



What happened and what does it mean?

Election Day survey

November 11, 2020

CAMPAIGNS

CORPORATIONS

ADVOCACY

WORLDWIDE

Methodology

Phone poll of 2,000 voters in 16-state presidential & Senate battleground.

An election phone poll of 2,000 registered voters in a 16-state battleground was conducted October 30-November 4, 2020 from a voter-file sample. 1938 of the voters were voters in 2020. 65% of respondents were contacted on cell phones in order to accurately reflect the American electorate. Votes and vote share for key demographics were weighted to the Edison exit polls.

The analysis of this survey includes timeseries data from 5 other phone polls conducted in the same 16-state battleground between March and October 2020.

Total 16-state Presidential and Senate battleground: Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Wisconsin

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

8 Blue Wall States = IA (+3), MI (+1), ME (+3), MN (+1), NH (-), OH (+3), PA (-), WI (-)

4 Regions :

- Northeast (ME, NH, PA),
- Midwest (IA, MI, MN, OH, WI)
- South (FL, GA, NC, VA)
- West (AZ, CO, NM, NV)

**(Republican PVI advantage) (PVI – even) (Democratic PVI advantage)*

The disruptive campaign that elected Biden president

- The election of Donald Trump produced the highest turnout in any midterm — led by Black Americans, women, and suburban voters — and the fierce re-election battle in 2020, the highest turnout since 1900 — led by Black Americans, millennials, and unmarried women and above all, by new white working-class Trump voters, particularly in the blue wall states.
- Our polling in October and on Election Day identified the biggest factor changing the race: Trump's incendiary, race-laden for workers against the elites, fueled by attacks on defunding the police, urban violence and local and national Democrats produced a working class and rural revolt.
- Biden flipped blue wall states because Blacks, unmarried women, millennials, and college women increased their turn out and grew Biden's landslide margins and critically, held his 43 percent with white working-class women, despite a deluge of white working-class voters.
- Biden continued historic trends in the diverse battleground states and flipped Georgia and Arizona because of impressive turnout and vote with Blacks and millennials, as well as with unmarried and college women. The Hispanic vote share did not grow, despite their growth in the registered population and the Biden vote disappointed in at least two key states, Florida and Texas. Trump ran better with Hispanic men.
- Republicans were hurt by real defections with McCain conservatives and GOP moderates and grew their vote with GOP defectors and dual haters.

Trump fights back

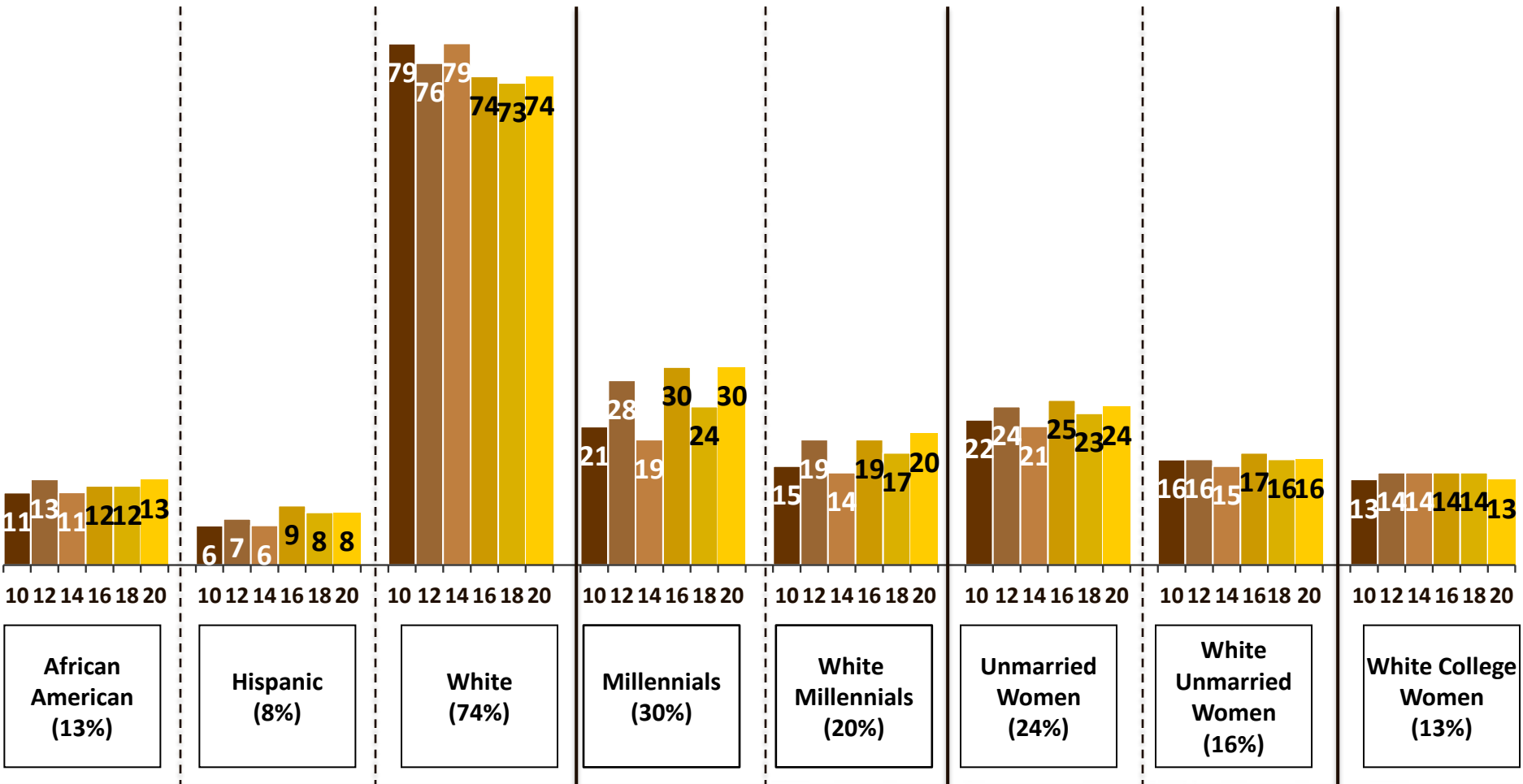
- Trump fueled a white working-class revolt that grew the white working class share since 2018: from 40 to 62 percent in Iowa, 40 to 53 percent in Minnesota, 54 to 58 percent in Wisconsin, 40 to 55 percent in Ohio, 49 to 54 percent in Michigan and 48 to 53 percent in Pennsylvania. That was as dramatic a shift as those produced by the mid-term blue wave.
- Trump's late campaign drove up his vote with white working-class men by 7 points to match what Trump got in 2016 — when he won them by a daunting 48 points. And he pushed up his rural vote by 14 points to exceed what he achieved in 2016.
- The campaign that warned of Black violence fostered by permissive, liberal Democrats who disrespected the police, moved seniors to switch from voting on COVID to voting on “law and order” – and wiped out Biden's lead there at the campaign's close. The biggest gap with the pre-campaign polls was this change with seniors. Fear trumped good plans.
- The Democrats lost their lead for Congress when these new white working-class voters broke heavily for Trump and against House, Senate and local Democrats were supposedly defunding the police and doing nothing about the violence. On Election, Trump took a big lead over Biden on law and order and that is a big part of the 2020 story.
- Campaigns were pervasive during the pandemic, and importantly, **58 percent of Biden voters say they were contacted by an independent organization promoting voter participation.**

The battleground electorate's surprising mandate

- Biden won the battleground by 4 points and the Electoral College because of how he would handle COVID, health care, racial strife, and uniting the country. Trump kept the election competitive on the economy and who would better deal with law and order – and all the issues linked to defunding the police, protests that became violent and attacked police.
- Fear of socialism was not very important to why they voted against Biden and the Democrats. Respondents could choose three reasons for their vote, but only 31 percent chose “socialism”; by contrast, 45 percent chose the economy and ability to get out of recession.
- In fact, Trump mobilized voters not very hospitable to a Republican or conservative agenda. Over 60 percent want to raise taxes on the wealthy and over half on those earning over \$400,000. The new white working-class voters overwhelmingly favor a wealth tax. A big majority believe government regulation is necessary to protect the public interest.
- The electorate in the battleground states fully embraces the idea that America is a diverse and immigrant country, and it is strengthened, not weakened by those trends. Three quarters believe women get fewer opportunities than men; half that racial discrimination is the main reason Black people can't get ahead.

In biggest turnout since 1900, Biden helped by Black Americans, millennials, unmarried women

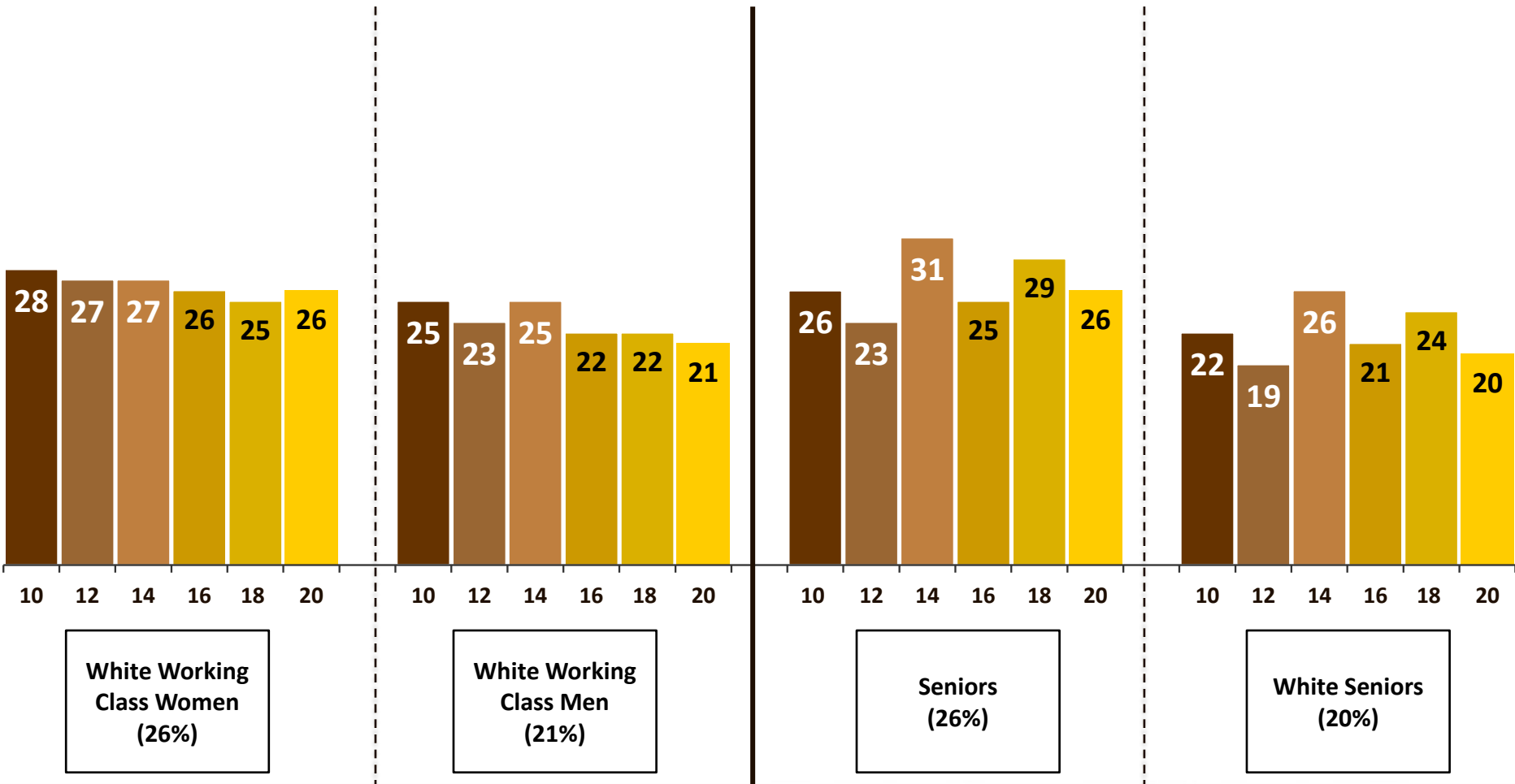
% OF VOTERS



Displaying 2010-2018 share from Catalist post-election analysis. Displaying 2020 share from Democracy Corps election day survey.

In highest turnout since 1900, Trump aided by white working class

% OF VOTERS



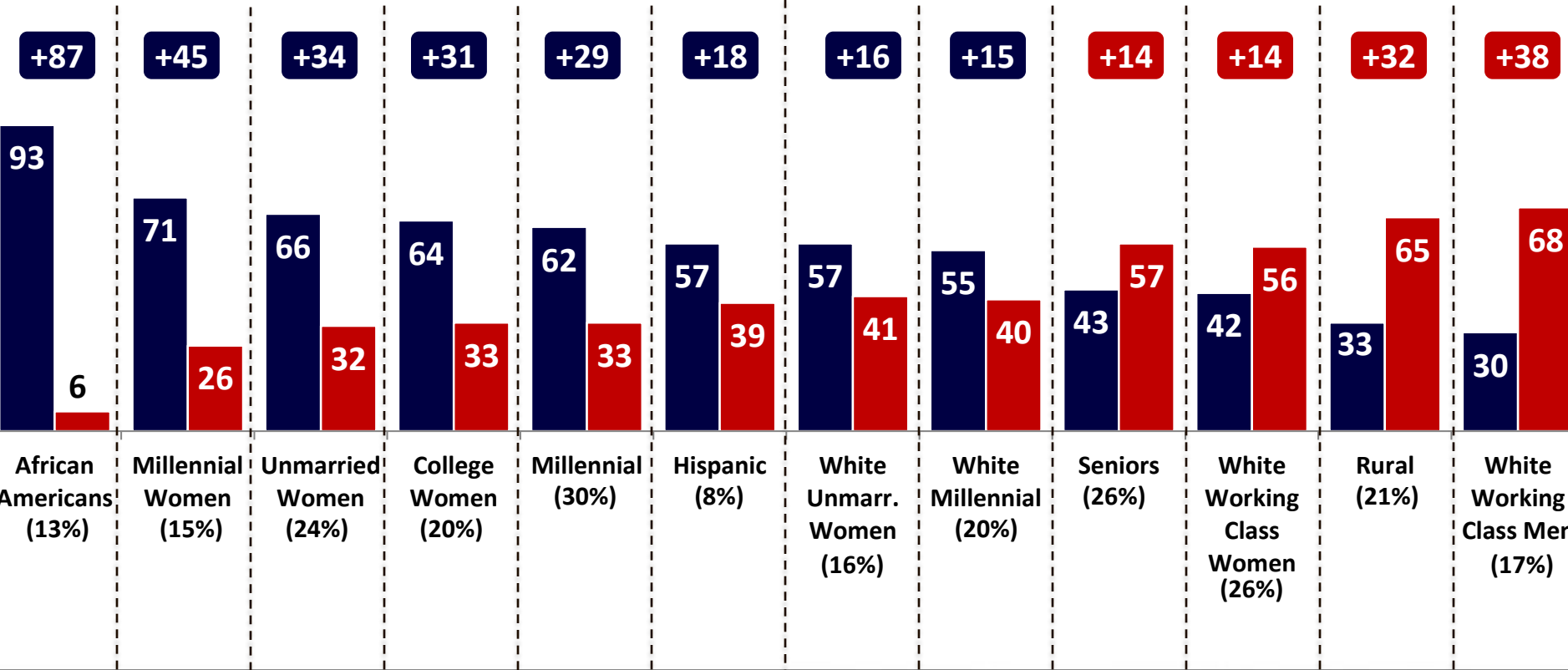
THE RISING AMERICAN ELECTORATE

Women & millennials drove Biden's margins; seniors and white working-class men Trump's

Thinking about the election for President and Vice President, did you vote for -- (ROTATE DEM, REP CANDIDATE) Democrats Joe Biden and Kamala Harris or Republicans Donald Trump and Mike Pence?

2020 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE 2020 STATE BATTLEGROUND

■ Democrat Joe Biden ■ Republican Donald Trump



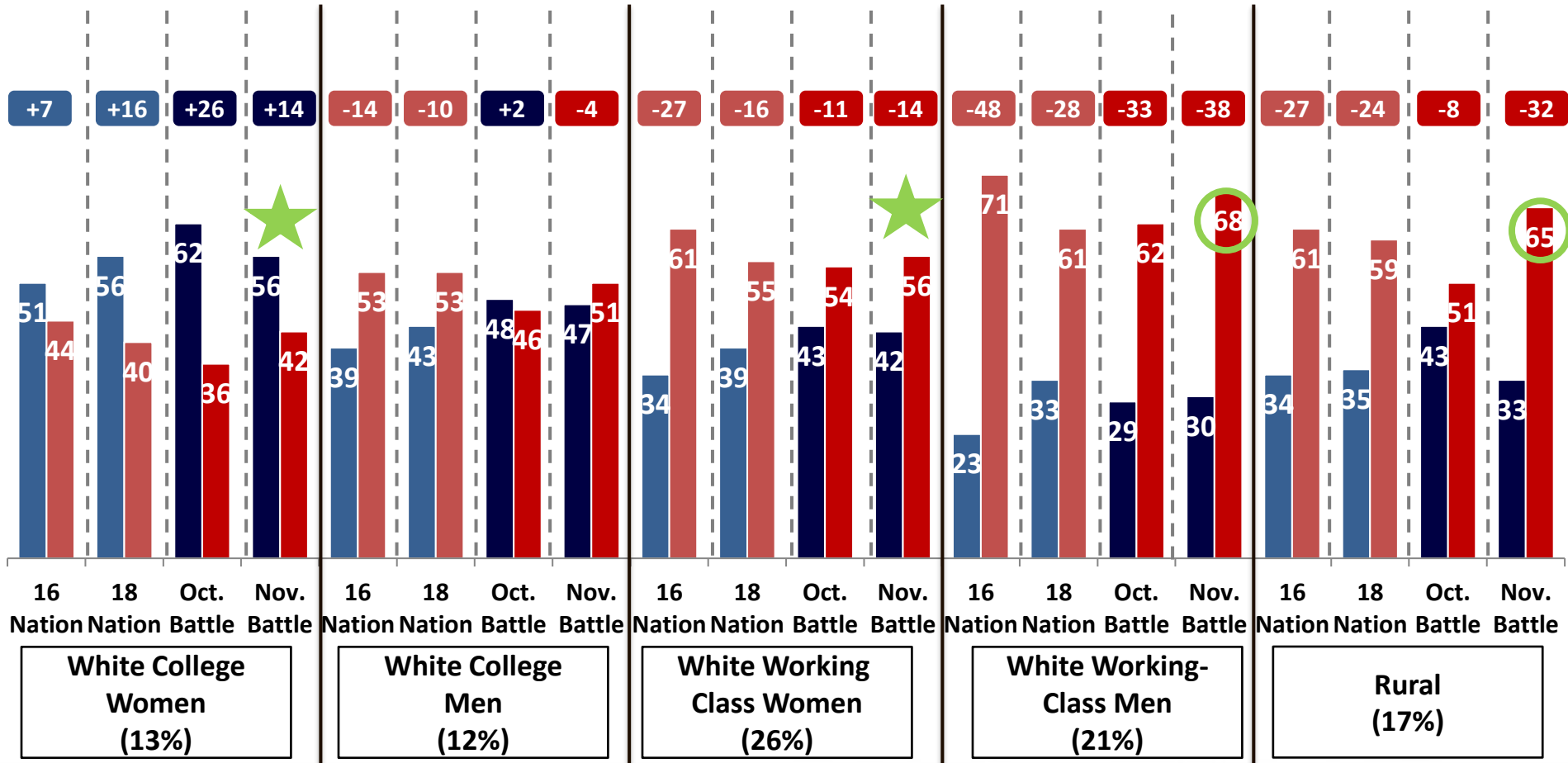
White college and WWC women stars, while rural and WWC men delivered for Trump

Thinking about the election for President and Vice President, did you vote for -- (ROTATE DEM, REP CANDIDATE) Democrats Joe Biden and Kamala Harris or Republicans Donald Trump and Mike Pence?

2016 V. 2018 V. 2020 COMPARISON

■ Clinton 2016/Democrat 2018/Biden 2020

■ Trump 2016/Republican 2018/Trump 2020

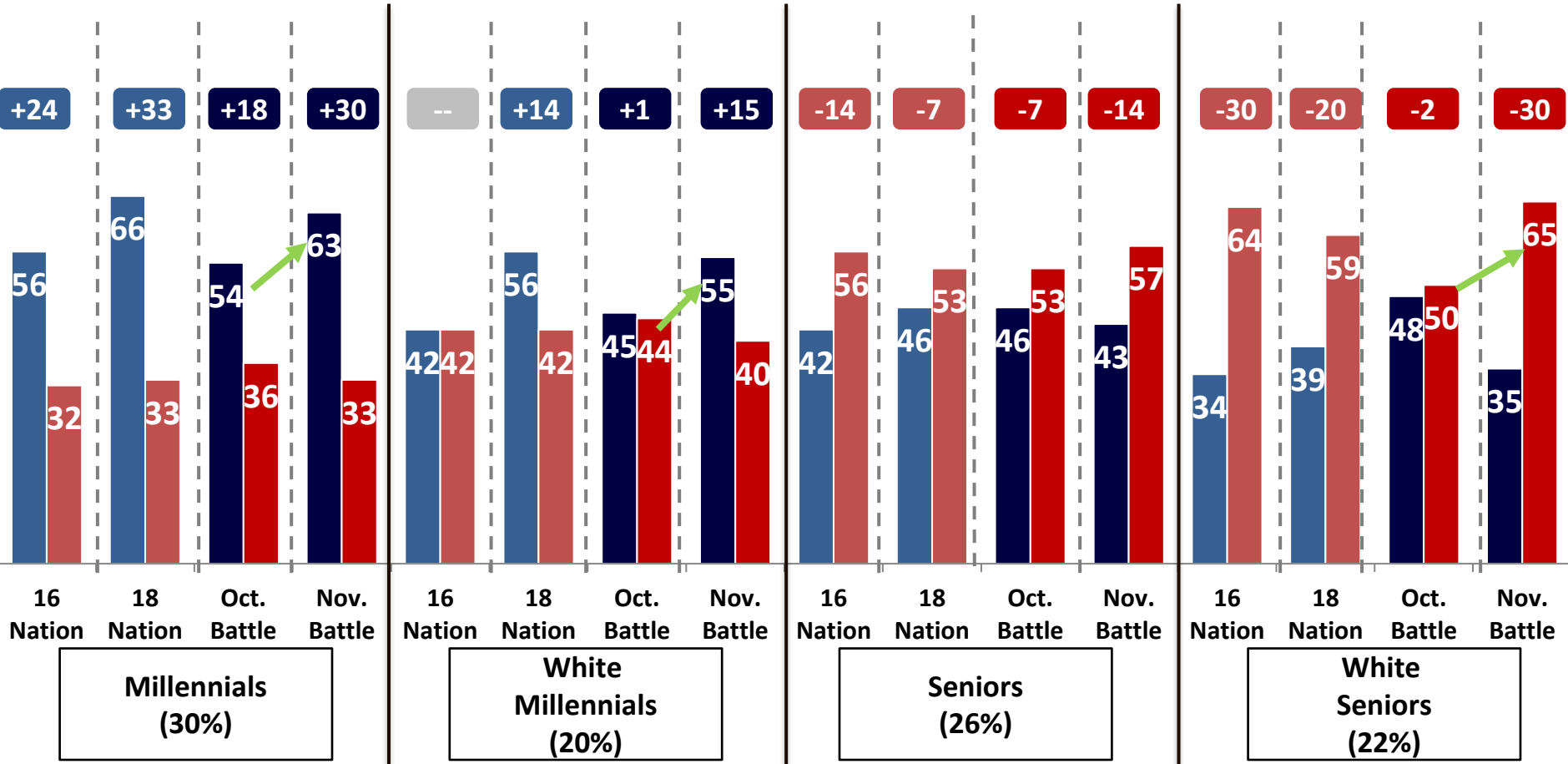


Millennials increased Biden vote 10 points; white seniors did 15 for Trump

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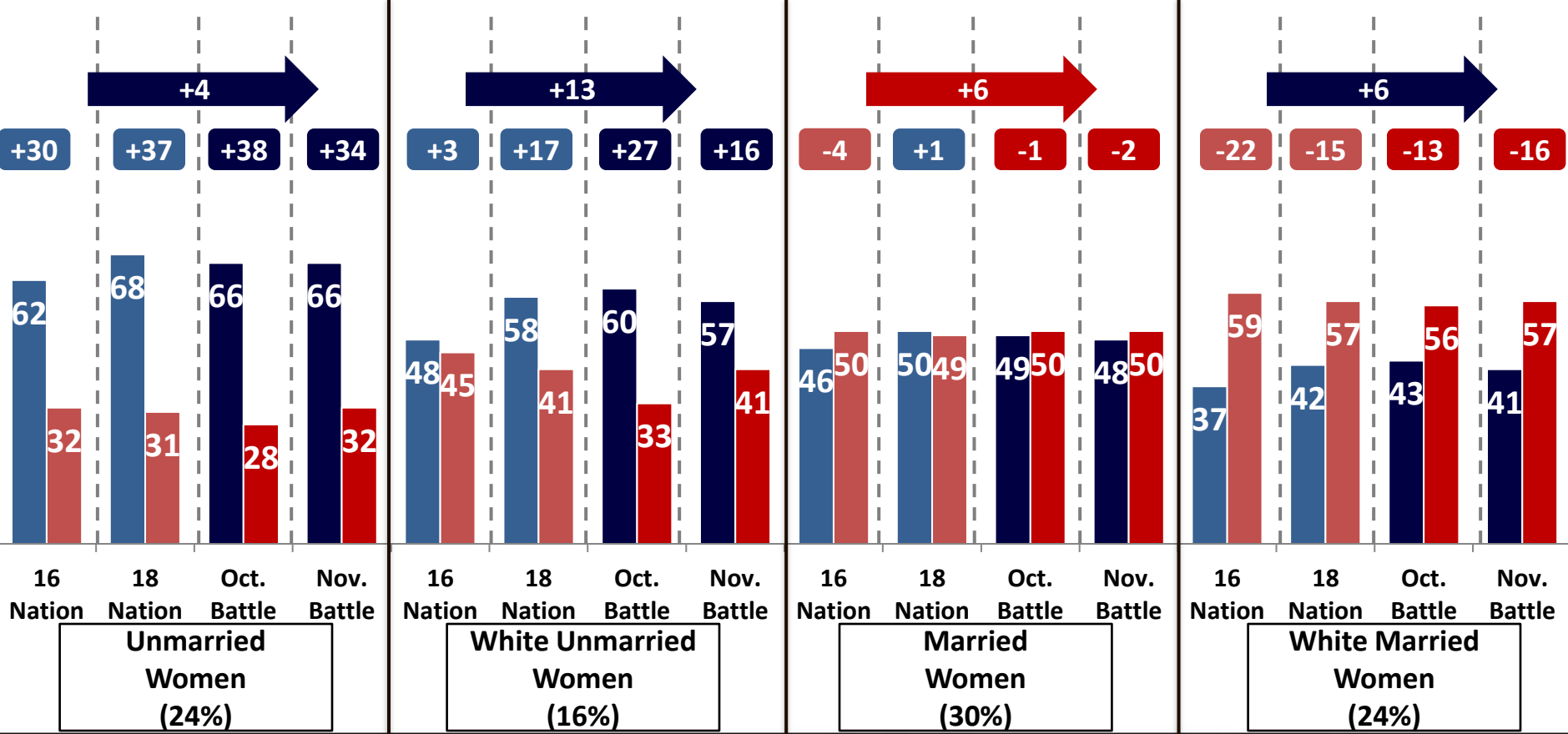
Unmarried women – white and otherwise – hold their big Biden vote to the end

Thinking about the election for President and Vice President, did you vote for -- (ROTATE DEM, REP CANDIDATE) Democrats Joe Biden and Kamala Harris or Republicans Donald Trump and Mike Pence?

2016 V. 2018 V. 2020 COMPARISON

■ Clinton 2016/Democrat 2018/Biden 2020

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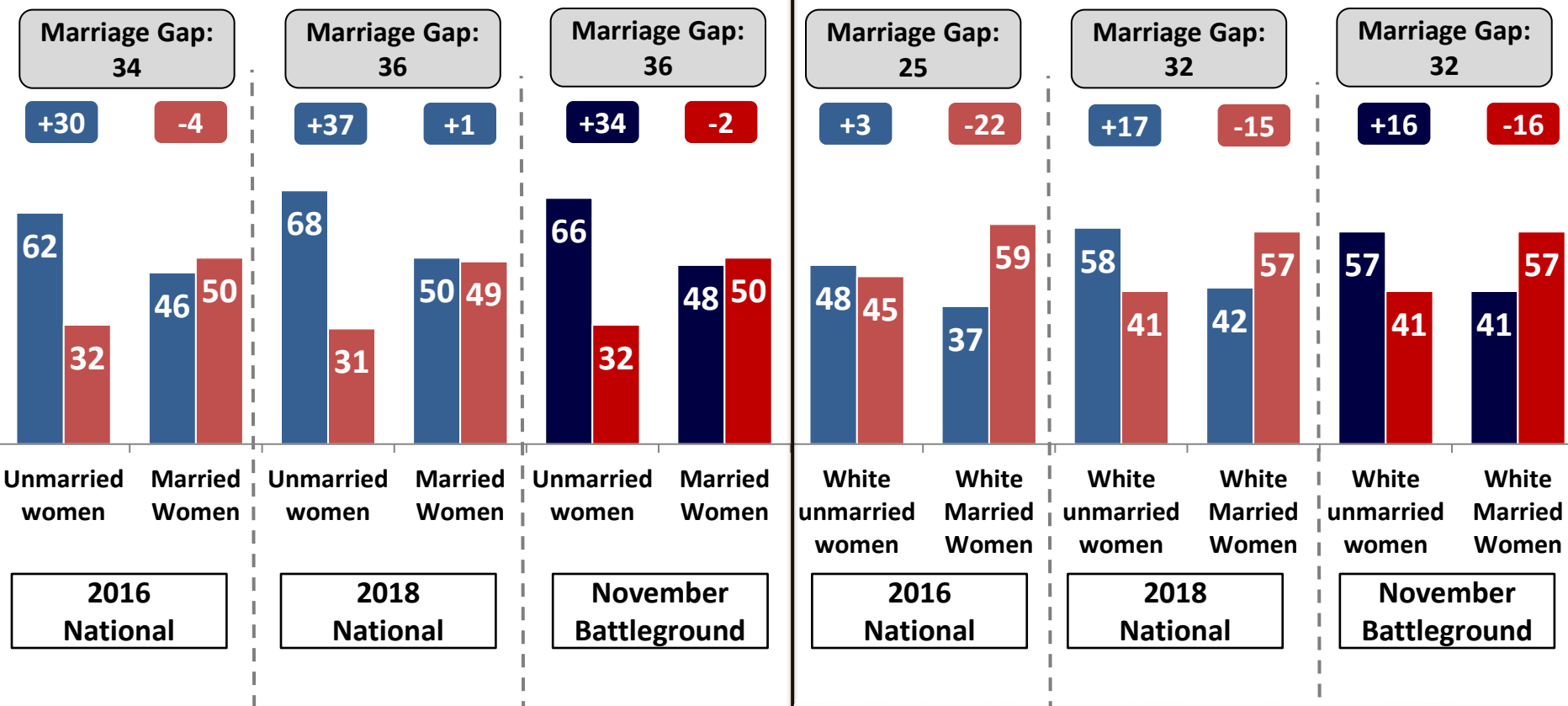
And 2020 restored the marriage gap to 36 points – with white unmarried women replicating the 16-point win they gave to Democrats in 2018

Thinking about the election for President and Vice President, did you vote for -- (ROTATE DEM, REP CANDIDATE) Democrats Joe Biden and Kamala Harris or Republicans Donald Trump and Mike Pence?

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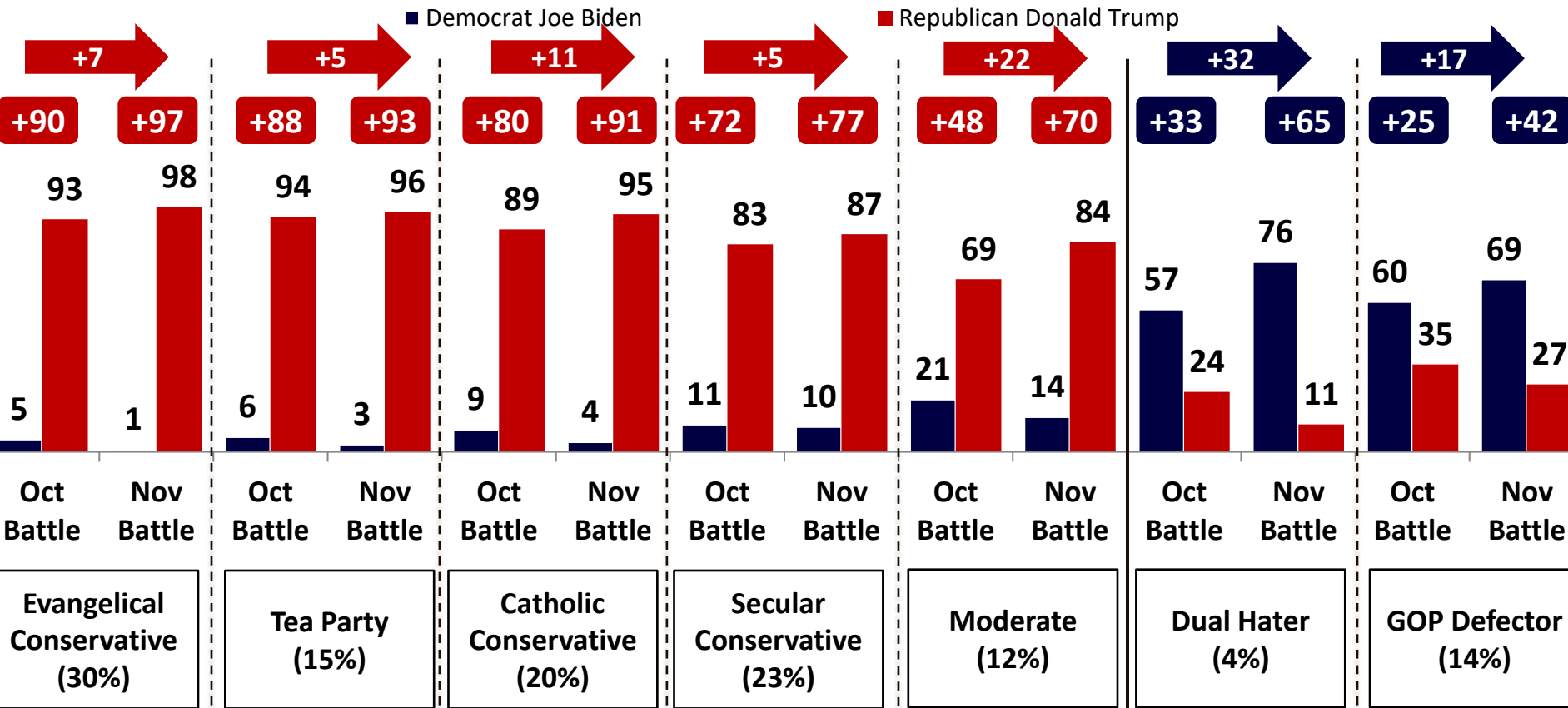
■ Trump 2016/Republican 2018/Trump 2020



Biden gets McCain conservatives and GOP moderates & raises margin with GOP defectors and dual haters

Thinking about the election for President and Vice President, did you vote for -- (ROTATE DEM, REP CANDIDATE) Democrats Joe Biden and Kamala Harris or Republicans Donald Trump and Mike Pence?

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE GOP BATTLEGROUND



GOP typology groups % from 313 Republican overall number; Dual Hater and GOP Defector % from overall 2020 Voter numbers.

Why voted Biden or Trump

Biden's vote margin brought down by law and order and economy

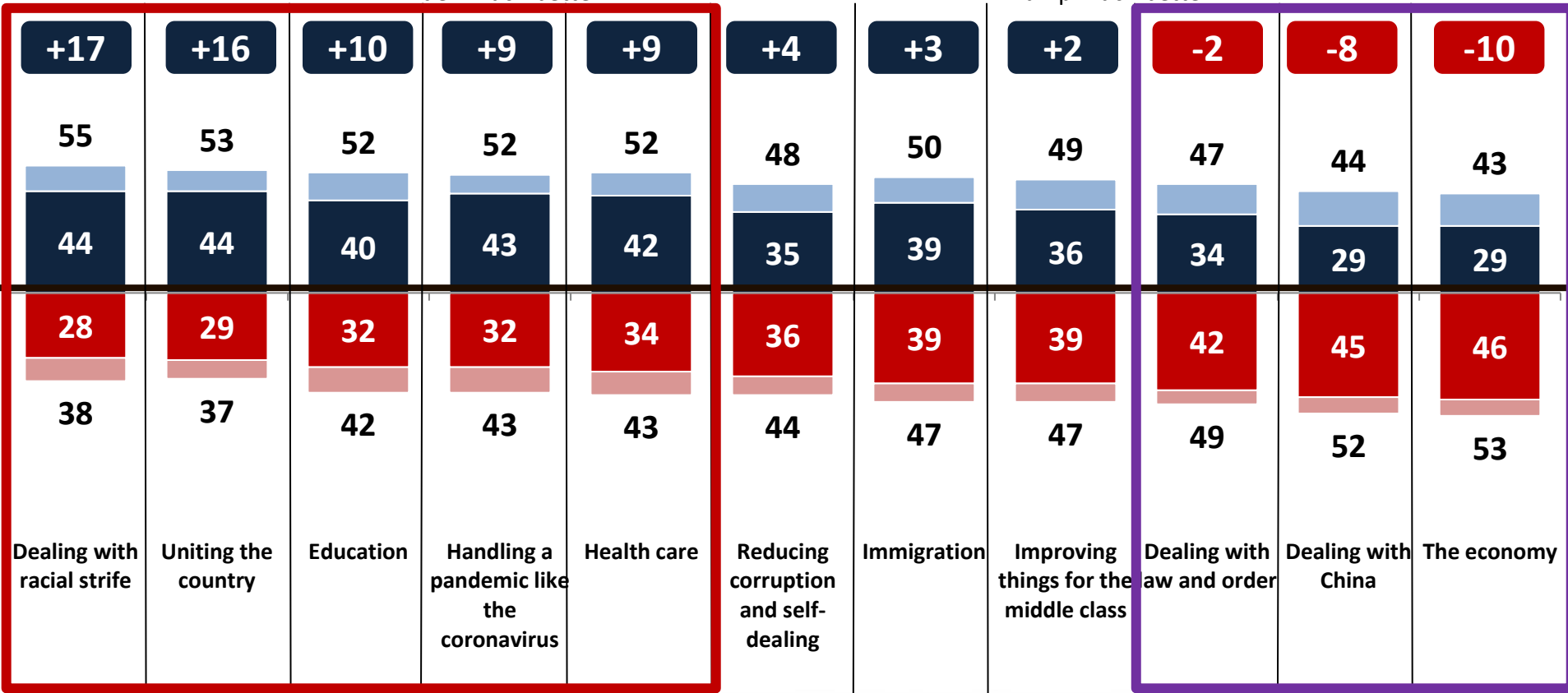
Now I am going to read you some issues. For each issue, please say whether you think Joe Biden or Donald Trump would do a better job with handling that issue.

CANDIDATE COMPARISONS

16 STATE BATTLEGROUND

■ Biden much better

■ Trump much better



Near 60 percent of seniors say Trump “much better” on law & order, China, economy

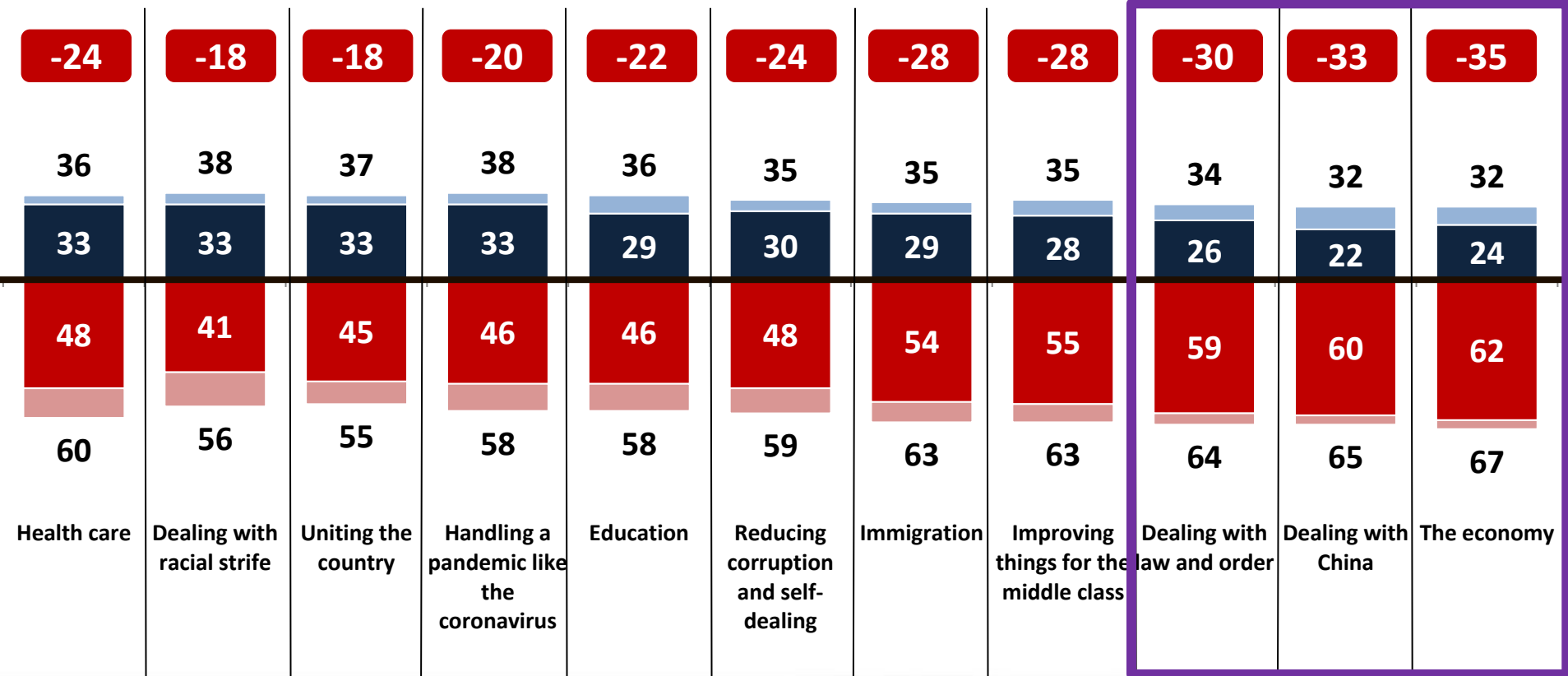
Now I am going to read you some issues. For each issue, please say whether you think Joe Biden or Donald Trump would do a better job with handling that issue.

CANDIDATE COMPARISONS

WHITE SENIORS

■ Biden much better

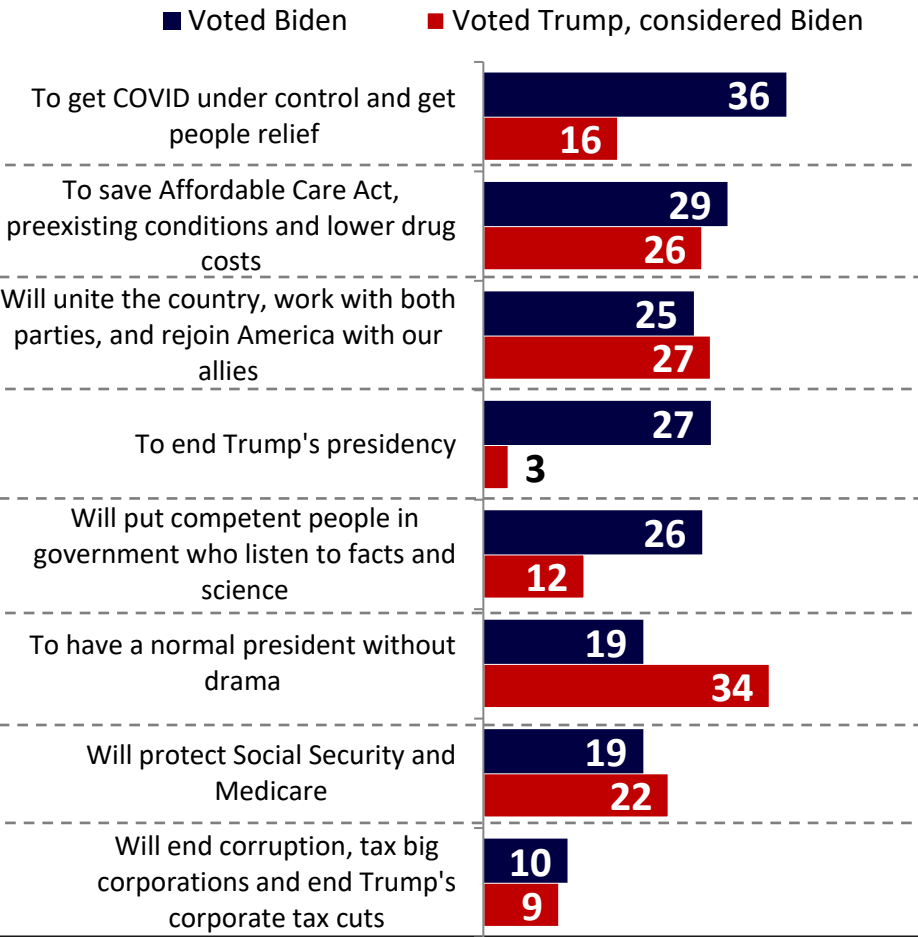
■ Trump much better



Biden's vote driven by COVID, ACA and ending racial divisions; Trump wavers worried about race divisions and climate change

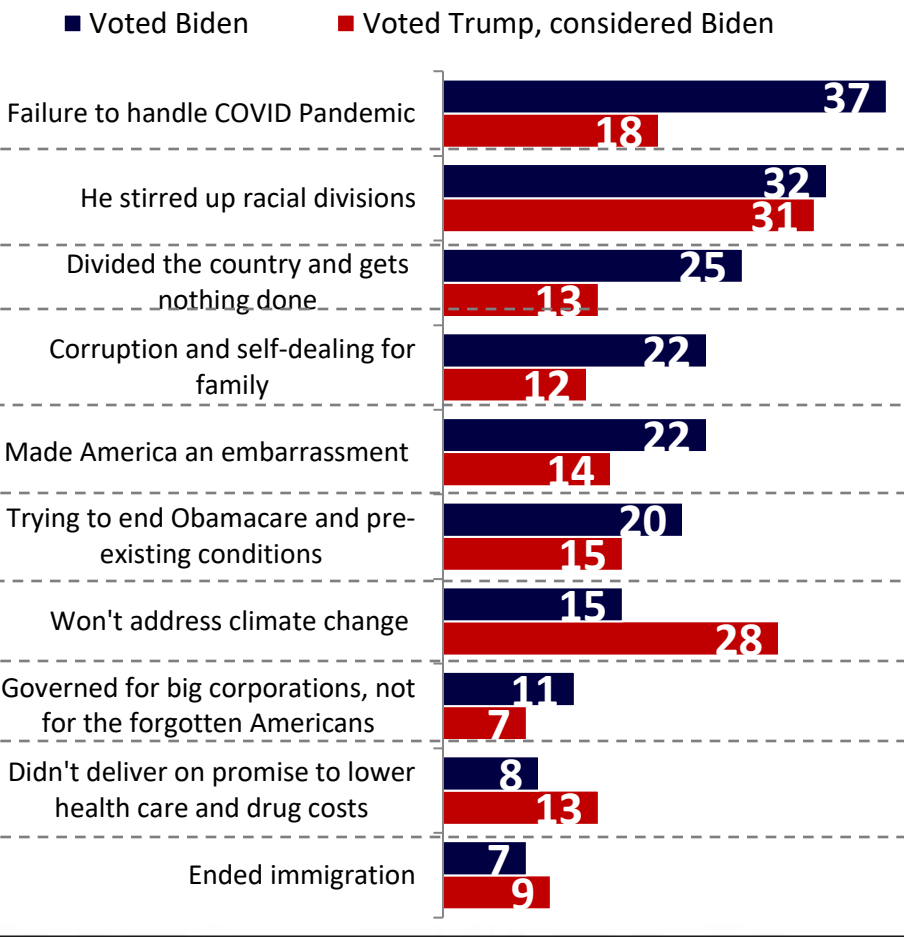
Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you considered supporting Joe Biden?

WHY BIDEN FOR PRESIDENT



Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you considered opposing Donald Trump?

WHY NOT TRUMP FOR PRESIDENT

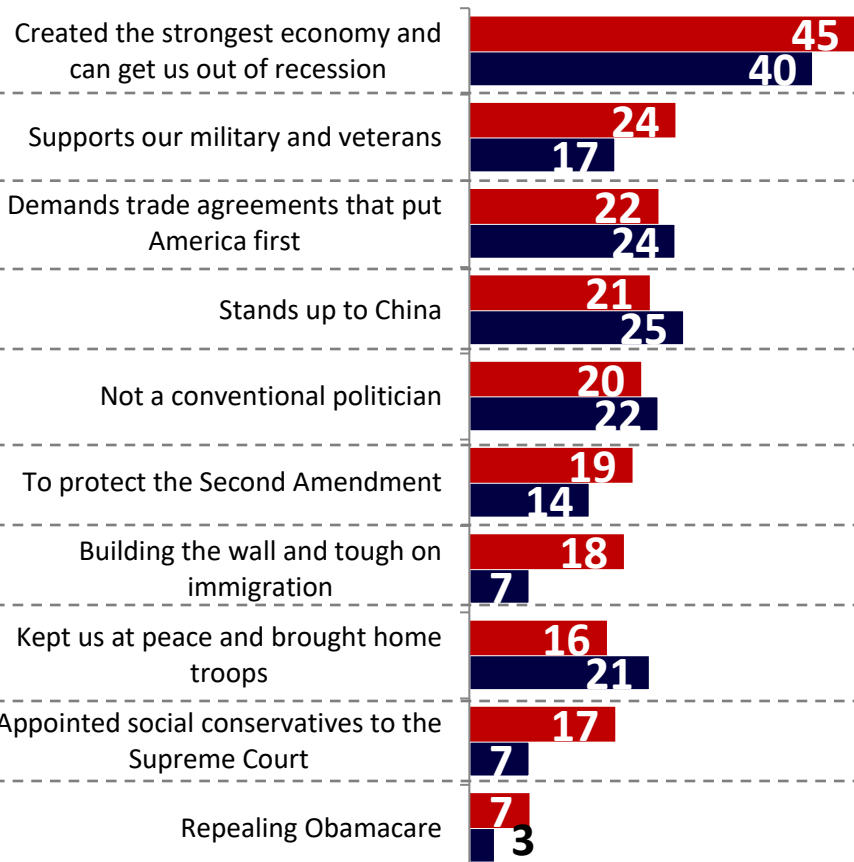


Trump strong on getting economy back matters, not fear of socialism

Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you opposed or will support Donald Trump?

WHY TRUMP FOR PRESIDENT

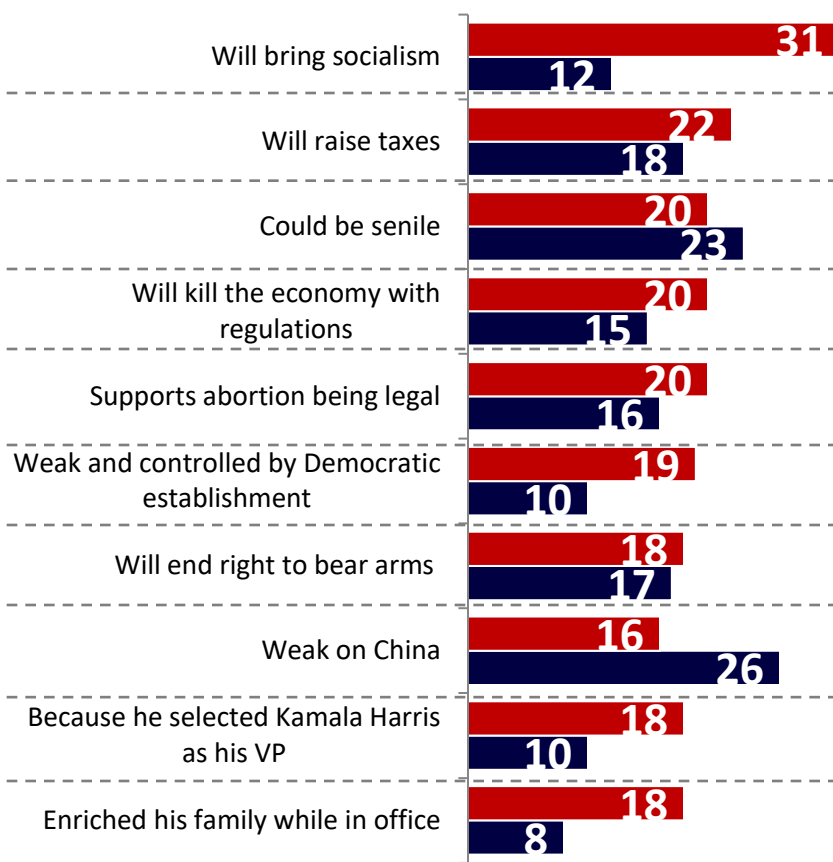
■ Voted Trump ■ Voted Biden, considered Trump



Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you opposed or will oppose Joe Biden?

WHY NOT BIDEN FOR PRESIDENT

■ Voted Trump ■ Voted Biden, considered Trump

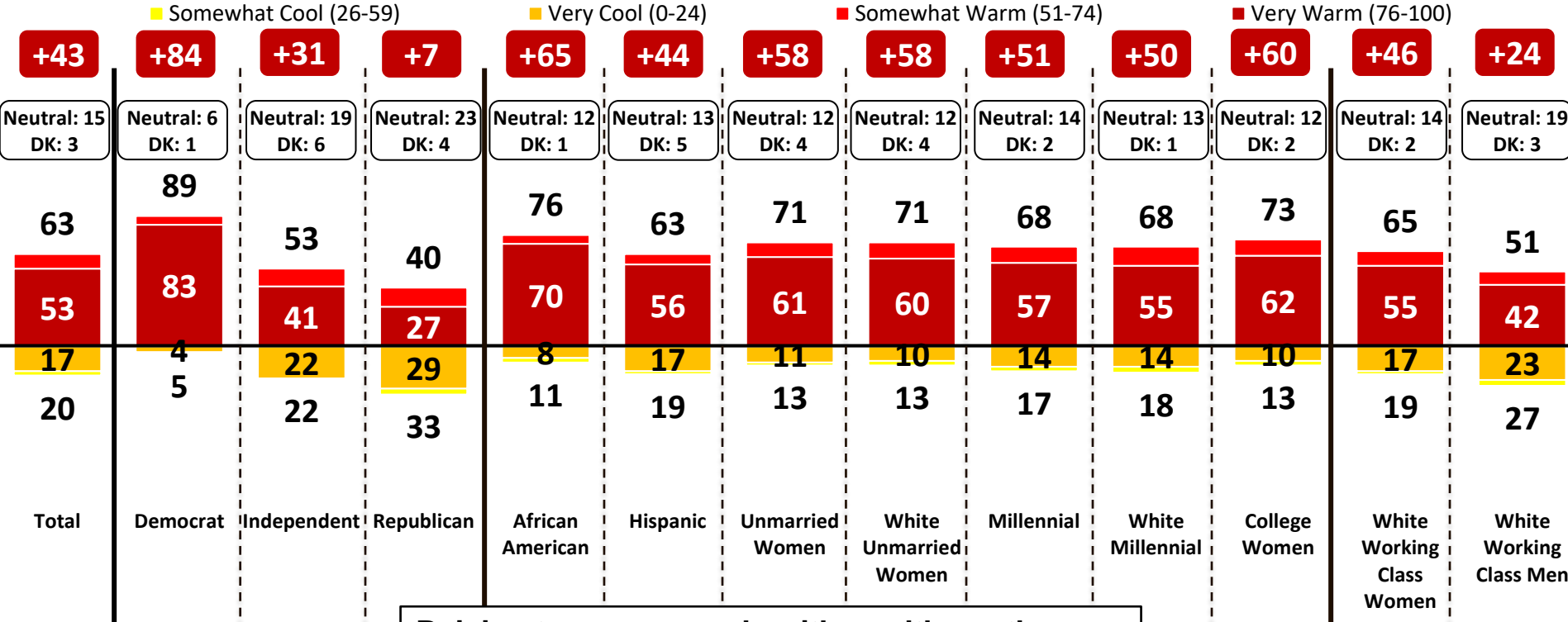


What 2020 voters believe

Over 60 percent of the voters that elected Biden and made Trump competitive want to raise taxes on wealth, including 2/3rds of WWC women and half of WWC men

Now, I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and ideas, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

THERMOMETERS 2020 PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND

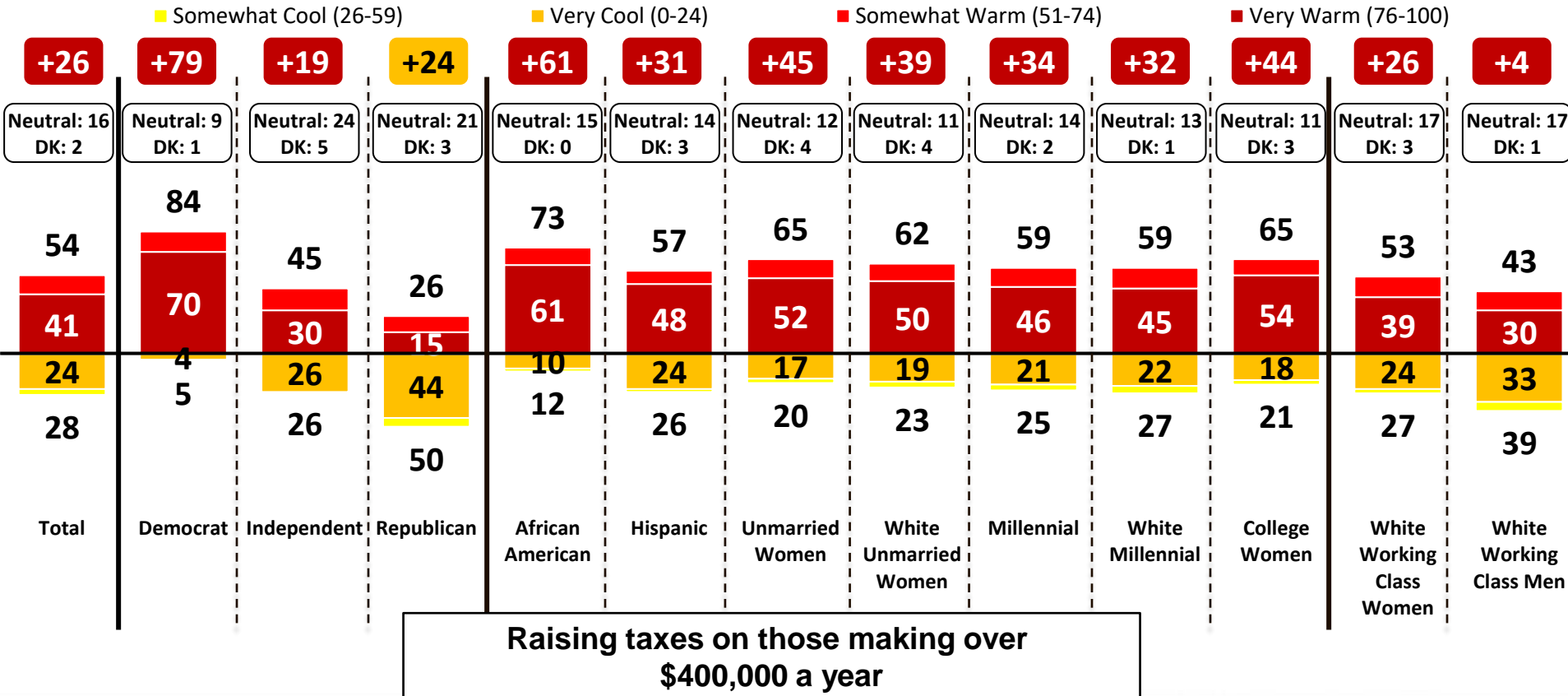


Raising taxes on people with wealth worth more than \$35 million per year

Big majority want to raise taxes on \$400,000, including half of white working class women and a plurality of the men

Now, I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and ideas, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

THERMOMETERS 2020 PRESIDENTIAL BATTLEGROUND



Battleground America united on America's diversity and immigration as a strength and promoting equality for women and Black Americans

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

■ Much More

■ Somewhat More

■ Much More

■ Somewhat More

The increasing number of people of many different races, ethnic groups, and nationalities in the United States makes this country a better place to live.

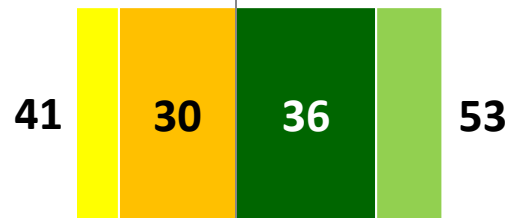
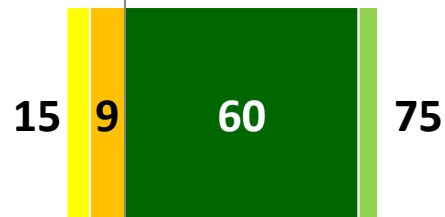
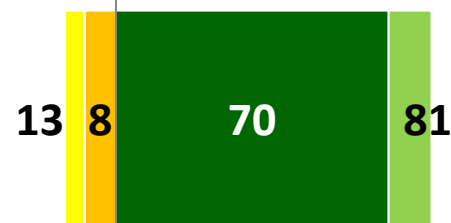
The increasing number of people of many different races, ethnic groups, and nationalities threatens traditional American customs or values.

Women get fewer opportunities than men for equal pay and good paying jobs.

Women who demand equality are actually seeking special favors.

Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest.

Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good.



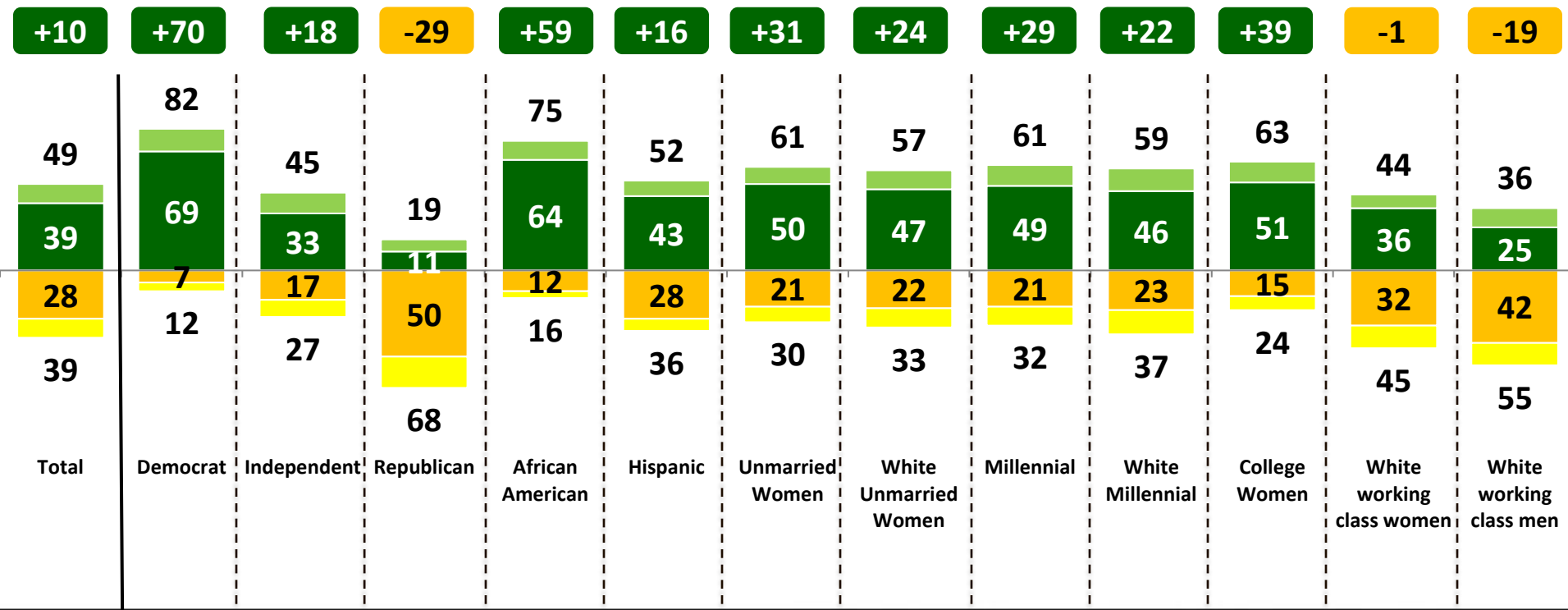
Big plurality say race main reason Black Americans can't get ahead, with white working class divided

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

Racial discrimination is the main reason why many Black people can't get ahead these days.

Black people who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition.

■ Much More ■ Somewhat More ■ Much More ■ Somewhat More

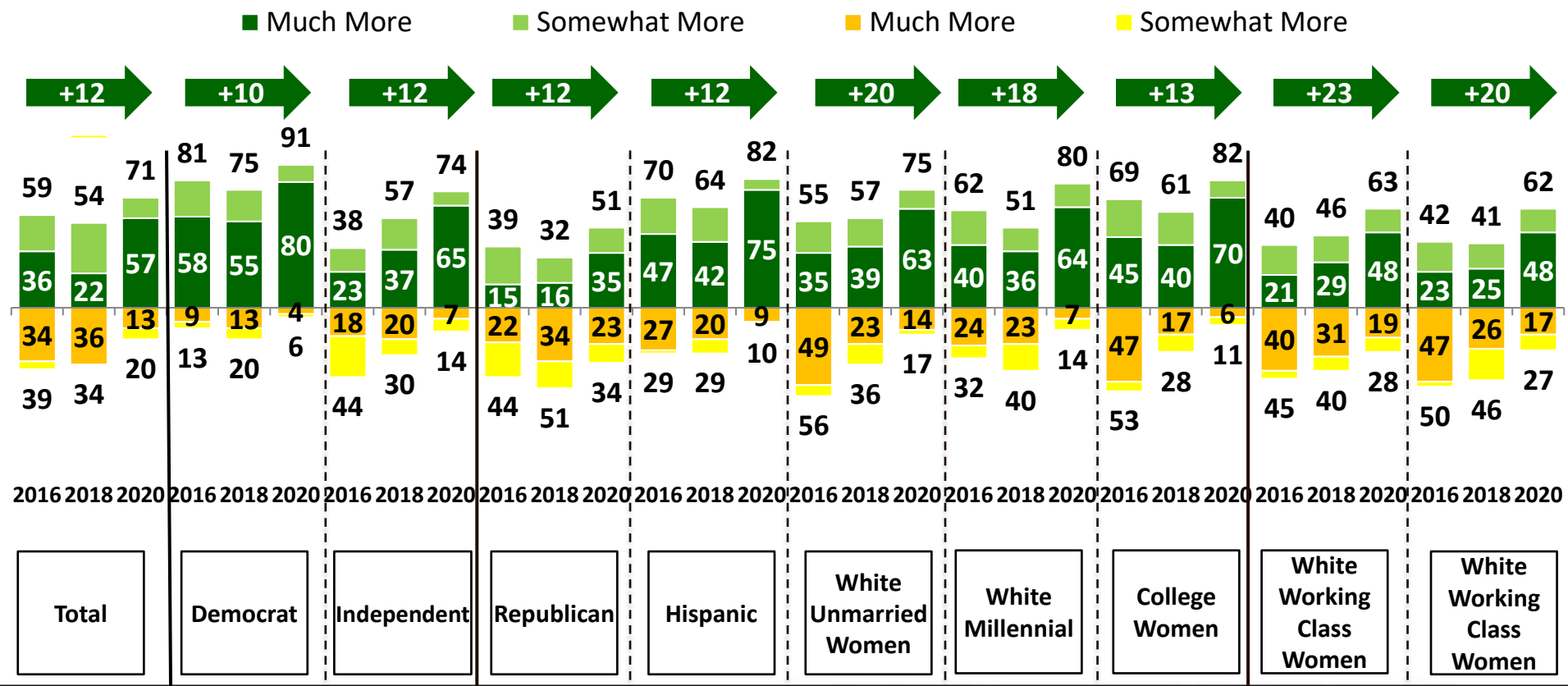


Trump has steadily made America more pro-immigration, especially now when focused on police, not immigration 2020, including half of Republicans

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

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

Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care.



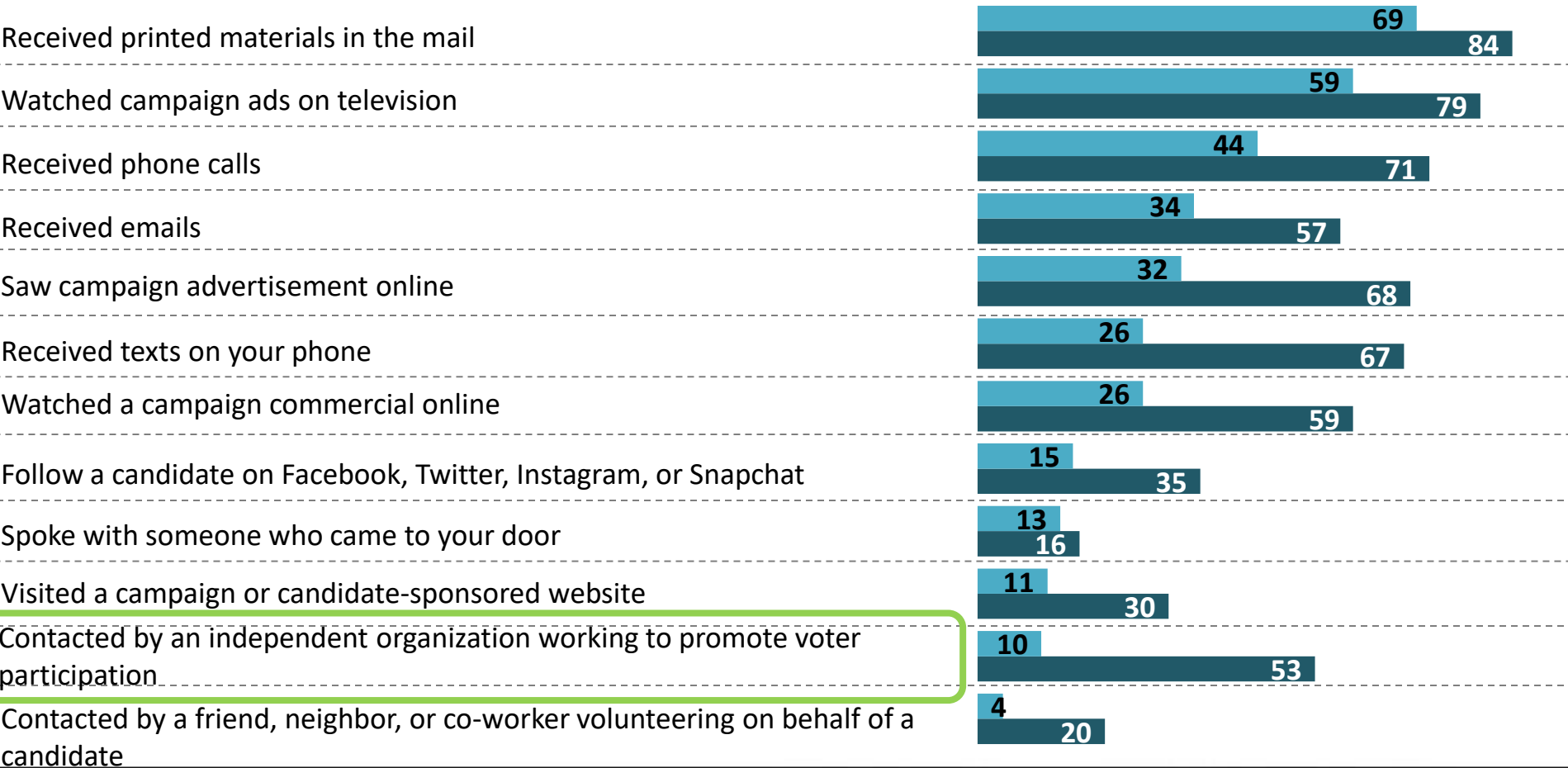
The pandemic campaign

2020 campaign pervasive, including half said contacted by voter participation org

These are some ways that candidates, campaigns, and other organizations try to reach people before elections. Please select all of the ways that you were contacted or received information before the election.

2018 vs. 2020 GOTV CONTACT METHODS

■ 2018 Voters ■ 2020 Voters

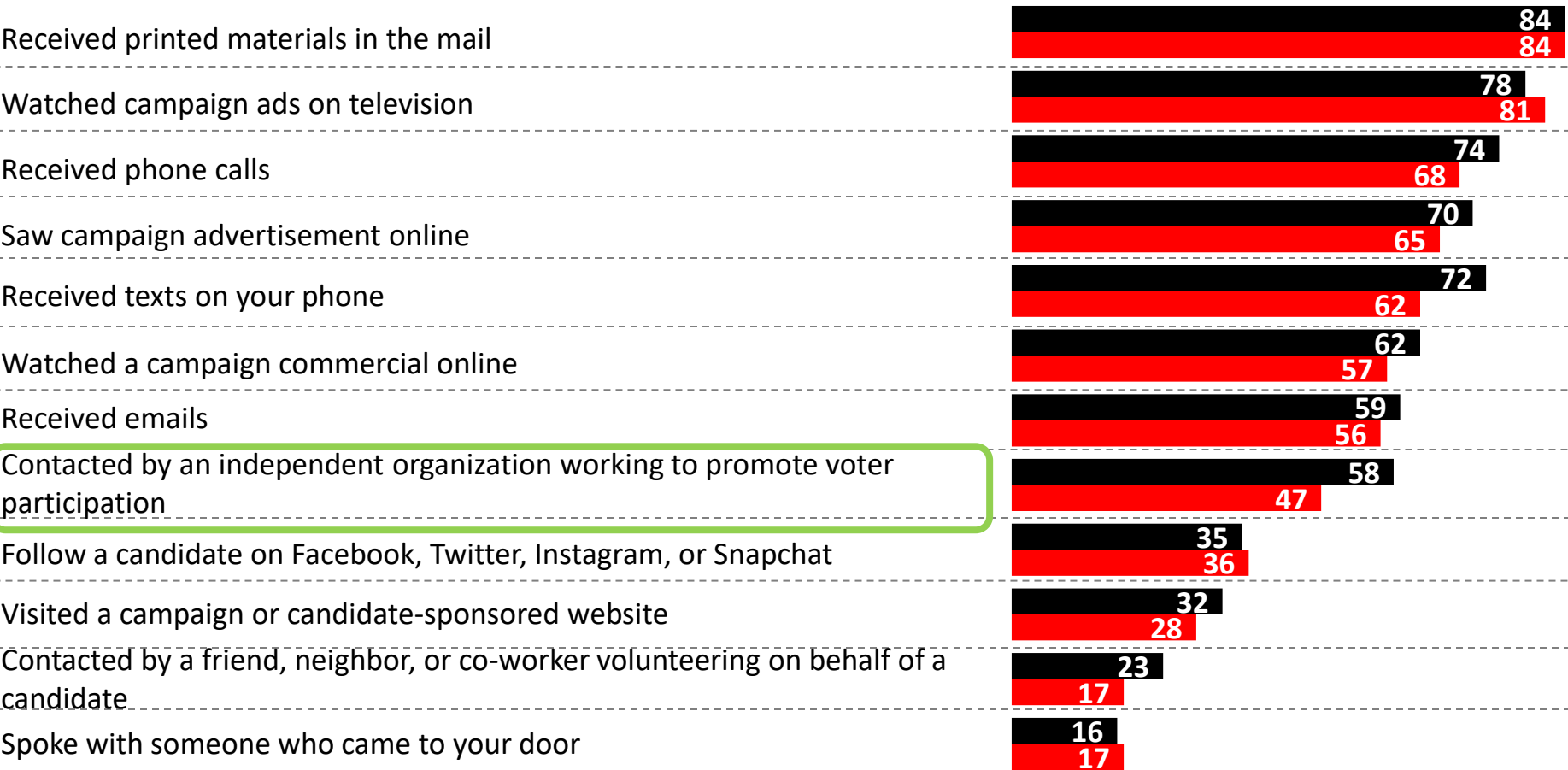


Biden and Trump voters faced comparable campaigns, except texts and VPC

These are some ways that candidates, campaigns, and other organizations try to reach people before elections. Please select all of the ways that you were contacted or received information before the election.

2020 GOTV CONTACT METHODS

■ Biden Voters ■ Trump Voters



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