

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

**Senate battleground survey:
Working women and men's economic
agenda tilts the races**

July 22, 2014



Methodology

This presentation is based on a unique survey of 1,000 likely 2014 voters in the most competitive Senate races across the country, conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research for Democracy Corps and Women's Voices Women Vote Action Fund

This survey was conducted from July 12-16, 2014 using a list of 2006 voters, 2010 voters, and new registrants. Unless otherwise noted, the margin of error for the full sample is = +/- 3.10% at 95% confidence.

50 percent of respondents were reached by cell phone, in order to account for ever-changing demographics and trying to accurately sample the full American electorate.

WVWVAF is a 501(c)(4) social welfare organization. It participated in this survey to gather information about how to improve civic engagement of under-represented segments of the American population.

Background and Trend Information

The Democracy Corps Senate 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.

We include comparisons to a survey done in June, 2014 in partnership with NPR and Resurgent Republic. While the states remain the same, the July survey is the only survey to use actual names of incumbents and call voters that are likely to vote in the 2014 November election.

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.

- **81 percent of respondents are white.**
- **9 percent of these voters are under 30**
- **3 percent are Latino and 10 percent African American.**

Battleground States

States	Incumbent	2012 Presidential margin
Alaska	Mark Begich	Romney +14.0
Arkansas	Mark Pryor	Romney +23.6
Colorado	Mark Udall	Obama +4.7
Georgia	OPEN (Chambliss)	Romney +8.0
Iowa	OPEN (Harkin)	Obama +5.6
Kentucky	Mitch McConnell	Romney +22.7
Louisiana	Mary Landreiu	Romney +17.2
Michigan	OPEN (Levin)	Obama +9.5
Montana	John Walsh	Romney +13.5
New Hampshire	Jeanne Shaheen	Obama +5.8
North Carolina	Kay Hagan	Romney +2.2
West Virginia	OPEN (Rockefeller)	Romney +26.8

**Average margin:
Romney +8.5**

Midwest and East

Iowa
Michigan
New Hampshire
West Virginia

West

Alaska
Colorado
Montana

South

Arkansas
Georgia
Kentucky
Louisiana
North Carolina

Won by Obama

Colorado
Iowa
Michigan
New Hampshire

Won by Romney

Alaska
Arkansas
Georgia
Kentucky
Louisiana
Montana
North Carolina
West Virginia

Tier 1

Colorado
Michigan
New Hampshire
North Carolina

Tier 2

Alaska
Arkansas
Iowa
Louisiana

Tier 3

Georgia
Montana
Kentucky
West Virginia

Key Findings

- Unmarried women are, perhaps, the most important target for Democrats across this senate battleground.
- The senate race in this battleground is tied and stable, with Democrats held back by underperformance among base RAE voters and unmarried women.
- The Democratic incumbents in this battleground are much better liked than Obama and have significantly higher ratings than their Republican opponents.
- Two dynamics could shift this race: the president's approval in these states is just 37 percent, but stable. Meanwhile, the Republican Party, and particularly the Republicans in the House, are extremely unpopular. And regressions show that sentiment about House Republicans drives the SENATE vote more strongly than sentiment about Senate Republicans.
- Democrats have a message that can move the vote. A populist economic narrative, including strong messaging around the women's economic agenda, moves the vote in Democrats' favor when matched against a Republican economic narrative with big gains in the open-seat race and the state that Obama won in 2012.

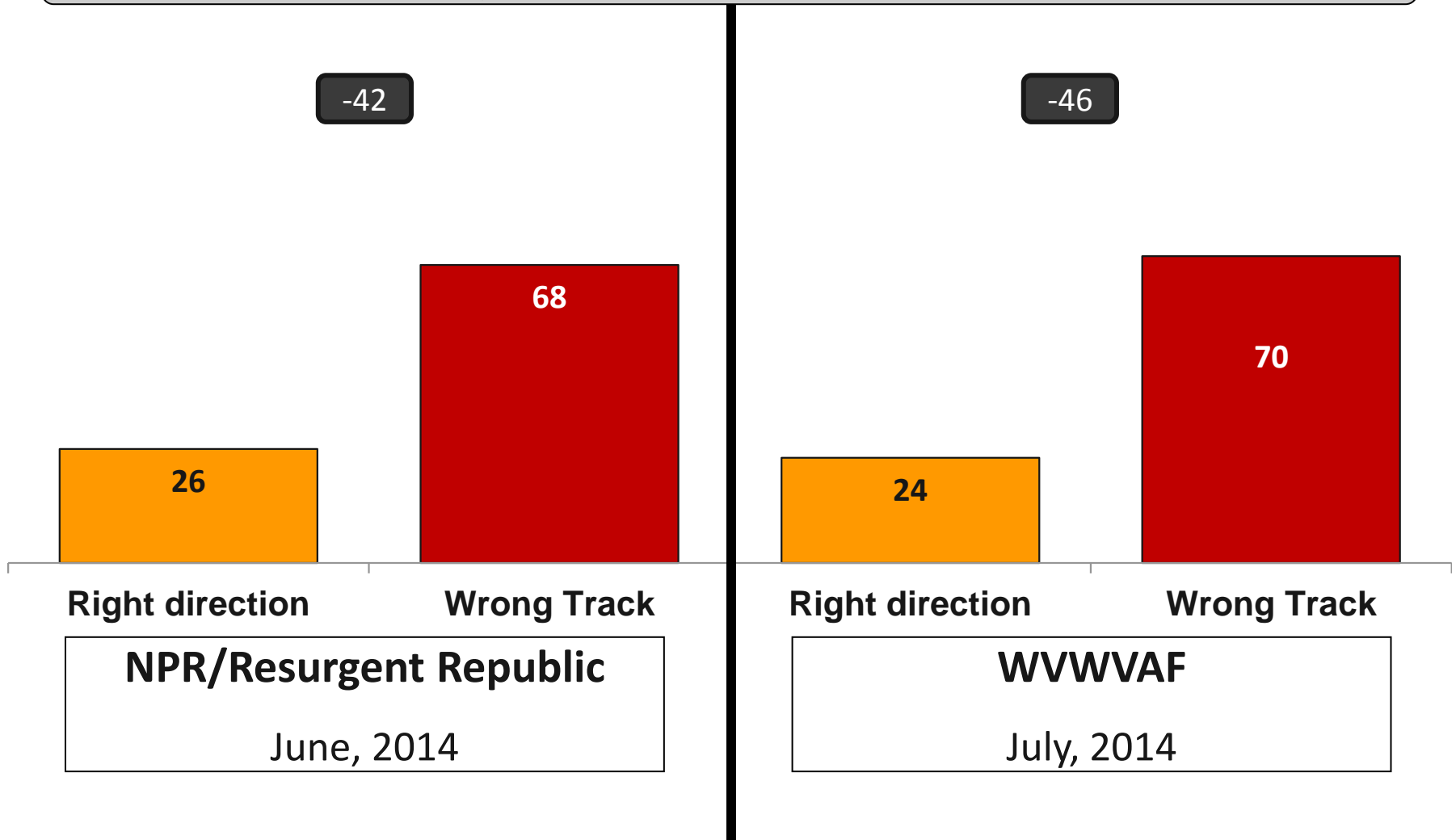
Key Findings

- A critique of Republicans for their positions on seniors, women's economic issues and women's health are powerful and help move the vote among younger voters and women, as well as help move the vote in some of the most competitive races in the battleground.
- And a debate about money in politics, particularly over a Constitutional Amendment to repeal Citizens United and a proposal to get big money out of our campaign system, results in further gains.
- Exposing unmarried women to the economic message shifts their support for Senate Democrats from +11 to +20.
- The economic agenda for working women and men includes a cluster of powerful policies on helping working mothers, equal pay and equal health insurance, and making sure that the wealthy and big corporations pay their fair share.
- Unmarried women are the pivotal group of the debate, as Democrats currently underperform even their 2010 margin significantly, but these voters move strongly in response to the debate.
- Voters in this Republican-leaning district are split on the electoral impact of the Republican candidate supporting the Hobby Lobby decision, but the issue provides an opening for Democrats to make a powerful critique on Republicans on the issue of women's health. The issue is very powerful with unmarried women and other key blocs of women.

Stable mood and partisan parity in Senate battleground

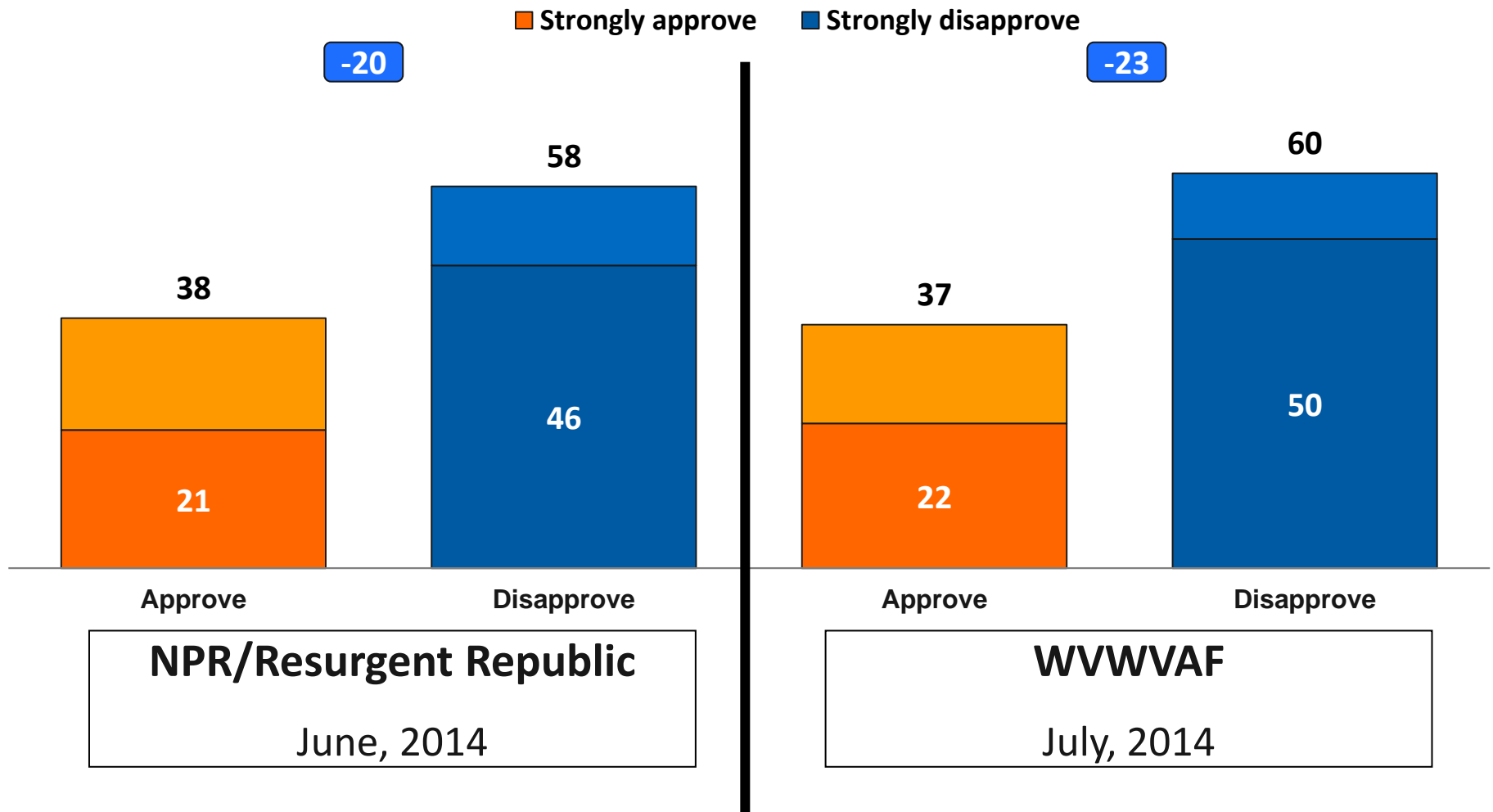
Discontent with country's direction continues over last month

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?



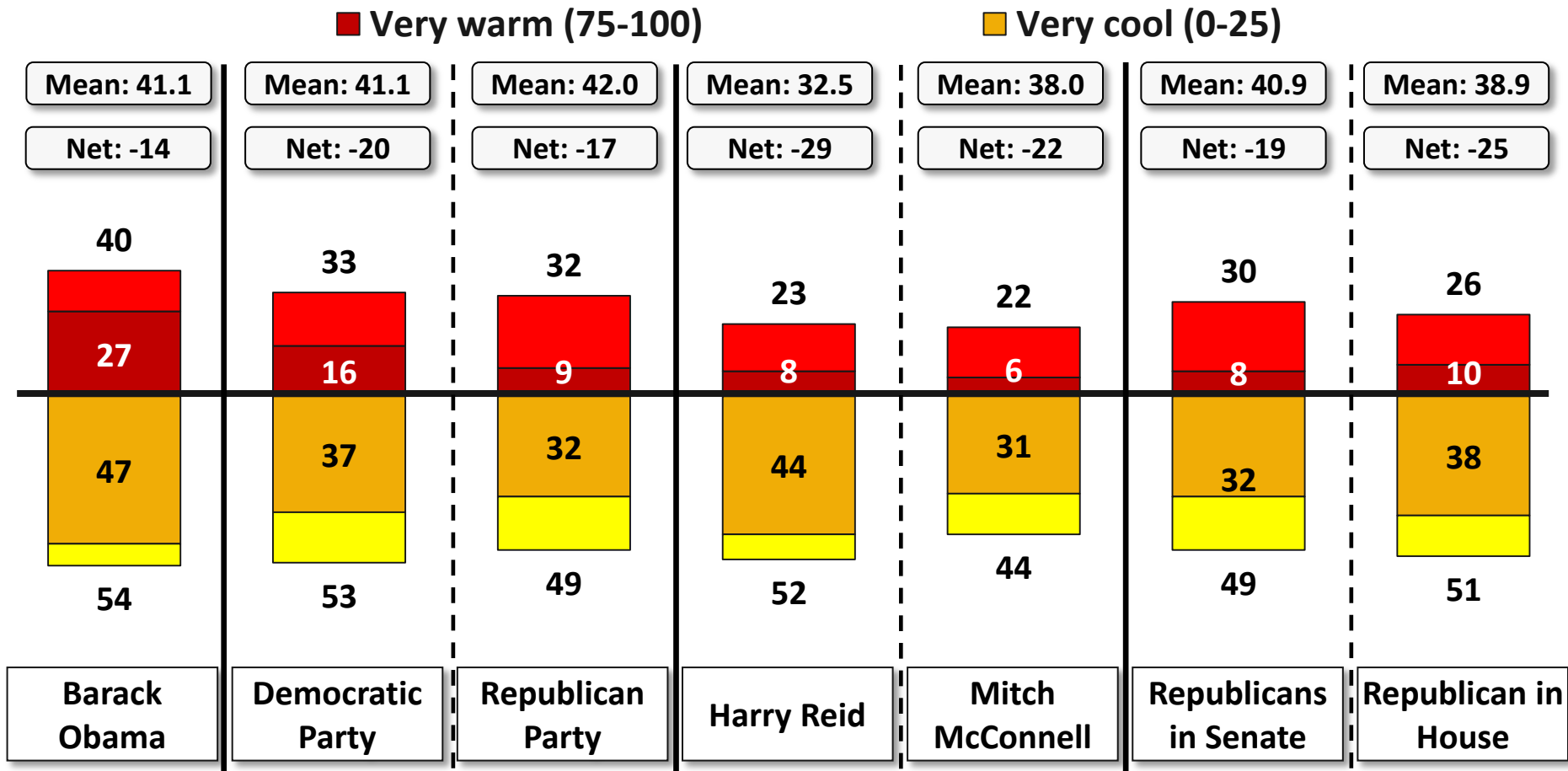
Obama Approval at 37 percent in the Battleground, stable from June

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President?



Republican and Democratic parties at parity, even though battleground went heavily for Romney

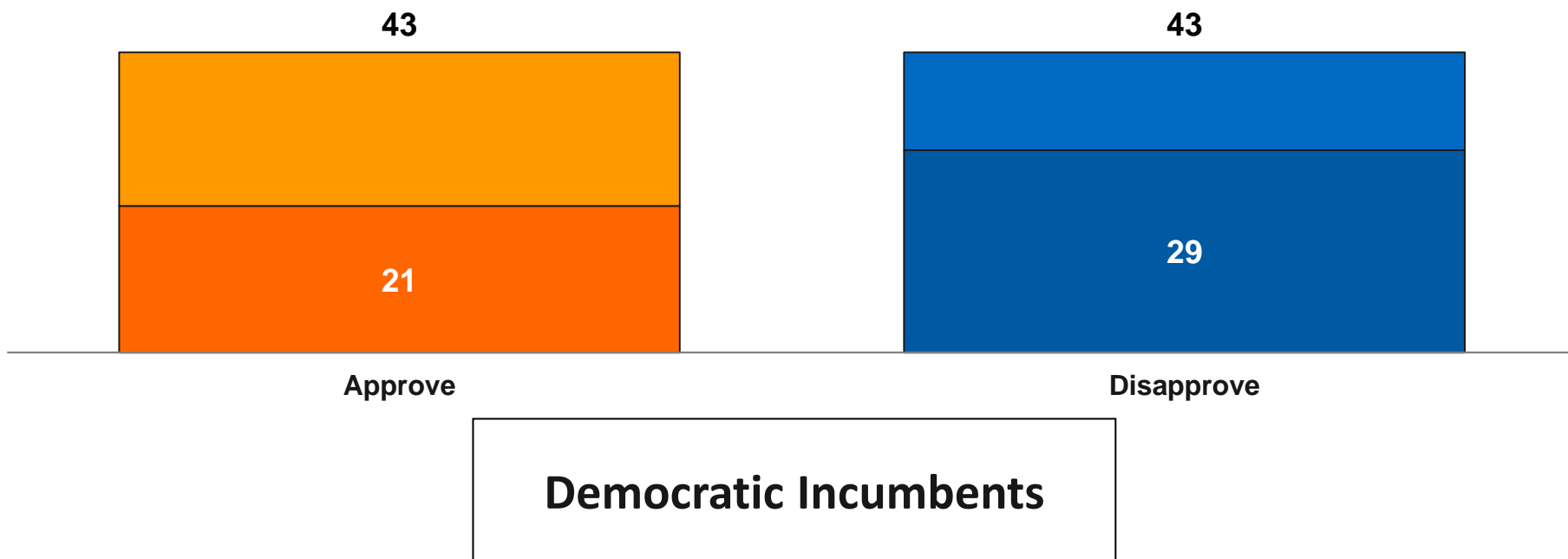
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



Democratic incumbents have split approval and are 6 points better than Obama

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

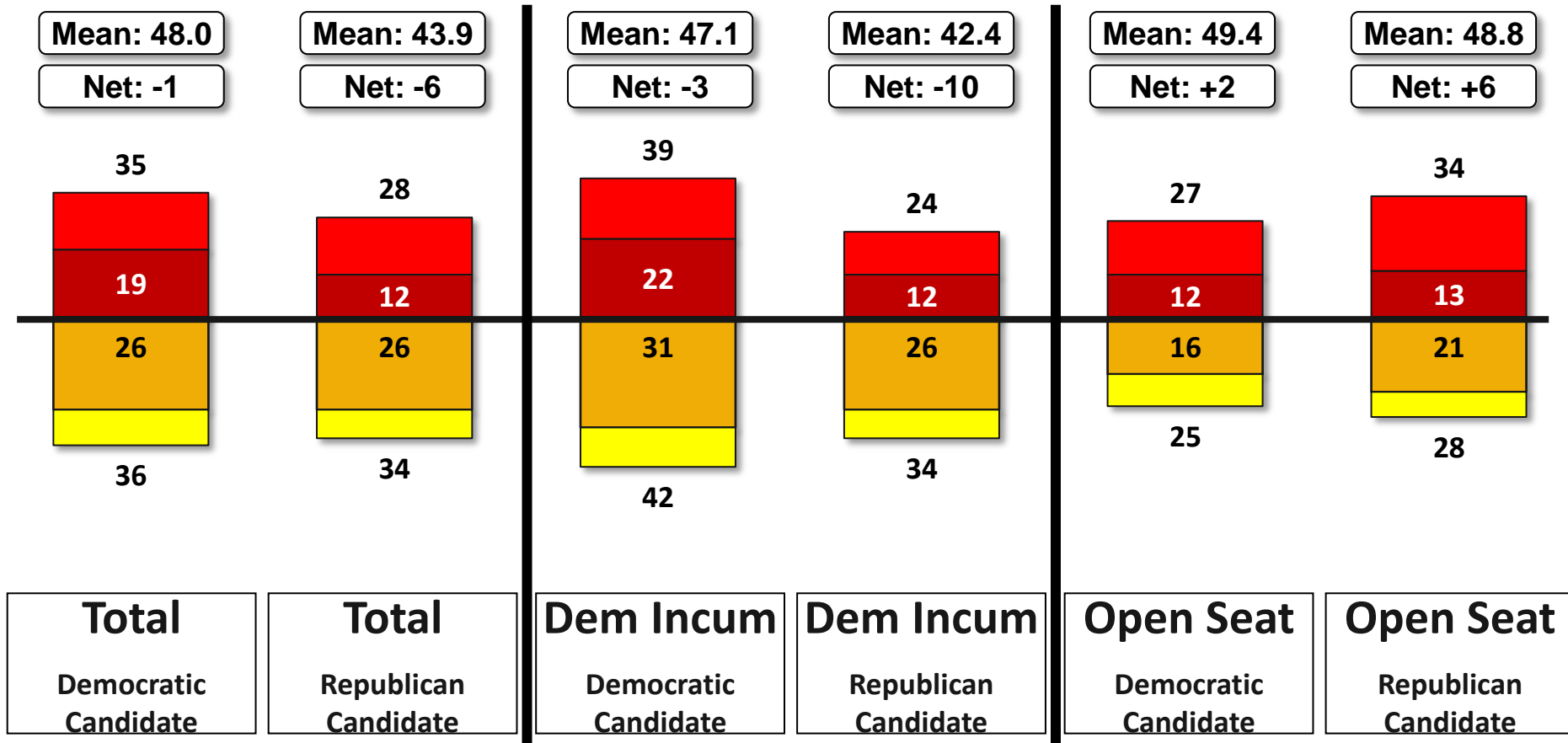
■ Strongly approve ■ Strongly disapprove



Democratic candidates with better ratings than their GOP challengers

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)

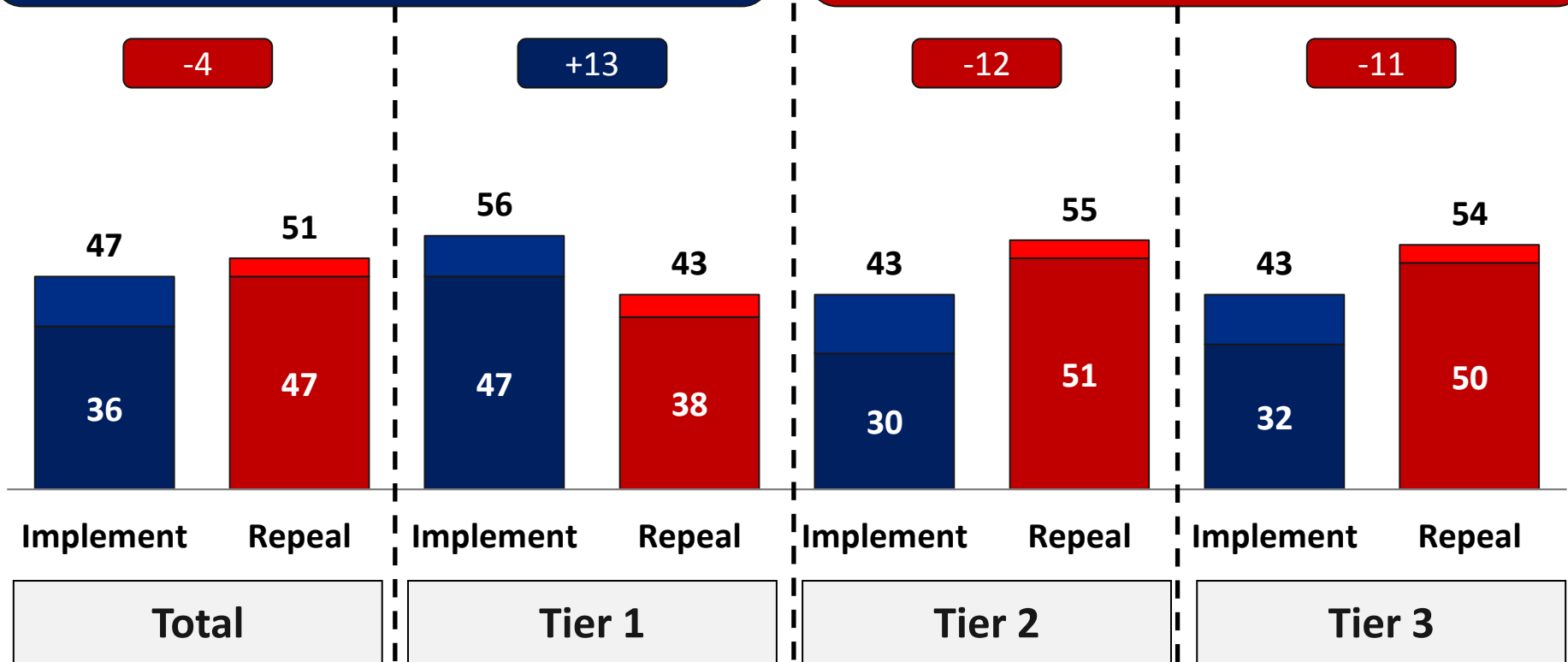


Senate battleground split on repeal, though opponents much more intense

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.

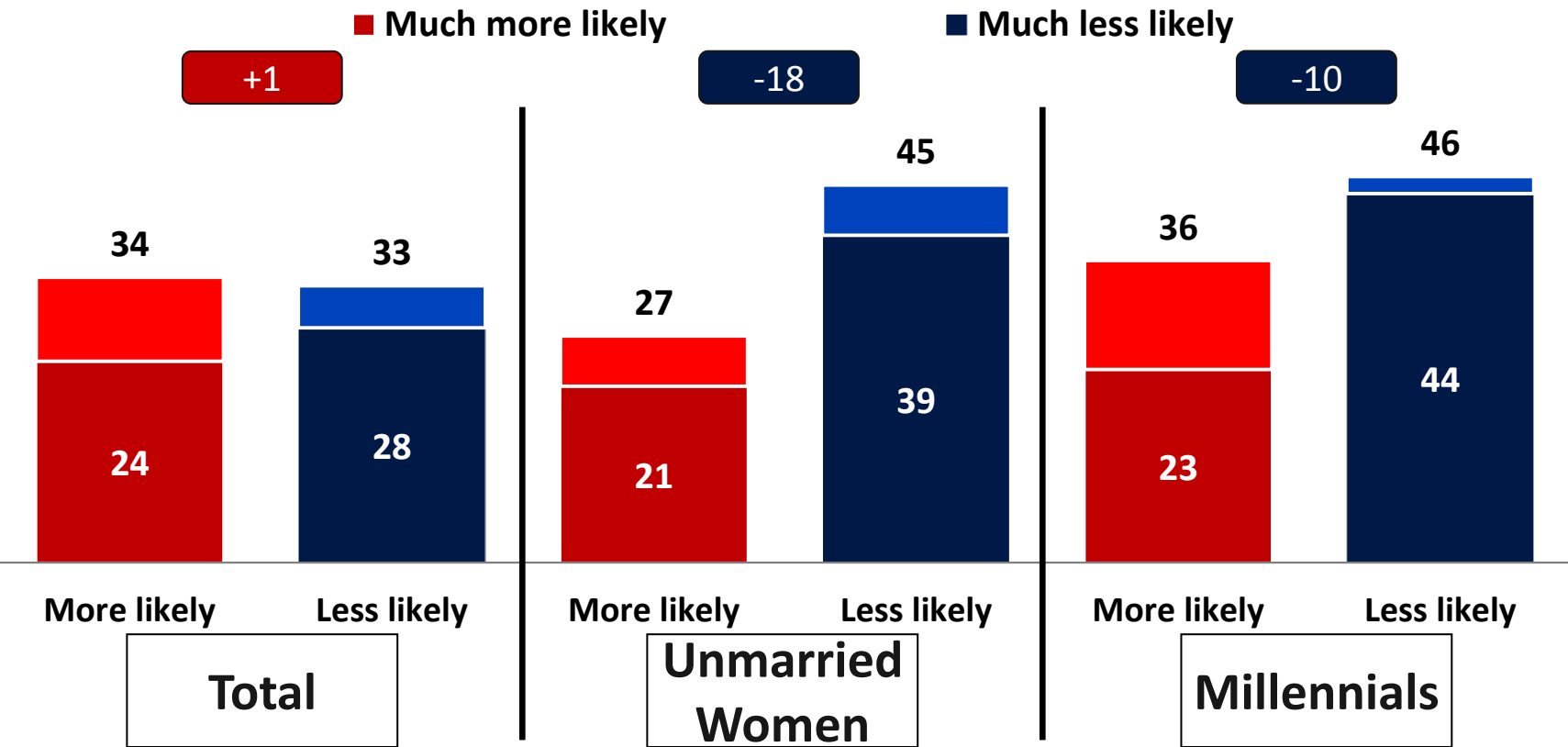
We should repeal and replace the health care reform law.



Battleground is divided on Republicans who support Hobby Lobby, but pay big price with unmarried women and Millennials

Before last week, all company-provided insurance plans had to provide prescriptions for contraceptives. Last week, the Supreme Court ruled that companies, including companies that employ thousands, are allowed to exclude covering certain types of contraceptives based on the religious views of the owners.

If a candidate for Senate this year SUPPORTED this ruling, would that make you more likely to support the candidate in the election this November, less likely, or would it make no difference?



The Senate Election

Named Senate Vote Stable and Even

Thinking about the election for Senate in November, if the election for U.S. Senate were held today, would you be voting for -- (Democratic candidate) or (Republican candidate)?*

■ Democrat

■ Republican

+3

+2

43

46

44

46

Democrat

Republican

Democrat

Republican

NPR/Resurgent Republic

June, 2014

WVWVAF

July, 2014

*Note: Incumbent and candidate names were inserted. Georgia's Republican was "The Republican Candidate." The candidate was not named in the June survey.

Race tied across Battleground, big difference by Tier

Thinking about the election for Senate in November, if the election for U.S. Senate were held today, would you be voting for -- (Democratic candidate) or (Republican candidate)?

■ Democrat

■ Republican

-2

+11

-8

-9

44

46

49

38

42

50

40

49

Democrat

Republican

Democrat

Republican

Democrat

Republican

Democrat

Republican

Total

Tier 1

Tier 2

Tier 3

Democratic incumbents even in race, despite Republican tilt of their states

Thinking about the election for Senate in November, if the election for U.S. Senate were held today, would you be voting for -- (Democratic candidate) or (Republican candidate)?

■ Democrat

■ Republican

-

-9

+3

-5

45

45

39

48

45

42

43

48

Democrat

Republican

Democrat

Republican

Democrat

Republican

Democrat

Republican

**Dem Incumbent-
Seats**

Open Seats

Obama Seats

Romney Seats

Democrats underperforming among RAE, particularly unmarried women

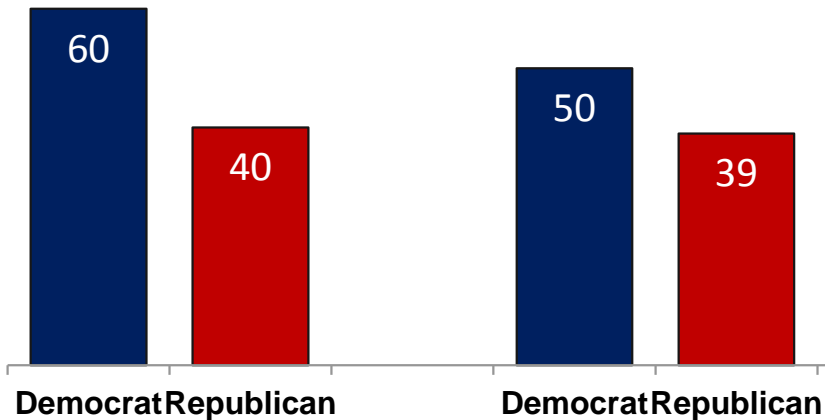
Thinking about the election for Senate in November, if the election for U.S. Senate were held today, would you be voting for -- (Democratic candidate) or (Republican candidate)?

Unmarried women

■ Democrat

+20

+11



November 2010:
National Post-Election
Survey

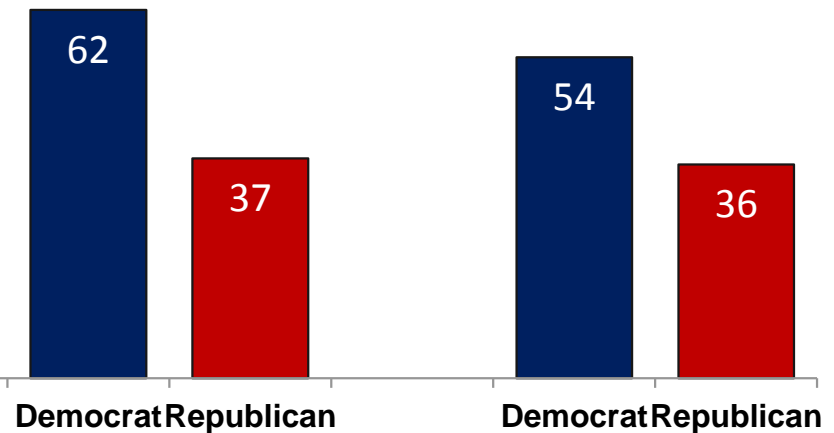
July 2014:
12 most competitive
Senate Seats

Rising American Electorate

■ Republican

+25

+18



November 2010:
National Post-Election
Survey

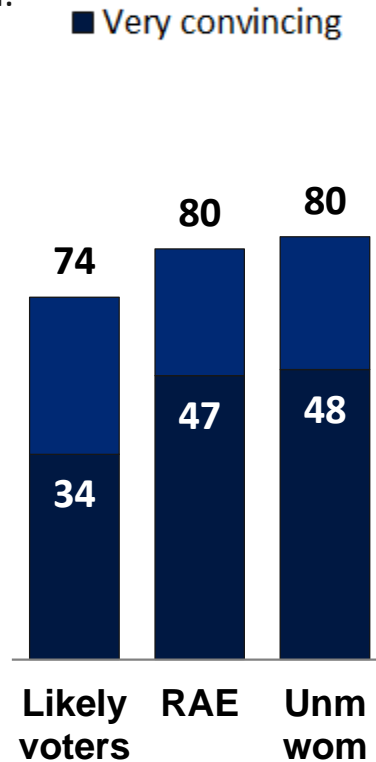
July 2014:
12 most competitive
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An Economic Agenda for hard working women and men

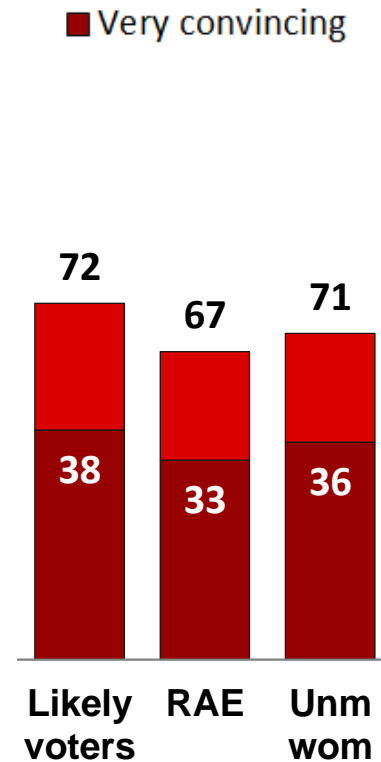
“In your shoes” narrative as strong as Republican narrative in these Republican-leaning states

Now I am going to read you some things a Democrat/Republican is saying about the economy and what needs to be done to make things better. Please tell me whether you find it a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or a not at all convincing statement about the economy and how to make it better.

People are drowning because jobs don't pay enough to live on. We need leaders who can live a day of our lives and make change for us, not for the richest who show up with the big money. We must help people here with affordable college, job training, and childcare. We must raise the minimum wage and make sure women get equal pay so working women and families can keep up with the cost of living. We need an economy here that works for working people and the middle class again, not just those with the big money.

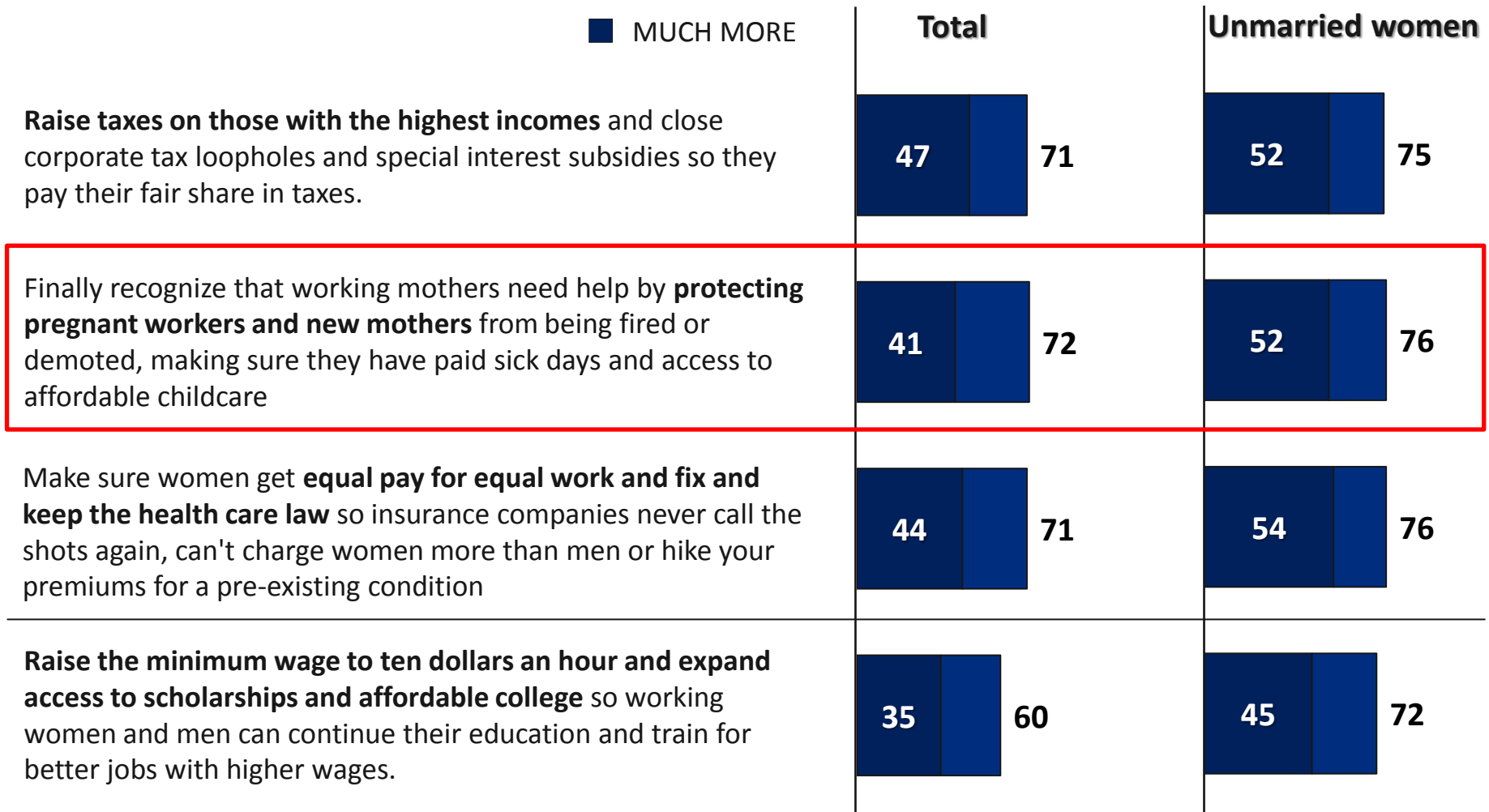


President Obama has failed on the economy. The middle class is struggling with declining paychecks, high unemployment, and the rising costs of healthcare, college, and even a tank of gas. Bigger government, higher spending, and never ending deficits are not the answer. We need to repeal Obamacare, cut regulations, and lower taxes. We need to build the Keystone Pipeline and use our energy to create jobs and lower gas prices. We can bring back opportunity, balance the budget, and spark an economic recovery if we get big government out of the way.



All economic agenda policies popular; working mothers and fair shares of taxes have biggest impact on vote

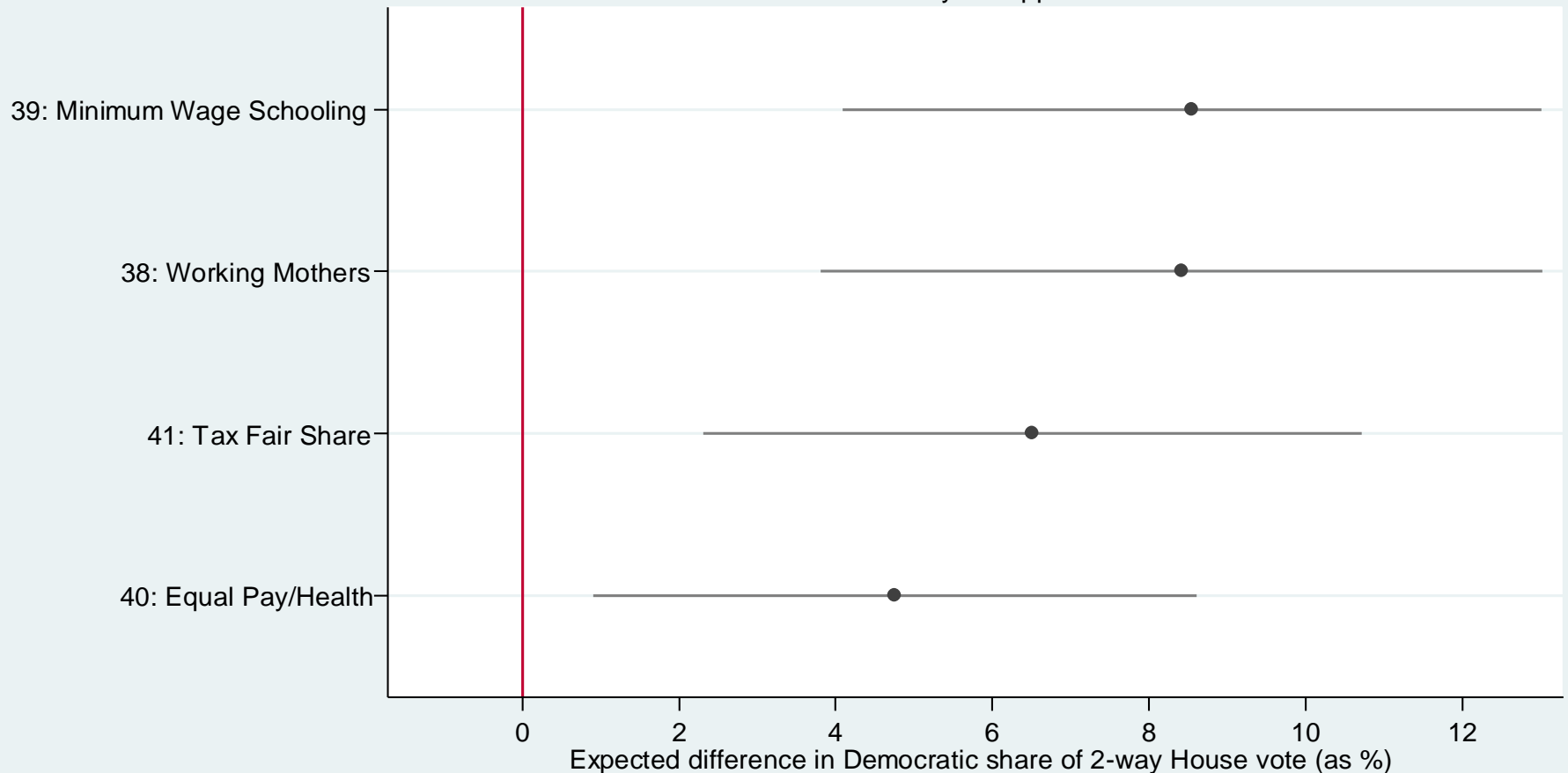
Now I am going to read you some things being proposed by **Democrats** as part of their plan to deal with the economy. After each item, please tell me whether you would be more or less likely to support a candidate who proposed that policy.



Working mothers, minimum wage schooling biggest drivers in regressions

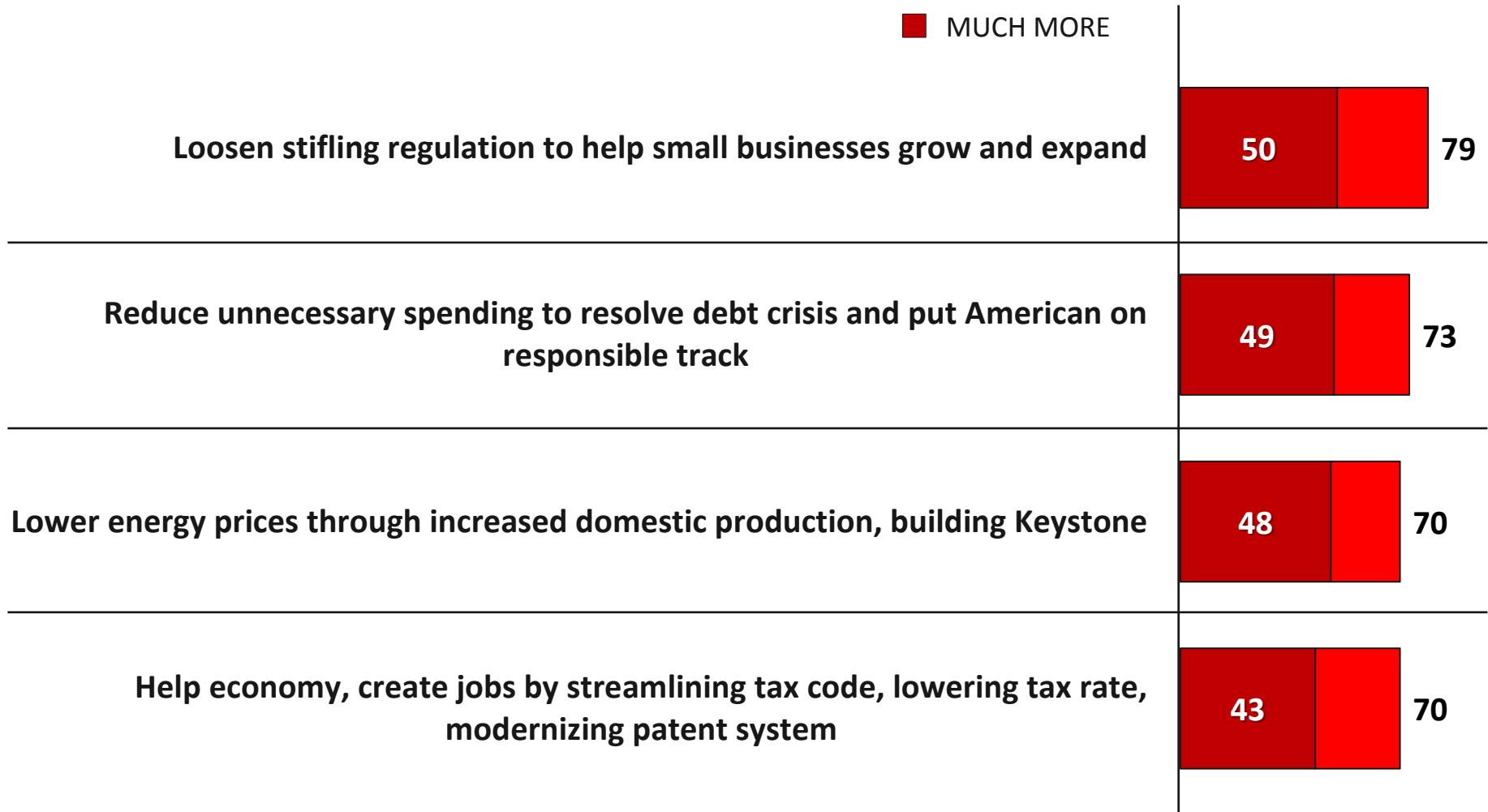
Democratic Policy Proposals and Senate Revote

Marginal effect estimates based on shift from much less likely to much more likely to support a candidate



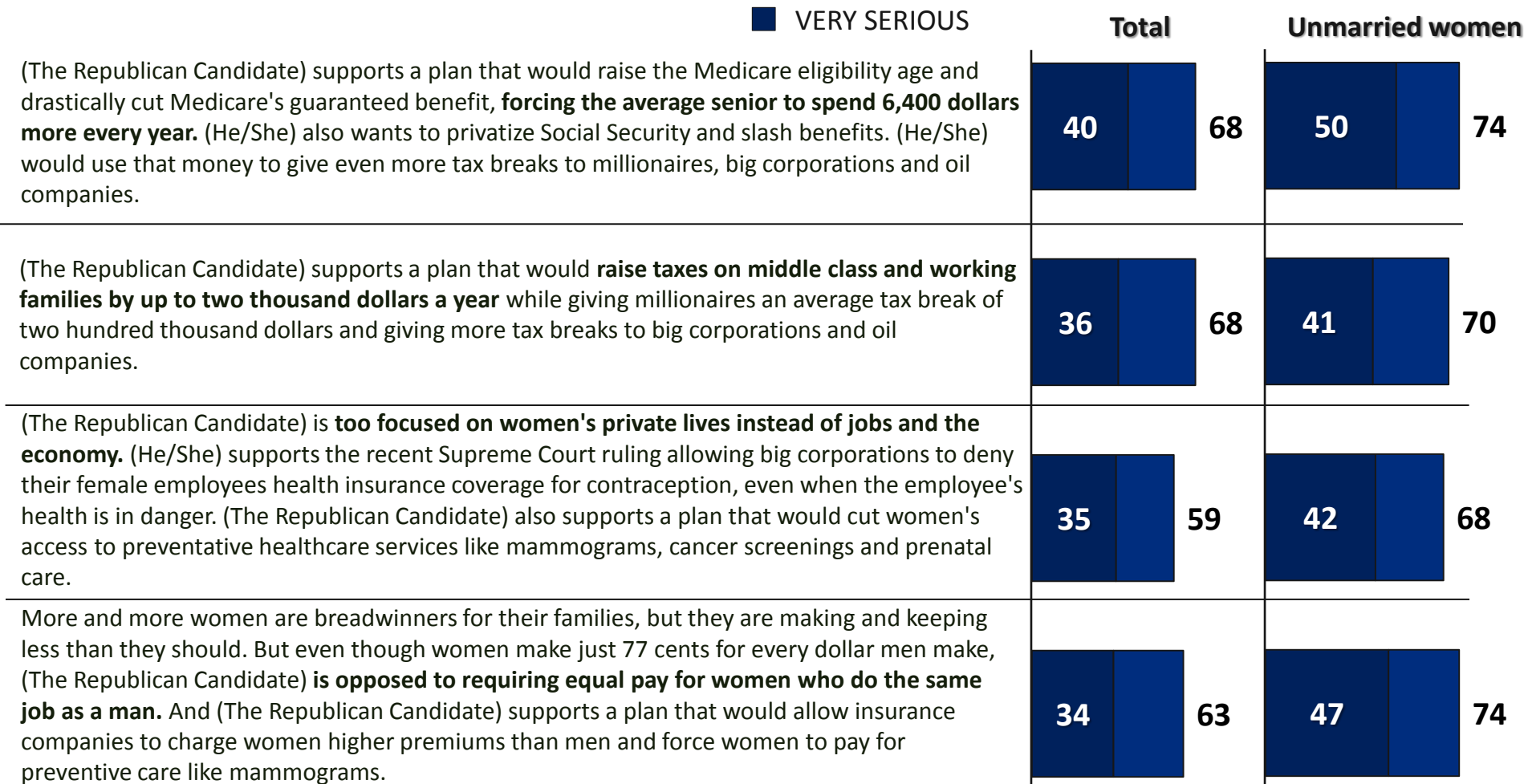
GOP policy on loosening regulation resonates the most

Now I am going to read you some things being proposed by **Republicans** as part of their plan to deal with the economy. After each item, please tell me whether you would be more or less likely to support a candidate who proposed that policy.



Strong attacks on Republicans. GOP most vulnerable on seniors but women's economic and women's health critiques also potent

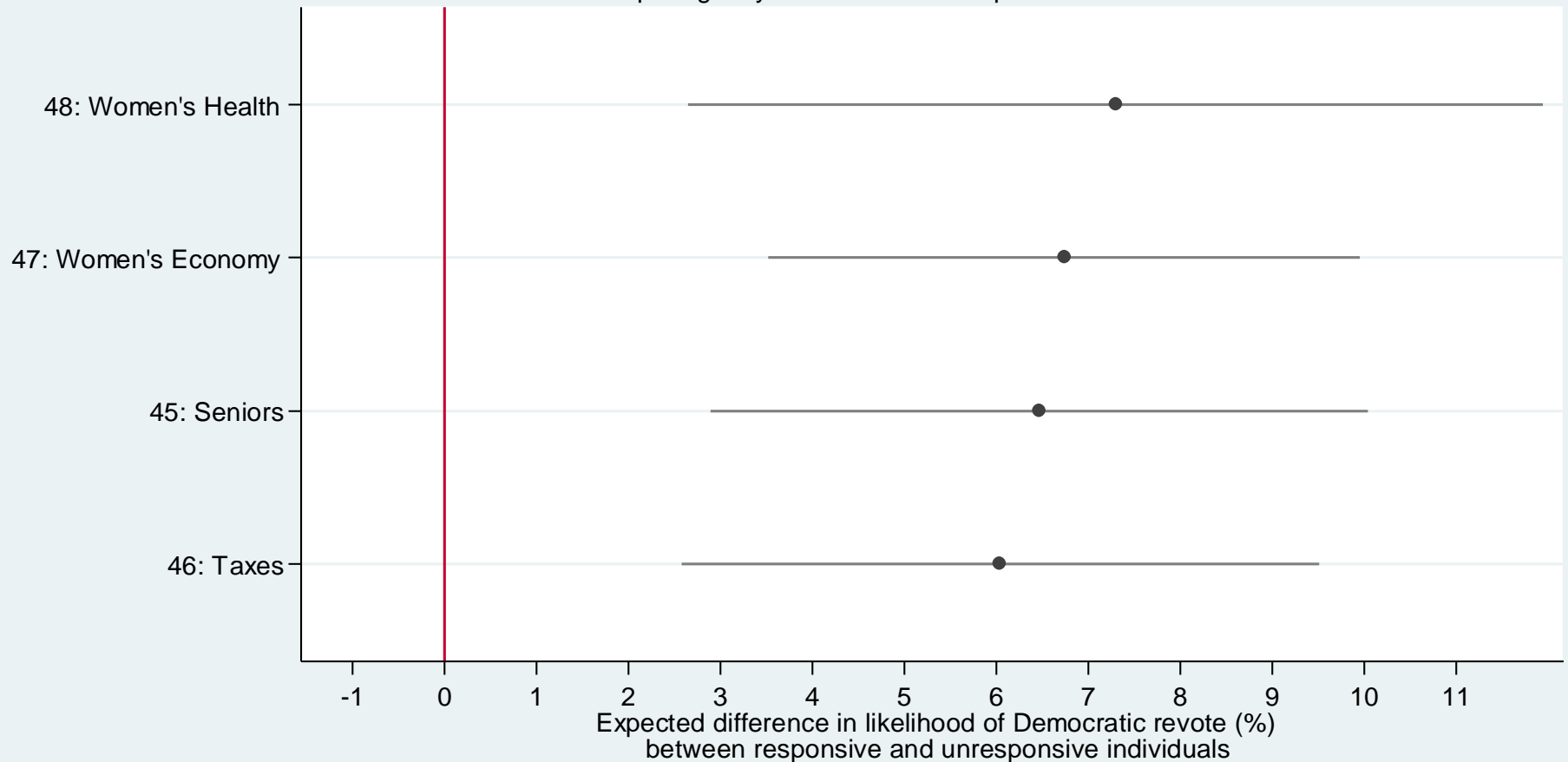
Now I'm going to read you some things that Republicans in Washington and in your state are trying to do. These could decide whether you vote in November. Please tell me whether it raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about the Republicans when you are thinking of voting in November.



Women's policy proposals are the strongest

Attacks on Republicans and Senate Revote

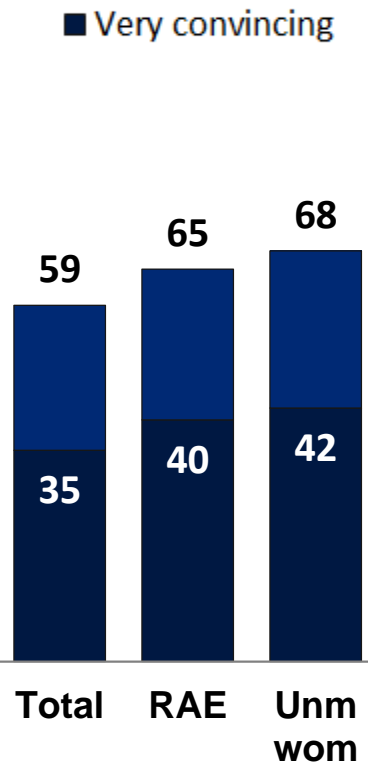
Marginal effect estimates based on responsiveness to each message, comparing very serious doubts responses to no real doubts



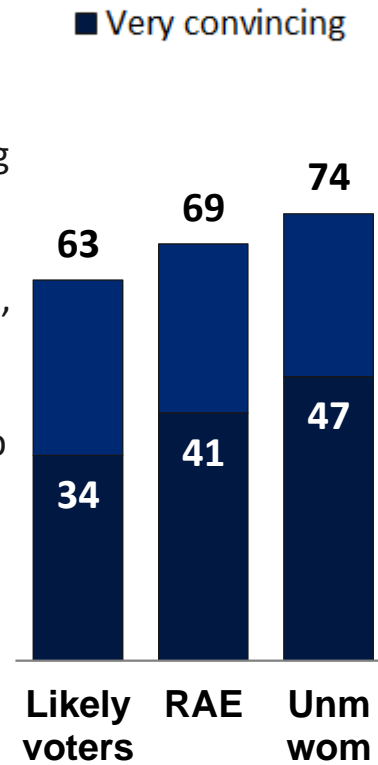
Attacks on Republicans on women's health and economy are convincing reasons for unmarried women to vote

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(WOMENS HEALTH) (Republican candidate) is too focused on women's private lives instead of jobs and the economy. (He/she) supports the recent Supreme Court ruling allowing big corporations to deny their female employees health insurance coverage for contraception, even when the employee's health is in danger. (Republican candidate) also supports a plan that would cut women's access to preventative healthcare services like mammograms, cancer screenings and prenatal care.

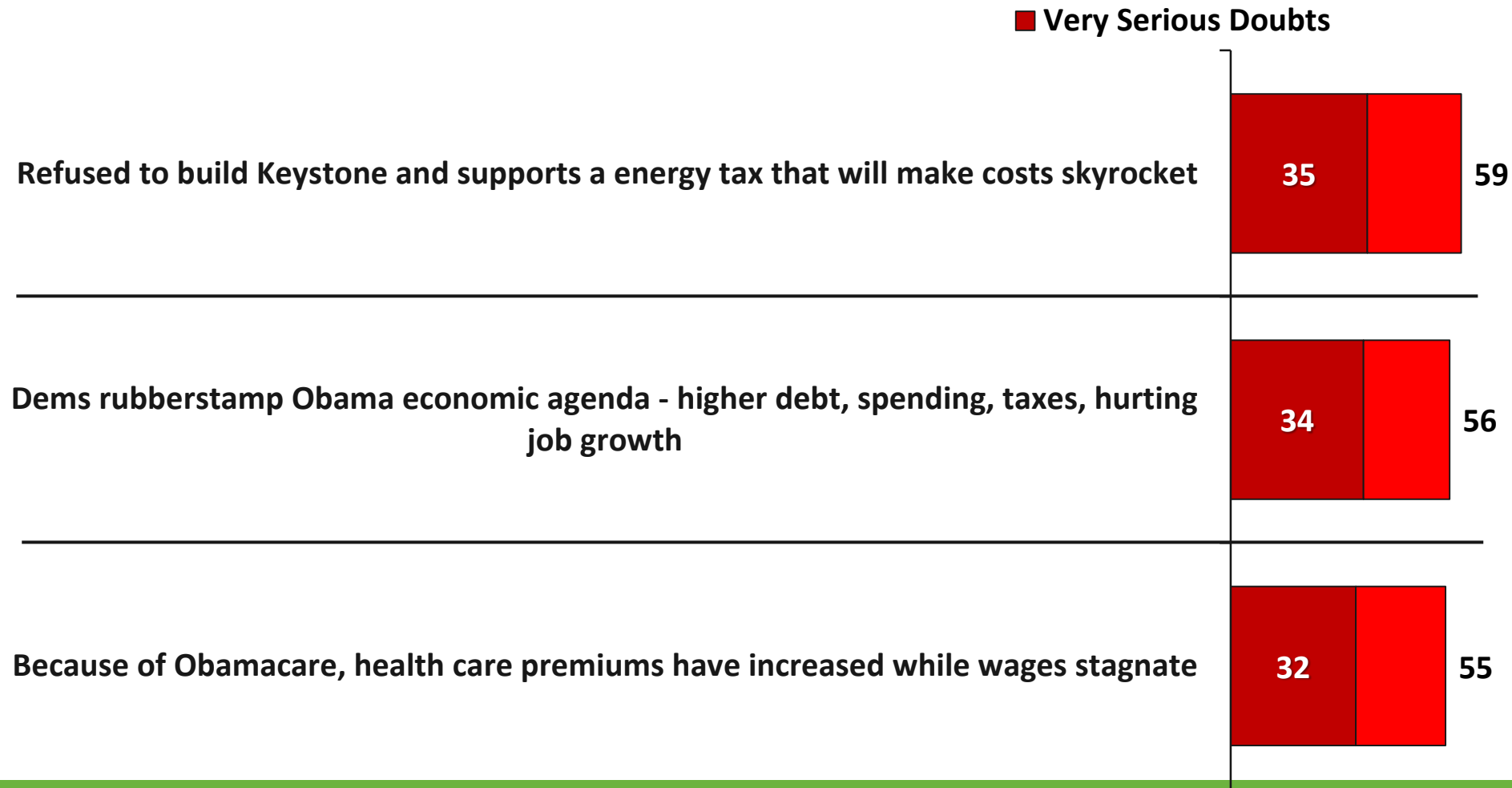


(WOMEN'S ECONOMY) More and more women are breadwinners for their families, but they are making and keeping less than they should. But even though women make just 77 cents for every dollar men make, (Republican candidate) is opposed to requiring equal pay for women who do the same job as a man. And (Republican candidate) supports a plan that would allow insurance companies to charge women higher premiums than men and force women to pay for preventive care like mammograms.



Republican attacks on Democrats resonate less

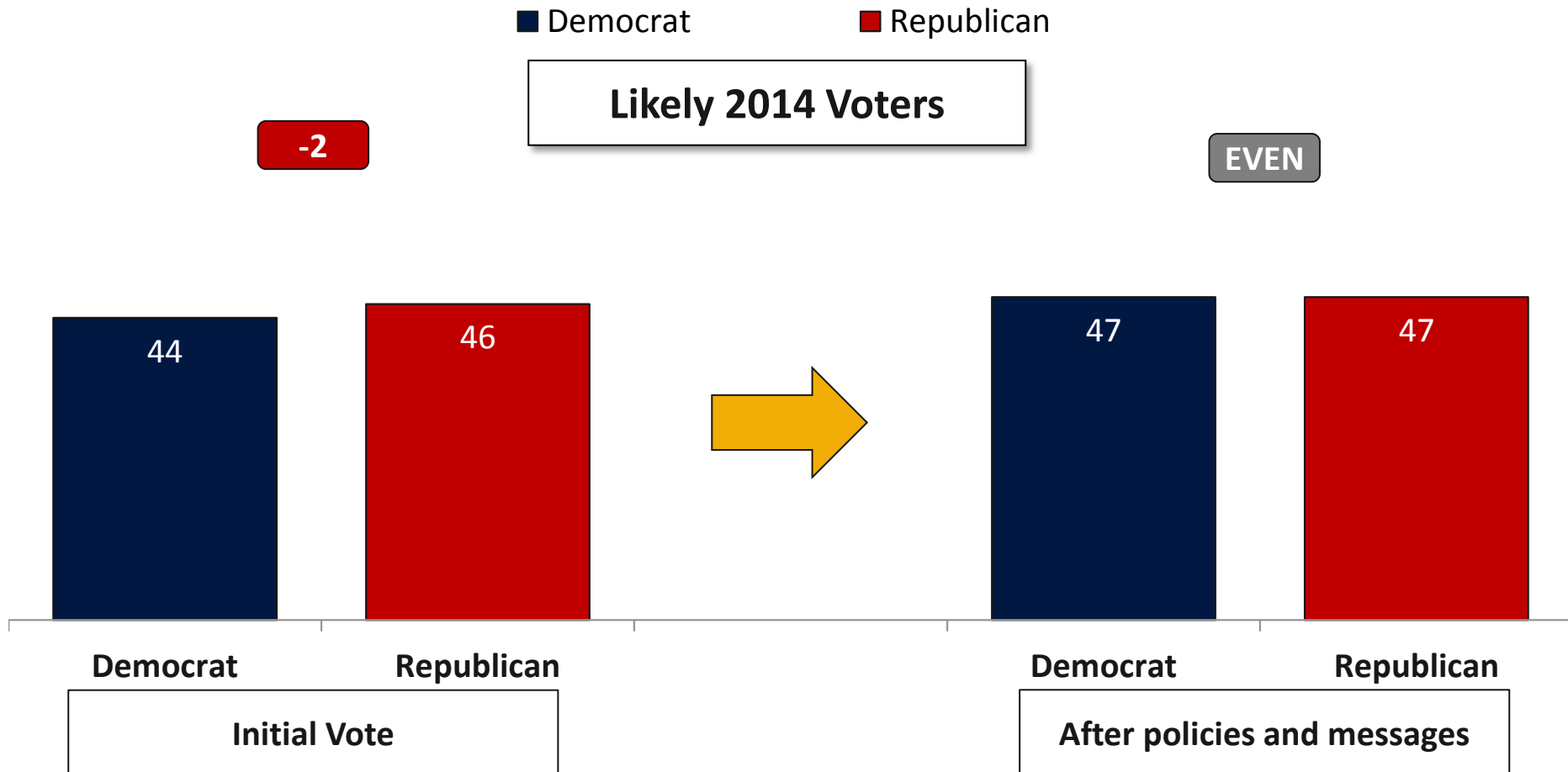
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Policies and messages move the vote

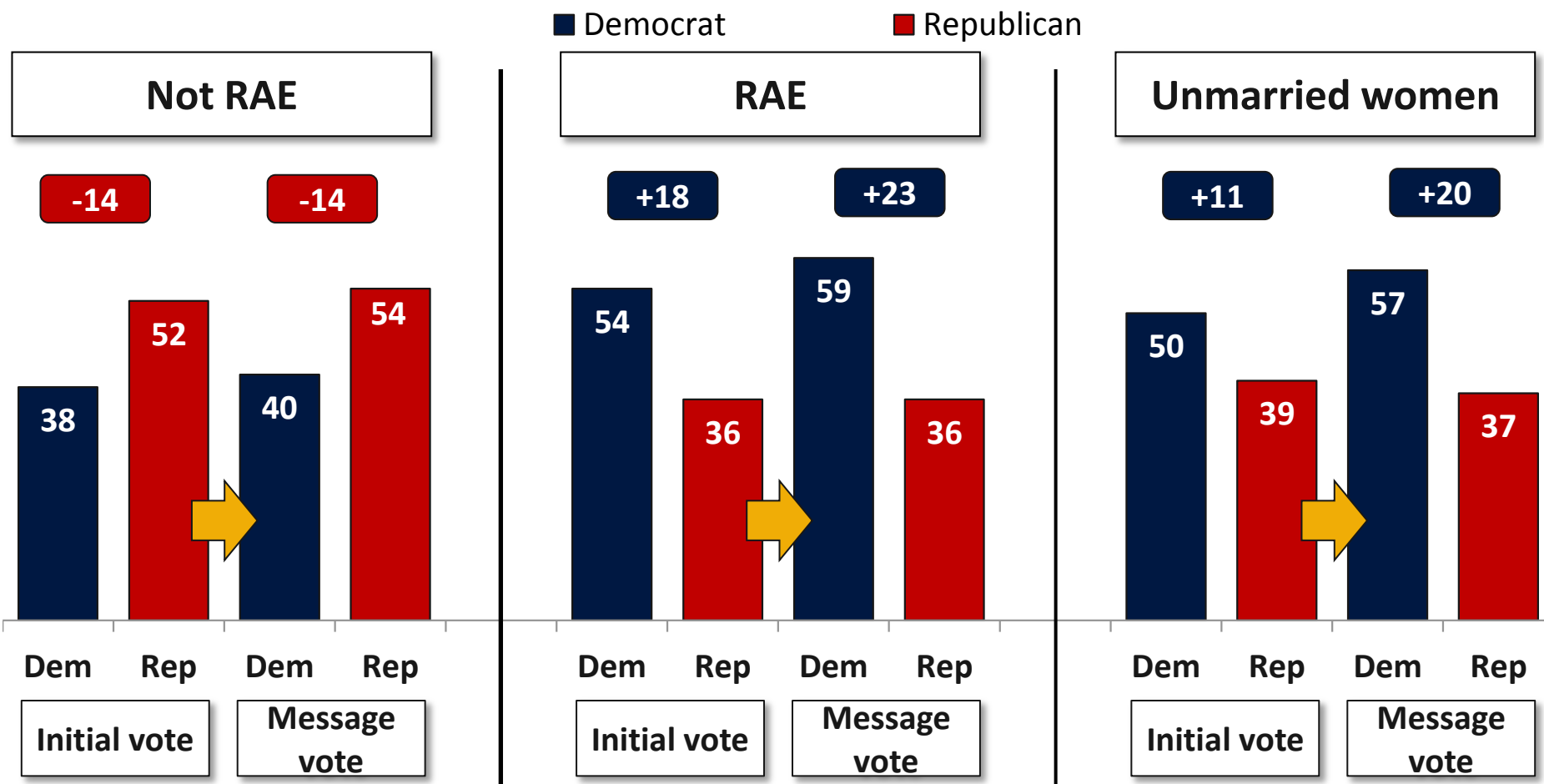
Economic debate results in small gains for Democrats

Now let me ask you again, thinking about the election for Senate next year, if the election for U.S. Senate were held today, would you be voting for -- (Democratic candidate) or (Republican candidate)?



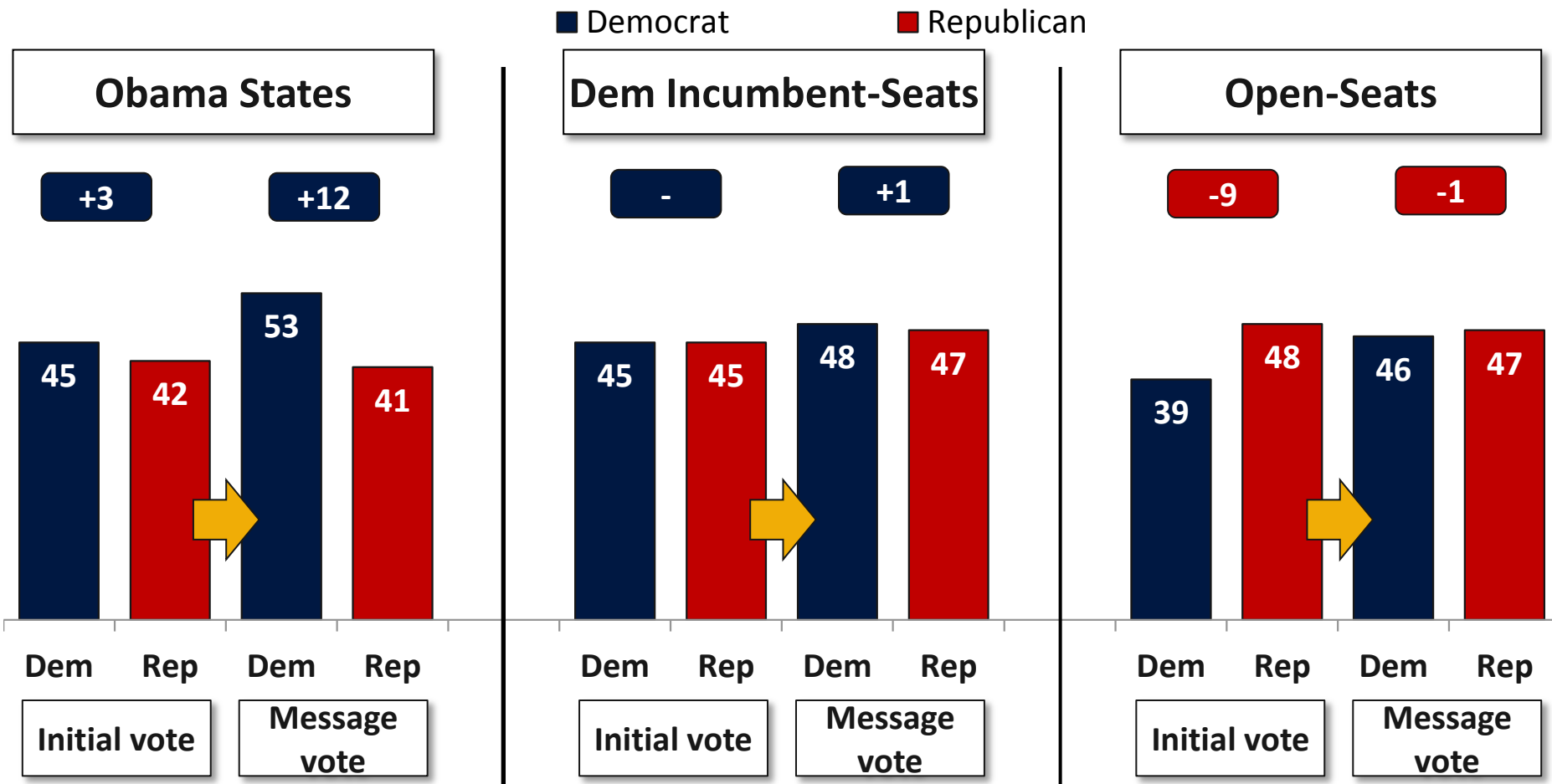
Big gains with unmarried women

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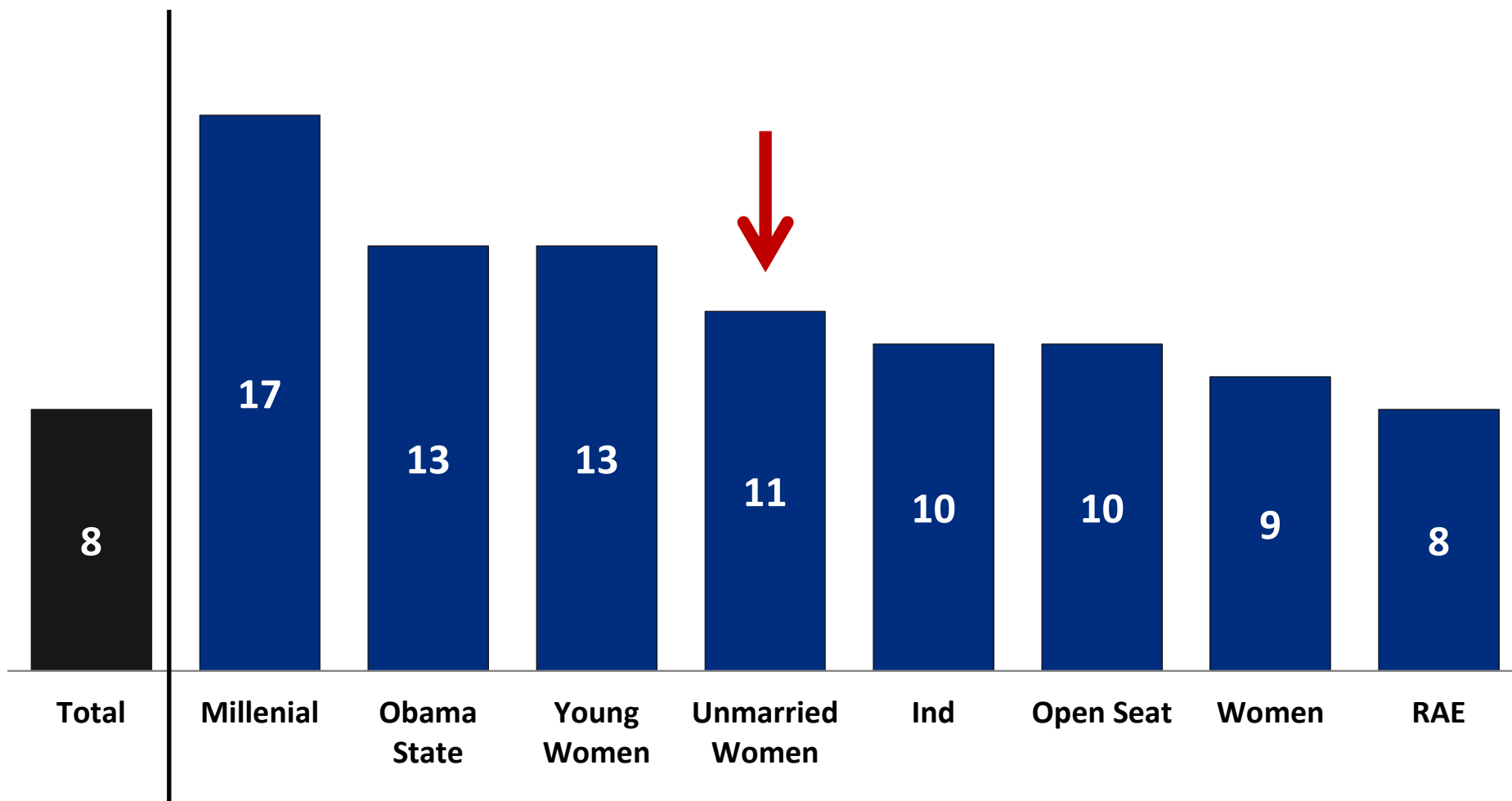
Competitive open seats and Obama-friendly districts respond best to economic message

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8 percent move toward voting for Democrats, and higher numbers of target groups move, particularly Millennials

Now let me ask you again, thinking about the election for Senate next year, if the election for U.S. Senate were held today, would you be voting for -- (Democratic candidate) or (Republican candidate)?



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