



TO: Interested Parties
FROM: Brock McCleary, President
Date: January 27, 2016
RE: Key Poll Findings – Pennsylvania Democratic Primary Survey

Electoral Environment

A majority of likely Democratic primary voters in Pennsylvania say things in Pennsylvania “have gotten off on the wrong track” (51%). Just a third say things are headed in the “right direction.”

Gubernatorial Images: Governor Tom Wolf continues to enjoy a very strong image among Democratic primary voters (78%/20%). His image is even stronger than that of former Governor Ed Rendell (70%/25%), although Rendell still posts an impressive 70% favorability. Governor Wolf’s image is softer among self-identified Moderates (34% very favorable, 40% somewhat) and stronger among Liberals (Somewhat Liberal: 50% very, 31% somewhat; Very Liberal: 60% very, 26% somewhat). His unfavorable number peaks in the Northern Tier region of the state (67%/31%).

Kathleen Kane Image: Kathleen Kane’s image is a net negative among primary voters (43% favorable/49% unfavorable), with 17% reported as very favorable and 22% as very unfavorable. Men have a more unfavorable view of Kane (42%/53%) than women (43%/45%).

Senator Bob Casey Image: Senator Casey reaches 74% favorability among likely Democratic primary voters (19% unfavorable). A 37% plurality has a *very* favorable opinion of the Senator. His image is strong across all regions of the state (Northern Tier: 70%/26%, Phil./SE: 71%/19%, Pitt./SW: 75%/20%, Scranton/LV: 80%/18%, South Central: 79%/16%), with notable intensity of favorability in Scranton/Lehigh Valley (51% *very* favorable).

Socialism: Likely Democratic primary voters in Pennsylvania have a narrowly positive image of Socialism (38%/35%). A third of voters say they have a *somewhat* favorable opinion of this political movement. Very Liberals (44%) and younger voters (23%) are the most likely to have a *very* favorable opinion of Socialism.

Capitalism: A majority of likely Democratic primary voters have a favorable opinion of Capitalism (57%/29%) with a plurality of voters having a *somewhat* favorable opinion (40%). Moderates are more likely than Liberals to have a *very* favorable view of Capitalism (23%, Somewhat Lib: 13%, Very Lib.: 13%).

Tattoos: [For some reason](#), we asked voters for their opinion on body art, or tattoos. Tattoos are a disappointing net negative among Democratic primary voters (25%/46%) with the intensity gap on the side of those with an unfavorable opinion of tattoos (20% very unfavorable, 9% very favorable). However, a majority of younger voters have a favorable opinion of tattoos (50%/34%).

The Race for President

Images: More than three-in-four likely Pennsylvania Democratic primary voters (77%) have a favorable opinion of Hillary Clinton (21% unfavorable). Bernie Sanders also has a very strong image among likely primary voters (68%/26%). However, Clinton's intensity of favorability is stronger than Sanders' (Clinton: 45% *very* favorable, Sanders: 29% *very* favorable). Clinton's image is strongest in the two urban centers of the state (Phil./SE: 83%/14%, Pitt./SW: 81%/17%). A majority of female Democratic primary voters have a *very* favorable opinion of Clinton (54%, 83% favorable/15% unfavorable) compared to 34% of men (70%/27%). Clinton's image intensity is stronger among older voters than younger (18-39: 31% *very* favorable, 40-54: 37%, 55-65: 47%, 66+: 56%). In contrast to Clinton, Sanders' image is comparably strong across all regions of the state (Northern Tier: 70%/29%, Phil./SE: 70%/24%, Pitt./SW: 66%/27%, Scranton/LV: 66%/26%, South Central: 67%/28%) and his favorability is more intense among younger voters than older voters (18-39: 38% *very* favorable, 40-54: 31%, 55-65: 31%, 66+: 21%).

Ballot: Hillary Clinton has a solid majority lead on the primary ballot for President (56%), followed by Bernie Sanders (28%). Martin O'Malley, former Governor of neighboring Maryland, registers at just 4%. Clinton earns a majority of the vote among Moderates (54-24% Sanders) and Somewhat Liberal voters (59-28%) while Sanders narrows her lead to 4% among Very Liberal voters (49-45%). Reflecting their image advantages, Clinton's leads are strongest in the Philadelphia/Southeast (64-25%) and Pittsburgh/Southwest (55-29%) regions of the state, while Sanders narrows her margin somewhat in the other three regions (Northern Tier: 46-30%, Scranton/LV: 50-25%, South Central: 47-34%). Clinton earns two-thirds of the vote among women (66-18%) but leads by just 3% among men (43-40%). Sanders leads among 18-39 year olds (40-41%) but trails among the remaining age groups (40-54: 50-31%, 55-65: 57-28%, 66+: 66-19%). Voters who say they have a *very* favorable opinion of Socialism choose Sanders (35-58%) while those with a *very* favorable opinion of Capitalism choose Clinton (56-16%).

The Race for Senate

Images: Joe Sestak has the strongest image of the three candidates in the Democratic primary field for U.S. Senate (54%/20%), reaching majority favorability. However, much of his favorability is soft, in the *somewhat* favorable category (35%). He has the highest name identification of the candidates, followed by Katie McGinty, who also posts a solid favorable image (49%/19%). Mayor John Fetterman has a net positive image (27%/20%), but faces a name identification disadvantage (53% not sure). Joe Sestak's image is strongest in the Philadelphia/Southeast (59%/22%) and Scranton/Lehigh Valley (61%/17%) areas of the state. His image demonstrates more strength among older voters (18-39: 39%/21%, 40-54: 52%/18%, 55-65: 58%/22%, 66+: 60%/16%). Sestak's image is also notably strong among Very Liberal voters (68%/17%, Somewhat Liberal: 55%/20%). By contrast, McGinty's image is stronger among Somewhat Liberals (58%/11%, Very: 45%/19%). Her image is weakest in her home region of Philadelphia (40%/22%) and stronger in the other regions of the state (Northern Tier: 53%/13%, Pitt/SW: 51%/16%, Scranton/LV: 56%/15%, South Central: 53%/20%). McGinty's image is actually a bit stronger among men (53%/19%) than among women (45%/17%). John Fetterman's image improves substantially among Very Liberals (34%/10%) voters in the Pittsburgh/Southwest region (40%/21%) and 18-39 year olds (26%/14%).

Ballot: Joe Sestak (33%) leads the Democratic primary race for Senate, followed closely by Katie McGinty (28%) and more distantly by John Fetterman (11%). More than a quarter of likely voters remain undecided at this stage (28%). With the addition of Fetterman, Sestak's lead over McGinty has narrowed since our [September 2015 poll](#) (Sestak 40%, McGinty 30%, Undecided 29%). McGinty's image strength among Somewhat Liberals translates to a lead for her among this group (32-30% Sestak) as well as among Moderates (32-28%). Sestak leads among Very Liberals (40-28% McGinty). Geographically, Sestak converts his image advantage in the Philadelphia/Southeast region to a lead on the ballot (36-23% McGinty) and also leads in the Northern Tier (36-27%). Sestak and McGinty are tied in Pittsburgh/Southwest (27-27%) and Scranton/Lehigh Valley (33-33%) regions while McGinty has a lead in the South Central region (39-29% Sestak).

Fetterman Wildcard: John Fetterman's wild card status is re-enforced on the ballot, where he demonstrates strength among some key and interesting demographics. His share of the vote peaks among Very Liberals (14%), in his current home region of Pittsburgh/Southwest (19%) and among younger voters (18-39: 16%). Among people with a very favorable opinion of tattoos, he pulls into second place behind Sestak (29-35% Sestak).

Most of John Fetterman (46% definitely, 36% probably) and Joe Sestak's (47% definitely, 35% probably) voters say they are definitely going to vote for their candidate, while McGinty's support demonstrates less intensity (40% definitely, 44% probably).

Biographies: All three candidate biographies tested make solid majorities of Democratic primary voters more likely to vote for the candidates. McGinty (68% more likely, 17% less likely) and Sestak's (67%/16%) bios register almost identically for likely Democratic primary voters evaluating their past bona fides (both 33% much more likely). Mayor Fetterman's bio, while making a similar portion of the electorate more likely to vote for him (64%/19%), has a slightly softer impact (26% much more, 38% somewhat more). The test of Fetterman's biography demonstrates his potential, at the very least, to compete in the Pittsburgh/Southwest (38% much more likely) and South Central (39% much more likely) regions of the state. His bio also resonates strongly with younger Democratic voters (18-39: 36% much more likely).

Attorney General Ballot

Allegheny County District Attorney Stephen Zappala (20%) and Montgomery County Commissioner Josh Shapiro (19%) are essentially tied, in what has signs of becoming an East vs. West match-up, with several candidates dropping out of the race in the past week (Morganelli 12%). The regional breaks tell the story on this ballot. Although Josh Shapiro earns a solid plurality (33%) of the vote in the Philadelphia/Southeast region, Stephen Zappala demonstrates dominance in the Pittsburgh/Southwest region (63%). John Morganelli and Josh Shapiro tie in the Northern Tier region (17%) and in the South Central area (12% Morganelli, 13% Shapiro). Zappala holds an advantage among Moderates (25%-14% Shapiro) while Shapiro and Zappala tie among Somewhat Liberals (20%) and Shapiro leads among Very Liberals (23-19% Zappala).

With Kathleen Kane: Despite it all, when incumbent Kathleen Kane (31%) is included on the Democratic primary ballot for Attorney General, she holds a double-digit lead over her closest challenger, Allegheny County District Attorney Stephen Zappala (18%). Montgomery County Commissioner Josh Shapiro (13%) and Northampton County District Attorney John Morganelli (9%) register third and fourth, respectively. Kane still holds strong advantages in the Scranton/Lehigh Valley (40-23% Morganelli), South Central (42-11% Zappala) and Northern Tier (39-13% Zappala) regions. Zappala earns a majority of the vote in the Pittsburgh/Southwest region (51%) while Shapiro trails Kane by 2% in the Philadelphia/Southeast region (26-24%). Kane leads among both women (30-19% Zappala) and men (32-17% Zappala).

NOTE: In the interest of disclosure, Harper Polling conducts survey research for Senator John Rafferty, the Republican nominee for Attorney General.

Threats to the United States

Almost two-thirds of likely Democratic primary voters identify "homegrown right-wing extremists" (63%) as a bigger threat to the United States than "radical Islamic terrorists" (29%). The likelihood of choosing "homegrown right-wing extremists" increases as ideology becomes more Liberal (Moderate: 40%/52%, Somewhat Liberal: 20%/71%, Very Liberal: 15%/84%).

Government Censorship

Democratic primary voters in Pennsylvania decidedly agree that “freedom of speech protects all statements, regardless of whether they are offensive to others” (78%) rather than that “in some cases, the government should be able to prevent people from saying things that are offensive to others” (15%).

Pennsylvania’s Atlantic Coastline

A 52% majority of likely Democratic primary voters favor “increasing funding to protect Pennsylvania’s Atlantic coastline” (16% oppose, 33% not sure).

METHODOLOGY: The sample size for the survey is 640 likely Democratic primary voters in Pennsylvania and the margin of error is +/-3.81%. Responses were gathered through land line interviews conducted using Interactive Voice Response (IVR). The survey was commissioned, paid for and conducted by Harper Polling on January 22-23, 2016. The total percentages for responses may not equal 100% due to rounding.