



# New message platform for 2018's key battlegrounds

Findings from Wave 1 of Battleground web-panel & phone survey

May 2018

# **GREENBERG** RESEARCH

# **Innovative new research program**

#### BATTLEGROUND **PHONE POLL**

### **ON-GOING RAE+** BATTLEGROUND PANEL

3 web-surveys in 2018: April 4-16 among 3,137





1,000 registered voters Voter file matched



Among 3,137 unmarried women, millennials, minorities (RAE) + white working class women

Voter file matched







With '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) plus white working class women.



(Republican PVI advantage)

(PVI – even)

(Democratic PVI advantage)

# **DIVERSE BATTLEGROUND STATES**

Arizona (+5), Colorado (+1), Florida (+2), Georgia (+5), Nevada (+1), New Mexico (+3)

- Criteria: less than 70% white only population
- Combined Diverse State demographics:
  - 64% RAE (33% minority, 31% unmarried women, 30% millennial)
  - 23% white working class women.

# **RUST BELT + BATTLEGROUND STATES**

Michigan (+1), Minnesota (+1), Ohio (+3), Pennsylvania (-), Tennessee (+14), Wisconsin (-)

- Criteria: more than 70% white only population
  - Combined Rust Belt+ state demographics:
    - 47% RAE (13% minority, 20% unmarried women, 28% millennial)
    - 31% white working class women.



**\*retiring/term-limited** \*named candidate of incumbent party \*named challenger

# **GOVERNOR SEATS:**

- Democratic Incumbent: Colorado\*\*, Minnesota\*\*, Pennsylvania
- Republican Incumbent: Arizona, Florida\*, Georgia\*\*, Michigan\*\*\*, Nevada\*\*, New Mexico\*\*\*, Ohio\*\*, Tennessee\*, Wisconsin

# **SENATE SEATS:**

- Democratic incumbent: Florida\*, Michigan, Minnesota\*, New Mexico\*, Ohio\*, Pennsylvania\*, Wisconsin
- Republican incumbent: Arizona\*\*, Nevada\*, Tennessee\*\*\*

# **HOUSE SEATS:**

- 57% Republican-held, 43% Democrat-held
- DCCC Battleground Seats: AZ-1, AZ-2, CO-6, FL-6, FL-7, FL-18, FL-26, MI-8, MI-11, MN-1, MN-2, MN-3, MN-7, MN-8, NM-2, NV-3, PA-6, PA-8



# **Recommendations:**

## MESSAGE: STOP SHORT-TERM FOR RICH THREATENING OUR FUTURE

Stop politicians and their huge tax-giveaway to the big corporations and the richest 1% which will blow-up and endanger our future. We need to invest in education and infrastructure, not cut them. We need to protect Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid, not threaten your hard-earned retirement.

#### ATTACK : ENOUGH POLITICAL GAMES ON HEALTH CARE COSTS

Donald Trump and Republicans promised [STATE] better, cheaper health care. Instead they supported plans to massively cut Medicaid, raise prices on older workers, and eliminate protection for pre-existing conditions. Drug and insurance companies even got a new tax cut even though they are still raising prices on us here in my state. Enough politics and broken promises on health care.

#### LITMUS TEST:

**X** Supported cuts to Medicare & Social Security to address the rising federal budget deficit.

**X** Supported the efforts to cut Medicaid, raise premiums & rates for those with preexisting conditions.

**X** Opposed universal background checks and an assault weapon ban.

#### **EMOTIONAL RESPONSE FRAMES:**

"I'm shocked"

"I can't believe it"

# **2018 election all about interest and intensity**

How interested are you in the elections in November? 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.

And how much do the elections this November for U.S. Congress and other state and local offices matter this year? Please rate how much they matter from 1 to 10, with 1 meaning they don't matter at all and 10 meaning they matter tremendously.



# Messaging produces major shifts in interest in voting in November

How interested are you in the elections in November? 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.



# **Democrats have daunting lead on enthusiasm**

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## **Democrats intensely opposed to Trump**

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is doing his job as President?





RAE+ battleground web-survey. Displaying Democrats, and Republicans among RAE only.

# THE STATE OF THE BATTLEGROUND



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# Democrats running way ahead of Trump in the battlegrounds

Thinking about the election for U.S. Congress in your district/Governor in your state/Senate in your state in November 2018, will you vote for – (Democratic candidate) or (Republican candidate)?





All registered voters in battleground phone survey. Compared to the 2016 presidential vote across the 12 governor race and 10 Senate race states.

# Strong lead in Senate & House ballot, heated Governor races

Thinking about the election for U.S. Congress in your district/Governor in your state/Senate in your state in November 2018, will you vote for – (Democratic candidate) or (Republican candidate)?





# Senate candidate are candidates for change

Thinking about the election for Senate in your state in November 2018, will you vote for – (Democratic candidate) or (Republican candidate)? / Generally speaking, do you think that things in this country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?





# **Stunning opportunities in RAE base**

Thinking about the election for Senate in your state in November, will you vote for – (the Democratic candidate) or (the Republican candidate)?





# Dems leading in DCCC battleground and Diverse states

Thinking about the election for Congress in your district in November 2018, will you vote for -- the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate? How certain are you that you would vote for the (CANDIDATE) -- are you very certain, somewhat certain or not certain at all?





## Unmarried women 2-to-1 & winning white unmarried women

Thinking about the election for Congress in your district in November 2018, will you vote for -- the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate? How certain are you that you would vote for the (CANDIDATE) -- are you very certain, somewhat certain or not certain at all?



Women's Voices

Women Vote

#### **Democratic vote not consolidated in Governor races**

Thinking about the election for Governor in your state in November, will you vote for – (the Democratic candidate) or (the Republican candidate)? How certain are you that you would vote for the (CANDIDATE) -- are you very certain, somewhat certain or not certain at all?



Nomen Vote

# Unmarried women, especially white unmarried women, key to

# **Democratic vote in Governor races**

Thinking about the election for Governor in your state in November, will you vote for – (the Democratic candidate) or (the Republican candidate)?



# ECONOMY



# 6-in-10 base, swing battleground voters: wages don't keep up

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

ACTION FUND

The economy is stro are beginning to be			The economy isn't very strong for families like mine because our salaries and incomes can't keep up with the cost of living.				
Much more Somewhat more			Much more				
African Americans	36	14	33	64	+28		
Hispanic	38	15	32	62	+24		
Millennials	44	15	28	56	+12		
White Millennials	45	15	28	55	+10		
Unmarried Women	36	11	37	64	+28		
White Unmarried Women	38	12	34	62	+24		
White Working Class Women	43	16	28	57	+14		
WOMEN'S VOICES WOMEN VOTE	RAE+ battleground	web-survey.			19		

#### Majority says no tax cut benefit, especially unmarried women & African Americans

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

ACTION FUND

I think the new tax cut law is benefitting me personally.			I don't think the new tax cut law is benefitting me personally.				
	■ Much more	Somewhat more		<ul> <li>Much more</li> <li>Somewhat more</li> </ul>			
African Americans		31	15	50		69	+38
Hispanic	42		17	30		58	+16
Millennials	] 45		19	29		55	+10
White Millennials	48		20	25		<b>52</b>	+4
Unmarried Women	]	31 13		42		69	+38
White Unmarried Women	]	32	13	41		68	+36
White Working Class Women	] :	39	13	28		61	+22
WOMEN'S VOICES WOMEN VOTE	RAE+ battleg	ground we	eb-survey.				20

# GOP VULNERABILITY TO ATTACKS



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#### Democrats very strong on Social Security & health care costs, less on economy

Please indicate whether, overall, you think the Democrats or Donald Trump and the Republicans would do a better a job.





# GOP vulnerable on Medicare & Social Security, guns, health costs

These are some positions of some candidates for the US Congress and other offices in your state. For each, please indicate whether that position would lead you to support or oppose that candidate for office, or whether that position won't make a difference to how you decide to vote.







## Not as moved by daily headlines

These are some positions of some candidates for the US Congress and other offices in your state. For each, please indicate whether that position would lead you to support or oppose that candidate for office, or whether that position won't make a difference to how you decide to vote.

CANDIDATE LITMUS TEST continued	<ul><li>Oppose much more</li><li>Support much more</li></ul>		<ul><li>Oppose somewhat</li><li>Support somewhat</li></ul>		NET NO DIFF
Supports a pathway to citizenship for DREAMers.	21	11	33	60	+39 +20
Supports the special counsel's investigation of Russian interference in the 2016 election.	23	14	33	51	+28 +26
Believes Donald Trump and his policies discriminate against minorities.	37	29	33	48	+11 +15
Supports a work requirement for Medicaid recipients & cuts to food stamps.	40	22	23	48	+8 +12
Supports the new tax cuts for individuals and corporations.	34	17	22	48	+14 +18



# Split on ACA, but Medicaid is *extremely* popular

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.





# **Battleground voters have embraced the students of Parkland**

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# Health leads top Democratic attack in battleground

These are some things that Democrats are saying about the Republicans running for US Congress and offices in your state. For each, please indicate whether it raises very serious doubts, somewhat serious doubts, minor doubts, and no real doubts about the Republican candidate.

#### **DEMOCRATIC ATTACKS**

**ENOUGH POLITICS W/ HEALTH COSTS:** Republicans promised my state better, cheaper health care. Instead they supported plans to massively cut Medicaid, raise prices on older workers, and eliminate protection for pre-existing conditions. Drug and insurance companies even got a new tax cut even though they are still raising prices on us here in my state. Enough politics and broken promises on health care.

**TRICKLE DOWN CUT MEANS LESS INVESTMENT:** Trickle-down economics only works for the rich and big corporations, not middle class families of my state. But Republicans like my opponent supported the new \$2.2 trillion trickledown tax law which gives 83 percent of the cuts to the top 1 percent, including their big corporate campaign donors. That is money that should have been used to invest in public schools, infrastructure, and bringing down health care costs here in my state.

**ENOUGH NRA GUN INACTION:** Sandy Hook, Orlando, Las Vegas, Texas, and now Parkland. For too long Republicans beholden to the NRA gun lobby's campaign contributions have held commonsense gun laws hostage. My opponent is taking donations from the NRA and gun manufacturers and refuses to stand with our children begging for universal background checks and a ban on assault weapons. (SPLIT A) Enough is enough! / (SPLIT B) I support the Second Amendment but enough is enough!





#### Health care costs attack tops but guns & trickle-down also potent

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#### ENOUGH POLITICS WITH HEALTH CARE COSTS

#### TRICKLE-DOWN TAX CUT MEANS LESS INVESTMENT

#### **ENOUGH NRA GUN INACTION**





# GOP gun inaction gets most intense doubts across nearly every millennial group when you don't state 2<sup>nd</sup> amendment support

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#### TRICKLE-DOWN TAX CUT MEANS LESS INVESTMENT





RAE+ battleground web-survey. Displaying the "Enough NRA inaction" by best performing split.

# **Emotional responses to Trump's handling of foreign affairs**

President Trump is doing thing other presidents were reluctant to do, like meeting with the leader of North Korea, imposing trade sanctions, and calling out close allies to their faces to change long-standing arrangements. Which TWO of the following statements most closely match your feelings about this?





# NEW MESSAGE PLATFORM FOR 2018



## Strongest message: stop short-term cuts for rich that threaten future

These are some things that DEMOCRATS running for US Congress and offices in your state are saying. For each, please indicate whether you are much more likely, somewhat more likely, a little more likely, or no more likely to support the DEMOCRATIC candidate who says that.

#### **DEMOCRATIC MESSAGES**

**STOP SHORT-TERM FOR RICH THREATENING OUR FUTURE:** My state needs a plan for a better future, not more short-term political deals and short-sighted cuts to the things we need. We need to invest in education and infrastructure, not cut them. We need to protect Social Security and Medicare, not threaten your retirement with more tax cuts for the rich and corporations.

**FED UP WITH RIGGED ECONOMY:** I'm fed up. Our economy and politics are rigged against hard-working people here in my state. Corporate donors are spending unlimited sums supporting my opponent to get their way. I will say no to big money and trickle-down economics (**SPLIT**: and make sure the rich and corporations pay their fair share of taxes) so we can help people with the rising cost of health care, childcare, housing and student debt and protect Social Security and Medicare

**BREAK THE POLARIZATION:** Like you, I am done with all of the polarization dividing our families and gridlocking out government so nothing good gets done. I will be an independent voice for people here in my state and will work with anyone, Democrat or Republican, to fix our problems. That is how we will help people with the rising cost of health care, childcare, housing and student debt and protect Social Security and Medicare

RAE+ battleground web-survey.





Much more likely to support Democrat

Somewhat more likely to support Democrat



"Somehow or another you're going to pay for it."

African American woman, Detroit

"I think that the difference is going to have to be made up at some point and it's going to come from the middle-class not from the. 1 or. 01 percent that just are retaining billions. We're getting \$250. We're going to pay back those trillions back. " White college woman, Southfield

"To hear about them making cuts to Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security when the people who already receive those benefits are already struggling as it is. Especially our seniors."

White working class older woman, Macomb

*"I mean* [Trump] could give you like 2 or 3 thousand [dollars a year] but when we're paying 12 thousand a year for insurance, the 2 or 3 is nothing. It doesn't mean anything. It just doesn't make any difference to me. Unless you're going to put something into healthcare for me, I don't care. *"* 

White college woman, Southfield



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# Higher interest with these margins deadly for Republicans

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