

democracyFIRST Red Pod August Battleground Analysis

1512 Likely Voters in AZ, CA, PA, WI

August 2024

Methodology

Upswing Research & Strategy conducted a survey among 1,212 likely 2024 voters across 4 battleground Congressional Districts (AZ01, CA41, PA10, WI03) from August 21 – 27, 2024. We interviewed 303 likely voters in each Congressional District with established quotas across demographic, partisan, and geographic variables to ensure the survey is representative of likely voters.

The margin of error overall is +/- 2.83% (+/- 5.7% in each district); the error is higher among subgroups. In addition to quotas, the data is also statistically weighted to ensure the sample's regional, age, and gender composition reflects that of the estimated likely voter universe in each state.

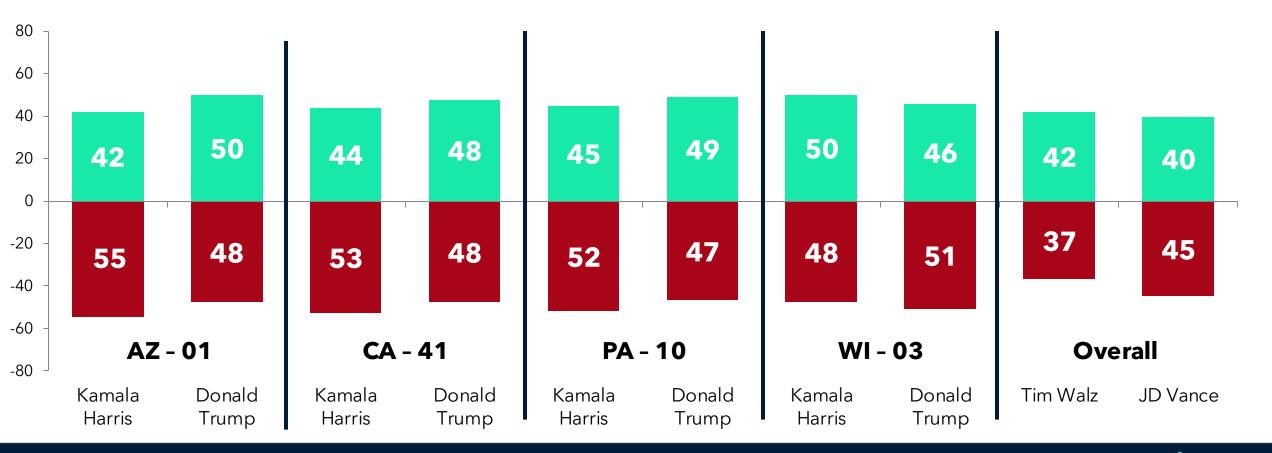


Environment



Voters in battleground districts split on Presidential race

Unfavorable
Favorable

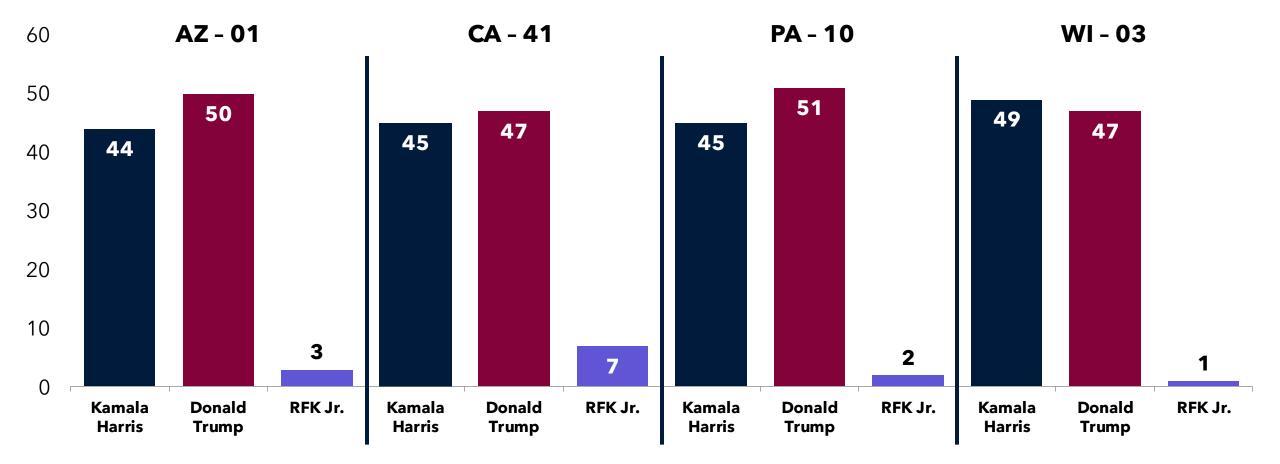




3

Harris running behind Trump in AZ and PA; split in CA and WI

Thinking about the general election for President in November, if the election were held today, for whom would you vote - Democrat Kamala Harris, Republican Donald Trump, or Independent candidate Robert Kennedy, Jr?

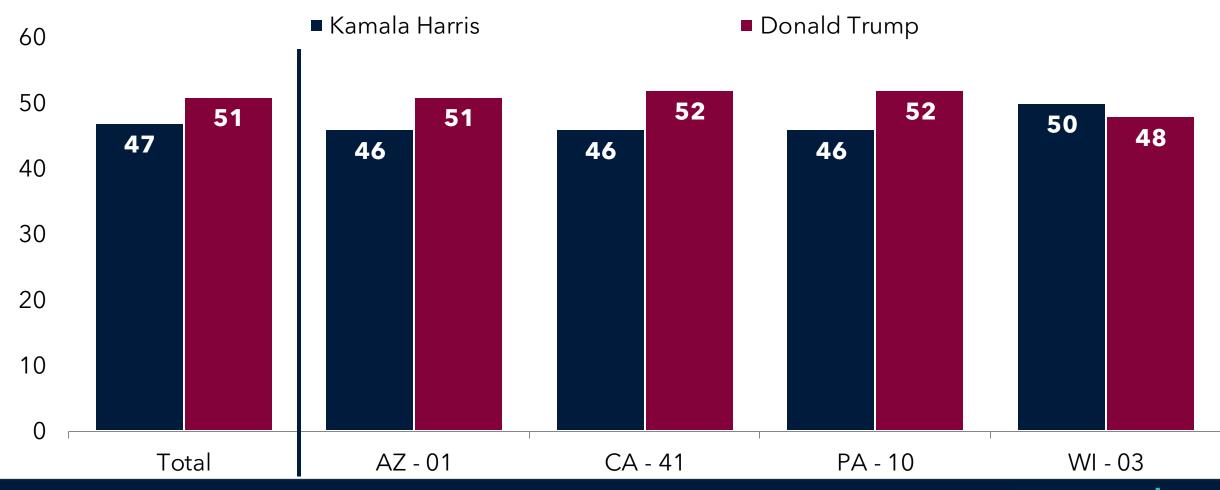




4

Trump overperforming a bit except in WI 03

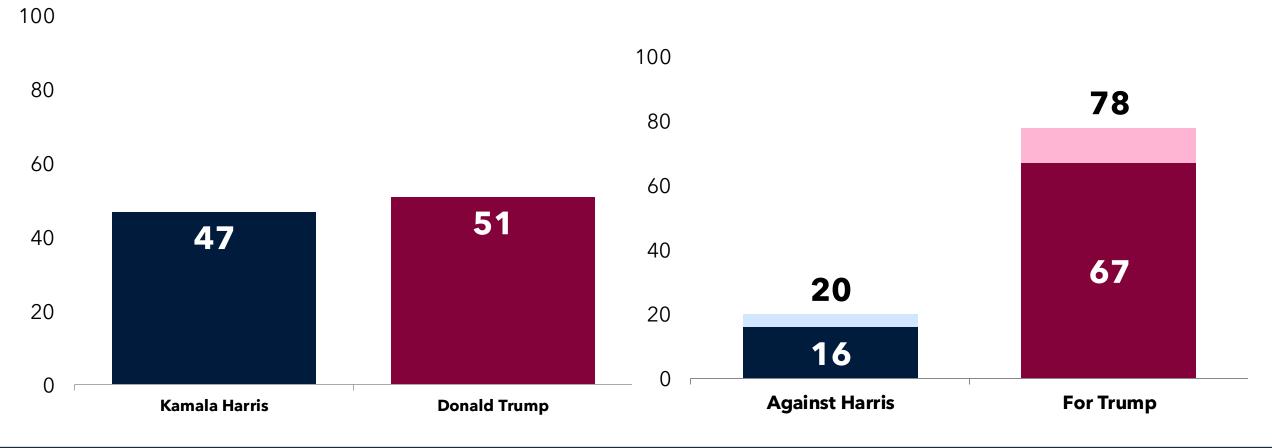
If the election for President were held today and the candidates were Democrat Kamala Harris and Republican Donald Trump, for whom would you vote?





About 20% of Republicans are soft Trump voters

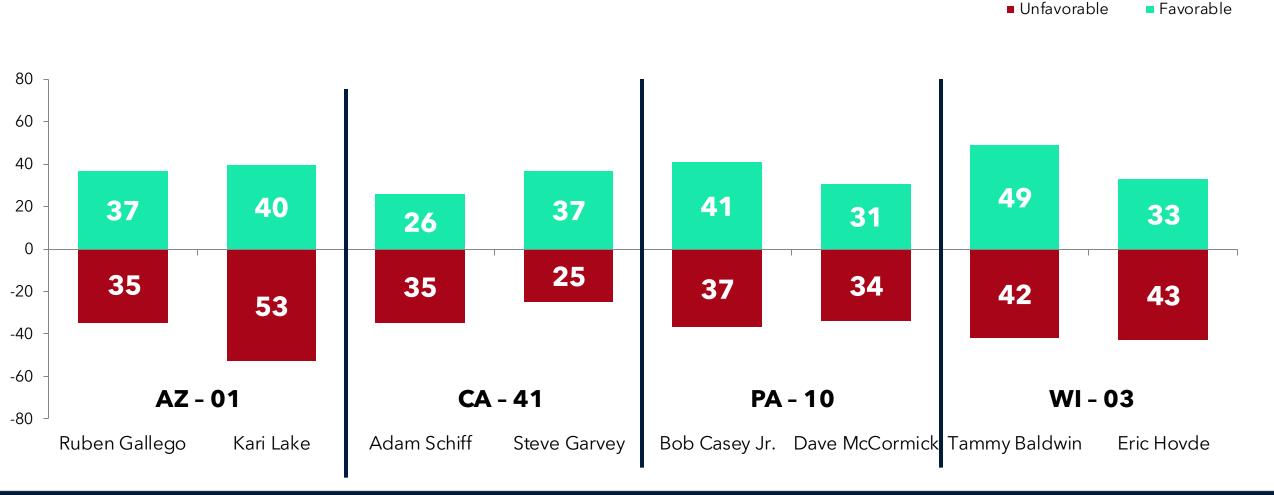
If the election for President were held today and the candidates were Democrat Kamala Harris and Republican Donald Trump, for whom would you vote? (IF VOTING FOR TRUMP) Thinking about why you plan to vote for Donald Trump, is your vote more FOR Donald Trump or AGAINST Kamala Harris?





6

Democratic Senate candidates mostly popular; while most of their Republican counterparts viewed unfavorably; only exception is in CA-41

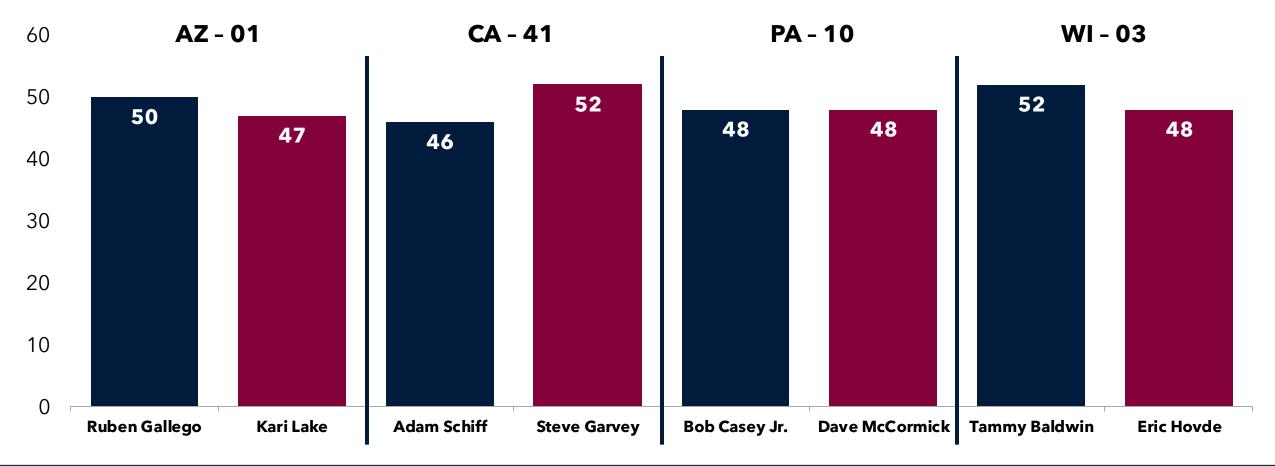




7

Gallego and Baldwin in good position; Casey in a tight race in PA-10; Schiff down in CA-41

Thinking about the general election for U.S. Senate in November, if the election were held today, for whom would you vote - the Democratic Candidate or the Republican Candidate?





Senate candidates overperforming most among independents

Dem - Rep	Presidential: Harris - Trump	Senate: Dem - Rep	Net Vote Difference: Senate - Pres
Total	47 - 51	49 - 49	+4
Democrat	97 - 3	96 - 2	-1
Independent	46 - 48	50 - 46	+6
Republican	3 - 95	6 - 92	+5
AZ - 01	46 - 51	50 - 47	+8
CA - 41	46 - 52	46 - 52	-1
PA - 10	46 - 52	48 - 48	+6
WI - 03	50 - 48	52 - 48	+2
White	47 - 51	49 - 50	+3
Hispanic	47 - 51	49 - 48	+3



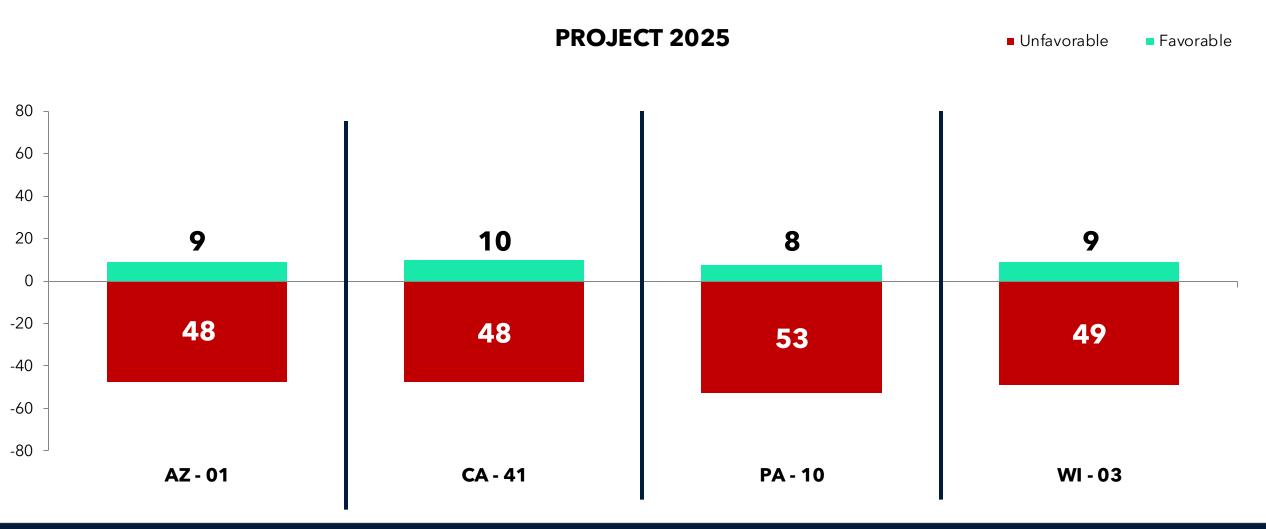
9

Especially white college-educated independents; younger voters also breaking for Senate candidates

Dem – Rep	Presidential: Harris - Trump	Senate: Dem - Rep	Net Vote Difference: Senate - Pres	
Total	47 - 51	49 - 49	+4	
Under 50	47 - 50	51 - 45	+9	
Over 50	47 - 51	48 - 51		
Seniors	52 - 47	52 - 47	+1	
White college men	46 - 52	46 - 53	-1	
White college women	62 - 36	62 - 35	+1	
White non-college men	31 - 68	35 - 63	+10	
White non-college women	49 - 47	51 – 47	+1	
White College Independents	44 - 49	51 - 46	+11	

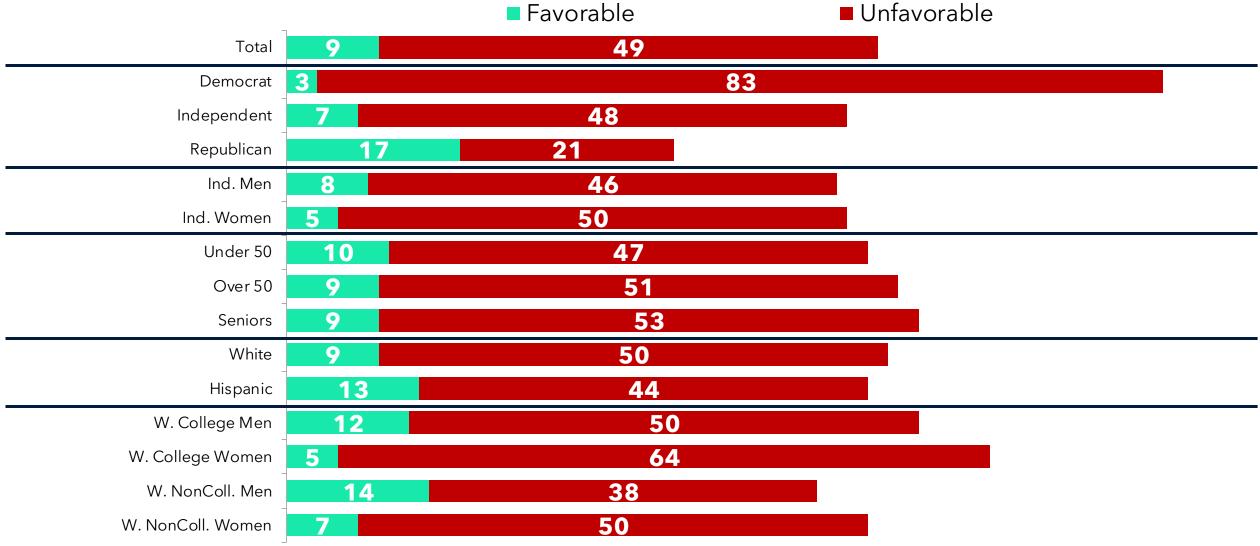


A majority of voters in all battleground districts have heard of Project 2025 and it is broadly unpopular





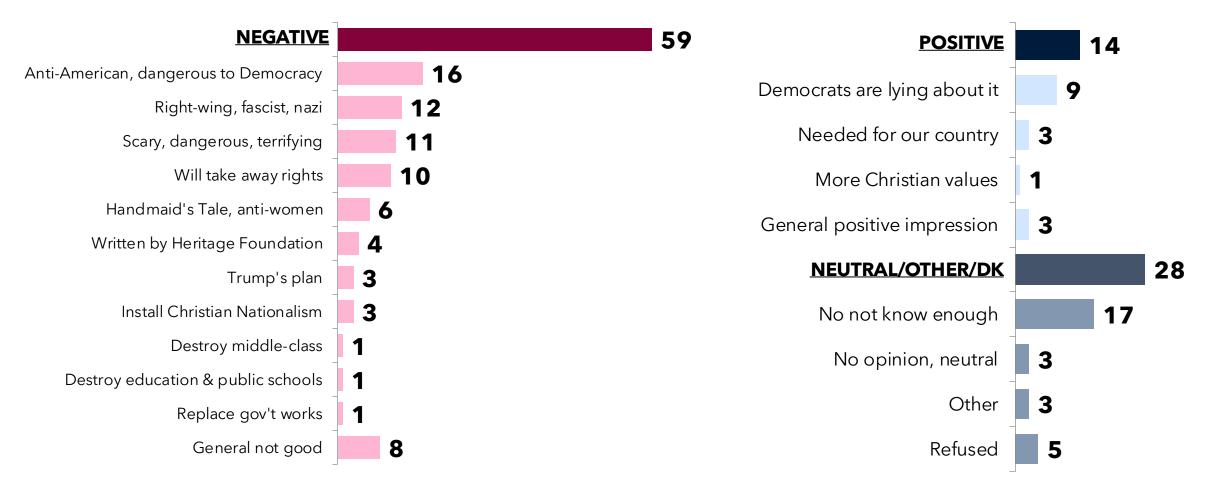
Unfavorability is driven by Dems, but indies also view it unfavorably; even Republicans are split





Negative impressions centered on Project 2025's threat to democracy and people's rights

(IF ID PROJECT 2025) In your own words, please describe your impressions of Project 2025.

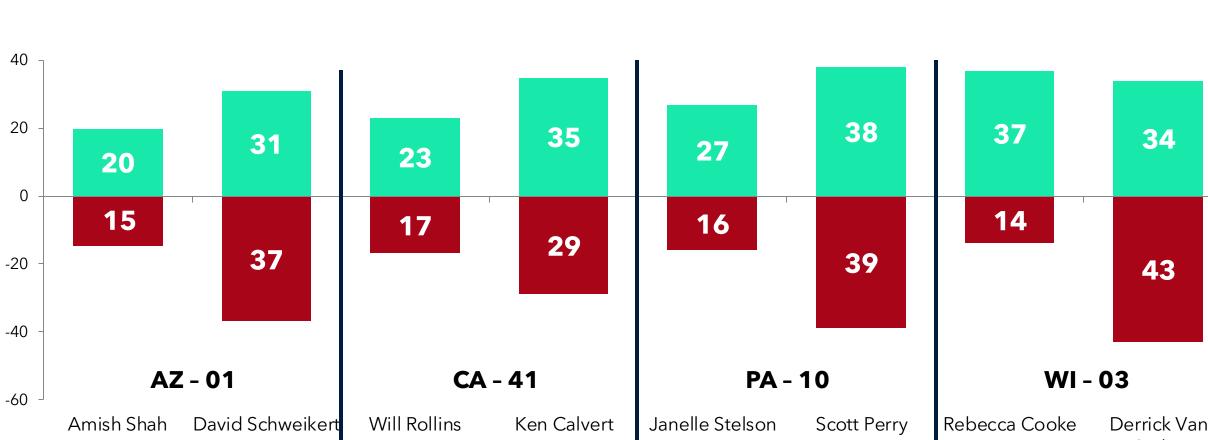




Starting Point



Democrats benefitting from their primaries; Republicans all relatively weak



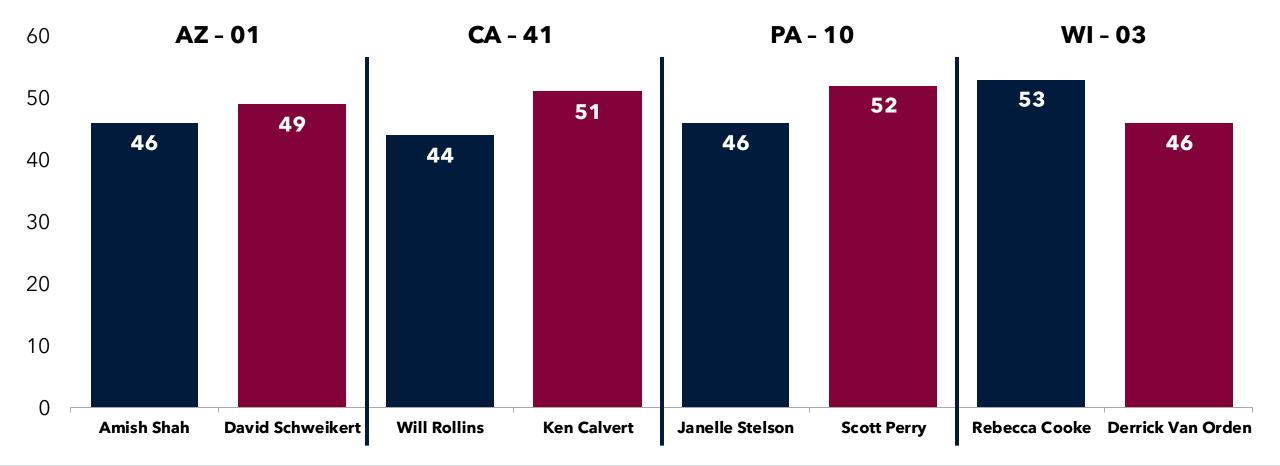
Orden

Favorable

Unfavorable

Most incumbents under 50

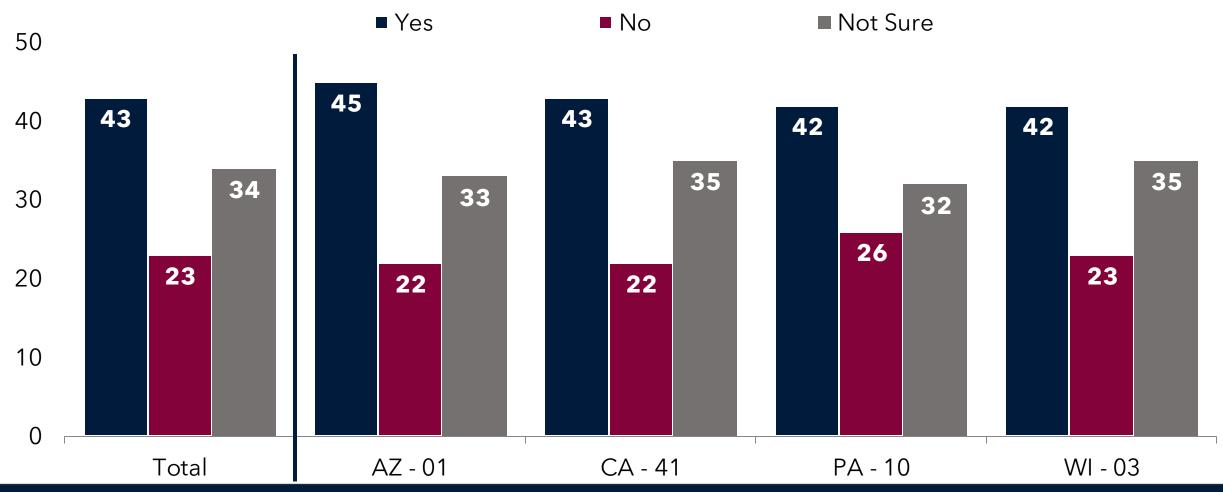
Thinking about the general election for U.S. Congress in November, if the election were held today, for whom would you vote - the Democratic Candidate or the Republican Candidate?





Majority unaware their member voted against certification

From what you know, did your Congressman vote to certify the 2020 election results





Dems get credit for accepting election outcomes and peaceful transfer of power; other measures reflect partisanship

Now I'm going to read you a list of issues and characteristics. After I read each one, please tell me whether you trust the Democrats in Congress OR the Republicans in Congress more with that issue or characteristic.

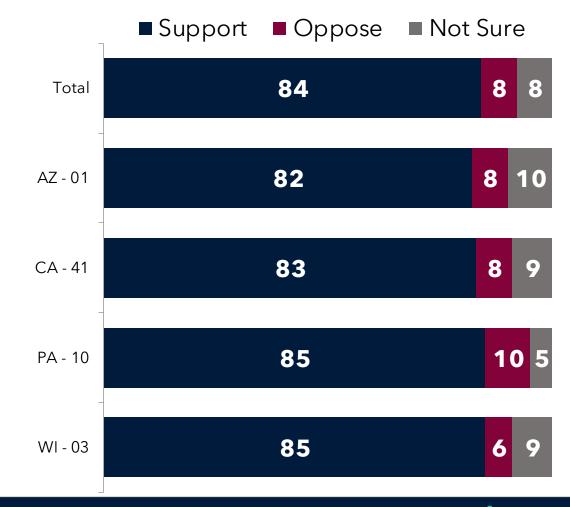
7	Democrats	Both/Neither/Not Sure	Republicans	
Committing to the peaceful transfer of power	50	8	42	
Accepting the outcome of elections	49	10	41	
Preventing political violence	47	7	46	
Ensuring every legal vote is counted	45	7	48	
Protecting institutions like checks and balances	45	6	49	
Telling the truth	44	12	44	



Vast majority in each electorate support democracyFIRST Promise

Do you support or oppose the commitment to uphold democracy called the democracyFIRST Promise?

As you may know, many members of Congress and other elected officials have signed a commitment to uphold democracy called the democracyFIRST Promise. This commitment means they will: work to protect the right to vote for eligible citizens and ensure every legal vote is counted in every election denounce threats or attempts to incite violence against political opponents and election workers stop the spread of falsehoods and misinformation about the electoral process and accept and vote to certify the final election results according to the law after all ballots are counted and recounts are completed. Do you support or oppose the commitment to uphold democracy called the democracyFIRST Promise?

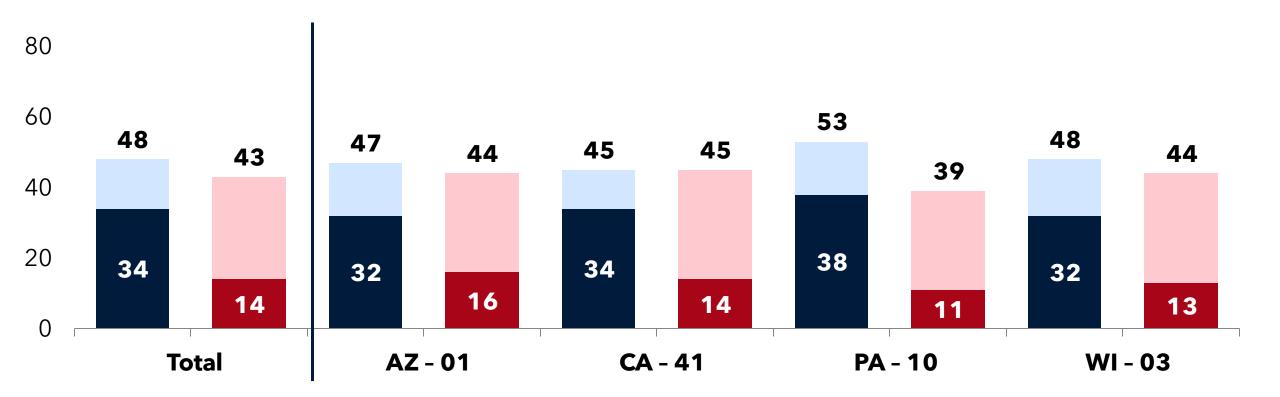


pswing 19

Most voters call it a dealbreaker; intensity on our side

I would never for a candidate who refused to sign the democracyFIRST Promise to uphold democracy

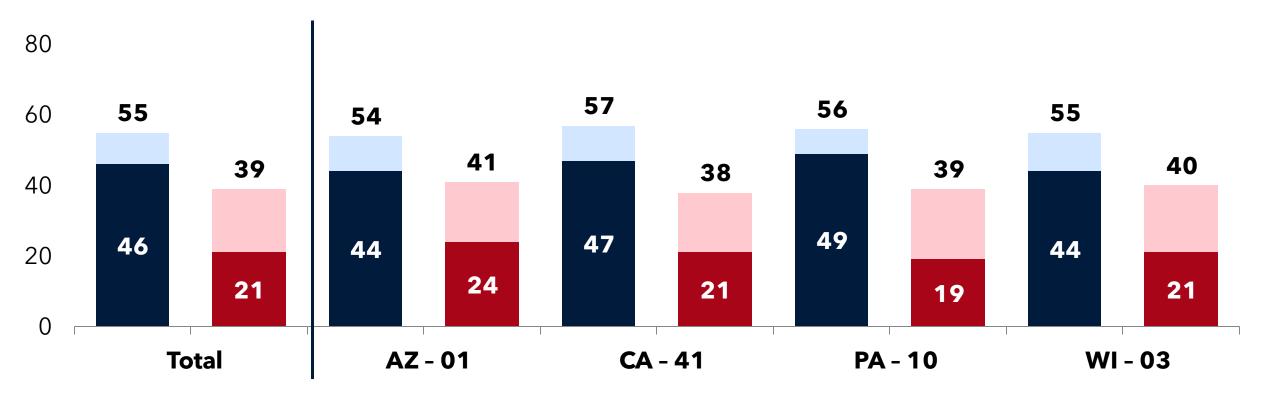
I would vote for a candidate who refused to sign the democracyFIRST Promise if I agree with them on most other issues





But a greater majority say supporting overturning the 2020 election would sway their vote

I would never vote for a candidate who supported or voted to overturn the 2020 election results I would vote for a candidate who supported overturning the 2020 election results if I agreed with them on most other issues





Messaging



Candidate Bios

(SPLIT) (DEM POSITIVE) NAMED CONGRESSIONAL DEMOCRAT, the Democrat, is running for Congress because core tenets of our democracy are under threat. He/she is running to strengthen institutions of our democracy, like checks and balances and the independence of our judiciary system and law enforcement agencies like the FBI. LAST NAME DEMOCRAT has signed the democracyFIRST Promise to uphold democracy that promises protects the right to vote for eligible citizens and ensures every legal vote is counted, stop misinformation, denounce political violence, and accept the election results.

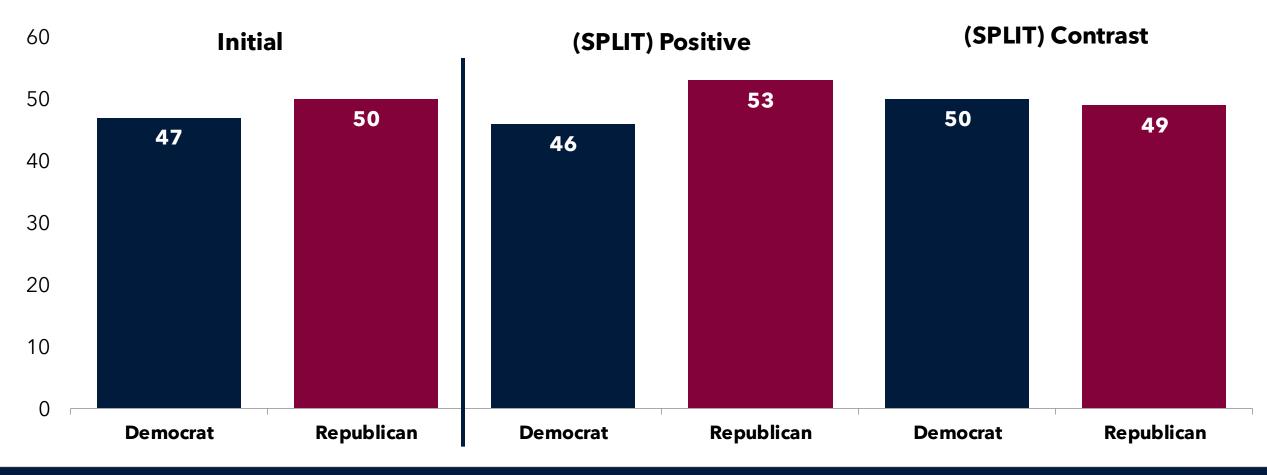
(SPLIT) (DEM CONTRAST) NAMED CONGRESSIONAL DEMOCRAT, the Democrat, is running for Congress because core tenets of our democracy are under threat. He/she has signed the democracyFIRST Promise to uphold democracy that promises protects the right to vote for eligible citizens and ensures every legal vote is counted, stop misinformation, denounce political violence, and accept the election results. But NAMED CONGRESSIONAL REPUBLICAN refuses to sign the democracyFIRST Promise. He (IN PA, CA, AZ) voted to overturn the election results / (IN WI) supported efforts to overturn the election results and has already said he won't certify the 2024 election results unless Trump is declared the winner.

(REP) NAMED CONGRESSIONAL REPUBLICAN, the Republican, is running for Congress because we need to restore election integrity to our election system. He has worked to bring election irregularities to light, including fraud in our voting systems and counting processes, ensure illegal immigrants don't illegally vote in our elections, and fought to require everyone who votes to show ID to ensure they are allowed to legally cast a ballot. In Congress, LAST NAME CONGRESSIONAL REPUBLICAN will work to pass a nationwide voter ID law, require paper ballots in all elections to show a paper trail, and strengthen election integrity and transparency.



Overall, the contrast framing moves voters in these battleground districts

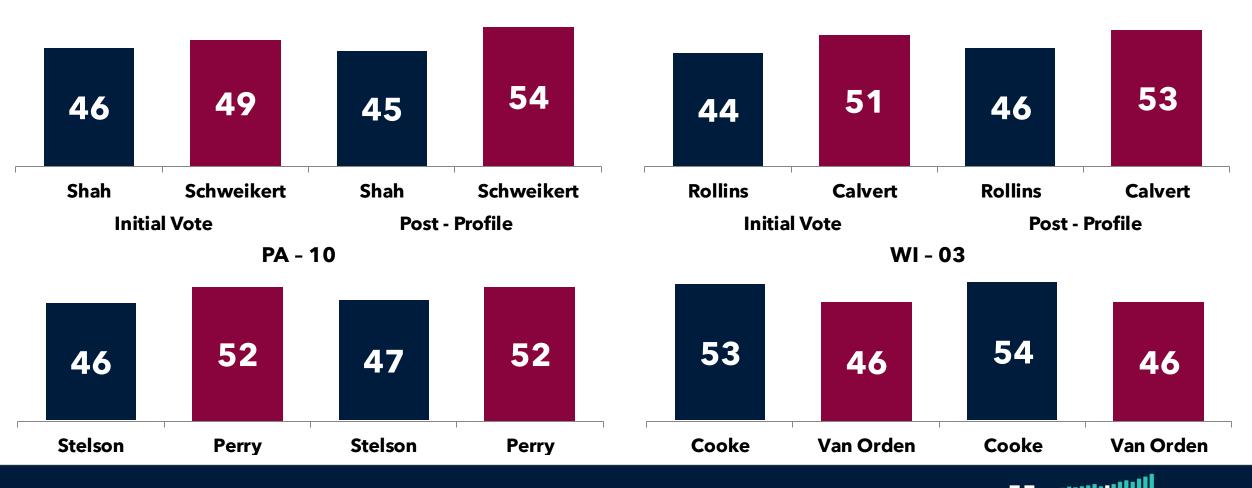
Thinking about the general election for U.S. Congress in November, if the election were held today, for whom would you vote - The Democratic Candidate or The Republican Candidate?





Shifts within districts are small

Thinking again about the election for State House in November, if the election were held today, for whom would you vote - Democrat Candidate or Republican Candidate?



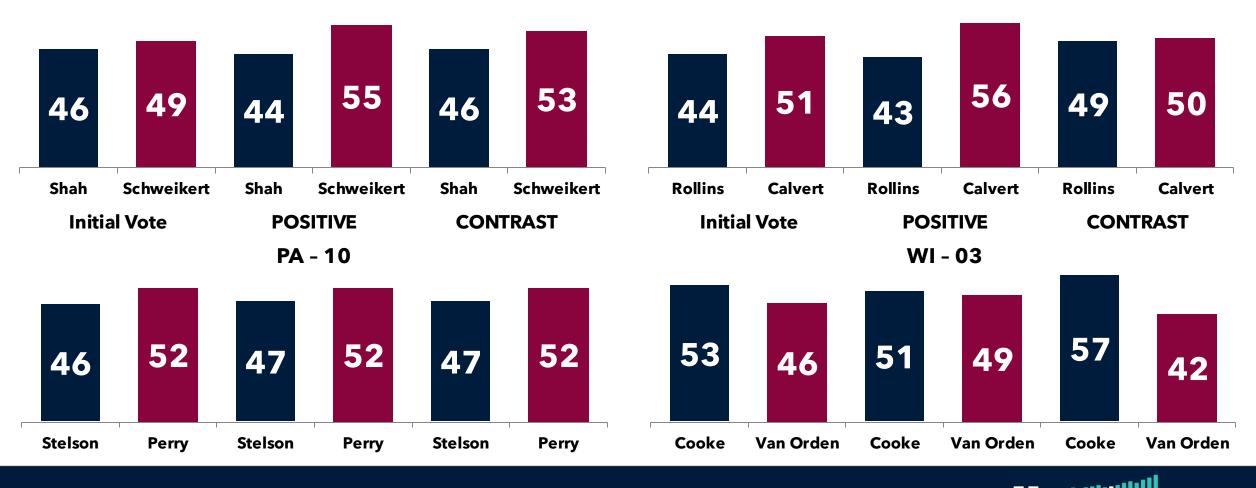


CA - 41

25

That goes for the straight positive and contrast framings alike

Thinking again about the election for State House in November, if the election were held today, for whom would you vote - Democrat Candidate or Republican Candidate?



AZ - 01

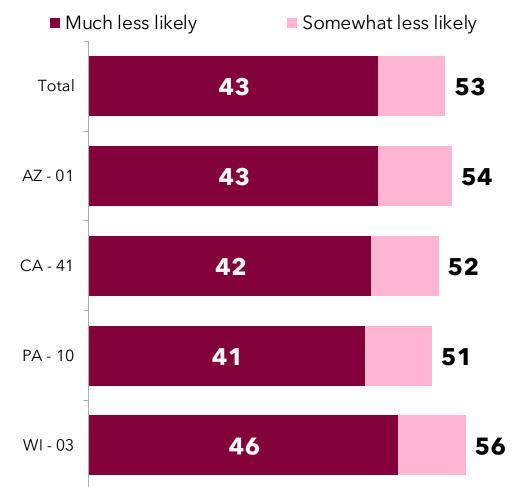
CA - 41

26

Refusal to sign the Promise carries some intensity in these tightly divided electorates

Does the following statement make you much less likely to vote for REPUBLICAN, somewhat less likely to vote for REPUBLICAN, does it make no difference either way, or does it make you more likely to vote for REPUBLICAN?

(DEMOCRACYFIRST) NAMED CONGRESSIONAL REPUBLICAN refuses to sign the democracyFIRST Promise, which is a commitment to uphold democracy that promises protects the right to vote for eligible citizens and ensures every legal vote is counted, stop misinformation, denounce political violence, and accept the election results. He refuses to sign it because he has already indicated he won't vote to certify the 2024 election results unless Trump wins





Schweikert's corruption reaches broadest audience and has slightly greater intensity

Does the following statement make you much less likely to vote for Schweikert, somewhat less likely to vote for Schweikert, does it make no difference either way, or does it make you more likely to vote for Schweikert?

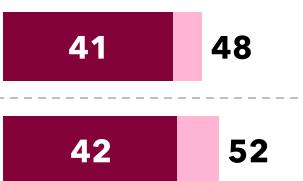
Much less likely

(AZ) (CERTIFY) Just hours after the January 6 insurrection at the Capitol and despite evidence that the election was free from fraud, Schweikert voted against certifying the 2020 election results. He later doubled down on these claims, saying he quote "spent three days with a bunch of constitutional attorneys" end quote but could never produce any evidence.

(AZ) (EXTREMIST) Schweikert bankrolls a PAC run by an extremist talk show host that has called for abolishing the FBI and advocated for election falsehoods

(AZ) (CORRUPTION) In 2020, Schweikert admitted to 11 violations of House ethics rules, including loans and campaign contributions he tried to hide; illegal misuse of campaign funds for personal purposes; improper spending by his office; and an environment where office staffers were illegally pressured to do political work

(AZ) (COMMISSION) Schweikert voted against an independent commission to hold those responsible for the January 6th insurrection accountable, and instead defended those at the riot, claiming they were good people and falsely claiming that the FBI conspired in the day's coup



Somewhat less likely

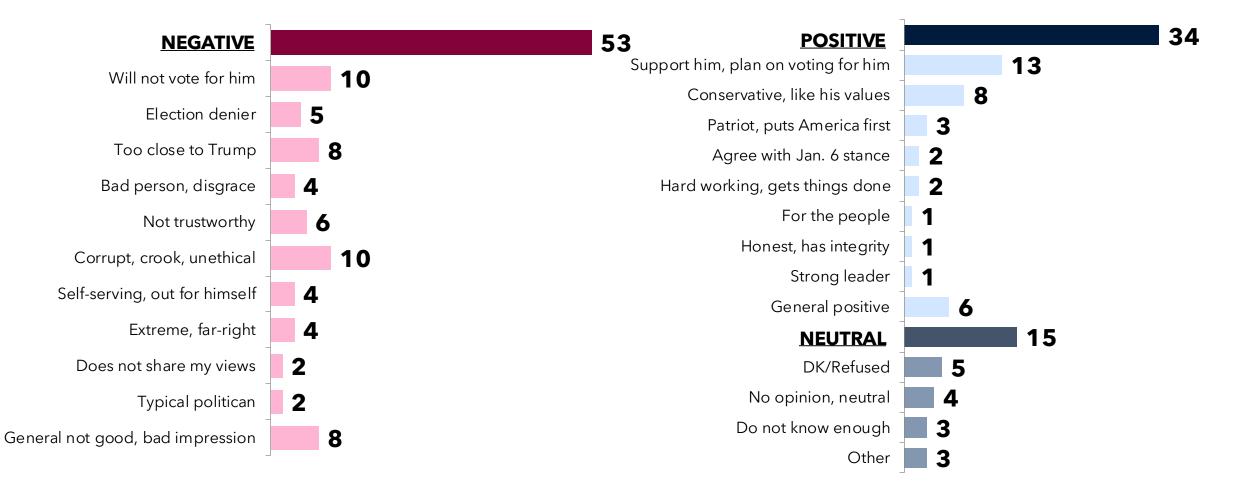






Corrupt and crook stand out most in how voters view Schweikert after messaging

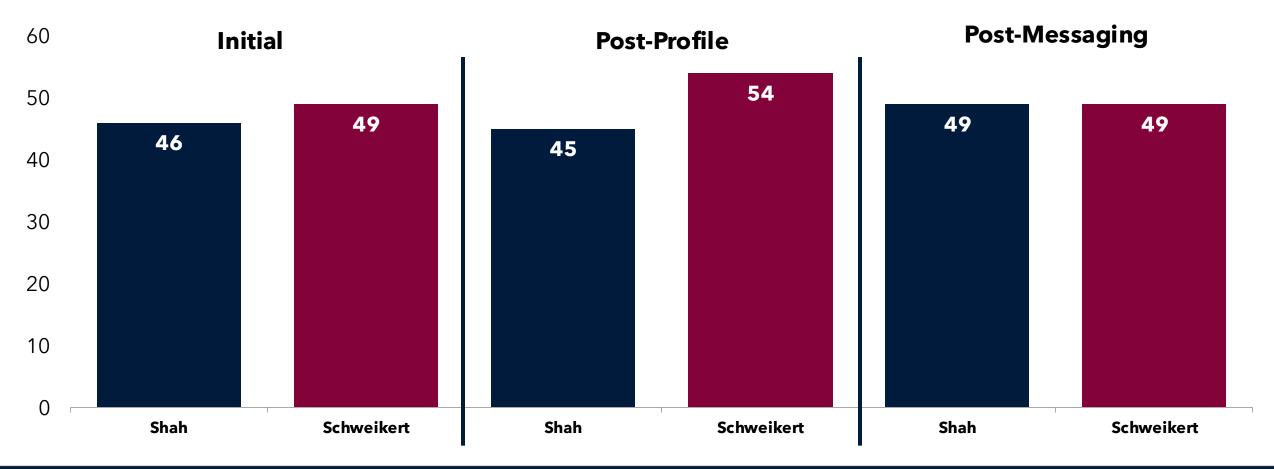
Now that you have more information, in your own words, please describe your impressions of David Schweikert





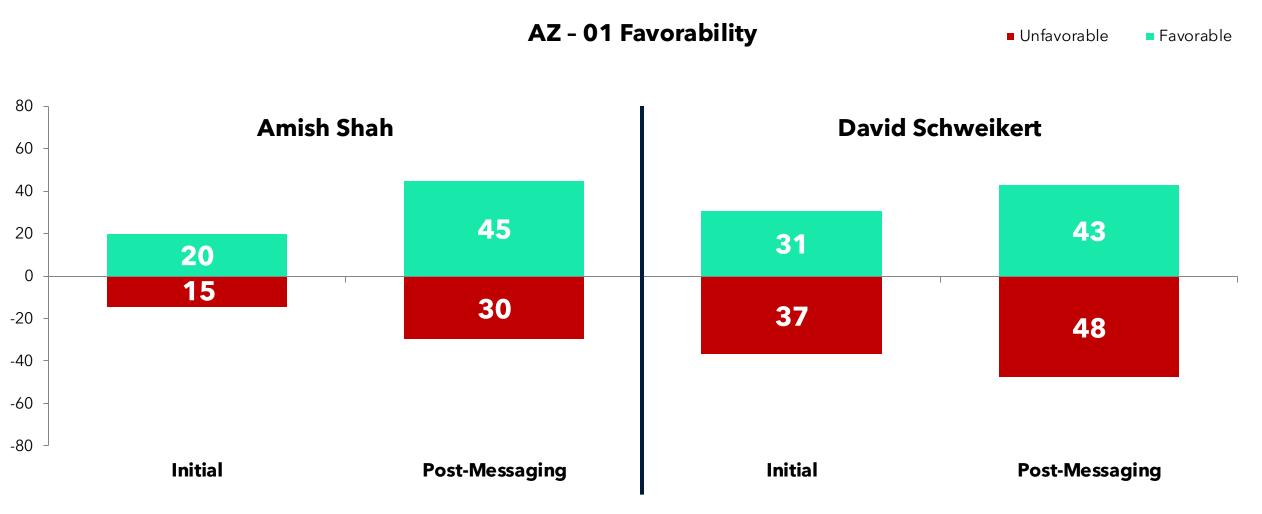
Negatives are able to bring this race in AZ-01 to a dead heat

Thinking about the general election for U.S. Congress in November, if the election were held today, for whom would you vote -Amish Shah or David Schweikert?





Shah's favorables double while Schweikert's unfavorables grow by 10 points





Negatives on Calvert have similar strength and breadth

Does the following statement make you much less likely to vote for Calvert, somewhat less likely to vote for Calvert, does it make no difference either way, or does it make you more likely to vote for Calvert?

Much less likely

Somewhat less likely

50

(CA) (CERTIFY) Hours after the January 6 insurrection at the US Capitol, Calvert voted against certifying Pennsylvania's 2020 election results despite evidence that the election was free from fraud. The next day continued to say he quote "remain(ed) especially troubled" end quote about the election. He also pushed a lawsuit that would require the Supreme Court to overturn the election results

(CA) (COMMISSION) Calvert voted against an independent commission to hold those responsible for the January 6th insurrection accountable, and even said he hoped the charges against insurrectionists would be dropped



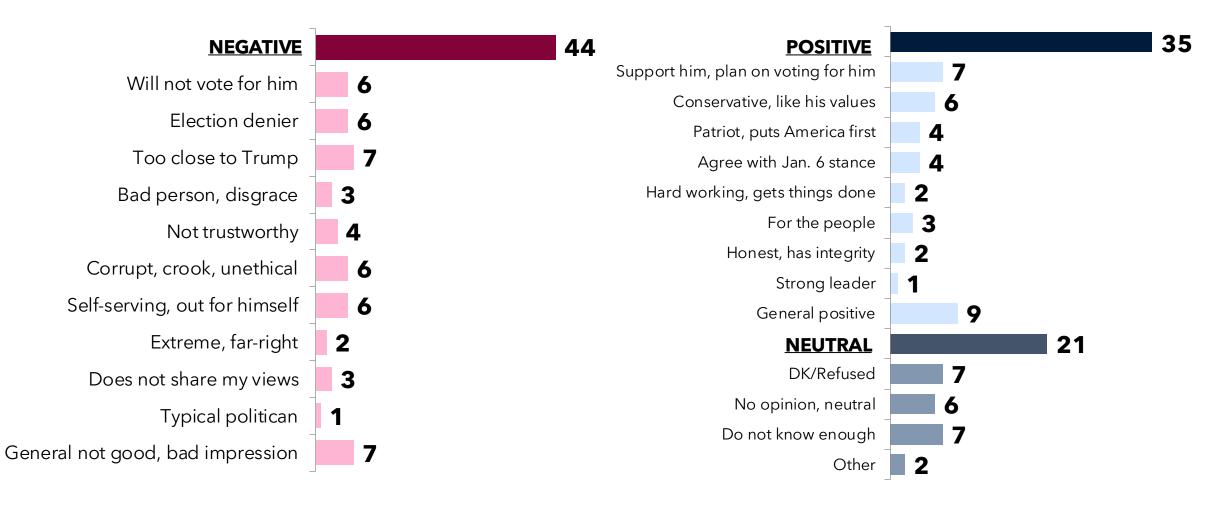
42

32



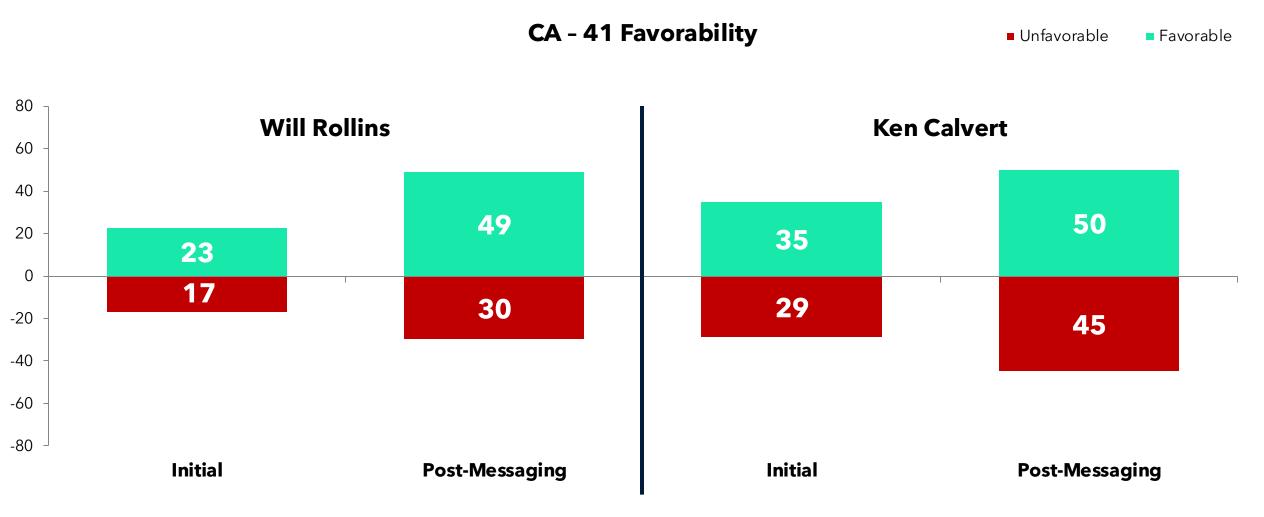
Ken Calvert Impressions

Now that you have more information, in your own words, please describe your impressions of Ken Calvert





Both candidates favorables increase; Rollins able to match Calvert in that respect





All negative messages on Perry bear intensity

Does the following statement make you much less likely to vote for Perry, somewhat less likely to vote for Perry, does it make no difference either way, or does it make you more likely to vote for Perry?

Much less likely

Somewhat less likely

49

PA) (CONSPIRACY) Perry was deeply involved in planning the January 6 insurrection, endorsing plans to send a mob to the Capitol and connecting Trump officials with conspiracy theorists who wanted to use military force to stop protests. He tried to replace independent prosecutors at the Justice Department with pro-Trump loyalists

(PA) (OVERTURN) Perry supported various attempts to overturn the 2020 election, including voting against certifying the election results, voting against the January 6 independent commission, and supporting a lawsuit attempting to overturn the results. He even opposed awarding medals to the police who defended the Capitol on Jan. 6

(PA) (PARDON) Perry acknowledge his crimes around trying to overturn the 2020 election results and the January 6th insurrection by seeking a pardon almost immediately after the insurrection. He even hoped to avoid accountability altogether, ignoring a subpoena to answer questions about his role

(PA) (INTELLIGENCE CMTE) Perry's role in trying to overturn the election and January 6th was so extreme that even his Republican colleagues have turned against him. Many House Republicans, including some on the House Intelligence Committee, voiced opposition to him joining the Intelligence Committee, believing he was ineligible given he was under federal investigation



42

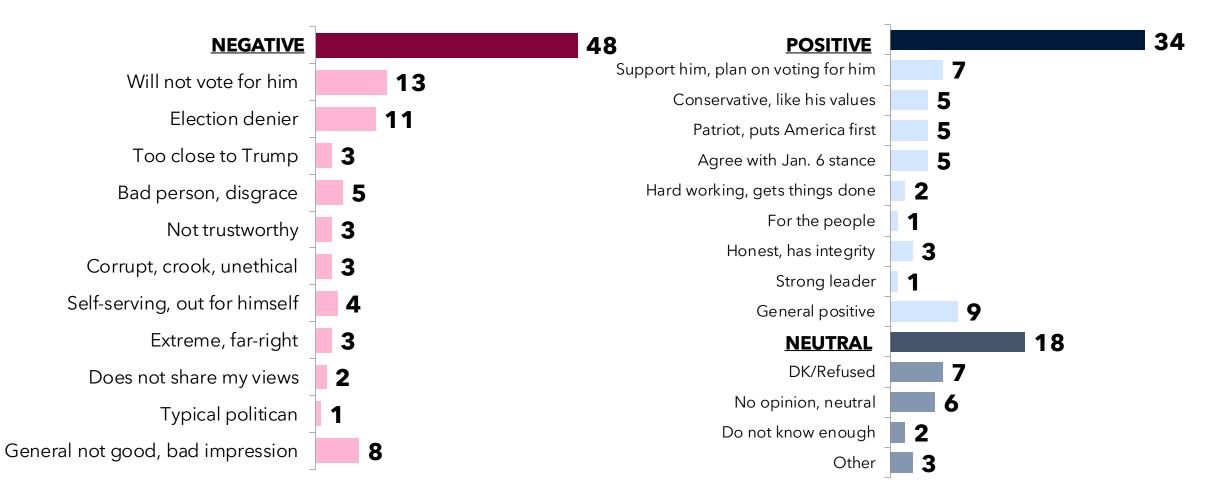






Many also see Perry as an election denier, corrupt

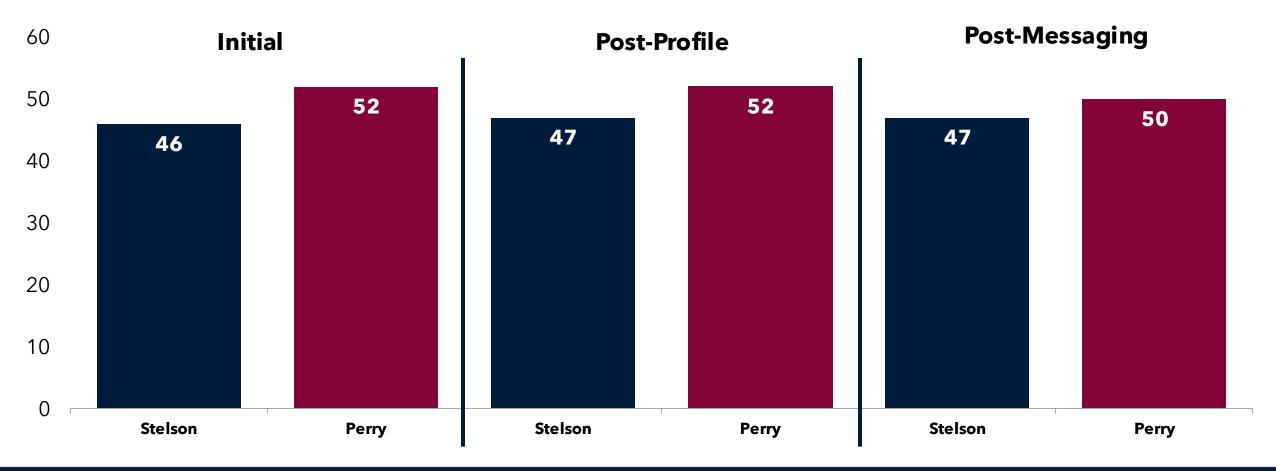
Now that you have more information, in your own words, please describe your impressions of Scott Perry





Messaging drops him within the margin of error

Thinking about the general election for U.S. Congress in November, if the election were held today, for whom would you vote -Janelle Stelson or Scott Perry?





While his favorable and unfavorable rating grows equally

PA - 10 Favorability

80 Janelle Stelson **Scott Perry** 60 40 **49 46** 20 38 27 0 16 34 39 -20 49 -40 -60 -80 Initial **Post-Messaging** Initial **Post-Messaging**



Unfavorable

Favorable

Van Orden backing the insurrectionists most concerning for WI-03 voters; all messages carry similar strength

Does the following statement make you much less likely to vote for Van Orden, somewhat less likely to vote for Van Orden, does it make no difference either way, or does it make you more likely to vote for Van Orden?

Much less likely

(WI) (JAN 6) Van Orden used campaign cash to attend Jan. 6, 2021, and then joined the crowd that marched toward the Capitol, defending his attendance as being quote "there to stand with them."

(WI) (DISINFO) Van Orden spread election misinformation following the 2020 election, including falsely claiming quote "there is plenty of anecdotal evidence pointing to voter fraud in key states

(WI) (INSURRECTIONIST) Van Orden is a strong backer of extremist election deniers, including one who dismissed the deadly January 6 insurrection as a quote "civil rights protest."

Somewhat less likely









Van Orden negatives centered on values; many see him as a bad person

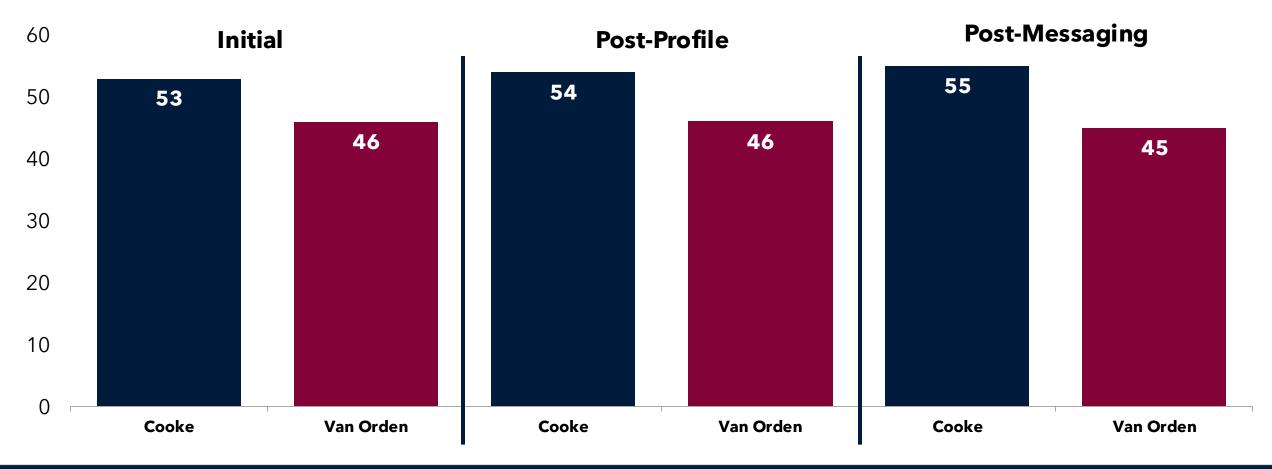
Now that you have more information, in your own words, please describe your impressions of Derrick Van Orden

NEGATIVE		52 POSITIVE			30
Will not vote for him	12	Support him, plan on voting for him	8		
		Conservative, like his values	3		
Election denier	8	Patriot, puts America first	5		
Too close to Trump	6	Agree with Jan. 6 stance	3		
Bad person, disgrace	10	Hard working, gets things done	2		
Not trustworthy	7	For the people	3		
Corrupt, crook, unethical	1	Honest, has integrity	2		
		Strong leader	1		
Self-serving, out for himself	3	General positive	4		
Extreme, far-right	2	NEUTRAL		19	
Does not share my views	3	DK/Refused	8		
Typical politican	1	No opinion, neutral	3		
		Do not know enough	2		
General not good, bad impression	7	Other	6		



Cooke's margin holds steady after messaging

Thinking about the general election for U.S. Congress in November, if the election were held today, for whom would you vote -Rebecca Cooke or Derrick Van Orden?





And her favorability grows, while Van Orden's unfavorables hit 50 percent



80 **Rebecca Cooke Derrick Van Orden** 60 40 54 **45** 20 37 34 0 14 30 -20 43 51 -40 -60 -80 Initial **Post-Messaging** Initial **Post-Messaging**



Unfavorable

Favorable

Takeaways

These districts are tough environmentally, but the incumbents are weak. There's a reason these districts are represented by Republicans: they're tough politically. Still, these incumbents are weak. They walk into these races with built in negatives that we can capitalize on.

Backwards looking messaging isn't as strong. As we've seen in previous research, the backwards messaging just isn't as effective as messaging that looks forward. We should center our communication on what implications the negatives have on the future rather than just relitigating the past.

...Except voting to overturn the election. The one exception here is the vote to overturn the election. Few voters outside of partisans know this about the incumbents. And majorities or near majorities in each district say it's a dealbreaker. We should feature this in our negative communication.



Takeaways

Contrast messaging is effective here; important to include positive. One of the clearest findings of this survey is to sharpen the contrast on democracy. That means communicating a positive message for the Democrats, too. **We see our role on this as 33% positive, 67% negative communication.**

The Promise still is an effective tool. As we have found in other research, the Promise continues to concisely convey our core message. We should use as a vehicle to communicate our message whenever possible. This may be most effective as a positive message as it can be complicated to communicate as a negative message.

Invoke Project 2025. Democrats and progressives have unilaterally defined Project 2025. There is no positive connotation except with the most hardened Republicans. Invoking Project 2025 connects these messages to something voters know is bad and dangerous. It is also largely defined on our issue.

Targets: Independent and non-college educated women, white college-educated independents, voters under 50 and Hispanic voters (in AZ-01)



Thank you

Ethan Smith, Founder & CEO | www.upswingresearch.com

