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Texas Senate Targeting Initial Targeting Recommendations from a Statewide Survey

To: Tiffany Muller

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The following memo outlines some key targets. Beto O'Rourke has two challenges in this race: the first is improving his name identification and building his profile with voters, and the second involves developing the critique on Ted Cruz and creating a contrast.

These targets are meant to serve as a starting point on a potential paid communication audience and cover a broad swath of audiences. These groups are subject to change in terms of ranking and priorities over the next four months as the campaign develops and more research is available, but for now they provide some guidance.

1. **Regional Targets.** We rank the four large media markets that are important in the state in terms of their persuadability and range upward
2. **Demographic Persuasion Targets.** These targets are split into Anglo groups and Hispanic groups, given the significant differences in political attitudes among these two demographics.
3. **Demographic Turnout Targets.** We also identify groups that are reliably Democratic, but might need an extra round of communications in order to get them to vote.

We conducted a phone survey of 1,000 likely voters in the state of Texas, as well as two supplemental oversamples of n=60 likely voters in the Austin media market and n=60 in the San Antonio media market, on May 29 – June 5, 2018. The survey was offered in both English and Spanish. The data are subject to a margin of error of +/-3.1 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence interval; margin of error is higher among subgroups.

Regional Targets

Texas is a big state and it can be unaffordable to communicate in every media market. Our sample provides enough information to assess the four large markets that comprise nearly 75 percent of the electorate and cannot speak to each of the other 16 smaller markets.

Below, our initial ranking of these four markets is based on this one survey, and may change over time:

WORLD HEADQUARTERS
1101 15th Street Suite 900
Washington, DC 20005

EUROPE
2 Eastbourne Terrace
London, UK W2 6LG

CANADA
350-1 First Canadian Place
Toronto Board of Trade Tower
Toronto, ON M5K 1C1

1. **Houston market (25 percent of the vote).** This market tends to be a few points more Democratic in performance than the other huge market, Dallas, and exhibits the largest uptick for Beto in the survey as information was introduced on both candidates. Some information on the market:
 - Trump Approval: 50-49
 - Cruz Approval: 51-45
 - Initial Vote: 50-47
 - Top Beto Positives: Veterans, Transparent, Term limits
 - Top Cruz Negatives: Healthcare, Too Rigid, Special Interests-NRA

2. **San Antonio market (10 percent of the vote).** This market is very Republican in the survey but tends to perform a few points better than Houston and significantly better than Dallas in most elections. It contains the largest bloc of Hispanics of any of the four markets. Beto outperforms partisanship by a bit and the market exhibits some movement here during the survey.
 - Top Beto Positives: PACs, Veterans, Small Business
 - Top Cruz Negatives: Too Rigid, Healthcare, Special Interests

3. **Dallas-Ft Worth market (29 percent of the vote).** While we would never suggest completely ignoring the state's largest market, it appears to be less fertile ground than the two markets listed above. This tends to perform the worst of the four markets for a Democrat, and there is less movement during the survey than in Houston, the other big market. For these reasons, we rank it slightly lower in terms of resource allocation across the large markets.
 - Trump Approval: 47-53
 - Cruz Approval: 49-49
 - Initial Vote: 49-49
 - Top Beto Positives: Transparent, Term limits, Education
 - Top Cruz Negatives: Healthcare, Too Rigid, Special Interests-NRA

4. **Austin market (10 percent of the electorate).** We put Austin fourth not because it is not important—rather, it represents more of a “turnout” audience as it is by far the most Democratic of the big four generally and is particularly pro-Democrat in this race. It should be a priority in terms of boosting turnout and maintaining the energy that can put a few additional points on the board for Beto.
 - Trump Approval: 42-57
 - Cruz Approval: 34-61
 - Initial Vote: 60-37
 - Top Beto Positives: PACs, Healthcare – money, and Listening
 - Top Cruz Negatives: President, Too Rigid, Special Interests

Demographic Targets

Obviously, Hispanic voters are a key to success in a state like Texas and there are some blocs of Hispanic voters that should not be taken for granted. There are also some very important Anglo blocs who represent swing audiences. These voters generally tend to be women more so than men.

Independent Women – 14 percent of the electorate

- Independents in general are a very difficult bloc due to a clear Republican tilt among the men. Independent women respond positively to our message and we gain ground throughout the simulated campaign.
- Trump Approval: 43-54
- Cruz Approval: 43-52
- Initial Vote: 53-41
- Top Beto Positives: Term limits, PACs, Veterans, Healthcare – money
- Top Cruz Negatives: Special Interests, Too Rigid, President

Hispanic Men – 9 percent of the electorate

- Hispanic men are not as locked into supporting us as Hispanic women, as they tend to be less loyally Democratic and their support for Beto is nearly 20 points lower than Hispanic women. They are also very receptive to the reform message.
- Trump Approval: 39-60
- Cruz Approval: 44-53
- Initial Vote: 54-46
- Top Beto Positives: Veterans, PACs, Transparent, Term limits, Listening
- Top Cruz Negatives: Too Rigid, President, Special Interests-NRA

Blocs of Anglo Voters – mostly Women

- **College-Educated Anglo Women – 17 percent of the electorate**
 - College-educated women are not sold on either Trump or Cruz. They are holding back from Democrats mostly because of their partisanship, but they move towards us throughout the course of the survey.
 - Trump Approval: 50-50
 - Cruz Approval: 48-48
 - Initial Vote: 47-50
 - Top Beto Positives: PACs, Transparent, Healthcare – money, Listening
 - Top Cruz Negatives: DeVos, President, Special Interests
- **Younger Anglo Women – 12 percent of the electorate**
 - These are the most Democratic-leaning voters of the Anglo bloc. We start tied and O'Rourke's support stays consistent at 49, but Cruz's support slowly erodes as we start to critique him.
 - Trump Approval: 53-47
 - Cruz Approval: 53-44
 - Initial Vote: 49-50
 - Top Beto Positives: PACs, Listening, Term limits, Healthcare – money, Transparent, Veterans
 - Top Cruz Negatives: President, Special Interests, DeVos

- **College Educated Anglo Men – 15 percent of the electorate**
 - Every bloc of Anglo men is tough, but this is the most receptive to us. It is unlikely that we will win this group; however, if we are able to get to 40 percent or so among this demographic, it could make a huge difference overall. These voters also respond very positively to Beto's reform agenda.
 - Trump Approval: 60-39
 - Cruz Approval: 61-36
 - Initial Vote: 36-63
 - Top Beto Positives: PACs, Transparent, Veterans, Healthcare – single payer, Education
 - Top Cruz Negatives: Too rigid, Healthcare, Interests-NRA, Obstruction

Turnout Targets

- **African Americans – 10 percent of the electorate**
 - Trump Approval: 9-88
 - Cruz Approval: 14-81
 - Initial Vote: 87-9
 - Top Beto Positives: Veterans, Education, Healthcare – single payer, Healthcare - money
 - Top Cruz Negatives: Too Rigid, President, Healthcare
- **Hispanic Women – 9 percent of the electorate**
 - Trump Approval: 27-70
 - Cruz Approval: 41-51
 - Initial Vote: 72-26
 - Top Beto Positives: Veterans, Healthcare – money, PACs, Listening
 - Top Cruz Negatives: Special Interests, President, DeVos
- **Austin market.** As noted above in our major market ranking, the Austin market represents a base audience that can be energized and hopefully expand turnout for Beto.

Again, these are observations based on one survey and should be assessed over time if other research is conducted, which we suggest given the resources that will be spent in this race.