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To: Page Gardner, Voter Participation Center & Women's Voices Women Vote Action Fund
Randi Weingarten, American Federation of Teachers

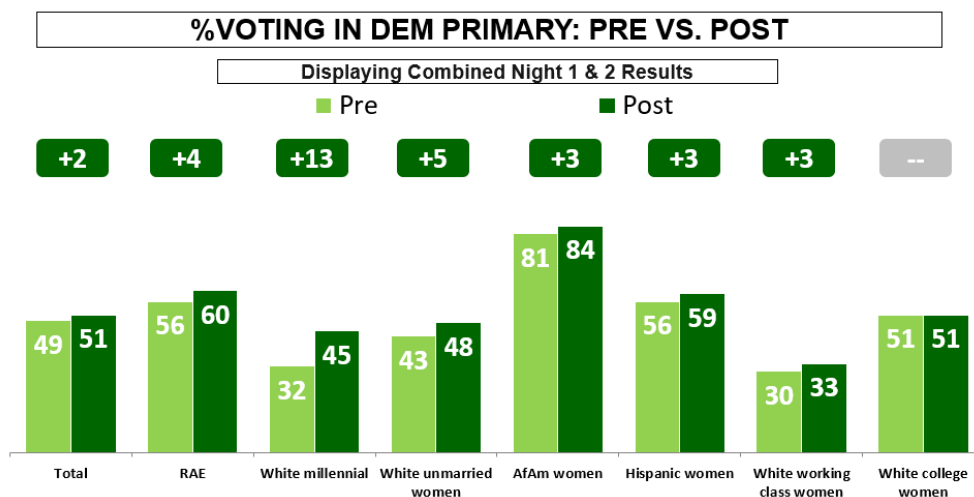
From: Stanley Greenberg, Greenberg Research & Democracy Corps
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June debate dial meter show Democrats even more engaged

On behalf of the *American Federation of Teachers*, the *Voter Participation Center*, and *Women's Voices Women Vote Action Fund*, *Democracy Corps* conducted live dial-meter testing of the June 26th and 27th Democratic Presidential Debates among the Rising American Electorate (African Americans, Latinos, white unmarried women, and white millennials), white working class women and men, and white college women. ¹ Here are some of the key findings:

1. The level of engagement is high across all groups and grows when they watch the debate. Voters, including those in our dial meter groups both nights, watched the debates with an extraordinary high level of political engagement, measured by the percent who say they are “almost certain to vote” in the 2020 election. African Americans, Latinos, white millennials, and white working class are near 100 percent on vote certainty. The percent saying they plan to vote in the Democratic primary or caucus in their state grew after each debate night among the RAE women and white working class women, and particularly among white unmarried women, millennials, and African American women—who were at 81 percent to start.

Post-debate shows a rise in primary voting interest among key blocs

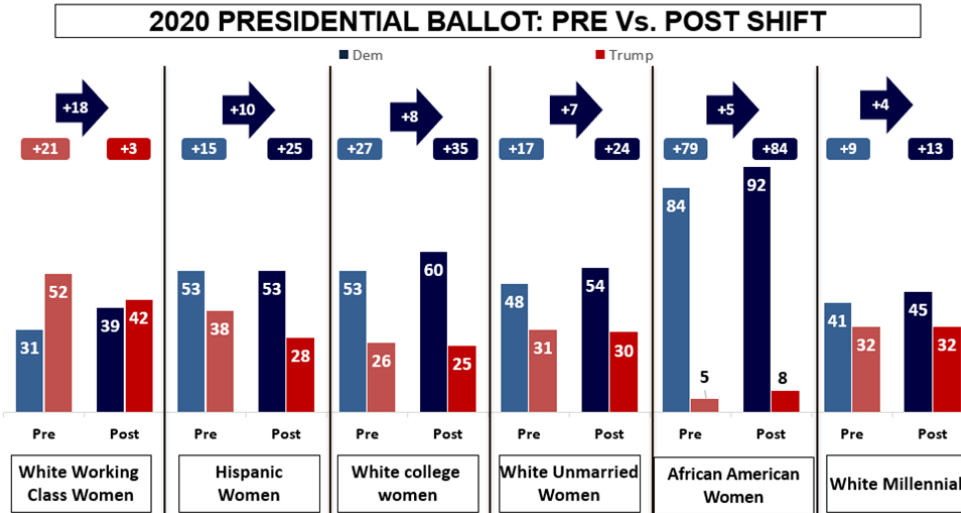


¹ These online dial meters were conducted during the June 26th and 27th Democratic presidential debates among 347 registered voters nationally: 53 African Americans, 54 Latinos, 22 white millennials, 53 white unmarried women, 54 white working class women, 50 white working class men, and 57 white college women. To ensure each demographic group was as representative as possible, they were individually recruited. Surveys were administered before and after the live dial-meter session. The RAE total is among the lines for African Americans, Latinos, white millennials and white unmarried women only. This research is qualitative, and results are not statistically projectable onto a larger population.

2. The Democratic presidential vote is strong and grows even stronger after each debate among all types of women, including voters breaking from Trump. The post-debate bump in Democratic support comes from a mix of those who were undecided as well as from Trump’s initial support. White millennials, Latinos, African Americans, and white unmarried women all consolidated further around a Democrat. Trump’s lead among white working class women dropped from a 21-point margin (52 percent to 31 percent) to a 3-point margin (42 percent to 39 percent).

After the debates, Democratic margin improves in 2020 presidential ballot

Thinking about the election for President in 2020, will you vote for – (ROTATE) the Democratic candidate or Republican Donald Trump?.



3. This was a debate where voters said their most important issues were health care and drug costs, climate change, and getting immigration under control. These priorities came through in the pre and post surveys and were overwhelmingly mentioned in the open-ended issue priority responses. Where climate change was hardly mentioned in the initial open-ended responses on most important issues, it ranked high when offered as an option in a list of issues and is the one issue that increased in priority after both debates.

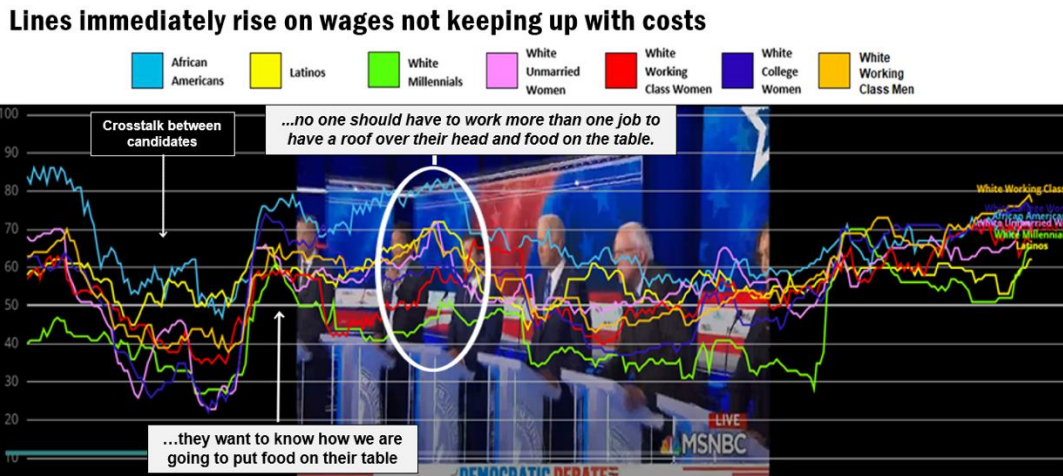
June debates: top voting issues were health care/drug costs, climate change, and getting immigration under control; less treatment at the border

And which FOUR of the following issues are most important for you?

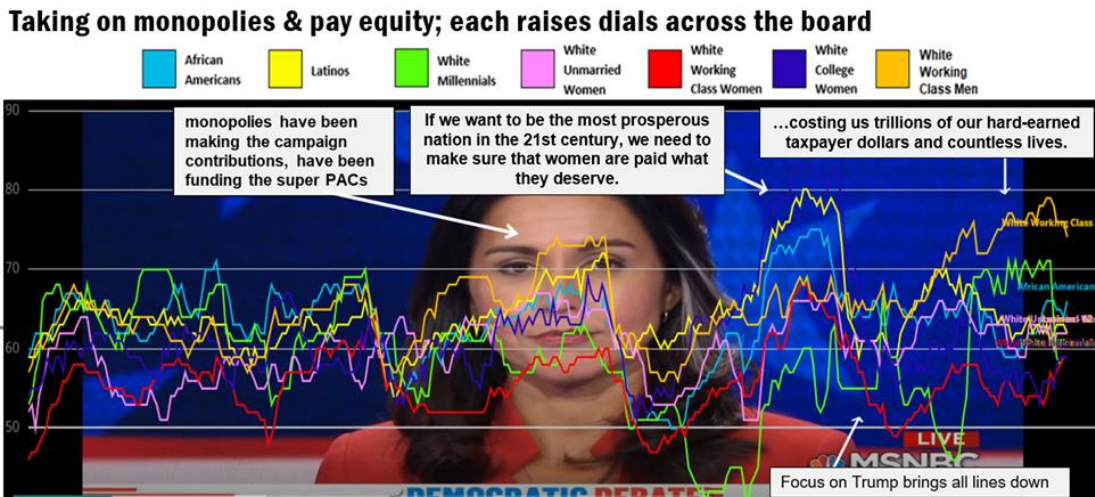
Pre Vs. Post Debate Results	Night 1			Night 2		
	Pre	Post	SHIFT	Pre	Post	SHIFT
Health care and drug costs	61	57	-4	62	68	+6
Climate change	32	35	+3	26	38	+11
Getting immigration under control	35	34	-2	42	45	+3
The economy and good jobs	37	32	-5	37	31	-6
Reducing division in the country	21	22	+1	17	21	+4
Wages keeping up with costs	21	22	+2	21	17	-4
Higher taxes on the rich and corporations	18	20	+2	16	12	-4
Strengthening the middle class	22	18	-5	18	20	+2
Treatment of immigrants at the border and in the country	14	18	+4	15	14	-1

4. Voters have a deep sense that the economy increasingly benefits the wealthy and powerful; they want bold new policies and a big change in direction. Harris gets her strongest response on wages not keeping up with costs, and Booker gets a big rise on equal pay. Warren gets a big reaction leading in with corporate monopolies making campaign contributions to Super PACs and calling the shots. Warren following with corruption, the rigged economy, and calling for big structural change to the government and economy draws a huge response from virtually all lines, including the white working class. Similarly, Sanders describing the motivations of insurance companies and the health care industry as driven by profit won strong agreement across the board

The issue of wages keeping up with costs the gets sharpest possible rise with all lines—voters want to know how they will put food on the table, including all white working class groups but also millennials and Latinos and African Americans. It is the white unmarried women of the working class along with all working class women and men who rise sharply on “no one should have to work more than one job to have a roof over their head and food on the table.” All other groups rise as well, but this resonates across the working class groups.

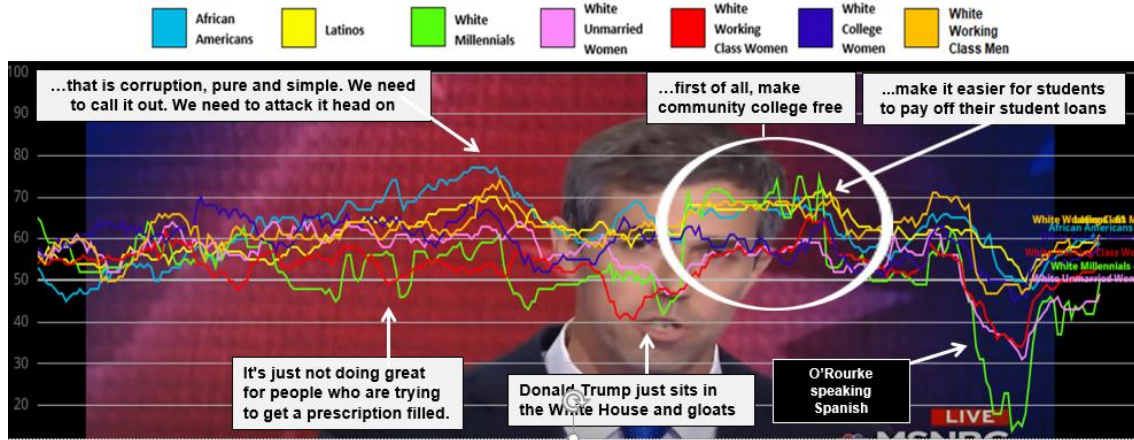


Monopolies and super PACs buying their way in and calling the shots pushes up white working class men to their heights, followed by Latinos and college women. Equal pay pushes up college women, Latinos, and African Americans. To a lesser extent, it also pushes up both white working class men and women.



Free community college does get a working class response and making it easier for students to pay off their loans pushes up both white working class women and men, as well as white millennials.

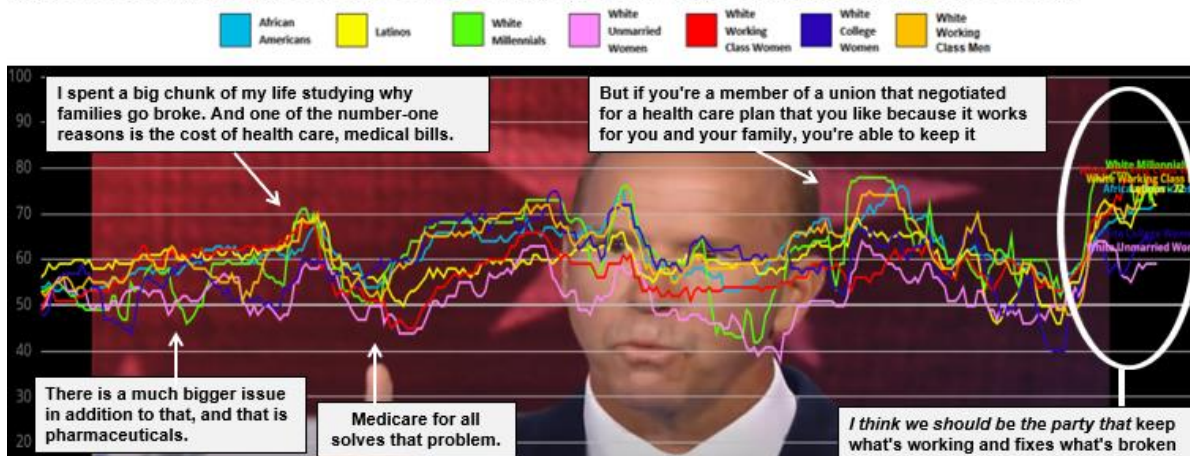
Positive response to taking on corruption, free community college, reducing student debt



5. Health care costs and prescription drug companies are the top issues that consistently drive up lines in reaction. Both Booker and to a lesser extent Klobuchar get positive responses on pharmaceutical companies—Klobuchar in reference to rising prescription drug prices and Booker on holding Pharma companies criminally liable for their role in the opioid epidemic. All voters agreed that costs are too high and negative reactions to pharmaceutical companies and the healthcare and insurance industries were strong. Medicare for All receives mixed responses in most mentions. Voters don't fully understand what is meant by each candidate who brings it up and the responses got cooler as each tried to explain their approach. The Affordable Care Act is divisive, but most lines go down on modestly changing and improving the ACA.

Critically, being able to keep insurance plans that are already working for families, including union negotiated plans, draws a good response from white millennials, white working class men, and African Americans. Continuing with what is working while fixing what is broken pushes down white unmarried women and college women, who want bold new policies, but it draws a positive response from others.

All think drug and medical costs too high, but diverge on ACA & Medicare for all

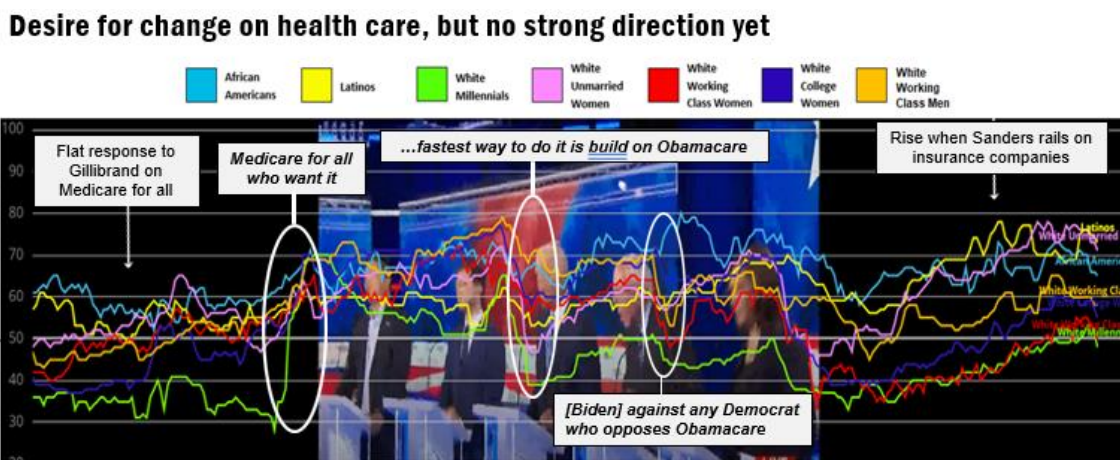


The first mention of pharmaceutical companies and drug prices brings lines up, particularly white working class and Latinos (see above). The pharmaceutical discussion, particularly on the opioid crisis and holding pharmaceutical companies liable takes white working class men nearly off the charts—also Latinos and eventually the white working class women (see below).



Medicare for All draws a favorable response from millennials and seemingly the white working class. Biden on the Affordable Care Act really gets a strong response from African Americans, but others are mixed. In particular, building on Obamacare drops off with white working class men, college women, and white unmarried women.

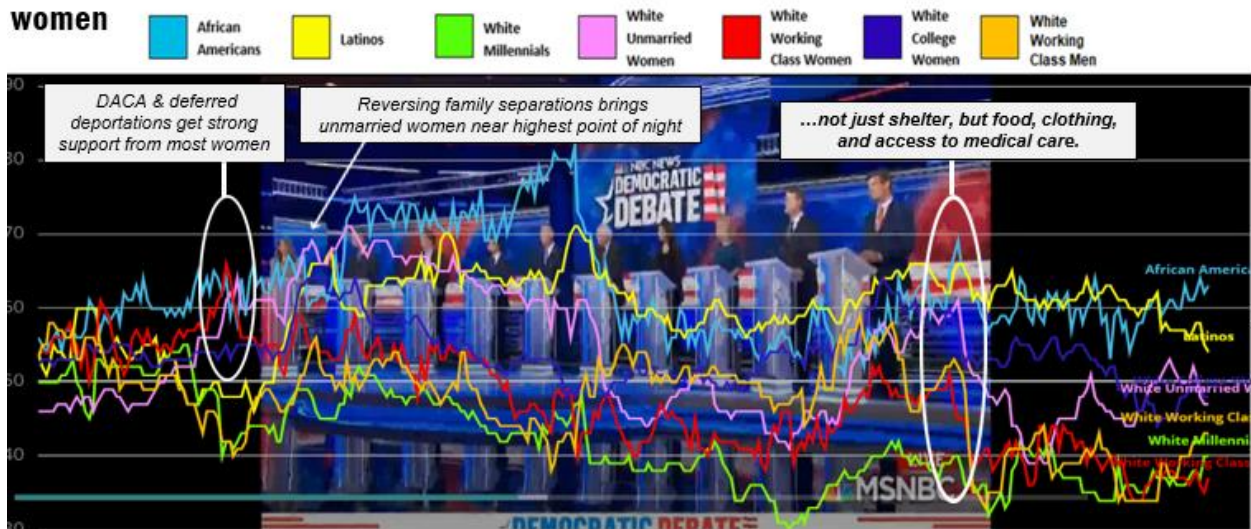
Buttigieg received perhaps the warmest response of anyone who discussed Medicare for All when he said any politician to bring it up has an obligation to explain it and makes the case that his plan includes “Medicare for all who want it” as one of a range of options available. Biden draws negative reactions by following up with a rigid defense of Obamacare.



6. Voters are sympathetic on family separations and the mistreatment of immigrants at boarder, but lines diverge on policy specifics. Reversing family separations and ensuring access to necessities like food, shelter, and medical care for migrants at the border draws a favorable reaction from everyone. Specific policies draw far more controversy, however. Reinstating DACA and extending deportation deferrals gets a strong response from African Americans and all women, particularly unmarried women. All women and particularly unmarried women respond on family separations. Latinos don't react with others

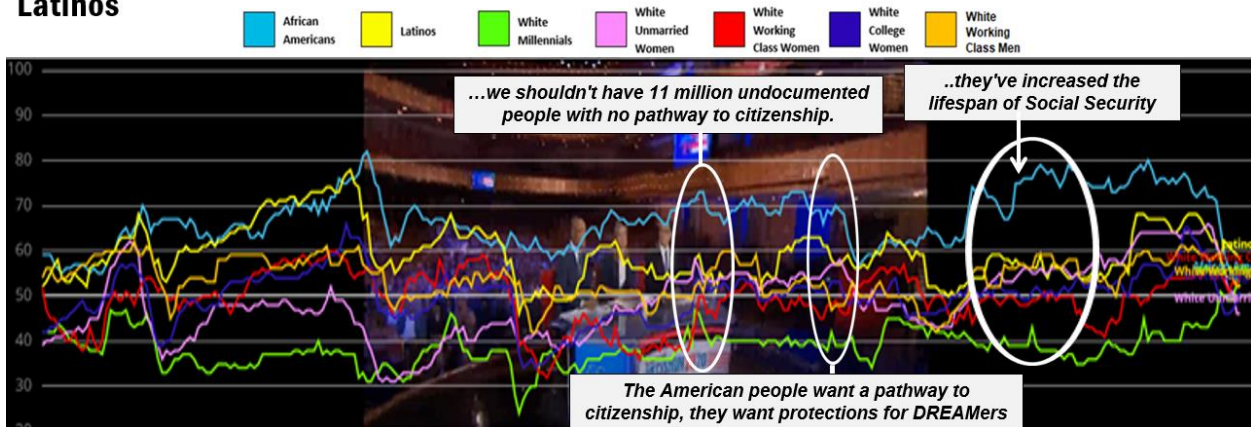
on reversing executive orders but do on family separations and on treatment of immigrants at the border. Reactions from white working class men and white millennials are weaker on these issues.

Harris reversing DACA and family separation gets strong response from AA and all women



The white working class, both women and men, go below 50 on the mention of providing healthcare for undocumented immigrants and on a pathway to citizenship (see below). Unmarried women hover on 50. African Americans moved up, while Latinos remained relatively flat, so this is an issue still being worked through.

Pathway and DACA pushes up AA, white millennials and unmarried women more than Latinos



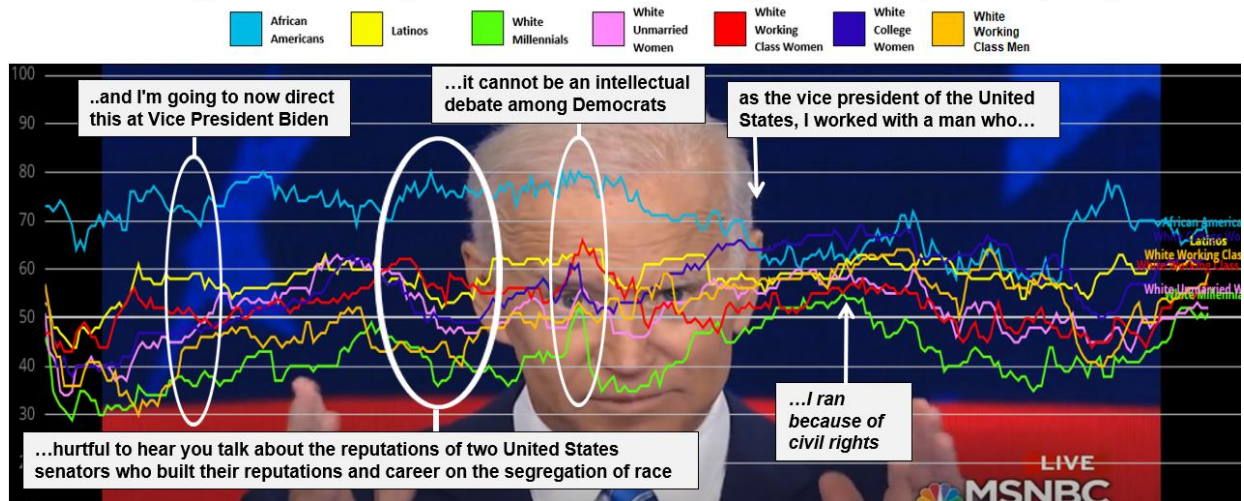
Not locking people up at the border gets a positive response from African Americans, unmarried women and also white working class, so there is some entry on that. Addressing the root conditions that generate illegal immigration from failed states gets a positive response from African Americans and Latinos, and also from the white working class and millennials.

Lines rise for Biden on addressing root conditions in Honduras & that raises AA AND Latinos



7. An important divide comes through on Biden’s response to Harris attacking his record on race. Biden’s response to his record on busing falls flat but he gets the most support from African Americans, college women and Latinos, but it is weaker with millennials, white working class women and unmarried women where the lines steadily drop below 50.

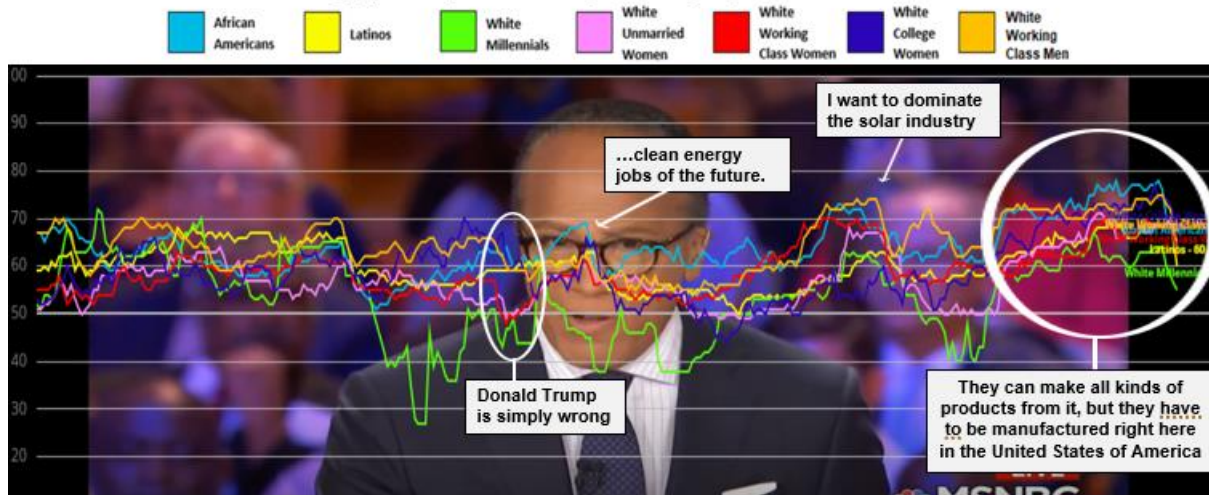
Lines converge as Biden responds to Harris on busing, followed by a steady drop



8. The most uniformly positive response to an issue across both debates was on climate change and expanding a research and manufacturing-based green economy. Voters responded favorably to Inslee when he started on the topic with the phrase “clean energy jobs of the future” and the lines continued to rise in reaction to Ryan discussing the decline of the Ohio auto industry and calling for the US to “dominate building electric cars” and “dominate the solar industry.” But the biggest reaction to the green economy came as Warren laid out in some detail an industrial policy to expand US research and development of new green technology and bring new green manufacturing jobs to the united states. The makings of a comprehensive plan brought all lines around 70 on the dial meter, within a tight grouping.

White working class men are highest on the US dominating electric car manufacturing and the solar industry, along with white working class women. The same happens on making the global green manufacturing industry centered in the USA, so there is clearly a place of entry here on the economy and manufacturing jobs.

Lines rise on clean energy jobs, particularly when proposed on industrial scale



9. Voters want a nominee with credible solutions for serious issues, and lines consistently drop as candidates blame Trump or sell themselves instead of ideas. Half of Democratic primary voters want a liberal nominee and half a moderate, but there is a big majority for government financed health care and activist government to solve problems. Voters are looking for boldness and big changes. At the same time, they are also looking for somebody who will work with both parties and unite the country after a divisive president.

The motivation is not about getting Trump out of office – that is lower on the priorities and didn’t rise in either night’s post survey. Voters want solutions to serious issues, not an anti-Trump campaign. Voters were asked to choose one candidate they thought did best in the debates and were also asked to select one candidate they thought had done worse than they were expecting. The first night was strongest for Warren, with 44 percent saying she had done the best followed by Booker with 15 percent. Night 2 was strongest for Harris with 37 percent who said she did the best, followed by Biden with 17 percent.

In open ended responses where voters explained why they thought a particular candidate did the best in the debate, they most often said they liked that a candidate had responded directly to the questions with solutions to problems. In open ended responses where voters explained why a candidate had done worse than they had expected, they often mentioned that a candidate focused too much on their resume and background, focused too much on Trump, or lacked clear ideas on what they would do as president.

Candidate that did best:

“She appeared to be the candidate that had solutions to the problems of this country. She answered every question put before her straight on and did not dance around the issues.” (African American woman)

“I thought she had the most realistic solutions to problems. Many candidates have crazy plans costing trillions of dollars with no plan to pay for them.” (White unmarried woman)

“Presented real solutions to the problems we face. Followed the rules of the debate. I liked the way he spoke to the American people.” (White working class woman)

“Everything was well thought out, she has plans for a lot of issues, and she is very passionate about issues. She is in touch with middle America.” (White working class woman)

Candidate that did worse than expected:

“I don't think he has any new plans or extensions of old plans. I was disappointed in his still riding the Obama train.” (White unmarried woman)

“He didn't have many clear ideas of what he would do. he seemed to be pandering to Hispanics by speaking in Spanish” (Latino man)

“Never answered the question about what he would do in future - just kept using his past accomplishments. Past is past, need to know what changes will be brought about.” (White college woman)

“Had no new ideas, talking about Trump and how they plan on getting rid of him.” (White working class woman)

10. Post-Debates, health care and immigration stay at top of issue priorities, but climate gets big rise. Overall, the economic issues weakened, though are still connected to healthcare costs and seemingly to climate change in relation to green manufacturing, which remained a top issue. Nothing compared to climate change and immigration, however, and there is strong populist desire to raise taxes on those making over \$250,000 and support for an ultra-millionaire tax to fund student debt relief.

Debate viewers were activist on climate, taxing richest, and health care and pro-Planned Parenthood and immigrants to the US

Please rate your feelings toward some people, proposals, 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.

THERMOMETERS						
Post-Debate Results	Night 1			Night 2		
	Fav	Unfav	Diff	Fav	Unfav	Diff
Measures to prevent global warming	78	15	+62	74	23	+51
Raising taxes on those making over \$250,000 a year so they pay their fair share	77	20	+57	79	20	+59
Planned Parenthood	72	22	+50	60	36	+24
Medicare for all	71	26	+45	62	34	+28
Immigrants to the US	66	27	+40	55	39	+16
An Ultra-Millionaire tax to fund student loan debt relief	66	30	+37	61	33	+28
NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico, Canada and the United States	64	23	+41	65	25	+40
Donald Trump	35	65	-30	37	63	-26
Republicans in Congress	34	62	-28	34	61	-27
Mitch McConnell, the Senate Majority Leader	26	68	-42	27	63	-36

The word clouds below further demonstrate the consistency of the top issues—health care and immigration, both before and after the debates. The words that come through with greater frequency in the word clouds from post session open-ended responses reflect the issues that emerged and were driven by candidates who rose in the debates and will continue to drive the conversation. In each case, we see slightly less on the economy overall and see words like “change”, “reform”, “Medicare” and “climate” coming through with greater frequency.

PRE: IMPORTANT ISSUE (SESSION 1)



POST: IMPORTANT ISSUE (SESSION 1)



PRE: IMPORTANT ISSUE (SESSION 2)



POST: IMPORTANT ISSUE (SESSION 2)



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In the end, voters are looking for substance and clarity on important issues—particularly health care and immigration. The consistency of these issues in the pre and post survey makes their importance clear. However, climate change and measures to combat global warming began strong in the pre-survey and grew in importance after the debate each night. It is unclear if climate change can become a serious voting issue or if it was aided in part by the way the candidates tied the issue into economic and industrial plans.

Healthcare and immigration remained a higher priority at the end, but the politicized views around immigration and the range of differences in approaches to healthcare did not give them the consolidated net increase in priority that climate change and the green economy benefitted from. Reactions to health care and immigration in the dials showed that voters are still working these issues out and there is open space here for candidates to define clear positions and policies on these issues to help shape the narrative.