



To: Interested Parties
From: Stephen Clermont, Head of Polling, Change Research
Date: September 17, 2024
Re: Missouri Polling Results

This memo describes results from a Change Research poll of 1,237 voters in Missouri, conducted from September 11th through 13th, 2024. In summary, Lucas Kunce is within striking distance of unpopular Josh Hawley and closes the gap when voters hear more about Hawley and his record. A majority of voters support Constitutional Amendment 3, which is reshaping the electorate this year and energizing voters, particularly young women. The following summarizes the key findings of the poll:

- **Initially, Josh Hawley leads Lucas Kunce by only 5 points - 46% to 41%.** Another 4% are scattered among minor candidates, and 9% say they are unsure who they will vote for or are contemplating leaving this race blank. Donald Trump leads Kamala Harris by nearly double the margin (50% to 41%) that Hawley leads Kunce by.
- **A majority (54%) support Amendment 3, the constitutional amendment to protect abortion rights and remove Missouri abortion and say they will vote Yes.** Only 38% say they will vote No. Underscoring the fluid turnout dynamic this year, 74% of women under 35 say they will support Amendment 3. Kunce leads by 21 (50%-29%) with these voters. *Among those who say having Amendment 3 on the ballot makes them more enthusiastic to vote this year, Kunce leads 55% to 34%.*
- **Hawley's favorability is underwater.** Just 40% rate him favorably, while 43% rate him unfavorably. Twice as many Independents rate him unfavorably (45%) than favorably (23%). Among Republicans, Hawley's favorable rating is 16 points lower than Donald Trump's (74% Hawley, 90% Trump). More voters rate Kunce favorably (33%) than unfavorably (21%).
- **Voters have an extremely negative opinion of Project 2025,** the agenda written and promoted by Josh Hawley and his far-right allies to reflect the policies both would impose on Missouri and the country if elected. Just 5% view it favorably, while 58% hold a negative opinion of it. This includes 55% of Independents, 31% of Republicans, 64% of white women, 79% of Black voters, and 70% of women under 35.
- **When voters learn more about both candidates, both positive and negative, the race is tied at 46%.** Kunce leads by 12 points with Independents who don't lean towards a party (38% to 26%), by 5 points with white women (48% to 43%), by 38 points with women under 35 (64% to 26%), by 8 points with men under 35 (47% to 39%), and by 28 points with voters more enthusiastic about voting because of Amendment 3 (61% to 33%). Voters respond most negatively to Hawley's extreme record on reproductive choice, his desire to control people's lives, using taxpayer money for self-promotion, his ties to Project 2025, and his calling people lazy while voting against policies that create jobs and increase wages. *Hawley loses 22% of those who initially support him and Amendment 3 when they learn about his opposition to the amendment and to reproductive freedom.*

Democrats have limited opportunities nationally to flip a Republican Senate seat this year and must take full advantage of the ones available. With control of the Senate at a knife's edge, Lucas Kunce has the opportunity to make this race competitive with the new dynamic that Amendment

3 provides and the resources to compete evenly with Hawley and the DC GOP money machine.

APPENDIX: METHODOLOGY

Change Research surveyed 1,237 registered voters in the state of Missouri from September 11-13, 2024.

We used the following sources to recruit respondents:

- *targeted advertisements on Facebook*
- *targeted advertisements on Instagram*
- *text messages sent, via the echo19 platform, to cell phone numbers listed on the voter file for individuals who qualified for the survey's sample universe, based on their voter file data*

Regardless of which of these sources a respondent came from, they were directed to a survey hosted on SurveyMonkey's website.

Ads placed on social media targeted all adults living in Missouri. Those who indicated that they were not registered to vote were terminated. As the survey fielded, Change Research used dynamic online sampling: adjusting ad budgets, lowering budgets for ads targeting groups that were overrepresented and raising budgets for ads targeting groups that were underrepresented, so that the final sample was roughly representative of the population across different groups. The survey was conducted in English.

The survey was conducted on behalf of Show Me Research, and conducted online by Change Research. Post-stratification was performed on age, gender, education, marital status, race/ethnicity, and 2020 presidential vote. Weighting parameters were based on the demographic composition of all registered voters, obtained from the voter file. That is, if a given age bracket or gender group represented x% of all registered voters on the voter file, then that same group would be weighted to x% in this survey." 2020 presidential results were based on numbers released by the Missouri Secretary of State.

The modeled margin of error for this survey is 3.1%, which uses effective sample sizes** that adjust for the design effect of weighting. The design effect for this survey is 1.24*

** We adopt The Pew Research Center's convention for the term "modeled margin of error"(1) (mMOE) to indicate that our surveys are not simple random samples in the pure sense, similar to any survey that has either non-response bias or for which the general population was not invited at random. A common, if imperfect, convention for reporting survey results is to use a single, survey-level mMOE based on a normal approximation. This is a poor approximation for proportion estimates close to 0 or 1. However, it is a useful communication tool in many settings and is reasonable in places where the proportion of interest is close to 50%. We report this normal approximation for our surveys assuming a proportion estimate of 50%.*

*** The effective sample size adjusts for the weighting applied to respondents, and is calculated using Kish's approximation (2).*

(1)

<https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/2018/01/26/for-weighting-online-opt-in-samples-what-matters-most/>

(2) Kish, Leslie. Survey Sampling, 1965.

For more information, contact Ben Greenfield at ben@changeresearch.com.

REPORTED QUESTIONS

How favorable are your feelings about each of the following? If you haven't heard of them, please indicate it. [Options: Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Neutral | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | Never heard of them]

- Donald Trump
- Josh Hawley
- Lucas Kunce
- Project 2025

If the November election for President were held today, who would you vote for? [RANDOMIZE]

- Kamala Harris, the Democrat
- Donald Trump, the Republican
- Jill Stein, the Green Party
- Chase Oliver, the Libertarian
- Not sure

If the November election for U.S. Senate were held today, who would you vote for?

- Josh Hawley, the Republican
- Lucas Kunce, the Democrat
- Jared Young, the Better Party
- Nathan Kline, the Green Party
- W.C. Young, the Libertarian
- Not sure

(If undecided) If you had to choose, who would you vote for?

- Josh Hawley, the Republican
- Lucas Kunce, the Democrat
- Jared Young, the Better Party
- Nathan Kline, the Green Party
- W.C. Young, the Libertarian
- Not sure
- Wouldn't vote

In addition to candidates for office, there will be constitutional amendments on the ballot. Here is one of them:

Amendment 3

Do you want to amend the Missouri Constitution to: establish a right to make decisions about reproductive health care, including abortion and contraceptives, and to remove Missouri's ban on abortion?

If the November election for Amendment 3 were held today, how would you vote?

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

(If undecided) If you had to choose, how would you vote?

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

Does the amendment protecting abortion rights being on the ballot make you:

- Much more enthusiastic to vote this year
- Somewhat more enthusiastic to vote this year
- Somewhat less enthusiastic to vote this year
- Much less enthusiastic to vote this year
- No more or less enthusiastic to vote this year

Next, please read some information about the candidates for U.S Senate

- **Lucas Kunce** is a 13-year Marine veteran who was born and raised in Jefferson City, Missouri. After his service in Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Pentagon, Lucas is now fighting back against the wealthy corporations that have devastated our communities, stripping Missouri for parts, killing jobs and buying up our land, while our politicians have sat back and done nothing. He will fight for all working families here in Missouri and has made it his mission to go after corporate price gouging, end Missouri's abortion ban, and create a fair immigration process that makes the border work.
- As Senator, **Josh Hawley** has earned a reputation for taking on the big and the powerful to protect Missouri workers and families. He has stood against anyone who would threaten the wellbeing of Missourians at every level – as a constitutional lawyer, as Missouri's Attorney General, and now in Washington. Josh fought the Washington overreach threatening our farms and family businesses. He took on the big opioid manufacturers and he cracked down on human trafficking in Missouri, and took on Google to protect your privacy. He will fight to protect our religious liberty from powerful special interest groups, to keep Big Tech companies from abusing their power, and to prevent foreign interests from hurting American workers.

After hearing more about the two leading candidates, if the November election for U.S. Senate were held today, who would you vote for?

- Josh Hawley, the Republican
- Lucas Kunce, the Democrat
- Jared Young, the Better Party
- Nathan Kline, the Green Party
- W.C. Young, the Libertarian
- Not sure

(If undecided) If you had to choose, who would you vote for?

- Josh Hawley, the Republican
- Lucas Kunce, the Democrat
- Jared Young, the Better Party
- Nathan Kline, the Green Party
- W.C. Young, the Libertarian
- Not sure
- Wouldn't vote

The following are statements made by opponents of the candidates for Senate. First are some statements about Senator Josh Hawley. For each one, please indicate where they raise serious doubts about voting for him.

[Very serious doubts | Serious doubts | Minor doubts | No real doubts]

- Josh Hawley is too extreme on abortion and wants the government to control what women can do with their bodies. He says he supports "any restriction" on abortion and has never understood how it was ever legal. Hawley applauded the Supreme Court decision to overturn Roe v. Wade which led to extreme abortion bans across the country including Missouri that don't include protections for victims of rape or incest. And Hawley's wife is one of the most prominent anti-choice lawyers in America, arguing cases in court trying to ban IVF and even contraception.
- Josh Hawley has made life harder for working men and women. Josh Hawley wrote a book where he complains that unemployed men in Missouri are lazy and aren't trying enough to get ahead, but in the Senate he has one of the worst voting records for workers, voting for anti worker judges and against job creating infrastructure bills and other policies that would raise incomes and create jobs.
- As Missouri Attorney General, Josh Hawley broke the law to promote his own political ambitions and stuck Missouri taxpayers with the bill. A Missouri Judge ordered the state to pay more than \$240,00 in fines after finding that Hawley's office "knowingly and purposefully" violated the law by hiding communications between his official staff and political consultants when he was planning his run for US Senate.
- Josh Hawley is obsessed with controlling our lives. He wants to end no fault, divorces, trapping people in broken and abusive marriages. He's against protections for pregnant workers. He wants to restrict IVF and birth control. Josh Hawley's abortion ban won't let any Missourian get an abortion even in cases of rape and incest.
- Josh Hawley has close ties with the organization that wrote 'Project 2025,' a blueprint for Republicans to implement if they seize complete control of Washington DC. It not only calls for a ban on abortion and birth control, it would allow employers to stop paying workers overtime, raise the cost of prescription drugs, cut Social Security benefits, and cut corporate income taxes by \$500 billion and make them the lowest they have been in 80 years.

(Ask to Yes 3/Hawley voters) Here is one final statement supporters of Lucas Kunce and Amendment 3 are saying:

"We all deserve the freedom to make our own decisions over our bodies and our lives. This November, we can protect our reproductive freedom by voting Yes on Amendment 3. Lucas Kunce agrees with the people of Missouri who believe that decisions about abortion should stay between people and their doctors, not unqualified politicians. But MAGA Republican Josh Hawley opposes Amendment 3 and supports the Project 2025 agenda, which plans to let politicians interfere in our reproductive healthcare by monitoring people's pregnancies, banning medication abortion and IVF, and restricting access to birth control. We must vote Yes on Amendment 3 and for Lucas Kunce because we have a responsibility to all the women in our lives to make sure they can make decisions about their own bodies and lives."

How persuasive do you find this statement?

- Very persuasive
- Somewhat persuasive
- Not too persuasive
- Not persuasive at all

The following are statements made by opponents of Lucas Kunce. For each one, please indicate where they raise serious doubts about voting for him.

[Very serious doubts | Serious doubts | Minor doubts | No real doubts]

- Lucas Kunce keeps running for office and keeps losing because of his weird radical left ideas. He is against building a wall on the border with Mexico. He supports “a path to citizenship” for illegal aliens. He'd give them all kinds of benefits at taxpayer expense. Kunce even says we should be encouraging more Chinese students to stay in the US.
- 65% of Missourians drive trucks, but weird radical left wing wannabe politician, Lucas Kunce would ban them and take them off the road. Kunce’s “Green New Deal” manifesto would outlaw gas and diesel pickup trucks. It's nuts.

One last time, if the November election for U.S. Senate were held today, who would you vote for?

- Josh Hawley, the Republican
- Lucas Kunce, the Democrat
- Jared Young, the Better Party
- Nathan Kline, the Green Party
- W.C. Young, the Libertarian
- Not sure

(If undecided) If you had to choose, who would you vote for?

- Josh Hawley, the Republican
- Lucas Kunce, the Democrat
- Jared Young, the Better Party
- Nathan Kline, the Green Party
- W.C. Young, the Libertarian
- Not sure
- Wouldn't vote