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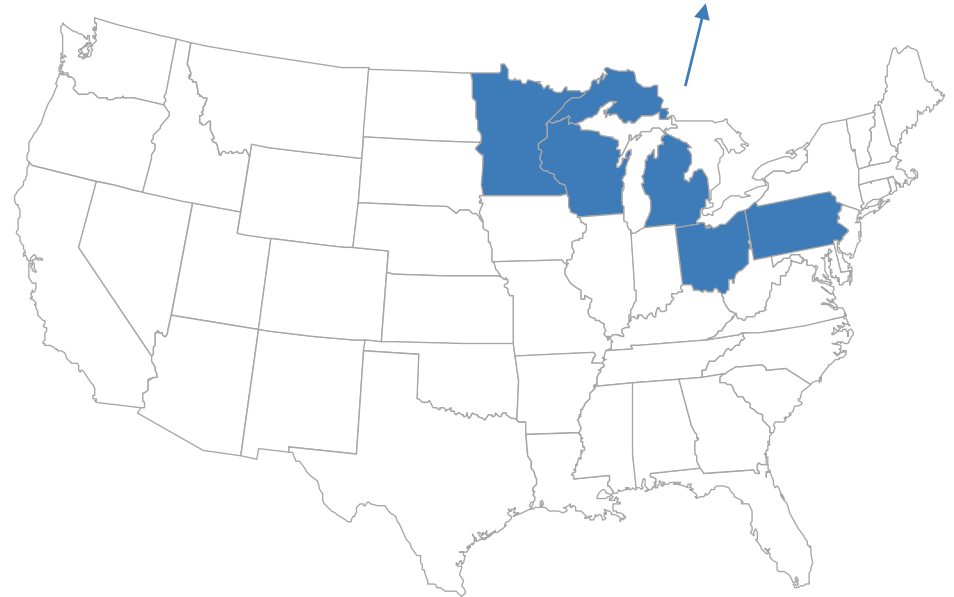
Winning with White Working-Class Target Voters on Jobs and the Environment

*Key findings from a survey among white, working-class voters
in five industrial Midwest states
Conducted May 2020*

Methodology

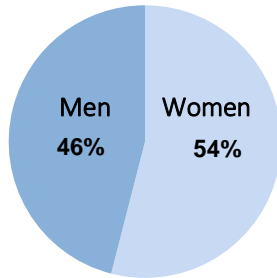
- Online survey among 752 white registered voters with less than a four-year college degree who live in the Industrial Midwest (MI, MN, OH, PA, WI)
- Excludes strong Republicans who are very favorable to Trump (approximately 22% of white non-college voters)
- Fielded May 11 to 18, 2020

Michigan	23%
Minnesota	13%
Ohio	26%
Pennsylvania	25%
Wisconsin	13%



Profile of the Sample: White Working-Class Target Voters

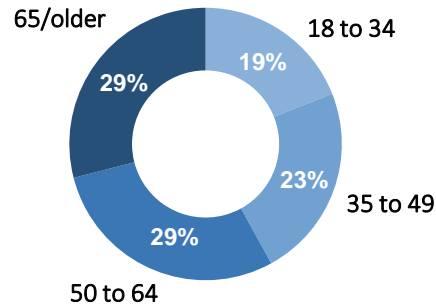
GENDER



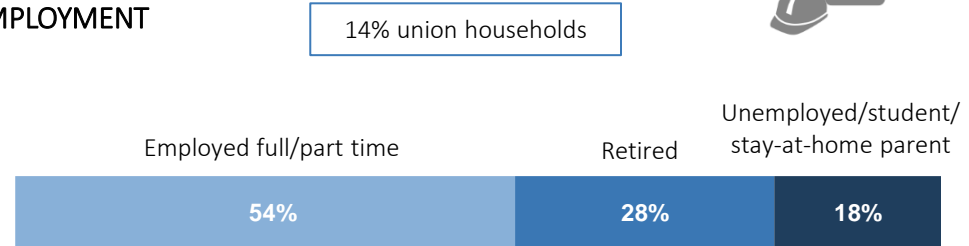
EDUCATION



AGE

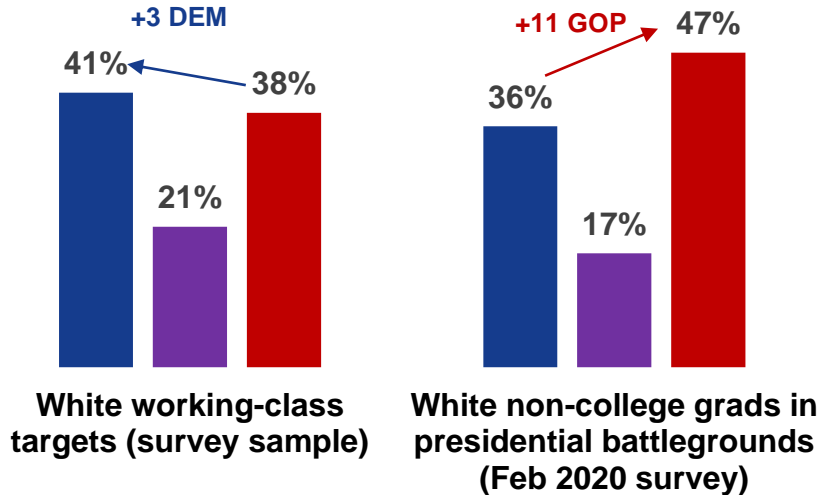


EMPLOYMENT

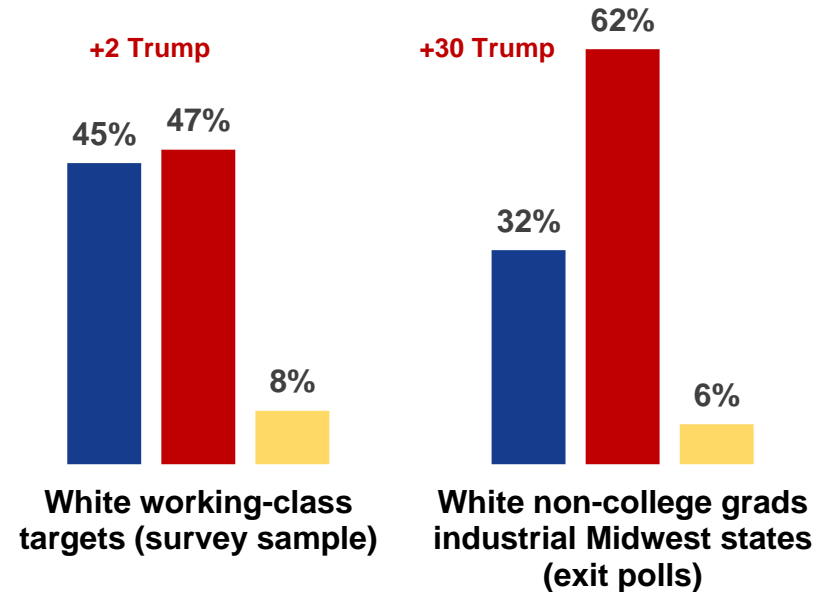


We excluded respondents who are strong Republicans and strongly pro-Trump to focus on those we can win.

Party ID



2016 Presidential Vote (among those who voted)



Key Takeaways

- 1. There is a real opportunity to win over white working-class targets, particularly those who sat out or voted third party in 2016** (majorities of whom dislike Trump and disapprove of the job he is doing as president). Obama/Trump voters will be a much harder sell for Democrats to win back in 2020, as many have solidified behind Trump.
- 2. Trump is vulnerable on two critical points: economic policies that favor the interests of those at the top over working people, and environmental policies that put people's health at risk.**
 - It will be essential to keep the reference point for the economy on working families. While these voters tend to give Trump a slight edge on his handling of the economy overall, they see the wealthy and big corporations as the major beneficiaries, rather than working families or themselves personally.
- 3. Trump is especially weak on his handling of the environment.** Majorities of white working-class targets disapprove of the job he is doing on this issue.
 - Environmental issues remain salient even amidst the coronavirus outbreak and will be important to highlight; majorities of white working-class targets say they are *very* interested in hearing about ensuring that people have clean air to breathe and clean water to drink.
 - Relative to other environmental issues, climate change is less salient and less motivating to white working-class targets.

Key Takeaways *(continued)*

4. **Informing voters about Trump's actions on the environment that put people's health at risk raise serious concerns about re-electing him.** Rolling back the Clean Water Rule and giving polluters permission to dump toxic waste into the air are the Trump administration's most offensive actions for persuadable voters.
5. **Attacking Trump is not enough, however; persuadable white working-class targets need convincing that Biden is a better alternative—** particularly independents, younger voters, and those who voted third party or sat out 2016.
 - Both environmental organizations (which enjoy highly positive image ratings) and unions (largely seen as looking out for working families) are well-positioned to serve as validators and advocates for Biden among white working-class targets.

Key Takeaways *(continued)*

6. To meet these voters where they are, the agenda should be framed in terms of addressing the challenges of rebuilding the economy, renewing American manufacturing, and protecting people's health.

An **Economic Recovery** message has broad appeal and resonates with persuadable voters' top priorities:

Our nation is clearly suffering and as we must move quickly to deal with the coronavirus and the devastating economic impact, our efforts should set our country on a sustainable course that will rebuild our economy for the future. We need a plan that creates high-quality, good-paying jobs that will support working families and also protect the health of our communities and our planet.

American Manufacturing has strong salience with undecideds and Obama/Trump voters:

The United States used to lead the world in producing the most advanced technologies, with American manufacturing as the heart and soul of a strong middle class. We can be a leader again by making manufacturing a national priority, retooling our factories here at home to make cutting-edge technology for the next generation of energy and transportation, while at the same time creating the good, family-supporting jobs we need.

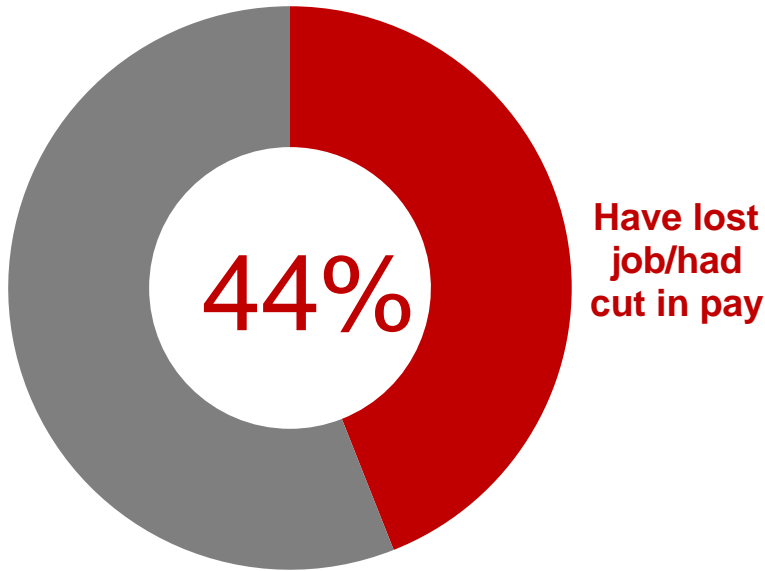
7. White working-class targets are overwhelmingly positive in response to BGA's specific policy proposals.

Nearly all have favorable reactions to each of the policies tested—especially investing in manufacturing medical supplies and critical technologies here in America and requiring reductions in hazardous chemicals in our drinking water.

- When the question is what government should be doing RIGHT NOW, white working-class voters put priority on policies that will help workers: improving access to quality training to make sure workers have skills they need and investing in rebuilding the public sector workforce.
- Access to affordable healthcare also is a high priority for these voters.

The coronavirus outbreak has caused job and wage losses for a significant number of white working-class targets.

*Have you either lost your job or experienced a cut in pay/wages because of the situation with the coronavirus?
(Among employed full time, part time, unemployed)*

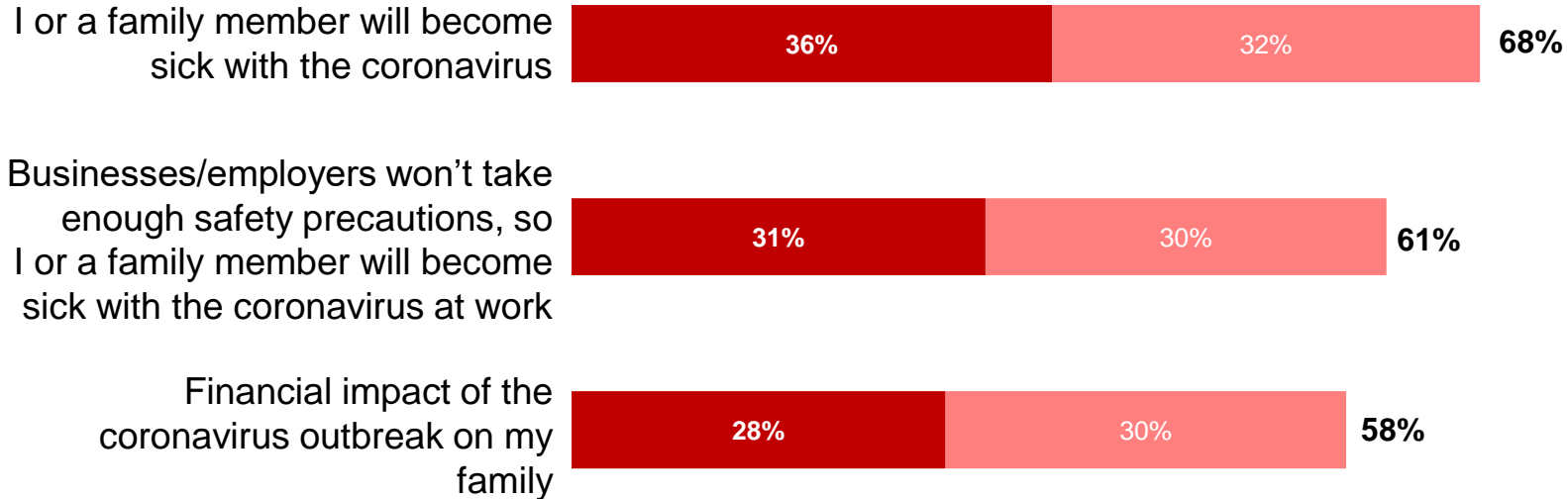


Have lost job/experienced cut in pay

Men age 18 to 49	50%
Men age 50/older	34%
Women age 18 to 49	47%
Women age 50/older	43%
Blue-collar workers	47%
Service workers	59%
Income under \$30K	48%
Income \$30K to \$75K	48%
Income over \$75K	35%

The personal impact of the coronavirus outbreak is very much on the minds of these voters.

■ I am very worried about this. ■ I am fairly worried about this.



Concern about the personal impacts of the coronavirus is widespread, though worry about getting infected is more acute among Democrats and older audiences.

<i>Very/fairly concerned about this:</i>	I or a family member will get sick with the coronavirus	Employers won't take safety precautions: I or family will get sick	Financial impact of the coronavirus outbreak on my family
Democrats	83%	73%	65%
Independents	55%	55%	54%
Republicans	59%	51%	53%
Men age 18 to 49	53%	49%	59%
Men age 50/older	69%	58%	52%
Women age 18 to 49	69%	64%	62%
Women age 50/older	76%	68%	60%
Blue-collar workers	67%	59%	63%
Service workers	71%	64%	56%
Union households	76%	68%	57%
Have lost job/wages	65%	60%	74%



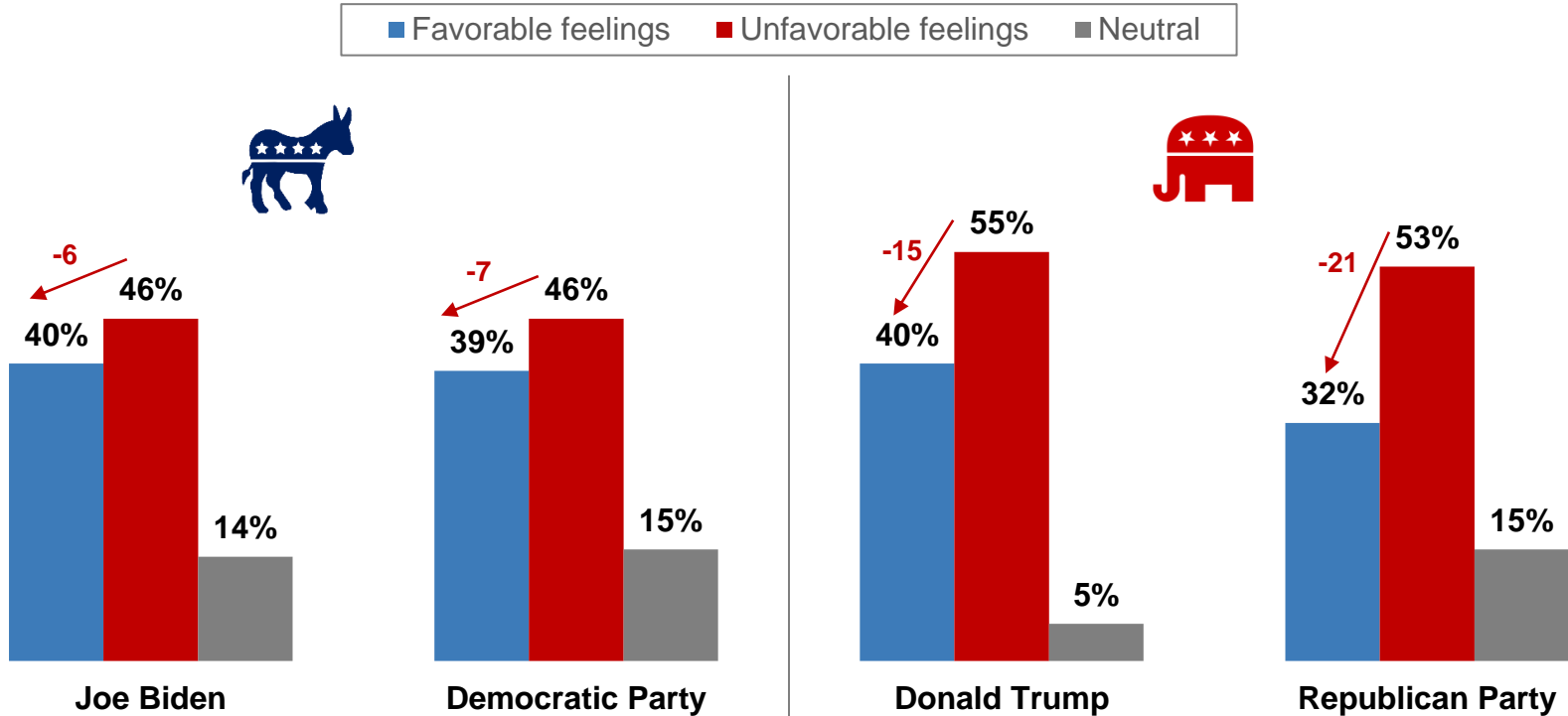
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THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Both parties and presidential candidates are underwater with white working-class targets but Republicans and Trump are in worse shape.



Biden has a more positive image than Trump among older men and women, but still needs to win over younger, white, working-class voters and important outreach groups.

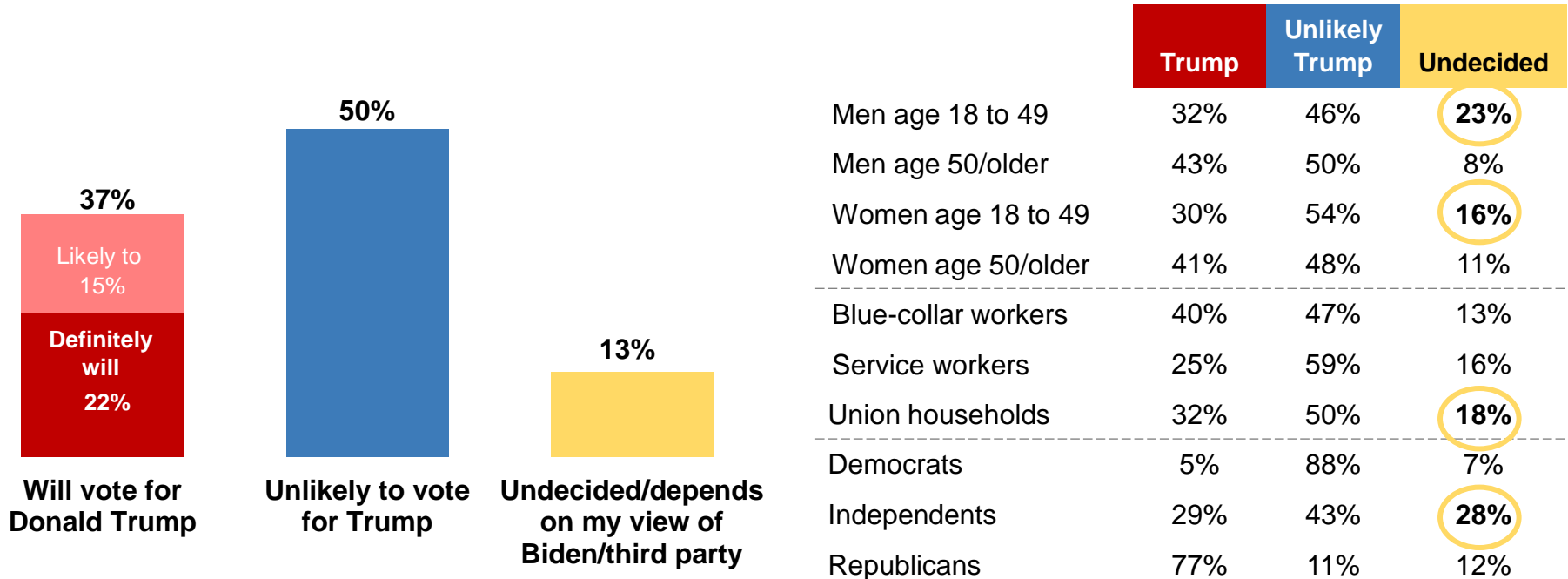
	Donald Trump		Joe Biden	
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Favorable	Unfavorable
Men age 18 to 49	39%	54%	26%	52%
Men age 50/older	44%	54%	49%	44%
Women age 18 to 49	33%	59%	34%	48%
Women age 50/older	44%	51%	43%	43%
Blue-collar workers	42%	54%	38%	48%
Service workers	30%	60%	40%	41%
Union households	35%	60%	42%	44%
2016 Trump voters	80%	16%	12%	74%
2016 Clinton voters	5%	93%	78%	12%
2016 third party/nonvoters	31%	57%	23%	55%
Independents	38%	52%	31%	49%
Obama/Trump voters	73%	22%	24%	61%



45% who voted third party or didn't vote in 2016 are unfavorable to both Trump/Biden.

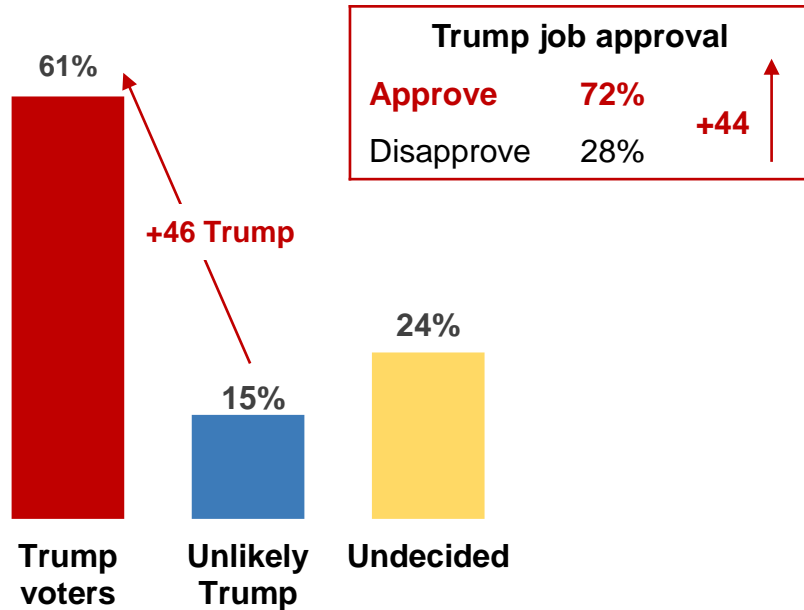
Half of these target voters say they are unlikely to vote for Trump. Men under 50 and independents are most undecided.

Which best describes how you will vote in the presidential election?

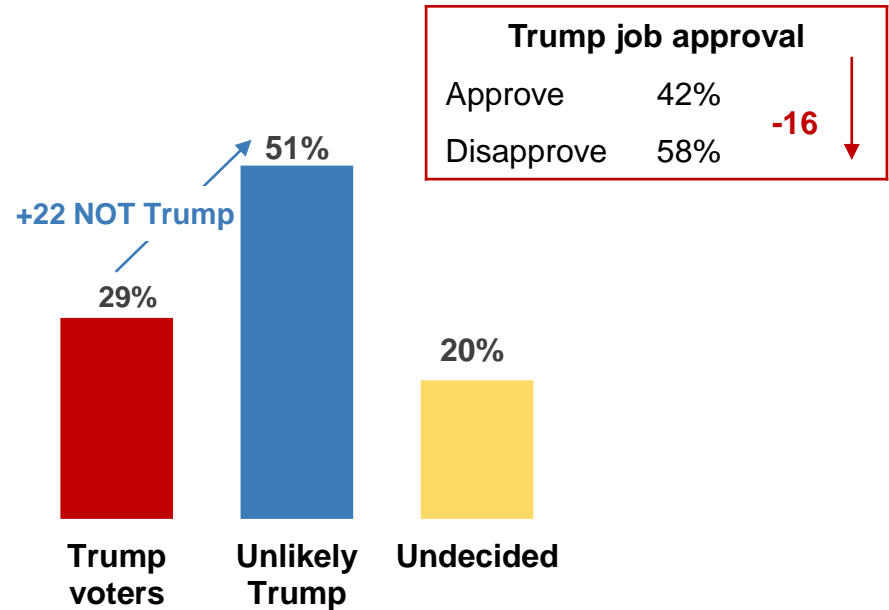


There is more momentum against Trump (and potential for Biden) among voters who sat out or voted third party in 2016 than among Obama/Trump voters.

Obama/Trump voters

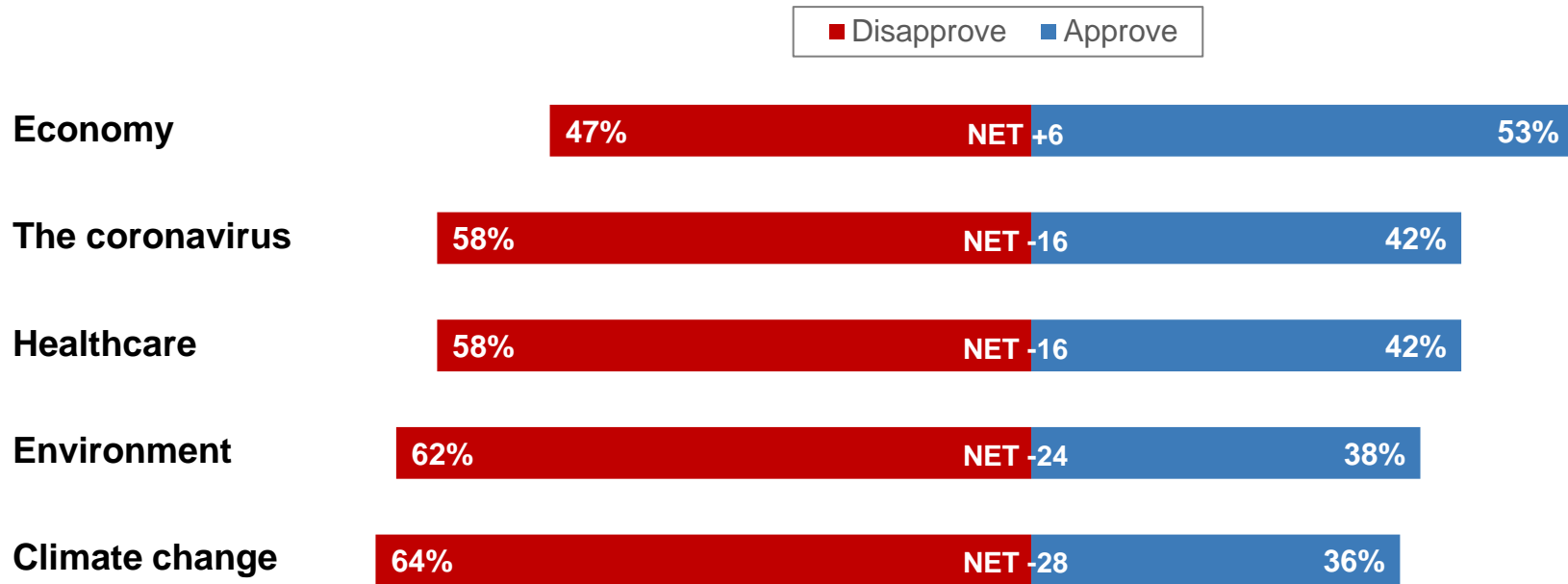


2016 third-party/nonvoters



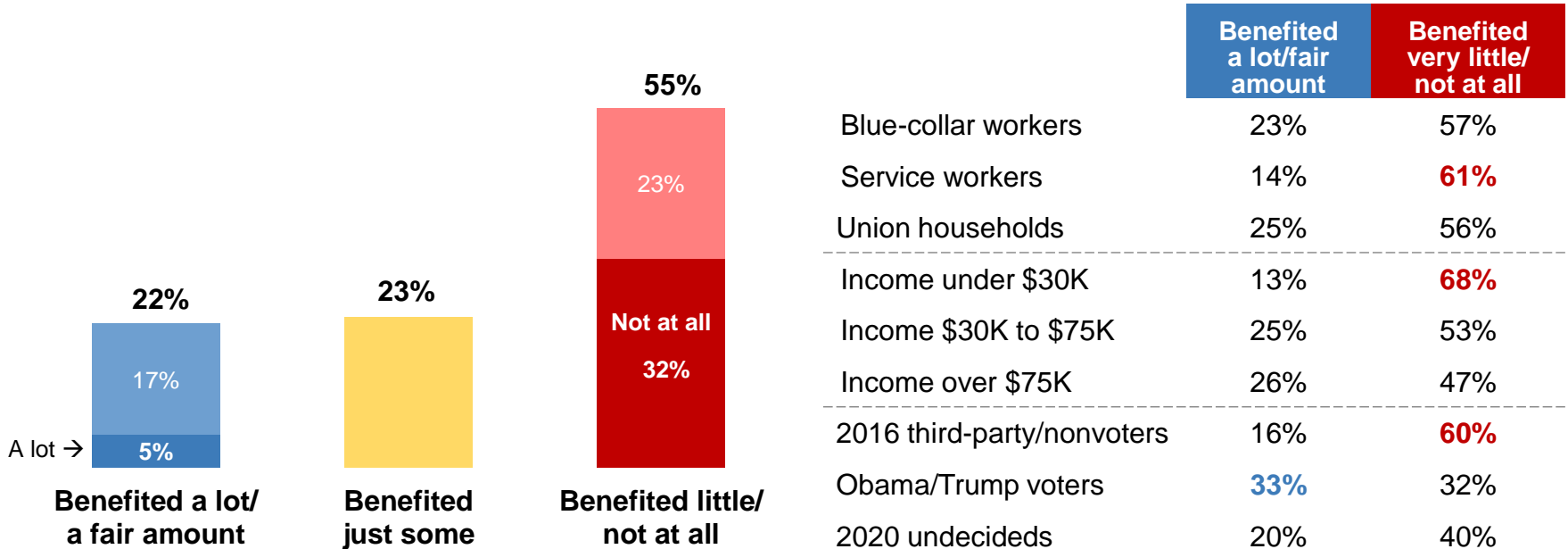
These voters give Trump a slight edge on the economy, but largely disapprove of his handling of other issues, especially the environment and climate change.

Donald Trump's Job Approval in Selected Areas



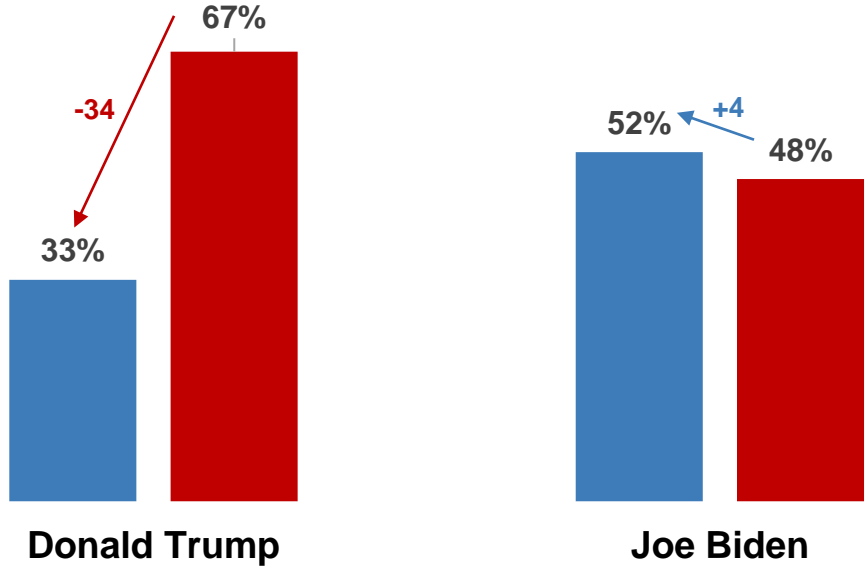
A majority say they have not personally benefited from Trump's economic policies.

How much do you feel you have personally benefited from Donald Trump's economic policies?



These voters say Trump is looking out mainly for those at the top, but younger voters and key persuadable audiences need convincing that Biden is on their side.

■ Mainly looks out for regular people ■ Mainly looks out for wealthy/big corporations



Net looks out for regular people		
	Trump	Biden
2016 third-party/nonvoters	-52	-17
Obama/Trump voters	+14	-26
2020 undecideds	-42	-19
Independents	-29	-13
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Age 18 to 34	-48	-12
Age 35 to 49	-32	-1
Age 50 to 64	-32	+6
Age 65/older	-26	+19



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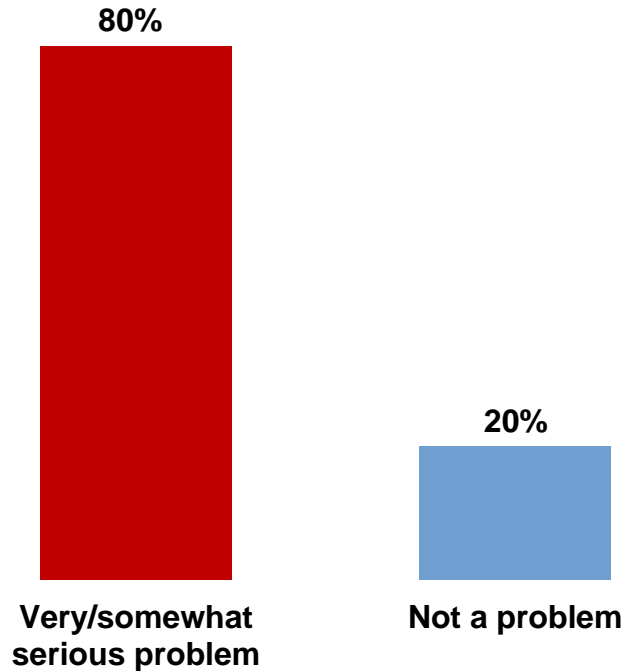
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PRIORITIES AND CONCERNS

White working-class targets recognize that climate change is a problem but vary in the degree of its severity.

How serious of a problem do you consider climate change to be?



	Very serious	Total serious
All adults	43%	80%
2016 Clinton voters	68%	95%
2016 Trump voters	18%	63%
2016 third-party/nonvoters	45%	84%
Obama/Trump voters	29%	78%
2020 undecideds	30%	82%
Independents	40%	81%
Men age 18 to 49	40%	76%
Men age 50/older	40%	76%
Women age 18 to 49	52%	90%
Women age 50/older	42%	79%

At this point in time, white working-class targets want the primary focus to be on dealing with the coronavirus and fixing the economy now.

With which statement do you agree more?

Dealing with the coronavirus and fixing our economy has to be our number-one priority right now, above all others. The government’s priority should be protecting the health and safety of the American people while focusing on getting people back to work and bringing back all the jobs we are losing.



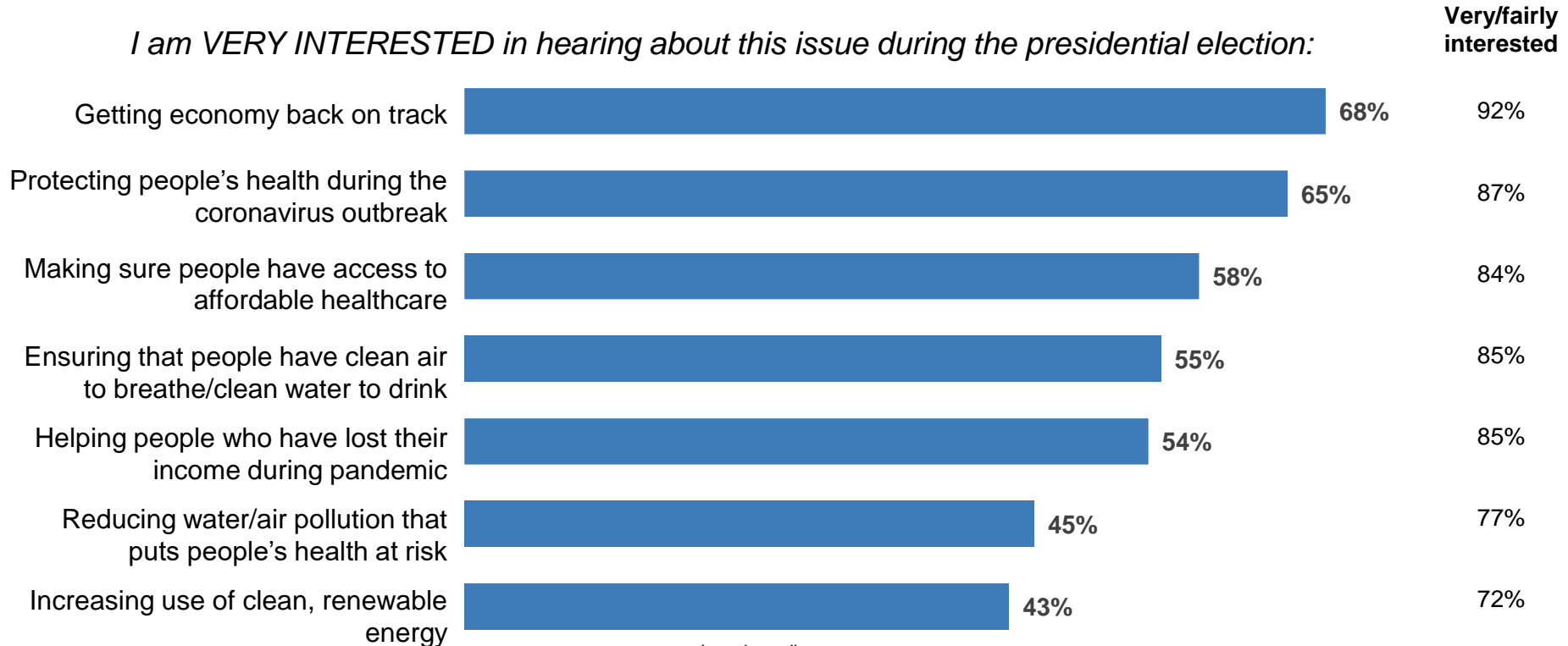
We should take this opportunity to use the tremendous amount of money the government is investing to protect our health and safety and fix our economy in forward-looking ways. We should focus on creating jobs in cleaner manufacturing, renewable energy, and other industries of the future to kickstart the economy and protect our environment now and in the years to come.



	Coronavirus/ Economy	Economy/ Future
2016 Clinton voters	62%	38%
2016 Trump voters	85%	15%
2016 third-party/ nonvoters	61%	38%
Obama/Trump voters	81%	19%
2020 undecideds	73%	27%
Independents	68%	32%
Strong Democrats	60%	40%
Climate change very serious problem	58%	42%

While dealing with the coronavirus crisis is their most urgent concern, voters express high interest in hearing about environmental issues.

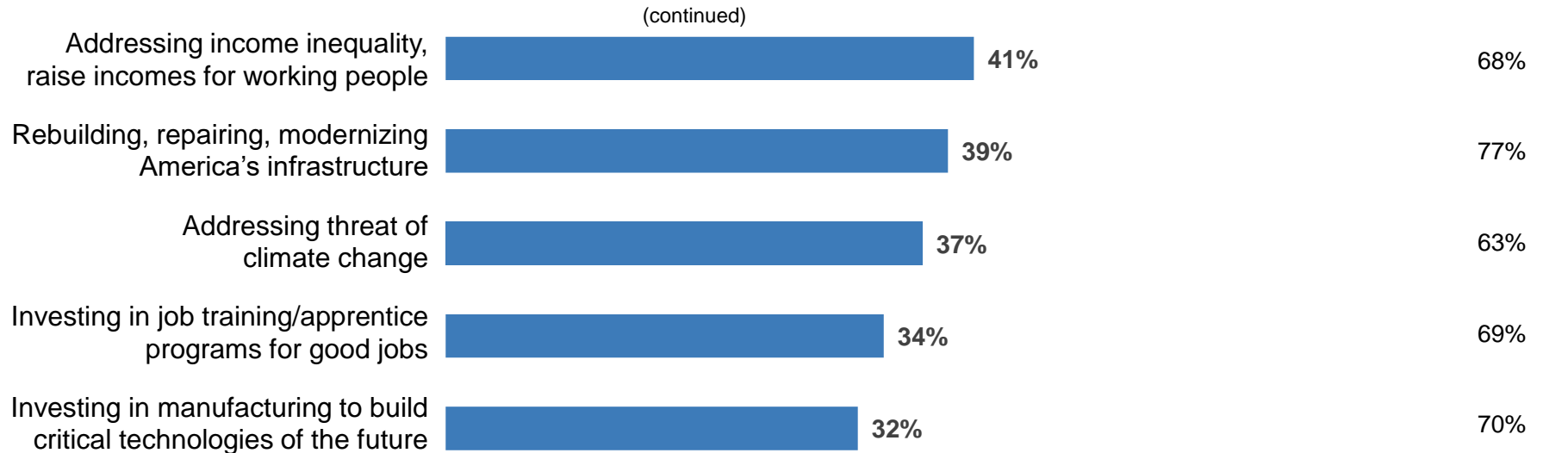
I am VERY INTERESTED in hearing about this issue during the presidential election:



(continued)

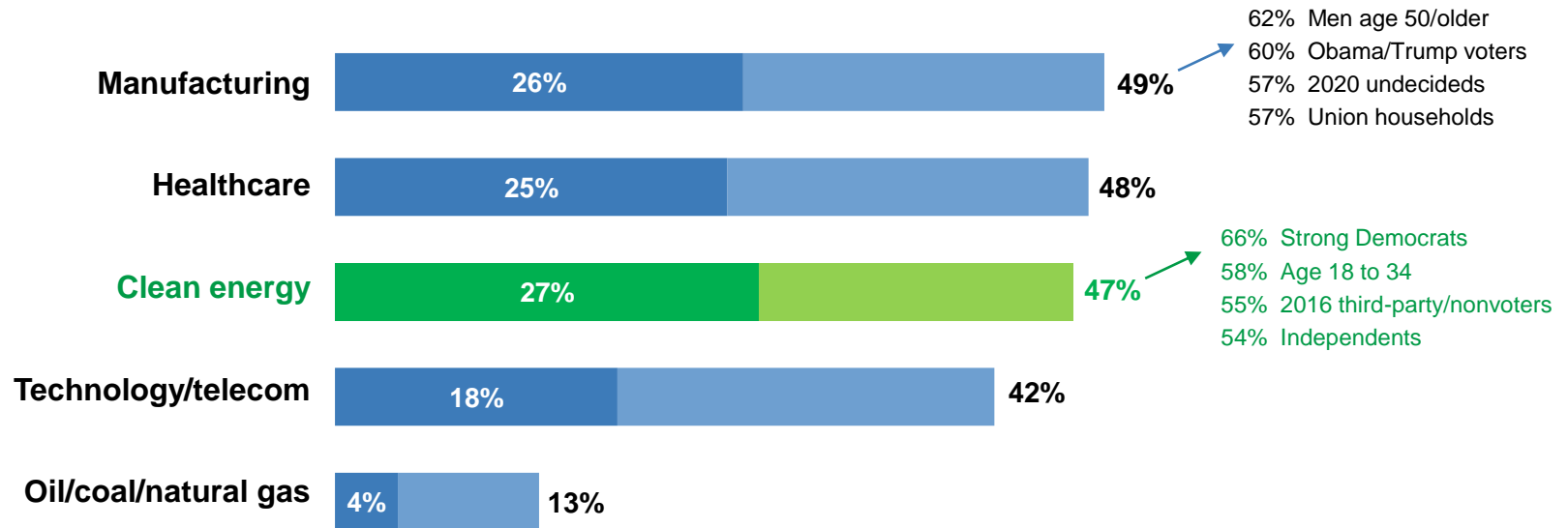
Other issues evoke high, albeit less intense, interest.

I am VERY INTERESTED in hearing about this issue during the presidential election:



Jobs in manufacturing and clean energy are both seen as critical pieces to rebuilding the economy.

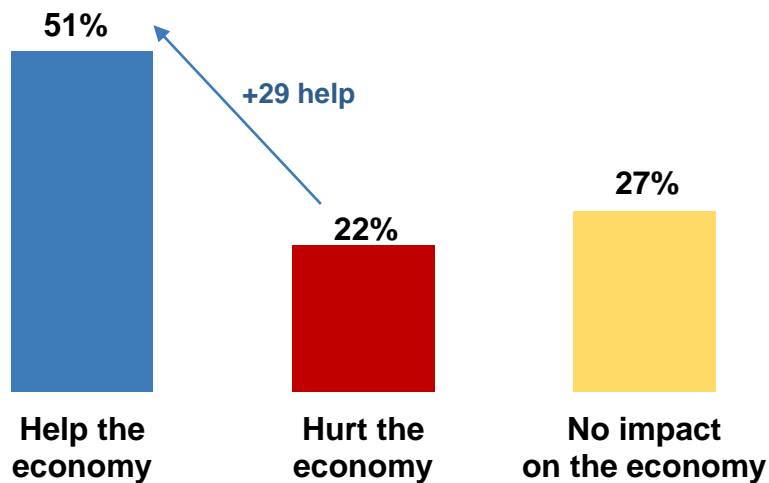
*In rebuilding the economy and creating job opportunities for the future, jobs in this industry should be a priority:**



*In each bar, darker segment = #1 priority, lighter segment = #2 priority

These voters have not bought into the conservative narrative that environmental laws harm the economy; over half say they **HELP** the economy.

Impact of strong environmental laws on the economy



	Help the economy	Hurt the economy
2016 Clinton voters	72%	8%
2016 Trump voters	30%	35%
2016 third-party/nonvoters	52%	22%
<hr/>		
Obama/Trump voters	38%	28%
2020 undecideds	36%	33%
Independents	53%	17%
<hr/>		
Union households	55%	22%

We tested seven thematic messages for BGA's agenda:

RECOVERY	<p>Our nation is clearly suffering and as we move quickly to deal with the coronavirus and the devastating economic impact, our efforts should set our country on a sustainable course that will rebuild our economy for the future. We need a plan that creates high-quality, good-paying jobs that will support working families and also protect the health of our communities and our planet.</p>
AMERICAN MANUFACTURING	<p>The United States used to lead the world in producing the most advanced technologies, with American manufacturing as the heart and soul of a strong middle class. We can be a leader again by making manufacturing a national priority, retooling our factories here at home to make cutting-edge technology for the next generation of energy and transportation, while at the same time creating the good, family-supporting jobs we need.</p>
SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE	<p>The public sector and its workers are the backbone of healthy, stable communities, especially in times of crisis. We need to invest in the public sector to ensure we have enough qualified, well-trained people to provide day-to-day essential services and respond to crises, like the coronavirus pandemic. We also need to make sure these workers have access to decent wages, quality affordable healthcare, and other benefits like paid sick leave and retirement.</p>
CLEAN AIR, WATER/ SAFE PLACES	<p>Nothing is more important than making sure our children and our communities have clean air to breathe and clean water to drink. This means that we need to make sure workplaces are safe, clean, and free of toxic chemicals and pollution. We need to invest in technologies that make factories and the communities around them cleaner and safer.</p>
REPAIR AMERICA	<p>Our basic infrastructure—roads, bridges, airports, buildings, schools, water treatment facilities—is old and broken. We need to rebuild and modernize all parts of our nation's infrastructure to be more efficient and able to withstand the crises of the future, whether it's the next public health crisis or extreme weather from climate change.</p>
AMERICAN WORKERS/ TRAINING	<p>American workers are essential for transitioning our country to a clean economy of the future. We must make targeted investments in high-quality training and apprenticeship programs that give all American workers the skills they need to fill jobs rebuilding and modernizing our nation's infrastructure, transitioning to clean energy, and ensuring we are prepared for the next disaster.</p>
CLIMATE STABILITY	<p>We must take immediate and serious action now to address America's biggest challenges, including climate change. We need to make smart investments that save lives and reduce the pollution causing climate change. These investments should create good jobs that build the clean technologies of the future and modernize our infrastructure to be the most advanced in the world.</p>

Most of these themes resonate with voters' priorities, with Economic Recovery and American Manufacturing leading the list.

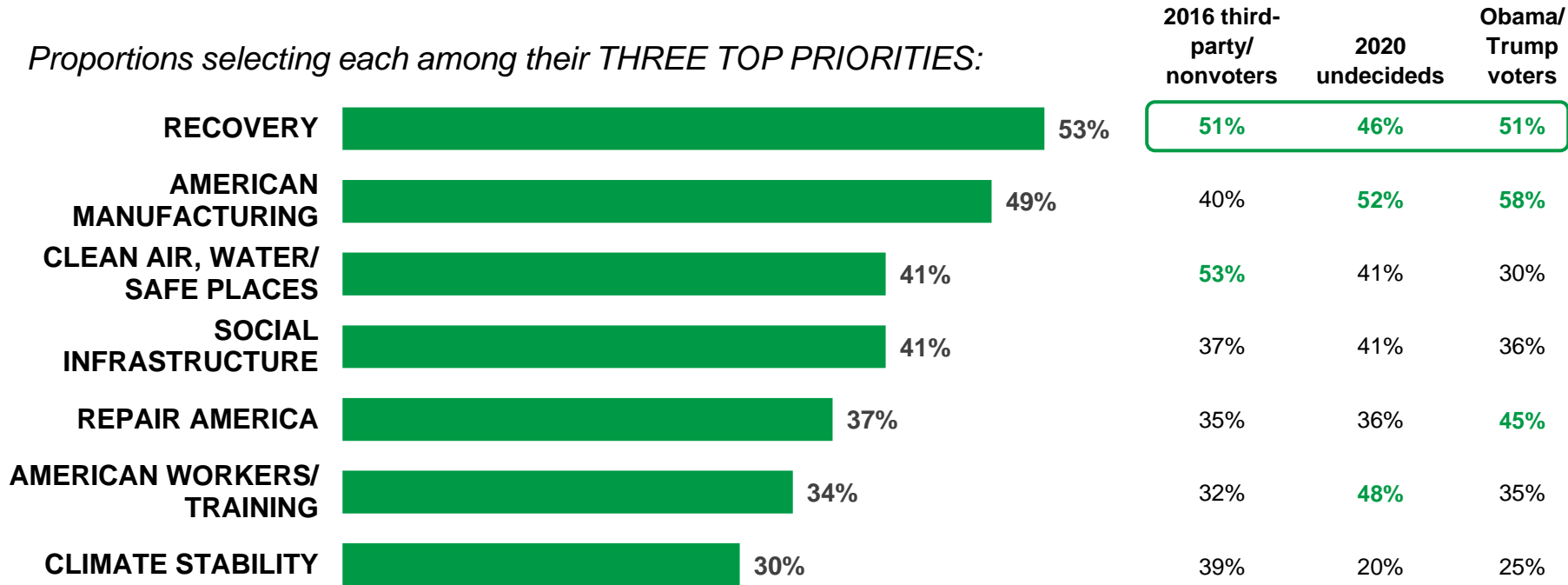
Proportions rating each as a VERY IMPORTANT priority for our country*



*8-to-10 ratings on 0-to-10 scale, 10 = extremely important

White non-college-educated target voters in these states support a recovery grounded in American manufacturing and protecting clean air and water.

Proportions selecting each among their THREE TOP PRIORITIES:



These voters have favorable reactions to nearly all BGA policy proposals.

	Total favorable	Very favorable
Invest in manufacturing medical supplies and critical technologies here in America	99%	65%
Require reductions in hazardous waste, toxic chemicals, other pollutants in our communities/drinking water	96%	63%
Transform heavy industry/strengthen manufacturing: build more products and technologies of future in United States	95%	55%
Significant investments in infrastructure so communities can respond to public health crises/natural disasters	95%	53%
Access to quality employment, training, advancement for all, especially those left behind due to changes in economy; make sure workers have skills for healthcare, clean manufacturing, clean energy, technologies of future	94%	53%
Access to high-quality employment, training, advancement for all, especially those left behind due to changes in economy or historically discriminated against for race, gender, other reasons	94%	51%
“Buy American” requirement for infrastructure/clean technology projects funded by government: ensure that they use clean/safe materials made in United States	93%	50%
Major investment to rebuild public sector workforce, healthcare system, education, community resources so we are prepared to respond to disasters like the coronavirus and natural disasters due to climate change	92%	50%
Mandatory labor rules: decent wages, safety/health protections, local hire; improve training, conditions, benefits	89%	49%

(Statements have been abbreviated)

When they focus on what the government should do right now, these voters put priority on helping WORKERS—investing in skill-based training and the public sector workforce.

Proportions selecting each among their THREE TOP PRIORITIES

Access to quality employment, training, advancement for all, especially those left behind due to changes in economy; make sure workers have skills for healthcare, clean manufacturing, clean energy, technologies of future

Major investment to rebuild public sector workforce, healthcare system, education, community resources so we are prepared to respond to disasters like coronavirus and natural disasters due to climate change

Access to high-quality employment, training, advancement for all, especially those left behind due to changes in economy or historically discriminated against for race, gender, other reasons

Significant investments in infrastructure so communities can respond to public health crises/natural disasters

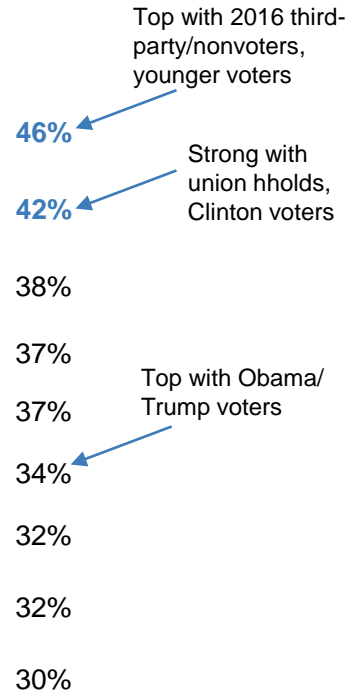
Invest in manufacturing medical supplies and critical technologies here in America

Transform heavy industry/strengthen manufacturing: build more products and technologies of future in United States

Require reductions in hazardous waste, toxic chemicals, other pollutants in our communities/drinking water

“Buy American” requirement for infrastructure/clean technology projects funded by government: ensure that they use clean/safe materials made in United States

Mandatory labor rules: decent wages, safety/health protections, local hire; improve training, conditions, benefits



(Statements have been abbreviated)

A number of Trump’s actions on the environment raise doubts and concerns about re-electing him.

Actions have **given polluters permission to ignore safety hazards/dump toxic waste into air**; after 20 years’ improvements, air pollution that causes breathing/heart problems, harms babies’ brains worse in 2017/2018

Even after thousands of children in Flint, MI, exposed to drinking water with dangerously high lead, Trump **refused to lower limit on lead in public drinking water** systems

Blocked standards to protect miners from toxic dust causing black lung disease, allowed safety inspections delayed, does not support extending coal company fees that provide benefits to miners disabled by black lung

Rolled back Clean Water Rule that helped towns that struggled to provide safe, clean drinking water to residents; rule was meant to protect bodies of water that supply drinking water to 117 million Americans

Rolled back improvements to program requiring companies using dangerous amounts of toxic chemicals to better prepare for accidents; even though chemical fire, explosion, release happens every 2.5 days, sided with industry, **eliminated/loosened almost all chemical accident prevention requirements**

In 2017, **eliminated health/safety rule protecting shipyard/construction workers from exposure to beryllium**, (chronic disease/lung cancer); despite restoring safeguards after two years, continues to hold up enforcement

Rolled back standards to reduce methane emissions in oil/gas industry, exposing workers to methane’s harmful effects and driving climate change; removing standards puts 50K new jobs at risk over next decade

Rolled back fuel economy standards requiring new cars/trucks get better gas mileage/reduce pollution; by admin’s own estimate, rolling back these standards will result in tens of thousands fewer jobs in the auto industry

	Major doubts*	Top three concerns
Actions have given polluters permission to ignore safety hazards/dump toxic waste into air ; after 20 years’ improvements, air pollution that causes breathing/heart problems, harms babies’ brains worse in 2017/2018	62%	55%
Even after thousands of children in Flint, MI, exposed to drinking water with dangerously high lead, Trump refused to lower limit on lead in public drinking water systems	61%	49%
Blocked standards to protect miners from toxic dust causing black lung disease, allowed safety inspections delayed, does not support extending coal company fees that provide benefits to miners disabled by black lung	59%	29%
Rolled back Clean Water Rule that helped towns that struggled to provide safe, clean drinking water to residents; rule was meant to protect bodies of water that supply drinking water to 117 million Americans	59%	58%
Rolled back improvements to program requiring companies using dangerous amounts of toxic chemicals to better prepare for accidents; even though chemical fire, explosion, release happens every 2.5 days, sided with industry, eliminated/loosened almost all chemical accident prevention requirements	58%	35%
In 2017, eliminated health/safety rule protecting shipyard/construction workers from exposure to beryllium , (chronic disease/lung cancer); despite restoring safeguards after two years, continues to hold up enforcement	56%	20%
Rolled back standards to reduce methane emissions in oil/gas industry , exposing workers to methane’s harmful effects and driving climate change; removing standards puts 50K new jobs at risk over next decade	55%	27%
Rolled back fuel economy standards requiring new cars/trucks get better gas mileage/reduce pollution; by admin’s own estimate, rolling back these standards will result in tens of thousands fewer jobs in the auto industry	53%	26%

*8-to-0 ratings on 0-to-10 scale, 10 = gives me very major doubts

(Statements have been abbreviated)

Rolling back the Clean Water Rule and giving polluters permission to dump toxic waste into the air are Trump's most egregious actions for persuasion targets.

<i>Proportions rating in their top three concerns about re-electing Trump</i>	2016 third-party/ nonvoters	2020 undecideds	Obama/ Trump voters
The Trump administration rolled back the Clean Water Rule , which was put in place to help many towns across the United States that struggled to provide safe, clean drinking water to their residents. This rule was meant to protect bodies of water that supply drinking water to 117 million Americans.	56%	62%	50%
The actions of the Trump administration have given polluters more permission to ignore safety hazards and to dump their toxic waste into our air . After 20 years of steady improvements, air pollution that causes breathing and heart problems and harms the brains of developing babies was worse in 2017 and 2018 than in prior years.	61%	54%	52%
Even after thousands of children in Flint, Michigan, were exposed to drinking water with dangerously high levels of lead, President Trump refused to lower the limit on lead in public drinking water systems.	51%	53%	43%
President Trump blocked standards to protect miners from breathing in toxic dust that causes black lung disease . He has allowed mine safety inspections to be delayed, and he does not support extending a fee—paid by coal companies—that provides much-needed benefits to miners disabled by black lung disease.	26%	22%	46%

These voters find Trump's failures on the coronavirus concerning, but less concerning than his attacks on the environment.

Proportions saying each gives them MAJOR DOUBTS about Trump's actions regarding the coronavirus:*

President Trump is **rushing to reopen the economy and forcing people back to work** even though public health experts inside and outside of government are warning that it is too soon and doing so **will put people in danger and cause more deaths.** 53%

The Trump administration is **using the coronavirus outbreak as an excuse to continue to roll back protections for workers and the environment**, including scaling back paid leave requirements and weakening restrictions on toxic chemicals. 52%

The Trump administration is **trying to stop workers from being able to sue employers who put their workers in unsafe working conditions** and get sick with the coronavirus on the job. 52%

President Trump is **using his power to force meat plant workers back to work**, even though meat plants are hotspots of the coronavirus, so workers' health is being risked. 52%

Under the Trump administration, the federal agency responsible for overseeing the health and safety of American workers **(OSHA) has failed to provide enforceable standards that employers must follow to keep workers safe**; OSHA has called on employers to conduct their own reviews of coronavirus-related issues instead of relying of government oversight. 52%

*8-to-10 ratings on 0-to-10 scale, 10 = gives me very major doubts