

TO: Interested Parties
Marjorie Dannenfelser, President, The Susan B. Anthony List

FROM: Kellyanne Conway, President & CEO
the polling company™, inc./WomanTrend

DATE: August 4, 2010

RE: Analysis of Findings – Survey of 314 Registered Voters in Pennsylvania’s Third Congressional District

On behalf of **The Susan B. Anthony List, the polling company™, inc./WomanTrend** conducted a survey of 314 registered voters in Pennsylvania’s Third Congressional District from July 29 to August 1, 2010. Interviews were collected using live callers at a Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) facility. The sample was drawn using lists of registered voters and included targeted sample to reach younger voters. The survey has an overall margin of error of $\pm 5.52\%$ at the 95% confidence interval, meaning that in 19 out of 20 cases, the data would not differ by more than 5.52 percentage points in either direction if the same sampling method were employed.

Key Findings:

- “Improving the job and economic situation” and “stopping wasteful government spending” were cited as voters’ most important priorities for Congress (32% and 23%, respectively).
- One-half of voters in the Third (50%) disapprove of the job Nancy Pelosi is doing as Speaker of the House, leading to an “upside-down rating: 50% disapprove vs. 29% approve.
- The generic Republican led the generic Democrat 44%-42% in this district. The incumbent Congresswoman, Kathy Dahlkemper, barely outperformed the generic Democrat, claiming a narrow four-point lead over Republican Mike Kelly (46%-42%).
- By a margin of more than 3-to-1 voters opposed “using tax dollars to pay for abortions” (74%-20%).
- Voters in PA-03 opposed the federal healthcare law passed in March by a margin of 51%-39%. Nearly seven-in-ten (69%) were made less supportive, and just 20% more supportive, upon learning “that the law will lead to taxpayer funding of abortion, which **experts say could** increase the number of abortions in America.”
- Referring to her pro-life promises during her campaign and affirmative vote for the federal healthcare law, two-thirds of voters said that Kathy Dahlkemper was “wrong” to “vote against the principles for which she stood.” In a separate question, 47% indicated that they will be less likely to support Dahlkemper knowing she supported the healthcare law (vs. 11% more supportive).

Voters Approaching November with Money on Their Minds

When presented with seven possible “priorities” for their Members of Congress, voters in the Third District of Pennsylvania pegged “improving the job and economic situation” as their top concern (32%), followed by “stopping wasteful government spending” (23%). As the adjacent textbox demonstrates, just one other issue (“making healthcare more affordable”) generated double-digit mention.

- Pluralities of self-identified Democrats (38%) and Independents (32%) prioritized jobs and the economy. The plurality of self-identified Republicans (30%) emphasized government spending.
- Pluralities of men (31%), women (32%), 18-34 year olds (38%), 35-54 year olds (33%), and those aged 55+ (25%) emphasized jobs and the economy, too.
- Cohorts more likely than most to request Congress direct its attention toward “making healthcare more affordable” included self-identified Democrats (14%), Independents (14%), and those who favored the generic Democrat later in the survey (17%).

***Which of the following should be the top priority for your Member of Congress?
(READ AND ROTATED. ACCEPTED ONLY ONE.)***

32%	IMPROVING THE JOB AND ECONOMIC SITUATIONS
23%	STOPPING WASTEFUL GOVERNMENT SPENDING
11%	MAKING HEALTHCARE MORE AFFORDABLE
6%	WINNING THE WAR ON TERROR
5%	CUTTING TAXES
4%	ENDING ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION
3%	WINNING THE WARS IN IRAQ & AFGHANISTAN
2%	OTHER (VOL.)
-	NONE OF THE ABOVE (VOL.)
13%	ALL OF THE ABOVE (VOL.)
2%	DO NOT KNOW (VOL.)
1%	REFUSED (VOL.)

Pennsylvanians Criticize House of Representatives’ Leadership

Exactly one-half (50%) of respondents disapproved of the job San Franciscan Nancy Pelosi is doing as Speaker of the House. In fact, the percentage of survey respondents **strongly disapproving** of her performance outpaced her overall approval rating (38% vs. 30%).

- Pluralities, and in some cases, majorities of men (55%), women (44%), 18-34 year olds (40%), 35-54 year olds (52%), those aged 55+ (54%), Whites (49%), self-identified Independents (51%), and self-identified Republicans (74%) disapproved of Pelosi’s performance.
- Cohorts more likely than most to approve included Blacks¹ (77%), self-identified Democrats (49%), and those intending to vote for the generic Democrat (53%).

Do you (ROTATED) approve or disapprove of the job Nancy Pelosi is doing as Speaker of the United States House of Representatives? (PROBED: And would that be STRONGLY or SOMEWHAT APPROVE/ DISAPPROVE?)

29%	TOTAL APPROVE (NET)
12%	STRONGLY APPROVE
17%	SOMEWHAT APPROVE
50%	TOTAL DISAPPROVE (NET)
12%	SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE
38%	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
19%	DO NOT KNOW (VOL.)
3%	REFUSED (VOL.)

¹ N=13

Generic Republican and Democrat in Statistical Dead Heats in Pennsylvania-03

Given the opportunity to pull the lever for a Republican or Democrat in November, 44% of those in the Third would prefer the Republican and 42% the Democrat. There was near-parity in intensity, as 26% said they would “definitely” vote for the Republican and 27% “definitely” for the Democrat.

- Men favored the generic Republican by seven points (45%-38%) while women narrowly preferred the generic Democrat (46%-43%).
- Voters aged 18-34 leaned toward the Republican by 20 points (52%-32%), while those aged 45-54 split 45%-42% in favor of the Democrat. Mature voters – those aged 55 and above – preferred the Democrat by a 46%-39% margin.
- Naturally, self-identified Democrats preferred one of their own (80% Democrat vs. 12% Republican) while self-identified Republicans leaned toward the GOP candidate (91% Republican vs. 3% Democrat). Independents preferred the Republican 41%-18% over the Democrat, but 12% remained undecided.
- Voters who on a scale of one to ten (in which “one” meant “not at all interested” and “ten” meant “extremely interested”) assessed their interest in the election with an 8, 9, or 10 favored the Republican by ten points (49%-39%). Those less fascinated preferred the Democrat, including by a margin of 47%-18% among those who rated their interest with a 1,2, or 3, and by 51%-37% among those who rated with 4, 5, 6, or 7.

<i>If the election for your United States Representative in Congress were tomorrow, would you vote for (ROTATED) the Republican or the Democrat?</i>	
44%	TOTAL REPUBLICAN (NET)
26%	DEFINITELY REPUBLICAN
14%	PROBABLY REPUBLICAN
4%	LEAN REPUBLICAN
42%	TOTAL DEMOCRAT (NET)
6%	LEAN DEMOCRAT
9%	PROBABLY DEMOCRAT
27%	DEFINITELY DEMOCRAT
6%	HARD UNDECIDED/DO NOT KNOW (VOL.)
3%	NEITHER (VOL.)
3%	INDEPENDENT (VOL.)
1%	WOULD NOT VOTE (VOL.)
1%	REFUSED (VOL.)

Dahlkemper-Kelly Neck-and-Neck in Named Ballot; Neither at 50%

Freshman Congresswoman Kathy Dahlkemper led Republican challenger Mike Kelly by a 46%-42% margin, a difference within the margin of error. Thirty-one percent were firmly committed to Dahlkemper, and 27% to Kelly.

- Men supported Kelly by a 47%-40% margin, while women backed Dahlkemper by 12 points (50%-38%).
- Within the age cohorts, no candidate took a majority of the vote.
- Democrats aligned with Dahlkemper 70%-19% and Republicans with Kelly 76%-14%. Independents split evenly between the two – 38%-38%.
- Voters in the Central and Southern regions preferred Kelly over Dahlkemper (47%-34% and 55%-33%, respectively) while those in the Northern part of the district aligned with Dahlkemper 57%-34%.
- Voters with high levels of interest in the election (offering 8’s, 9’s, or 10’s on the earlier referenced scale) favored Kelly 49%-44% while those with the least amount of interest in the election (offering 1’s, 2’s, and 3’s) preferred Dahlkemper 50%-13%.

If the election for United States Congress was tomorrow and the candidates were (ROTATED) Democrat Kathy Dahlkemper and Republican Mike Kelly, for whom would you vote?

46% TOTAL KATHY DAHLKEMPER (NET)
 31% DEFINITELY KATHY DAHLKEMPER
 12% PROBABLY KATHY DAHLKEMPER
 3% LEAN KATHY DAHLKEMPER

42% TOTAL MIKE KELLY (NET)
 4% LEAN MIKE KELLY
 11% PROBABLY MIKE KELLY
 27% DEFINITELY MIKE KELLY

11% HARD UNDECIDED/DO NOT KNOW (VOL.)
 1% WOULD NOT VOTE (VOL.)
 1% OTHER (RECORDED VERBATIM) (VOL.)
 * REFUSED (VOL.)

Nearly Three-Quarters of Third District Voters Say “No” To Federal Funding of Abortion

Seventy-four percent of Voters in Dahlkemper’s District opposed taxpayer funding of abortion; just one-in-five (20%) backed it. This is within the margin of error of the 79% who opposed it in the March 2010 survey conducted by the polling company™, inc./WomanTrend in the Third District.

- Majorities of men (78%), women (69%), and voters of all ages and regions rejected “using tax dollars to pay for abortions.”
- A tri-partisan consensus emerged: 64% of self-identified Democrats, 71% of self-identified Independents, and 89% of Republicans also rejected taxpayer funding of abortion.

Regardless of your personal position on abortion, do you (ROTATED) support or oppose using tax dollars to pay for abortions? (PROBED: And would that be STRONGLY or SOMEWHAT SUPPORT/OPPOSE?)

20% TOTAL SUPPORT (NET)
 6% STRONGLY SUPPORT
 14% SOMEWHAT SUPPORT

74% TOTAL OPPOSE (NET)
 14% SOMEWHAT OPPOSE
 60% STRONGLY OPPOSE
 4% DO NOT KNOW (VOL.)
 3% REFUSED (VOL.)

- Majorities of those planning to vote for the generic Democrat (64%) or for Kathy Dahlkemper specifically (65%) indicated that they too oppose using federal funds for abortion.

Slim Majority of Respondents Opposed to New Healthcare Law

Fifty-one percent of Pennsylvanians surveyed said that they are generally opposed to the new healthcare law, while 39% said they favor it. Still, respondents were twice as likely to be *strongly opposed* as they were to be *strongly supportive*.

- Majorities of men (58%), 35-54 year olds (56%), and those in the Central (57%) and Southern (67%) regions of the District opposed the law, and were joined by pluralities of women (45%), 18-34 year olds (50%), and those aged 55 and older (48%).
- Self-identified Democrats backed the law 62%-28%, while Republicans rejected it by a margin of 84%-10%. Self-identified Independents aligned with Republicans in opposing the bill (56%-35%).
- Among those who favored using tax dollars for abortion, support for the law outweighed opposition by a 59%-33% margin. Among those who rejected taxpayer funding of abortion, opposition was greater than support by a 57%-33% margin.
- Voters with strong interest in the election (8's, 9's, or 10's on the 1-10 scale) opposed the bill 57%-38%.

Regardless of your personal position on abortion, do you (ROTATED) support or oppose using tax dollars to pay for abortions?

(PROBED: And would that be STRONGLY or SOMEWHAT SUPPORT/OPOSE?)

20% TOTAL SUPPORT (NET)

6% STRONGLY SUPPORT
14% SOMEWHAT SUPPORT

74% TOTAL OPPOSE (NET)

14% SOMEWHAT OPPOSE
60% STRONGLY OPPOSE

4% DO NOT KNOW (VOL.)
3% REFUSED (VOL.)

Opposition to Healthcare Law Intensifies Upon Learning of Impact on Abortion Rate

Nearly seven-in-ten respondents said that they were made less supportive of the healthcare law upon hearing that the new healthcare law “will lead to taxpayer funding of abortions, which experts say could increase the number of abortions.” By contrast, just one-in-five said their support intensified upon hearing this possible consequence.

- Majorities of men (73%), women (65%), 18-34 year olds (66%), 35-54 year olds (73%), and those aged 55 and older (67%), as well as majorities in the Central (68%), Northern (68%), and Southern (71%) regions of the district indicated

Are you (ROTATED) more supportive or less supportive of the new healthcare law knowing that the law will lead to taxpayer funding of abortion, which experts¹ say could increase the number of abortions in America?

(PROBED: And would that be MUCH or SOMEWHAT MORE/LESS SUPPORTIVE?)

20% TOTAL MORE SUPPORTIVE (NET)

9% MUCH MORE SUPPORTIVE
11% SOMEWHAT MORE SUPPORTIVE

69% TOTAL LESS SUPPORTIVE (NET)

19% SOMEWHAT LESS SUPPORTIVE
50% MUCH LESS SUPPORTIVE

3% NO DIFFERENCE (VOL.)
7% DO NOT KNOW (VOL.)
2% REFUSED (VOL.)

that their support for the law weakened upon hearing that experts believe it could lead to more abortions.

- Among those who initially supported the law, 46% were made less supportive and 37% more supportive of the reform effort after hearing this statement.
- Fifty-two percent planning to support the generic Democrat and 53% intending to support Kathy Dahlkemper specifically said that they were less supportive of the law after learning of its consequences.
- However, among the 20% which favored using taxpayer funds for abortions, 55% were made more supportive and 30% less supportive of the law after hearing that it permits taxpayer funding of abortion.

Nearly Two-Thirds Peg Dahlkemper’s Vote for Healthcare Reform as “Wrong”

Sixty-six percent of survey respondents said that Congresswoman Dahlkemper was wrong to abandon her pro-life credentials for the healthcare vote. One-quarter justified her vote for the law despite her pro-life claims.

- There was demographic and political cohesiveness with respect to whether Congresswoman Dahlkemper was right or wrong: majorities of men (66%), women (67%) and majorities of voters of all ages and regions of the District declared her turn-about to be “wrong.”
- Fifty-two percent of self-identified Democrats and strong majorities of Independents (64%) and Republicans (88%) critiqued the Congresswoman. Still, 40% of self-identified Democrats and 23% of Independents defended her vote.
- The majority of pro-life voters (77%) – including the majority of pro-life Democrats (63%) – deemed Congresswoman Dahlkemper to be “wrong” for casting a vote for the healthcare law despite its provisions to allow for taxpayer funding of abortion.
- Forty-nine percent of undecided voters indicated that Congresswoman Dahlkemper was mistaken to support the bill after calling herself pro-life during the campaign (36% said she was “right”).
- Forty-three percent of those intending to vote for Dahlkemper said she was correct to have voted for the legislation, while 44% said that she was wrong.

When running for Congress in 2008, Kathy Dahlkemper repeatedly told voters that she was pro-life, and that she would vote pro-life while in Congress. After she was elected, she voted for a healthcare bill that will use taxpayer money to fund abortions. Do you think Congresswoman Dahlkemper was (ROTATED) right or wrong to vote against the principles for which she stood?
(PROBED: And would that be DEFINITELY or PROBABLY RIGHT/WRONG?)

25%	TOTAL RIGHT (NET)
13%	DEFINITELY RIGHT
12%	PROBABLY RIGHT
66%	TOTAL WRONG (NET)
17%	PROBABLY WRONG
49%	DEFINITELY WRONG
4%	DOES NOT MATTER (VOL.)
4%	DO NOT KNOW (VOL.)
1%	REFUSED (VOL.)

Dahlkemper Has More to Lose Than To Gain from Healthcare Vote

Though nearly two-in-five (37%) said that Dahlkemper’s support for the new healthcare reform law would have no bearing on their November votes, the vote’s political currency was four times more negative than positive. As the adjacent textbox indicates, 47% said that they would be less inclined to support Dahlkemper based on this vote, while 12% said that they would be more inclined to do so.

Congresswoman Kathy Dahlkemper voted for healthcare reform legislation that allows federal funds to subsidize insurance plans that cover abortions. How will this fact affect your vote this November: are you (ROTATED) more likely or less likely to reelect her, or does it make no difference?
(PROBED: And would that be MUCH or SOMEWHAT MORE/LESS LIKELY?)

11% TOTAL MORE LIKELY (NET)
 9% MUCH MORE LIKELY
 2% SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY

47% TOTAL LESS LIKELY (NET)
 13% SOMEWHAT LESS LIKELY
 34% MUCH LESS LIKELY

37% MAKES NO DIFFERENCE

4% DO NOT KNOW (VOL.)
 1% REFUSED (VOL.)

As the table below indicates, among no major cohort is Dahlkemper’s vote for a healthcare bill that clears the way for federal funding of abortion a *net gain*. In fact, among critical cohorts – self-identified Democrats, pro-life Democrats, and earlier Dahlkemper supporters – Dahlkemper could see her support decline if this fact becomes more widely known.

	More Likely	Less Likely	NET	No Difference
Men	11%	49%	-38	36%
Women	12%	44%	-32	37%
18-34	4%	40%	-36	55%
35-44	10%	53%	-43	33%
55+	19%	45%	-26	26%
Self-ID Democrats	17%	29%	-12	50%
Self-ID Independents	9%	47%	-38	35%
Self-ID Republicans	6%	73%	-67	16%
Pro-Life	9%	59%	-50	29%
Pro-Life Democrats	13%	42%	-29	42%
Pro-Choice	21%	22%	-1	51%
Dahlkemper Supporter in Named Ballot	17%	27%	-10	53%
High Interest in Election (8, 9, or 10)	14%	50%	-36	34%