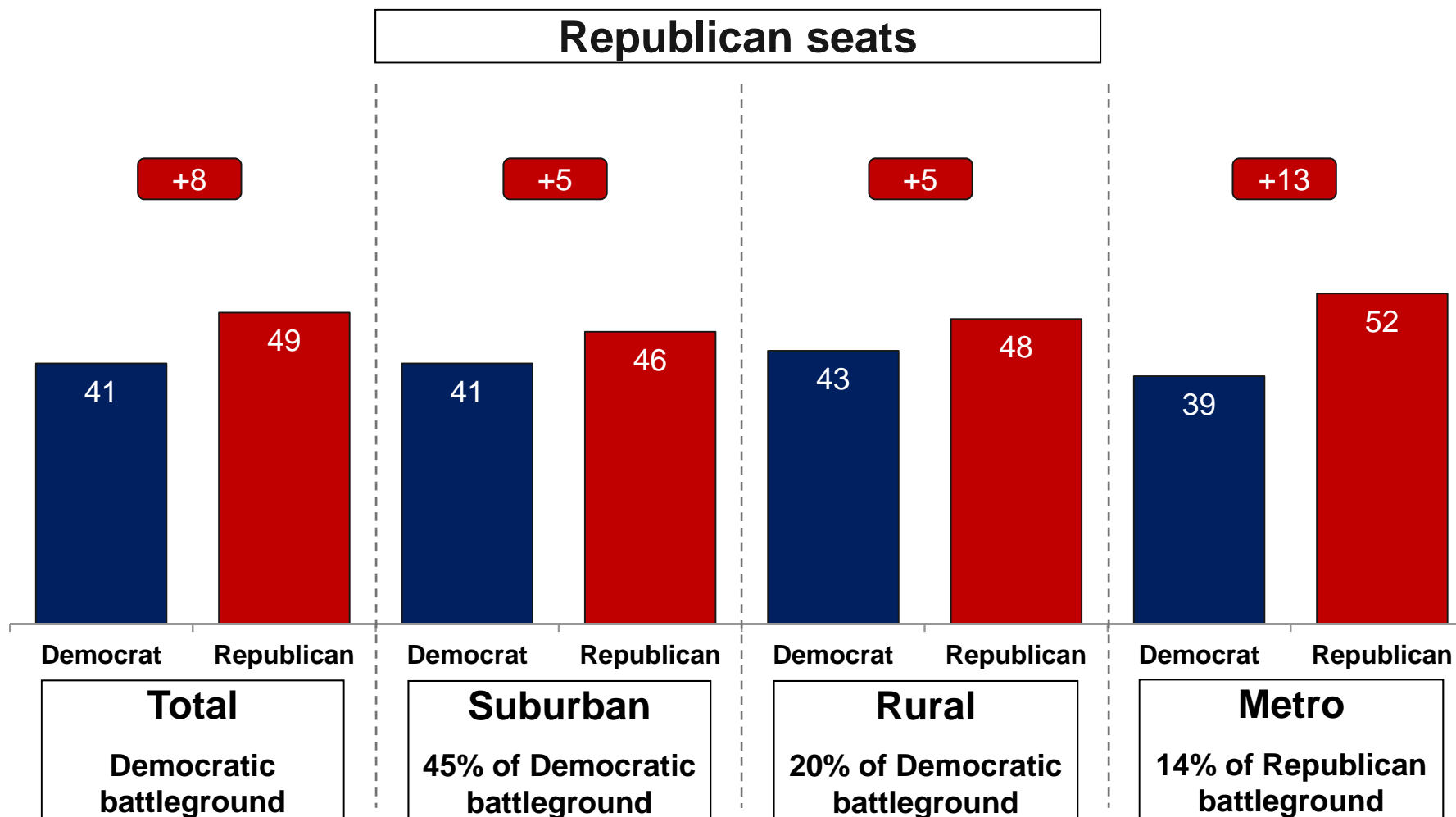
+5



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

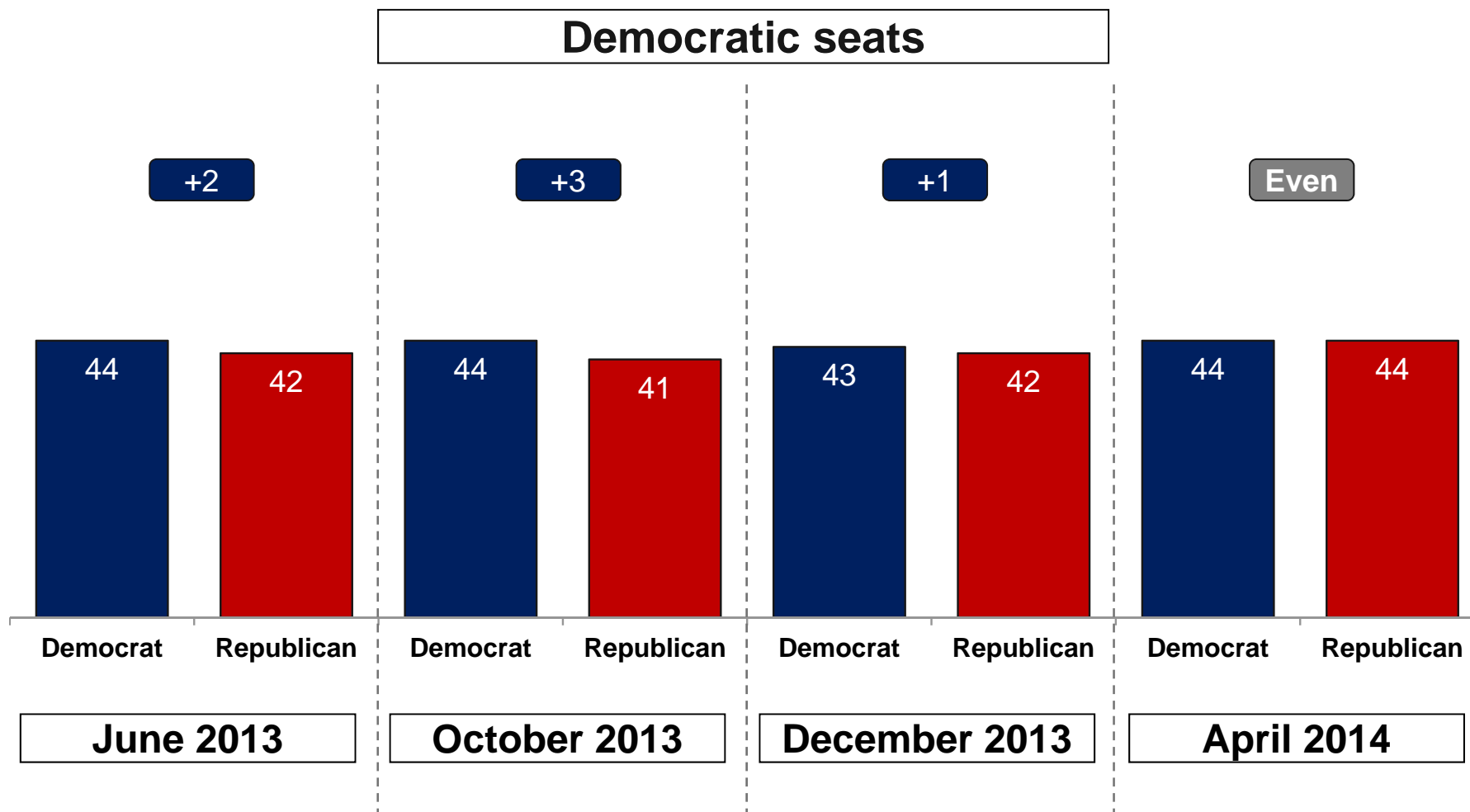
# Republican candidates have substantial lead only in the metropolitan districts

*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 – Democrat (HOUSE INCUMBENT) or the Republican candidate?*



## Dead heat in Democratic districts – which is unchanged in almost a year

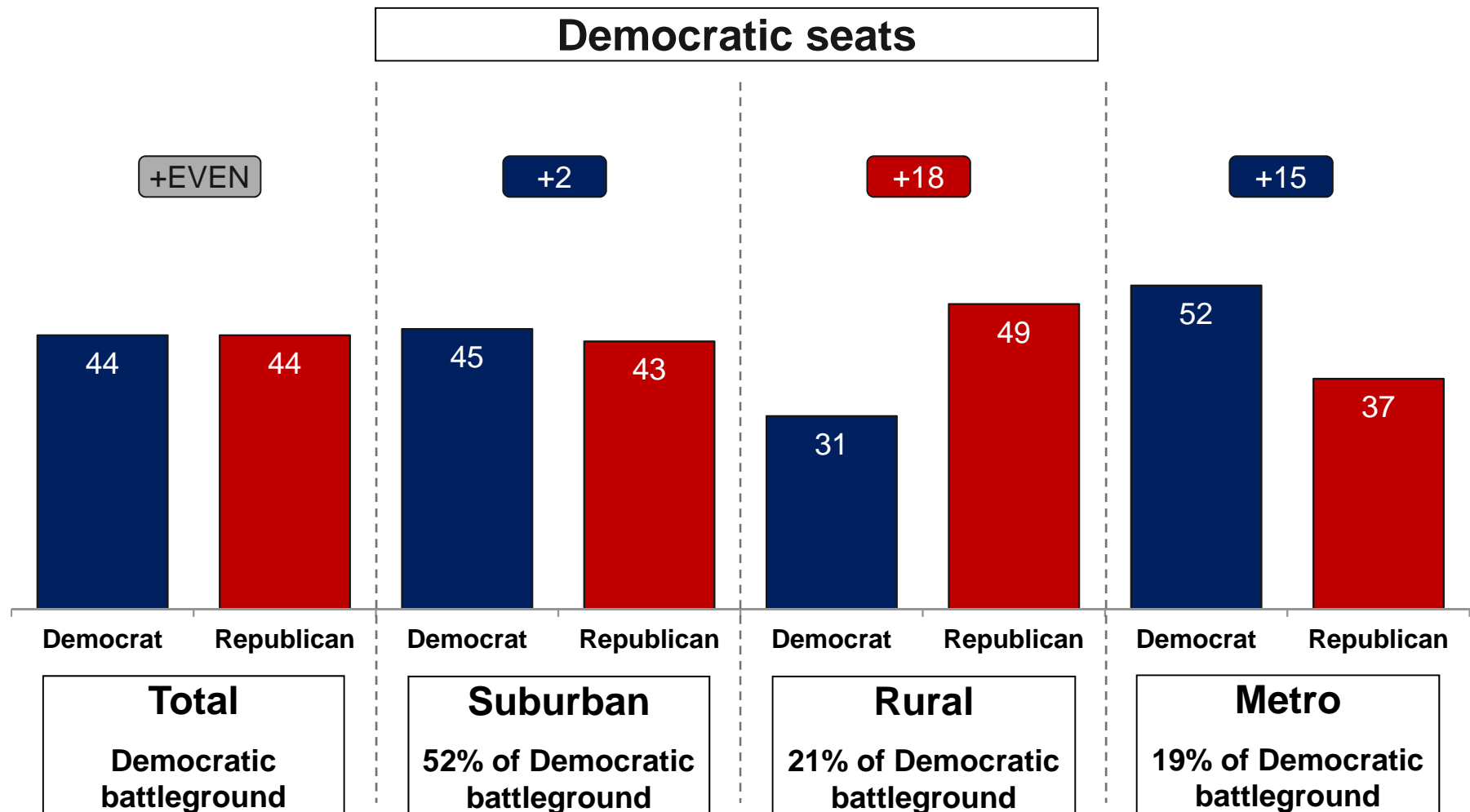
*I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – Democrat (HOUSE INCUMBENT) or the Republican candidate?*





# Democrats doing well in metropolitan districts but not in rural; suburban competitive

*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?*

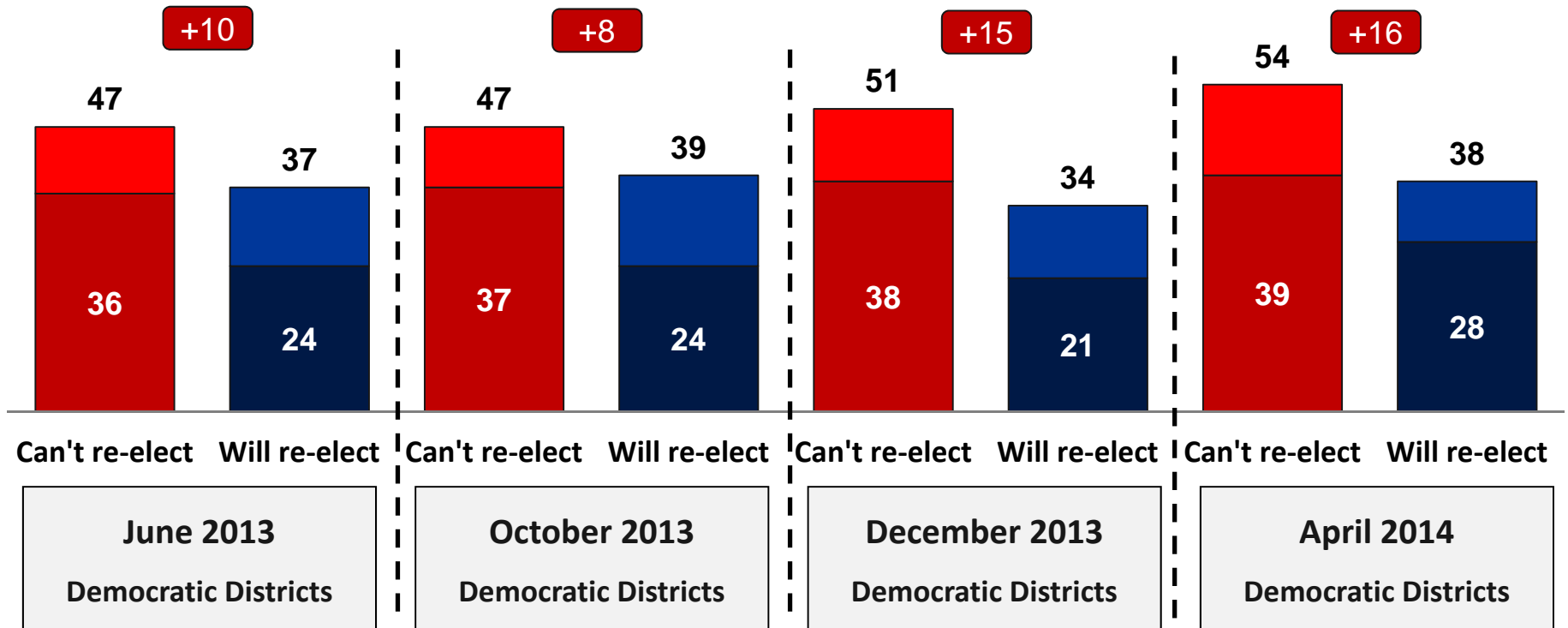


# Anti-incumbent mood hits Democratic members too

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.





# **Shifting the vote and target priorities**



# Main message framework is support for Boehner and failure to focus on economy and jobs– not Medicare and rich tax cuts

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.

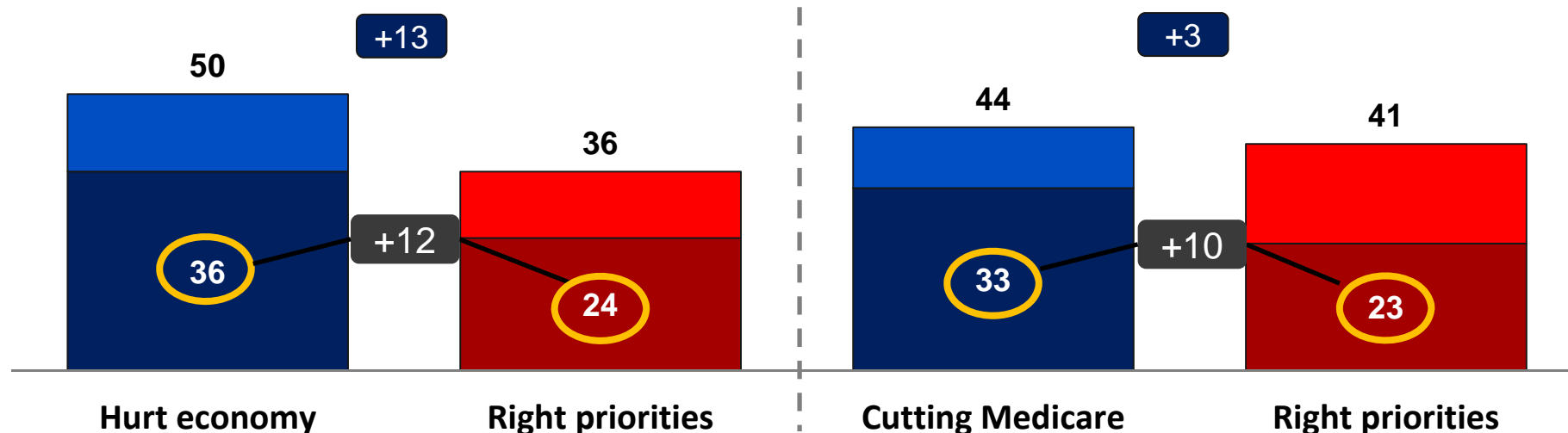
It is time to vote out Members of Congress like (HOUSE INCUMBENT) who may be OK but they support Speaker John Boehner and his policies that have hurt the economy and done nothing about jobs.

(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.

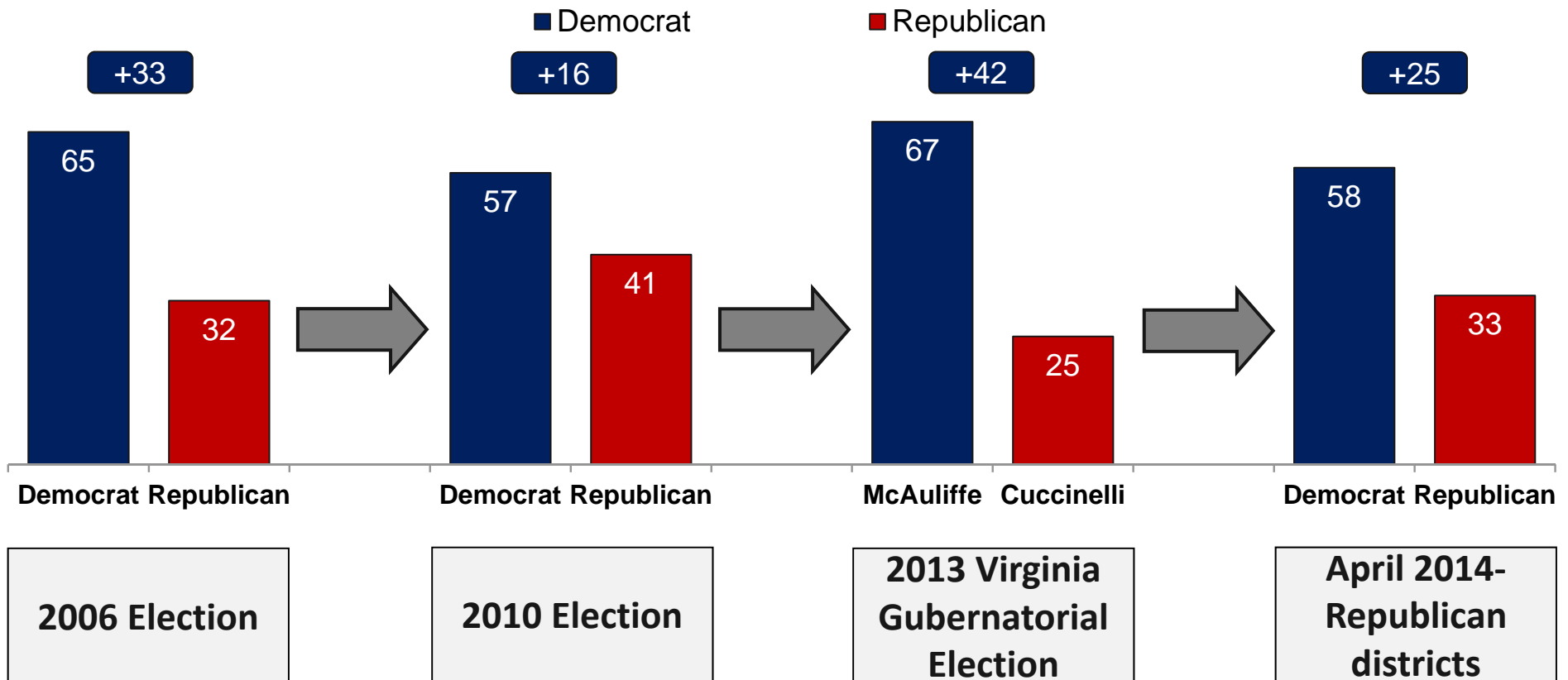
## Republican seats



# Biggest challenge: unmarried women – and biggest opportunity to drive up Democratic vote 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)?*

## Unmarried women

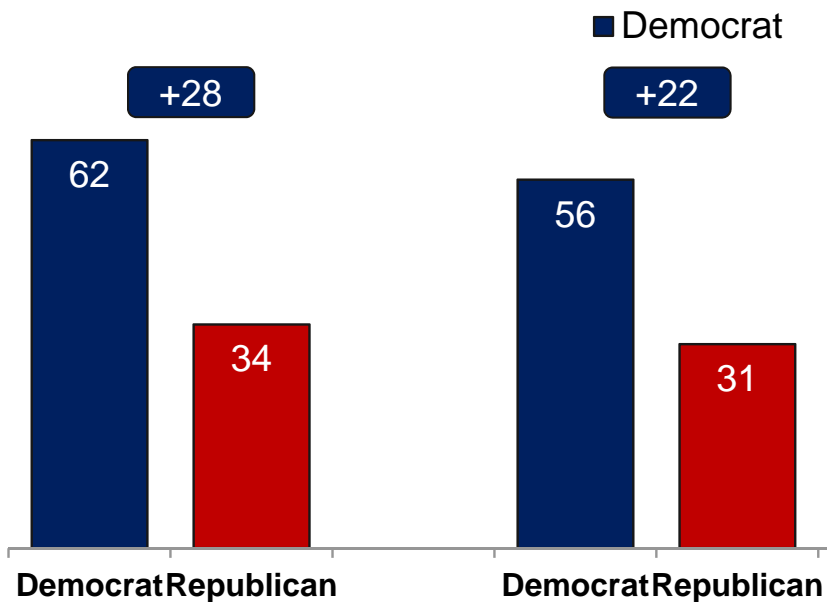


*\*Note: Incumbent names were inserted with party identification. Generic challengers were inserted as "The Democratic Candidate."*

# 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)?*

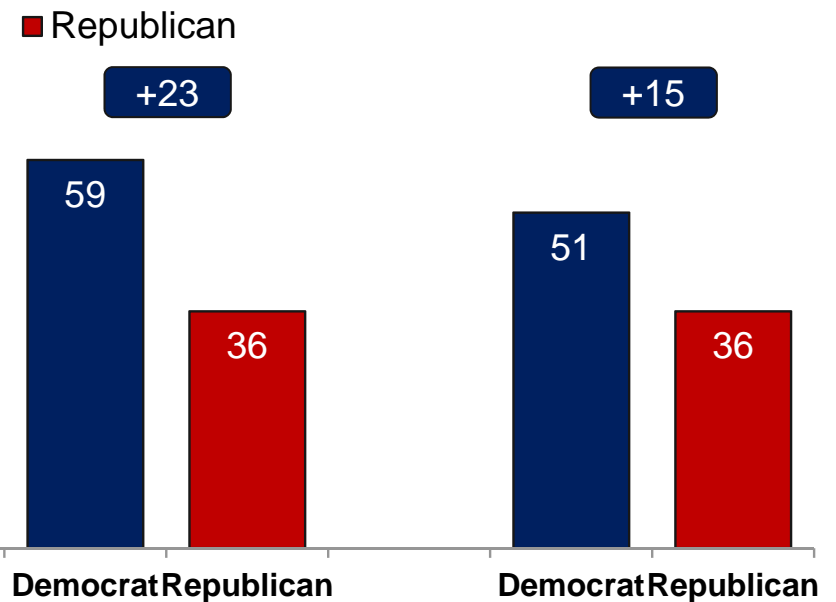
## Unmarried women



**October 2009:**  
40 most competitive  
Democratic districts

**April 2014:**  
36 most competitive  
Democratic districts

## Rising American Electorate



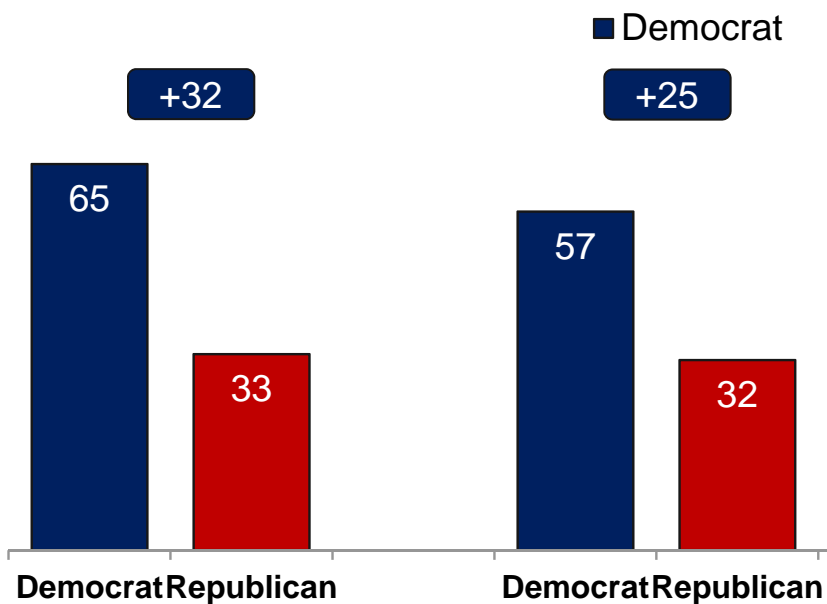
**October 2009:**  
40 most competitive  
Democratic districts

**April 2014:**  
36 most competitive  
Democratic districts

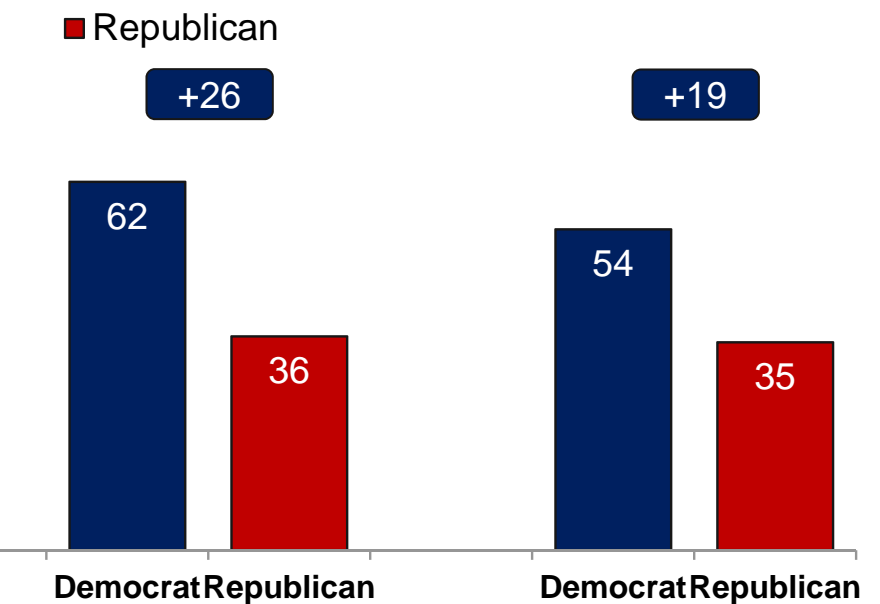
## And well behind 2012 pace

*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

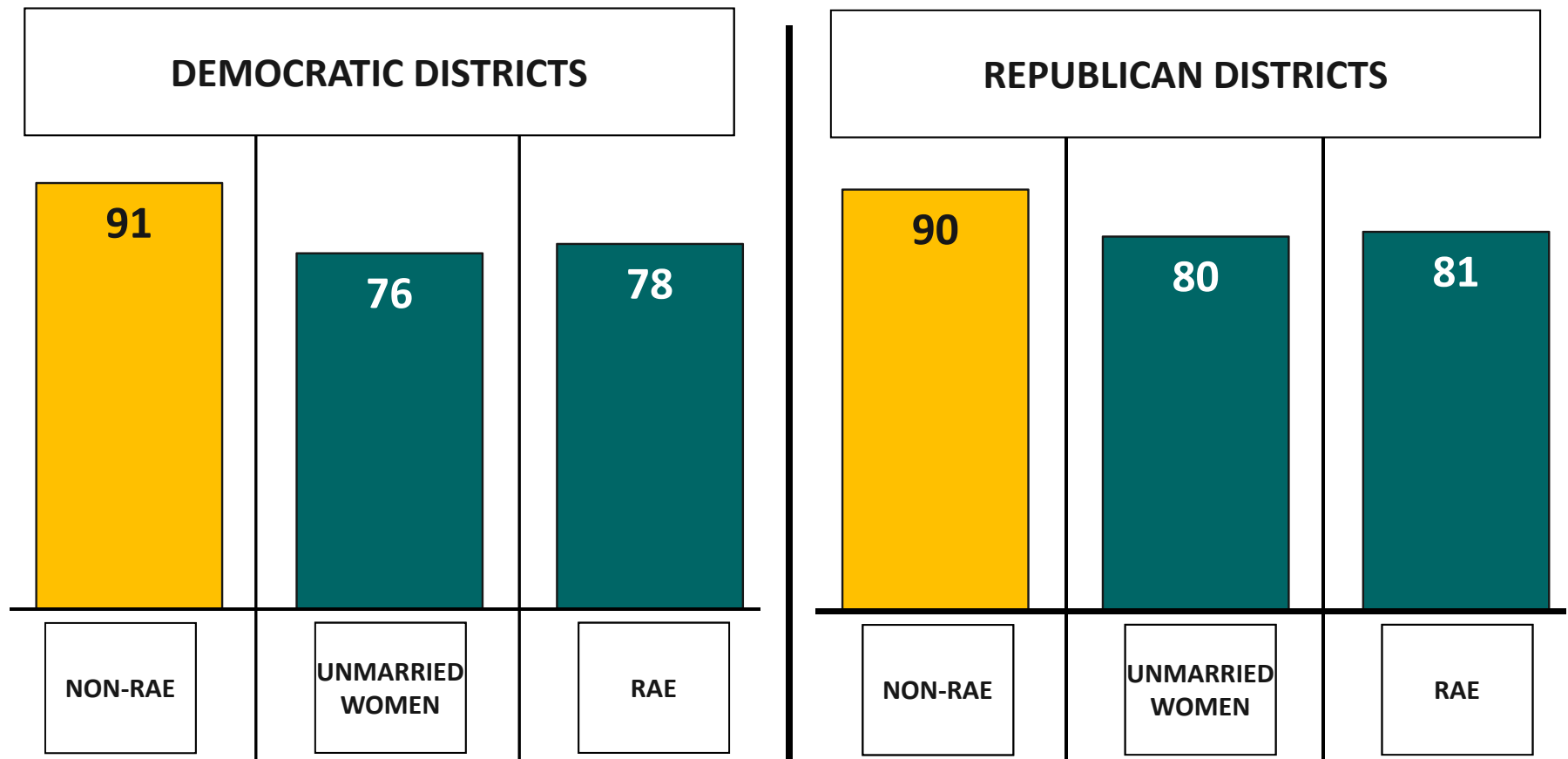
**April 2014:**  
36 most competitive  
Democratic districts

**November 2012:**  
National Post-Election  
Survey

**April 2014:**  
36 most competitive  
Democratic districts

## Unmarried women and Rising American Electorate (RAE) uncertain to vote, compared to others

*I know it's a long way off, but what are the chances of your voting in the election for Congress in November: are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or don't you think you will vote?*







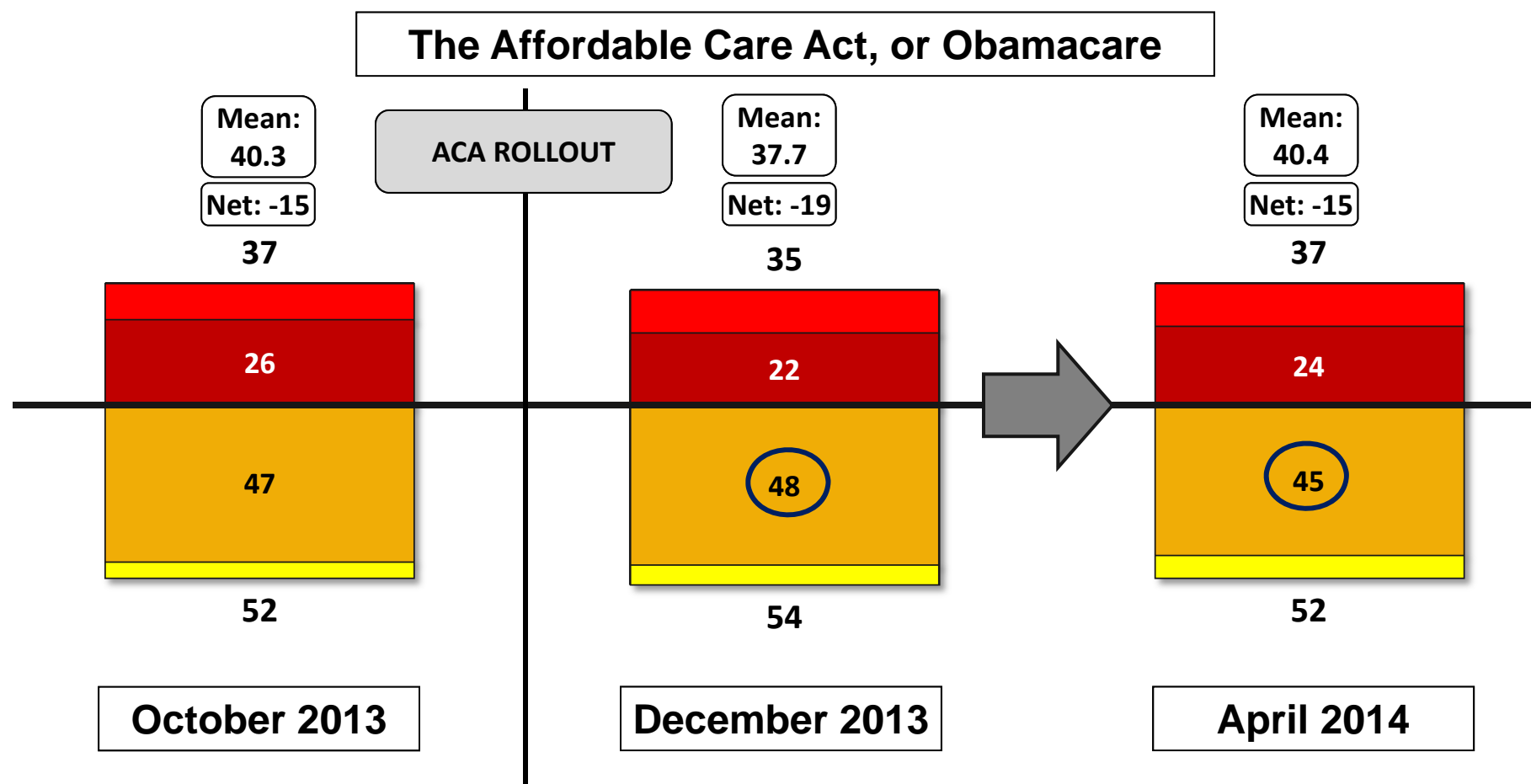
**ACA**



# Feelings toward Affordable Care Act or Obamacare recover across battleground

*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.*

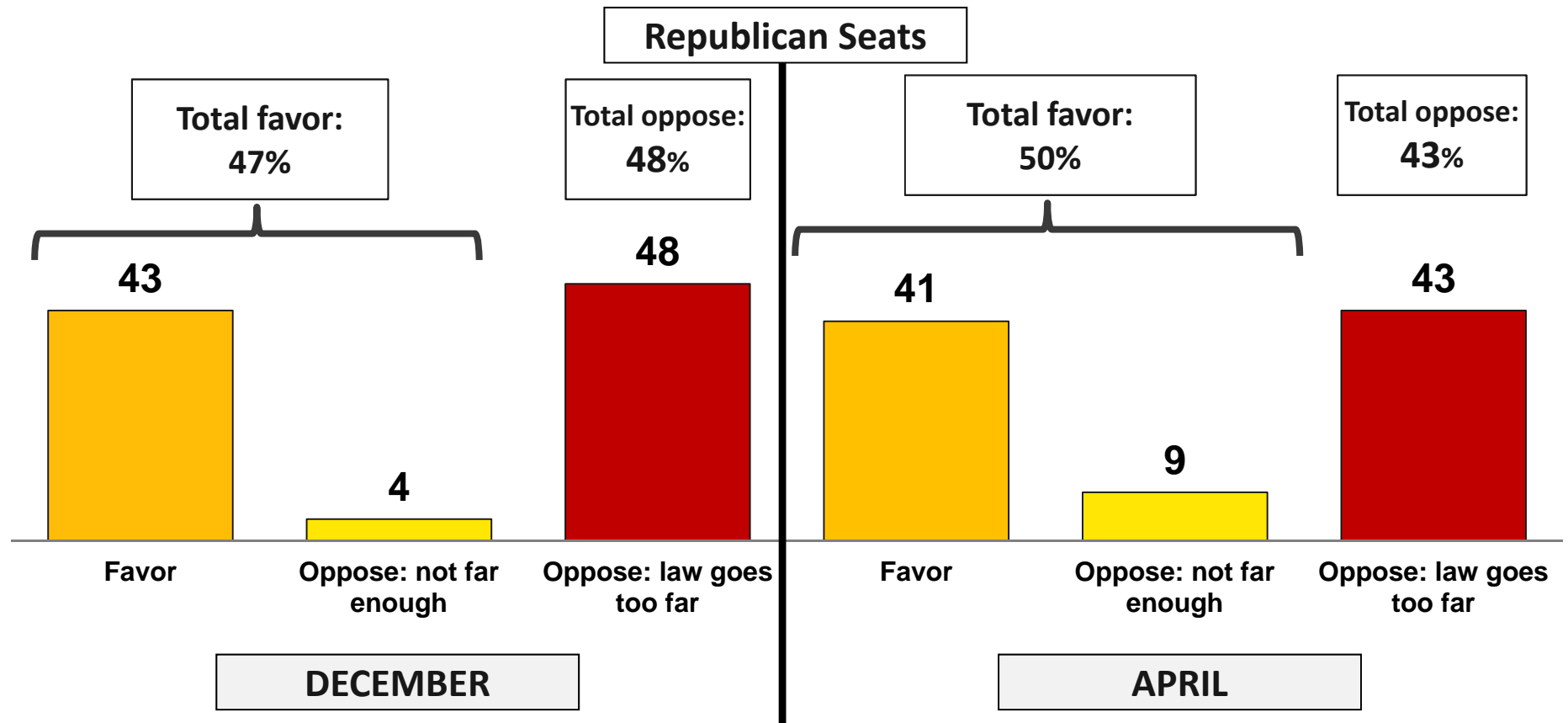
■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)



In Republican districts, total opposed to health reform because law goes too far down 5 points.

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

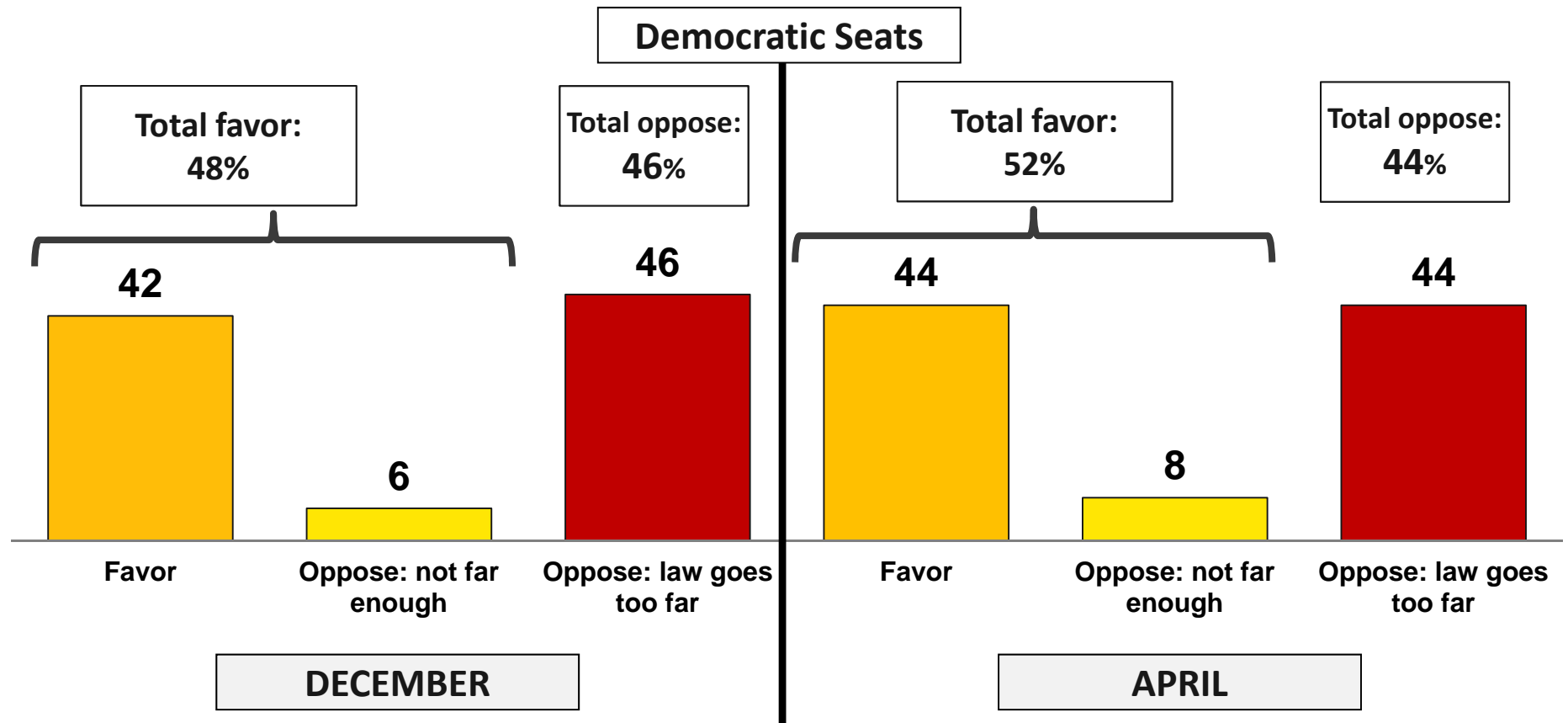
*(IF OPPOSE) Would you say you oppose the health care reform law because it goes too far in changing health insurance, or because it doesn't go far enough in changing health insurance?*



## And now a clear majority favors health care reform in the 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?*

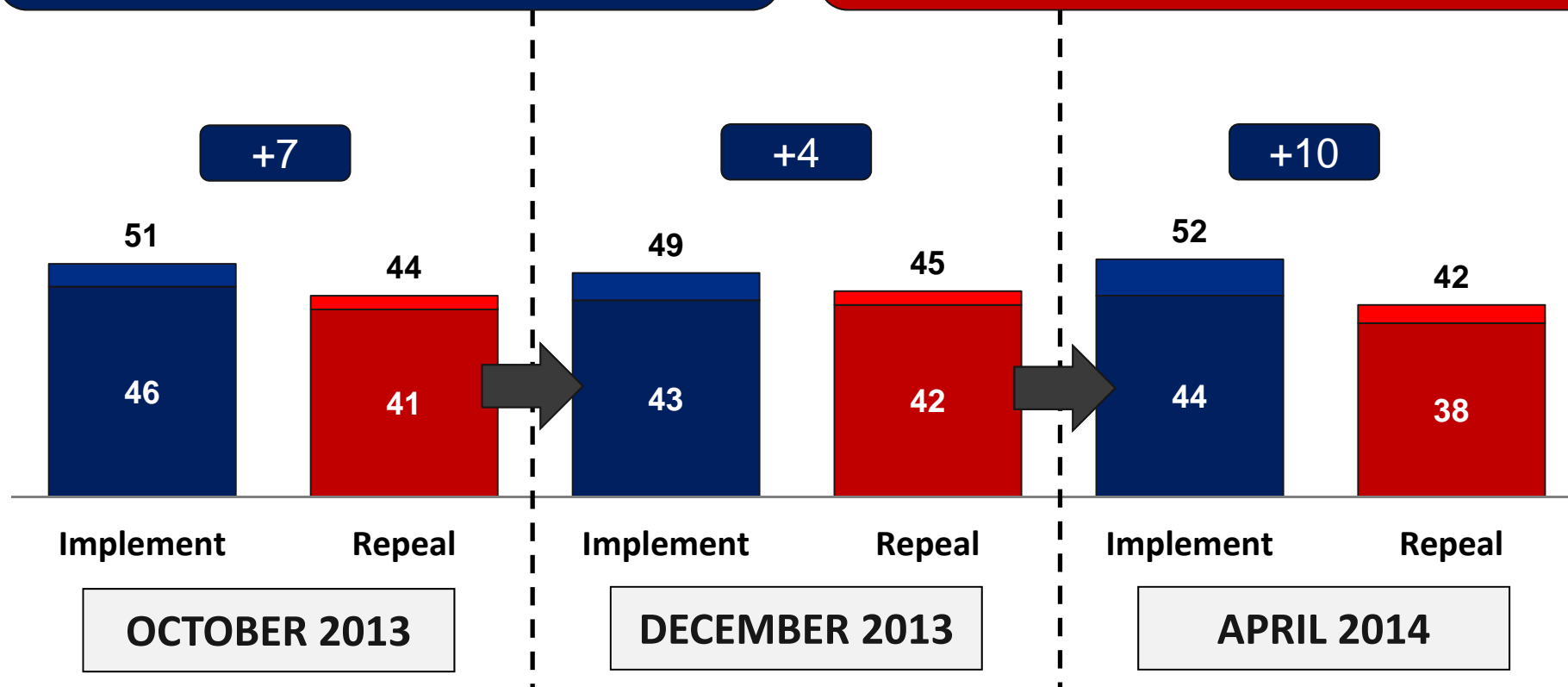


And most important, a growing majority want to implement and fix, and fewer are strongly committed to repeal and replace

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.

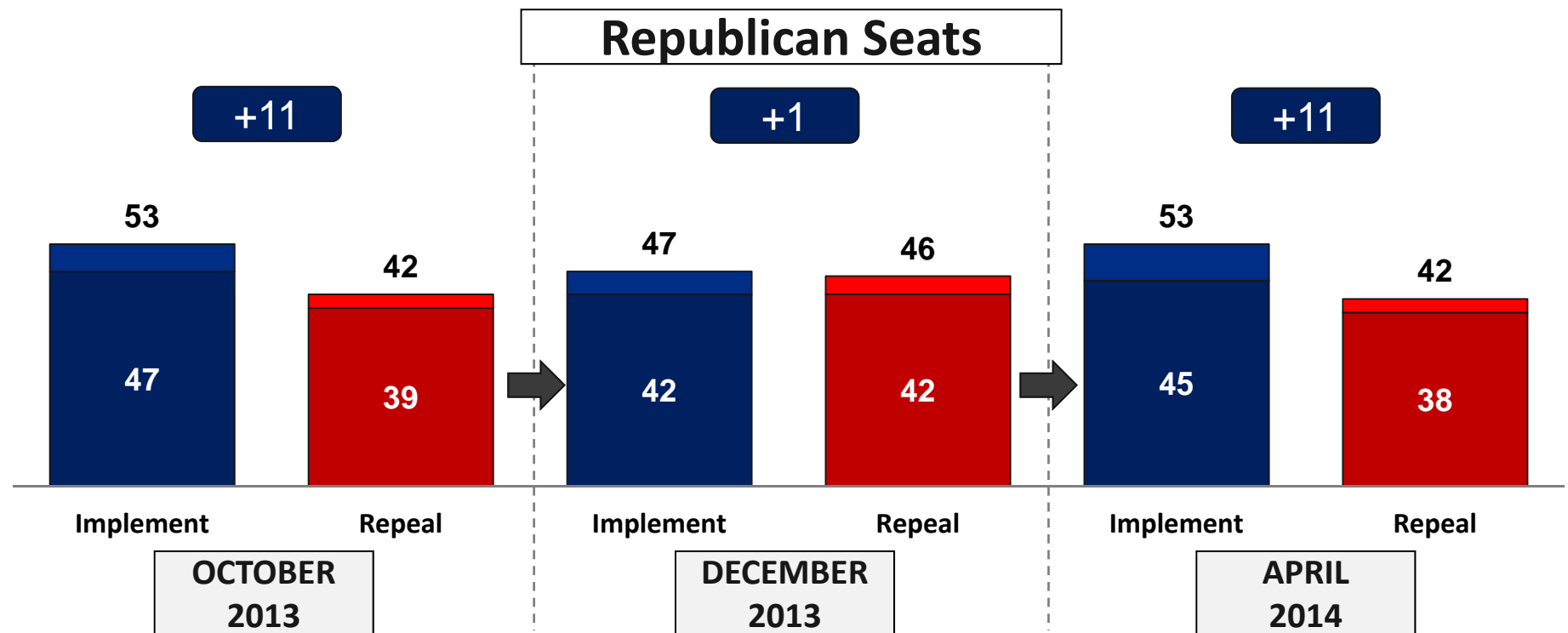


## And new much more intense 45 percent want to implement in the Republican seats

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.



## Now big majority for implementing in Tier 1 Republican seats

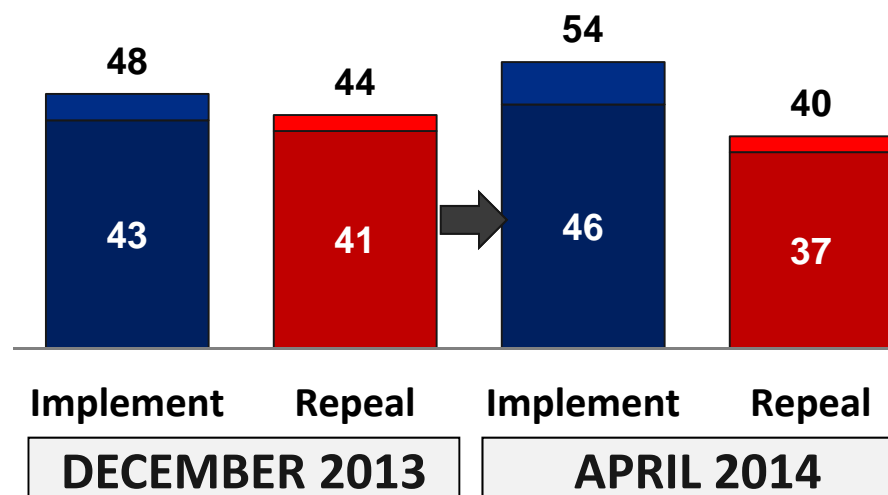
Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

We should implement and fix the health care reform law.

Rep. Tier 1

+4

+14

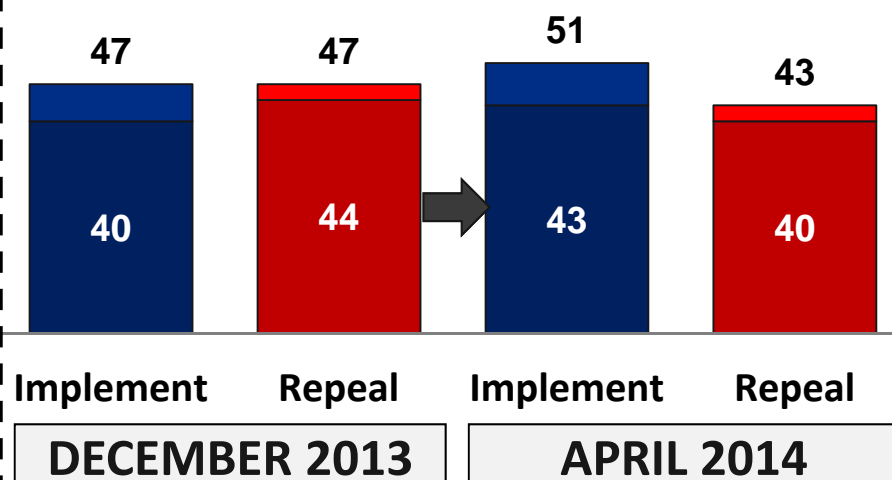


We should repeal and replace the health care reform law.

Rep. Tier 2

Even

+8



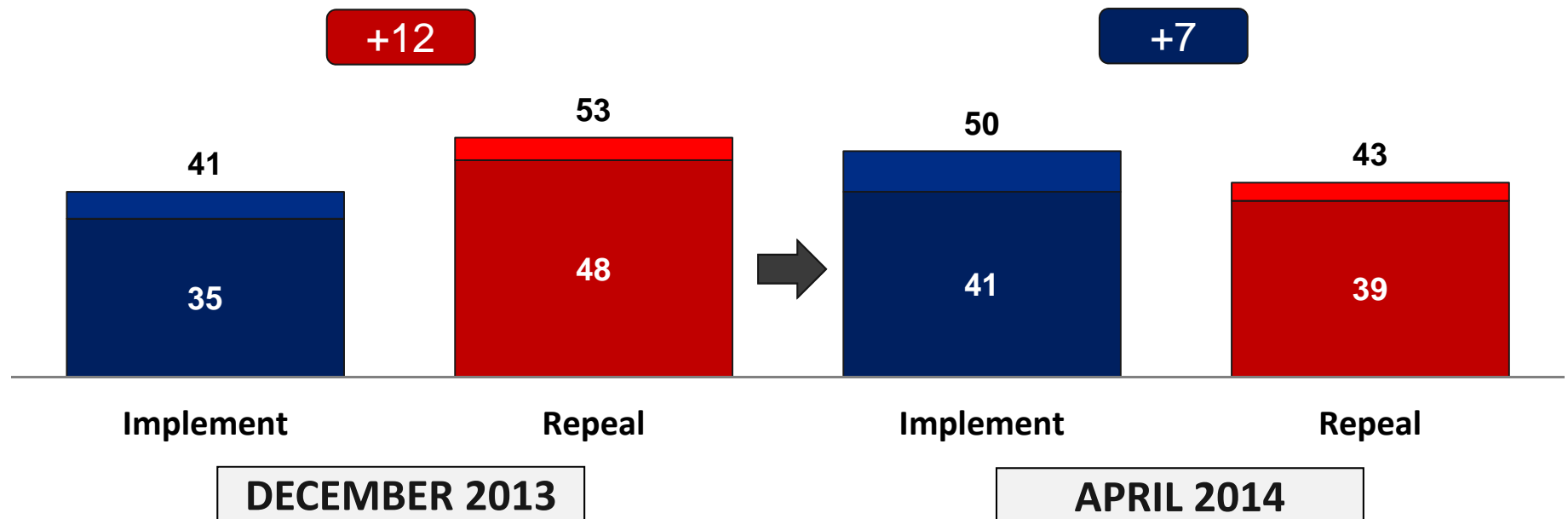
And why is this big change happening? Ask independents. A majority for repeal becomes majority for implement.

*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.

Independents



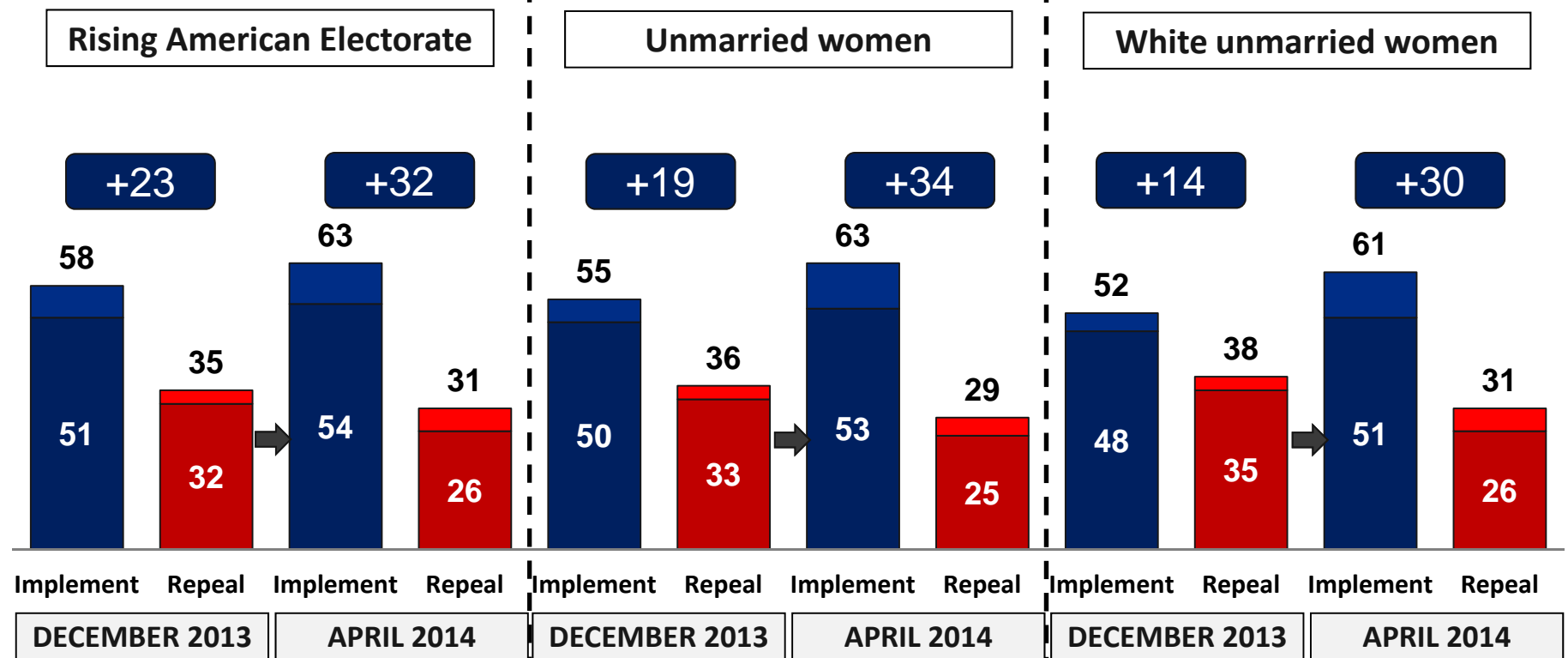


# The base of the Democratic Party is also becoming intense defenders

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.



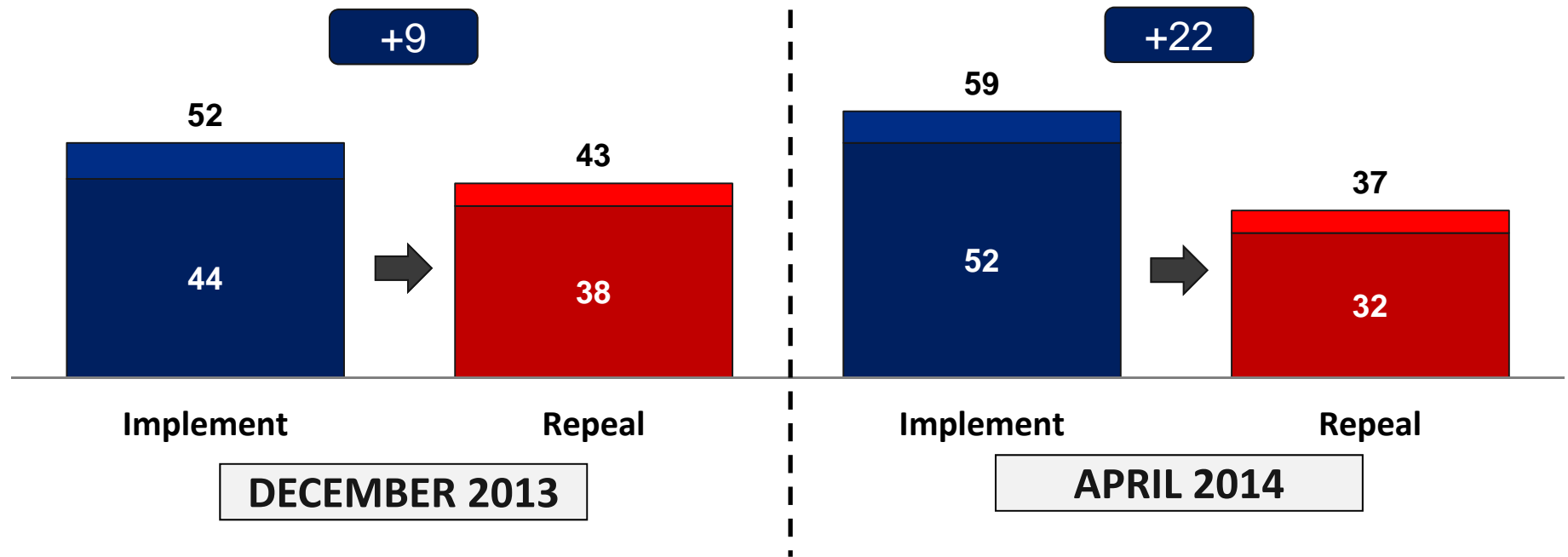
# White college women are also emerging as an intensely committed to implementation

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.

White college women

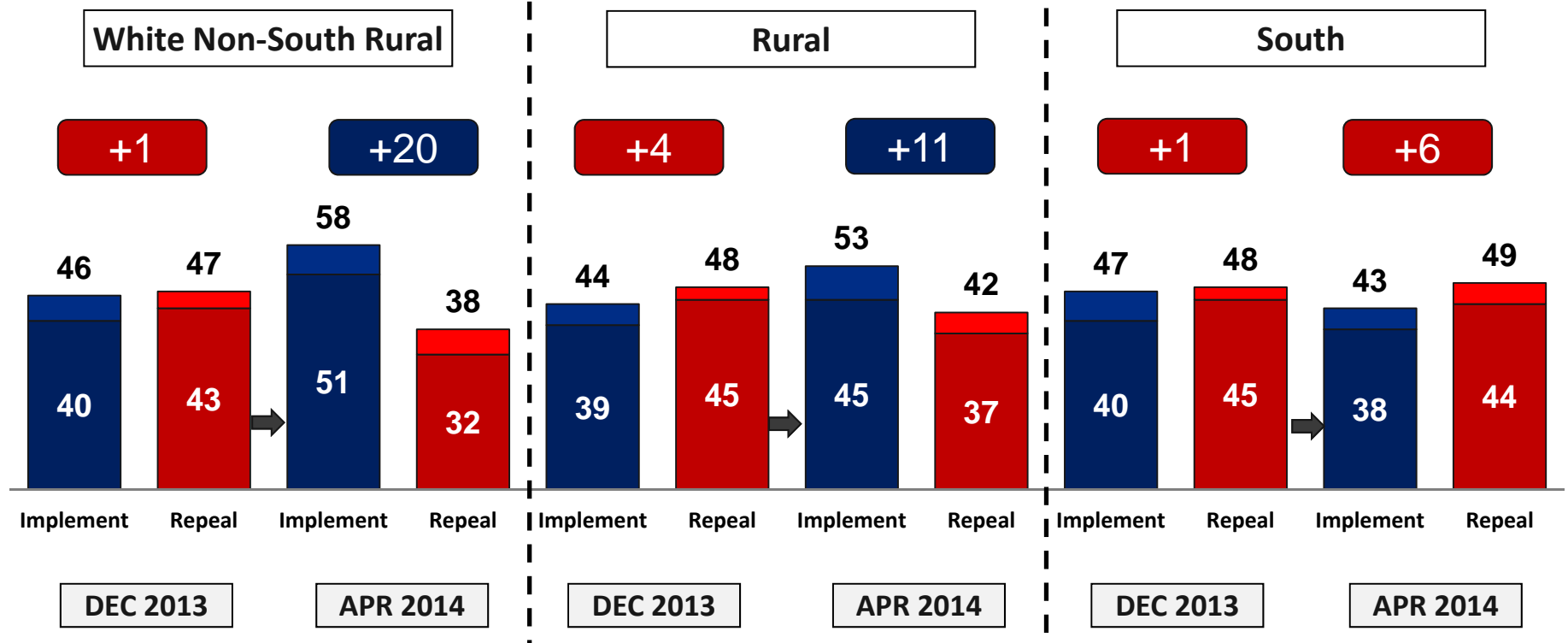


# Now a big new majority for implementing among white rural voters outside the South

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.





# **Experiment on ACA strategy**



## Experiment: Half of voters given ACA positive messages and economic one, half given education and economic messages with fix ACA

ACA

**PREDOMINANTLY ACA**

**(INSURANCE WOMEN)** The Affordable Care Act should have been implemented better but it is bringing really important changes. Insurance companies can't charge women more than men, can't consider pregnancy a pre-existing condition, and must cover prescription drugs and preventive health services

**(INSURANCE YOU CAN COUNT ON)** I'm proud I voted for the Affordable Care Act because people can finally have insurance they can count on and everyone will be insured. Insurance companies can't raise rates or drop you when you get sick, older, or have a baby, charge women more than men or set lifetime limits that take away your coverage when you get sick.

**(ECONOMIC AGENDA)** Everyone in Washington is fighting instead of focusing on jobs and jobs that pay enough to live on. We should raise the minimum wage to \$10.10 an hour, make sure women get equal pay for equal work, make job training and college more affordable, stop tax breaks for companies that export jobs, and stop any trade agreements that undermine U.S. manufacturing.

**PREDOMINANTLY GENERAL**

**(EDUCATION)** I am working to invest in education so that our children can succeed in the 21st century economy. I fought to keep student loan rates low to make college more affordable for students and am working to help local businesses partner with community colleges to train students for the jobs that need to be filled.

**(FIX IMPERFECT LAW)** I am fighting to fix the problems with Obamacare. This law isn't perfect, but we can't afford to return to when insurance companies dropped people when they got sick, denied coverage for preexisting conditions, charged women more than men, and failed to cover preventive care like cancer screenings

Half of voters heard 2 attacks on GOP about ACA but also one Ryan attack. Half heard all non-ACA attacks

ACA

### PREDOMINANTLY ACA

**(REPEAL)** The Republicans in Congress are working to put the insurance companies back in charge of your health insurance, while taking millions in contributions from the insurance industry. That means they can once again impose lifetime limits, deny coverage to people with pre-existing conditions, and drop coverage if you become sick, while leaving millions without insurance.

**(WOMEN'S HEALTH)** Republicans in Congress voted to repeal the Affordable Care Act 50 times and to put insurance companies back in charge of your health care, allowing them to once again discriminate against women by charging them higher rates than men, allowing them to not cover preventive care for women like mammograms, screenings for cervical cancer, birth control and other services.

**(MEDICARE VOUCHER)** Republicans in Congress voted for the Ryan budget which would end Medicare as we know it, replacing Medicare's guaranteed coverage with a voucher program. This would essentially end Medicare as we know it, costing seniors 6,400 dollars more out of pocket every year, and forcing seniors to negotiate with insurance companies.

### PREDOMINANTLY GENERAL

**(RYAN TAX)** Republicans in Congress voted for the Ryan budget, which would raise taxes for middle class and working families by up to 3 thousand dollars a year while cutting taxes for the wealthiest Americans and big corporations. Under this plan, those making over 1 million dollars per year would get an almost 400 thousand dollar tax cut.

**(RYAN EDUCATION)** Republicans in Congress voted for the Ryan budget, which balances the budget on the backs of America's students. It would cut over 100 billion dollars in education funding for public schools and early education programs and would cut over 200 billion dollars in funding for college scholarships.

# GOP messages and attacks

## ATTACKS AGAINST DEMOCRATS

**(MEDICARE ADVANTAGE) (HOUSE INCUMBENT)** supported Obamacare, which cuts 156 billion dollars from the Medicare Advantage program, forcing higher premiums, fewer benefits, and jeopardizing seniors' ability to see the doctors they've known for years. Some seniors in other states are already expected to have their benefits cut by up to 90 dollars a month.

**(TAXES) (HOUSE INCUMBENT)** raised payroll taxes, put a tax on insurance policies and small businesses, while increasing spending by a trillion dollars in the next decade. The best way to grow the economy is to cut taxes so businesses and individuals can invest, grow and compete, but Democrats like **(HOUSE INCUMBENT)** keep raising the tax burden.

**(ACA TAXES) (HOUSE INCUMBENT)** supports Obamacare even though the Congressional Budget Office reported it will cost the country two million jobs over the next ten years because the law discourages people from working. Now millions are losing their health care coverage and seeing higher premiums and deductibles, and small businesses are laying off workers.

## REPUBLICAN MESSAGES

**(REPEAL OBAMACARE)** I'm committed to repealing Obamacare. Even the government's own budget experts say that Obamacare raises taxes on workers, businesses, and families, and will shrink the American workforce. I'm for reducing taxes, shrinking the size of government, growing jobs, and putting people back in charge of their own lives.

**(RYAN TAXES)** I'm committed to finally fixing our tax code for hard-working Americans. For too long, Democrats have looked at the budget and asked, quote, "How can we spend more?" unquote. But I know that our economy will not grow until we cut taxes, reduce the deficit, and reward those who work hard.

**(SPENDING)** We need to change the way Washington does business. Government spending is out of control. Average Americans have had to tighten their belts and it's time Washington is held to the same standards as the people. It's time to start holding government accountable just as ordinary Americans are.

# Strongest Democratic messages in Democratic districts are education, economic agenda, and fix to keep insurance companies out

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

## Democratic Districts

■ Much more positive

**(EDUCATION)** I am working to invest in education so that our children can succeed in the 21st century economy. I fought to keep student loan rates low to make college more affordable for students and am working to help local businesses partner with community colleges to train students for the jobs that need to be filled.



**(ECONOMIC AGENDA)** Everyone in Washington is fighting instead of focusing on jobs and jobs that pay enough to live on. We should raise the minimum wage to \$10.10 an hour, make sure women get equal pay for equal work, make job training and college more affordable, stop tax breaks for companies that export jobs...



**(FIX LAW)** I am fighting to fix the problems with Obamacare. This law isn't perfect, but we can't afford to return to when insurance companies dropped people when they got sick, denied coverage for preexisting conditions, charged women more than men, and failed to cover preventive care like cancer screenings.



**(INSURANCE WOMEN)** The Affordable Care Act should have been implemented better but it is bringing really important changes. Insurance companies can't charge women more than men, can't consider pregnancy a pre-existing condition, and must cover prescription drugs and preventive health services.



**(INSURANCE YOU CAN COUNT ON)** I'm proud I voted for the Affordable Care Act because people can finally have insurance they can count on and everyone will be insured. Insurance companies can't raise rates or drop you when you get sick, older, or have a baby, charge women more than men, or set lifetime limits...





## And unmarried women? Economic agenda, education and keep health care equally positive

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

### Democratic districts- UNMARRIED WOMEN

■ Much more positive

**(EDUCATION)** I will work to invest in education so that our children can succeed in the 21st century economy. I will fight to keep student loan rates low to make college more affordable for students and will work to help local businesses partner with community colleges to train students for the jobs that need to be filled.



**(FIX LAW)** I will fight to fix the problems with Obamacare. This law isn't perfect, but we can't afford to return to when insurance companies dropped people when they got sick, denied coverage for preexisting conditions, charged women more than men, and failed to cover preventive care like cancer screenings.



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ACA

**(INSURANCE WOMEN)** The Affordable Care Act should have been implemented better but it is bringing really important changes. Insurance companies can't charge women more than men, can't consider pregnancy a pre-existing condition, and must cover prescription drugs and preventive health services.



ACA

**(INSURANCE YOU CAN COUNT ON)** I would have voted for the Affordable Care Act because people can finally have insurance they can count on and everyone will be insured. Insurance companies can't raise rates or drop you when you get sick, older, or have a baby, charge women more than men, or set lifetime limits...



# Economic agenda biggest impact on vote, but health care messages also strong for Democratic incumbent

## Positive messages from Democratic incumbents and revote responses

Marginal effect estimates based on responsiveness to each message, comparing much more likely responses to no more likely

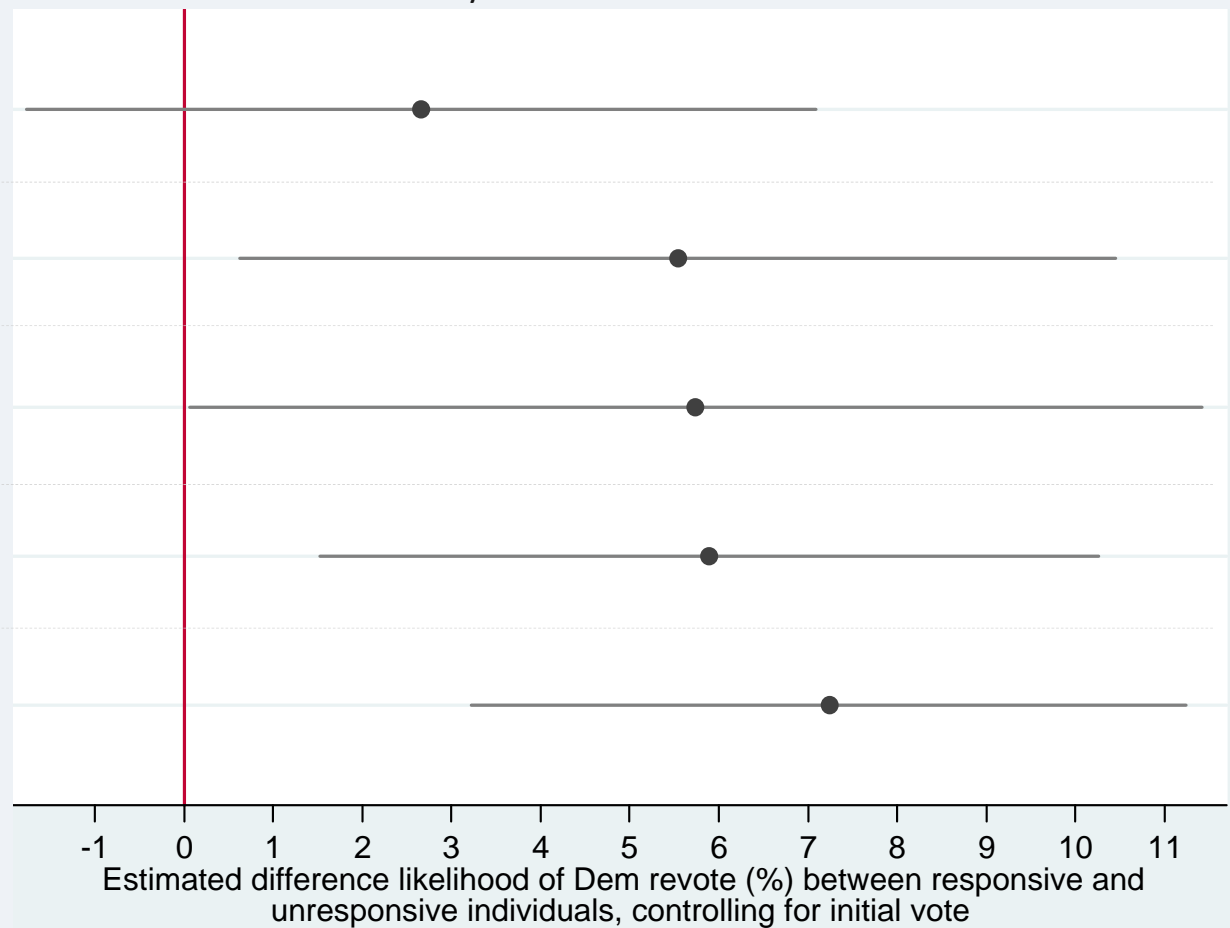
**Insurance women**

**Insurance you can count on**

**Education**

**Fix law**

**Economic agenda**



# Strongest Democratic challenger messages in GOP districts are education, economic agenda, and fix to keep insurance companies out

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

## Republican Districts

■ Much more positive

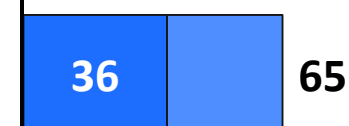
**(EDUCATION)** I will work to invest in education so that our children can succeed in the 21st century economy. I will fight to keep student loan rates low to make college more affordable for students and will work to help local businesses partner with community colleges to train students for the jobs that need to be filled.



**(ECONOMIC AGENDA)** Everyone in Washington is fighting instead of focusing on jobs and jobs that pay enough to live on. We should raise the minimum wage to \$10.10 an hour, make sure women get equal pay for equal work, make job training and college more affordable, stop tax breaks for companies that export jobs...



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ACA

**(INSURANCE WOMEN)** The Affordable Care Act should have been implemented better but it is bringing really important changes. Insurance companies can't charge women more than men, can't consider pregnancy a pre-existing condition, and must cover prescription drugs and preventive health services.



ACA

**(INSURANCE YOU CAN COUNT ON)** I would have voted for the Affordable Care Act because people can finally have insurance they can count on and everyone will be insured. Insurance companies can't raise rates or drop you when you get sick, older, or have a baby, charge women more than men, or set lifetime limits...



# Democratic challenger of incumbent Republican does best with both health care and economic agenda

## Positive messages from Democratic challengers and revote responses

Marginal effect estimates based on responsiveness to each message, comparing much more likely responses to no more likely

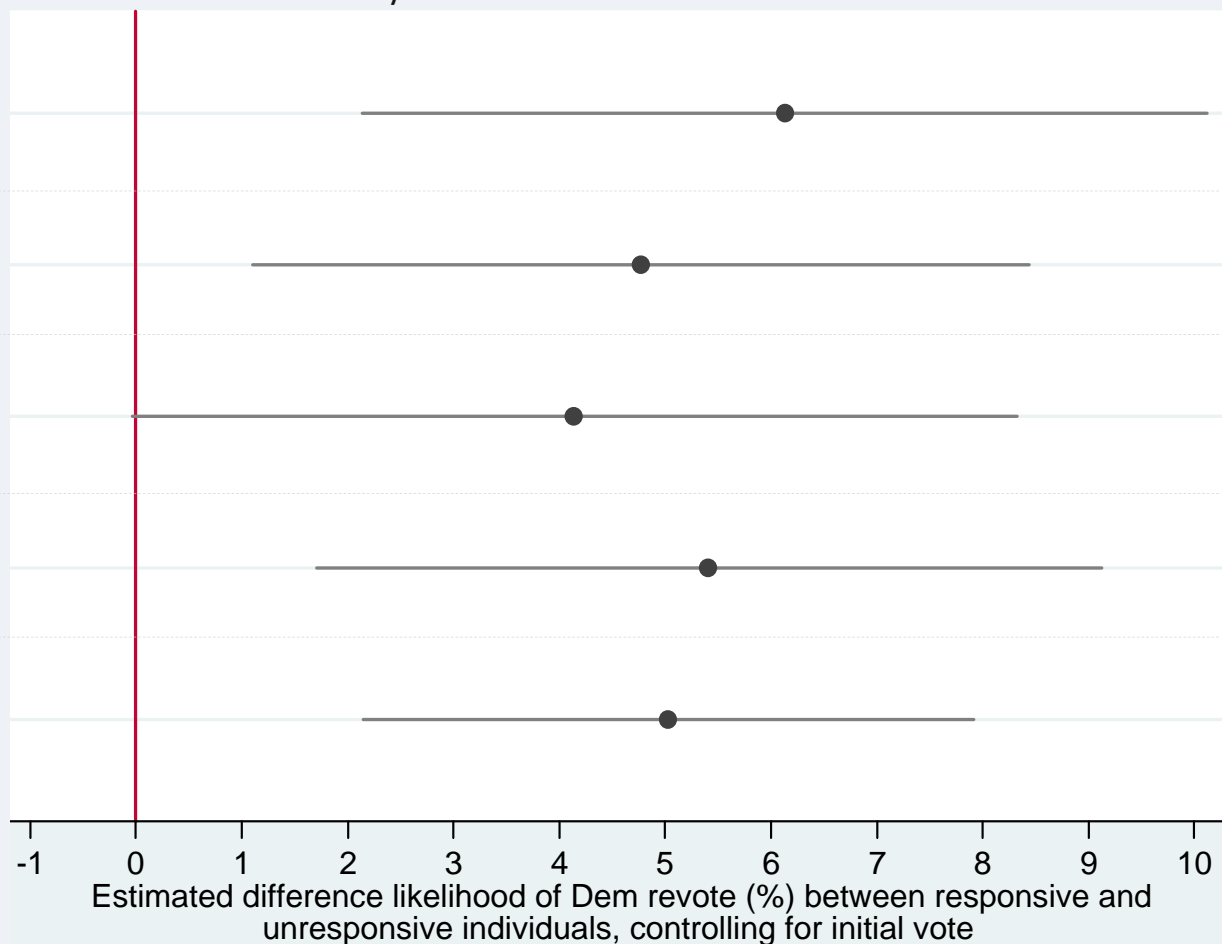
**Insurance women**

**Insurance you can count on**

**Education**

**Fix law**

**Economic agenda**



# Strongest attacks on Republicans in Democratic districts: Ryan budget

Now I'm going to read you a few statements that some people might say about Republicans in Congress. 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 Republicans in Congress.

## Democratic districts

## Very serious doubts

**(RYAN TAX)** Republicans in Congress voted for the Ryan budget, which would raise taxes for middle class and working families by up to 3 thousand dollars a year while cutting taxes for the wealthiest Americans and big corporations. Under this plan, those making over 1 million dollars per year would get an almost 400 thousand dollar tax cut.



**(RYAN MEDICARE VOUCHER)** Republicans in Congress voted for the Ryan budget which would end Medicare as we know it, replacing Medicare's guaranteed coverage with a voucher program. This would essentially end Medicare as we know it, costing seniors 6,400 dollars more out of pocket every year, and forcing seniors to negotiate...



**(RYAN EDUCATION)** Republicans in Congress voted for the Ryan budget, which balances the budget on the backs of America's students. It would cut over 100 billion dollars in education funding for public schools and early education programs and would cut over 200 billion dollars in funding for college scholarships.



ACA

**(REPEAL)** The Republicans in Congress are working to put the insurance companies back in charge of your health insurance, while taking millions in contributions from the insurance industry. That means they can once again impose lifetime limits, deny coverage to people with pre-existing conditions, and drop coverage...



ACA

**(WOMEN'S HEALTH)** Republicans in Congress voted to repeal the Affordable Care Act 50 times and to put insurance companies back in charge of your health care, allowing them to once again discriminate against women by charging them higher rates than men, allowing them to not cover preventive care for women like mammograms...



# ACA repeal and Medicare voucher top attack on Republican candidates among unmarried women in Democratic districts

Now I'm going to read you a few statements that some people might say about (HOUSE INCUMBENT). 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 (HOUSE INCUMBENT).

## Democratic districts-UNMARRIED WOMEN

### Very serious doubts

**(RYAN VOUCHER)** Republicans in Congress voted for the Ryan budget which would end Medicare as we know it, replacing Medicare's guaranteed coverage with a voucher program. This would essentially end Medicare as we know it, costing seniors 6,400 dollars more out of pocket every year, and forcing seniors to negotiate...



**(RYAN TAX)** Republicans in Congress voted for the Ryan budget, which would raise taxes for middle class and working families by up to 3 thousand dollars a year while cutting taxes for the wealthiest Americans and big corporations. Under this plan, those making over 1 million dollars per year would get an almost 400 thousand dollar tax cut.



**(ACA REPEAL)** The Republicans in Congress are working to put the insurance companies back in charge of your health insurance, while taking millions in contributions from the insurance industry. That means they can once again impose lifetime limits, deny coverage to people with pre-existing conditions, and drop coverage...



**(RYAN EDUCATION)** Republicans in Congress voted for the Ryan budget, which balances the budget on the backs of America's students. It would cut over 100 billion dollars in education funding for public schools and early education programs and would cut over 200 billion dollars in funding for college scholarships.



**(ACA WOMEN'S HEALTH)** Republicans in Congress voted to repeal the Affordable Care Act 50 times and to put insurance companies back in charge of your health care, allowing them to once again discriminate against women by charging them higher rates than men, allowing them to not cover preventive care for women like mammograms...



# Most impactful attack on GOP incumbents is Ryan budget taxes and Medicare voucher, not health insurance attacks

Now I'm going to read you a few statements that some people might say about (HOUSE INCUMBENT). 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 (HOUSE INCUMBENT).

## Republican districts

## Very serious doubts

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ACA

**(WOMEN'S HEALTH)** Republicans in Congress voted to repeal the Affordable Care Act 50 times and to put insurance companies back in charge of your health care, allowing them to once again discriminate against women by charging them higher rates than men, allowing them to not cover preventive care for women like mammograms...



# Most impactful attack on GOP incumbents is Ryan budget taxes and Medicare voucher, not health insurance attacks

## Doubts about GOP incumbents and re-vote responses

Marginal effect estimates based on responsiveness to each message, comparing very serious doubts to no real doubts

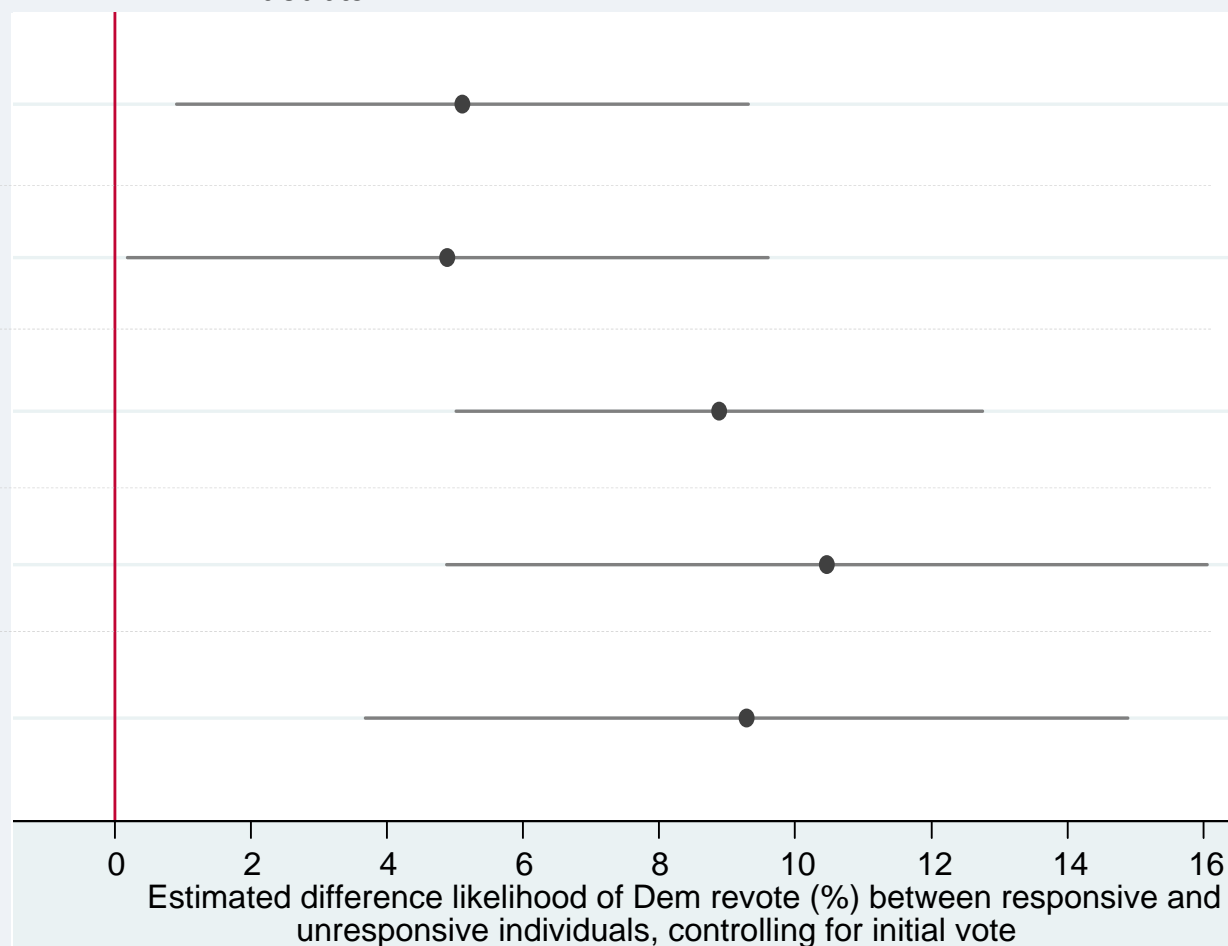
**Repeal**

**Women's health**

**Ryan voucher**

**Ryan tax**

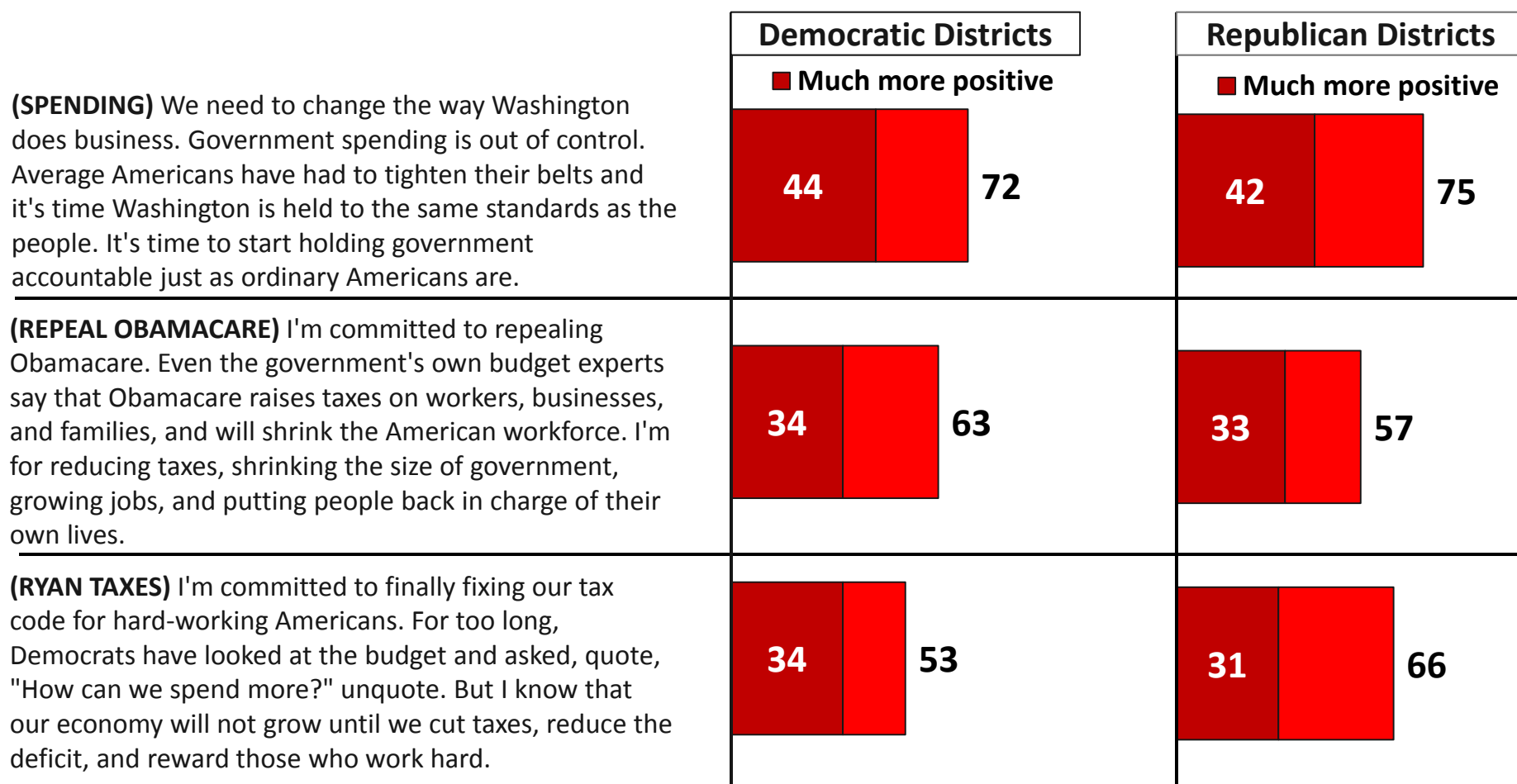
**Ryan education**





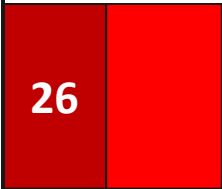
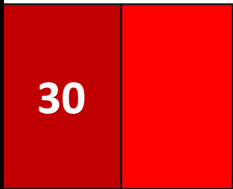
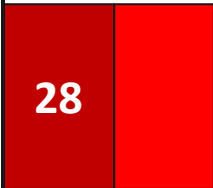
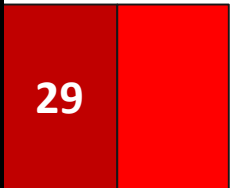
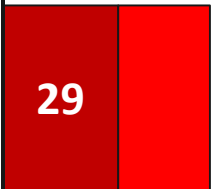
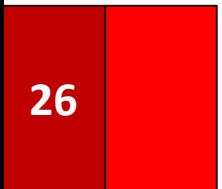
# Health care message least positive GOP incumbent message

Now I'm going to read you a few statements a Republican candidate for Congress might say. For each statement, please tell me whether that makes you feel much more positive about a Republican candidate for Congress, somewhat more positive, a little more positive, no more positive, or more negative about a Republican candidate for Congress.



# Republican attacks even, in both Democratic and Republican districts

Now I'm going to read you a few statements a Republican candidate for Congress might say. 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 (HOUSE INCUMBENT).

|   | Democratic Districts   | Republican Districts   |
|---|--|--|
|   | ■ Very serious doubts  | ■ Very serious doubts  |
| <b>(MEDICARE ADVANTAGE)</b> (HOUSE INCUMBENT) supported Obamacare, which cuts 156 billion dollars from the Medicare Advantage program, forcing higher premiums, fewer benefits, and jeopardizing seniors' ability to see the doctors they've known for years. Some seniors in other states are already expected to have their benefits cut by up to 90 dollars a month.     | <br>26 55   | <br>30 58   |
| <b>(ACA TAXES)</b> (HOUSE INCUMBENT) supports Obamacare even though the Congressional Budget Office reported it will cost the country two million jobs over the next ten years because the law discourages people from working. Now millions are losing their health care coverage and seeing higher premiums and deductibles, and small businesses are laying off workers. | <br>28 53  | <br>29 57  |
| <b>(TAXES)</b> (HOUSE INCUMBENT) raised payroll taxes, put a tax on insurance policies and small businesses, while increasing spending by a trillion dollars in the next decade. The best way to grow the economy is to cut taxes so businesses and individuals can invest, grow and compete, but Democrats like (HOUSE INCUMBENT) keep raising the tax burden.             | <br>29 52 | <br>26 54 |

# But most impactful message for GOP incumbents is repeal Obamacare

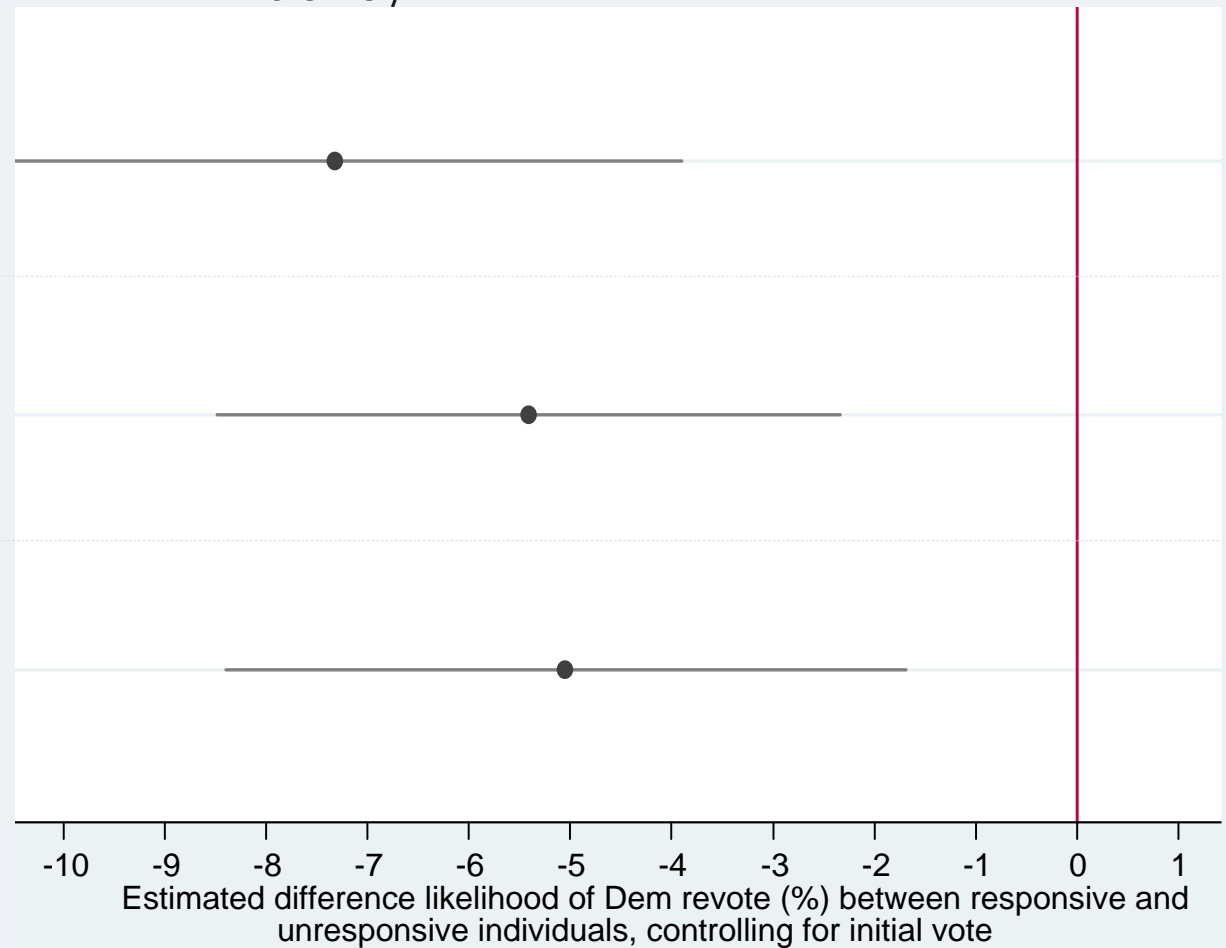
## Positive messages from GOP incumbents and re-vote responses

Marginal effect estimates based on responsiveness to each message, comparing much more likely responses to no more likely

**Repeal Obamacare**

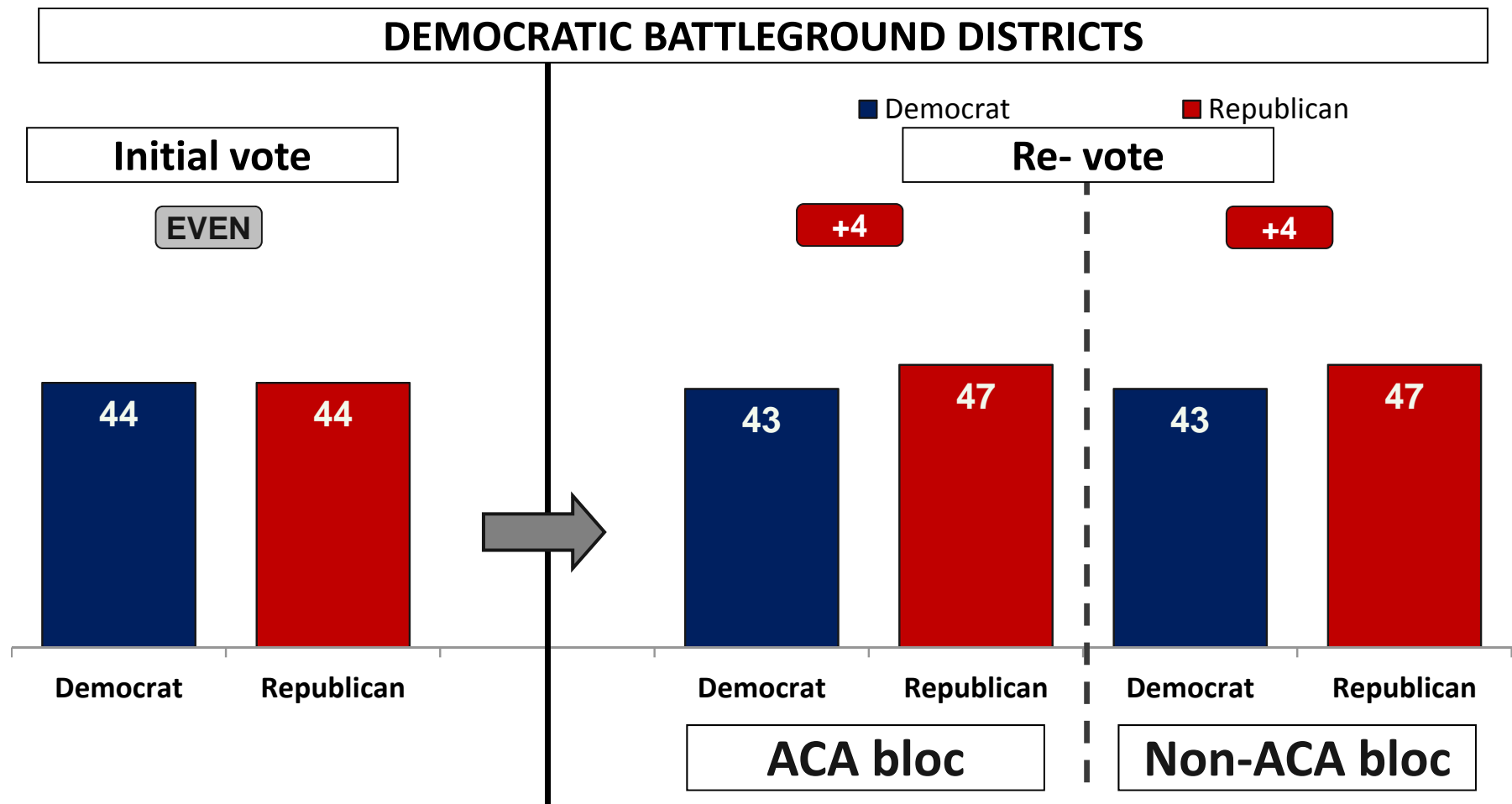
**Ryan taxes**

**Spending**



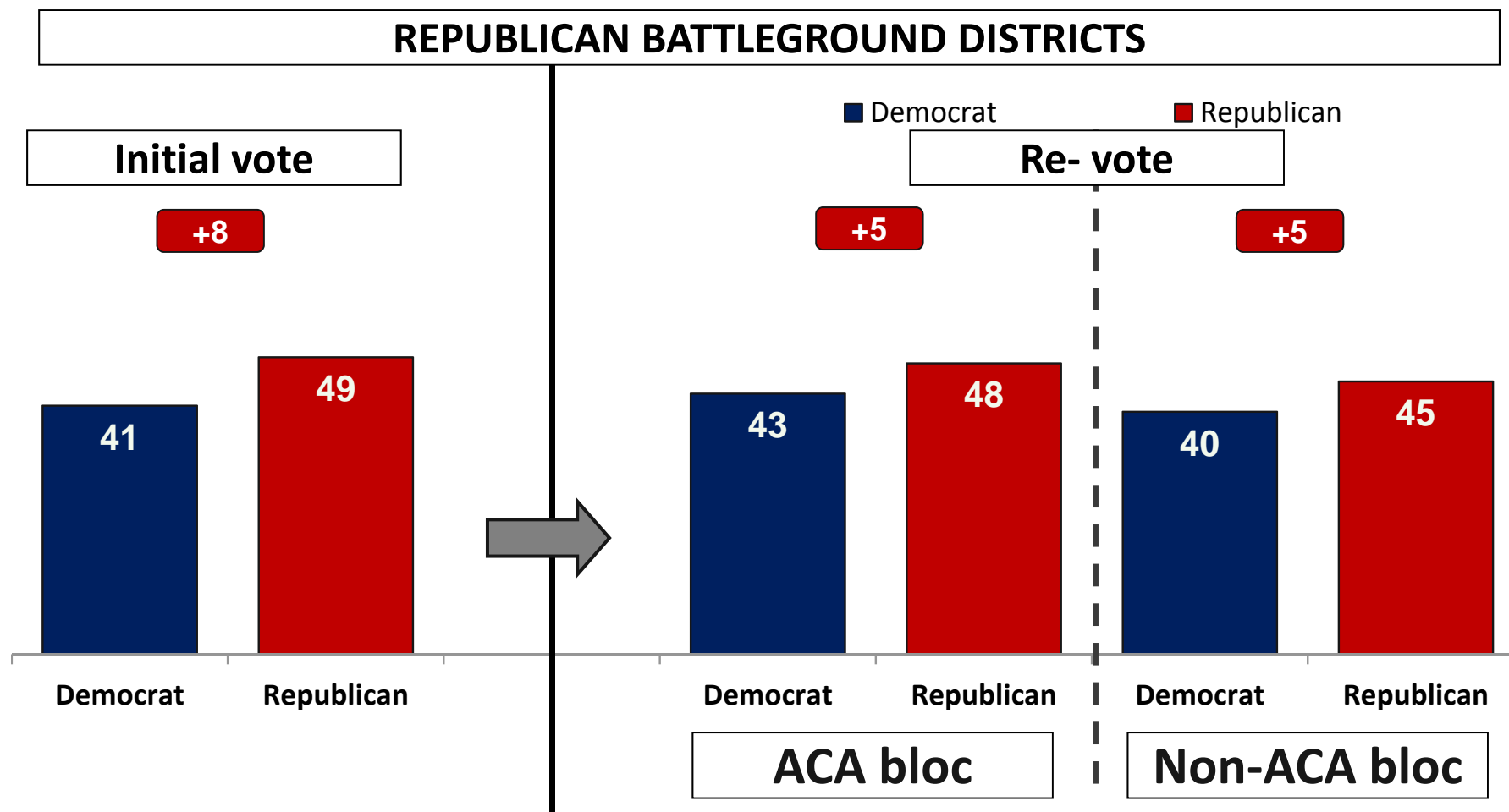
# Experiment produces no difference between ACA bloc and non-ACA bloc in Democratic districts – with some lost ground

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?



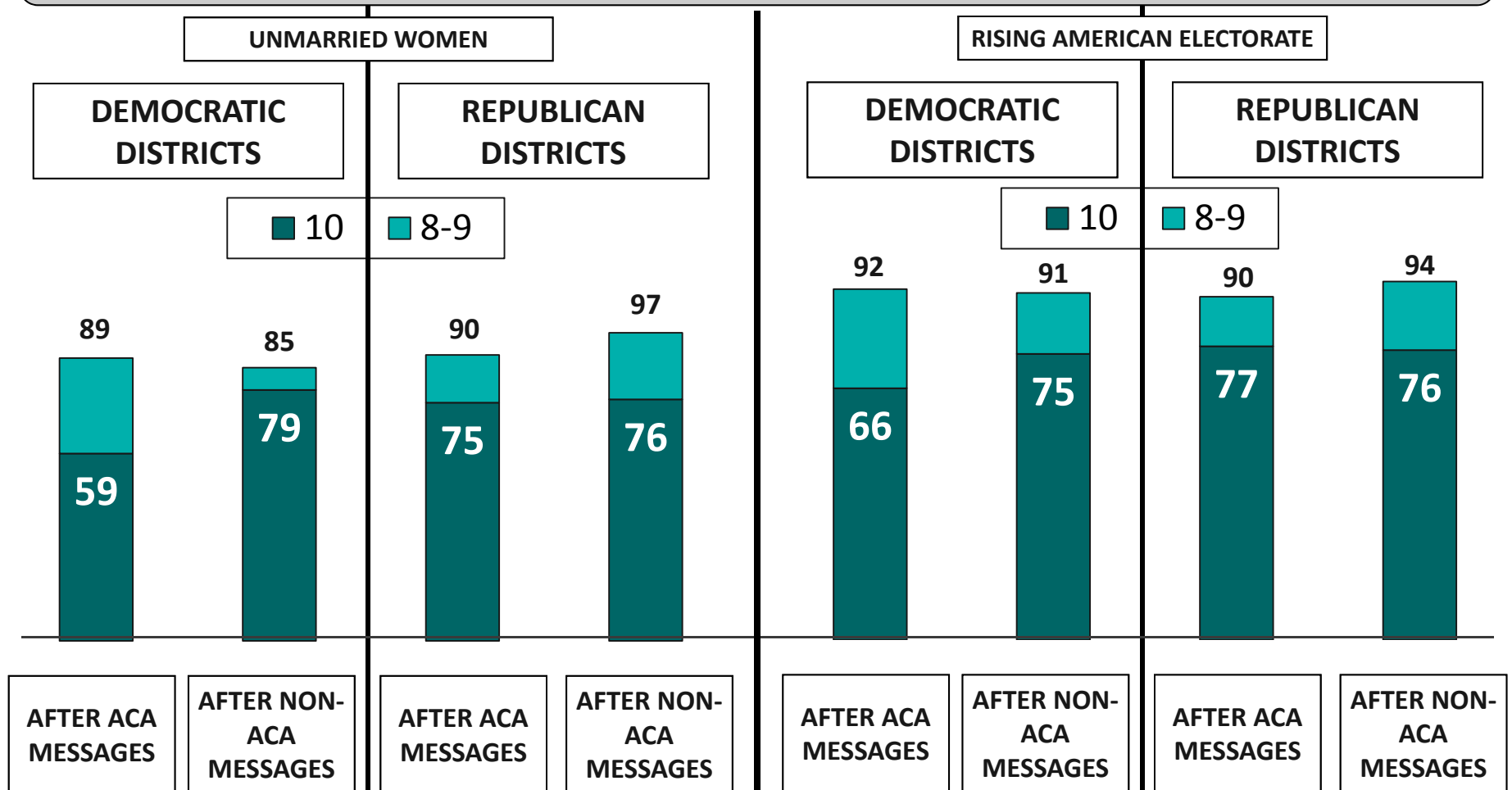
Experiment produces no effect but note Republican incumbents lose ground in both – with GOP incumbent falling to 45 percent in non-ACA test

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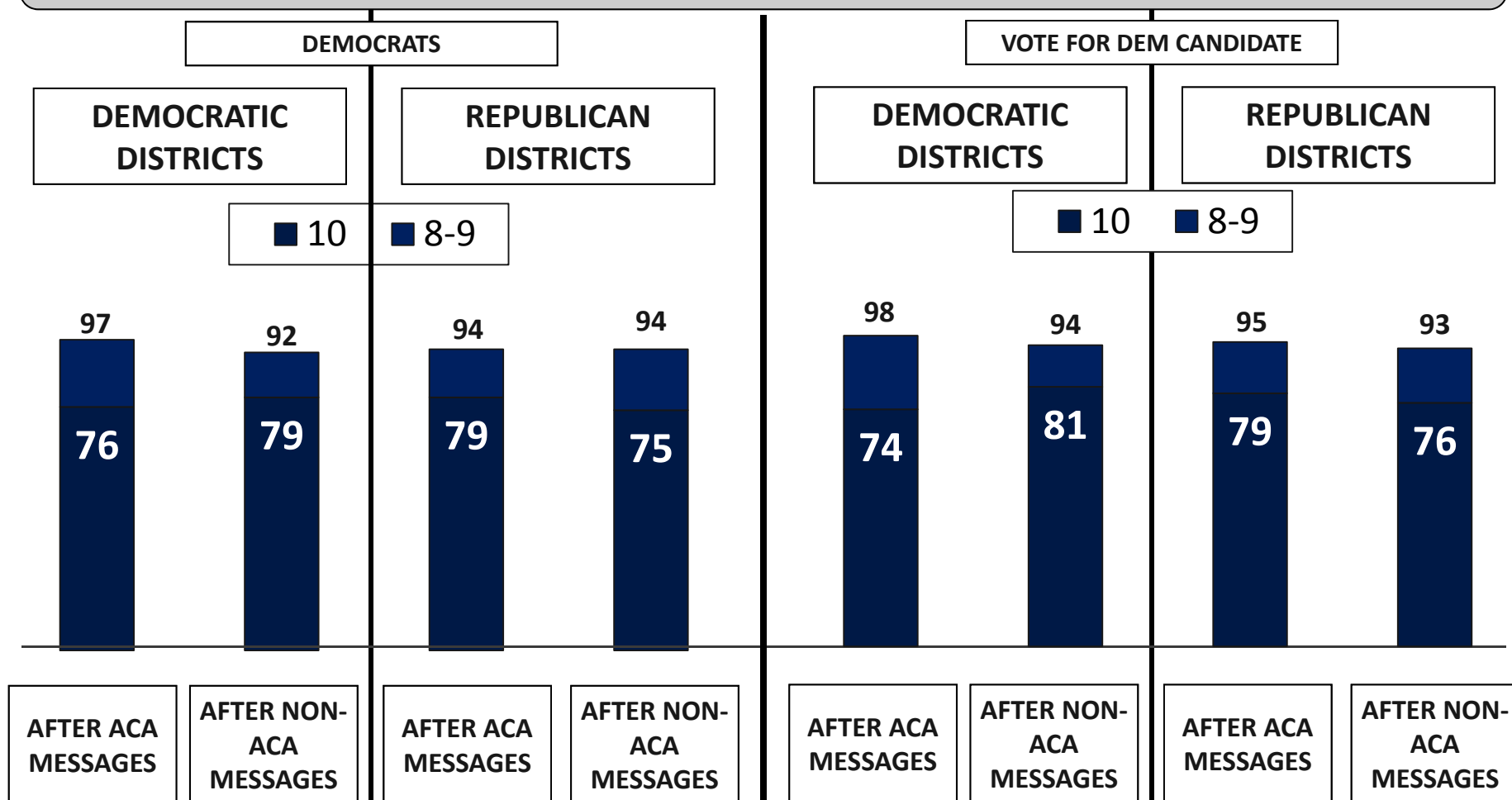
# ACA focus doesn't drive up base turnout. In fact, decisively higher turnout in non-ACA bloc in Democratic and somewhat more in GOP districts

And thinking again about this year's election. Many people vote in Presidential elections, but not in elections like the one this year for Congress and other offices. What would you say is the likelihood of you voting in the November election for Congress and other offices on a 0-10 scale.



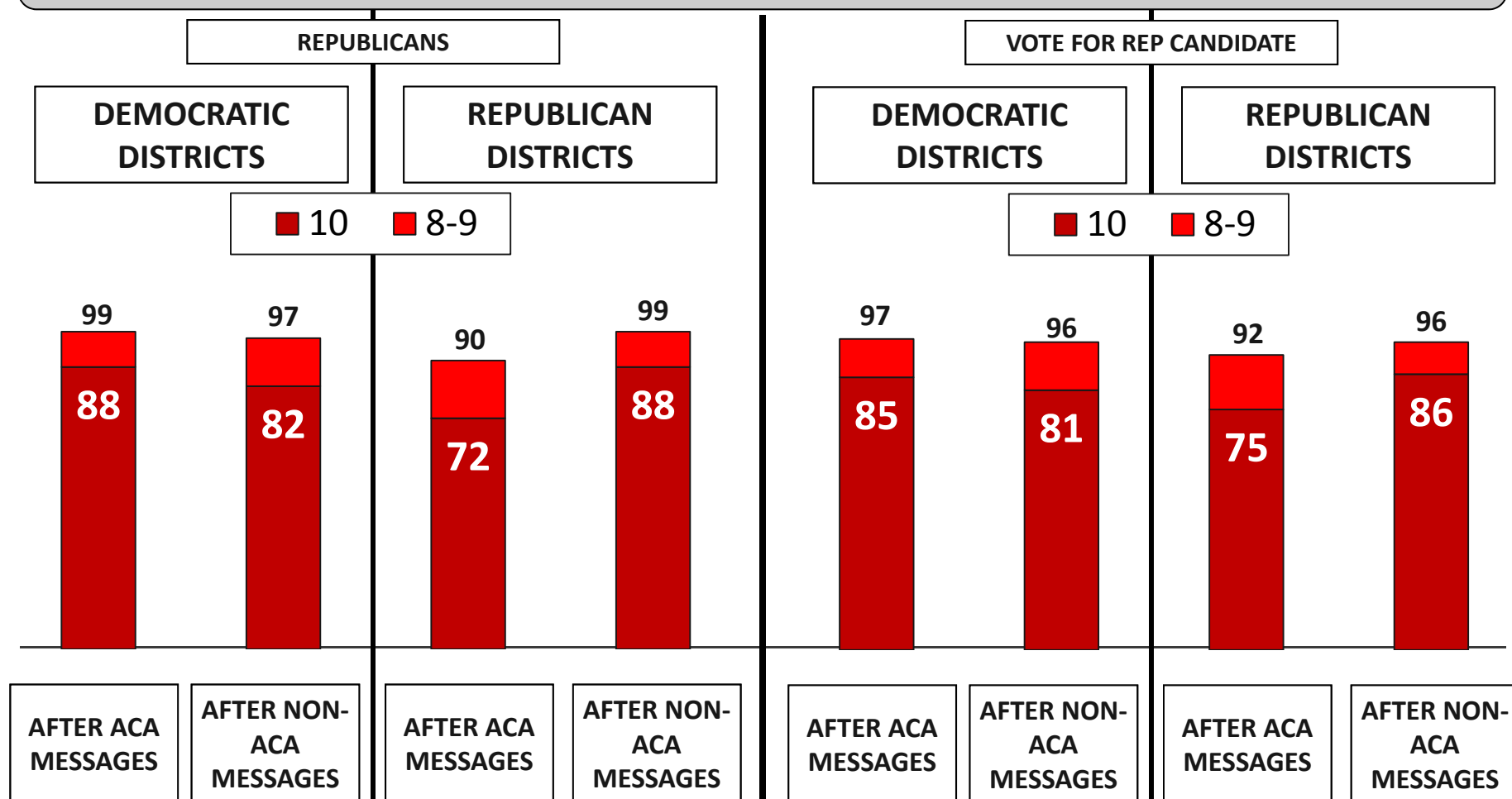
# Self-identified Democrats and Democratic House voters are no more likely to turnout when hearing ACA positive messages and attacks on GOP

And thinking again about this year's election. Many people vote in Presidential elections, but not in elections like the one this year for Congress and other offices. What would you say is the likelihood of you voting in the November election for Congress and other offices on a 0-10 scale.



However, the ACA focus boosts turnout of Republicans and GOP House voters when challenging in Democratic districts, but drives down turnout in GOP incumbent seats.

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