| TO: | Interested Parties |
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| FR: | Future Majority |
| SB: | Strategic Advice for Democrats Moving Forward |
| DT: | June 17, 2019 |

Future Majority, partnering with Change Research, has conducted 53,224 surveys of likely voters and examined 49,809 open-ended responses to date. The polling data below are from two surveys that examined feelings toward public figures, Congress, the economy, and explored the questions regarding impeachment and reproductive rights.

- A poll of 2,141 likely voters conducted from June 6 to June 9, 2019 in congressional districts that flipped from Republican to Democrat in 2018. Listed as "CD."
- A poll of 1,274 likely voters conducted from June 9 to June 11, 2019 in the battleground states of PA, MI, MN, WI, AZ, NC and NH. Listed as "BG."

On January 23, 2016 Donald Trump said, "I could stand in the middle of $5^{\text {th }}$ Avenue and shoot somebody and I wouldn't lose voters." Trump is correct, especially with the Republican leadership, due to the fact that Trump has a 93\% favorable rating with Republican voters.

- However, what Trump did not say is that his actions would gain voters. His job approval since being elected has remained steady ranging from $40 \%$ to $44 \%$ nationally (NBC/WSJ 6.16.19) and in the battlegrounds from $44 \%$ to $46 \%$ (Change Research 6.9.19).
- Key Point: 59\% of voters in the CD poll say, "I am tired of the childishness and temper tantrums of President Trump and it is time for change." 68\% of independents, $65 \%$ of women. The key to winning in 2020 is to define change.


## As Democrats move forward, there are some warning signs: (CD poll)

- $34 \%$ believe Congressional Democrats have helped the American people since the election in 2018. (68\% D, 31\% I, 41\% women)
- $28 \%$ of voters are familiar with Democrats in the House of Representatives having passed 252 bills to try to solve problems in America.
- $64 \%$ of voters believe Democrats have spent all or most of their time since the 2018 election investigating the Trump Administration.
- $65 \%$ have a negative view on how Democrats are working to stop corruption in Washington. (35\% D, $72 \%$ I and $59 \%$ women)
- $13 \%$ of voters are aware the House passed the For the People Act (HR1) called the "strongest reforms since Watergate." Just 18\% of Democrats.
- This is key because just 27\% of voters believe Trump is draining the swamp versus 56\% who believe he added more alligators.


## How voters feel about the economy in battleground states?

- Trump's Economy Job Approval: 50\%
- Personal Finances Right Direction: 50\%
- $60 \%$ believe our current economic system is working well.
- However, there are intensity issues. Overall, only $30 \%$ say, "very well." ( $6 \% \mathrm{D}, 22 \% \mathrm{I}$, $23 \%$ women). $63 \%$ of Republicans say, "very well."
- Do you agree or disagree that the Democratic Party has a more of a socialist agenda than 10 years ago? $70 \%$ of all voters agree. ( $69 \% \mathrm{I}, 63 \%$ women)
- $60 \%$ of voters think this is a bad thing. $63 \%$ of Independents, $54 \%$ of women
- Smart capitalism is a compelling message: "Do you support or oppose measuring government spending by the success of the investment such as rate of return or societal benefit and not just measure the cost of legislation or program?" $61 \%$ support. $14 \%$ oppose. $26 \%$ not sure. (Support: 68\% of D's, 54\% R's, $59 \%$ I's, $55 \%$ women)
- Breaking up your favorite app is hard: While $66 \%$ percent of voters agree that the big tech companies like Facebook, Amazon, Google and Twitter should be broken up or have more regulation, only 49\% agree that Facebook - likely the most controversial tech company - should be broken up.
- Popular Idea: Do you believe citizens and not data companies should own their own personal data and be able to transfer that data to other platforms? 81\% agree. $5 \%$ oppose.


## When it comes to tariffs, Democrats should label taxes instead of arguing trade policy:

- $72 \%$ of voters believe American consumers pay for the costs of tariffs.
- $63 \%$ of voters believe a tariff is a tax ( $66 \%$ of Independents, $60 \%$ women)
- However, by a $49 \%$ to $42 \%$ margin, voters support Trump's trade tariffs on China.
- Even when voters know the United States government has spent $\$ 25$ billion bailing out farmers, and the average cost to household has gone up by $\$ 831$ dollars, they support the Trump-China tariffs $44 \%$ versus $45 \%$ oppose.


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## The Question of this Presidency: Impeachment (CD poll)

- Civics: $32 \%$ of voters believe that impeachment removes a President from office. $62 \%$ do not believe and $6 \%$ are unsure. This is across the board with all Party ID and age.
- $82 \%$ of voters believe that they would win the lottery before the Republicans in the Senate would convict and remove Trump from office if he is impeached by the House.
- However, 73\% agree that, "high ranking officials who do not comply with Congressional subpoenas should be fined, and then possibly arrested just like any other citizen would." ( $97 \% \mathrm{D}, 40 \% \mathrm{R}, 78 \% \mathrm{I}$ ). On strongly agree: $93 \% \mathrm{D}, 25 \% \mathrm{R}, 64 \% \mathrm{I}$.
- $40 \%$ of voters said knowing what they know today, Trump should be impeached for obstruction of justice. $51 \%$ say no and $9 \%$ unsure.
- 75\% of Democrats support. 95\% of Republicans oppose. Independents are against impeachment with $38 \%$ saying yes and $50 \%$ saying no. Overall, $45 \%$ of women say yes, $45 \%$ no. Overall $35 \%$ of men say yes $58 \%$ of men say no.
- 71\% of Democrats are enthusiastic about impeachment, but of those only $43 \%$ are extremely enthusiastic. Whereas 94\% of Republicans are not enthusiastic with 90\% extremely unenthusiastic.
- Only 5\% of Democrats are very angry at the House Leadership for slowing down the process of impeachment. 31\% said they are somewhat angry. $60 \%$ are not angry.


## Attempting to project attitudes into the future is always tough, but we asked several scenarios currently in play to predict how voters would react:

- If strong evidence comes out that President Trump committed high crimes and misdemeanors, do you think you might conclude that he should be impeached by the House of Representatives and be found guilty by the Senate and be removed from office?
- $47 \%$ say yes but needs to be ironclad. ( $65 \% \mathrm{D}, 40 \% \mathrm{R}, 54 \% \mathrm{I}$ )
- $45 \%$ say no and would not support impeachment. ( $24 \% \mathrm{D}, 56 \% \mathrm{R}, 33 \% \mathrm{I}$ )
- If you don't think strong evidence has come out that President Trump committed high crimes and misdemeanors, but evidence comes out such as financial crimes, do you think Trump should be impeached?
- $22 \%$ say yes but needs to be ironclad. ( $52 \% \mathrm{D}, 8 \% \mathrm{R}, 28 \% \mathrm{I}$ )
- $70 \%$ say no and would not support impeachment. ( $23 \% \mathrm{D}, 89 \% \mathrm{R}, 62 \% \mathrm{I}$ )


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- Would proof of any of the following lead you to support impeaching Trump?
- $49 \%$ conspiracy with a foreign government in the 2016 election. ( $78 \% \mathrm{D}, 39 \% \mathrm{R}, 47 \% \mathrm{I}$ )
- $38 \%$ lying to the FBI and law enforcement ( $93 \%$ D, 19\% R, 36\% I)
- $36 \%$ money laundering ( $78 \% \mathrm{D}, 20 \% \mathrm{R}, 36 \% \mathrm{I}$ )
- 34\% obstructing investigation ( $85 \% \mathrm{D}, 17 \% \mathrm{R}, 34 \% \mathrm{I}$ )
- $30 \%$ tax evasion ( $81 \% \mathrm{D}, 10 \% \mathrm{R}, 33 \% \mathrm{I}$ )
- $25 \%$ campaign finance violations ( $72 \% \mathrm{D}, 10 \% \mathrm{R}, 21 \% \mathrm{I}$ )
- Only $13 \%$ believe that the Senate would actually hold a trial if the House decides to impeach the President.
- $58 \%$ believe there is no scenario that 20 Republican Senators would ever convict Trump and remove him from office.
- $55 \%$ say that if the United States Senate says President Trump is "not guilty" and allows Trump to claim "victory" that he will therefore be more likely to be re-elected.


## More numbers:

- $77 \%$ agree that impeachment will divide the country.
- $52 \%$ say Trump engaged in a cover up on the Mueller investigation. ( $90 \% \mathrm{D}, 8 \% \mathrm{R}, 64 \% \mathrm{I}$ )
- $48 \%$ agree that Trump obstructed Mueller's investigation into Russia interference.
- $57 \%$ believe that Russia interfered with the 2016 election to help Trump. Here Mueller did break through, but not really enough against Trump as agent or collaborator in this interference.
- $48 \%$ believe Attorney General Barr lied to Congress. $45 \%$ say he should be impeached.
- $80 \%$ of Republicans believe the FBI plotted against Trump.

With very stringent anti-choice legislation being passed in several states (AL, GA, MO) and with more to follow, we took a look at attitudes, language and arguments. In Battleground States:

- $60 \%$ agree that Roe $v$ Wade should be the law of the land. ( $86 \% \mathrm{D}, 28 \% \mathrm{R}, 63 \% \mathrm{I}, 66 \%$ women, 55\% men)
- $70 \%$ believe the government should play no role in determining women's health and family planning issues.
- $82 \%$ believe every woman has the freedom to choose for herself if, when, and with whom to start or grow a family.


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- $77 \%$ believe women should have control over their own bodies; especially when it comes to reproductive health issues. ( $56 \% \mathrm{R}, 71 \%$ men)
- When do you believe life begins? $42 \%$ conception ( $67 \%$ Republicans), $28 \%$ detectable fetal heartbeat, at birth (51\% Democrats).
- Do you believe abortion is: $18 \%$ a health issue, $25 \%$ a moral issue, $52 \%$ a mix of both.
- 60\% support a Constitutional Amendment affirming a women's reproductive freedom as a fundamental human right. Strongly support: 77\% D's, $52 \%$ I's, $55 \%$ women
- 74\% oppose government mandating a woman carry her pregnancy to term in cases of rape, incest or a danger to the health of the mother. (56\% of Republicans)
- Who do you trust more to advise women on reproductive health? $85 \%$ doctors, $0 \%$ politicians.


## The current lay of the land looks a lot like the past year:

- Generic CD Horserace: CD poll: 47\% Democrat v 44\% Republican

Dems +11 with Independents, +20 with women

BG poll: 46\% Democrats v 44\% Republican
Dems +6 with Independents, +16 with women

- Trump's job approval on economy:
- President Trump's job approval:
- President Trump's re-elect:
- Presidential Horserace: CD poll:

46\% Trump v 48\% Biden
47\% Trump v 46\% Warren
47\% Trump v 45\% Harris
47\% Trump v 48\% Sanders
46\% Trump v 45\% Buttigieg

BG poll:
46\% Trump v 47\% Biden
47\% Trump v 44\% Warren
47\% Trump v 41\% Harris
47\% Trump v 45\% Sanders
48\% Trump v 42\% Buttigieg

## Below are Future Majority's strategic recommendations:

1) Major voter education effort on the issues that Democrats are passing in the U.S. House and in the states with a narrative of how the lives of people would be better if they became law. Currently, only 34\% believe Congressional Democrats have helped the American people since being elected in 2018.

- Mitch McConnell has a $21 \%$ approval rating. His rating is 51 points lower than Trump with Republicans. Democrats would be smart to make McConnell the target of obstruction. But note voters do not tend to give credit for passing House bills, that then die in the Senate, or would be vetoed by the President. They want the two sides to agree ( $93 \%$ in a previous Future Majority poll), and to get it done.

2) Which side defines the economy will likely win. $50 \%$ approve of Trump's job on the economy and $50 \%$ believe their personal finances are going in the right direction.

- The contrast: The Trump-Republican tax bill was corporate/billionaire welfare versus a smart capitalism plan that will raise wages, build infrastructure, and invest in people. However, if the GOP successfully defines Democrats as "socialists" then the game is over.
- Tariffs equal tax increases. 63\% of voters agree. Demonstrate that a trip to the grocery or Walmart cost you more under Trump because of his tariffs. But again, voters like Trump's fight with China and Mexico. Emphasize growth numbers and low unemployment are nice, but everyone knows wages do not keep up with expenses. Democrats ran on raising wages. So, they need to deliver a plan on this issue.
- Presidents can have policy plans and win. It is harder for a $240+$ House Caucus to have a plan and run on it. Nevertheless, in 2018, running on lower health care costs, lower deductibles, higher wages, and lowering corruption, was a winner.

3) Corrupt Trump. As demonstrated by the numbers above, the impeachment question is a very difficult issue. However, if the narrative is that Trump and McConnell are blocking major anticorruption reforms and key kitchen table issues like health care are not being fixed because of their corruption, that is a winner. Especially if it is bought by big donors. Emphasize how many House candidates have renounced corporate PAC money.

- Use the investigations to frame a corruption narrative, creating the odor or miasma of corruption around the entire Administration.


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## Conclusion:

At Future Majority, we know our freedom and democracy are under threat. We also know that unless the Democrats demonstrate that they have a plan to help middle-class families build a future, then it is likely that Trump wins re-election.

This is not complicated:

- Research proves that Future Majority's message of "Let's Build: A Fair Shot. Freedom and Future" works. Videos we produced like "Built Not Bought" were seen been seen by 8 million viewers and have impact. In fact, focus groups in key states say this is what they want the Democrats to be. We need to get this into the bloodstream. More video and social media is key.
- Recommend a "Freedom To" campaign to counter what will be Trump's campaign of division. For too many the basic American compact of freedom is either gone due to finances and/or corruption.
- The freedom to: marry whom you love, breathe clean air, drink clean water, determine your reproductive rights, to innovate, to live in a big city or in the country, afford education, retire with dignity, have a free press, and more.

We can do this. Only the fate of our country is at stake.

