

The Politics and Advocacy Poll

January 3-4, 2024
N=1,000 Likely Voters

THE TARRANCE GROUP

KEY FINDINGS I

At the start of the Presidential election year, a majority of voters disapprove of the job President Joe Biden is doing and hold a negative view of him. With the frontrunner for the Republican nomination, Donald Trump, held in similarly negative regard by voters, it is no surprise a two-way ballot test between Biden and Trump is tied. Those voters who hold a negative view of both candidates will be a critical segment determining the outcome.

Economic concerns are still at the forefront of many voters' minds, with a 52% majority saying they do not believe the worst is behind us economically. While Democrats are concerned about the President and Congress addressing issues like the environment/climate change and Social Security/Medicare, Republicans are more focused on dealing with the border/illegal immigration and dealing with the federal budget/national debt.

However, over two-thirds of voters (69%) agree we cannot trust government to act in the best interest of the people, strongly driven by Republican voters but also including a majority of Democrats. Voters voice a similar lack of trust in big business to act in their best interest, and a majority hold a generally negative view of big businesses. "Small businesses" continue to be held in high regard among nearly all voters.

KEY FINDINGS II

The uncertain and pessimistic views of the electorate extend beyond trust in institutions and concerns about their economic well being. Only 17% of voters agree the next generation will be better off than theirs, while a 52% majority disagree. Thirty-seven percent (37%) agree “America’s best days are still ahead,” with 26% disagreeing and the rest (37%) unsure.

It may be hard to be optimistic about tomorrow when one believes the deck is stacked against them today. Three-fourths (75%) of voters agree with the statement that “The power of a few elites and special interests rigs the system against regular people.” This agreement holds over seven-in-ten regardless of gender, age, race, or partisanship.

A simple 52% majority still hold a positive view of “capitalism”, although 40% are negative. Partisanship and age play an important role in this view. “Socialism” is held in negative regard by 60% of voters, although it is held in a more positive view by Democratic and younger voters.

KEY FINDINGS III

With healthcare costs an important part of the overall burden on families, we asked voters to pick which one aspect of healthcare costs they have the most trouble affording. Premiums were selected most frequently, although hospital related charges and fees were close behind. Adding the latter to concerns about doctor visit co-pays, those out-of-pocket costs are a concern for 38%, clearly rising in concern among those less affluent voters.

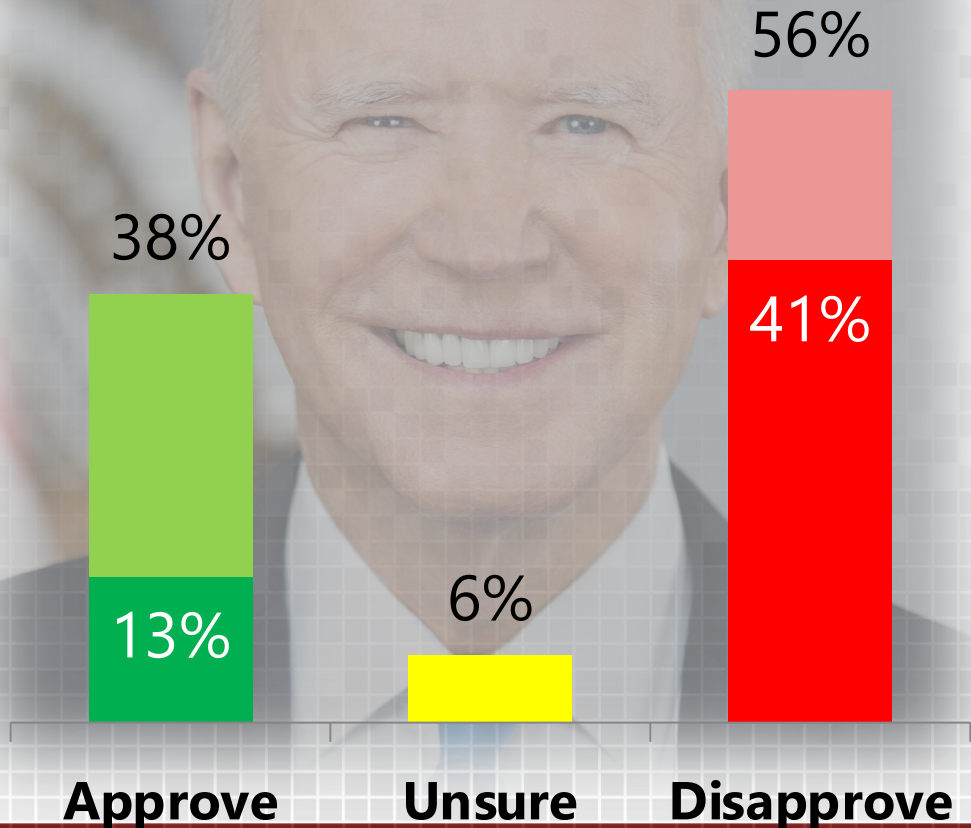
Artificial Intelligence, or AI, is not something voters are looking at with widespread enthusiasm. A 53% majority told us they have a negative view of AI to begin with, and when provided two viewpoints on AI, 58% agreed with the statement that ended "...We should do everything to regulate the development of AI technology as much as possible" and only 23% "...We should do everything to help those developing AI to advance the technology as much as possible."

Environmental, Social, and Governance policies, known as ESG, is significantly less understood by voters. Even when provided two viewpoints, a plurality of voters told us they did not agree with either viewpoint that more should "embrace" or "reject" ESG.

JOE BIDEN JOB APPROVAL

President Biden's approval rating not only languishes under 40%, but also starts his re-election year with a significant lack of enthusiasm and intensity.

Key base Democratic constituencies have concerns about the President's job, including younger Democrats and African-American voters.



	Approve	Disapprove	NET
Women	39%	54%	-15%
Men	36%	59%	-23%
18-44	33%	57%	-24%
45-64	34%	60%	-26%
65+	46%	52%	-6%
Women <55	34%	57%	-23%
Women 55+	43%	51%	-8%
Men <55	30%	62%	-32%
Men 55+	41%	57%	-16%
White	34%	61%	-27%
African-American	60%	31%	29%
Hispanic	40%	53%	-13%
Republican ID	6%	91%	-85%
Democratic ID	75%	18%	57%
DEM <55	64%	27%	37%
other/independent	24%	64%	-40%

PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT TESTS

44%

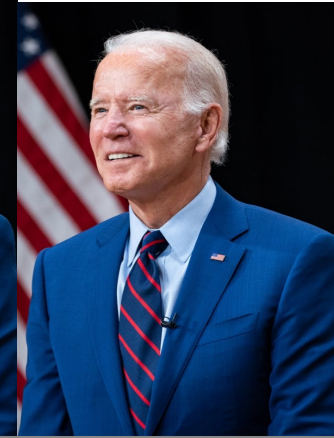
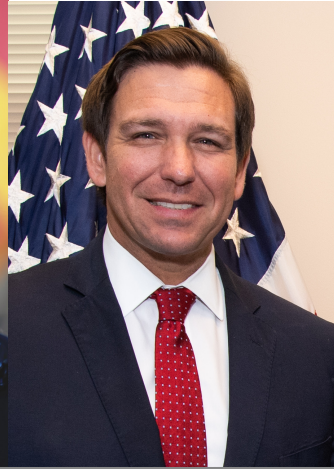
46%

43%

44% v Trump

40% v Haley

46% v DeSantis



Trump/Haley/DeSantis

Biden

The frontrunner for the Republican nomination, Donald Trump, is currently tied with Joe Biden on a national 2-way ballot. While ultimately coming down to a handful of key states, with the potential for 3rd party presence in some of those place, the head-to-head is a critical gauge for tracking broad support.

While Nikki Haley leads Biden by six, and DeSantis trails by three, these differences are largely within the margin of error and more importantly prior to the Republican nomination being settled.

PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT TESTS

The variance across the three ballot tests occurs more among those independent vote who lean Democratic in the usual vote behavior and voted for Biden in 2020.

	Trump	Biden	NET		Haley	Biden	NET		DeSantis	Biden	NET		NET
Party Identification													SPAN
Republican ID	87%	5%	82%		84%	4%	80%		85%	6%	79%		3%
Democratic ID	6%	87%	-81%		8%	84%	-76%		4%	89%	-85%		9%
other/independent	37%	36%	1%		47%	24%	23%		38%	36%	2%		22%
2020 Vote													
Voted Trump 2020	90%	3%	87%		85%	4%	81%		85%	4%	81%		6%
Voted Biden 2020	5%	85%	-80%		13%	77%	-64%		6%	87%	-81%		17%
Usual Vote Behavior													
Mostly GOP	91%	3%	88%		88%	3%	85%		91%	3%	88%		3%
Slightly GOP	79%	8%	71%		83%	4%	79%		78%	8%	70%		9%
Equal	40%	26%	14%		47%	18%	29%		39%	28%	11%		18%
Slightly DEM	10%	75%	-65%		17%	61%	-44%		10%	75%	-65%		21%
Mostly DEM	4%	91%	-87%		4%	91%	-87%		1%	94%	-93%		6%

PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT TESTS

	Self-Reported	Presidential	Ballot Relative
	Usual Vote	Ballot	To Usual
	Behavior (D-R)	Biden-Trump	Behavior
DCI			
Prosperous	-3%	3%	6%
Comfortable	13%	15%	2%
Mid-Tier	2%	-6%	-8%
At Risk	2%	-9%	-11%
Distressed	2%	-13%	-15%
Self-reported class			
Upper/Upper Middle	5%	18%	13%
Middle	-5%	-6%	-1%
Lower Middle	1%	-3%	-4%
Working/Lower	16%	0%	-16%
HS Grad.	-19%	-29%	-10%
Some College	10%	5%	-5%
College Grad.	5%	8%	3%

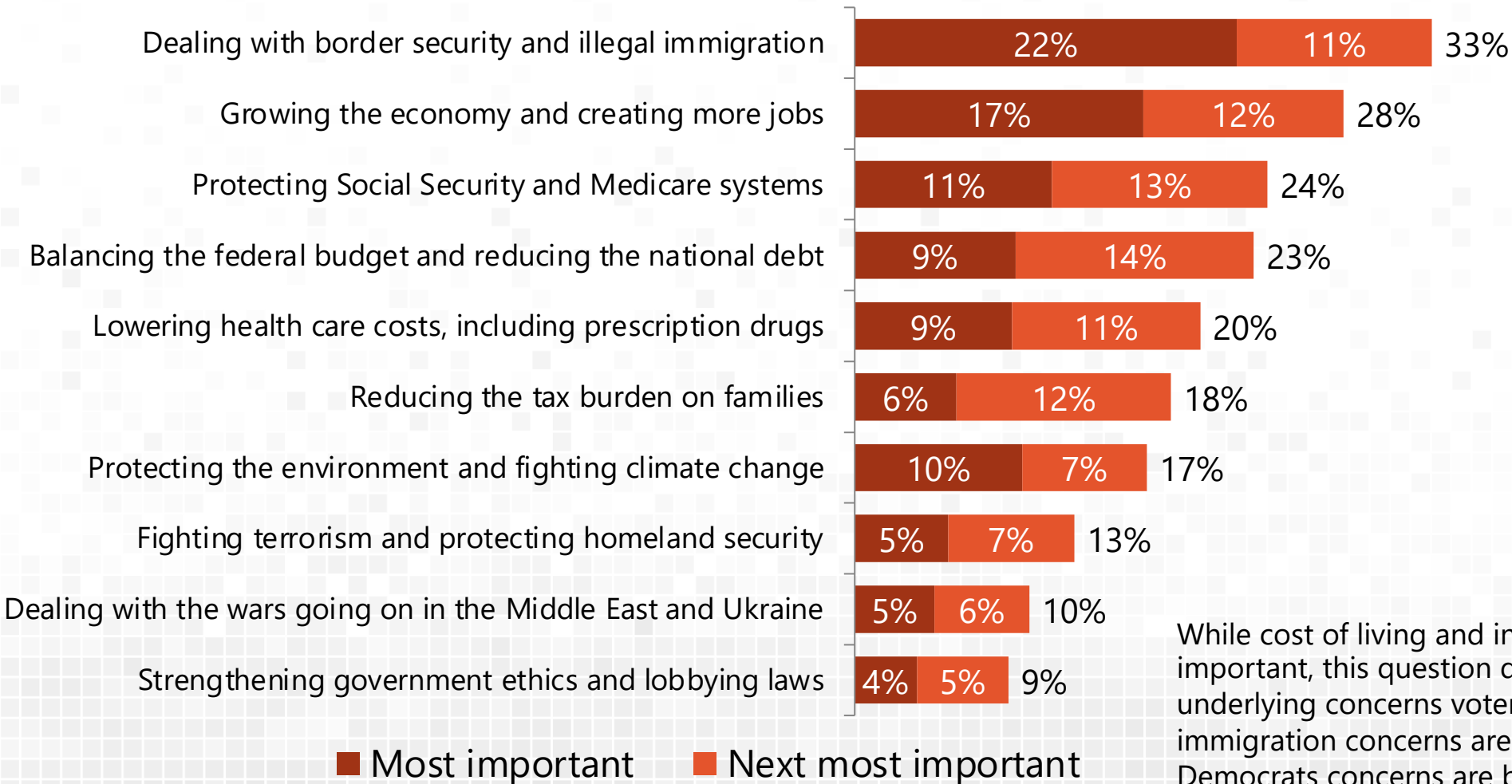
The 2016 election demonstrated some realignment of partisan support at the Presidential level along socioeconomic lines.

This pattern continues into 2024, as voters with high self-reported class status, and those living in more prosperous places in America are more likely to vote for Biden than their self-reported partisanship would indicate.

Similarly, voters with lower self-reported class status, living in more distressed communities and with lower educational attainment are more likely to vote for Trump than their self-reported partisanship would indicate.

(DCI- Distressed Community Index, a zip-code level analysis of the United States, created by EIG - eig.org/distressed-communities/)

ISSUE IMPORTANCE- PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS



TOP ISSUES BY PARTY

Democrats

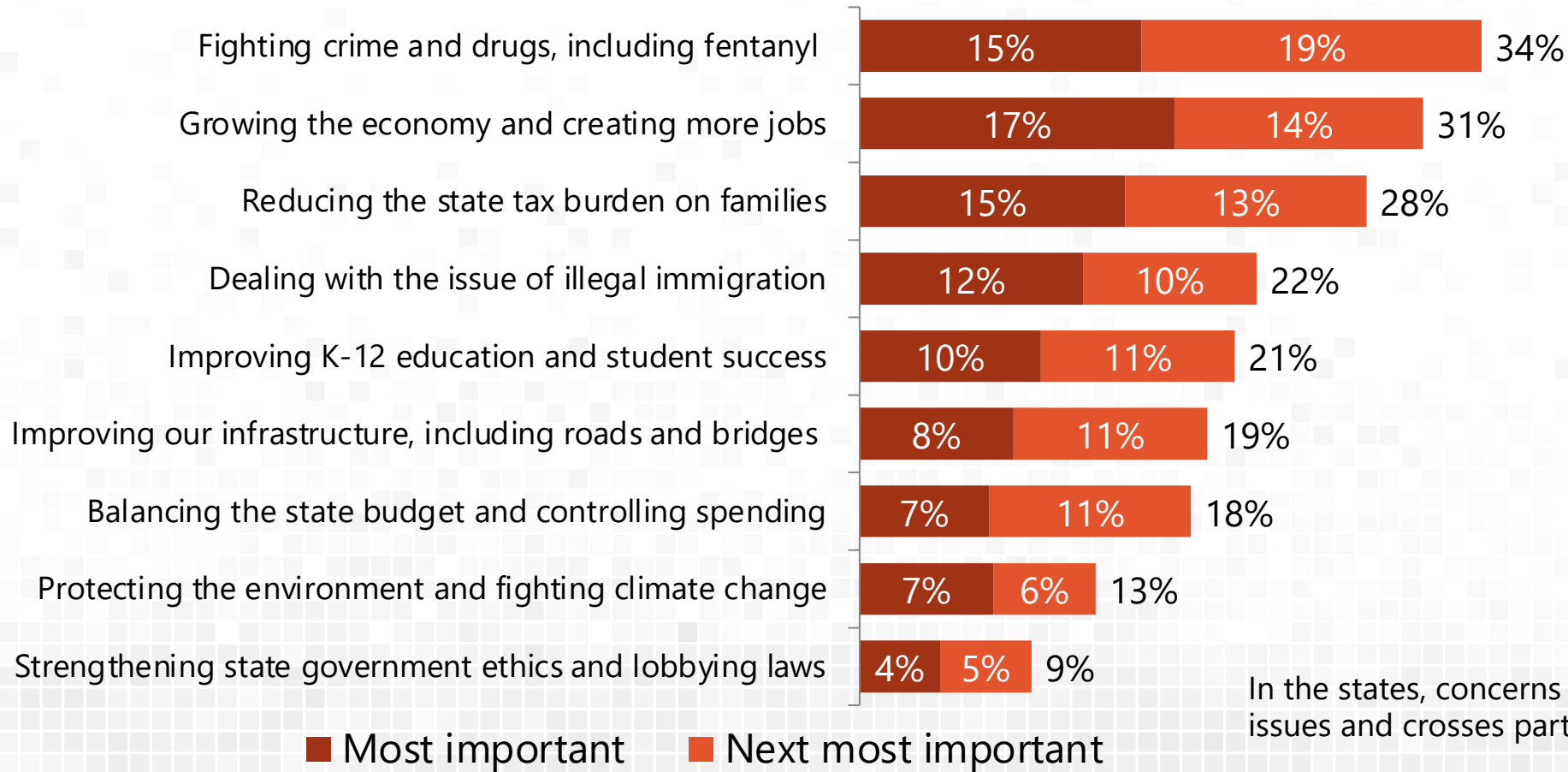
Environ./Climate 31%
 S.S. & Medicare 29%
 Econ./Jobs 28%
 H.C. Costs 28%

Republicans

Border 55%
 Budget 30%
 Econ/Jobs 27%

While cost of living and inflation concerns continue to be important, this question dug around that issue to reveal the underlying concerns voters have. While the border and immigration concerns are widespread with Republicans, Democrats concerns are broad across several issues.

ISSUE IMPORTANCE- YOUR GOVERNOR AND STATE LEGISLATURE



TOP ISSUES BY PARTY

Democrats

Econ./Jobs 33%
Crime/drugs 31%
Infrastructure 25%
Environ./ C.C. 24%

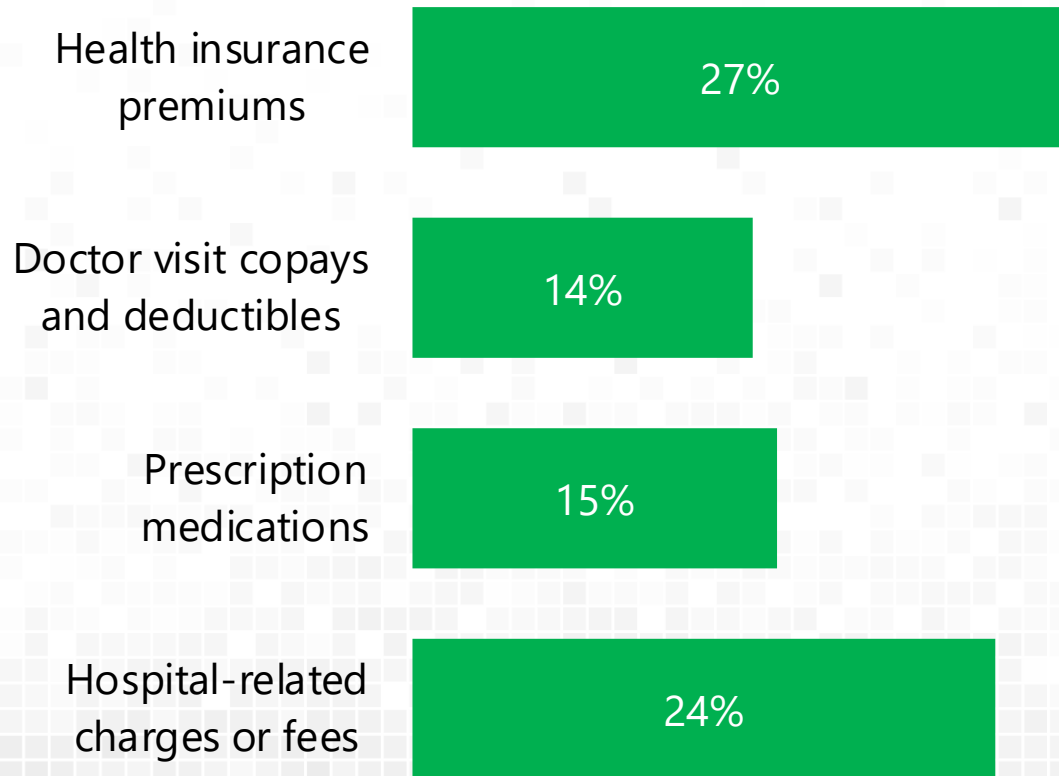
Republicans

Crime/drugs 37%
Illegal Imm. 36%
Econ./Jobs 30%
Taxes 30%

In the states, concerns about crime and drugs top the list of issues and crosses party lines.

HEALTHCARE COSTS

“...what do you and your family have the **MOST** trouble affording today? ”



	Premiums	Doctors	Medications	Hospitals	Doctors+ Hospitals
TOTAL	27%	14%	15%	23%	37%
Upper/ Upper Middle	26%	5%	12%	19%	24%
Middle	29%	13%	14%	22%	35%
Lower middle	29%	15%	18%	25%	40%
Working/ Lower	22%	19%	15%	25%	44%
DCI Prosperous	32%	10%	14%	21%	31%
DCI Comfortable	30%	12%	14%	22%	34%
DCI Mid-Tier	26%	12%	18%	20%	32%
DCI At-Risk	22%	18%	13%	29%	47%
DCI Distressed	18%	23%	17%	28%	51%

As healthcare costs are an important concern for voters, we asked them to specifically choose which costs they have the most trouble affording. While premiums narrowly top the list, concerns over out of pocket costs at the doctor’s office and in hospitals are important to nearly four-in-ten, and climb among lower class voters and those living in more distressed areas.

(DCI- Distressed Community Index, a zip-code level analysis of the United States, created by EIG - eig.org/distressed-communities/)

CANDIDATE IMAGES

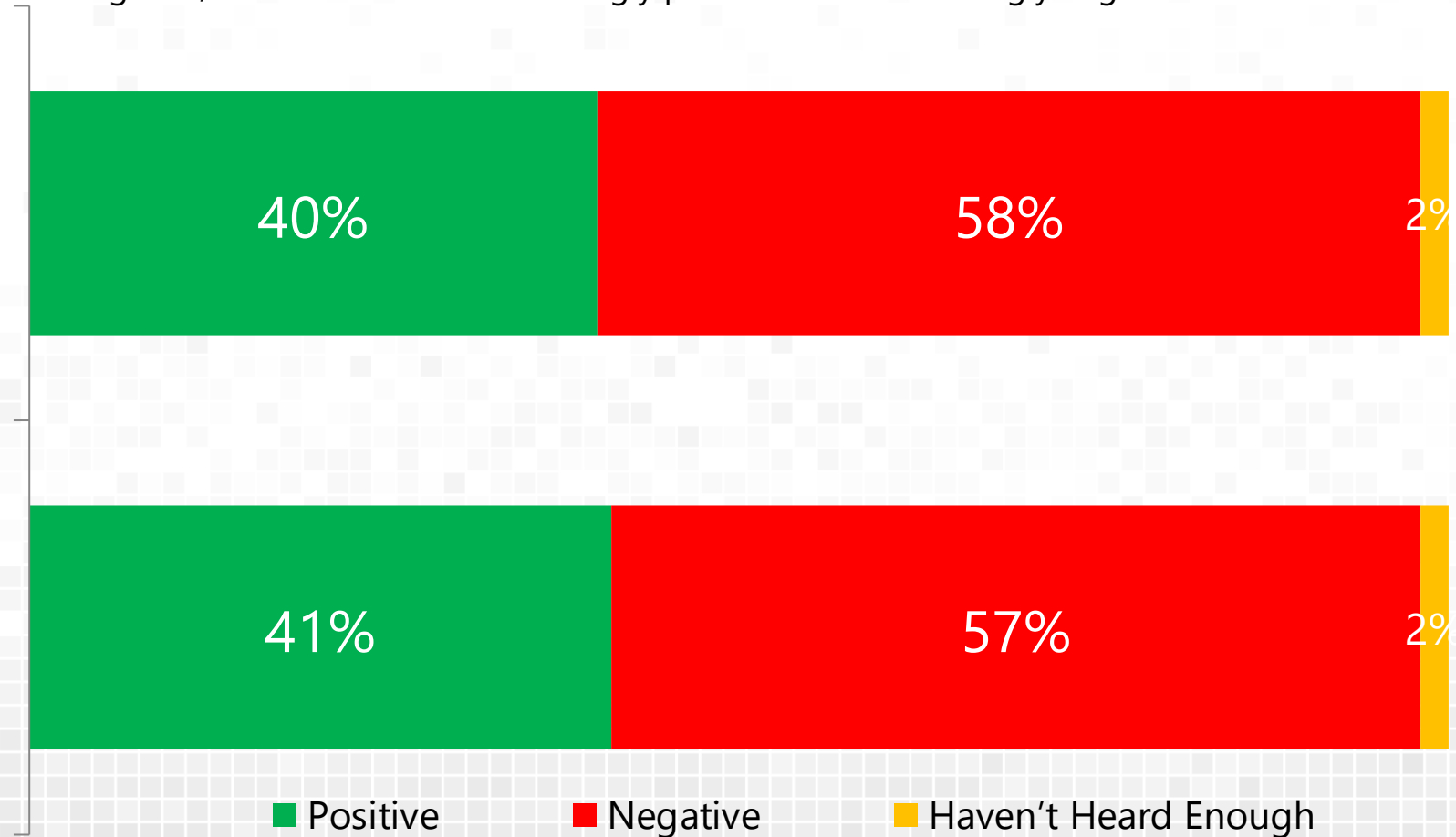
Both Joe Biden and Donald Trump share aspects in their image among voters. Clear majorities have a negative opinion of each, with significantly higher intensity of those negative opinions than among those who are positive. Trump has 21% strongly positive and 47% strongly negative, while Biden has 14% strongly positive and 42% strongly negative.



Donald Trump



Joe Biden



DOUBLE-HATERS

Nineteen percent (19%) of voter hold a negative view of both Joe Biden and Donald Trump.

These “double-haters” (also called the “no nos”) are a critical swing segment of the electorate, they currently are 32% voting for Biden, 30% for Trump, with a 38% plurality undecided.

Their top combined 1st and 2nd choice issues are economy and jobs (33%), the budget and debt (27%), and border and immigration (27%)

	Donald Trump				Joe Biden			
	Positive	Negative	NET		Positive	Negative	NET	DOUBLE HATERS
Party Identification								
Republican ID	78%	22%	56%		7%	92%	-85%	17%
Democratic ID	7%	90%	-83%		81%	18%	63%	13%
other/independent	32%	64%	-32%		28%	66%	-38%	36%

21ST CENTURY CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY IMAGES

A majority of voters hold a positive view of Warren Buffett, while both Elon Musk and Jeff Bezos are upside down in their image among voters. Musk's negatives are more intensely felt (26% strongly negative) than Bezos (19% strongly negative), while the intense negativity towards Buffett is down in the single digits.



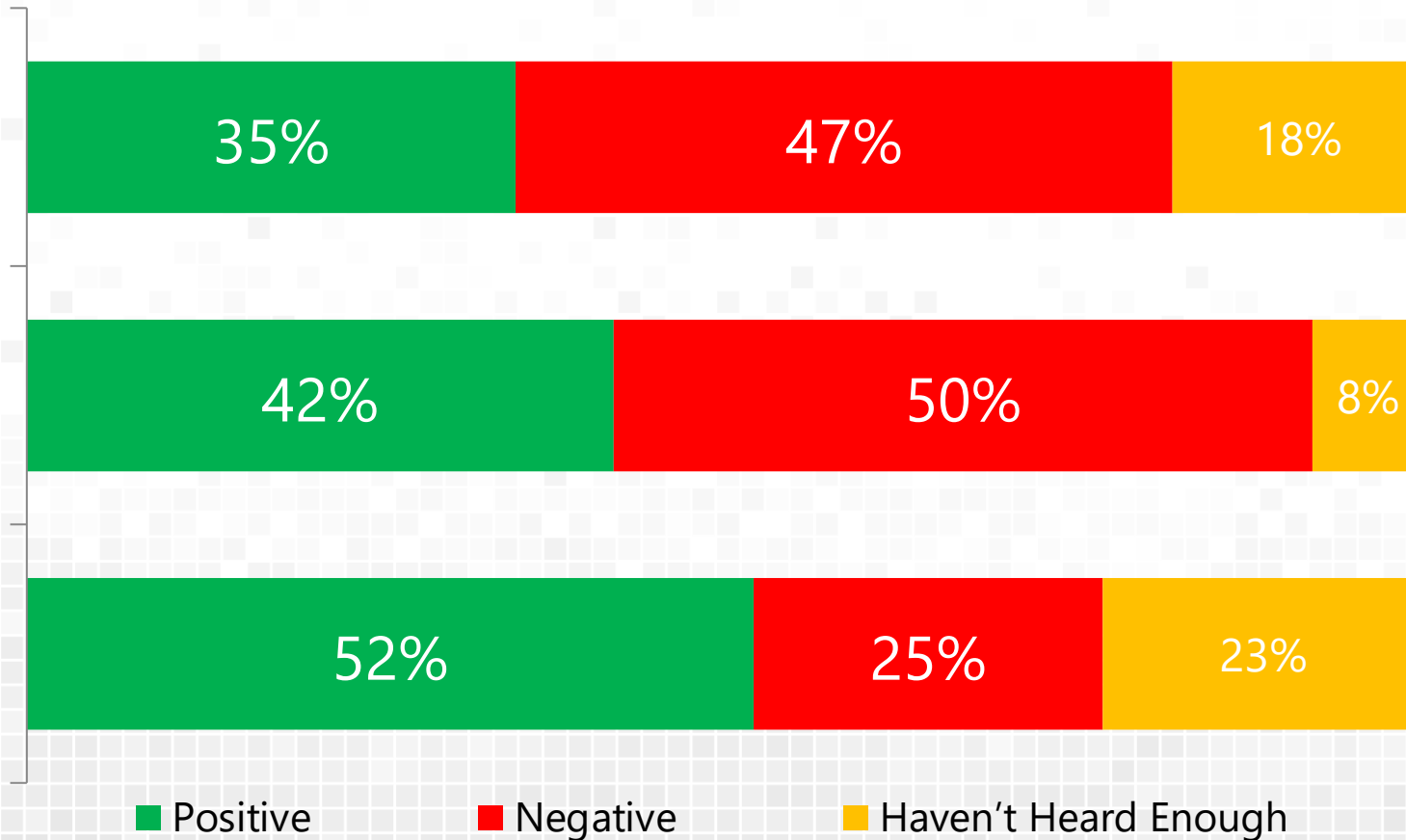
Jeff Bezos



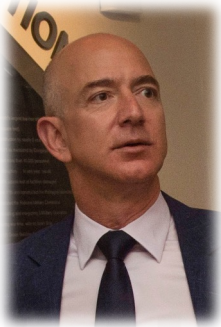
Elon Musk



Warren Buffett



21ST CENTURY CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY IMAGES



Jeff Bezos (35% positive/47% negative)

Upper/Upper Middle Class: (43%/50%)

Republican (34%/43%), Democrat (36%/48%), Independent/other (33%/53%)

Men (41%/47%), Women (29%/47%)

Unlike Musk and Buffett, Bezos' image has no partisan base, but does improve with more upper-class voters and men.



Elon Musk (42% positive/50% negative)

Upper/Upper Middle Class: (39%/60%)

Republican (64%/27%), Democrat (23%/72%), Independent/other (38%/51%)

Men (49%/47%), Women (37%/52%)

18-44 (44%/48%), 45-64 (46%/46%), 65+ (37%/56%)

Musk elicits a strong partisan reaction, more than 2:1 positive with Republicans.



Warren Buffett (52% positive/25% negative)

Upper/Upper Middle Class: (68%/20%), Working/Lower (40%/31%)

Republican (48%/25%), Democrat (55%/23%), Independent/other (53%/27%)

Men (63%/24%), Women (43%/25%)

18-44 (40%/26%), 45-64 (53%/29%), 65+ (64%/20%)

While net positive across all partisan segments, Buffet's image is better among Democrats than Republicans.

ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY IMAGES

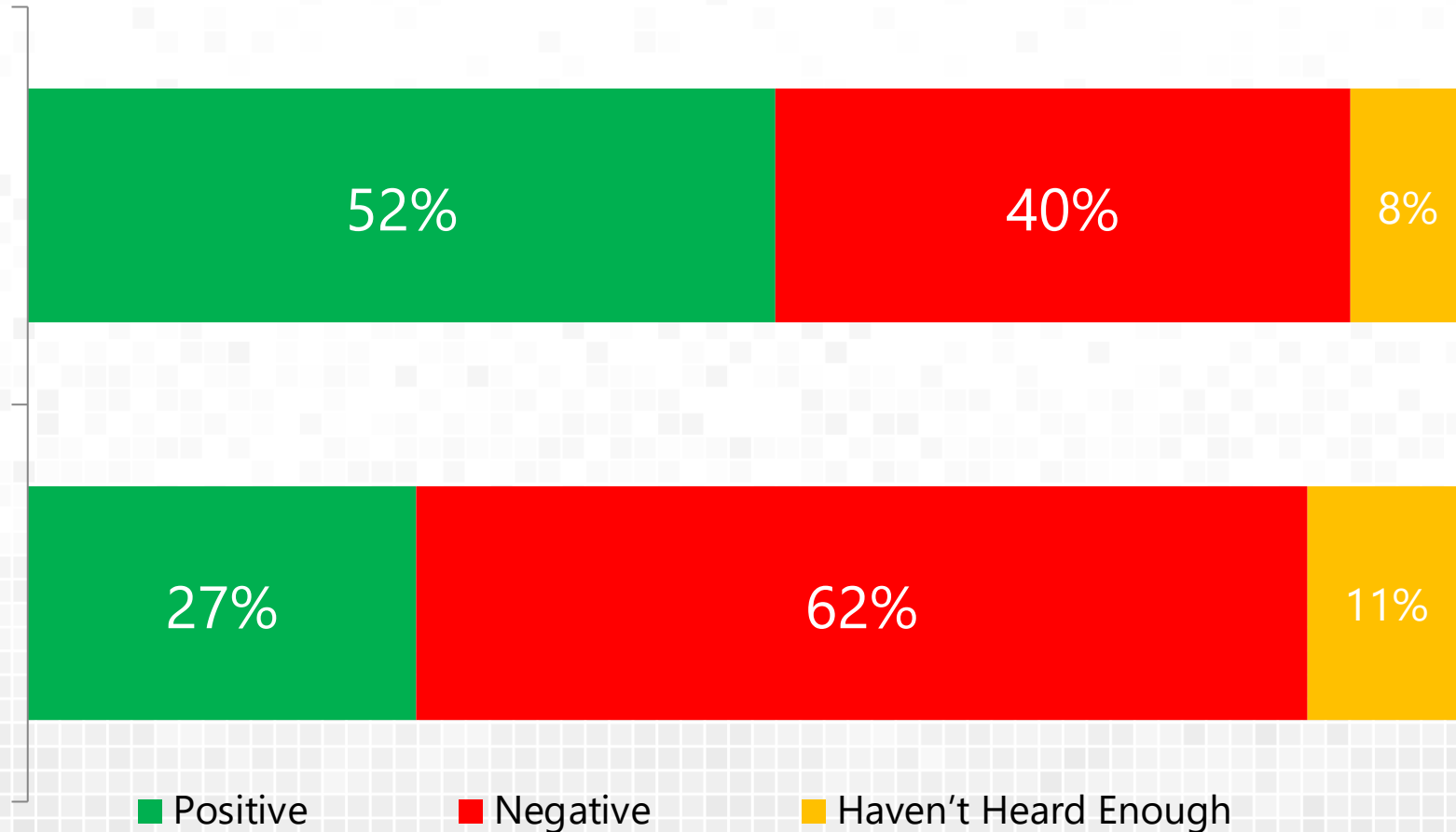
Without any description or definition provided, a slim 52% majority of U.S. voters have a positive image of "capitalism," with only 22% strongly positive. A six-in-ten majority (62%) of voters hold a negative attitude towards "socialism," with 38% strongly negative.



Capitalism



Socialism



ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY IMAGES

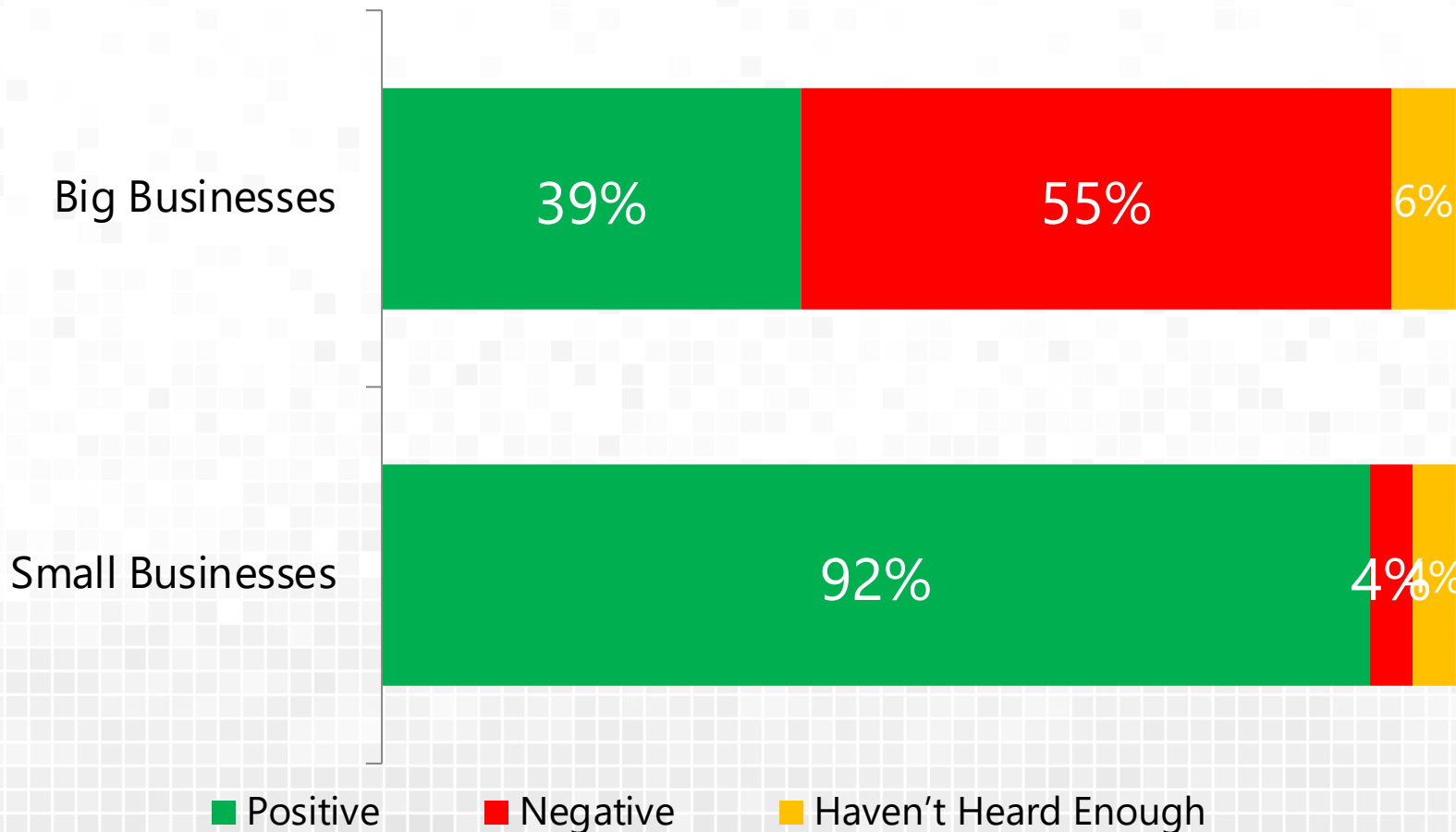
Republicans hold a 2:1 positive image of capitalism, and are fully 79% negative towards socialism. Those attitudes soft for both among younger Republicans.

This age difference plays out among Democrats more significantly. While split on both capitalism and socialism overall, younger Democrats are 2:1 negative towards capitalism and climb to 51% positive towards socialism, nearly the mirror image of their older Democratic counterparts.

	Capitalism				Socialism		
	Positive	Negative	NET		Positive	Negative	NET
Party Identification							
Republican ID	63%	29%	34%		12%	79%	-67%
R <55	53%	38%	15%		19%	68%	-49%
R 55+	71%	21%	50%		6%	87%	-81%
Democratic ID	45%	48%	-3%		43%	45%	-2%
D <55	29%	61%	-32%		51%	36%	15%
D 55+	60%	36%	24%		35%	54%	-19%
other/independent	43%	47%	-4%		25%	63%	-38%

BUSINESS IMAGES

A 55% majority of voters have a negative view of “big businesses,” climbing to 60% or higher among Democrats and independents. Republicans hold a narrow positive image at the same time. Meanwhile, “small businesses” remain universally positive in the eyes of voters.



Big Businesses Image

	Positive	Negative	NET
Women	34%	57%	-23%
Men	46%	51%	-5%
18-44	35%	59%	-24%
45-64	38%	56%	-18%
65+	46%	48%	-2%
Women <55	28%	62%	-34%
Women 55+	40%	52%	-12%
Men <55	41%	57%	-16%
Men 55+	50%	47%	3%
White	39%	55%	-16%
Black/African-American	34%	61%	-27%
Hispanic	40%	54%	-14%
Republican ID	51%	42%	9%
Democratic ID	31%	64%	-33%
other/independent	33%	60%	-27%
Upper/ Upper Middle	49%	48%	1%
Middle	42%	52%	-10%
Lower middle	33%	59%	-26%
Working/Lower	35%	59%	-24%

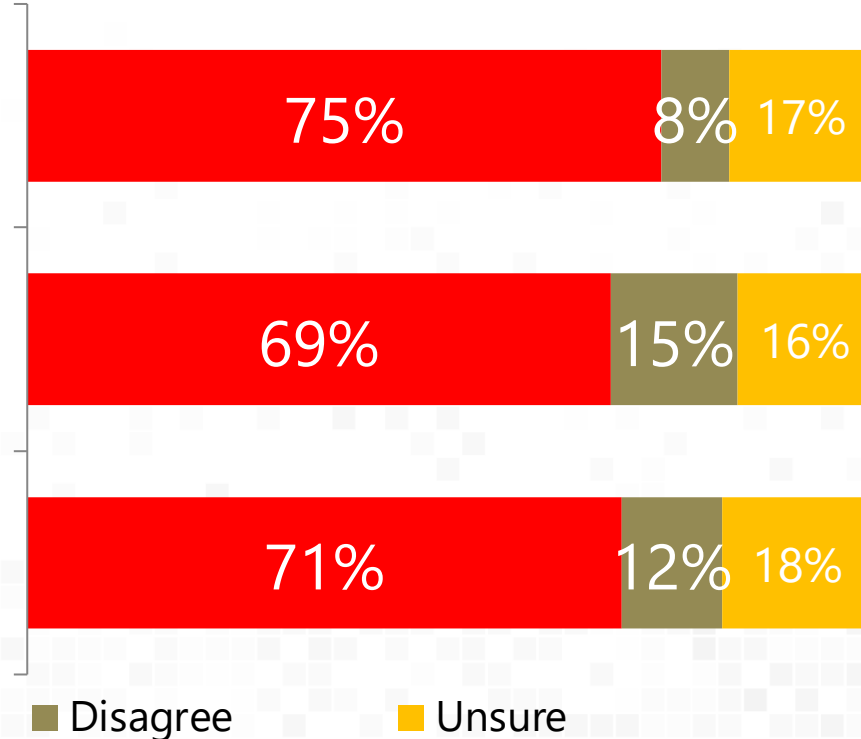
POPULISM

"Agree" scores	Elites/ Interests	Government	Big Business
Women	74%	70%	71%
Men	76%	68%	70%
18-44	77%	72%	76%
45-64	72%	74%	70%
65+	75%	64%	66%
Women <55	73%	74%	76%
Women 55+	74%	66%	66%
Men <55	79%	71%	73%
Men 55+	74%	66%	67%
White	75%	70%	69%
Black/African-American	74%	66%	76%
Hispanic	79%	72%	76%
Republican ID	76%	80%	63%
Democratic ID	75%	56%	79%
other/independent	72%	74%	69%
Upper/ Upper Middle	73%	62%	69%
Middle	73%	67%	68%
Lower middle	81%	73%	75%
Working/Lower	75%	74%	74%

The power of a few elites and special interests rigs the system against regular people

We cannot trust the government to act in the best interests of the people

We cannot trust big businesses to act in the best interests of the people



Supermajorities of voters agree that the power of elites and interests rig the system against regular people, and that we cannot trust either the government or big business to act in the best interest of people.

The distrust in business ebbs among some Republicans, as does distrust in government among some Democrats, but both remain clear majorities.

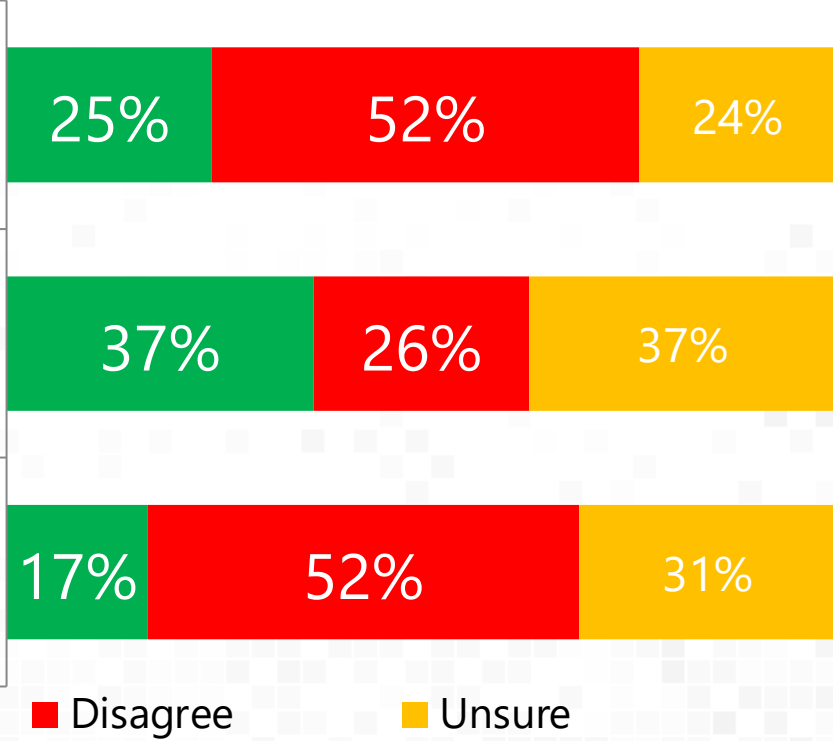
LOOKING FORWARD

NET "Agree"- "Disagree" scores	Inflation- Worst Behind Us	America Best Days Ahead	Next Generation Better Off
Women	-37%	4%	-41%
Men	-15%	19%	-28%
18-44	-35%	8%	-31%
45-64	-30%	12%	-38%
65+	-15%	13%	-38%
Women <55	-46%	6%	-38%
Women 55+	-28%	3%	-44%
Men <55	-22%	17%	-21%
Men 55+	-9%	21%	-34%
White	-27%	9%	-42%
Black/African-American	-16%	35%	2%
Hispanic	-40%	6%	-38%
Republican ID	-51%	-1%	-50%
Democratic ID	3%	26%	-18%
other/independent	-41%	3%	-41%
Upper/ Upper Middle	3%	9%	-49%
Middle	-22%	16%	-29%
Lower middle	-45%	10%	-43%
Working/Lower	-40%	2%	-32%

While inflation and higher cost of living hurt my family, the worst is behind us now

America's best days are still ahead of us

The next generation will be better off than my generation



■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ Unsure

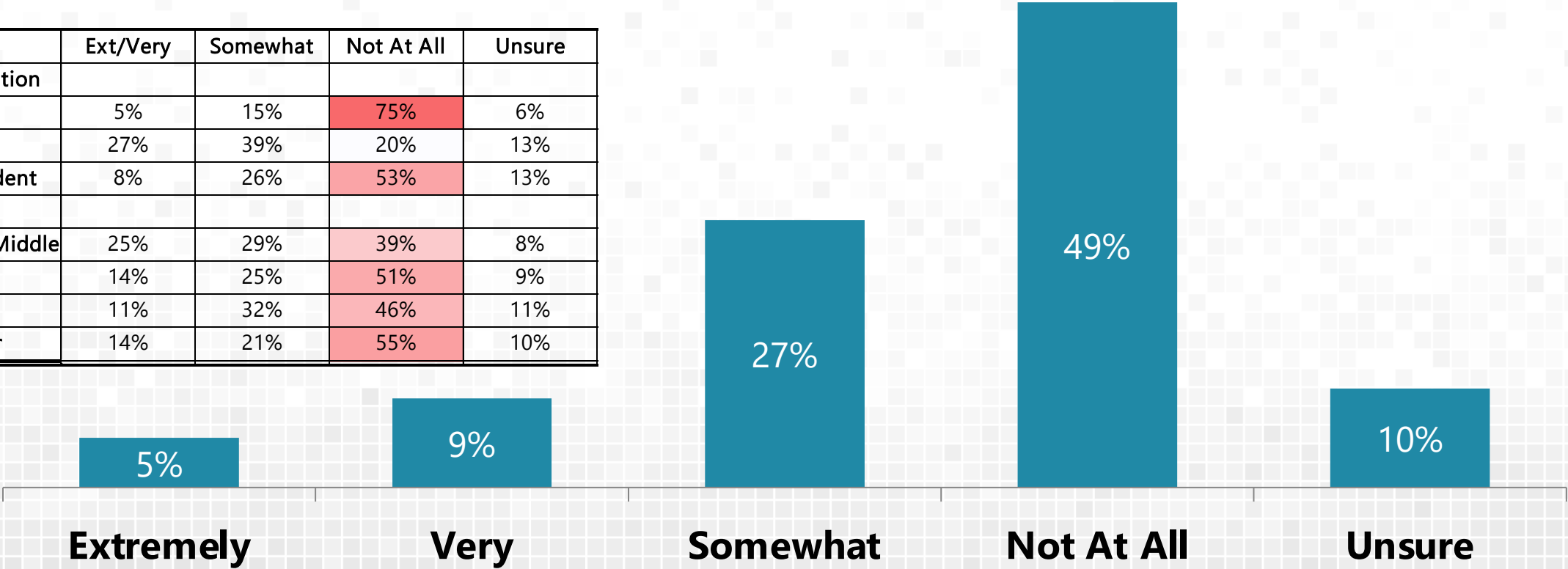
A 52% majority of voters disagree that “the worst is behind us now” regarding inflation and the cost of living. Only Democrats are divided on the question, but Republicans and independents take an even more negative view. Similarly, 52% disagree that the next generation will be better off that theirs.

A more open question for voters is if America’s best says are ahead. While 37% agree that they are, 26% disagree, and another 37% say they are simply unsure.

“Now, about a year ago, Congress passed and President Biden signed what was called the “Inflation Reduction Act.” Supporters claimed it would help reduce inflation, lower consumer prices, make energy more affordable, decrease the costs of prescription medications and increase incomes. Based on your experience: How effective would you say the Inflation Reduction Act has been living up to those promises? Has it been ____ effective?”

A 49% plurality of voters say the IRA has been not at all effective at living up to its promises. Only Democrats give it some credit, but still only 27% of Biden’s base saying it has been extremely or very effective.

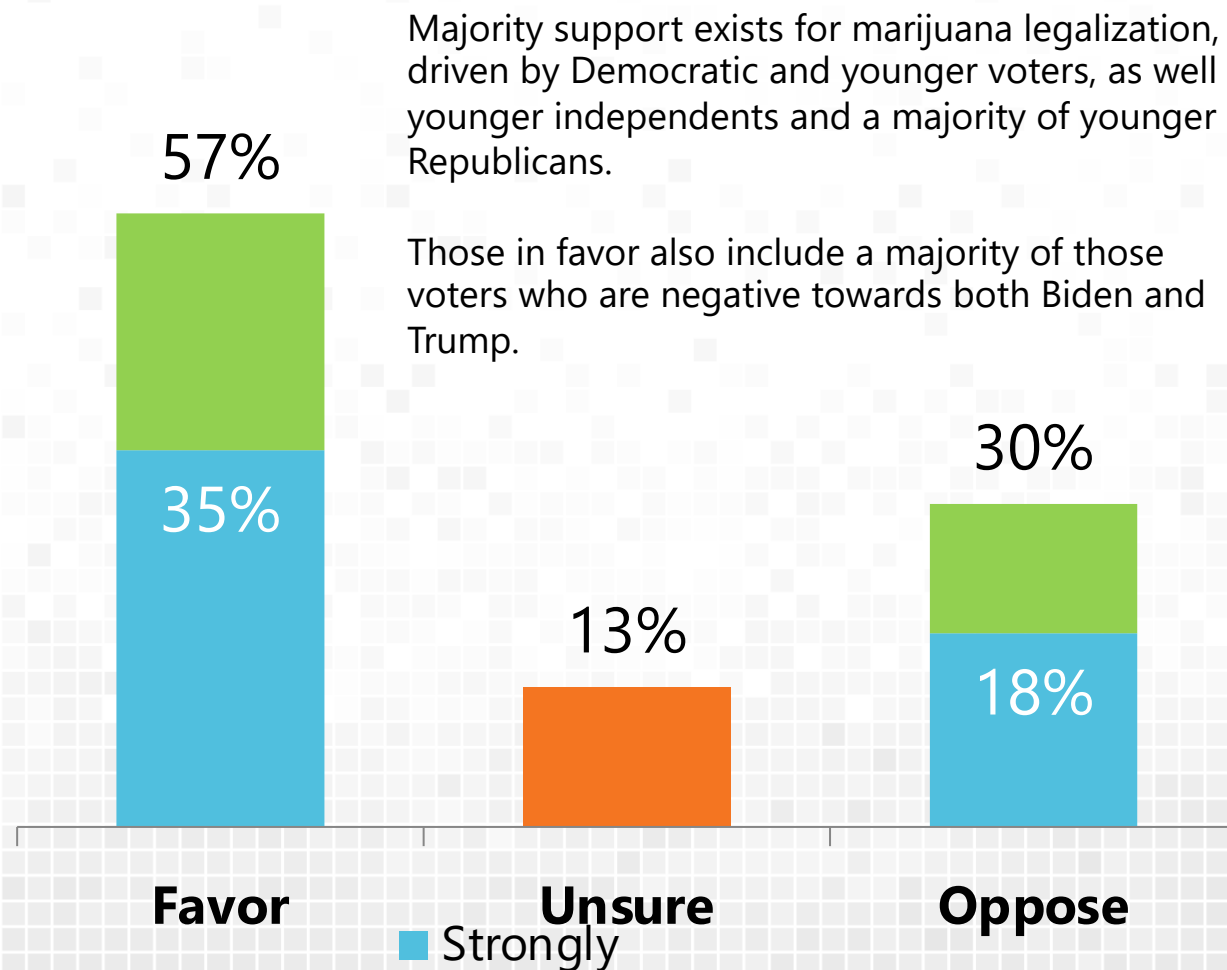
	Ext/Very	Somewhat	Not At All	Unsure
Party Identification				
Republican ID	5%	15%	75%	6%
Democratic ID	27%	39%	20%	13%
other/independent	8%	26%	53%	13%
Upper/ Upper Middle	25%	29%	39%	8%
Middle	14%	25%	51%	9%
Lower middle	11%	32%	46%	11%
Working/Lower	14%	21%	55%	10%



MARIJUANA LEGALIZATION

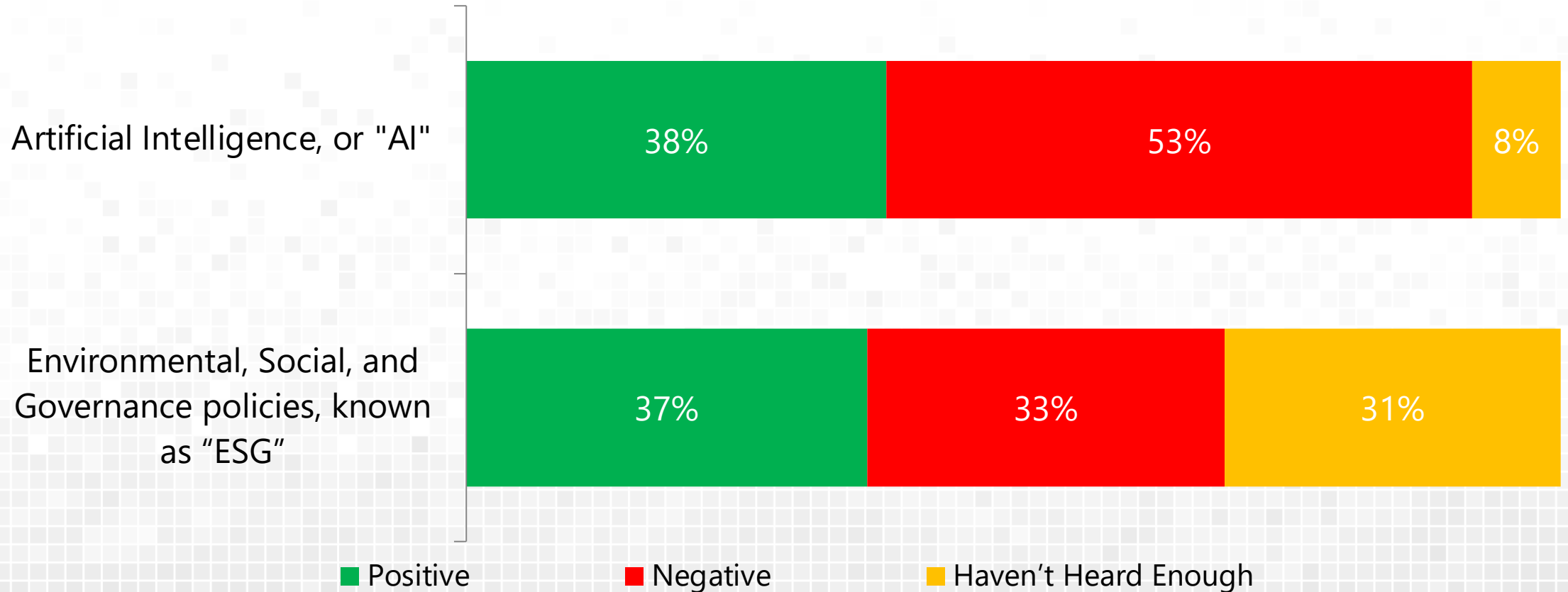
As you may know, most states have legalized marijuana for medical use, recreational use or both. But currently all uses of marijuana are illegal at the federal level. Do you favor or oppose legalization of marijuana by the U.S. government, which would legalize it in all 50 states?

	Favor	Unsure	Oppose
Men	56%	13%	30%
Women	57%	13%	30%
18-44	67%	12%	21%
45-64	57%	14%	29%
65+	47%	12%	41%
Party Identification			
Republican ID	48%	11%	42%
GOP <55	55%	9%	36%
Democratic ID	67%	13%	20%
DEM <55	74%	13%	13%
other/independent	56%	16%	28%
IND <55	63%	18%	19%
White	57%	10%	32%
African-American	64%	20%	16%
Hispanic	61%	15%	24%
Trump voters	48%	12%	39%
Undecided voters	50%	21%	29%
Biden voters	68%	11%	21%
"Double-haters"	55%	16%	30%



AI AND ESG

Looking more closely at two issues that are receiving attention in Washington and the states, we find that nearly a third of voters across the country say they have not heard enough about ESG to form an opinion either way. Of those who do have an opinion, ESG is only slightly net positive in image. Meanwhile, AI elicits a majority negative response, with 53% saying they are negative and 38% positive.



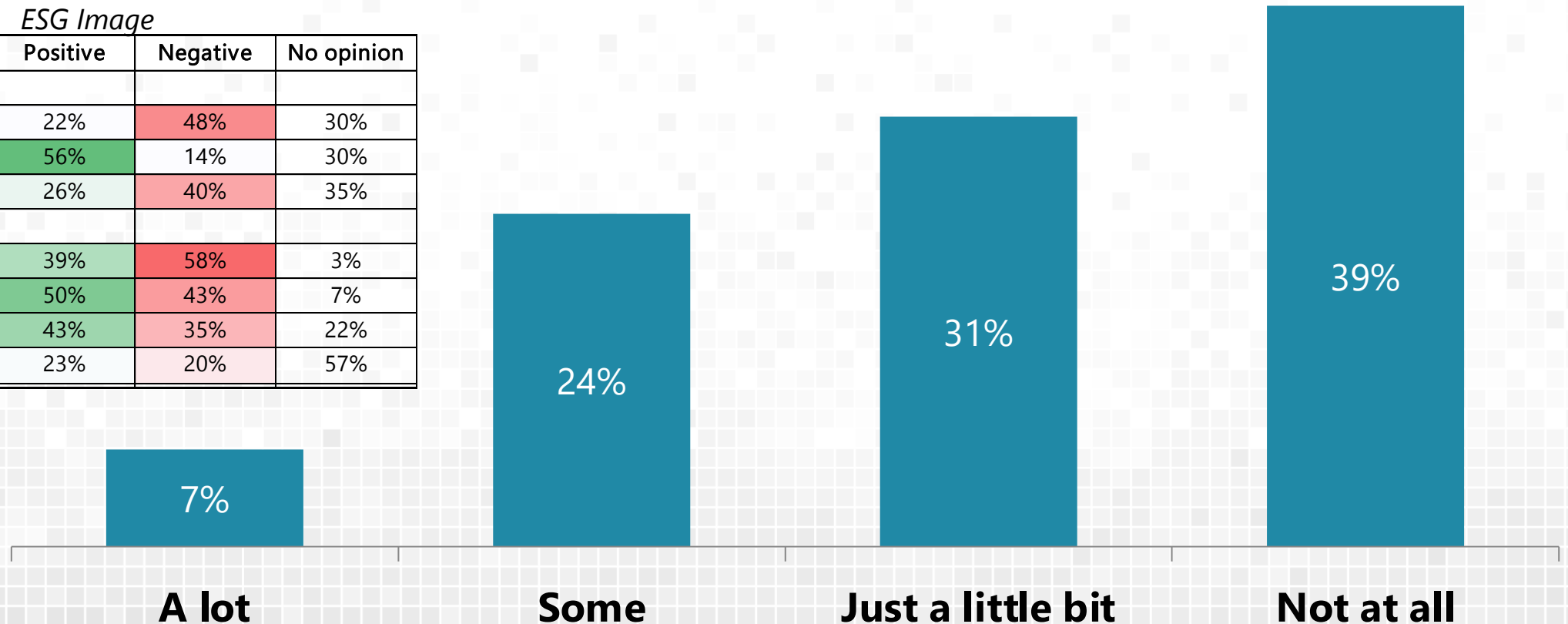
ESG

“How much have you seen, read or heard about Environmental, Social, and Governance Factors, or “ESG”, in the news recently?”

Tracking with the image, only about a third of voters say they have heard a lot or some about ESG in the news. Partisanship informs the opinion of ESG certainly, but awareness is a key driver, with ESG at 58% negative among those who say they have seen, read or heard a lot.

ESG Image

	Positive	Negative	No opinion
Party Identification			
Republican ID	22%	48%	30%
Democratic ID	56%	14%	30%
other/independent	26%	40%	35%
SRH a lot	39%	58%	3%
Some	50%	43%	7%
Little bit	43%	35%	22%
Not at all	23%	20%	57%

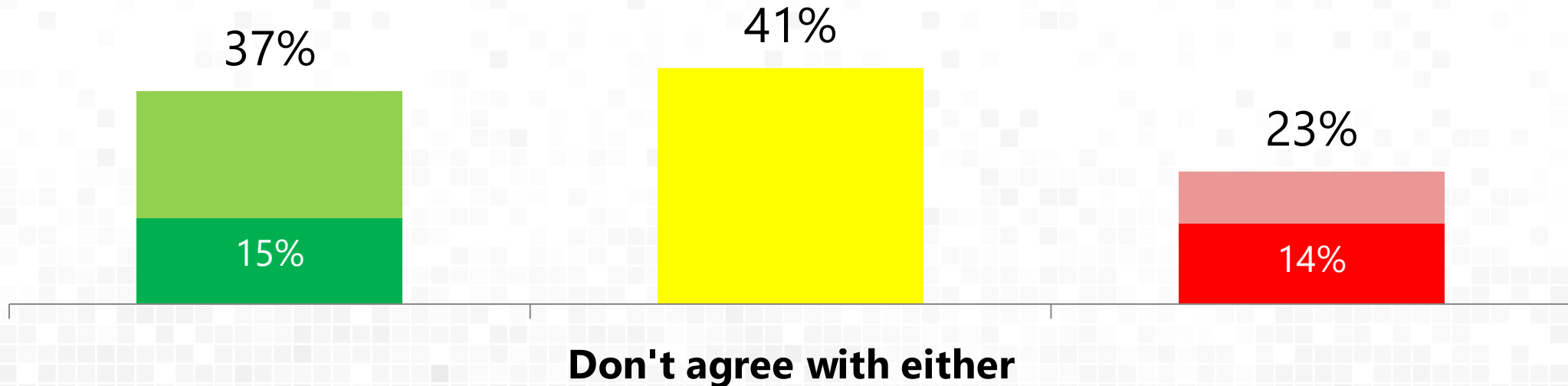


ESG

“Now here are two viewpoints on ESG. Please indicate which one comes closest to your own view..”

ESG is a good way to hold corporations accountable for their environmental and social impacts on our country and the world. It is not just about their bottom line, but about environmental responsibility, limiting pollution and impact on climate change, and social responsibility to improve diversity and stop discrimination. More companies, investors and consumers should embrace ESG.

ESG has caused many companies to stop paying attention to what American consumers really want, and start getting involved in environmental and social justice causes. Meanwhile other companies only pretend to care about environment and social issues. ESG has entirely failed to improve our lives. More companies, investors and consumers should reject ESG.



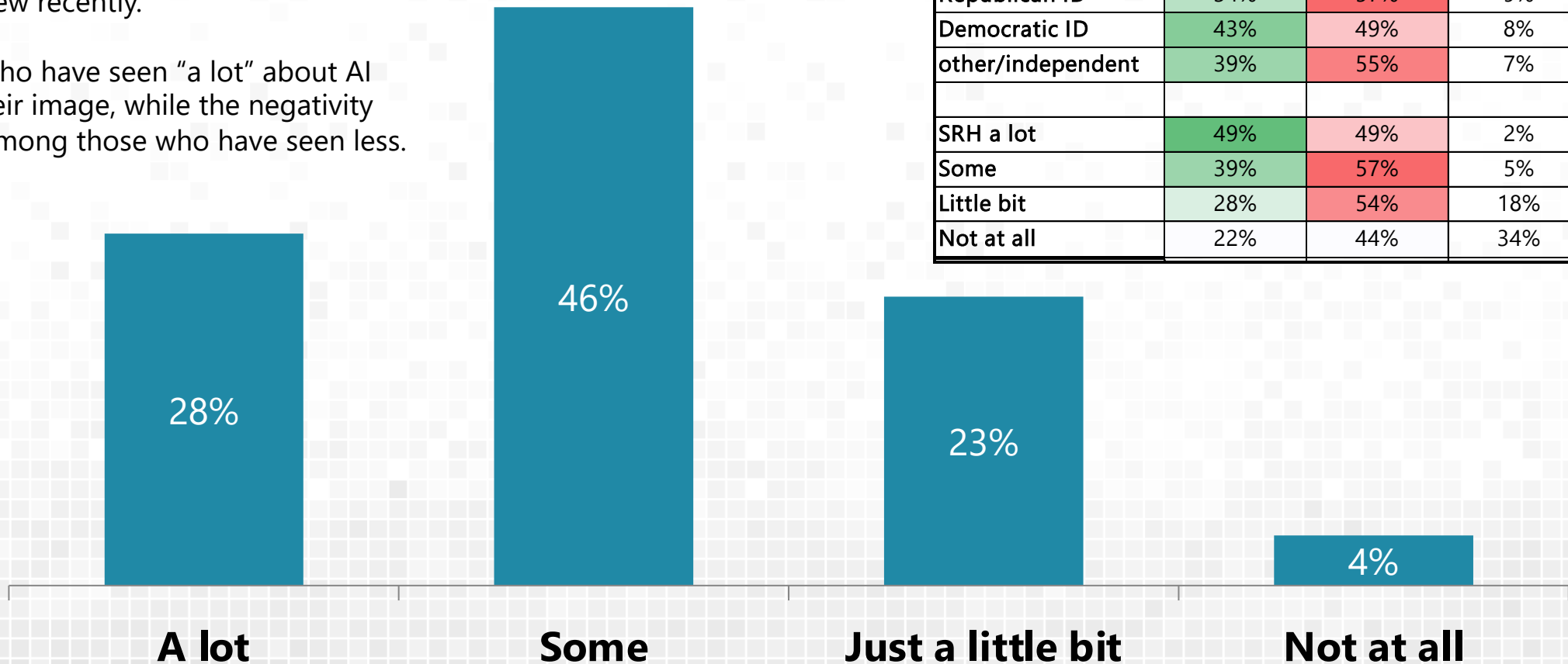
Reflecting the lack of awareness, even when presented with two competing views of ESG, a 41% plurality say they do not agree with either view more. Given the statements, 37% say more should embrace ESG and 23% say more should reject ESG. Democrats lead the desire to embrace, climbing to 58% agreement with that view and only 7% reject. Republicans are 43% in the middle, with 39% saying reject and 18% embrace (driven by younger Republicans).

AI

“How much have you seen, read or heard about Artificial Intelligence, or AI, in the news recently?”

AI has gotten considerably more attention than ESG, with 73% of voters saying they have heard either a lot or some about the issue in the new recently.

Here, those who have seen “a lot” about AI are split in their image, while the negativity gap widens among those who have seen less.



AI Image

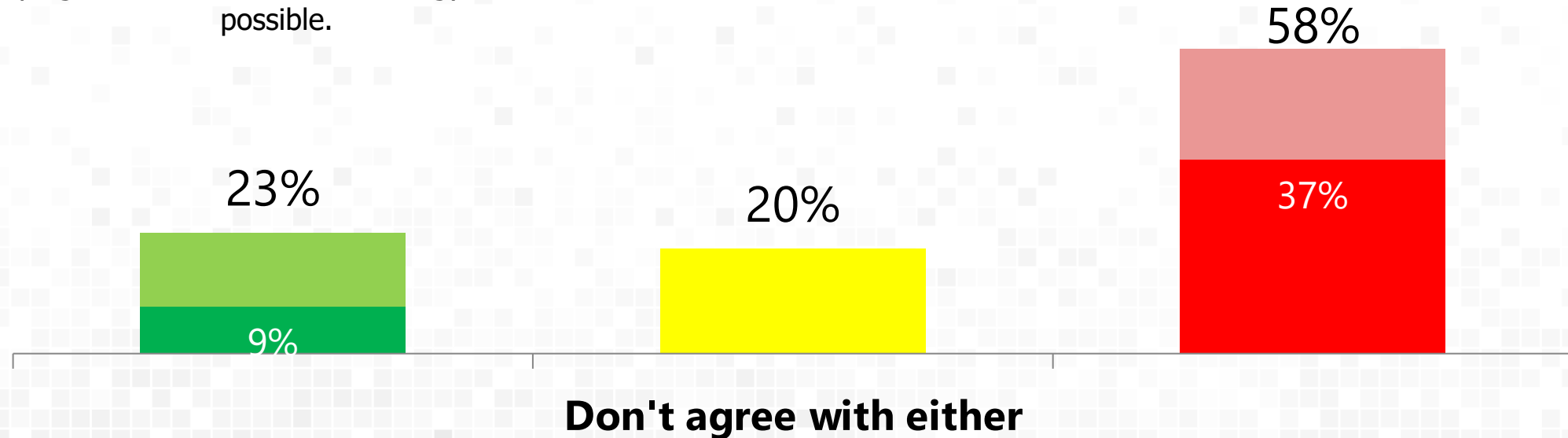
	Positive	Negative	No opinion
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SRH a lot	49%	49%	2%
Some	39%	57%	5%
Little bit	28%	54%	18%
Not at all	22%	44%	34%

AI

“Now here are two viewpoints on AI. Please indicate which one comes closest to your own view..”

Artificial Intelligence offers the promise of unlocking new innovations and better healthcare outcomes, as well as helping businesses run more efficiently, programmers work faster, and even help better educate the next generation. We should do everything to help those developing AI to advance the technology as much as possible.

Artificial Intelligence makes people’s privacy less secure. Besides being used to mine our personal information so we can be taken advantage of, it reinforces the biases and inequalities that already exist in healthcare and the economy. We should do everything to regulate the development of AI technology as much as possible.



When given two viewpoints, a 58% majority of voters agree that we should do everything to regulate the development of AI technology as much as possible, while only 23% agree that we should do everything to help those developing AI to advance the technology as much as possible. While Democrats were slightly more positive to start, here Republicans, Democrats and independents alike all come in within a point of the 58% agreement.

The Politics and Advocacy Poll

The Politics and Advocacy poll is a survey of N=1,000 likely voters nationwide, conducted via an online panel provider. Field dates were January 3-4, 2024.

Visit www.tarrance.com for the results from this survey, and email tarrance@tarrance.com with inquiries.