## radically pragmatic

## PPI 2024 Election Review And the Way Ahead for Democrats

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### Introduction

### WILL MARSHALL, PRESIDENT AND FOUNDER OF PPI

President-elect Donald Trump believes Americans have given him an "unprecedented and powerful mandate to govern." Like so much of what he says, this claim blurs the line between hyperbole and fantasy. His Nov. 5 victory was solid, but no landslide.

Trump won just under half the popular vote, only 1.6% more than Vice President Kamala Harris received. With a public disapproval rating of 50%, he is the least popular presidential winner in modern times.

It's certainly possible to look at Trump's return to power as reflecting the new norm in U.S. elections of small and unstable majorities. Since Barack Obama's departure, U.S. voters have tossed out the incumbents in one "change" election after another.

But such an interpretation might tempt Democrats, who were shut out of power in Congress as well as the White House, to do little but wait for their chance two and four years hence. That would be a colossal mistake.

Instead, Democrats must face a hard truth: their coalition is inexorably shrinking as noncollege voters continue to defect. It's time for honest answers to three vexing questions: How did they lose again to the deeply flawed Trump? Does their loss signal a U.S. political realignment? And why are Democrats — and indeed center-left parties across Europe — alienating the working-class voters they once championed?

The sweep of Trump's victory — both demographically and geographically — came as a shock. He shaved his losing margins in Democratic regions and made large gains among Democratic-leaning voter groups — young voters, Blacks, and especially Latinos.

Despite spending a half-billion dollars more than Trump, Harris won not one of the seven battleground states. In the brief time allotted her (107 days), she ran a competent campaign but could not avoid being sucked into the undertow of President Biden's unpopularity.

Tactics aside, however, the defeat highlighted Democrats' strategic political failure under Biden-Harris to stop haemorrhaging working-class voters.

Biden talked incessantly about fighting for working people, but his policies did not align with their interests.



Instead, he and his advisors fell victim to the fallacy of "deliverism" — the notion that passing big, multitrillion-dollar bills in Washington would impress working families and show them the "system" at last was working for them.

Instead, they got blindsided by inflation. Forty percent of these voters identified the high cost of living as their top concern. Economists differ as to its causes, but working-class voters link inflation to high government spending.

Immigration ranked second for these voters. Here again, they blamed the Biden administration for liberalizing asylum policy and presiding over a surge of over 7 million illegal migrants over the past four years. In fact, on almost all the key issues except for abortion, non-college voters expressed far higher levels of trust in Republicans than Democrats. They also were more likely to say Democrats had moved too far to the left than Republicans had to the right.

The aftershocks of Trump's victory and U.S. voters' rightward shift are felt across the Atlantic. Like his populist-right counterparts in Europe, Trump is riding a working-class revolt against governing elites. First confined to white Americans without college degrees, it's now spreading to the non-white working class.

In fact, social class, now defined chiefly by education level, is replacing race and ethnicity as America's deepest political fault line.

Since the high-water mark of Barack Obama's presidency, Democrats have experienced a 30-point drop in non-white working-class support. That's shattered a cherished progressive myth that "voters of color" think and vote alike along reliably Democratic lines. Harris improved on Biden's 2020 performance with only one group — white college graduates. Yet that only underscored the strange inversion of America's partisan loyalties: Democrats have become the party of the highly educated and professionals, while Republicans represent a multiethnic working class.

For the first time in memory, Harris won Americans making more than \$100,000, while Trump won those making less than \$50,000.

The blue-collar exodus from the Democratic Party has been decades in the making. It won't be fixed by minor tweaks. Democrats need to make dramatic course correction to head off a U.S. political realignment around a new populist right majority.

Voters without college degrees constitute roughly two-thirds of the U.S. electorate. Mathematically, there's no way to build durable governing majorities with collegeeducated voters alone.



Morally, if Democrats hope to resume their historical role as the "party of the people," they'll need to reflect the mainstream values of middle-class America rather than the rarefied "luxury beliefs" of upper-class elites.

According to a post-election analysis by More in Common, Americans overwhelmingly believe that Democrats care more about advancing progressive social causes than the economic interests of average working families.

Asked to describe the party's highest priorities, they picked "LGBT/transgender policy" second, after abortion. Actually, Democrats, like all other voter groups, picked the cost of living first, followed by health care and abortion. Transgender issues were 13th on their priority list.

Why are public perceptions so skewed? A big reason is that U.S. political discourse is mainly driven by progressive activists and right-wing populists. This leads members of both parties to assume the other party holds more extreme views that it actually does.

The outsized influence of progressive activists associates Democrats with a raft of unpopular positions on race/gender, immigration, crime and education. Trump exploited that to devastating effect against Harris.

The most lethal attack ad of the presidential campaign was a clip from a 2019 interview in which Harris explains her support for publicly-funded sex change surgery for prisoners, including detained immigrants. The kicker: "Kamala is for they/them; President Trump is for you."

After watching the ad, 2.7% of voters shifted to Trump. That's a stunning result. And even if most Democrats hold more moderate views on culturally fraught issues, they pay the opportunity costs that come with the progressive left's fixation on race, gender, police brutality, fossil abolitionism and other "social justice" issues. The amount of time Democrats spend talking about such issues diverts their focus from the kitchen table struggles of working-class families.

It is the kitchen table struggles of working-class families that now need to become the fixation for Democrats. PPI has been working with Deborah Mattinson, most recently director of strategy to U.K. Labour leader and now Prime Minister Keir Starmer, to understand how those crucial voters experienced the U.S. election. In this report, PPI presents insight and analysis of the election, and draws on our learning from the center-left around the world to set out the way ahead for Democrats.

Only by re-connecting with the working-class Americans we have lost, and providing them with a credible alternative for change, can we hope to win the next Presidential election. That work has to start now.

### WHY THE DEMOCRATS LOST IN 2024: **The Voters' View** Deborah mattinson, former director of strategy

TO UK LABOUR LEADER KEIR STARMER 2021-24

### WORKING MEN AND WOMEN: 'THE FORGOTTEN PEOPLE'

The U.S. election triggered a scary déjà vu moment for Brits who had watched the 2019 General Election from behind their sofas, hands over eyes. On Nov. 5, the Democrats lost votes with almost everyone, almost everywhere, but, just like Labour in Britain's "Red Wall" constituencies, the loss was most dramatic amongst traditional Democrat voters: working class, low paid, without college degrees.

Working with PPI, we conducted post-election polling and focus groups amongst former Democrat voters who had voted for Trump to understand why. The results were stark. Faced with a series of images representing different types of people we asked these voters to speculate about who would have been better off if Harris had won.

They struggled to answer this, with the majority eventually choosing an image of placard holding activists, and a line of migrants at the border. It almost didn't matter what the cause was: a postal worker from Nevada explained:

### "Democrats just represent radical views right now. They cater for every small group, not the majority" — Postal worker, Nevada

However, there was disappointment for Trump too, as the Republicans were deemed to stand for *"the rich,"* although this was seen as a more worthy elite than the Democrats' version. It was described by another first-time Trump voter as *"the hardworking Republican rich,"* as distinct from the Democrats' *"more phony elite: actors and celebrities."* More worrying still is the dwindling association of the Democrats with families: a woman voter from Wisconsin explained:

### "When I think of family, I think more of the Republicans. Sitting down at the dinner table every night of the week. Those values." — Woman, Wisconsin

In the U.K., we won a historic victory just four years after the worst defeat since 1935. The starting point for recovery was identifying those voters that we needed to win. Heartland voters, "hero voters" as we termed them, to demonstrate the respect and deference they believed we had lacked. We invested money we could then barely afford in a detailed analysis of the electorate, to arrive at,

and then profile our "heroes." They were working class, non-graduates, often "Brexit" voting. They were former Labour voters who felt not so much that they had abandoned us, but that we had abandoned them.

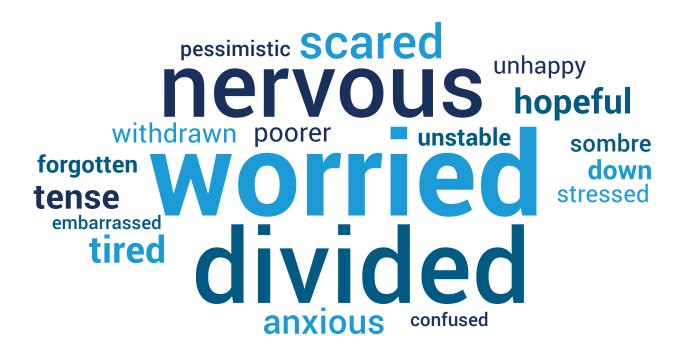
We worked hard — successfully — to rebuild our relationship with them, placing them firmly center stage in all our thinking: policy development, campaigning, and communications. Our analysis had told us that this group was disproportionately more important in the battleground seats we had to win, and so it proved. A crumb of comfort from the PPI work is that when we asked voters which party best represented working men and women the future opportunity staring at the Democrats became clear. It was the image of a lone worker on a production line. As one woman from Arizona put it: "That's who has been forgotten today – ordinary people who work hard, aren't rich but aren't at the bottom of the pile either" – Woman, Arizona

"I'm a Union guy through and through — but that's in the past now. No one speaks up for people like us anymore." — Male car worker, Michigan

### **MEETING THE CHALLENGE FOR CHANGE**

Our work gave voice to an anxious nation hungry for change. When we asked our focus groups to describe the national mood in two or three words, they chose "worried," "nervous," "anxious," and "tense."

### FIGURE 1: "WHAT THREE WORDS WOULD YOU USE TO DESCRIBE THE NATIONAL MOOD BEFORE THE ELECTION?"

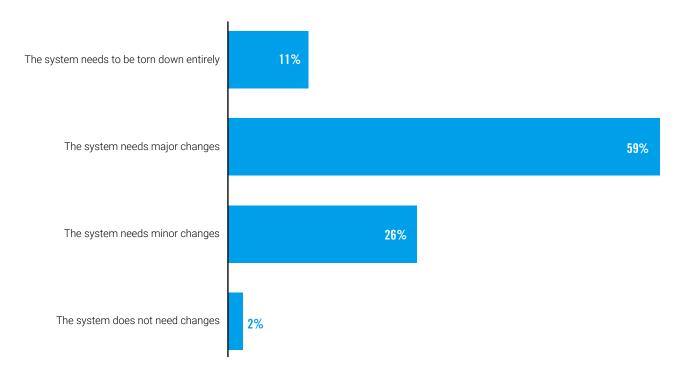


Source: PPI post-US election focus groups of swing voters, November 2024



This was borne out by one of the many exit polls showing 74% of voters to be angry or dissatisfied with "the way things are going in the country nowadays" — and only 6% enthusiastic or positive Many voters expressed how tough things had been for their families especially since 2021: *"The last four years have been so hard."* 





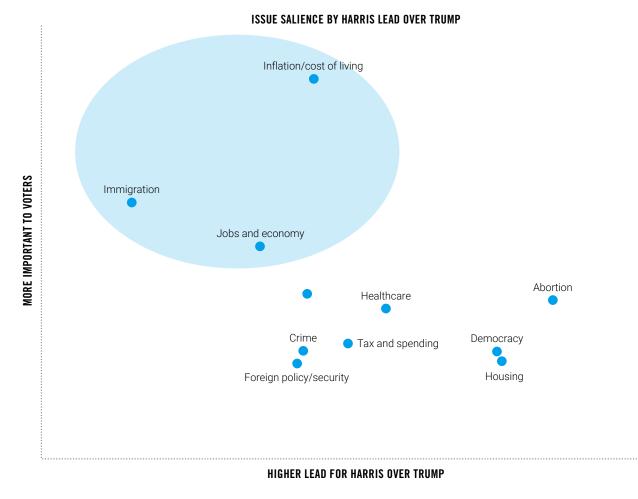
Source: New York Times/ Siena Poll of likely electorate (September 29 to October 6, 2024)<sup>1</sup>

So powerful was their eagerness for change that sticking with the status quo seemed the bigger risk. When asked to sum up how they felt about the eventual result, having feared 'more of the same' the word most often selected was "relieved." A male Trump voter told us, *"I was relieved because we were going nowhere fast. Everyone was waiting for the change,"* while a female Trump voter in Pennsylvania added, *"I was relieved because of the immigration and transgender issues. We were going down a weird path."* 

The change people wanted to see coalesced around two dominant campaign issues: inflation and immigration. These mattered most to "hero voters" and were the areas where Trump had the strongest lead.



### FIGURE 3: THE DEMOCRATS ARE WEAKEST ON VOTERS' MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES



Source: FocalData for PPI. Hero voter analysis, 2024

Despite having decent, popular policies, especially on inflation/cost of living (anti-price gouging, tax cuts, help for first-time homebuyers, and help for small businesses) the Harris campaign was felt to focus too much on irrelevant, "woke" issues. 49% of the public overall and 53% of non-college-educated voters believed the Democrats had gone too far in pushing a "woke" ideology.

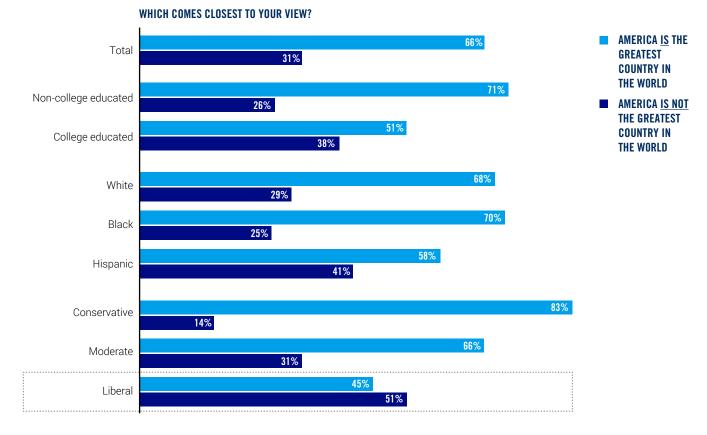
The opportunity cost that this represented was clear, "We've lost touch with people's real priorities," explained one Midwest woman voter, while a gig economy worker from Philadelphia told us, "We're sick of hearing about it — it's aggressive and getting more ridiculous." While many didn't object to the content, just the focus and share of voice for these issues, some resented the feeling that if you didn't agree you are judged and "they make you out to be a bad person."

### THE STRENGTH TO DELIVER: CHANGING THE COUNTRY FOR THE BETTER

The urgent need for change is inseparable from most Americans' fervent patriotism. Self-defined liberals are the only group who do NOT think that America is the greatest country in the world.



### FIGURE 4: LIBERALS ARE THE <u>ONLY</u> PEOPLE WHO DON'T THINK AMERICA IS THE GREATEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD



Source: Echelon Insights, Verified Voter Omnibus, June 10-12, 2024, national sample of likely voters<sup>2</sup>

However, hero voters believe that the country is now at a crossroads and needs to focus energy and resources on its own issues, rather than supporting the wider world. One Arizona Trump voter commented:

"Patriotism means recognizing some things are going wrong and that we have to change. If you're not asking for change, you're not patriotic."

– Trump voter, Arizona

This change requires strong leadership. The grit Harris showed that took a mixed-race woman tantalizingly close to the top job in world politics was not evident to voters. Instead, working-class voters gave Trump a 28% lead on strength. As outlined in the YouGov poll results, he was seen to be the candidate most able to see off extremism in his own party. Described as a "powerhouse," he was likened to "neat whisky – gives it to you straight," while Harris was a "watered down cocktail." Imagined as a car, he is a sturdy "dump truck, owning the road, not to be argued with," while she is a more "flimsy Kia."

Finally, and most importantly, these hero voters yearned for a strong leader who would be unafraid to shake up the way government operates. They wanted the status quo to be challenged — not appeased. Some even interpreted Harris' pledge to "protect democracy" as protecting the status quo — at a time when just 2% thought things should stay as they were. In this context, Trump's appetite for disruption, coupled with his contempt for Capitol Hill sacred cows, seemed to promise a radical change that, for once, would actually deliver for working-class voters.

## WHY THE DEMOCRATS LOST IN 2024: The Data

Immediately after polls closed on election night for the 2024 presidential election, YouGov conducted a poll of working-class voters for the Progressive Policy Institute, the third in our series. The postelection poll included a national sample, with oversamples in Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania.

- Democrats lost voters everywhere, but most crucially, they continued to lose workingclass America, and this was a critical factor in Kamala Harris losing the Presidential election to Donald Trump. Donald Trump overwhelmingly won the working class by 52-39, including winning working-class men by 56-39, working-class women by 48-38, and making serious in-roads to the Democrat's historic lead with Hispanic working-class voters at about 37-50 Trump-Harris, and about 26-67 among Black working-class voters.<sup>3</sup>
- Of the swing states, Trump's winning margin amongst the working class was the largest in Pennsylvania (53-38), and smallest in Michigan (50-40), but differences were generally within the margin of error.

- More working-class voters thought Joe Biden, personally, was hurt by the amount of inflation (25%) than his age (22%).
- Inflation (46%), jobs (45%), and immigration (41%) topped working-class voters' concerns.
   Working-class women reported being significantly more concerned about each of these than about abortion (27%).
- About 60% of working-class voters viewed Harris as a "continuation" of Joe Biden, with 27% viewing her as a departure from Biden.
- Working-class voters see the Democrats as more extreme than the Republicans, and believe that Trump would be better at standing up to extreme people in his party (65%) – only 40% said the same of Harris. 58% say Democrats have moved too far to the left – 47% say Republicans have moved too far to the right. 49% see Harris as "too liberal or progressive," whereas only 31% see Trump as "too conservative."
- Working-class voters are optimistic about what a Trump win means for them, with 58% agreeing now "the economy will work for working people."



### DEMOCRATS LOST ON THE ISSUES THAT MATTERED MOST TO VOTERS

On the issues that mattered most to voters inflation, jobs and the economy, and immigration the Republicans were more trusted at the election than the Democrats, Trump was more trusted than Harris. Whilst Harris did manage to make progress on Biden's standing with voters, she wasn't able to turn around the consistent finding from PPI polls of working-class voters that the Republicans are more trusted than the Democrats on the issues that matter most to them.

Working-class Latinos narrowly prefer Trump on the issue of immigration. Independent workingclass voters give the Republican Party high marks across the board.

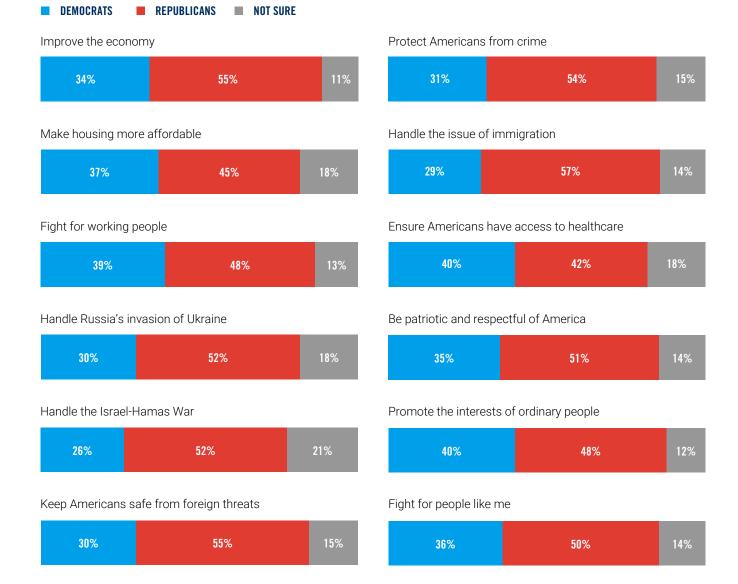
### FIGURE 5: WHICH OF THESE WERE MOST IMPORTANT IN DETERMINING YOUR VOTE?

Inflation		46%
Jobs and the economy		45%
Immigration policy	41%	
The budget, taxes, and the federal deficit	25%	
Social Security	25%	
Healthcare policy, including Medicare and Medicaid	24%	
Democracy	23%	
Crime	23%	
Abortion policy	23%	
Climate change and the environment	13%	
Education	13%	
Gun policy	12%	
Terrorism	10%	
Housing and homelessness	10%	
January 6th	9%	
Criminal justice reform	8%	
Income inequality	8%	
The war in Ukraine	7%	
Voting rights	7%	
The Israel-Hamas war	7%	
Escalating conflict in the Middle East	7%	
Racism and race relations	7%	
LGBTQ rights	7%	
Foreign trade	5%	
The drug war and the opioid crisis	5%	
Infrastructure and transportation	4%	
COVID-19 Pandemic	3%	
Other	3%	
	•	

Source: YouGov for PPI. Working-class voters post-election survey, fieldwork 11-15 November 2024



### FIGURE 6: GENERALLY SPEAKING, WHO DO YOU TRUST MORE TO...



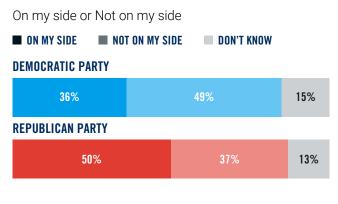
Source: YouGov for PPI. Working-class voters post-election survey, fieldwork 11-15 November 2024

### DEMOCRATS WERE SEEN AS MORE OUT OF TOUCH AND EXTREME

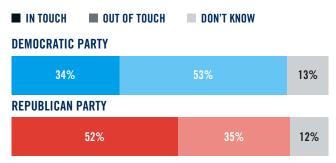
About 54% of working-class voters said they trusted Trump to "stand up to the radicals in his party," compared to 34% who said this of Harris. Even Harris supporters were less confident that their candidate would "stand up to extremists in her/ his own party" (Harris 78% compared to 91% of Trump voters). The question of "extremism" extends to party brands, not just individual candidates. 68% of working-class voters agree Democrats have "moved too far left," with 47% saying Republicans have "moved too far right."



### FIGURE 7: DEMOCRATIC PARTY VS REPUBLICAN PARTY. GENERALLY SPEAKING, DO YOU THINK THE PARTY IS...

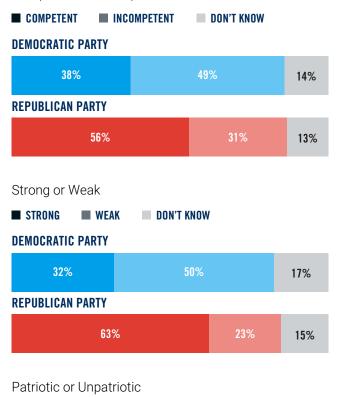


#### In touch or Out of touch

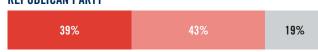


Respectful or Disrespectful of their political opponents

#### Competent or Incompetent



## RESPECTFUL DISRESPECTFUL DON'T KNOW P/ DEMOCRATIC PARTY DEMU 41% 44% 15% REPUBLICAN PARTY REPU



# PATRIOTIC UNPATRIOTIC DON'T KNOW DEMOCRATIC PARTY 43% 40% 17% REPUBLICAN PARTY 62% 26% 12%

Source: YouGov for PPI. Working-class voters post-election survey, fieldwork 11-15 November 2024

Even in swing states, with moderate leaderships, these figures are replicated: 62-48 split in Arizona, 62-47 in Georgia, 54-43 in Michigan, 60-44 in North Carolina, and 63-43 in Pennsylvania.

Black working-class voters are split 44-43 agreedisagree on the view that "the Democratic party has moved too far to the left," whilst 63% agree the Republican party has moved too far to the right. A narrow majority of Latino voters -51%  agree the Democratic party has moved too far left, compared to 57% who say the same about the Republican party.

There is some evidence that Trump faced more "protest voters" than Harris. About 1 in 4 Harris voters say they voted "against Trump" compared to just 1 in 6 Trump voters who say they voted "against Harris."

### FIGURE 8: YOUGOV POLL SWING STATE BREAKDOWNS

	KAMALA HAR	RIS VOTERS	DONALD TRUMP VOTERS			
SAMPLE	PRO-HARRIS	PRO-HARRIS ANTI-TRUMP		ANTI-HARRIS		
NATIONAL	73	27	86	14		
ARIZONA	67	33	85	15		
GEORGIA	77	23	83	17		
MICHIGAN	71	29	84	16		
NORTH CAROLINA	73	27	86	14		
PENNSYLVANIA	67	33	73	17		

Source: YouGov for PPI. Working-class voters post-election survey, fieldwork 11-15 November 2024

### WORKING-CLASS VOTERS HARBOR CONCERNS About trump

A majority of working-class voters have at least some concerns about Trump. The most typical concern about Trump is that he will "prioritize the interests of the wealthy over ordinary Americans."

This is the top concern among working-class voters nationally, and Black and Latino voters across the national sample and key state subsamples are consistently 10-15 percentage points more likely to say this is their top concern about Trump. Notably, 37% of Latino working-class voters in Michigan say tariffs are their top concern for Trump's next term — but ultimately, the most consistent concern is a future Trump administration will put the rich first.



### FIGURE 9: WORKING CLASS VOTER CONCERNS ABOUT TRUMP

WORRY ABOUT TRUMP	WHITE/OTHER	BLACK	HISPANIC	ALL
I AM NOT CONCERNED ABOUT DONALD TRUMP'S NEXT Presidential term	52%	22%	29%	45%
HE WILL PRIORITIZE THE INTERESTS OF THE WEALTHY Over ordinary Americans	10%	18%	17%	12%
HE WILL ENDANGER AMERICAN DEMOCRACY	10%	18%	8%	11%
HE WILL BE CHAOTIC	5%	13%	9%	7%
I THINK HE IS DECLINING MENTALLY AND COULD MAKE Bad decisions	4%	12%	15%	6%
HIS TARIFFS WILL MEAN INFLATION RISES AGAIN	5%	6%	6%	5%
HE MIGHT BAN ABORTION	5%	5%	6%	5%
WE COULD GET DRAGGED INTO WORLD WAR 3	5%	3%	3%	5%
HE COULD DIT IN OFFICE AND BE REPLACED BY JD VANCE	5%	3%	6%	5%

Source: YouGov for PPI. Working-class voters post-election survey, fieldwork 11-15 November 2024

## the way ahead for democrats And The Winning Center-Left

Democrats should draw the right lessons from their defeat — lessons that also seem applicable to center-left parties throughout the transatlantic world that are also grappling with resurgent nationalism and social conservativism.

As Democrats and other center-left parties try to reconnect with non-college, working-class voters, they can draw inspiration from the U.K. Labour Party's turnaround under Keir Starmer. Following Labour's devastating 2019 loss under hard-left Jeremy Corbyn, Starmer moved the party back to the center ground and focused with surgical precision on winning a new hearing among working-class voters who backed Boris Johnson.

That paid off last July 4, when Labour won a majority of working-class votes and places, ending 14 years of Tory government, and reversed a trend of losing working-class support that had begun two decades ago.

Democrats can also look to their own transformation in 1980s and 1990s under Bill Clinton and the New Democrats. PPI, known then as "Clinton's idea mill," played a central role in that successful exercise in party renewal, and the international center-left dialogues launched by Clinton and UK Prime Minister Tony Blair. Today the Western democracies need a new center-left blueprint for economic and social change to compete with right-wing nationalism.

### Put working-class voters first – and show you get them and their lives.

Democrats must reorient their governing philosophy and agenda around working Americans' material interests and mainstream social values. Democrats have to show they get how they feel and what matters to them, and offer real remedies to the problems working families in middle America define as urgent, rather than the often post-material preoccupations of progressive elites.

### 2. Offer urgent change, not the status quo.

Democrats must stop reflexively defending the programmatic status quo at a time when working families feel forgotten and disrespected by Washington policymakers and want fundamental change in politics and government. The center-left has to offer a convincing program of economic and governmental reform that will deliver the change these voters are crying out for.



### 3. Deliver proof points on the things that matter most to voters.

Tangible local and individual positive changes for working families that they can see, feel and share — on the things that matter most to them. Their kitchen table economics of improved wages and lower costs is more important than the macroeconomic story, as is their experience of accessing good local health care more important than process targets. Center-left parties and politicians can become messengers of real, local change making people's places and lives better, not the distant members of a political elite.

### 4. Champion common sense fairness on social issues, reject divisive identity politics.

Working-class voters have a strong sense of fairness and want to see a level playing field for everyone. That includes restoring order at national borders and tackling illegal immigration, as well as a common-sense approach to the transition to clean energy and to climate policy. The center-left should keep its distance from the identitarian and often illiberal left which voters perceive as out-of-touch and hectoring, and stand for cultural moderation.

### 5. Put the national interest ahead of party or world.

Voters understand patriotism to mean the party or politician that will stand up for them, and need to see their elected representatives act for them in the world and at home. The centerleft should not abandon national identity to the political right, but rally around a politics of national belonging that emphasizes the liberal and democratic political ideas and values our citizens share in common, rather than their tribal differences.

Policies to symbolise, and deliver this change, need to tell a story to working-class voters that represent a significant program of economic and social reform in their direction.

Working-class voters support a host of policies that open up opportunities for them and their families to get on — and remake the deal that if you work hard in life you will be rewarded. Policies to make it easier to start a business, skill up, and bear down on living costs are much more popular than more social spending and redistribution.



### FIGURE 10: WINNING POLICIES FOR THE WORKING CLASS

						SUPPORT	OPPOSE	NET
Make it easier to start business	51%		31%	, ,	12%	82	6	+76
More alternatives to college	52%		30%	6	10%	83	7	+75
Reduce the budget	56%		. 24%	,	12%	81	7	+73
Tackling high medical costs	53%		26%	1	2%	78	9	+69
Build more housing, road, rail	47%		31%	1:	2%	78	10	+68
Reinventing government	46%		30%	135	%	76	11	+65
Lower taxes on working families	50%		26%	139	%	76	11	+65
New military investments	50%		26%	26% 12%		76	12	+63
Break up big tech	25%	28%	23%	1	6%	54	23	+31
Higher taxes on companies	29%	23%	16%	13%	18%	53	31	+21
Taxpayer-funded healthcare insurance	21%	27%	24%	12%	17%	47	29	+18
Use more tech and AI in government	17%	27%	21%	20%	14%	44	34	+10
More social spending and redistribution	21%	21%	24%	12%	22%	42	33	+9
Restoring federal right to abortion	28%	16%	17% 11%		27%	44	39	+6
09	ò	25%	: 50%	: 75%	100%	6		

🔳 STRONGLY SUPPORT 🔳 SOMEWHAT SUPPORT 🔳 NOT SURE 📕 SOMEWHAT OPPOSE 📕 STRONGLY OPPOSE

Source: YouGov for PPI. Working-class voters post-election survey, fieldwork 11-15 November 2024

Improving living standards for today's working families has to be the central mission for any modern center-left government. This will be achieved by policies to promote entrepreneurial growth and innovation to create abundant opportunities for working people to get ahead, and restore today's missing sense of economic stability and security.

PPI has launched our Campaign for Working America, with a raft of policy initiatives and ideas which chime with the U.K. Labour government's program to reshape the economy and government towards working people. Our parties have learnt the hard way that disconnecting from working people only leads to political loss. Our victories, and our defeats, have shown that we only win when we are the party of working people.

For Labour, this means retaining a laser focus in government on the needs and interests of working people.

For the Democrats, this means that to win the right to change their respective countries for the better again, our party must first change itself.



### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With thanks to **John Ray** at YouGov Blue for YouGov's analysis, and to **Tom Brookes** for research and analysis.

### **ABOUT THE CENTER-LEFT RENEWAL PROJECT**

PPI's project on Center-Left Renewal was launched in January 2023 to catalyze and create a renewal of the center-left, sharing ideas, strategies, and research around the world. Since its inception, the project has facilitated a shared exchange between center-left parties, contributing new ideas and analysis designed to further the prospects of the center-left. The projects outputs are shared by PPI here <u>www.progressivepolicy.org/project/project-on-center-left-renewal/</u>. Sign up to our project mailing list at <u>info@ppionline.org</u>

### **ABOUT THE AUTHORS**

**Will Marshall** is President and Founder of the Progressive Policy Institute (PPI), a catalyst for political change and policy innovation with offices in Washington, D.C., Brussels and the United Kingdom. Its mission is to craft new ideas for advancing the enduring values of liberal democracy.

Founded in 1989, PPI started as the intellectual birthplace of the New Democrat and "Third Way" movements, earning a reputation as President Bill Clinton's "idea mill." Many of its groundbreaking policy innovations have been translated into U.S. policy and law, and have influenced center-left political leaders around the world.

Today, PPI's work centers on fortifying the vital liberal center against the global rise of illiberal populism and nationalism. Its vision for clean and equitable growth aims at spreading digital innovation to people and places left behind; lifting wages to reduce class and racial disparities; grooming the world's most talented and entrepreneurial workers; modernizing outdated immigration laws; and, defending free societies in a dangerous world.

**Deborah Mattinson** is a leading British pollster and strategist, who was Director of Strategy to UK Labour leader Keir Starmer July 2021 until Labour won the General Election of July 2024. Prior to this, she co-founded the research and strategy consultancy Britain Thinks, and was pollster to Gordon Brown when he was British Chancellor of the Exchequer, and then as Prime Minister. She is the author of two books on public opinion, "Talking to a Brick Wall" (2010), and "Beyond the Red Wall" (2020).

**Claire Ainsley** is Director of PPI's project on Center-left Renewal. From 2020-22 she was Executive Director of Policy to Keir Starmer, Leader of the Opposition and the U.K. Labour Party. Prior to this, she was Executive Director of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, leading JRF's strategy to inspire action and change to solve U.K. poverty. In May 2018, she authored "The New Working Class: How to Win Hearts, Minds and Votes."

## **Notes and references**

- 1 "Cross-Tabs: October 2024 Times/Siena Poll of the National Likely Electorate," New York Times, October 8, 2024, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/13/us/elections/times-siena-poll-likely-electorate-crosstabs.html.
- 2 "June 2024 Verified Voter Omnibus," Echelon Insights, June 2024, <u>https://echelonin.wpenginepowered.com/wp-content/uploads/June-Omnibus-Crosstabs-MASTER.pdf</u>.
- 3 YouGov for Progressive Policy Institute, total sample size 5,098 working-class voters fieldwork 11-15 November 2024, including 881 respondents in the national sample, 819 in Arizona, 868 in Georgia, 821 in Michigan, 860 in North Carolina, and 849 in Pennsylvania. Margin of error for national sample +/-3.9%. Sample weighted according to gender, age, race/ethnicity, education, geography, and past vote choice. The national sample geography weights included U.S. Census region, the state sample geography weights included state geography. The working-class definition is U.S. voters who have less than a college degree of education, i.e., some college, a high school diploma, or less than a high school diploma of education. For the set of YouGov poll data tables visit progressivepolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/12/PPI-YouGov-Toplines-Nov24.pdf. Swing state and cross tab breakdowns available via info@ppionline.org

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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