

# navigator\*

navigating  
the vote\*



Update:  
Thursday, December 3

## 2020 Election Poll Issue Analysis

## What we did

The slides in this presentation are based on interviews with 3,003 registered voters who had already voted or planned to vote in the November election, with interviews conducted October 30th to November 3rd, 2020.

Support for Joe Biden and Donald Trump in the presidential election has been adjusted to reflect the actual expected popular vote as of November 16th. The analysis aims to provide a new tool for Americans to understand what happened in the 2020 election, why it happened...and what's next.

## Key Takeaways:

- When asked about key debates in American life – from taxes, to health care, to racial justice – a plurality of 2020 voters side with progressive positions, and Democrats consolidated support with this group.
- Among voters supporting Biden who did not vote for Clinton in 2016, they also exhibited higher degrees of ideological consistency than voters who supported Trump for the first time this year.
- While there were fewer voters with strictly conservative views, Republicans remained competitive in this election because most voters who are both economically moderate and socially conservative continue to strongly back Republicans.

# Respondents Took a Position on a Series of Major Debates in Politics – Covering the Economy and Cultural/Social Issues

## ECONOMIC DEBATES

Progressive position	Conservative position
We need to undo the massive tax breaks for wealthy individuals and big corporations so we can invest in the middle class and working families hit hardest by the pandemic	The last thing we want to do with businesses and families struggling during the pandemic is raise taxes – taxes should remain low so that businesses continue to invest and create jobs
We should keep and build upon the Affordable Care Act to ensure that preexisting conditions remain protected and everyone gets health care	We should repeal the Affordable Care Act which has hurt American families with skyrocketing health insurance costs by creating unnecessary government regulations
It is wrong to cut Social Security and Medicare and, if anything, benefits should be expanded to help those who paid into the programs their whole lives	The hard reality is Social Security and Medicare are not sustainable in their current forms, and leaders need to come together around solutions that reduce entitlement costs over the long term
The federal government has given too much of the coronavirus relief to major corporations and the wealthy and not enough to regular people, many of whom are still struggling	The federal government is right to help companies large and small because they employ millions of Americans and we need to get the economy going again
Raising the minimum wage would raise many families out of poverty and boost the economy by giving low-wage families more money to spend	Raising the minimum wage would hurt small businesses, and could make it more difficult for low-skill workers to get work as it would be more expensive for businesses to hire

## CULTURAL/SOCIAL DEBATES

Progressive position	Conservative position
Recent events have shown policing and the criminal justice system in America need major reforms to prevent the mistreatment of communities of color	Despite some isolated incidents of misconduct, our criminal justice system usually works well, and making radical changes will make it harder for the police and law enforcement to keep people safe
Anti-immigrant policies like separating children from their parents at the border and deporting people who have been in America their whole lives, are cruel, inhumane and out of step with American values	Radical policies like open borders and sanctuary cities allow dangerous criminals to come here and put the safety of our communities at risk – that’s why we need strong borders and to crack down on illegal immigration
The Black Lives Matter movement is changing the country for the better by bringing attention to the deeply-rooted systemic racism that makes it harder for Black Americans to access the American Dream	Everyone’s life should matter, no matter their race, and right now the Black Lives Matter movement is only creating more violence, disorder, and racial division across the country
The bigger concern today is states trying to ban abortions and get in the way of decisions that should be made between women and their doctors	The bigger concern today is many states make it far too easy to get an abortion and allow it far too late in pregnancy
We have not done enough to close loopholes in the law to keep guns out of dangerous hands, reduce gun violence in our schools, and keep families and children safe	Infringing on Second Amendment rights does not make people safer and punishes law abiding gun owners instead of the criminals

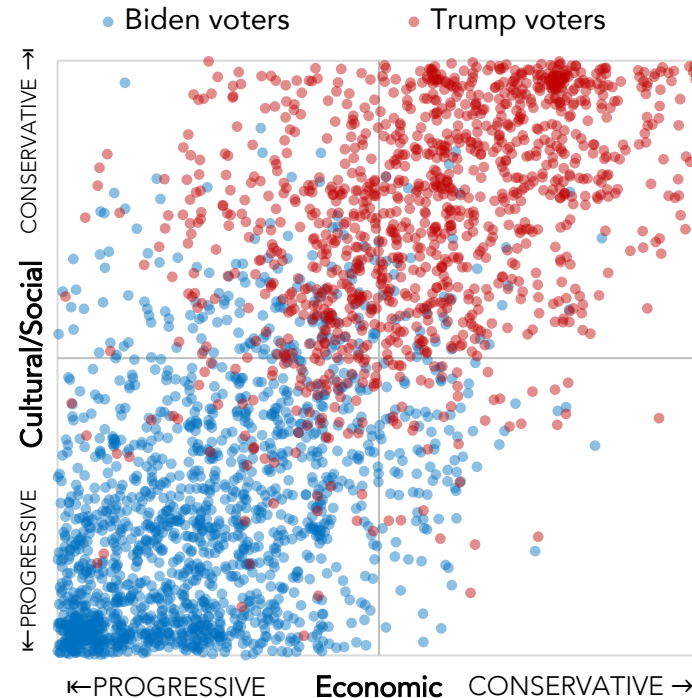
# 2020 Voters Span the Ideological Spectrum

Inspired by Lee Drutman's [Voter Study Group analysis](#) in 2016, we placed 2020 voters on our ideological scale, comprised of the 5 economic debates and 5 cultural/social debates. Trump voters are more conservative and Biden voters more progressive on both sets of issues.

- However, among 2020 Trump voters, there is a wider distribution ideologically especially on economic debates as compared to the consolidation of Biden voters around progressive cultural/social and economic views.

More conservative on cultural/social issues, more progressive on economic issues  
(17% of electorate)

More progressive on both  
(46% of electorate)



More conservative on both  
(32% of electorate)

More progressive on cultural/social issues, more conservative on economic issues  
(5% of electorate)

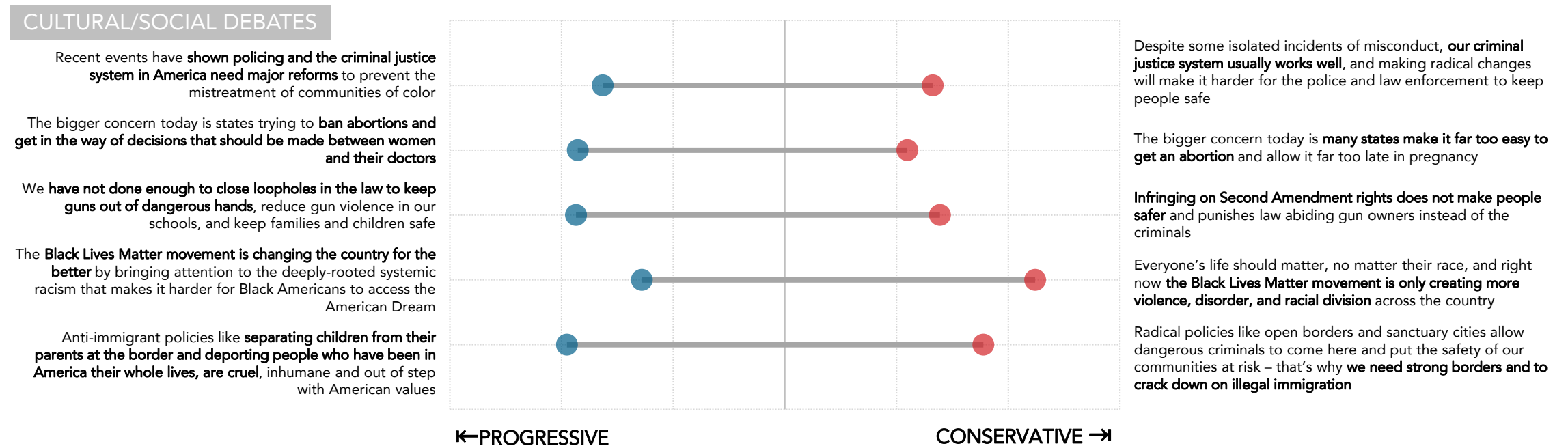
"Biden voters" and "Trump voters" are based on self-reported 2020 vote. Nationwide survey of 3,003 self-reported 2020 voters conducted October 30-November 3, 2020. Vote shares for Biden and Trump are adjusted to reflect estimates of the popular vote as of 11/16/2020.

# Biden Voters Hold Consistently More Progressive Views on Cultural/Social Issues Than Trump Voters

In the aggregate, Biden voters and Trump voters are deeply divided on all five cultural and social issues tested, including choice, guns, immigration, and racial justice.

## Average level of agreement among...

● Biden Voters ● Trump Voters



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# Trump Voters Break From a Strictly Conservative Point of View on Medicare and Social Security

On some issues related to the economy and personal finances, the average disagreement between Biden voters and Trump voters is relatively low.

## Average level of agreement among...

● Biden Voters ● Trump Voters

### ECONOMIC DEBATES

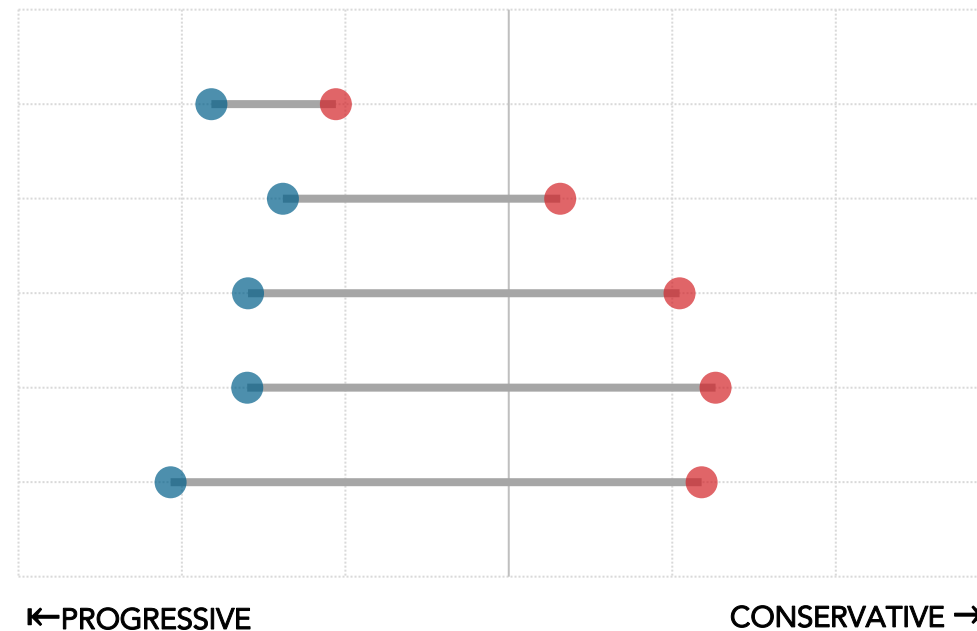
It is wrong to cut Social Security and Medicare and, if anything, benefits should be expanded to help those who paid into the programs their whole lives

The federal government has given too much of the coronavirus relief to major corporations and the wealthy and not enough to regular people, many of whom are still struggling

Raising the minimum wage would raise many families out of poverty and boost the economy by giving low-wage families more money to spend

We need to undo the massive tax breaks for wealthy individuals and big corporations so we can invest in the middle class and working families hit hardest by the pandemic

We should keep and build upon the Affordable Care Act to ensure that preexisting conditions remain protected and everyone gets health care



The hard reality is **Social Security and Medicare are not sustainable in their current forms**, and leaders need to come together around solutions that reduce entitlement costs over the long term

The **federal government is right to help companies large and small** because they employ millions of Americans and we need to get the economy going again

**Raising the minimum wage would hurt small businesses**, and could make it more difficult for low-skill workers to get work as it would be more expensive for businesses to hire

The last thing we want to do with businesses and families struggling during the pandemic is raise taxes – **taxes should remain low so that businesses continue to invest and create jobs**

We **should repeal the Affordable Care Act** which has hurt American families with skyrocketing health insurance costs by creating unnecessary government regulations

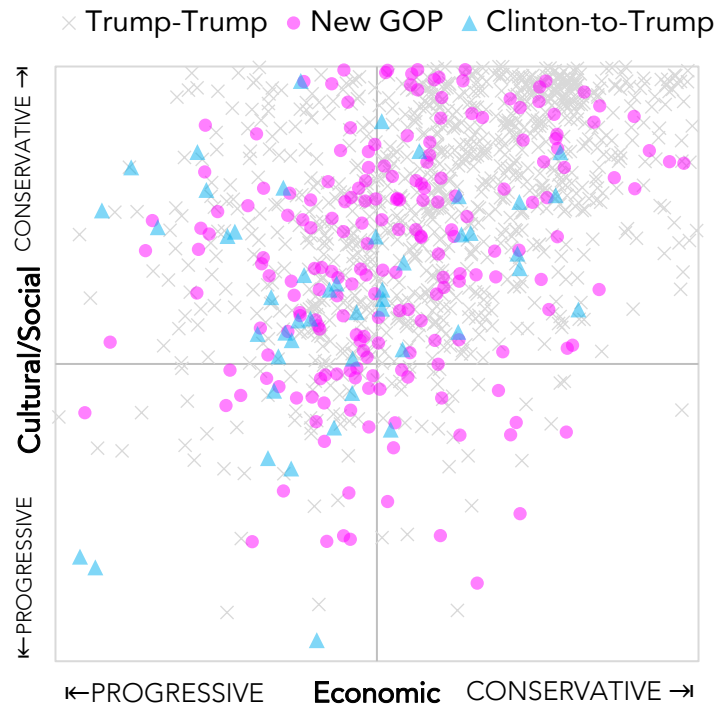
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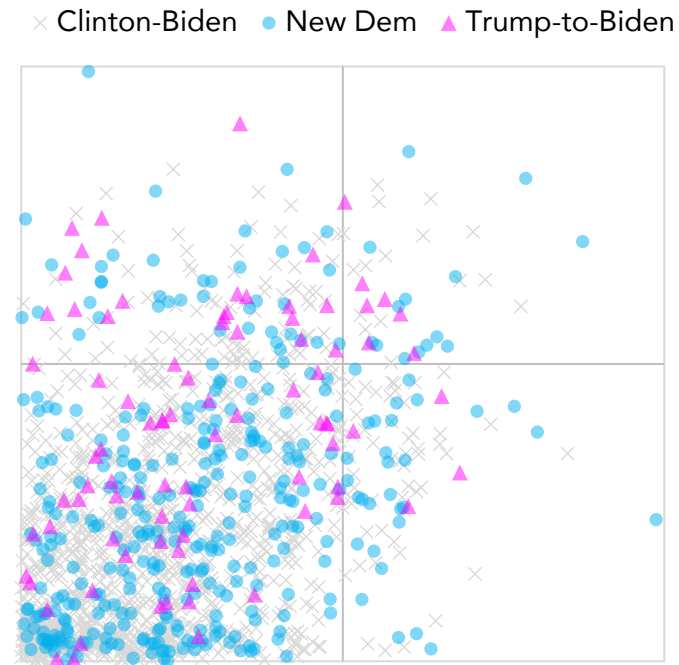
# A New Generation of Progressive Voters Was Critical for Biden, While Trump's Coalition Was More Fractured Ideologically

New Democrats were, like Biden voters overall, mostly consolidated around progressive economic and cultural/social issues. However, New Republicans showed a wider range of ideological views, again especially on economic metrics.

**2016-2020: Trump voters**



**2016-2020: Biden voters**

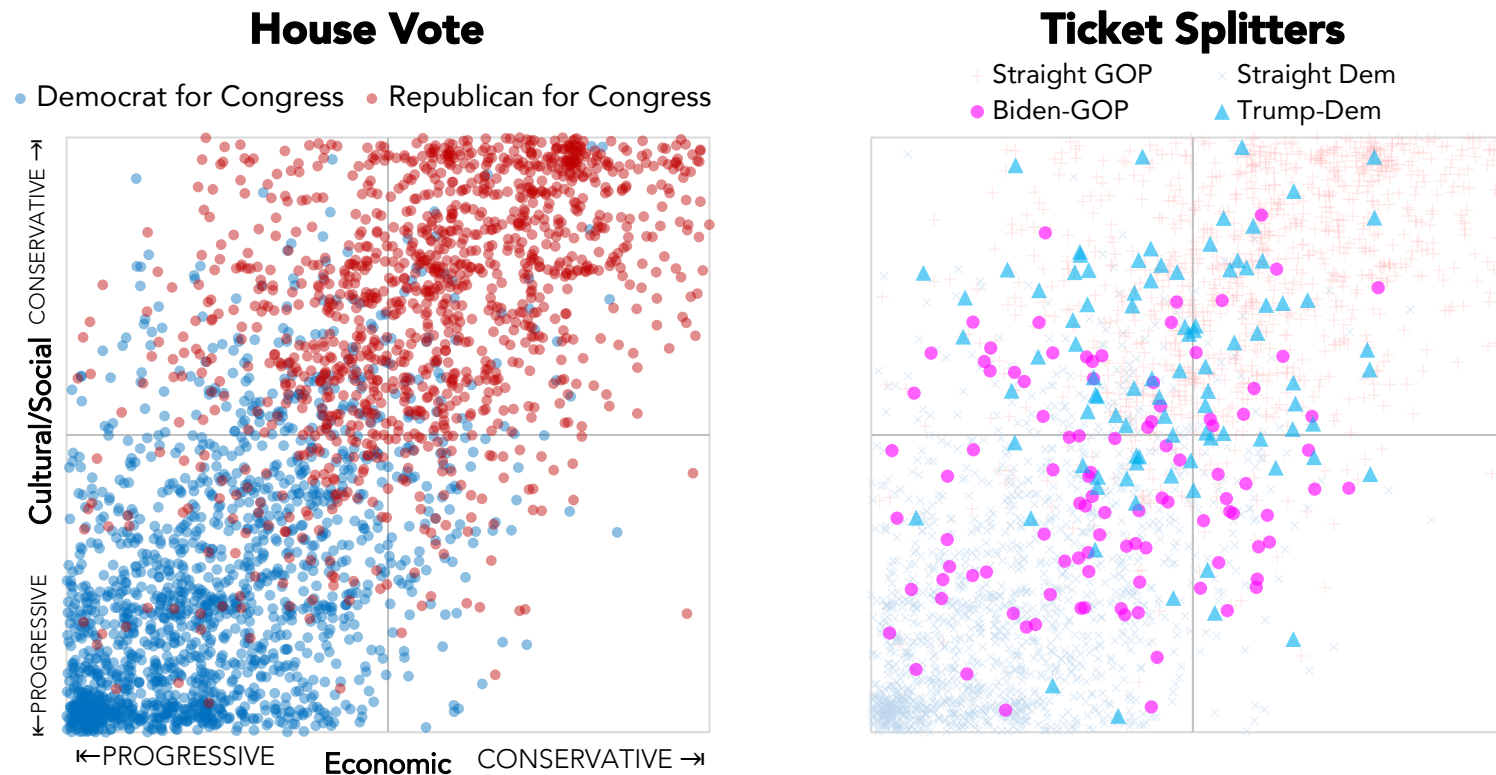


"Biden voters" and "Trump voters" are based on self-reported 2020 vote. "Trump-to-Biden voters" report voting for Trump in 2016 and Biden in 2020 (n=86); "Clinton-to-Trump voters" report voting for Clinton in 2016 and Trump in 2020 (n=48); "New Democrats" did not vote or voted 3<sup>rd</sup> party in 2016 and Biden in 2020 (n=361); "New Trump voters" did not vote or supported another candidate in 2016 and Trump in 2020 (all based on self-reported vote) (n=248). Nationwide survey of 3,003 self-reported 2020 voters conducted October 30-November 3, 2020. Vote shares for Biden and Trump are adjusted to reflect estimates of the popular vote as of 11/16/2020.



# In Down Ballot Races, Ticket Splitters Also Tended to Be Cross-Pressured on Cultural and Economic Issues

While the vote for House candidates mostly mirrors the ideological split between Biden and Trump voters, ticket splitters have more moderate views on both economic and cultural/social issues.

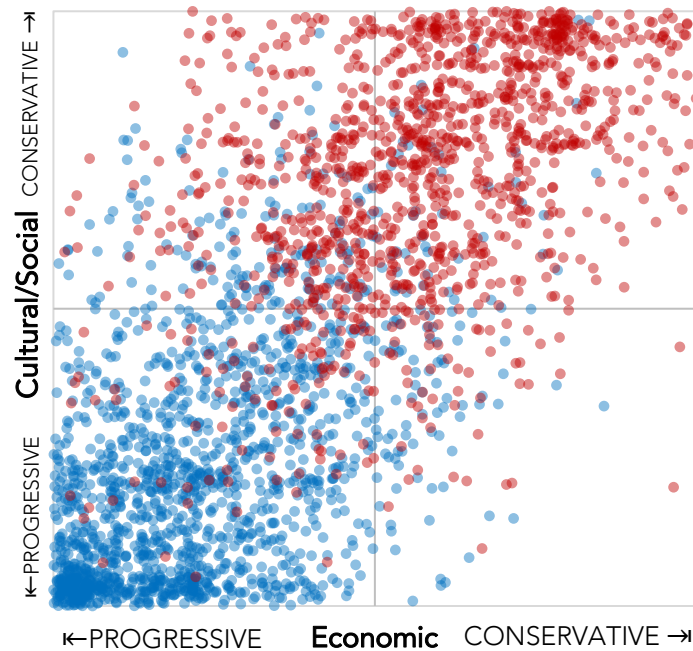


"Democrat for Congress" and "Republican for Congress" are based on self-reported 2020 vote. "Straight ticket voters" supported candidates from the same party for President, U.S. House, and U.S. Senate elections. "Biden-Republicans" supported Biden and a Republican for House or Senate (n=102); "Trump-Democrats" supported Trump and a Democrat for House or Senate (n=93). Nationwide survey of 3,003 self-reported 2020 voters conducted October 30-November 3, 2020. Vote shares for Biden and Trump are adjusted to reflect estimates of the popular vote as of 11/16/2020.

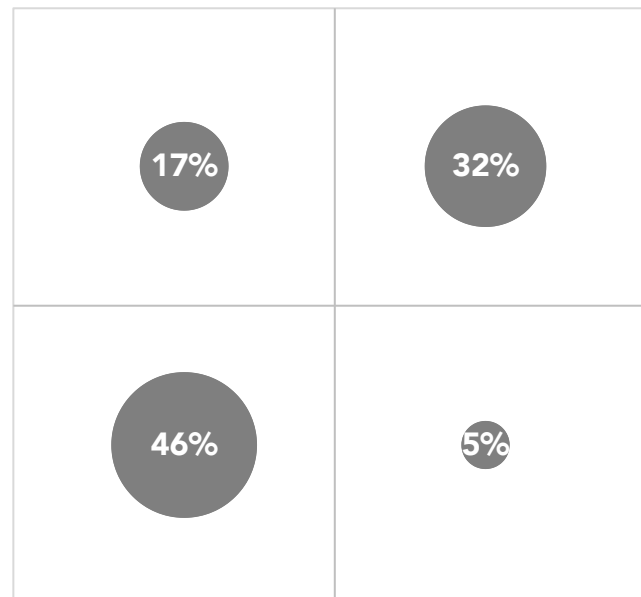
# Plurality of Consistent Progressives Key to Democratic Wins, But Opportunities Remain on Ideological Margins

Almost half of 2020 voters fell on the culturally and economically progressive sides of our scale, and a third fell on the conservative sides of each. However, more than one in five hold a mix of progressive and conservative views.

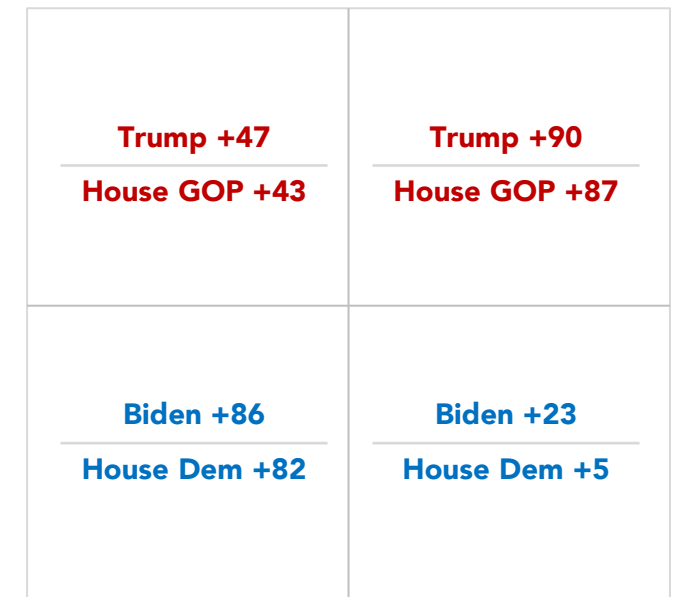
● Democrat for Congress ● Republican for Congress



Share of voters by quadrant



Voting behavior by quadrant



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# How Navigator's Numbers Compare to AP VoteCast and Exit Polls

Broadly speaking, Navigator's estimates of the presidential vote and the share of vote were closer to AP VoteCast than the Edison Exit Poll.

	Men	Women	18-29	30-44	45-64	65+	White	Black	Hispanic	Other	White Men	White Women	White Non-College	White College
<b>NAVIGATOR ELECTION POLL</b>														
Biden	48	54	64	54	47	48	43	92	68	63	40	45	35	54
Trump	50	44	33	43	52	51	56	8	30	29	58	53	63	44
<i>Share of voters</i>	46	54	14	24	35	26	75	11	9	6	36	40	46	30
<b>AP VOTECAST</b>														
Biden	46	55	61	54	48	48	43	90	63	58	39	46	35	53
Trump	52	44	36	43	51	51	55	8	35	39	59	52	62	43
<i>Share of voters</i>	47	53	13	23	36	28	74	11	9	6	36	39	43	30
<b>EDISON EXIT POLL (CNN)</b>														
Biden	45	57	60	52	49	47	41	87	65	58	38	44	32	51
Trump	53	42	36	46	50	52	58	12	32	38	61	55	67	48
<i>Share of voters</i>	48	52	17	23	38	22	67	13	13	8	35	32	35	32

Nationwide survey of 3,003 self-reported 2020 voters conducted October 30-November 3, 2020. Vote shares for Biden and Trump are adjusted to reflect estimates of the popular vote as of 11/16/2020.



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## About Navigator

In a world where the news cycle is the length of a tweet, our leaders often lack the real-time public-sentiment analysis to shape the best approaches to talking about the issues that matter the most. Navigator is designed to act as a consistent, flexible, responsive tool to inform policy debates by conducting research and reliable guidance to inform allies, elected leaders, and the press. Navigator is a project led by pollsters from Global Strategy Group and GBAO along with an advisory committee, including: Andrea Purse, progressive strategist; Arkadi Gerney, The Hub Project; Joel Payne, The Hub Project; Christina Reynolds, EMILY's List; Delvone Michael, Working Families; Felicia Wong, Roosevelt Institute; Mike Podhorzer, AFL-CIO; Jesse Ferguson, progressive strategist; Navin Nayak, Center for American Progress Action Fund; Stephanie Valencia, EquisLabs; and Melanie Newman, Planned Parenthood Action Fund.

## About the Study

Global Strategy Group conducted an online survey of 3,003 registered voters from October 30-November 3, 2020, with respondents recruited from opt-in online panel vendors. Respondents were verified against a voter file and special care was taken to ensure the demographic composition of the sample reflected that of the expected 2020 electorate. The vote shares for Joe Biden and Donald Trump among self-reported 2020 voters were also adjusted to reflect a preliminary estimate of the national popular vote in the 2020 presidential election.

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To learn more about Navigator:

<http://navigatorresearch.org>

@NavigatorSurvey on Twitter

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