

March 2024

# Winning Jobs Narrative Project Messaging Poll

Findings and Recommendations from a Poll of  
Likely Voters in Battleground States





# Methodology



In collaboration with Global Strategy group, Impact Research conducted a survey of N=1,000 likely 2024 general election voters across 7 battleground states: AZ, GA, MI, NC, NV, PA, and WI as well as an oversample of N=200 turnout Democrats.



The survey follows two rounds of qualitative research—in-depth online journaling and online focus groups—conducted by Global Strategy Group in collaboration with Impact Research in the fall of 2023.



We collected interviews via text-to-web and online panel between February 9-18, 2024.



The margin of error for a sample of this size is +/- 3.1 percentage points at the 95% level of confidence. The margin of error for subgroups varies and is higher.

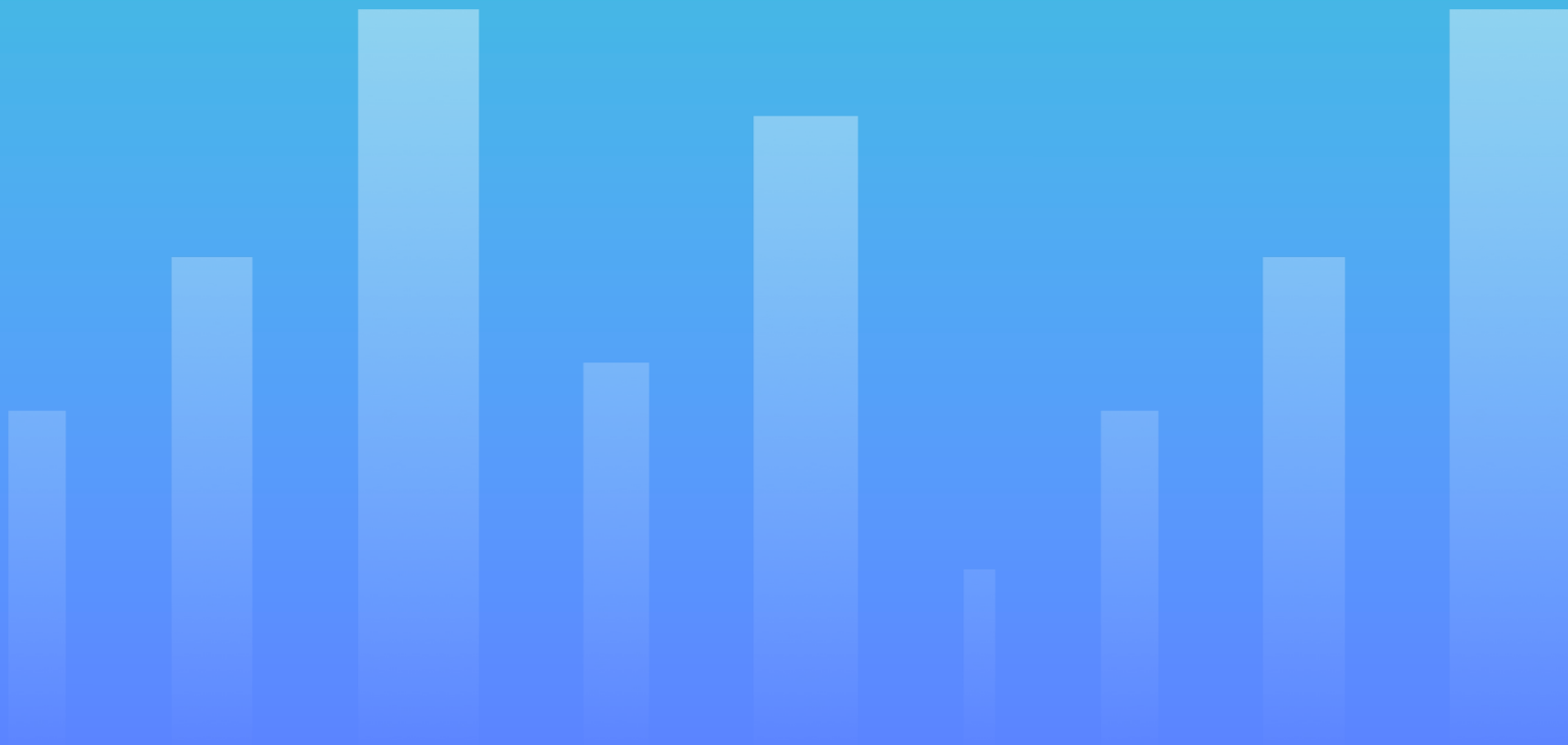


# Key Terms

- **Turnout Democrats:** Self-identified Democrats who either 1) are not that motivated to vote in 2024 or 2) did not vote in the 2022 election or 3) did not vote in the 2020 election
- **Generic ballot persuadable (GB Pers):** Voters who said “it depends” or “don’t know” when asked if they are more likely to vote for a Democratic or Republican candidate for Congress
- **Don’t trust Democrats or Republicans (D or R) on economy:** Voters who said “neither” when asked if they have more confidence in Democrats or Republicans to have the right approach on the economy
- **3<sup>rd</sup> Party + Undecided:** Voters who are supporting a third-party candidate or are undecided in the November 2024 presidential election



# Key Findings and Recommendations





# Key Findings

- **The political environment is competitive, and Democrats have only a narrow advantage on the generic ballot.** Voters give Democrats a 2-point lead on the generic ballot, with nearly 30% of the electorate still persuadable. Likewise, President Biden and Trump run even on the presidential ticket.
- **Voters view Democrats as the party that will strengthen the middle class and put working people first. Republicans have sizable advantages on economic questions.** Neither party has an advantage on creating jobs and respecting hard work. Voters trust Republicans and Trump to handle the economy over Democrats and Biden.
- **Democratic economic accomplishments are popular, with work to protect Social Security standing above the rest.** The importance of Social Security cannot be overstated, and it works with voters across the electorate. Messaging on these policies are also compelling reasons to vote for Democrats.
- **Manufacturing, Rx negotiation, infrastructure, and an economy focusing on working people are solidly second-tier Democratic achievements that move the needle.** These achievements support the idea that Democrats are focused on the issues that matter to voters and an economic outlook centered on working people.
- **After messaging, Democrats gain on key economic metrics.** Voters grow more confident in the Democratic approach (net -5 to net +5) and Biden's economic job rating (net -20 to net -10), while still favoring the Democratic approach even after framing it in a more partisan way (net +18 to net +8).



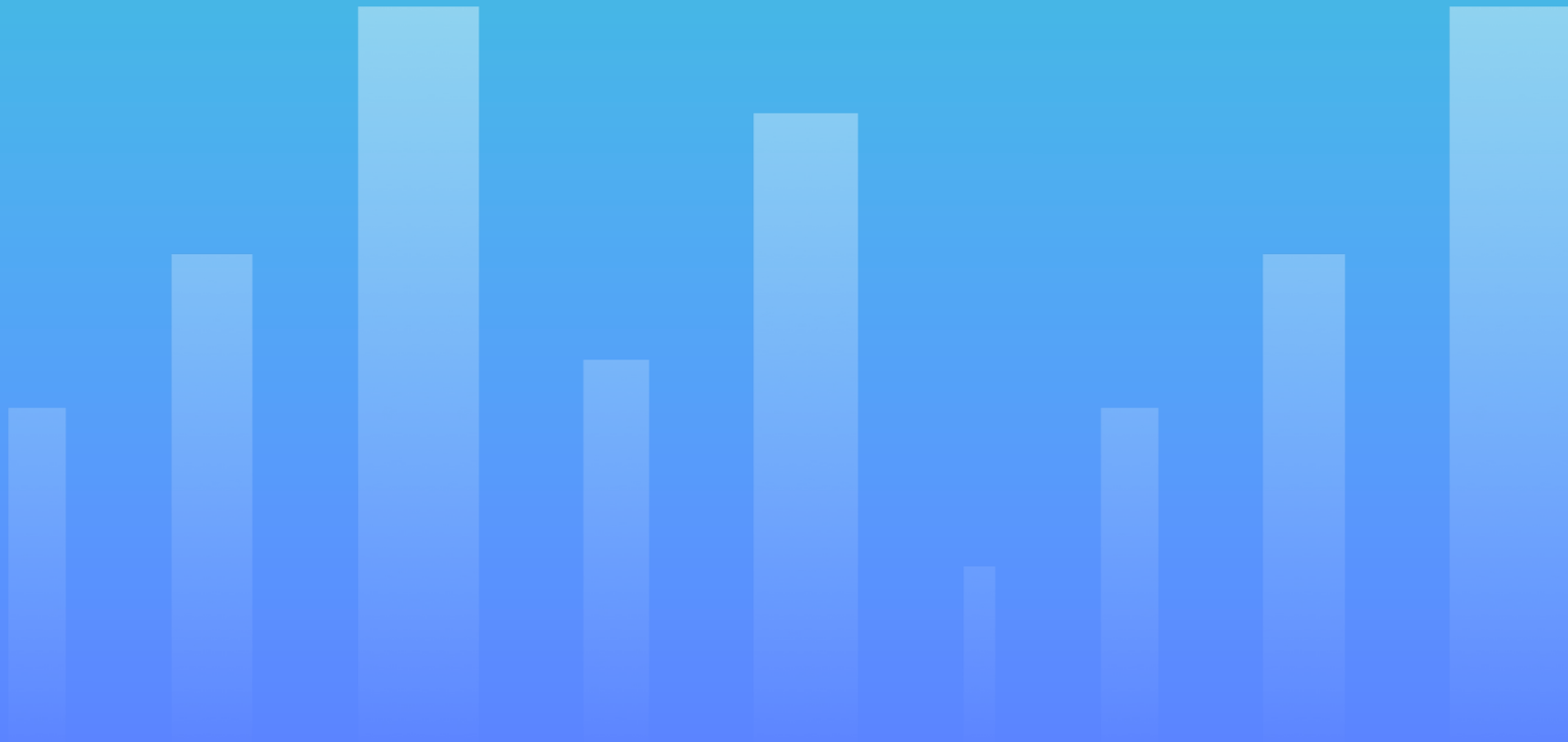
# Recommendations

- **Drive an economic vision centered on working people.** Democrats have narrow advantages on looking out for the middle class despite Republicans' overall advantage on the economy. Democrats need to seize the economic conversation and frame it through how their economic policies will help working families and seniors.
- **Address costs through Middle Out framing that puts more money in people's pockets, rather than declaring things back to normal.** The back-to-normal framework does not work and may not align with voters' own experiences. A more effective message on economic recovery addresses voters' current concerns.
- **Highlight work to protect Social Security and Medicare.** It cannot be overstated how important Social Security and Medicare are across the electorate. Democrats should focus on the work they are doing to protect these programs as well as to fight to lower prescription drug prices.
- **Talk about bringing back manufacturing jobs and the CHIPS and Science Act as proof points for how Democrats are addressing the economy by centering working people and families.** These messages address jobs, wages, innovation, and America's competitiveness.
- **Target people of color, younger voters, and Independents.**





# Political Environment

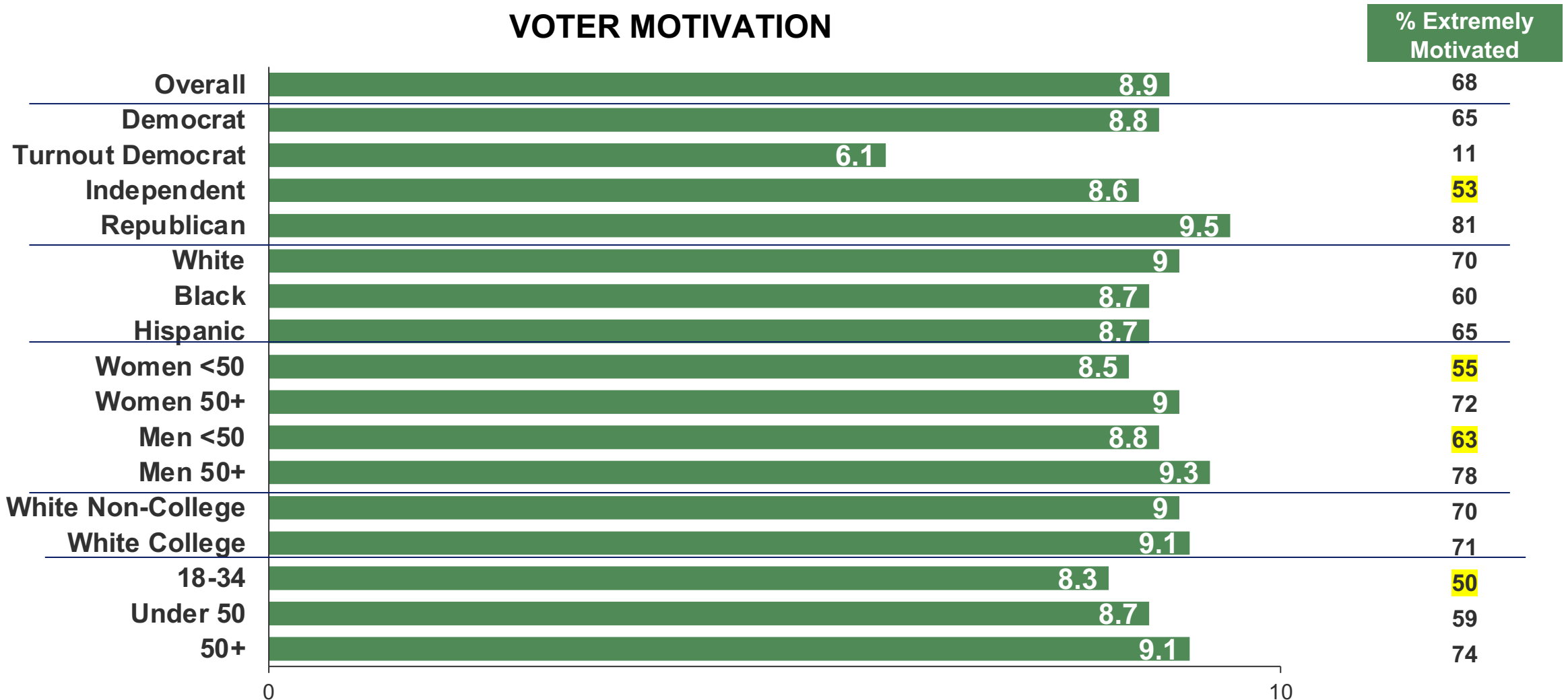


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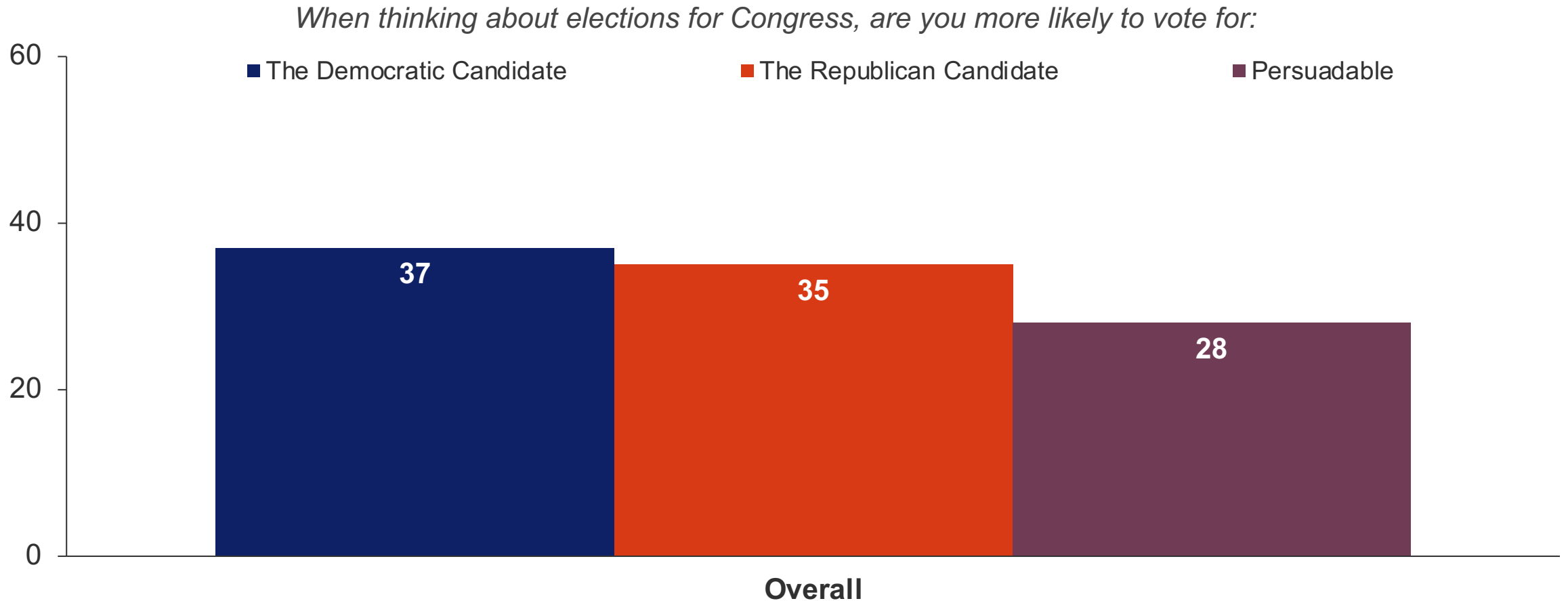
# Nearly 70% of the electorate is extremely motivated to vote. Republicans are more motivated than Democrats.

Younger and Independent voters are less motivated than voters overall..





# Democrats hold a 2-point advantage on the generic ballot, though more than a quarter of voters are persuadable.

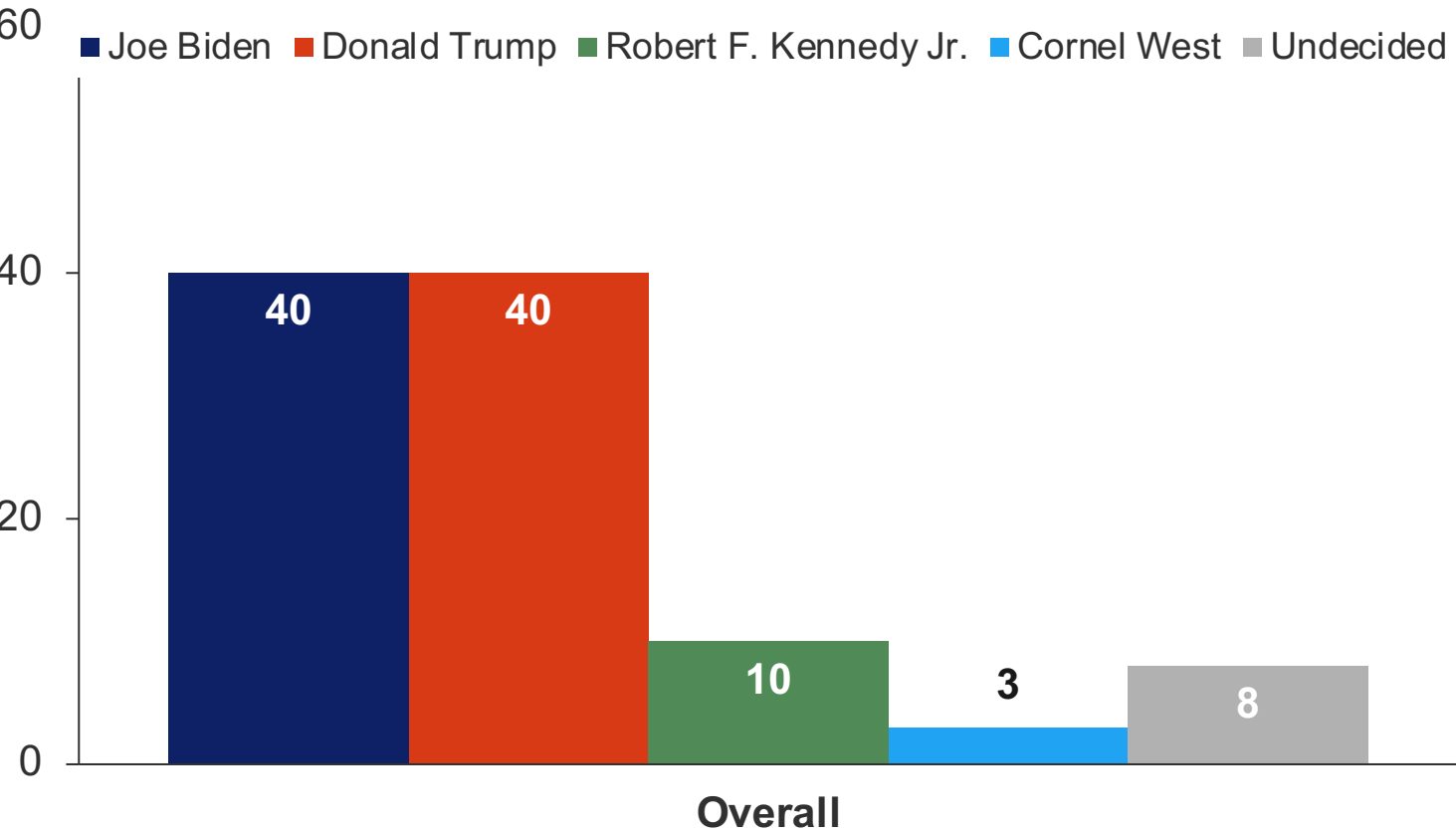




# Biden and Trump are tied across battleground states, and more than 1 in 5 are undecided or supporting a third-party candidate.

3<sup>rd</sup> party and undecided voters are disproportionately Independents and moderates.

*If the election for U.S. president were held today and these were the candidates, for whom would you vote?*

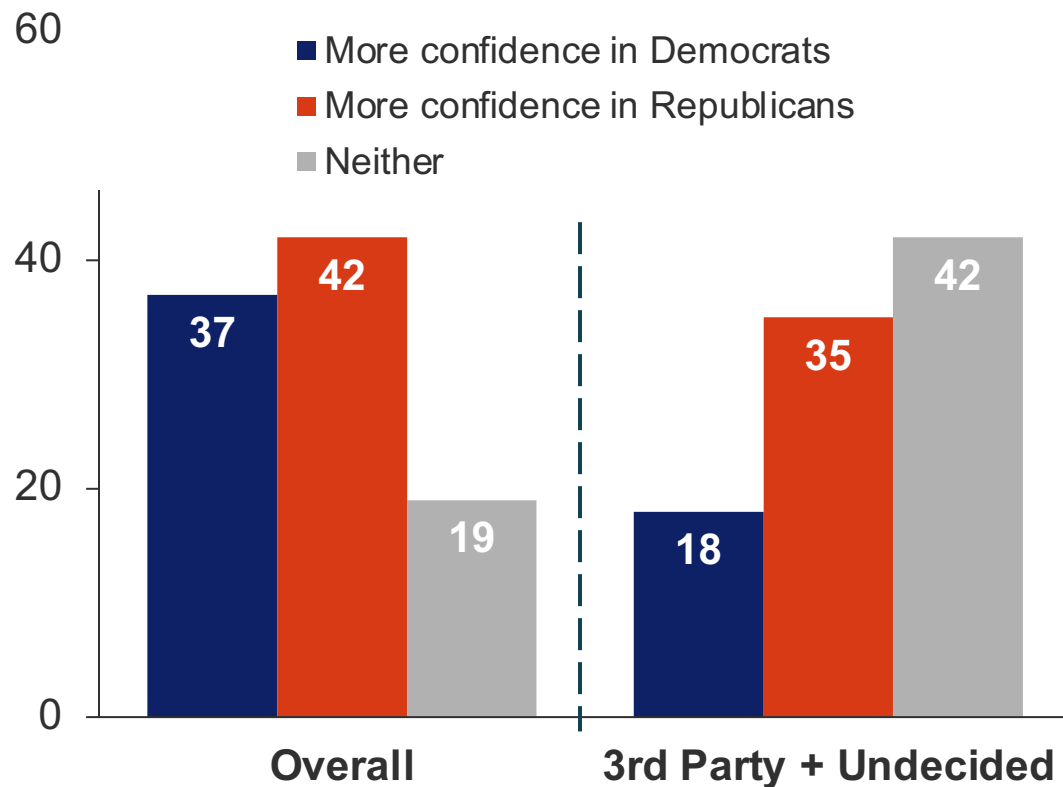


Most Likely 3 <sup>rd</sup> Party or Undecided	
Independent women	50%
Independent men	31%
Women under 50	31%
Moderate	28%
Liberal/moderate GOP	26%
Most Likely to Support RFK	
Independent women	23%
50+ Independent	21%
Under 50 Independent	17%
Liberal/moderate GOP	16%
Moderate	15%
Independent men	15%



# Voters have more confidence in Trump and Republicans to have the right approach on the economy.

*Do you have more confidence in Democrats or Republicans to have the right approach on the economy?*

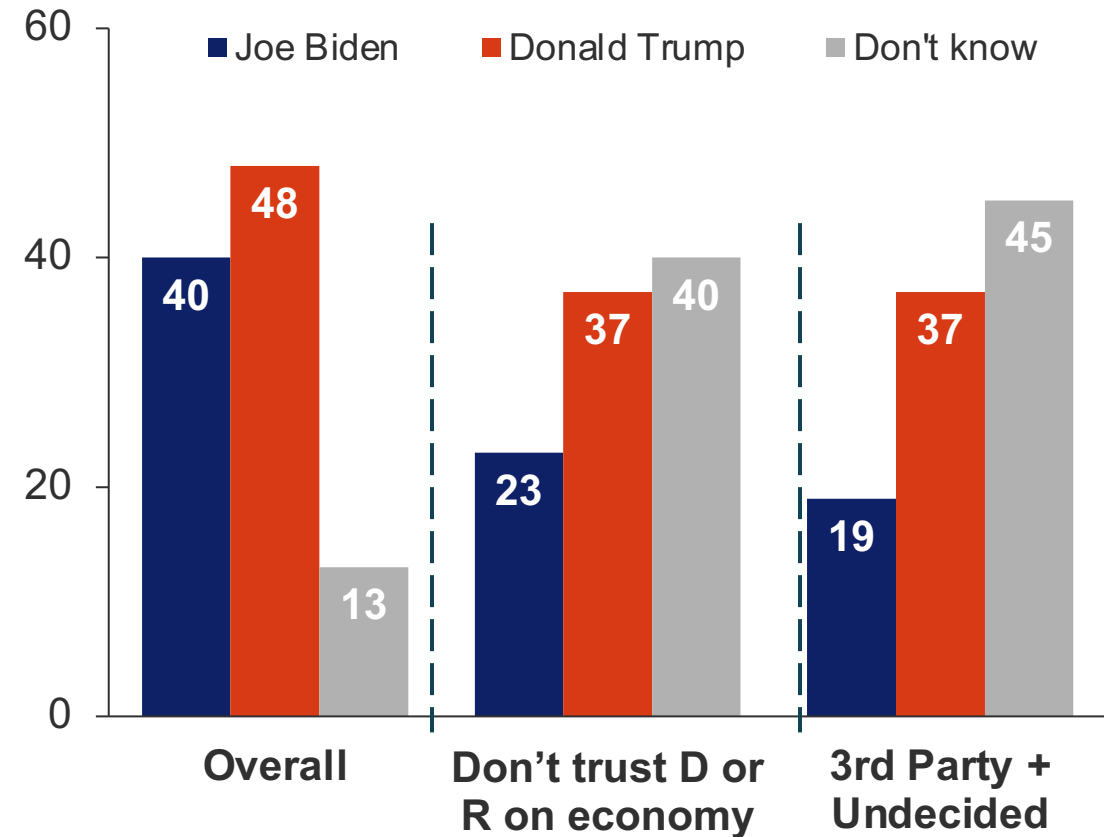


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*Do you think that Joe Biden or Donald Trump would do a better job on the economy if elected president in 2024?*



-8

-14

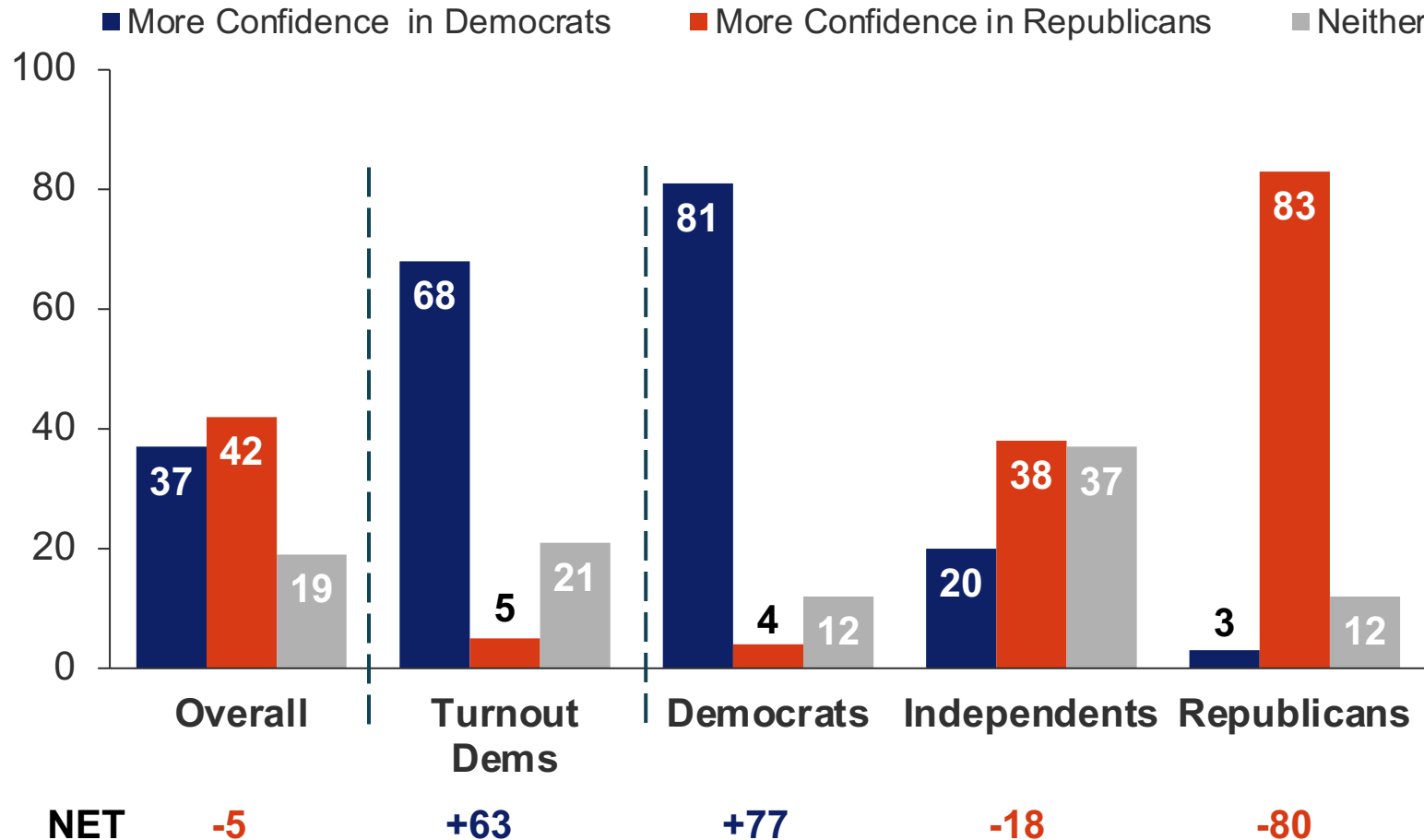
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# Independents trust Republicans on the economy by 18 points, though more third say they don't trust either party.

Swing voters and young voters are disproportionately likely to trust neither party on the economy.

*Do you have more confidence in Democrats or Republicans to have the right approach on the economy?*



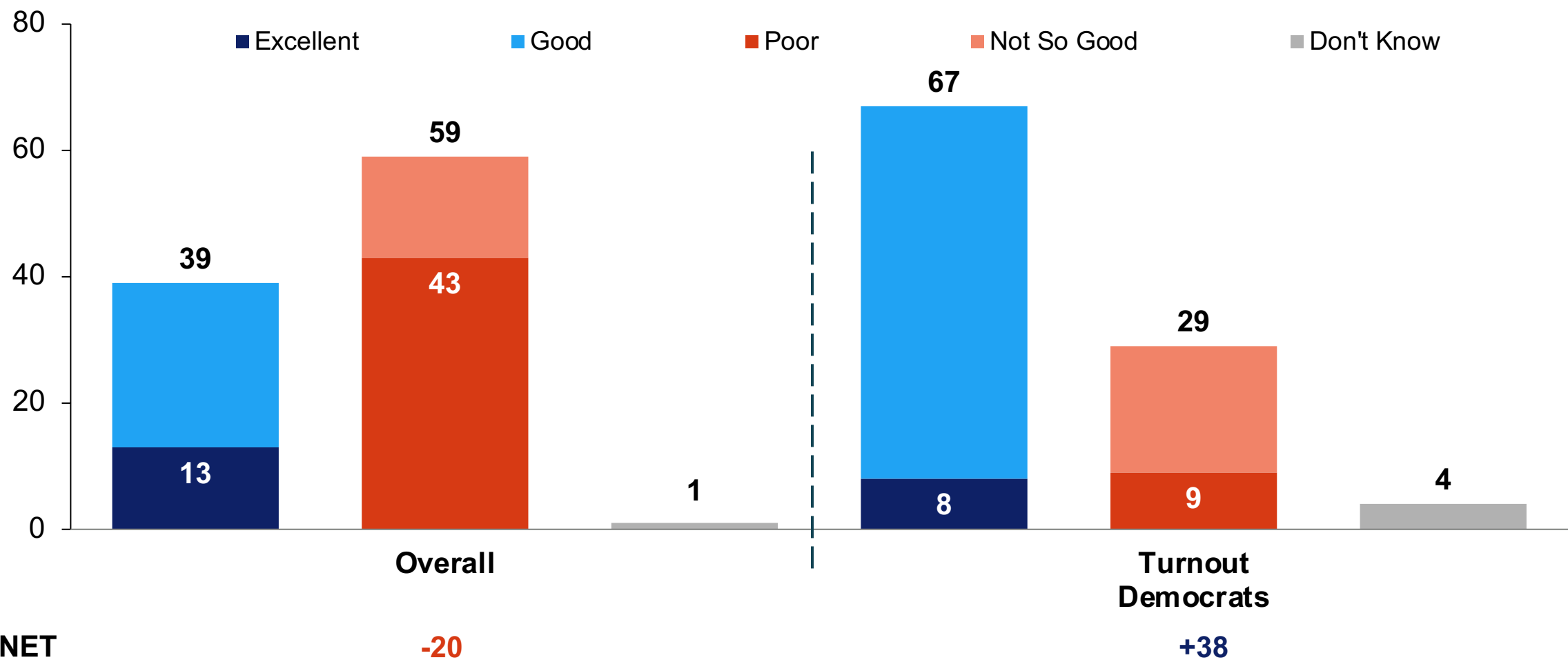
% Confidence in Neither	
Overall	19
Moderate	27
Under 50	24
Independents	37



# A majority of voters give Biden a negative job rating on the economy, with a plurality saying he is doing a poor job.

Turnout Democrats give him a positive rating by 38 points, but it's soft—just 8% say excellent.

How would you rate the job Joe Biden is doing on the economy?





# Biden's economic job rating trails the generic ballot by 22 points.

The gap is most pronounced among Independents and younger women as well as 2024 3<sup>rd</sup> party/undecided voters, generic ballot persuadables, and turnout Democrats

Biden Economic Rating	Fav.	Unfav.	Net	Net - GB
Overall	39	59	-20	-22
Democrats	81	18	+63	-21
Republicans	5	94	-89	-11
Independents	29	69	-40	-37
White	34	65	-31	-20
Black	67	31	+36	-23
Hispanic	40	57	-17	-21
Women <50	37	60	-23	-39
Women 50+	41	57	-16	-18
Men <50	38	61	-23	-22
Men 50+	40	60	-20	-11

Biden Economic Rating	Fav.	Unfav.	Net	Net - GB
White Non-College	38	61	-23	-22
White College	43	55	-12	-18
18-34	40	58	-18	-30
<50	38	60	-22	-29
50+	41	58	-17	-14
Don't trust D or R on economy	24	74	-30	-30
3 <sup>rd</sup> Party + Undecided	21	75	-54	-46
GB Persuadable	31	67	-36	-36
Turnout Democrats	67	29	+38	-42



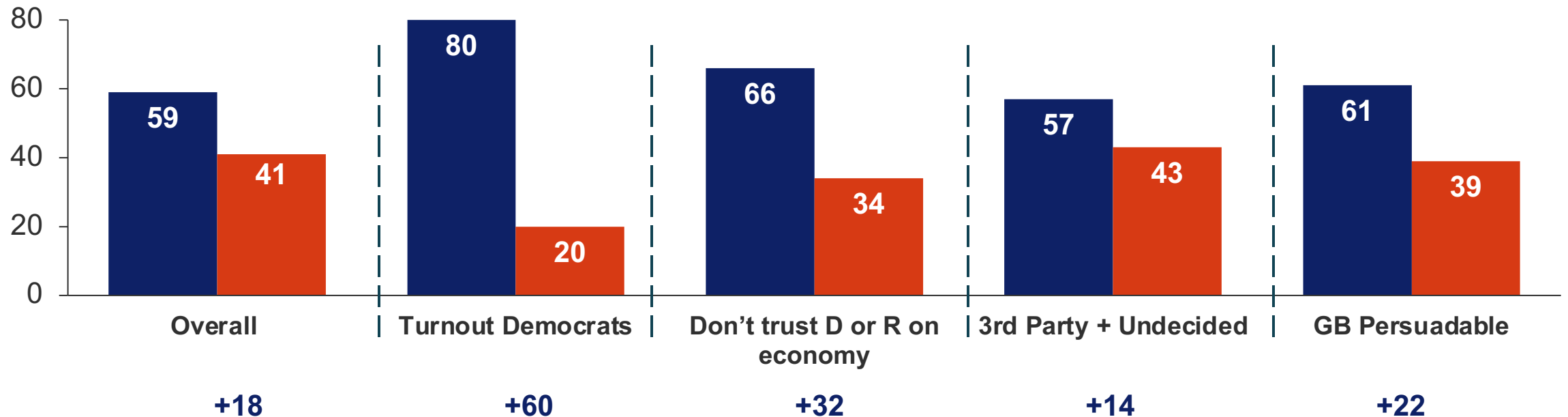
# By an 18-point margin, voters prefer Middle Out framing to trickle-down framing.

This framework is particularly powerful among voters who do not trust either party on the economy and may be an effective trust-builder.

*When it comes to the economy, which do you agree with more, even if neither is exactly right?*

**[MIDDLE OUT]** We should invest in policies that lower costs and raise incomes for working people. Hardworking Americans are the engines of our economy—and when they can thrive, the economy grows, businesses prosper, and America is more competitive.

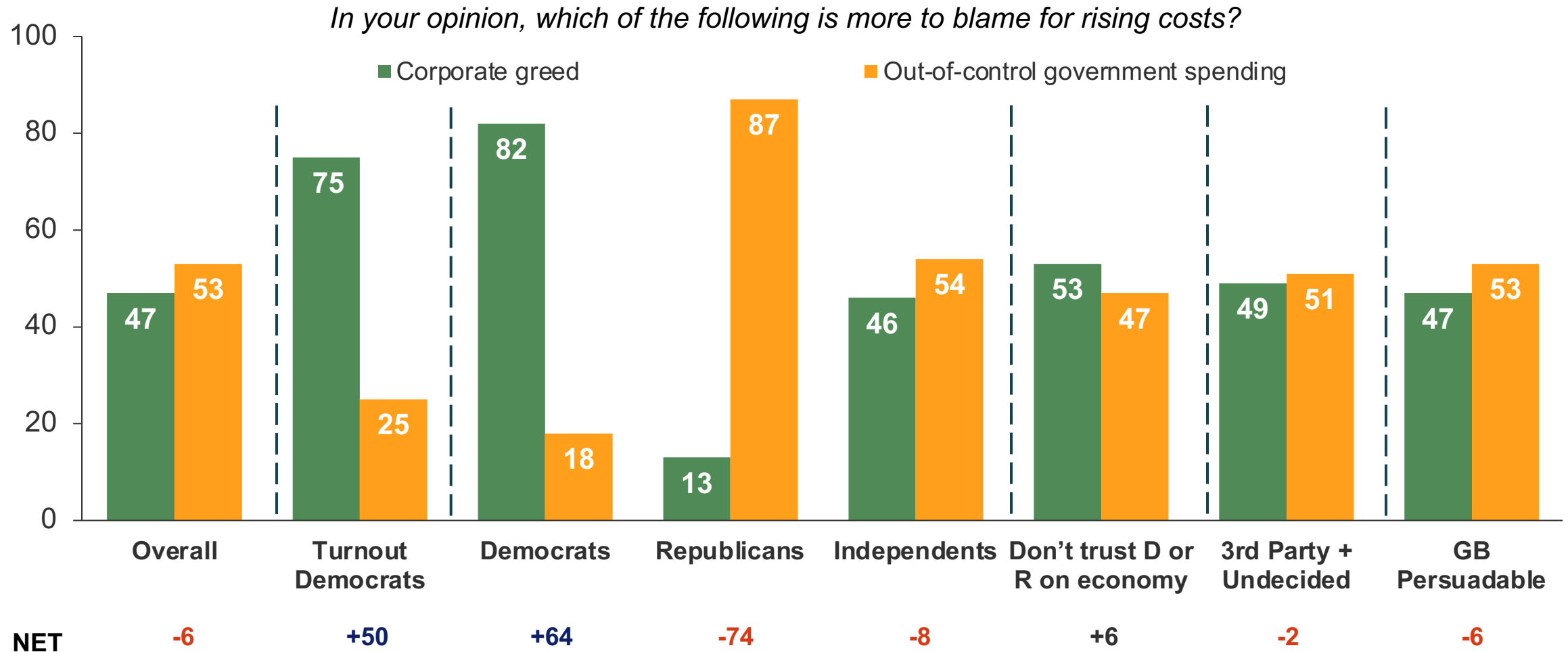
**[TRICKLE-DOWN]** We should keep taxes low for everyone and reduce burdensome regulations on businesses. That will make America more competitive, grow the economy, and create greater opportunity for all.





# Voters are split between whether corporate greed or government spending are responsible for rising costs.

Democrats are more likely to place the blame on corporate greed, while swing voters are split.

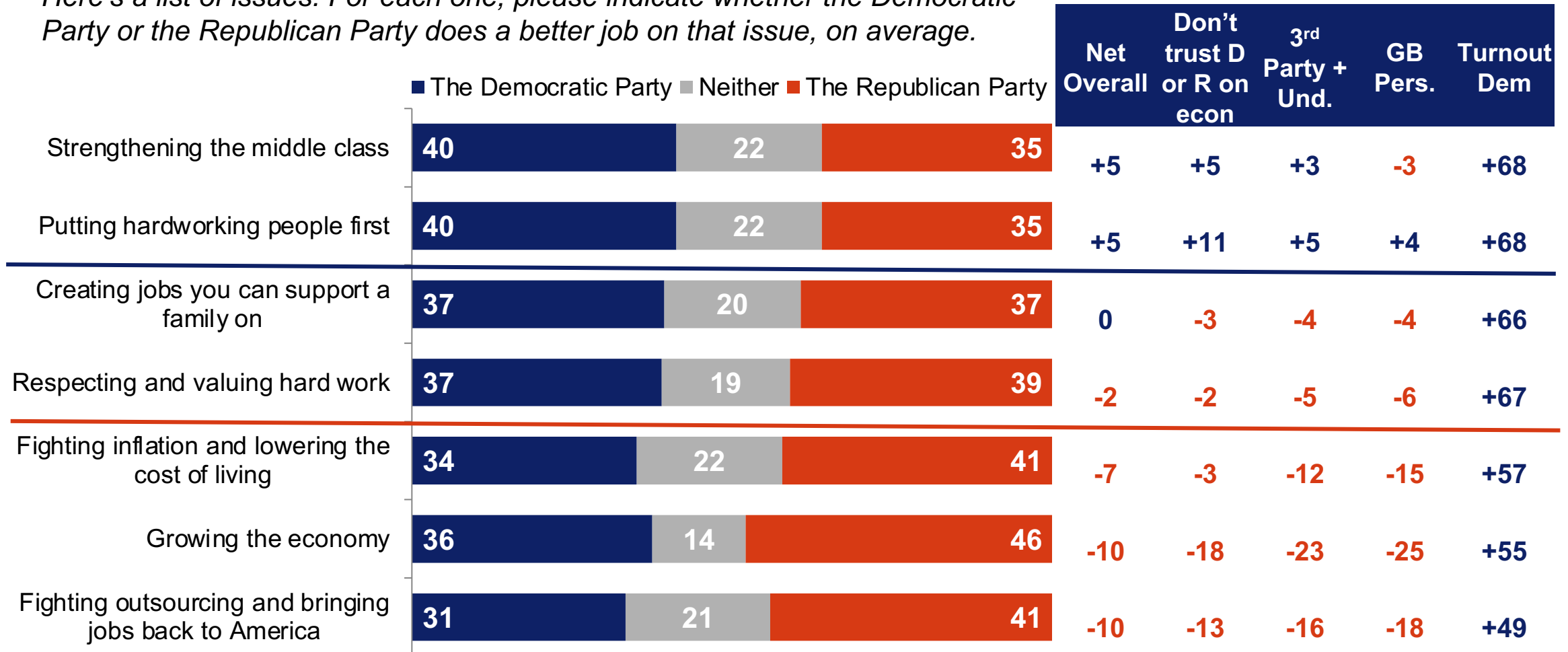




# Democrats hold narrow advantages on strengthening the middle class and putting hardworking people first.

Republicans' biggest advantages are growing the economy and fighting outsourcing.

*Here's a list of issues. For each one, please indicate whether the Democratic Party or the Republican Party does a better job on that issue, on average.*







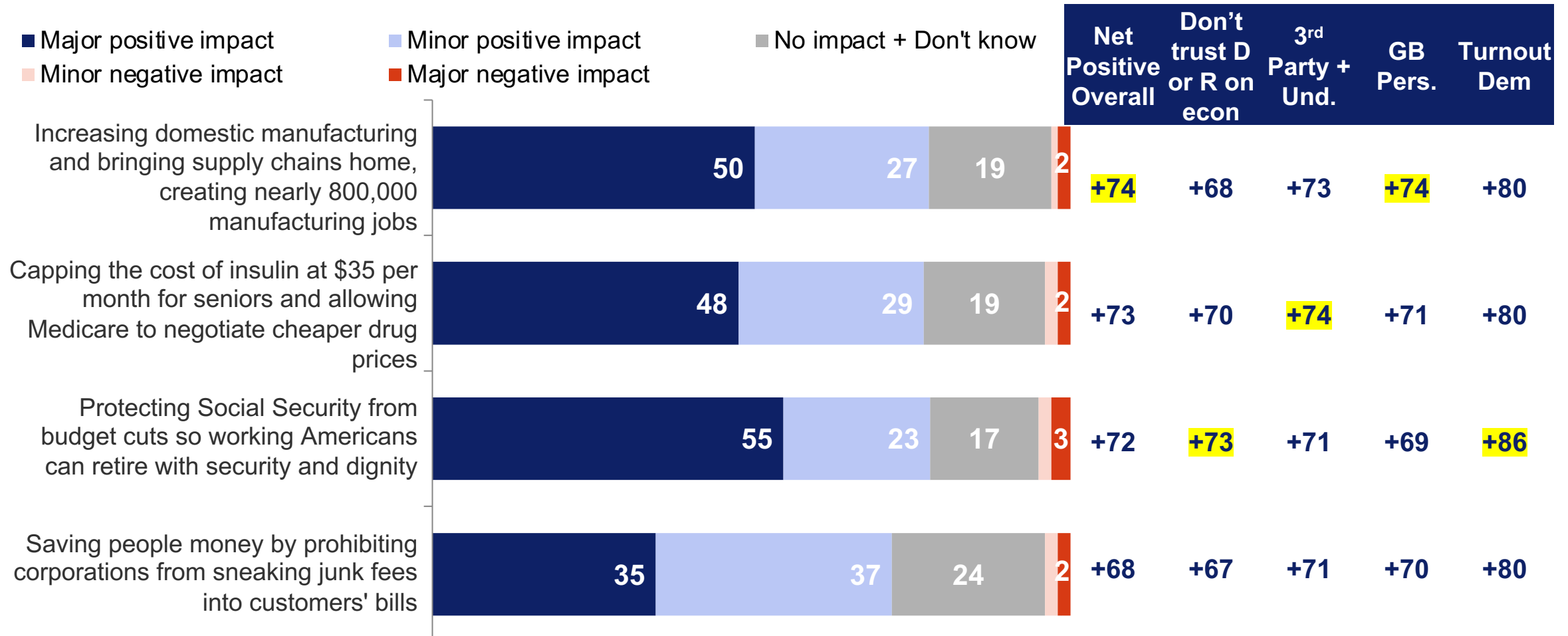
# Biden and Democratic Accomplishments

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# The Democratic agenda is popular. Voters say increasing manufacturing, capping insulin costs, protecting Social Security, and banning junk fees have the most positive impact.

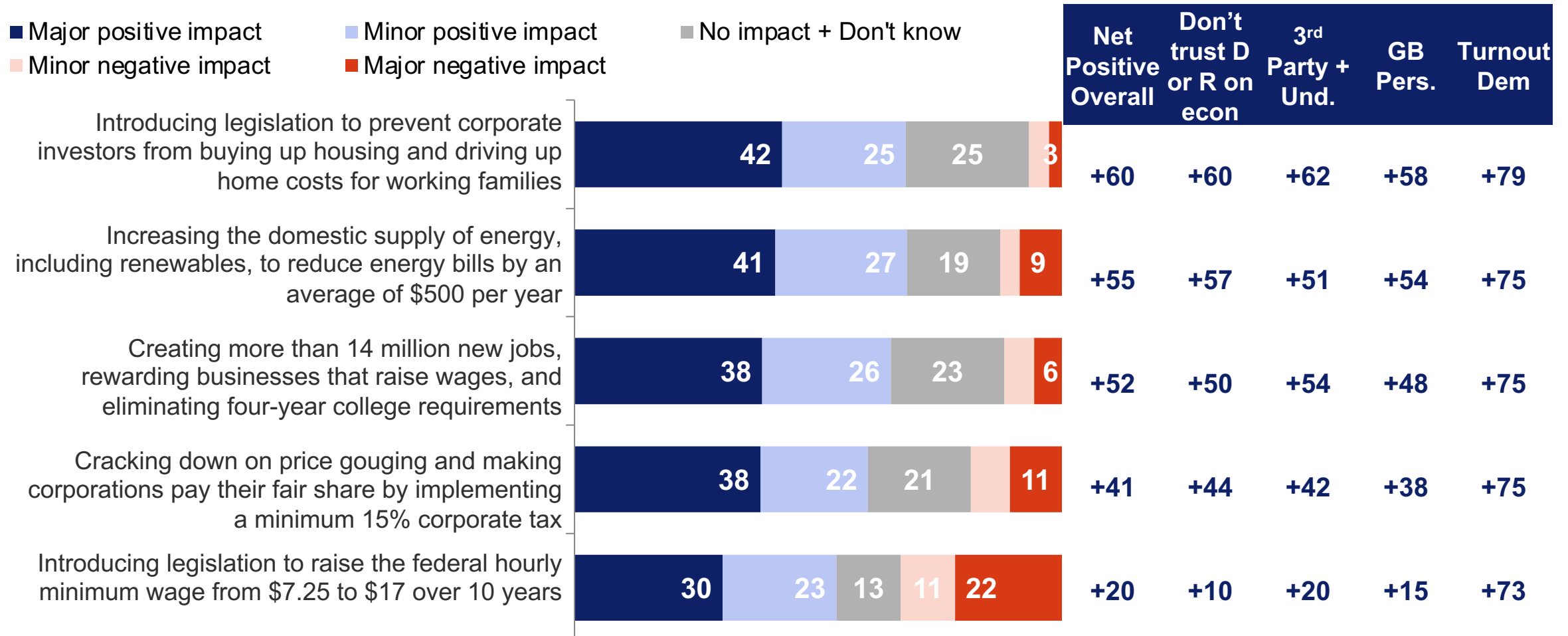
Next are some things Joe Biden and the Democrats have done to grow the economy. For each, please indicate whether you think it will have a positive impact, negative impact, or no impact on your life and the lives of people in your community.





# There's less enthusiasm around raising the federal minimum wage and implementing a minimum 15% corporate tax, though these are net popular as well.

Next are some things Joe Biden and the Democrats have done to grow the economy. For each, please indicate whether you think it will have a positive impact, negative impact, or no impact on your life and the lives of people in your community.





# Protecting Social Security, increasing domestic manufacturing, and capping the cost of insulin resonate across demographics.

	Top Accomplishments (% Major Positive impact)	Second Top Accomplishment (% Major Positive impact)	Third Top Accomplishment (% Major Positive Impact)
Overall	Protecting Social Security (55)	Increasing Domestic Manufacturing (50)	Capping the Cost of Insulin (48)
Democrats	Capping the Cost of Insulin (73)	Protecting Social Security (73)	Fighting Price Gouging (66)
Turnout Democrats	Protecting Social Security (59)	Capping the Cost of Insulin (57)	Prevent Investors Buying Up Housing (55)
Independents	Protecting Social Security (51)	Increasing Domestic Manufacturing (45)	Capping the Cost of Insulin (42)
Republican	Protecting Social Security (43)	Increasing Domestic Manufacturing (40)	Capping the Cost of Insulin (30)
Black	Protecting Social Security (64)	Increasing Domestic Manufacturing (64)	Creating New Jobs (60)
White	Protecting Social Security (53)	Increasing Domestic Manufacturing (47)	Capping the Cost of Insulin (46)
Hispanic	Protecting Social Security (60)	Increasing Domestic Manufacturing (52)	Increasing Domestic Energy Supplies (48)
Women <50	Protecting Social Security (54)	Capping the Cost of Insulin (50)	Prevent Investors Buying Up Housing (49)
Women 50+	Protecting Social Security (63)	Increasing Domestic Manufacturing (56)	Capping the Cost of Insulin (52)
Men <50	Increasing Domestic Manufacturing (48)	Capping the Cost of Insulin (47)	Protecting Social Security (41)
Men 50+	Protecting Social Security (56)	Increasing Domestic Manufacturing (49)	Capping the Cost of Insulin (43)
White Non-College	Protecting Social Security (54)	Increasing Domestic Manufacturing (49)	Capping the Cost of Insulin (48)
White College	Protecting Social Security (51)	Increasing Domestic Manufacturing (44)	Capping the Cost of Insulin (44)
Don't trust D or R on econ	Protecting Social Security (51)	Capping the Cost of Insulin (42)	Increasing Domestic Manufacturing (39)
3 <sup>rd</sup> Party + Undecided	Protecting Social Security (48)	Increasing Domestic Manufacturing (43)	Prevent Investors Buying Up Housing (41)
GB Persuadable	Protecting Social Security (51)	Increasing Domestic Manufacturing (44)	Capping the Cost of Insulin (44)



# MaxDiff Exercise Instructions

- Respondents were shown 10 different positive messages about Biden and the Democrats economic accomplishments.
- Respondents saw a series of “screens,” each with four different messages per screen.
- Respondents were asked to select the message that were compelling to them the MOST and the message that was LEAST compelling.
- Each message was seen at least three times — against different messages each time.
- Compared to a traditional poll that would generate 1,600 data points, the MaxDiff exercise generates over 19,000 data points, which are used to identify the relative strength of each message and determine the combinations for the greatest audience “reach.”

On the following screens you will see a series of statements about what Joe Biden and the Democrats are doing to get the economy back on track. For each screen, please select the statement that is MOST compelling to you personally and the statement that is the LEAST compelling to you personally.

In order to help us best understand your views, you will see each of these statements more than once in different combinations on the following screens.

(1 of 8)

MOST  
Compelling

LEAST  
Compelling



Democrats say we can bring down energy costs and protect the environment by producing more energy in America. Democrats passed the Inflation Reduction Act to expand cheaper, local clean energy that can't be outsourced. That will bring down costs and create good-paying jobs



Democrats say big drug companies charge Americans too much for prescriptions. Democrats capped insulin at \$35 per month for Medicare recipients, required Medicare to negotiate lower drug prices for seniors, and will keep fighting to lower drug prices for everyone



Democrats say because of their actions, inflation in the U.S. is lower than the rest of the world. Inflation has fallen 65% since last summer. Gas prices are down \$1.90 from their peak, and grocery inflation is at its lowest level in two years



Democrats say the best way to grow the economy is to raise Americans' incomes and lower costs to put money back in the pockets of working people. They passed policies to bring back manufacturing, increase job training, and lower costs





# Protecting Social Security and Medicare is by far our top message, followed by messages around CHIPS and infrastructure laws.

Biden/Democratic Accomplishments Messaging – Top Tier % Most Compelling / % Top 3 Most Compelling	Overall	Turnout Democrats
<b>[SENIORS]</b> Democrats say Social Security and Medicare are commitments we have to keep. Seniors who worked hard should be able to retire with security and dignity. Democrats have blocked attempted budget cuts and will keep fighting to protect Social Security and Medicare	42% / 64%	31% / 52%
<b>[CHIPS]</b> Democrats say we've outsourced too many jobs and rely too much on products from China. Democrats passed the CHIPS and Science Act to bring computer chip manufacturing back to America and create 800,000 good paying jobs. They'll keep working to bring manufacturing back to America	13% / 39%	8% / 28%
<b>[BIF]</b> Democrats say we need to invest in America. They passed the largest infrastructure investment in decades to expand high speed internet, repair transportation routes, and replace unhealthy water systems. They'll keep working to build across America and create good paying jobs	8% / 37%	7% / 32%
<b>[RX]</b> Democrats say big drug companies charge Americans too much for prescriptions. Democrats capped insulin at \$35 per month for Medicare recipients, required Medicare to negotiate lower drug prices for seniors, and will keep fighting to lower drug prices for everyone	7% / 34%	7% / 30%
<b>[MIDDLE OUT]</b> Democrats say the best way to grow the economy is to raise Americans' incomes and lower costs to put money back in the pockets of working people. They passed policies to bring back manufacturing, increase job training, and lower costs	7% / 33%	9% / 34%



# Messages around corporate greed—price gouging, junk fees, buying up housing to raise prices—resonate with turnout Democrats.

Biden/Democratic Accomplishments Messaging – Second Tier % Most Compelling / % Top 3 Most Compelling	Overall	Turnout Democrats
<b>[GREED]</b> Democrats say more than half of inflation is from corporate price gouging. Democrats are working to ban junk fees and block companies from conspiring to keep prices high while they rake in record profits. And Democrats will keep taking on corporate greed	6% / 24%	11% / 35%
<b>[HOUSING]</b> Democrats say greedy corporate investors are buying up too much housing and raising home costs and rents for everyone else. Democrats have proposals to rein in corporate investors and crack down on greedy landlords, and they'll keep fighting to get housing costs under control	7% / 24%	14% / 31%
<b>[BACK TO NORMAL]</b> Democrats say because of their actions, inflation in the U.S. is lower than the rest of the world. Inflation has fallen 65% since last summer. Gas prices are down \$1.90 from their peak, and grocery inflation is at its lowest level in two years	6% / 19%	7% / 22%



# While protecting Social Security is compelling across the board, younger women and people of color respond to Middle Out framing.

	Best Message	Second Best Message	Third Best Message
Overall	[SENIORS]	[CHIPS]	[BIF]
Democrats	[SENIORS]	[BIF]	[MIDDLE OUT]
Independent	[SENIORS]	[CHIPS]	[BIF]
Republican	[SENIORS]	[CHIPS]	[RX]
Black	[SENIORS]	[MIDDLE OUT]	[BIF]
White	[SENIORS]	[CHIPS]	[BIF]
Hispanic	[SENIORS]	[MIDDLE OUT]	[RX]
18-34	[MIDDLE OUT]	[SENIORS]	[CHIPS]
Women <50	[SENIORS]	[MIDDLE OUT]	[GREED]
Women 50+	[SENIORS]	[RX]	[CHIPS]
Men <50	[BIF]	[CHIPS]	[SENIORS]
Men 50+	[SENIORS]	[BIF]	[CHIPS]
White Non-College	[SENIORS]	[CHIPS]	[RX]
White College	[SENIORS]	[CHIPS]	[GREED]
Don't trust D or R on econ	[SENIORS]	[BIF]	[CHIPS]
3 <sup>rd</sup> Party + Undecided	[SENIORS]	[BIF]	[CHIPS]
GB Persuadable	[SENIORS]	[CHIPS]	[BIF]



**Among Democratic voters, they view Democrats as “for the people” and the party who will protect Social Security.**

*Of the information you just read, what makes you most favorable towards Democrats?  
[Turnout Democrats Only]*





# Voters who support Republicans or are persuadable on the generic ballot say Social Security makes them most favorable to Democrats.

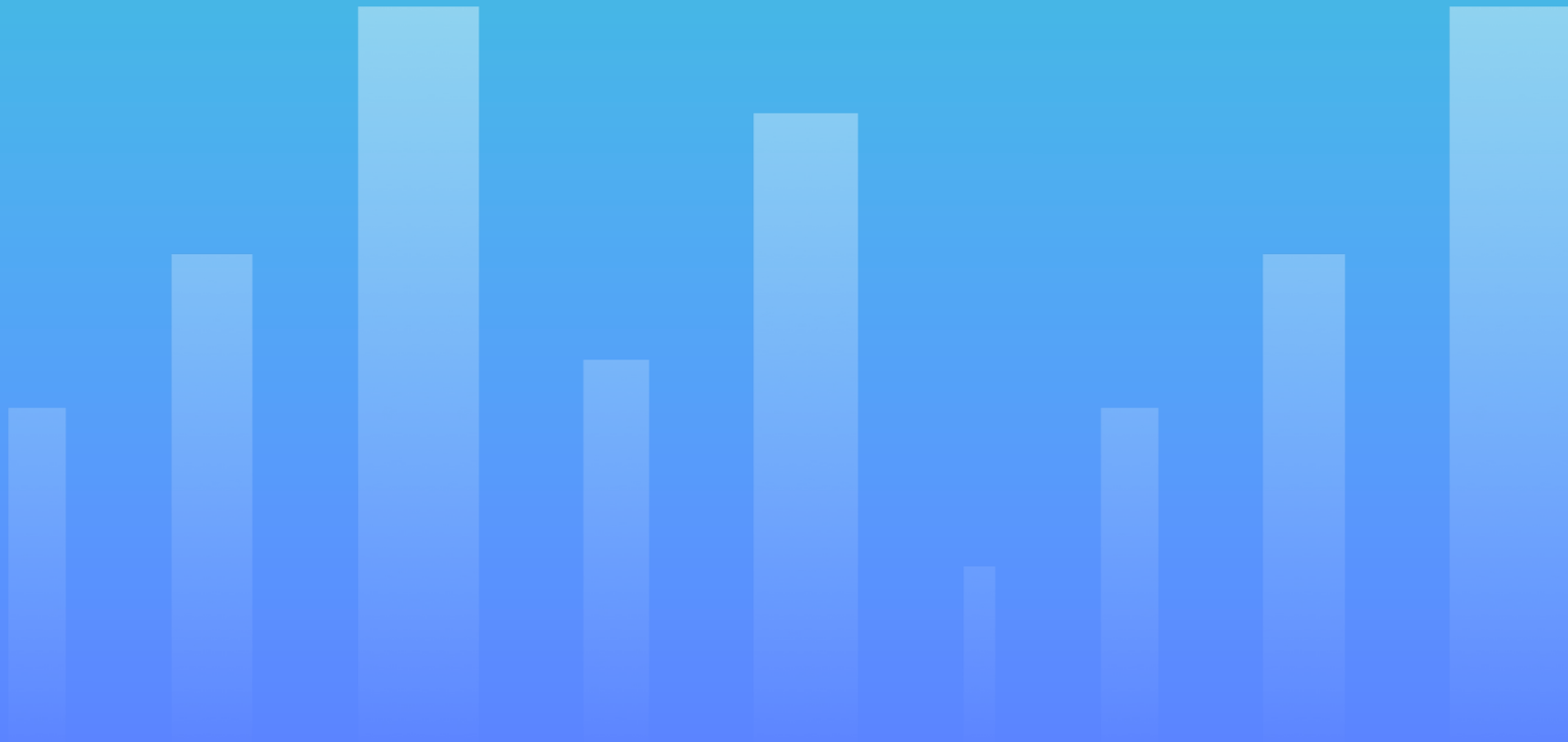
*Of the information you just read, what makes you most favorable towards Democrats?  
[Voters who support Republicans or are persuadable on the generic ballot]*







# Movement



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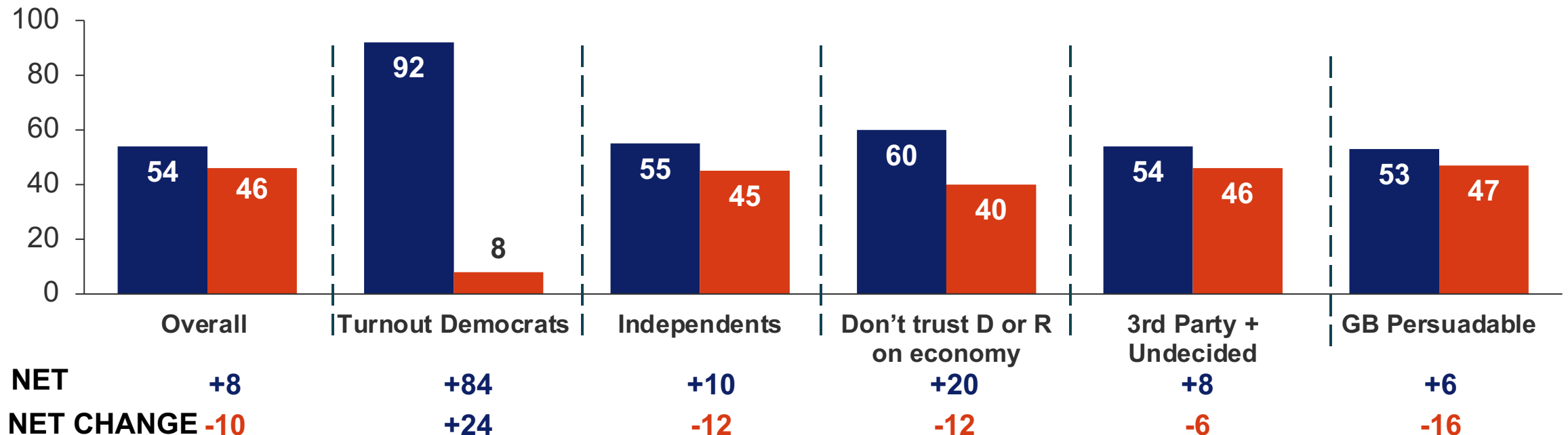
# After voters learn more and party labels are applied to the message frames, the Middle Out framing remains popular.

Turnout Democrats are the exception, nearly universally supporting the WJN/middle-out frame by the end.

*After learning more, when it comes to the economy, which do you agree with more, even if neither is exactly right?*

The approach supported by Democrats, which says we should invest in policies that lower costs and raise incomes for working people. Hardworking Americans are the engines of our economy—and when they can thrive, the economy grows, businesses prosper, and America is more competitive.

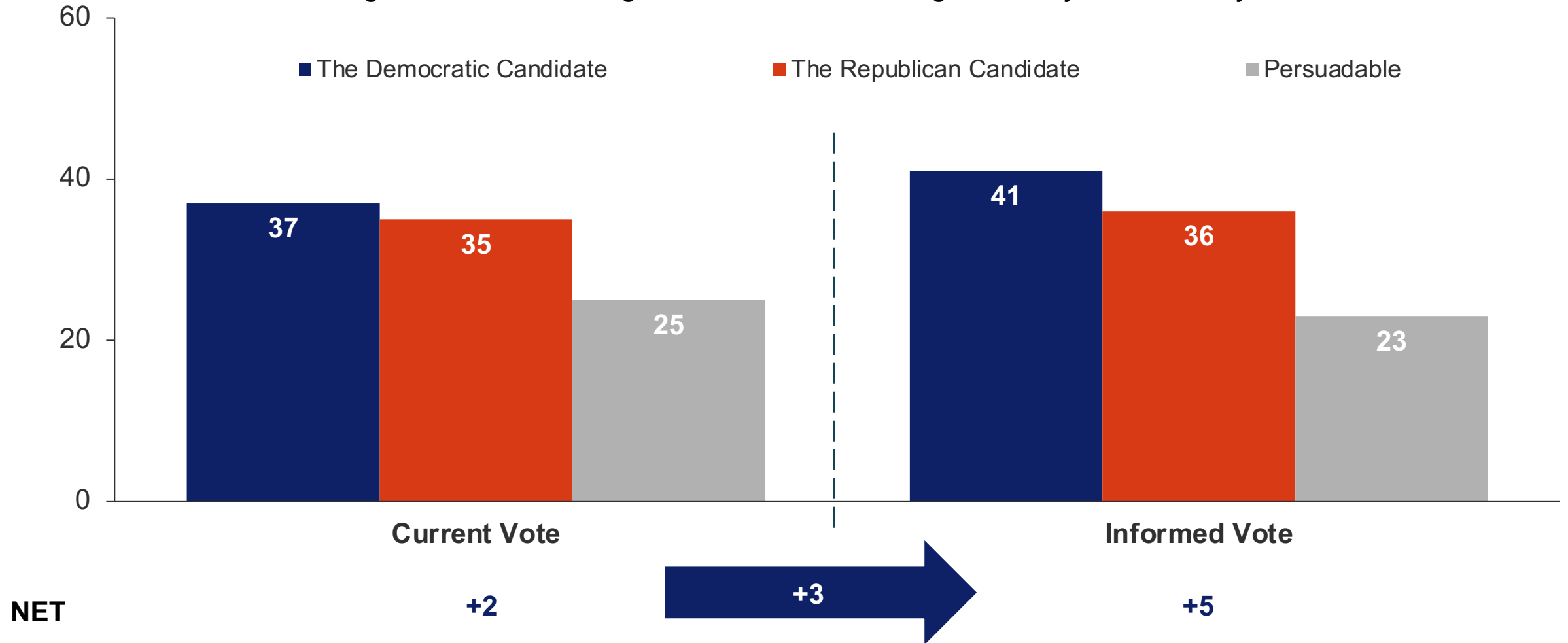
The approach supported by Republicans, which says we should keep taxes low for everyone and reduce burdensome regulations on businesses. That will make America more competitive, grow the economy, and create greater opportunity for all.





# Democrats gain a net 3 points on the generic ballot after voters learn more about the Democratic economic agenda.

*After learning more, when thinking about elections for Congress, are you more likely to vote for:*





# 18- to 34-year-old voters, voters of color, and Independents move most after learning more about the Democratic economic agenda.

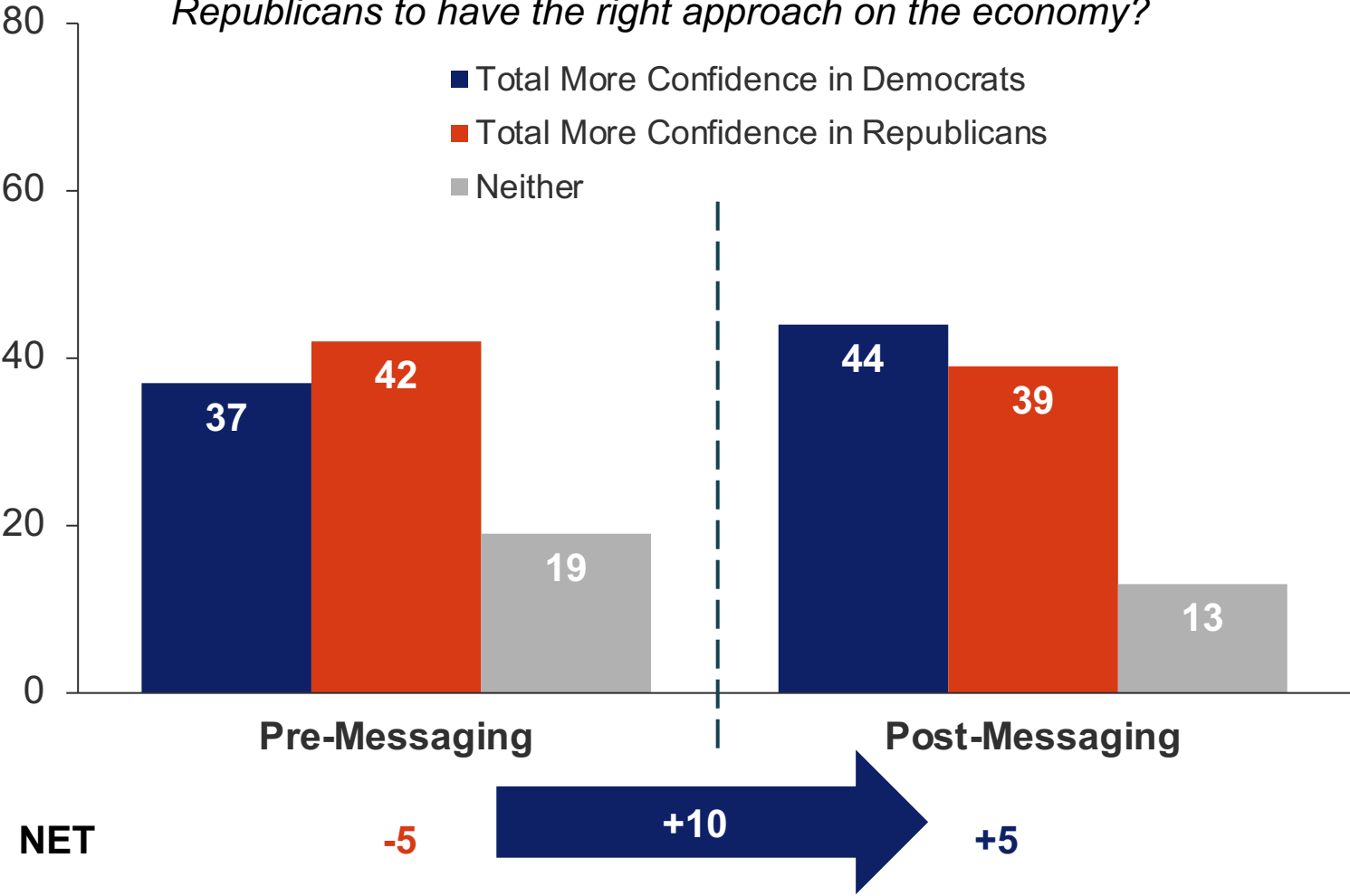
Generic Ballot Movement	Dem	Rep	Pers.	Net	$\Delta$ Change
<b>Overall</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>+5</b>	<b>+3</b>
Democrats	89	2	10	+87	+3
Republicans	4	81	15	-77	+1
Independents	23	19	58	+4	+7
White	34	42	24	-8	+3
Black	75	11	14	+64	+5
Hispanic	42	33	26	+9	+5
Women <50	47	27	26	+20	+4
Women 50+	41	36	24	+5	+3
Men <50	43	38	19	+15	+6
Men 50+	36	43	22	-7	+2

Generic Ballot Movement	Dem	Rep	Pers.	Net	$\Delta$ Change
White Non-College	31	42	27	-11	+3
White College	40	40	20	0	+4
18-34	50	29	21	+21	+9
<50	45	33	23	+12	+5
50+	39	39	23	0	+3
Don't trust D or R on econ	26	18	55	+8	+8
3 <sup>rd</sup> Party + Und	28	19	53	+9	+1
GB Persuadable	18	19	62	-1	-1
Turnout Dems	86	1	13	+85	+5



# Democrats gain 10 points on having the right approach to the economy after voters learn more about their agenda, driven by swing and Independent voters.

After learning more, do you have more confidence in Democrats or Republicans to have the right approach on the economy?



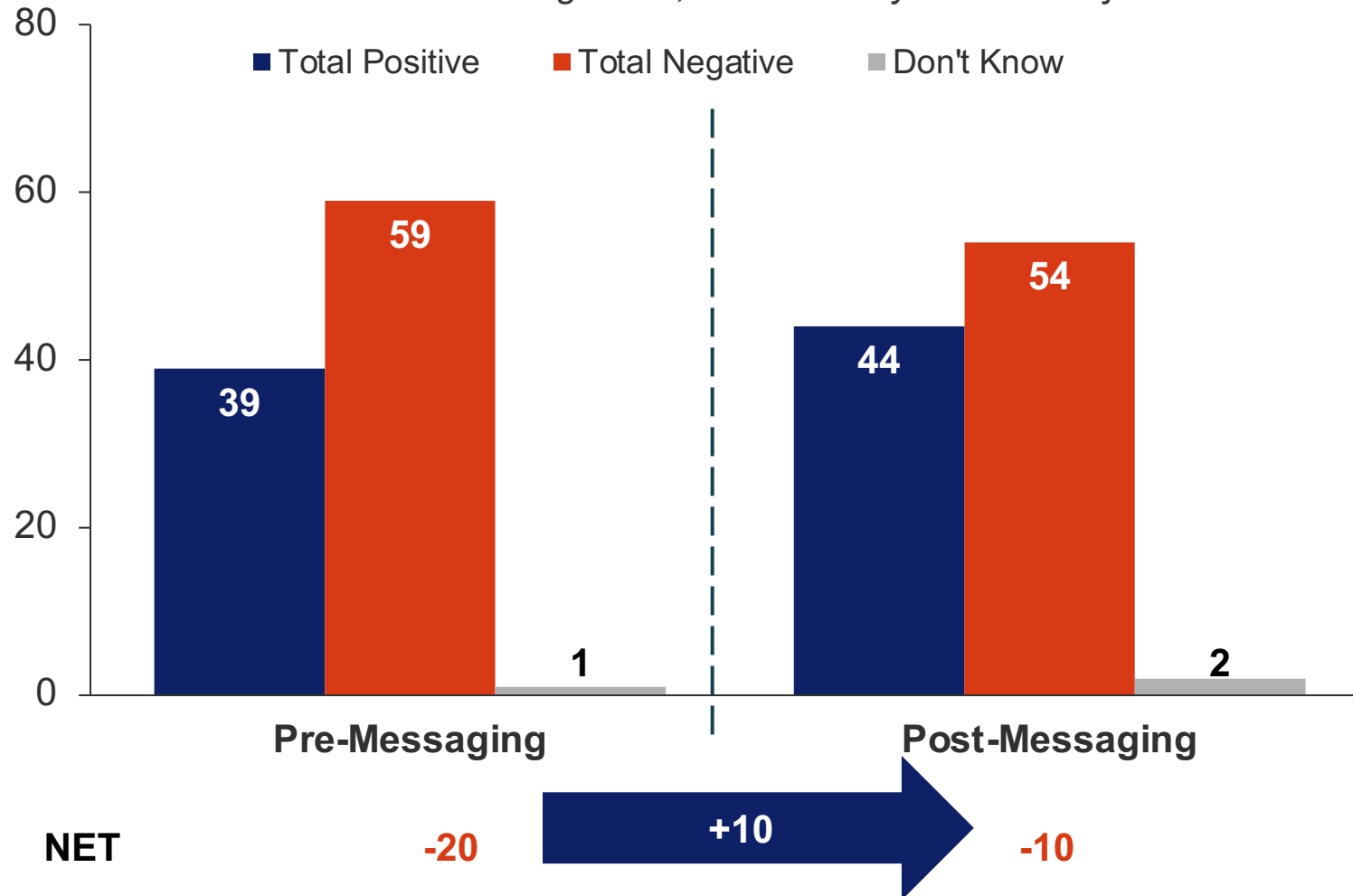
Confidence in Dem Approach Movement	
Overall	+10
Independents <50	+33
Independent women	+26
2024 Und or 3 <sup>rd</sup> Party	+24
Women <50	+21
College grads < 50	+19
18-34	+19
Hispanic	+19
Moderate	+17



# Biden's economic job rating rebounds 10 points after voters learn more about his agenda and accomplishments.

He gains the most ground among younger voters and non-college educated voters.

*After learning more, how would you rate the job Joe Biden is doing on the economy?*



Biden Economic Job Rating Movement	
Overall	+10
3 <sup>rd</sup> Party + Undecided	+23
Turnout Democrats	+22
18-34	+20
Women < 50	+21
College grad <50	+17
Independent <50	+17



# Messaging Arc

Hardworking Americans are the engines of our economy—and when they can thrive, the economy grows, businesses prosper, and America is more competitive.

That is why Democrats say the best way to grow the economy is to raise Americans' incomes and lower costs to put money back in the pockets of working people.

They are fighting for an economy that works for working people: protecting Social Security, increasing domestic manufacturing, and capping the cost of insulin.

And they are going to keep fighting for an economy that works for working people, brings down costs, and businesses succeed.