

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

Women's Economic Agenda

Powerful impact on vote and turnout in 2014

Democracy Corps/WVWVAF National Survey

June 25, 2014



DEMOCRACY CORPS
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG



Methodology

This presentation is based on our latest national survey conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner for Democracy Corps and Women's Voices Women Vote Action Fund

The survey of 950 2012 voters (950 weighted) and 827 likely 2014 voters nationwide was conducted from June 10-15, 2014.

Unless otherwise noted, margin of error for the full sample= +/-3.18 percentage points at 95% confidence. Margin of error for likely 2014 voters= +/-3.41

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.

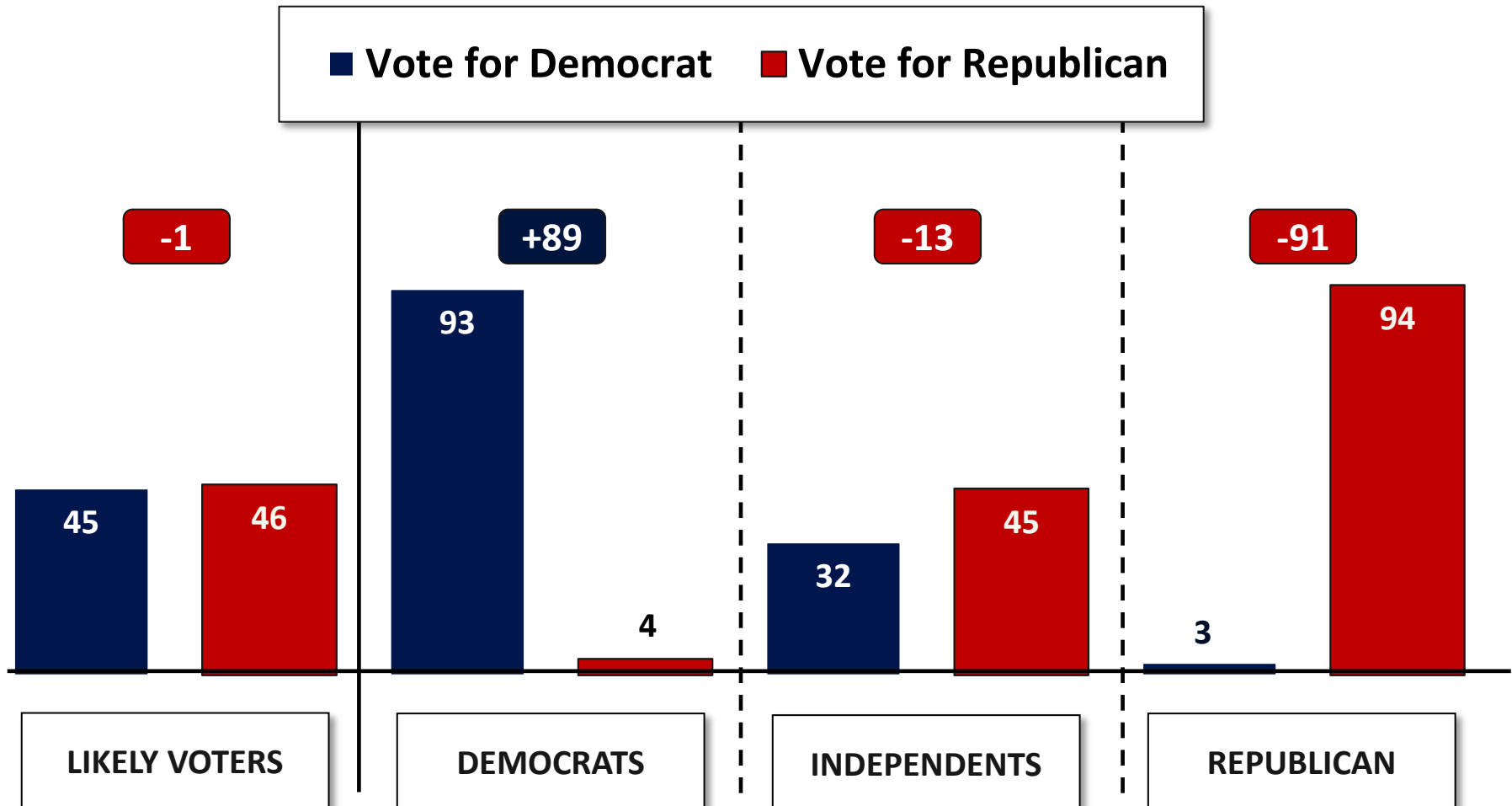
Key Findings

- Unmarried women can make or break the election in 2014.
- When 2014 likely voters are exposed to empathetic “in your shoes” messaging and an economic agenda for working women and men, it shifts the vote from -1 to +3.
- When unmarried women are exposed to the same message framework, they shift from +17 Democratic margin to +31 and their turnout increases by 10 points.
- The economic agenda for working women and men includes a cluster of powerful policies on helping working mothers, equal pay and equal health insurance, raising the minimum wage and making college affordable to get to better jobs.
- GOP attitude toward equal pay has most turnout effect and GOP attacks on Obamacare and economic policies increase Democratic turnout.
- The national congressional race is tied and stable, with Democrats held back by modest vote among base RAE and unmarried women.
- Unmarried women are the main story because they are reporting modest turnout intentions and the vote among this group is now close to 2010 level. But they clearly can be moved and mobilized by “in your shoes” messaging.
- Two contextual factors: 1. Wrong track and modest job approval for president, and 2. Increased hostility to Republicans and Congress. Which will come to matter more will tell us how the race breaks.
- Powerful closing rationale: If Republicans win, the people with money win and more working men and women will be drowning.

The Congressional Election

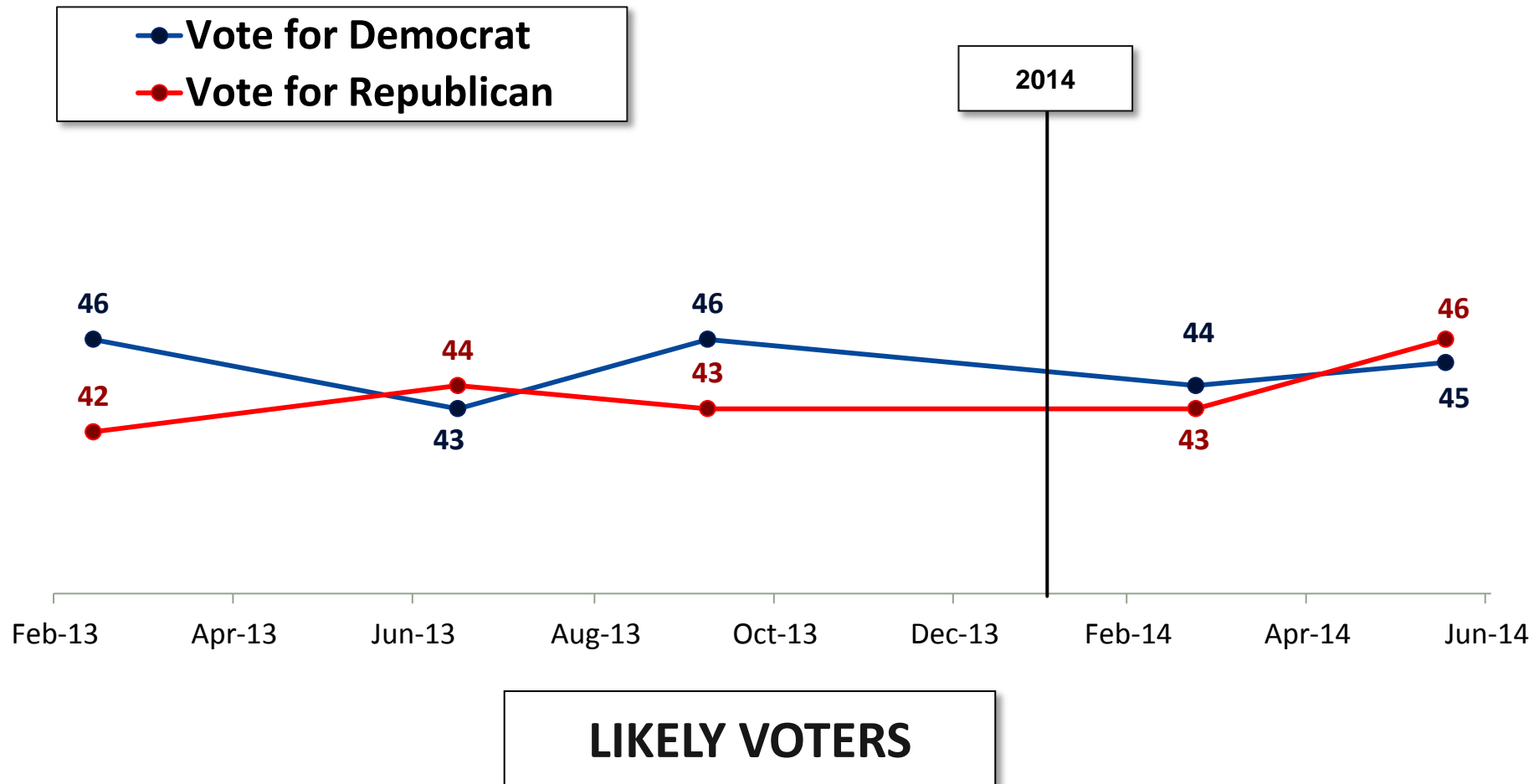
Race dead even among likely voters

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



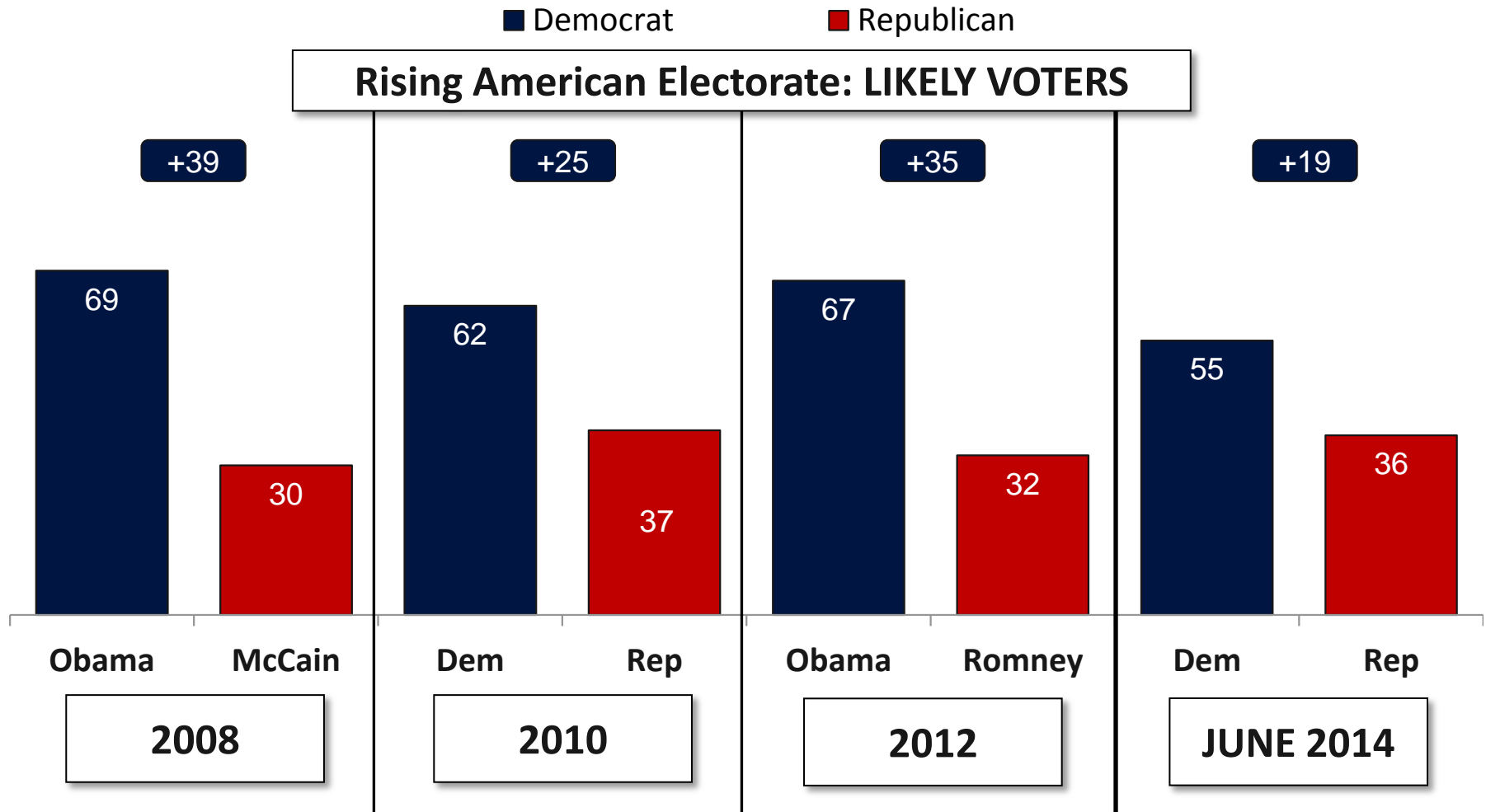
Congressional vote among likely voters

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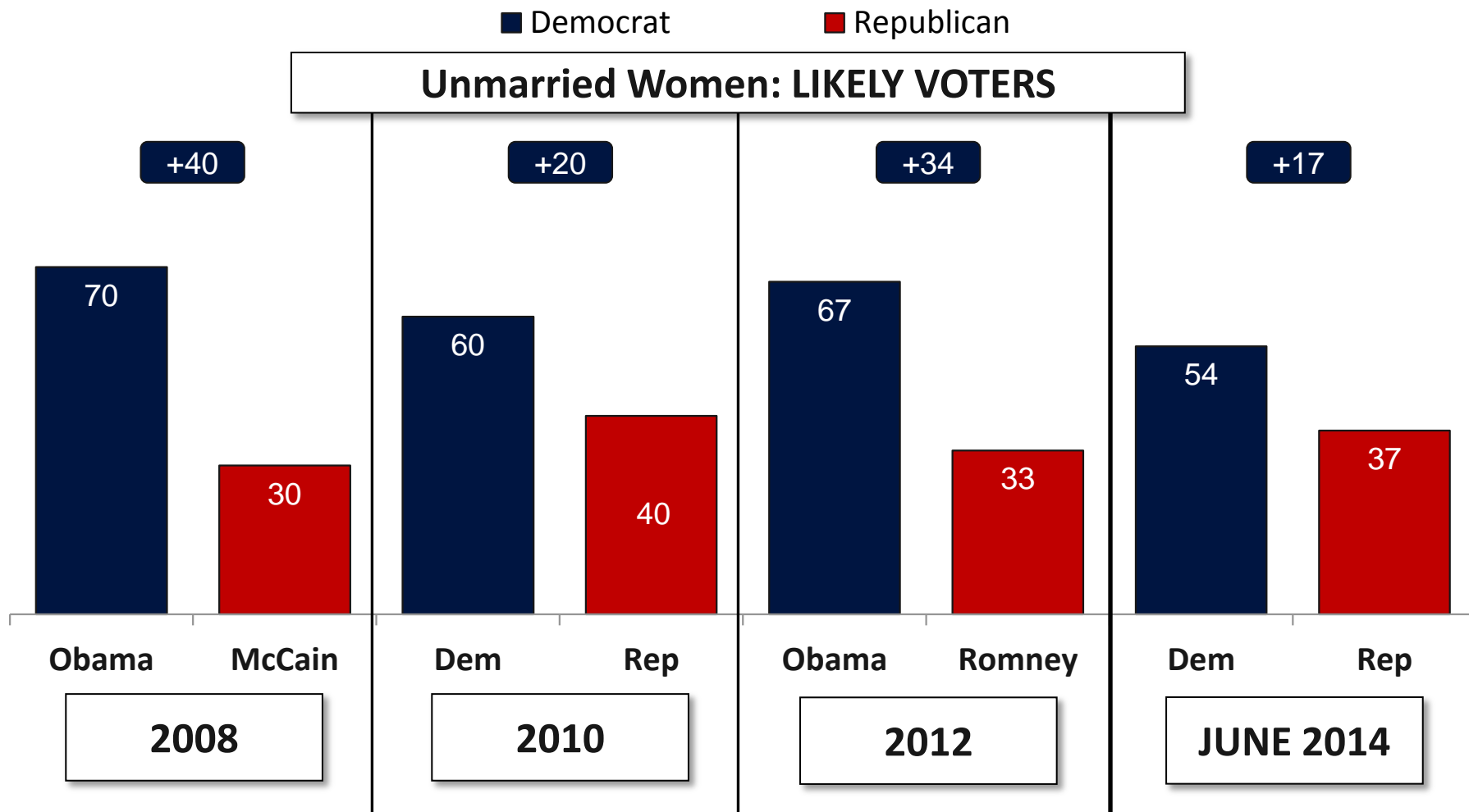
Democrats well below 2010 margin among Rising American Electorate likely to vote in 2014

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



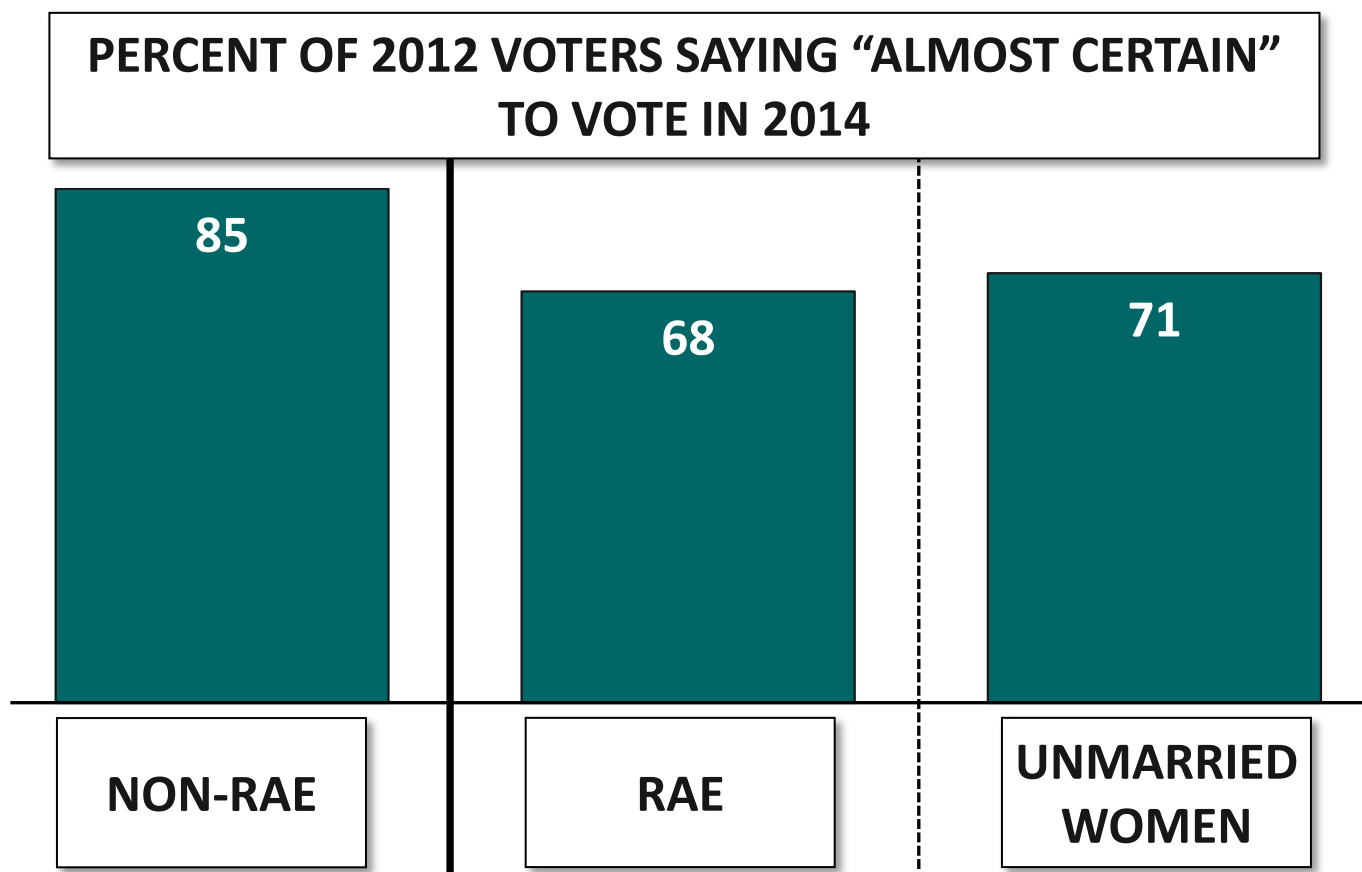
And now below 2010 margin among unmarried women

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



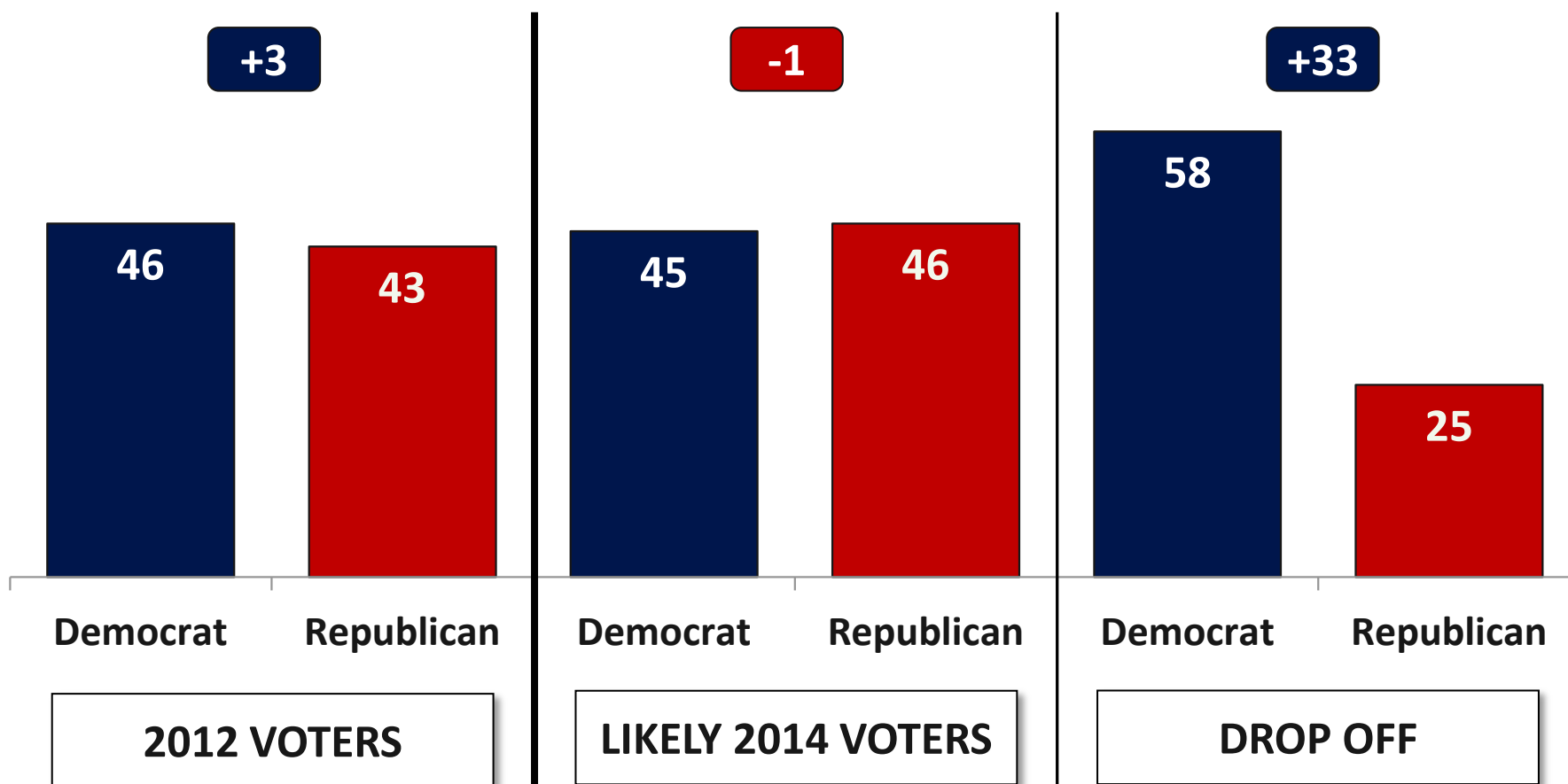
Rising American Electorate less likely to vote in November

I know it's a long way off, but what are the chances of your voting in the election for Congress in November: are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or don't you think you will vote?



Drop off voters very Democratic

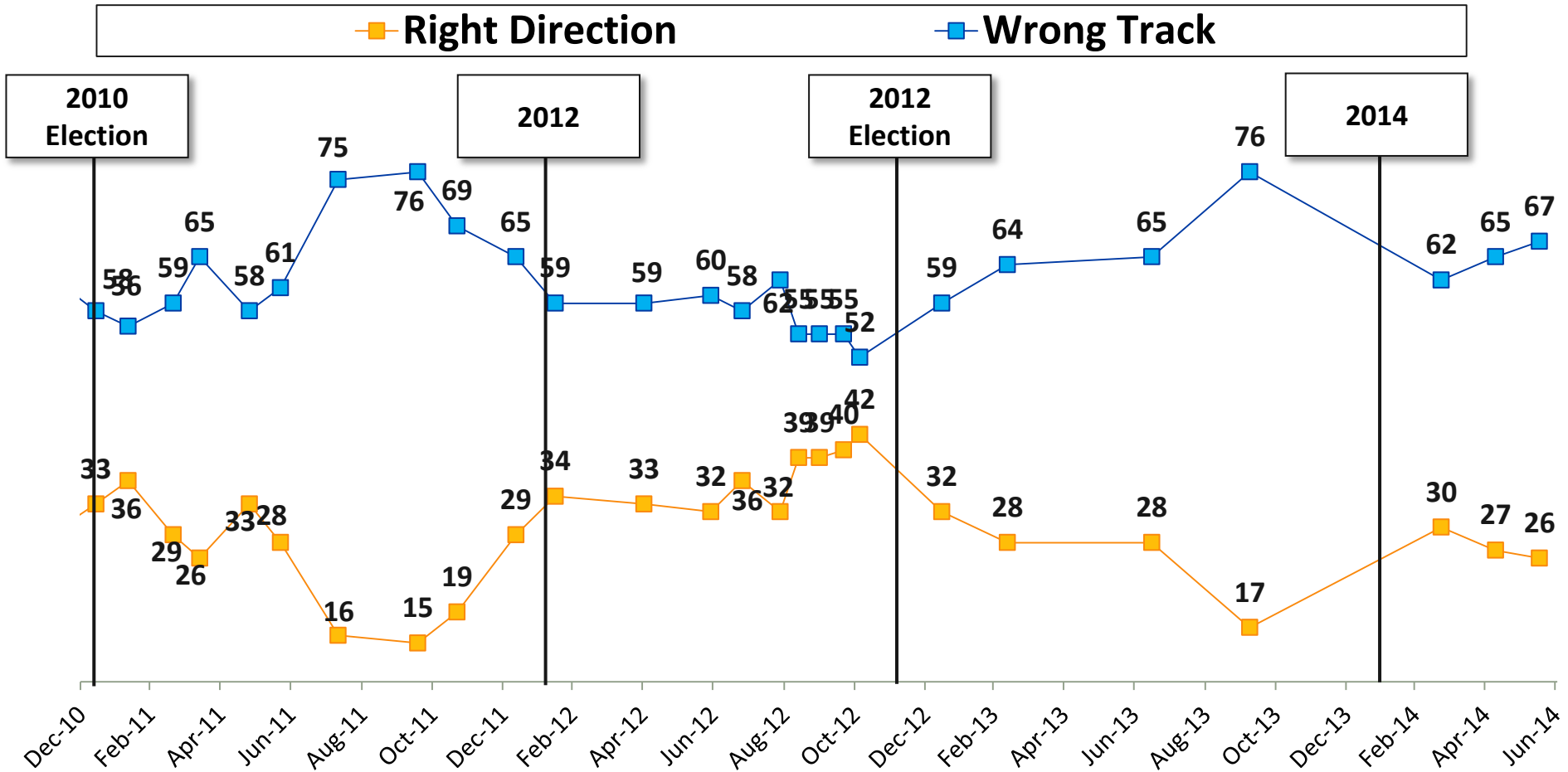
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Political Environment

Increasingly pessimistic about direction of country

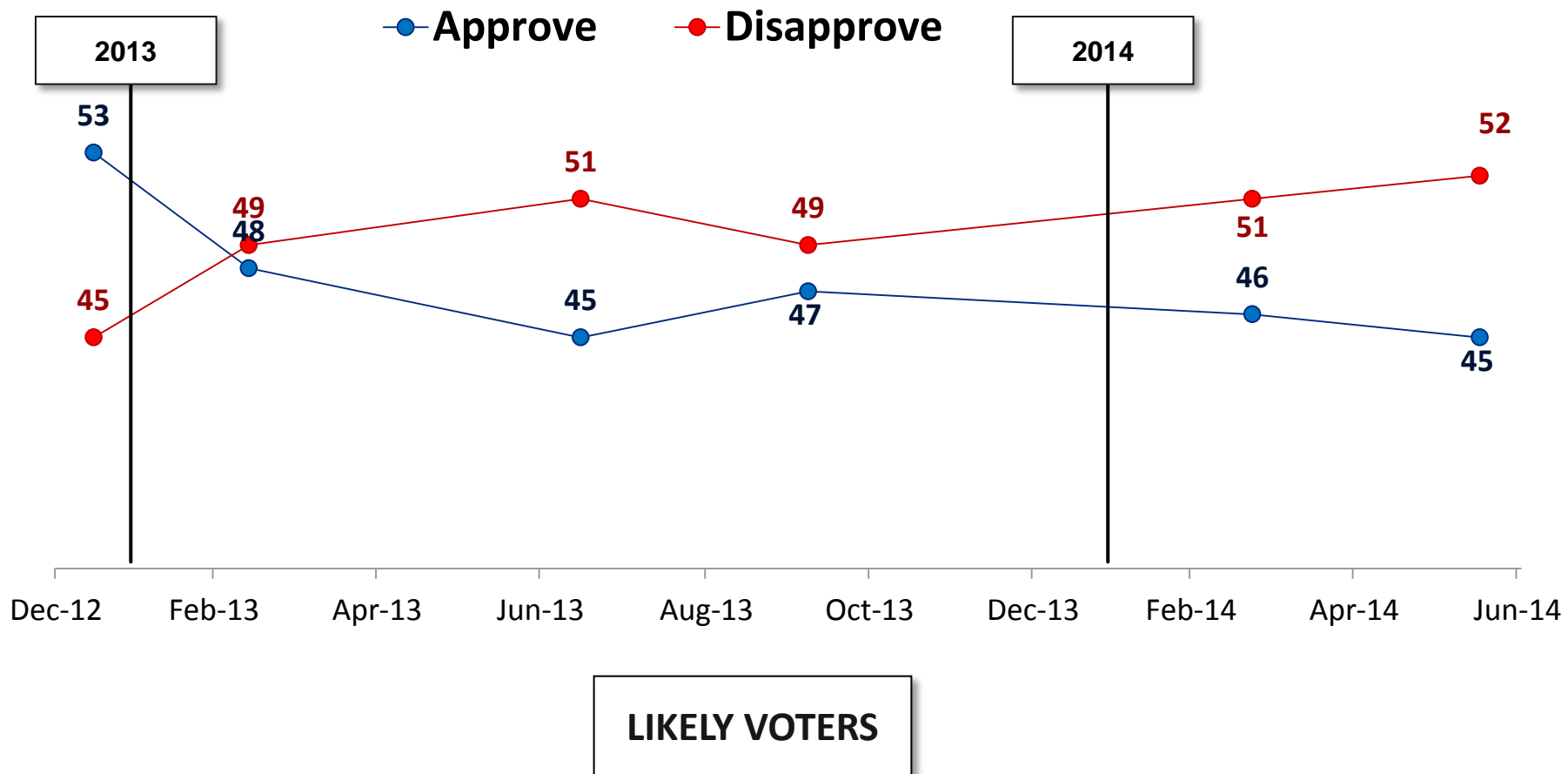
Generally speaking, do you think that things in this country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?



Obama approval at 45 percent

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

Barack Obama



Obama approval modest among key groups

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

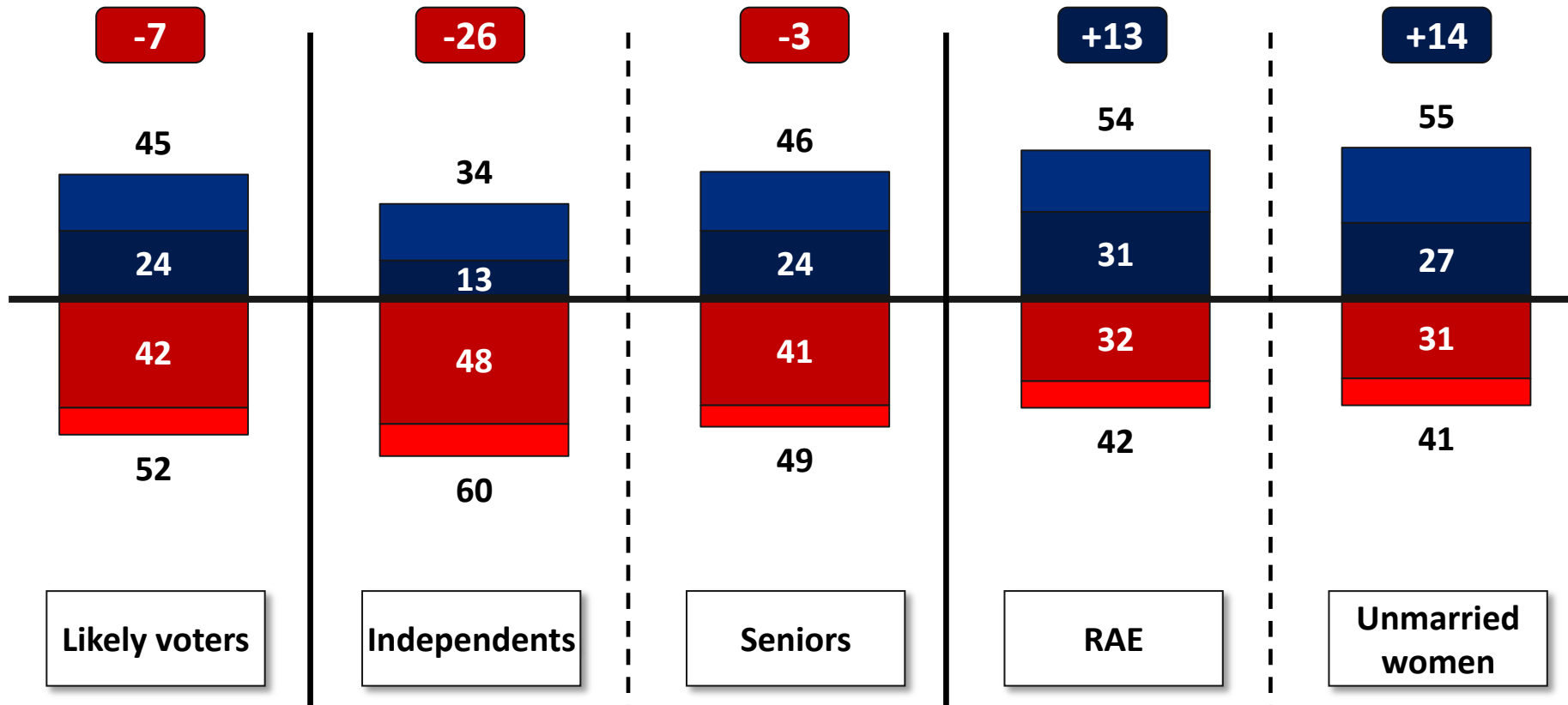
Barack Obama

■ Strongly approve

■ Approve

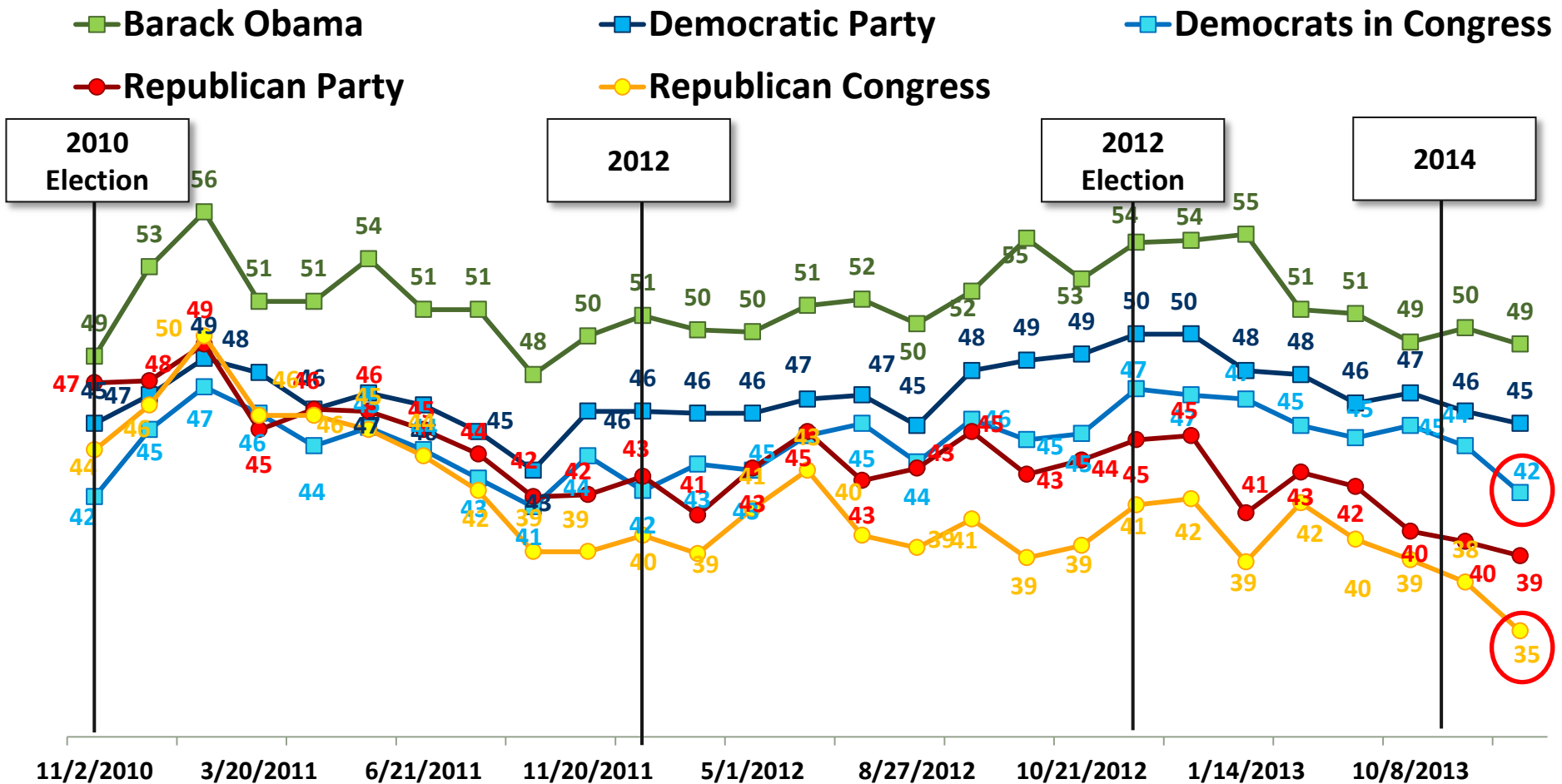
■ Strongly disapprove

■ Disapprove



Parties in Congress see a big drop— Republicans in Congress at lowest point since 2010 election and a liability on the vote

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with 100 meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.



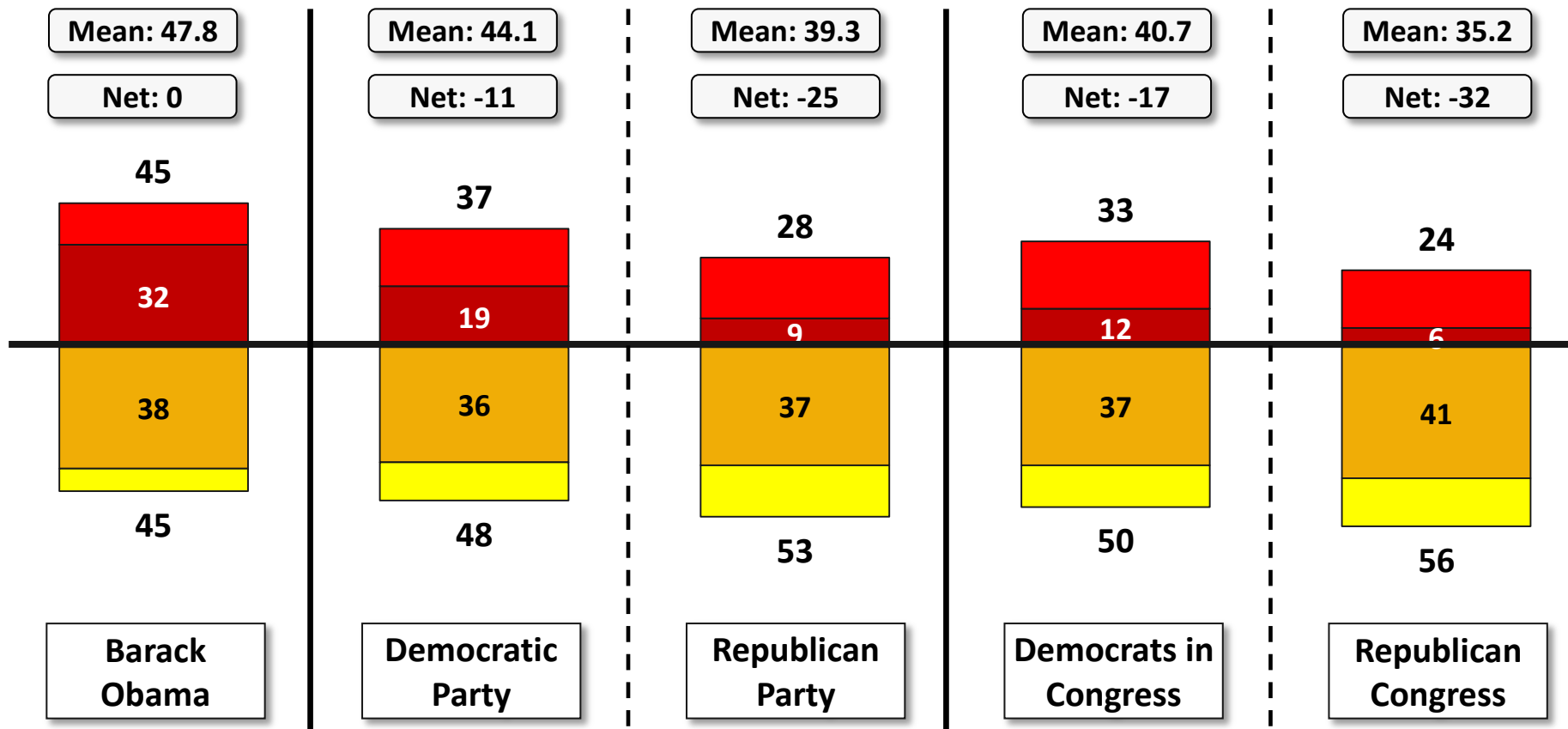
*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted in the past 3 years. Data represents MEAN ratings.

Republican brand more negative. Does it come to matter more?

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)



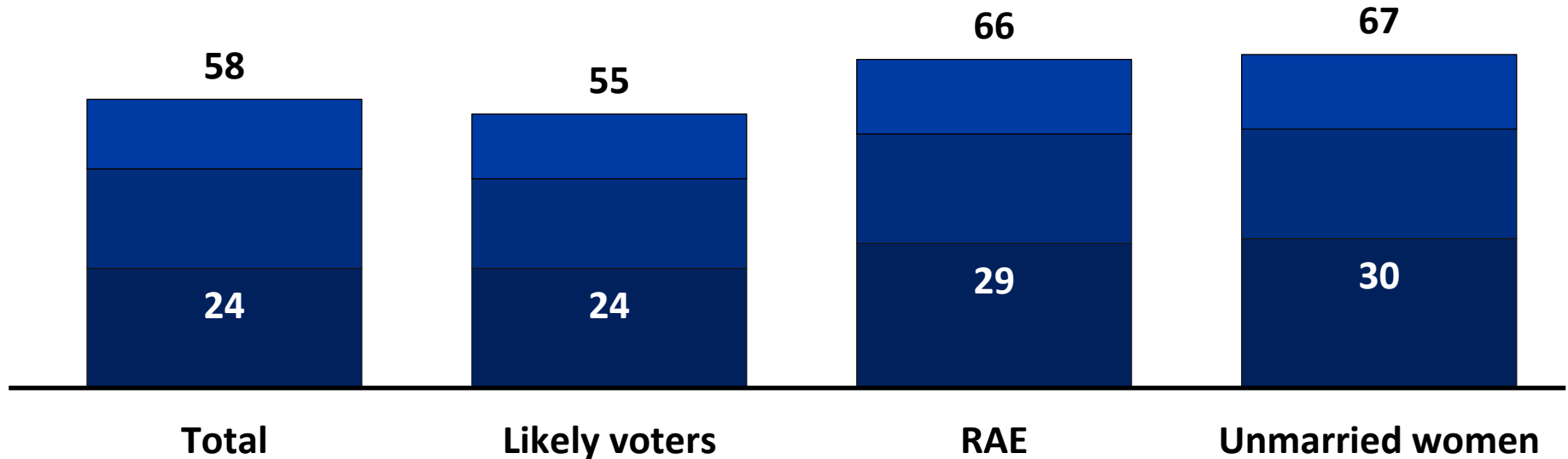
An Economic Agenda for hard working women and men

Strongest closing argument focuses on hard working women and men who are drowning and economic plan for the middle class

Now I am going to read you something Democrats are saying about this year's election. Please tell me whether it makes you feel much more positive, somewhat more, a little more, no more positive or more negative about Democrats.

It's critical to vote in November. If Republicans win, big money will get its way, and even more hard working women and men will be drowning. You can change that. We have an economic plan. When the middle class succeeds, America succeeds.

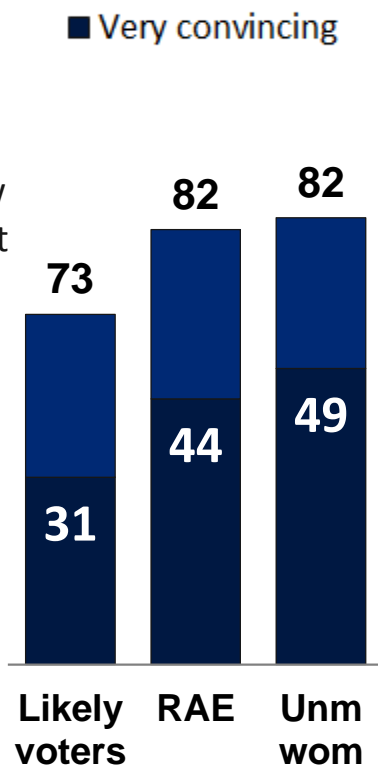
■ Much more positive ■ Somewhat more positive ■ A little more positive



“In your shoes” economic message stronger than “Obama failed on economy” message and big impact on turnout; GOP message bigger impact on vote

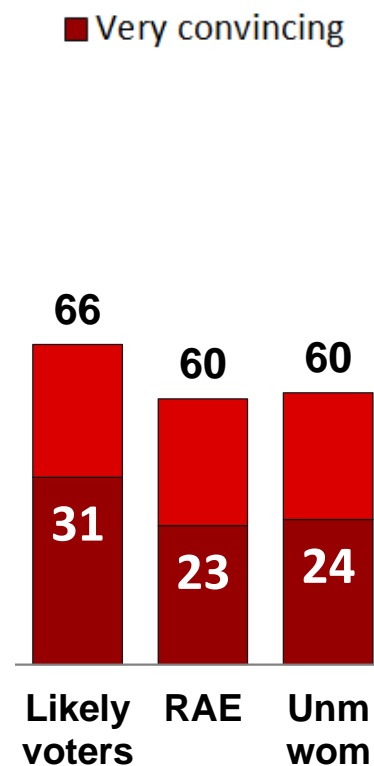
Now I am going to read you some things a Democrat/Republican is saying about the economy and what needs to be done to make things better. Please tell me whether you find it a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or a not at all convincing statement about the economy and how to make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

(IN YOUR SHOES) 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.



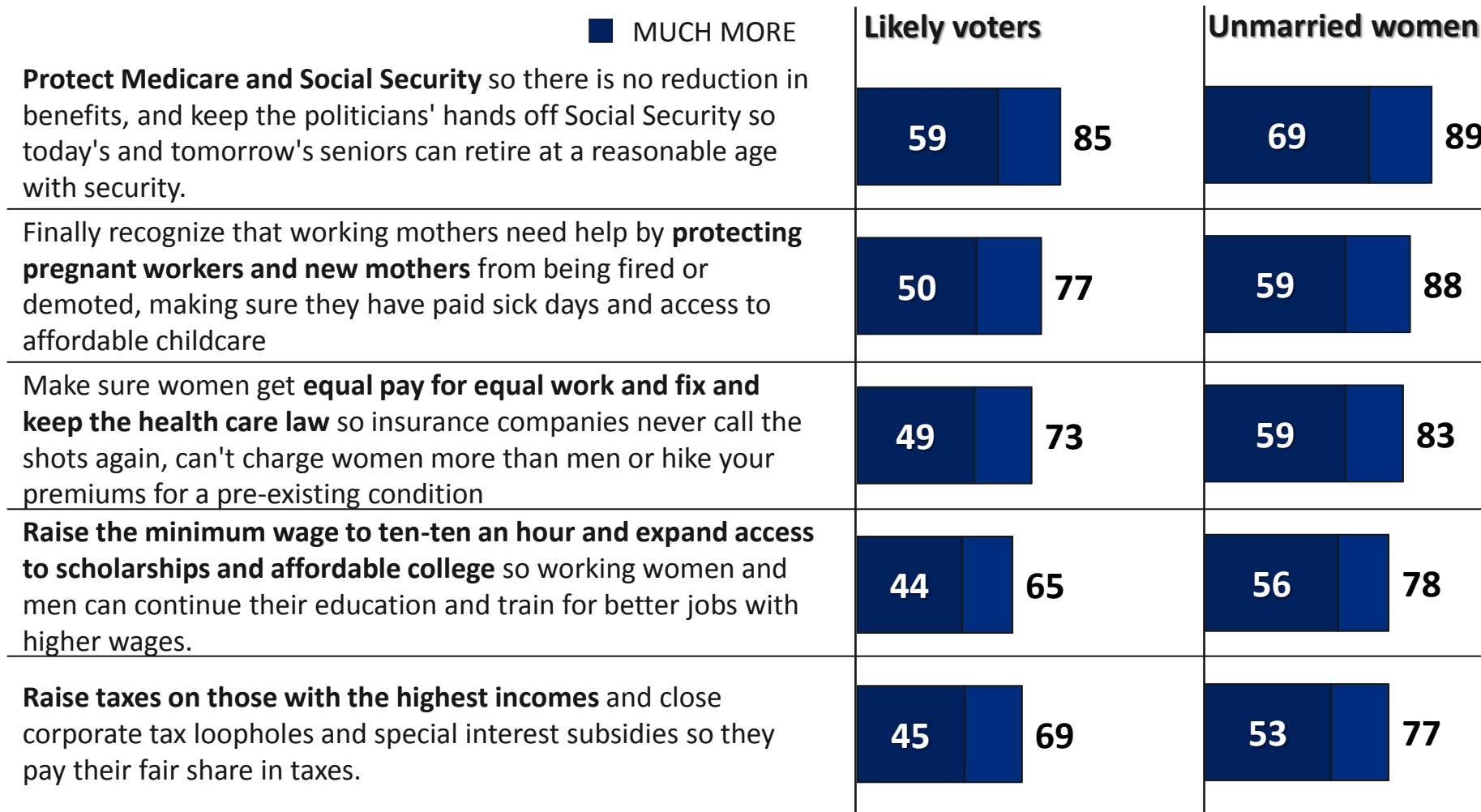
(OBAMA FAILED ON ECONOMY)

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 among likely voters

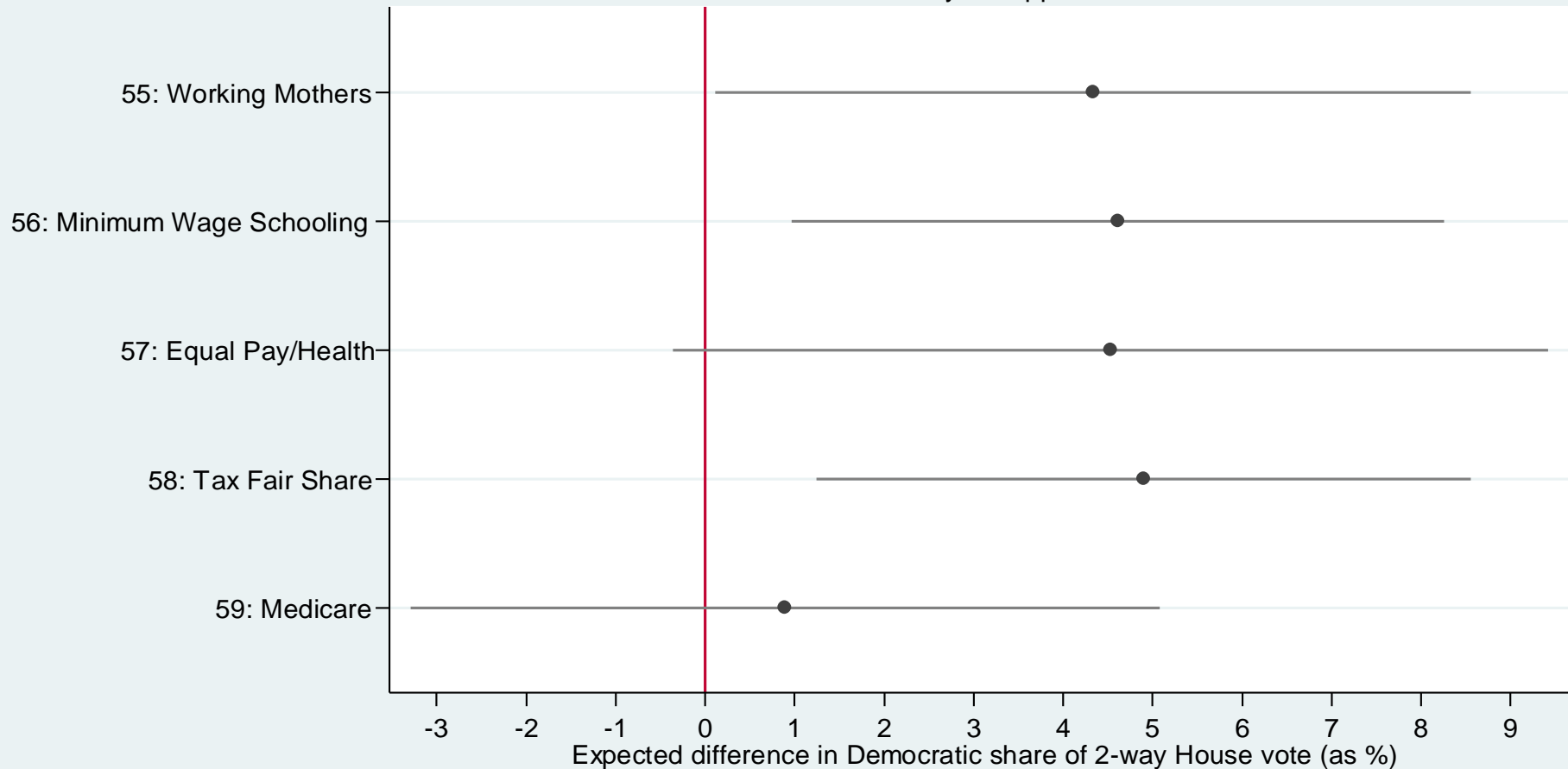
Now I am going to read you some things being proposed by **Democrats** as part of their plan to deal with the economy. After each item, please tell me whether you would be more or less likely to support a candidate who proposed that policy.



All policy proposals except Medicare have equal impact on vote

Democratic Policy Proposals and Congressional Revote

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



Republican policy focused on spending and debt resonates 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.

Among likely 2014 voters

■ MUCH MORE

Reduce unnecessary spending to resolve debt crisis and put American on responsible track

53

76

Lower energy prices through increased domestic production, building Keystone

46

67

Loosen stifling regulation to help small businesses grow and expand

45

75

Help economy, create jobs by streamlining tax code, lowering tax rate, modernizing patent system

41

74

Repeal Obamacare to save money, cut taxes, spur economic growth

38

55

Economic attacks against Republicans: GOP most vulnerable on equal pay

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.

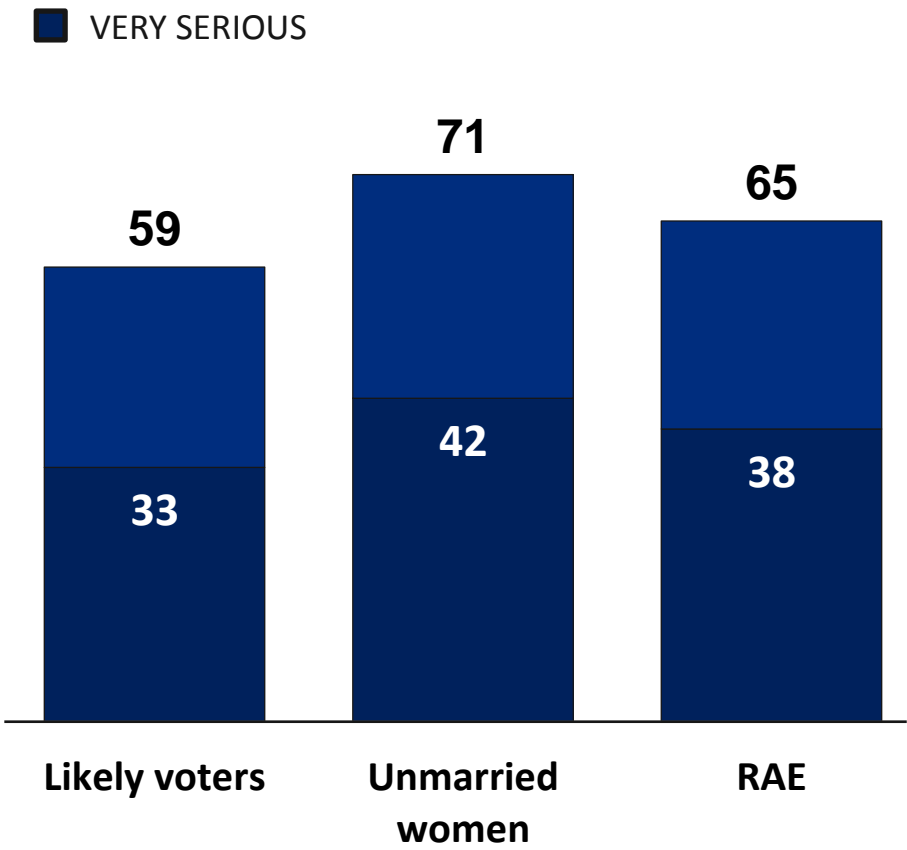
■ VERY SERIOUS

| | Likely voters | Unmarried women |
|--|---------------|-----------------|
| The Republicans' budget plan ends Medicare as we know it , replacing Medicare's guaranteed coverage with a voucher program. If they can get their way, this would cost seniors six thousand four hundred dollars more every year and force seniors to negotiate with insurance companies. | 40 64 | 49 73 |
| Republicans are determined to repeal the health care law and put the insurance companies back in charge, while taking millions from the insurance industry. Insurance companies can once again deny coverage to people with pre-existing conditions and drop you if you become sick or are under 26, leaving millions on their own again. | 34 60 | 45 69 |
| House Republicans tried to block the Violence Against Women Act and get rid of preventive health care. In the states where they lead, they make it virtually impossible to get a legal abortion, even in the case of rape, incest, or to save the mother. If Republicans have their way, women will have a tougher time with health services. | 34 63 | 44 76 |
| Republican leaders in Congress say the claim that women make 77 cents to a man's dollar is exaggerated. Every Senate Republican voted to block a vote on equal pay . Republicans like Texas Governor Rick Perry call the focus on equal pay, "nonsense," and if they get their way, there won't be any progress on equal pay for women. | 33 59 | 42 71 |
| Republicans are fighting to keep taxes low for the richest and corporations . In the states where they are in charge, they have cut taxes for the very rich and corporations. To pay for those tax cuts, they have sharply cut education spending at the state level and propose cutting spending for education and training by 50 percent nationally | 34 63 | 41 74 |

Strongest impact on mobilizing turnout: Equal pay attack on Republicans

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.

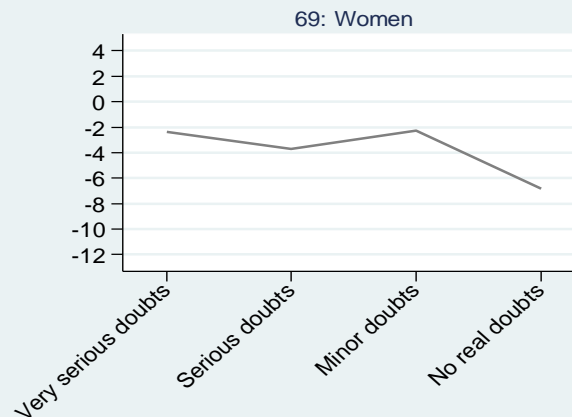
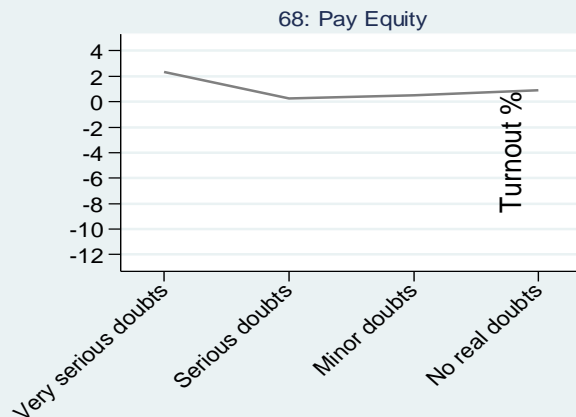
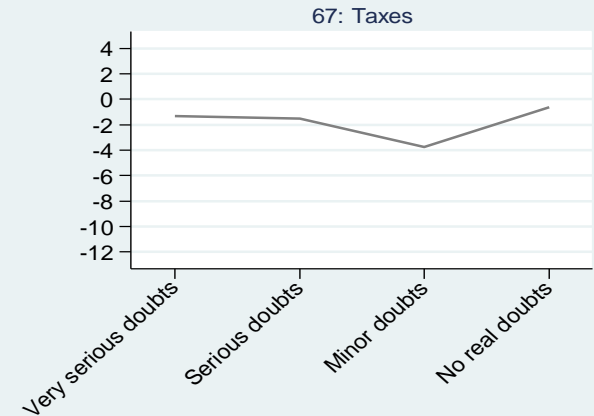
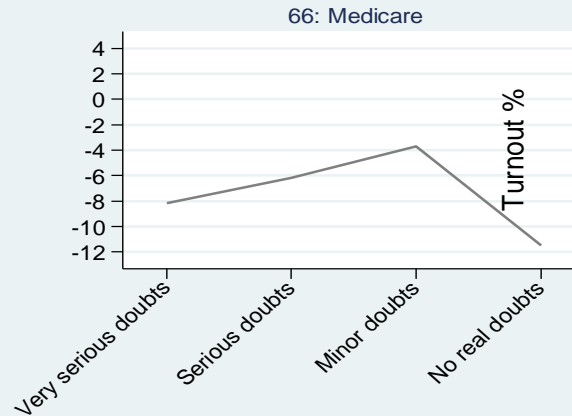
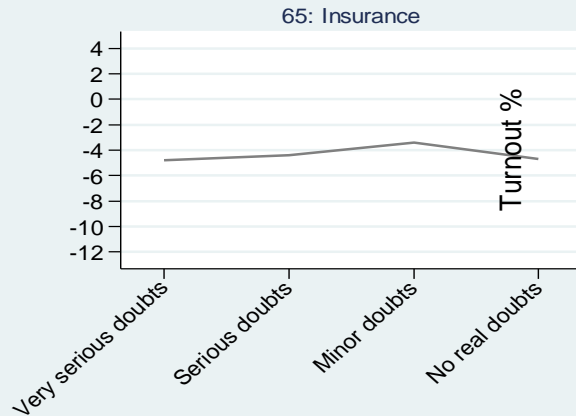
(EQUAL PAY) Republican leaders in Congress say the claim that women make 77 cents compared to a man's dollar is exaggerated. And every Senate Republican voted to block a vote on equal pay. Republican leaders like Texas Governor Rick Perry call the focus on equal pay “nonsense” and if they get their way, there won't be any progress on equal pay for women.



Equal pay attack has strongest effect on turnout

Doubts about Republicans and Turnout Likelihood

Marginal effect estimates for each response, relative to neutral response



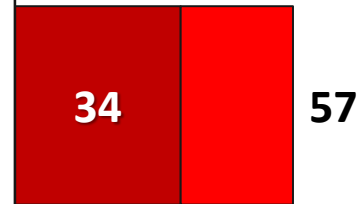
Attacks on Democrats resonate less, and perform poorly among unmarried women and RAE

Now I'm going to read you some things that Democrats 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 Democrats when you are thinking of voting in November.

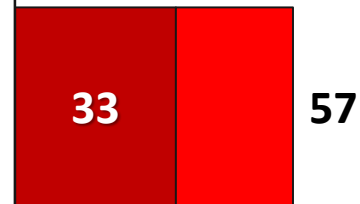
Among likely 2014 voters

■ Very Serious...

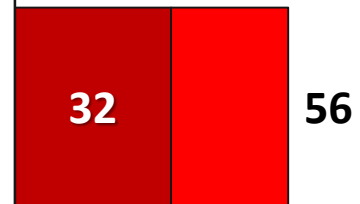
Dems passed ACA which raises taxes, shrinks workforce, higher premiums, loss of coverage



Dems rubberstamp Obama economic agenda - higher debt, spending, taxes, hurting job growth



Dems passed restrictive, intrusive gun laws rather than concentrating on mental health

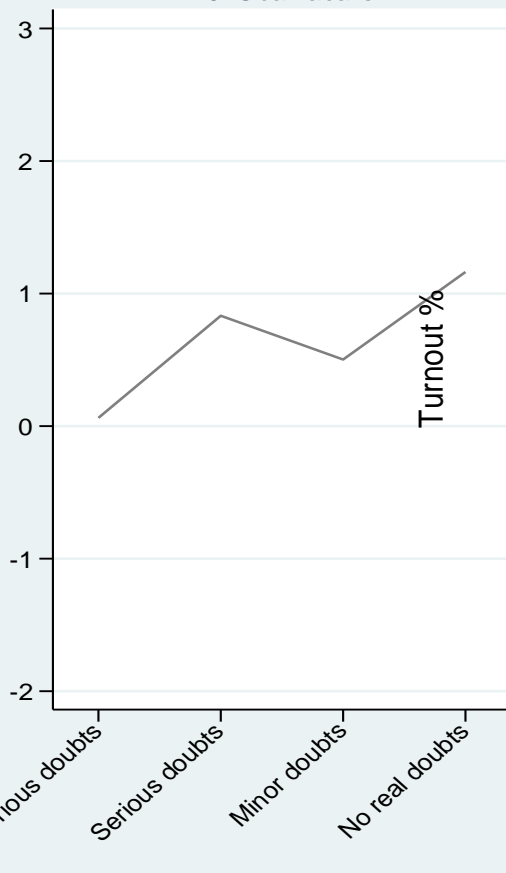


Republican attacks inversely correlated to turnout– Republican Obamacare and economic attacks produce more mobilization among those who disagree than those who agree

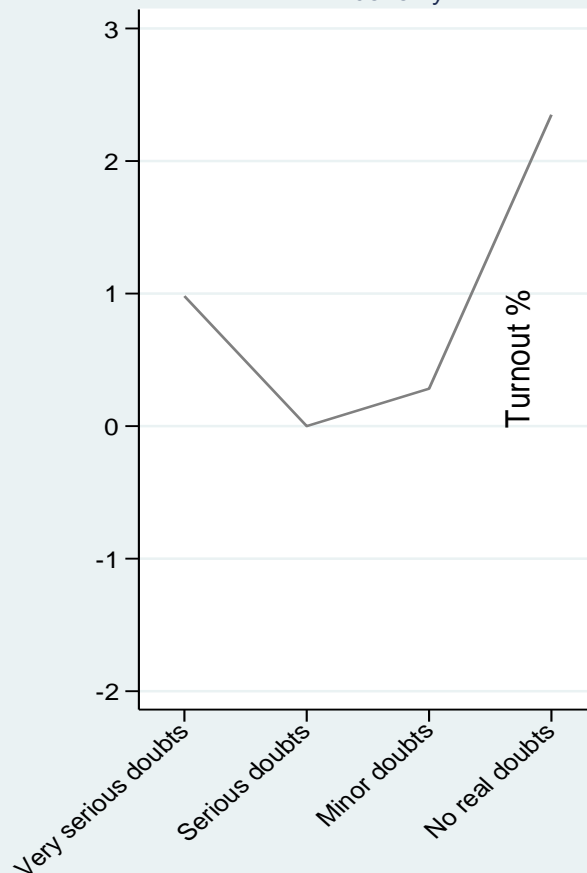
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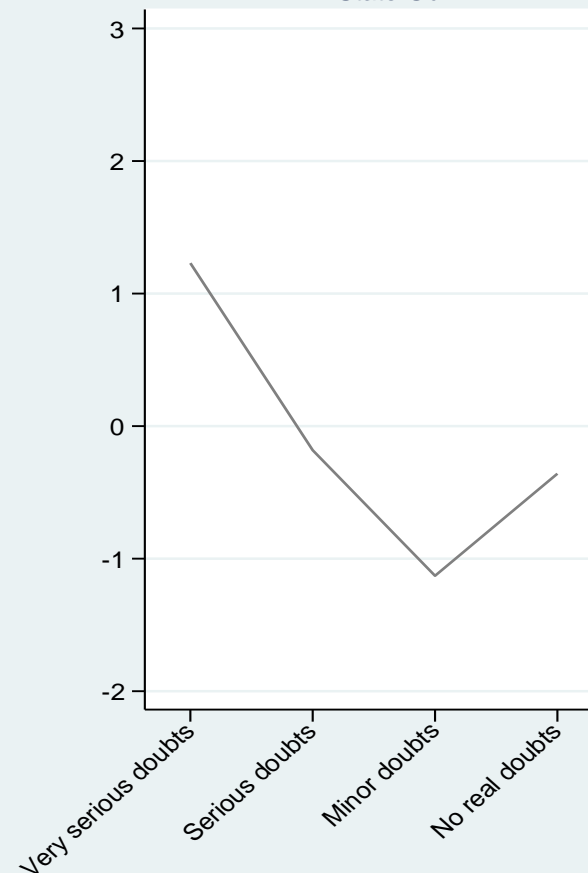
70: Obamacare



71: Economy



72: State Gun



Policies and messages move the vote

Strongest closing argument focuses on hard working women and men who are drowning and economic plan for the middle class

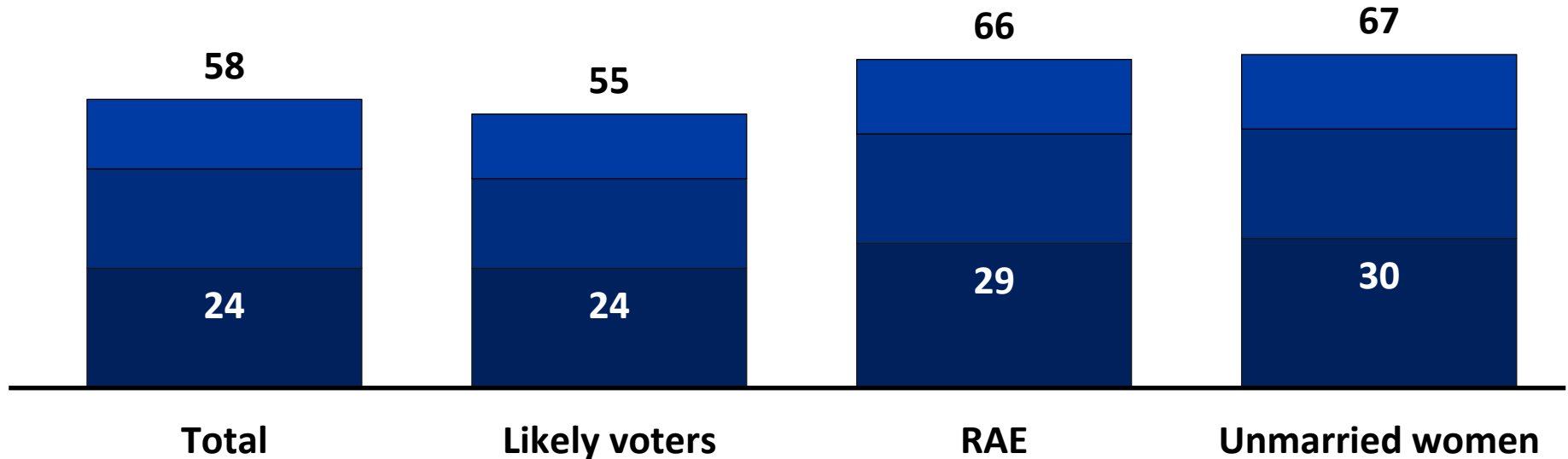
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■ Much more positive

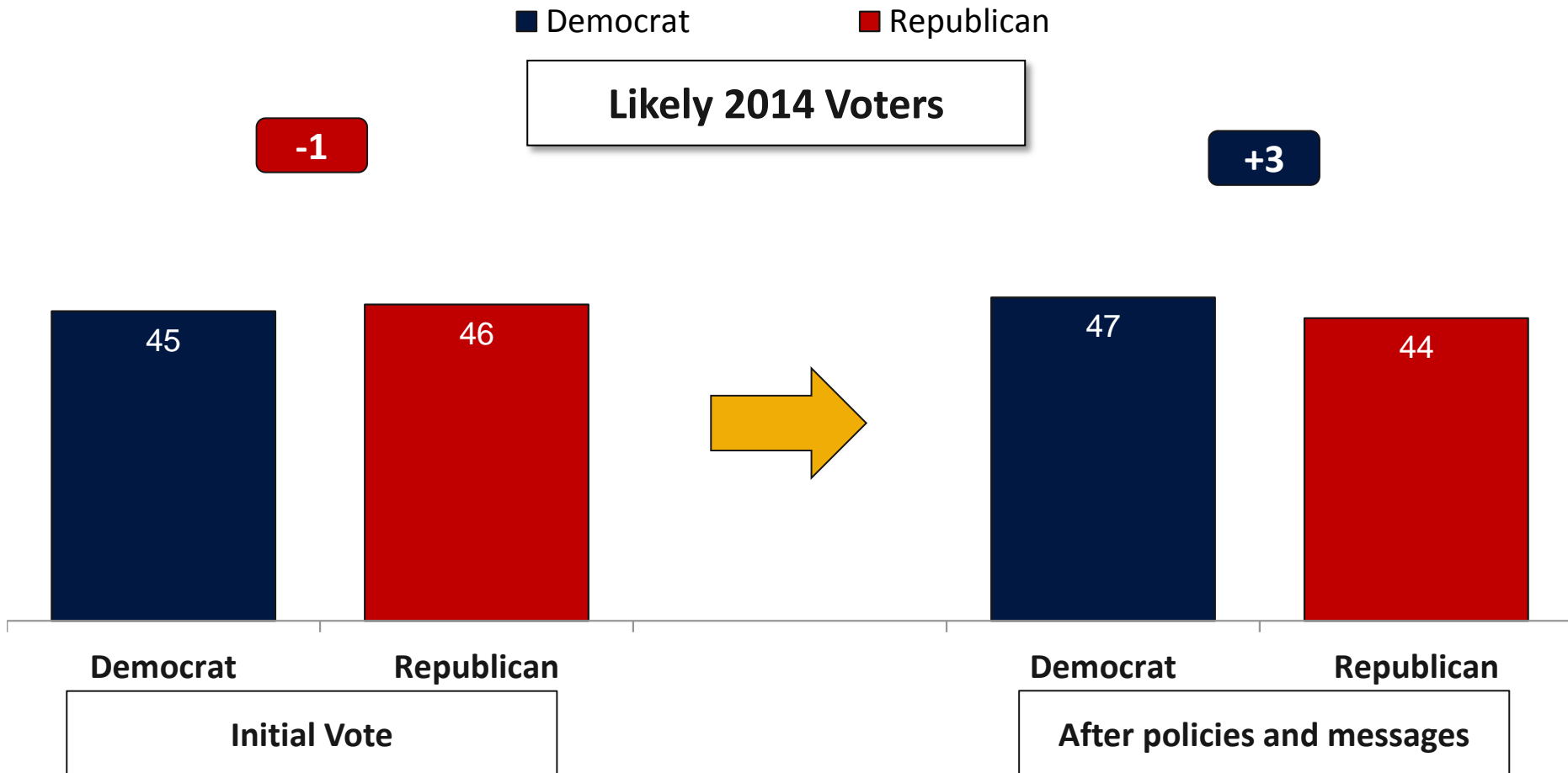
■ Somewhat more positive

■ A little more positive



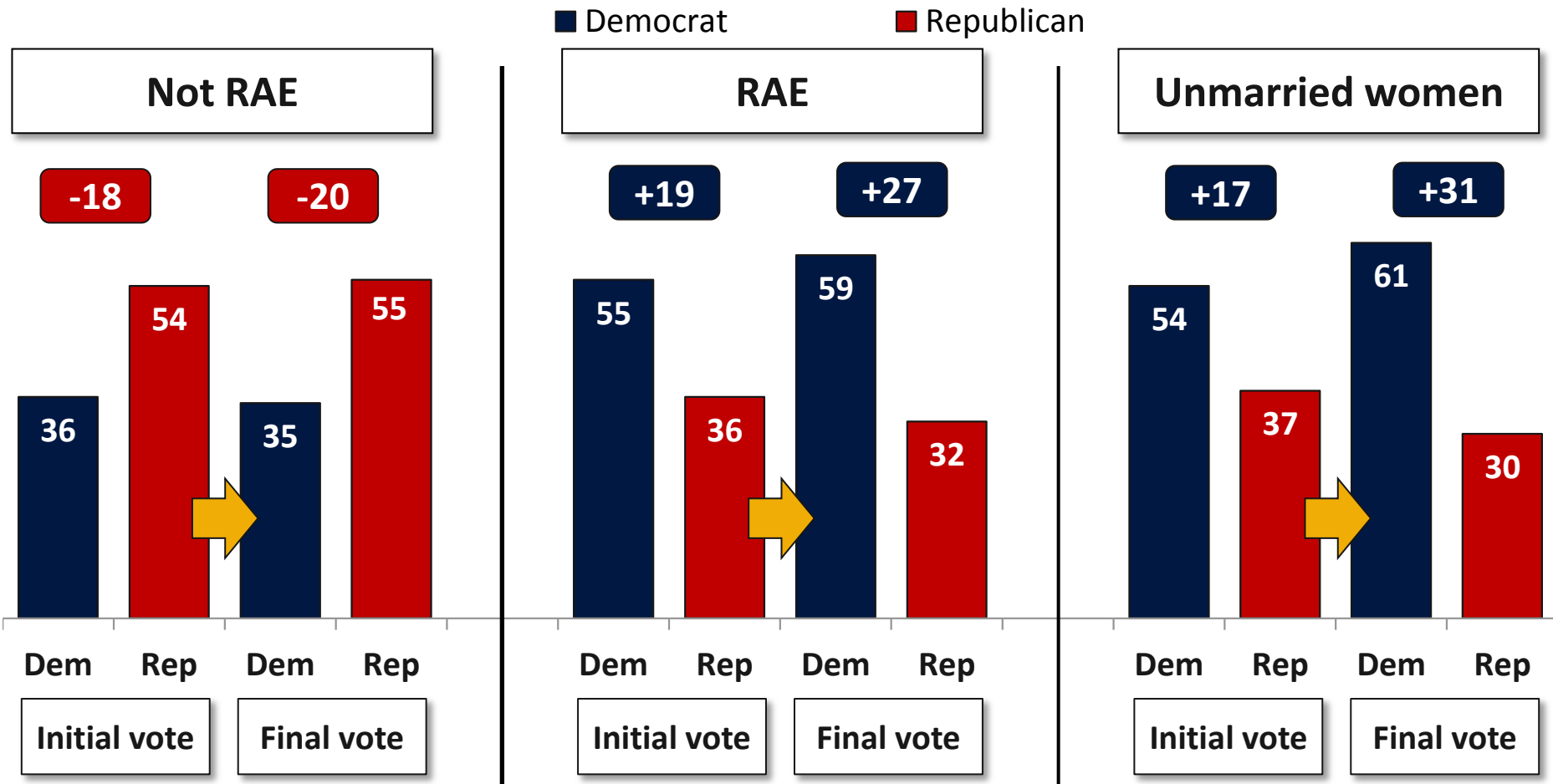
Final vote shifts toward Democrats after policies and messages

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



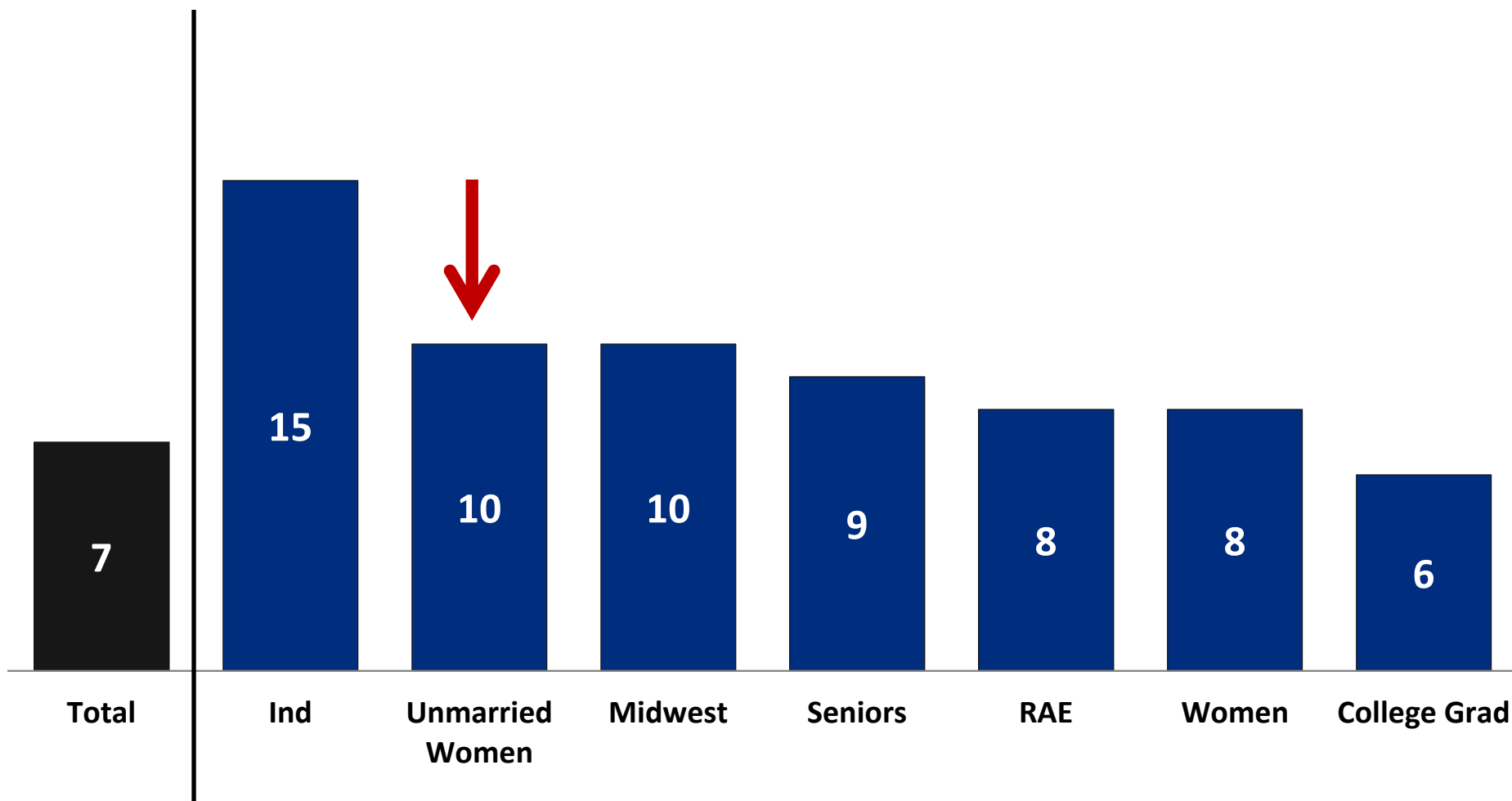
Vote shift comes from RAE, especially unmarried women

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress in 2014, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



7 percent move toward voting for Democrats, and higher numbers of target groups move

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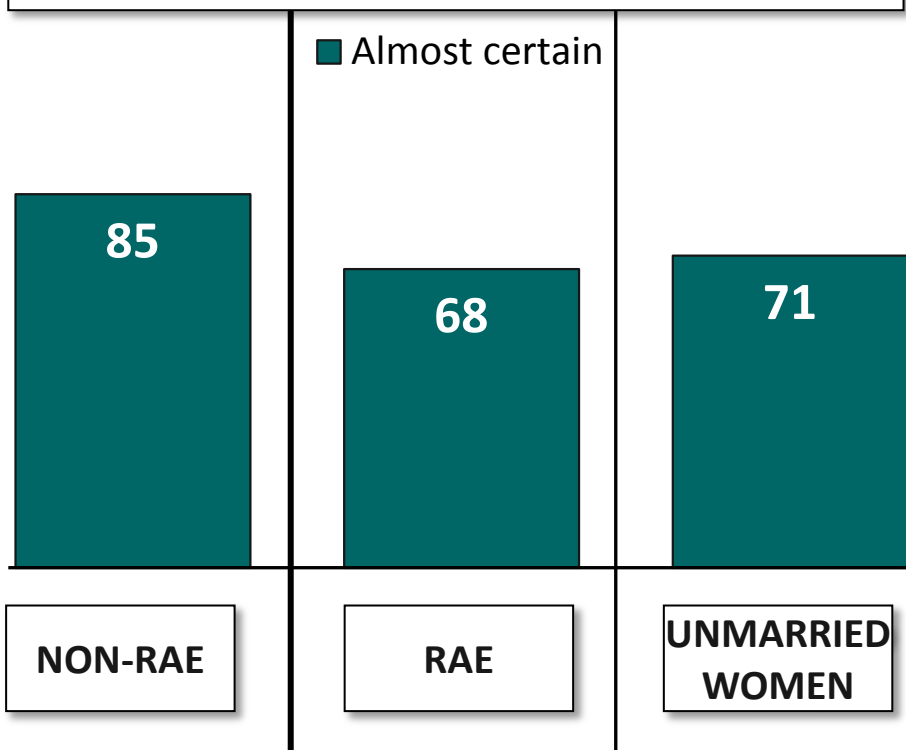


After hearing economic plan dominated by women's economic agenda and message, unmarried women more energized

I know it's a long way off, but what are the chances of your voting in the election for Congress in November: are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or don't you think you will vote?

PERCENT OF VOTERS SAYING "ALMOST CERTAIN" TO VOTE IN 2014

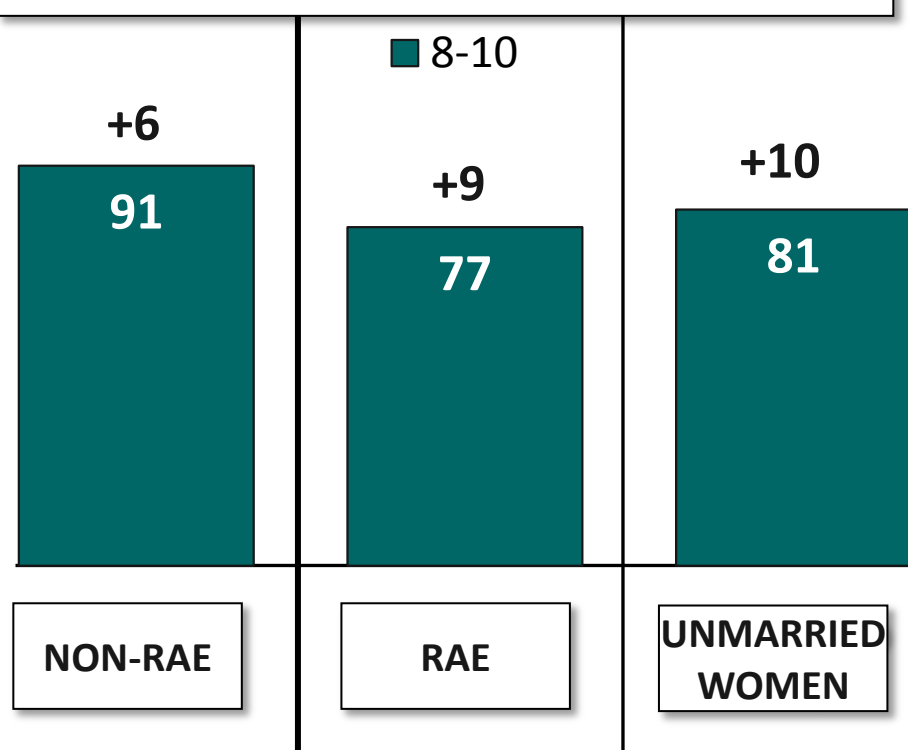
■ Almost certain



And thinking again about this year's election. Many people vote in Presidential elections, but not in elections like the one this year for Congress and other offices. What would you say is the likelihood of you voting in the November election for Congress and other offices on a 0-10 scale.

CHANCE OF VOTING IN 2014 AFTER POLICIES AND MESSAGES

■ 8-10



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