

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

In battleground, big and unbreakable support for Government by the People Act

April 25, 2014



DEMOCRACY CORPS
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

 **PUBLIC
CAMPAIGN**
ACTION FUND
OF, BY, AND FOR THE PEOPLE.

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 10-16, 2014 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.**

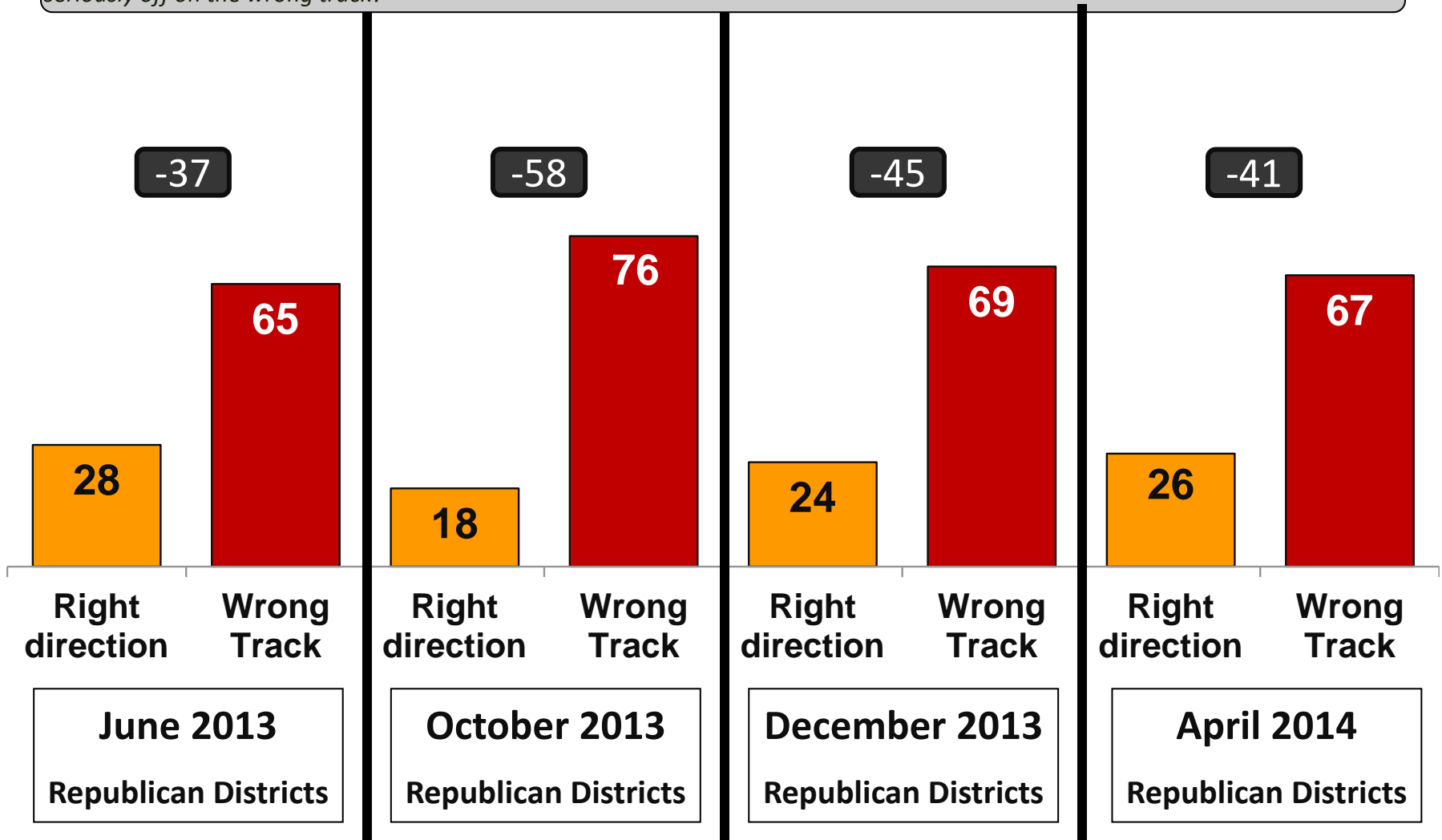
Key findings

- **This is an intensely anti-Washington period.** Voters' optimism about the country direction and about their leaders in Washington remains low, with deep negativity toward both parties in Congress.
- **Incumbent approval, in both Democratic and Republican seats, is low and relatively stagnant.** Incumbents from both parties have seen a modest improvement in their approval ratings since the nadir of the October shutdown, but these ratings are almost exactly the same as they were in June.
- **Voters in both Democratic and Republican-held seats strongly embrace efforts to reduce money in politics and its influence:** two thirds of voters in these districts support a plan to overhaul campaign spending by getting rid of big donations and allowing only small donations matched by public funds. Voters of all parties and across all districts support this plan with real intensity—even when it is indicated that donations would be matched by taxpayer funds.
- **Government by the People Act wins broad and strong support.** Voters in both Democratic and Republican-held seats, including strong majorities of Democrats, independents, and Republicans support this bill and do so with real intensity. There is particularly intense support for the bill among the Rising American Electorate of young people, unmarried women, and minorities.
- **Even after the strongest attacks, this survey finds no increase in opposition to the proposal.** After hearing information both for and against the bill, strong majorities in both Democratic and Republican districts continue to support the bill, with no increase in opposition. This survey identifies the best messages to support the bill, which advocate for putting government back in the hands of ordinary Americans and strengthening the economy by making Congress work for all Americans again.
- **In these vulnerable Congressional districts—districts that could decide the balance in Congress next November and where the most money is apt to be spent—candidates from both parties could capitalize on the current anger and frustration by making reform central to their platforms.**

**Public support for action to address
campaign money remains strong**

Critical context: 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?

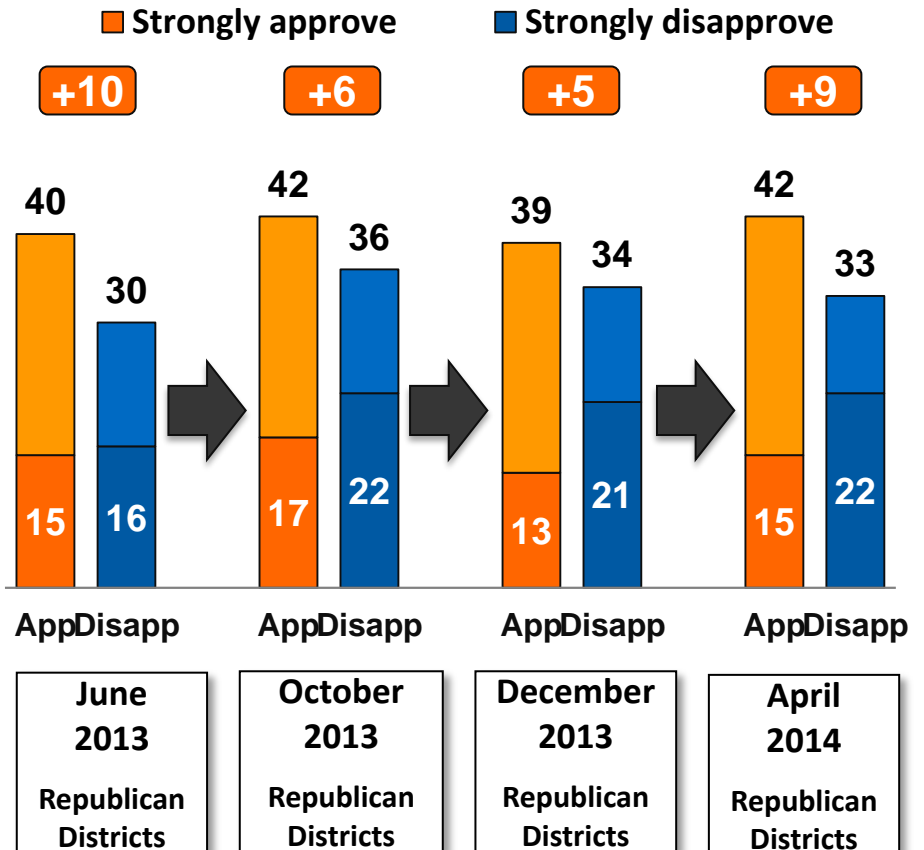
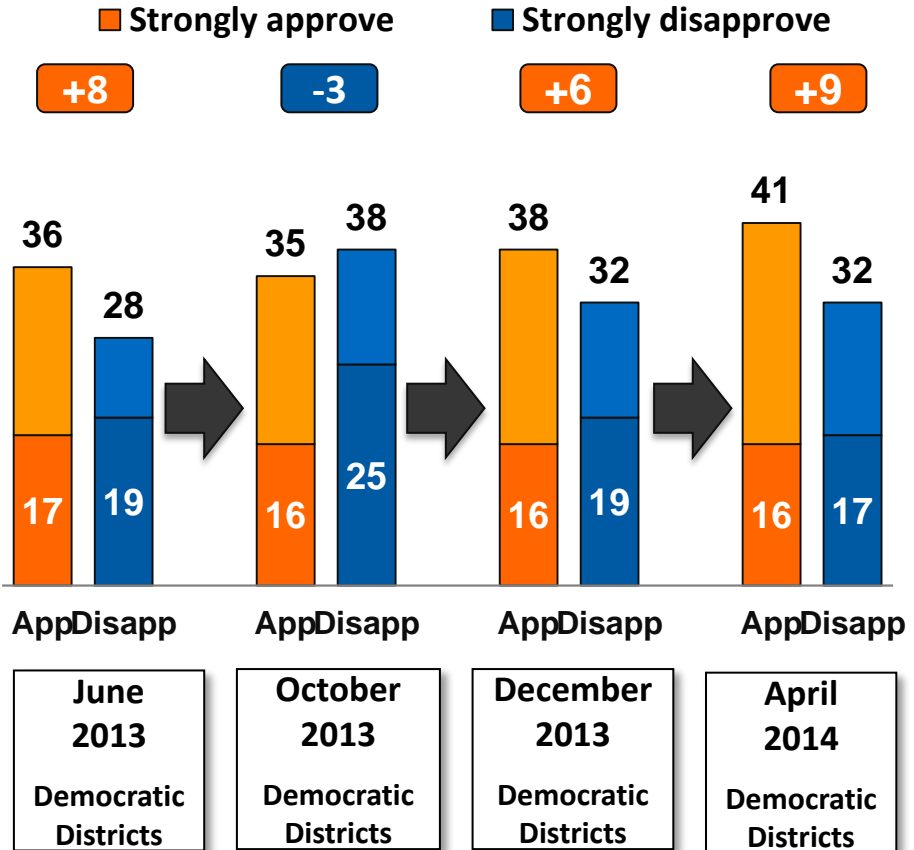


Both Republican and Democratic incumbents continue with low approval

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

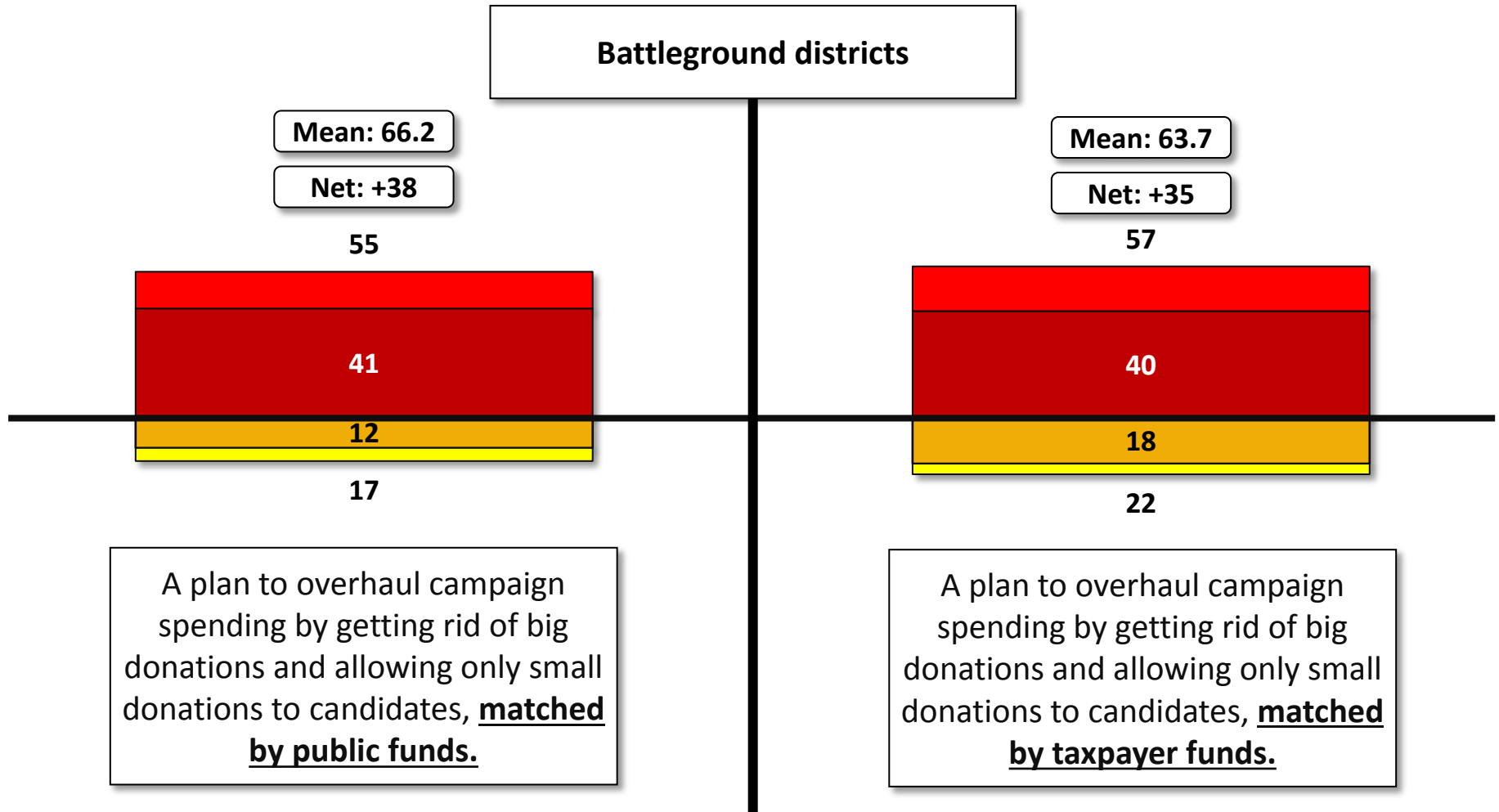
NAMED DEMOCRATIC INCUMBENT

NAMED REPUBLICAN INCUMBENT



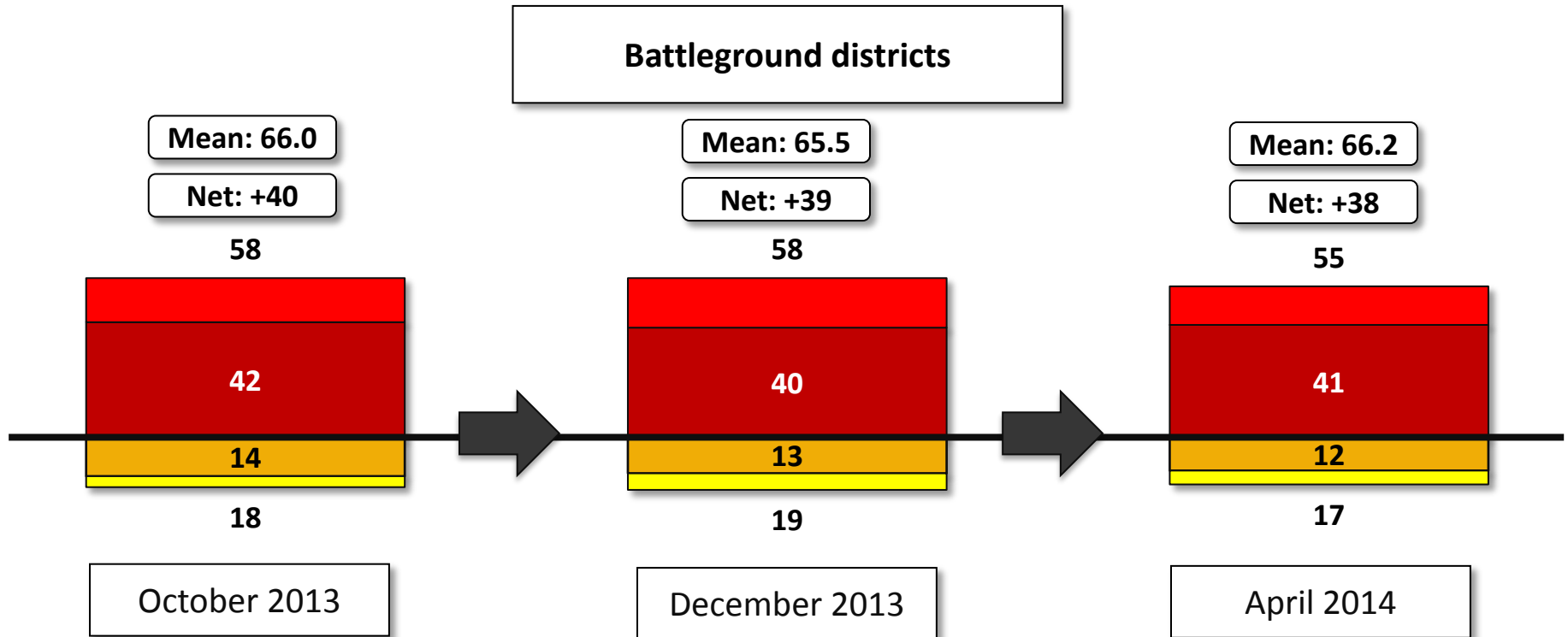
Plans to overhaul campaign spending by allowing only small donations draw broad support, even using taxpayer funds

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.



Steady support for plan to allow only small donations matched by public funds

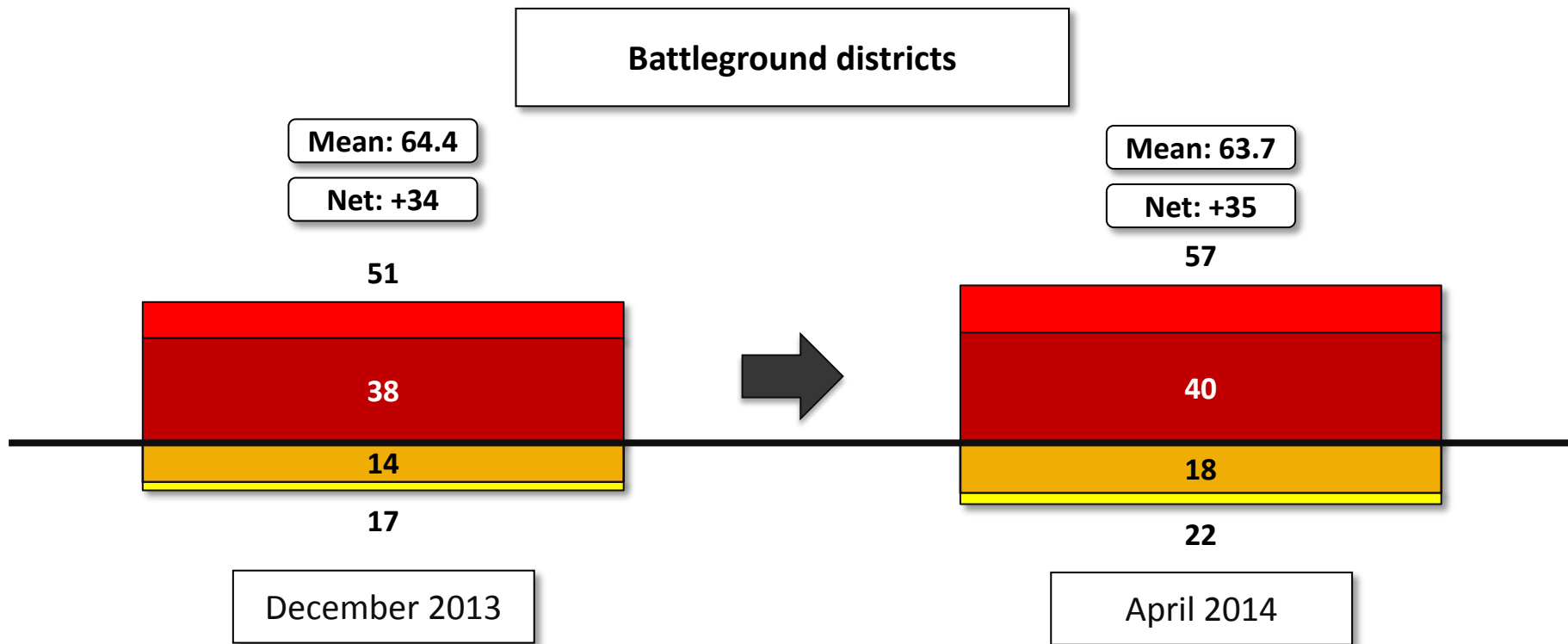
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A plan to overhaul campaign spending by getting rid of big donations and allowing only small donations to candidates, **matched by public funds.**

With continued support for proposal, even when indicated as taxpayer funds

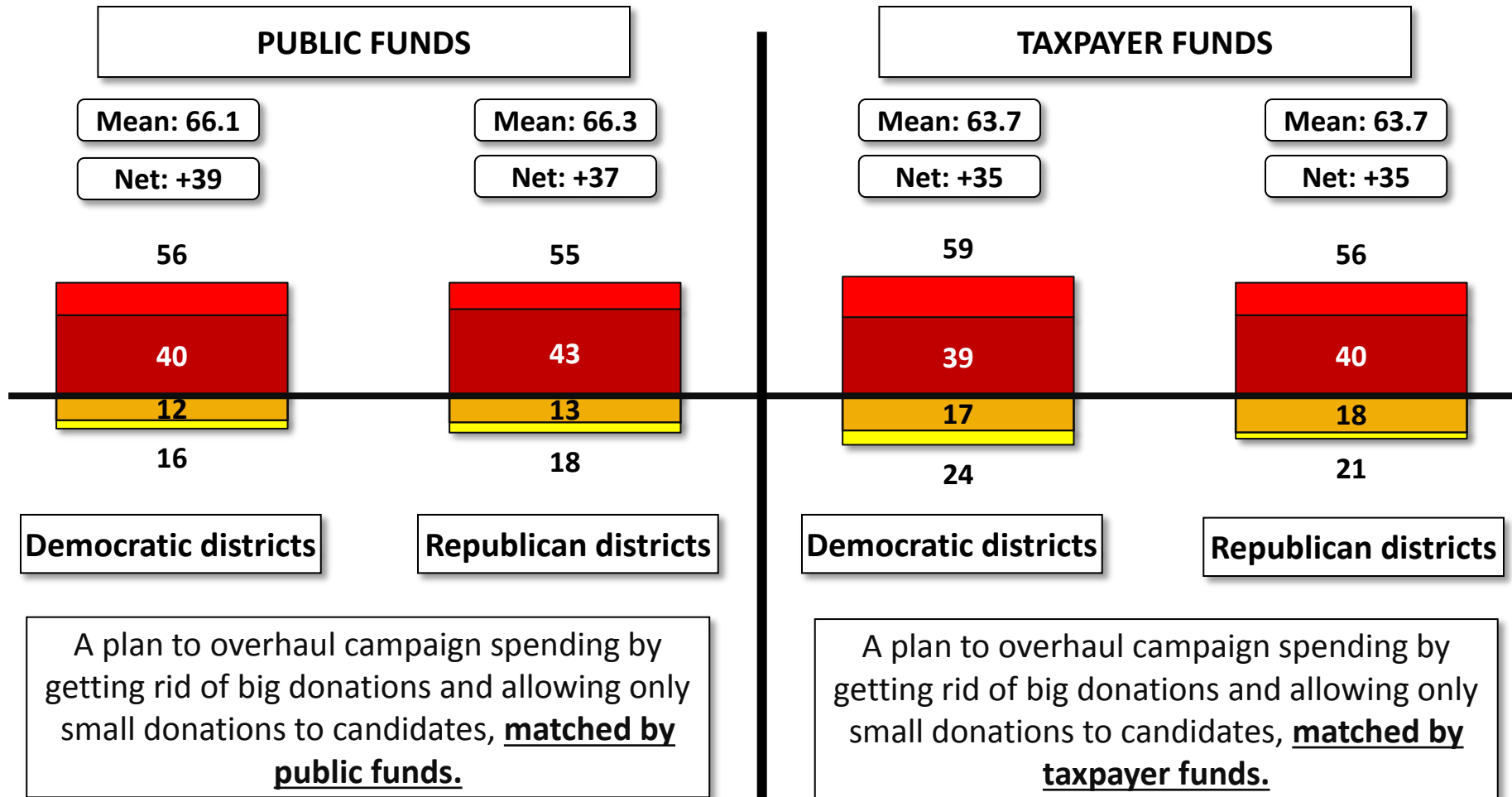
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A plan to overhaul campaign spending by getting rid of big donations and allowing only small donations to candidates, matched by taxpayer funds.

Support is strong across district types, even when plan includes “taxpayer funds”

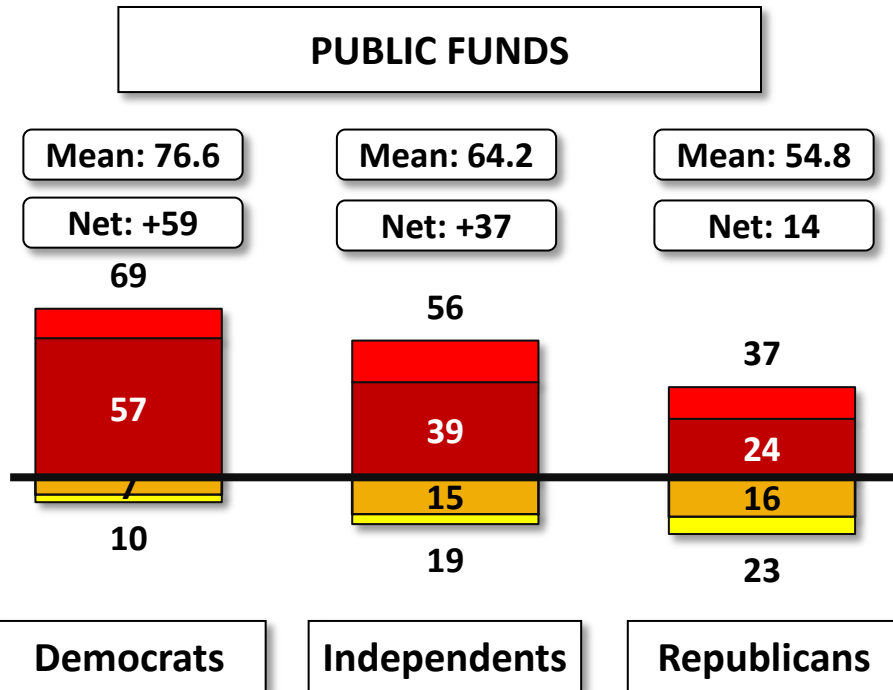
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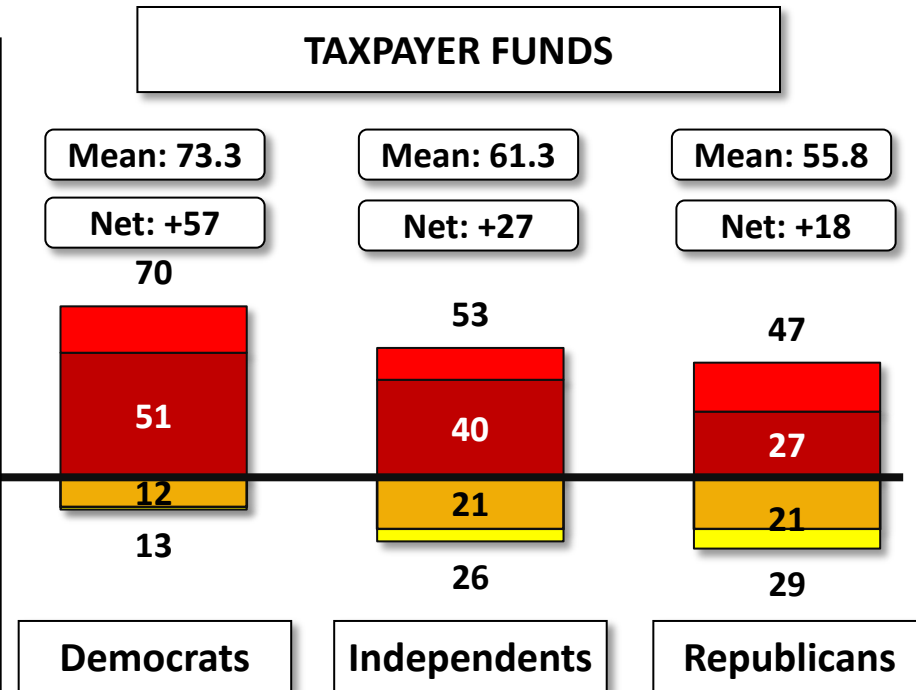
Overhauling campaign spending gets bi-partisan support, even when specified as taxpayer funds

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PUBLIC FUNDS



TAXPAYER FUNDS

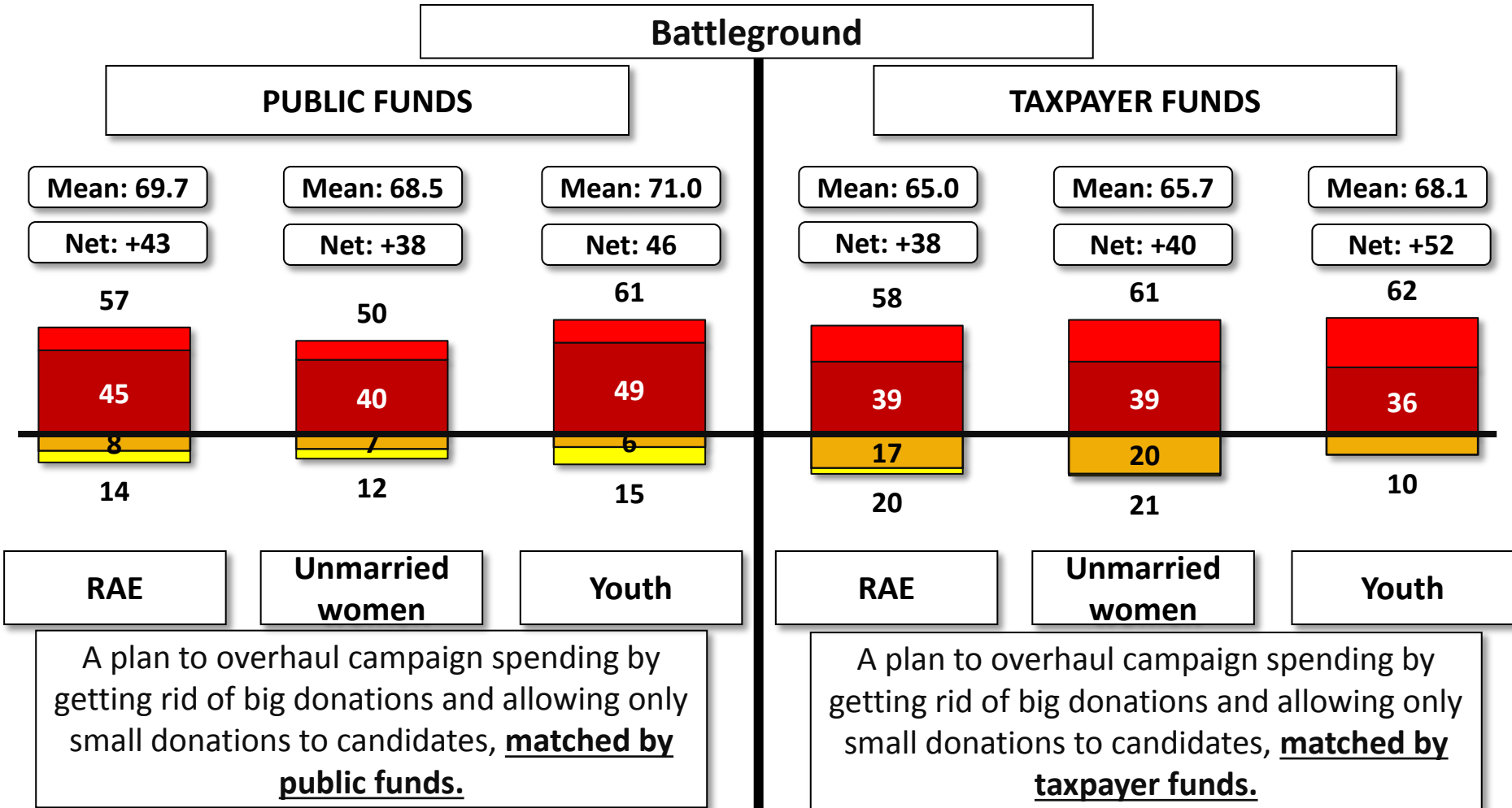


A plan to overhaul campaign spending by getting rid of big donations and allowing only small donations to candidates, matched by public funds.

A plan to overhaul campaign spending by getting rid of big donations and allowing only small donations to candidates, matched by taxpayer funds.

Strong support among Democratic base voters, particularly youth

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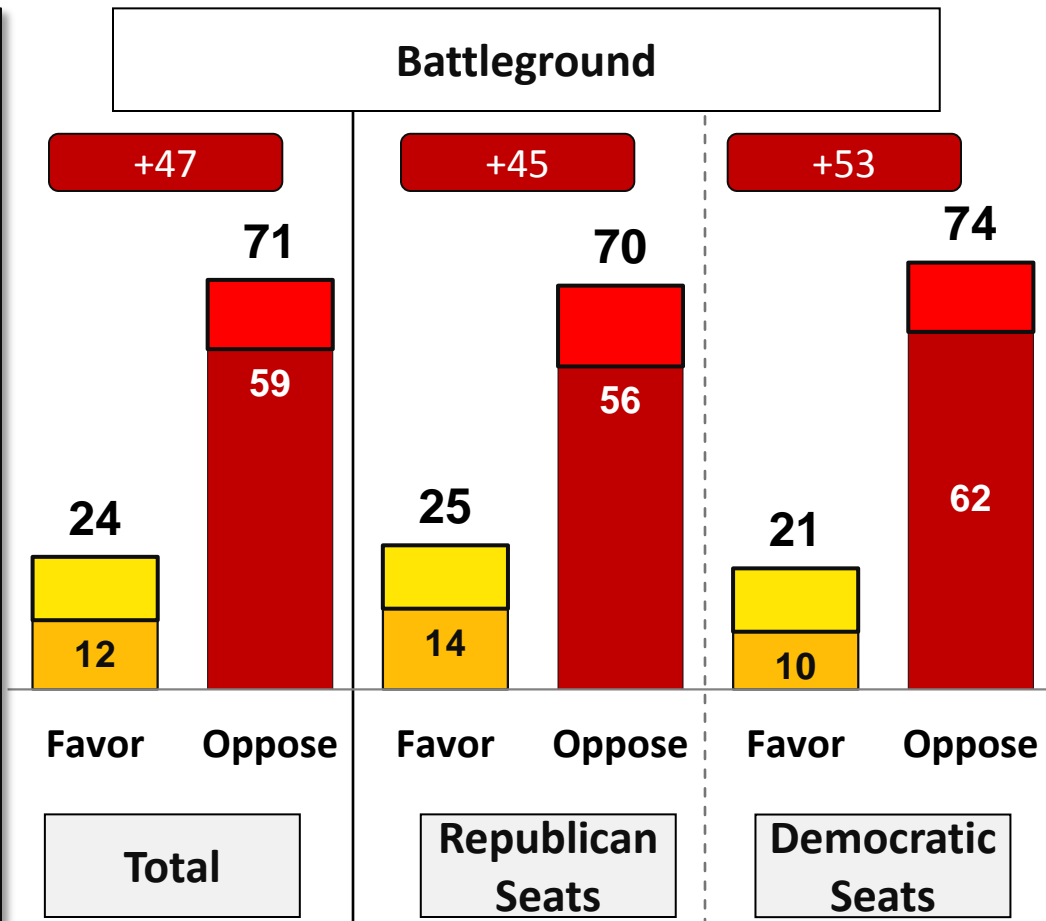


McCutcheon

McCutcheon decision unpopular across districts

From what you know, do you favor or oppose this Supreme Court ruling?

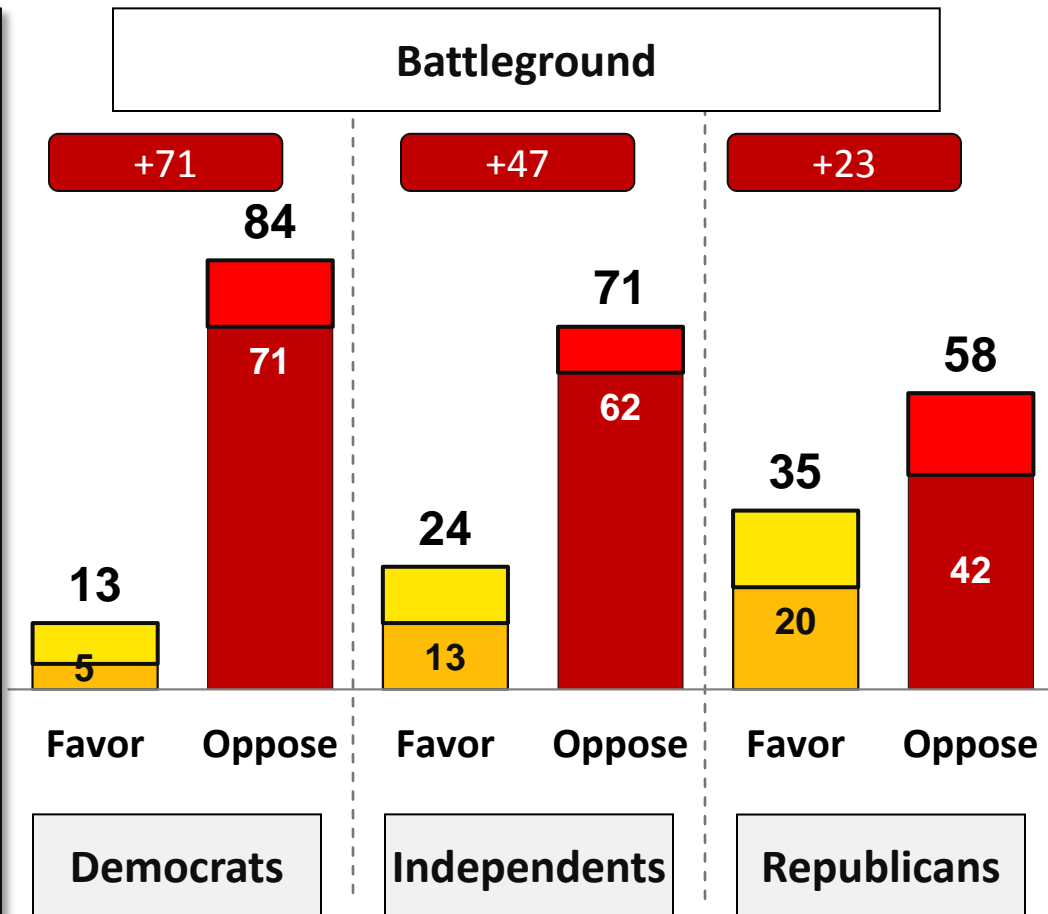
Now let me read you some information. Last week, the Supreme Court decided that donors would no longer be limited in how much they can give total in an election to candidates and political parties. Before the ruling, individuals were limited to roughly 120 thousand dollars in contributions to all candidates for federal office and to political parties. Now there are no overall limits on how much one can give. From what you know, do you favor or oppose this Supreme Court ruling?



Opposition cuts across party lines, but Democrats and independents more strongly opposed than Republicans

From what you know, do you favor or oppose this Supreme Court ruling?

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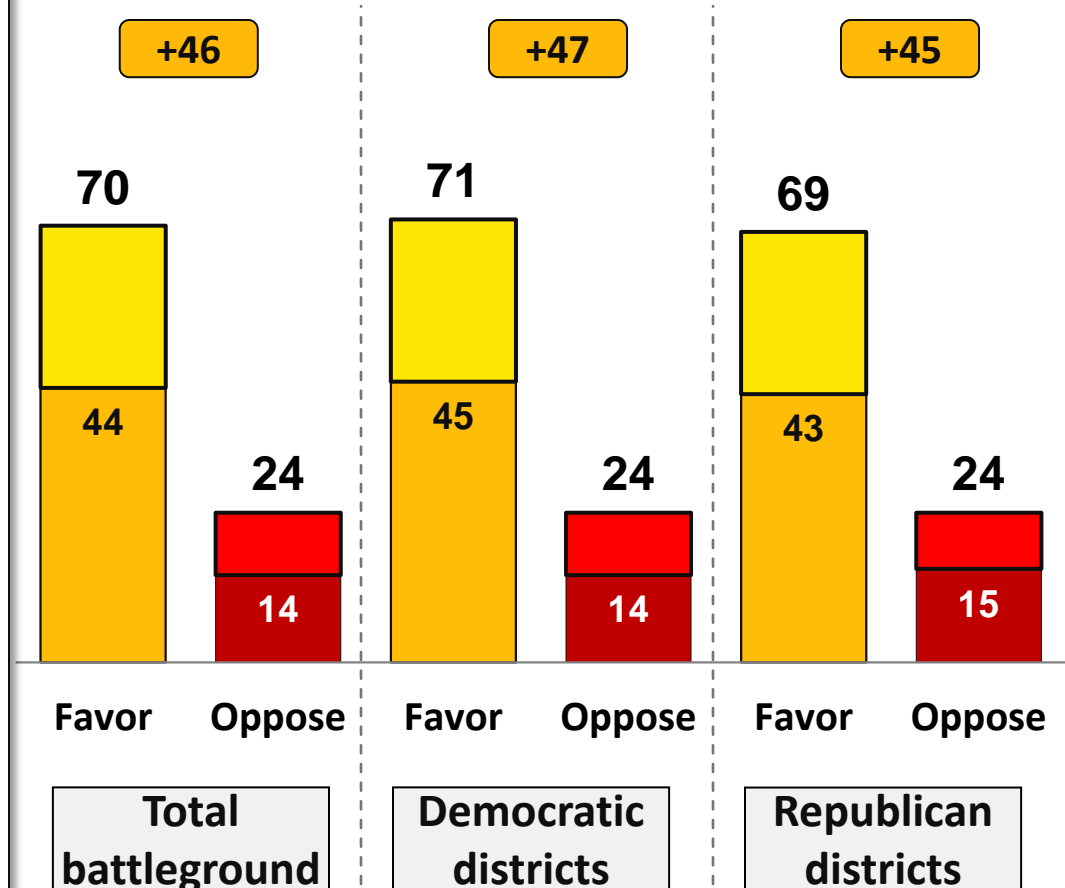


Big support for Government by the People Act

Across battleground, strong support for Government by the People Act

Now let me read you some information about a bill introduced in Congress earlier this year, called the Government by the People Act.. From what you know, would you favor or oppose this bill?

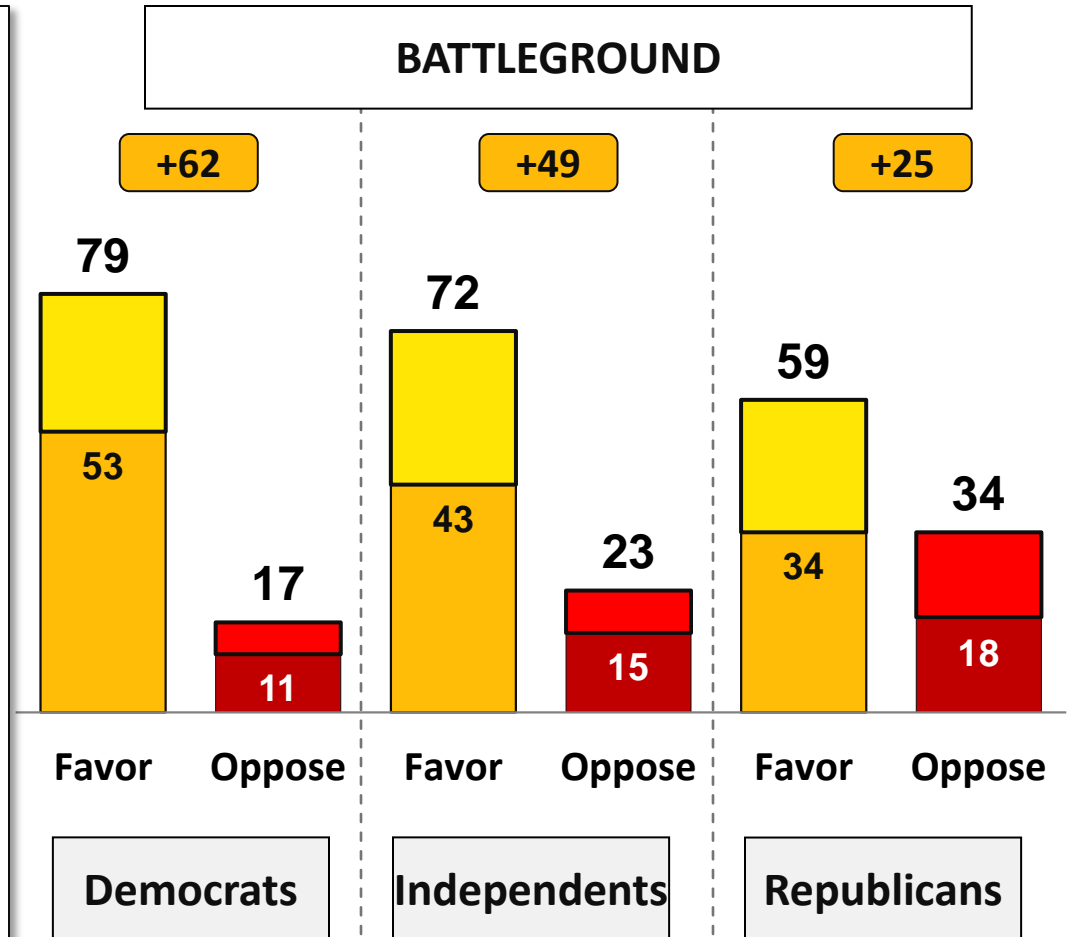
This new law changes the way campaigns are financed. Under this law, candidates could run for Congress without needing to raise large campaign contributions. Instead, they would collect a large number of small contributions up to 150 dollars from individuals in their home states, and these contributions would be matched on a six-to-one basis by a public fund set aside for this purpose. Anyone making a small donation would get a refundable tax credit of twenty-five dollars. Each candidate's public funding would be strictly capped at a certain amount, and there would be strong enforcement of campaign finance laws including disclosure of all donations.



Support is strong across all parties

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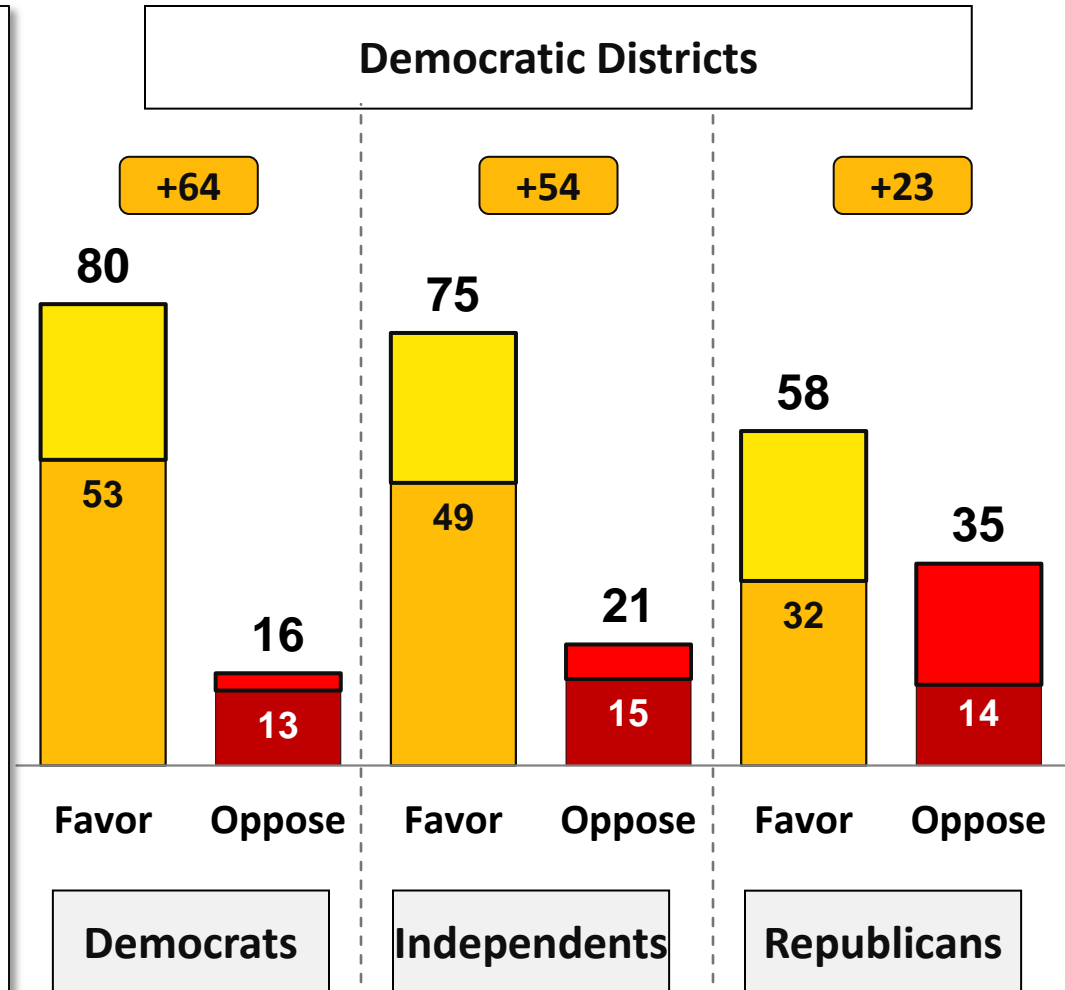
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...In both Democratic districts...

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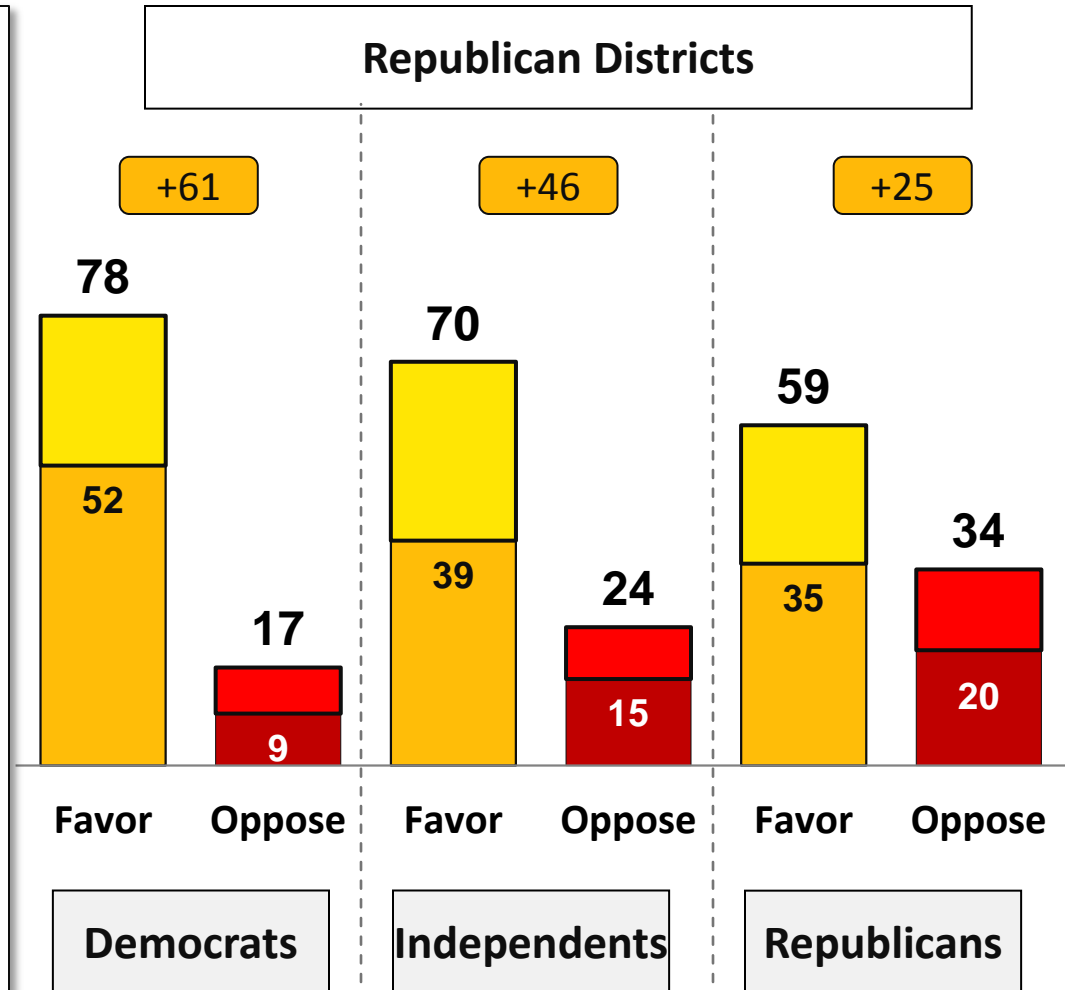
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...and Republican-held seats

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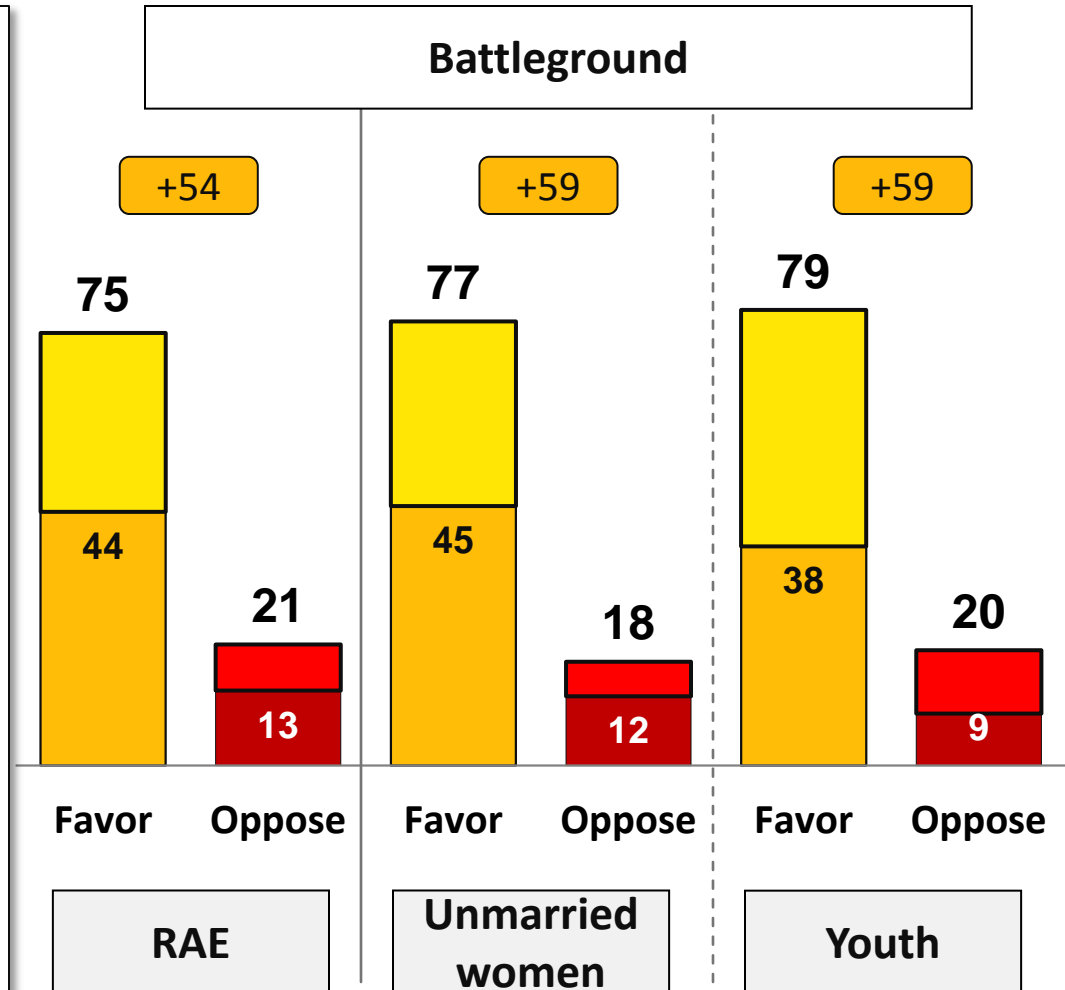
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Democratic base voters strongly supportive

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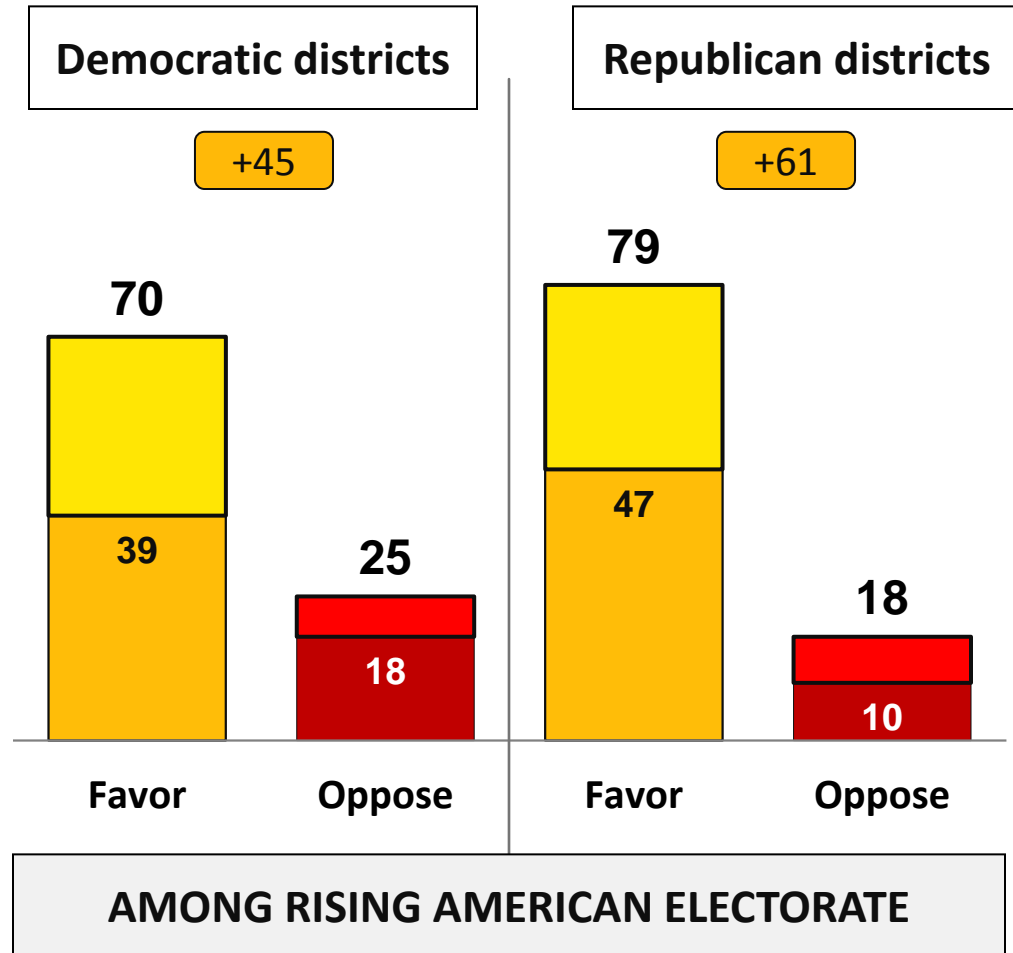
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Even more so in Republican-held districts

Now let me read you some information about a bill introduced in Congress earlier this year, called the Government by the People Act.. From what you know, would you favor or oppose this bill?

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Simulated campaign exercise: Messages in favor of proposal

(FAIR SHARE) We need a government of, by and for the people - not government bought and paid for by wealthy donors. If they want to invest in our government, let them pay their fair share of taxes, rather than paying for politicians who will write them special tax breaks. This proposal puts our government back in the hands of everyday Americans.

(POWER) The way to end billions in giveaways to oil companies, insurance companies, and Wall Street banks is to limit their political power and increase the influence of everyday Americans at the same time. And these special interest giveaways cost taxpayers many times more than the money from the Freedom From Influence Fund, which would reduce the power of wealthy special interests to rig the game in Washington.

(BACK ON TRACK) The way to get our economy back on track is to make Washington work for all of us and not for wealthy special interests. By cutting the influence of donors and lobbyists, we can end the billions in giveaways to oil companies, insurance companies, and Wall Street banks that waste taxpayers' money, and invest that money instead in growing the economy.

(JOBS) Our economy can't grow unless Congress works for all of us, and right now they're getting payoffs by those who are shipping jobs overseas or want handouts like special tax breaks and giveaways. It's got to end, and by cutting the influence of money in politics, we can get Congress to work for us, for a change.

Simulated campaign exercise: Messages in against proposal

(WELFARE) This proposal is just welfare for politicians. It means they will use billions of our taxpayer dollars to fund their campaigns instead of other important issues. Tax money will go to bumper stickers, yard signs, and even negative attacks, and the proposal would require a costly bureaucracy to police our speech. This is not a good use of our tax dollars.

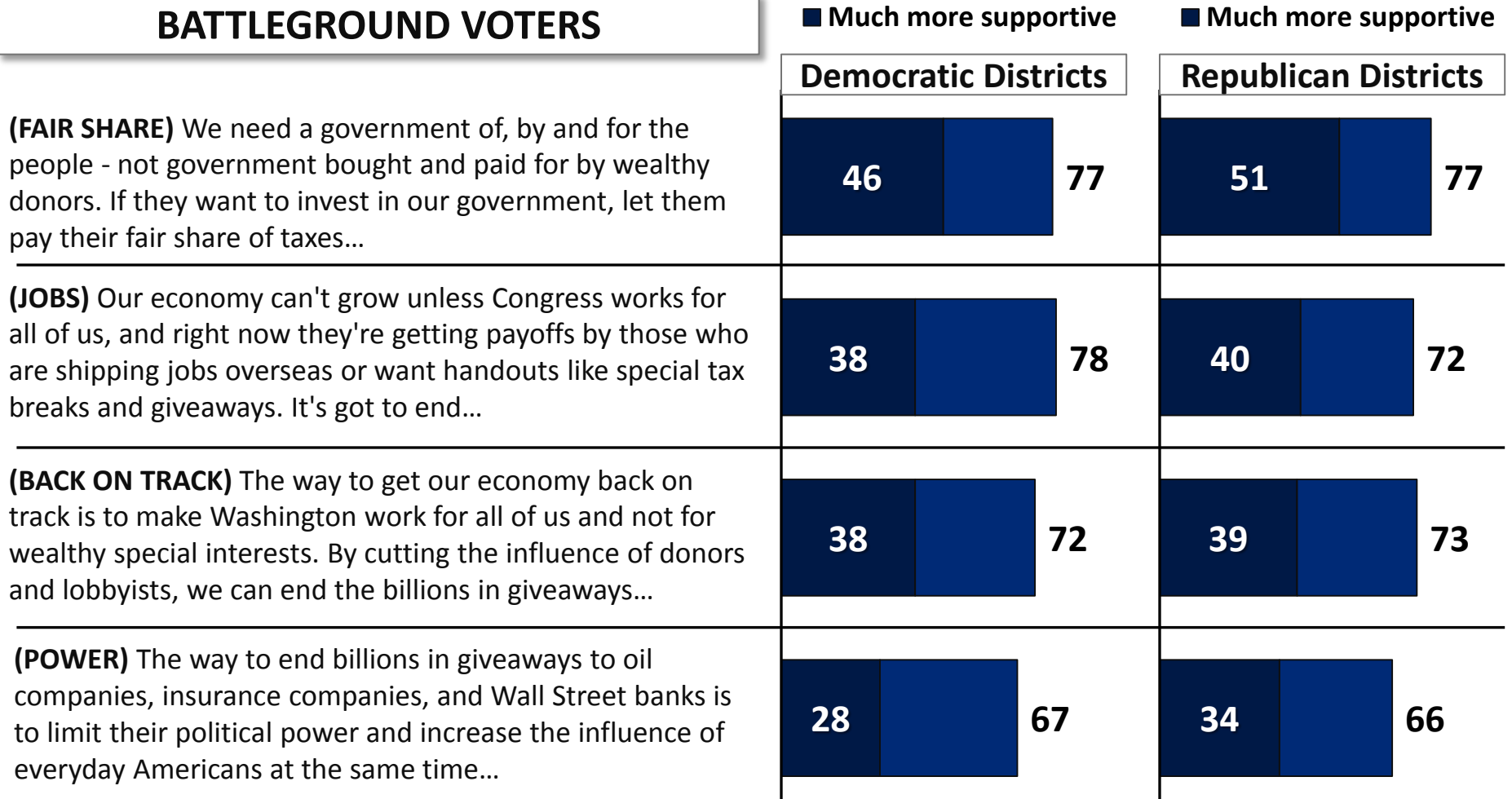
(BUREAUCRACY) This proposal will create new regulations and bureaucracy, and will cost taxpayers billions. It's riddled with loopholes that will allow some candidates to spend millions while others are limited, and wealthy special interests will still be able to spend unlimited amounts on those nasty political attack ads. It may be well-intentioned, but it won't clean up elections.

(PRIORITIES) Congress should be focused on how to fund only our most important priorities while balancing the budget. Creating jobs, education, protecting Medicare, and taking care of veterans should be high priorities in our budget. These issues are good uses of our tax dollars. Using billions in tax dollars to pay for negative political campaigns is nowhere close.

Message advocating for government by the people, not bought and paid for by wealthy donors is strongest across districts...

Now I'm going to read you some things Democrats who support this bill say about it. After I read each one, please tell me if it makes you more supportive or less supportive of this bill.

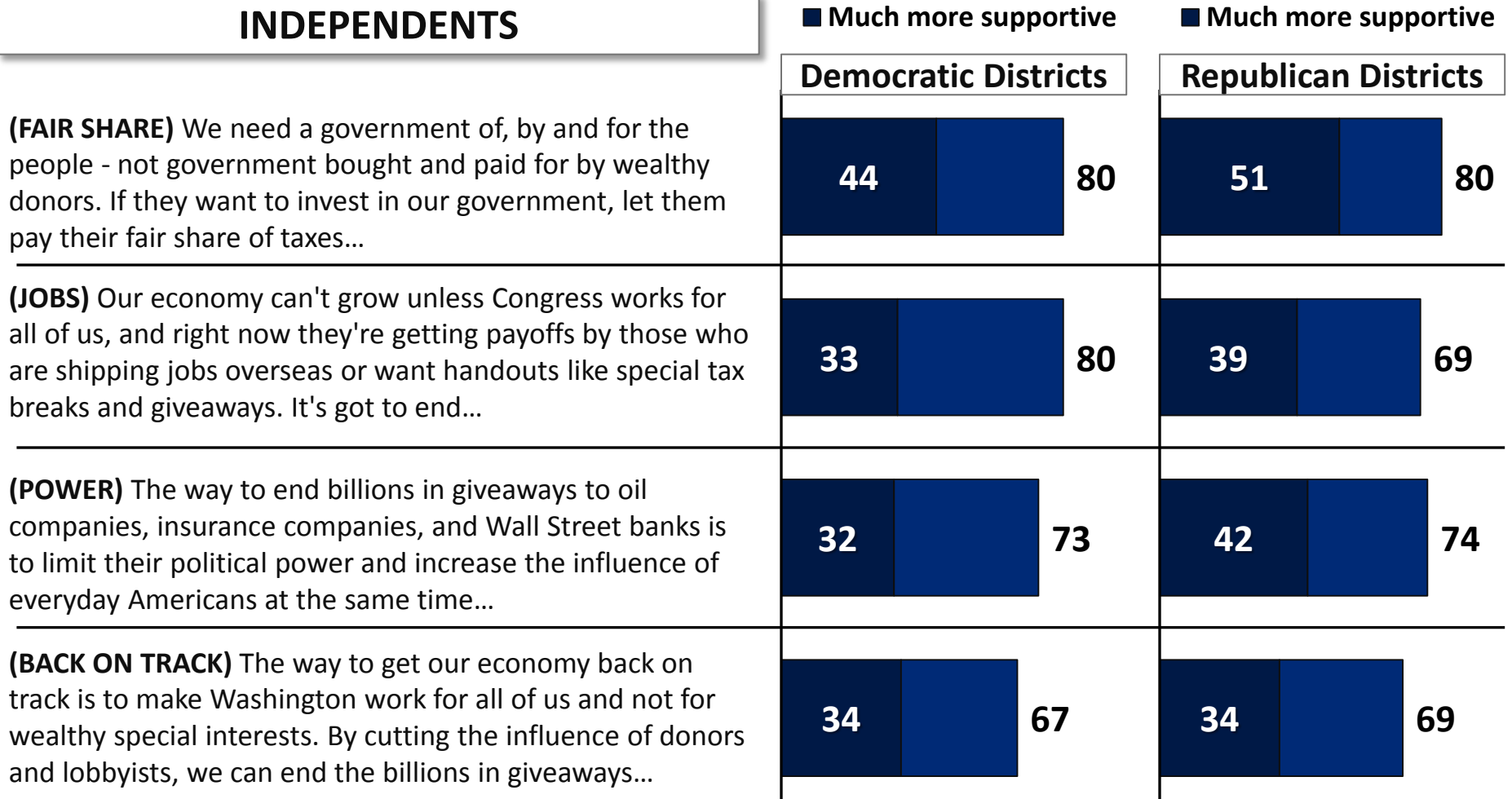
BATTLEGROUND VOTERS



It is the strongest message among independents...

Now I'm going to read you some things Democrats who support this bill say about it. After I read each one, please tell me if it makes you more supportive or less supportive of this bill.

INDEPENDENTS



...as well as Democrats. Back on track message also better among Democrats than among all voters and independents

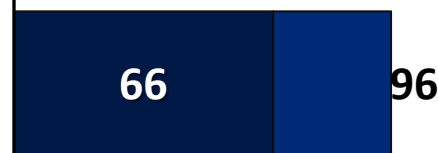
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DEMOCRATS

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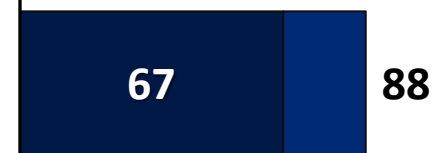
■ Much more supportive

Democratic Districts

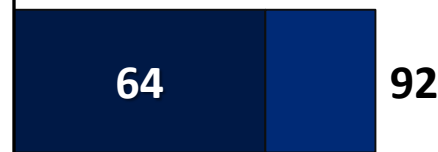


■ Much more supportive

Republican Districts



(BACK ON TRACK) The way to get our economy back on track is to make Washington work for all of us and not for wealthy special interests. By cutting the influence of donors and lobbyists, we can end the billions in giveaways...



(JOBS) Our economy can't grow unless Congress works for all of us, and right now they're getting payoffs by those who are shipping jobs overseas or want handouts like special tax breaks and giveaways. It's got to end...



(POWER) The way to end billions in giveaways to oil companies, insurance companies, and Wall Street banks is to limit their political power and increase the influence of everyday Americans at the same time...



...and the Rising American Electorate

Now I'm going to read you some things Democrats who support this bill say about it. After I read each one, please tell me if it makes you more supportive or less supportive of this bill.

RISING AMERICAN ELECTORATE

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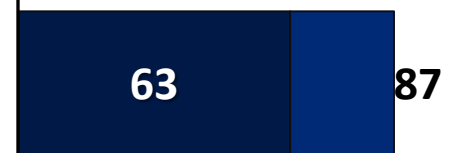
■ Much more supportive

Democratic Districts



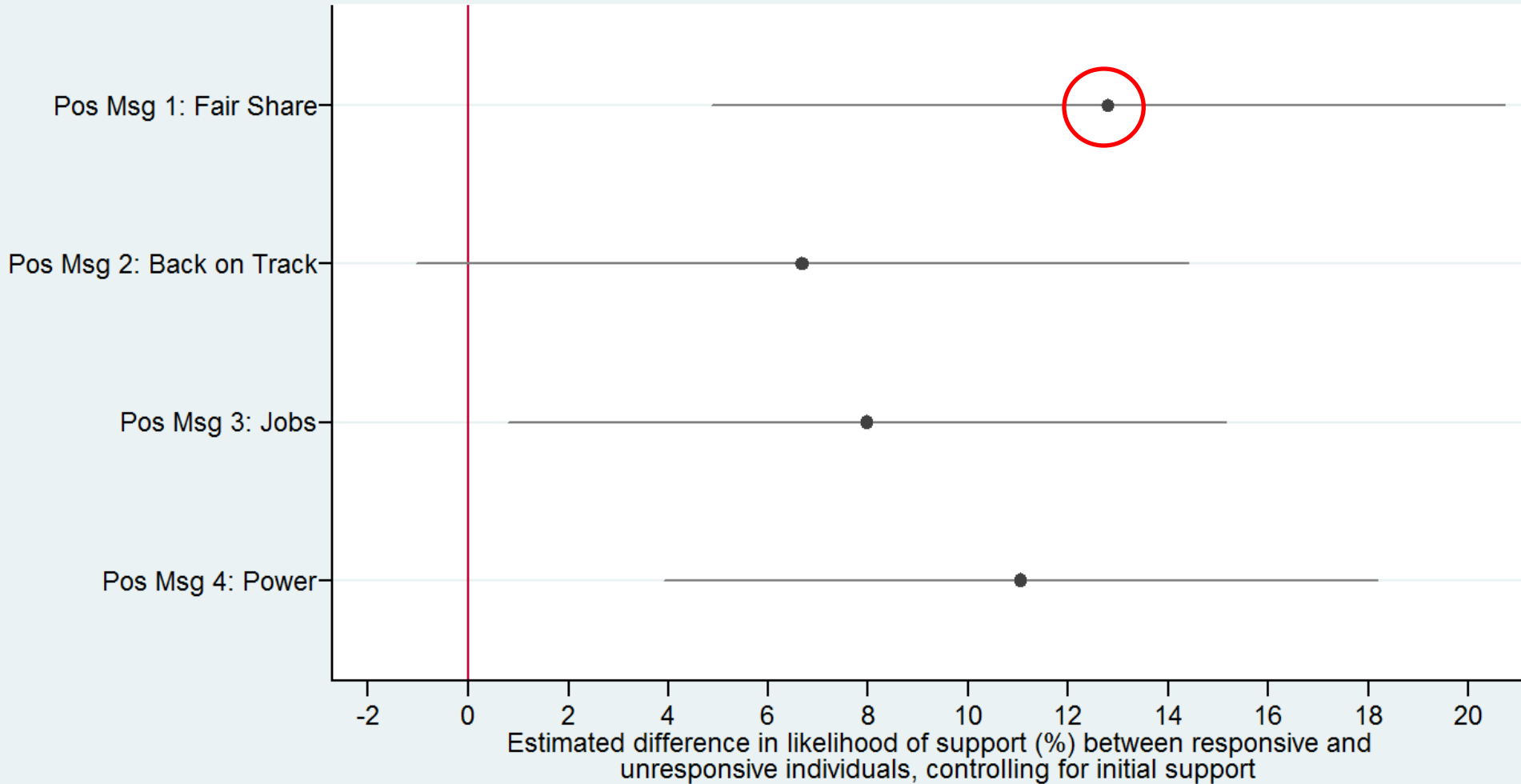
■ Much more supportive

Republican Districts



Regression analysis shows strength of 'Fair Share' message

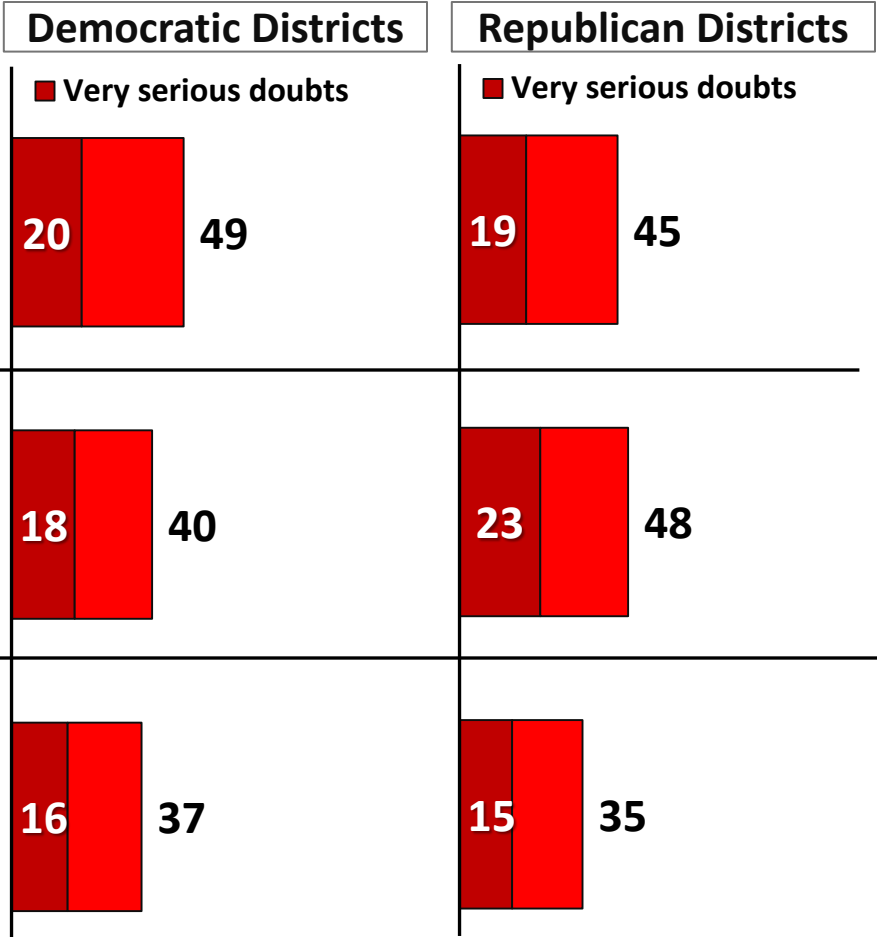
Marginal effect estimates based on responsiveness to each message, comparing much more supportive responses to no more supportive



Messages against do not perform as well

Now I'm going to read you some things Republicans who oppose this bill say about it. After I read each one, please tell me if it raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind.

(BUREAUCRACY) This proposal will create new regulations and bureaucracy, and will cost taxpayers billions. It's riddled with loopholes that will allow some candidates to spend millions while others are limited, and wealthy special interests will still be able to spend unlimited amounts on those nasty political attack ads...



(WELFARE) This proposal is just welfare for politicians. It means they will use billions of our taxpayer dollars to fund their campaigns instead of other important issues. Tax money will go to bumper stickers, yard signs, and even negative attacks, and the proposal would require a costly bureaucracy to police our speech.

(PRIORITIES) Congress should be focused on how to fund only our most important priorities while balancing the budget. Creating jobs, education, protecting Medicare, and taking care of veterans should be high priorities in our budget. These issues are good uses of our tax dollars. Using billions in tax dollars to pay ...

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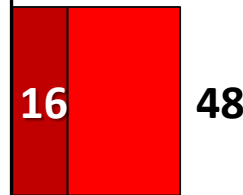
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INDEPENDENTS

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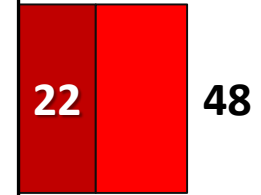
Democratic Districts

Very serious doubts

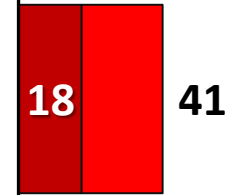
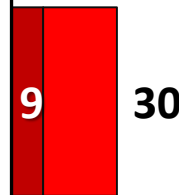


Republican Districts

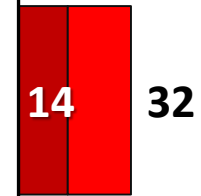
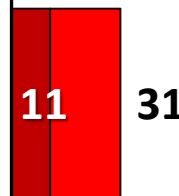
Very serious doubts



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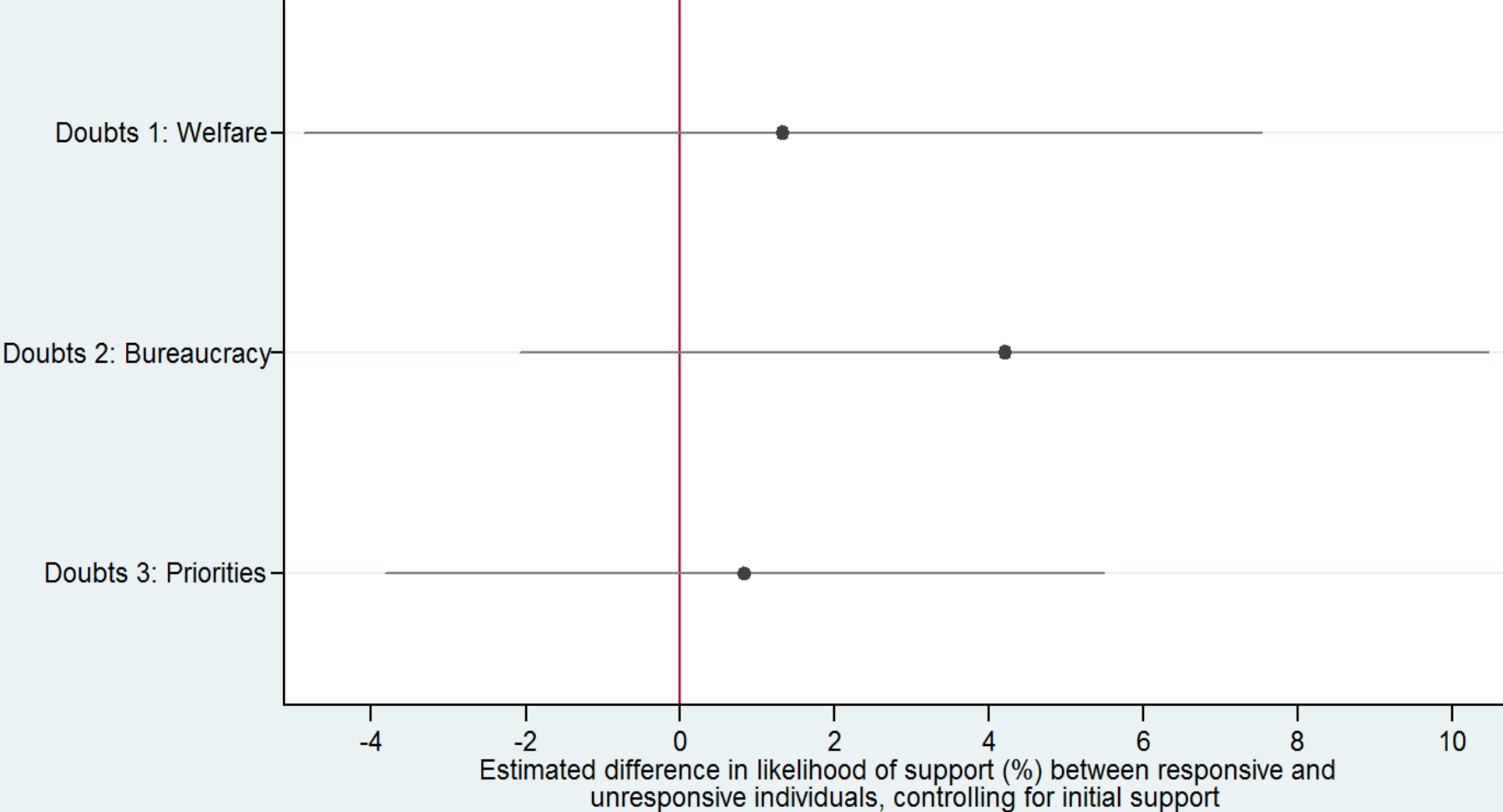


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Attacks have less impact than messages in favor

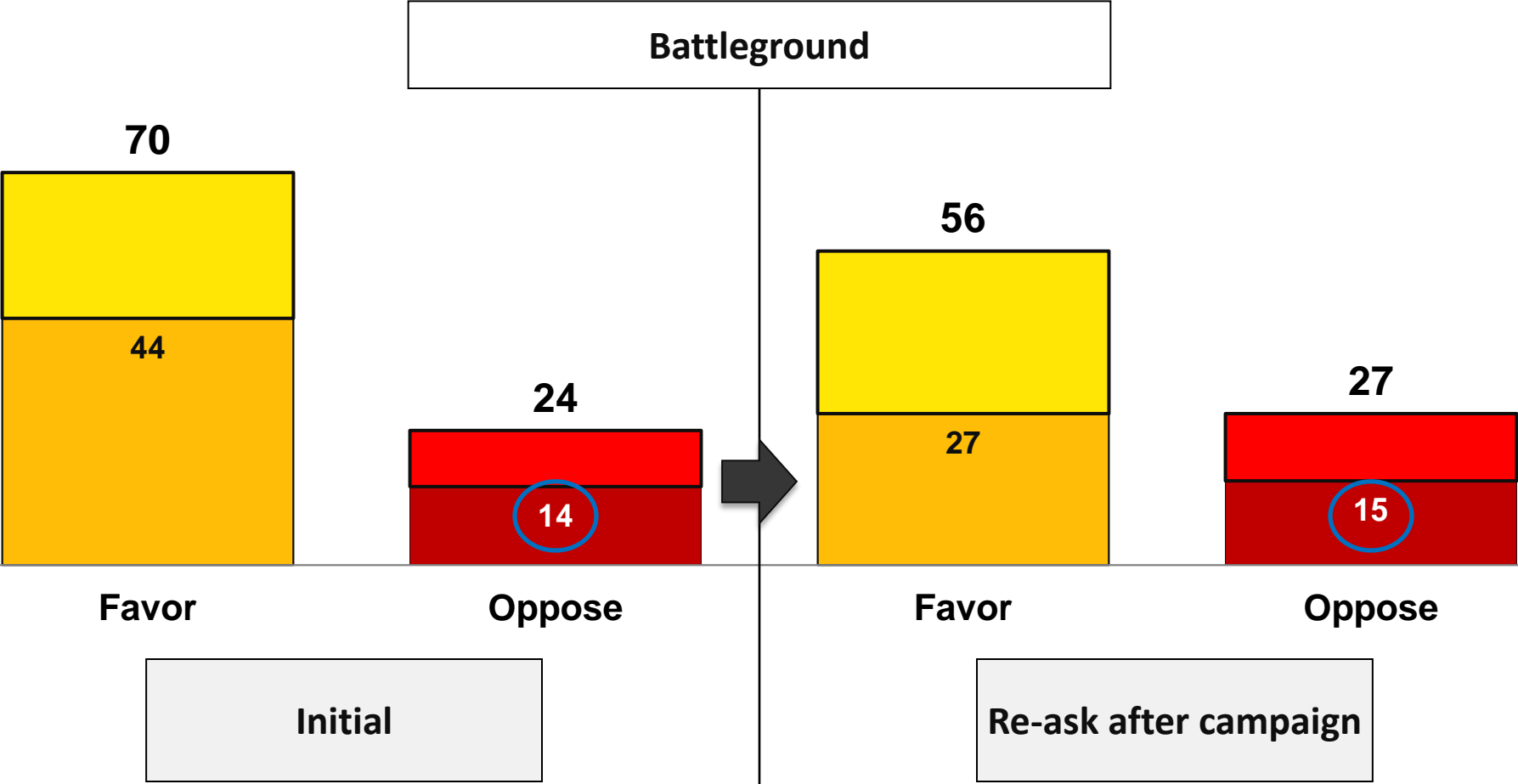
Marginal effect estimates based on responsiveness to each message, comparing very serious doubts to no real doubts



Support for proposal remains strong

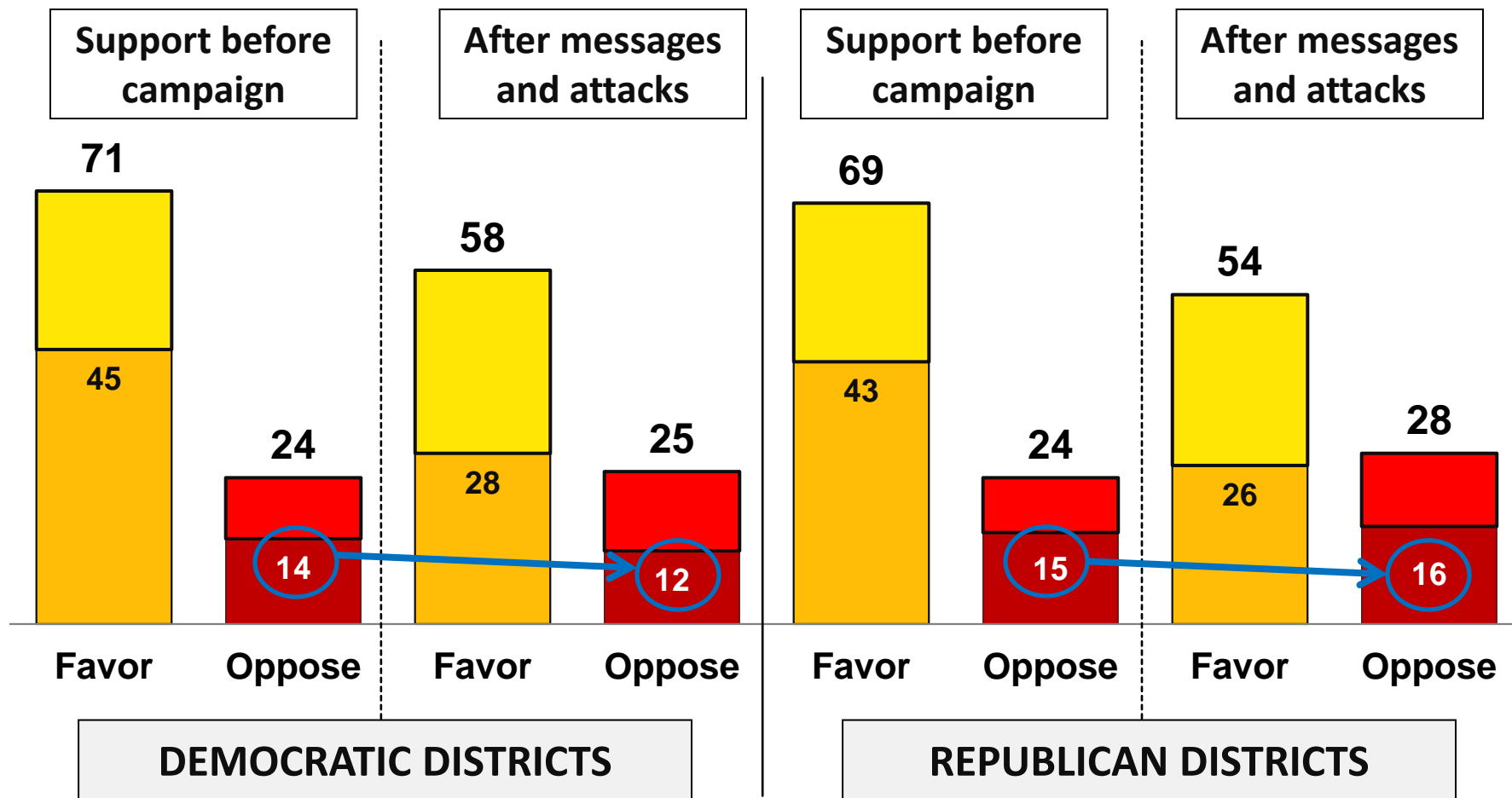
Bill maintains majority support, even after strongest attacks, with marginal increase in opposition and no increase in strong opposition

Now let me read you some information about a bill introduced in Congress earlier this year, called the Government by the People Act.. From what you know, would you favor or oppose this bill?



Majority continue to support the bill in all districts, with no increase in opposition in Democratic districts

Now let me ask you again. Recently, a bill was introduced in Congress, called the Government by the People Act. This new law changes the way campaigns are financed. From what you know, do you favor or oppose this bill?



Bill maintains majority support among Democrats and independents, with no increase in strong opposition

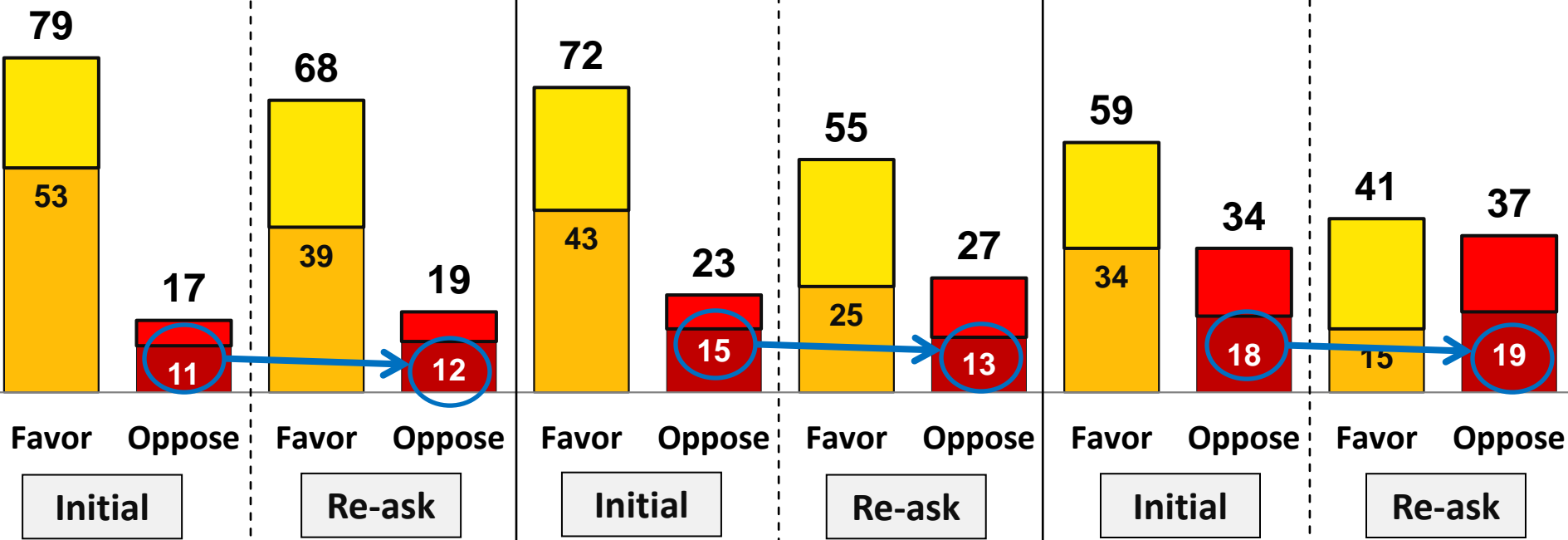
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Battleground

DEMOCRATS

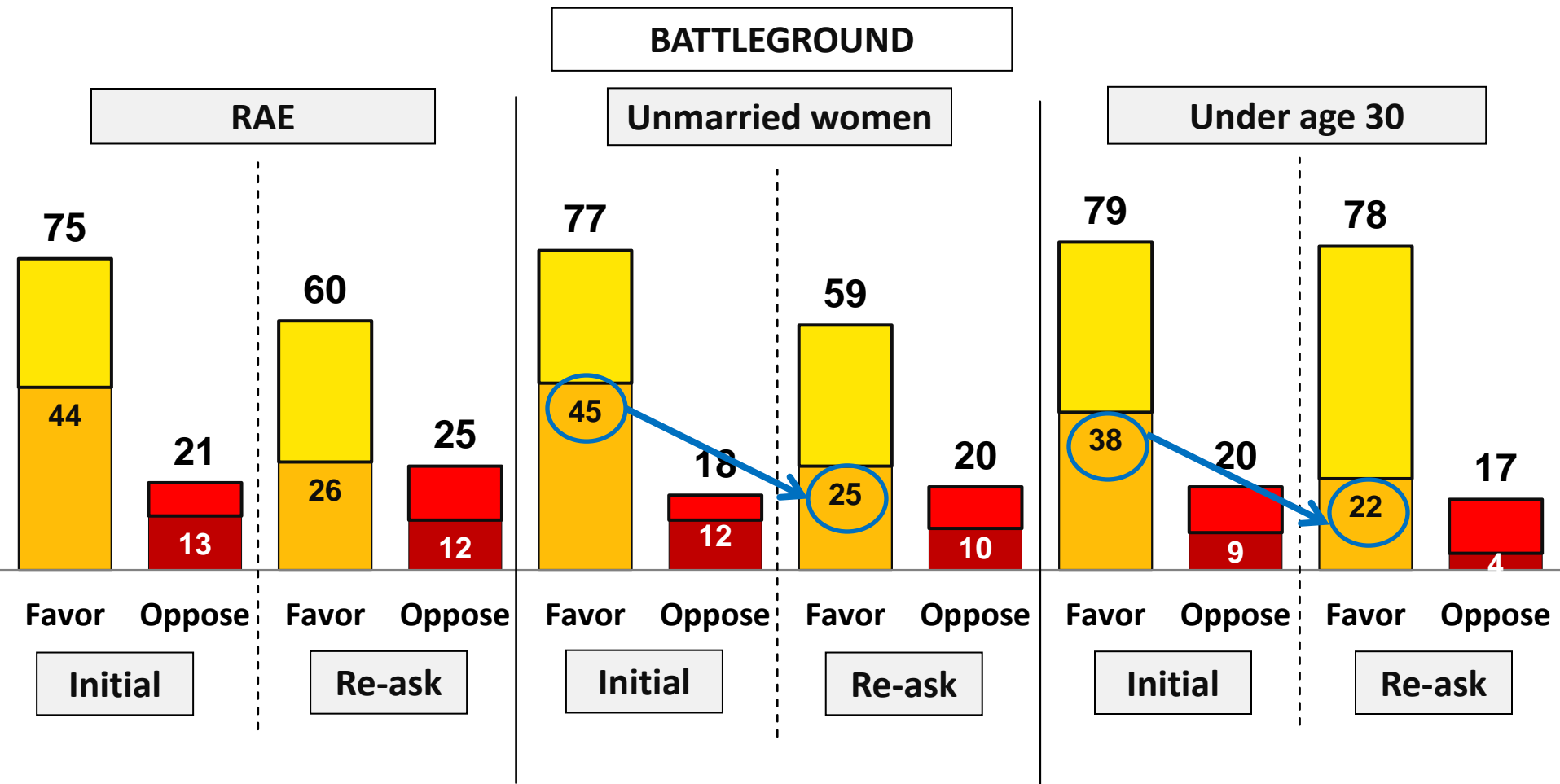
INDEPENDENTS

REPUBLICANS



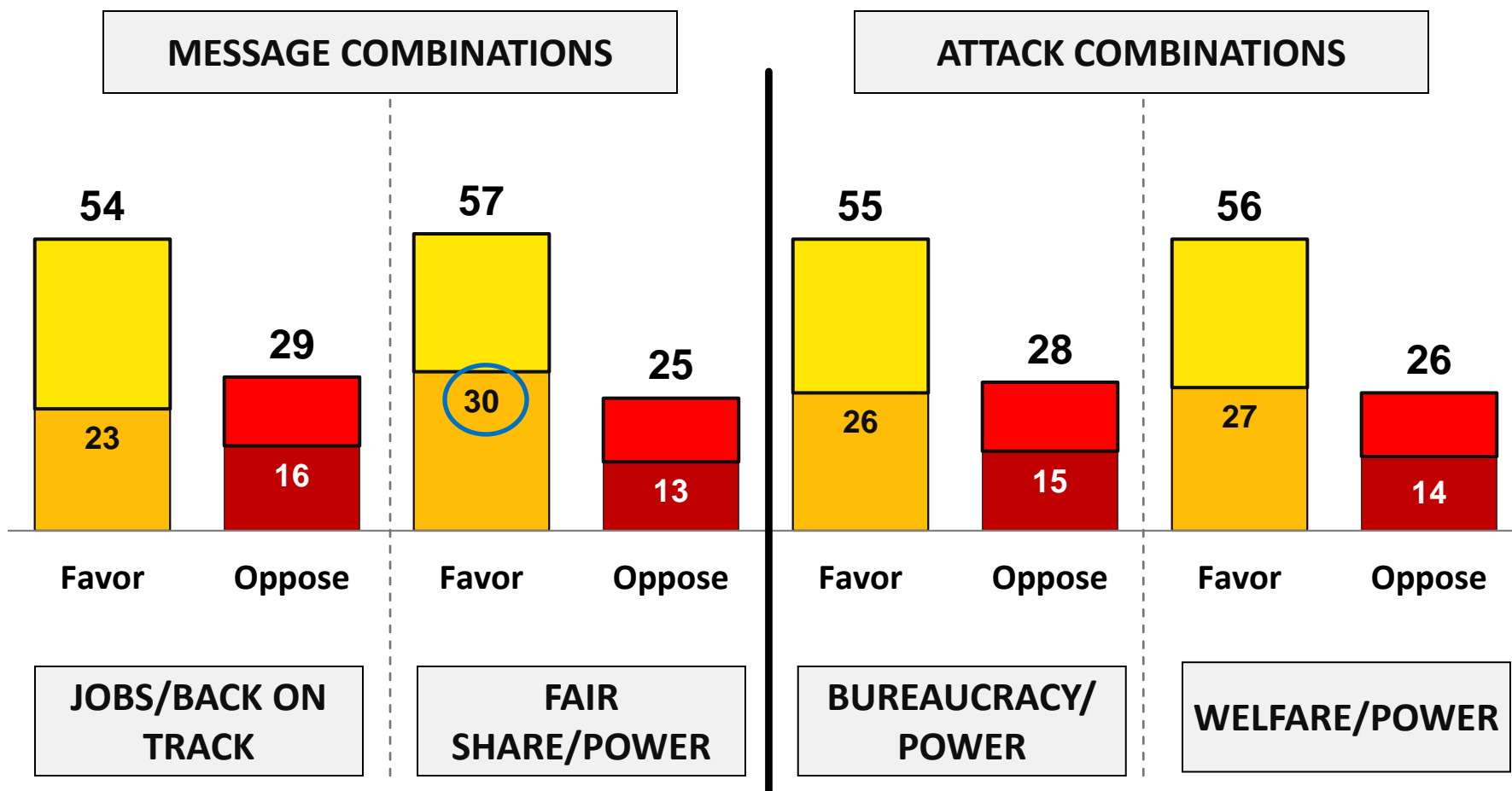
Among unmarried women and youth, decline in strong support, but no increase in opposition

Now let me read you some information about a bill introduced in Congress earlier this year, called the Government by the People Act.. From what you know, would you favor or oppose this bill?



Broad support for bill across all message combinations, but Fair Share/Power strongest.

Now let me ask you again. Recently, a bill was introduced in Congress, called the Government by the People Act. This new law changes the way campaigns are financed. From what you know, do you favor or oppose this bill?



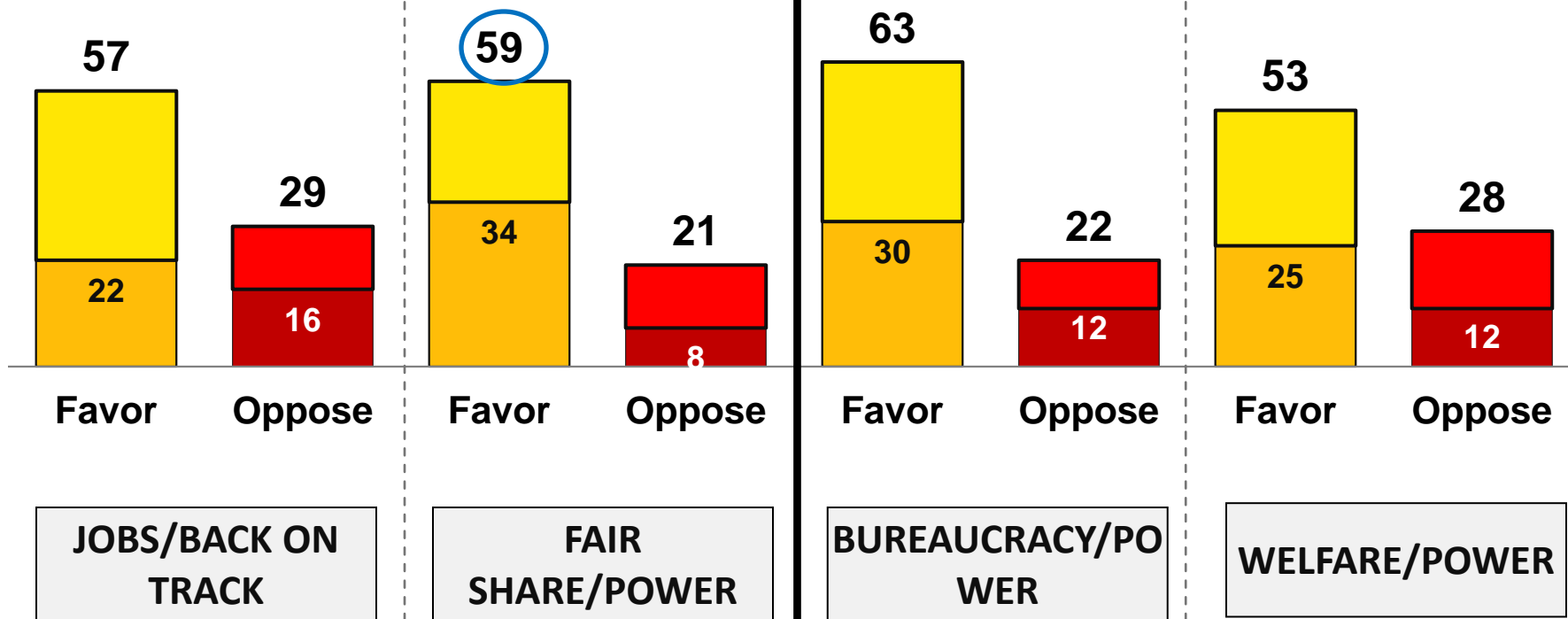
In Democratic districts, Fair Share/Power the strongest message combination

Now let me ask you again. Recently, a bill was introduced in Congress, called the Government by the People Act. This new law changes the way campaigns are financed. From what you know, do you favor or oppose this bill?

DEMOCRATIC DISTRICTS

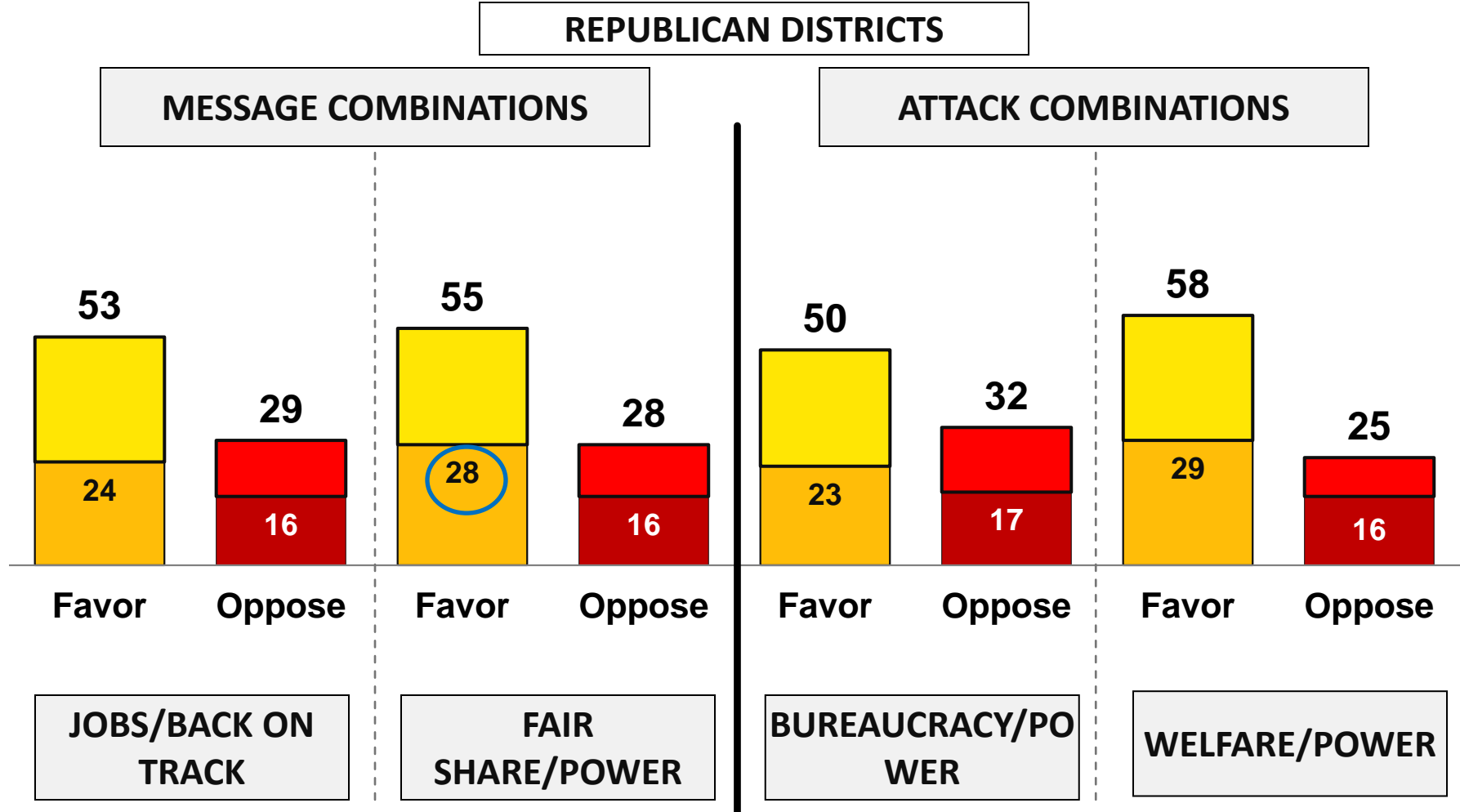
MESSAGE COMBINATIONS

ATTACK COMBINATIONS



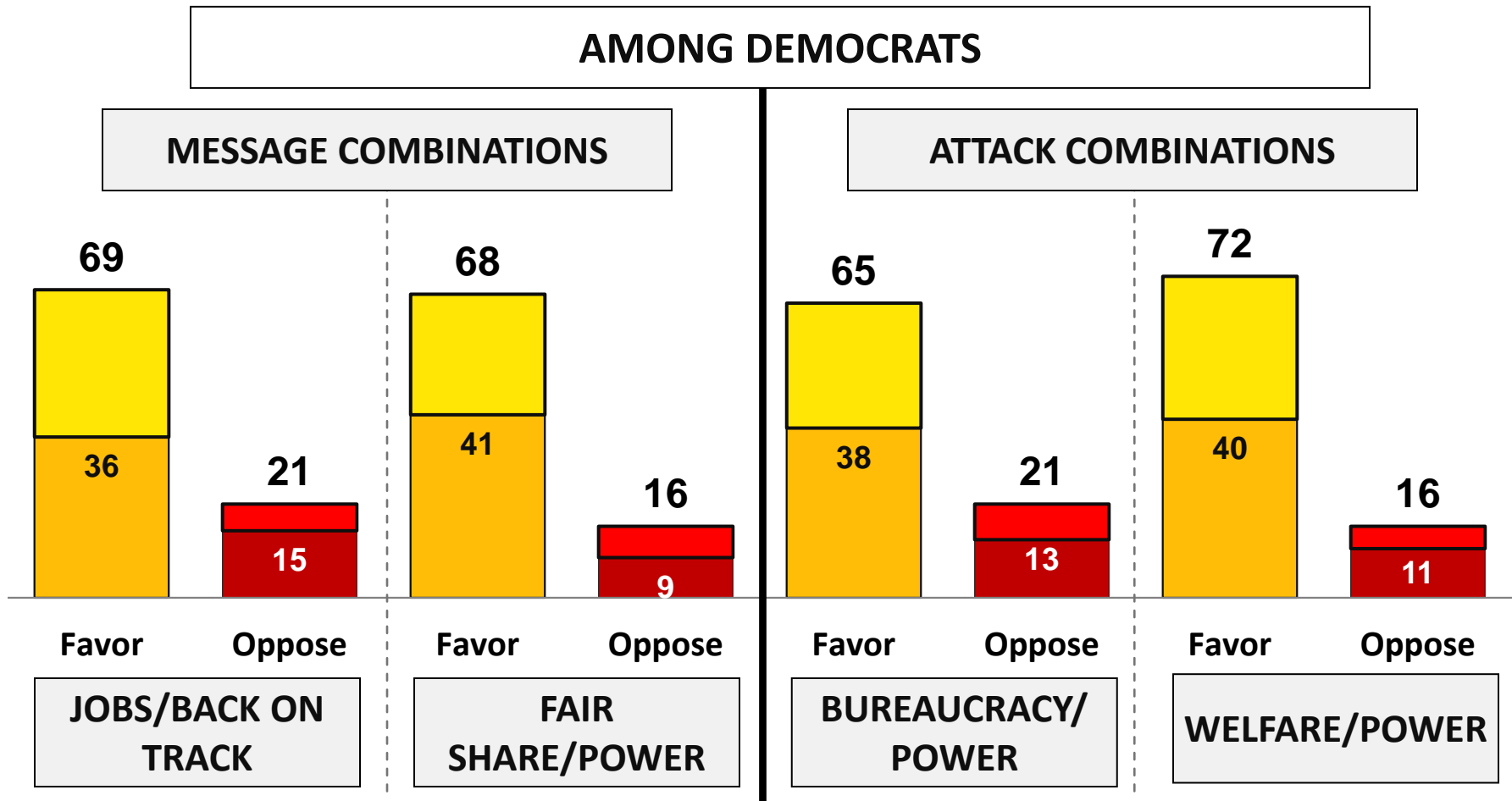
In Republican districts, Fair Share/Power stronger, but only marginally. Bill is more vulnerable to “bureaucracy” attack

Now let me ask you again. Recently, a bill was introduced in Congress, called the Government by the People Act. This new law changes the way campaigns are financed. From what you know, do you favor or oppose this bill?



Democrats more vulnerable to Bureaucracy/Power attack combination

Now let me ask you again. Recently, a bill was introduced in Congress, called the Government by the People Act. This new law changes the way campaigns are financed. From what you know, do you favor or oppose this bill?



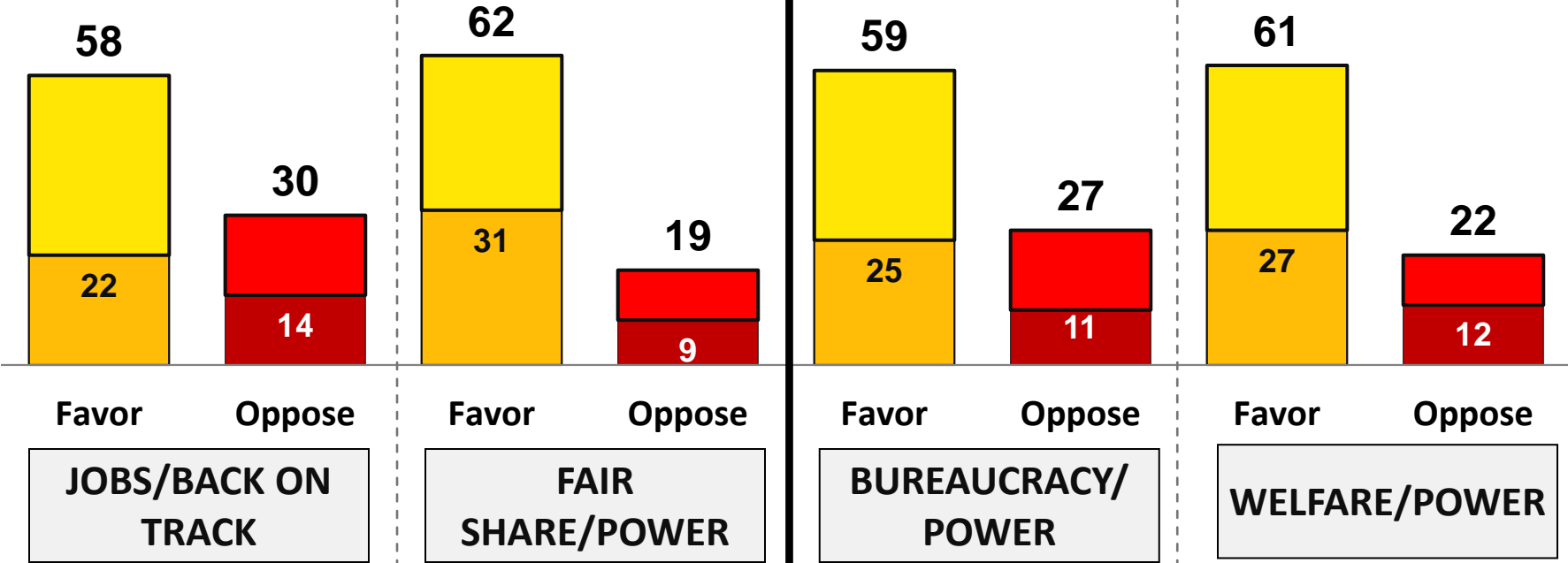
Rising American Electorate maintain more support for proposal in Fair Share/Power track

Now let me ask you again. Recently, a bill was introduced in Congress, called the Government by the People Act. This new law changes the way campaigns are financed. From what you know, do you favor or oppose this bill?

AMONG RISING AMERICAN ELECTORATE

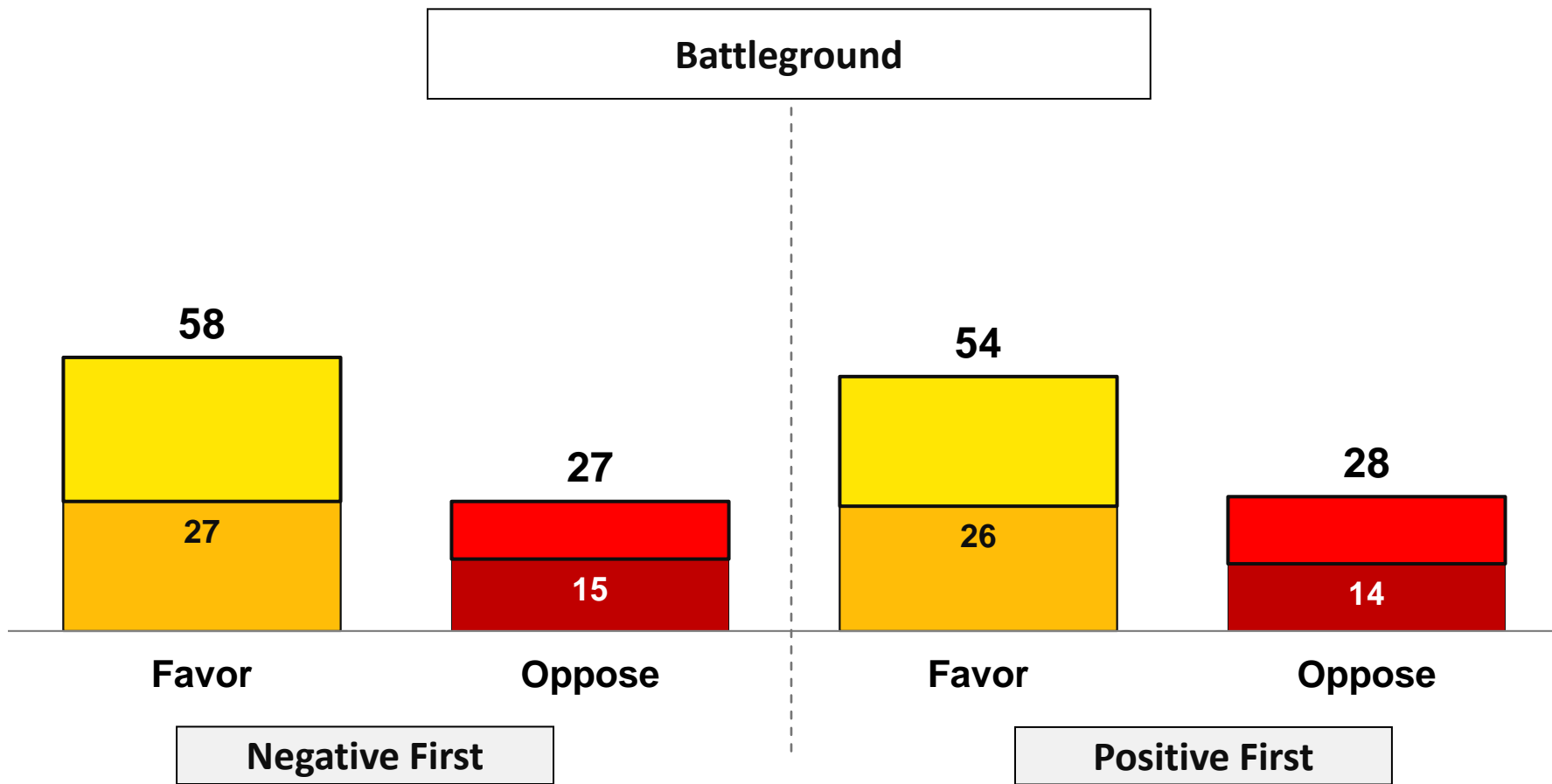
MESSAGE COMBINATIONS

ATTACK COMBINATIONS



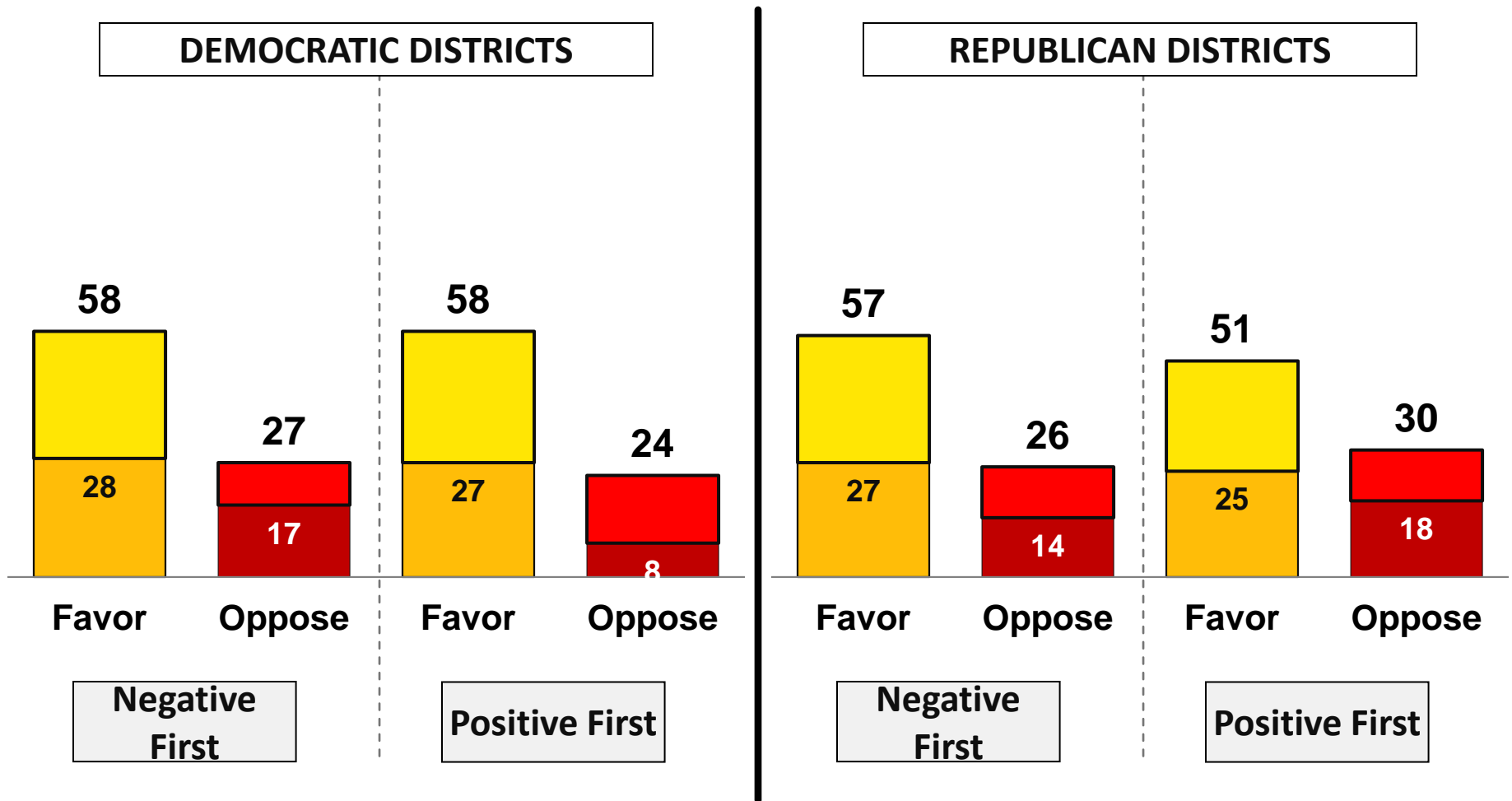
Little difference between those who heard attacks first and those who heard messages first

Now let me ask you again. Recently, a bill was introduced in Congress, called the Government by the People Act. This new law changes the way campaigns are financed. From what you know, do you favor or oppose this bill?



In Republican districts, advantage to hearing positive second

Now let me ask you again. Recently, a bill was introduced in Congress, called the Government by the People Act. This new law changes the way campaigns are financed. From what you know, do you favor or oppose this bill?



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	+3.0
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 +10.0	+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 +8.6	+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
<p>Upscale Rural</p> <p>New Hampshire-2 (D) New York-19 (R)</p> <p>Downscale Rural</p> <p>Arkansas-1 (R) Arkansas-4 (R) Iowa-4 (R) Maine-2 (D) Michigan-1 (R) Minnesota-7 (D) Minnesota-8 (D) Montana-AL (R) New York-21 (D) North Carolina-7 (D) Ohio-6 (R) West Virginia-2 (R) West Virginia-3 (D) Wisconsin-7 (R)</p>	<p>Upscale Exurban</p> <p>Michigan-7 (R) New York-23 (R)</p> <p>Downscale Exurban</p> <p>Arizona-1 (D) Iowa-1 (D) Illinois-13 (R) Indiana-2 (R) Indiana-8 (R) New Mexico-2 (R) Wisconsin-8 (R)</p>	<p>Upscale Suburban</p> <p>Arizona-2 (D) California-24 (D) California-25 (R) California-26 (D) California-7 (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-4 (D) New York-18 (D)</p>	<p>Upscale Suburban</p> <p>New York-2 (R) Ohio-14 (R) Oregon-5 (D) Pennsylvania-6 (R) Pennsylvania-8 (R) Pennsylvania-12 (R) Utah-4 (D) Virginia-10 (R) Washington-1 (D)</p> <p>Downscale Suburban</p> <p>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)</p>	<p>Upscale Metro</p> <p>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)</p> <p>Downscale Metro</p> <p>Florida-2 (R) Georgia-12 (D) Illinois-12 (D) Illinois-17 (D) Kentucky-6 (R) Texas-23 (D)</p>	<p>Upscale Urban</p> <p>Nebraska-2 (R) New York-11 (R) Virginia-2 (R)</p> <p>Downscale Urban</p> <p>Nevada-4 (D)</p>

**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.*

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