

The logo for End Citizens United, featuring the text "END CITIZENS UNITED" in white, bold, sans-serif font on a dark blue rectangular background. A thin red vertical bar is positioned to the left of the text.

**END
CITIZENS
UNITED**

The logo for Anzalone Liszt Grove research, featuring the text "ANZALONE LISZT GROVE" in white, bold, sans-serif font stacked vertically on the left, and the word "research" in a smaller, lowercase, sans-serif font on the right, separated by a thin vertical line.

**ANZALONE
LISZT
GROVE** | research

End Citizens United

Findings and Recommendations from a Survey
of Likely Voters in 27 Reformers at Risk (RaR)
Districts

October 2019

Methodology

- A survey of N=1000 likely voters was conducted in 27 “Reformers at Risk” congressional districts from October 9-15, 2019. The survey used professional interviewers, with 67% of interviews conducted over cell phones.
- The margin of error for the whole sample is plus or minus 3.0% at the 95% level of confidence. The margin of error for subgroups varies and is higher.

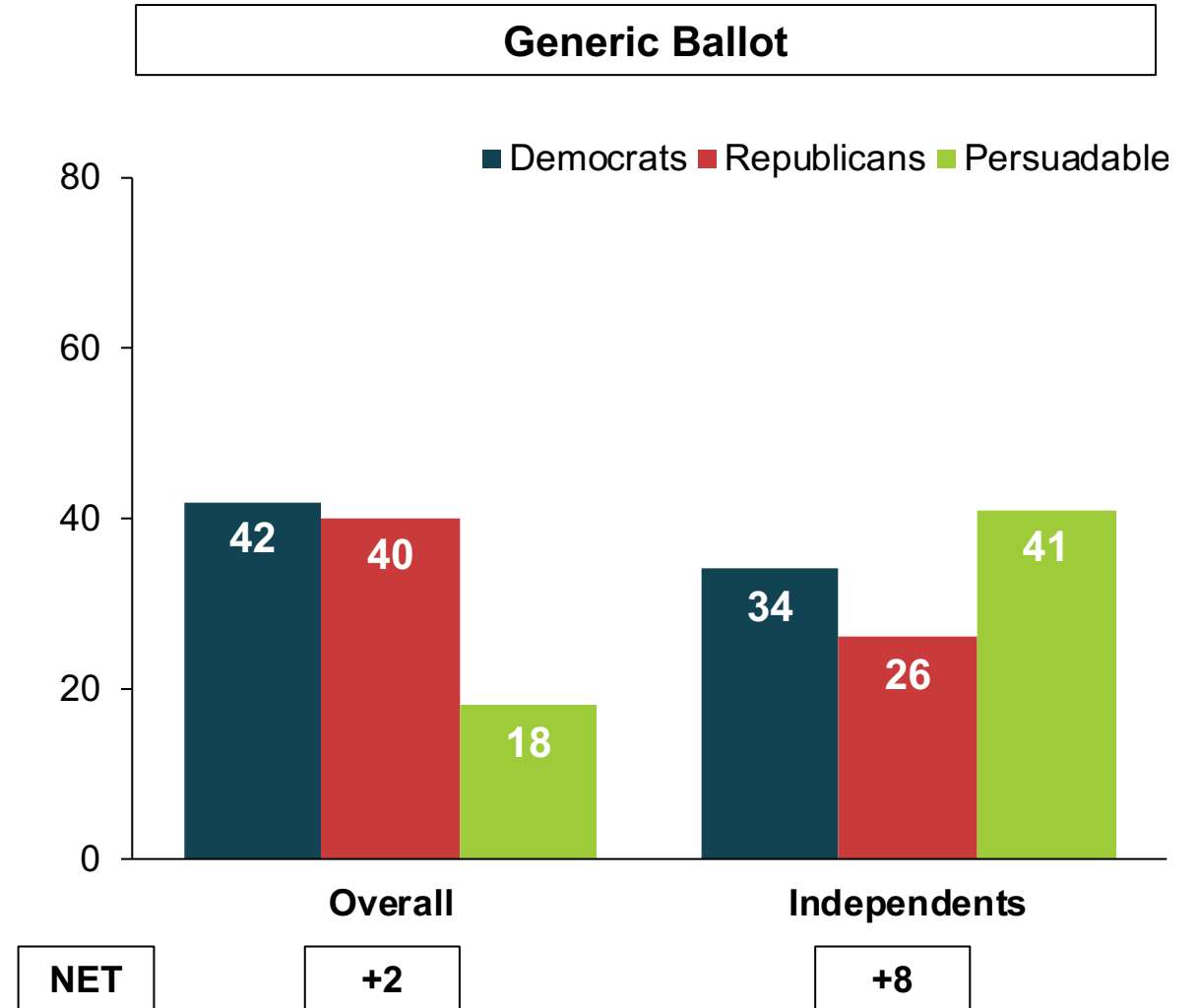
Summary of Key Findings

- **These are swing districts.** A generic Democrat only has a two-point advantage in the RaR frontline districts, and Republicans have a one-point self-identification advantage. Even named RaRs only hold a two-point lead over an unnamed Republican opponent (43% / 41%).
- **RaRs are fairly popular, but impressions are soft.** RaRs are rated favorably by a 9-point margin (35% favorable / 26% unfavorable), though nearly four in ten are unable to rate them. On being “beholden to special interests,” and “cares about people like me” a plurality of voters are unable to rate RaRs.
- **Cracking down on political corruption is voters’ top priority, and limiting the influence of money in politics is in the top tier.** Even prior to the impeachment inquiry/Ukrainian call, political corruption was high in the minds of voters, with 89% calling it a top priority or a major priority.
- **Small donors to political campaigns are very popular, while corporate PACs are known by 2/3 of voters and are deeply unpopular.** 74% of voters in the RaR districts are favorable to small donors. On the flip side, 67% are unfavorable to corporate special interests, and 69% are unfavorable to corporate PACs.

POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

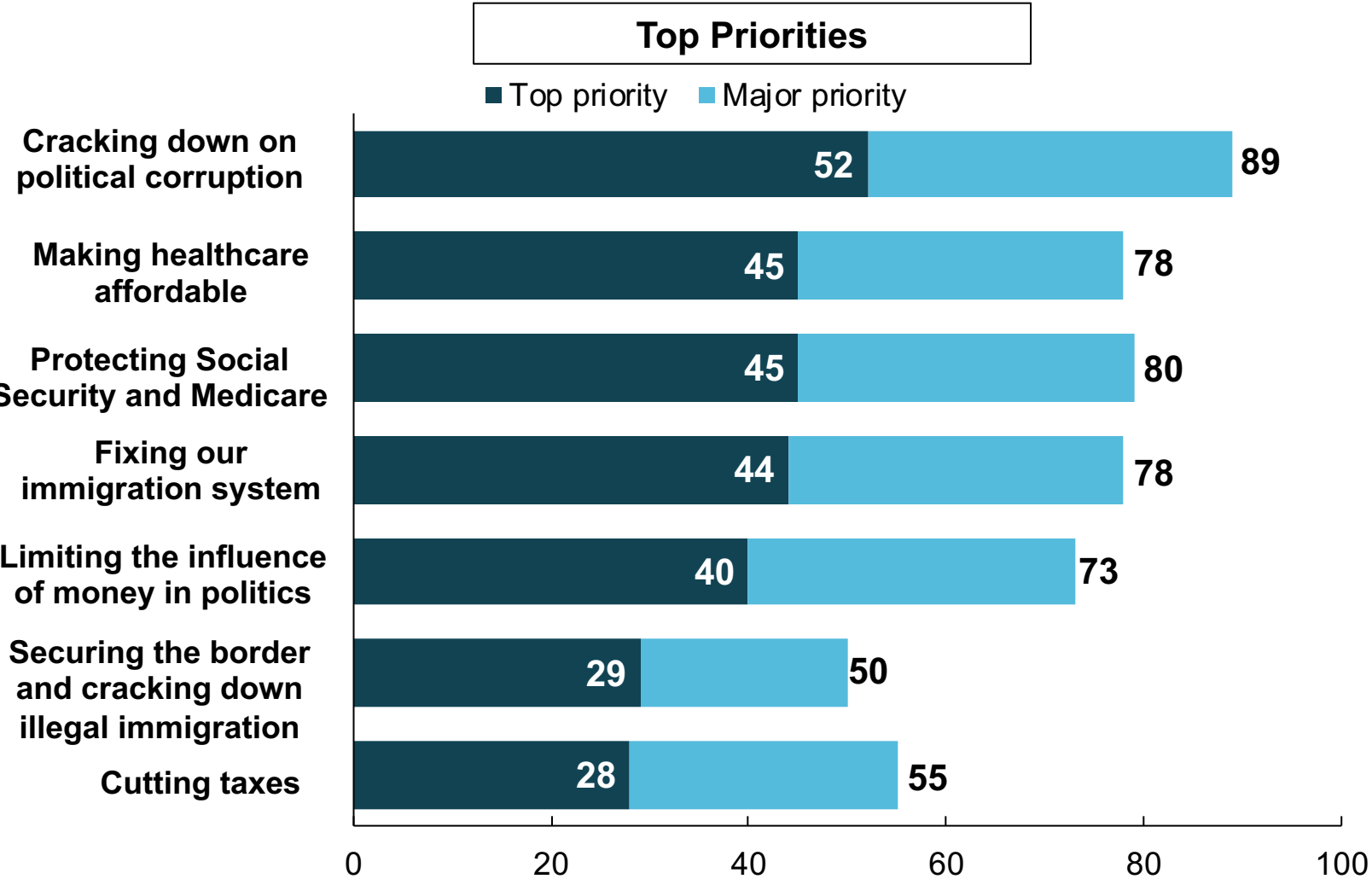
These districts together are swing territory - Democrats have a narrow 2-point advantage on the generic ballot, compared to a +6 Dem advantage in national public polls. Independents give Democrats a larger advantage, though a plurality (41%) are persuadable.

Trump Districts	Clinton Districts
Lucy McBath, GA-06	Josh Harder, CA-10
Cindy Axne, IA-03	TJ Cox, CA-21
Elissa Slotkin, MI-08	Katie Hill, CA-25
Jared Golden, ME-02	Gil Cisneros, CA-39
Chris Pappas, NH-01	Katie Porter, CA-45
Andy Kim, NJ-03	Harley Rouda, CA-48
Xochitl Torres-Small, NM-02	Mike Levin, CA-49
Max Rose, NY-11	Jason Crow, CO-06
Antonio Delgado, NY-19	Dean Phillips, MN-03
Anthony Brindisi, NY-22	Tom Malinowski, NJ-07
Kendra Horn, OK-05	Susan Wild, PA-07
Conor Lamb, PA-17	Colin Allred, TX-32
Joe Cunningham, SC-01	Kim Schrier, WA-08
Abigail Spanberger, VA-07	



Cracking down on political corruption remains the top priority for voters.

White non-college voters, especially Independents, those 50+, and women are especially likely to rate it as a top priority.



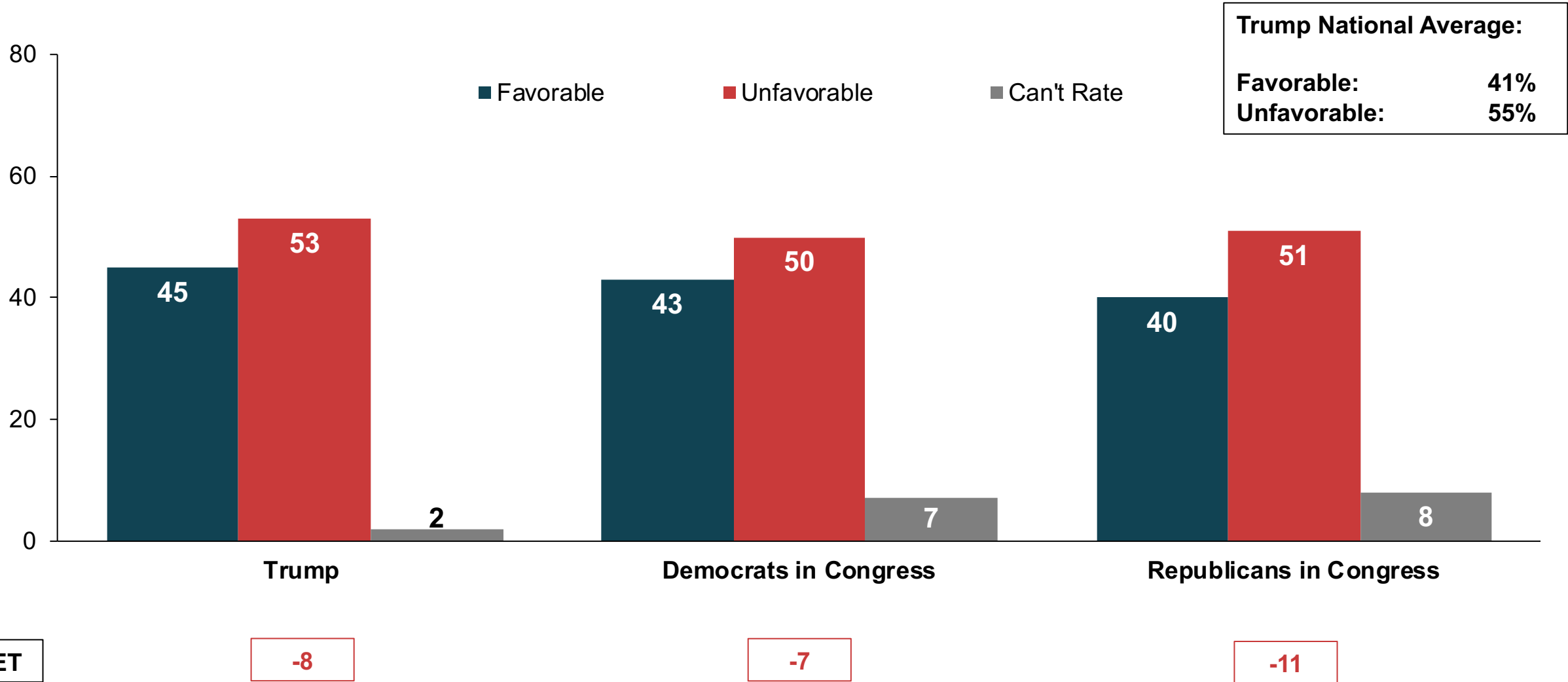
Who says “cracking down on political corruption” is a top priority?

Overall	52%
W 50+ Non-College Grad	62%
W F Non-College Grad	60%

In April, 84% said *cracking down on political corruption* was a top or major priority

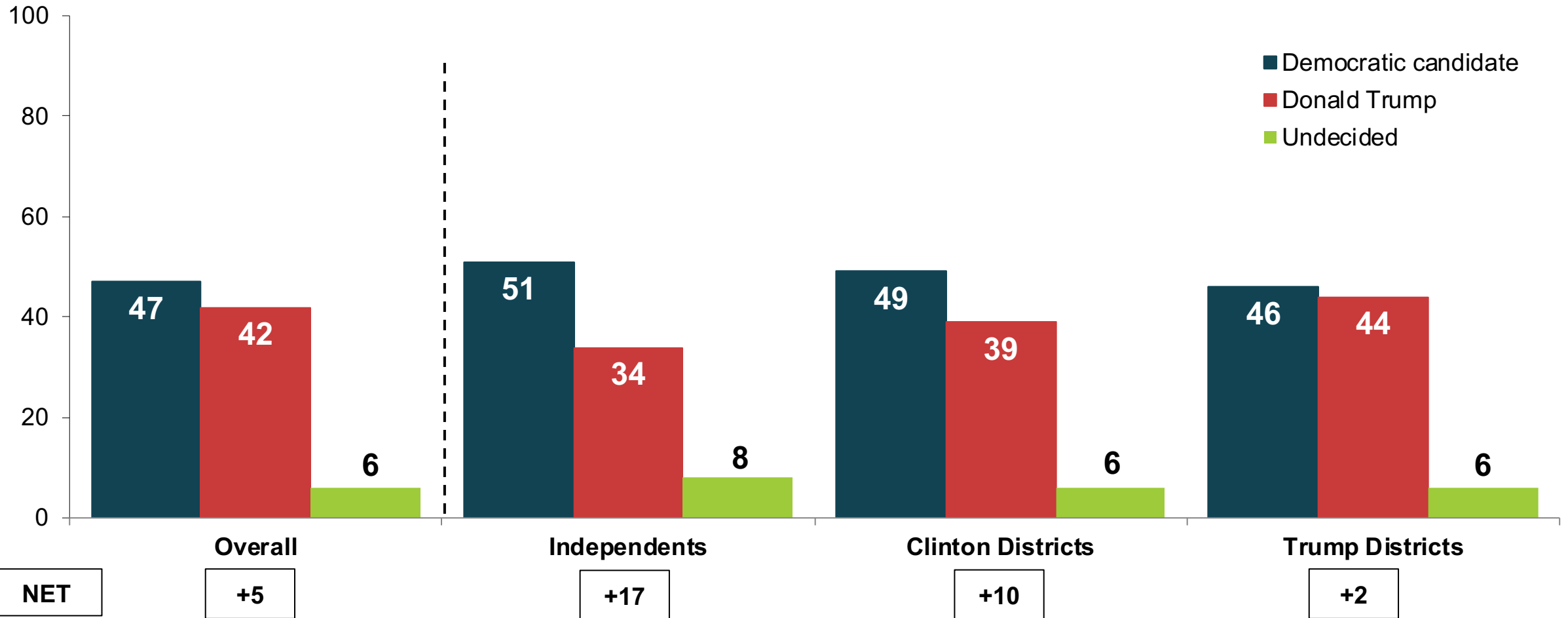
(GSG poll in 12 battleground states)

45% rate Trump favorably, 4 points higher than his national average (41%). Voters have an unfavorable impression of both Democrats (-7) and Republicans in Congress (-11).



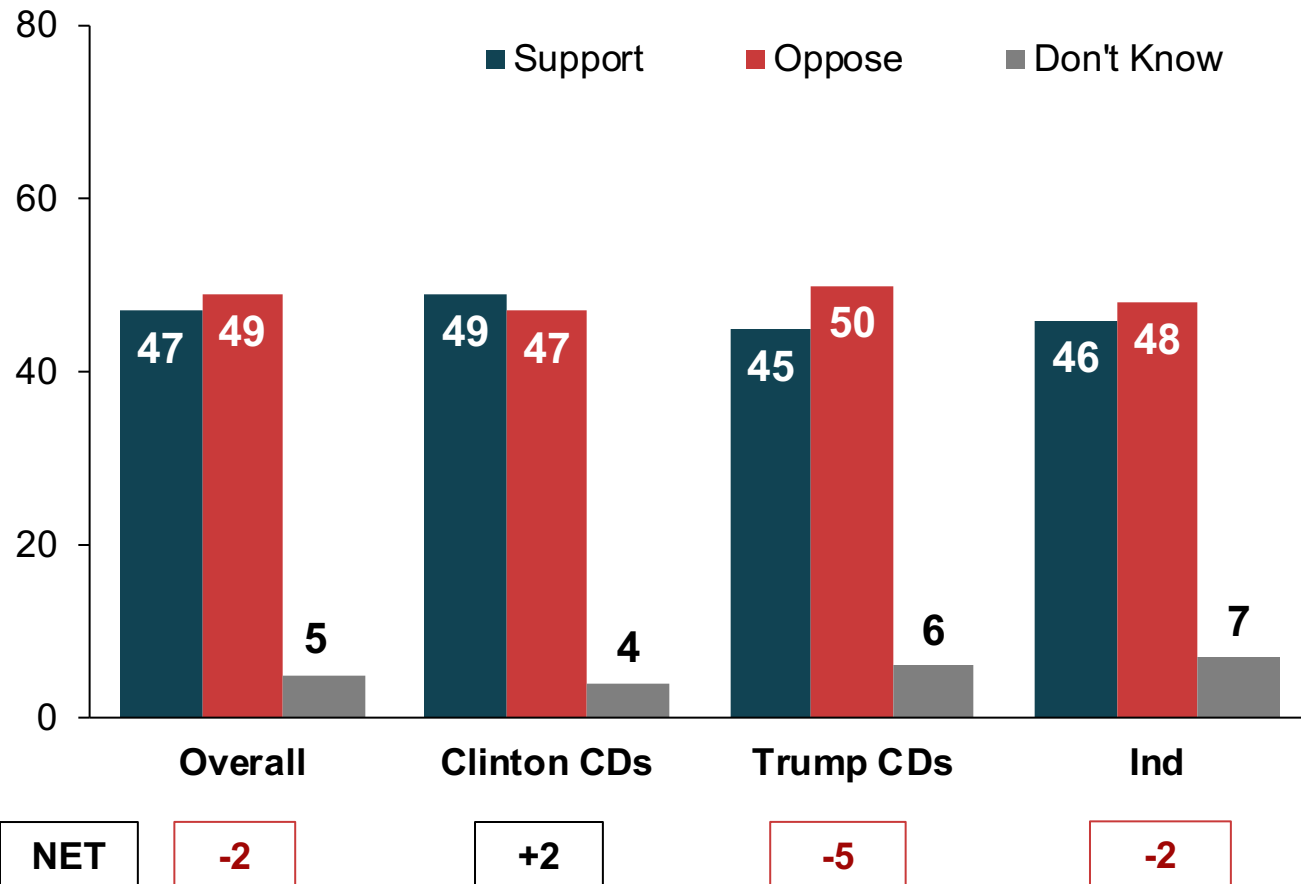
A Democratic candidate leads President Trump by five points in the race for President, including by 17 points with Independents.

I know it's a long way off, but if the election for president were held today, would you vote for the Democratic candidate or Republican Donald Trump?

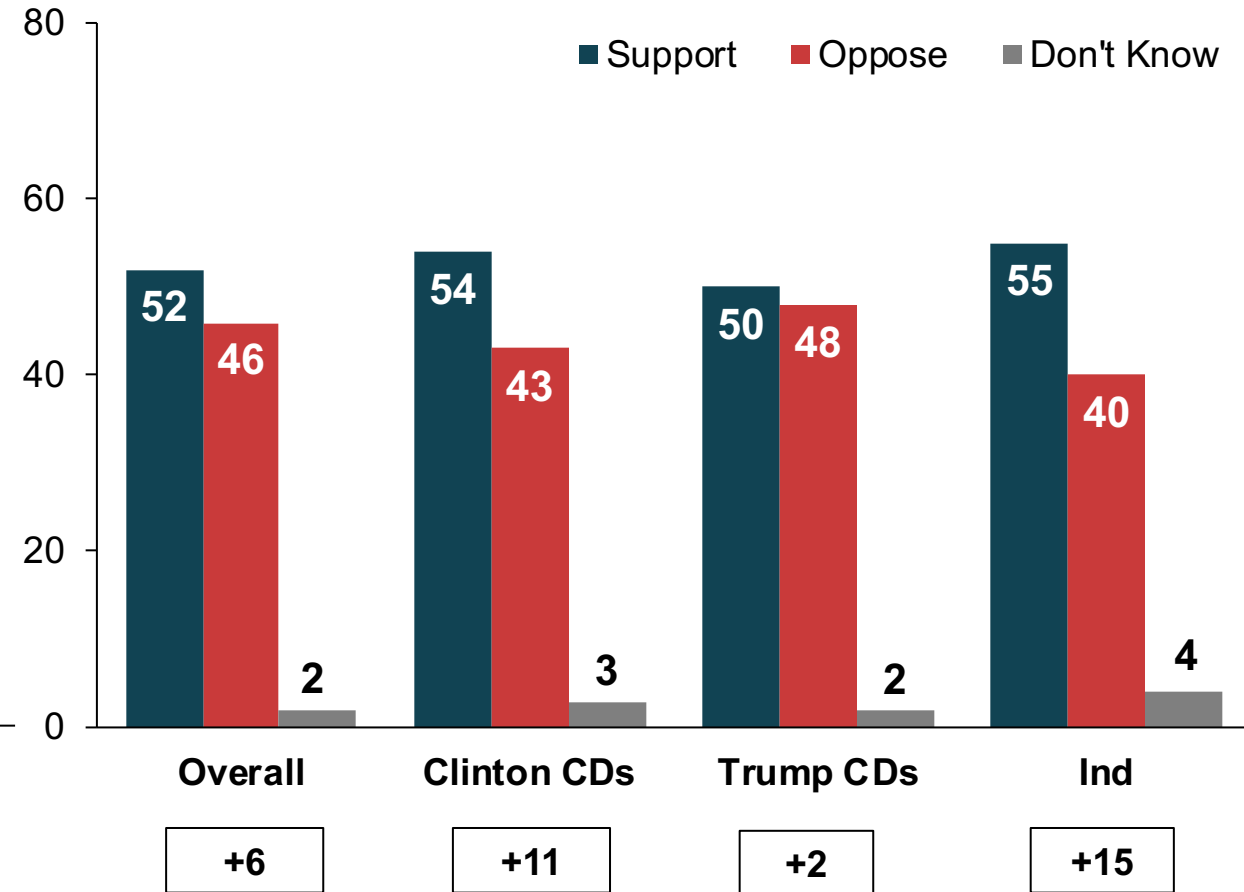


Removing Trump from office is within the margin of error. Independents drive majority support for opening an impeachment investigation.

Do you support or oppose **impeaching Donald Trump and removing** him from office? [SPLIT A]

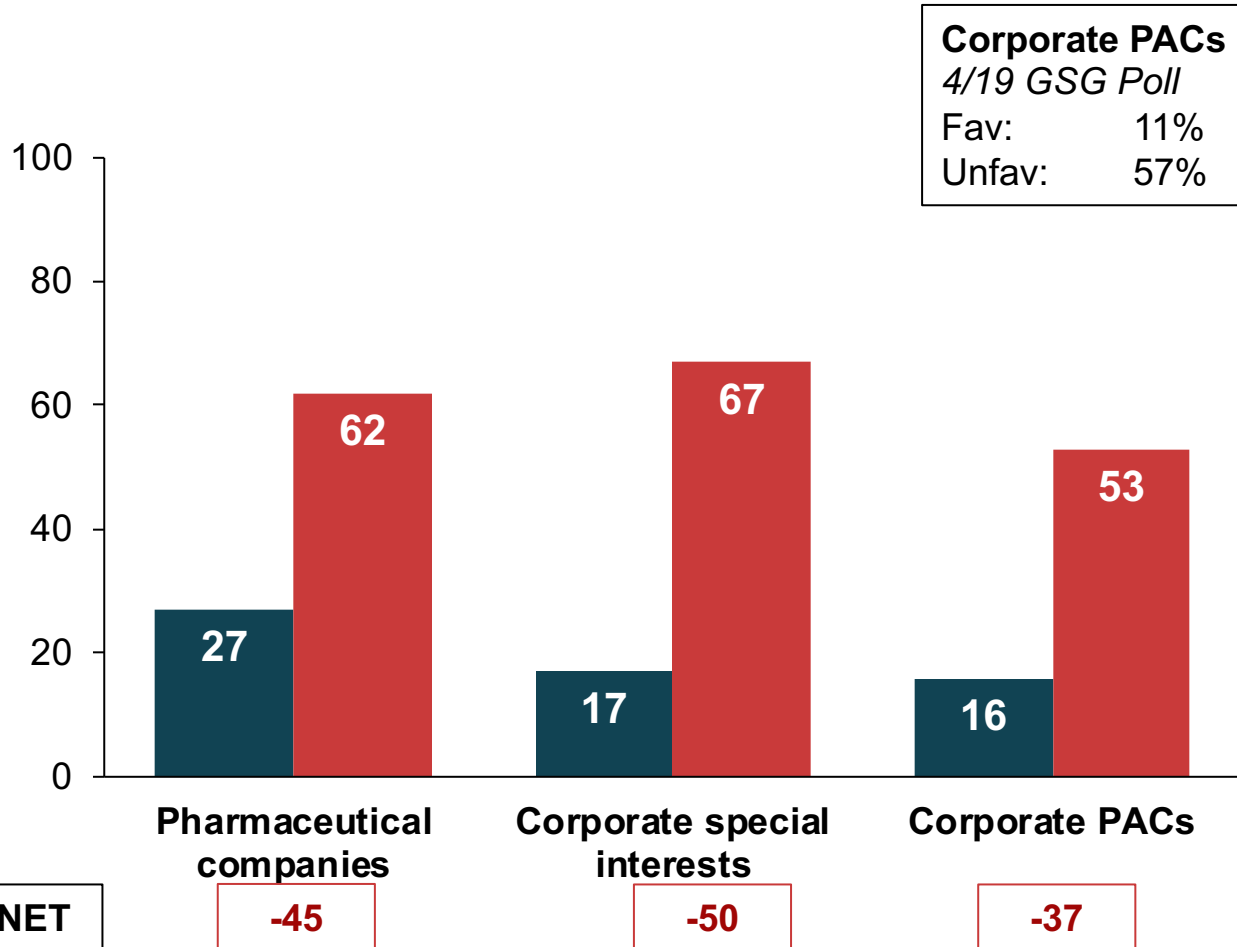


Do you support or oppose Congress opening an **impeachment investigation** into Donald Trump? [SPLIT B]

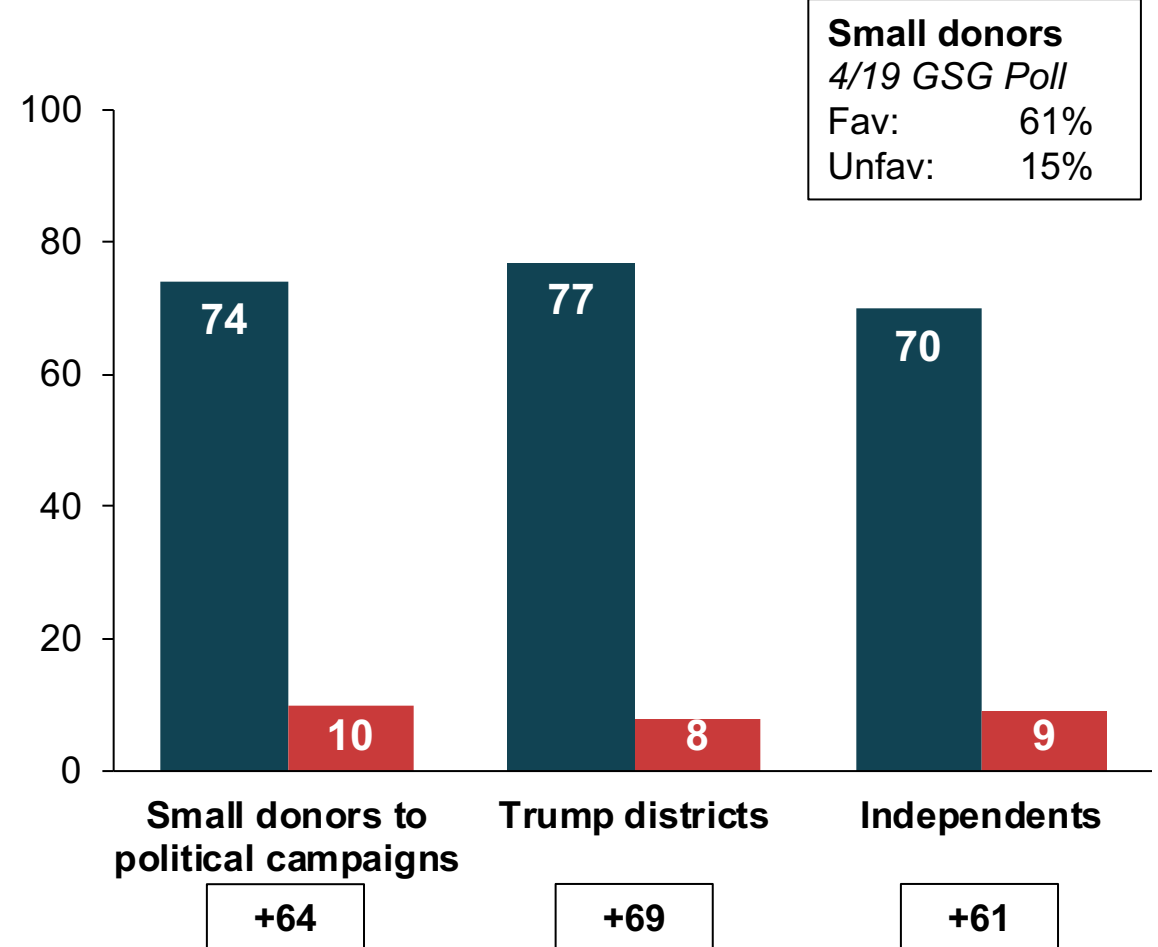


3 out of 4 voters have a favorable impression of small donors, which is surprisingly high – two thirds can rate “Corporate PACs.”

POPULARITY OF CORPORATE ENTITIES

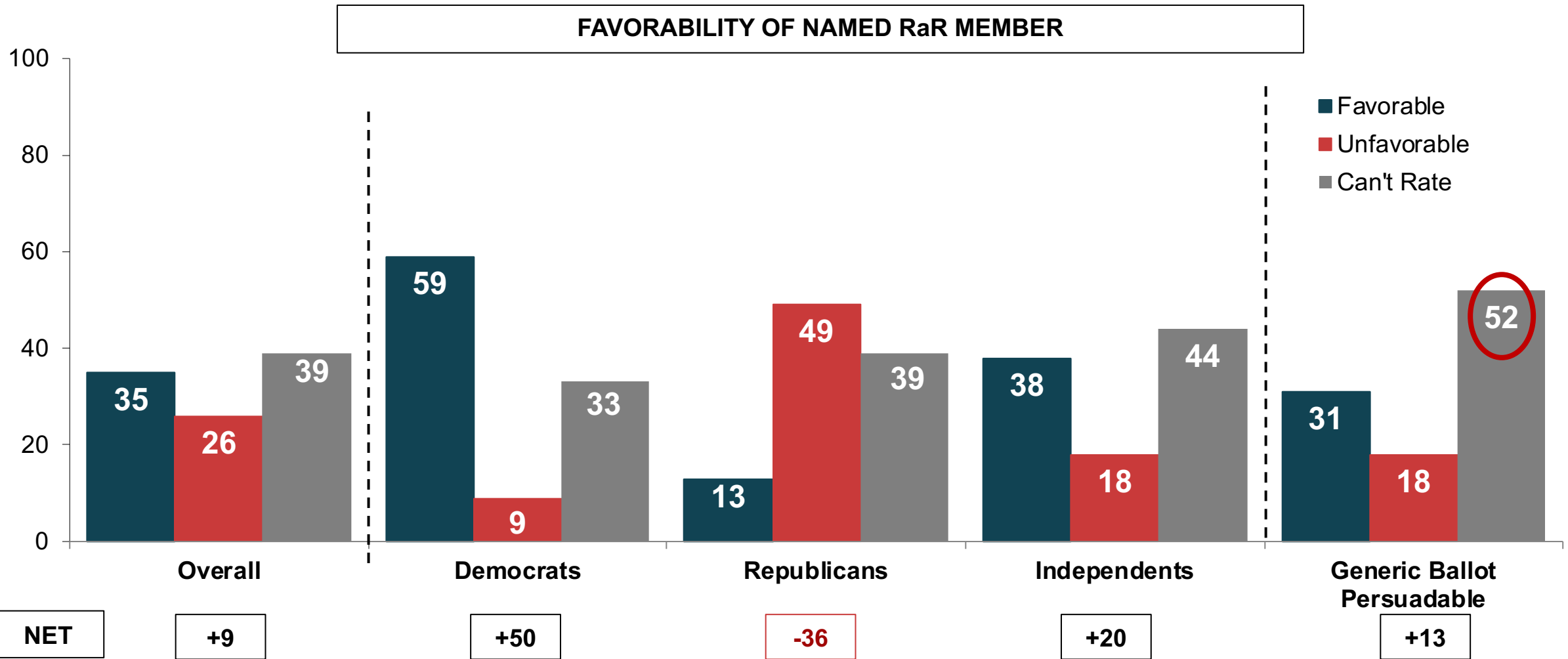


POPULARITY OF SMALL DONORS



REFORMERS AT RISK

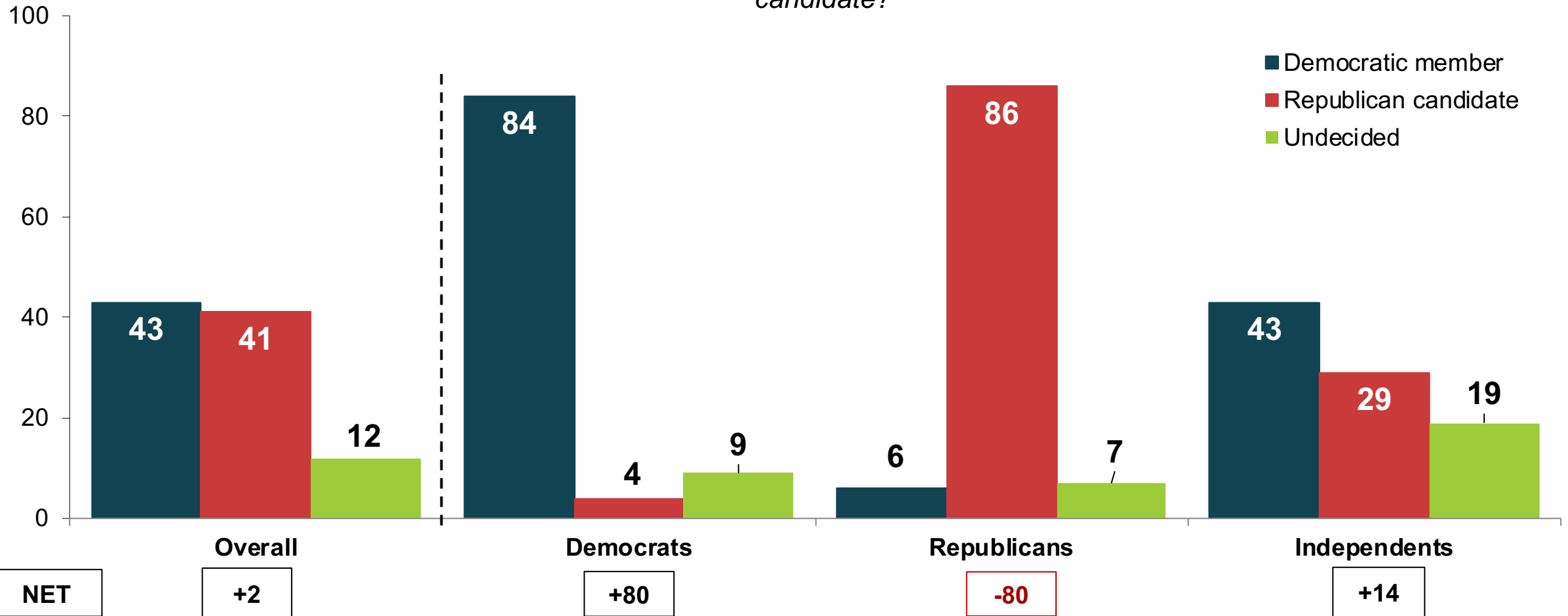
A plurality of voters have a favorable impression of the named Dem incumbent
However, 2 in 5 voters can't rate them, and this rises to 1 in 2 among persuadable voters.



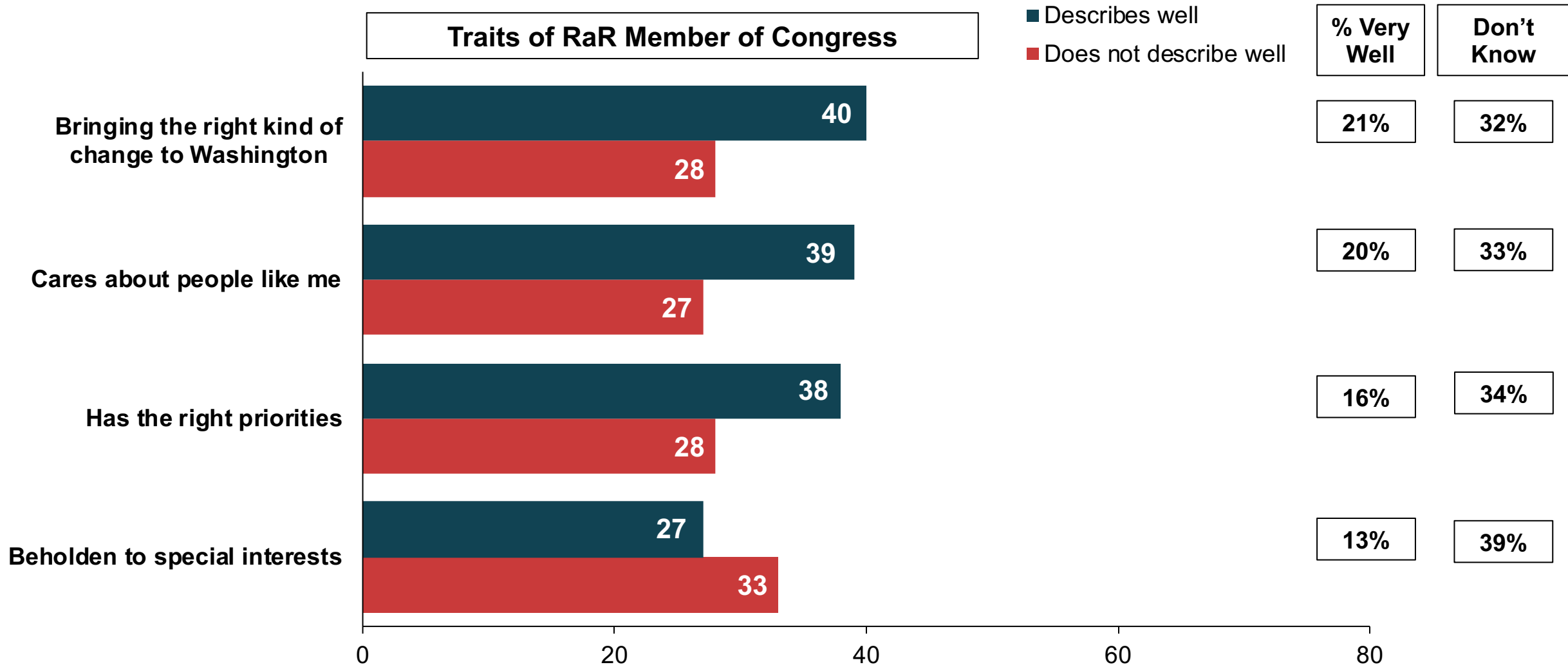
In the vote for Congress, Democrats' lead is within the margin of error

Like the vote for President, both party's bases have consolidated, and Independents favor the Democrats by double digits.

And if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you vote for the Democrat [RaR MEMBER] or the Republican candidate?

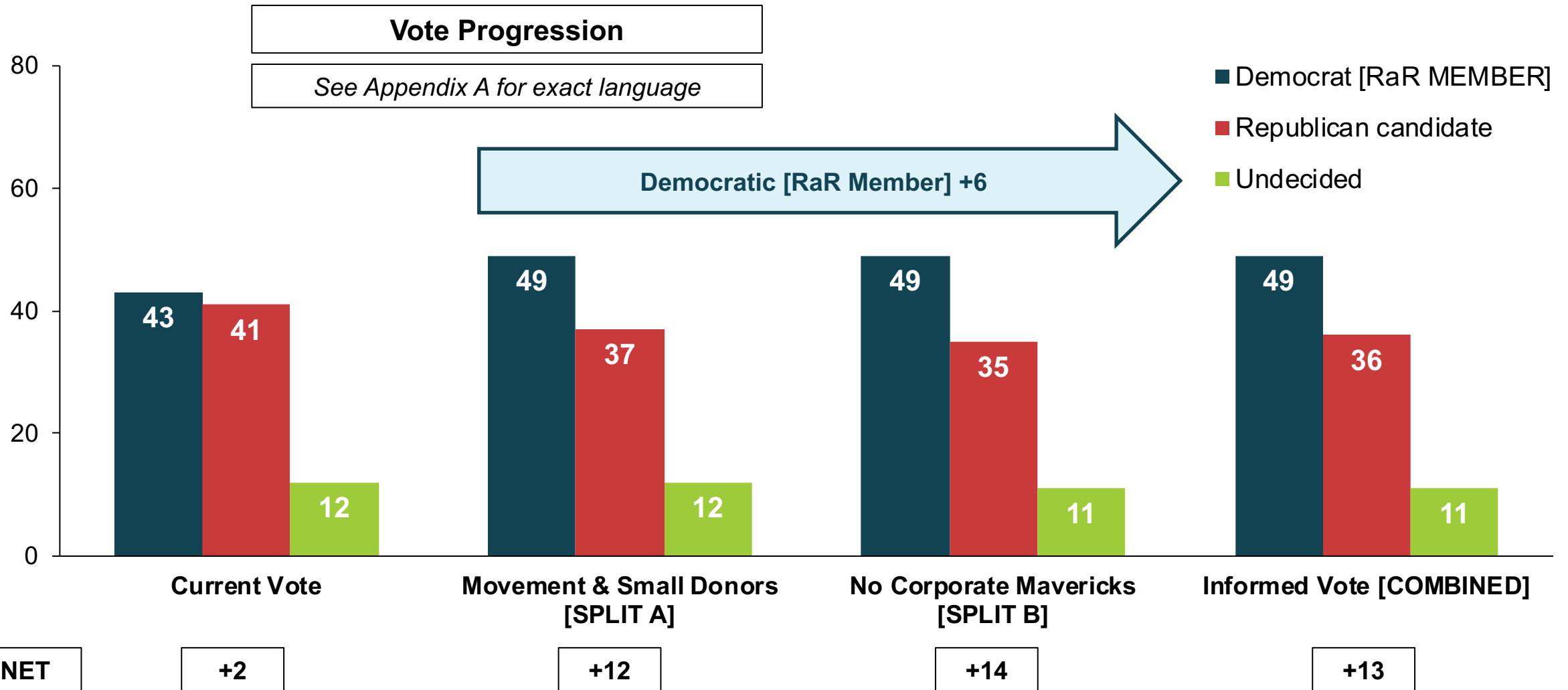


Voters believe their member of Congress is bringing the right kind of change to Washington, cares about people like them, and has the right priorities. Impressions on these measures are soft and 1 in 3 voters are unable to answer.



CORRUPTION AND MONEY IN POLITICS


Anti-corruption focused messaging moves the vote a net 11 points towards Democrats. Both the small donor and movement bio and the No Corporate maverick bio show strength, and do particularly well with Independents (+13 shift towards RaR member)



Voters who can't rate the RaR member initially, Independents and non-college men are most likely to shift to the RaR member following messaging.

	% of Overall	% Gainers	% of Gainers - % of Overall
Can't Rate Incumbent	39%	66%	27%
Independents	26%	34%	8%
Non-college men	20%	28%	8%

When properly framed, HR1 tests as well or better than priorities like gun safety and prescription drugs. It clearly does better among Independents.

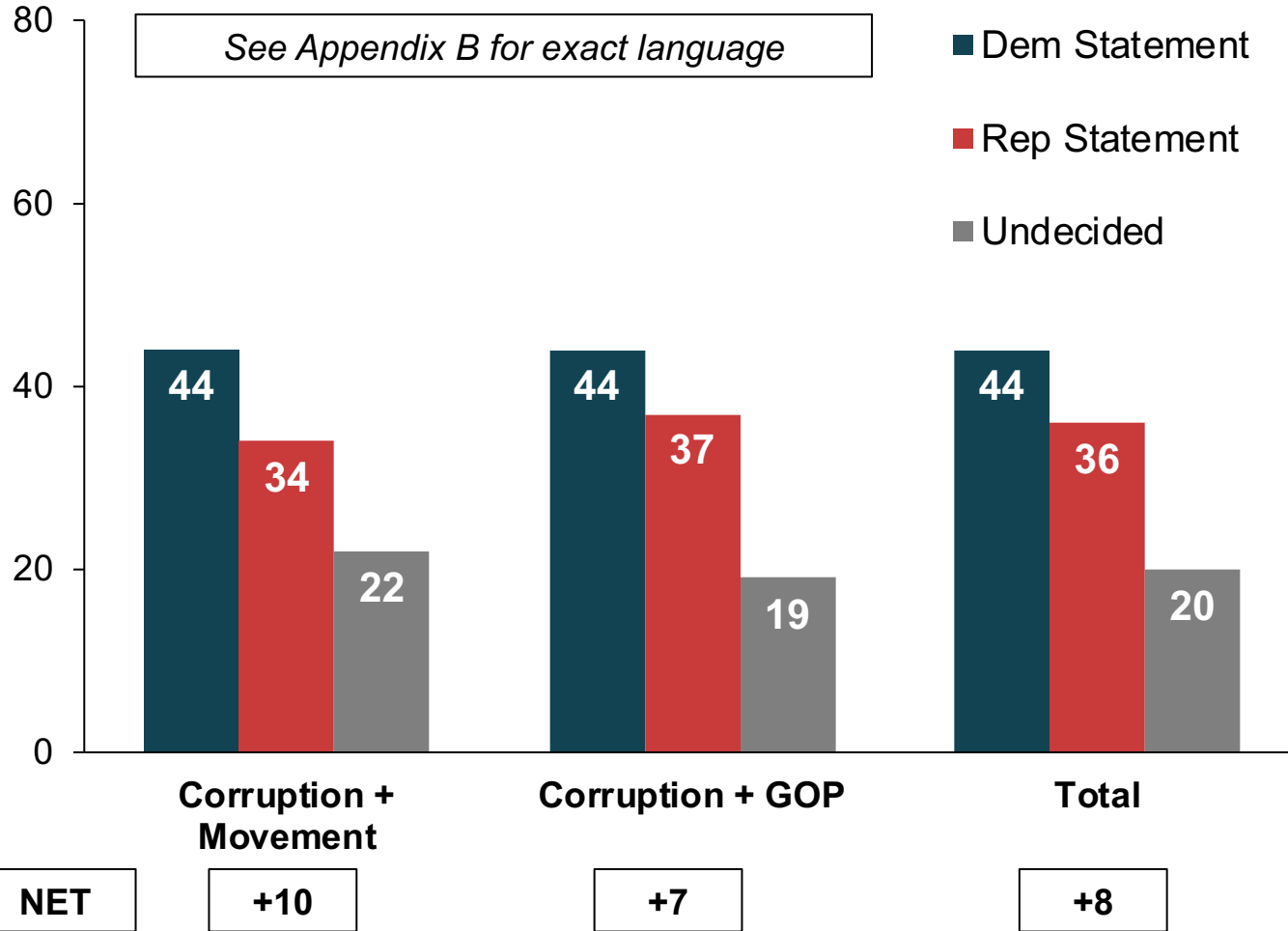
Democratic [RaR MEMBER] Positives – TOP TIER <i>% Very Convincing (average of split results)</i>	Independents	Total
<p>[HR1 - Movement & First Bill] [RaR MEMBER] worked with other new members of Congress who are refusing Corporate money to demand their first vote be on the biggest anti-corruption bill in history. The bill passed and will crack down on political corruption in both parties, strengthen ethics laws to prevent politicians from enriching themselves, and force them to disclose where dark money campaign funds come from. [SPLIT A]</p> <p>[HR1] [RaR MEMBER] voted for the biggest anti-corruption bill in history, that will crack down on political corruption in both parties. The bill passed and will strengthen ethics laws to prevent politicians from enriching themselves, force politicians to disclose where dark money campaign funds come from, and limit the influence wealthy donors have over politicians. [SPLIT B]</p>	 43	41
<p>[Rx - pledge] [RaR MEMBER] <i>doesn't take money from big drug companies</i> and passed a bill to make lower drug prices negotiated by Medicare available to all Americans. <i>[italics in Split A only]</i></p>	37	37
<p>[Gun - Pledge] [RaR MEMBER] <i>refuses to accept money from the NRA and the gun industry</i> and voted to require background checks for all gun purchases <i>[italics in Split A only]</i></p>	36	42

Current Republican negatives about no-corp RaR members of Congress fall flat with most voters, including in Trump districts.

Democratic RaR Member [Negatives] % Very Convincing	Total	Undecided in CD Ballot
[RaR MEMBER] is too focused on impeaching President Trump and stands with socialist politicians who want to eliminate private health insurance	26	20
[RaR MEMBER] went to Washington and within months Congress tried to raise their own pay instead of getting anything done	20	12
[RaR MEMBER]’s pledge to reject corporate money is full of loopholes , because within days of getting to Washington they started taking thousands of dollars from corporate lobbyists and CEOs.	19	16
[RaR MEMBER] is a hypocrite and their pledge to reject corporate money is a lie , because they accept tens of thousands of dollars from special interest groups and politicians funded by Corporate PACs.	19	15
[RaR MEMBER] supported a bill that would force taxpayers to fund their own political campaign , paying for the negative ads members of Congress put on TV.	15	10

Both versions of the anti-corruption / anti-PAC messages are strong and withstand Republican charges of hypocrisy – especially among “gainers”.

Which of the following statements do you agree with even more, even if neither is exactly right?



	Dem Statement	Rep Statement	Net
Total	44	36	+8
Undecided	37	26	+11
Gainers	44	26	+18
Clinton Districts	45	36	+9
Trump Districts	44	35	+9

Targets

**It is worth noting that this is a powerful issue across demographics. The targets below, however, reflect the voters who move the most towards Democrats after hearing information on these issues, and who rate HR1 as the highest testing message.

- White non-college-educated voters
- Independents
- Younger white men

Recommendations

- 1. Focus on cracking down on corruption in your messaging.** It is the top priority for voters, even more important than lowering healthcare costs and messaging on it significantly boosts support for an RaR against a Republican.
- 2. Highlight HR1 and your support for it.** A message on HR1 tied with the best testing message overall, and was the best with Independents. It also shows that the RaR is keeping their promises and reflecting voters' priorities and could serve as a pivot from talking about impeachment to talking about ways of rooting out corruption more broadly.
- 3. Don't fear the hypocrisy attack, lean into it and fight back.** After balanced arguments from our side and theirs, Democratic incumbents have an eight-point advantage against the hypocrisy attack (compared to just a two-point initial advantage on the generic).

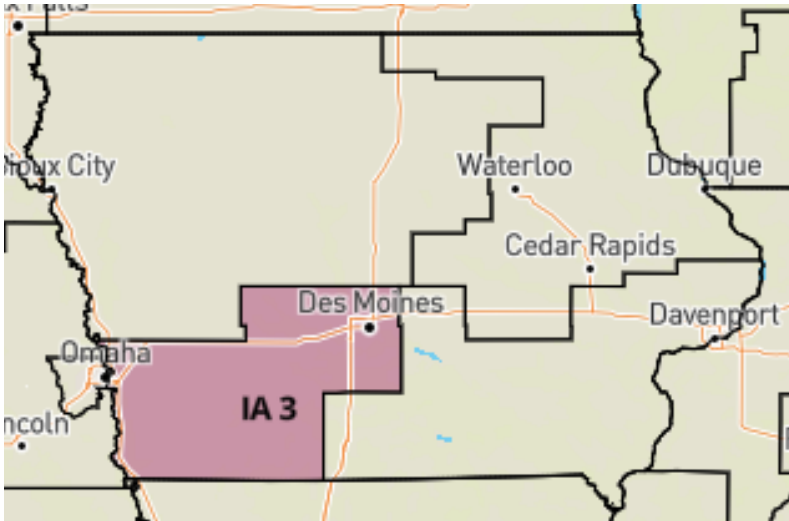
Recommendations for Further Discussion

- 4. Pair the No Corporate PAC pledge with donations from small dollar donors.** The No Corporate PAC pledge is even stronger when voters know you've earned support from small donors, who they have favorable impressions of. Quantitative data shows this message tests better than the No Corporate PAC message alone, confirming GQR's qualitative data from swing voters.
- 5. Positioning Democratic incumbents as part of a movement may open the door to key voters – and does not hurt with a broad audience.** Quantitative showed either frame opened up a double digit lead, and this frame may be beneficial for swing voters.

IA-03

Des Moines, Iowa | September 11, 2019

- White non-college women, independent/swing
- White, college educated men, independent/swing



PA-17

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania | September 16, 2019

- White non-college women, independent/swing
- White, college educated men, independent/swing



Overview of Topics Covered:

- How reformers can hold on to trust from a cynical public
- Small donors, HR1, and Mitch McConnell

GQR KEY FINDINGS

- **The connection between political corruption and its impact on kitchen table issues continues to build.**
 - Corporate money winning, regular people losing: connect corporate money to cost of RX drugs and health insurance
- **No Corporate PAC pledge is admirable, but voters hungry for more action to stop the influence of big money.**
 - With pledge members now in Washington, the bar has been raised
 - Voters need hard evidence that candidates are doing what they said they would do.
 - H.R. 1 is a start and serves as a central proof point



- **Biggest hurdle is credibility.**

- Corporate money in politics so widespread and deeply ingrained, any attempts to fix it seem futile
- Washington eventually corrupts even the most well-intentioned candidates
- But they are eager for change and hope it can be possible

- **Mitch McConnell is becoming more defined in a negative way.**

- Deeply disliked by those who know him, including swing Trump voters
- Associate him with big corporate money and corruption
- Rapidly becoming a symbol of authoritarian obstructionism



GQR ACTIONS GOING FORWARD

1. **Make it a growing movement that has momentum to show that you have power to do it.**

- Voters now want to know if members of Congress can get what they promised done
- One person alone cannot make a difference
- Highlight growing numbers of members with this pledge

“There is power in numbers.”

2. **Highlight small donors as a counter to corporate money to create credibility.**

- “small donors” conveys important qualities: “it is earned,” “you have to work for it,” and “connected to regular people”
- Raising from small dollars proves candidates are refusing corporate PACs, trying to change things

3. **Emphasize concrete actions in both candidate record and in the future.**

- The pledge is a powerful proof point, but trust built on repeated action
- H.R. 1 and a commitment to further action helped push voters past their skepticism that change is possible
 - Bills lowering RX drug costs also important

In 2018, 44 candidates pledged to reject corporate PAC money and won their elections. As Members of Congress, they have all renewed this pledge and are continuing to reject corporate PAC money, and dozens more candidates for the House and Senate are also joining them in taking the pledge.

Growing movement

These candidates are getting support from thousands of small dollar donors in their states who give less than \$200, and they are raising as much or more money than their opponents who are taking corporate PAC money.

Small donors

Together, these Members helped write and pass a historic anti-political corruption bill in the House to increase transparency, strengthen ethics laws, keep foreign money out of our elections, and end the influence of corporate special interests in our government.

Concrete action

These Members are refusing to accept donations from corporate PACs connected to companies like pharmaceutical companies, telecom companies, and health insurers, and are taking on these corporate interests in Congress.

Forward looking

They have authored bills to allow Medicare to negotiate lower drug prices for seniors, make prices transparent so patients know how much their prescriptions cost before leaving the doctor's office, and make it easier to bring generic drugs to the market. And they are pushing to make cable companies more transparent in their prices and options.

APPENDIX

SPLIT A: MOVEMENT & SMALL DONORS

In 2018, [RaR MEMBER] was one of 44 candidates that pledged to reject corporate PAC money and won their elections with support from thousands of small donors. More candidates are rejecting PAC money every election, and they built a majority to pass the biggest bill ever to crack down on corruption in both parties and bills to lower the costs of health care and prescription drugs for the first time in years. Now more candidates are joining [RaR MEMBER] in rejecting corporate PAC money. By relying on small donors, these Representatives can put people first, not big corporate interests, and we have a shot at changing in Washington.

SPLIT B: NO CORPORATE PAC MAVERICK

In 2018, [RaR MEMBER] was elected after pledging to work to make health care and prescription drugs more affordable, and is one of the only people who refuse to take a dime from corporate special interest PACs. In Congress [RaR MEMBER] has focused on delivering results for everyday people by passing a sweeping ethics and anti-corruption bill to crack down on corruption in both parties, and working to lower the costs of health care and prescription drugs. [RaR MEMBER] has worked in a bipartisan way and stood up to special interests and leadership in their own political party to serve the people.

Appendix B: Anti-corruption and hypocrisy messages (Slide 20)

SPLIT A: CORRUPTION + MOVEMENT

People say [RaR MEMBER] is one of a new group in Congress who do not raise money from Corporations - thousands of small donors help fund their campaign. [RaR MEMBER] promised to take on the rigged political system if they were elected. Together with these new members they forced the House to pass a sweeping plan to crack down on corruption in both parties before voting on anything else. Special interests are attacking [RaR MEMBER] because they are trying to protect the status quo, where they fund campaigns and get their way in Washington.

SPLIT B: CORRUPTION + GOP

Some/other people say [RaR MEMBER] is one of the only members of Congress who do not raise money from Corporations - thousands of small donors help fund their campaign. [RaR MEMBER] promised to take on the rigged political system if they were elected. [RaR MEMBER] forced the House to pass a sweeping plan to crack down on corruption in both parties before voting on anything else. [RaR MEMBER] is being attacked because Republicans are trying to protect the status quo, where special interests fund campaigns and get their way in Washington.

HYPOCRISY ATTACK

Some/other people say that [RaR MEMBER] is a hypocrite. They pledged to reject corporate special interest money but went to Washington and started taking tens of thousands of dollars from lobbyists and CEOs. They are even funding their campaign with money from trade associations and politicians funded by Corporate PACs. We need a new representative who will tell the truth and focus on getting things done.