



GREENBERG RESEARCH

Trump-GOP Tax Cut Integral to Democratic Message

June national web-survey of registered voters

June 2018

Methodology

National web-survey

This national web survey took place from June 1-5, 2018 among 1,400 registered voters from a voter file sample. Data shown in this deck is among the full sample unless otherwise noted. Margin of error for the full sample is +/-2.97 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level.

Ideological measures were weighted to Democracy Corps' national phone polls in order to offset the cultural bias of a web-sample.

Regression analysis and a split sample experimental design – both controlling for initial responses, political factors and demographics – were conducted to measure the impact of Democratic messages on interest in the election, the congressional vote, and tax cut support.

Key findings: tax cut is integral to any Democratic message

- The tax cut now drives its opponents more than supporters' vote in November.
- The more Democratic messages emphasize the tax cut, *and vow to reverse it*, the greater the growth in opposition to the tax cut, in the Democratic congressional vote, and in the Democratic turnout advantage.
- The best pro- tax cut argument is still the *weakest* GOP message. Immigration is their most potent voting issue.
- Democratic anti- tax cut messages test much better and have greater impact.
- Democrats should begin their message by attacking politicians who are dividing the country to cut corrupt deals for the rich. (This opening works for a message focused on the tax cut's threats to entitlements and investments like education, or one focused on the rigged economy and the burden of rising costs.)
- "Tax scam for the rich" is the branding that captures that powerful entry point.

Key findings, continued:

- Only one-quarter of registered voters want to maintain the GOP tax cut. There is a strong desire to restore taxes to their pre-tax cut levels.
- But the *most popular* path forward: to *raise* taxes on the rich and corporations to pay for investments.
- Voters particularly want to fund Social Security & Medicare, followed by Medicaid and affordable health care.
- Funding education is also very important, especially to persuasion and Democratic turnout targets.
- Indeed, the most popular and persuasive Democratic message tested in this poll is a call to end the Trump tax cut for the rich to fund education after a decade of underinvestment, instead of spending on the new tax cut, is the most popular Democratic message tested in this poll.

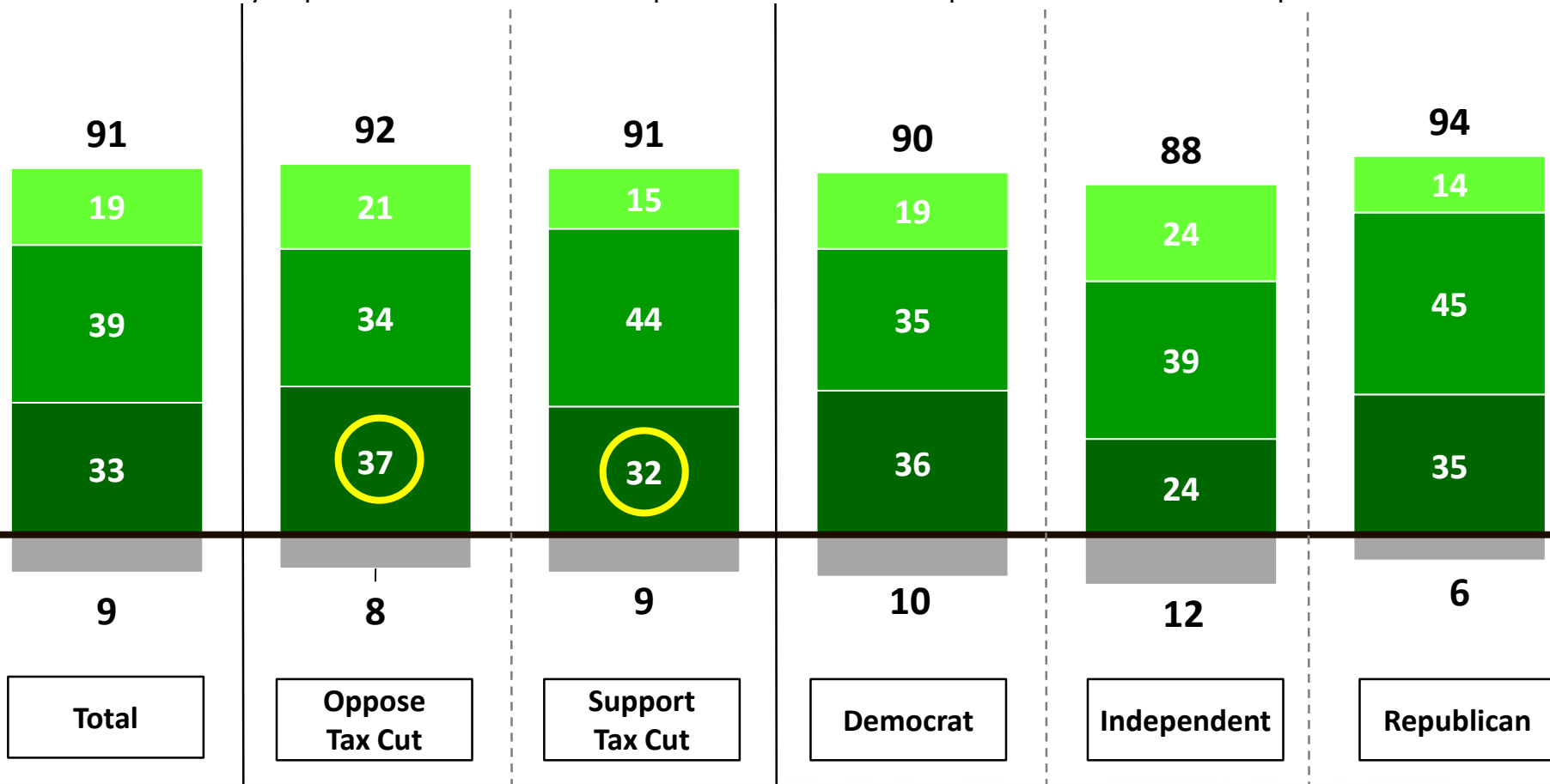
THE CASE FOR MAKING TAX CUTS CENTRAL

Tax cut more intensely important to votes of its opponents

How important is the new tax law to your vote for Congress - very important, somewhat important, a little important or not important at all?

IMPORTANCE OF TAX LAW TO VOTE

■ Very important ■ Somewhat important ■ A little important ■ Not at all important

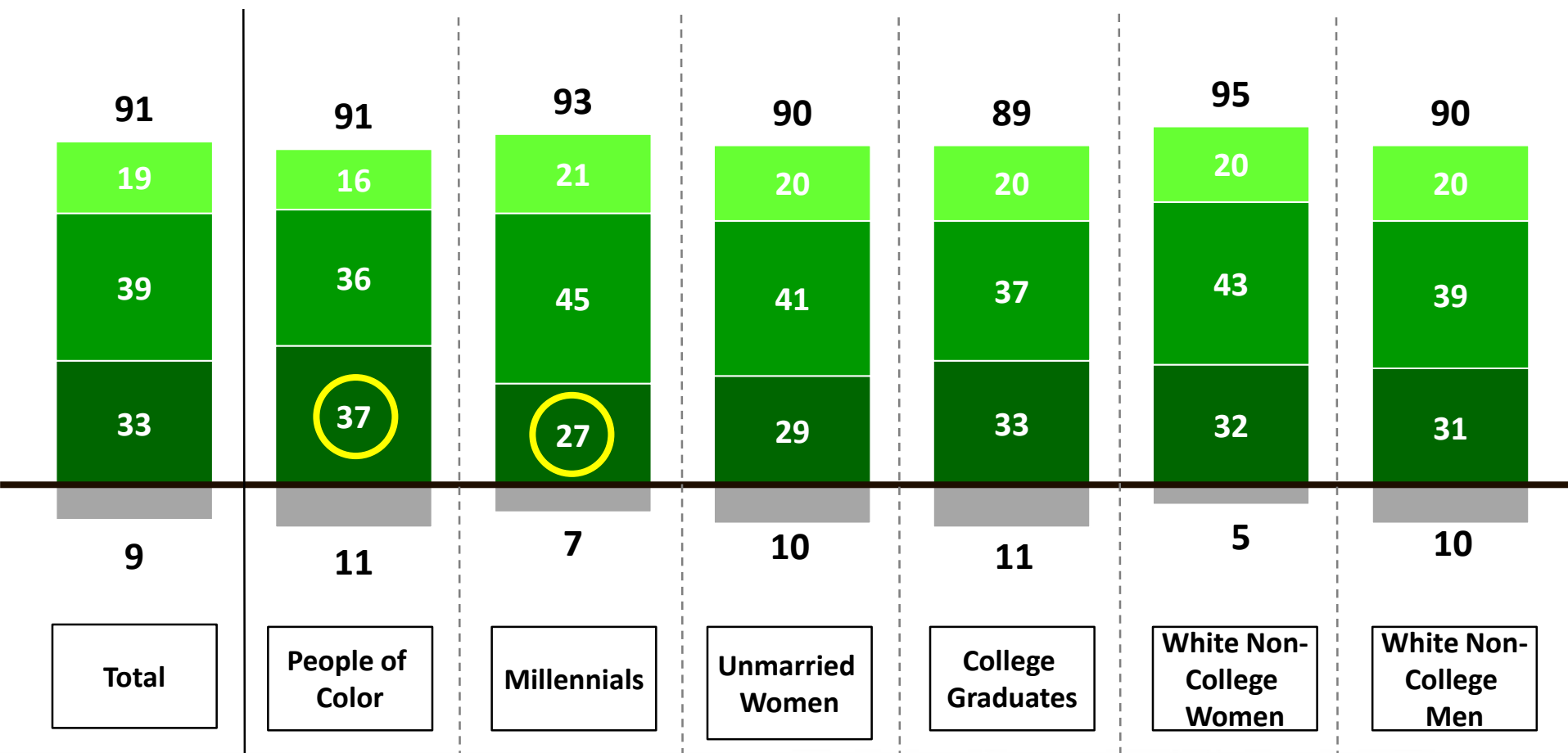


Tax cut very motivating to people of color, a key turnout target

How important is that new tax law to your vote for Congress - very important, somewhat important, a little important or not important at all?

IMPORTANCE OF TAX LAW TO VOTE

Very important Somewhat important A little important Not at all important



Why important to supporters?

These are some facts about the new tax cut law. They are reasons why Republicans say they support it. Please select the TWO facts that are the most important to you.

TAX CUT FACTS FROM TRUMP & GOP

■ All registered voters
■ Tax cut supporters

Nearly doubles the standard deduction to \$24,000 for married couples and \$12,000 for individuals.

28

29

Gives an average tax cut of \$2,000 to the typical family of 4 making \$75,000 a year.

20

20

Repeals the individual mandate tax penalty for not having health insurance.

20

21

Doubles the child tax credit to \$2,000 per child, and up to \$1,400 is refundable.

15

12

Permanently cuts the corporate tax rate from 35 to 21 percent.

9

10

Consumer confidence is near an 18-year high

7

8

Why concerning to opponents?

These are some facts about the new tax cut law. Here are reasons why Democrats say they oppose it. Please select the TWO facts that are the most concerning to you.

TAX CUT FACTS FROM DEMOCRATS

■ All registered voters
■ Tax cut opponents

Adds \$1.5 trillion to the deficit and now Donald Trump & Republicans say we must pay for it with cuts to Medicare, Medicaid & Social Security.

24

28

Gives 83 percent of the cuts to the wealthiest 1 percent, including billionaires like Donald Trump.

21

32

Costs \$2.2 trillion over the next decade which could have funded public schools, health care or infrastructure.

14

11

Gives corporations a big permanent tax cut, but the cuts for families are less and expire in 8 years.

14

15

Cuts taxes for health insurance companies and drug companies which are still raising drug prices and insurance premiums.

14

8

Cuts taxes for corporations earning profits overseas, giving them more incentive to outsource jobs.

13

6

FOCUS ON THE TAX CUT IMPACTS ELECTION

Half hear tax cut focused economic messages (1/4 call to raise taxes)

These are some things that Democrats running for U.S. Congress and offices in (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.

EXPERIMENT: DEMOCRATIC TAX & ECONOMY MESSAGES

TAX CUT FOCUSED
(1/2 SPLIT)

Anti-tax Cut Only Message (1/4 Split)

We need to change the political leadership in Washington. They are dividing the country and handing the government over to their wealthy donors and corporations at the expense of working people and the middle class. Their tax scam for the rich recklessly drives up the deficit to justify their cuts to Social Security & Medicare and even less investment in education, infrastructure and health care.

Anti-tax Cut + Raise Taxes Message (1/4 Split)

We need to change the political leadership in Washington. They are dividing the country and handing the government over to their wealthy donors and corporations at the expense of working people and the middle class. Their tax scam for the rich recklessly drives up the deficit to justify their cuts to Social Security & Medicare and even less investment in education, infrastructure and health care. ***I want to be very clear: their huge tax giveaway is wrong and I will vote to put back higher taxes on the richest so we can invest in education and make health care more affordable.***

Rigged For The Rich Message (1/2 Split)

We need to change the political leadership in Washington. They are dividing the country and handing the government over to their wealthy donors and corporations. The economy is rigged in favor of the corporations and the wealthy who just received a big tax cut while wages are still too low for families to keep up with rising costs. My priority will be an economy that works for everyone, not just the wealthy.

Half hear tax cut focused education messages (1/4 call to raise taxes)

These are some things that Democrats running for U.S. Congress and offices in (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.

EXPERIMENT: DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION & TAX MESSAGES

TAX CUT FOCUSED
(1/2 SPLIT)

Education Investment Not Tax Cut Message (1/4 Split)

Education is the key to a better future - for people and for the country - but 29 states are spending less on public education than they were a decade ago and teachers across the country are being forced to take to the streets to fight for the resources politicians won't give them. We should be investing in our schools, programs kids need, and higher pay for teachers; instead Trump & Republicans spent \$2.2 trillion on a tax cut for corporations and the rich.

Raise Taxes For Education Investment Message (1/4 Split)

Education is the key to a better future - for people and for the country - but 29 states are spending less on public education than they were a decade ago and teachers across the country are being forced to take to the streets to fight for the resources politicians won't give them. Instead of funding education, Trump and Republicans spent \$2.2 trillion on a tax cut for corporations and the rich. We should end the Trump tax cut for the rich so we can invest in our schools, programs kids need, and higher pay for teachers.

Education Investment Message Only (1/2 Split)

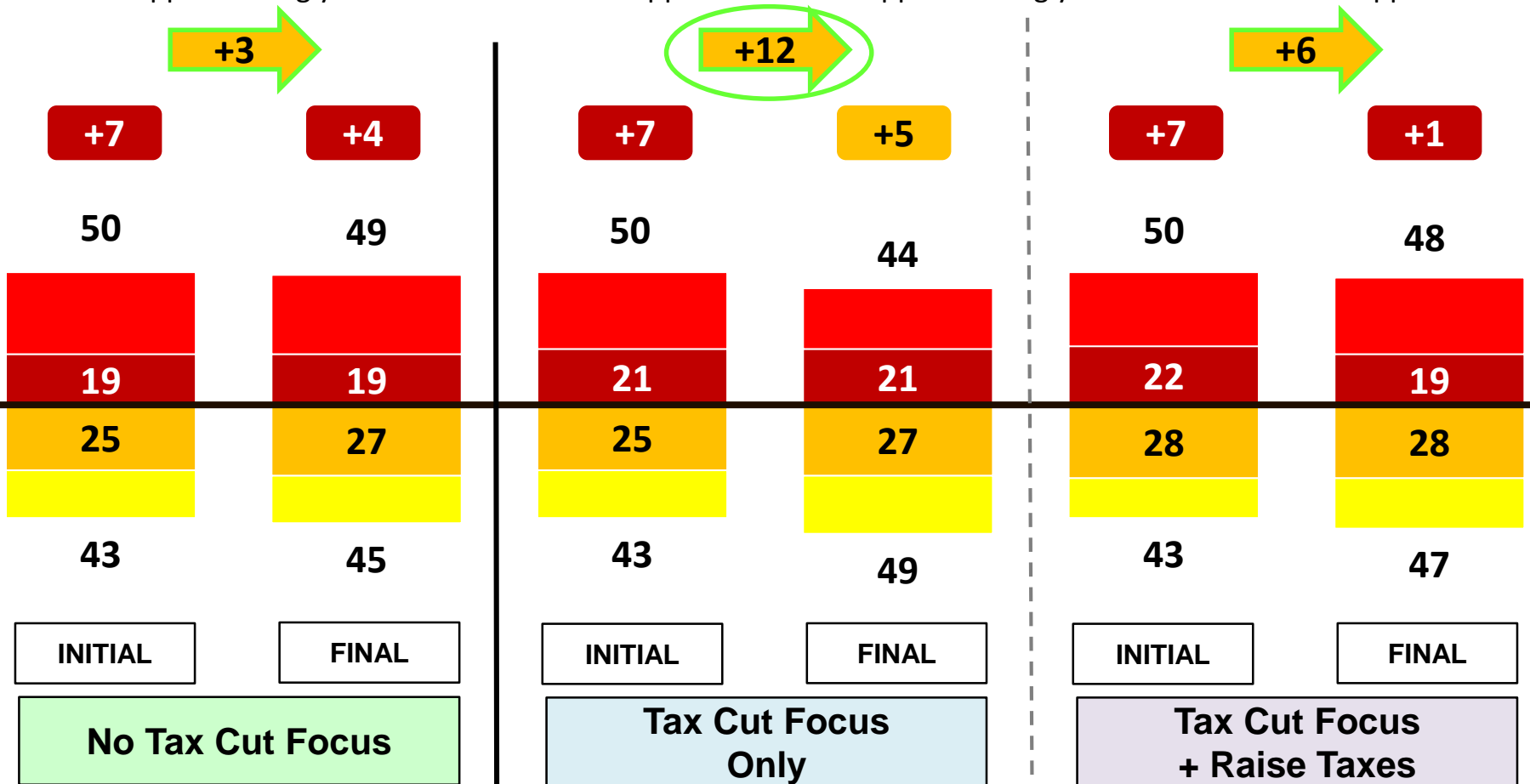
Education is the key to a better future - for people and for the country - but 29 states are spending less on public education than they were a decade ago and teachers across the country are being forced to take to the streets to fight for the resources politicians won't give them. We should be investing in our schools, programs kids need, and higher pay for teachers.

Build more opposition if attack tax cut

Do you support or oppose the new tax cut for corporations and individuals passed by the Republicans in Congress and signed by the President at the end of last year?

SHIFT: SUPPORT FOR TAX CUT

■ Support strongly ■ Somewhat support ■ Oppose strongly ■ Somewhat oppose



Focus on taxes + call to raise them produces ballot gains vs. losses

Thinking about the election for U.S. Congress in November, if the election for Congress were held today, who would you vote for? /How certain are you that you would vote for (CANDIDATE SELECTED) -- are you very certain, somewhat certain or not certain at all?

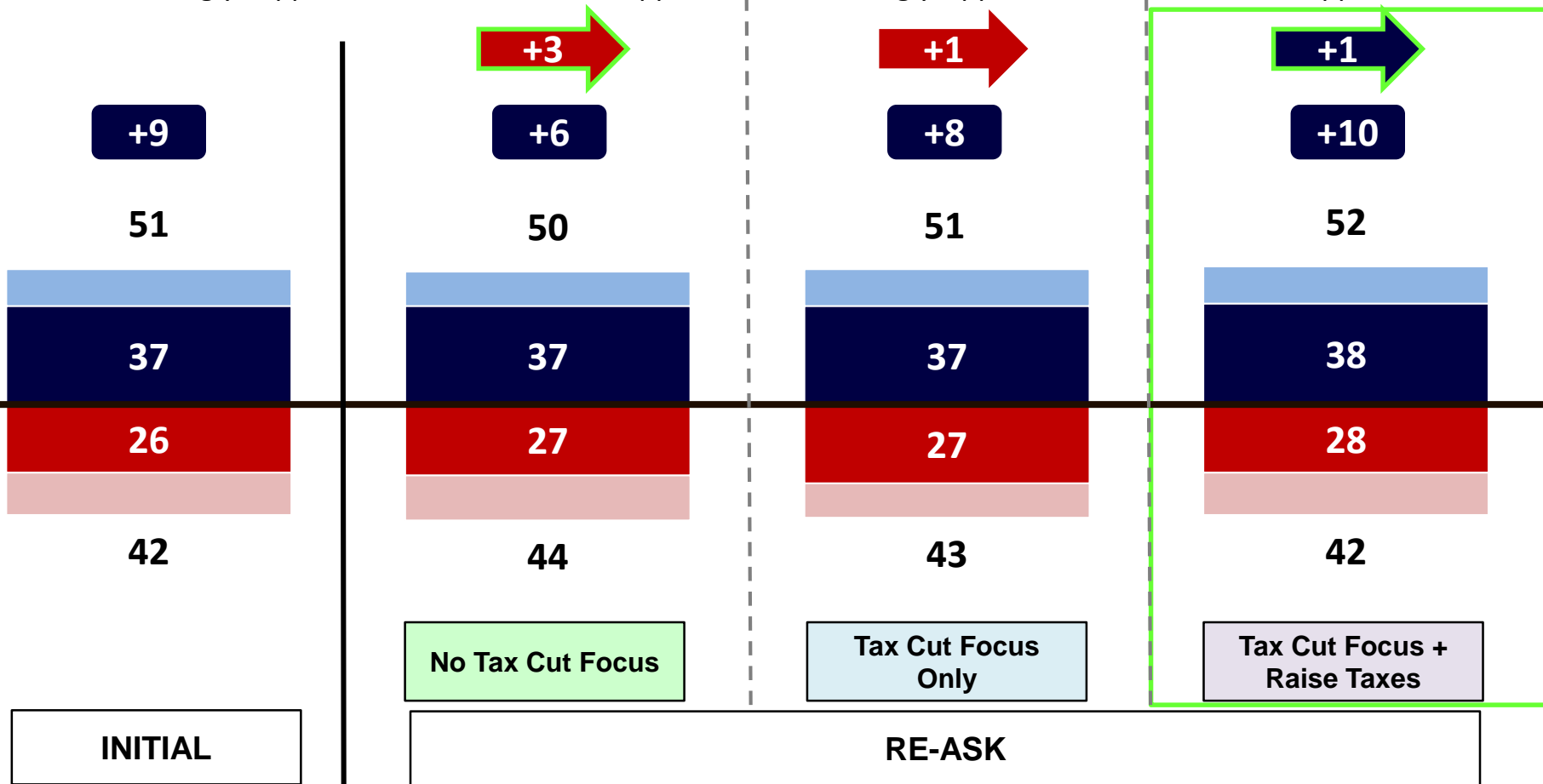
SHIFT: CONGRESSIONAL BALLOT

■ Strongly Support

■ Somewhat Support

■ Strongly Oppose

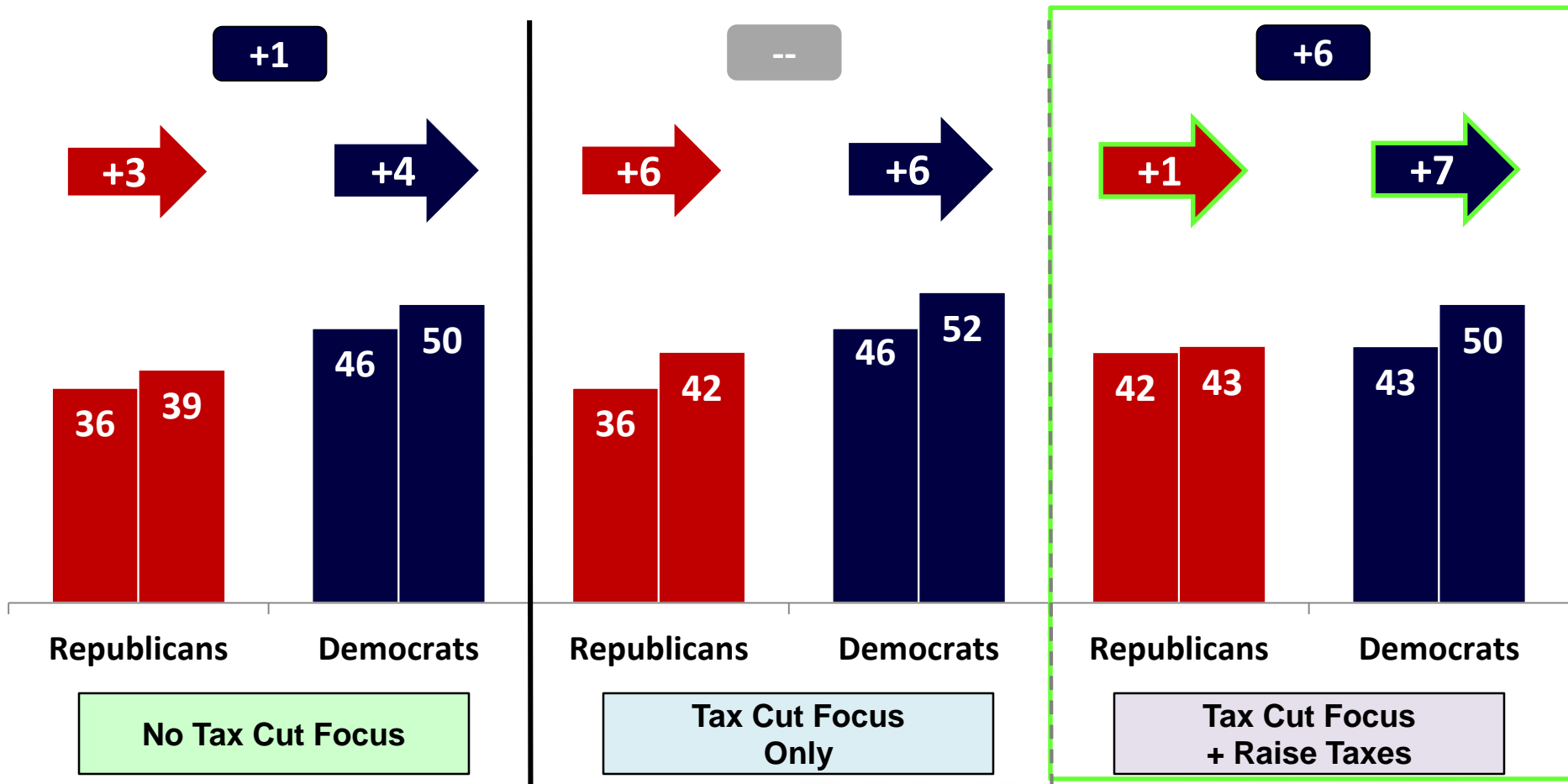
■ Somewhat Oppose



Tax focus + call to raise taxes builds the enthusiasm gap for wave

How interested are you in the elections in November 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.

SHIFT: % 10 INTEREST IN ELECTION



BEST TAX CUT MESSAGES

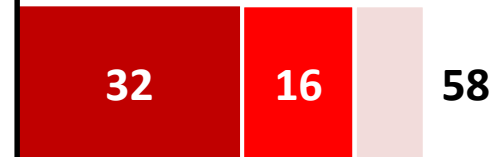
The GOP messages: tax message is the least persuasive

These are some things that Republicans running for U.S. Congress and offices in (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 Republican candidate who says that.

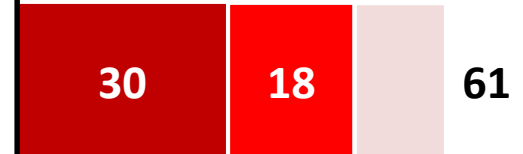
TOP REPUBLICAN MESSAGES

■ Much more likely to support Republican ■ Somewhat more likely to support Republican ■ A little more likely to support Republican

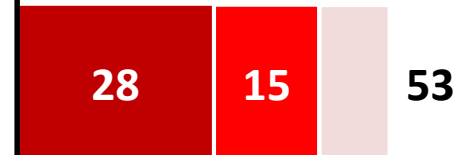
IMMIGRATION: My opponent and the Democratic Party bosses want to give amnesty to millions of illegal immigrants and protect Sanctuary Cities which put illegal immigrants who commit crimes, like MS-13, back on the street. Our cities should be Sanctuaries for Americans - not for criminal aliens! I will protect our borders and put citizens before people who come here illegally.



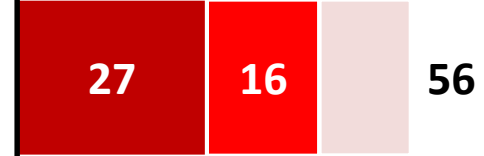
GROWING ECONOMY: After 8 years of stagnation, we are growing our economy for the middle class again. We created 3.5 million new U.S. jobs, the stock-market is at record highs, and we passed the biggest tax cut in history. The middle class is getting higher paychecks and more take home pay. I am running to keep growing our economy, paychecks and opportunities for everyone.



OBSTRUCTION: Democrats care more about opposing the president than getting things done. My opponent only talks about Russia and wants to get to Washington to impeach the president and reverse the election. Hard-working Americans deserve better than that. I want to work with President Trump to move our country forward.



PRO TAX CUT: Tax reform is giving much needed tax relief to middle class families, but Democrats like my opponent opposed it. They say that the average savings of \$2,000 per family is crumbs. They want to raise taxes on the middle class, not preserve these new tax cuts that are growing paychecks and creating jobs.



Democratic tax message tops GOP's & even works with white working class

These are some things that Democrats/Republicans running for U.S. Congress and offices in (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/Republican candidate who says that.

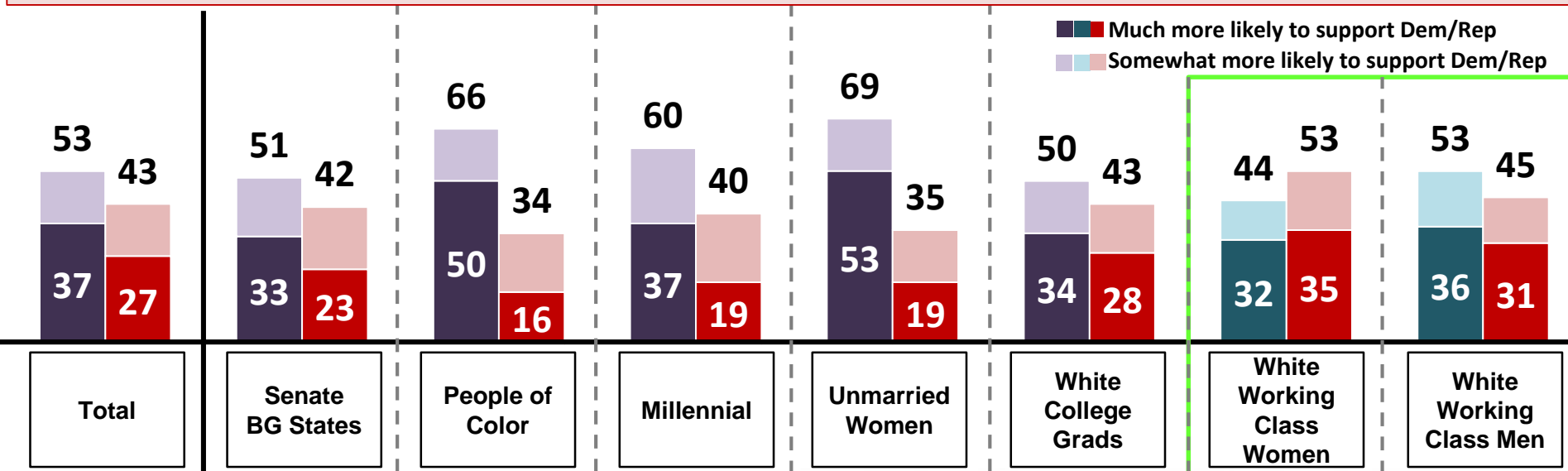
DEMOCRATIC V. GOP TAX MESSAGES

DEMOCRATIC ANTI-TAX CUT [+RAISE TAXES] MESSAGE

We need to change the political leadership in Washington. They are dividing the country and handing the government over to their wealthy donors and corporations at the expense of working people and the middle class. Their tax scam for the rich recklessly drives up the deficit to justify their cuts to Social Security & Medicare and even less investment in education, infrastructure and health care. *[I want to be very clear: their huge tax giveaway is wrong and I will vote to put back higher taxes on the richest so we can invest in education and make health care more affordable.]*

REPUBLICAN PRO-TAX CUT MESSAGE

Tax reform is giving much needed tax relief to middle class families, but Democrats like my opponent opposed it. They say that the average savings of \$2,000 per family is crumbs. They want to raise taxes on the middle class, not preserve these new tax cuts that are growing paychecks and creating jobs.



Democratic tax message is also stronger than GOP's top message

These are some things that Democrats/Republicans running for U.S. Congress and offices in (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/Republican candidate who says that.

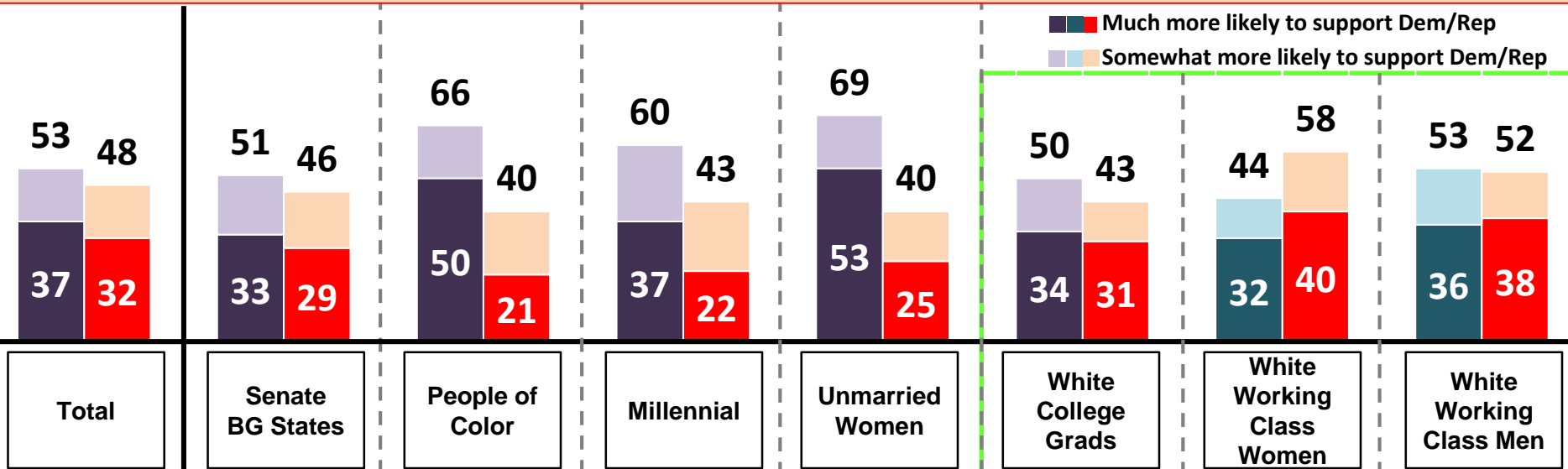
GOP'S TOP MESSAGE V. DEMOCRATIC TAX MESSAGE

DEMOCRATIC ANTI-TAX CUT [+RAISE TAXES] MESSAGE

We need to change the political leadership in Washington. They are dividing the country and handing the government over to their wealthy donors and corporations at the expense of working people and the middle class. Their tax scam for the rich recklessly drives up the deficit to justify their cuts to Social Security & Medicare and even less investment in education, infrastructure and health care. *[I want to be very clear: their huge tax giveaway is wrong and I will vote to put back higher taxes on the richest so we can invest in education and make health care more affordable.]*

REPUBLICAN IMMIGRATION MESSAGE

My opponent and the Democratic Party bosses want to give amnesty to millions of illegal immigrants and protect Sanctuary Cities which put illegal immigrants who commit crimes, like MS-13, back on the street. Our cities should be Sanctuaries for Americans - not for criminal aliens! I will protect our borders and put citizens before people who come here illegally



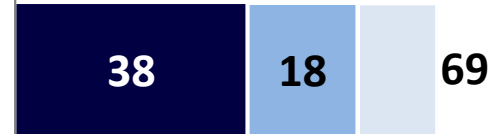
Little difference in support for Democratic messages overall

These are some things that Democrats running for U.S. Congress and offices in (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.

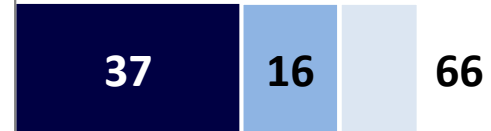
TOP DEMOCRATIC MESSAGES

- Much more likely to support Democrat
- Somewhat more likely to support Democrat
- A little more likely to support Democrat

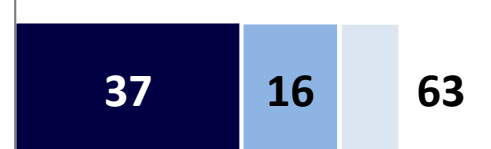
EDUCATION+RAISE TAXES: Education is the key to a better future - for people and for the country - but 29 states are spending less on public education than they were a decade ago and teachers across the country are being forced to take to the streets to fight for the resources politicians won't give them. Instead of funding education, Trump and Republicans spent \$2.2 trillion on a tax cut for corporations and the rich. We should end the Trump tax cut for the rich so we can invest in our schools, programs kids need, and higher pay for teachers.



RIGGED FOR THE RICH: We need to change the political leadership in Washington. They are dividing the country and handing the government over to their wealthy donors and corporations. The economy is rigged in favor of the corporations and the wealthy who just received a big tax cut while wages are still too low for families to keep up with rising costs. My priority will be an economy that works for everyone, not just the wealthy.



ANTI-TAX CUT + RAISE TAXES: We need to change the political leadership in Washington. They are dividing the country and handing the government over to their wealthy donors and corporations at the expense of working people and the middle class. Their tax scam for the rich recklessly drives up the deficit to justify their cuts to Social Security & Medicare and even less investment in education, infrastructure and health care. I want to be very clear: their huge tax giveaway is wrong and I will vote to put back higher taxes on the richest so we can invest in education and make health care more affordable.



END NRA OBSTRUCTION: Sandy Hook, Orlando, Las Vegas, Parkland, now Santa Fe, Texas. 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. Enough is enough!



HEALTH CARE COSTS: The politicians in Washington have created such a mess with political games that are driving up health care costs that are killing people. They tried to make Obamacare fail and hurt real people who can't afford insurance. They promised to reduce the cost of prescriptions, but the drug company lobbyists got their way instead. People can't afford these games with their health.



Tax cut message + call to raise taxes stronger in battleground & key demos

These are some things that Democrats running for U.S. Congress and offices in (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.

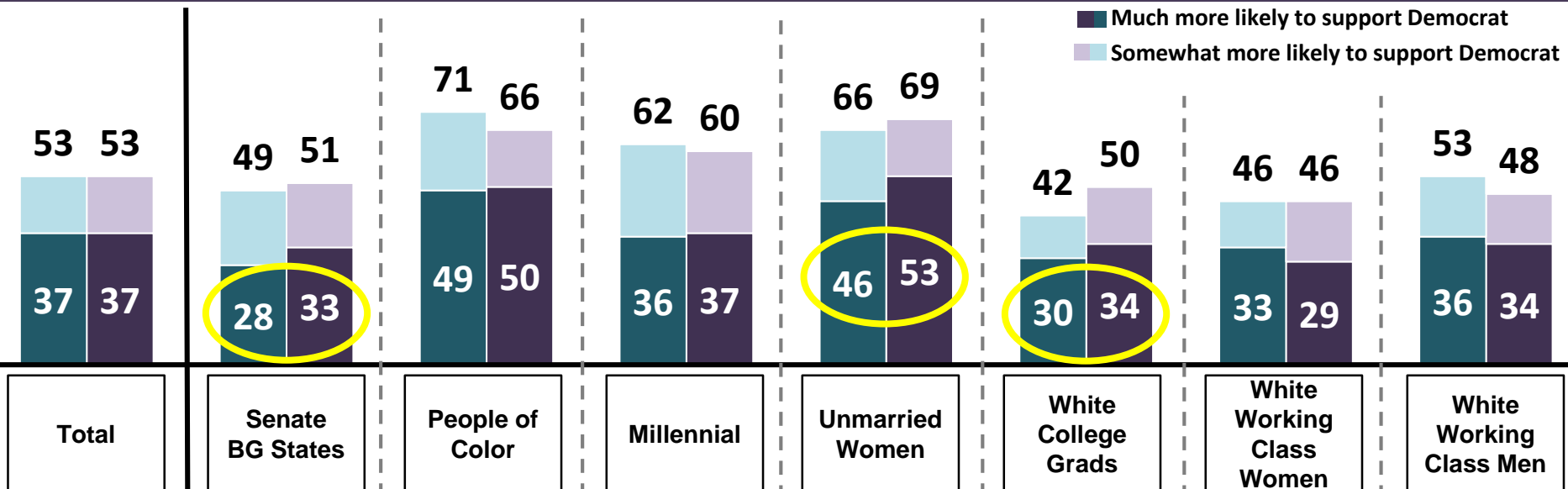
TOP DEMOCRATIC TAX & ECONOMY MESSAGES

ANTI-TAX CUT ONLY MESSAGE

We need to change the political leadership in Washington. They are dividing the country and handing the government over to their wealthy donors and corporations at the expense of working people and the middle class. Their tax scam for the rich recklessly drives up the deficit to justify their cuts to Social Security & Medicare and even less investment in education, infrastructure and health care.

ANTI-TAX CUT + RAISE TAXES MESSAGE

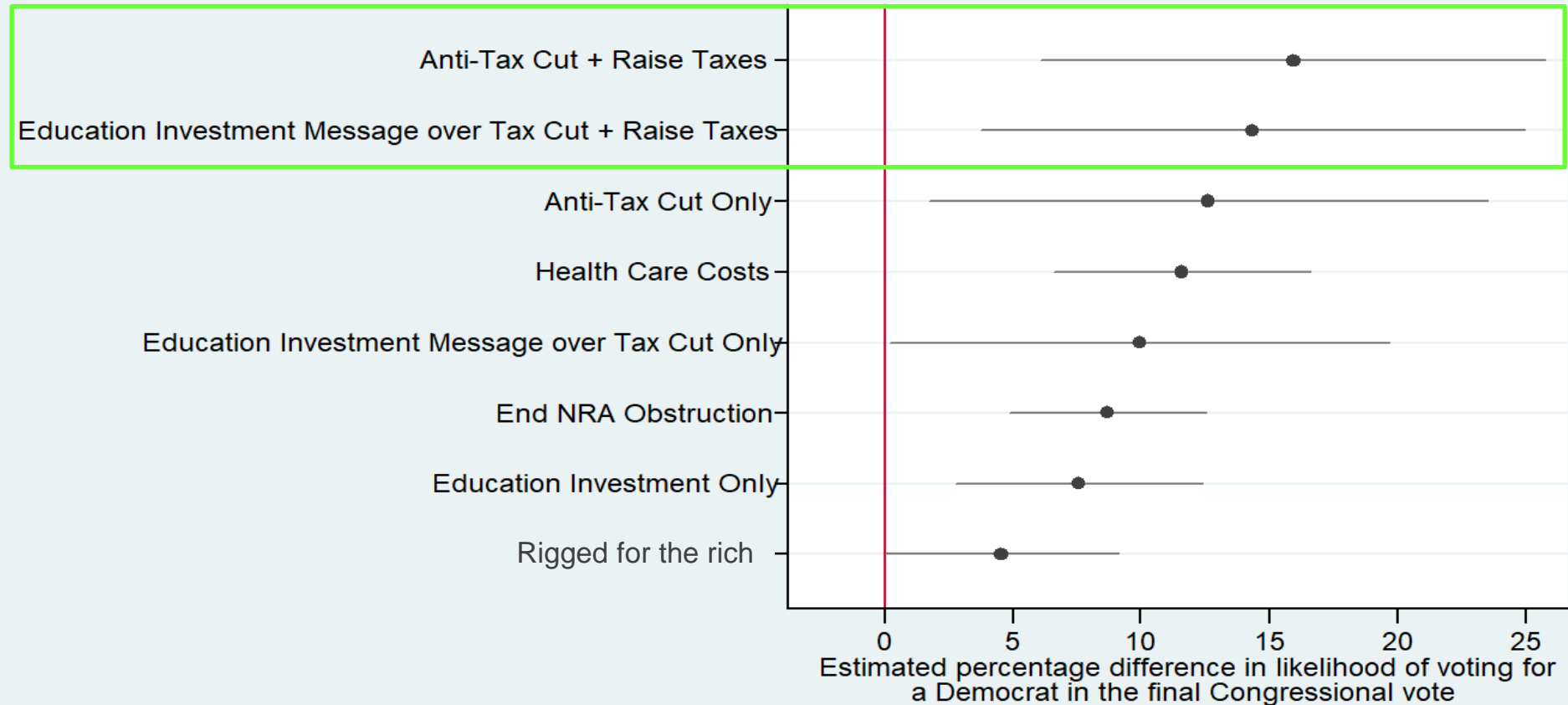
We need to change the political leadership in Washington. They are dividing the country and handing the government over to their wealthy donors and corporations at the expense of working people and the middle class. Their tax scam for the rich recklessly drives up the deficit to justify their cuts to Social Security & Medicare and even less investment in education, infrastructure and health care. I want to be very clear: their huge tax giveaway is wrong and I will vote to put back higher taxes on the richest so we can invest in education and make health care more affordable.



Tax & education messages calling to raise taxes shift votes to Democrats

REGRESSION: MESSAGES ON GENERIC VOTE RE-ASK

Marginal effects estimates based on responsiveness to each statement, comparing 'No more likely' to 'Much more likely'



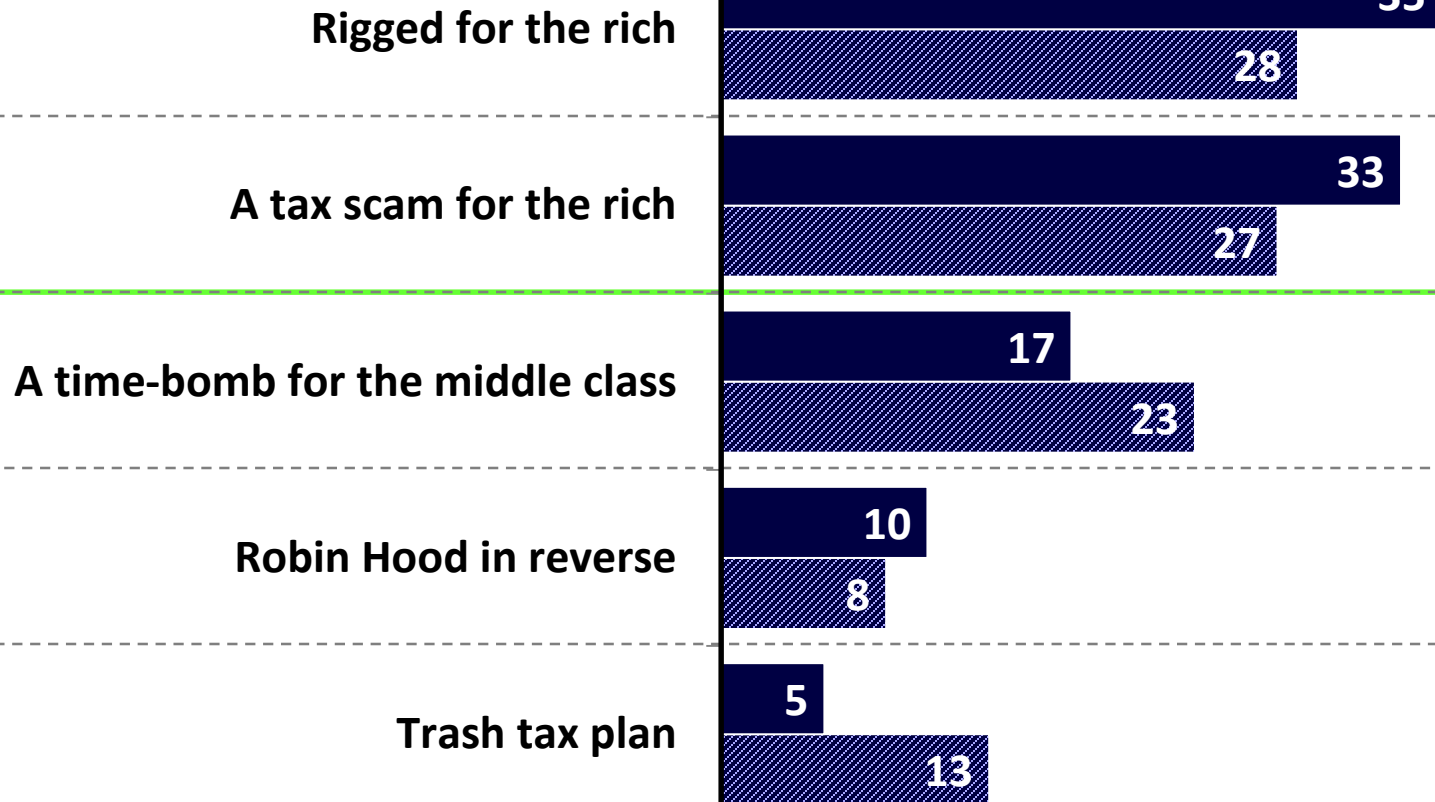
BRANDING THE TAX CUT & WHAT NOW?

The economy is “rigged for the rich” – tax law is “scam for the rich”

I am going to read you a list of nicknames for the new tax law. Please tell me which one resonates with you most.

TAX CUT BRANDING FROM OPPONENTS

■ Tax cut opponents
■ Shift to oppose



Voters tell Congress: raise taxes on the rich & corporations to fund investment

Which of the statements below best describes what Congress should do about the tax cuts for corporations and individuals that became law this year?

NEXT STEPS ON TAX CUT

■ All registered voters
■ Tax cut opponents
■ Tax cut supporters

Raise taxes on the rich and corporations to pay for investments in education, infrastructure and health care

30

46

16

Keep the new tax cut law in place without changes

24

4

40

Raise taxes on the rich and corporations to pay for the middle class tax cuts

18

21

14

Restore the highest tax brackets for the rich

13

12

14

Restore the higher tax rate for corporations

8

9

8

Cut the tax cut for corporations in half

7

7

8

Retirement the top budget priority

Below are some priorities that many Americans want to see funded. Which ONE of these priorities does Congress need to fund most urgently?

TOP INVESTMENT PRIORITIES

■ All registered voters
■ Tax cut opponents
■ Tax cut supporters

Medicare and Social Security

39

40

41

Medicaid & assistance with health care costs

18

21

15

Education

16

17

14

Infrastructure

15

11

20

Making college affordable & relieving student loan debt

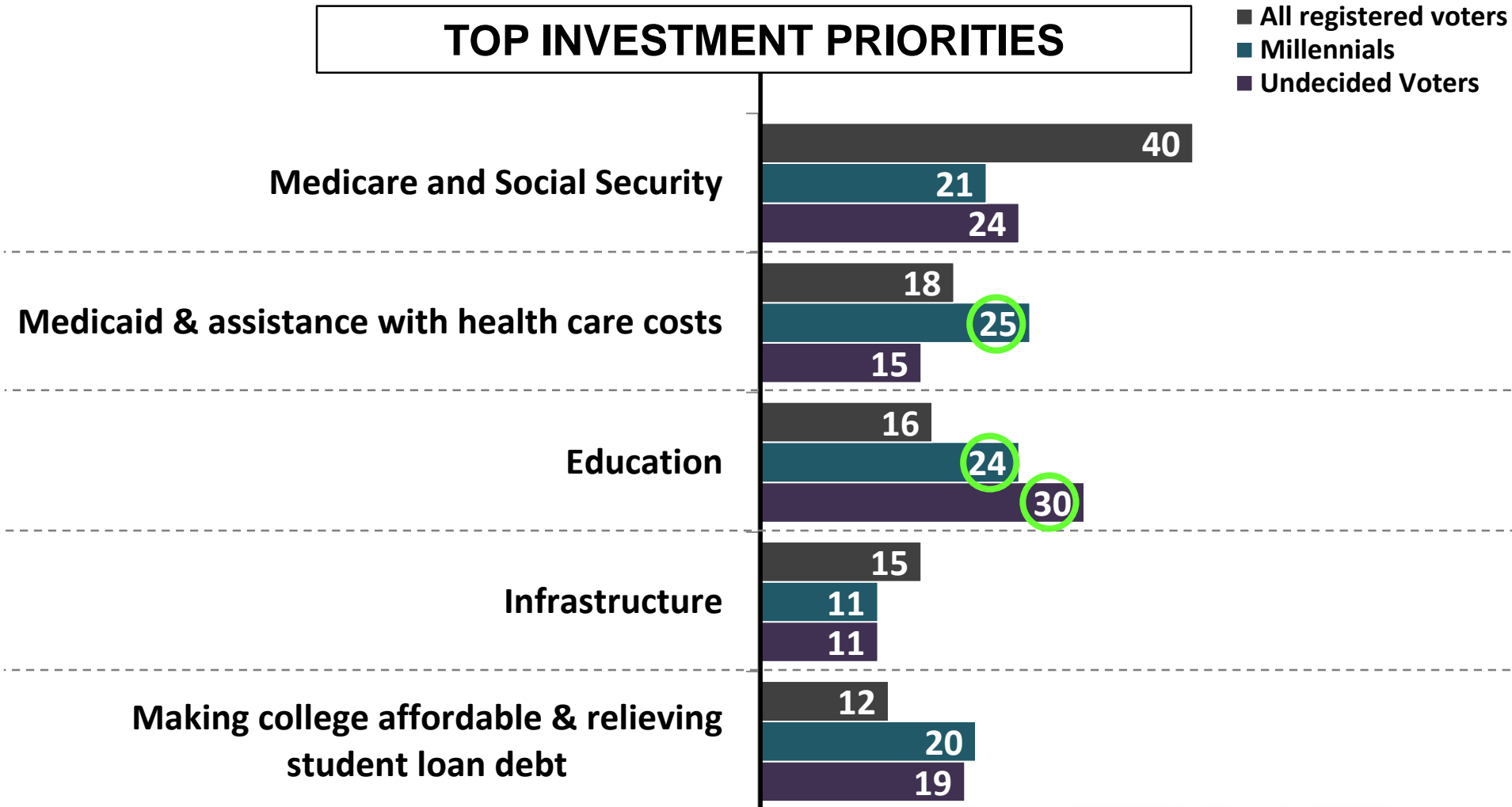
11

11

10

Education more important to turnout & undecided voters

Below are some priorities that many Americans want to see funded. Which ONE of these priorities does Congress need to fund most urgently?



CONTACT US



DEMOCRACY CORPS

1875 Connecticut Ave. NW
Floor 10
Washington, DC 20009

Phone: +1 202 499 6901

www.democracycorps.com

GREENBERG RESEARCH

1101 15th Street NW
Suite 900
Washington, DC 20005

Phone: +1 202 478 8300

www.greenbergresearch.com

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

555 New Jersey Ave. NW

Washington, DC 20001

Phone: +1 202 879 4400

www.aft.org