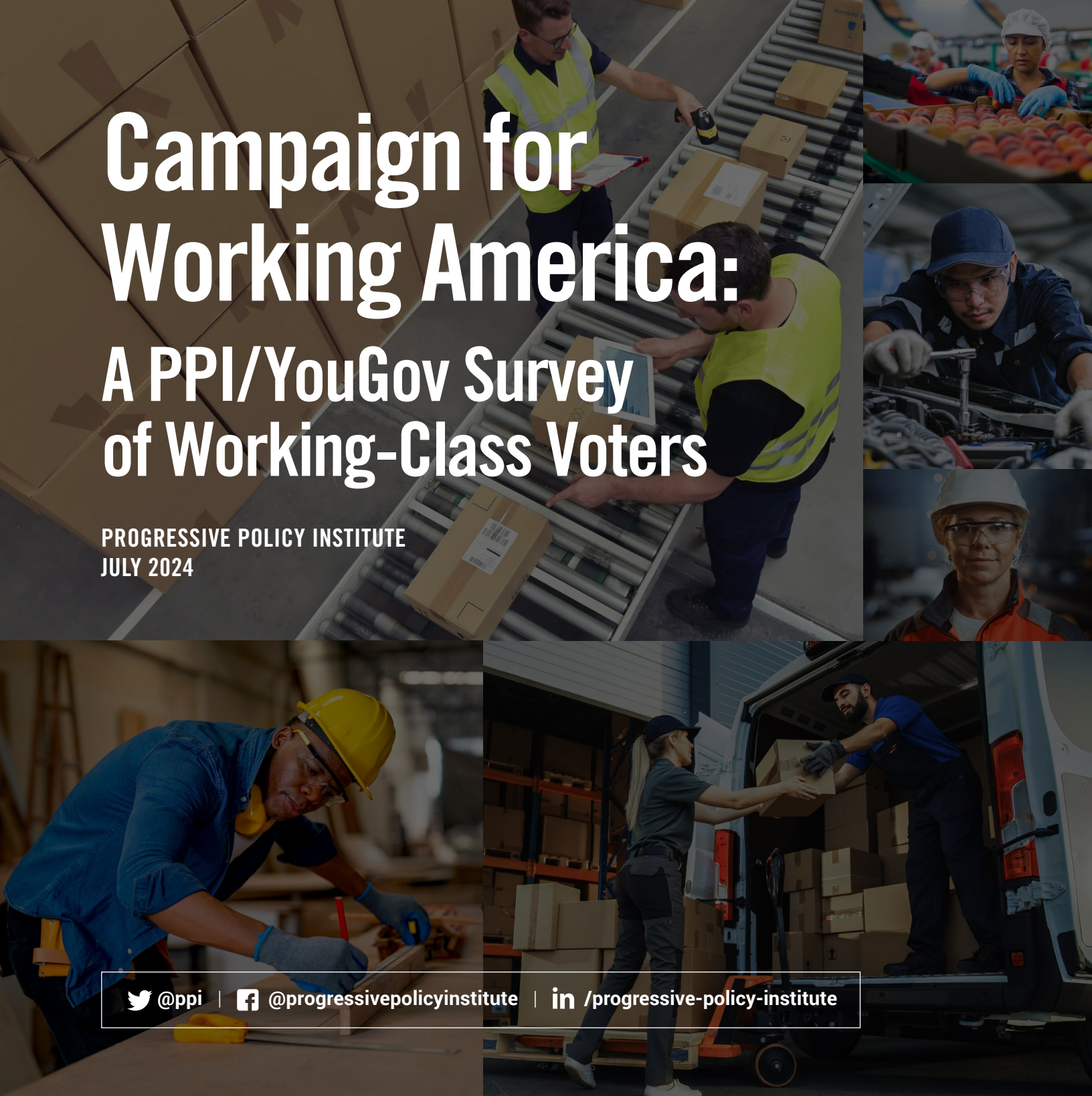







Campaign for Working America: A PPI/YouGov Survey of Working-Class Voters

PROGRESSIVE POLICY INSTITUTE
JULY 2024



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SUMMARY AND
HIGHLIGHTS BY WILL
MARSHALL

JULY 2024

INTRODUCTION

Since the 2016 election, the Progressive Policy Institute (PPI) has focused intently on what we believe is the Democratic Party's overriding political imperative: Regaining the allegiance of working Americans who don't hold college degrees. The party has suffered severe erosion among non-college white voters, and is losing support among non-college Black, Hispanic, and Asian American voters.

Non-college voters account for about three-quarters of registered voters and about two-thirds of actual voters. Basic math dictates that Democrats will have to do better with these working-class voters if they want to restore their competitiveness outside urban centers and build durable majorities. The party's history and legacy point in the same direction: Democrats do best when they champion the economic aspirations and moral outlook of ordinary working Americans.

To help them relocate this political north star, PPI has commissioned a series of YouGov polls on the beliefs and political attitudes of non-college voters, with a particular focus on the battleground states likely to decide the outcome of this November's national elections. This poll, taken April 26 to May 31, is the second in the series.

In addition to illuminating where Democrats stand with non-college voters, these three surveys inform the work of PPI's new Campaign for Working America, launched this year in partnership with former U.S. Representative Tim Ryan of Ohio. Its mission is to develop and test new themes, ideas, and policy proposals that can

help center-left leaders make a new economic offer to working Americans, find common ground on contentious cultural issues like immigration, crime, and education, and rally public support for keeping America strong and engaged in the defense of freedom abroad.

YouGov sampled a total of 6,033 working-class voters, including 902 working-class voters in a national sample, 843 in Michigan, 833 in Pennsylvania, 816 in Arizona, 812 in Georgia, 803 in North Carolina, 520 in Wisconsin, and 503 in Nevada. Each sample was weighted separately, with some respondents from the national sample pooled into their respective state samples for those separate weights.

Our respondents, like working-class voters in general, are disproportionately conservative and Republican in their political habits. Donald Trump won them in our national poll 47-41. Trump won working-class voters in each state in this sample by 7-10 percentage points. This includes a small but consistent gender imbalance, with Trump’s vote margin consistently 2-4 percentage points higher among men than women.

About 36% of this sample is Democratic, 38% Republican, and 26% Independent – in other words, considering Trump’s electoral fortunes among this population, this survey includes independents and Democrats who are much more likely to support Trump than voters with these partisan inclinations would be among the general population.

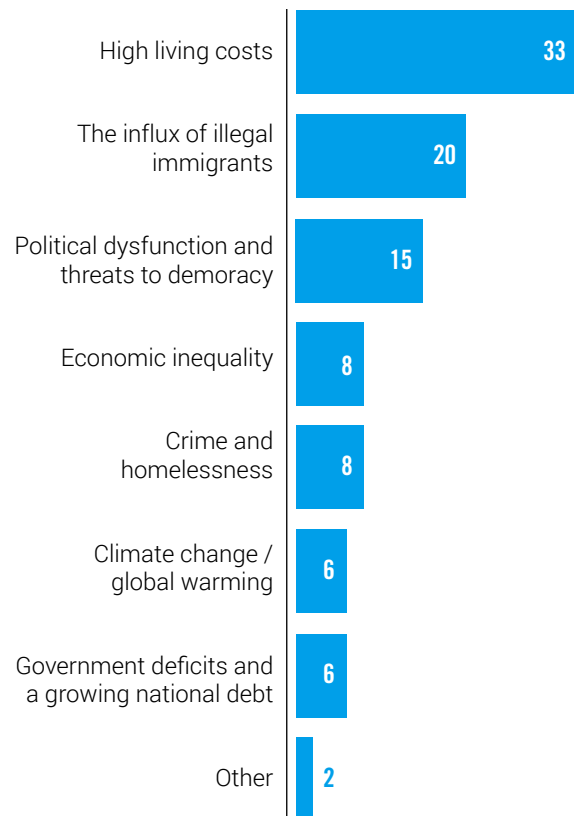
About 14% of the sample is Black, 13% of the sample is Hispanic, and the rest is white. Less than 2% of the sample is Asian or Middle Eastern. While Trump likely won less than 10% of Black voters overall in 2020 and just over

one-third of Hispanic voters, this poll shows him winning almost 13% of working-class Black voters and about 40% of working-class Latino voters. These non-white Trump voters are disproportionately male, with Trump winning almost twice as many Black and Latino men as Black and Latino women.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- Although the U.S. inflation rate has fallen below 3%, and wage gains are growing faster, working Americans still rank the high cost of living as their top concern.

FIGURE 1: WORKING-CLASS VOTERS’ TOP CONCERNS

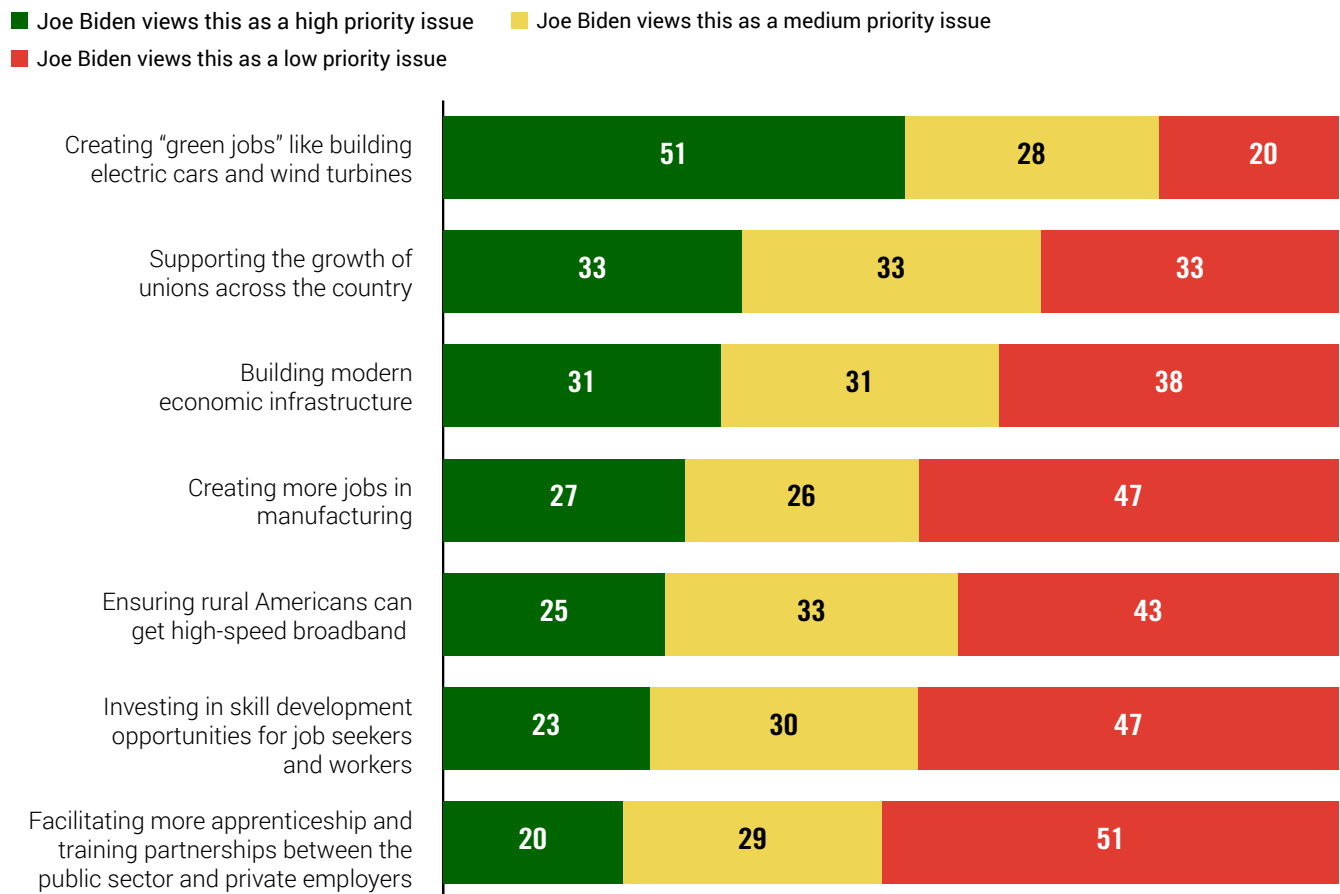


Source: YouGov

- This poll confirms the profound disconnect between the Biden administration’s economic record and public perception. Working-class voters believe Biden has given low priority to what the White House regards as its

signature themes and accomplishments – creating more manufacturing jobs, building modern infrastructure, promoting “green jobs” like building electric cars, and delivering high-speed broadband to rural Americans.

FIGURE 2: WORKING-CLASS VOTERS PERCEIVED PRIORITIES OF JOE BIDEN



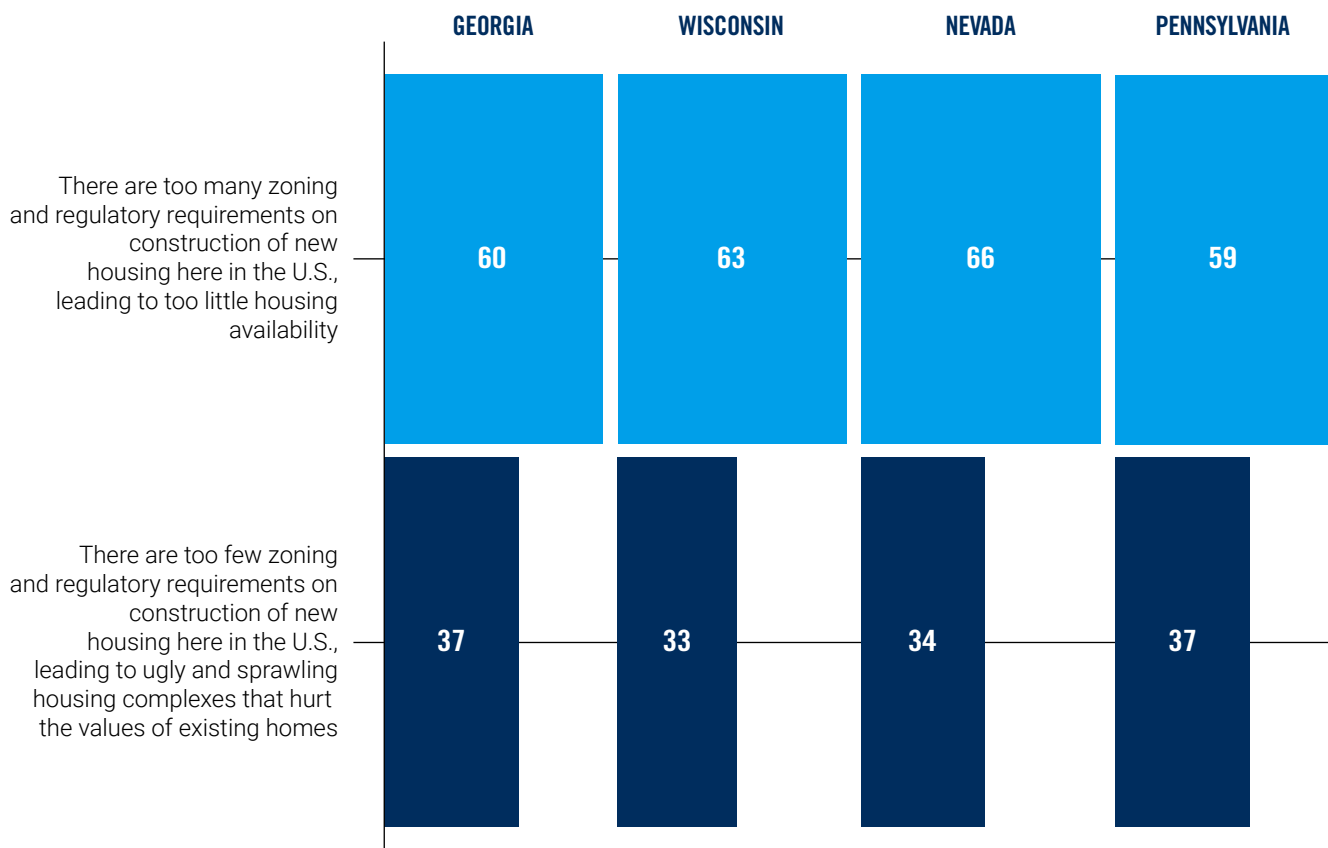
Source: YouGov

- Non-college voters blame their economic woes mainly on the increase in illegal immigrants taking their jobs and raising costs. By a large margin, they believe the Biden administration is too soft on border security.
- Working Americans also feel alienated from their own government. They view the government as more responsive to

wealthier people (75%), college-educated people (70%), Whites (62%), urbanites (62%), and liberals (61%) than to “people like me” (41%). Less than half say the government is responsive to parents, religious people, and conservatives, and only about a third see it as responsive to rural and poor people. Working-class voters, especially in Arizona, Michigan, and North Carolina, don’t trust the federal government to do the right thing.

- A plurality of working-class voters (47-42%) support U.S. political and military support for Ukraine, and worry that cutting off that aid would embolden Russian ruler Vladimir Putin to threaten Europe.
- Non-college voters are skeptical of a precipitous rush to end fossil fuel use in America, as well as the Biden administration’s pause in construction of natural gas export facilities.
- Working-class voters seem to have made the connection between high housing costs and exclusionary zoning. By nearly 2-1 across the key battleground states of Georgia, Wisconsin, Nevada, and Pennsylvania, these voters support eliminating zoning regulations to enable the construction of more multifamily dwellings and drive down housing costs.

FIGURE 3: WORKING-CLASS SUPPORT FOR ROLLING BACK ZONING REQUIREMENTS ON NEW HOUSING



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

Source: YouGov

- A majority (52-42) of these non-college voters believe abortion should be legal in all or most cases. In a rare exception to their generally Republican tilt, they trust Democrats more (53-47) to ensure families have access to reproductive health care. Working-class support for outlawing abortion altogether is negligible, with just 6% of working-class voters saying they support a full ban.
- Working Americans are unhappy with the quality of health care. Fully 51% of our national sample say America's health care system is getting worse, with just 24% saying it is improving. They seem open to big changes in health care policy. Nationally, working-class voters are tied, 42-42, on the question of whether to repeal the Affordable Care Act. In the battleground states of Arizona, Michigan, and North Carolina they also are split on whether they generally trust Democrats or Republicans more to handle health care.
- Working-class voters are much more upset about crime elsewhere in America than in their own neighborhoods. Just 9% think crime in their community has got a lot worse recently, while 46% say crime is getting much worse "around the country." They split evenly on whether the best solution to crime is "more police on the streets" or on mental health care and social services, with about 25% supporting either approach.
- Working-class voters in Arizona, Michigan, and North Carolina are split on the subject of school vouchers. Working-class Michiganders squarely oppose them, with 38% supporting vouchers and 49%

opposing. Arizonans support vouchers by a 49-40 margin as do North Carolinians, by a 46-41 margin. But when framed as a choice between funding public and private schools, working Americans overwhelmingly (76%-24% on average across the three states) prefer improving the quality of local public schools to using taxpayer dollars to subsidize private schools.

OTHER NOTABLE FINDINGS

The Economy, Jobs, and Immigration

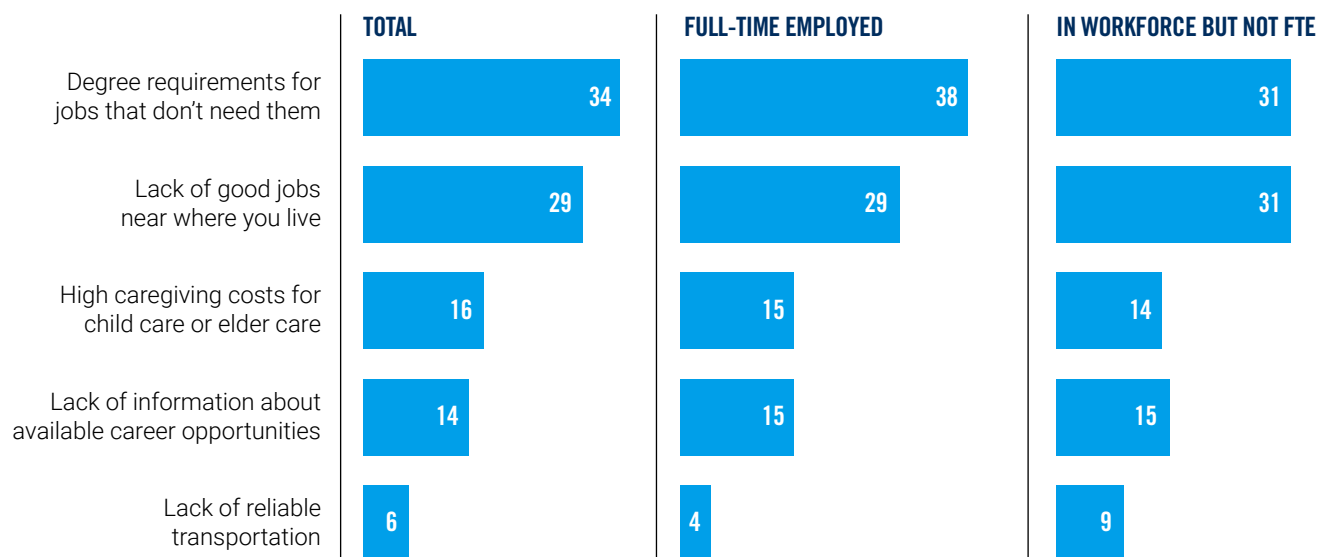
- In our national survey, working-class voters' biggest concerns when thinking about the November election are high living costs (33%); the influx of illegal immigrants (20%); and political dysfunction and threats to democracy (15%). Inflation and immigration were also the top concerns across the key battleground states.
- When presented with data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics on low unemployment rates, wage increases, and declining inflation, non-college voters in Georgia, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin are reluctant to say they prove anything good about the economy. Rather, they believe the statistics are either exaggerated or misleading because they are not seeing these improvements for themselves.
- Asked which sectors of the U.S. economy offer the best opportunities for themselves and their children, they ranked health care first (26%), followed by information technology or e-commerce (26%) and professional services, like finance, (15%). Ranked last were gig economy jobs.

- These voters chose economic inequality – the growing gap between the richest and the poorest – as the country's biggest economic problem. They fault Democrats more than Republicans (38%-27%), but nearly a third blame both parties equally.
- At the same time, this poll finds little evidence that these voters favor radical economic change. A solid majority (60-40) of working Americans see free market economies as more dynamic and creative and able to generate high living standards.
- Nor do they seem to share progressives' antipathy to big companies. They overwhelmingly (86%) would welcome a large fulfillment center or manufacturing facility to their communities. By more than 2-1, they see large U.S. companies as important national

assets that help keep America competitive with China.

- As we found in our first poll last fall, non-college workers don't view the decline of labor unions as either a big problem for our economy or as having much effect on their economic well-being. Only a third believe government should play a more active role in labor disputes.
- Even though working-class voters are generally leery of government intervention and overregulation, they are very interested in more public resources aimed at lifting their skills such as affordable, short-term training programs and creating more non-degree career pathways to help them become competitive in the job market.

FIGURE 4: BIGGEST BARRIERS TO A GOOD JOB FOR THE WORKING CLASS



What do you think is the biggest barrier for folks like you in accessing a good job today?

Source: YouGov

- Working Americans aren't convinced that President Biden shares their urgency around skills acquisition. For example, 47% say the president gives low priority to "investing in skill development opportunities" and 51% say the same about "facilitating more apprenticeships and training partnerships between the public sector and private employers."
- A majority of respondents in Arizona, Michigan, and North Carolina are open to government interference in labor markets, but only to help hard-working Americans who don't earn enough live a middle-class lifestyle. They don't support government guaranteeing everyone a minimum income whether they work or not. But they do support PPI's

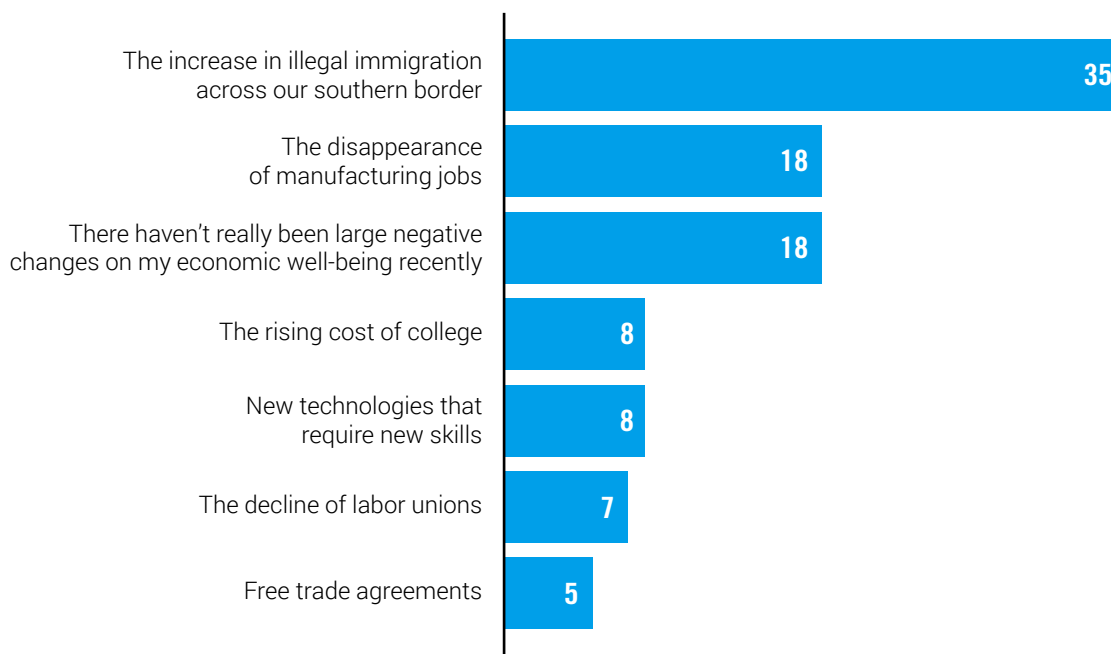
proposal for a "living-wage tax credit" that would reward work and mitigate inequality by supplementing private earnings up to a certain level.

- Over half of working-class voters in Georgia, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin believe raising the minimum wage helps workers in the long run by putting pressure on employers to pay workers more.

The Immigration Challenge

- This poll conveys a blunt message to Democrats ahead of the November elections: Working Americans see immigration as an important economic issue, and they want action to bring it under control. By more than 2-1, working-class voters trust Republicans over Democrats on the issue of immigration.

FIGURE 5: BIGGEST NEGATIVE IMPACT ON WORKING-CLASS PROSPECTS



Which do you think has had the greatest negative impact on your economic well-being?

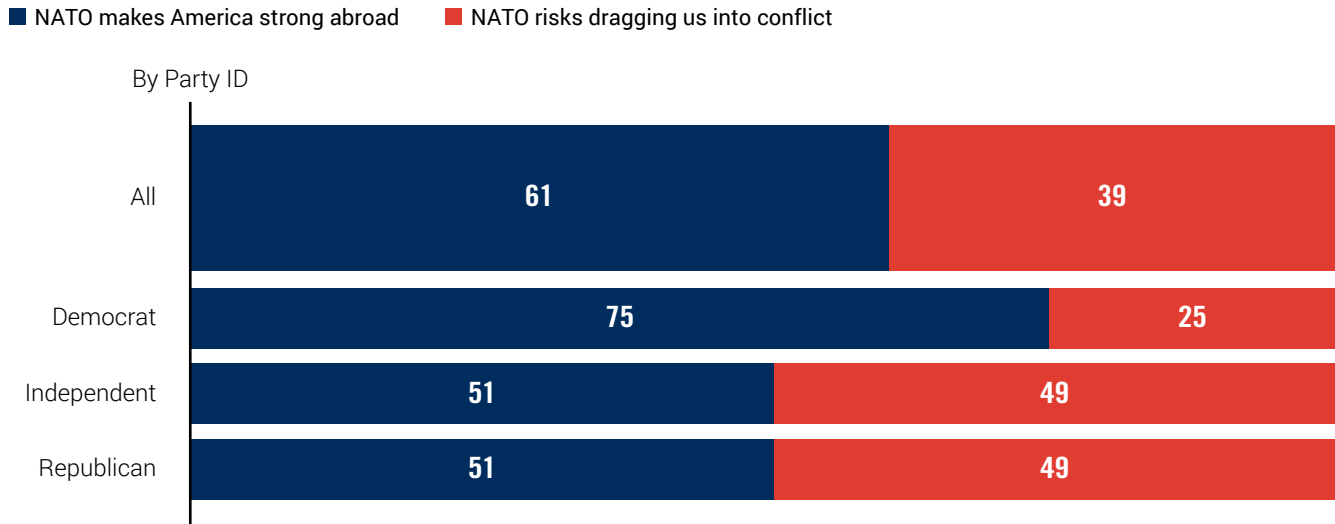
Source: YouGov

- Asked what has had the greatest negative impact on their economic well-being, most (35%) chose “the increase in immigration across our southern border.” A distant second was the disappearance of manufacturing jobs (18%) and free trade agreements barely registered (5%).
- By 61-39%, these voters say the cost to communities of immigration — including downward pressure on wages — outweighs migrants’ contributions to the U.S. economy. By a similar margin (64-36), they favor less immigration over more “to grow our economy and population.”
- That’s driven not only by white Republicans, but also Black and independent voters, while Hispanic working-class voters split about evenly.
- Regardless of whether the issue is framed in terms of “illegal immigrants” or “undocumented immigrants,” working-class voters overwhelmingly trust Republicans more than Democrats to secure the border and reduce illegal immigration.

International Affairs and U.S. Leadership

- Working Americans exhibit considerable ambivalence about foreign policy, trade, and U.S. international leadership. Although these non-college voters tilt toward Donald Trump and the Republicans on most issues, they aren’t totally sold on an “America First” foreign policy.
- As noted above, most back U.S. military assistance to Ukraine and worry that a cutoff would lead to further Russian aggression. These results, however, mostly reflect strong support among Democrats, liberals, and moderates; only 35% of Republicans and independents back aid to Ukraine.
- Non-college voters also express solid support for NATO (61-39%), while rejecting the view that U.S. alliances “put America at risk of being dragged into foreign conflicts and needlessly provoke other countries.” Here again, Democrats drive the positive response as independents and Republicans are essentially split (51-49 in favor of NATO).

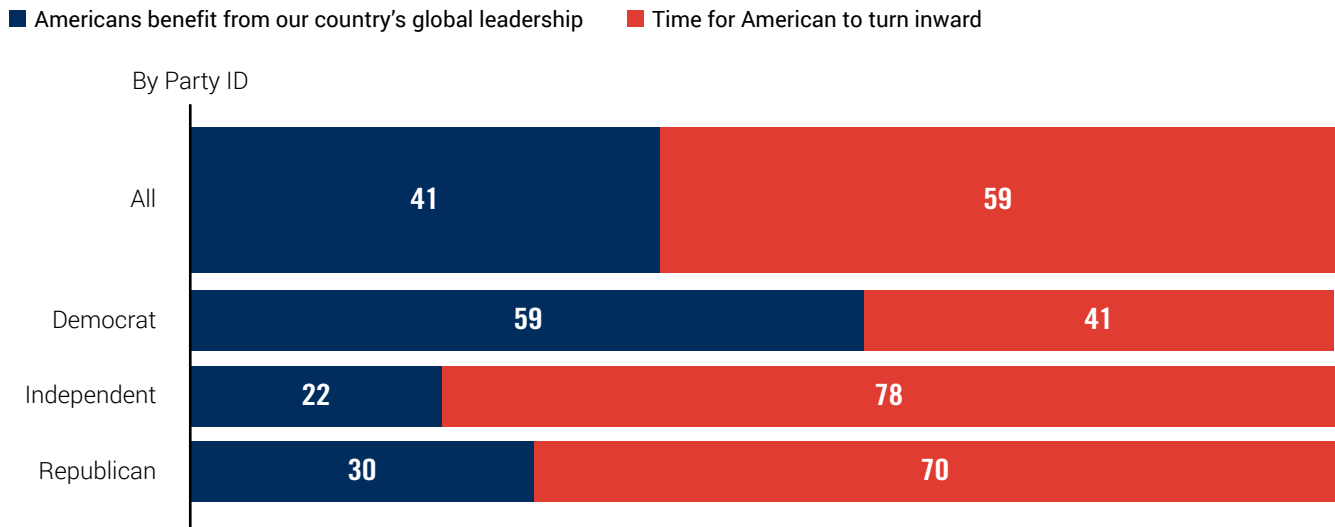
FIGURE 6: VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCES LIKE NATO



Next, we will ask you about the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), an international alliance that includes the United States, Canada, and many European countries. Generally speaking, what is your view of international alliances like these?

Source: YouGov

FIGURE 7: VIEWS ON RISKS OF INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCES



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

Source: YouGov

- The picture changes significantly, however, when voters are asked to assess whether or not America benefits from its leading role in solving international problems. By 59-41%, these voters say it's time for the United States to "turn inward and focus more on its own problems." Independents express this view even more strongly than Republicans. These results suggest eroding domestic support for U.S. foreign policies that don't deliver tangible and immediate benefits for Americans.
- Despite rising protectionism in both parties, however, few respondents see trade agreements as a major negative factor in their well-being. About 5% of respondents chose this option, a lower share than any of the other responses — illegal immigration, technological change, decline of unions, decline of manufacturing jobs, and rising college costs — received. At the more detailed level, no significant variation in this low response shows up by ideology, age, gender, union membership or other demographic.
- Working-class voters tilt toward economic nationalism, especially where China is concerned. Driven strongly by Republicans, they favor Donald Trump's proposal to raise tariffs by 10% on imports from all countries and 60% on Chinese imports by 48-34, with 17% not sure. Like Trump, these voters don't seem to connect higher tariffs with higher prices for goods at home.
- This level of support roughly doubles the 23% support our autumn 2023 poll found for the same proposal, when it was not

identified with Trump personally but simply presented as a policy option. The 2024 poll's plurality support for higher tariffs is highly concentrated among Trump supporters: Trump 2020 voters favored the proposal by 77%-14%, and figures for Republicans and self-described "conservatives" were almost identical.

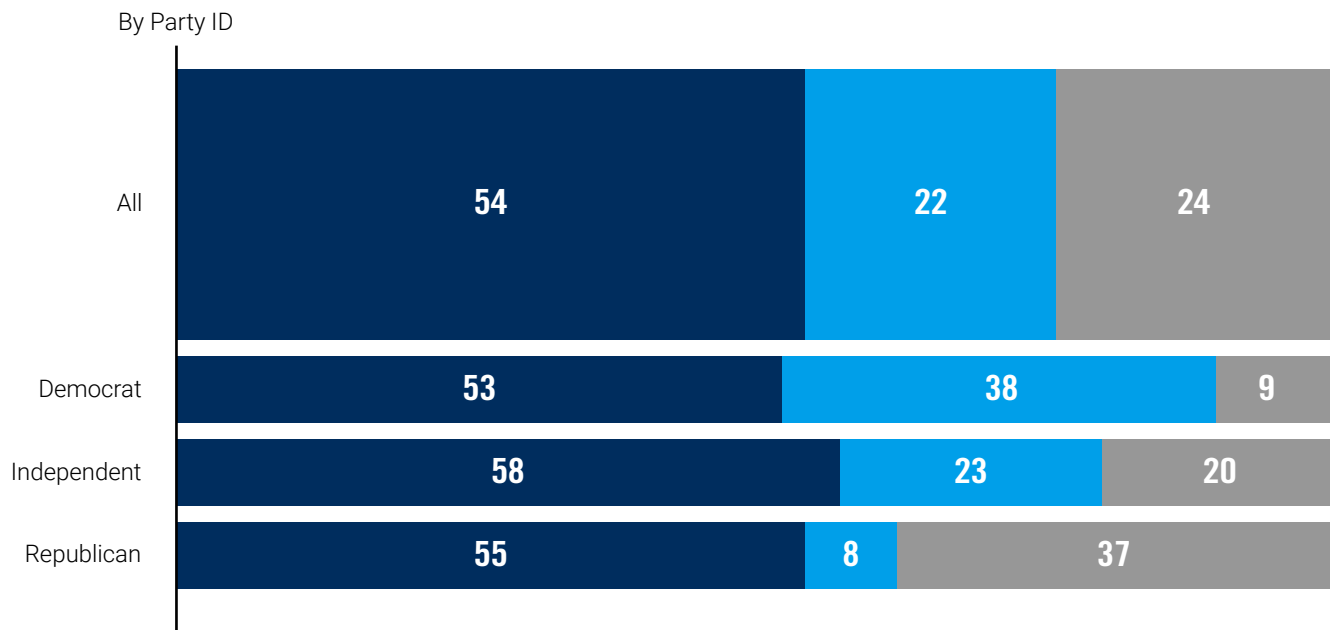
- Outside of the "Trump 2020" group, however, respondents opposed the tariff proposal by 53%-23%. Majorities of Democrats, liberals, youth, and Biden 2020 voters opposed the idea; Black and Hispanic respondents opposed by plurality; moderates and independents, finally, split more or less evenly with relatively high "not sure" responses.

Energy and Climate Conundrum

- This survey adds to a growing body of evidence that Democrats will find it difficult to make headway among working-class Americans with a message on climate and energy tailored to green activists who demand a swift end to fossil fuel use. Working Americans' support for climate policies is largely utilitarian — they favor action to slow climate change as long as it doesn't cause price spikes, energy shortages, or widespread job losses.
- These voters are well aware that America has become a leading world producer of oil and gas, and they overwhelmingly (76%-24%) view that as a positive development. That's also true for young voters, Democrats and independents, and even 53% of liberals.

- The key takeaway for Democrats here is that most working-class voters reject the MAGA and Green extremes and favor a pragmatic approach to the clean energy transition. Only 22% back phasing out the use of fossil fuels completely and relying exclusively on renewable energy like wind and solar. And just 24% favor stopping “the push to replace domestic oil and gas production with unproven green projects that raise costs and kill jobs.”
- The majority (54%) say America needs an “all-of-the-above” strategy that provides abundant and cheap energy from all sources, including oil and gas, renewables, and nuclear power.

FIGURE 8: WORKING-CLASS SUPPORT FOR AMERICAN ENERGY STRATEGY



- America needs an ‘all-of-the-above’ strategy that provides abundant and cheap energy from all sources, including oil and gas, renewables and nuclear power
- America needs to phase out the use of oil, coal and natural gas completely and rely exclusively on renewable energy sources like solar and wind power
- We need to stop the push to replace domestic oil and gas production with unproven green projects that raise costs and kill jobs

Which comes closest to your view:

Source: YouGov

- These voters also are skeptical of the Biden administration’s “pause” on the construction of U.S. natural gas export facilities. They believe gas exports support U.S. jobs, help our allies reduce their dependence on Russian gas, and enable other countries to cut their carbon emissions by switching coal to gas. Forty-nine percent oppose the pause outright, while 25% say they support it only until gas exporters certify that they are reducing methane emissions. Just 27% agree with climate activists the government should discourage further domestic investment in fossil fuels.

Trust in the Parties and Candidates

- Non-college voters trust Republicans more than Democrats to handle most of the issues polled. Key exceptions include reproductive freedom and the clean energy transition. Astonishingly, most respondents trust Trump more than Biden (41-32) to tell them the truth. A majority of independents say neither candidate is truthful.
- More of these voters believe (60-48) that Democrats have moved too far to the left than believe that Republicans have moved too far to the right (48%).
- Non-college voters overwhelmingly (84%) profess pride in being American. By 40%-23%, they say Republicans are more patriotic than Democrats, with 19% saying both parties are patriotic in their own way.
- Working-class voters are split on who is to blame for the criminal indictments Trump faces. Despite this, respondents in Arizona, Michigan and North Carolina say that these court proceedings will not impact their

vote in November because they are already certain of who they will be voting for.

- Arizonans are evenly split on whether the indictments brought against Trump are politically motivated by the Democrats or if Trump brought these indictments on himself.
- Michiganders lean towards Trump being at fault for trying to overturn the 2020 elections and putting himself above the law.
- North Carolinians very narrowly believe the indictments were orchestrated by President Biden and the Democrats.
- Overall, about 10% of working-class voters say Trump’s criminal convictions make them less likely to vote for him.

The Budget

- Working-class voters in Georgia, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin believe the government is spending too much on unproductive government programs which are driving up the national debt.
- Although working-class voters are concerned with the national debt, over half of Arizonians, Michiganders, and North Carolinians somewhat or strongly oppose adopting a national sales tax to help America reduce its budget deficit and national debt. Although still opposed overall, they are somewhat more open to the idea of using some of the sales tax revenue to repeal the payroll tax.

SELECTED FINDINGS FROM THE BATTLEGROUND STATES

Arizona

In the key battleground state of Arizona, the cost-of-living crisis overshadows even immigration by 37% to 21%. Interestingly, Arizona voters are no more or less likely than voters in other states to worry more about the economic costs of immigration than its potential benefits.

Despite attempts by Trump and his accomplices to overturn the 2020 election results, working-class voters here are split on which party they trust more to “protect America’s democratic institutions.” Arizona working-class voters say the Republican party is more patriotic than the Democratic party, by a 39-22 margin.

In other words, while Democrats may hope that election denial and conspiracy theorizing by some GOP state officials will be a political liability in November, the voters we sampled were far more concerned about issues on which Democrats are on the back foot, namely the cost of living and immigration.

Georgia

Among Georgia voters, regardless of race/ethnicity, working-class voters are overwhelmingly concerned by the cost of living — more so than the national sample overall. While it’s widely assumed that Black working-class voters are disproportionately concerned about voting and civil rights issues, their Latino and white contemporaries are just as concerned about voting rights in Georgia — and in each case, these concerns rank far below economic concerns. However, white Georgians are several times more likely to embrace election-related conspiracy theories than Black Georgians,

with about 60% of white working-class voters in Georgia believing there were widespread irregularities in 2020 compared to just 15% of Black voters.

Black working-class Georgia voters also are far more pro-choice than either white or Latino working-class voters in the state. However, Georgia voters regardless of background are equally pleased to hear about America’s record-setting domestic energy production, including from fossil fuels. Their overriding focus on living costs and prosperity may frustrate both Democratic climate-centric messaging and Republican conspiracy theorists.

Michigan

Unlike their counterparts in Arizona and North Carolina, most working-class Michiganders reject school vouchers (49%-38%) and say they would prefer to reinforce their public schools rather than create more private alternatives by a 76-24 margin. These voters also trust Democrats to handle education by a 55-45 margin. They support some Democratic reforms already under discussion in the state (and nationally), including near-unanimous support for hospital stay price disclosures and caps on out-of-network fees such as Democrats have proposed both in Congress and in Lansing. These sorts of reforms which speak to the dire cost-of-living situation in Michigan clearly have appeal to working-class voters.

Nevada

Crime is a major concern for working-class voters in this state. While just under 40% of our national sample say crime in their area has gotten worse recently, about 52% of non-college Nevadans believe it has gotten worse for them. At the same time, they are also more supportive of

“community-based” solutions to deal with crime such as social and mental health services than are working-class voters nationally.

Additionally, working-class Nevadans are about 6 percentage points *more* suspicious of big business than their contemporaries elsewhere – an unsurprising finding to those following how controversies over the “corporate takeover of Vegas” and the incursion of major online betting platforms into the state’s economy have grabbed headlines in the state.

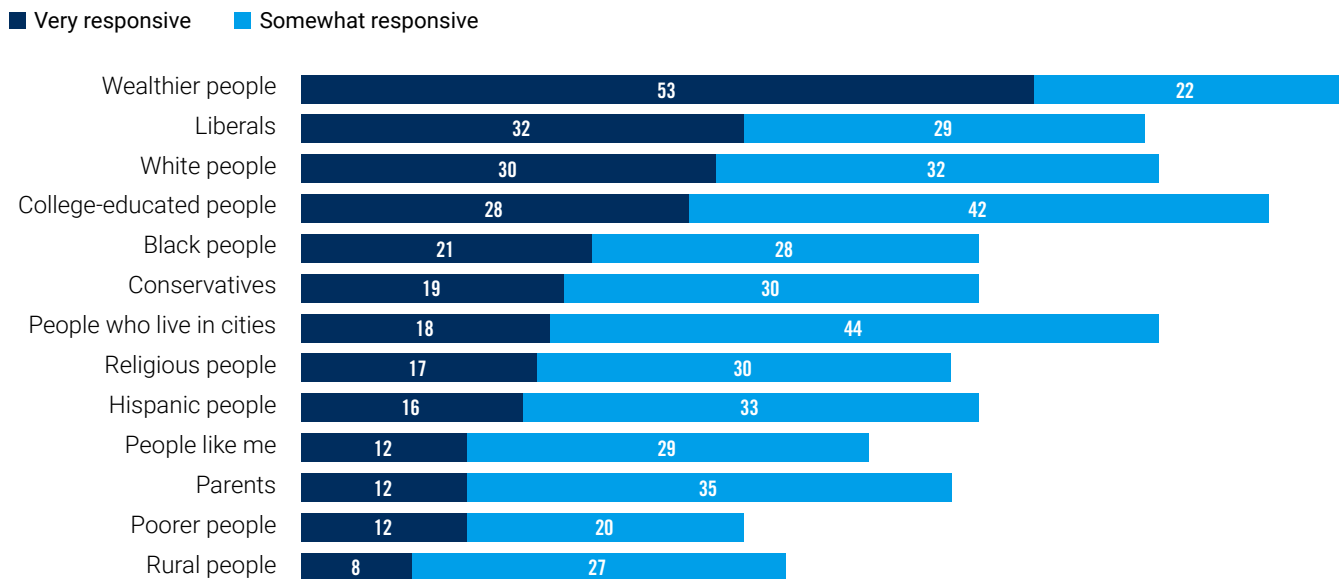
These voters are very worried about unnecessary degree requirements when it comes to new jobs, and are just as concerned about an overregulated housing market as voters elsewhere. In a state where the most reliable jobs historically haven’t required a college degree but have required the ability to commute into a large city, working-class

voters clearly want reassurance that this lifestyle can be preserved into the future.

North Carolina

On a host of key issues, working-class North Carolinians are a consistent 5-8 percentage points more sympathetic to Republicans than Democrats than their counterparts in other states. While most don’t support an abortion ban, they are about 10 percentage points less likely to say abortion should be legal in “all” or “most” circumstances than are voters elsewhere. Unlike working-class voters in most of the rest of the sample, these voters *support* school vouchers by a narrow 46-41 margin (though to be clear, this means the state overall likely opposes vouchers if we were to include non-working-class voters). They resent what they see as government catering to “the wealthy” and “liberals.”

FIGURE 9: WHOSE NEEDS ARE PRIORITIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT?



Next, you will see various groups of people. For each of those, please say whether you believe the government is generally [responsive or unresponsive to the needs of those people] or if you are unsure.

Source: YouGov

Yet these voters also seem more troubled by Trump's recent criminal convictions, with 11% saying the convictions make them less likely to vote for Trump compared to 13% saying more — a more favorable result than the lopsided 6-17 net "boon" for Trump seen nationwide among these voters. At the same time, they are slightly more likely to agree with some of Trump's most radical stances, being even less supportive of additional funding for Ukraine than working-class voters elsewhere, by about 5 percentage points.

In other words, the path to appealing to working-class voters among Democrats is narrow. While working-class North Carolina voters may dislike Trump's bad personal behavior, they are slightly more in sync with some of his policies than working-class voters elsewhere. This could be good news for Democrats running for governor and other state offices, but otherwise, the party has little room for maneuver in the state.

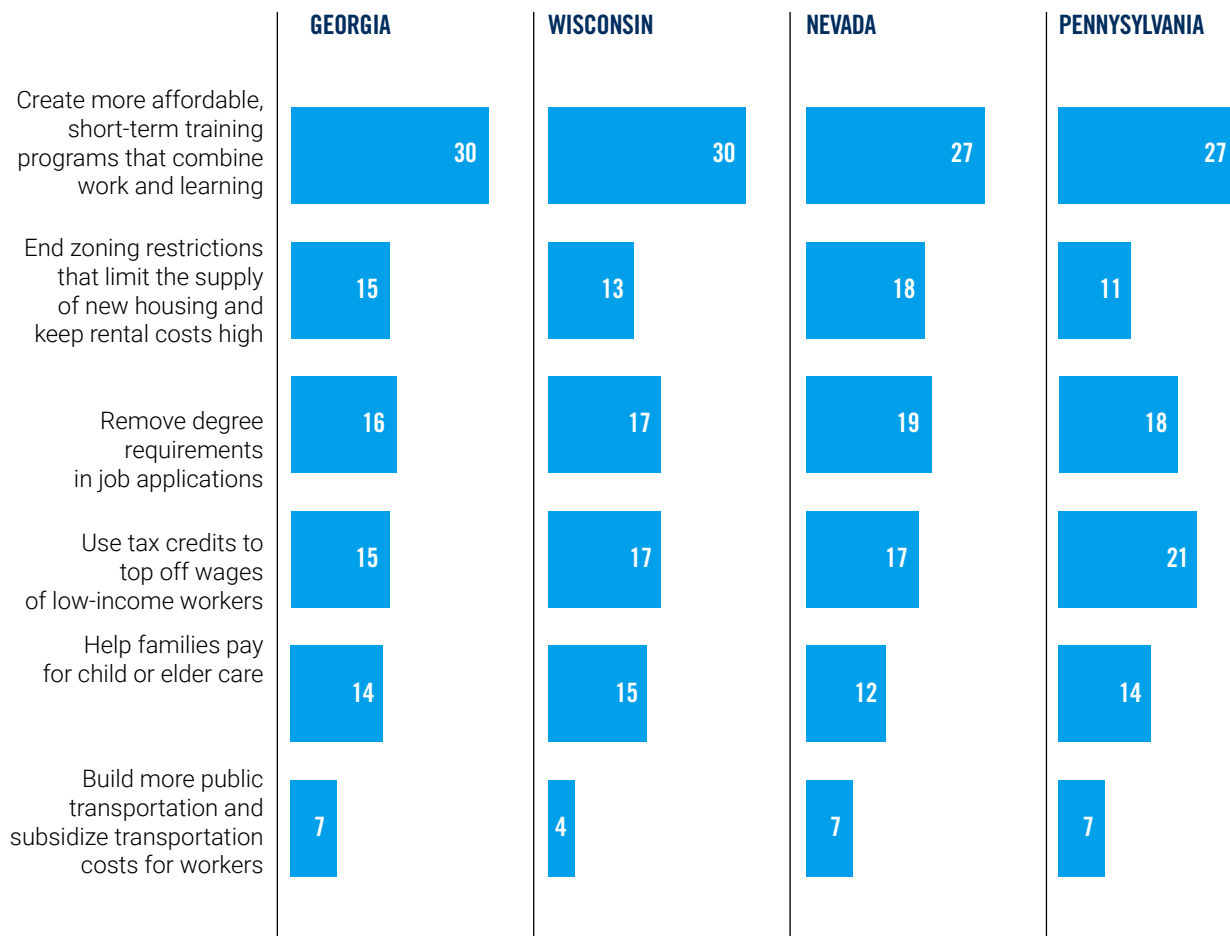
Pennsylvania

While Republican election deniers were notoriously unsuccessful throughout the state in 2020 and 2022, working-class voters in the state are about 6 percentage points more likely than voters elsewhere to say they believe there was widespread fraud in the 2020 election. As such it is probably no surprise to see both the state GOP and its candidates continue to push Trump's Big Lie to the forefront of their rhetoric this cycle.

Yet on most other matters, working-class Pennsylvanians closely match the national sample. Their top concern is the cost of living. Immigration is a second-tier concern behind the economy. Most don't support an abortion ban.

Fully 27% say the biggest help the government could offer them right now would be job training, and 25% say the state needs more apprenticeships. Governor Shapiro has championed these programs, as well as eliminating college degree requirements in state job applications.

FIGURE 10: POLICIES WORKING-CLASS VOTERS SAY WOULD HELP THEM THE MOST



Source: YouGov

Wisconsin

For all the talk of Wisconsin’s “rural rage,” while the state’s working-class voters are more concentrated in rural areas than in other states (at 30% versus a national average of about 22%), they are not “right-wing” compared to their contemporaries on plenty of issues. Non-college Wisconsinites have no appetite for an abortion ban. They are concerned with rising economic inequality. In a state where land is supposedly cheap and plentiful, Wisconsinites are as worried about the cost of living crisis, including rising housing costs, as are voters elsewhere.

Instead, what stands out is their anti-corporate populism. They view big tech companies negatively by a 20-33 margin, compared to a 37-18 positive margin among non-college voters nationally. Unlike working-class voters in most of the rest of the sample they largely reject a future of tech sector jobs – just 15% say tech will provide the best-paying jobs of the future, compared to just over 20% of the national sample.

Yet ultimately, their day-to-day concerns are no different from other voters. The cost of living — groceries and gas predominate, followed distantly by health care — tops economic woes. While there is some variation in these views from state to state, Democrats cannot lose sight of the need to appeal to these voters on the basis of prosperity-building economic policies that promise not a panacea, not inflation-inducing wealth creation, but the cutting of unnecessary regulations and the build-up of domestic industry — including oil and gas — that can provide good, middle-income jobs.

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

ABOUT THE POLL

YouGov sampled a total of 6,033 working-class voters, including 902 working-class voters in a national sample. These questions and responses are included below. Additionally, YouGov sampled working-class voters in seven battleground states: 843 in Michigan, 833 in Pennsylvania, 816 in Arizona, 812 in Georgia, 803 in North Carolina, 520 in Wisconsin, and 503 in Nevada. Each sample was weighted separately, with some respondents from the national sample pooled into their respective state samples for those separate weights.

National Sample

Online sample of 902 voters fielded from April 26 to May 31, 2024. Margin of Error ±3.5%

**1. Please rank your top concerns, the ones that will be on your mind when you go to vote in November.
(Top 3 displayed)**

	1	2	3
High living costs	33%	24%	18%
The influx of illegal immigrants	20%	14%	11%
Crime and homelessness	8%	15%	18%
Climate change/global warming	6%	8%	8%
Political dysfunction and threats to democracy	15%	11%	15%
Economic inequality	8%	12%	13%
Government deficits and a growing national debt	6%	13%	16%
Other	2%	3%	2%

2. Who do you think will handle the following concerns better, [Joe Biden or Donald Trump]?

	Joe Biden	Donald Trump
Illegal immigration	40%	60%
Inflation/cost of living	41%	59%
Better jobs and higher wages	45%	55%
Building infrastructure	45%	55%
The energy transition to cleaner sources	52%	48%
Unifying the country	46%	54%
Securing America’s leadership in the world	41%	59%
Restoring fiscal discipline	42%	58%

3. Which candidate do you trust to tell you the truth, rather than what they think you want to hear?

Joe Biden.....	32%
Donald Trump.....	41%
Neither.....	22%
Not sure.....	4%
Totals.....	99%
N.....	902

4. And how much do you [agree or disagree] with each of the following?

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Not sure
Democrats have moved too far to the left	43%	17%	12%	16%	13%
Republicans have moved too far to the right	30%	18%	19%	18%	15%

5. Generally speaking, would you say you're proud of being an American?

Very proud.....	56%
Somewhat proud.....	28%
Not very proud.....	10%
Not proud at all.....	5%
Not sure.....	2%
Totals.....	101%
N.....	902

6. Generally speaking, which political party do you think of as more patriotic?

The Democratic Party.....	23%
The Republican Party.....	40%
Both parties are patriotic in their own ways.....	19%
Neither party is patriotic.....	12%
Not sure.....	5%
Totals.....	99%
N.....	902

7. Thinking about the state of our economy, which do you see as the biggest problem:

Economic inequality – the growing gap between the richest and the poorest.....	47%
Slower wage growth for workers who don't have a college degree.....	15%
The high cost of earning a college degree.....	9%
Weak labor unions that leave workers unprotected against their employers.....	7%
Something else.....	22%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	902

8. You said, [answer in previous question] was the biggest problem with the economy. If you had to choose, which political party would you say was more at fault for this?

Democrats.....	38%
Republicans.....	27%
Both equally.....	31%
Neither party.....	4%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	902

9. And even if it isn't exactly right, which of the following comes closest to your view?

Free market economies are more dynamic and creative and able to generate high living standards.....	60%
Free market economies do not benefit working people and need more government regulation to ensure fair outcomes.....	40%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	902

10. Which do you think has had the greatest negative impact on your economic well-being:

The disappearance of manufacturing jobs.....	18%
Free trade agreements.....	5%
The increase in illegal immigration across our southern border.....	35%
New technologies that require new skills.....	8%
The rising cost of college.....	8%
The decline of labor unions.....	7%
There haven't really been large negative changes on my economic well-being recently.....	18%
Totals.....	99%
N.....	902

11. What do you think is the biggest barrier for folks like you in accessing a good job today?

Lack of reliable transportation.....	6%
High caregiving costs for child care or elder care.....	16%
Degree requirements for jobs that don't need them.....	34%
Lack of information about available career opportunities.....	14%
Lack of good jobs near where you live.....	29%
Totals.....	99%
N.....	902

12. Now, think about President Joe Biden's record and policies as President so far. For each of the following issues, please say whether you believe that Joe Biden views it as [a high priority, medium priority, or low priority issue].

	Joe Biden views this as a high priority issue	Joe Biden views this as a medium priority issue	Joe Biden views this as a low priority issue
Creating more jobs in manufacturing	27%	26%	47%
Ensuring rural Americans can get high-speed broadband	25%	33%	43%
Investing in skill development opportunities for job seekers and workers	23%	30%	47%
Building modern economic infrastructure	31%	31%	38%
Creating "green jobs" like building electric cars and wind turbines	51%	28%	20%
Facilitating more apprenticeship and training partnerships between the public sector and private employers	20%	29%	51%
Supporting the growth of unions across the country	33%	33%	33%

13. Would you have [a favorable or unfavorable] view of a large company opening a facility in your community, like a fulfillment center or manufacturing facility?

Very favorable.....	27%
Favorable.....	30%
Somewhat favorable.....	29%
Somewhat unfavorable.....	7%
Unfavorable.....	3%
Very unfavorable.....	4%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	902

14. Which of the following comes closer to your view:

A large company opening a facility (like a fulfillment center or manufacturing facility) in my community brings lots of economic opportunity.....	70%
A large company opening a facility (like a fulfillment center or manufacturing facility) squeezes out small businesses and economic opportunity.....	19%
A large company opening a facility in my community won't make a difference to my community.....	11%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	902

15. To what extent should the government be involved in taking sides in labor disputes between unions and employers?

Government should stay out of labor disputes and there should be fewer laws interfering with relations between workers and employers.....	22%
Government should stay out of labor disputes except to enforce laws already in place.....	45%
Government should take a more active role in more labor disputes to protect and promote the rights of workers against powerful businesses.....	33%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	902

16. When you think about good job benefits like healthcare, pensions, opportunity for advancement, pay, and flexibility, what industry would you say offers the best opportunities for workers?

Information technology or e-commerce (i.e. Amazon).....	19%
Healthcare.....	32%
Professional Services (i.e. finance).....	22%
Retail (i.e. Walmart, Target).....	7%
Hospitality (i.e. hotels, etc.).....	3%
Food Service (i.e. McDonalds/Starbucks).....	3%
The Gig Economy (i.e. Uber/Lyft).....	2%
Other.....	12%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	902

17. In your opinion, what action would be most effective for improving workplace safety?

Businesses investing more in safety technologies and resources.....	37%
Workers spending more time on safety training.....	25%
Government increasing workplace safety regulations.....	16%
Outside parties like unions going inside worksites for safety activities like inspections and advocating for more workplace safety.....	22%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	902

18. Generally speaking, where do you think the best job and career opportunities will be for you and your children?

Information technology or e-commerce (i.e. Amazon).....	26%
Healthcare.....	29%
Professional Services (i.e. finance).....	15%
Retail (i.e. Walmart, Target).....	7%
Hospitality (i.e. hotels, etc.).....	3%
Food Service (i.e. McDonalds/Starbucks).....	3%
The Gig Economy (i.e. Uber/Lyft).....	2%
Other.....	14%
Totals.....	99%
N.....	902

19. Generally speaking, do you [support or oppose] the United States providing additional funding and military assistance to Ukraine, such as by providing Ukraine with additional weapons? This would not involve sending Americans to participate in this conflict.

Strongly support.....	22%
Somewhat support.....	25%
Somewhat oppose.....	19%
Strongly oppose.....	23%
Not sure.....	10%
Totals.....	99%
N.....	902

20. Now, imagine a hypothetical situation where the U.S. stops providing funding to Ukraine. Which of these potential consequences of cutting off Ukraine funding would you be the most concerned about?

Asked of those who strongly/somewhat support providing assistance to Ukraine

Loss of confidence in American leadership by our allies and less influence for advancing our interests.....	27%
Reduced support for democracy abroad.....	14%
Emboldening Chinese aggression in the Pacific.....	4%
Emboldening Russian aggression against NATO allies.....	42%
Future costs to U.S. taxpayers of emboldened adversaries.....	9%
Something else.....	4%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	428

21. Next, we will ask you about the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), an international alliance that includes the United States, Canada, and many European countries. Generally speaking, what is your view of international alliances like these?

NATO and other alliances make America safe, allow America to project its military might abroad, and ensure America remains a world leader for the future.....	61%
NATO and other alliances put America at risk of being dragged into foreign conflicts and need- lessly provoke other countries.....	39%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	902

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

The world looks to the U.S. as a leader when it comes to dealing with international problems, and Americans benefit from their country taking on this leadership role.....	41%
The world expects the U.S. to help solve major international problems, but Americans don't benefit from these kinds of foreign adventures and it is time for our country to turn inward and focus more on its own problems.....	59%
Totals.....	100%
N	902

23. During his presidency, Donald Trump raised U.S. tariffs – or import taxes – on Chinese products and raw materials imported from China. Recently, Mr. Trump has proposed raising tariffs on products from all countries by 10%, and on Chinese goods by 60%. Which of the following is closer to your view?

This is a bad idea – It will make inflation worse when the cost of living is already too high, raise costs for U.S. businesses so that we become less competitive, and encourage foreigners to put their own tariffs on U.S. goods.....	34%
This is a good idea – It will encourage more production in the U.S. and restore good jobs, and any bad effects will be worth it to protect industries here at home.....	48%
Not sure.....	17%
Totals.....	99%
N	902

24. [Message statement A – Illegal Immigrants] Which party do you trust to secure the border and reduce illegal immigration?

Asked of those in Split A

Democrats.....	23%
Republicans.....	49%
Neither party takes immigration and the border seriously.....	21%
Not sure.....	8%
Totals.....	101%
N	471

25. [Message statement B – Undocumented Immigrants] Which party do you trust to secure the border and reduce the number of undocumented immigrants arriving over the border

Asked of those in Split B

Democrats	21%
Republicans	50%
Neither party takes immigration and the border seriously	17%
Not sure	12%
Totals	100%
N	431

26. Which comes closest to your view:

Immigrants impose large economic costs on U.S. communities and put downward pressure on workers' wages	61%
Immigrants make a net positive contribution to U.S. economic growth and increase demand for American products and services	39%
Totals	100%
N	902

27. Which comes closest to your view:

We should generally have more immigration to grow our economy and population, while respecting our traditions as a nation of immigrants	36%
We should generally have less immigration to protect jobs for native-born workers, while respecting our traditions as a nation of strong national security	64%
Totals	100%
N	902

28. Now, think about the issue of housing and construction of new homes here in America. Even if it isn't exactly right, which of the following is closer to your view?

We should cut unnecessary zoning regulations so we can build more multifamily housing and drive down the costs of housing for working families	64%
We should preserve zoning regulations that protect neighborhood character even if it means higher housing costs	36%
Totals	100%
N	902

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

Large U.S. companies help make the U.S. more competitive with competitor nations like China because they add so much to our economy, including jobs and innovative products and technology.....	67%
Large U.S. companies make the U.S. less competitive with competitor nations like China because they prevent new companies from flourishing and contribute to supply chains that include competitor nations.....	33%
Totals.....	100%
N	902

30. Over the past few years, the United States has increased domestic production of oil and natural gas. Generally speaking, which of the following is closest to your view?

This is a positive development, which brings good jobs for U.S. workers, ensures our energy supply, and helps the U.S. support our allies who need similar resources.....	76%
This is a negative development, which brings more pollution, climate change, and continued reliance on fossil fuels.....	24%
Totals.....	100%
N	902

31. Which comes closest to your view:

America needs to phase out the use of oil, coal and natural gas completely and rely exclusively on renewable energy sources like solar and wind power.....	22%
America needs an "all-of-the-above" strategy that provides abundant and cheap energy from all sources, including oil and gas, renewables and nuclear power.....	54%
We need to stop the push to replace domestic oil and gas production with unproven green projects that raise costs and kill jobs.....	24%
Totals.....	100%
N	902

32. Recently, President Biden announced a “temporary pause” on construction of U.S. natural gas export facilities, saying they need to do more to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. When it comes to this temporary pause, which of the following is closer to your view?

I support pausing the construction of new natural gas export facilities, which will discourage further domestic investment in fossil fuels and speed up our transition to renewable energy	27%
I support pausing construction of gas export facilities, but only until they certify that they are reducing methane emissions.....	25%
I oppose the pause, because U.S. natural gas exports are good for our economy, help allies like Germany that are trying to cut their dependence on Russian gas, and enable other countries to reduce their carbon emissions by switching from coal to gas.....	49%
Totals.....	101%
N.....	902

33. Do you think abortion should be...

Legal in all cases.....	24%
Legal in most cases.....	28%
Illegal in most cases.....	36%
Illegal in all cases.....	6%
Not sure.....	7%
Totals.....	101%
N.....	902

34. Which party do you trust to ensure you and your family have access to reproductive healthcare?

Democrats.....	53%
Republicans.....	47%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	902

35. Which do you think is primarily responsible for the high cost of healthcare in the country?

Consolidation of hospitals and providers.....	9%
Insurance companies.....	29%
Government overregulation.....	23%
Drug manufacturers setting high prices.....	31%
Employers not paying for coverage.....	5%
I don't think healthcare is that expensive.....	2%
Totals.....	99%
N.....	902

36. Next, you will see policies some have proposed to reduce healthcare costs. For each of those, please say if you would [support or oppose] that policy.

	Strongly support	Somewhat support	Somewhat oppose	Strongly oppose	Not sure
Capping the price on what doctors and hospitals can charge insurers, including Medicare and Medicaid, for out-of-network care	50%	27%	8%	4%	10%
Requiring hospitals to publicly list the prices of procedures for patients to see and compare the prices of those procedures with other hospitals	61%	27%	4%	1%	6%
Paying doctors the same rate for a given procedure regardless of whether it was performed in a hospital or non-hospital setting	31%	32%	14%	6%	17%

37. And when it comes to crime in your community, would you say crime has recently...

Increased a lot.....	12%
Increased some.....	26%
Stayed about the same.....	49%
Decreased some.....	9%
Decreased a lot.....	4%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	902

38. And when it comes to crime in the United States, would you say crime has recently...

Increased a lot.....	45%
Increased some.....	25%
Stayed about the same.....	19%
Decreased some.....	8%
Decreased a lot.....	3%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	902

39. Which of the following would you most prefer communities focus on to help reduce crime?

More police on the streets to deter criminals and protect law-abiding people.....	25%
Tougher penalties for police brutality.....	8%
Lock up people who carry guns illegally.....	7%
More social and mental health workers to deal with the homeless and troubled families.....	25%
More aggressive prosecutors and longer prison sentences.....	17%
Eliminating probation and parole for violent and repeat offenders.....	18%
Totals.....	100%
N.....	902

40. Next, you will see various groups of people. For each of those, please say whether you believe the government is generally or if you are unsure.

	Very responsive	Somewhat responsive	Somewhat unresponsive	Very unresponsive	Not sure
People like me	12%	29%	29%	20%	10%
College-educated people	28%	42%	11%	3%	16%
White people	30%	32%	14%	13%	12%
Black people	21%	28%	23%	16%	12%
Hispanic people	16%	33%	26%	9%	16%
Wealthier people	53%	22%	8%	5%	12%
Poorer people	12%	20%	24%	33%	12%
Rural people	8%	27%	29%	21%	15%
People who live in cities	18%	44%	18%	5%	16%
Liberals	32%	29%	15%	5%	18%
Conservatives	19%	30%	15%	20%	17%
Religious people	17%	30%	19%	17%	17%
Parents	12%	35%	26%	12%	16%

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