



CHANGE
RESEARCH™

TFA Poll Briefing

November 2024

About Change Research



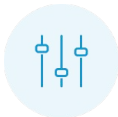
Fast. Accurate. Affordable.

Who We Are



Change Research was founded in 2017 with the mission of improving American democracy by making public opinion insights more accessible to forward-thinking political campaigns and advocacy organizations. We are a team of pollsters, engineers, data scientists, and strategists. Our team brings expertise in methodological innovation, research design, public opinion, and strategic consulting.

Our Unique Approach



All of our surveys are completed online, but we do **not** use panels! We recruit new participants for every poll using targeted online advertisements on websites and social media platforms, and using SMS text-to-web.

Our Products



In addition to custom polling, we offer:

- **Spark** candidate viability & election tracking (standardized and cost-effective polling)
- **Magnify** AI targeting (custom modeling)
- **Voices** qualitative research (in-depth interviews and text-based chats)

Context by the numbers

100+
Republicans

Ran on anti-trans
platforms

\$200m+

Spent on anti-trans
attacks on Harris &
U.S. Senate Democrats

3.1% ↓

Post-ad decline in
acceptance of a trans
friend or family
member

Did anti-trans attacks move votes?

METHODOLOGY

Understanding the impact of
anti-trans attack ads on U.S.
Senate and presidential
election outcomes



Surveyed n = 1,455 likely voters (78% already voted, 21% say they will definitely vote) November 1-5, 2024, in 8 U.S. Senate battleground states



Respondents were recruited via dynamic online sampling and SMS to obtain a sample reflective of the population.



Post-stratification performed on age, gender, race/ethnicity, state, and 2024 presidential and U.S. Senate vote choice.



The modeled margin of error is 2.8%

SAMPLE OVERVIEW



52% Women
47% Men
1% Neither of these



75% White
12% Hispanic
7% Black
3% AAPI
3% Other identity



44% Biden 2020
46% Trump 2020
2% Other
8% Didn't vote



17% 18-34
24% 35-49
28% 50-64
30% 65+

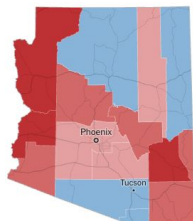


79% Decided U.S. Senate
vote before Sept
21% Decided Sept or later



33% AZ/MI/NV
66% MT/OH/PA/TX/WI

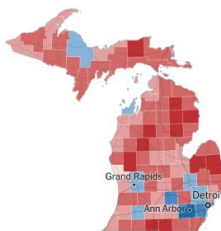
Battleground Results



47% Harris
52% Trump

50% Gallego

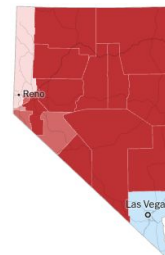
48% Lake



48% Harris
50% Trump

49% Slotkin

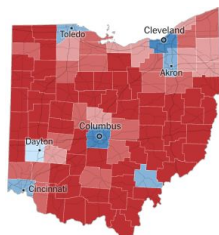
48% Rogers



47% Harris
51% Trump

47% Rosen

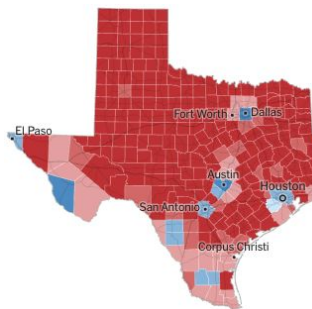
47% Brown



44% Harris
55% Trump

46% Brown

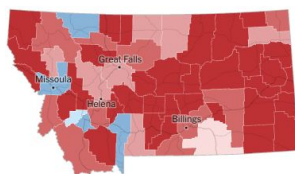
50% Moreno



42% Harris
56% Trump

45% Allred

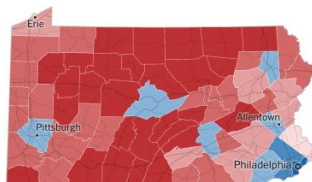
53% Cruz



38% Harris
59% Trump

45% Tester

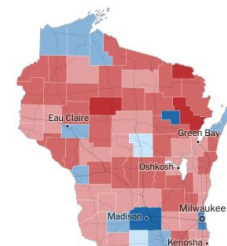
53% Sheehy



49% Harris
50% Trump

49% Casey

49% McCormick

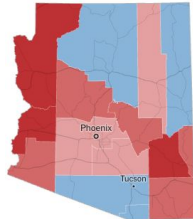


49% Harris
50% Trump

49% Baldwin

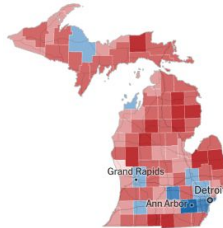
49% Hovde

Battleground Results: “Light” trans messaging



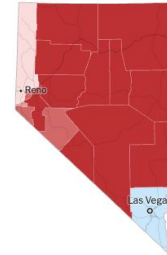
47% Harris
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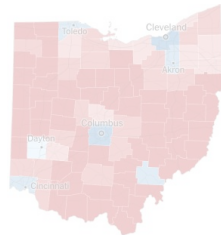
48% Harris
50% Trump

49% Slotkin
48% Rogers



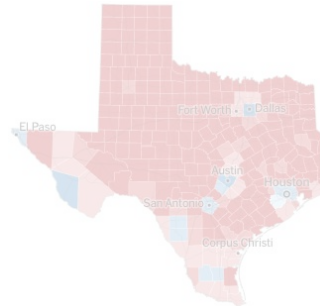
47% Harris
51% Trump

47% Rosen
47% Brown



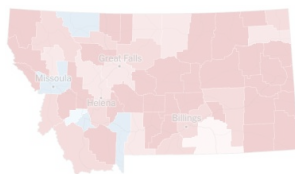
44% Harris
55% Trump

46% Brown
50% Moreno



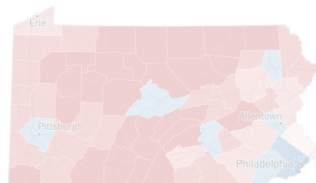
42% Harris
56% Trump

45% Allred
53% Cruz



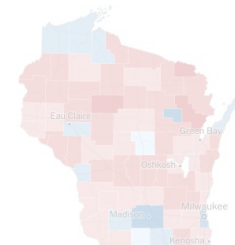
38% Harris
59% Trump

45% Tester
53% Sheehy



49% Harris
50% Trump

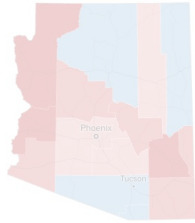
49% Casey
49% McCormick



49% Harris
50% Trump

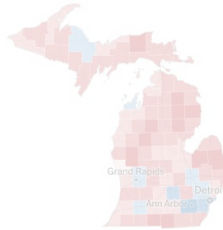
49% Baldwin
49% Hovde

Battleground Results: “Heavy” trans messaging



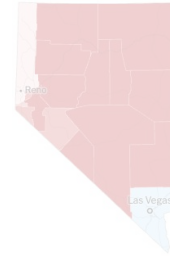
47% Harris
52% Trump

50% Gallego
48% Lake



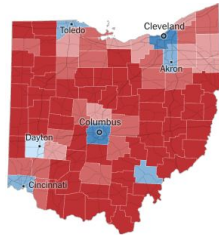
48% Harris
50% Trump

49% Slotkin
48% Rogers



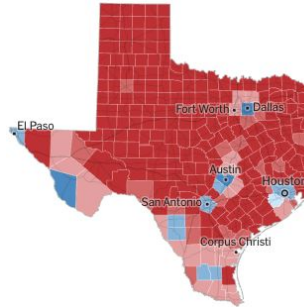
47% Harris
51% Trump

47% Rosen
47% Brown



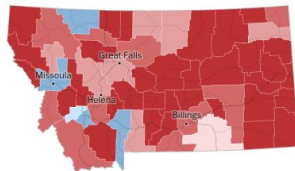
44% Harris
55% Trump

46% Brown
50% Moreno



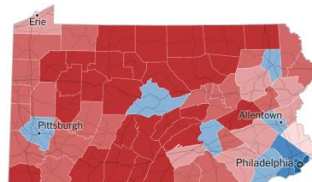
42% Harris
56% Trump

45% Allred
53% Cruz



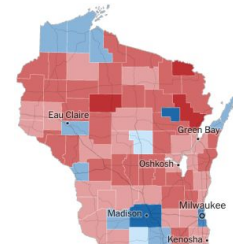
38% Harris
59% Trump

45% Tester
53% Sheehy



49% Harris
50% Trump

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49% McCormick

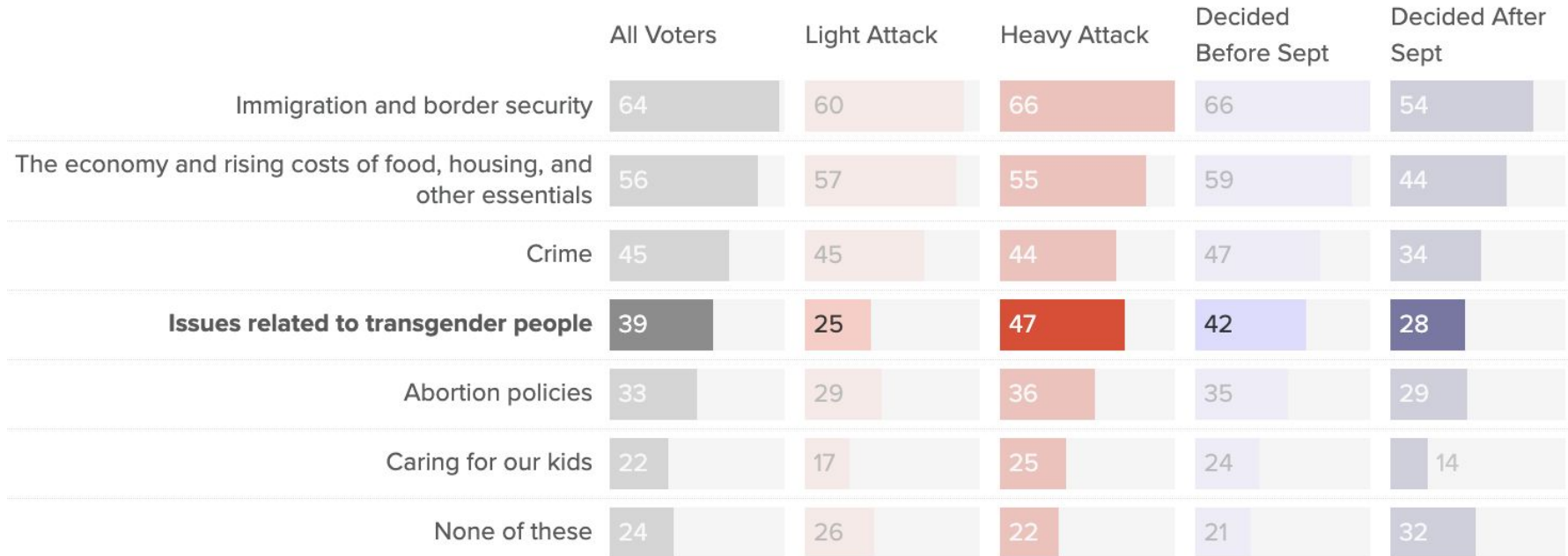


49% Harris
50% Trump

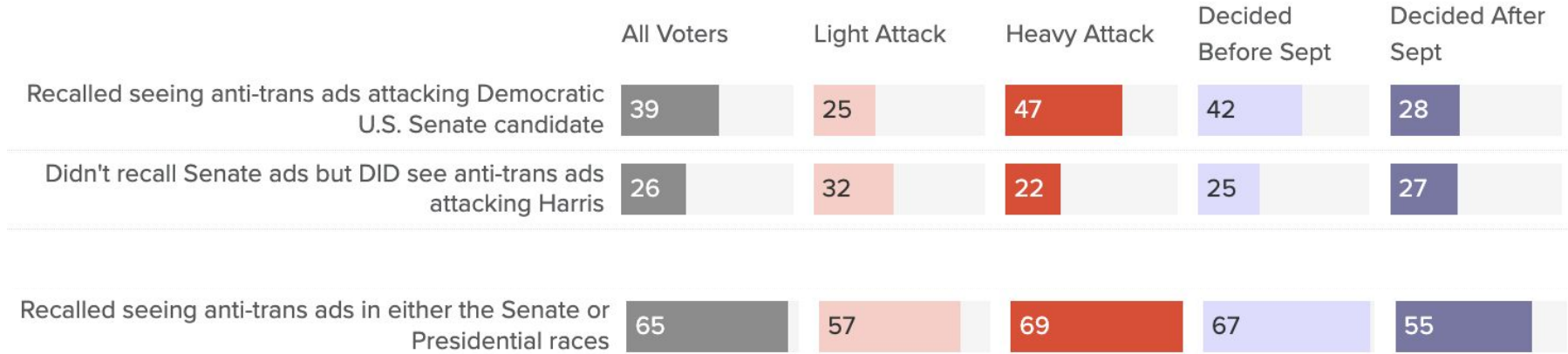
49% Baldwin
49% Hovde

Many battleground voters saw anti-trans ads

Select all that apply. In the past 30 days, have you seen negative advertisements about [DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR U.S. SENATE]’s record on:



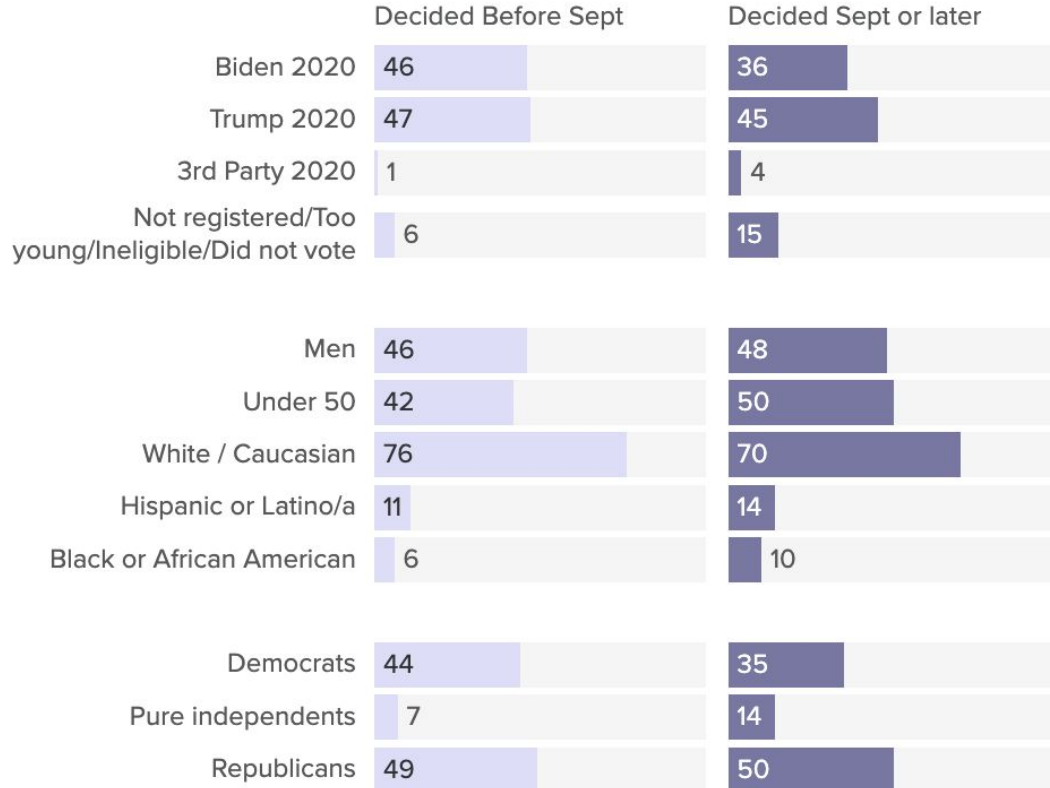
Many battleground voters saw anti-trans ads



Two-thirds of voters in U.S. Senate battleground states saw anti-trans attack ads in either the U.S. Senate or presidential races, including half of late deciders—those who hadn't made up their mind about who to vote for until the fall.

There was tremendous POTENTIAL for these ads to impact votes in the 2024 election.

1 in 5 voters were “Late Deciders.” Who are they?



The majority of late deciders made their U.S. Senate vote choice decision in October/November:

- 37% decided in September
- 56% in October
- 6% in November

As we saw in 2020, late deciders in 2024 were more Trumpy than early deciders.

They’re more likely to identify as independents and less likely to identify as Democrats relative to early deciders.

They’re disproportionately:

- Men
- Younger
- Hispanic/Latino(a)
- Black

No evidence that anti-trans ads attacking U.S. Senate candidates impacted vote choice



	All Voters	Didn't see ads	Saw ads
Biden 2020	44	37	54
Trump 2020	46	51	38
Margin	-2	-14 ←	16 ←

Those who report seeing anti-trans ads lean left, while those who don't recall seeing ads lean right.

No evidence that anti-trans ads attacking U.S. Senate candidates impacted vote choice



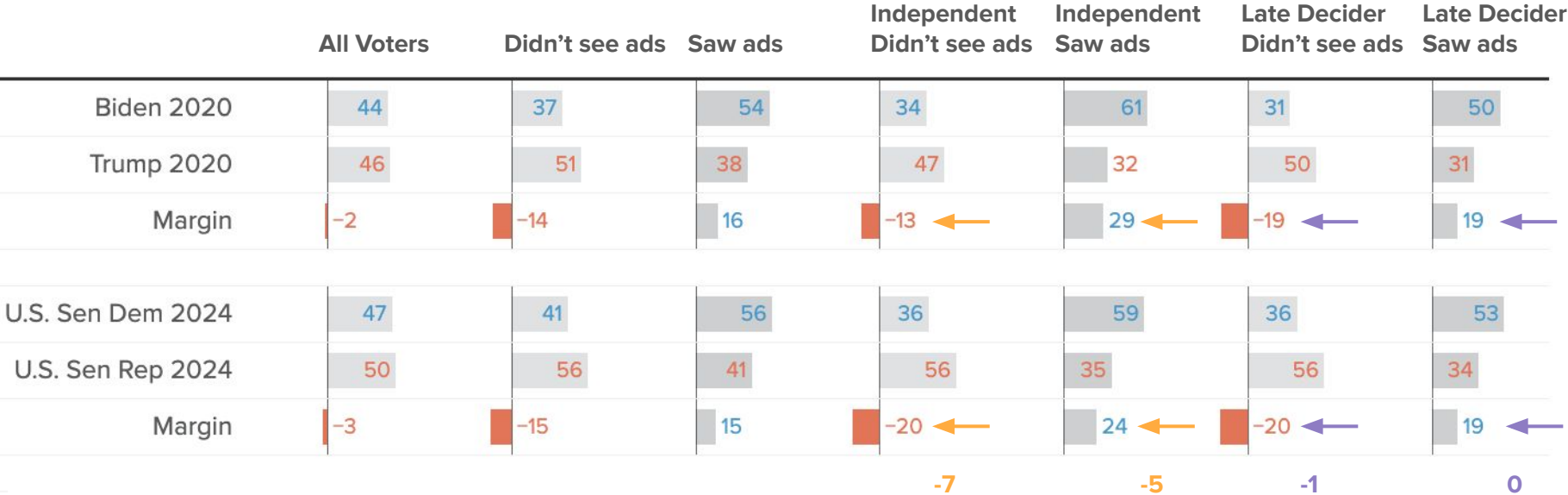
	All Voters	Didn't see ads	Saw ads
Biden 2020	44	37	54
Trump 2020	46	51	38
Margin	-2	-14 ←	16 ←
U.S. Sen Dem 2024	47	41	56
U.S. Sen Rep 2024	50	56	41
Margin	-3	-15 ←	15 ←
		-1	-1

Democratic U.S. Senate candidates performed on par with Biden 2020 in battleground states, with a 1-point drop in margin among those who saw ads AND those who didn't.

POTENTIAL EXPLANATIONS:

- Ads were ineffective
- The GOP's ad targeting was ineffective
- Some combination of the above

No evidence that anti-trans ads attacking U.S. Senate candidates impacted vote choice



No evidence that anti-trans ads attacking U.S. Senate candidates impacted vote choice



	All Voters	Light Attack (AZ/MI/NV)	Heavy Attack (MT/OH/PA/TX/WI)
Biden 2020	44	46	43
Trump 2020	46	46	46
Margin	-2	0 ←	-3 ←
U.S. Sen Dem 2024	47	48	46
U.S. Sen Rep 2024	50	48	51
Margin	-3	0 ←	-5 ←
		0	-2

No evidence that anti-trans ads attacking U.S. Senate candidates impacted vote choice



Some evidence that late deciders may have been moved by ads attacking Democrats on the economy



	Late Deciders	Late Deciders Didn't see trans ads	Late Deciders Saw trans ads
Biden 2020	36	31	50
Trump 2020	45	50	31
Margin	-8	-19 ←	19 ←
U.S. Sen Dem 2024	41	36	53
U.S. Sen Rep 2024	50	56	34
Margin	-9	-20 ←	19 ←
		-1	0

Some evidence that late deciders may have been moved by ads attacking Democrats on the economy



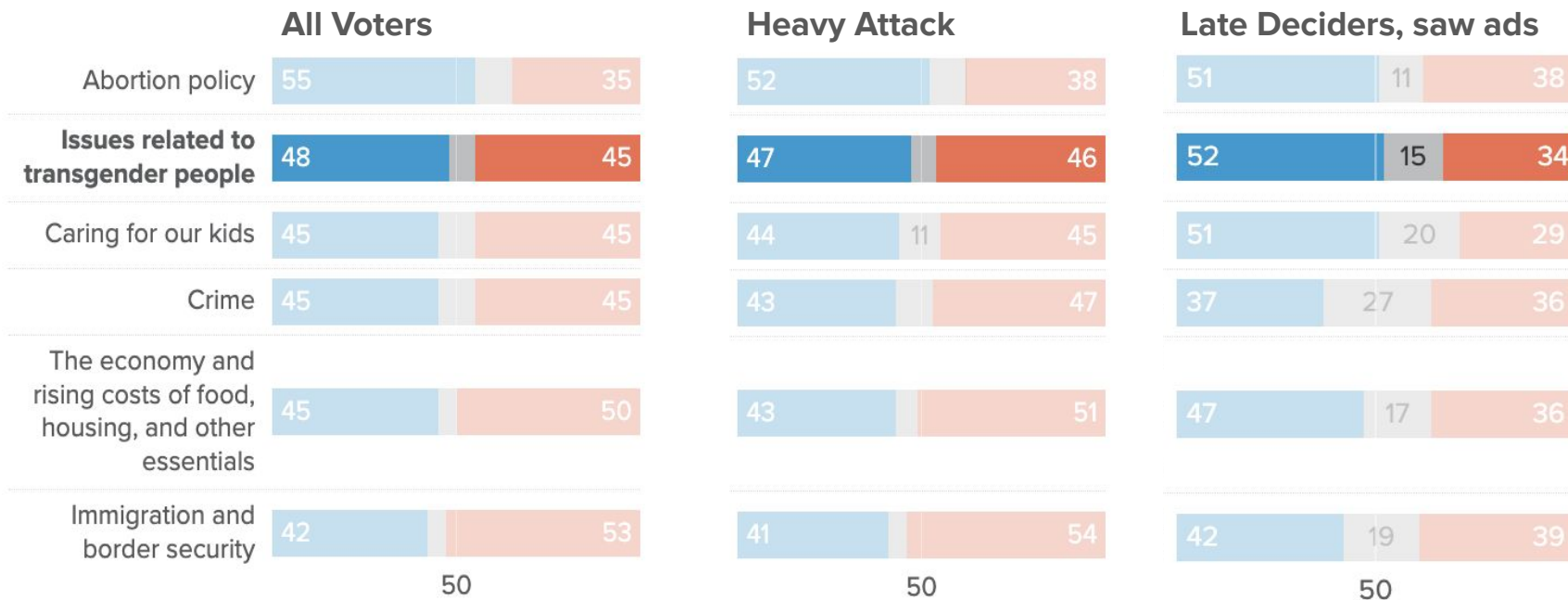
	Late Deciders	Late Deciders Didn't see trans ads	Late Deciders Saw trans ads	Late Deciders Didn't see immigration ads	Late Deciders Saw immigration ads	Late Deciders Didn't see economy ads	Late Deciders Saw economy ads
Biden 2020	36	31	50	34	38	34	39
Trump 2020	45	50	31	47	42	46	42
Margin	-8	-19	19	-13 ←	-4 ←	-12 ←	-3 ←
U.S. Sen Dem 2024	41	36	53	36	44	39	43
U.S. Sen Rep 2024	50	56	34	51	49	51	49
Margin	-9	-20	19	-15 ←	-5 ←	-12 ←	-6 ←
				-2	-1	0	-3

Voters trust Democratic candidates for U.S. Senate to handle issues pertaining to transgender people



Who do you trust more to handle each of the following issues?

● The Democrat ● Both equally ● The Republican



Voters are turned off by anti-trans U.S. Senate attack ads



● Strongly agree ● Somewhat agree

All Voters

Even though I don't like watching negative political ads, these ads are talking about issues that I find concerning.

33 26 59

These ads provide concerning examples of how extreme [DEM CANDIDATE FOR U.S. SENATE] is.

36 17 53

These ads show that [GOP CANDIDATE FOR U.S. SENATE] is focusing on the wrong issues.

46 11 57

These ads are mean-spirited.

57 15 72

If I have to see political ads, I'd rather see ones about other issues I care about more.

57 25 82

These ads use transgender people as political tools to stoke divisions for political gain.

64 12 76

Republican Voters

54 30 84

66 25 91

9 10 19

27 20 47

39 33 72

35 20 55

Believe most trans people choose to be transgender

48 29 77

51 25 76

23 9 32

33 24 57

54 24 78

50 16 66

Voters are turned off by anti-trans U.S. Senate attack ads



● Strongly agree ● Somewhat agree

All Voters

Even though I don't like watching negative political ads, these ads are talking about issues that I find concerning.

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27 20 47

39 33 72

35 20 55

Believe most people choose to be transgender

48 29 77

51 25 76

23 9 32

33 24 57

54 24 78

50 16 66

Strong agreement with our rebuttals

● Strongly agree
 ● Somewhat agree
 ● Not sure
 ● Somewhat disagree
 ● Strongly disagree

We need leaders who focus on the problems everyday Americans are facing, not politicians stirring up divisions around transgender people for their own political gain.



Healthcare decisions for a young person who is transgender should be made by parents and doctors, who know the situation best – not politicians.



Local schools and sports associations should be in charge of policies pertaining to transgender athletes, not politicians.



KEY TAKEAWAYS



There was HUGE potential for anti-trans messaging to make a difference in U.S. Senate battleground outcomes. Two-in-five (39%) voters saw ads attacking the Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate on trans issues. Nearly half (47%) of voters in the races we identified as heavily anti-trans (MT/OH/PA/TX/WI) saw ads attacking the Democratic candidate on trans issues.

We see no evidence that ads on trans issues impacted vote choice. Those who saw the ads voted for U.S. Senate in line with how they voted for president in 2020. Independents and Late Deciders' vote choices weren't impacted by these ads. Voters who saw these ads in states where these ads were backed with heavy resources were not impacted. We do see some suggestive evidence that ads attacking Democratic candidates on the economy may have had an impact on Late Deciders' vote choice.

Across the ideological and partisan spectra, voters say that the ads they saw attacking the Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate on trans issues were off-putting. They say these ads are mean-spirited (71% agree, including 57% of those who believe most transgender people choose to be transgender), they use transgender people as political tools for political gain (76% agree, including 55% of self-identified Republican voters), and that they'd rather see political ads about issues they care about more (81% agree, including 71% of those who voted for the GOP candidate for U.S. Senate).

We have strong, resonant language to respond to anti-trans messaging.

THANK YOU

QUESTIONS?

Betsy App, PhD (she/her)
betsy@changeresearch.com



MAXIMIZE YOUR RESEARCH SPEND



Change Research's innovative and integrated products allow you to better understand and reach voters, all while staying on-budget.

Magnify AI Targeting

Leveraging groundbreaking and innovative new technology, quickly and easily get modeled targeting lists based on the already-affordable polling you do with Change Research.

Voices Chats

Chat reaches participants where they are—on their phone and on the move. Texting allows for casual, nimble conversions, allowing you to quickly get a read of how voters are thinking and feeling.

Voices IDIs

IDI brings the traditional in-depth-interview into the future. They're the perfect solution when you need to have a thorough conversation or to see how a participant reacts, all while avoiding the pitfalls of a focus group.