



June 26th & 27th Democratic Debates 2019:

Dial meter research among the Rising American Electorate, white working class & white college women

Methodology

On behalf of the *American Federation of Teachers* and the *Voter Participation Center*, *Democracy Corps* conducted online dial meter research during the June 26th and 27th Democratic Presidential debates among 347 registered voters nationally:

- African Americans
- Latinos
- White millennials
- White unmarried women
- White working-class women
- White college women
- White working-class men

To ensure each line was as representative as possible, these lines were individually recruited.

Surveys were administered before and after the live dial meter session.

This research is qualitative and results are not statistically projectable onto a larger population.

The key groups



AFRICAN AMERICANS

African Americans, particularly African American women, gave Democrats near universal support and delivered their highest midterm vote share ever. Will the core of the coalition that produced the 2018 blue wave maintain their outrage with President Trump's racism, corruption, and assaults on the social safety net?

LATINOS

Latinos helped deliver many of the districts and states that turned blue in 2018, nevertheless, their performance in 2018 and 2016 was underwhelming. With critical states like Florida and Arizona on the line, we must better understand how they are responding to Trump's worldview and agenda on issues from immigration and the wall to gender roles and economic security.

WHITE MILLENNIALS

Powered by the women, millennials increased their turnout and gave Democrats improved margins in 2018, but white millennials barely broke for Democrats in the battleground and their turnout seriously lagged other generations. We must not be satisfied. What parts of Trump's agenda will motivate white millennials to resist when he is on the ballot?

WHITE UNMARRIED WOMEN

After a disappointing +2 margin for Clinton, white unmarried women gave Democrats a +12 margin in 2018 and were already voting 2-to-1 for the Democrat in 2020 in our recent poll. Plus, they outnumber the white college women that the media was fixed on in 2018! Will the dials confirm white unmarried women are now a core base group?

WHITE WORKING CLASS WOMEN

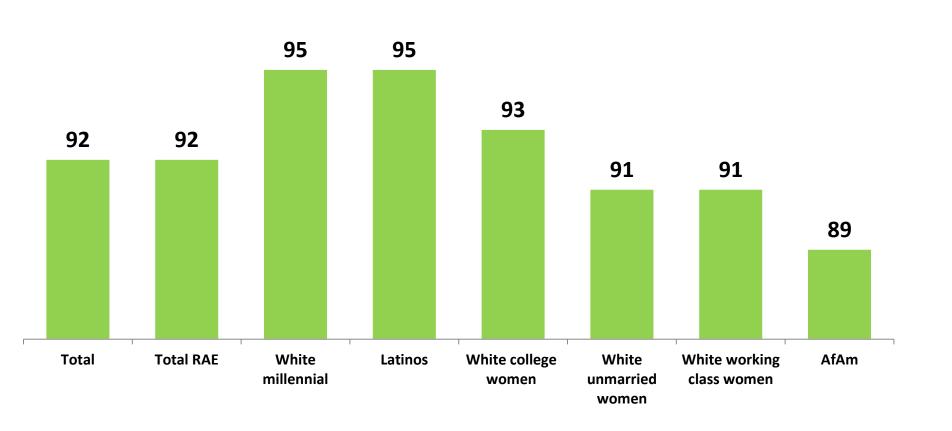
White working class women may present Democrats the greatest opportunity. In 2018, they shifted as much as white college women in their vote (+13) but were more impactful, outnumbering them 25 to 15 percent. They already give the Democrat a +3 lead over Trump in 2020. Will the dials confirm the playing field has changed?



Interest in the 2020 presidential election is already high among key voters

% CERTAIN TO VOTE IN 2020 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

From Pre-Debate Survey

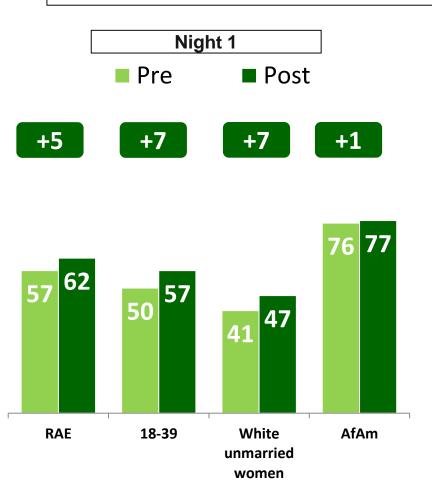


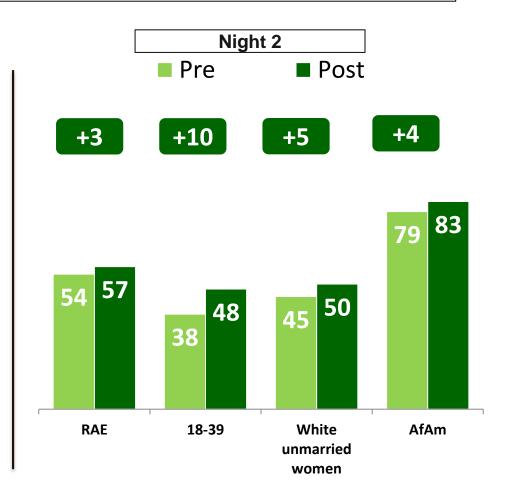
voterparticipation

CENTER

Post-debate shows a rise primary voting interest among key blocs

%VOTING IN DEM PRIMARY: PRE VS. POST



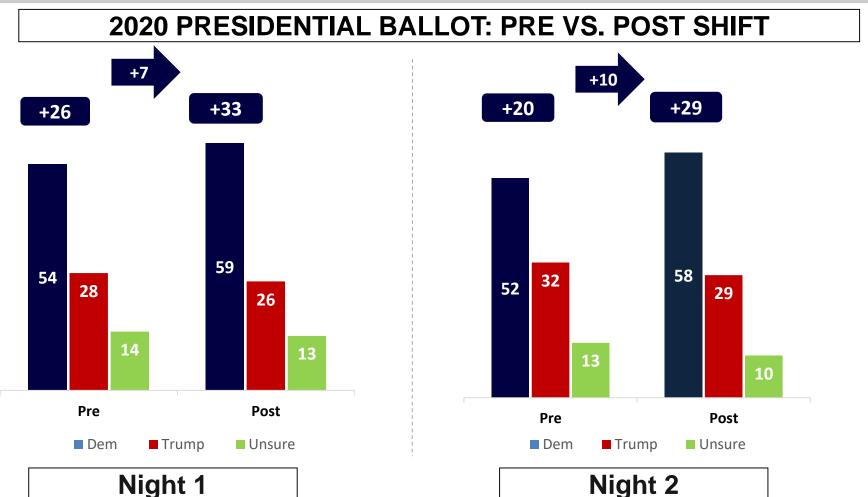




voterparticipation

After each debate, a generic Democrat increases margin in 2020 ballot

Thinking about the election for President in 2020, will you vote for -- (ROTATE) the Democratic candidate or Republican Donald Trump?.



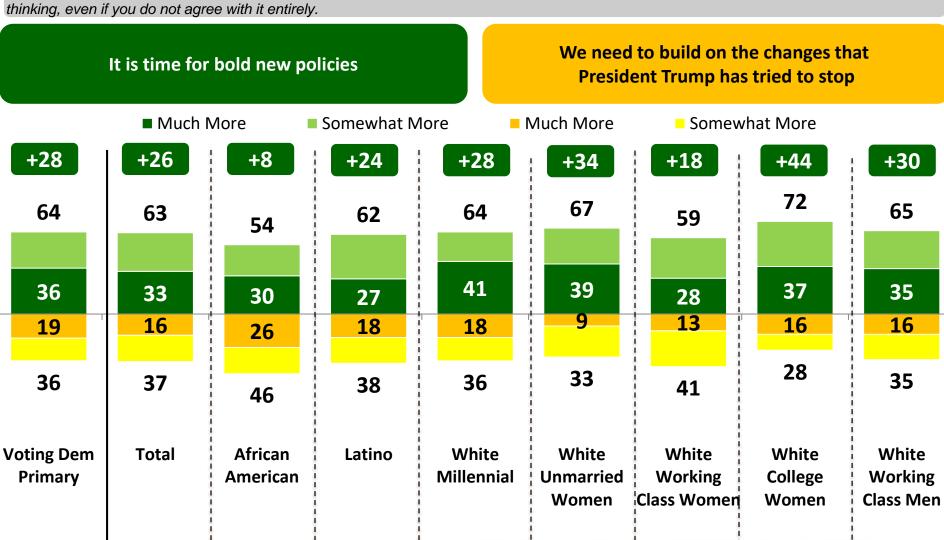
Trump job performance about average, but down sharply after debate.

Below is a list of issues. For each, please indicate whether you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling that issue. **Trump Job Performance – Pre vs. Post** ■ Strongly Approve ■ Somewhat Approve Strongly Disapprove Somewhat Disapprove +2 +10 18 24 28 26 41 38 **37** 36 26 24 21 19 47 49 49 **51 59** 63 **62** 64 Pre **Post** Pre **Post** Night 1 Night 2



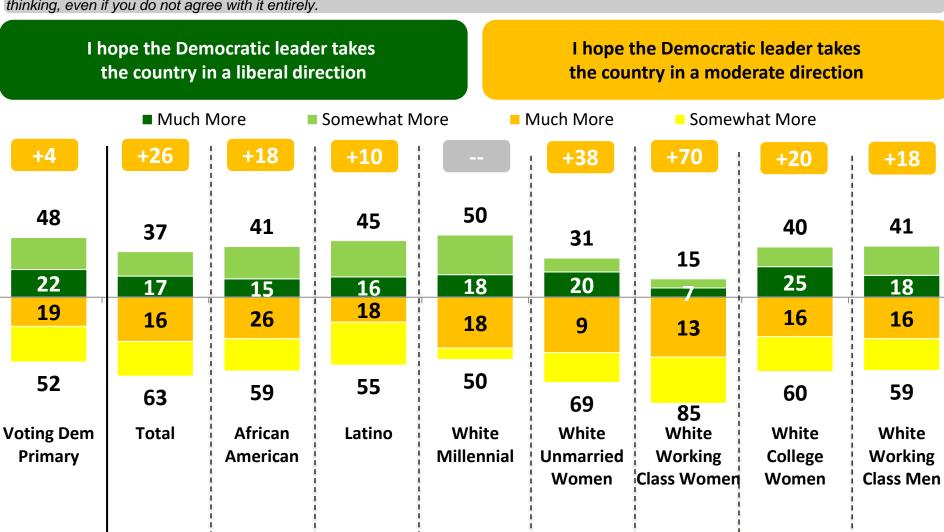
Majority want bold policies and a new approach; not return to before Trump

Below are pairs of descriptive statements. For each, please read the two statements about the country. Pick the one that comes closest to your



Desire for new policies and direction, but prefer a moderate approach

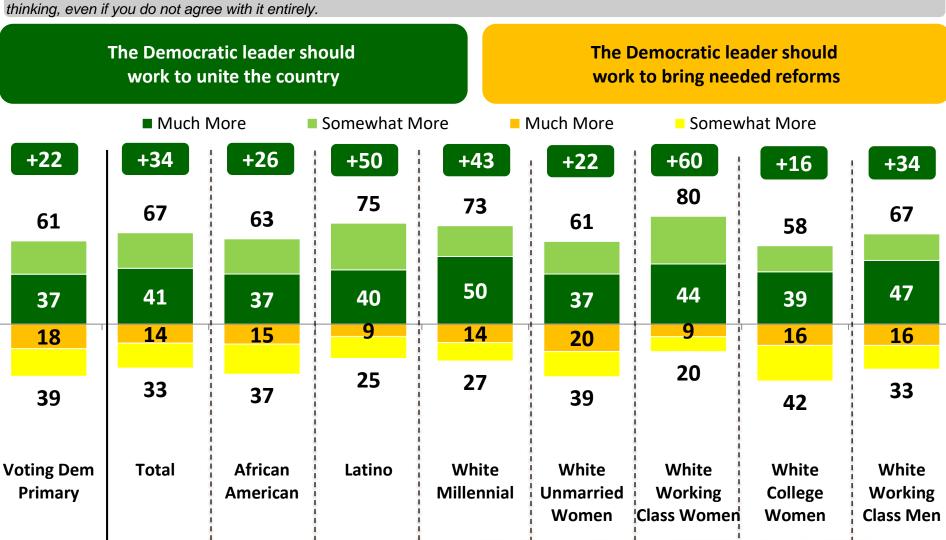
Below are pairs of descriptive statements. For each, please read the two statements about the country. Pick the one that comes closest to your thinking, even if you do not agree with it entirely.





Broad desire to overcome division and unite the country

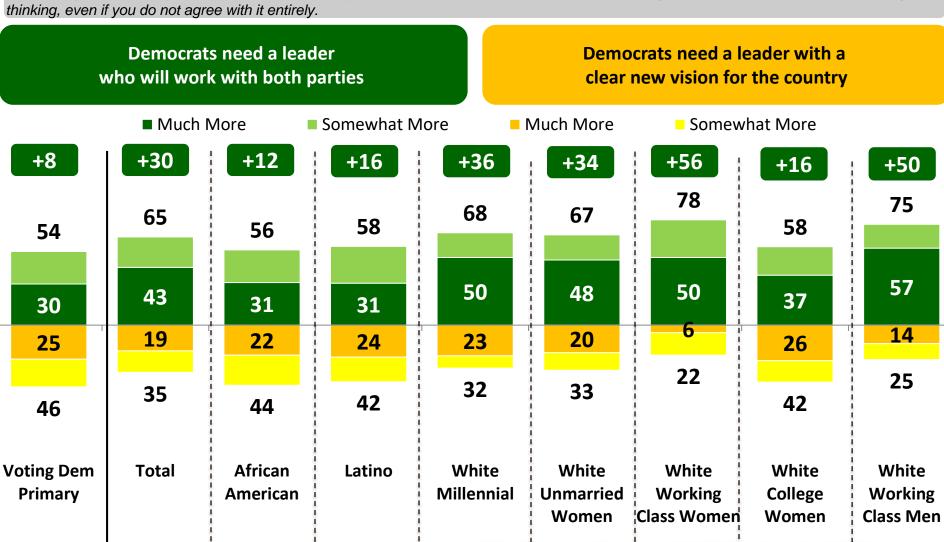
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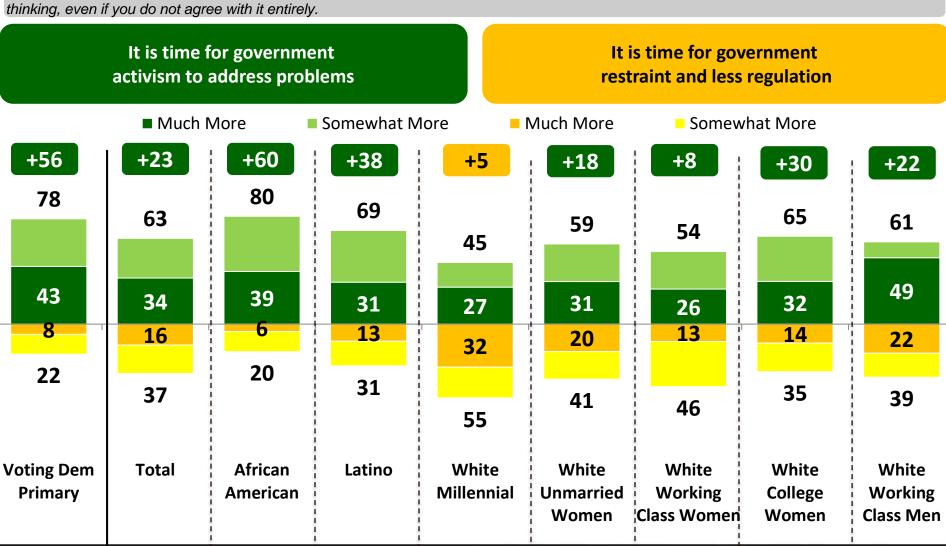
Preference for leaders who can work together

Below are pairs of descriptive statements. For each, please read the two statements about the country. Pick the one that comes closest to your



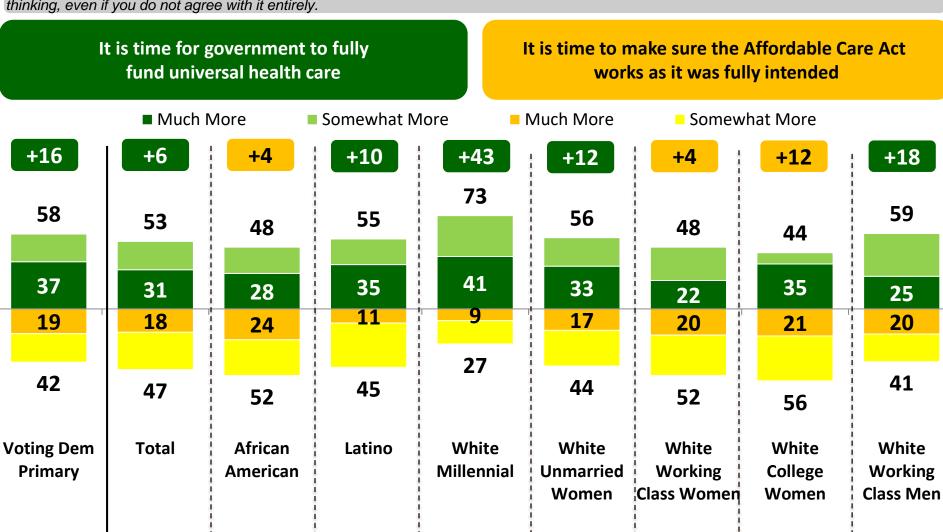
Broadly open to government to taking more active role in addressing problems

Below are pairs of descriptive statements. For each, please read the two statements about the country. Pick the one that comes closest to your



ACA stronger with base voters and working-class women who will be key in 2020

Below are pairs of descriptive statements. For each, please read the two statements about the country. Pick the one that comes closest to your thinking, even if you do not agree with it entirely.

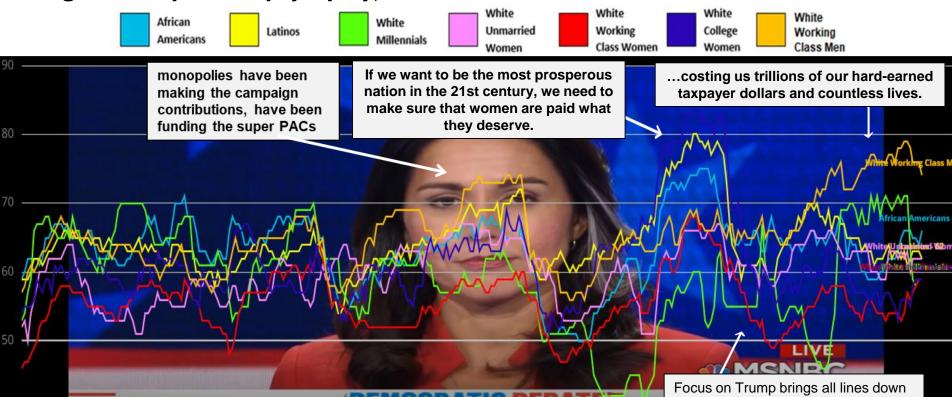


Lines immediately rise on wages not keeping up with costs



[HARRIS]: Hey, guys, you know what? [breaking up crosstalk] America does not want to witness a food fight, they want to know how we are going to put food on their table. So on that point, part of the issue that is at play in America today, and we have all been traveling around the country, I certainly have, I'm meeting people who are working two and three jobs. You know, this president walks around talking about and flouting his great economy, right, my great economy, my great economy. You ask him, well, how are you measuring this greatness of this economy of yours? And he talks about the stock market. Well, that's fine if you own stocks. So many families in America do not. You ask him, how are you measuring the greatness of this economy of yours? And they point to the jobless numbers and the unemployment numbers. Well, yeah, people in America are working. They're working two and three jobs. So when we talk about jobs, let's be really clear. In our America, no one should have to work more than one job to have a roof over their head and food on the table.

Taking on monopolies & pay equity; each raises dials across the board



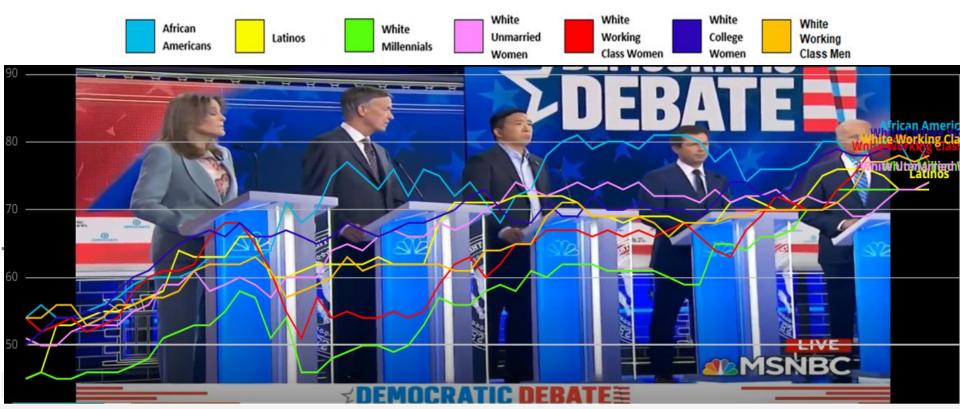
[WARREN] So the way I understand this, it's there is way too much consolidation now in giant industries in this country. That hurts workers. It hurts small businesses. It hurts independent farmers. It hurts our economy overall. It has been far too long that the monopolies have been making the campaign contributions, have been funding the super PACs, have been out there making sure that their influence is heard and felt in every single decision that gets made in Washington. Where I want to start this is, and that means calling out the names of the monopolists and saying I have the courage to go after them. [..] [BOOKER] I would do several things, starting with something we should have done a long time ago, which is to pass the Equal Rights Amendment finally in this country. And also pursue legislation so that women are paid equal pay for equal work in this country. It's past time that we did that. And, you know, we have to do this. If we want to be the most prosperous nation in the 21st century, we need to make sure that women are paid what they deserve. [...] [GABBARD] First of all, let's recognize the situation we're in, that the American people deserve a president who will put your interests ahead of the rich and powerful. That's not what we have right now. [..] And for too long, our leaders have failed us, taking us from one regime change war to the next, leading us into a new cold war and arms race, costing us trillions of our hard-earned taxpayer dollars and countless lives. This insanity must end.

Positive response to taking on corruption, free community college, reducing student debt



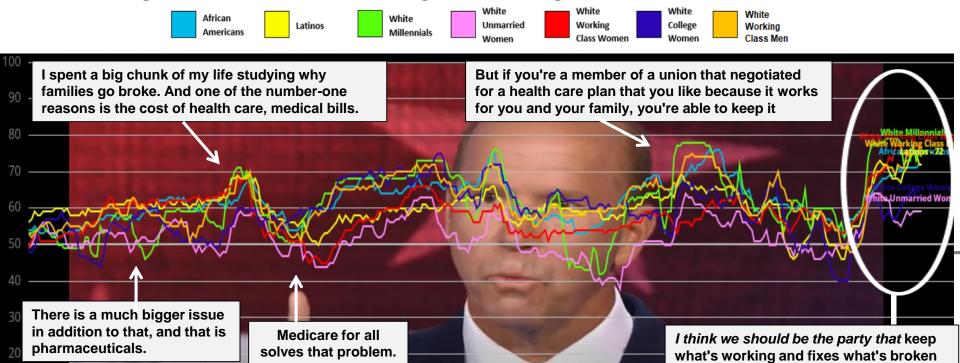
[WARREN] So I think of it this way. Who is this economy really working for? It's doing great for a thinner and thinner slice at the top. It's doing great for giant drug companies. It's just not doing great for people who are trying to get a prescription filled. It's doing great for people who want to invest in private prisons, just not for the African-Americans and Latinx whose families are torn apart, whose lives are destroyed, and whose communities are ruined. It's doing great for giant oil companies that want to drill everywhere, just not for the rest of us who are watching climate change bear down upon us. When you've got a government, when you've got an economy that does great for those with money and isn't doing great for everyone else, that is corruption, pure and simple. We need to call it out. We need to attack it head on. And we need to make structural change in our government, in our economy, and in our country [...] [KLOBUCHAR] Well, first, the economy. We know that not everyone is sharing in this prosperity. And Donald Trump just sits in the White House and gloats about what's going on [...] And my plan would be to, first of all, make community college free and make sure that everyone else besides that top percentile gets help with their education. My own dad and my sister got their first degrees with community college. There's many paths to success, as well as certifications. Secondly, I'd used Pell grants. I'd double them from \$6,000 to \$12,000 a year and expand it to the number of families that get covered, to families that make up to \$100,000. And then the third thing I would do is make it easier for students to pay off their student loans. Because I can tell you this: If billionaires can pay off their yachts, students should be able to pay off their student loans.

Steady rise on affordable college, reducing student loan debt, raising minimum wage



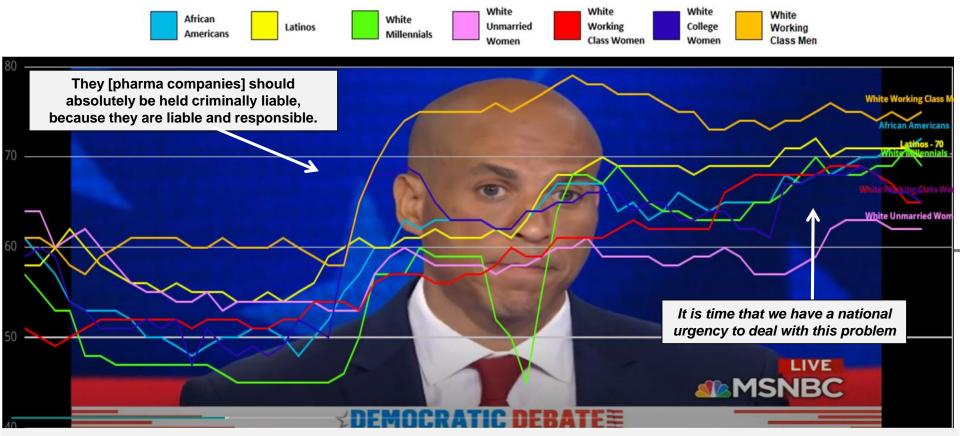
[BUTTIGIEG] Sure. So college affordability is personal for us. Chasten and I have six-figure student debt. I believe in reducing student debt. It's logical to me that, if you can refinance your house, you ought to be able to refinance your student debt. I also believe in free college for low and middle-income students for whom cost could be a barrier. I just don't believe it makes sense to ask working-class families to subsidize even the children of billionaires. I think the children of the wealthiest Americans can pay at least a little bit of tuition. And while I want tuition costs to go down, I don't think we can buy down every last penny for them. Now, there's something else that doesn't get talked about in the college affordability debate. Yes, it needs to be more affordable in this country to go to college. It also needs to be more affordable in this country to not go to college. You should be able to live well, afford rent, be generous to your church and little league. That's one of the many reasons we need to raise the minimum wage to 15 dollars.

All think drug and medical costs too high, but diverge on ACA & Medicare for all



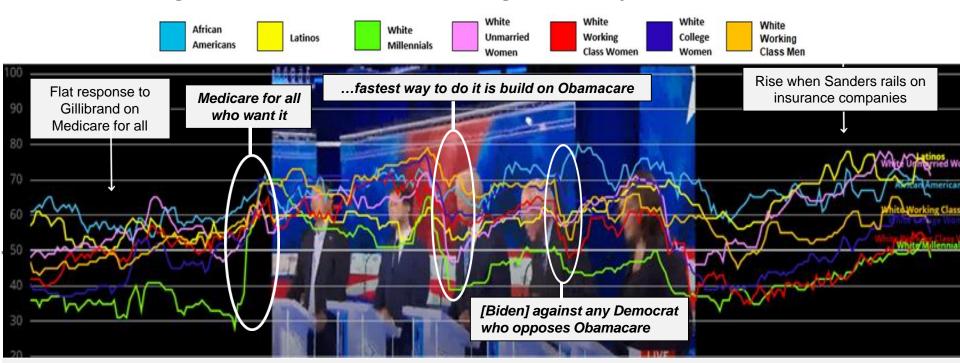
[KLOBUCHAR] It's something that Barack Obama wanted to do when we were working on the Affordable Care Act. And that is a public option. I am just simply concerned about kicking half of America off of their health insurance in four years, which is exactly what this bill says. So let me go on beyond that. There is a much bigger issue in addition to that, and that is pharmaceuticals. The president literally went on TV, on Fox, and said that people's heads would spin when they see how much he would bring down pharmaceutical prices. Instead, 2,500 drugs have gone up in double-digits since he came into office. [..] [WARREN] I spent a big chunk of my life studying why families go broke. And one of the number-one reasons is the cost of health care, medical bills. And that's not just for people who don't have insurance. It's for people who have insurance. Look at the business model of an insurance company. It's to bring in as many dollars as they can in premiums and to pay out as few dollars as possible for your health care. That leaves families with rising premiums, rising copays, and fighting with insurance companies to try to get the health care that their doctors say that they and their children need. Medicare for all solves that problem. [..] [O'ROURKE] Our plan says that if you're uninsured, we enroll you in Medicare. If you're insufficiently insured, you can't afford your premiums, we enroll you in Medicare. But if you're a member of a union that negotiated for a health care plan that you like because it works for you and your family, you're able to keep. [...] [DELANEY] 100 million Americans say they like their private health insurance, by the way. [...] I think we should be the party that keeps what's working and fixes what's broken. Why do we have to stand for taking away something from people?

Big response to holding pharmaceutical companies accountable for Opioid crisis



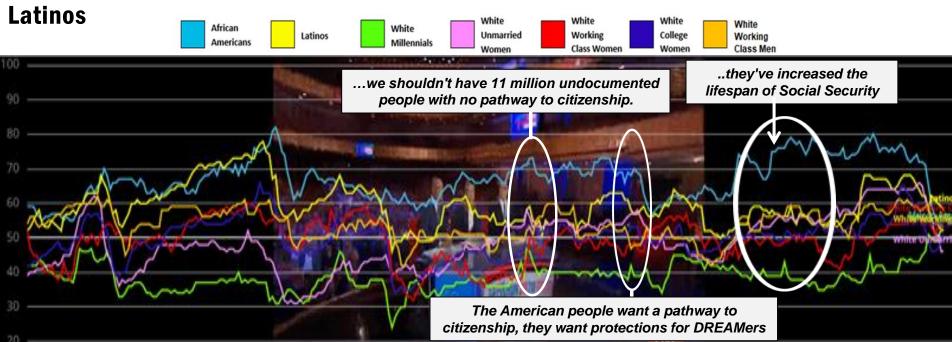
[BOOKER] They [pharma companies] should absolutely be held criminally liable, because they are liable and responsible. This is one of the reasons why well before I was running for president I said I would not take contributions from pharma companies, not take contributions from corporate PACs, or pharma executives, because they are part of this problem. And this opioid addiction in our country, we in cities like mine have been seeing how we've tried to arrest our way out of addiction for too long. It is time that we have a national urgency to deal with this problem and make the solutions that are working to actually be the law of our land and make the pharmaceutical companies that are responsible help to pay for that.

Desire for change on health care, but no strong direction yet



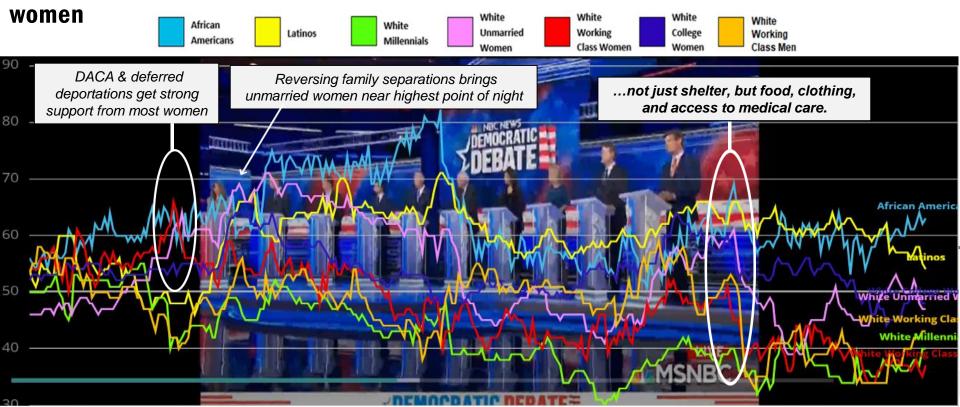
[GILLIBRAND]: So this is a very important issue. So the plan that Senator Sanders and I and others support, Medicare for all, is how you get to single payer. But it has a buy-in transition period, which is really important. [...] [BUTTIGIEG] Yeah, we've talked -- look, everybody who says Medicare for all, every person in politics who allows that phrase to escape their lips has a responsibility to explain how you're actually supposed to get from here to there. Now, here's how I would do it. It's very similar. I would call it Medicare for all who want it. You take something like Medicare, a flavor of that, you make it available on the exchanges, people can buy in. And then if people like us are right, that that will be not only a more inclusive plan, but a more efficient plan than any of the corporate answers out there, then it will be a very natural glide path to the single-payer environment. [BIDEN]: The fact of the matter is that the guickest, fastest way to do it is build on Obamacare, to build on what we did. And, secondly -- secondly, to make sure that everyone does have an option. Everyone, whether they have private insurance or employer insurance and no insurance, they, in fact, can buy in, in the exchange to a Medicare-like plan. And the way to do that -- we can do it quickly [...]. We must move now. I'm against any Democrat who opposes...[crosstalk] and takes down Obamacare and any Republican who wants to get rid of Obamacare. [SANDERS] Let us be very clear. The function of health care today from the insurance and drug company perspective is not to provide quality care to all in a cost-effective way. The function of the health care system today is to make billions in profits for the insurance companies [...] They will spend hundreds of millions of dollars lying to the American people, telling us why we cannot have a Medicare for all single-payer program.

Pathway and DACA pushes up AA, white millennials and unmarried women more than



[BUTTIGIEG] Because our country is healthier when everybody is healthier. And, remember, we are talking about something people are given a chance to buy into, in the same way that there are undocumented immigrants in my community who pay, they pay sales taxes, they pay property taxes, directly or indirectly. This is not about a handout. This is an insurance program. And we do ourselves no favors by having 11 million undocumented people in our country be unable to access health care. But, of course, the real problem is we shouldn't have 11 million undocumented people with no pathway to citizenship. It makes no sense. And the American people...(APPLAUSE) The American people agree on what to do. This is a crazy thing. If leadership consists of forming a consensus around a divisive issue, this White House has divided us around a consensus issue. The American people want a pathway to citizenship, they want protections for DREAMers. We need to clean up the lawful immigration system, like how my father immigrated to this country. And as part of a compromise, we can do whatever common-sense measures are needed at the border, but Washington can't deliver on something the American people want. What does that tell you about the system we are living in? It tells you it needs profound structural reform. [BIDEN] Yes. You cannot let, as the mayor said, you cannot let people who are sick, no matter where they come from, no matter what their status, go uncovered. You can't do that. It's just going to be taken care of, period. You have to. It's the humane thing to do. But here's the deal, the deal is that he's right about three things. Number one, they in fact contribute to the well-being of the country but they also, for example, they've increased the lifespan of Social Security because they have a job, they're paying a Social Security tax. That's what they're doing. It has increased the lifespan. They would do the same thing in terms of reducing the overall cost of health care by them being able to be treated and not wait unti

Harris reversing DACA and family separation gets strong response from AA and all



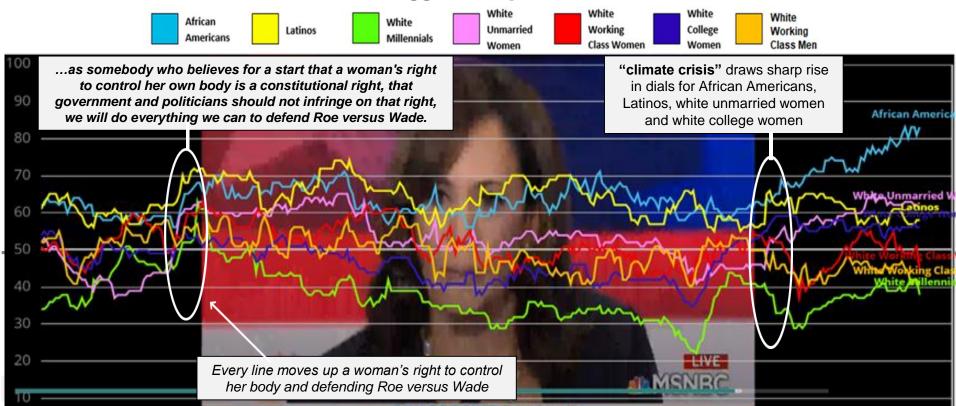
[HARRIS] I will immediately, by executive action, reinstate DACA status and DACA protection to those young people. I will further extend protection for deferral of deportation for their parents and for veterans, who we have so many who are undocumented and have served our country and fought for our democracy. I will also immediately put in place a meaningful process for reviewing the cases for asylum. I will release children from cages. I will get rid of the private detention centers. That is about reflecting the values of our country and not about locking children up, separating them from their parents. [...] A mother who pays a coyote to transport her child through their country of origin, through the entire country of Mexico, facing unknown peril, to come here -- why would that mother do that? I will tell you. Because she has decided for that child to remain where they are is worse [...] That is not reflective of our America and our values, and it's got to end. [HICKENLOOPER] ...And the first thing we have to do is recognize the humanitarian crisis on the border for what it is. [...] We have to make sure that ICE is completely reformed and they begin looking at their job in a humanitarian way, where they're addressing the whole needs of the people that they are engaged with along the border, and we have to make sure ultimately that we provide not just shelter, but food, clothing, and access to medical care.

Lines rise for Biden & Sanders on addressing root conditions in Honduras & that raises AA AND



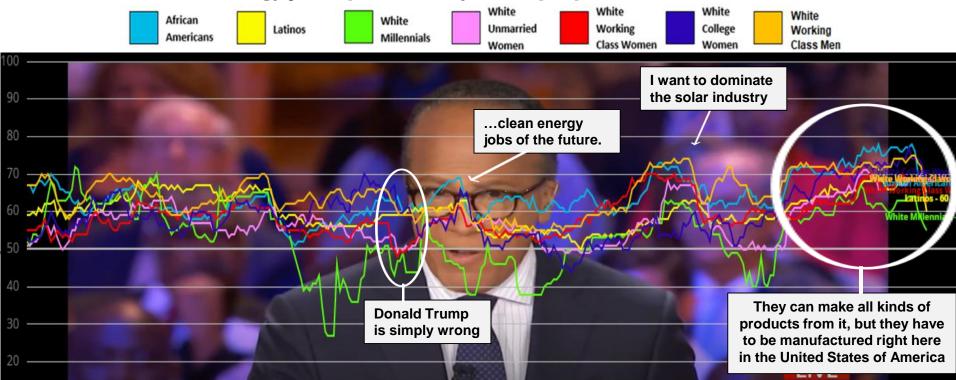
[DIAZ-BALART]...the Obama-Biden administration deported more than 3 million Americans. My question to you is, if an individual is living in the United States of America without documents, and that is his only offense, should that person be deported? [BIDEN] Depending if they committed a major crime, they should be deported. And the president was left in a -- President Obama I think did a heck of a job. To compare him to what this guy is doing is absolutely I find immoral...(APPLAUSE)...But the fact is that, look, we should not be locking people up. We should be making sure we change the circumstance, as we did, why they would leave in the first place. And those who come seeking asylum, we should immediately have the capacity to absorb them, keep them safe until they can be heard. [SANDERS] I want to suggest that I agree with a lot of what Kamala just said. And that is, on day one, we take out our executive order pen and we rescind every damn thing on this issue that Trump has done. (APPLAUSE) Number two, number two, picking up on the point that Joe made, we've got to look at the root causes. And you have a situation where Honduras, among other things, is a failing state. Massive corruption. You've got gangs who are telling families that if a 10-year-old does not join that gang, that family is going to be killed. What we have got to do on day one is invite the presidents and the leadership of Central America and Mexico together. This is a hemispheric problem that we have got to address.

Abortion access and climate crisis trigger sharp rise in lines



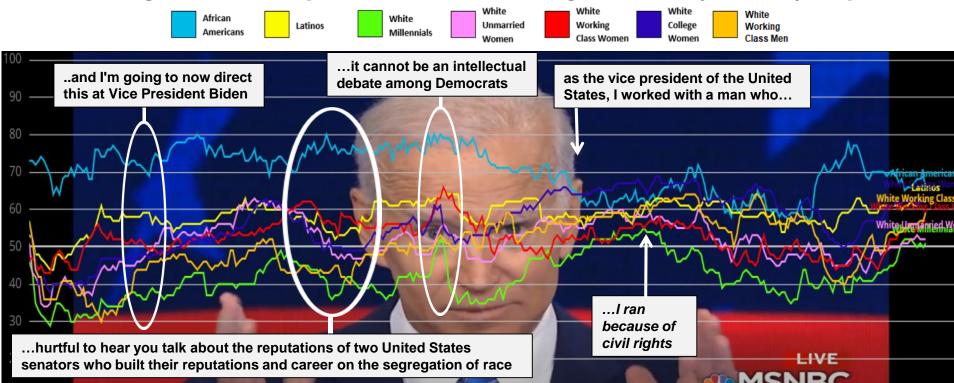
[SANDERS] Well, my plan, as somebody who believes for a start that a woman's right to control her own body is a constitutional right, that government and politicians should not infringe on that right, we will do everything we can to defend Roe versus Wade. Second of all, let me make a -- let me make a promise here. You ask about litmus tests. My litmus test is I will never appoint any, nominate any justice to the Supreme Court unless that justice is 100 percent clear he or she will defend Roe v. Wade. [HARRIS] Well, first of all, I don't even call it climate change. It's a climate crisis. It represents an existential threat to us as a species. And the fact that we have a president of the United States who has embraced science fiction over science fact will be to our collective peril. I visited, while the embers were smoldering, the wildfires in California. I spoke with firefighters who were in the midst of fighting a fire while their own homes were burning. And on this issue it is a critical issue that is about what we must do to confront what is immediate and before us right now. [...] That is why I support a Green New Deal. It is why I believe on day one and as president will re-enter us in the Paris Agreement, because we have to take these issues seriously. And, frankly, we have a president of the United States, we talked about, you asked before what is the greatest national security threat to the United States? It's Donald Trump.

Lines rise on clean energy jobs, particularly when proposed on industrial scale



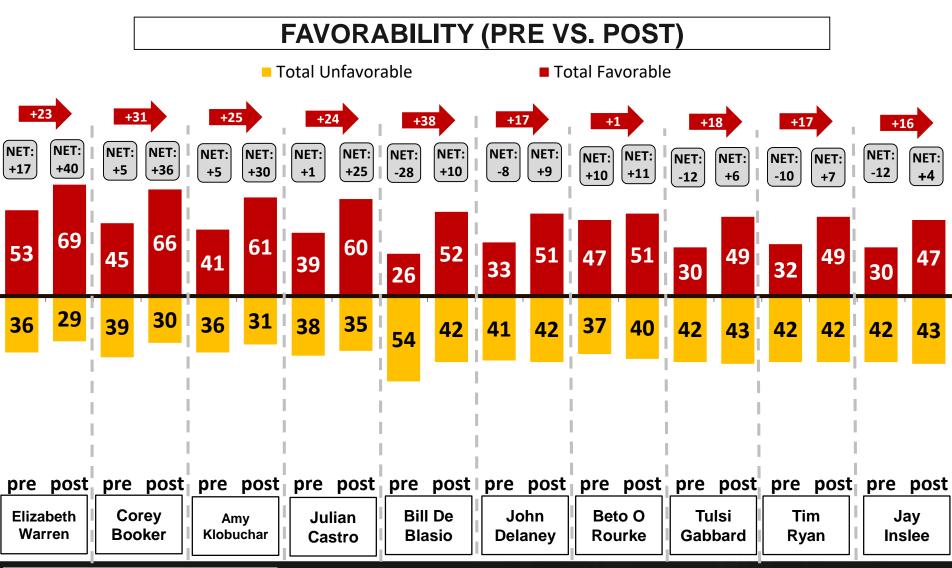
[INSLEE] Donald Trump is simply wrong. He says wind turbines cause cancer. We know they cause jobs. And we know that we can put millions of people to work in the clean energy jobs of the future. [...] [RYAN] And then his administration just in the last two years, we lost 4,000 jobs at a General Motors facility. That rippled throughout our community. General Motors got a tax cut. General Motors got a bailout. And then they have the audacity to move a new car that they're going to produce to Mexico. [...] We need an industrial policy saying we're going to dominate building electric vehicles, there's going to be 30 million made in the next 10 years. I want half of them made in the United States. I want to dominate the solar industry [...] [WARREN] So here's what I propose for an industrial policy. Start with a place where there's a real need. There's going to be a worldwide need for green technology, ways to clean up the air, ways to clean up the water. And we can be the ones to provide that. We need to go tenfold in our research and development on green energy going forward. And then we need to say any corporation can come and use that research. They can make all kinds of products from it, but they have to be manufactured right here in the United States of America. And then we have to double down and sell it around the world. There's a \$23 trillion market coming for green products. We should be the leaders and the owners, and we should have that 1.2 million manufacturing jobs here in America.

Lines converge as Biden responds to Harris on busing, followed by a steady drop

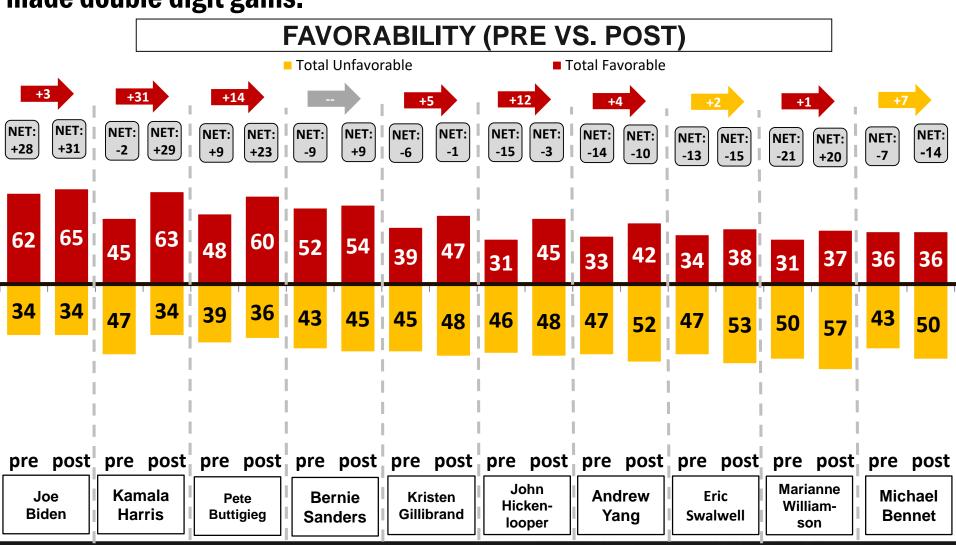


[HARRIS] ... and I'm going to now direct this at Vice President Biden, I do not believe you are a racist, and I agree with you when you commit yourself to the importance of finding common ground. But I also believe, and it's personal -- and I was actually very -- it was hurtful to hear you talk about the reputations of two United States senators who built their reputations and career on the segregation of race in this country. And it was not only that, but you also worked with them to oppose busing. [...] So I will tell you that, on this subject, it cannot be an intellectual debate among Democrats. We have to take it seriously. We have to act swiftly. As attorney general of California, I was very proud to put in place a requirement that all my special agents would wear body cameras and keep those cameras on. [..] [BIDEN] It's a mischaracterization of my position across the board. I did not praise racists. That is not true, number one. Number two, if we want to have this campaign litigated on who supports civil rights and whether I did or not, I'm happy to do that. [..] as the vice president of the United States, I worked with a man who, in fact, we worked very hard to see to it we dealt with these issues in a major, major way. [..] But so the bottom line here is, look, everything I have done in my career, I ran because of civil rights, I continue to think we have to make fundamental changes in civil rights, and those civil rights, by the way, include not just only African-Americans, but the LGBT community.

Every presidential candidate on first night debate increased their favorability



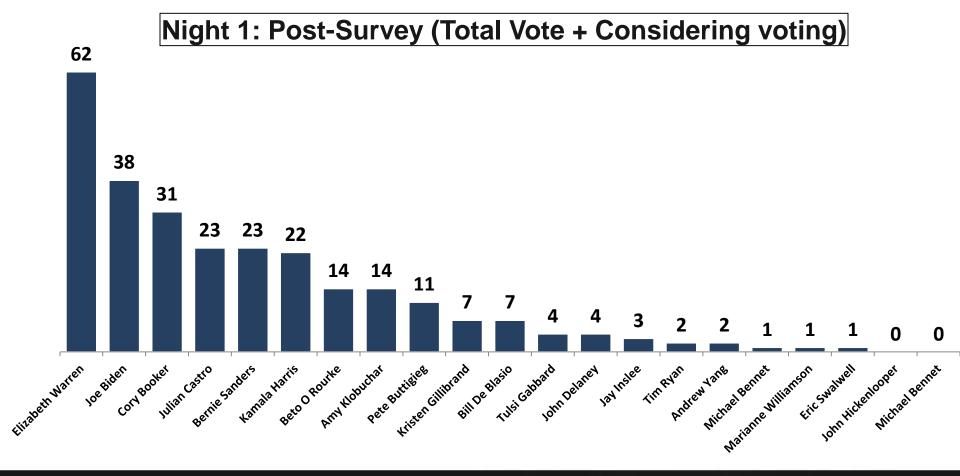
All but 2 in second night started underwater; Harris, Buttigieg & Hickenlooper made double digit gains.



Night 1 was strongest for Warren, then Biden followed closely by Booker

Which candidate are you considering voting for in the Democratic Presidential primary or caucus in your state in 2020?

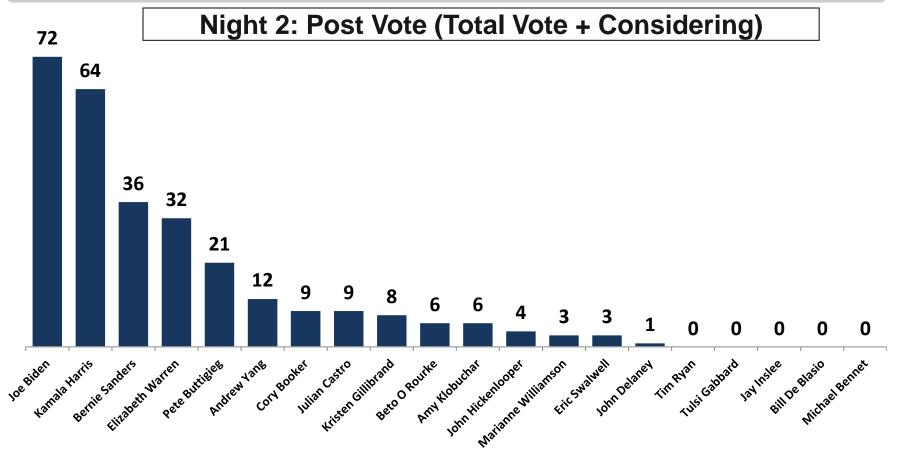
FOLLOW-UP: And which TWO other candidates are you considering voting for in the Democratic Presidential primary or caucus in your state in 2020?



Night 2 was strongest for Biden, followed closely by Harris

Which candidate are you considering voting for in the Democratic Presidential primary or caucus in your state in 2020?

FOLLOW-UP: And which TWO other candidates are you considering voting for in the Democratic Presidential primary or caucus in your state in 2020?



June debates: top voting issues were health care/drug costs, climate change, and getting immigration under control; less treatment at the border

And which FOUR of the following issues are most important for you?

ISSUE PRIORITIES							
Post Vs. Post Debate Results	Night 1			Night 2			
	Pre	Post	SHIFT	Pre	Post	SHIFT	
Health care and drug costs	61	57	-4	62	68	+6	
Climate change	32	35	+3	26	38	+11	
Getting immigration under control	35	34	-2	42	45	+3	
The economy and good jobs	37	32	-5	37	31	-6	
Reducing division in the country	21	22	+1	17	21	+4	
Wages keeping up with costs	21	22	+2	21	17	-4	
Higher taxes on the rich and corporations	18	20	+2	16	12	-4	
Strengthening the middle class	22	18	-5	18	20	+2	
Treatment of immigrants at the border and in the country	14	18	+4	15	14	-1	



Debate viewers were activist on climate, taxing richest, and health care and pro-Planned Parenthood and immigrants to the US

Please rate your feelings toward some people, proposals, 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.

THERMOMETERS							
Post-Debate Results	Night 1			Night 2			
	Fav	Unfav	Diff	Fav	Unfav	Diff	
Measures to prevent global warming	78	15	+62	74	23	+51	
Raising taxes on those making over \$250,000 a year so they pay their fair share	77	20	+57	79	20	+59	
Planned Parenthood	72	22	+50	60	36	+24	
Medicare for all	71	26	+45	62	34	+28	
Immigrants to the US	66	27	+40	55	39	+16	
An Ultra-Millionaire tax to fund student loan debt relief	66	30	+37	61	33	+28	
NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico, Canada and the United States	64	23	+41	65	25	+40	
Donald Trump	35	65	-30	37	63	-26	
Republicans in Congress	34	62	-28	34	61	-27	
Mitch McConnell, the Senate Majority Leader	26	68	-42	27	63	-36	

Trump is losing ground on healthcare & wages; voters are increasingly less likely to associate positive traits with Trump after each debate

How well do these descriptive terms describe Donald Trump - very well, well, not so well, or not well at all?

TRUMP ATTRIBUTES (Night 1 & Night 2)							
From Post-Debate Survey	Night 1			Night 2			
	well	Not well	Diff	Well	Not well	Diff	
Shares my values	31	69	-38	33	67	-34	
Will make health care more affordable	30	70	-40	33	67	-34	
Draining the swamp	37	63	-27	36	64	-28	
Family man	37	64	-26	34	66	-32	
Right approach to immigration	36	64	-28	39	61	-22	
Improving wages and salaries	36	64	-28	43	57	-14	
Reviving American manufacturing	38	62	-24	44	56	-12	
Keeping our country safe	38	62	-24	46	54	-8	
Out of touch with working people	63	37	+26	56	44	+12	
Dividing the country	63	37	+26	63	37	+26	



DEMOCRACY **CORPS**

1875 Connecticut Ave. NW Floor 10 Washington, DC 20009

Phone: +1 202 499 6901

www.democracycorps.com

GREENBERG RESEARCH

1101 15th Street NW Suite 900 Washington, DC 20005

Phone: +1 202 478 8300

www.greenbergresearch.com

Voter **Participation** Center

1707 L Street, N.W. Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036

Phone: +1 202 659 9570

www.wvwvaf.org

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

555 New Jersey Ave. NW Washington, DC 20001

Phone: +1 202 879 4400

www.aft.org



