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To: Friends of Democracy Corps

From: Stanley Greenberg

Emerging 2020 dynamics Combined data set

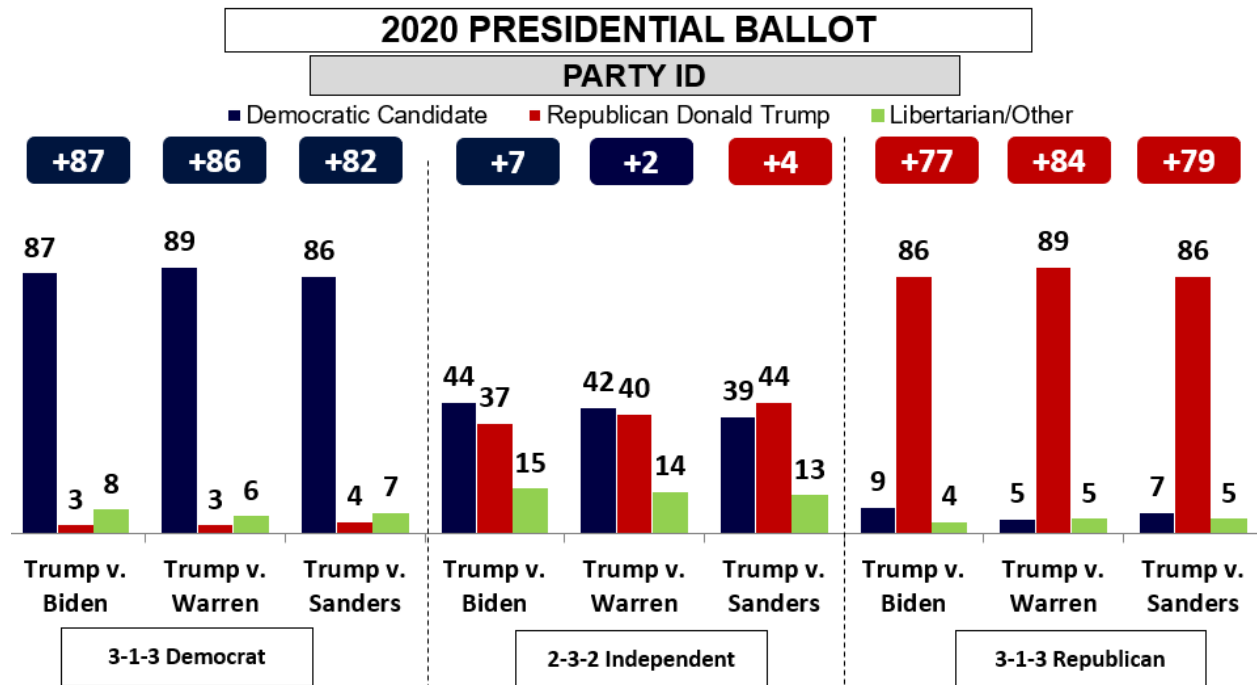
Democracy Corps has conducted two national polls in July and September to create a data base large enough to talk about different segments of the Republican Party, but it also provides us with a deep look at the emerging presidential race. (The data base includes 2,800 interviews.)

We are also able to look at a correlation matrix with a large number of values questions to go deeper into the underlying dynamics in this polarized country.

This report is part of Democracy Corps' efforts to get the strongest progressive result in the general election.

The leading candidates are readily electable against Donald Trump. The question is which can take advantage of the 10+ margin in a race nationalized around Donald Trump, the 9-point margin for those voting in the Democratic and Republican primaries, or the 8.6 percent margin from the 2018 mid-term election? Right now, Trump is at 41 percent regardless of top candidate; Democrats give Trump only 3 percent. Candidates vary in how well they consolidate Democrats, how many votes to the Libertarian, how many straight independents (10 percent of electorate) and how many mostly moderate Republicans they get.

Democrats have two electable candidates at the moment - Vice President Biden (leads by 8 points) and Senator Warren (leads by 7), with Senator Sanders at the edge (5 percent).



Biden wins with the biggest margin over Trump (49 to 41 percent), and gets there, breaking even with straight independents (35 to 35 percent) and getting 9 percent of Republicans, led by 22 percent of the moderates.

- Only 77 percent of Sanders’ primary voters support Biden in a contest with Trump, compared to 94 percent of Warren’s primary supporters.

Warren wins by 7 points (49 to 42 percent), but wins very differently. She consolidates Democrats better than Biden (89 versus 87 percent) and gets 91 percent of Sanders voters. She loses straight independents by 11 points, however. And she underperforms Biden with Republicans, though she still wins 5 percent of Republicans and 11 percent of the moderates.

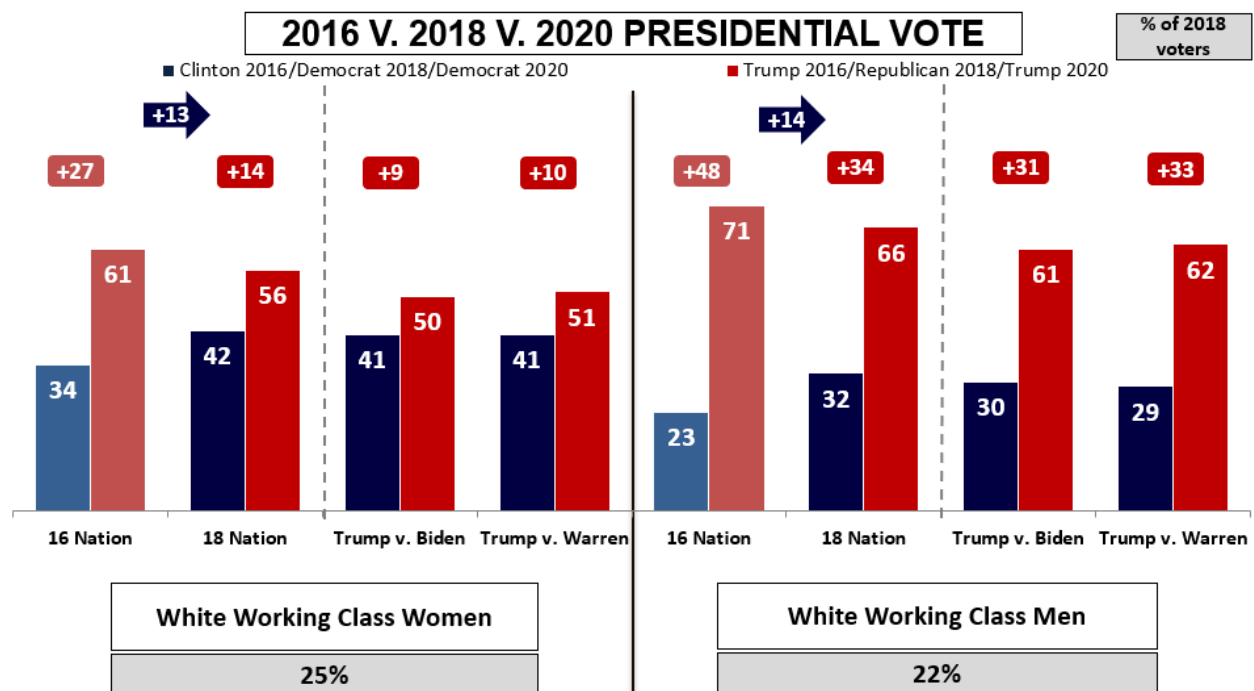
- While Biden’s primary voters are more loyal than Sanders’, Warren could do better: right now, she gets 88 percent of Biden voters in the general election.

Whether Democrats grow their margin, in my view, depends on what happens with the Libertarian and third party voters that are getting 7 to 8 percent of the vote right now.

- Straight independents are up for grabs where third parties are getting 21 to 23 percent of the vote.
- Moderate Republicans are giving the third party candidate 7 to 12 percent of the vote, depending on if Biden or Warren are the candidates.

One of the reasons both Biden and Warren are proving to be electable is the surprising result with white working class voters. While Biden has more of a working class base in the Democratic primary, the 2020 election is being shaped by bigger forces. In this combined sample of white working class women (643 respondents), Biden loses by 9 points (50 to 41 percent) and Warren by 10 (51 to 41 percent). Both are gains on 2018 and a sea change from 2016. That means the 13-point shift to the Democrats in the off-year has continued another 4 points now.

They both lose to Trump among white working class men (combined sample of 562) by a much bigger margin — 31 points and 33 points respectively. As daunting as that appears, the trend with men is encouraging as well. Democrats gained 14 points in 2018 and Biden would take those gains 3 points further. Warren holds the 2018 gains, as there is no evidence of working class voters going back to the 2016 Trump margins.



Both Biden and Warren perform comparably with the white working class, and both make impressive gains with the women. That may be the unfolding story in the 2020 elections. [As Ron Brownstein has written](#), there is no GOP key to the blue wall if white working class women are competitive and the men have not yet rallied for him.

Why “moderate Democrats” are open to all

Liberals are 46 percent of the Democratic base, followed by moderates, 41 percent and conservatives, 11 percent. I have always grouped moderates and conservatives together, but that turns out to be wrong.

We looked at those Democrats who identified as liberal, moderate and conservative and looked at how that correlated with beliefs and supports for policies we examined in the survey.

Correlation Matrix (3-1-3 Democrats)			
	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative
Liberal	1.000000	-0.808501	-0.297541
Moderate	-0.808501	1.000000	-0.246239
Conservative	-0.297541	-0.246239	1.000000
WARM undocumented immigrants	0.246914	-0.175586	-0.106819
COOL undocumented immigrants	-0.185219	0.100414	0.145037
WARM immigrants US	0.256772	-0.137188	-0.189714
COOL immigrants US	-0.111891	-0.003033	0.181067
WARM NRA	-0.185200	0.057787	0.227568
COOL NRA	0.294163	-0.156919	-0.247670
WARM pro-life groups	-0.123554	0.039013	0.133530
COOL pro-life groups	0.305476	-0.176153	-0.194663
WARM gay marriage	0.241772	-0.090454	-0.246092
COOL gay marriage	-0.151985	0.007101	0.221522
WARM CEOs of large businesses	-0.055255	0.041862	0.059814
COOL CEOs of large businesses	0.067429	-0.038737	-0.056332
WARM Measures to prevent global warming	0.122858	-0.045825	-0.117168
COOL Measures to prevent global warming	-0.039610	0.022680	0.061472
WARM Government guarantee that all have good health care	0.150182	-0.097663	-0.090440
COOL Government guarantee that all have good health care	-0.099568	0.052420	0.080408
WARM Raising taxes on those making over \$250,000	0.175792	-0.140238	-0.059814
COOL Raising taxes on those making over \$250,000	-0.075243	0.010942	0.078127
WARM Government assistance for people unable to work	0.238576	-0.164082	-0.108600
COOL Government assistance for people unable to work	-0.075171	0.021627	0.096459

Being “liberal” (46 percent of the base) has the most meaning. It correlates most strongly with opposition to pro-life groups and the NRA, then warm feelings to immigrants, gay marriage and assistance for those who can’t work.

Conservatives are only 11 percent of Democrats. Being a “conservative Democrat” correlates with views of the NRA and gay marriage, but correlations are not quite as strong as for liberals.

More important are the moderates who form 41 percent of the base. Identifying as a “moderate Democrat,” however, is uncorrelated with any of our measures. It is not a political identity that drives attitudes for this big portion of the primary electorate.

Another reason these coefficients are low is the high level of agreement among Democrats on liberal cultural issues, achieving greater equality, having the rich contribute much more, and on government attacking major problems. And as it turns out, Democrats have strong views that unite, rather than divide them.

Consider these findings and think about why candidates from across the spectrum will get heard among Democrats - if they are aligned with their values and expansive ways to use government.

On equal pay for women:

- 94 percent of liberal Democrats are warm to the concept, 89 percent very warm.
- 89 percent of moderate and conservative Democrats are warm, 80 percent very warm.

On raising taxes on those earning over \$250 thousand, so pay fair share:

- 90 percent of liberal Democrats are warm to it, 78 percent very warm.
- 78 percent of moderate and conservative are warm, 64 percent very warm.

On government guaranteeing that all have health care:

- 94 percent of liberal Democrats are warm to it, 89 percent very warm.
- 85 percent of moderate and conservative Democrats are warm, 74 percent very warm.

On measures to prevent global warming:

- 81 percent of liberal Democrats are warm, 75 percent very warm.
- 71 percent of moderate and conservative Democrats are warm, 58 percent very warm.

On gay marriage:

- 88 percent of liberal Democrats are warm, 83 percent very warm.
- 61 percent of moderate and Conservative Democrats are warm, 51 very warm.

On the NRA:

- 87 percent of liberal Democrats are cool, 81 percent very cool.
- 64 percent of moderate and conservative Democrats are cool, 54 percent very cool.

On Pro-life, anti-abortion groups:

- 79 percent of liberal Democrats are cool, 73 percent very cool.
- 51 percent of moderate and conservative Democrats are cool, 44 percent very cool.

There is barely any issue where you do not have a majority of moderates and conservatives aligned with liberals on these defining issues. Democratic candidates who advocate taxing the rich, achieving universal health care, confronting the NRA, and building on gay marriage and confronting the pro-life advocacy will get heard across the ideological so-called divides.