



Date: November 30, 2021

To: Democratic leaders and progressive allies

From: Stanley Greenberg

Re: Key actions to raise support with all working class voters and raise Democratic margins

Key actions to raise support with all working class voters and raise Democratic margins

President Biden no longer has an advantage over former President Trump on who delivers for “forgotten Americans” and Democrats, no advantage on who is better on “jobs and wages,” yet we know this middle class-blue collar message and transformative policy agenda changes both.

Here are the key actions from this survey for Democracy Corps and the AFT conducted jointly with Equis Research and HIT Strategies that deliver those changes:

- Identify with the working class that predominates both in our base and persuasion targets. They live paycheck-to-paycheck, and they are frustrated that CEOs and big corporations call the shots and pay no taxes. (The working class are voters who do not have a four-year degree.)
- *Fight for* the middle class, working families, small businesses, and vulnerable who work hard and *check the power* of the big corporations who rig the game and paying no taxes.
- Make sure your agenda includes policies to help small businesses, and that you advocate for small businesses as part of the working class, particularly with the white working class and and Hispanic community.
- To get heard, both our base and targets need to hear Democrats want to bring major change on the economy and who has power. Right now, they don’t know Democrats are dissatisfied with the status quo. That means over-correcting.
- Prioritize policies ***that help families financially***: expanded Medicare, reduced drug prices, lower insurance premiums, and no Medicaid income cap for disabled; the new infrastructure projects; and the child tax credit and its middle class tax cut. But also, policies ***that shift power in the workplace and with government***: require contractors pay \$15 minimum wage, help employees get higher wages and enforce labor protections, and make sure big corporations pay a minimum tax.

- Do not change the focus on bringing change to the economy and power in our diverse base. While racial equity is important to Black voters, it falls well below getting higher wages, labor protections and lower health care costs. While Hispanics and Asian Americans support a path to citizenship, the racial equities agenda is near the bottom of their priority list. Motivating and consolidating them will focus on health care costs, big corporations paying taxes, labor protections and infrastructure jobs.
- Remember, both our base (Blacks, Hispanics, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, Gen Z and millennials, and unmarried women) and our new working class targets (white working class under 50 years of age, white parents, and disabled) think the middle class is endangered, the top 1 percent and CEOs control politicians and want them to pay higher taxes. Our base and white working class targets want a very similar policy agenda from Democrats.
- The child tax credit received on a monthly basis is changing the 2022 political dynamics will now be central to the campaign contrast. It is embraced by both Black voters and white working class voters under 50 years, as well as white parents, and they become more supportive when it is attacked. The CTC has opened up parts of the white working class to the idea Democrats use government to help them. Whether its repeal raises your taxes or drive millions of kids into poverty have become the top attacks on Republicans.
- Attack Republicans for trickle-down tax cuts that were supposed to benefit those living paycheck to paycheck but benefited only the rich, and for repealing the biggest tax cut for the middle class, the child tax credit.
- Democrats will want to pose a choice between the Democrats' empowering agenda and taxing big corporations and Republicans fighting for the big corporations, raising your health care costs and taxes, and throwing millions of kids into poverty.
- Voters with disabilities and their families are overrepresented in the working class and white working class, and they need to become integral to your strategy. They are listening to the policy offer. We are currently offering expanded Medicare, lower drug costs and premiums, but it gets even more support with all voters when it includes ending Medicaid's income caps for the disabled.
- Democrats must advocate visibly for funding and respecting the police, not defunding them, along with reforms and accountability. The gains in this survey are only realized for the ½ sample who hear Democrats prioritize security and crime and want to fund and reform the police. Defunding police is unpopular in the Black, Hispanic, and Asian American communities, and hearing the Democrat opposes defunding the police surprises white working class voters. It neutralizes what is the strongest attack on Democrats.

- The middle class-blue collar message stated:

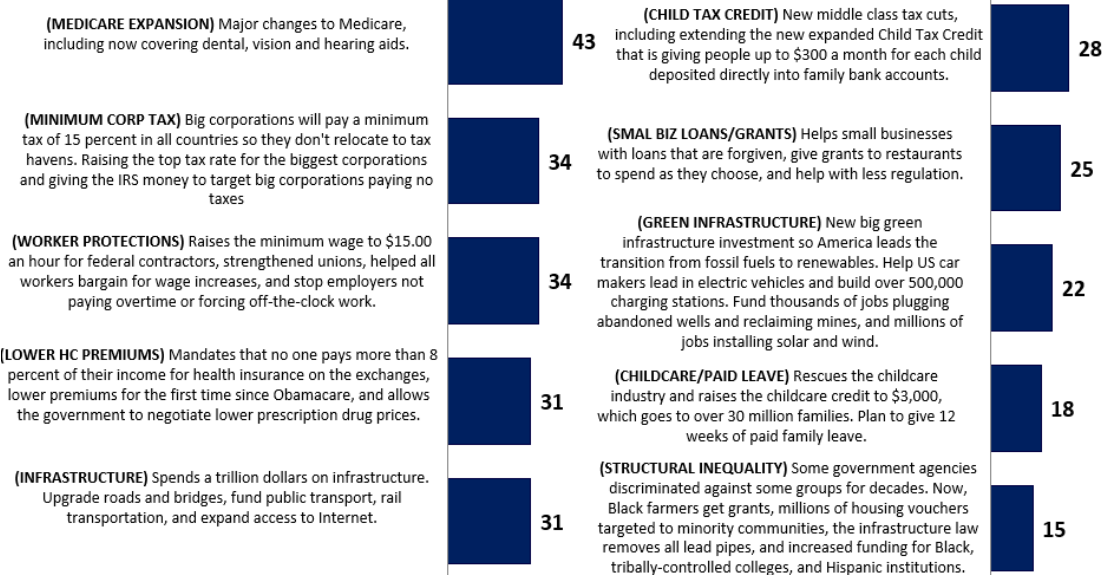
People are living paycheck to paycheck and struggling to pay their bills and taxes. They need government that looks out for the middle class, working families, small businesses, and the vulnerable who work hard. They need a government that jumps whenever the biggest corporations send money and lobbyists. My approach is blue collar. We should bend over backwards for those who work hard so we create jobs in America and grow the middle class.

- The message, transformative policies, attacks on Republicans, and reassurance on crime and funding the police produced big new targets. It raised the Democratic vote share and probably turnout with Gen Z and millennials. That was missing in Virginia. And it also produced big Democratic gains with the under 50 white working class, white working class women, and white disability families.

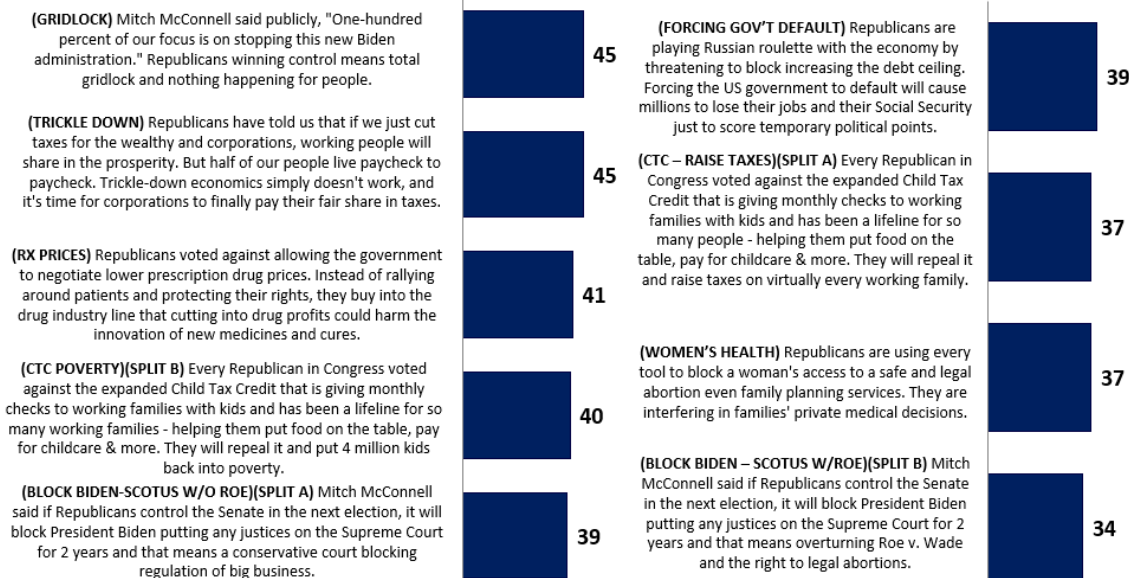
Appendix A

The Biden and Democratic agenda

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?



Strongest attacks on GOP: McConnell's gridlock, half live paycheck to paycheck while corporations don't pay fair share & repeal of child tax credit





A critical moment to raise support with ALL working class voters

Results of new national poll

October 20-26, 2021

CAMPAIGNS | CORPORATIONS | ADVOCACY | WORLDWIDE

The team working so Democrats run stronger with all working class groups

OUR RESEARCH TEAMS AND THEIR RESEARCH

- **Democracy Corps-** We fielded a battleground web poll of 1,000 registered voters from July 22-26, 2021; the poll was weighted to a recent phone poll on cultural thermometers and the 2020 vote was weighted to the white working class to match Catalist analysis.
- **EquisLabs-** We used findings from focus groups conducted with Hispanic voters to inform this online survey of 1800 registered Hispanic registered voters in 11 states (Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Michigan, North Carolina, Nevada, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas and Wisconsin).
- **HIT Strategies-** Our research included findings from qualitative research with Black voters and previous research with AAPI voters to inform the quantitative findings in this report that are based on two surveys of AAPI and Black registered voters: the first survey used mixed mode of text-to-web and live phone dialing to survey 400 registered Asian and Pacific Islander voters in Orange County, CA and second online survey consisted of 1,200 African American registered voters in 10 battleground states (MI, WI, PA, GA, SC, NC, FL, TX, NV, AZ) matched to the voter file.

The national web survey described

METHODOLOGY

Democracy Corps conducted a national web survey among 2,500 registered voters from October 20-26, 2021. The data include a base sample of 1,000 registered voters, with large oversamples of 500 Black voters, 500 Hispanic voters and 500 AAPI voters. The oversample data are statistically weighted to ensure the sample's regional, age, and gender composition reflects that of the estimated registered voters in the United States.

The total data set of 2,500 registered voters (1,000 base sample plus 1,500 oversample of voters of color) were weighted down to an effective sample size of 1,000, nationally representative of registered voters. Additionally, the data were weighted to an average of recent phone polls (or moving norm) on core cultural thermometers, and the 2020 vote was weighted to the moving norm among white working class men and women, Black, Hispanic, and AAPI voters.

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

- 824 Registered Voters in Battleground States/CDs (357 Weighted)
- 712 White Voters (720 Weighted)
- 611 Black/African-American Voters (120 Weighted)
- 615 Hispanic/Latino Voters (100 Weighted)
- 504 Asian-American/Pacific Islander Voters (53 Weighted)



Web survey weighted to recent phone poll on cultural thermometers, and 2020 vote by white working class weighted to match Catalist analysis.

METHODOLOGY – KEY WEIGHTING STEPS

Weighting to phone polls: The web survey requires a recent phone survey that includes core demographic and ideological questions, including key thermometer measures, and is used to compare and apply political and cultural weights to the web survey results to offset bias of online sample.

- We first applied standard gender, region, race and age weights to match Catalist counts for registered voters in this battleground.
- We then weighted white college/non-college to match proportions from the Catalist 2020 election analysis (44% white non-college, 28% white college).
- We often weight web surveys to match the short phone survey as needed on ideology, and vote or presidential job approval—**after first weighting the cultural thermometers to match our phone survey. In this web survey, we weighted cultural measures halfway to the recent phone poll to offset cultural bias.**
- Additionally, after cultural weights, the recalled 2020 vote was weighted within working class women and white working class men, to match to Catalist post-election analysis—**ensuring we have the correct share of white non college, and the real recalled 2020 vote for both men and women.**



Key findings

- Democrats begin weak on the economy, jobs and wages, losing to Trump on who is better at delivering for the forgotten Americans.
- Yet this powerful blue collar message framework – seeing working people and wanting change, clear who for and against, changing the economy and who has power at work and government – combined with transformative policies — changes all that. Democrats move from 3 to 8-point lead in the battleground.
- The recommended campaign solidifies Black and AAPI vote, but not Hispanics. But produces big gains in our base with Gen Z/millennials and whites Gen Z/millennials. These are four in ten voters. (No turnout and weak vote in VA can be reversed.)
- The campaign produces major gains with under 50 white working class, working class women, and white disability families.
- Our audience is working class. We see them and wear their shoes. And we are for the middle class, working families, small businesses, and the vulnerable who work hard. We are against big corporations who call the shots and insist they pay taxes.
- Our transformative policies address people's acute economic needs (Medicare expansion & lower health insurance premiums and the expanded child tax credit delivered monthly) and raise to \$15 minimum wage for federal contractors and labor protections, with infrastructure to help raise wages. People give highest priority to big corporations paying a minimum tax and stop paying no taxes. They tilt the balance to working people at work and with government.

Key findings continued...

- The priorities of Democrats in this framework are about bringing change on the economy and power. Our policy priorities are focused on those areas. The economic status quo is not ok with people living paycheck to paycheck. We talk about policies that help people financially and policies that change who has power at work and government.
- The priorities of Democrats in this framework are about bringing change to the economy and power. Addressing historic discrimination is 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.
- Our strongest attack on Republicans: they gave big corporations big tax cuts to the rich and working people saw nothing. Still trickle-down for them. And they threaten the big middle class tax cut, the child tax credit. Their repealing it will raise taxes on working families and push many into poverty. Both are strong, as CTC has become a base and persuasion targets message.
- Child tax credit has opened up the white working class under 50 years and strong support with Blacks, those younger white workers, and white parents. New social programs being delivered are getting heard. When attacked by conservatives, support gets stronger, including ¼ of Trump voters.
- The Democrats' strong performance was possible because we prioritize security, fund, and reform the police. It is very strong across the base and targets. It offsets their strongest attack, which is on defunding the police, which is a very unpopular concept.
- Voters with disabilities and their families are overrepresented in the working and white working class. They are listening to the policy offer – and our health care option gets more support when Medicare expansion and reduced premiums are joined by ending income caps for the disabled.

**The starting problem
overcome in this poll!**



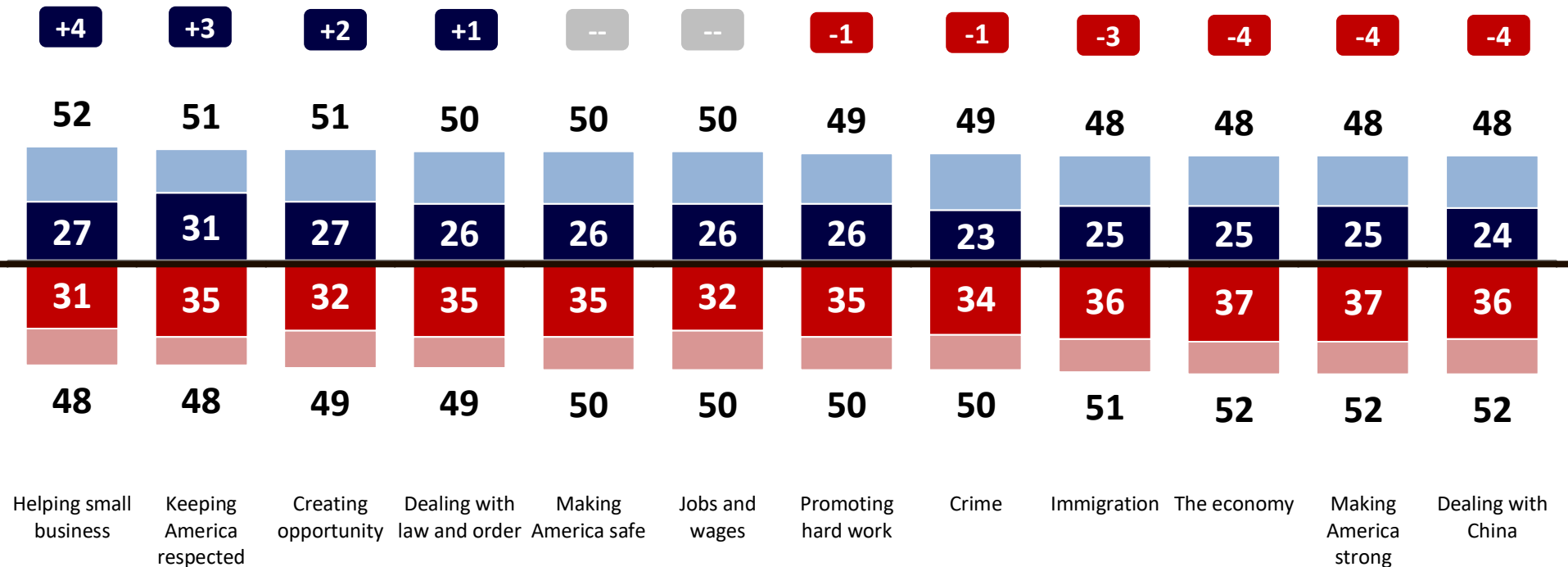
Republicans and Trump have strong brand advantages on the economy, jobs and wages

For each issue, please indicate whether you think Joe Biden and the Democrats or Donald Trump and the Republicans would do a better job with handling that issue.

TRAITS

■ Biden/Dem much better

■ Trump/Rep much better



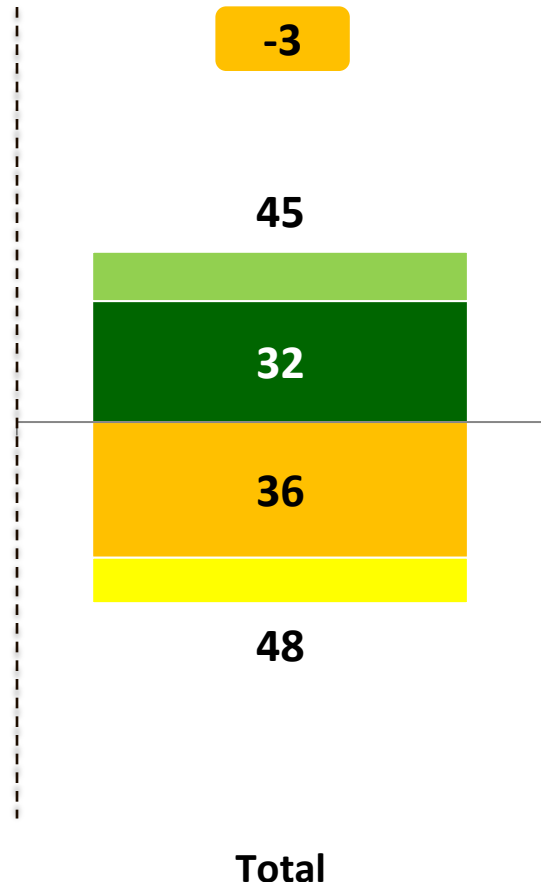
Right now, Trump's governed for forgotten Americans stronger than belief Biden working for middle class and blue collar

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.

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



Democrats' challenging start can be changed



Democrats grow 3-point race to 8-point lead in the battleground, by embrace transformative policies & battling big corporations and championing workers

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

2022 Battleground Voters

Toward Dems: **+2**
Toward Reps: **-3**
Net: **+5**

+3

+8

50

47

3

Initial

52

44

4

Revote



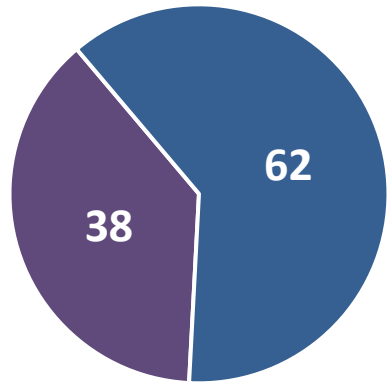
Do we see the base?



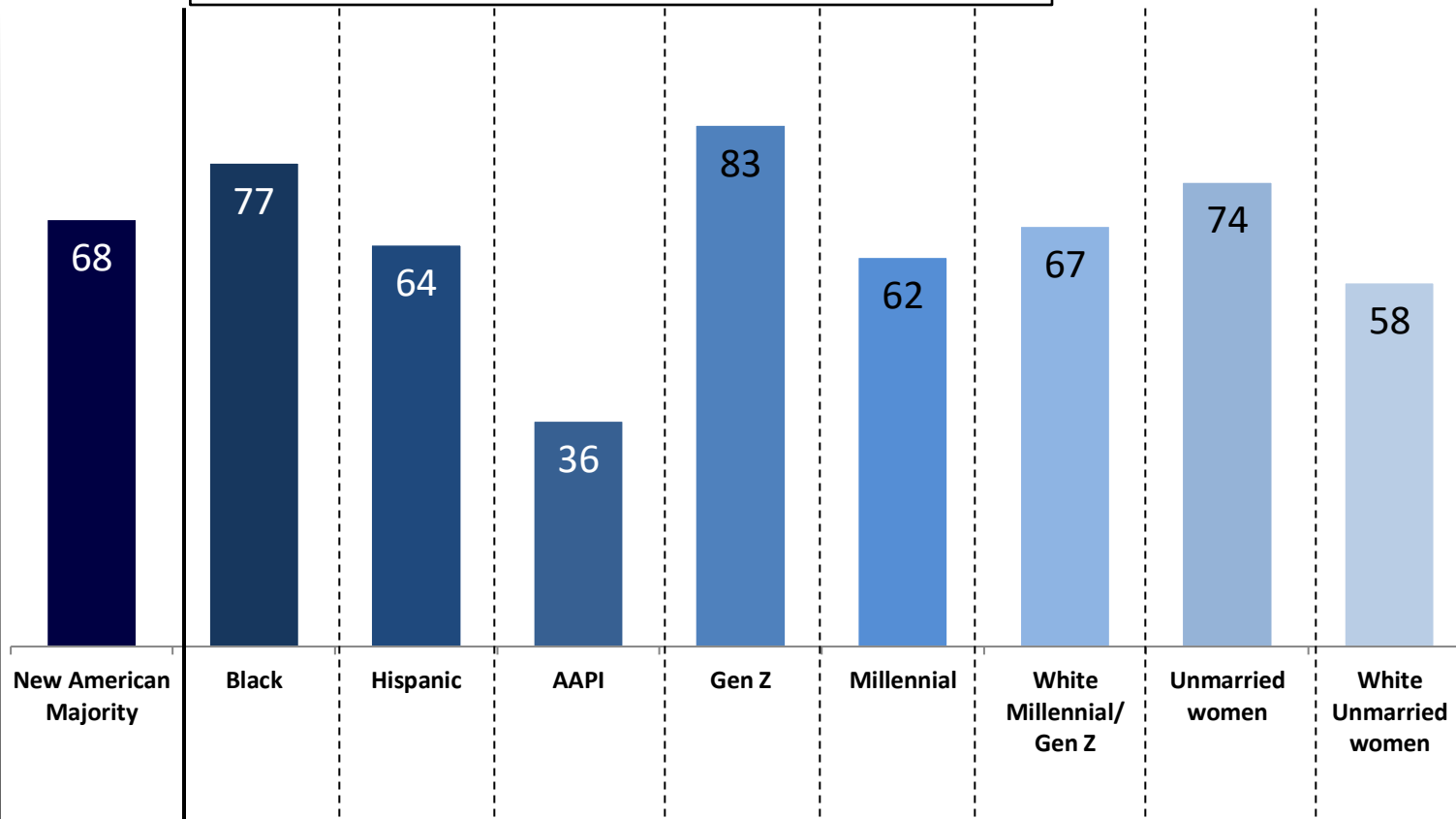
Both our base and persuasion targets are overwhelmingly working class — start narrative in their shoes

What is the last year of schooling that you have completed?

■ College graduate
■ Working class



PERCENT WORKING CLASS



Education

Can white disabled track history of white unmarried women?

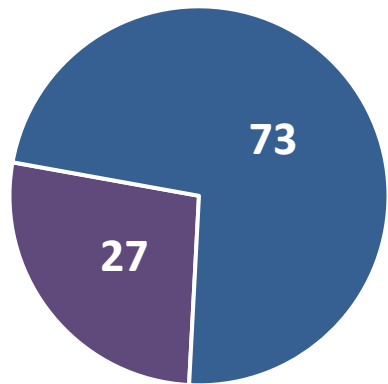


Percent of key segments with a disability

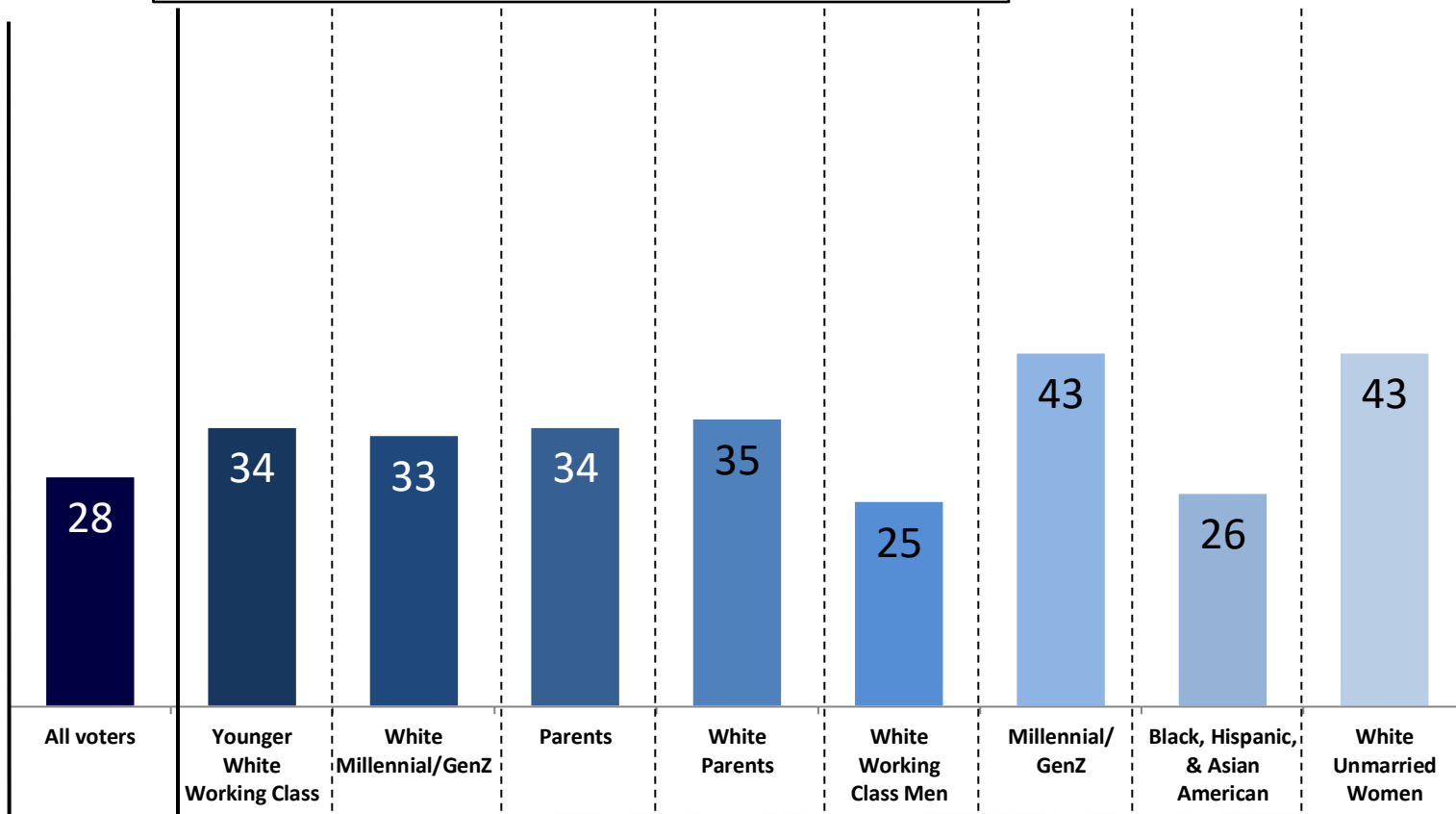
A disability can be a physical, cognitive, sensory, mental health, chronic pain or another condition that is a barrier to everyday living. Do you, a family member, or a close friend have a disability?

PERCENT WITH DISABILITY

- College graduate
- Working class



Education



Working Americans lead antipathy to big corporations



Base and white working class targets have equal disdain for big corporations; intense support for taxing them; two-thirds of AAPI and under 50 white working class

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

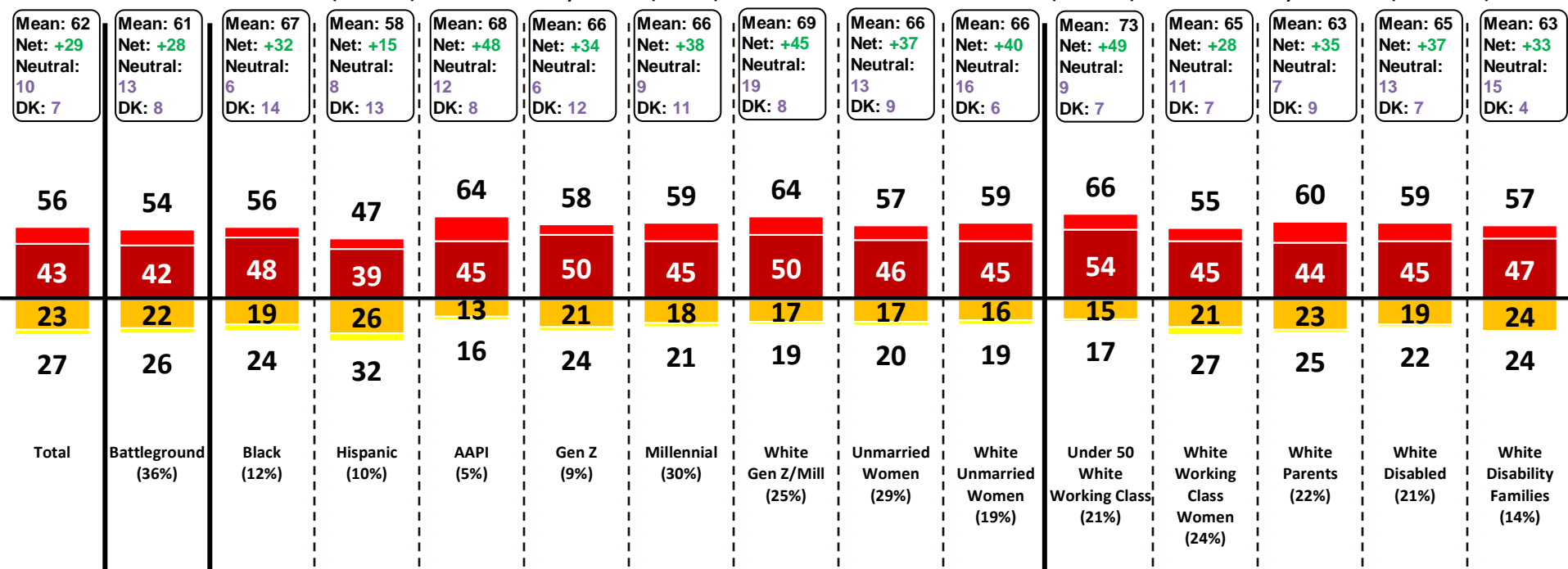
REGISTERED VOTERS

■ Somewhat Cool (26-59)

■ Very Cool (0-24)

■ Somewhat Warm (51-74)

■ Very Warm (76-100)



Taxing big corporations

Biden-Democratic policies & Democratic attacks



The Biden and Democratic agenda

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?

(MEDICARE EXPANSION) Major changes to Medicare, including now covering dental, vision and hearing aids.

43

(MINIMUM CORP TAX) Big corporations will pay a minimum tax of 15 percent in all countries so they don't relocate to tax havens. Raising the top tax rate for the biggest corporations and giving the IRS money to target big corporations paying no taxes

34

(WORKER PROTECTIONS) Raises the minimum wage to \$15.00 an hour for federal contractors, strengthened unions, helped all workers bargain for wage increases, and stop employers not paying overtime or forcing off-the-clock work.

34

(LOWER HC PREMIUMS) Mandates that no one pays more than 8 percent of their income for health insurance on the exchanges, lower premiums for the first time since Obamacare, and allows the government to negotiate lower prescription drug prices.

31

(INFRASTRUCTURE) Spends a trillion dollars on infrastructure. Upgrade roads and bridges, fund public transport, rail transportation, and expand access to Internet.

31

(CHILD TAX CREDIT) New middle class tax cuts, including extending the new expanded Child Tax Credit that is giving people up to \$300 a month for each child deposited directly into family bank accounts.

28

(SMAL BIZ LOANS/GRANTS) Helps small businesses with loans that are forgiven, give grants to restaurants to spend as they choose, and help with less regulation.

25

(GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE) New big green infrastructure investment so America leads the transition from fossil fuels to renewables. Help US car makers lead in electric vehicles and build over 500,000 charging stations. Fund thousands of jobs plugging abandoned wells and reclaiming mines, and millions of jobs installing solar and wind.

22

(CHILDCARE/PAID LEAVE) Rescues the childcare industry and raises the childcare credit to \$3,000, which goes to over 30 million families. Plan to give 12 weeks of paid family leave.

18

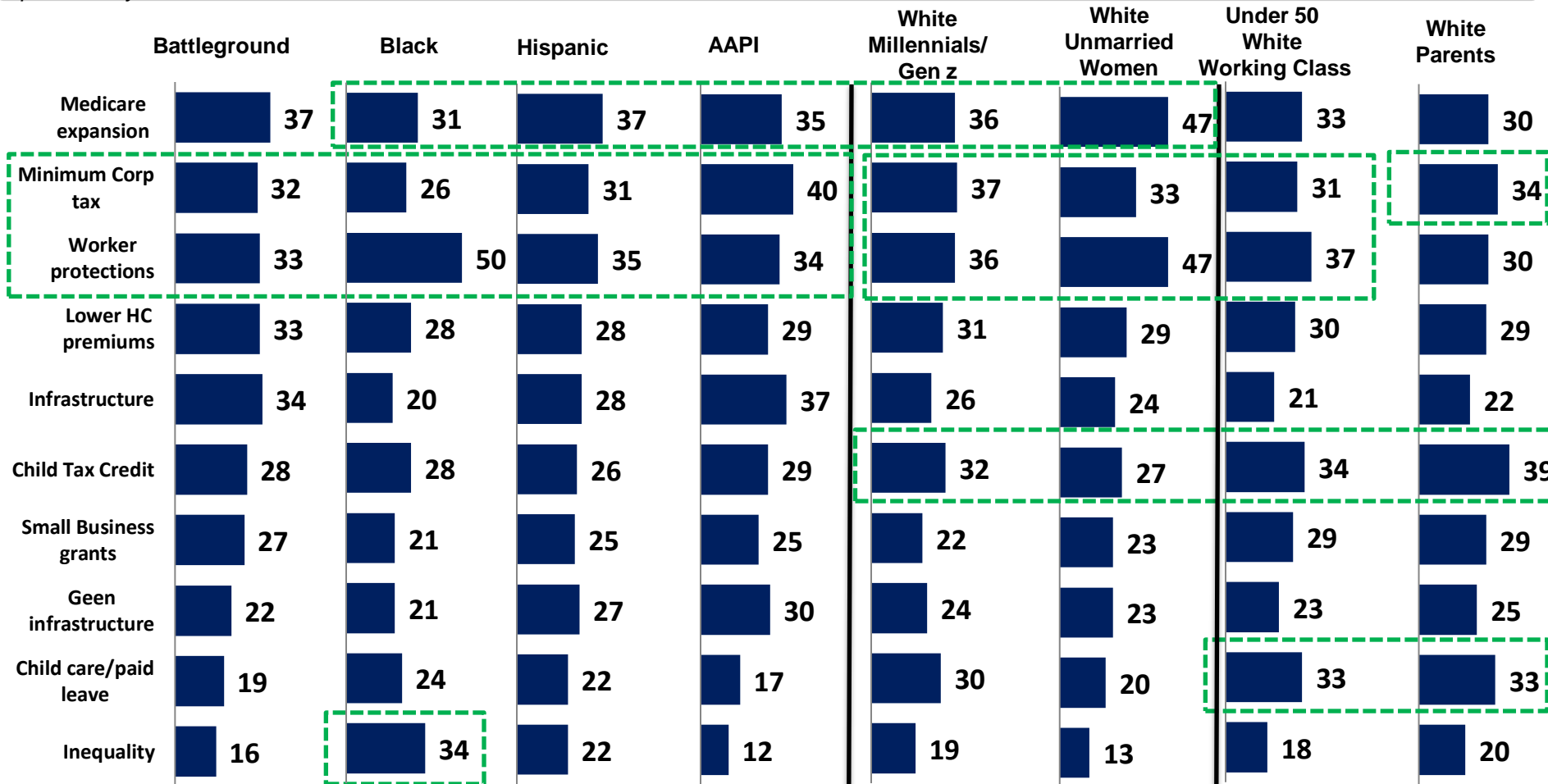
(STRUCTURAL INEQUALITY) Some government agencies discriminated against some groups for decades. Now, Black farmers get grants, millions of housing vouchers targeted to minority communities, the infrastructure law removes all lead pipes, and increased funding for Black, tribally-controlled colleges, and Hispanic institutions.

15



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?



Strongest attacks on GOP: McConnell's gridlock, half live paycheck to paycheck while corporations don't pay fair share & repeal of child tax credit

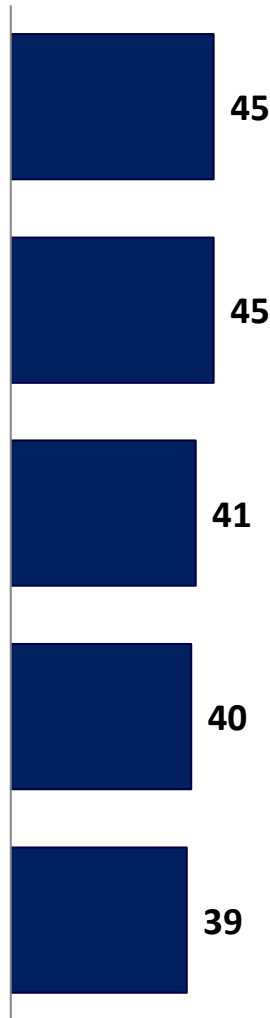
(GRIDLOCK) Mitch McConnell said publicly, "One-hundred percent of our focus is on stopping this new Biden administration." Republicans winning control means total gridlock and nothing happening for people.

(TRICKLE DOWN) Republicans have told us that if we just cut taxes for the wealthy and corporations, working people will share in the prosperity. But half of our people live paycheck to paycheck. Trickle-down economics simply doesn't work, and it's time for corporations to finally pay their fair share in taxes.

(RX PRICES) Republicans voted against allowing the government to negotiate lower prescription drug prices. Instead of rallying around patients and protecting their rights, they buy into the drug industry line that cutting into drug profits could harm the innovation of new medicines and cures.

(CTC POVERTY)(SPLIT B) Every Republican in Congress voted against the expanded Child Tax Credit that is giving monthly checks to working families with kids and has been a lifeline for so many working families - helping them put food on the table, pay for child care & more. They will repeal it and put 4 million kids back into poverty.

(BLOCK BIDEN-SCOTUS W/O ROE)(SPLIT A) Mitch McConnell said if Republicans control the Senate in the next election, it will block President Biden putting any justices on the Supreme Court for 2 years and that means a conservative court blocking regulation of big business.

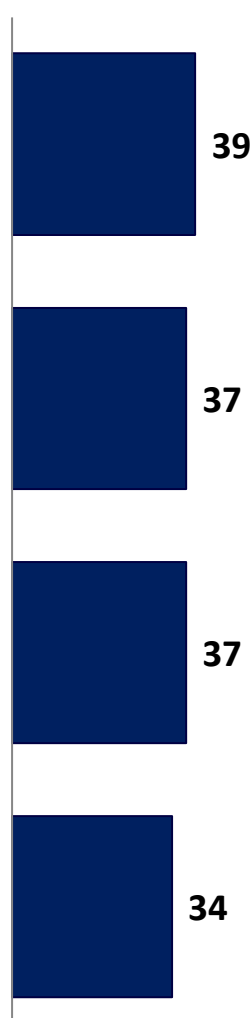


(FORCING GOV'T DEFAULT) Republicans are playing Russian roulette with the economy by threatening to block increasing the debt ceiling. Forcing the US government to default will cause millions to lose their jobs and their Social Security just to score temporary political points.

(CTC – RAISE TAXES)(SPLIT A) Every Republican in Congress voted against the expanded Child Tax Credit that is giving monthly checks to working families with kids and has been a lifeline for so many people - helping them put food on the table, pay for child care & more. They will repeal it and raise taxes on virtually every working family.

(WOMEN'S HEALTH) Republicans are using every tool to block a woman's access to a safe and legal abortion even family planning services. They are interfering in families' private medical decisions.

(BLOCK BIDEN – SCOTUS W/ROE)(SPLIT B) Mitch McConnell said if Republicans control the Senate in the next election, it will block President Biden putting any justices on the Supreme Court for 2 years and that means overturning Roe v. Wade and the right to legal abortions.



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

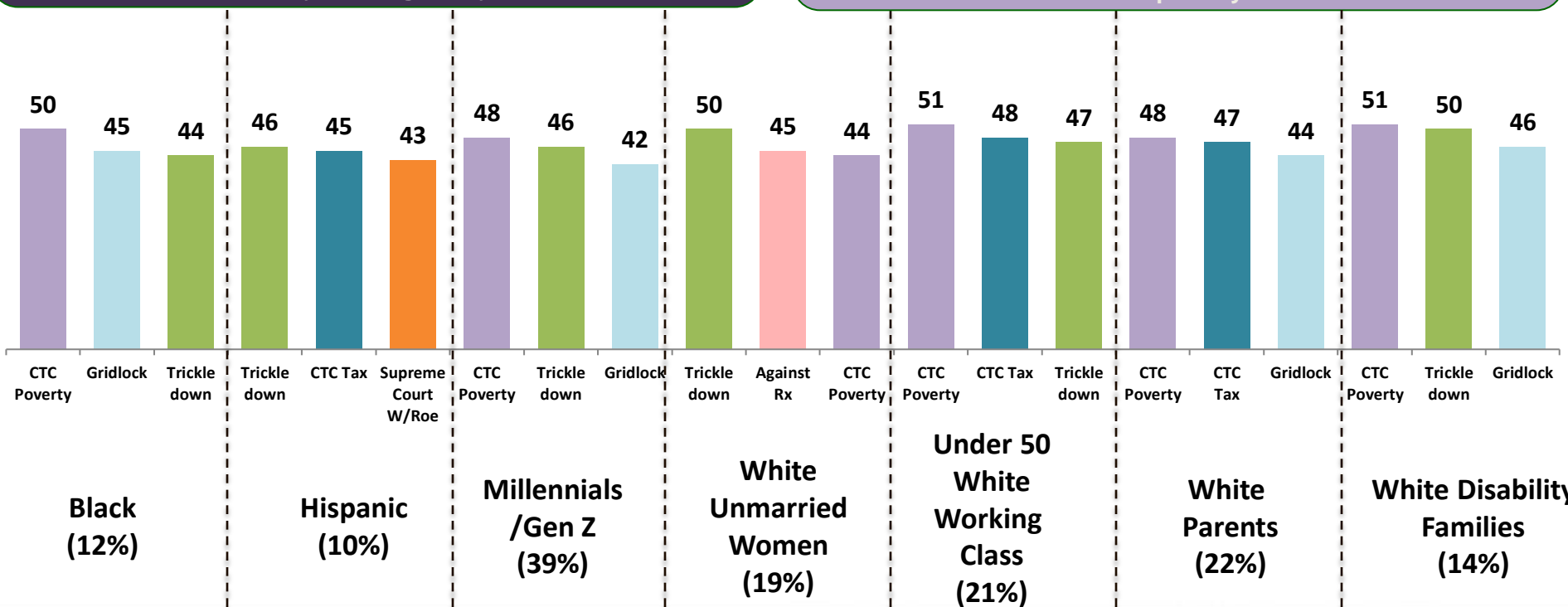
Now you will read some things Democratic critics are saying about the Republicans in Congress. Please pick the THREE that raise the most doubts in your mind about Republicans.

(SPLIT A) CTC LOWERS TAXES:

Every Republican in Congress voted against the expanded the Child Tax Credit that is giving monthly checks to working families with kids. They will repeal it and raise taxes on virtually every working family.

(SPLIT B) CTC CUTS POVERTY:

Every Republican in Congress voted against the expanded the Child Tax Credit that is giving monthly checks to working families with kids. They will repeal it and put 4 million kids back into poverty.

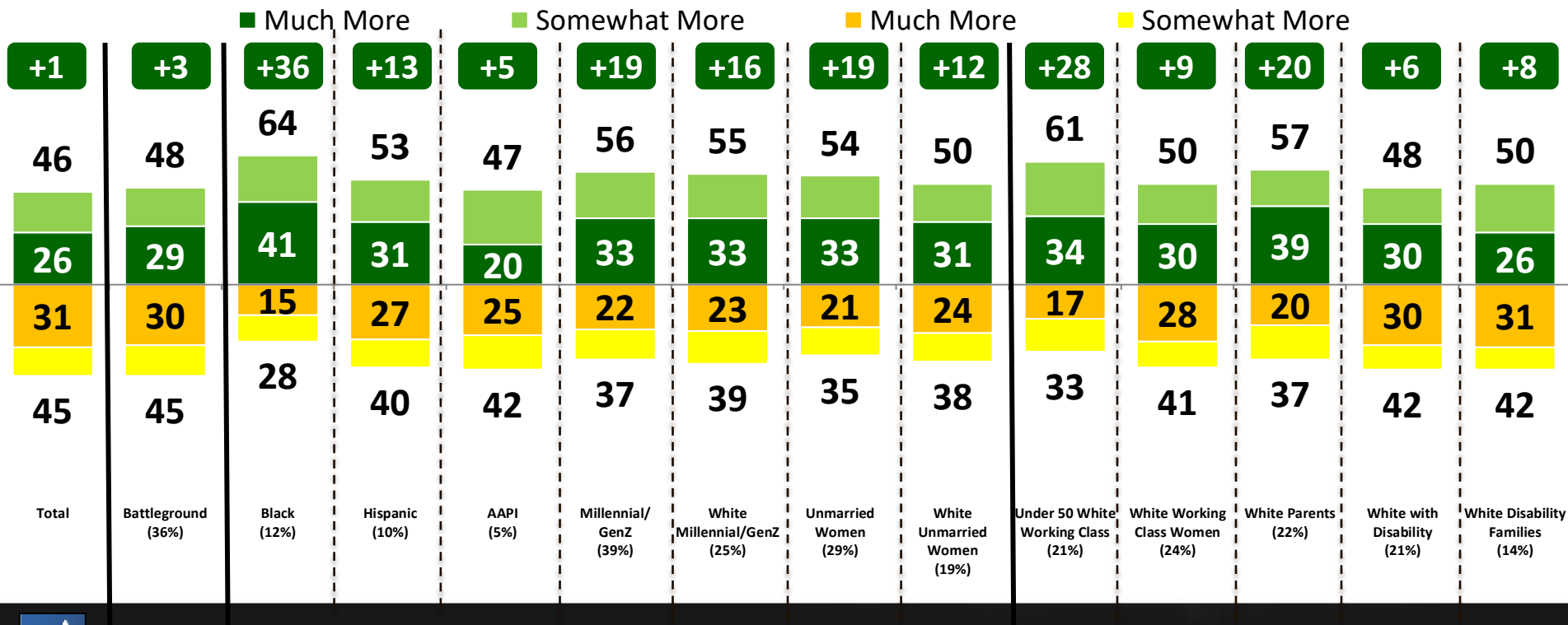


Strong debate on CTC leaves creates intense support among Blacks & millennials/Gen Z, but also under 50 white working class & white parents; even 1/4 of Trump voters

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

I like the new expanded child tax credit that is deposited monthly into each family's bank account, \$300 if they have kids under 6 and \$250 if they have kids 6 to 17 years old. It is the largest ever single-year tax cut for families with children and helps virtually every working family with kids deal with the high cost of raising kids, buying essentials and paying taxes.

I don't like the expanded child tax credit because it is a huge increase in government and government spending and explodes the federal deficit. It is a handout that will make children dependent on the government and many parents will turn down work. It is paid for by a method that will produce a lot of fraud, costing taxpayers billions of dollars.



The Republican policy offer & attacks



The strongest attacks on Democrats start with defunding the police

Here are some things Republican opponents of these proposals are saying. Please pick the **THREE** that worry you the most.

(DEFUND POLICE) Democrats across the country pushed to defund the police now crime and violence in major cities has skyrocketed. These vicious attacks on law enforcement and calls to defund the police are causing the men and women who keep our communities safe to leave the profession, and are directly responsible for the current crime wave we're seeing nationwide.

48

(IMMIGRATION) The Biden border crisis is both a humanitarian and security crisis that worsens by the day. Meanwhile, Democrats just advanced a spending bill that decreases funding for Customs and Border Patrol who are already overwhelmed.

43

(SOCIALISM) Democrats are for socialism and no longer represent the working people of America. These socialist policies didn't work in Cuba or Venezuela, and they won't work in America either.

40

(STAY HOME) Democrats have been paying people to stay home for months while ignoring the real crises at hand such as rising crime, skyrocketing prices, and their failed pandemic policies

36

(INFLATION) Biden's so called "Build Back Better" plan means putting the Democrats' radical environmental and social agenda over the interests of Americans, meaning we pay more than we already are for everyday goods like food and gas

34

(PRO-LIFE) Pro-life Republicans oppose late-term abortions except in medical emergencies, and oppose using taxpayer dollars to fund abortions. Republicans know there is a way to be pro-life and pro-women, and it is Democrats who are the extremists.

30

(TAX AND SPEND) Biden's so called "Build Back Better" plan also means more taxing and spending to put Washington even more in the middle of your life from the cradle to college.

30

(SPENDING SPREE) The last thing America needs right now is a multitrillion dollar partisan progressive spending spree under the guise of "infrastructure."

28



But 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 that singles out Blacks and Latinos, and people with disabilities. Our common need for reduced crime and security should unite, not divide us.

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.

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

+8

54

32

29

46

Total

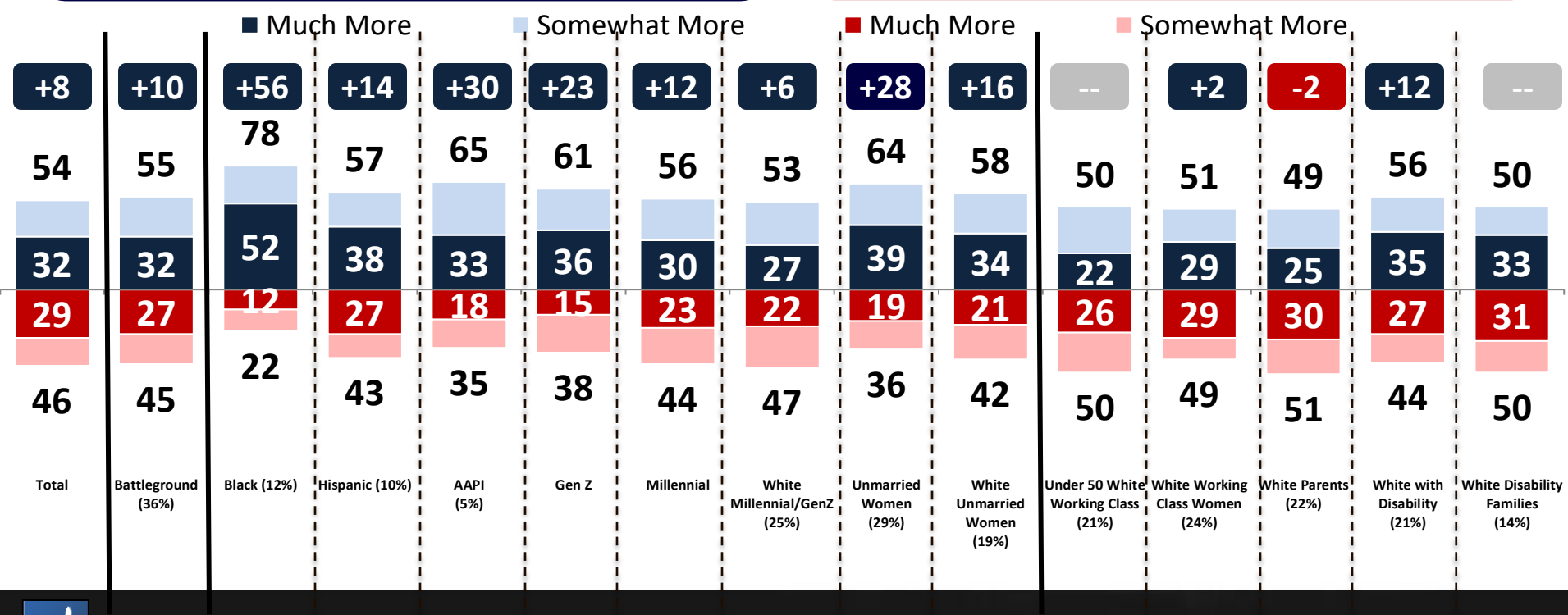


Democratic safe community and fund police message defeats Trump Republicans' attack on law enforcement

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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.



Defunding the police loses everybody, especially, Hispanics, AAPI, unmarried women, and under 50 white working class

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.

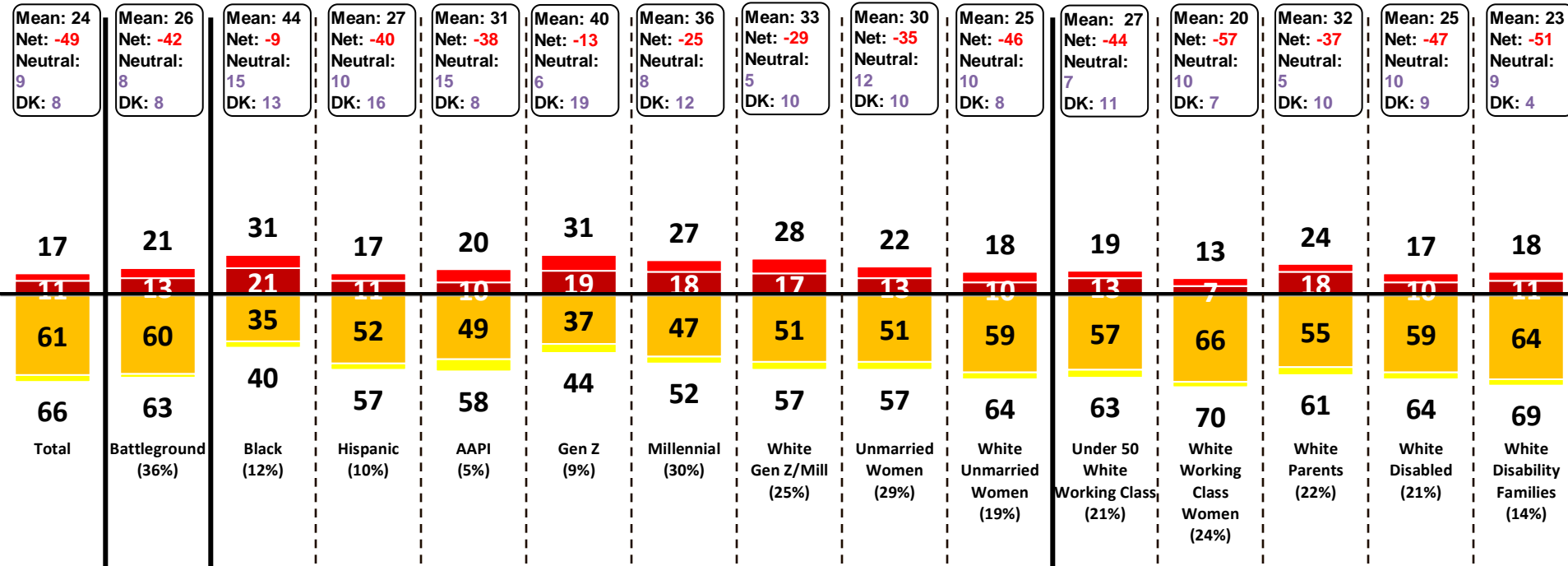
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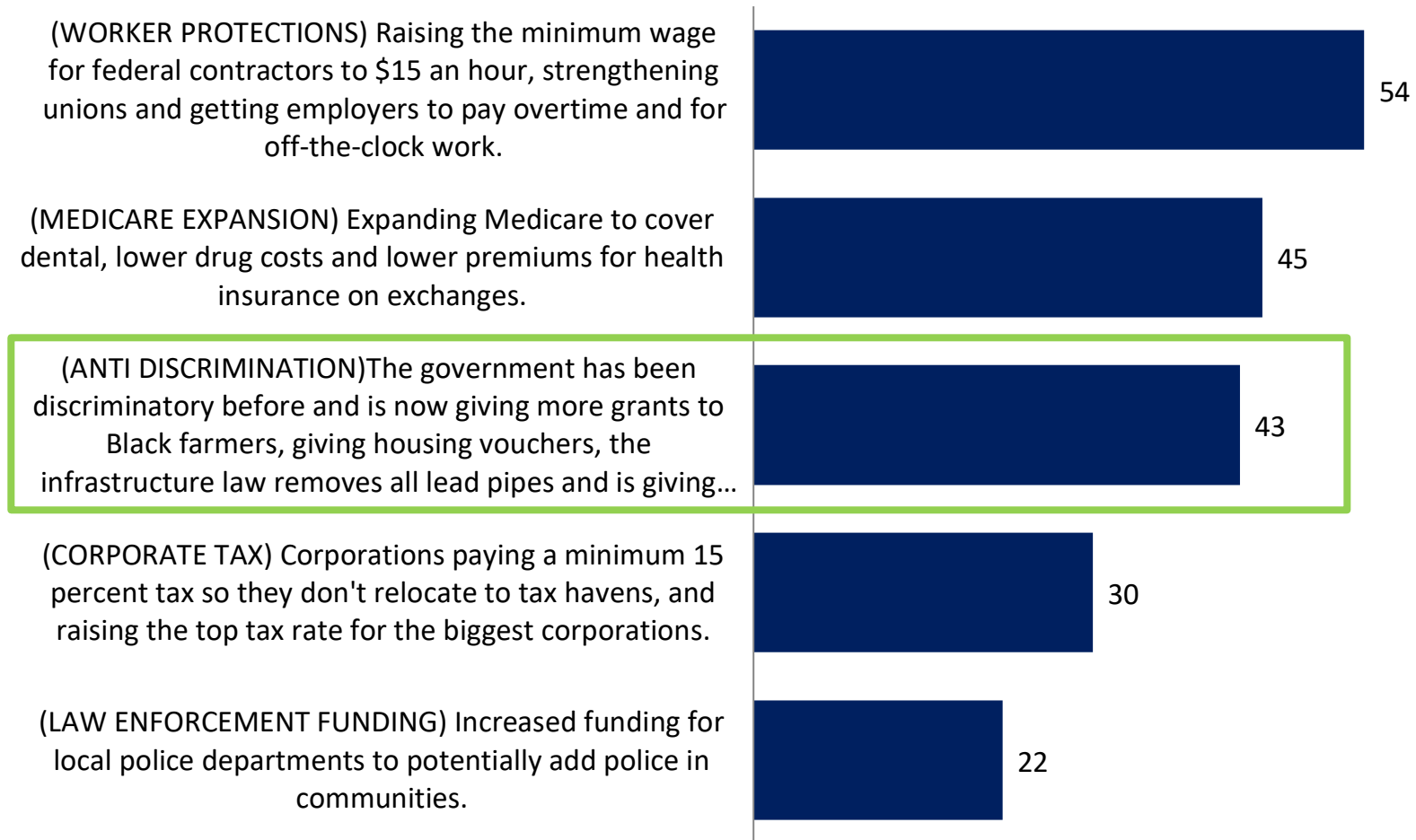
Defunding the police

Campaign for Black & African American community



Black policy priorities remain consistent on economic issues within the racial justice context as seen with importance of righting past wrongs

(IF AFRICAN AMERICAN/BLACK) Now please read what a Democratic candidate is saying is most important to do. Which TWO are the most important for you?



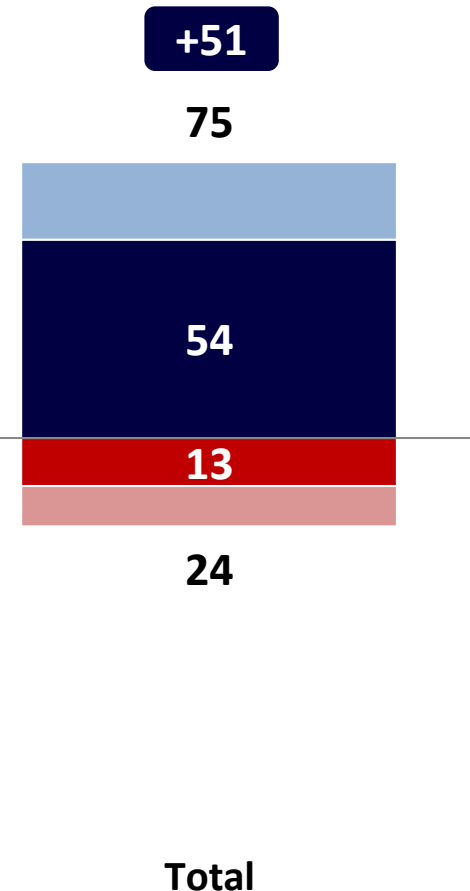
African American voters overwhelmingly support Dem's "Black Progress" message of economic justice to address decades of unequal treatment

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

(BLACK PROGRESS) The Democrat says, no matter our race and where people come from, we need a government that works for us instead of the biggest corporations. We need big change and Black communities need to see progress. Government should push to raise the minimum wage to \$15 an hour and battle on the side of workers against employers, and make health care affordable for all. After so many decades of unequal treatment, we must target serious help to Black communities. We can't afford business as usual.

(TRUMP'S WORLD) The Republican says, America has never been more at risk for those who made America Great. Crime in our country is escalating. People are pouring through our borders totally unchecked. We must act to save America and define the future of our beloved country. We take pride in our country, we teach the truth about our history, not canceling our history. We believe in the men and women of law enforcement. We trust people and families to make their own choices and they have the right to be able to make their voices heard.

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



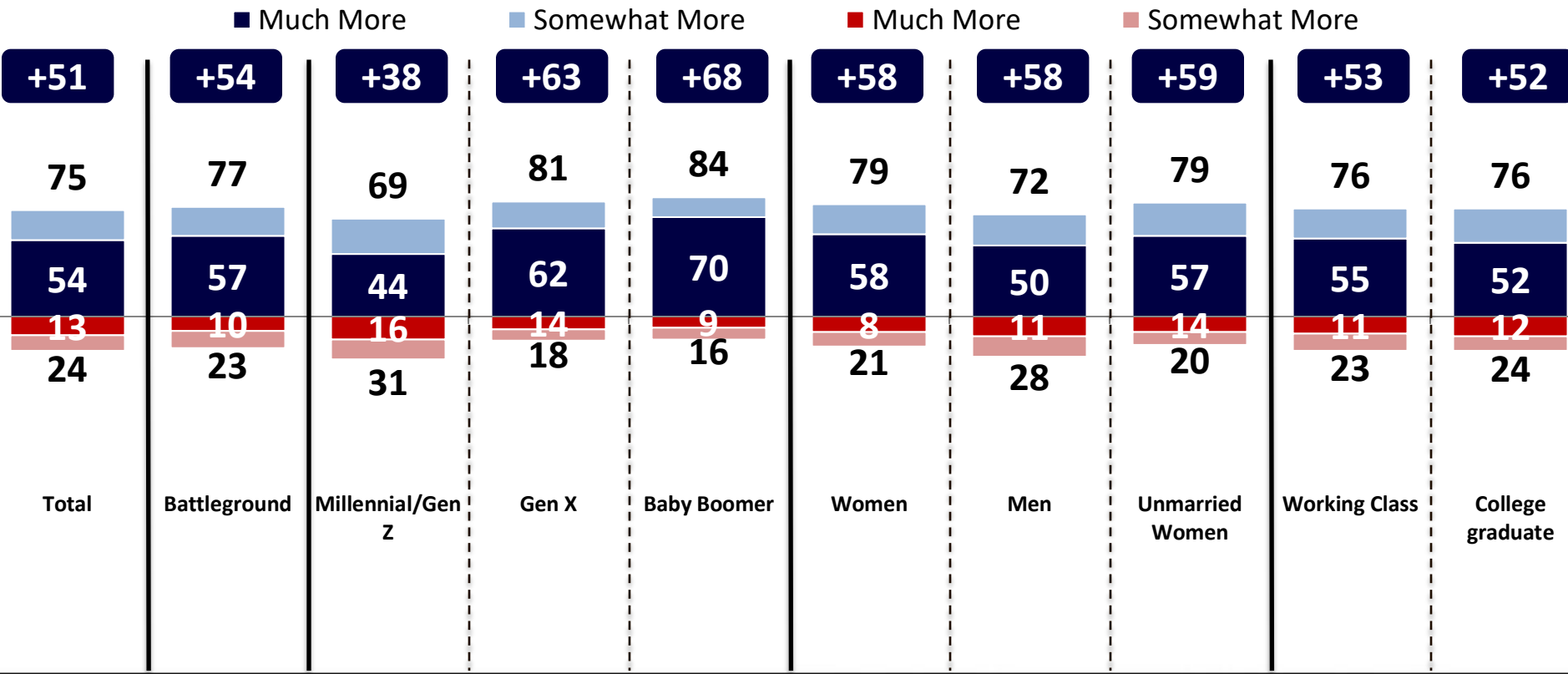
Among Black Voters (Weighted $n = 120$, unweighted $n = 611$)

While "Black Progress" message is most popular among older Black voters, Trump message resonates with 30%+ of younger Black voters

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

(BLACK PROGRESS)

(TRUMP'S WORLD)



Campaign for Hispanic community



Dem outreach message to Hispanics loses ground to Trump message relative to generic ballot

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

(DEMOCRATS BETTER) The Democrat says, whether we were born here or came to this country as immigrants, the American Dream has offered us the opportunity to get ahead through hard work. The (SHOW RESPONSE IN LAORIGIN) community knows better than anyone what I am talking about. That is why I am working hard for the support of Hispanic and Latino communities. We work hard for our families and our children to have a good education and good job and want our small businesses to succeed. I will fight for you, not the biggest corporations who have all the help they need.

(AMERICA FIRST) The Republican says, we need to put America first again. The Democrats have put our country's greatness at risk. Crime is going up, our border is overwhelmed, and prices are rapidly rising. Under Republican leadership, the country cracked down on China, got tough at the border, and prioritized American workers and jobs. We created the strongest economy and lowest unemployment rate in generations before the pandemic. Now, we need to keep our economy open and get people back to work.

Somewhat More Much More
Somewhat More Much More

+8

54

35

32

46

Total



Among Hispanic Voters (Weighted n = 100, unweighted n = 615)

Trump message makes broad inroads with Hispanic voters, especially Mexican-Americans & men

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

(DEMOCRATS BETTER)

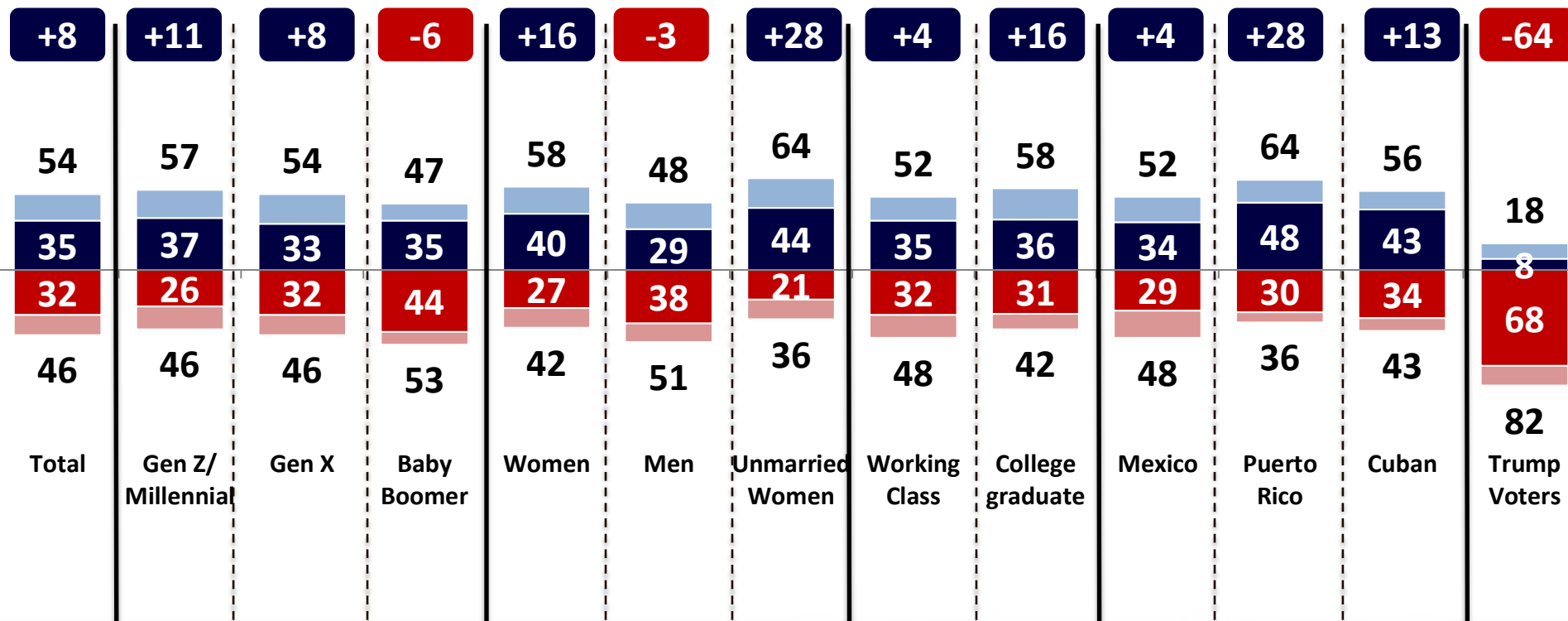
(AMERICA FIRST)

■ Much More

■ Somewhat More

■ Much More

■ Somewhat More



Hispanics believe Dems “care” more, but which party is “better” for workers is in dispute. Gender & education drive divides on party images; corporations still a messaging opp.

Party Descriptors

(Total Describes Dems Better - Total Describes Reps Better)

	Cares About People Like You	Better for American Workers	Better for Big Corps
ALL	+18	+0	-29
Independents	+22	+3	-40
Switchers	+16	-14	-30
New Trump	-43	-65	-41
College Men	+11	-4	-30
Non-Coll Men	+3	-17	-37
College Women	+22	+4	-33
Non-Coll Women	+29	+12	-19

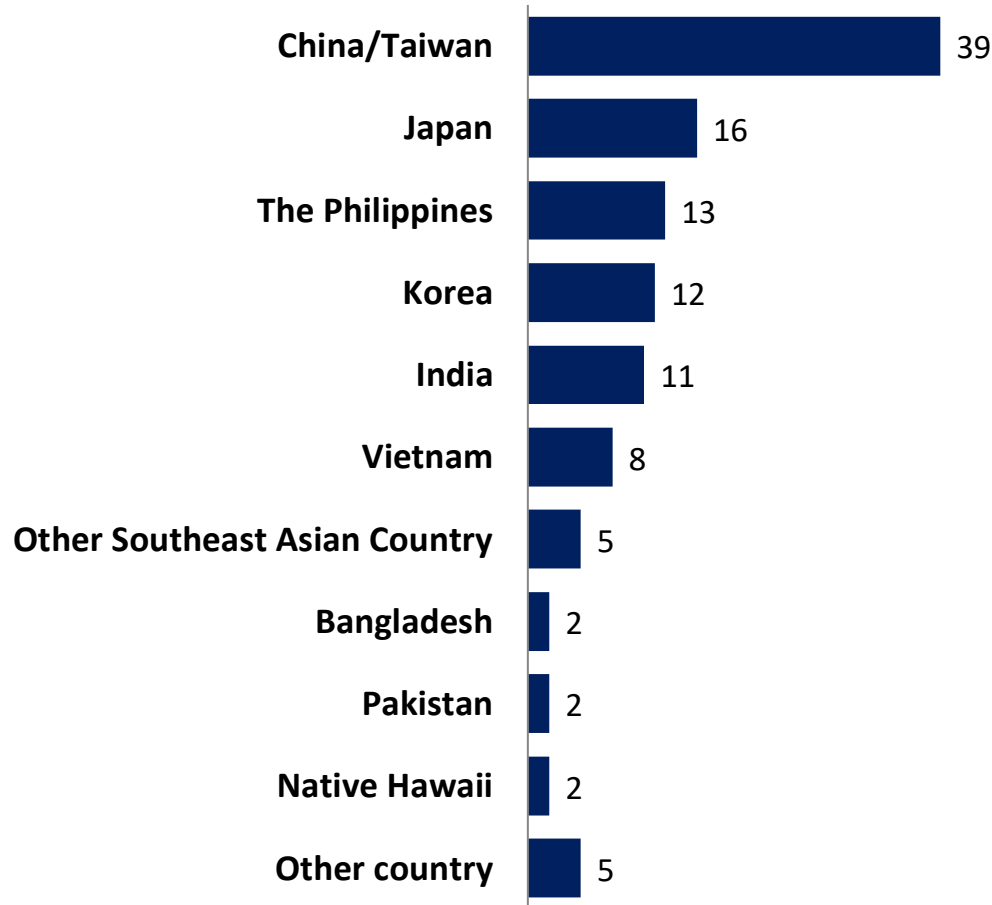


Campaign for Asian American & Pacific Islander communities



AAPI Survey Respondents by Ethnicity

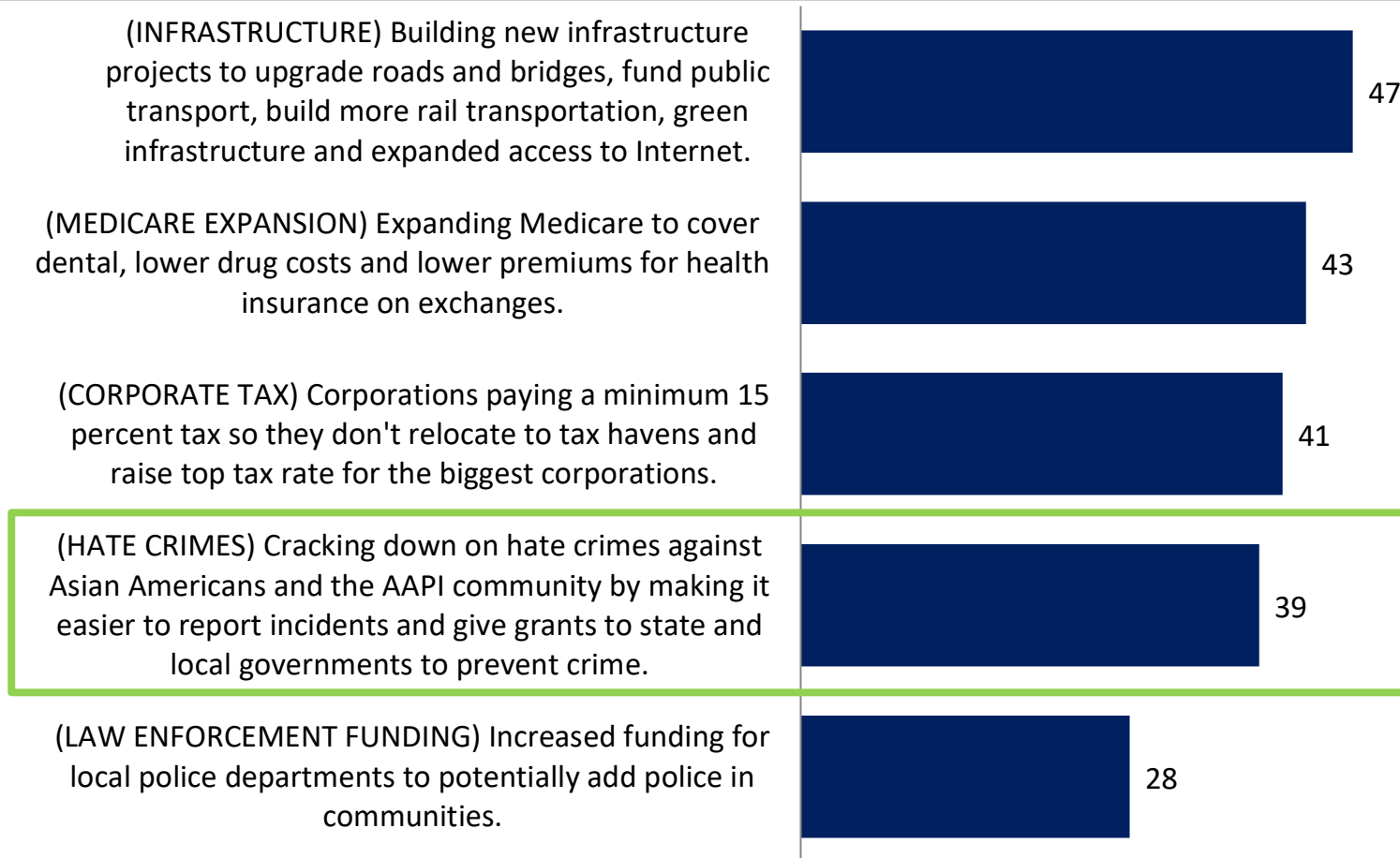
(IF ASIAN/AAPI) Many people have their roots in many different countries. To what country or countries do you or your family trace your ancestry?



Among AAPI Voters (Weighted $n = 53$, unweighted $n = 504$)

AAPI top policy priorities are strongly centered on economic issues, but racial discrimination shows permeating racial anxiety that characterize AAPI Democratic surge in 2020

(IF AAPI/ASIAN) Now please read what a Democratic candidate is saying is most important to do. Which TWO are the most important for you?



Among AAPI Voters (Weighted $n = 53$, unweighted $n = 504$)

Strong AAPI support for Democratic message represent an opportunity to address economic priorities through the context of racial anxiety felt by AAPI voters

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

(NOT INVISIBLE) The Democrat says, no matter our race or where people come from, we need a government that works for us instead of the biggest corporations. We will raise corporate taxes so they pay their fair share and ensure everyone has access to affordable health care and new funding for public education. It has been a tough time for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and we must stop the hate crimes and rising discrimination. No more being invisible and taken for granted. All Americans who work hard should be able to reach the American Dream.

(TRUMP'S WORLD) The Republican says, America has never been more at risk for those who made America Great. Crime in our country is escalating. People are pouring through our borders totally unchecked. We must act to save America and define the future of our beloved country. We take pride in our country, we teach the truth about our history, not canceling our history. We believe in the men and women of law enforcement. We trust people and families to make their own choices and they have the right to be able to make their voices heard.

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

+26

63

40

19

37

Total



Among AAPI Voters (Weighted n = 53, unweighted n = 504)

Incredibly high support across all AAPI voters show a path for Democrats to expand margins with AAPI voters

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

(NOT INVISIBLE)

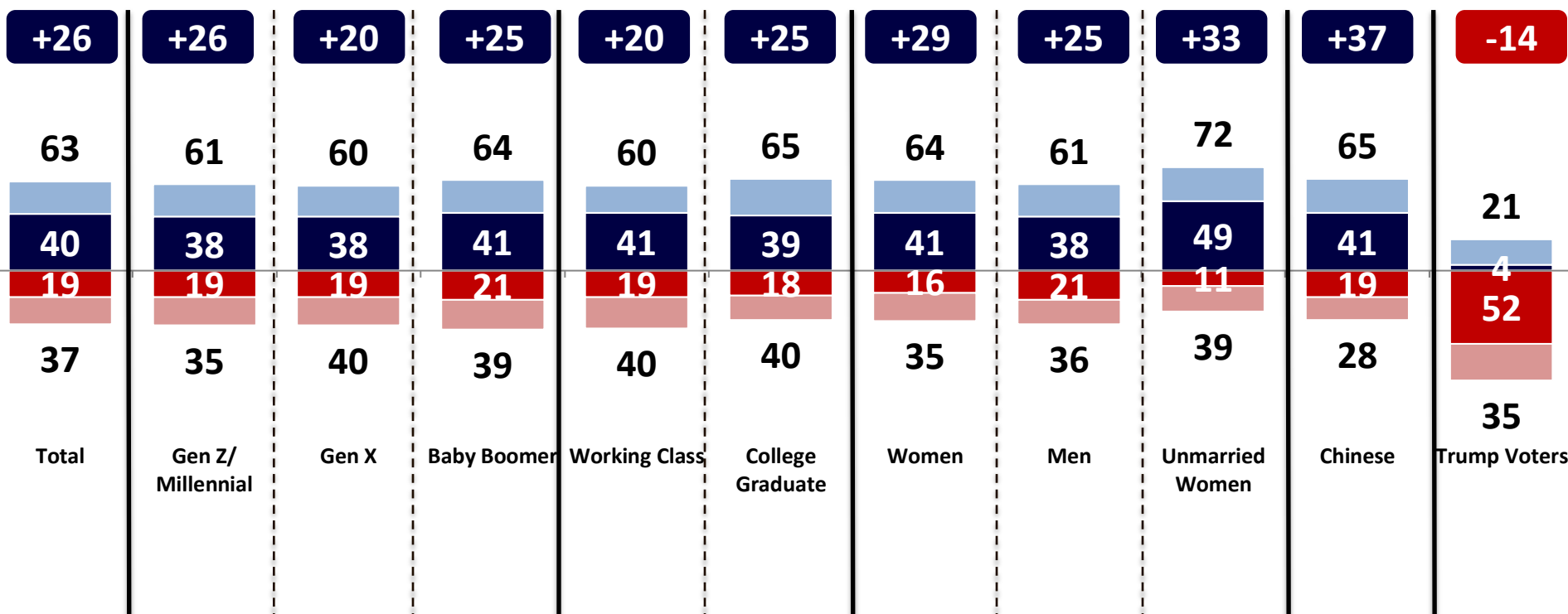
(TRUMP'S WORLD)

■ Much More

■ Somewhat More

■ Much More

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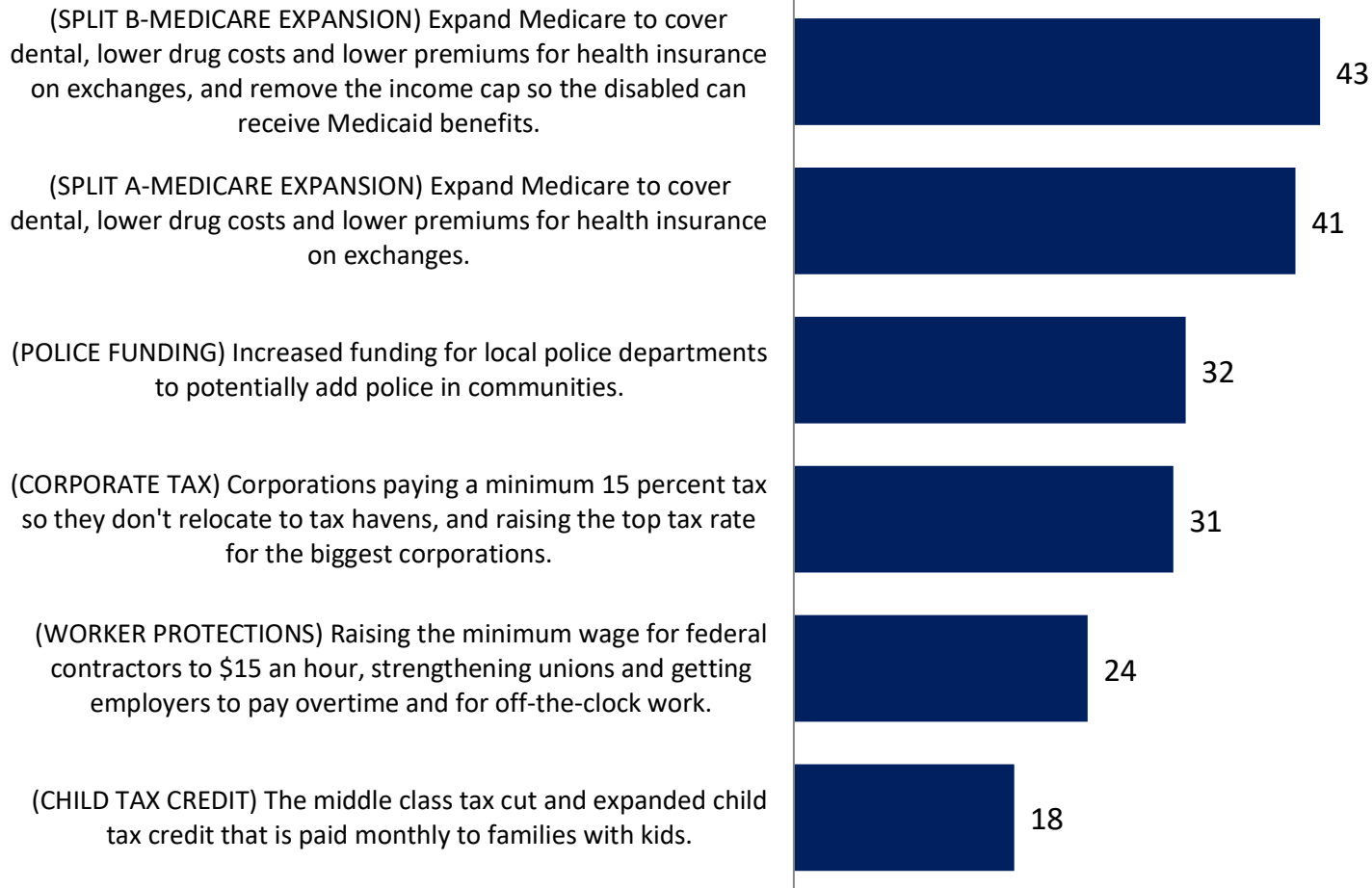
Among AAPI Voters (Weighted n = 53, unweighted n = 504)

Campaign for white working class voters



At top of policy are Medicare expansion, lower premiums, drug costs and no income cap for disabled

(IF WHITE) Now please read what a Democratic candidate is saying is most important to do. Which TWO are the most important for you?



Among White Voters (Weighted $n = 720$, unweighted $n = 712$)

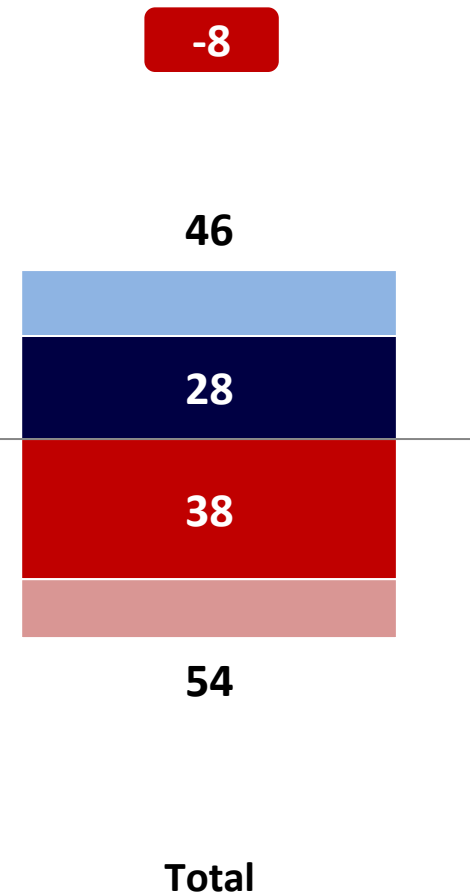
Blue collar who we are for and against message embraced by 46 percent vs. Trump world – way above Democratic vote with white working class

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

(BLUE COLLAR) The Democrat says, people are living paycheck to paycheck and struggling to pay their bills and taxes. They need a government that looks out for the middle class, working families, small businesses, and the vulnerable who work hard. They don't need a government that jumps whenever the biggest corporations send money and lobbyists. My approach is blue collar. We should bend over backwards for those who work hard so we create jobs in America and grow the middle class again.

(TRUMP'S WORLD) The Republican says, America has never been more at risk for those who made America Great. Crime in our country is escalating. People are pouring through our borders totally unchecked. We must act to save America and define the future of our beloved country. We take pride in our country, we teach the truth about our history, not canceling our history. We believe in the men and women of law enforcement. We trust people and families to make their own choices and they have the right to be able to make their voices heard.

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Among White Voters (Weighted n = 720, unweighted n = 712)

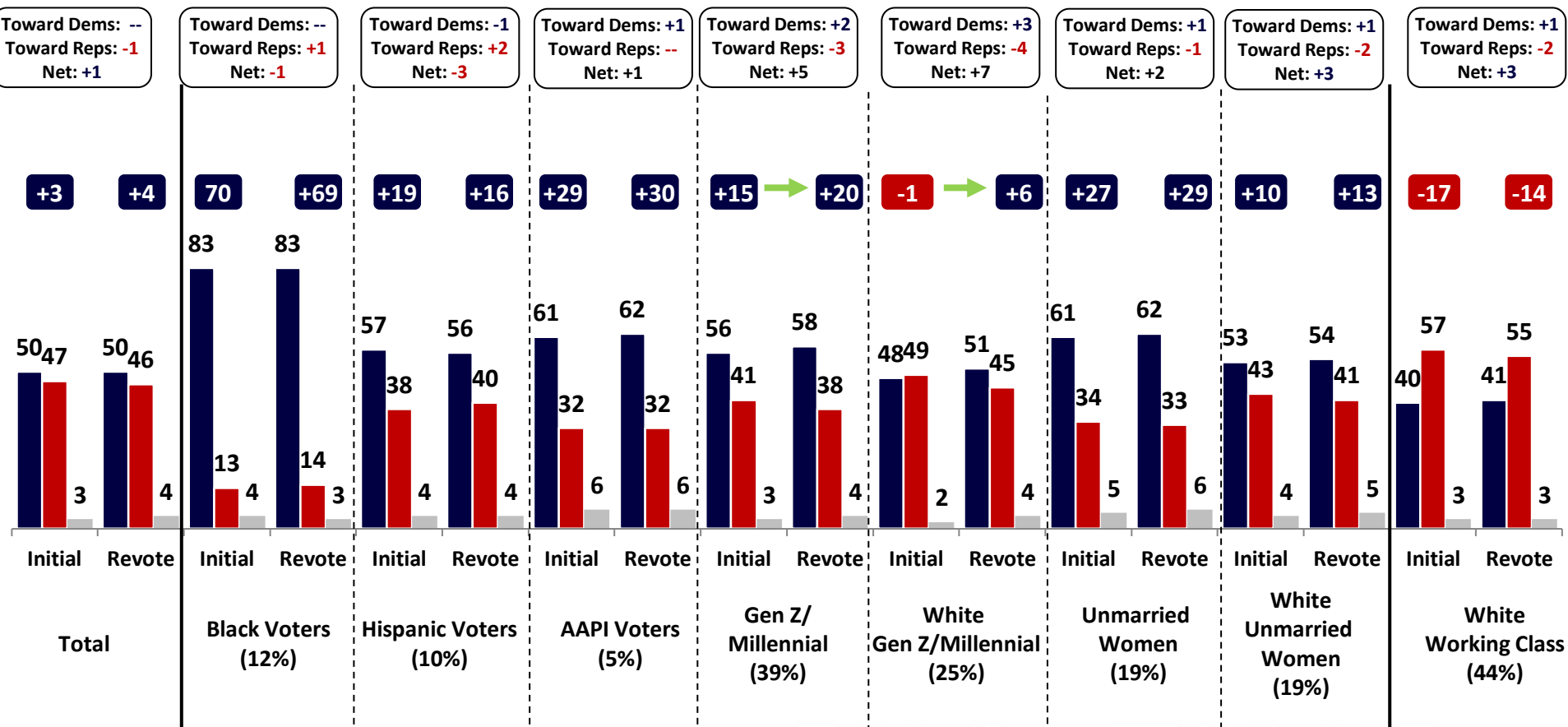
Closing message & vote



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?

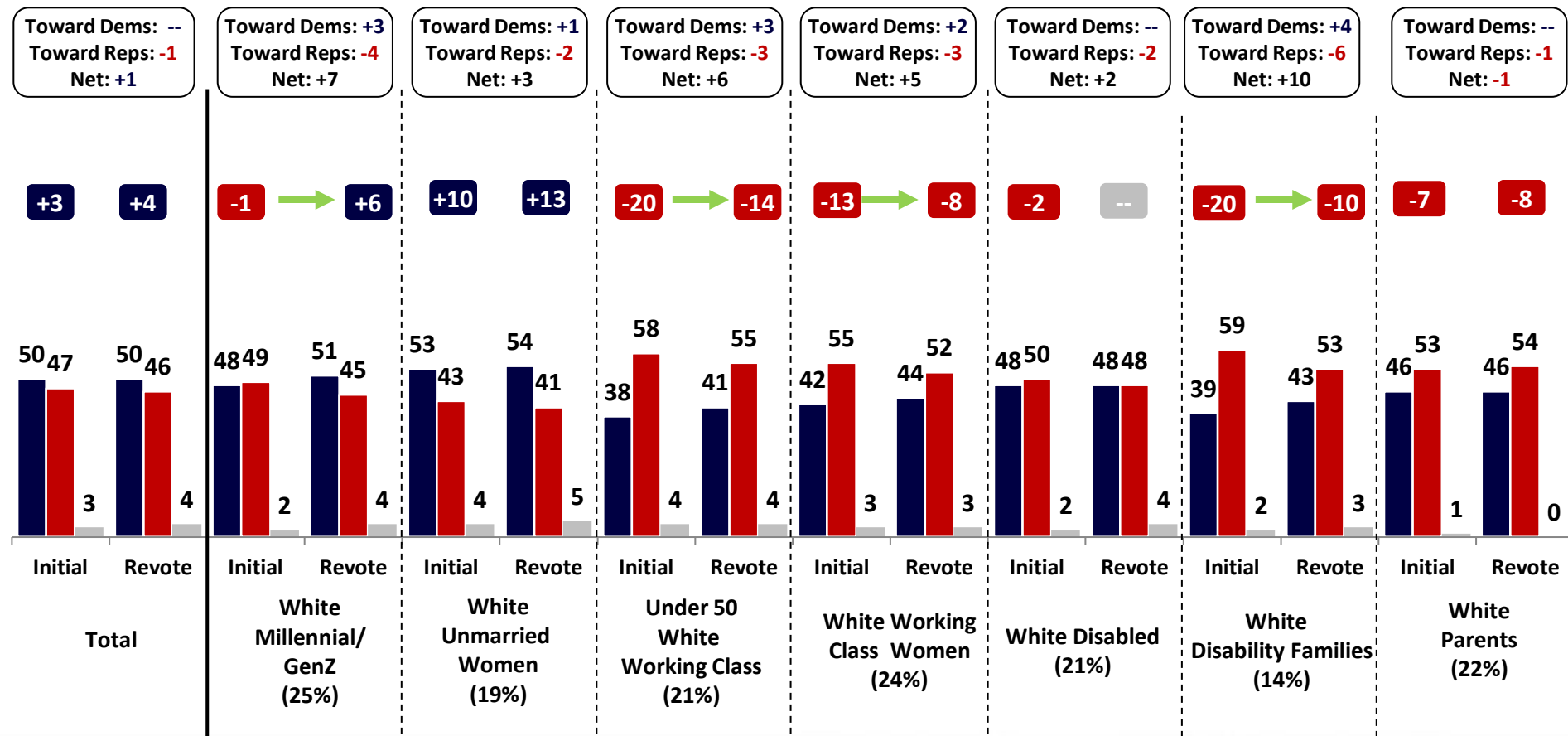
2022 CONGRESSIONAL BALLOT SHIFT



Campaign: big shift with white GenZ-millennials and unmarried women, as well under white working class under 50, 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



Key findings

- Democrats begin weak on the economy, jobs and wages, losing to Trump on who is better at delivering for the forgotten Americans.
- Yet this powerful blue collar message framework – seeing working people and wanting change, clear who for and against, changing the economy and who has power at work and government – combined with transformative policies — changes all that. Democrats move from 3 to 8-point lead in the battleground.
- The recommended campaign solidifies Black and AAPI vote, but not Hispanics. But produces big gains in our base with Gen Z/millennials and whites Gen Z/millennials. These are four in ten voters. (No turnout and weak vote in VA can be reversed.)
- The campaign produces major gains with under 50 white working class, working class women, and white disability families.
- Our audience is working class. We see them and wear their shoes. And we are for the middle class, working families, small businesses, and the vulnerable who work hard. We are against big corporations who call the shots and insist they pay taxes.
- Our transformative policies address people's acute economic needs (Medicare expansion & lower health insurance premiums and the expanded child tax credit delivered monthly) and raise to \$15 minimum wage for federal contractors and labor protections, with infrastructure to help raise wages. People give highest priority to big corporations paying a minimum tax and stop paying no taxes. They tilt the balance to working people at work and with government.

Key findings continued...

- The priorities of Democrats in this framework are about bringing change on the economy and power. Our policy priorities are focused on those areas. The economic status quo is not ok with people living paycheck to paycheck. We talk about policies that help people financially and policies that change who has power at work and government.
- The priorities of Democrats in this framework are about bringing change to the economy and power. Addressing historic discrimination is 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.
- Our strongest attack on Republicans: they gave big corporations big tax cuts to the rich and working people saw nothing. Still trickle-down for them. And they threaten the big middle class tax cut, the child tax credit. Their repealing it will raise taxes on working families and push many into poverty. Both are strong, as CTC has become a base and persuasion targets message.
- Child tax credit has opened up the white working class under 50 years and strong support with Blacks, those younger white workers, and white parents. New social programs being delivered are getting heard. When attacked by conservatives, support gets stronger, including ¼ of Trump voters.
- The Democrats' strong performance was possible because we prioritize security, fund, and reform the police. It is very strong across the base and targets. It offsets their strongest attack, which is on defunding the police, which is a very unpopular concept.
- Voters with disabilities and their families are overrepresented in the working and white working class. They are listening to the policy offer – and our health care option gets more support when Medicare expansion and reduced premiums are joined by ending income caps for the disabled.

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Date: November 5, 2021

To: To interested parties

From: Democracy Corps, Equis Research, & HIT Strategies

A critical moment to raise support with ALL working class voters

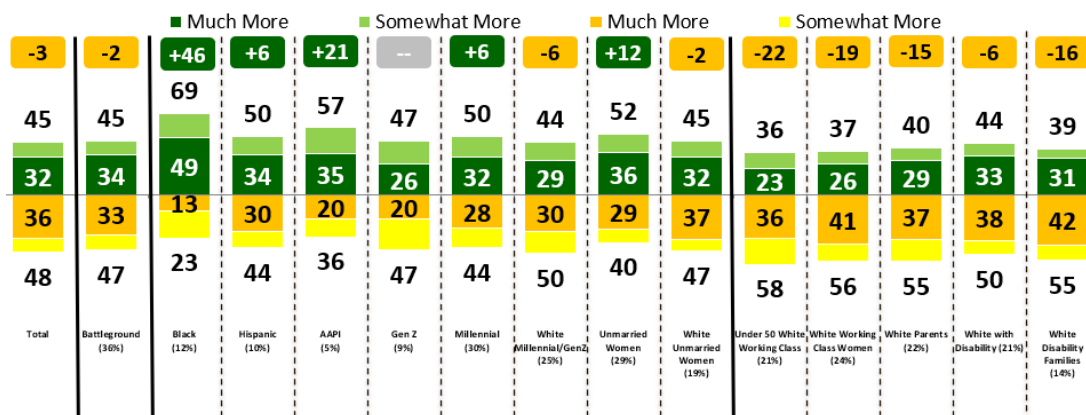
Recent research conducted by Democracy Corps, Equis Labs, and HIT Strategies for Democracy Corps, and the American Federation of Teachers of Black, Hispanic, AAPI and white working class voters shows that Joe Biden and the Democrats can embrace a powerful middle class-blue-collar message along with their 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.



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.

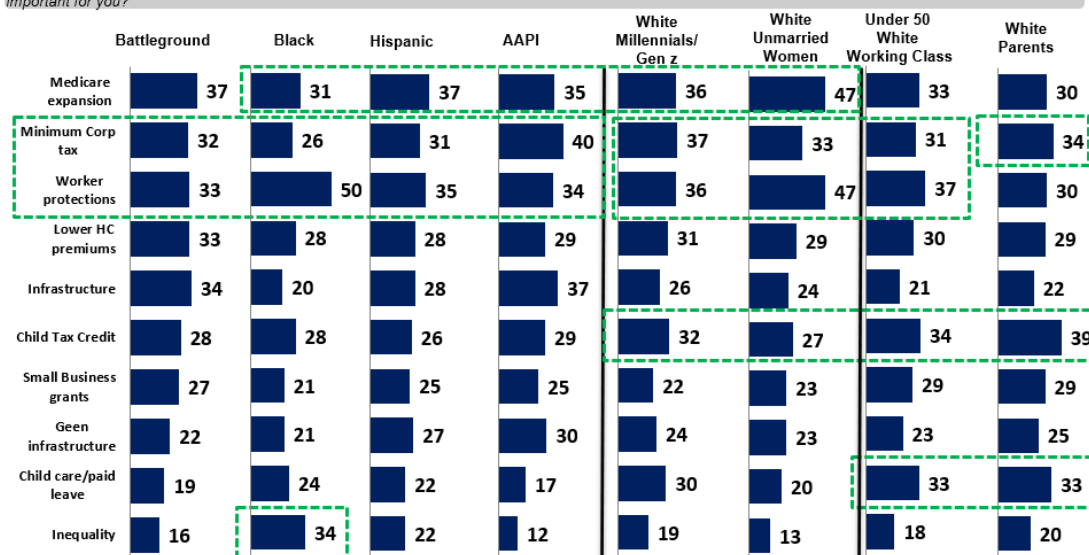
They are for big corporations paying a minimum tax, don’t relocate, and raising top rates, but they are also for government helping the worker get higher pay with their employer. They are looking for a shift in power at the workplace and with government.

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?



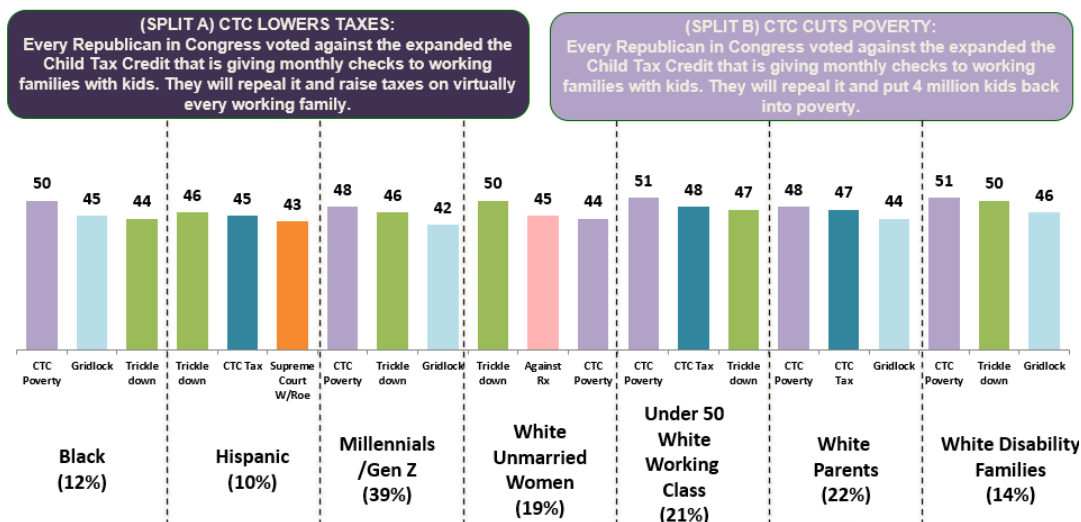
The priorities of Democrats in this framework are about bringing change to the economy and power. In this survey, we gave respondents a robust option to address historic discrimination with targeted efforts on Black farmers, housing vouchers, lead pipes, as well as Black, tribally controlled colleges, 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 dissatisfied 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. Trickle down 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 working 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.

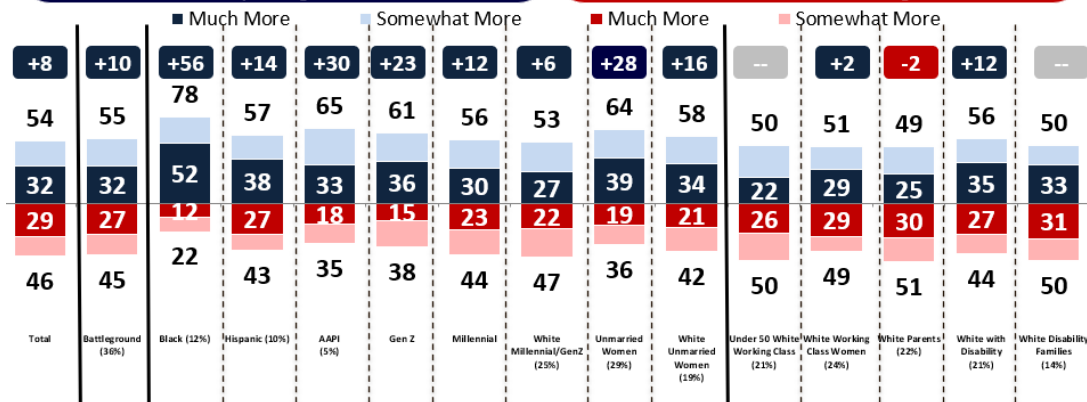
This framework, was strongly embraced by Blacks, Hispanics, and AAPI, as well as other parts of the base. Interestingly, we are at parity with Trump’s argument on defunding causing crime with under 50 white working class and working class women. An assertive position like this on security can do a lot 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.

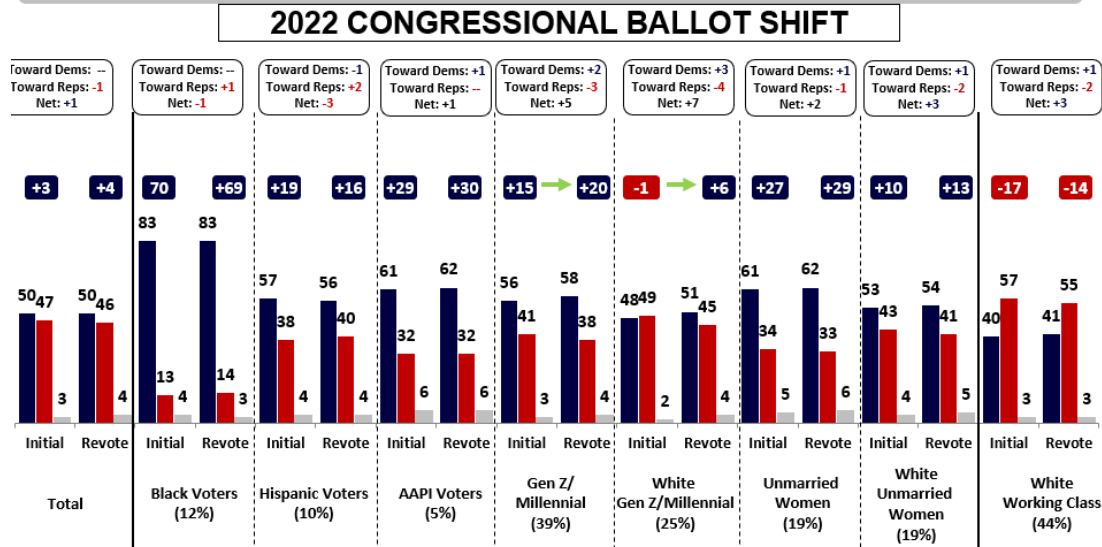


This survey confirms the continuing potential for Democrats to make headway with voters with disabilities and their families. They are a key part of white working class and rural communities. They shift to the Democrats in just the priorities that are now being articulated; they are listening in particular 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?



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

