



# 2018 CAMPAIGN AND LESSONS FOR 2020



**VOTE FOR  
AMERICA  
ELECTION  
2020**



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# **Voters in the 2018 Election**

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## Economic Growth and Inequality

Do voters prefer policies directed at economic growth or policies dealing with reducing the gap between the 1% and the rest of us? A national poll by Cyngal found that 51% of voters preferred economic growth and 40% preferred policies addressing the income gap between the 1% and the rest of America.

In the Voice Broadcasting polls, voters also supported Growth oriented policies with 61% of the voters preferring growth policies compared with 31% of voters wanting to deal with inequality. In February of 2018, in another Voice Broadcasting poll, 62% also supported growth-oriented policies so this is one number that stayed steady the entire political campaign.

Evolving Strategies, in their online poll, found numbers similar to Voice Broadcasting with less than 40% favoring policies dealing with inequality. With the rise of socialism within the ranks of the Democratic Party, the Republican Party is now the Party of growth and opportunity for the Middle Class and those at the bottom of economic ladder.

This particular data is important since the majority of voters are more interested in a policy of job creation and economic opportunity over dealing with inequality and the politics of envy has its limits. Punishing the rich without any corresponding benefit to the voters is not great trade off.

	Growth	Inequality	Not sure
Cyngal	51	40	9
Voice broadcasting	61	31	9
Evolving strategy	63	37	

## Healthcare

We asked voters if they wanted to keep Obamacare or should healthcare be reformed by allowing voters to choose less expensive plans with flexibility. Cyngal's survey found 62% of voters preferring more flexible plans whereas only 29% of voters wanted to keep Obamacare.

In the Voice Broadcasting Poll 56% of voters wanted more flexible plan as opposed to keeping Obamacare and those who wanted to Keep Obamacare were similar to Cyngal with more not sure of which way to go.

	More Flexible plan	Keep Obamacare	Not sure
Cyngal	62%	29%	9%
Voice broadcasting	56%	30%	15%

Along those lines, we asked what fixes to our health care system they would prefer: Reduce the cost of premiums by allowing plans with flexible coverage; allowing people to go into state Medicaid plans similar to Obamacare; or single payer. In the Cyngal survey, 53.5 percent wanted to see flexible plans and only 15% wanted to see people moving into State Medicaid and only 24% wanted to see single payer. Voters in the Cyngal survey want to see changes in Obamacare.

In the Voice broadcasting poll, numbers were very similar to the Cyngal poll as 51% of voters preferred a plan that lowered premiums and provided more flexible benefits while 16% favored moving more people toward state Medicaid similar to Obamacare and only 21% stated they wanted single payer.

Evolving Strategies poll noted that three quarters of their respondents preferred more flexible plans than keeping Obamacare, contrasted to 55% who favored single payer. They asked two separate questions-- do you support allowing voters to select less expensive plans with less expensive plans with fewer benefits OR do you support single payer plans, like Medicare for all? While 55% supported the Medicare for all approach, more voters preferred the more flexible plan when given that option as a stand alone plan. The Republicans were hammered on healthcare and they played total defense the entire election cycle.

Our polls throughout the election saw many voters liking features of the Republican's plan including choosing less expensive plans, keeping their Doctor and health care plan if they liked them. The one areas that many voters wanted was protection against being denied with pre-existing conditions but they did not care for keeping Obamacare or moving toward single payer since that meant voters would lose their choices on keeping their Doctors and health care plan. Republicans fail to even defend those principles and as a result voters viewed Democrats as the Party best to lead on the health care debate.

	Flexible coverage	State Medicaid	Single payer	Not sure
Cyngal	53.5%	15%	24%	7%
Voice broadcasting	51%	16%	21.3	12%
Evolving strategy	76%		55%	

## The Economy

We asked voters if their economic opportunities improve when the private sector grows. In the Cyngal survey, 66% of voters view the necessity of a growing private sector to their own economic success while only 25% didn't link private sector growth to their personal opportunity.

In the Voice Broadcasting poll, 60% stated the need for a growing private sector to benefit their own lives and only 19% said that a growing private sector was not a necessity for their economic

well-being. The one thing that became apparent is that voters want the economy to grow and understand that a growing private sector is needed to help their own economic status.

Private sector grow	Yes	No	Not sure
Cyngal	66%	25%	9%
Voice broadcasting	60%	19%	21%

Does increasing government spending and deficits help or hurt the economy? In the Cyngal survey, 64% of voters believe that increasing government spending and increased deficits hurts the overall economy and only 18% said that increasing government spending and deficits helps the economy. In the Voice Broadcasting poll, voters also agreed that increasing government debt, deficits or spending hurts the economy and Evolving Strategies found that 86% of voters viewed government debt as bad for the economy, showing the majority of voters see incurring debt as bad for the economy

Here is where it gets tricky, neither Party at the moment are serious about reducing the debt, deficits or overall spending. Republicans are promoting the need to increase defense spending and have not made a serious attempt at reforming the entitlements and Democrats have gone all in on increasing spending including adding an additional 32 trillion plus dollars in adding a Medicare for All. Republicans can be the Party of growth and opportunity by sharing a growth oriented package that reduces the deficits, the debts and keep spending in line.

	Helps the economy	Hurt the economy	Not sure
Cyngal	18%	64%	18%
Voice broadcasting	14%	66%	20%

## Values

We asked with set of ideas are closer to yours? "Multi-culturalism, Social & Economic Justice, smarter, better government can create a more just world and spiritual but not religious." OR "Hard work, personal responsibility, delayed gratification, consequences for bad decisions, faith in God

56% of voters in Cyngal poll believed in the more traditional views and 37% believed in smarter and better government

In the Voice Broadcasting only 34% agreed it the approach of better smarter government to obtain social justice whereas 58% favored the more traditional values. These numbers are similar to what we saw in February 2018.

Evolving Strategies separated the value question into a Conservative and Liberal worldview and found 60% supporting traditional values versus 40% of liberals, which is very similar to what the other pollsters found in overall support.

This question shows a great divide on what voters perceive as needed for society to work. Liberals believe that smarter and better government can move the society toward social justice, they believe in Multi-culturalism as a necessity whereas conservatives view the traditional values of hard work, delayed gratification is the basis our a successful society and they are more religious and view God has a place within the public square and worship.

	Multi-cultural	Traditional value	Not sure
Cyngal	37%	56%	7%
Voice broadcasting	34%	58%	8%
Evolving strategy conservative worldview		60%	
Evolving Strategy Liberal worldview		40%	

## Energy

On Energy production, we asked voters if they thought the United States should press for Energy Dominance. In the Cyngal survey, 54% of voters wanted the US to be number one in energy production and only 26% said no. 50% of Voice Broadcasting favored the United States to be number one in energy development and only 22% said no.

Evolving Strategies modified the question by adding the policy measures that could lead to energy dominance—reducing environmental regulations. When asked to balance energy dominance with environmental regulations, support for energy dominance dropped to 39%. Many voters may not be ready to reduce regulations and in the background, we see the specter of believing that climate change is caused by increased CO2 levels due to human activity. Later in the report, we will see that voters view on the cause of climate change is more nuanced. Republicans need to make the case that increase energy productions can come while protecting the environment and this can be done.

Energy dominance	Yes	No	Not sure
Cyngal	54%	26%	20%
Voice broadcasting	50%	22%	28%
Evolving strategy	39%	61%	

## Immigration

We asked voters which the following plans on immigration they preferred: No additional immigration reforms until the border is secure; allow those who are here illegally to stay provided they have a job but offer no path to citizenship; or, allow those here illegally to stay and provide a path to citizenship. Cyngal found 35% want border secured before any additional reform, whereas 10% favored allowing illegal immigrants to stay if they have a job but no path to citizenship while 48% supported a path to citizenship.

In the Voice Broadcasting poll there is a divide between border security and allowing illegal immigrants a path to citizenship with 42% favoring no reforms until the border is secured and 41% favoring a path to citizenship with 10% favoring allowing illegals to stay but no path to citizenship is allowed and the illegals must have employment. There is another way to view this and that when you combined allowing illegal to stay but no path to citizenship and allowing illegals a path to citizenship, *both polls agree that the majority of voters favor policies that will allow illegals to stay, but differ on allowing a path to citizenship*

	Border security	Stay but no path	Path to citizenship	Not sure
Cyngal	35	10	48	7
Voice broadcasting	42%	10%	41%	6%

We also measured voters view on immigration levels. We asked which views on immigration levels voters agree with: Immigration levels should be reduced to allow immigrants here to assimilate and because higher immigration levels hurt workers at the lower income or, Immigration levels should remain the same or be increased because immigration aids in overall economic prosperity. In the Cyngal survey, 42 percent viewed immigration levels should decline to aid in assimilation of present immigration and higher immigration levels hurts workers on the lower income, whereas 41.6% view keeping immigration levels the same or increase because it benefits the economy.

In the Voice Broadcasting poll, 44% of voters want to reduce immigrations and 47% of the Evolving Strategies poll agreed in reducing immigration levels to allow for assimilation and that immigration hurts those at the bottom of the scale. 38% of Voice Broadcasting favor keeping the immigration the same or increasing since this will increase prosperity. What we are seeing is that many Americans as we have seen in past polls don't believe immigration is benefiting them!

	Immigration decrease	Immigration stay the same or increase	Not sure
Cyngal	42	41.6	16
Voice broadcasting	44%	38%	18%

We asked voters if the law enforcement (ICE) for illegal immigration should be disbanded. In the Cyngal survey only 25% of voters wanted to disband ICE and only 18% in the Voice Broadcasting wanted to see ICE disbanded. In both polls 64% oppose the idea of disbanding ICE. What we see on immigration, is Americans favor allowing illegal to stay and many have no problems with allowing illegals to *stay but they also want the border enforced and are not about to disband the leading agency responsible for enforcing the law to be disbanded*, a proposal than many within the Democratic Party favor.

ICE Disbanded	Yes	No	Not sure
Cyngal	25%	64%	11%
Voice broadcasting	18%	64%	18%

## Climate Change

We asked voters if they thought climate change is caused by: primarily human activity; a combination of human activity and natural events; or primarily natural events. These theories make up the scientific debate on the cause of climate change with climate alarmists (think Al Gore) saying climate change is caused by human activities. Skeptics are less likely to view this as primarily human events but many view themselves “lukewarm” on the idea of human activity playing a role in climate change but they also view other factors. In the Cyngal survey, only 31% agreed with alarmist view that human activity is the main cause of climate change and 67% agree with much of the skeptics position that natural events either primarily by itself or combined with human activity affect changes in the climate.

All three polls showed that voters have a more nuance view of climate change, rejecting the climate alarmist view that human activity is the sole reason for climate change. 47% to 49% of voters will acknowledge human activity may be involved but that natural events play a role while 20% to 22% of voters view natural events as the main causative agent of climate change.

Republicans can argue and should, the science behind climate change is not settled and that before we design energy policies based on the science, we need to be sure of the science. There is plenty of debate and one debate that is needed is--do we strive for not just energy independence but energy dominance? Republicans have a strong case for energy dominance and should not allow a questionable scientific theory keeps us from it.

Climate change cause	Primarily human	Human plus nature	Primarily natural events	Not sure
Cyngal	31%	47%	20%	3%
Voice broadcasting	26%	49%	20%	4%
Evolving strategy	30%	48%	22%	

## Abortion

We asked voters if: All abortions should be restricted with no exceptions; Abortions should be restricted beginning in the first trimester with exceptions for saving the life of the mother or in a case of rape or incest; Abortions should be restricted beginning in the second trimester with exceptions for saving the life of the mother or in a case of rape or incest; or abortions should be allowed in all cases. In the Cyngal survey, voters agreed with pro- life position of no abortions allowed or abortions should be restricted in the first trimester 44.5% compared to voters agreeing with pro-choice of restricting beginning in the second trimester and no restrictions 50% of the time. *46% of pro-choice do believe that there is no unlimited right to abortion as they were willing to restrict abortions in the second trimester.* 68% of voters believe that abortions should be restricted including many pro-choice advocates.

In the Voice Broadcasting, 22% of voters favored prohibition on abortions, 38% favored restricting abortions beginning in the first trimester while 18% favored restricting abortions in the second trimester and only 21% of voters believed in allowing abortions in all cases.

What is obvious is that the vast majority of Americans do not believe in a unlimited right of abortions and 52% to 56% of voters believe in restricting abortions but allowing exceptions but the only debate is do you restrict abortions in the first trimesters or begin in the second trimester?

In the Evolving Strategy survey, 55% of voters believe in banning abortions after 20 weeks. While many Americans are divided on this issue, *they are not divided on the need to restrict abortions*, the only question is where does the right of the child to live trump the right of the mother to abort?

abortion	No abortion allowed	Restricted in the first trimester but exceptions	Restricted in the second trimester	No restrictions
Cyngal	16%	29%	23%	27%
Voice broadcasting	22%	38%	18%	21%

## Trade

Many Americans are divided on the trade issues and divided on Trump's strategy on trade. Are tariffs needed to create better trade deals, or needed to protect jobs? Is the strategy counterproductive? 36% of voters in the Voice Broadcasting polls viewed Trump's approach as beneficial to negotiating better trade deals, 22% view tariffs as needed to protect American jobs and national security while 30% view Trump's approach as dangerous and hurting the economy.

37% of voters view liberalized trade as good for the economy and 14% take the opposite tack that it is not good for the economy with nearly half of Americans uncertain if increasing trade is good or bad. One individual who is a free trader reflected the voter confusion as he told me *if the Trump hard ball tactics work to liberalized trade and get better deals to open up markets, he can support that tactic.*

Evolving Strategy found that 61% of voters viewed Trump's tactics as needed to open up trade markets and increase trade and 55% want tariffs to protect American jobs. There is a divide on trade and just as many Americans no longer believe that increasing immigration levels help their opportunity to succeed, there is confusion on the benefit of free trade and how best to open up markets

Race and Issues

By Tom Donelson and J.D. Johannes

The key to winning 2020 begins with expanding the Trump coalition by winning back suburban voters, in particular white suburban women, and winning enough minority voters to set up a red wall throughout the Midwest and keeping Texas and Arizona red while recapturing Nevada and Colorado. This strategy will put in play New Mexico and Republicans might be able in the future put state of California, Illinois and New York in play just as Democrats put Texas in play during the O’ Rourke-Cruz race.

There were candidates who put this expanded Trumpian coalition together—Greg Abbot, Marsha Blackburn and Josh Hawley.

Abbot, picked up 42% of Hispanic voters, 15% Black voters, 73% of Rural voters and 59% of Suburban voters.

Blackburn received 13% of black voters, 44% of Hispanic voters, 69% of rural voters and 57% of suburban voters and Josh Hawley garner 44% of Hispanics voters, 71% of rural voters and 57% of suburban voters. While Hawley only garnered 8% of Black voters, black voters turnout suffered as Claire McCaskill had a difficult time of appealing to the Obama coalition that aided her in 2012.

Both Blackburn and Hawley were involved in close contests with the polls showing a close race but both candidates won their race easily and in excess of predicted margins.

Republicans saw support among minorities not much different than 2016 and had similar numbers in the suburbs but Democrats picked up 4% more support in the suburbs and in rural areas. Republicans ran slightly behind Trump and saw support slip among white women to 49% from 52%. Trump in 2016 won women voters by nine points but in the recent congressional elections, they slipped to even tie 49%-49%

The key to recapturing the House and holding the Senate and retaining the White House, is to expand the coalition that won 2016.

**Economics**

In a survey done by Cygnal, 59% of Hispanics and 56% Blacks understand that an expanding private sector is important to their economic success along 69% of Whites, while only 33% of Blacks, 30% of Hispanics and 23% of Whites don’t feel the need for a growing private sector. In The Voice Broadcasting survey results were similar with 61% of Whites, 55% of Blacks and Hispanics see the need of a growing private sector, while only 19% Whites, 25% of Blacks and 19% of Hispanics don’t see the need of a growing private sector. In both surveys, Blacks and Hispanics are less supportive of the idea of a growing private sector compared to Whites, but all three groups agreed that a growing private sector is a factor for their personal economic opportunity.

Need for growing Private Sector	Yes	No	Not sure
Blacks Cygnal	56%	33%	11%

Blacks Voice Broadcasting	55%	25%	20%
Whites Cygnal	69%	23%	8%
Whites Voice Broadcasting	61%	19%	20%
Hispanic Cygnal	59%	30%	11%
Hispanic Voice Broadcasting	55%	19%	26%

Voters oppose the idea of increasing debts and deficits to increase their economic opportunity and view this as hurting the overall economy. Cygnal found 64% of Whites, 64% of Hispanics and 55% of Blacks view more debt and deficits hurt the economy while 18% of Whites, 23% of Blacks and 16% of Hispanics believe that Keynesian economic theory is beneficial to the economy. In the Voice Broadcasting survey, 68% of White voters, 56% of Black voters and 63% of Hispanics views increasing debts and deficits as harmful to the economy while only 12% of White voters, 18% of Blacks and 19% of Hispanics view increasing debt and deficits as beneficial to the economy.

All groups oppose increasing debt or deficits as a means to helping the economy grow and while Black voters are less likely to oppose Keynesian economic policies, over 56% of Blacks reject this approach in both polls.

What is obvious is that all groups favor reducing debt and deficits but unfortunately many politician are not as concern about debt and deficits oppose to voters who at least understand increasing debts and deficits hurts the economy.

Debts and deficits	helps	hurts	Not sure
Blacks Cygnal	23%	55%	22%
Blacks Voice Broadcasting	18%	56%	26%
Whites Cygnal	18%	64%	18%
Whites Voice Broadcasting	12%	68%	20%
Hispanic Cygnal	16%	64%	20%
Hispanic Voice Broadcasting	19%	63%	18%

### **Climate Change and Energy dominance**

Climate change and Energy dominance are related as the environmentalist movement and climate alarmist are using the fear of climate change to stop our energy development. Over the past decade, the energy sector provided jobs even in the depth of the recession. Red States like Texas and North Dakota did well on the job creation front as they were willing to develop their resources and kept the unemployment from getting worse in their state.

In the Cygnal survey, 56% of Whites and 51% of Hispanics favored Energy dominance but only 35% blacks supported this policy. In the Voice Broadcasting survey, 50% of Whites and Hispanics supported Energy dominance along with 42% of Blacks voters compared to 22% of Whites, 21% of Hispanics and 22% of blacks opposing this policy. In the Voice Broadcasting, Blacks still lag behind other groups in supporting Energy dominance even though more Black voters support this policy than oppose it but more Blacks are undecided about the policy.

Energy dominance	Yes	No	Not sure
Blacks Cygnal	35%	39%	26%
Blacks Voice Broadcasting	42%	22%	33%
Whites Cygnal	56%	24%	20%
Whites Voice Broadcasting	50%	22%	28%
Hispanic Cygnal	50%	21%	29%
Hispanic Voice Broadcasting	42%	22%	36%

On Climate change, voters show more nuance than many politicians and alarmist as they widely view that human activities combined with natural events being responsible for climate change as oppose human events alone. In the Cygnal survey, 35% of Blacks and 42% of Hispanics view humans as the major contributor to climate change but 49% of Black and 45% of Hispanics view that natural events combined with human activities both contributed. White voters by a two to one margin say that the combination of nature and human activities contributed to climate change. When you combined those who believed in natural events or the combination of both, over half of voters disagree with the alarmist views that human activities is the major contributor. In the Voice Broadcasting survey. All three groups view climate change caused by a combination of factors and not by either human or natural event alone. All three groups reject the alarmist position.

As we have seen in polls for past decade, voters take a more nuanced view of what causes climate change and do not view the science as settled. This is important since voters are open to a proper scientific debate on climate change and they want the United States be number one when it comes to energy development. The United States is in position to be the number energy producer and the only thing standing in the way of this are the alarmists who want to stop our fossil fuel industry.

Climate change	both	nature	human	Not sure
Blacks Cygnal	49%	10%	35%	5%
Blacks Voice Broadcasting	47%	18%	26%	11%
Whites Cygnal	46%	23%	26%	5%
Whites Voice Broadcasting	50%	20%	28%	4%

Hispanic Cygnal	45%	12%	42%	1%
Hispanic Voice Broadcasting	45%	20%	24%	11%

**Immigration**-Immigration is an issue where there a consensus of the importance of border security reflected in support for ICE and the Border Patrol, but there is a consensus that many illegals presently here should stay.

In the Cygnal survey, 39% of White voters, 15% of Blacks and 26% of Hispanics want border security.

10% of White voters, 9% Black voters and 13% of Hispanics supported allowing illegals to stay provided if they have a job but should not have path to citizenship, while 44% of White voters, 69% of Black voters and 55% of Hispanic voters preferred allowing illegals a path to citizenship. In the Voice Broadcasting poll, 44% of White voters want border security first before any adjustments of status or amnesty while 9% support allowing illegal to stay in the country provided they have a job but no path to citizenship and 40% supported a path to citizenship. 27% of Black voters want no reforms until border is secure, 14% support allowing illegals if they are employed but no path to citizenship and 51% support a path to citizenship for illegals. 35% of Hispanic voters want border security before any immigration reforms, 20% supporting allowing illegals to stay but no path to citizenship and 40% Hispanics support a path to citizenship.

There is two ways to look at this data, with all groups when you combine allowing illegals to stay but no path citizenship and allowing a path to citizenship, all groups favor options to allow illegals to stay. In the Voice Broadcasting, Hispanics are less likely to support a path to citizenship and more willing border security as a necessity before any reforms.

	Border security	No path to citizenship but can stay	Path to Citizenship	Not sure
Blacks Cygnal	15%	9%	69%	7%
Blacks Voice Broadcasting	27%	14%	51%	17%
Whites Cygnal	39%	10%	44%	5%
Whites Voice Broadcasting	44%	9%	40%	5%
Hispanic Cygnal	26%	13%	55%	6%
Hispanic Voice Broadcasting	35%	20%	40%	5%

Another question that we asked if immigration should be decreased to reduce competition with those at the bottom economic ladder or aid in assimilation of those here presently or keep immigration levels the same or increased because it is good for the overall economy.

45% of Whites, 39% of Hispanics and 25% of Blacks favored decreasing immigration levels in the Cygnal survey while 39% of Whites, 55% of Blacks and 44% of Hispanics favor either increasing or keeping immigration at its present level. In Voice Broadcasting survey, 45% of Whites, 36% of Black and 40% of Hispanic wanted to see overall immigration levels reduced but 37% of Whites, 41% of Black and 42% of Hispanics favor keeping immigration levels at present levels or increase them. Whites by a small margin favor reducing immigrations and Hispanics by a small margin favoring either keeping immigration the same or increased.

	Decreased	Keep the same or increased	Not sure
Blacks Cygnal	25%	55%	20%
Blacks Voice Broadcasting	36%	41%	23%
Whites Cygnal	45%	39%	16%
Whites Voice Broadcasting	45%	37%	18%
Hispanic Cygnal	39%	44%	17%
Hispanic Voice Broadcasting	40%	42%	18%

In the Cygnal survey, 22% White voters, 32% Black voters and 39% of Hispanic voters favor abolishing ICE but 68% of Whites, 51% of Blacks and Hispanic oppose the move. In the Voice Broadcasting poll, 16% of White voters, 26% of Black voters and 22% of Hispanic voters favored abolishing ICE whereas 67% of White voters, 50% of Black voters and 62% of Hispanic oppose this move.

This shows that the majority of voters regardless of ethnicity favors border security and support those who are responsible for that.

ICE	abolish	Not abolish	Not sure
Blacks Cygnal	32%	51%	17%
Blacks Voice Broadcasting	26%	50%	24%
Whites Cygnal	22%	68%	10%
Whites Voice Broadcasting	16%	67%	26%
Hispanic Cygnal	39%	51%	10%
Hispanic Voice Broadcasting	22%	62%	16%

## **Abortion**

For the past three years, we have polled voters on abortion and found that while it is evenly divided depending upon the pollsters used, we have found that the vast majority of voters believe

that abortion is not unlimited and should be restricted including many pro-choice who are very uncomfortable about allowing abortions the later trimester.

When we look at the data, regardless of poll or race, the majority of voters regardless of ethnicity believe that abortions should be restricted beginning in the second trimester. Within the Black voters, 58% voters believe abortions should be restricted in the Cygnal poll and 67% in the Voice Broadcasting poll. 70% of White voters believe that abortions should be restricted starting in second trimester while the Cygnal poll and 79% in the Voice Broadcasting poll. 61% Hispanics in the Cygnal poll and 71% in the Voice Broadcasting view the need to restrict abortions starting in the second trimester. Black and Hispanic voters are more pro-choice than White voters and this is significant since Blacks and Hispanics are two to three times more likely to be aborted and the eugenic quality of this practice can't be ignored.

	Total prohibition	1 <sup>ST</sup> Trimester	2 <sup>nd</sup> trimester	No limits	Not sure
Blacks Cygnal	12%	23%	23%	34%	8%
Blacks Voice Broadcasting	19%	29%	19%	31%	2%
Whites Cygnal	17%	31%	22%	26%	5%
Whites Voice Broadcasting	23%	39%	17%	20%	1%
Hispanic Cygnal	17%	24%	23%	35%	3%
Hispanic Voice Broadcasting	27%	41%	13%	17%	2%

## Values

We asked this question: Which set of ideas is closer to yours? "Multi-culturalism, Social & Economic Justice, smarter, better government can create a more just world and spiritual but not religious." OR "Hard work, personal responsibility, delayed gratification, consequences for bad decisions, faith in God." ~~If the ideas of "multi-culturalism, Social & Economic Justice, smarter, better government can create a more just world and spiritual but not religious." are closer to the voters and-~~ Overall we saw the more traditional views were supported by voters.

Black voters showed a split on this question. In the Cygnal poll 47% of black voters supported the progressive multicultural and social justice values to go with 44% in Voice Broadcasting while 46% in both polls supported the more traditional views. Both polls had White voters with 33% supporting multicultural and social justice values. Cygnal saw that Hispanics supported the progressive values whereas Voice Broadcasting had Hispanic support for traditional values

similar to Whites. Past polls seen Hispanics supporting more traditional values including a Voice Broadcasting poll in February of 2018, in which 54% of Hispanics supported traditional values.

When one looks at the data, many Hispanic and Black voters support those traditional values that undergird a functioning market economy including hard work, delayed gratification, and consequences for bad decisions. Values matter with voters and values matter when dealing with the success of a society.

	multicultural	Traditional	Not sure
Blacks Cygnal	47%	46%	8%
Blacks Voice Broadcasting	44%	46%	10%
Whites Cygnal	33%	60%	7%
Whites Voice Broadcasting	33%	60%	7%
Hispanic Cygnal	50%	46%	4%
Hispanic Voice Broadcasting	33%	59%	8%

## Healthcare

Democrats regained the lead in healthcare issues because Republicans failed to pass an Obamacare repeal and even worse, a failure to defend their own ideas.

Voters told us in the past they wanted protections for pre-existing conditions, but there was no real desire to support single payer when given other choices. Over the years, we have found that voters want plans to allow them to keep their Doctors and their plan if they liked them and make their own choices and will oppose any health care plan like single payer that takes that away from them. They want to see plans be more flexible in what it provides and in cost.

Black voters, while many prefer reduce premiums, still want health care system to stay the same as oppose to massive changes. Hispanics and White voters prefer choices in their plans and less expensive plans. Policies for reduced premiums plans with flexibility were preferred over single payer with ranges from 43% to 52% compared to support for single payer that ranged from 15% to 30%.

There is another way to look at our polls. When you combined support for State Medicaid and single payer, black voters prefer more government involvement in health care by a 48% to 47% in the Cygnal poll and when given the choice of keeping Obamacare versus allowing options to reduce premiums in both the Voice Broadcasting poll and Cygnal, they prefer government plans over more flexible free market approaches. In the Cygnal poll, Hispanics favored more government plans combined by a 54% to 43%. When looking at both polls, free market approaches are popular but so are government options. For Republicans, their advantages lies in talking about choices and reducing cost as an option compared to more government programs. The Left will campaign on single payer with the idea that government can reduce cost overall on

health care by rationing even though they won't use that term. They are dressing it up as Medicare for all since most voters have a positive image of Medicare as a needed help for our seniors and ignore the cost. The cost will be tremendous and there is a bipartisan view that we are looking at a minimal of an additional 32 trillion dollars in spending on top of our present budget and the taxes will certainly double for the Middle Class. Polls including many liberal pollsters have acknowledge that when voters are notified on the taxes to be paid and the fact that they don't get to choice their plans, their doctors and are without options to choose, they hate single payer. The GOP need to make this about a value issue of being allowed to keep your doctor, your plan and have options to choose from compared to having the government determine your health plan.

	Reduce premiums	State medicaid	Single payer	Not sure
Blacks Cygnal	47%	24%	24%	5%
Blacks Voice Broadcasting	45%	26%	15%	14%
Whites Cygnal	56%	12%	24%	8%
Whites Voice Broadcasting	51%	13%	23%	13%
Hispanic Cygnal	43%	24%	30%	3%
Hispanic Voice Broadcasting	52%	23%	13%	12%

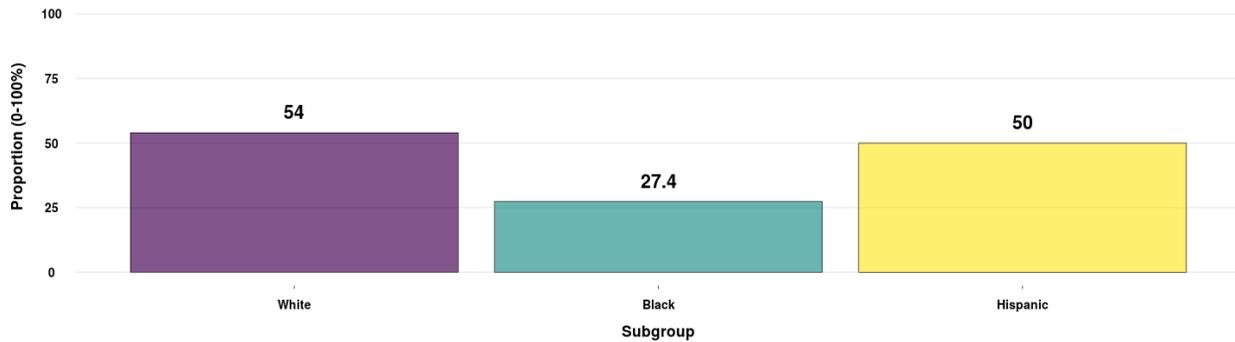
	Allow options to reduce premiums	Health care stay as is	Not sure
Blacks Cygnal	38%	54%	8%
Blacks Voice Broadcasting	43%	44%	13%
Whites Cygnal	65%	26%	9%
Whites Voice Broadcasting	58%	27%	15%
Hispanic Cygnal	68%	24%	8%
Hispanic Voice Broadcasting	50%	33%	17%

## Conclusion

Evolving Strategy post-election poll showed some interesting data and the first one that sticks out is that Hispanics and Blacks view on Trump handling of issues far higher than how they vote.

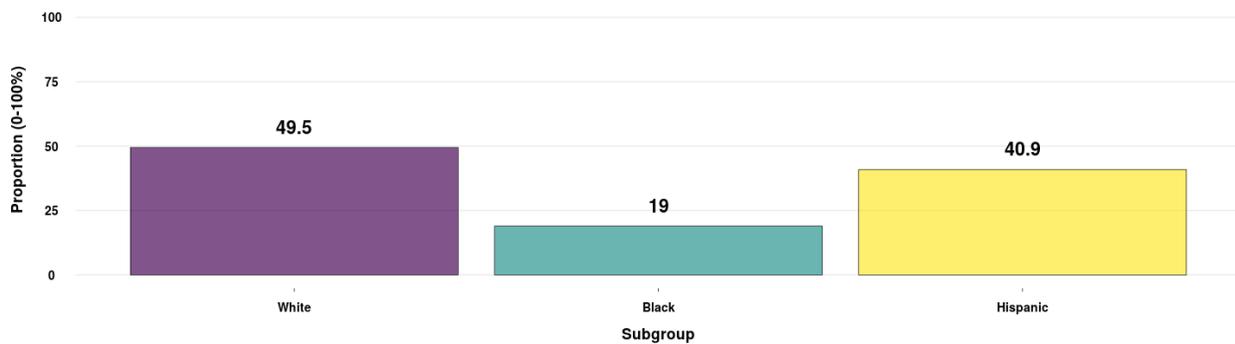
27% of Blacks and 50% of Hispanics approve of how Trump is handing economic policies but overall, GOP only received 8% of black voters and 29% of Hispanic voters so there is a disconnect between what they think how Trump is doing versus how they vote.

**Approve: Trump's economic policies**  
National sample for Americas PAC



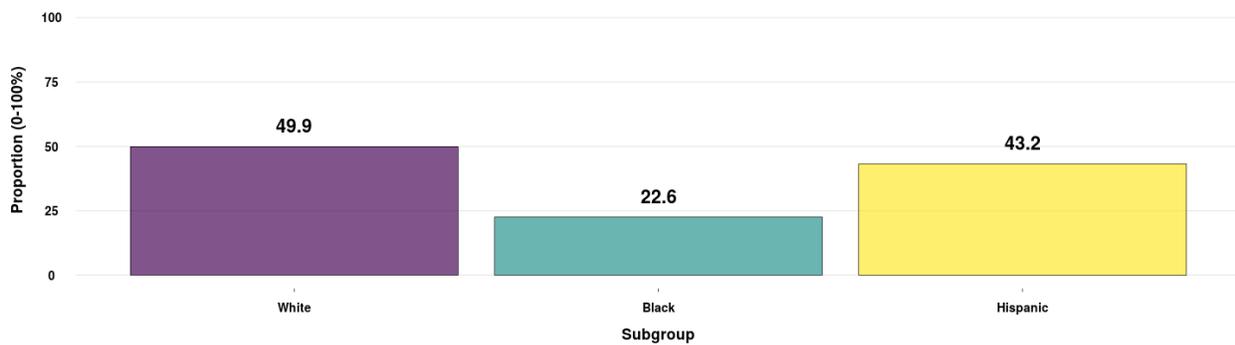
This is equally true on foreign policies where Trump policies are more popular among blacks and Hispanics than the way they voted in the last election, where 19% blacks and 41% Hispanics favor his foreign policy which is higher than their actual voting preferences.

**Approve: Trump's foreign policies**  
National sample for Americas PAC

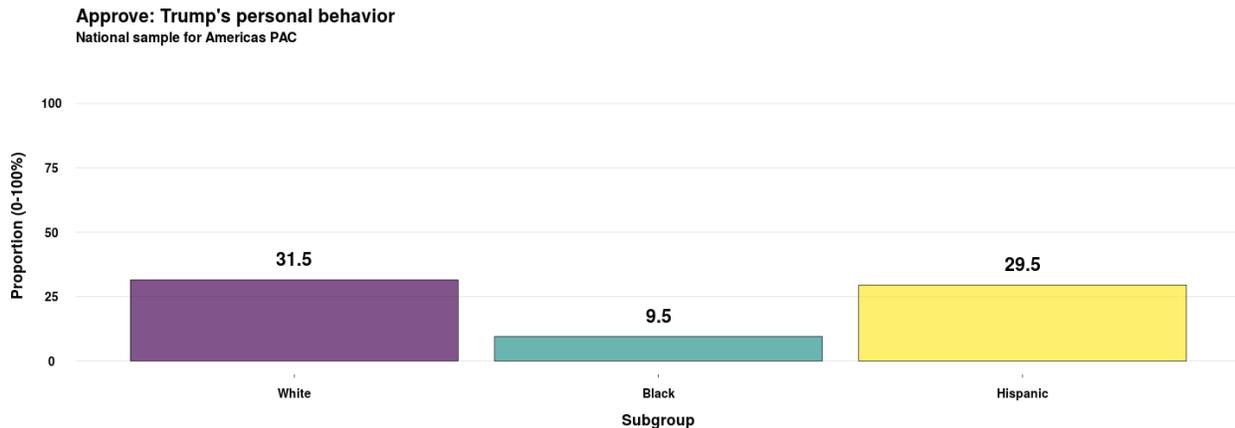


Even on Immigration, 43% of Hispanics agreed with Trump's approach but they are not voting that way and 23% of blacks supported the way he handled immigration, three times higher than the way they voted.

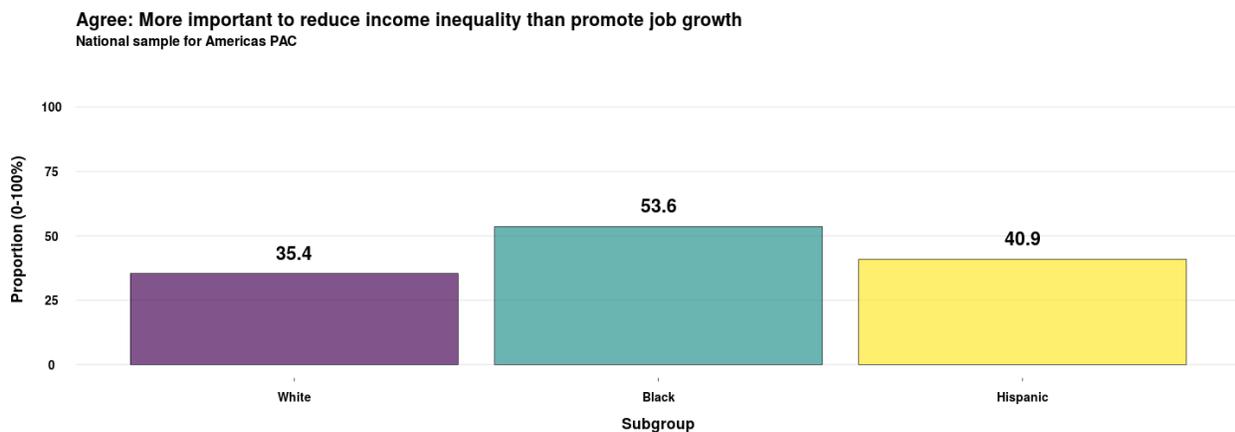
**Approve: Trump's immigration policies**  
National sample for Americas PAC



One issue is that across the board, voters don't personally care for Trump behavior in the White House as only 32% White, 10% Blacks and 30% of Hispanics view Trump positive on a personal level. This is one theme we have seen with Trump, his personality could be interfering with his policies popularity.



One example is that both White and Hispanics prefer policies that emphasizes economic growth over the politics of envy and close to two out of every five blacks want policies to emphasize economic growth but they are voting in bigger numbers for the Party that emphasizes the politics of envy not growth.



In all of our polls, we have found that substantial percentages of Black and Hispanics agree with Republican ideas but the key issue is to get them to vote those convictions. In many states like Tennessee, Missouri, Florida and Texas, Republican state wide candidates managed to get a higher percentage of minority voters compared to the national averages and in the case of Hispanics, most of these candidates exceeded 40% of Hispanic voter, numbers that will not only protect Florida and Texas but put Colorado, New Mexico and Nevada in play.

Minority outreach doesn't require Republicans to compromise their point of view but to promote those ideas like school choice which help Ron DeSantis to garner 18% of black women or how Texas Governor Greg Abbot talked bread and butter issues to garner 45% of Hispanic voters in Texas.

In 2016, Trump expanded his reach into blue collar workers where at least 5 million white blue collar voters who supported Obama in 2012, supported Trump in 2016. Many of them stayed true to the GOP in 2018 but Trump lost ground among White suburban voters in particular college educated white women in 2016 and the GOP continued that lost in 2018. In 2016, Trump improved slightly among minorities over Romney in 2016 and gained enough votes to help carry key Midwest battleground states but numbers showed that GOP didn't improve much in 2018 upon 2016 numbers.

The good news for GOP and Trump is that many minorities like Trump and GOP policies but the biggest obstacles is the personal dislike for Trump may be keeping voters from hearing the message. The messenger is blocking the message from being heard. GOP and Trump must find a way to get the message out and give them a chance to recapture the suburban whites they lost in 2016 and 2018 plus capture enough minorities to win key battleground states.

The State of Each Party

By Tom Donelson and J.D. Johannes

There are enough Democrats and Independents who agree with Republican policies and issues to create a winning coalition.

From economic growth, to healthcare to immigration, the numbers are there to create a coalition that wins in 2020 and beyond if those can be fused into a macro-message that matters.

### **Economic Issues**

Democrats are moving sharply to the left and this can be seen in the economic issues. Only 23% of Democrats in our Cygnal survey believe that politicians should focus on economic growth and 68% want politicians to deal with income inequality. 84% of Republicans want to see politicians to focus on job creation and economic growth. Among independents, the break down was 42% of Independent wanting politicians to focus on economic growth and 46% on dealing with inequality. Independent by a small margin view inequality is more important than job creation.

In the Voice Broadcasting poll, 86% of Republicans want politicians to talk job creation and only 8% want policies want politicians to deal with inequality, whereas 55% of Independents favored job creation and only 36% favored dealing with inequality. 37% of Democrats favored job creation whereas 54% wanted politicians to deal with inequality.

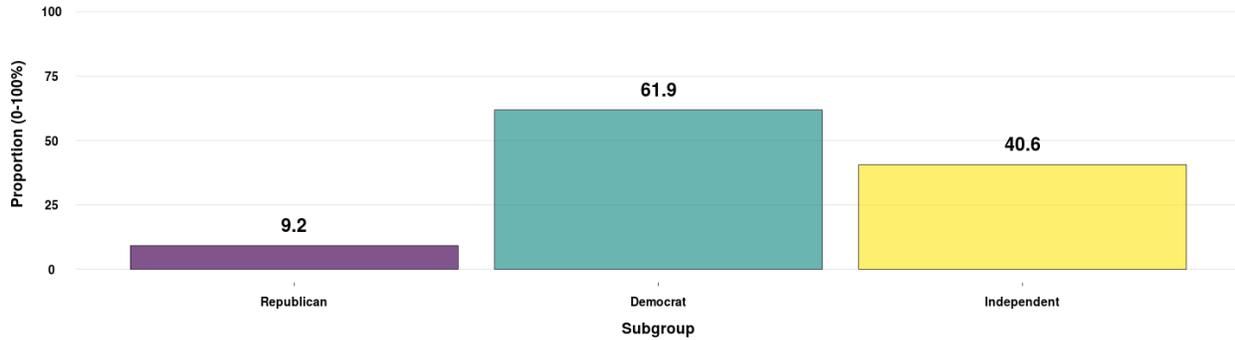
Democrats are moving toward to the left as they are wanting policies to emphasize inequality whereas Republicans are talking job creation with Independents split on the question, divided between job creation and inequality.

If Republicans can gain the votes of the Democrats who want policies focused on economic growth, they can form a winning coalition.

	Job creation Rep	Job creation Dem	Job creation Ind	Inequality Rep	Inequality Dem	Inequality Ind
Cygnal	84%	23%	42%	7%	68%	46%
Voice Broadcasting	86%	37%	55%	8%	54%	36%

Evolving Strategies showed that only 9% of Republicans favored policies dealing with inequality along with 41% of Independents. Independents in the Evolving Strategies survey were similar to the Voice Broadcasting poll, showing that Independents drift toward growth oriented policies and confirmed that Democrats preferred dealing with Inequality as 62% Democrats felt it was more important to reduce income inequality than promoting job growth.

**Agree: More important to reduce income inequality than promote job growth**  
National sample for Americas PAC



In the Cyngal study, 50% of Democrats believe that their economic success is dependent upon a growing private sector compared to 38% that don't view a growing private sector necessary for their economic opportunity whereas 87% of Republicans and 63% of Independents view the need of a growing private sector toward their economic success and only 9% and 29% of Republicans and Independent question the need for economic growth. In the Voice Broadcasting 87% of Republicans and 59% of Independents understand that a growing private sector is important to their successes whereas only 38% of Democrats did. While more Democrats do at least understand the importance of growing private there are significantly more Independents and Republicans who understand the need for a growing private sector. Again, if Republicans can pick up a share of Democrats who see the connection between private sector growth and personal economic improvements through Republican policies, a winning coalition can be formed.

Private sector needed for growth	Yes Rep	Yes Dem	Yes Ind	No Rep	No Dem	No Ind
Cyngal	87%	50%	63%	9%	38%	29%
Voice Broadcasting	81%	38%	59%	5%	32%	21%

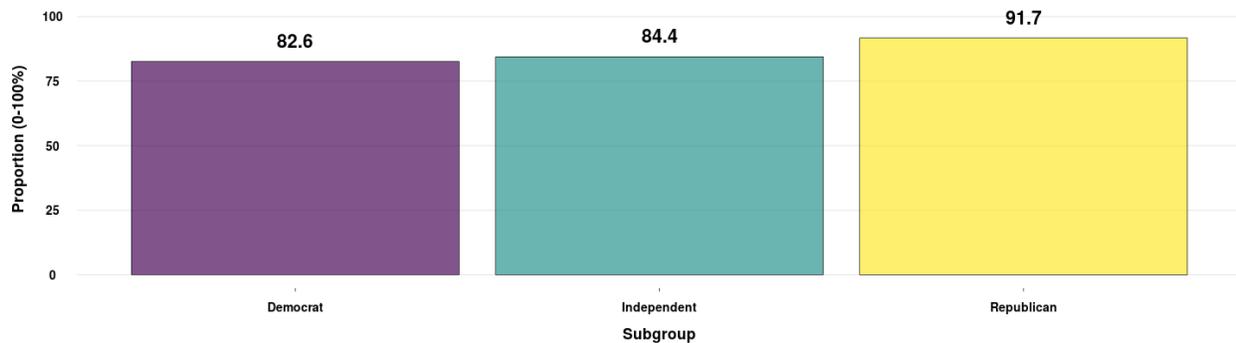
In the Cyngal study, there was agreement that increasing government debt and spending hurts the economy as 74% Republicans, 70% Independents and even 51% of Democrats believe that increasing deficits and spending does not help the economy. Only 16% of Republicans, 12% Independents and 23% Democrats believe that increasing government spending and deficits helps the economy.

In the Voice Broadcasting 71% Republicans, 59% of Democrats and 70% of Independents viewing increasing debts and deficits hurts the economy, while only 12% of Republicans, 17% Democrats and 11% Independents believe that increasing debts and deficits helps the economy.

Spending helps or hurts	Rep Hurts	Dem Hurts	Ind Hurts	Rep Helps	Dem Helps	Ind Helps	
Cyngal	87%	51%	70%	16%	23%	12%	
Voice Broadcasting	71%	59%	70%	12%	17%	11%	

In the Evolving Strategy Poll, 83% of Democrats 84% of Independent and 92% of Republicans agree that high government debt and deficits hurt the economy, showing that there is one issue that all three Parties agree that the debt and deficits hurt the economy. Unfortunately, politicians from both Parties don't show the same enthusiasm for reducing spending, debts and deficits.

**Agree: High government debt and deficits hurt economy**  
National sample for Americas PAC



## Healthcare

When given a choice for health care reform by allowing more flexible plans be sold versus keeping Obamacare, In the Cyngal survey, 91% of Republicans, 61% Independents and 34% of Democrats favored more flexible plans and only 5% of Republicans and 29% of Independents favored keeping Obamacare along with the 54% of Democrats.

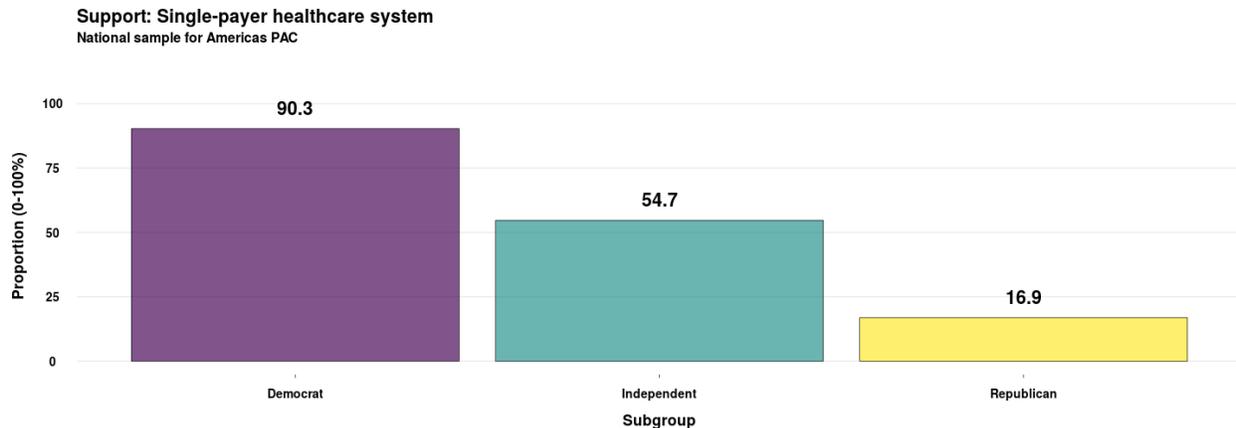
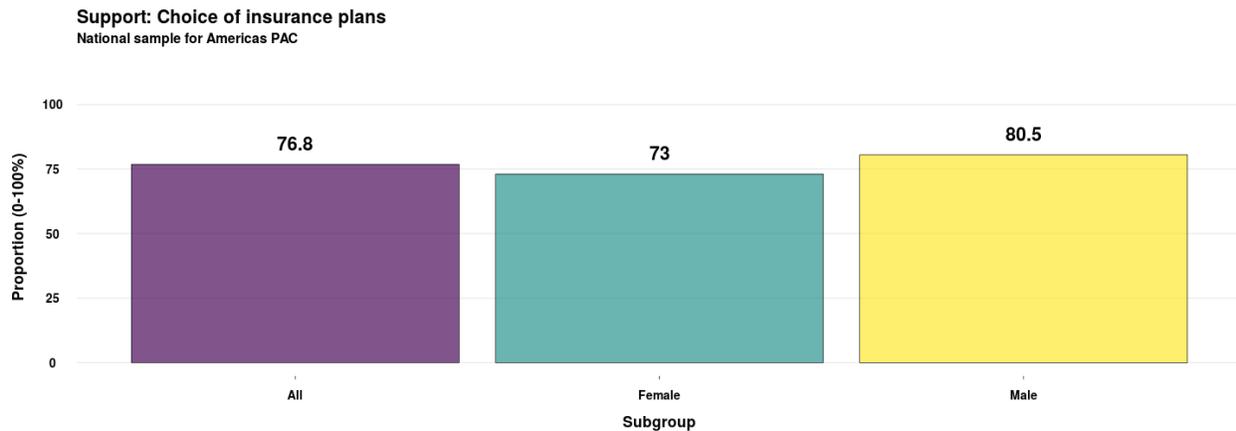
Health care	Rep Flexible	Dem Flexible	Ind Flexible	Rep Obamacare	Dem Obamacare	Ind Obamacare
Cyngal	91%	34%	61%	5%	54%	29%
Voice Broadcasting	86%	23%	52%	5%	59%	26%

In the Cyngal survey, voters were given choices to choose between: Improve health care including reducing the price of premiums by allowing more flexible to fit the customer's needs; allow more to move State Medicaid plans; or move to a single payer plan. 83% of Republicans

chose allowing more flexibility to fit customer needs, 8% move people to state Medicaid and only 4% favored to single payer. This is contrasted to Democrats, 43% favored single payer and only 29% favored allowing people to buy more flexible plans and 21% favored more patients to state Medicaid. 44% of Independents favored more flexible plans and 29% favored single payer. 17% favored moving patients to Medicaid.

	Flexible plan REP	Flexible Plan Dem	Flexible Plan IND	State Medicaid REP	State Medicaid DEM	State Medicaid IND	Single Payer REP	Single Payer DEM	Single Payer IND
Cyngal	83%	29%	43%	8%	21%	17%	4%	43%	29%
Voice Broad	75%	25%	50%	6%	28%	14%	7%	35%	23%

Evolving Strategy found solid support for more flexible plan vs. Obamacare with 63% of Democrats, 67% of Independents and 93% Republicans supporting flexible plans whereas 93% of Democrats single payer and 55% of Independents are open to Single payer but only 16% Republicans



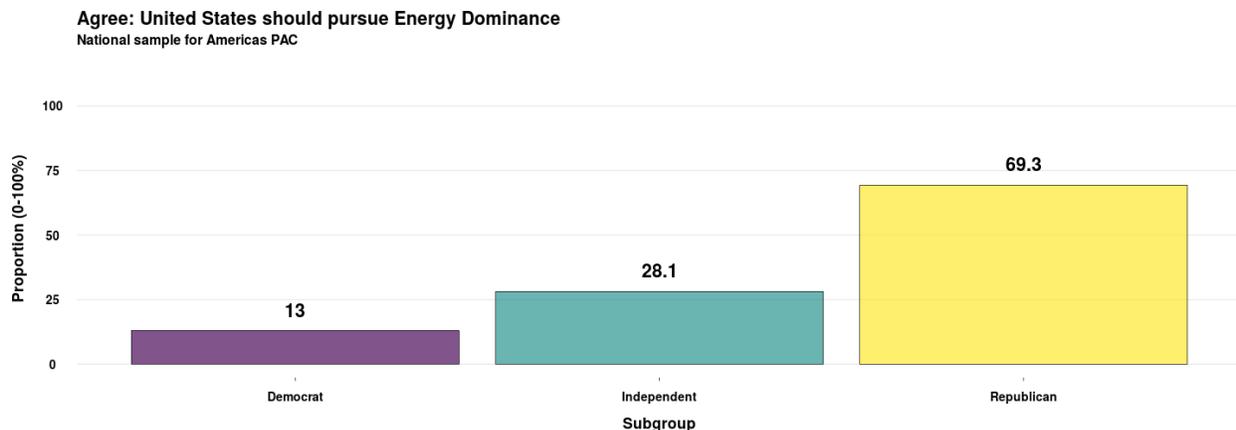
What we saw in 2018 was the Republican failure to defend their own health care ideas while Democrats emphasize Republicans threaten pre-existing conditions but there is no doubt that many within the Democrat Party are preparing to move toward single payer. The GOP need to remind voters that they will protect voters’ ability to keep their Doctors and their plan if they like them and they will allow choices in health care options with less expensive options. They failed to do this in 2018, they can’t fail to do this in 2020.

**On the energy front**, voters were asked do you favor policy supporting Energy dominance. Trump Energy policy is based on drill, baby, drill and frack, baby, frack to become number one in energy development.

In the Cyngal data, 74% of Republicans, 48% of Independents and 37% of Democrats favored a policy to encourage energy dominance compared to 13% Republicans, 30% Independents and 36.6% of Democrats oppose this policy. In the Voice Broadcasting, 68% of Republicans and 46% of Independents want energy dominance and only 9% Republicans and 23% of Independents oppose this ideal. While Cyngal polls had Democrats by a slight margin favored energy dominance and in the Voice Broadcasting, Democrats oppose the idea slightly by a 34% to 31% oppose this idea.

Energy dominance	Yes REP	Yes Dem	Yes Ind	No Rep	No Dem	No Ind
Cyngal	74%	37%	48%	13%	36.6%	30%
Voice Broadcasting	68%	31%	46%	9%	34%	23%

Evolving Strategies added a qualifier to their question ‘do you favor energy dominance if it means relaxation of regulations’ and only 13% of Democrats and 28% of Independents oppose energy dominance where as 69% of Republicans favored it. Energy dominance is a policy that can be popular if Republicans that they formulate a plan that will be safe for environment, something that can be done. Energy dominance is part of an American First job creation plan.



## Climate Change

When given a choice of scientific theories, With the exception of Democrats, voters rejected the climate alarmist point of view and viewed natural events combined with human activities or primarily natural as a cause of climate change. In the Cyngal poll, 9% of Republicans, 34% Independents and 51% of Democrats view human activities as the primary reason for climate change compared to 49% of Republicans, 51% of Independents and 43% of Democrats who viewed that natural events combined with human activities causing climate change. 39% of Republicans view that primarily natural events cause climate change, compared to 14% of Independents and 5% of Democrats. What the Cyngal shows is that majority of Americans don't buy into idea that humans are the primary reason for the present climate change. Voice Broadcasting was not different as 10% of Republican and 28% Independent view climate change as result of human activity along with 43% of Democrats. Republicans were more likely to view climate change as mostly natural with 34% compared to 7% Democrats and 17% of Independents whereas 51% of Republicans, 44% of Democrats and 53% of Independents view climate change as a combination of human activity and natural events. Both Cyngal and Voice Broadcasting noted that all three groups rejected the alarmist view that this was strictly human activity

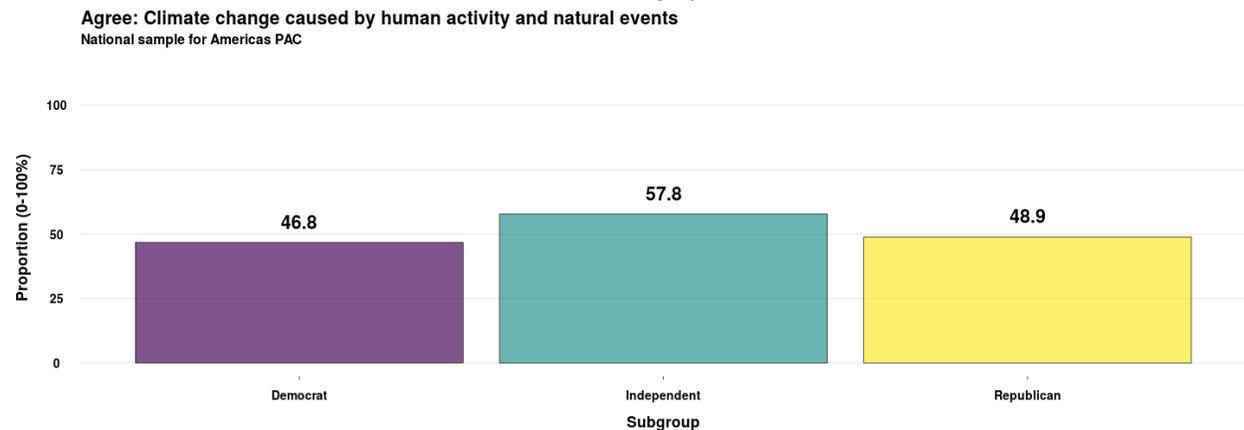
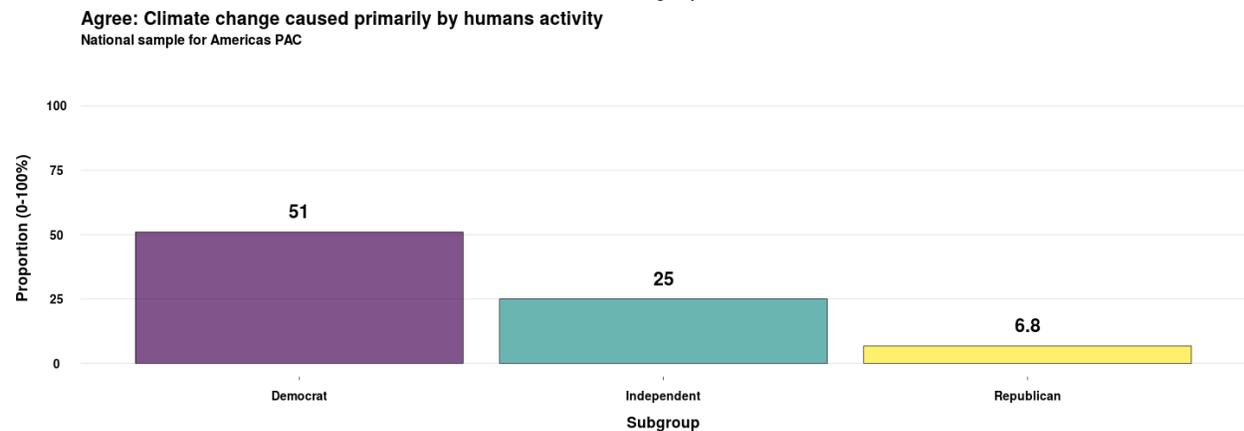
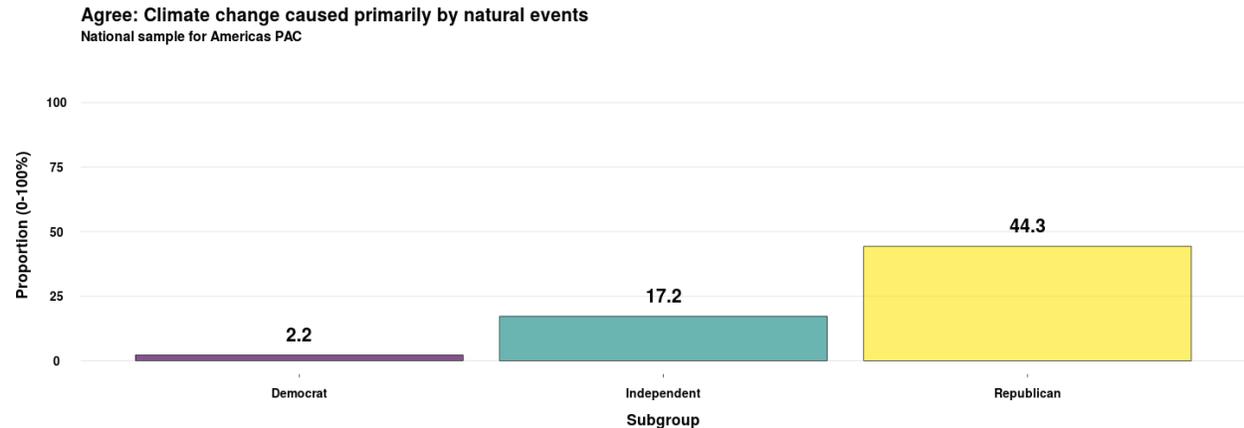
	hum an Rep	human Dem	human Ind	human plus Nature REP	human plus nature Dem	human Plus Nature Ind	nature Rep	nature Dem	nature Ind
Cyngal	13%	51%	34%	49%	45%	51%	39%	5%	14%
Voice Broadcasting	10%	43%	28%	51%	44%	53%	34%	7%	17%

Evolving Strategy was no different as 47% of Democrats, 58% of Independents and 49% of Republicans view natural events and human activities as factor with climate change. 51% of Democrats view climate change as human responsibility compared to only 25% of Independents and 7% of Republicans. Republicans were more likely to attribute climate change to natural events as 44% of Republicans viewed natural events as the causative agent compared to 2% of Democrats and 17% of Independents.

The majority of Americans including Republican and Independents rejected the alarmist position on climate change in this poll as with our other polls. Republicans can challenge the Science for two reasons, the first being that there is enough data to show that the science is not only not settled but the Alarmist case is imploding and the second reason is that the left and Democrats are using questionable science to stop our energy development. The average American voter doesn't dispute that human activity can be a reason for climate change, but they also understand that other factors are involved. They will listen to reasonable and scientific challenges to pre-existing conventional wisdom and if the argument can be made that jobs will be lost and that energy dominance means the United States will be the leading energy producers in the world exceeding OPEC.

Interesting enough, NAFTA is impacted by energy development as Mexico, Canada and United States combined can form their own version of OPEC and with energy development from Yucatan Peninsula to the Yukon and Alaska up to Artic Ocean. While Trump is busy

renegotiating NAFTA, the energy question may aid in developing the economy of Mexico further to reduce pressure of Mexicans needing to move North for jobs and opportunity. Energy development means jobs and opportunities for three countries, allow the United States more flexibility in foreign policy and more leverage against potential rivals. Energy impacts the economy and foreign affairs, aiding in cheaper energy that is needed for economic development in the United States.



## Immigration

We asked three questions on Immigration ranging from policy priorities, impact of immigration levels and concluding with a question about abolishing ICE.

The first question dealt with solutions to illegal immigration asking voters which policy they preferred: No immigration reforms until the border are secured; or allowing illegals to stay in the country if they have a job but no path citizenship; or a path to citizenship for illegals.

In Cyngal survey, 68% of Republicans, 27% Independents and 5% Democrats stated they want no immigration reform until the borders are secure, 10% of Republicans, 12% Independents and 8% Democrats supported allowing illegals to stay with a job but no path to citizenship. Only 15% of Republicans supported a path to citizenship compared to 52% of Independents and 80% Democrats.

Just as in the Cyngal poll, 71% of Republicans only supported immigration reform after border are secured and only 15% believed in a path to citizenship. Democrats as expected were the opposite with only 13% favoring any reform must be proceeded by border security and 70% favoring path to citizenship. 38% of Independents favored no reforms until border security and 43% favored a path to citizenship.

Immigration	Border Rep	Border Dem	Border Ind	No path Rep	No Path Dem	No Path Ind	Path Rep	Path Dem	Path Ind
Cyngal	68%	5%	27%	10%	8%	12%	15%	80%	52%
Voice Broadcasting	71%	13%	38%	9%	11%	10%	15%	70%	43%

The polls then addressed whether levels of immigration should be increased or decreased.

71% of Republicans to go with 37% of Independents and 16% of Democrats favor reducing immigration levels to allow assimilation and many workers at the low end are hurt by the competition. 15% of Republicans, 44% of Independents and 68% of Democrats preferred to increase immigration levels. In the Voice Broadcasting study 69% of Republicans and 44% of Independents favored decreasing immigration levels the same compared to 16% of Democrats. Only 15% of Republicans favored keeping the immigration levels the same or increase compared to 38% of Independents and 64% of Democrats. In the Voice Broadcasting, Independents by a small margin agreed with the GOP voters that immigration levels should be decreased.

	decrease Rep	Decrease Dem	Decrease Ind	Same and increase Rep	Same and Increase Dem	Same and Increase Ind
Cyngal	71%	16%	37%	15%	68%	44%
Voice Broadcasting	69%	16%	44%	15%	64%	38%

We asked voters if they though ICE should be abolished. In Cyngal, survey, only 7% Republicans and 27% of Independents favored disbanding ICE compared to 42% of Democrats. 90% of Republicans and 62% of Independents oppose the disbanding of ICE whereas only 40% Democrats oppose disbanding ICE. In the Voice Broadcasting only 8% of Republicans, 15% of

Independents favored disbanding ICE while 32% of Democrats thought this was needed. 83% of Republicans 42% of Democrats and 68% of Independents oppose the idea. Voice Broadcasting showed that it was a bipartisan that ICE is needed to secure the border and not disbanded even though more Democrats favored disbanding ICE.

	Disband ICE Rep	Disband Dem	Disband Ind	Don't disband Rep	Don't Disband Dem	Don't disband Ind
Cyngal	7%	42%	27%	90%	40%	62%
Voice Broadcasting	8%	32%	15%	83%	42%	68%

The majority of Americans favor a form amnesty for illegals here in the United States but the ICE question showed that the majority of Americans also are concern for border security. Many Americans want a combination of fairness of those here today and border security. They also question increasing present immigration levels and view that there is a negative impact upon those on the bottom of the economic ladder and worry about assimilation. As our question on values noted, Democrats favor Multi Culturalism and when you have a major political party no longer committed to assimilation and abandoning much of those values that undergirded our capitalist society, many Americans have a reason to wonder the need for additional immigration if they are concern about assimilation and whether there will be impact on further economic growth.

With anywhere from 11 million to 22 million illegals in the United States, we have millions that have led lives in the economic underground and need to economically and culturally assimilated so the question is how much will increased immigration add to the question of assimilation.

## Values

We ask which of these values match their views: "Multi-culturalism, Social & Economic Justice, smarter, better government can create a more just world and spiritual but not religious." OR "Hard work, personal responsibility, delayed gratification, consequences for bad decisions, faith in God." In Cyngal survey, only 8% Republicans believed in Multi-Culturalism and smarter better government create a more just world but 89% of Republicans believe in the values of hard work. 38% of Independents supported multiculturalism, Social and Economic justice or smarter, better government whereas 50% of Independents believed in value of hard work, personal responsibility. Only 27% of Democrats favored hard work, personal responsibility whereas 66% of Democrats favor smarter better government and a spiritual world but not necessarily religious.

Just as in the Cyngal poll, Voice Broadcasting showed that Republicans and Independents favor the more traditional values whereas Democrats favored a more spiritual world in which smart people running government can ensure social justice. There is great divide between Democrats and Republicans and Independents on those values that undergird our society. These are not small matters as Democrats believe that a smarter and better government run by smart people is what needed. This is recipe for the need for bigger government and move away from pursuing private solutions to our problems.

This question demonstrates that a solid majority of voters agree with the macro-world view of the Republican Party but not necessarily the candidates of the Republican Party or the image of the Republican Party.

	Multicultural Rep	Multicultural Dem	Multicultural Ind	Hard work Rep	Hard work Dem	Hard Work Ind
Cygnal	8%	66%	38%	89%	27%	50%
Voice Broadcasting	12%	58%	34%	56%	32%	56%

### Abortion

On abortion, voters were giving four options:

1. All abortions should be restricted with no exceptions
2. Abortions should be restricted beginning in the first trimester with exceptions for saving the life of the mother or in a case of rape or incest
3. Abortions should be restricted beginning in the second trimester with exceptions for saving the life of the mother or in a case of rape or incest
4. Abortions should never be restricted.

In Cyngal survey, 30% of Republicans believe that abortions should be prohibited, 41% of Republicans believe that abortions should be prohibited in the first trimester except for rape, incest or the life of the woman, 18% restricting abortions in the second trimester and only 7% of Republicans believe abortions should be allowed in all cases. Only 5% of Democrats believe abortions should be prohibited, 17% abortions should be restricted in the first trimester, 28% starting the second trimester and 44% Democrats believe that it should be allowed in all cases. 29% of Independents believe that abortions should be restricted in first trimester, 24% beginning in the second trimester, 33% allowed in all cases and 8% should not be allowed.

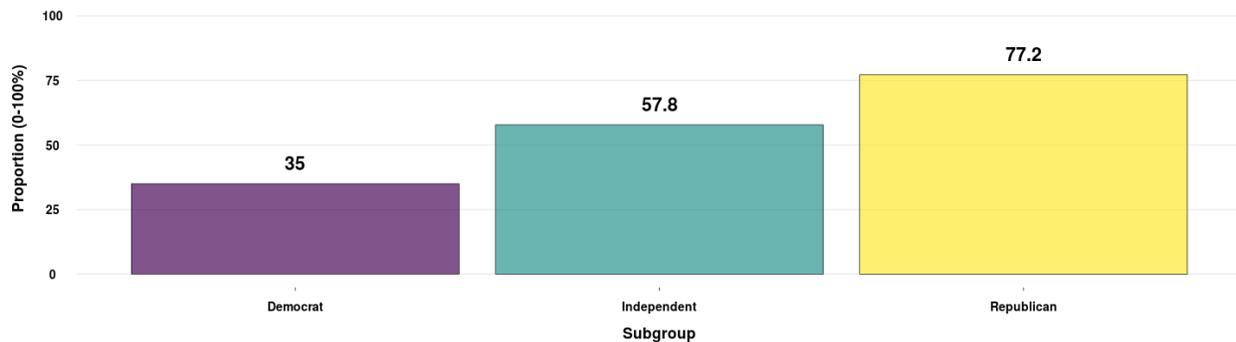
In the Voice Broadcasting 36% of Republicans, 11% of Democrats and 17% of Independents believed that abortions should be prohibited compared to 7% of Republicans, 36% of Democrats and 23% of Independents believed that abortions should not be prohibited. 46% of Republicans believed abortions should be prohibited in the first trimester but allow for exception for rape, incest and if the life of the mother is imperiled and 10% of Republicans believed that abortions should be prohibited compared 30% of Democrats who believed abortions should be prohibited in the first trimester with exception an 22% of Democrats believed abortions should be prohibited in the second trimester. 37% of Independents should be prohibited in second trimester and 23% in the second trimester and beyond.

What we see is that the majority of Americans regardless of political ideology in both polls agree with restrictions on abortion beginning in the second trimester and *oppose the idea that there is an unlimited right to an abortion.*

	Cyngal	Voice Broadcasting
Ist trimester Rep	41%	46%
2 <sup>nd</sup> trimester Rep	17%	10%
Not at all Rep	30%	36%
In all cases Rep	7%	7%
Ist trimester Dem	17%	30%
2 <sup>nd</sup> trimester Dem	28%	22%
Not at all Dem	5%	11%
In all cases Dem	44%	36%
Ist trimester Ind	29%	37%
2 <sup>nd</sup> trimester Ind	24%	23%
Not at all Ind	8%	17%
In all cases Ind	33%	23%

Evolving Strategies simply asked voters if abortion should be restricted after 20 weeks and 55% of Americans said yes it should. 58% of Independents, 77% of Republicans and 35% of Democrats favored this ban and *simply reinforcing that the majority including Independents and Republicans oppose the idea of unlimited right to abortions.*

Support: 20-week ban on abortion  
National sample for Americas PAC



## Conclusion

Henry Olsen observed “These voters, whom I label TIGRs (Trump Is Great Republicans), like the president’s focus on jobs first and foremost. They don’t want entitlements to be cut; they depend on Social Security and Medicare much more in retirement than high-income suburbanites whose home equity and 401(k)s can cushion their golden years. They need protection against unfair Chinese trade practices and competition from undocumented immigrants. They are also suspicious of overseas military adventures, which should not surprise anyone given that their sons and daughters are more likely than others to fight in them...The TIGRs need to know they are welcome in the GOP. They already know President Trump welcomes them, and it was surely his unwavering energy and focus on their concerns in the final month of the campaign that brought them out. But the party needs to ensure their loyalty beyond the man in the Oval Office.”

The GOP lost the 2018 election even though they held the Senate, they lost the House when the economic conditions were right to keep the House. The 2016 coalition leaked as they lost key

votes in the suburbs while not increasing significantly votes among Democratic base including minorities. Americas PAC strategy since 2014 election was to expand upon the Nadler thesis and outreach among minorities to go after blue collar workers, single white women and motivate the base. Over the past three election cycles, we had far more successes than failures but we saw a complete failure with many campaigns with tired tactics or simply didn't have the resources to compete with Democrat money. In many of the campaigns we were involved in, our candidates were significantly outspent.

Cygnal President Brent Buchanan observed, "White midterm voters were R+10, Latino voters were D+40, and Asian voters were D+54. Republicans *must* alter course on how we talk about issues and what we focus on. This is possible, but it takes effort, resources, and time. Research is the key to help us understand what matters to diverse communities and how best to communicate that Republican ideals are the best way to advance the causes of those communities. In that research, we need to learn what drove them to vote so heavily Democratic, what motivates them as people, and what will break the long-time trend of being anti-Republican. . . In a changing state legislative district in Montgomery, Alabama – the birthplace of both the Civil War and Civil Rights – one of our clients went beyond the traditional Republican playbook and saw massive success. In his August benchmark survey, he was only at 46.6% against a completely unknown Democrat. We learned the top issue by almost a majority (47%) was education, followed by public safety. Using the information from our polling, the client executed a highly-targeted campaign that didn't hit on any traditional Republican issues. He engaged the African-American community, which is usually written off by Republican candidates. The result? **He earned 61% of the vote and outperformed the top of the ticket by 11 [points](#).**"

Buchanan's observation about his client in Alabama used the Nadler Thesis of outreach to minorities. We noted that those campaigns who expanded upon the Trump coalition won beginning with Marsha Blackburn and Josh Hawley who attracted suburban whites, rural and blue collar whites, garnered over 40% of Hispanic voters and exceeded past GOP performances among black voters. There also independent Super PACs who supplemented their campaigns with minority outreach and ads targeting key GOP and Trump Republican Demographics. In Florida, DeSantis grabbed 18% of black women voters and this was enough to win the Florida governor seat.

Iowa's First District showed what happens when Democrats run a campaign designed to shift those Trump Republicans. Millennial Abby Finkenbauer ran the complete opposite campaign as Alexandra Cortez, the socialist "it girl." While Cortez was waving the red flag of socialism, Finkenbauer talked bread and butter issues like health care where she hammered Rod Blum, in particular the issue of protecting those with pre-existing conditions, they would not lose their health insurance. On the trade issues, she attacked the Trump tariffs as hurting Iowans, in particular Iowan farmers. She didn't talk about single payer and she always added after attacking Trump tariffs, that she favored "fair trade" that didn't hurt Iowans. She featured friends and families hurt by Trump economics and added a tag line, "it is personal." She won by 4 points in a district that Trump barely carried in 2016 and Blum won by 7 points. While the District is listed as Democratic plus district and up to 2016, Democrat Presidential candidates carried the district, in 2014, Blum won the seat and added to his vote total in 2016. In 2016, he

ran a reformist business man who will work for Iowa but in 2018, he failed to defend GOP health care plan and instead attacked single payer but this didn't work against a Democrat who kept silent about single payer and when Trump got a revised NAFTA, he failed to make the case that Trump trade strategy was working to open up trade.

Finkenhauer showed the potential of a Democratic counterattack that goes after suburban voters and Trump voters simultaneously that worked. The good news for GOP is that Finkenhauer may be the exception to the rule as majority of Democrat house representative are from the two coasts, and mostly from blue states. Their gains in many cases was moderate or right to center Republicans in blue states and they carry with them, their radical views that are closer to Cortez and we will see if Finkenhauer manages to be a left of center Democrat or simply a leftist Democrat. If she is the former, she won't be beaten in 2020, if she is the later, she could easily lose her seat.

Americas PAC along with Restoration PAC used various forms of communications including radio, minority newspaper, social media and television. Brent Buchanan observed, “**One-size-fits-all campaigns have to go.** I love TV ads, and they're the fastest way to move numbers. At the same time, they need to be more nuanced in messaging and targeting. Digital is a great tool, but it needs more coordination with the other targetable tools of voter persuasion. And while we're on the digital topic, please quit running TV ads [online](#); **invest in creative that fits the audience and channel**, which is different from Facebook to Instagram to pre-roll.”

We were surprised how many candidates or PACs simply did a one-size fits all campaign but we chose a different path, working with Restoration PAC and Club for Growth to run a multi-media campaign that was buttressed by research conducted by different polling companies. Americas PAC depended upon two polling companies in an effort to garner as much information as possible to base their campaigns just as we have done in previous elections. In our post-election polling, we hired three different polling companies to get information that formed the basis on this report.

One more aspects to think about for 2020. Hillary Clinton raised and spent more money than Donald Trump and throughout key races in 2018, Republicans found themselves outspent. In key states and races, the Democrats outraised their Republican counterparts.

## Share of funds raised, all House races combined, excluding candidates who lost in primaries.

YEAR	DEM	GOP
1998	43%	57%
2000	47%	53%
2002	47%	53%
2004	46%	54%
2006	50%	50%
2008	56%	44%
2010	48%	52%
2012	44%	56%
2014	47%	53%
2016	50%	50%
2018	65%	35%

In 2018, Democrats outraised and outspent Republicans by a nearly 2 to 1 margin. We predict Democrats will out raise Republicans again in 2020. Democrat billionaires are now competing with Republicans big donors and even exceeding them. Seven out of the top 12 biggest individual donors were Democrats.

Yuvan Levin summed up both Parties, “To win and give direction to our politics, a party would need to build a relatively broad and durable coalition. But while the results of this election show the need for that, they do not make it more likely.” While Democrats made some gain in the suburbs, Republicans kept most of the Trump Coalition but did not expand it.

Henry Olsen summed up what will be needed in 2020, “Republicans are used to being the party of the upper middle class, and their natural reaction will be to prioritize regaining these lost ancestral homes. But they should resist that urge, at least insofar as it would conflict with efforts to serve another, crucial part of the evolving GOP coalition: working-class, Obama-Trump voters... Republican leaders in Congress should create a clear legislative agenda to address these concerns. They should make passage of something such as [the Raise — Reforming American Immigration for Strong Employment — Act](#) to reduce immigration a top priority. They should propose measures cracking down on Chinese trade practices that steal U.S. jobs and industrial secrets, measures that would replace or supplement the president’s crude (and often counterproductive) use of tariffs to bring the Chinese to the negotiating table. If Republicans are going to push a new tax cut, they should build it around a payroll-tax reduction for below-median-income workers or expand on Florida Sen. Marco Rubio’s idea for enhanced, refundable [child tax credits](#)... Suburban-friendly planks should be part of this platform, too, but not to the extent they conflict with TIGR priorities. After all, based on data from [the Voter Study Group’s 2016 VOTER Survey](#), I estimate that there are about 5.9 million TIGRs and 3 million

Romney-Clinton voters. Come 2020, the GOP will need to gain only a dozen or so seats to retake the House, a mark it can easily meet by focusing on working-class Democratic districts and some close, mixed seats that Republican candidates barely lost this week. Republicans should not write off the suburbs, but they need to recognize that so long as Trump is in the White House, their ability to retake them will be limited.”

A Republican plan as described by Henry Olsen would equally be beneficial for many minorities. Our own research shows that minorities agree with our positions in numbers far greater than how they actually vote for Republicans. If Republicans can at least get the votes from minorities that support our policies, a coalition can be formed and sustained for a generation. The Democratic Party is shifting left and most of their leading candidates are coming from the left but the Republicans have yet to settle on how to merge populism of Trump with a conservative vision. Until they do, they will not be able to put a sustainable coalition together.

# **Trade and Voters**

**By Tom Donelson and J.D. Johannes**

## Trade and Voters

On the Trade issues, there is mass confusion and contradictions dealing with Trump's tariffs and the goals. Voters are supportive of the tariffs but for different reasons and answers from voters depend heavily on how the question is framed.

In our Voice Broadcasting polls, 36% of voters supported Tariffs as a means to get better trade deals whereas 23% of voters supported tariffs as a means to protect jobs and national security. 30% of voters view tariffs as bad for the economy regardless of reason.

This was seen strictly by Party line as 59% of Republicans viewed trade as a necessity for better trade deals and 26% viewed tariffs as needed for protection of jobs and national security. 52% of Democrats on the other hand viewed Trump's tariffs as dangerous for the economy whereas only 13% Democrats view this as beneficial to better trade deals and only 19% view this as needed to protect jobs or national security. 34% of Independents view tariffs as needed to get better deals and another 22% view tariffs as needed for protection of jobs and national security with 32% viewing this as hurting the economy.

There are both Independents and Republican voters willing to suffer any fallout from tariffs to give Trump a chance to negotiate better deals but Democrats are not. This is as much due to political differences as it is to policies for would Democrats be more willing if Clinton was President and she used tariffs as a chip to bargain for better deals?

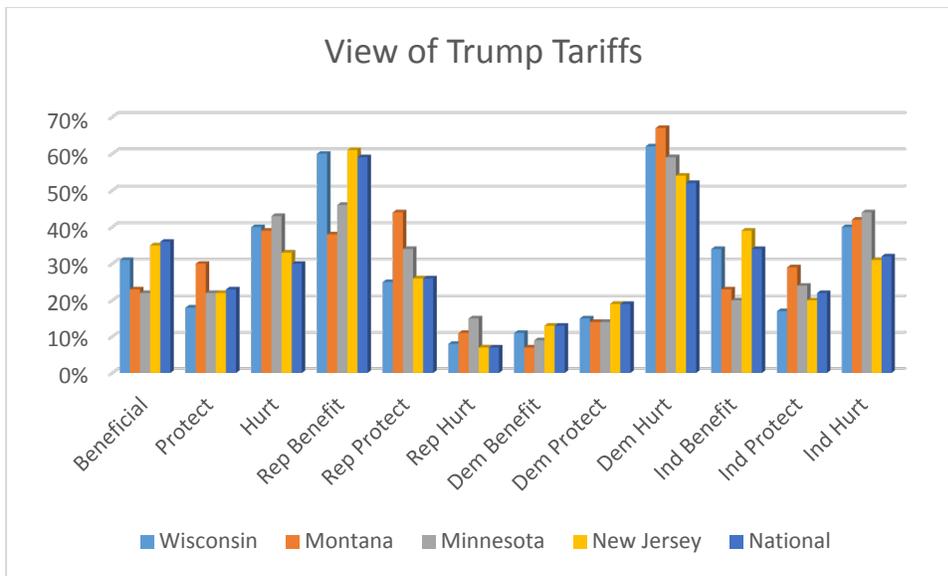
In selected states, this was seen as well. In Montana, 31% of voters viewed tariffs as beneficial to getting better deals and 30% viewed tariffs as needed for job security while 39% viewed tariffs as hurting the economy, so for the 61% who favored tariffs, they did so for different reasons. 38% of Republicans viewed tariffs as beneficial for getting better deals and 44% viewed tariffs as needed to protect jobs whereas only 11% of Montana Democrats voters viewed tariffs needed for securing better deals and 14% of Democrats viewed trade as needed for protection of American jobs and national security compared to 67% of Democrats viewed tariffs as hurting the economy. Republicans in Montana were divided on the reasons tariffs with nearly half viewing Tariffs as needed for better deals and the rest viewing this as a necessity to protect jobs. In New Jersey, 35% of voters view Tariffs as needed to make better deals compared to 33% of voters who view tariffs as being harmful to the economy. 61% of New Jersey Republicans view tariffs as needed to make better deal and 54% of Democrats view tariffs as hurting the economy.

In Wisconsin, 31% of voters, 60% of Republicans, 34% of Independents and only 11% of Democrats viewed tariffs as necessity for getting better deals but 40% of voters, only 8% of Republican, 40% of Independents, and 62% of Democrats view Tariffs as harmful to the economy. Considering that Tammy Baldwin won easily in Wisconsin and many voters in Wisconsin viewed tariffs as harmful nor are they willing using tariffs as a chip to bargain for better deals, it could explain one reason why Republican Leah Vukmir failed to gain traction.

In Minnesota, 22% of voters favored tariffs used to get better deals and another 22% viewed tariffs as needed to protect jobs whereas 43% of voters worry that even using tariffs to get better

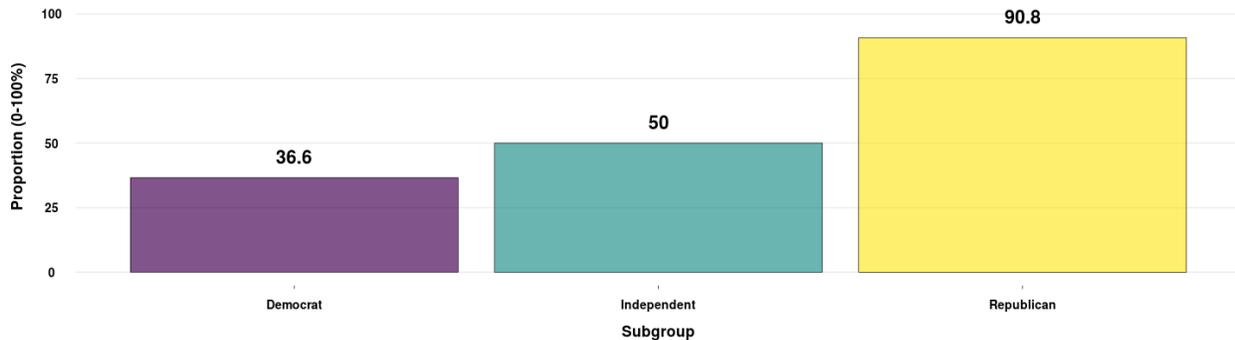
deals will be harmful to the economy health. 34% of Republicans, 14% of Democrats and 20% of Independents view Tariffs can be used to get a better deal whereas equal number of Republicans view tariffs as needed to protect jobs but only 14% of Democrats and 29% of Independents agree with Republicans on this. 59% of Democrats and 44% of Independents don't want tariffs used either get better deals or protect jobs for they view tariffs as harmful to economy health. Only 15% of Republican agree with Democrats or Independents on the harmful impact of tariffs. Minnesota Democrats cleaned up and while there were other factors, the caliber of Minnesota state wide candidates may indicate that many Minnesota voters disgust with Trump included his strategy for trade was a major factor in their votes. (One candidate, Keith Ellison had more baggage than most successful candidates ever do including solid evidence he assaulted past girlfriends. One of the Senate candidates, Tina Smith was as blah of a candidate as one would find and her Republican candidate was even married to a Pro Hockey Hall of Fame player, a significant plus in Minnesota.)

Republicans and many Independents are divided about how to use Tariffs if they should be used to pursue better deals or protect jobs whereas Democrats just as soon not to use tariffs as bargaining chips as all or at least trust this strategy in the hands of Donald Trump.



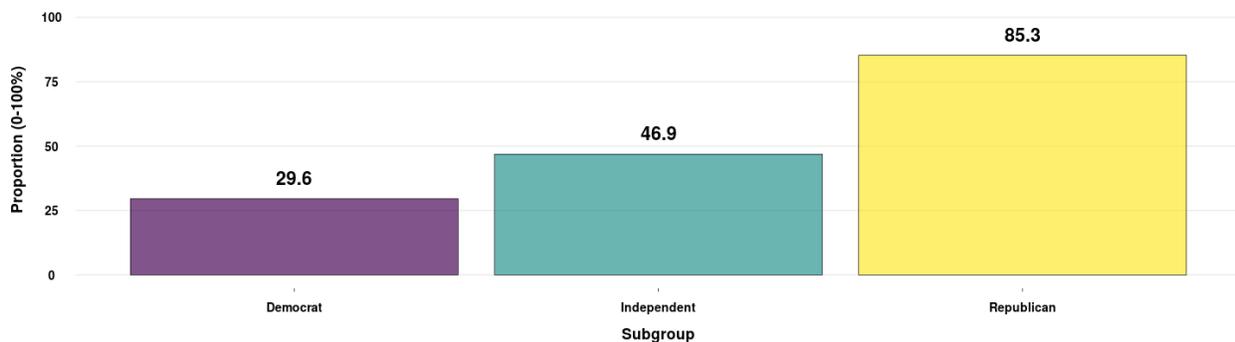
Evolving Strategies finds that 50% of Independents and 91% of Republicans agree that tariffs are needed to negotiate better deals along with 37% of Democrats and 61% of voters in general.

**Agree: Tariffs needed to negotiate better deals**  
National sample for Americas PAC



55% of voters see tariffs can be used to protect jobs and for national security along with 30% of Democrats, 47% of Independents and 85% of Republicans.

**Agree: Tariffs needed to protect American jobs**  
National sample for Americas PAC



38% of voters in the Voice Broadcasting poll view as liberalized trade as good compared to 14% of voters who don't believe it. Nationally 33% of Republicans, 41% Democrats and Independents view liberalized trade as beneficial to the economy compared to 17% of Republicans, 12% of Democrats and 13% Independents. Overall, voters across party lines believe in increased trade being helpful.

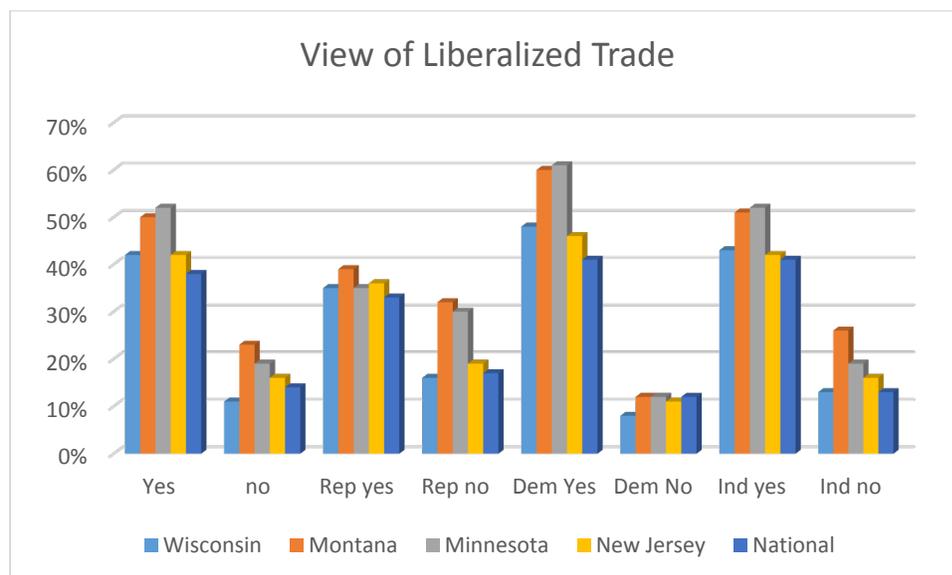
In Montana, 50% of Montana voters, 39% of Republicans, 60% of Democrats, 51% of Independents view liberalized trade good for Americans compared to 23% voters saying no along with 32% Republicans, 12% of Democrats and 26% of Independents.

In Wisconsin, 42% of voters overall along with 35% of Republicans, 48% of Democrats and 43% of Independents favored liberalized trade compared to 16% of Republicans, 8% of Democrats and 13% of Independents opposing liberalized trade.

52% of Minnesota voters along with 35% Republicans, 61% of Democrats and 52% of Independents favor more liberalized trade as being beneficial to trade compared to 30% of Republicans, 12% of Democrats and 19% of Independents opposed.

42% of Jersey voters overall along with 36% of Republicans, 46% Democrats and 42% of Independents viewed liberalized trade as good for the economy and only 16% of overall voters 19% of Republicans, 11% of Democrats and 16% of Independents did not believe in the need of liberalized trade,

Overall voters believe that increased or liberalized trade does benefit the economy even though Republicans are less likely to favor the idea that liberalized trade is beneficial to the overall economy and their coalition is split on the benefits of free trade as many of the new Trump Republicans are not sold on this concept. Many suburban Republicans and older generation of Republicans from the Reagan era do believe in the benefits of increased trade between nations. Democrats presently are more willing along with Independents to be supportive of liberalized trade. Even with many rural voters, the benefit of free trade is important in the agricultural economy and many of these rural voters are Republicans. For the Republicans, this is an issue that has to be nuanced for a portion of the coalition are willing to support tariffs to garner better trade deals but others truly believe that tariffs are needed to protect jobs.



The conclusion for trade is that while many Americans believe in liberalized trade and see the value of increase trade between nations, they also feel that United States have played the fools in trade deals so they want more beneficial trade deals. In a previous report we noted, “On occasion the White House has stated that the goal is zero tariffs and that can only happen when there is truly free trade. As long as other countries erect barriers, the White House is going to tit-for-tat against those countries.” So is Trump ultimate goal a more fairer trading system that is

free trade? His proposal to the EU for such a deal would indicate yes. The recent NAFTA deal is similar to the original deal even though it contains more labor protection including increasing NAFTA regional automotive content requiring substantial wages of \$16 per hour or higher. The case can be Trump is equally comfortable with managed trade, using agreements to force less developed nation just as Mexico to raise their wages. Trump administration has advisors who are protectionists and who are free traders so there is a confusion among the Administration what the ultimate goals are.

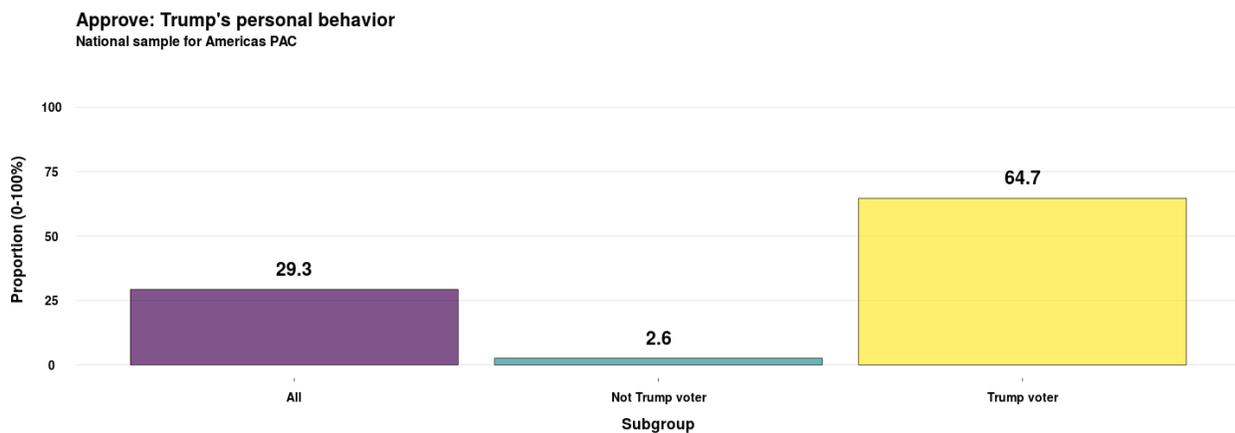
# **Trump Voters and Not Trump Voters, Is There a Connection?**

**By Tom Donelson and J.D. Johannes**

## Trump Voters and Not Trump Voters, Is There a Connection?

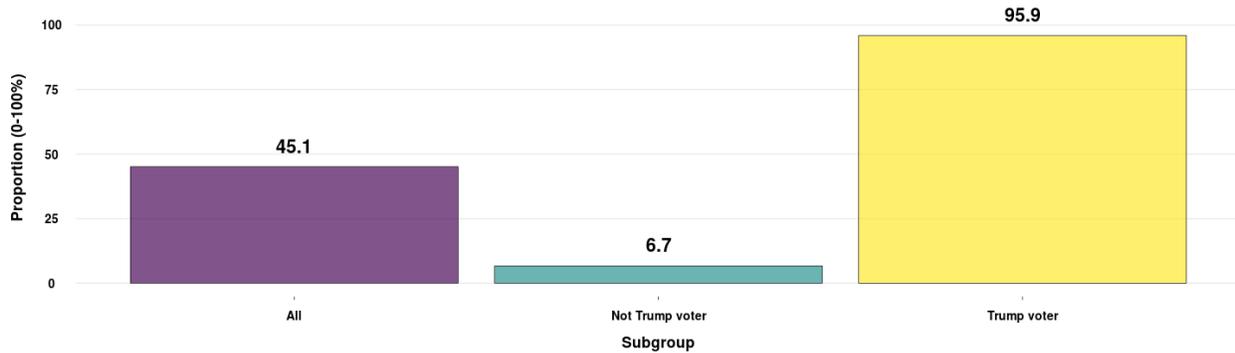
The crucial issue for the GOP is how do you deal with a President up for re-election that many Americans personally don't care for but whose policies are popular? If Trump decides to run for re-election, the GOP candidates will have to run with the top of the ticket and our goal is to review the divide between Trump policies and many voter's personal disdain for Trump to find issues that can form a winning coalition. A national online panel poll by Evolving Strategies finds issues that many Trump voters and non-trump voters agree on to design a campaign that emphasizes issues over personalities. In another report Americas Majority researcher JD Johannes will dig deep into the personality and identity factors that will affect elections in 2020 and beyond.

The first reality is that less than 30% of all voters approve of Trump's personal behavior and only 2/3 of Trump Voters approve of the President's personal behavior.



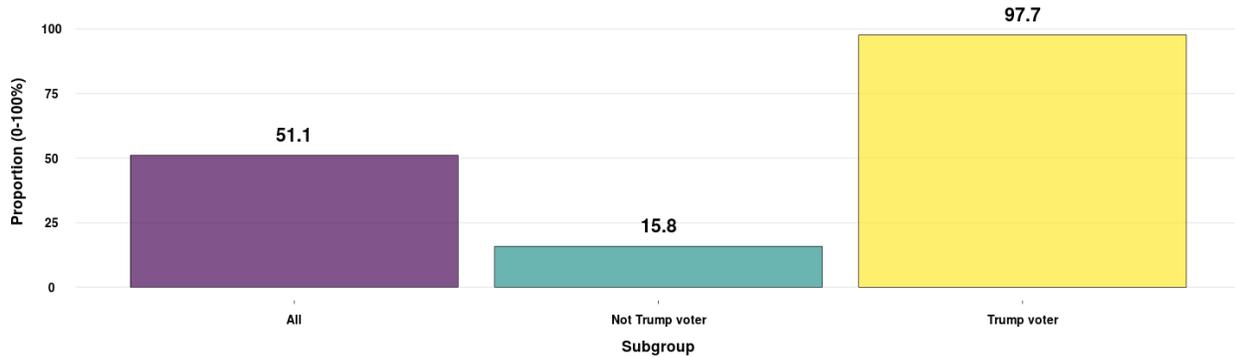
However 45% of voters approve of the job he was doing. This poll is similar to others as recent YouGov and Reuters have his approval at 45% and Rasmussen over the past months had seen his poll numbers ranging from 46% to 51%. So many Americans, in spite of their visceral dislike of Trump, do appreciate the job he is doing. As the chart clearly illustrates, there is sharp electoral divide on Trump's job approval with only tiny sliver of non-Trump voters approving of the job he is doing.

**Approve: Trump's handling of job**  
National sample for Americas PAC



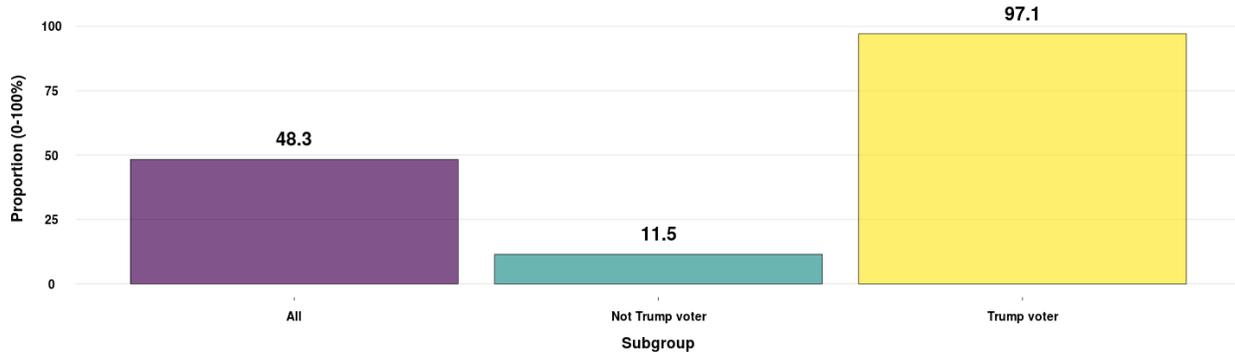
That sliver of non-Trump voters more than doubles when it comes to approving his economic policies. Overall 51% of voters approve of his handling of the economy and that includes 97% of Trump voters and 16% of non-Trump voters. So many voters appreciate the growing economy and this could have helped save the Senate even though it did little to help the House.

**Approve: Trump's economic policies**  
National sample for Americas PAC



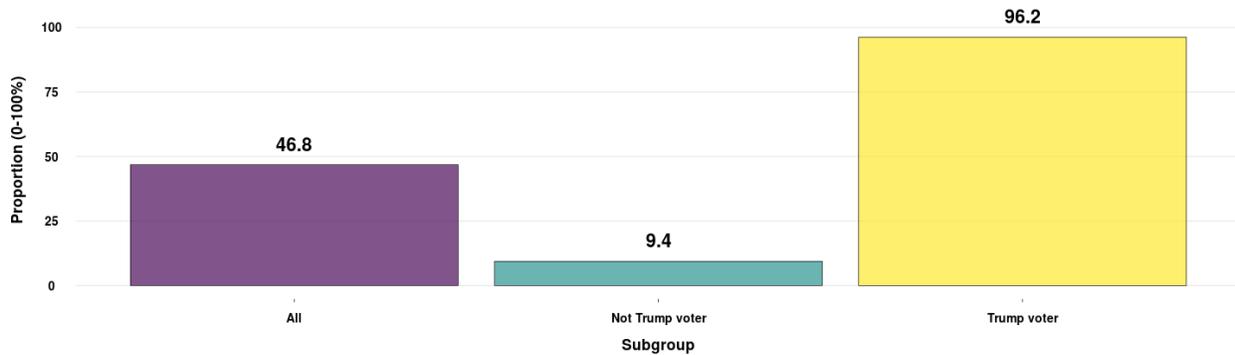
48% of voters including 97% of Trump voters approved of how Trump handles trade issues along with nearly 12% of Trump not trump voters.

**Approve: Trump's trade policies**  
National sample for Americas PAC



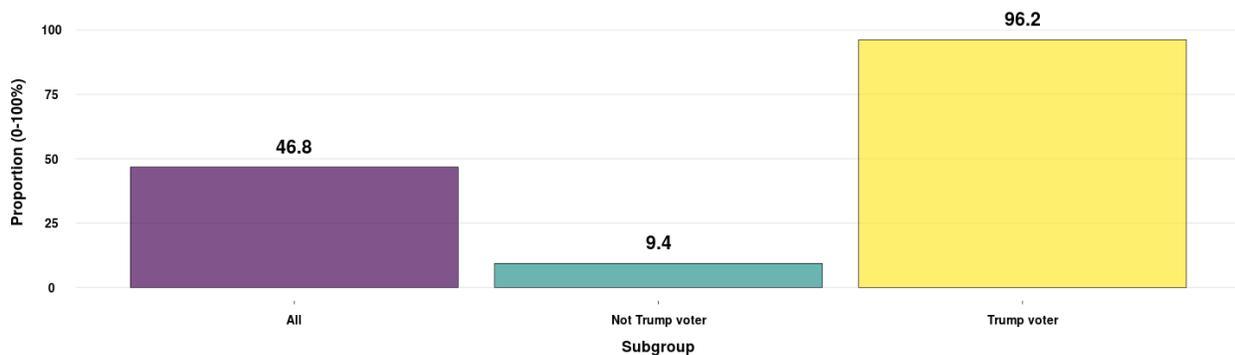
47% of voters along with 96% of Trump voters and 9% of not Trump voters favored his approach to foreign policy

**Approve: Trump's foreign policies**  
National sample for Americas PAC



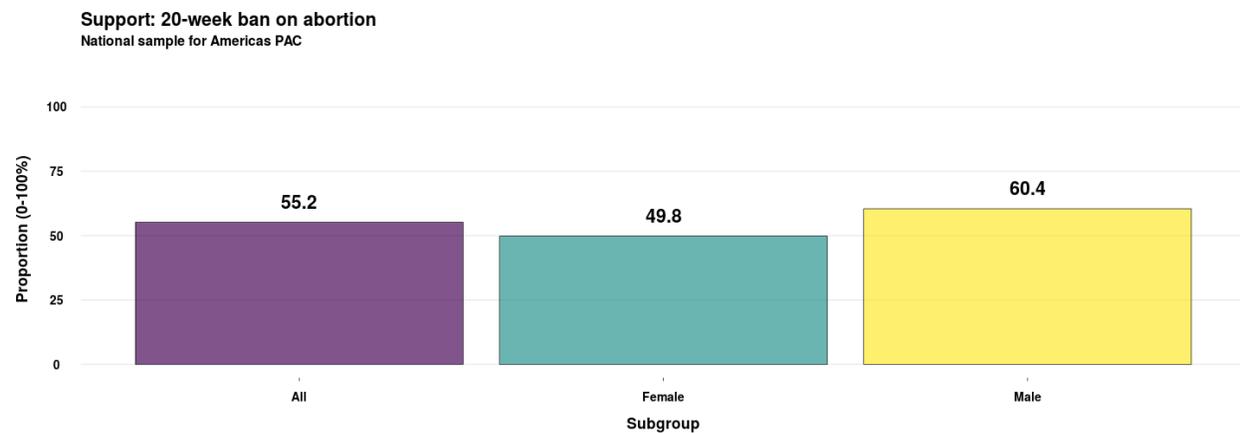
To go with 46% of voters and 96% of Trump voters and 10% of not Trump voters approve his immigration policy.

**Approve: Trump's foreign policies**  
National sample for Americas PAC



Many voters view Trump with personal disdain but are more likely to support his policies. As we examine specific policies, we found that there policies that a significant portion of Not Trump Voters agreed with Trump policies even if they personally disliked the man.

**Abortion:** 55% of all voters including nearly 40% of not Trump voters and slightly over three quarters of Trump voters favored a ban on abortions after 20 weeks. This correspond with other polls we conducted with Voice Broadcasting and Cyngal in which the majority of voters favored restricting abortions after the second trimester. Even many who viewed themselves as pro-choice agreed that abortions are not unlimited right for women and that babies are endowed with right to life, the only debate was where do you draw the line to protect the unborn. While many within the Republican have decided that abortion was a losing issues for many voters, our data showed that so many Americans are now pro-life that the liberal position is out of step with the mainstream.

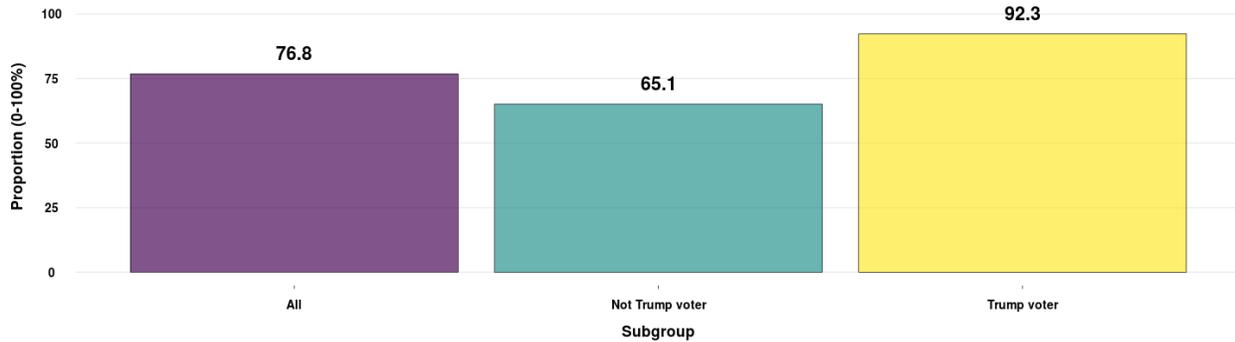


**Healthcare** On single payer, 80% of not Trump voters favored single payer as oppose to only 16% of Trump voters and 55% of all voters but when asked about allowing health insurances that provides choices and fewer benefits to reduce cost, we see consensus. 77% of all voters favored allowing more choices and lower priced healthcare plans along with 65% of not Trump Voters and 92% of Trump voters.

The reason health care is a near permanent issue is the constant rise in premium prices. Even in many employer-sponsored plans the employee's portion of the premium for a family plan is nearly as much as their mortgage. Many voters see the tax increases associated with Medicare For All as just shifting money from the Premium Bucket to the Federal Income Tax Bucket with the advantage of guaranteed health care coverage for pre-existing conditions and if they are out of work.

Republicans need to talk about the need for choices, lower prices and most importantly, allowing voters to keep their health care plan if they like their health care plan and keep their Doctor, if they like their Doctors. These are values that all voters agree with and Single player plans discard the choice elements as the government will determine your care, your plan and your doctor.

**Support: Choice of insurance plans**  
National sample for Americas PAC

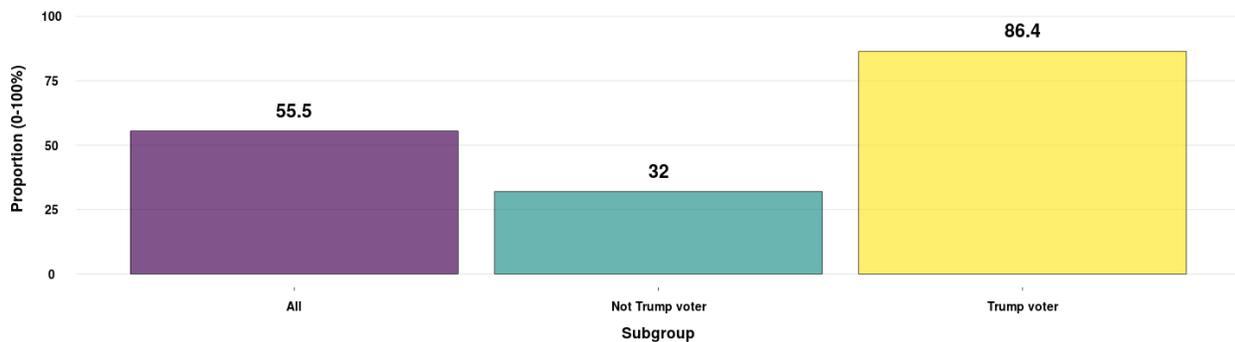


**Tariffs-** Voters are undecided whether Trump’s tariff strategy is designed to increase trade and get better deals or are protectionist approach to protect jobs. One friend who is a free trader mentioned to us that he can understand the approach of using tariffs to get better deals and increase trade but he is not favoring tariffs as a permanent approach. Trump ran as a protectionist but his approach so far has moved toward getting better trade deals as with his recent NAFTA deal in which minor adjustments were made to help protect American jobs while maintaining the main framework of trade. On occasion the White House has stated that the goal is zero tariffs and that can only happen when there is truly free trade. As long as other countries erect barriers, the White House is going to tit-for-tat against those countries.

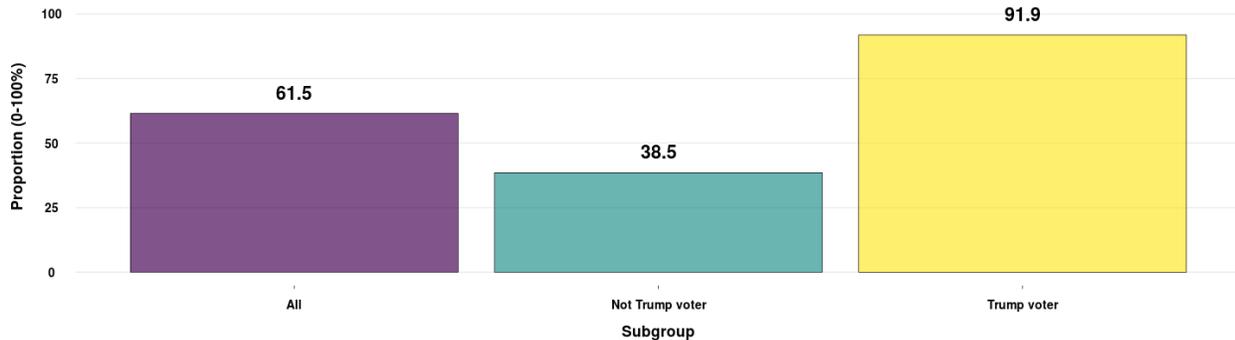
62% of Voters including nearly 39% of not Trump voters and 92% of Trump voters favor Trump tariffs as a means to get better deals, while nearly 56% of voters view tariffs as need to protect jobs including 32% of not Trump voters and 86% of Trump voters.

Trump policies of using tariffs as a strategy to either protect jobs or get better deals have 32% to 40% of not Trump voters already in agreement with Trump on this issue and this gives GOP an opening to use this to get enough of not Trump voters to join their coalition.

**Agree: Tariffs needed to protect American jobs**  
National sample for Americas PAC

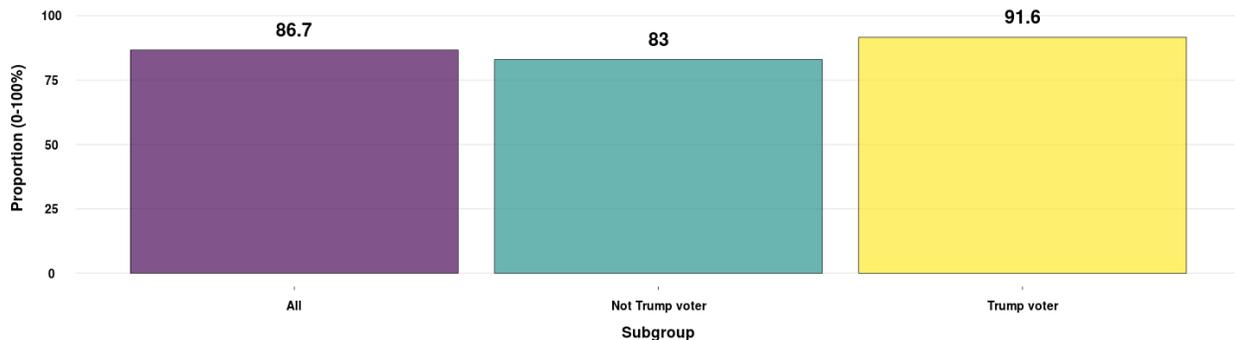


**Agree: Tariffs needed to negotiate better deals**  
National sample for Americas PAC



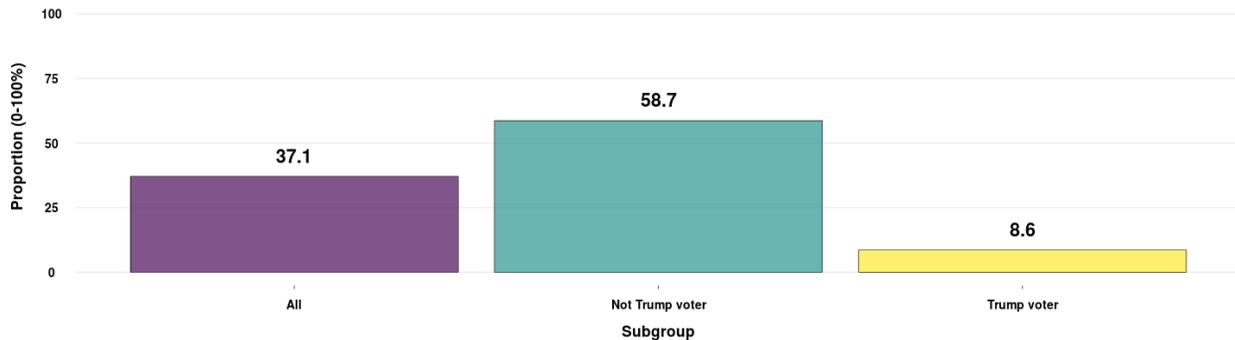
**Debts, Deficits and Inequality-** There is one issue in our polling that Americans agree on, increasing debts, deficits or spending hurts the economy and in this poll, 87% of all voters agreed along with 83% of not Trump voters and 92% of Trump voters. The deficits worry voters even it doesn't worry politicians and if nothing else, this shows the potential of a Ross Perot candidate in 2020 or close facsimile. Trump may be that figure and the GOP as a Party can promote an agenda that protects job creation and growth while dealing with deficits and debts.

**Agree: High government debt and deficits hurt economy**  
National sample for Americas PAC



Only 37% of voters wanted politicians to focus on dealing with inequality and only 59% of Not Trump voters favored reducing inequality between the 1% and the rest of us, so that means nearly two out of every five not Trump voters favor policies dealing with economic growth. In this election, the tax cuts produced economic growth but not necessarily loyalty among many voters as those suburban voters in blue states saw their taxes going up on 2019 due to the deduction reductions in state and local taxes. Instead of blaming those state legislators who jumped the taxes upward, they blame their GOP congressmen. And in many cases the benefits of the tax cut for individual workers were gobbled up by health insurance premium increases so they never observed an increase in their paycheck. However, as we have seen, growth is important to voters, more so than dealing with inequality. All of our pollsters, Cyngal, Voice Broadcasting and Evolving strategies saw this trend.

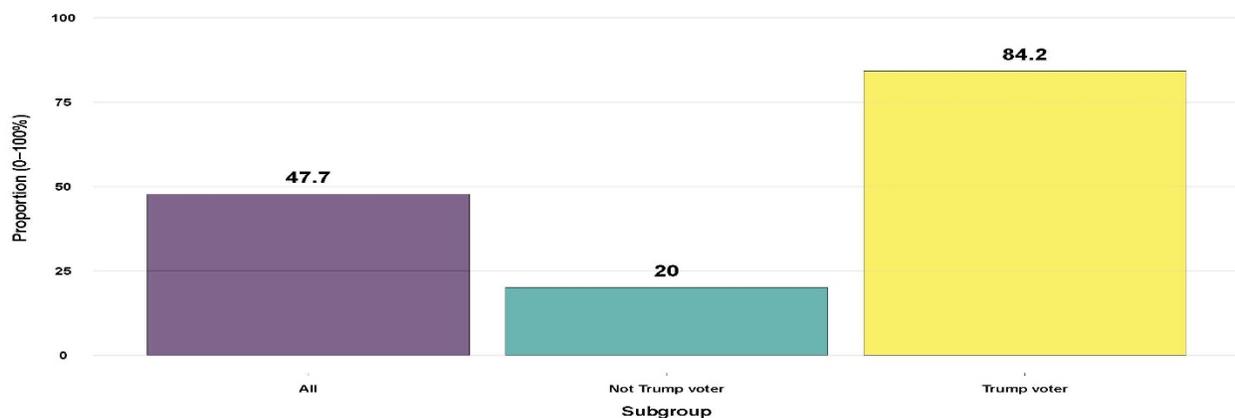
**Agree: More important to reduce income inequality than promote job growth**  
National sample for Americas PAC



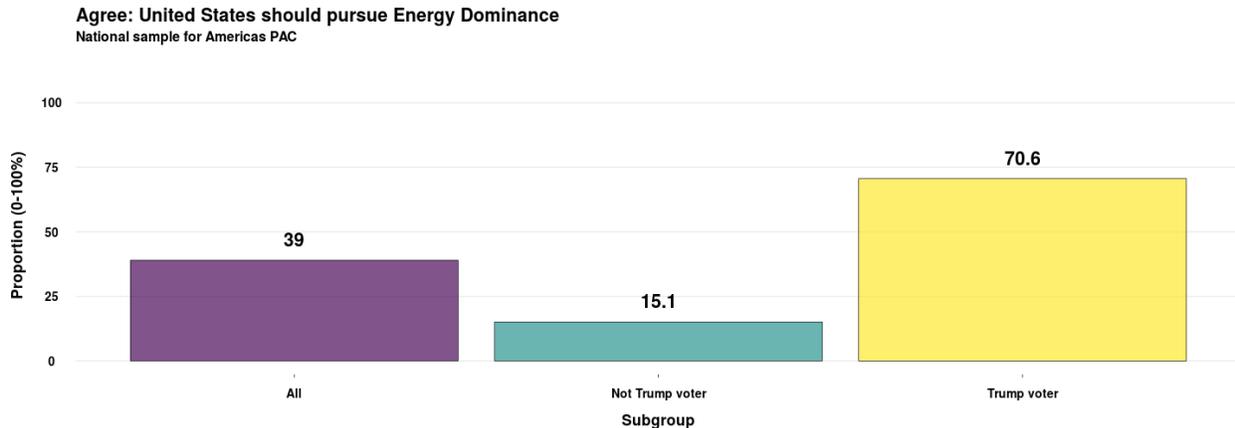
Republicans need to view economic issues as promoting job growth and moving the economy forward by promoting a fair opportunity to succeed. One way is to talk of an economic policy that uses Tariffs to open up trade opportunities and liberalizing trade while protecting jobs, a fine line to be sure but something that can happen along with reducing debts, deficits and keeping federal spending in line. Voters will understand the connection between the two if there is a political party that defends it.

**Immigration**-Evolving Strategies, like our other pollsters, sees a divide on immigration between keep immigration levels where they are or increasing them and those voters who view increased immigration as preventing assimilation or hurts jobs of those in the lower income and lower middle Class. Many voters no longer believe that increasing immigration levels helps the economy and their own economic prospects. 47% of voters see high immigrations levels as diluting traditional values including 20% of Not Trump voters and 84% of Trump voters. One of every five not Trump voters view increase immigration as a negative not a positive. A key question for future study is are there enough voters willing to switch on this issue if this is combined with Republican plan on Tariffs to induce better trade terms and pro-growth economic message for the Middle Class?

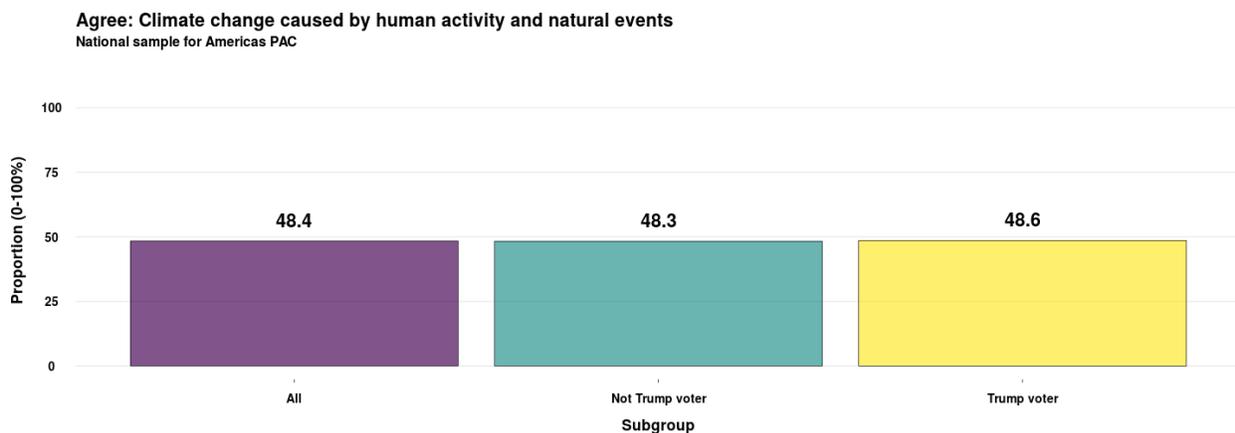
**Agree: High immigration prevents assimilation and hurts workers**  
National sample for Americas PAC



**Energy dominance and climate change-** 39% supported energy dominance which is lower than other polls we did, but Evolving Strategies used the qualifying phrase “by reducing regulations” that other pollsters did not. Without the latter phrase, the support went up over 50% and if Republicans can convince voters that energy dominance can be done safely and protect the environment, then it is a winning issue.



We have found in all of our polls that the majority of voters when presented with a more accurate view of the scientific debate over climate, reject the notion that human activity is the main cause of climate change for a more nuanced view that human activities along with natural events are behind climate change. All groups were similar with 48% on this score and when you combined those who believe in natural events causing climate change with the combinations of both human events and natural events, over 50% of even Not Trump voters rejected the alarmists positions that climate change is strictly or mostly a man-made affair.



**Conclusion-** There are many issues in which Not Trump voters agree with Trump voters in large enough numbers for the GOP to make the case that they are the party of change and opportunity and build a winning coalition. As the Democratic Party moves left, the GOP has a chance to entice enough Not Trump voters to join their coalition even with their personal dislike of Trump.

On abortion, the majority of voters are pro-life and support restrictions on abortion, the only question is where to begin the restrictions. On trade, at least a third of Not Trump voters see the merit of Trump trade strategy. On economic growth, Trump and Not Trump voters view increasing debts, deficits or even spending as hurting the economic showing the rejection of Keynesian economics. From 47% to 52%, voters overall approve of Trump handling of trade issues, immigration, economy and foreign affairs even if they don't particularly care for him on a personal level.

On Health care, most voters prefer choices in their health care, they want to keep their plans if they like them or keep their doctor and here the GOP can win if they chose to promote a health care plan that offers those things.

The Democrat's leading candidates will either be billionaires like Michael Bloomberg or Tom Steyer or they will go to younger more leftist candidates such as California Senator Kamala Harris, so likeability issue may not be factor as it wasn't in 2016 when the Democrats nominated one of the most unlikeable candidates ever in Hillary Clinton. Ted Cruz survived a tough Senate race in 2018 despite being unlikable and outspent two to one, so being likable could be overlooked if the alternative is worse and the plan that Trump promoted in 2016 is working.

For many Republican candidates, there is a discomfort with having Trump on top of the ticket. Many GOP voters though like Trump more than their candidates for U.S. House and Senate so Republicans need to run on a positive message that they will be the party of reform and the Middle Class. Even with the recent gains by Democrats, the Democrat Party is still a Party of the two coasts and no longer the party of Middle America or the South. Much of Middle America and the South still remains Republican so the key issue for the GOP is whether they can get enough of the Democratic base to build a new coalition in key Midwest States just as Michigan or Wisconsin plus make inroads in Western states just as Colorado and Nevada.

In Florida, school choice prompted 18% of black women to vote for Ron DeSantis and this alone would have propelled DeSantis to victory. In Tennessee, Martha Blackburn cleaned up in the suburbs, exceeded national average among blacks and Hispanics (gaining 45% of Hispanic voters in her state). In Missouri, Josh Hawley had similar success in both the Suburbs and with minorities plus turnout among black voters cratered for Claire McCaskill and Hawley did very similar among Hispanics than Blackburn.

De Santis, Hawley and Blackburn received over 50% of suburban votes while on a national average the GOP only received 49%, the same as Democrats. The lesson for GOP is to study these candidacies. Rick Scott did well among Hispanics and that even includes Puerto Rican voters and like De Santis, expanded his reach into the Suburbs.

These candidates expanded upon the Trump coalition of 2016 and won as a result. The key for Republicans is to fight on issues and expanding the theme on fair opportunity to succeed. In 2020 and as long as the economy holds, the 2020 election will be a values election with values meaning more than just traditional social issues but more broad value battle including should voters chose their health care plan and their doctors or should the government do it for them? On the abortion issue, the battle will be on the value of when is life worth protecting or does the

unborn allowed no rights to life? On economy, which values is more important, the right to a job and opportunity or do we engage in the politics of envy at the expense of opportunity.

The GOP won't have an easy time with Trump on the top of the ticket due to his personality but his ideas are more popular than his opponent's will be and that is the battleground that needs to be fought, the battleground of ideas.

# Conclusion: How to Move Forward in 2020 and beyond

By Tom Donelson and J.D. Johannes

There are two Republicans President who put together coalitions that lasted decades beyond their own elections. William McKinley in the 1896 election, took advantage of the latest technology and brilliant organization to win the election but what is often lost in history is that McKinley was not the choice of the GOP leadership. McKinley was an outsider. Many historians view McKinley as the candidate of Plutocrats, he was actually the candidate of the Middle Class and the emerging immigrants' population coming to America. While William Jennings Bryan was the progressive man of the people who crossed the country giving speeches with his brilliant golden tongue. The big issues in this election were sound money and trade issues as McKinley ran as the candidate of protectionism and staying on the Gold Standard to maintain stable money. McKinley understood the need to reach out to create a widespread coalition that included a burgeoning middle class, a working class created in the aftermath of the rapid industrialization, blacks and immigrants. Of McKinley's goals, Historian Robert Merry noted, "The two issues that McKinley championed on his road to the White House were sound money (the gold standard) and protectionism (tariffs) for U.S. businesses. The United States was becoming the world's greatest industrial power, and McKinley sought to facilitate that development."

About McKinley's political strategy, Political strategist Karl Rove wrote, "A key element of McKinley's effort was inclusiveness. The nation still suffered from post-war divisions, and McKinley worked vigorously to heal the breaches. Although a fiscal conservative friendly to business, as governor McKinley was known as a friend of the working man...As Mr. Rove writes, "The GOP could win national elections only if it gained support from new ethnic immigrant laborers in the North — often Catholic — while finding a way to defend free and fair elections below the Mason-Dixon Line and attract more votes there by emphasizing protection." Of McKinley opponent Rove observed, "To oppose McKinley, the Democrats fielded a 36-year-old Nebraskan named William Jennings Bryan, a free-silver advocate who galvanized his convention with his famed "Cross of Gold" speech which demonized silver opponents. Bryan's speech also touched off anti-Semitic calls such as, "Down with the hook-nosed Shylocks of Wall Street." I doubt many historians mention that part of Bryan's famous speech as they praised Bryan's populism and progressivism.

McKinley, the last Civil War veteran elected, understood the need to expand Republican base by embracing immigrants, who were entering the workforce and providing the manpower for the new industry. He sought to expand the GOP reach into Catholic vote and wanted to protect black voting rights. His economic plan was designed to reduce income inequality and, after the Spanish American war, make the global economy work for Americans.

This coalition formed the basis of Republican domination of politics until the Great Depression, which led to the rise of Democrat domination until 1980. Ronald Reagan, like McKinley, was oppose by the Republican establishment but his union background with Screen Actor's Guild and own background as former Democrat overturned the Democrat domination with his election. Nixon attempted to do what Reagan succeeded, based a political coalition on reaching out to blue collar workers but it was Reagan who expanded the coalition. Reagan was not elected to overturn the new Deal but to make it work in a modern world. Reagan understood many blue collar workers, because he came from them as Henry Olsen noted, "... I don't think either of his parents were high school graduates much less college graduates. They were mixed marriage: An Irish Catholic, and an Anglo-Saxon Protestant, back in a time when that mattered socially and

culturally. And they were Democrats. So the way he lived his life, he came up with a world view and experiences that was identical to what these voters experienced, and so he could always sense their concerns because he often shared them, and to the extent that he didn't completely share them, he was well aware of how they thought."

Reagan's tax plans combined reducing top income rates, but he included tax credits that benefited the middle class and dealt with bracket creep where many in the Middle Class found their tax rates moving closer to upper class due to inflation. By indexing taxes, the government no longer got an automatic tax increase in times of inflation and Reagan, like McKinley, believed in sound money.

On immigration, he favored amnesty as part of overall immigration reform and Olsen noted, "Reagan also supported amnesty for illegal immigrants — though only as a condition for employer sanctions and other restrictions he believed would stem the flow of what he called economic migration. He believed even America was not so rich that it could take in every person who wanted to sup at its table" Trump has been willing to make a similar deal but he made it clear that border security is a necessity and the present Democratic Party has made it clear that border security or enforcing immigration laws are not part of their priority. Olsen noted that Reagan was "an adamant free trader, but he never hesitated to impose sanctions on foreign companies if they engaged in unfair practices. His tariffs on Asian motorcycle companies, for example, helped save the American icon Harley-Davidson from bankruptcy."

As we have noticed in other reports, Trump's dilemma is to try reconcile how his coalition views trade. One part of his coalition views tariffs as a means to make better trade deals but other part of his coalition view tariffs as needed to protect their jobs or national security. Some analysts have noted that Trump's trade policy with China is both about both strategic security to check China's expansionism and about protecting jobs and better trade deals all at the same time. Olsen noted, "Both men received high support from these voters for their times — bringing longtime Democratic voters into the Republican camp. They both carried the blue-collar-dominated Midwestern states of Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin — the only Republicans to do so in the past 40 years."

One of us wrote in the Book, *"The Rise of National Populism and Democratic Socialism, what Our Response Should be,"* that most of Republican candidates in 2016 could have beaten Clinton. Michael Barone's own view is that maybe this is not the case and I am now coming to the conclusion that it is not certain that any Republican could have won against Hillary Clinton. Barone notes, *"Iowa and the outstates, Trump won percentages higher than George W. Bush did in 2004, while Clinton ran far behind Obama's 2012 showing — 12 points behind in outstate Ohio, 11 points behind in Iowa and outstate Michigan, 9 points behind in outstate Wisconsin and 8 points behind in outstate Pennsylvania. These are all places with many non-college-educated whites and few blacks, Hispanics, and Asians. Trump's stands on trade and immigration — distinctly different from those of other Republicans—were surely partly responsible for his outstate margins, and it seems unlikely another Republican nominee could have matched them."*

As one of us noted in the book, *“The Rise of National Populism and Democratic Socialism, what Our Response Should be,”* “As the Florida exit polls showed, Rubio had 62 percent among white voters, including 63 percent among white males, 62 percent white females, 62 percent of white college graduates, and 62 percent of white non-college graduates, while Trump had 64 percent of the white voters including 67 percent of the white males, 60 percent of the white females, 62 percent of white college graduates, and 66 percent of white non-college graduates. Both Rubio and Trump did well among whites, but Rubio ran two percentage points behind Trump among white voters and ran four percent behind white non-college graduates.

“Rubio had 48 percent of Hispanic voters, compared to Trump’s 35 percent overall percentage among Hispanics. Both candidates did well among Cubans, with Rubio grabbing 68 percent of the Cuban Hispanic voters while Trump had 54 percent of Cuban voters. Among non-Cuban Hispanics, Rubio garnered 39 percent and Trump had 26 percent. Rubio slightly doubled Trump support among black voters by 17 percent to 8 percent.”<sup>1</sup>

Rubio had broader support in Florida than Donald Trump did nationally. But the American election system it is about winning specific states. One has to ask if a Rubio coalition been enough to take battleground states just as Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Rubio may have carried more black voters than Trump, but would he have lost ground among white voters in these key Midwestern states? Rubio’s 48 percent share of the Hispanic voters is inflated due to the impact of Cuban voters and 39 percent among non-Cuban voters would be a more realistic number. These numbers might have been enough to carry Nevada and Colorado but if Rubio ran some couple of percentage points behind Trump among white voters in these Midwest states, he would most likely have lost those states. Trump understood what his rivals failed to see, that the Democrats viewed that white blue-collar voters were locked into their party or that the new coalitions of minorities, Millennials, city dwellers, and members of public sector unions formed the basis of a new majority. However this coalition was checked by Trump’s ability to attract many blue-collar workers. Hillary Clinton failed to capture Obama’s share of the minority votes and this cost her in many of the battleground states.

Both parties have yet to set up a dominating coalition that will last and while Trump has been able to attract many blue collars voters others have not been able to capture since Reagan, he lost ground among Suburban Republican and while he gained little ground among minorities, he has a unique opportunity. Black and Hispanic unemployment has reached historic lows and Trump “First Step” prison reform is a reform that many Black community leaders have pushed.

Trump’s failure to make dent in minority communities in 2018 hurt, but many Republicans did succeed including Rick Scott and Ron DeSantis of Florida, Marsha Blackburn in Tennessee and Josh Hawley in Missouri. All of these candidates exceeded the national average among minorities and Blackburn and Hawley also made inroads in the suburbs while maintaining the Trump coalition.

In reviewing data collected, we found that many of our issues resonate with voters. They prefer growth-oriented policies over dealing with inequality when given the choice, they want more

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options in healthcare plan as opposed to a single payer government run health care in which all options to keep your doctor or your plan are curtailed, if not eliminated. They favor restriction on abortions at least starting in the second trimester and don't believe in unlimited right to abortion. Much of the Democratic strength is still concentrated in major cities and the two coasts but in between California and New York, the rest of the country is still competitive.

In 2018, Republicans' gain in the Senate gave the GOP some leeway into 2020 and there are some elections that may favor the GOP and opportunities that can open up. Starting with Alabama, Doug Jones is running in a red state and unless the Republican nominate Roy Jones again, this should be flipped seat. While Michigan turned back to blue in 2018, John James ran a good race despite being outspent massively, and outpaced the rest of the Michigan GOP statewide. In 2014 Dick Durbin was held to 53% against a weak opponent and with the right condition and right candidate, this could be a surprise. Jeanne Shaheen in New Hampshire won a close race in 2014 and Tom Udall is up for re-election in New Mexico.

Among the states needed to be defended include Cory Gardner in Colorado, Nebraska (where Never Trumper Ben Sasse will face a primary challenge and who knows what will happen), Thom Tillis in North Carolina, Bill Cassidy in Louisiana, Christy Hyde Smith in Mississippi, Dan Sullivan in Alaska, Tom Cotton in Arkansas, David Perdue, in Georgia and Joni Ernst in Iowa. Nor can we forget the special election in Arizona.

The following states will be battleground in the Presidential race include Wisconsin, Michigan, Arizona, Nevada, Colorado, Arizona, North Carolina, Indiana, Florida, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Missouri and Georgia.

The key to winning 2020 will be the following:

1. Keep the Trump base of rural, exurb and blue collar workers.
2. Recapture some of those suburban Republicans.
3. Add enough minorities to our coalition and goals should include 40% Asians and 40% plus Hispanics in key battleground states along with double digit among Black voters.
4. Emphasize economic growth for Americans and turn this into a value election campaign in which values is broaden into importance of hard work, social issues like abortions, gun rights, religious freedom, family structure and importance of community.
5. Foreign policy of defending America first and economic growth that reaches those that have been ignored in the past.
6. Deal with the retirement crisis, expand the investor class into the blue collar and minorities.
7. Promote liberalized and increased trade among nations while maintaining fair trade that protects American worker. Just a policies has to be nuanced since it is fine line between protectionism and free trade while protecting American industry.
8. Immigration reform that serves American interest.

Trump has the potential of establishing a new coalition that includes minorities, blue collar workers, small business owners, farmers, rural workers and recapture a portion of the suburban voters we lost in 2016 and 2018.

In the case of minorities, many support our issues in far excess on how they vote and minorities also impact our position among women and young voters. In past elections, Republicans carried white women but in 2018, GOP merely split white women but carried white males by big margins.

16% of voters in this election compared to 10% in previous elections were first time voters. In 2012 and 2016, Romney and Trump carried white young votes but Republicans did not do so in 2018 even though GOP split those votes 30 to 44. 62% of Democratic voters were women whereas 52% of Republicans voters were male and 48% were women. Democrats have forsaken white males and blue collars workers, rural workers and farmers. That has given the GOP a shot of building new coalition that can last a generation very similar to what both McKinley and Reagan accomplished. Obama's dream of a urban, young voters, minorities coalition with suburbanites added in is now in jeopardy. Democratic strategist John Judis noted, "The best way for Democrats to build a lasting majority is to fight for an agenda of shared prosperity that has the power to unite, rather than divide, their natural constituencies. There is no need, in short, for Democrats to choose between appealing to white workers and courting people of color. By making a strong and effective case for economic justice, they can do both at the same time." Judis added "will continue to claim those identities in future generations. In reality, that's highly unlikely. History shows that as ethnic groups assimilate into American culture, they increasingly identify themselves as "white." Judis has described our strategy, formulated first by Richard Nadler, and expanded upon by Tom Donelson and JD Johannes that combines attracting minority voters and increasing white voters support for a growth agenda, independent of identity politics. When Republicans emphasize growth-oriented policies for all Americans, they win. Let the other side wallow in the identity politics and government solutions for every day policies and we will emphasize community and private solutions that goes beyond the reach of Washington D.C.