DEMOCRACY CORPS

CARVILLE ◆ GREENBERG

WOMEN'S VOICES WOMEN VOTE ACTION FUND

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER

STRATEGY + RESEARCH

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.
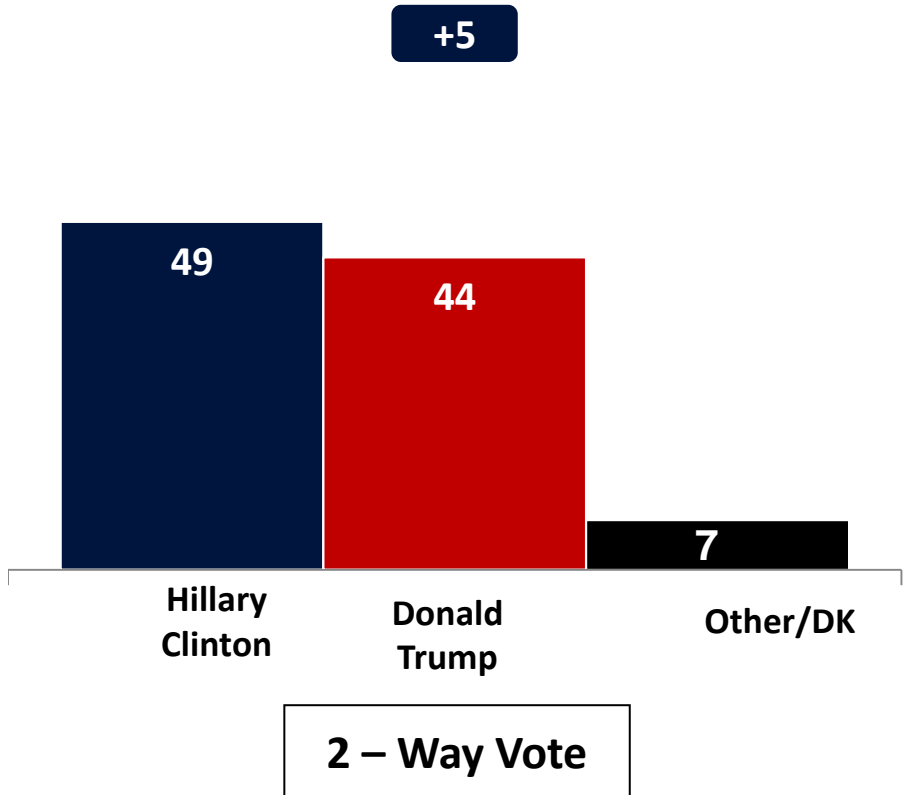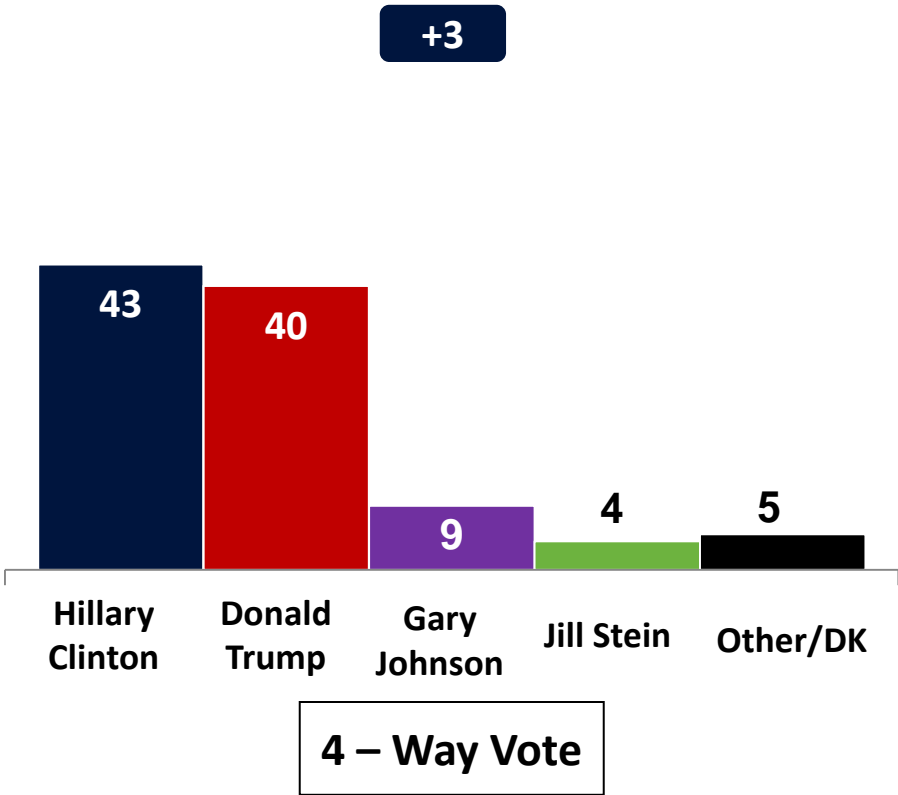
Regression analysis.
A series of fractional logistic regressions were conducted to obtain the marginal effects of the explanatory variable (presidential vote) on outcome variables (associations, statement pairs), representing the change in outcome probabilities estimated for the explanatory variable, 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

Hillary Clinton	Donald Trump	Gary Johnson	Jill Stein	Other/DK
43	40	9	4	5

4 – Way Vote

+5

Hillary Clinton	Donald Trump	Other/DK
49	44	7

2 – Way Vote

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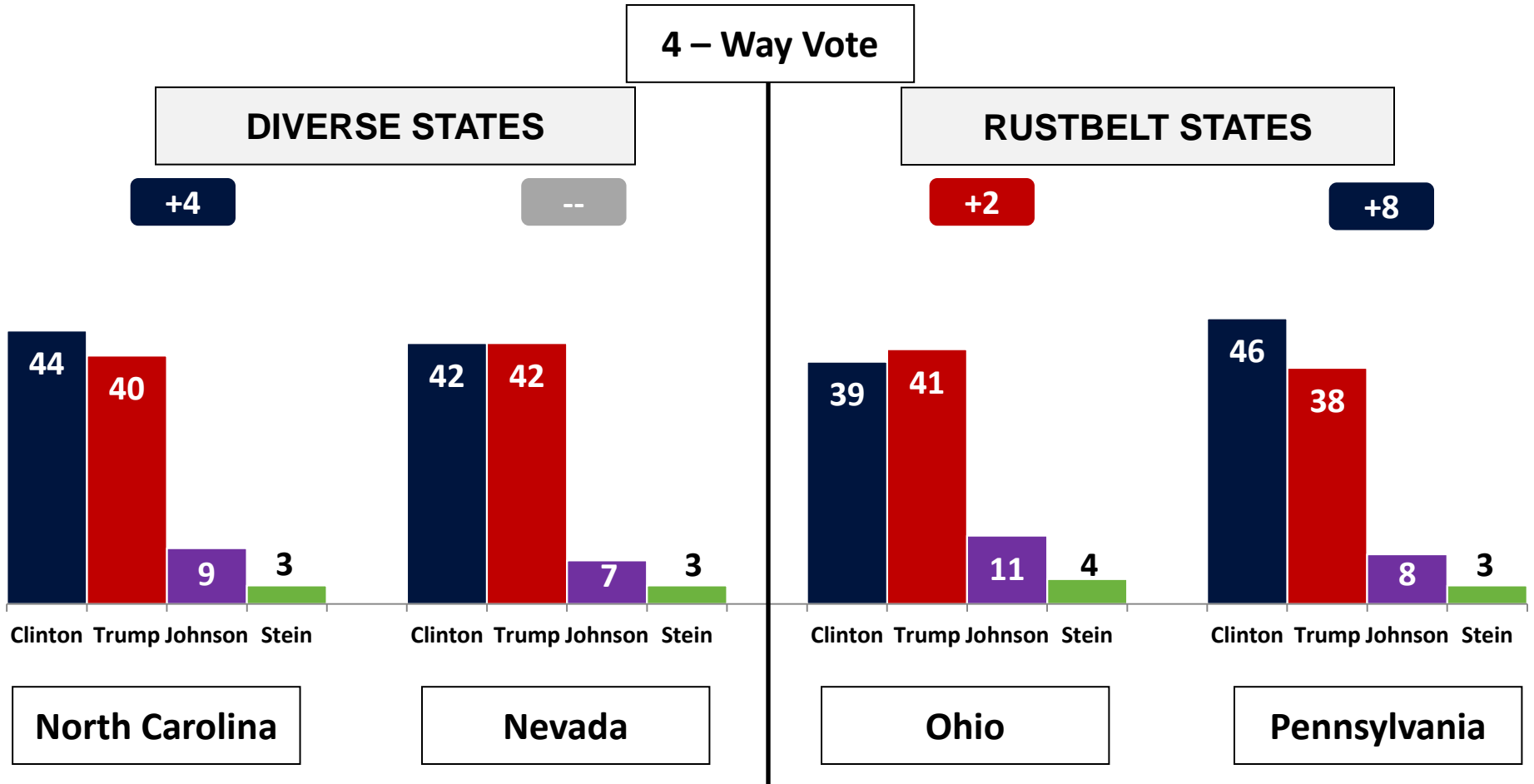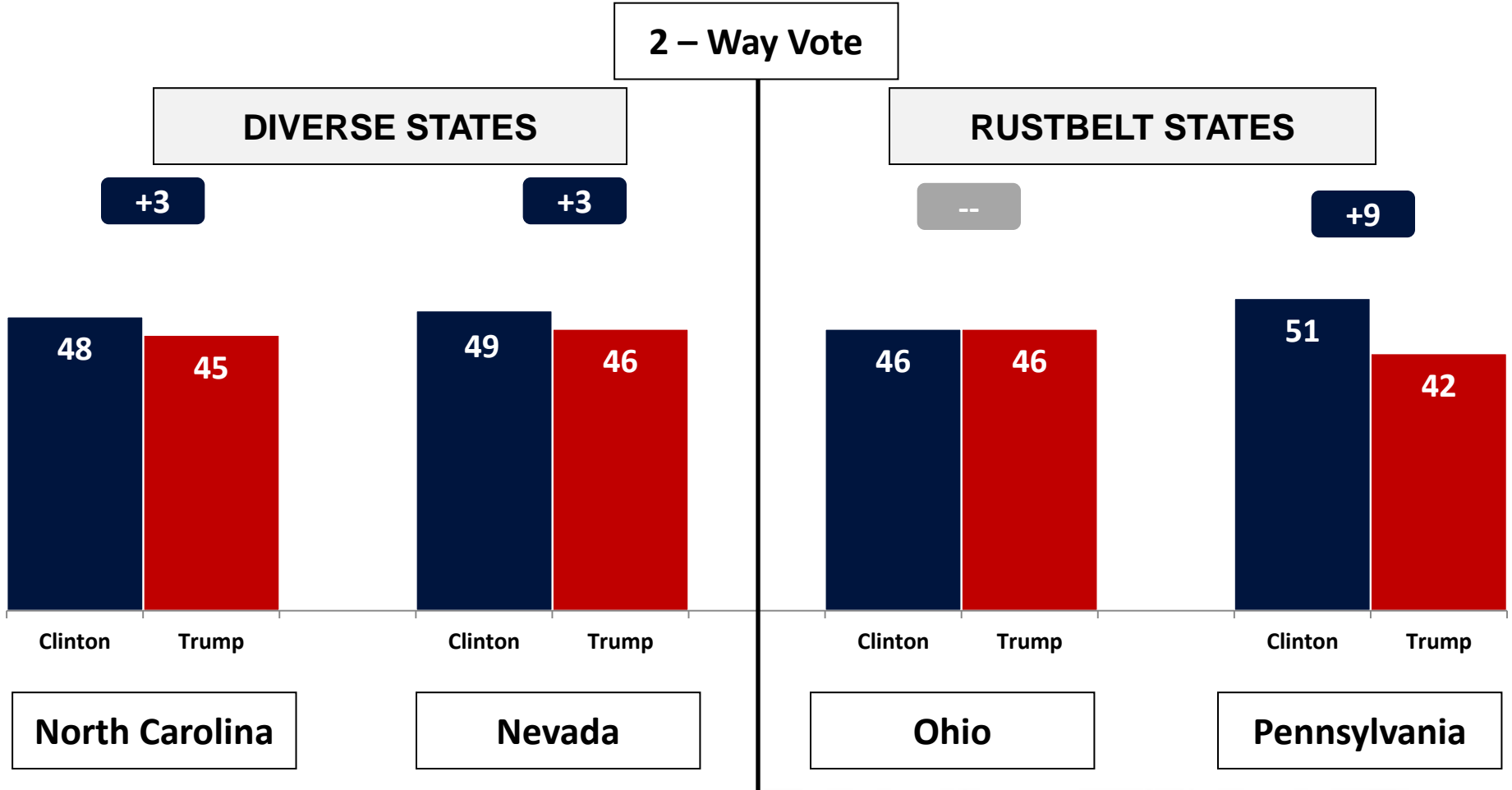
I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in November, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for --Democrat Hillary Clinton or Republican Donald Trump (or Libertarian Gary Johnson, Green Party Candidate Jill Stein)?

4 – Way Vote

DIVERSE STATES		RUSTBELT STATES	
+4	--	+2	+8

North Carolina
- Clinton: 44
- Trump: 40
- Johnson: 9
- Stein: 3

Nevada
- Clinton: 42
- Trump: 42
- Johnson: 7
- Stein: 3

Ohio
- Clinton: 39
- Trump: 41
- Johnson: 11
- Stein: 4

Pennsylvania
- Clinton: 46
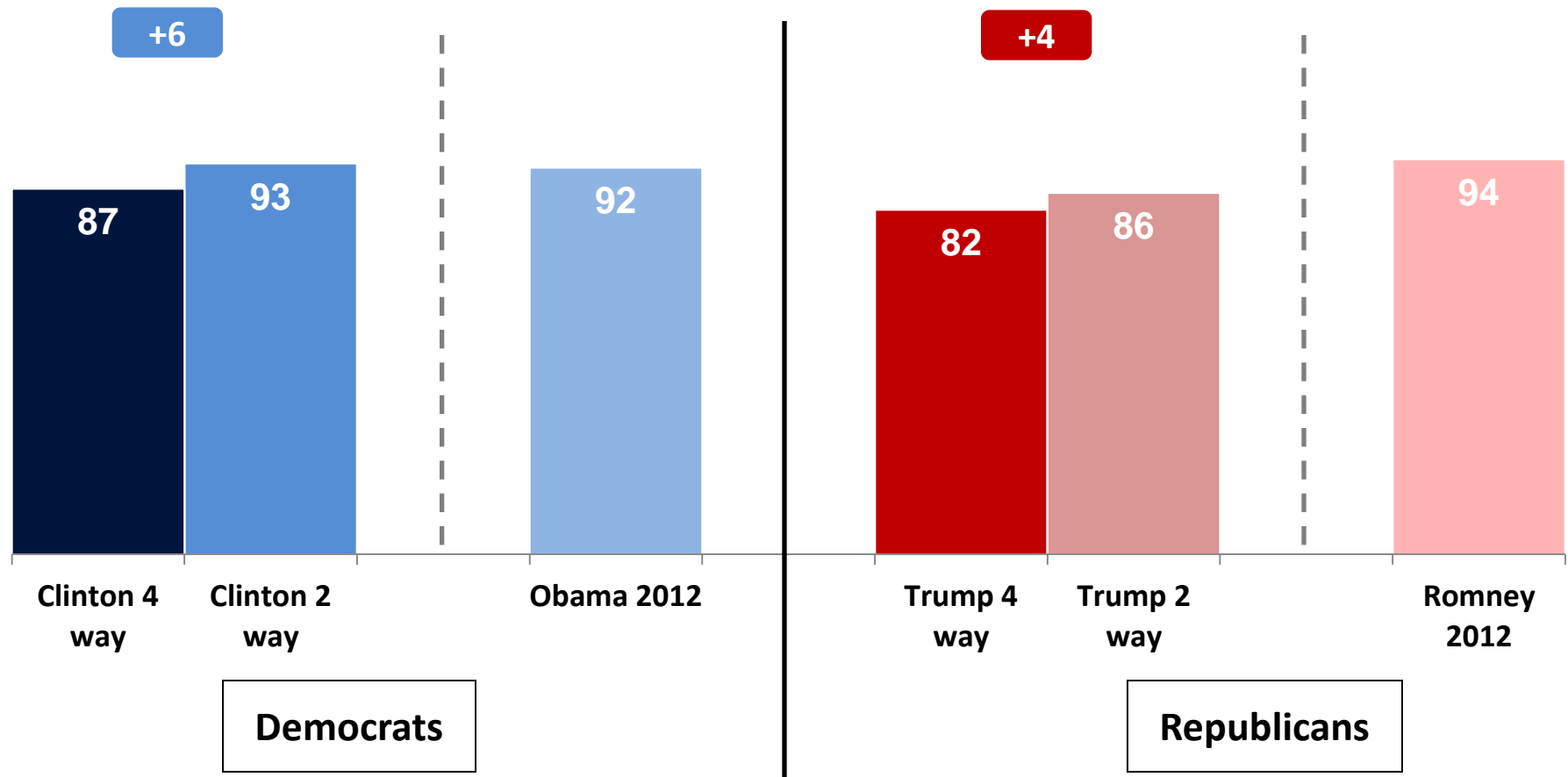- Trump: 38
- Johnson: 8
- Stein: 3

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?

2 – Way Vote

DIVERSE STATES

RUSTBELT STATES

+3   **+3**   **--**   **+9**

	North Carolina		Nevada		Ohio		Pennsylvania
Clinton	48	Clinton	49	Clinton	46	Clinton	51
Trump	45	Trump	46	Trump	46	Trump	42

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?

+6

+4

| 87 | 93 | | 92 | | 82 | 86 | | 94 |

| Clinton 4 way | Clinton 2 way | Obama 2012 | Trump 4 way | Trump 2 way | Romney 2012 |

Democrats

Republicans

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

Trump	Clinton	Johnson	Stein	Other/Will not vote
60	10	21	4	5
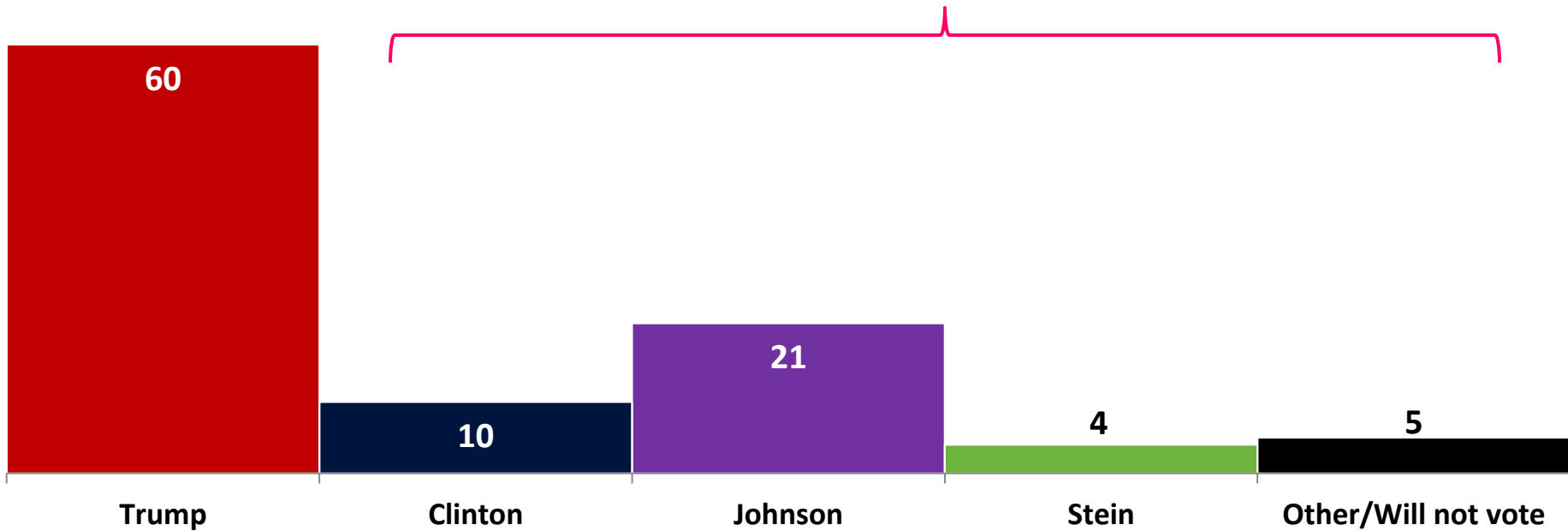
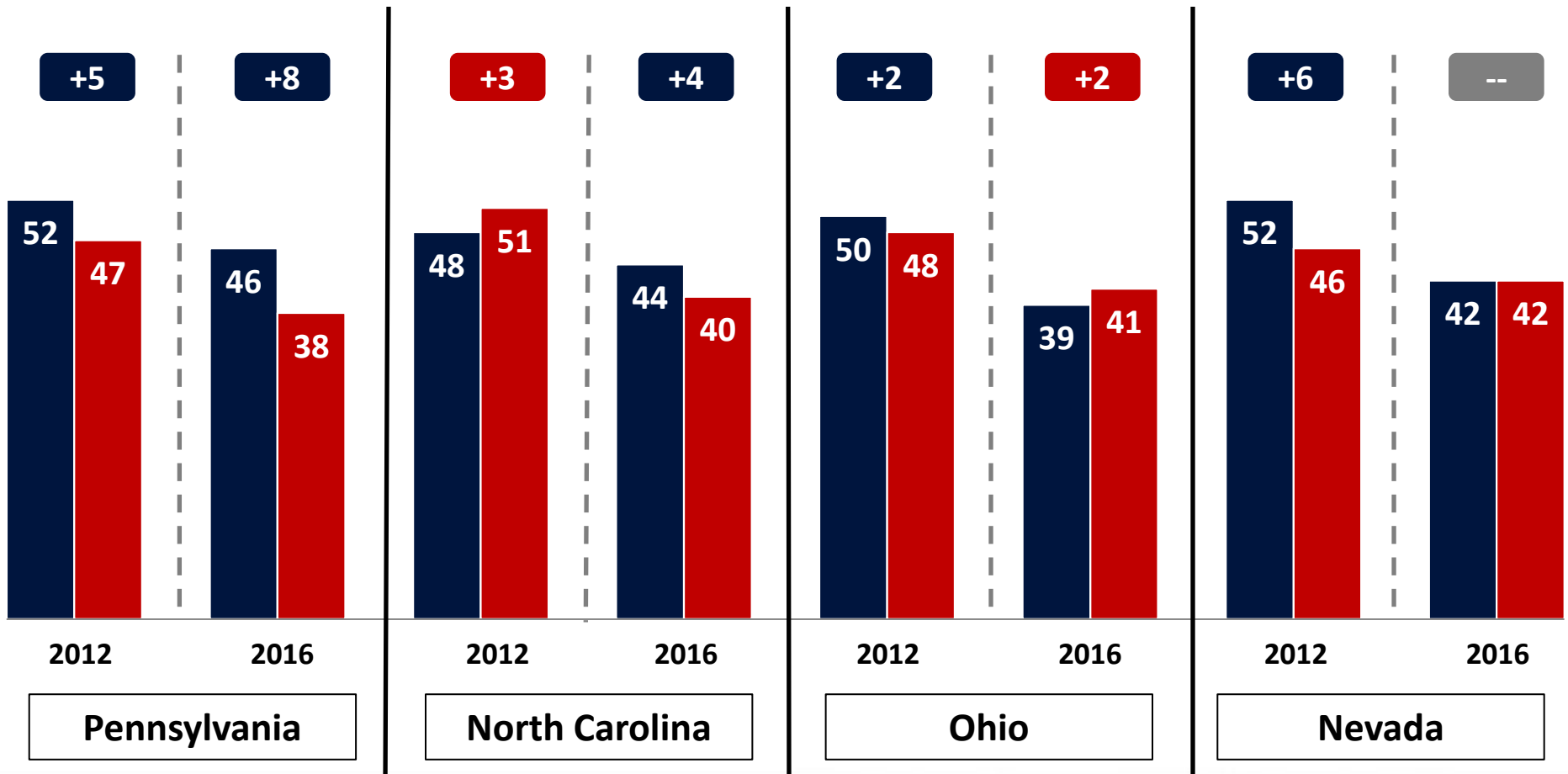# Hillary's recalled vote starting to exceed her real vote, but not Trump

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..

Democratic Primary: Clinton 57, Sanders 35

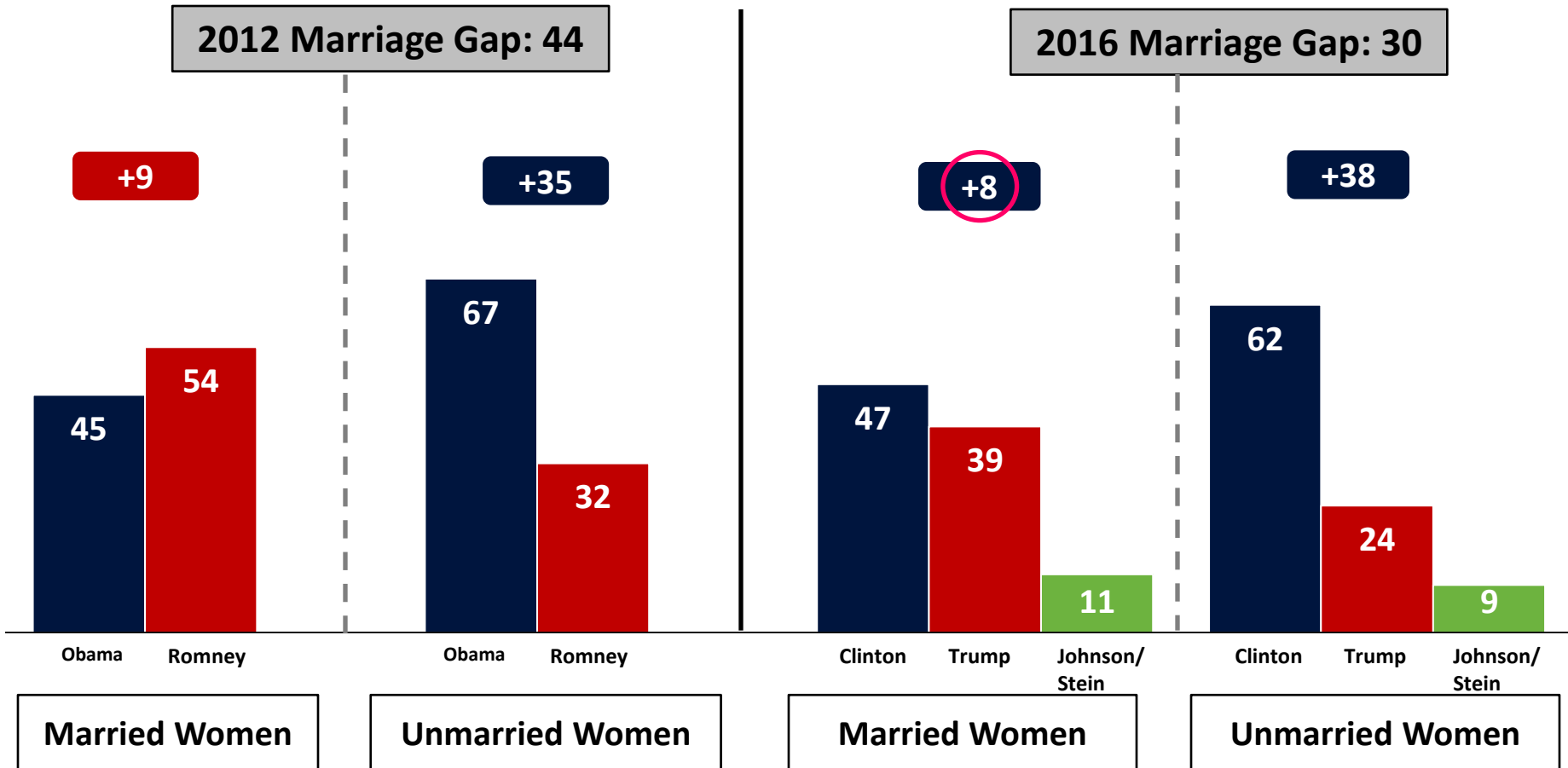Republican Primary: Trump 46, Kasich 18, Cruz 16, Rubio 12
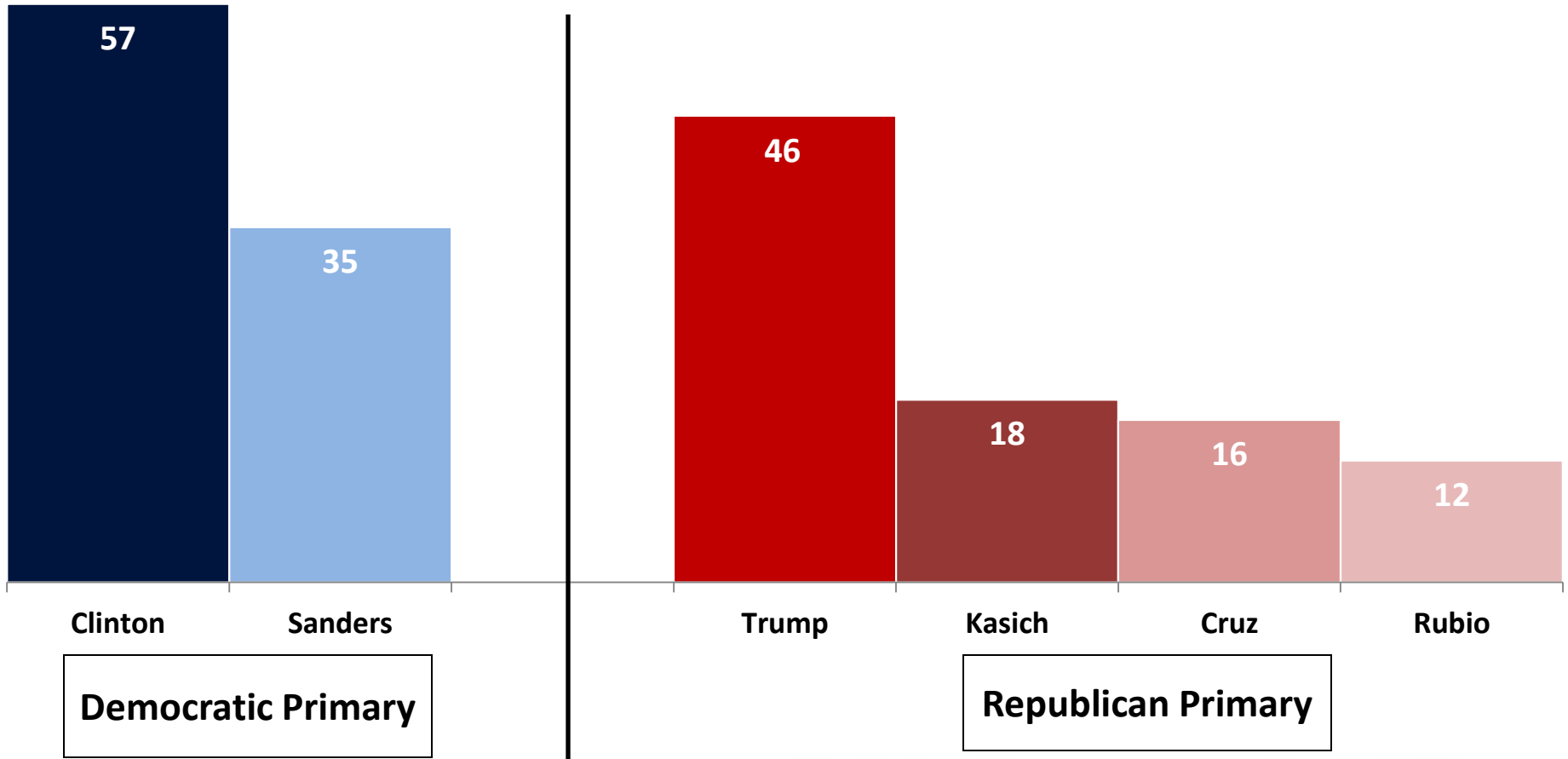
Clinton running better than Obama in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, but not Ohio or Nevada

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)
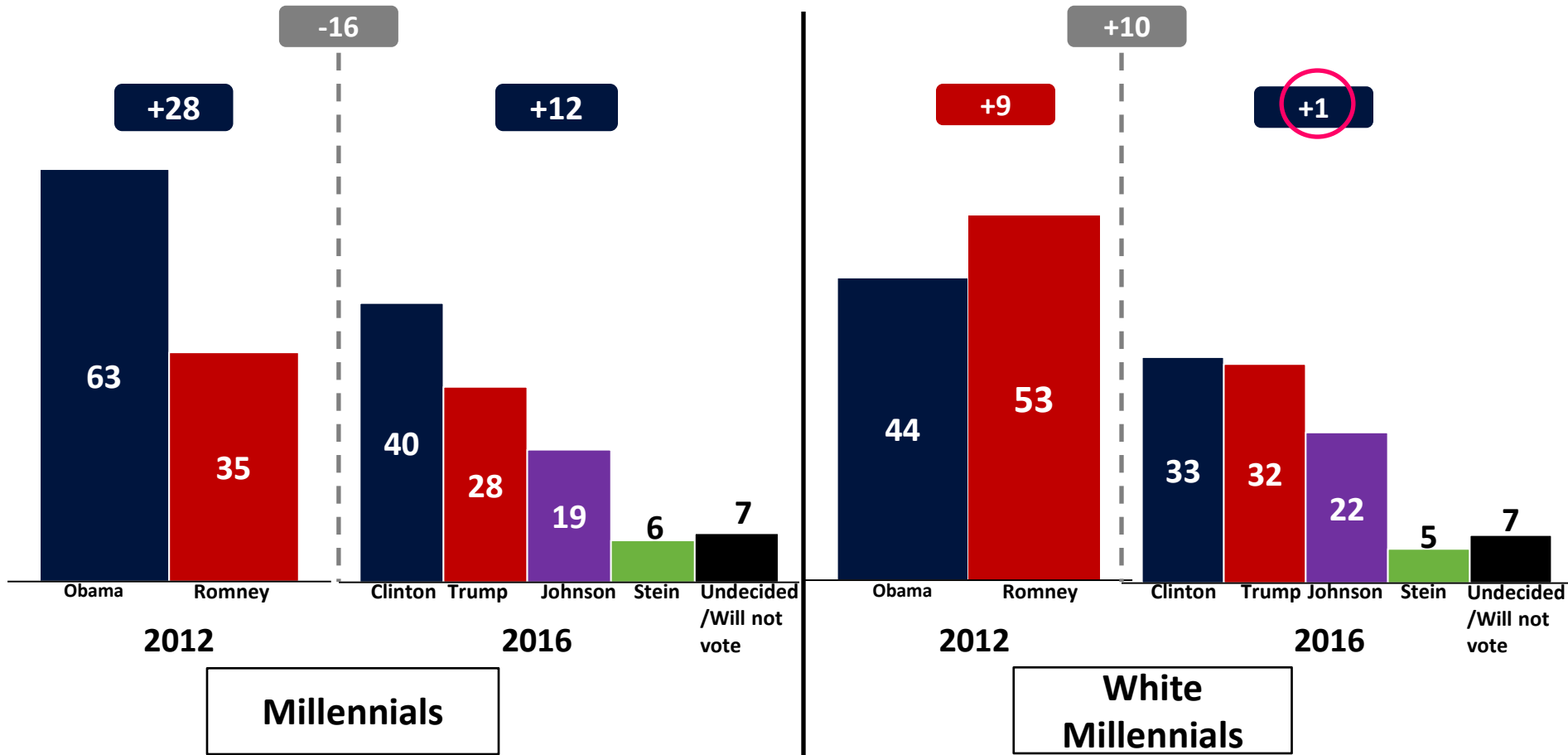

	+5	+8	+3	+4	+2	+2	+6	--

Pennsylvania 2012: 52 / 47
Pennsylvania 2016: 46 / 38
North Carolina 2012: 48 / 51
North Carolina 2016: 44 / 40
Ohio 2012: 50 / 48
Ohio 2016: 39 / 41
Nevada 2012: 52 / 46
Nevada 2016: 42 / 42

2012	2016	2012	2016	2012	2016	2012	2016

Pennsylvania	North Carolina	Ohio	Nevada

Unmarried women are driving the Clinton women vote and dramatically stronger 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?
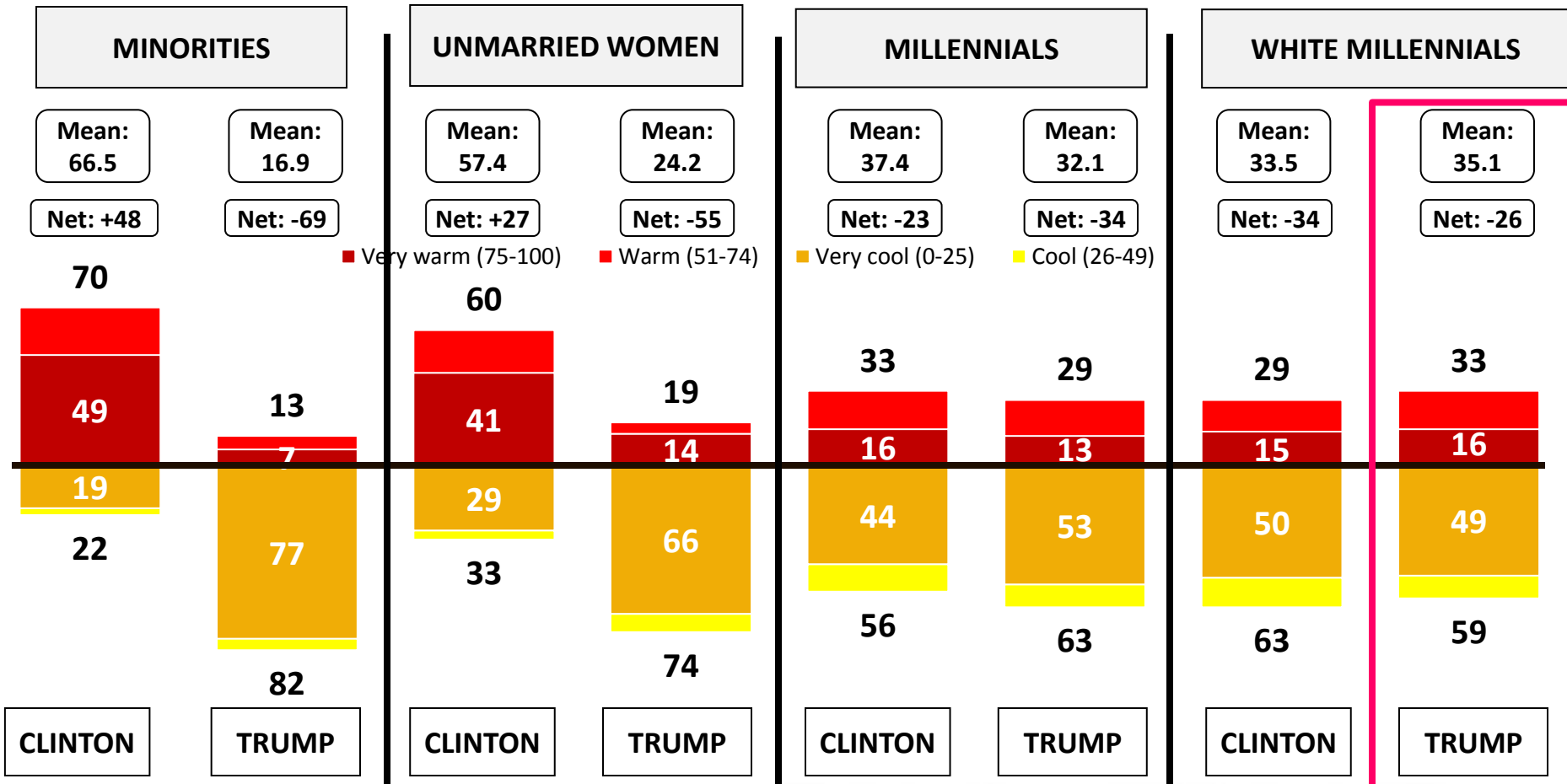

2012 Marriage Gap: 44		2016 Marriage Gap: 30	
+9 (Married Women)	**+35** (Unmarried Women)	**+8** (Married Women)	**+38** (Unmarried Women)

Married Women (2012): Obama 45, Romney 54

Unmarried Women (2012): Obama 67, Romney 32

Married Women (2016): Clinton 47, Trump 39, Johnson/Stein 11

Unmarried Women (2016): Clinton 62, Trump 24, Johnson/Stein 9

Rising HRC personal favorability with unmarried women and millennials will help in consolidation
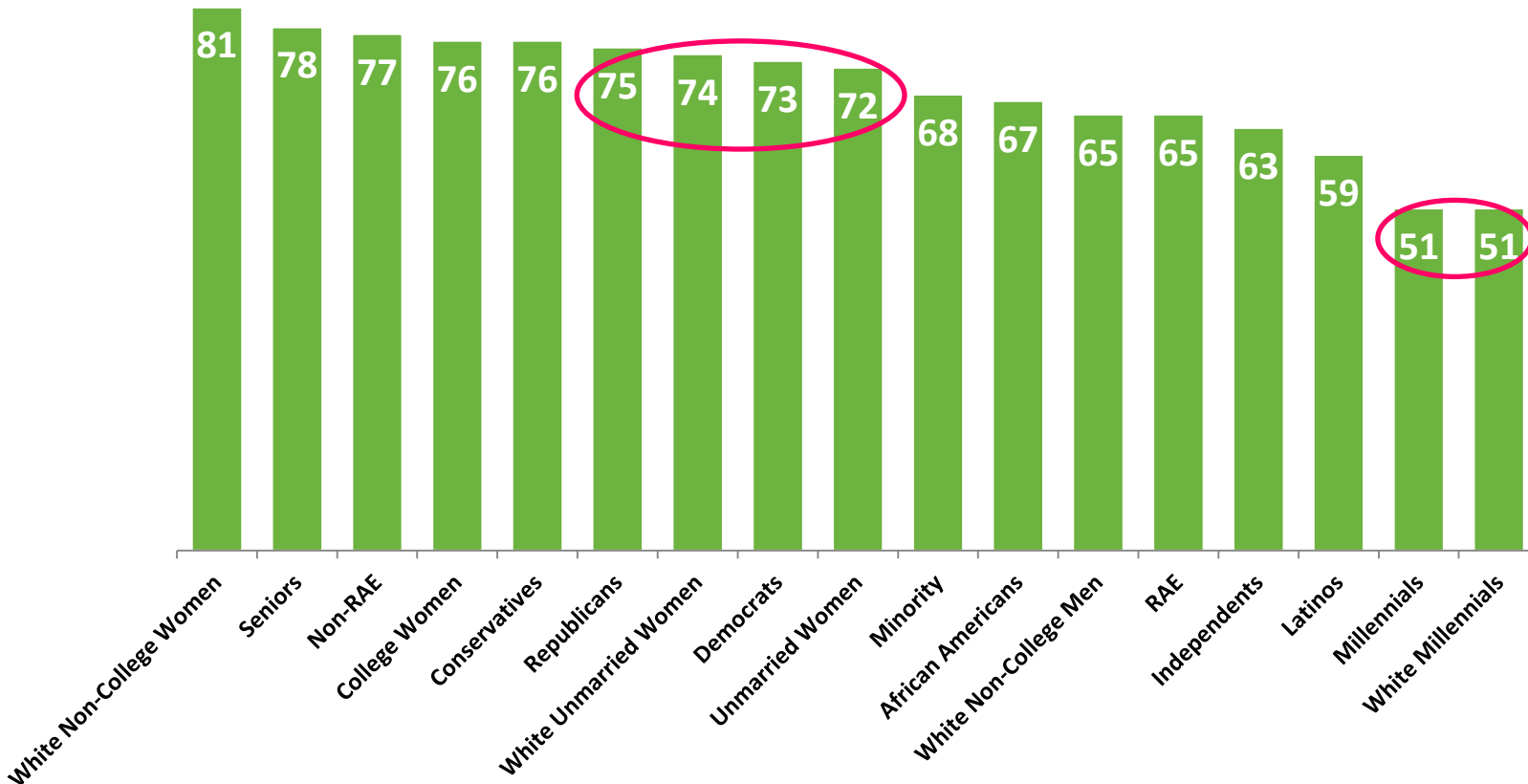
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

MINORITIES		UNMARRIED WOMEN		MILLENNIALS		WHITE MILLENNIALS	
Mean: 66.5	Mean: 16.9	Mean: 57.4	Mean: 24.2	Mean: 37.4	Mean: 32.1	Mean: 33.5	Mean: 35.1
Net: +48	Net: -69	Net: +27	Net: -55	Net: -23	Net: -34	Net: -34	Net: -26
CLINTON	TRUMP	CLINTON	TRUMP	CLINTON	TRUMP	CLINTON	TRUMP

Legend: ■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Warm (51-74) ■ Very cool (0-25) ■ Cool (26-49)

Minorities – Clinton: 70, 49, 19, 22
Minorities – Trump: 13, 7, 77, 82
Unmarried Women – Clinton: 60, 41, 29, 33
Unmarried Women – Trump: 19, 14, 66, 74
Millennials – Clinton: 33, 16, 44, 56
Millennials – Trump: 29, 13, 53, 63
White Millennials – Clinton: 29, 15, 50, 63
White Millennials – Trump: 33, 16, 49, 59

Democrats equal GOP in determination to vote, led by unmarried women, but not millennials
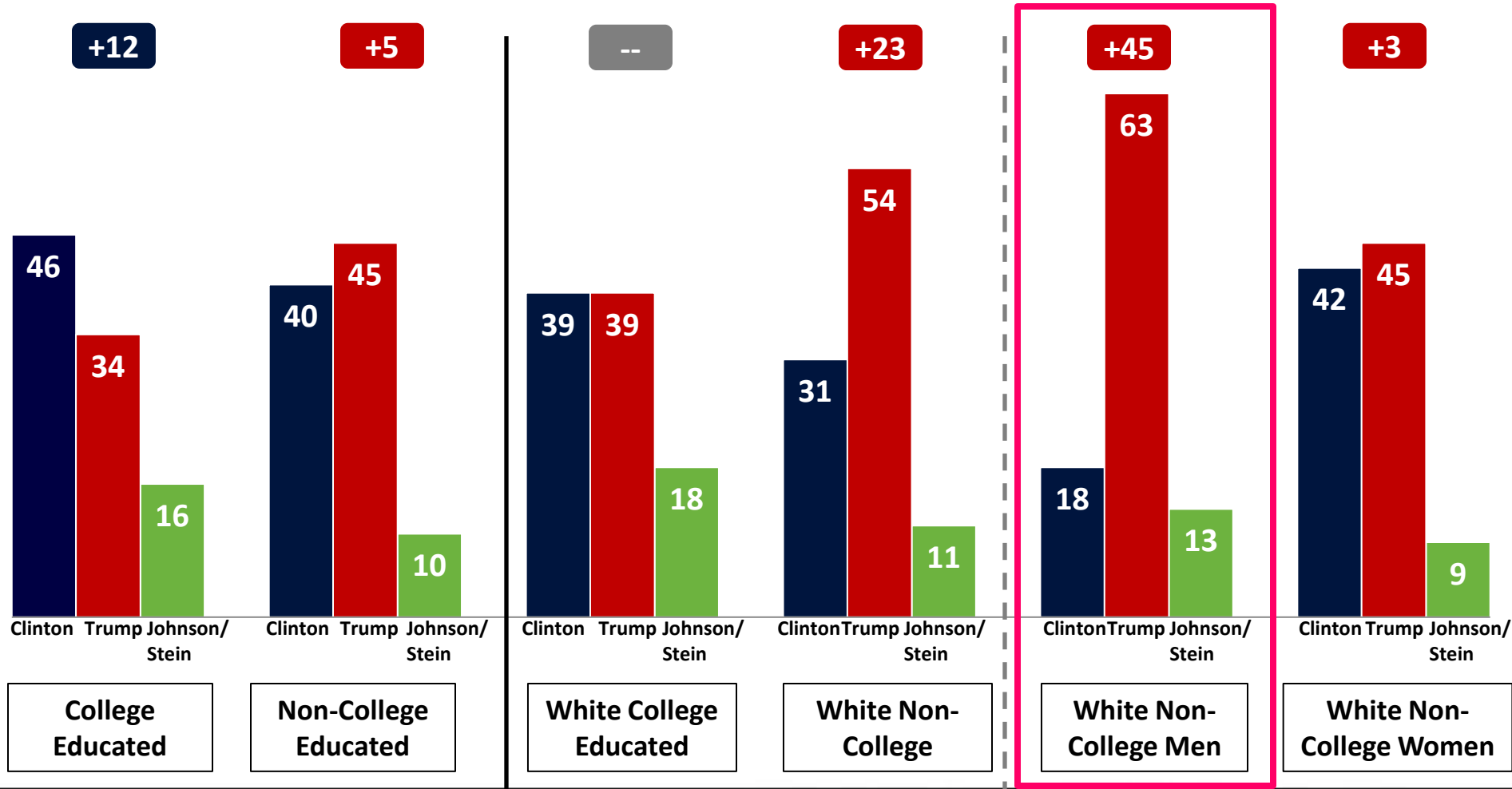
How much do the elections this November for President, U.S. Congress and other state and local offices matter this year? Please rate how much they matter from one to ten, with one meaning they don't matter at all and ten meaning they matter tremendously. You can choose any number between one and ten.

% 10 – Matters Tremendously

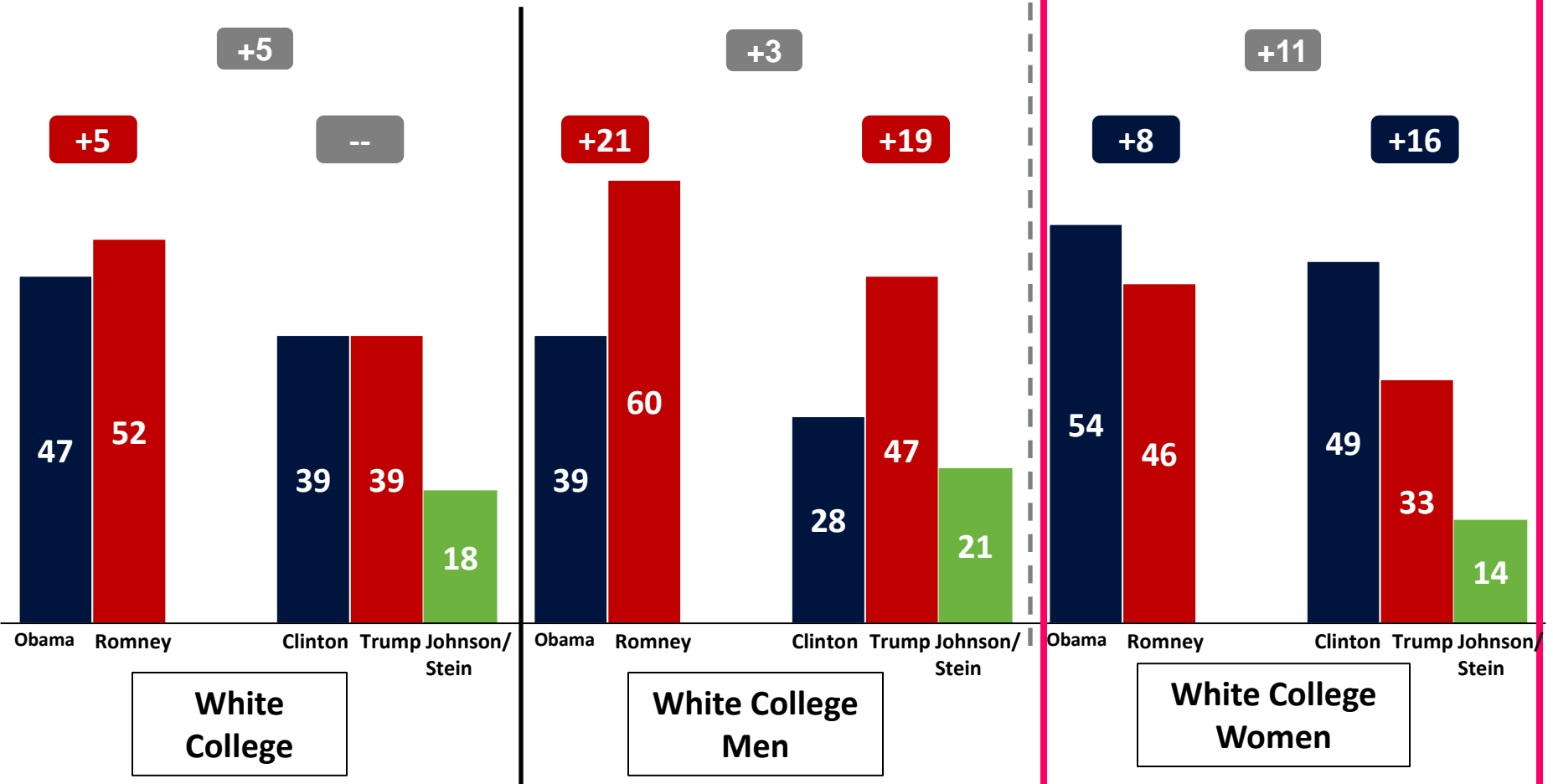| Category	Value
White Non-College Women	81
Seniors	78
Non-RAE	77
College Women	76
Conservatives	76
Republicans	75
White Unmarried Women	74
Democrats	73
Unmarried Women	72
Minority	68
African Americans	67
White Non-College Men	65
RAE	65
Independents	63
Latinos	59
Millennials	51
White Millennials	51

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?


	+12	**+5**	**--**	**+23**	**+45**	**+3**
Clinton	46	40	39	31	18	42
Trump	34	45	39	54	63	45
Johnson/Stein	16	10	18	11	13	9
	College Educated	**Non-College Educated**	**White College Educated**	**White Non-College**	**White Non-College Men**	**White Non-College Women**

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?
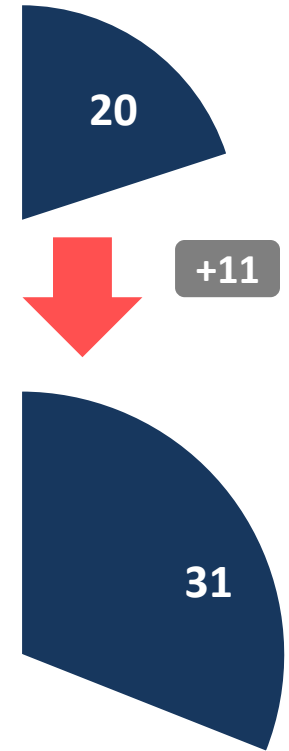

White College

+5

+5 | --

Obama 47 | Romney 52 | Clinton 39 | Trump 39 | Johnson/Stein 18

White College Men

+3

+21 | +19

Obama 39 | Romney 60 | Clinton 28 | Trump 47 | Johnson/Stein 21

White College Women

+11

+8 | +16

Obama 54 | Romney 46 | Clinton 49 | Trump 33 | Johnson/Stein 14

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

15

+10

25

19

■ WNC Men
■ Rest of Electorate

Pennsylvania

20

+11

31
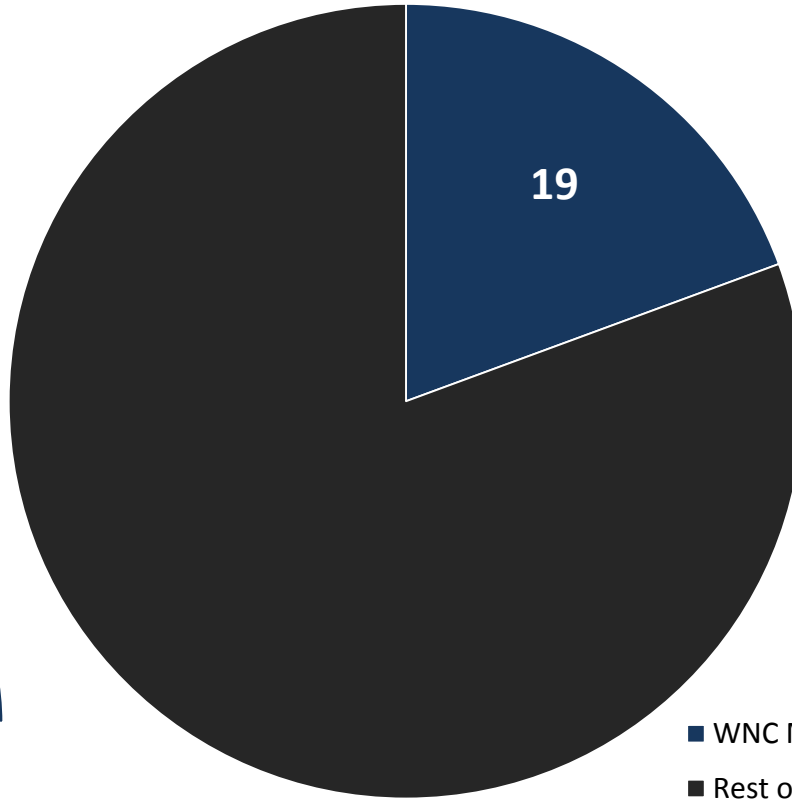
Zero-Sum Turnout Calculator — NORTH CAROLINA

NORTH CAROLINA		White Non-College Men	Everyone Else	Total
Electorate Share		25%	75%	
Vote Share	Clinton	25%	47%	42%
	Trump	63%	36%	43%
	3rd/Und.	12%	17%	16%
	Voters	1,377,434	4,132,303	5,509,737
	Turnout Rate	79%	69%	71%
	Citizen 18+	1,740,803	6,011,431	7,752,234

79 percent of white non-college men in North Carolina must vote to raise vote share from **15 percent** of likely 2016 electorate to **25 percent** to beat Clinton.

Zero-Sum Turnout Calculator — NEVADA

NEVADA		White Non-College Men	Everyone Else	Total
Electorate Share		17%	83%	
Vote Share	Clinton	26%	45%	42%
	Trump	65%	38%	43%
	3rd/Und.	9%	17%	16%
	Voters	204,636	999,105	1,203,741
	Turnout Rate	41%	58%	54%
	Citizen 18+	498,890	1,722,791	2,221,681

41 percent of white non-college men in Nevada must vote to raise vote share from **15 percent** of likely 2016 electorate to **17 percent** to beat Clinton.

Zero-Sum Turnout Calculator — OHIO

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 vote share of **21 percent** of likely 2016 electorate to beat Clinton.

Zero-Sum Turnout Calculator — PENNSYLVANIA

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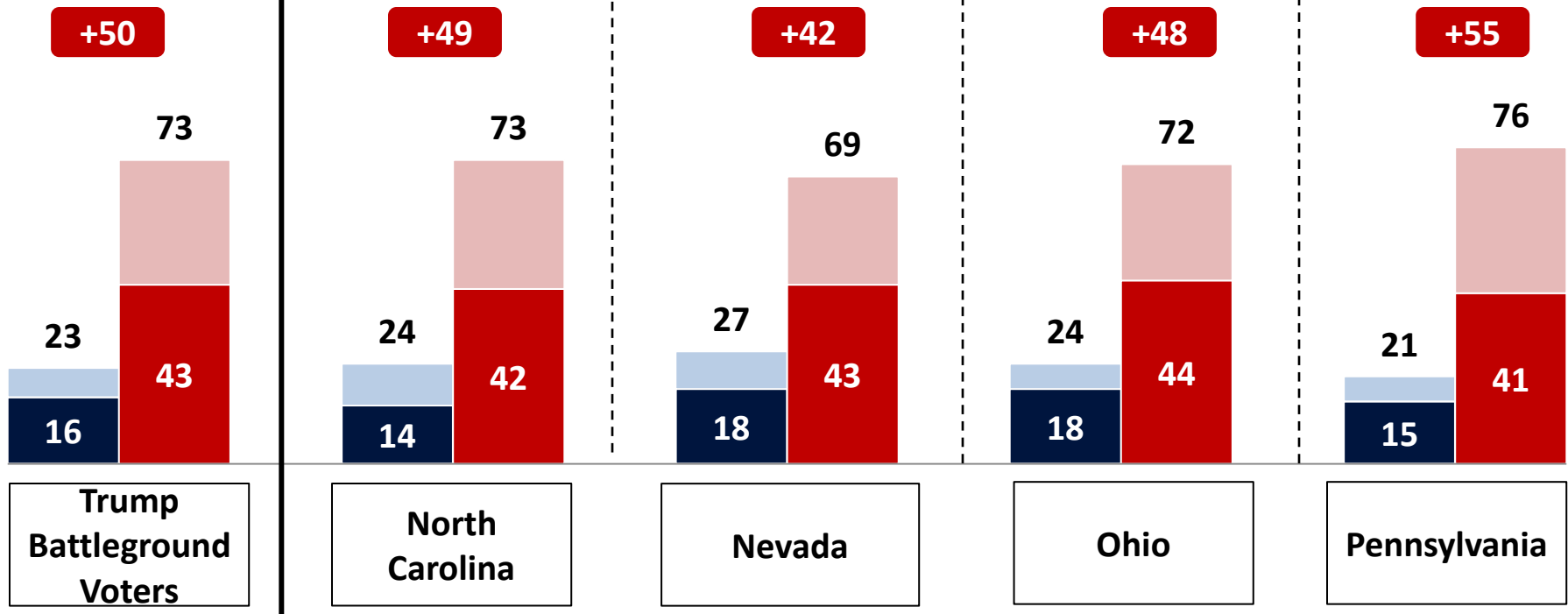
Now I am going to read some pairs of short statements some people have made about our nation. After I read each pair, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view even if neither statement is exactly right.

■ 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.

	Trump Battleground Voters	North Carolina	Nevada	Ohio	Pennsylvania
Total Burden	+50	+49	+42	+48	+55
Won't vote (total)	23	24	27	24	21
Won't vote strongly	16	14	18	18	15
Will judge (total)	73	73	69	72	76
Will judge strongly	43	42	43	44	41

Targets to consolidate

% of electorate in each state

- NC
- NV
- OH
- PA

Unconsolidated Democrats - President
- NC: 9
- NV: 9
- OH: 7
- PA: 8
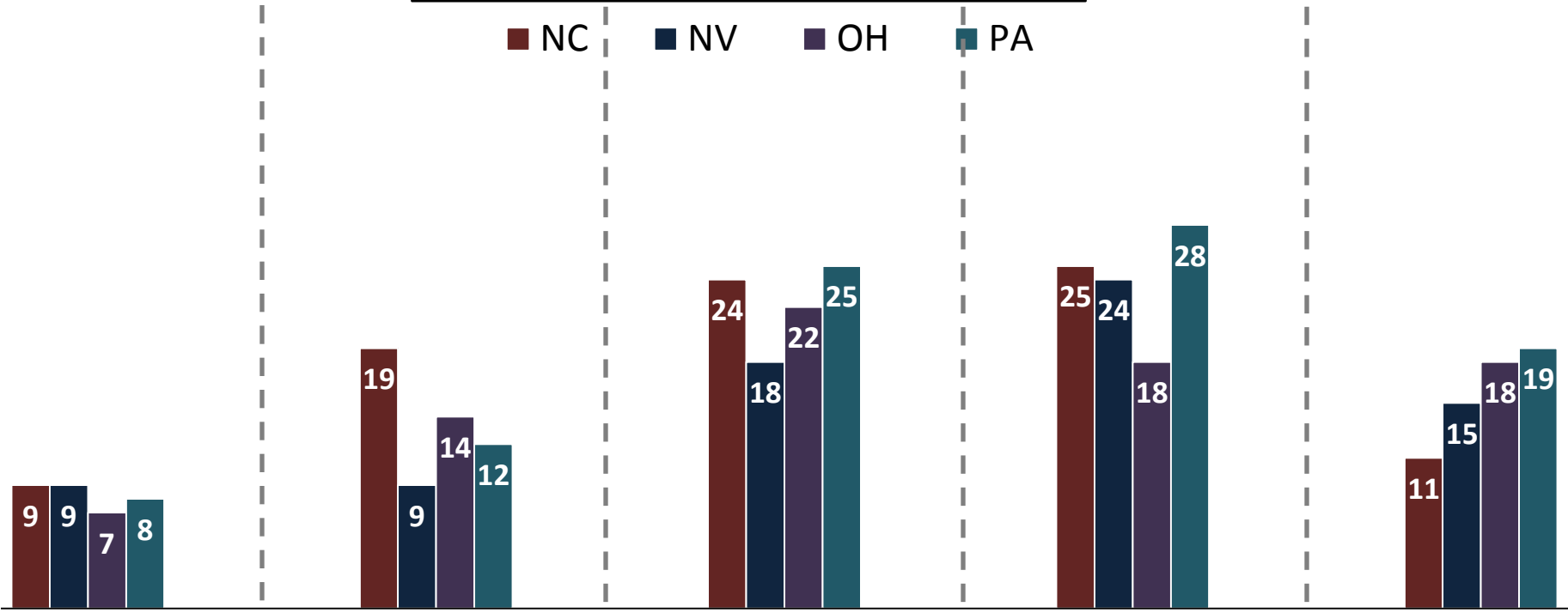
Clinton not Senate Democrat
- NC: 19
- NV: 9
- OH: 14
- PA: 12

Clinton not Congressional Democrat
- NC: 24
- NV: 18
- OH: 22
- PA: 25

Millennials
- NC: 25
- NV: 24
- OH: 18
- PA: 28

GOP Moderates
- NC: 11
- NV: 15
- OH: 18
- PA: 19

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.

| 22 | 31 | | 68 |

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.

| 23 | 25 | | 58 |

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).

| 23 | 21 | | 58 |
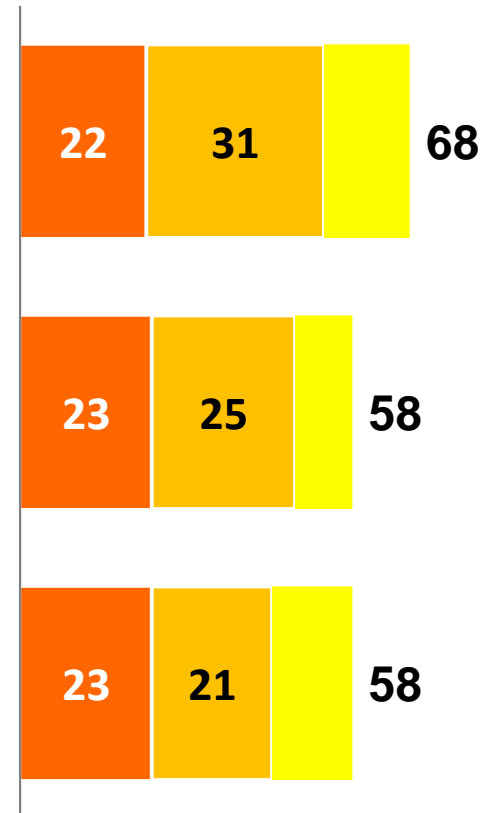
We tested 3 down-ballot messages from Democrats

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.*

29 | 21 | **61**
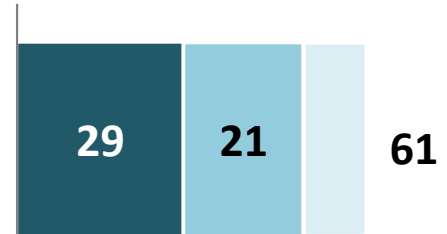
GOP & TRUMP: *Donald Trump is running a campaign pitting Americans against each other and pushing ideas that threaten our country's security but Republican candidates are still supporting him. The things Trump says about immigrants, women, minorities and veterans are un-American and his ideas about national 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?*

33 | 17 | **59**
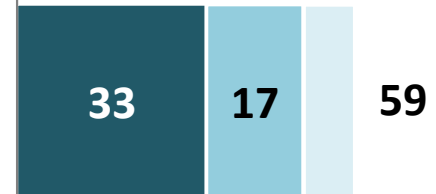
STOP EXTREME GOP AGENDA: *The Republican candidates for President, Congress and other offices in (STATE) oppose abortion, even in cases of rape and incest, and they want to cut off funding for Planned Parenthood. They oppose restricting gun rights for people on the terror watch list. And they support much lower taxes for the richest 1 percent and corporations and are making major cuts to funding for public education to pay for it.*

21 | 24 | **57**
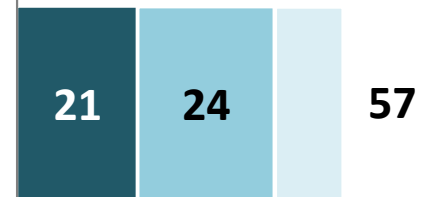
Linking candidates to Trump not so successful either because GOP seen as divided, not united
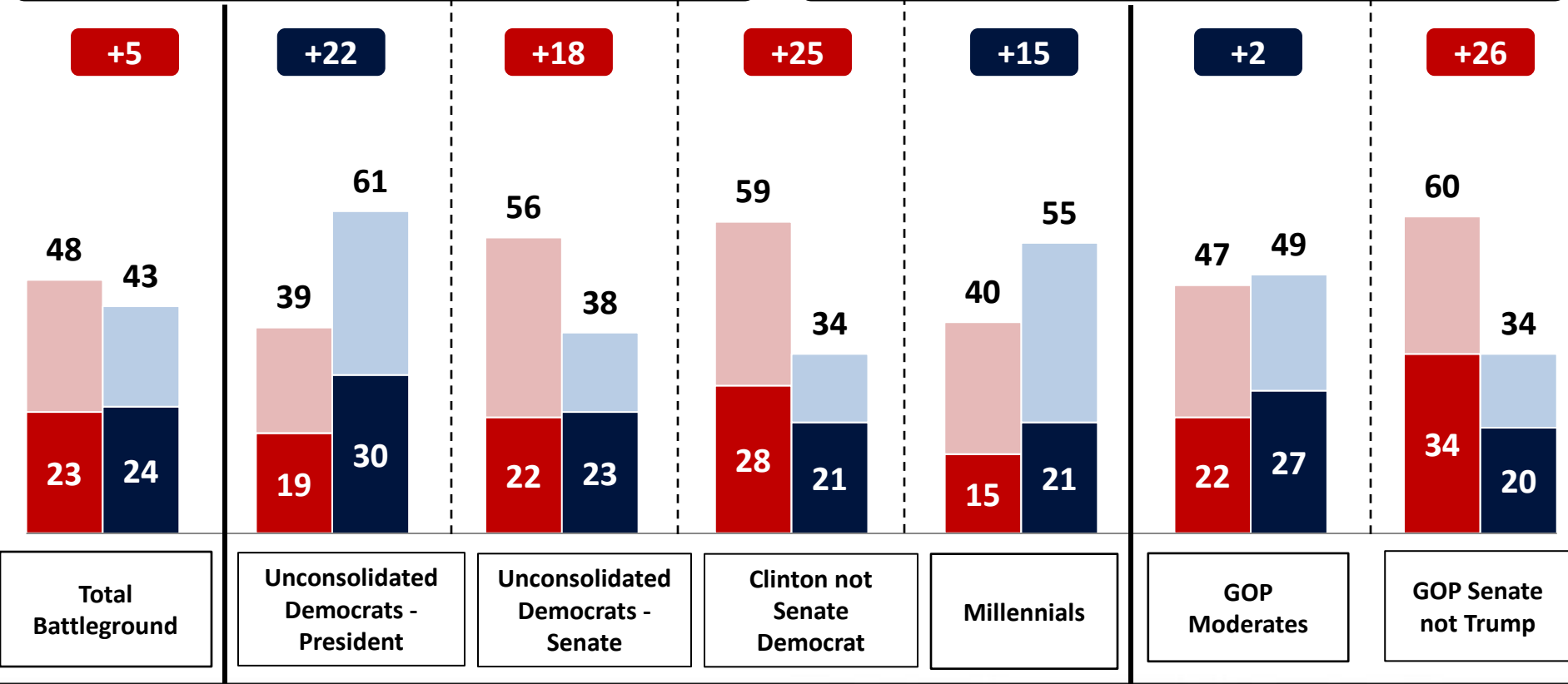
Now I am going to read some pairs of short statements some people have made about our nation. After I read each pair, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view even if neither statement is exactly right.

■ GOP party of trump strongly   ■ Do not share ideas strongly

Most Republicans do not share Donald Trump's ideas.   **More and more, the Republican Party is the party of Donald Trump.**

| +5 | +22 | +18 | +25 | +15 | +2 | +26 |

| 48 | 43 | 39 | 61 | 56 | 38 | 59 | 34 | 40 | 55 | 47 | 49 | 60 | 34 |

| 23 | 24 | 19 | 30 | 22 | 23 | 28 | 21 | 15 | 21 | 22 | 27 | 34 | 20 |

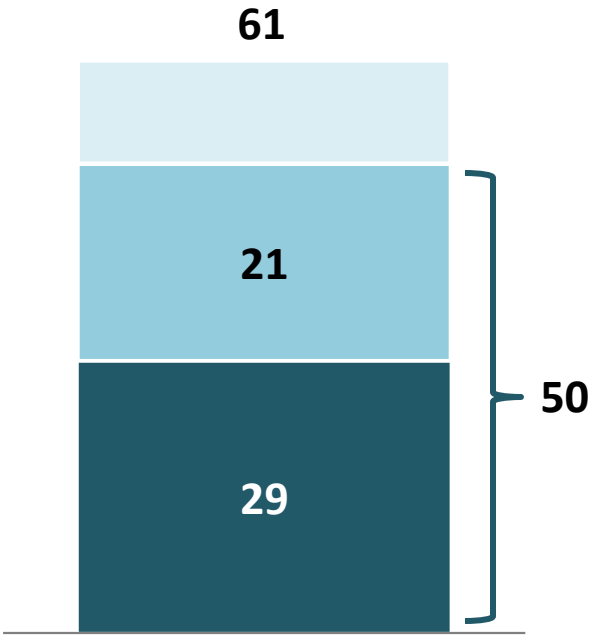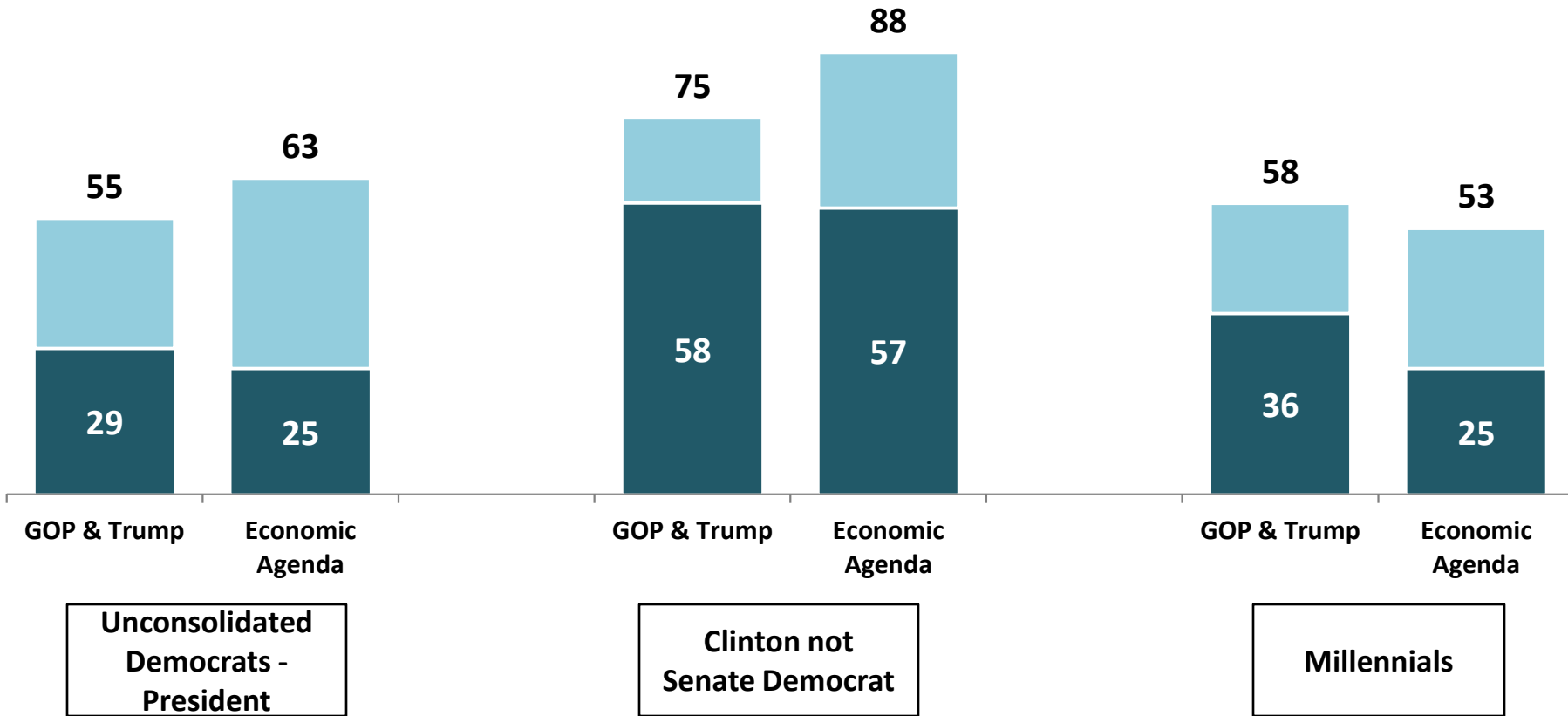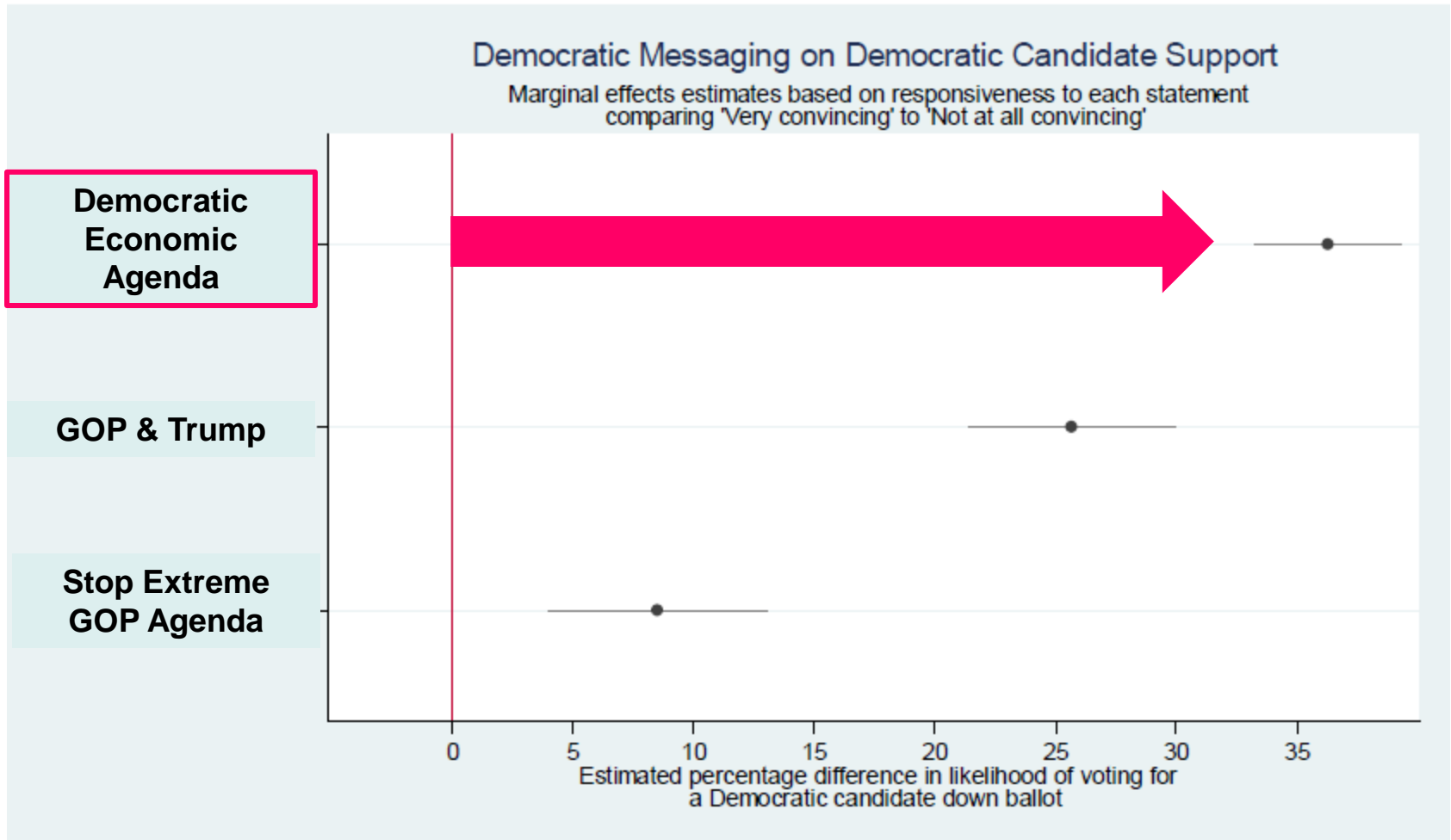| Total Battleground | Unconsolidated Democrats - President | Unconsolidated Democrats - Senate | Clinton not Senate Democrat | Millennials | GOP Moderates | GOP Senate not Trump |

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

- A little convincing
- Somewhat convincing
- Very convincing

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.

61

21

29

50

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

Democratic Messaging on Democratic Candidate Support

Marginal effects estimates based on responsiveness to each statement comparing 'Very convincing' to 'Not at all convincing'

Democratic Economic Agenda

GOP & Trump

Stop Extreme GOP Agenda

Estimated percentage difference in likelihood of voting for a Democratic candidate down ballot
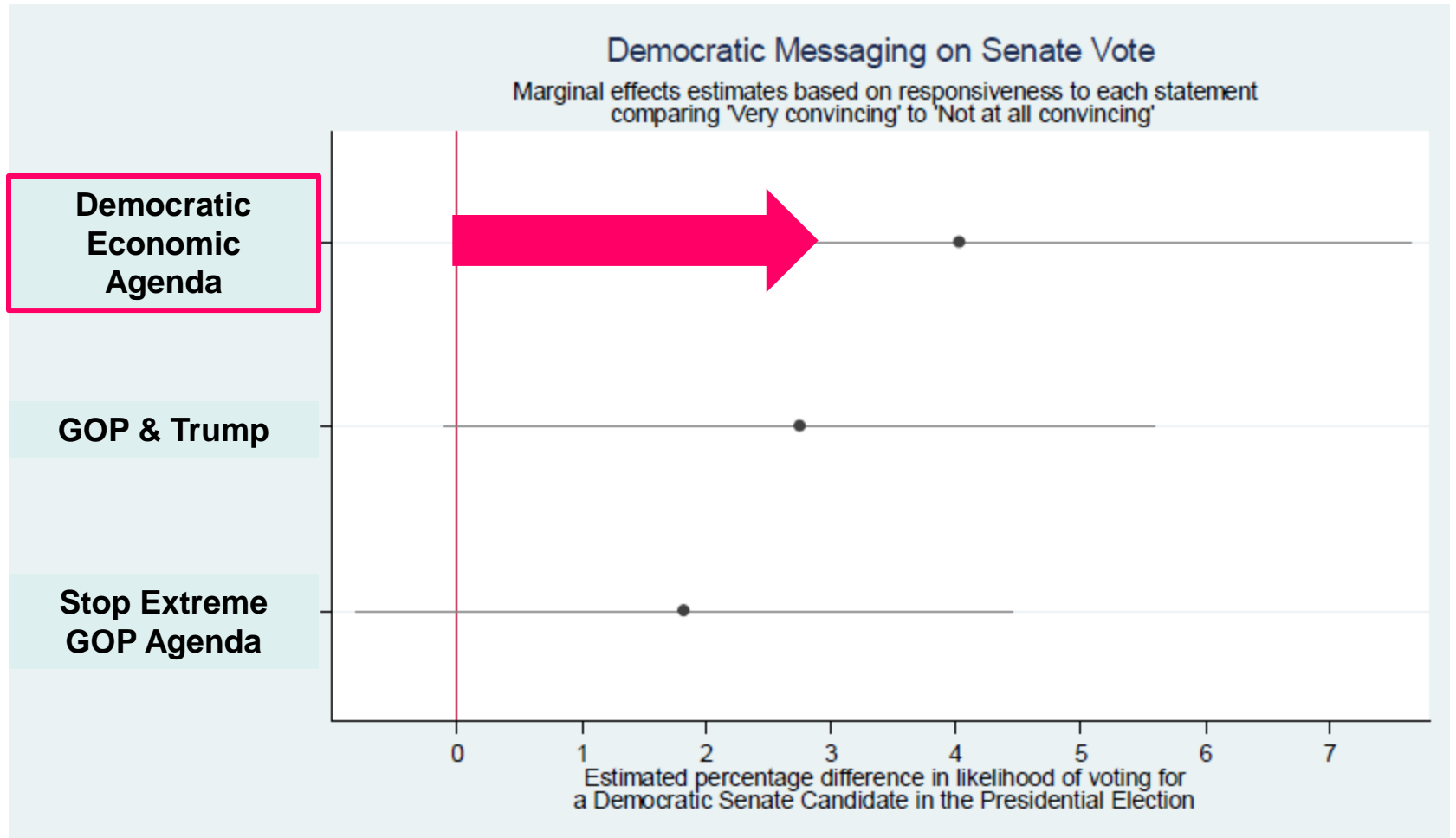
Unconsolidated voters ready to vote for Dems down-ballot

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

SHIFT TO DEMOCRATS

CLINTON NOT SENATE DEMOCRAT

+89

69	20	6
Very certain to vote for Democrats	**Somewhat certain to vote for Democrats**	**Will not vote for Democrats**
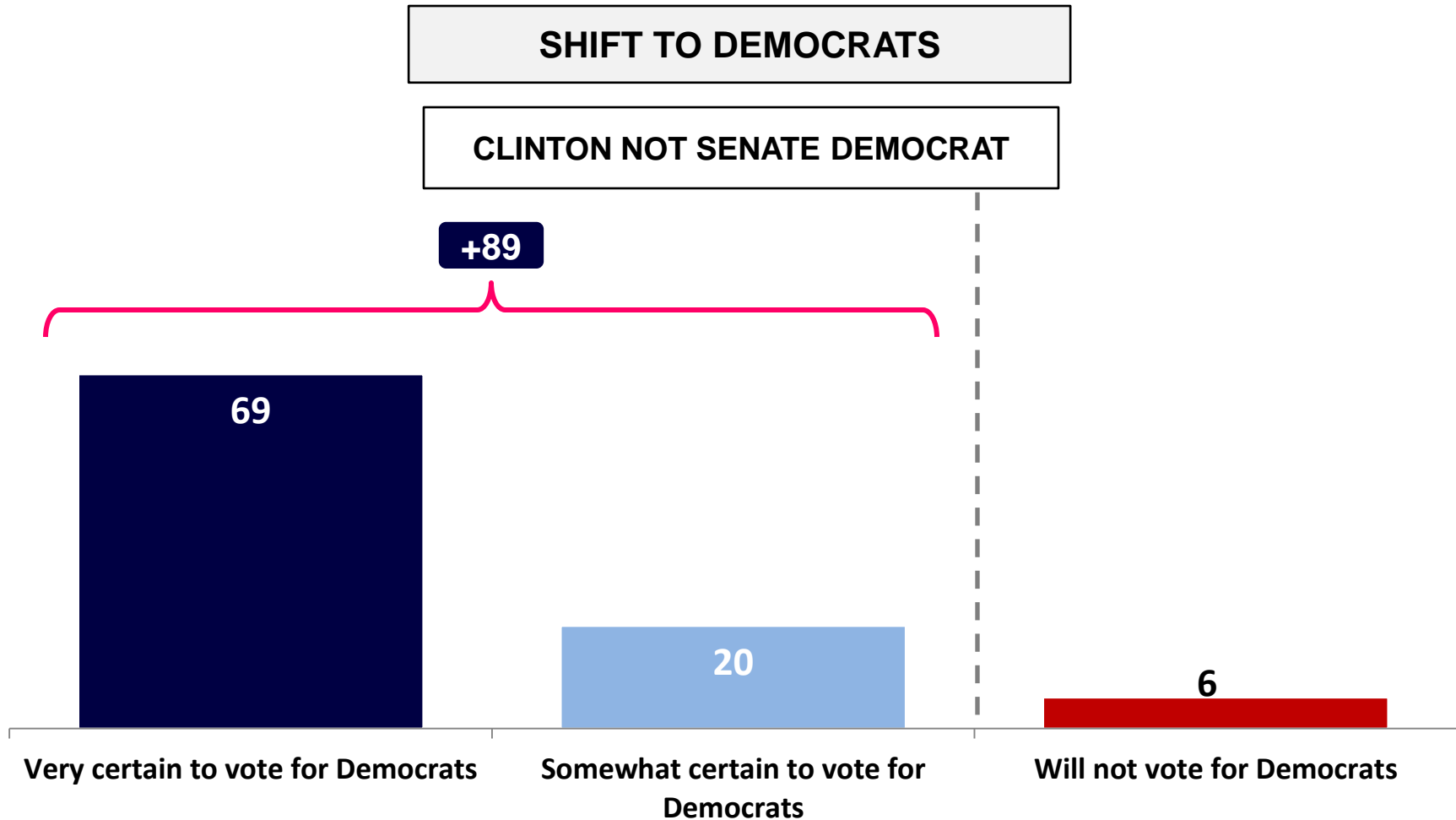
Economic message drives vote to Senate Democrats

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