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To: To interested parties

From: Democracy Corps, Equis Research, & HIT Strategies

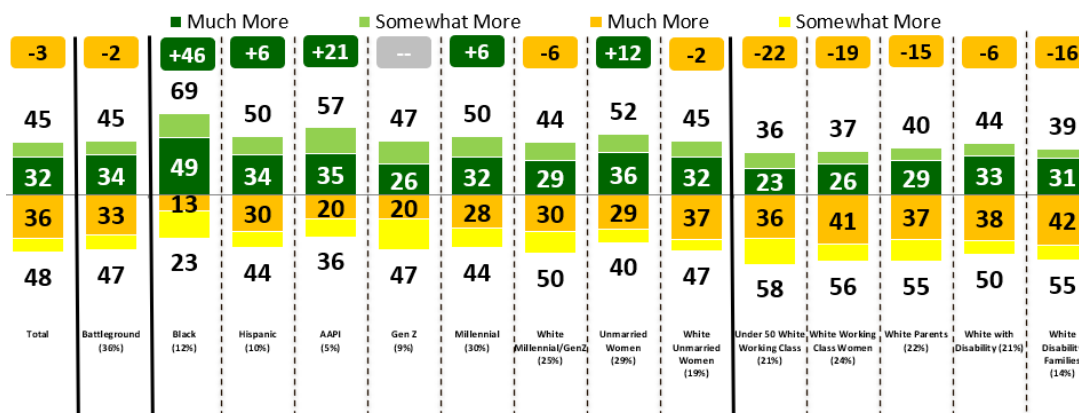# A critical moment to raise support with ALL working class voters

Recent research conducted by Democracy Corps, Equis Labs, and HIT Strategies for Democracy Corps, and the American Federation of Teachers of Black, Hispanic, AAPI and white working class voters shows that Joe Biden and the Democrats can embrace a powerful middle class-blue-collar message along with their transformative policy agenda and dramatically change their fortunes. Hearing that full agenda and along with the full-throated attack from conservatives allows Democrats to shift their vote margin from 3 points in the battleground to 8. That is the kind of margin they need to contest the midterms successfully.

GenZ and millennials and Hispanics split on Trump's forgotten American and trade and Biden working for middle class and blue collar

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

Joe Biden is working for the middle class and blue collar workers after Donald Trump governed for the biggest corporations, the rich, and enriched his own family.

Donald Trump governed for the forgotten Americans, renegotiated trade agreements to avoid outsourcing, and promoted America.

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

	Total	Battleground (36%)	Black (12%)	Hispanic (10%)	AAPI (5%)	Gen Z (9%)	Millennial (30%)	White Millennial/GenZ (25%)	Unmarried Women (29%)	White Unmarried Women (19%)	Under 50 White Working Class (21%)	White Working Class Women (24%)	White Parents (22%)	White with Disability (21%)	White Disability Families (14%)
Net	-3	-2	+46	+6	+21	--	+6	-6	+12	-2	-22	-19	-15	-6	-16
Biden total	45	45	69	50	57	47	50	44	52	45	36	37	40	44	39
Biden Much More	32	34	49	34	35	26	32	29	36	32	23	26	29	33	31
Trump Much More	36	33	13	30	20	20	28	30	29	37	36	41	37	38	42
Trump total	48	47	23	44	36	47	44	50	40	47	58	56	55	50	55

Democrats and Joe Biden are struggling to show these voters who is best on the economy and securing jobs and wages. And when asked whether they are drawn to Trump's vision who "governed for the forgotten Americans, negotiated trade agreements to avoid outsourcing, promoted America" or Joe Biden, "working for the middle-class workers and blue collar workers after Trump governed for the biggest corporations, the rich, and enriched his own family," voters chose Trump's approach for the first time in our poll by 3 points (48 to 45 percent). No wonder Democrats struggled in both Virginia and New Jersey.

This is a large 2500 sample on-line survey with supplemental samples for Blacks, Hispanics, Asian American and Pacific Islanders that allows us to address the strategic changes all progressives and Democratic leaders are looking for. What we tested here was not just the policies that will soon come into play, but a very different orientation where voters know we are seeing working people first and foremost and are wearing their shoes. We are discontented with the status quo and want change. We are clear who we are for and against. Our priorities are big changes in the economy and big changes in who has power in the workplace and in government.

After disappointing elections where Democratic support of Latino, African American, AAPI, and white working class voters has declined, this orientation is refreshing, because they think the Republican Party is a trickle-down and pro-big corporation Party and not really competing in this space.

The message framework we are testing turns out to help Democrats both in their base and with white working class targets. In the base, it solidifies the Black vote against the Trump-like attacks, though that vote is edging down from the 90 percent we used to see before 2016. The AAPI vote is very strong for Democrats and the messages and policies leave the Democrats with a two-to-one advantage with them. Unmarried women are very strong for Democrats, but the message makes the white unmarried women even stronger. And most importantly, the framework produces some of its biggest shifts with Gen Z and millennials, particularly the whites. Those voters disappointed in Virginia and this framework clearly get their attention.

The Hispanic vote margin is slightly down from 2020 and their response gets stuck in the mid-fifties on many choices. They are more worried than others about prices, taxes, the economy, the border, and defunding the police. Their margin edges down further in this poll and addressing it remains a priority.

The blue-collar-middle class message framework produces significant gains for Democrats with under 50 white working class voters, white working class women, and white disability families. The first may not be as culturally conservative as older white working class voters and are very conscious of the new child tax credit. Those with disabilities and their families are a significant part of the white working class, respond to being seen and policy.

The starting point for the strategy is seeing that both our base and our target persuasion audiences are working class and struggling, and we see them and wear their shoes. Essentially, two-thirds of what CVI has called, "the New American Majority" do not have a four-year college degree. That is true of 77 percent of Blacks in this survey, 83 percent of Gen Z, 62 percent of millennials, and three quarters of unmarried women.

And our message from our focus group research first showed, we need to be explicit that we are fighting *for* "the middle class, working families, small businesses, and the vulnerable who work hard." And our middle class-blue collar message does that. And we are ***fighting against*** big corporations calling all the shots and paying no tax. It is remarkable how unpopular are CEOs, the top 1 percent, and big corporations and how popular making them pay taxes. Both the Democrats' base and white working class targets have equal disdain for big corporations and gets them an audience.

Key to all of this is passage of the transformative legislation by the Congress, but this survey provides strong and surprising guidance on what our base and targets now view as most important. In retrospect, it is common sense. But they opt for things that help their families financially — Medicare expansion, reduced drug costs, insurance premiums, but also policies that require contractors pay $15 minimum wage, help with unions bargain for higher wages and with labor protections, and the child tax credit and its middle class tax cut.
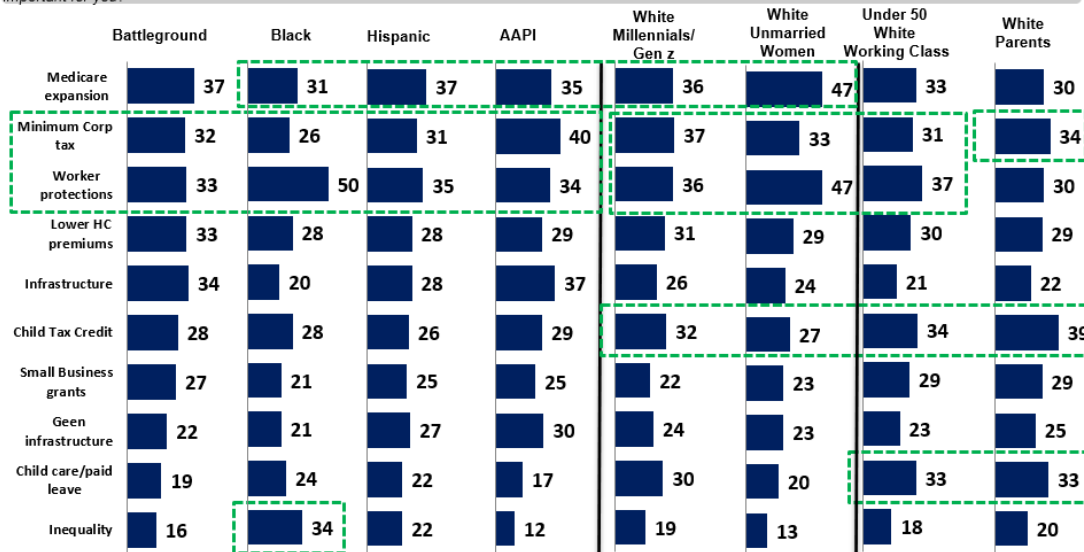
They are for big corporations paying a minimum tax, don't relocate, and raising top rates, but they are also for government helping the worker get higher pay with their employer. They are looking for a shift in power at the workplace and with government.

And that welcoming that shift could not be clearer for Blacks, Hispanics, AAPI, white unmarried women, and under 50 white working class voters.

The child tax credit is intensely popular with Black voters and described as a "new middle class tax cut, including extending the new expanded Child Tax Credit" deposited in their accounts has become important for the under 50 white working class and the top priority for white parents. And support for childcare and paid family leave have also become important for those groups.

Medicare + lower premiums with worker protections and taxing corporations runs from base to targets; child tax credit also emerges

Now, please read the following list that describes what President Biden and the Democrats in Congress are passing or have passed. Which THREE are most important for you?

|	Battleground	Black	Hispanic	AAPI	White Millennials/ Gen z	White Unmarried Women	Under 50 White Working Class	White Parents
Medicare expansion	37	31	37	35	36	47	33	30
Minimum Corp tax	32	26	31	40	37	33	31	34
Worker protections	33	50	35	34	36	47	37	30
Lower HC premiums	33	28	28	29	31	29	30	29
Infrastructure	34	20	28	37	26	24	21	22
Child Tax Credit	28	28	26	29	32	27	34	39
Small Business grants	27	21	25	25	22	23	29	29
Geen infrastructure	22	21	27	30	24	23	23	25
Child care/paid leave	19	24	22	17	30	20	33	33
Inequality	16	34	22	12	19	13	18	20

The priorities of Democrats in this framework are about bringing change to the economy and power. In this survey, we gave respondents a robust option to address historic discrimination with targeted efforts on Black farmers, housing vouchers, lead pipes, as well as Black, tribally controlled colleges, and Hispanic institutions. That is still an important priority for Black voters, but it falls below having government pushing higher wages and helping workers. For Hispanics and AAPI voters, achieving worker protections and reduced health care costs stand out even more as top priorities.

To get heard on this framework, both our base and target voters need to hear our priorities are bringing change on the economy and in the power balance. Voters need to hear that we are dis-satisfied with an economy where people live paycheck to paycheck. We only emphasize policies that help people financially and policies that change who has power at work and government.

The strongest attack on Republicans is their cutting taxes for the wealthiest and big corporations and promising working people would gain, but they still live paycheck to paycheck. Trickledown doesn't work. And now, repealing the expanded child tax credit to working families and raising their taxes and throwing millions into poverty. This is one policy where both Blacks, under 50 white working class, and white disability families flag every Republican opposing a policy that gave checks to every working family with kids. They both choose 4 million kids into poverty, but raising their taxes is close behind in being worrying.

Repeal of CTC (increased poverty & taxes) strongest attacks for Blacks, millennials, & white unmarried women, but also under 50 white working class + parents

Now you will read some things Democratic critics are saying about the Republicans in Congress. Please pick the THREE that raise the most doubts in your mind about Republicans.
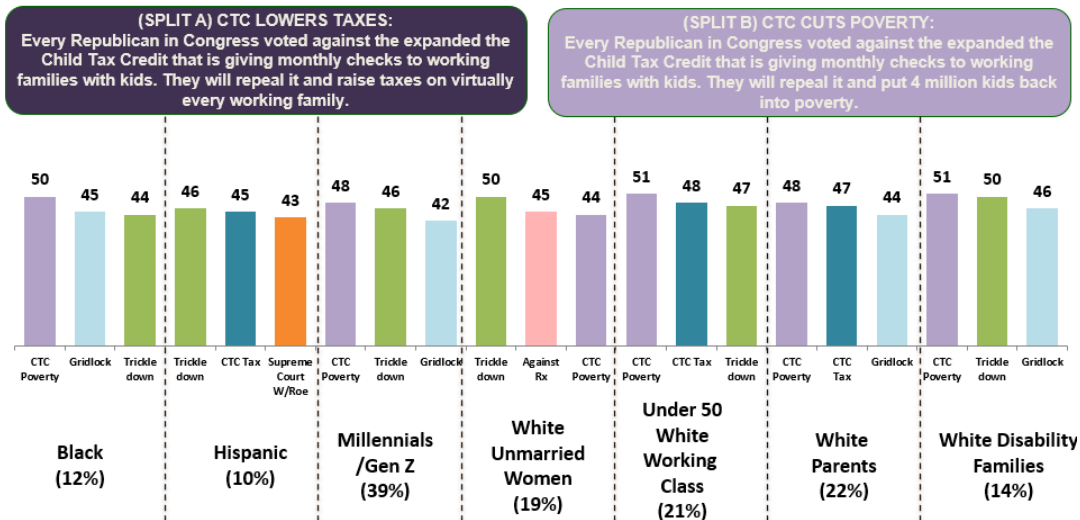
The debate over the Child Tax Credit increases its support, where younger people and the work-ing class immediately see the benefits. Attacking it as a big increase in spending and deficit, with handouts that discourage work and waste taxpayer's dollars only gets the attention of people who

are receiving it. It is explained here as "largest ever tax cut for virtually every working family with children." Helps with high cost of essentials and paying taxes.

That debate creates almost identical levels of support with Blacks, Gen Z and millennials, under 50 white working class voters, and white parents. This is clearly a new kind of support for families that will prove important to the framework tested here.

This strong positioning of Democrats requires funding, not defund the police, with reform and accountability. Not surprisingly, the strongest attacks on the Democrats are on defund the police and the term "defunding the police" is opposed in all the communities and in the persuasion targets. But we tested a framework inspired by New York City where we prioritize security, respect police, and fund them but also include urgent reforms and accountability.
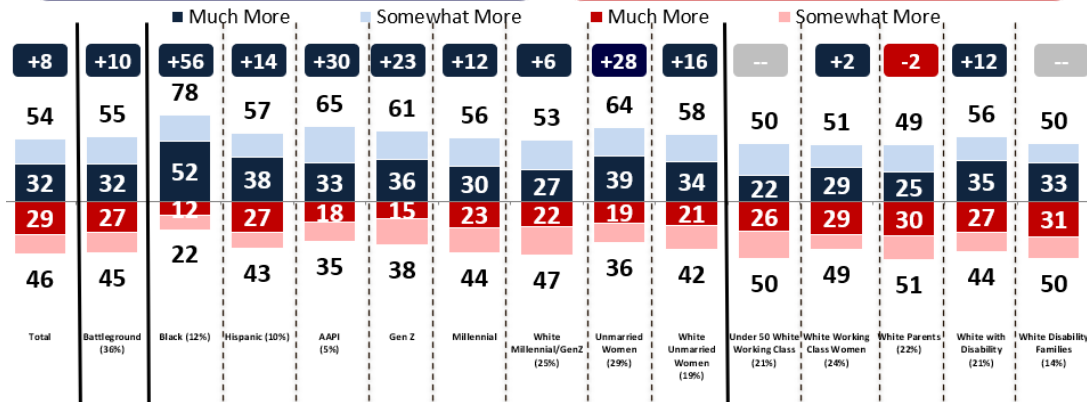
This framework, was strongly embraced by Blacks, Hispanics, and AAPI, as well as other parts of the base. Interestingly, we are at parity with Trump's argument on defunding causing crime with under 50 white working class and working class women. An assertive position like this on security can do a lot of reassurance on what Democrats stand for.

Democratic safe community and fund police message defeats Trump Republicans' attack on law enforcement

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

Democrats say, we have an obligation to make sure everyone can live in a safe community. Preventing crime and protecting our communities is a top priority, and we need to help our cities have the police and resources they need to protect their communities. It is a tough job, and they should be respected. We should fund, not defund the police. At the same time, we also need urgent reforms, including better training and accountability. to prevent excessive use of force and racial profiling…

The Republicans say, police reform is driven by community activists that impose one-size-fits-all Washington mandates on local law enforcement and second guessing that undermines their ability to do their job, which creates hesitation that threatens the safety of our families, communities, and officers. These attacks on law enforcement are not real reform. And they are causing the men and women in uniform who keep our communities safe to leave the profession and are responsible for the wave of crime we are seeing nationwide.

Legend: ■ Much More (Democrat dark) ▪ Somewhat More (Democrat light) ■ Much More (Republican dark) ▪ Somewhat More (Republican light)

|	Total	Battleground (36%)	Black (12%)	Hispanic (10%)	AAPI (5%)	Gen Z	Millennial	White Millennial/GenZ (25%)	Unmarried Women (29%)	White Unmarried Women (19%)	Under 50 White Working Class (21%)	White Working Class Women (24%)	White Parents (22%)	White with Disability (21%)	White Disability Families (14%)
Net	+8	+10	+56	+14	+30	+23	+12	+6	+28	+16	--	+2	-2	+12	--
Democrat total	54	55	78	57	65	61	56	53	64	58	50	51	49	56	50
Much More (Dem)	32	32	52	38	33	36	30	27	39	34	22	29	25	35	33
Much More (Rep)	29	27	12	27	18	15	23	22	19	21	26	29	30	27	31
Republican total	46	45	22	43	35	38	44	47	36	42	50	49	51	44	50

This survey confirms the continuing potential for Democrats to make headway with voters with disabilities and their families. They are a key part of white working class and rural communities. They shift to the Democrats in just the priorities that are now being articulated; they are listening in particular to the policy offer. In this case, we tested supported for expanding Medicare, reducing drug costs, and reduced health care premiums. But in a split sample, they got the highest markets when it included removing the income cap so the disabled can receive Medicaid benefits.

This middle class-blue collar message framework significantly shifted the votes of white GenZ and millennials, the under 50 white working class women, and white disability families. As well as maintaining strong support among Black, AAPI and unmarried women.

Campaign solidifies strong Black and AAPI vote and unmarried women, but not Hispanics. Produces big gains with GenZ and millennials, 4 in 10 voters

Even though it is a long way off, thinking about the election for Congress in your district in November 2022, will you vote for – the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

2022 CONGRESSIONAL BALLOT SHIFT
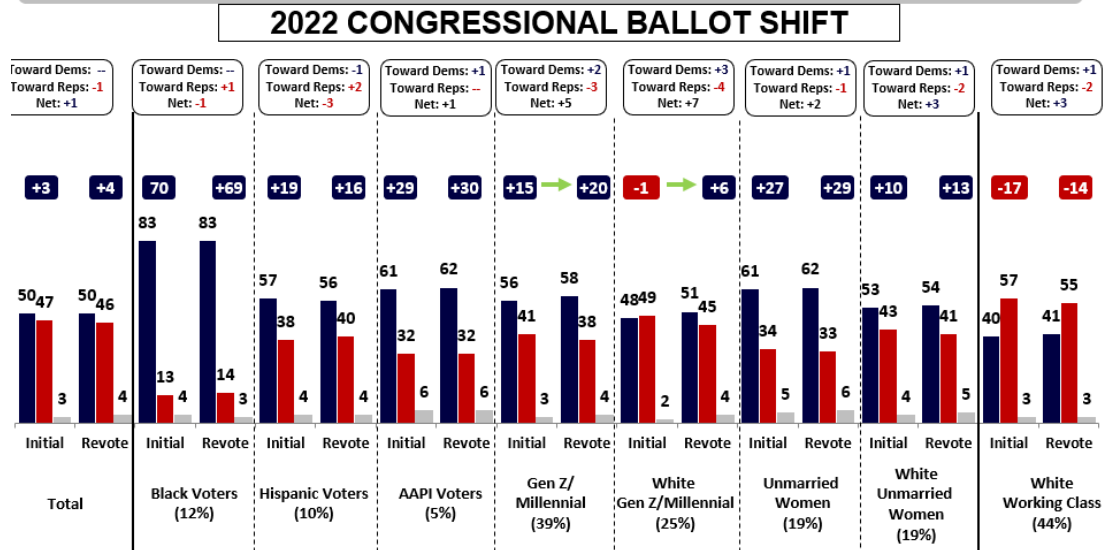
Campaign: big shift with white GenZ-millennials and unmarried women, as well white working class under 50 years, women and disability families

Even though it is a long way off, thinking about the election for Congress in your district in November 2022, will you vote for – the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

2022 CONGRESSIONAL BALLOT SHIFT

	Total	White Millennial/ GenZ (25%)	White Unmarried Women (19%)	Under 50 White Working Class (21%)	White Working Class Women (24%)	White Disabled (21%)	White Disability Families (14%)	White Parents (22%)
Toward Dems:	--	+3	+1	+3	+2	--	+4	--
Toward Reps:	-1	-4	-2	-3	-3	-2	-6	-1
Net:	+1	+7	+3	+6	+5	+2	+10	-1