

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

Evolving Strategy for Progressives

Combined January Research for WVWVAF

February 12, 2015



Major project on unmarried women and the white working class

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.

This research is focused on understanding where unmarried women overlap with the white working class, how to increase Democratic margins among unmarried women, and lessen Republican margins among white working class voters.

The January program included three parts: (1) a national survey of likely 2016 voters, (2) focus groups among white working class voters, (3) State of the Union dial meter groups among white swing voters and breakout online groups among white non-college voters and white unmarried women.

Methodology

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.

State of the Union research was conducted on January 20, 2015.

Participants were 61 white swing voters nationwide who split their votes fairly evenly between Democratic and Republican candidates over the past several Presidential and Congressional elections, though there were slightly more Obama voters than Romney voters. The group's self-identified partisanship was 33 percent Democratic, 34 percent Independent, and 33 percent Republican. The group included 27 women and 34 men, including 13 unmarried women;

Focus groups were conducted on January 8th, 2015 in Virginia Beach.

They were among white non-college educated men and white non-college educated women who were weak partisans and Independents, roughly half were Obama voters, and they had a household income under \$50,000.

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

The central challenge

- This multi-pronged wave of research for WVWV makes very clear that the Democratic presidential majority is back, the Obama coalition arrived intact and Hillary Clinton begins this election cycle with a 6 point lead over Romney and 12 points over Bush.
- However, that presidential majority is not deep or broad enough to break the Republican hold on Congress and key states. It is not producing wave elections
- There are three inter-related reasons for the shortfall:
 - Some parts of the RAE could be giving Democrats bigger margins and turning out in bigger numbers, including unmarried women
 - Democratic presidential candidates (including Clinton) are only getting about a third of white working class voters;
 - Those who are living with the restructured, new economy are struggling and turned off by elite (and presidential) talk about the great macro economy.
- ***The goal of progressives now is to get more support and engagement from the RAE, including white unmarried women and Millennials, and to broaden support with struggling white working class voters, both men and women.***

Strategic turn

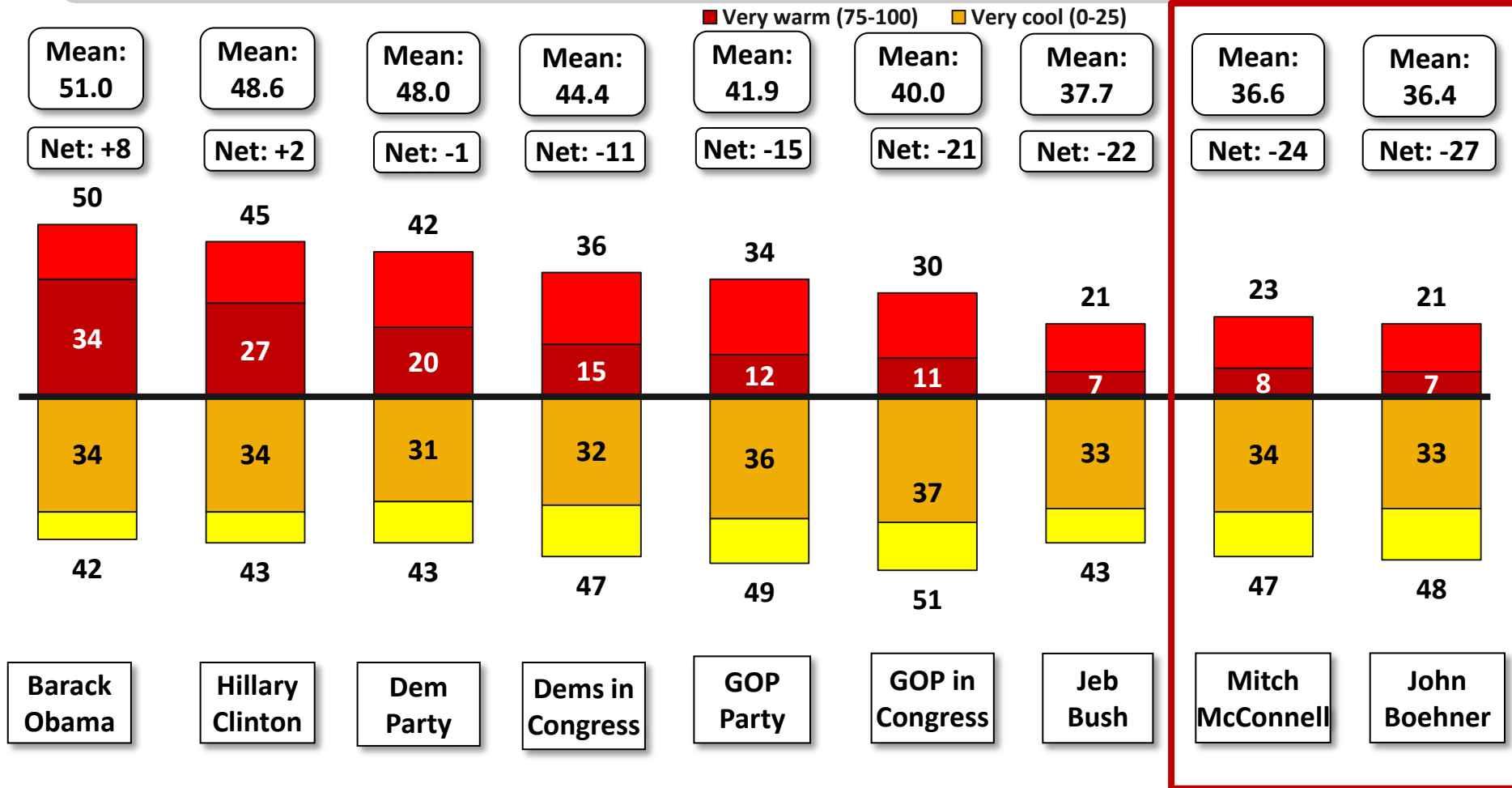
1. Understand and identify with the economic challenges that a majority of people are experiencing – even as the elites and perhaps Democratic leaders celebrate the macro economy.
2. Target both parts of the Rising American Electorate, especially unmarried women but perhaps also millennials, and parts of the swing electorate, including white working class voters. We know from this research they share a lot.
3. The economic agenda must be led by government reform. Target groups are disgusted with politics and government because of the role of big money, perceptions of waste and special interest spending. A reform agenda opens up these targets.
4. Champion a middle class economic narrative that seeks rising incomes for all and opportunities for all that make the effort. That narrative is 20 points stronger than the conservative, small government narrative.

Strategic turn, cont.

5. Champion a middle class economics that starts with protecting Social Security and Medicare, reforming government, long term infrastructure investment that creates jobs, help for working mothers, equal pay for women, and making college affordable
6. Recognize that white unmarried women and non-college women and men share common feelings about what is happening and what needs to change. They want to protect the existing social safety net of Social Security and Medicare, reform government and help working families.
7. Recognize that specific references to helping “working women” or gender-directed issues such as pay equity do not alienate white working class men.

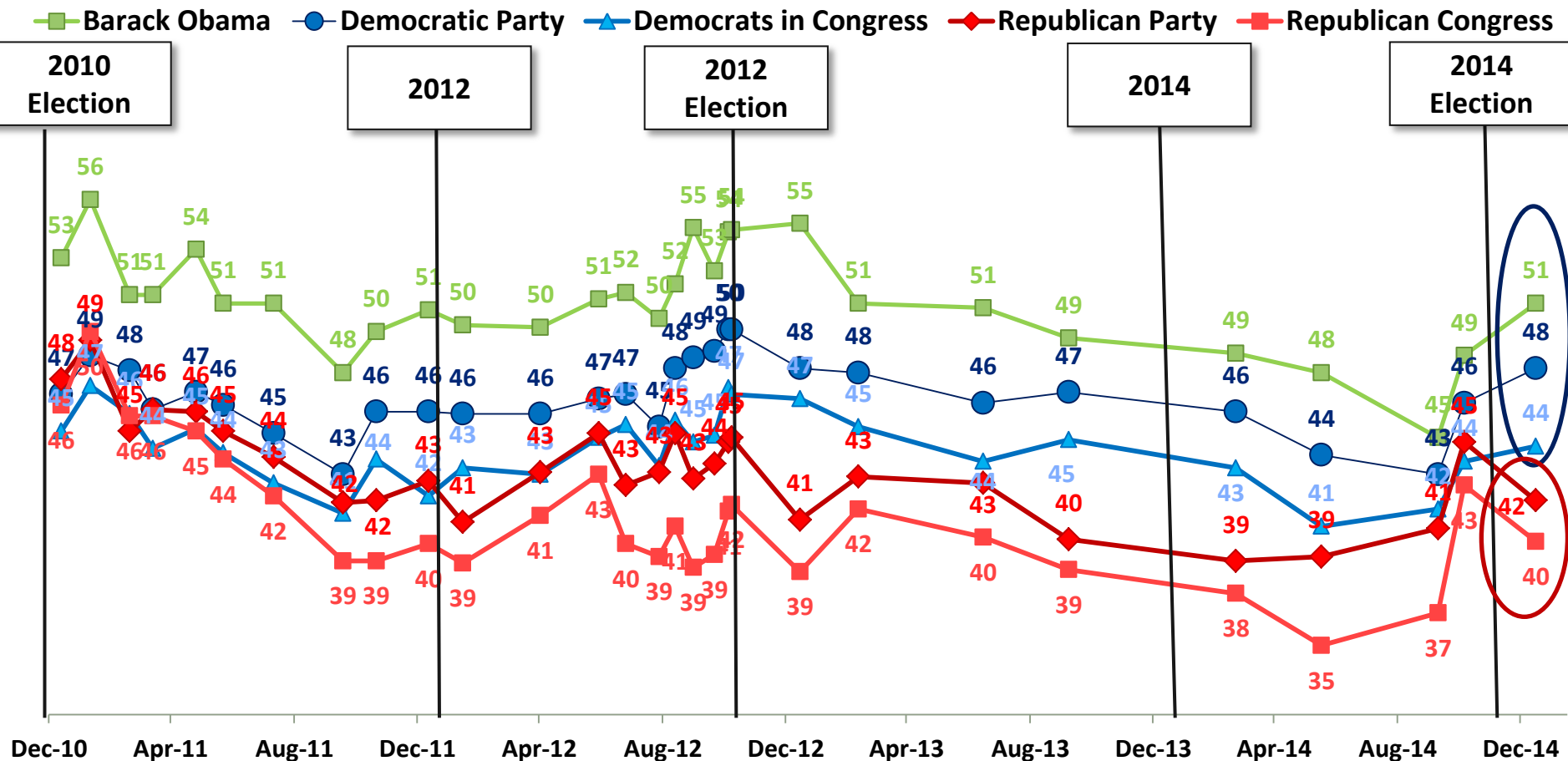
New GOP congressional leaders toxic already

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

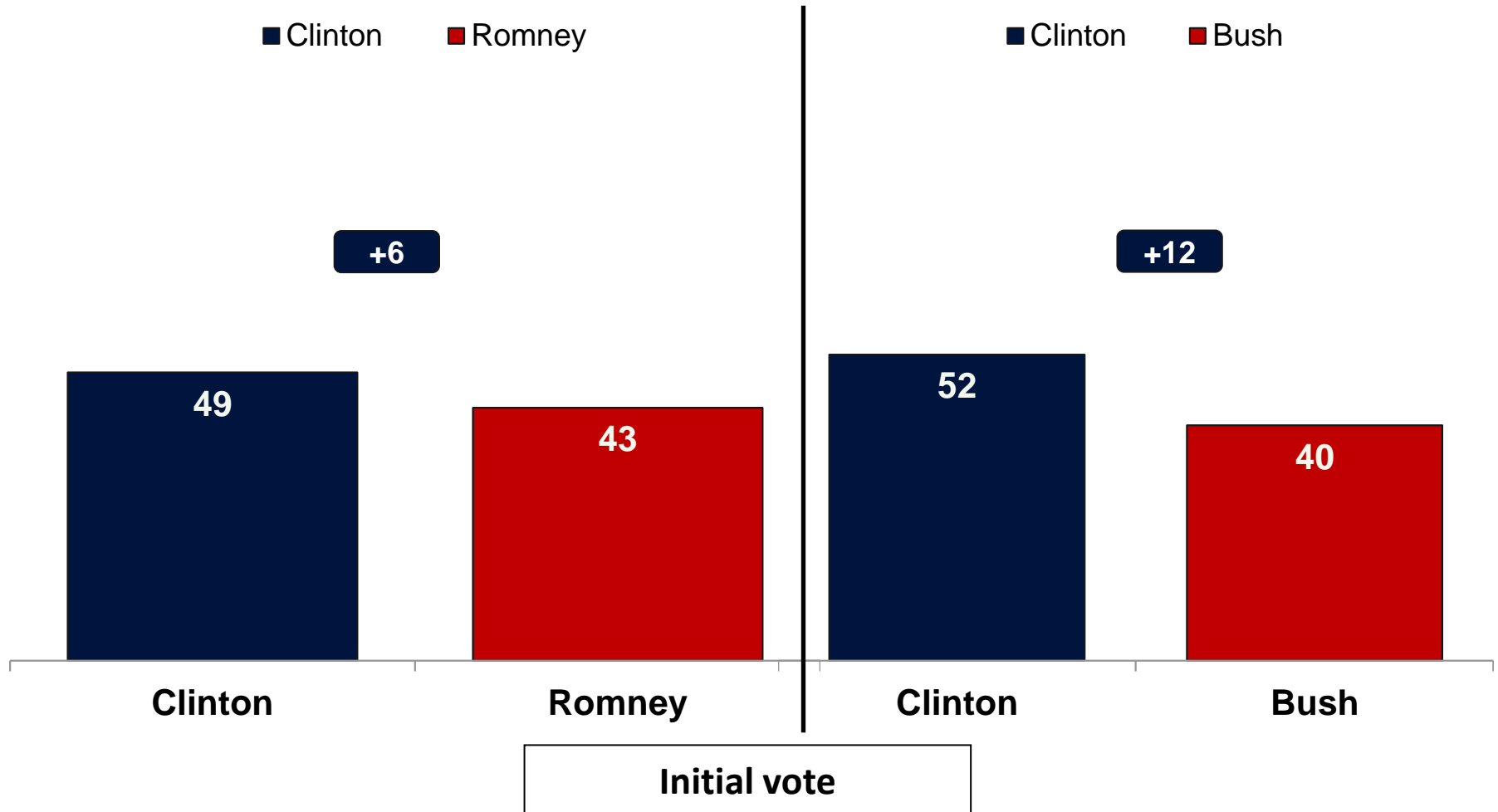
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*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted in the past 4 years. Data represents MEAN ratings.

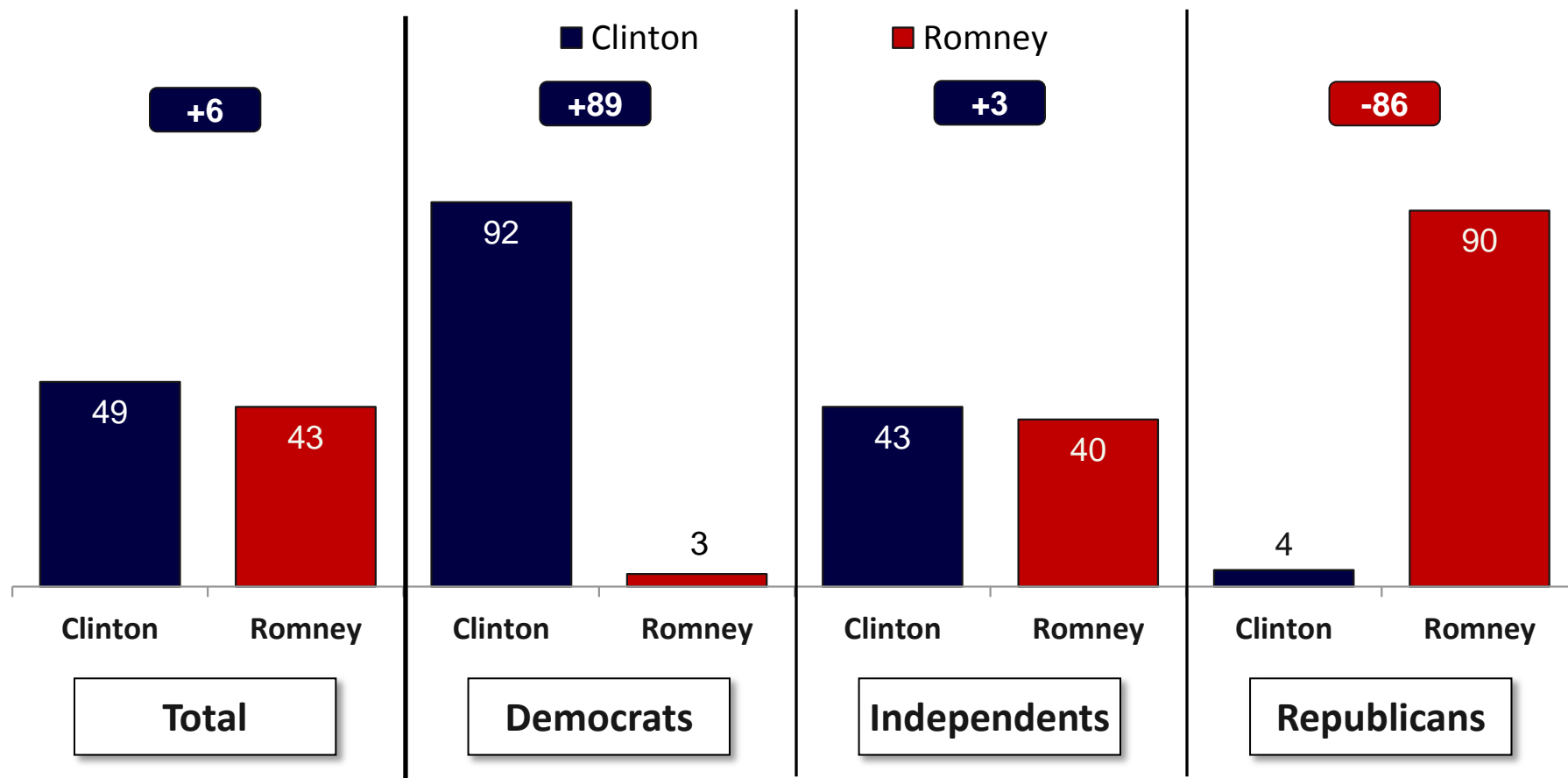
Clinton ahead of Romney and doubles her margin against Bush

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?



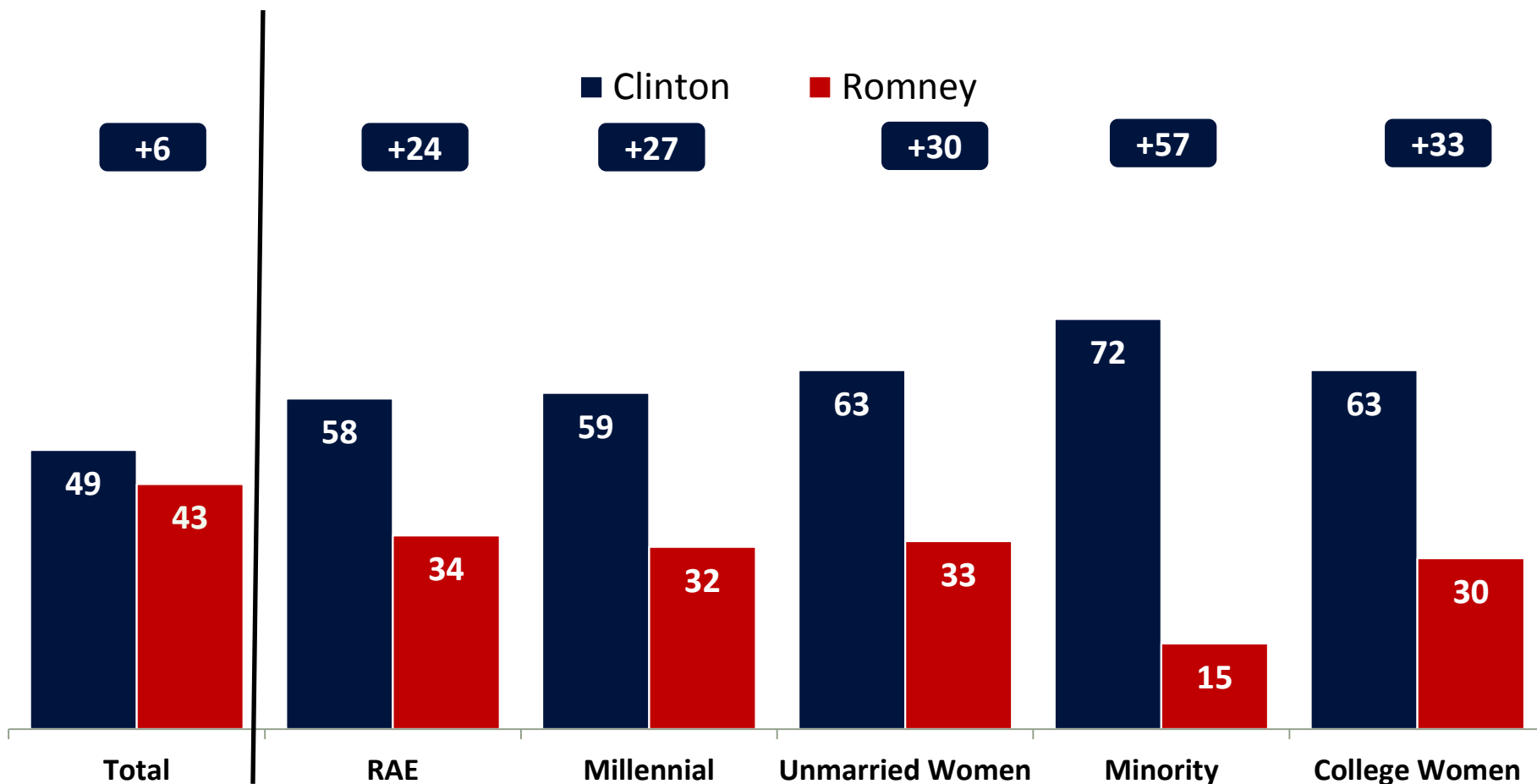
Parties consolidated with Clinton winning Independents against Romney

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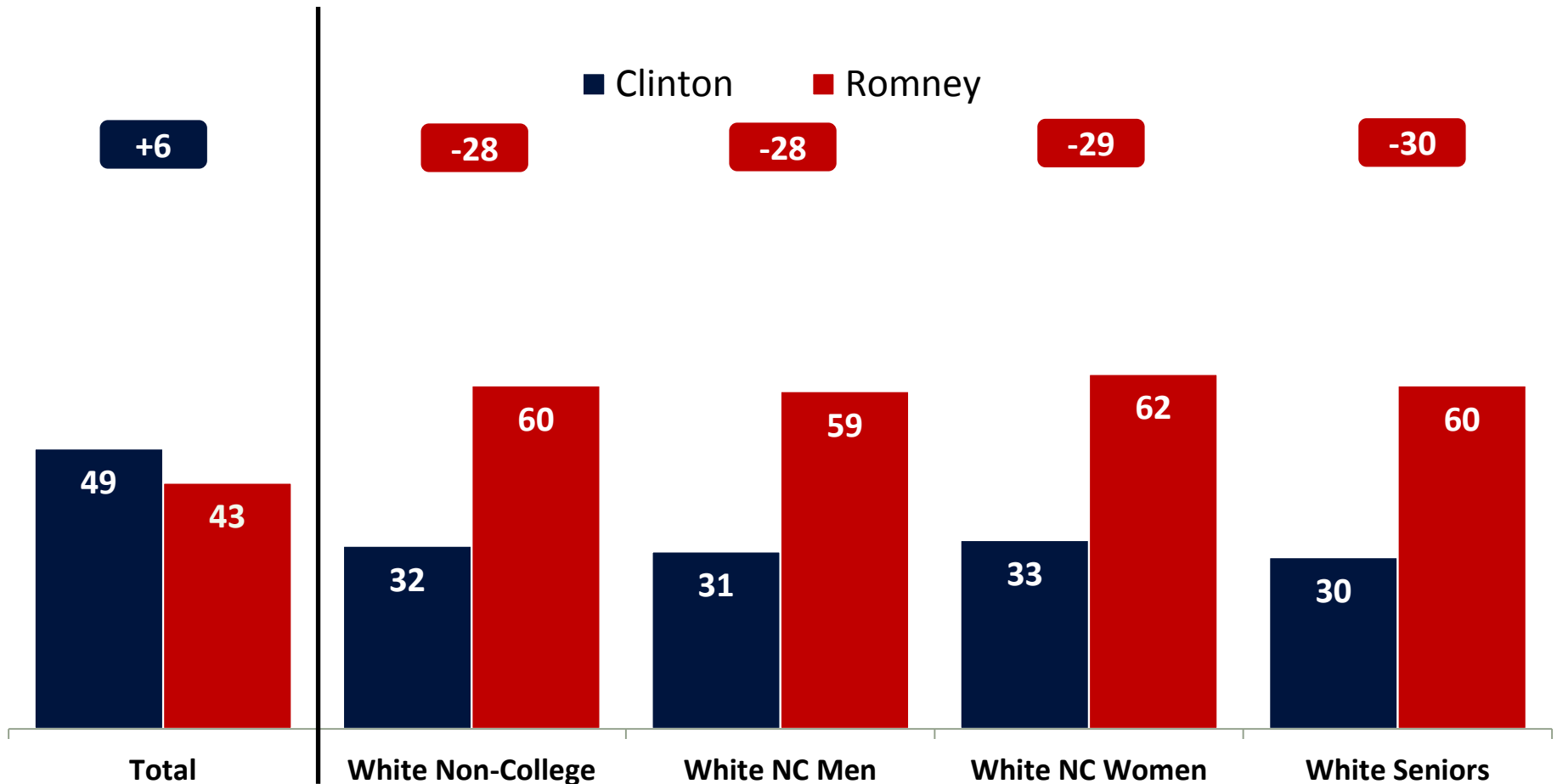
RAE, unmarried women and college women can deliver a national win for Clinton, but needs working class too

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

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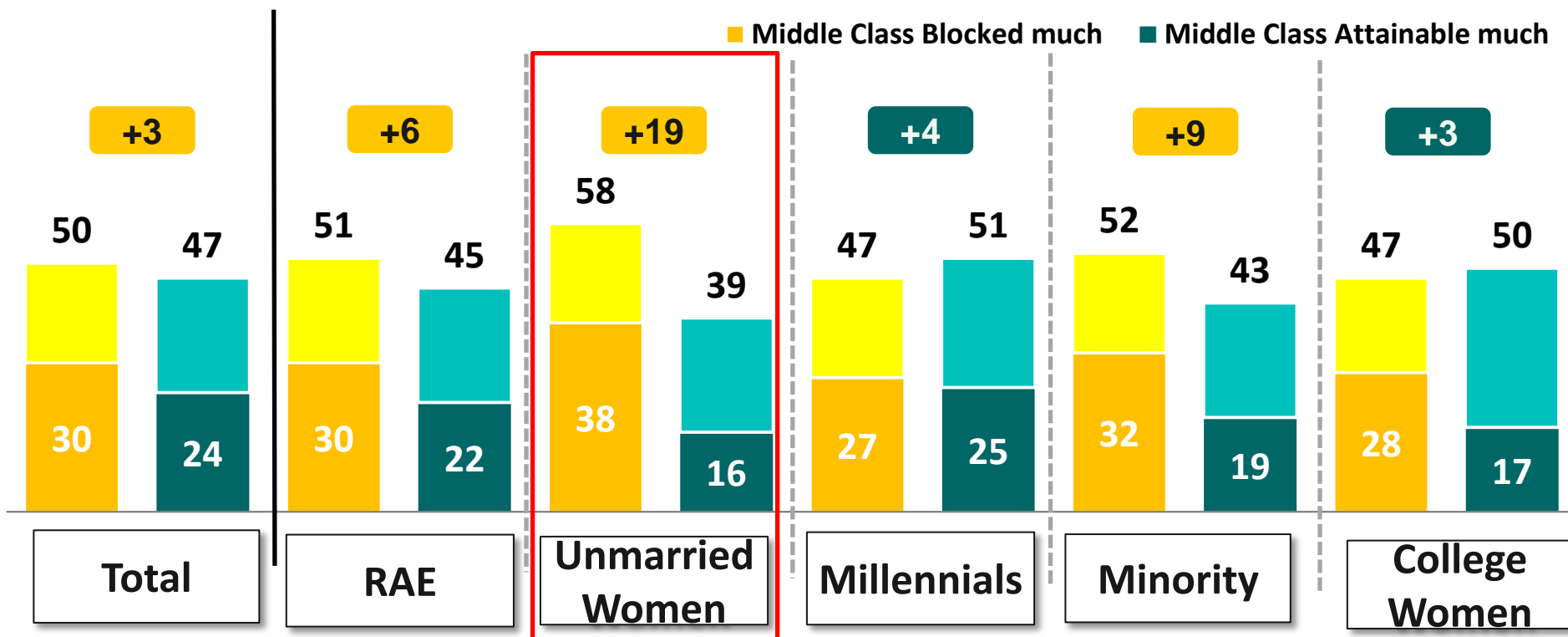


Unmarried women and minorities most likely to see middle class blocked, but sizeable minority of Millennials too

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

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.

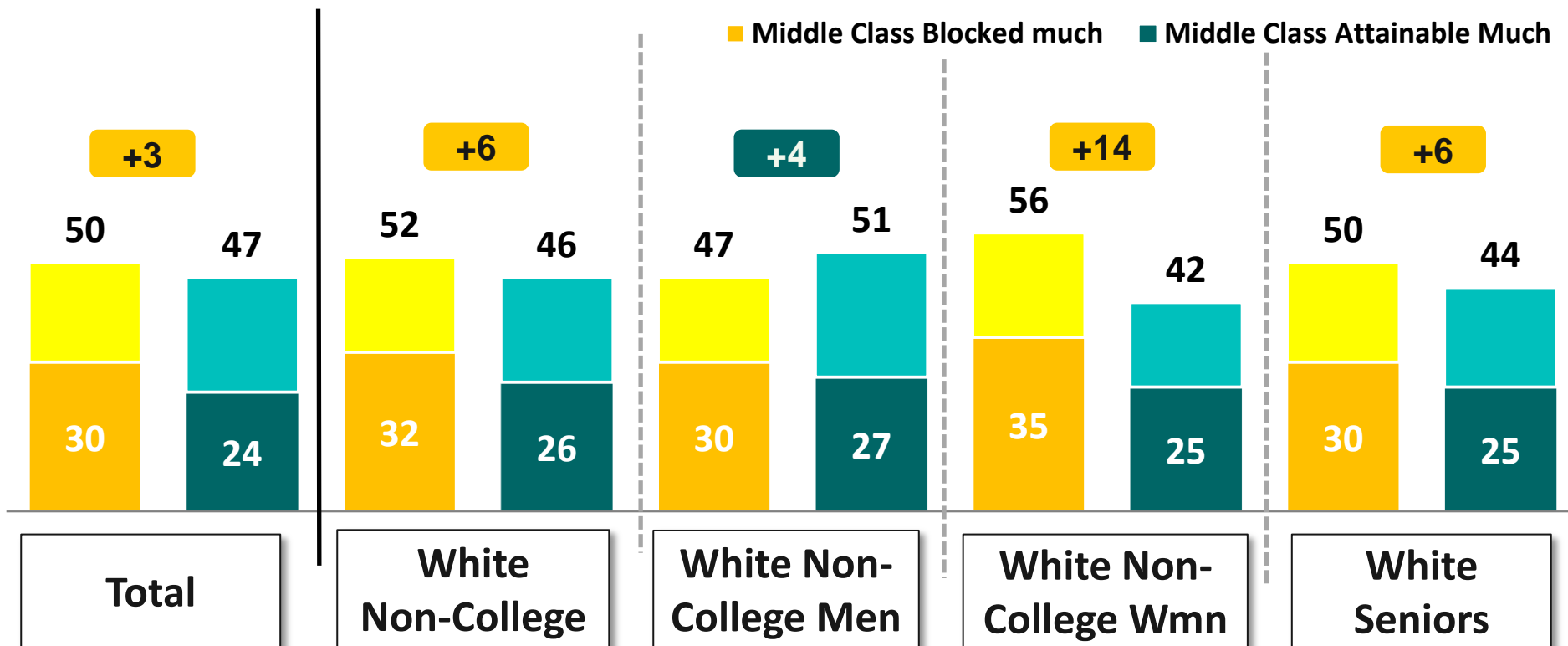


Blue collar women are more pessimistic on middle class attainability than blue collar men

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.

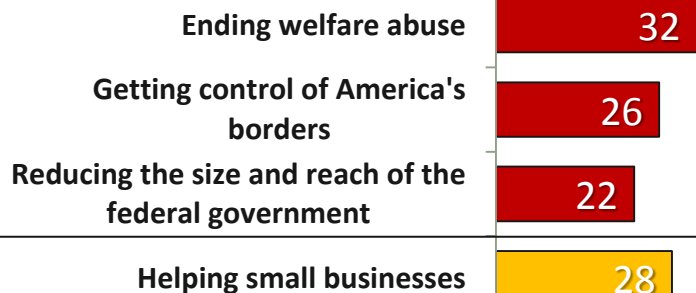
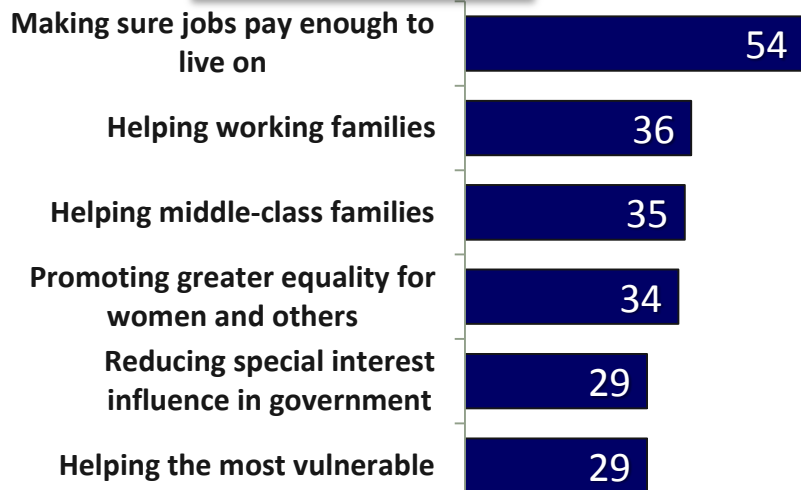
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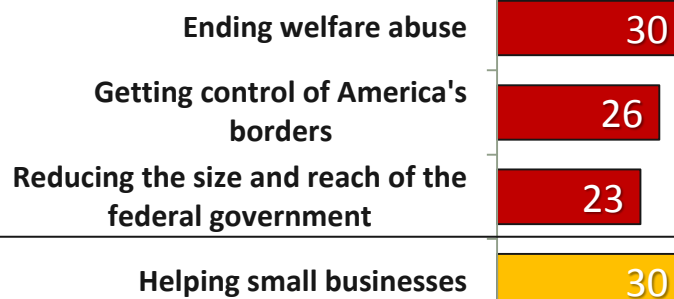
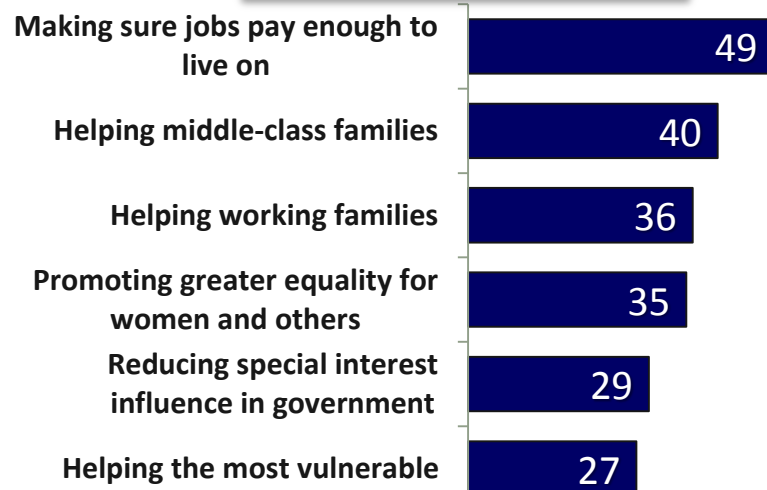
Democratic base says government should making sure jobs pay enough and help working families and equity for women

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



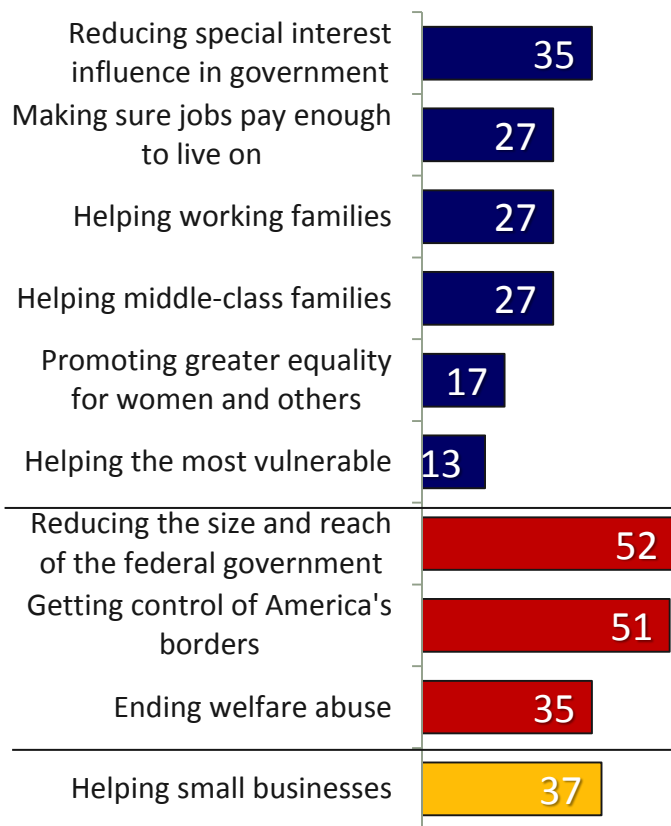
Rising American Electorate



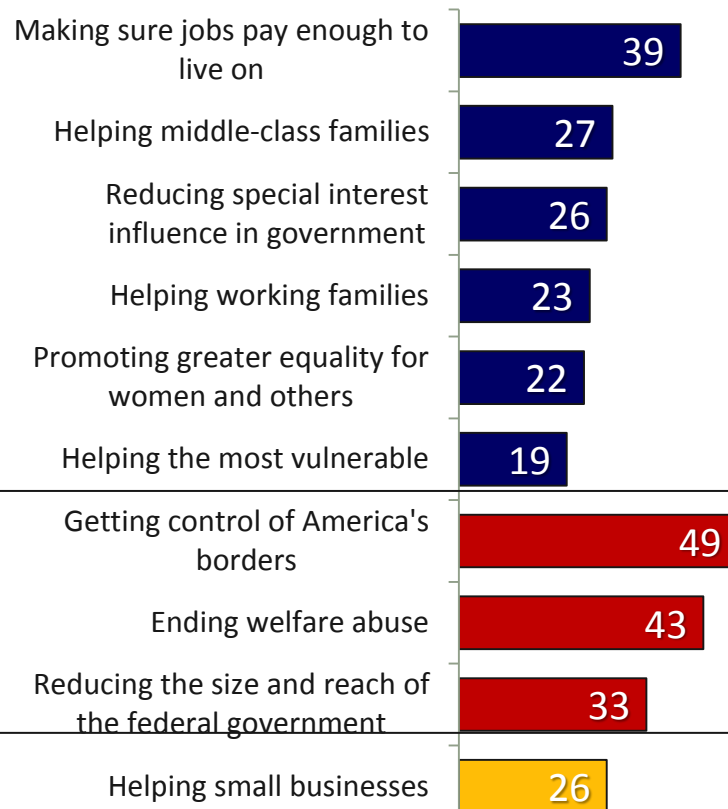
White working class men & women: jobs that pay enough to live on and helping mc families; reduced special interests

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 Men

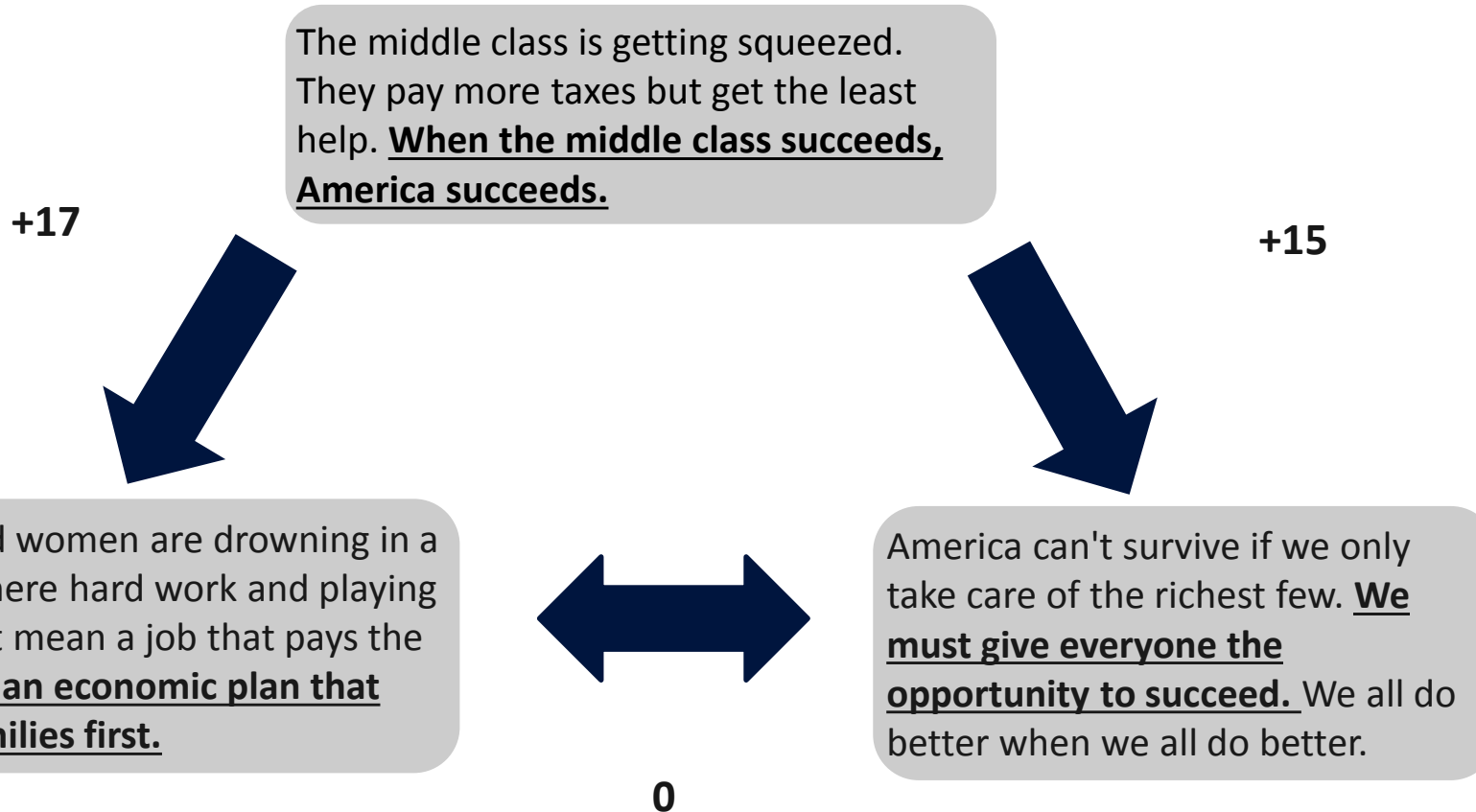


White Non-College Women



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.



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

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.**

‘We’ve endured’ welcomed, but state of the union ‘strong’ sends line down – many still struggling



America, for all that we've endured; for all the grit and hard work required to come back; for all the tasks that lie ahead, know this: The shadow of crisis has passed, and the State of the Union is strong. At this moment -- with a growing economy, shrinking deficits, bustling industry, and booming energy production -- we have risen from recession freer to write our own future than any other nation on Earth. It's now up to us to choose who we want to be over the next fifteen years, and for decades to come.

Claim that recovery touching more gets rise, but flat for white working class women and unmarried women



Today, thanks to a growing economy, the **recovery is touching more and more lives**. **Wages are finally starting to rise again**. We know that more small business owners plan to raise their employees' pay than at any time since 2007.

So, voters embrace economic agenda for working women and men

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.

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.



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.



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.



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.



Working Families: Recognize that working families need help by making sure parents have paid sick days to care for their children and access to affordable childcare



Economic agenda for working women and men: Base and swing groups

	2016 LV	RAE	Unmarried Women	Millenn- ial	White Unmarried Women	White Non- College	White Non-Coll. Women	White Non-Coll. Men	Indepen- dent	Baby Boomers
Off the Chart	Medicare / SS	Infra. Jobs	Medicare/ SS	Working Moms	Medicare / SS	Medicare/ SS	Reform Gov.	Medicare / SS	Medicare/ SS	Medicare/ SS
	Working Moms	Working Families	Reform Gov.	College Afford.	Reform Gov.	Reform Gov.	Medicare/ SS	Business Jobs	Reform Gov.	Reform Gov.
	Reform Gov.	Medicare / SS	Working Families	Medicare / SS	Infra Jobs	Equal Pay	Working Families	Reform Gov.	Equal Pay	Working Moms
Major	Equal Pay	Equal Pay	Infra Jobs	Infra. Jobs	Working Families	Infra. Jobs	Equal Pay	College Afford.	Working Families	College Afford.
	Infra. Jobs	Reform Gov.	Equal Pay	Equal Pay	Equal Pay	Working Families	Infra. Jobs	Working Moms	Citizens United	Equal Pay
	College Afford.	College Afford.	Tax Fair Share	Business Jobs	Tax Fair Share	Business Jobs	Tax Fair Share	Equal Pay	Infra. Jobs	Citizens United
Important	Business Jobs	Tax Fair Share	College Afford.	Reform Gov.	College Afford.	Tax Fair Share	Health Care	Infra. Jobs	Business Jobs	Infra. Jobs
	Tax Fair Share	Minimum Wage	Minimum Wage	Citizens United	Minimum Wage	College Afford.	Citizens United	Citizens United	Tax Fair Share	Business Jobs

Rising American Electorate prioritizes protecting Medicare/SS, then infrastructure jobs, and helping working families/equal pay

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RAE

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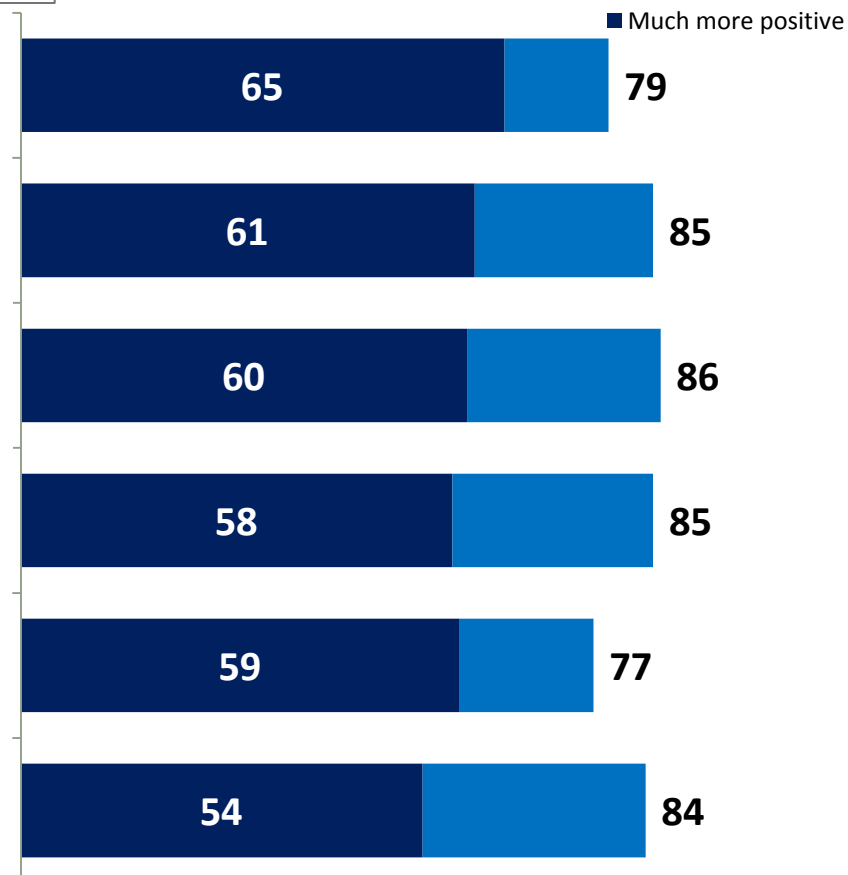
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Working Families: Recognize that working families need help by making sure parents have paid sick days to care for their children and access to affordable childcare.

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.

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



Unmarried say first, protect Medicare/SS and reform government. Then, jobs, working families/moms and equal pay and college

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.

Unmarried Women

Protect Medicare and Social Security: so there is no reduction in benefits so today's and tomorrow's seniors can retire with security.



Reform Government: Streamline government and reduce waste and bureaucracy



Infrastructure Jobs: Create a long term plan to rebuild America and create new good paying jobs by investing in infrastructure



Working Families: Recognize that working families need help by making sure parents have paid sick days and access to affordable childcare.



Equal Pay: Make sure working women have equal pay to men for doing the same work and reward companies that provide leave policies



Tax Fair Share: Raise taxes on those with the highest incomes and close corporate tax loopholes and special interest subsidies



White Unmarried Women

Reform Government: Streamline government and reduce waste and bureaucracy



Protect Medicare and Social Security: so there is no reduction in benefits so today's and tomorrow's seniors can retire with security.



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



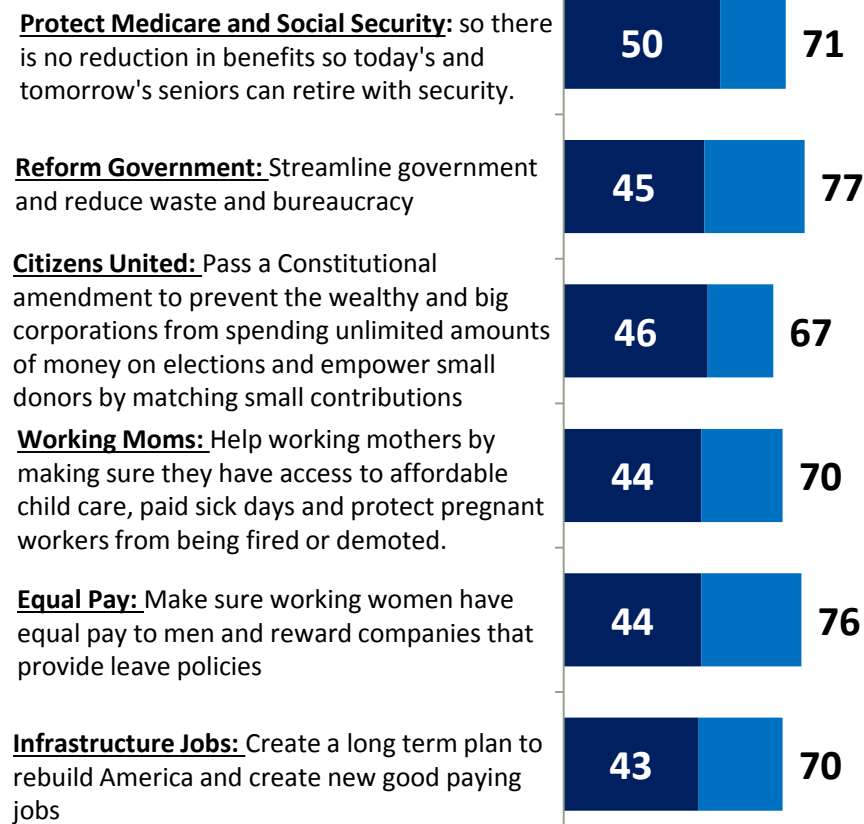
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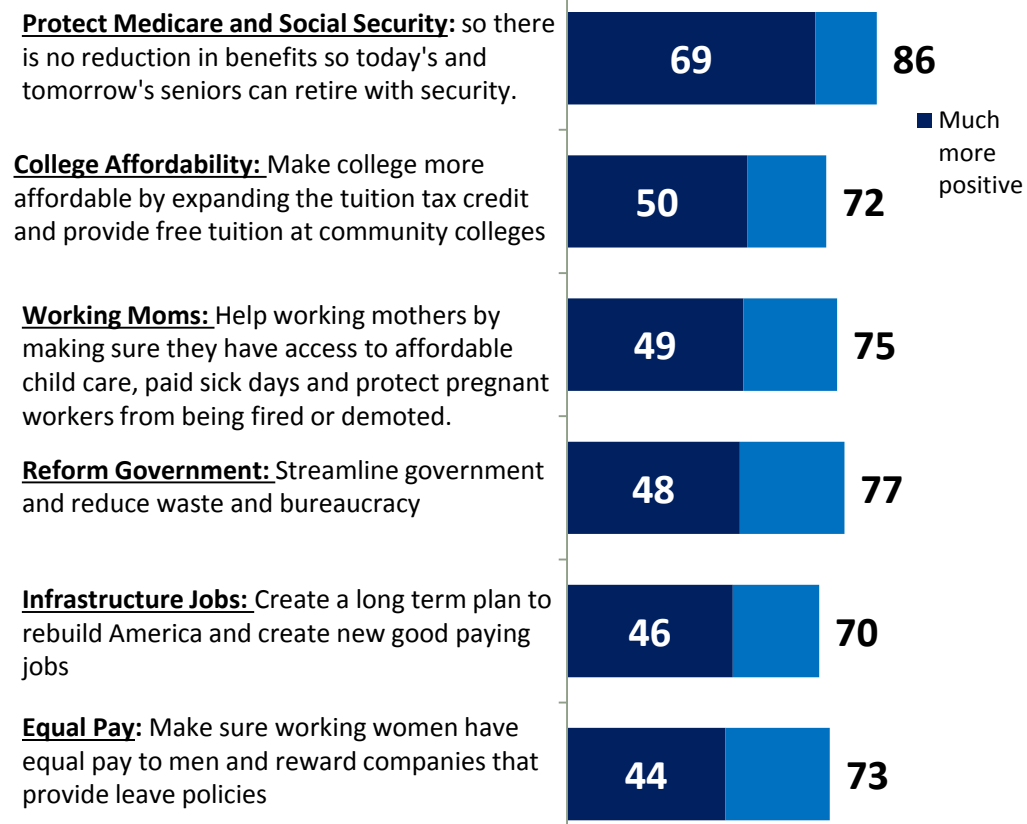
Independents: SS + reform government and campaign money; and working moms and equal pay for women

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Independents



Baby Boomers

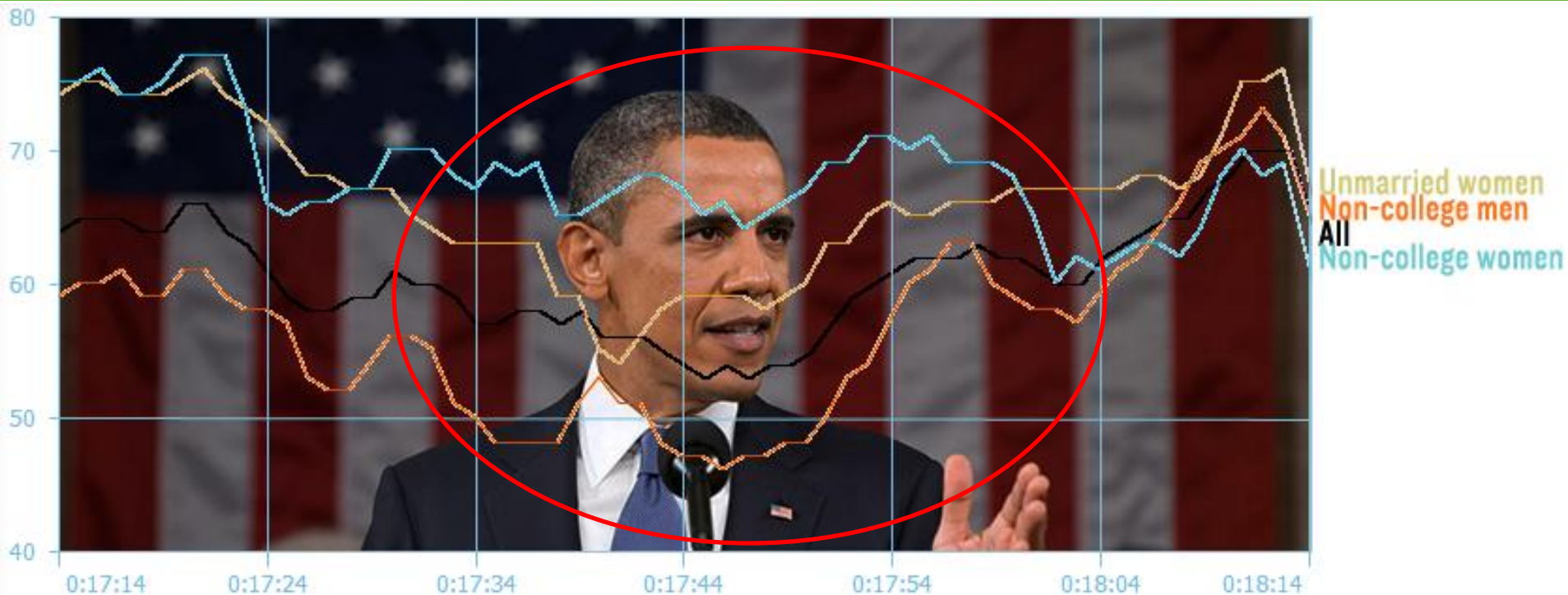


Child care spikes for working class women and unmarried women, and \$3,000 tax cut gets the men



It's time we stop treating childcare as a side issue, or a women's issue, and treat it like the national economic priority that it is for all of us. And that's why my plan will make quality childcare more available, and more affordable, for every middle-class and low-income family with young children in America -- by creating more slots and a new tax cut of up to \$3,000 per child, per year.

Paid sick day portion gets big rise from all



Today, we're the only advanced country on Earth that doesn't guarantee paid sick leave or paid maternity leave to our workers. Forty-three million workers have no paid sick leave. Forty-three million. Think about that. And that forces too many parents to make the gut-wrenching choice between a paycheck and a sick kid at home. So I'll be taking new action to help states adopt paid leave laws of their own.

Community college produces biggest response



...lower the cost of community college -- to zero.

Forty percent of our college students choose community college. Some are young and starting out. Some are older and looking for a better job. Some are veterans and single parents trying to transition back into the job market. Whoever you are, this plan is your chance to graduate ready for the new economy, without a load of debt.

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)

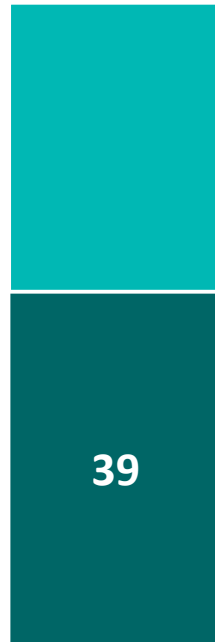
People are drowning because jobs don't pay enough to live on. We need leaders who know what it's like to work hard every day and still struggle to pay the bills. We must help people with affordable college, job training, and childcare.

(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

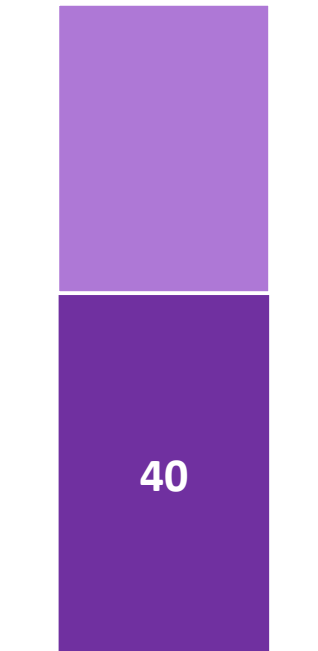
71



(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



And getting an economy that generates rising incomes and a common purpose gets huge rise



*Will we accept an economy where only a few of us do spectacularly well? **Or will we commit ourselves to an economy that generates rising incomes and chances for everyone who makes the effort? [...]***

*Will we allow ourselves to be sorted into factions and turned against one another -- **or will we recapture the sense of common purpose that has always propelled America forward?***

Help these families get ahead and everyone getting fair shot elicits huge response



*Like millions of hardworking Americans, Rebekah isn't asking for a handout, but **she is asking that we look for more ways to help families get ahead. [...]***

*That's what **middle-class economics is -- the idea that this country does best when everyone gets their fair shot, everyone does their fair share, and everyone plays by the same set of rules.***

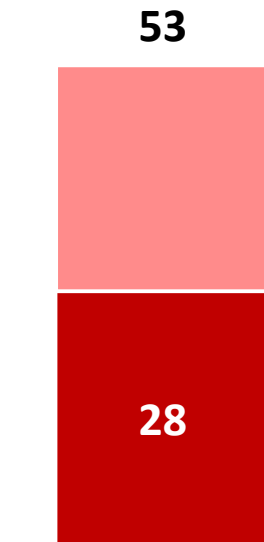
Republican messages less strong among this electorate

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)

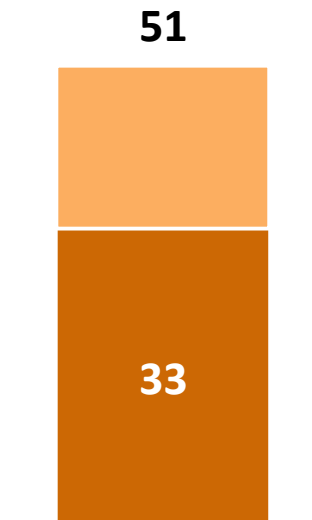
Democrats failed to get our economy back on track. The middle class is struggling with declining paychecks, high unemployment, and rising costs. We must tighten our borders and make sure only those in this country legally who can support themselves can stay, and we need to reform the welfare system so 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.

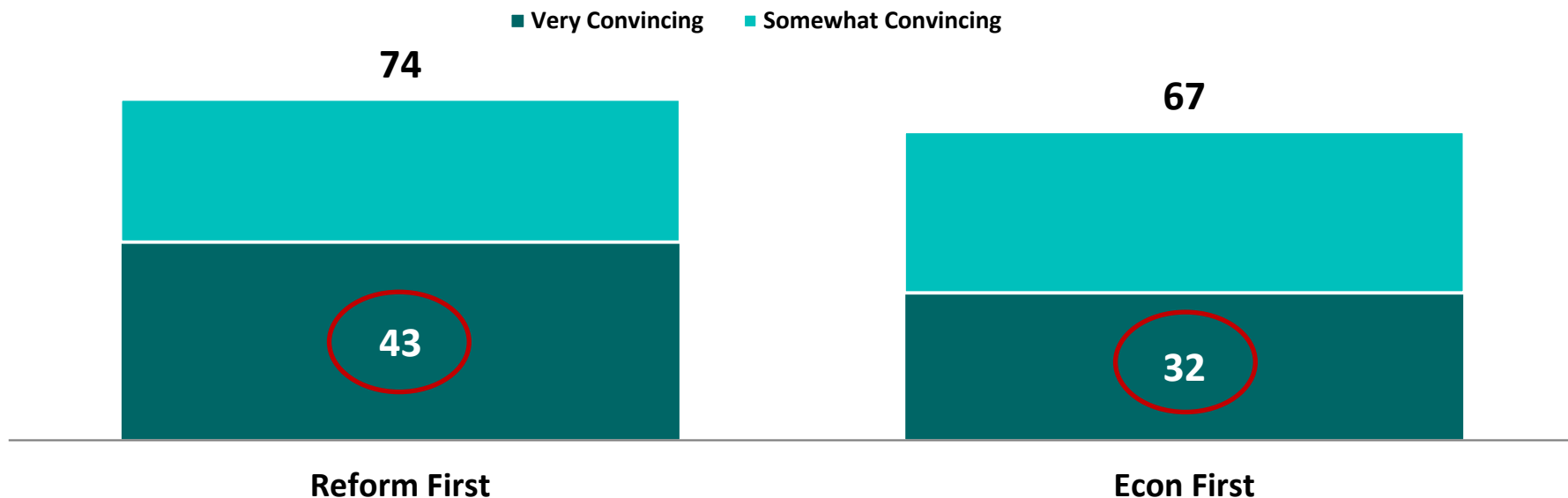
■ Very
Convincing



Reform opens voters to progressive economic narrative

(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.

(Economic 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.



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