

Toward a new American majority and 2018 wave

Report from RAE+ Web Panel

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The *Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund's* ongoing web-panel of persuasion and turnout targets conducted by Democracy Corps provides progressive leaders and allies with credible tools to turn 2018 into a disruptive, wave election.¹ WVVAF is developing these tools because it is determined to build a new American majority by winning much deeper support in working America, above all with working women. That is the dominant identity and reality for African American and Hispanic, millennial, unmarried and white working class women who today face unique challenges. For instance, the majority is unmarried, making them the most financially and socially pressed voters in our country.

The stakes could not be higher. Each day, President Donald Trump and the Republican Congress seek to destroy the country's social protections and to empower the very richest. The GOP health care bill is not merely the repeal of the Affordable Care Act: it ends the government guarantee of health care for even the poorest. The trickle-down tax cuts at the center of the GOP's health care and budget policies would be even larger than Ronald Reagan's. That is why, for the RAE+, progressives must aim to win control of the House of Representatives, the Senate and many state houses.

Wave elections come when one party is fully consolidated, reacting with intensity and turning out disproportionately; when the other party is divided and demoralized; and when independents react against that party's overreach. The potential for such conditions is already strongly evident in this first wave of research:

- The Democratic house margin of 7-points is very close to what's needed for control, but likely needs to reach 10 points.

¹ This is the first in a series of three waves of 1,000 national registered voter phone surveys with accompanying 4,000 registered voter web-surveys among a panel of minorities, millennials, unmarried women and white non-college educated women (the RAE+). The national phone survey of 1,000 voter-file matched registered voters with 65 percent of respondents reached on cell phones was conducted May 21-June 5, 2017. The voter-file matched RAE+ panel of 4,000 registered voters was conducted online May 31-June 13, 2017.



- Democrats and key parts of the Democratic base – African Americans, Hispanics, unmarried women and millennials are intensely hostile to Trump and are supporting Democrats for Congress with impressive margins and certainty.
- Independents are deeply opposed to the GOP health care bills and Trump and break heavily for Democrats in the congressional ballot after supporting Trump and Republicans in past years.
- Republicans are not supporting Trump or their candidates with the same level of intensity and 20 percent of RAE+ Trump voters think he is out of touch with working with people.
- Critically, battling against health care with the strongest arguments and for an economy that works for the middle class, with clarity about our values, widens the gap on intention to vote and intensity of support between those voting for the Democrat and those voting for the Republican.

Maximizing support and participation requires understanding their lives and values and incorporating that into WVWVAF's programs and the work of all progressives. To achieve that, WVWVAF has fielded the first of three waves of national phone surveys among 1,000 registered voters – and designed to achieve full participation of more rural and white working class communities – with accompanying 4,000 registered voter web-survey among a panel of minorities, millennials, unmarried women and white non-college educated women (the RAE+) to be re-interviewed two more times this year. Conducting the RAE+ web panel simultaneously with the national phone survey provides a point of comparison for weighting that enables us to minimize the cultural biases in web surveys. The large sample enables us to conduct message experiments, including those that test the effectiveness of incorporating values language, and to learn more about the psychological stresses and cultural perspectives that impact voters' judgment and behavior and to identify targets for persuasion and turnout. Conducting future web-surveys with the same participants enables us to concretely identify who is shifting, on what metrics and with what potential over the course of the year.

Voters are paying close attention to Trump, Ryan and McConnell's radical policies. That has already impacted the preferences of the off-year electorate, but major shifts in the composition of the midterm electorate and further consolidation are possible if progressives levy their most powerful attacks on the GOP health care bill, articulate their shared values, and finally, deliver a strong economic message. Here is what makes the biggest difference.

With Republicans cutting fundamental protections provided by the Affordable Care Act and Medicaid, voters respond strongest to an attack that mentions the CBO's findings on pre-existing conditions, that says, "more people will go without medical treatment because of costs and some will die," and makes reference to the shared value for human life:



LIFE [+ VALUES] *Their new plan allows insurance companies in some states to push people with a history of cancer or a pregnancy into a high risk pool and to substantially increase prices for people with pre-existing conditions. That means more people will go without medical treatment because of costs and some will die. [This plan is unacceptable to anyone who respects and cherishes human life.]*

But progressives will not realize their potential with the RAE+ unless they articulate an economic message. March focus groups for WVWVAF revealed just how vacuous is the Democratic brand when it comes to the economy and probing revealed no positive associations with a strong economy or jobs at a time when so many are struggling. A precondition for maximizing support and turnout is progressives getting heard on the economy. Specifically, voters need to hear this indictment of an economy that works for the elites and pledge to put the middle class first again:

FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS, NOT ELITES [+ VALUES]: This country has to work for everyone again, not just for the elites and the richest. The game is rigged against the middle class. The big companies, lobbyists and big donors get to write the rules and politicians work for them, not us. As a start, we should ban secret campaign donations and ask the richest to pay their fair share of taxes. *[It's time we start keeping our promises to those who do the right thing and treat people equally.]* This will put us on a path to an America that can grow the middle class again.

That economic offer is further strengthened by an attack on Donald Trump for failing to live up to his campaign promise to cut middle class taxes and instead proposing a plan where half the cuts go to the richest 1 percent alone, including a \$4 billion break for the Trump family.

With trickle-down and austerity on the defensive, the Republicans' small government, low tax and economic nationalist messages prove dramatically weaker than progressive messages. The battle of ideas produces marked shifts towards the Democrats in terms of intensity of vote choice and in participation. That is how you get to the wave that disrupts the Trump-Republican assault on government and reassertion of trickle-down economics.

Democratic and progressive base over-performance and intensity

It is clear 2018 will not be just any off-year. Democrats already have a 10-point advantage in the generic congressional ballot (50 to 40) among all registered voters nationally and a 7-point lead with likely voters nationally. That still needs to be a few points stronger to compete for the House, but Democrats start with high levels of support among key parts of the broad progressive base – above all African Americans, Hispanics, unmarried women and millennials – comparable to their vote in 2012.

Generic Congressional Ballot							
LIKELY VOTERS	African Americans	Hispanics	Unmarried Women	White Unmarried Women	Millennials	White Millennials	White Working Class Women
Dem	80	61	58	58	52	47	35
Rep	5	19	25	35	28	33	48
Net	+75	+42	+33	+13	+24	+14	+13



Unmarried women. Among likely voters, unmarried women prefer the Democratic congressional candidate by 33-points. This advantage is produced by impressive consolidation of minority unmarried women (+73), but also a solid 13-point lead with white unmarried women. Unmarried women young and old are breaking for the Democrats, +50 and +19 respectively, with even the younger white unmarried women preferring the Democrat by 37 points.² Democrats are winning white unmarried women with a college degree by two-to-one and they are even ahead with white working class unmarried women (56 to 29 percent and 44 to 38 percent, respectively).

What makes these margins even more impressive is the intensity of support for the Democratic candidate among likely voters: unmarried women's support is more strong than weak by two-to-one while the strength of support for the Republican is at parity. Indeed, strong certainty in their choice to vote for the Democratic candidate outpaces weak support across race, age and educational divides.

High and mostly intense disapproval of Donald Trump also unifies all unmarried women with 72 percent of unmarried women disapproving of Donald Trump's job performance, 54 percent strongly. Even a 54-percent majority of older white unmarried women disapprove of Trump, 41 percent with intensity.

African Americans. African Americans universally disapprove of Trump's job performance, three-in-four with intensity, and only 4 percent say they would vote for the Republican for Congress. Among likely voters, the support for the Democratic candidate reaches 80 percent, and 7-in-10 say they are very certain in their choice. While African Americans typically understate their vote for Democrats in surveys this far away from an election, they are already just shy of the margins they delivered in past midterms (+79 in 2014, +80 in 2010).

African Americans also report the highest enthusiasm for the upcoming election – with two-thirds saying they are 'almost certain' to vote in 2018 and 48 percent of likely African American voters rating their interest in the election a "10" on a 1-to-10 scale, more than any other group.

Hispanics. Hispanic likely voters are less consolidated – with one-in-five supporting the Republican congressional candidate and a solid 26 percent approving of Donald Trump – but their margin for Democrats is closer to the 44-point margin they delivered in 2012 than the 22-point and 26-point margins they gave in 2010 and 2014. We are also encouraged by the 40 percent of who are strongly supporting the Democratic candidate and the two-thirds who strongly disapprove of Donald Trump.

Millennials. With millennials giving Democrats a 24-point lead in the congressional ballot, they are already exceeding the margins they achieved in 2012 (+23). No doubt this is a reflection of the intense disapproval for Donald Trump among over half of millennials, with two-thirds disapproving in total. The strongest performance for Democrats comes from millennial unmarried women (+45) and minority millennials (+49).

² Older white unmarried women favor the Republican candidate by 4 points, but there is still opportunity to make gains with them, as we will see later.



White millennials – who voted for Donald Trump by 2-points in 2016 and have not been carried by Democrats since 2008 – are now supporting the Democratic candidate by 14 points. White millennial women are much stronger than men in their preference for Democrats (+41), but Democrats are even leading among millennial men likely voters by 6 points.

But will they deliver and vote?

While African Americans are highly motivated to vote and paying attention to the election, there is reason to be concerned about turnout among other key parts of the progressive base. Hispanic voters' reported intention of voting in 2018 trails whites by 2 points (59 percent 'almost certain' to vote) and they trail African American voters by 5 points in giving the highest rating to their interest in the election of a 1-to-10 scale.

Millennials are the biggest worry. There is no reason to believe they will vote at higher frequencies in this midterm. Only 52 percent of millennials registered to vote say they are almost certain to vote in 2018. That is the lowest intention of voting reported by any part of the RAE+, driven down by minority millennials (only 49 percent almost certain), working class millennials (49 percent), and millennial women (51 percent). They also state their interest in the election in 2018 at much lower levels, with only one-quarter of likely voters having the highest possible interest, driven down by white and white non-college millennials.

Reaching into the white working class: the women

But it is not enough for Democrats to improve margins and turnout among the RAE. In order to put up the margins needed to win back control of the House and state legislatures, Democrats need to run much stronger in working-class areas. Coincidentally, one of WVVAF's strategic goals has been and continues to be expanding its persuasion targets among and beyond the RAE to include the white working class women who form the majority of the white working class in this country.

Democrats trail Republicans by 10 points with white working class women and by 13 with likely voters. That represents a significant improvement for Democrats over 2018. These women reported supporting Donald Trump over Hillary Clinton in 2016 by twice that margin (21 points). These voters are still not fond of Clinton, whose personal net favorability over 40 points, but Trump may be changing the odds in favor of the Democrats: 50 percent disapprove of his job performance.

Independents have broken hard against Trump and the GOP

Another necessary ingredient for an off-year victory is a decisive swing in the vote among independents. In 2014, independents voted for Republicans by 12 points and by 19 points in 2010. But with independents so hostile to Trump and the GOP agenda, Democrats are poised to replicate what the Republicans achieved in recent off-years. Despite reporting an 8-point margin for



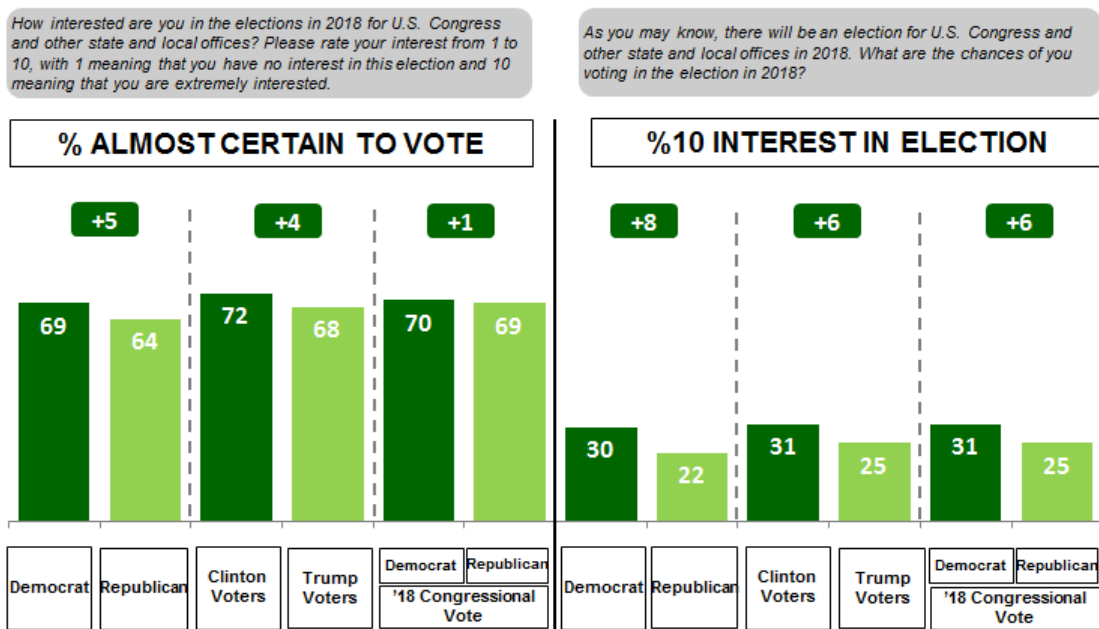
Trump in 2016, independent registered voters nationally are giving the Democrats a 7-point margin in the named ballot and 5-point lead among likely voters.

There is also real intensity behind their feelings about what is happening in the country. About 46 percent strongly disapprove of Trump and the Republican health care bill. Seven-in-ten say the country is off on the wrong track.

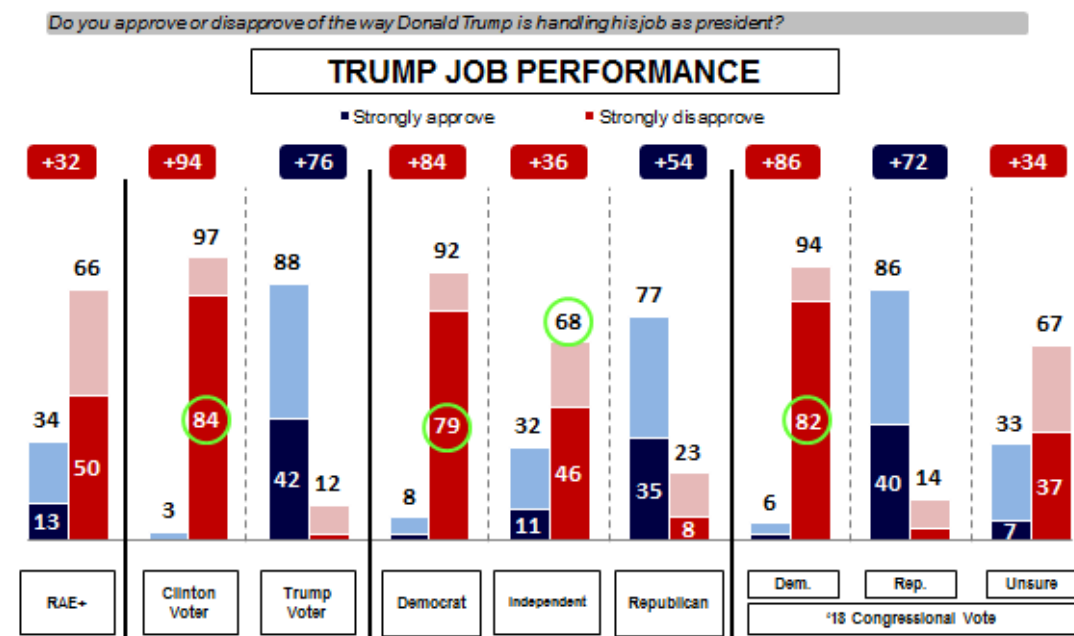
One of the most important findings is the fact that independents' interest in the election and intention to vote in 2018 now exceeds that of partisans. We think that is unprecedented. They score higher than Democrats and Republicans in their interest in the election on a 1-to-10 scale, but even more on being 'almost certain' to vote: 73 percent of independents say this compared to 70 percent of Republicans and 66 percent of Democrats across registered voters nationally.

The GOP base and Trump voters

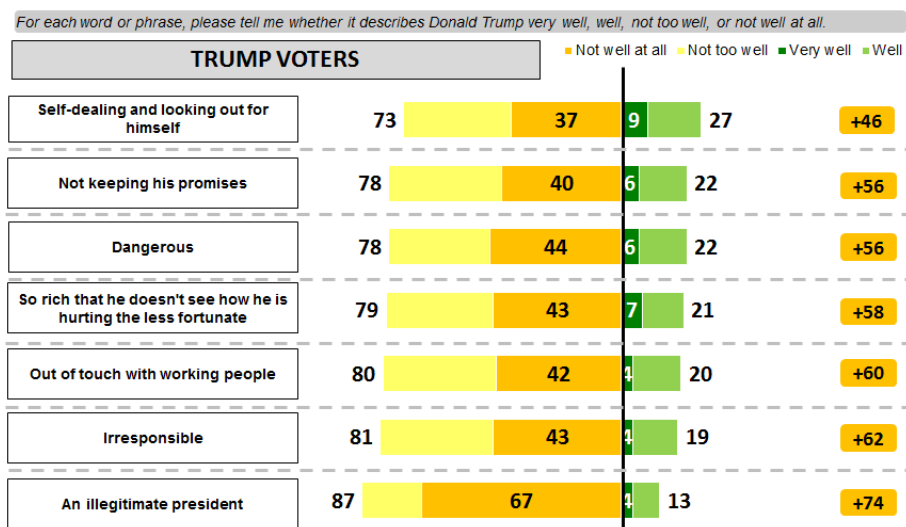
The other key ingredient for a wave election is a demoralized and fractured opposition. We already see signs that Republicans are becoming demoralized as their disillusionment with Trump and Republicans in Congress grows. To start, Democrats, Clinton voters and those supporting Democrat for Congress are much more interested in the 2018 election than their Republican counterparts, and more certain to vote.



Clinton voters and Democrats show much greater intensity on key political measures. They almost universally disapprove of Trump, and almost entirely intensely so. Though Donald Trump's voters remain behind him – with 88 percent approving of his job performance among the RAE+ and 91 percent approving across all Trump voters nationally – they do so with markedly little intensity.



There is evidence that more will pull back from Republicans and even Trump in time. That starts with the weaker consolidation in the congressional vote: while 87 percent of Clinton voters nationally are backing the Democratic candidates, only 83 percent of Trump voters back the congressional Republican.³ Among Trump voters in the RAE+, one-in-five now accept he is “out of touch” and more than one-in-four that he is “self-dealing and looking out for himself.”



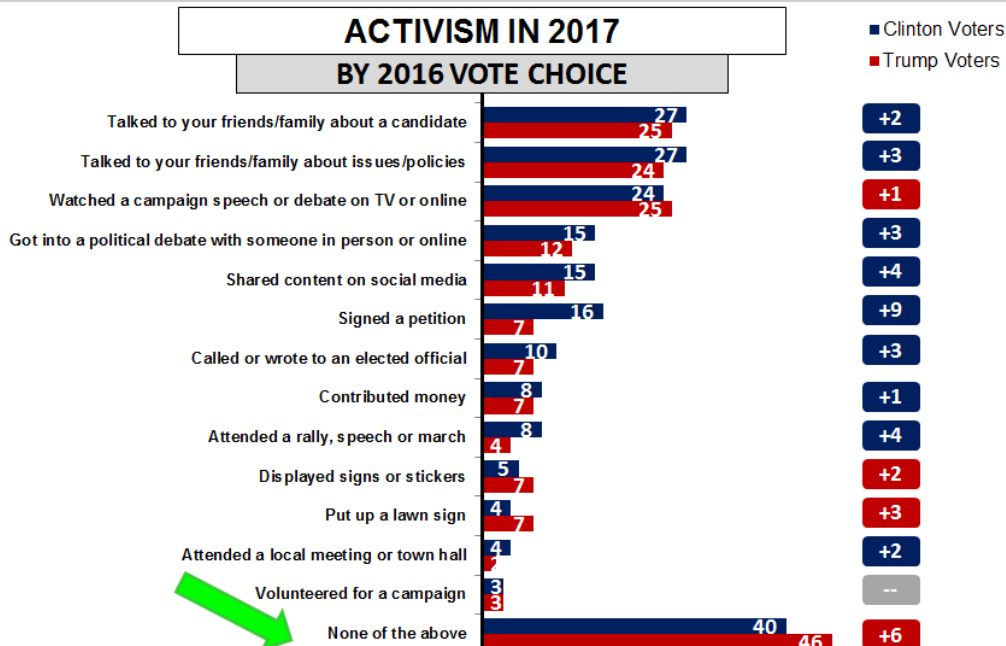
This intensity imbalance is showing up in new forms of political activity. Asked which political activities they had taken part in 2017 *that they had not done before*, 60 percent of Clinton voters reported taking a new action this year compared to just 54 percent of Trump voters. While more

³ Within the RAE+, just 84 percent of Clinton voters are voting for the Democrat and 76 percent of Trump voters for the Republican.



Trump voters reported displaying lawn signs, stickers or memorabilia to indicate their support for their candidate, Clinton voters were much more likely to report signing a petition (+9), attending a march or rally, shared content on social media, or writing to an elected official.

Please select all of the activities that you did THIS YEAR that you had not really done before.

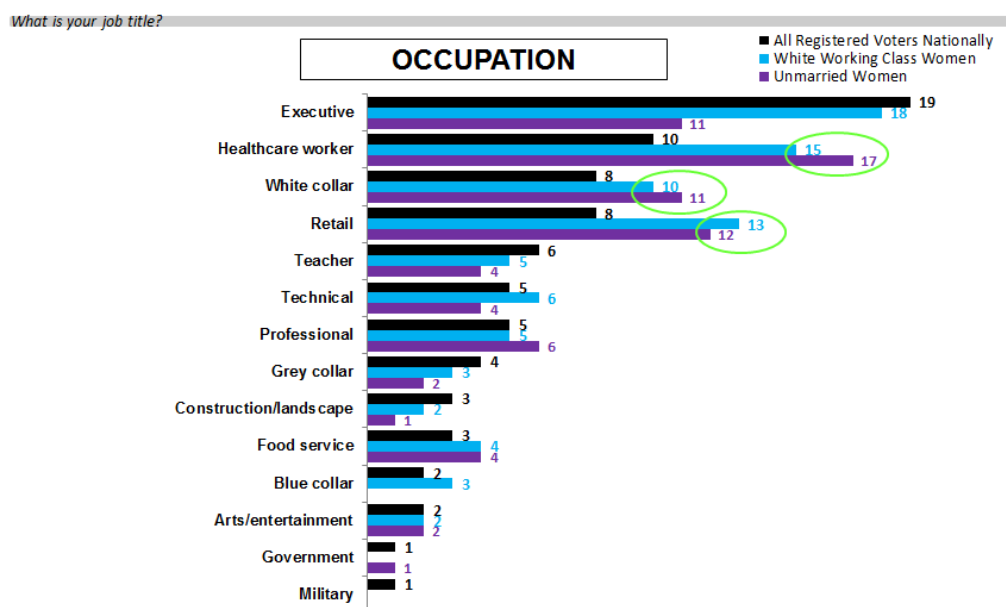


Working class life and values

There is deep discontent among the RAE+, and working women specifically, as nearly three-quarters say this country is heading in the wrong direction. In order to understand their challenges and the change they are looking to see, we need to put ourselves in their shoes. That is why one of the goals of this research is to reveal what guides voters in their day-to-day lives – from the nature of their occupational demands and financial and family commitments to their ethical judgements about how people ought to behave.

When pundits focus on the working class, they tend to talk about men in blue collar and production jobs. By looking more closely at their occupations, we see the working-class economy is very different and it is clear how women form a majority of the white working class. That is why a 55 percent majority of women in the RAE+ identify with the moniker “working woman” and believe that when people use that term, they are talking about “people like me.” They disproportionately occupy the low-wage female-dominated white collar, retail and healthcare jobs and almost one-in-four make less than the median wage and say they would not be able to handle an emergency \$500 expense.

Half think of themselves as middle class, but life is tough for the middle class. Half say the American Dream “once held true but does not anymore.” Half of unmarried women and millennials say they or a member of the family has faced depression in the last year.



Reaching these voters also requires us to respect their values.⁴ Understanding the ethical principles they think should guide behavior may explain the judgements people make – personally, socially and politically. Below is the rank order of “the principles that ought to guide how people act” that was tested in these two surveys.

TOP VALUES	All Voters Nationally	RAE+	African Americans	Hispanics	Unmarried Women	Millennials	White Working Class Women
Obeing rules and abiding by the law	53	63	63	57	61	55	69
Treating everyone equally	59	62	82	68	65	63	52
Respecting the rights & feelings of others	55	58	72	62	62	61	49
Keeping your promises and fulfilling your duties	46	54	42	54	55	57	58
Loving, supporting & defending your country	54	41	27	38	40	39	52
Being self-reliant and not burdening others	30	21	13	21	17	24	21

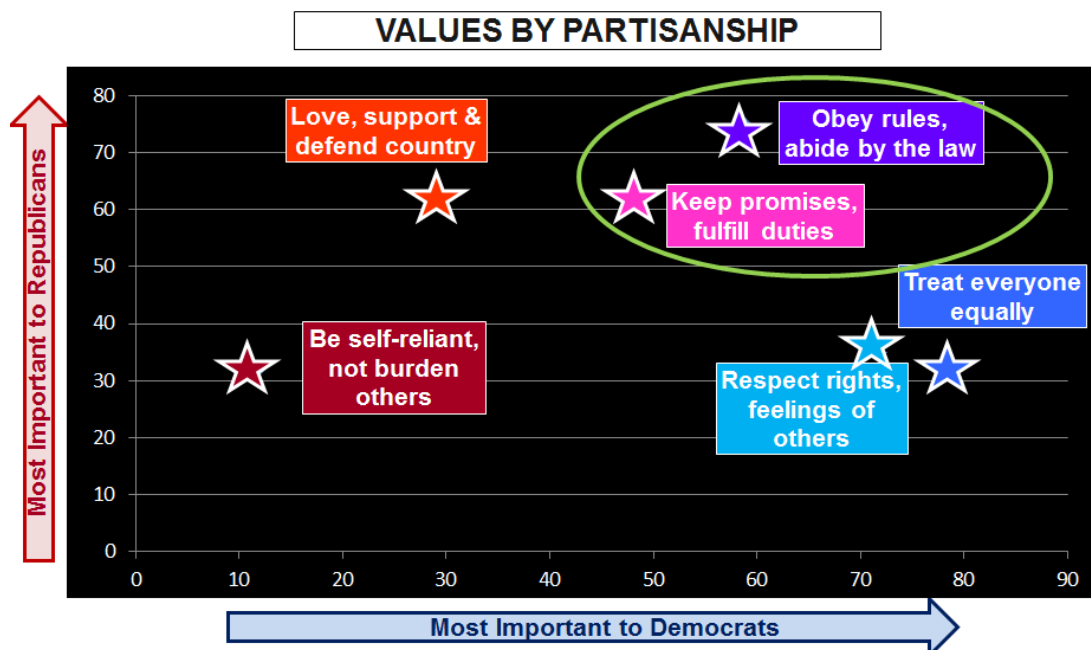
Registered voters nationally prioritize treating everyone equally, respecting the rights and feelings of others, and loving supporting and defending your country. Across the RAE+, it was most important to obey rules and abide by the law, treating everyone equally, and respect the rights and feelings of others. African Americans, Hispanics, millennials and unmarried women put the most emphasis on treating everyone equally and respecting the rights and feelings of others. White working class women as well as minorities and unmarried women think it is very im-

⁴ This test was informed by Robb Willer’s psychology research at Stanford.



portant to obey rules and abide by the law. Millennials and white working class women also emphasize keeping one's promises and fulfilling one's duties.

Though it may seem like Democrats and Republicans live in different universes, when it comes to our most basic principles, both parties place a high premium on obeying rules and abiding by the law and keeping promises and fulfilling duties. Democrats in the RAE+ are also more likely to approve of actions that treat everyone equally and respecting the rights and feelings of others, while RAE+ Republicans are more likely to respect obedience to rules and laws and patriotism.



As you will see later, understanding what these voters believe ought to guide behavior and incorporating it into messaging can be critical to reaching persuasion targets – specifically among hard to reach persuasion targets like older white women and in more rural areas.

Battling against the Trump and Ryan assault on Medicaid and health care

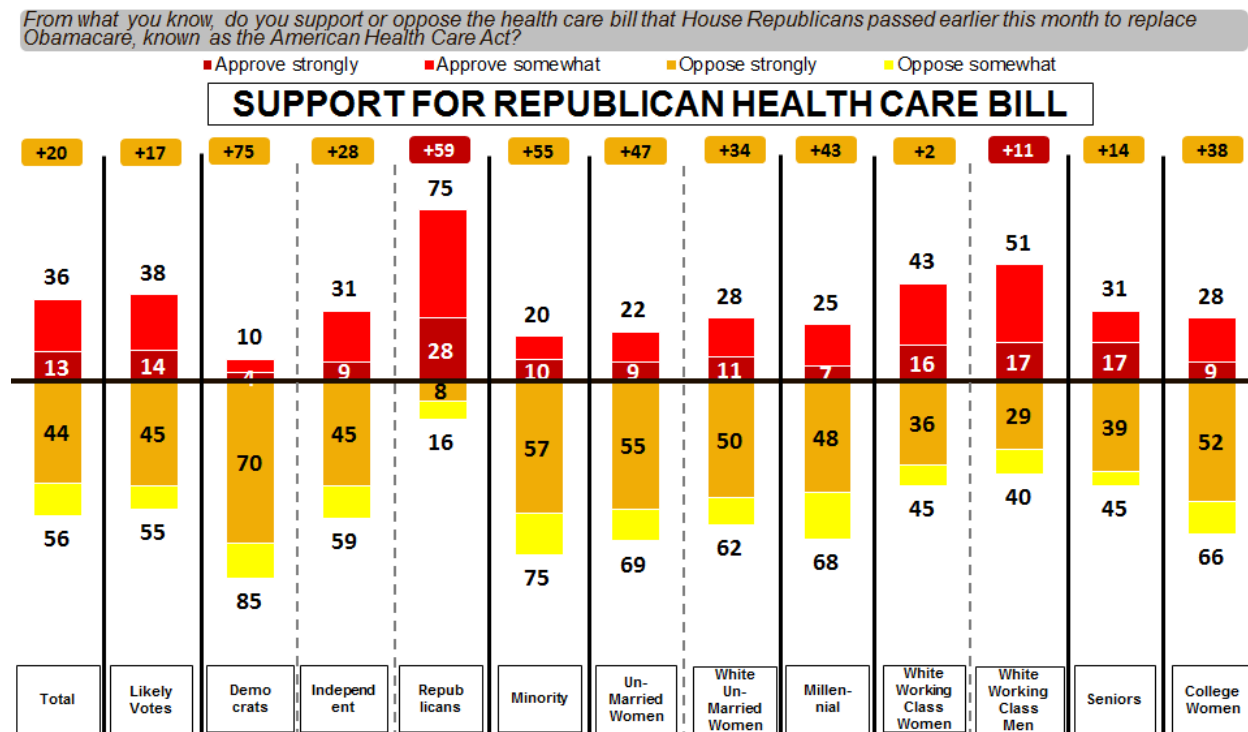
With Trump and the Republican Congress prioritizing overturning the Affordable Care Act and fundamentally changing the way older people, children and poor get health care, health care becomes the defining battle of this election year.

The public hates what the Republicans plan in the House and Senate: almost half of the country opposing it “strongly.” But with the right information and lines of attack, Democrats can broaden and deepen opposition to the GOP replacement plan bill even further and lay the groundwork for an ‘Obamacare off-year election – like the one the GOP achieved in 2010 and 2014.

After three elections campaigning on replacing Obamacare, Republicans are not all that enthusiastic about the alternative, while three-quarters of Democrats are strongly opposed. It is opposed



by three-quarters of minorities and two-thirds of unmarried women, college educated women and millennials. Even seniors and white working class women don't back this bill as just as many oppose as support it.



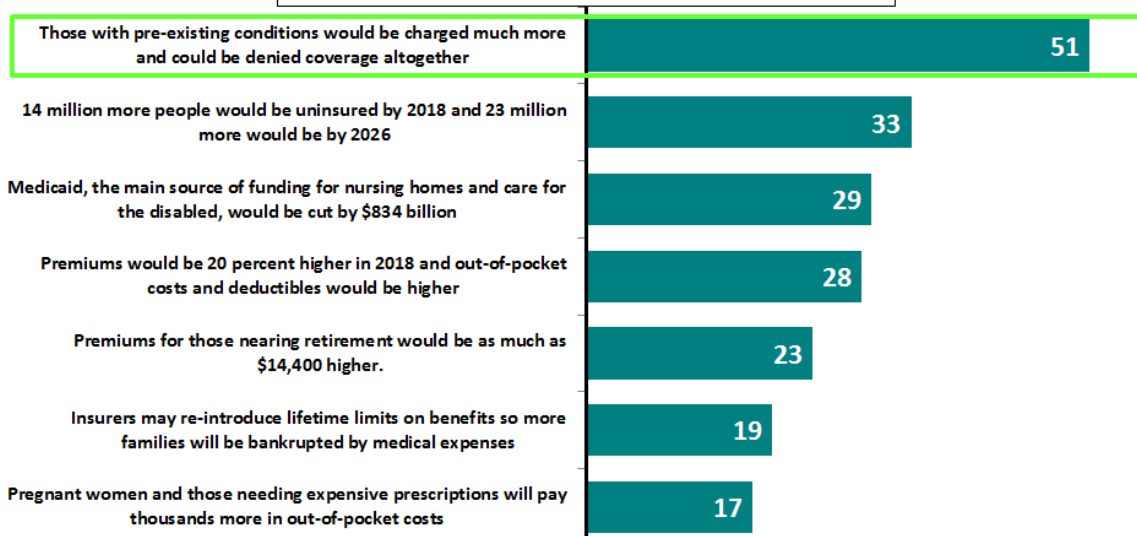
What do voters dislike about the proposed replacement and what lines of attack have the greatest potential impact? For that, we tested the reactions of a 4,000 registered voter sample of African Americans, Hispanics, unmarried women, millennials and white working class women. **Here are our three pieces of advice for building a backlash against the GOP health care bill:**

1. **Talk about the parts of the bill that most concern voters:** Just providing the CBO facts about the Republican replacement bill was enough to shift opposition to the bill 10 points further. How the bill will allow those with pre-existing conditions to be charged much more and to be denied coverage was the single most concerning feature of the bill by far.



These are some of the effects of the House Republican's bill to replace Obamacare, according to analysis by the non-partisan Congressional Budget Office. Which TWO raise the most serious doubts in your mind about the Republican health care bill?

CBO REPORT FINDINGS

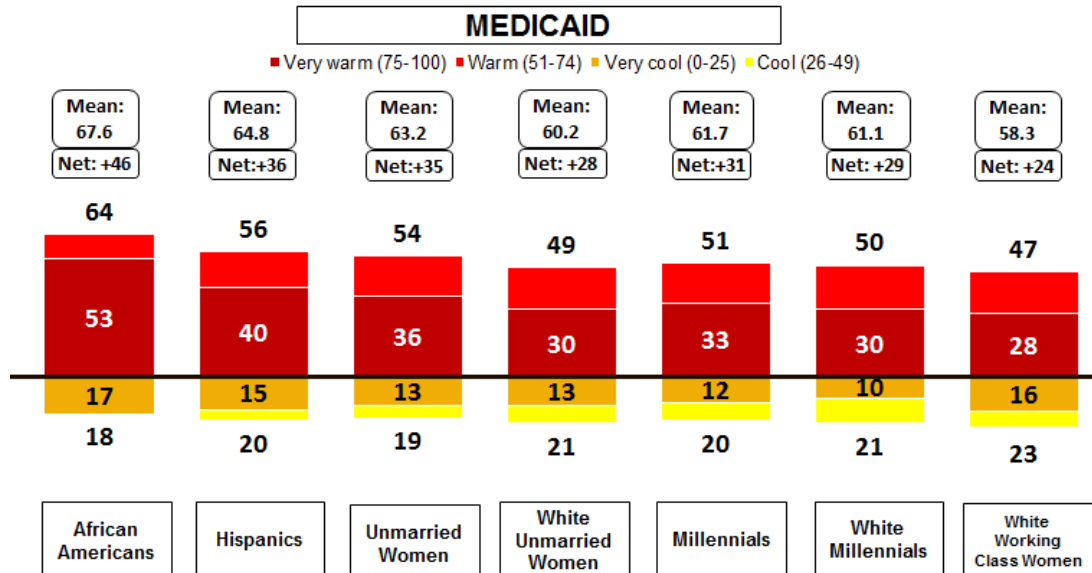


Among those voters who shift to oppose the Republican bill, their top concerns are the loss of coverage for those with pre-existing conditions (a top concern of 52 percent of those who shifted to oppose the AHCA), the higher premiums and out-of-pockets costs (top concern of 33 percent), and particularly Medicaid cuts that would hurt the elderly and disabled (31 percent).

It is important to note that the country feels very favorably about Medicaid as a program; indeed, only 21 percent hold unfavorable views. Even white working class women view it favorably by a two-to-one ratio. When informed that the Trump health care bill and budget would cut more than \$1.6 billion from Medicaid, half of the panel respondents say this would be harmful to society or to their family directly.



Please rate your feelings toward some people and organizations.



2. **Message attacks on the health care bill that make reference to our values.** Message attacks produce as big a shift (+11 points more opposed), but *only* when they are combined with a statement of the values at issue (see the sentences in purple below). We tested a number of attacks, all of them raising “very serious” doubts with half who heard them. The strongest attack is elemental – it will push people with pre-existing conditions to go without treatment and “some will die” – and that is unacceptable to “anyone who respects and cherishes human life.”

These are some reasons why opponents of the American Health Care Act say they oppose the Republican bill to replace Obamacare. For each, please tell me whether it raises doubts in your mind about the Republican health care bill:

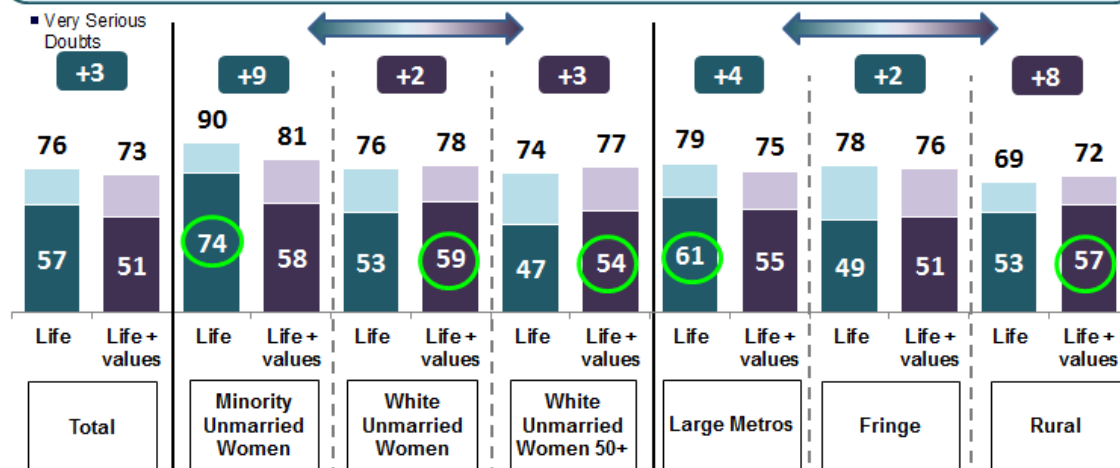


Importantly, including values in this debate carried the attack to older white unmarried voters and those in rural areas, for example.



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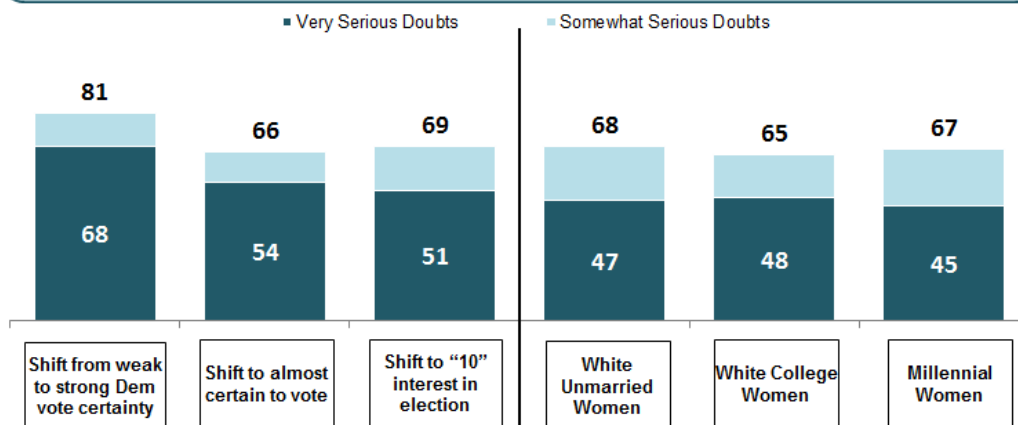
LIFE [+ VALUES] Their new plan allows insurance companies in some states to push people with a history of cancer or a pregnancy into a high risk pool and to substantially increase prices for people with pre-existing conditions. That means more people will go without medical treatment because of costs and some will die. *[This plan is unacceptable to anyone who respects and cherishes human life.]*



3. **Message attack on Trump & Republicans over process.** We tested a number of attacks on Trump and Republicans in this poll. An attack on Republicans for the backroom dealing in the production of this bill was a top attack among many persuasion targets and those who shift in intensity and interest in voting. It should also be part of Democratic messages to consolidate support and motivate supporters to action and ultimately, to vote.

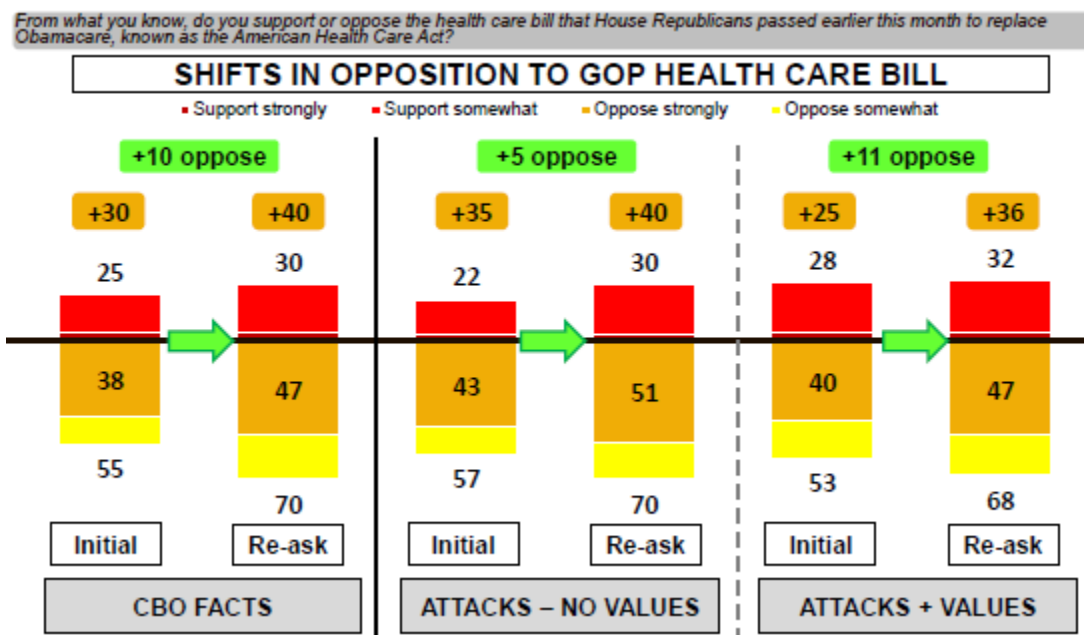
Here are some things that critics are saying about what Donald Trump and the Republicans are doing. For each one, please tell me if it raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your mind.

BACKROOM DEALING: Donald Trump and the Republican leaders in Congress met behind closed doors with only white male congressmen to develop their Obamacare replacement plan. Their plan would end guaranteed coverage for pregnancy and women's health care, cuts off funding for Planned Parenthood, and hurts our families





Voters clearly hate this Republican health care attempt and the arguments against the plan – either with CBO facts or with attacks that talk about how many will die and our values – shift voters to oppose it with even more fervor. Who would have thought it was possible? Not only do they hate every aspect of the bill itself and what it would do, they are also upset that it was written in secret by a group of men seemingly determined to put the health care of so many women and families at risk.



The Competing Conservative Narratives

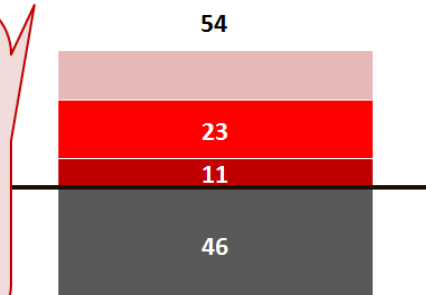
The Republican defense of their health care bill is not very believable, with only one-third of the RAE+ finding it convincing with any intensity and 46 percent saying it is not convincing at all.



This is what House Speaker Paul Ryan says about The American Health Care Act. How convincing do you find this argument for the new health care bill?

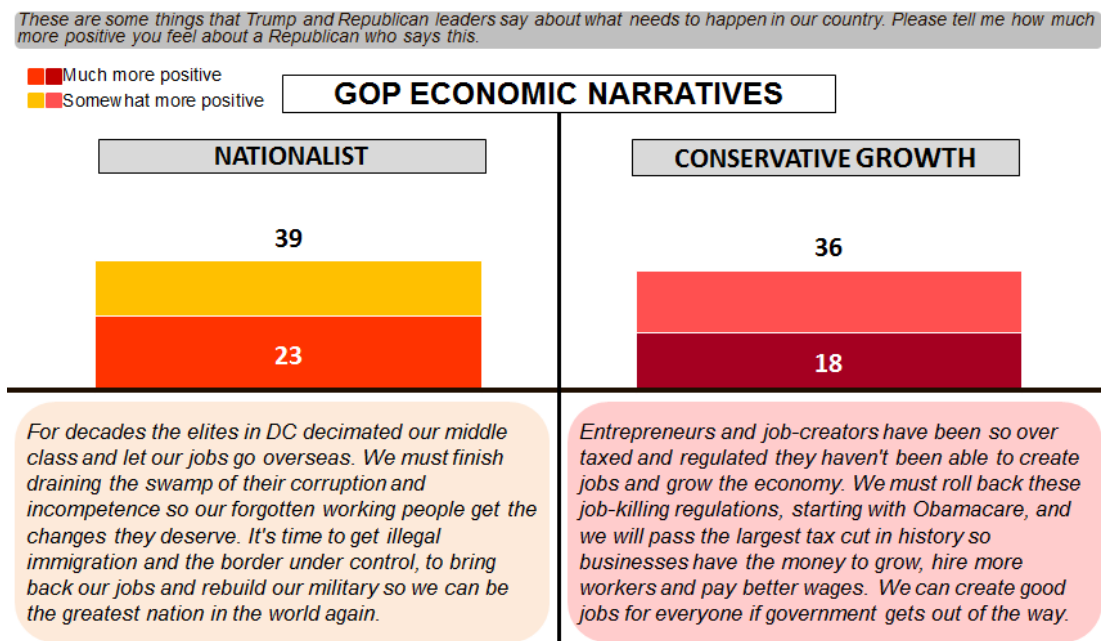
- Not at all convincing
- A little convincing
- Somewhat convincing
- Very convincing

Obamacare is in a death-spiral. Our health care bill replaces Obamacare with something that provides more competition, more choice, lower costs and better access to more affordable coverage while reining in out-of-control Medicaid spending and reducing the deficit. People will no longer be forced to buy expensive insurance plans they can't afford. For those who buy insurance, it will reduce premiums and lower costs by providing more tax credits, health savings accounts, and power to the states to tailor plans to their needs.





The two big Republican economic arguments – one a “nationalist economic argument” to be expected from the White House and Trumpian candidates, the other a “conservative economic argument” that will be put forward by many congressional incumbents – also had limited resonance across the RAE+, though the nationalist argument is stronger, particularly with white working class women.



The Democrats economic message and values

The great majority of working Americans are struggling in many spheres of life and particularly with jobs that don't provide enough to live on. The great majority of RAE+ women think of themselves as “working women”, yet for them the Democratic Party is an opaque brand, with no associations on the economy and employment. Thus, right now Pew gives the Republicans a 3-point advantage on handling the economy. If your priority is economic change, these voters have no reason to turn to the Democrats.

When three-quarters of the RAE+ saying America is on the wrong track, silence on the economy translates to contentment with the status quo.

For Democrats, the good news is that when they put forward a powerful diagnosis of what is wrong with the economy and their commitment to big changes, they can further consolidate Democratic support and motivate turnout targets.

The Democratic economic messages enjoy much stronger support than the Republican ones, particularly a pro-middle class, anti-elite economic message. Such a message says this economy has



to work for everyone, but the game is rigged against the middle class, so we need to ban secret money and raise taxes on the rich so America can grow the middle class again. That message receives much stronger, intense support than a message that focuses on growth and jobs, investment across the country and help for small business to build a stronger middle class.

These are some things that Democratic leaders are saying about what needs to happen in the country. For each, please tell me how much more positive you feel about the Democrat who says it.

DEMOCRATIC NARRATIVES

■ Much more positive

FOR MIDDLE CLASS, NOT ELITES: This country has to work for everyone again, not just for the elites and the richest. The game is rigged against the middle class. The big companies, lobbyists and big donors get to write the rules and politicians work for them, not us. As a start, we should ban secret campaign donations and ask the richest to pay their fair share of taxes. This will put us on a path to an America that can grow the middle class again.

36 62

GROWTH & JOBS: We have to be serious about growing the economy and creating more jobs across small towns and big cities. We can start by investing in our future - from our infrastructure to education, to science and research - and by helping our small businesses with fewer regulations and access to credit. That is the path to building a strong middle class again.

29 60

REVOLUTION: Our politics and economy are so corrupt and people are so frustrated with a government that does nothing for struggling working people and the middle class. We need a second revolution to bring big, radical changes. Let's shake up the politicians by getting rid of all dark campaign money, level the playing field with much higher taxes on the wealthy. Then we can make big investments in education and infrastructure and have affordable health care. Now is the time for the big changes that will get the country back on the right track

28 55

JOBS & INEQUALITY + VALUES: This country has to work for everyone again. Companies are outsourcing and shipping good paying jobs overseas, most people haven't had a raise in years, and the cost of living really has them in a squeeze. All the income gains have gone to the very richest, so fewer and fewer can ever hope to be middle class. *It's time we start keeping our promises to those who do the right thing and treat people equally.* My priority is increased opportunity and jobs that pay enough to live on

28 52

This economic message for the middle class, not elites is dramatically stronger than other messages among African Americans, unmarried women, particularly white unmarried women, and millennials of all races. Hispanics responded equally positive to each of these messages, suggesting they represent a somewhat less populist part of the base.



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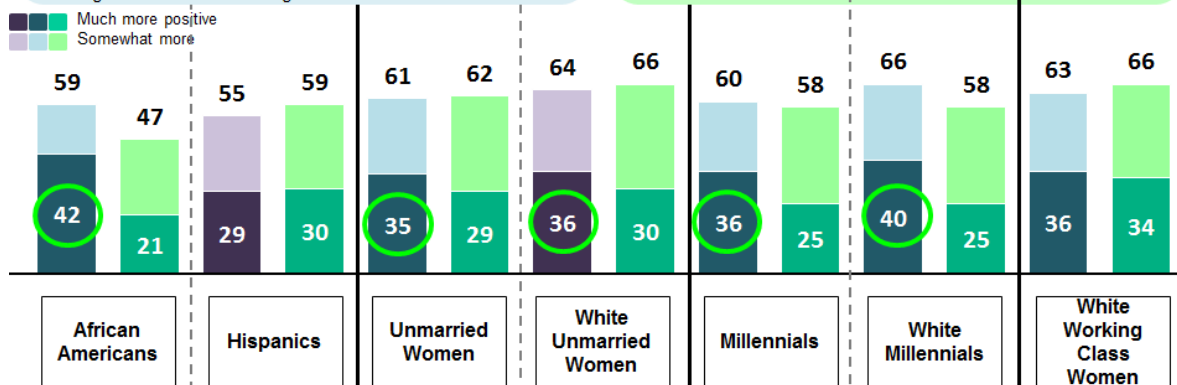
DEMOCRATIC NARRATIVES

FOR MIDDLE CLASS NOT ELITES [+ VALUES]

This country has to work for everyone again, not just for the elites and the richest. The game is rigged against the middle class. The big companies, lobbyists and big donors get to write the rules and politicians work for them, not us. As a start, we should ban secret campaign donations and ask the richest to pay their fair share of taxes. [It's time we start keeping our promises to those who do the right thing and treat people equally.] This will put us on a path to an America that can grow the middle class again.

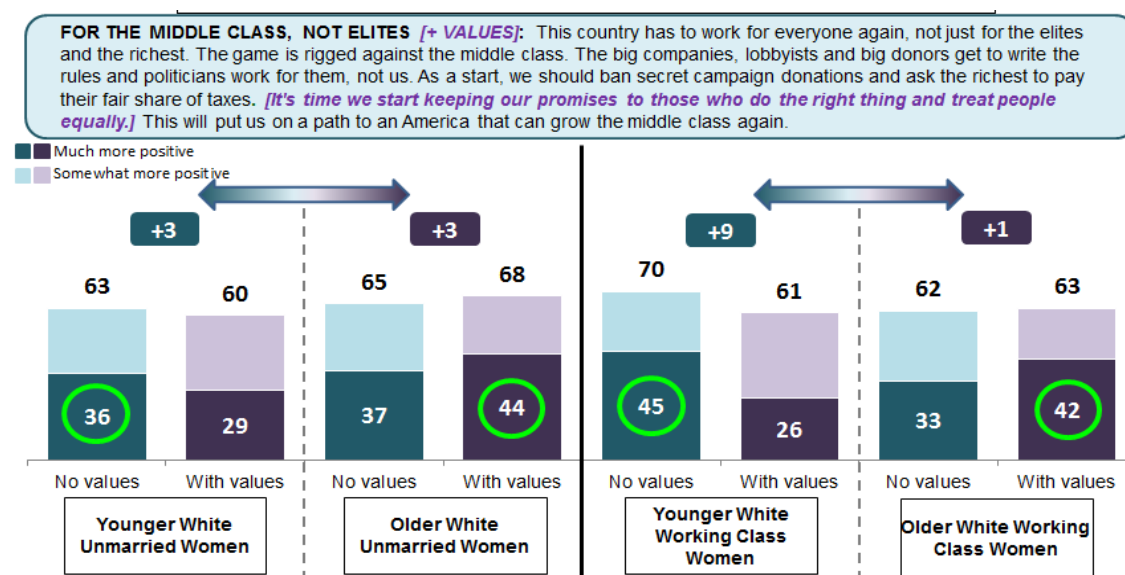
GROWTH & JOBS

We have to be serious about growing the economy and creating more jobs across small towns and big cities. We can start by investing in our future - from our infrastructure to education, to science and research - and by helping our small businesses with fewer regulations and access to credit. That is the path to building a strong middle class again.



Importantly, for Democrats this focus on the middle class and not elites message is the best route to greater off-year turnout and increased support with persuasion audiences, including white working class women, independents, and undecided voters. It is the strongest message for those who increase their interest in voting throughout the survey. It also received the most support from those who became stronger in their support for the Democratic candidate for Congress, with 83 percent saying it made them more positive towards the Democrat, with 44 percent much more positive.

Again, bringing values into this top performing economic narrative allows Democrats to extend their argument to older, white and working class voters. While younger white unmarried women and younger white working class women are more receptive to the economic statement without values, the values-argument allows it to get a hearing with their older counterparts.



Finally, this economic message strongly reinforced by attacks on Donald Trump & Republicans for their proposed tax cuts for the rich while the middle class gets nothing. Almost two-thirds say they have serious doubts about Trump and the Republicans after hearing this attack and 44 percent say it raises very serious doubts.

ATTACK ON TRUMP & GOP FOR TAX CUTS FOR THE RICH:

Donald Trump said he will cut middle class taxes, but half the cuts in his proposed tax plan go to the richest 1 percent alone. His family is expected to get a tax break of \$4 billion dollars. He's making the rich richer, while the middle class gets nothing

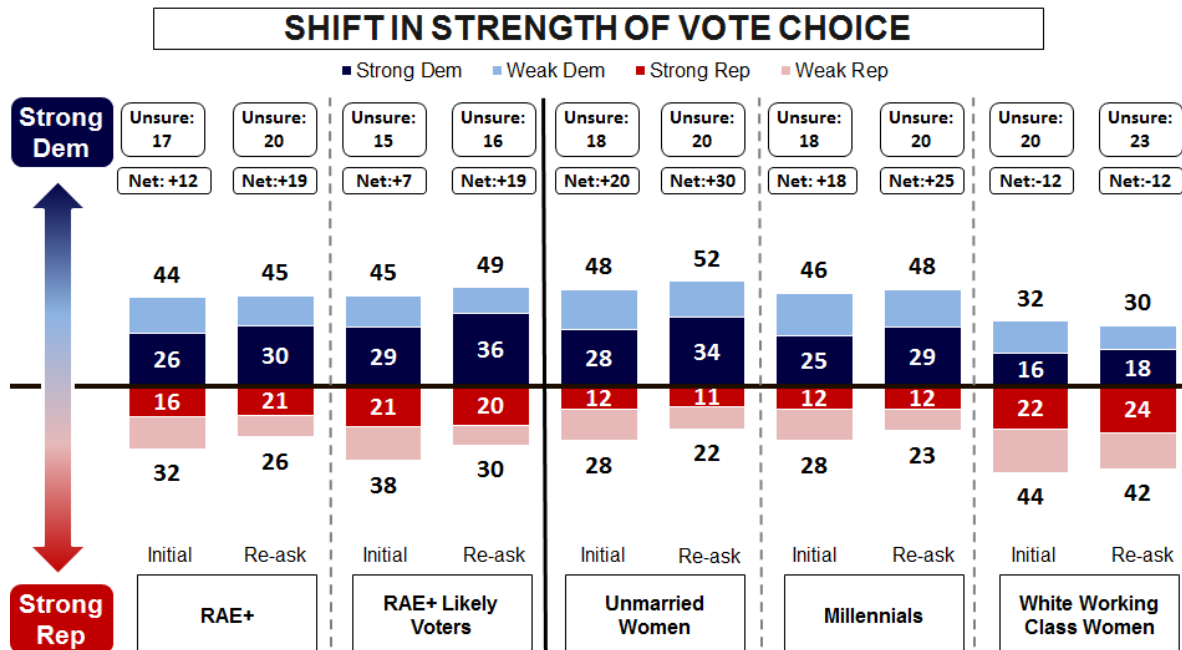
Wave will come with elevating the stakes

After hearing about Trump and Republican plans on health care, taxes, and hearing the Democrats demand for bold changes on the economy, RAE+ voters shift against Trump and the Republicans on key measures. They become even more opposed to their Obamacare replacement plan, as we have already seen. They also become more consolidated behind Democrats and more engaged.

Overall, there was 7 point shift in certainty for the Democratic candidate across the RAE+ (+12 very or somewhat certain to vote for the Democrat to +19) and 12 point shift across the likely voters. That was driven by unmarried women (+10 more certain for the Democratic candidate) and millennials (+7). As important, strong certainty to vote for the Democrats grew 4 points across the RAE+ and 7 points among RAE+ likely voters. That includes a 6-point increase in strong support for the Democrat among unmarried women and a 4 point increase among millennials, and 7 point increase among those who shift to become more certain to vote in 2017.



How certain are you that you would vote for that candidate -- are you very certain, somewhat certain or not certain at all?



The survey showed the potential for effective messaging to change the likely voter electorate to the benefit of Democrats by motivating Democrats, Clinton voters and those who would vote for the Democrat in 2018 and depressing Republicans, Trump voters and those who would vote for the Republican. What's more, Democratic partisans outpace Republicans in growing interest in the election in 2018 over the course of the survey. This is precisely what Democrats must achieve for the sort of wave that puts the House in play.

Let me ask you again, there will be an election for U.S. Congress and other state and local offices in 2018. What are the chances of you voting in the election in 2018?

