

DEMOCRACY CORPS CARVILLE • GREENBERG

GREENBERG RESEARCH

Change versus more of the same: On-going panel of target voting groups provides path for Democrats in 2018

October2017

CAMPAIGNS CORPORATIONS ADVOCACY WORLDWIDE

Innovative new research program

NATIONAL PHONE POLL **ON-GOING RAE+ PANEL**



2 national phone polls in 2017: May 31-June 5 October 7-12



1,000 registered voters nationally Voter file matched





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

2 web-surveys in 2017:

May 31-June 13 among 4,000

October 6-18 among 2,425



65% reached on cell phones



With 2 'touch-ins' between waves



Taking political & cultural measures nationally & among the RAE+



Tracking changing attitudes Vote preference & engagement



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



Conduct message tests to discover persuasion & turnout targets





Unless otherwise stated, the results shown are among the RAE (unmarried women, minorities and millennials) only. Where white working class women are displayed, results are shown by the full RAE+ sample.

Losing ground in ballot, but messaging takes back to June which was close to House majority

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



The wave 1 responses filtered to wave 2 respondents only.

Women Vote

Ongoing panel shows real losses across base & swing working class

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





Displayed by allocated voters: Among undecided voters, Democrats /leaning independents allocated to the Democratic candidate, Republicans /leaning independents allocated to the Republican candidate. The wave 1 responses filtered to wave 2 respondents only. Full RAE+ sample results displayed for white working class women.

Minorities maintain vote likelihood but not unmarried women & millennials

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?





The wave 1 responses are shown among wave 2 respondents only. Full RAE+ sample results displayed for white working class women

Two-thirds more inclined to get involved today, but millennials lag

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

I am less inclined to vote and get engaged in politics because of what is happening in the country today			I feel like getting more engaged in voting and politics because of what is happening in the country today.			
[]	Much more Somewhat more		Much more			
RAE		29	13	47	71	+42
African Americans		23	11	61	77	+54
Unmarried Women		27	12	46	73	+46
White Unmarried Women		29	13	43	71	+42
Hispanic		30	13	51	70	+40
Millennial	:	32	14	40	68	+36
White Working Class Women	3	33	16	41	67	+34
White Millennials	3	34	15	37	66	+32



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

New activities in 2017 continue to rise

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



Trump voters did more new political activities since June

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

TRUMP & CLINTON VOTERS

Trump voters - new since June

Clinton voters - new since June



Talked to your friends/family about a candidate Watched a campaign speech or debate on TV or online Talked to your friends/family about issues/policies Signed a petition Shared content on social media Got into a political debate with someone in person or... **Contributed money** Called or wrote to an elected official **Displayed signs or stickers** Put up a lawn sign Attended a local meeting or town hall Attended a rally, speech or march

Volunteered for a campaign



CHANGING VIEW OF TRUMP AND GOP



GOP Congress brand grows much more negative

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.

Do you approve or disapprove of the way these leaders are handling his their job?





Trump's approval stabilized, but big 55 percent strongly disapprove

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





The wave 1 responses are shown among wave 2 respondents only.

Minorities firmly anti-Trump, disapproval falls with others

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





The wave 1 responses are shown among wave 2 respondents only. White working class women results are shown from full RAE+ sample.

Can't afford time for Trump, includes 4-in-10 white working class women

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

We need to give Donald Trump more time to get things done			The country can't afford to give Donald Trump more time.				
RAE	Much more	Some	what more	 Much more 55 	 Somewhat more 63 		+26
African Americans			14 <mark>9</mark>	78	8	86	+72
Hispanics		27	19	70	73		+46
Millennials	3	7	22	54	63		+26
Unmarried Women	40		29	52	60		+20
White Millennials	47		29	43	53		+6
White Unmarried Women	51		40	40	49		+2
White Working Class Women	59	Ĺ	19	34	41		+18



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

Negative reactions to positives fall off, gains on experience to fix economy, putting people here first





The wave 1 responses are shown among wave 2 respondents only.

2/3 say dangerous & views stabilize, but dropping on promises



Fall off on 'keeping promises' with RAE, Trump voters, independents



The wave 1 responses are shown among wave 2 respondents only.

Trump & GOP voters let down by health care fail

What action has Donald Trump taken that most leads you to say he is not keeping his promises?

TRUMP NOT KEEPING PROMISES

He is getting us more involved in conflicts overseas

He propposed a budget that would cut programs that help the forgotten working people

He failed to repeal and replace Obamacare

He has not been able to get Mexico to pay for a Wall

He has not been able to keep companies from outsourcing jobs





THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY BRAND



17

Democratic brand problem across key groups

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.



Displaying the results from June and October national phone surveys.

Women's Voices

FRAMING THE ELECTION



Disrupting status quo the dominant motivation, but economy close

Below are some statements about what people think needs to happen in this country. Which one of the following statements comes closer to your view, even if neither is exactly right.



Women Vote

Top Democratic frames are primarily about economic choices

(IF REAL DIFFERENCE) When you think about that difference, does it make you much more likely to vote for the Democratic candidate for Congress in 2018, somewhat more likely, or does it make no difference.

DEMOCRATIC FRAMES

Trump & Republicans:	The Democrats	% much more likely to vo	te for Democrat	% Real Difference:
Tolerating Neo Nazi's & KKK	A check on their extremism	44	57	81%
Cutting SS, Medicare, Medicaid	Protect SS, Medicare, Medicaid	44	54	82%
Trickledown cuts for richest	Richest must pay fair share	41	57	82%
For the rich, billionaires, CEOs	For the middle class	41	53	77%
Inaction on guns, beholden to NRA	Background checks + auto gun ban	40	54	84%
Recklessly repealing Obamacare	Protect benefits, affordable for all	40	53	76%
Dividing country	Will unite the country	39	51	73%
Scared of those who look different	Equal, differences make us strong	39	52	68%
In control, extreme partisan agenda	The only check on them	38	54	75%
Betray workers who voted for them	Will tax outsourcers, invest US jobs	35	52	74%
Suppressing the right to vote	For expanding vote so all heard	34	51	73%
Owned by the big banks	For the middle class	34	50	71%
Protecting big secret campaign \$	Big \$ rigs economy against middle	33	53	78%



Top Democratic frames dominated by economic choices

(IF REAL DIFFERENCE) When you think about that difference, does it make you much more likely to vote for the Democratic candidate for Congress in 2018, somewhat more likely, or does it make no difference.

RICHEST MUCH PAY THEIR FAIR SHARE OF TAXES, NOT TRICKLE DOWN

Donald Trump and the Republicans are wedded to trickle-down economics cutting taxes for the richest. The Democrats say trickle-down has failed and the richest need to pay their fair share of taxes.

CHECK ON RACIST EXTREMISM

Donald Trump and the Republicans are tolerating the KKK and Neo-Nazis that threaten our democracy. The Democrats are a check on this extremism.

PROTECT SOCIAL SECURITY, MEDICARE, MEDICAID

Donald Trump and the Republicans are pushing radical cuts to Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid. The Democrats will protect Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid.

FOR MIDDLE CLASS, NOT THE RICHEST DONORS AND CEOS

Donald Trump and the Republicans are for the richest, billionaire donors and CEOs. The Democrats are for the middle class.

TRYING TO PROTECT BENEFITS AND MAKE HEALTH CARE AFFORDABLE, NOT RECKLESSLY REPEALING Donald Trump and the Republicans are recklessly trying to repeal Obamacare and doing everything possible to make it fail.

The Democrats will protect benefits and make health care more affordable for all.



Top frames among minorities:

Women Vote

(IF REAL DIFFERENCE) When you think about that difference, does it make you much more likely to vote for the Democratic /Republican candidate for Congress in 2018, somewhat more likely, or does it make no difference.



Top frame among unmarried women:

WOMEN'S VOICES

Women Vote

(IF REAL DIFFERENCE) When you think about that difference, does it make you much more likely to vote for the Democratic /Republican candidate for Congress in 2018, somewhat more likely, or does it make no difference.

TOP FRAMES: UNMARRIED WOMEN



Top frames among millennials:

Women Vote

(IF REAL DIFFERENCE) When you think about that difference, does it make you much more likely to vote for the Democratic /Republican candidate for Congress in 2018, somewhat more likely, or does it make no difference.



ATTACKS



Roughly half find doubts about Democrats serious

Here are some things that critics are saying about what the Democrats are proposing. Please tell me if it raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your mind about the Democrats.





Top doubts: typical politician U-turns on economy & security

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

DOUBTS ABOUT REPUBLICANS	 Very serious doubts Somewhat serious doubts 		
NORTH KOREA – LESS SAFE: Donald Trump's reckless tweets and refusal to listen to advisors on foreign affairs is making us less safe and secure. He has dramatically escalated tensions with other countries, and there is now a real risk of nuclear war with North Korea. Our country and troops deserve a Commander in Chief who cares more about their safety and our peace of mind.	46	62	
NOT POLITICIAN - UTURNS ON PROMISES: Donald Trump said trust me, I'm not your typical politician, but he's taken U-turn after U-turn. He said the richest would pay more taxes, but the top 1 percent 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 cutting all three.	44	63	
PATRIOTISM & EQUALITY - RACISM: Donald Trump said some of the Neo-Nazis and white supremacists in Charlotte were "good people." We fought in WWII to defeat the Nazis and uphold the belief that all men are created equal upon which our country was founded. He and the Republicans who defend his rhetoric disrespect the soldiers who risk their lives to defend our values.	41	61	
PROMISES & FAIRNESS– TAXES: Donald Trump promised the middle class a massive tax cut, but their tax plan gives them crumbs. Half the cuts in his tax plan go to the richest 1 percent alone. Instead of fulfilling his promises, he is giving big tax breaks to his CEO friends, including a \$4 billion dollar tax break for his family.	41	60	
PROMISES & HARM – HEALTHCARE: For 8 years Republicans said they would repeal Obamacare and Donald Trump promised to quickly replace it with something cheaper and better for everyone. But the bills they propose would increase costs, kick millions off their insurance, and literally put the lives of those with pre-existing conditions at risk of dying. He should value life more.	40	61	
PROMISES & FAIRNESS– MEDICAID: 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.	39	62	
FAIRNESS & HARM – BUDGET: To pay for the border wall and tax cuts for the very richest, they are cutting funding for Meals on Wheels, after-school programs for at-risk youth, and cancer research. Are they too rich to understand how that will hurt those raised less fortunate? Maybe if they lived a day in your shoes they would know how people should be treated.	39	61	
HARM & FAIRNESS – POLICING: Police have a tough and dangerous job and we need them, but there are real racial disparities too. Blacks are more likely to have their cars searched, be arrested for drugs and serve longer for sentences. They are twice as likely to be killed by police. All should be treated equally, but Trump cancelled the program that ensures local police protect civil rights.	35	57	



HEALTH CARE



ACA/Obamacare more favorable, GOP plan *extremely* 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.





The wave 1 responses are shown among wave 2 respondents only. White working class women shown from full RAE+ sample.

Democrats dominate GOP on health care and Trump on live in my shoes

Below are some words and phrases. For each, mark whether it better describes (ROTATE) the Democrats or (the Republicans)(Donald Trump).



Women Vote

Shift further in favor on health care post survey

μένι νότε

Below are some words and phrases. For each, mark whether it better describes (ROTATE) the Democrats or the Republicans.



Health care most credible GOP frame, top frame Democratic frame along with protecting Medicare, Medicaid & Social Security



Nomen Vote

ECONOMIC MESSAGE



GOP & Trump economic messages

These are some things that Donald Trump [and the Republicans] say about the country. How much more positive you feel about [Donald Trump after reading this/a Republican who says this]?

TRUMP & GOP ECONOMIC MESSAGES

Much more positive

46

32

30

24

16

14

Somewhat more positive ESTABLISHMENT- TAX CUTS: Too many hardworking Americans and small businesses are being taxed to death. It is time we reform our outdated tax system to unleash a wave of economic growth and allow more Americans to keep more of their hard-earning money. America has the highest tax rate in 50 27 the developed world, but if we cut taxes on businesses and reform taxes for individuals, then companies can invest more money back in their business and employees and employees can keep more of their paychecks. That means faster growth, more jobs, higher pay checks and rising living

ESTABLISHMENT- SMALL GOVERNMENT FOR GROWTH: It is time to make America the best place in the world to do business again. We must roll back job-killing regulations so entrepreneurs and job-creators spend less time and money dealing with red-tape from Washington bureaucrats and invest in their businesses instead. That is how we get businesses to grow, create more jobs and pay workers better wages. We can create good jobs for everyone if government gets out of the way.

BANNON - NATIONALIST ECONOMICS: We face an establishment that has fetishized globalism and waged untold economic hate crimes against our working people and will doom our children. Now they are doing everything they can to stop our movement. But we are keeping our promises. Illegal border crossings are falling and we have cracked down on criminal sanctuary cities. We are getting our economy moving again, renegotiating the job-killing NAFTA and doing deals to bring more jobs home. We are strengthening our military again. Let's finish draining the swamp and keep making America great again.

BANNON – WHITE NATIONALISM: We are at a point of reckoning in this country. Our country has abandoned the culture and Judeo-Christian values that made this country great and prosperous. We are in an outright war against the jihadists, socialists and liberal atheists who want to abandon the very heritage and moral foundation of our Western society. The soul of our country and our very future is at stake. It's time to support Donald Trump's crusade to against these forces so we can rededicate our country to God and the Constitution and Make America Great Again. If we don't, we will lose this nation



standards for all Americans.
More intense support for negative populist message

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

DEMOCRATIC POPULIST MESSAGES

POPULIST - NEGATIVE

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 the Republicans propose? More trickle-down tax cuts for the richest. Democrats say we need an economy that ensures better jobs, better wages and a better future. Let's ban unlimited secret campaign donations, raise taxes on the richest, close corporate loopholes, and reduce the cost of drugs and health care so the middle class grows again.



POPULIST - POSITIVE

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 and Republicans want even more trickle-down tax cuts for the richest. Democrats say we need an economy that ensures better jobs, better wages and a better future. Let's ban unlimited secret campaign donations, raise taxes on the richest, close corporate loopholes, and reduce the cost of drugs and health care. Then we can invest in creating good jobs and giving people the skills they need so America grows the middle class again.

Much more positive



25

Opportunity messages:

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

DEMOCRATIC OPPORTUNITY MESSAGES

OPPORTUNITY- NEGATIVE

The economy isn't working the way it should: despite working hard and playing by the rules, too many Americans don't have the opportunity to get ahead. Good paying jobs are hard to find and people's paychecks aren't keeping up with rising costs. We don't make things here anymore, we don't do enough to help small businesses, and we don't prepare people for the jobs of the 21st century. Republicans want trickle-down tax cuts for the rich. Democrats want a new economic approach that gives everyone a fair shot at better jobs, better wages and a better future. Let's focus on manufacturing and technology, small business creation, education and job training so workers have a path to the middle class.



OPPORTUNITY- POSITIVE

The economy isn't working the way it should: despite working hard and playing by the rules, too many Americans don't have the opportunity to get ahead. Good paying jobs are hard to find and people's paychecks aren't keeping up with rising costs. Democrats want a new economic approach that gives everyone a fair shot at better jobs, better wages and a better future. That means focusing on helping the economy grow and giving workers the skills they need to succeed. Let's focus on manufacturing and technology, small business creation and agriculture, education and job training. That will grow the economy and give workers a path to the middle class.

Much more positive

51

25

Top Democratic message against GOP tax cut messaging

For each, please tell me how much more positive you feel about [the Democrat who says it/Donald Trump after reading it.]

DEMOCRATIC POPULIST NEGATIVE

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 the Republicans propose? More trickledown tax cuts for the richest. Democrats say we need an economy that ensures better jobs, better wages and a better future. Let's ban unlimited secret campaign donations, raise taxes on the richest, close corporate loopholes, and reduce the cost of drugs and health care so *America grows* the middle class again.

ESTABLISHMENT GOP TAX CUTS

Too many hardworking Americans and small businesses are being taxed to death. It is time we reform our outdated tax system to unleash a wave of economic growth and allow more Americans to keep more of their hard-earning money. America has the highest tax rate in the developed world, but if we cut taxes on businesses and reform taxes for individuals, then companies can invest more money back in their business and employees and employees can keep more of their paychecks. That means faster growth, more jobs, higher pay checks and rising living standards for all Americans.



Populist negative message greater success in moving vote

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

DEMOCRATIC ECONOMIC MESSAGES AMONG RAE+





Regressions run on the full RAE+ sample

IMMIGRATION



White RAE+ subgroups stand out on DREAMRES

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.





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

Democratic immigration messages

These are statements being made by some Democratic leaders about what's happening in the country. Please tell me how much more positive you feel about the Democrat who says that statement.

DEMOCRATIC IMMIGRATION MESSAGES

Much more positiveSomewhat more positive

DREAMERS DEAL PATH TO CITIZENSHIP: DREAMERS came to the US with their parents as young people and know no other home. President Obama issued an executive order that protected them from deportation. They now have jobs, attend school, and serve in the military. Now a bi-partisan group wants to give DREAMERS permanent legal status and path to citizenship. That is the right thing to do.

COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION REFORM: I believe in comprehensive immigration reform to fix our broken immigration system. But we need reform that puts American citizens first and promotes legal, not illegal immigration. That means stronger enforcement at the border and work place. I want a responsible pathway to earned citizenship that includes paying taxes, learning English, and going to the back of the line. People are right to want to manage immigration so it works for our country.

CELEBRATE IMMIGRANT DIVERSITY & LEGAL IMMIGRATION: America continues to be enriched by immigration, and I'm proud that we are a nation of immigrants. Each generation has brought new, responsible people that make America exceptional. They create our hardworking middle class and our innovative entrepreneurs. Our diversity and continued immigration makes us exceptional. That's why I oppose proposals to sharply reduce legal immigration





Opponents of reduced legal immigration most likely to vote Democratic

These are statements being made by some Democratic leaders about what's happening in the country. Please tell me how much more positive you feel about the Democrat who says that statement.

DEMOCRATIC IMMIGRATION MESSAGES AMONG RAE+





Regressions run on the full RAE+ sample

ENTHUSIASM & VOTE SHIFTS



Shifts across base and swing targets

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





Messaging intensifies Democratic support in the end

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





OMEN'S VOICES

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?





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