

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

# **Tipping the Senate battleground states in the final month**

**Survey in Senate battleground and Colorado, Georgia, Iowa, and  
North Carolina  
October 6, 2014**



# Methodology

**This presentation is based on this unique survey of 1,000 likely 2014 voters (unweighted 2200) 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.**

**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.**

**This survey was conducted from September 20-24, 2014 using a list of 2006 voters, 2010 voters, and new registrants. Unless otherwise noted, the margin of error for the full sample is = +/- 2.09% at 95% confidence.**

**This also includes oversamples conducted for Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund in Georgia, Iowa, North Carolina, and Colorado, to allow more in-depth message testing in these states.**

**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.**

# 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, as well as a survey done in July 2014. While the states remain the same, the July and September surveys are the only surveys 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 of people 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.**
- **8 percent of these voters are under 30.**
- **3 percent are Latino and 10 percent African American.**
- **21 percent are unmarried women.**

# State Oversamples

**This survey also includes oversamples of 300 2014 likely voters in each of the following states: Georgia, Iowa, North Carolina, and Colorado.**

**This portion of the survey was conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research for Democracy Corps and Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund from September 25-October 1, 2014 using a list of 2006 voters, 2010 voters, and new registrants.**

**The sample in each state was weighted to the demographic characteristics of the likely 2014 electorate. The vote in each state was weighted to the public polling average provided by Huffington Post Pollster.**

# Battleground States

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

## Regions

### West

Alaska  
Colorado  
Montana

### South

Arkansas  
Georgia  
Kentucky  
Louisiana  
North Carolina

### Midwest and East

Iowa  
Michigan  
New Hampshire  
West Virginia

## 2012 Presidential

### Won by Obama

Colorado

Iowa

Michigan

New Hampshire

### Won by Romney

Alaska

Arkansas

Georgia

Kentucky

Louisiana

Montana

North Carolina

West Virginia

Average margin:  
Romney +8.5

# Key Findings

For the first time in this election cycle, the WVWVAF-Democracy Corps Senate battleground shows a consistent move toward the Democrats across a broad range of indicators that suggest the Democrats are more likely to hold control of the U.S. Senate than not. This election is still on a knife-edge; the overall vote remains unchanged and many states are within a couple of points. But the underlying dynamics and key metrics have all moved away from the Republicans. Some of these changes are dramatic, though the context remains a battleground that Romney won by 8 points. However, Democrats are poised to hold on.

This is a unique and large scale survey for Women's Voices Women Vote Action Fund. It includes a core battleground survey of 1,000 interviews and an additional 1,200 interviews conducted in the battleground states of North Carolina, Iowa, Georgia and Colorado. These surveys were completed on October 1 and were incorporated into the battleground.

The big story is that the Democratic campaigns have succeeded in making the candidates' positions on women's issues the second biggest reason voters are voting for the Democrat – after the economy, of course

At the same time, minority voters' support for the Affordable Care Act have risen dramatically – and for them, the health care law has become one of the largest factors in their vote.

## Key Findings (continued)

The result is that those voting Democratic are as consolidated and as intent on voting as the voting for Republicans. That Republican advantage is now gone in the battleground.

A Democratic “in-your shoes” agenda for working women and men and strong populist message is beginning to become the dominant narrative, even in this very Republican battleground. But when Republicans are attacked on their opposition to equal pay and to women not being charged more for insurance, and when they are attacked on their use of unlimited secret money to keep taxes down for billionaires and CEOs, the race shifts from Republicans ahead by 2 points to Democrats ahead by 2. That gain is produced by even more gains among the Rising American Electorate, including unmarried women.

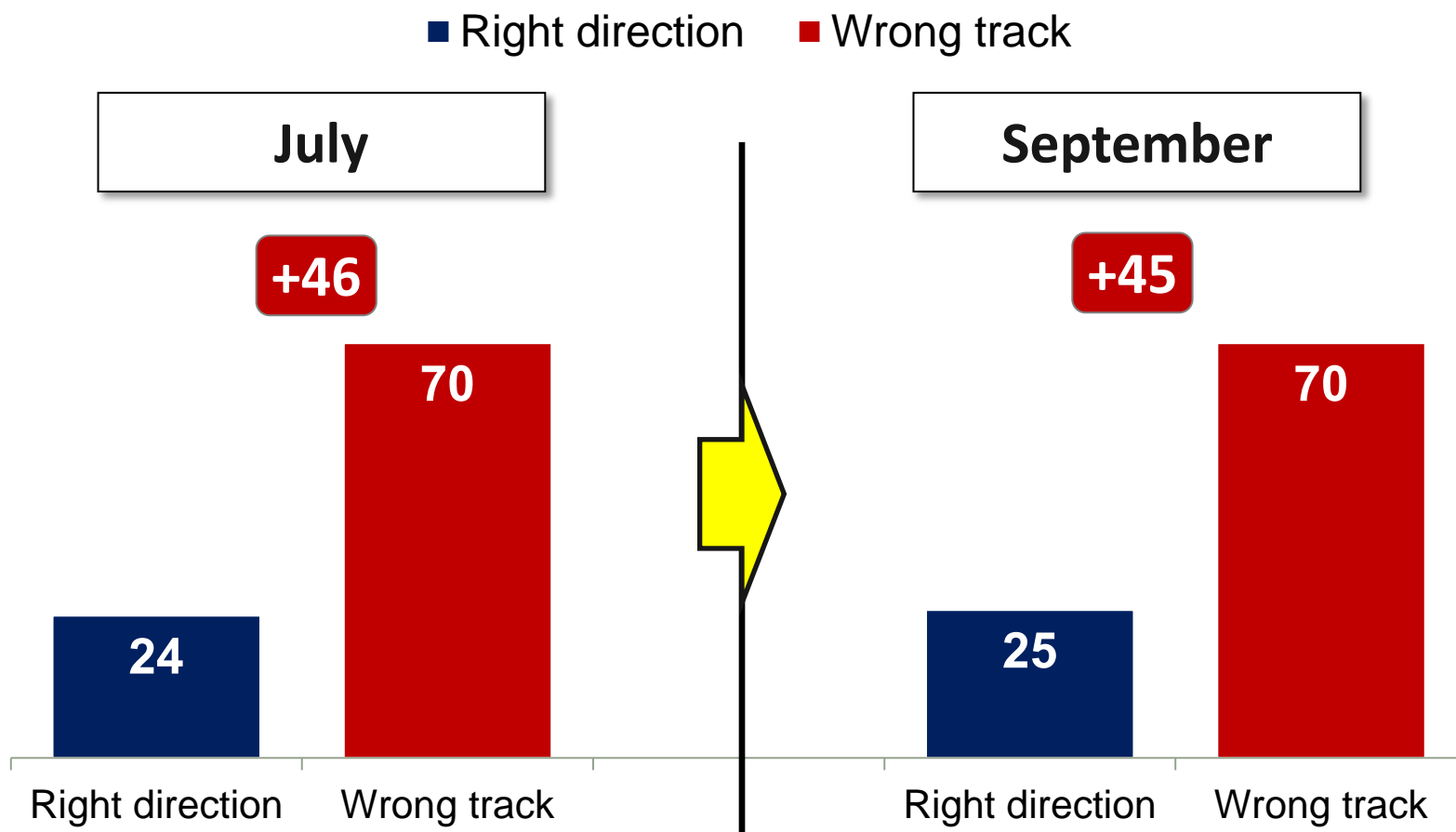
The reason why the battle has become less uphill is the improved position of the Democratic Party and Democratic incumbents and the worsening standing of Republican candidates and Mitch McConnell. At the same time, the President approval rating has risen, and support for his handling of ISIS is strong. Support has risen for the Affordable Care Act. But perhaps as important, Republicans and conservative Republicans are not as strongly opposed to the President.

It all adds up to a final month where Democrats have the chance to take these gains a step further and hold on to their Senate majority.

**Mood remains dark but Democrats' image  
edges upward in Senate battleground**

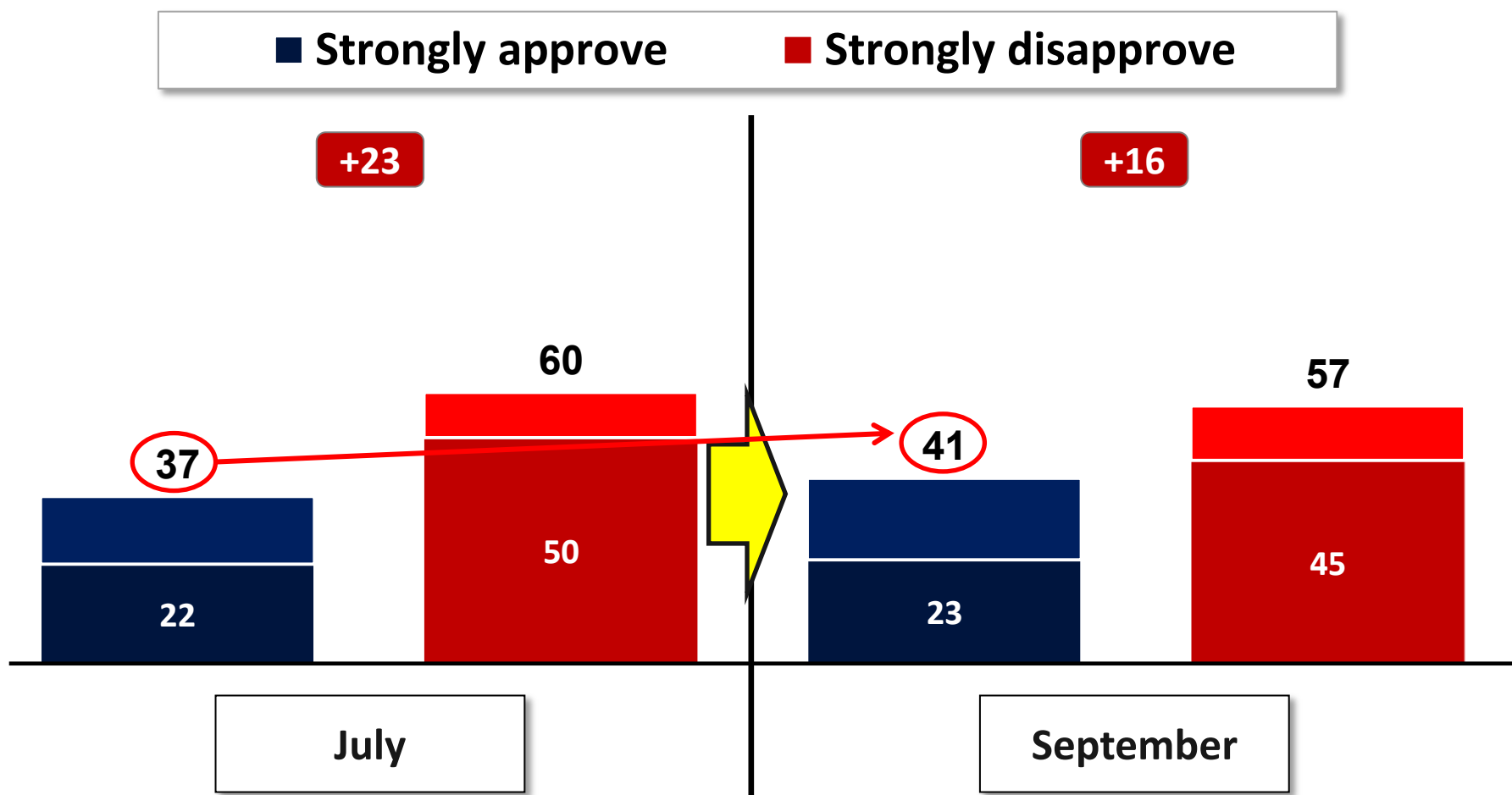
# The Senate battleground is in a dark mood

*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?*



# But President Obama approval improving in battleground

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



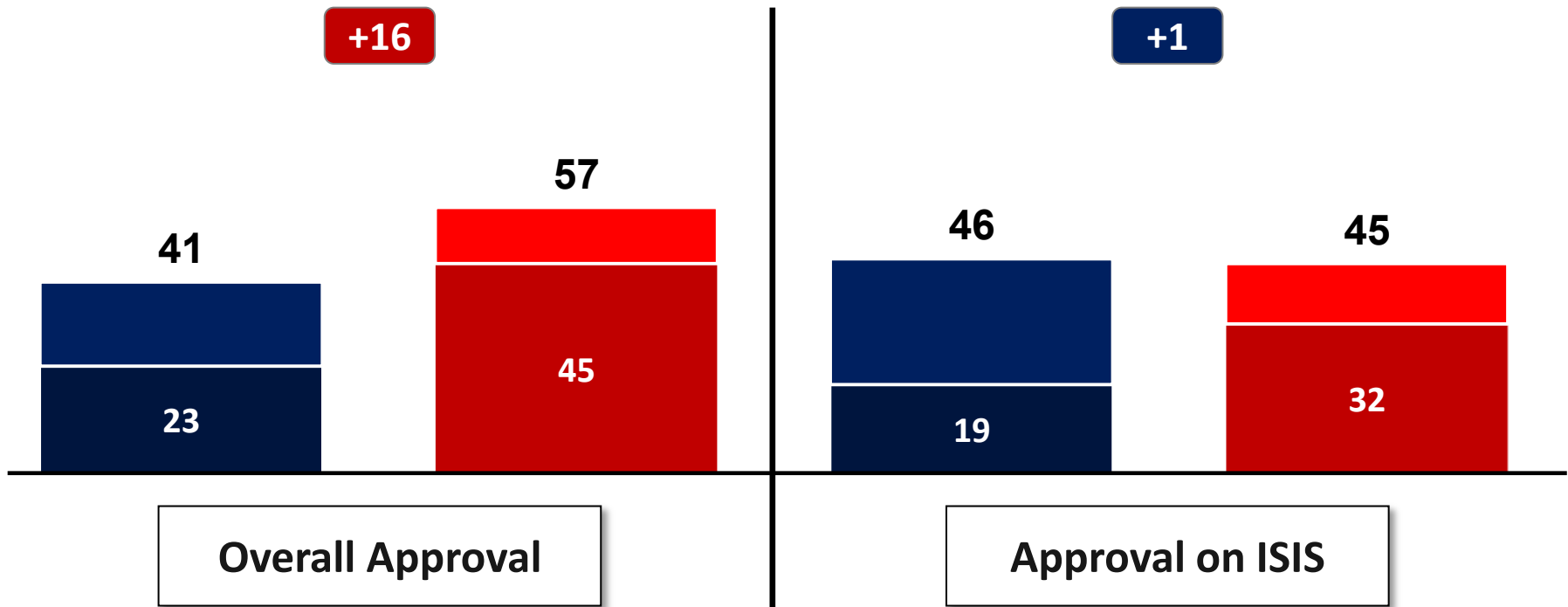
# And President's handling of ISIS threat 5 points above his overall approval

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

*Do you approve or disapprove of the job being done by Barack Obama on dealing with the ISIS forces in Iraq and Syria?*

■ Strongly approve

■ Strongly disapprove



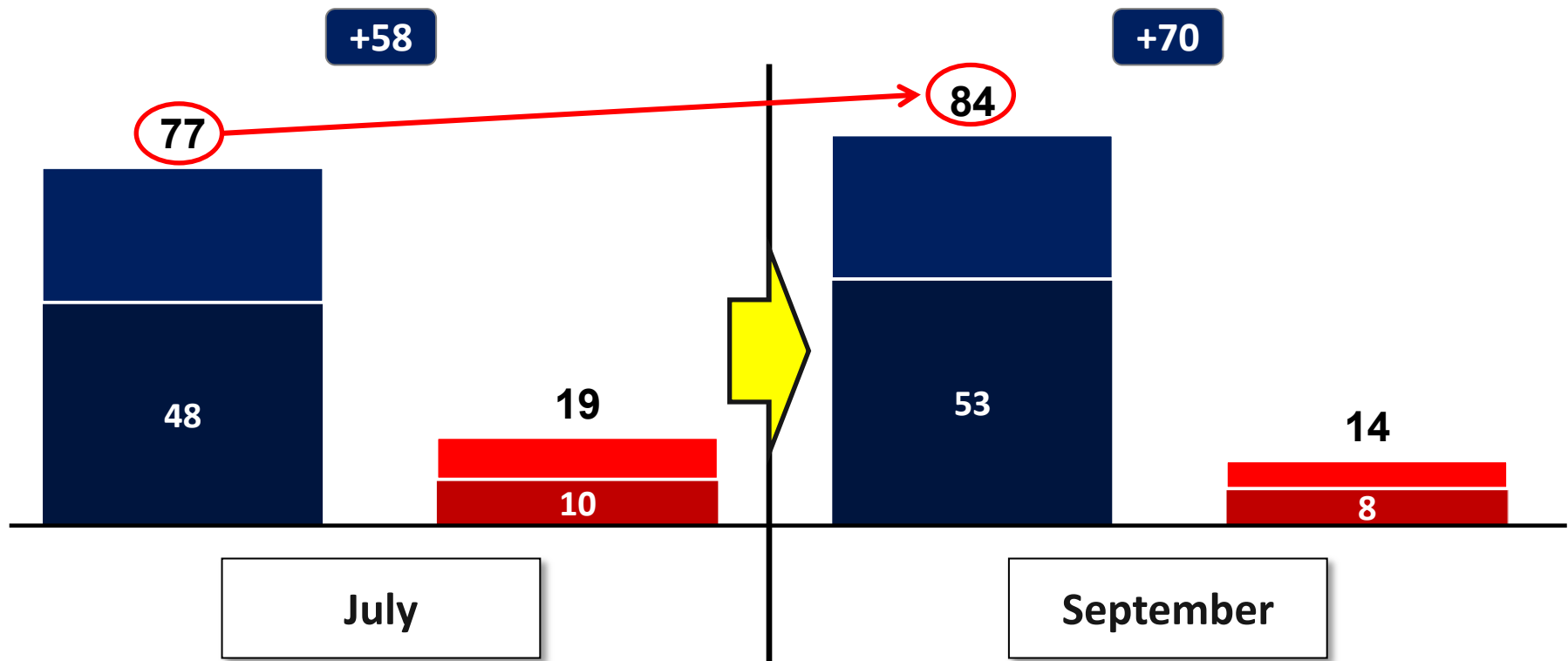
# Big jump in approval among Democrats

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

## Among Democrats

■ Strongly approve

■ Strongly disapprove



# And major drop in strong disapproval among Republicans

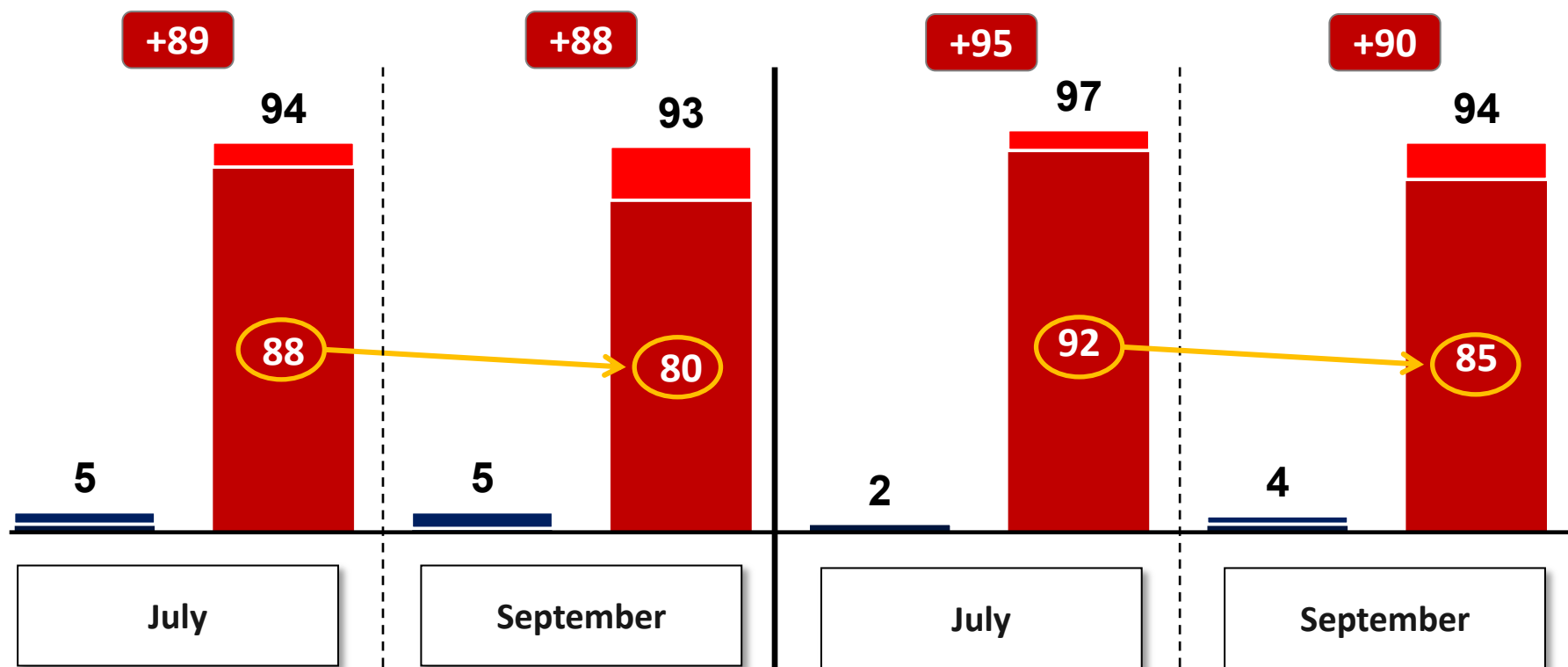
*Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as president?*

Among Republicans

Among Conservative Republicans

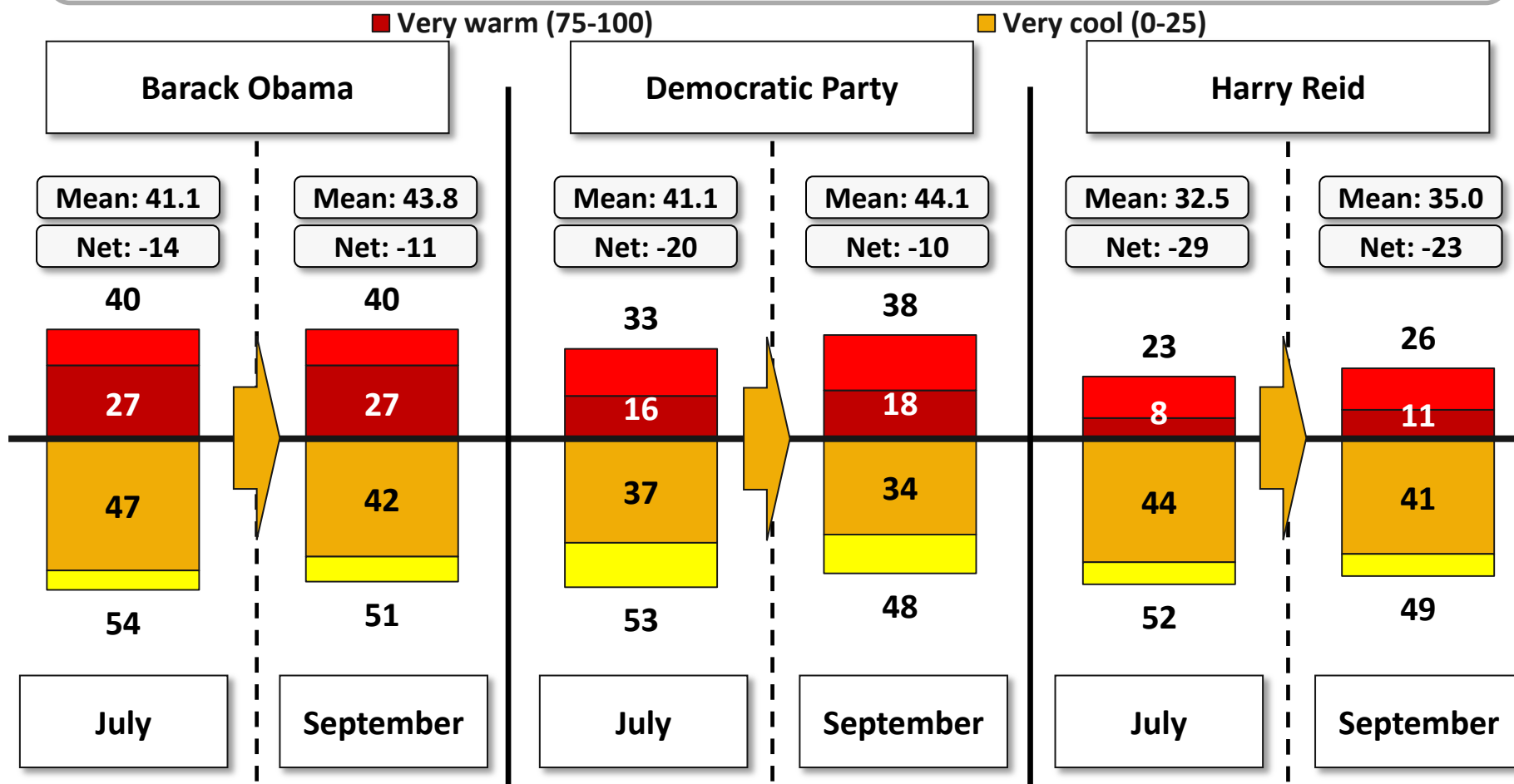
■ Strongly approve

■ Strongly disapprove



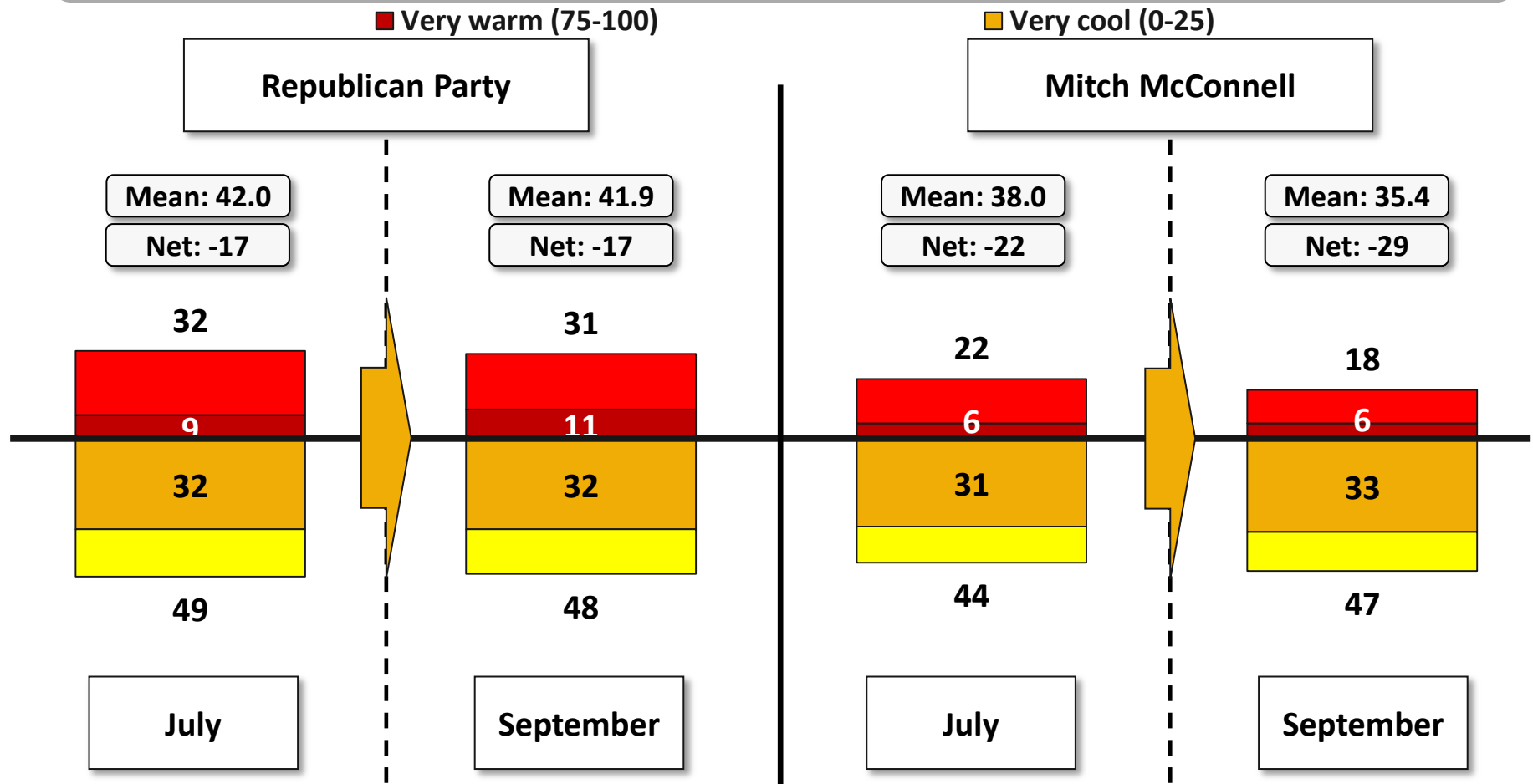
# Democratic brand improving slightly in battleground

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.



# Republican Party stable but McConnell image worsens

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' approval up 2 points and now 4 points above President

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

**Democratic Incumbent**

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

**Barack Obama**

■ Strongly approve

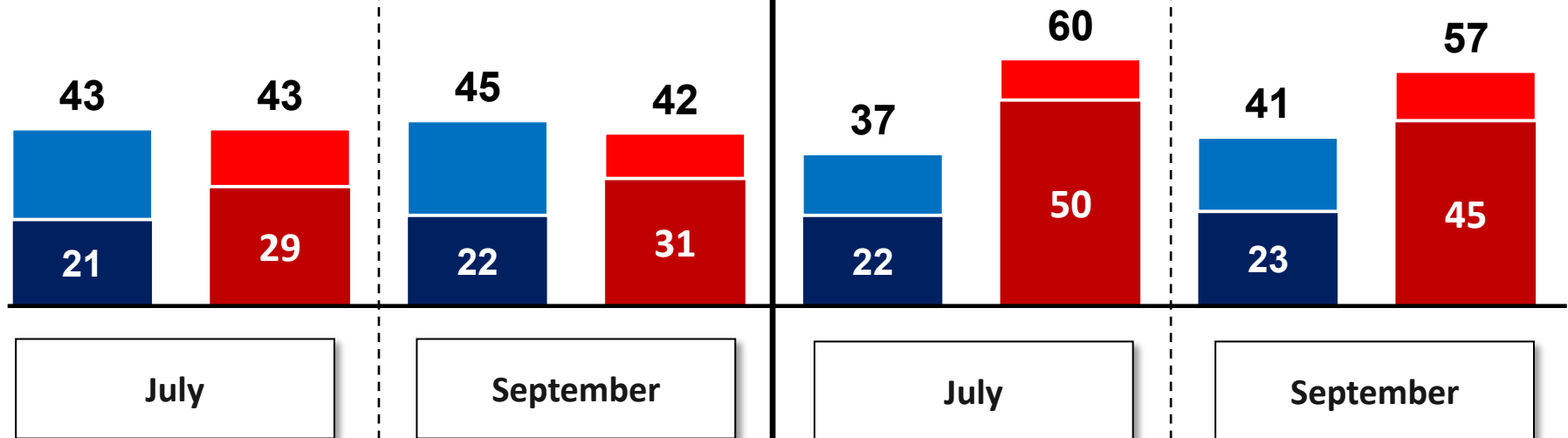
■ Strongly disapprove

Even

+3

+23

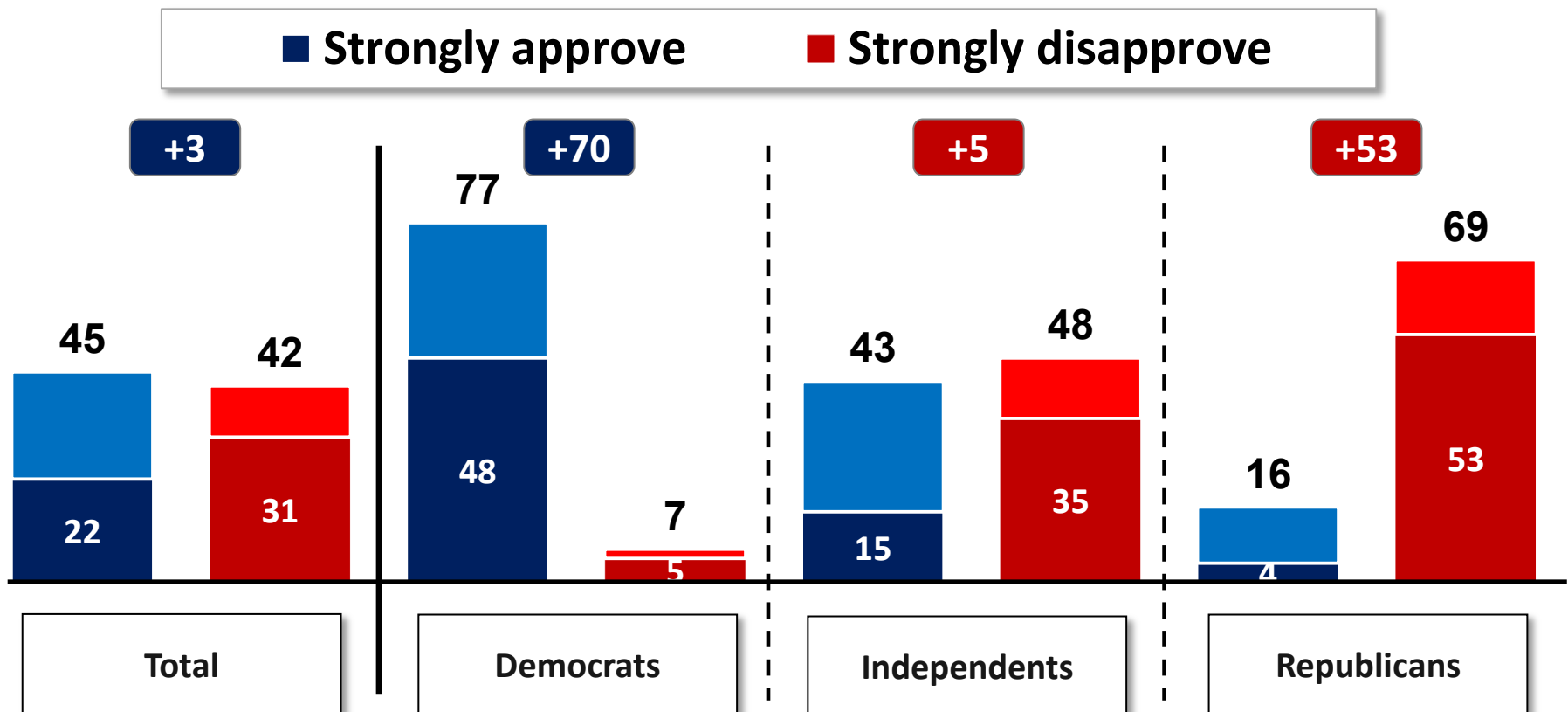
+16



# Incumbent has a net positive approval rating and competitive with independents

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

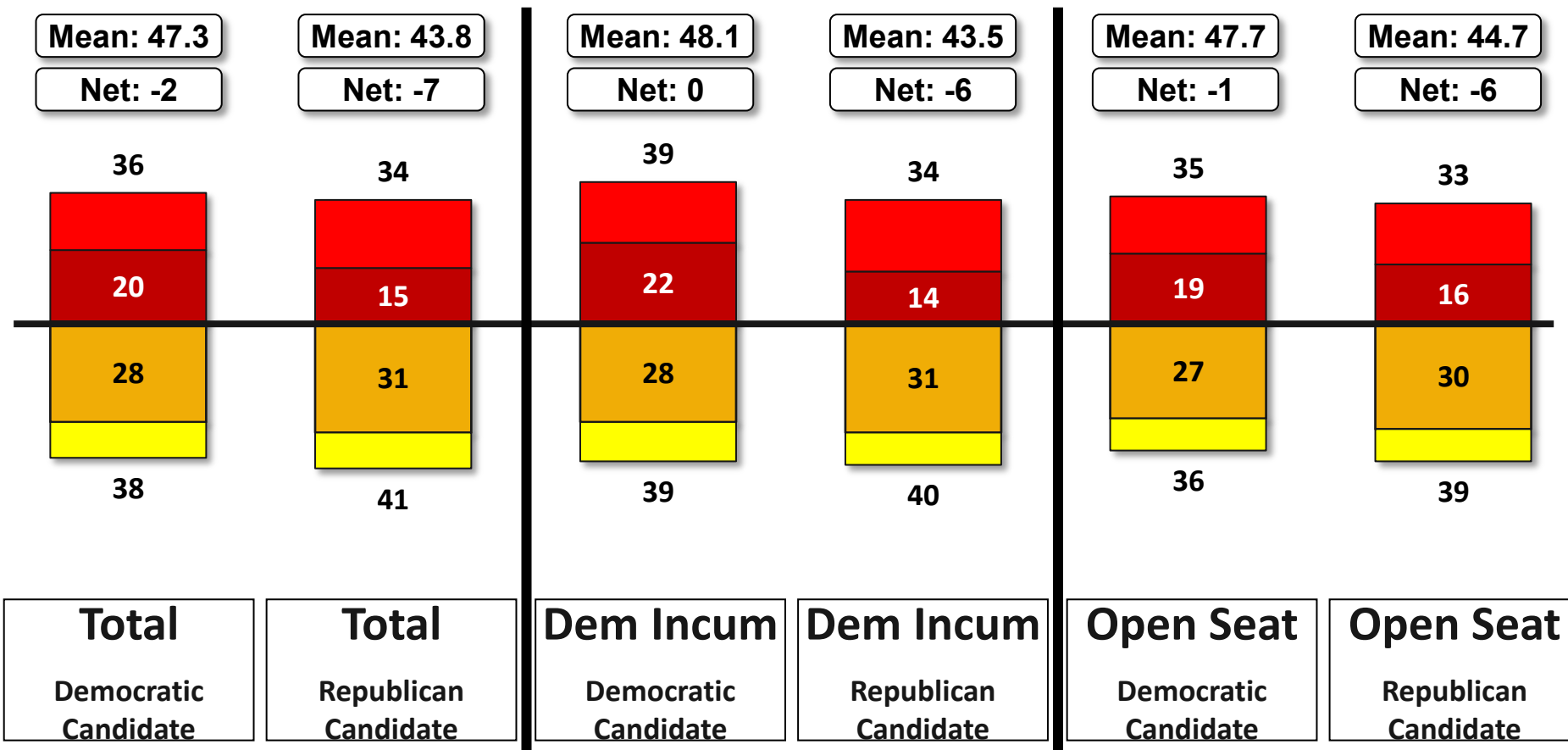
## Democratic Incumbent



# Democratic candidates have better ratings than their GOP challengers and more intense positive in battleground

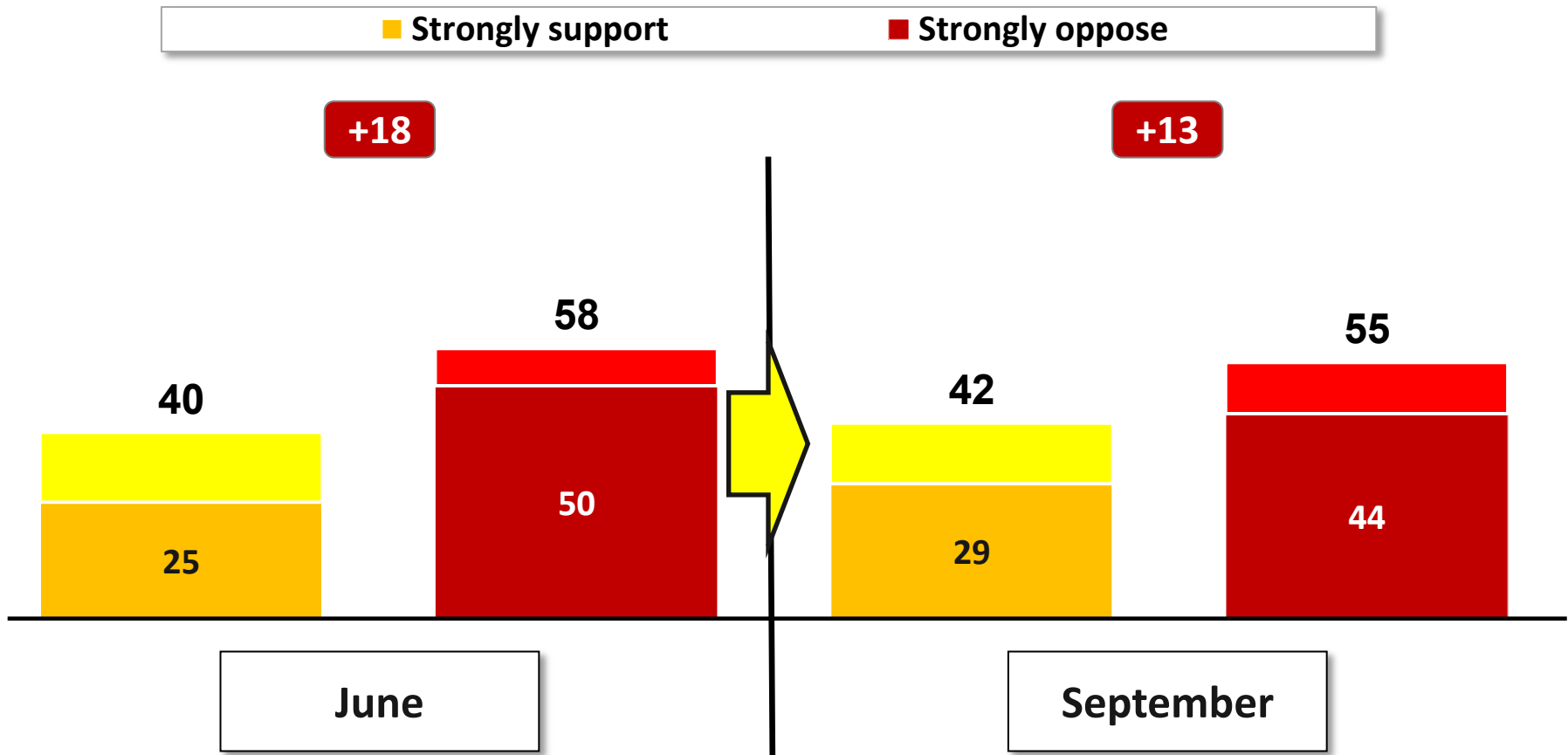
*Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.*

■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)



# Small improvement on support for Obamacare, and 6 point drop in intense opposition

*Do you support or oppose the health care reform law that passed in 2010, also known as the Affordable Care Act or Obamacare?*

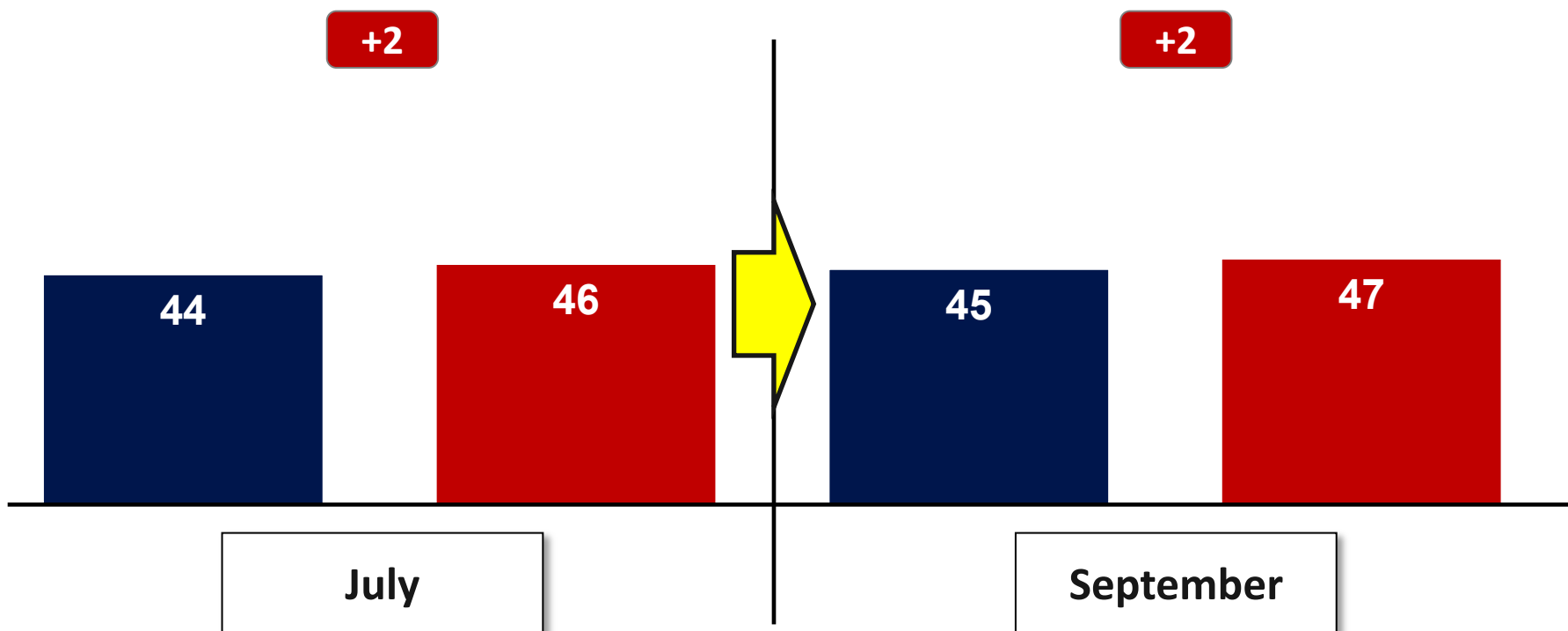


**The 2014 vote is stable – but  
Democratic voters now equally  
consolidated and intent to vote**

# Senate race tied and very stable in the battleground

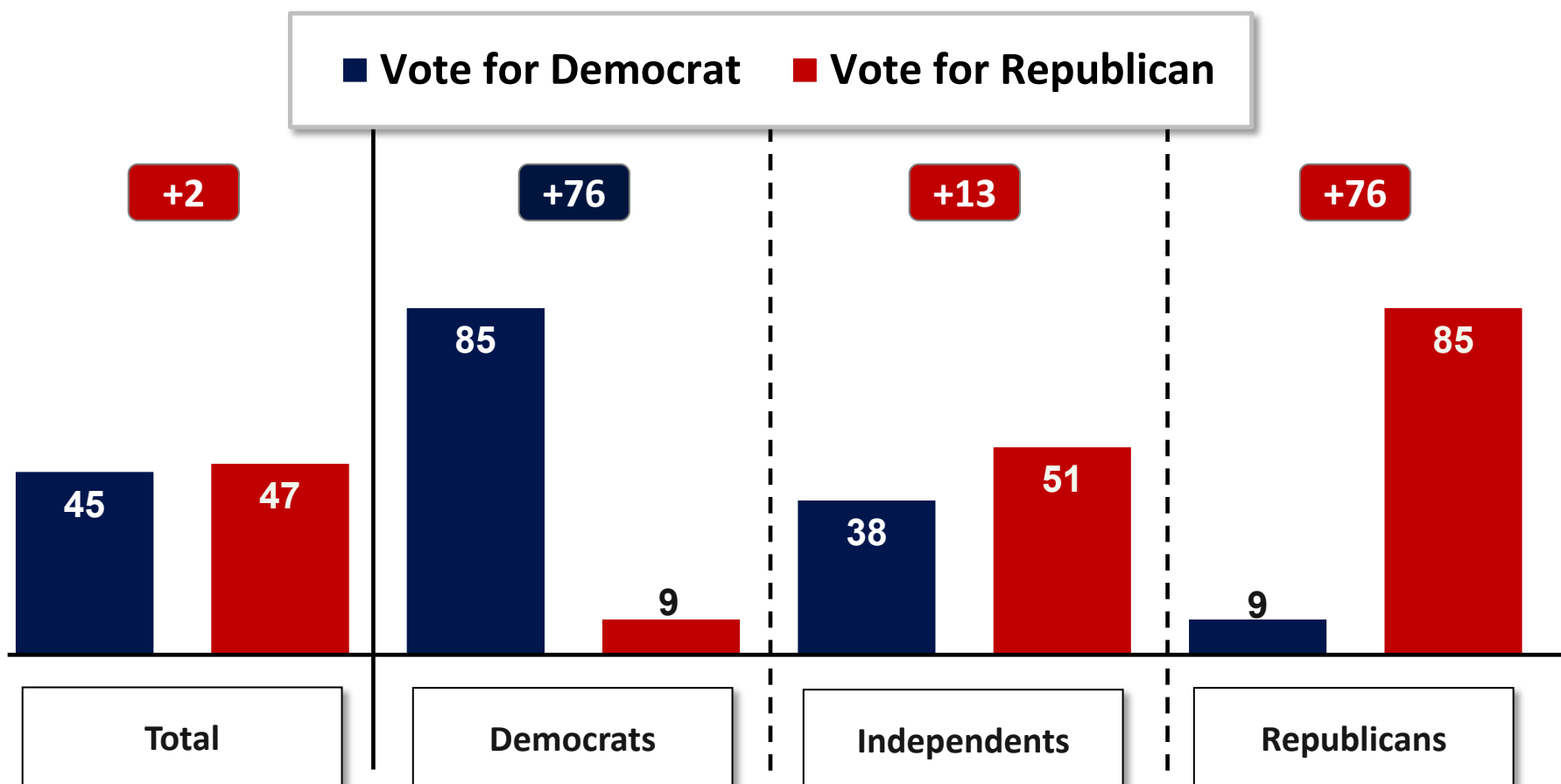
*Thinking about the election for Senate in November, if the election for U.S. Senate were held today, would you be voting for— the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?*

■ Vote for Democrat ■ Vote for Republican



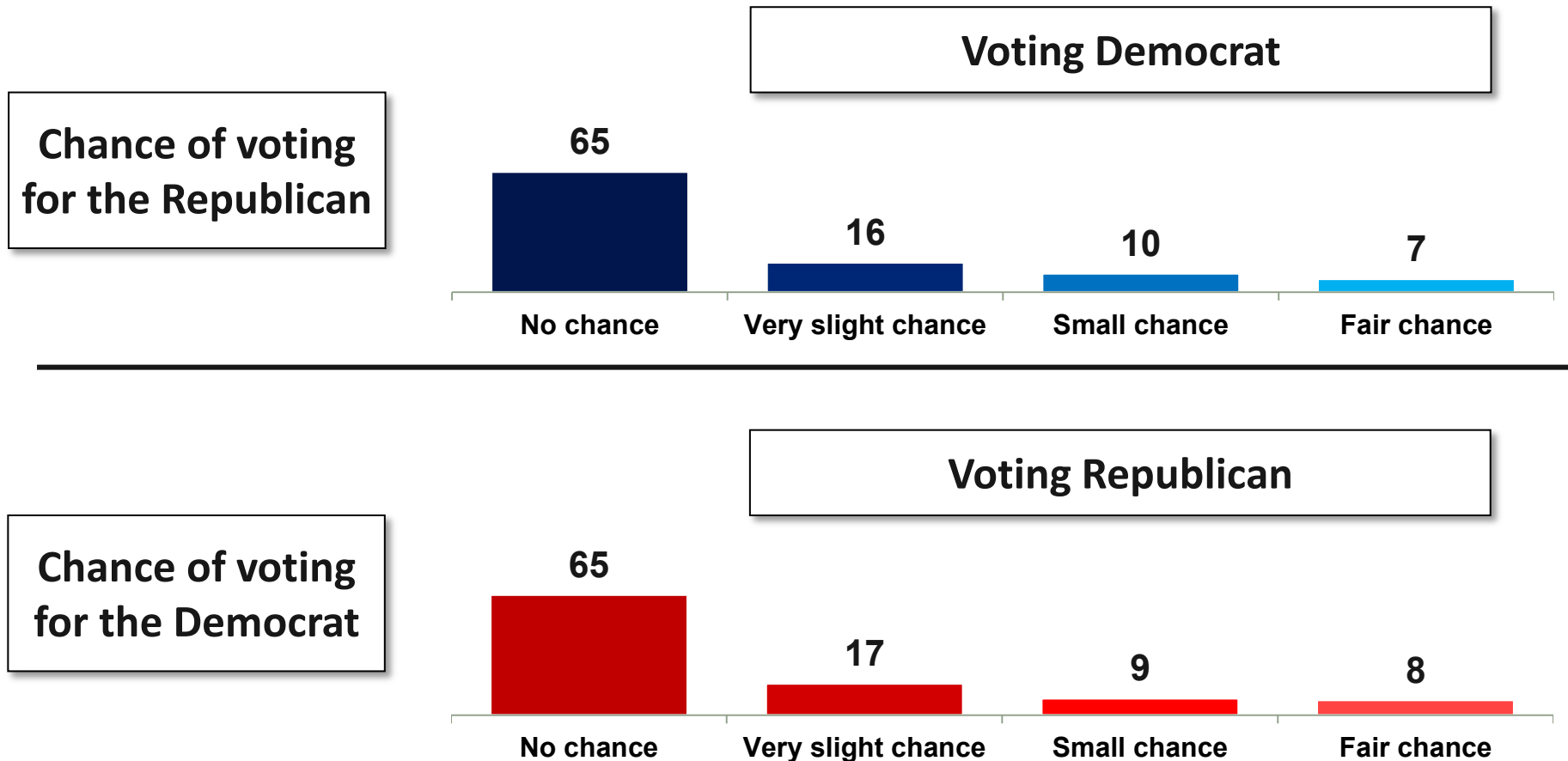
# Democrats and Republicans equally consolidated

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



# Senate vote chance score: Democrats and Republicans with equal loyalists

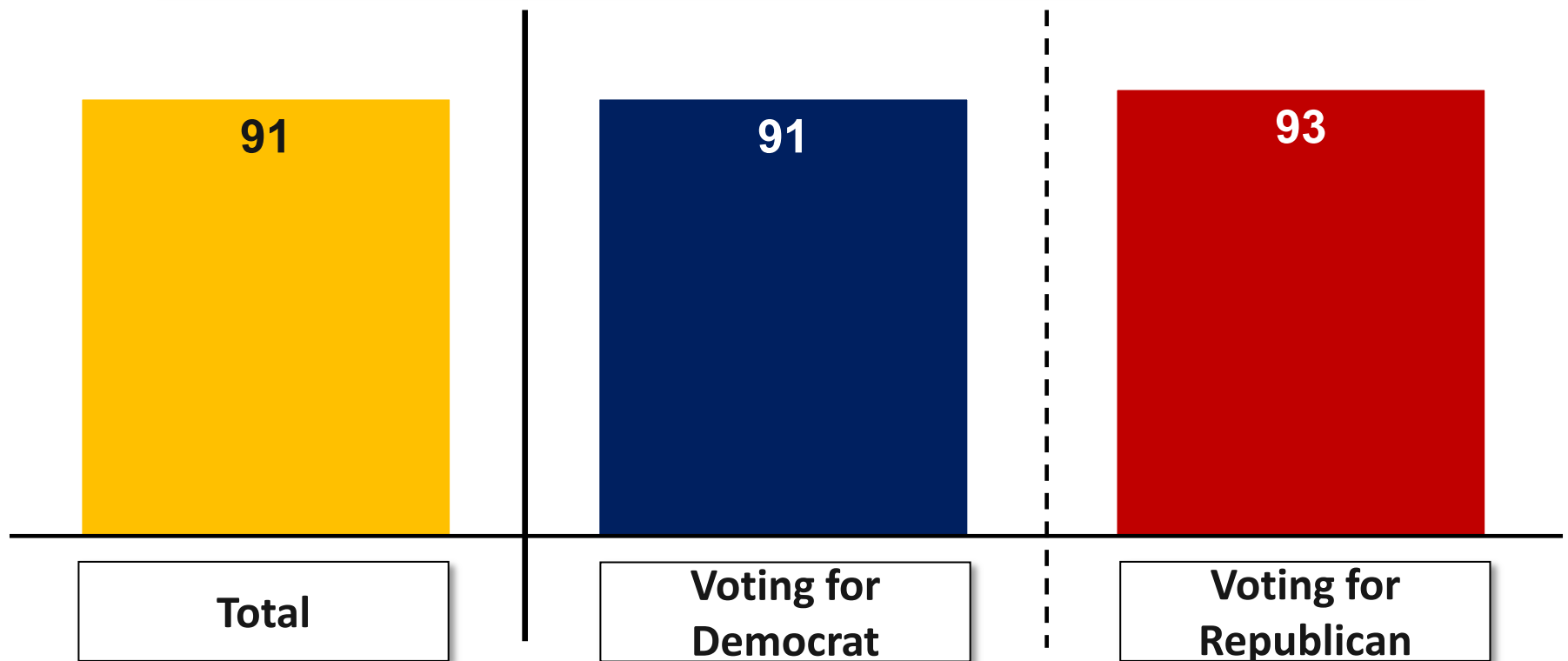
*Thinking about the election for Senate in November, if the election for U.S. Senate were held today, would you be voting for— the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?*



## And both parties intent on voting – unique to battleground

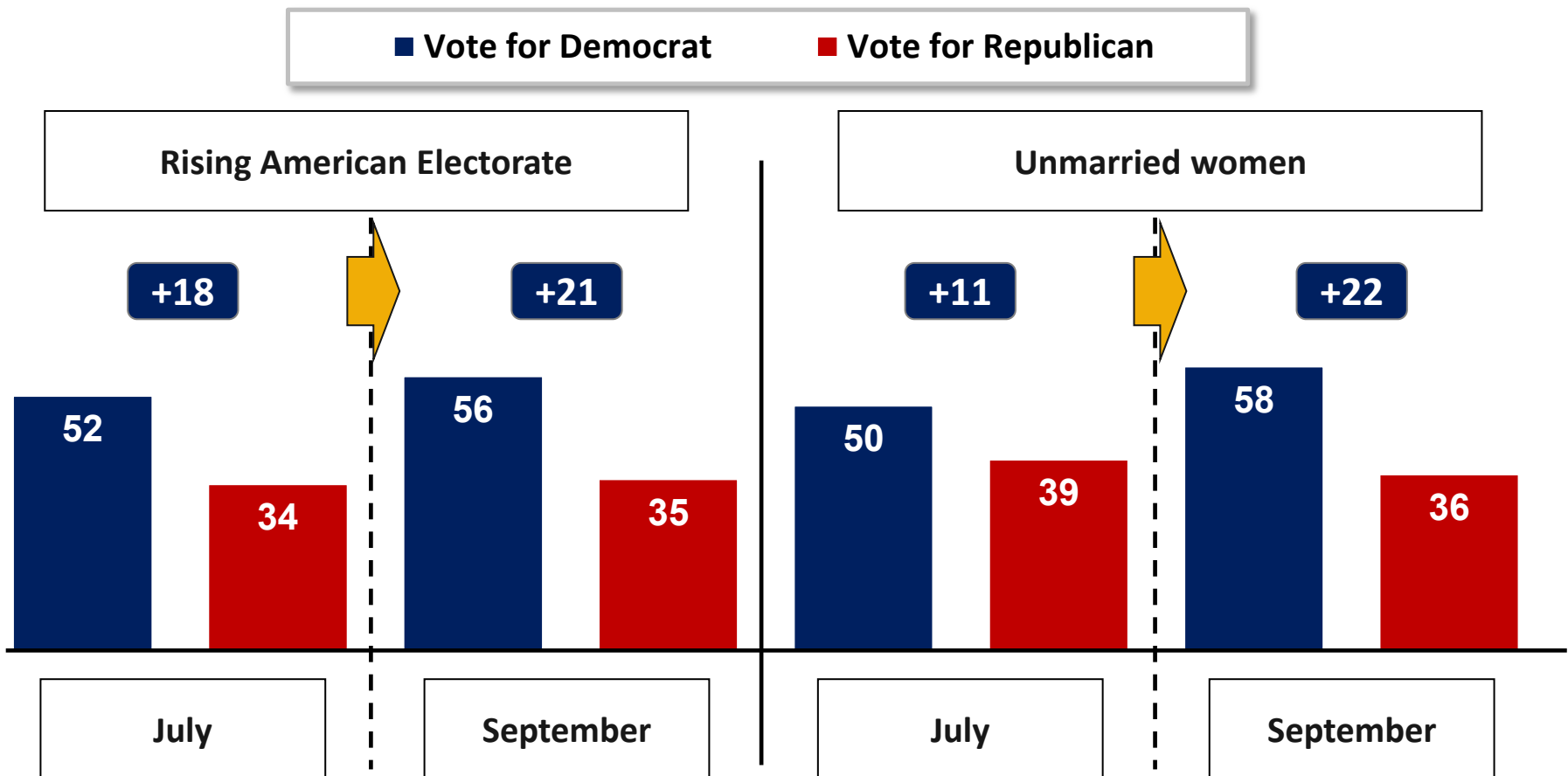
*What are the chances of your voting in the election for Senate this coming November: are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or don't you think you will vote?*

**Percent saying “almost certain to vote”**



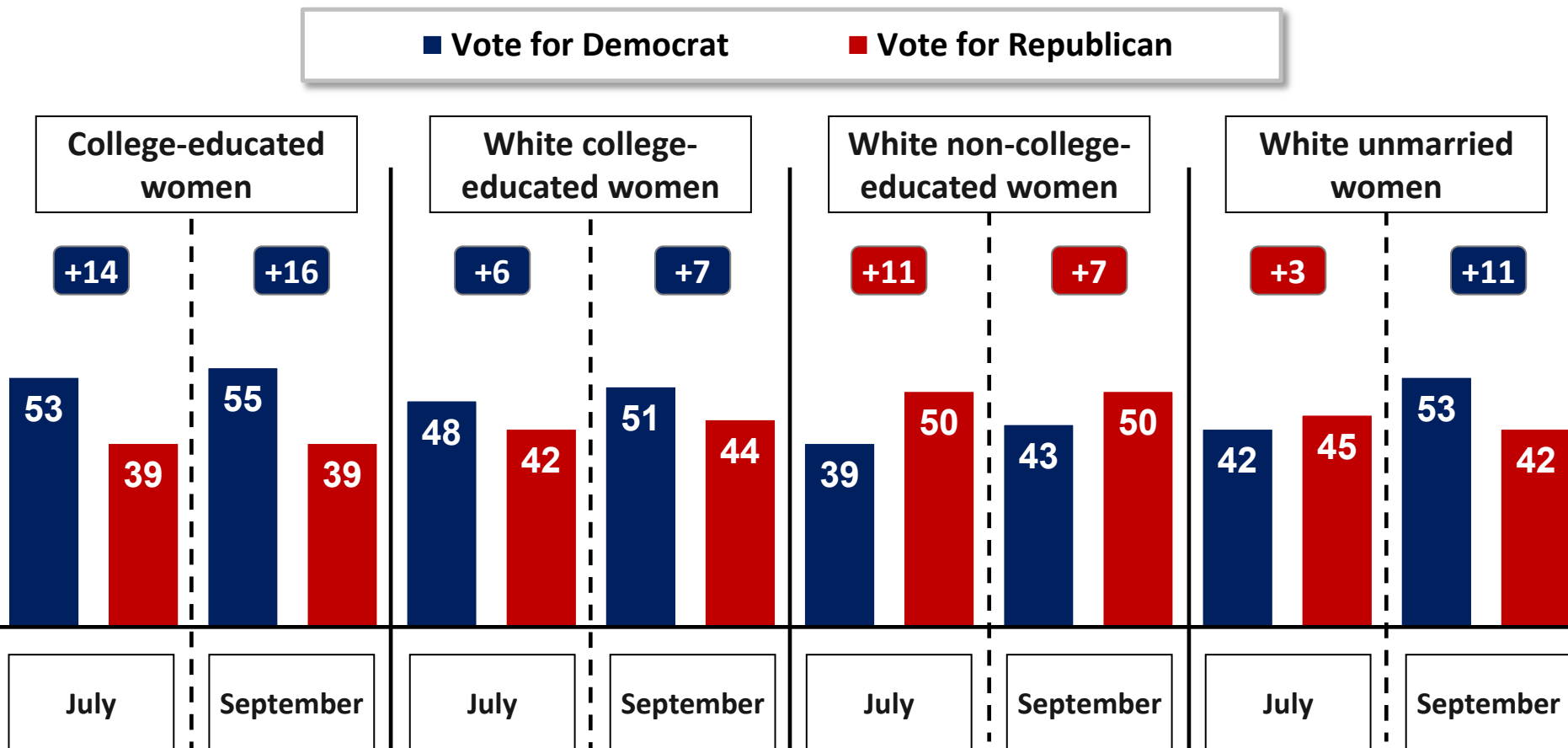
# Improvements among the Rising American Electorate as a whole, including unmarried women

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



# Democrats competitive because of changes primarily from white unmarried women and white non-college women

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



# Rising American Electorate and unmarried women now at 2010 levels and could be stronger

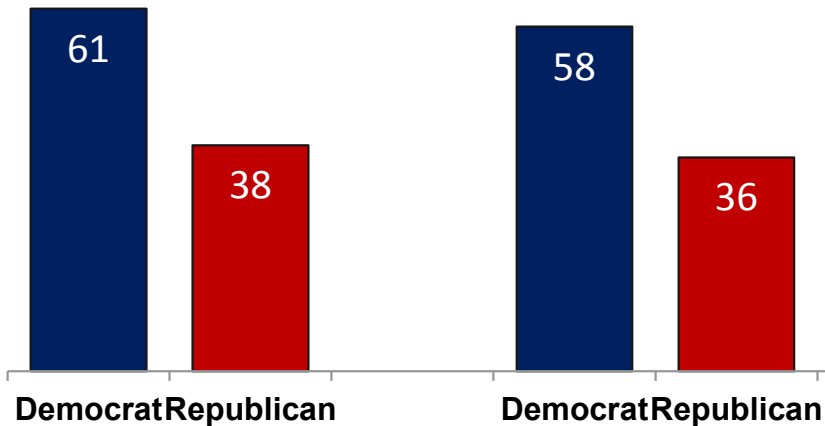
*Thinking about the election for Senate in November, if the election for U.S. Senate were held today, would you be voting for -- (Democratic candidate) or (Republican candidate)?*

## Unmarried women

■ Democrat

+23

+22



**November 2010:**  
National Post-Election  
Survey

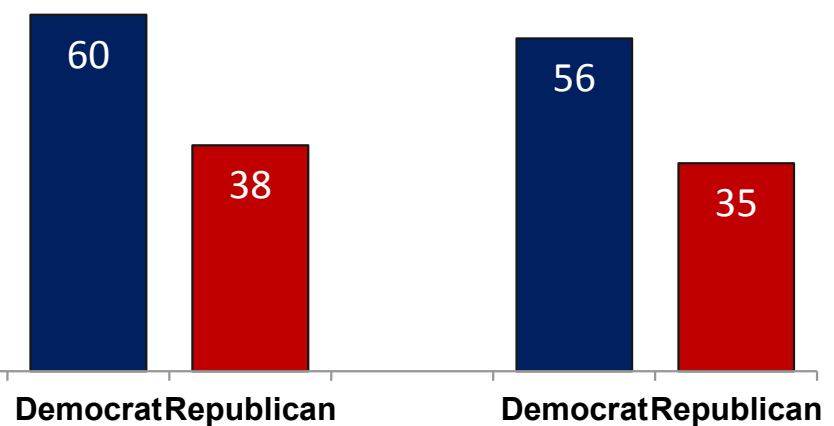
**September 2014:**  
12 most competitive  
Senate Seats

## Rising American Electorate

■ Republican

+22

+21

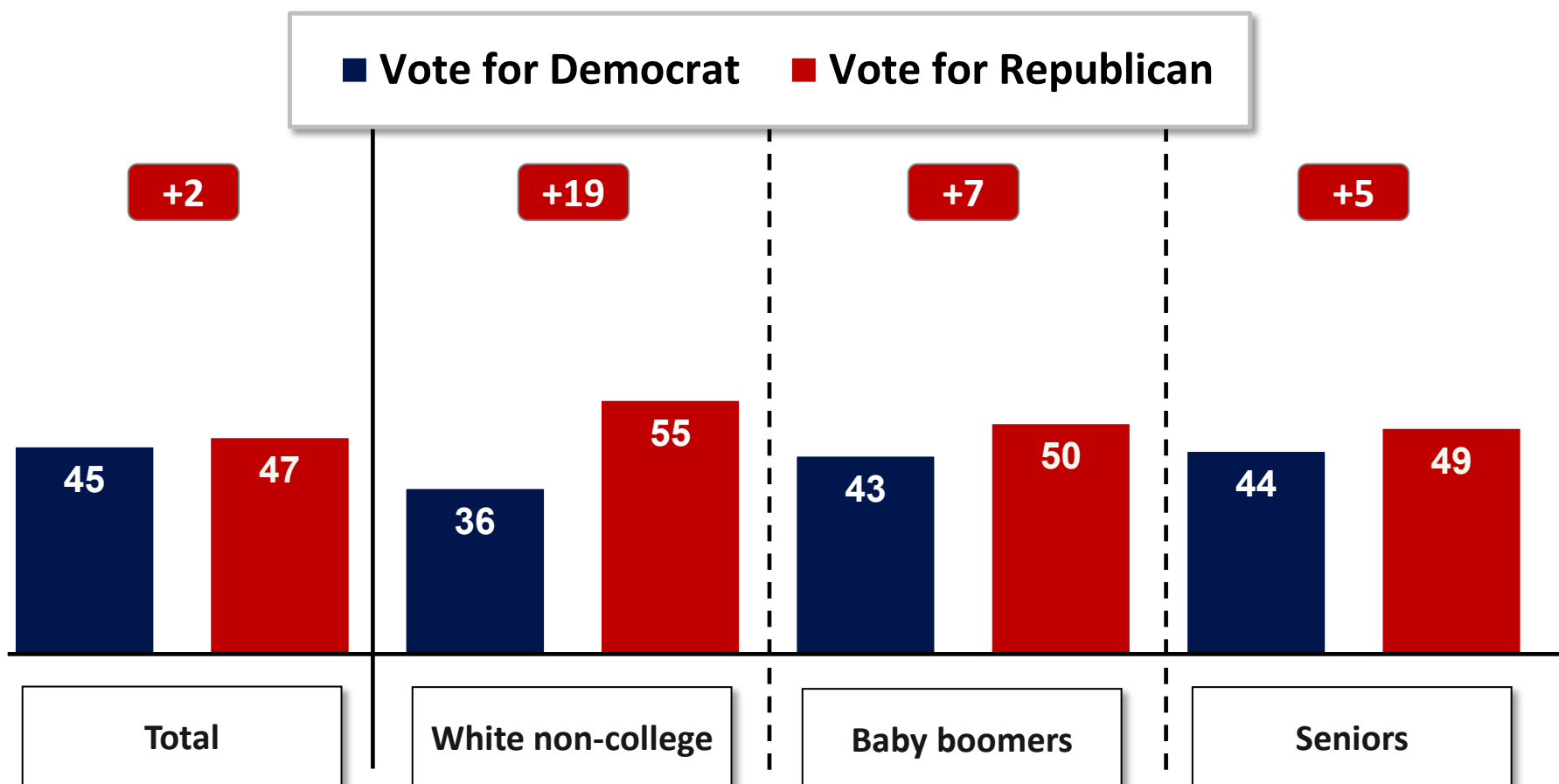


**November 2010:**  
National Post-Election  
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**September 2014:**  
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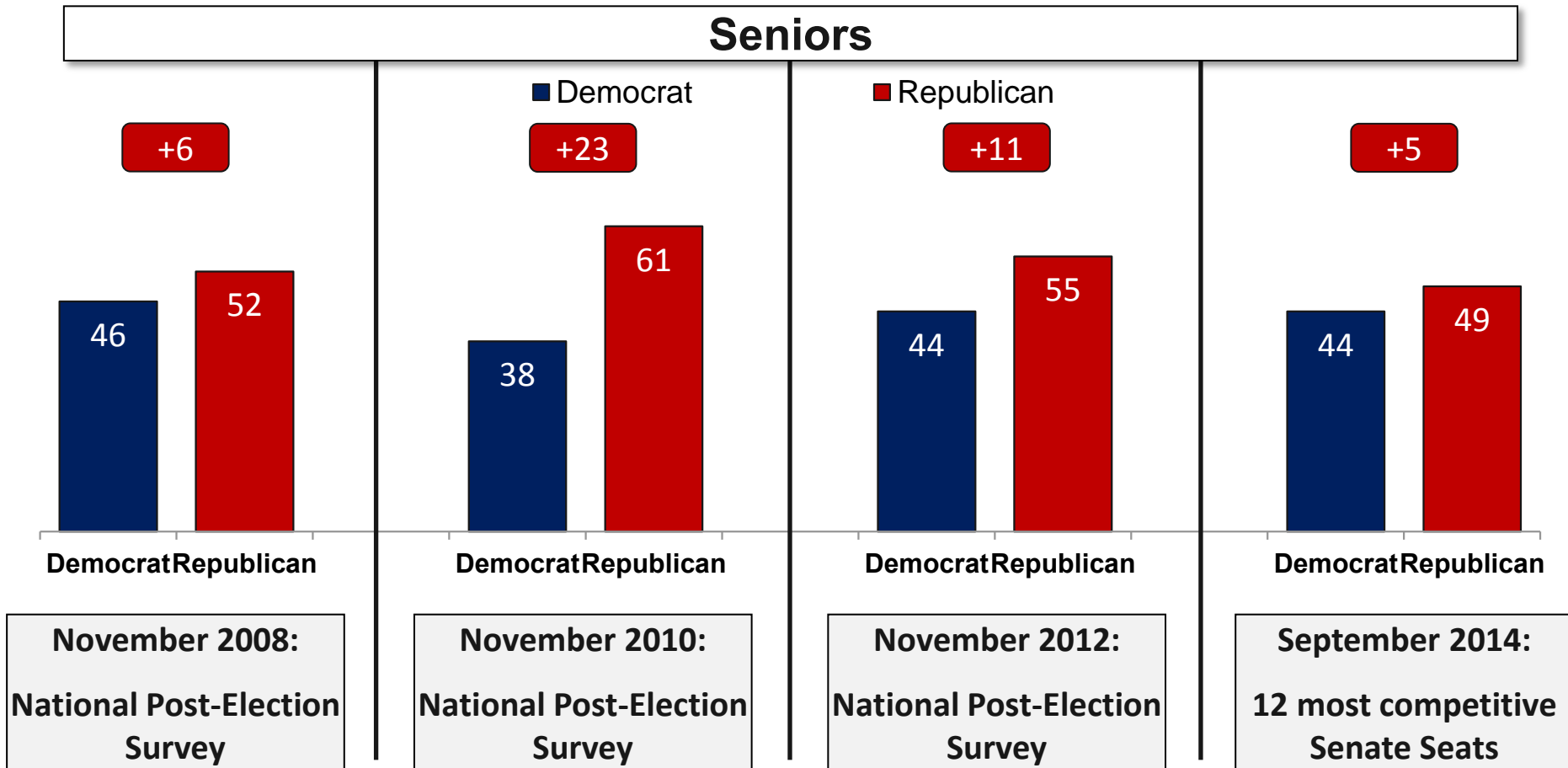
# Republicans not as strong among their key groups

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



# Republicans underperforming among seniors

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



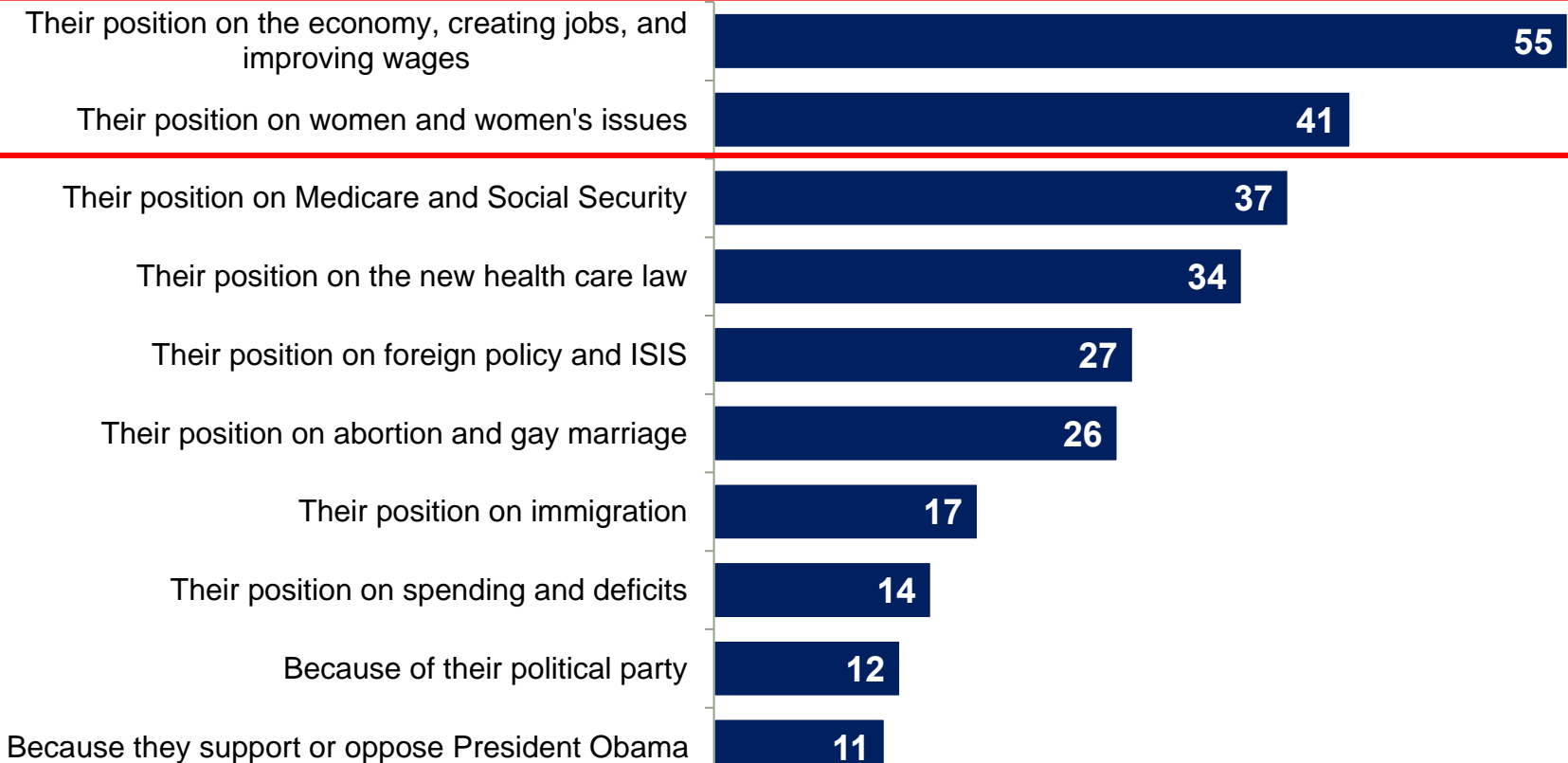
\*Note: 2008, 2010, 2012 results reflect the findings of the combined Democracy Corps post-election results.

# **On the issues**

# Voting for Democrats because of economy, but also because of position on women's issues

*Now I am going to read you a list of reasons people vote for one candidate over another. After I read this list, tell me which **THREE** are the most important when deciding who to vote for in the election for U.S. Senate.*

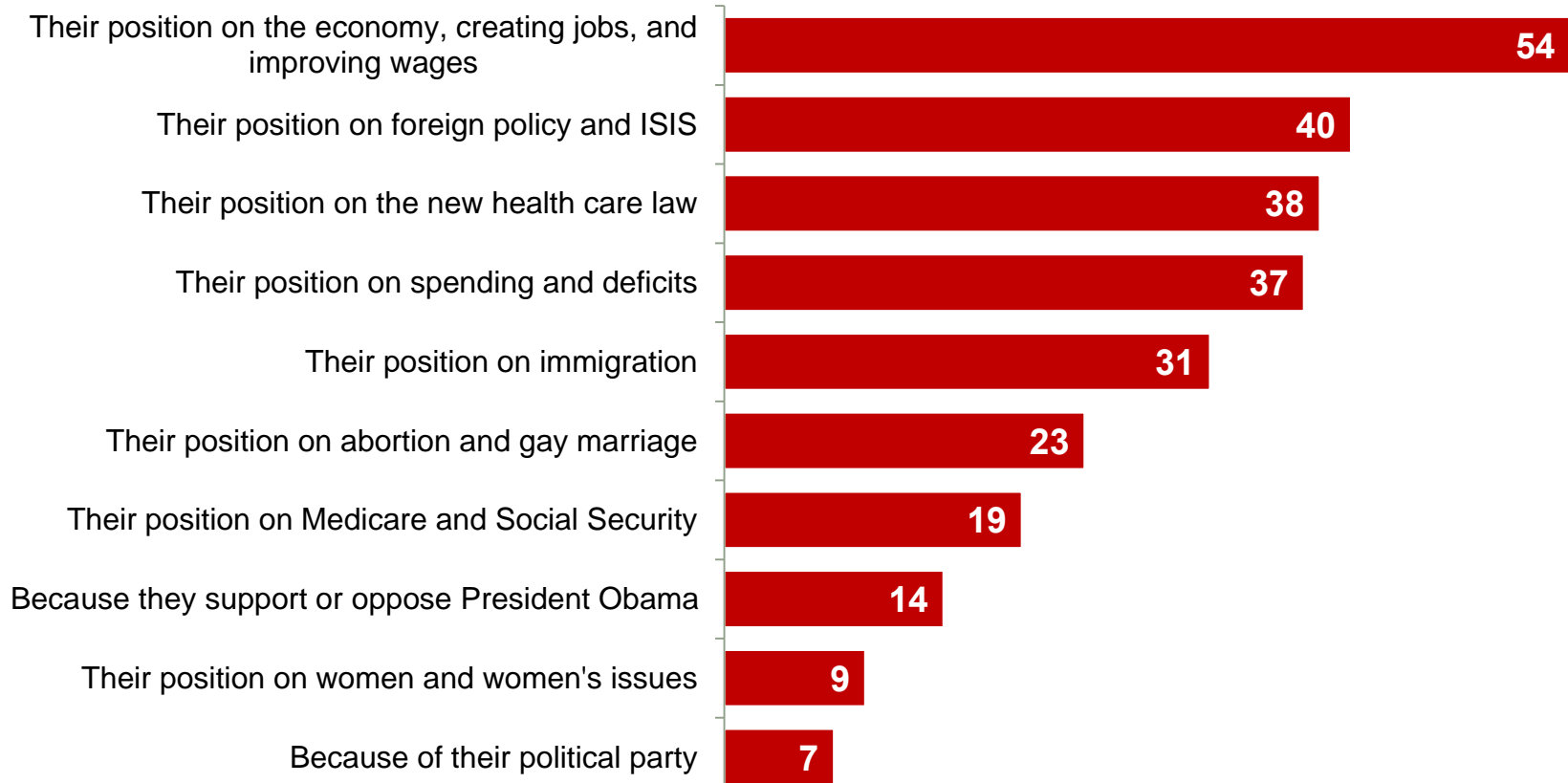
## Voting for the Democrat



# Among voting for Republican, economy top, but foreign policy and the health care law top of second tier

*Now I am going to read you a list of reasons people vote for one candidate over another. After I read this list, tell me which **THREE** are the most important when deciding who to vote for in the election for U.S. Senate.*

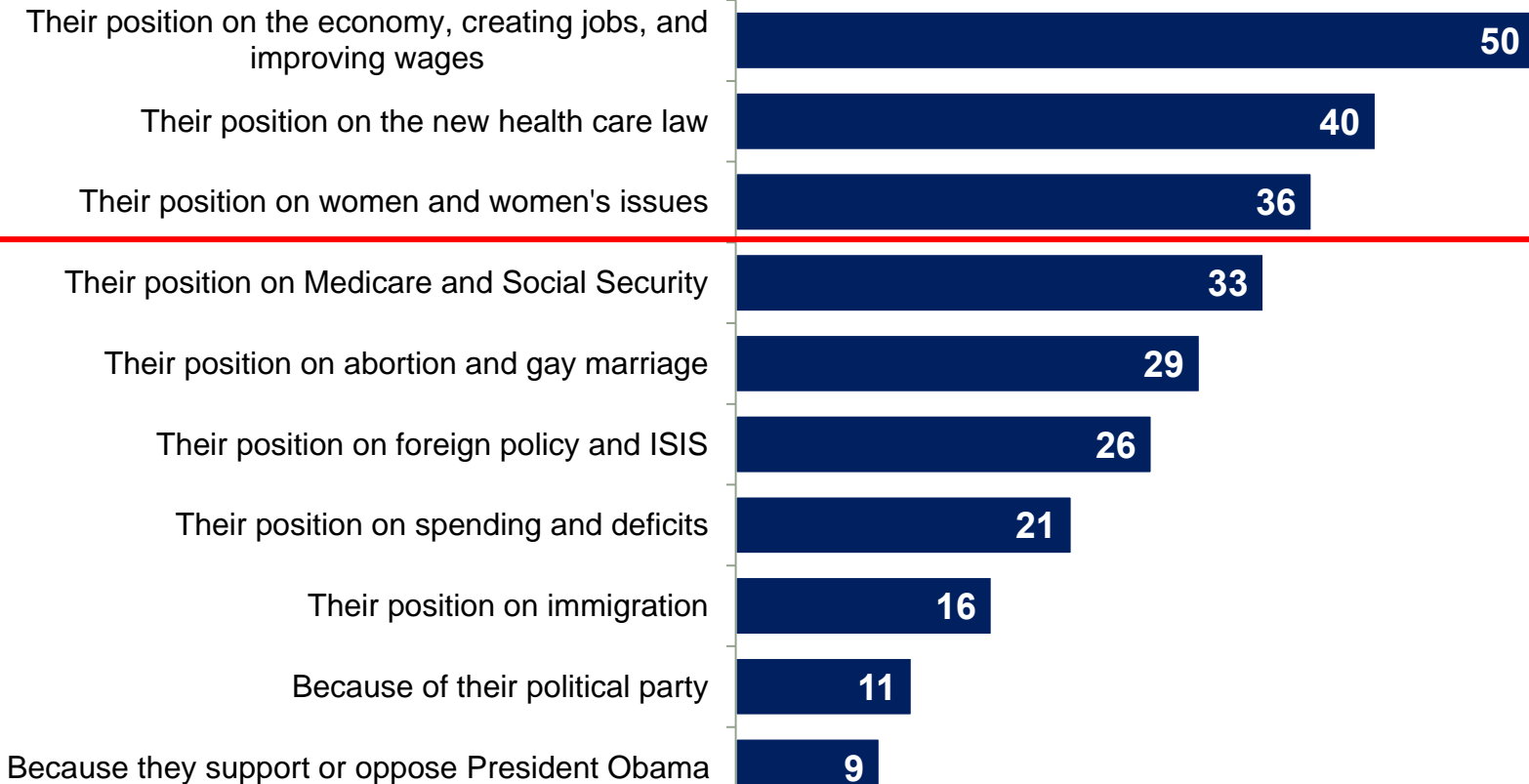
## Voting for Republican



# But for unmarried women, it is economy, new health care law, and women's issues

*Now I am going to read you a list of reasons people vote for one candidate over another. After I read this list, tell me which **THREE** are the most important when deciding who to vote for in the election for U.S. Senate.*

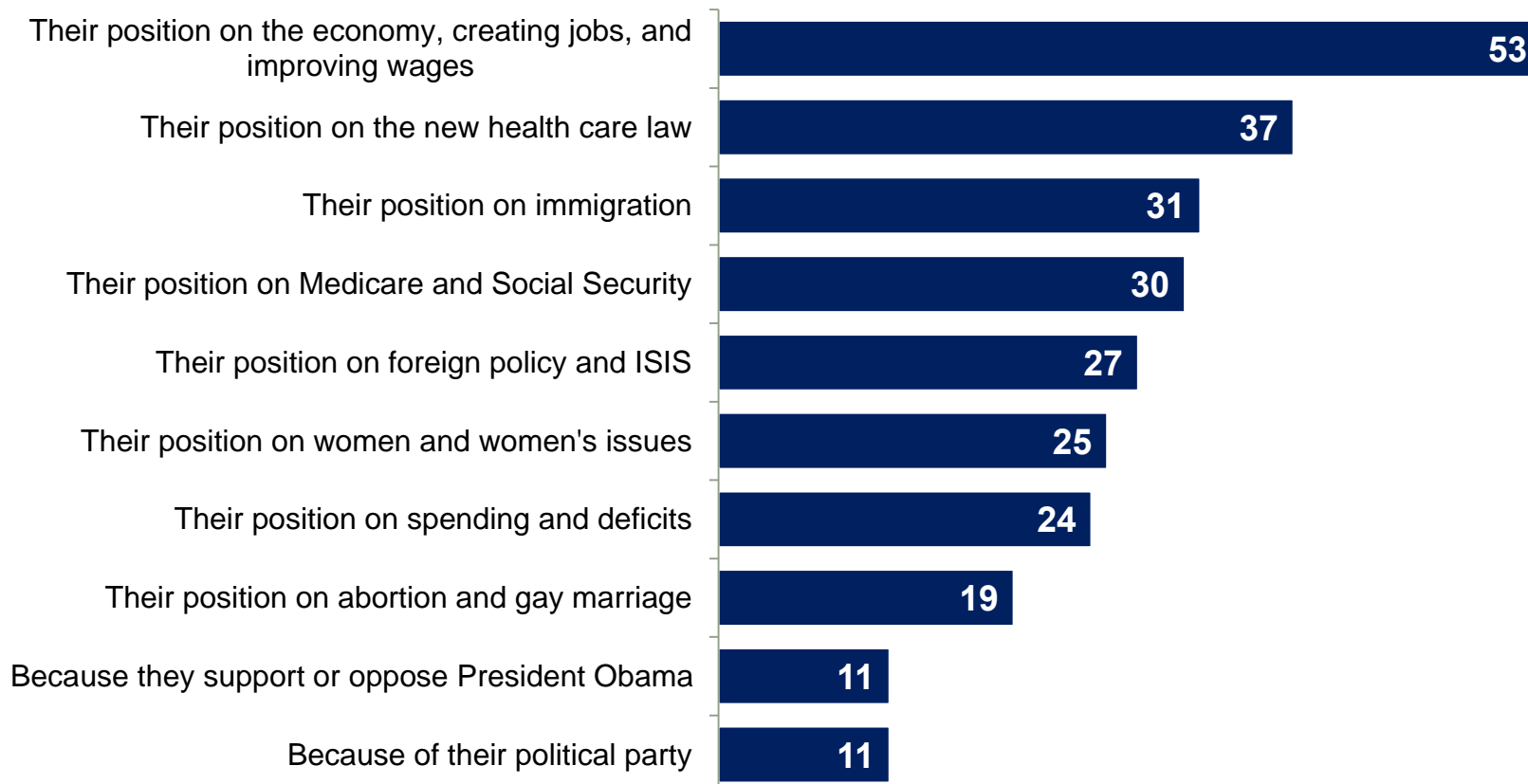
## Unmarried women



# For Rising American Electorate, it is economy and ACA

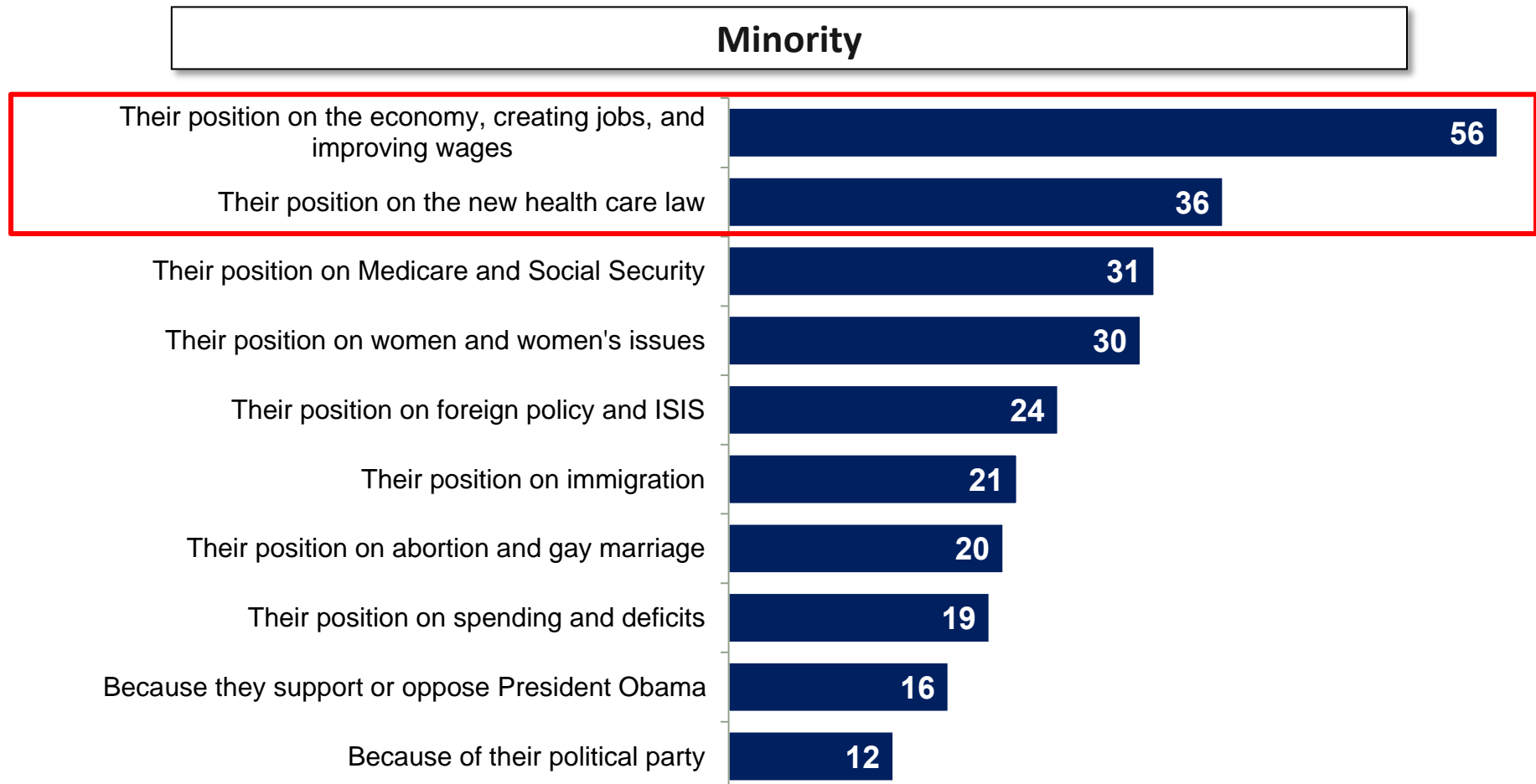
*Now I am going to read you a list of reasons people vote for one candidate over another. After I read this list, tell me which **THREE** are the most important when deciding who to vote for in the election for U.S. Senate.*

## Rising American Electorate



# Health care law second most important reason to vote among minority voters

*Now I am going to read you a list of reasons people vote for one candidate over another. After I read this list, tell me which THREE are the most important when deciding who to vote for in the election for U.S. Senate.*



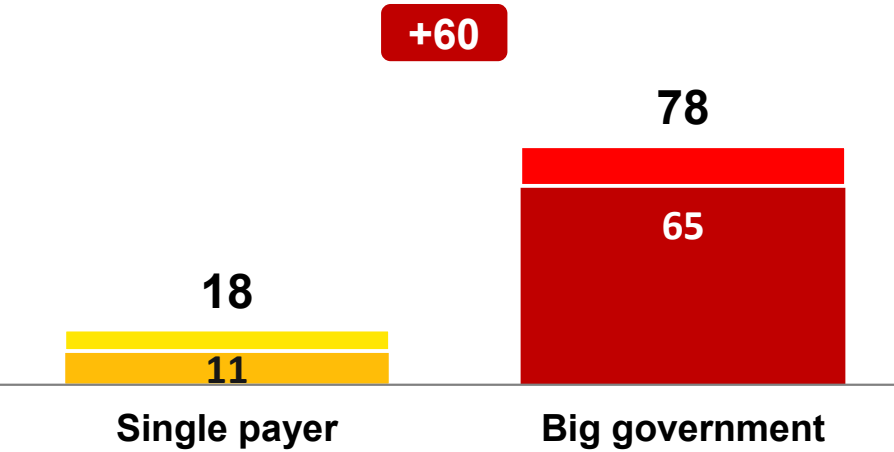
# One in five of ACA opponents opposed because not a government run program: only 42 percent opposed because big government

Please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

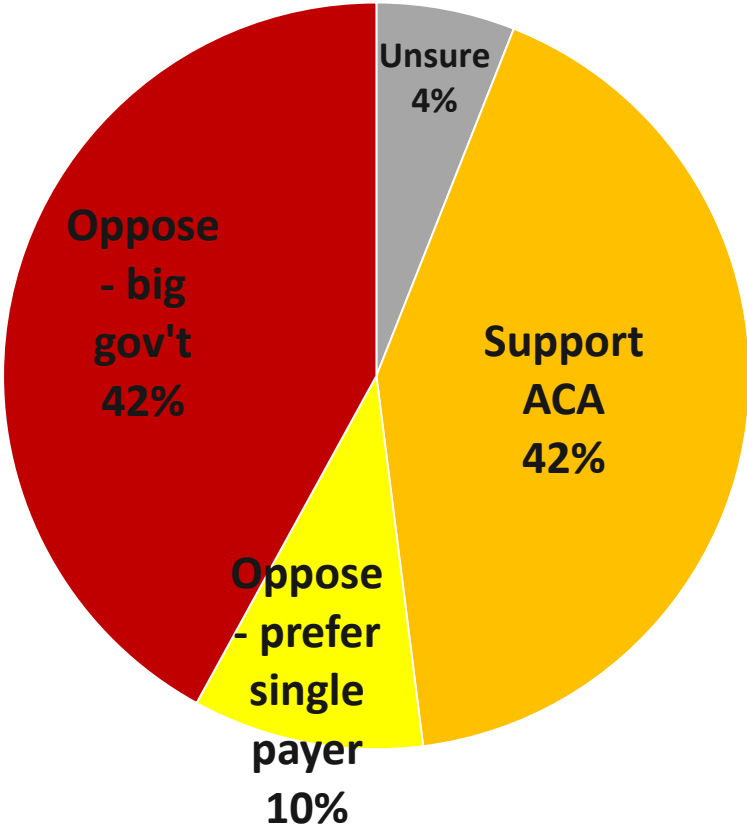
I'm opposed because you still have to buy private insurance and I'd prefer a single-payer, government-run system like Canada.

I'm opposed because it's a big government solution that we cannot afford.

Among those opposed to ACA



Do you support or oppose the health care reform law that passed in 2010, also known as the Affordable Care Act or Obamacare?



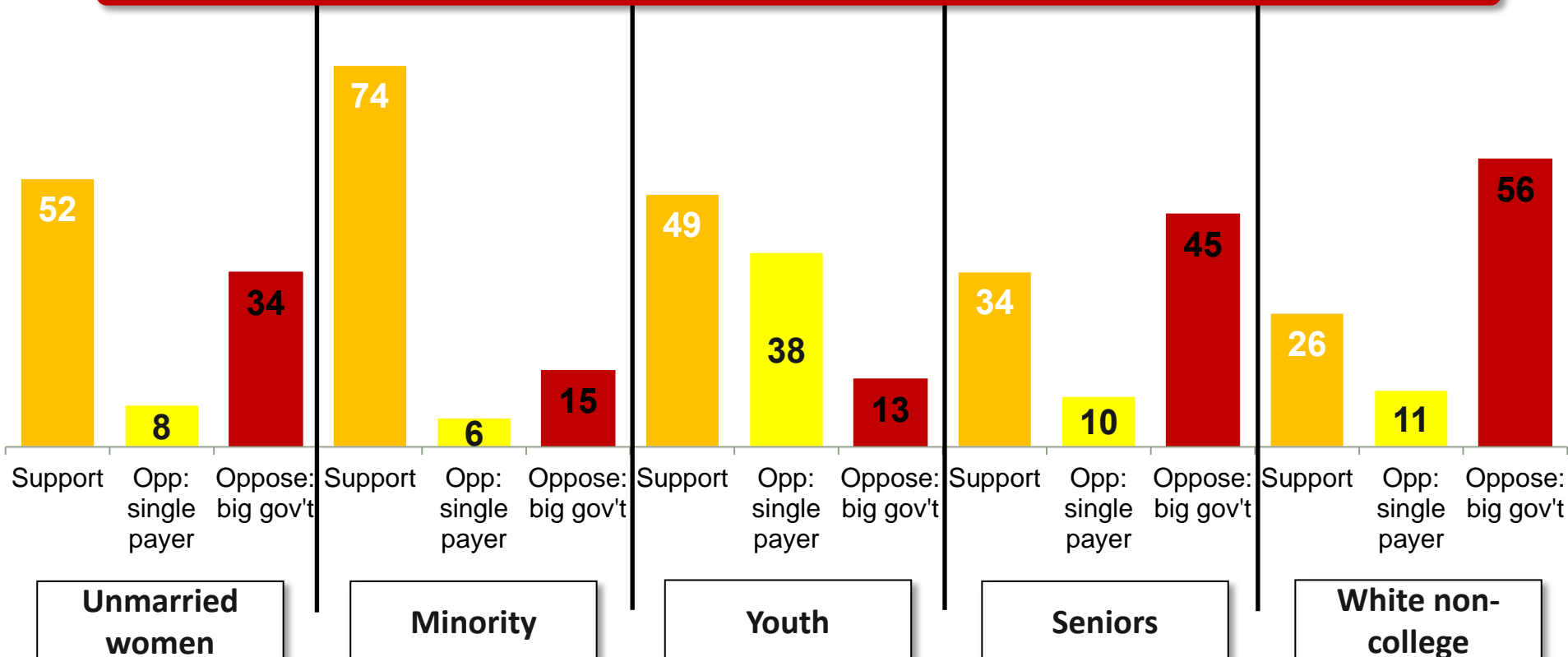
# ACA support by groups

Do you support or oppose the health care reform law that passed in 2010, also known as the Affordable Care Act or Obamacare?

**I support the Affordable Care Act or Obamacare**

**I'm opposed because you still have to buy private insurance and I'd prefer a single-payer, government-run system like Canada.**

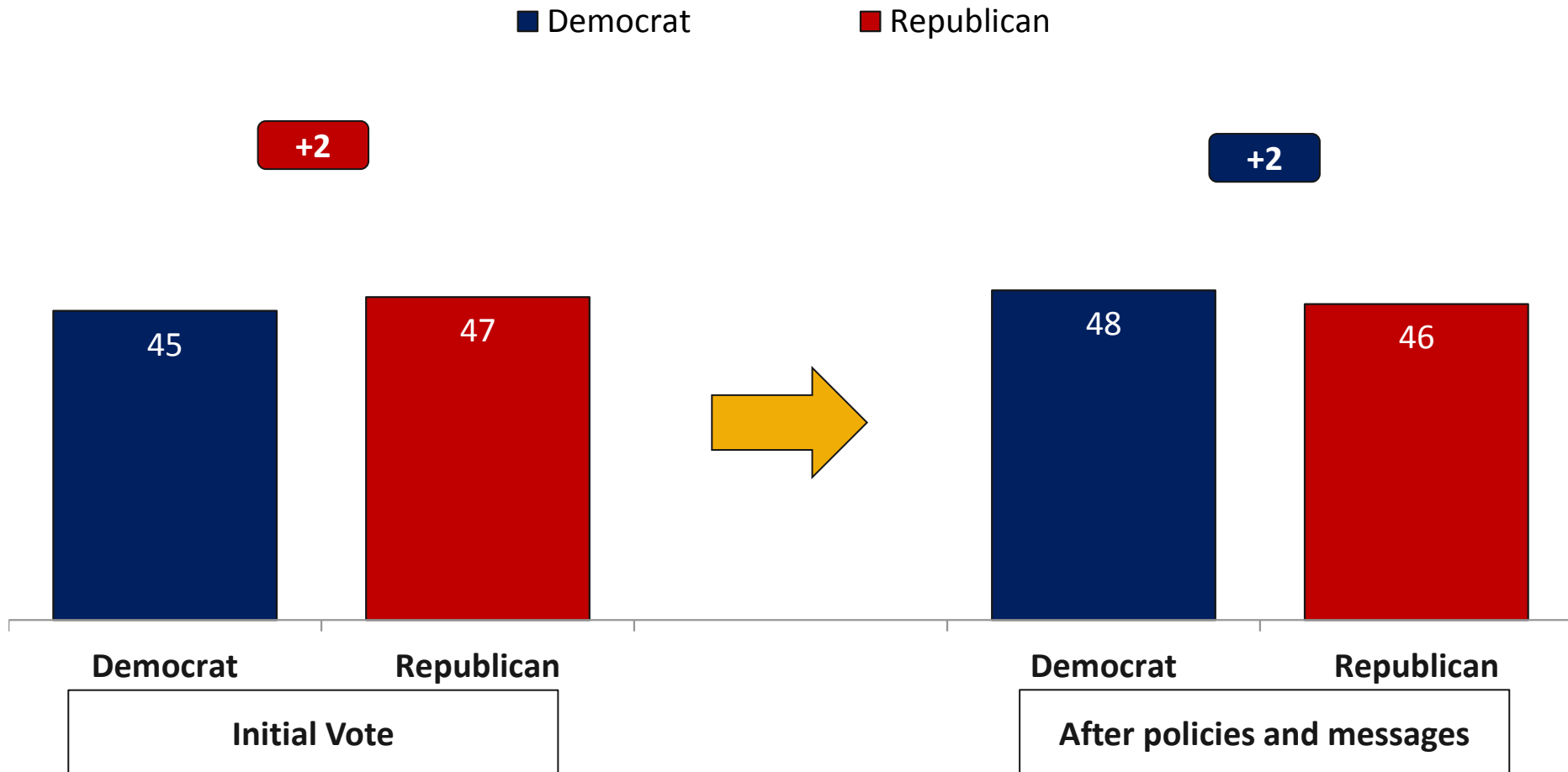
**I'm opposed because it's a big government solution that we cannot afford.**



# **An Economic Agenda for Hard-Working Women and Men**

# Competing narratives and agenda shifts vote margin by 4 points to Democrats

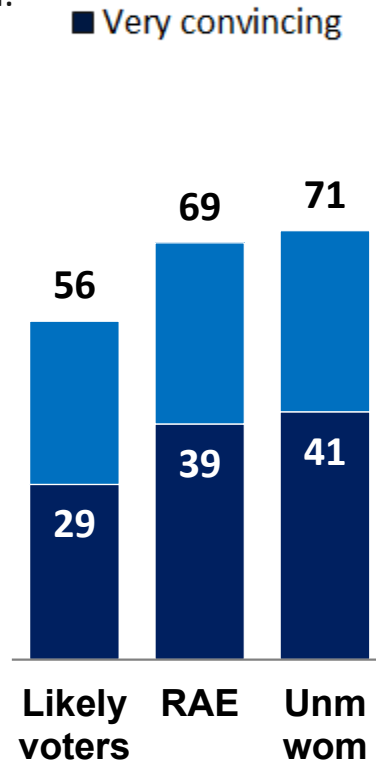
*Now let me ask you again, thinking about the election for Senate next year, if the election for U.S. Senate were held today, would you be voting for -- (Democratic candidate) or (Republican candidate)?*



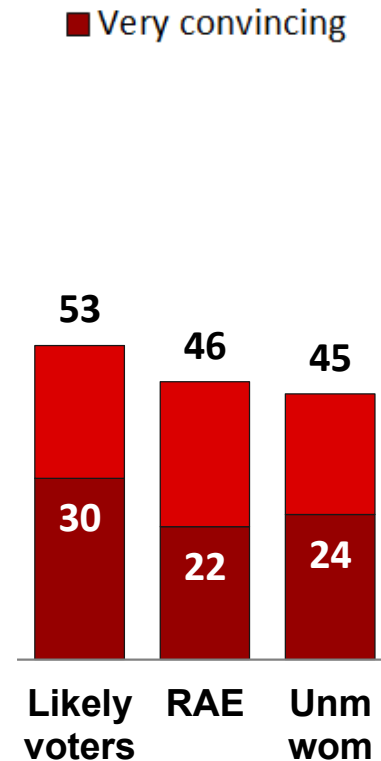
# “In your shoes” narrative stronger than Republican narrative – and that is a change in battleground

*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.

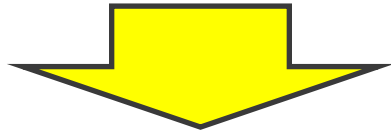


President Obama has failed on the economy. The middle class is struggling with declining paychecks, high unemployment, and the rising costs of healthcare, college, and even a tank of gas. Bigger government, higher spending, and never ending deficits are not the answer. We need to repeal Obamacare, cut 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.

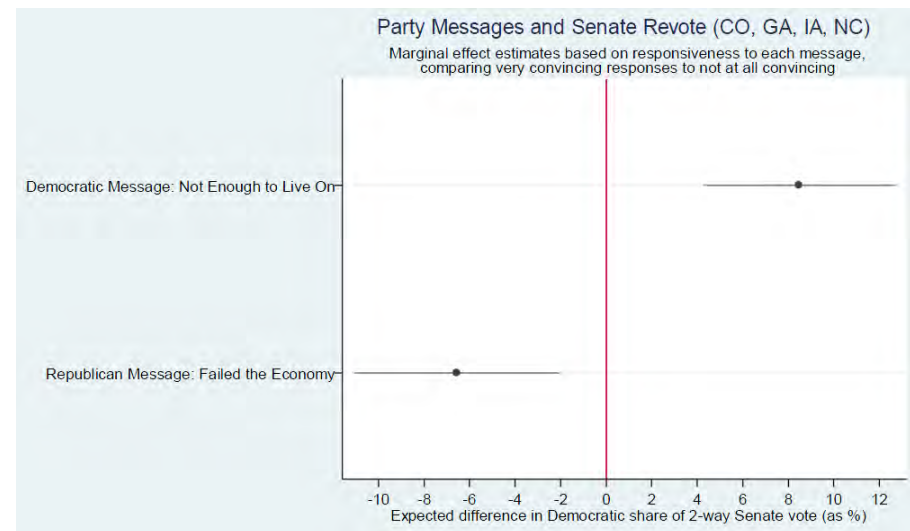
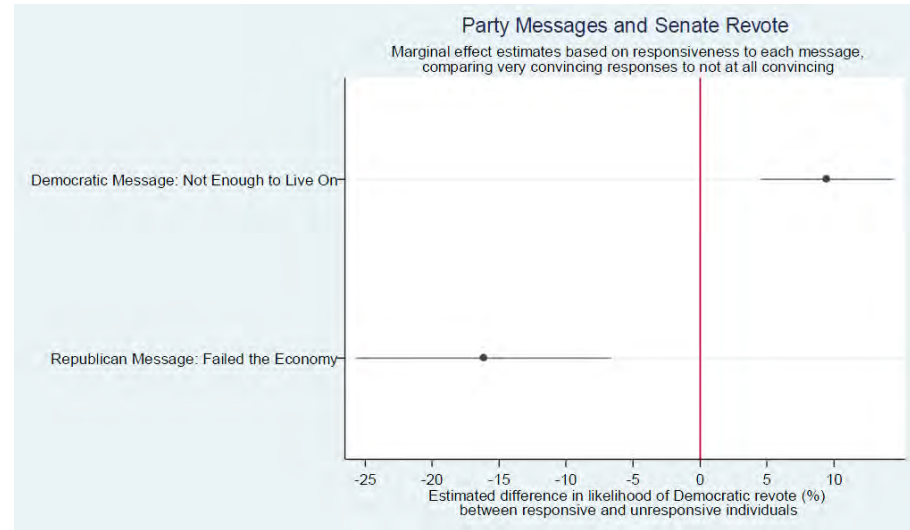


# Democratic message has bigger effect on vote than Republican

July



September

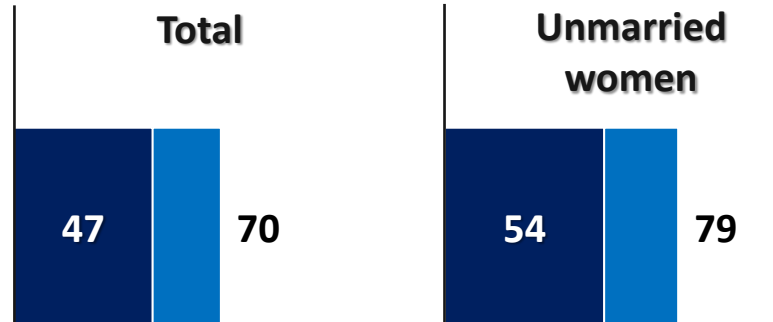


# Working women and men's agenda, now with secret money, helps Democratic candidates

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.

■ MUCH MORE

Pass a Constitutional amendment to **prevent wealthy special interests and big corporations from spending unlimited amounts of secret money to buy elections**, so we can take the power away from a few billionaires and give the power to regular citizens.



Finally recognize that working mothers need help by **protecting pregnant workers and new mothers** from being fired or demoted, making sure they have paid sick days and access to affordable childcare











**Raise the minimum wage to ten dollars an hour and expand access to scholarships and affordable college** so working women and men can continue their education and train for better jobs with higher wages.

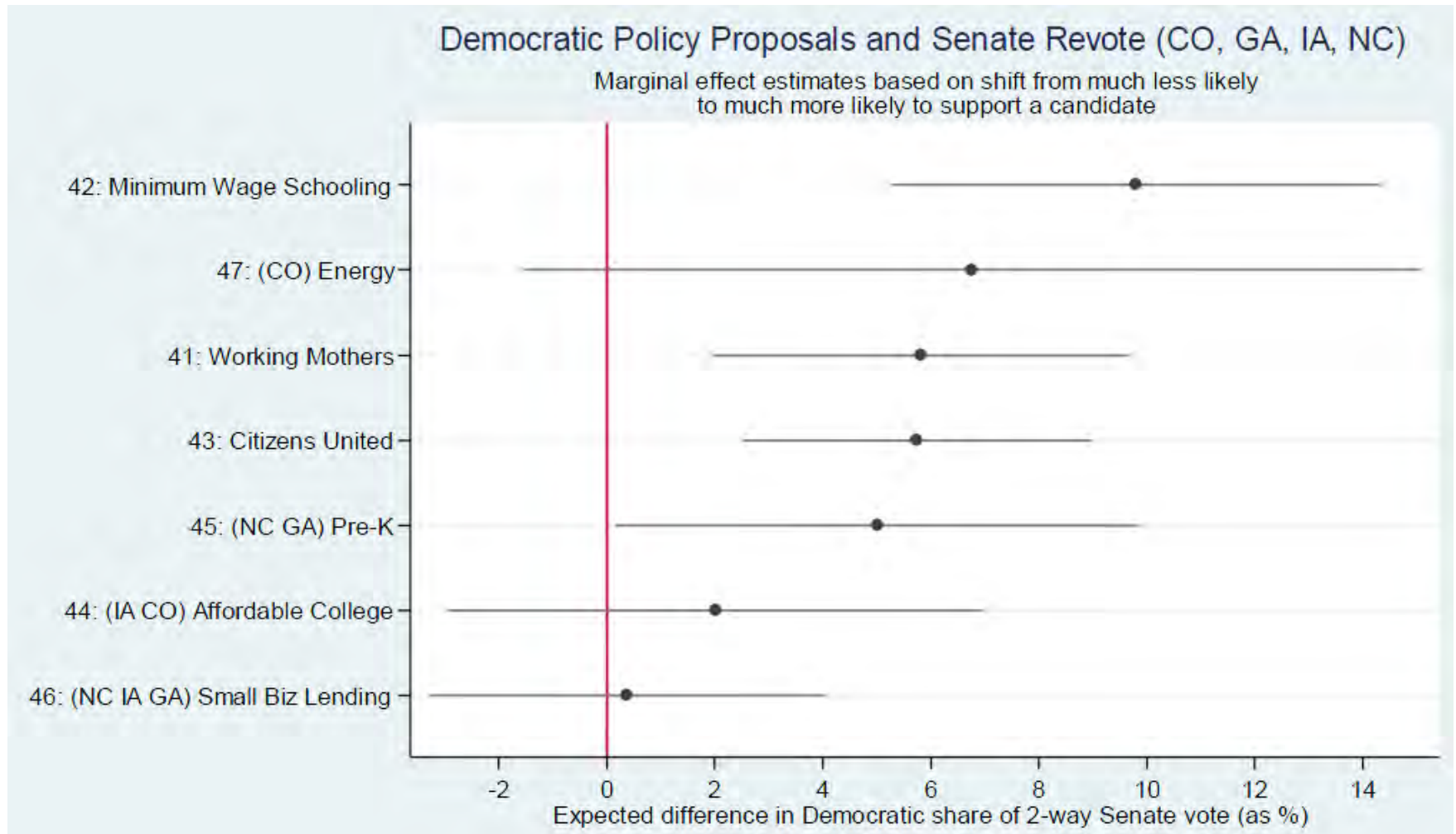


# Early childhood education top of state-specific policies

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.

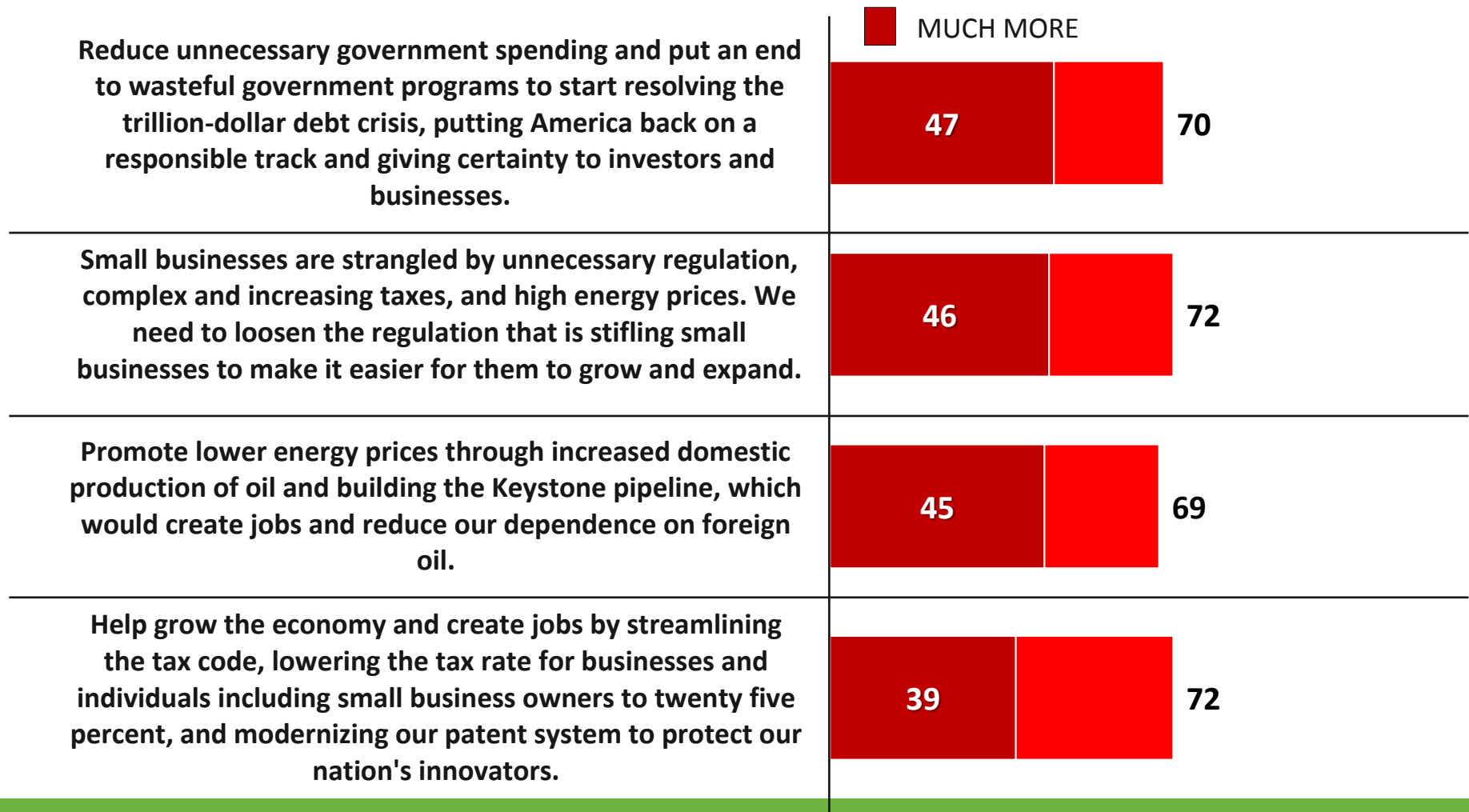
	Total	Unmarried women
(NC, GA) <b>Make early childhood education a priority</b> by ensuring young children in working families get the early education they need to succeed.	 <p>51 76</p>	 <p>66 84</p>
(IA, CO) <b>Keep the dream of attending college in reach for every student</b> who wants to pursue it by preventing student loan rates from increasing.	 <p>47 76</p>	 <p>62 86</p>
(NC, IA, GA) <b>Cut red tape and expand lending programs</b> for small business owners and improve resources available for new businesses just starting out.	 <p>43 80</p>	 <p>44 76</p>
(CO) <b>Support a responsible "all of the above" approach on energy</b> to boost production of natural gas and alternative energy and create new businesses and jobs.	 <p>40 74</p>	 <p>47 78</p>

# Minimum wage with affordable college has biggest impact, along with working mothers and secret money



# GOP policies on spending, regulation, energy get strongest support

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.



# Withholding lawmaker pay a top Republican proposal

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.

 MUCH MORE

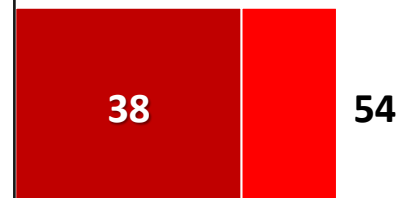
(CO) Require lawmakers to pass a budget or withhold their pay, and require Congress to review programs deemed wasteful and redundant.



(NC, IA, GA) Cut government spending immediately and pass a Constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget every year, so that we aren't spending more than we can afford.



(NC, IA, GA, CO) Fully repeal and defund Obamacare and implement private-sector solutions to reduce health care costs.



# North Carolina: education, special interests attacks provoke strong doubts on Tillis

*Now I'm going to read you some things that Republicans like Thom Tillis 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 Thom Tillis when you are thinking of voting in November.*

As Speaker of the North Carolina House, Thom Tillis passed a plan that cut five hundred million dollars from our public schools, eliminated 9,000 teaching positions and froze salaries for North Carolina teachers, even though the state currently ranks 46<sup>th</sup> in teacher pay. And he used that money to help pay for more tax breaks for millionaires and big corporations.

■ Very serious doubts

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Thom Tillis supports the Supreme Court's decision to allow wealthy special interests and big corporations spend unlimited amounts of secret money to buy elections, taking the power away from regular citizens and putting it in the hands of just a few billionaires. So, Thom Tillis made sure CEOs paid no higher taxes and that their loopholes are protected, while working men and women struggle.

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More and more women are breadwinners for their families, but women make just 77 cents for every dollar men make. Thom Tillis is opposed to requiring equal pay for women who do the same job as a man. And he would allow insurance companies to charge women higher premiums than men and force women to pay for preventive care like mammograms.

39

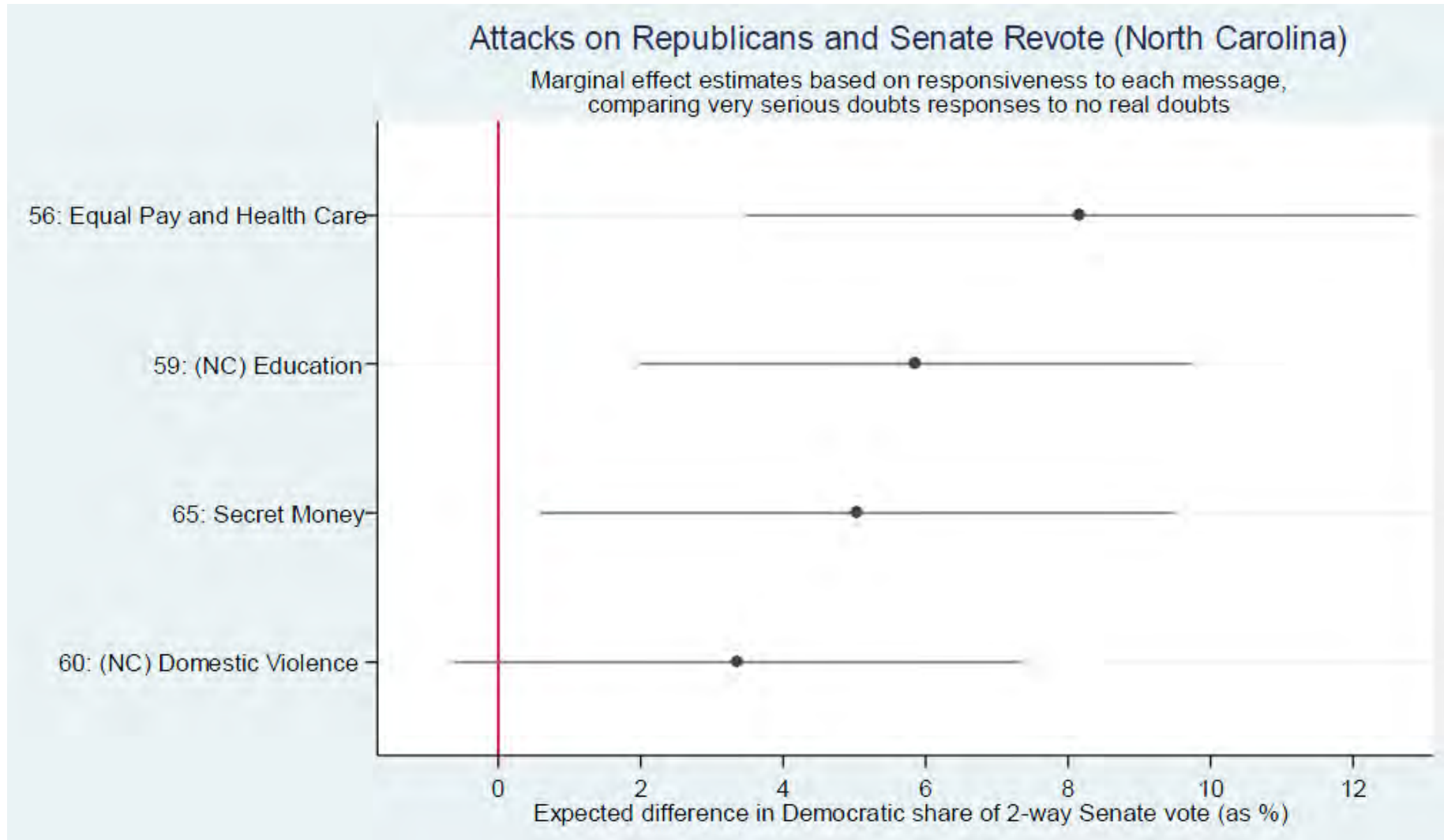
66

Thom Tillis voted against millions of dollars to help victims of sexual assault and voted against expanding restraining order protections to help prevent domestic violence.

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# North Carolina: attacks have real power against Tillis



# Wealthy special interests, equal pay attacks provoke strong doubts on Ernst

*Now I'm going to read you some things that Republicans like Joni Ernst 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 Joni Ernst when you are thinking of voting in November.*

More and more women are breadwinners for their families, but women make just 77 cents for every dollar men make. Joni Ernst is opposed to requiring equal pay for women who do the same job as a man. And she would allow insurance companies to charge women higher premiums than men and force women to pay for preventive care like mammograms.

■ Very serious doubts



Joni Ernst supports the Supreme Court's decision to allow wealthy special interests and big corporations spend unlimited amounts of secret money to buy elections, taking the power away from regular citizens and putting it in the hands of just a few billionaires. So, Joni Ernst made sure CEOs paid no higher taxes and that their loopholes are protected, while working men and women struggle.



Joni Ernst is a Tea Party extremist who won't represent Iowa's views. She has said she would support efforts to impeach the president, believes that states can ignore federal laws and has spoken at length about long debunked conspiracy theories.



Joni Ernst puts special interests over Iowa's interests. She signed a pledge to special interest groups to protect tax breaks for companies that ship jobs overseas.



# Georgia: Unlimited money to buy breaks for billionaires provokes strong doubts on Perdue

*Now I'm going to read you some things that Republicans like David Perdue 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 David Perdue when you are thinking of voting in November.*

David Perdue supports the Supreme Court's decision to allow wealthy special interests and big corporations spend unlimited amounts of secret money to buy elections, taking the power away from regular citizens and putting it in the hands of just a few billionaires. So, David Perdue made sure CEOs paid no higher taxes and that their loopholes are protected, while working men and women struggle.

■ Very serious doubts

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More and more women are breadwinners for their families, but women make just 77 cents for every dollar men make. David Perdue is opposed to requiring equal pay for women who do the same job as a man. And he would allow insurance companies to charge women higher premiums than men and force women to pay for preventive care like mammograms.

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David Perdue looks out for himself, not for others. In Texas and Georgia, David Perdue's company closed plants, outsourced production, and shipped jobs overseas to Mexico and China.

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David Perdue is an extremist who won't represent Georgia's views. Immediately after winning the Republican primary he said this election is about prosecuting the administration and the president, instead of being concerned about fighting for Georgians. Now he's running a blatantly false ad in hopes of scoring political points.

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# Colorado: right to choose top negative on Gardner

*Now I'm going to read you some things that Republicans like Cory Gardner 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 Cory Gardner when you are thinking of voting in November.*

Cory Gardner led a crusade to make birth control illegal, and sponsored a bill to make any abortion illegal, even in cases of rape or incest.

■ Very serious doubts

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Cory Gardner supports the Supreme Court's decision to allow wealthy special interests and big corporations spend unlimited amounts of secret money to buy elections, taking the power away from regular citizens and putting it in the hands of just a few billionaires. So, Cory Gardner made sure CEOs paid no higher taxes and that their loopholes are protected, while working men and women struggle.

37

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More and more women are breadwinners for their families, but women make just 77 cents for every dollar men make. Cory Gardner is opposed to requiring equal pay for women who do the same job as a man. And he would allow insurance companies to charge women higher premiums than men and force women to pay for preventive care like mammograms.

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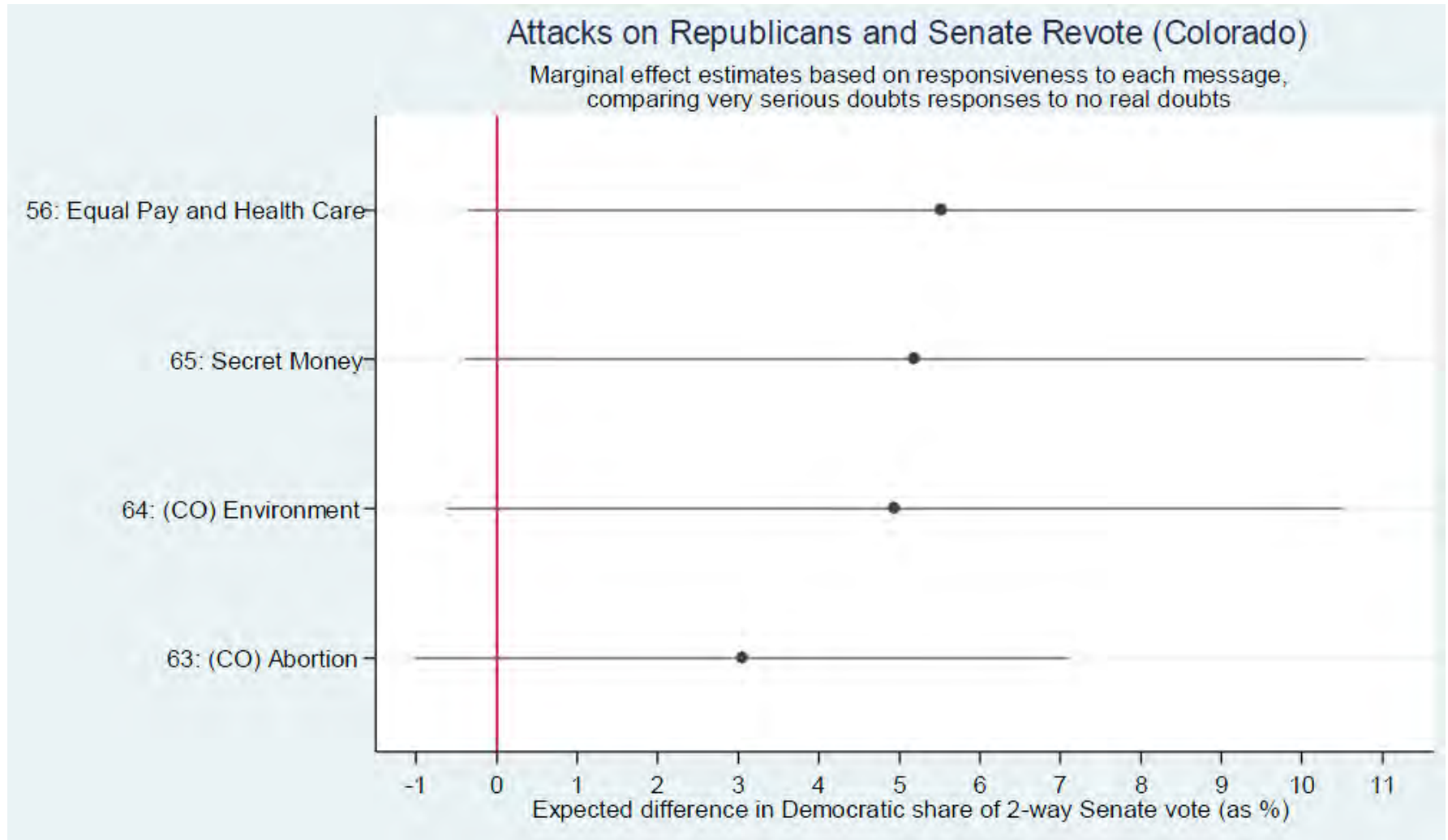
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Cory Gardner puts his extreme political views ahead of those of Colorado. He wants no limits on pollution, so polluters and his big oil backers can dump and make a profit, while taxpayers, our kids, and our environment pay the price.

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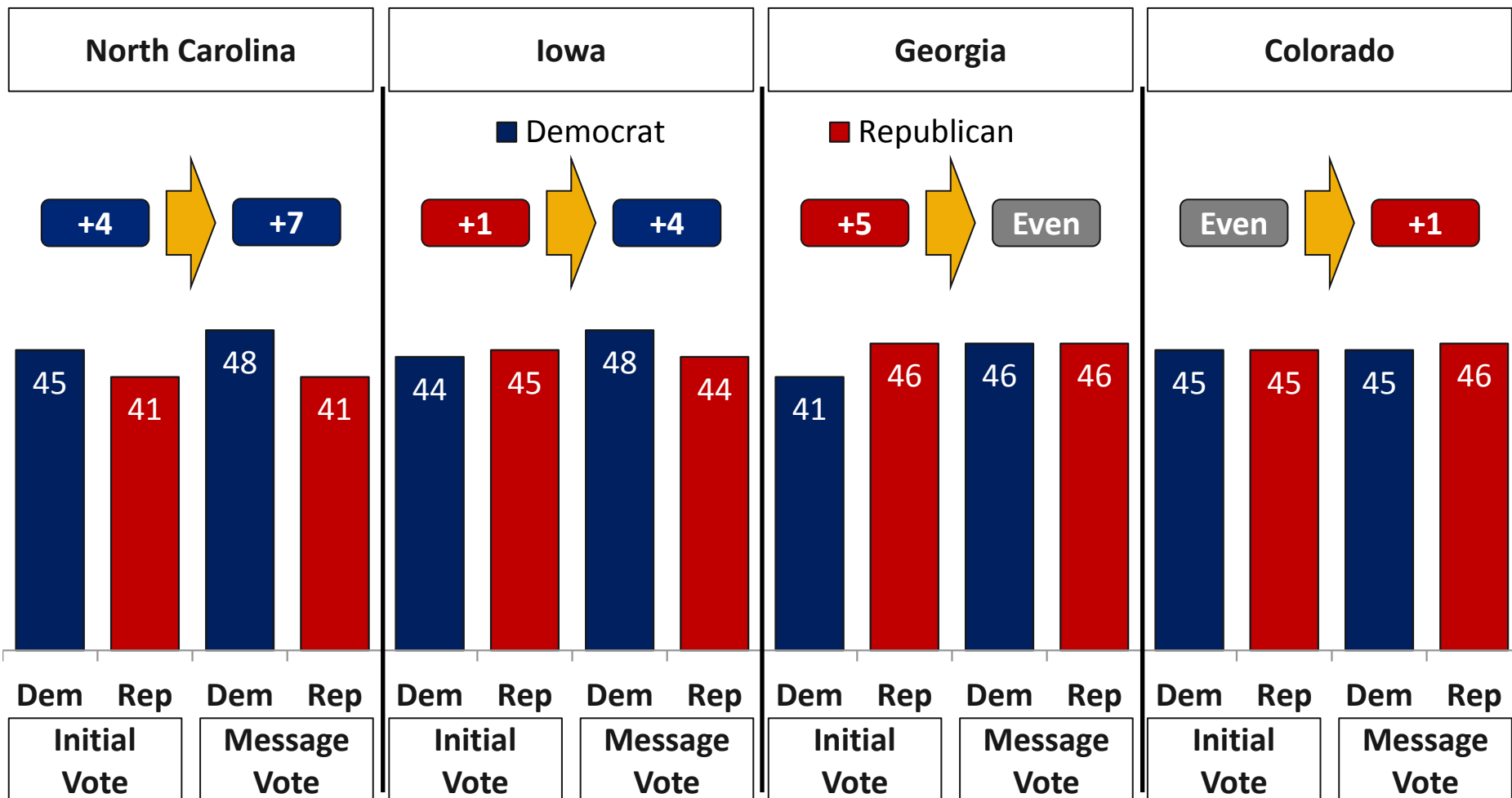
59

# But equal pay has biggest potential impact on the vote



This narrative, agenda and attack battle makes North Carolina safe, tips Iowa, evens up Georgia and leaves Colorado tied

*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 further gains with RAE and unmarried women in battleground

*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)?*

