

TO: Interest Parties  
FR: Mark Riddle, Future Majority  
Stephen Clermont, Change Research  
DT: May 17, 2021  
RE: **Senate Poll: Objects in the Mirror May Be Closer Than They Appear**

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According to conventional wisdom in the media and among Twitter Democrats, one would believe that President Joe Biden is cruising, with soaring approval ratings, and America is getting back on track. While that may seem true among all voters averaged nationally, it is far from the case in swing congressional districts and battleground states that determine the balance of power. Future Majority has recently conducted a series of in-depth research studies that reveal a still deeply divided electorate with an overwhelming number of voters who say they are barely keeping their head above water or are falling behind. The information below is primarily from 1,093 likely voters in Pennsylvania and 1,044 likely voters in West Virginia (May 10-14), with additional points from April polling conducted in Arizona and Michigan.

### Lay of the Land

- “How well do you think the U.S. government is working for you in its role in your life?” 29% well versus 68% not well in Pennsylvania.
- When asked about income, just 5% of Pennsylvanians say their income is going up faster than the cost of living. 28% say staying about even with the cost of living, and 62% say falling behind the cost of living.
  - **90% of voters are staying even or falling behind.** In WV, the total is 94% - with 74% falling behind.
    - “Today’s Americans feel like they are drowning and dispensable.” – Future Majority’s May Report on the *Unconscious Mind of Voters*.
- President Biden’s favorable in Pennsylvania is 43% vs. unfavorable 52%. His job approval is 47%.
- President Biden’s approval in handling of the coronavirus pandemic is positive, 51% vs. 47%. In everything else, it is underwater:
  - Helping the middle class: 43% vs. 54%
  - Jobs and Economy: 44% vs. 53%
  - Climate Policy: 47% vs. 48%
  - Racial injustice: 45% vs. 51%
  - Foreign Affairs: 43% vs. 51%
  - Relations with China: 37% vs. 53%
  - Immigration/the southern border with Mexico: 36% vs. 59%
    - In Arizona the numbers are 33% to 61%, with only 32% of Independents approving

- Donald Trump is 44% favorable vs. 51% unfavorable. Republicans 89% favorable. Independents 37% favorable / 50% unfavorable.
  - Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis: 39% favorable vs. 36% unfavorable. Fox viewers 81% favorable and OANN viewers 83% favorable. 80% favorable with Republicans vs. 6% unfavorable.

- Generic Senate Ballot: 45% Republican vs. 44% Democrats. 10% Not Sure.

- 26% of Independents are undecided vs. 7% Democrat and 4% Republican.
  - Who are these Independents who will likely determine the control of the balance of power?
    - 61% under 50 years old (31% 18-34, 30% 35-49)
    - 14% Hispanic or Latino
    - 46% college graduates
    - 3% are Black voters

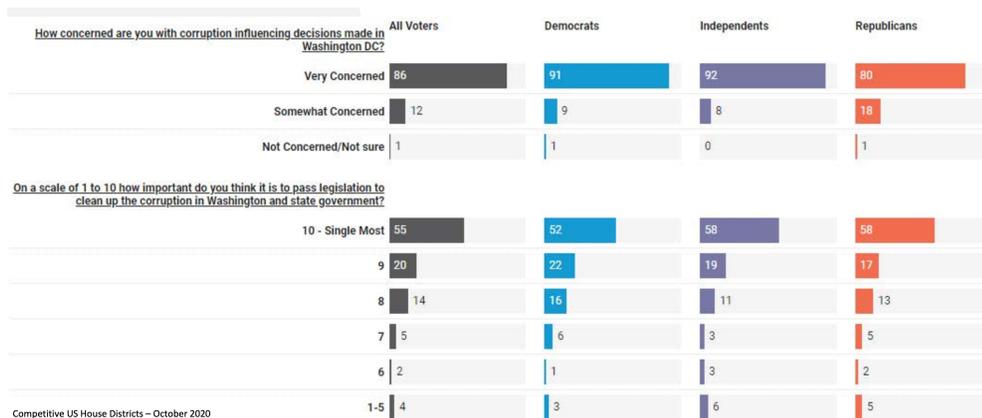
#### Attitudes

- 2020 Vote: 44% Biden, 38% Trump, 11% Jorgenson, 5% did not vote
- Democratic Party: 15% favorable, 58% unfavorable
- Republican Party: 16% favorable, 63% unfavorable
- Donald Trump: 23% favorable, 62% unfavorable
- Joe Biden: 35% favorable, 52% unfavorable
- Kamala Harris: 31% favorable, 51% unfavorable
- Government working for you: 27% well, 66% not well
- Income/cost of living: 58% falling behind, 33% staying even, 5% going up
- Biden approval: 45% approve, 51% disapprove
- Biden on coronavirus: 50% approve, 43% disapprove

#### Key Proposals:

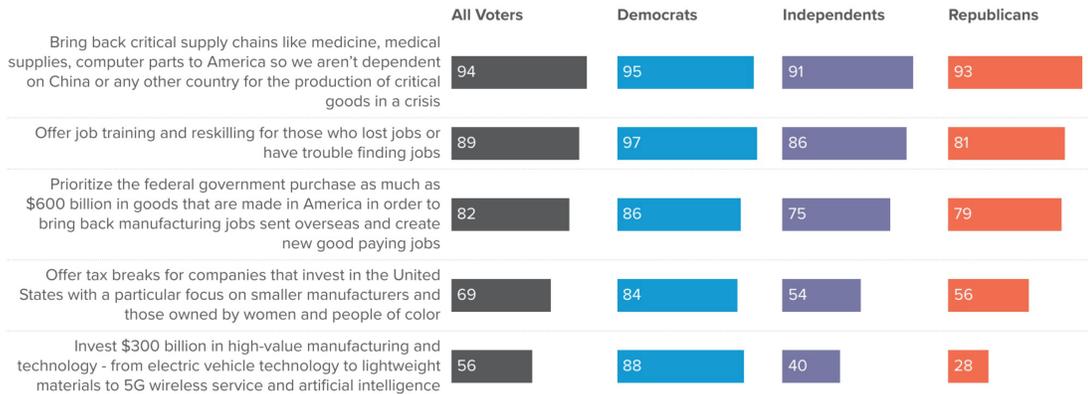
- HR1/S1: For the People Act. All hands on deck to get it passed. However, let's not lose sight of what a powerful campaign issue this should become – if passed into law or not – against all who voted against it in the House and Senate.
  - 39% support HR1 vs. 35% oppose. Support: 72% Democrats, 31% Independents, 9% Republicans. This bill is being put through the ringer by Republicans and their special interests as a Democratic power grab, however, the thirst for reform is very high.
    - 89% support 72 hours reporting with any lobbyist, lawyer or foreign agent trying to influence government actions.

- 87% support banning Members of Congress from being a lobbyist for 5 years after leaving office.
  - 87% support closing loopholes for former Members of Congress who call themselves advisors and not registered lobbyist.
  - 81% support prohibiting Members of Congress from making stock trades.
  - 71% support any candidate seeking federal office disclose 5-years worth of tax returns. (Not surprisingly, 50% of Republicans are against this idea).
- We have consistently, over years of surveys, found 90%+ of voters concerned about corruption.



- One idea on filibuster frame: “Conflict of Interest exemption on filibuster... meaning Members should not be able to filibuster on items directly affecting them, their fundraising, districts which mean Party power, post elected office rules, etc.”
  - 56% support vs. 28% oppose. 77% of Democrats, 52% of Independents support.
- 54% support the \$1.9 trillion American Rescue Plan. (95% Democrats, 52% Independents, 59% women).
- 54% support the \$2.0 trillion American Jobs Plan. (94% Democrats, 53% Independents, 58% women, 56% of voters under 34 years old).
  - Note: Future Majority created and tested several 30 second ads around the American Jobs Plan. Broadly, ads emphasizing the Made in America theme from Biden’s Executive Order test best and ads without Joe Biden being a main character test higher than with Joe Biden. This underlines the finding that the American worker – not the politicians – is the hero of the story.

- The Made in America proposals test 80%+ in all our research and could well help with the key independent vote driver of “U.S. interests first.” In March, voters in these same congressional districts broadly approved of Made in America policies:



- 54% support the \$2.0 trillion American Families Act. (94% Democrats, 51% Independents, 60% women, 60% of voters under 34 years old)
- On spending: 49% of Independent voters agree “that we had to spend what it took to limit the damage of Covid, but spending \$2 trillion on new government programs is too much right now.” Interestingly, that number changes to 61% on \$4 trillion, goes back down to 47% for \$6 trillion, and back up to 54% for \$8 trillion.
- Our April poll in the CDs had support for \$15 minimum wage at 50% support to 49% oppose and \$11 minimum wage at 57% support and 40% oppose. The driver is independent voters that support \$11 minimum wage 63% to 36% vs. a \$15 minimum wage with 45% support and 52% oppose.
- On the highly debated revenue question, from our battleground CD poll:
  - Assess companies a personal data use tax: 91% support. 7% oppose
  - Wealth tax of 2% on +\$50M: 62% support. 35% oppose
  - Capital-gains tax over \$1M: 58% support. 39% oppose
  - Income tax over \$400,000: 57% support. 42% oppose
  - Estate Tax on inheritance over \$5M: 50% support. 45% oppose
  - Corporate tax rate from 21% to 28%: 50% support. 48% oppose
- A new idea that we tested in May’s CD poll is setting up an Infrastructure Finance Authority that is run by independent directors out of Treasury. The funds would be raised by assessing a fee to businesses over \$5M in revenue. Estimates show it would raise \$400B and the Authority could use that to leverage private money to build \$4T worth of physical infrastructure. 55% support. 34% oppose. D’s 84%, I’s 57%, R’s 22%.

- **Just so we all understand, this very tough terrain:** In the battleground congressional districts 78% of Republican voters and 34% of Independents think Trump got more votes in 2020. In Pennsylvania, it's 85% of Republican voters. And 58% of all voters in West Virginia believe Trump got more votes.
  - Senator Mark Kelly's favorable is 42% but has 92% support among Democrats. Currently, Kelly trails a generic Republican 48% to 46%.
  - In West Virginia, Senator Manchin's job approval is 30% vs. 66% disapprove. Only 34% of Democrats approve of his job. Gov. Justice is 58% approve and Sen. Capito is 54% approve.
  - In Arizona, Senator Sinema's favorable is 27%. Only 40% of Democrats view her favorably. Contrast that with Senator Mark Kelly, whose favorable is 42% but has 92% support among Democrats. Currently, Kelly trails a generic Republican 48% to 46%. (Note: We to get a lot of "neutrals" in our measuring of political leaders, which likely means soft support or opposition.)
    - Note: Both Manchin and Sinema's lack of political strength stem from a lack of support with Democratic and Independent voters. (It is not helpful to hammer them; they have to navigate tough states)
  - In Pennsylvania, approval of the Democratic Party is 36% and party leaders like AOC 36%, Pelosi 30%, Harris 41%
  - Additionally, Republican Party approval is 34%, with McConnell at 8%
    - McConnell is at only 9% approval in Michigan, and 11% in Arizona.
  - Dr. Fauci is 45% favorable vs. 48% unfavorable. Note: 4% favorable with Republicans.
  - Also, it is no longer Fox News' echo chamber on the Republican side. Newsmax now trails Fox 47% to 52% among voters who say they watch the news sources frequently, and OANN is up to 31%.

*Since the 2020 election, Future Majority with our partners at Change Research have surveyed 9,264 voters, including 1,213 likely voters (May 10-14) in the 37 congressional districts decided by +/- 5 points, 1,093 voters in Pennsylvania, and 1,044 voters in West Virginia. We surveyed 892 voters in Arizona, 983 voters in Michigan, 603 voters in NH-01, and 967 voters in West Virginia (April 9-12). Future Majority has also completed a first-of-its-kind metaphor elicitation study of American swing-state voters that provides a deep understanding of how they see the Democratic and Republican parties, how they feel about America now and into the future, and where governing parties can connect with and deliver for the American voter. Since its founding, Future Majority has surveyed 84,752 voters.*