

### **President Biden makes gains in an election that he can win** Report on post-State of the Union battleground poll

March 28 - April 2, 2024

CAMPAIGNS CORPORATIONS ADVOCACY WORLDWIDE

#### METHODOLOGY

Democracy Corps conducted a web survey with 2,525 voters from Mar 28 – Apr 2, 2024, in the presidential, House seats and US Senate battlegrounds for the 2024 general election. The data include a base sample of 1,390 registered voters, with oversamples of 516 Black voters, 501 Hispanic voters, and 478 Asian American voters. The oversample data are statistically weighted to ensure the sample's regional, age, and gender composition reflects that of projected 2024 general election voters in the collective battleground.

The total data set of 2,525 registered voters (1,390 base sample plus 1,135 oversample of voters of color) were weighted down to an effective sample size of 1,000, representative of the battleground states and districts. The sample used voter file data for proportions from Catalist on race, age, and gender, to ensure that difficult-to-reach conservative subgroups by race, gender, and education were properly represented. The data are also weighted by cultural thermometers (NRA and pro-life groups), to offset the bias of on-line panels. Finally, data are weighted by recalled 2020 Trump vote of white working class, white women, Blacks, Hispanics, Asian, and young voters.

#### The total sample of 2,500 Registered Voters (1,000 Weighted) includes:

- > 1,538 Registered Voters in Presidential Battleground States (665 Weighted)
- 1,248 Registered Voters in Senate Battleground States (546 Weighted)
- 435 Registered Voters in Congressional Battleground Districts (168 Weighted)
- 1000 White Voters (750 Weighted)
- 516 Black/African-American Voters (120 Weighted)
- 501 Hispanic/Latino Voters (80 Weighted)
- > 478 Asian American (Asian) Voters (30 Weighted)

# The 2022 DCorps surveys showed a close election, & here are our 2024 battlegrounds



### Key findings - 1

- I now believe that Joe Biden can win re-election.
- In November, Democracy Corps showed the same difficult race as the public polls. I expected and wrote that the race would get more difficult because of continued inflation, the growing border crisis and a campaigns strategy that sought to educate its diverse base how much they had benefited from Biden's policies. I think that misread those voters. I thought the elites underestimated how much people feared a continuation of Biden. And with his age, I wasn't sure key voting groups were just tuning him out.
- The president's State of the Union, which emphasized a sharp contrast with Trump and description of the Biden team's work reversed the momentum, raised his approval rating and moved the race from a 5-point to a 3-point deficit in the battleground states. But the gains were greater in the places you would expect from the strategy. That meant voters were listening. The campaign got higher interest and increased their vote share with Black and Hispanic voters, white Gen Z and millennial voters, and white unmarried women, as well as moderate Republicans.
- Compared to Trump, Biden has a touch more loyalists, less vulnerable voters and more winnable voters. The Democrats are running well in the House and Senate battlegrounds, creating a more favorable ticket. In fact, both double haters and Robert F. Kennedy voters lean Democratic.



### Key findings - 2

- While Biden has a lot of work to do on the border and other issues, he has made gains and achieved majority support on key voting issues: who is for the rich, climate change, women's rights, health care, protecting from an autocrat and securing democracy.
- But the Biden train does not make further gains with this strategy. We tested the best possible campaign as you
  will see below. It raised Biden's approval, but only reduced the margin a point to -2. Biden's robust soul of
  America message scored a -2 in vote reactions almost 10 points short of Trump''s Save America message.
- We still live in a country where three quarters say it is on the wrong track. For all our vote targets, it is over 90 percent. Voters are angry about inflation and the cost of living above all else and that is most true for the youngest. Black, Hispanic and Asian voters, worry a lot about crime, homelessness and immigration being out of control.
- People are much more worried about what happens with border and crime if Biden wins than what happens if Trump does. Slightly more people fear Biden continuing as president than Trump returning to the presidency. Trump is running an ugly and effective campaign leaves voters slightly more worried about Biden.
- Structurally, Trump loyalists are united and engaged to extraordinary levels. That means Republicans are 12 points more likely to choose the highest level on the interest ladder than Democrats and 6 points more likely to be voting for their nominee. And nearly 60 percent prioritize crime, the economy, China, immigration and the border.
- The progress of the first phase says this can be changed.



### Key findings – 3

- Why do you say Joe Biden can win?
- Most important was voters heard his campaign strategy and moved accordingly. The shifts to Biden were well short of where he stood in 2020. And just continuing the strategy in the next phase is likely to leave Biden around 2 points back in the battleground.
- Most important was that the "empower the middle class" message that embodies all of Biden's policies wins by 7 points. It starts with recognizing the price challenges, but then focuses on shifting power away from biggest corporations to working people. It champions key Biden policies, but the most important will be taxing billionaires, while Trump doubles his corporate tax cut. It reassures on crime and the border and ends with encouraging the middle class to dream again.
- That message, combined with the specter of Trump horrors, cut the RFK vote in half and pushed Trump's vote to 44 percent.
- Once the campaign stops thinking women, Black, Hispanic and young (students) voters are voting on their identities, it will make big gains. We tested the "racial justice" ad word for word on Biden's accomplishments, and it ranked 8th with Black voters. Young people aren't going to be moved on student debt relief. They are focused on the cost of living more than any other voters.
- Hispanic voters won't move significantly until the president and campaign tell Hispanic voters how important they are to Democrats winning and how they are helping the hardworking middle class.



### Key findings – 4

- Once you understand prices matter more than anything, the administration has achievements that really matter, starting with reducing health care costs and the expanded Child Tax Credit.
- Taxing billionaires is deeply popular with the public, as is shifting power away from Wall Street and the biggest corporations.
- There are so many targets once Biden moves into the next phase. Liberal Democrats are half the party, and they to hear about the cost of living, abortion and climate change. Over 70 percent of RFK voters and dual haters say the top problem is the cost of living.
- Soon Biden will have to take the lead in saying the border is out of control, decry Trump's veto and take unilateral steps that show he gets it and makes progress. His not making any gains on the border since the last poll, which means all Democrats are exposed. Crime and the border are very near the top for base voters.
- This poll is taken in the battleground districts and states where we have seen intense organization greatly raise engagement and support for Democratic candidates and initiatives. Stay tuned.



# Where We Start



# Biden's SOTU and post-primary campaign moves the election to 3-point deficit in battleground. Trump at 44%. Democrats running well in House and Senate battlegrounds.



President

House

Senate

### The voter choice scale shows somewhat more winnable race — with more loyalists, less vulnerable and more winnable

Even though you are not supporting Joe Biden now, what are the chances that you might support Joe Biden in the election for President in November 2024 -- is there a fair chance, a small chance, just a very slight chance, or no chance at all that you might support Joe Biden?



### Democrats still less consolidated than Republicans, but makes important gains with base and swing voters: independents, double haters and moderates

Thinking again about the election for President in November 2024, will you vote for...?





## Biden's base vote not back to 2020, but gains led by Blacks, Hispanics and white Gen Z and millennials, though erosion with Asian voters

Thinking again about the election for President in November 2024, will you vote for...?



# Gains also with white unmarried women and white working class women under 50 years

Thinking again about the election for President in November 2024, will you vote for...?





### Main difference is contrasting polarization of Democrats and Trump loyalists, but moderate Reps defy it

Thinking again about the election for President in November 2024, will you vote for...?

### 2024 FULL PRESIDENTIAL VOTE (PRES BATTLEGROUNDS)





### Big rise in election interest among Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and white college women, but well below prior elections; white college top all others

As you may know, there will be an election for President and other state and local offices this year. How interested are you in the November 2024 election? Rate your interest from 1 to 10, with 1 meaning that you have no interest and 10 meaning that you are extremely interested.





## Electorate shaped by huge gap in engagement, with Trump loyalists at unprecedented levels. Only moderate Dems raised interest, but not liberal Dems.

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# **The Dark Mood**



# Over 70% of our base think on wrong track, and greatest for white Gen Z & millennials and unmarried women. Why?

Generally speaking, do you think that things in this country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?



Right Direction Wrong Track



Krugman wrong. Even more people since January in *Conference Board* say, family's financial situation is "bad," worse for young and low income

#### Family's Current Financial Situation (Percent)



Source: The Conference Board, Consumer ConfidenceSurvey®



The elites stop looking at macro and employment data; family finances are worsening right now



Source: The Conference Board, Consumer ConfidenceSurvey®



### Over 90% of every target to grow the vote believes country is on the wrong track. They are desperate for change.

Generally speaking, do you think that things in this country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?





# Inflation and cost of living, surging worry about immigration and border dominate, along with crime; economy & jobs dropping sharply as problem.





# Inflation and cost of living drives pessimism for base, Blacks, Hispanics, & Asians, followed by crime; though it now closely linked to border.



# The youngest voters focused on cost of living & climate change; prices just everything for white millennials & white unmarried women; crime/border too

White Gen Z (10%)			•		White Unmarried				WWC Women <50 (15%)		WWC Men <50 (9%)		White Union Households (13%)	
	Nov. 2023	April 2024	Nov. 2023	April 2024	Nov. 2023	April 2024	Nov. 2023	April 2024	Nov. 2023	April 2024	Nov. 2023	April 2024	Nov. A	April 2024
Inflation/ cost of	75	69	72	64	64	73	57	84	61	69	70	71	61	63
Immigrati on/bord	17	31	21	26	22	27	28	21	41	29	29	39	27	45
Crime/ homeless	30	31	29	35	48	41	30	33	27	30	32	37	37	33
Economy and jobs	44	35	51	39	38	35	39	44	22	36	41	37	34	30
Health care costs	28	24	26	27	33	30	27	31	28	27	26	21	18	22
Climate change	19	42	15	25	24	17	28	13	34	25	13	20	21	24
Abortion	25	16	13	17	19	16	16	18	25	19	6	9	17	13
Woke policies	16	11	21	16	5	12	10	18	12	15	26	9	19	13
Socialism	12	10	8	9	6	11	15	10	8	10	9	12	12	17
Ukraine- Russia	8	12	8	8	11	8	8	7	13	8	12	9	16	10
Israel, Gaza,	16	12	17	15	13	16	19	12	5	14	8	15	18	15

# Republicans driving driving deep anger about border. Over 75% of RFK voters and 70% of dual haters say, inflation and cost of living top problem



### Liberal Democrats prioritize cost of living, climate change and health care

#### cnsts



# Promising gains for Biden vs. Trump on voting issues



# Biden grows lead on voting issues: climate change, women's rights, health care, and democracy being secure & who is working for the richest

Now you will read some issues. For each, please say whether you think Biden or Trump would do better with it.

Biden much better			Biden somewhat b	etter I	Frump much better	Trump somewhat better		
		+3	+1	+1	+1	+2	+2	
	-26	+20	+18	+6	+5	+4		
	37	60	59	53	52	52	50	
	20	31	35	29	28	32	29	
	36	21	21	26	26	30	30	
	63	40	41	47	47	48	50	
	Vorking for the richest	Climate change, the environment, and the energy transition	For women's rights	Health care	Presidents not being able to act as autocrats	Democracy being secure	Opposing extremism	



# Trump leads on some some basics: feeling safe, handling wars in Ukraine and Gaza, and getting things done, but Biden gains on most.

Now you will read some issues. For each, please say whether you think Biden or Trump would do better with it.





### Biden gains on your wages keeping up with cost of living and being a strong leader, but Trump dominates on who to trust on border.

Now you will read some issues. For each, please say whether you think Biden or Trump would do better with it.





# **The Large Targets**



### The proportion of "dual haters" dropped to 18 percent; they give Biden small lead, but big bloc of RFK and other independent voters

Thinking about the election for President in November 2024, will you vote for...?





31

### **RFK Voters split between Trump and Biden, but lean Democratic**

*Thinking about the election for President in November 2024, will you vote for -- Democrat Joe Biden or Republican Donald Trump?*  Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else?





RFK Voters (10%)



### Dual hatred stable, but coolness to Biden cooled slightly in base, while Trump worsened; RFK voters slightly less negative to Biden than Trump

Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and ideas, with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.





# If Trump elected, voters fear white nationalist violence & chaos, then abortion illegal & autocrat and risk to democracy

Imagine that Donald Trump is re-elected as President. Which THREE of these would upset you the most?



### But if Biden wins even more voters see open borders, crime and homelessness; then, about school indoctrination. Few fear more dead babies

Imagine that Joe Biden is re-elected as President. Which THREE of these would upset you the most?



54

51

50
# For Democratic base great worry about border and crime & homelessness being out of control if Biden wins

Imagine that Joe Biden is re-elected as President. Which THREE of these would upset you the most?



indicates the top three issues for each demographic

### By 2 points, more fear "Joe Biden continuing as President" than "Donald Trump returning as President"

Thinking ahead to when the election is over, what do you FEAR the most:





# **The Trump Campaign**

### **Attacks on Democrats – full text**

**(IMMIGRATION)** Under Biden, millions and millions of people are flowing into our country illegally. We have no idea who these people are. They walk right through, and there is nobody there to stop them. They come from prisons and mental institutions. It is killing our country.

**(INFLATION)** Due to Biden's socialist spending, American families are being decimated by the worst inflation in half a century. Since Biden took office, prices have risen 18 percent. Democrats passed trillions of dollars in new spending which is increasing inflation and crushing taxpayers and small businesses.

**(CRIME)** Our cities are overrun with homelessness, drug addicts, and released violent criminals, as President Biden's America is plagued by bloodshed, chaos, and violent crime, with law enforcement weaponized against law-abiding conservatives.

**(ENERGY)** We have surrendered our energy independence. Democrats are waging war on American energy. With high prices at the pump, Biden continues to hurt working families struggling to pay for gas by signing legislation that raises taxes on domestic energy producers.

**(IRS)** Biden is going to hire and arm 87,000 Internal Revenue Service agents to create an IRS super-police force to target everyday Americans at a cost of nearly \$80 billion.

**(PARENTS)** Democrats trust school boards and don't trust parents on what to teach in schools, reducing parents' rights. Students are being bombarded with woke propaganda about gender, gender ideology, and Critical Race Theory.

(ABORTION) The Democratic Party's support for taxpayer-funded abortions and unrestricted access to abortion up until birth is extreme and disregards the sanctity of human life, betraying the values of millions of Americans.

(LEFTIST) They support Biden's leftist wish list that will spend trillions of taxpayer dollars to forgive student debt, implement a radical Green New Deal, grant amnesty for illegal immigrants, and raise taxes on every family.



# Immigration stands out above all as the top attack on Democrats, followed by inflation, then crime

Now you will read some things Republican critics are saying about the Democrats. Please pick the THREE that raise the most doubts in your mind about Democrats and their policies.



## Trump strongest message on contrasting border policies; strong in Senate battleground; and intense support in base.

Below is a statement by Donald Trump. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward the Republicans with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100.

(BIDEN BORDER) Under my leadership, we had the most secure border in history by far. We've never had a border like this. Under Biden, the southern border has been abolished and millions of illegal aliens have been released into our communities. This is a Joe Biden invasion, allowing millions of people to come in, including criminals and terrorists. It's migrant crime, destroying our country. Last year, almost half of all ICE arrests were criminal aliens, committing thousands of crimes, including murders that devastate families. I will finish the wall and end this flood of foreigners to all our cities.





## Linking Laken Riley's death to illegal alien also very strong and most intense in Senate battleground

Below is a statement by Donald Trump. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward the Republicans with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100.

(BIDEN ILLEGAL MIGRANT) I had the safest border in the history of our country. Now, we have the worst border in the history of our world. Among the lives lost was Laken Riley, a nursing student at the top of her class. She went on a morning jog, and never returned home. Joe Biden's policy releases illegal alien criminals, like Laken's murderer. Biden shows no remorse. Laken's killer was an illegal migrant, a consequence of Biden's policies. That would have never happened under Trump policy. We are going to fix it with the largest deportation in history.





## Trump also wins presidential battleground on inflation and cuts in real wages every month; over 40% of base warm to Trump on message

Below is a statement by Donald Trump. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward the Republicans with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100.

(BIDEN ECONOMY) You can take the five worst Presidents in American History and put them together and they would not have done the damage that Joe Biden has done to our nation in just a few short years. Thanks to Joe Biden's socialist spending calamity, American families are being decimated by the worst inflation in half a century. Real wages have been falling 24 months in a row. In other words, under Biden workers have gotten a pay cut each and every month for two straight years. I will take us back to the strong economy we had when I was President.





### Trump's conspiratorial deep-state message only matches his vote; loses badly in House battleground, double haters and RFK voters

Below is a statement by Donald Trump. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward the Republicans with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100.

(DEEP STATE) First, I will immediately reissue my 2020 executive order restoring the President's authority to remove rogue bureaucrats, and I will wield that power very aggressively. The departments and agencies that have been weaponized will be completely overhauled so that faceless bureaucrats will never again be able to target and persecute conservatives, Christians, or the left's political enemies. My plan is to dismantle the deep state and reclaim our democracy from Washington corruption once and for all.





## Trump's January 6th hostage release the weakest, particularly, the House battleground, double haters, and RFK voters

Below is a statement by Donald Trump. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward the Republicans with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100.

(JANUARY 6th) When I am elected, I will stand up to crazy Nancy Pelosi, who opposes building a wall at our border. We will immediately stop all thefts. If you rob a store, you can fully expect to be shot leaving that store. We will get America back to security and patriotism. We will release the horribly and unfairly treated January 6th hostages. Under my leadership, justice will prevail for all Americans.





### Trump overall message from the website to make America great again gets a net +7 is very strong.

Finally, here is what Republican Donald Trump is saying about this election. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward Donald Trump and the Republicans with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100.

The American Way of Life faces threats as career politicians damage our economy and hinder our potential. We aim to reclaim our nation from corrupt Washington elites, empowering the people. Our vision: prosperity, security, and peace with the world's leading economy, secure borders, energy independence, and global leadership. It's time to prioritize America and restore faith, family, and freedom, ushering in a new era. Together, we'll save lives, jobs, and our nation. Join the movement to Make America Great Again.

Very Warm (76-100)			Som	newhat Wa	rm (51-75)	Very Cool (0-25)			Somewhat Cool (26-49)		
+7	-8	-36	-8	-11	-15	+16	-13	-8	+4	+35	+11
49	41	22	41	37	38	54	39	43	47	66	52
38	29	22 13	29	25	25	39	31	35	41	52	34
37	42	48	43	42	44	34	46	47	40	20	33
42	49	58	49	48	53	38	52	51	43	31	41
Total	Base (61%)	Black (12%)	Hispanic (8%)	Asian (3%)	White Gen Z (10%)	White Millennial (18%)	White Unmarried Women (17%)	White College Women (15%)	WWC Women <50 (15%)	WWC Men <50 (9%)	White Union Households (13%)



### Trump's America Great message will motivate Republicans, but also Democrats & liberal Democrats, Biden targets and RFK voters reacting against.

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The American Way of Life faces threats as career politicians damage our economy and hinder our potential. We aim to reclaim our nation from corrupt Washington elites, empowering the people. Our vision: prosperity, security, and peace with the world's leading economy, secure borders, energy independence, and global leadership. It's time to prioritize America and restore faith, family, and freedom, ushering in a new era. Together, we'll save lives, jobs, and our nation. Join the movement to Make America Great Again.





# **The Biden Campaign**

### The Biden campaign that we tested

- A list of 10 accomplishments of the Biden administration, including the new ad on racial justice.
- Each respondent read a major infrastructure project in their state.
- Afterwards, were asked again whether approve of Joe Biden and the bi-partisan infrastructure bill.
- 8 attacks on Trump and the Republicans in Congress
- Read 4 messages that come from the State of the Union and ad aired by the Biden campaign, including one on Gaza where the president has called on Netanyahu to do more to protect civilians
- They read the overall message that begins with Biden tackling the main problems of the country. [The text drawn from campaign ads.] It closes, it is a "battle for the soul of America."
- Finally, they read a list of horrible things that will happen in America if Trump reelected.



### **Biden accomplishments - full text**

**(HEALTH)** The new law passed by Democrats capped out-of-pocket drug costs at \$2000, reduced insulin to \$35 a month, and allows Medicare to negotiate lower prescription prices for the first time.

(CHILD TAX CREDIT) Increased the Child Tax Credit received monthly that provided tax relief for poor, working, and middle-class families with children. It was the biggest tax cut for working families ever and it cut Black child poverty in half.

(ABORTION) He opposes Republican attempts to ban abortion and has taken executive actions to protect abortion access and improve contraception availability. He will restore Roe v. Wade as the law of the land.

(INFRASTRUCTURE) With bi-partisan support, is investing \$1.2 trillion in infrastructure to create jobs and spark economic growth through significant improvements in transportation, clean energy, and broadband access, with a focus on benefiting disadvantaged communities.

(BIG CORP) Passed law providing more funds to the IRS to crack down on tax evasion by the wealthy and big corporations, put in a 15 percent minimum tax so they pay taxes, and a 1 percent fee on stock buybacks used by big oil companies making super profits.

(ECONOMY) America's economy is the strongest in the world. The economy has created 14.8 million jobs, unemployment has been under 4 percent for two full years, and inflation has been at the pre-pandemic level of 2 percent over the last half year.

(CLIMATE) Passed first law that made historic investment in fighting climate change. It reduces what people spend on energy and reduces carbon pollution. It gives big tax credits to help families make their homes energy efficient, install solar panels and buy an electric vehicle. It saves the average family \$1800.

(MADE IN AMERICA) He is bringing manufacturing back to the U.S., with a \$13 billion investment in electric vehicles and \$24 billion in batteries and Chips plants located here. It is building in America by forcing federal government agencies to buy in America.

(UNIONS) Biden joined on the picket line to support workers. He has helped real wages increase by 3.5 percent, with the lowest-paid workers benefiting most. He extended overtime protections to over 3.6 million workers, and penalized Starbucks and Amazon with unfair labor practices.

(BORDER SECURITY) He backed the bipartisan group of Senators to create the toughest set of border security reform ever. Endorsed by the BorderPatrol Union. It added 1,500 border patrol agents, inspection detectors for fentanyl, 4,300 asylum officers, 100 new immigration judges, and the power to close the border. Trump blocked it.

(APPLE) Brought the first lawsuit in decades against Apple. It charged Apple with monopolizing the smartphone market through restrictive practices that hindered developers accessing other platforms. It charged Apple with raising costs for consumers.

(RACIAL JUSTICE) Since day one, he has prioritized equity and racial justice by signing an executive order aimed to address systemic disparities affecting various communities and ensuring the full and fair participation of all communities in American life..



# Accomplishments to motivate the base, particularly Blacks, starts with reduce health care costs, the CTC, and abortion, not racial justice or infrastructure

Now, please read the following list that describes what President Biden has accomplished. Which THREE are the most important for you?



indicates the top three issues for each demographic

# To get heard by liberal Democrats, speak about health care costs, abortion rights and climate change

Now, please read the following list that describes what President Biden has accomplished. Which THREE are the most important for you?



CTC is viewed positively by 63% of base, and most intensively by Blacks, Hispanics, white millennials, white unmarried women & under 50 white working class women





### **State infrastructure projects – full text**

[ARIZONA RESPONDENTS] To date, \$7.4 billion in Bipartisan Infrastructure Law funding is headed to Arizona with over 610 projects identified for funding. Projects made possible by the Biden administration include widening I-10 in the Gila River Indian Community, modernizing the San Luis I Land Port of Entry, and upgrading the three decade-old central utility plant at the Phoenix Sky Harbor International Airport.

[GEORGIA RESPONDENTS] To date, \$9.9 billion in Bipartisan Infrastructure Law funding is headed to Georgia with over 469 projects identified for funding. Projects made possible by the Biden administration include strengthening Georgia's power grid, creating a wildfire protection plan for Rabun County, and constructing trails to connect MARTA transit service and improve pedestrian and bicycle access to daily destinations.

[MAINE RESPONDENTS] To date, \$2.2 billion in Bipartisan Infrastructure Law funding is headed to Maine with over 257 projects identified for funding. Projects made possible by the Biden administration include making track improvements on the Downeaster Corridor to reduce delays, rehabilitating 68 miles of US 1 in Washington County, and expanding the terminals at the Bangor International Airport.

[MICHIGAN RESPONDENTS] To date, \$10.1 billion in Bipartisan Infrastructure Law funding is headed to Michigan with over 548 projects identified for funding. Projects made possible by the Biden administration include upgrading the Soo Locks that connect Lake Superior and the Great Lakes to strengthen our supply chains, replacing the sunken freeway on I-375 in Detroit, and replacing the 85-year-old Lafayette Bascule Bridge over the Saginaw River.

[NEW HAMPSHIRE RESPONDENTS] To date, \$1.4 billion in Bipartisan Infrastructure Law funding is headed to New Hampshire with over 108 projects identified for funding. Projects made possible by the Biden administration include replacing the General Sullivan Bridge to increase pedestrian access between Newington and Dover, cleaning the Ferrari Mill Site in the City of Franklin, and rebuilding airline areas in the Manchester-Boston Regional Airport.



### State infrastructure projects - full text

[NEVADA RESPONDENTS ONLY] To date, \$3.4 billion in Bipartisan Infrastructure Law funding is headed to Nevada with over 273 projects identified for funding. Projects made possible by the Biden administration include creating a new high-speed rail system between Las Vegas and Rancho Cucamonga, CA, improving broadband network resiliency in eastern Nevada, and upgrading the baggage handling systems at the Harry Reid International Airport.

[NORTH CAROLINA RESPONDENTS] To date, \$9.1 billion in Bipartisan Infrastructure Law funding is headed to North Carolina with over 435 projects identified for funding. Projects made possible by the Biden administration include improving I-85 in Cleveland and Gaston counties, replacing the Alligator River Bridge on U.S. Highway 64, and updating aspects of the Charlotte Douglas International Airport.

[PENNSYLVANIA RESPONDENTS] To date, \$14.7 billion in Bipartisan Infrastructure Law funding is headed to Pennsylvania with over 445 projects identified for funding. Projects made possible by the Biden administration include improving a 12-mile stretch of Roosevelt Boulevard in Philadelphia, modernizing and expanding Montgomery Locks & Dam, and making track and signal upgrades on the Pennsylvania Rail Corridor to reduce railway crashes and reduce congestion.

[WISCONSIN RESPONDENTS] To date, \$6.3 billion in Bipartisan Infrastructure Law funding is headed to Wisconsin with over 507 projects identified for funding. Projects made possible by the Biden administration include replacing the existing I-39/90/94 Wisconsin River Bridge linking Madison, Milwaukee, and Chicago, cleaning former industrial property in Milwaukee, and replacing the roof in certain areas at the General Mitchell International Airport.



## State infrastructure structure gets two-to-one positive response, most intense with Blacks & Hispanics; net positive response with under 50 white working class

The Biden administration announced many projects created by the bi-partisan infrastructure law. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward Joe Biden with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.





## State infrastructure projects do well with lost Biden voters, liberal Democrats and moderate Republicans

The Biden administration announced many projects created by the bi-partisan infrastructure law. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward Joe Biden with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.





### **Attacks on Republicans – full text**

**(SOCIAL SECURITY)** They've enacted cuts to Social Security, hindering services for seniors and the disabled. The new Speaker backs raising the retirement age, exacerbating senior poverty. Trump's recent remarks hint at more cuts, citing 'theft' and 'bad management' in entitlements.

**(HELP FAMILIES MEDCTC)** Every Republican in Congress voted against the law to reduce the price of insulin and allow Medicare to negotiate lower prices. They also voted against the increased and expanded Child Tax Credit that gave monthly checks to working families with kids.

**(GUNS)** Despite the weekly massacre of kids, they oppose even the small changes to gun laws. Trump said, we should just "get over it." They blocked raising the age to buy assault weapons from 18 to 21 years.

(CORP TAX) Trump promises to make even bigger his trillion-dollar tax cut for big corporations. And every Republican voted against the biggest corporations paying even a minimum tax of 15 percent and voted against increasing IRS enforcement to ensure billionaires pay tax too.

**(PUBLIC EDUCATION)** They want to cut funding for public education by cutting Title I grants by 80 percent, cutting the Education Department's budget by 30 percent, and are calling to shut down the Department of Education altogether.

(ABORTION) The Republican leader of the House is a religious conservative who wants to make abortion illegal nationally.

**(SPEAKER LGBTQ)** His Evangelical faith leads the new Republican Speaker to view homosexuality as "inherently unnatural," comparing it to bestiality, and believed the Supreme Court was wrong to legalize gay marriage. They are barring states and companies from even considering diversity, equity and inclusion

**(CHAOS)** House Republicans' in-fighting with the extreme MAGA bloc left the House without a Speaker and is in constant risk of a government shutdown.



# Top attack on Republican is Social Security, followed by not helping families with drug costs and CTC and gun massacres

Now you will read some things Democrats are saying about Donald Trump and Republicans. Please pick the THREE that raise the most doubts.



### Social Security attack strong, but competes with guns, help with families and even public education attack with white Gen Z, millennials and college women

Now you will read some things Democrats are saying about Donald Trump and Republicans. Please pick the THREE that raise the most doubts.



## Voters give a +11 margin to the Inflation Reduction Act when described as cutting price of insulin and ends with "save you money."

Below is a statement about the Biden administration. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward Joe Biden and the Democrats with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100.

(SPLIT C) (IRA) The Inflation Reduction Act is cutting costs for working families like yours. Cutting the price of insulin to \$35 a month for seniors. Cutting the cost of prescriptions by making Medicare negotiate lower drug prices. And cutting back on our dependence on foreign oil by investing in American clean energy instead. So we can cut more ribbons on factories and manufacturing floors and cut more good-paying checks for American workers. The Biden Administration's Inflation Reduction Act; it's here to save you money, no matter how you cut it.





### The IRA reducing energy costs also yields an 8-point margin

Below is a statement about the Biden administration. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward Joe Biden and the Democrats with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100.

(SPLIT C) (ENERGY COSTS) For too long, big oil companies have bought off politicians so they can get away with ripping us off. That's changing, now. Joe Biden passed a plan to jumpstart clean energy production in America. It's creating good jobs that can't be outsourced and will lower energy costs. \$1800, that's how much a new report says the Inflation Reduction Act could save the average American family just on energy costs.





# Describing the number of new jobs with higher paying jobs did well with +7 margin, but much weaker with base and in House and Senate battlegrounds

Below is a statement about the Biden administration. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward Joe Biden and the Democrats with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100.

(SPLIT C) (JOBS) In three years, our economy rebounded, adding 15 million jobs, hitting a 50-year low in unemployment, and seeing 16 million new small businesses. Growth is inclusive, narrowing the racial wealth gap with historic jobs and business expansion for minorities. With 800,000 new manufacturing jobs, improved health coverage, rising wages, and reduced inflation from 9 percent to 3 percent, consumer confidence is high. Initiatives like the Chips and Science Act drove significant investments, creating highpaying jobs.





## Union-focused economic pitch still strong, especially with base and House battleground. Weak in Senate battleground.

Below is a statement about the Biden administration. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward Joe Biden and the Democrats with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100.

(SPLIT C) (UNIONS) More workers are demanding a greater share of the profits and seat at the table. From Hollywood writers to American autoworkers, working people have more power than ever to join together through their unions to get heard. They've won historic wage increases and their voice is shaping their industries. They showed courage to go on strike, and President Biden was the first President in history to join them on a strike line. His policies have given workers more power and historic contracts and the chance to win rising wages. President Biden's economic agenda is starting to make a difference for all of us.





### Voters split on Gaza message, but net positive in base

Here is a statement by Joe Biden. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward Joe Biden and the Democrats with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100.

(SPLIT C) (Israel) I went to Israel after October 7th. I called out Hamas' massacre. I sent two aircraft carriers, and I said, I have your back, but also abide by international law. Netanyahu leads an extremist government that has gone out of control and killed thousands of innocent Palestinians. He has encouraged settler attacks on Palestinians, and we "sanctioned" their leaders. I said the humanitarian assistance cannot be a "bargaining chip." Netanyahu has publicly rejected every US warning, and we allowed a UN "ceasefire resolution to pass." Israel canceled a trip to Washington. We believe the only way forward is a Palestinian state and two-state solution.





## But Biden's soul of America message only matches current vote, with -2 net cool response. Not strong with white under 45 years, unmarried or college women.

Below is a statement by the Joe Biden and the Democrats about working people. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward the Democrats with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100.

(SPLIT C) As President, I've tackled crucial issues for Americans, leading us through the COVID crisis, strengthening the economy, capping insulin prices for seniors, passing major infrastructure and climate change laws, and advocating for women's rights. I've supported the toughest possible bi-partisan law to secure the border, along with dreamers getting a path to citizenship. We need safer communities with many more police. And I've made preserving the future of democracy central, fighting against extremist threats to our values and urging all Americans to protect women's rights and voting rights. Together, we uphold the soul of America.

Very Warm (76-100)			Som	newhat Wa	ırm (51-75)		ery Cool (0	-25)	Somewhat Cool (26-49)			
-2	+8	+47	+11	+13	-35	+3		+3	-4	-27	+9	
45	48	68	51	47	20	44	43	48	40	31	51	
31	33	48	40	32	26 14	25	27	37	25	14	38	
38	32	14 21	33	25	47	34	34	38	34	49	36	
46	40		39	35	61	41	43	45	45	59	42	
Total	Base (61%)	Black (12%)	Hispanic (8%)	Asian (3%)	White Gen Z (10%)	White Millennial (18%)	White Unmarried Women (17%)	White College Women (15%)	WWC Women <50 (15%)	WWC Men <50 (9%)	White Union Households (13%)	

### Biden soul of America message doesn't do well with RFK voters and double haters and lacks intensity with Biden defectors

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## The Biden campaign did raise Biden's approval with accomplishments, infrastructure and message from 39 to 45 percent

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as President?





### The campaign raised Biden approval but not his vote. It was raised a point to trail Trump by 2 points in the likely.

Thinking again about the election for President in November 2024, will you vote for...?



### Note that Trump's campaign left even more fearing Biden "continuing as President," compared to Trump. Margin worsened to 6 points. The base didn't move.

Thinking ahead to when the election is over, what do you FEAR the most:





## While in a hole, campaign improved Biden's standing on cost of living, economy, wages & standing up to elites. Raised big advantage on women, health care & democ

Now you will read some issues. For each, please say whether you think Joe Biden or Donald Trump would do better with it.

Biden much better				Biden son	newhat l	better	Tru	mp much	better	Trump somewhat better			
+6 +5		+4		+4		+4		+4		+2			
-12	-6	-17	-12	-12	-8	-10	-6	+18	+22	+6	+10	+4	+6
44	47	41	44	44	46	45	47	59	61	53	55	52	53
23	23	21	24	21	25	22	26	34	35	29	31	32	35
34	35	42	36	32	32	33	33	20	20	26	28	30	31
								41	39				
56	53	58	56	56	54	55	53	41	39	47	45	48	47
Due	Dest	Due	Deet	Due	Deat	     	Deat	Dre	Deat	l l l	Deat	Dec	Deet
Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Helping with the cost of living		The ecc	The economy Wages & salary keep u w/ cost of living			Standing up to elites		Women's rights		Health care		Keeping democracy secure	


# **Empowered Middle Class Phase**



#### Majorities or plurality of all base groups describe themselves as middle class

A person's social class is determined by a number of things including education, income, occupation, and wealth. If you wereasked to use one of these five names for your social class, which would you say you belong in?



# The idea of raising taxes on billionaires produces the most intense possible positive response across the base, and especially white Gen Z and wwc women

Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and ideas, with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.





# Taxing billionaires strongest possible result with Democrats, especially liberal Democrats, but also independents and moderate Republicans

Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and ideas, with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.





# Going after super profits of big corporations and super power, Biden and Democrats get their highest response — even higher than IRA's cutting prices.

Here is a statement by Joe Biden. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward Joe Biden and the Democrats with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100.

(SPLIT D) (BIG CORP) The big banks and big corporations are making super profits and have too much power. I issued executive orders that limited big monopolies and sued Apple to reduce their power and prices. I passed a minimum tax that big corporations must pay and proposed billionaires pay a minimum 25 percent. And it's enforced regulations on worker pay and forced companies to have fair union elections. I've is taken real steps to keep the American dream within reach and foster a more equal and inclusive society for all of us.





# Biden saying he did his job to reduce inflation but big monopolies kept raising prices and profits, unfortunately, was not successful.

Here is a statement by Joe Biden. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward Joe Biden and the Democrats with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100.

(SPLIT D) (INFLATION) I worked to get inflation down. I broke the supply-chain bottlenecks, put gas from the reserve to reduce prices and helped people with reduced health care premiums and expanded monthly Child Tax Credit. Inflation was going way down, and we were doing our part. But then, the big monopolies reaped super profits, did big stock buy backs and raised prices. They didn't cut prices or raise salaries. That is why we just sued Apple to get prices down.





#### The empowering middle class message matches Trump message in strength with 7point positive margin for Biden and Democrats

Below is a statement by the Joe Biden and the Democrats about working people. Based on this statement, please rate your feelings toward the Democrats with 100 meaning a very warm FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a very cold, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100.

(SPLIT D) I know high prices are killing people, and the hardworking middle class hasn't seen a pay raise in years. We helped with lowering drug costs and expanded the monthly Child Tax Credit. But billionaires and big corporations still have too much power. The big monopolies are profiteering and raising prices. Trump and the Republicans promise trillion-dollar tax cuts for big corporations, oppose helping working families, plan to cut Social Security and ban legal abortions. We tax billionaires to pay for expanded childcare and Child Tax. We need 100,000 more police and to give the president power to close the border. The middle class needs to be able to dream again.

■ Ve	ery Warm (	76-100)	Somewhat Warm (51-75)			Very Cool (0-25)			Somewhat Cool (26-49)			
+7	+30	+43	+15	+30	+39	+29	+30	+9	+26	+4	+17	
47	59	63	46	58	64	62	59	50	60	47	54	
35	42	50	28	35	37	45	42	42	45	32	33	
32	21	<b>11</b>	27	22	17	25	25	31	30	34	33	
40	28	20	32	28	25	32	29	41	33	43	37	
Total	Base (61%)	Black (12%)	Hispanic (8%)	Asian (3%)	White Gen Z (10%)	White Millennial (18%)	White Unmarried Women (17%)	White College Women (15%)	WWC Women <50 (15%)	WWC Men <50 (9%)	White Union Households (13%)	



### The empowered middle class message intense response from Democrats, particularly liberal Democrats and wins RFK voters and a quarter of moderate Republicans

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	Very Wa	rm (76-10	00)	Somewhat Warm (51-75)			) 🗖	Very Cool (0-24)			Somewhat Cool (25-49)			
+7	+68	-47	+5	-11	+25	+76	+58	-2	-74	-51	-33	-27	-38	
	79					85	71							
47			44	38	51			42			20			
	62	19				71	51		10	22	29	27	18	
35		11	30	25	37		51	27		19	18	15		
32	-6 11	56	27	32	19	9	14	35		60	47	44	34	
40		50	39		26	-	1 14		84	00				
40			39	49			1	44			62	53	56	
		67							84	72	02			
Total	Democrats (46%)	Republicans (47%)	RFK Voters (10%)	Double Haters (18%)	2020 Biden not 2024 (5%)		Moderate Democrats (16%)	Independents (27%)	Trump Loyalists (14%)	Evang Trump Loyalists (7%)	Trump Aligned (5%)	Moderate Republicans (12%)	Cheney Conservatives (8%)	

# **Squeezing RFK Vote**



# Pick from among these horrible things that will happen if Trump becomes president - heard by 1/2 - SPLIT E

(SPLIT E) Below are some things that will happen if President Trump is elected. Pick the ONE that worries you the most:





# The empower middle class message allows voters to act on the Trump horrors, squeezing the RFK vote and raising the Biden vote by a further point

Thinking again about the election for President in November 2024, will you vote for...?

(SPLIT C) As President, I've tackled crucial issues for Americans, leading us through the COVID crisis, strengthening the economy, capping insulin prices for seniors, passing major infrastructure and climate change laws, and advocating for women's rights. I've supported the toughest possible bi-partisan law to secure the border, along with dreamers getting a path to citizenship. We need safer communities with many more police. And I've made preserving the future of democracy central, fighting against extremist threats to our values and urging all Americans to protect women's rights and voting rights. Together, we uphold the soul of America. (SPLIT D) I know high prices are killing people, and the hardworking middle class hasn't seen a pay raise in years. We helped with lowering drug costs and expanded the monthly Child Tax Credit. But billionaires and big corporations still have too much power. The big monopolies are profiteering and raising prices. Trump and the Republicans promise trillion-dollar tax cuts for big corporations, oppose helping working families, plan to cut Social Security and ban legal abortions. We tax billionaires to pay for expanded childcare and Child Tax. We need 100,000 more police and to give the president power to close the border. The middle class needs to be able to dream again.



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