# HARVARD CAPS DOLL





#### **SURVEY METHOD**

This survey was conducted online within the United States from Field Dates: September 15-16, 2021 among 1,578 registered voters by The Harris Poll.

Results were weighted for age within gender, region, race/ethnicity, marital status, household size, income, employment, education, political party, and political ideology where necessary to align them with their actual proportions in the population. Propensity score weighting was also used to adjust for respondents' propensity to be online.

The poll was supervised by pollsters:

Mark Penn (Chairman, The Harris Poll)

Dritan Nesho (CEO, HarrisX)

Prof. Stephen Ansolabehere (CAPS Director, Harvard)

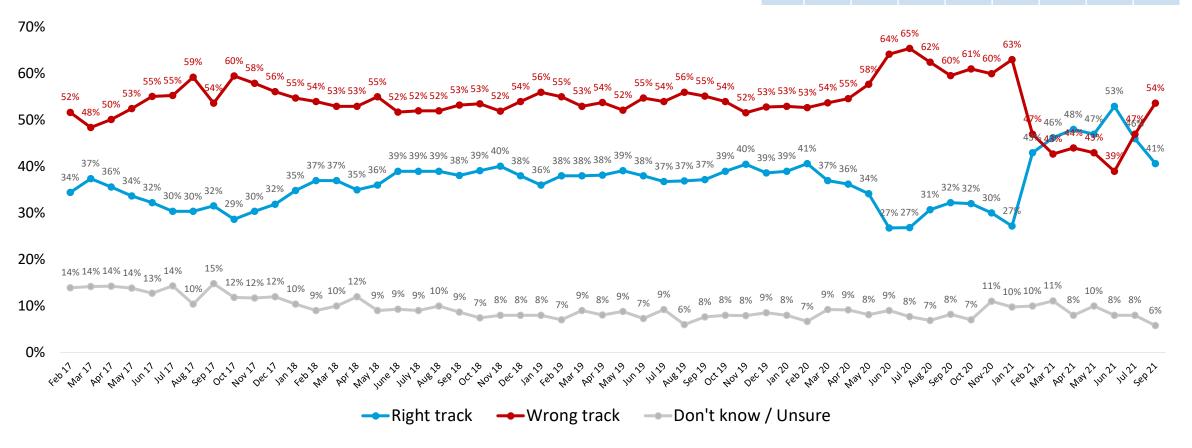
## APPROVAL AND MOOD OF COUNTRY

## A MAJORITY OF VOTERS SAY THE COUNTRY IS ON THE WRONG TRACK

### % Who Say "Right Track"

	01/21	02/21	03/21	04/21	5/21	6/21	7/21	9/21
GOP	34%	26%	24%	25%	27%	32%	28%	19%
DEM	27%	68%	73%	75%	76%	81%	73%	71%
IND	19%	34%	39%	41%	36%	44%	32%	29%

#### **Country: Right Track / Wrong Track**

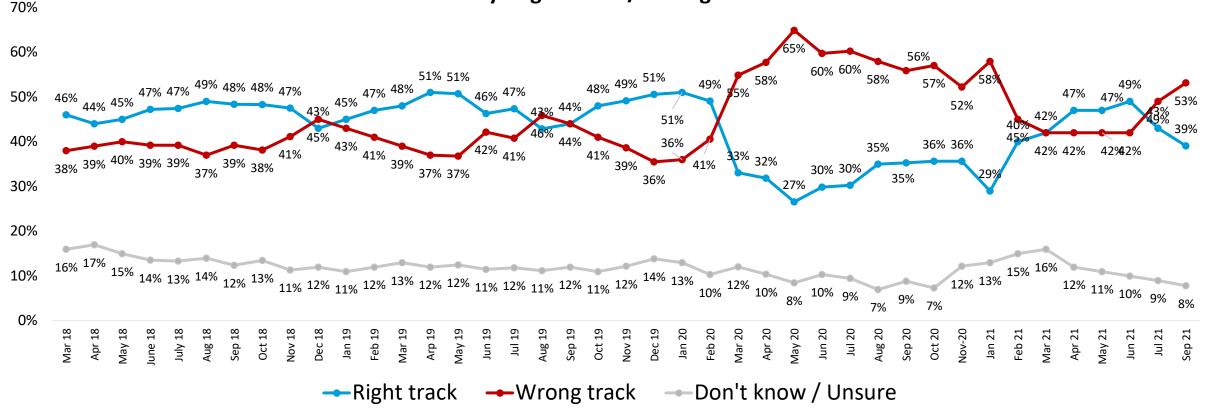


### % Who Say "Right Track"

## A MAJORITY OF VOTERS SAY THE ECONOMY IS ON THE WRONG TRACK

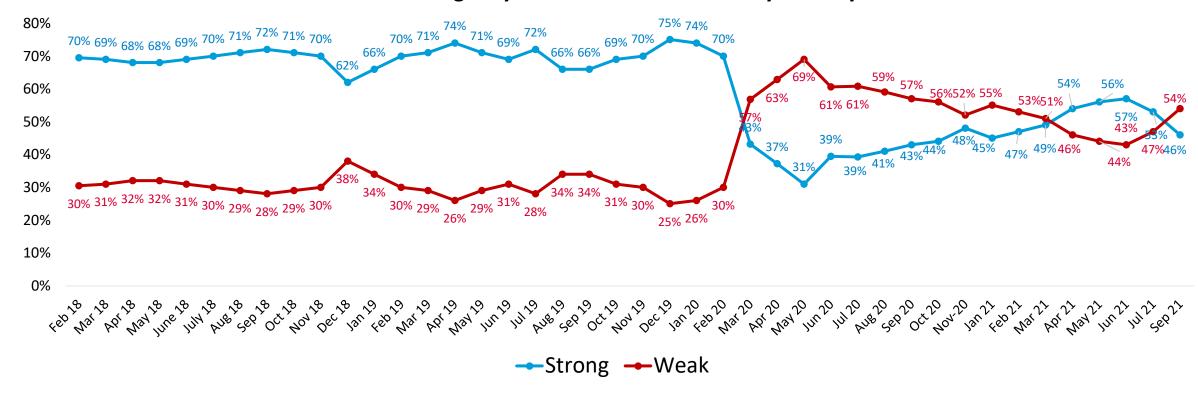
	01/21	02/21	03/21	04/21	5/21	6/21	7/21	9/21
GOP	39%	26%	25%	28%	27%	29%	28%	20%
DEM	25%	60%	64%	70%	76%	71%	67%	66%
IND	23%	34%	34%	39%	36%	45%	30%	29%

#### **US Economy: Right Track / Wrong Track**



#### VOTERS INCREASINGLY SEE THE STRENGTH OF THE ECONOMY AS DECREASING

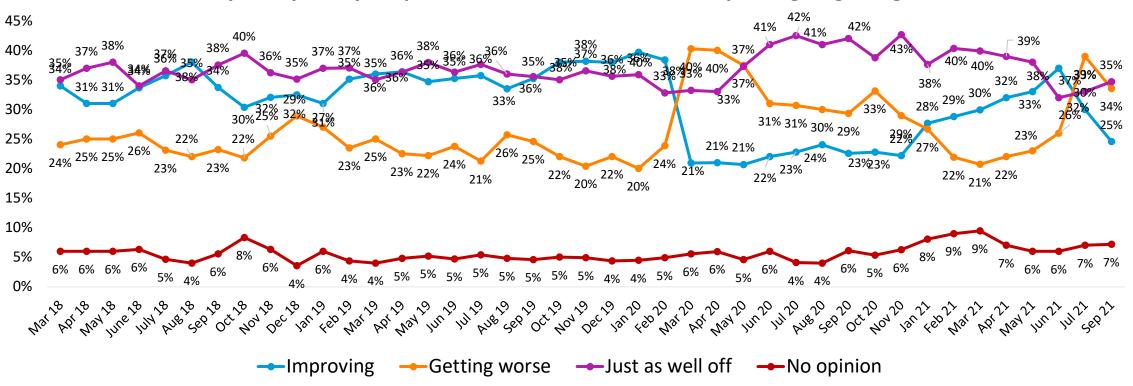
#### How strong do you think the U.S. economy is today?



6 13. How strong do you think the U.S. economy is today?

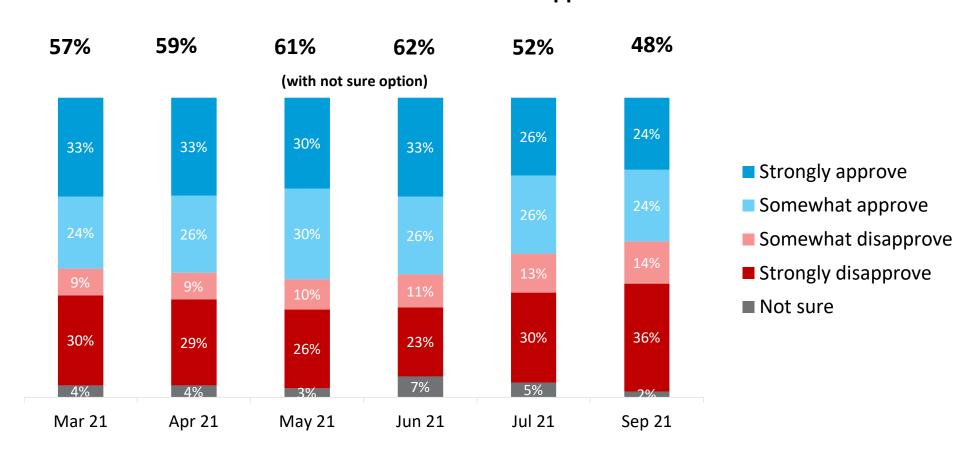
### VOTERS' FINANCIAL SITUATION APPEARS TO BE DECREASING AGAIN

#### Would you say that your personal financial situation is improving or getting worse?



## BIDEN'S APPROVAL FALLS FOR SECOND WAVE IN A ROW; NOW UNDERWATER AT 48 PERCENT

### **President Biden Overall Approval**

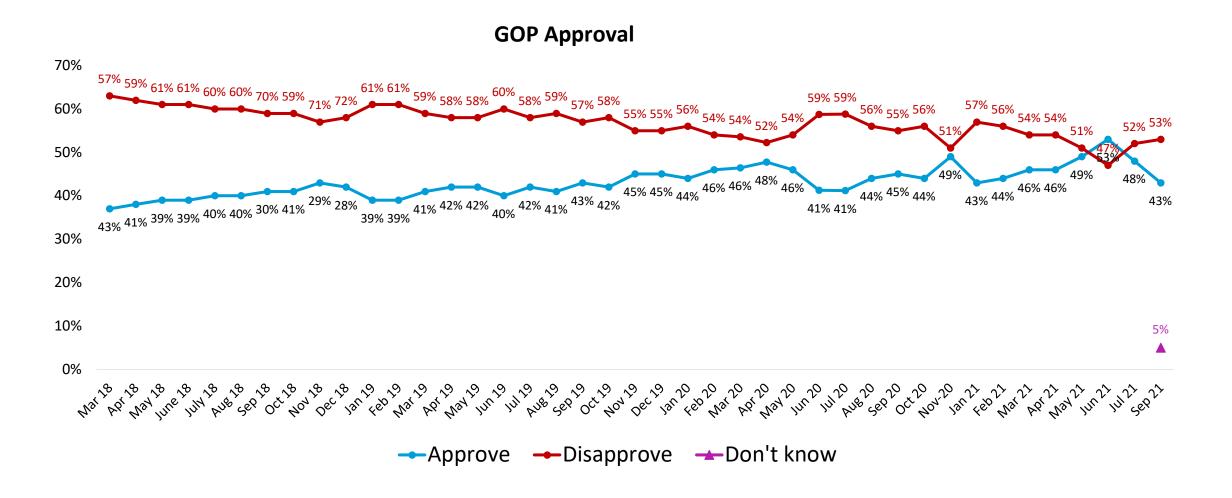


## BIDEN'S HANDING OF SEVERAL AREAS OF HIS JOB PERFORMANCE HAS SLID BELOW 50 PERCENT; HE REMAINS POSITIVE IN HANDLING COVID-19

### Approve Biden on... (Strongly or Somewhat Approve)

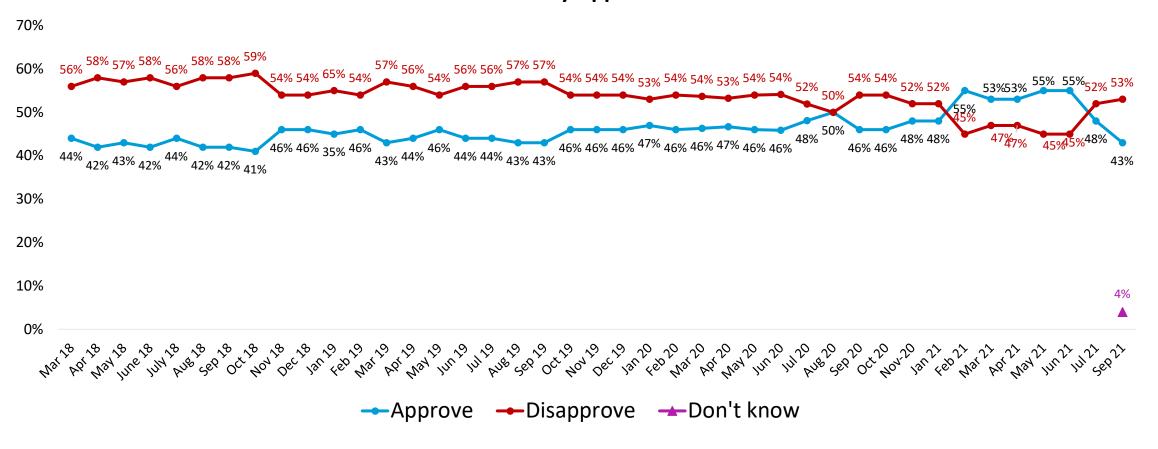
	January 2021 (Trump)	February 2021 (Biden)	March 2021	April 2021	May 2021	June 2021	July 2021	Sept 2021 (T2B)
The Economy	56%	61%	60%	60%	62%	61%	54%	44%
Stimulating Jobs	58%	58%	59%	59%	62%	61%	57%	46%
Fighting Terrorism	55%	59%	59%	58%	59%	59%	54%	41%
Immigration	52%	56%	48%	52%	53%	52%	49%	40%
Foreign Affairs	52%	61%	56%	58%	58%	59%	53%	40%
Administering the Gov't	49%	62%	60%	62%	61%	62%	57%	45%
Reacting to coronavirus	47%	68%	71%	69%	70%	69%	63%	52%
Dealing with violence and crime in the country				55%	56%	56%	50%	41%
Handling Afghanistan								35%

## GOP AND DEMOCRATIC APPROCAL ARE BOTH DOWN AND REMAIN TIED; WITH DON'T KNOW CHOICE ADDED FOR RESPONDENTS, BOTH PARTIES FALL TO 43 PERCENT APPROVAL



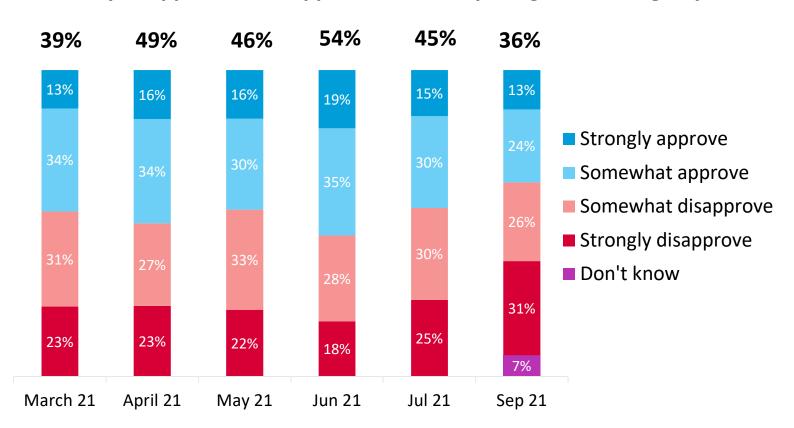
### GOP AND DEMOCRATIC APPROCAL REMAINS TIED AT 43 PERCENT

#### **Democratic Party Approval**



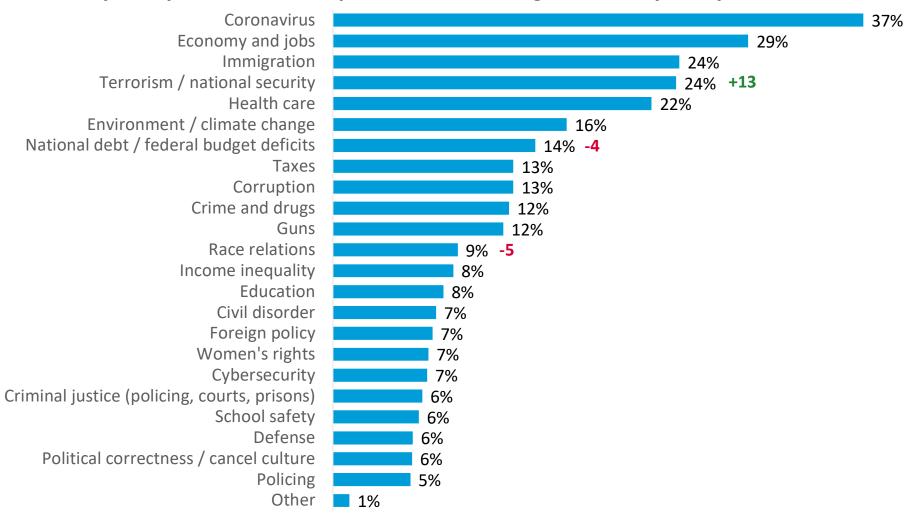
### OVERALL CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL IS DOWN, NOW IN THE MID-30S

### Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is doing its job?



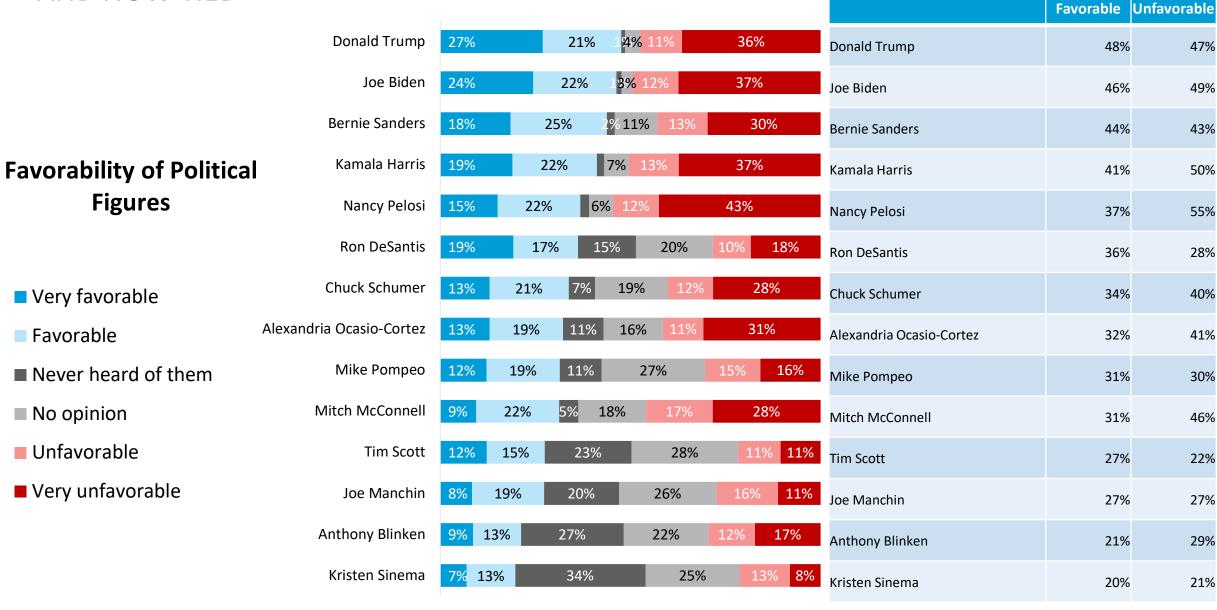
### TERRORISM / NATIONAL SECURITY HAS JUMPED UP AS AN ISSUE THE LAST 6 WEEKS

#### What would you say are the most important issues facing the country today? Please select three.

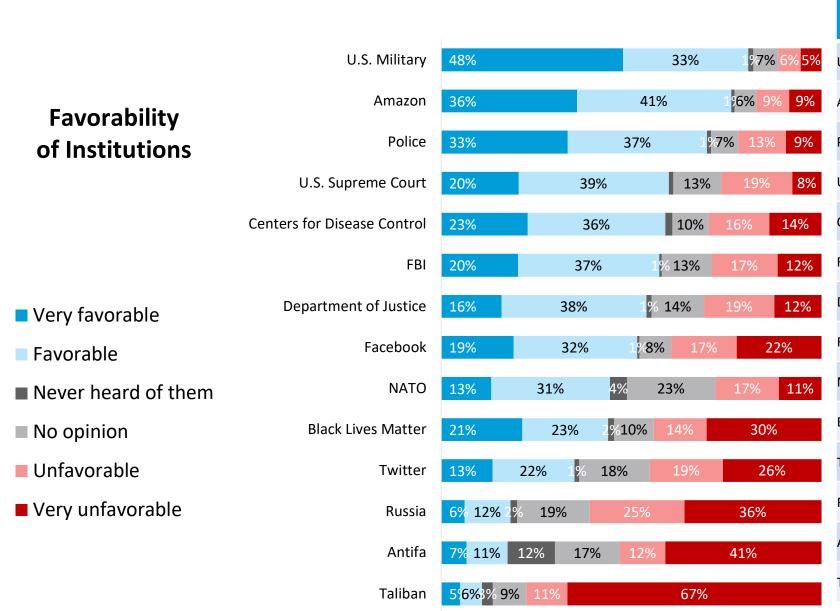


DONALD TRUMP AND JOE BIDEN ARE THE MOST FAVORED FIGURES IN THE COUNTY,





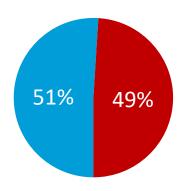
## MILITARY, POLICE, AND SCOTUS TOP GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS



	Favorable	Unfavorable
U.S. Military	81%	11%
Amazon	76%	17%
Police	70%	22%
U.S. Supreme Court	60%	26%
Centers for Disease Control	59%	30%
FBI	57%	29%
Department of Justice	54%	31%
Facebook	51%	40%
NATO	44%	28%
Black Lives Matter	44%	44%
Twitter	35%	45%
Russia	18%	61%
Antifa	17%	53%
Taliban	11%	77%

## VOTERS SPLIT ON WHETHER JOE BIDEN IS MENTALLY FIT, BUT MAJORITY SAY HE IS SHOWING HE IS TOO OLD

Is Joe Biden mentally fit to serve as President of the United States or do you have doubts about his fitness for office? (Split sample)

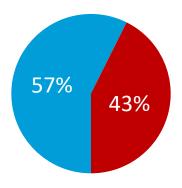


- He is mentally fit
- I have doubts about his fitness

	Fit	Have doubts
DEM	87%	13%
GOP	19%	81%
IND	46%	54%
65+	41%	59%

Do you think Joe Biden is showing he is too old to be President or do you think he is showing he is fit to be president?

(Split sample)

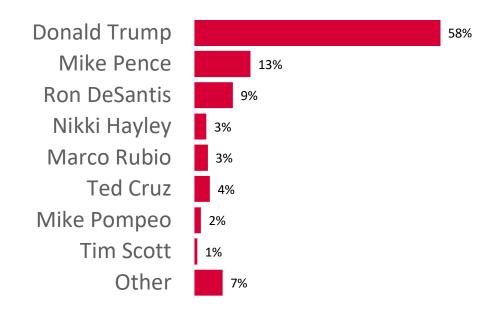


- Showing he is too old
- Showing he is fit to be president

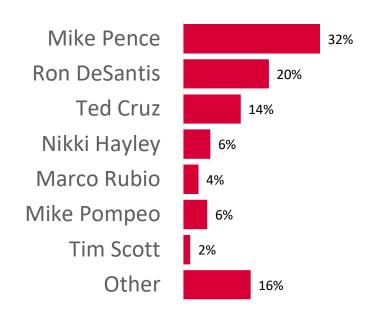
	Too old	Fit
DEM	28%	72%
GOP	87%	13%
IND	58%	42%

## TRUMP IS A CLEAR FAVORITE IN A PROSPECTIVE GOP PRIMARY; PENCE A DISTANT SECOND

## If the Republican presidential primary for the 2024 election was held today, who would you vote for? (GOP Voters)

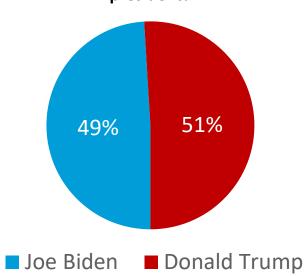


### If former President Donald Trump does not run for president in 2024, who would you vote for in the GOP primary? (GOP Voters)



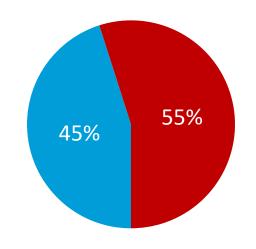
### VOTERS ARE SPLIT ON WHETHER TRUMP OR BIDEN HAS BEEN A BETTER PRESIDENT

Who do you think was (has been) a better president?



	Biden	Trump
DEM	90%	10%
GOP	7%	93%
IND	50%	50%
White	42%	58%
18-34	58%	42%
65+	41%	59%

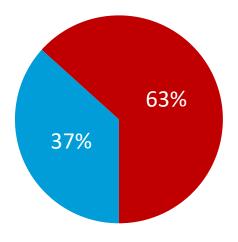
Who do you think was (has been) a better Vice President?



■ Kamala Harris ■ Mike Pence

	Harris	Pence
DEM	81%	19%
GOP	10%	90%
IND	43%	57%
White	38%	62%
Black	79%	21%
18-34	58%	42%
50+	36%	64%

Who do you think was (has been) a better Secretary of State?



	Blinken	Pompeo
DEM	57%	43%
GOP	15%	85%
IND	37%	63%
White	34%	66%
Black	79%	21%

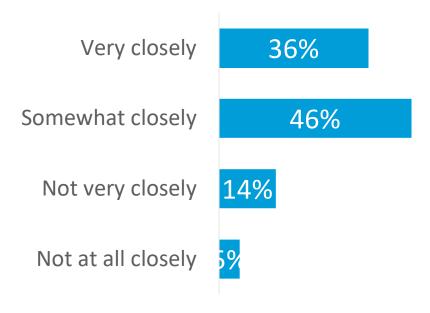
■ Tony Blinken ■ Mike Pompeo

**LEADER1.** Who do you think was (has been) a better president? **LEADER2.** Who do you think was (has been) a better Vice President? **LEADER3.** Who do you think was (has been) a better Secretary of State?

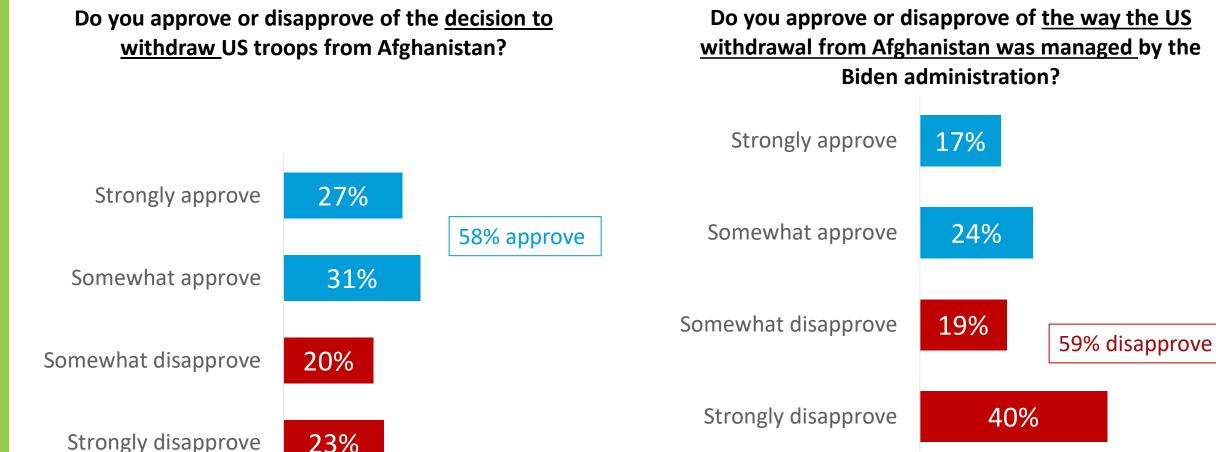
## AFGHANISTAN

## MOST VOTERS HAVE BEEN PAYING CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE U.S. PULLOUT FROM AFGHANISTAN

## How closely have you followed recent news about the pullout of US troops from Afghanistan?



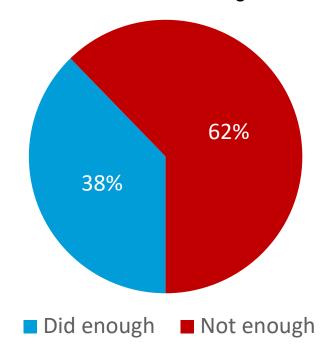
### VOTERS APPROVE OF THE DECISION TO WITHDRAW FROM AFGHANISTAN AND DISAPPROVE OF HOW IT WAS MANAGED



**A2.** Do you approve or disapprove of the decision to withdraw US troops from Afghanistan? **A3:** Do you approve or disapprove of the way the US withdrawal from Afghanistan was managed by the Biden administration?

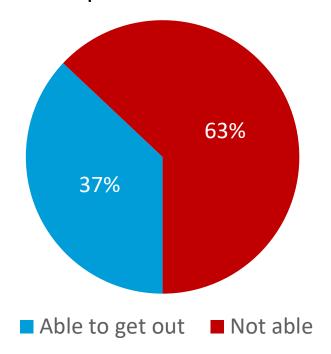
## A STRONG MAJORITY SAYS THAT THE U.S. DID NOT DO ENOUGH TO EVACUATE AMERICANS AND AFGHAN ALLIES BEFORE THE TALIBAN TOOK OVER

Do you think the US did enough to evacuate Americans and Afghan allies from Afghanistan before the Taliban took over or not enough?

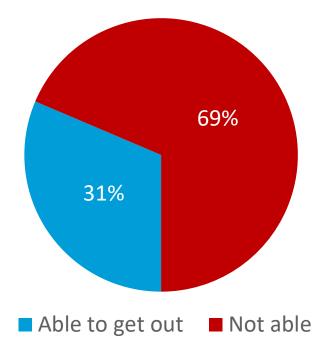


### A MAJORITY OF VOTERS BELIEVE AMERICAN CITIZENS AND AFGHAN NATIONALS WERE NOT ABLE TO EVACUATE

Do you think all American citizens that wanted to get out of Afghanistan were able to get to transport planes in the Kabul airport in time to do so or not?

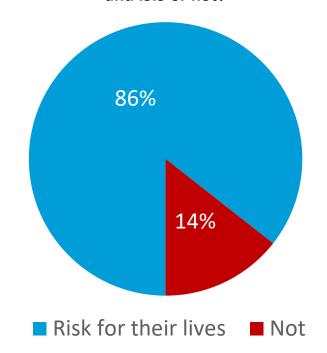


Do you think all Afghan allies that wanted to get out of Afghanistan were able to get to transport planes in the Kabul airport in time to do so or not?

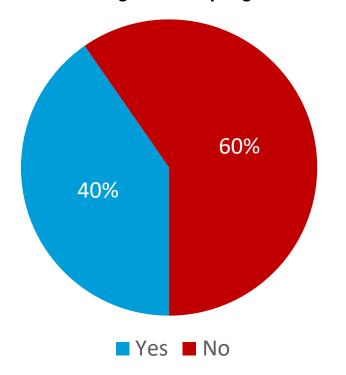


## VOTERS SAY THOSE LEFT BEHIND ARE AT GRAVE RISK, AND THAT PRESIDENT BIDEN DID NOT LIVE UP TO HIS PROMISE TO GET ALL AMERICANS OUT BY AUGUST 31

Are Americans and Afghan allies still left behind in Afghanistan at risk for their lives because of the Taliban and ISIS or not?

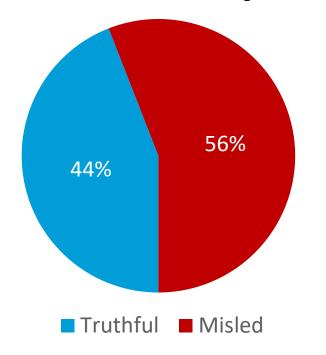


Did President Biden live up to his promise to get all Americans out of Afghanistan by August 31st or not?



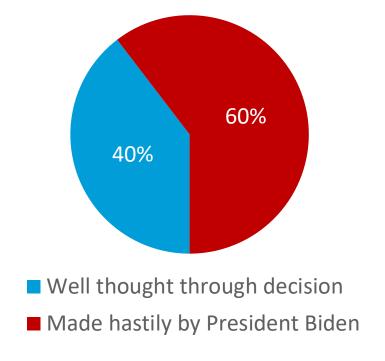
## VOTERS SAY BIDEN HAS MISLED THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ABOUT HOW MANY U.S. CITIZENS REMAIN STRANDED IN AFGHANISTAN

Do you think President Biden has been largely truthful or has misled the American public about how many Americans remain stranded in Afghanistan?

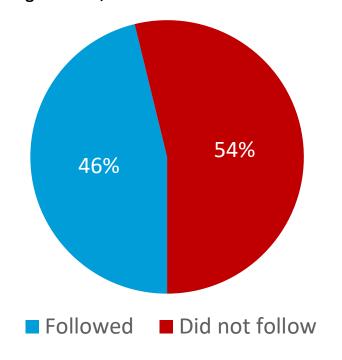


### VOTERS BELIEVE THE WITHDRAWAL DECISION WAS MADE HASTILY, AND WITHOUT HEEDING ADVICE FROM MILITARY AND INTELLIGENCE LEADERS

Was the decision to withdraw troops from Afghanistan a well thought out decision or was it made hastily by President Biden?

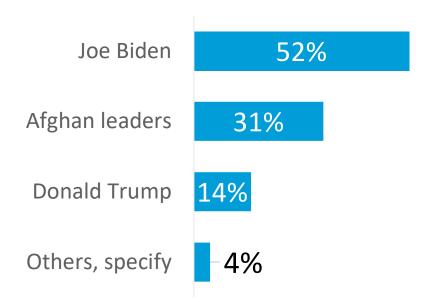


Do you think President Biden followed advice from US military and intelligence leaders on how to best withdraw from Afghanistan, or did he not follow their advice?

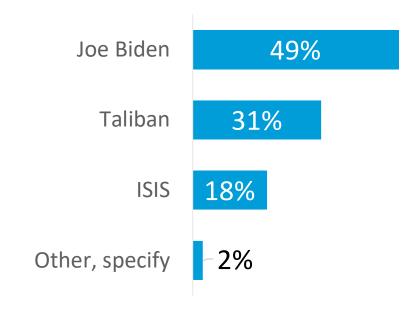


## MAJORITY OF VOTERS BLAME BIDEN FOR THE FALL OF AFGHANISTAN TO THE TALIBAN, AS WELL AS HOLD BIDEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LOSS OF 13 US SERVICE MEMBERS

Who is primarily responsible for the fall of Afghanistan into Taliban hands over the course of a few weeks in August?

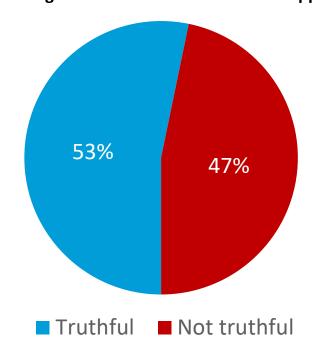


Who is primarily responsible for the loss of another 13 US service member lives at the Kabul airport last week?

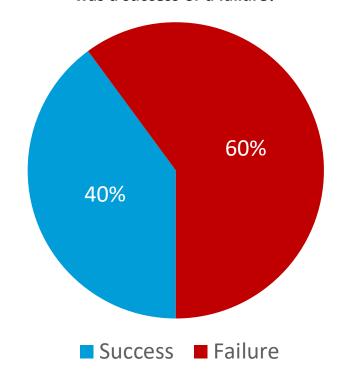


## ALTHOUGH THEY BELIEVE BIDEN WAS TRUTHFUL WHEN HE SAID HE DID NOT EXPECT THE TALIBAN TO TAKE OVER SO QUICKLY, ALL IN ALL 60% SAY THE AFGHANISTAN POLICY WAS A FAILURE

Do you think that Joe Biden was truthful is saying he did not expect the Taliban to take over so quickly or was he not telling the truth about what would happen?

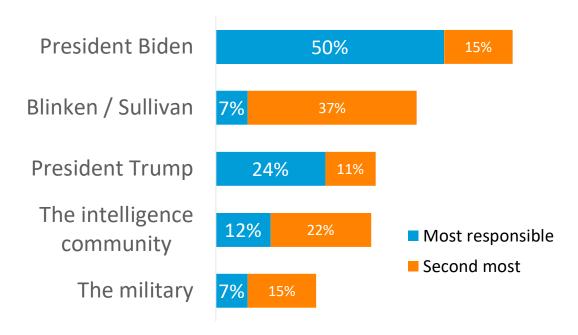


Do you think that President Biden's Afghanistan policy was a success or a failure?



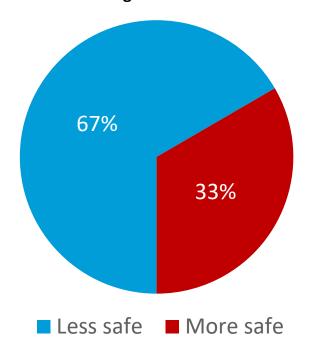
## VOTERS SAY BIDEN IS MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROBLEMS WITH AFGHANISTAN POLICY; HIS NATIONAL SECURITY TEAM IS SECOND MOST RESPONSIBLE

## Who is most responsible (and second most responsible) for the problems with the Afghanistan policy?

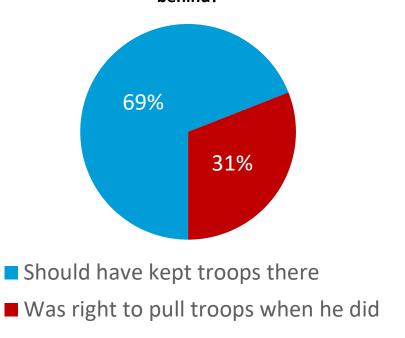


## OVERALL, VOTERS FEEL LESS SAFE AFTER WITHDRAWING TROOPS FROM AFGHANISTAN AND BELIEVE BIDEN SHOULD HAVE KEPT TROOPS THERE UNTIL ALL AMERICANS WERE OUT

Do you think that America is less safe or more safe as a result of us withdrawing our remaining troops from Afghanistan?

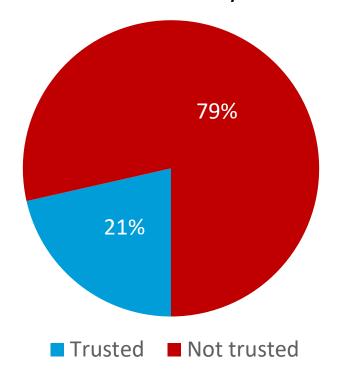


Do you think President Biden should have kept troops there until all Americans were out of Afghanistan or was he right to pull troops out even if Americans were left behind?



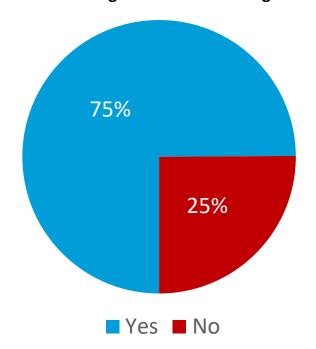
### FEW VOTERS BELIEVE THE TALIBAN CAN BE TRUSTED WITH STRAGGLING AMERICANS

Can the Taliban be trusted to turn over the remaining Americans unharmed or can they not be trusted?

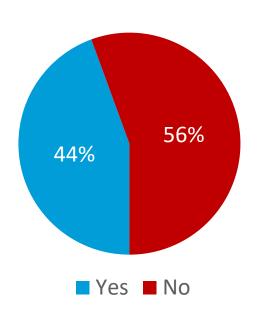


## VOTERS WANT THE U.S. TO MAINTAIN DIPLOMATIC DIALOGUE WITH THE TALIBAN, BUT DO NOT WANT TO USE MONETARY INCENTIVES

Should the United States maintain diplomatic dialogue with the Taliban to ensure the safe departure of Americans and Afghan allies still in Afghanistan?

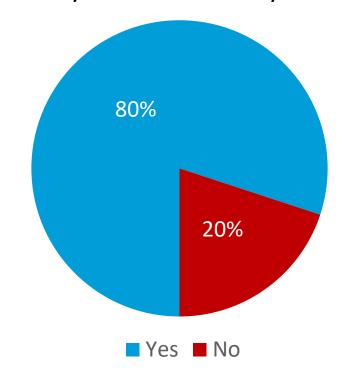


Should the United States use monetary incentives to ensure the Talban allows for the safe passage of Americans and Afghan allies still in Afghanistan over the next several weeks and months or does that amount to extortion, ransom and negotiating with terrorists?



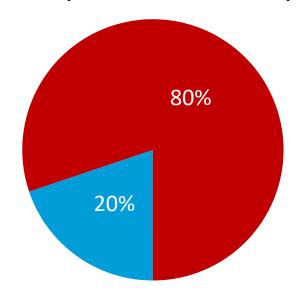
## VOTERS WOULD BE QUICK TO SUPPORT MILITARY RETALIATION IF ANY STRAGGLING AMERICANS ARE HARMED

Should the United States retaliate militarily against Taliban if any Americans in the country are harmed?



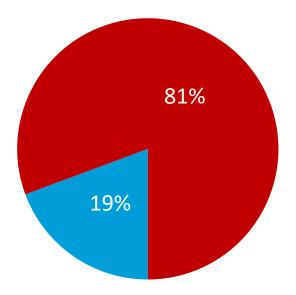
## VOTERS DO NOT BELIEVE THE AFGHAN PEOPLE WANT TO BE RULED BY THE TALIBAN, AND THEY DO NOT BELIEVE THE TALIBAN WILL RESPECT WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Do you think the Afghan people want to be ruled by the Taliban or do you think the Taliban rules by force?



- Afghan people want to be ruled by Taliban
- Taliban rules by force

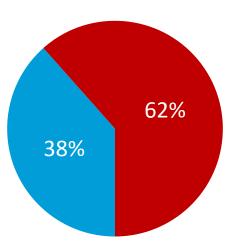
Do you think the Taliban will respect the rights of women and girls or will they abuse them?



- Will respect rights of women and girls
- Will not respect rights of women and girls

### VOTERS DO NOT WANT THE TALIBAN TO BE RECOGNIZED AS A LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT

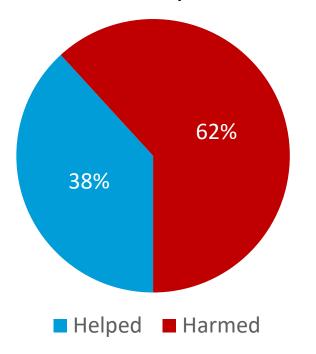
Should the United States eventually recognize the Taliban as the legitimate government of Afghanistan and negotiate with them or should they refuse to engage with the Taliban?



- Recognize the Taliban and negotiate with them
- Refuse to engage with the Taliban

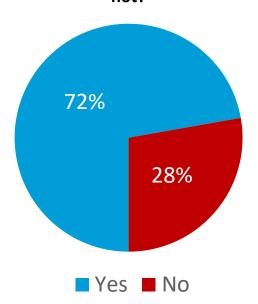
## THEY BELIEVE THE BIDEN ADMINISTRATION'S HANDLING OF AFGHANISTAN HAS HARMED AMERICA'S CREDIBILITY WITH OTHER NATIONS

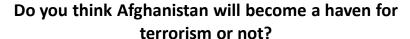
Has the Biden administration's handling of the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan helped or harmed America's credibility with other nations?

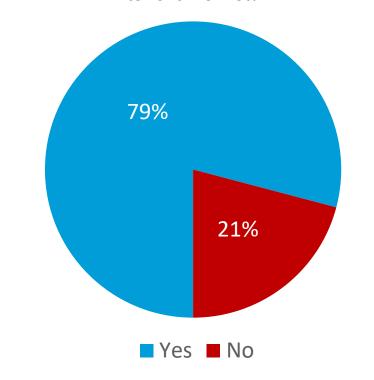


## VOTERS SAY THE WITHDRAWAL IS LIKELY TO CREATE PROBLEMS FOR AMERICAN ALLIES AND RESULT IN AFGHANISTAN BECOMING A TERRORIST HAVEN

Do you think the way the Afghanistan pullout was handled is likely to create problems for the Biden administration and American allies like Israel, South Korea, Taiwan, and in other places around the world or not?



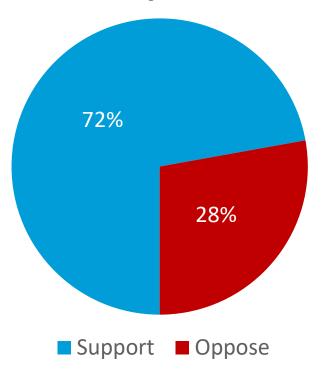




**A19.** Do you think the way the Afghanistan pullout was handled is likely to create problems for the Biden administration and American allies like Israel, South Korea, Taiwan, and in other places around the world or not?

## A LARGE MAJORITY OF VOTERS SUPPORT A CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE AFGHANISTAN WITHDRAWAL

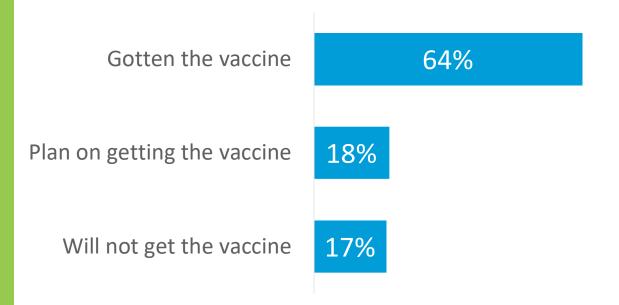
Do you support or oppose a Congressional investigation into the decision making and management of the US pullout from Afghanistan?



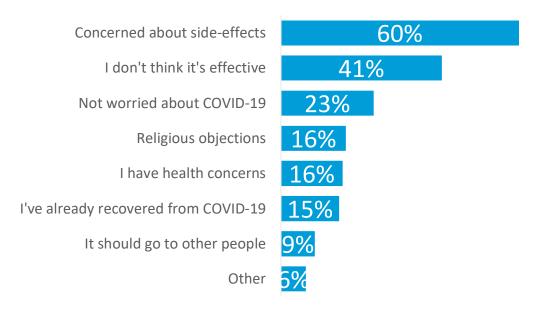
## COVID-19 AND VACCINE

## NEARLY TWO-THIRDS OF AMERICAN ADULTS HAVE RECEIVED THE VACCINE; PRIMARY REASON AMONG THOSE UNVACCINATED: CONCERN ABOUT SIDE-EFFECTS

## Have you gotten the vaccine, plan on getting the vaccine, or will not get the vaccine?

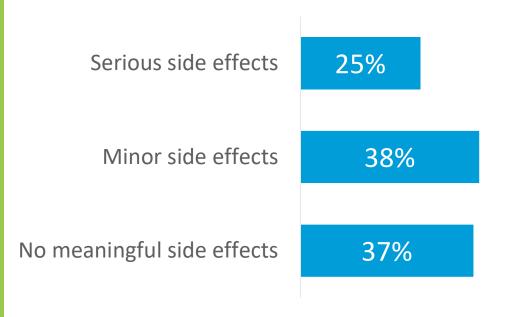


## Why are you not willing to take the vaccine? (Among those unwilling)

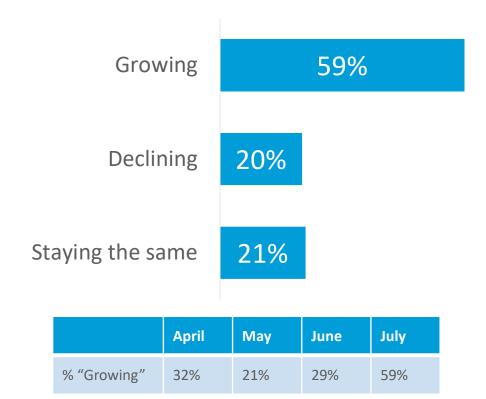


## A QUARTER OF UNVACCINATED VOTERS SAY THE VACCINE HAS SERIOUS SIDE EFFECTS; 60 PERCENT BELIEVE CASES OF THE VIRUS ARE GROWING

## Do you think the vaccine has serious side effects, minor side effects or has no meaningful side effects?

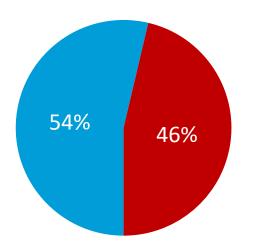


Do you think new cases of the virus are growing, declining, or staying the same?



## A SLIGHT MAJORITY OF VOTERS SAY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD MANDATE VACCINES; MOST APPROVE OF BIDEN'S MASK MANDATES

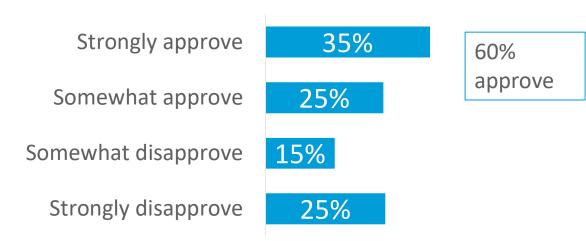
Should the federal government be able to mandate that a large portion of Americans take the Covid-19 vaccine, or should there be no government-driven vaccine mandates?



- Federal government should mandate vaccines
- There should be no vaccine mandates

President Biden recently announced new federal vaccine requirements for private-sector employees as well as health care workers and federal contractors that applies to roughly 100 million Americans. If a vaccine is refused, employees of businesses with more than 100 heads must submit to weekly COVID-19 testing, and health care workers, federal employees contractors must take the vaccine.

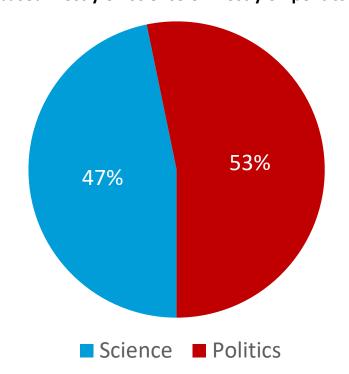
### Do you approve or disapprove of this decision by President Biden?



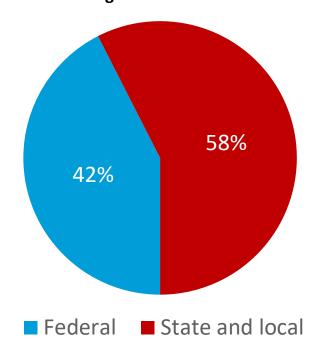
V1. Should the federal government be able to mandate that a large portion of Americans take the Covid-19 vaccine, or should there be no government-driven vaccine mandates? V2. President Biden recently announced new federal vaccine requirements for private-sector employees as well as health care workers and federal contractors that applies to roughly 100 million Americans. If a vaccine is refused, employees of businesses with more than 100 heads must submit to weekly COVID-19 testing, and health care workers, federal employees contractors must take the vaccine. Do you approve or disapprove of this decision by President Biden?

# A SLIGHT MAJORITY OF VOTERS SAY BIDEN'S POLICIES ARE BASED ON POLITICS RATHER THAN ON SCIENCE, AND MOST WOULD PREFER MASK POLICIES BE DONE BY STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Do you think President Biden's Covid policy has been based mostly on science or mostly on politics?

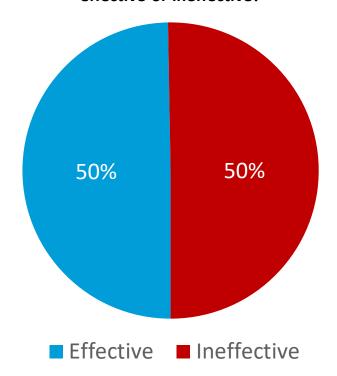


Do you think mask policies should be done mostly by the federal government or mostly by state and local governments?

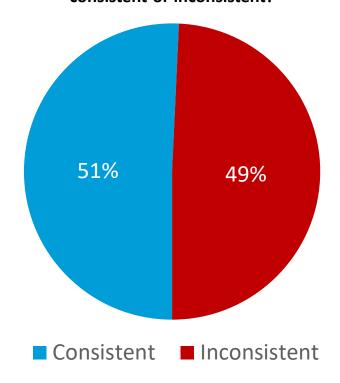


## VOTERS ARE SPLIT ON WHETHER BIDEN COVID POLICIES HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVE OR CONSISTENT

Do you think President Biden's Covid policy has been effective or ineffective?



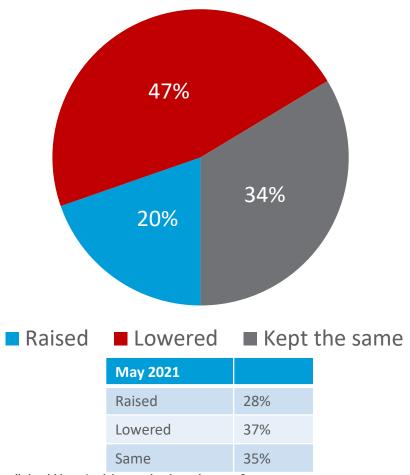
Do you think that President Biden's Covid policy has been consistent or inconsistent?



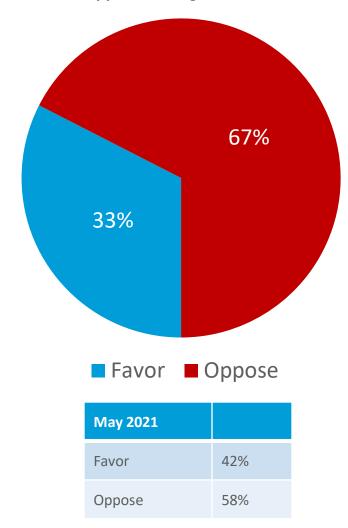
# TAXES AND SPENDING BILLS

## NEARLY HALF OF AMERICAN VOTERS SAY TAXES SHOULD BE LOWERED, AND MOST OPPOSE RAISING FEDERAL TAXES

#### Do you think taxes overall should be raised, lowered or kept the same?



#### Do you favor or oppose raising taxes at the federal level?

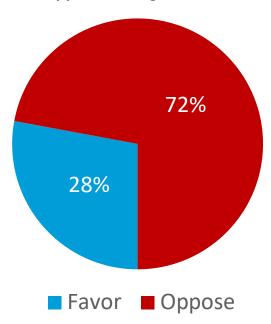


T1. Do you think taxes overall should be raised, lowered or kept the same?

T2. Do you favor or oppose raising taxes at the federal level?

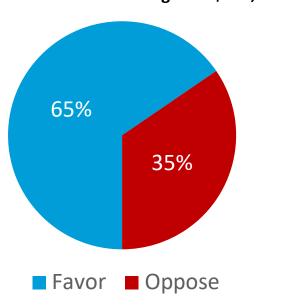
## VOTERS OPPOSE RAISING INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAXES BUT ARE OPEN TO RAISING TAXES ON THOSE MAKING \$400K/YR

#### Do you favor or oppose raising individual income taxes?



May 2021	
Favor	36%
Oppose	64%

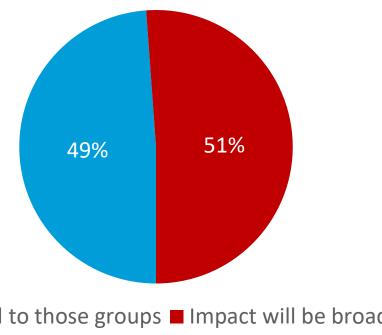
Do you favor or oppose raising income taxes on individuals and households making over \$400,000 a year?



T3. Do you favor or oppose raising individual income taxes?

#### VOTERS ARE SPLIT ON WHETHER OR NOT INCOME TAX ON HIGH EARNERS WOULD TRICKLE DOWN

Do you think tax increases that are supposed to affect just the wealthy making over \$400,000 will be limited to those groups or will its impact be broader?

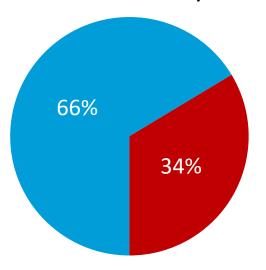


May 2021	
Limited	47%
Broader	53%

■ Limited to those groups ■ Impact will be broader

## AND MOST VOTERS BELIEVE RAISING TAXES NOW COULD COST THE ECONOMY JOBS AND GROWTH

Do you think raising taxes now could cost the economy jobs and growth or do you think raising taxes now will not affect the overall economy?

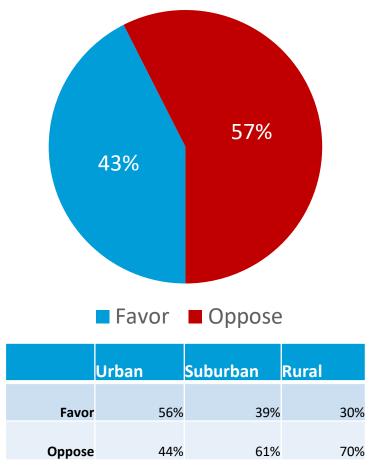


May 2021	
Could cost jobs/growth	67%
Will not affect economy	33%

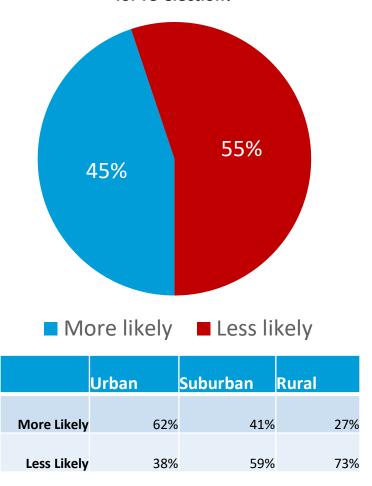
- Could cost the economy jobs and growth
- Raising taxes will not affect the overall economy

#### MOST VOTERS OPPOSE THE \$3.5T SOCIAL SPENDING BILL

Do you favor or oppose a \$3.5 trillion dollar social spending bill that would be financed by increasing the deficit and the largest tax increase in history?

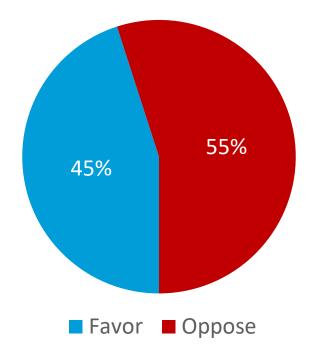


If your representative voted for such a bill would you be more likely to vote for them or less likely to vote for them for re-election?

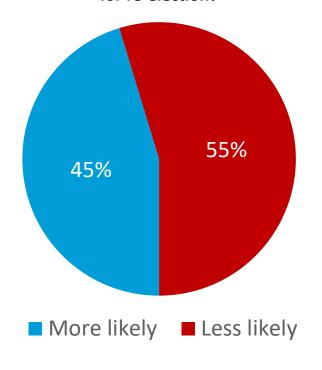


#### AS WELL AS A \$1.5T VERSION

Do you favor or oppose a \$1.5 trillion dollar social spending bill that would be financed by increasing the deficit and moderate tax increases?

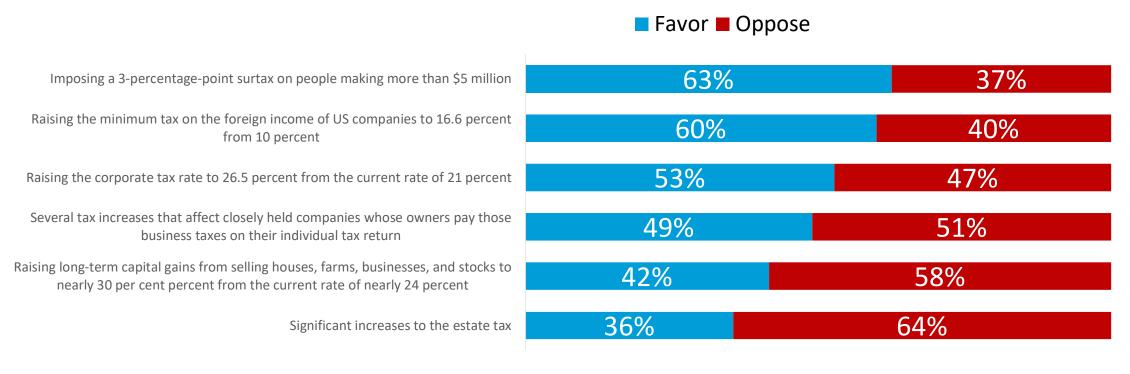


If your representative voted for such a bill would you be more likely to vote for them or less likely to vote for them for re-election?



## VOTERS SUPPORT DEMOCRATIC PROPOSALS TO TAX HIGHEST EARNERS AND CORPORATIONS, BUT NOT INCREASING THE LONG-TERM CAPITAL GAINS TAX

Do you favor or oppose each of the following tax increase proposals just announced by Congressional Democrats to pay for \$3.5 billion in spending on social services, healthcare, and climate change?

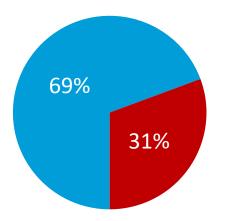


# INFRASTRUCTURE

## VOTERS SUPPORT THE \$1.2T BIPARTISAN BILL AND WANT IT TO BE VOTED ON INDEPENDENT OF THE LARGER \$3.5T BUDGET RECONCILIATION BILL

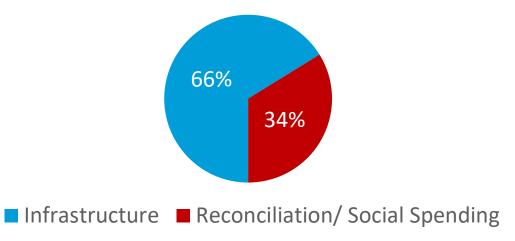
Congress is currently considering two spending bills: a \$1.2 trillion bipartisan infrastructure bill supported by Republicans and Democrats in Congress and the White House. And a \$3.5 trillion social spending bill supported only by Congressional Democrats and the White House.

Should the bipartisan infrastructure bill get and up or down vote on its own or should it be tied to the larger Democrat-only social spending bill?



- Get and up or down vote on its own
- Tied to the larger Democrat-only social spending bill

If Congress were only able to pass one of the two spending bills, either the \$1.2 trillion bipartisan infrastructure deal or the \$3.5 trillion Democratic only reconciliation bill focused on social spending, which would you prefer they pass?



**INFRA1**: Congress is currently considering two spending bills:

And a \$3.5 trillion social spending bill supported only by Congressional Democrats and the White House.

Should the bipartisan infrastructure bill get an up or down vote on its own or should it be tied to the larger Democrat-only social spending bill?

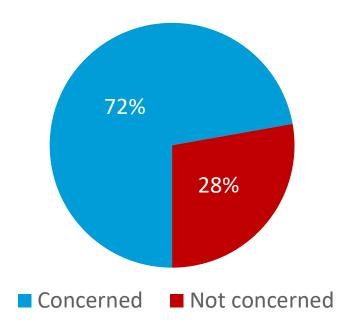
INFRA2: If Congress were only able to pass one of the two spending bills, either the \$1.1 trillion bipartisan infrastructure deal or the \$3.5 trillion Democratic only reconciliation bill

focused on social spending, which would you prefer they pass?

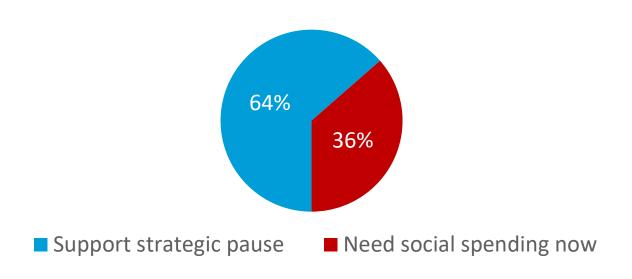
a \$1.2 trillion bipartisan infrastructure bill supported by Republicans and Democrats in Congress and the White House.

## MOST VOTERS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE \$3.5T BILL IMPACT ON INFLATION AND SUPPORT A "STRATEGIC PAUSE" TO ASSESS THIS SPENDING

Are you concerned or not concerned about inflation happening in the US as a result of current spending proposals by the Biden administration?



Do you support a "strategic pause" proposed by Democratic Senator Joe Manchin to better assess the implication of spending \$3.5 trillion social welfare and its impact on the economy, taxes, debt and inflation OR do you believe that we need social welfare spending now to help Americans in need and should not delay the \$3.5 billion budget-reconciliation bill any further?



INFRA3: Are you concerned or not concerned about inflation happening in the US as a result of current spending proposals by the Biden administration?
INFRA4. Do you support a "strategic pause" proposed by Democratic Senator Joe Manchin to better assess the implication of spending \$3.5 trillion social welfare and its impact on the economy, taxes, debt and inflation OR do you believe that we need social welfare spending now to help Americans in need and should not delay the \$3.5 billion budget-reconciliation bill any further?

## THANK YOU