



DEMOCRACY CORPS  
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER**

STRATEGY + RESEARCH

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# Wave Strategy for 2018

**June 2017**

CAMPAIGNS | CORPORATIONS | ADVOCACY | WORLDWIDE

*A Recipe For*

## A wave election in 2018



### DIRECTIONS:

*Build the three conditions that produced past wave elections (1976, 1994, 2010, 2014)*

1. Energized & consolidated Democratic base and anti-Trump voters
  - + Drives up margins for Democratic candidates
  - + Increases turnout among Democratic supporters
2. Independents & persuadables breaking against Trump & GOP Congress
  - + Reacting against Trump and GOP overreach
3. GOP base and Trump voters becoming demoralized & divided
  - + Trump voters don't vote in off-year election
  - + Republicans don't turnout and GOP margin is disappointing

*A Recipe For*

## A wave election in 2018



**INGREDIENTS:** The Rising American Electorate **+PLUS**

*The persuasion and turnout audiences most inclined to vote for Democrats but have disappointed to varying degrees in terms of turnout and vote in 2010, 2014 and 2016:*

1. **Blacks & Hispanics** – minorities failed to turnout in 2010 and 2014 and even 2016
2. **Unmarried women** – unmarried women, white unmarried women especially, have underperformed for Democrats since 2010, and also need to be targets
3. **Millennials** – They are the least inclined to vote in midterms, but also failed to turnout at the rates expected in 2016. Their vote for Democrats has been declining since 2008, led by the white millennials who voted for Romney in 2012.
4. **White working class women** – These voters gave the GOP landslide margins since 2010, but WWVAF knew Clinton was poised to over-perform with them – until the campaign walked away. Their margin matters.

# Innovative new research program

## NATIONAL PHONE POLL



## ON-GOING RAE+ PANEL



3 national phone surveys in 2017



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



4,000 RAE+ registered voters  
Voter file matched



Recruited an online web panel



Conduct message tests to discover  
persuasion & turnout targets



To be polled 3 times in 2017  
With touch-ins between waves



Tracking their changing views  
and vote propensity over time

# Intense Dem support dominates GOP, including unmarried women

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

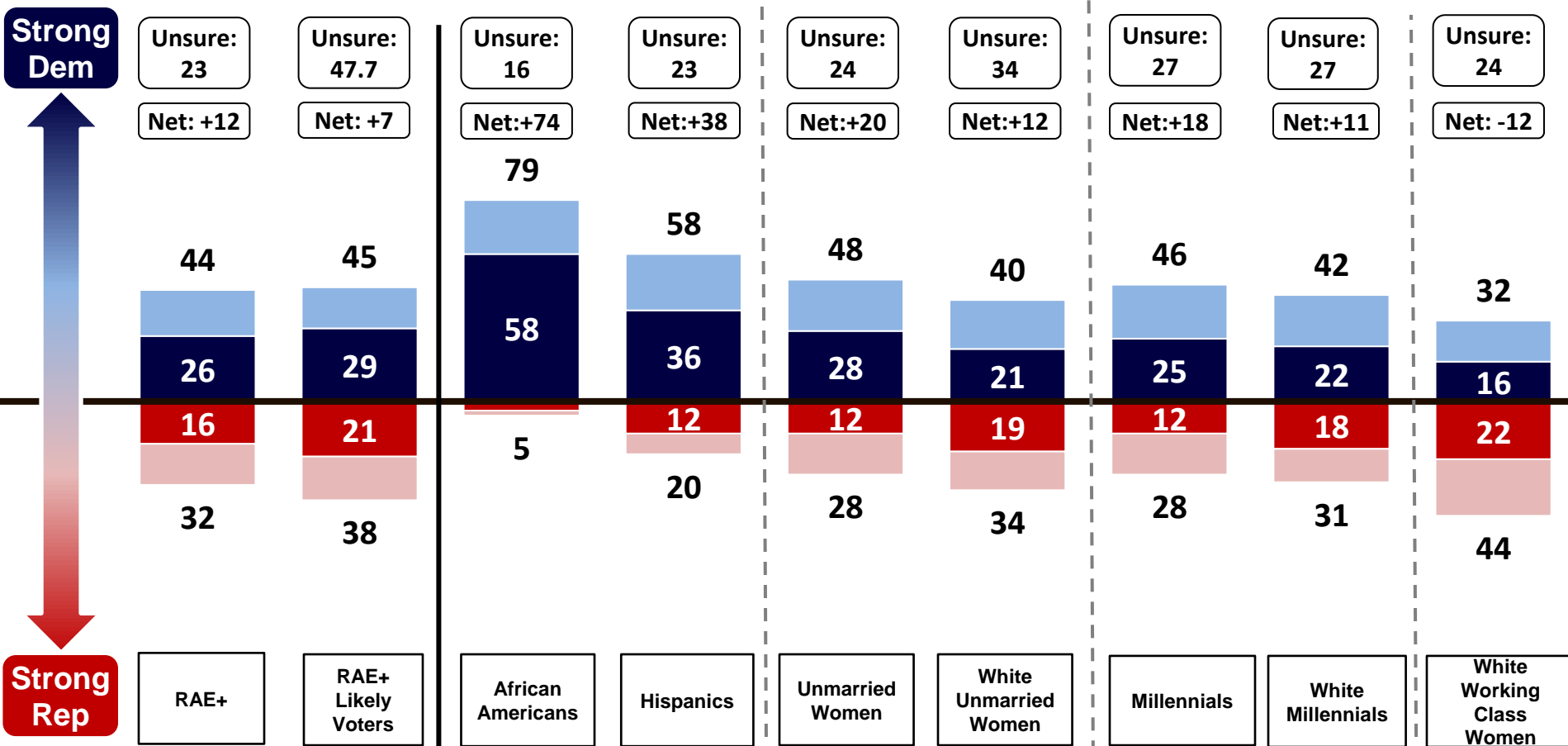
## STRENGTH OF CONGRESSIONAL VOTE CHOICE

■ Strong Dem

■ Weak Dem

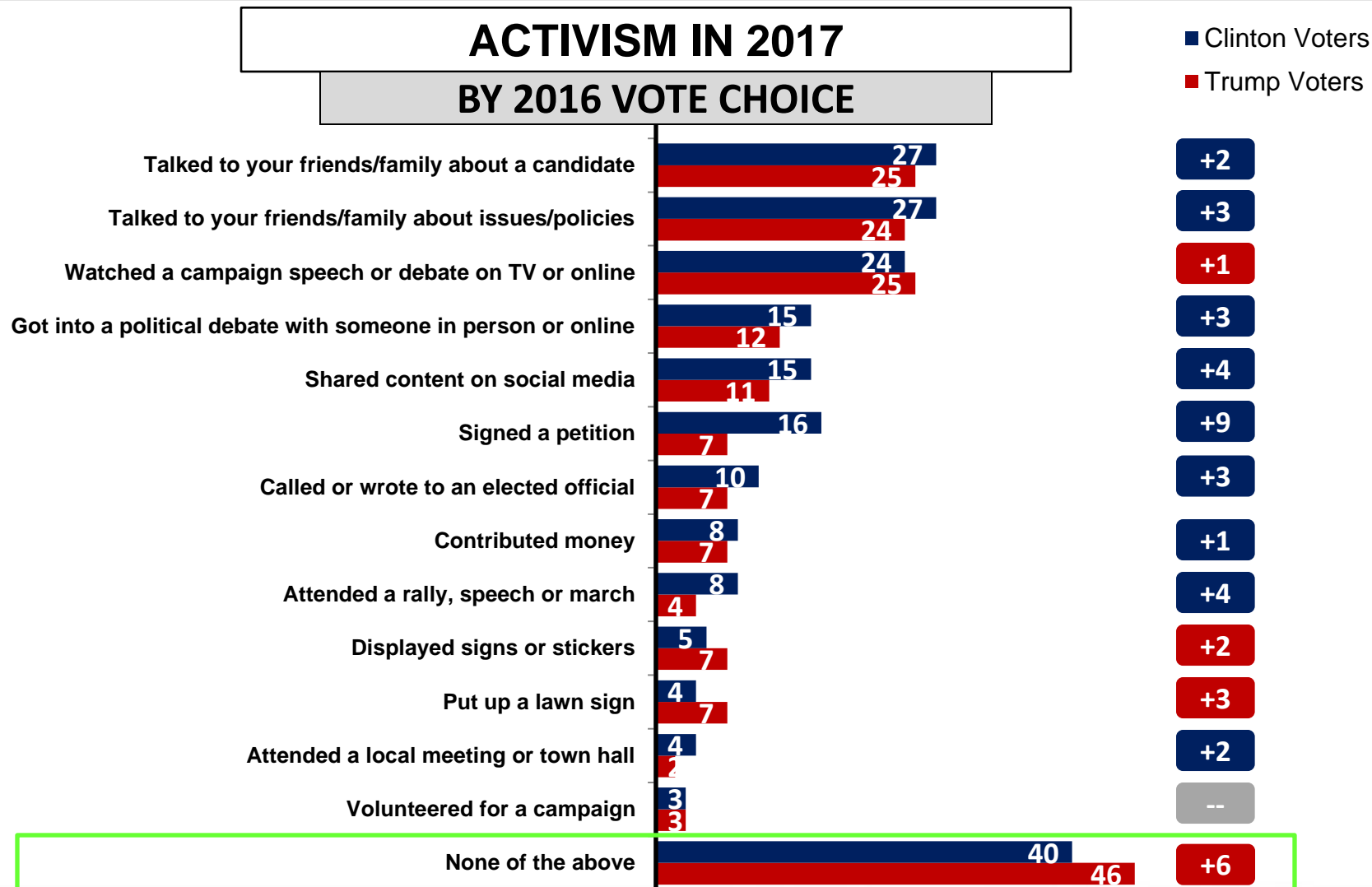
■ Strong Rep

■ Weak Rep



# Trump voters: lawn signs & stickers. Clinton: petitions, rallies, social media

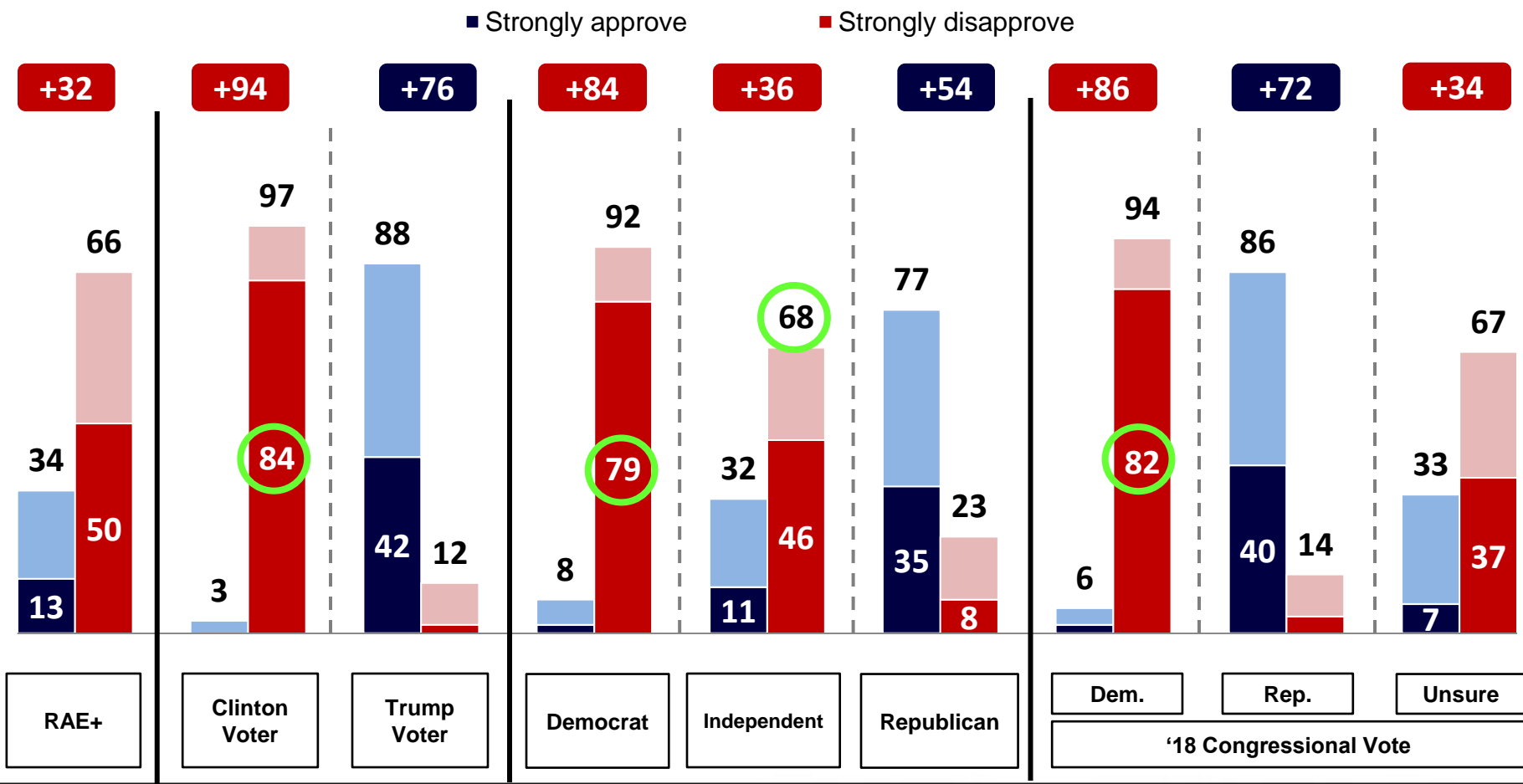
Please select all of the activities that you did THIS YEAR that you had not really done before.



# His base lacks intensity of opponents & swing voters disapprove

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

## TRUMP JOB PERFORMANCE

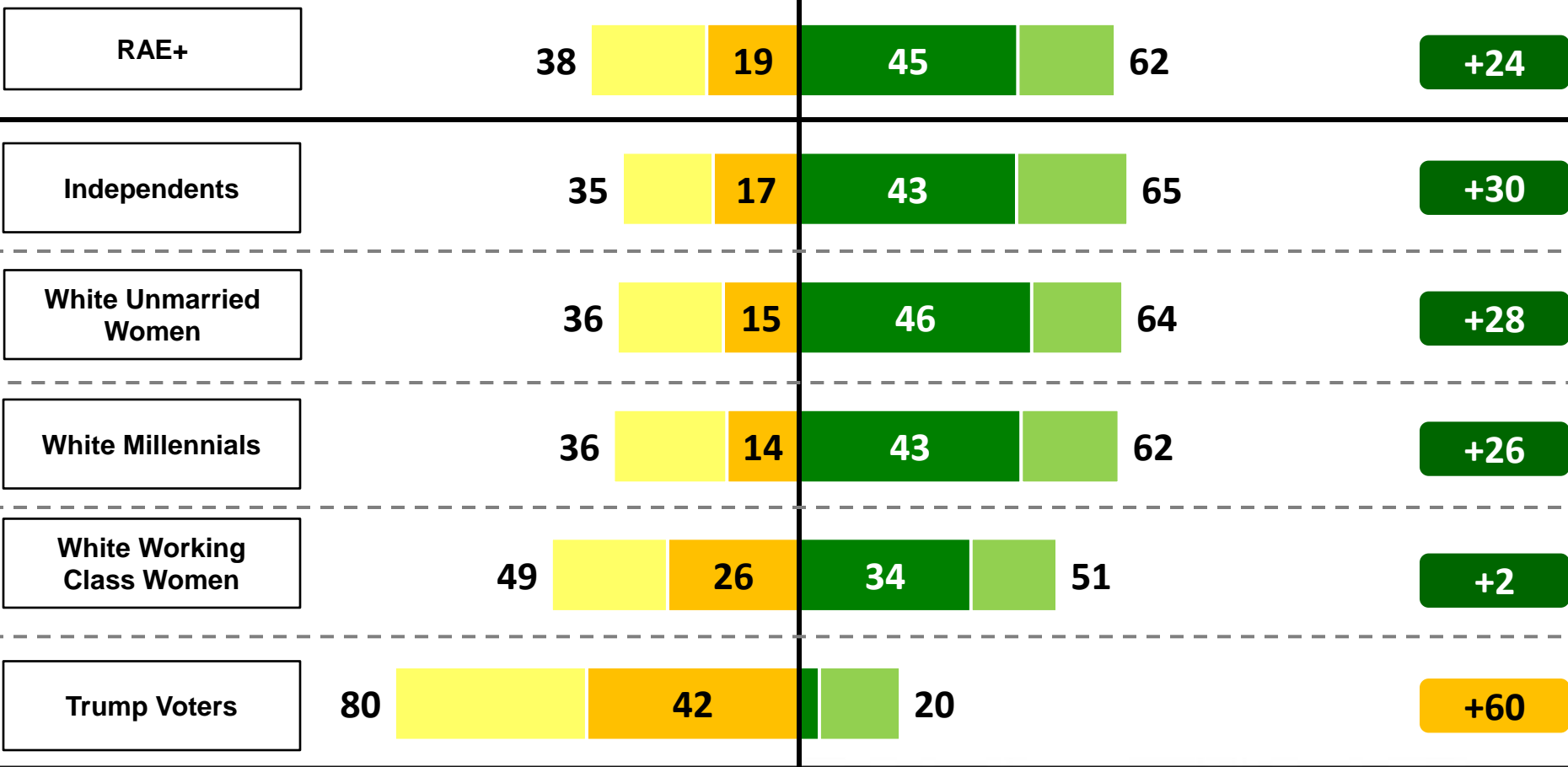


# Persuasion targets pulling back from Trump on being in-touch

For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes Donald Trump very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

■ Not well at all ■ Not too well ■ Very well ■ Well

## OUT OF TOUCH WITH WORKING PEOPLE

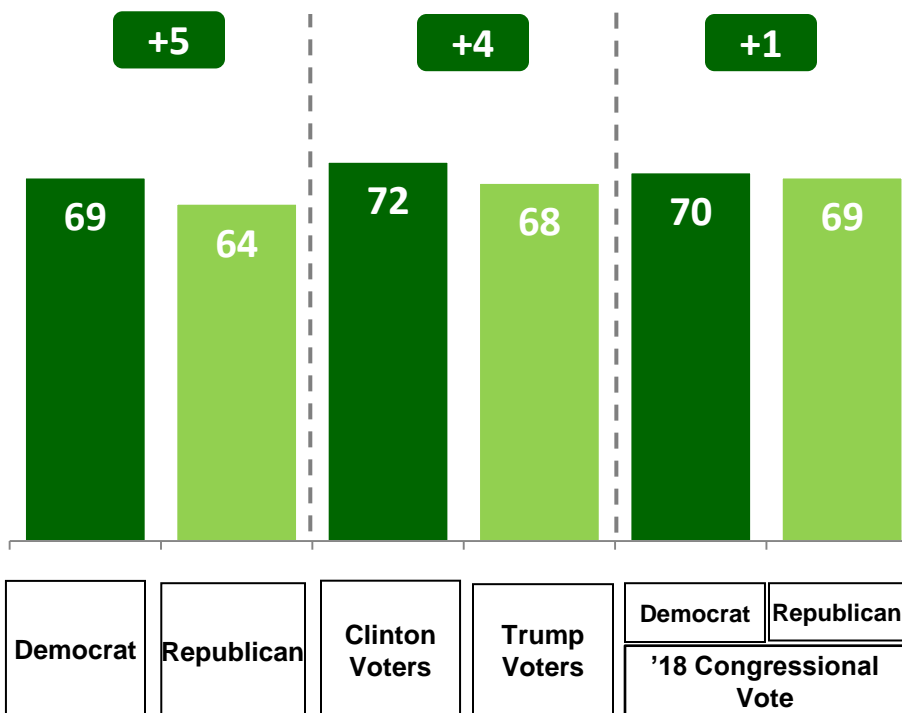


# Democrats & Clinton voters more determined to vote

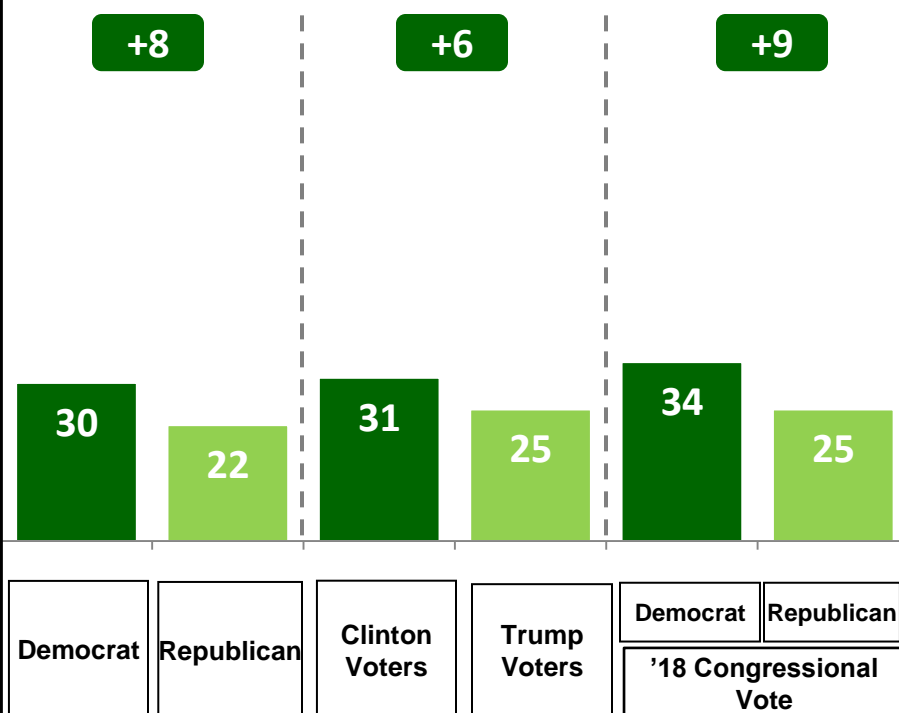
How interested are you in the elections in 2018 for U.S. Congress and other state and local offices? Please rate your interest from 1 to 10, with 1 meaning that you have no interest in this election and 10 meaning that you are extremely interested.

As you may know, 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?

## % ALMOST CERTAIN TO VOTE



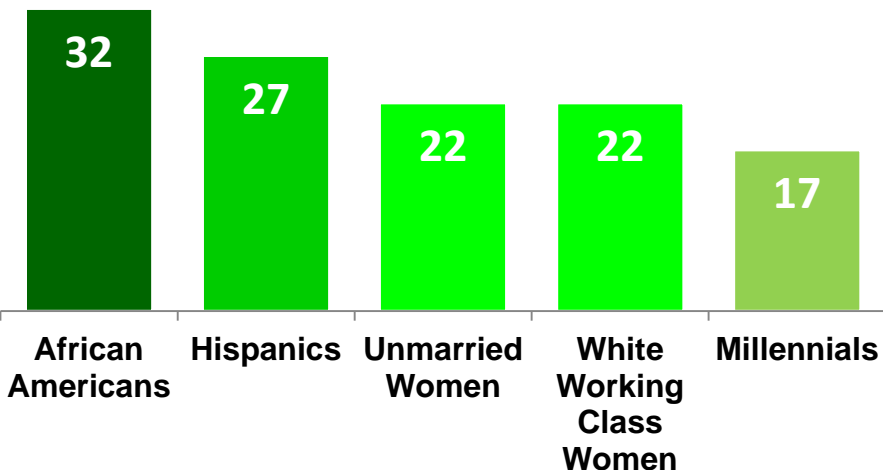
## % 10 INTEREST IN ELECTION



# African Americans engaged, others less so, particularly millennials

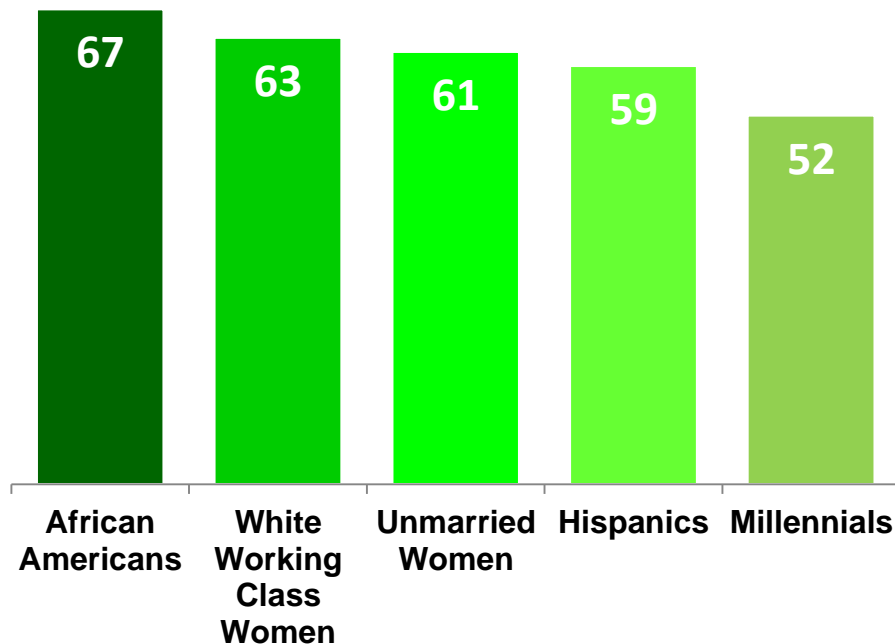
*How interested are you in the elections in 2018 for U.S. Congress and other state and local offices? Please rate your interest from 1 to 10, with 1 meaning that you have no interest in this election and 10 meaning that you are extremely interested.*

## %10 INTEREST IN ELECTION



*As you may know, 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?*

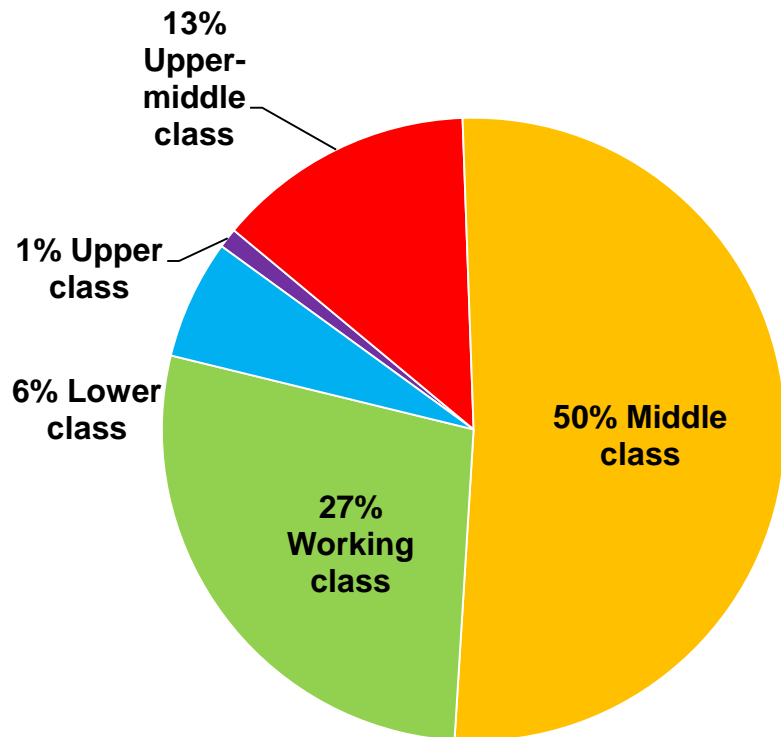
## % ALMOST CERTAIN TO VOTE



# Half identify as middle class, working women

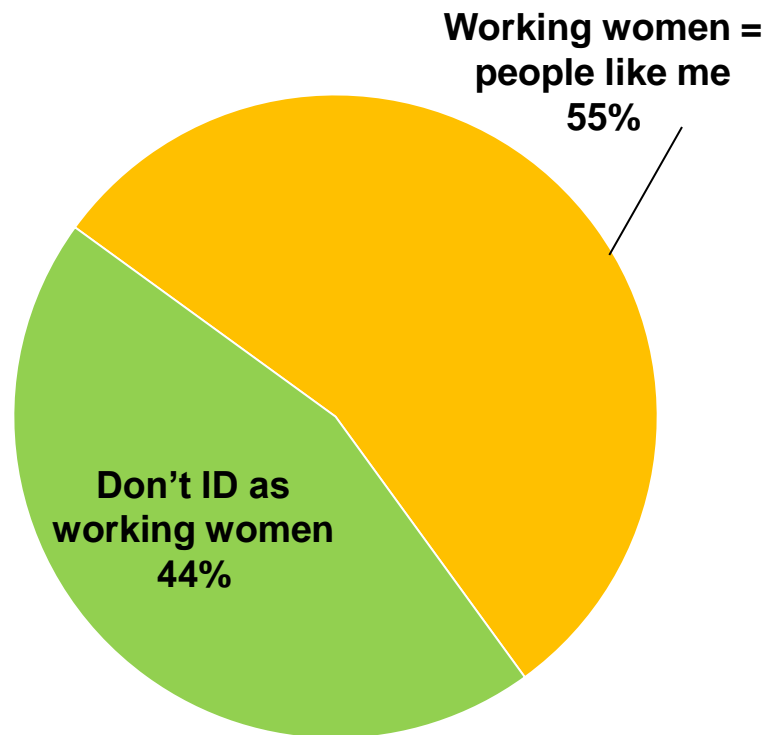
A person's social class is determined by a number of things including education, income, occupation, and wealth. If you were asked to use one of these five names for your social class, which would you say you belong in?

## SELF-ID SOCIAL CLASS



[ASKED OF WOMEN ONLY] Please tell me which one you agree with more, even if neither is exactly right.

## IDENTIFY AS WORKING WOMEN



# Nearly 4-in-10 unable to handle an emergency expense

Please tell me which one you agree with more, even if neither is exactly right.

**I would be able to handle a sudden unexpected \$500 expense.**

**I would *NOT* be able to handle a sudden unexpected \$500 expense**

■ Much more ■ Somewhat more

■ Much more ■ Somewhat more

RAE+

63

44

28

37

+26

Unmarried Women

54

36

35

46

+8

African Americans

55

36

34

45

+10

Millennials

59

39

30

41

+18

Hispanics

59

40

27

41

+18

White Working Class Women

62

44

30

38

+24

# Near majority have recent direct/indirect depression struggles

Please tell me which one you agree with more, even if neither is exactly right.

**No one in my household has struggled with depression in the last 12 months**

**Me or someone in my household has struggled with depression in the last 12 months.**

■ Much more

■ Somewhat more

■ Much more

■ Somewhat more

RAE+

53



40

29



47

+6

Millennials

45



30

34



55

+10

Unmarried Women

48



36

33



52

+4

Hispanics

50



35

29



50

--

White Working Class Women

55



44

28



45

+10

African Americans

58



43

29

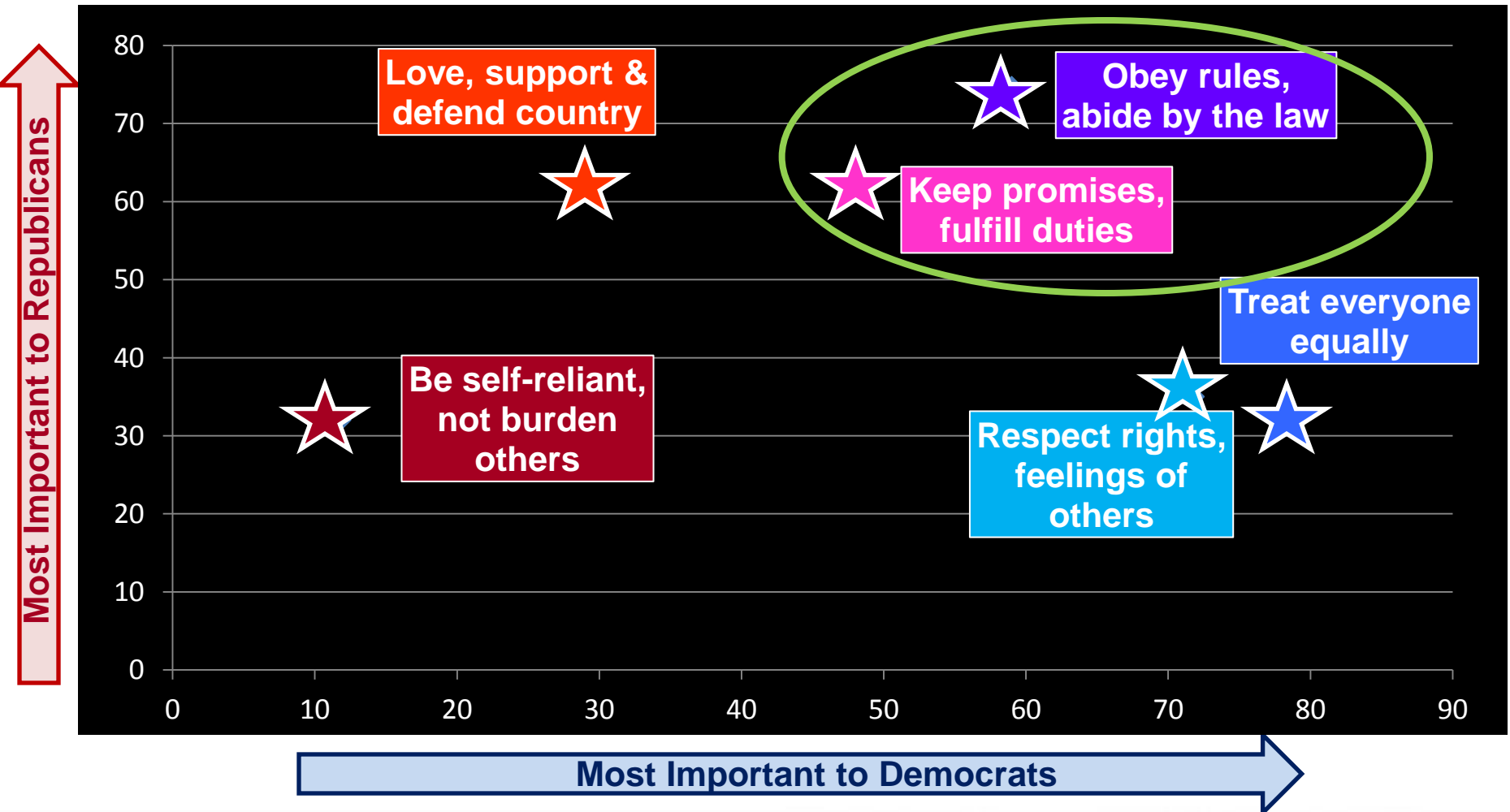


42

+16

# Shared values to guide how people act

## VALUES BY PARTISANSHIP

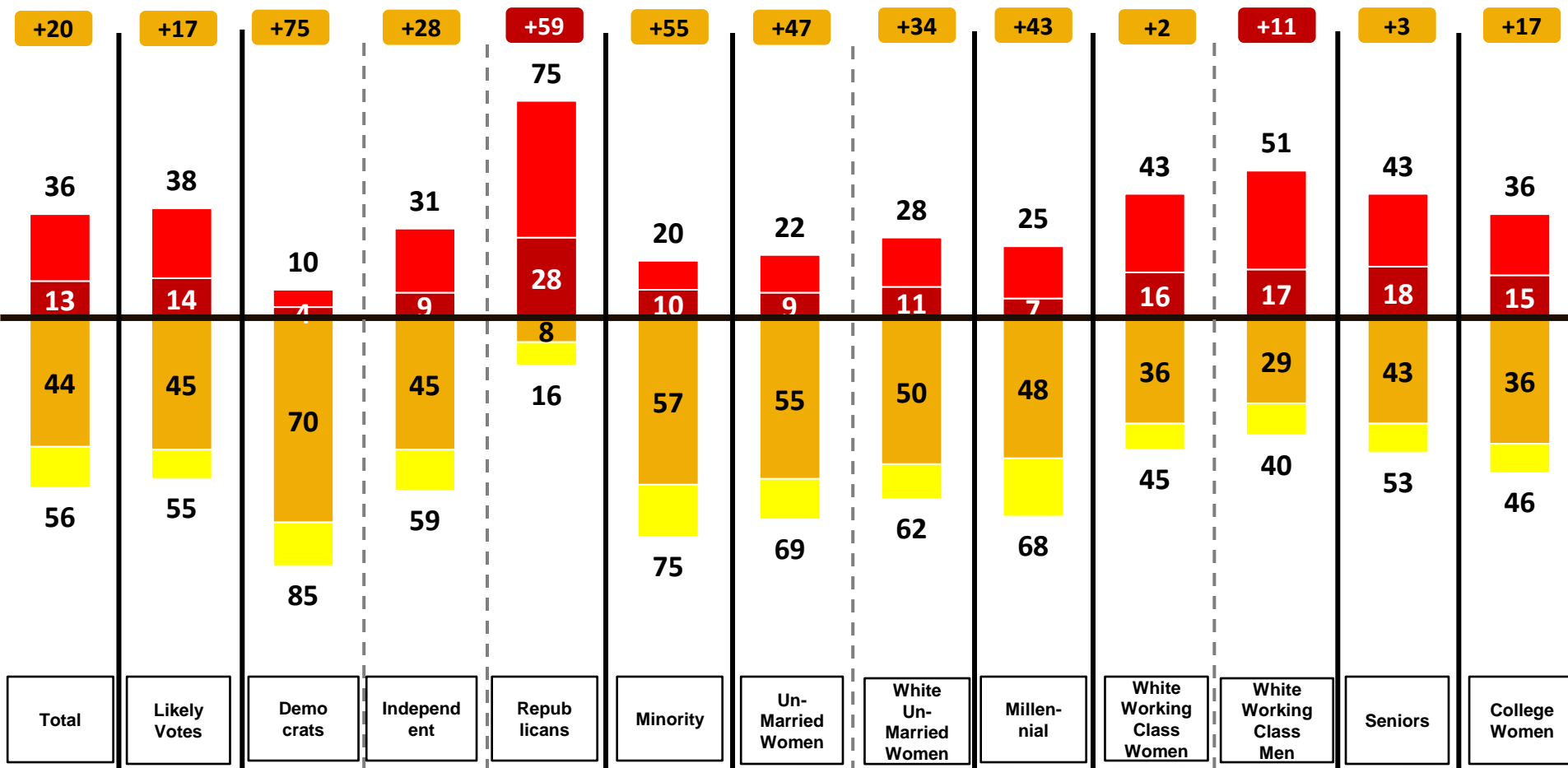


# GOP replacement bill is epically unpopular

From what you know, do you support or oppose the health care bill that House Republicans passed earlier this month to replace Obamacare, known as the American Health Care Act?

■ Approve strongly ■ Approve somewhat ■ Oppose strongly ■ Oppose somewhat

## SUPPORT FOR REPUBLICAN HEALTH CARE BILL



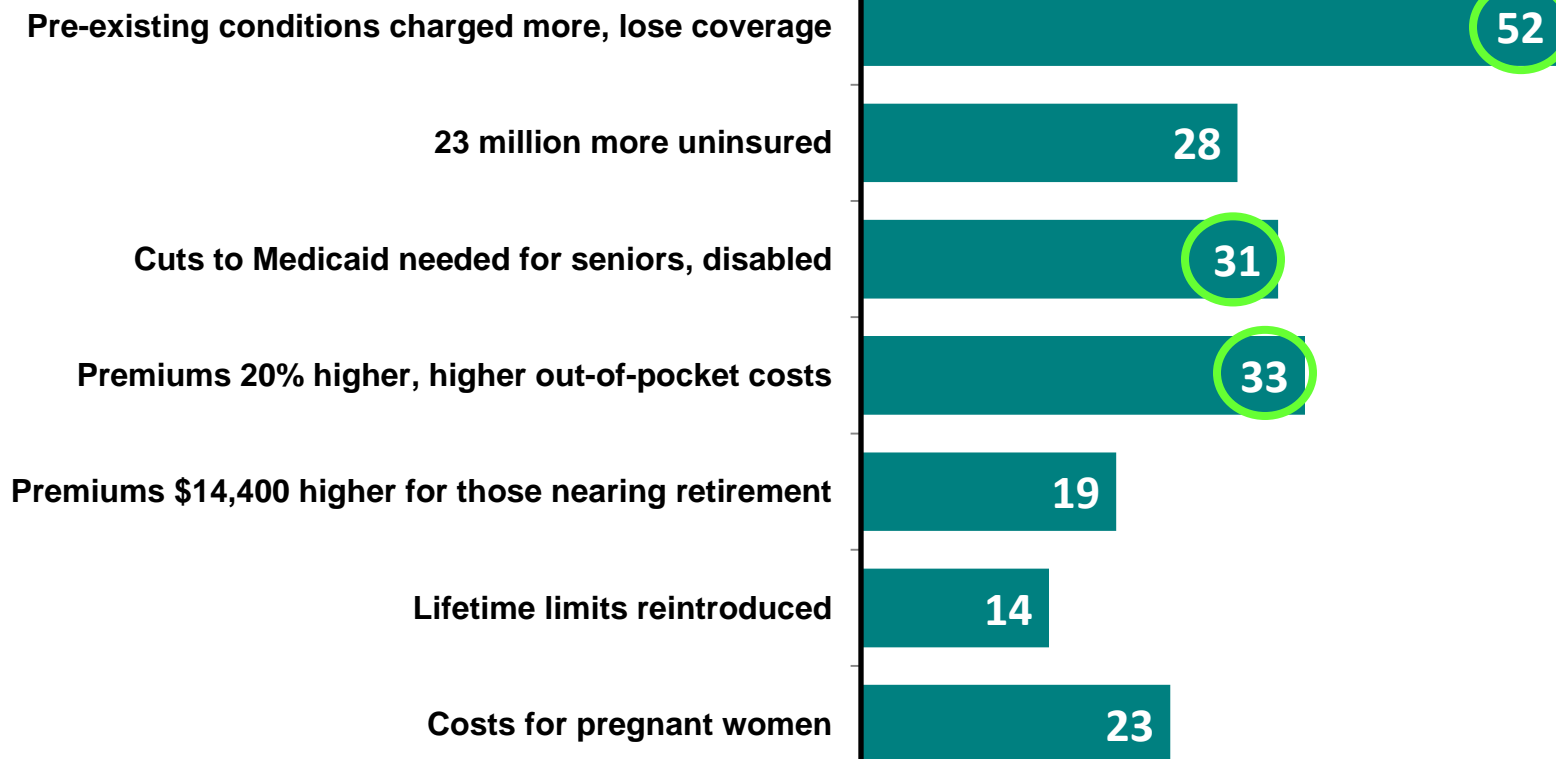
# Pre-existing conditions, high costs, Medicaid cuts move opposition

*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

■ Shift against AHCA

### SHIFT TO OPPOSE GOP HEALTH CARE BILL



# All attacks on the GOP bill raise serious doubts with half of RAE+

*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:*

## ATTACKS ON GOP HEALTH CARE BILL

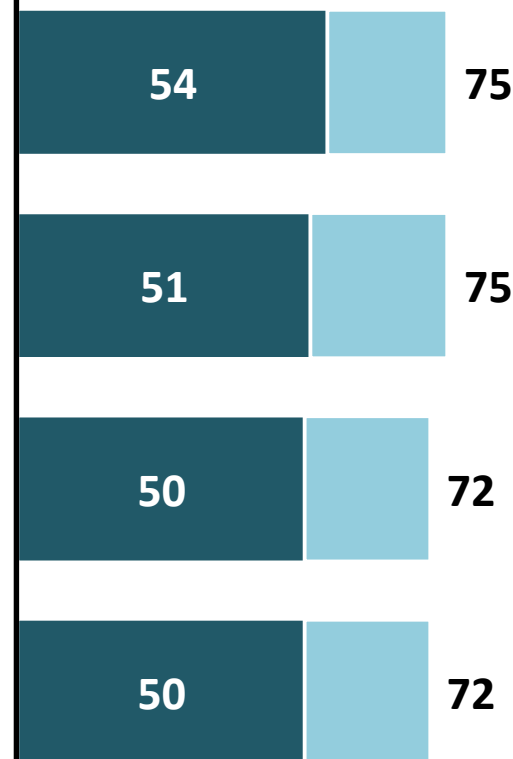
■ Very serious doubts

**LIFE:** 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.]*

**SENIORS :** Their new plan allows insurance companies to charge older Americans a lot more and makes dramatic cuts to Medicaid, the primary source of payment for nursing homes. Older Americans have been paying in their whole lives and we can't ask them to pay more when so many are struggling to retire. *[We must keep our promises and fulfill our duties to the elderly.]*

**UNAFFORDABLE:** Their new plan would make health care even more unaffordable when people haven't seen a raise in years. Instead of lowering costs, their plan will raise premiums by 20 percent and out-of-pocket costs and deductibles will grow even higher. *[This plan betrays the forgotten Americans who voted to make it easier to take care of their families.]*

**RECKLESS:** Their new plan was rushed through the House of Representatives in just two weeks. No public hearings with experts were held during that time and most congressmen never read the bill. They voted before the non-partisan budget office could say whether it increased the deficit, how many people could lose coverage and how much more insurance would cost. *[If you love your country, you do not act this way.]*



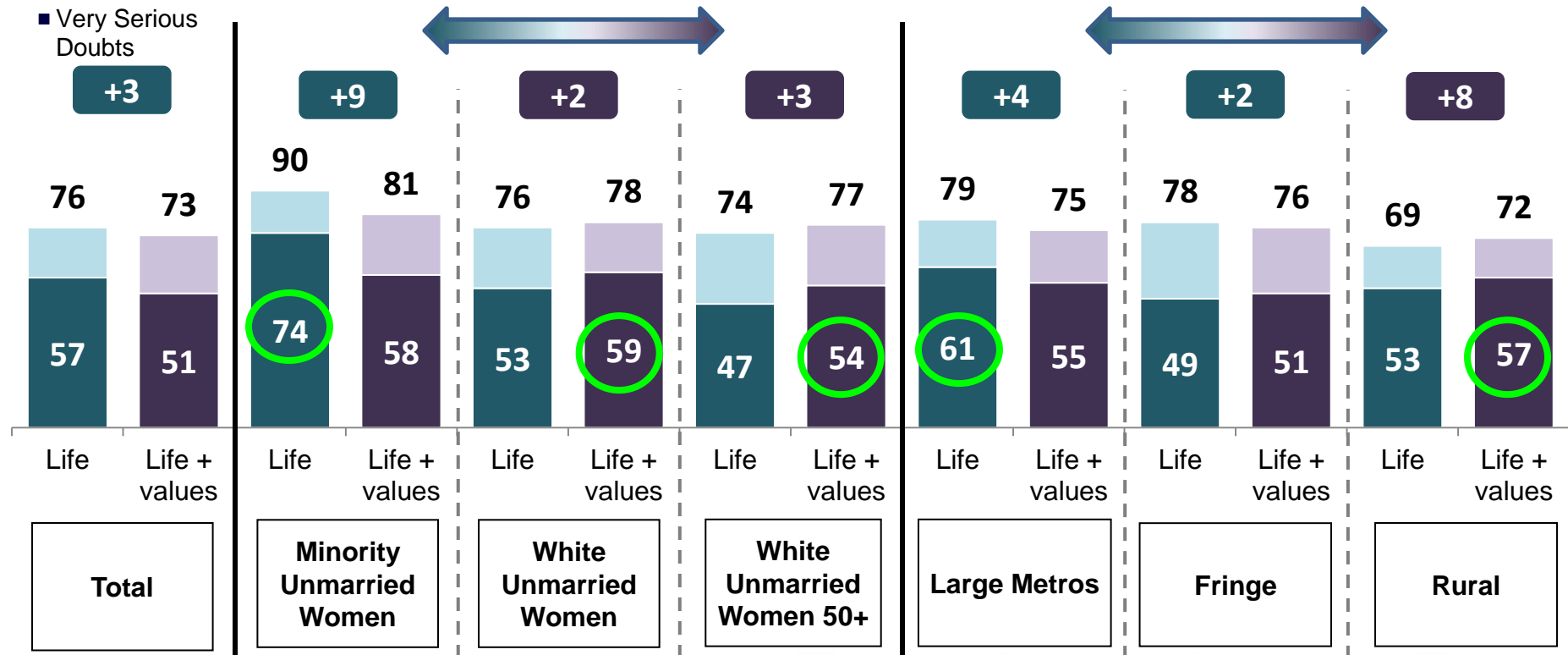
*Displaying the average for each attack with and without values*

# Values extend reach of pre-existing conditions attack

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:

**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.]*

Very Serious Doubts

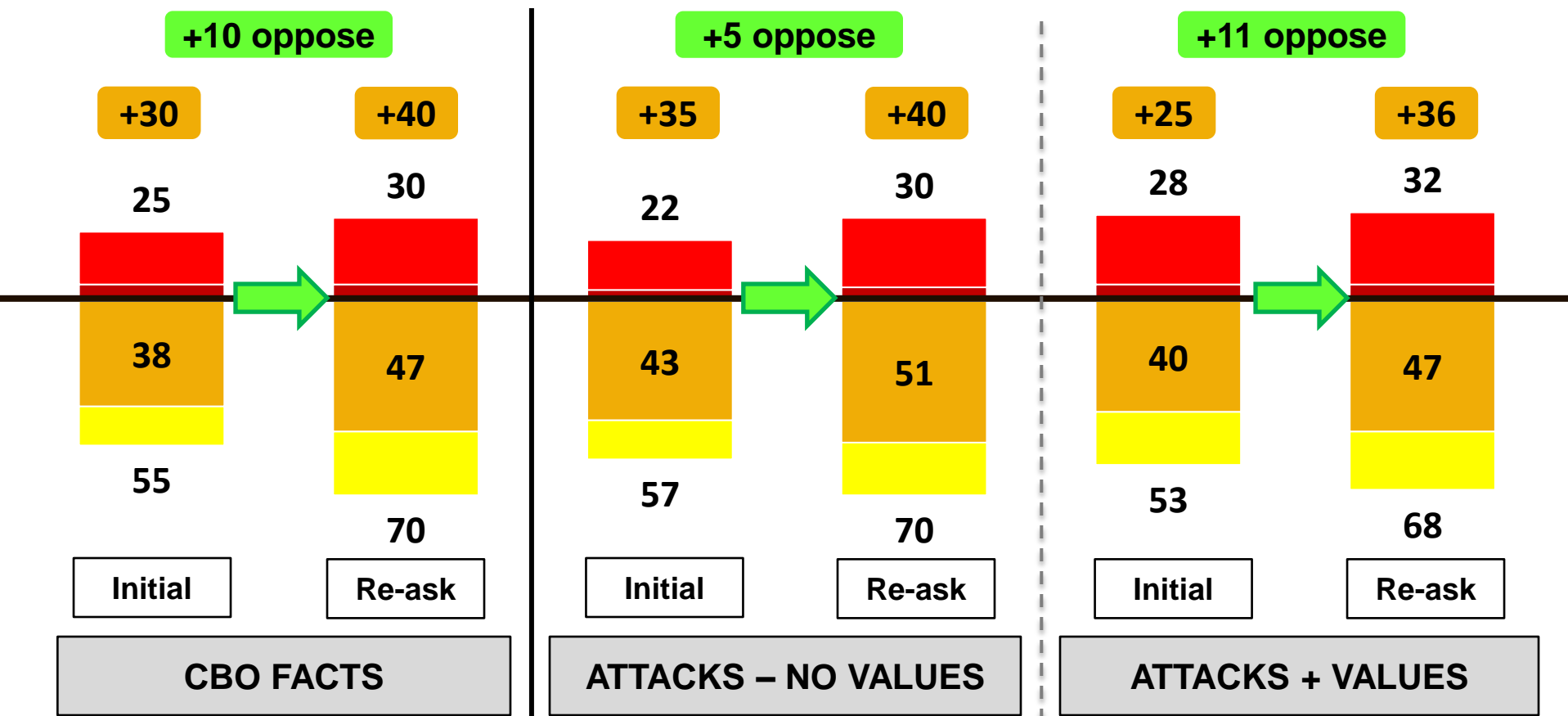


# Half move to intensely oppose AHCA

From what you know, do you support or oppose the health care bill that House Republicans passed earlier this month to replace Obamacare, known as the American Health Care Act?

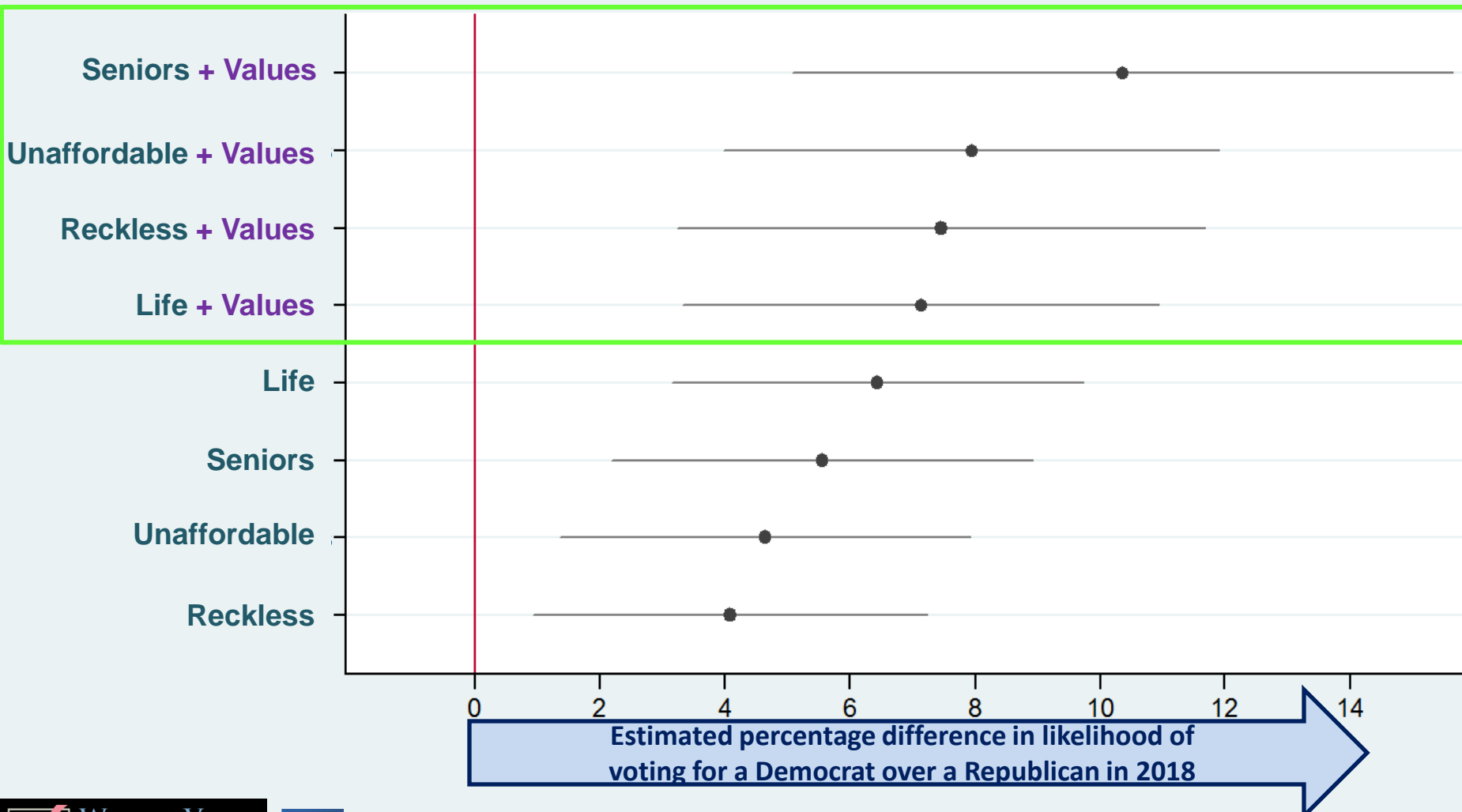
## SHIFTS IN OPPOSITION TO GOP HEALTH CARE BILL

■ Support strongly ■ Support somewhat ■ Oppose strongly ■ Oppose somewhat



# REGRESSION: GOP HEALTH CARE ATTACKS

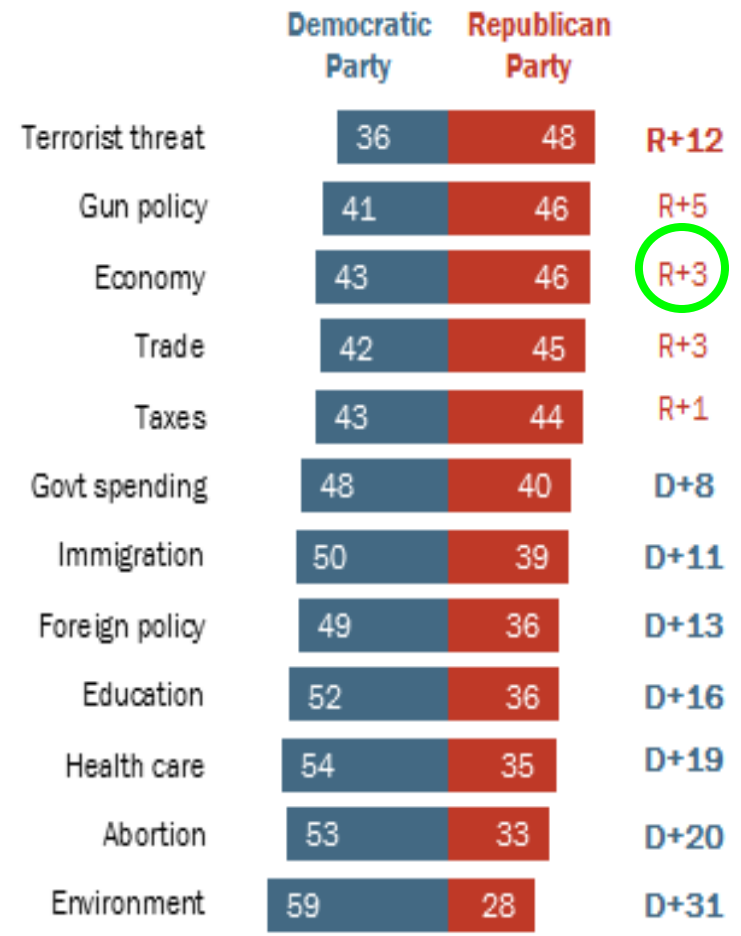
ON FINAL CONGRESSIONAL VOTE/CERTAINTY



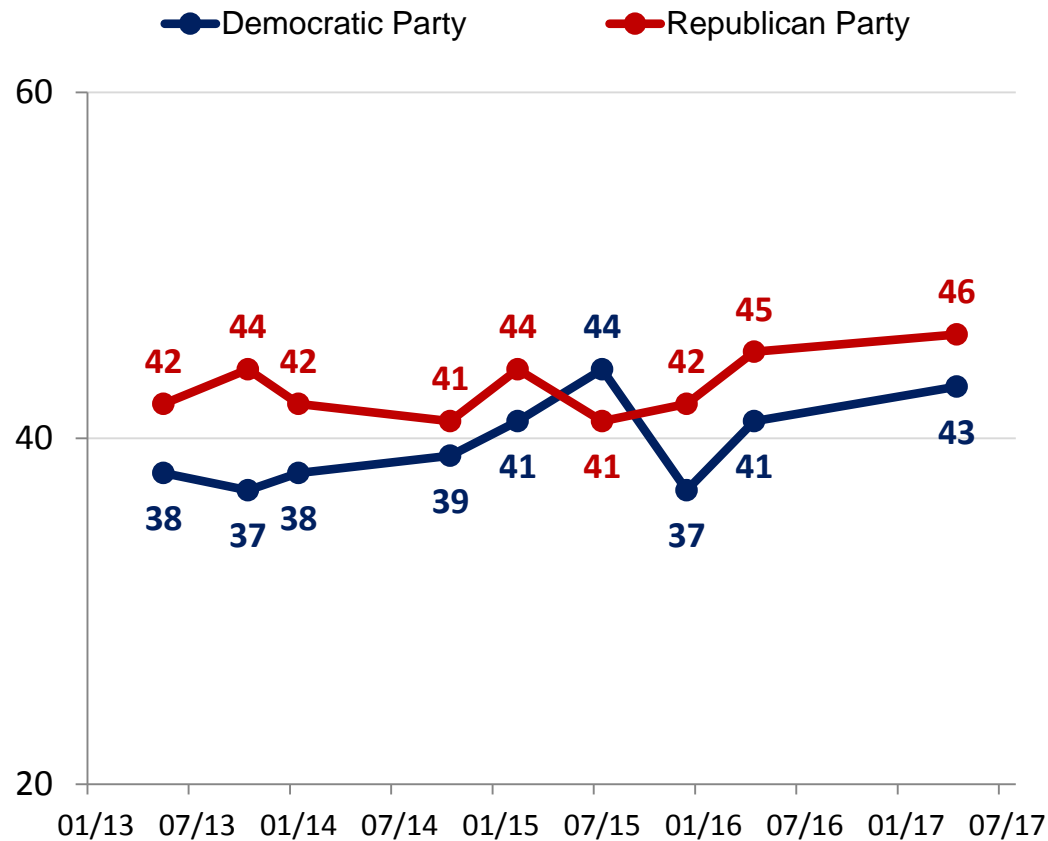
# GOP Advantage on the Economy

Which party would do a better job dealing with...the Democratic Party or the Republican Party?

## BETTER JOB



## THE ECONOMY



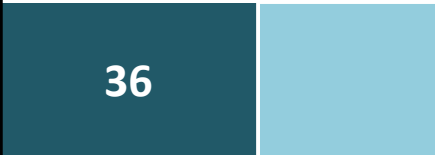
# Democratic economic offers more popular than Republican ones

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.



**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.



**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



**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



# Top messages among those who grow stronger in Dem vote choice

*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

### SHIFTS TO STRONG DEMOCRATIC SUPPORT

■ 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.

44

68

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37

68

**JOBS & INEQUALITY:** 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. My priority is increased opportunity and jobs that pay enough to live on

35

58

**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.

33

58

# Middle class not elites better across subgroups

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.

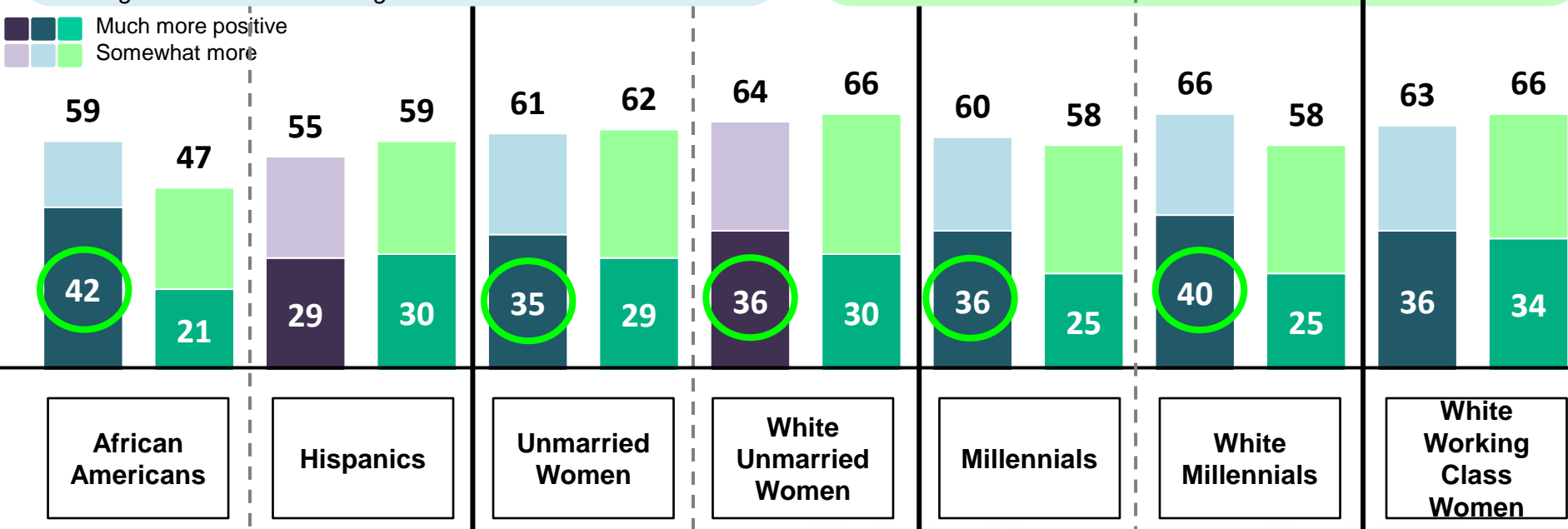
## DEMOCRATIC NARRATIVES

### 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.

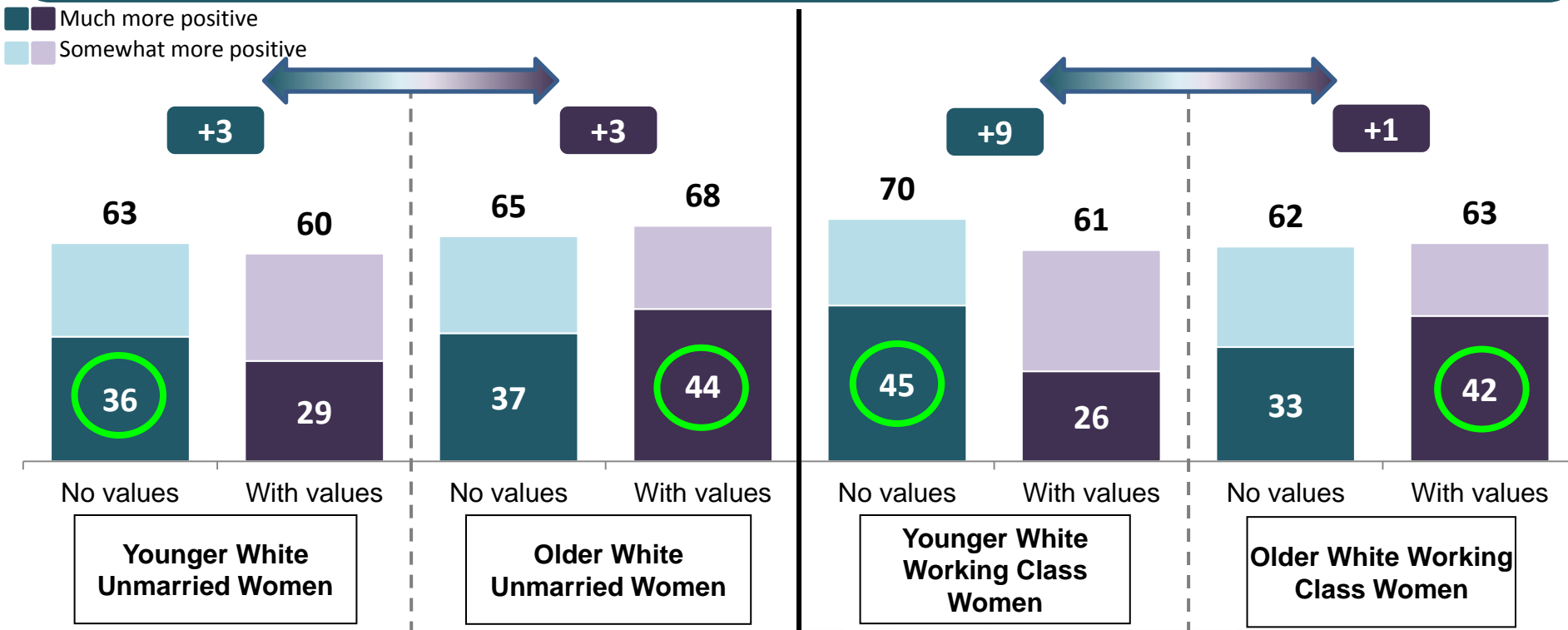


# Values extend reach to older white unmarried, non college women

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

**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.



# Anti-elite narrative bests GOP, gets white working class women

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

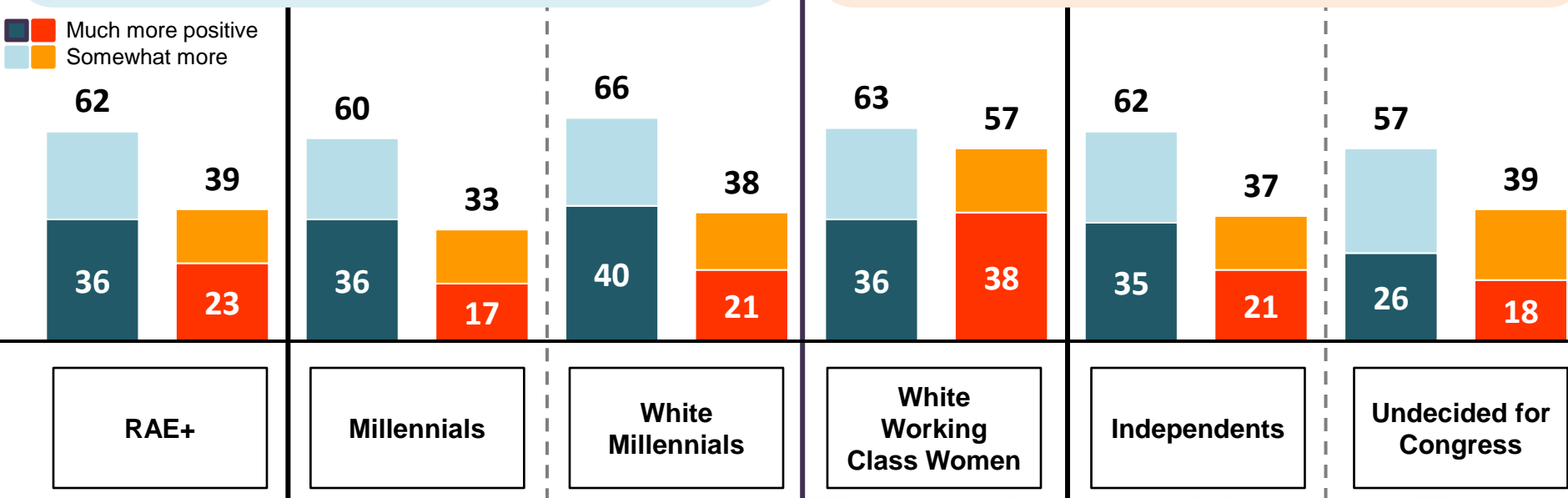
## TOP NARRATIVES BY PARTY

### 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.*

### REPUBLICAN NATIONLIST

*For decades the elites in DC decimated our middle class and let our jobs go overseas. We must finish draining the swamp of their corruption and incompetence so our forgotten working people get the changes they deserve. It's time to get illegal immigration and the border under control, to bring back our jobs and rebuild our military so we can be the greatest nation in the world again.*

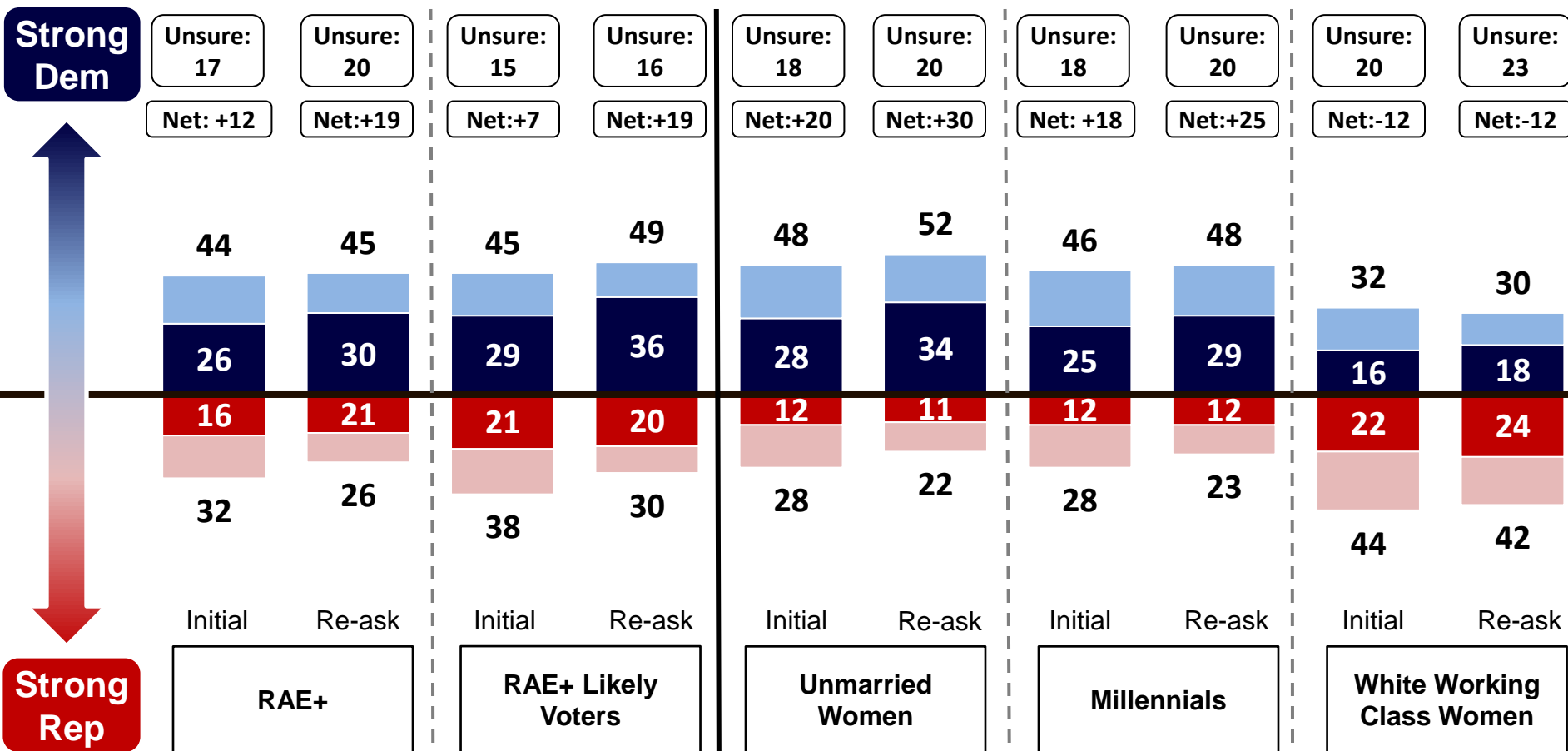


# Shift in strength of vote choice across RAE+

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

## SHIFT IN STRENGTH OF VOTE CHOICE

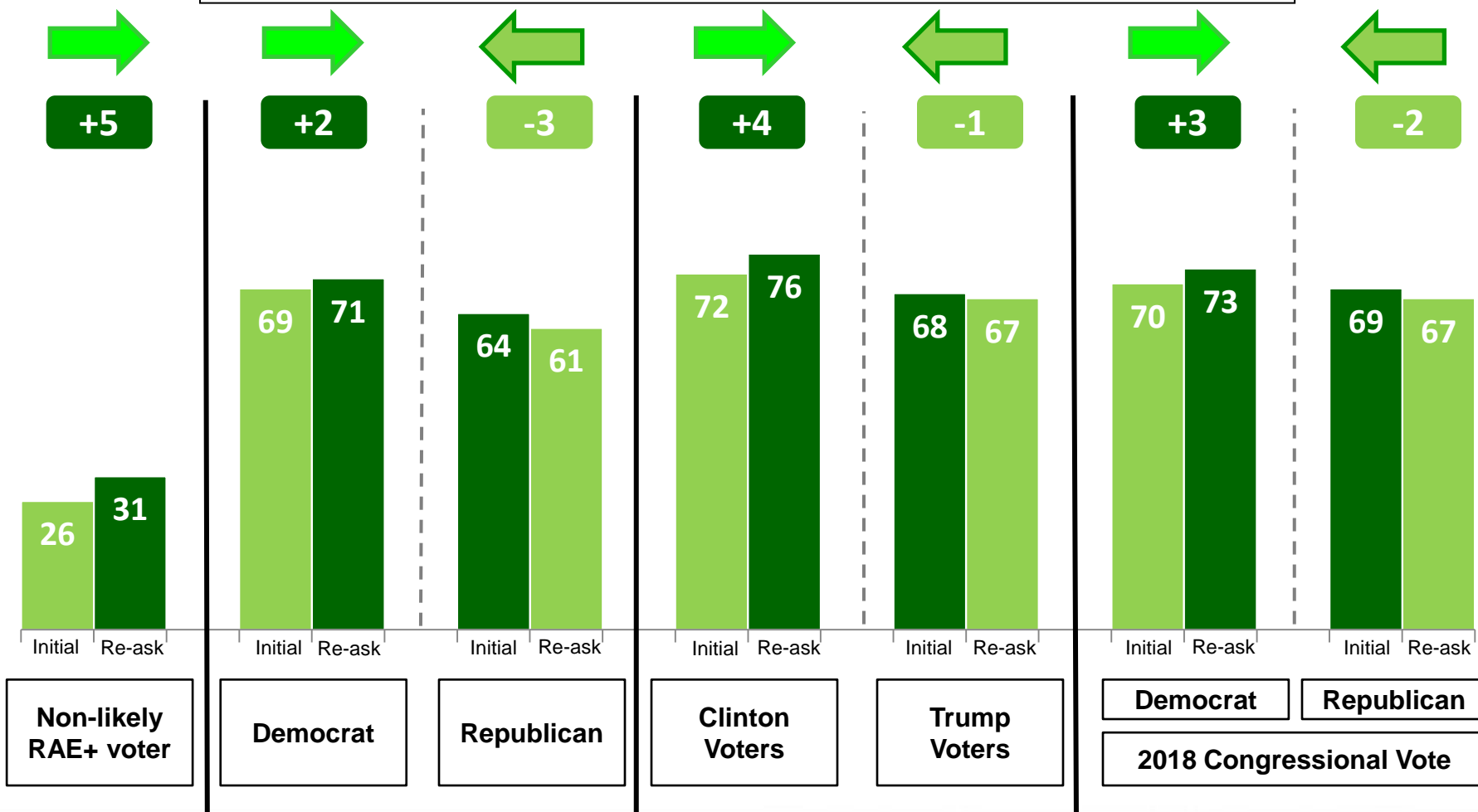
■ Strong Dem ■ Weak Dem ■ Strong Rep ■ Weak Rep



# Potential to change the likely electorate, depressing & motivating

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 % ALMOST CERTAIN TO VOTE



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