



6th Judicial Circuit State Attorney Race
Survey of Registered Voters in
Pasco & Pinellas Counties
March 2022

Methodology

- ▶ Multimodal survey of likely November 2022 voters
 - Telephone survey with landlines and mobile phones included
 - Email- and text-to-web survey
- ▶ Survey conducted March 8 – 14, 2022
- ▶ 500 interviews; overall margin of error ± 4.85 percentage points

	Overall	Pasco County	Pinellas County
Interviews	500	235	265
Margin of Error	$\pm 4.85\%$	$\pm 6.39\%$	$\pm 6.02\%$

- ▶ Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish by trained, professional interviewers

Please note that due to rounding, some percentages may not add up to exactly 100%.

Key Findings

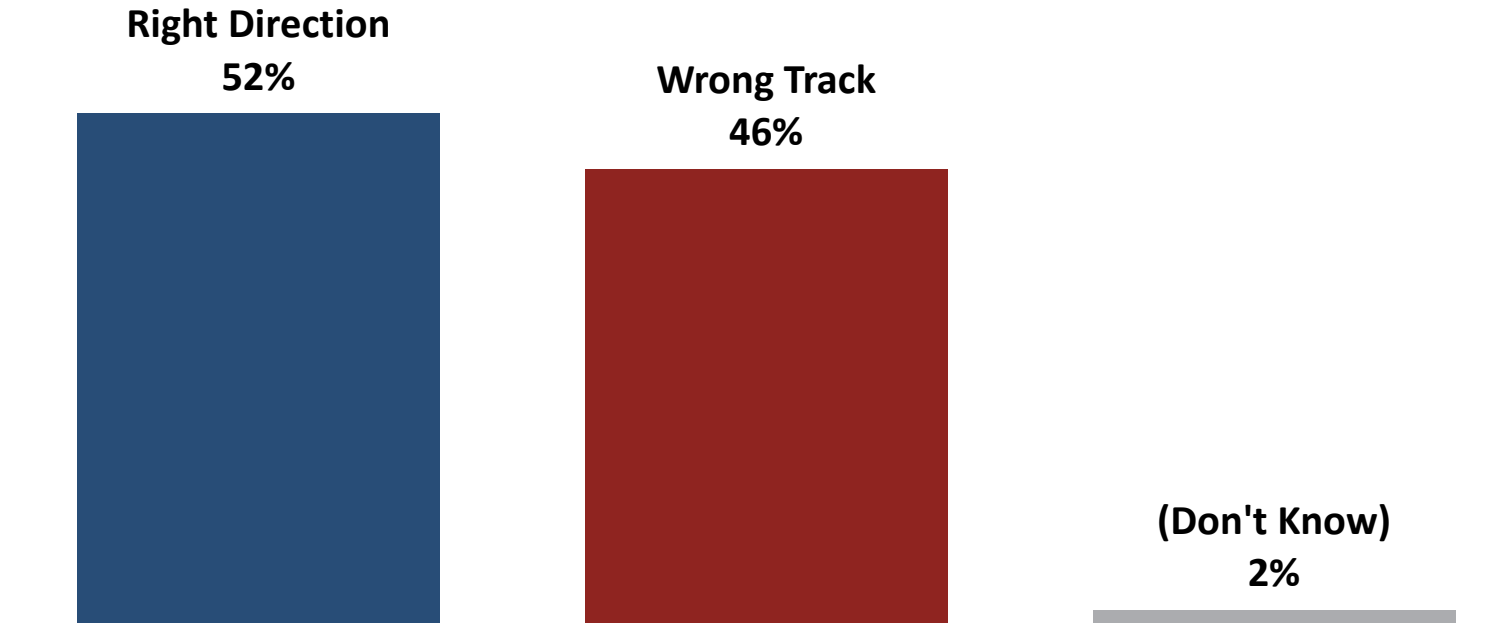
- ▶ Familiarity around the office of State Attorney is low, with few voters familiar with either candidate or former State Attorney Bernie McCabe.
- ▶ This is a very strong environment for incumbent Republicans: Sheriffs Chris Nocco and Bob Gaultieri and Governor Ron DeSantis all have net positive favorability ratings, compared to net-negative ratings for President Biden and Congressperson Crist.
- ▶ There is an uphill climb ahead of Allison Miller. While there is significant movement in her vote share after voters are introduced to her through a brief bio, policy-oriented messaging brings the vote only to a statistical tie before voters hear Bartlett positive messages.
- ▶ Voters viewed six of seven policies (all but ending prosecution for minor offenses) as “important” overall; intensity was highest for ending low-level marijuana prosecutions. Voters also oppose the Pasco Predictive Policing program, before and after they hear positive and negative messages.



Issue Environment

Right Direction/Wrong Track

Views of the area's current direction are mixed, with views sharply divided along partisan lines.



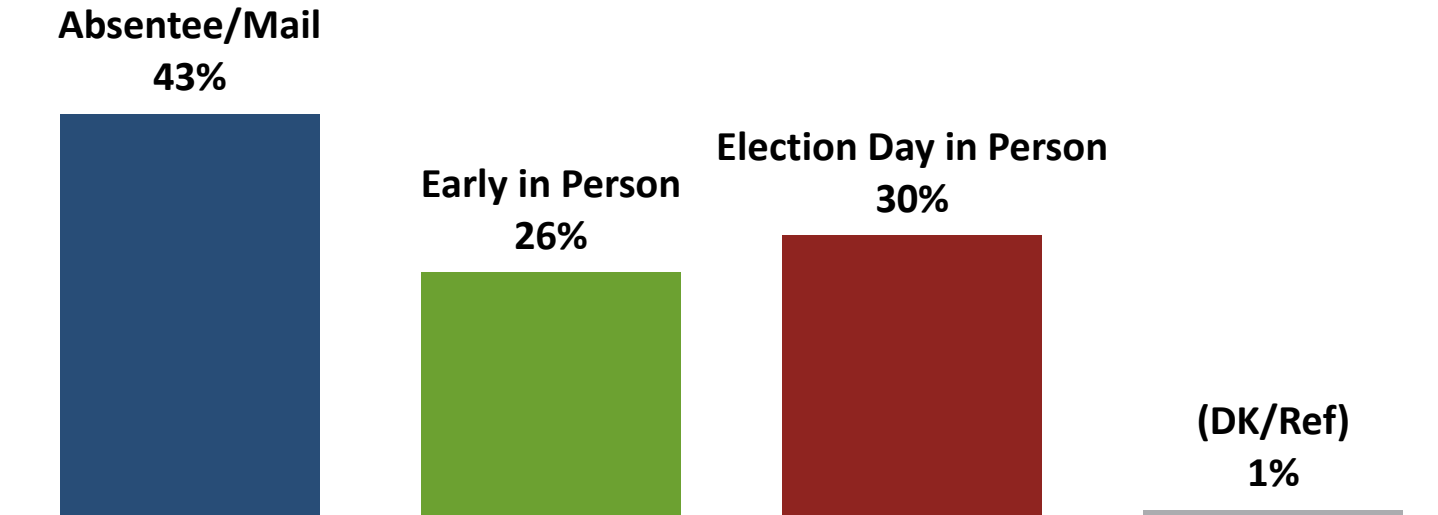
	Right Direction	Wrong Track	Net Right Direction
Overall	52%	46%	+6
Pasco County (35%)	46%	52%	-6
Pinellas County (65%)	55%	43%	+12
Male Dem (15%)	21%	77%	-56
Female Dem (19%)	20%	78%	-59
Male Ind/Else (11%)	63%	34%	+29
Female Ind/Else (14%)	44%	54%	-10
Male Rep (21%)	80%	20%	+59
Female Rep (21%)	75%	23%	+51
18-49 (32%)	47%	51%	-4
50-64 (30%)	58%	39%	+19
65+/PNR (38%)	51%	48%	+4
White/Else (82%)	54%	45%	+9
Hispanic/Latino (11%)	54%	41%	+14
African-American/Black (7%)	27%	73%	-46

Q8. Do you feel that things in your part of Florida are going in the right direction or do you feel things are off on the wrong track?

Method of Voting

One-in-four voters say they plan to vote by mail this November, with half of Pinellas County voters planning to mail ballots in.

For the November 2022 election, do you plan to vote absentee ballot by mail, vote early in person, or vote in person on Election Day?

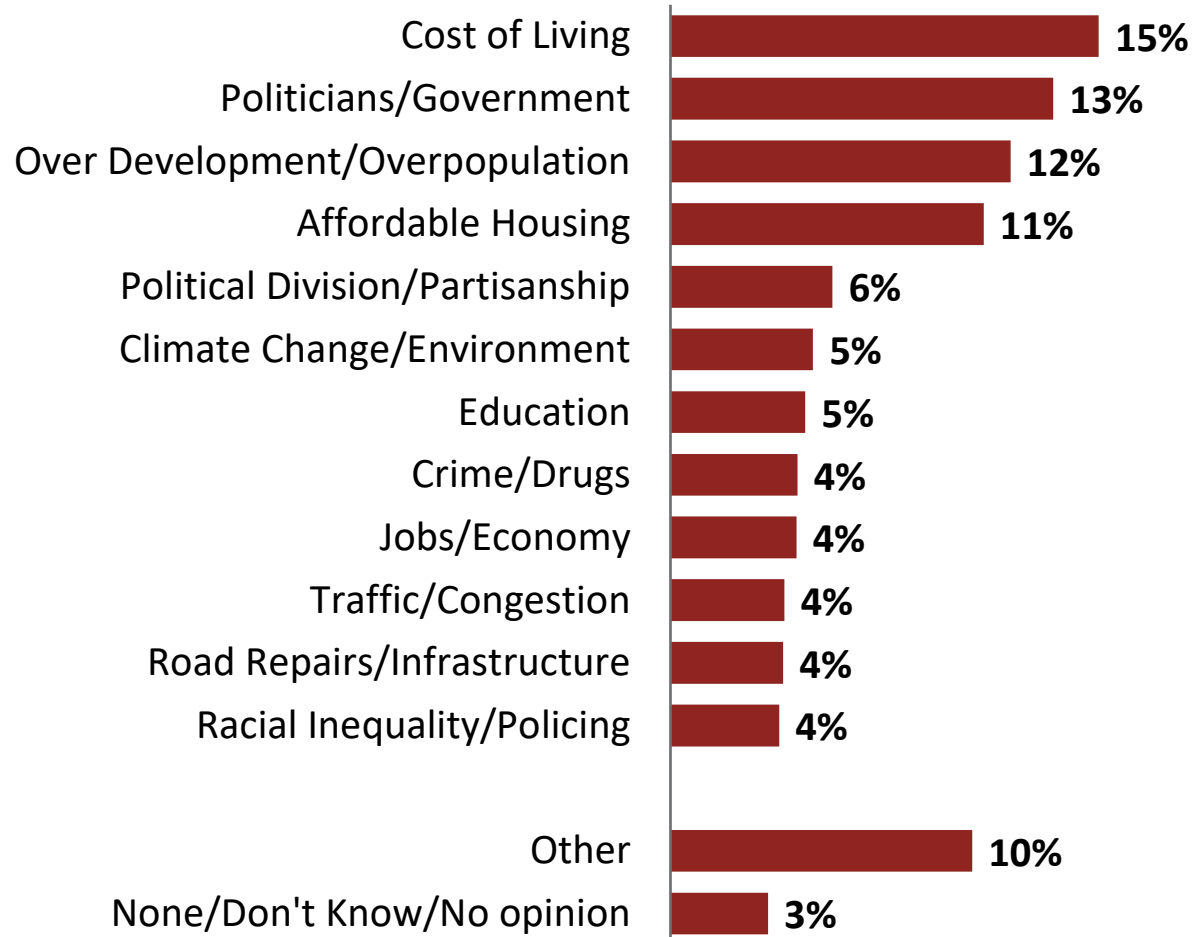


	Absentee/ Mail	Early in Person	Election Day in Person
Overall	43%	26%	30%
Pasco County (35%)	31%	38%	29%
Pinellas County (65%)	50%	20%	30%
Male Dem (15%)	60%	22%	16%
Female Dem (19%)	52%	26%	22%
Male Ind/Else (11%)	58%	19%	21%
Female Ind/Else (14%)	42%	31%	27%
Male Rep (21%)	30%	29%	40%
Female Rep (21%)	29%	27%	44%
18-49 (32%)	36%	25%	39%
50-64 (30%)	37%	27%	35%
65+/PNR (38%)	54%	27%	19%
White/Else (82%)	44%	26%	29%
Hispanic/Latino (11%)	29%	28%	43%
African-American/Black (7%)	58%	24%	18%

Most Important Problem

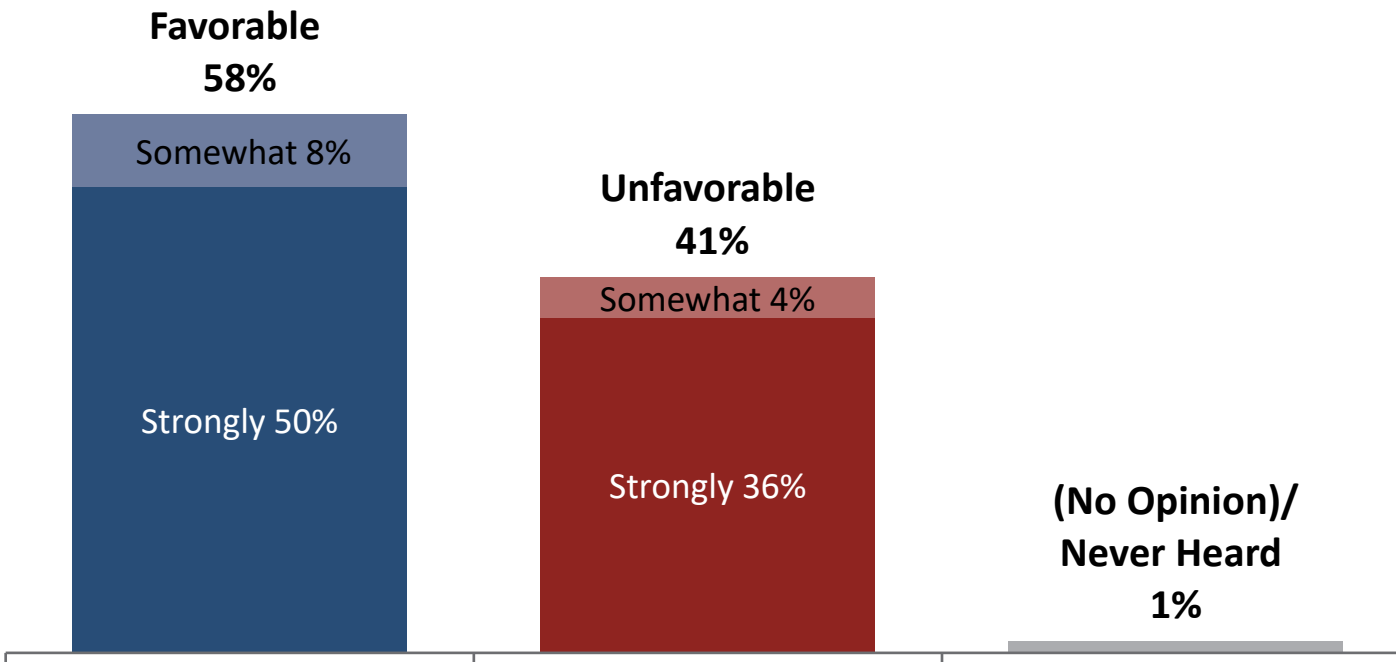
Cost of living is narrowly viewed as the most important problem. Racial inequality and crime both rank low at 4%.

**Responses under 2% collapsed into "Other"*



Favorable Ratings: Ron DeSantis

Governor DeSantis is popular in the 6th Circuit, with half of voters overall saying they have a strongly favorable view of him. He is almost universally popular among Republicans, who make up 40% of the Circuit.

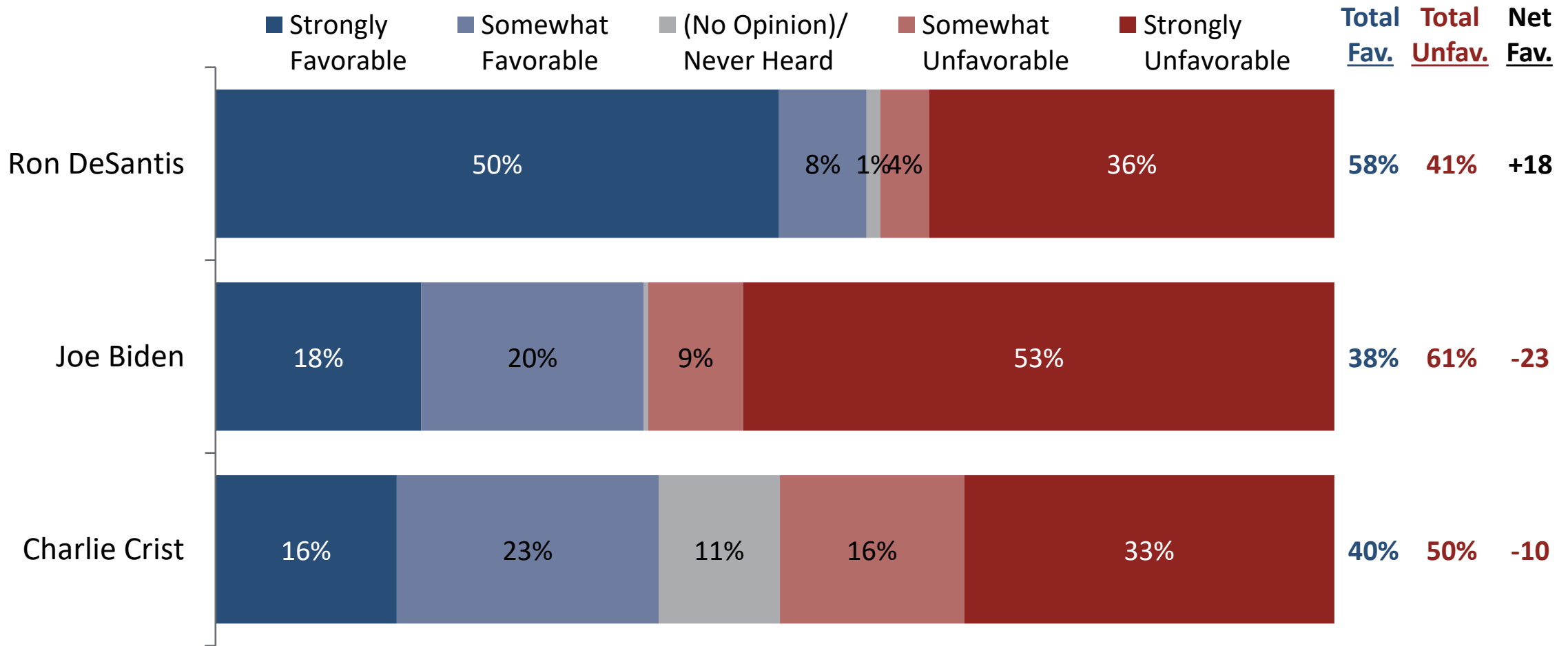


	Fav.	Unfav.	Net Fav.
Overall	58%	41%	+18
Pasco County (35%)	54%	45%	+8
Pinellas County (65%)	61%	38%	+23
Male Dem (15%)	18%	77%	-59
Female Dem (19%)	12%	87%	-75
Male Ind/Else (11%)	62%	37%	+24
Female Ind/Else (14%)	54%	46%	+8
Male Rep (21%)	97%	1%	+96
Female Rep (21%)	90%	10%	+80
18-49 (32%)	55%	42%	+13
50-64 (30%)	67%	32%	+35
65+/PNR (38%)	54%	46%	+8
White/Else (82%)	63%	37%	+26
Hispanic/Latino (11%)	54%	45%	+9
African-American/Black (7%)	10%	83%	-73

Q11. Now, switching gears, I'm going to read you a list of several people and organizations. Please tell me if you have a strongly favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or strongly unfavorable opinion of each one. If you have never heard of one, please just say so.

Favorable Ratings: Federal Officials

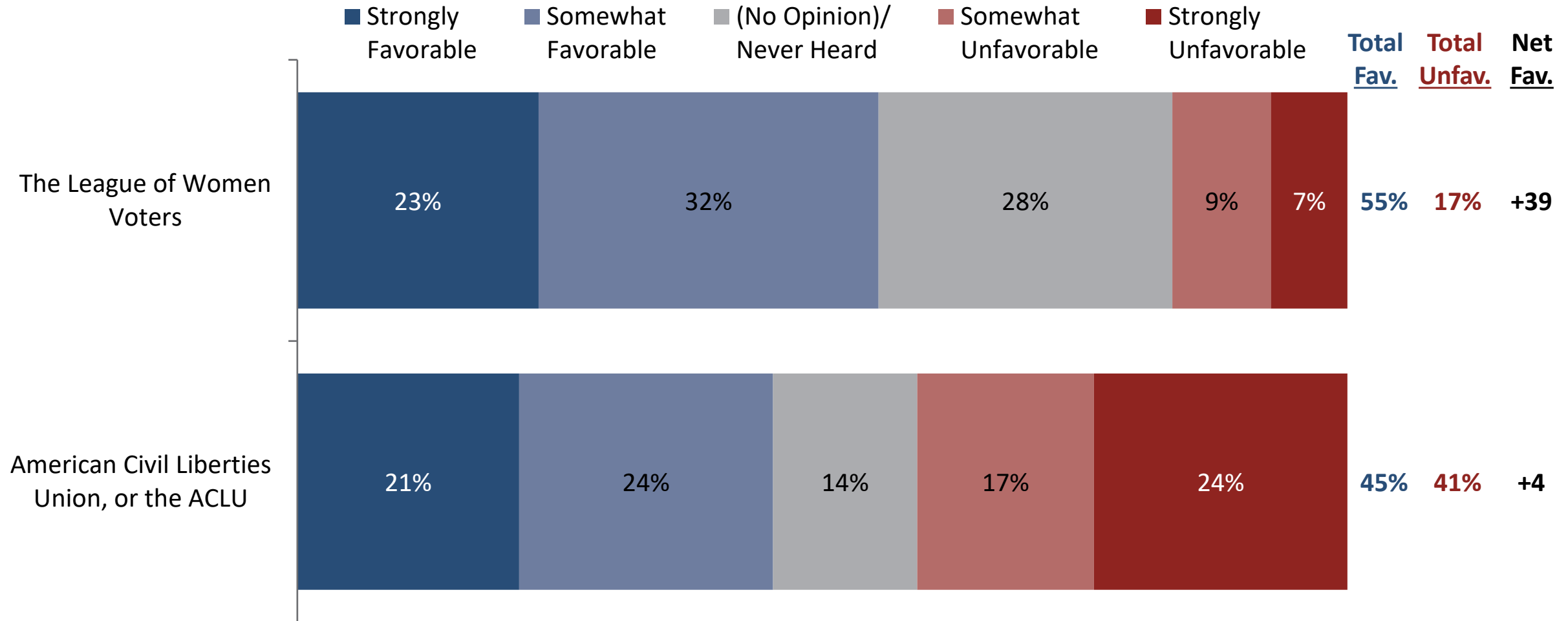
At least half of all voters have an unfavorable view of Joe Biden and Charlie Crist.



Q11. Now, switching gears, I'm going to read you a list of several people and organizations. Please tell me if you have a strongly favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or strongly unfavorable opinion of each one. If you have never heard of one, please just say so.

Favorable Ratings: Organizations

Three-quarters of voters in the Circuit recognize the League of Women voters, and half have a favorable view. More voters are familiar with the ACLU, but opinions are more mixed with a very narrow net-positive favorability.



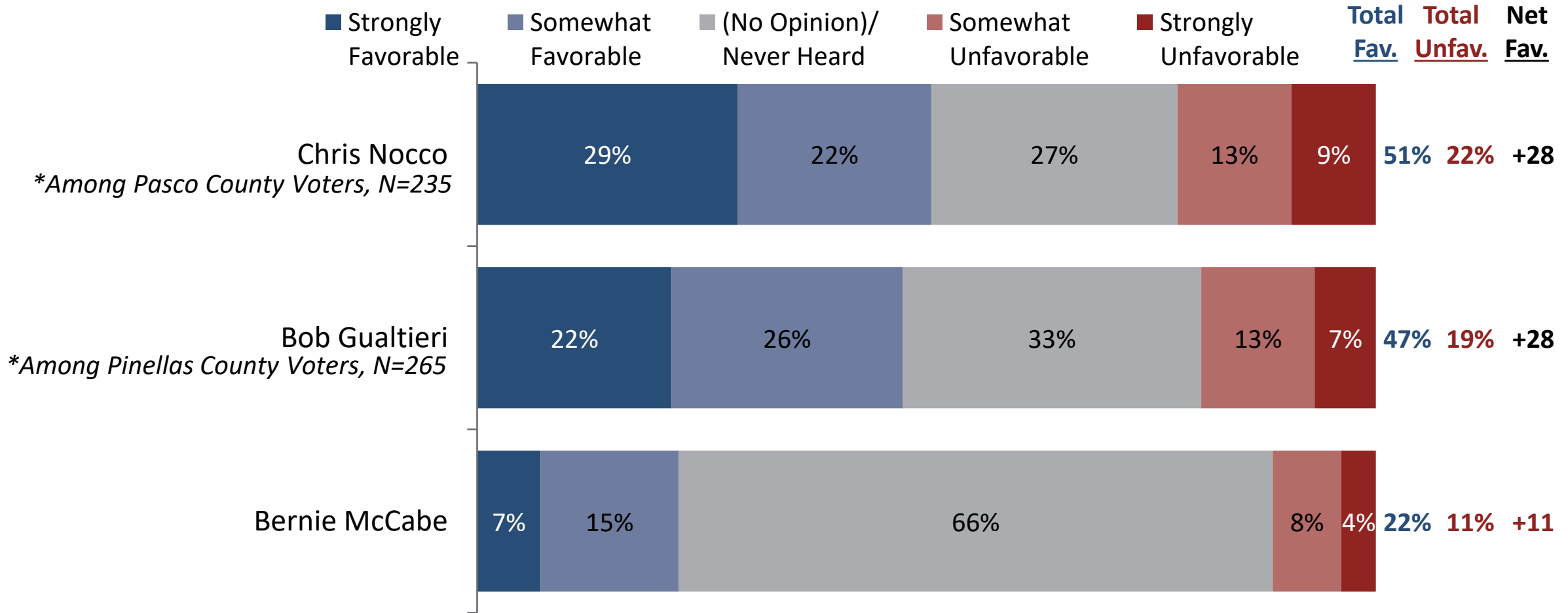
Q18. & Q19. Now, switching gears, I'm going to read you a list of several people and organizations. Please tell me if you have a strongly favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or strongly unfavorable opinion of each one.



**6th Circuit
Issue Environment**

Favorable Ratings: Local Officials

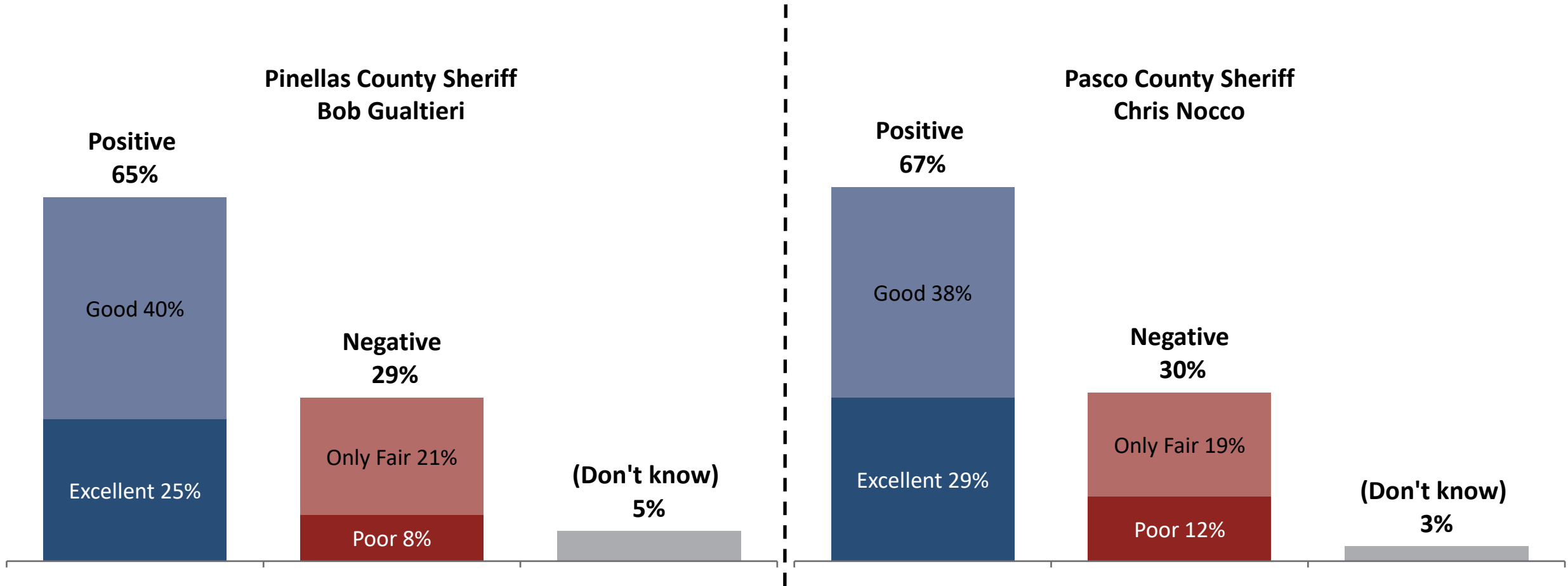
Both Republican Sheriff incumbents have net-positive ratings and high Name ID.



Q11. Now, switching gears, I'm going to read you a list of several people and organizations. Please tell me if you have a strongly favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or strongly unfavorable opinion of each one. If you have never heard of one, please just say so.

Job Rating: Bob Gualtieri & Chris Nocco

Sheriffs Gualtieri and Nocco also have high job ratings, with a quarter of voters rating their performance as “excellent.”



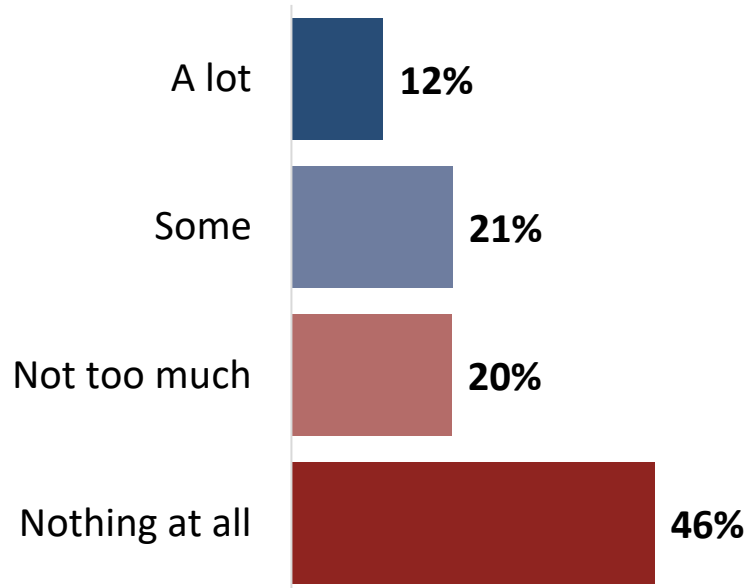
Q21. How would you rate the job Bob Gualtieri is doing as Pinellas County Sheriff? Would you say Bob Gualtieri is doing an excellent, good, only fair, or poor job?

Q22. How would you rate the job Chris Nocco is doing as Pasco County Sheriff? Would you say Chris Nocco is doing an excellent, good, only fair, or poor job?

Predictive Policing Program Awareness & Initial Support

A plurality of voters are unfamiliar with the Pasco predictive policing program, and half say they oppose it.

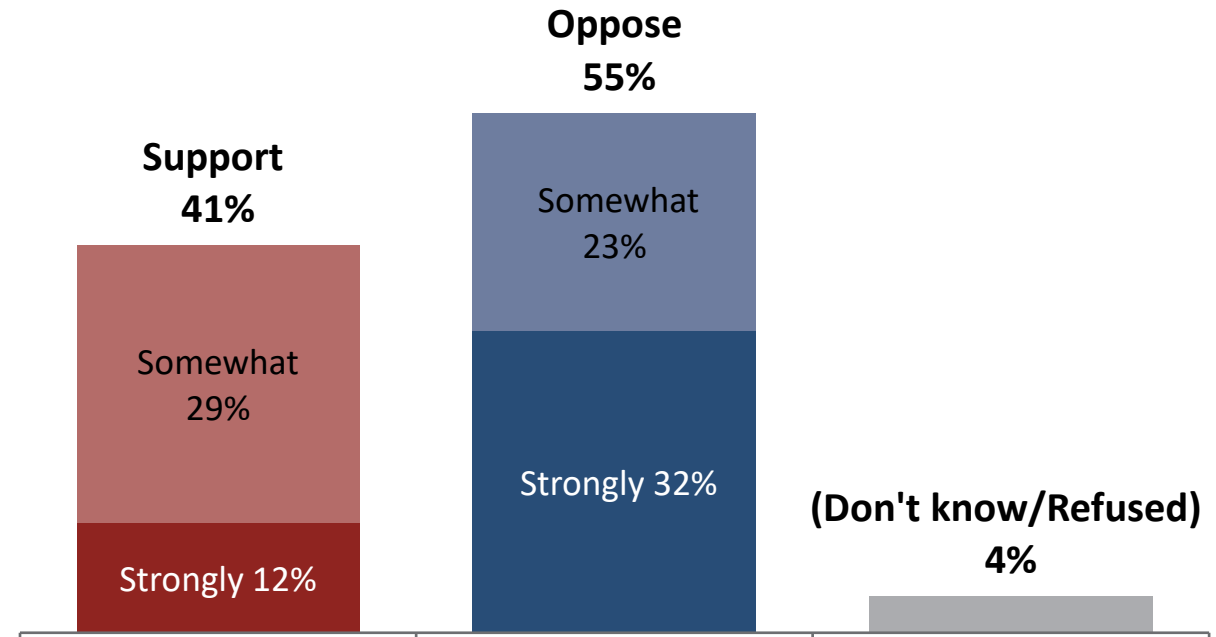
How much, if anything, have you heard or seen recently about the Pasco County Sheriff Department's "Intelligence-Led Policing Section," or predictive policing program, which uses a computer program to provide police with a list of individuals it thinks present a high risk for committing crimes in the future?



Q39. Have you heard a lot, some, not too much, or nothing at all?

Q40.

And based on what you know today, do you support or oppose the Pasco County Sheriff's Department predictive policing program?



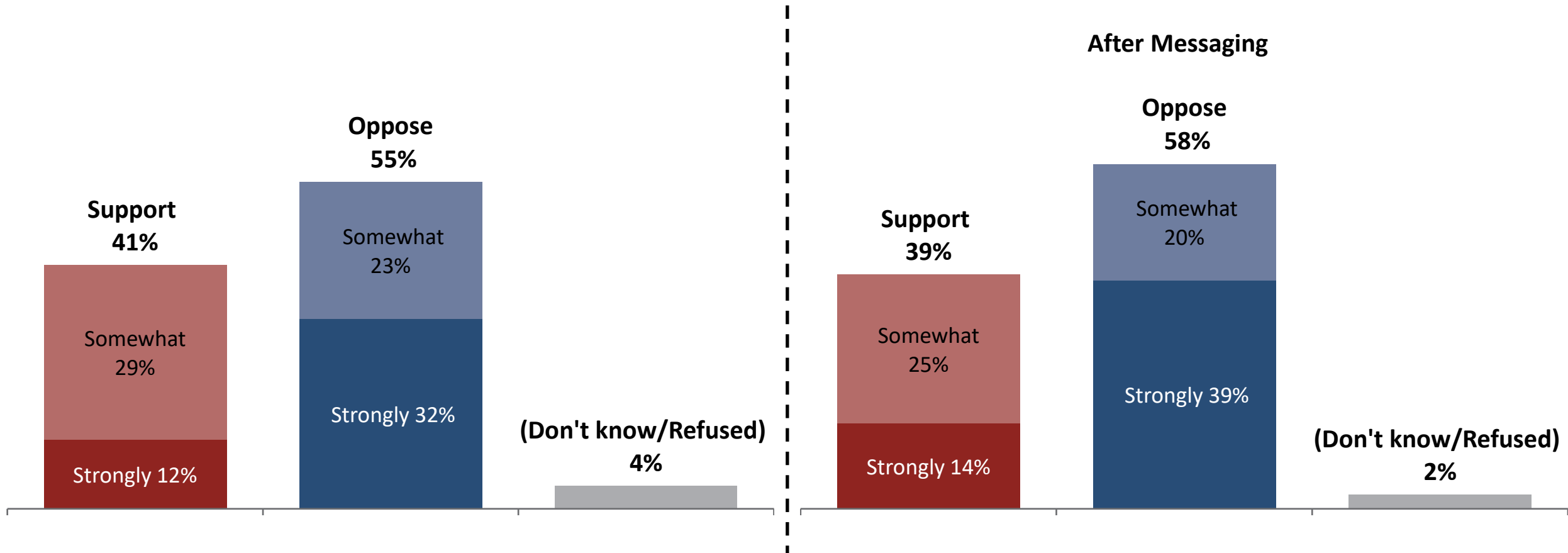
- ▶ **Support:** Supporters say the predictive policing program is based on concrete factors like someone's criminal record or their behavior in school. The predictive policing program allows police to get an advance view of what crime problems our community will face so we can take action to disrupt criminal networks and prevent future crimes. This cutting-edge technology allows us to reduce crime in Florida and keep more people safe.

- ▶ **Opposition:** Opponents say the predictive policing program puts innocent people at higher risk of profiling and harassment from police. The program is based on a flawed computer program which identifies potential criminals based on highly questionable factors like school grades and attendance, if they witnessed a crime, and if their home has overgrown grass or is missing mailbox numbers. The program's predictions then give police cause to harass children and their families or anyone who it thinks might commit a crime at some point. In a free society, police should not be able to harass people for crimes they haven't committed based on the guesswork of a flawed technology.

Predictive Policing Program Support Progression

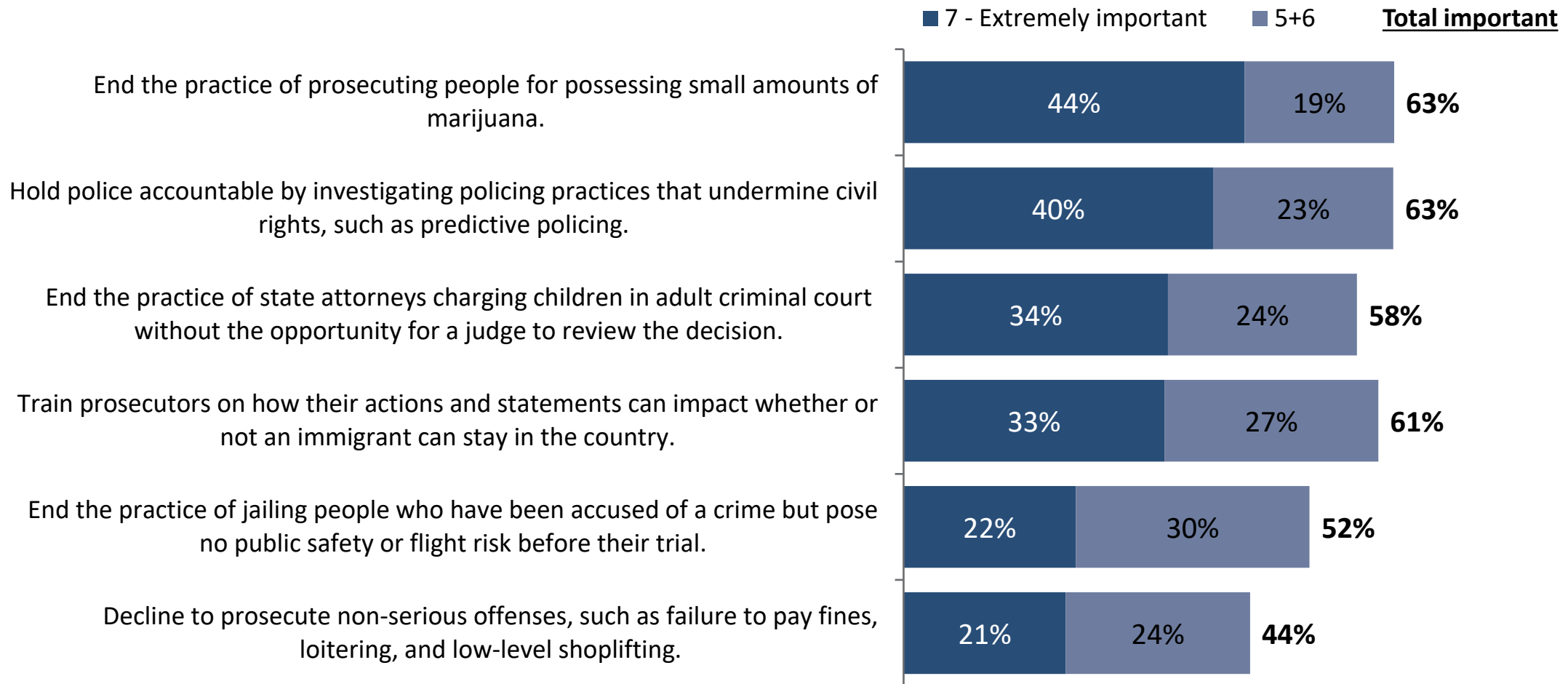
There is little movement in support or opposition to the program after voters are given comparative messages about it.

Given what you've heard, do you support or oppose the Pasco County Sheriff's Department predictive policing program?



Elected Official Priorities

With the exception of declining to prosecute some offenses, a majority view the ACLU’s policy priorities as “important.” Intensity, rated as “extremely important,” is highest for ending marijuana prosecutions and holding police accountable.



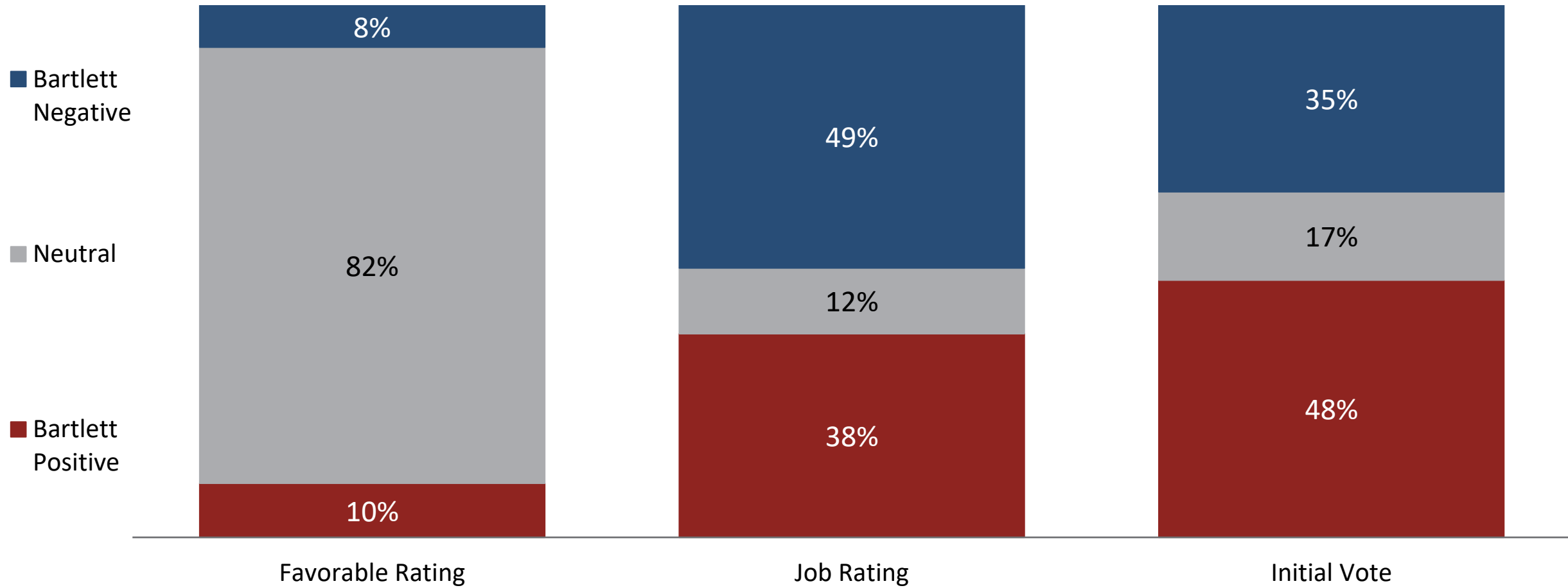
Q25-30. I’m going to read you a list of priorities that others have said are important for your elected officials to address. After each one, please rate how important that priority is to you, using a scale of one to seven, where one means not at all important, and seven means extremely important.



**6th Judicial Circuit
State Attorney Race**

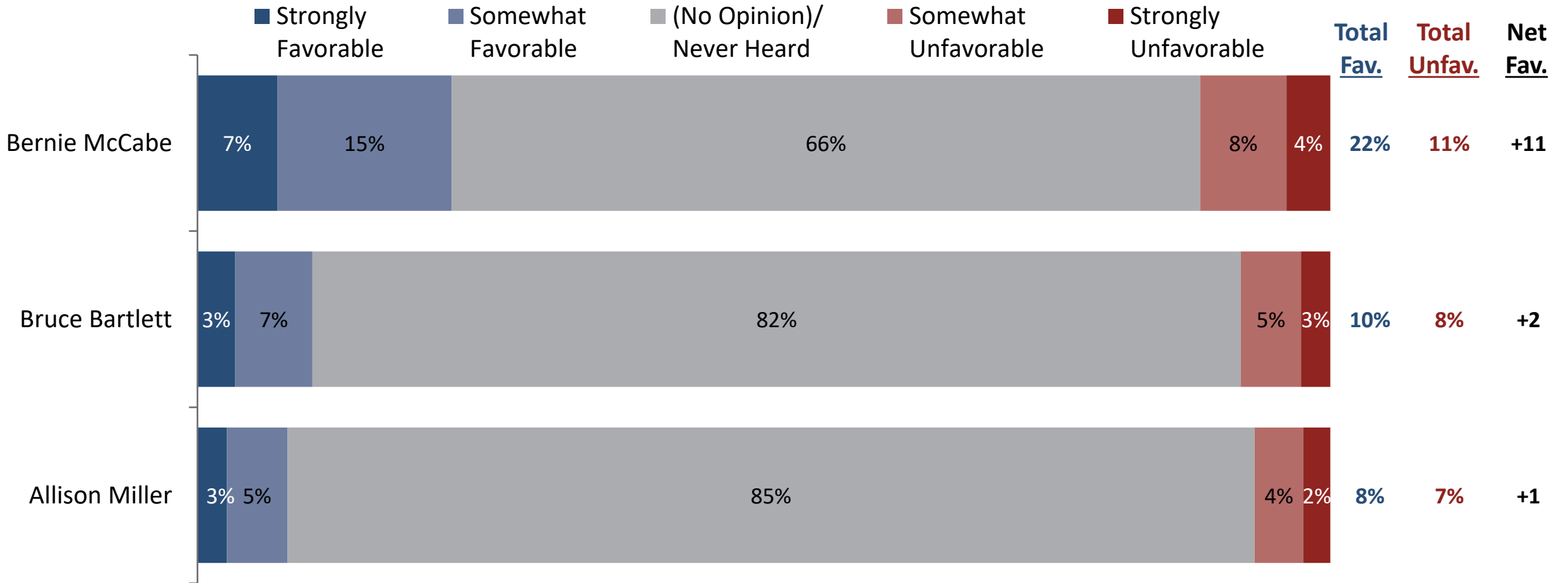
Incumbent Health: Bartlett

Despite his low initial name recognition and a net-negative job rating, Bartlett begins the race in a strong position as a Republican incumbent and nets nearly half of the vote on the initial ballot.



Favorable Ratings: State Attorney Race

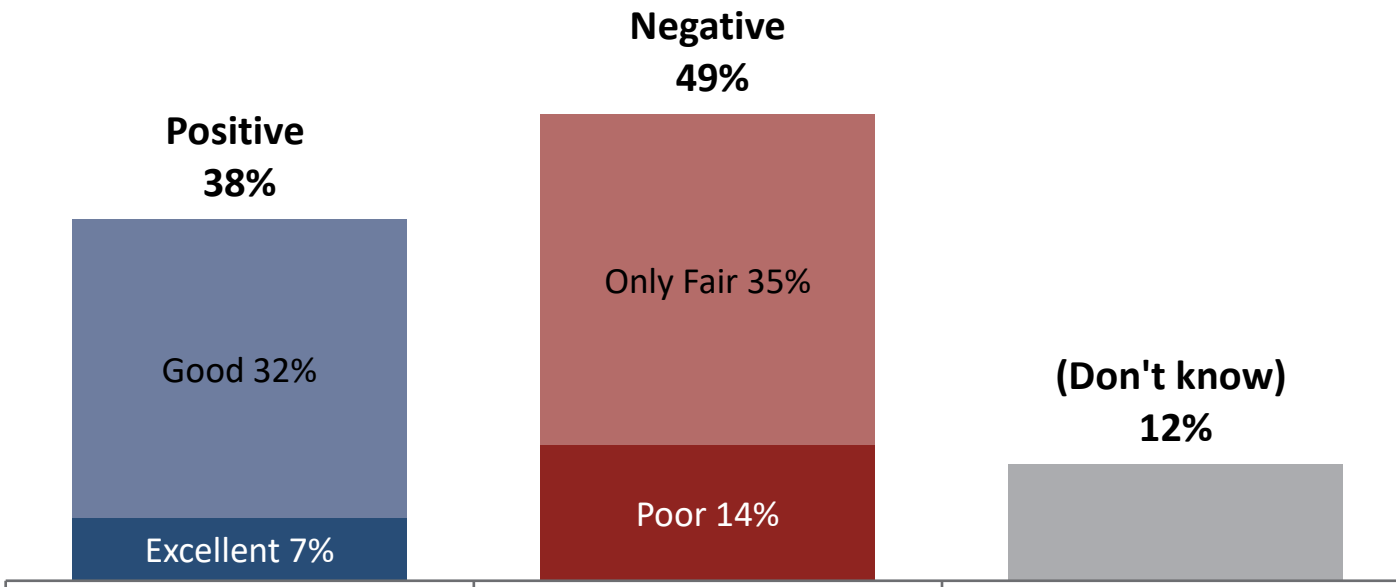
Bartlett and Miller are equally unfamiliar to voters. Name ID for the office of State Attorney is low in general, with few identifying even the previous longtime incumbent Bernie McCabe.



Q11. Now, switching gears, I'm going to read you a list of several people and organizations. Please tell me if you have a strongly favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or strongly unfavorable opinion of each one. If you have never heard of one, please just say so.

Job Rating: Bruce Bartlett

Most rate Bartlett's performance as State Attorney as "only fair." Intensity is slightly higher for "poor" compared to "excellent," driven by Democratic voters – they view him more negatively than Republicans do positively.

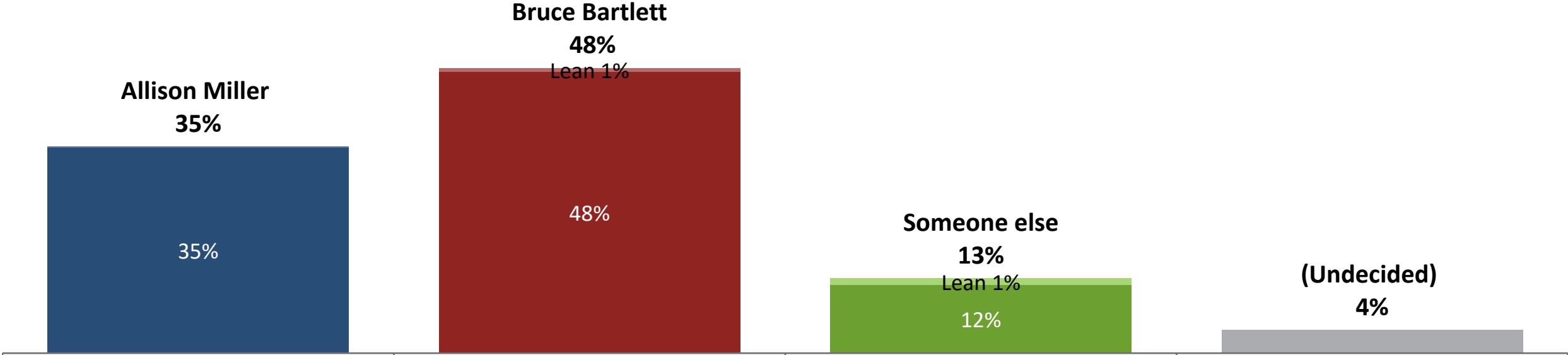


	Positive	Negative	Net Pos.
Overall	38%	49%	-11
Pasco County (35%)	40%	48%	-8
Pinellas County (65%)	37%	50%	-13
Male Dem (15%)	17%	72%	-56
Female Dem (19%)	21%	64%	-43
Male Ind/Else (11%)	28%	53%	-25
Female Ind/Else (14%)	44%	47%	-3
Male Rep (21%)	59%	32%	+27
Female Rep (21%)	50%	37%	+12
18-49 (32%)	39%	54%	-15
50-64 (30%)	41%	44%	-3
65+/PNR (38%)	36%	50%	-14
White/Else (82%)	42%	47%	-5
Hispanic/Latino (11%)	29%	46%	-17
African-American/Black (7%)	10%	87%	-76

Q20. How would you rate the job Bruce Bartlett is doing as State Attorney? Would you say Bruce Bartlett is doing an excellent, good, only fair, or poor job?

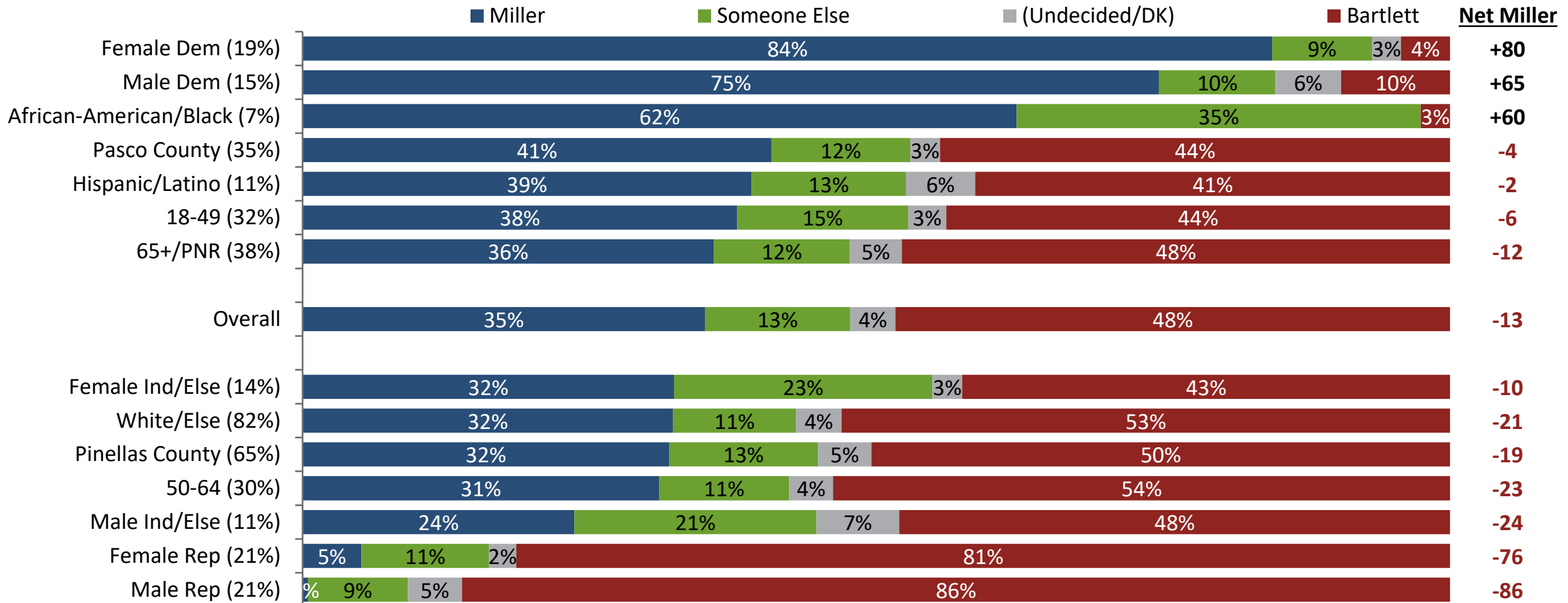
State Attorney Initial Vote

Bartlett begins with a strong lead on the initial vote, with Miller netting a third of the vote share.



State Attorney Initial Vote by Demos

Miller's initial support is highest among Democrats, particularly Democratic women, and Black voters. Support for Bartlett among Republicans is higher than support for Miller among Democrats.

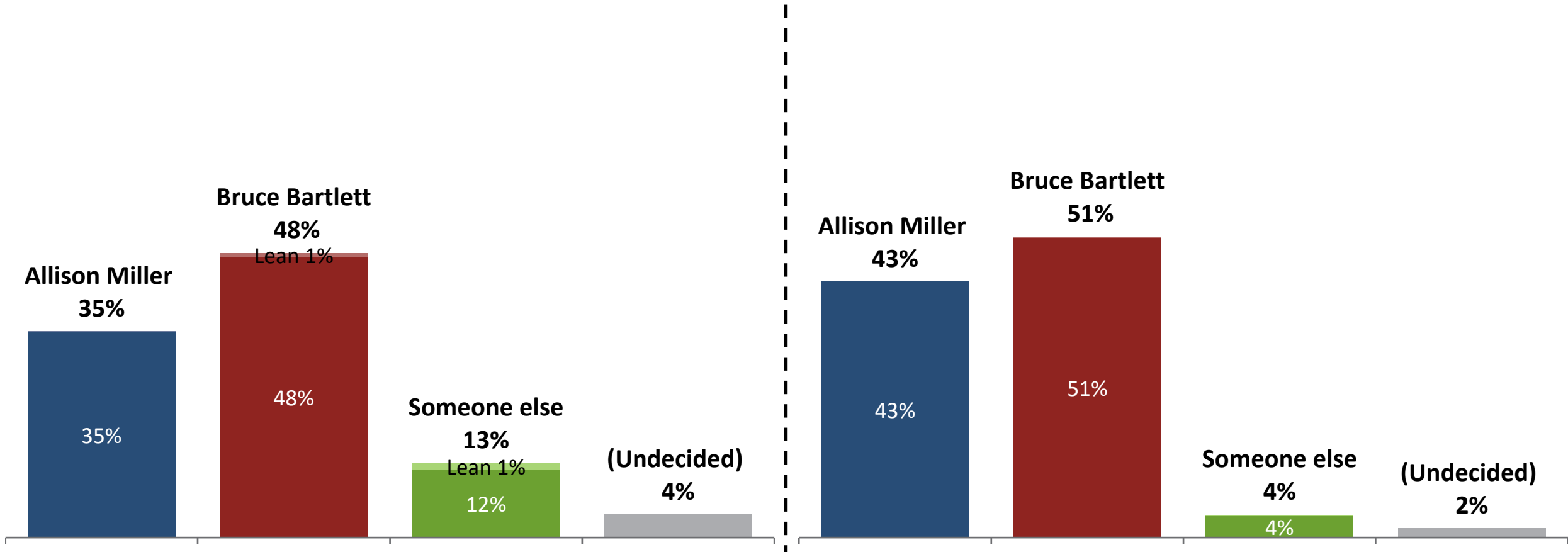


- ▶ **Miller:** Allison Miller has worked in the public defender’s office since 2008, when she worked under Bob Dillinger. She has become a trusted voice fighting for victims and against the special interests that oppose needed improvements to the legal system. Allison is recognized by the Florida Bar as an expert in criminal trial law. As our State Attorney, she will focus on increasing transparency and ensuring our judicial system is held accountable and will serve as a check on overzealous law enforcement.

- ▶ **Bartlett:** Bruce Bartlett has worked in the State Attorney’s office for more than forty years, beginning as an Assistant State Attorney and working his way up to serving as Chief Assistant State Attorney for Bernie McCabe’s 28 years in office. Bruce has been on the prosecution teams that sent the killers of numerous law enforcement officers to prison and helped develop many pre-trial intervention programs in the Sixth Circuit. He believes in being tough on crime while always pursuing the right thing to do.

State Attorney Vote after Bios

After voters are given a brief biography of both candidates, Miller's vote share increases by nearly ten percent while there is minimal movement for Bartlett.



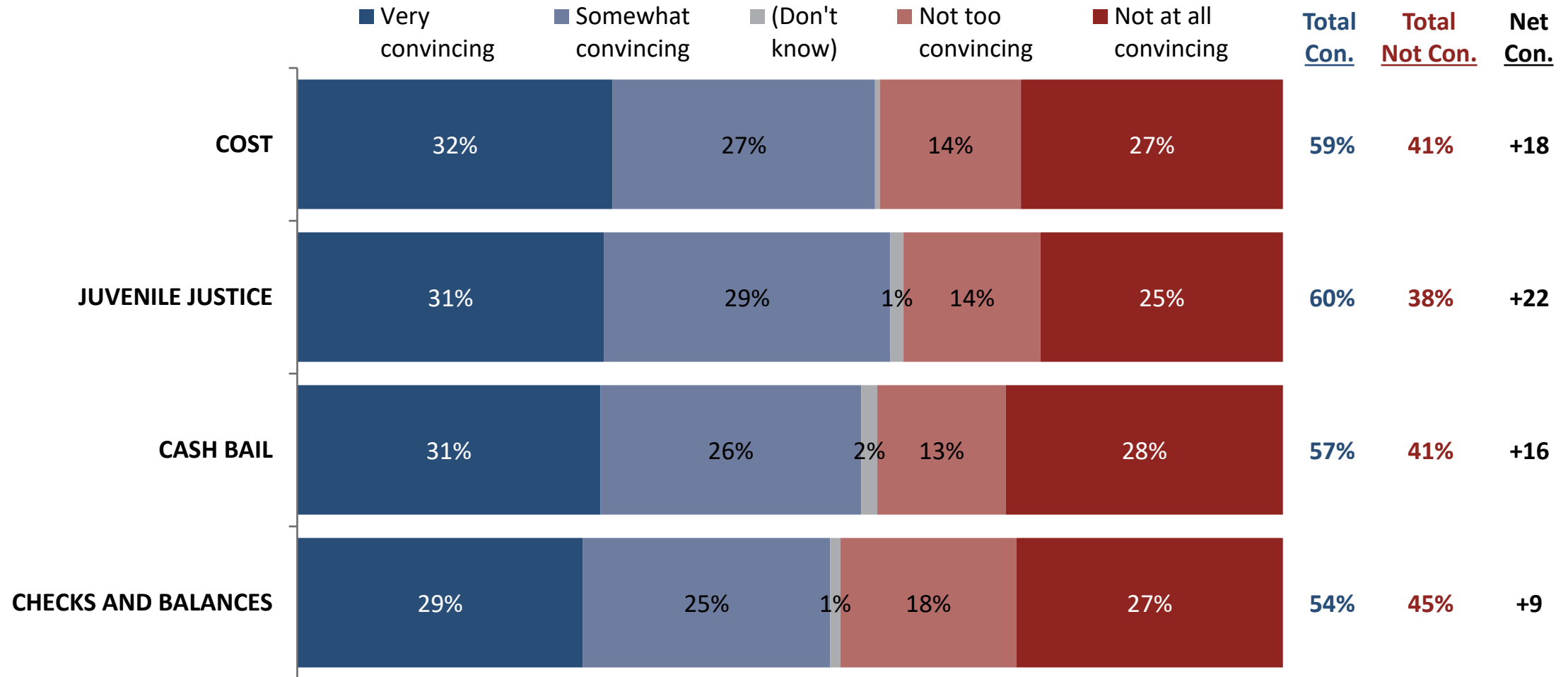
Q23 & Q24. Having heard this, if the election for State Attorney were today, who would you vote for if the candidates were:

Miller Positive Messages Text

- ▶ **COST (32% Very Convincing):** It costs more than \$100 to hold a person in jail each day – and we hold more than 4,500 people in jail every day in our area. We’re paying millions of dollars per year to warehouse people charged with non-violent offenses like marijuana possession and theft. Allison Miller has said she will expand diversion programs that address the root causes of crime and reduce the prison population, freeing up taxpayer dollars to address issues that affect all of us like our failing infrastructure and roads.
- ▶ **JUVENILE JUSTICE (31% Very Convincing):** Our State Attorney charges kids in adult criminal court more often than the state average, which is more than most other state attorneys in the nation. One of the reasons why is that our state attorney doesn’t have to ask a judge or let the child, or their family, weigh in on the decision. Allison Miller has said that as State Attorney, she will no longer take kids directly to adult criminal court without requesting a hearing where the juvenile court judge can consider whether juvenile or adult sanctions are suitable.
- ▶ **CASH BAIL (31% Very Convincing):** Thousands of people are currently locked up in Pinellas and Pasco County jails. Many have not even been convicted of a crime, but are instead stuck in jail simply because they cannot afford to pay bail. Allison Miller has said that if elected State Attorney, she will not seek cash bail for low-level offenses so people don’t sit in jail simply because they cannot afford their freedom.
- ▶ **CHECKS AND BALANCES (29% Very Convincing):** The State Attorney not only chooses which cases to prosecute and how, they also set the tone for public safety across Pinellas and Pasco counties. Right now, our area is stuck in the past, over-relying on warehousing people, which the evidence shows just adds a revolving door to our prisons and jails. Pasco County has even started treating innocent people like criminals because a computer tells them the person might commit a crime. As State Attorney, Allison Miller has said she will serve as a check on local police to ensure our rights are protected.

Miller Positive Messages

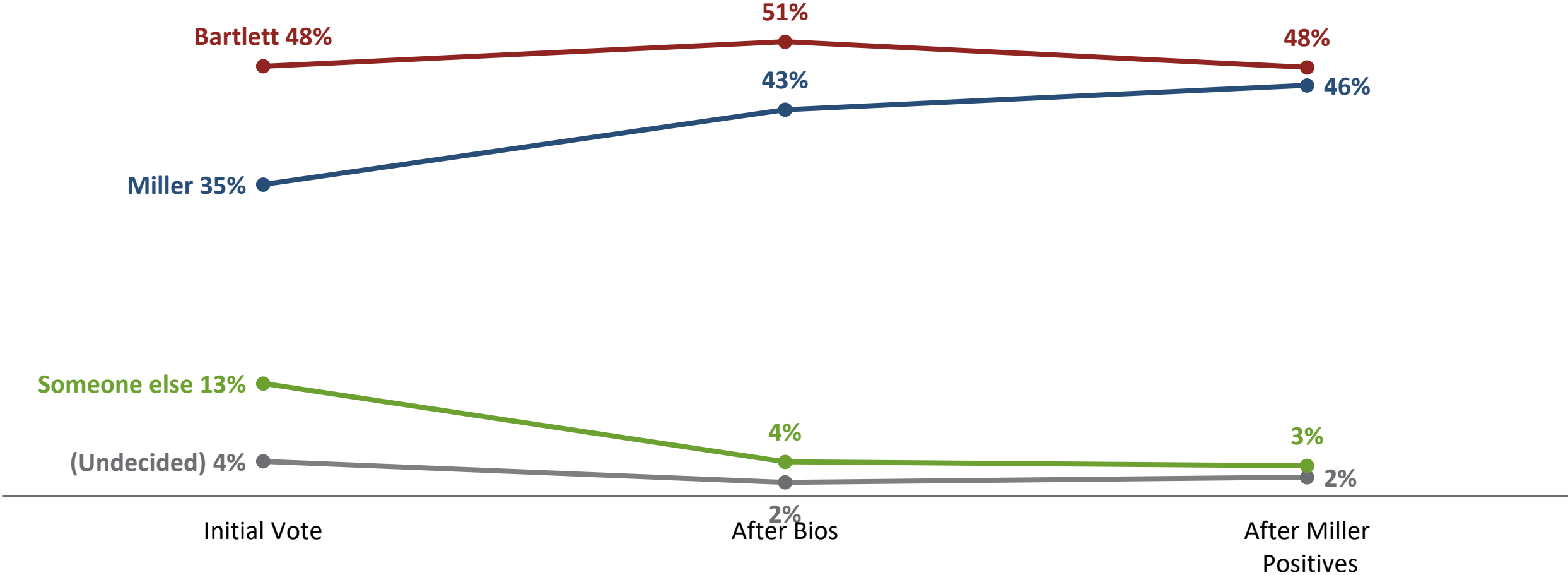
Intensity of response to the Miller positive messages is fairly flat. Juvenile justice and the cost of mass incarceration in the Circuit were narrowly the top messages overall.



Q31-34. Next, I'd like to read you statements from people who support Allison Miller for State Attorney. After each one, please tell me how convincing that statement is as a reason to vote for Miller—very convincing, somewhat convincing, not too convincing, or not at all convincing.

State Attorney Vote after Miller Positives

After positive messages for Miller, the race is effectively tied within the margin of error.



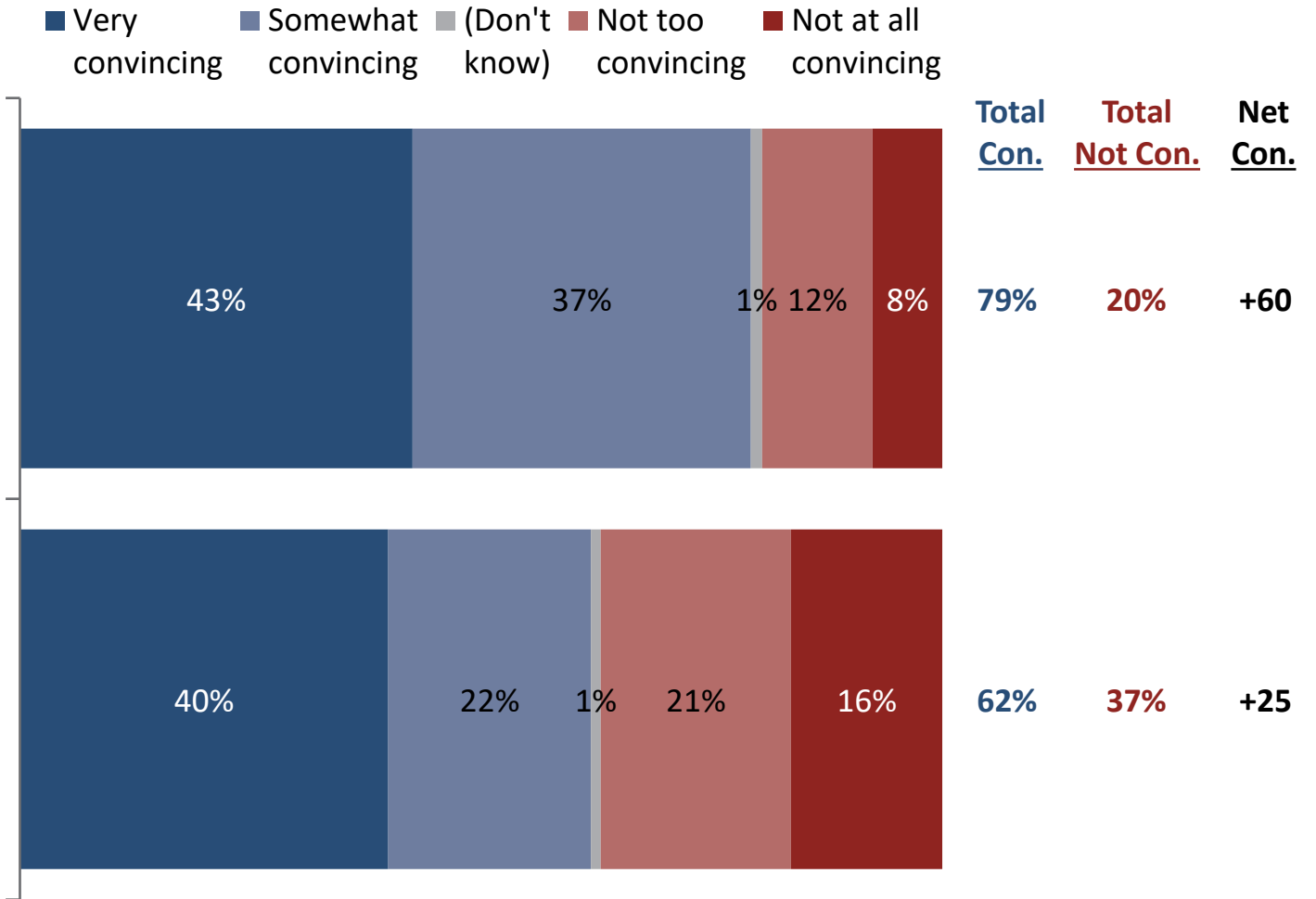
Q35. Now that you've heard more, if the election for State Attorney were today, who would you vote for if the candidates were:

Bartlett Positive Messages

Response to the Bartlett messages is much stronger with four-in-ten saying both are “very convincing” – the “compassionate” framing, taken from Bartlett’s website, is the strongest overall.

[COMPASSION] Bruce Bartlett has always been tough on crime while pursuing the right thing to do. He believes in upholding the law with compassion for those grappling with addiction or mental illness. As part of this he has helped develop pre-trial intervention and diversion programs to help first time offenders or minors avoid conviction or prison time by working through volunteer hours or doing community service.

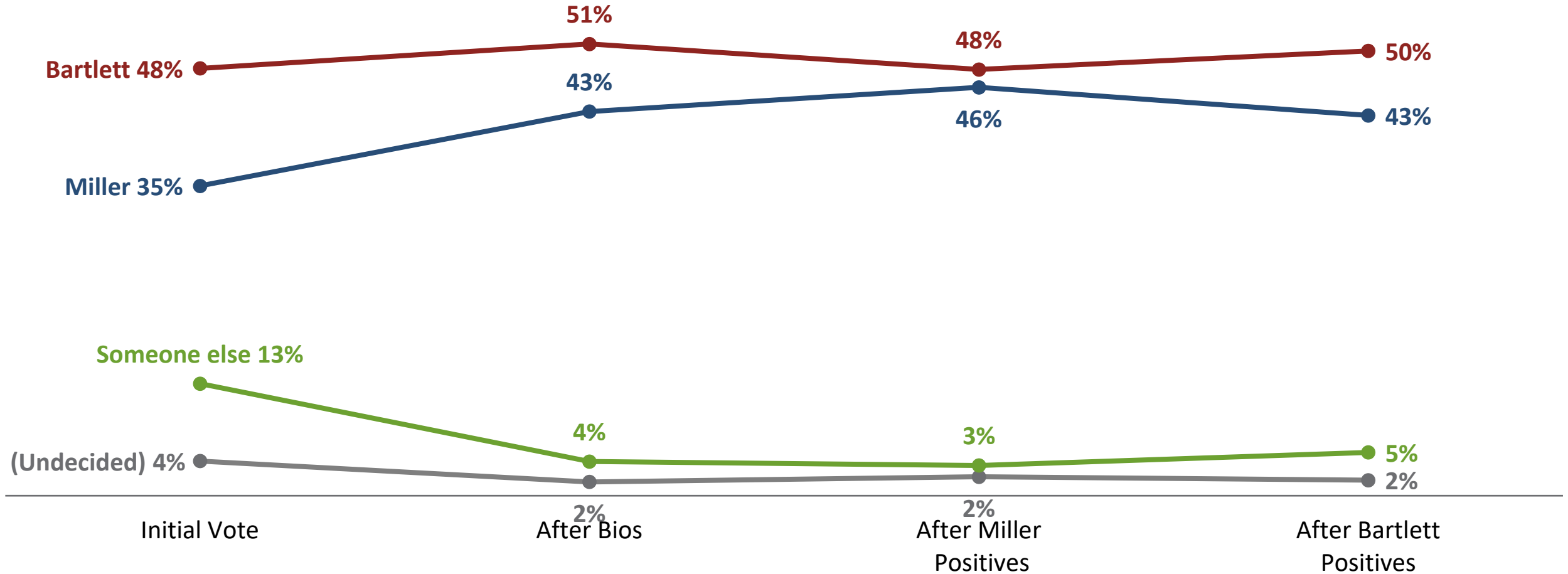
[SUPPORT LAW ENFORCEMENT] Bruce Bartlett stands with the men and women serving in our local law enforcement agencies and has been endorsed by Pasco County Sheriff Chris Nocco and Pinellas County Sheriff Bob Gualtieri. Now more than ever, law enforcement agencies need a State Attorney who will support their efforts to keep Florida safe instead of wasting valuable time and money on red tape that could instead be spent addressing the serious crime issues facing our communities.



Q36-37. Next, I'd like to read you statements from people who support Bruce Bartlett for State Attorney. After each one, please tell me how convincing that statement is as a reason to vote for Bartlett—very convincing, somewhat convincing, not too convincing, or not at all convincing.

Final State Attorney Vote after Bartlett Positives

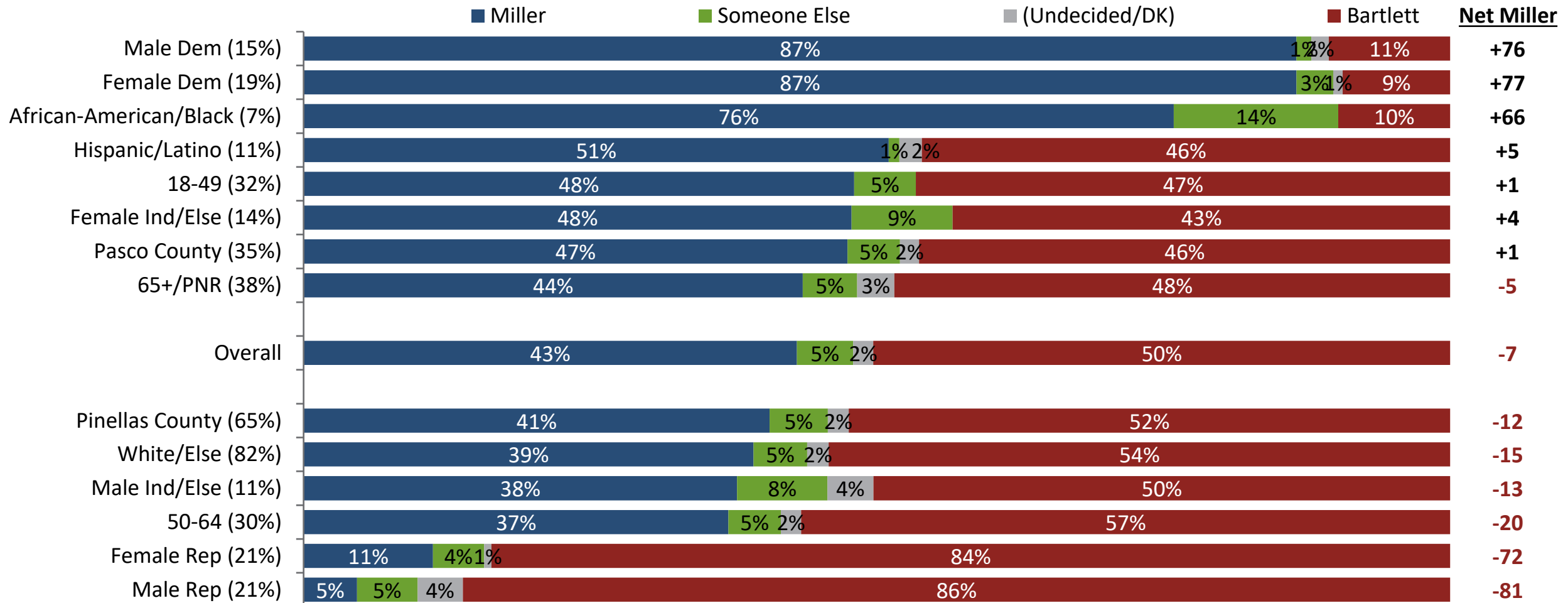
After Bartlett positives, Miller's vote share drops very slightly with Bartlett regaining a wider lead as he once more nets 50% of the vote.



Q38. Now that you've heard more, if the election for State Attorney were today, who would you vote for if the candidates were:

Final State Attorney Vote by Demos

Support for Miller among key base groups (Democrats and Black voters) increases slightly on the final ballot. Support among Independent women increases by nearly 15%.



Miller Vote Share Progression by Demos

Miller gains the most support among iterations of men and voters of color.

Miller % of Vote	Initial Vote	Vote after Bios	After Miller Positives	Voter after Bartlett Positives	Net Change from Initial to Final
Overall	35%	43%	46%	43%	+8
Pasco County (35%)	41%	45%	50%	47%	+7
Pinellas County (65%)	32%	43%	44%	41%	+9
Male Dem (15%)	75%	87%	87%	87%	+12
Female Dem (19%)	84%	83%	92%	87%	+2
Male Ind/Else (11%)	24%	38%	41%	38%	+14
Female Ind/Else (14%)	32%	55%	55%	48%	+15
Male Rep (21%)	0%	5%	6%	5%	+4
Female Rep (21%)	5%	12%	13%	11%	+6
18-49 (32%)	38%	51%	53%	48%	+10
50-64 (30%)	31%	35%	39%	37%	+6
65+/PNR (38%)	36%	43%	46%	44%	+8
White/Else (82%)	32%	39%	41%	39%	+7
Hispanic/Latino (11%)	39%	51%	54%	51%	+12
African-American/Black (7%)	62%	86%	94%	76%	+14



Support Segmentation

Segmentation

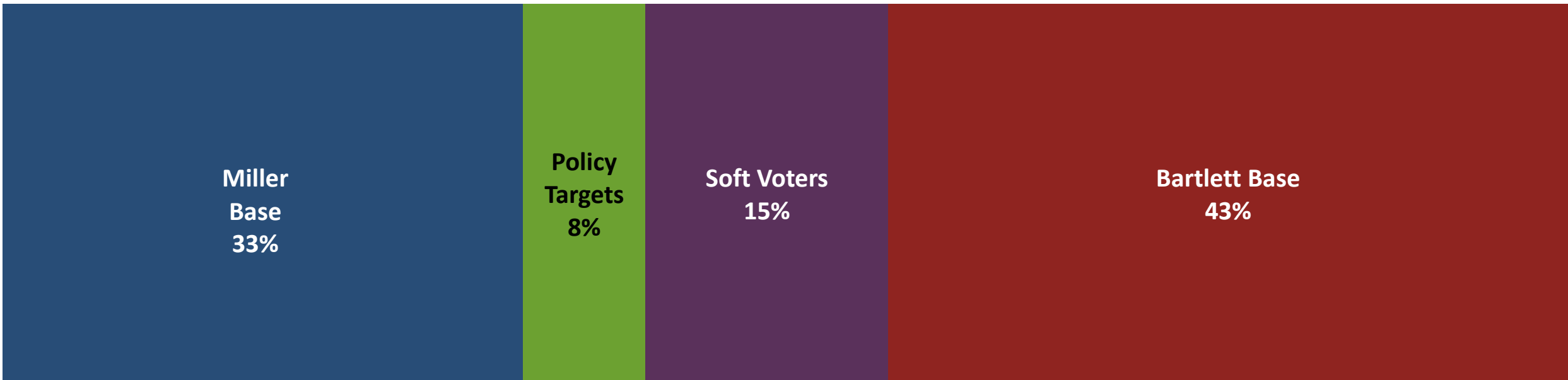
Bartlett begins with a much larger base of support. A very narrow segment of the population are potential targets for policy-oriented messaging as voters who did not vote one candidate consistently but ranked three or more ACLU priorities as “very important.”

Miller Base: Voted for Miller every time

Policy Targets: Did not consistently vote for Miller or Bartlett, but ranked at least three policy priorities as “Very Important”

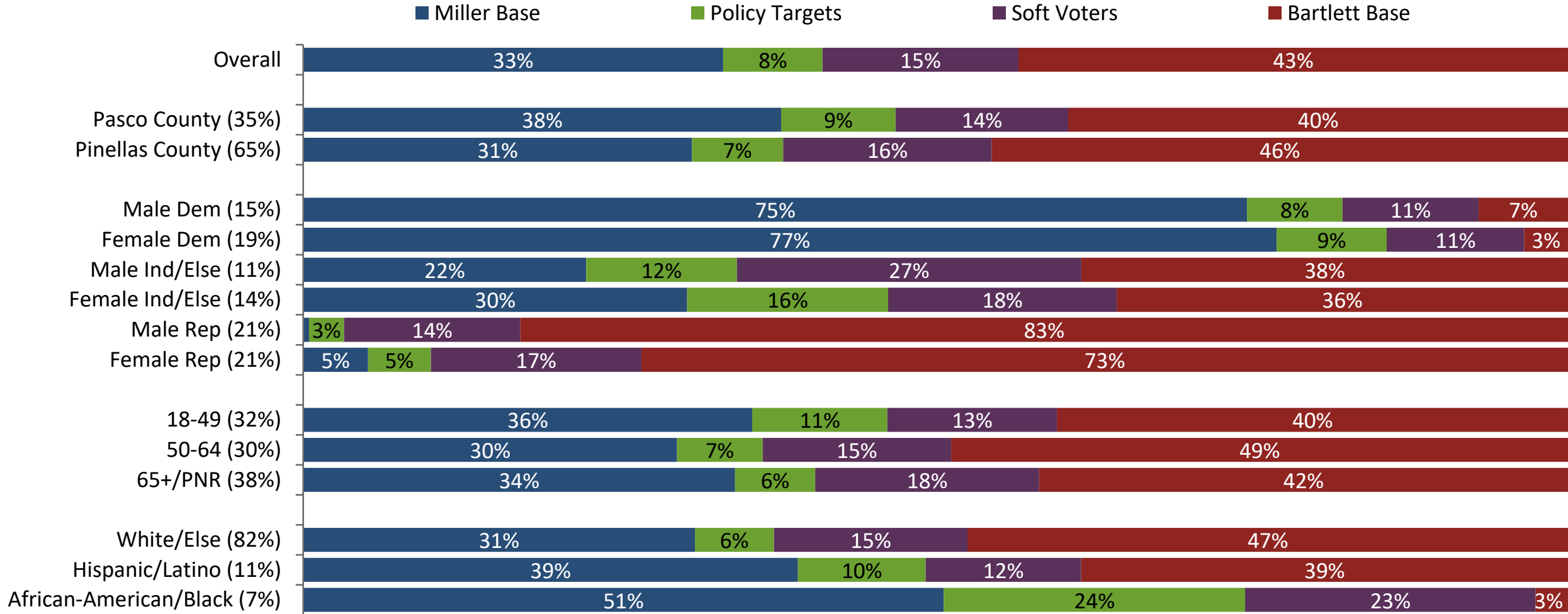
Soft Voters: Did not consistently vote for Miller or Bartlett and ranked two or fewer policy priorities as “Very Important”

Bartlett Base: Voted for Bartlett every time



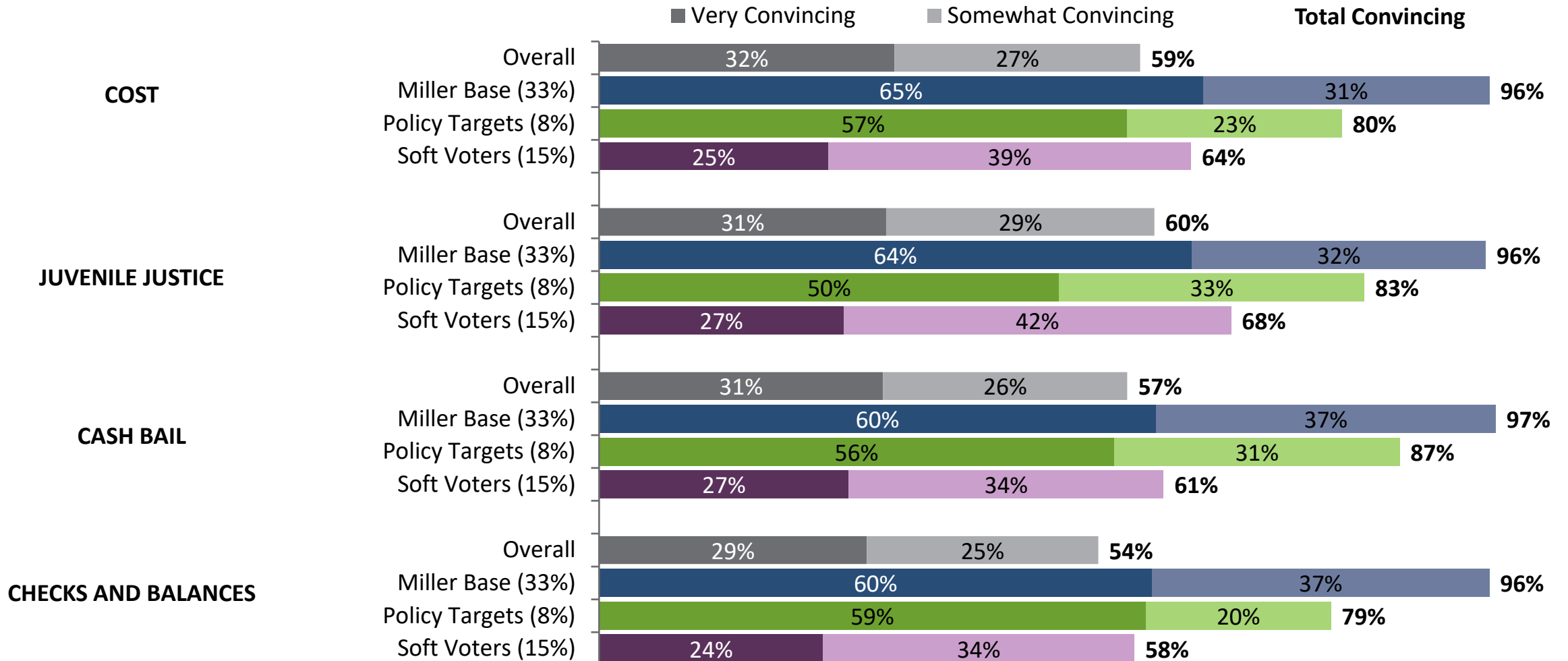
Segmentation by Subgroups

Policy-oriented targets are primarily Black voters and Independents, especially Independent women – two of the groups that showed the most movement towards Miller by the final ballot.



Miller Positive Messaging by Segmentation

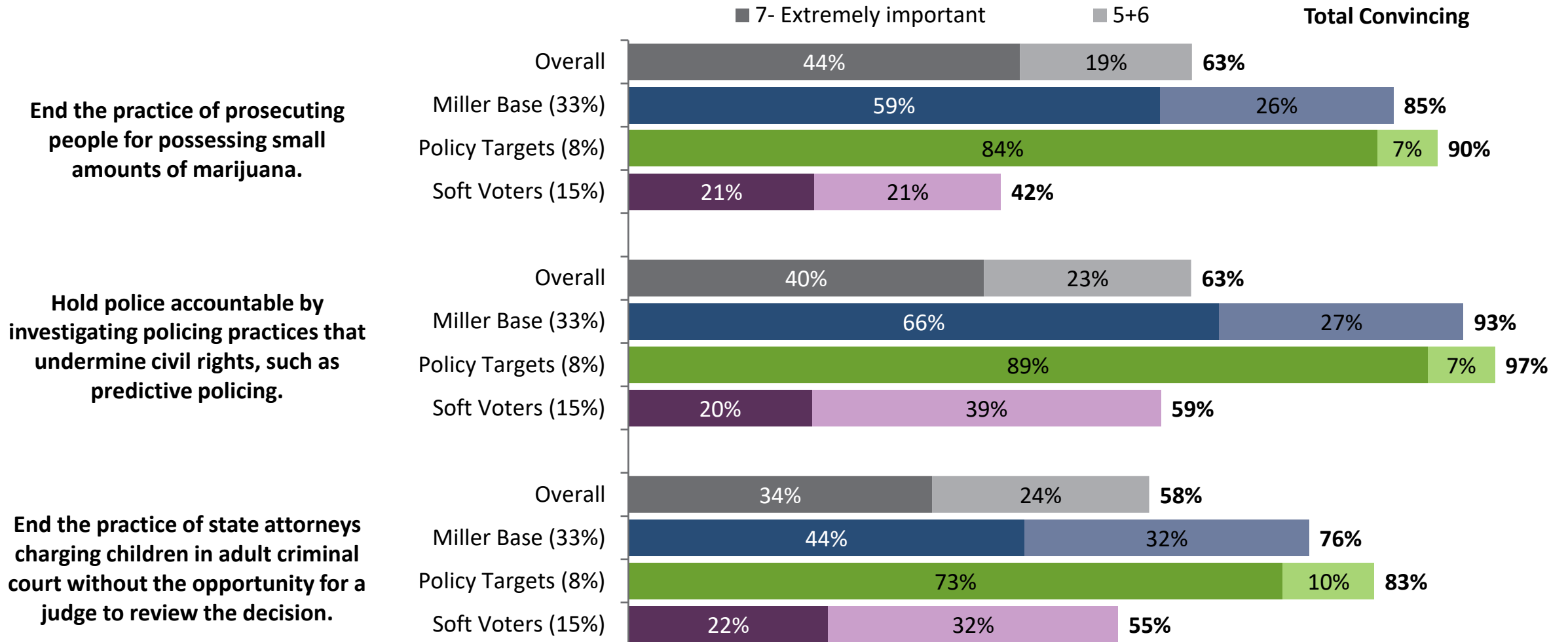
Among policy targets, “cash bail” is the strongest message overall while “checks and balances” is narrowly the best performing in terms of intensity.



Q31-34. Next, I'd like to read you statements from people who support Allison Miller for State Attorney. After each one, please tell me how convincing that statement is as a reason to vote for Miller—very convincing, somewhat convincing, not too convincing, or not at all convincing.

Elected Official Priorities by Segmentation

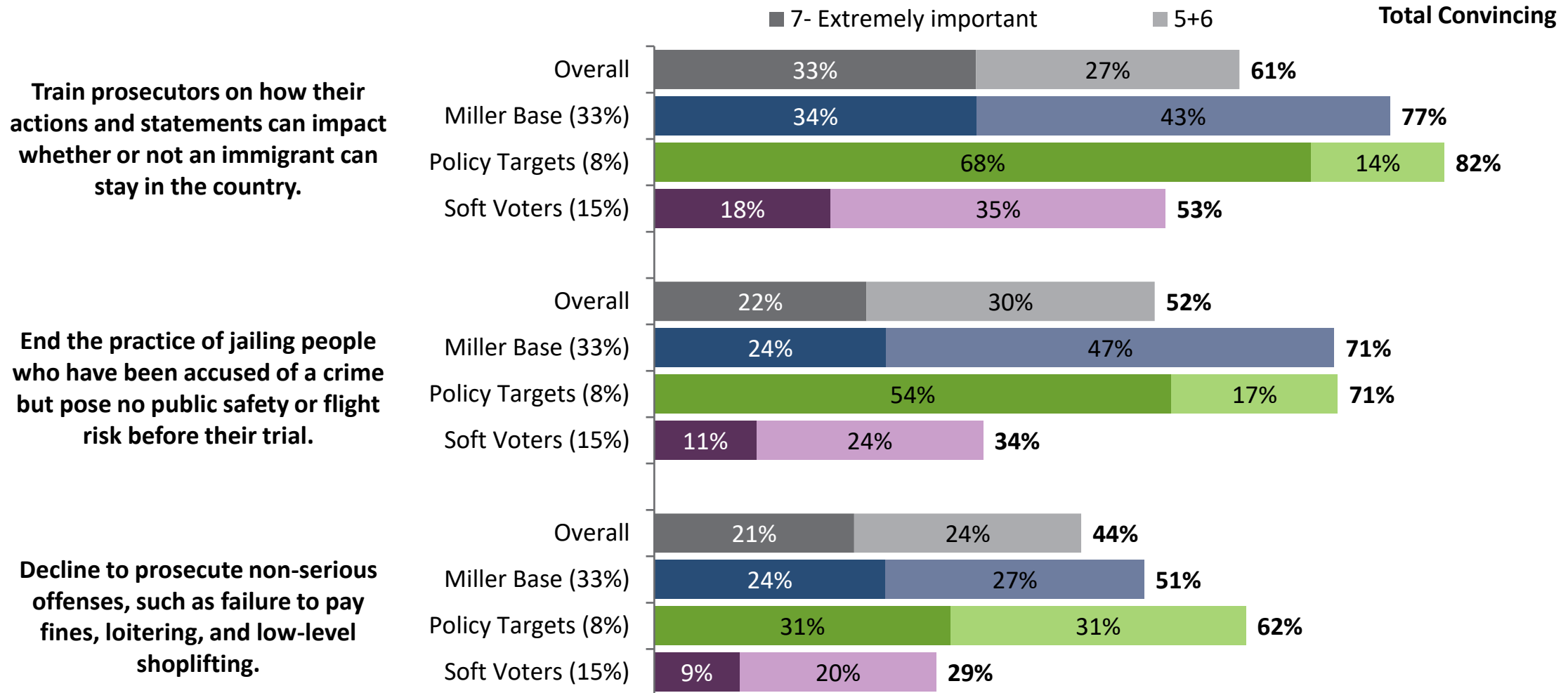
Among policy-focused targets, holding police accountable is the strongest policy priority in terms of intensity and overall support, followed by ending low-level marijuana prosecutions.



Q25-30. I'm going to read you a list of priorities that others have said are important for your elected officials to address. After each one, please rate how important that priority is to you, using a scale of one to seven, where one means not at all important, and seven means extremely important.

Elected Official Priorities by Segmentation

Declining to prosecute non-serious offenses remains the lowest-ranked policy even among policy targets, but they do consider it important overall – moreso than Miller base voters.



Q25-30. I'm going to read you a list of priorities that others have said are important for your elected officials to address. After each one, please rate how important that priority is to you, using a scale of one to seven, where one means not at all important, and seven means extremely important.

Expanded Segmentation

Only half of Miller’s base voters – those who supported her on all ballots – ranked three or more of the ACLU’s policy priorities as “very important.”

Core Miller Voters: *Voted for Miller every time and ranked at least three policy priorities as “Very Important”*

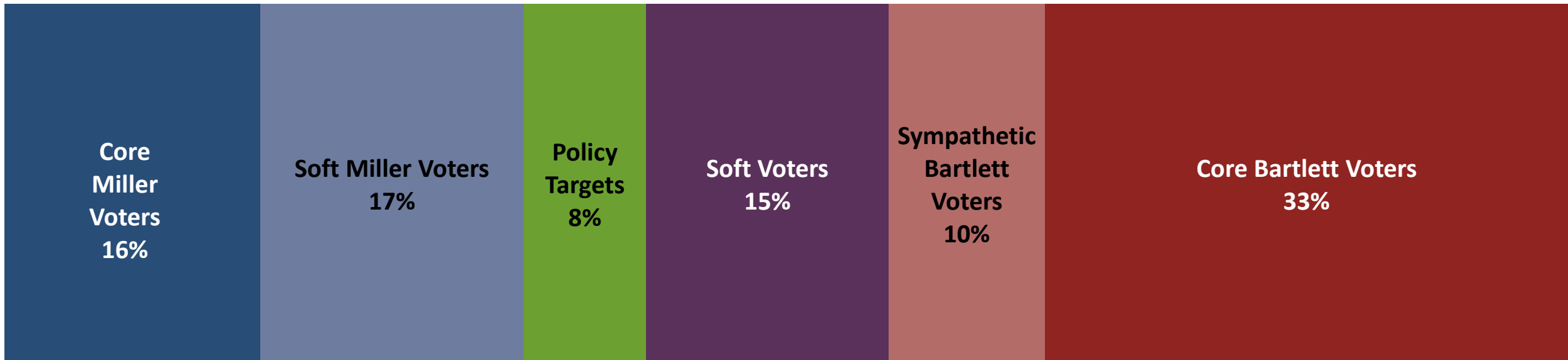
Soft Miller Voters: *Voted for Miller every time, but ranked two or fewer policy priorities as “Very Important”*

Policy Targets: *Did not consistently vote for Miller or Bartlett, but ranked at least three policy priorities as “Very Important”*

Soft Voters: *Did not consistently vote for Miller or Bartlett and ranked two or fewer policy priorities as “Very Important”*

Sympathetic Bartlett Voters: *Voted for Bartlett every time, but ranked at least three policy priorities as “Very Important”*

Core Bartlett Voters: *Voted for Bartlett every time and ranked two or fewer policy priorities as “Very Important”*



- ▶ Allison Miller's path is steep and, if both campaigns choose to engage, will be a battle for Independent voters in a highly partisan electorate.
 - With a small base, Miller will have to quickly build solid voters among Democrats and start to compete for Independent voters who lean Republican. It will be difficult to avoid partisanship in this election.
- ▶ The most significant hurdles to overcome here are low name recognition and an environment that lends itself to incumbent Republicans. Miller sees more movement than Bartlett after voters are given biographical information about both, but intensity of support among Republicans is higher for Bartlett than Democratic support is for Miller.
- ▶ Should the ACLU choose to engage, we recommend the communication plan be two-fold:
 - Immediate work to increase Miller's name ID and awareness of her alignment with civil-liberty aligned values to solidify support among Democratic-leaning voters
 - Doing more intensive targeted communications on specific priorities among groups who are persuadable and aligned with ACLU priorities like decriminalizing marijuana and holding law enforcement accountable.

Conclusions

Miller Base	Policy Targets	Soft Voters
<p>Demographics: Democrats Black Latinx Pasco</p> <p>Similar % across <50 and 65+</p> <p>Top Messaging by Intensity: Cost Juvenile Justice</p>	<p>Demographics: Black Female Independents <50</p> <p>Approx. 9% of both Dem men and women are in the policy target group</p> <p>Top Messaging by Intensity: Checks and Balances Cost/Cash Bail</p>	<p>Demographics: Male Independents <65+</p> <p>Approx. 11% of both Dem men and women are in the soft voters group</p> <p>Top Messaging: Juvenile Justice Cash Bail</p>



Jane Rayburn

jane@emcresearch.com

202.849.6523

Mallory Thayer

mallory@emcresearch.com

614.827.9676