

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

It's the Democrats' Turn

National Voter Survey of Likely 2016 Voters

January 16, 2015



DEMOCRACY CORPS

CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG



THE VOTER PARTICIPATION CENTER

Methodology

This research was a joint project of Democracy Corps, the Women's Voices Women Vote Action Fund, and the Voter Participation Center. The Voter Participation research related to nonpartisan questions regarding policy topics.

The survey polled 950 2016 voters from January 7-11, 2015. Respondents who voted in the 2012 election or registered since were selected from the national voter file. Likely voters were determined based on stated intention of voting in 2016.* Data shown in this deck is among all 2016 likely voters unless otherwise noted.

Margin of error for the full sample= +/-3.2 percentage points at 95% confidence. Margin of error will be higher among subgroups.

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.

*This is a change in methodology for Democracy Corps surveys, which were previously conducted using Random Digit Dialing.

Key Findings

- **Democrats are back:** Despite a dispiriting off-year and big consequential losses at the federal and state level, the presidential electorate is open to and enthusiastic about a Democratic agenda and Democratic candidates.
- **White working class voters will be key:** Whether 2016 can be turned into a big enough year to take back a lot of territory in the Congress and states and whether the presidential candidate can build a formidable wall depends on Democrats and Hillary Clinton doing better with white working class voters, both men and women.
- **The President and the Democratic party are up:** There has been a big change in the mood of the country—Obama's approval is up 4 points to 48 percent approve (with 48 percent saying they disapprove). Right direction is up nearly 10 points.
- **The presidential race begins robustly for Clinton:** Clinton begins with a 6 point lead over Romney and 12 points over Jeb Bush. That result is produced by a surprising level of party consolidation among Democrats and Republicans, though Clinton is winning independents right now in either contest.
- **An expanded Democratic coalition strongly backs Clinton:** The Rising American Electorate (RAE) and Democratic coalitions including college-educated women is bigger and fairly strong for Clinton. This could produce a big presidential vote.
- **Democrats still have room to grow with unmarried women and blue collar whites:** But the starting strategic challenge is whether the Democrats' messages, narrative and policy agenda can lift support with unmarried women and the broader RAE as well as the white working class in its great diversity.

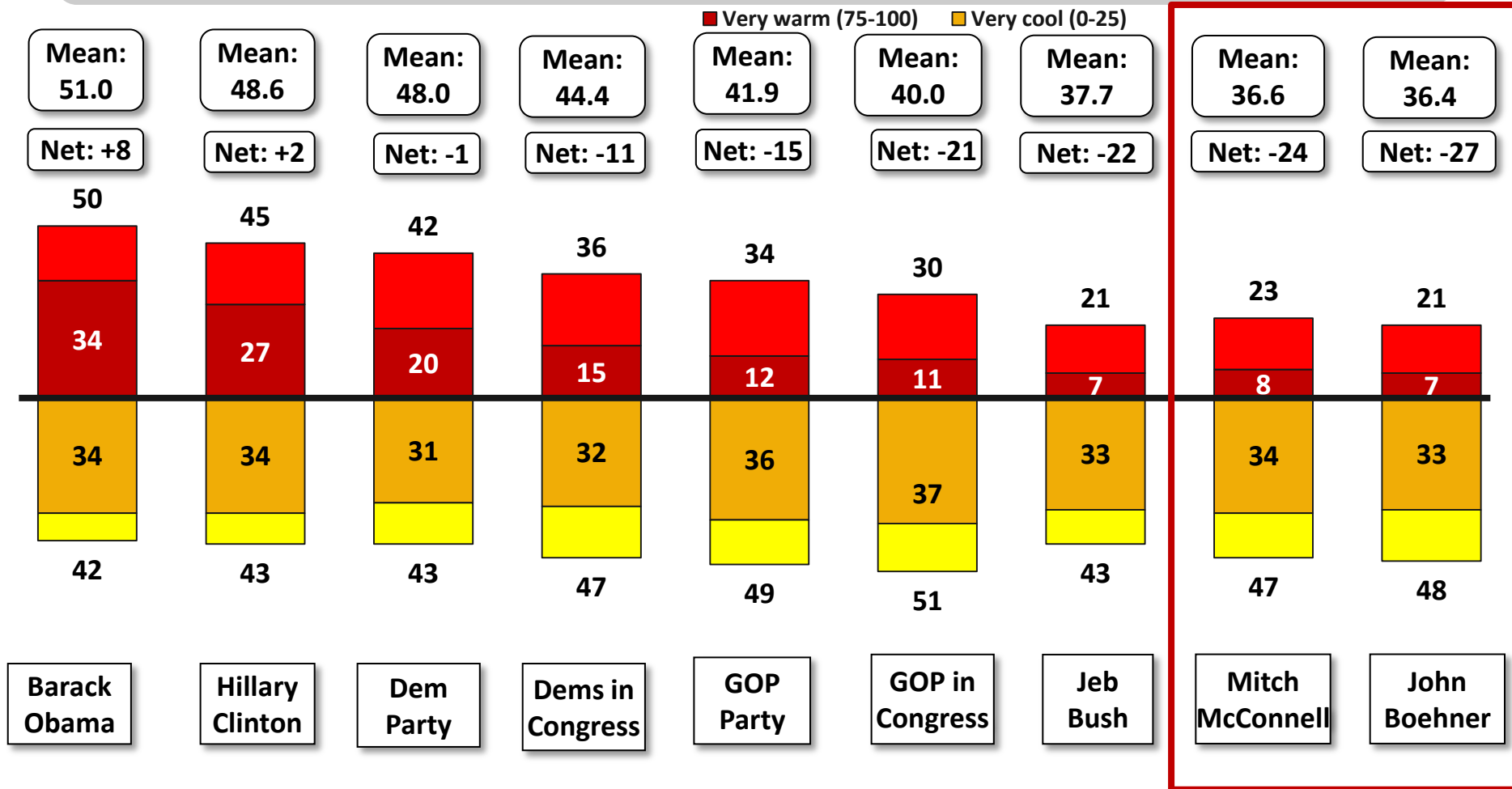
Key Findings (continued)

- **Key groups are dealing in a tougher economy and a different mood:** Both unmarried women and blue collar whites see the path to the middle class as increasingly precarious and feel that they are not doing as well as they should be—Jobs do not pay enough to live on, and while the middle class pays a lot in taxes they do not feel the country works for them.
- **Economic advocacy and reform are critical:** Policies that appeal to the RAE, unmarried women and blue collar whites are all embedded in a broader economic reform agenda that is stronger than any narrative Republicans are offering. These voters are struggling economically and react against an unresponsive and gridlocked government, reform is as essential as economic advocacy to these voters.
- **An economic agenda that put women at the center sells:** An economic message that focuses on women scores no differently than an economic message that does not mention gender. There is no price for bringing in the pay equity as policy with men or working class men.

The Shifting Mood

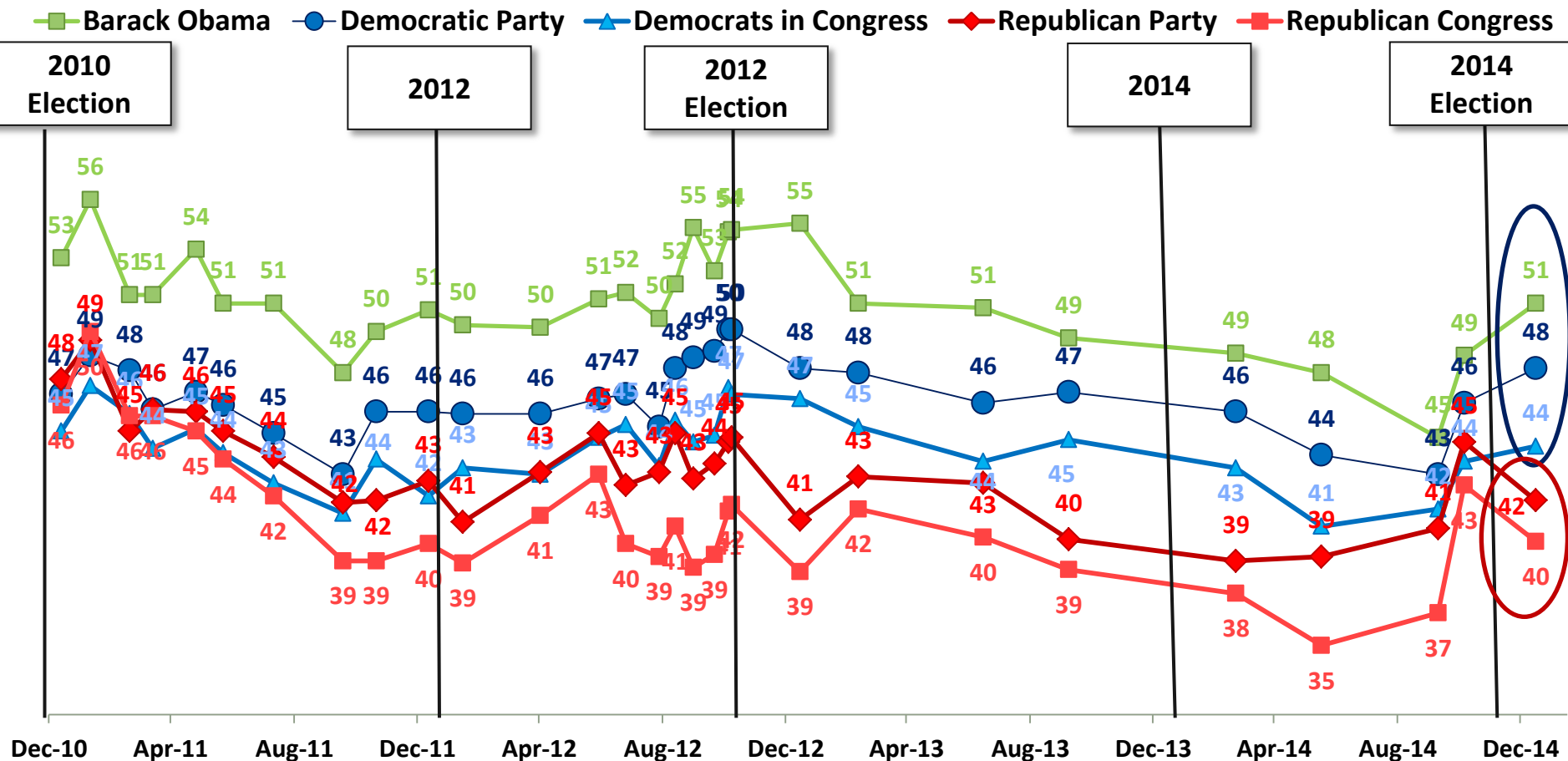
New GOP congressional leaders toxic already

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. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that person or organization. If you have no opinion or never heard of that person or organization, please say so.



Favorable ratings for Democrats improve as GOP ratings decline

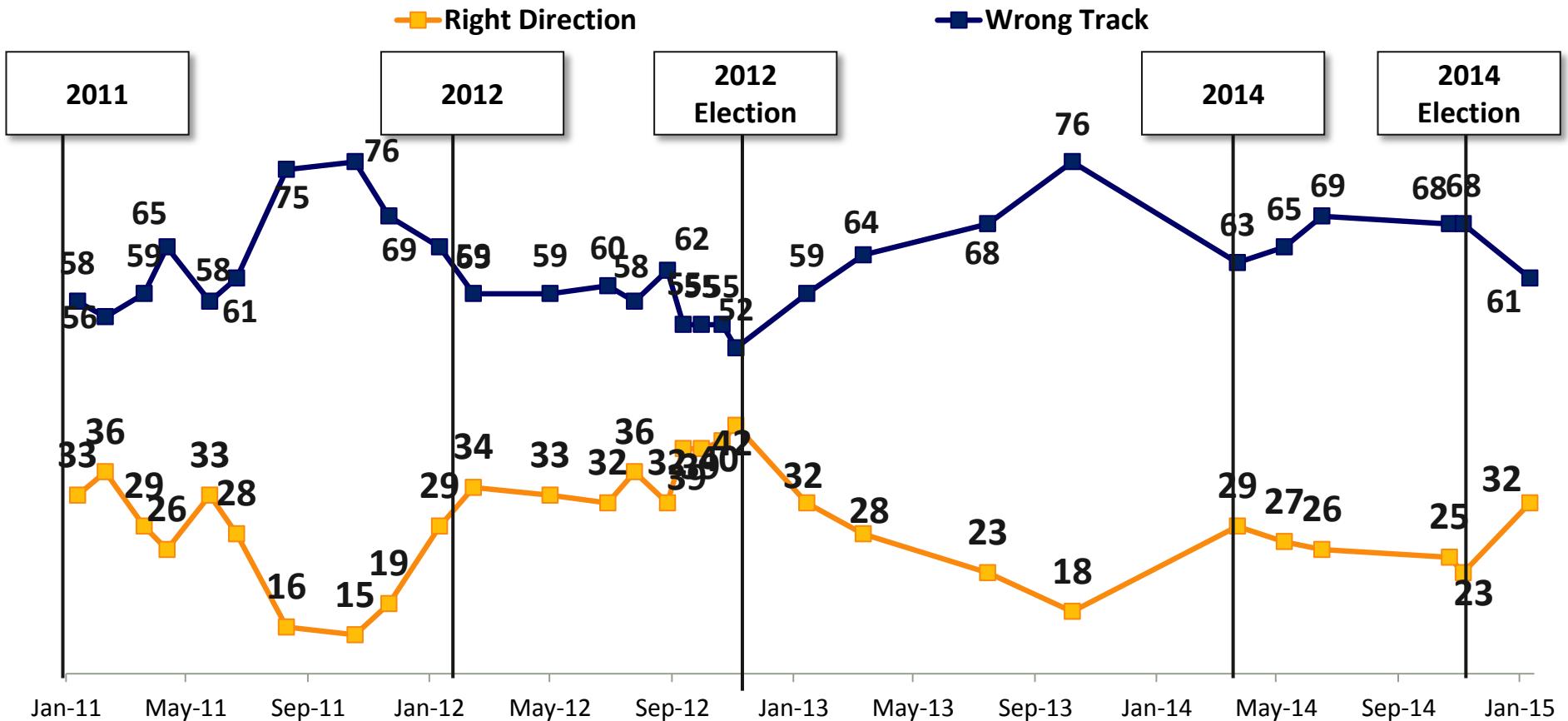
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with 100 meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.



*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted in the past 4 years. Data represents MEAN ratings.

Dramatic improvement in voter mood

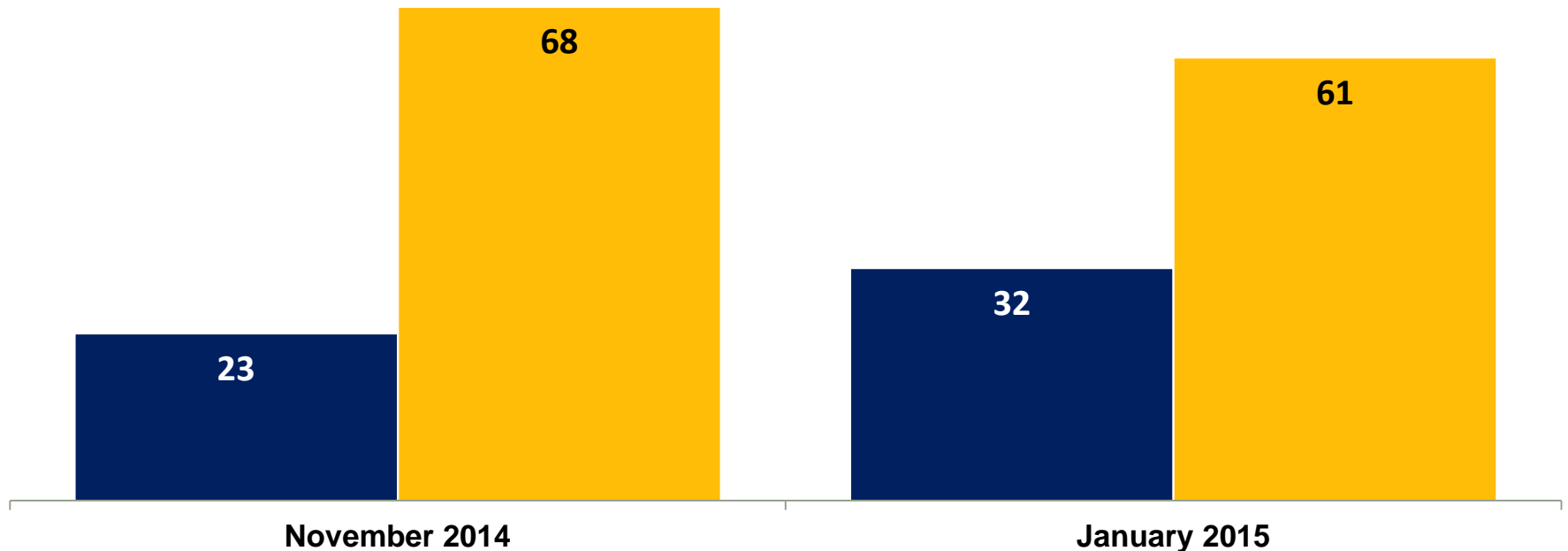
Generally speaking, do you think that things in this country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?



Big change in mood of the country—right direction is up by nearly 10 points

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?

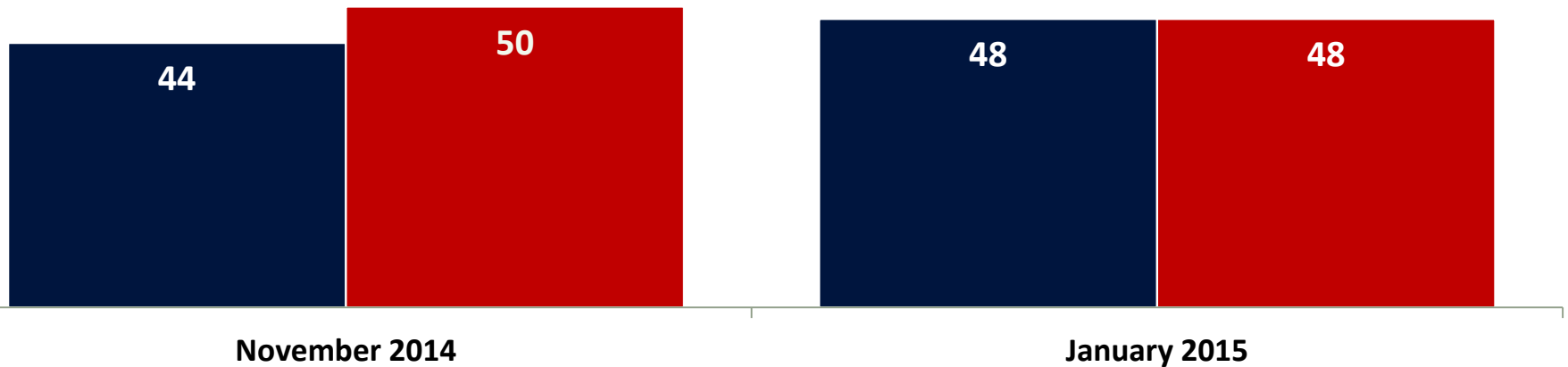
■ Right Direction ■ Wrong Track



Obama's approval rating edges up

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

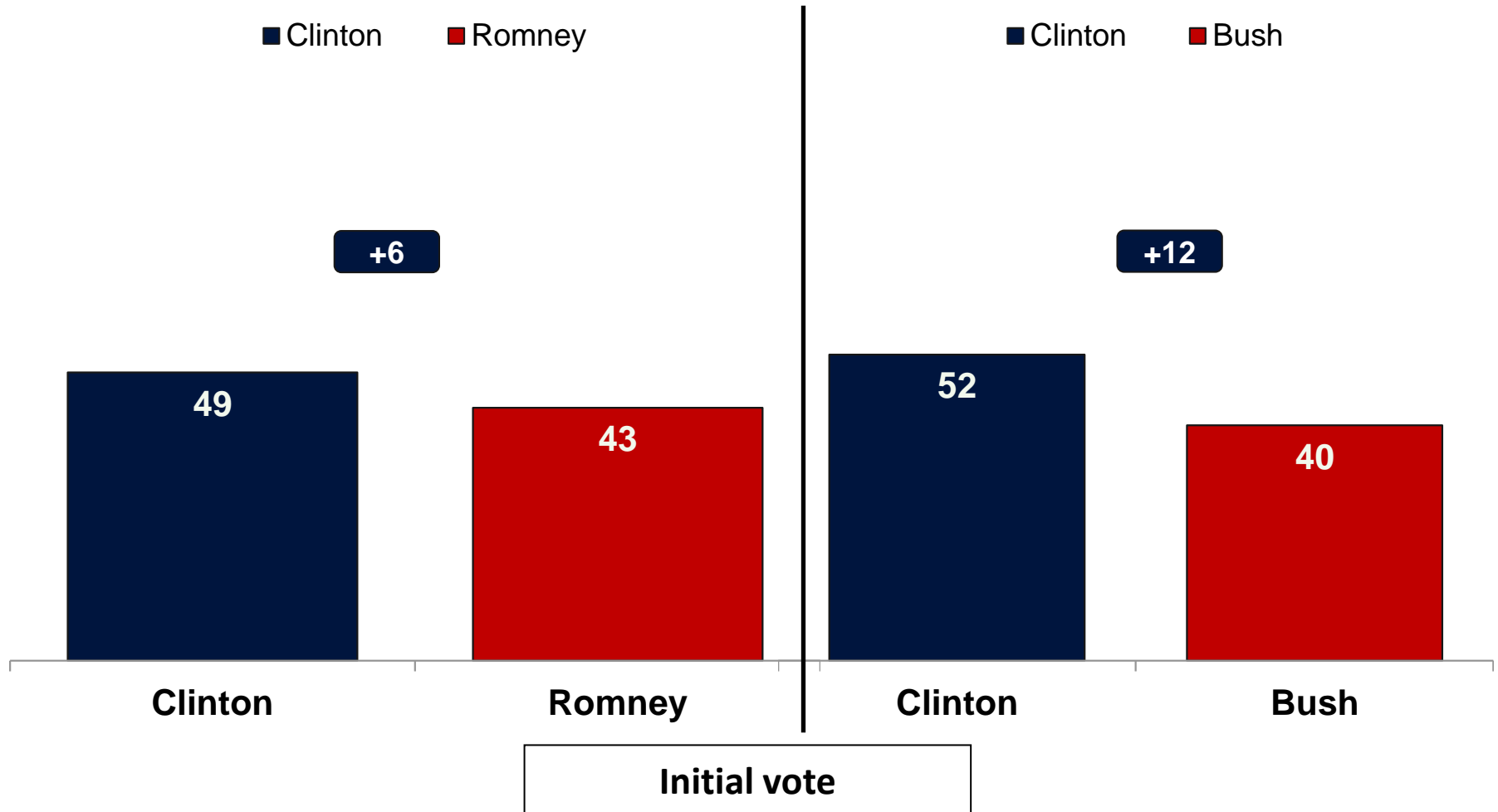
■ Approve ■ Disapprove



Presidential Election

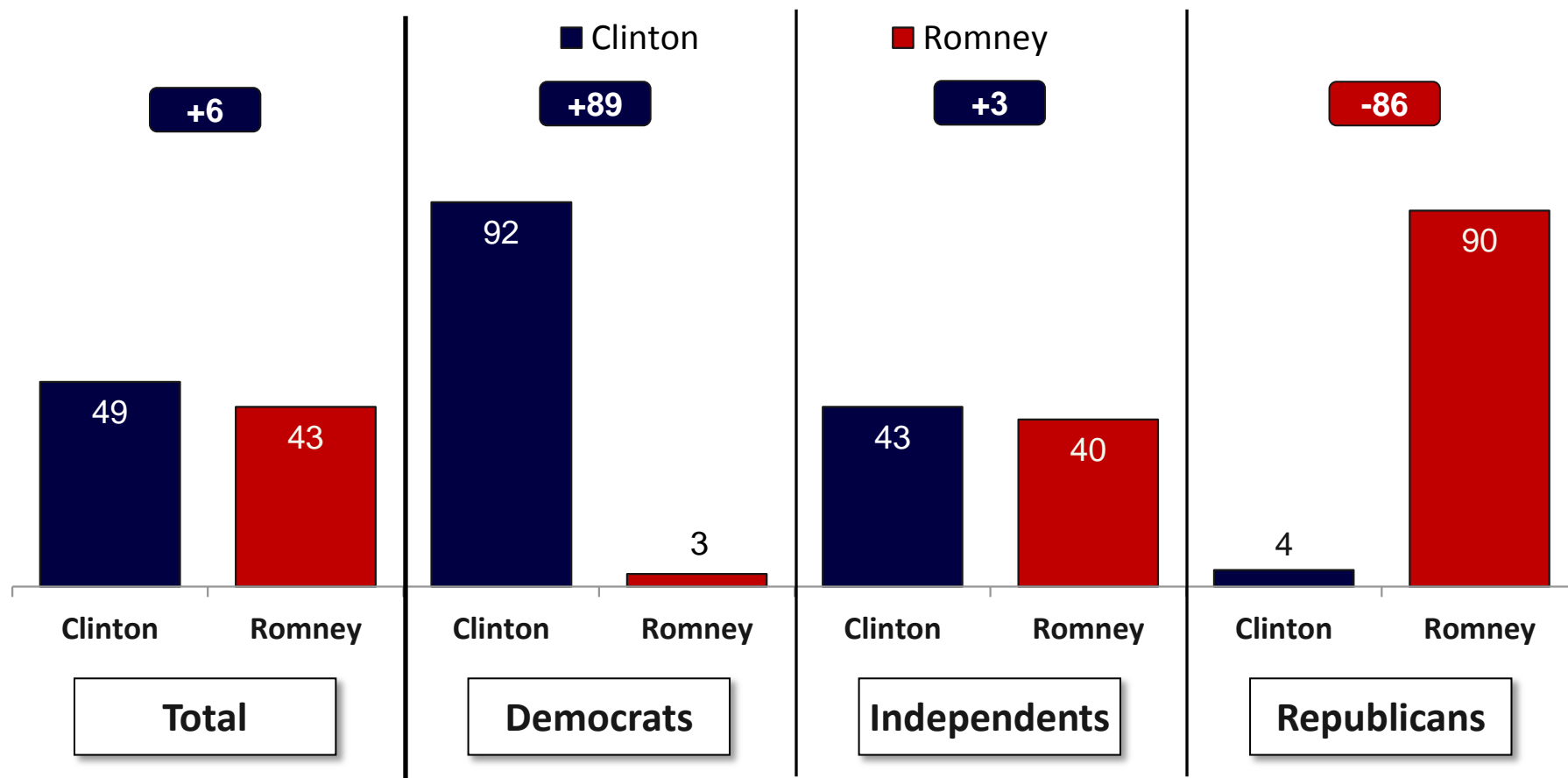
Clinton ahead of Romney and doubles her margin against Bush

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in 2016, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for -- Democrat Hillary Clinton or Republican Mitt Romney/Jeb Bush?



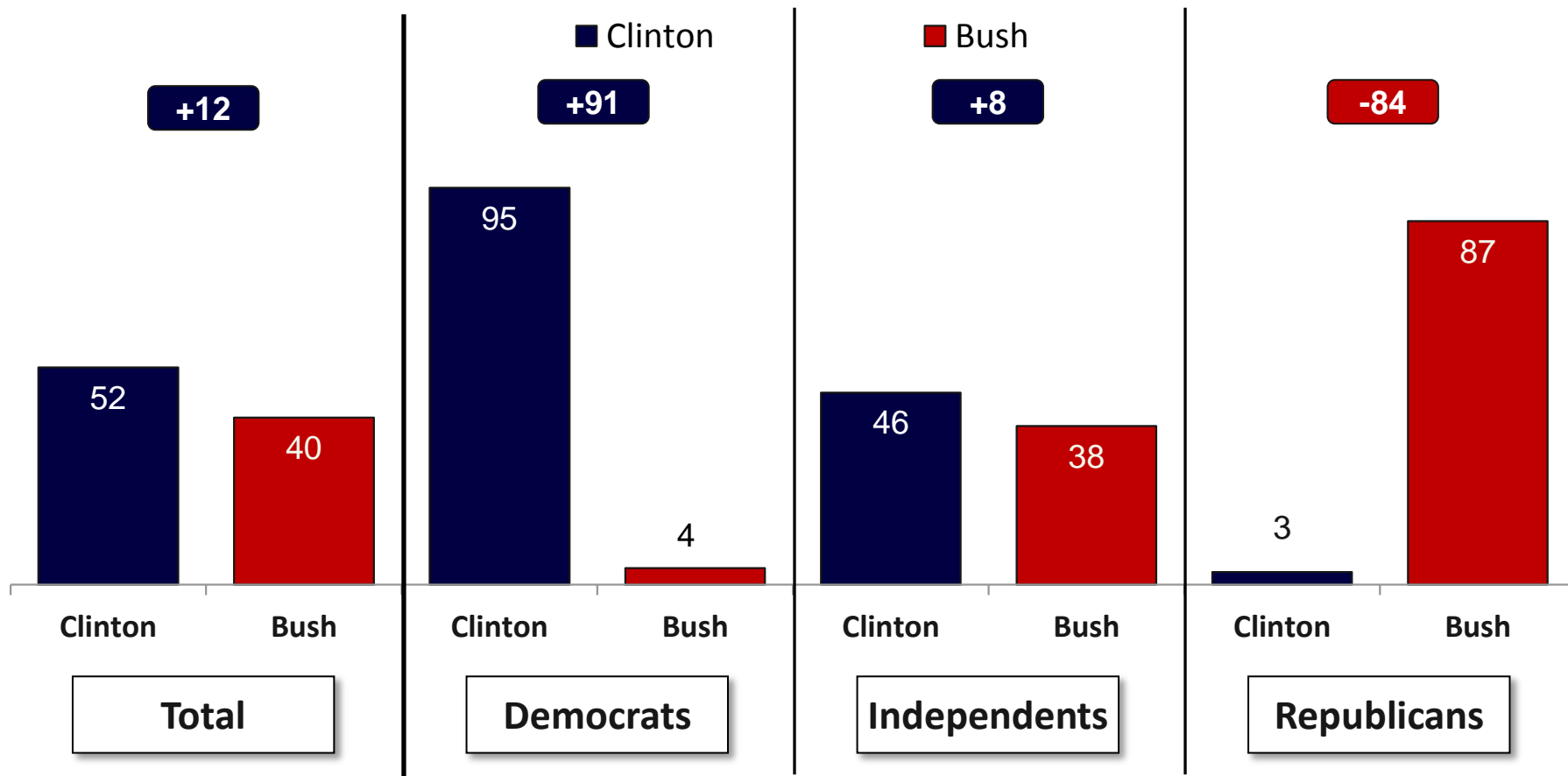
Parties consolidated with Clinton winning Independents against Romney

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in 2016, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for -- Democrat Hillary Clinton or Republican Mitt Romney?



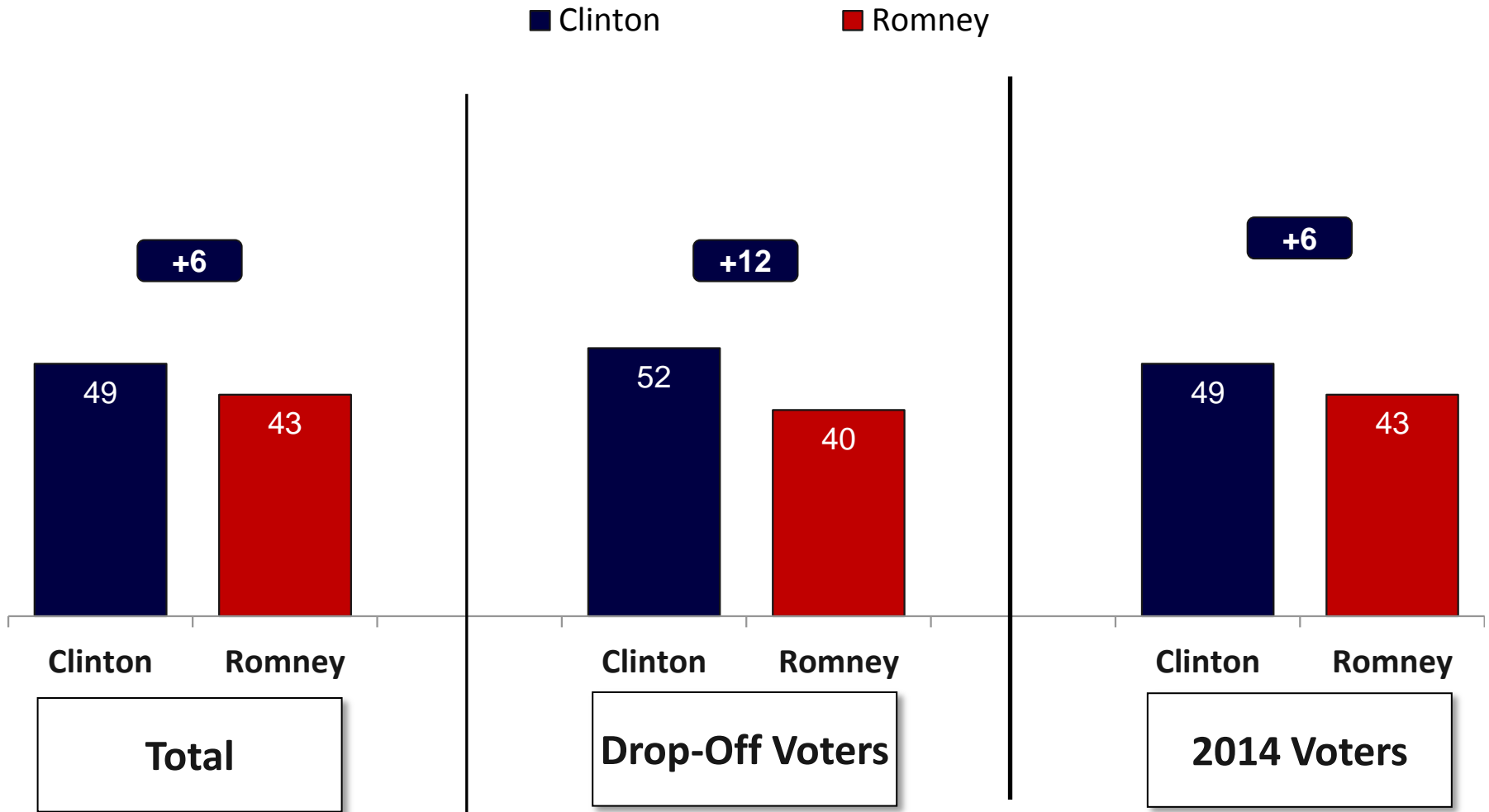
Party bases still consolidated and Independents lean towards Clinton more strongly against Bush

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in 2016, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for -- Democrat Hillary Clinton or Republican Jeb Bush?



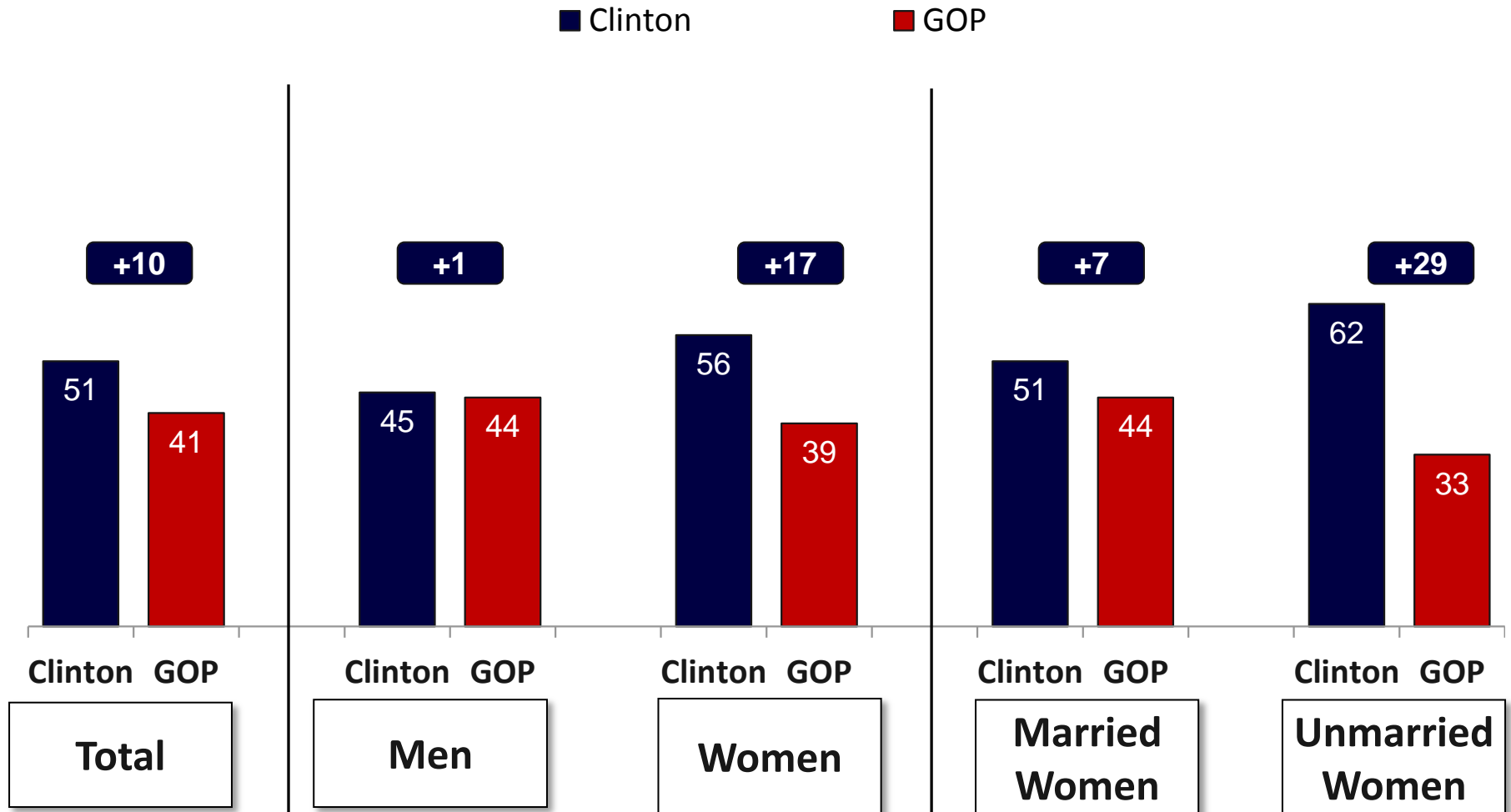
Clinton wins a big majority of voters who stayed home in 2014

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in 2016, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for -- Democrat Hillary Clinton or Republican Mitt Romney?



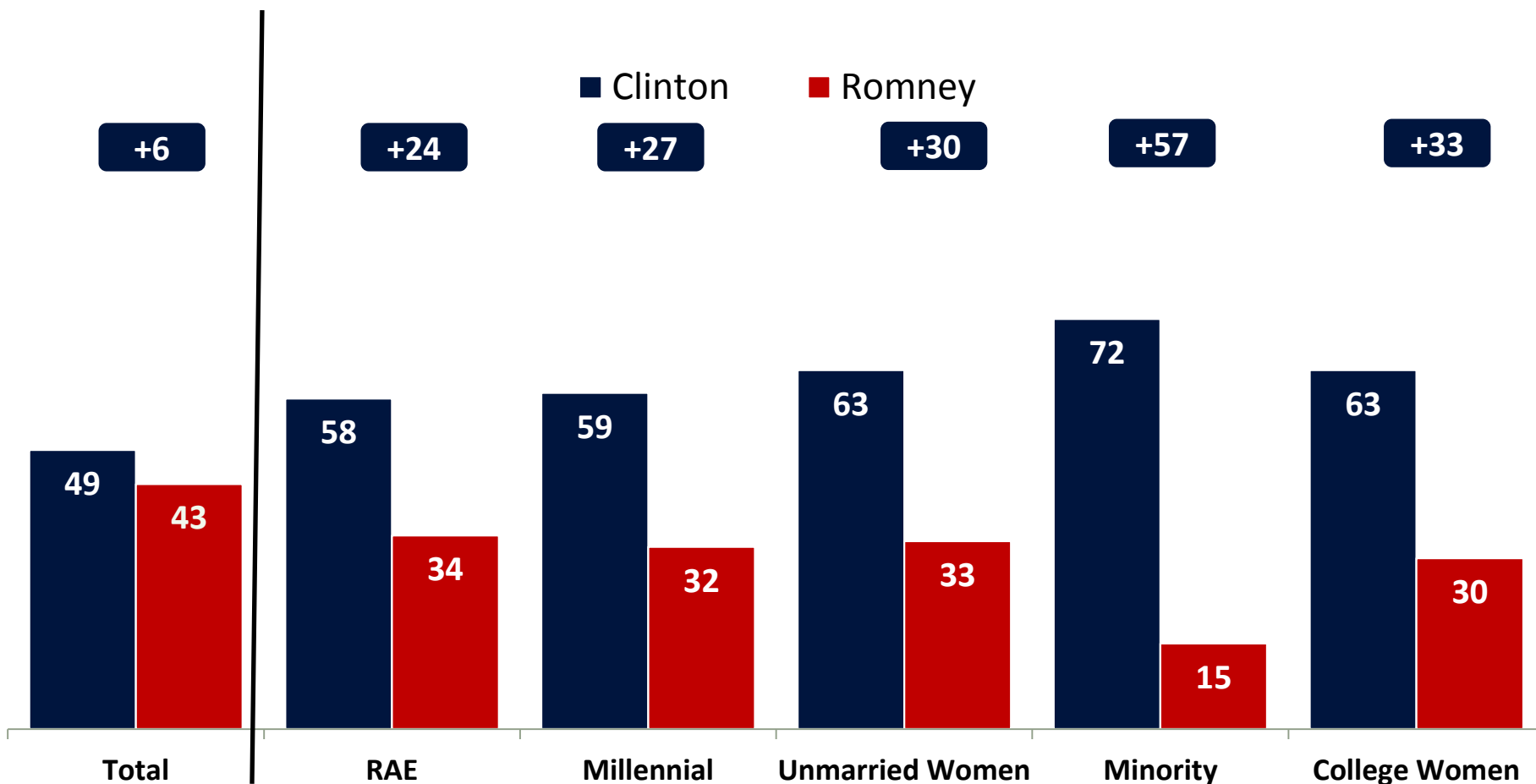
Clinton vs. GOP: Gender gap very real but marriage gap more so

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in 2016, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for -- Democrat Hillary Clinton or Republican Mitt Romney/Jeb Bush?



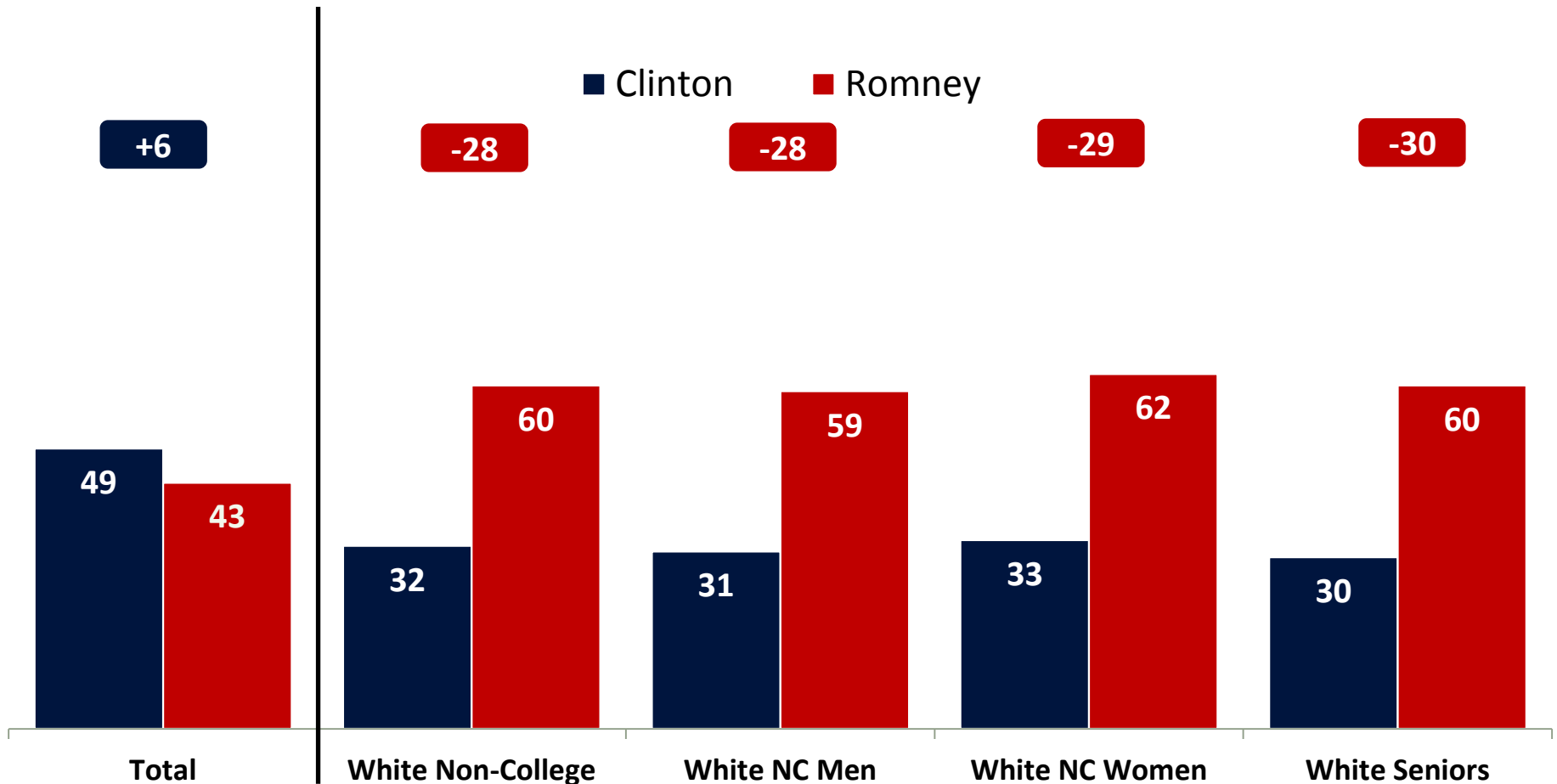
RAE, unmarried women and college women can deliver a national win for Clinton, but needs working class too

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in 2016, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for -- Democrat Hillary Clinton or Republican Mitt Romney?



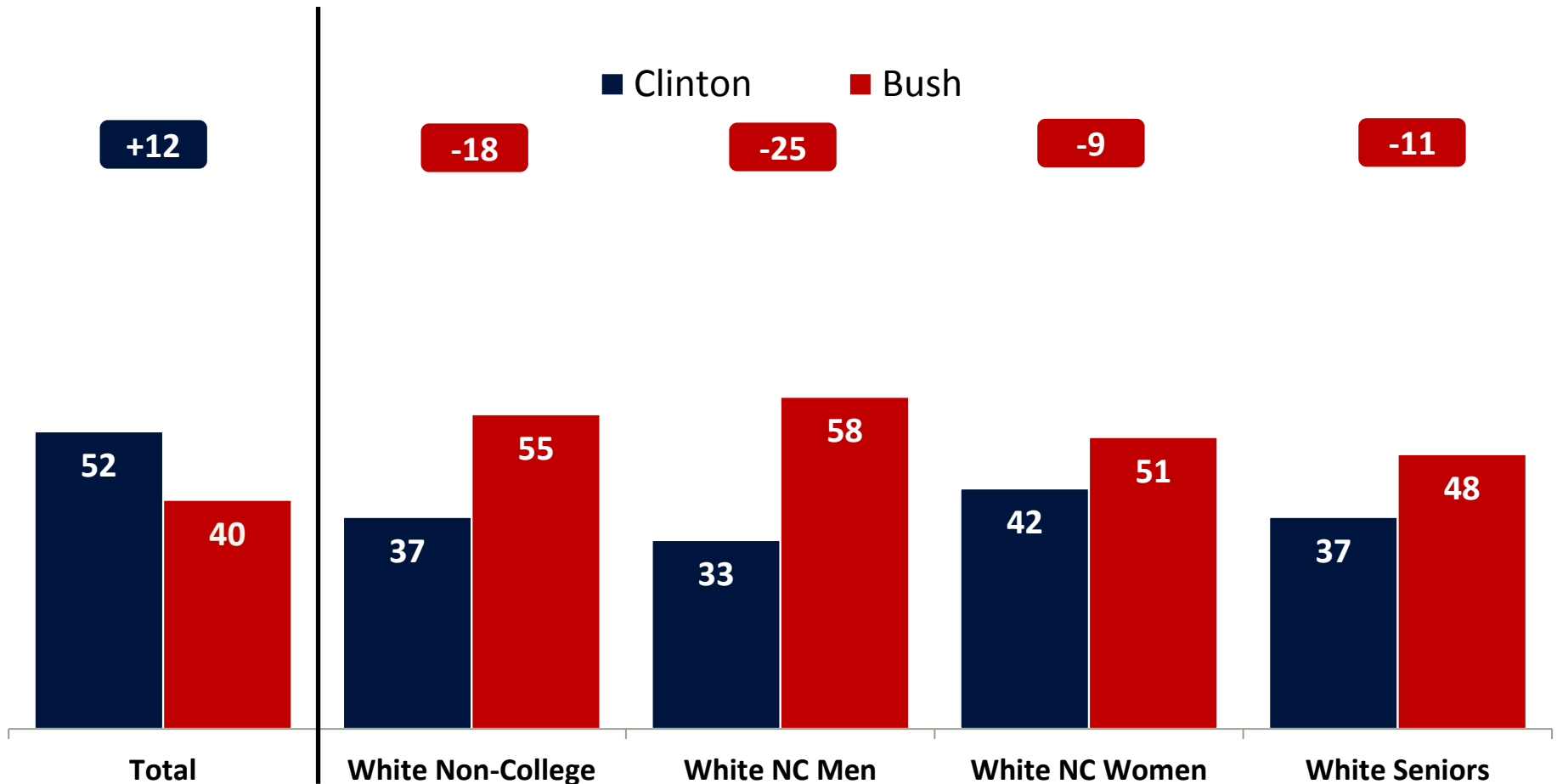
Hillary's win comes with less than 1/3 support among white non-college

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in 2016, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for -- Democrat Hillary Clinton or Republican Mitt Romney?



Hillary gains with white working class women – but against Bush

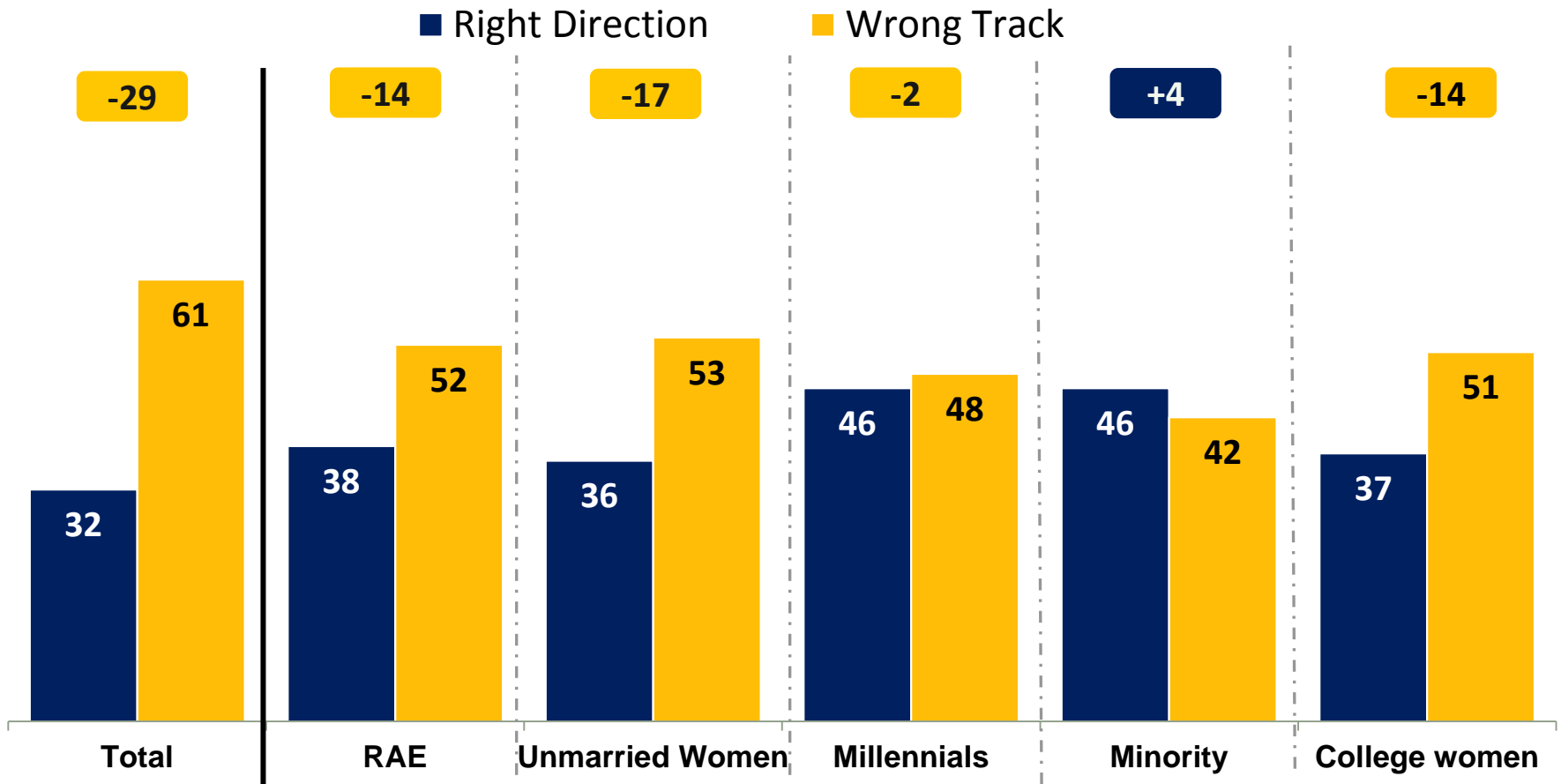
I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in 2016, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for -- Democrat Hillary Clinton or Republican Jeb Bush?



The Mood Among Key Groups

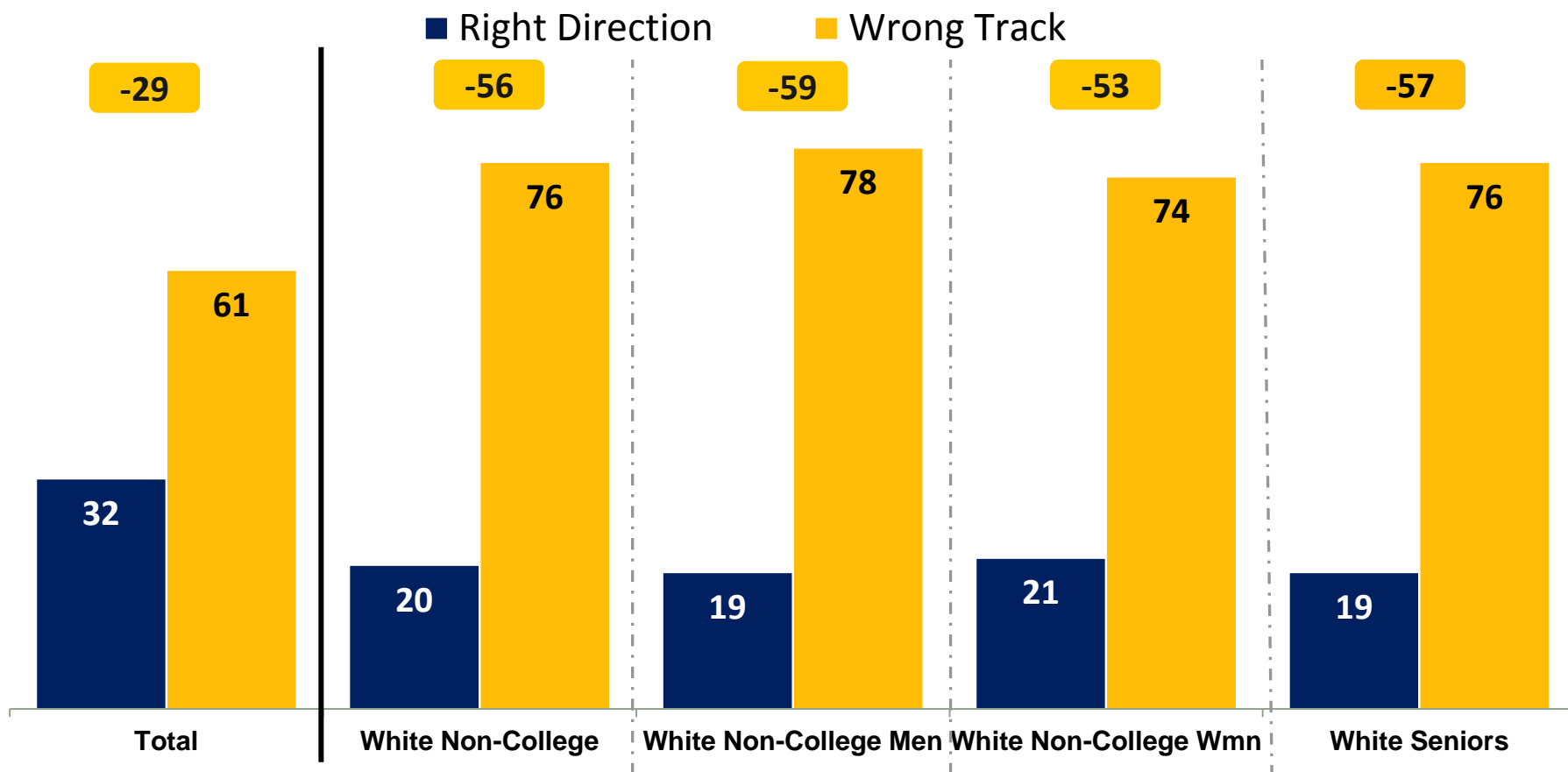
Unmarried women are most pessimistic about the country's direction of all the base groups

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?



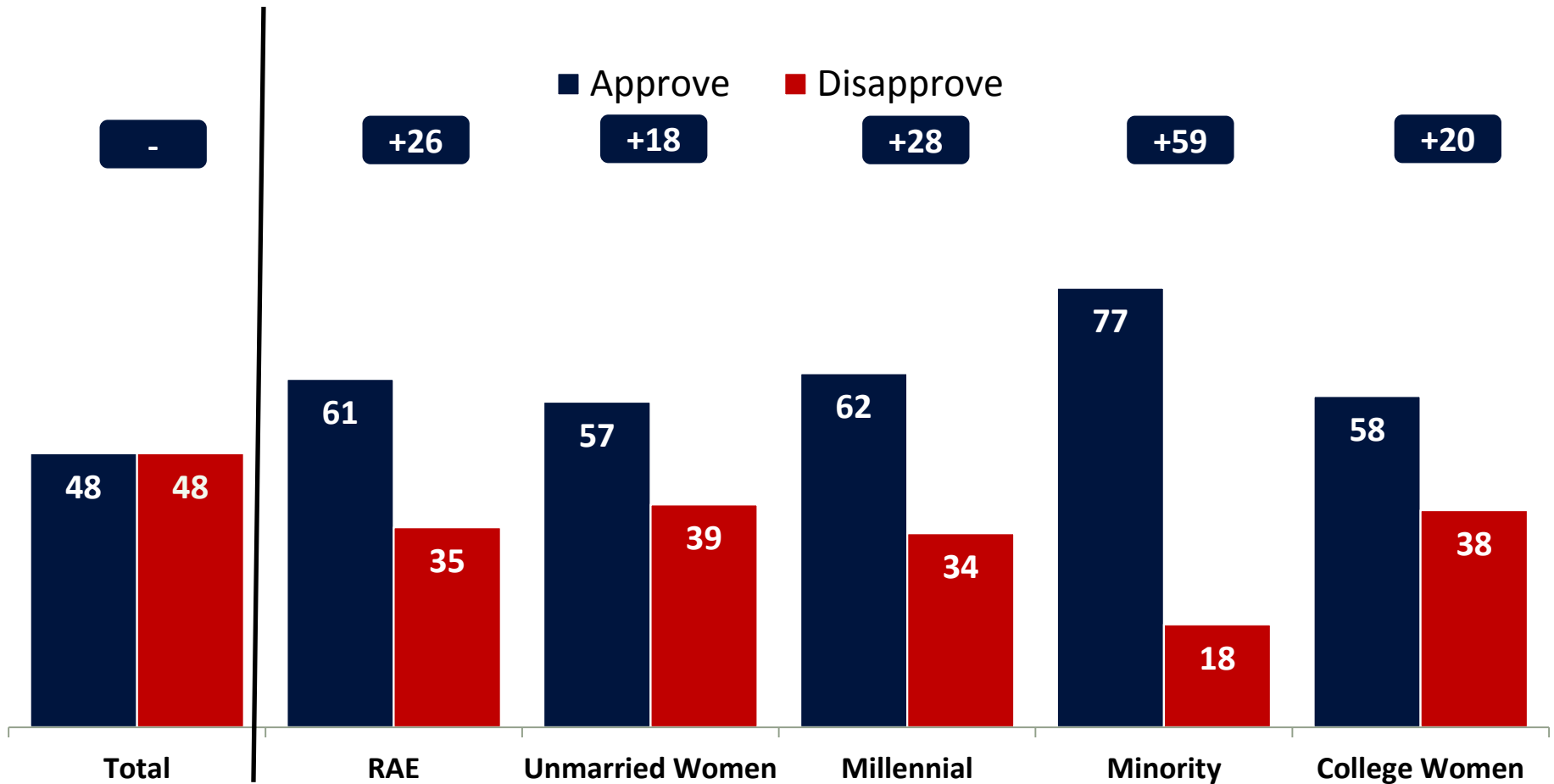
Deep dissatisfaction and pessimism among white working class and seniors

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?



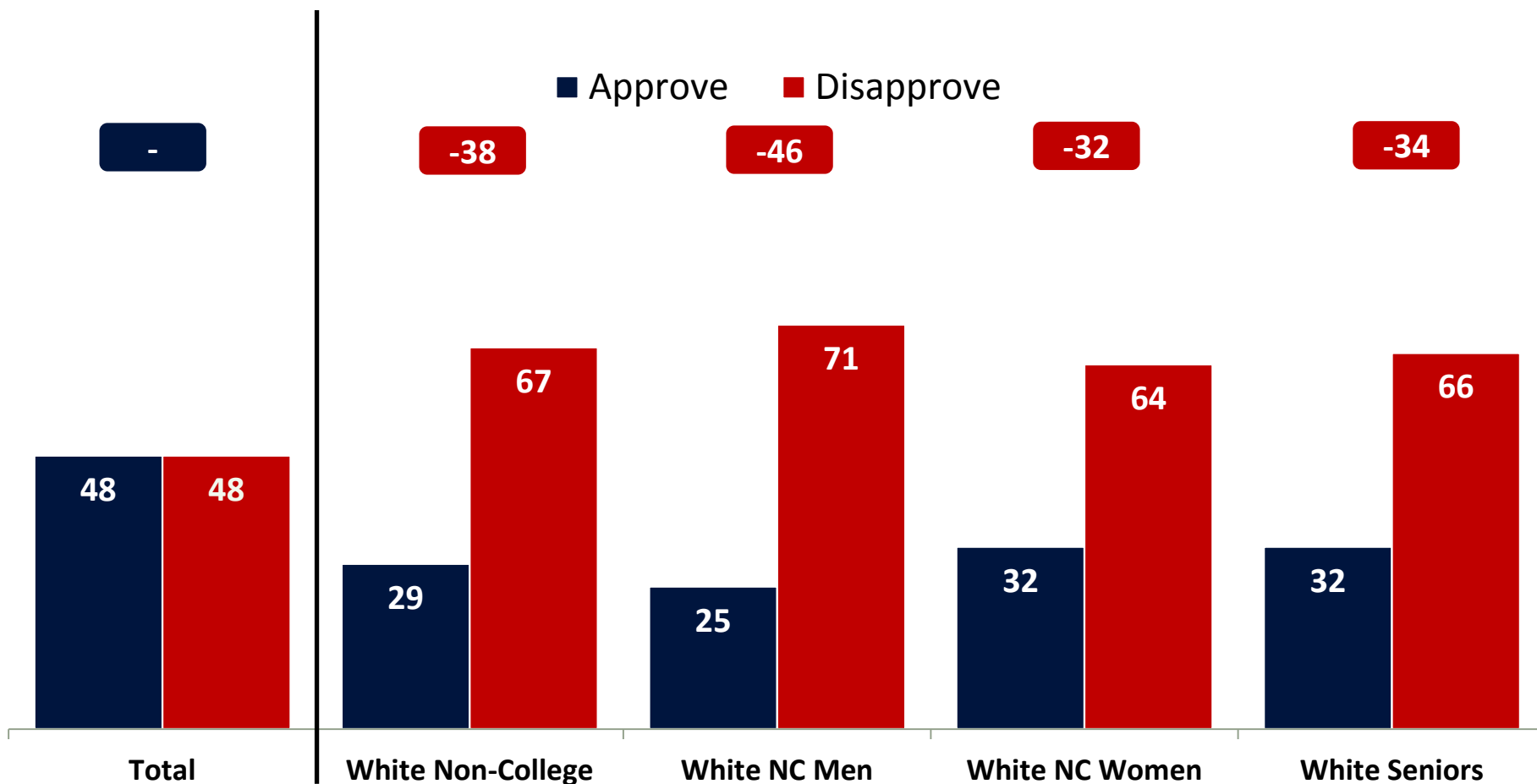
Unmarried women still cautious about president: almost 40 percent disapprove

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



Older and blue collar voters are deeply negative

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



Country divided over the core middle class promise

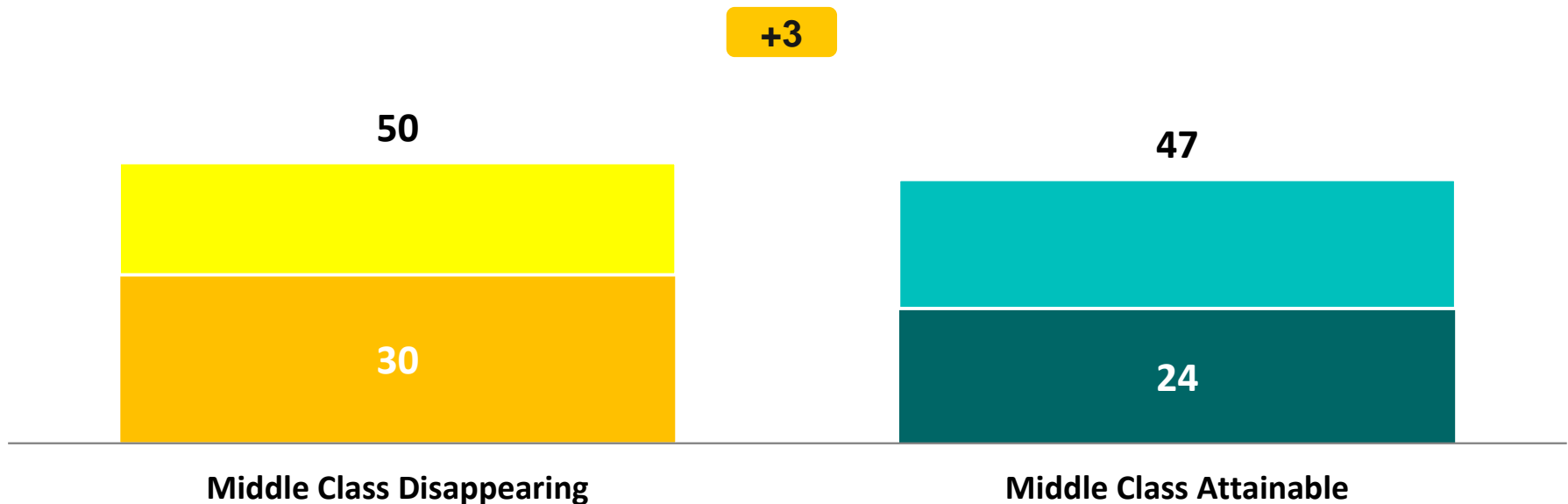
Now let me read you some short statements. Please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view.

Getting to or staying in the middle class is harder than ever and nearly impossible with so many jobs that don't pay enough to live on.

Times are tough but those who work hard can still reach or stay in the middle class.

■ Middle Class Blocked much

■ Middle Class Attainable much

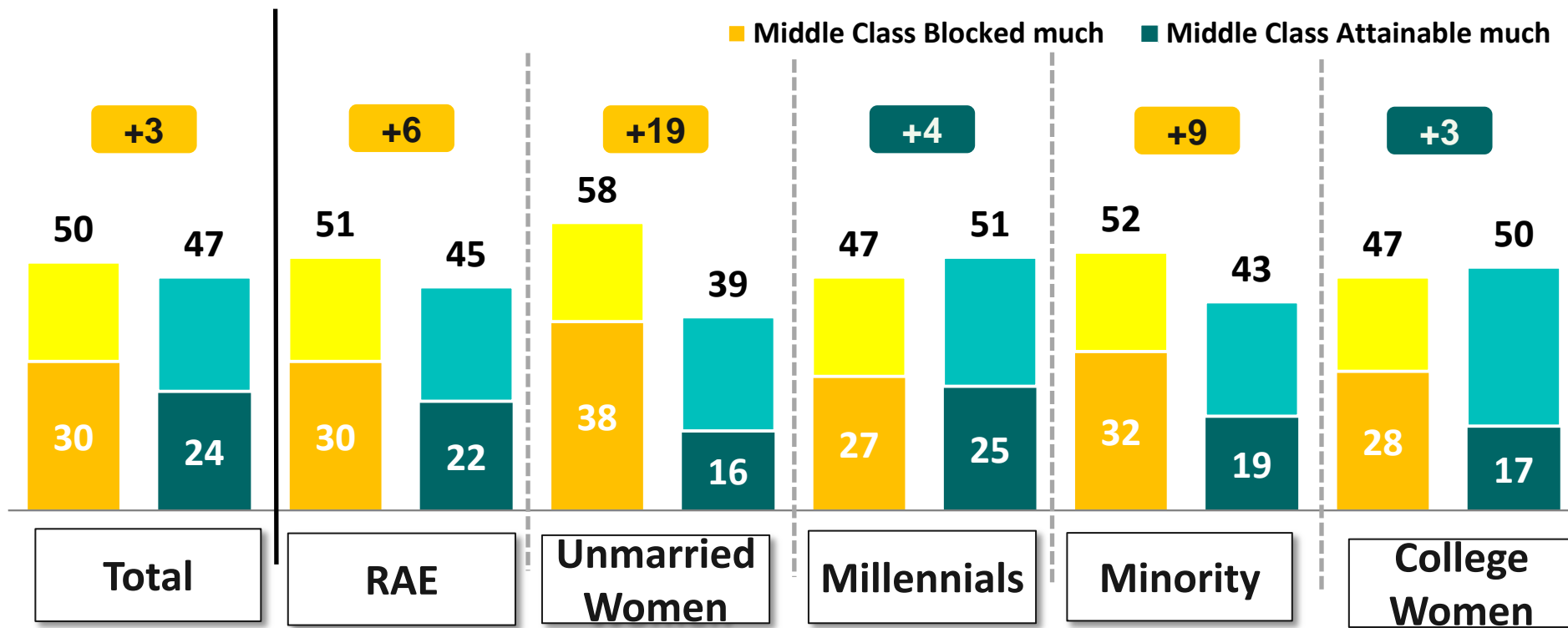


Unmarried women and minorities most likely to see middle class blocked, but sizeable minority of Millennials too

Now let me read you some short statements. Please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view.

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Times are tough but those who work hard can still reach or stay in the middle class.

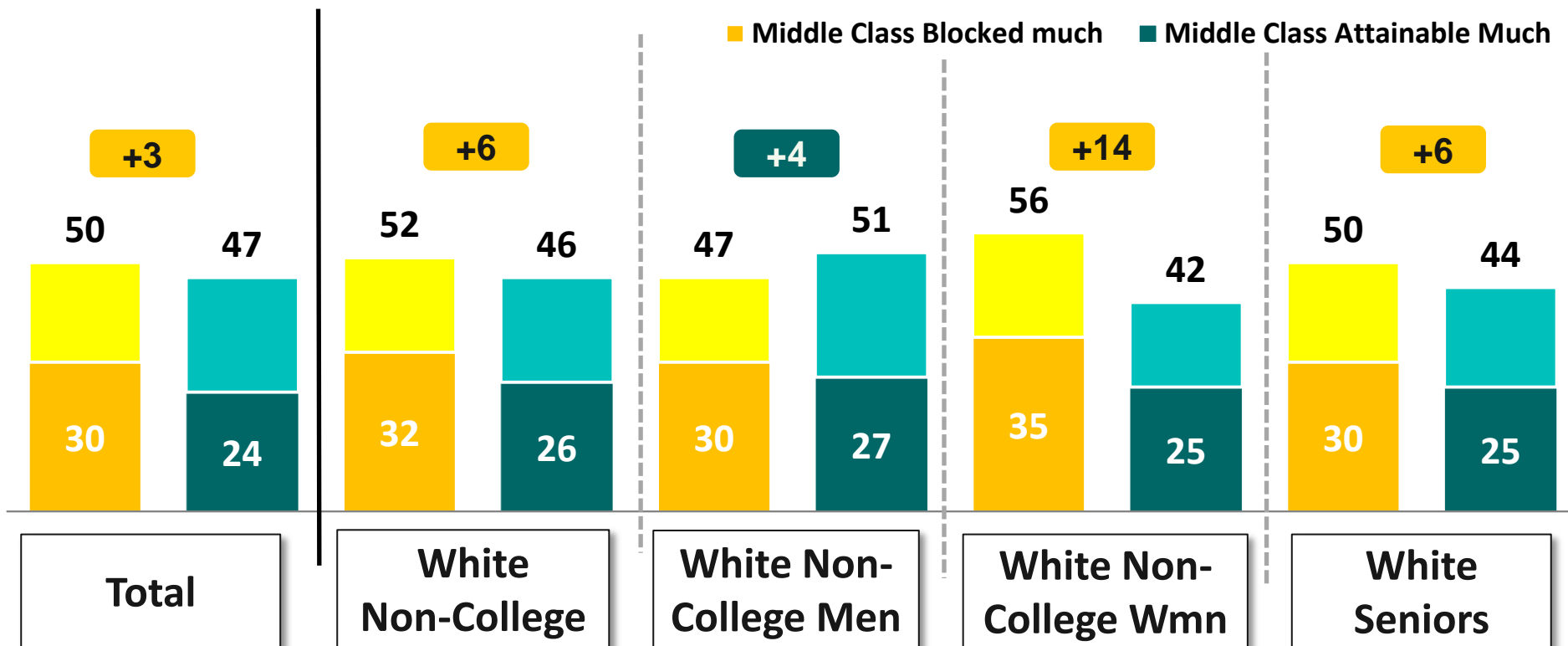


Blue collar women are more pessimistic on middle class attainability than blue collar men

Now let me read you some short statements. Please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view.

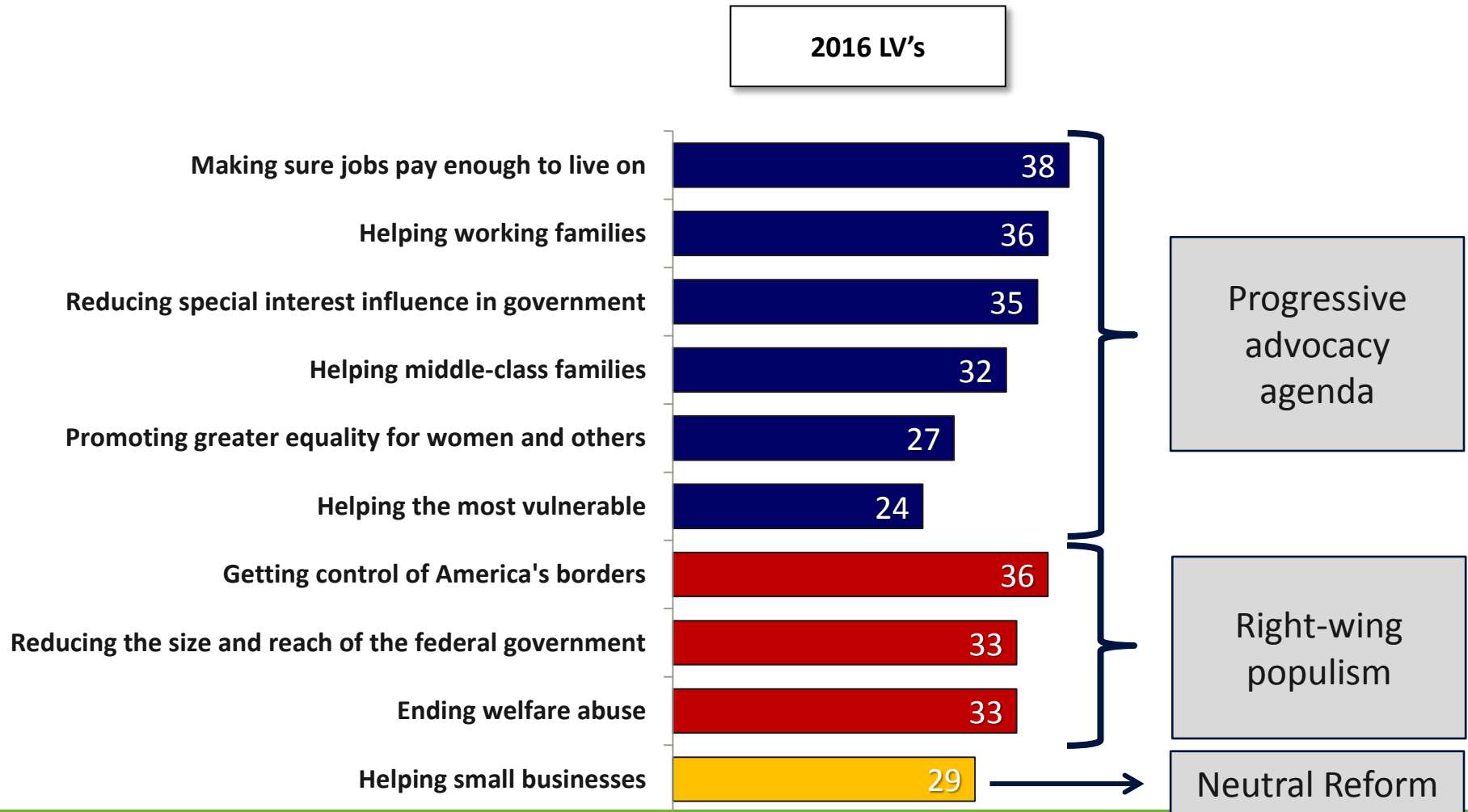
Getting to or staying in the middle class is harder than ever and nearly impossible with so many jobs that don't pay enough to live on.

Times are tough but those who work hard can still reach or stay in the middle class.



Making sure jobs pay enough to live on is the top priority for this electorate, along with government reform

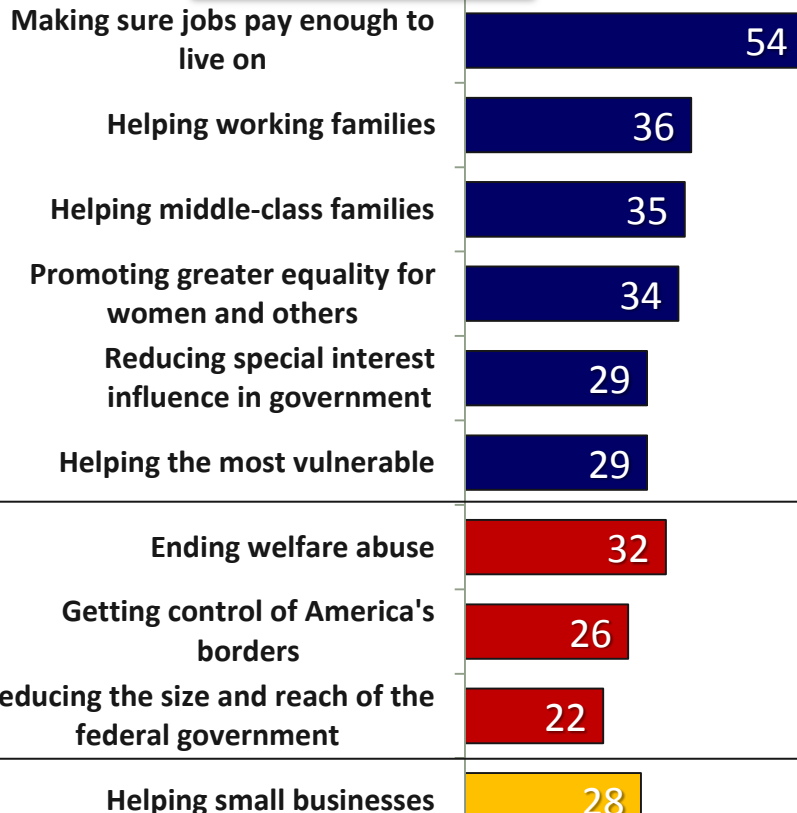
Now I want to ask you about government. I am going to read you a list of statements that describe what some people believe about the role of government today. After I read the list, please pick the three you believe are the most important.



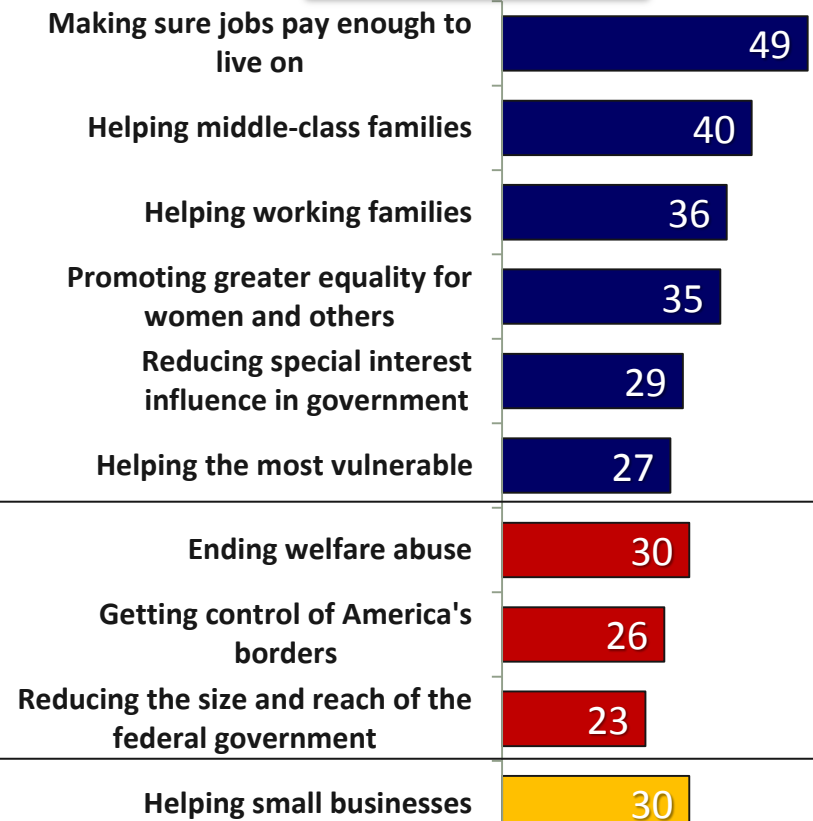
Democratic base groups lean toward the progressive advocacy agenda, especially making sure jobs pay enough

Now I want to ask you about government. I am going to read you a list of statements that describe what some people believe about the role of government today. After I read the list, please pick the three you believe are the most important.

Unmarried Women



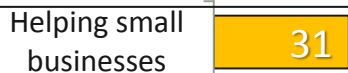
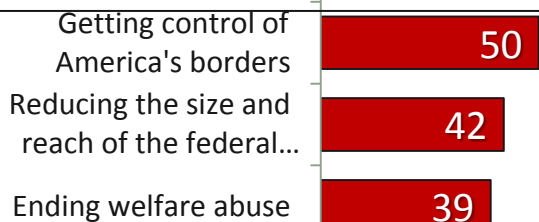
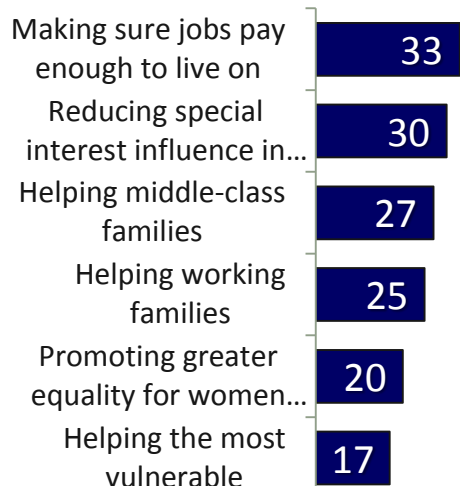
RAE



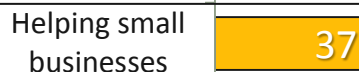
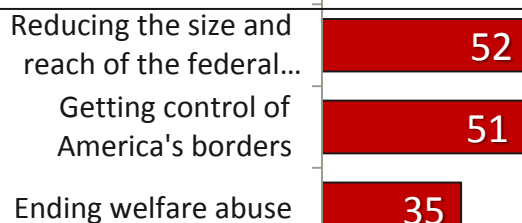
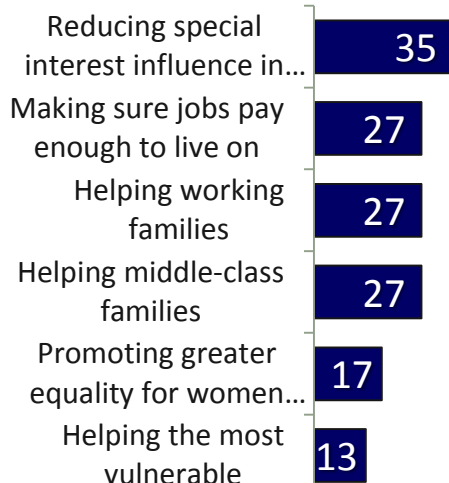
Blue collar white women also focused on pay and all blue collar groups select reforming government

Now I want to ask you about government. I am going to read you a list of statements that describe what some people believe about the role of government today. After I read the list, please pick the three you believe are the most important.

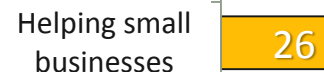
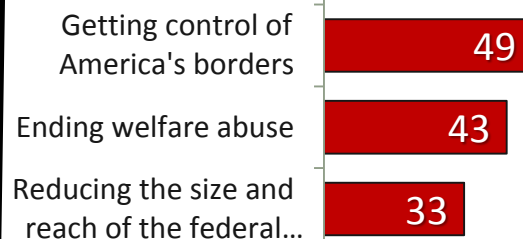
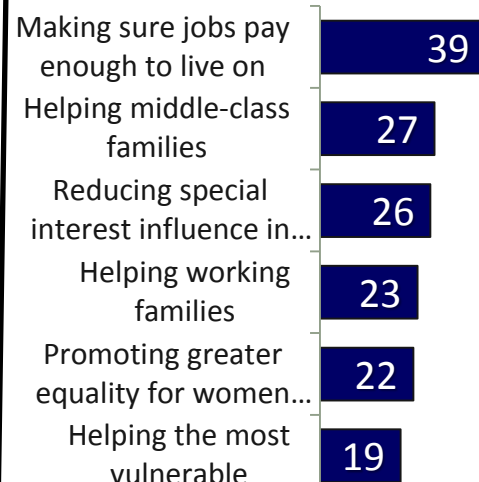
White Non-College



White Non-College Men



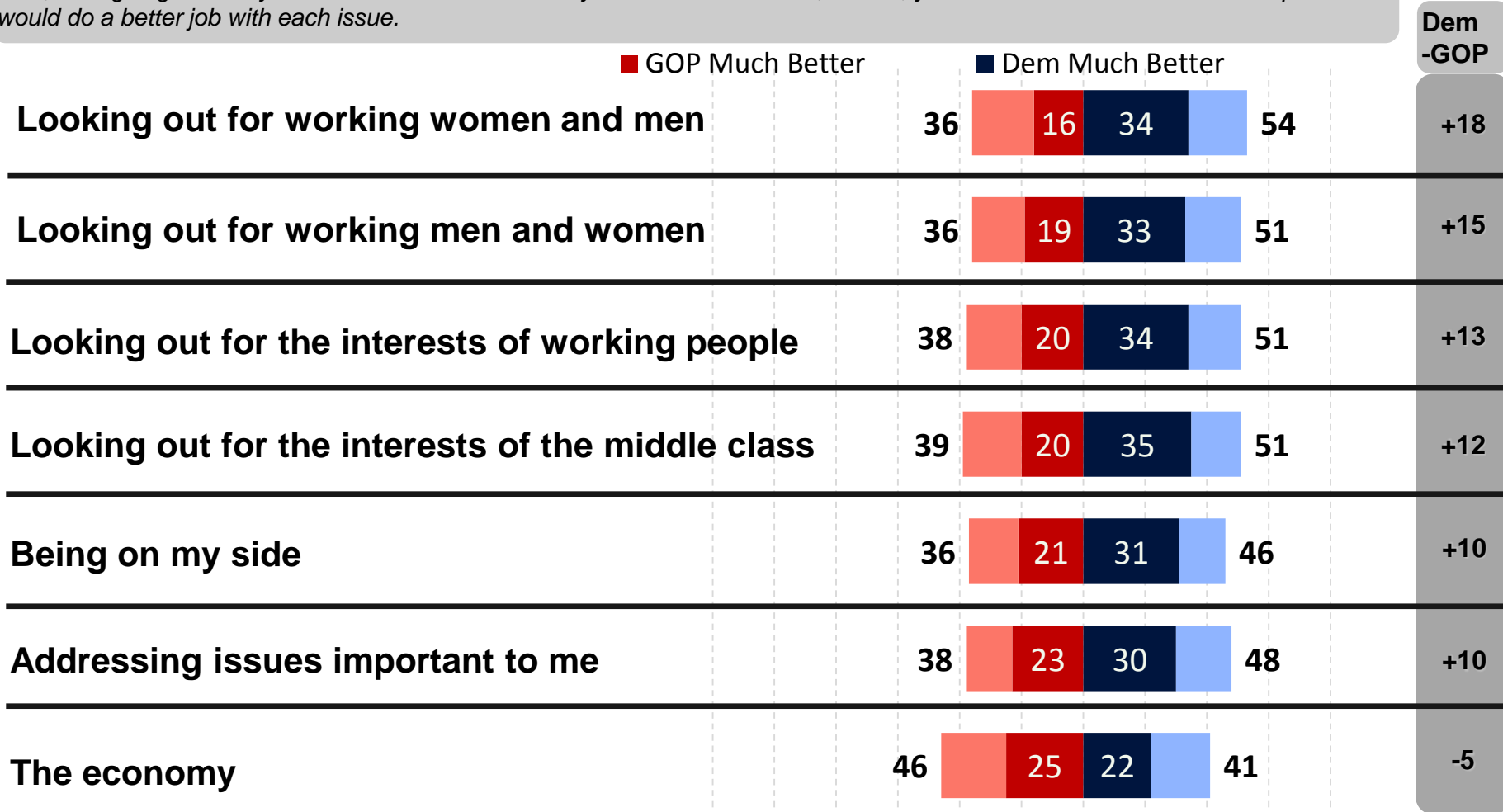
White Non-College Women



The policy agenda that reaches

Democrats outpace GOP in looking out for women and men (and men and women)

Now, I am going to read you a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with each issue.



Democrats receive high ratings from RAE on economic advocacy

Now, I am going to read you a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with each issue.

RAE

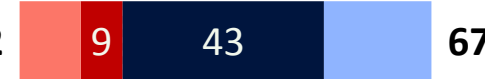
■ GOP Much Better

■ Dem Much Better

Dem
-GOP

Looking out for working women and men

22



+45

Looking out for the interests of the middle class

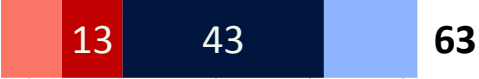
23



+40

Looking out for the interests of working people

26



+37

Addressing issues important to me

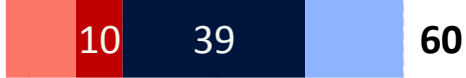
24



+37

Looking out for working men and women

26



+34

Being on my side

25



+33

The economy

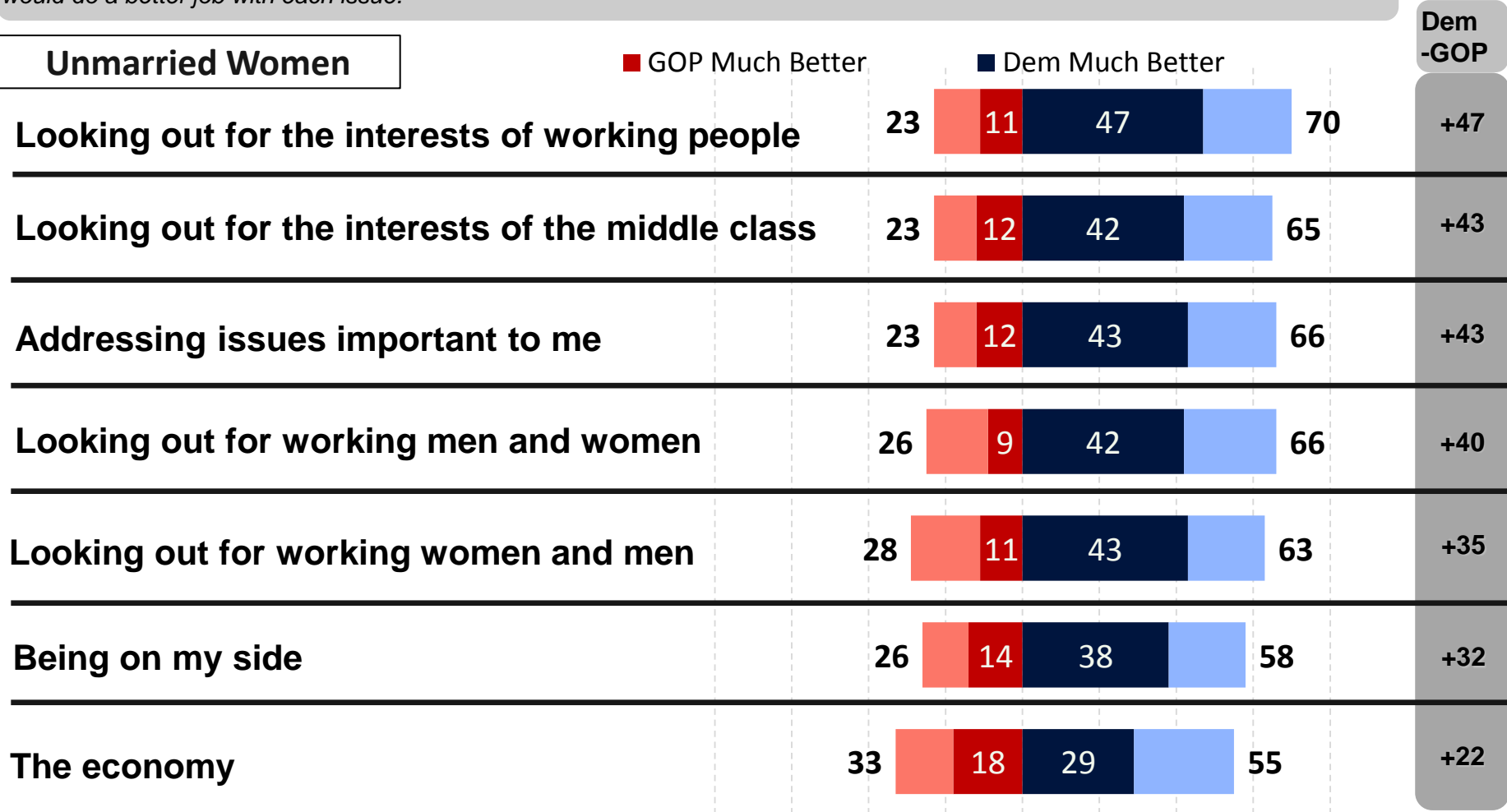
34



+19

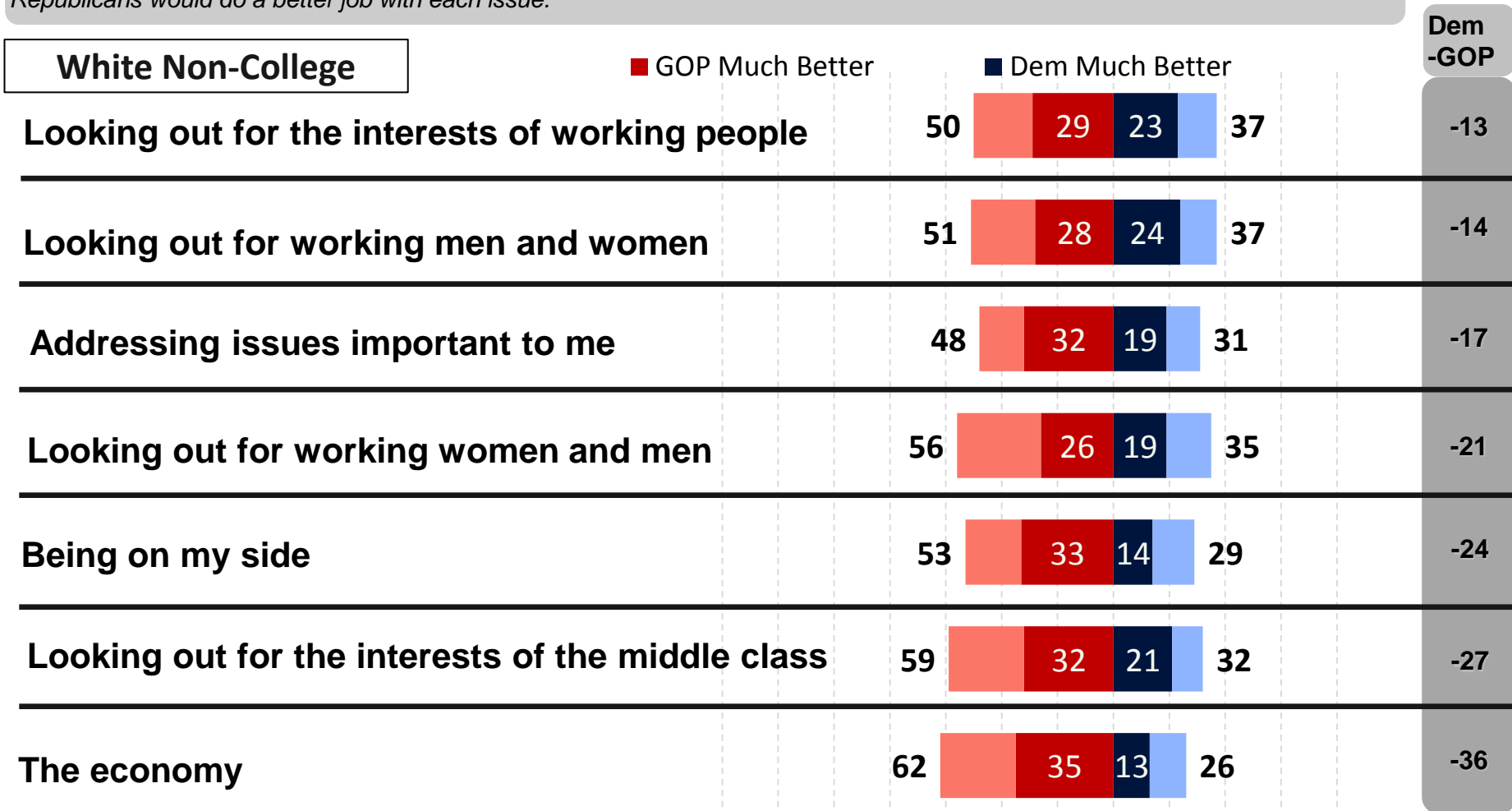
Unmarried women also give Democrats a wide margin on middle class advocacy

Now, I am going to read you a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with each issue.



White non-college voters give GOP advantage on economic advocacy

Now, I am going to read you a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think (ROTATE) the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with each issue.



The Democratic agenda includes advocacy for working families, general Democratic policies and progressive reform policies

Social Security/Medicare: Protect Medicare and Social Security so there is no reduction in benefits, and keep the politicians' hands off Social Security so today's and tomorrow's seniors can retire with security.

Working Mothers: Help working mothers by making sure they have access to affordable child care, have paid sick days to care for themselves and their children, and protect pregnant workers from being fired or demoted.

Infrastructure Jobs: Create a long term plan to rebuild America and create new good paying jobs by investing in infrastructure, such as modernizing schools, improving roads, bridges, and airports, and investing in clean energy alternatives that create more new jobs.

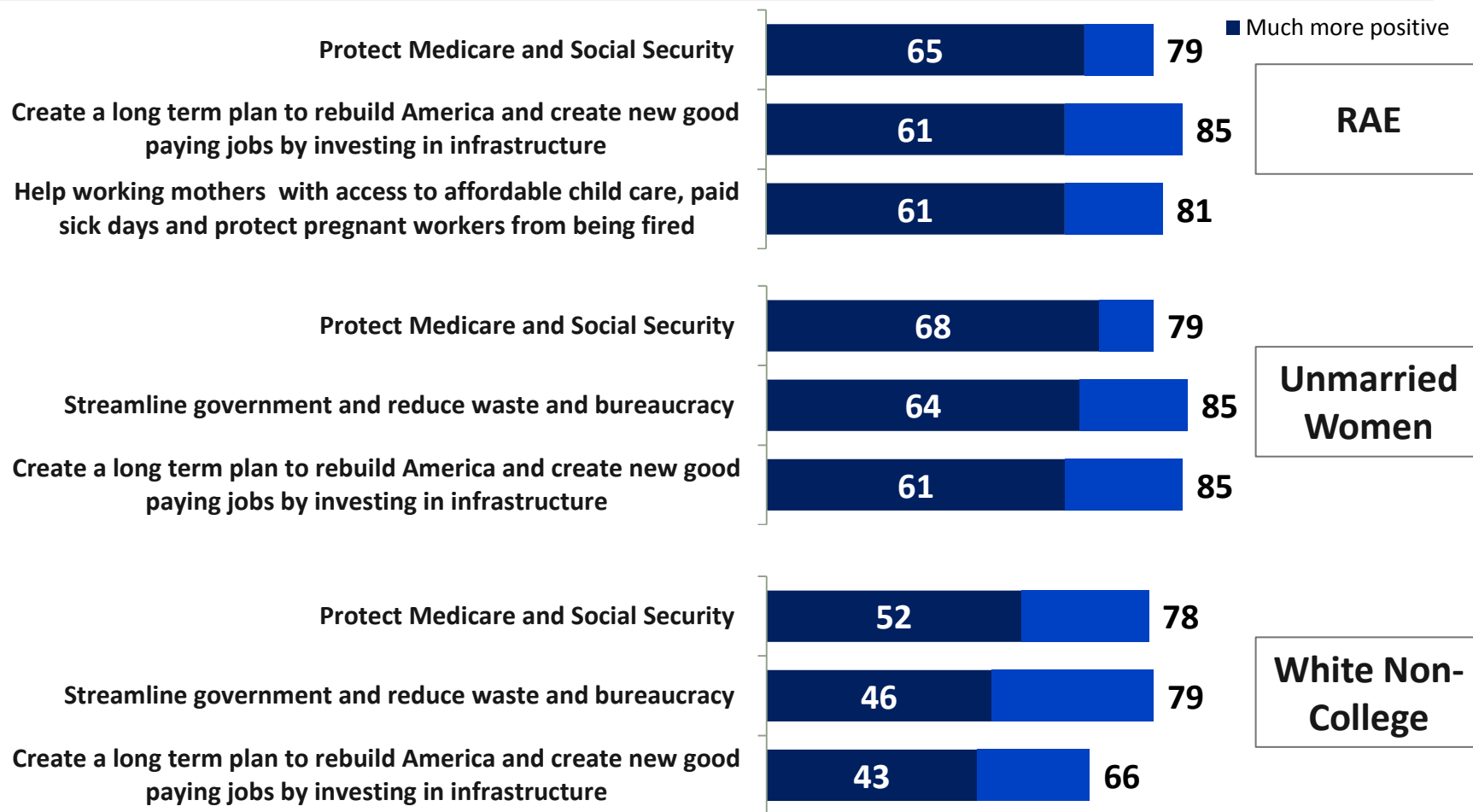
Reform Government: Streamline government and reduce waste and bureaucracy to make sure every dollar spent is a dollar spent serving people, not serving government.

Equal Pay: Make sure working women have equal pay to men for doing the same work and, make it possible for women to work in management positions by rewarding companies that provide leave policies that make it possible for all employees to work and balance their work and family needs.

College Affordability: Make college more affordable by expanding the tuition tax credit that allows students to claim up to four thousand dollars for higher education expenses. Get serious and provide free tuition at community colleges or technical schools for all qualified high school graduates.

Social Security and Medicare top priorities for key groups, reforming government and jobs are also popular

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 that policy makes you feel much more positive about their plan, somewhat more positive about their plan, a little more positive, or not at all positive.



The Republican agenda includes general Republican policies and right wing populist policies

Fiscal Responsibility: Require lawmakers to pass a budget or withhold their pay, and require Congress to review programs deemed wasteful and redundant.

Regulation: Small businesses are strangled by unnecessary regulation, complex and increasing taxes, and high energy prices. We need to loosen the regulation that is stifling small businesses to make it easier for them to grow and expand.

Balanced Budget: 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.

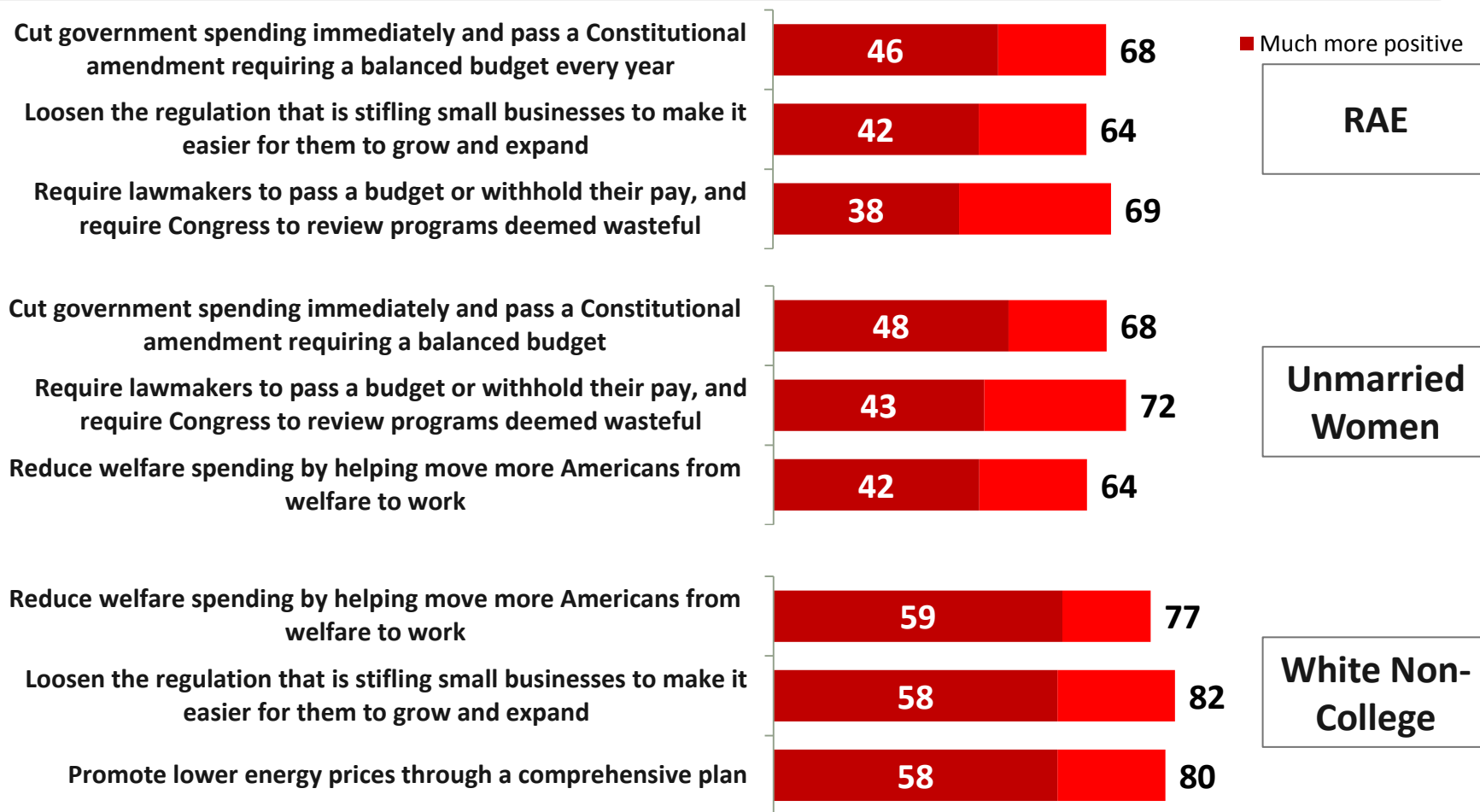
Spending: Reduce unnecessary government spending and put an end to wasteful government programs to start resolving the trillion-dollar debt crisis, putting America back on a responsible track and giving certainty to investors and businesses.

Welfare: Reduce welfare spending by helping move more Americans from welfare to work by investigating cases of welfare fraud, and drug testing those who receive government help like food stamps and cash benefits.

Energy/Keystone: Promote lower energy prices through a comprehensive plan that includes increasing domestic production of oil, developing alternative energy sources such as wind and nuclear energy, advancing clean coal technology, and building the Keystone pipeline, which would create jobs and reduce our dependence on foreign oil.

Appetite for reform evident in responses to GOP agenda

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 that policy makes you feel much more positive about their plan, somewhat more positive about their plan, a little more positive, or not at all positive.



Economic Frame

Reform and Economic messages are equally successful among 2016 likely voters

Now, thinking ahead to the presidential elections in 2016, I am going to read you something Democratic leaders are saying about how things in this country could be better. ..tell me whether you find it a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or a not at all convincing statement about how things in this country could be better.

(Combined Econ Agenda)

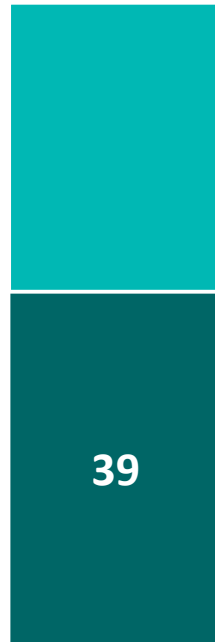
People are drowning because jobs don't pay enough to live on. We need leaders who know what it's like to work hard every day and still struggle to pay the bills. We must help people with affordable college, job training, and childcare.

(Working families should earn wages that keep up with the cost of living/Women must get equal pay so working women and families can keep up.)

We must help the vulnerable by reducing taxes for low-wage workers and give a tax break for lower and middle class working families. And we must always protect Social Security and Medicare. We need an economy that works for working people and the middle class again.

■ Very Convincing

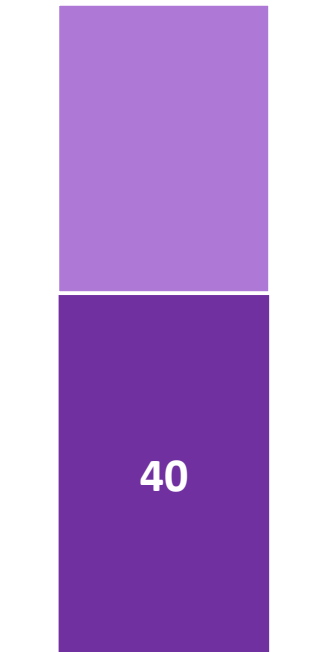
71



(Reform) There is too much money in politics and government. Big corporations and lobby groups spend millions getting their candidates elected, and then get tax breaks and special laws that protect their special interests. Billions are spent on government programs that are often out dated or don't even work--but special interests and government bureaucracy protect them. We need leaders who will clean up Washington by restricting the campaign dollars that come in, changing programs that don't work and using that money to help middle class working families--not big campaign donors.

■ Very Convincing

72



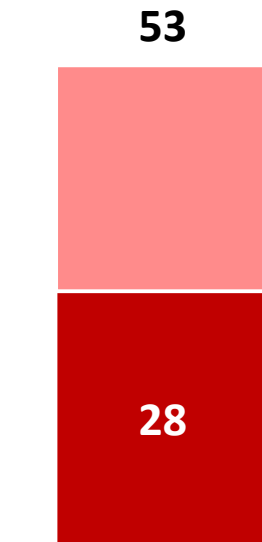
Republican messages less strong among this electorate

Now, thinking ahead to the presidential elections in 2016, I am going to read you something Republican leaders are saying about how things in this country could be better... tell me whether you find it a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or a not at all convincing statement about how things in this country could be better.

(GOP Establishment Msg)

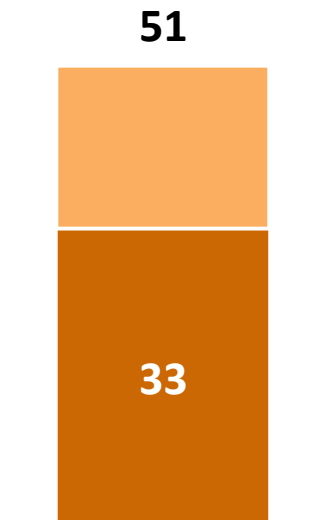
Democrats failed to get our economy back on track. The middle class is struggling with declining paychecks, high unemployment, and rising costs. We must tighten our borders and make sure only those in this country legally who can support themselves can stay, and we need to reform the welfare system so more people have the opportunity to work. We need less government regulation and should fully harness our resources by building the Keystone Pipeline. We can bring back opportunity and stimulate job creation if we just get government out of the way and allow energetic and entrepreneurial Americans to rebuild the economy from the ground up.

■ Very
Convincing



(Tea Party Msg) Government is out of control. The United States is so in debt that generations of Americans will pay for our bad decisions. Bureaucracy and bloated government continue to force skyrocketing spending. President Obama has seized more power through executive orders that force new policies on Americans without Congress' consent, using departments like the IRS to investigate enemies, and secret wiretaps to spy on our own citizens. We need to dramatically cut the power of the federal government, restore the Constitution, reign in the ability of the executive branch to make unilateral policy decisions, and put more power in the hands of local governments and individuals.

■ Very
Convincing

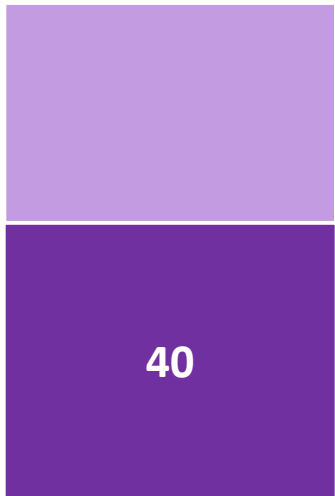


Both Economic and Reform messages outperform GOP messages

Now, thinking ahead to the presidential elections in 2016, I am going to read you something Democratic/Republican leaders are saying about how things in this country could be better... tell me whether you find it a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or a not at all convincing statement about how things in this country could be better.

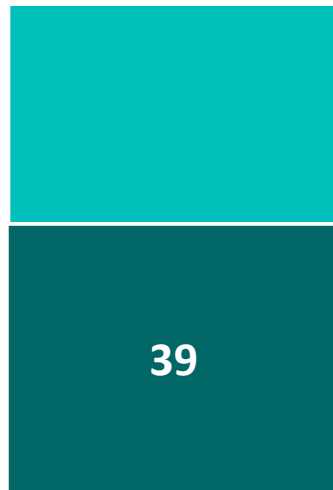
Dem Messages

72



Reform

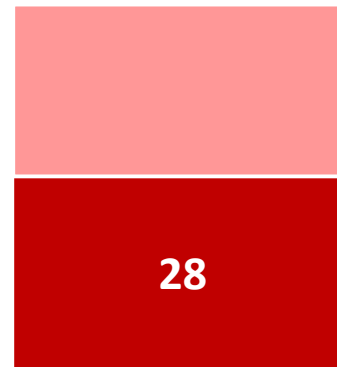
71



Economic

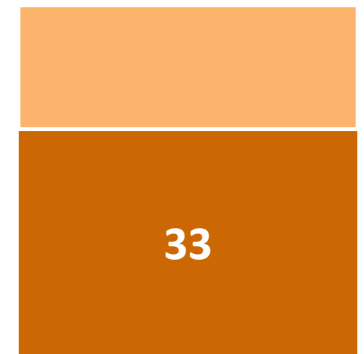
GOP Messages

53



Establishment

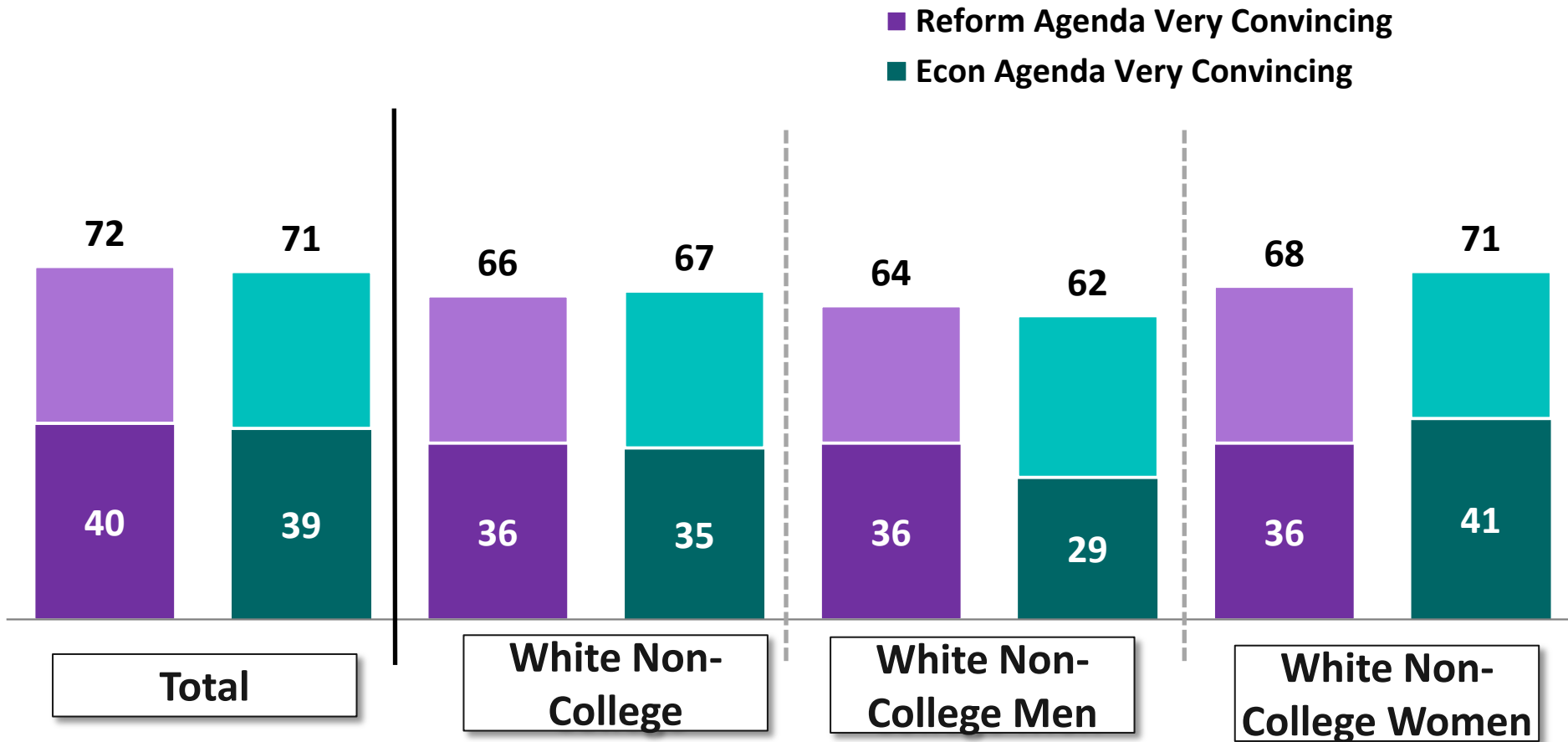
51



Tea Party

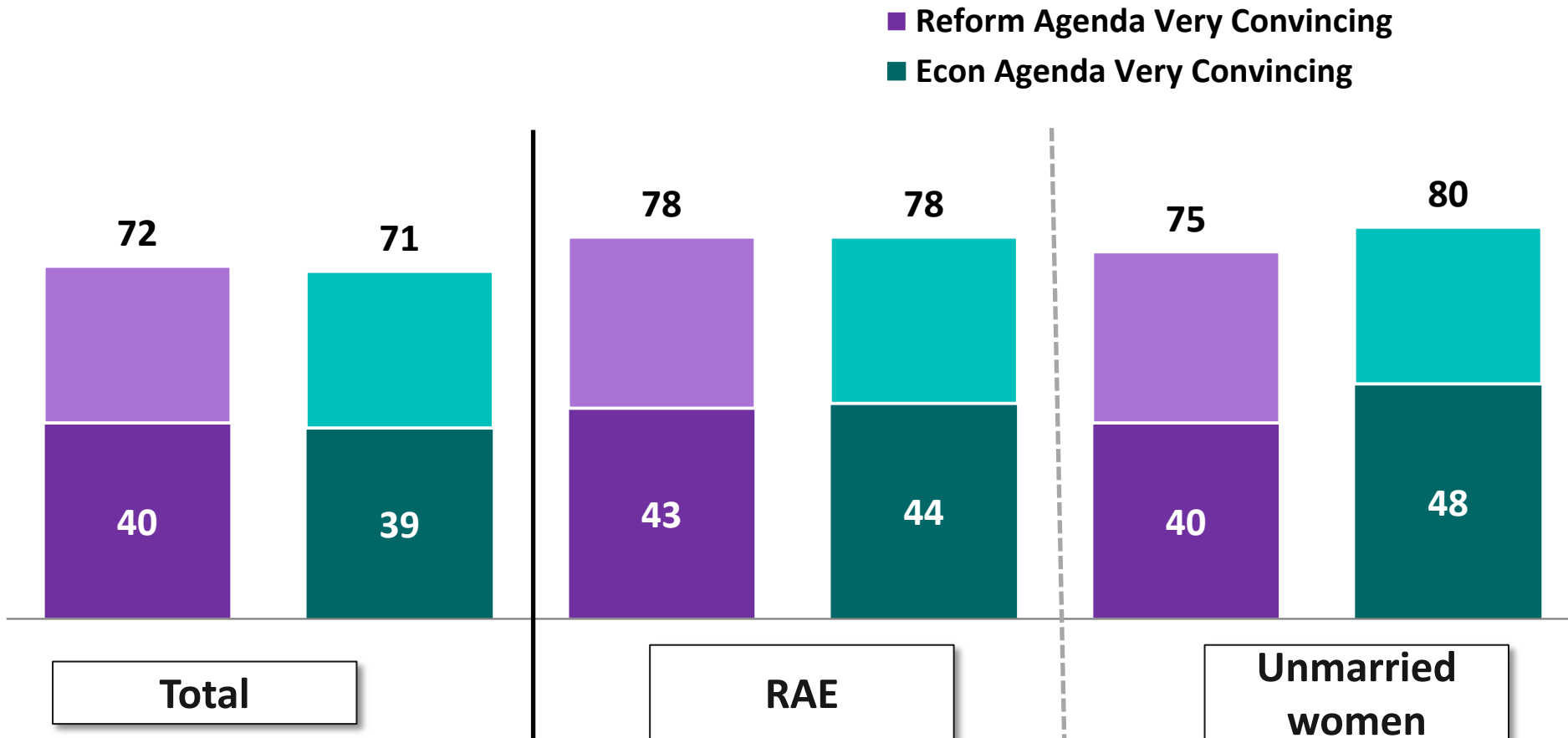
Economic and Reform Messages are equally effective among blue collar whites

Now, thinking ahead to the presidential elections in 2016, I am going to read you something Democratic leaders are saying about how things in this country could be better. ..tell me whether you find it a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or a not at all convincing statement about how things in this country could be better.



Economic message more effective among women

Now, thinking ahead to the presidential elections in 2016, I am going to read you something Democratic leaders are saying about how things in this country could be better. ..tell me whether you find it a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or a not at all convincing statement about how things in this country could be better.



Very little differentiation between an economic message frame that mentions gender and one that does not

Now, thinking ahead to the presidential elections in 2016, I am going to read you something Democratic leaders are saying about how things in this country could be better. ..tell me whether you find it a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or a not at all convincing statement about how things in this country could be better.

(Women Econ Agenda) People are drowning because jobs don't pay enough to live on. We need leaders who know what it's like to work hard every day and still struggle to pay the bills. We must help people with affordable college, job training, and childcare. **Women must get equal pay so working women and families can keep up.** We must help the vulnerable by reducing taxes for low-wage workers and give a tax break for lower and middle class working families. And we must always protect Social Security and Medicare. We need an economy that works for working people and the middle class again.

■ Very Convincing

71

38

(Working Families) People are drowning because jobs don't pay enough to live on. We need leaders who know what it's like to work hard every day and still struggle to pay the bills. We must help people with affordable college, job training, and childcare. **Working families should earn wages that keep up with the cost of living.** We must help the vulnerable by reducing taxes for low-wage workers and give a tax break for lower and middle class working families. And we must always protect Social Security and Medicare. We need an economy that works for working people and the middle class again.

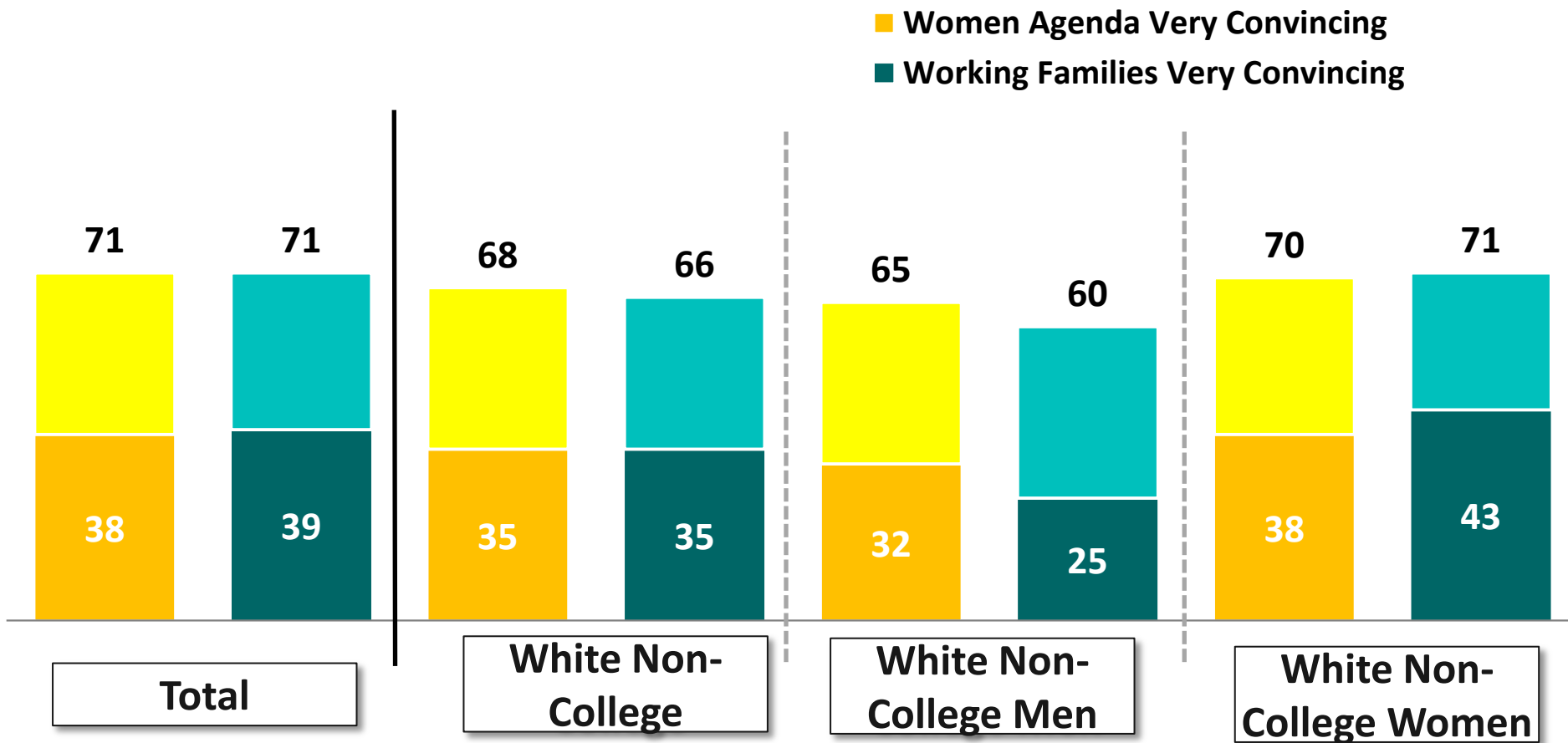
■ Very Convincing

71

39

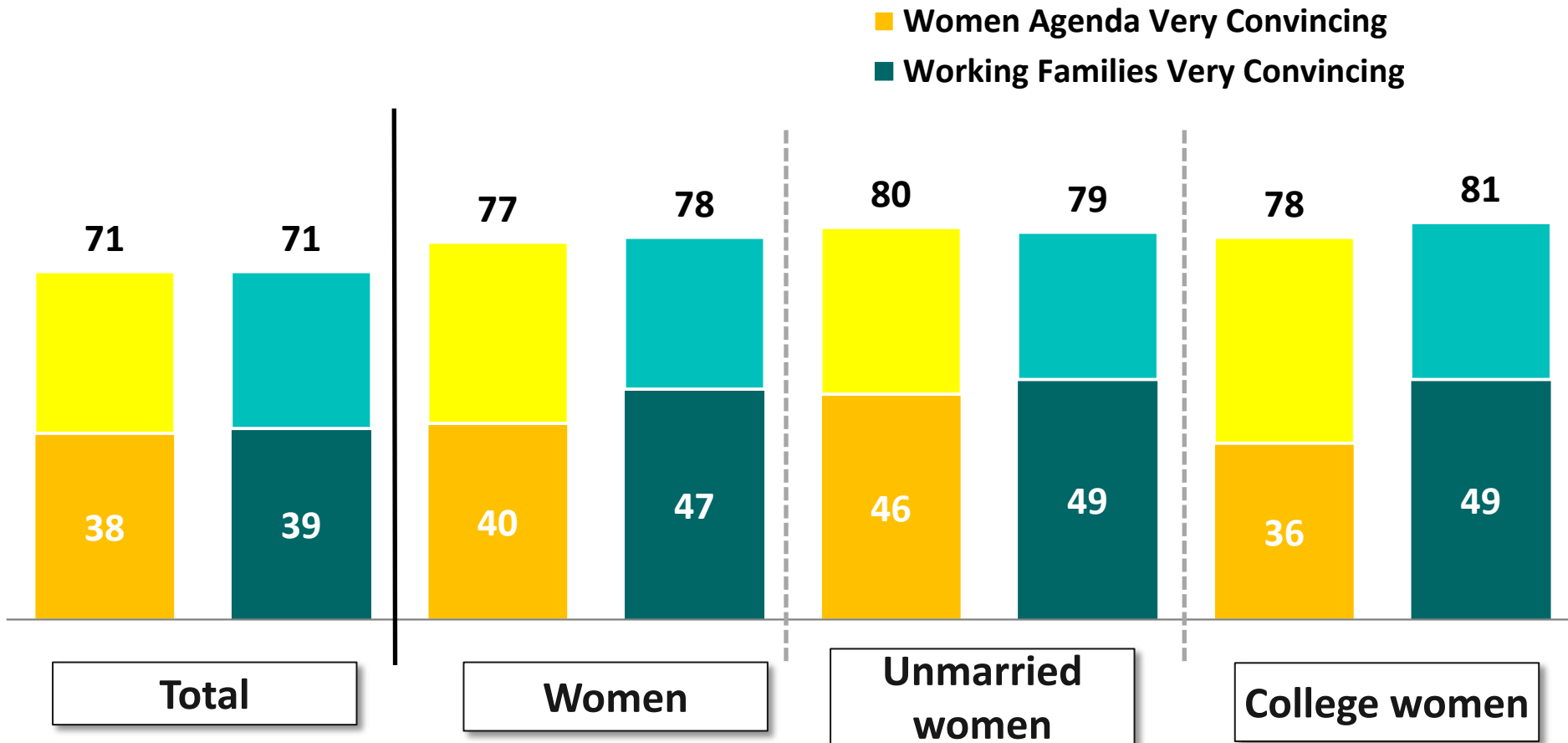
Including women in the economic message does not alienate blue collar men

Now, thinking ahead to the presidential elections in 2016, I am going to read you something Democratic leaders are saying about how things in this country could be better. ..tell me whether you find it a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or a not at all convincing statement about how things in this country could be better.



Both agendas work well among groups of women in the base

Now, thinking ahead to the presidential elections in 2016, I am going to read you something Democratic leaders are saying about how things in this country could be better. ..tell me whether you find it a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or a not at all convincing statement about how things in this country could be better.

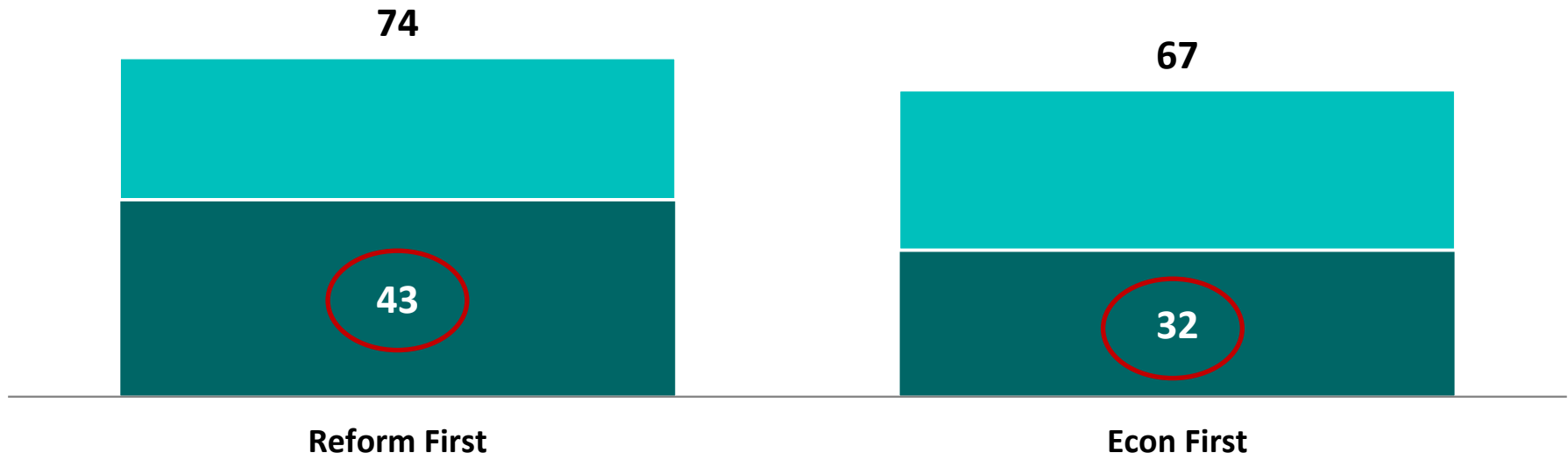


Reform opens voters to progressive economic narrative

Now, thinking ahead to the presidential elections in 2016, I am going to read you something Democratic leaders are saying about how things in this country could be better. Please tell me whether you find it a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or a not at all convincing statement about how things in this country could be better.

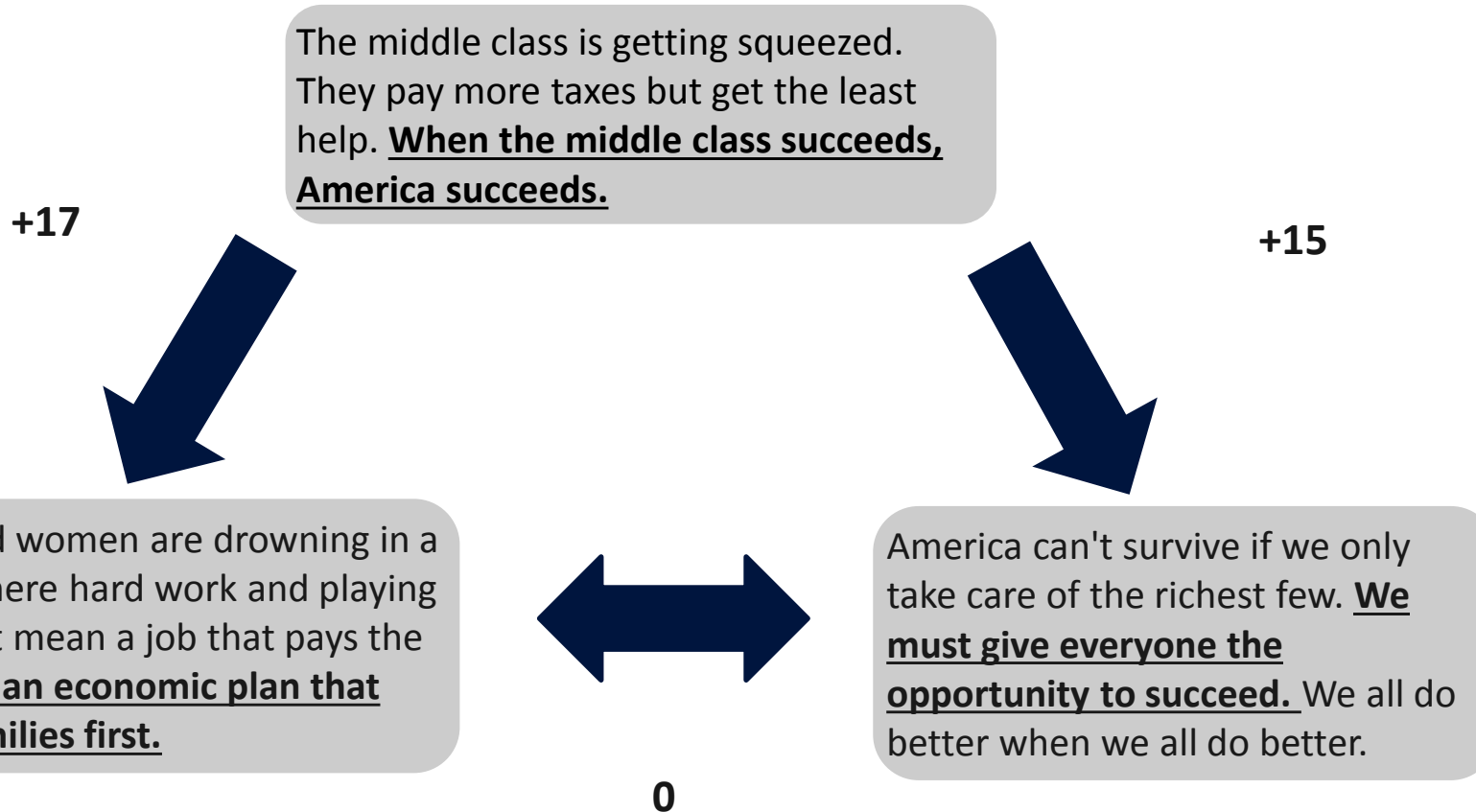
People are drowning because jobs don't pay enough to live on. We need leaders who know what it's like to work hard every day and still struggle to pay the bills. We must help people with affordable college, job training, and childcare. **(Working families should earn wages that keep up with the cost of living/Women must get equal pay so working women and families can keep up.)** We must help the vulnerable by reducing taxes for low-wage workers and give a tax break for lower and middle class working families. And we must always protect Social Security and Medicare. We need an economy that works for working people and the middle class again.

■ Very Convincing ■ Somewhat Convincing



Middle Class message strongest frame overall

Now let me read you some short statements. For each one, please tell me which statement is a better reason to support Democrats' economic plan.



Working Families frame works best among unmarried women

Now let me read you some short statements. For each one, please tell me which statement is a better reason to support Democrats' economic plan.

Unmarried Women

Working men and women are drowning in a new economy where hard work and playing by the rules don't mean a job that pays the bills. It's time for an economic plan that puts working families first.

+11

+2

America can't survive if we only take care of the richest few. We must give everyone the opportunity to succeed. We all do better when we all do better.

+13

The middle class is getting squeezed. They pay more taxes but get the least help. When the middle class succeeds, America succeeds.

Middle Class and Working America messages much stronger than Everyone message among blue collar whites

Now let me read you some short statements. For each one, please tell me which statement is a better reason to support Democrats' economic plan.

White Non-College

The middle class is getting squeezed. They pay more taxes but get the least help. When the middle class succeeds, America succeeds.

+25

America can't survive if we only take care of the richest few. We must give everyone the opportunity to succeed. We all do better when we all do better.

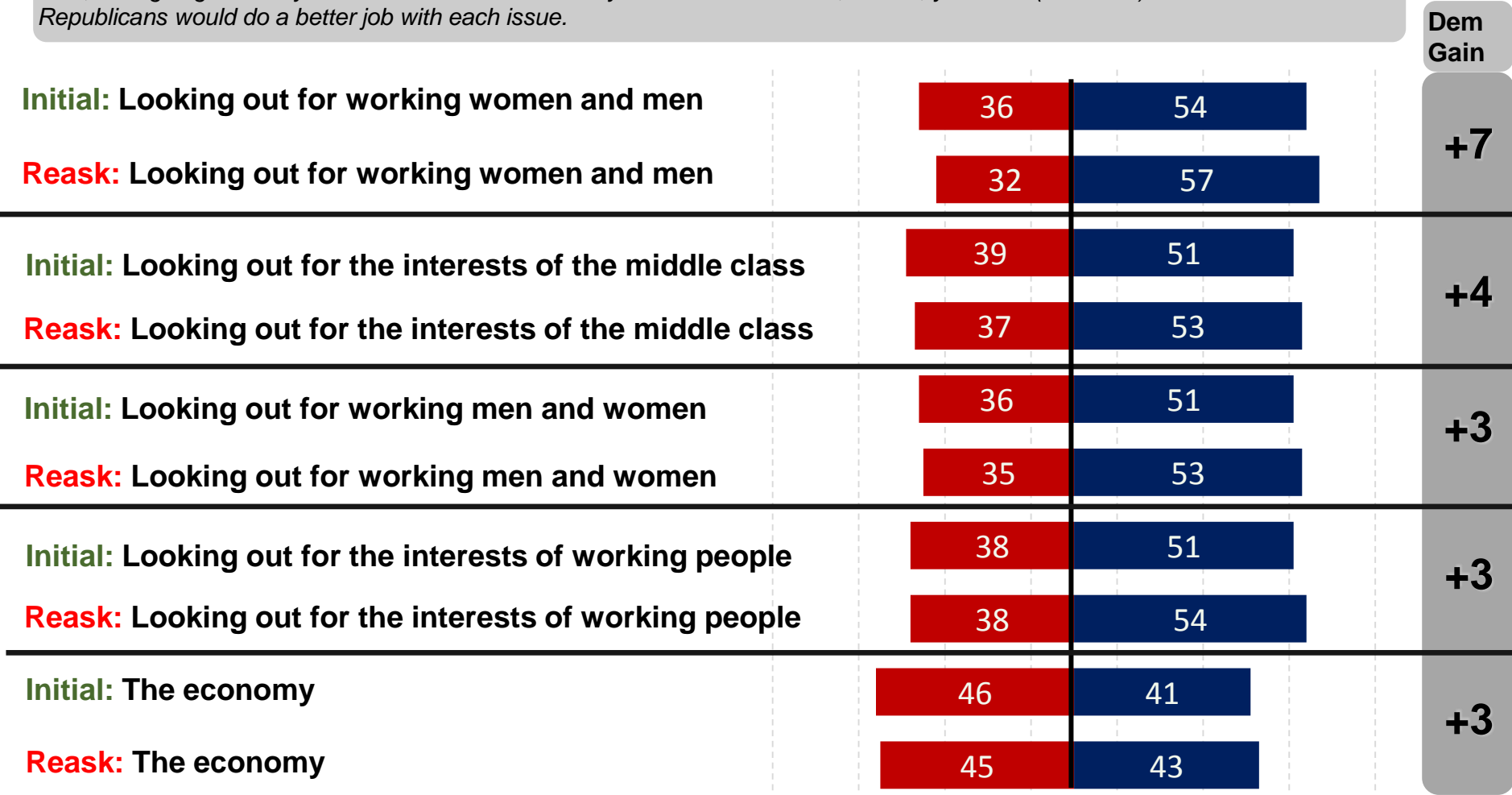
+19

Working men and women are drowning in a new economy where hard work and playing by the rules don't mean a job that pays the bills. It's time for an economic plan that puts working families first.

+14

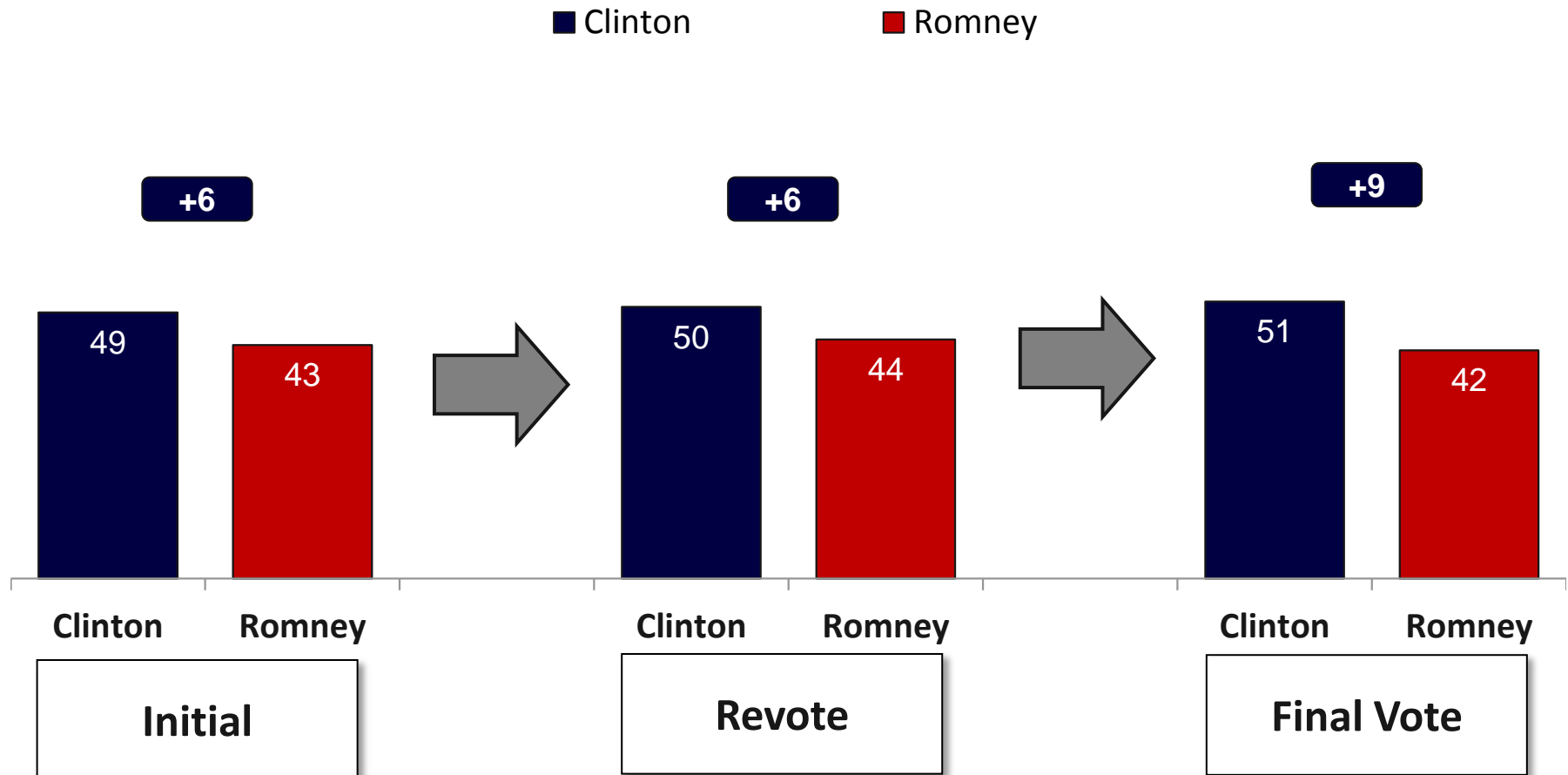
Messaging and policy agenda helps Democrats make gains on advocacy and the economy

Now, I am going to read you a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think (ROTATE) the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with each issue.



Movement towards Clinton against the stronger GOP opponent indicates some room for growth

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in 2016, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for -- Democrat Hillary Clinton or Republican Mitt Romney?



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