



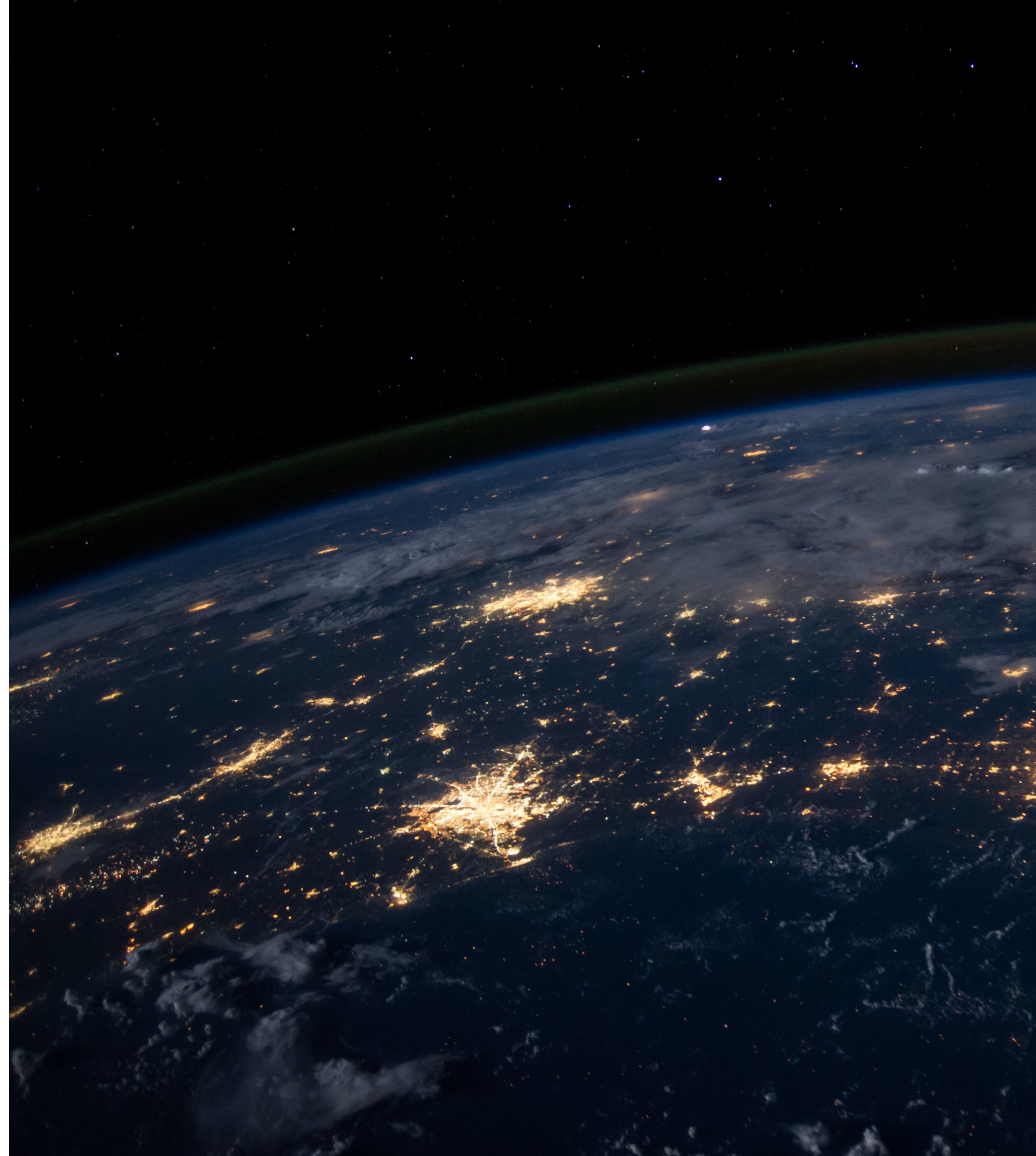
The Heritage Foundation

Focus 2024 Survey

N=2,401 Registered Voters in the Likely Electorate in
AZ, GA, MI, NV, PA, WI

March 12 - March 19, 2024

Margin of Error = +/-2.3 Percentage Points Overall,
+/-5.7 in AZ, +/-5.7 in GA, +/-5.3 in MI,
+/-5.8 in NV, +/-5.5 in PA, +/-5.5 in WI



What We Did: Battleground Focus Groups & Survey

SWING VOTER FOCUS GROUPS - DEC 2023

PITTSBURGH MARRIED SUBURBAN MEN, 35-55 12/5/23

PITTSBURGH MARRIED SUBURBAN WOMEN, 25-55 12/5/23

MILWAUKEE SUBURBAN MEN, 35-55 12/8/23

MILWAUKEE SUBURBAN WOMEN, 35-55 12/8/23

ATLANTA SUBURBAN BLACK MEN 35-55 12/11/23

ATLANTA SUBURBAN WHITE WOMEN, 35-55 12/11/23

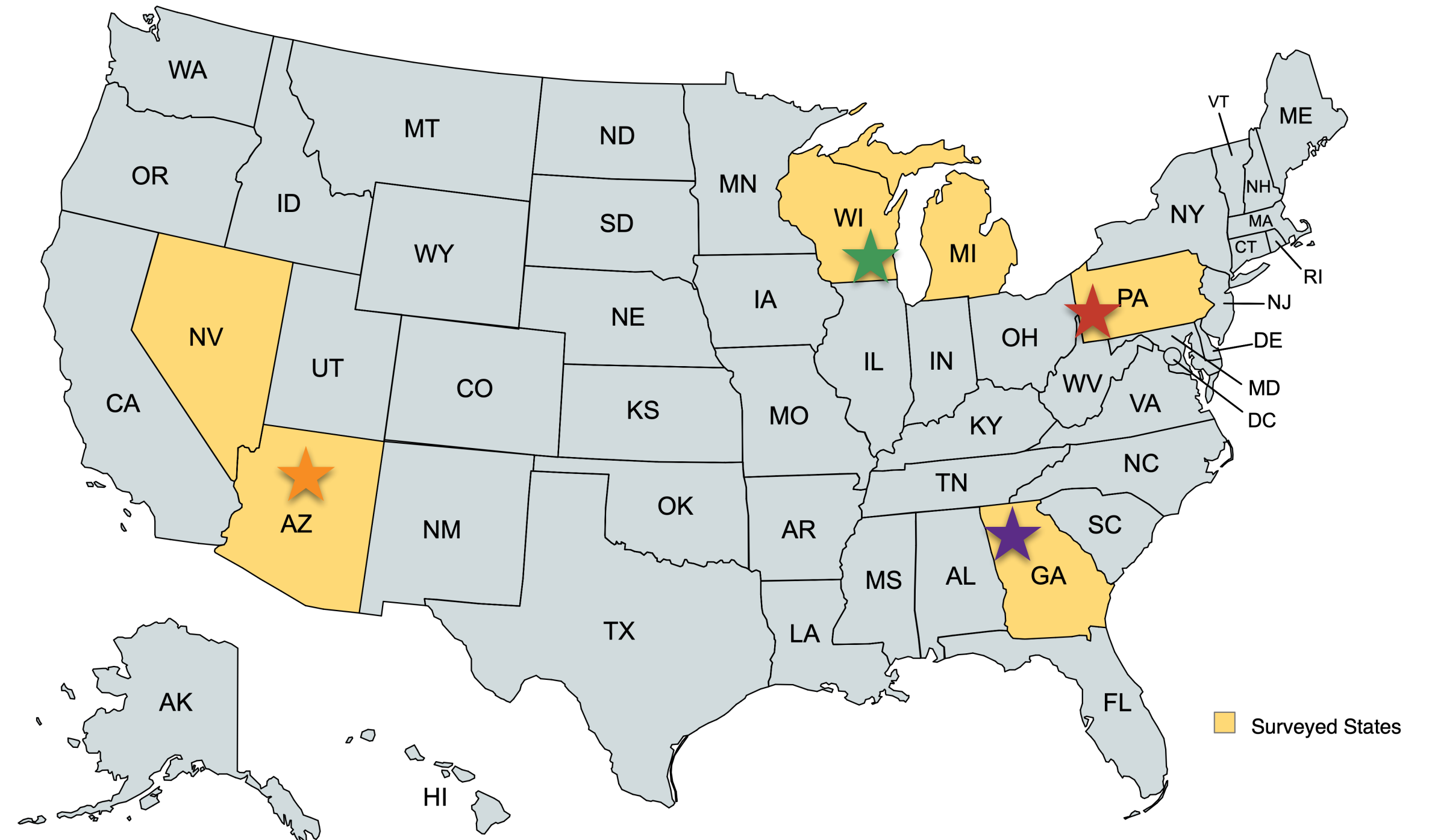
PHOENIX MARRIED LATINO MEN 12/12/23

PHOENIX MIXED GENDER LATINOS 12/12/23

Conducted among voters not definitely committed to either candidate, not strong partisans, not strongly ideological



BATTLGROUNND STATE SURVEY - MARCH 2024



N=2400 registered voters in the Likely 2024 Electorate with n=400 each in AZ, GA, MI, NV, PA, and WI

Who is up for grabs in 2024?

There is a relatively narrow but all-important group of 2024 swing voters. In the survey we define them as those unsure about their presidential vote or those only probably supporting a candidate excluding strong partisans.

Think about it like:

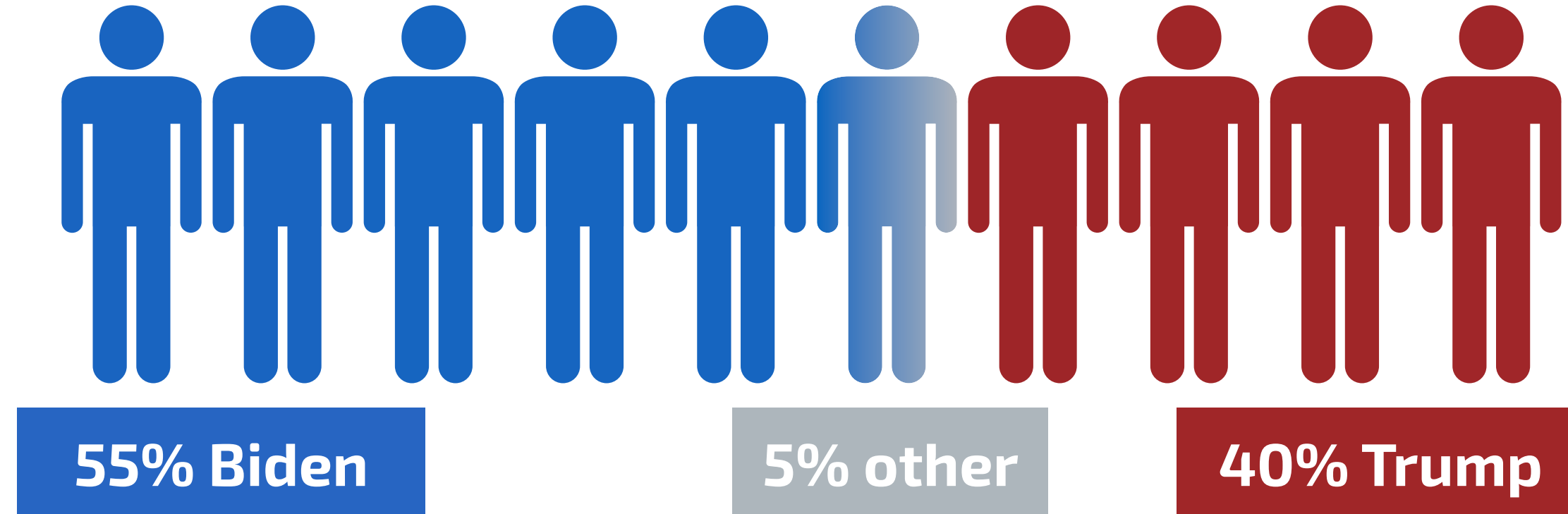
“Within this demographic, swing voters make up X% of all people surveyed”

Single Women	28%
Black Women under 50	28%
Kids in Household	19%
Age 18-34	19%
Hispanic	18%
White Women under 50	17%
Age 35-49	17%
College	15%
Women	15%
OVERALL	14%

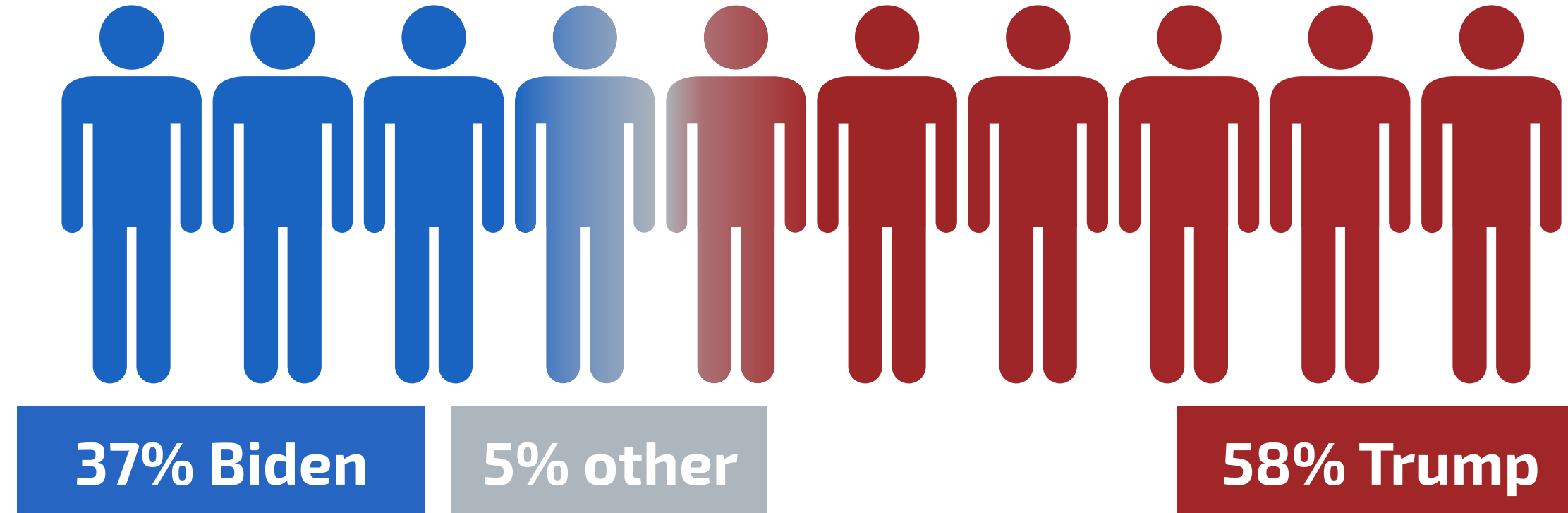


Eight focus groups consisting of 60 swing voters found...

In 2020
Participants
voted for...



In 2024
Participants plan
to vote for...



Total composition of
Focus Groups
55% White
45% Non White



Key Groups: Opportunities and Challenges

Suburban Women

For middle class families, today's economy is a treadmill where no matter how hard you run, you can't get ahead. This sense of disquiet is strongest among women, who are on the frontlines trying to protect the family budget from being eaten away by rising costs. And that pain is acutely felt in everything from the grocery bill to rising health insurance premiums.

They are concerned not only for their financial but physical security, with many saying they can no longer go out at night or have to carry weapons when leaving the house. Abortion may be a stumbling block for these voters, though.

Suburban Men

For men, the choice in 2024 hinges on a pragmatic decision of who was better for the economy—Trump or Biden. A penchant for bold action to take on problems is pushing many towards Trump, but they also gravitate towards economic populism which could be taken up by either side.



Key Groups: Opportunities and Challenges

Older & College-Educated Voters

Some traditionally conservative audiences voters amongst seniors and the college-educated have drifted away in recent years due to personalities.

But there remains a strong appetite amongst these voters for a conservative message. When asked about a conservative agenda of controlling inflation, securing the border, and reducing crime, voters over 65 and whites with a college degree support the agenda far more than the candidate. Constantly impressing upon these voters the policy stakes could have a significant impact.

Parents

Parents feel besieged from all sides. Raising kids, the cost of living has hit home particularly hard. And what's happening in schools isn't helping. Focus group respondents reported pulling their kids out of school post-Covid because of policies not aligned with their values. Parents are more likely to think that there's a problem with age-inappropriate discussions of sexuality in schools and that these issues should be left to parents. The impact of social media on kids is a #1 concern.



Key Groups: Opportunities and Challenges

Black Men

Black men are taking control of their economic future and physical safety. They think the economy was better 4 years ago than it is now, and particularly in our focus group in Atlanta, entrepreneurship and Trump's business background resonated. They own guns to protect their families and express strong interest in school choice to keep their kids physically and emotionally safe. Black voters as a whole are extremely concerned about mass illegal immigration threatening the country's ability to take care of its own people first.

Latino Voters

Latinos are optimistic about the American Dream for themselves because they've lived it, but are deeply concerned about whether it will be the same for their kids.

They look at the border with the same dismay as all voters do, sensing that those who cross the border are very different than their families who have come into the country. And they place a strong premium on those who work hard and play by the rules, rejecting policies that would give



Insecurity and anxiety runs high in Joe Biden's America



“I feel _____ about the way things are going in the country these days...”

“I mean you either have to just to buy a house these days you have to make over a hundred thousand dollars per one person. So between that and the economy, the drug problem that's in just Arizona itself, I feel like our government doesn't do anything to help the people that really need the help.”
-Phoenix Woman



“It's everybody. Companies, politics. Someone needs to put a cap on something because they're just going buck wild.” -Atlanta woman

“ I feel like each side is just yelling what the other side wants to hear, or not hear, and no one is actually saying stuff that is a problem.” - Milwaukee man



In the focus groups, more than 8 in 10 swing voters say things are worse than they were 4 years ago...

*"You go to McDonald's, it's like nine bucks for a meal."
- Phoenix man*

*"It feels like the world's blowing up. It really, really does. And the stuff with Israel is a really big one."
-Atlanta woman*

*I'm struggling more than I did four or five, whatever years ago. The prices for things are just out of control. Utilities, we're not getting a break on anything, but yet employers aren't paying reasonable wages for things
- Pittsburgh woman*



Swing voters were asked to name the Biden Administration's successes and failures.

They named **successes** 62 times and **failures** 151 times.



COVID response

Student loans

Healthcare/drug prices

Bipartisanship/unity

Border & immigration

Economy & inflation

Gun control

Healthcare

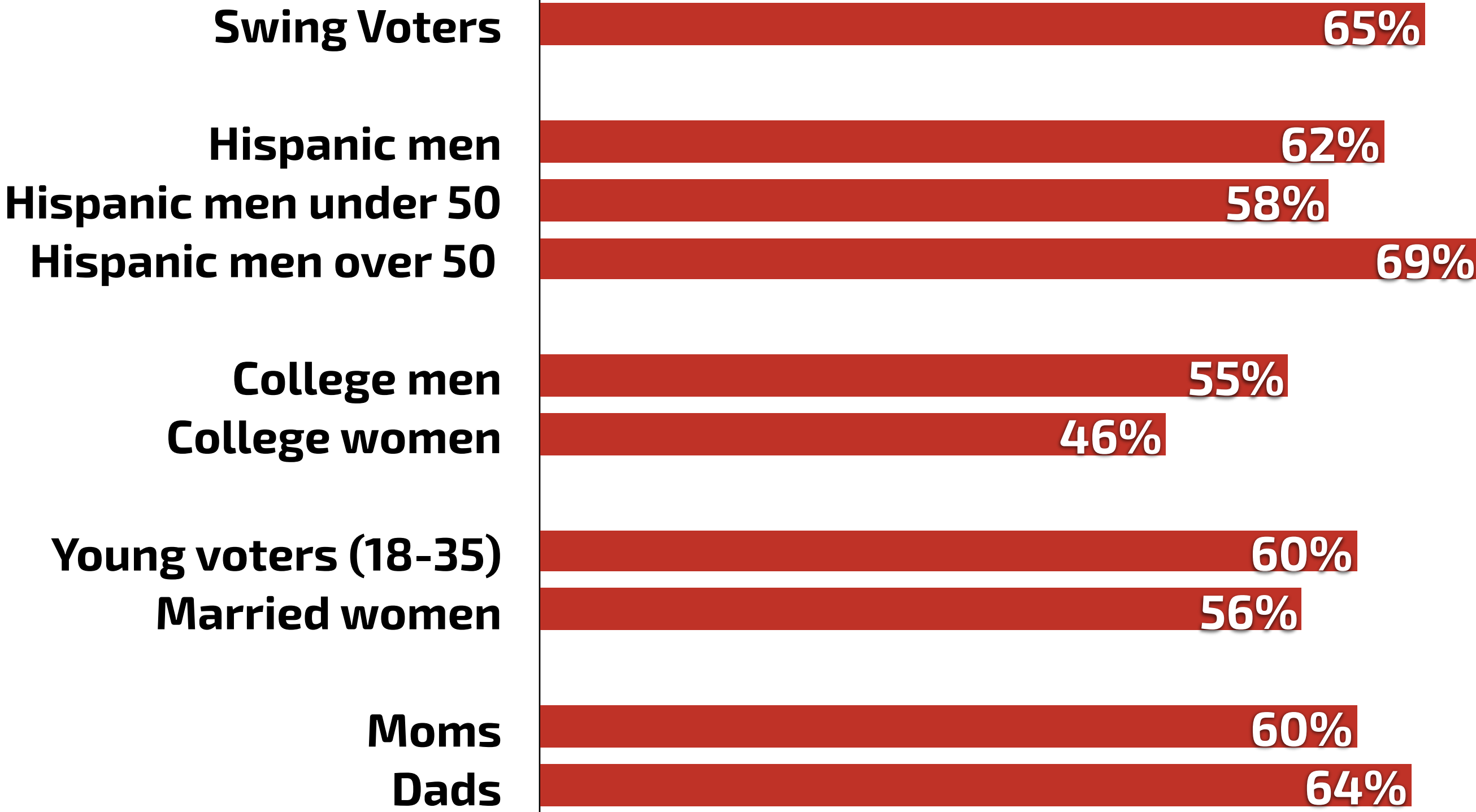
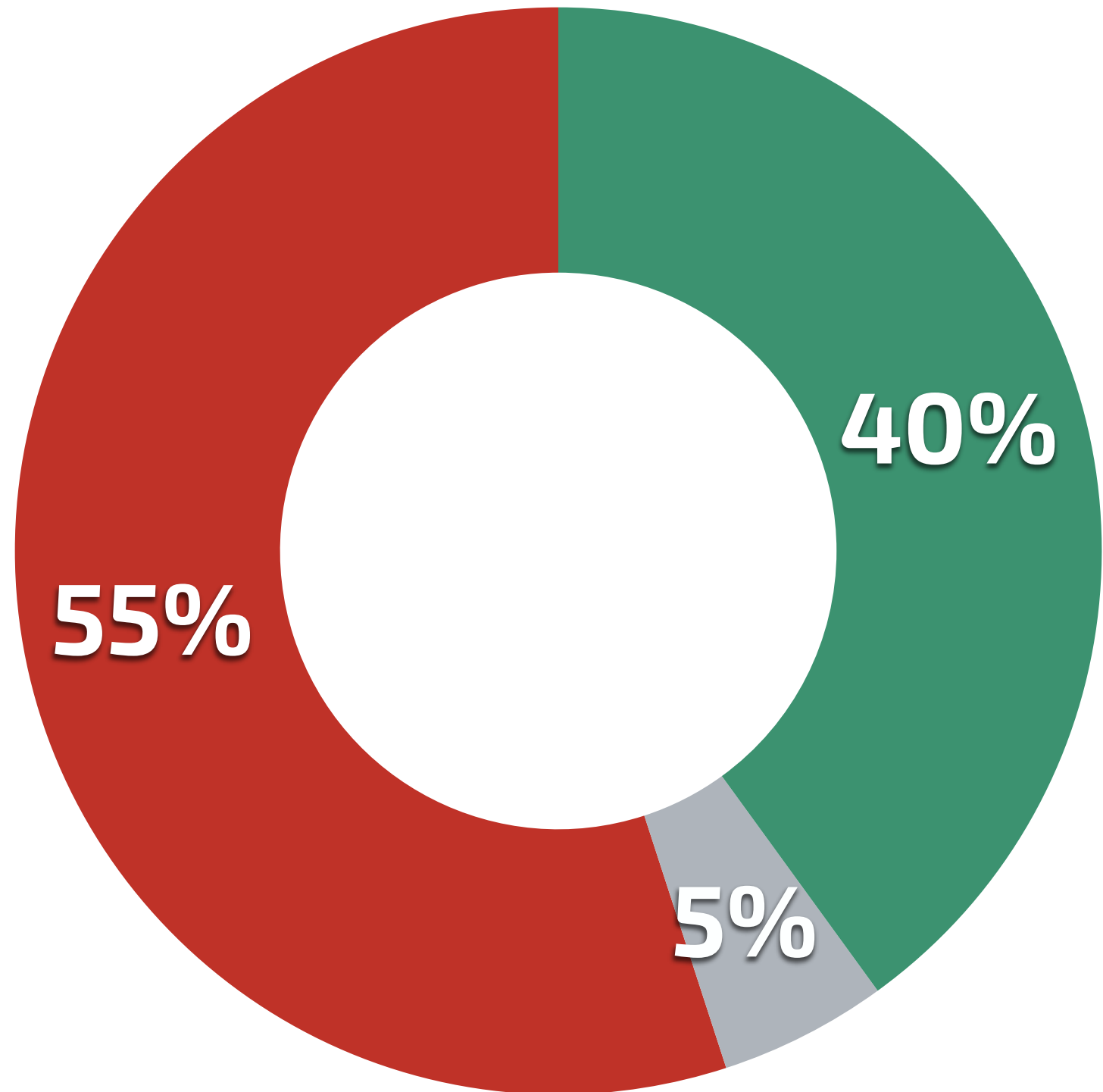
Foreign policy



55% of battleground voters believe that the Biden Administration is a failure, including 65% of 2024 swing voters

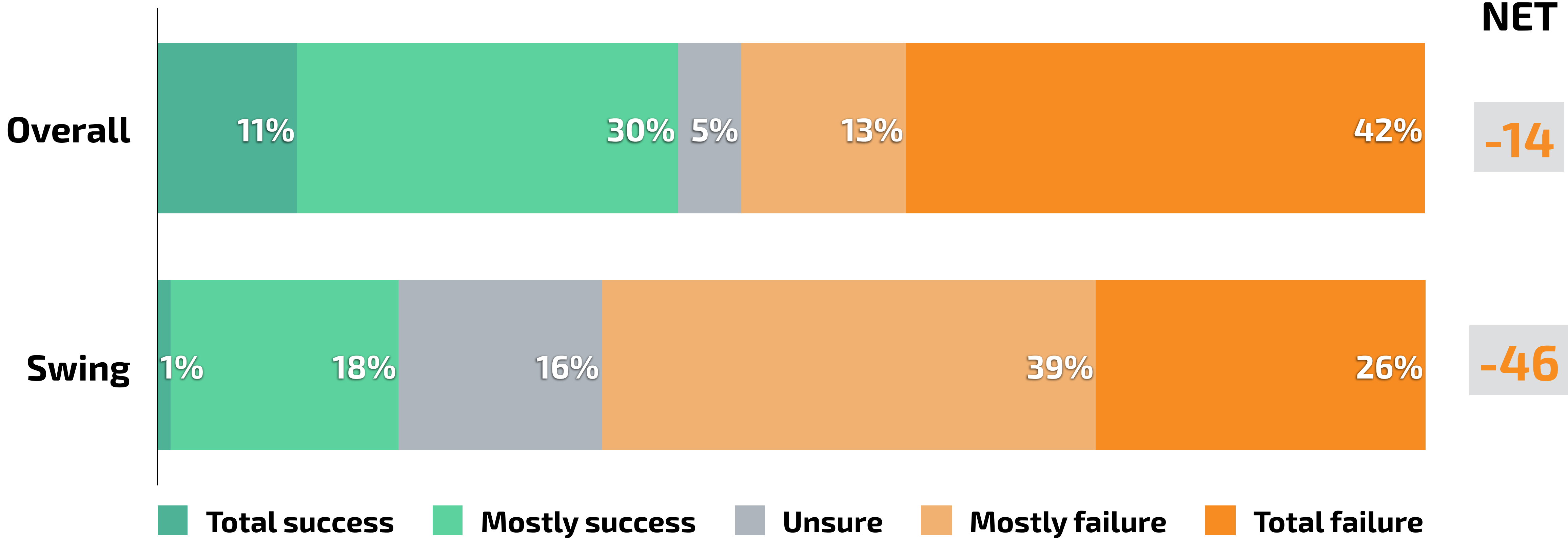
● Mostly/a total success ● Unsure ● Mostly/a total failure

% who say Biden Administration a failure



Q. Overall, would you rate the Biden Administration as a success or a failure?

While swing voters think the Biden Administration has failed, many only tentatively hold that view and could be open to persuasion



Q. Overall, would you rate the Biden Administration as a success or a failure?

Keeping the main thing the main thing:

The cost of living is the defining issue of 2024 for swing voters.

And they talk about the issue in terms of groceries and gas, but also healthcare and housing...

Ties between the economic future for young people and the fact that being homeowners was more attainable.

Healthcare costs worry voters on both sides of the political spectrum.

*"...we bought our house when we first moved out here ... but we grew our family, so now we have three daughters versus one. So we thought about moving, upgrading to a bigger house and it's like for \$500, \$600,000 less than 2,000 square feet to get a house. And it's just crazy to think that, right? So we just put that on hold and **it doesn't look like it's going to change...**". - Phoenix man*

*"...**people can't afford to go to the doctor** even if they wanted to because you either have to pay 20% co-insurance or an \$800 deductible. And I don't know about most people, but most people I don't think have \$800 laying around." - Pittsburgh woman*



**The Biden Administration says “Unemployment is down,
wages are up, inflation is down.”**

“Smoke” “those aren’t good jobs”

“jobs don’t cover bills”

“wordplay” “propaganda”

“not sure I believe it”

****laughter****



Swing voter concerns go beyond the headlines.

They have a different vocabulary for how they talk about these concerns than partisans do.

Here's what lies below the surface:



Above the surface:

Inflation

Border security

Crime

Healthcare

Housing

Global insecurity

**Societal
rot**

**Not taking care
of our own**

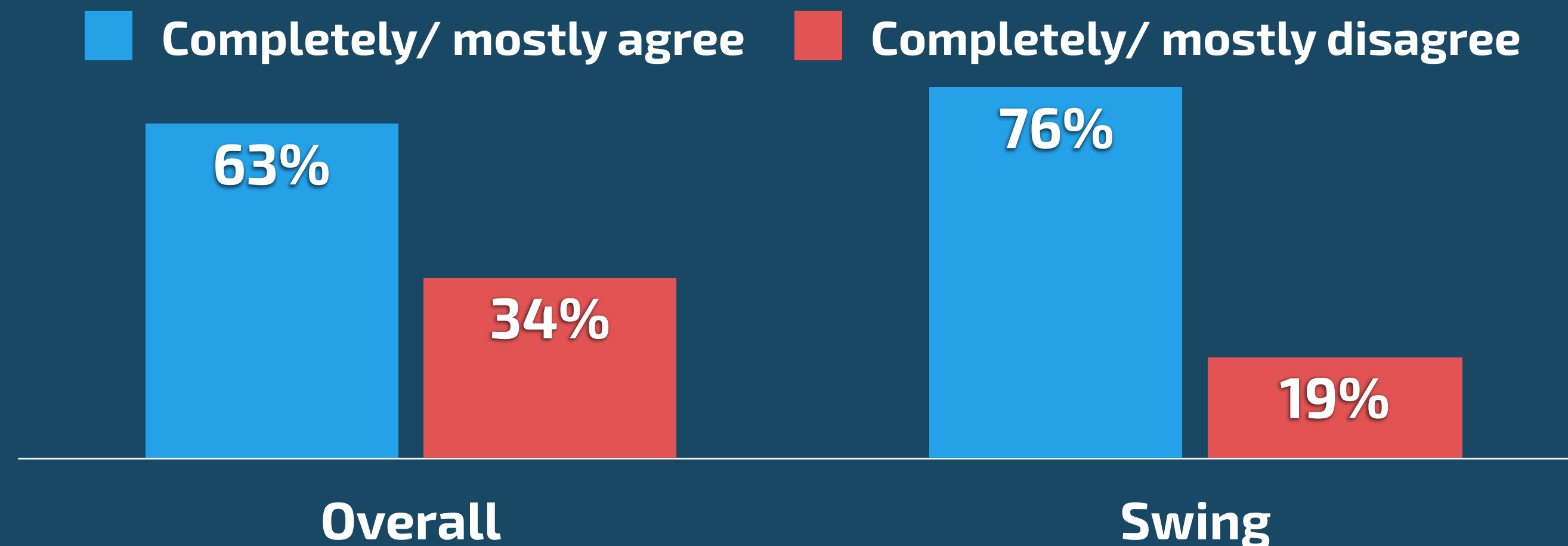
**Kids and
social media**

Drugs

Below the surface:

Below the Surface: Not Taking Care of Our Own

"Instead of spending billions on foreign countries and failing to secure our border, the Biden Administration should be more focused on dealing with the real problems Americans face here at home."



- **Ranked #1 out of the 14 messages tested.**
- This message particularly resonates with **Voters Age 18-34** with **71% in agreement** and **Women Under Age 50** also at **71%**.

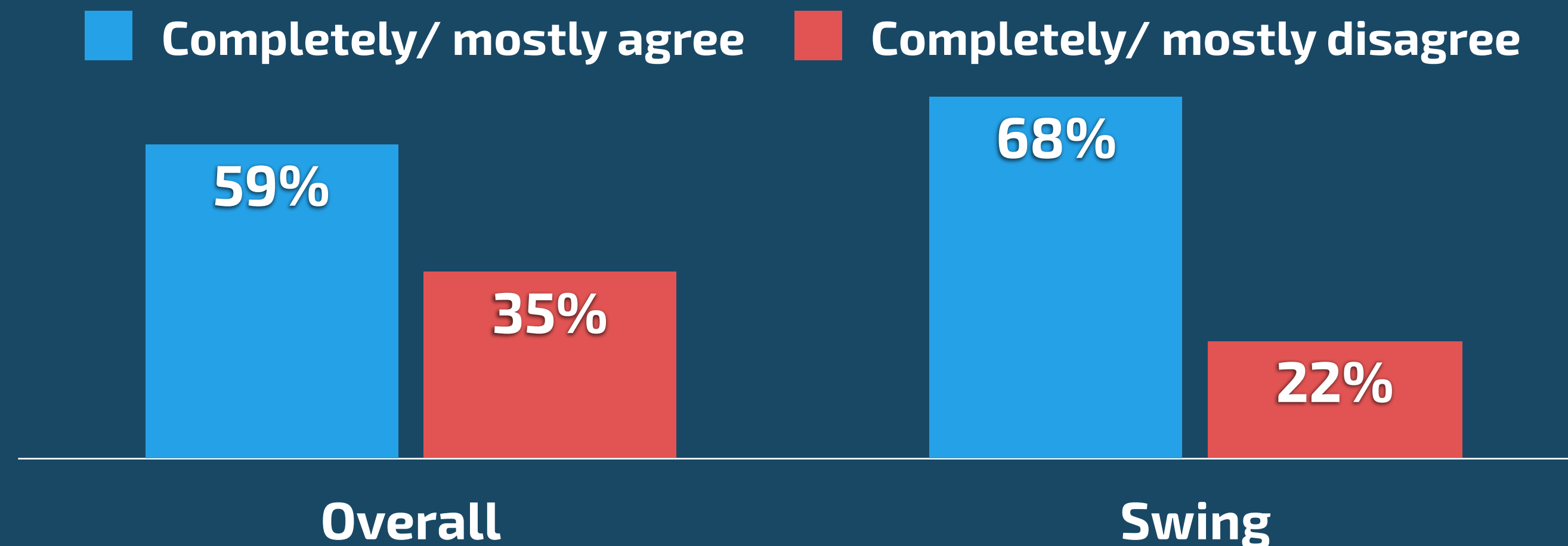
"In Chicago... they opened up an entire shelter for all these illegals, but they had hundreds of homeless people that they didn't shelter. But the illegals that you brought there, they can have a warm place or a cool place to stay. That bothers me. These are Americans. Why are we not taking care of our own people... We have to be good before we can take in other people and take care of them."
-Atlanta Woman



[Note: Not shown "Don't know/refused"]
Q. Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements.

Below the Surface: Healthcare Costs

“Under Obamacare, health insurance premiums have continued to skyrocket and the Biden Administration is just doubling down on it. It’s time for a new direction to bring health care costs down”



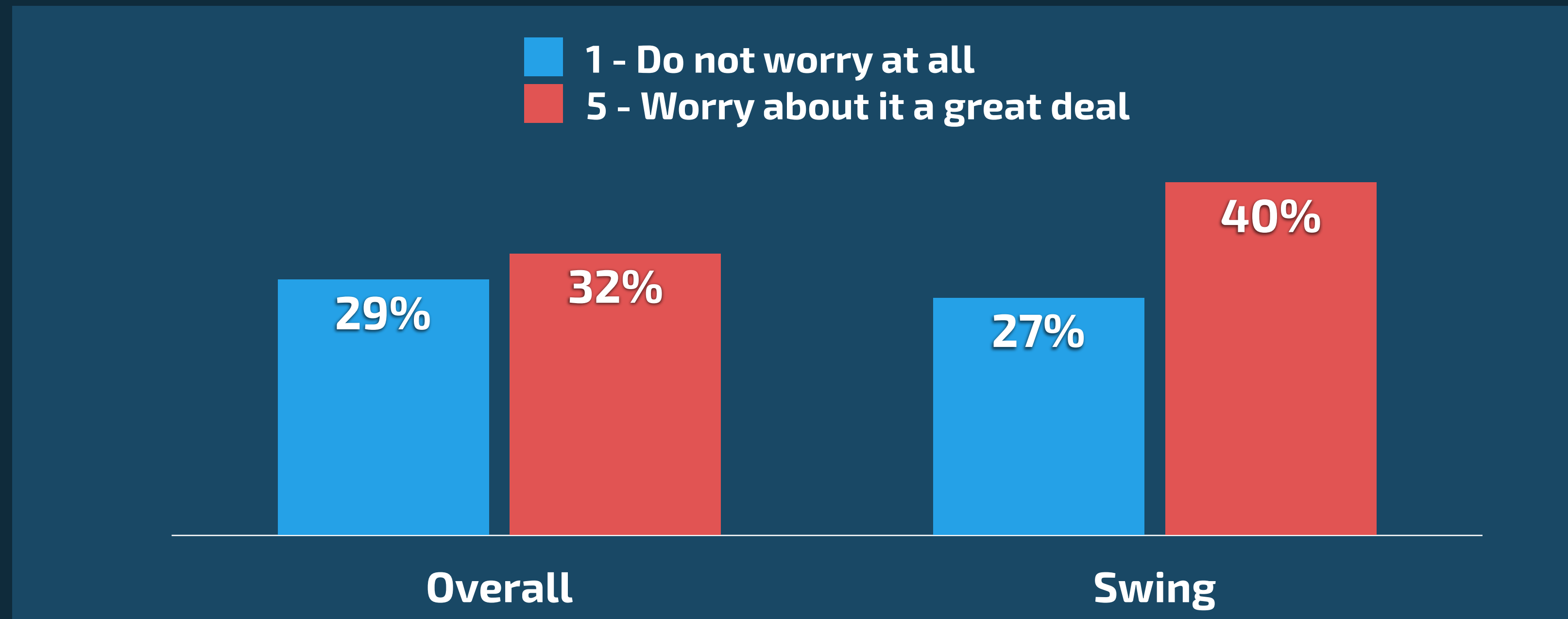
*“Everything is so much more expensive... My health insurance is through the roof. I can't even use it because I can't afford to meet the deductible before it actually kicks in and pays for 80%...things are just getting worse and worse.”
-Pittsburgh Woman*

- **Ranked #2** out of the 14 messages we tested when it comes to agreement
- This message particularly resonates with **Dads with 71%** in agreement, **Moms with 64%** in agreement and **78% of Hispanic men over 50**.



[Note: Not shown “Don’t know/refused”]
Q. Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements.

Below the Surface: Housing Costs



"I feel bad for our youth, for this economy. My son can't even move out of our house because he cannot afford to move out of our house and he's 26 years old."
-Atlanta woman

- 44% of voters ages 18-34 worry about housing costs a great deal.
- 45% of Black voters and 46% of Hispanic voters worry about housing a great deal, in contrast to only 27% of white voters who said the same.



[Note: Not shown "2", "3", "4"]
Q. On a scale of 1 to 5, rate how often, if ever, you worry about each of the following, where 1 means you do not worry at all, and 5 means you worry about it a great deal.-Being able to afford the home you want

Swing Voters: Key points to emphasize

- **It's not just that swing voters think the Biden Administration has failed—it's that they prefer the Trump Administration's policies.** Continuing drive home the Administration's failures—on the cost of living, the border, and foreign policy—remains incredibly important to all groups.
- **But this overarching message needs some tweaks among the voters most up for grabs in 2024...**
 - **Talking about the border in terms of strained social services here at home.** Crime and drugs are the primary border concerns for voters overall, but belief that migrants are straining social services for Americans over indexes among swing voters and previously solid progressive constituencies like young voters and Black voters. ***And a message about taking care of our own before solving problems abroad is the #1 message tested***—with stronger support from these same groups.
 - **Healthcare costs = inflation.** Swing voters view spiraling health care costs as an extension of the rising cost of living. They think the Biden Administration has failed—but ultimately don't think either side has credibility on the issue. First, we need to position ourselves on the side of these voters. ***A strong critique of the Biden Administration's failure to contain healthcare costs will make an economic indictment of the Administration more convincing.***
 - **Housing costs mean the American Dream is slipping away.** Swing voters, younger voters, and minority voting blocs worry more about not being able to afford a home for themselves—and older voters worry about future prospects for the next generation. Even if headline inflation numbers recede, interest rates remain high and housing will remain a significant concern.



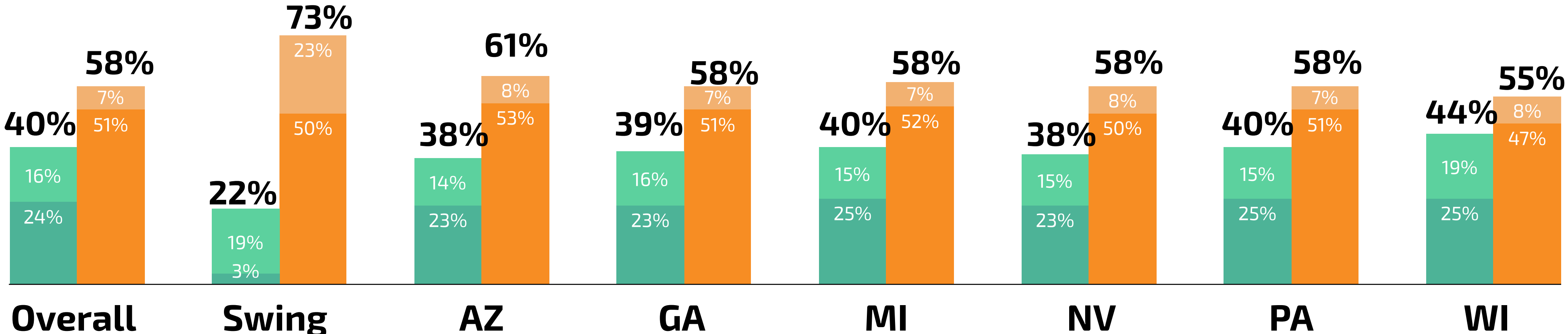
The Choice



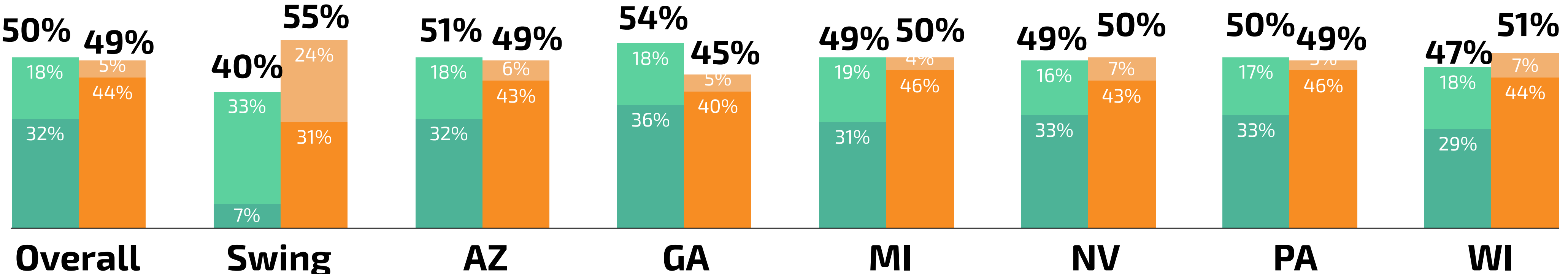
Trump retrospective job approval tops Biden approval across all geographies

■ Strongly Approve
 ■ Somewhat Approve
 ■ Strongly Disapprove
 ■ Somewhat Disapprove

Biden:

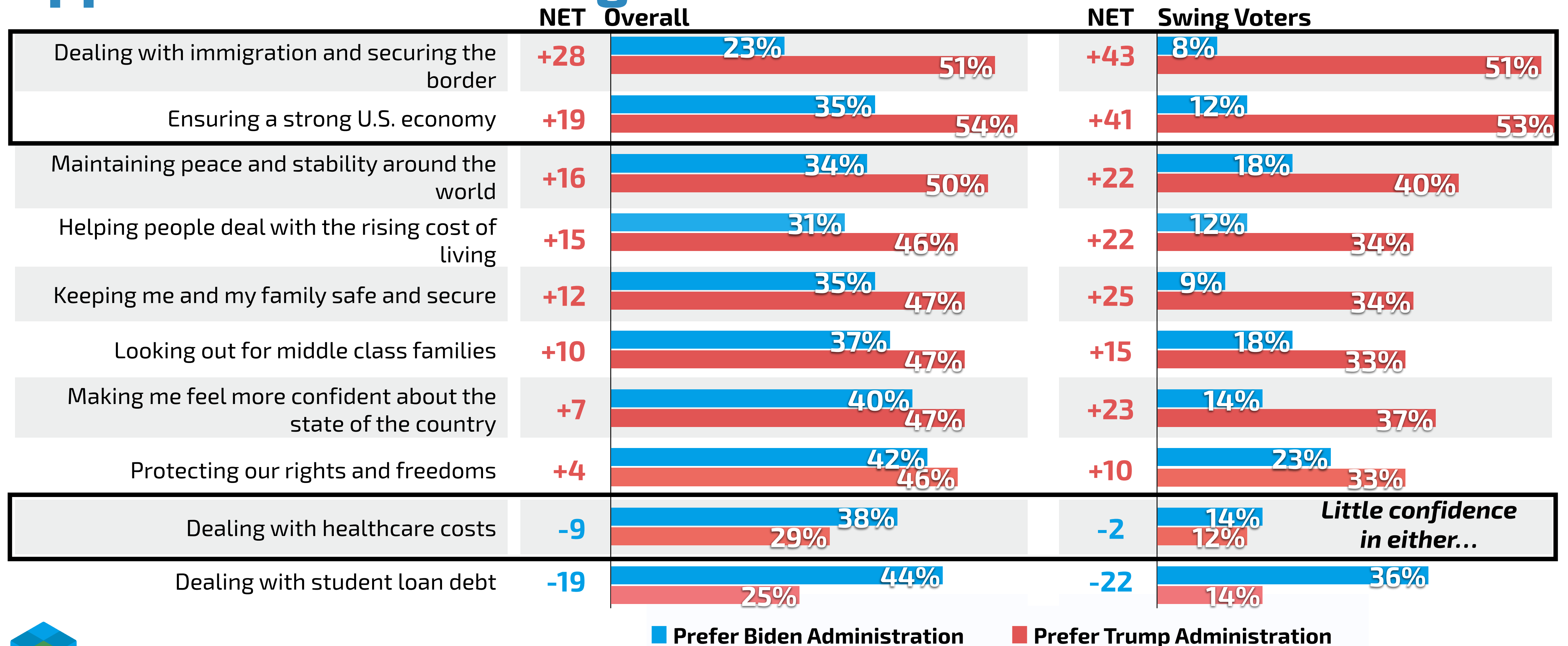


Trump:



Q. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as President?
 Q. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump handled his job as President?

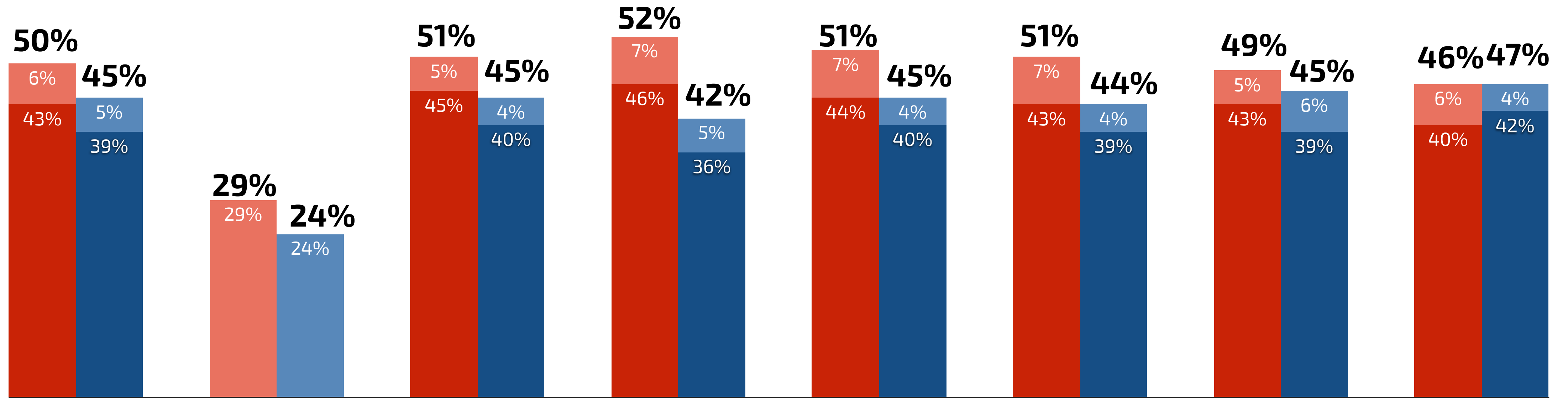
Few swing voters prefer the Biden Administration's approach across a range of issues



Q. Do you think the Biden Administration or Trump Administration did a better job of handling each of the following areas?

Trump leads in 5 of 6 swing states, Biden up 1 in WI

■ Trump Definitely
 ■ Trump Probably
 ■ Biden Definitely
 ■ Biden Probably



Overall

Swing Voters

AZ

GA

MI

NV

PA

WI

NET

T+5

T+5

T+6

T+10

T+6

T+7

T+4

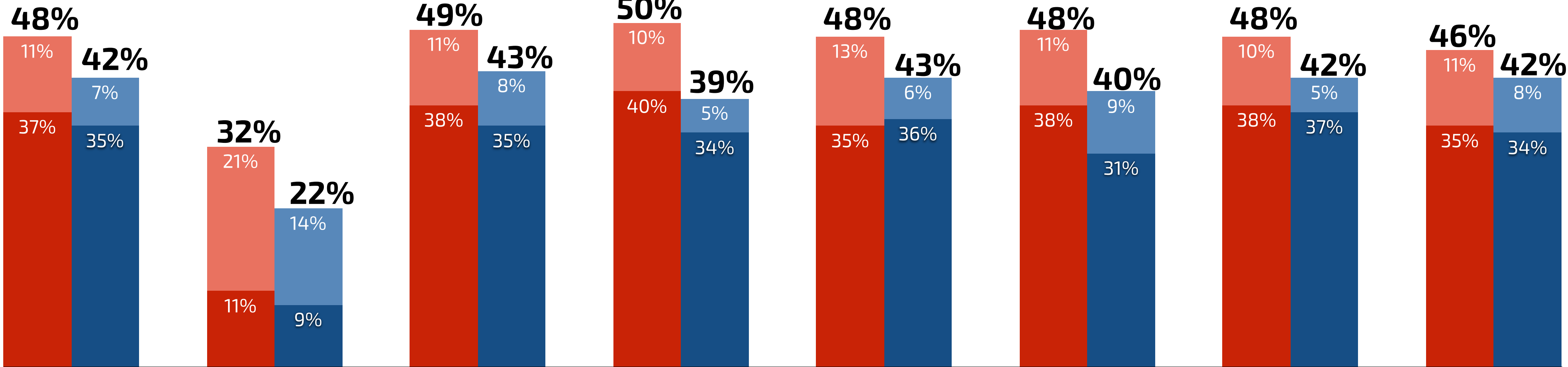
B+1



Q. If the 2024 presidential election were being held today, would you vote for Donald Trump or Joe Biden?

GOP leads generic ballot, but more are open to persuasion

■ Republican Candidate, Definitely ■ Republican Candidate, Probably
■ Democratic Candidate, Definitely ■ Democratic Candidate, Probably



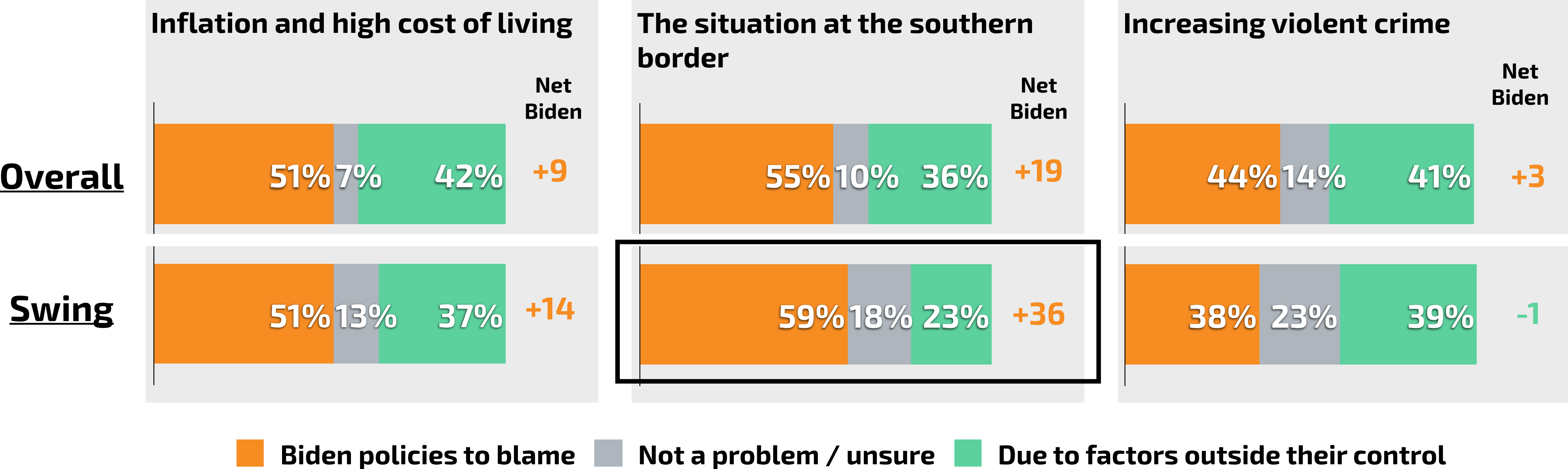
Total **Swing Voters** **AZ** **GA** **MI** **NV** **PA** **WI**

NET **R+6** **R+10** **R+6** **R+11** **R+5** **R+8** **R+6** **R+4**



Q. If the election for Congress were held today and you had to make a choice, for whom would you vote, the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate?

Swing voters blame Biden policies for the border and inflation, less so for increasing violent crime

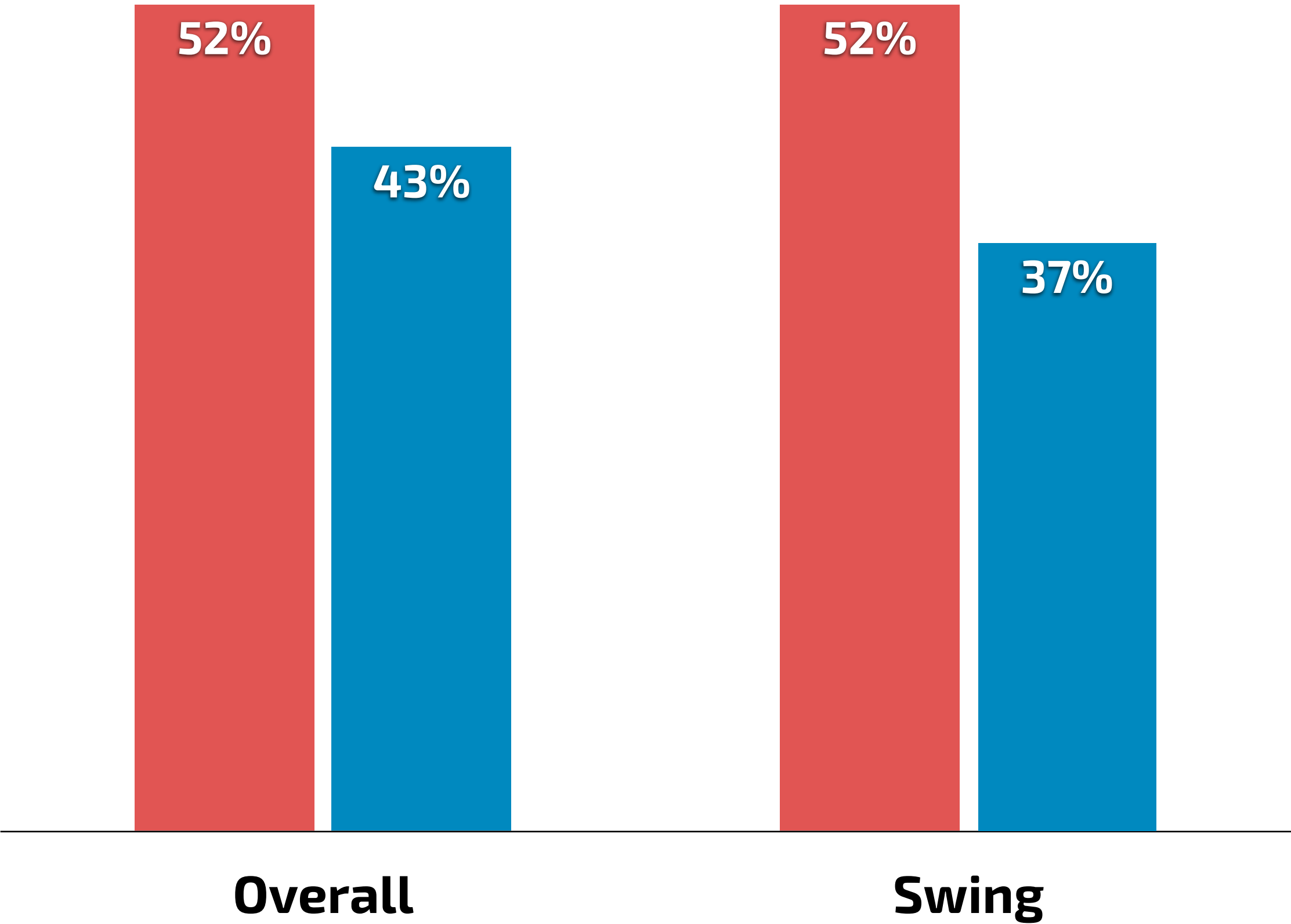


Q. Do you think blame for each of the following problems can be mostly attributed to the policies of the Biden Administration, or do you think they are mostly due to factors outside their control?

52-43 support for a conservative over progressive governing agenda, 52-37 among swing voters

Grow the economy by eliminating barriers for businesses, and plans to bring down the cost of living by cutting out-of-control government spending. They promise to secure the border and put in place tougher penalties for violent criminals.

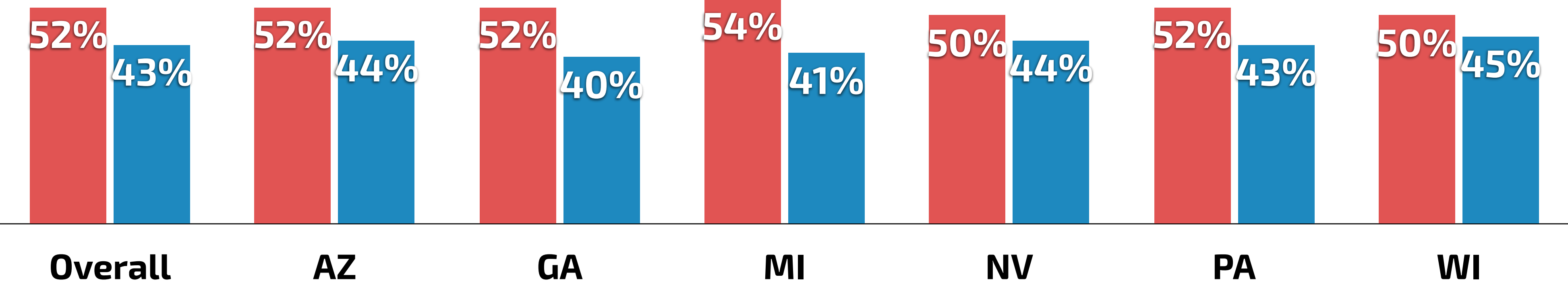
Grow the economy by investing in clean energy and plans to bring down the cost of living by cracking down on corporate price gouging. They promise to fight for access to abortion, and defend our democratic institutions from extremists.



Q. Would you prefer your elected officials focus more on Agenda A or Agenda B?

Conservative agenda performs best in Michigan, and outperforms most in the Rust Belt

■ Conservative agenda
 ■ Progressive agenda



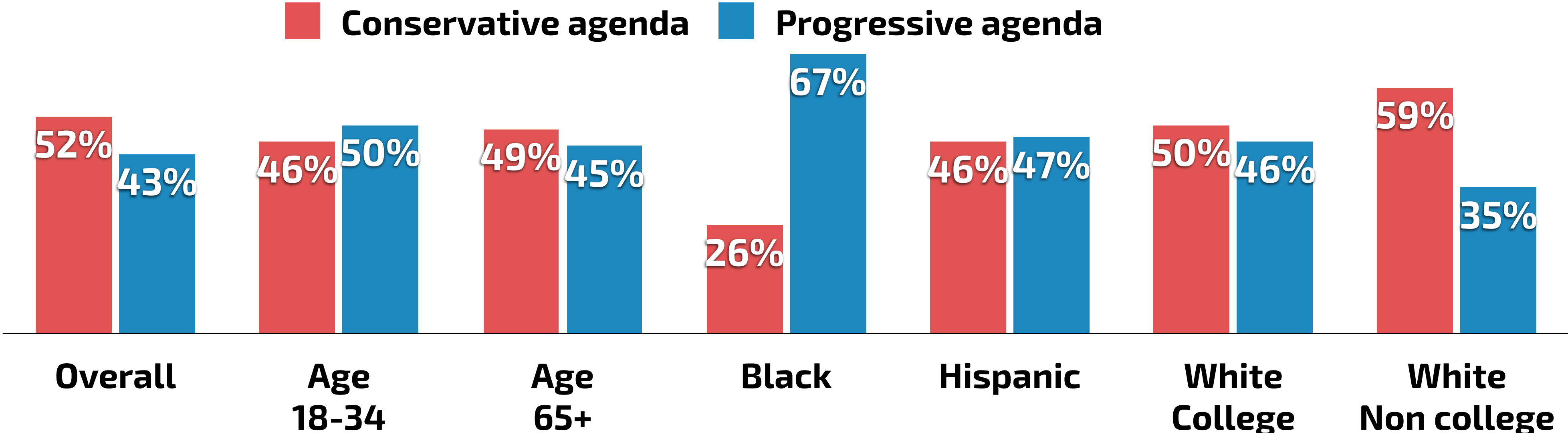
NET

Agenda	+9	+8	+12	+13	+6	+9	+5
Trump-Biden Ballot	+5	+6	+10	+6	+7	+4	+1
GOP-Dem Congressional Ballot	+6	+6	+8	+5	+7	+6	+3



Q. Would you prefer your elected officials focus more on Agenda A or Agenda B?

Conservative agenda outperforms Trump among older, white college, and black voters, while Trump outperforms among younger voters



NET

	Overall	Age 18-34	Age 65+	Black	Hispanic	White College	White Non college
Agenda	+9	-4	+4	-41	-1	+4	+24
Trump-Biden Ballot	+5	+5	-6	-56	-1	-4	+24
GOP-Dem Congressional Ballot	+6	+3	-1	-58	Even	Even	+24

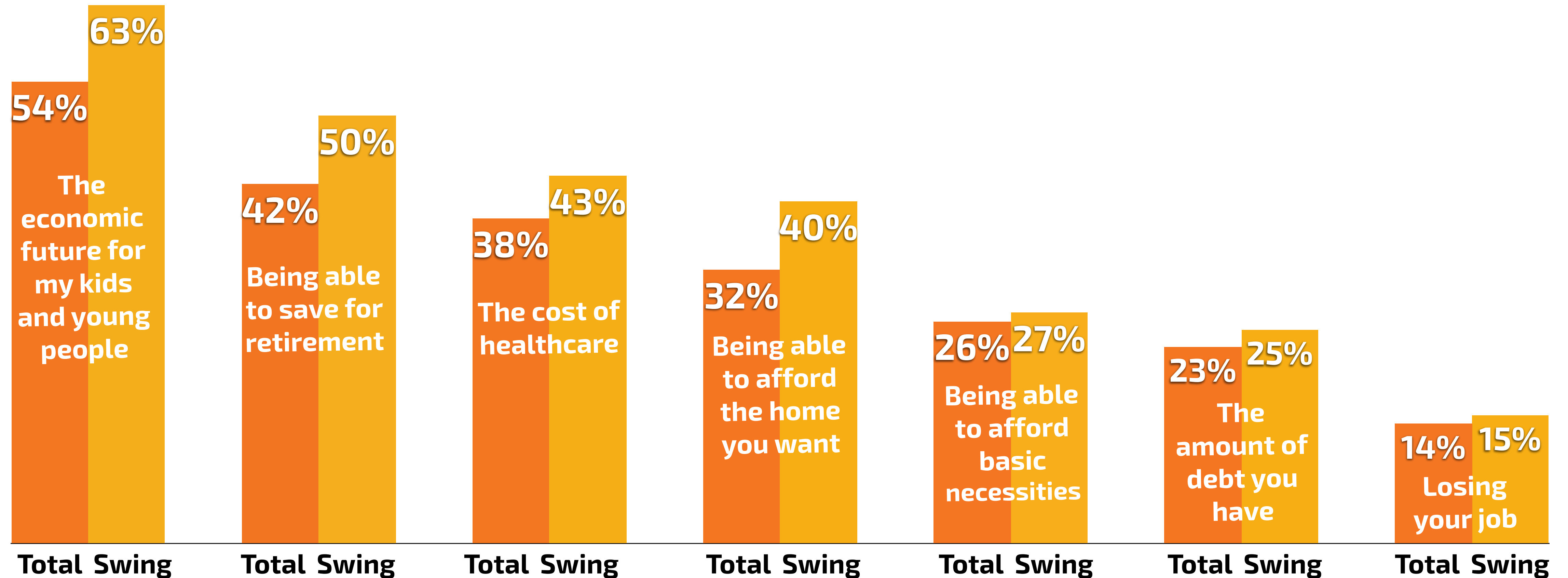


Q. Would you prefer your elected officials focus more on Agenda A or Agenda B?

Economic Anxiety

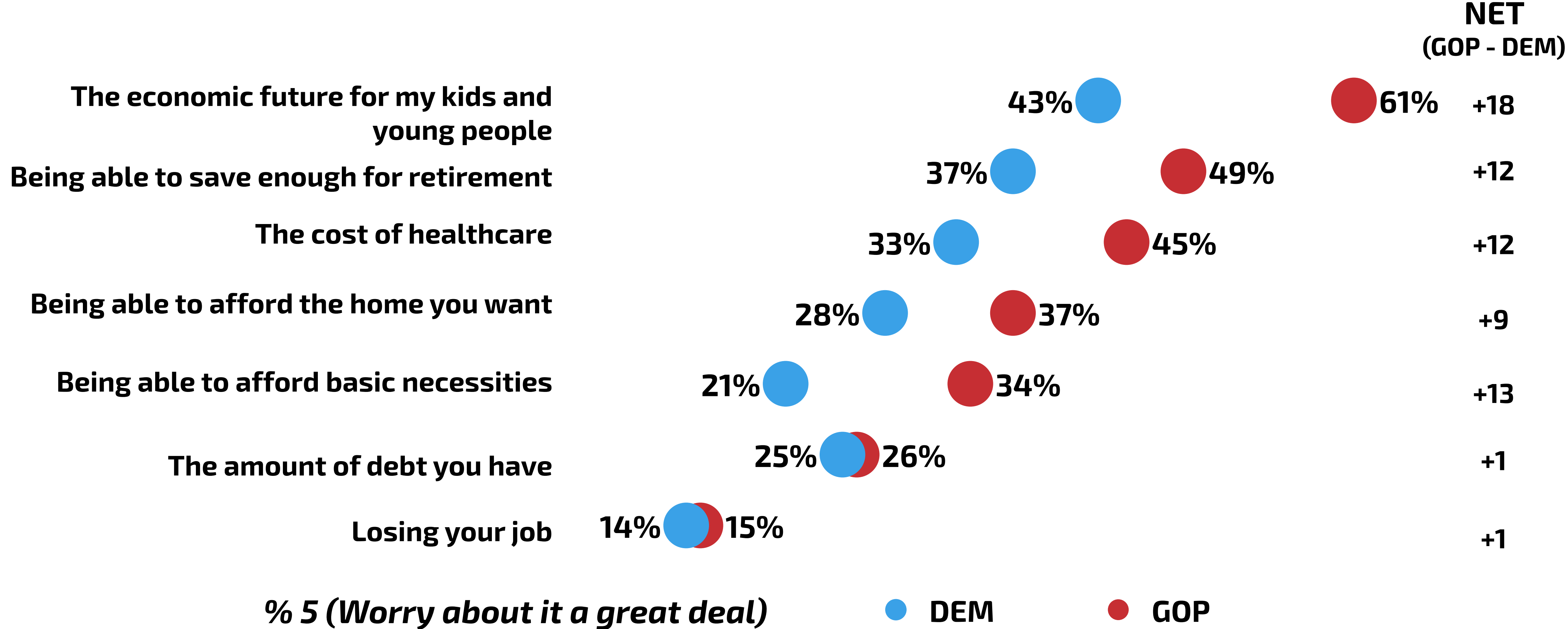


Swing voters are more economically stressed, especially on future, saving, healthcare, and housing



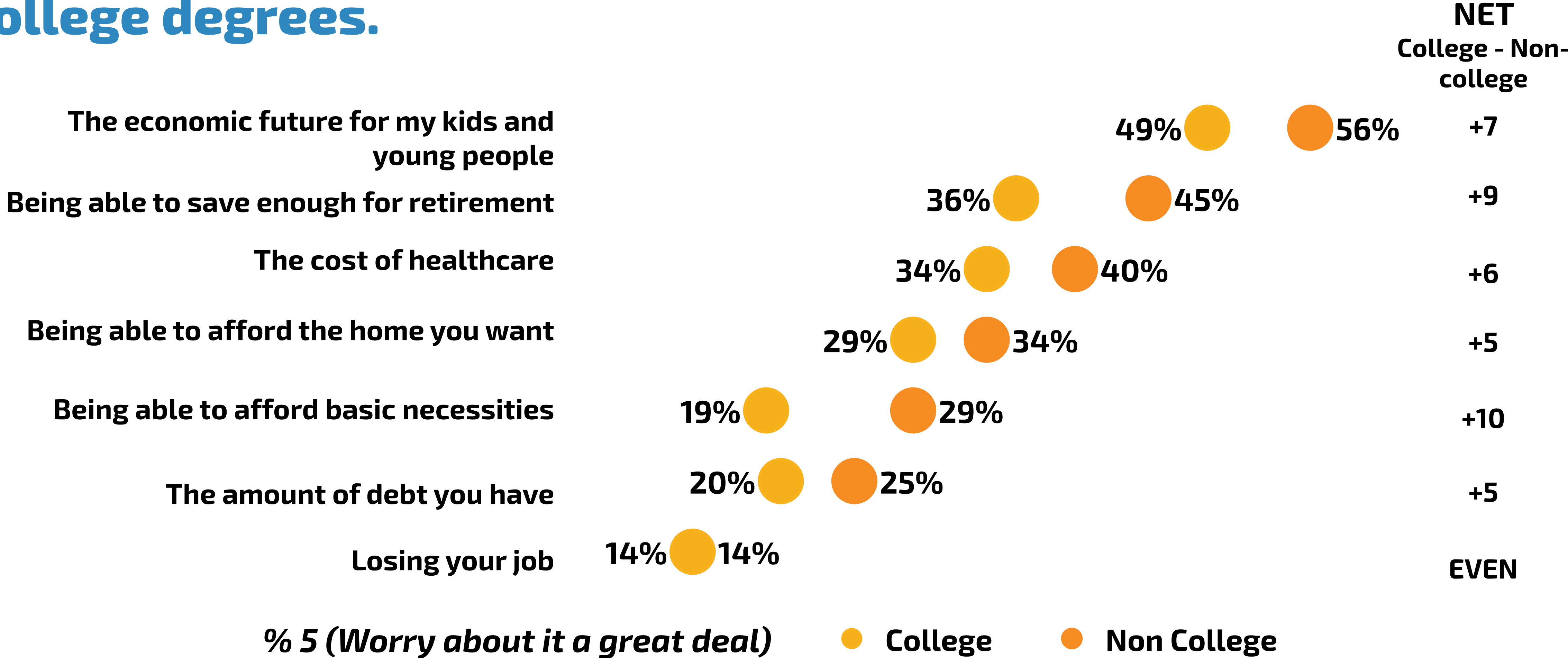
[Note: Only showing "5 (Worry about it a great deal)."]
Q. On a scale of 1 to 5, rate how often, if ever, you worry about each of the following, where 1 means you do not worry at all, and 5 means you worry about it a great deal.

Republicans find themselves worrying more when compared to Democrats, particularly over the economic future for their kids and being able to afford basics



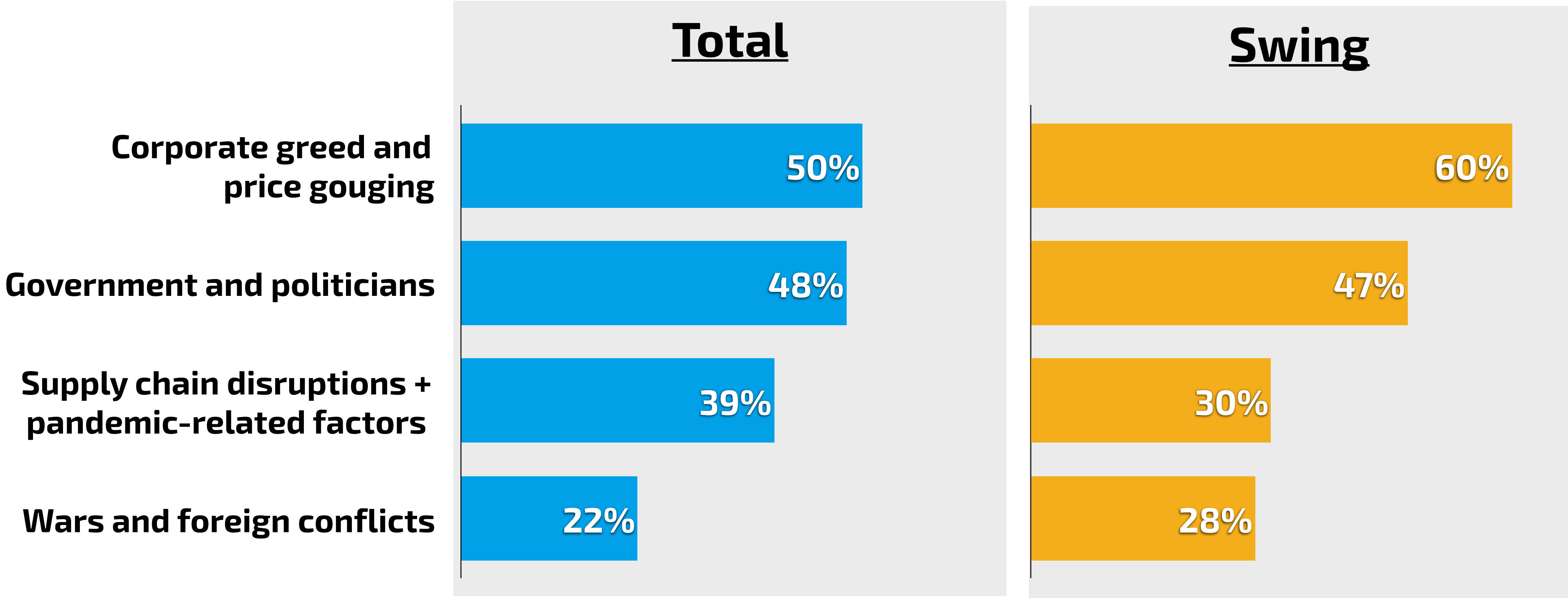
Q. On a scale of 1 to 5, rate how often, if ever, you worry about each of the following, where 1 means you do not worry at all, and 5 means you worry about it a great deal.

Economic anxieties are more pronounced in people without college degrees.



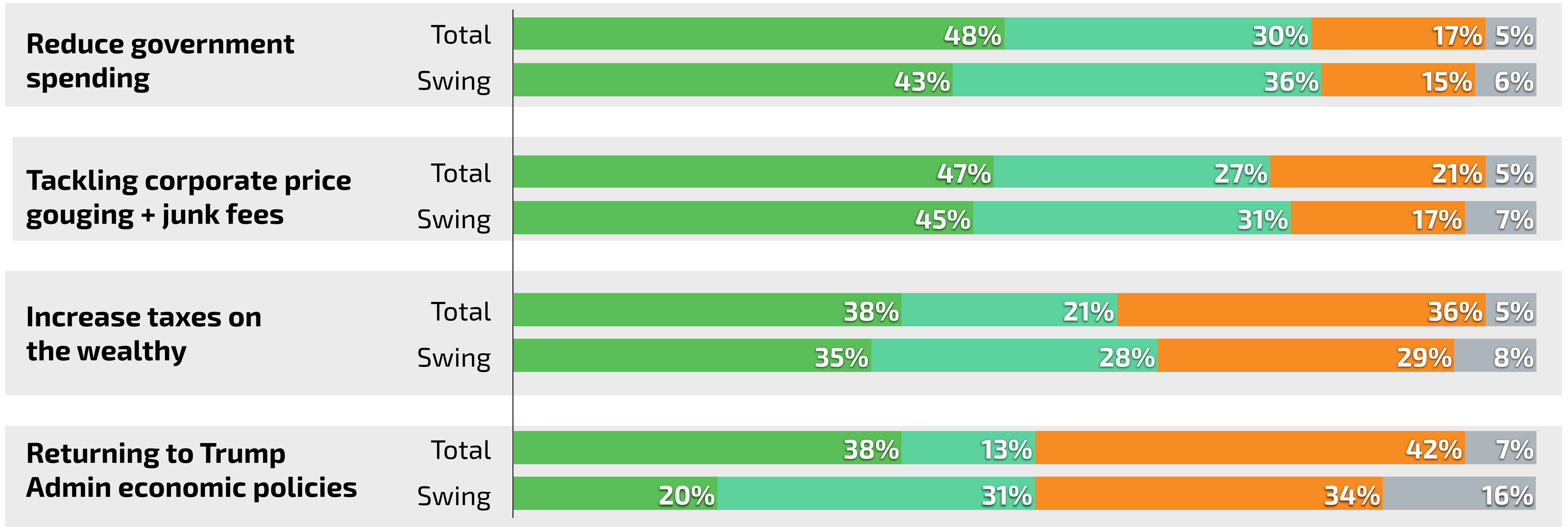
Q. On a scale of 1 to 5, rate how often, if ever, you worry about each of the following, where 1 means you do not worry at all, and 5 means you worry about it a great deal.

When it comes to blame for inflation, swing voters are open to populist rhetoric from the left on corporate greed



Q. What do you think has done the most to cause increased inflation over the last few years? Choose up to two.

Keeping the focus on government spending as the cause of inflation remains key, as swing voters overindex on potential counter-messages



■ Very positive
 ■ Somewhat positive
 ■ Little to no positive impact
 ■ Unsure



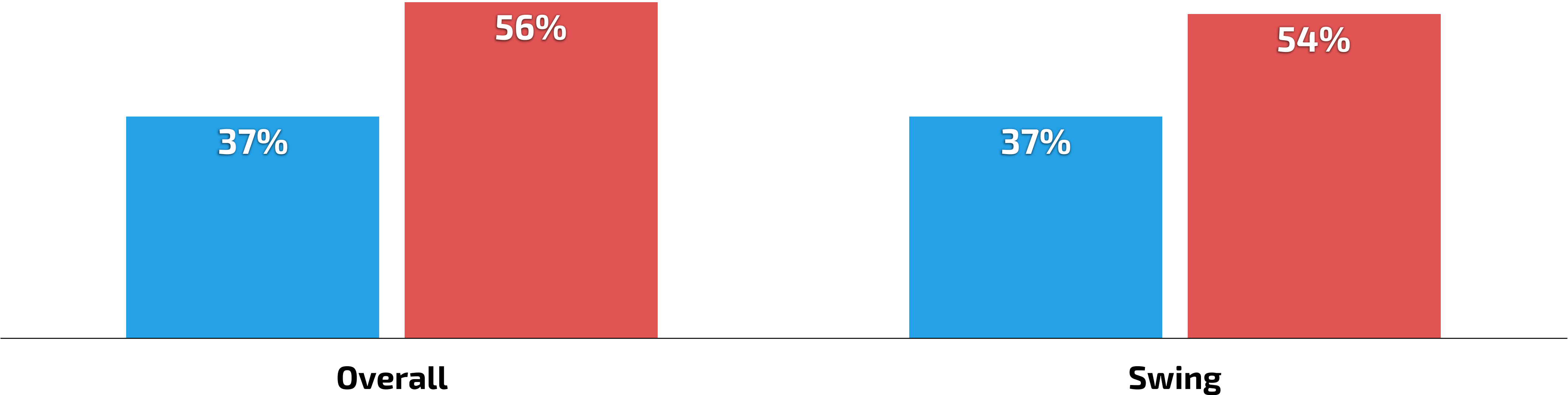
Q. People have proposed different ideas for bringing down inflation and tackling the rising cost of living. For each of these, please indicate whether you think this idea would make a positive impact when it comes to addressing cost of living issues.

Lack of Security



Most voters – swing voters included – believe immigration is a security issue over a humanitarian issue

■ Humanitarian problem ■ Security problem



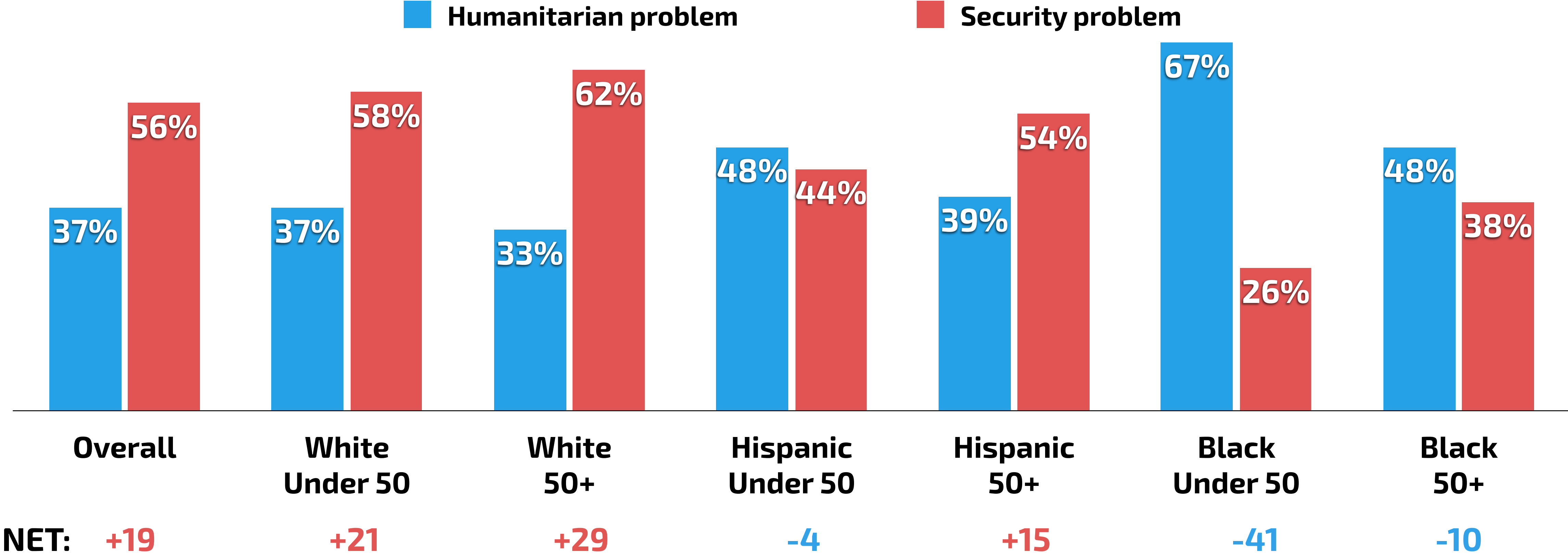
NET: +19

+17



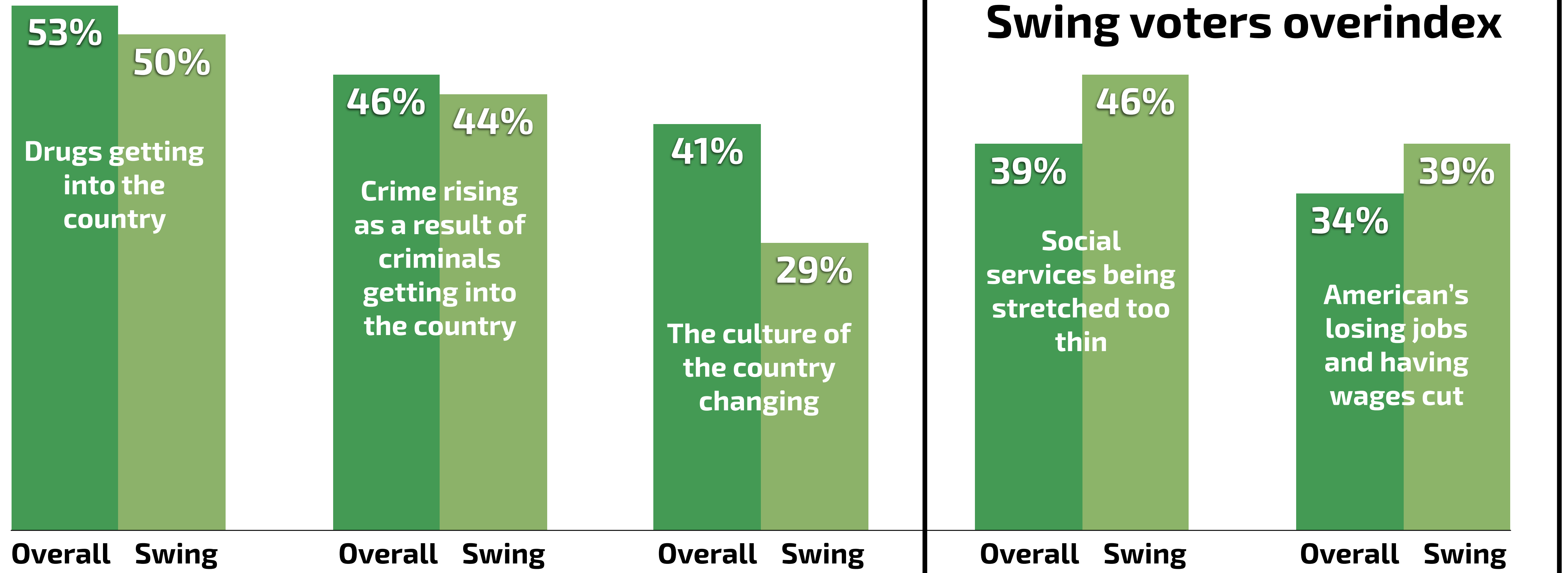
Q. The state of border security and immigration today is primarily....

Younger voters across races more likely to see the border as a humanitarian problem, but majority of Hispanics over 50 say security



Q. The state of border security and immigration today is primarily....

Drugs and crime top concerns about border security, with swing voters overindexing for strain on social services



[Note: Only showing "5 (Worry about it a great deal)."]
Q. On a scale of 1 to 5, rate how often, if ever, you worry about each of the following, where 1 means you do not worry at all, and 5 means you worry about it a great deal.

Focus group swing voters: If illegal immigrants are fine with crossing the border illegally, they'll commit other crimes too.

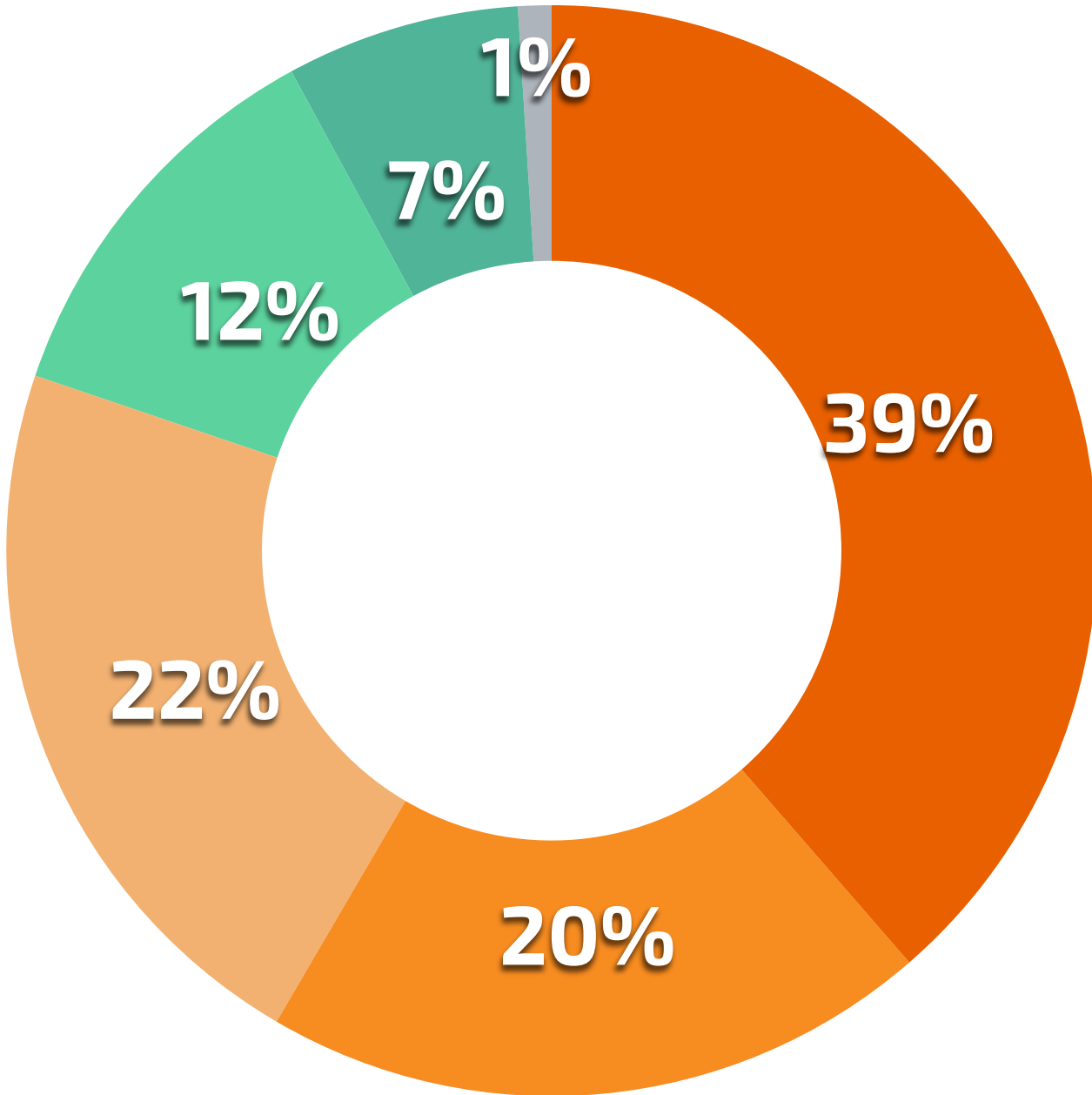
*"For me, as priorities we talked about coming here legally and going about it the right way. Along with that comes a lot of crime. People come here illegally and commit a lot of crimes. You hear a lot about that in the news. Bringing drugs."
-Milwaukee man*

"Are they part of the human trafficking? Are they bringing illegal drugs that are causing massive deaths in my community? Those are things that I think about when I think about people coming across the border that shouldn't be here. And that's why they're illegally doing it." -Atlanta woman

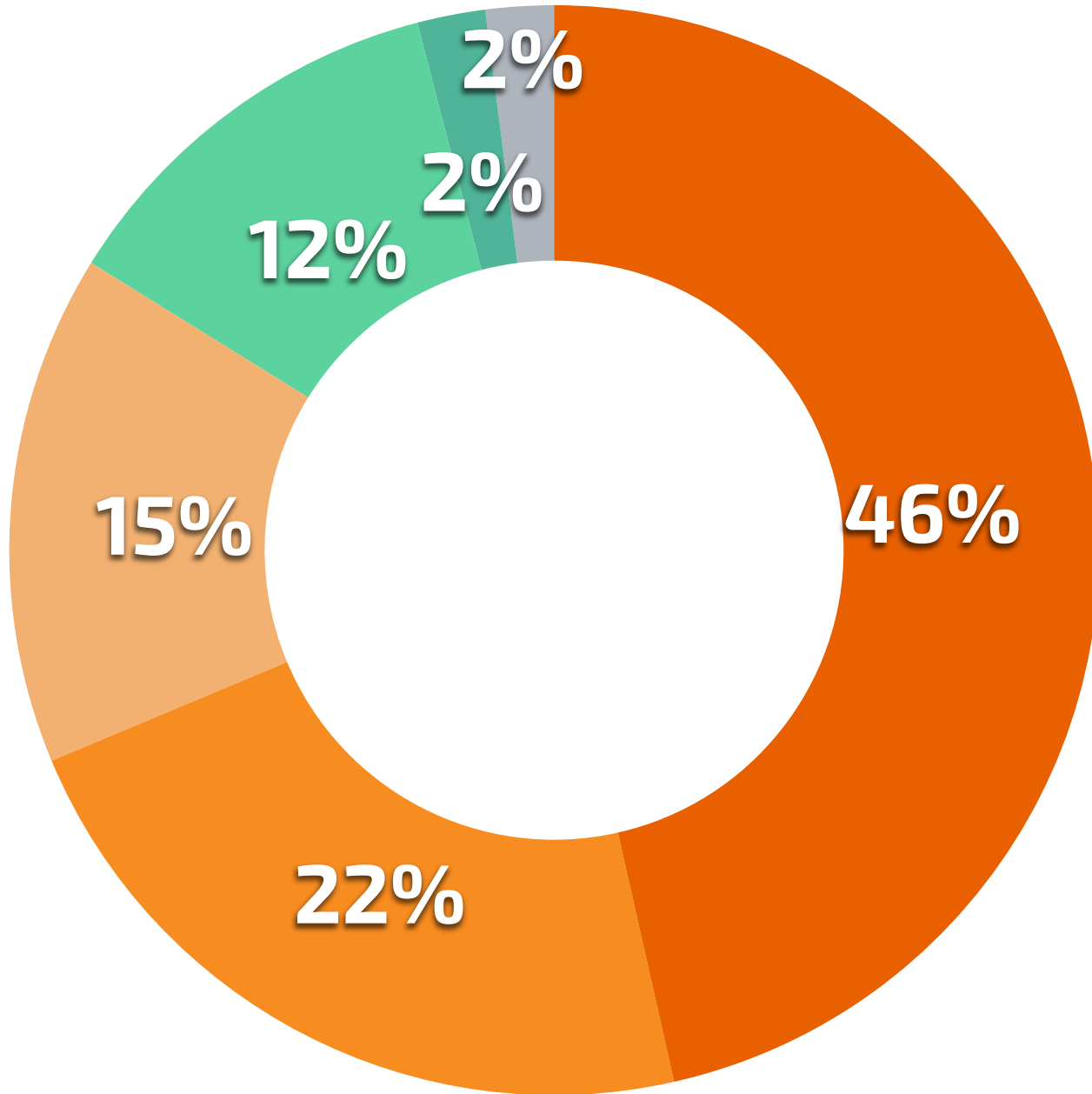


Swing voters worry more that illegal immigration will strain social services that Americans rely on

OVERALL:



SWING VOTERS:



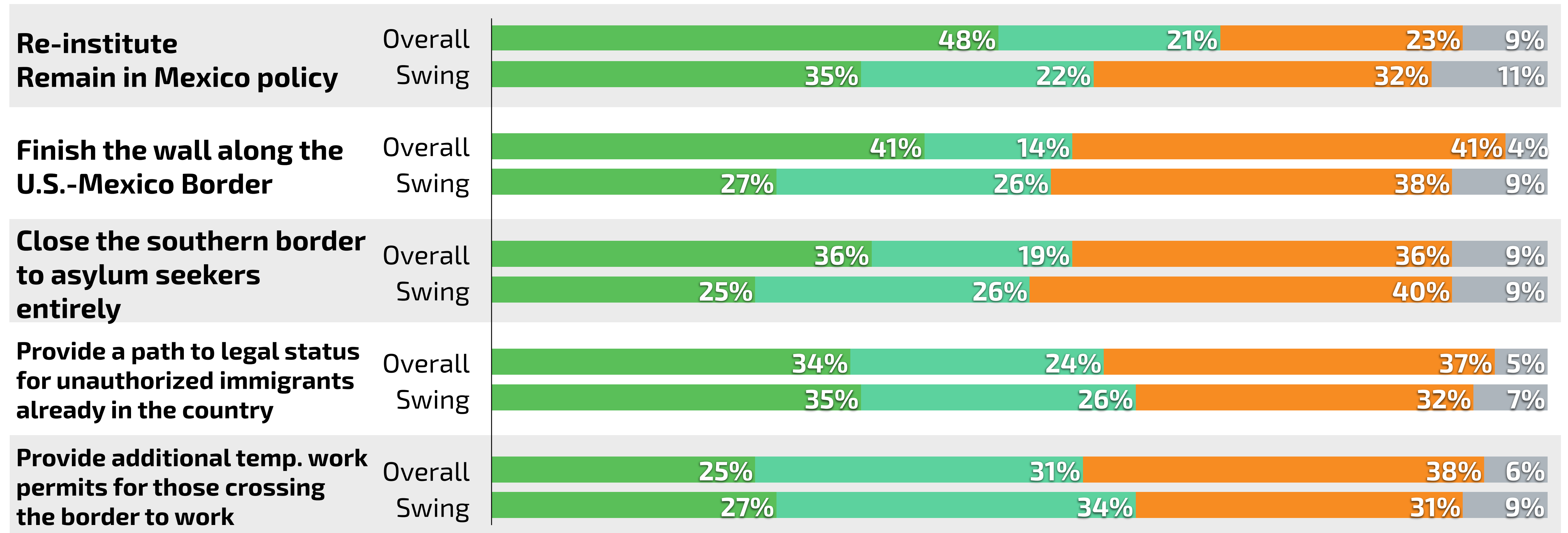
“In Chicago specifically, they opened up an entire shelter for all these illegals, but they had hundreds of homeless people that they didn't shelter. But the illegals that you brought there, they can have a warm place or a cool place to stay. That bothers me. These are Americans.”
 - Atlanta woman

● 5 - Worry about it a great deal ● 4 ● 3 ● 2 ● 1 - Do not worry at all ● Unsure

[Note: Only showing “Social services, such as homeless shelters, being stretched too thin.”]
 Q. On a scale of 1 to 5, rate how often, if ever, you worry about each of the following, where 1 means you do not worry at all, and 5 means you worry about it a great deal.

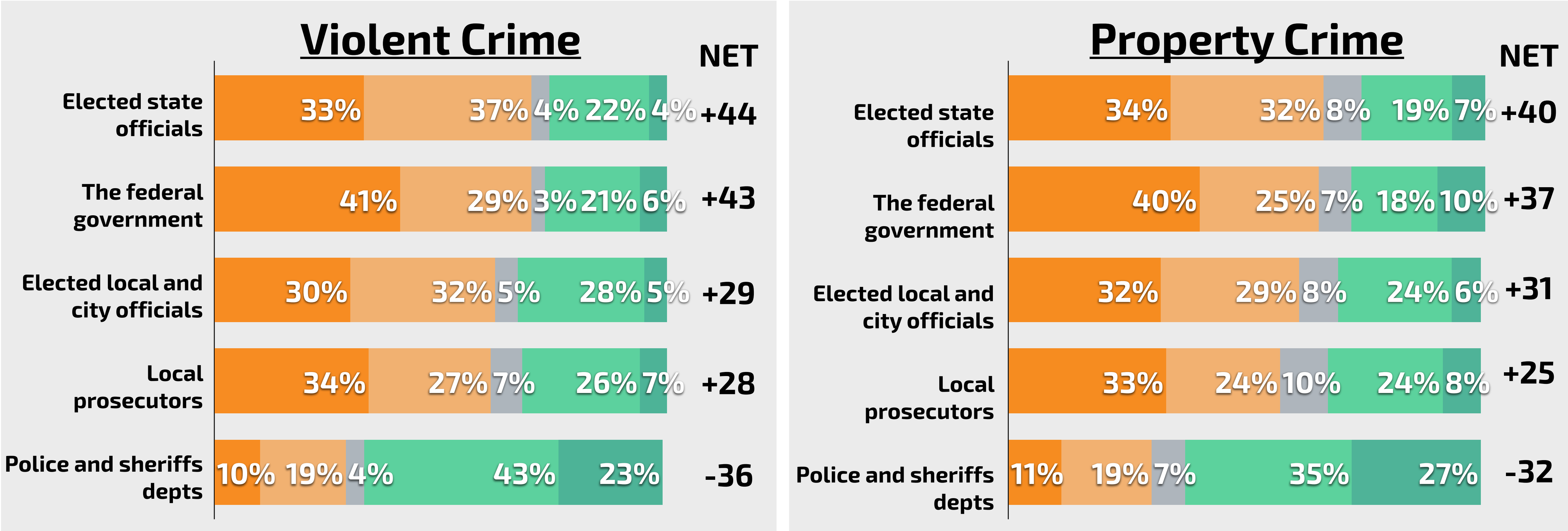
Battleground voters have most confidence in Remain in Mexico & finishing the wall to secure the border

■ Very positive
 ■ Somewhat positive
 ■ Little to no positive impact
 ■ Unsure



Q. People have proposed different ideas for dealing with immigration and border security. For each of these, please indicate whether you think this idea would make a positive impact when it comes to addressing the problems with immigration in the country.

Voters spread blame for rising crime across elected officials at all levels – but not the police



■ A great deal of blame
 ■ Quite a bit of blame
 ■ Unsure
 ■ Only a little blame
 ■ No blame at all

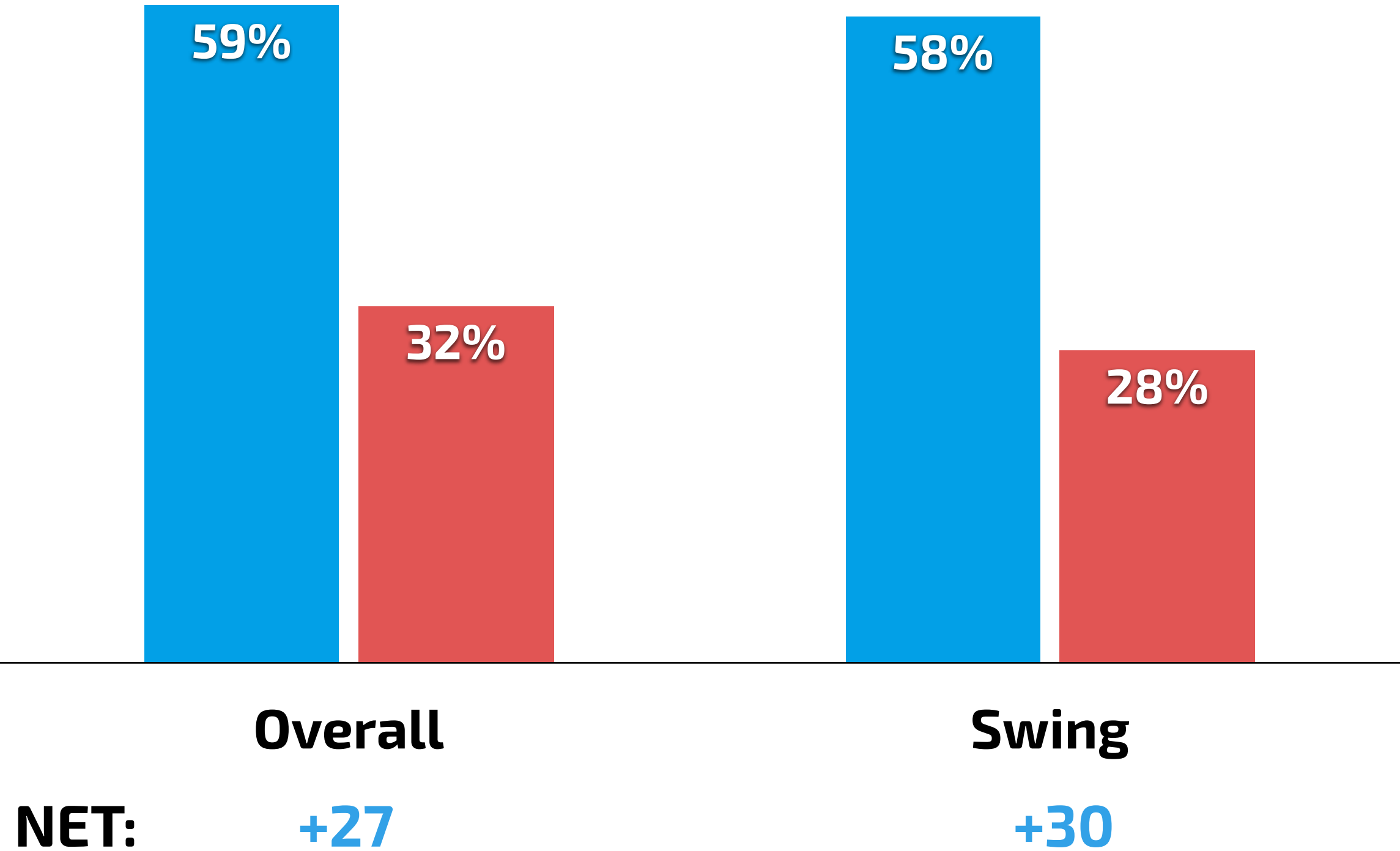


Q. How much blame do the following individuals and groups deserve for high rates of violent crime, such as murder and assault?
 Q. How much blame do the following individuals and groups deserve for high rates of property crime such as theft?

More people think crime is linked to environmental factors than insufficient law enforcement action

Crime is primarily a product of environmental factors, such as poor economic conditions, lack of education, and not enough community support and government resources

Crime is primarily a product of insufficient law enforcement resources and action

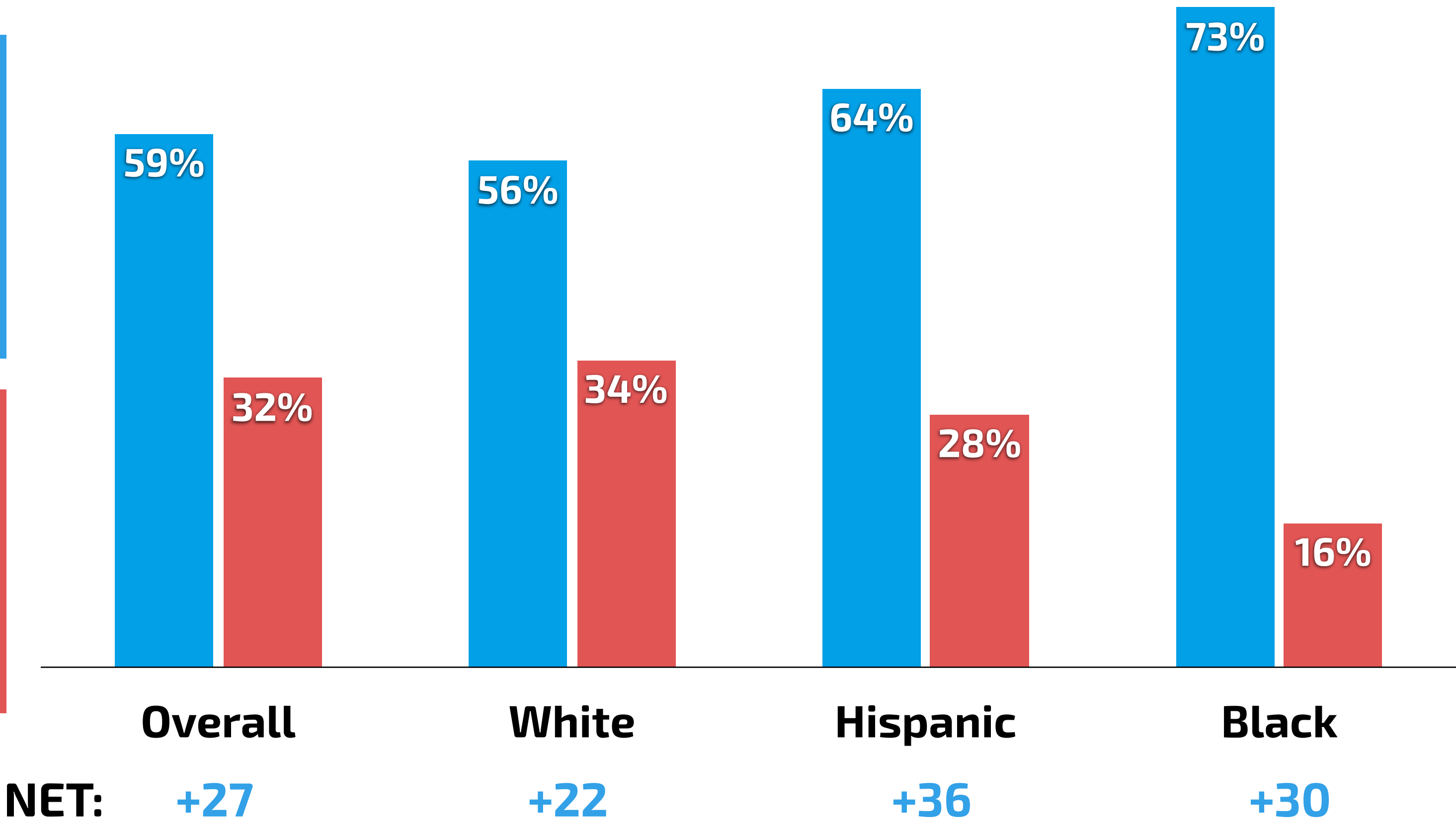


Q. Which statement comes closer to your view?

Black and Hispanic voters are more likely than white voters to think crime is a product of environmental factors

Crime is primarily a product of environmental factors, such as poor economic conditions, lack of education, and not enough community support and government resources

Crime is primarily a product of insufficient law enforcement resources and action

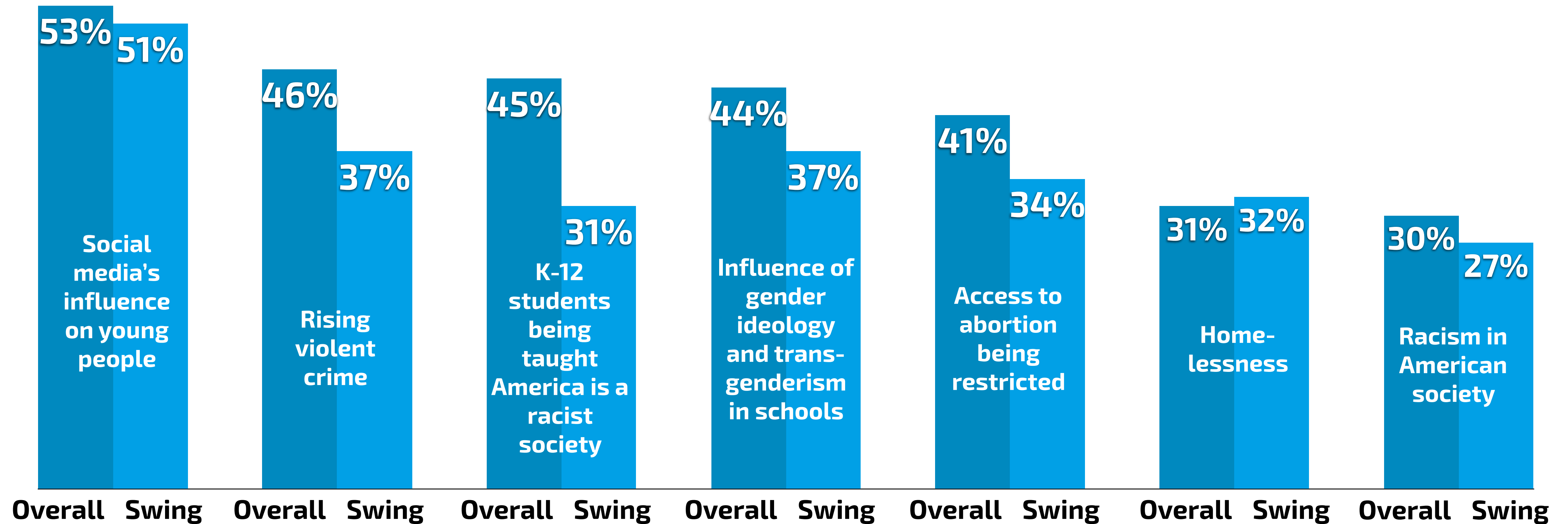


Q. Which statement comes closer to your view?

Social Unease



Social media's influence on young people tops social worries, but swing voters are generally less worried across the board



[Note: Only showing "5 (Worry about it a great deal)."]
Q. On a scale of 1 to 5, rate how often, if ever, you worry about each of the following, where 1 means you do not worry at all, and 5 means you worry about it a great deal.

Sentiment regarding schools: Certain topics are for teachers and certain topics are for parents

Schools are for subjects such as math

"So you mean you got kids that can't read, but you want to tell them that, "Oh, Billy, you can be a girl if that's what you're feeling today." No, you need to focus on academics. We need to focus on training. We need to make them adults." - Atlanta man

"Teach them math, science, I mean English. I mean forget teaching somebody how to her or him, it, this that." - Phoenix man

Parents are responsible for teaching moral-based subjects

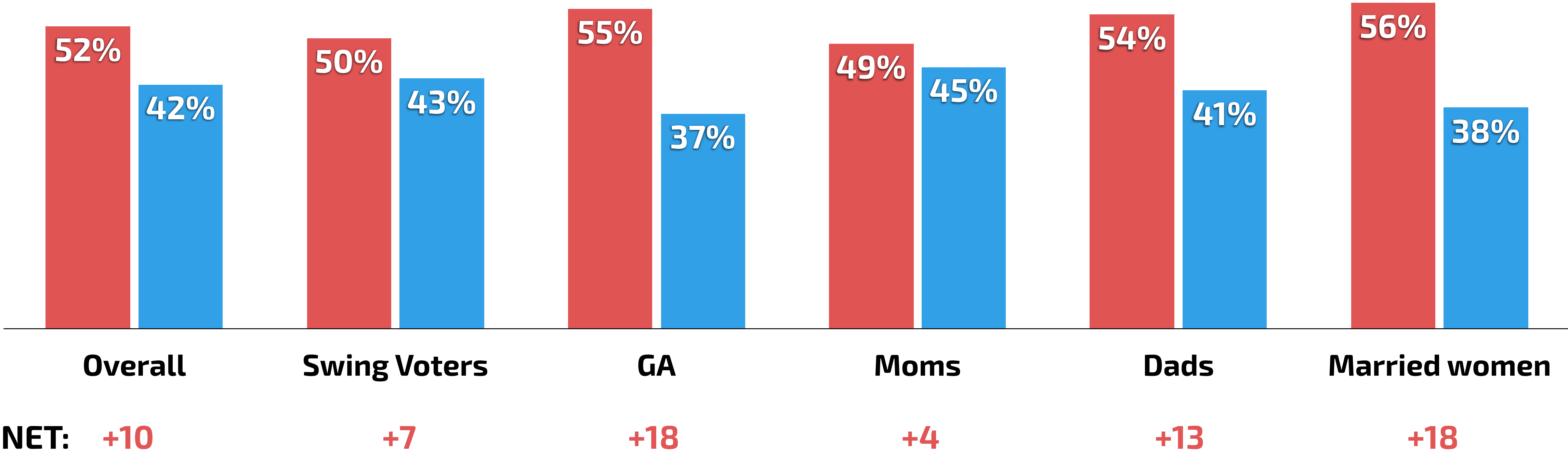
"I feel like that's a conversation that honestly shouldn't be taking place at school at all. That's something that parents talk to their own children about." - Atlanta woman

"Are we saying that your parents are wrong or are we teaching it from a loving standpoint and saying, you know what? Everyone's entitled to their own beliefs. You're not going to change them." - Pittsburgh woman



Voters—parents especially—are more likely to feel that there is a problem with age inappropriate discussion of sexual orientation in K-12 schools

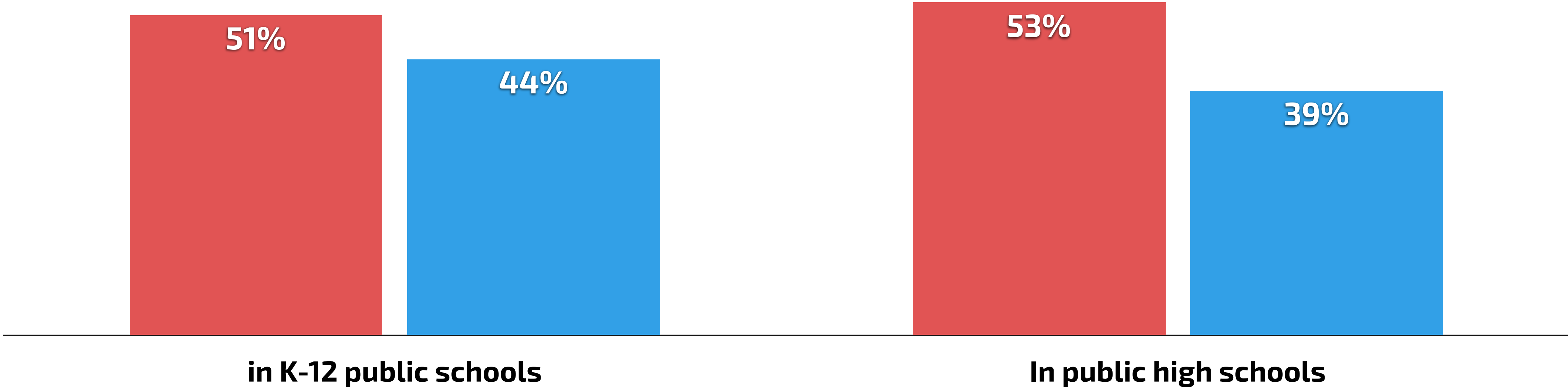
■ There's a problem with age-inappropriate discussions in schools
■ The issue is being blown out of proportion



Q. Some people have argued that there's a problem with K-12 schools frequently having age-inappropriate discussions of sexual orientation and gender identity, while others say this issue is being blown out of proportion based on a few isolated examples and this is not actually a problem. Which of these viewpoints do you agree with more?

Voters tend to find inappropriate discussions more common in public high schools, where the issue is more prominent

- There's a problem with age-inappropriate discussions in schools
- The issue is being blown out of proportion



NET:

+7

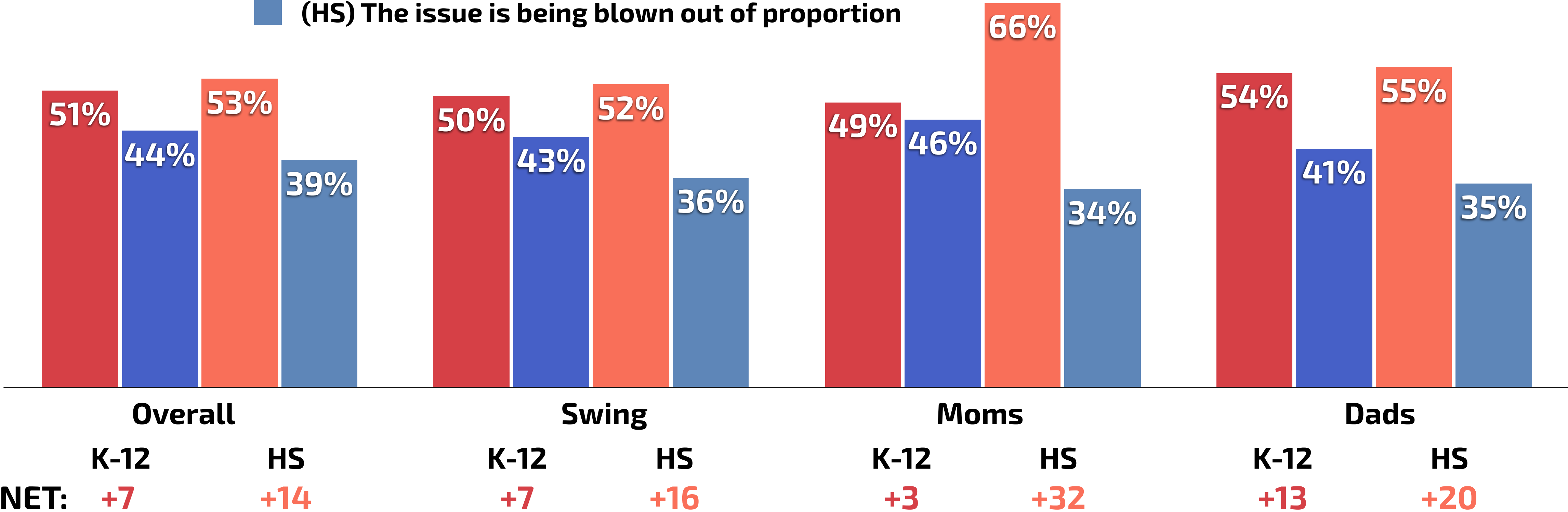
+14



Q. Some people have argued that there's a problem with [Split Sample A: K-12 public schools / Split Sample B: public high schools] frequently having age-inappropriate discussions of sexual orientation and gender identity, while others say this issue is being blown out of proportion based on a few isolated examples and this is not actually a problem. Which of these viewpoints do you agree with more?

Voters—parents especially—are more likely to feel that there is a problem with age inappropriate discussion of sexual orientation in high schools

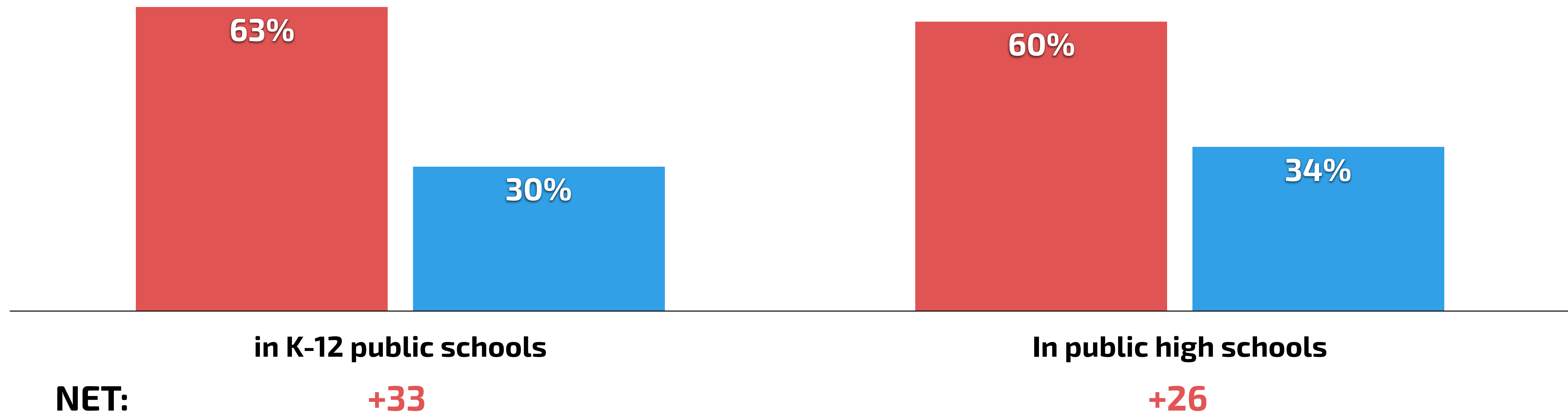
- (K-12) There's a problem with age-inappropriate discussions in schools
- (K-12) The issue is being blown out of proportion
- (HS) There's a problem with age-inappropriate discussions in schools
- (HS) The issue is being blown out of proportion



Q. Some people have argued that there's a problem with [Split Sample A: K-12 public schools / Split Sample B: public high schools] frequently having age-inappropriate discussions of sexual orientation and gender identity, while others say this issue is being blown out of proportion based on a few isolated examples and this is not actually a problem. Which of these viewpoints do you agree with more?

By a 2-to-1 margin, voters think discussions of sexuality in K-12 schools should be left up to parents

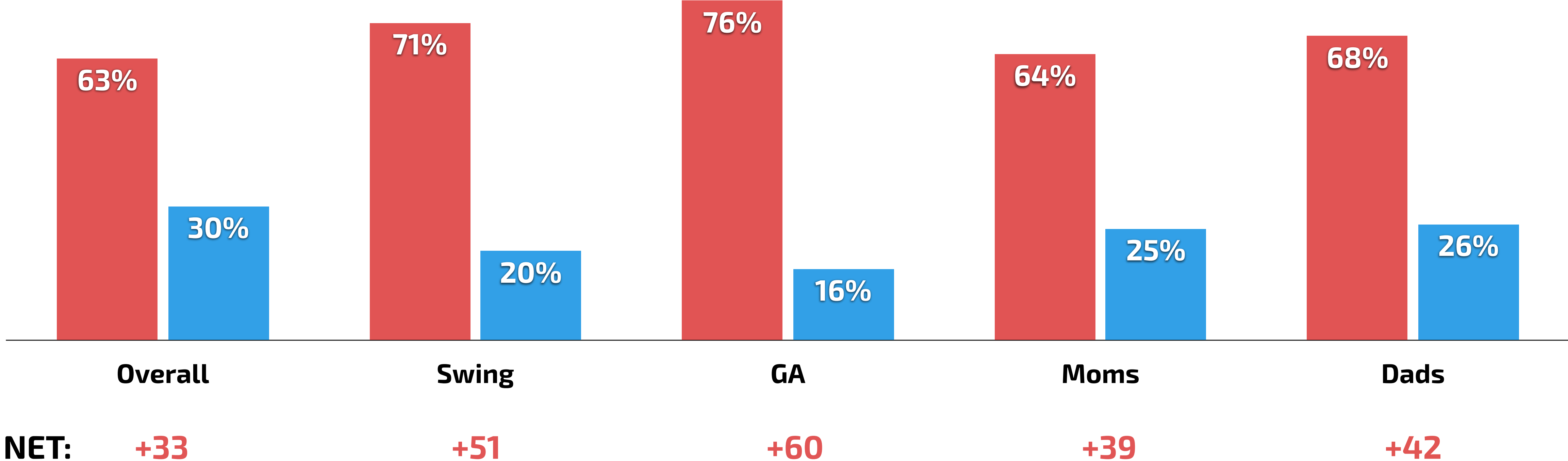
- These issues should be left to parents to discuss with their children and schools should get back to focusing on the basics of instruction
- LGBT students are being unfairly stigmatized and that schools should be able to have open discussions about sexuality and gender identity



Q. When it comes to issues of gender identity and sexuality in [Split Sample A: K-12 public schools / Split Sample B: public high schools], which side do you agree with most?

Swing voters feel more strongly that in K-12 schools, discussions of gender should be left for parents.

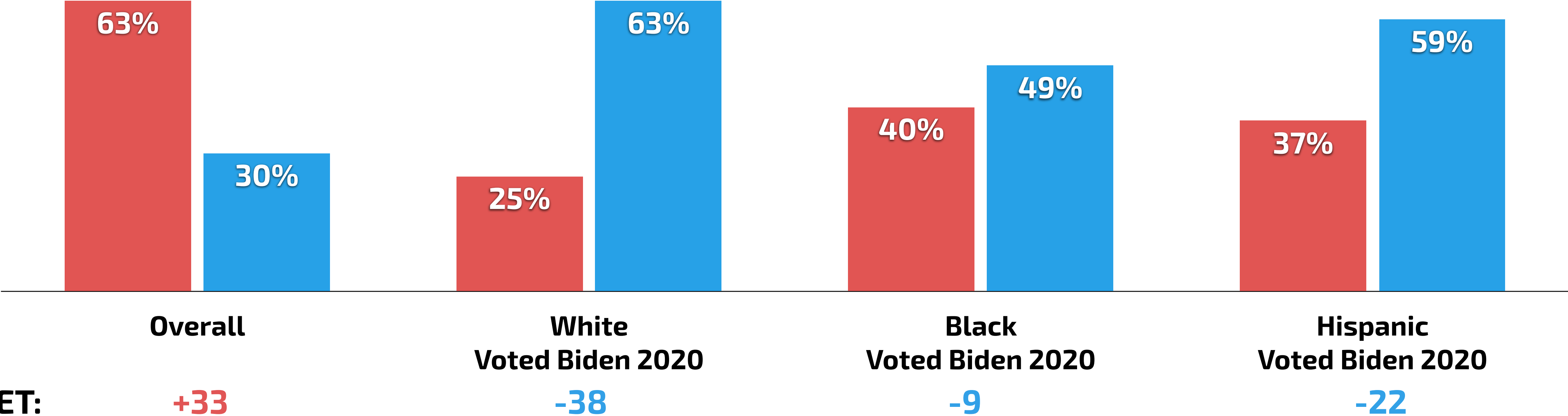
- These issues should be left to parents to discuss with their children and schools should get back to focusing on the basics of instruction
- LGBT students are being unfairly stigmatized and that schools should be able to have open discussions about sexuality and gender identity



Q. When it comes to issues of gender identity and sexuality in K-12 public schools, which side do you agree with the most?

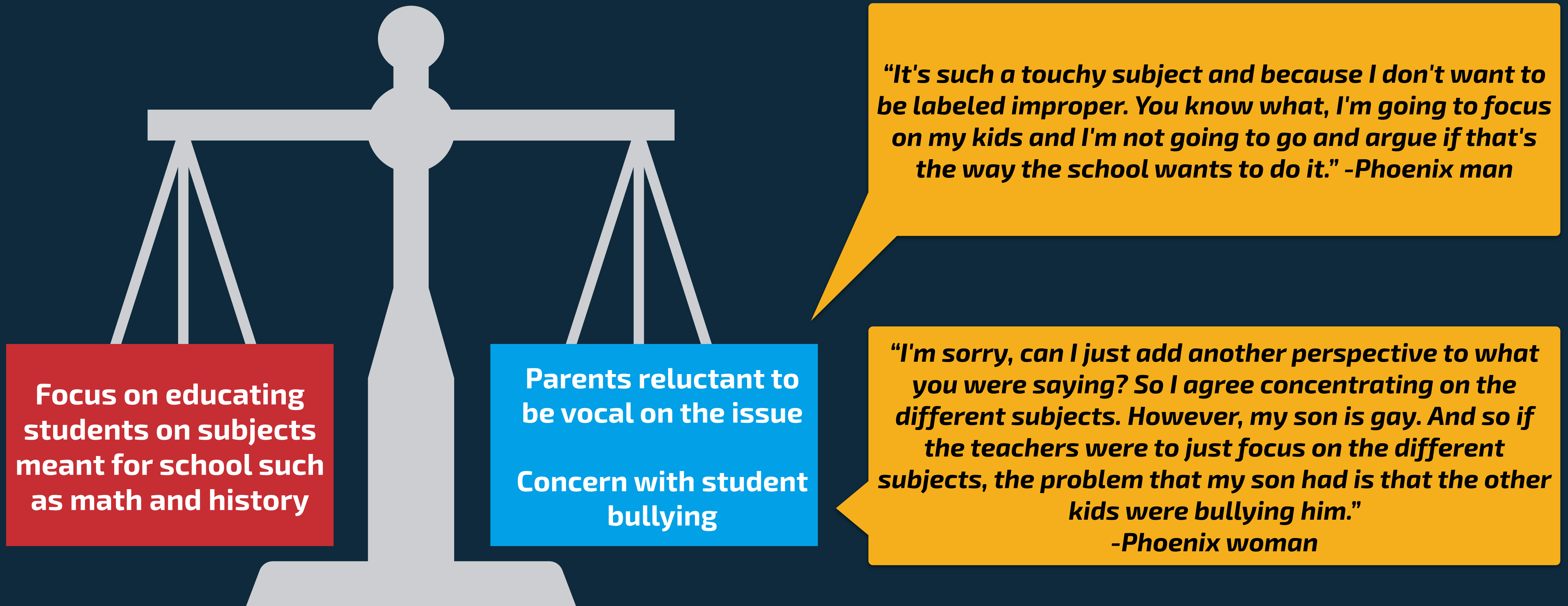
Black Biden 2020 voters significantly more likely than white Biden voters to say that parents should be in charge of gender discussions

- These issues should be left to parents to discuss with their children and schools should get back to focusing on the basics of instruction
- LGBT students are being unfairly stigmatized and that schools should be able to have open discussions about sexuality and gender identity



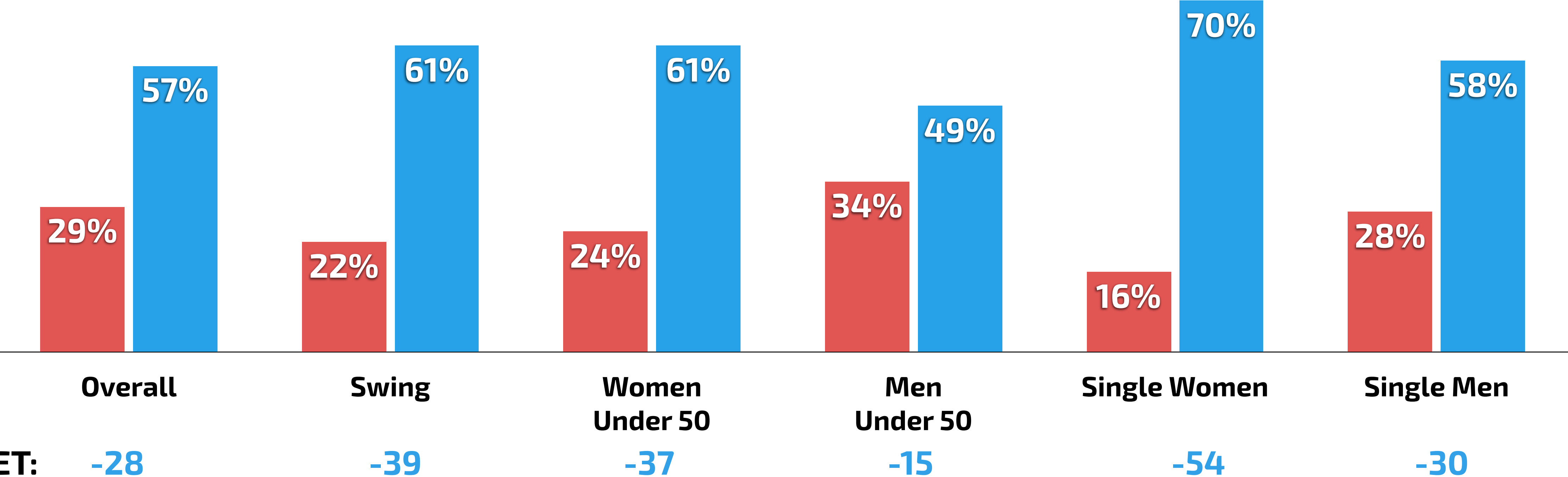
Q. When it comes to issues of gender identity and sexuality in K-12 public schools, which side do you agree with the most?

...But some focus group voters were wary of voicing opinions on the issue or had concerns with bullying



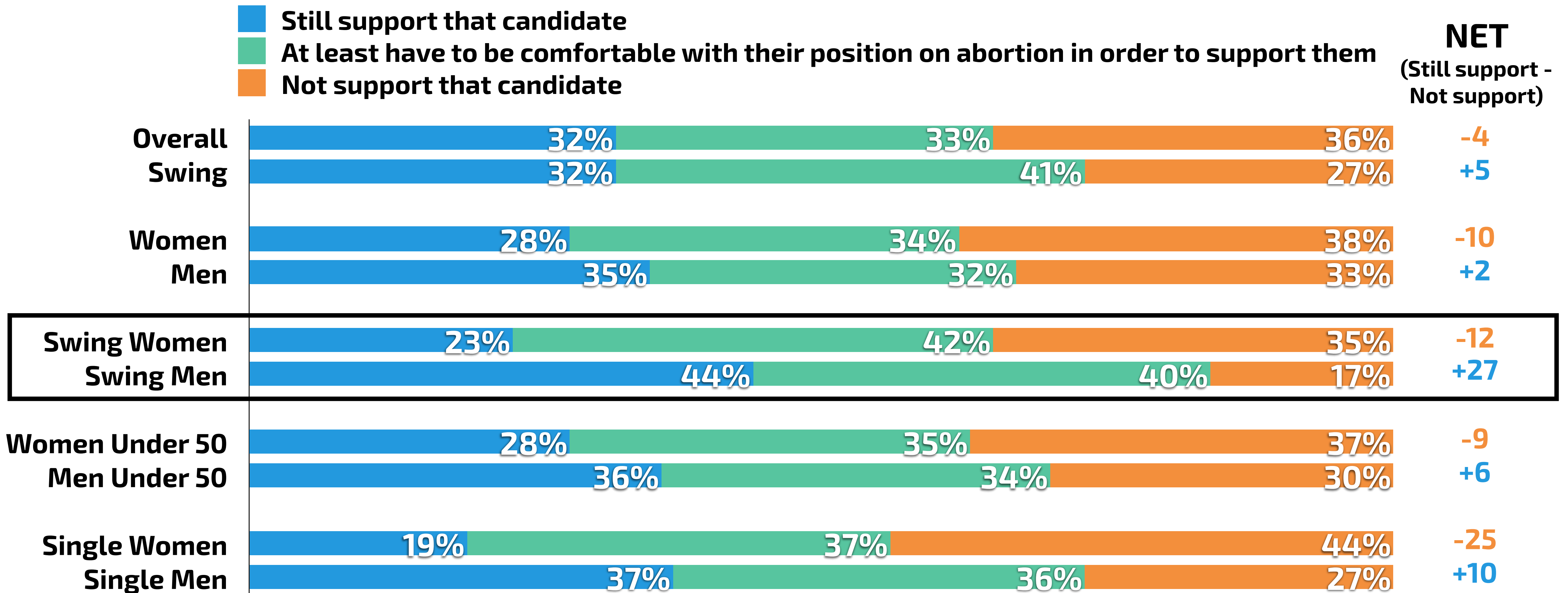
Compared to their male counterparts, women feel abortion is further than where they think it ought to be after Roe v. Wade was overturned

■ Closer to where I think it ought to be
 ■ Further from where I think it ought to be



Q. Since the Supreme Court overturned Roe v Wade, has the state of abortion access in the United States become closer to, or further from, where you think it ought to be?

Compared to their male counterparts, a candidates stance on abortion is more likely to move women voters to not support a candidate.



Q. Imagine you were researching candidates for federal office. But found that you agree with that candidate on everything EXCEPT for abortion, would you...?



Messaging and movement

Methodology

For the ensuing messaging battery, surveyed participants were randomly divided and **presented with a split sample** survey methodology. On many topics, this entailed participants being **shown one version** of the messaging to express their opinion on. Within each group, participants were shown the messaging in a randomized sequence.



Messaging Key

Biden Caused Inflation	The cost of living skyrocketed and the price of basic essentials went up by 20% because of the Biden Administration's reckless spending policies, spending trillions [ver. B and ballooning the national debt to \$34 trillion] .
Border Crisis	The Biden Administration caused the crisis on the southern border by ending the policy that kept all asylum-seekers on the other side. As a result, almost 8 million people flooded into the country, [ver.A allowing criminals and drugs into our communities] [ver. B straining public services for our citizens] .
Rising Crime	Since the Biden Administration took office, crime has only gotten worse, making our communities less safe. Big city mayors and prosecutors district attorneys care more about looking progressive than having the backs of our police officers. As a result, police are making fewer arrests and criminals know they won't get caught or prosecuted.
World on Fire	Four years ago, the United States was brokering peace treaties, the world was at peace and for the first time in a long time, the U.S. was not involved in a major war. Now, the world is on fire with major wars in Ukraine and the Middle East, and weak leadership in the White House has made it worse, [ver. B starting with the Biden Administration's rushed and haphazard withdrawal from Afghanistan] .
Fix Problems at Home First	Instead of spending billions on foreign countries and failing to secure our border, the Biden Administration should be more focused on dealing with the real problems Americans face here at home.



Messaging Key, Cont'd

High Gas Prices

[Ver A: Under the influence of radical environmentalists,] the Biden Administration has done everything possible to hobble our domestic energy industry, canceling drilling projects that would have brought gas prices down.

EV Mandates

In a time when Americans are struggling to afford the basic essentials, the Biden Administration wants to force people to buy electric vehicles that most people can't afford and that don't work as well as gas-powered cars.

Student Loan Bailout

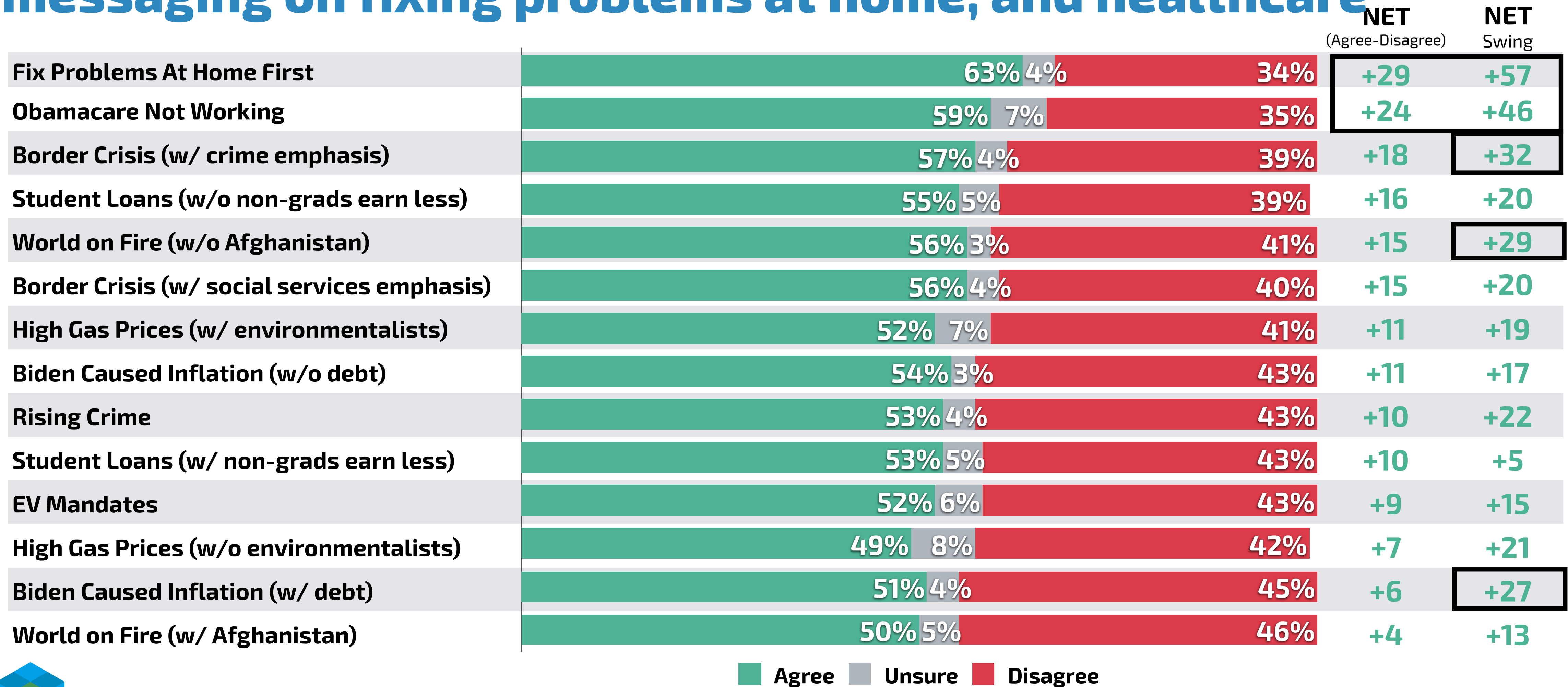
The Biden Administration forgiving student loans is unfair to the tens of millions of people who were responsible and paid off their loans, [VER B: and to those who never went to college, who earn less money to begin with].

Obamacare Not Working

Under Obamacare, health insurance premiums have continued to skyrocket and the Biden Administration is just doubling down on it. It's time for a new direction to bring health care costs down.

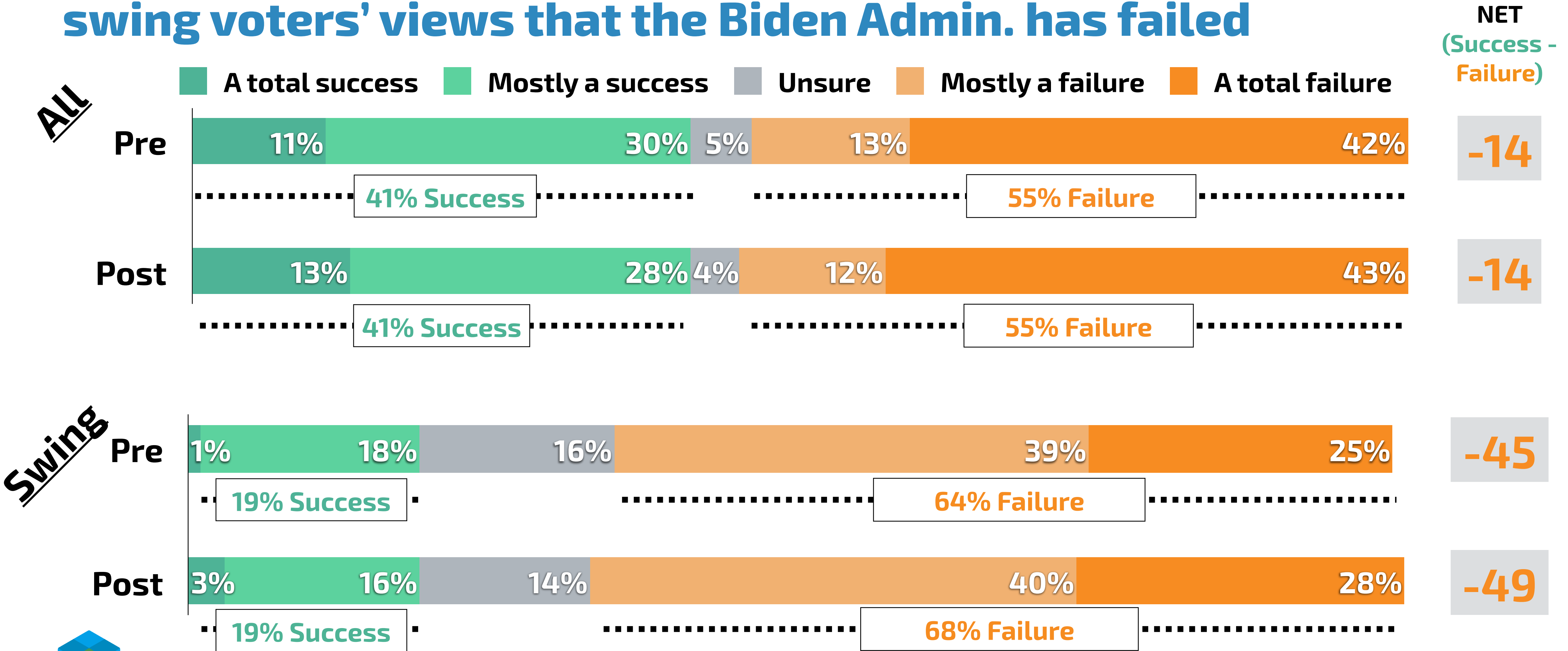


Overall, Voters, and particularly swing voters, support messaging on fixing problems at home, and healthcare



Q. Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements.

Messaging hardens decided voter perceptions but deepens swing voters' views that the Biden Admin. has failed



Q. Overall, would you rate the Biden Administration a success or failure?
 Q. Sometimes, people change their minds during the course of a survey. Based on what you know and anything new you have learned, would you rate the Biden Administration a success or failure?

Voters who moved towards belief that the Biden Admin. is a failure agreed the most with messaging on fixing problems at home, the border crisis and Student Loans

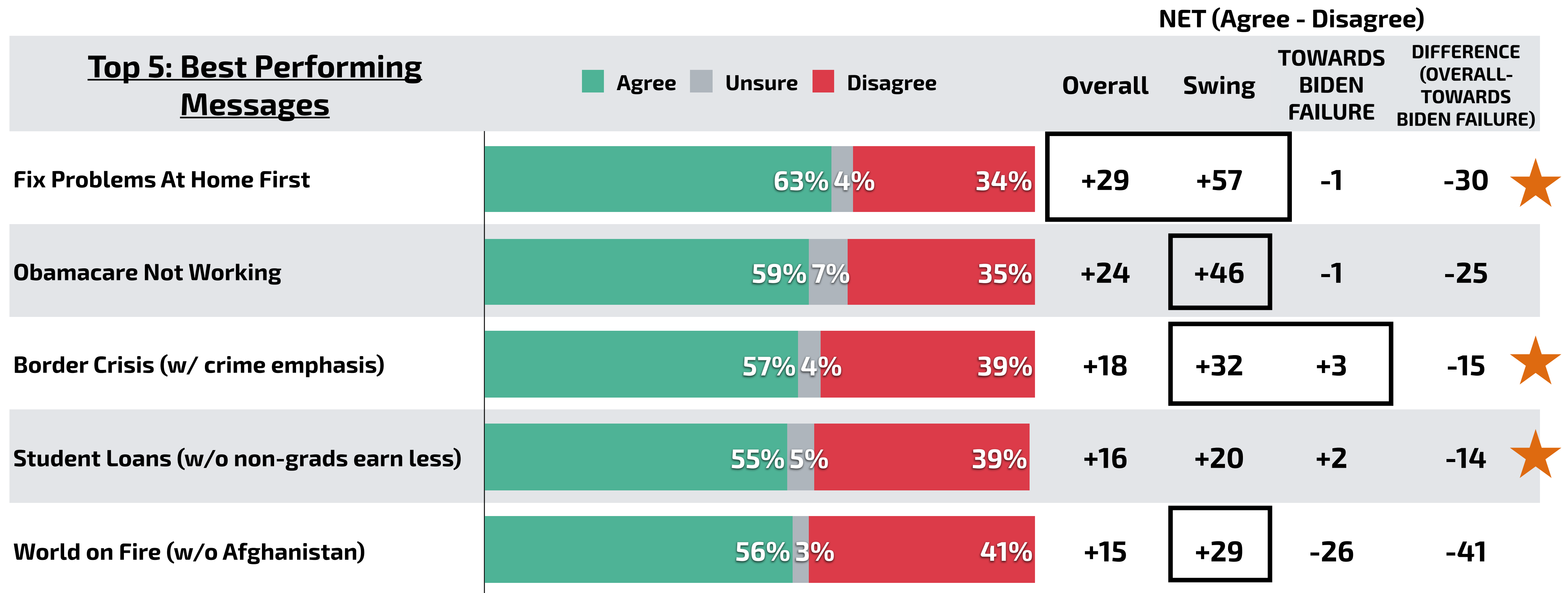
MESSAGE	OVERALL NET	MOVED TOWARD BEFLIEF THE BIDEN ADMIN IS A FAILURE NET	NET DIFFERENCE	
Fix Problems at Home First	+29	+24	-5	★
Obamacare Not Working	+24	-1	-25	
Border Crisis w/crime emphasis	+18	+3	-15	★
Student Loans (w/o non-grads earn less)	+16	+2	-14	★
World on Fire (W/o Afghanistan)	+15	-26	-41	
Border Crisis w/social services emphasis	+16	-2	-18	
High Gas Prices (w/ environmentalists)	+11	-38	-49	
Biden Caused Inflation (w/o debt)	+11	-28	-39	
Rising Crime	+10	-26	-36	
Student Loans (w/ non-grads earn less)	+10	-4	-14	
EV Mandates	+9	-36	-45	
High Gas Prices (w/o environmentalists)	+7	-12	-19	
Biden Caused Inflation (w/ debt)	+6	-35	-41	
World on Fire(W/Afghanistan)	+4	-33	-37	

[Note: Stars indicate top performing messaging in terms of movement]

Q. Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements.



Top performing message for voters, and particularly swing voters, were messages around fixing problems at home and healthcare



[Note: "Moved towards Biden Failure" denotes voters who increasingly perceive the Biden Administration is a failure after the survey compared to initial responses]
 Q. Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements.

Bottom-performing messaging tended to include additional information, but these sometimes did better with swing voters

<u>Bottom 5: Worst Performing Messages</u>	Agree Unsure Disagree			NET (Agree - Disagree)			
	Overall	Swing	TOWARDS BIDEN FAILURE	DIFFERENCE (OVERALL-TOWARDS BIDEN FAILURE)			
Student Loans (w/ non-grads earn less)	53% 5% 43%	+10	+5	-4	-14		
EV Mandates	52% 6% 43%	+9	+15	-36	-45		
High Gas Prices (w/o environmentalists)	49% 8% 42%	+7	+21	-22	-29		
Biden Caused Inflation (w/ debt)	51% 4% 45%	+6	+27	-35	-41		
World on Fire (w/ Afghanistan)	50% 5% 46%	+4	+13	-33	-37		

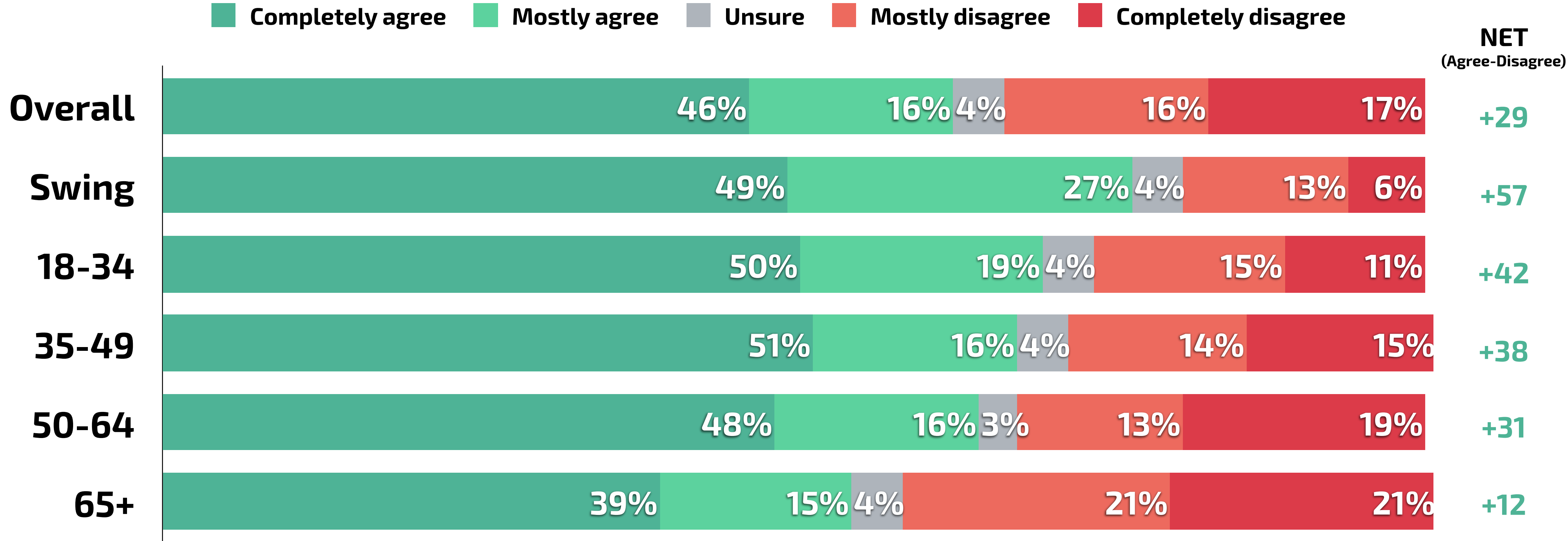


[Note: "Moved towards Biden Failure" denotes voters who increasingly perceive the Biden Administration is a failure after the survey compared to initial responses]
 Q. Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements.

Additional messaging insights



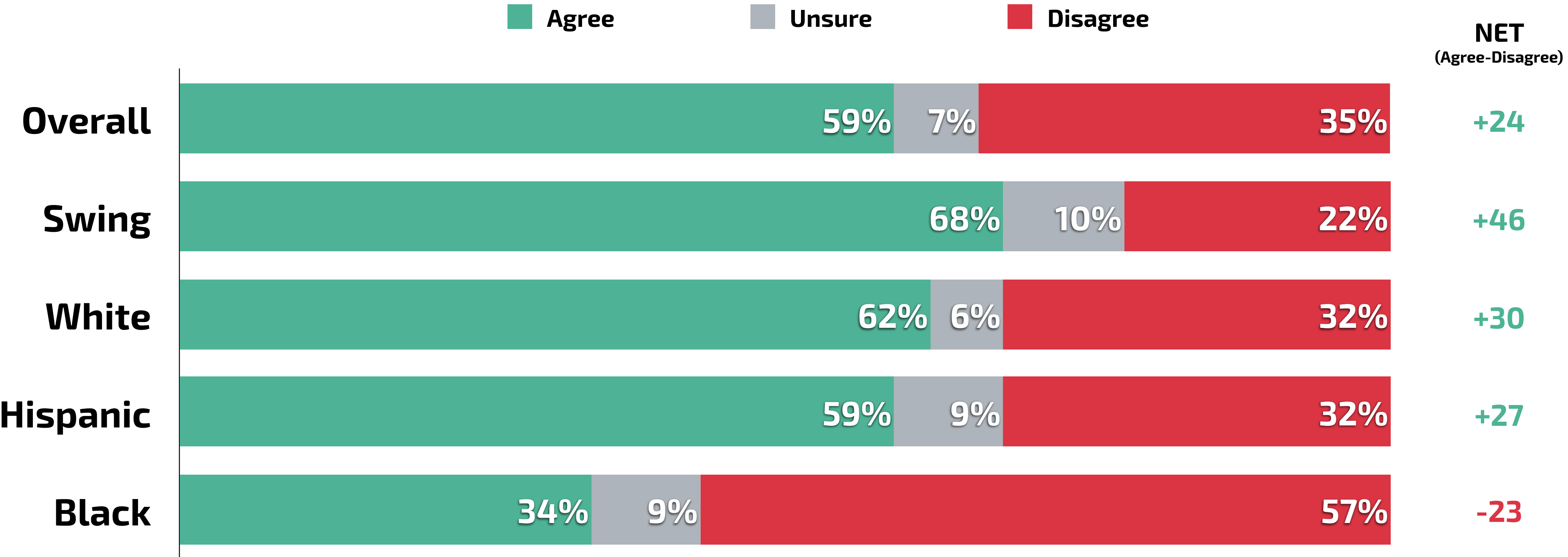
“Fix Problems at home” message resonates not only well overall, but with key groups such as with swing voters and younger voters.



Q. Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements: Instead of spending billions on foreign countries and failing to secure our border, the Biden Administration should be more focused on dealing with the real problems Americans face here at home.



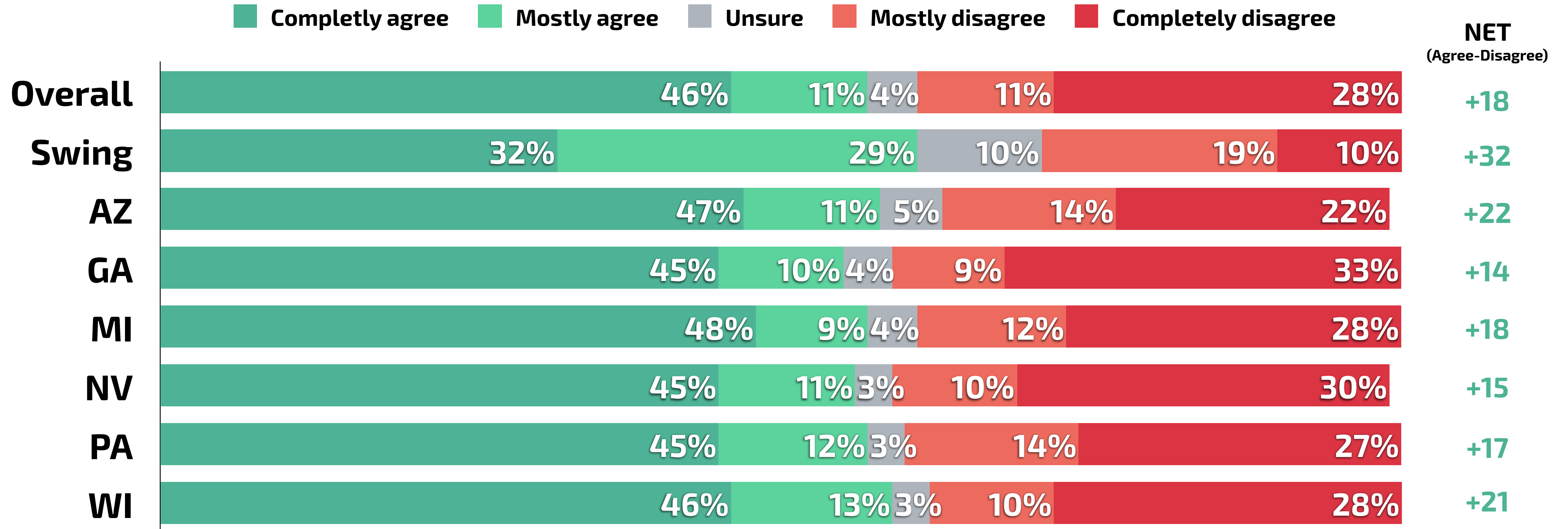
While messaging on Obamacare resonates well with swing voters, and white and hispanic voters, it falls flat for black voters.



Q. Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements: Under Obamacare, health insurance premiums have continued to skyrocket and the Biden Administration is just doubling down on it. It's time for a new direction to bring health care costs down.



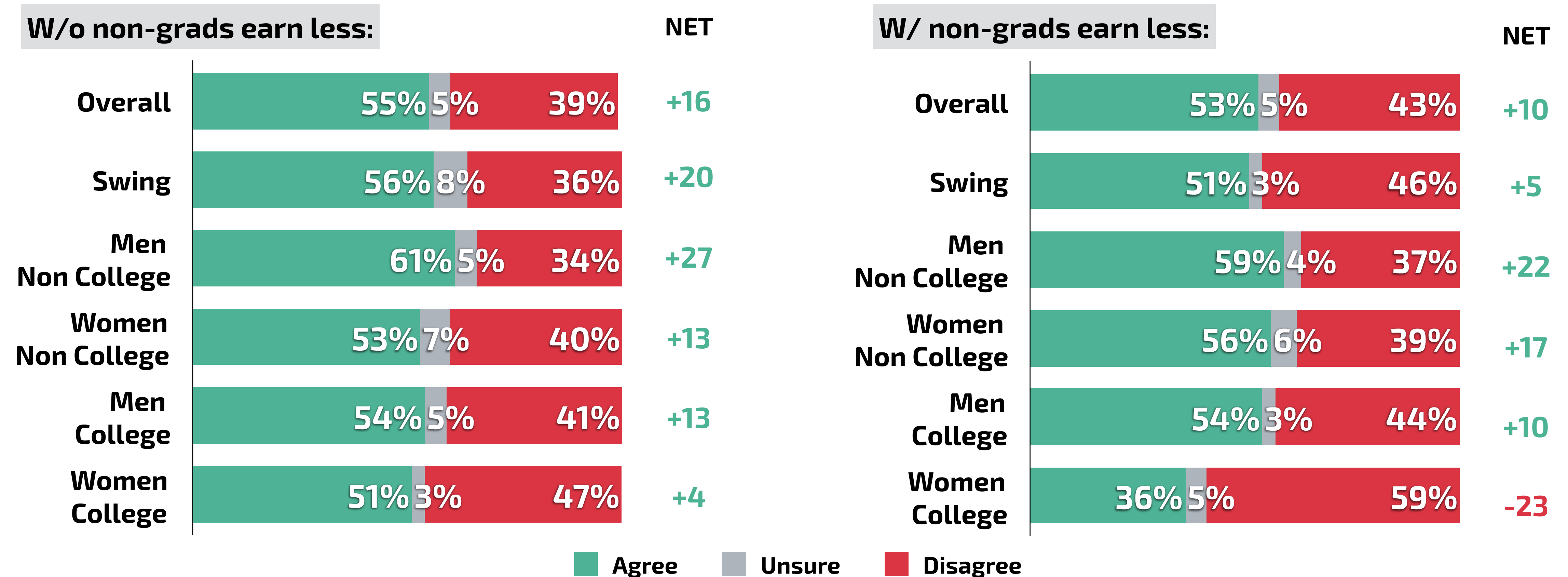
Messaging about the border crisis, with emphasis on crime leaking into the US, does well across the board, not just near border



Q. Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements: The Biden Administration caused the crisis on the southern border by ending the policy that kept all asylum-seekers on the other side. As a result, almost 8 million people flooded into the country allowing criminals and drugs into our communities



Simpler student loan message works better, with college women reacting negatively to wording about non-graduates

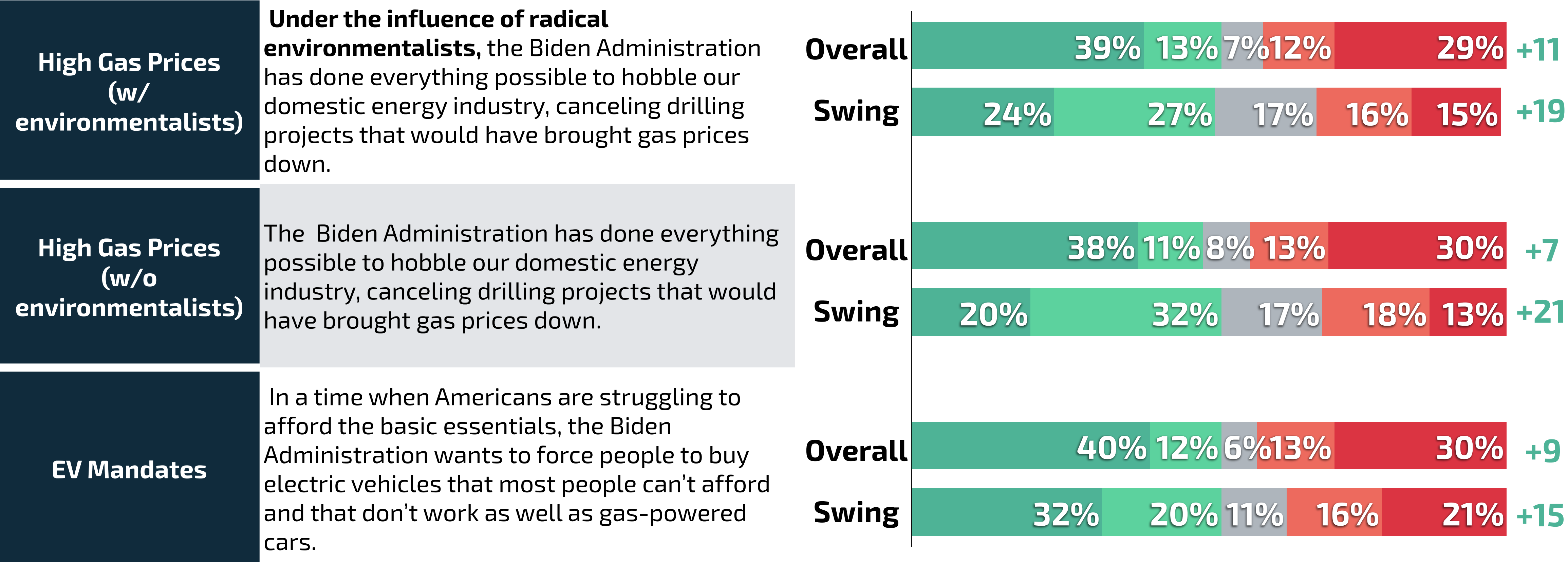


Q. Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements: The Biden Administration forgiving student loans is unfair to the tens of millions of people who were responsible and paid off their loans, [VER B: and to those who never went to college, who earn less money to begin with].



All gas and EV messaging does similarly middling with the general population, but better with persuadable swing voters:

■ Completely agree
 ■ Mostly agree
 ■ Unsure
 ■ Mostly disagree
 ■ Completely disagree
 NET



Q. Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements.

Focus Group Worksheet Policy Message Key

Policy Message	Proposed Solution Worksheet Text
End asylum fraud	End asylum fraud by reinstating Remain in Mexico (require asylum seekers to remain in Mexico (except for immigration court appearances) until case is complete); requiring migrants to apply for asylum in first safe country in which they enter/stop country shopping; exclude claims such as general crime, domestic abuse, climate change from establishing claim of persecution.
Send children back	Send unaccompanied children back home to their families instead of accommodating their residence in the U.S.
2032 EVs	Requiring the majority of new cars sold in the U.S. by 2032 be electric vehicles
Reducing spending	Reducing government spending and cutting the deficit
Raise taxes on wealthy	Raising taxes on the wealthy and cracking down on corporate price gouging
More police funding	More funding and training for police, including increased neighborhood patrols
Increased penalties for criminals	Increased penalties for criminal offenders



Within all our focus groups, reducing spending was the top policy message

Policy Messages	Total Helpful	% Helpful	Total Ineffective	% Ineffective	Net Helpful	% Net
Reducing spending	50/59	85%	9/59	15%	41	69%
More police funding	44/59	75%	14/59	24%	30	51%
Raise taxes on wealthy	40/59	68%	16/59	27%	24	41%
End asylum fraud	38/59	64%	15/59	25%	23	39%
Increased penalties for criminals	39/59	66%	17/59	29%	22	37%
Send children back	29/59	49%	26/59	44%	3	5%
2032 EVs	15/59	25%	44/59	75%	-29	-49%



Methodology

- Echelon Insights conducted a survey on behalf of the Heritage Foundation, fielded from March 12-19, 2024 in English among a sample of N=2,401 Likely Voters in Swing States (N= 401 in Arizona, N=400 in Georgia, N=400 in Michigan, N=400 in Nevada, N=400 in Pennsylvania, and N=400 in Wisconsin) sampled from the voter file in these states. 50% of responses were collected via text-to-web, 26% from landline live caller with professional interviewers, 24% from cellphones live caller with professional interviewers.
- The sample was weighted to population benchmarks for registered voters and the 2024 Likely Electorate on gender, age, race/ethnicity, education, region, party, past primary participation, and 2020 presidential vote, adjusted for 2024 turnout probability. All benchmarks for the 2024 Likely Electorate were adjusted for turnout estimates based on a probabilistic model of the likely 2024 electorate derived from the L2 voter file.
- Estimates for gender, age, and party were derived from the L2 voter file. Estimates for race/ethnicity and education were derived from the US Census Bureau's American Community Survey demographic data adjusted to match voter registration estimates from the November 2020 Current Population Survey Voting and Registration Supplement.
- Calculated the way it would be for a random sample and adjusted to incorporate the effect of weighting, the margin of sampling error is +/- 2.3 percentage points overall, +/-5.7 in Arizona, +/-5.7 in Georgia, +/-5.3 in Michigan, +/-5.8 in Nevada, +/-5.5 in Pennsylvania, and +/-5.5 in Wisconsin.





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