



# Winning Back Working America

## A PPI/YouGov Survey of Working-Class Attitudes

PROGRESSIVE POLICY INSTITUTE

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POLLING PLACE  
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SUMMARY AND HIGHLIGHTS  
BY WILL MARSHALL

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## INTRODUCTION

**This century has witnessed a populist revolt against long-dominant political parties across the democratic world. It's rooted in working-class discontent with sweeping economic and cultural changes that have bred a profound sense of social dislocation and insecurity.**

**This phenomenon challenges governing parties of the left and right. But it poses a special test to the U.S. Democrats and other center-left and progressive parties that have traditionally championed the economic prospects and moral outlook of traditional working people.**

The new populists offer working-class voters a refuge in old ideas: ethnic nationalism, nativism and protectionism. Conservative parties have tried to compete by co-opting these themes. Liberal and progressive parties have deplored the populists' illiberal and anti-democratic tendencies while failing to grasp their valid concerns and fears of not being heard.

The Progressive Policy Institute believes America and other liberal democracies need a reinvigorated center-left to turn back the tide of reactionary nationalism that has swept much of the world over the past decade. In January 2023, we launched a new Center-Left Renewal Project headed by Claire Ainsley, formerly a top policy advisor to UK Labour Party leader Keir Starmer.

As it happens, both Labour and the Democrats face crucial national elections next year. While allowing for significant differences in political structure and culture, reconnecting with their historical working-class base is an electoral and moral imperative for both parties.

To help them frame more effective appeals to working-class voters (broadly defined as those without four-year college degrees) the Project commissioned from YouGov public opinion surveys in the United Kingdom and the United States. The former is found in Claire Ainsley's report, *Roadmap to Hope*, which was released in October at the Labour Party Conference in Liverpool.

This U.S.-focused companion report, *Winning Back Working America*, has two parts: a national survey of 860 non-college voters and oversamples of working-class opinion in seven 2024 presidential or Senate battleground states: Michigan, Montana, New Hampshire, Arizona, Georgia, Pennsylvania and Nevada. The interviews were conducted between Oct. 17 and Nov. 6.

Here are some of the key findings of our poll, followed by the national sample. The state oversamples and crosstabs are available on request.

## THE GENERAL STATE OF WORKING AMERICA

Working Americans believe the last 40 years have not been kind to people like them. Two-thirds say they are worse off and only 21% say their lives have improved. White non-college voters are especially likely to say things have gotten worse (70%). Pessimism is even higher in many swing states: Arizona (74%), Michigan (74%), Pennsylvania (75%).

Presented with a list of reasons for why life is harder for working people today, respondents put illegal immigration and automation at the top. Both are seen as putting downward

pressure on jobs and wages. Close behind them are unsettling cultural changes like gender fluidity and mandatory diversity and equity programs, as well as the lack of effective public support for developing skills and professional certification and jobs searches.

Asked which U.S. President from the past 30 years has done the most for average working families, these voters choose Donald Trump by a wide margin (44% to Biden's 12%). This result, however, is mainly driven by partisanship, as Democrats split their vote between Presidents Biden, Obama and Clinton. Nonetheless, Democrats should take note that 51% of independents and 32% of Hispanics pick Trump.

## THE ECONOMY AND OPPORTUNITY

It's also likely that Trump is benefitting now from the absence of inflation when he was in office. When it comes to the economy, these voters overwhelmingly (69%) name the high cost of living as their top worry. In distant but still significant second place (11%) is the concern that government deficits and debt are too high.

In fact, the need for fiscal restraint and controlling government spending is a recurrent theme in this survey. Asked why prices have risen so much, 55% of working-class voters picked "government went overboard with stimulus spending, overheating the economy" over the impact of the COVID recession and supply chain bottlenecks as the economy recovered. More than half of voters in each of the swing states agreed.

Democrats were notable outliers here, with only 13% seeing a link between spending and inflation.

That was also true of taxes. By 61-39%, working-class voters blamed high taxes on government spending rather than the rich not paying their fair share. By exactly the same margin, Democrats took the opposite position.

Despite all the talk in Washington of reviving U.S. manufacturing, these voters seem to be looking for opportunities elsewhere. Asked where they think their children will find the best jobs and careers, most (44%) chose the communications/digital economy over manufacturing (13%). Hispanics are particularly interested in digital sector work (57%).

These voters without a four-year degree, not surprisingly, show little interest in the Biden administration's push for student loan forgiveness for college students (11% in favor). On the contrary, 56% (including 59% of Independents and 51% of Hispanics) say "paying off this debt is not fair to the majority of Americans who don't get college degrees..." Democrats again were conspicuous outliers, with only 28% calling loan forgiveness unfair.

Nor do working Americans seem to connect their prospects for upward mobility with unions. Asked what would help them most when it comes to having a good job and career, only 6% picked joining a union. Asked more generally would most help working people get ahead, just 15% chose a "federal push for stronger unions."

What they do support, enthusiastically and across political fault lines, is "more public investment in apprenticeships and career pathways to help non-college workers acquire better skills" (74%) as well as "affordable, short-term training programs that combine work and learning."

Our poll also helps to explain why progressive demands for "free college" for everyone land with a thud with working Americans. Only 9% said a college degree would be most helpful to them in getting ahead.

While working-class voters worry about monopolies, particularly in the tech sector, this worry is highly contingent on corporate reputation. Working-class voters strongly support breaking up companies that offer poor pay and benefits, but strongly oppose breaking up companies that offer decent pay and benefits or offer consumers particularly valuable services like free shipping.

## TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY

On trade, working-class voters offer a mixed verdict, reflecting our deeply polarized politics.

With respect to the effects of trade agreements on themselves and people like them, our respondents split fairly evenly among three options: 29% viewed the agreements' effects as positive; 35% as negative; and 36% as not of great importance either way.

When we asked a similarly-worded question about the effects of past trade agreements "on our country" as a whole, the share of

respondents viewing the effects of past agreements as positive stayed about the same at 28%, while a noticeably larger 44% viewed the effects as negative, and the number reporting no significant effects either way shrank to 28%. This suggests that a substantial group of working-class voters believe that trade agreements don't have an especially powerful effect on themselves or their communities, but are negative for the country overall.

While this poll shows no obvious working-class consensus view on trade policy, it does reveal some sharp divisions of view among workers of differing ideology and party affiliation, race and ethnicity, and age. For example, liberals and Democrats viewed the effects as positive by 45%-18% and 39%-22% respectively. Likewise, 18-to-29-year-olds viewed the effects as positive by 45%-24%, and African Americans by 42%-13%.

By contrast, 51% of conservatives and 49% of Republicans viewed past agreements as affecting them or people like them negatively, while only 20% saw positive effects. Among working people aged 55-64 and among white working people generally, these splits were respectively 46%-20% negative and 40%-25% negative.

Our poll also shows that one near-future option – the large-scale tariff increase proposed by the 2024 Trump campaign – receives support from only 23% of respondents.

Ambivalence also marks working-class voters' views on industrial policy. When it comes to

using subsidies or tariffs to protect our own industries, 48% embrace an "America First" approach that does not take foreign governments' views into account, while 42% think the government should work closely with our democratic allies to avert retaliatory subsidies or tariffs.

On the basic question of whether our government should try to promote economic development, 48% of these voters take a middle position – "government should focus on a few sectors essential to national security and leave others alone" and reject both a laissez-faire approach (20%) and the progressive belief that government should "play a leading role in deciding the economic future" (32%).

Nationally working-class voters are evenly split (46-47) on President Biden's economic agenda, (framed in terms of major spending on COVID relief, support for state and local governments, infrastructure, and clean energy investment). They will judge industrial policies and energy investments mainly in terms on how they will affect their personal finances.

## TRUST IN THE PARTIES

Working-class voters are generally skeptical of Democrats and trust Republicans more to handle issues they care most about.

For example, Republicans are trusted more to manage a growing economy, promote entrepreneurship, keep debt and deficits under control, and handle crime and immigration. They also lead on creating economic opportunities for working Americans and

defending national security.

Republicans also have a nine-point advantage on making schools more responsive to parents. That should be setting off alarm bells among Democrats, given their longtime dominance of education issues.

Republicans also have the edge on some important cultural or values dimensions: protecting personal freedom, strengthening private enterprise, and respecting hard work and individual initiative.

Democrats are trusted more to combat climate change and manage America's clean energy transition. And as other polls and election results have confirmed, Democrats are way ahead on another important cultural and women's health issue: protecting reproductive rights and abortion access.

These voters also trust Democrats more on "respecting our democratic institutions and elections." But given Republican fealty to Trump's stolen election lies, the margin is uncomfortably narrow (39-34). And in key states like Arizona, Georgia, and Montana, working-class voters actually trust Republicans more on the issue.

The two parties are essentially even on making America fairer, putting the interest of working-class people first, and – also surprisingly given the obstructionist tactics of House Republican extremists – on being more committed to governing than partisan warfare.

Despite the class inversion in U.S. politics that has seen Democrats make large gains

among college-educated voters while Republicans do better among those without college degrees, Republicans are still seen as the party of the rich and as too influenced by wealthy donors.

A majority of working-class voters nationally (58%) and in all the swing states say Democrats have moved too far to the left. Asked how they'd like to see Democrats change, these voters say get tougher on illegal immigration, give greater priority to growth, and control public spending.

Their advice to Republicans: support both tax hikes and spending cuts to restore fiscal discipline; be less extreme on restricting abortion; and show more respect for democratic institutions and elections.

A majority of independents say they trust neither party when it comes to managing the economy, but independents generally align with the Republicans on specific economic policies.

## OTHER IMPORTANT TAKEAWAYS

### **Role of government:**

Only 19% of working-class voters favor the progressive position – a large fed government fighting for greater economic equality and wealth distribution. Thirty-four percent embrace the conservative goal of a small government that spends and taxes less and leaves distributional questions to the free market. Most (47%) choose a pragmatic middle option: a federal government that actively steers the economy but mostly by promoting and protecting free markets.

This finding suggests that Democrats can find more support among working-class voters for public policies aimed at fostering more inclusive economic growth, so long as they don't confuse support for a more active government with support for a bigger government.

Working-class voters believe economic inequality reflects the influence of the rich and powerful in our political system, not the unequal distribution of talents. At the same time, they suspect that government attempts to mitigate inequality could be captured by the rich and well-connected.

We also tested progressive calls in Washington to have the IRS do everyone's taxes. We see this question as something of a proxy for public trust in the federal government. By 78-22, working-class voters said they'd be more comfortable continuing to do their own taxes.

### **Immigration, Crime, and Gender:**

On these staples of culture war politics, more working-class voters gravitated to center-ground solutions than to extreme ones. That's good news for Democrats, who too often shy away from talking about these issues for fear of offending various constituencies.

For example, on immigration, the progressive left's open border position gets support from only 15% of the voters, while 32% back the populist right's demands to shut down the border and admit fewer immigrants, legal and illegal. A majority (53%) of these voters embraced the pragmatic position that we need to "reduce illegal entry and increase legal immigration to bring in workers our

economy needs to grow."

Nationally and in key states like Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, and Pennsylvania, working-class voters support equipping police with better technology while also funding alternatives such as mental health crisis first responders, rather than more police and more prisons.

Contrary to what some may expect, a near-majority (48%) of non-college voters support adults receiving gender-affirming medical care, and another 23% support minors receiving such care – but only with parental consent.

### **Public school reform:**

Our poll has bad news for Republicans pushing universal voucher bills that would give parents public subsidies to send their kids to private and religious schools. Only 34% of working-class voters supported this option; 60% said tax dollars should go to public schools.

But teachers unions and progressive foes of public school choice should take note too: Just 6% of respondents said local school boards, rather than parents, should decide which schools children attend. Asked whom public schools served most, they said political activists (31%), unions (30%) and students (29%), with only 10% choosing parents.

### **Clean energy transition:**

As with trade, views on climate change divide along partisan and ideological lines. Nonetheless, these working-class voters are pragmatists on the clean energy transition.

Overall, 41% of these voters say climate change is an “existential” problem that demands action, while 34% expressed skepticism. Forty-two percent think clean energy incentives will create good jobs and boost the economy, while 37% fear they will raise energy bills and the costs of goods.

When it comes to buying a new stove, home heater or car, however, working-class voters emphatically put cost over environmental considerations (67-10). They narrowly favor consumer tax incentives to jumpstart clean

energy, but say they should be phased out over time.

On all these issues, our poll found space for Democrats to offer pragmatic, common-sense alternatives to the stridently ideological views of right and left-wing populists. This will obviously entail tough conversations with the party’s progressives, who frequently associate Democrats with unpopular ideas that are far to the left of the electorate as a whole.

***Will Marshall is president and founder of the Progressive Policy Institute.***

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## ABOUT THE POLL

On behalf of the Progressive Policy Institute, YouGov fielded a survey of working-class registered voters without a four-year degree (voters with a two-year degree, high school diploma, or less), including a national sample as well as oversamples in the key battleground states of Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania.

YouGov conducted this survey from October 17 to November 6, 2023. The national poll contains an online sample of 860 voters.

The survey measured working-class voters’ views on the economy, politics, technology, climate change, and other key issues. The results below reflect the national poll. The margin of error is  $\pm 3.7\%$



## VIEWS ON THE WORKING CLASS

**1. Looking back over the past 40 years, do you believe the working class is [better off today, worse off], or has their situation remained the same?**

Better off.....	21%
Worse off.....	66%
Remained the same.....	13%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**2. And if you had to choose, which President from the past 30 years do you believe has done the most for average working families?**

Bill Clinton.....	14%
George Bush.....	6%
Barack Obama.....	25%
Donald Trump.....	44%
Joe Biden.....	12%
Totals.....	101%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**3. Some say that a series of policies, economic changes, and cultural shifts in the United States have made life harder for working people. If you had to choose, which of these would you say has contributed the most to this?**

Immigration, especially from undocumented border-crossers, has put pressure on jobs and wages.....	15%
Changes in the culture, such as in definitions of men and women and mandatory diversity and equity programs, have led to the ' selection of workers for political reasons rather than merit.....	14%
Trade competition from Chinese imports and trade agreements such as NAFTA have eliminated jobs.....	13%
The decline of organized labor and a more hostile political climate for unions.....	10%
Workers in factories, retail, and elsewhere are being replaced by computers and robots and neither business nor government are helping them find options.....	15%
Lack of government programs to develop skills and professional certification, help workers in job searches, provide health insurance, and other supports for workers and their families.....	14%
U.S. workers are less motivated and hard-working than in the past, and are mostly responsible for their own problems.....	13%
People like to complain, but in reality, life is as good or better for workers than it was in the past.....	7%
Totals.....	101%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**4. Generally speaking, where do you believe your children will find the best jobs and career opportunities?**

*Only asked of those with children*

In manufacturing plants, factories, or other places where physical goods are made.....	13%
In the service economy such as in food service or a help desk.....	8%
In the communications/digital economy such as writing code, managing data, or e-commerce.....	44%
In a government job such as the civil service or military.....	14%
Other.....	20%
Totals.....	99%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>563</b>

**POLITICAL VIEWS AND ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT**

**5. Which party do you trust more to...**

	The Democratic Party	The Republican Party	Neither	Both
Manage a growing economy	29%	39%	23%	9%
Keep public debt and deficits under control	26%	31%	36%	7%
Reduce crime and protect public safety	26%	41%	23%	9%
Handle immigration	27%	43%	24%	6%
Respect our democratic institutions and elections	39%	34%	22%	6%
Manage America’s clean energy transition	36%	21%	32%	12%
Combat climate change	38%	16%	36%	11%
Promote entrepreneurship and keep America ahead in the race for new technologies	28%	39%	23%	10%
Make public schools more responsive to parents	29%	38%	24%	9%

**6. When considering the Republican and Democratic Parties, which party do you think is best when it comes to...**

	The Democratic Party	The Republican Party	Neither	Both
Making government more effective and responsive	29%	29%	33%	9%
Protecting personal freedom	31%	40%	19%	10%
Strengthening private enterprise	21%	43%	23%	13%
Creating economic opportunities for working Americans	33%	38%	18%	10%
Respecting hard work and individual initiative	29%	38%	21%	13%
Making America fairer	32%	33%	26%	9%
Defending national and economic security	28%	42%	18%	13%

**7. Which party do you trust to put the interests of working-class people first?**

The Democratic Party.....	38%
The Republican Party.....	37%
Neither.....	22%
Both.....	4%
Totals.....	101%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**8. Which party represents the interests of more affluent Americans?**

The Democratic Party.....	31%
The Republican Party.....	41%
Neither.....	11%
Both.....	17%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**9. Please indicate if you [agree or disagree] with the following statements:**

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure
The Democratic Party has moved too far to the left	45%	13%	15%	16%	11%
The Democratic Party is heavily influenced by special interests like public sector unions, environmental activists, and academics	40%	28%	10%	9%	13%
The Democratic Party is overly anti-business	26%	18%	17%	23%	16%
The Republican Party is controlled by evangelical leaders	21%	22%	19%	22%	15%
The Republican Party is too influenced by wealthy donors	38%	23%	16%	14%	9%

**10. Which of the following changes in their priorities would you most prefer the Democratic Party makes?**

Give greater priority to economic growth.....	16%
Expand parental control over what children are learning in school.....	5%
Prioritize spending tax dollars more efficiently instead of growing government programs.....	16%
Get tougher on illegal immigration.....	29%
Stand up to woke progressives.....	12%
Something else.....	11%
I don't believe the Democratic Party needs to change its priorities.....	11%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**11. Which of the following changes in their priorities would you most prefer the Republican Party makes?**

Adopt a less extreme stance on abortion and prioritize women’s healthcare.....	16%
Present a reasonable plan to restore fiscal discipline that includes spending cuts and tax hikes on the wealthy.....	32%
Respect democratic institutions and elections.....	16%
Acknowledge and tackle climate change.....	9%
Something else.....	11%
I don’t believe the Republican Party needs to change its priorities.....	16%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	<b>860</b>

**12. Which party do you believe is more committed to governing and problem-solving than waging partisan warfare on the other party?**

The Democratic Party.....	36%
The Republican Party.....	34%
Neither.....	25%
Both.....	6%
Totals.....	101%
N.....	<b>860</b>

**13. Which do you prefer:**

A large federal government dedicated to fighting issues like inequality, prosperity, and the distribution of wealth.....	19%
A federal government that actively steers the economy, but mostly by promoting and protecting free markets so people can work together on issues like inequality, prosperity, and the distribution of wealth.....	47%
A small federal government that spends and taxes less, leaving inequality, prosperity, and the distribution of wealth up to the free market.....	34%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	<b>860</b>

**14. To what extent do you think the government should be involved in developing policies to promote economic development?**

Government should stay out and leave this to the market.....	20%
Government should focus on a few sectors essential to national security and leave others alone.....	48%
Government should have a leading or role in deciding the economic future.....	32%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**VIEWS ON THE ECONOMY AND BUDGET**

**15. What do you consider the most significant challenge facing the U.S. economy today?**

The high cost of living.....	36%
The need for more high-wage jobs.....	6%
Poor working conditions/bad quality of jobs.....	2%
Inflation is outpacing the economy.....	33%
Not enough workers are unionized.....	1%
Taxes are too high.....	5%
Deficits and debt are too high.....	11%
Social welfare spending is too low.....	2%
Too many big companies.....	4%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**16. You said inflation is outpacing the economy is your top concern. Which best describes how you view it?**

*Asked of those who answered inflation is outpacing the economy in previous question*

Demand for goods and services exploded as the COVID pandemic wound down, and supply couldn't keep up.....	29%
Government went overboard with stimulus spending, overheating the economy.....	55%
Supply chain bottlenecks limited the supply of goods and services.....	16%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>281</b>

**17. You said the need for more high-wage jobs is your top concern. Which best describes a solution to you?**

*Asked of those who answered the need for more high-wage jobs in previous question*

The private sector will continue to provide good jobs if the government stays out of the way.....	6%
The government needs to invest and create new jobs because we can't trust the private sector.....	34%
The government should make sure everyone has access to the training and skills needed to find a good-paying job.....	60%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>50</b>

**18. You said taxes are too high is your top concern. Which best describes how you view it?**

*Asked of those who answered taxes are too high in previous question*

Taxes are too high because the government spends too much.....	61%
Taxes are too high because the rich don't pay their fair share.....	39%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>45</b>

**19. Which statement aligns most closely with your view on economic equality?**

Inequality shows that the economy is controlled by the rich and powerful for their benefit.....	65%
Inequality mainly reflects differences in talent and drive among individuals, not the actions of corporations.....	35%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**20. Some members of Congress are proposing a bill to have the IRS agents file your taxes instead of using software provided by a private organization like TurboTax, or an accountant. Even if it isn't exactly right, which of the following is closer to your view?**

I would be more comfortable letting the IRS handle filing my taxes instead of what I do now to file my taxes.....	22%
I would be more comfortable continuing to do what I do now to file my taxes.....	78%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**21. President Biden signed into law nearly \$5 trillion of new deficit-financed spending over the next decade during his first two years in office, including COVID relief, support for state and local governments, stimulus checks, infrastructure, and clean-energy investment. Generally speaking, do you [support or oppose] President Biden’s economic agenda?**

Strongly support.....	21%
Somewhat support.....	25%
Somewhat oppose.....	12%
Strongly oppose.....	35%
Not sure.....	7%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**22. And even if it isn’t exactly right, which of the following is closer to your view?**

Generally, larger companies in this country cause more harm rather than good, such as by exploiting workers and driving other companies out of business.....	50%
Generally, larger companies in this country cause more good than harm, such as by providing more jobs, offering higher salaries, and better benefits for the people in our communities.....	50%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

## IEWS ON WORKFORCE AND EDUCATION

**23. And if you had to choose, which of the following do you think is most likely to help working people get ahead?**

A federal government push for stronger labor unions.....	15%
Student loan forgiveness for college students.....	11%
More public investment in apprenticeships and career pathways to help non-college workers acquire better skills.....	74%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>



**24. Recently, President Biden called for eliminating as much student debt as possible for those who attended college. Even if it isn't exactly right, which of the following is closest to your view?**

President Biden is right - student borrowing should be subsidized by the government.....	25%
I support student debt cancellation but would prefer if this wasn't all up to the President.....	19%
Paying off this debt is not fair to the majority of Americans who don't get college degrees and will increase costs for students and taxpayers alike over the long term.....	56%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**25. What do you believe would help you most when it comes to having a good job and career?**

A four-year college degree.....	9%
More opportunities for apprenticeships with companies.....	23%
Affordable, short-term training programs that combine work and learning.....	46%
Joining a union.....	6%
Opportunities to start your own business.....	17%
Totals.....	101%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**26. And even if it isn't exactly right, which of the following is closest to your view regarding education?**

Parents should be able to use our tax dollars to put their kids in private and religious schools.....	34%
Tax dollars should go to funding high quality public schools, while parents should have to pay for private and religious schools if they choose to enroll their child in one.....	60%
Local school boards, not parents, should decide where children go to school and where teachers teach.....	6%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**27. When you think about public schools today, which group do you believe they serve the most?**

Students.....	29%
Teachers' unions.....	30%
Parents.....	10%
Political activists.....	31%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

## VIEWS ON SOCIAL ISSUES

28. On a scale of 1 to 5 ([1 being extremely concerned, 5 being not very concerned]), please rate your concerns about the following policies some in politics are pursuing:

	1 <i>Extremely concerned</i>	2	3	4	5 <i>Not very concerned</i>
Banning certain books from school libraries	44%	13%	18%	9%	16%
Restricting access to reproductive health for women	43%	13%	20%	8%	16%
Closing our borders to immigrants	44%	12%	24%	7%	13%
Defending transgender rights	20%	10%	18%	11%	41%
Requiring diversity training and inclusion standards	22%	14%	28%	10%	26%

29. At what age should individuals in the United States be able to receive medical care to affirm their gender identity, such as hormone replacement therapy?

Only adults over the age of 18.....	48%
Adults and children under the age of 18 with parental permission.....	23%
Adults and children under the age of 18 without parental permission.....	4%
No one regardless of age should be allowed to receive this type of medical care.....	24%
Totals.....	99%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**30. In which of the following situations should teachers or administrators notify parents of a potential issue with their child’s behavior or development. Please select all that apply:**

Academic problems such as receiving poor grades.....	26%
Behavioral issues such as causing trouble in class.....	27%
Mental health concerns such as apparent symptoms of a mental illness.....	27%
Students ask to be identified by different pronouns from the sex they were assigned at birth.....	8%
All of the above.....	63%
None of the above.....	2%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**VIEWS ON TRADE**

**31. How do you feel trade agreements to lower tariffs and other barriers have affected you and people like you?**

On balance good - trade agreements help lower prices and create job opportunities through export opportunities.....	29%
On balance bad - trade agreements increase import competition and job loss.....	35%
They have not had much effect either way.....	36%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**32. And if you had to choose, which of these would you say the United States should focus on the most when it comes to trade policy?**

The U.S. should raise tariffs on all foreign goods and break off economic ties with China to protect existing jobs, even if this means higher prices and lost opportunities in exports and other industries.....	23%
The U.S. should focus on domestic supply chain resilience, clean energy, anti-corruption, and global tax issues.....	42%
The U.S. should work to bringdown tariffs worldwide with countries that share America’s values and deepen economic and trade relationships with friendly and allied countries.....	34%
Totals.....	99%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**33. How do you feel trade agreements to lower tariffs and other barriers have affected our country?**

On balance they have helped the country, because of lower prices and export opportunities, and better relations with foreign countries.....	28%
On balance they have hurt the country, because of increasing import competition and job loss.....	44%
Not much impact either way.....	28%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**34. What role should international cooperation play in shaping our policies when it comes to things like using subsidies or tariffs to protect our own industries?**

The U.S. government should adopt an "America First" policy and not take foreign governments' views into account.....	48%
The U.S. should work closely with our democratic allies, including in industrial development programs, and should try not to take economic steps that damage allied interests because they will then do the same to us.....	42%
Government-led industrial policies usually don't work and waste money, and we should not have any kinds of subsidies or tariffs.....	11%
Totals.....	101%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**VIEWS ON CLIMATE AND ENERGY**

**35. And even if it isn't exactly right, which of the following is closer to your view?**

Climate change is an existential problem that poses large risks to public safety and the economy and must be dealt with immediately.....	41%
Climate change is a problem but not an "existential" one, that we can solve by taking gradual steps.....	25%
The climate has always changed and there is not much we can or should do about it.....	34%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**36. Which of the following is closest to your view of new consumer and business clean energy incentives that have recently become law?**

New clean energy incentives will mostly help Americans by creating good jobs and boosting the economy.....	42%
New clean energy incentives will mostly only benefit the wealthy, not average Americans.....	21%
New clean energy incentives will mostly harm Americans by raising the cost of goods and energy bills.....	37%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**37. If you are considering buying a new stove, home heater, or car, which of the following options would be your biggest priority in terms of deciding which brand or option to buy?**

How much it costs.....	67%
How low its emissions are.....	10%
Whether it's made in America or elsewhere.....	23%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**38. Consumers and businesses now benefit from a wide range of federal tax incentives for the purchase of clean energy technologies including electric vehicles, solar panels, and many others. Which best describes your view of these incentives:**

Consumers and businesses should get even larger subsidies for a wider range of clean energy technologies.....	25%
Current consumer tax incentives are necessary to jumpstart clean energy, but they should be phased out over time as clean energy prices become cost competitive.....	41%
The government should not be subsidizing clean energy technologies.....	34%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

## VIEWS ON TECHNOLOGY

**39. The Biden Administration wants to break up several big tech companies, arguing that this would encourage competition. Do you think that breaking up large technology companies would:**

Be good for you as a consumer of digital devices and services.....	33%
Create more consumer choices.....	49%
Reduce technology investment and production in the U.S.....	22%
Undercut our ability to compete with China.....	19%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**40. [Message statement A – ‘Generous Company Benefits’ message] Lately, the Biden administration has proposed breaking up certain big tech companies. Let’s take an example company, which we’ll call Company A. Company A provides its employees with generous healthcare benefits, a 401k for which employees receive a partial match from Company A, sick leave, vacation, and parental leave for its employees. Company A has a reputation for providing relatively high wages for jobs available for employees without a college degree. Company A is one of the largest companies in its industry, meaning it is responsible for a large volume of the business going on in that industry. Some have proposed breaking up Company A to prevent it from becoming too large. Generally speaking, do you [support or oppose] the government breaking up Company A to prevent it from becoming too large?**

Strongly support.....	10%
Somewhat support.....	18%
Somewhat oppose.....	29%
Strongly oppose.....	25%
Not sure.....	18%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>445</b>

**41. [Message statement B – ‘Minimal Company Benefits’ message] Lately, the Biden administration has proposed breaking up certain big tech companies. Let’s take an example company, which we’ll call Company A. Company A provides its employees with minimal healthcare benefits, no matching from Company A for its 401k, and requires employees to take unpaid time off for sick leave, vacation, and parental leave. Company A has a reputation for providing relatively low wages for jobs available for employees without a college degree. Company A is one of the largest companies in its industry, meaning it is responsible for a large volume of the business going on in that industry. Some have proposed breaking up Company A to prevent it from becoming too large. Generally speaking, do you [support or oppose] the government breaking up Company A to prevent it from becoming too large?**

Strongly support.....	25%
Somewhat support.....	29%
Somewhat oppose.....	13%
Strongly oppose.....	11%
Not sure.....	22%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>415</b>

**42. The Federal Trade Commission is suing Amazon to take away its Prime two-day free delivery service because they think it gives the company too much market power. Do you [support or oppose] ending Prime two-day delivery services?**

Strongly support.....	8%
Somewhat support.....	10%
Somewhat oppose.....	21%
Strongly oppose.....	47%
Not sure.....	14%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	860

**43. And if you had to choose one, in order to protect consumers' personal data, would you rather the government...**

Pass a national privacy and data security bill to ensure all companies abide by high standards when protecting Americans' online data.....	80%
Focus on breaking up the biggest technology companies that collect huge quantities of personal data to ensure companies don't become so large they are responsible for too much of Americans' online data.....	20%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**VIEWS ON CRIME**

**44. When you think about crime and policing, which best describes your view?**

More police, prisons, or policing technology won't solve the problem of crime, and we should spend that money on additional social resources for low-income communities and community- focused programs for criminals.....	27%
We should fund more police and more prisons- this is the best way to make our neighborhoods safe.....	31%
We should equip police with better technology, such as more street cameras, while also funding policing alternatives such as mental health crisis first-responders, rather than more police and building more prisons.....	42%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

## VIEWS ON IMMIGRATION

### 45. Which view comes closest to yours on immigration?

America is a nation of immigrants and should open its doors to all who want to come.....	15%
We need to reduce illegal entry into our country and increase legal immigration to bring in workers our economy needs to grow.....	53%
We need to shut America's borders and admit fewer illegal and legal immigrants.....	32%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

### 46. You answered the previous question with the statement, "[respondents answer to immigration question.]" Which party do you think would most likely achieve this goal?

The Democratic Party.....	31%
The Republican Party.....	46%
Neither.....	17%
Both.....	6%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

## DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF NATIONAL RESPONDENTS

### 1. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

No HS.....	3%
High school graduate.....	47%
Some college.....	33%
2-year.....	17%
4-year.....	0%
Post-grad.....	0%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

### 2. What racial or ethnic group best describes you?

White.....	70%
Black.....	14%
Hispanic.....	10%
Other.....	6%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>



**3. Are you of Spanish, Latino, or Hispanic origin or descent?**

Yes.....	13%
No.....	87%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**4. What is your age?**

18-29.....	18%
30-44.....	19%
45-54.....	15%
55-64.....	19%
65+.....	29%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**5. What is your gender?**

Man.....	47%
Woman.....	52%
Non-binary.....	1%
Other.....	0%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**6. In general, how would you describe your own political viewpoint?**

Very liberal.....	10%
Liberal.....	16%
Moderate.....	31%
Conservative.....	22%
Very conservative.....	15%
Not sure.....	5%
Totals.....	99%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>858</b>

**7. Party ID (3 categories, leaners with their parties)**

Democrat.....	43%
Independent.....	14%
Republican.....	43%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**8. Who did you vote for in the election for President in 2020?**

Joe Biden.....	41%
Donald Trump.....	47%
Jo Jorgensen.....	1%
Howie Hawkins.....	0%
Other.....	0%
Did not vote for President.....	11%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**9. Thinking back over the last year, what was your family's annual income?**

<50K.....	50%
50-100K.....	27%
100K+.....	14%
Prefer not to say.....	9%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>858</b>

**10. Combined Urbanity classification**

Urban.....	30%
Suburban.....	47%
Rural.....	23%
Totals.....	100%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>860</b>

**11. Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?**

More than once a week.....	9%
Once a week.....	19%
Once or twice a month.....	5%
A few times a year.....	11%
Seldom.....	22%
Never.....	32%
Don't know.....	1%
Totals.....	99%
<b>N.....</b>	<b>858</b>



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The Progressive Policy Institute is a catalyst for policy innovation and political reform based in Washington, D.C. Its mission is to create radically pragmatic ideas for moving America beyond ideological and partisan deadlock.

Founded in 1989, PPI started as the intellectual home of the New Democrats and earned a reputation as President Bill Clinton’s “idea mill.” Many of its mold-breaking ideas have been translated into public policy and law and have influenced international efforts to modernize progressive politics.

Today, PPI is developing fresh proposals for stimulating U.S. economic innovation and growth; equipping all Americans with the skills and assets that social mobility in the knowledge economy requires; modernizing an overly bureaucratic and centralized public sector; and defending liberal democracy in a dangerous world.

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