A Pennsylvania road trip finds voters full of doubt, anger and unease

By Scott Clement
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The Post zeroes 2,000 voters taking to voters in the most critical battleground state and focuses about harris, learn about Trump and uncertainty all over.

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I t was a long, the road to the White House runs through Pennsylvania. Of the seven battleground states, Pennsylvania represents the biggest prize with its electoral votes. There is almost no way for Vice President Kamala Harris or former president Donald Trump to win the election without it.

The focus on Pennsylvania this fall has been singular. The two campaigns have spent hundreds of millions of dollars on advertisements targeting voters, more than anywhere else. Rain is the big fear for Harris, or their running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota or Sen. Bernie Sanders, who are scheduled to the state. Other stops of the tour are Michigan and Nevada.

Trump was the state in used by aspirit voter — less than a percentage point — on his way to an upset victory over Hillary Clinton. Biden carried it in 2020 by about 80,000 votes — a margin of a percentage points.

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Recent polling has shown the state is a statistical dead heat. The Washington Post average of polls currently shows Harris a percentage points ahead of Trump. In 2020, the final poll average showed Biden ahead by a point, a point better than he did.

Pennsylvania's two biggest cities, Philadelphia in the east and Pittsburgh in the west, are Democratic strongholds. Outside of Philadelphia, suburbs that long elected Republicans have become increasingly Democratic. The counties surrounding Pittsburgh, however, have remained Trump country. The Democratic nominee has to win some just of the commonwealth's 67 counties to attain. In 2016, Clinton won just 21.

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What follows are dispatches from an October road trip across Pennsylvania, from Erie to Lancaster. It included conversations with more than 2,000 voters of differing, and conversations with dozens of voters and nonvoters, elected officials and activists. This included conversations with supporters and those holding their noses to vote for him, college students conflicted about Harris over the war in the Middle East and Black men who have long been divided over the Democratic Party's negotiation seeking to generate more excitement in their community and suburban women motivated to elect Harris in a country that's seen as a bellwether.

To the voters of Pennsylvania, Trump is a known quantity, for better and worse. Harris is less known, and her vibrant slate has fell put a week in progress. Trump could struggle to bring out the voters he needs to win. Harris's challenge will be to alienate fears of the unknown and overcome a lack of enthusiasm among some in her coalition.

If Trump wins Pennsylvania, it will be because some of his potential supporters, who are him as despite flawed, are more concerned about immigration, inflation and their negative perceptions of Harris than about Trump's threats of retribution, unstable behavior and effort to overturn the state election.

If Harris wins, it will be because she has fully mobilized urban women, prevented too many younger voters, particularly Black men, from staying home, and rallied those who are wowed Trump terms as potentially destructive to the future of the country.

Fulton County

The redder little dot in Pennsylvania

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Dan Swain, who serves as county Republican chairman, offered a description of the people who live in Fulton. "I would say, like, the founders, we believe in a Creator and believe in God's law. To me, there's nothing radical about that at all."

In his remarks at the dinner, Swain talked about similarities between Trump and Christ, including the former president's use of faith to rally Democratic president signed such — Lyndon B. Johnson does before this year. In such case, the sitting vice president became the nominee — Hubert Humphrey does, Harris now.

He also noted that there were two assassinations that year — Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy — and two attempts on Trump's life this year. By coincidence, on this night, Trump was sitt miles to the northwest, in Butler, returning to the site where an assassin's bullet grazed his ear in July. Trump drew tens of thousands of people. In McConnellsburg, the supper crowd numbered about 75.

At one of the long tables sat Lewis Vickery. He turned ninr in August. As a young man, he served in the 25th Infantry Division in World War II. He was in combat in the Philippines for more than nine days. Later he worked for the National Gallery of Art in Washington, where he was in pick up paintings from wealthy individuals. On one trip to the Pocono, he came back with fifty million.

"The country is a beautiful country," he said. "It's just the ruin is it." He spoke glowingly about Trump, recalling a phone call the former president rattlesnag an American flag. "I think he's a man who loves his country and he's gotn his life for it."

At the other end of a nearby table sat Jon Fisher, a retired plumber. He said he was disappointed in Harris's lack of a plan to address the high cost of complaint. He had mixed complaints about the state of the country under Biden and Harris and was particularly upset with the amount of money the United States has sent to aid Ukraine in its war with Russia. He called the war "a hoax."

"They're killing innocent people, don't get me wrong," he said. "[But it] they really want to take it over, you don't think Russia could have had it by now?"

The program included brief speeches by area officials. Jesse Topper, who represents the area in the Pennsylvania House, mentioned the challenge of winning in November. "People talk about the cities, the urban spots all the time — Philadelphia Democratic, Democratic, Pittsburgh," he said. "But actually, where we're losing the most ground is in the suburbs, particularly suburban women."

Ward, the senator, amplified Topper's concern and said there were competitive state legislative races where Republicans "are getting the word but out of them. [Democrats] are beating them up over abortion."

Topper and Ward's message was unmistakable: As Republicans are losing ground in suburban areas of the commonwealth, it's more important than ever that they hold on to the rural areas that have remained crea more. "It's important to get out all the vote in Fulton," Ward said.

The dinner ended about two hours after it started, and as people filed out, some carrying small pieces of memorabry was as their prizes, three women in the back of the room talked about the Democratic Party's decline in community that sit the base of a mountainous "Watch out for deer."

Centre County

Support, with qualifications, for Harris

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Regardless of their party identification, students interviewed at Penn State produced flatters with yard the campus were relatively cauhi. In ancin, Biden won the campus precincts with about 70 percent of the vote. Younger voters have been leaning Democratic in recent elections, and Harris's support for Trump's attacks on the Biden administration's handling of the Israel-Hamas war, in which Israel has killed tens of thousands of people in Gaza, and Israel's bombardment of Lebanon, which has killed more than 2,000 people, has alienated some of the Democratic Party's base. Harris's support for Israel's war in Gaza has alienated a large number of young people, including many who voted for Biden in 2020.

The conversations with students on the first anniversary of the Hamas attack on Israel. Penn State was not ruled with encampments and ongoing protests, as were some other campuses, but to mark the day, there was both a pro-Palestinian demonstration and a standalight vigil commemorating those killed and taken hostage, sponsored by People from Hillel.

For some campus Democrats, the war in the Middle East has shaped their views of Harris — negatively. "She won't change anything about Joe Biden's sort of abrupt, obnoxious policy toward Israel, [a Prime Minister] Benjamin Netanyahu and his far-right government," said Barbara Chatkin, president of the Penn State College Democrats.

Chatkin explained her "disgust" with Harris over the war. "I'm happy with many, in fact, with most of the decisions that are being taken by the Democratic Party," he said. "I wish that they would go further in many instances. But, I mean, Israel Palestine isn't just another policy."

The war isn't the only criticism of Harris from these young Democrats. While others in the group have backed her for moving away from positions she took as a presidential candidate in the 2020 election, these students decry her efforts to move toward the center. Jared Gerspach said he saw her as "capitulating to the right-wing framing on the border."

Another student, the group's executive vice president, has her own misgivings, especially over the war. She was among those who joined the pro-Palestinian demonstration that day. But she said, "We can't be cynical because that just helps him [Trump]." If Harris wins, she said, "I think it's important that we hold her to account. We can't sort of the election loss," she said.

Leaders of the College Republicans are far less conflicted about Trump than College Democrats are about Harris. Some part campaign with his Black and Latino supporters on the Rich Boys podcast, attendance at Ultimate Fighting Championship events and by expressing what he called "macho, hammer conservatism."

On many campuses, conservative students are wary of expressing their views. Hunter Heach said he sent Trump at the Republican convention in Milwaukee this summer and the former president advised him to stand by ground. "He said, 'Well, the best way you can contribute to the conversation is just be yourself and be a good person,' he said. "... You can be proudly and unapologetically conservative."

Clinton County

Fears of deposits, questions for Harris

Republicans had never been very active in politics until the spring after the state election. When he went to hold an election night, Trump had a sizable local ever Biden in the Republican area. When he awoke, Biden was ahead by a few hundred votes.

Stankiewicz wondered, how is that possible? He came to believe the election process was compromised. "I said, 'Not on my watch.' So I started a committee and started getting people involved in politics and a local Republican Party. That started a chain reaction of more local Republicans of the Trump.

Today he is focused on delivering another sizable majority for Trump in Clinton County, which sits along the banks of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River in north central Pennsylvania, where he says people are "just champing at the bit to get to the polling booth to vote for Trump."

Clinton County is conservative country, though in times past it sometimes voted for Democratic presidential nominees. Bill Clinton carried it twice, and Michael Dukakis narrowly won it in 1988. Many of those conservative Democrats are now Republicans, and the country has moved steadily into the Republican camp.

It is common like this — smaller, rural, remote — where Trump has run up his vote totals. Here he boosted the Republican share from 55 percent in 2016 to 70 percent in 2020. Democratic candidates stand in prison. Harris hopes to share a few percentage points of Trump's margin in these red counties, but it was clear she had more work to do.

Dave Lohr, a lifelong Democrat, owns a tattoo parlor in Lock Haven. Out shopping on a gray Monday morning, he expressed his misgivings about his choices this fall. “It just doesn’t seem like this is what I signed up for.”

Lohr had a low opinion of Harris as vice president and did not think she was ready to become the Democratic presidential nominee. Referring to the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the Capitol, he said of Trump: “I definitely feel he incited a riot. But I feel it’s the devil we know versus the devil we don’t.”

His bottom line: “I don’t even know if I’m going to vote.”

Ron Irvin, a retiree, called Trump “a poor excuse for a human being” and said he would never vote for him. Yet he might leave the presidential line of his ballot blank. Though he said Harris was “doing what she should do” as a candidate, he added, “I just still feel uncomfortable.”

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The previous day, a group gathered at the home of Doc Sweitzer, a longtime Democratic consultant who grew up in Lock Haven. He now lives in the suburbs of Philadelphia but keeps a house perched just above the river. The Philadelphia Phillies had a playoff baseball game that afternoon and several of the Republicans he had invited had canceled, leaving the group predominantly Democratic. Its members were looking for signs of hope.

They sat on a patio overlooking the river on a brilliant, sunny Sunday. At one point a hawk circled overhead. At another came the sound of gunshots. The Second Amendment is deeply ingrained in the culture of Clinton County. Gun ownership is commonplace. The most popular way for community organizations of all types to raise money is to raffle off a gun — or guns.

The conversation ranged across many issues, including the power of immigration to help Trump. The group agreed that Trump has created fear among people even in communities where migrants are not prevalent. The sentiment that “they are coming” is at the heart of it.

Irish and Italian immigrants helped build Lock Haven a century ago, though they faced discrimination. Now it is farmers who need migrant labor. “We’re not breaking new ground here,” said Mike Hanna, a former Democratic whip in the Pennsylvania House. He added, “It’s unfortunate that we don’t do a better job of educating folks.”

Dan Vilello, a former county commissioner, raised another issue that presents an obstacle for Harris. He had been at dinner recently with his relatives, most of them Republican. Many of the men expressed the view that a woman cannot lead the country, a view with which Vilello disagrees.

That raised the temperature of the discussion on Sweitzer’s porch. Angela Harding, a Democratic member of the county commission, said: “I’m biting my tongue. It shows a real strong insecurity among men … that they just can’t handle the fact that somebody without a penis might be running the country.”

Sweitzer said his informal research suggests that enthusiasm for Trump in the county is down from four and eight years ago. He predicted that a surge of female voters was coming, here and elsewhere. Maybe that would be enough for Harris to gain a few points in areas like this.

But the numbers tell a story of Republican dominance. Hanna said he got excited when he noticed recently that eight new people in the county had registered as Democrats. “And then I looked down,” he said, “and there were 65 Republicans.”

Allegheny County

A fight for working-class voters

There’s a regular clientele at the Moonlite Café, an Italian restaurant in Pittsburgh with a bar, pool tables and few pretensions. On a recent Tuesday evening, Marty O’Toole was at the bar with a few friends.

O’Toole is a retired plumber, a member of Local 27 of the Plumbers Union. His white hair is close cropped, his hands are meaty and his handshake firm. He wore a black sweatshirt with “Pittsburgh Hockey” emblazoned in yellow letters, along with crossed hockey sticks.

He is also a Democrat and a supporter of Harris. But he’s seen the drift among union members toward Trump and he’s not happy about it. “It’s dramatic,” he explained. “It’s eye-opening. It really pisses me off.” Even one of O’Toole’s brothers, also a union member, is a Trump supporter.

Election 2024 is about competition for many types of voters. One is the White working class. It has been shifting away from Democrats for many years. Since Trump came on the scene, White voters without college degrees — union and nonunion — and those with them have moved in opposite directions. Stemming the decline has been a priority for Democrats.

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Pennsylvania has lived through the hollowing out of the steel industry, and the commonwealth has seen a significant drop in the power of organized labor. In 2020, voters in union households were about 18 percent of the total vote in Pennsylvania, according to network exit polls, after peaking at 30 percent in 2004.

Those exit polls showed Trump narrowly carrying the union vote in Pennsylvania, 51 percent to 49 percent in 2020. By comparison, in 2012, Barack Obama won the union vote in the state by 15 percentage points. Even then, Pennsylvania’s union workers were less Democratic than in some other places. In Michigan in 2012, Obama carried the labor vote by 33 points.

Democratic strength among union workers remains relatively strong in Pittsburgh, said Michael Lamb, a former city controller, who was in conversation with O’Toole. In the counties surrounding the city, Trump has made his most significant inroads.

Rose Frazier Faust is experiencing this firsthand this fall. She is president of Local 8042 of the United Steelworkers of America in Saxonburg, located in Butler County north of Pittsburgh. “I think he [Trump] has an upper hand,” she said. There are various reasons but she cites one she believes is central. “I hate to say this, but it’s because he is not Black, he’s not a woman. I do believe there’s racism there.”

She has been working to mobilize voters but finds resistance to her entreaties among those favoring Trump. “They don’t want to discuss anything,” she said. “They’re right and you’re wrong. And that’s it. Nobody really wants to see it each other’s way, unfortunately.”

Trump has divided even longtime friends and upended traditional loyalties. At the Moonlite Café, Chuck Alker and Kevin Parsons sat at a table by the wall. They have known each other for 40 years. Alker is a registered Republican, a nonunion worker and now supports Harris. Parsons, a captain in the fire department and union member, is a Democrat. He supports Trump.

“I felt like the lack of respect for police was getting out of control,” Parsons said. “For example, in the South Side area where I grew up, it’s way worse off in my opinion under Democratic policies.”

As he talked, Alker kept interjecting, calling into question what his friend said. Parsons said he thought Obama fostered more division among the races. “There’s one person that divided this country more than anybody, and that’s been [Trump],” Alker said. “A leader does not divide.”

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At a table just inside the door sat Sean Laux, bearded and wearing a gray shirt over a black hoodie. He said he works in energy distribution, pumping and transferring oil from barges that arrive. He knows Trump’s flaws and is not turned off by them or by his antics. He thinks it changes few minds for Trump’s detractors to dwell on such things. “To bring it up is worthless,” he said.

Laux said he lives by “the Good Book and the Constitution” and believes the country “is in terrible shape.” With things out of control, it’s time “to give the power back to people.” Trump, he said, “has a better chance” of returning power to people than Harris.

Colleen Walz overheard some of the conversation and offered a strongly worded counterview. She is a retired deputy chief in the Pittsburgh Bureau of Fire. She is baffled by Trump’s apparent level of support among working-class voters and by the International Association of Fire Fighters’ decision not to endorse anyone for president.

But as a woman in a male-dominated profession, she fears electing a woman president is “still a tough deal in the United States. Unfortunately, a misogynistic deal, a sexist and also racist [deal], unfortunately, in many instances still. I don’t know if we had a White Democratic candidate who was not Joe Biden, that we would be having this same discussion.”

Philadelphia

A push to motivate young Black men

On the Thursday that Obama was at the other end of Pennsylvania, admonishing young Black men in Pittsburgh for considering not voting for Harris, Jeffery Young Jr. was in North Philadelphia trying to fix the problem.

“North Philadelphia is typically a place where turnout is low,” he said. “If we’re trying to get over the top to get the amount of votes that we need for Vice President Harris, then North Philadelphia has to turn up.”

Black Leadership Pennsylvania, Mobilize Justice, the NAACP, and other labor and civil rights groups had organized events designed to reach younger Black voters, especially young men, using celebrities, rappers and athletes as attractions.

Almost everyone agreed that enthusiasm was not where it needed to be. “I think people are just tired of being lied to, right?” Young said. “They are kind of fed up with typical elected officials and politicians saying that they’re going to help — and when you look at their communities, it looks like things are going backwards.”

Philadelphia traditionally delivers more Democratic votes than anywhere else in the commonwealth, but turnout has lagged the rest of the state. In the 18 wards where Black people make up 75 percent of registered voters, turnout peaked in 2008 at 199,747 and declined to 186,059 by 2020. Meanwhile, the Democrats’ margin of victory ticked down. Harris’s campaign has worried that sluggish turnout in Philadelphia could be especially costly.

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Frustration with government, a sense that promises haven’t been kept, is a barrier. But there are other issues causing Black voters to question their loyalty to the Democrats. One is immigration, according to organizers. The complaint heard in some neighborhoods is, as one person put it, “They’re [migrants] getting everything and we’re getting nothing.”

Resistance among young Black men is especially apparent, which is why the groups behind the day’s activities were bringing in celebrities and also developing content for social media. “Obviously, we’ve got to do something different,” said Brittany Smith, chair of Black Leadership Pennsylvania.

Among the appeals that don’t work as well as they once did is invoking the civil rights movement and pointing to those who had marched, been beaten or even died half a century ago to suggest to the younger generation that it had an obligation to repay that debt.

“Painting it as an obligation, I don’t think is a way to get young people engaged,” said Joe Hill, a political strategist and one of the organizers. What is potentially more effective, he added, is “portraying voting as a way to take the power in your hands, that you have agency and that you can actually change it.”

Harris almost certainly will win the overwhelming majority of Black voters, including young Black men. But Democrats worry that some will stay home and some will back Trump. Grey Harley, who has been working the area for the Service Employees International Union, said she’s had any number of Black men express support for Trump.

When she asks them why, she said they say, “‘Because no woman can tell me what to do,’ or ‘Women are too emotional’ or ‘I don’t trust her eyes.’ [They say] ‘I don’t know her. Trump’s always been who he is.’ Some folks trust consistency rather than the unknown.”

The people who came to a panel discussion about voting, democracy and Black power that evening at Temple University got a firsthand look at those sentiments. Those onstage were asked how they were feeling about the election. “Honestly, I’m afraid,” said rapper Beanie Sigel.

Of Trump, he said: “Everyone’s had knowledge that he’s a racist. Name a president who wasn’t. … On the other hand, we’ve got Mrs. Harris. … You know, as a man, I believe women deal with emotions, so when she’s bullied or feels like she’s being bullied by other people, what’s going to happen? Is she going to deal with logic and integrity or emotions?”

Angie Martinez, a radio personality who was moderating, pushed back. “I love that you can be that honest because it’s important that we understand the real fears out there as we are gearing up to vote. But … there are women in powerful positions who are beyond capable.”

Sigel would later try to soften his remarks, and he encouraged young Black men and women to express their voice — and to vote. But the collective response to what he said — almost a gasp in the audience — was a reminder of why Harris has been working hard to win the support of part of the most important constituency in the party.

Jordan Harris, who represents part of Philadelphia in the Pennsylvania House, said he doubts that defections to Trump will be significant. He also said there are scores if not hundreds of volunteers on the streets, explaining what the government has done for the community and reminding people of what democracy could look like under another four years of Trump.

“I think once you have those real one-on-one conversation or conversations in places where Black males gather and you’re meeting them with trusted voices,” he said, “I think they’re getting the message.”

Bucks County

The anger and power of suburban women

Every Saturday from April to mid-November, the farmers market stretches along Hamilton Street in the heart of Doylestown, a small borough in Bucks County north of Philadelphia.

The market is a gathering place, and a few weeks before Election Day, a group of mostly women congregated near a table displaying literature for Harris and local Democrats. Harris’s hopes depend on massive mobilization and turnout of women in suburban places like this.

Ever since Trump was elected, college-educated women have led the opposition, driven first by revulsion and now also by the elimination of the constitutional right to abortion by a Supreme Court that Trump remade with his nominations. Harris now needs them more than ever.

If Trump dominates the rural and small-town precincts and Harris has strong support in the two big cities of Pennsylvania, the election could be won or lost in the suburbs outside of Philadelphia — the four "collar counties" of Montgomery, Delaware, Chester and Bucks. Biden carried the first three in 2020 with between 58 percent and 63 percent of the vote. In Bucks, he managed just 51.5 percent on his way to winning the state by 1.2 percentage points.

Some people suggest there will be a "shy Harris" vote among women — women who will reveal their support for her only at the ballot box — that will power her to victory. Debbie Hahn, who was holding a "Honk for Democracy" sign at one intersection on a Friday afternoon, is trying to make this a reality in her own small way. She said: "I even have little Post-it notes that I've been putting in ladies' restrooms … that say, 'Your vote is 100% private. Once you're in the voting booth, you can vote for whoever you want to.'"

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Katherine Semisch, a retired teacher, would like to believe there is a shy Harris vote but is more worried about the motivation of men. "I believe that women see this election as an existential threat in a way that men don't in the same numbers," she said, adding that reproductive rights are more than women's rights. "I don't want to disrupt your innocence, but women only need reproductive health care when they've been consorting with men."

The women who stop at the table are focused — dialed in, as one put it — and nervous. Denise Glick, one of the volunteers behind the table, said, "I feel like we're on the edge of a cliff and if we fall off of it, I don't know how we get back."

The Democrats were not the first to set up a table at the edge of the Doylestown market. Trump supporters hold that honor, a sign that they are aggressively working to mobilize his supporters. Because this is more Democratic turf, the Trump volunteers are sometimes subjected to harassment. "We get the middle finger all the time," said Kristine Longshore, an ophthalmologist. "People throw trash on the table."

Republicans believe that, if Trump wins or keeps the margin narrow in Bucks County, Harris could be denied the state's 19 electoral votes. "If you keep Bucks even, or you lose by a hair, a point, point-and-a-half, you'll pretty much win Pennsylvania," said Jim Worthington, who owns the Newtown Athletic Club, a sprawling 300,000-square-foot facility.

Worthington has raised millions of dollars for Trump, led the GOP delegation to the Republican convention in Milwaukee and is a member at Trump's Mar-a-Lago Club in Florida. This past spring, he hosted Trump at a fundraiser at his Pennsylvania facility. Vance appeared at a rally there last month.

He said Trump is "crushing it" in Bucks. "How many big signs did you see?" he asked. "The big 4-by-8s [4 feet by 8 feet]. I bought all those. I bought $50,000 worth of signs and I had my son and a few of my employees put them out over the last six weeks."

Signs don't vote, but they are making Harris supporters nervous. "I drive the roads every day and I've seen it and I hear it," said Kris Ballerini, the county treasurer. "I am … probably at an 8.5 out of 10 of nervousness."

Democrats are also mindful that the Republicans now hold a small advantage in registration in the county, reversing what had been a larger Democratic advantage. "It was grassroots effort — door-knocking, getting out there," said Longshore, the ophthalmologist volunteering for Trump.

Trump is a powerful motivator for those who despise him. Alison McCabe is a former Republican and a supporter of abortion rights. She left the party in part because of her father. He was a Navy pilot, she said, "not a sucker or loser," referring to Trump's reported admonishment of Americans who died at war. She described Trump as: "Awful. Narcissist. Mean. Cruel. Incompetent. Enabled. Entitled. Inheritance boy. However you want to phrase that, I just can't stand him."

At the nearby Harris office, volunteers were signing in for canvassing with Jean Kiernan. She has volunteered in many presidential campaigns but sees this one as "more nerve-racking with much more at stake."

Lee Friedman, a veterinarian, had just picked up his materials for afternoon door-knocking, the first time he had done such work. Preserving democracy had brought him out. "I fear if Trump wins that we've just had possibly our last election in this country," he said. "I do literally believe that."

Bucks County has now become a destination point for Democratic volunteers from blue states. Dan Brodnitz, who works at LinkedIn, arrived from California on a Friday afternoon and was waiting for a friend to join him for the weekend as he walked through Doylestown. "The stakes being what they are, we committed to each other that we would come out together and see the people in Bucks County," he said.

Around noon at the market on Saturday, Sunny Zhang had joined the Trump forces on the street corner, where she often stands to show her support. She wore a T-shirt with a photo of Trump, his face bloodied and his fist in the air, taken moments after the Butler shooting. She was waving a flag that said "Jesus is my savior, Trump is my president." A driver in an SUV rolled to the intersection, slowed and shouted obscenities, and then was gone.

CORRECTION

An earlier version of this story misstated the surname of Brittany Smith and the occupation of Joe Hill, both of Philadelphia. This story has been corrected.

Election 2024

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