



DEMOCRACY CORPS
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG



WOMEN'S VOICES
WOMEN VOTE
ACTION FUND

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER

STRATEGY + RESEARCH

Battleground 2016: new game

June 30, 2016

CAMPAIGNS

CORPORATIONS

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Methodology

Battleground Survey of 2700 Likely 2016 Voters in 9 competitive presidential battleground states.

This survey took place June 11 - 20. 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 = +/-1.89 percentage points at 95% confidence. Margin of error will be higher among subgroups.

Respondents were divided equally among states (n=300) of Arizona, Florida, Michigan, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Nevada, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. Margin of error for each state sample= +/- 5.66 percentage points at 95% confidence. Margin of error will be higher among subgroups.

Forty-nine 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.

State Breakdowns

Senate Battleground:

Arizona

Florida*

Nevada

North Carolina

Ohio

New Hampshire

Pennsylvania

Wisconsin

Diverse Target States:

Arizona

Florida

Nevada

North Carolina

Rustbelt Target States:

Ohio

New Hampshire

Pennsylvania

Wisconsin

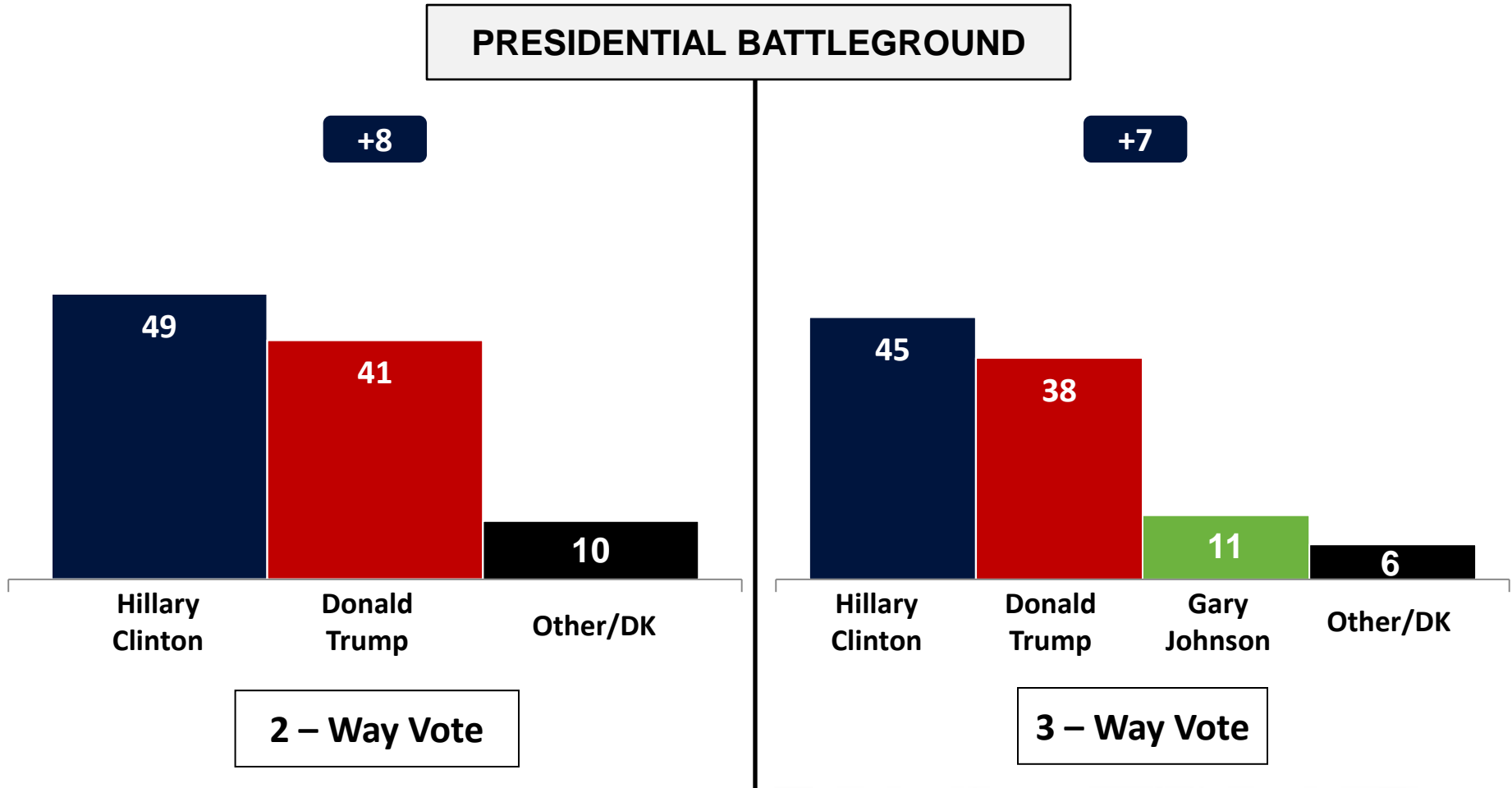
Michigan

**The Senate vote results were excluded in Florida where Senator Rubio had not yet announced his candidacy.*

THE PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

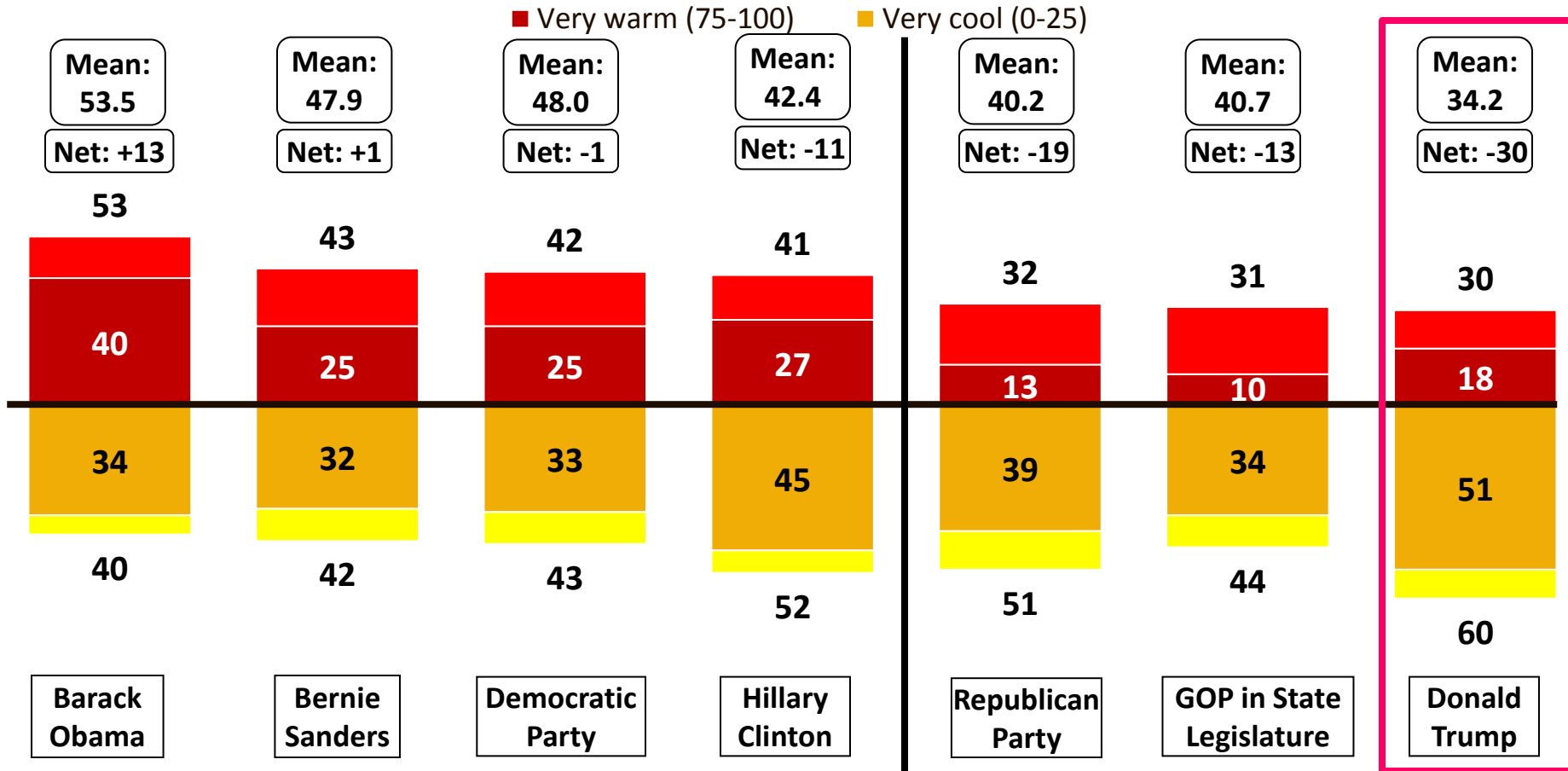
Clinton leads Trump across the battleground

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 or Republican Donald Trump (or Libertarian Gary Johnson)?



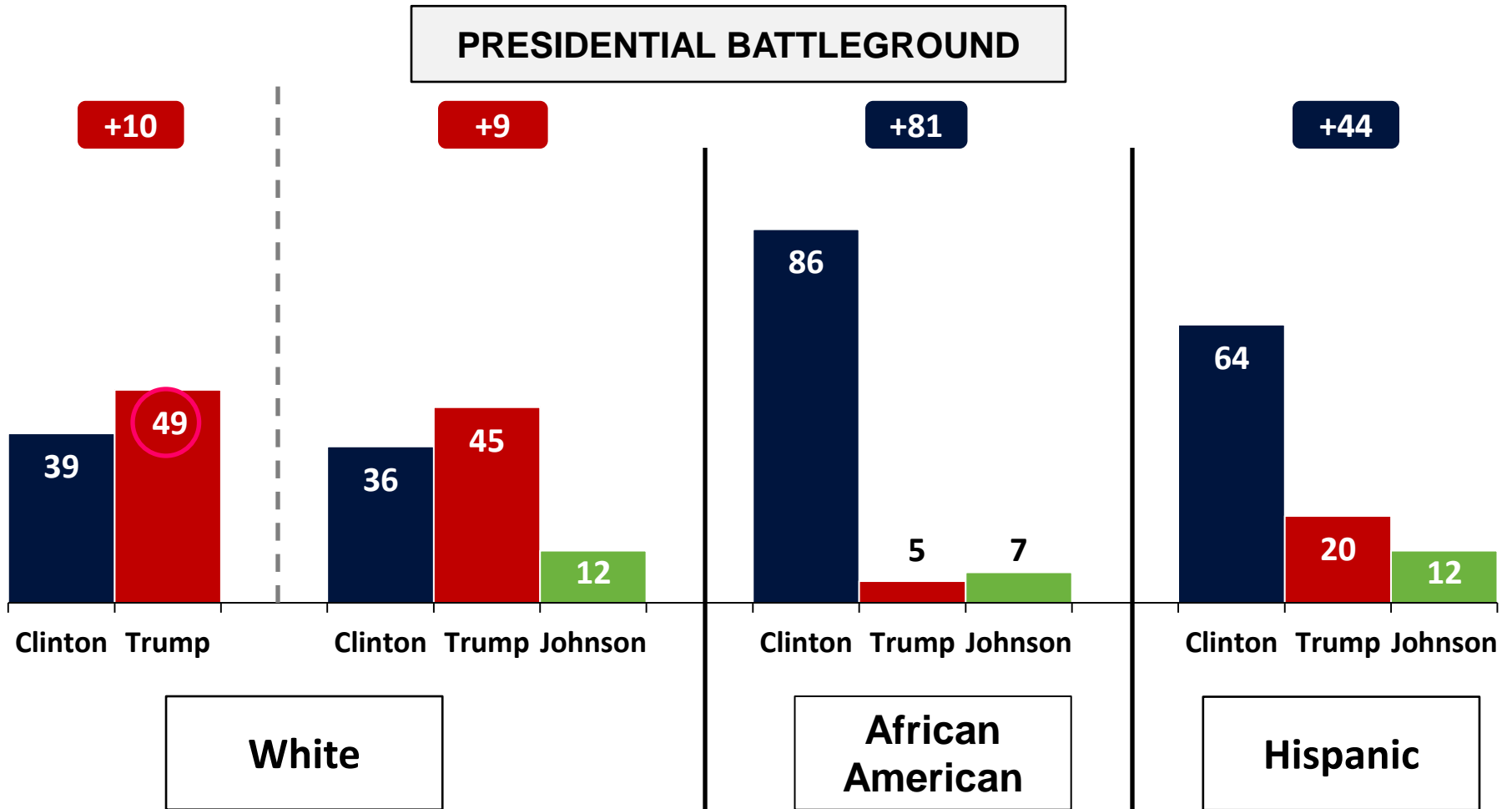
Trump and state GOP leaders now face of toxic GOP brand

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.



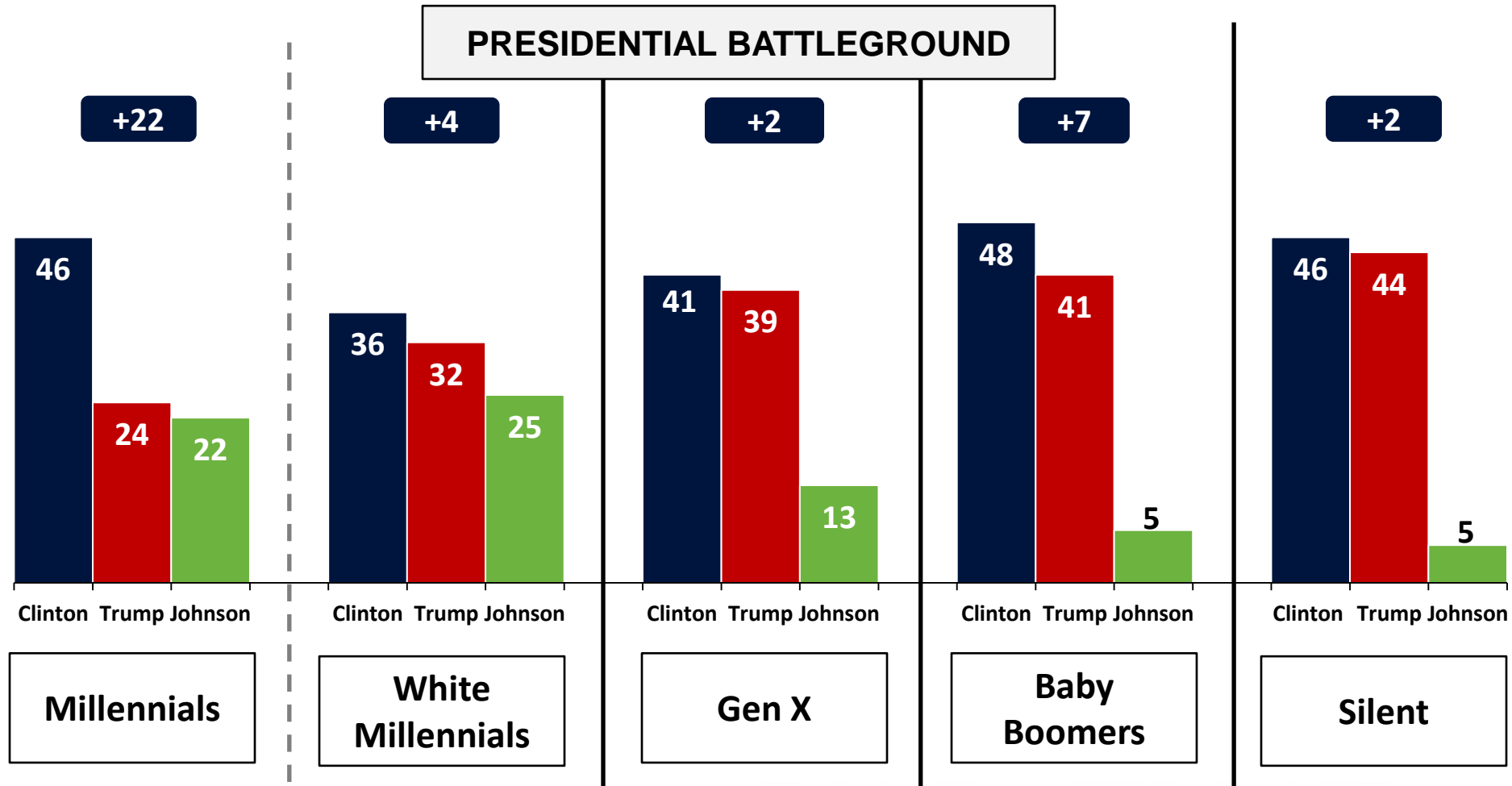
Trump gets less than half of the white vote, even in 2-way race

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]?



Clinton winning all generations, including millennials

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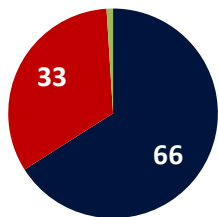


The 2016 “women’s vote” is more complicated than you think

PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

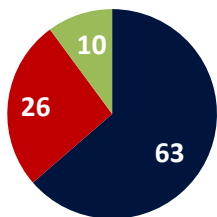
Unmarried Women
(31% of Clinton vote)

2012 Vote



- Obama
- Romney
- Other/DK/Refused

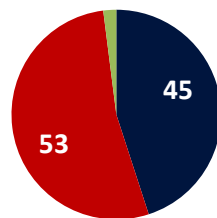
2016 Vote
(2-way)



- Clinton
- Trump
- Other/DK/Refused

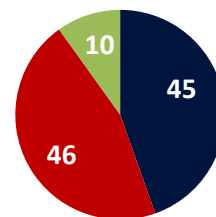
Married Women
(27% of Clinton vote)

2012 Vote



- Obama
- Romney
- Other/DK/Refused

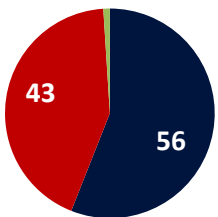
2016 Vote
(2-way)



- Clinton
- Trump
- Other/DK/Refused

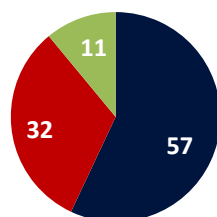
College-Educated Women
(28% of Clinton Vote)

2012 Vote



- Obama
- Romney
- Other/DK/Refused

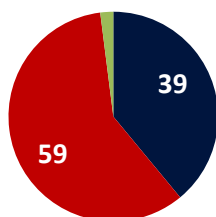
2016 Vote
(2-way)



- Clinton
- Trump
- Other/DK/Refused

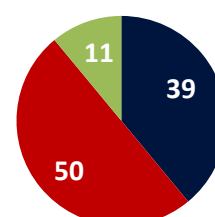
White Non-College Educated Women
(18% of Clinton vote)

2012 Vote



- Obama
- Romney
- Other/DK/Refused

2016 Vote
(2-way)



- Clinton
- Trump
- Other/DK/Refused

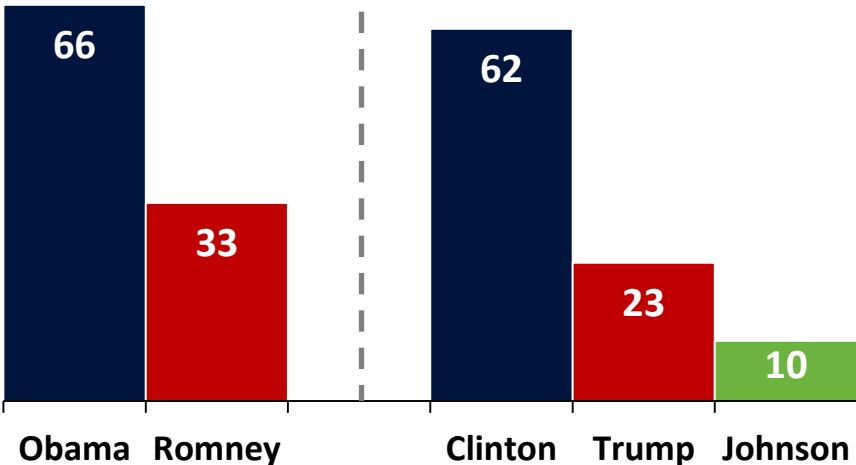
Improved margins among unmarried women from 2012

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, or Libertarian Gary Johnson?

PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

Unmarried Women

+33 → +39

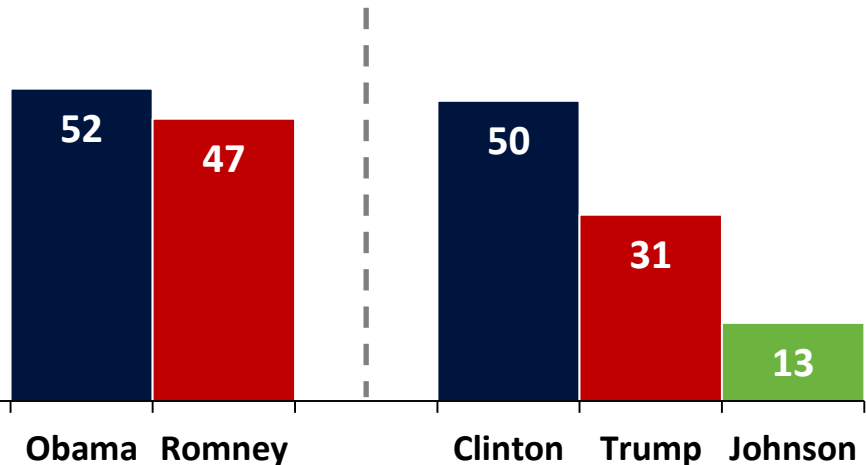


2012

2016

White Unmarried Women

+5 → +19

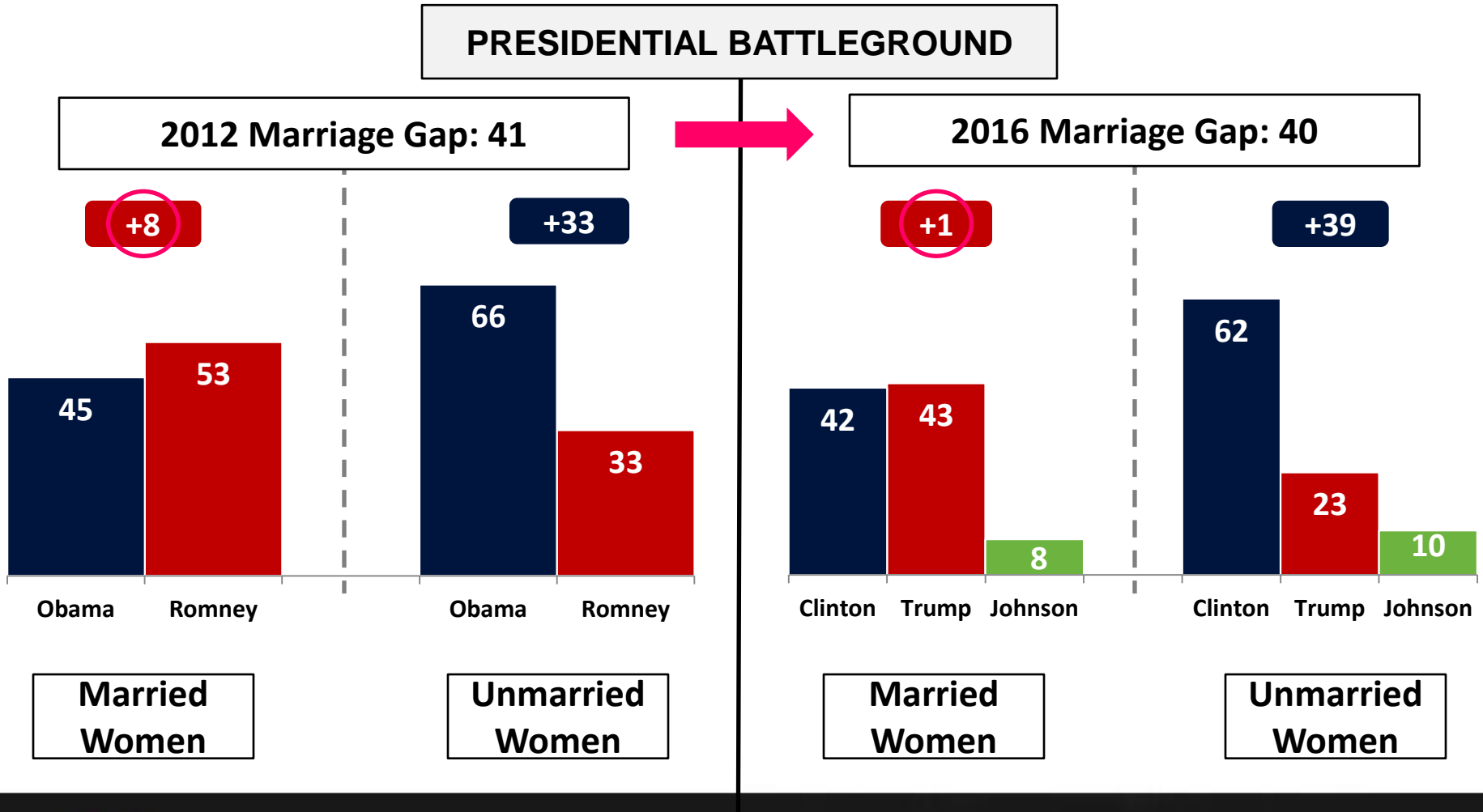


2012

2016

Marriage gap sustained, even though married women now even

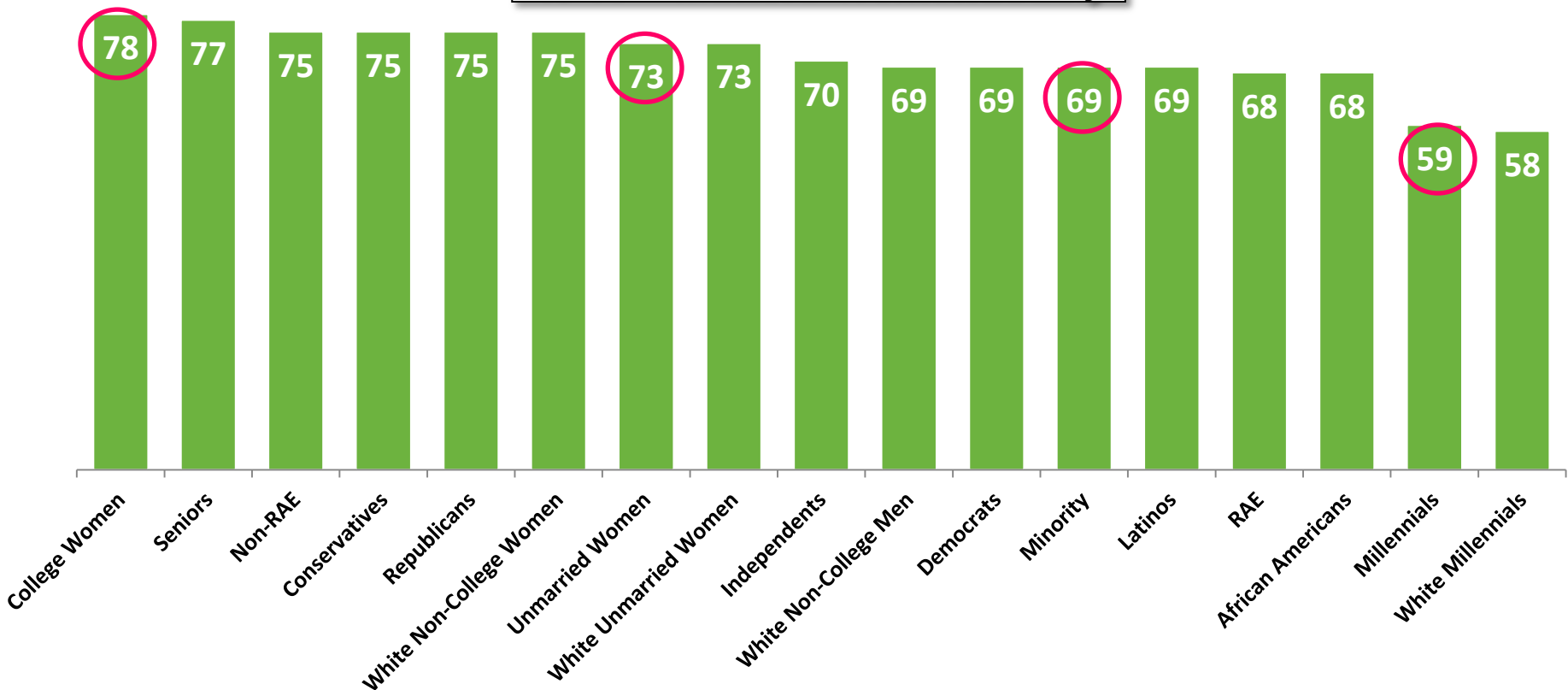
I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in November, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for --Democrat Hillary Clinton, Republican Donald Trump, or Libertarian Gary Johnson?



RAE less determined to vote than non-RAE, driven by 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.

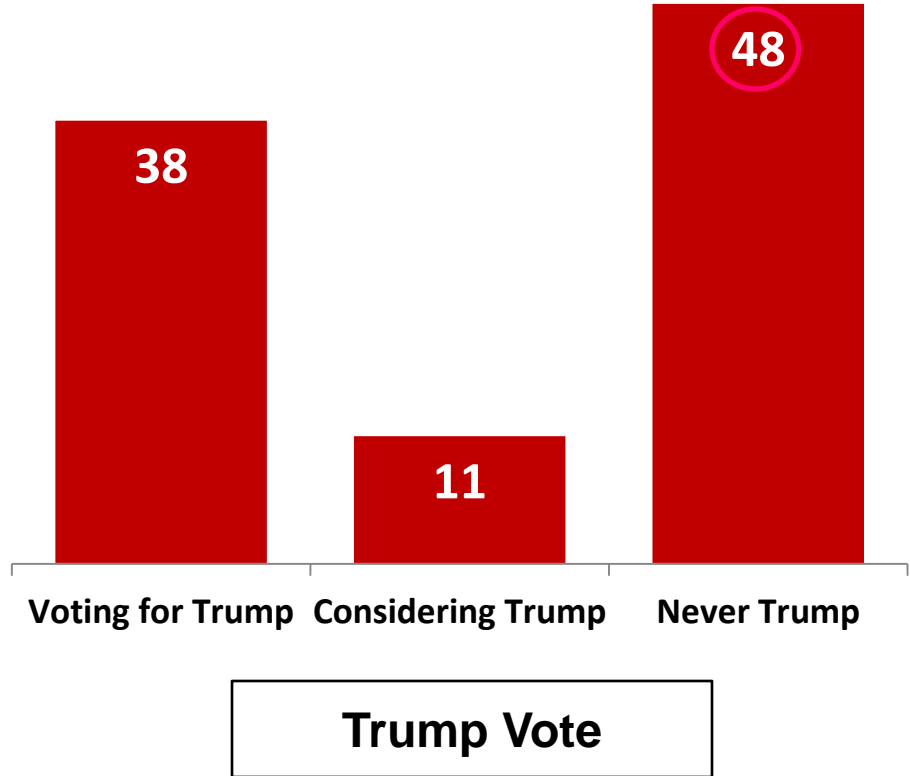
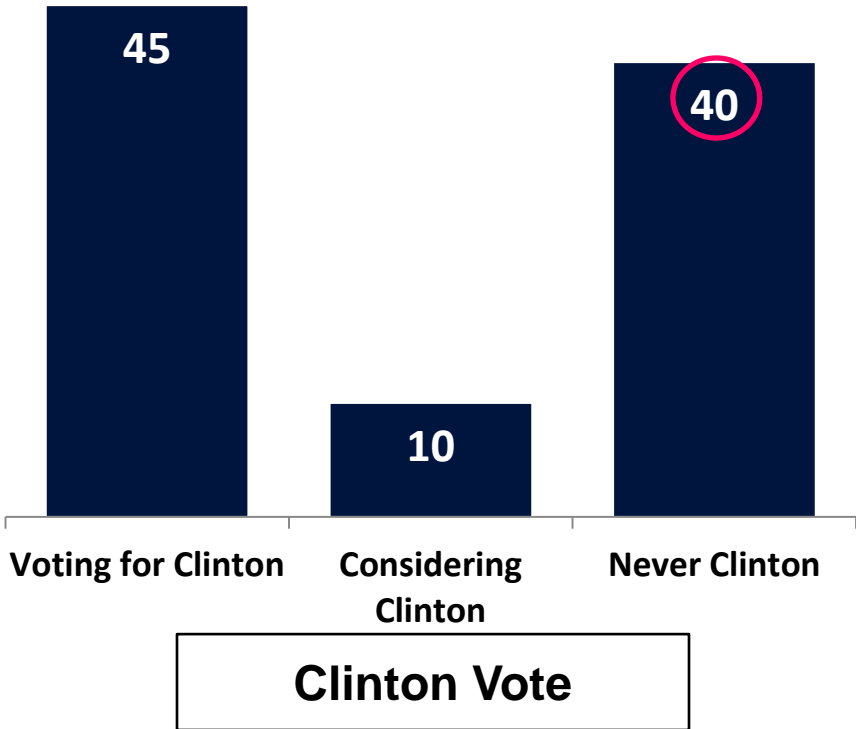
PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND
% 10 – Matters Tremendously



Never Trump nearing half

Even though you are not supporting Hillary Clinton/Donald Trump now, what are the chances that you might support Hillary Clinton/Donald Trump in the election for President in November – is there a fair chance that you might support Clinton/Trump, a small chance, just a very slight chance or no chance at all that you might support Clinton/Trump for President in November?

PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

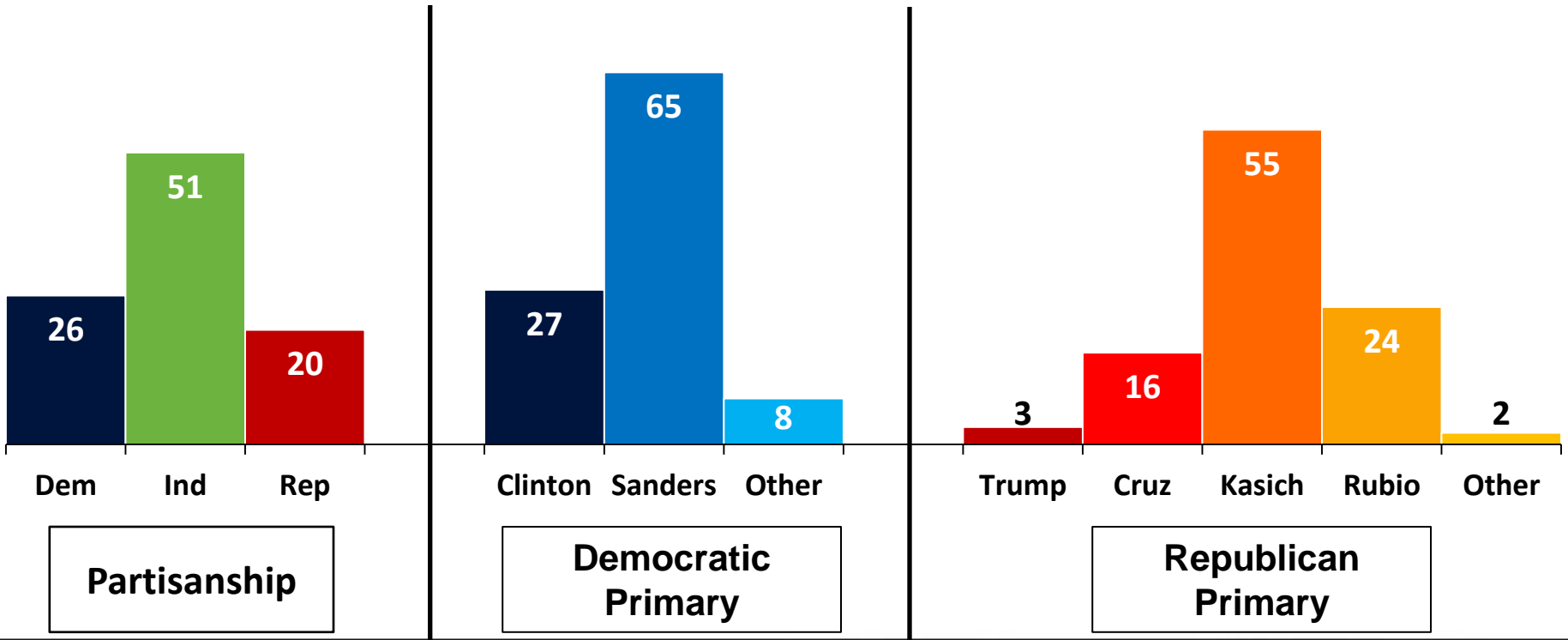


Composition of Clinton's winnable voters

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? Even though you are not supporting Hillary Clinton now, what are the chances that you might support Hillary Clinton in the election for President in November – is there a fair chance that you might support Clinton, a small chance, just a very slight chance or no chance at all that you might support Clinton for President in November?

PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

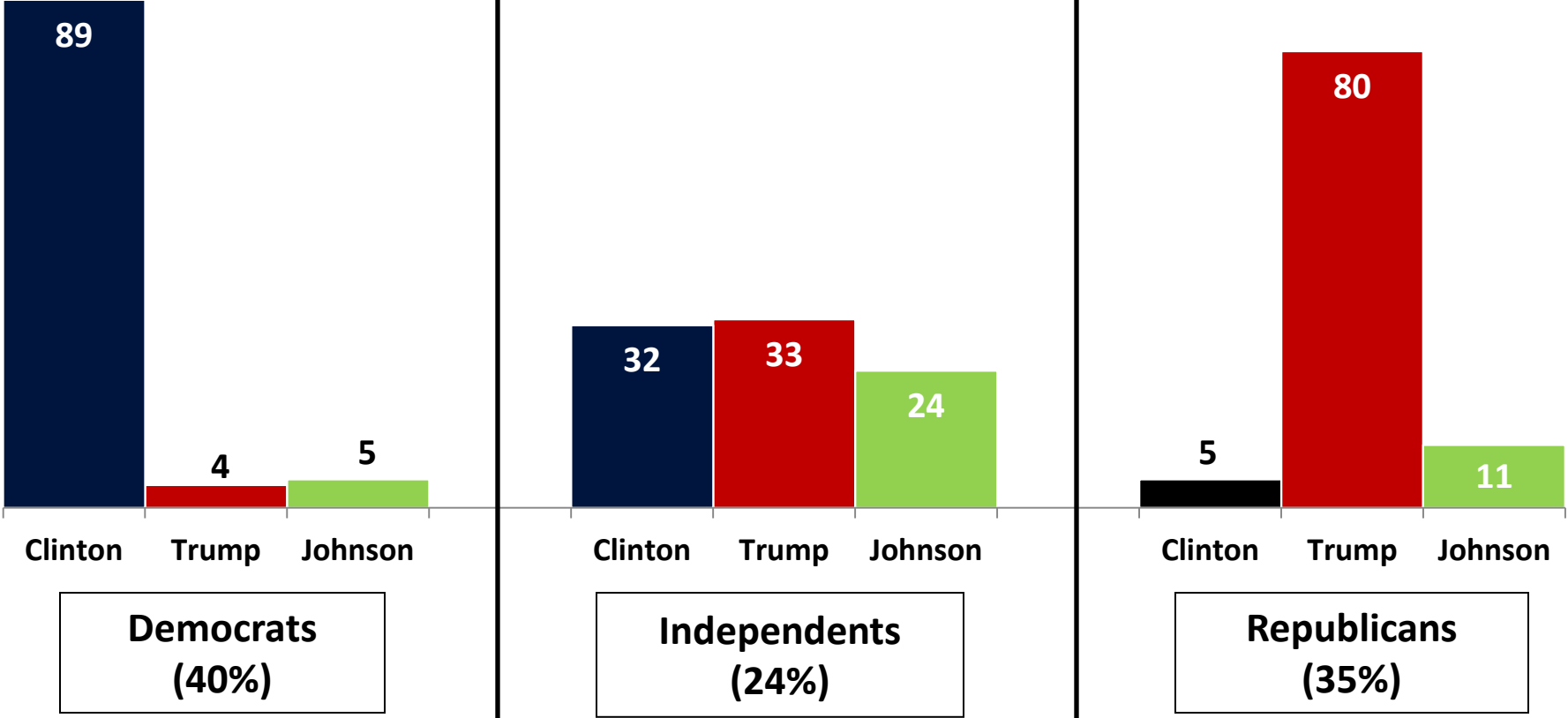
Clinton's Winnable Voters



Clinton has consolidated 9-in-10 Democrats, Trump only 8-in-10, and real Libertarian vote with Independents

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?

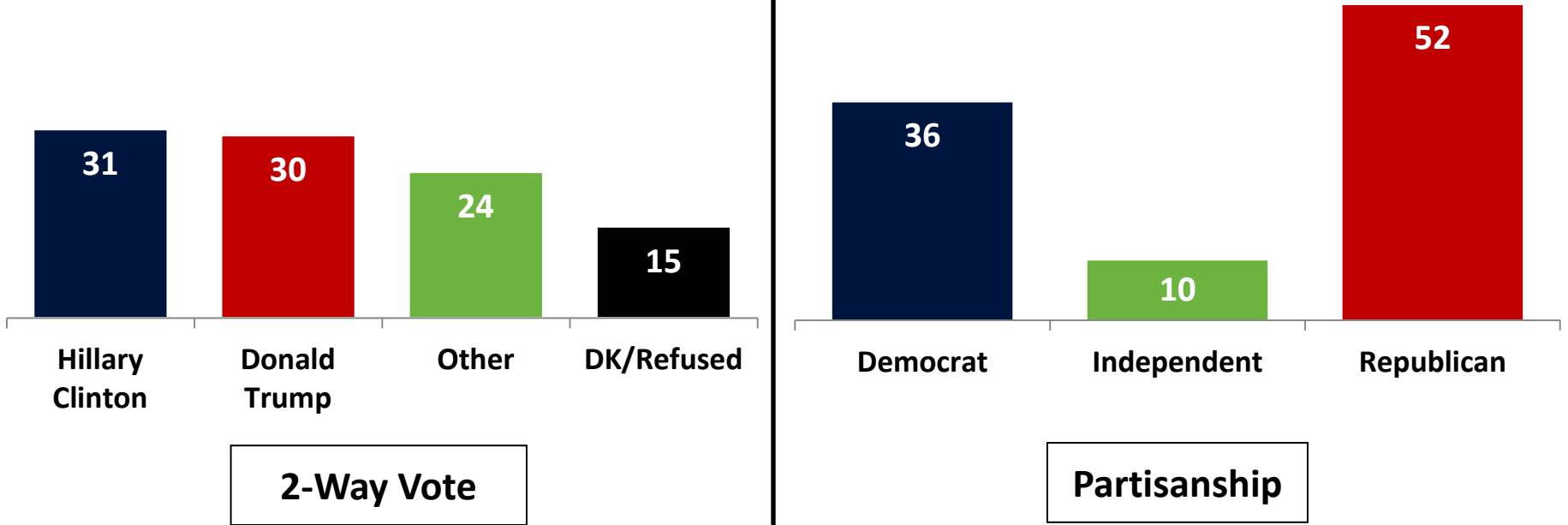
PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND



Majority of Johnson voters are Republican, but three-in-ten will vote for Clinton in 2-way ballot

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)?

PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND
Johnson Voters

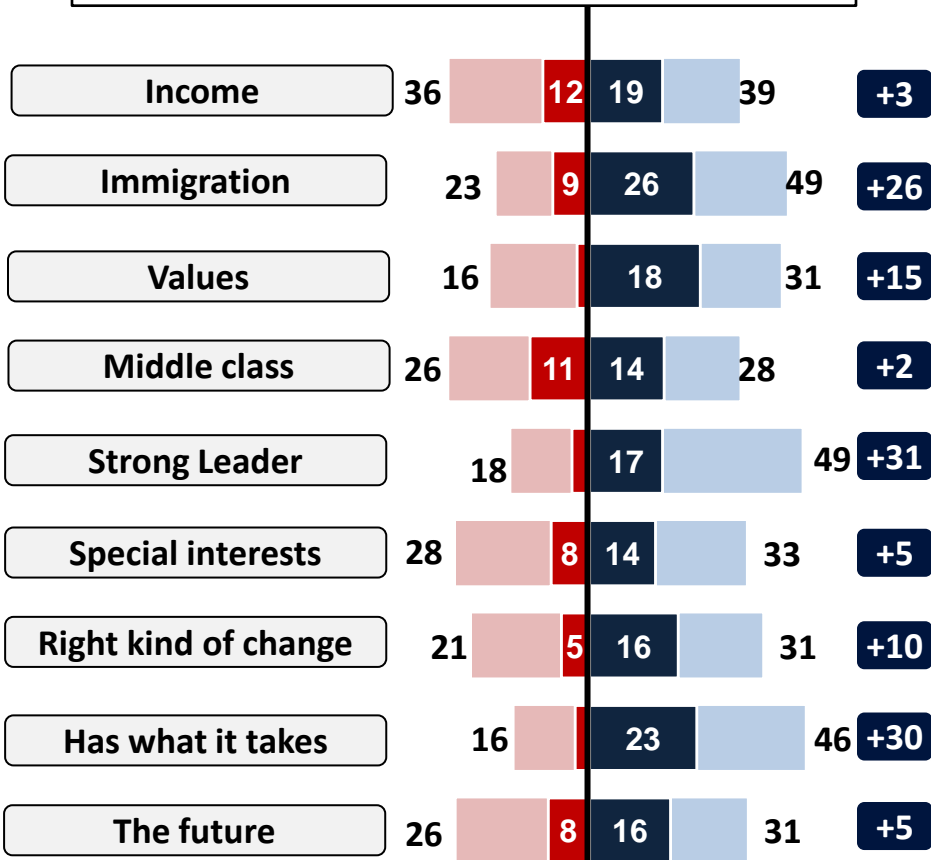


*Partisanship is show by Democrats/Democratic leaning Independents, Republicans/Republican leaning Independents

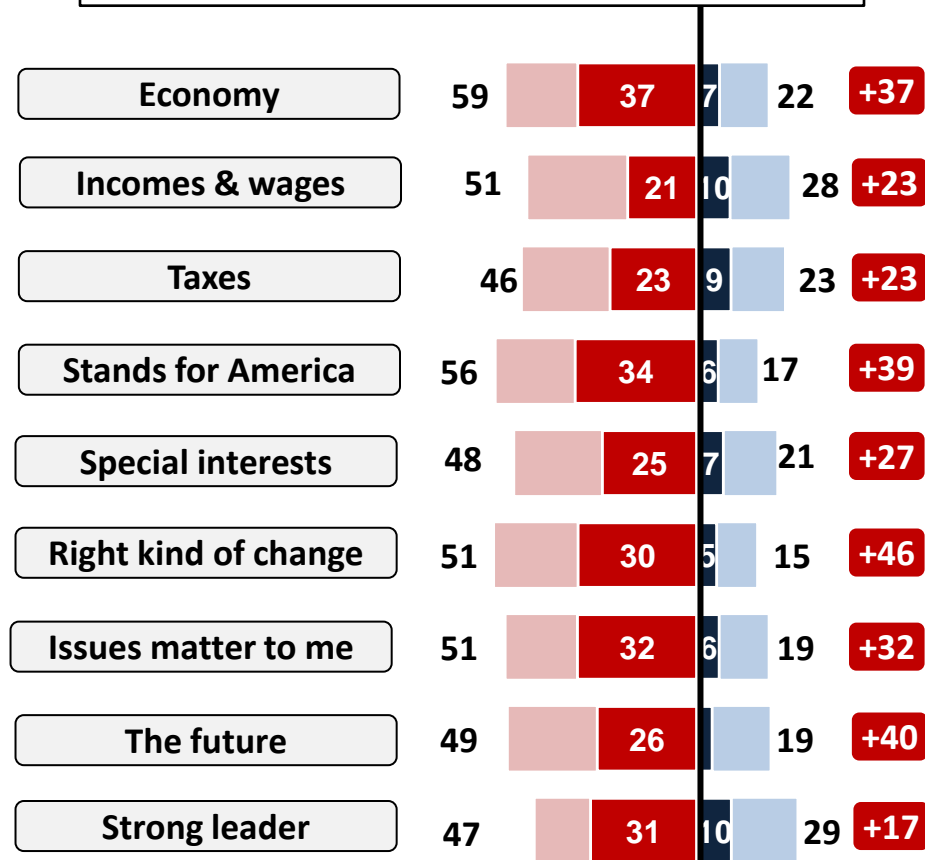
Romney defectors driven by leadership/immigration, Obama defectors by desire for change/nationalism/economy

I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each one, please tell me whether you feel the phrase better describes Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump.

ROMNEY '12, NOT TRUMP '16



OBAMA '12 NOT CLINTON '16

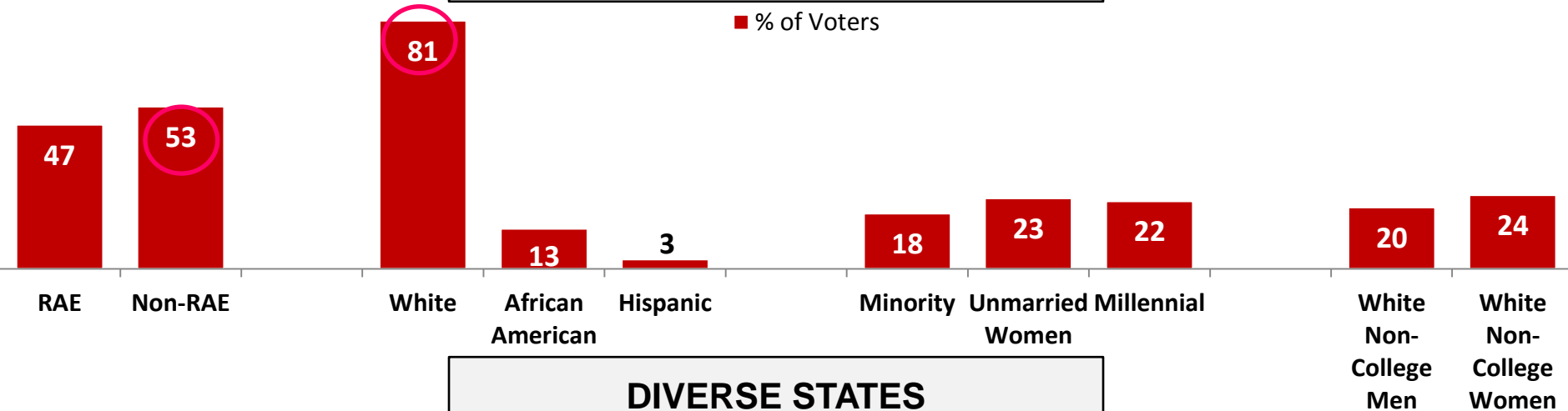


THE RUST BELT PLAY & DIVERSE STATE STRATEGY

Very different demographics in these sets of states

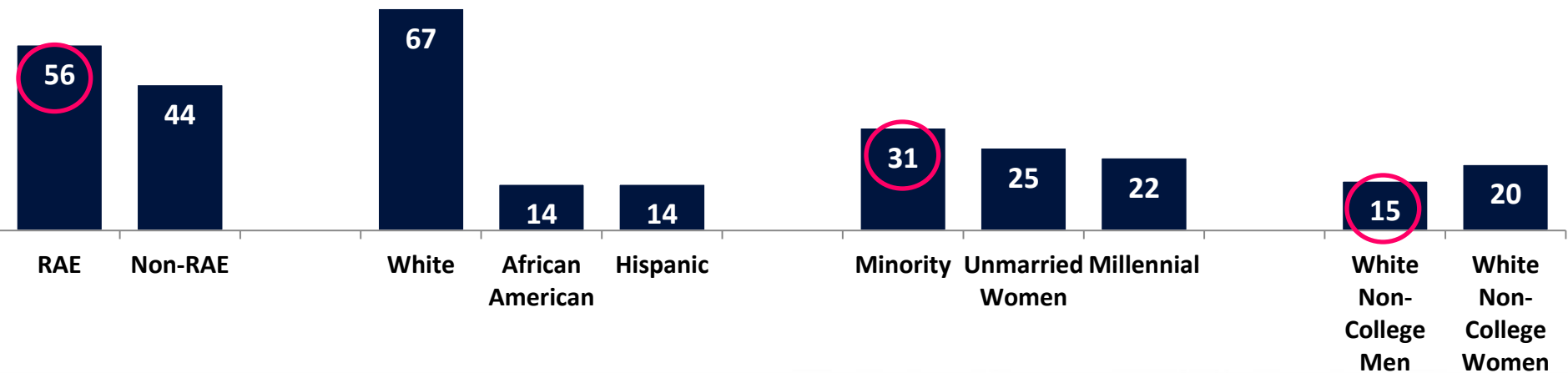
RUSTBELT STATES

■ % of Voters



DIVERSE STATES

■ % of Voters

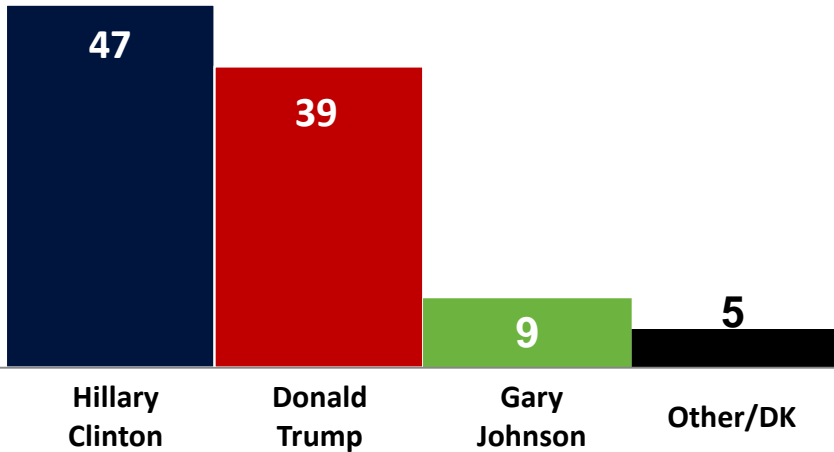


Clinton's margin across both areas suggests big Electoral College battleground

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?

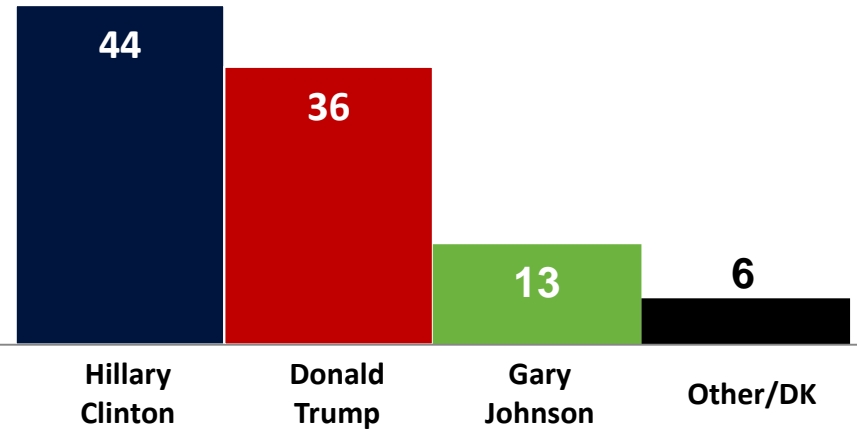
DIVERSE STATES

+8



RUSTBELT STATES

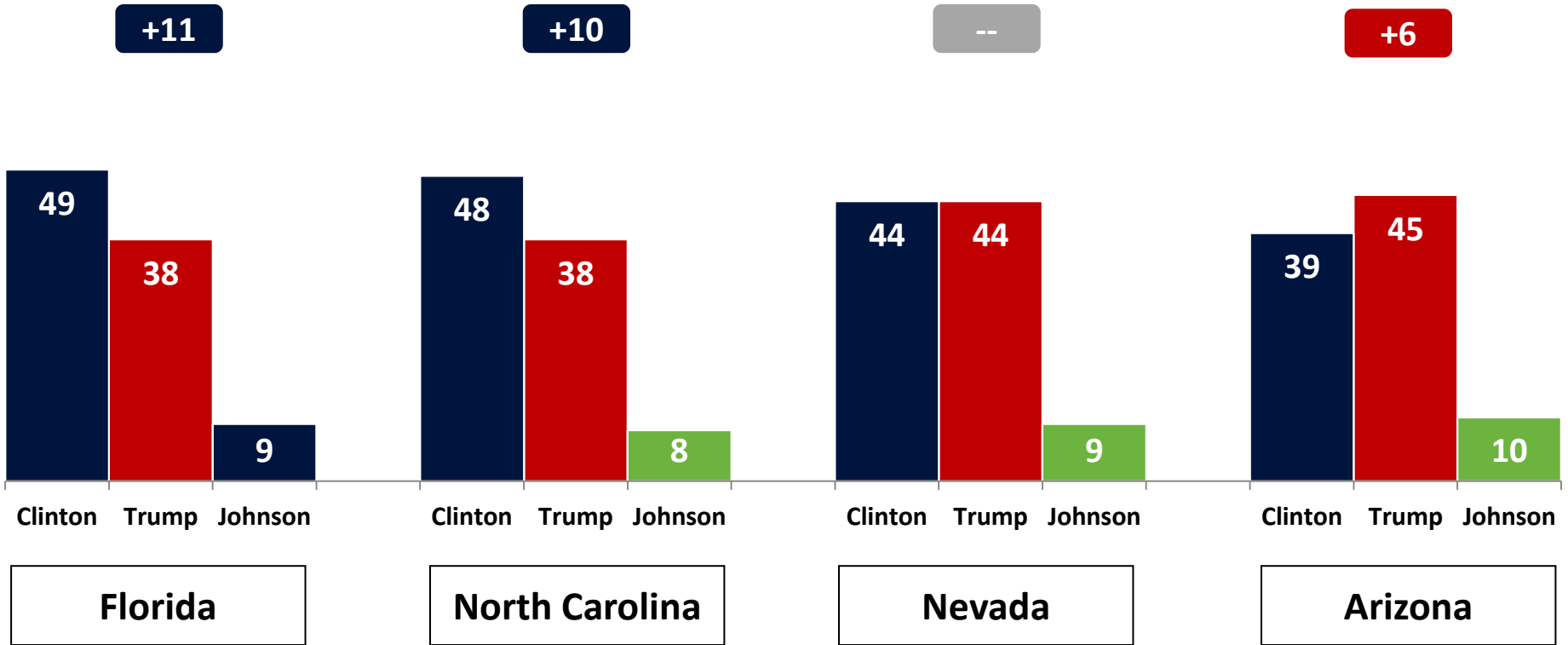
+8



Growing diversity producing bigger 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)?

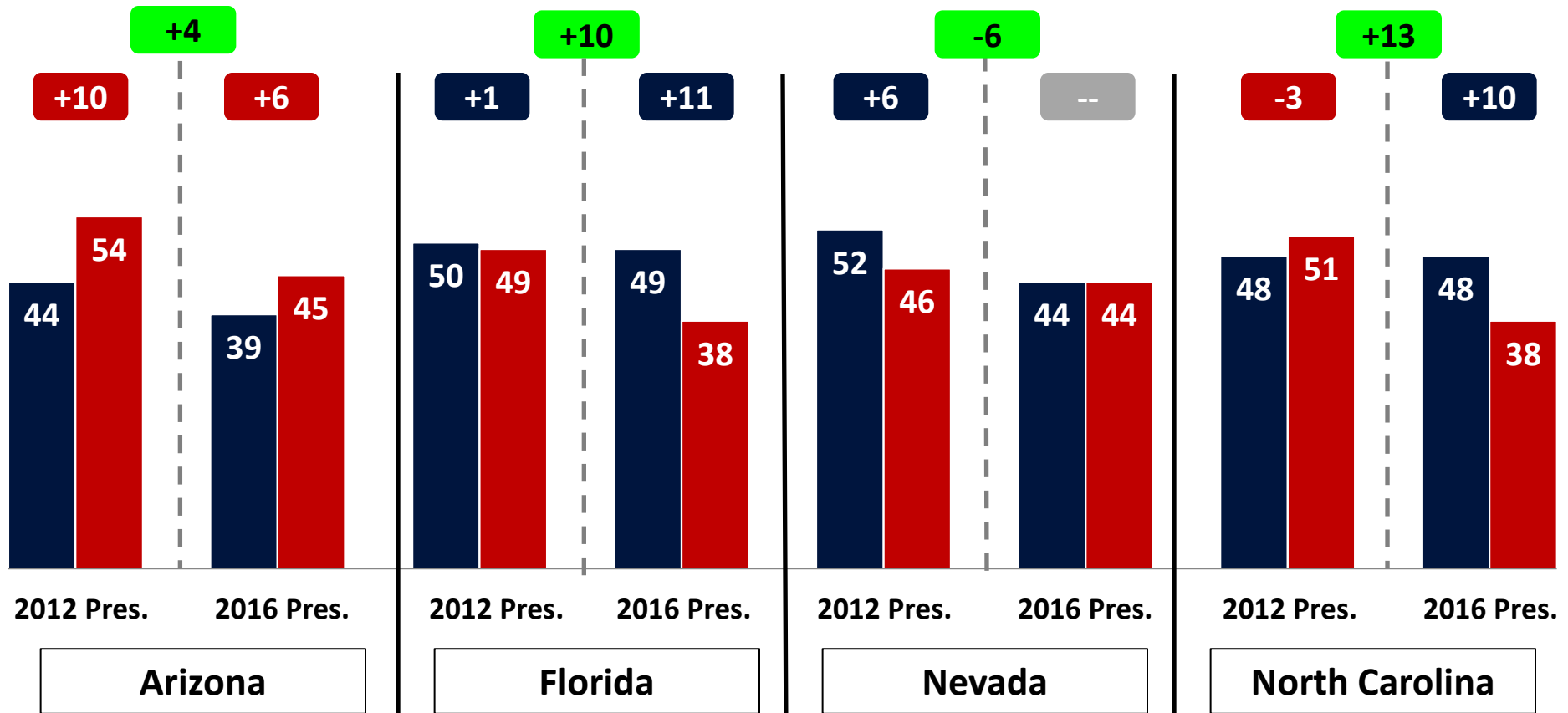
DIVERSE STATES



And running ahead of 2012 margins in the diverse states

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?

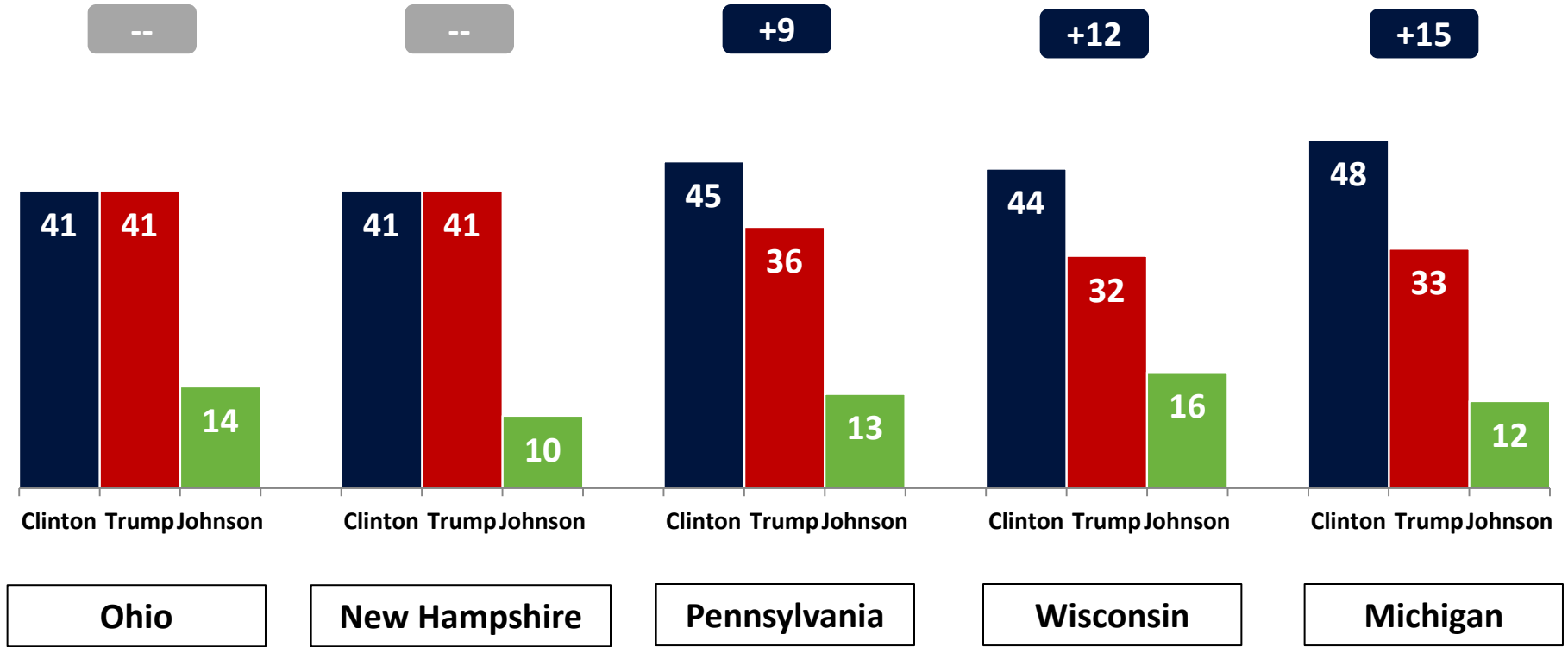
Diverse States



No advantage for Trump in the states he needs to win

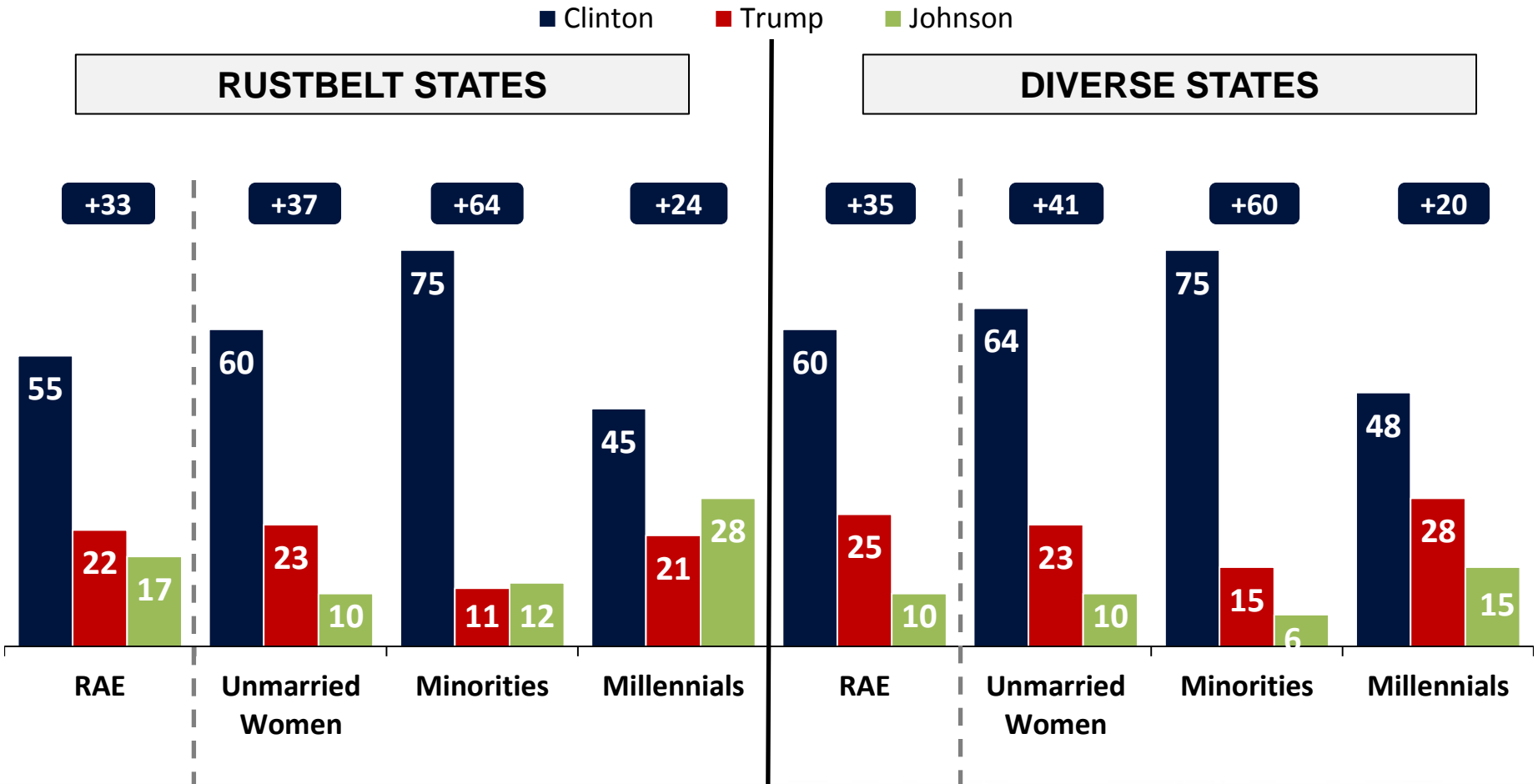
I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in November, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for --Democrat Hillary Clinton or Republican Donald Trump (or Libertarian Gary Johnson)?

RUSTBELT STATES



RAE vote comparable in two areas, so composition is everything

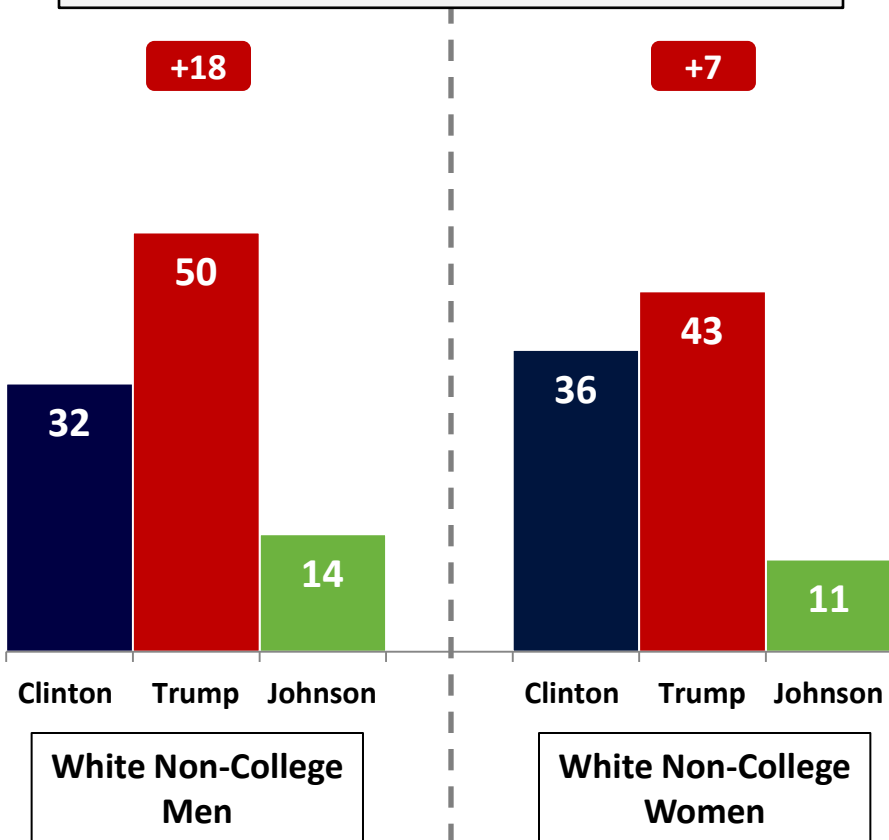
I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in November, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for --Democrat Hillary Clinton, Republican Donald Trump, [or Libertarian Gary Johnson]?



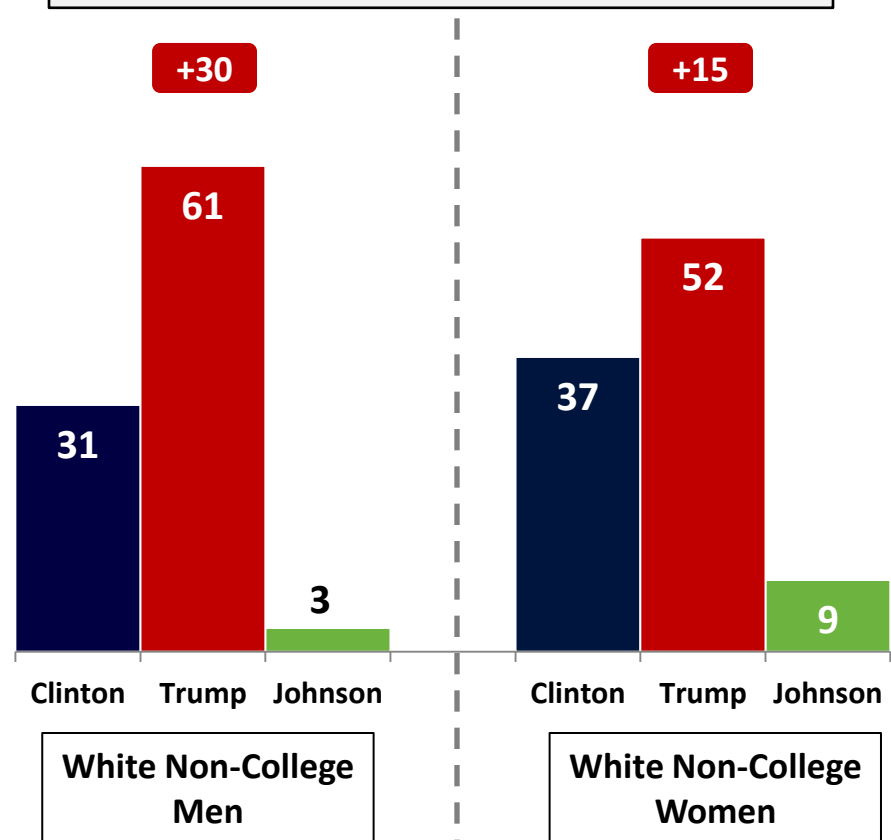
Trump performs better with working class men in diverse states

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?

RUSTBELT STATES



DIVERSE STATES

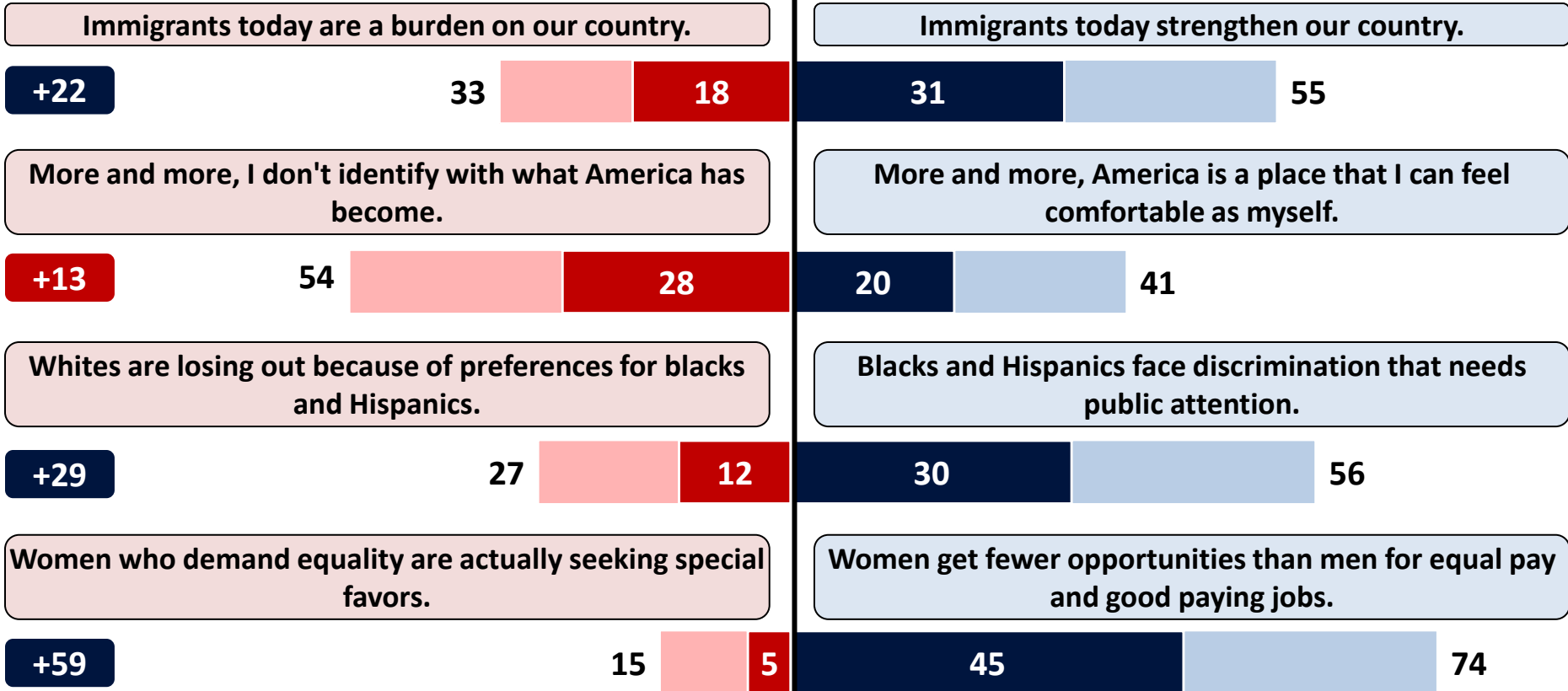


VALUES & LEADERSHIP

Majorities disagree with Trump's outlook on society

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.

PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND



Trump supporters are particularly isolated on immigrants

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.

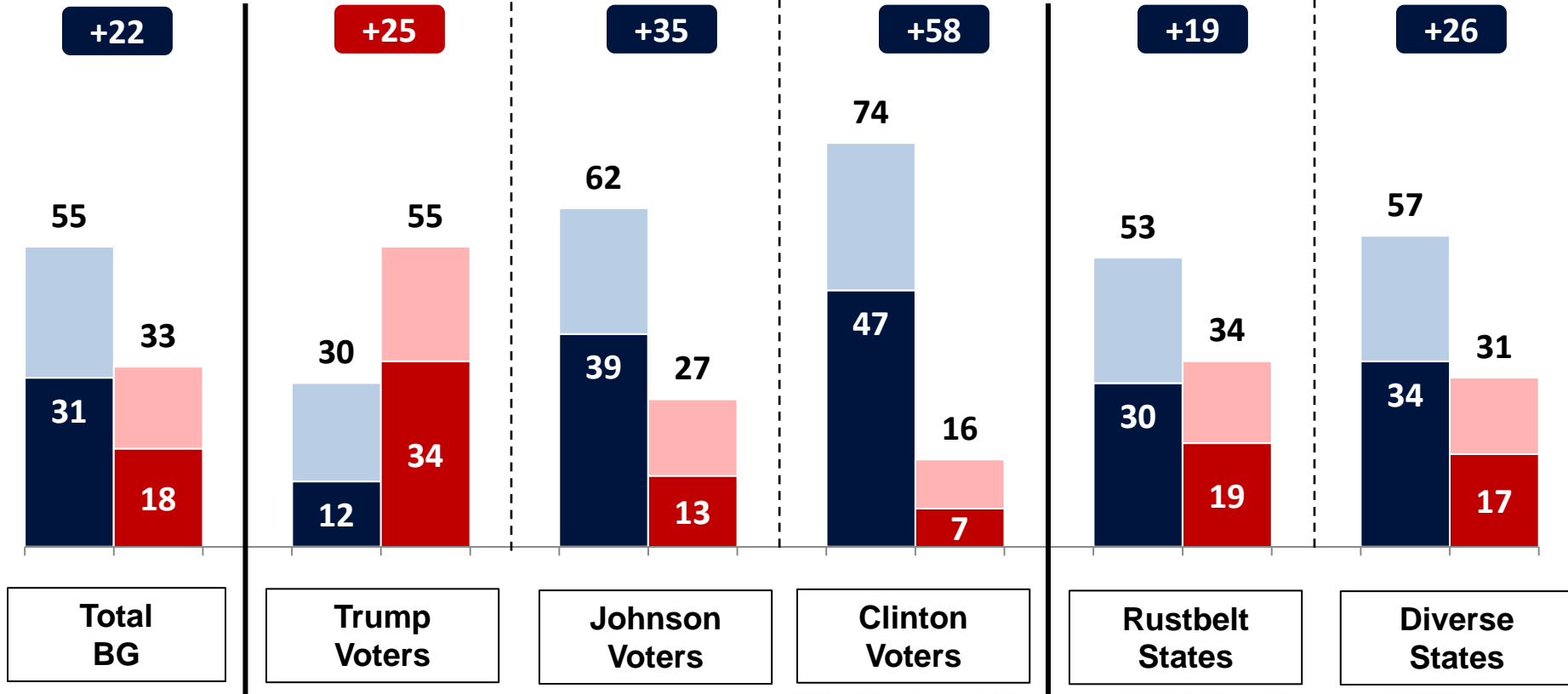
PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

■ Strengthen much more

■ Burden much more

Immigrants today strengthen our country.

Immigrants today are a burden on our country.



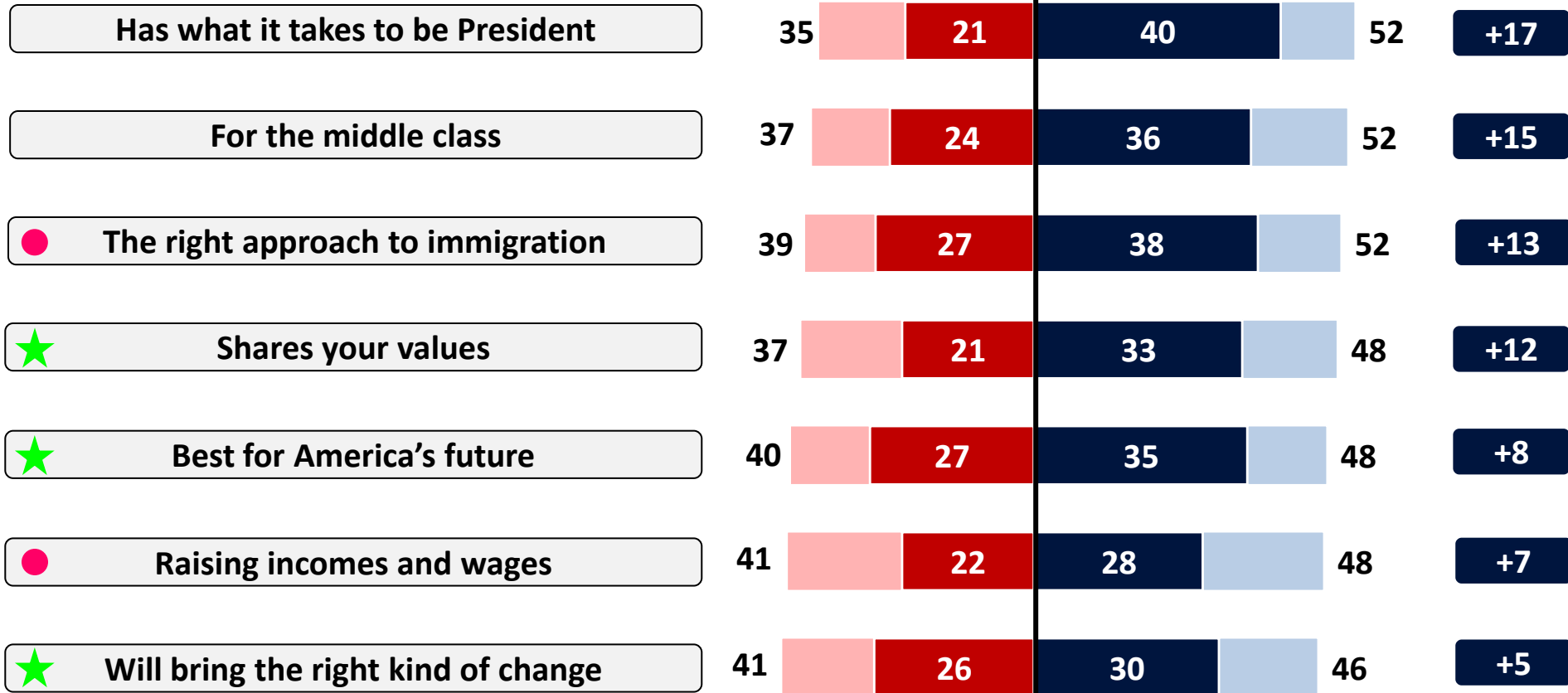
Clinton leads on values & qualifications

I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each one, please tell me whether you feel the phrase better describes Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump.

- ★ Strongest relationship with Clinton vote in regressions
- Weakest relationship with Clinton vote in regressions

PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

■ Trump much more ■ Clinton much more



But at parity on the economy and safety

I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each one, please tell me whether you feel the phrase better describes Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump.

- ★ Strongest relationship with Clinton vote in regressions
- Weakest relationship with Clinton vote in regressions

PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

■ Trump much more ■ Clinton much more

● **Stands up for corporate special interests on behalf of ordinary people**



★ **Finally raising issues that matter to me**



Strong leader



Safety



The right approach to taxes



A better economy



Stands up for America



Honesty



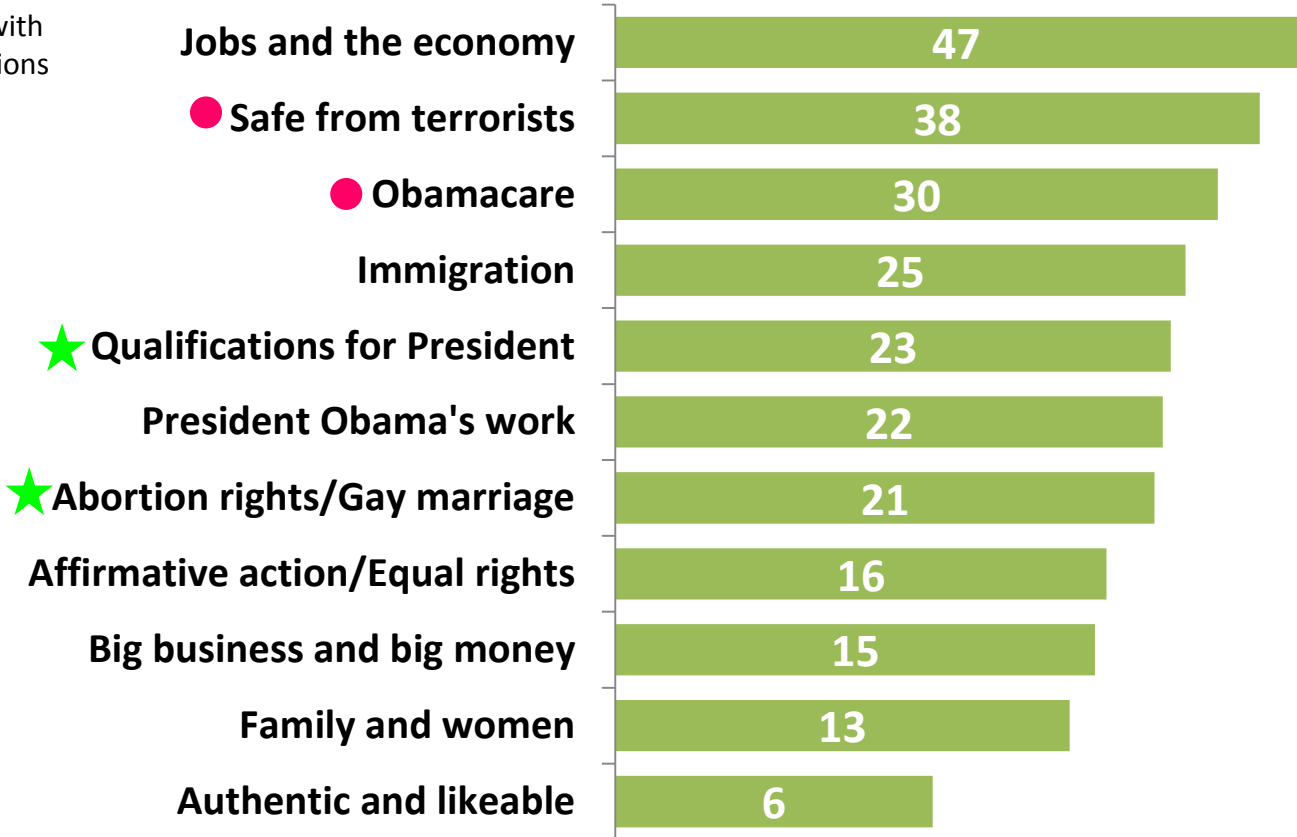
Her lead is based on her leadership qualities

Now I am going to read you a list of reasons people say they might vote for Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump. After I read this list, tell me which THREE are the most important in your decision.

PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

★ Strongest relationship with Clinton vote in regressions

● Weakest relationship with Clinton vote in regressions



THE SENATE STORY

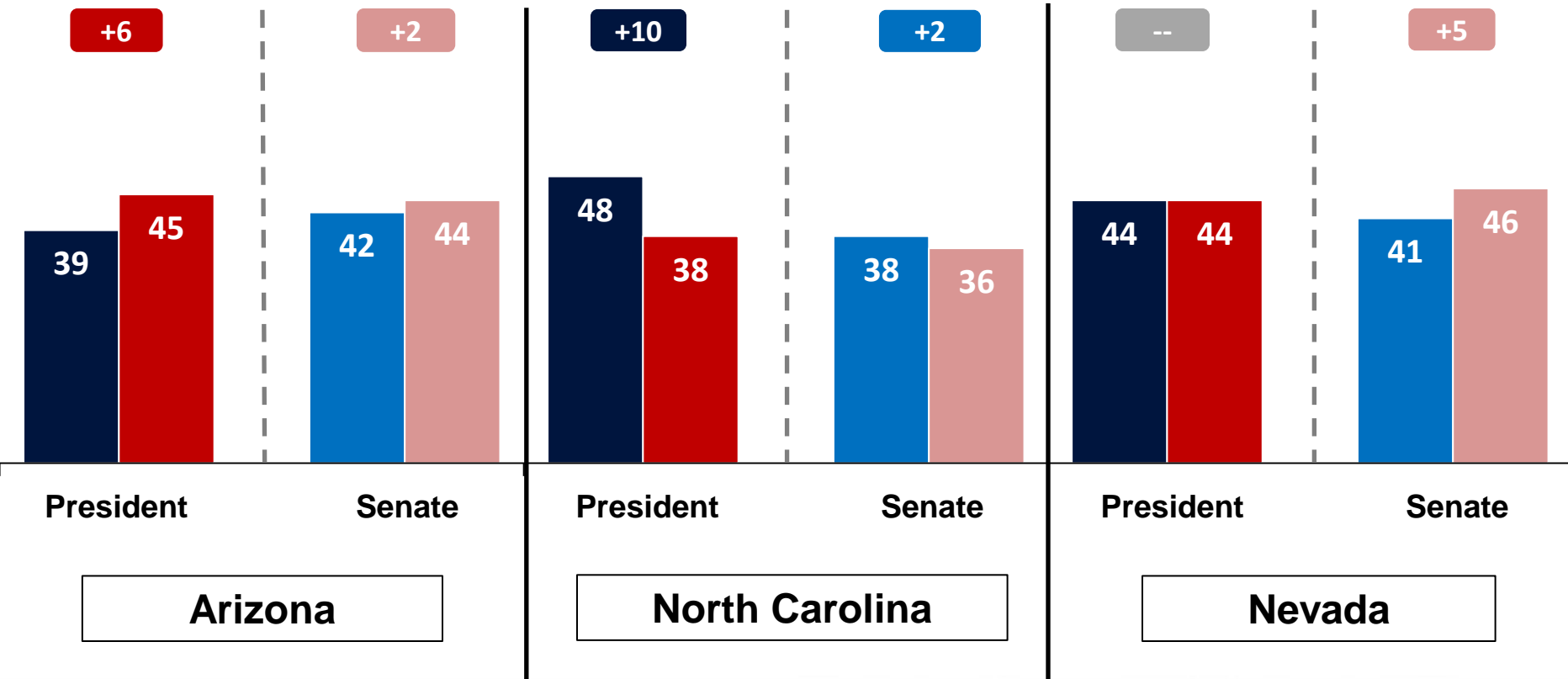
Room for Democratic Senate vote to grow in diverse states

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?

Now, thinking about the election for U.S. Senate in November, if the election for U.S. Senate were held today would you be voting for -- (Democratic incumbent/candidate) or (Republican incumbent/candidate)?

DIVERSE STATES

■ Clinton ■ Trump ■ Dem Senate Cand. ■ Rep Senate Cand.



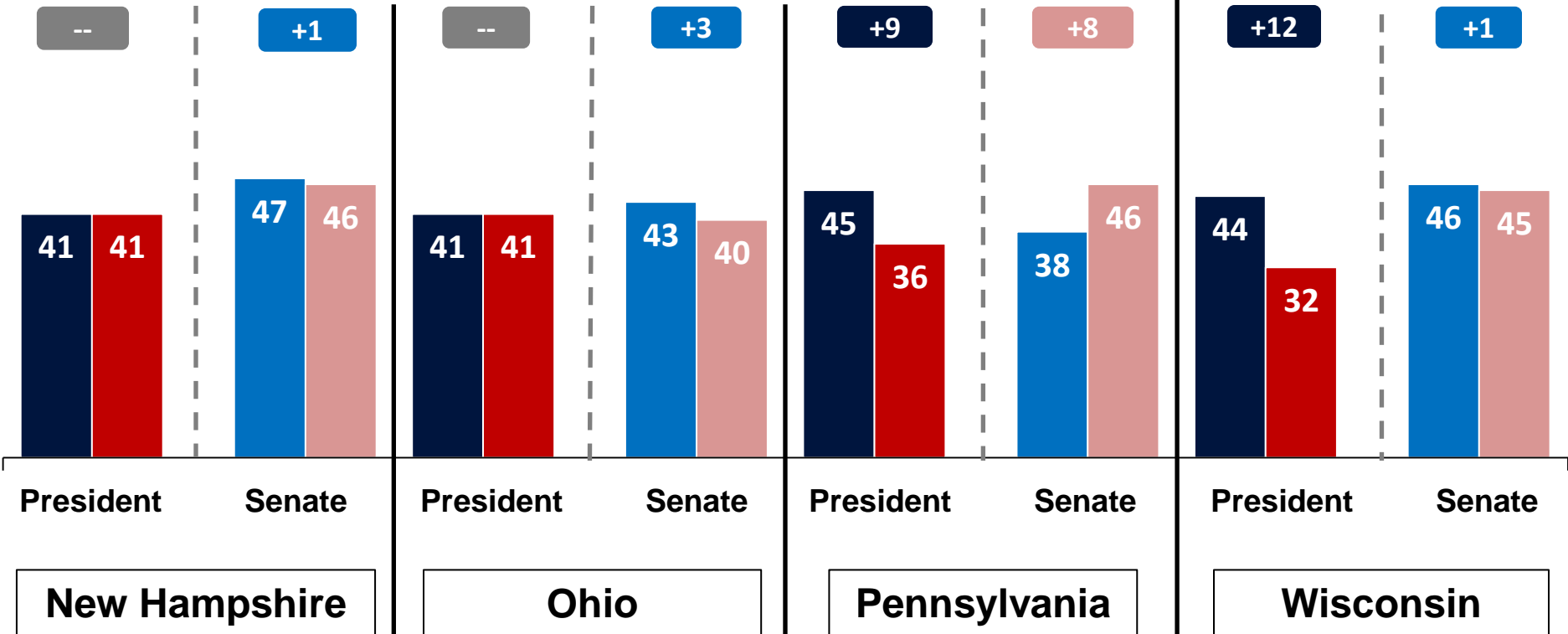
Democratic Senate candidates competitive with room to grow

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?

Now, thinking about the election for U.S. Senate in November, if the election for U.S. Senate were held today would you be voting for -- (Democratic incumbent/candidate) or (Republican incumbent/candidate)?

RUSTBELT STATES

■ Clinton ■ Trump ■ Dem Senate Cand. ■ Rep Senate Cand.

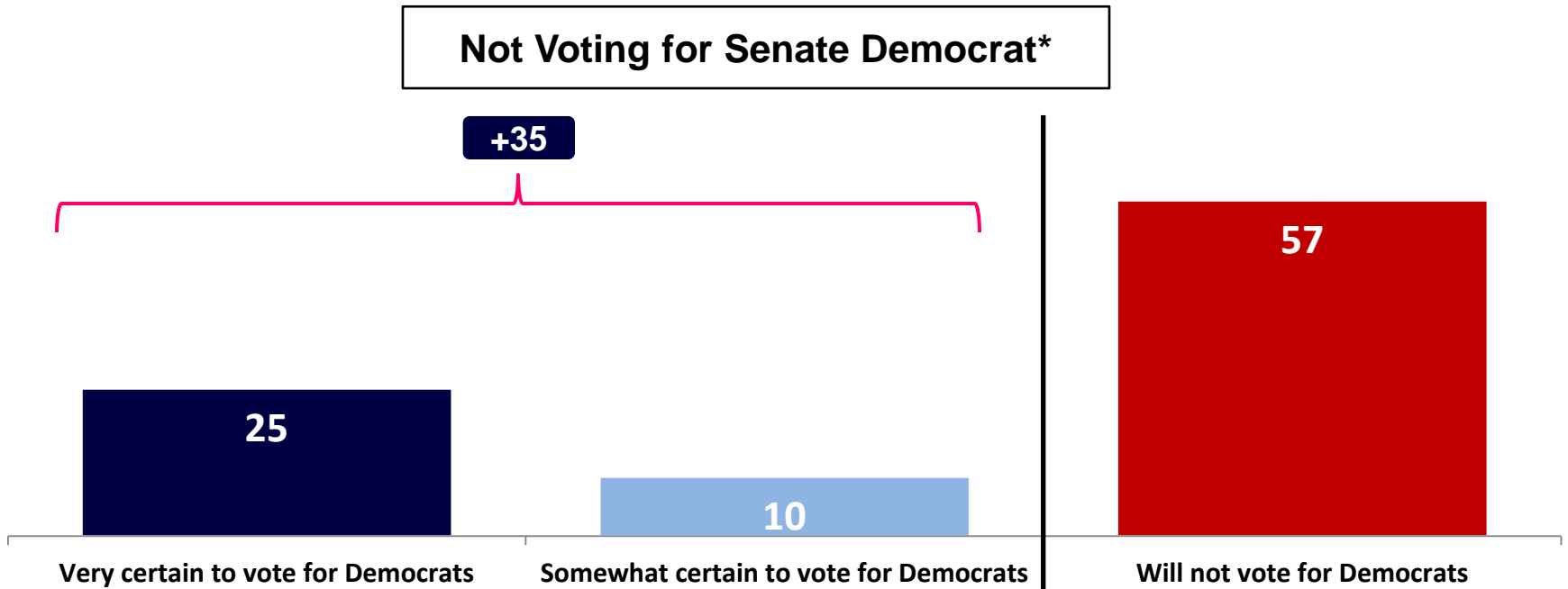


One quarter of GOP Senate voters defect on hearing GOP abortion, gun and gay marriage agenda

Now I am going to read you a list of positions taken by Republican candidates for U.S. Congress and the legislature in [STATE].
The Republican candidates oppose:

- *Restricting gun rights for people on the terror watch list and outlawing the sale of assault rifles*
- *New laws guaranteeing equal pay for women*
- *Abortion, even in cases of rape and incest*
- *Gay marriage and new laws barring discrimination against gays, lesbians and transgender people*

After hearing the Republican candidates takes these positions, would you now vote for his or her Democratic opponent?

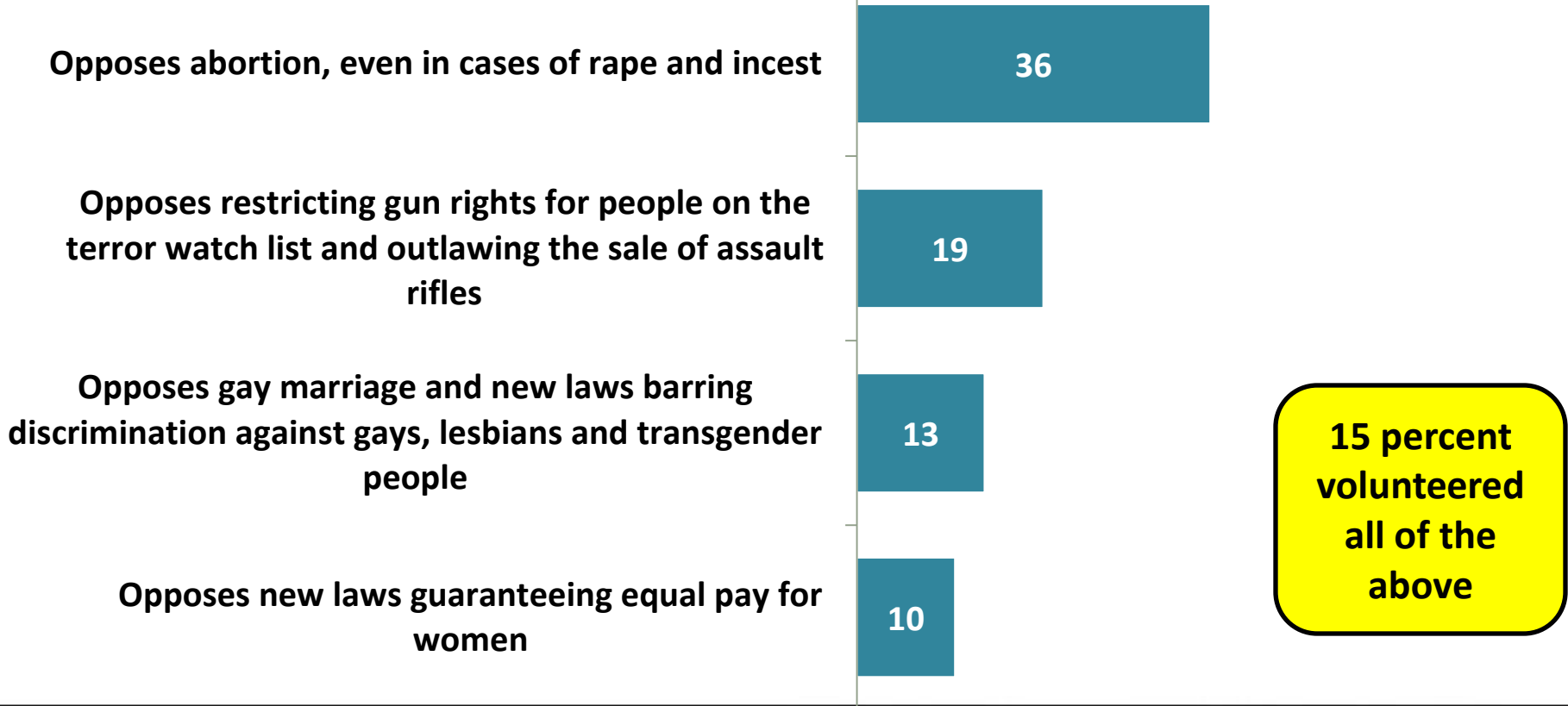


* And those who don't ID as Democrats in Michigan

Abortion, guns and gay marriage drive GOP Senate voters to Democrats down ballot

[IF WILL VOTE FOR DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE AFTER HEARING GOP INFO] Which one of the Republican candidates' positions bothered you the most?

SENATE BATTLEGROUND

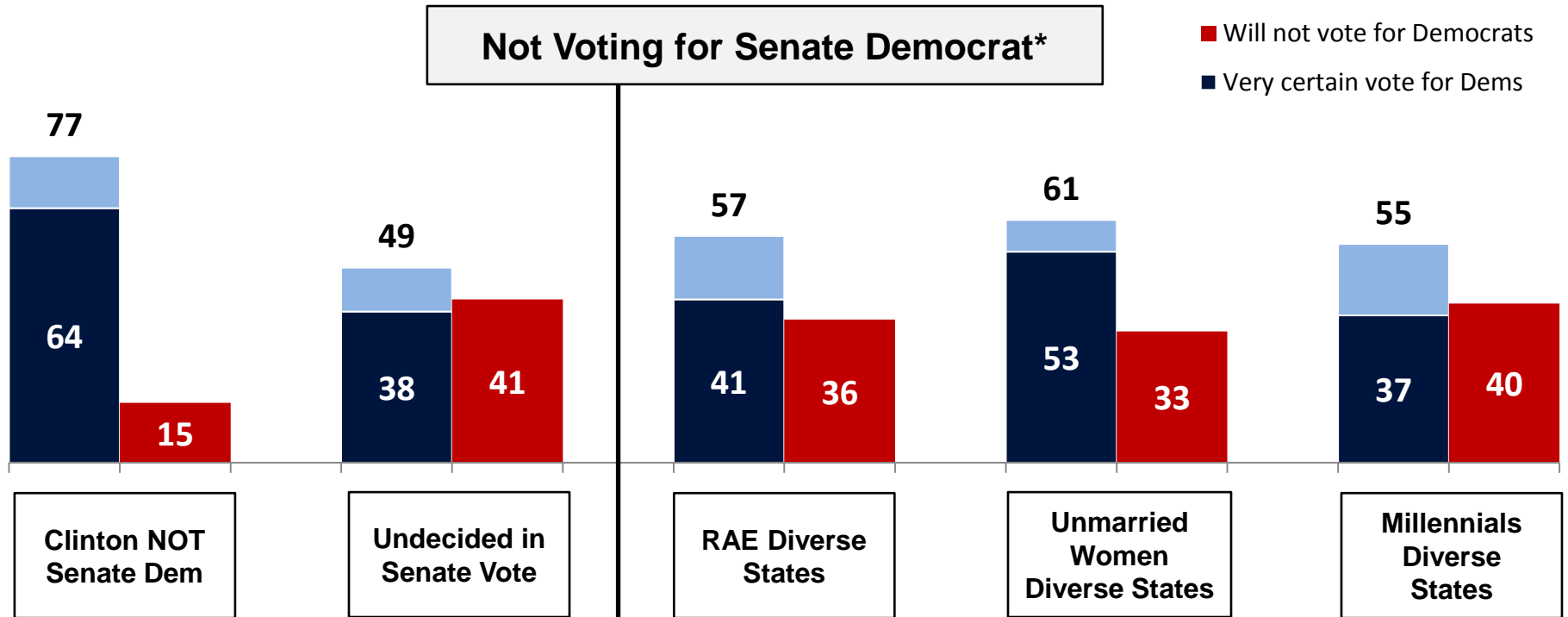


Democratic votes to be gained down-ballot, especially among RAE in diverse states

Now I am going to read you a list of positions taken by Republican candidates for U.S. Congress and the legislature in [STATE].
 The Republican candidates oppose:

- Restricting gun rights for people on the terror watch list and outlawing the sale of assault rifles
- New laws guaranteeing equal pay for women
- Abortion, even in cases of rape and incest
- Gay marriage and new laws barring discrimination against gays, lesbians and transgender people

After hearing the Republican candidates take these positions, would you now vote for his or her Democratic opponent?



Not Voting for Senate Democrat*

■ Will not vote for Democrats
 ■ Very certain vote for Dems

Clinton NOT Senate Dem

Undecided in Senate Vote

RAE Diverse States

Unmarried Women Diverse States

Millennials Diverse States

* And those who don't ID as Democrats in Michigan

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