

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

# Impacting the White Electorate in Louisiana

October 16, 2014



DEMOCRACY CORPS  
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

# Methodology

**This presentation is based on a survey of 1,000 likely 2014 voters statewide in Louisiana, conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research for Democracy Corps.**

**Of those interviewed 456 were considered “persuadable voters”, those who were not absolutely certain which candidate they would vote for in the Senate election between Mary Landrieu and Bill Cassidy.**

**This survey was conducted from October 11 - 14, 2014 using the voter file to determine which voters are most likely to vote in the November election. Some questions were asked only of the persuadable voters. For questions asked of all respondents, the margin of error = +/- 3.1% at 95% confidence. For questions asked just of persuadable voters, the margin of error = +/- 4.6% at 95% confidence.**

# **Key Findings**

# Key Findings

- **White electorate overwhelmingly Republican-leaning.** White likely voters in the state tilt toward the Republicans by 36 points on partisan self-identification and prefer a generic Democrat to a generic Republican by a 23 to 68 percent margin. Not surprisingly, President Obama is quite unpopular with these voters.
- **Landrieu's personal standing is aligned with partisanship but she overperforms a generic Democrat. Cassidy's support is very soft.** Landrieu is currently at 27 percent of the white vote in a runoff matchup with Cassidy, 4 points higher than a generic Democrat. This would likely not be good enough to win were an election today. However it is not far off, and Cassidy's support is very soft, as almost half of his 69 percent of the vote are only weakly committed to him.
- **Cassidy strongly underperforming partisanship on favorability.** Cassidy has slightly positive ratings, at +10, but considering these voters prefer a generic Republican by 45 points, those are soft numbers for a Republican.
- **Landrieu's standing more related to vote than Cassidy's.** Regression analysis shows that Landrieu's favorability ratings are far more correlated with the vote than Cassidy's, suggesting that while negative communication against Cassidy can help Landrieu, boosting her own standing would have a greater impact.

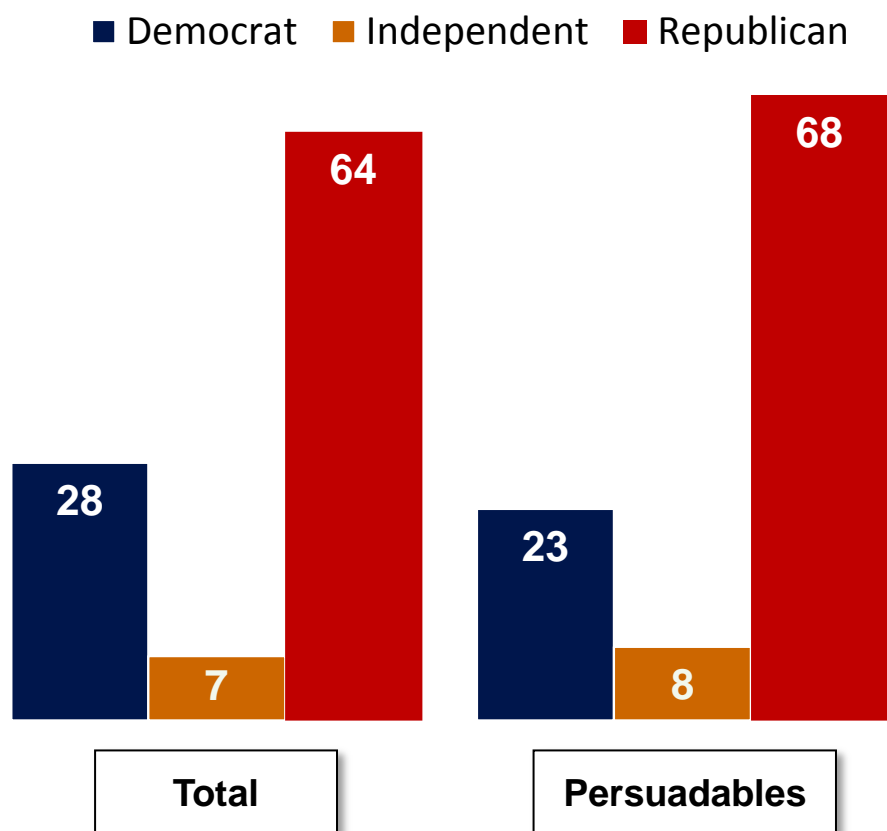
# Key Findings

- **In a balanced simulated campaign matching attacks on Landrieu with comparatives in her favor, Landrieu gains 5 points, and moves to 32 percent.** In a split sample experiment, we matched a series of critiques on Landrieu with either a similar set of attacks on Cassidy or a set of comparative messages on Landrieu's behalf. Though Landrieu gained in both exercises, her gains in the comparative exercise were extremely strong. She gained 10 points on her vote (and cut Cassidy's margin by 23 points) among persuadable voters. This translates into a 5-point gain overall, bringing her final vote to 32 percent, which would be enough to win, even if she did not pick up any of the remaining 6 percent who are undecided.
- **Strongest comparative is on women's issues.** The strongest comparative between Landrieu and Cassidy centers on women's issues – Landrieu's support for equal pay, ending insurance discrimination and making college affordable versus Cassidy's votes against equal pay, the Violence Against Women Act and preventative health care for women.
- **Strongest straight critiques of Cassidy are on veterans and secret money.** Though the comparative messages moved the vote further in Landrieu's direction than the straight attacks on Cassidy, these were not without power either. The strongest of these hit Cassidy for voting to cut veterans' health care and a pay increase for the troops while pocketing pay raises for himself, as well as his support for the Supreme Court's decision to allow corporate special interests to buy the election in return for politicians like Cassidy protecting their tax breaks.

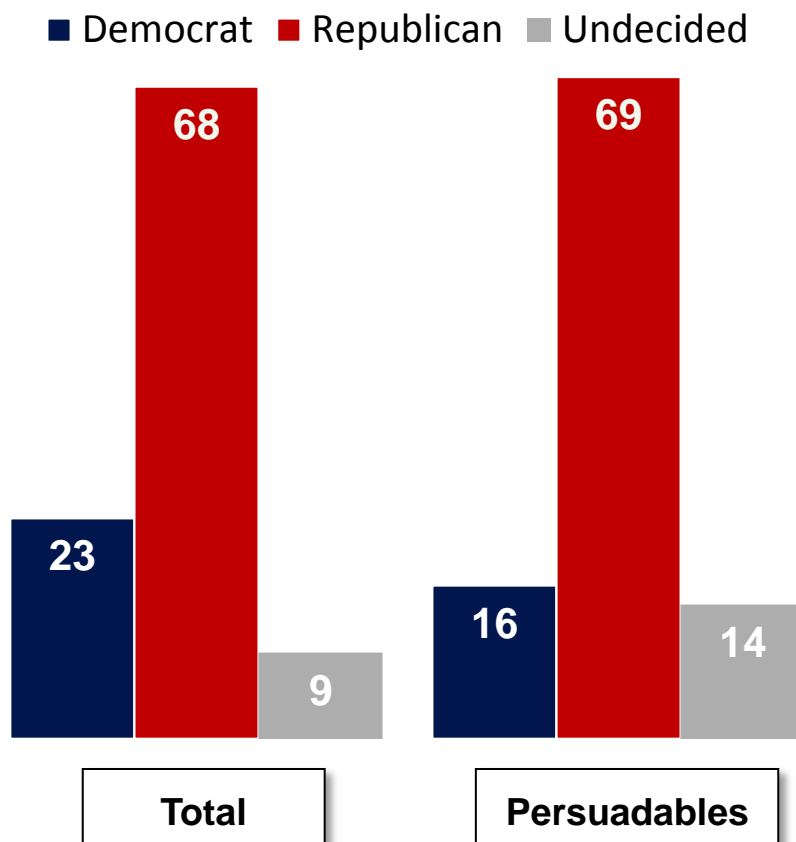
# **Political Environment**

# About a quarter of white voters in Louisiana are Democrats

Party Identification

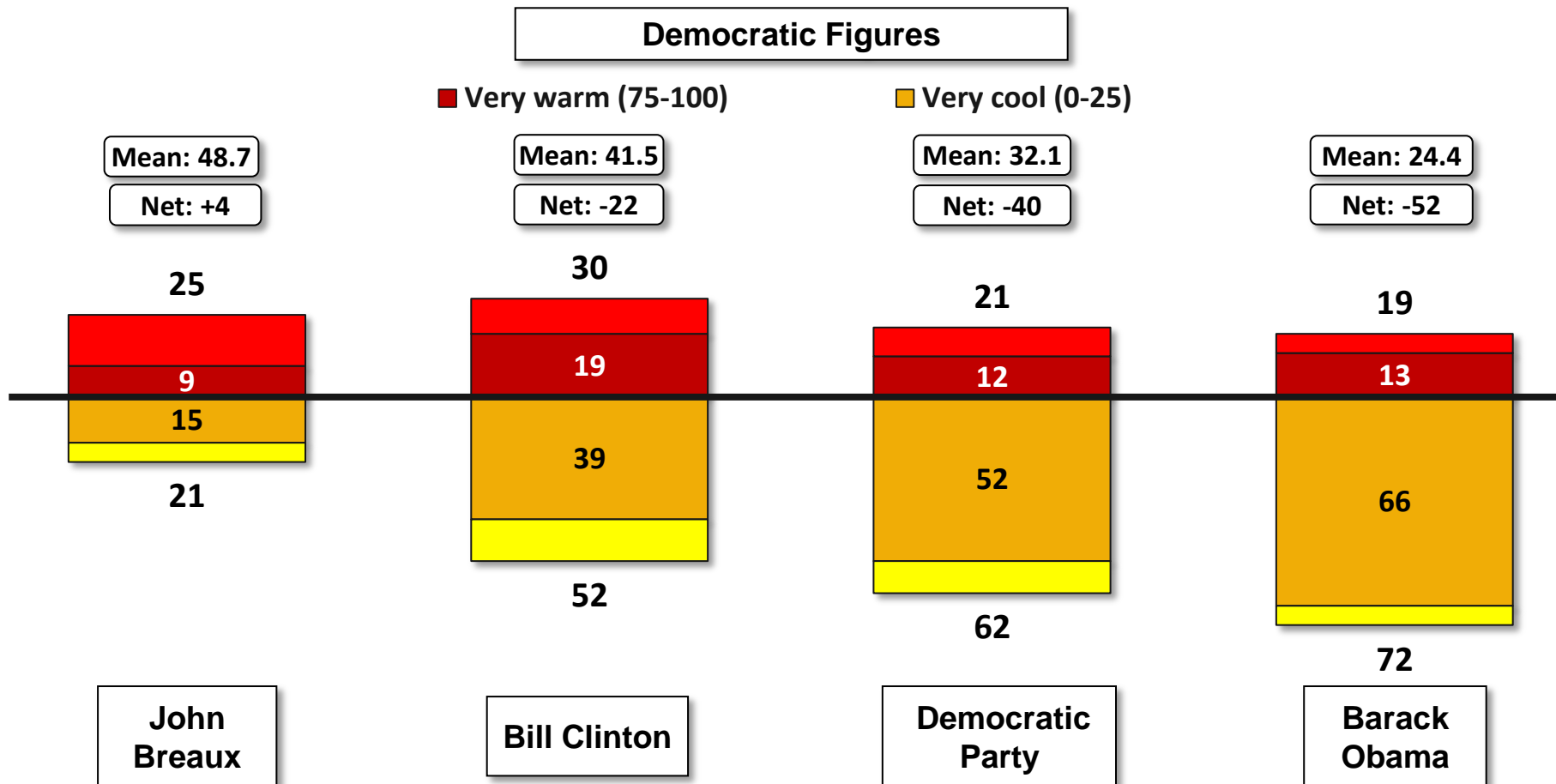


Generic Vote



# Breaux only Democrat with net positive rating but Bill Clinton only one above 30 percent

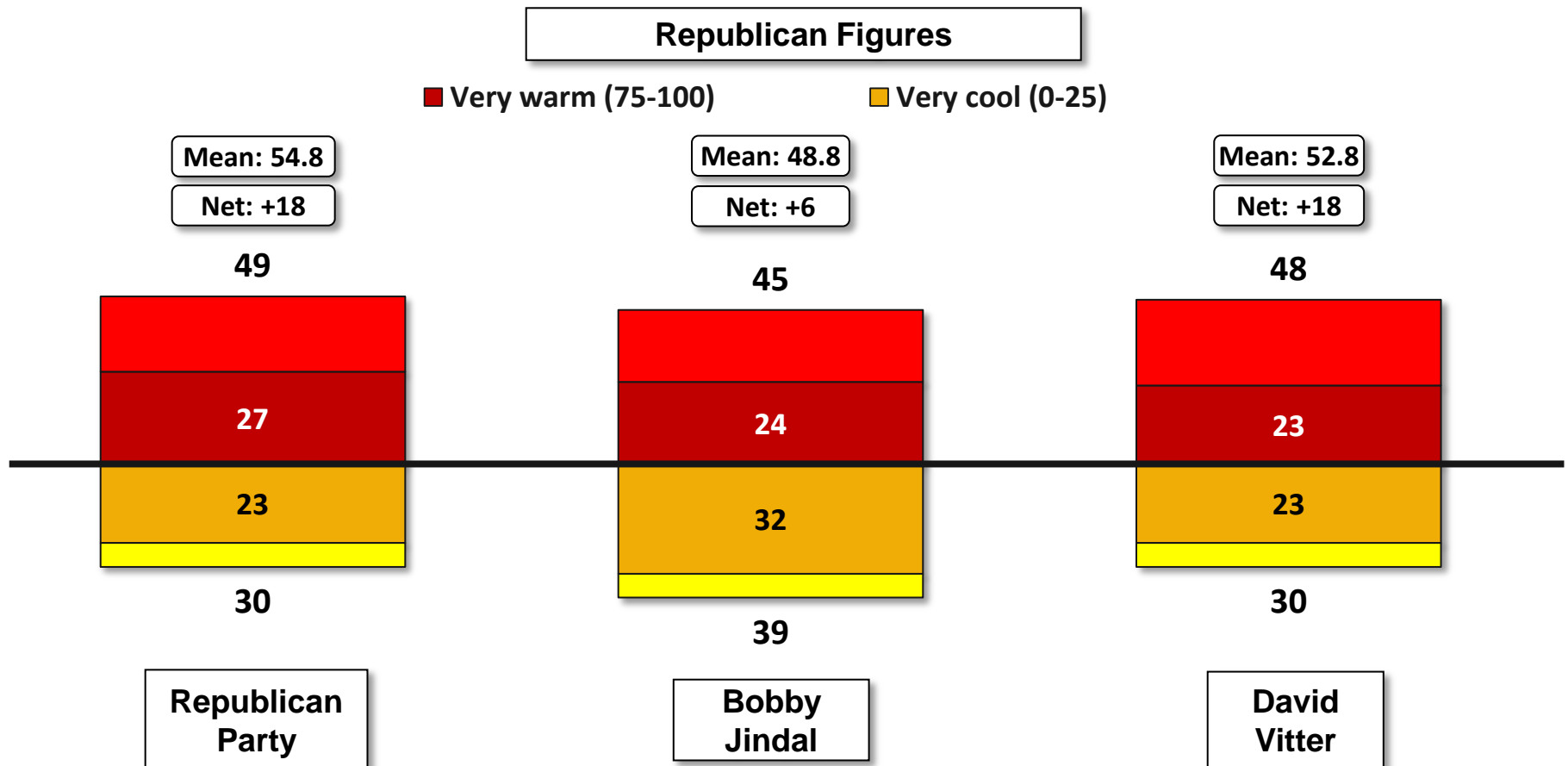
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.





# Jindal not particularly popular with this overwhelmingly Republican group

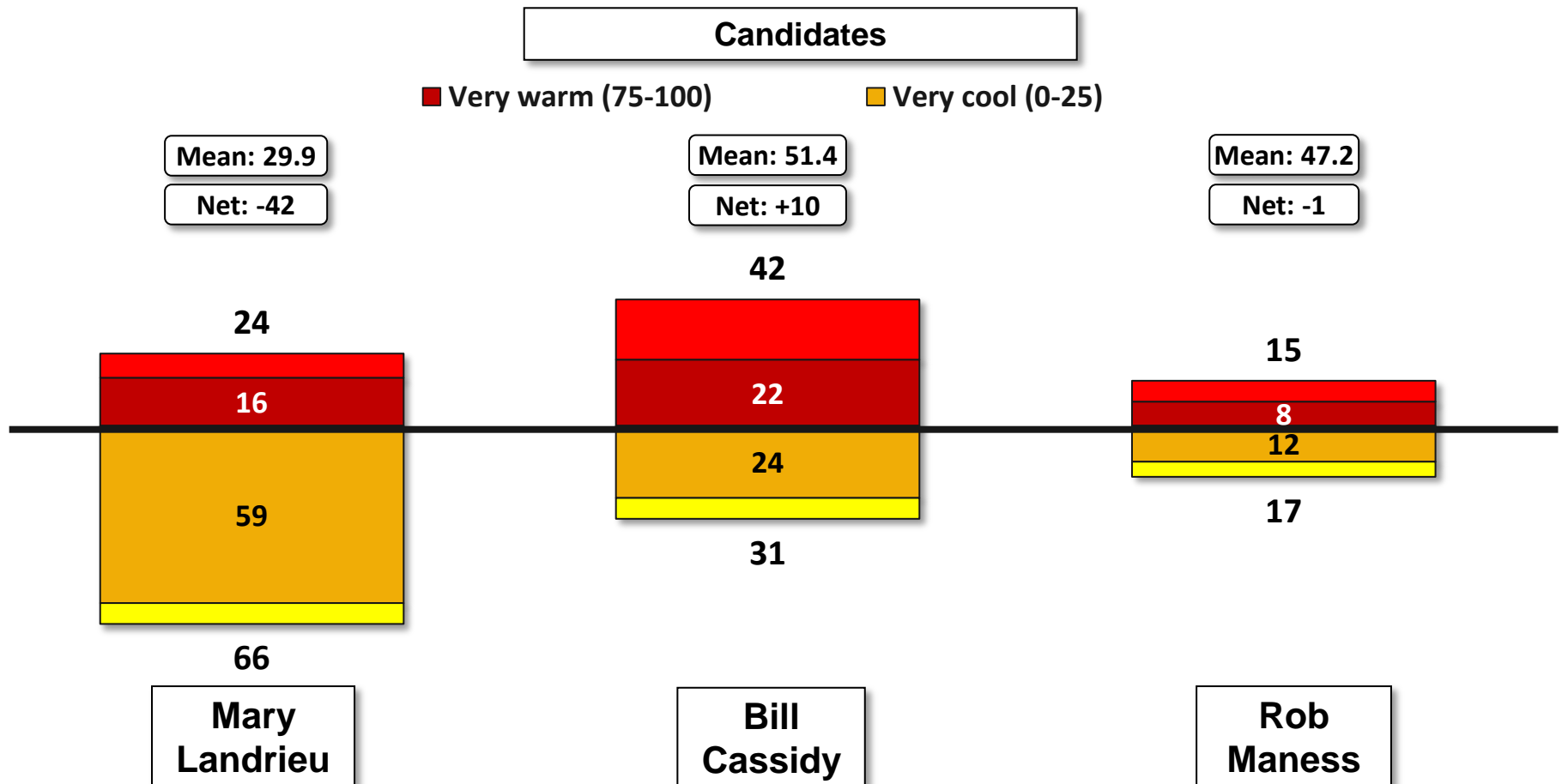
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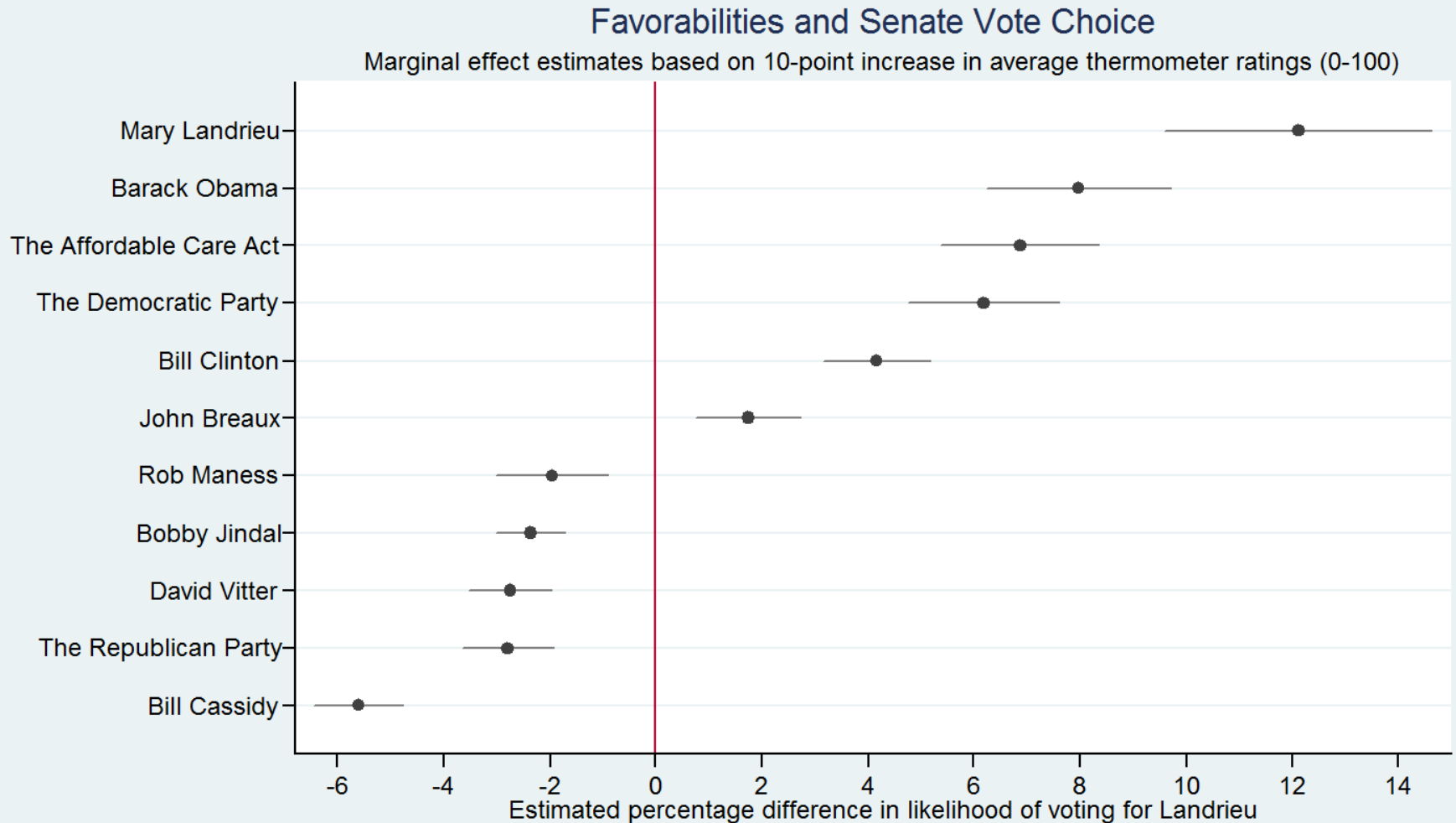
# **State of the Senate Race**

# Landrieu not popular with white voters, but Cassidy underperforms partisanship

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.



# Landrieu favorability much more strongly related to vote than Cassidy favorability

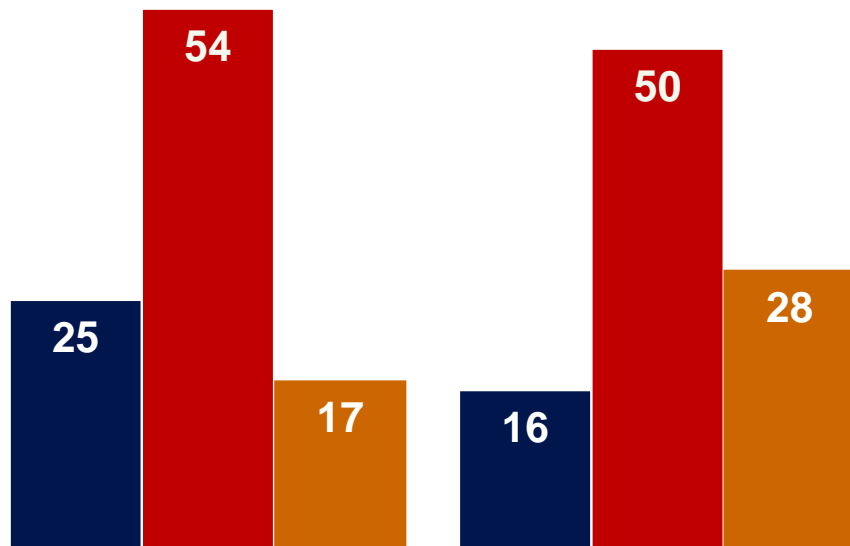


# Landrieu at 25 percent of 3-way vote, Maness at 17 percent

Thinking about the elections for U.S. Senate next month, if the election for U.S. Senate were being held today, for whom would you vote -- Democrat Mary Landrieu, Republican Bill Cassidy, or Republican Rob Maness?

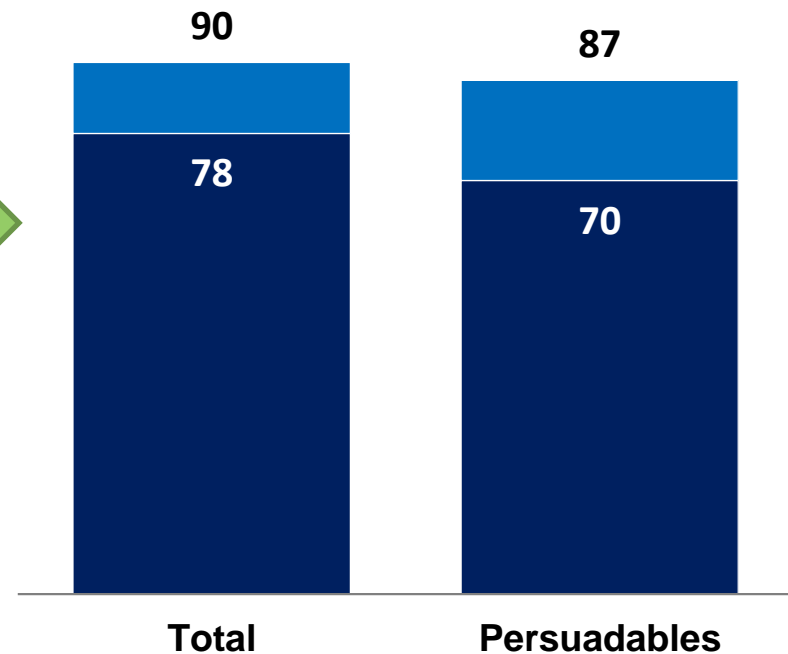
Now, let me ask you something different. If Rob Maness is not a candidate in the December runoff election, how likely would you be to vote in the runoff election for U.S. Senate - very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not likely at all?

■ Landrieu ■ Cassidy ■ Maness



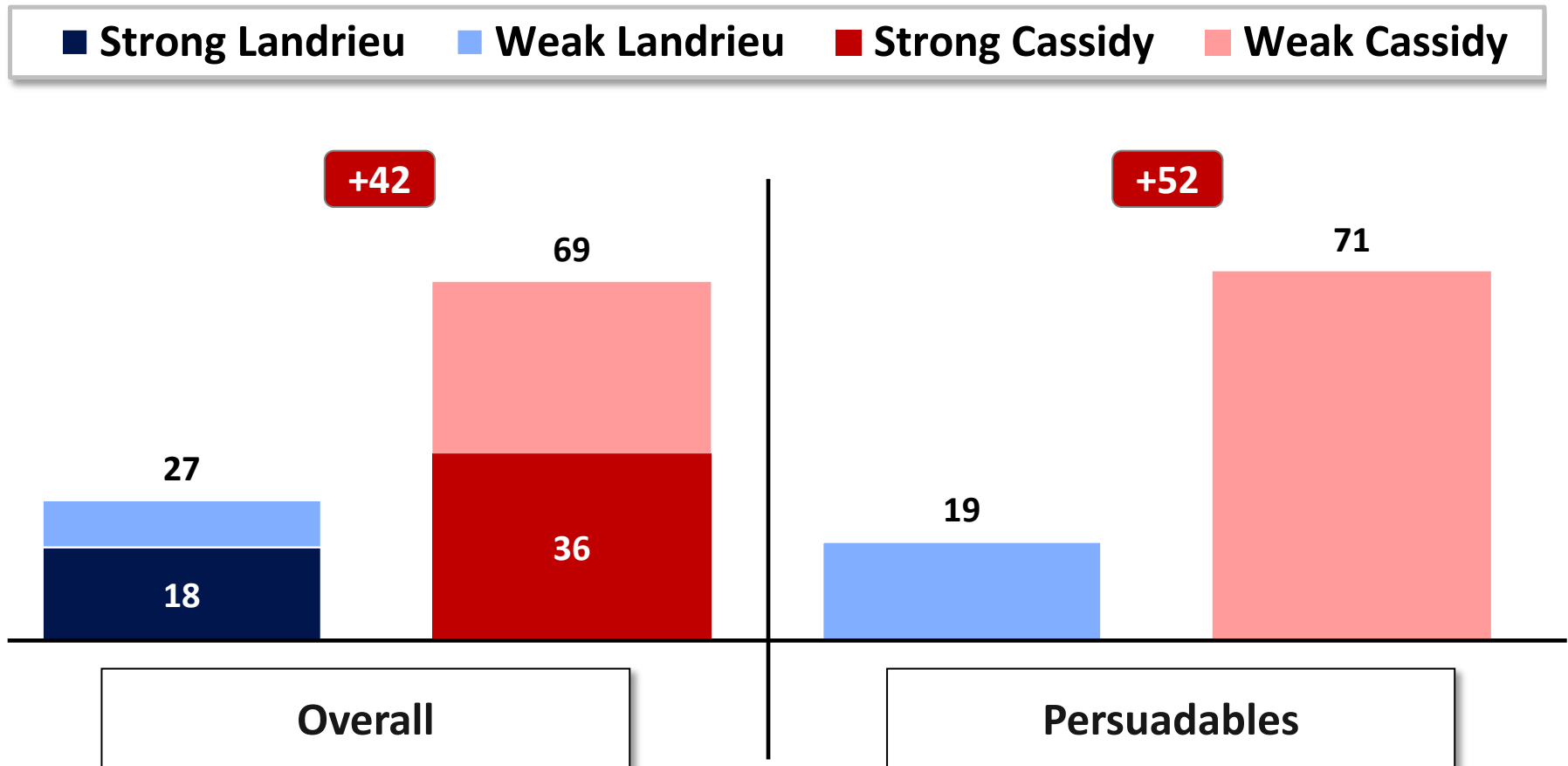
**Only Maness Voters**

■ Very Likely ■ Somewhat Likely



# Landrieu at 27 percent in runoff vote, but Cassidy's support very soft.

And still thinking about the election for U.S. Senate, if the December runoff election for U.S. Senate were being held today and the candidates were Democrat Mary Landrieu and Republican Bill Cassidy, for whom would you vote?



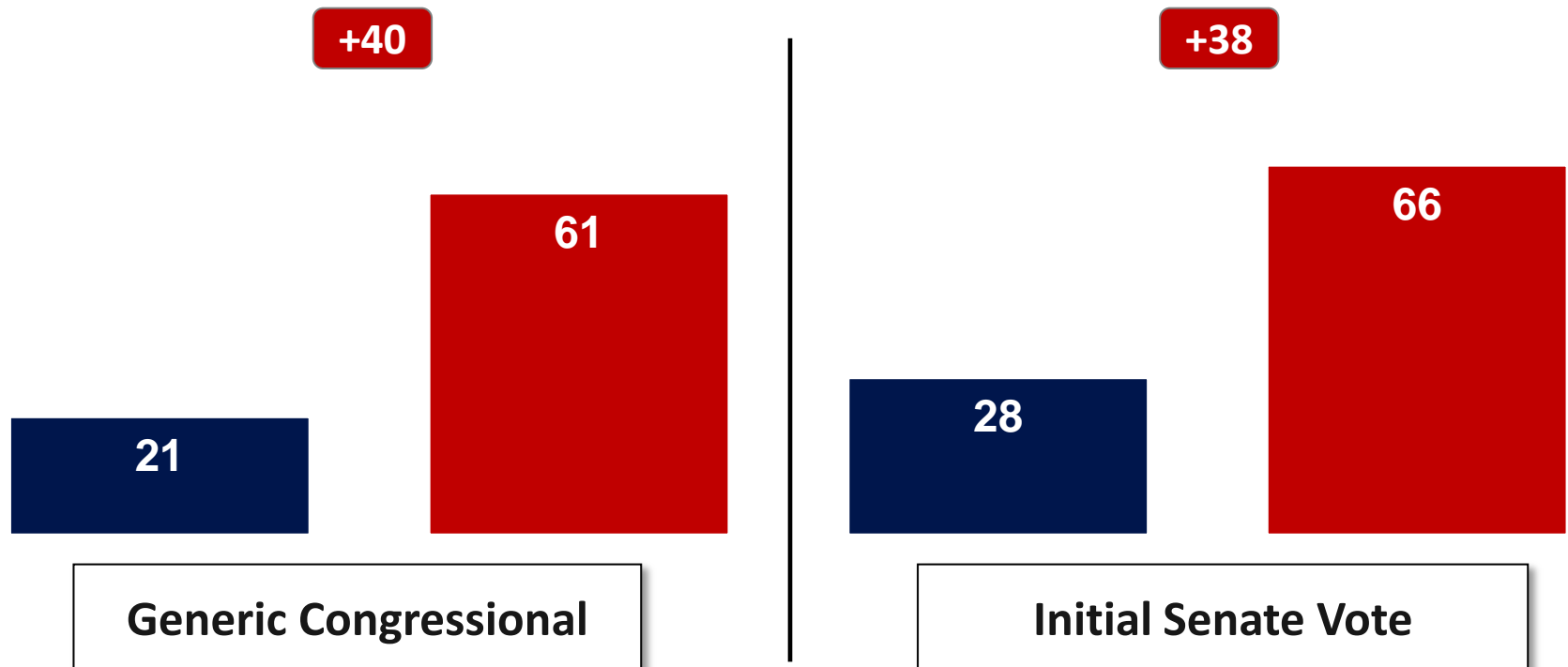
# Landrieu at just 28 percent with white independents, but overperforming generic Dem

Thinking about the elections for Congress next month, if the general election for U.S. Congress were being held today, for whom would you vote the Democratic or Republican candidate for U.S. Congress?

And still thinking about the election for U.S. Senate, if the December runoff election for U.S. Senate were being held today and the candidates were Democrat Mary Landrieu and Republican Bill Cassidy, for whom would you vote?

## Among Independent Voters

■ Vote for Democrat  
■ Vote for Republican



# **Simulated Debate**



# The experiment

**Split C (228 interviews): CASSIDY NEGATIVES**

**Initial December Vote**



**Attacks on Landrieu**



**Attacks on Cassidy**



**Final December Vote**

**Split D (228 interviews): LANDRIEU/CASSIDY  
COMPARATIVE**

**Initial December Vote**



**Attacks on Landrieu**



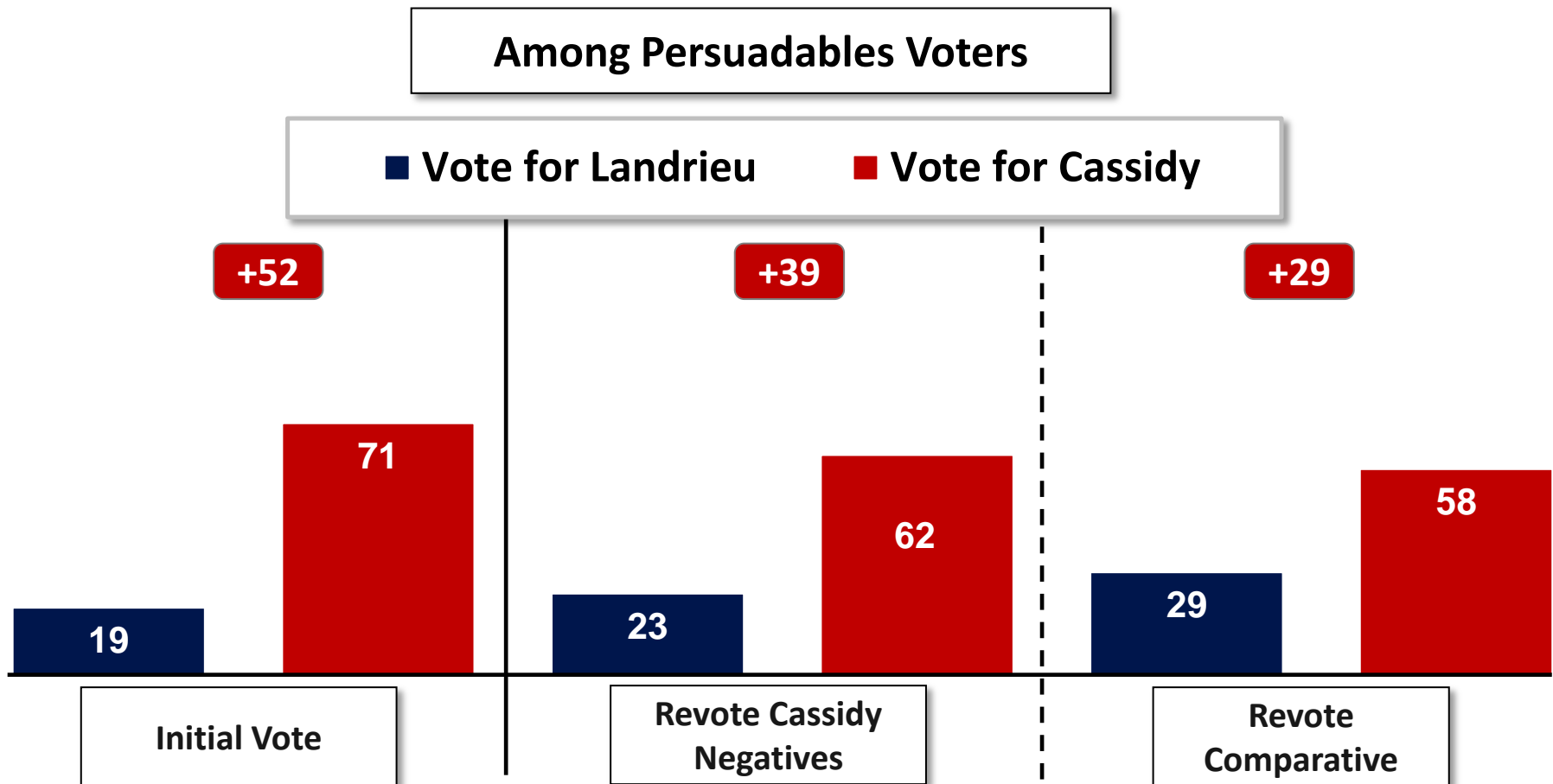
**Landrieu and Cassidy Comparatives**



**Final December Vote**

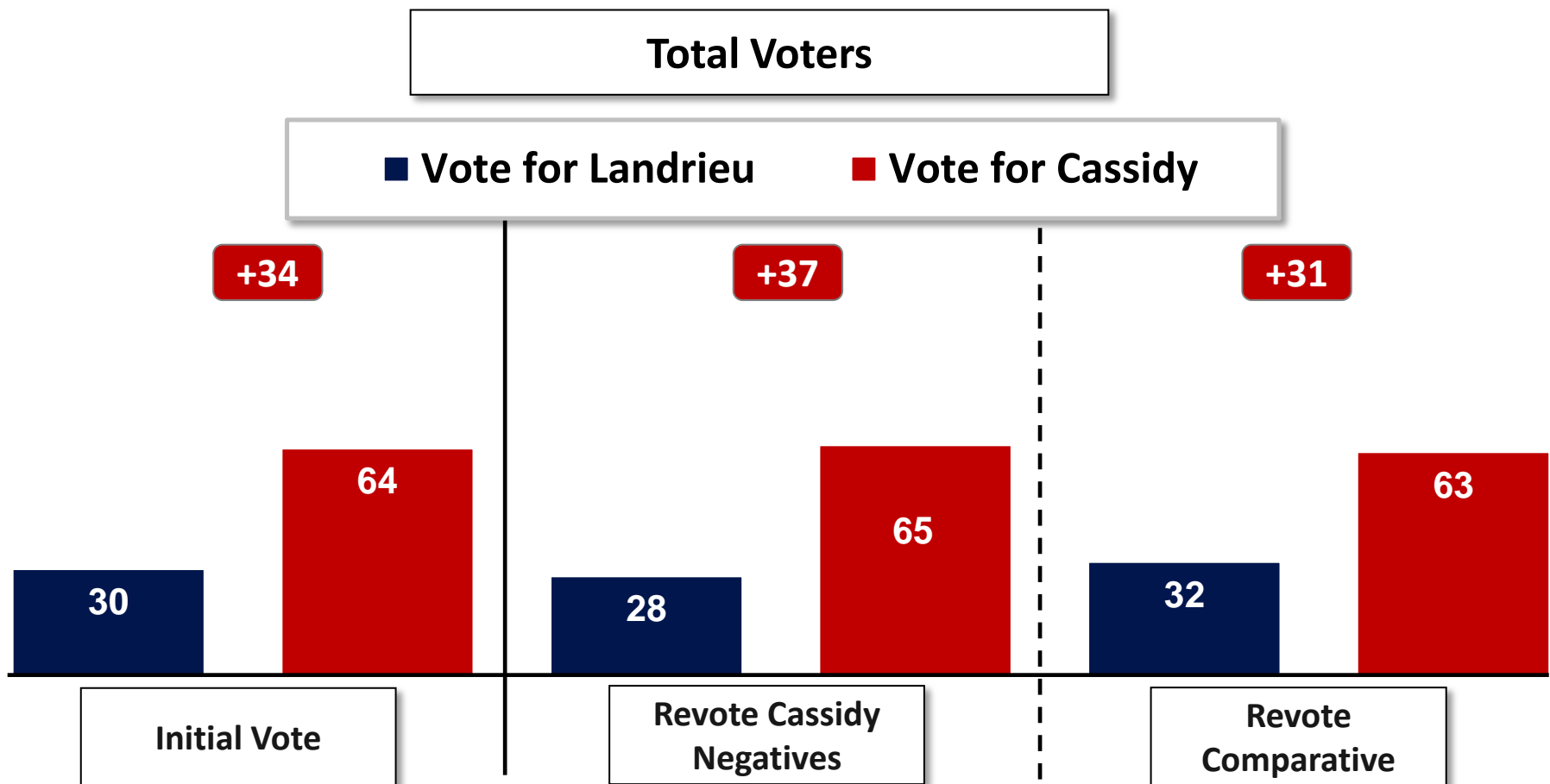
# Landrieu gains 10 points among persuadables in “comparative” experiment

*And still thinking about the election for U.S. Senate, if the December runoff election for U.S. Senate were being held today and the candidates were Democrat Mary Landrieu and Republican Bill Cassidy, for whom would you vote?*



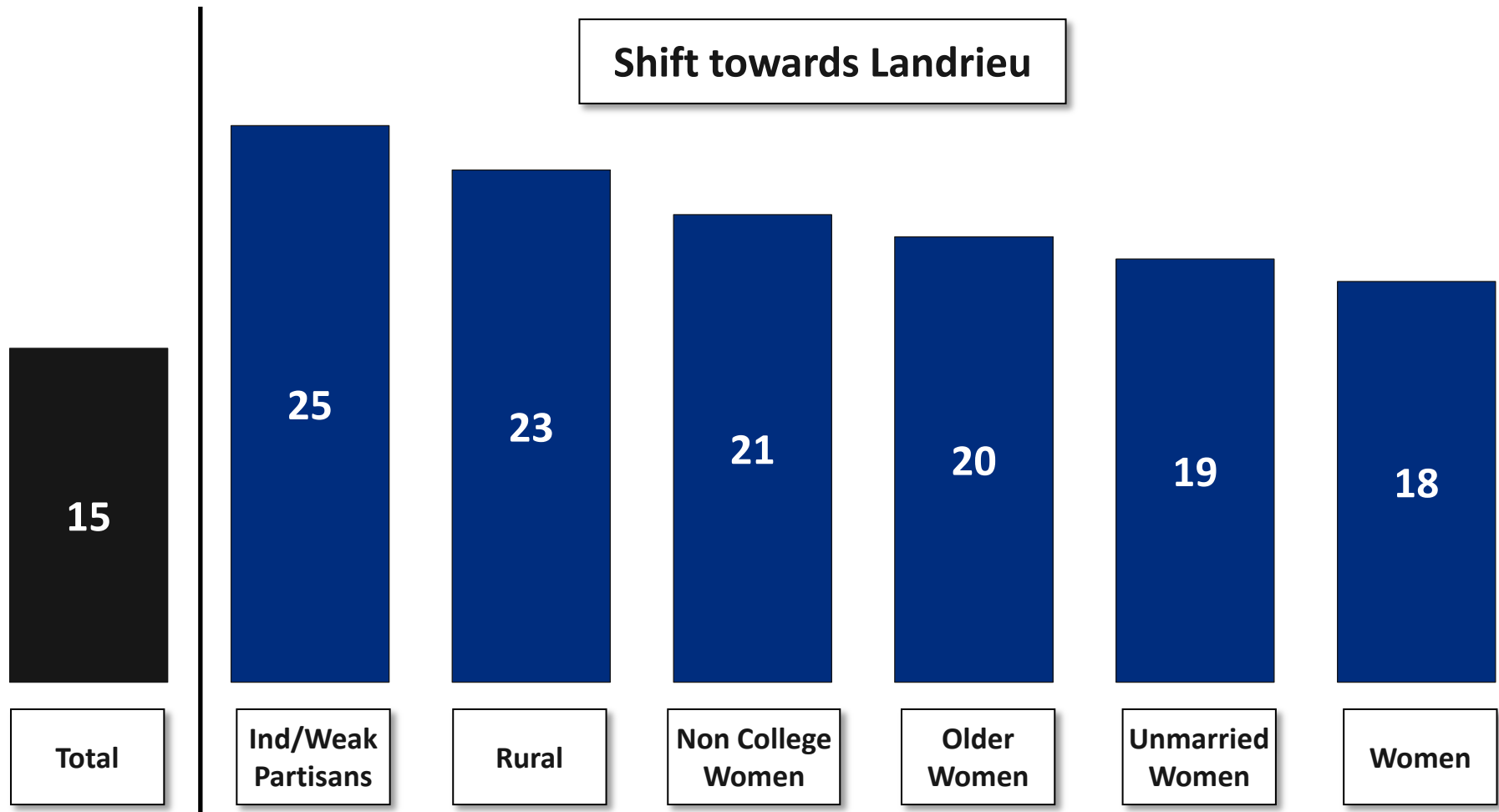
Gains put her at 32 percent overall in “comparative” split, enough to win.

*And still thinking about the election for U.S. Senate, if the December runoff election for U.S. Senate were being held today and the candidates were Democrat Mary Landrieu and Republican Bill Cassidy, for whom would you vote?*



# Older, non-college women and rural voters shift toward Landrieu the strongest

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?



# Messages

# Comparative on women's issues stands out as top comparative

Now, let me read you a series of statements. For each statement, please tell me whether this description makes you much more likely to vote for Mary Landrieu, somewhat more likely to vote for Mary Landrieu, just a little more likely to vote for Mary Landrieu, or no more likely to vote for Mary Landrieu?



Much More Likely

Persuadables

Mary Landrieu stands up for Louisiana women, voting for equal pay for women and men and to prevent insurance companies from charging women more than men. She's also worked to make college affordable and lower student debt. But Bill Cassidy voted to block women from being paid the same as men for equal work and he voted against a bipartisan plan to protect women against domestic violence. And even though he is a doctor, Cassidy voted to cut off women's access to cancer screenings and maternity care.



In the wake of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, Landrieu brought over 50 billion recovery dollars to Louisiana, and she has voted to cut red tape for small businesses so they could get back to work after the storms. But while thousands of Louisianans struggled to rebuild their homes, businesses and communities after the storms, Bill Cassidy voted against relief for hurricane victims and opposed funding for coastal restoration.



Mary Landrieu voted to hold the Wall Street banks accountable for their practices that caused our economy to crash, and she voted to end tax breaks for corporations that send American jobs overseas to places like China and India. But Bill Cassidy supported protecting tax breaks for corporations that ship American jobs overseas. Cassidy also voted to give tax breaks to people making over a million dollars a year, while at the same time raising taxes by 14 hundred dollars on middle class families



# Second tier of comparatives

*Now, let me read you a series of statements. For each statement, please tell me whether this description makes you much more likely to vote for Mary Landrieu, somewhat more likely to vote for Mary Landrieu, just a little more likely to vote for Mary Landrieu, or no more likely to vote for Mary Landrieu?*



**Much More Likely**

**Persuadables**

Mary Landrieu is really independent and said no to President Obama when he was blocking an oil pipeline good for Louisiana. She said no to Obama's moratorium on deep-water oil drilling. And she said no to her party, supporting the Bush tax cuts and voting to require a balanced budget every year. But Bill Cassidy will put his political party first. He supports the entire Washington Republican agenda of ending Medicare and raising costs for seniors, raising the Social Security retirement age from 68 to 70, cutting funding for education, and even keeping tax breaks for big corporations that ship American jobs overseas.

**13**

**30**

Mary Landrieu has voted to protect Medicare and Social Security. She also voted to protect the pay of troops serving overseas and to expand job and education opportunities for our veterans. But even though he is a doctor, Bill Cassidy voted to end the Medicare guarantee and raise the Social Security retirement age. Cassidy even voted against a small pay increase for troops and opposed expanding veterans' access to the LSU VA hospital, while he pocketed more than one million dollars from teaching at LSU and working at the hospital.

**13**

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Mary Landrieu gets things done for people in Louisiana. She brought billions in Katrina recovery dollars, oil royalties and coastal protection funds for Louisiana, and she secured a 10 billion dollar investment in the Semptra Liquid Natural Gas Terminal. As head of the Senate Energy Committee, she's in the strongest position to help Louisiana's oil and energy industry. Bill Cassidy would be the most junior Senator in the entire Senate. We can't afford to replace Mary Landrieu and all she does for Louisiana with someone who won't be able to deliver for us.

**13**

**28**

# Vets and Secret Money are strongest attacks on Cassidy

*Now, let me read you a series of statements that could be used to describe Bill Cassidy. For each statement, please tell me whether this description raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts or no real doubts in your own mind about Bill Cassidy.*



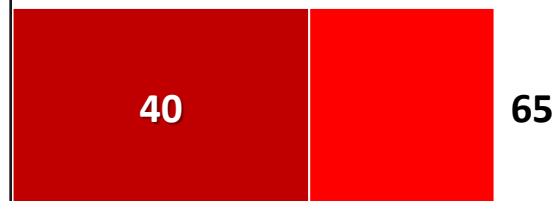
Very Serious Doubts

Persuadables

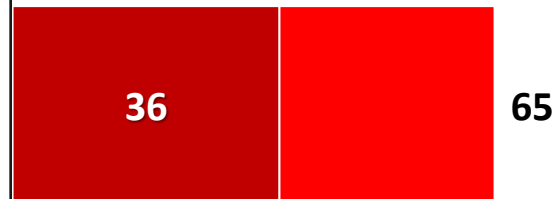
Cassidy is a doctor, but he voted for a plan that would cut veterans benefits, including health care and disability compensation. And Cassidy opposed expanding veterans' access to the LSU VA hospital, while he pocketed more than one million dollars from teaching at LSU and working at the hospital. He even voted against a small pay increase for troops serving in Afghanistan, but voted to protect his own pay.



Cassidy 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. Cassidy made sure CEOs paid no higher taxes and that their loopholes are protected, while working men and women struggle.



Cassidy is a doctor, yet he voted to end the Medicare guarantee, which would force seniors to negotiate with insurance companies and cost them thousands more out of pocket every year. He also voted to cut Social Security benefits and to raise the retirement age to 70, even though the average lifespan for poorer Louisianans is only 67.\*\*





# Second tier of attacks on Cassidy

*Now, let me read you a series of statements that could be used to describe Bill Cassidy. For each statement, please tell me whether this description raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts or no real doubts in your own mind about Bill Cassidy.*



Very Serious Doubts

Persuadables

Cassidy voted for a plan that could hurt Louisiana schools by slashing funding for the equivalent of 70 thousand public schoolchildren, firing 600 teachers from across our state, and ending grants for 9,000 college students. While Cassidy's vote made it harder for Louisianans to attend college, he pocketed over a million dollars from LSU, which is publicly funded.

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Even though he is a doctor, Cassidy voted to cut access to women's health services, forcing thousands of women in Louisiana to lose access to cancer screenings and pre-natal care, and he supports a proposal that allows insurance companies to charge women more than men. He also voted against a bipartisan plan to protect victims of domestic violence, and opposed efforts to ensure that women receive equal pay as men for equal work.

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Cassidy has voted down the line with the House Republican leaders in Washington for things that really hurt people in Louisiana. He supported ending Medicare, raising costs for seniors and raising the Social Security retirement age, and keeping tax breaks for big corporations that ship American jobs overseas.\*\*

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**\*\*One of the strongest drivers of the revote in regression modelling**

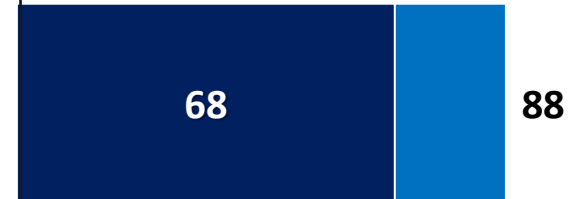
# Obamacare strongest critique of Landrieu

*Now, let me read you a few statements that could be used to describe Mary Landrieu (LAN-drew). After I read it, please tell me whether this description raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts or no real doubts in your own mind about Mary Landrieu.*

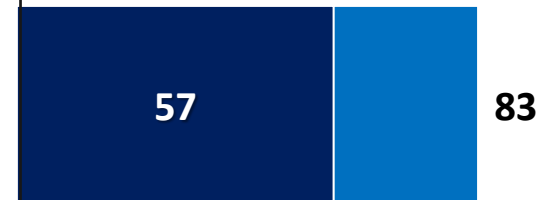
■ Very Serious Doubts

Persuadables

Landrieu cast the deciding vote for Obamacare, which is causing health insurance rates and taxes to skyrocket, cuts hundreds of millions from Medicare, and is costing us jobs. But Landrieu voted to give herself and other politicians a special exemption from Obamacare so they don't have to use it themselves, while it costs middle class families thousands.



Landrieu has voted with Barack Obama 97 percent of the time, supporting almost every one of his big government, tax-and-spend policies. She voted to add 7 trillion dollars to the national debt, supported Barack Obama's failed stimulus plan, massive government budgets, and a 400 billion dollar spending bill, while raising taxes on middle class families to pay for it all.



Landrieu has done nothing to fix the failed government-run VA health care system, leaving 8 million veterans facing delayed care and, in some cases, death. Now, she wants to force Obamacare on the rest of the country, causing health insurance rates and taxes to skyrocket, cutting hundreds of millions from Medicare, and forcing thousands of Louisianans off their plans or leaving them without coverage.



# Second tier of Landrieu Critiques

*Now, let me read you a few statements that could be used to describe Mary Landrieu (LAN-drew). After I read it, please tell me whether this description raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts or no real doubts in your own mind about Mary Landrieu.*

Very Serious Doubts

Persuadables

Landrieu's immigration policies led to a crisis on our nation's border. Instead of enforcing our nation's laws, she voted against putting more troops on the border. Landrieu supports amnesty for millions of illegal immigrants and her plan will lead to illegal immigrants receiving spots at U.S. colleges and getting benefits that will cost taxpayers billions of dollars.

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Landrieu has been in political office for 30 years, where she has helped herself at the taxpayer expense. She has repeatedly used taxpayer dollars to charter private planes for campaign events and fundraisers, which is not only unethical but also against the law. She continues to collect hundreds of thousands of dollars in salary every year, along with pension benefits and a top-of-the-line health care plan for life.

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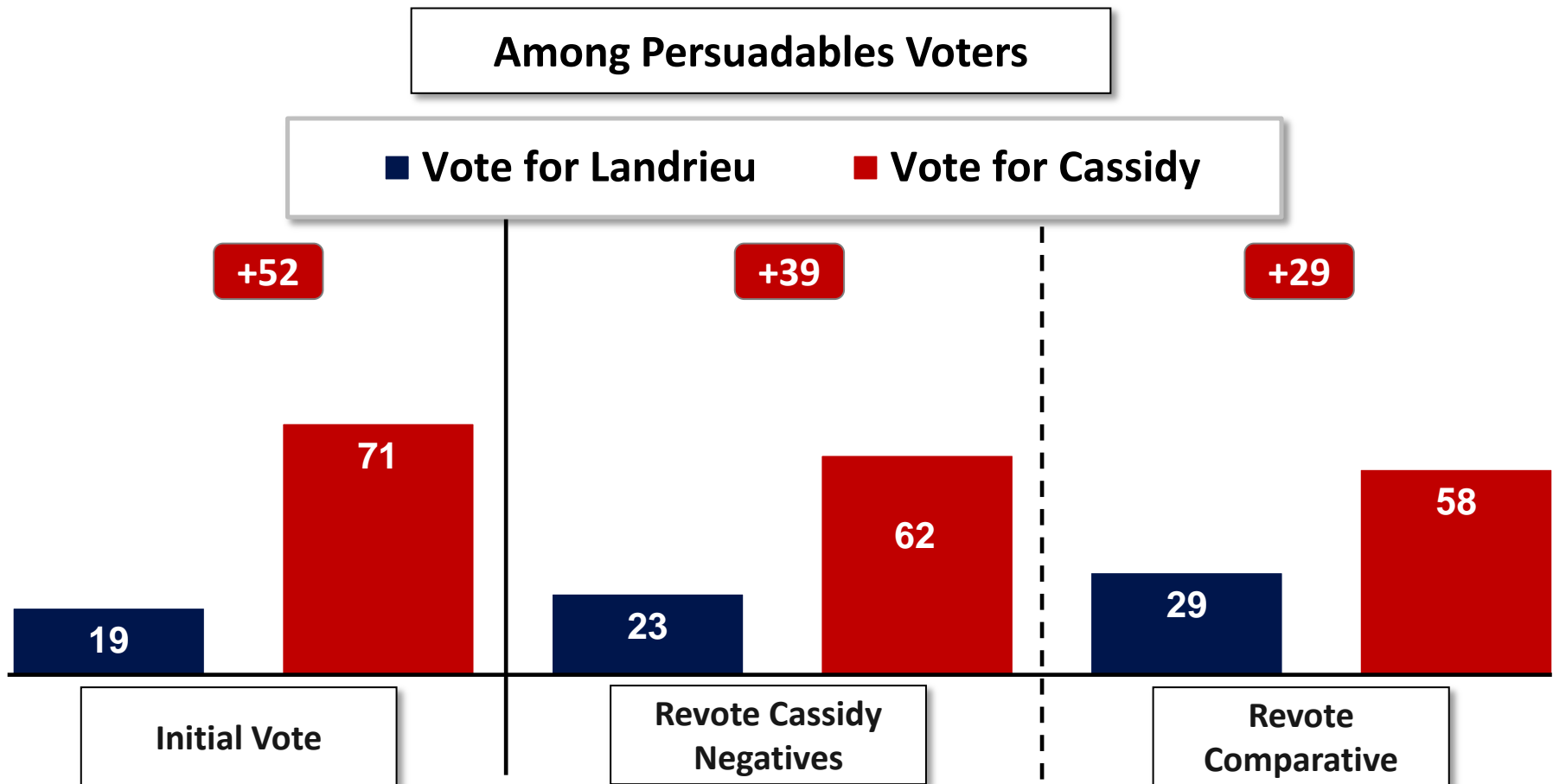
Landrieu has spent nearly two decades in Washington, D.C., where she owns a 2 million dollar home on Capitol Hill and sends her kids to an expensive private school. Landrieu doesn't even own a home in Louisiana anymore; she claims her parents' home as her residence.

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# After a “comparative” experiment Landrieu gains 10 points among persuadables

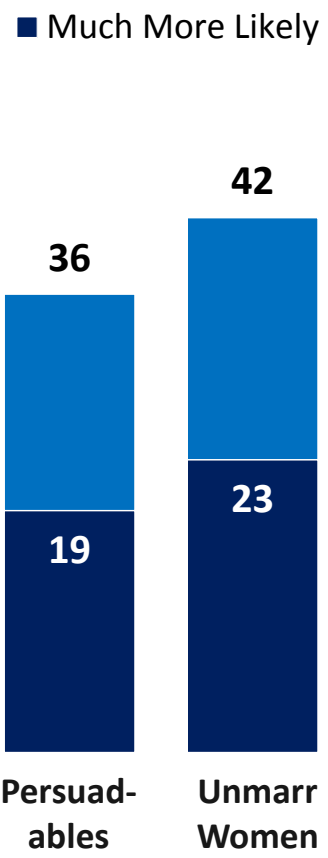
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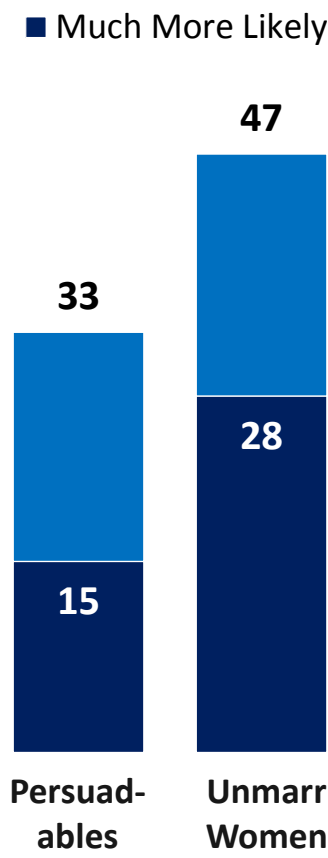
# Women's message and hurricane relief top comparatives overall and among key groups

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