

# Care + Abortion Messaging Survey





## Methodology

#### Voters

Global Strategy Group conducted a survey of **1,007 registered voters nationwide.** The survey was conducted using an online panel between August 19 and August 25, 2024.

#### **Confidence Interval**

The confidence interval at the 95% confidence level is +/- 3.1%.

The confidence interval on sub-samples is greater.

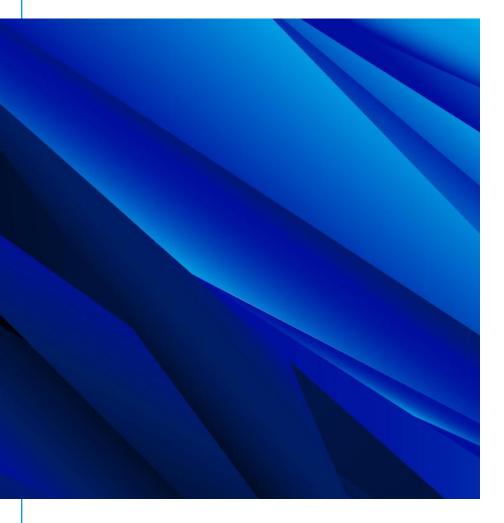
## **Key Findings**

An agenda that includes care policies and abortion is incredibly popular – more popular than protecting reproductive rights alone. Three-quarters of voters start out supportive of a care + abortion agenda that includes paid family and medical leave, affordable and accessible child care, and access to safe and legal abortion, and support remains stable throughout the survey. Support for the combined care and abortion policies is also stronger than support for abortion alone.

**Furthermore, a combined agenda provides an even greater political advantage to a supportive Democrat over abortion access alone.** When the generic ballot is defined as a Democrat who supports the care + abortion agenda versus a Republican who opposes, the Democrat leads by 27-points, a 23-point increase on the margin from the generic ballot. And this increase is greater than the increase with a Democrat who supports abortion alone (a 19-point increase on the margin).

Voters believe that a care + abortion agenda will have a positive impact on jobs, the economy, and workers, especially parents in the workforce. More than seven in ten voters believe the combined agenda will have a positive impact on parents in the workforce and nearly seven in ten believe it will have a positive impact on the overall impact on workers in general. A clear majority of voters believe it will have a positive impact on the overall economy and jobs.

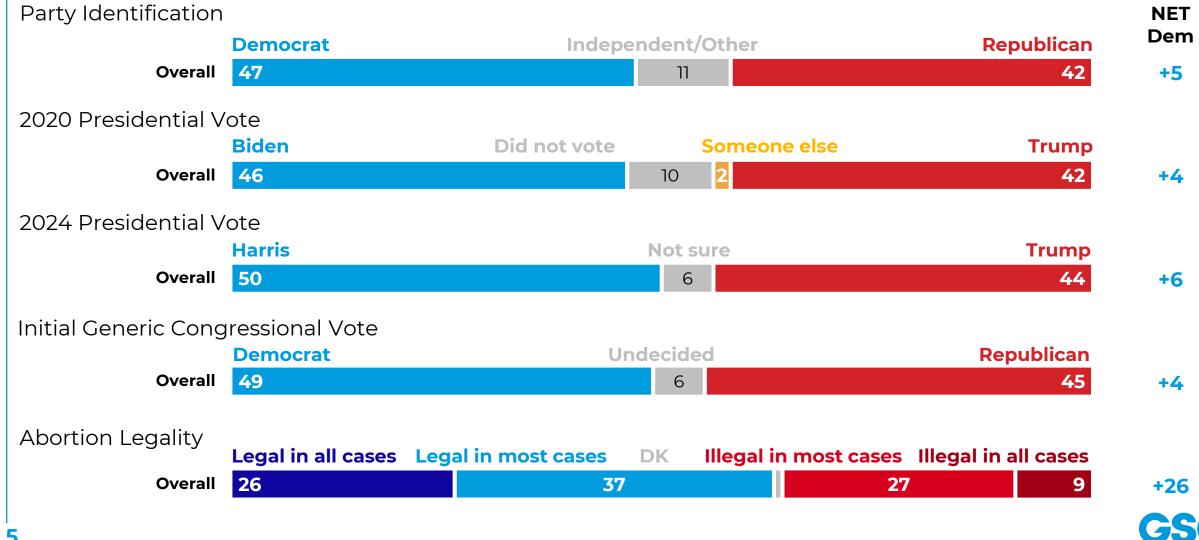
A narrative about Freedom – all people deserve the freedom to decide what is best for them and their families – is the strongest way to make the case for the care + abortion agenda. Emphasizing the need for a healthy workforce is also effective. This holds true both among voters overall, as well as across a number of key groups such as women and swing voters.



## Landscape

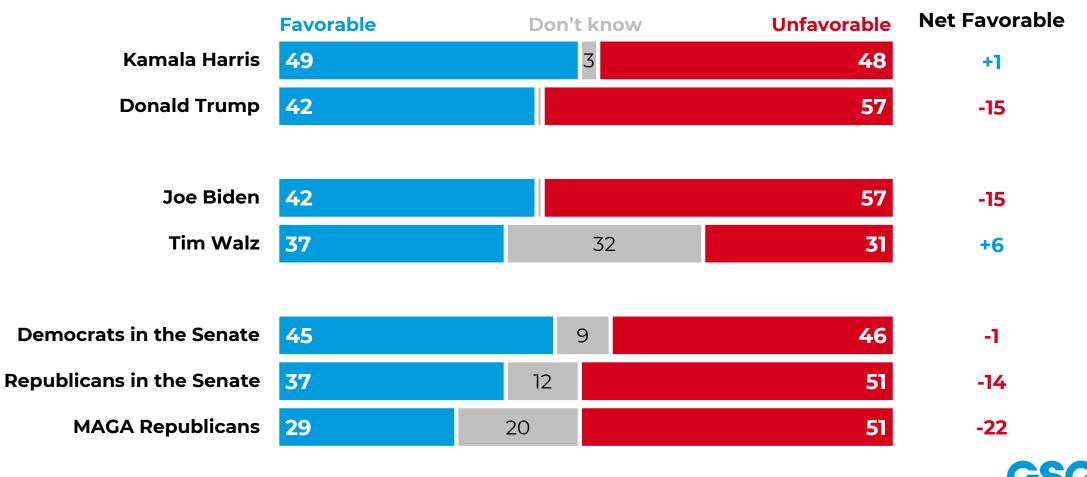


## The electorate tilts Democratic and is friendly to abortion



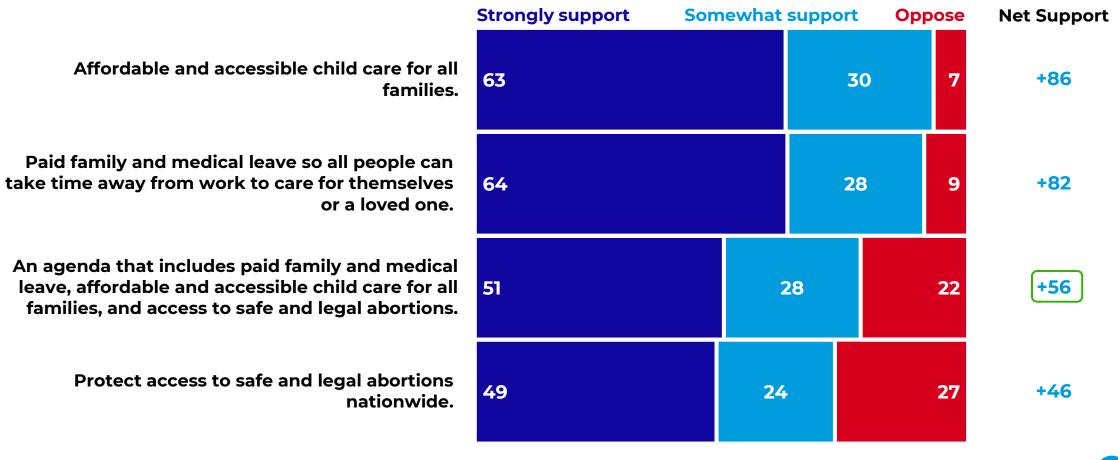
### Views of Harris and Democrats in the Senate are split, while Trump and the Republicans are underwater

Favorability of People and Groups



# All the individual polices are hugely popular; the care policies rise to the top, followed by care + abortion together

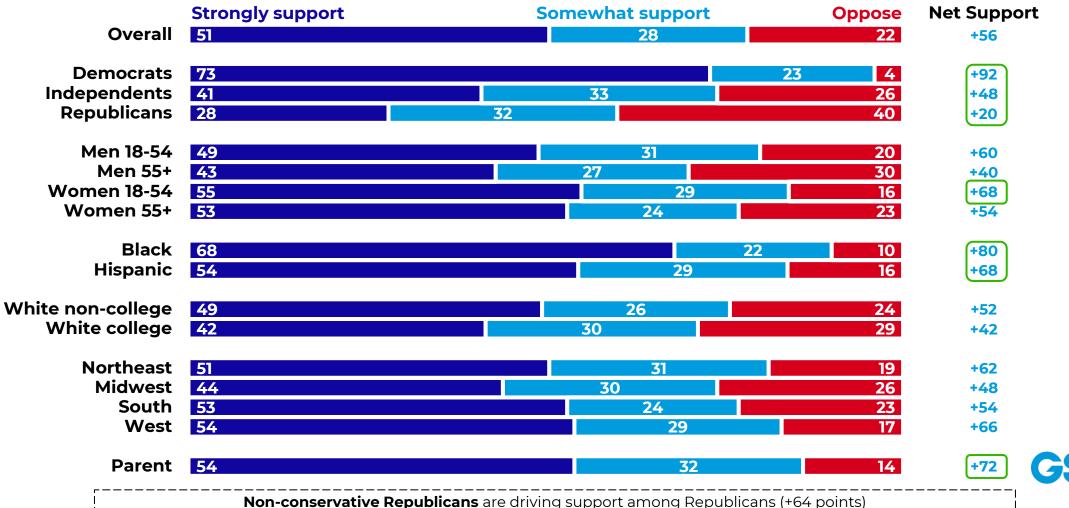
Policy Support



## The care + abortion agenda lands with every demographic, including Republicans

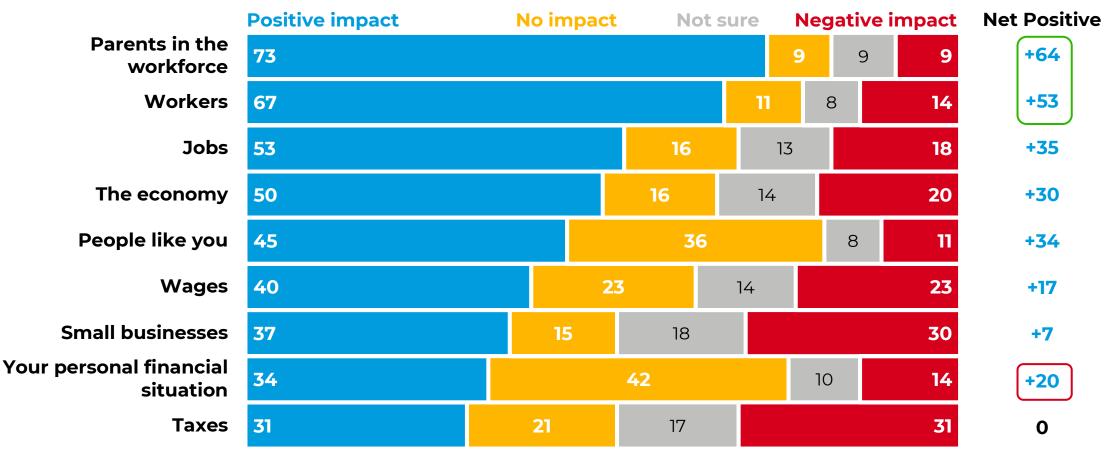
Care + Abortion Agenda Support

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Voters overwhelmingly believe the care + abortion agenda will have a positive impact on parents in the workforce, but have a tougher time connecting the policy to their personal finances

Policy Impact



# Infusing a generic Democrat with care + abortion boosts support across groups, especially among independents

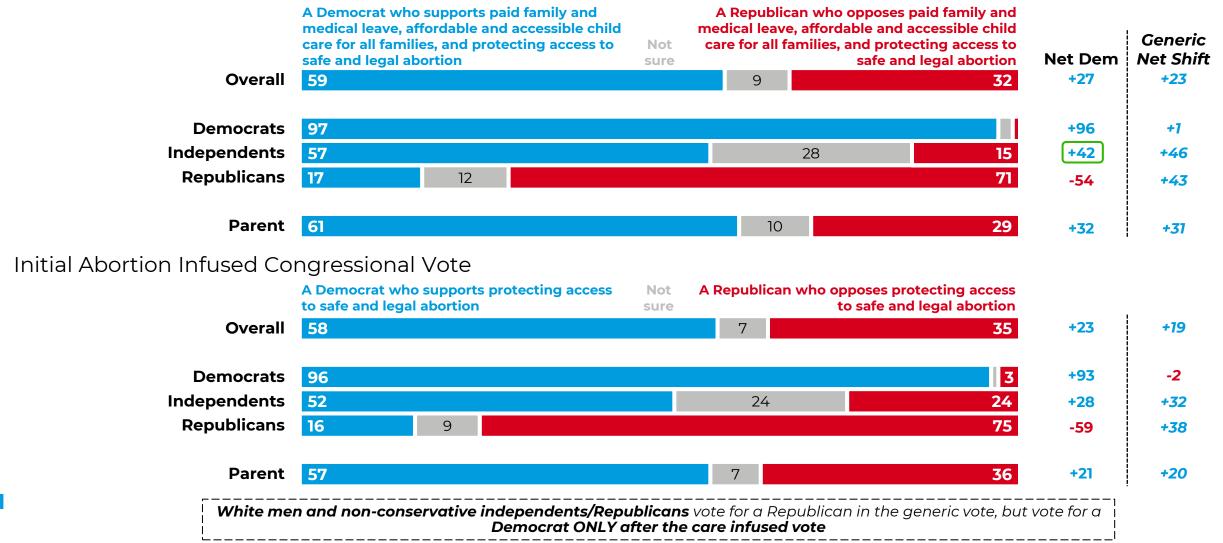
#### Initial Full Infused Congressional Vote

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	A Democrat who supports paid family and medical leave, affordable and accessible child care for all families, and protecting access to safe and legal abortion	Not sure	A Republican who opposes medical leave, affordabl child care for all families access to safe a	e and accessible	Net Dem	Generic Net Shift
Overall	59		9	32	+27	+23
Democrats	97				+96	+1
Independents	57		28	15	+42	
Republicans	<b>17</b> 12		20	71		+46
Republicans	1/			/1	-54	+43
Men 18-54	56		5	39	+17	+30
Men 55+	56		9	35	+21	+15
Women 18-54	66		12	22	+44	+24
Women 55+	56		10	34	+22	+21
Black	83			15	+68	+8
Hispanic	65		11	24	+41	+21
White non-college	51		11	38	+13	+30
White college	52		8	40	+12	+19
Northeast	56		12	32	+24	+23
Midwest	62		6	32	+30	+32
South	55			36	+19	+22
West	67		8	25	+42	+20
Parent	61		10	29	+32	+31

# Care + abortion is slightly more effective than abortion alone in a generic matchup; the difference is most notable with independents

Initial Full Infused Congressional Vote



## There is a similar trend among other key target groups

Initial Full Infused Congressional Vote			Initial Abortion Infused Congressional Vote			
	Net Dem	Generic Net Shift		Net Dem	Generic Net Shift	
Overall	+27	+23	Overall	+23	+19	
Men 18-54 Men 55+	+17 +21	+30 +15	Men 18-54 Men 55+	+10 +23	+23 +17	
Women 18-54	+44	+24	Women 18-54	+29	+9	
Women 55+	+22	+21	Women 55+	+24	+23	
Black Hispanic	+68 +41	+8 +21	Black Hispanic	+70 +37	+10 +17	
White non-college White college	+13 +12	+30 +19	White non-college White college	+3 +13	+20 +20	
Suburban men Suburban women	+13 +27	+25 +26	Suburban men Suburban women	+11 +18	+23 +17	

Voters in the Midwest and South, rural voters, suburban voters, men, and white voters vote for a Republican initially in the generic ballot but vote for a Democrat after the care infused vote.

### The large base that strongly supports the care + abortion agenda leans to the left, leaving moderates, independent voters, and younger men as persuasion targets

#### Policy Target Audiences

Non-college women (47%)

42	41	17
<b>Base</b> Always strongly support Care + Abortion agenda	<b>Swing</b> Everyone else	<b>Opposition</b> Always oppose Care + Abortion agenda
Self ID Democrats (67% are base)	Self ID independents (55% are swing)	Self ID Republicans (34% are oppo)
Liberal Democrats (77%)	<ul> <li>Non-cons. independents (58%)</li> </ul>	
<ul><li>White Democrats (73%)</li><li>Democratic women (69%)</li></ul>	Non-conservative Republicans (59%)	2020 Trump voters (35%)
		Ages 55+ (24%)
<ul> <li>Voters of color (50%)</li> <li>Black voters (55%)</li> </ul>	Moderates (52%)	• Men ages 55+ (28%)
• Non-college POC (51%)	Men 18 – 54 (49%)	White men (23%)
Liberals (74%)		College men (22%)



## Messaging



## List of Positive Messages

[HEALTHY ECONOMY] A strong economy needs a healthy workforce, where all workers have what they need to support a family, including the ability to stay home with a sick family member or a new baby, access to affordable child care that meets their family's unique needs, and to reproductive care that let's women make their own health care decisions. That is how we ensure a healthy workforce and thriving economy. [FREEDOM-POSITIVE]\* People deserve the freedom to decide what is best for them and their families. Paid family and medical leave, affordable and accessible child care, and access to safe and legal abortion give families the freedom to care for a sick family member without fear of losing their jobs, the freedom to choose a child care option for their children, and the freedom to make healthcare decisions that are right for them. [FINANCIAL BURDEN]\*\* Many families are struggling to make ends meet, and caring for a sick family member, paying for child care, and accessing abortion and reproductive health care places a huge and unnecessary financial burden on families, often pushing a parent out of the workforce. When this happens, they lose a source of income, and everyone suffers. Everyone deserves to have what they need to support their families, and that includes paid family and medical leave, affordable and accessible child care, and access to safe and everyone suffers.

**[ONLY WEALTHY]** You should not have to be a millionaire to support a family. But right now, only the very wealthy can afford to pay for child care, take off work for extended periods to care for themselves, a sick family member, or a new baby, or access abortion care, while the rest of us have no choice but to choose between our jobs, our health, and our families.

[OWN CHOICES]\* People should have the choice of how they want their lives and futures to look – whether that is the choice to have children or to take time away from work to care for sick family members while still being able to provide for their families. But these choices are hard to make without policies in place to support families. If we want to support families, we need to ensure access to safe and legal abortion when someone needs one, paid family and medical leave, and affordable and accessible child care.

[FREEDOM-NEGATIVE]\*\* People deserve the freedom to decide what is best for them and their families. Right now, because of a lack of affordable and accessible child care, paid family and medical leave, and Roe v. Wade being overturned, employers and the government are making decisions for women and families. We need access to safe and legal abortion, paid family and medical leave, and affordable and accessible child care so that women and families can make their own decisions.

**[INFLATION & COL]\*** Inflation and rising costs are placing an enormous burden on most Americans. And now that Roe v. Wade has been overturned, many women no longer have the right to make their own health care decisions. By ensuring paid family and medical leave, affordable and accessible child care, and access to abortion, we can help lower costs for families while protecting abortion rights for women.

**[WOMEN WORKERS]** Without paid family and medical leave, affordable and accessible child care, and access to safe and legal abortion, women are disproportionately pushed out of the workforce, jeopardizing the health and safety of their families and resulting in lost wages and stagnated career growth. Paid leave, affordable and accessible child care, and access to abortion keep women in the workforce.

[NO SUPPORT]\*\* If a national abortion ban is enacted, women will be forced to have a child regardless of their economic situation, without access to affordable child care and without the ability to take off work when the baby is born to care for them. And this is a situation that is already a reality for too many women. If we want to support families, we need to ensure access to safe and legal abortion when someone needs one, paid family and medical leave, and affordable and accessible child care.

\*/\*\* Denotes split sample.

### A freedom narrative – particularly with aspirational positive framing – is a key framework to talk about care + abortion, as is tying the policies to the health of the economy

Positive Democratic Messaging

	<b>Convincing by Mean</b> (ranked by overall)					
	Overall	Policy Base	Policy Swing	Dem	Ind	GOP
HEALTHY ECONOMY	3.85	4.60	3.70	4.38	3.69	3.29
FREEDOM – POSITIVE*	3.79	4.62	3.70	4.38	3.90	3.08
FINANCIAL BURDEN**	3.76	4.54	3.65	4.38	3.37	3.19
ONLY WEALTHY	3.70	4.4]	3.56	4.18	3.64	3.17
<b>OWN CHOICES*</b>	3.66	4.53	3.54	4.24	3.87	2.96
FREEDOM – NEGATIVE**	3.66	4.58	3.41	4.28	3.44	3.04
<b>INFLATION &amp; COL*</b>	3.62	4.53	3.45	4.31	3.60	2.83
WOMEN WORKERS	3.61	4.54	3.39	4.27	3.37	2.93
NO SUPPORT**	3.54	4.39	3.36	4.18	3.30	2.89

"Financial Burden" resonates strongly with **women <55 and suburban women**.



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### Top testing messages against a Republican who claims to support child care focus on leaving workers behind and providing another tax break to the wealthy

Hypothetical Anderson Opponent Statements

#### % Major Doubts (ranked by Swing)

Dolicy

Dolicy

	Overall	Policy	Policy
	Overall	Base	Swing
Anderson's plan would not require employers to provide paid leave or child care, leaving many workers and families without access to either	48	74	34
Anderson's plan would provide another tax giveaway to wealthy people who already have paid family and medical leave and don't need help affording child care*	47	73	34
Anderson's plan does not provide job protections for those who use paid family and medical leave	46	72	33
Anderson's plan does not address the lack of child care providers in many parts of the country, leaving families without adequate options	44	69	32
Anderson's plan would provide another tax giveaway to wealthy people, instead of making the wealthy pay their fair share so that all families have access to child care and paid family and medical leave**	43	66	31
Anderson's plan to reduce red tape and regulations would reduce the quality of care and make kids less safe	40	63	28
Anderson's proposed tax credits are a drop in the bucket and would only save a family a couple hundred dollars each year*	40	60	28
Anderson's proposed tax credits are not enough to cover the cost of child care for many families, which can cost more than a family's mortgage**	40	66	27
Anderson's plan is opposed by child care providers. They want real investments in child care, not band-aid solutions	41	69	26

Women are also concerned that this plan would not address the lack of child care providers, and **suburban women** are concerned about the cost of child care, especially when framing as more than a family's mortgage.

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## **Conclusions and Recommendations**



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While both care policies and abortion alone are popular, tying them together generates broader support.

**Tying care + abortion together is also effective in increasing support for Democratic candidates.** Support for a care + abortion agenda provides a 23-point advantage to a supportive Democrat over the generic vote – demonstrating the strong support behind the policies. Compared to a Democrat who has a narrower focus on abortion, a care + abortion agenda provides a slight advantage, but these findings are magnified among key target groups – including independents, women, especially younger women and suburban women, younger men, and non-college white voters. The impact of the care and abortion on the generic ballot is more significant than any other issue we've looked at.

Not only is the care + abortion agenda popular, but it provides an additional pathway to talk about the economy. While care + abortion agenda only provides a small advantage over abortion alone, it does provide an additional pathway to talk about the economy and increase the saliency of both issues. While it is widely acknowledged that tying abortion to the economy is not the best way to talk to voters, care policies are essential to the well-being of the economy. Not only does the "Healthy Economy" message resonate, but voters also believe the care + abortion agenda will have a positive impact on the economy. Tying care + abortion together creates a framework to address a key issue that voters care about – the economy – while increasing the saliency of the abortion + care policies.

In addition to the economy, freedom is the key framework to talk about care + abortion policies. A more positive framing of freedom – the freedom for families to make the decisions that are best for their families, including the freedom to access child care, paid leave, and abortion – rather than a negative framing that emphasizes the current role of the government and employers in making decisions instead of families themselves is stronger. Furthermore, emphasizing that a strong economy needs a healthy workforce, and that these policies will ensure both, speaks to an issue that is top-of-mind for most voters including swing voters. Acknowledging the financial burdens families are facing also resonates, especially with women.

## **Conclusions and Recommendations**

**Emphasizing that Republican proposals will leave many workers behind and provide another tax break for the wealthy resonates with voters and can provide an effective attack lane.** Although voters are generally open to the Republican's care proposal, providing incentives to provide child care and paid leave with no real enforcement mechanisms raises red flags for voters, and is an effective lane of attack for Democrats to go after the Republican's watered-down policy. Pushing off of the wealthy also speaks to voters' frustrations. Acknowledging the realities of the current child care landscape – both the lack of providers and the cost burden – is also a key way to communicate concerns to women.

The most persuadable voters on the paid leave, child care, and abortion agenda are moderate voters, independents, and younger men.

Voters who initially vote for the Republican candidate in the generic ballot, but vote for a Democratic after the care infused vote are:

- Voters in the Midwest
- Voters in the South
- Men especially men <55
- White voters especially white non-college and white women
- Rural voters especially women
- Suburban voters

And voters who initially vote for the Republican candidate in the generic ballot, but vote for a Democratic candidate ONLY after the care infused vote, not the abortion infused vote, are white men and non-conservative independents/Republicans

## **Recommended Language**

#### **Positive frameworks in support of care + abortion:**

- People deserve the freedom to decide what is best for them and their families. Paid family and medical leave, affordable and accessible child care, and access to safe and legal abortion give families the freedom to care for a sick family member without fear of losing their jobs, the freedom to choose a child care option for their children, and the freedom to make healthcare decisions that are right for them.
- A strong economy needs a healthy workforce, where all workers have what they need to support a family, including
  the ability to stay home with a sick family member or a new baby, access to affordable child care that meets their
  family's unique needs, and to reproductive care that let's women make their own health care decisions. That is how we
  ensure a healthy workforce and thriving economy.
- Many families are struggling to make ends meet, and caring for a sick family member, paying for child care, and accessing abortion and reproductive health care places a huge and unnecessary financial burden on families, often pushing a parent out of the workforce. When this happens, they lose a source of income, and everyone suffers. Everyone deserves to have what they need to support their families, and that includes paid family and medical leave, affordable and accessible child care, and access to safe and legal abortion.

#### Negative frameworks in opposition to Republican candidates and care agenda:

- Anderson's plan would not require employers to provide paid leave or child care, leaving many workers and families without access to either
- Anderson's plan would provide another tax giveaway to wealthy people who already have paid family and medical leave and don't need help affording child care

# Thank You

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