

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER

STRATEGY + RESEARCH

ECU Texas Senate Race

June 19, 2018

CAMPAIGNS | CORPORATIONS | ADVOCACY | WORLDWIDE

Methodology

Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research conducted an 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.

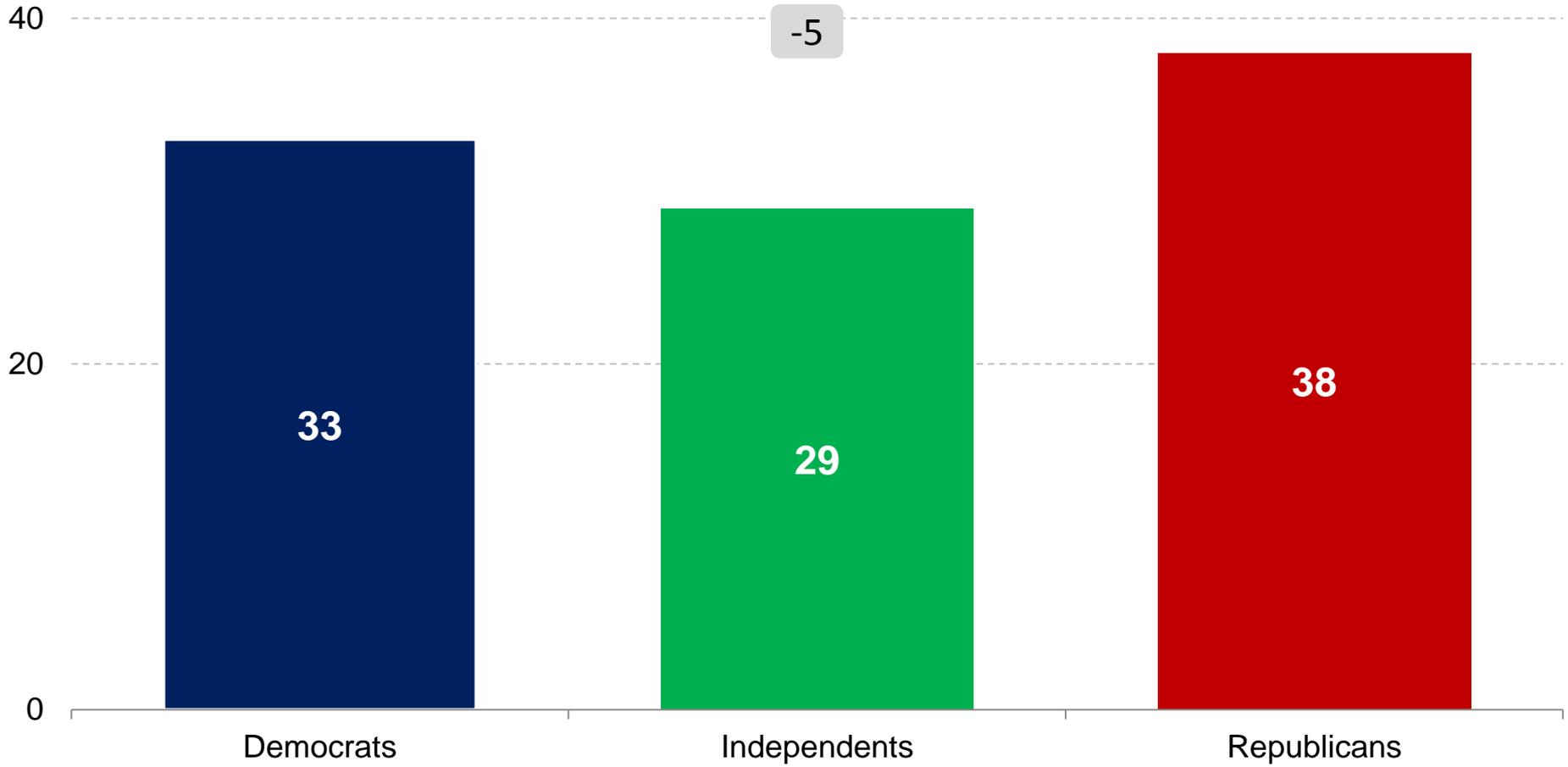
The data are subject to a margin of error of +/-3.1 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence interval; margin of error is higher among subgroups.

THE ENVIRONMENT

Notable demographic trends

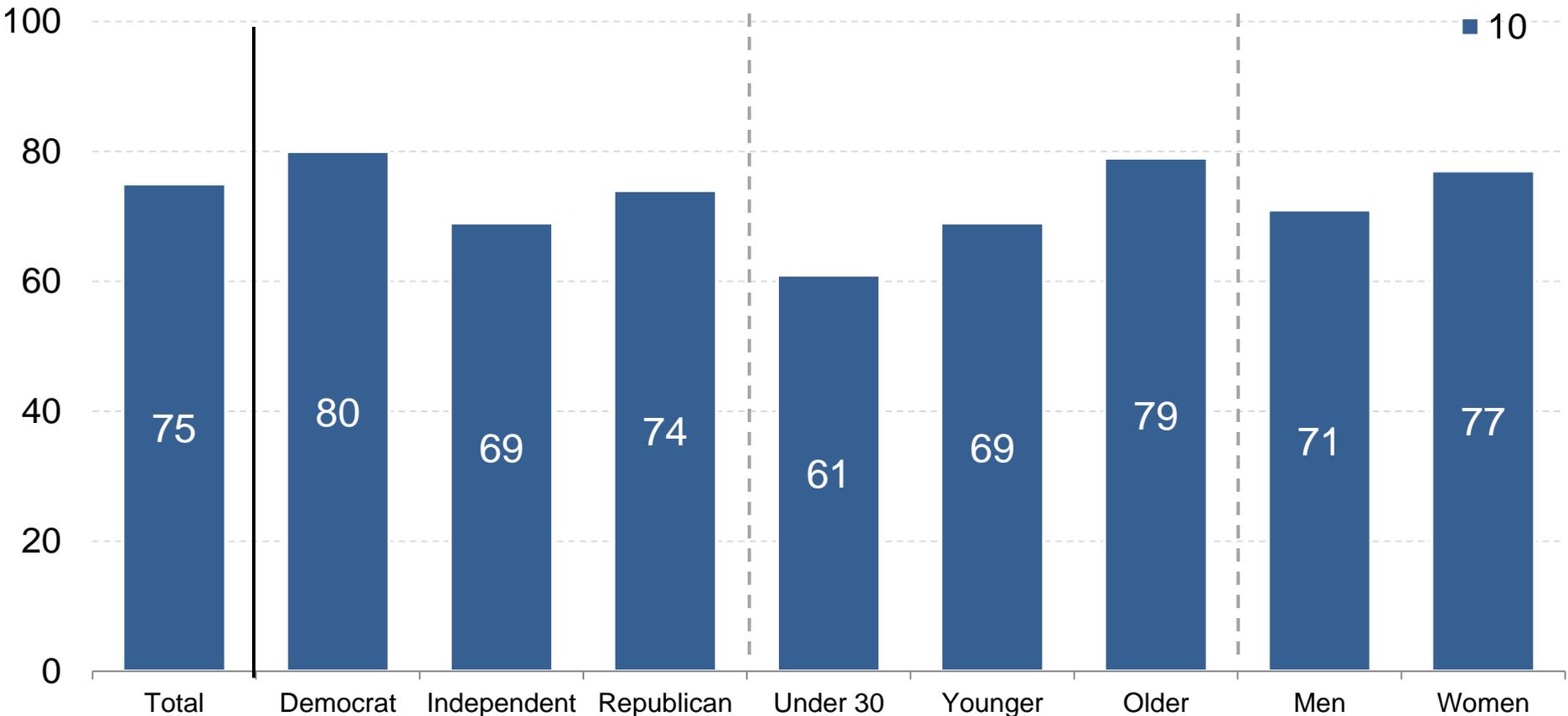
- Even across races/ethnicities, there are 20-25 point swings between men and women on most measures. Women are significantly more Democratic.
- On education, there are 10 to 15 point gaps between college and non college voters. College voters are more Democratic.
- The age gap is closer here than in some other places, though younger still tend to be more Democratic than older voters here by single digits.
- Independents lean Republican by 16 points, and independent men tend to stand with Republicans on most issues.

Partisanship favors Republicans



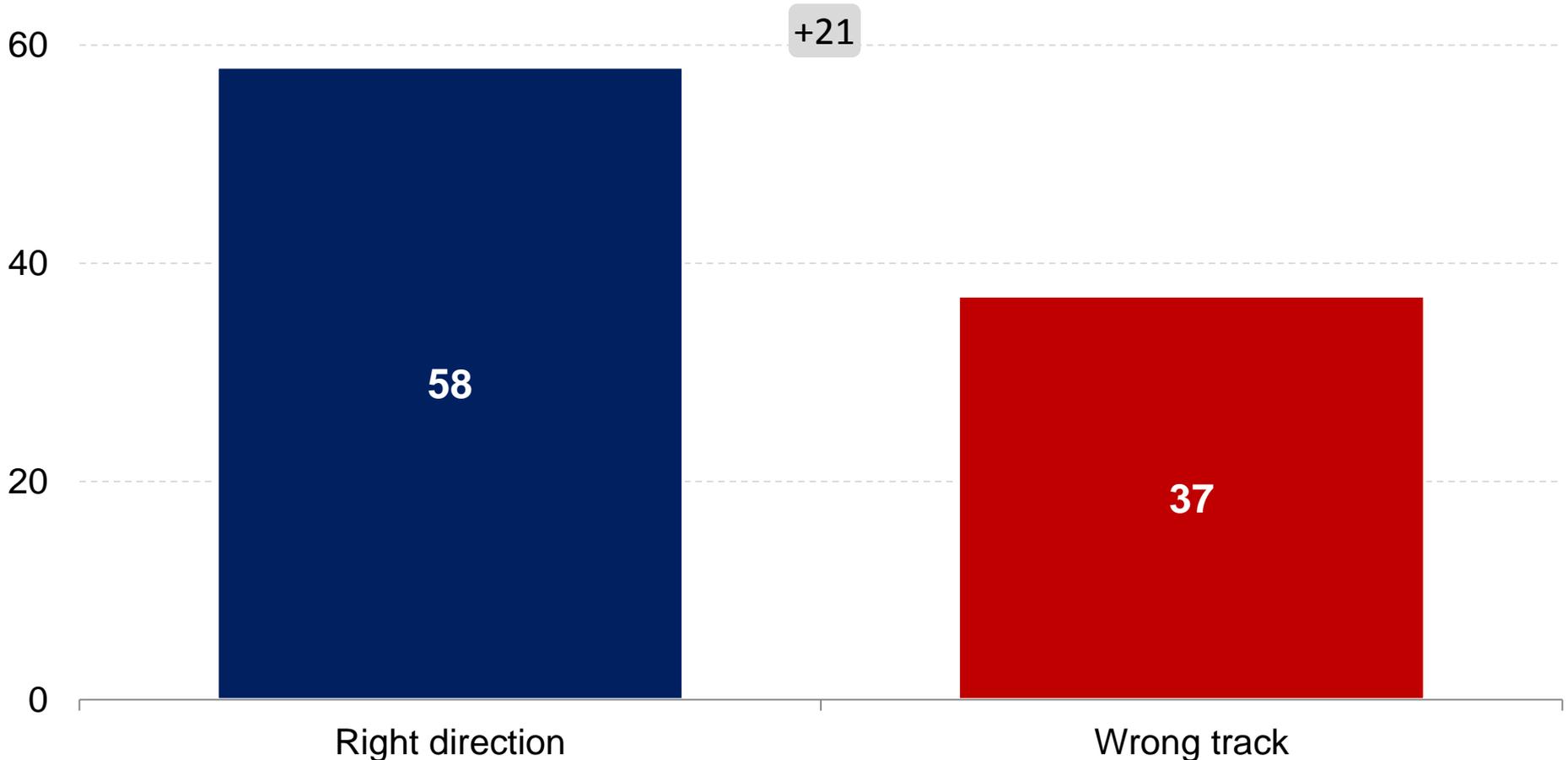
The youngest voters are the least interested in voting

Please rate your level of interest in voting in this year's election for U.S. Senate, Governor, U.S. Congress, and other offices on a scale from zero to ten, where zero means you are not at all interested in voting this year and ten means you are extremely interested in voting this year.



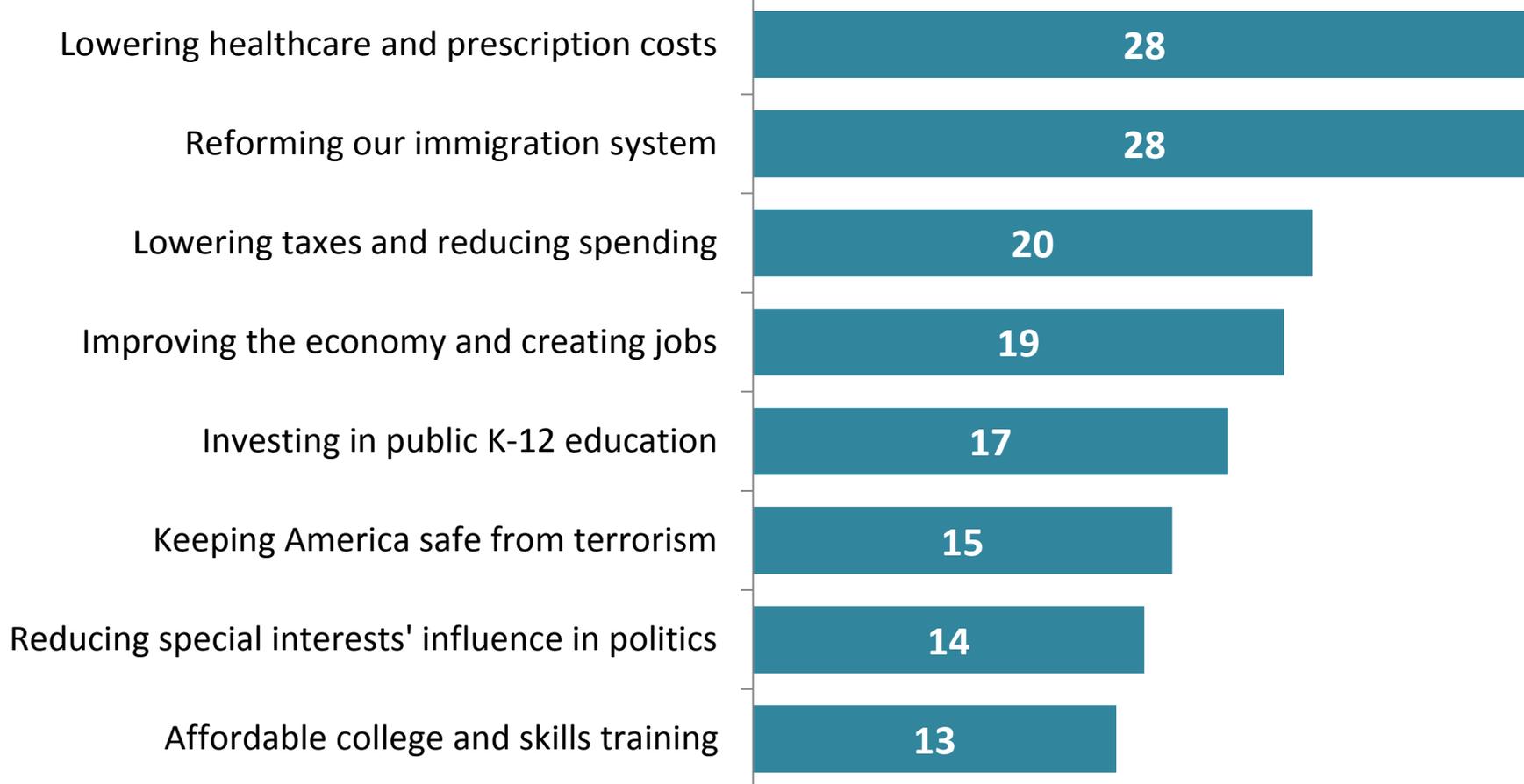
Voters are generally satisfied with the state direction

Do you think that things in Texas are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

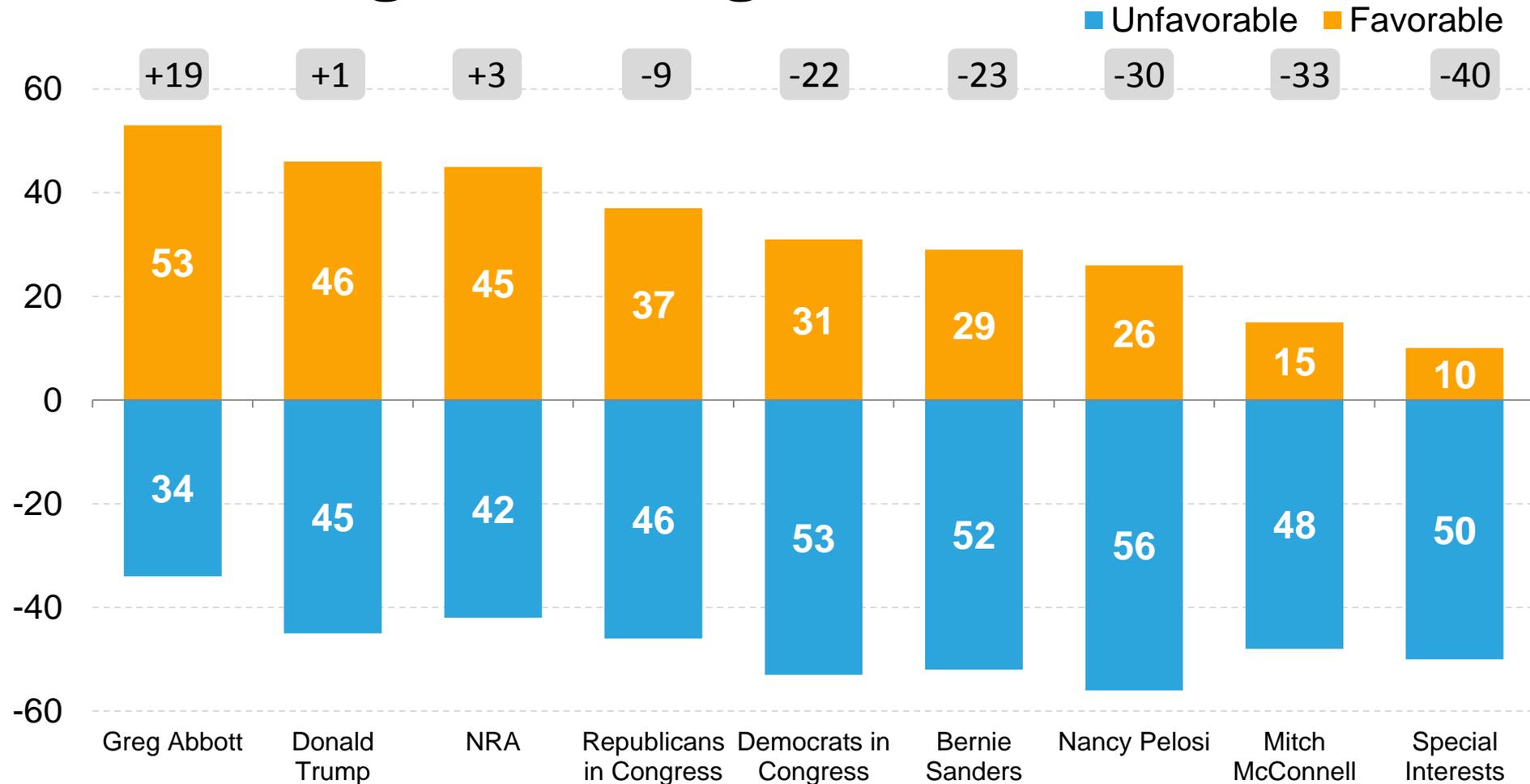


Addressing immigration and healthcare are most important to voters, followed by money issues

Which one or two of the following issues do you believe your U.S. Senator should make their top priorities?



Greg Abbott is the most popular figure statewide, national congressional figures are disliked



Texas voters generally approve of Donald Trump

Trump Approval

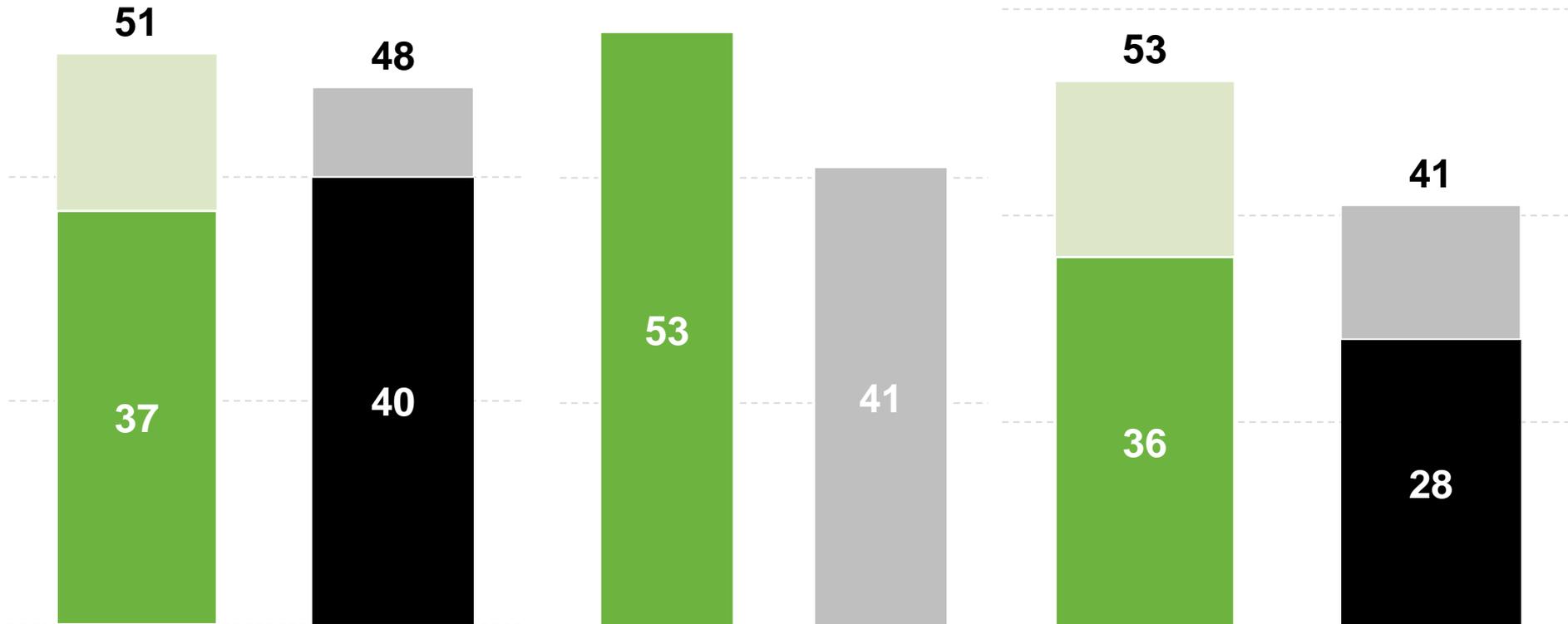
- Somewhat oppose ■ Strongly oppose
- Somewhat approve ■ Strongly approve

Would you prefer a Senator who will be a check on Donald Trump OR a Senator who will work with Trump?

- Work with Trump ■ Check on Trump

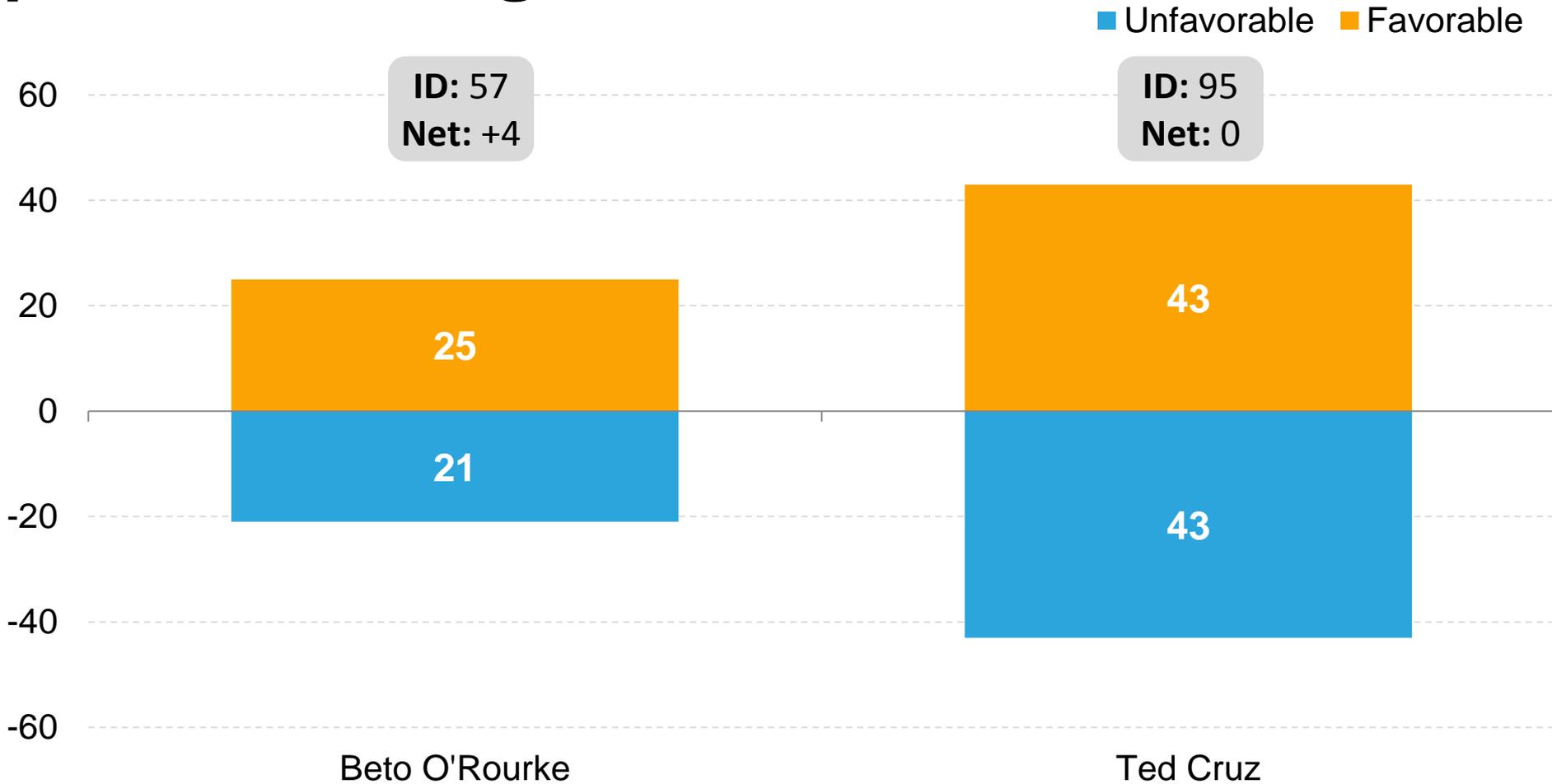
Regardless of how you feel about Donald Trump, which of the following statements best reflects what you would like to see happen with his agenda:

- Oppose more than support ■ Oppose most
- Support more than oppose ■ Support most

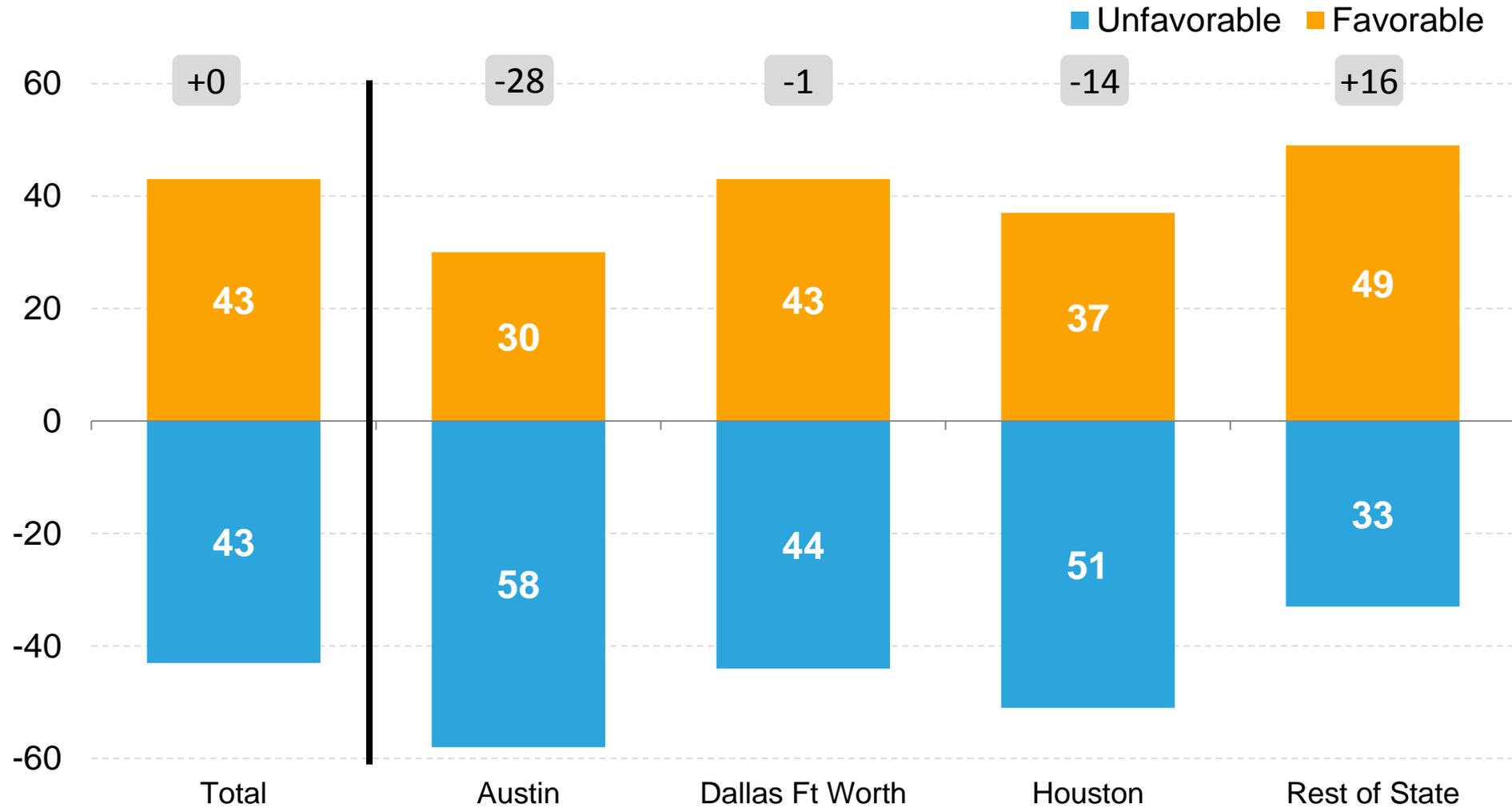


CANDIDATE PROFILES

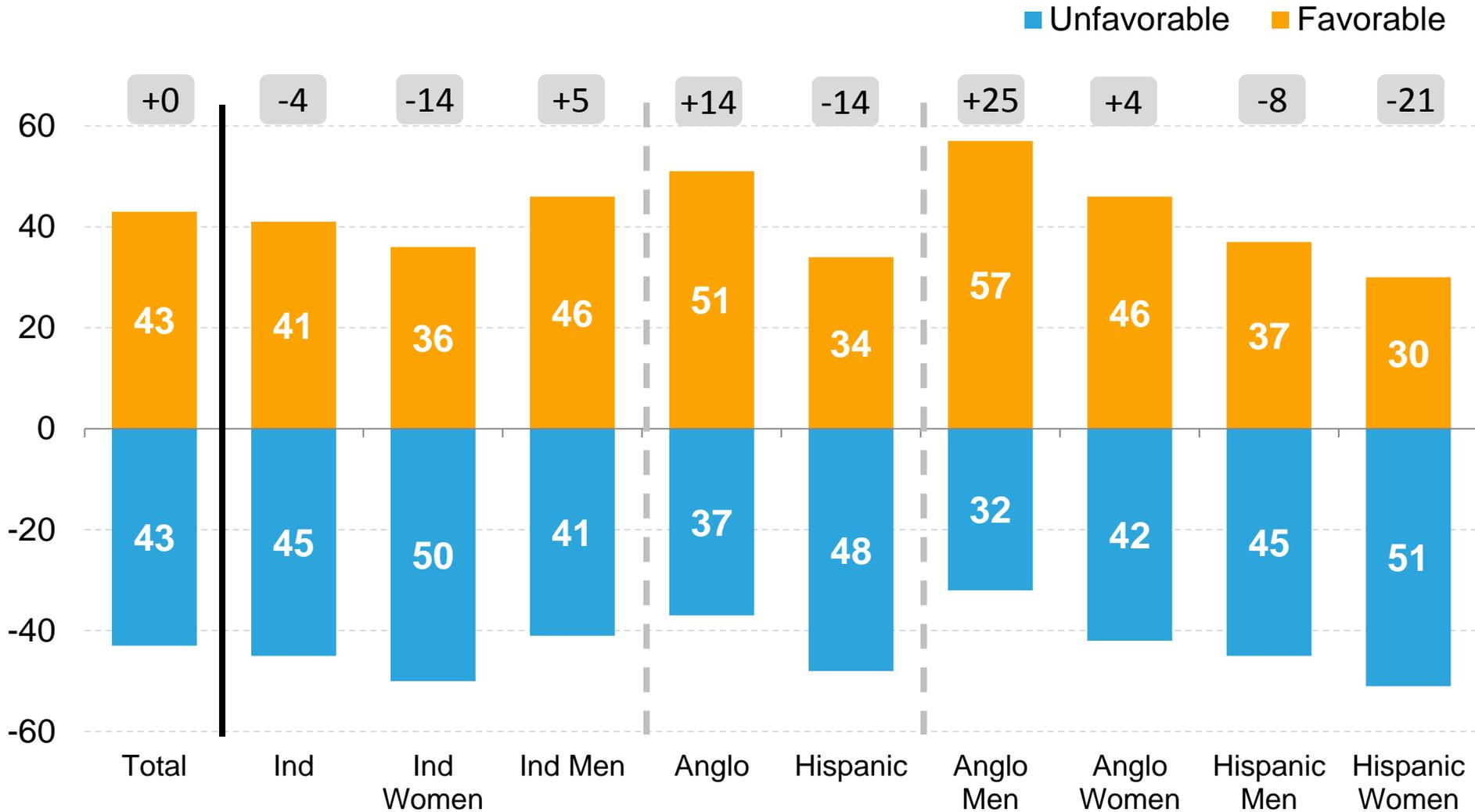
Beto trails Cruz in name identification, but Cruz's personal standing is mixed



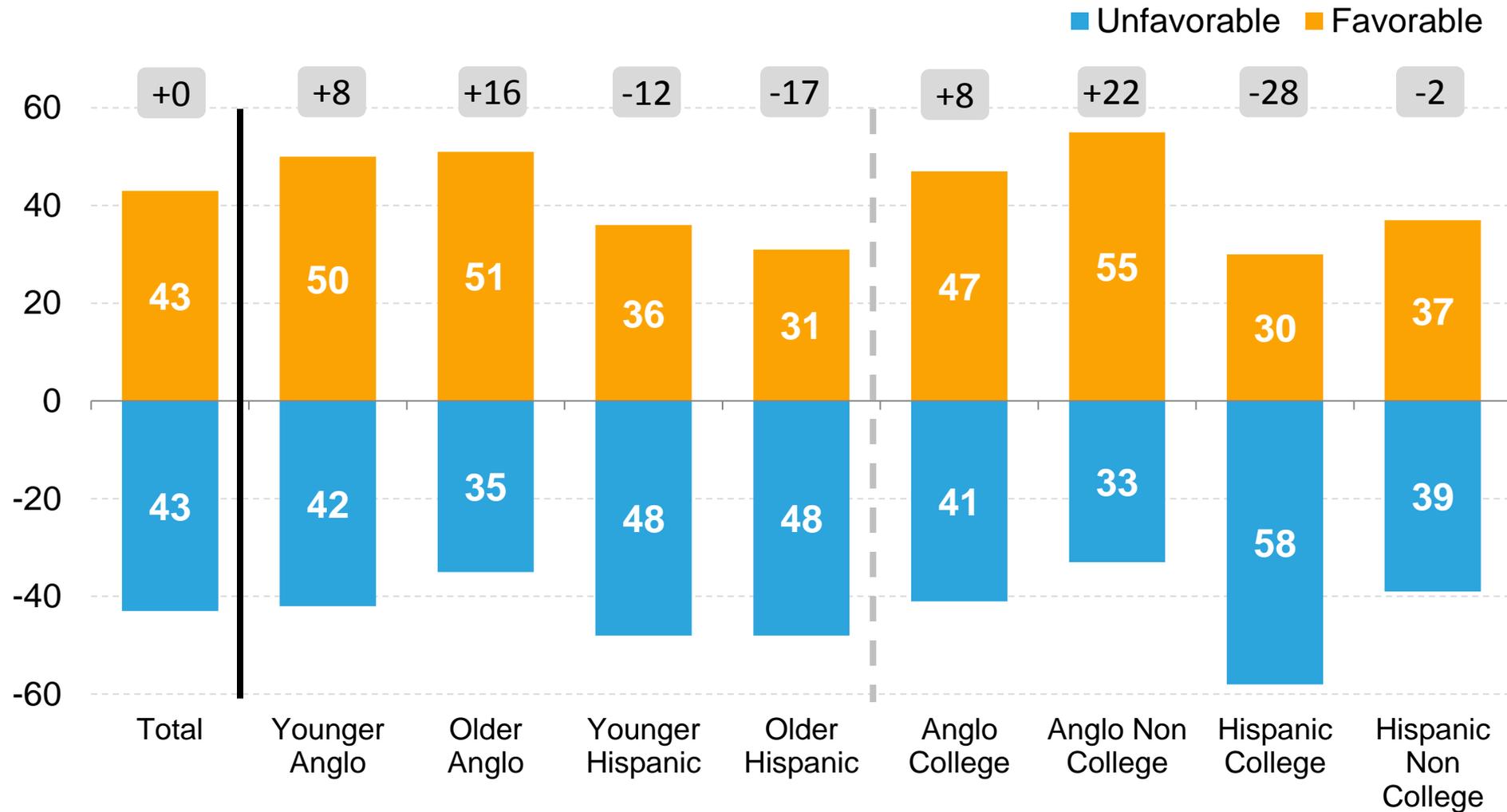
Cruz most liked in rural Texas



Cruz base among groups of men – Anglo, independent

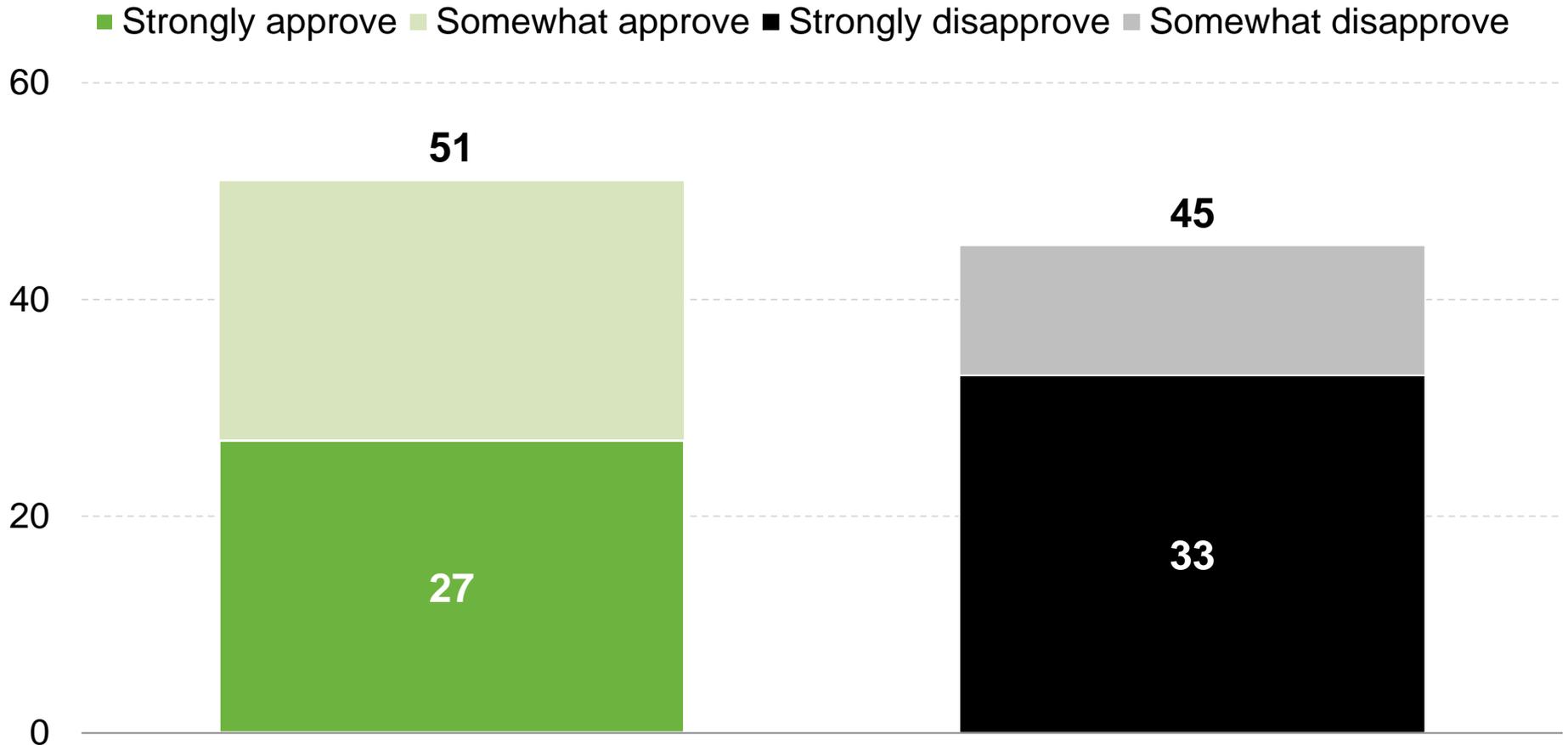


Cruz mixed views among non college Hispanics



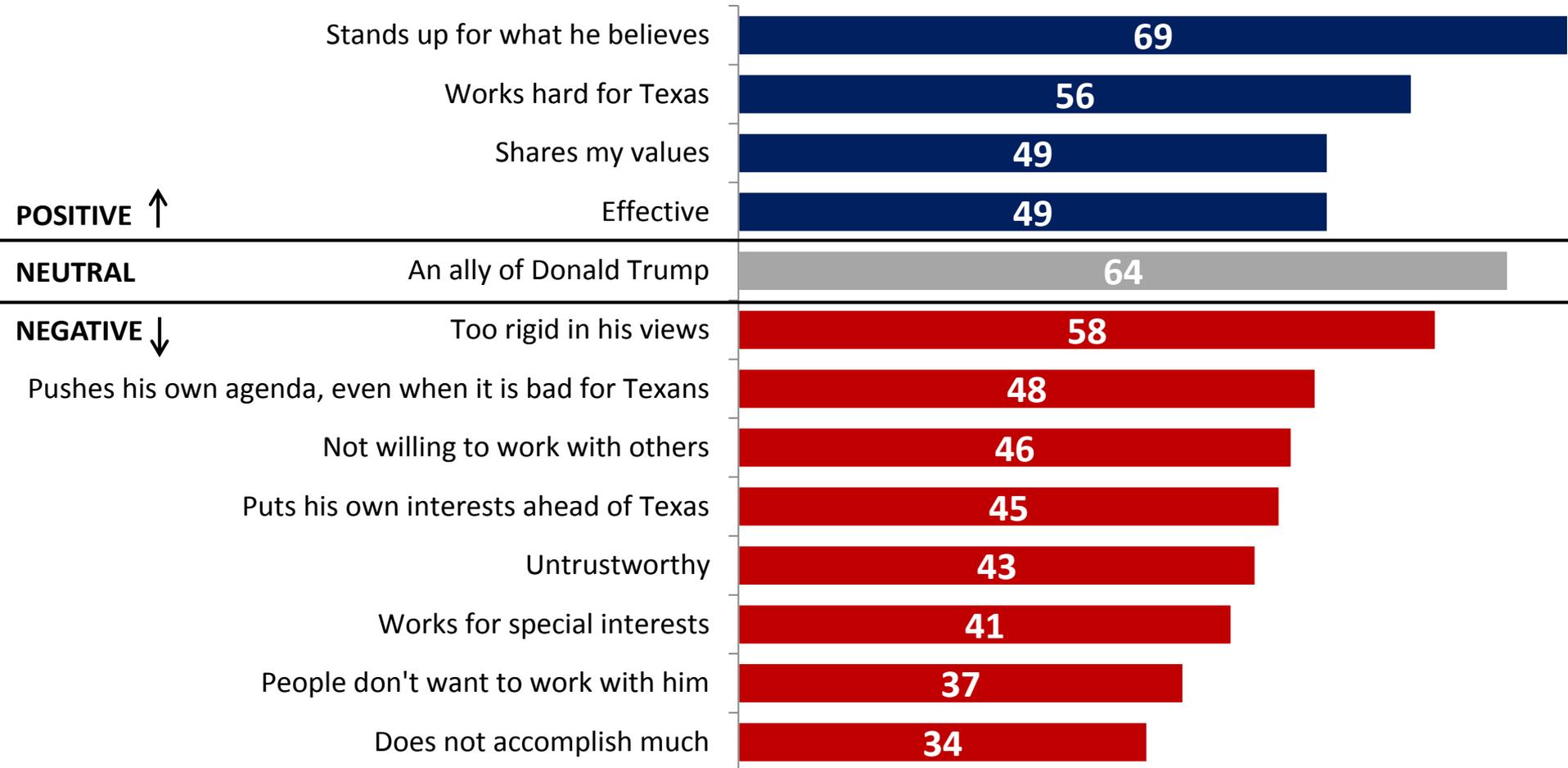
Slight majority approve of his job as Senator

Now I'm going to read you some names and for each one, please tell me if you approve or disapprove of how they are handling their job: Ted Cruz as US Senator.



Voters see Cruz as principled, but also worry too rigid

I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes Ted Cruz very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.



Big difference between African Americans and Hispanics on Cruz

I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes Ted Cruz very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

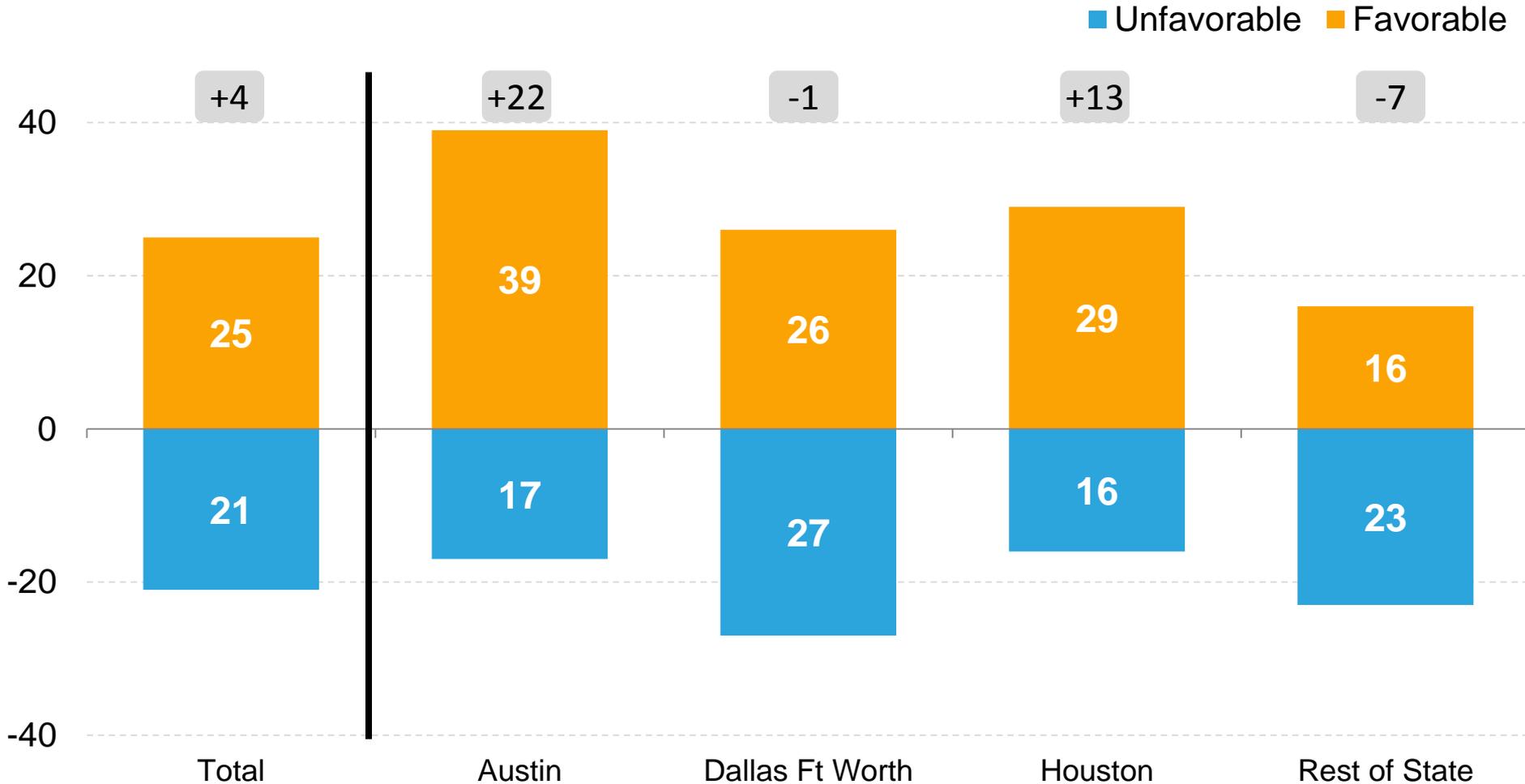
Total Well – Positive Traits	Total	Anglo	Hispanic	African American
Stands up for what he believes in	69	77	60	33
An ally of Donald Trump	64	68	60	44
Works hard for Texas	56	64	43	21
Shares my values	49	58	37	12
Effective	49	54	46	19

The current critique on Cruz is pretty undefined, even among more Democratic leaning groups

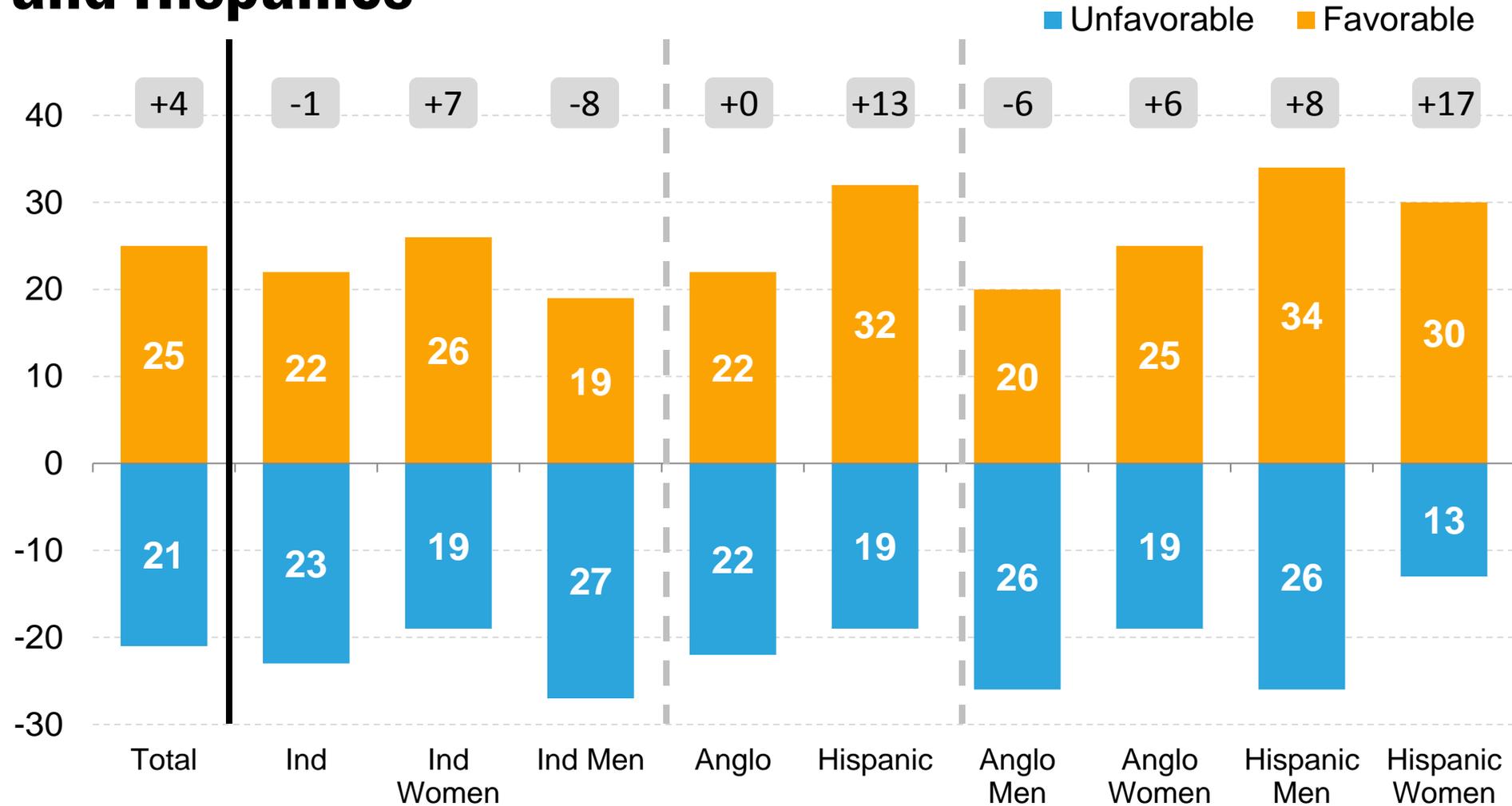
I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes Ted Cruz very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

Total Well – Negative Traits	Total	Anglo	Hispanic	African American
Too rigid	58	59	55	52
Pushes his own agenda, even when it's bad for Texas	48	47	50	54
Not willing to work with others	46	50	38	36
Puts his own interests ahead of Texas	45	45	46	45
Untrustworthy	43	46	34	42
Works for special interests	41	39	46	44
People don't want work with him	37	35	43	35
Does not accomplish much	34	35	30	42

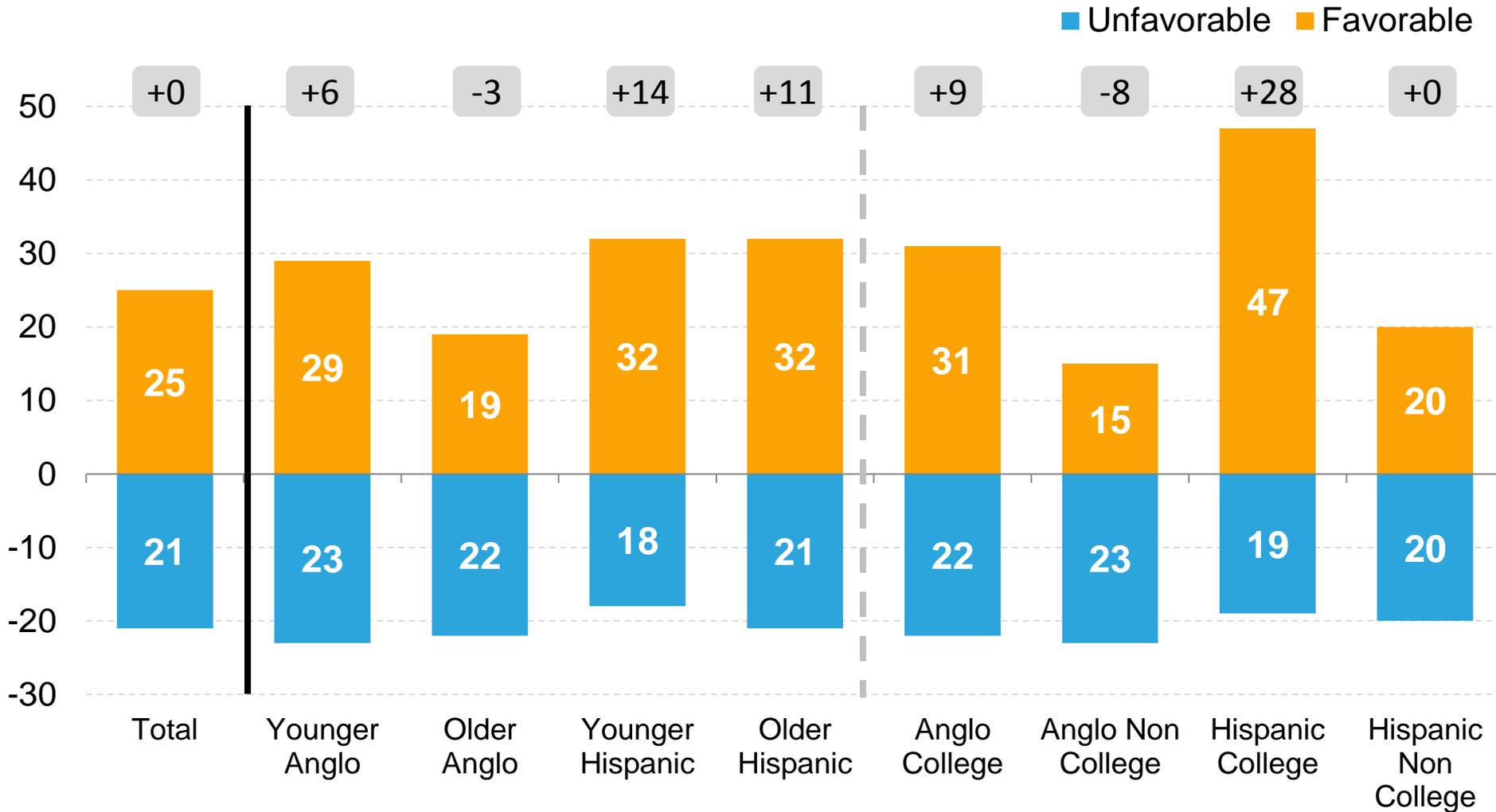
Beto's most popular in Austin market, middle ground elsewhere



Stronger among groups of women – independents and Hispanics

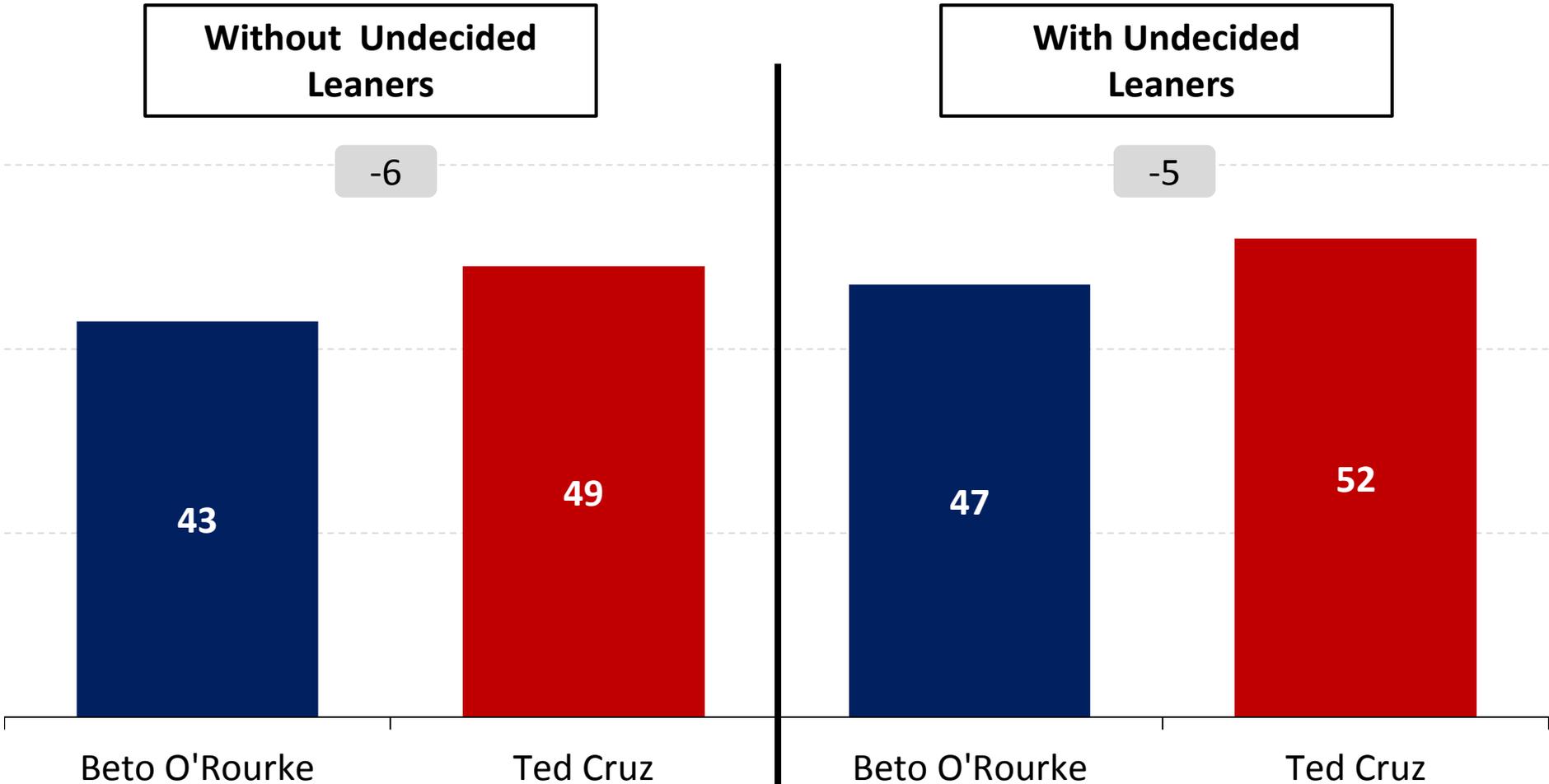


Stronger with college educated and younger



THE RACE

Beto trails Cruz at the outset, but within striking distance



Beto strongest with women, Hispanics, college educated and combinations of those demographics

Initial Vote	Beto O'Rourke	Ted Cruz
Total	47	52
Independents	44	52
Ind. Women	53	41
Ind. Men	36	62
College Women	57	40
Non College Women	51	45
Anglo	36	62
Hispanic	62	36
African American	87	9

Initial Vote	Beto O'Rourke	Ted Cruz
Total	47	52
Anglo Men	29	70
Anglo Women	43	55
Hispanic Men	54	46
Hispanic Women	72	26
Younger Anglo	40	59
Older Anglo	34	64
Younger Hispanic	59	41
Older Hispanic	66	30
Anglo College	42	56
Anglo Non College	32	67
Hispanic College	67	32
Hispanic Non College	58	40

Beto outperforms partisanship almost across the board

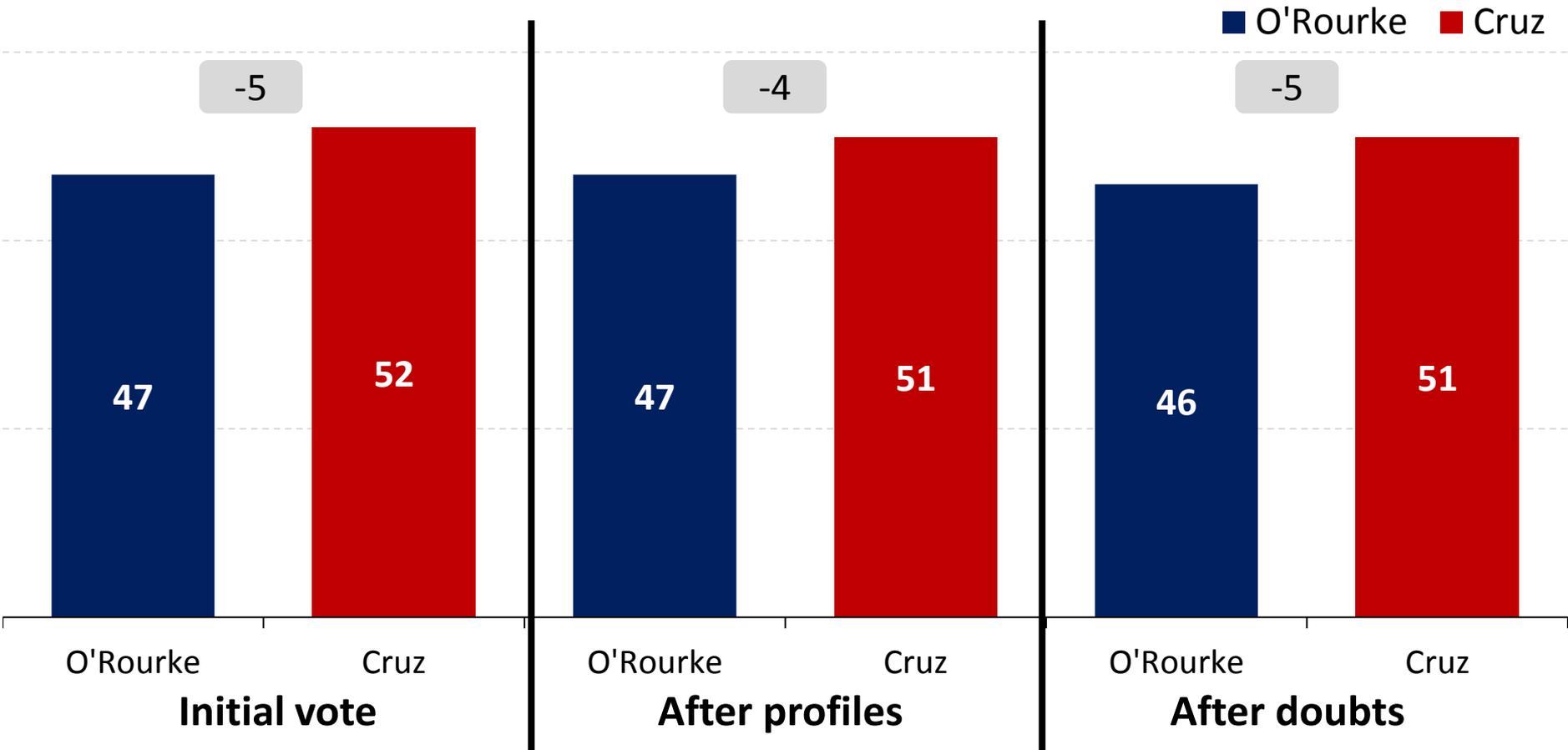
Initial Vote	Beto O'Rourke	Ted Cruz	Vote Net	3-1-3 Dem-Rep Net	Vote Margin Relative to 3-1-3
Total	47	52	-5	-10	+5
Independents	44	52	-8	-16	+8
Ind. Women	53	41	+12	-	+12
Ind. Men	36	62	-26	-31	+5
Austin	60	37	+23	+12	+11
Dallas	49	49	+0	+0	+0
Houston	50	47	+3	-4	+7
San Antonio	38	60	-22	-25	+3
Rest of State	38	60	-22	-29	+7
Anglo	36	62	-26	-33	+7
Hispanic	62	36	+26	+19	+6

Beto underperforms with non college Hispanic voters

Initial Vote	Beto O'Rourke	Ted Cruz	Vote Net	3-1-3 Dem-Rep Net	Vote Margin Relative to 3-1-3
Total	47	52	-5	-10	+5
Anglo Men	29	70	-41	-46	+5
Anglo Women	43	55	-12	-21	+9
Hispanic Men	54	46	+8	-3	+11
Hispanic Women	72	26	+46	+44	+2
Younger Anglo	40	59	-19	-28	+9
Older Anglo	34	64	-29	-35	+6
Younger Hispanic	59	41	+18	+10	+8
Older Hispanic	66	30	+36	+33	+3
Anglo College	42	56	-14	-24	+10
Anglo Non College	32	67	-35	-39	+4
Hispanic College	67	32	+35	+18	+17
Hispanic Non College	58	40	+18	+20	-2

Very little movement in the survey

Thinking about the election for U.S. Senate in November, if the election were held today, and the candidates were: Democrat Beto O'Rourke or Republican Ted Cruz, for whom would you vote?



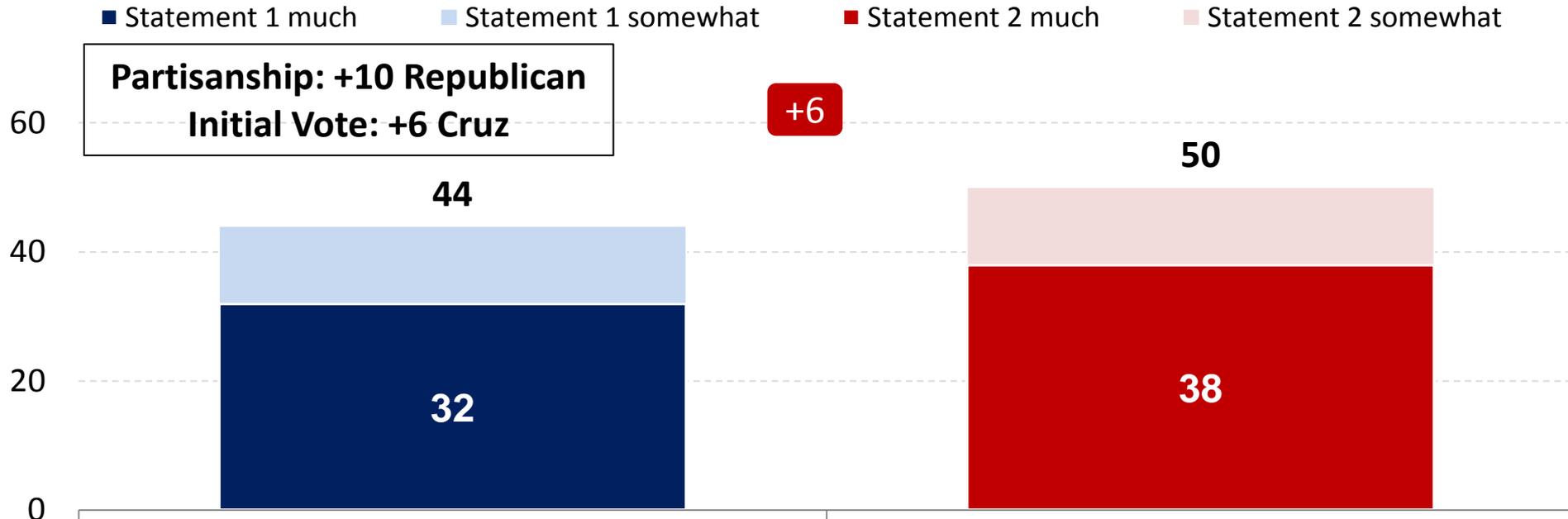
Beto support does grow with independent women, college women, and the Houston market

	Initial Vote			Profile Vote			Final Vote		
	Beto O'Rourke	Ted Cruz	Net	Beto O'Rourke	Ted Cruz	Net	Beto O'Rourke	Ted Cruz	Net
Total	47	52	-5	47	51	-4	46	51	-5
Independent Women	53	41	+12	52	39	+13	55	38	+17
Independent Men	36	62	-26	37	60	-23	34	64	-30
Austin	60	37	+23	62	37	+25	59	39	+20
Dallas	49	49	+0	48	49	-1	48	50	-2
Houston	50	47	-3	49	47	+2	51	44	+7
College Women	57	40	+17	59	39	+20	59	38	+21
Non College Women	51	45	+6	50	45	+5	50	45	+5

Cruz wins the immigration debate along partisanship

Beto O'Rourke believes immigration is a strength, not a weakness. He wants comprehensive reform which will allow immigrants to come to the U.S. legally. He strongly supports passing the DREAM Act to ensure that immigrants who were brought here as children can become citizens. O'Rourke says Ted Cruz's views are out of step with Texas. He wants to break up families, deport millions of law abiding people, and spend billions to build a wall that will not make us safer but instead will add to our national debt.

Ted Cruz believes we need to get tough on illegal immigration. He wants tougher border protections, and will take a tough stance on illegal immigrants who try to re-enter the country after deportation. Cruz supports building a border wall, funded by confiscated drug money. Cruz says Beto O'Rourke is soft on immigration, putting our safety at risk and costing Texas jobs. He supports giving illegal immigrants amnesty, free education, and would allow sanctuary cities to harbor illegal immigrants even after they break the law.



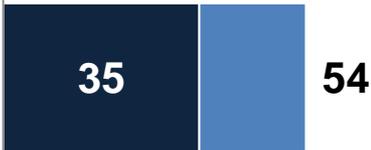
MESSAGES

Top tier of Beto's profile

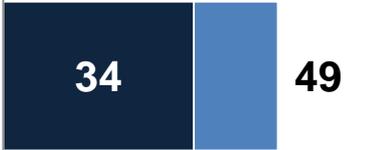
Beto O'Rourke is a three time Congressman and fourth generation Texan born and raised in El Paso, where he lives now with his wife and three children. Let me read you a few statements about Beto O'Rourke, the Democratic candidate for Senate. For each one, please tell me whether it makes you much more likely, somewhat more likely, a little more likely, no more likely, or less likely to vote for Beto O'Rourke.

■ Much more likely ■ Somewhat more likely

(VETERANS) While talking to veterans in his district, Beto learned that wait times for mental health appointments at the VA could take months. Beto believes our veterans should receive the care they've earned and deserve. He'll fight to ensure every veteran in Texas receives access to quality healthcare, timely resolutions to their disability claims, and sustainable housing



(PACS) Beto believes that corruption and money in politics is drowning out the voice of regular people because too many politicians are bought and paid for by special interests. That's why his campaign won't take a dime from corporations or special interests. In Congress, Beto introduced legislation to bar politicians from taking any money from PACs.



(TRANSPARENT) Instead of traveling the country to court donors and special interests, Beto is running a different kind of campaign. He spends his time talking to real people and he records and posts his campaign activities, unscripted, unedited, and without a political filter so anyone can see him, hear him, and follow what he is doing. Beto believes that public officials should be that, public, and his campaign is fully transparent so the everyday Texans he represents can hold him accountable.



(HC-SINGLE PAYER) Beto supports a single payer healthcare program, like Bernie Sanders' Medicare for All plan. He'll fight to protect coverage for Texans with pre-existing conditions, lower premium costs, and cap prescription drug costs for seniors.



(HC-MONEY) Beto supports universal healthcare access and coverage for all Texans. He'll fight to protect coverage for Texans with pre-existing conditions, lower premium costs, and cap prescription drug costs for seniors. Beto isn't taking a dime in campaign donations from giant healthcare companies or Big Pharma, so Texans will know he is only fighting for them.



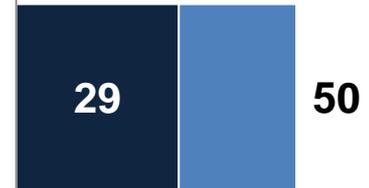
Second tier includes education and small business elements

■ Much more likely ■ Somewhat more likely

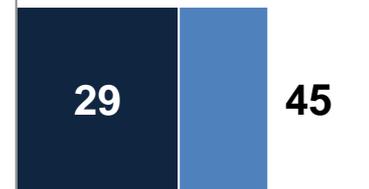
(LISTENING) Beto is running a different kind of campaign. Instead of traveling the country to court donors and special interests, Beto gets in his car, drives to a town, and talks to whoever is around. He listens -- even to those who disagree with him -- hears their concerns, and uses it to inform his work. Beto's been to all 254 counties in Texas, holding open town halls, to make sure no matter what you do or where you live, everyone has a Senator who is accountable and committed to working for them.



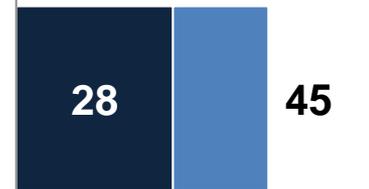
(TERM LIMITS) Beto says he will serve only two terms in the Senate because our public officials should serve the people of Texas, not special interests or the political establishment in Washington. He voted against Nancy Pelosi for leader and believes both parties need new leadership.



(SMALL BUSINESS) After graduating college, Beto moved back to his hometown to start a small technology company. El Paso wasn't the most likely place to start a tech company, but over the years the company grew and was able to provide high skill, high-wage jobs for local workers. Beto will work to create opportunity for young people who will not attend a four year college by increasing access to apprenticeships and career training.



(EDUCATION) Beto is fighting to improve our public education system. He will stand up to Betsy DeVos and other charter school advocates and he refuses to take tax dollars away from teachers or undermine our public education system through vouchers.



The broad reform agenda of PAC \$, Term Limits and Transparency is powerful for some key groups

Top Positives Among Key Groups:

Houston

- Veterans
- Transparent
- Term limits

Dallas

- Transparent
- Term limits
- Education

Hispanic

- Veterans
- PACs
- HC-Money
- Listening

Independent Women

- Term limits
- PACs
- Veterans
- HC-Money

Anglo Women

- PACs
- Veterans
- HC-Money

Hispanic Men

- Veterans
- PACs
- Transparent
- Term limits
- Listening

Hispanic College

- Transparent
- HC-Money
- Veterans

Beto is seen as a fresh face, who is honest, transparent, and cares about people

Now let me ask you something a little different. How would you describe Beto O'Rourke in your own words?

	%
POSITIVE	43
CHARACTER-PERSONAL	22
Honest/transparent	9
Fresh face	7
Hardworking	2
Approachable	2
Not Ted Cruz	2
Qualified/experienced	1
ADVOCACY	14
Cares about average people	10
Works for people instead of special interests	4

	%
VALUES	6
Liberal/progressive	4
Independent/moderate	1
ISSUES	2
Single payer/universal health care – positive	1
OTHER	8
General positive/would support Beto	6
NEGATIVE	18
Too liberal	11
Typical politician	2
Single payer/universal healthcare - negative	1
Supports Pelosi	1
General negative/won't support him	3

Select responses from the open end:

“He is focused and true to his words. He has legislative experience. He is more inclusive unlike Cruz. “

“He is willing to work hard to get what he wants for the people here. He has demonstrated his determination to get elected by visiting all 254 counties and speaking to people about both sides of issues because people like to be heard even though they don't agree with the politician. He is not easily discouraged by the odds. He is very sincere and honest.”

“He is energetic, future-looking, honest, and cares about the people of Texas. He cares about everyone, it doesn't matter what their background is or their political affiliation is. Let's just say he is a breath of fresh air.”

“I think he's real, genuine, and empathetic. I like how he's running his campaign, how he visit all the county in the state, and he holds the meetings in each county. He listens to the concerns of the people.”

“I think he is someone who believes what he says. He is coming in with his own beliefs and not special interests. “

“He seems authentic and interested in connecting with Texans in a way that was not done in so many years.”

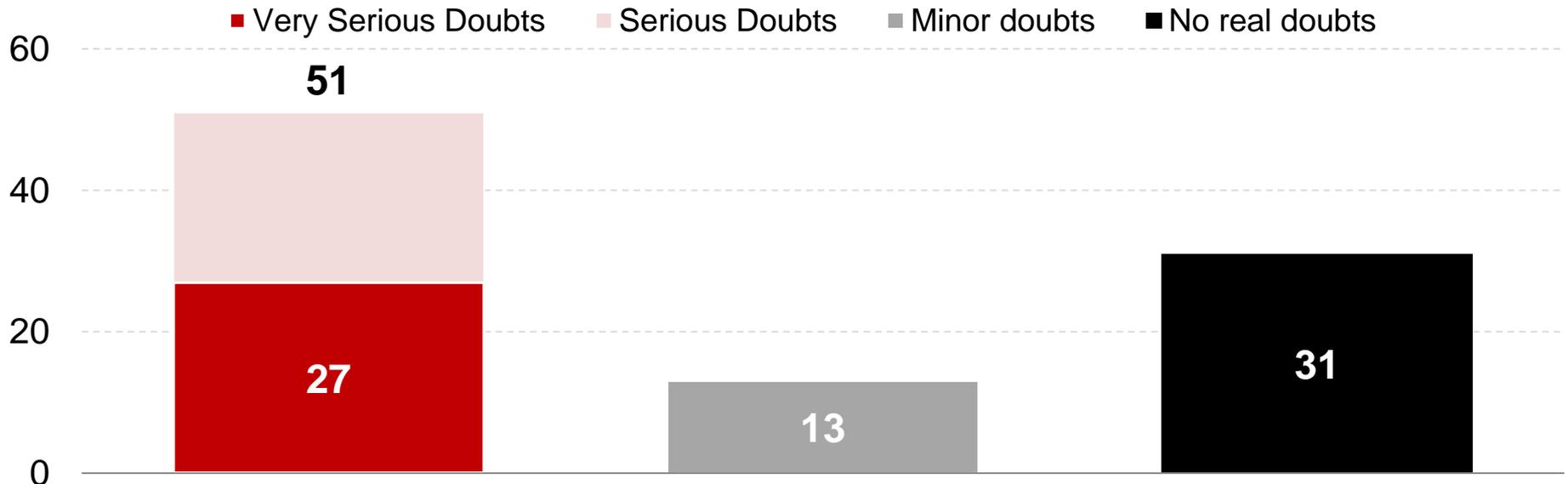
“He seems like someone who really likes to do something different in DC, with many politicians like Cruz and many other people there for a long time and currently nothing is changing in DC.”

“I think he is a straight shooter. “

Critique of Beto as a typical, liberal Democrat

Now I am going to read you another statement about Beto O'Rourke. Please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about supporting Beto O'Rourke for U.S. Senate.

Beto O'Rourke says he is different, but he sides with Washington liberals like Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren, and Nancy Pelosi at the expense of Texans. Beto votes with Pelosi 95 percent of the time and stands with her agenda by supporting gun control, abortion on demand, and he is in favor of sanctuary cities that threaten our safety and Texas jobs. As a result, many liberal Hollywood actors are giving large contributions to his campaign. Beto will join with the Democrats in Congress to raise taxes and increase government spending, adding trillions of dollars to the national debt that will be passed on to our children.

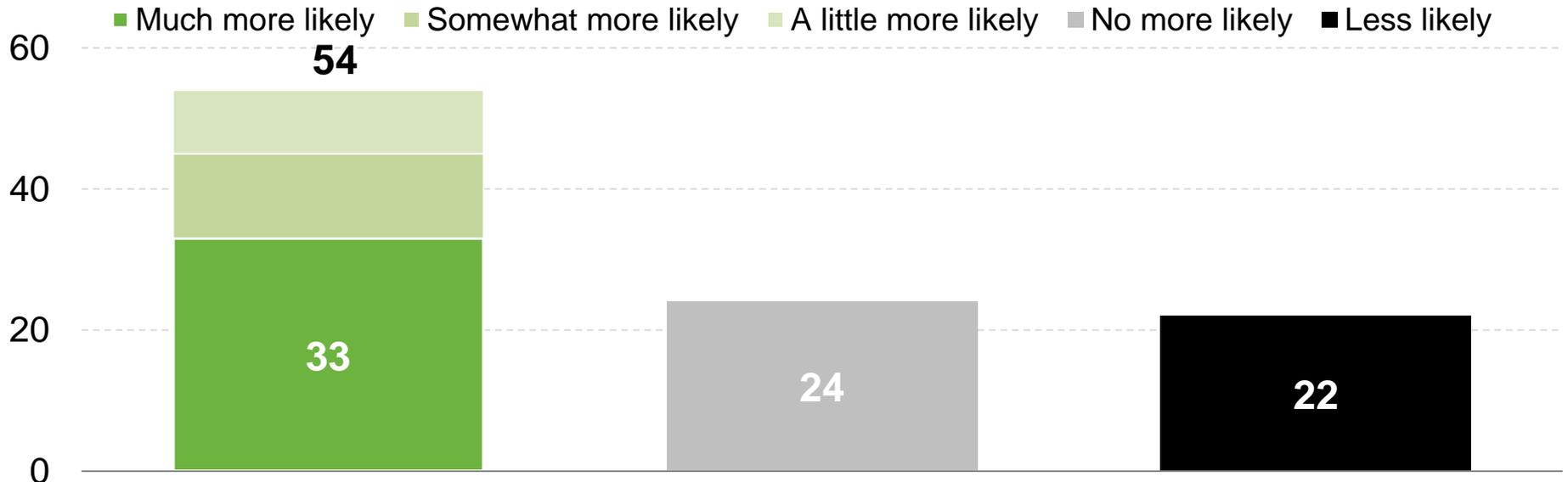


Voters respond positively to Cruz profile

Now let me read you a statement about Ted Cruz, the Republican for Senate. After the statement, please tell me whether it makes you much more likely, somewhat more likely, a little more likely, no more likely, or less likely to vote for Ted Cruz.

“Ted Cruz is a U.S. Senator and was raised in Houston, where he now lives with his wife and children. Ted is the product of the American dream, his father immigrated to Texas after surviving torture in a Cuban prison and his mother was the first in her family to graduate college and was among the first generation of women to work in computer programming.

Ted is not afraid to take on the establishment of both parties when they are out of step with conservative, Texas values. He has fought for smaller government, fiscal responsibility, and to protect our freedom. He helped pass tax reform that has given middle class families a tax cut and led to big companies hiring more workers, raising their wages, and giving their employees bonuses. He voted repeatedly to repeal Obamacare, which has led to skyrocketing premiums. Ted will continue to work to secure our border, eliminate illegal immigration, and to keep America safe.”



Cruz critiques are not very strong, rigid is the best

Now, I am going to read you some statements some people have made about Ted Cruz. After each one I read, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about supporting Ted Cruz for U.S Senate.

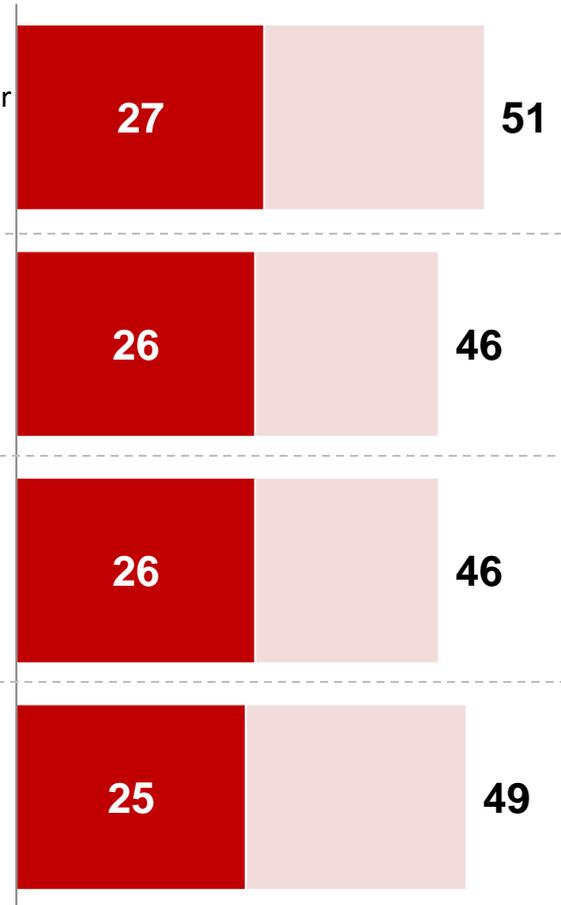
(RIGID) Cruz is so rigid in his view he refuses to compromise, even when it will help Texans. He believes in letting the free market operate on its own, so he voted for a health care bill that allows health insurance companies to raise premiums, put an age tax on older people and refused to cover people with pre-existing conditions. Cruz believes government should stay completely out of education, and as a result he won't give an inch and opposes funding for public schools that would help Texas students in every part of the state.

(PREZ) Cruz has spent more time running for President and building a national profile than doing the job for Texans. Cruz has one of the worst attendance records in the Senate. In 2016, Cruz was ranked the number 1 most absent senator, missing 32 percent of votes on the senate floor, and missed key Armed Services hearings including ones on critical homeland security matters.

(DEVOS) Cruz was the deciding vote to confirm Betsy DeVos as Secretary of Education, a wealthy Republican donor who advocated for charter schools across the country and has repeatedly sided with special interests and corporations over students. Cruz supports her plan to increase charter schools, which will take resources away from our teachers and undermine our public schools.

(HEALTHCARE) Cruz says he votes his principles, but what he calls principles are really actions that hurt Texans. He wants a full repeal of Obamacare and supported a healthcare bill that's a giveaway to his Big Money donors, the giant healthcare companies, and Big Pharma. The bill he voted for could deny 4.5 million Texans with pre-existing conditions of healthcare, raise premium costs, and put an age tax on seniors.

■ Very serious doubts ■ Serious doubts



Second tier Cruz critiques

Now, I am going to read you some statements some people have made about Ted Cruz. After each one I read, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about supporting Ted Cruz for U.S Senate.

■ Very serious doubts ■ Serious doubts

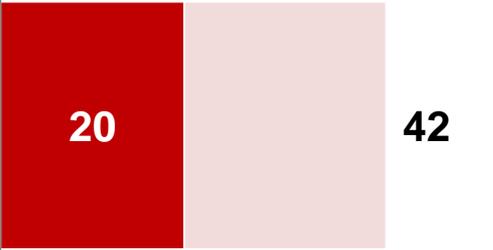
(INTERESTS) Cruz is bought and paid for by the special interests and is doing their bidding in Washington. He has championed a bill in the Senate to eliminate all limits on what the wealthy and special interests can give to politicians' campaigns. Since running for the Senate, Cruz has received over 2.2 million dollars from special interests and is working for them, not Texans.



(INTERESTS-NRA) Cruz is bought and paid for by the special interests, like the NRA and is doing their bidding in Washington. Cruz has received hundreds of thousands in campaign contributions from the NRA and the gun lobby, more than almost any other U.S. Senator, and has refused to support common sense measures like universal background checks.



(OBSTRUCTION) Cruz is consistently rated as one of the least effective members of the Senate because he refuses to work with others to get things done. He stops judges from being appointed and shut down the federal government, costing taxpayers billions of dollars, to boost his national fame. Texas would be better served with a Senator who will work constructively with members of both parties to get things done that make a difference for Texans.



Cruz as too rigid critique resonates the most– reform and health care are possible avenues, but not defending ACA

Total Doubts – Cruz	Total	Austin	Dallas	Houston	Independent	Ind Women
Cruz is too rigid.	51	73	47	51	52	63
Cruz supported a bill that gave handouts to big Pharma.	49	51	53	54	49	57
Cruz spends more time running for President.	46	80	40	43	47	56
Cruz is bought and paid for by special interests like the NRA.	46	53	47	51	44	50
Cruz is bought and paid for by special interests.	46	72	37	45	44	62

Reform message strong with Hispanic voters, Hispanic men also respond positively to Rigid

Total Doubts – Cruz	Total	Anglo	Anglo men	Anglo women	Hispanic	Hispanic men	Hispanic women
Cruz is too rigid.	51	47	36	56	48	61	37
Cruz supported a bill that gave handouts to big Pharma.	49	42	34	49	53	52	53
Cruz spends more time running for President.	46	39	27	50	57	58	55
Cruz is bought and paid for by special interests like the NRA.	46	40	34	45	52	55	48
Cruz is bought and paid for by special interests.	46	40	29	50	58	56	60

Summary of Findings

The following are suggestions for the campaign moving forward that we believe fit well with Beto's genuineness and commitment to service based on the findings from this survey.

To be honest, Beto's narrative and message are compelling and clearly we do not suggest changing much, if anything, of what the campaign is doing.

Strategy and Message

The following are elements in what we believe is a compelling narrative that fits Beto and contrasts well with Cruz:

- Unscripted and genuine. No political-speak, what you see is what you get.
- Transparent, open, accessible. He is out there, people can see him, he is accessible and has no secrets.
- Listens to anyone—those who agree with him, disagree with him, or simply have something on their mind.
- Works to solve problems for people. Pragmatic, not ideological, and advocates for people, not his own ideology.

An Agenda that Fits the Narrative

We want to caution that this survey did not explore every issue in detail, so we are somewhat limited in what we can advise and would defer to the campaign on issues not tested in the survey. But a few concepts emerge as compelling that fit well within the narrative described on the last slide:

- **Not taking special interest/PAC money and committing to serve only two terms in the Senate.** This kind of reform agenda is a powerful contrast to Washington politicians and Cruz. This message resonates with virtually every major voting bloc and allows Beto to move beyond the base into the middle of the electorate. Our view is that this agenda can be a defining part of his core message.
- **Care for veterans.** Beto's work for veterans conveys a strong commitment to those who served while also showing a readiness to shake things up and change things in Washington. You cannot go too far in challenging the establishment and VA on behalf of veterans to help them get the care they need, when they need it.

An Agenda that Fits the Narrative (con't)

- **Health care access for people while standing up the special interests.** Health care is clearly a huge issue. The frame that Beto is working to expand access and make sure those with pre-existing conditions can get coverage while not taking a dime from big insurers and Rx companies is powerful. We know of the deep distrust of Rx companies from all of our research, and making this issue a central part of Beto's message makes sense to us. And clearly the recent actions by the administration on pre-existing conditions provides more of a contrast on the issue.
- **Economic opportunity through small business and education.** While this message did not rise to the top in responses as tested, it is a strong concept for connecting with people, particularly beyond the core base. The opportunity to succeed—with small business growth, college, or an opportunity to learn a skill or trade for those not going to a four year college—conveys the sort of non-ideological advocate, problem-solver frame that fits Beto.

The Cruz Contrast

We believe there is a very logical contrast with Cruz that fits both candidates, and the following are suggestions on how to define Cruz in a way that is credible:

- He is rigid, unyielding in a way that fails to solve problems and, in some cases, works against the interests of Texans. Cruz is viewed as having strong principles, which can be a positive for him, but the flip side is that people view him as rigid and unyielding—my way or the highway. This is the opposite of Beto—a guy who listens, is out there hearing from people, and looks to solve problems rather than stick to a rigid, ideological agenda. This, in our view, is the core frame on Cruz.
- Talk about his linkage to special interests at the expense of Texans. Again, the credible frame on this is to simply make them the same—Cruz's rigid views are completely in line with the special interests that run Washington, and examples will be readily available (X millions in corporate PAC money, Rx companies, Wall street, etc).
- Demonstrate how Cruz's rigid, uncompromising actions hurt Texans. More exploration may be needed to completely flush this out. The survey included health care and education funding in what was the strongest critique tested, but there may well be more examples, particularly on a localized level.

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