



GREENBERG RESEARCH

2018 at a Breaking Point?

**Findings from national phone survey &
on-going panel of persuasion & turnout targets**

January 2018

CAMPAIGNS | CORPORATIONS | ADVOCACY | WORLDWIDE

Innovative new research program

NATIONAL PHONE POLL



ON-GOING RAE+ PANEL

3 national phone polls in 2017/18:

May 31-June 5, 2017

October 7-12, 2017

January 6-11, 2018



**1,000 registered voters nationally
Voter file matched**

65% reached on cell phones

**Taking political & cultural measures
nationally & among the RAE+**

**To compare & weight RAE+ panel
to offset bias of online sample**

3 web-surveys in 2017/18:

May 31-June 13, 2017 among 4,000

October 6-18, 2017 among 2,425

January 8-15, 2018 among 1,459

**Among RAE (unmarried women,
millennials, minorities) +
white working class women
Voter file matched**

With 2 'touch-ins' between waves

**Tracking changing attitudes
Vote preference & engagement**

**Conduct message tests to discover
persuasion & turnout targets**



Key findings

- Democrats have doubled their generic vote lead to 11 points – 8 with likely voters – but need more to win control nationally & in the states.
- The impressive margins are produced by big gains with Hispanics, Baby Boomers, independents, unmarried women, African Americans, white working class women, and millennials.
- African Americans are poised to play a big role in 2018: their margin for Democrats nears 80 points, and 8-in-10 strongly disapprove of Trump.
- The Hispanic vote has shifted very strongly to a +45 Democratic margin, and there is potential for further consolidation with the right messaging.
- Unmarried women and millennials are key to a big election. Their margins have improved, and the Democrat vote grows further with messaging. That being said, unmarried women are much less certain to vote in this survey and millennial interest in the election is slipping. They are waiting for Democrats to articulate a stronger anti-status quo message and attacks.

Key findings, continued

- White working class women are breaking away from Trump and the GOP. They are now much more likely to view Trump as dangerous and out of touch with working people, and their disappointment is reflected in their declining intent to vote. They shift toward the Democrats at the end of the survey.
- Democrats only reach House-control level margins when they:
 - Make Donald Trump, not the GOP, the focus of their attacks and focus not on his temperament, but rather on his failure to keep his promise to end politics as usual, passing trickle-down tax cuts and threatening the middle class with cuts to Medicaid and entitlements.
 - Prioritize a disruptive message that says they are fed up with the status quo and frame the election as a choice between trickle-down for the rich & powerful or making the government and economy work for the middle class
- That messaging also drives up engagement across the Rising American Electorate, especially among Hispanics and millennials.

BIG ELECTORAL GAINS – THAT COULD FALL SHORT

Doubling in generic vote lead

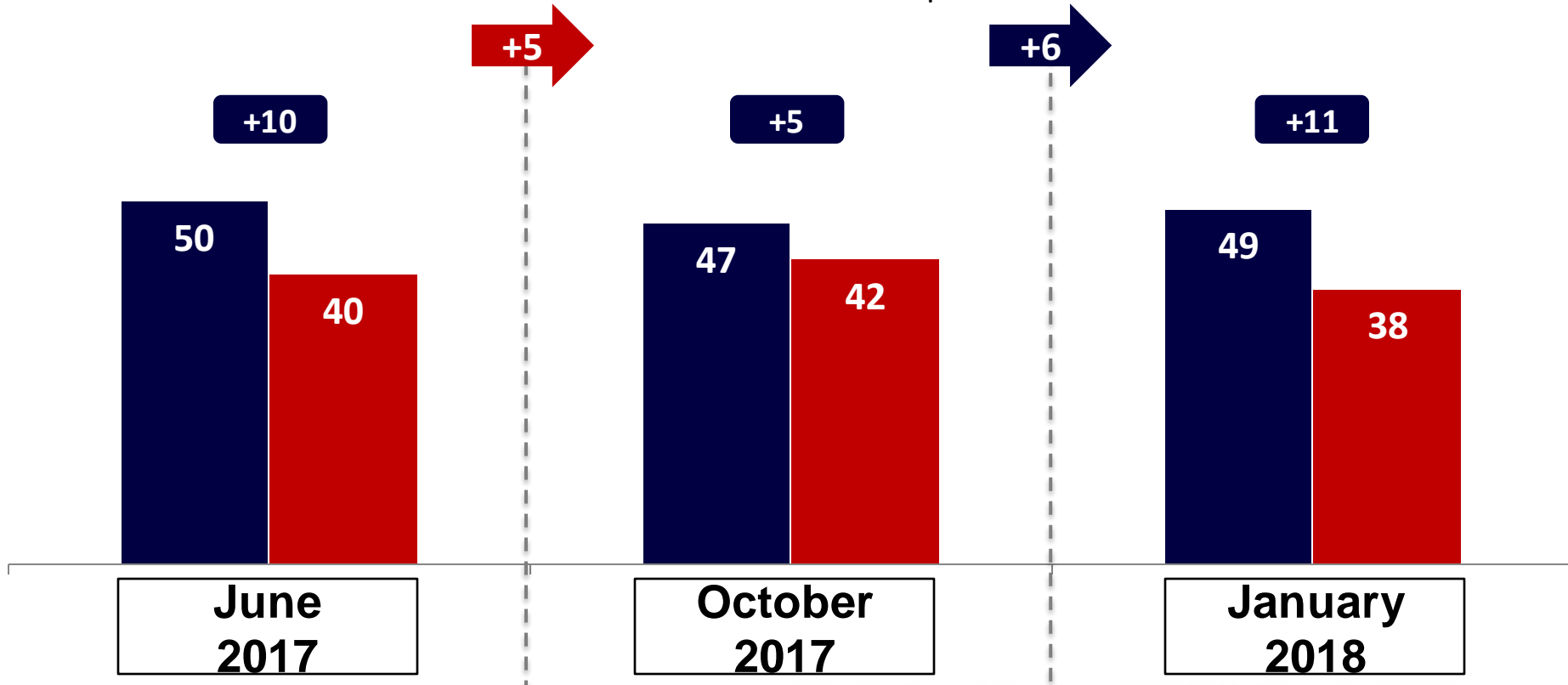
Thinking about the election for U.S. Congress in your district in November 2018, will you vote for -- the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

CONGRESSIONAL BALLOT

ALL REGISTERED VOTERS NATIONALLY

■ Democratic Candidate

■ Republican Candidate

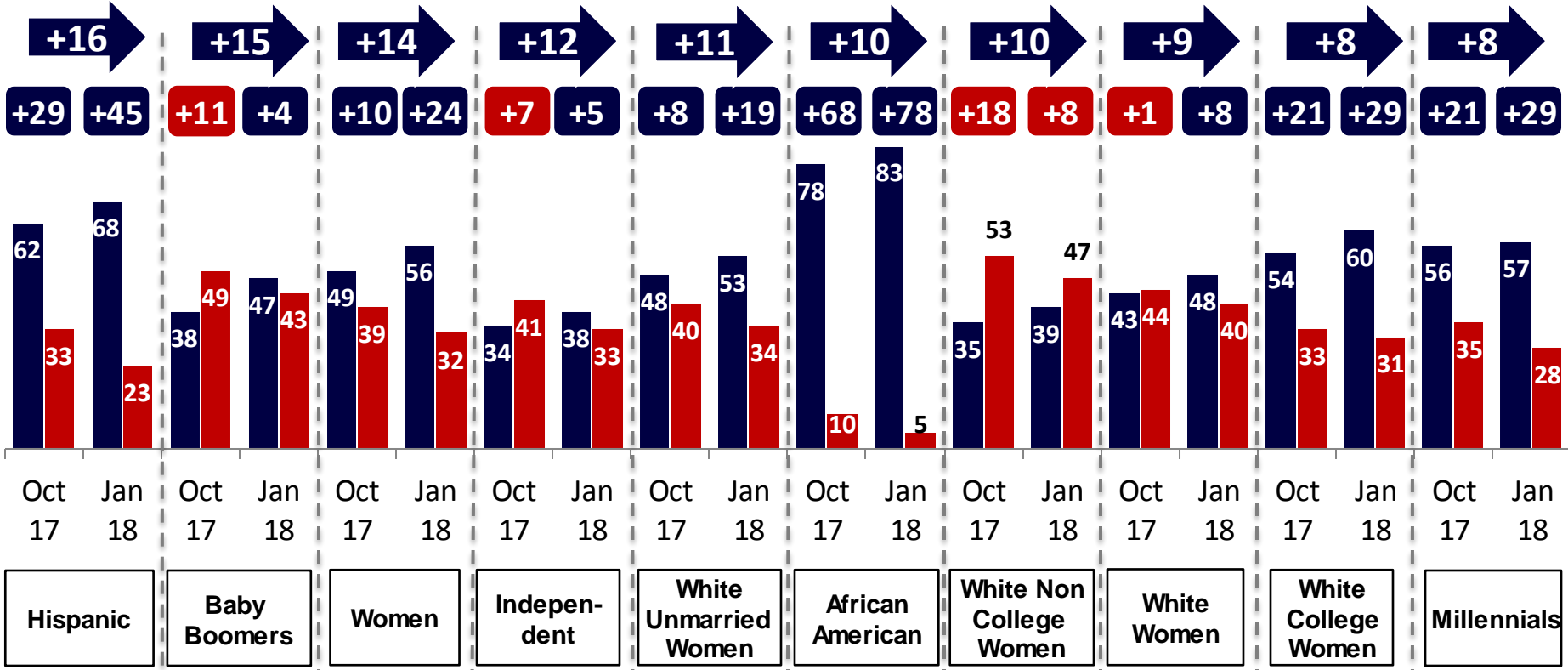


Democratic gains produced by big shifts among key groups

Thinking about the election for U.S. Congress in your district in November 2018, will you vote for -- the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

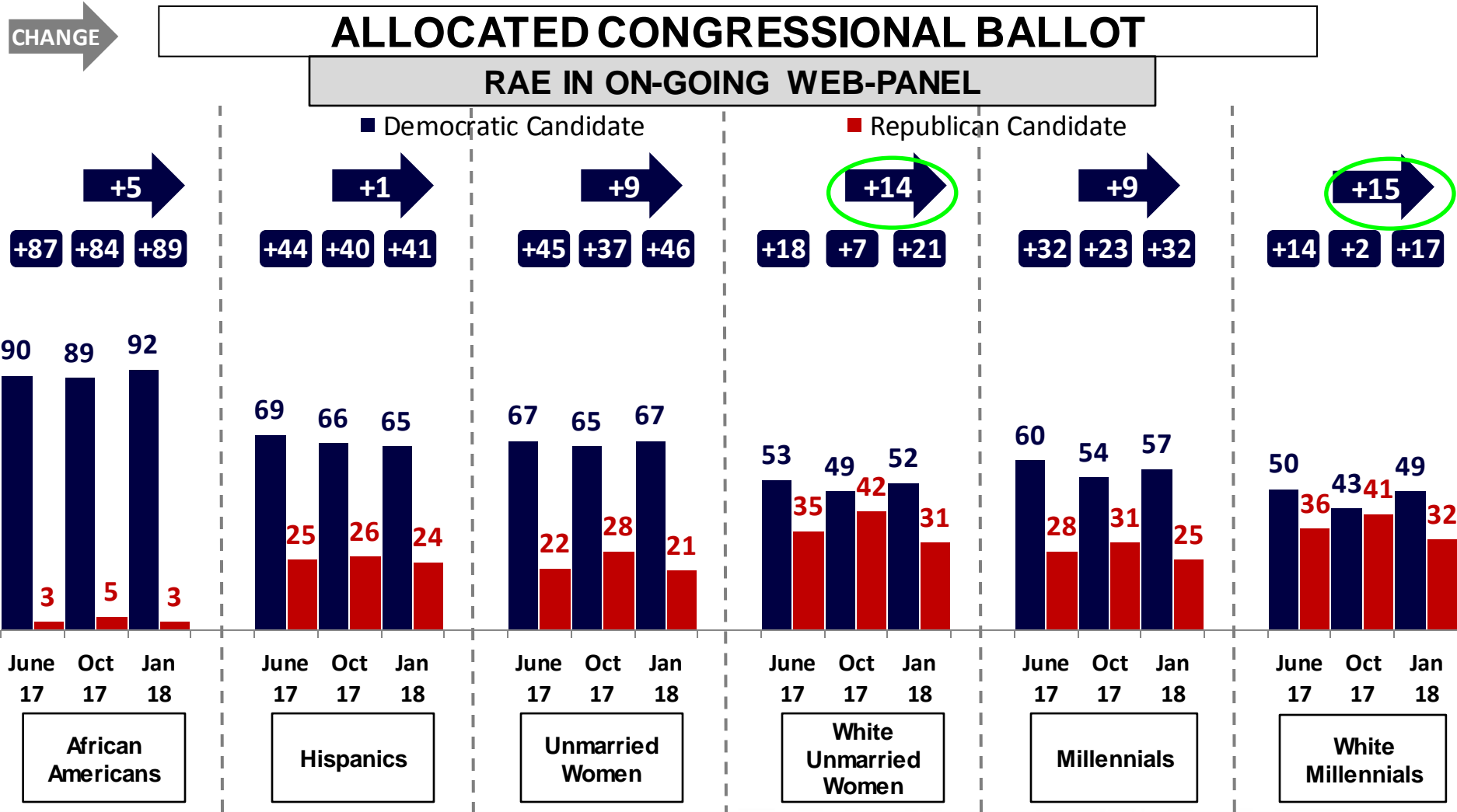
CONGRESSIONAL BALLOT ALL REGISTERED VOTERS NATIONALLY

■ Democratic Candidate ■ Republican Candidate



Gains big across base, led by white unmarried women & millennials

Thinking about the election for U.S. Congress in your district in 2018, will you vote for -- the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



Greater margins possible if run *against Trump's* course

Thinking about the election for U.S. Congress in your district in 2018, will you vote for -- the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

ALLOCATED CONGRESSIONAL BALLOT POST-MESSAGING

RAE IN ON-GOING WEB-PANEL

■ Democratic Candidate

■ Republican Candidate

**MESSAGING AGAINST
"REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS"**

**MESSAGING AGAINST
"DONALD TRUMP"**

% SHIFT

+33

+4

+29

+35

+4

+39

57

24

55

26

56

21

60

21

Initial Vote

Final Vote

Initial Vote

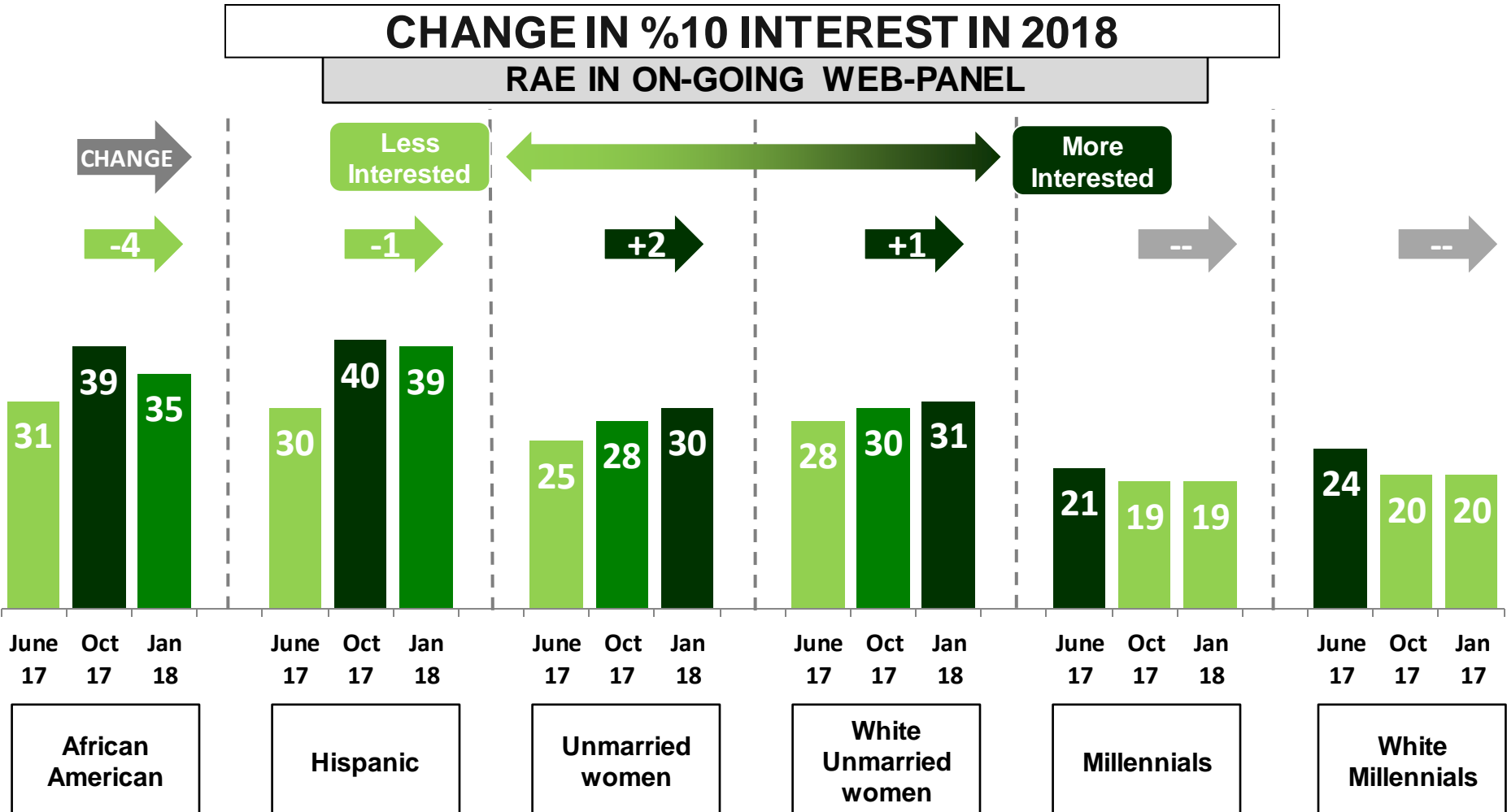
Final Vote



KEY PARTS OF ELECTORATE GROWING LESS ENGAGED

Little or no gains in interest since Fall and dangerously low

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?



Certainty to vote has been falling, especially among unmarried women

As you may know, there will be an election for U.S. Congress and other state and local offices in November 2018. What are the chances of you voting in the election in 2018?

CHANGE % ALMOST CERTAIN

RAE IN ON-GOING WEB-PANEL

Less Certain

More certain

CHANGE

-6

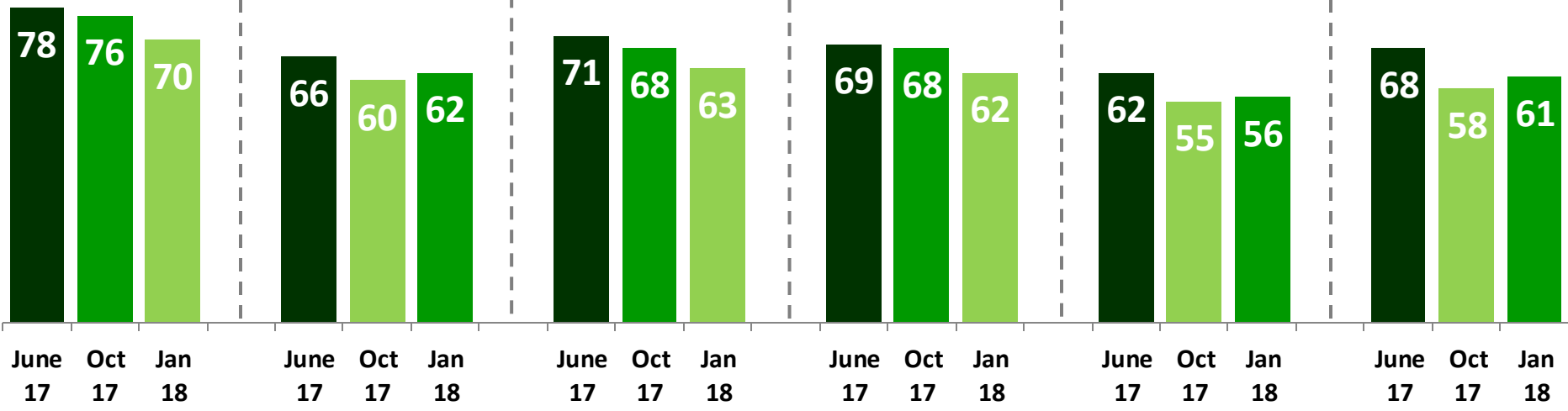
+2

-5

-6

+1

+3



African American

Hispanic

Unmarried women

White Unmarried women

Millennials

White Millennials



Clinton voters taking action like signing petitions & sharing content; Trump voters displaying support & arguing at home

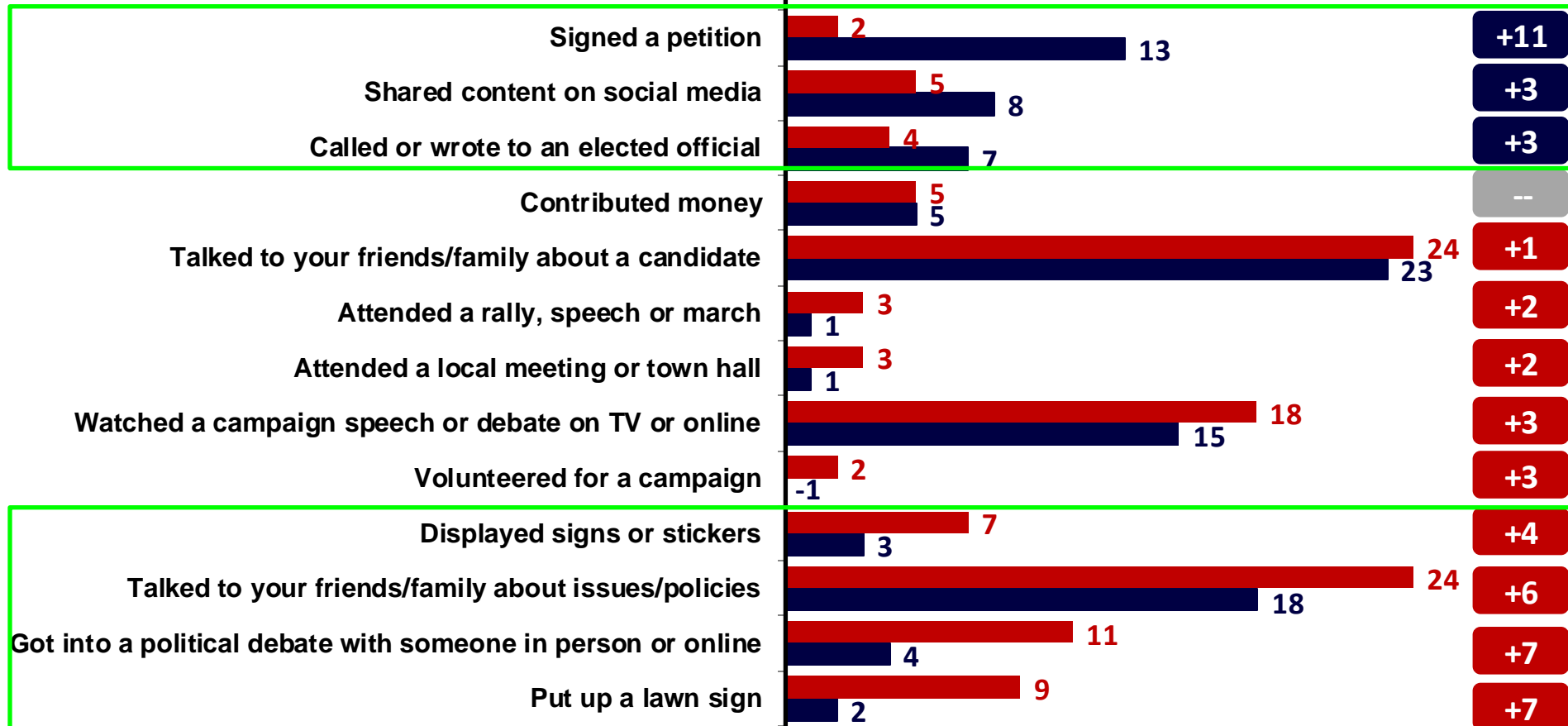
Please select all of the activities that you did THIS YEAR that you had not really done before.

CHANGE IN NEW ACTIVISM IN 2017 SINCE JUNE 2017

CLINTON & TRUMP 2016 VOTERS

■ Trump voters - new since June

■ Clinton voters - new since June



THE DEEP TRUMP PRESENCE IN BASE CONSCIOUSNESS

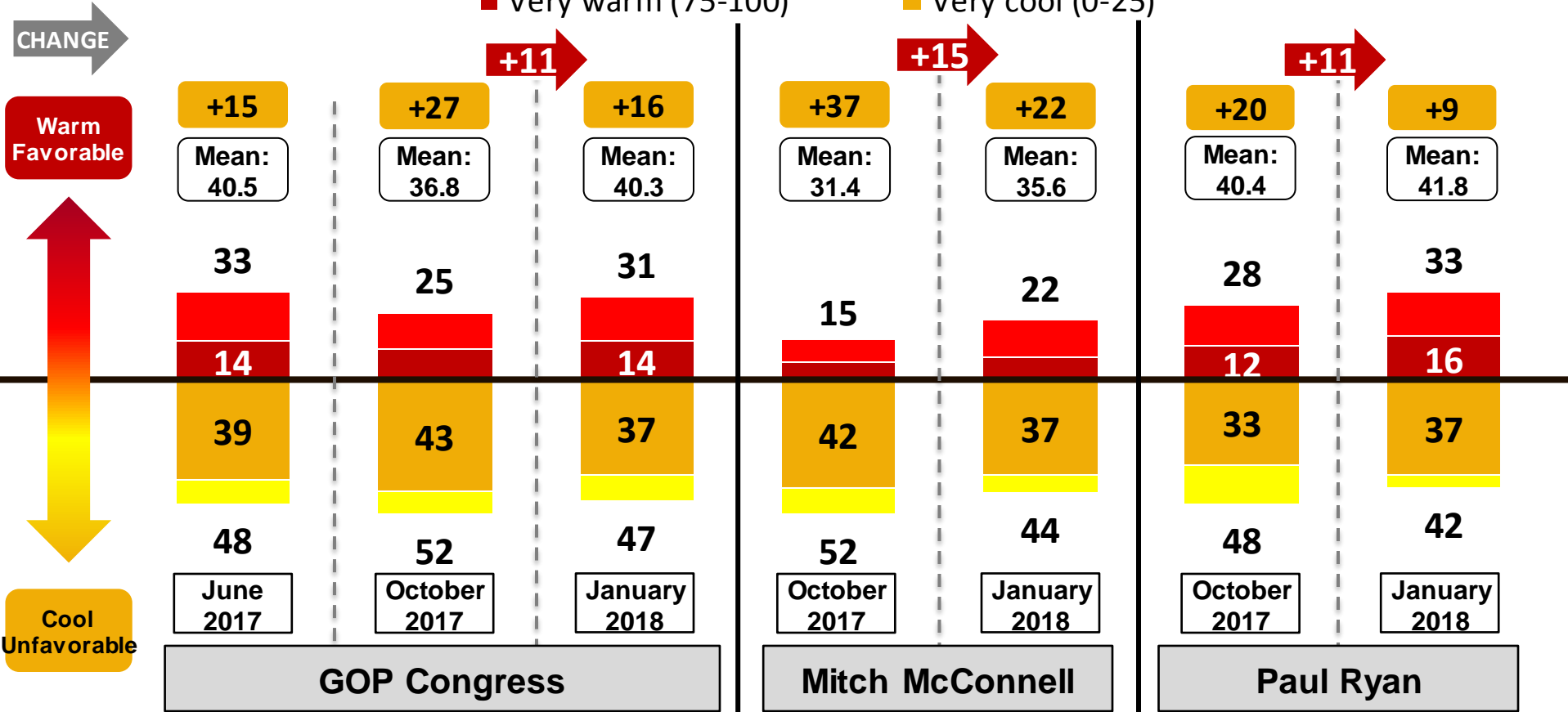
Views of GOP leadership slightly less negative post-tax cut

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

GOP CONGRESS FAVORABILITY

ALL REGISTERED VOTERS NATIONALLY

■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)



Views of Trump deep and stable, with 45% bloc strongly opposed

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president?

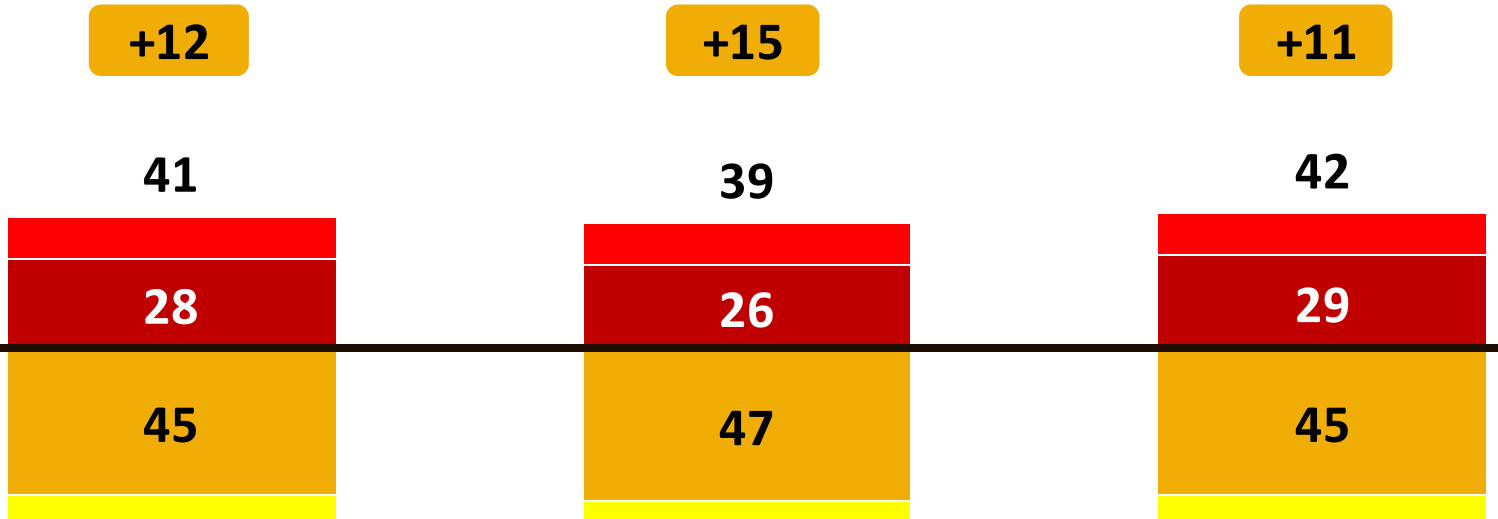
TRUMP JOB PERFORMANCE

ALL REGISTERED VOTERS NATIONALLY

■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)

CHANGE →

Approve



53 54 53

Disapprove

June 2017

October 2017

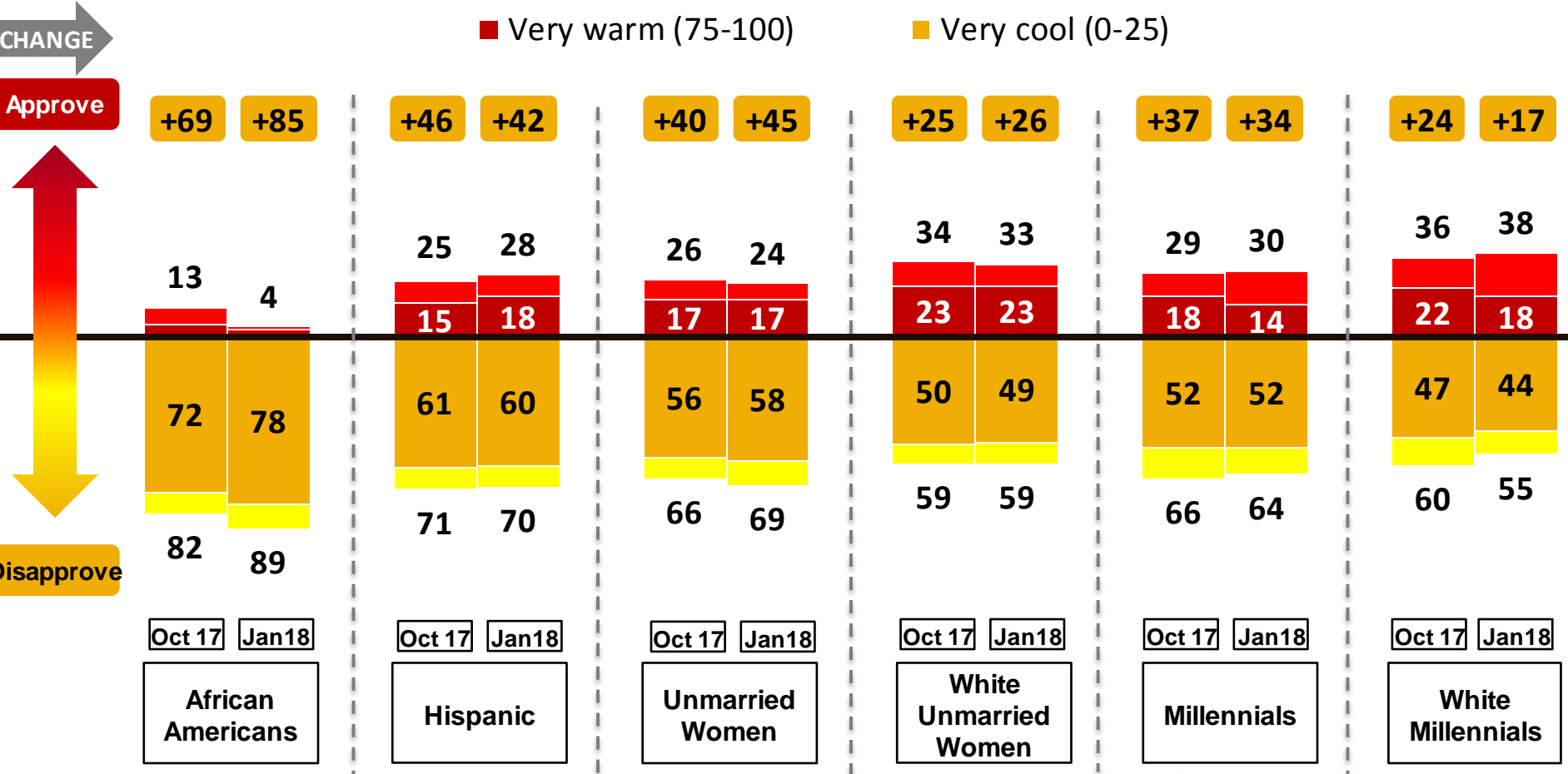
January 2018



Steady, deep opposition to Trump dominates all groups of the RAE

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president?

TRUMP JOB PERFORMANCE RAE IN NATIONAL PHONE SURVEY



Increase in RAE saying Trump 'dangerous' & 'can't see hurts working people'

TRUMP NEGATIVE ATTRIBUTES

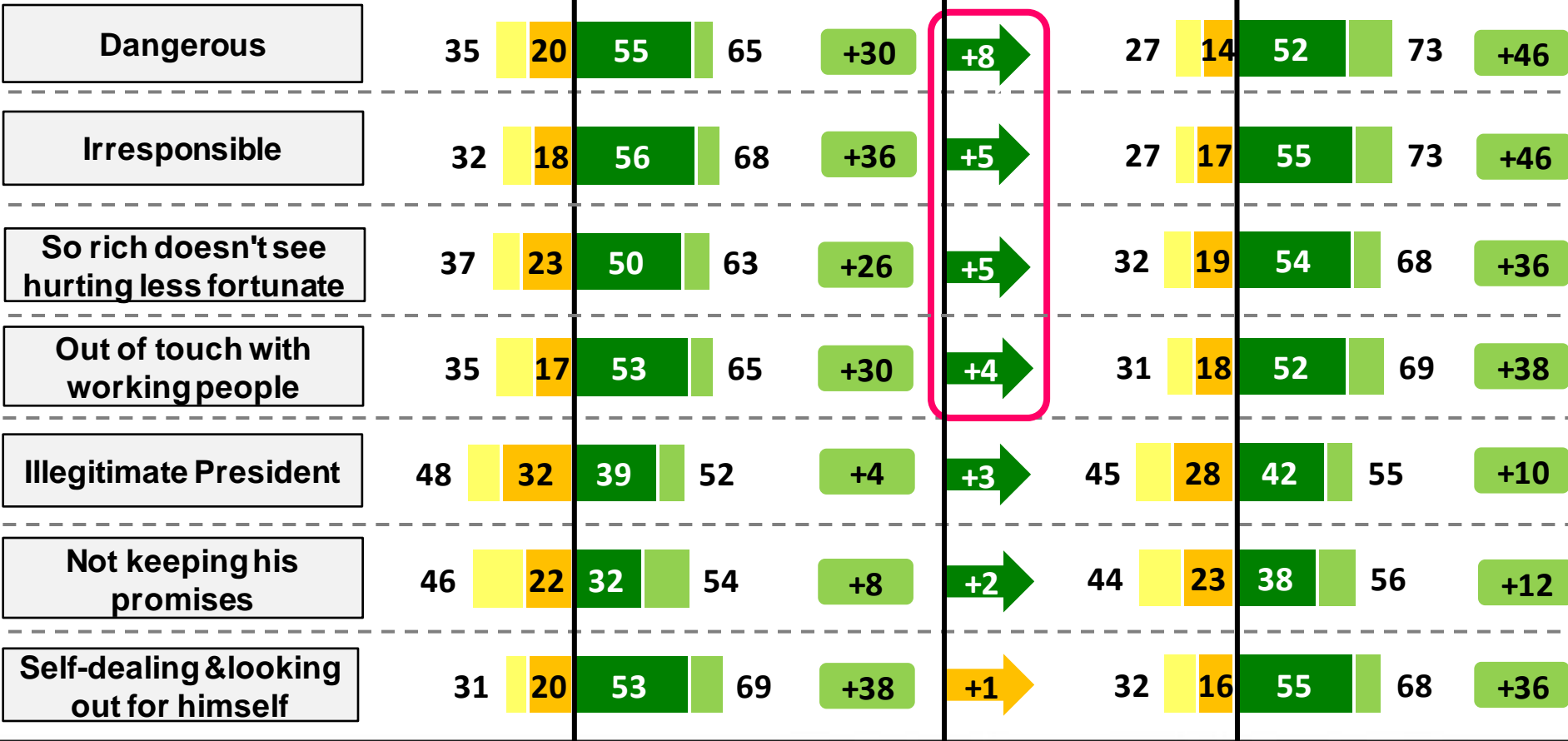
Not Well

Well

OCTOBER 2017

CHANGE % well

JANUARY 2018

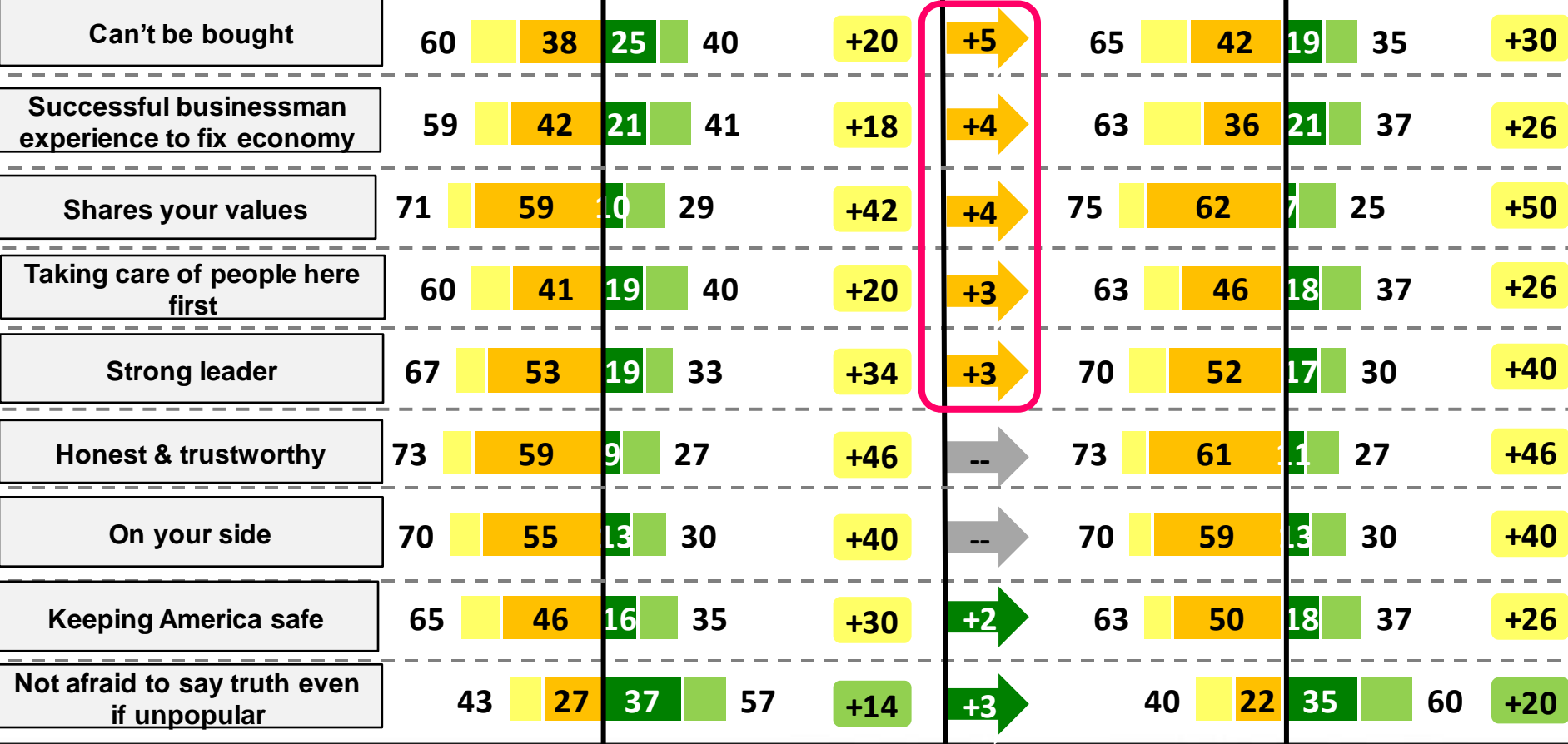


More of RAE doubt Trump 'can't be bought,' 'shares their values,' 'can fix economy'

TRUMP POSITIVE ATTRIBUTES

Not Well ← → Well

OCTOBER 2017 CHANGE % not well JANUARY 2018



Displaying data among RAE only from on-going panel. Wave 2 responses are shown among wave 3 respondents only.

WHITE WORKING CLASS WOMEN FINALLY BREAK FROM TRUMP

Republican vote falls among white working class women

Thinking about the election for U.S. Congress in your district in 2018, will you vote for -- the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

CONGRESSIONAL BALLOT

WHITE WORKING CLASS WOMEN

■ Democratic Candidate

■ Republican Candidate

CHANGE →

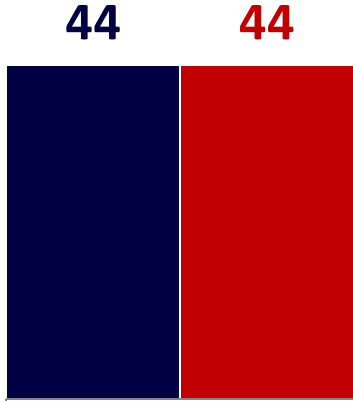
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+18 →

+10 →

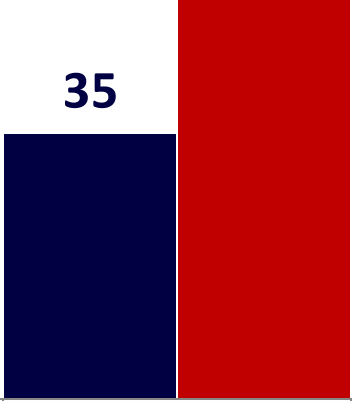
+18

+8



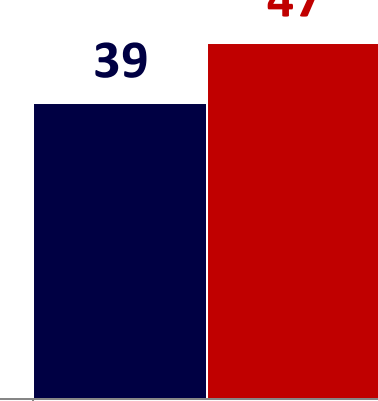
44

44



35

53



39

47

June 2017

October 2017

January 2018



Disappointment in Trump perhaps leading to declining enthusiasm

CHANGE IN ENTHUSIASM MEASURES

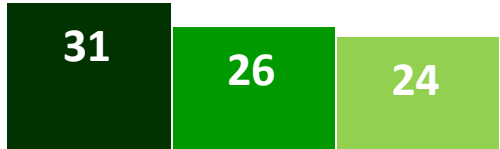
WHITE WORKING CLASS WOMEN

CHANGE →

-2 →

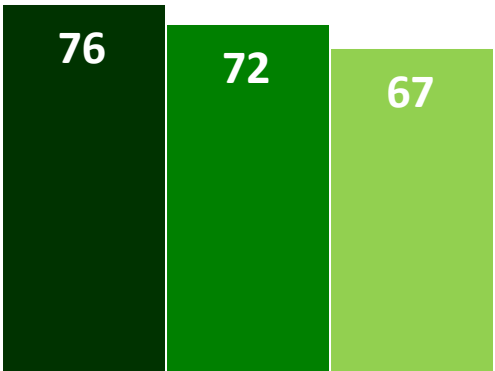
-5 →

-3 →



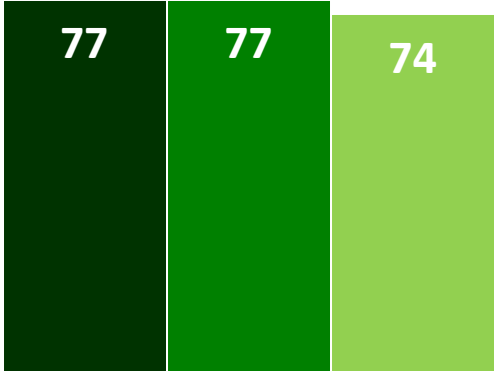
June 17 Oct 17 Jan 18

EXTREMELY INTERESTED NATIONAL ISSUES



June 17 Oct 17 Jan 18

ALMOST CERTAIN TO VOTE



June 17 Oct 17 Jan 18

% LIKELY VOTERS

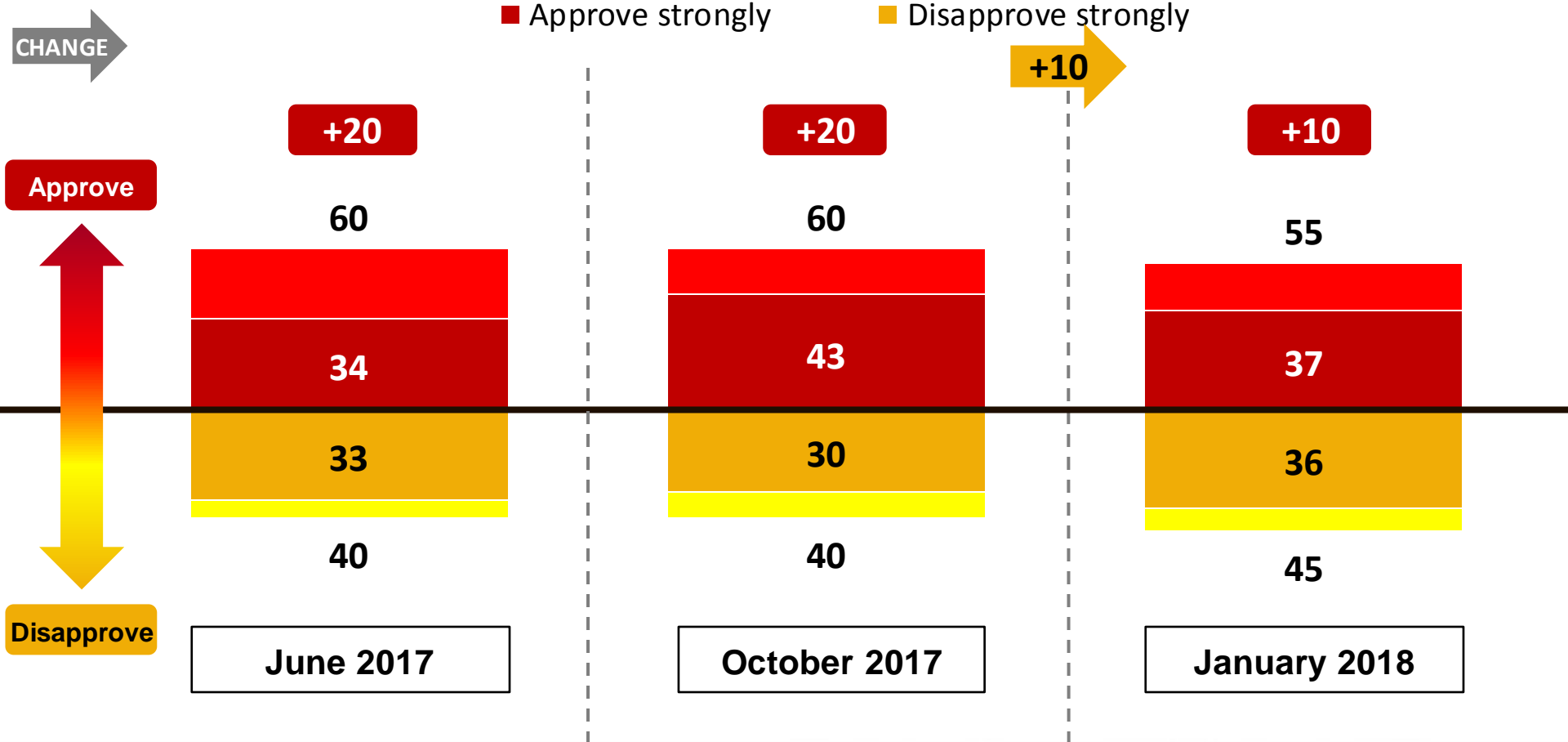


Trump approval falling among white working class women

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump/these leaders is/are handling his their job as **president/jobs**?

TRUMP JOB PERFORMANCE WHITE WORKING CLASS WOMEN

■ Approve strongly ■ Disapprove strongly



Majority now say dangerous & huge leap in being out of touch

TRUMP NEGATIVE ATTRIBUTES

WHITE WORKING CLASS WOMEN

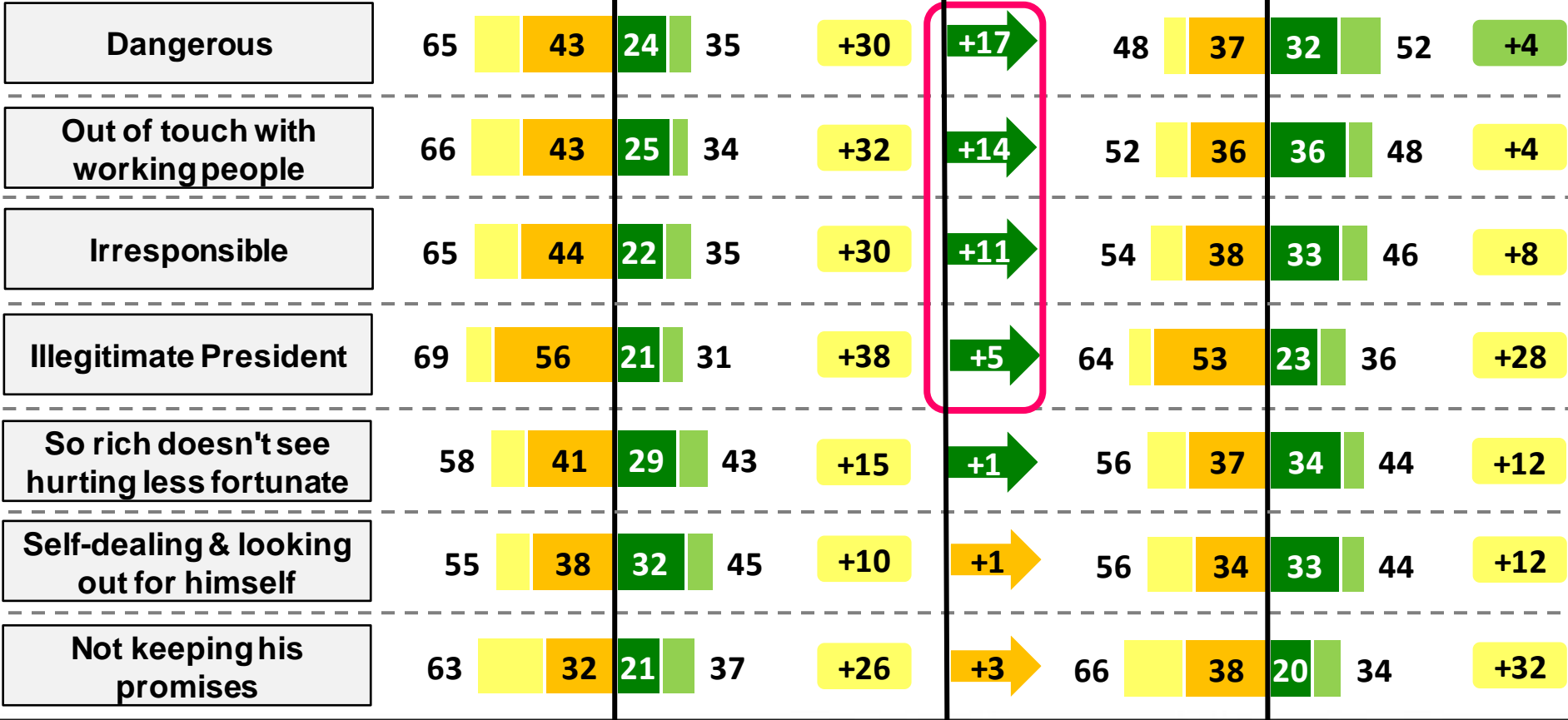
Not Well

Well

OCTOBER 2017

CHANGE in % well

JANUARY 2018



The wave 2 responses are shown among wave 3 respondents only. White working class women shown among full RAE+ sample/e

Majority now say Trump doesn't shares their values, half say not strong leader

TRUMP POSITIVE ATTRIBUTES

WHITE WORKING CLASS WOMEN

Not Well ← → Well

	OCTOBER 2017		CHANGE in % well		JANUARY 2018	
Shares your values	37	27	+26	+16	53	38
Strong leader	35	25	+30	+15	50	34
A successful businessman experience to fix economy	31	19	+38	+8	39	22
Taking care of people here first	36	21	+28	+6	42	27
Can't be bought	36	23	+28	+6	42	26
Honest & trustworthy	45	31	+10	+4	49	34
On your side	43	30	+14	+3	46	32
Keeping America safe	42	26	+16	+1	41	27
Not afraid to say truth even if unpopular	23	12	+54	+2	21	12

The wave 2 responses are shown among wave 3 respondents only.
White working class women shown among full RAE+ sample/e

**FRAMING CHOICE IN 2018:
TRICKLE DOWN TAX CUT &
CORRUPTION THAT ALLOWED IT**

Top Democratic frames about GOP tax cuts & status quo that works for the rich & powerful, not middle class

Below are some statements about (Republicans in Congress/Donald Trump) and the Democrats. Please read each statement and indicate whether it describes a real difference between (Republicans in Congress/Donald Trump) and the Democrats, and if it DOES describe a real difference, whether that difference makes you much more likely to vote for the DEMOCRATS in 2018, somewhat more likely to vote for the DEMOCRATS, or does it not matter to your vote.

TRICKLE-DOWN ECONOMICS

Donald Trump is wedded to trickle-down economics and just gave huge tax cut taxes to big corporations and the richest.

The Democrats say the richest must pay their fair share of taxes.

FOR MIDDLE CLASS, NOT THE RICHEST DONORS AND CEOS

Donald Trump for the richest, billionaire donors and CEOs.

The Democrats are battling for the middle class.

Other frames produce weaker potential support for Democrats

Below are some statements about (Republicans in Congress/Donald Trump) and the Democrats. Please read each statement and indicate whether it describes a real difference between (Republicans in Congress/Donald Trump) and the Democrats, and if it DOES describe a real difference, whether that difference makes you much more likely to vote for the DEMOCRATS in 2018, somewhat more likely to vote for the DEMOCRATS, or does it not matter to your vote.

DEMOCRATIC FRAMES

Trump/GOP Congress

The Democrats

% much more likely to vote for Democrat

% Real Difference:

Trump/GOP Congress	The Democrats	% much more likely to vote for Democrat	% Real Difference:	
Trickle down	Pay fair shares	40	58	79%
For rich CEOs	For middle class	40	57	76%
Sabotaging Obamacare	Stabilize and reduce costs	40	53	72%
Cutting education/training	Better training/education for jobs	38	53	74%
Dangerous agenda for rich/corp	Limit corporate \$/cut MC taxes	38	53	70%
Didn't drain the swamp	Disclose campaign donations	36	57	78%
Owned by the NRA lobby	Assault ban/background checks	37	53	77%
Scared of diversity	Diversity good, all equal shot	37	52	71%
Dangerous unified GOP agenda	Check on GOP/Trump agenda	34	56	77%
Dividing the country	Unite the country	32	57	74%

Half of the sample heard frame against Donald Trump, half heard against the Republicans in Congress. Displaying the combined results.

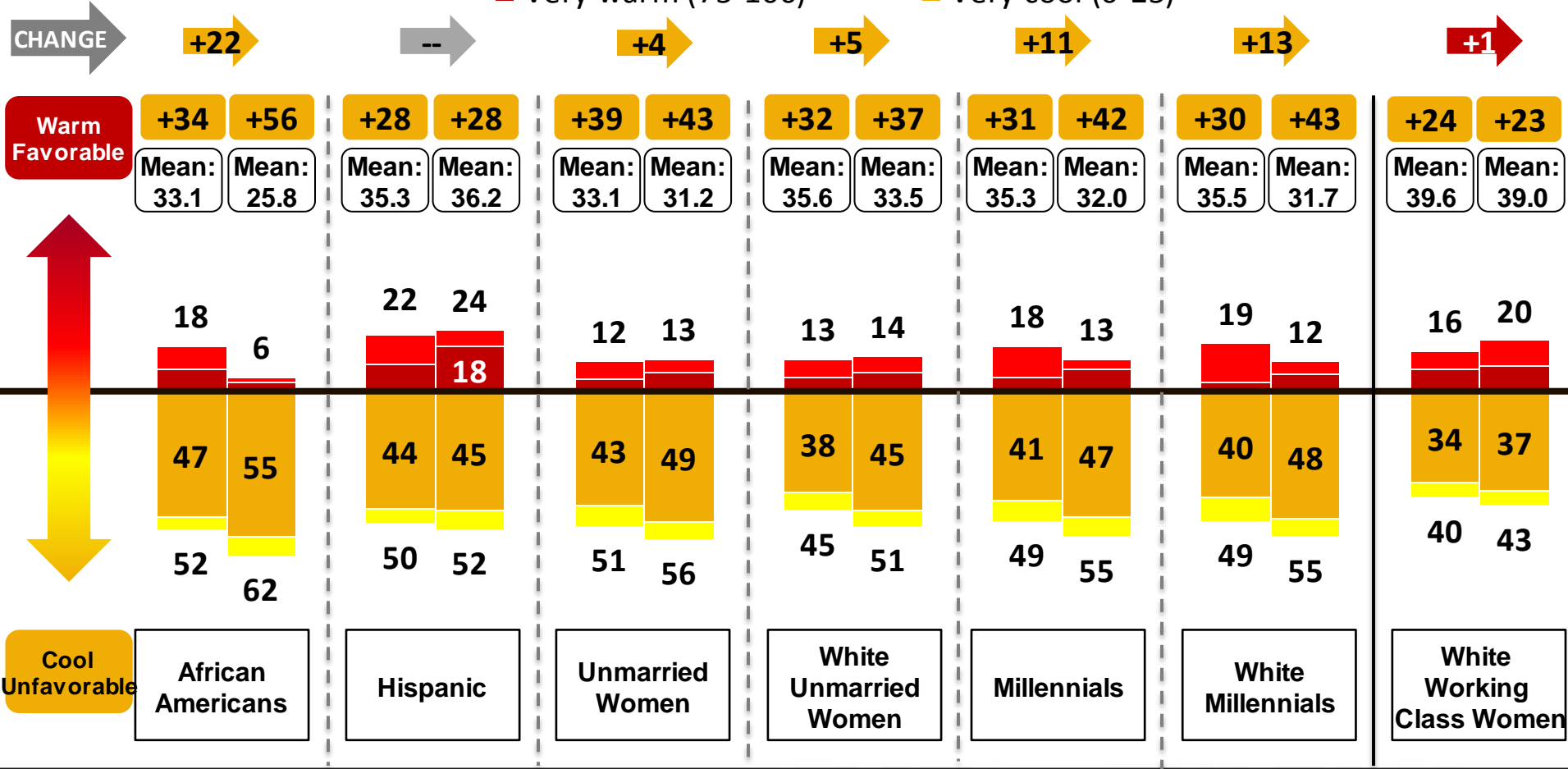


Who knew trickle-down economics could get MORE unpopular?

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

TRICKLE-DOWN ECONOMICS

■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)



HEALTH CARE

Views of Obamacare conflicted - and strong doubts still a factor

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

AFFORDABLE CARE ACT OR OBAMACARE

ALL REGISTERED VOTERS NATIONALLY

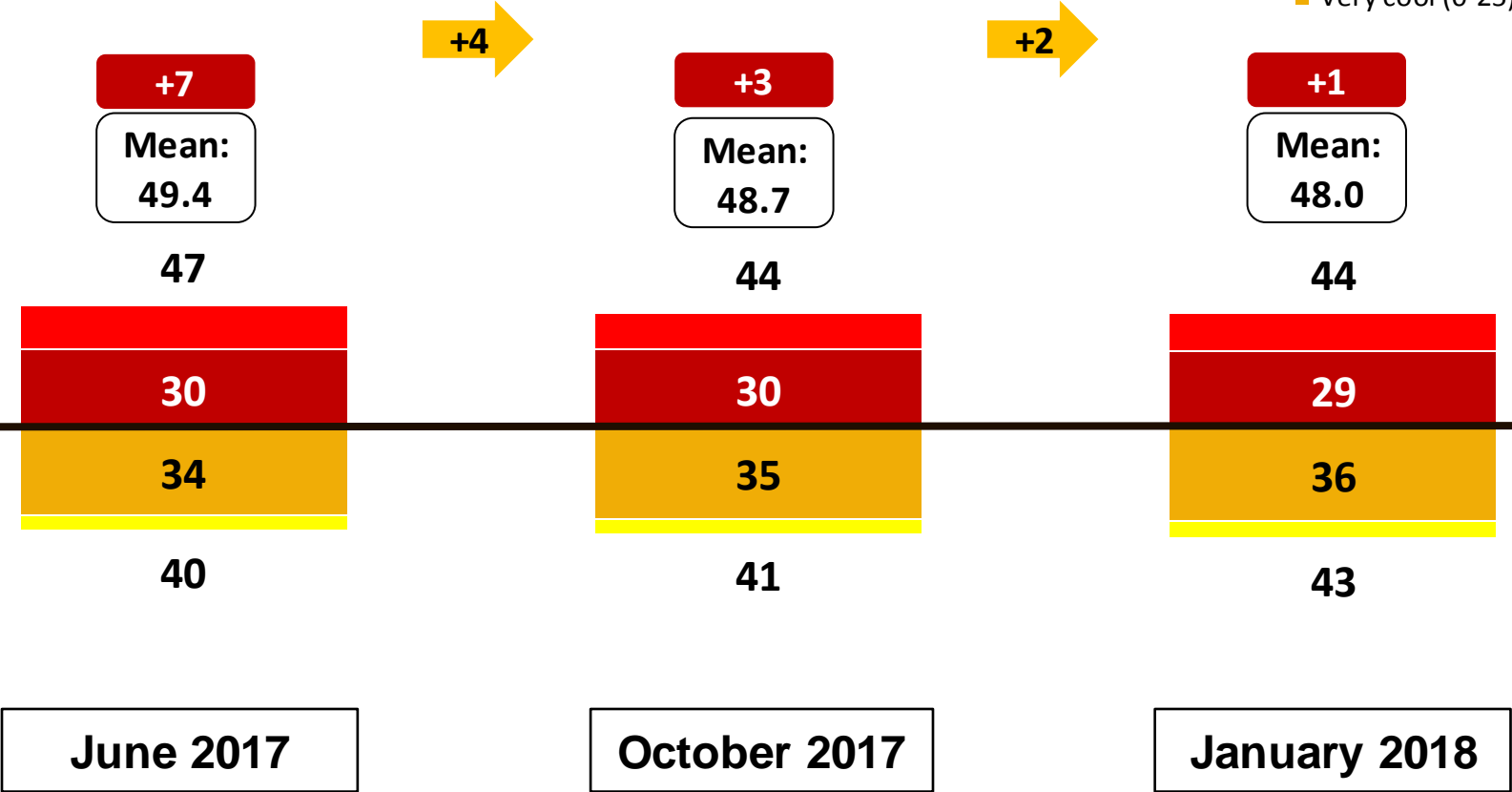
■ Very warm (75-100)
■ Very cool (0-25)

CHANGE →

Warm Favorable



Cool Unfavorable



Competing on ACA requires commitment to affordability for all

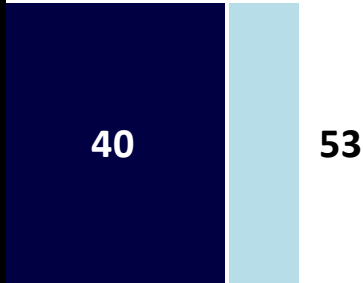
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HEALTH CARE FRAMES

% Real Difference:

% much more likely to vote for Democrats

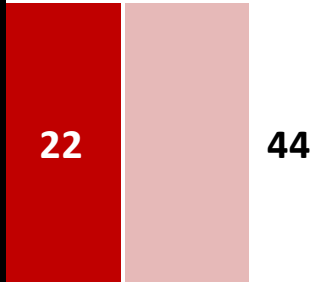
Trump/GOP are sabotaging Obamacare, making it likely that 13 million more will go without health insurance, creating uncertainty and driving up the cost of health care.
The Democrats want to stabilize health care so it is affordable for all



72%

% much more likely to vote for Republicans

The Democrats will make Obama's government takeover of health care permanent.
Trump/GOP are repealing and replacing Obamacare



74%

Among RAE only in RAE+ panel.



**WINNING ATTACKS & MESSAGE:
FED UP WITH BROKEN PROMISES
& DEMANDING CHANGE!**

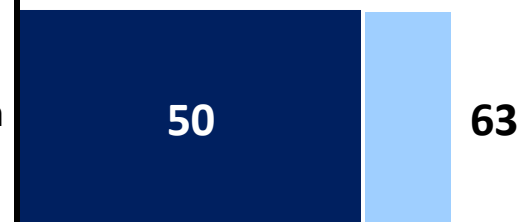
Top attacks focus on broken promises, now a typical politician

For each, please indicate whether it raises very serious doubts about (SPLIT C-GOPCONG/SPLIT D-TRUMP), somewhat serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts.

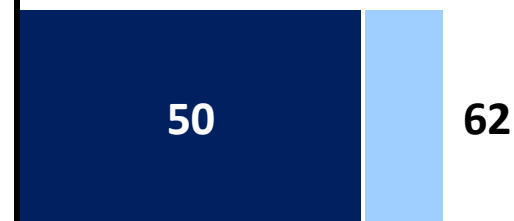
DEMOCRATIC ATTACKS

- Very serious doubts
- Somewhat serious doubts

TAX LIES, ENRICHES PERSONALLY: Donald Trump said this new tax law won't benefit the rich like him, but that is a lie. He used this new tax law to enrich himself personally and could save as much as \$20 million a year



U-TURNS: Donald Trump said “Trust me, I'm not your typical politician,” but he's taken U-turn after U-turn. He said the middle class would get a massive tax cut and the richest would pay more, but billionaires and the biggest corporations are getting huge cuts. He promised better cheaper health care, but his plan makes older workers pay 5 times more. He promised zero cuts to Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid, but now he is pushing drastic cuts to all three. Enough politics as usual and broken promises! .



MEDICAID PROMISES: Donald Trump promised not to touch Medicaid which protects the most vulnerable and is the primary source of funding for long-term care for seniors and treatment for disabled children. But now he has embraced the Republican health care bills that would cut over \$1 trillion from Medicaid, ending this 50 year old promise from the federal government.



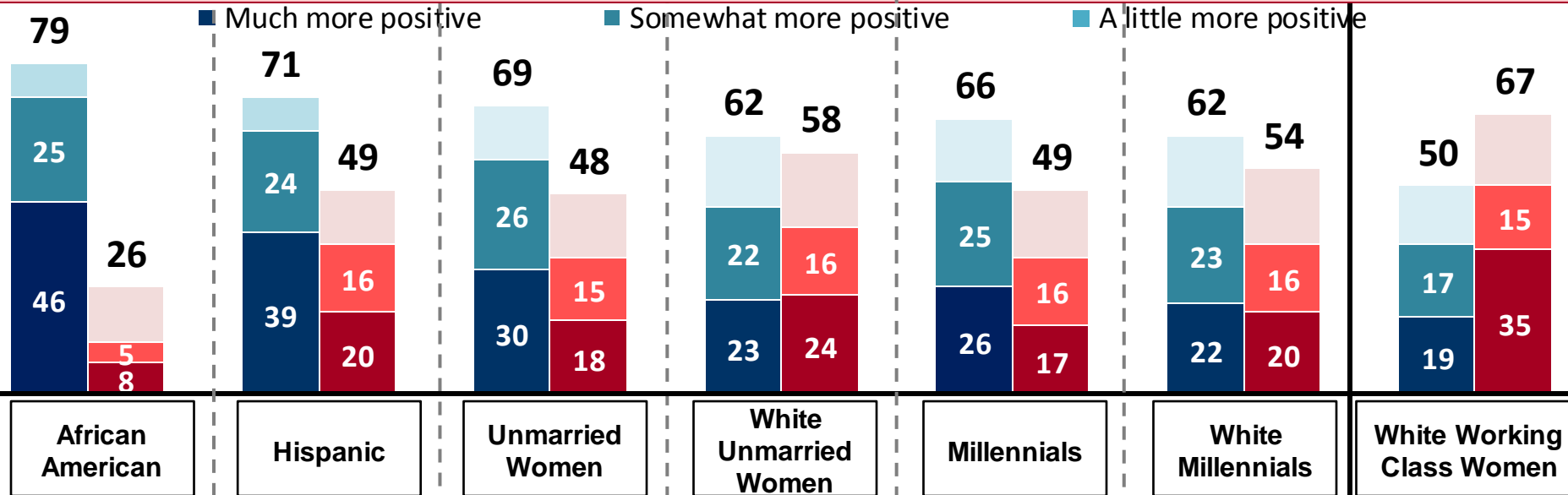
Economic message: fed up with status quo trickle-down! Change!

DEMOCRATIC FED UP! MESSAGE

I'm fed up. Our economy and politics are rigged so they work against the hard-working middle class. Corporate lobbyists and billionaires spend unlimited sums to get their way. But people who play by the rules are crushed by the cost of health care, child care, housing and student debt. And what do Republicans propose? More trickle-down tax cuts for the richest. Democrats say we need an economy that ensures better skills, better jobs, better wages and a better future. Let's ban unlimited secret campaign donation, raise taxes on the richest, close corporate loopholes, and reduce the cost of drugs and health care so the middle class grows again.

GOP GROWTH MESSAGE

We are finally making America the best place in the world to do business again. We cut job-killing corporate taxes and rolled back regulations so American companies can compete and job-creators spend less time and money dealing with red-tape. American companies are already bringing their money and jobs back to the US. Now they will invest in their businesses, hire more workers and pay better wages.



White working class women results are shown from full RAE+ sample.



ENTHUSIASM & VOTE SHIFTS

Greater margins possible if run *against Trump's* course

Thinking about the election for U.S. Congress in your district in 2018, will you vote for -- the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

ALLOCATED CONGRESSIONAL BALLOT POST-MESSAGING

RAE IN ON-GOING WEB-PANEL

■ Democratic Candidate

■ Republican Candidate

MESSAGING AGAINST "REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS"

MESSAGING AGAINST "DONALD TRUMP"

% SHIFT

+4

+4

+33

+29

+35

+39



Initial Vote

Final Vote

Initial Vote

Final Vote



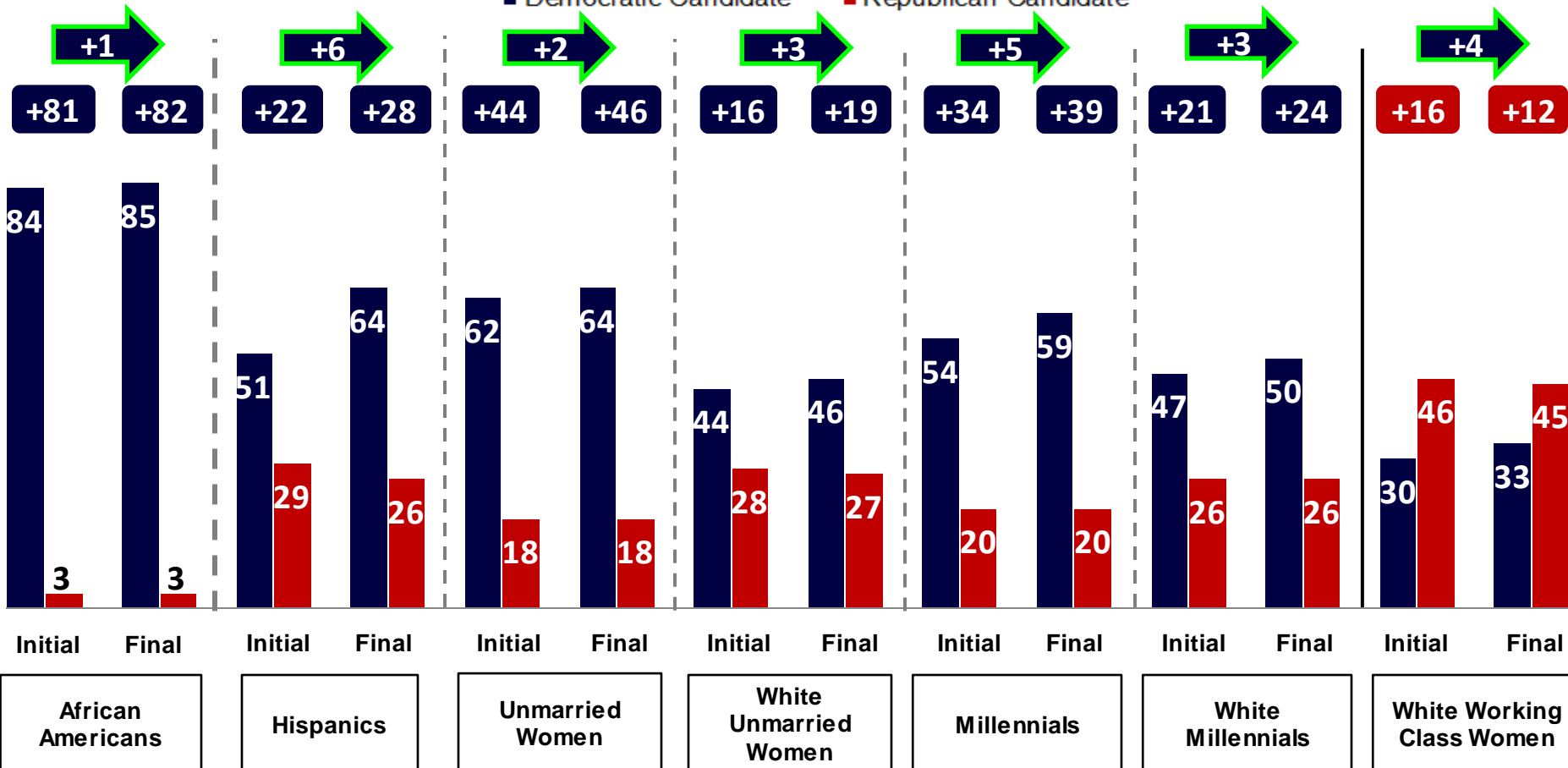
Trump as target produces shifts across all groups towards Dems

Thinking about the election for U.S. Congress in your district in 2018, will you vote for -- the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

SHIFT IN CONGRESSIONAL BALLOT: Trump

% SHIFT

■ Democratic Candidate ■ Republican Candidate

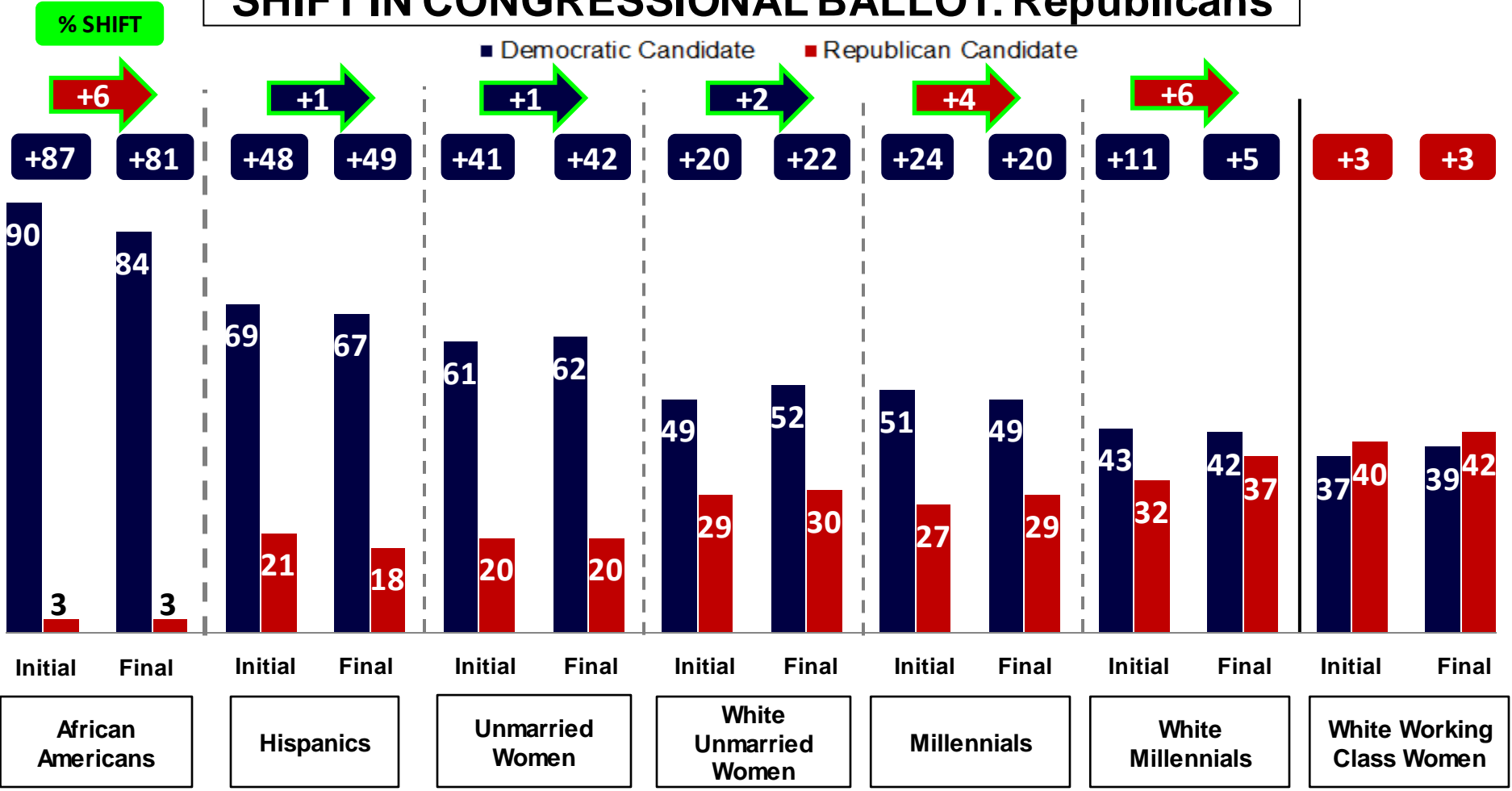


White working class women results are shown from full RAE+ sample.

Lose ground among minorities, millennials when targeting GOP

Thinking about the election for U.S. Congress in your district in 2018, will you vote for -- the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

SHIFT IN CONGRESSIONAL BALLOT: Republicans

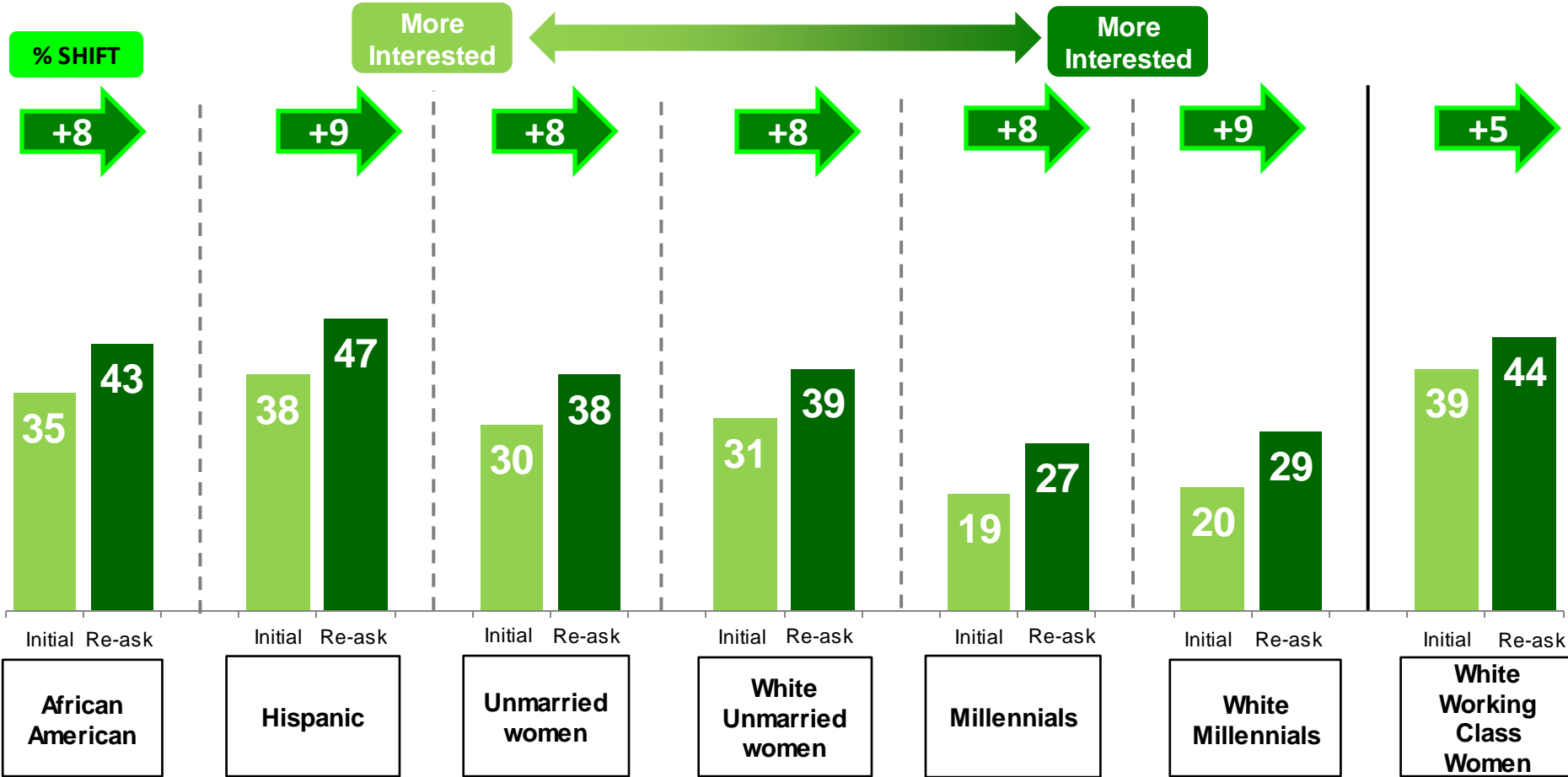


White working class women results are shown from full RAE+ sample.

Democrats & Clinton voter targets outpace in interest growth

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?

SHIFT IN %10 INTEREST IN 2018



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