



DEMOCRACY CORPS  
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG



WOMEN'S VOICES  
WOMEN VOTE  
ACTION FUND

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER**

STRATEGY + RESEARCH

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# Consolidating Democrats

The strategy that gets a governing majority

September 2016

CAMPAIGNS

CORPORATIONS

ADVOCACY

WORLDWIDE

# Methodology

## **Battleground Survey of 1600 Likely 2016 Voters in 4 competitive presidential battleground states.**

This survey took place September 10-19. Respondents who voted in the 2012 election, 2014 election, or registered since the 2014 election 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 = +/-2.45 percentage points at 95% confidence. Margin of error will be higher among subgroups.

Respondents were divided equally among states (n=400) of North Carolina, Nevada, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Margin of error for each state sample= +/-4.90 percentage points at 95% confidence. Margin of error will be higher among subgroups.

Fifty one percent of respondents were reached by cell phone, in order to account for ever-changing demographics and accurately sample the full electorate in each state.

## **Regression analysis.**

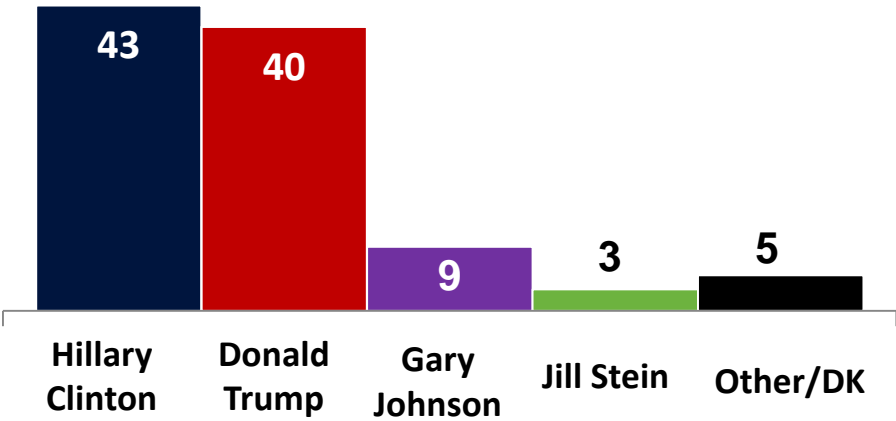
A series of fractional logistic regressions were conducted to obtain the marginal effects of the explanatory variable (presidential vote) on outcome variables (associations, statement pairs), representing the change in outcome probabilities estimated for the explanatory variable, all else held equal. No causation is implied by these results.

# Clinton leads Trump across the battleground

*I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in November, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for --Democrat Hillary Clinton, Republican Donald Trump (or Libertarian Gary Johnson, Green Party Candidate Jill Stein)?*

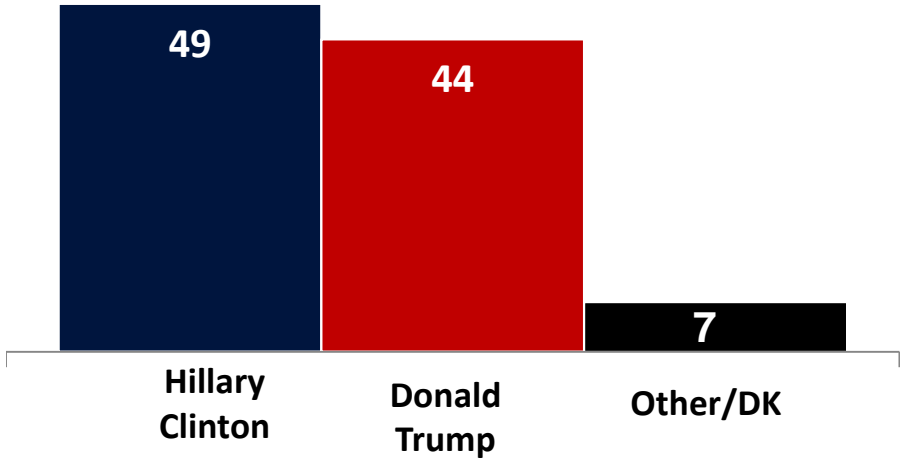
## PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

+3



4 – Way Vote

+5



2 – Way Vote

# Clinton poised to win Electoral College with these numbers across battleground

*I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in November, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for --Democrat Hillary Clinton or Republican Donald Trump (or Libertarian Gary Johnson, Green Party Candidate Jill Stein)?*

4 – Way Vote

DIVERSE STATES

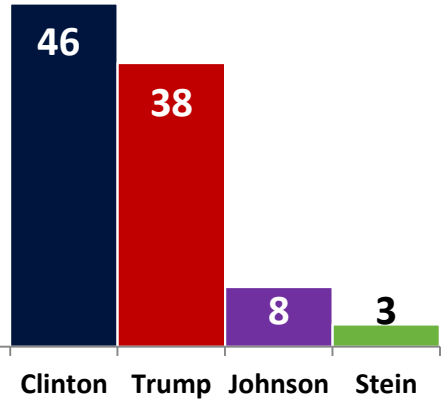
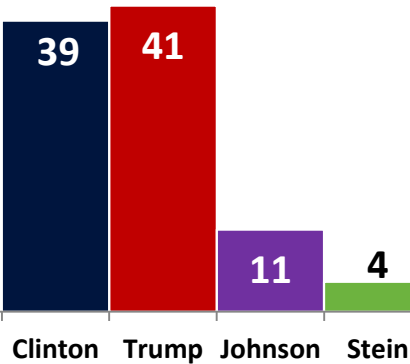
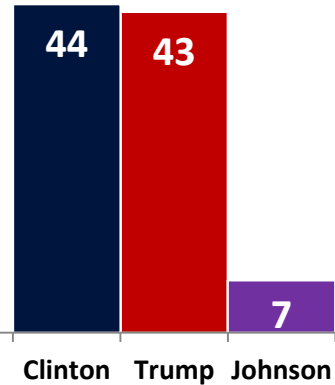
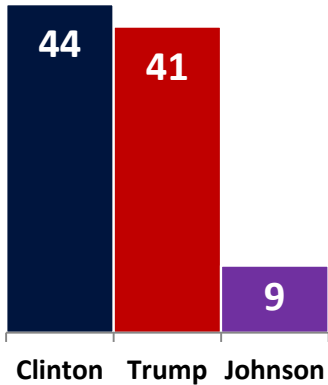
RUSTBELT STATES

+3

+1

+2

+8



North Carolina

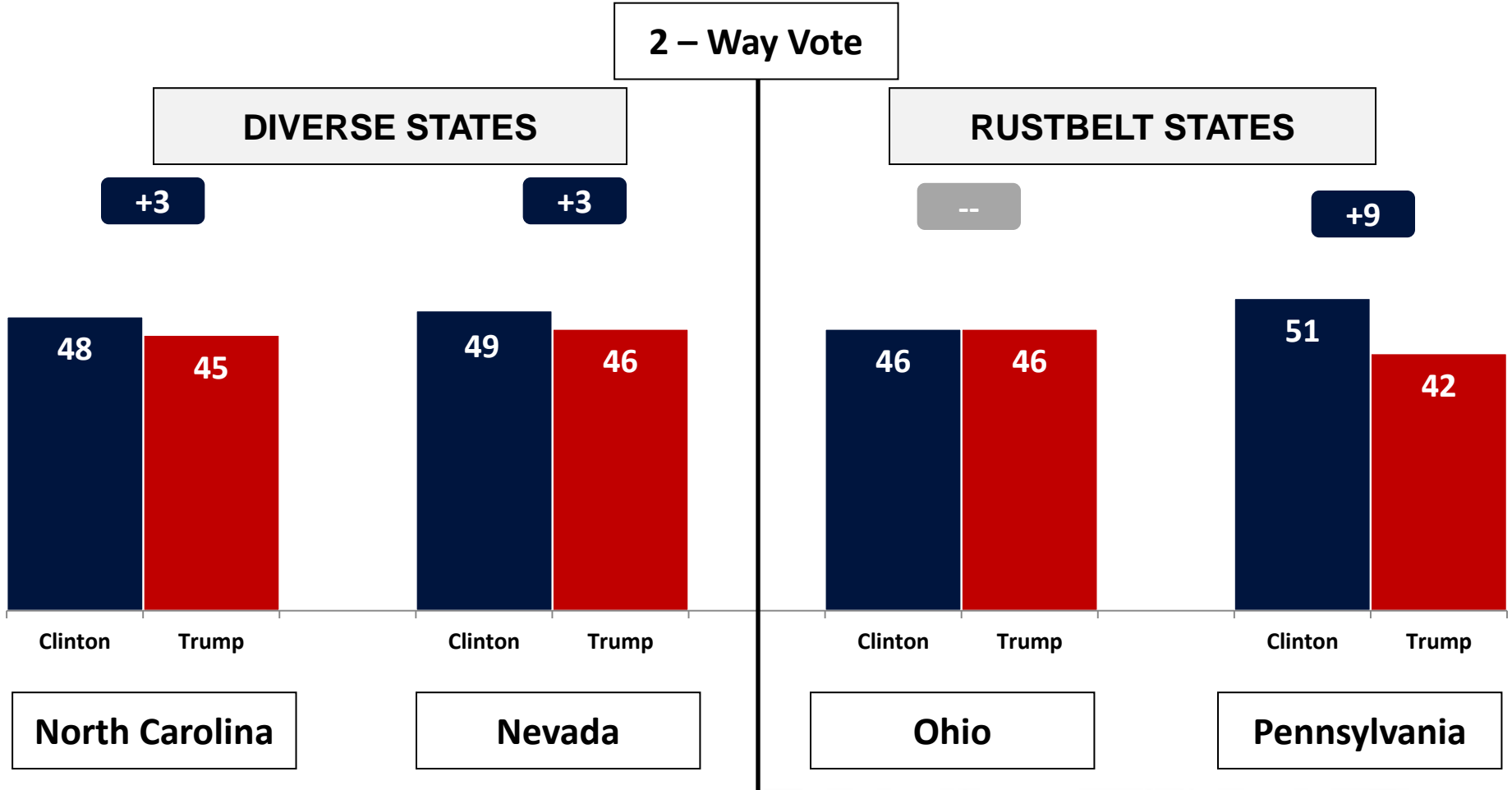
Nevada

Ohio

Pennsylvania

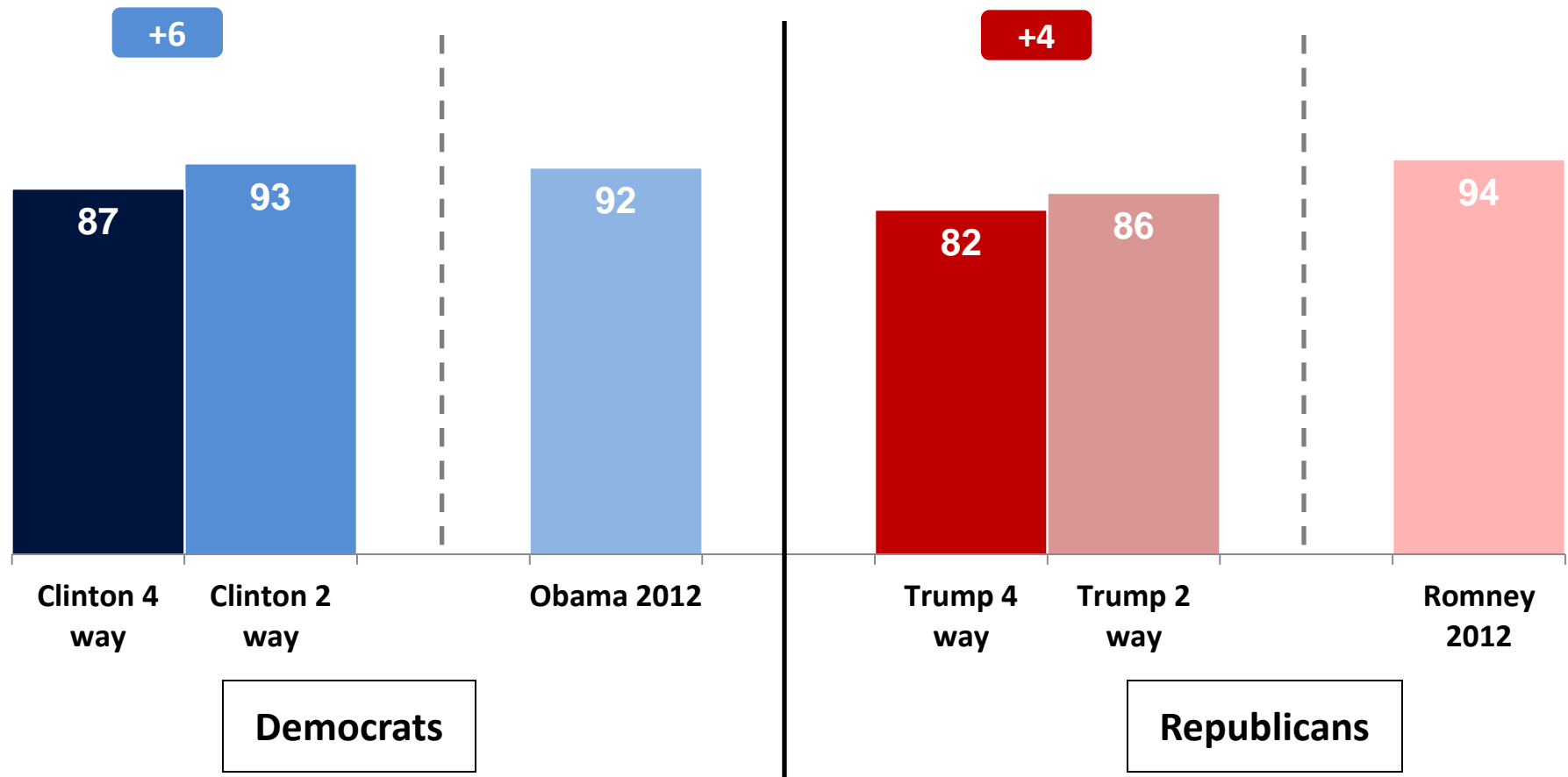
# In the two-way ballot, Clinton edges ahead in Nevada

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



# Neither Trump or Clinton have consolidated their parties, but Clinton can

*I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in November, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for --Democrat Hillary Clinton, Republican Donald Trump, Libertarian Gary Johnson, or Green Party Candidate Jill Stein?*

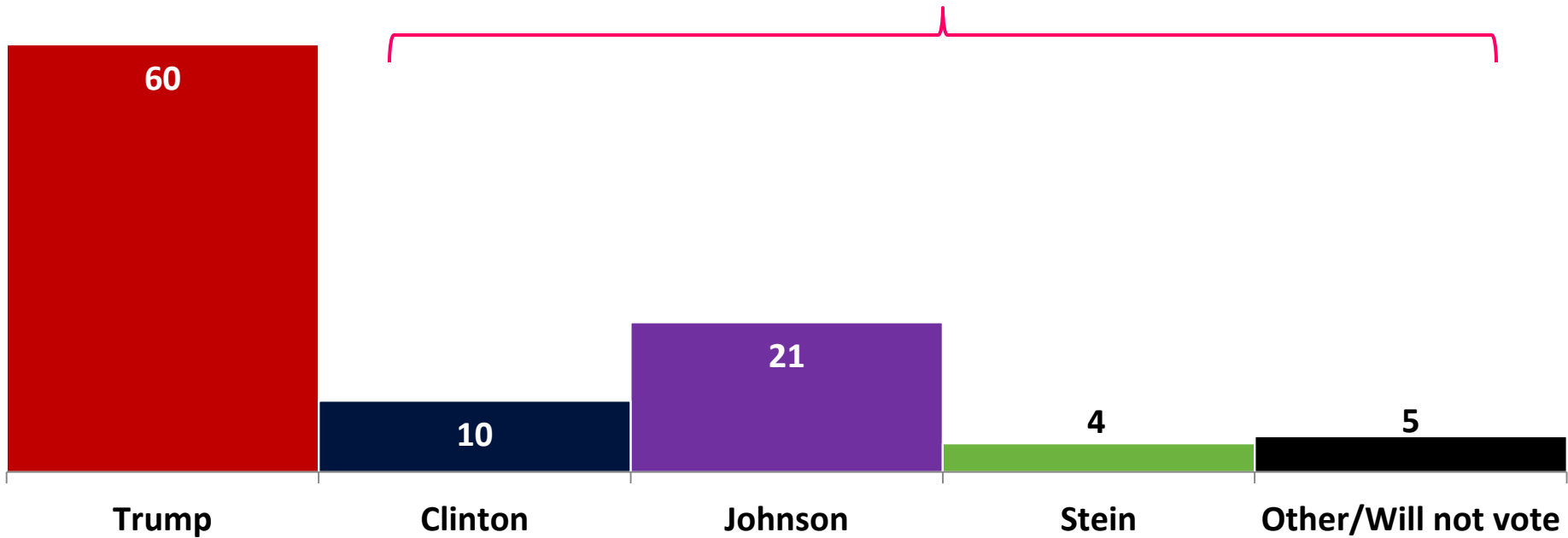


# Republican moderates are 36 percent of Republican base and 40 percent are holding back from Trump

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in November, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for --Democrat Hillary Clinton, Republican Donald Trump, Libertarian Gary Johnson, or Green Party Candidate Jill Stein?

4 – Way Vote Among GOP Moderates

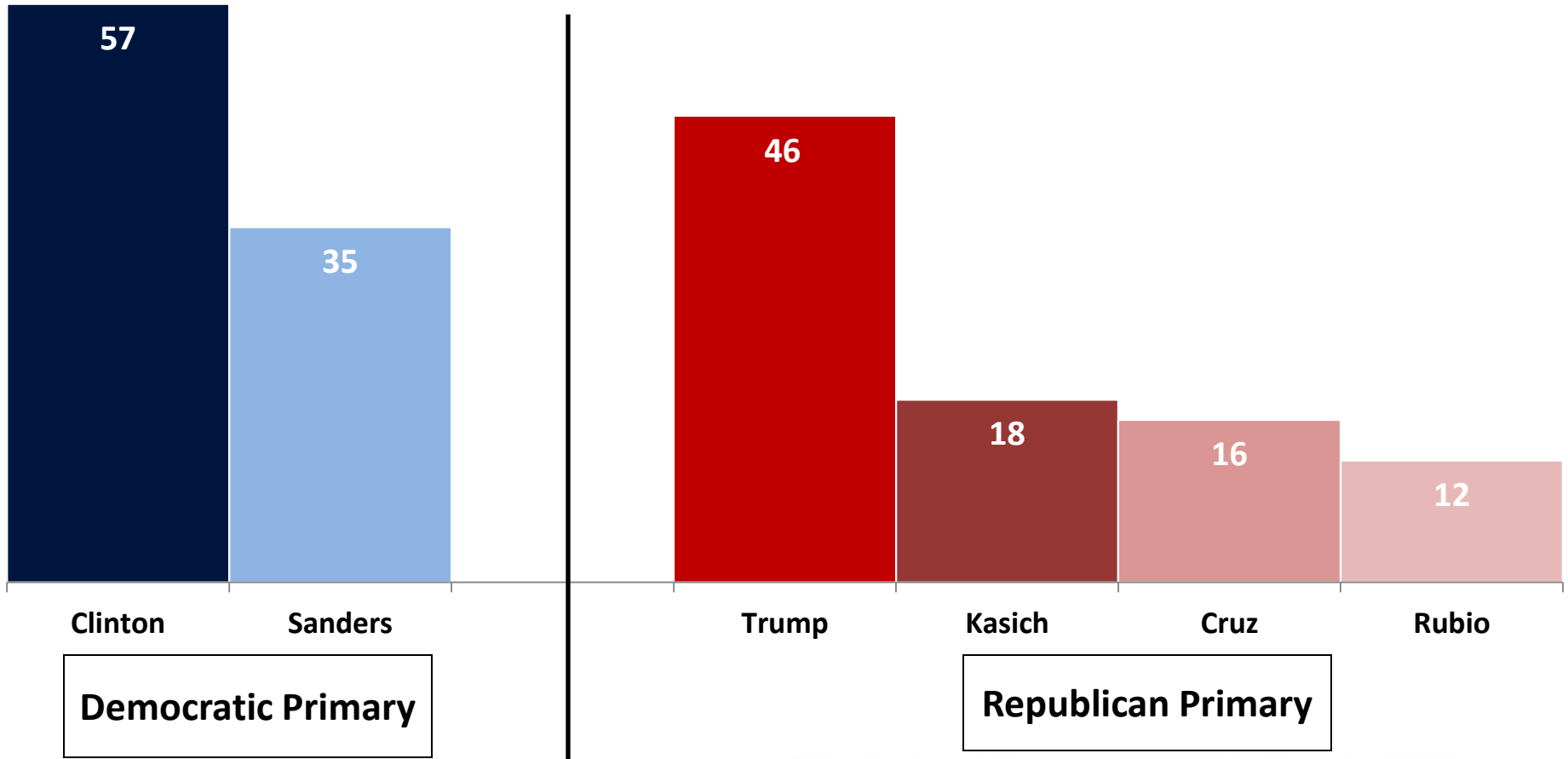
40 percent holding back



# Hillary's recalled vote starting to exceed her real vote, but not Trump

*In the race to select a Democratic nominee for president, in the end, have you supported -- Hillary Clinton or Bernie Sanders?*

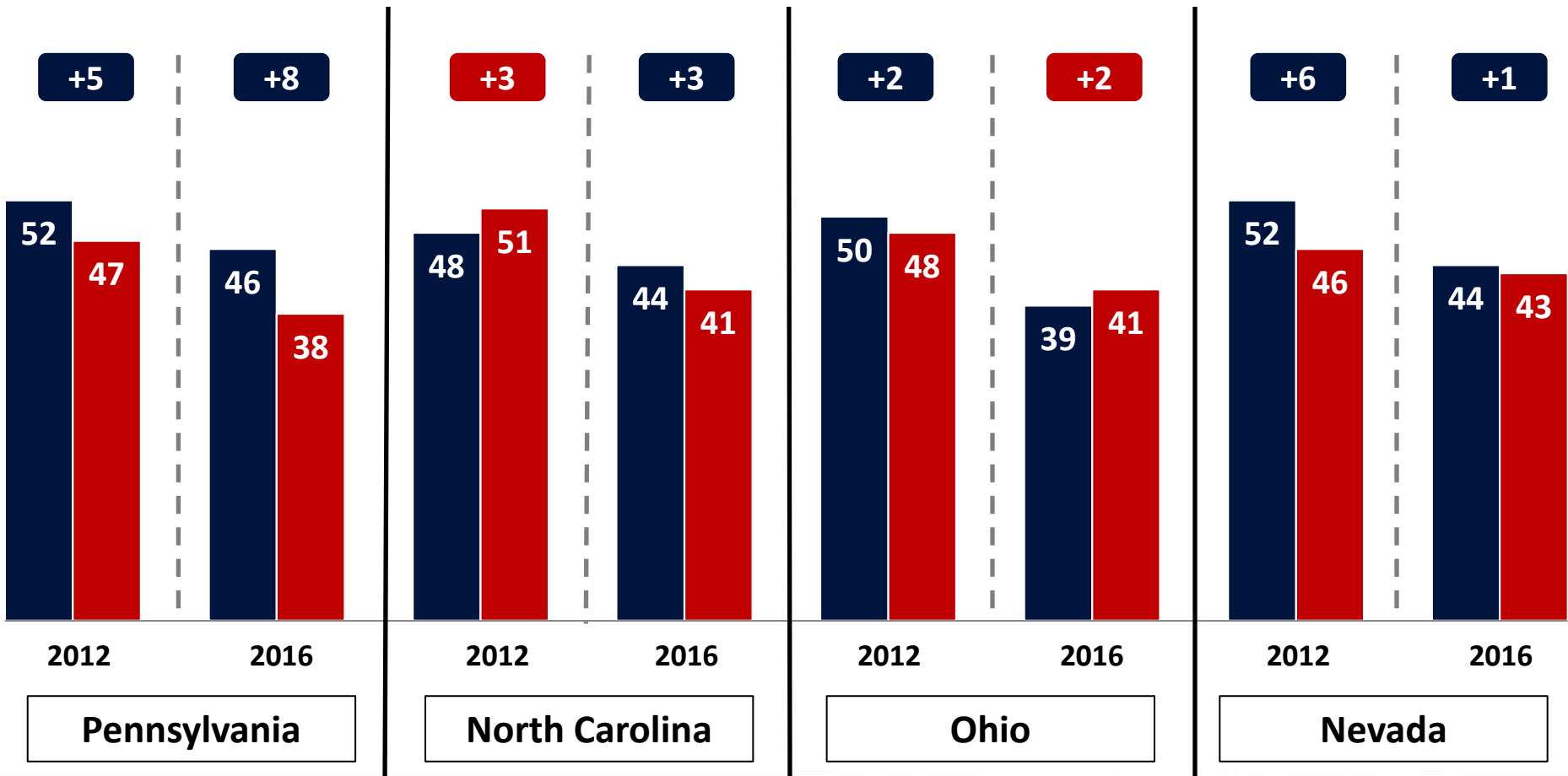
*In the race to select a Republican nominee for president, in the end, have you supported..*





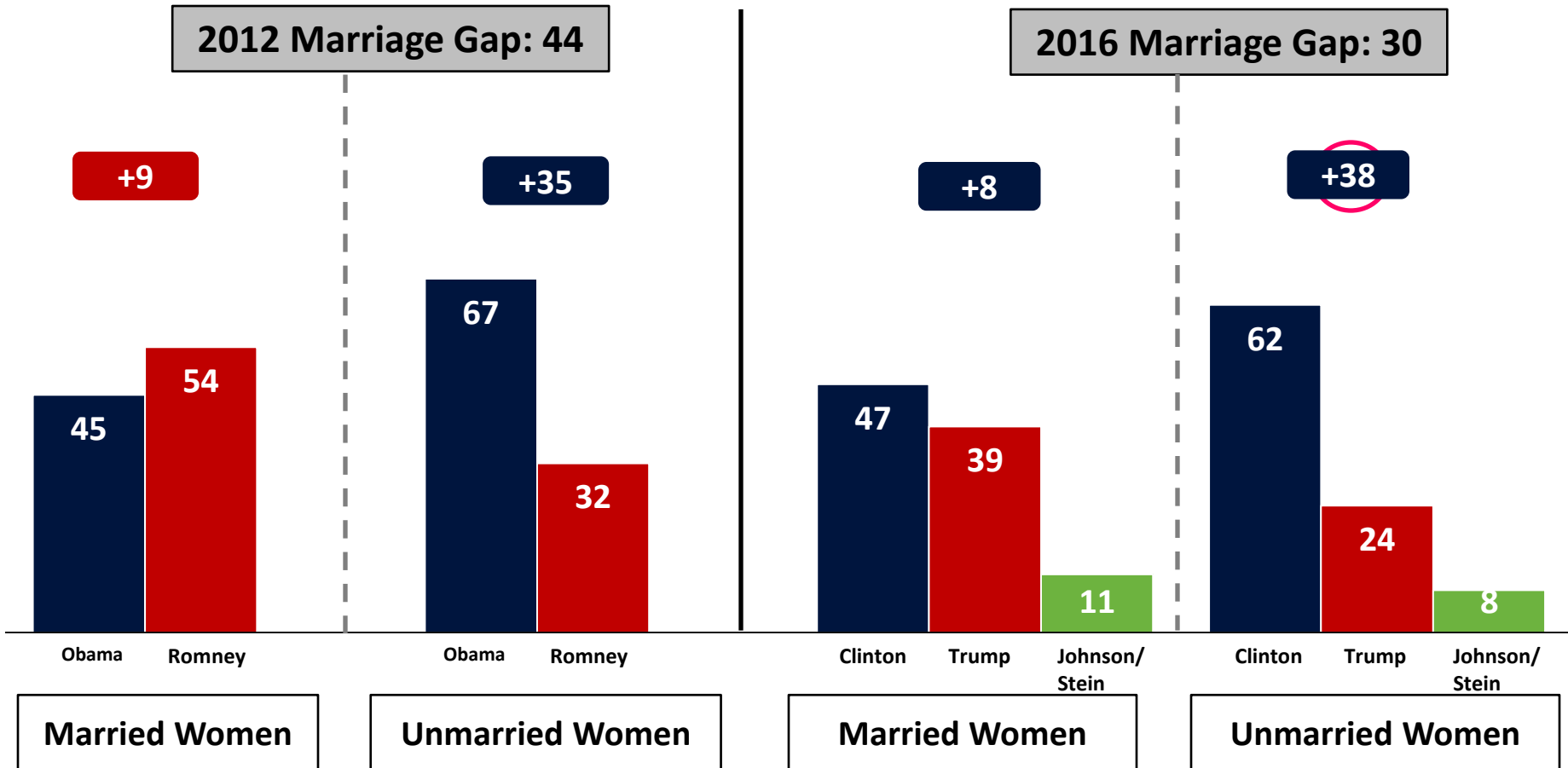
# Clinton running better than Obama in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, but not Ohio or Nevada

Thinking about the election for President in November, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for --Democrat Hillary Clinton or Republican Donald Trump, Libertarian Gary Johnson, or Green Party Candidate Jill Stein? (Dem and Rep vote share shown)



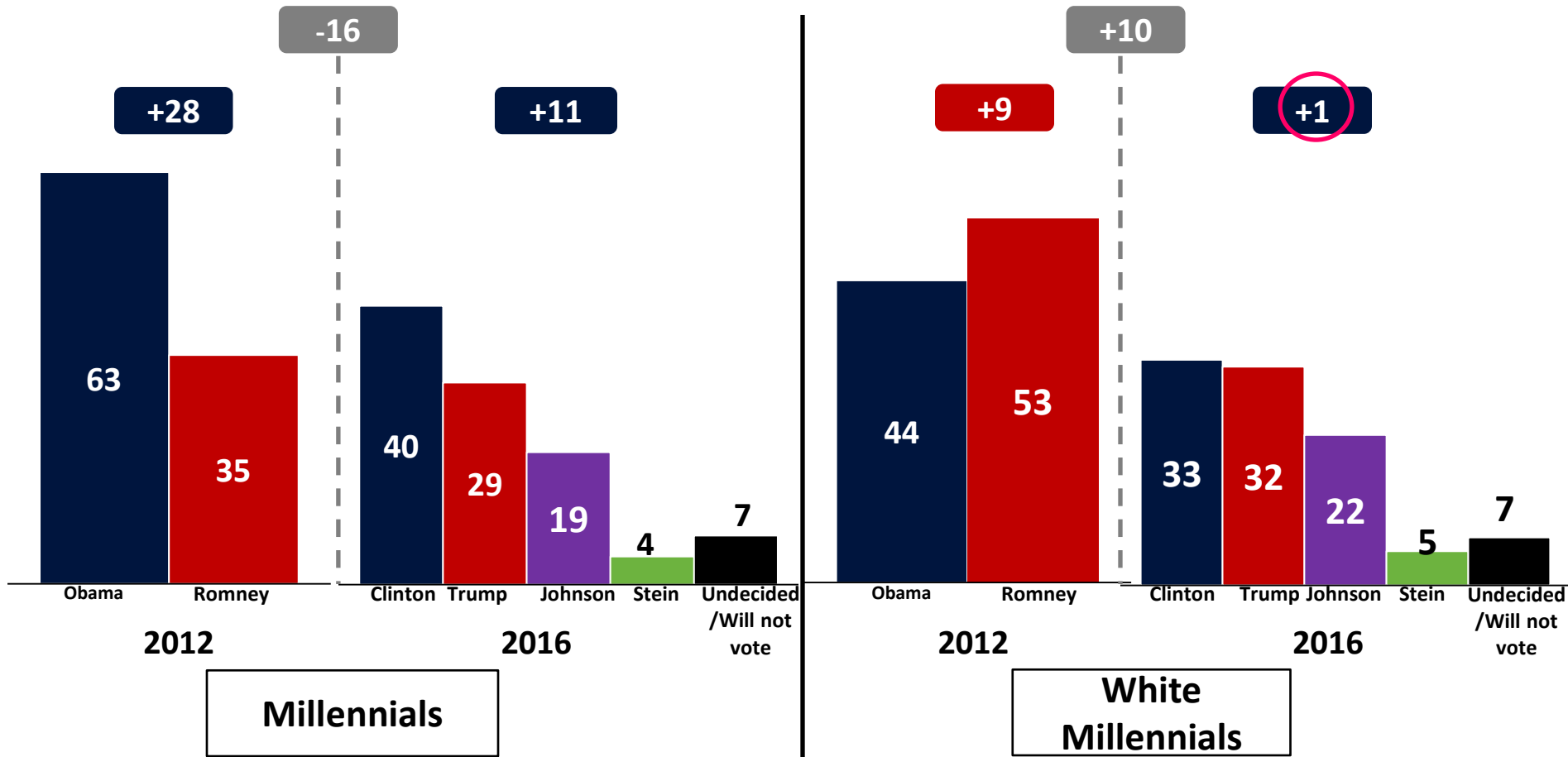
# Unmarried women are driving the Clinton women vote and dramatically stronger margin than 2012

*I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in November, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for --Democrat Hillary Clinton, Republican Donald Trump, Libertarian Gary Johnson or Green Party Candidate Jill Stein?*



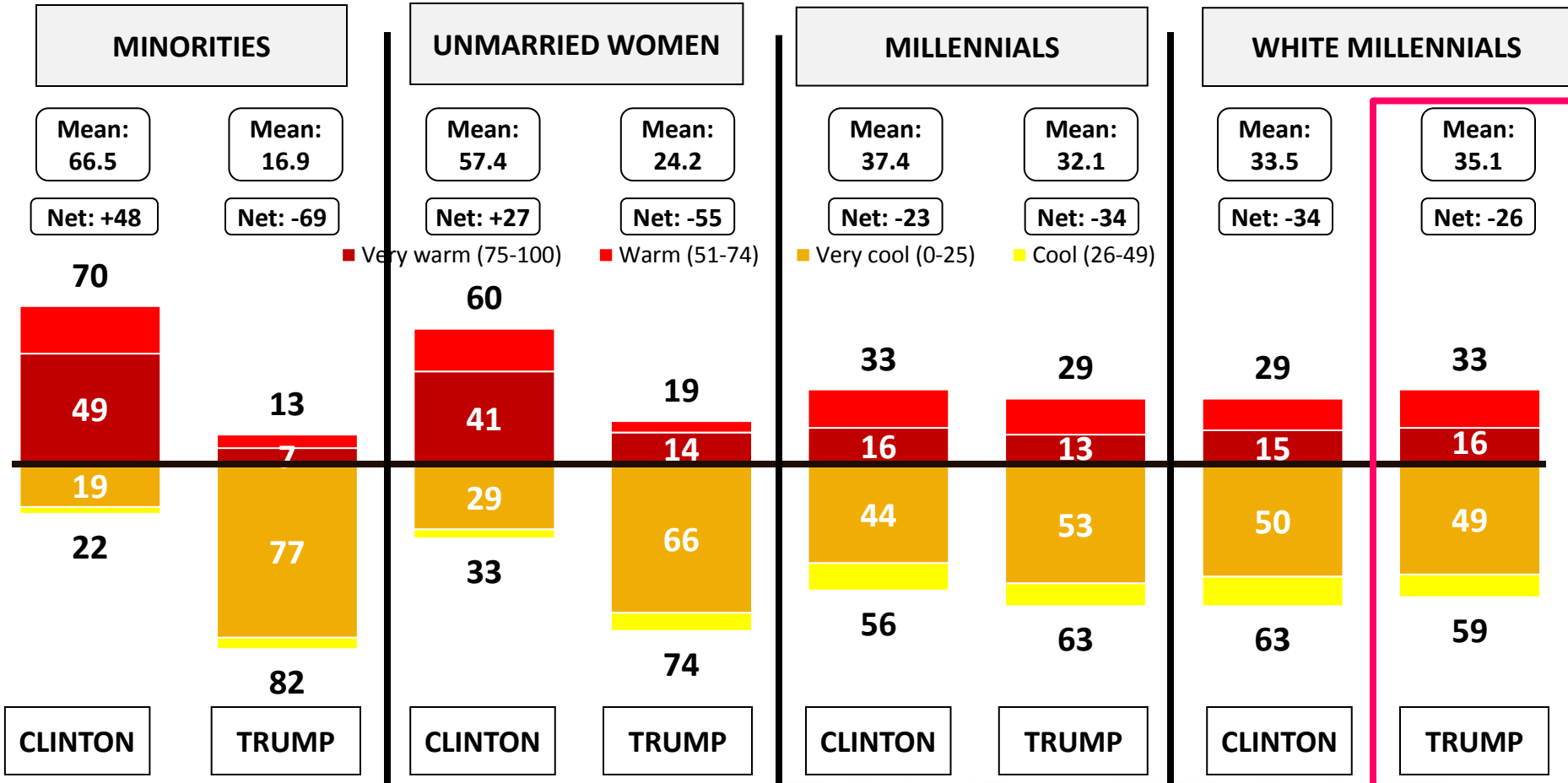
# Millennials pull back from Clinton, now even with white millennials

*I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in November, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for --Democrat Hillary Clinton, Republican Donald Trump, Libertarian Gary Johnson or Green Party Candidate Jill Stein?*



# Rising HRC personal favorability with unmarried women and millennials will help in consolidation

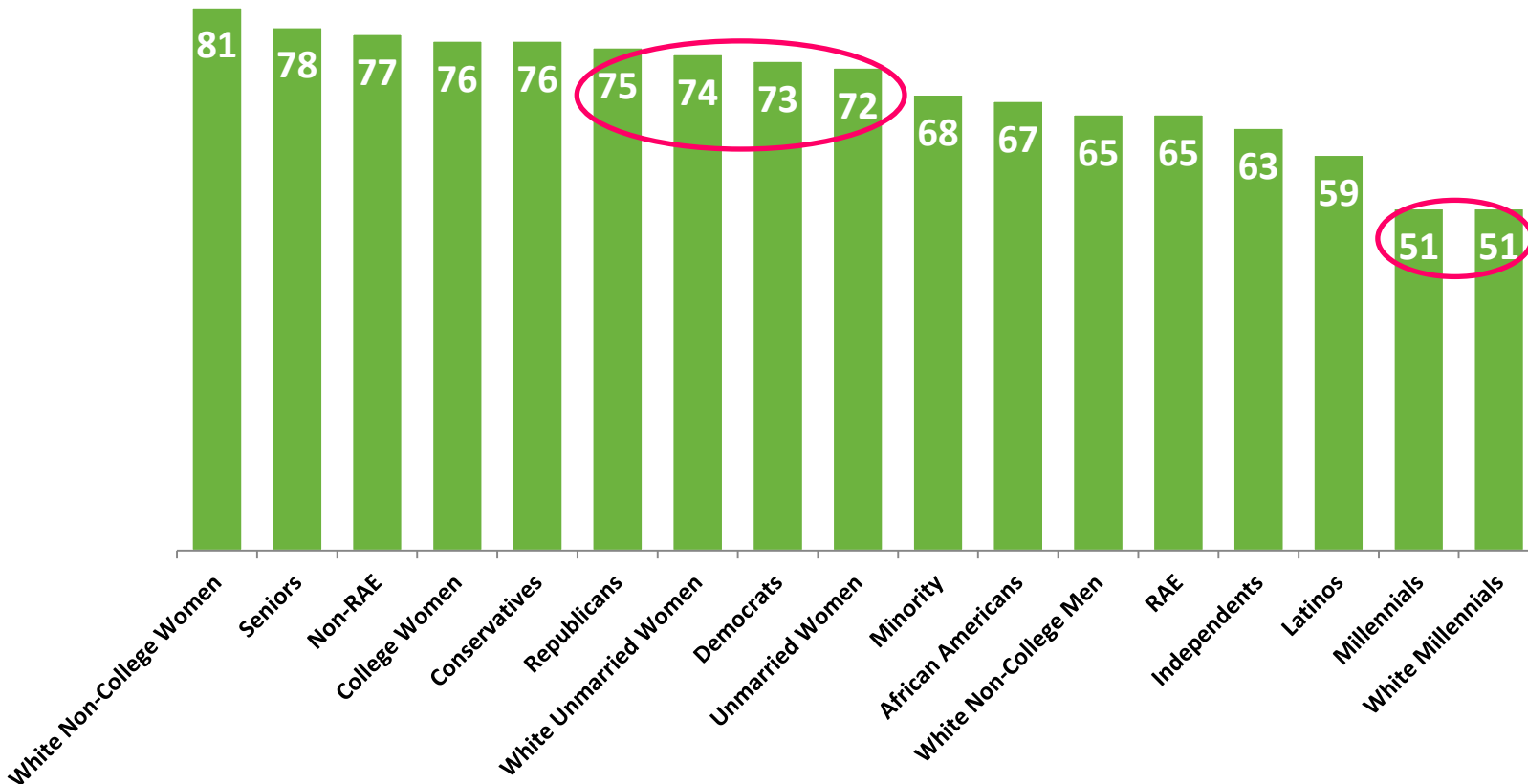
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



# Democrats equal GOP in determination to vote, led by unmarried women, but not millennials

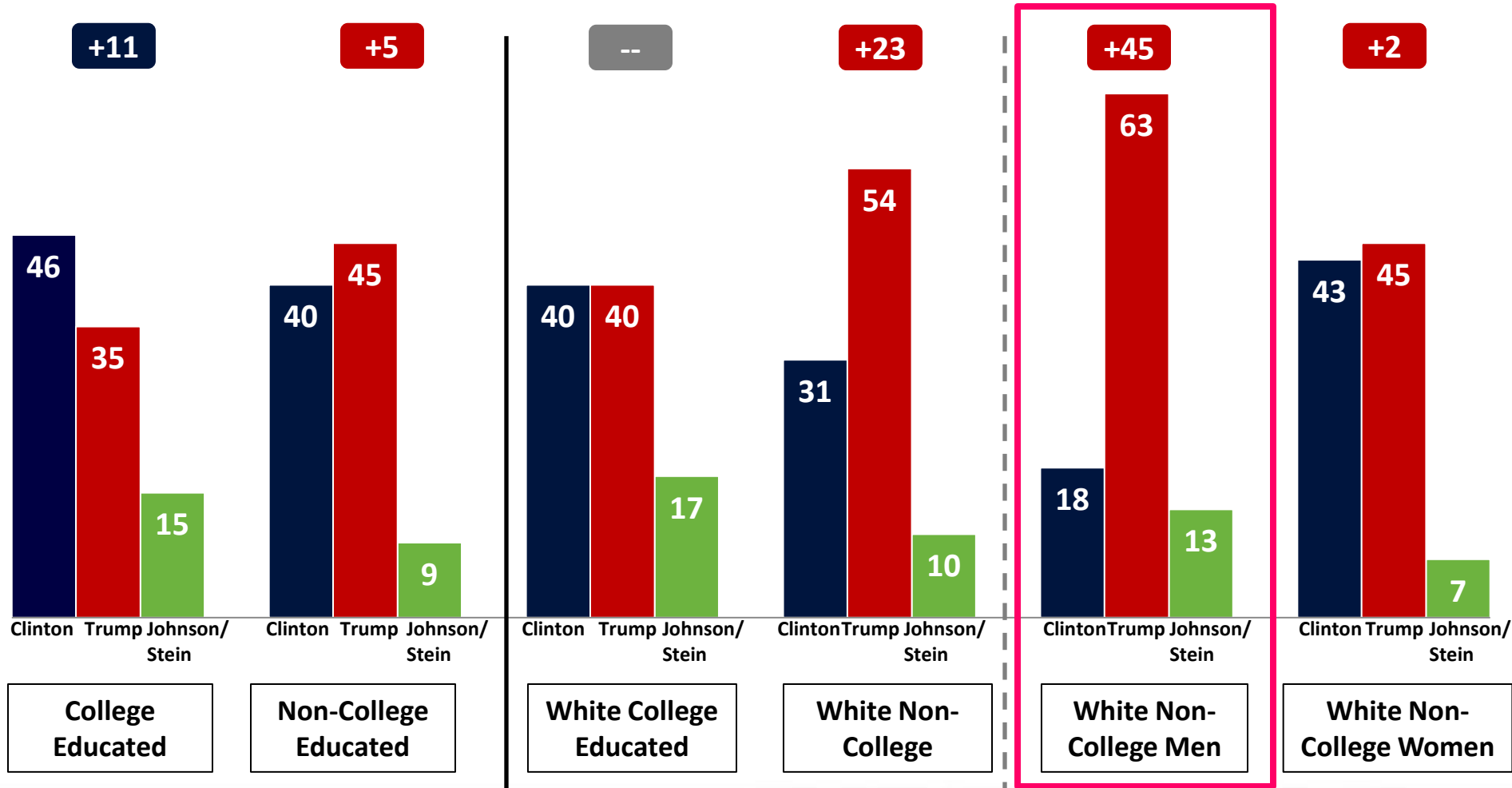
How much do the elections this November for President, U.S. Congress and other state and local offices matter this year? Please rate how much they matter from one to ten, with one meaning they don't matter at all and ten meaning they matter tremendously. You can choose any number between one and ten.

**% 10 – Matters Tremendously**



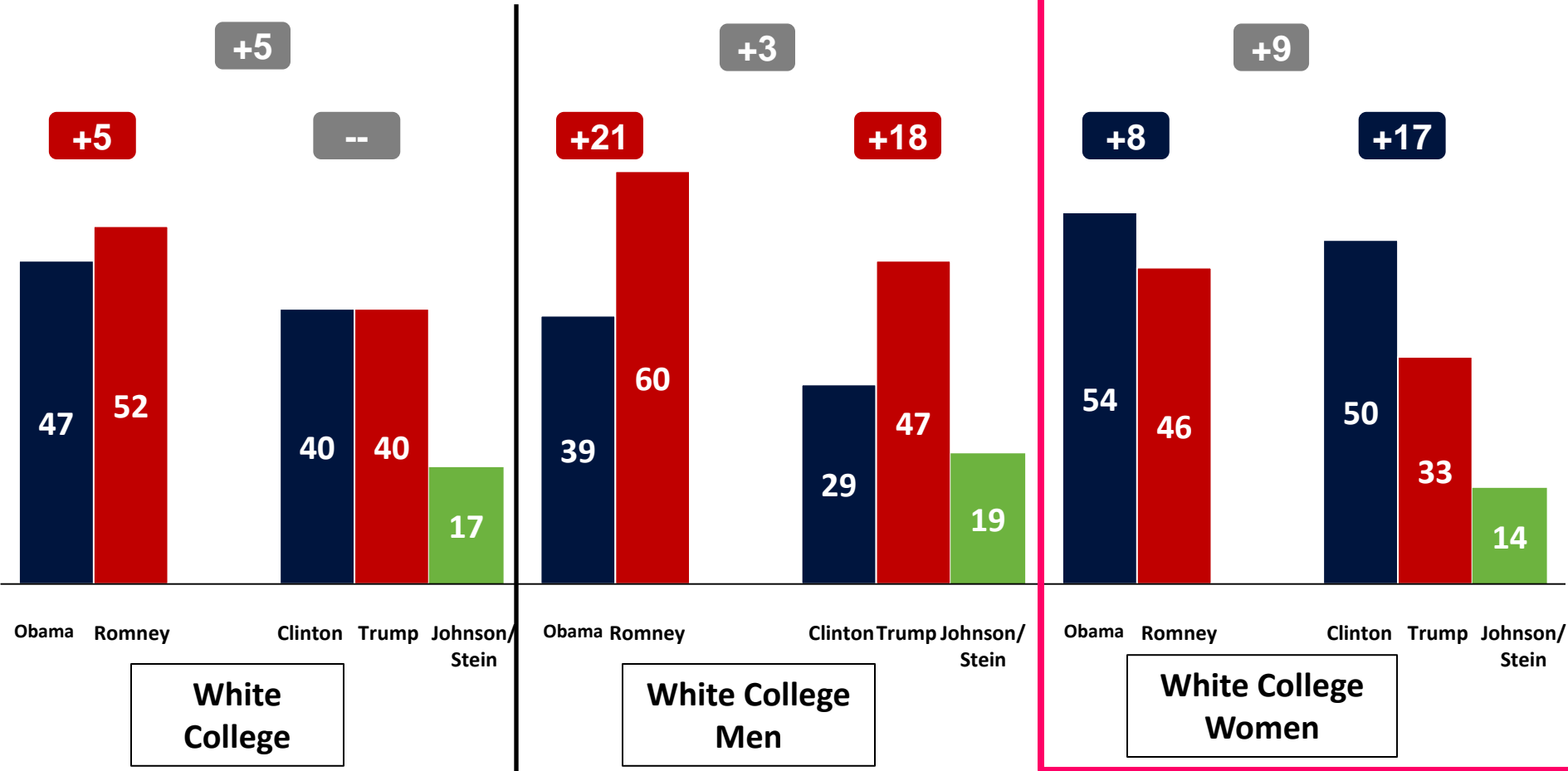
# It is the white working class men powering Trump's advantage

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in November, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for --Democrat Hillary Clinton, Republican Donald Trump, Libertarian Gary Johnson or Green Party Candidate Jill Stein?



# Clinton's white women college graduates wipe out Romney's margin with white college grads

*I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in November, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for --Democrat Hillary Clinton, Republican Donald Trump, Libertarian Gary Johnson or Green Party Candidate Jill Stein?*



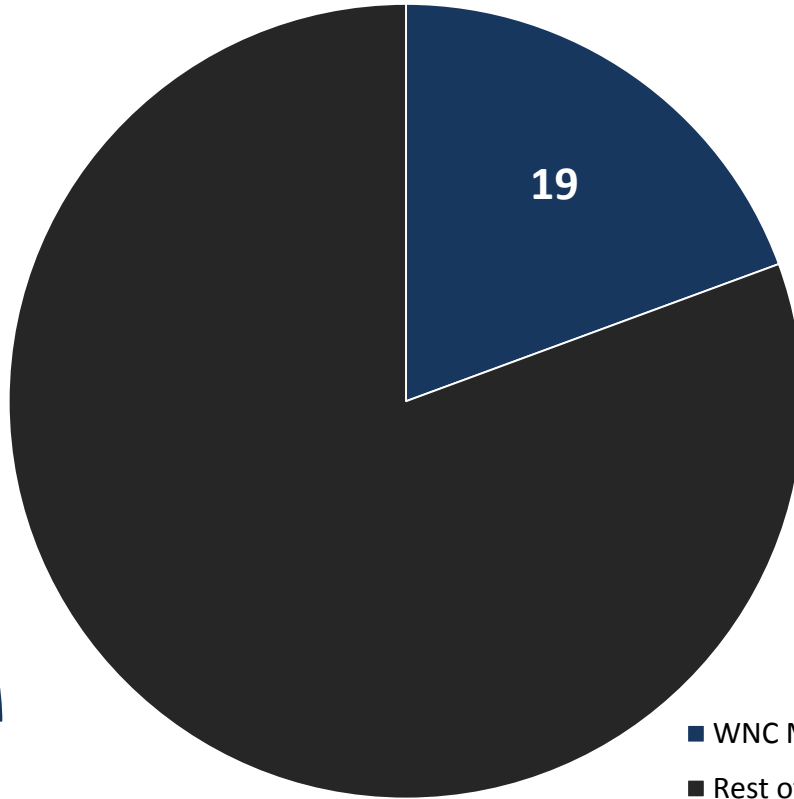
# White working class male share would have to jump 10 points in North Carolina and 11 points in Pennsylvania for Trump to carry the states

PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

## North Carolina



## Pennsylvania





Zero-Sum Turnout Calculator				
NORTH CAROLINA		White Non-College Men	Everyone Else	Total
Electorate Share		24%	76%	
Vote Share	Clinton	25%	48%	42%
	Trump	63%	37%	43%
	Other/Und.	12%	15%	14%
Voters		1,322,337	4,187,400	5,509,737
Turnout Rate		76%	70%	71%
Citizen 18+		1,740,803	6,011,431	7,752,234

**76 percent** of white non-college men in North Carolina must vote to raise vote share from **15 percent** of likely 2016 electorate to **24 percent** to beat Clinton.

Zero-Sum Turnout Calculator				
NEVADA		White Non-College Men	Everyone Else	Total
Electorate Share		18%	82%	
Vote Share	Clinton	26%	47%	43%
	Trump	65%	39%	44%
	Other/Und.	9%	14%	13%
Voters		216,673	987,068	1,203,741
Turnout Rate		43%	57%	54%
Citizen 18+		498,890	1,722,791	2,221,681

**43 percent** of white non-college men in Nevada must vote to raise vote share from **15 percent** of likely 2016 electorate to **18 percent** to beat Clinton.

Zero-Sum Turnout Calculator				
OHIO		White Non-College Men	Everyone Else	Total
Electorate Share		21%	79%	
Vote Share	Clinton	15%	46%	39%
	Trump	58%	36%	41%
	3rd/Und.	27%	18%	20%
Voters		1,201,713	4,520,730	5,722,443
Turnout Rate		60%	65%	64%
Citizen 18+		2,017,615	6,967,331	8,984,946

**60 percent** of white non-college men in Ohio must vote to maintain a vote share of **21 percent** of likely 2016 electorate to beat Clinton.

Zero-Sum Turnout Calculator				
PENNSYLVANIA		White Non-College Men	Everyone Else	Total
Electorate Share		31%	69%	
Vote Share	Clinton	17%	53%	42%
	Trump	69%	31%	43%
	3rd/Und.	14%	16%	15%
Voters		1,787,387	3,978,377	5,765,764
Turnout Rate		79%	51%	57%
Citizen 18+		2,270,752	7,841,477	10,112,229

**79 percent** of white non-college men in Pennsylvania must vote to raise vote share from **20 percent** of likely 2016 electorate to **31 percent** to beat Clinton.

# THE SENATE OPPORTUNITY

# Intense Trump supporters may punish GOP disloyalty down-ballot: 1/4 not support

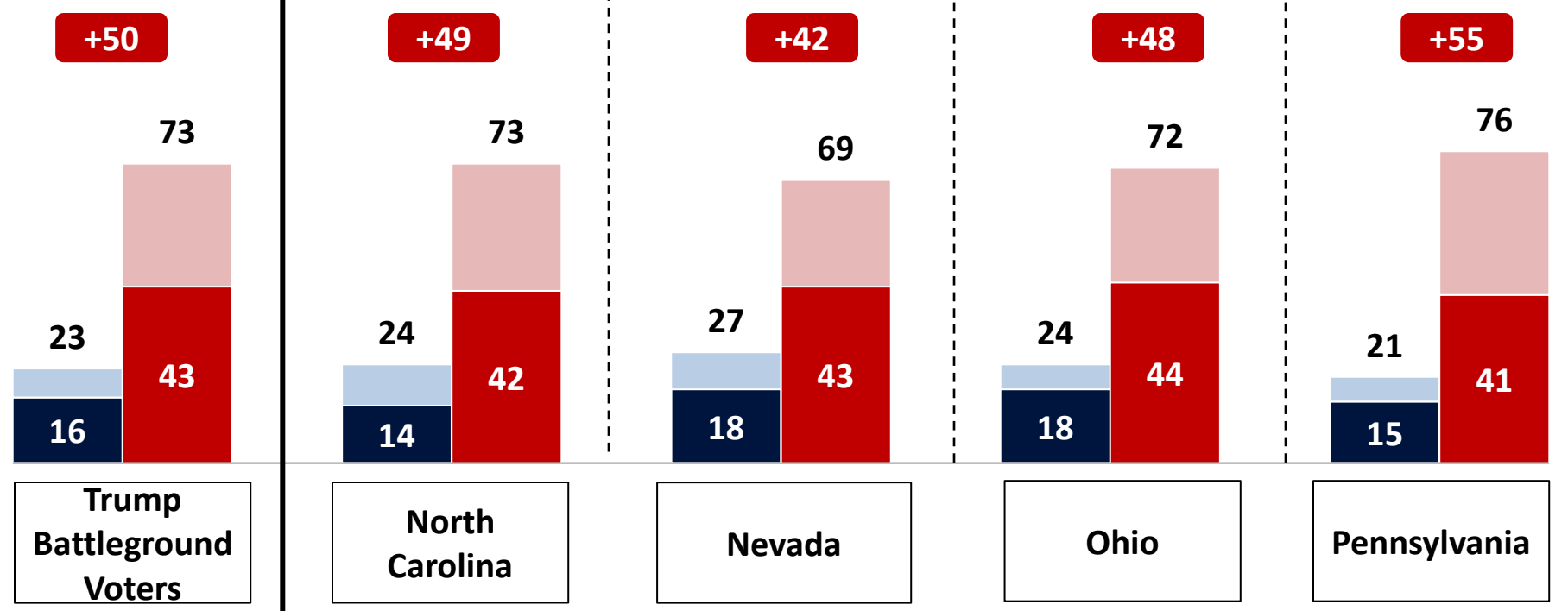
Now I am going to read some pairs of short statements some people have made about our nation. After I read each pair, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view even if neither statement is exactly right.

■ Won't vote for non-Trump endorsers strongly    ■ Will judge as individual strongly    Total Burden

## TRUMP VOTERS

I won't vote for a Republican congressional candidate who holds back from supporting Donald Trump.

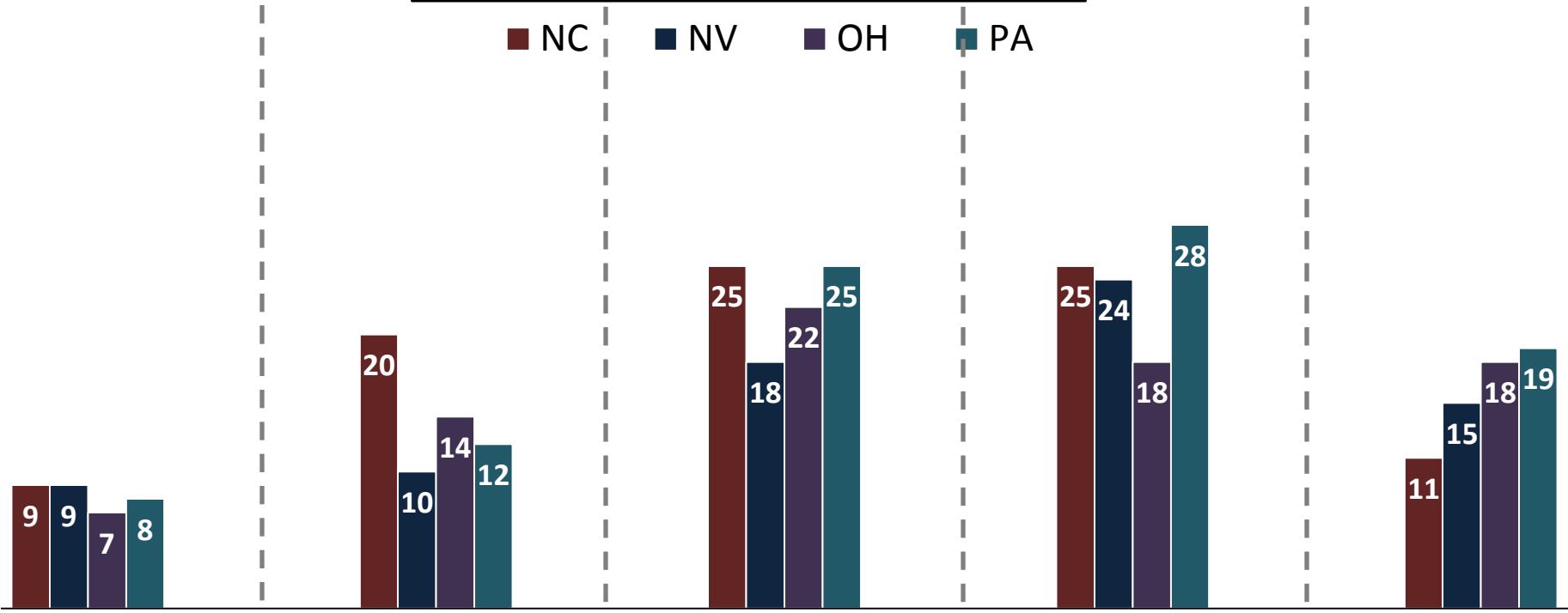
I will judge the Republican congressional candidate as an individual, not by their position on Donald Trump.



# Targets to consolidate

% of electorate in each state

■ NC ■ NV ■ OH ■ PA



Unconsolidated Democrats - President

Clinton not Senate Democrat

Clinton not Congressional Democrat

Millennials

GOP Moderates

# STRATEGY: CONSOLIDATING DEMOCRATIC VOTERS

# The Republican messages down-ballot

Now I am going to read you some things Republican candidates for U.S. Congress and the legislature in (STATE) are saying. After I read each statement please tell me whether this is a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing or not at all convincing statement.

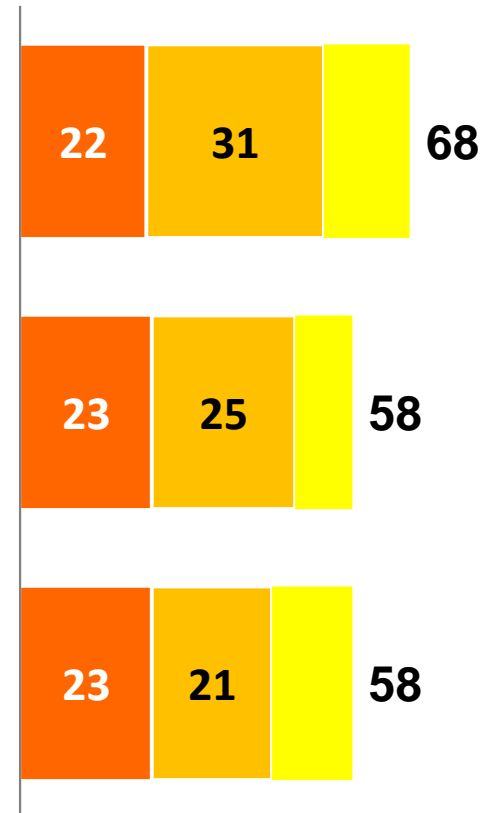
## GOP DOWN-BALLOT MESSAGES

- Very convincing
- Somewhat convincing
- A little convincing

**INDEPENDENT AGENDA:** People ask me, what do you think about Trump? Honestly, I have my reservations. I object to his vulgarity, particularly toward women and gold star families, and I disagree with many of his proposals, including his plan to ban Muslims. But I certainly don't trust Hillary Clinton. For me, country comes first. So if Donald Trump becomes president, I'll stand up to him. And if Hillary Clinton wins, I'll hold her accountable. I'll fight for limited government, individual freedom, a strong national defense and free-market economy that works for you.

**CHECK CLINTON:** No matter what side you are on, the stakes couldn't be higher. If Hillary Clinton is elected president, (STATE) will need leaders who will act as a check, not a rubber stamp. Democrats won't oppose higher taxes. They won't oppose more federal spending and oppose increased debts. They won't replace Obama's failed healthcare policies. They won't stop the Supreme Court from going to liberal extremes. And they won't insist the military has the resources it needs to defend us from the many dangers we face. Republicans will.

**TYPICAL LIBERAL OPPONENT:** The Democratic candidates aren't being honest with us. They claim they are independent but side with D.C. liberals nearly 90 percent of the time. They think Hillary Clinton is trustworthy, they support Obamacare, and they sided with Obama on the Iran nuclear deal, a deal that gives billions of dollars to terrorists. My opponent will be just another liberal politician in Washington. They are wrong for (STATE).



# We tested 3 down-ballot messages from Democrats

*Now I am going to read you some things Democratic candidates for U.S. Congress and the legislature in (STATE) are saying. After I read each statement please tell me whether this is a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing or not at all convincing statement.*

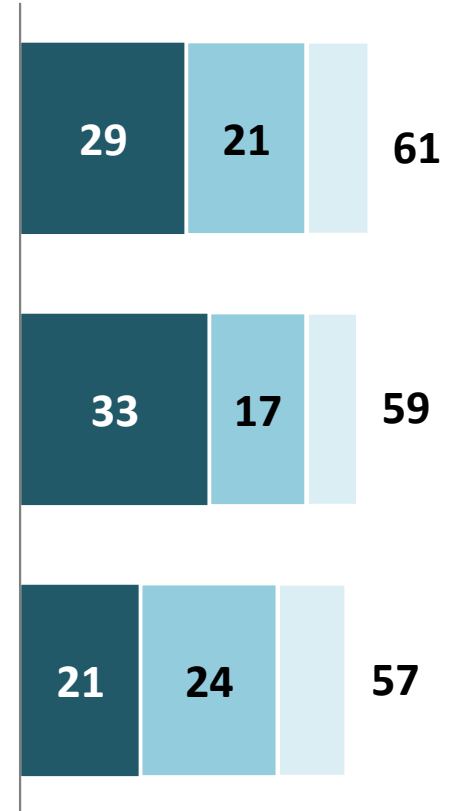
## DEMOCRATIC DOWN-BALLOT MESSAGES

- Very convincing
- Somewhat convincing
- A little convincing

**ECONOMIC AGENDA:** *We need to make our economy work for everyone, not just the rich and well-connected. Too many CEOs move jobs overseas and use lobbyists to win the day. Democrats have a plan to rewrite the rules of the economy that limits the role of big money in politics. The wealthy must pay their fair share of taxes. And it provides affordable childcare, equal pay for women, making college affordable, and large infrastructure investments to create jobs. But if we want to get these things done, we need a Democratic majority in Congress.*

**GOP & TRUMP:** *Donald Trump is running a campaign pitting Americans against each other and pushing ideas that threaten our country's security but Republican candidates are still supporting him. The things Trump says about immigrants, women, minorities and veterans are un-American and his ideas about national security are dangerous. But Republican candidates are still supporting him. When they refuse to stand up to him, they are putting their party over our country. If they allowed Donald Trump to become their party's standard bearer, what does that say about their standards?*

**STOP EXTREME GOP AGENDA:** *The Republican candidates for President, Congress and other offices in (STATE) oppose abortion, even in cases of rape and incest, and they want to cut off funding for Planned Parenthood. They oppose restricting gun rights for people on the terror watch list. And they support much lower taxes for the richest 1 percent and corporations and are making major cuts to funding for public education to pay for it.*



# Linking candidates to Trump not so successful either because GOP seen as divided, not united

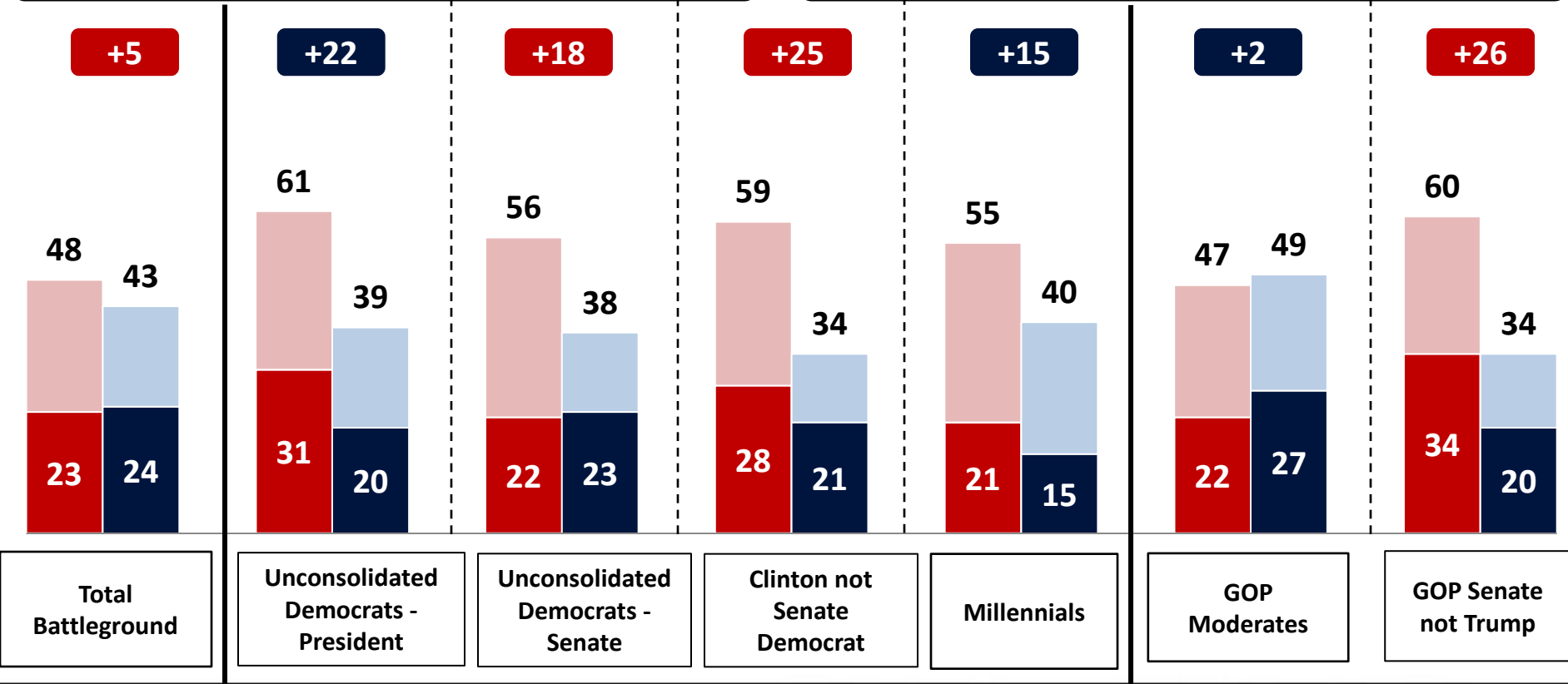
Now I am going to read some pairs of short statements some people have made about our nation. After I read each pair, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view even if neither statement is exactly right.

■ Do not share Trump's ideas strongly

■ GOP Party of Trump strongly

Most Republicans do not share Donald Trump's ideas.

More and more, the Republican Party is the party of Donald Trump.





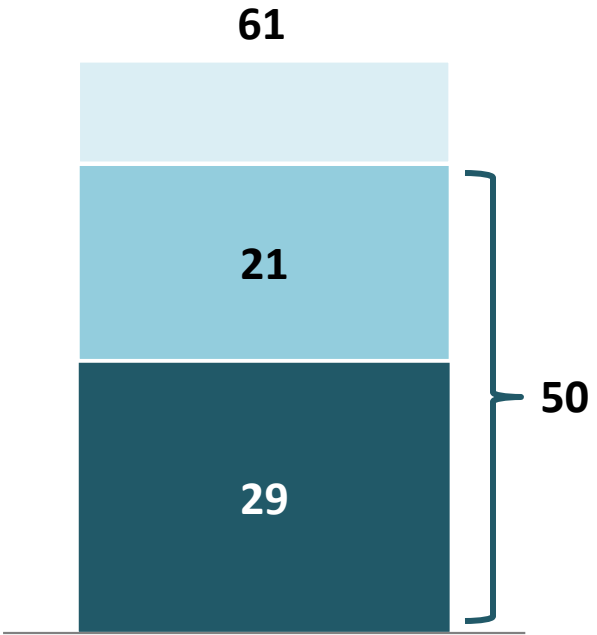
# Bold economic agenda gets strong response

*Now I am going to read you some things Democratic candidates for U.S. Congress and the legislature in (STATE) are saying. After I read each statement please tell me whether this is a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing or not at all convincing statement.*

## DEMOCRATIC ECONOMIC AGENDA

*We need to make our economy work for everyone, not just the rich and well-connected. Too many CEOs move jobs overseas and use lobbyists to win the day. Democrats have a plan to rewrite the rules of the economy that limits the role of big money in politics. The wealthy must pay their fair share of taxes. And it provides affordable childcare, equal pay for women, making college affordable, and large infrastructure investments to create jobs. But if we want to get these things done, we need a Democratic majority in Congress.*

- A little convincing
- Somewhat convincing
- Very convincing

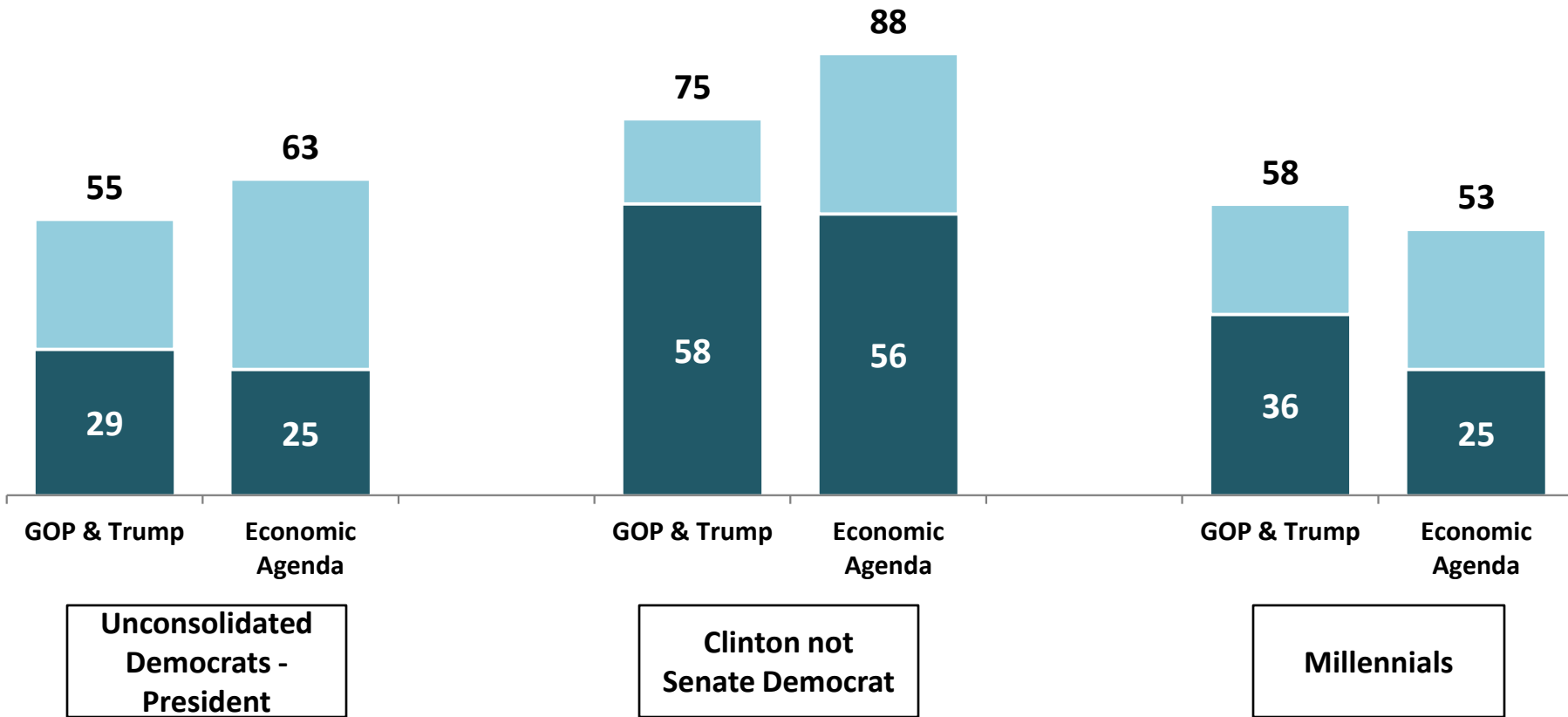


# Economic agenda really moves Democratic leaning targets

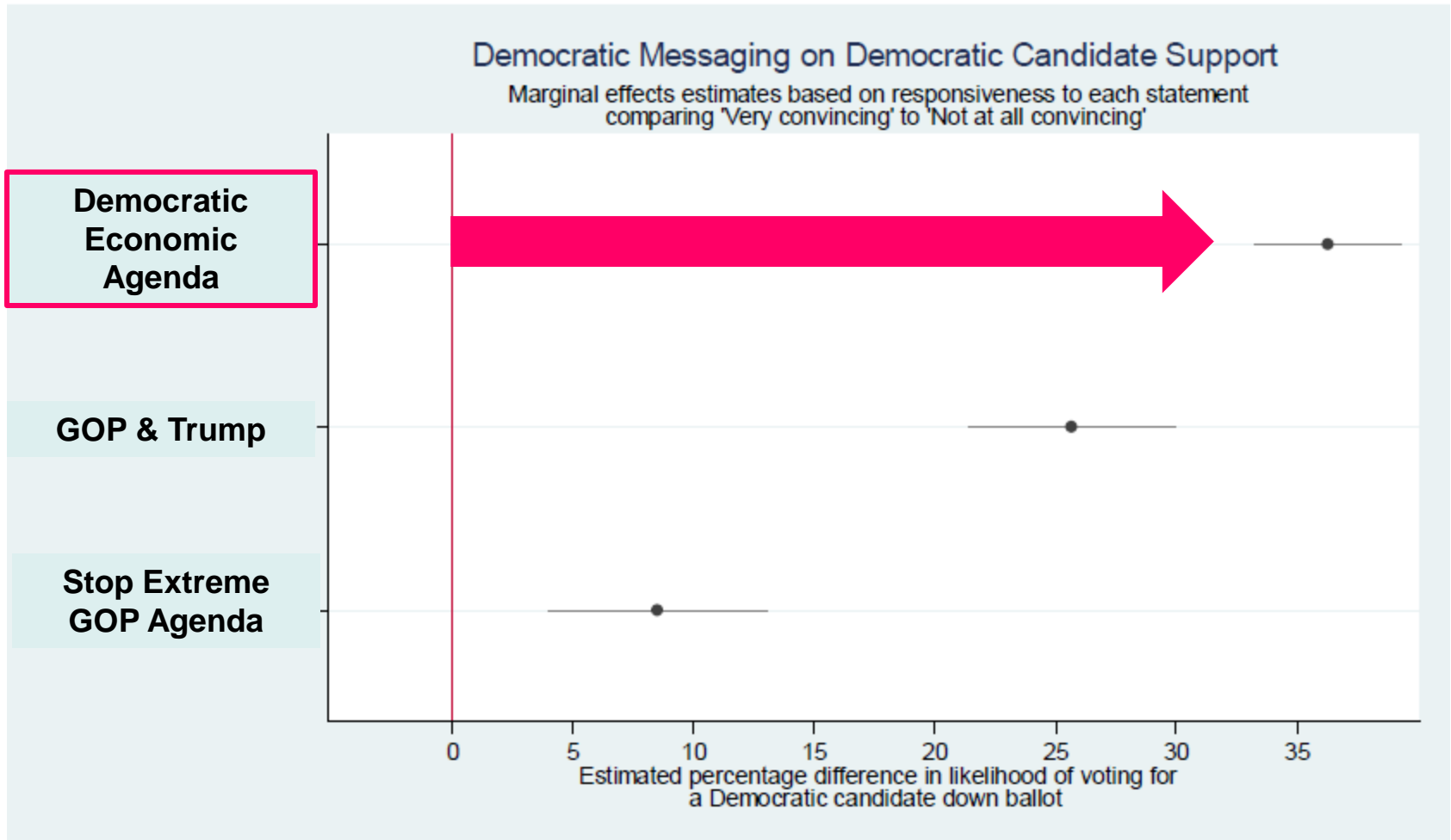
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## DEMOCRATIC DOWN-BALLOT MESSAGES

■ Very convincing  
 ■ Somewhat convincing

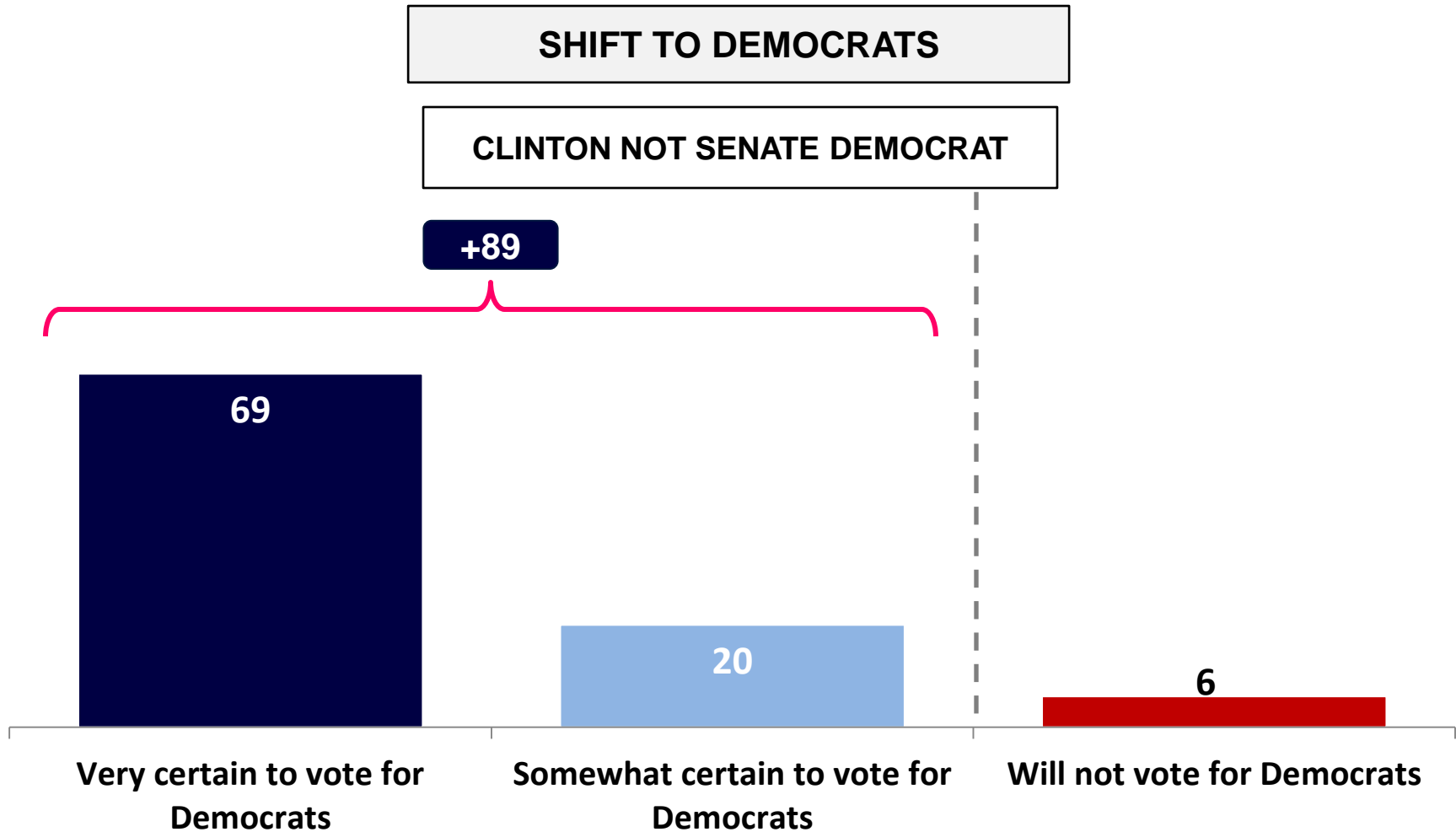


# But economic agenda has dramatically more impact on down-ballot Democratic voting

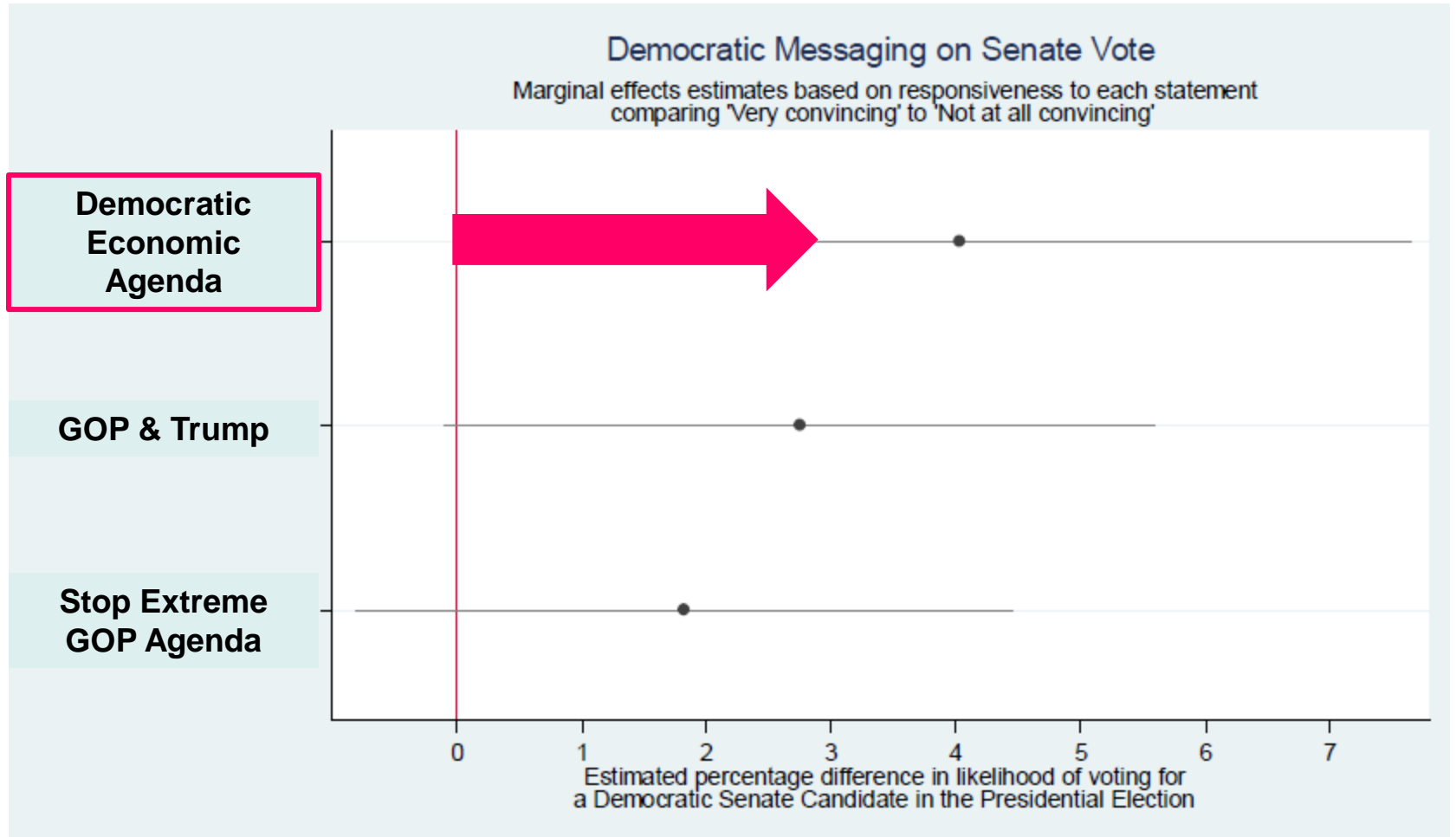


# Unconsolidated voters ready to vote for Dems down-ballot

After hearing what the Democratic candidates are saying, would you now vote for the Democratic candidate or not?



# Economic message drives vote to Senate Democrats



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