



DEMOCRACY CORPS
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

Rising American Electorate & White Working Class Strike Back

November 27, 2018

GREENBERG RESEARCH

Methodology

National phone poll with oversample in 15-state presidential & 2018 battleground.

An election phone poll of 1,250 registered voters and an oversample of 400 voters in a 15-state battleground was conducted November 4-7, 2018 from a voter-file sample. Two-thirds of respondents were contacted on cell phones in order to accurately reflect the American electorate. Votes and vote share for key demographics were weighted to the AP VoteCast. The margin of error for national data +/- 2.77 and for the battleground is +/- 3.27 at a 95 percent confidence interval.

Total 15-state Presidential battleground: Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Wisconsin

8 Diverse States = < 70% white = AZ (+5), CO (+1), FL (+2), GA (+5), NV (+1), NM (+3), NC (+3), VA (+1)

7 Rust Belt+ States = > 70% white = IA (+3), MI (+1), MN (+1), OH (+3), PA (-), TN (+14), WI (-)

13 Governor Races in 2018:

Democratic Incumbent: CO*, MN*, PA

Republican Incumbent: AZ, FL*, GA*, IA, MI*, NV*, NM*, OH*, TN*, WI

11 Senate Races in 2018:

Democratic incumbent: FL, MI, MN, NM, OH, PA, VA, WI

Republican incumbent: AZ*, NV, TN*

(Republican PVI advantage)(PVI – even)(Democratic PVI advantage)*retiring/term-limited

Democrats had a very big election on Tuesday

- The Democrats won an 8 point national congressional margin. They shifted the congressional margin 10 points on average, and 21 points in the seats that flipped to the Democrats.
- Democrats flipped 40 seats and no Democratic incumbents lost their races. A record-breaking 102 representatives will be women in 2019.
- Democrats also pushed turnout to a stunning 49.4 percent, compared to just 36.7 in 2014.
- Democrats flipped 6 statehouses and seven governors' mansions – including winning in all of the Blue Wall states that allowed Donald Trump to win the Electoral College – matching the governorship gains of the Tea Party wave. Democrats now control 23 of the 50 governorships. Democrats also picked up 350 state legislature seats across the country.
- This was thanks to a slate of special and diverse candidates, a surge in activism and fundraising catalyzed by the Women's March and Donald Trump's election, and the incredible efforts to register and turnout voters by *Women's Voices*, *Women Vote Action Fund* and the *Voter Participation Center*.

How the Democrats won

- President Trump nationalized the election around himself, producing an intense anti-Trump reaction that consolidated the Democrats and the Rising American Electorate – unmarried women, persons of color and millennials – who demanded elected leaders be a check on Donald Trump.
- All varieties of women turned against Trump. The revolt was led by white millennial women, white working class women and white unmarried women – each of which played a bigger role than the white college women who have received so much credit for Democratic gains.
- African Americans and unmarried women pushed the promise of the Rising American Electorate (RAE) close to its full potential with their highest off-year vote share and strongest vote for Democrats ever. Millennials and Hispanics also managed to raise their share by one point each in a high turnout midterm, but all progressives will press for more in elections ahead. (For more, look to the upcoming report on WVVAF's ongoing panel of RAE in the battleground.)
- A significant portion of male and female white working class voters abandoned Mr. Trump and his Republican allies. White working class voters, the men in particular, were the “forgotten Americans” at the heart of the Trump base. Democrats raised their vote margin with white working class men by 14 points and with the women by 13 points. They still lost these voters by 34 and 14 points, respectively, and need to run far better, but 2018 was a big start.

How the Democrats won, continued

- President Trump declared war on immigrants and on multicultural America, and succeeded in making immigration a voting issue for the GOP base, but it backfired among other voters. Trump and the GOP lost the national popular vote by eight points, but lost the debate over whether immigrants are a strength or a burden by 20.
- Democrats powerfully attacked corruption – including the GOP tax cut for the rich and corporations that threatened Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid – and demanded an economy that works for all, as well as a health care system that protects those with pre-existing conditions.
- Democrats picked up many House seats in 2018 because they raised their share of the sub-urban vote by four points to give Democrats a 53 to 45 percent majority. But they also cut the Republicans' margin in rural areas by 13 points, according to the Edison exit poll and by seven points in one by Catalist. Democrats lost rural America by somewhere between 14 and 18 points as Trump pushed his supporters to vote down ballot, and Democrats need to do better to win decisively, especially in Senate races.
- Trump energized his GOP base and they voted, but his rallies and entreaties did not work for the GOP moderates. They are one-quarter of Republican identifiers and an even greater share of the GOP outside the South, and 40 percent either voted for the Democrat or stayed home. They clearly played some part in the off-year losses.

THE RAE & THE BATTLEGROUND

Democrats ran well ahead of Trump in presidential battleground

Thinking about the election for U.S. Congress in your district, did you vote for -- (ROTATE DEM, REP CANDIDATE) the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

2018 BALLOTS V. 2016 PRESIDENTIAL

PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

■ Democrat for Congress

■ Republican for Congress

--

+10

+12

+4

47

47

54

44

54

42

50

46

2016 Vote for
President

House Ballot

Senate Ballot

Governor Ballot

Democrats much stronger in Rust Belt and competitive in diverse

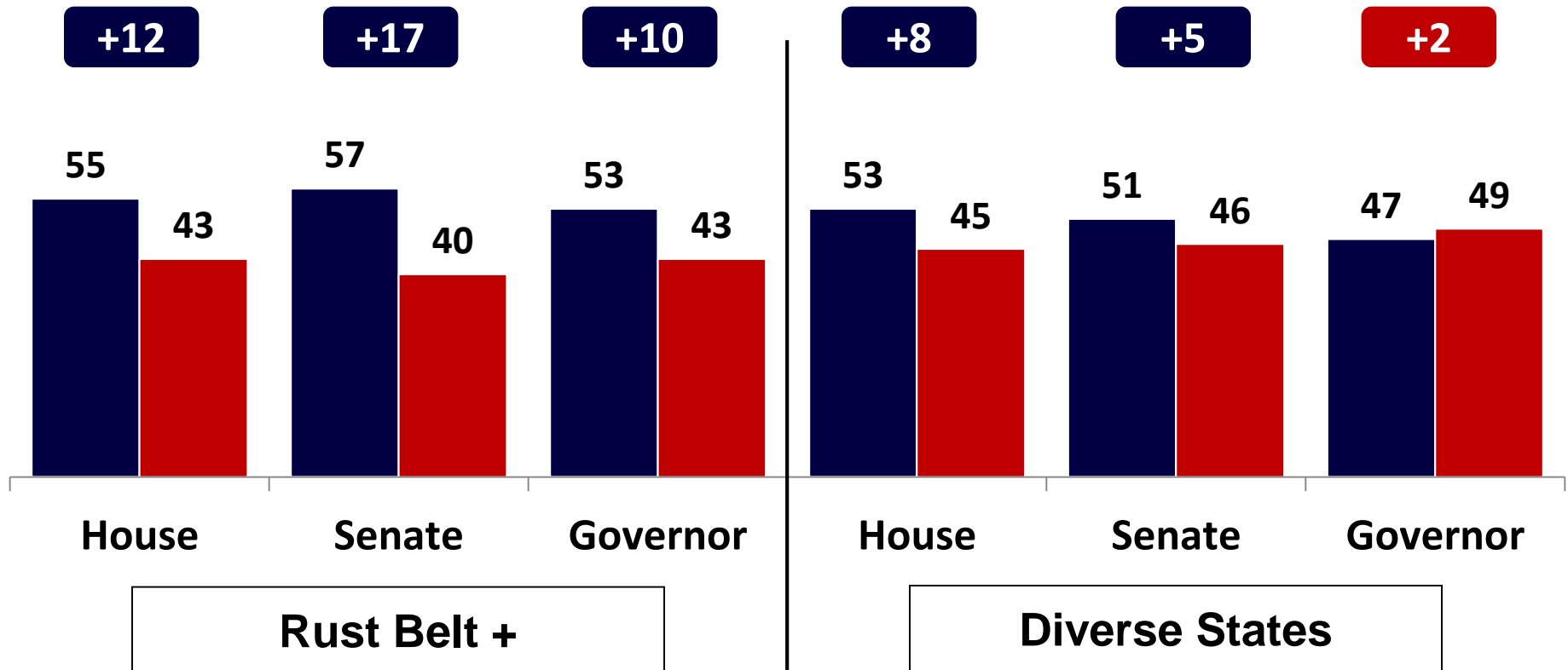
Thinking about the election for U.S. Senate in [STATE], did you vote for -- (ROTATE DEM, REP CANDIDATE) -- [NAMED DEMOCRATIC SENATE/GOVERNOR CANDIDATE] or [NAMED REPUBLICAN SENATE/GOVERNOR CANDIDATE] ?

2018 BALLOTS

PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

■ Democratic candidate

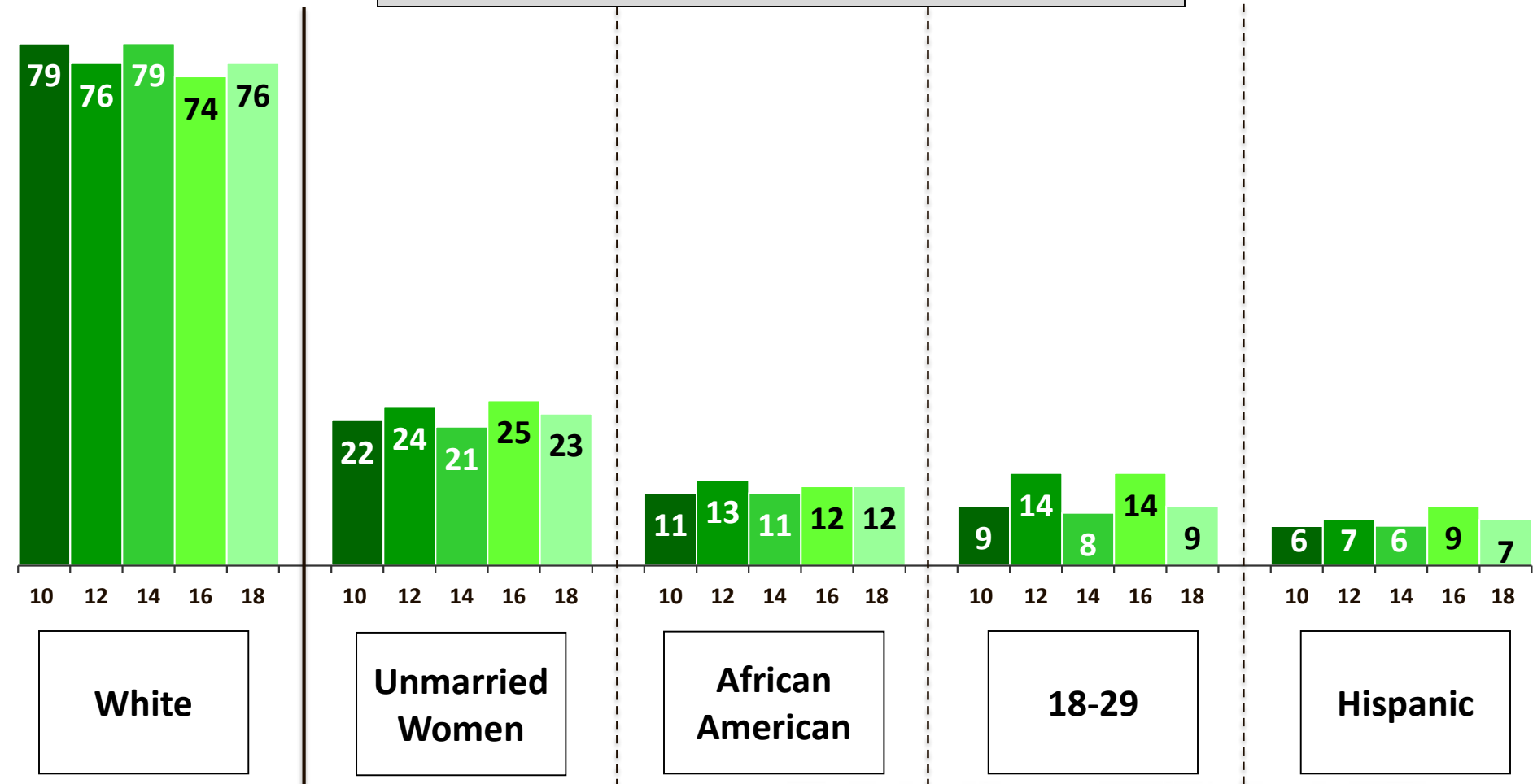
■ Republican candidate



Unmarried women and African Americans showed up big!

PERCENT OF 2018 VOTERS

NATIONAL



Democrats outperformed 2016 vote among all types of women

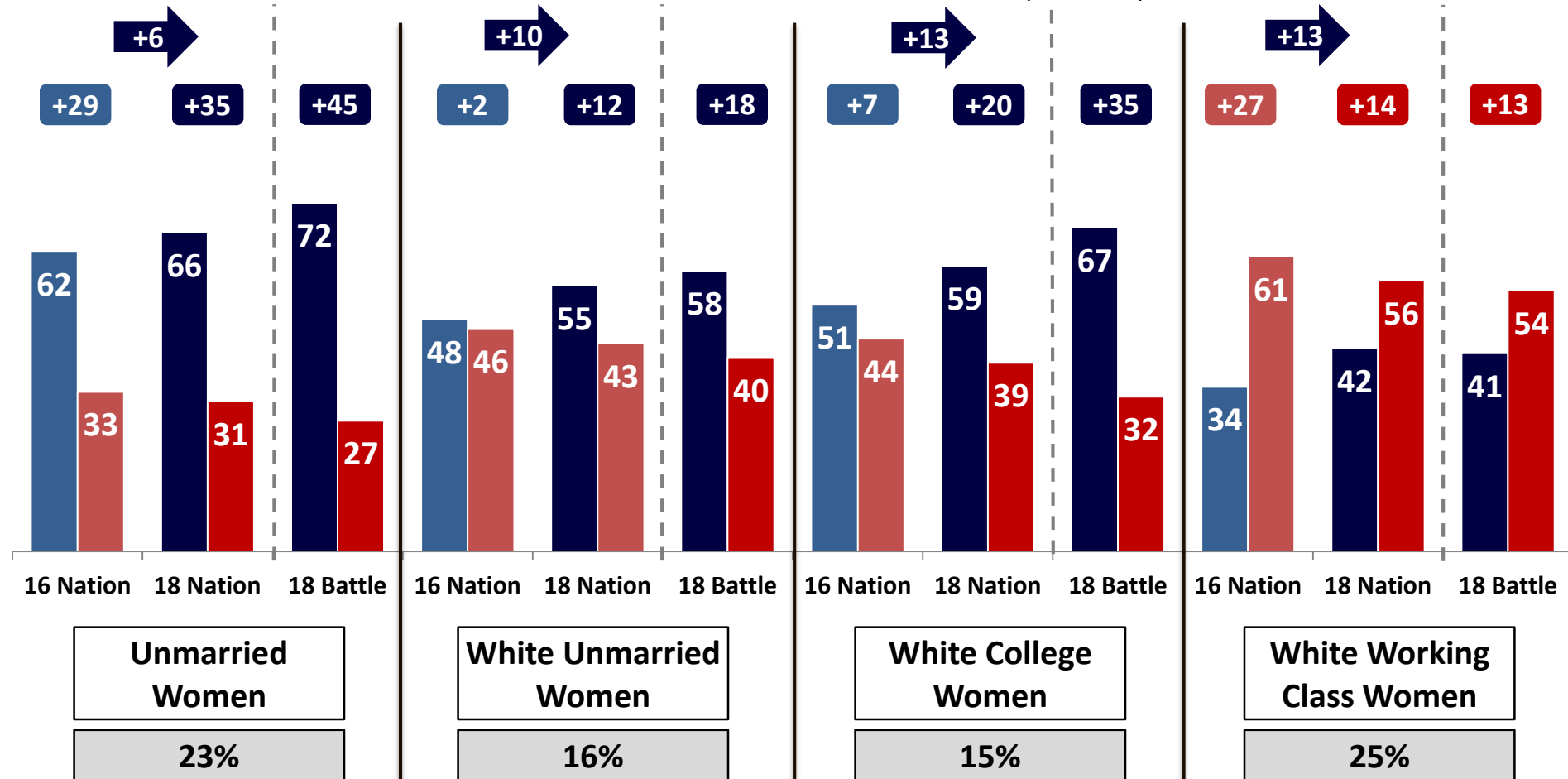
Now let me ask you about the election for Congress. Did you vote for (ROTATE) the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

2016 V. 2018 CONGRESSIONAL VOTE

% of 2018 voters

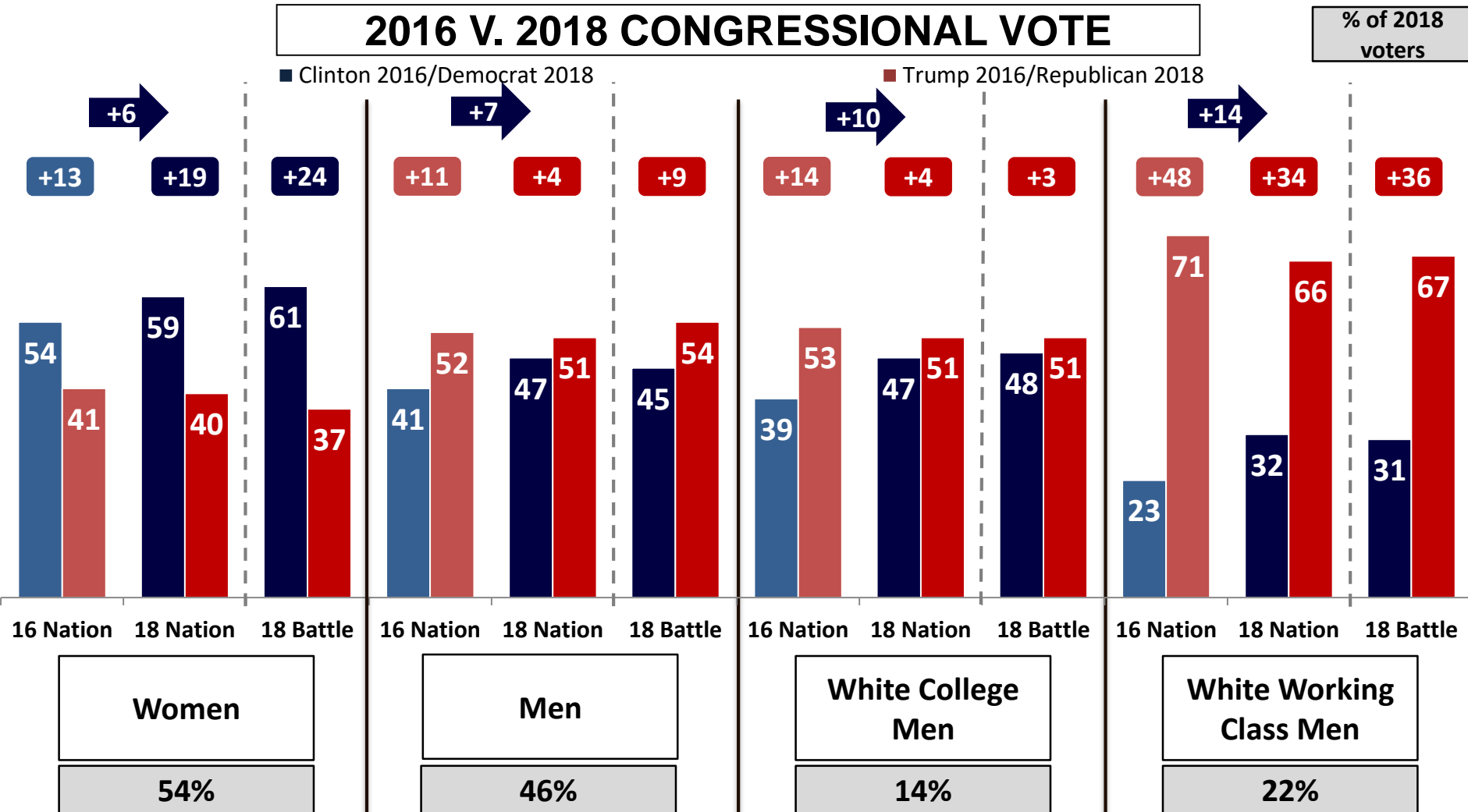
■ Clinton 2016/Democrat 2018

■ Trump 2016/Republican 2018



Crash in support with white working class men big part of story

Now let me ask you about the election for Congress. Did you vote for (ROTATE) the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



Broad geographic shift, with rural strongest: Edison exits

Thinking about the election for U.S. Congress in your district, did you vote for -- (ROTATE DEM, REP CANDIDATE) the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

2016 vs. 2018 CONGRESSIONAL VOTE

% of 2018 voters

■ Democrat for Congress

■ Republican for Congress

+7

+4

+13

+26

+33

+4

--

+27

+14

60

34

65

32

2016 President

2018 Congress

Urban

33%

45

49

49

49

2016 President

2018 Congress

Suburbs

50%

61

34

42

56

2016 President

2018 Congress

Rural

17%

Broad geographic shift, with rural strongest: Catalyst exits

Thinking about the election for U.S. Congress in your district, did you vote for -- (ROTATE DEM, REP CANDIDATE) the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

2016 vs. 2018 CONGRESSIONAL VOTE

■ Democrat for Congress

■ Republican for Congress

% of 2018 voters

--

+5

+6

+46

+46

+3

+8

+34

+28

70

72

24

26

48

45

53

45

65

31

35

63

2016 President

2018 Congress

2016 President

2018 Congress

2016 President

2018 Congress

Urban

Suburbs

Rural

18%

56%

26%

How the House vote breaks down

Now let me ask you about the election for Congress. Did you vote for (ROTATE) the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

2018 CONGRESSIONAL VOTE NATIONAL

■ Democratic candidate

■ Republican candidate

+81

+46

+40

+35

+29

+27

+12

+12

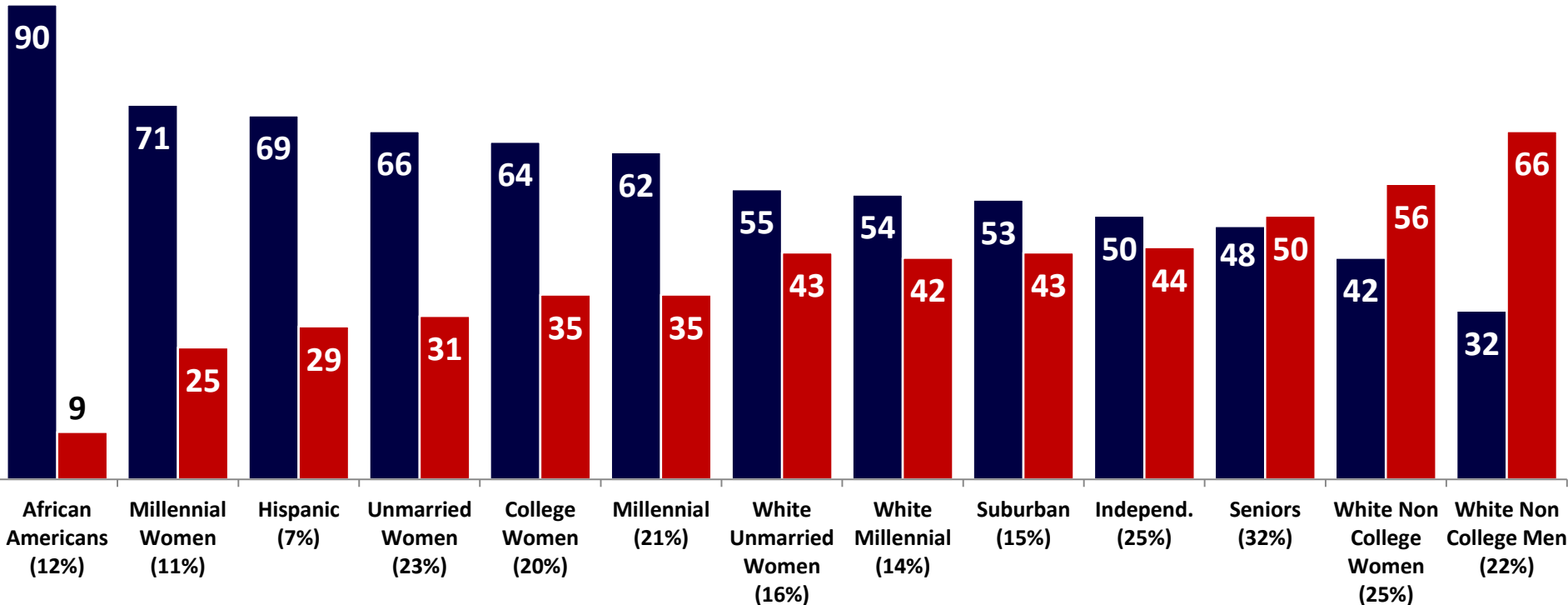
+10

+6

+2

+14

+34



The congressional vote by demographics

Now let me ask you about the election for Congress. Did you vote for (ROTATE) the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

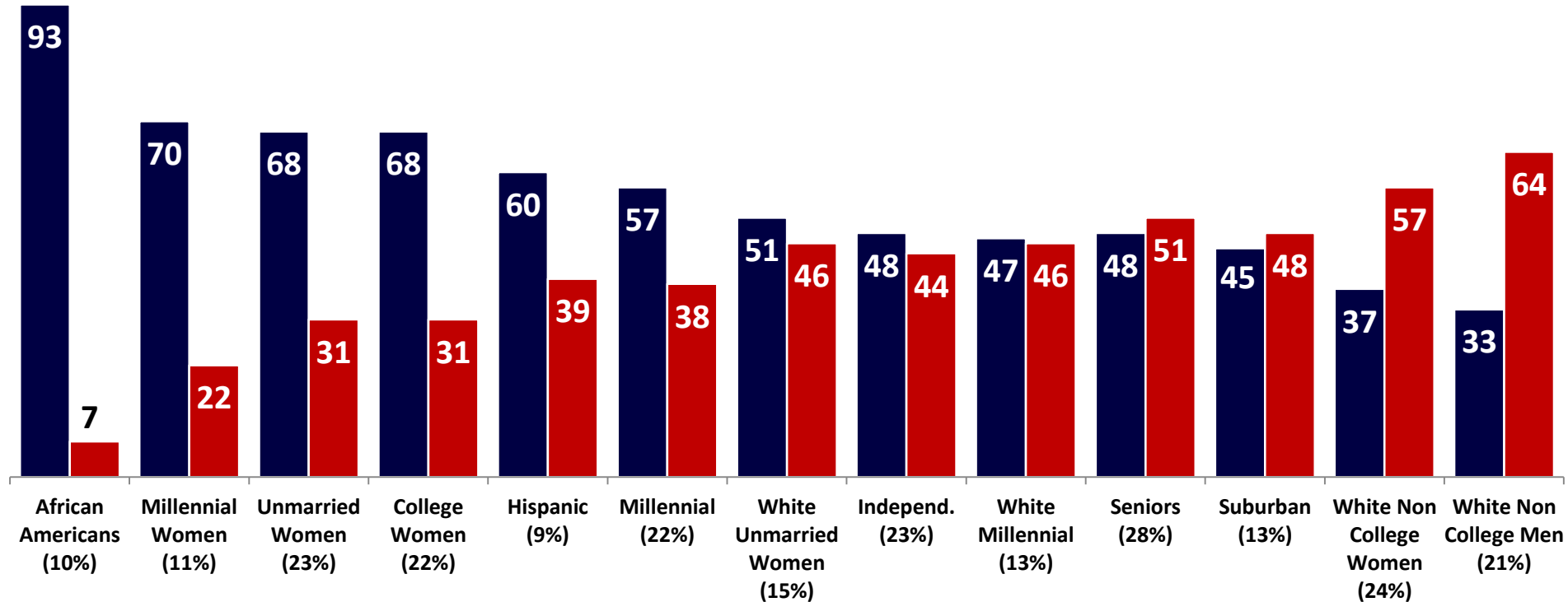
2018 CONGRESSIONAL VOTE

2018 STATE BATTLEGROUND

■ Democratic candidate

■ Republican candidate

+86 +48 +37 +37 +21 +19 +5 +4 +1 +3 +3 +20 +31



Won independents and seniors in Senate races

Now let me ask you about the election for Senate. Did you vote for (ROTATE) [NAMED DEMOCRAT] or [NAMED REPUBLICAN]?

2018 SENATE VOTE

2018 STATE BATTLEGROUND

■ Democratic candidate

■ Republican candidate

+85

+43

+39

+38

+26

+24

+18

+12

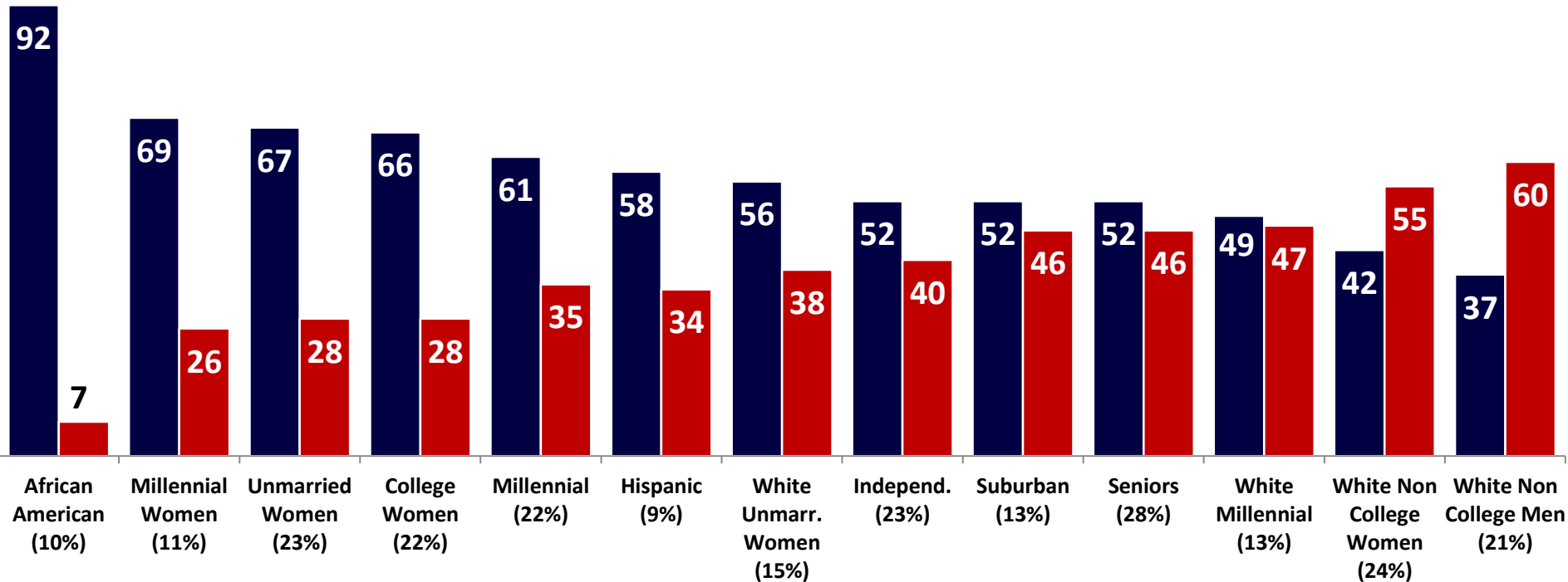
+6

+6

+2

+13

+23



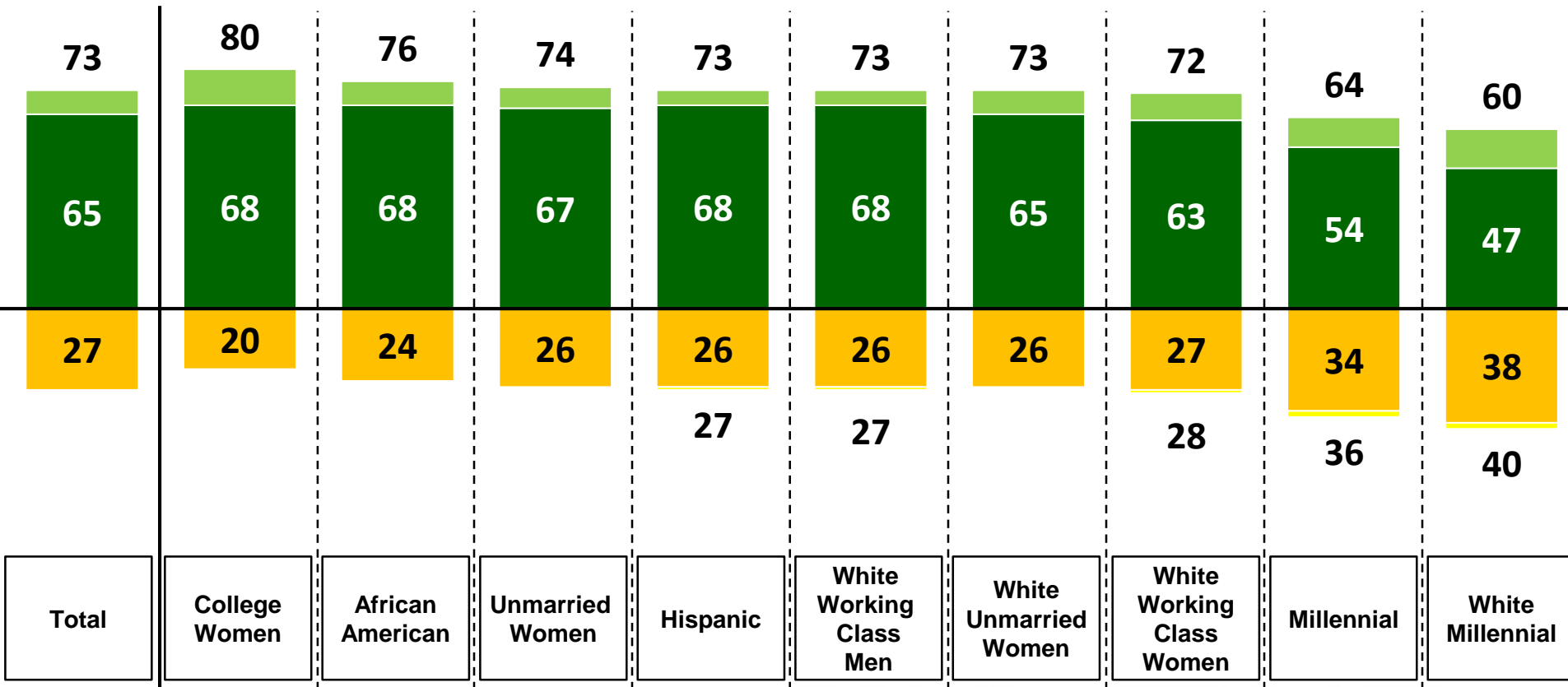
THE TRUMP FACTOR

Vote urgency as high with RAE as college women & white working class men

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?

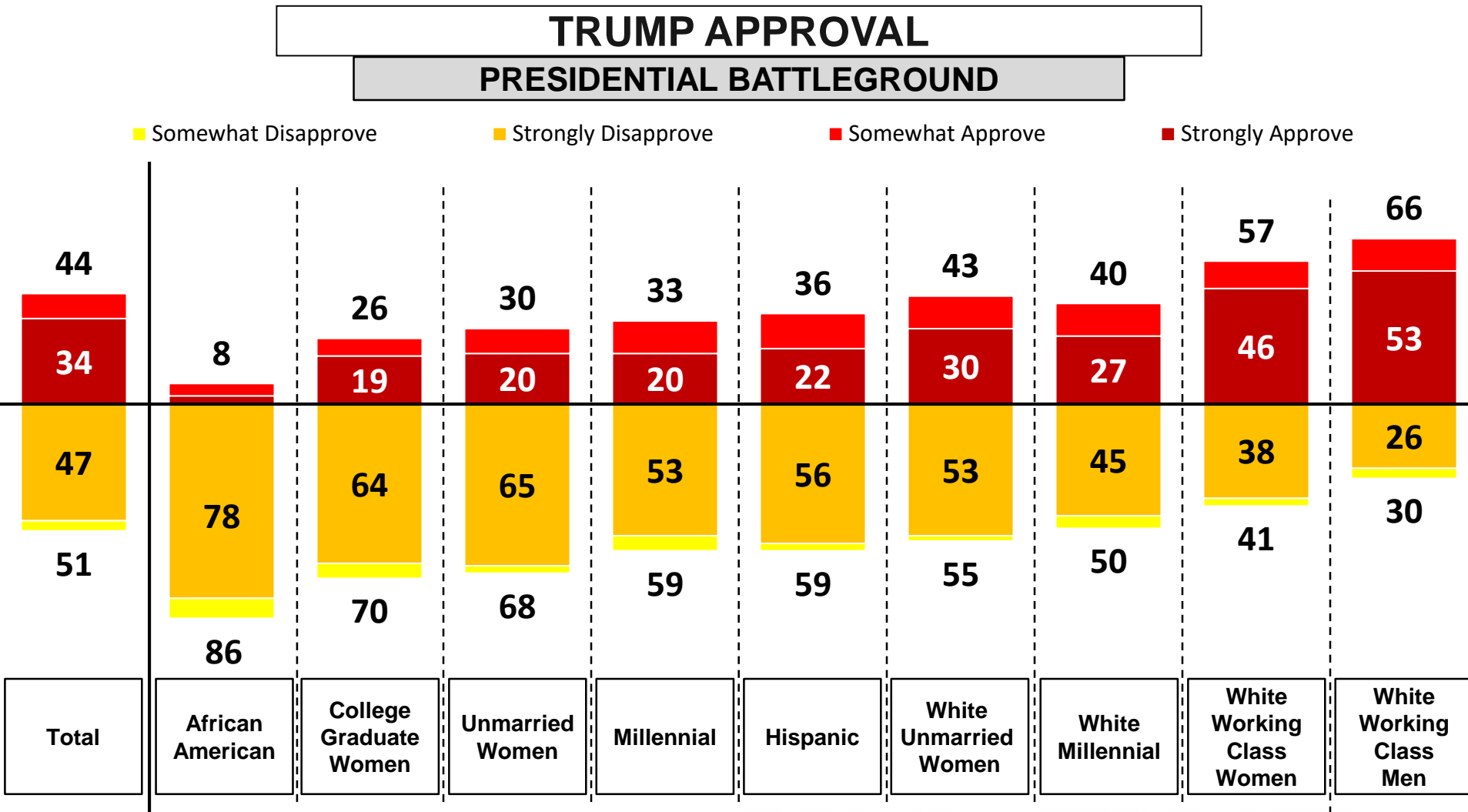
RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THIS MIDTERM PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

■ Less important ■ As important ■ Somewhat more important ■ Much more important



Vote driven by anti-Trump intensity; white white working much more modulated

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



Trump branding as self-dealing and dishonesty corrosive

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 ATTRIBUTES

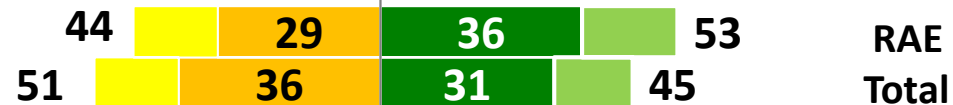
PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

■ Very Well ■ Well ■ Not Well at All ■ Not Too Well

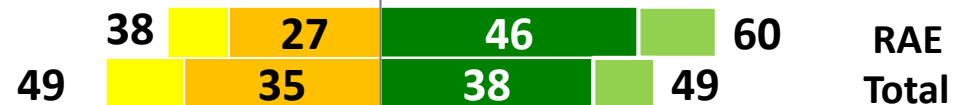
Self-dealing & looking out for himself



Not keeping his promises



Encourage the growing violence



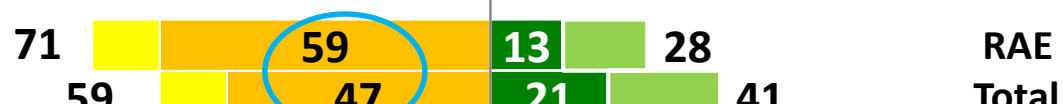
Is keeping America safe



Can't be bought



Honest & trustworthy



2018 voters believe immigrants strengthen the country, not a burden

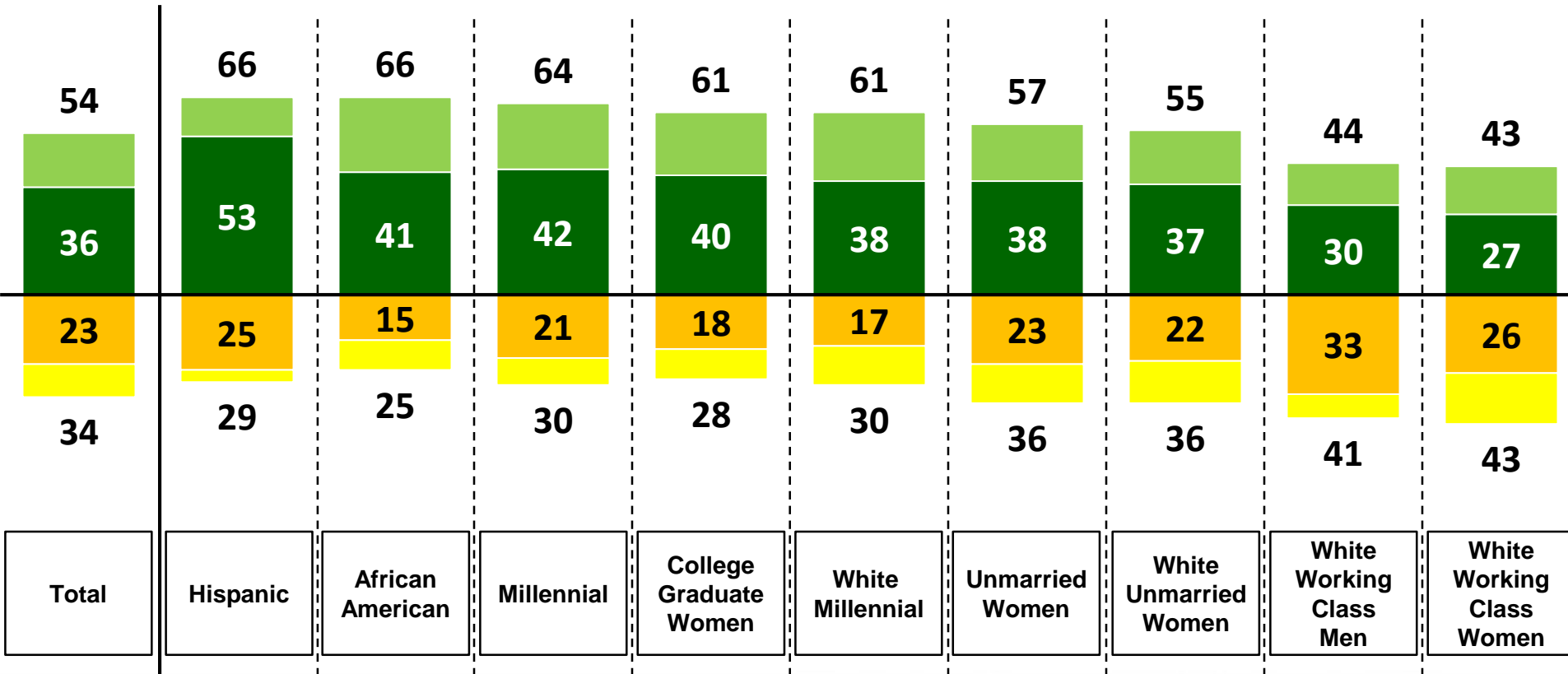
Which one of the following statements comes closer to your point of view, even if neither is exactly right?

Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents.

Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing & healthcare.

NATIONAL

■ Burden somewhat more ■ Burden much more ■ Strengthen somewhat more ■ Strengthen much more



Very broad support for immigrant contributions, while rural areas split on issue

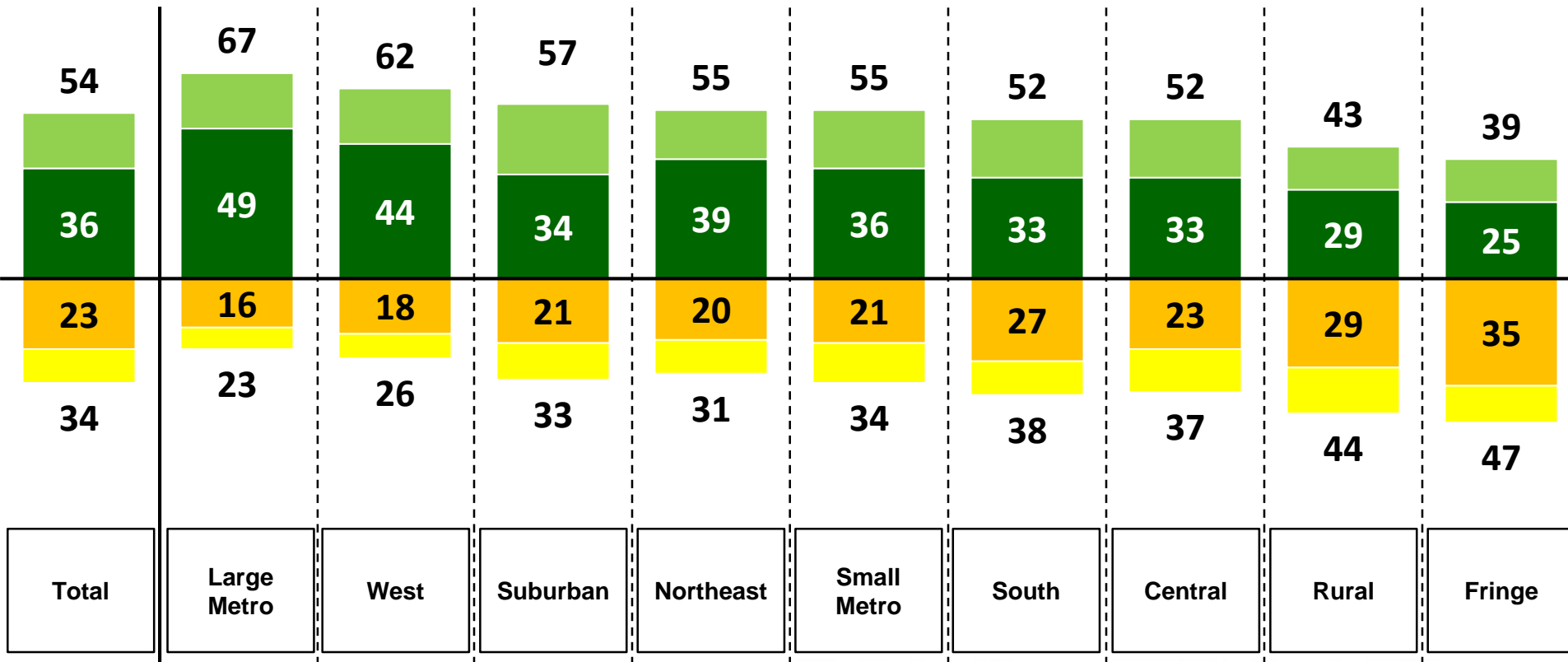
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NATIONAL

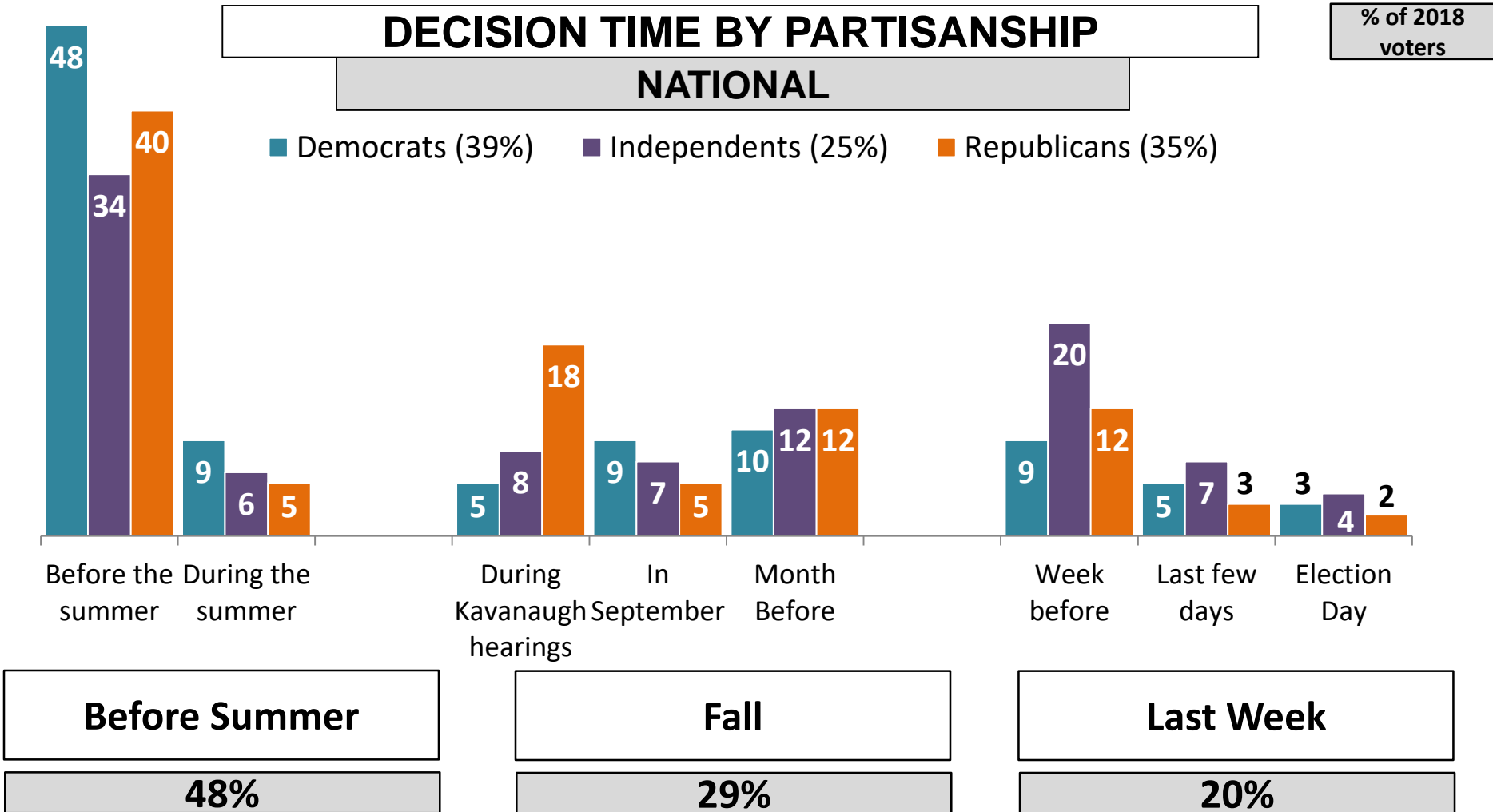
■ Burden somewhat more ■ Burden much more ■ Strengthen somewhat more ■ Strengthen much more



WHAT DROVE IT HOME

Most voters decided before Kavanaugh hearings

When did you finally decide how you would vote: in the last few days before the election, the week before the election, a month before the election, during the Kavanaugh hearings, sometime in September, during the summer or before that?



Democrats won large majority of pre-Labor Day deciders, especially in House

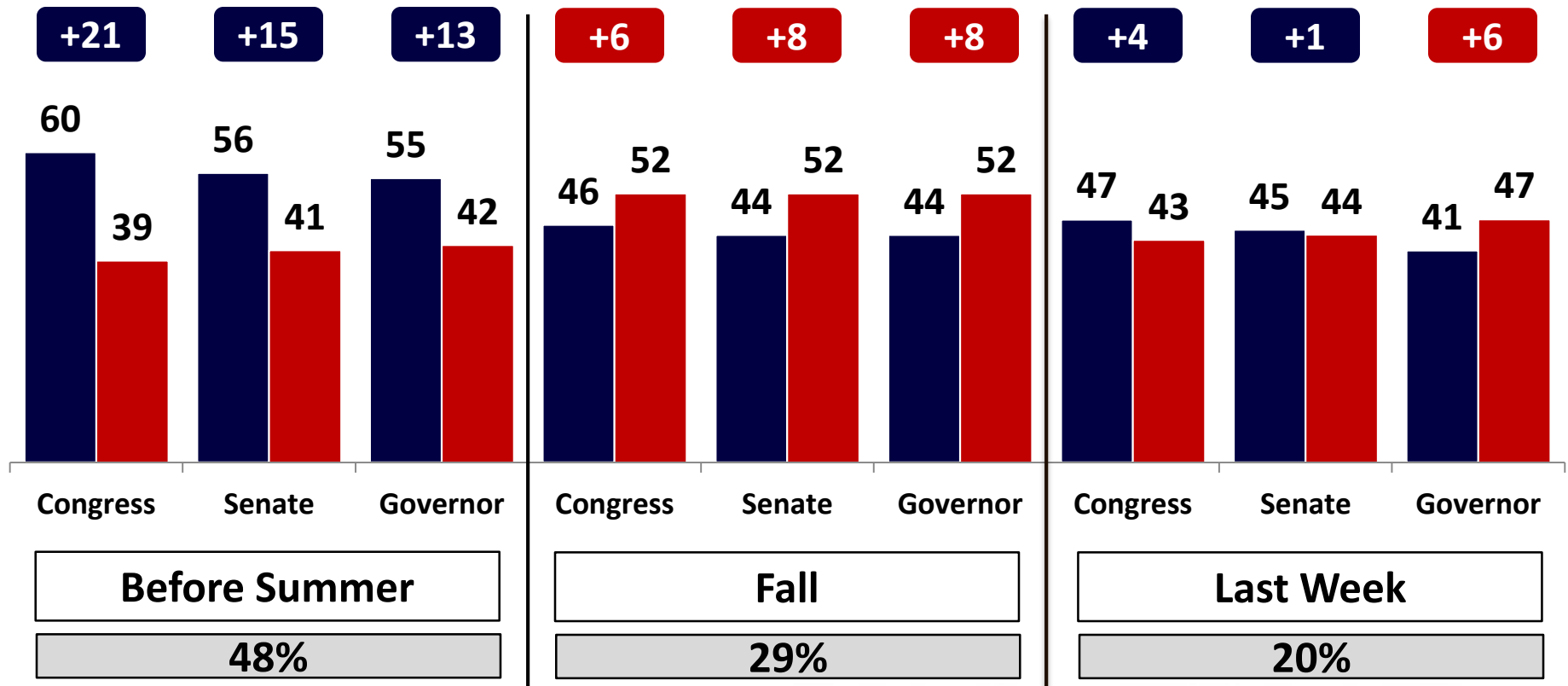
Thinking about the election for U.S. Senate/Governor in [STATE] / Congress, did you vote for -- (ROTATE DEM, REP CANDIDATE) -- [DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE] or [DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE] ?

2018 BALLOTS BY DECISION TIME

PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

■ Democratic Candidate

■ Republican Candidate



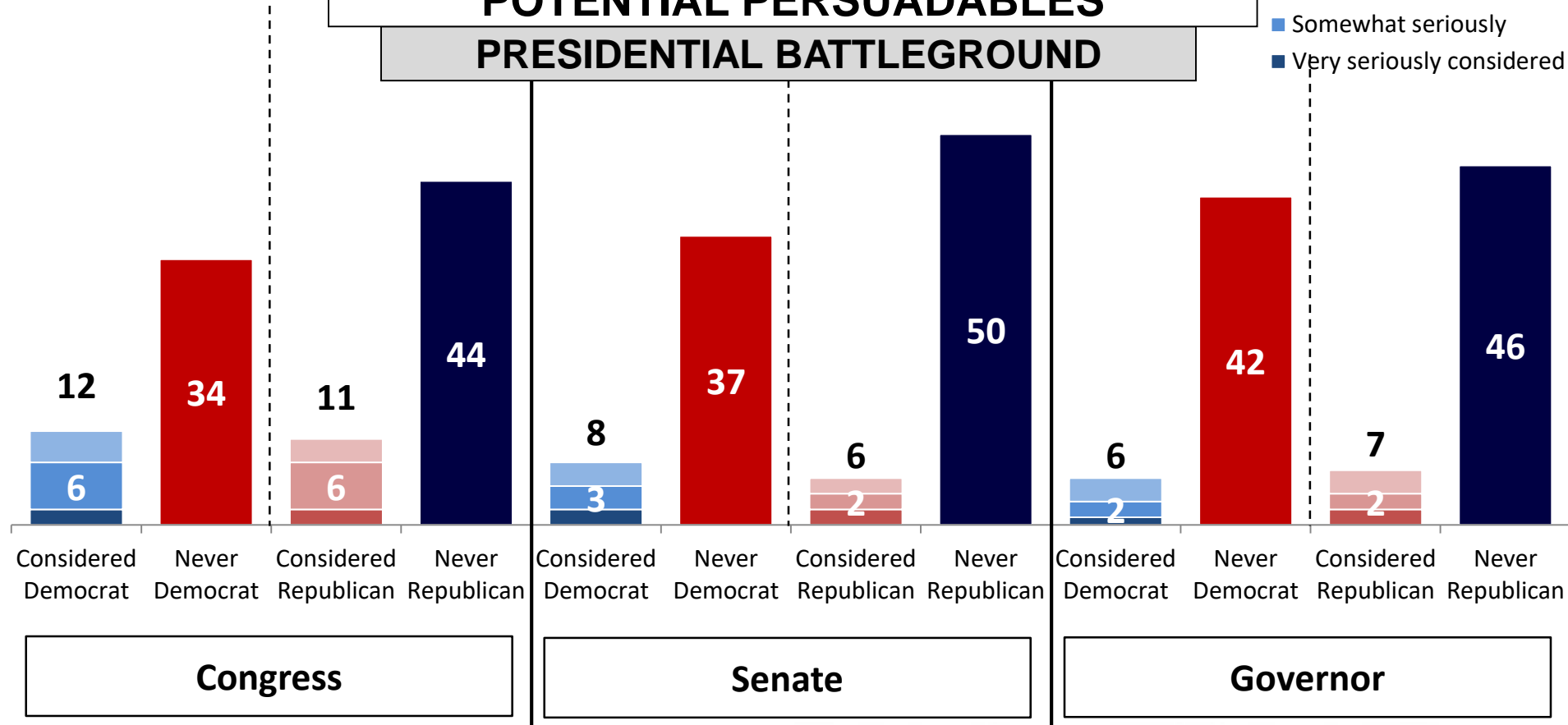
More considered other party candidates for House

(SKIP IF DEMOCRAT FOR CONGRESS) Thinking back in time for a minute, did you, at any point in this campaign, think about voting for the Democratic candidate/? (IF YES) How seriously did you think about voting for the Democrat -- very seriously, somewhat seriously, only a little seriously, or did you not consider the Democrat at all?

(SKIP IF REPUBLICAN FOR CONGRESS) Thinking back in time for a minute, did you, at any point in this campaign, think about voting for the Republican candidate/? (IF YES) How seriously did you think about voting for the Republican -- very seriously, somewhat seriously, only a little seriously, or did you not consider the Republican at all?

POTENTIAL PERSUADABLES PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

- Only a little considered
- Somewhat seriously
- Very seriously considered



Why voted against Republicans for Congress

Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you opposed the Republican candidate for Congress in your district?

Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you voted for the Democratic candidate for Congress in your district?

WHY NOT GOP FOR CONGRESS

WHY DEM FOR CONGRESS

PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

■ Voted Dem

They don't stand up to Donald Trump's divisive behavior and lies

43

They will be a check on Donald Trump

35

They will be a rubber-stamp for Donald Trump and his agenda

32

To protect a woman's right to choose and LGBTQ rights

34

The Republican tax cut helped corporations and the rich, not us

31

To make the economy work for everyone, not just the rich & corporations

33

They are trying to cut Medicare and Social Security

30

To save protections for pre-existing conditions in health care law

32

They don't do enough to show they respect and support women

26

They will protect Medicare and Social Security from cuts

31

They refuse to acknowledge climate change and work for polluters

26

To stop separating immigrant parents and children and to protect DREAMers

29

They won't protect pre-existing conditions

24

They support new laws to protect against gun violence

18

They are out of touch on the economy

10

They will protect the Russia investigation and the rule of law

9

Why voted against Democrats for Congress

Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you opposed the Democratic candidate for Congress in your district?

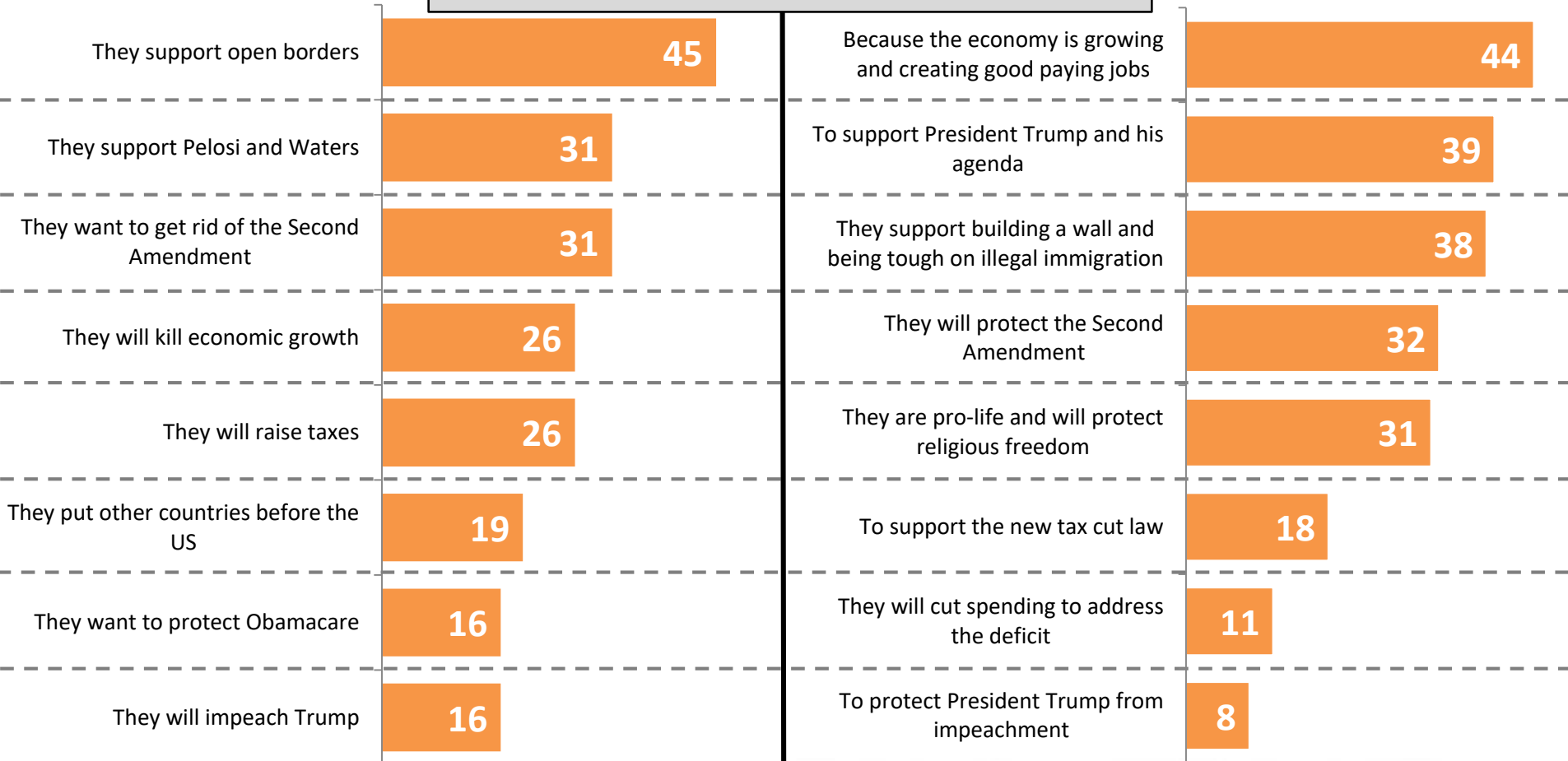
Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you voted for the Republican candidate for Congress in your district?

WHY NOT DEM FOR CONGRESS

WHY GOP FOR CONGRESS

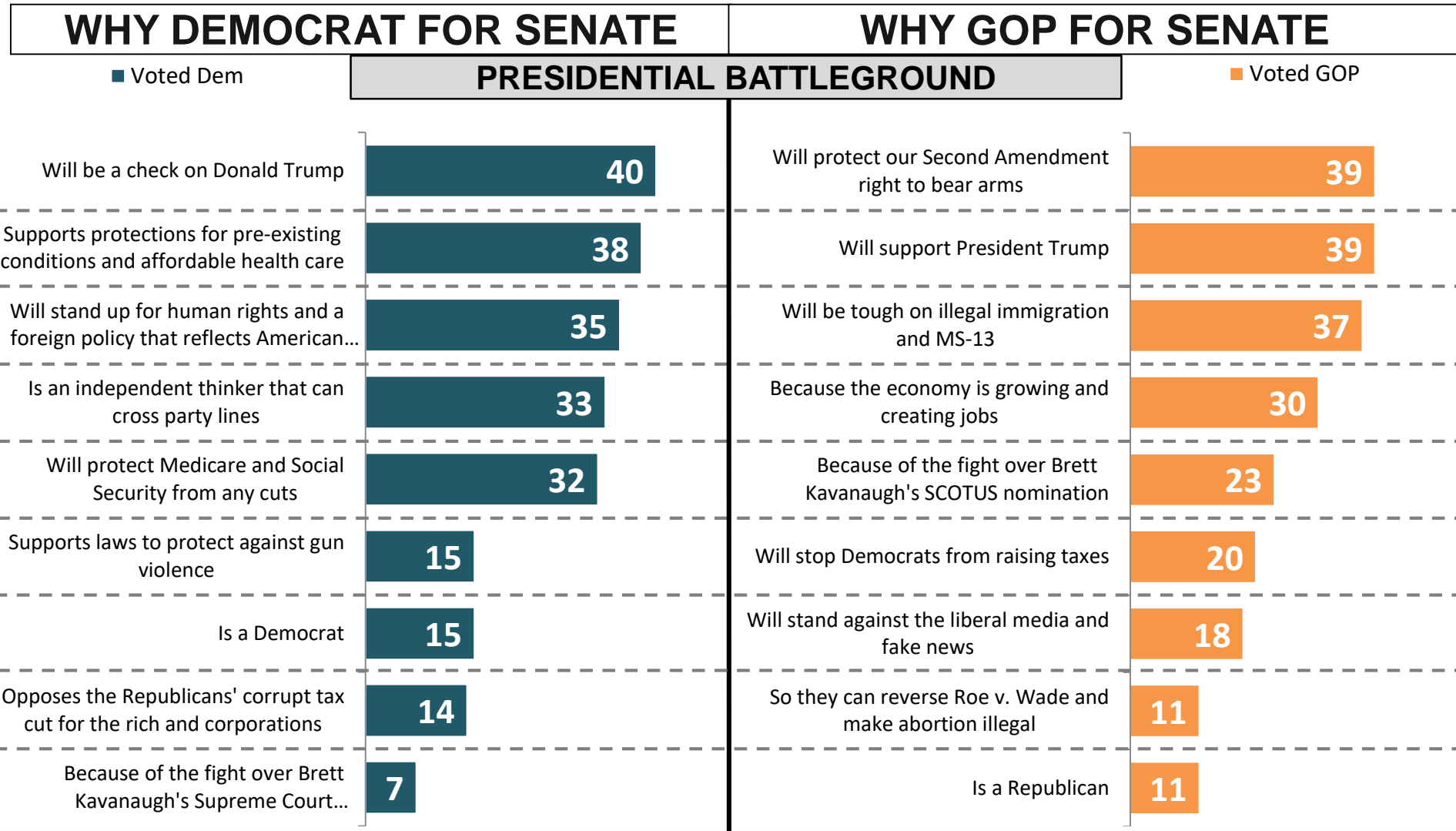
PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

■ Voted GOP



Reason for Senate vote

Which *THREE* describe the most important reasons why you voted for [NAMED DEMOCRATIC/REPUBLICAN SENATE CANDIDATE] in your district?



THE TRUMP-GOP

Composition of the GOP base

Trump Loyalists: 42-58%

Less Enthusiastic GOP: 42-58%

**Evangelical
Conservatives**
26%

**Tea
Party**
16%

**Catholic
Conservatives**
16%

**Secular
Conservatives**
19%

Moderates
23%

69% strong Trump
59% highest interest
6% not Trump 2020

34% NAFTA very neg
41% Raise taxes/rich
very negative
39% Immigrants very
negative

44% South

66% strong Trump
57% highest interest
10% not Trump 2020

43% NAFTA very neg
53% Raise taxes/rich
very negative
34% Immigrants very
negative

39% South

60% strong Trump
55% highest interest
11% not Trump 2020

42% NAFTA very neg
43% Raise taxes/rich
very negative
37% Immigrants very
negative

28% South

59% strong Trump
46% highest interest
11% not Trump 2020

32% NAFTA very neg
33% Raise taxes/rich
very negative
43% Immigrants very
negative

35% South

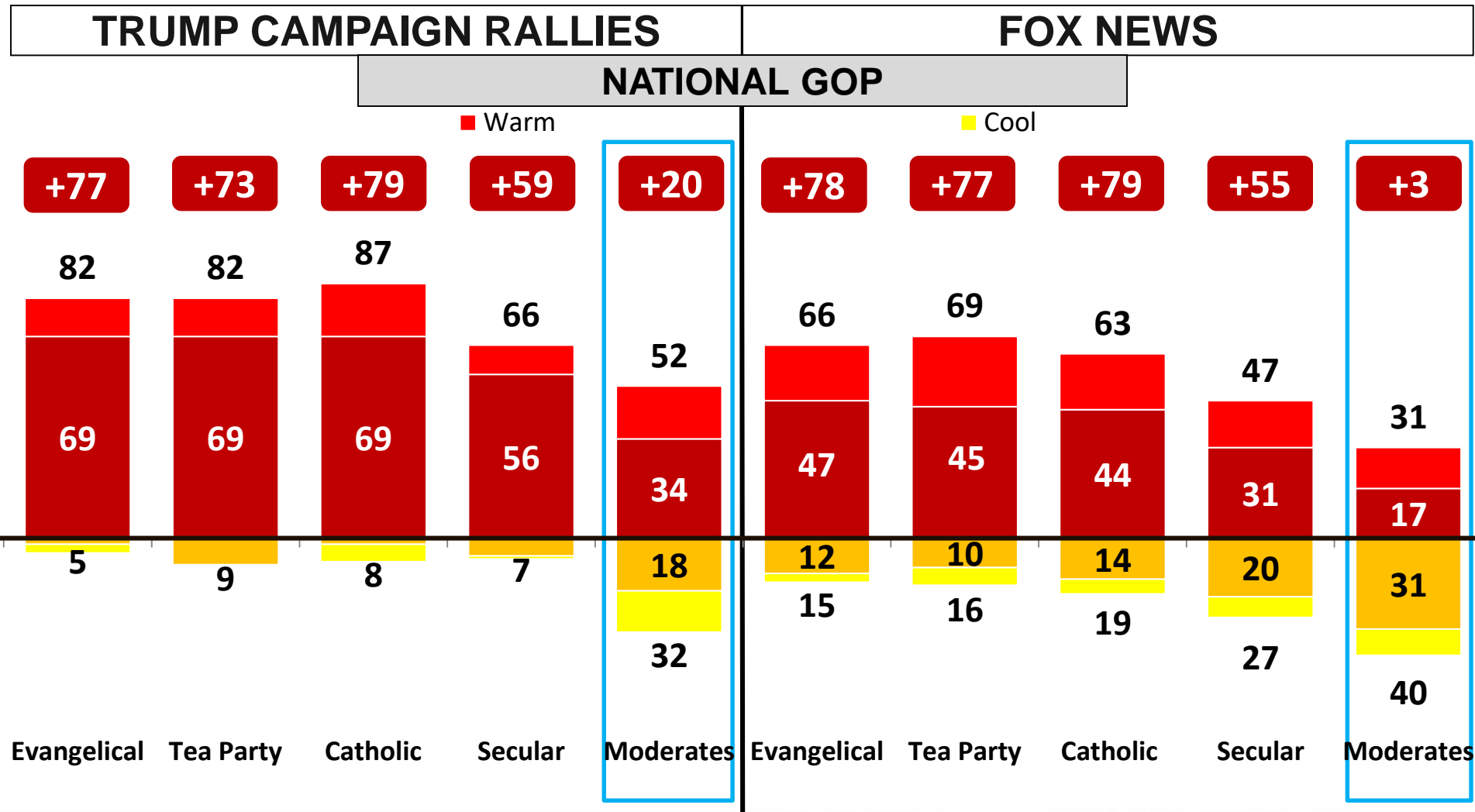
31% strong Trump
39% highest interest
25% not Trump 2020

25% NAFTA very neg
23% Raise taxes/rich
very negative
30% Immigrants very
negative

36% South

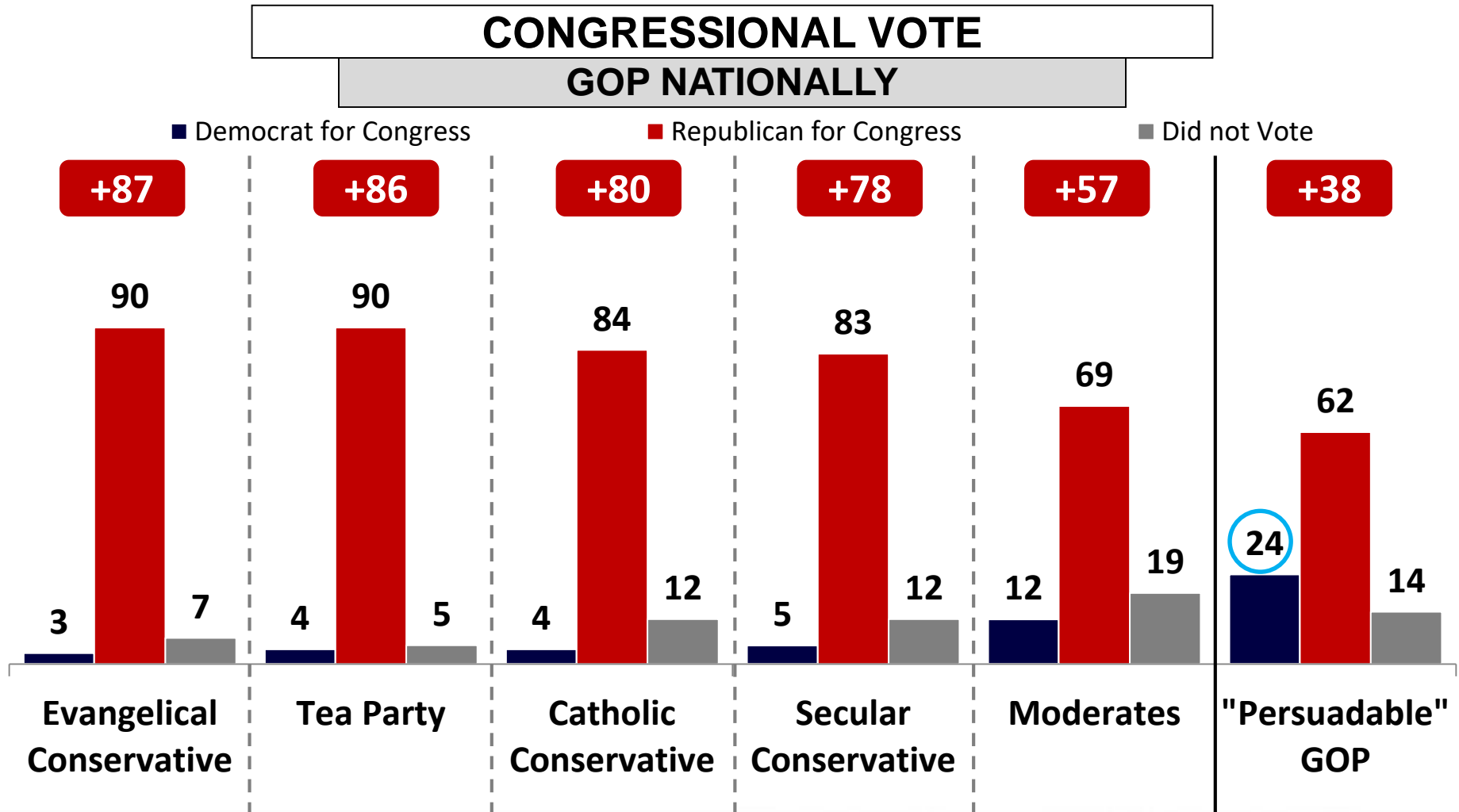
Trump's campaign rallies & the Fox News feedback loop had limits

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



Defections in GOP, including 40% of moderates

Thinking about the election for U.S. Congress in your district, did you vote for -- (ROTATE DEM, REP CANDIDATE) the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?



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