



DEMOCRACY CORPS
C A R V I L L E ♦ G R E E N B E R G

Will Democrats be brave enough to get to bluest wave?

Wave 3 of battleground web-panel & phone surveys

September 2018

GREENBERG RESEARCH

Innovative new research program

**BATTLEGROUND
PHONE POLL**



**ON-GOING RAE+
BATTLEGROUND PANEL**

3 phone polls in 2018:

April 5-12

June 11-14

September 4-10

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

3 web-surveys in 2018:

April 4-16 among 3,137

June 11-28 among 1,813

Aug. 28 – Sept. 10 among 1,085

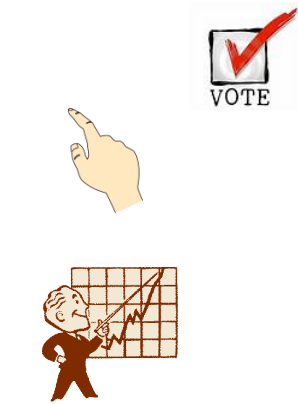
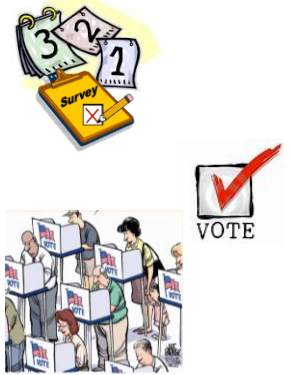
Among 3,137 unmarried women, millennials, minorities (RAE) + white working class women

Voter file matched

With 'touch-ins' between waves

Tracking changing attitudes
Vote preference & engagement

Conduct message tests to discover persuasion & turnout targets



(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*

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:

- *Cook Seats – as of 9/7/18 – (34 GOP, 8 Dem):* AZ-1, AZ-2, AZ-6, CO-3, 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, PA-1, PA-5, PA-6, PA-7, PA-8, PA-10, PA-14, PA-16, PA-17, WI-1, WI-6.

Key findings

This survey of the battleground and web panel of the Rising American Electorate and white working class points to an emerging wave but many factors could leave the Democrats short of a transformative victory and the progressive world desperately disappointed again

- Progressives could fail to target and mobilize the voters who are still uncertain to vote in large numbers: millennial women and Hispanic women.
- With all of the excitement about college educated women, they may fail to realize college women are 16 percent of the registered voters in the battleground and a big win with women requires an impressive performance with unmarried women who comprise 23 percent of registered voters, including the white unmarried women who may give Democrats a big off-year vote for the first time.
- They might not notice, and fail to take seriously, the fracturing of the GOP base where one-quarter of the moderates are open to voting for a Democratic candidate.
- They might not appreciate the surge in voters seeing Trump and the GOP as self-dealing, enriching themselves and their donors, and losing touch with working people.

Key findings, continued..

- They might believe Trump and the GOP's elite characterization of the economy, fail to empathize with the great majority who believe this economy is not producing wage gains that keep up with the cost of living, and fail to hit the GOP for being out of touch with working people. They might fail to show they prioritize an economy where jobs pay enough to live on.
- They may fail to show their frustration with corporate influence over government and show where they stand by criticizing the role of corporate lobbyists, corporate donors, and Super PAC money.
- If progressives crystalize the frustration with corruption into a powerful closing critique of out of touch Republicans, then they can push their advantage to its most politically destructive potential.

Too many leaders divide the country and cut corrupt deals for themselves and their wealthy corporate campaign donors at the expense of working people and the middle class. The Republicans say your wages are great and it's the best economy in history. But their tax scam for the rich recklessly drives up the deficit to justify their cuts to Medicare and Medicaid and less investment in education and health care. I won't take contributions from corporations and the very richest must pay more in taxes so we can invest in education and make health care more affordable.

BATTLEGROUND & WOMEN SHIFTING AGAINST GOP & TRUMP

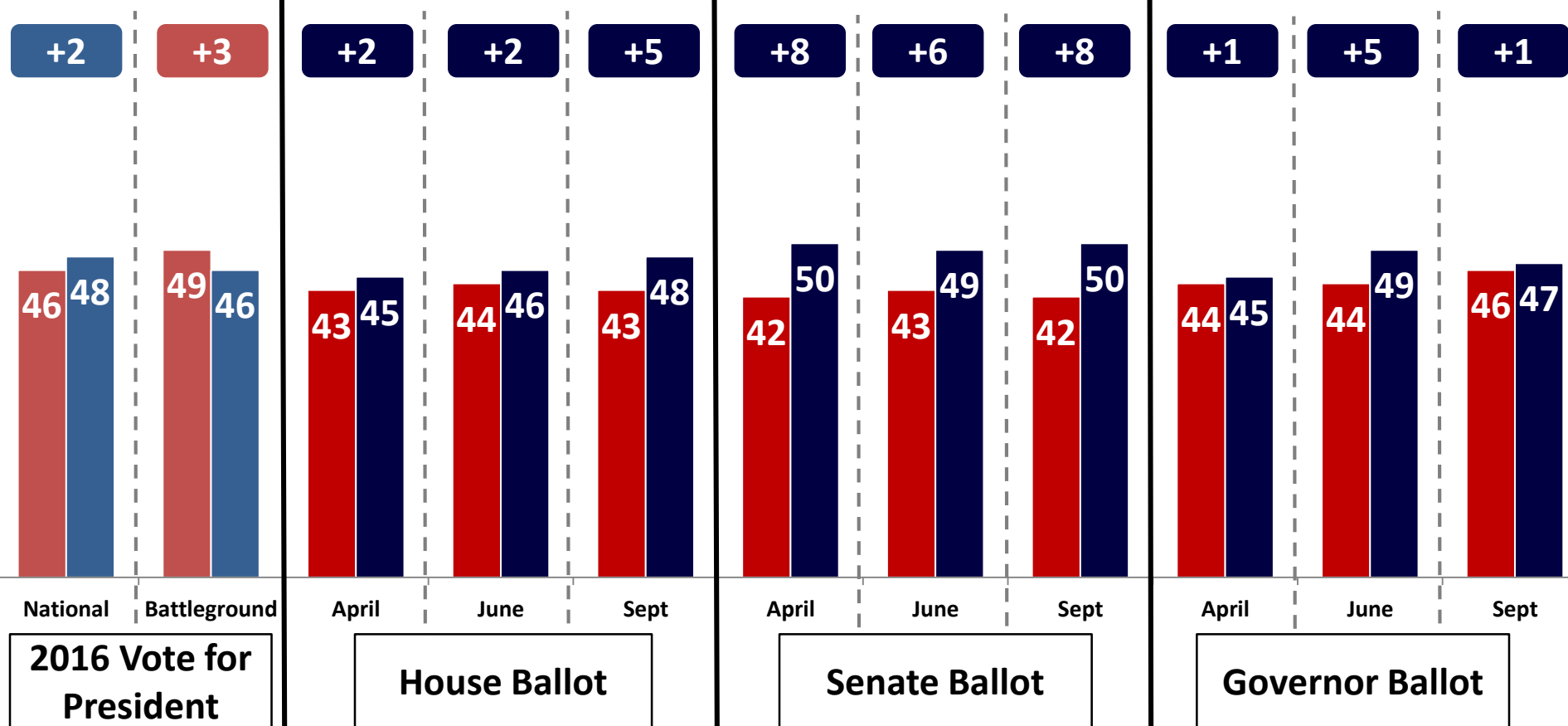
Democrats gain across the battleground at the congressional level

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)?

BALLOTS VS. 2016 VOTE IN BATTLEGROUND

■ Republican in 2018/Trump in 2016

■ Democratic in 2018/Clinton in 2016

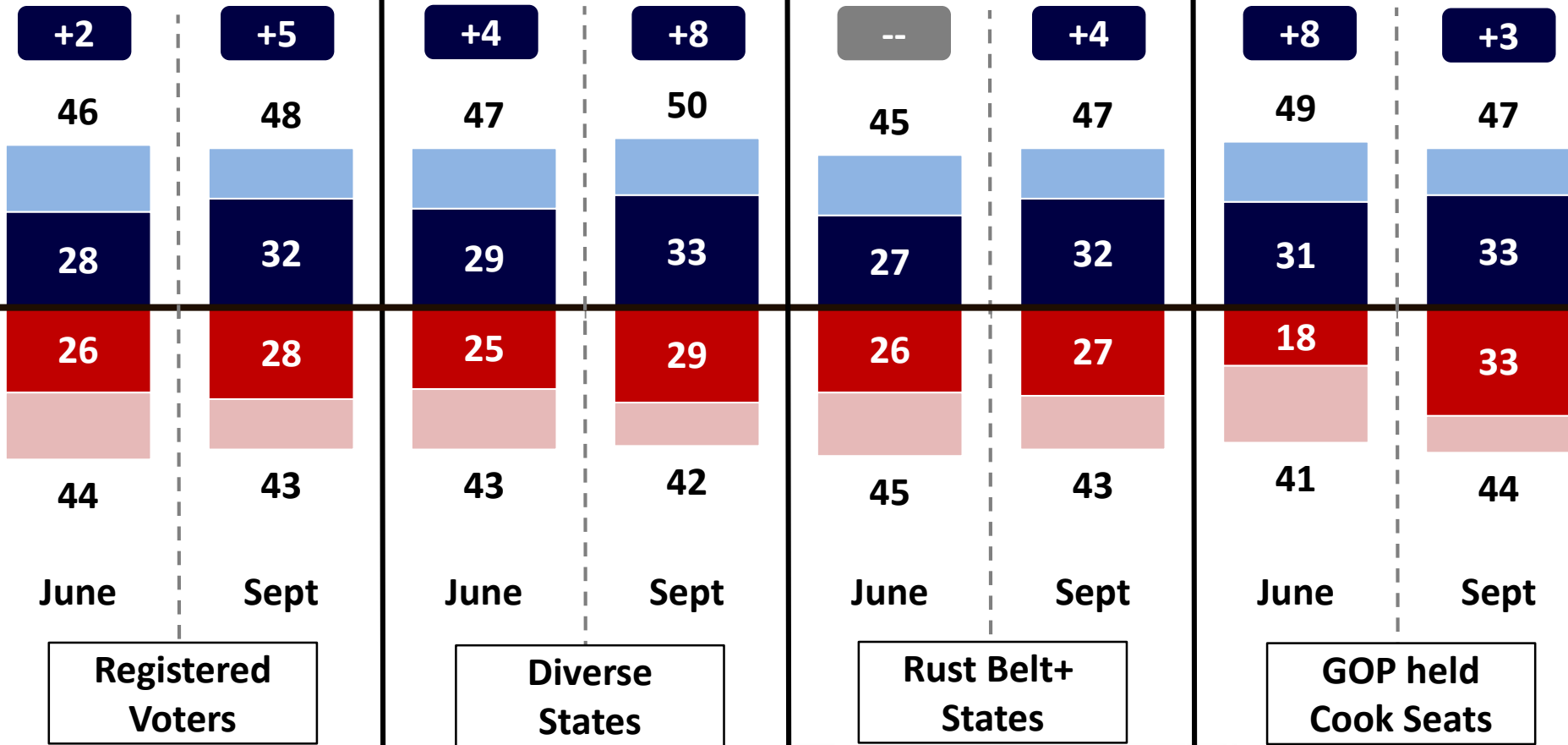


Democrats gain across the battleground at the congressional level

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?

CHANGE IN CONGRESSIONAL VOTE

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

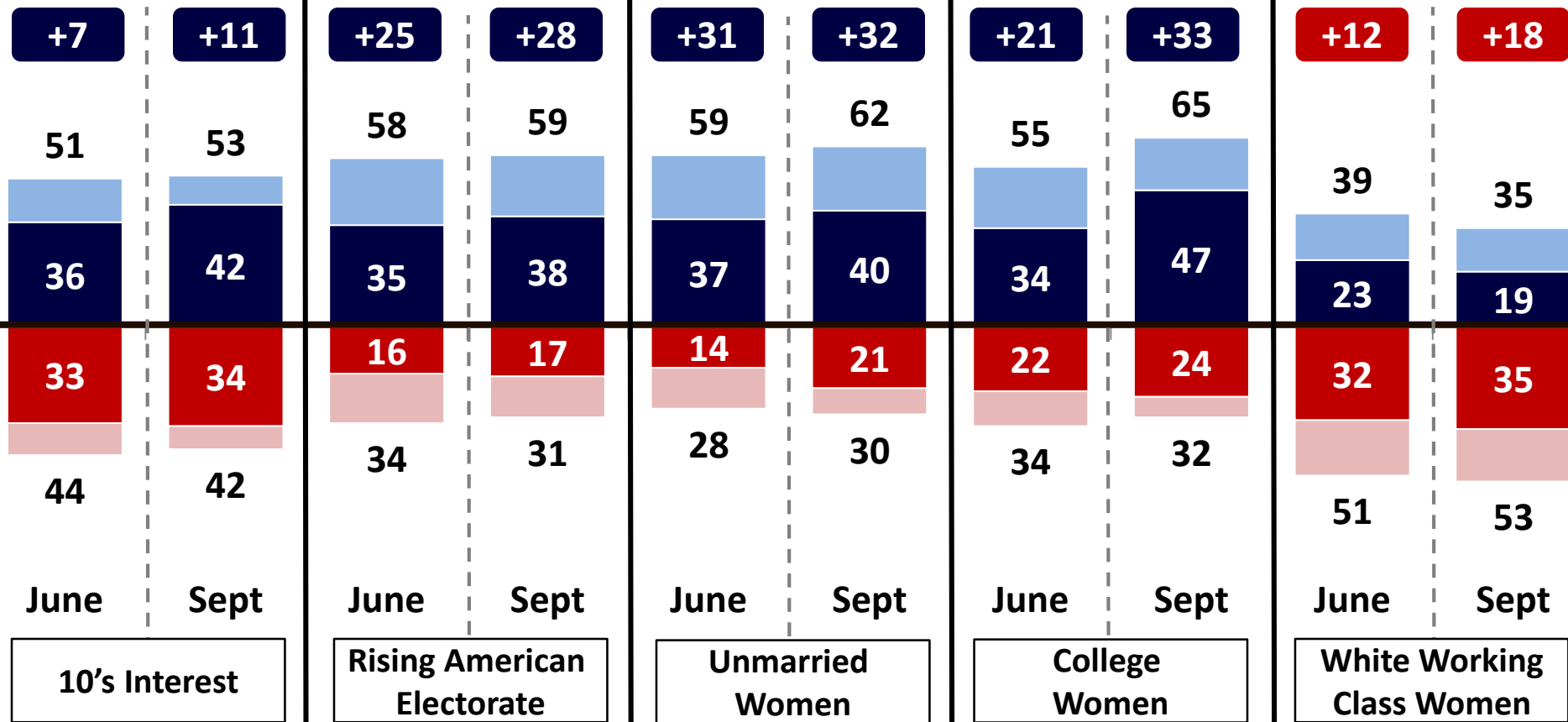


White unmarried & college women break Democratic, not white working class

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?

CHANGE IN CONGRESSIONAL VOTE

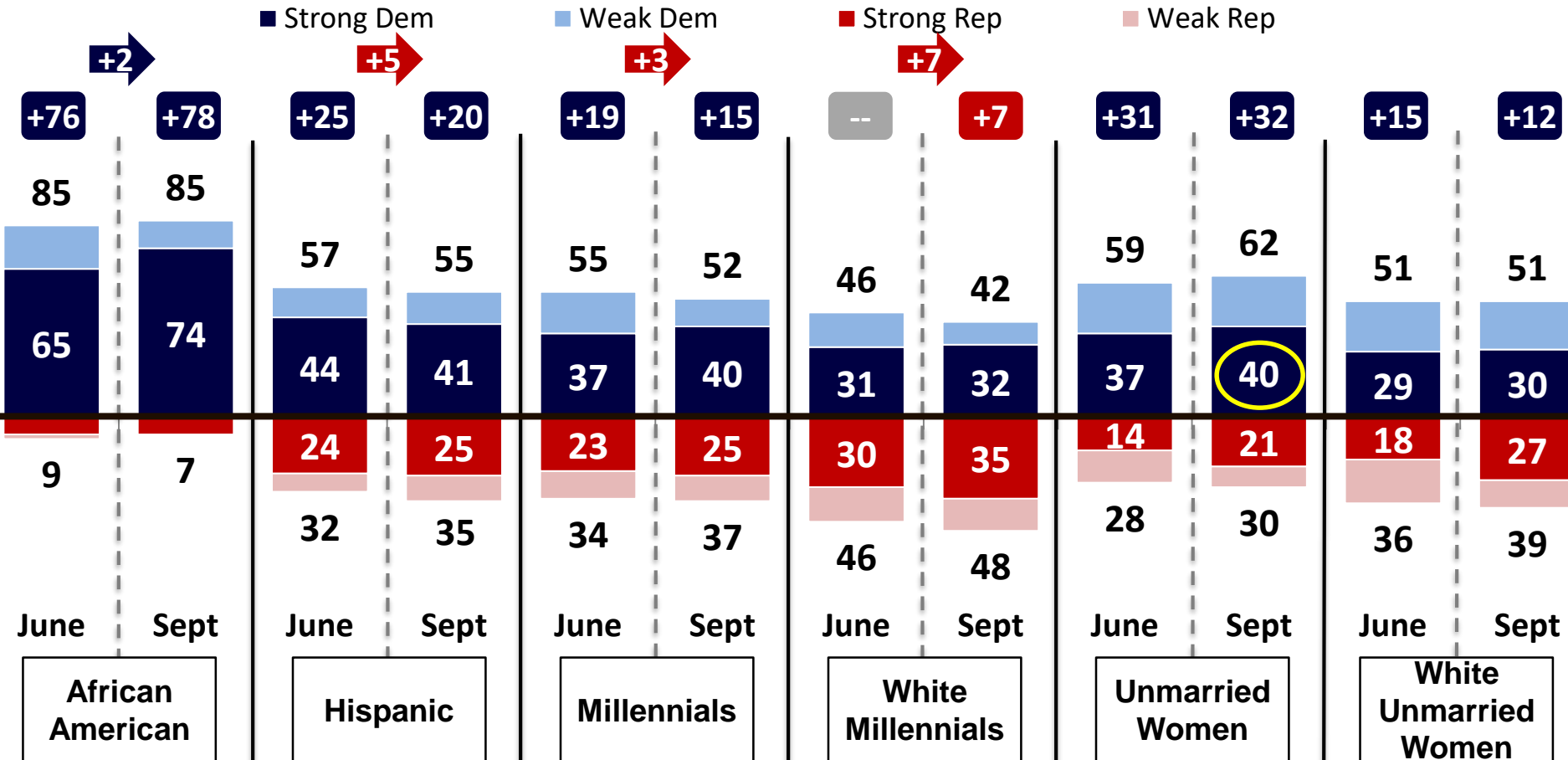
■ Strong Dem ■ Weak Dem ■ Strong Rep ■ Weak Rep



Impressive vote & intensity with unmarried women & African Americans, but real questions about Hispanics & millennials

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?

CHANGE IN CONGRESSIONAL VOTE



Democrats dramatically over performing with all kinds of women

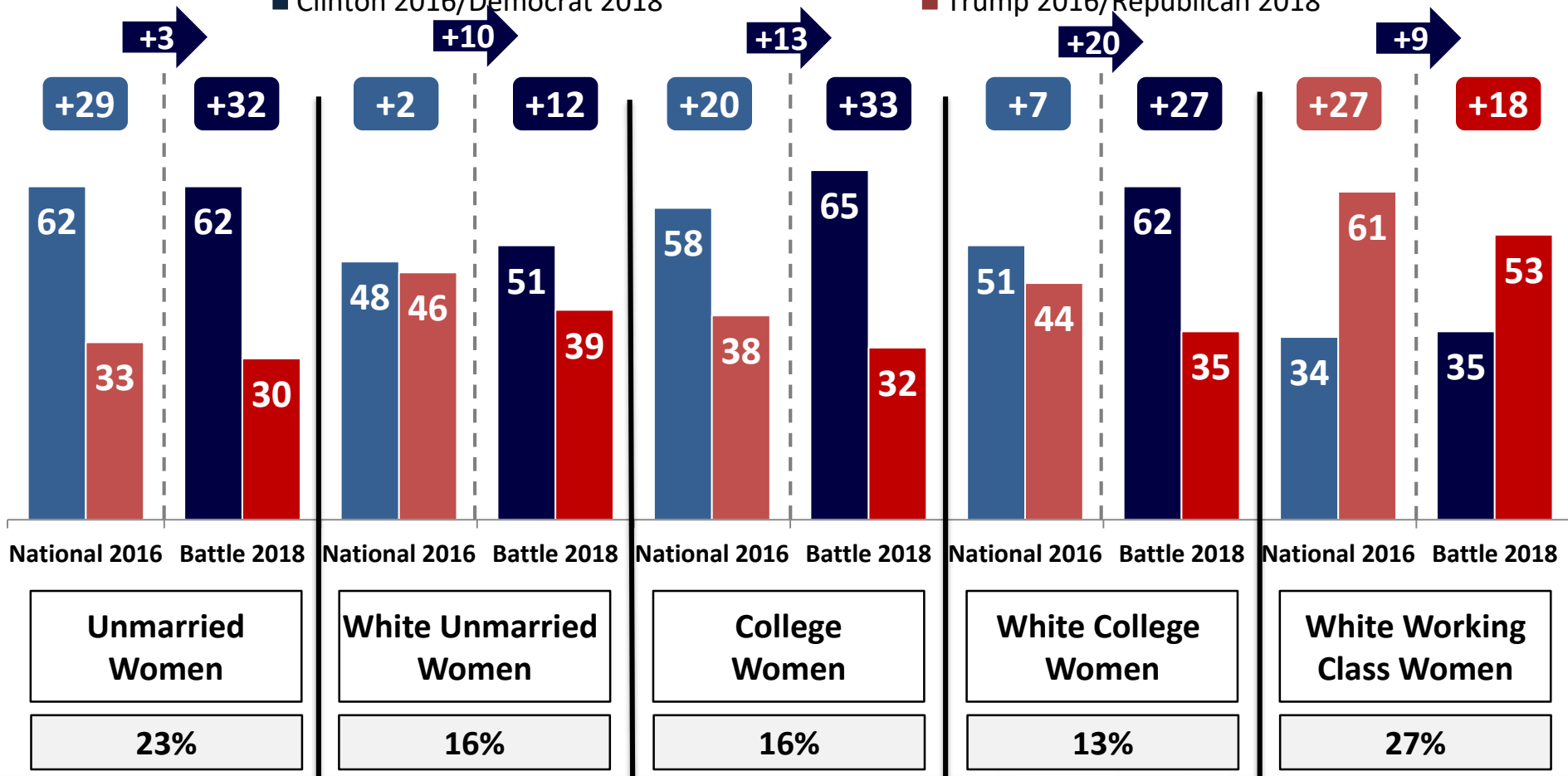
Thinking about the election for Congress in your district in November 2018, will you vote for -- the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate? How certain are you that you would vote for the (CANDIDATE) -- are you very certain, somewhat certain or not certain at all?

% of battleground registered voters

2016 VOTE V. CONGRESSIONAL BALLOT

■ Clinton 2016/Democrat 2018

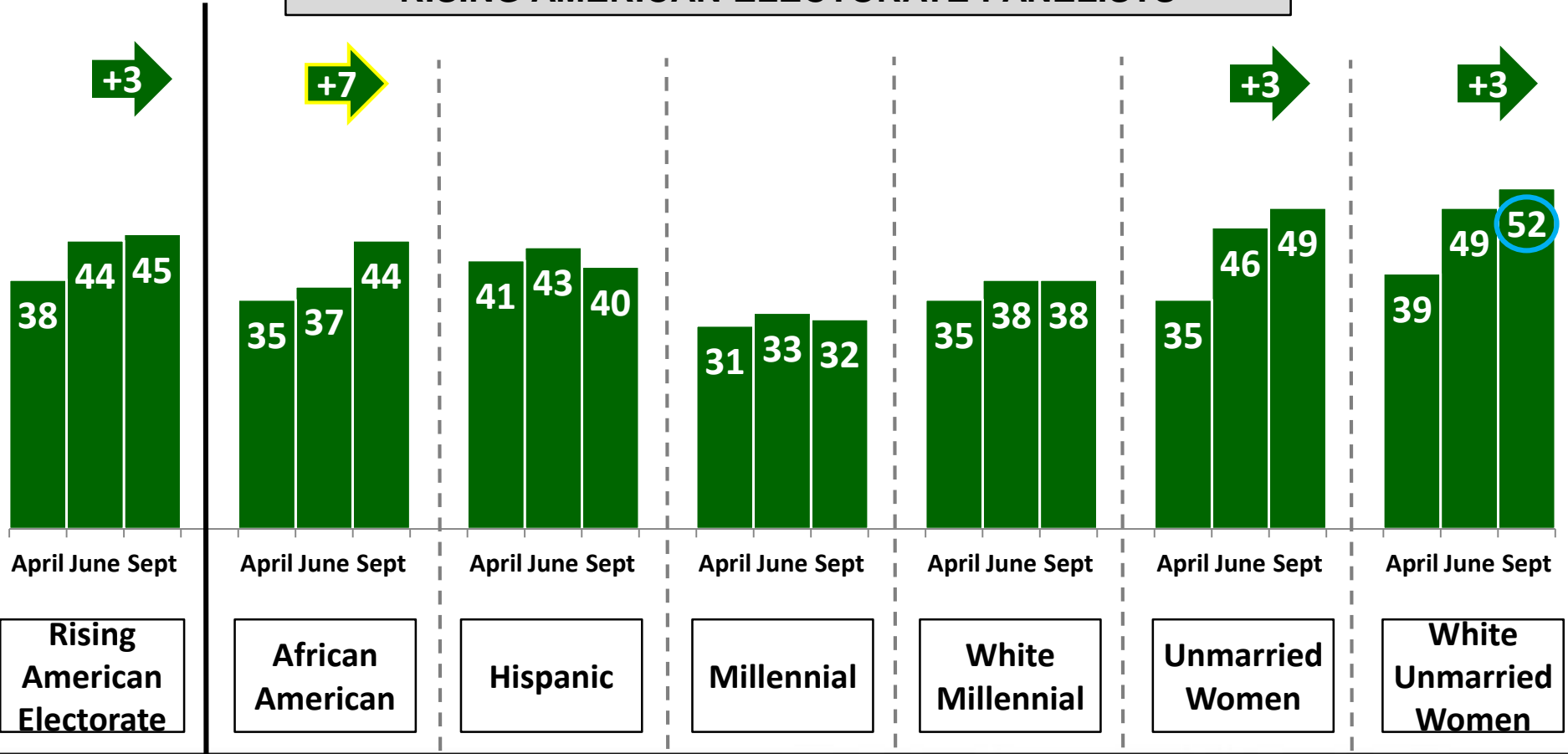
■ Trump 2016/Republican 2018



Unmarried women have the highest interest in the election

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.

CHANGE IN %10 INTEREST IN ELECTION RISING AMERICAN ELECTORATE PANELISTS

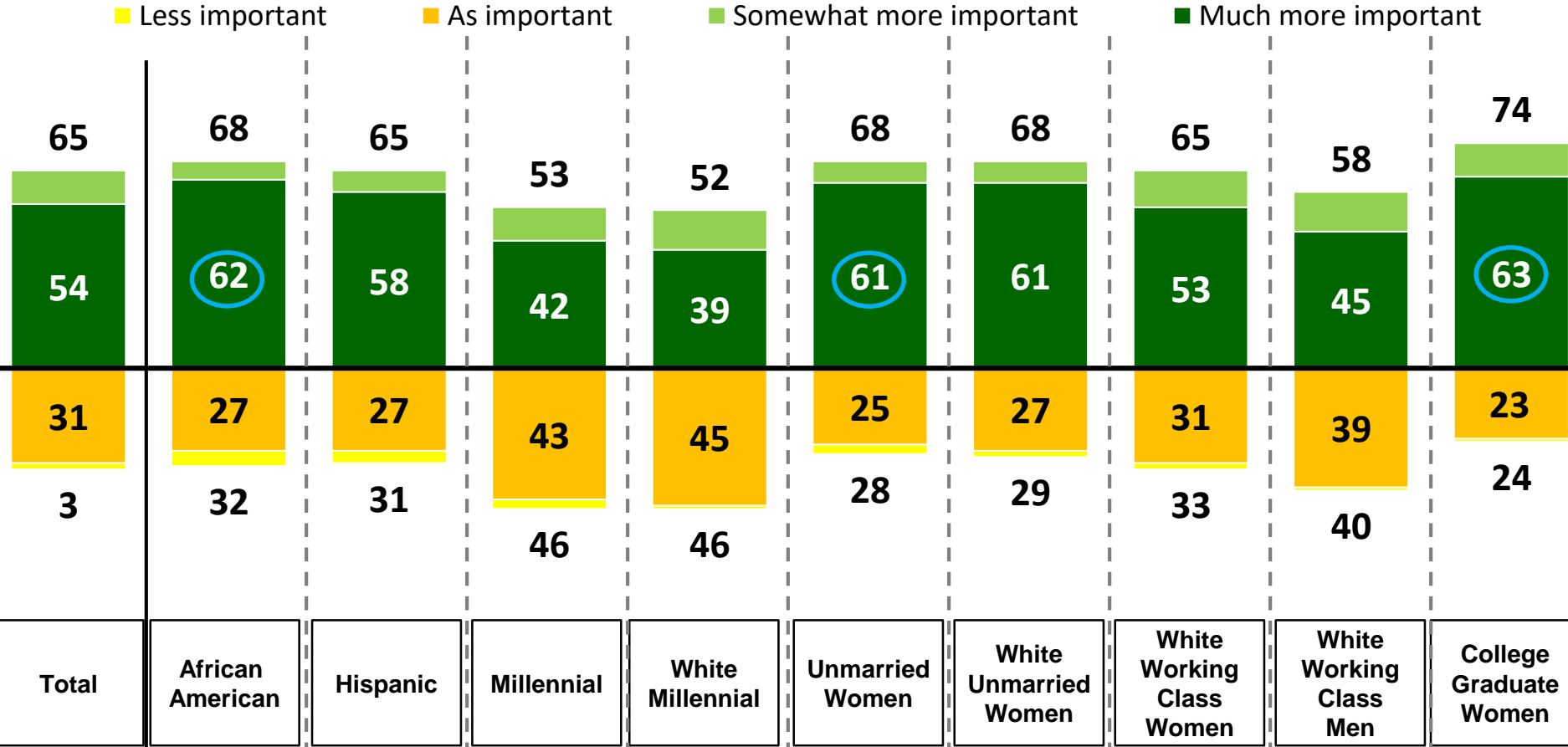


Only showing responses from respondents who participated in all three online surveys. Using .

Unmarried women, college women & African Americans say this midterm more important with great intensity

Compared to previous midterm elections, do you think it is more important for you to vote, less important for you to vote, or about the same?

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THIS MIDTERM

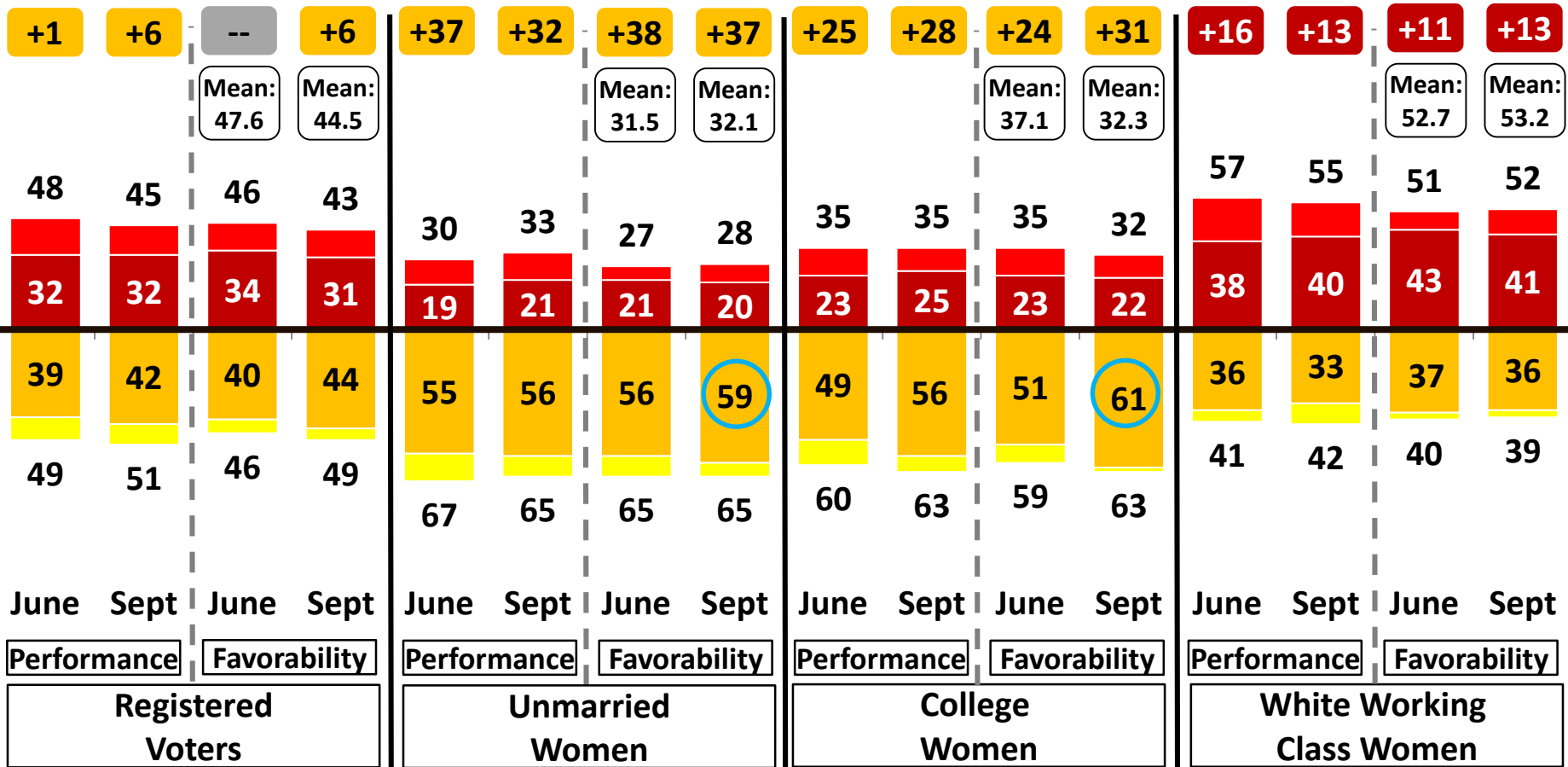


Trump's weakening personal and job performance

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

TRUMP JOB PERFORMANCE

■ Strongly approve/Very warm
 ■ Somewhat approve/Warm
 ■ Strongly disapprove/Very cool
 ■ Somewhat disapprove/Cool

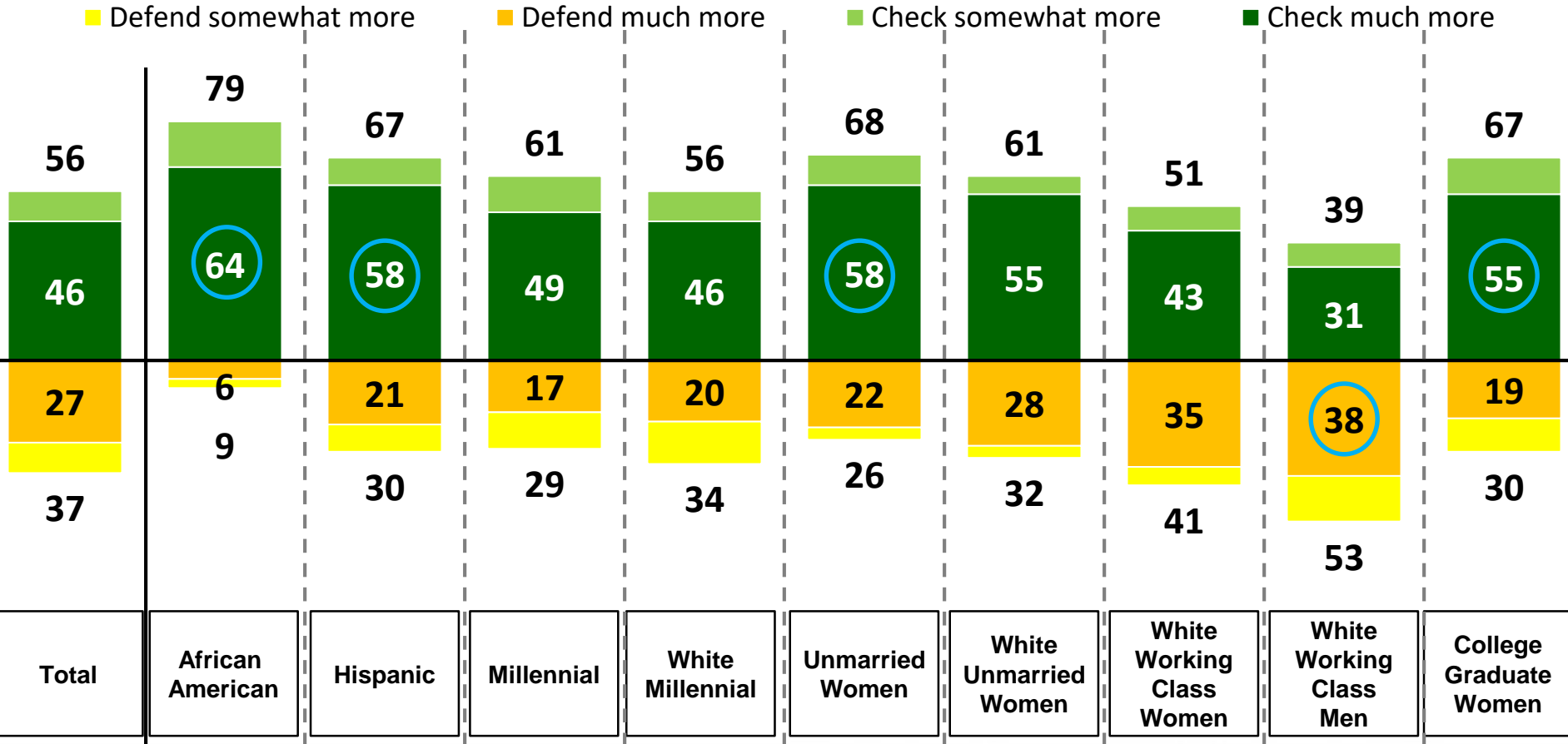


Critical for unmarried & college women to vote in midterms to check Trump

Which one of the following statements comes closer to your point of view, even if neither is exactly right?

I need to vote in the midterm election in November to elect leaders who will be a check on President Trump

I need to vote in the midterm election in November to elect leaders who will defend President Trump.

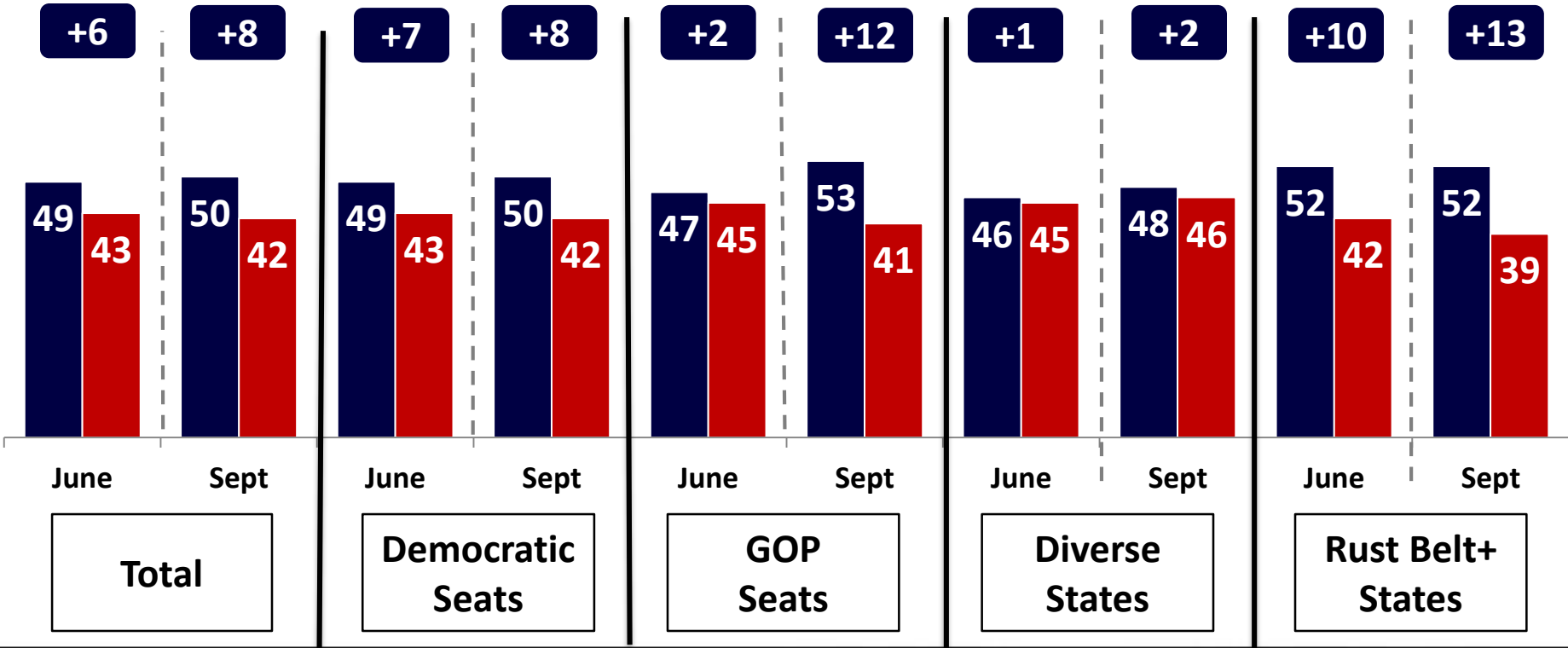


Democrats pull ahead in GOP-held Senate race states & Democratic incumbents strong & steady, especially in Rust Belt

Thinking about the election for Senate in your state in November 2018, will you vote for – (Democratic candidate) or (Republican candidate)?

SENATE BALLOT

■ Democratic Senate Candidate ■ Republican Senate Candidate



Diverse state Democratic incumbents in Florida & New Mexico. Rust Belt+ Democratic incumbents in Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. GOP Senate incumbents in Arizona, Nevada & Tennessee.

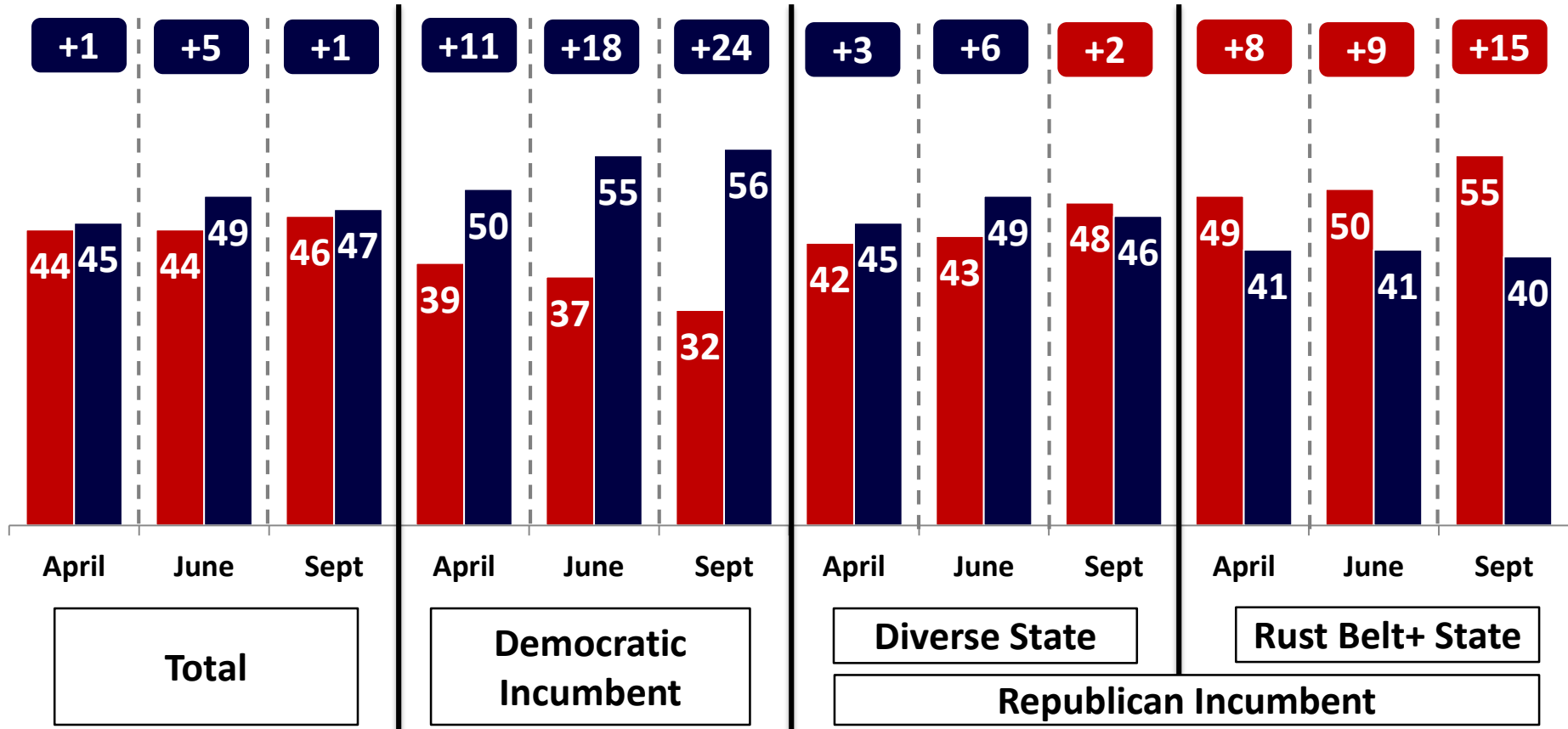
Incumbent party improving across battleground for Governor

Thinking about the election for Governor in your state in November 2018, will you vote for – (Democratic candidate) or (Republican candidate)?

GOVERNOR BALLOT

■ Republican Candidate

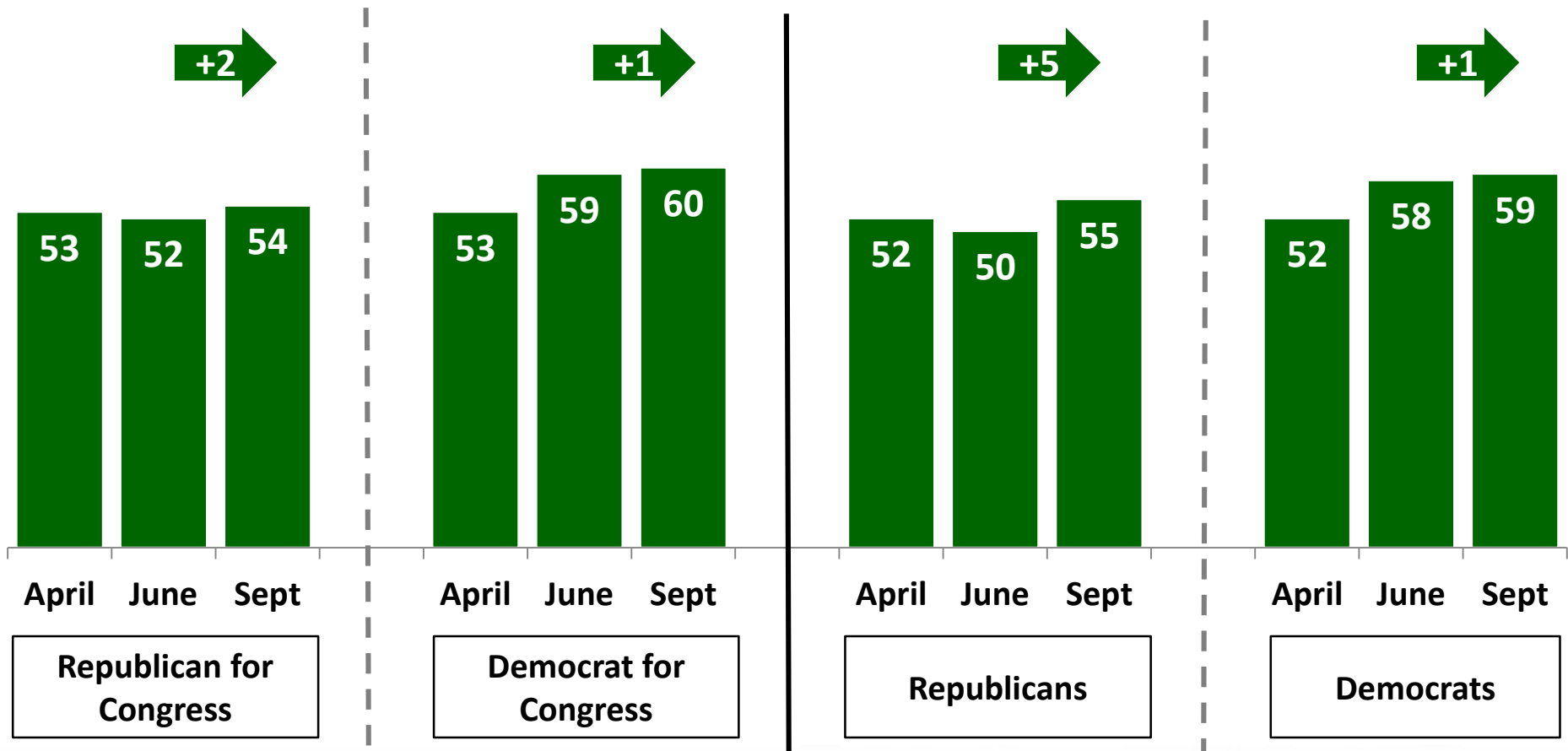
■ Democratic Candidate



Democrats have higher interest, but GOP picking up

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.

%10 INTEREST IN ELECTION

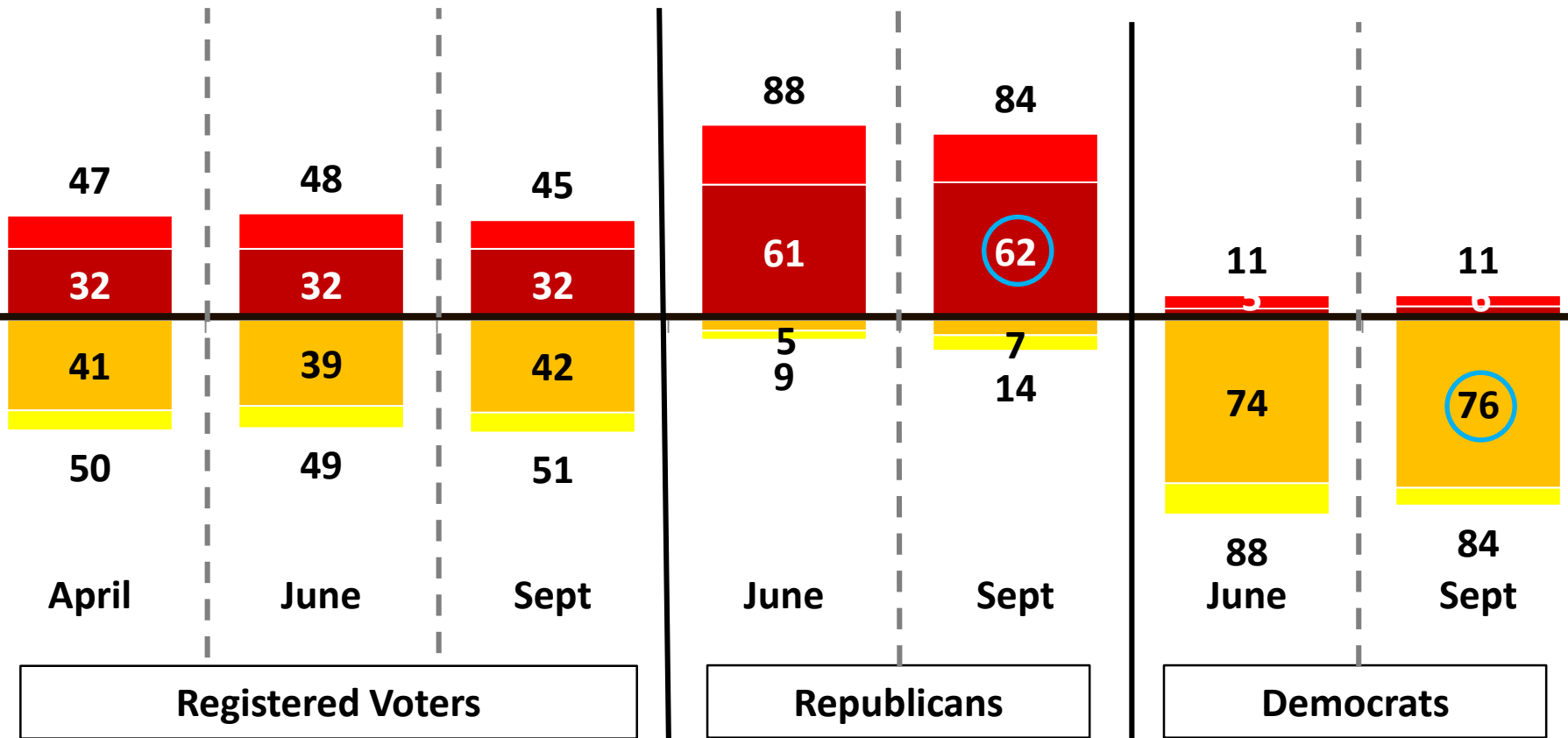


Trump's national approval drop seen in battleground, driven by GOP

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

TRUMP JOB PERFORMANCE

■ Strongly approve
 ■ Somewhat approve
 ■ Strongly Disapprove
 ■ Somewhat disapprove



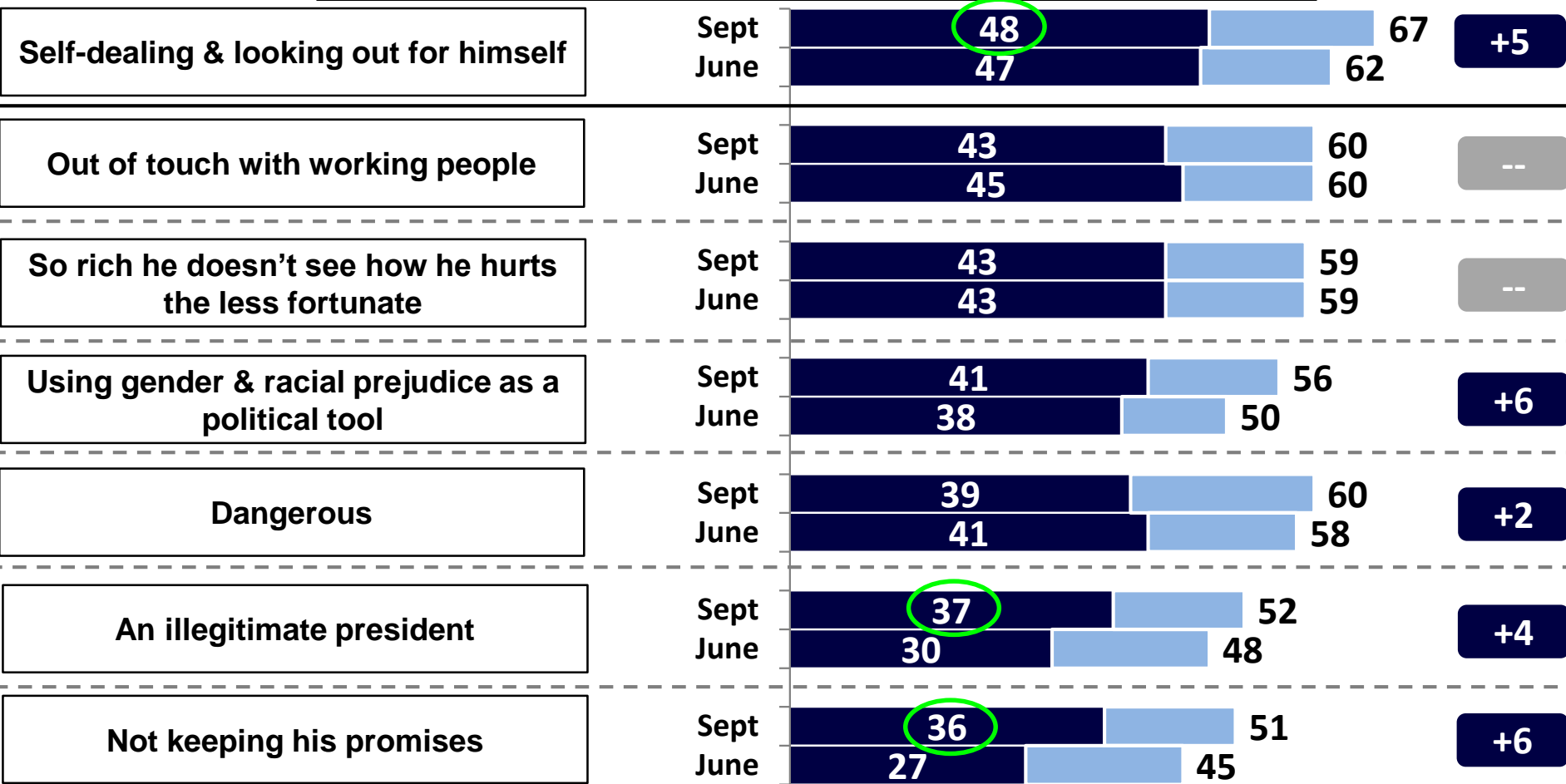
More say Trump self-dealing and looking out for himself, with intensity

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

AGREEMENT ON TRUMP NEGATIVES

RISING AMERICAN ELECTORATE PANELISTS

■ Very well
■ Somewhat well



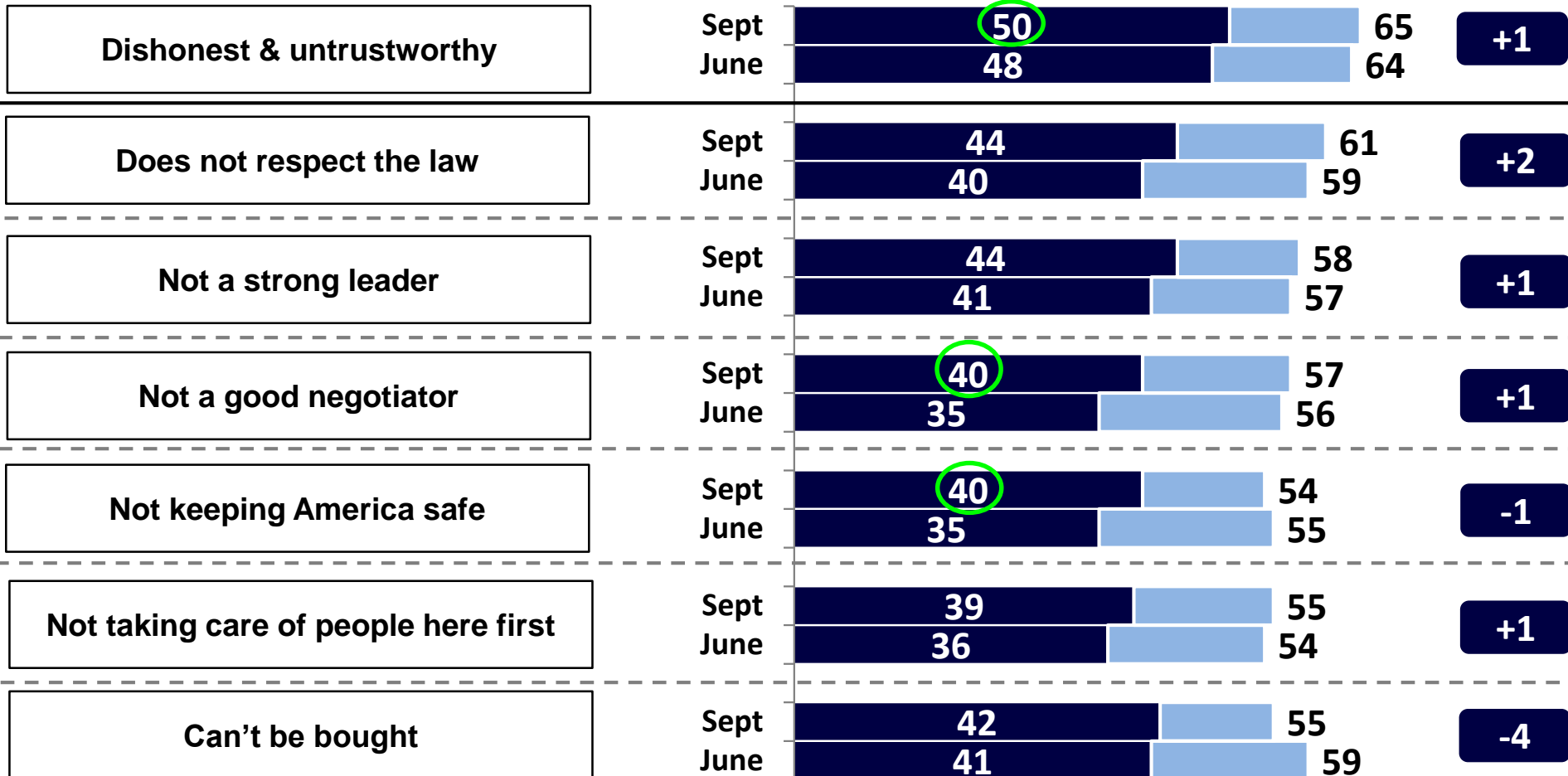
More panelists say Trump dishonest & half say so with intensity

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

DISGREEMENT ON TRUMP POSITIVES

RISING AMERICAN ELECTORATE PANELISTS

Very well
Somewhat well



Big jump in perception of the GOP being for themselves

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

ASSOCIATED w/ REPUBLICAN PARTY

RISING AMERICAN ELECTORATE PANELISTS

JUNE

SEPTEMBER

Themselves

21

Themselves

32

Tax Cuts

17

Tax Cuts

15

The Rich

16

The Rich

16

Economy & Jobs

12

Economy & Jobs

15

Immigration

11

Immigration

17

National Security

9

National Security

12

Anti-Bill of Rights

8

Healthcare

11

Pro-business

7

Guns

12

GOP NOW HURT BY CORRUPTION & BEING OUT OF TOUCH ON ECONOMY

Trump & the media get it wrong: voters increasingly say economy is not strong

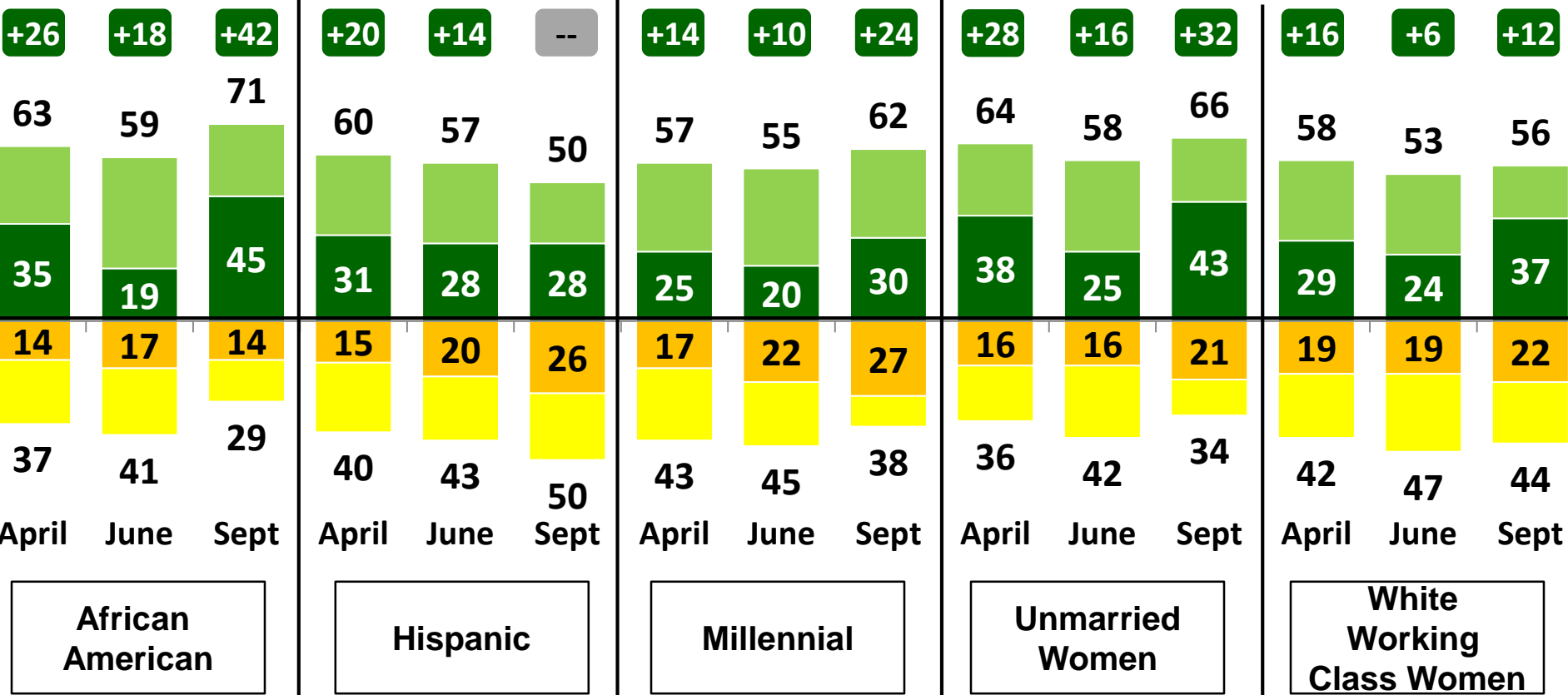
Please tell me which one you agree with more, even if neither is exactly right.

The economy isn't very strong for families like mine because our salaries and incomes can't keep up with the cost of living.

The economy is strong and families like mine are beginning to be more financially secure.

RAE+ PANELISTS

Strong much more
Not strong much more



More say the tax cut is not helping them

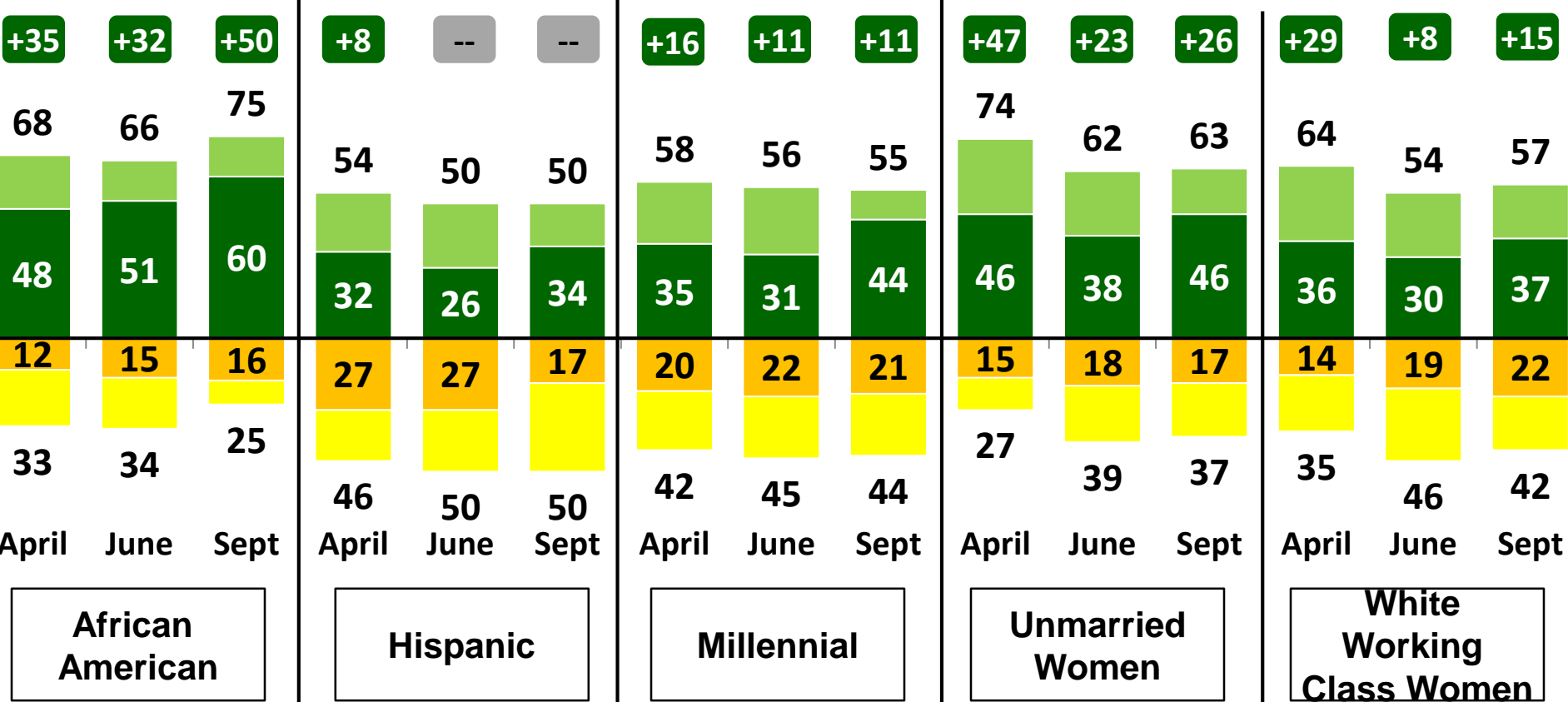
Please tell me which one you agree with more, even if neither is exactly right.

I don't think the new tax cut law is benefitting me personally.

I think the new tax cut law is benefitting me personally.

RAE+ PANELISTS

benefit much more
not benefit much more



Democrats increasingly associated with social issues, not the economy

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

ASSOCIATED w/ DEMOCRATIC PARTY

RISING AMERICAN ELECTORATE PANELISTS

JUNE

Healthcare 19

Themselves 16

Ordinary people 15

Economy, jobs & taxes 15

Immigration 14

Social issues 14

Guns 8

Environment 7

SEPTEMBER

Social issues 20

Healthcare 18

Ordinary people 15

Themselves 13

Immigration 14

Economy, jobs & taxes 11

Environment 11

Guns 9



NEW POWERFUL MESSAGE

Tax scam & government for corporations messages powerful

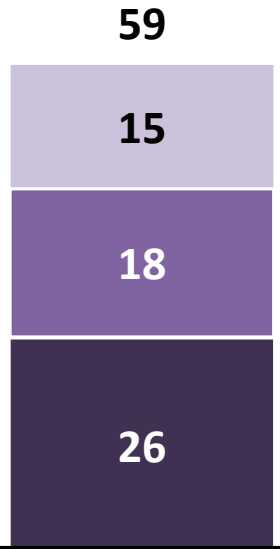
Please read this statement from a Democratic candidate from (STATE). Does that statement make you feel much more positive, somewhat more, a little more, or less positive about that candidate, or does it make no difference?

RAE+ PANELISTS

TAX SCAM MESSAGE:

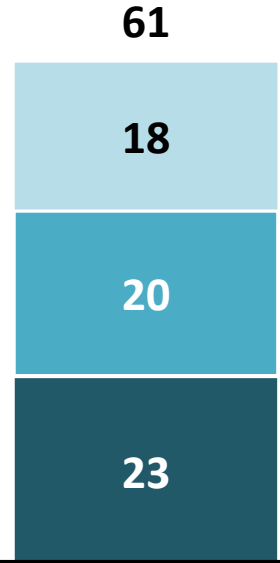
We need new political leadership in Washington. They are dividing the country and handing the government over to their wealthy donors and corporations at the expense of working people and the middle class. The Republicans' tax scam for the rich recklessly drives up the deficit to justify their cuts to Social Security & Medicare and less investment in education and health care. I won't take contributions from corporations, and I believe the very richest must pay more in taxes so we can invest in education and make health care more affordable.

- A little more positive
- Somewhat more
- Much more



GOVERNMENT FOR CORPORATIONS MESSAGE:

To the leaders who only get things done for corporate campaign donors and expect you to live with the consequences, your time is up! They are refusing to act on gun control, the price of college, and criminal justice reform. They are selling you out by rolling back net neutrality, blocking states from legalizing marijuana, and refusing to acknowledge climate change. They may have lobbyists and Super PACs, but only you have the power to vote in November. It's your turn!

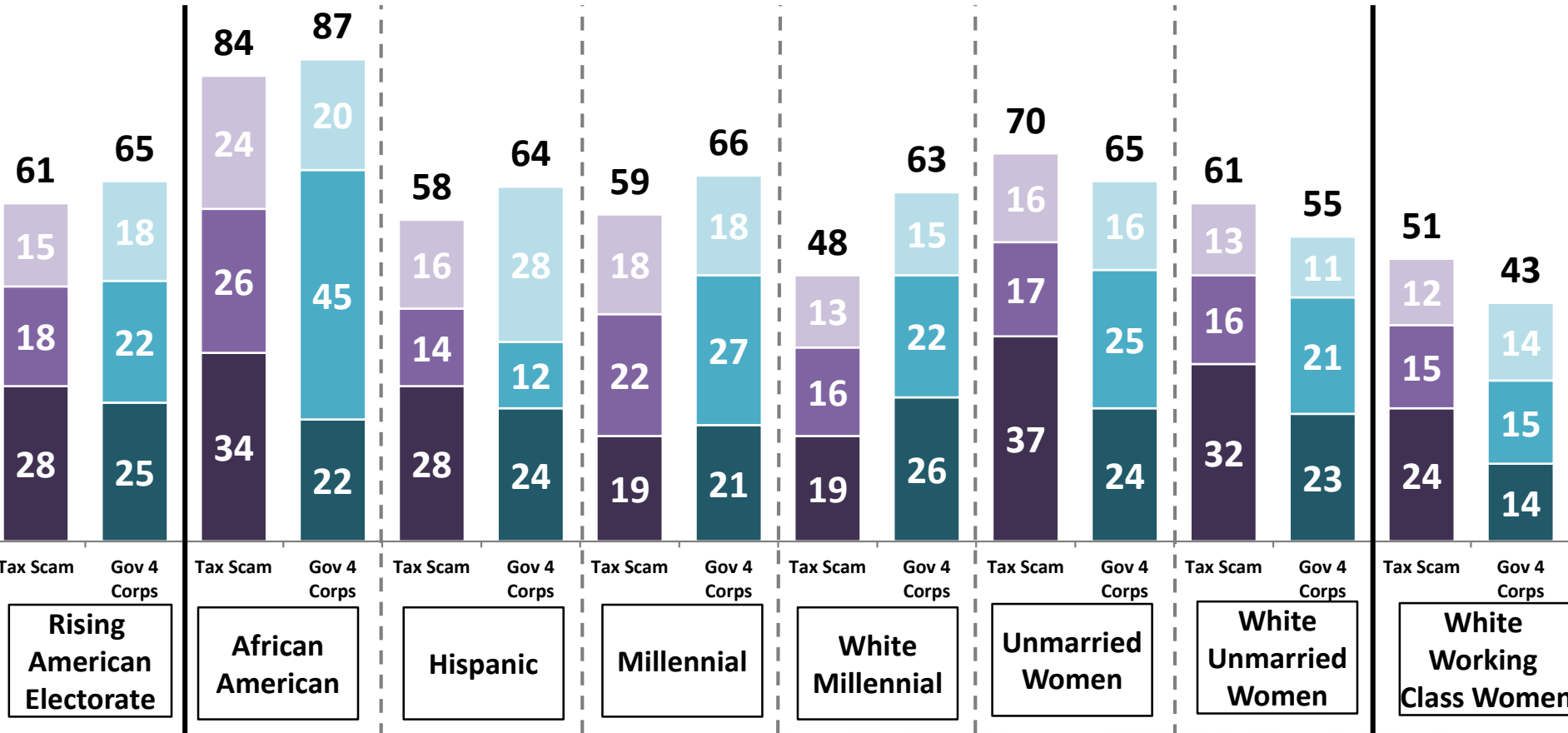


Base moved by tax scam, millennials by government for corporations

Please read this statement from a Democratic candidate from (STATE). Does that statement make you feel much more positive, somewhat more, a little more, or less positive about that candidate, or does it make no difference?

RAE+ PANELISTS

■ A little more positive ■ Somewhat more ■ Much more

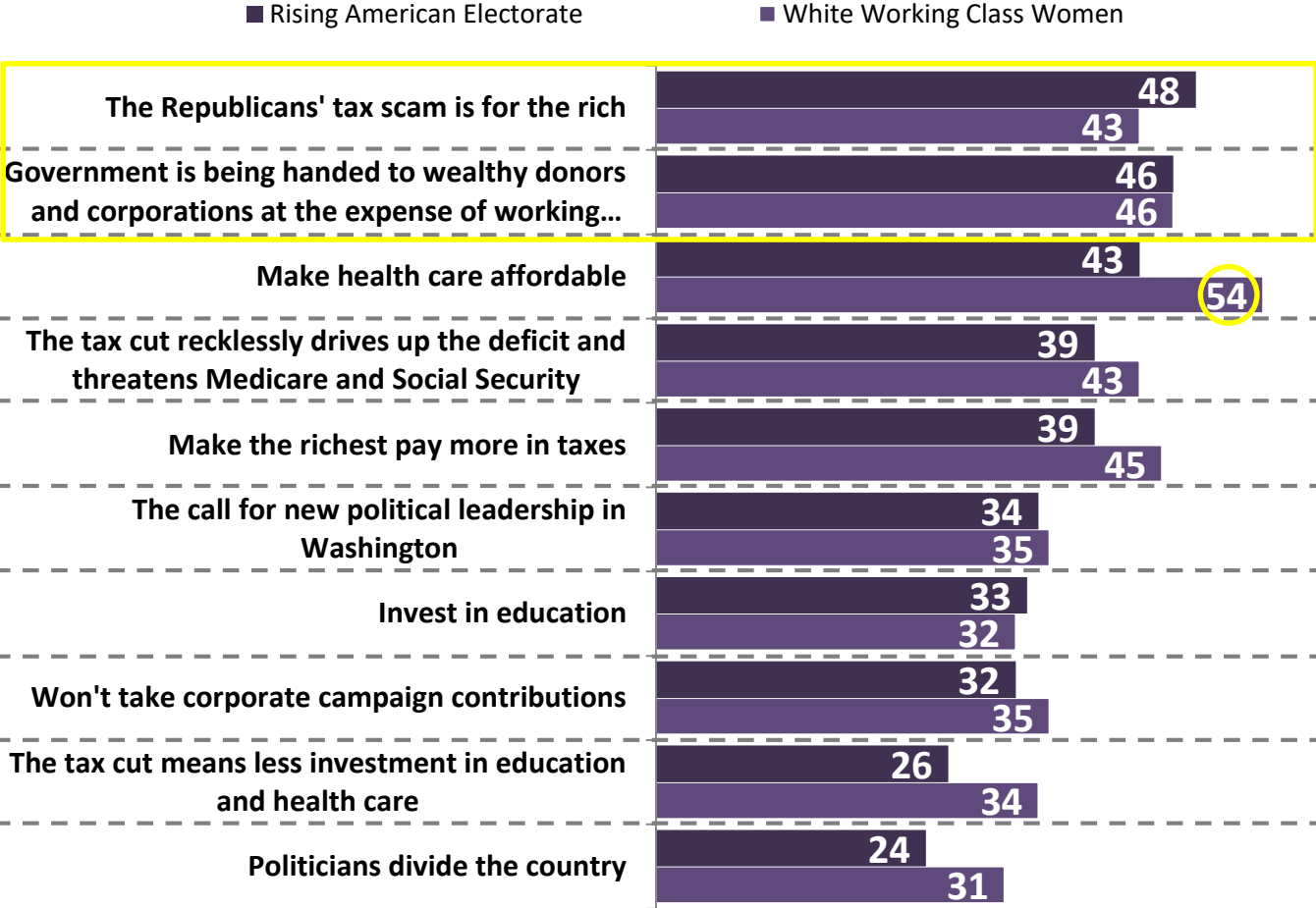


“Tax scam for the rich” & “handing government to donors & corporations at expense of middle class”

(IF POSITIVE TOWARDS MESSAGE) Which ideas expressed in the statement you just read tell you that this candidate really 'gets it' and can be trusted to govern for the right reasons? Please select all that apply.

TAX SCAM MESSAGE:

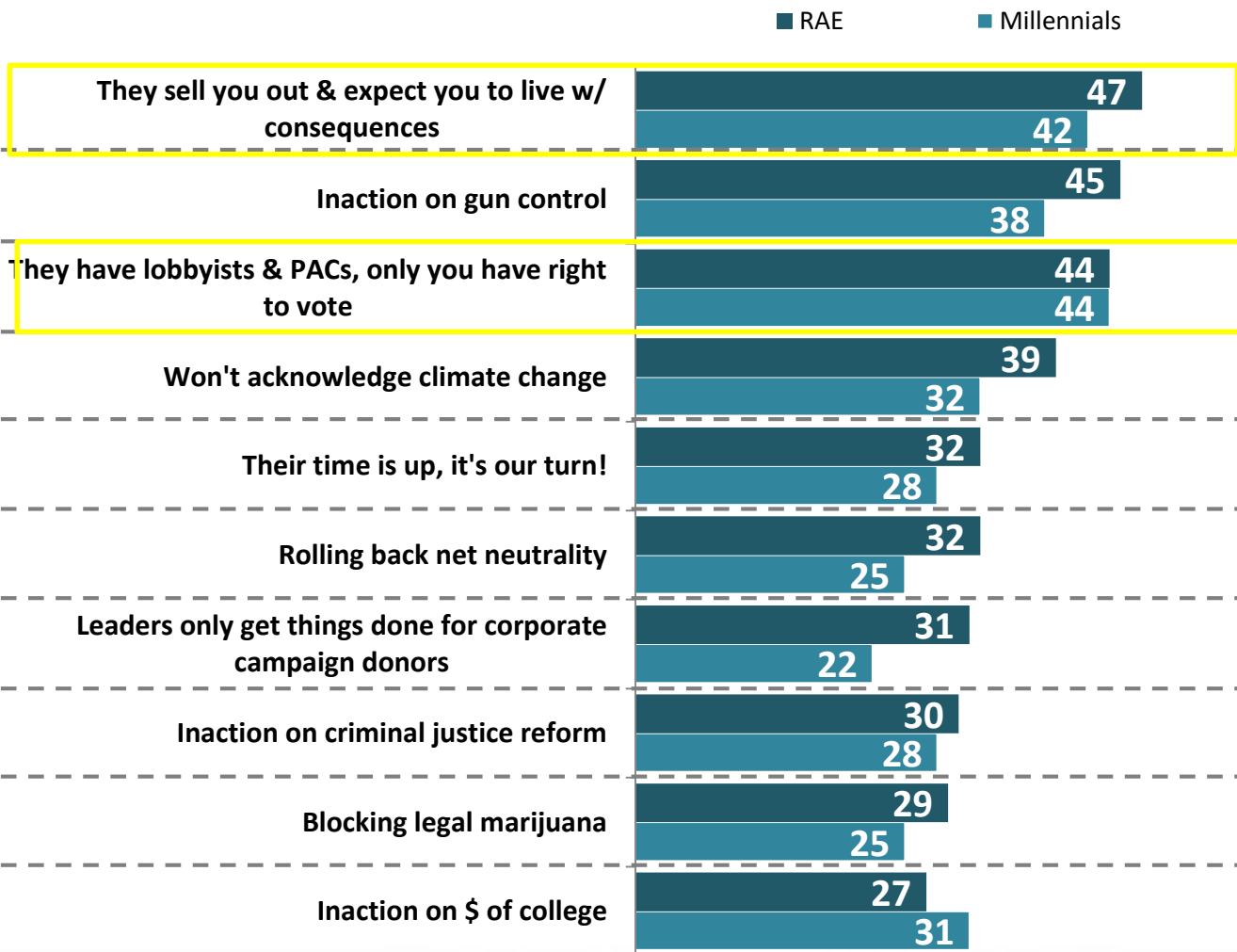
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Sell you out to lobbyists and PACs and you live with consequences

(IF POSITIVE TOWARDS MESSAGE) Which ideas expressed in the statement you just read tell you that this candidate really 'gets it' and can be trusted to govern for the right reasons? Please select all that apply.

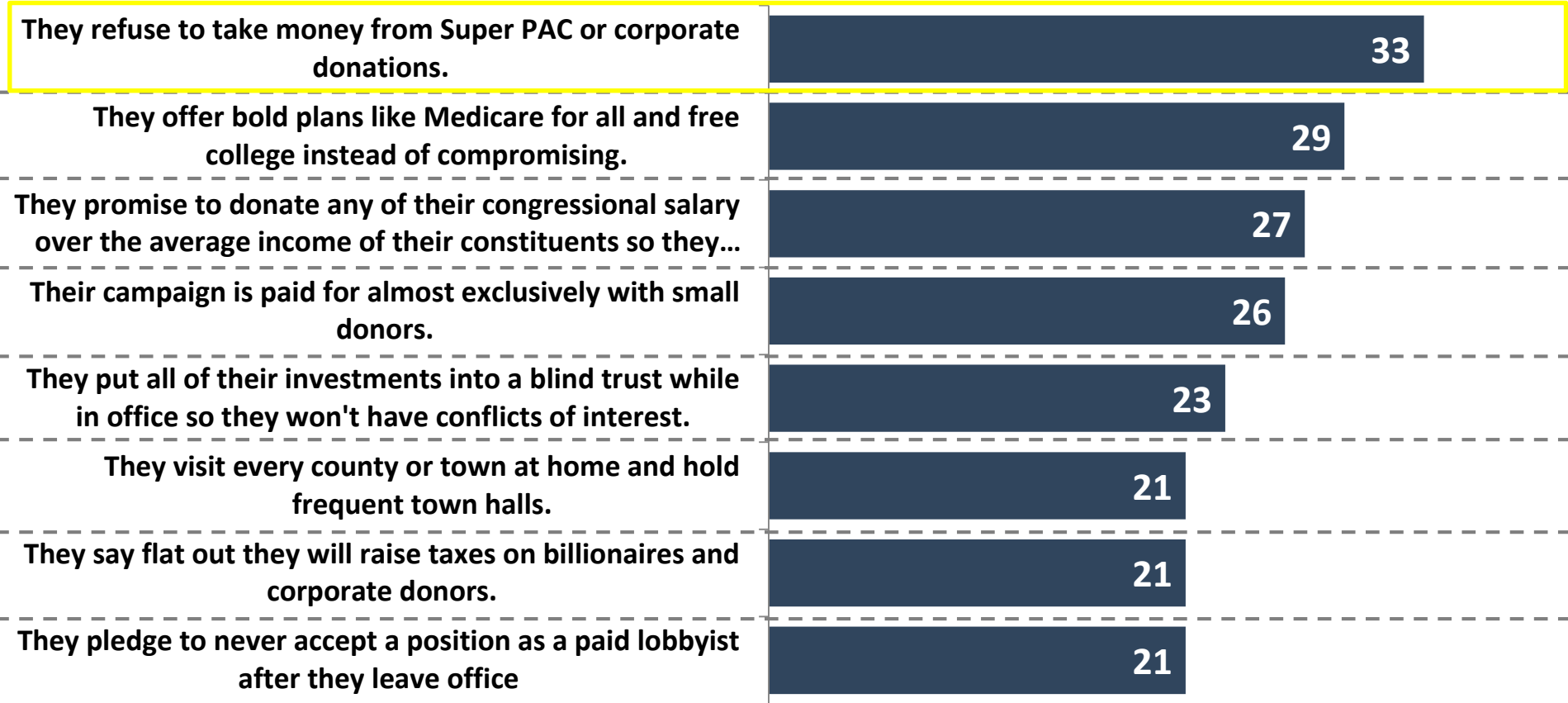
GOVERNMENT FOR CORPORATIONS MESSAGE:
 To the leaders who only get things done for corporate campaign donors and expect you to live with the consequences, your time is up! They are refusing to act on gun control, the price of college, and criminal justice reform. They are selling you out by rolling back net neutrality, blocking states from legalizing marijuana, and refusing to acknowledge climate change. They may have lobbyists and Super PACs, but only you have the power to vote in November. It's your turn!



Refusing PAC & corporate donors makes a candidate trustworthy

Which TWO of the actions or positions below tell you that you can trust a candidate running for office to do what s/he says?

RAE+ PANELISTS



Top doubts about Republicans – out of touch or health care experiment

Please read these statements about the Republicans. For each, please indicate whether it raises very serious doubts, somewhat serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your mind.

RAE+ PANELISTS

■ Very serious doubts
■ Somewhat serious doubts

OUT OF TOUCH SPLIT

OUT OF TOUCH ON ECONOMIC GROWTH: Republicans say this is the best economy in history, but that growth isn't helping people like you who haven't seen a raise in years, while the cost of living increases are killing you.



OUT OF TOUCH ON JOBS: Republicans say there is record-low unemployment and their corporate tax cuts are keeping more good-paying jobs in the US. But most of the jobs pay a lot less than they used to, while outsourcing of good-paying manufacturing jobs has accelerated in the past 2 years.



OUT OF TOUCH ON TAXES & WAGES: Republicans say that your wages are rising like never before because of the corporate tax cut. Instead, corporations gave all that money to their stock holders and hiked CEO bonuses, while salaries and wages went down over the last 3 months. That's a scam and greedy.



HEALTH CARE SPLIT

HEALTH CARE PRE-EXISTING CONDITIONS: Republicans voted twice to remove protections for people with pre-existing conditions like cancer, diabetes, asthma and pregnancy. Now they are fighting in court to allow insurance companies to charge those people even more.



HEALTH CARE HIGHER COSTS: Republicans promised to repeal and replace Obamacare with better, more affordable plans. Instead they pushed premiums up by 30 percent and did nothing about skyrocketing prescription drug costs.



HEALTH CARE COSTS & TAX CUT: Republicans are working for their big drug company campaign donors. Instead of making health care more affordable, they took campaign donations from drug companies and then gave health insurers and pharmaceutical companies a new tax cut even though they are still raising insurance and drug costs



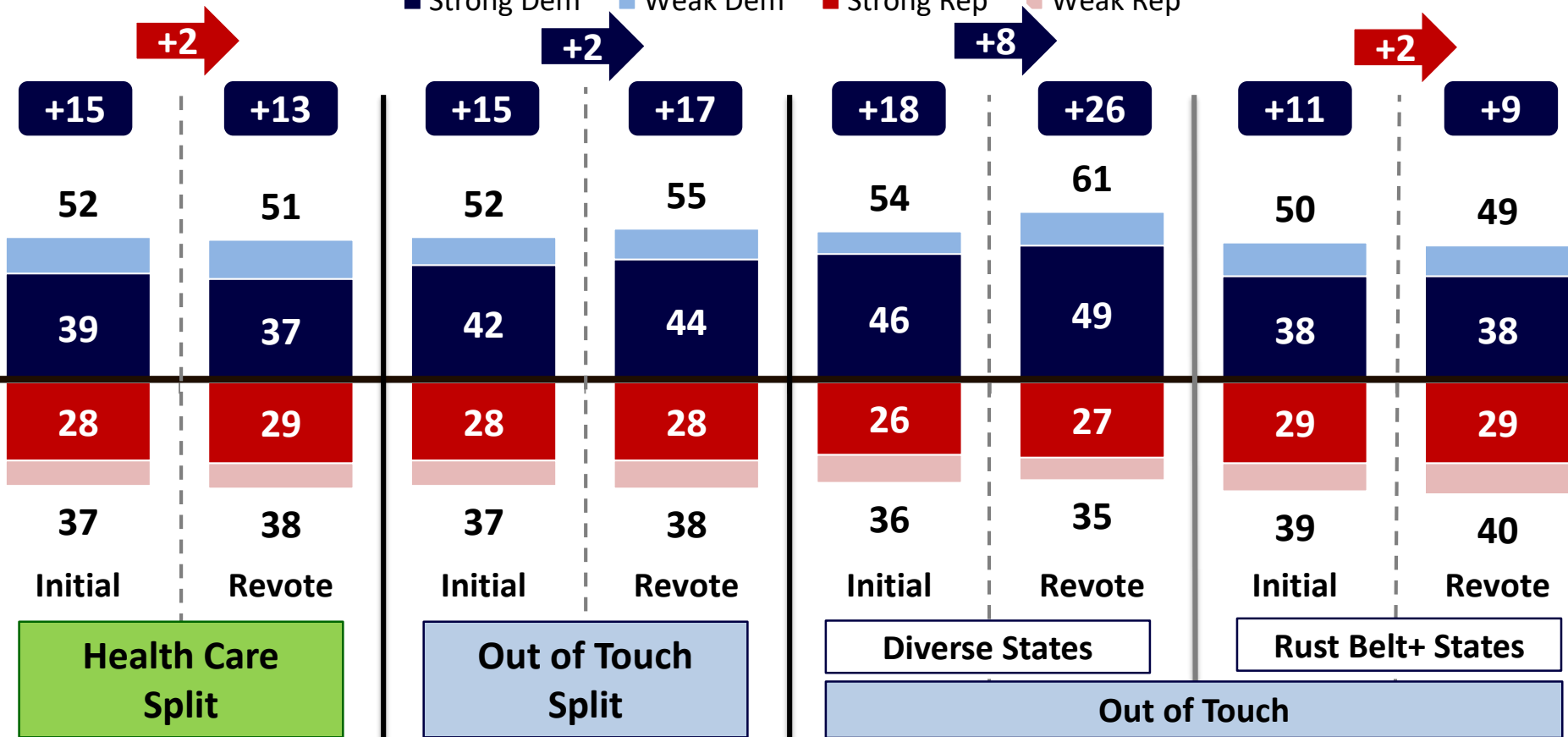
'Out of touch' on economy focus shifts House votes, especially in diverse states

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?

SHIFT IN CONGRESSIONAL VOTE

RAE+ PANELISTS

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



Scam, corruption & out of touch shifts Senate vote; governor's need healthcare

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

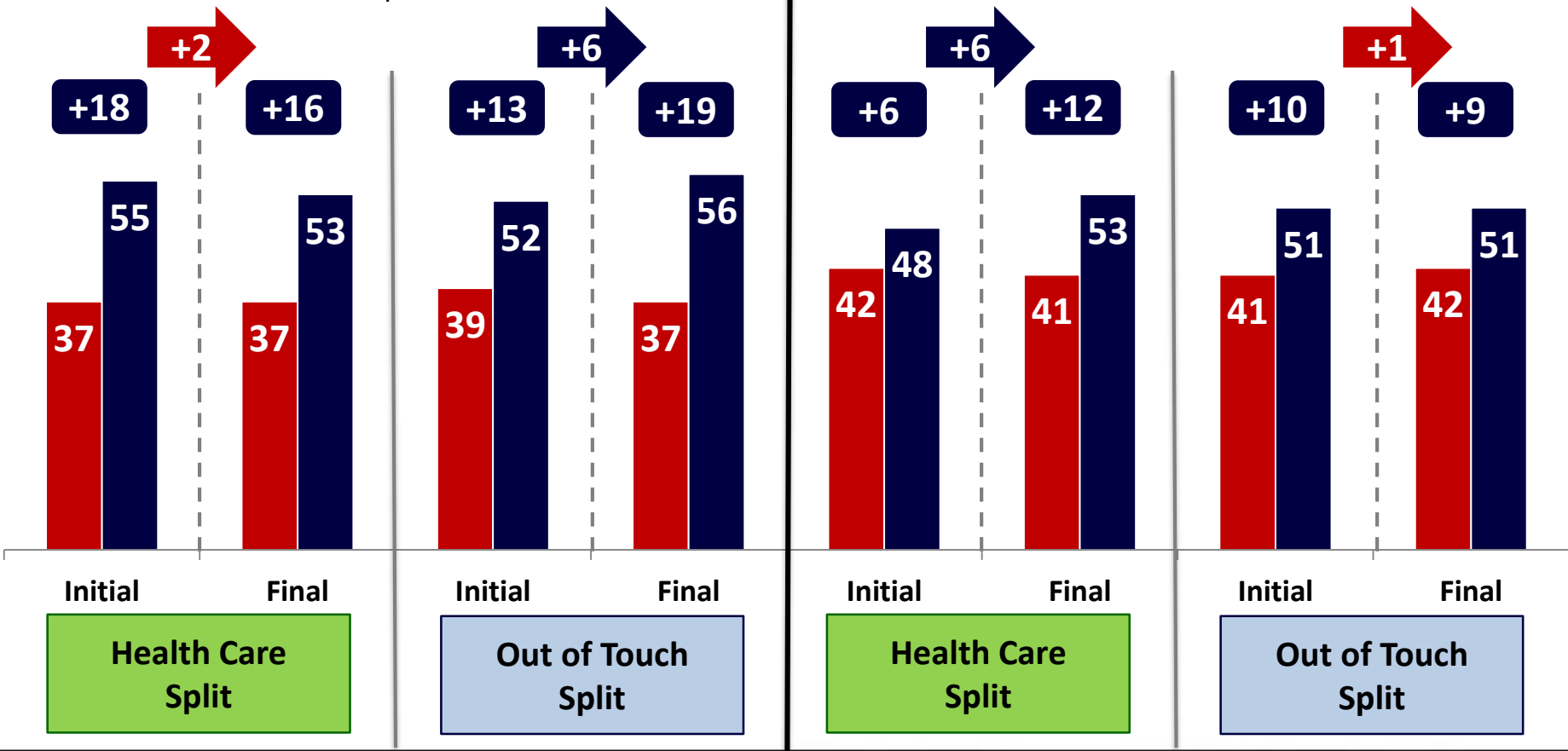
SHIFT IN SENATE BALLOT

SHIFT IN GOVERNOR BALLOT

RAE+ PANELISTS

■ Republican Candidate

■ Democratic Candidate



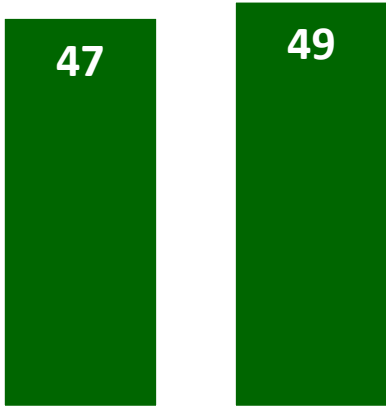
Out of touch especially helps motivate base in diverse states

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.

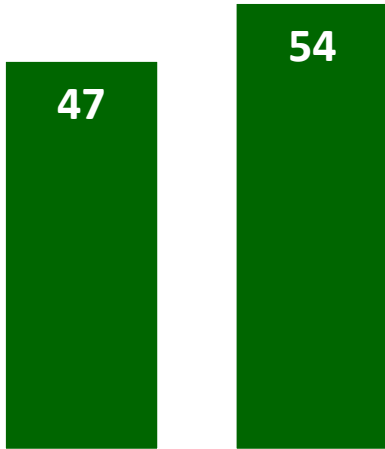
SHIFT IN %10 INTEREST IN ELECTION

RAE+ PANELISTS

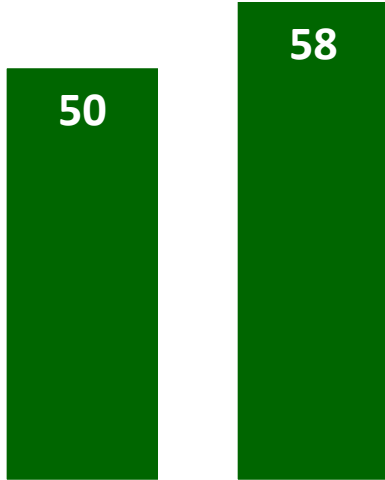
+2 →



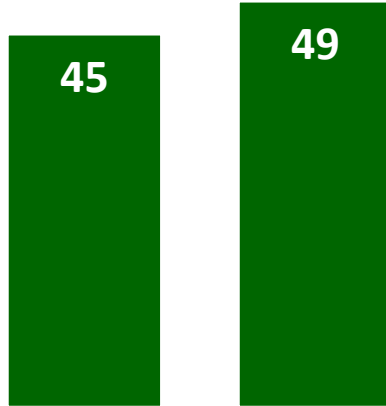
+7 →



+8 →



+4 →



Initial Re-ask
Health Care Split

Initial Re-ask
Out of Touch Split

Initial Re-ask
Diverse States

Initial Re-ask
Rust Belt+ States

Out of Touch

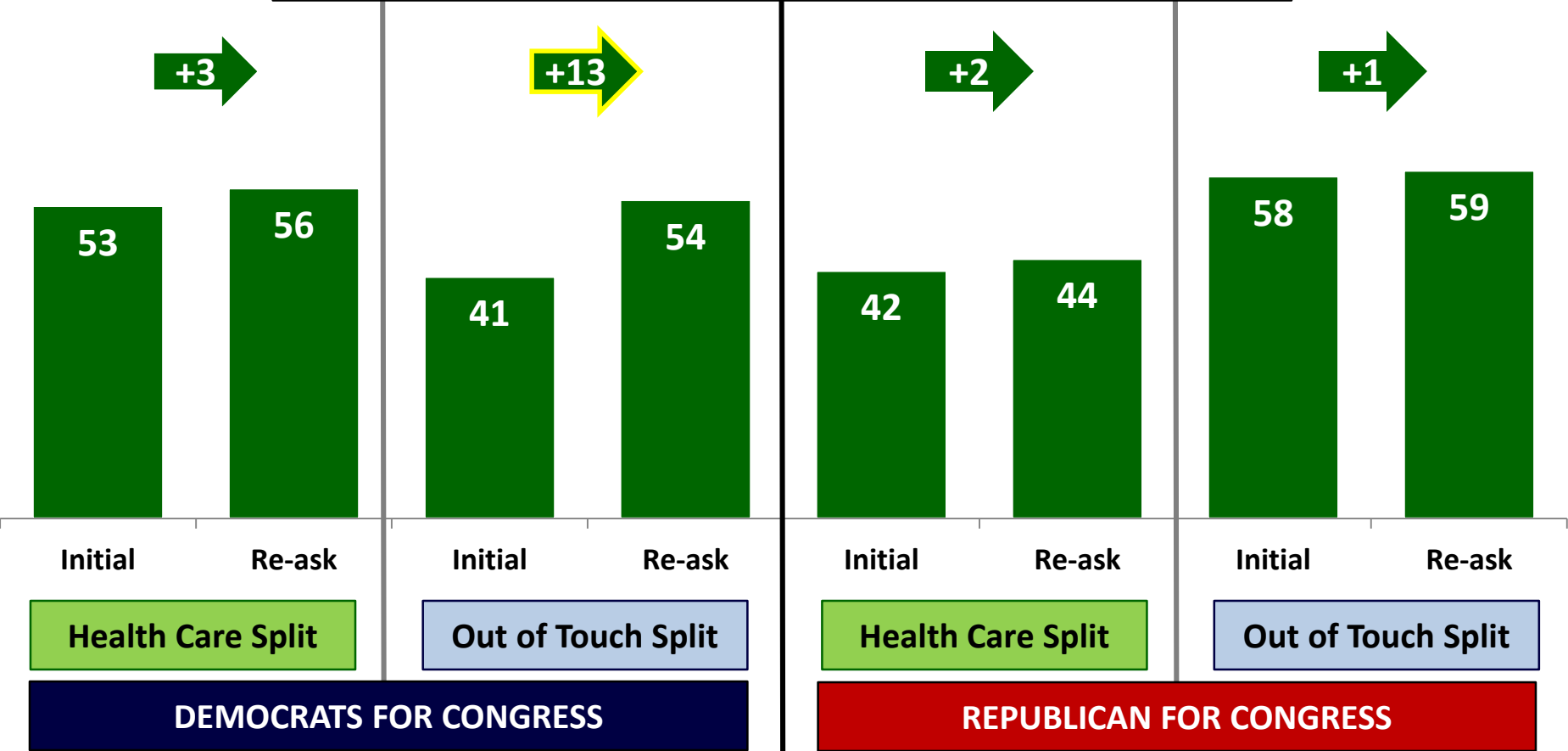


'Out of touch' focus widens the enthusiasm gap with GOP voters

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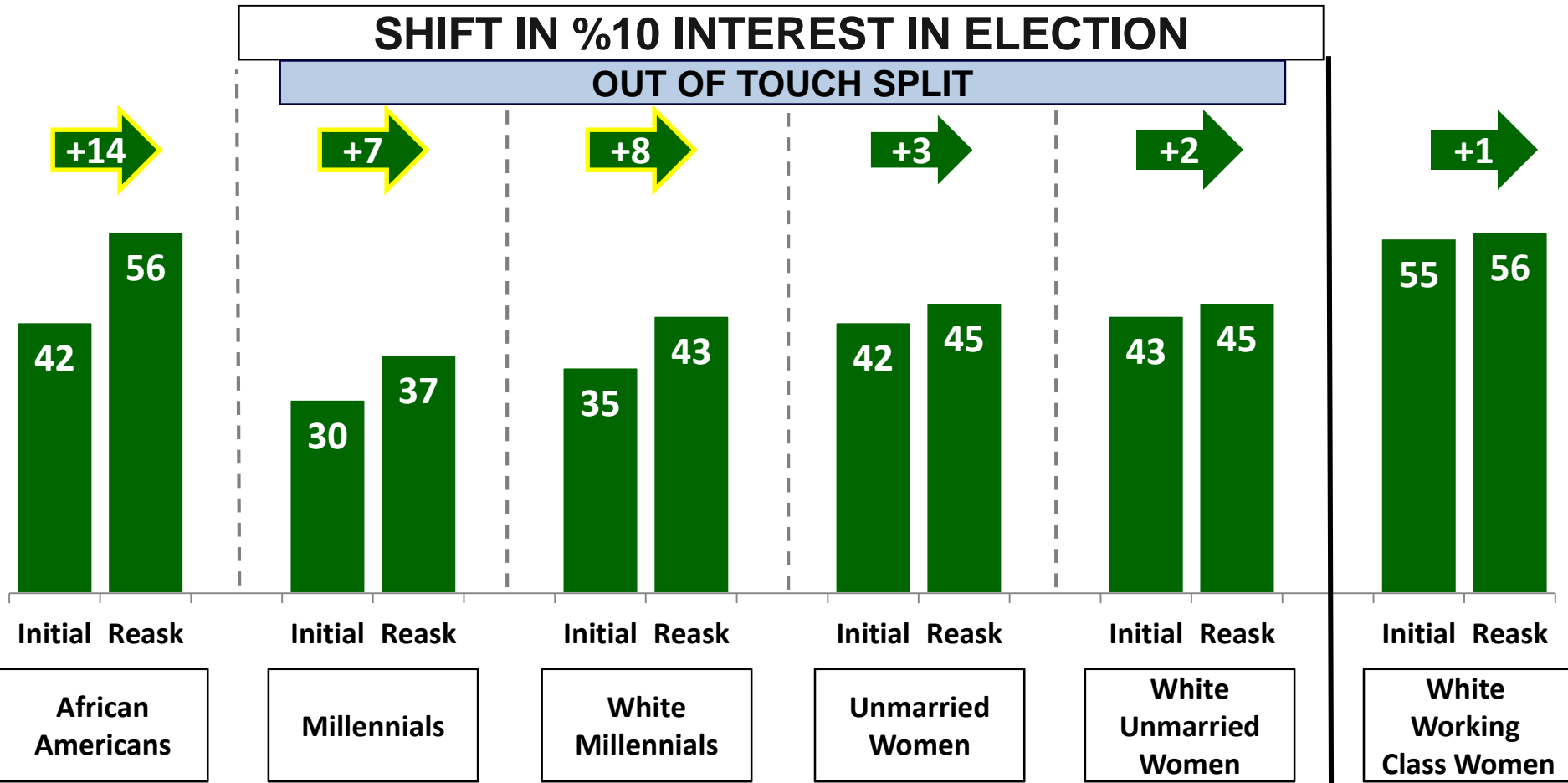
SHIFT IN %10 INTEREST IN ELECTION

RAE+ PANELISTS



Simulated campaign + out of touch focus yield big engagement increases, including impressive millennial gains

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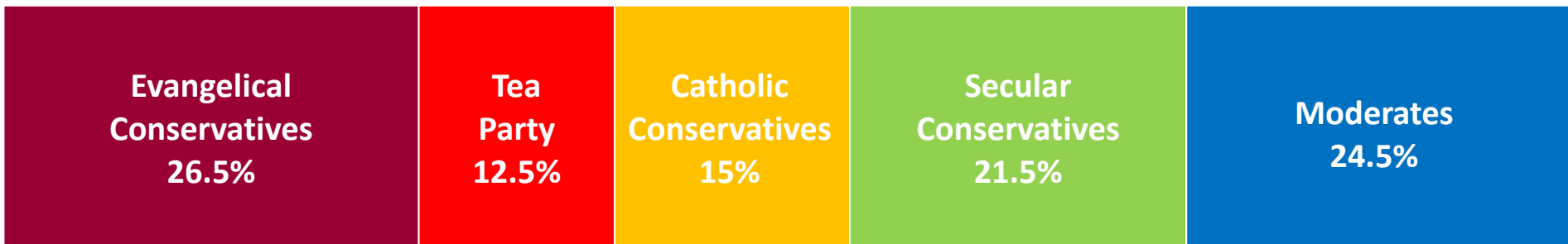


THE TRUMP-GOP PLAY

Composition of the GOP base in the battleground

Trump Loyalists: 39-54%

Less Enthusiastic GOP: 46-61%



69% strong GOP
72% Strong Trump
64% extremely interested in 2018
51% Men
24% Millennial
67% Married
51% Rust Belt+
49% Diverse

56% strong GOP
74% Strong Trump
68% extremely interested in 2018
57% Men
23% Millennial
64% Married
48% Rust Belt+
52 Diverse

60% strong GOP
68% Strong Trump
59% extremely interested in 2018
59% Men
30% Millennial
64% Married
53% Rust Belt+
47% Diverse

57% strong GOP
70% Strong Trump
51% extremely interested in 2018
53% Men
21% Millennial
61% Married
51% Rust Belt+
49% Diverse

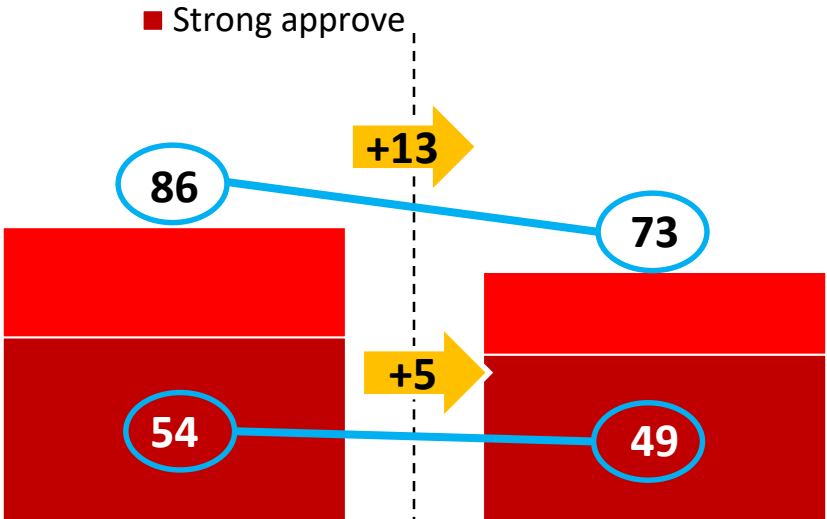
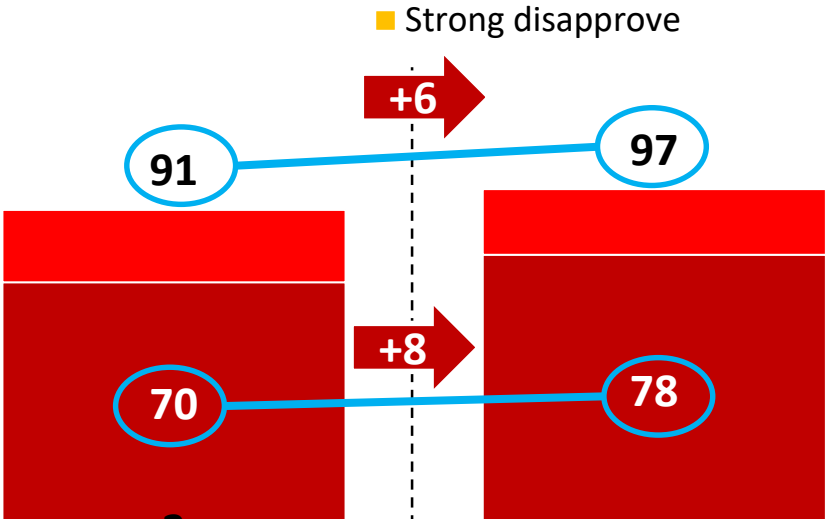
42% Weak GOP
35% Strong Trump
43% extremely interested in 2018
52% Men
28% Millennial
57% Married
47% Rust Belt+
53% Diverse



Trump loyalists grow in approval, other GOP support weakens

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

TRUMP JOB PERFORMANCE



Trump Loyalists

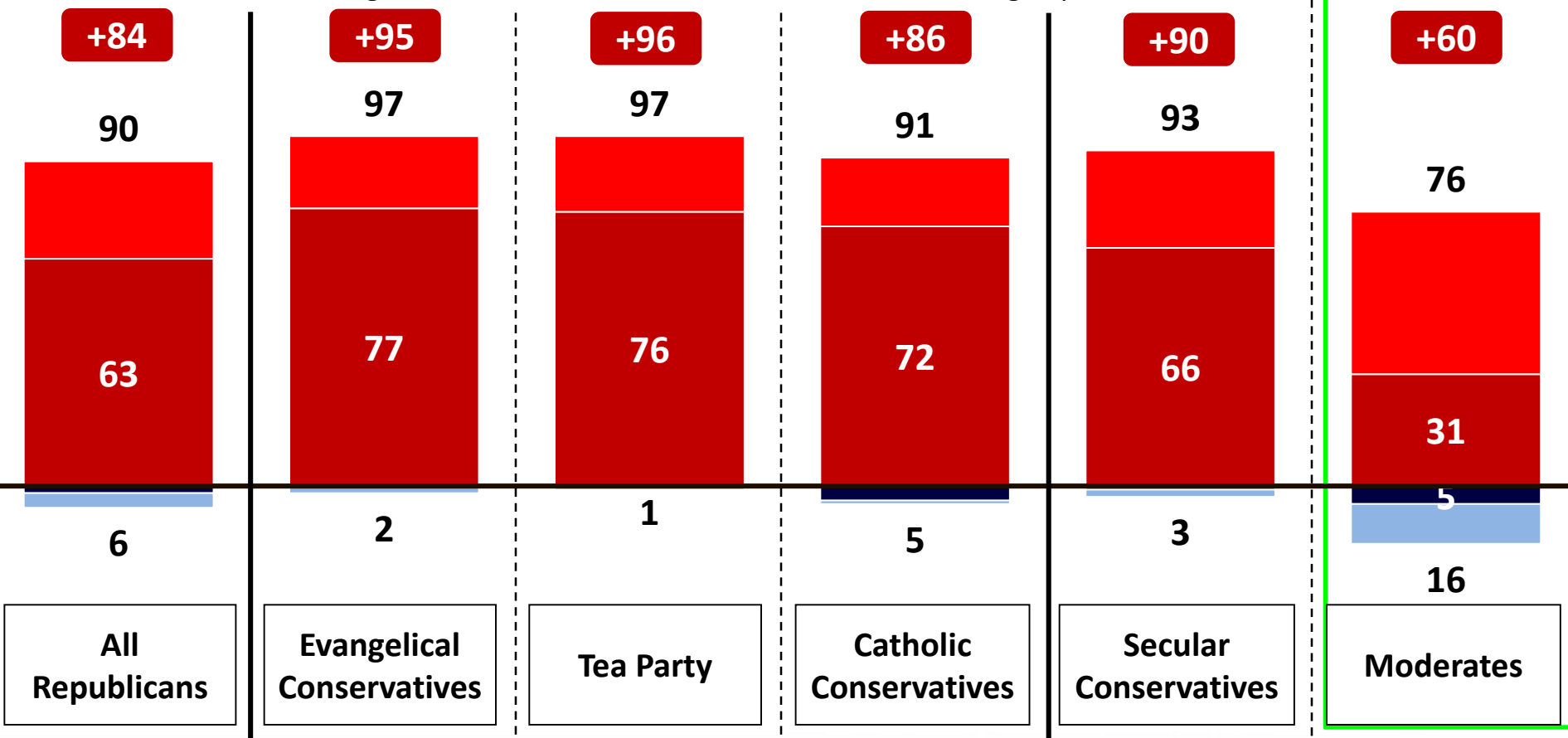
Less Enthusiastic GOP

Moderate GOP very weak in their congressional certainty

Thinking about the election for Congress in your district 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?

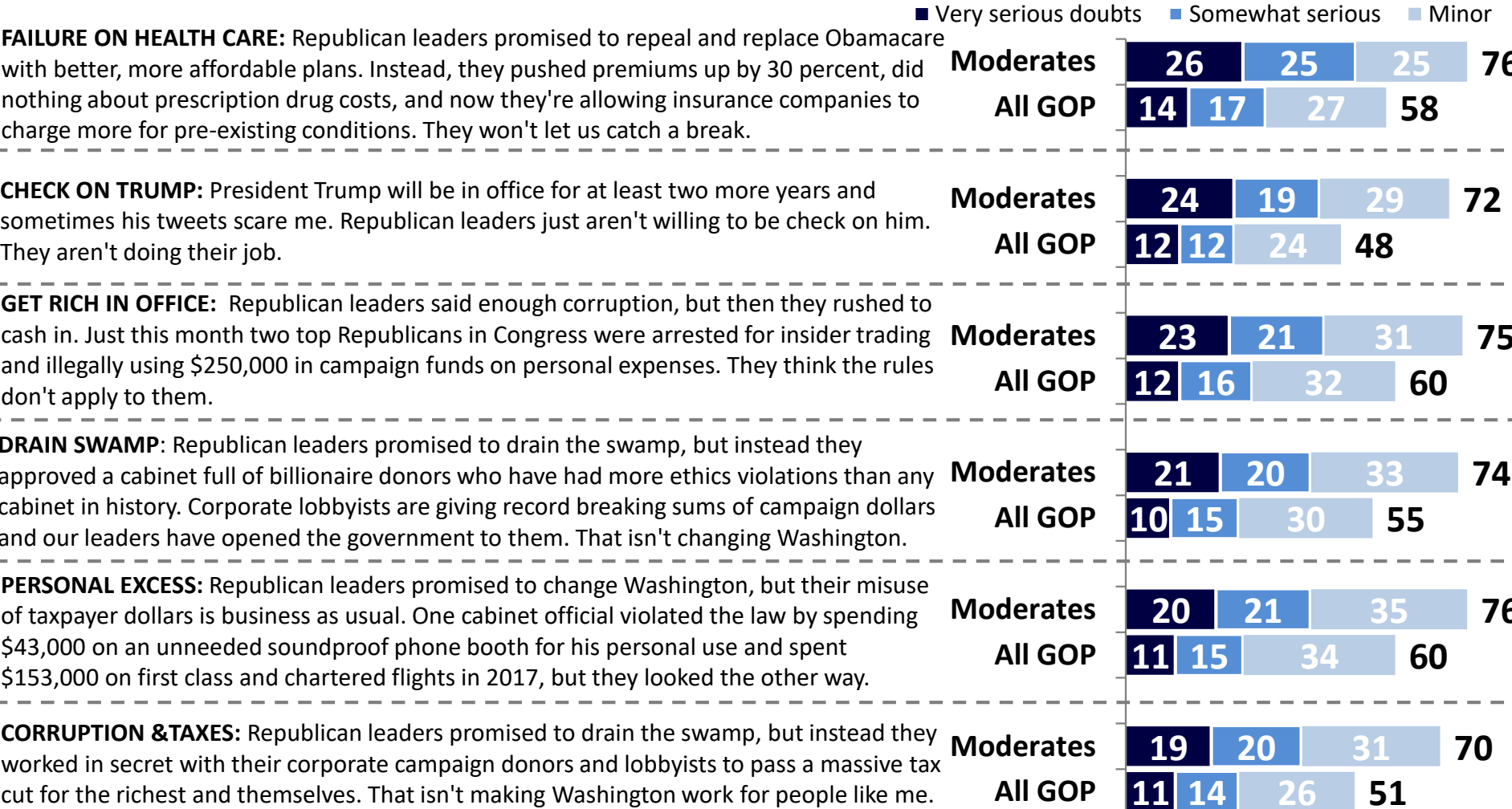
CONGRESSIONAL BALLOT

■ Strong Democratic Candidate ■ Strong Republican candidate



Health care & corruption top attacks among moderates

Now you are going to read some reasons why some people say they cannot vote for the Republican candidate for Congress in November. For each one, indicate whether it raises very serious doubts about the Republican candidate, somewhat serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts.



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