



# Trump & GOP strategy make blue wave more likely: the evidence

Findings from Wave 2 of Battleground web-panel & phone survey

June 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 June 11-28 among 1,813

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

Voter file matched

With 'touch-ins' between waves

Tracking changing attitudes Vote preference & engagement

Conduct message tests to discover persuasion & turnout targets



3 phone polls in 2018:



1,000 registered voters 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





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
- Cook Seats as of 7/10 (33 GOP, 10 Dem): AZ-1, AZ-2, AZ-6, AZ-9, CO-6, FL-7, FL-15, FL-16, FL-18, FL-25, FL-26, FL-27, GA-6, GA-7, MI-1, MI-6, MI-7, MI-8, MI-11, MN-1, MN-2, MN-3, MN-7, MN-8, NM-2, NV-3, NV-4, OH-1, OH-10, OH-12, OH-14, OH-15, PA-1, PA-5, PA-6, PA-7, PA-8, PA-10, PA-14, PA-16, PA-17, WI-1, WI-6.



## **Key findings:**

The conventional wisdom is wrong in the House, Senate, and Gubernatorial battlegrounds.

We know this because this unique WVWVAF battleground survey combines a mostly cell phone survey of registered voters and an on-going web panel among the Rising American Electorate and white working class women, each of whom were interviewed in both April and June. So, we can be very confident these conclusions are true, not fake news.

Trump's base strategy is moving college and millennial women to much higher interest in the election, nationalizing the governor's races, increasing Democratic vote certainty, and pushing up Democratic and anti-Trump voters' intention to vote, not Republicans or Trump supporters.

The Trump and GOP strategy to talk up the tax cuts and the economy and enflame immigration is failing. Trump and the GOP have made no gains on whom to trust on the economy, taxes, and immigration with the Rising American Electorate and white, working class women.



## Key findings, continued:

Trump and Republicans are failing because they just don't know how frustrated voters are with politicians who put government to work for big donors and corporations, and how much ordinary people are struggling with wages that don't keep up with higher costs, health care above all.

Trump and the GOP are now defined for the Rising American Electorate and white white working class women as being for themselves and the rich, and not caring about the less fortunate.

Democrats have powerful messages that drive higher turnout. Each begins with attacks on corruption, highlights the corrupt tax deal for corporations, and accuses Trump and the GOP of governing for the rich and themselves.

The strongest message platform: politicians in power in DC divide the country so they can cut corrupt deals for big donors, corporations and themselves, which hurts working people and the middle class. The resulting high deficit means less investment and help with health care, and puts Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid at risk.

A millennial-directed message tested on this platform has real power and drives up turnout among Democratic voters.



# THE STATE OF THE BATTLEGROUND



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#### Democrats maintain strong Senate & House leads, now extends to Governor

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.

#### Democrats make congressional gains where matters and gains in intensity

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?



Nomen's Voices Women Vote

#### Governor gains from independents & college women, also minorities, millennials

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





April responses filtered to June wave respondents only. Displaying for full RAE+. Independents and College Women from battleground phone surveys among all registered voters.

#### **Democrats maintain & grow strong battleground positions in Rust Belt+**

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)?



## In diverse states, Senate becomes more competitive

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)?



#### Change in diverse state senate ballot begins with unmarried women

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





April responses filtered to June wave respondents only. Displaying for full RAE+

# **ENTHUSIASM & ADVANTAGES**



## Democratic voters more engaged, GOP & Trump supporters less



## White unmarried & millennials more engaged

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.





April responses filtered to June wave respondents only for RAE. Displaying phone responses for college women.

# NOT THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM ON TRUMP



#### Democrats' anti-Trump feelings much stronger than GOP and all stable

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





#### White working class women didn't move to GOP on immigration or economy

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



Nomen Vote

## ECONOMY



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## Wages aren't keeping up and tax cut didn't help!



#### Huge majority of RAE not getting pay they need, not being helped



### Wages are stagnant or not keeping up, tax cut isn't helping RAE



#### RAE health care costs are out of control, especially this year, and can't save



#### Full employment makes feel more secure, but not higher wages

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







## Health care + drugs & housing most problematic expenses

This is a list goods and services. Please select the THREE items on this list that are the biggest problem for you personally.

## BIGGESTS COSTS

#### **RAE VOTERS IN BATTLEGROUND**





### Health care costs top issue for all voters, economy polarizing

Thinking about the election in November, which of these issues is the most important to your vote?





## Among the RAE base, health care costs top concern

Thinking about the election in November, which of these issues is the most important to your vote?





#### Democrats gain, not lose on taxes, huge intensity on health care

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





April responses filtered to June wave respondents only. Displaying for full RAE+

#### **Democratic priority diffuse across RAE+, with health care leading**

When you think of the Democratic Party, what issues or priorities do you think they care about?

#### **ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH DEMOCRATS**



## **MESSAGE BATTLE**



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## **Donald Trump now for himself and rich**

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





#### Democratic brand diffuse, but not GOP: for themselves and rich

When you think of the Democratic Party/Republican Party, what issues or priorities do you think they care about?





## Tax scam for the rich tops message list

These are some things that Democrats running for U.S. 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 RAE & WHITE WORKING CLASS WOMEN IN BATTLEGROUND



**END DIVISION & TAX SCAM:** 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. The Republicans' 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.

**INDEPENDENT:** The political leaders in the country have created too much division and polarization. It is gridlocking our country so nothing is getting done for the middle class. I will be an independent voice for people here in (STATE) and will work with anyone, Democrat or Republican, to fix our problems. Listening to each other and working together is how we will help people earn enough to support themselves and their families, get the health care they need, and protect Social Security and Medicare.

**GUN REFERENDUM:** After Sandy Hook, Orlando, Las Vegas, and Parkland, and the death of 41 students in 2018, the politicians in Washington did nothing But they quickly rounded up the votes to pass their trillion dollar tax cut for the top 1 percent and corporations. The N.R.A. calls the shots. If you can't protect kids, then you don't deserve to keep your seat. n

**MILLENNIAL REFERENDUM:** To the leaders who only get things done for corporate campaign donors and expect the next generation to live with the consequences, your time is up! We see you refusing to act on gun control, the price of college, and criminal justice reform. You sell out our futures by rolling back net neutrality and refusing to acknowledge climate change. Millennials don't have lobbyists or Super PACs, but we have the power to vote in November. It's our turn.

**HEALTH CARE REFERENDUM:** We need to throw out the politicians playing politics with health care. The skyrocketing costs are killing us. President Trump and the Republicans' actions have pushed insurance premiums up almost one-third. They promised to get tough with the prescription drug companies but they gave the drug company lobbyists and donors their way and did nothing. Now they are even abandoning their promise to protect coverage for pre-existing conditions. Enough is enough.

**OUT OF TOUCH ON ECONOMY:** The politicians in Washington say this is the best economy in history with low unemployment and growing wages. But they passed this tax scam for the rich is a time-bomb for the middle class. They are so out of touch! Real people haven't seen a raise in years, and are being killed by gigantic increases in the cost of health insurance and prescription drugs. Corporations got a sweet deal; we got a lot of nothing. We need politicians who will work for us, period.



### Tax scam for rich and millennial messages do well with millennials

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 MESSAGES MILLENNIAL VOTERS IN BATTLEGROUND



**END DIVISION & TAX SCAM:** 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. The Republicans' 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.

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# Millennial message produces most turnout among those already voting for Democrats





## Millennial message demoralizes those voting for the GOP





# IMMIGRATION & ZERO TOLERANCE



### RAE, especially millennials, more pro-immigrant since April

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

Nomen Vote



April responses filtered to June wave respondents only. Displaying for full RAE+

#### RAE & white working class women strongly oppose zero tolerance

As you may know, some families seeking asylum from their home country cross the U.S. border illegally and then request asylum. In an attempt to discourage this, the Trump administration has been prosecuting the parents immediately, which means separating parents from the children.



## But immigration remains the top GOP message among RAE+

These are some things that Republicans are saying about the Democrats 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 Democratic candidate.

#### **REPUBLICAN MESSAGES RAE+ VOTERS IN BATTLEGROUND**





here illegally.

## **Democrats have strong immigration message**

#### **REPUBLICAN/TRUMP MESSAGE ON IMMIGRATION SECURITY**

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.

#### **DEMOCRATIC MESSAGE ON IMMIGRATION REFERENDUM**

The Trump Administration's policy separating children from their parents at the border is unacceptable and must end. Do we really want to be a country that tears babies from their parents' arms and keeps terrified children in cages like animals? The President can obviously change this policy, but it doesn't change his willingness to use children as pawns, use language that incites division and his willingness to hurt people who are vulnerable. I say, enough is enough! Let's change the guard in Washington.



# SIMULATED CAMPAIGN OUTCOME



## Debate produces critical enthusiasm shift, but millennials still lag



## Thank God for millennial women of color!



## Message attacks motivate Democrats/anti-Trump voters, not GOP



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