Exploring drivers of vote choice and policy positions among the American electorate.

ANALYSIS OF A 538 / PERRYUNDEM / YOUGOV NATIONAL SURVEY

OCTOBER 24, 2022

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Introduction.

In conjunction with 538 and YouGov, PerryUndem conducted a national survey of voters to better understand how various beliefs and ideologies relate to vote choice and specific policy positions.

This report presents results from PerryUndem's analysis of the data.

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The methods.

National survey of likely 2022 voters using YouGov's panel
Conducted August 10 through August 21, 2022
Base sample of n = 1,796 voters plus oversamples for totals
of n = 334 Black voters, n = 327 Latina/o/x voters, and
n = 336 Asian-American / Pacific-Islander voters

The [questionnaire](#) has four sections…

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1
Vote choice

- Generic congressional ballot / U.S. House candidate

2
Views toward 34 policies / issues

- Voting restrictions
- Economic forecast
- Inflation
- Crime
- Police reform
- Abortion
- 2nd amendment
- Building a wall / border security
- Taxpayer $ for religious schools
- Funding for public universities
- School prayer
- Student loan forgiveness
- Same sex marriage
- Safety net funding
- Teaching race, gender, religious diversity, etc. in schools
- Reparations
- Racism is a problem
- Sexism is a problem
- Climate change
- Woke agenda
- Free speech
- Discrimination against Christians / religious freedom / exemptions

3
50 beliefs / attitudinal measures related to:

- Elitism
- Religious worldview
- Race
- Gender
- Socialism
- Authoritarianism
- Dangerous worldview
- Tolerance for ambiguity
- Need for cognition
- Pride in identity

4
16 demographic variables

- Gender
- Age
- Race / ethnicity
- Education
- Income
- Marital status
- Employment
- Religious attendance
- Religious affiliation
- Born again / evan.
- Party ID
- Ideology
- 2020 vote
- Metro / non-metro
- Region
- News media use

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1

Vote choice

- Generic congressional ballot / U.S. House candidate

2

Views toward 34 policies / issues

- Voting restrictions / security
- Ec...
- Inf...
- Cr...
- Po...
- Ab...
- 2nd...
- Bu...
- Ta...
- Fu...
- School prayer
- Student loan forgiveness
- Same sex marriage
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- Racism is a problem
- Sexism is a problem
- Climate change
- Woke agenda
- Free speech
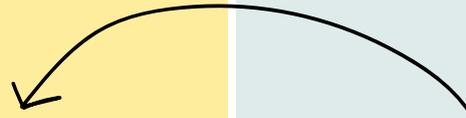- Discrimination against Christians / religious freedom / exemptions

3

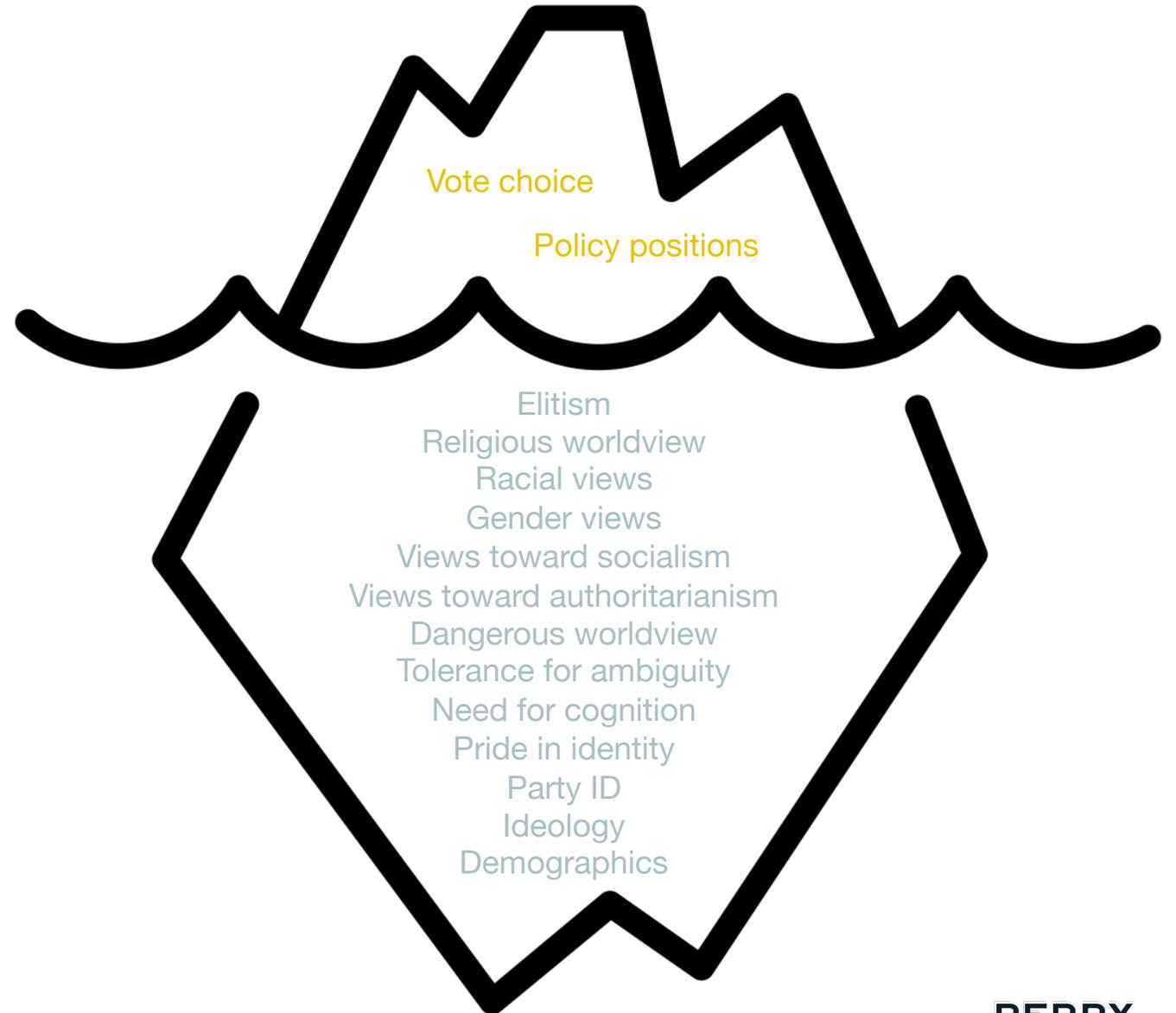**50 beliefs / attitudinal measures related to:**

- Elitism
- Re...

4

16 demographic variables

- Gender
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- Metro / non-metro
- Region
- News media use

We wanted to explore which beliefs, attitudes, and demographics best predict or correlate with <u>vote choice</u> and views toward <u>policy issues</u>.

6

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In other words: What might be beneath people's vote choice and policy views?

Vote choice

Policy positions

Elitism
Religious worldview
Racial views
Gender views
Views toward socialism
Views toward authoritarianism
Dangerous worldview
Tolerance for ambiguity
Need for cognition
Pride in identity
Party ID
Ideology
Demographics

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While typical polling helps us understand how the public breaks out on various policy issues (see right), we used multivariate regression analysis to uncover the beliefs, attitudes, and demographics that are most correlated with issue positions and vote choice.
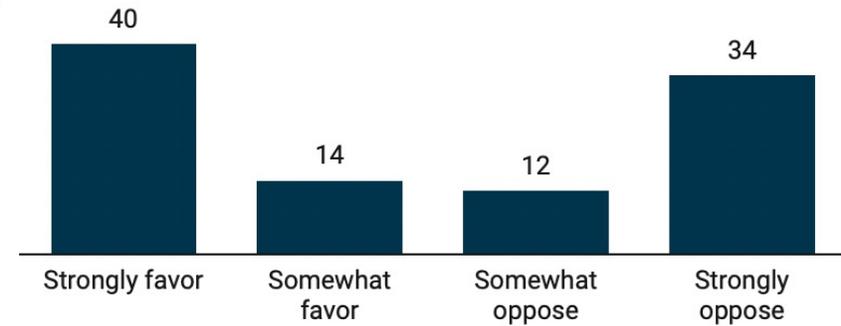
Views toward building a wall on the U.S.-Mexico border
Do you favor or oppose building a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border?

N = 1,796 likely 2022 voters

Strongly favor	Somewhat favor	Somewhat oppose	Strongly oppose
40	14	12	34

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For example, regression analysis indicates that a top predictor of how a voter feels about building a wall on the U.S.-Mexico border is the degree to which they agree with this statement: "Today, discrimination against white people has become as big of a problem as discrimination against people of color."

In other words, we have the best chance of guessing correctly someone's position on a border wall if we know they feel about discrimination against white people.

Interestingly, this sentiment – "it's very important to me that people respect rule and order" – is much less predictive of one's position on a border wall than their views toward race.

Views toward building a wall on the U.S.-Mexico border
Do you favor or oppose building a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border?

Top predictors of favoring building a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border

- Agree: Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (.73 Pearson correlation coefficient*)
- Disagree: I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.73)
- Agree: America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (.71)
- Party ID (.71)
- Agree: Our country must avoid becoming socialist (.70)
- Agree: White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (.70)

Correlation coefficients are a measure of correlation between two variables, where 1 represents a perfect positive correlation and -1 represents a perfect inverse correlation.

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In addition to analyzing the predictive power of individual views and beliefs, we created five indices that reflect ideologies and worldviews related to:

Race
Gender
White male dominance
Religion
Elitism

The next page provides details about the components of each index.

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Index	Components
Racial	• I support the Black Lives Matter movement • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities • Data suggest that people of color will become the majority of the U.S. population by 2050. In your view, will this change strengthen our country vs. weaken our country • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now
Gender	• Gender is based on who we know ourselves to be, not by biological sex • I want there to be equal numbers of men and women in positions of power in our society • These days, society seems to punish men just for acting like men
White male dominance	• White men are the most attacked group in the country right now • These days, society seems to punish men just for acting like men • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities • America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag • Pride in being a man • Pride in being white

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Index	Components
Religion	• The federal government should declare the United States a Christian nation • The federal government should advocate for Christian religious values • The federal government should stop enforcing separation of church and state • The U.S. Constitution was inspired by God and reflects God's vision for America • The Bible is the actual word of God, to be taken literally • Fewer people attend religious services now compared to in the past. Do you think this trend has a good impact / bad impact on society • Our government should favor Christianity over other religions • God has called on conservative Christians to take control of our politics and culture • Religion is needed to keep people from being immoral
Elitism	• A college education is the best way to get ahead in the U.S. • College makes you lose common sense • Many people in government and politics look down on people who have blue collar jobs • People who live in cities look down on people in rural areas • I'd rather put my trust in the wisdom of ordinary people than the opinions of experts and intellectuals

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Key takeaways.

Five big takeaways.

1

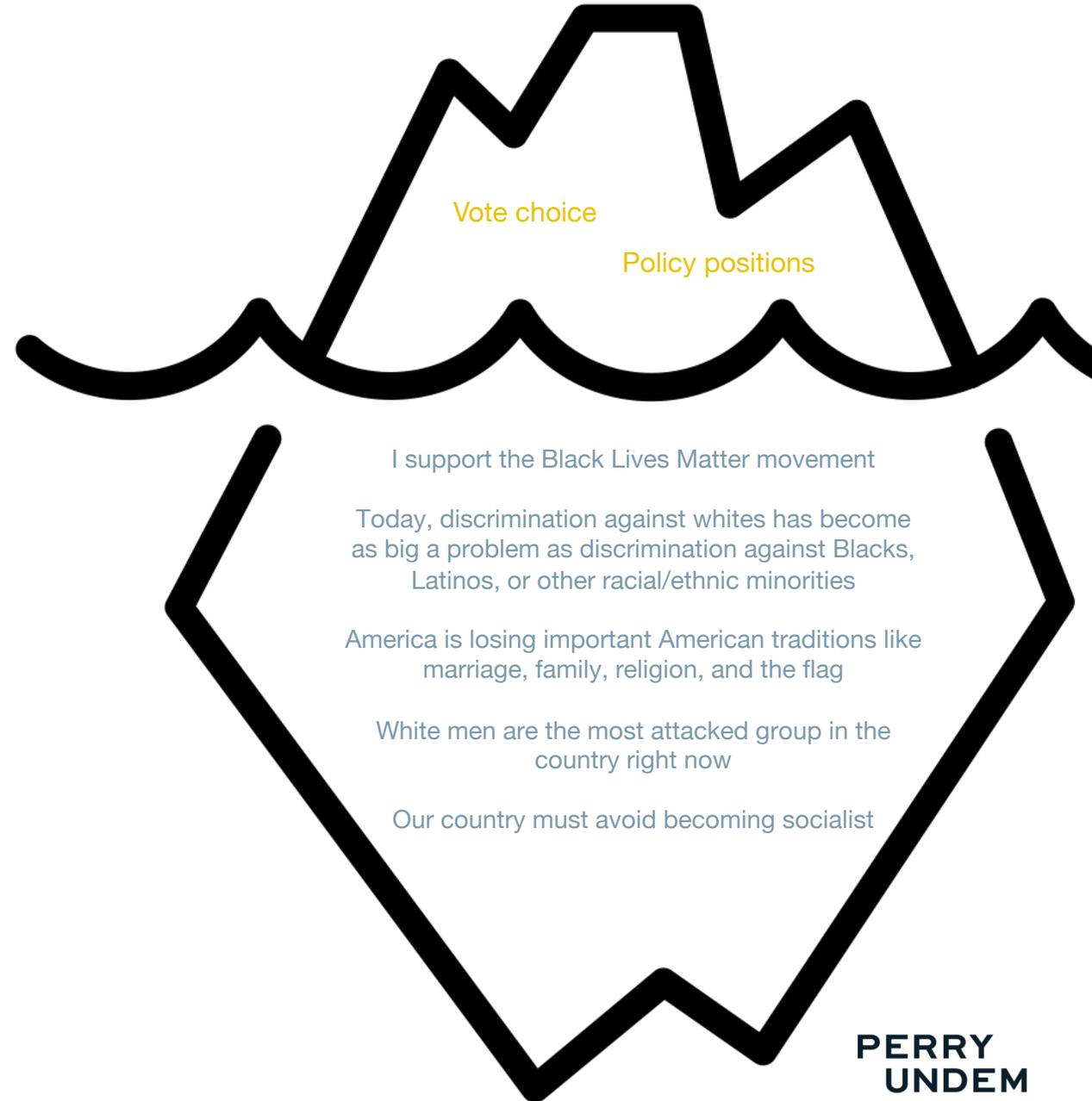**In our dataset, racial views are the most powerful attitudinal predictors across vote choice and various policy positions**. Beliefs related to race are consistently more predictive than views related to religion, elitism, socialism, authoritarianism, pride in one's identity, and more than any demographic variable (aside from 2020 vote and in many cases equal to or more so than party ID).

2

The single most common predictor of policy positions across several measures is the level of agreement with this statement: "I support the Black Lives Matter movement."

3

Views toward the Black Lives Matter movement are just as predictive of 2022 generic ballot vote choice (Democratic or Republican House candidate) as party ID.

4

After racial beliefs, views related to gender are among the top attitudinal predictors of vote choice and several policy issues.

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5
The most consistent individual-item predictors across many policy positions and vote choice are these five attitudinal measures – all of which seem to reflect backlash on racial progress, feelings of loss, and tradition or norms juxtaposed with change.

Vote choice

Policy positions

I support the Black Lives Matter movement

Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities

America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag

White men are the most attacked group in the country right now

Our country must avoid becoming socialist

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Detailed findings.

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Predictors of vote choice.

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What do we mean by a "predictor"? A predictor is a view / belief / demographic variable in the survey that has a very strong correlation with another variable. For example, how someone voted in the 2020 election is a very strong predictor in our dataset of whether they plan to vote Democratic or Republican in their district's 2022 House race.

Think of it this way: If you want to guess correctly someone's intention to vote Democratic or Republican, your best bet (given 100+ variables in our survey) is knowing how they voted in 2022. That's not surprising, but the other top predictors are much more interesting!

Correlation does not mean causation.

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Which demographics, beliefs, views, and policy positions best predict voting Democratic or Republican in the 2022 U.S. House race?

The first thing we analyzed using regression analysis is which variables in the survey are most correlated with how respondents plan to vote in the midterms (see variables on the next page).

Thinking about upcoming elections for the U.S. House of Representatives…if the elections were held next week, would you vote for the [ROTATE: Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate]?

Definitely the Democrat 41
Probably the Democrat 8
Probably the Republican 8
Definitely the Republican...37
Other..1
I'm not sure..6
I wouldn't vote ....-

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Policy positions / views

- Voting restrictions / security
- Economic forecast
- Inflation
- Crime
- Police reform
- Abortion
- 2nd amendment
- Building a wall / border security
- Taxpayer $ for religious schools
- Funding for public universities
- School prayer
- Student loan forgiveness
- Same sex marriage
- Safety net funding
- Teaching CRT, slavery, racism, gender, sexual orientation, religious diversity, etc. in schools
- Reparations
- Racism is a problem
- Sexism is a problem
- Climate change
- Woke agenda
- Free speech
- Discrimination against Christians / religious freedom / exemptions

Beliefs, attitudes, worldviews

- Elitism
- Religious
- Race
- Gender
- Socialism
- Authoritarianism
- Dangerous worldview
- Tolerance for ambiguity
- Need for cognition
- Pride in identity

Demographics

- Gender
- Age
- Race / ethnicity
- Education
- Income
- Marital status
- Employment
- Religious attendance
- Religious affiliation
- Born again / evan.
- Party ID
- Ideology
- 2020 vote choice
- Metro / non-metro
- Region
- News media use

Thinking about upcoming elections for the U.S. House of Representatives…if the elections were held next week, would you vote for the [ROTATE: Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate]?

Definitely the Democrat 41
Probably the Democrat 8
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Definitely the Republican..37
Other...1
I'm not sure...6
I wouldn't vote .... -

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Here's what we what found.

Support / opposition to the Black Lives Matter movement explains just as much variance in vote choice as party affiliation. Other beliefs related to race and gender are also among the top predictors:

Top predictors of vote choice (R^2)*

- 2020 vote choice (.79)
- Party ID (.65)
- I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.65)
- Favor building a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border (.62)
- Climate change is a big problem in our society today (.55)
- Ideology (conservative / liberal) (.54)
- Abortion views (.50)
- Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (.50)
- High school students should learn about different gender identities (.49)
- White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (.49)
- Our country must avoid becoming socialist (.48)
- Top concern on voting policy is making sure that every eligible voter who wants to vote can do so (.48)

* R^2 is the proportion of the variation in the dependent variable (vote choice) that is predictable from the independent variable (item in the list). A "1" would mean all of the variation in the dependent variable is explained by the independent variable, while "0" means none of the variation is explained.

Thinking about upcoming elections for the U.S. House of Representatives…if the elections were held next week, would you vote for the [ROTATE: Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate]?

Definitely the Democrat 41
Probably the Democrat 8
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Other...1
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I wouldn't vote .... -

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We also ran regressions using the five indices (see page 10 to 12), along with party ID and 2020 vote. The racial index is just as powerful as party ID. Additionally, the racial and gender indices are better predictors than views toward any policy issue examined in the survey.

Top predictors of vote choice among indices (R^2)

- 2020 vote (Trump/Biden) (.79)
- Racial index (.65)
- Party ID (.65)
- Gender index (.54)
- Political ideology (conservative – liberal) (.54)
- Religious index (.37)
- Elitism index (.37)

Thinking about upcoming elections for the U.S. House of Representatives…if the elections were held next week, would you vote for the [ROTATE: Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate]?

Definitely the Democrat 41
Probably the Democrat 8
Probably the Republican 8
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Other...1
I'm not sure...6
I wouldn't vote...-

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Predictors of policy positions.

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Which demographics, beliefs, and views best predict positions on policies and issues?

We ran regression models exploring which variables in the survey are most correlated with positions on these policies (see the questionnaire for exact question wording and topline results).

The following pages provides results on:

1. The single best / most common predictor across several issues
2. Which index best predicts each policy position
3. The strongest individual-item predictors for each policy position

Beliefs, attitudes, worldviews

- Elitism
- Religious
- Race
- Gender
- Socialism
- Authoritarianism
- Dangerous worldview
- Tolerance for ambiguity
- Need for cognition
- Pride in identity

Demographics

- Gender
- Age
- Race / ethnicity
- Education
- Income
- Marital
- Employment
- Religious attendance
- Religious affiliation
- Born again / evan.
- Party ID
- Ideology
- 2020 vote choice
- Metro
- Region
- News media use

Policy positions

- Voting restrictions / security
- Economic forecast
- Inflation
- Crime
- Police reform
- Abortion
- 2nd amendment
- Building a wall / border security
- Taxpayer $ for religious schools
- Funding for public universities
- School prayer
- Student loan forgiveness
- Same sex marriage
- Safety net funding
- Teaching CRT, slavery, racism, gender, sexual orientation, religious diversity, etc. in schools
- Reparations
- Racism is a problem
- Sexism is a problem
- Climate change
- Woke agenda
- Free speech
- Discrimination against Christians / religious freedom / exemptions

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Best overall predictors – across several issues.

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The most common, strongest predictor across several policy positions is level of agreement with this statement: "I support the Black Lives Matter movement."

The following page presents a list of variables that are the most common predictors across various policies – topped by views toward Black Lives Matter.

Agree or disagree:

I support the Black Lives Matter movement.

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Policy positions

- Voting restrictions / security
- Economic forecast
- Inflation
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- Racism is a problem
- Sexism is a problem
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- Woke agenda
- Free speech
- Discrimination against Christians / religious freedom / exemptions

Common predictors across policy positions

- I support the Black Lives Matter movement
- Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities
- America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag
- White men are the most attacked group in the country right now
- Our country must avoid becoming socialist
- Gender is based on who we know ourselves to be, not by biological sex
- These days, society seems to punish men just for acting like men
- Party ID
- Ideology

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Which indices best predict which issue positions?

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Here's what we found.

This index	Is a strong predictor of positions on these issues:
Racial	• Crime prevention / tough on crime • Major police reform vs. no reform • Building a wall along U.S.-Mexico border • 2nd amendment • Student debt cancellation • Funding for public universities • Increasing safety net programs • Teaching high school students about CRT, racism, sexual orientation, gender, sexism, slavery, etc.
Gender	• Abortion • Student debt cancellation • Funding for public universities • Religious exemptions to anti-discrimination laws • 2nd amendment
White male dominance	• Building a wall along U.S.-Mexico border • Whether the "woke agenda" is a big problem in U.S. society • Teaching high school students about CRT, racism, sexual orientation, gender, sexism, slavery, etc.
Religious	• Allowing teachers and coaches to lead students in Christian prayer • Shifting safety net to religious groups • Same sex marriage • Teaching students about slavery • Whether discrimination against Christians is a big problem in U.S. society • Abortion
Elitism	• Whether the economy will get better a year from now • Whether attacks on free speech are a big problem in our society today • Whether inflation is a big problem in our society today

The strongest individual-item predictors of 34 policy positions / issues.

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Reading the results.

The following pages provide the strongest predictors of each of 34 policy issues / areas.

Correlation does <u>not</u> mean causation.

Think of it this way: If you want to guess correctly someone's position on given issue, your best bet (given 66 attitudinal and demographic variables in our survey) is knowing where they land on the top predictor(s).

The correlation coefficient is provided for each item. The coefficient is a measure of correlation between two variables, where 1 represents a perfect positive correlation and -1 represents a perfect inverse correlation.

A negative (-) sign next to the coefficient denotes an <u>inverse</u> correlation. For example, on the next slide, age is negatively correlated with the preferred approach to reducing crime. That means the older the respondent, the less likely they are to prefer fully funding schools, etc. as a way to reduce crime (and the more likely they are to prefer a tough on crime approach).

Party ID is coded from Republican to Democrat. Ideology is coded from conservative to liberal.

See [questionnaire](#) for exact question wording of items and the full list of dependent variables (Q33 – Q78, plus demographics).

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	Reducing crime Prefer elected official reduce crime by fully funding things that create safe communities like good schools, etc. v. increasing funding for police and getting tougher on crime, like stricter sentencing	**Police reform** Police / policing in the U.S. needs major reforms v. no reforms
Top predictors	• I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.65) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.61) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (-.60) • Our country must avoid becoming socialist (-.59) • Party ID (.58) • Ideology (.57)	• I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.55) • Ideology (.52) • Our country must avoid becoming socialist (-.51) • America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (-.51) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.51) • Party ID (.51)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	• Consumes Fox News (-.39) • Pride in own race (-.29) • Age (-.23) • Pride in local community (-.17)	• Belief that people of color becoming the majority in 2050 will strengthen U.S. (.39) • It's very important to me that people respect rule and order (-.34) • Higher frequency of wearing clothing with U.S. flag (.33) • People in rural areas look down on people in cities (.25) • I enjoy thinking about complex problems and new solutions (.14)

Note what doesn't rise to the top:
It's very important to me that people respect rule and order

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	Crime Perceive crime as a big problem	**Crime** Perceive crime in your own neighborhood as a big problem
Top predictors	• Our country must avoid becoming socialist (.40) • America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (.40) • It's very important to me that people respect rule and order (.36) • Ideology (-.35) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (.34) • The world is basically a dangerous and unpredictable place, where good people are often threatened by bad people (.33) • Religion is needed to keep people from being immoral (.33) • I'd rather put my trust in the wisdom of ordinary people than the opinions of experts and intellectuals (.33)	• The world is basically a dangerous and unpredictable place, where good people are often threatened by bad people (.25) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (.23) • America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (.22) • I feel like I'm not as free as I used to be in America (.20) • These days, society seems to punish men just for acting like men (.20) • I'd rather put my trust in the wisdom of ordinary people than the opinions of experts and intellectuals (.20)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	• Pride in own race (.29) • Atheist (-.25) • I can usually feel when a claim is true or false even if I can't explain how I know (.22) • Age / older (.20) • Income (-.14)	• Race is not white (.18)

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	Immigration Favor building a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border	**Immigration** Illegal immigration at the border is a big problem
Top predictors	• Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.73) • I support the Black Lives Matter movement (-.73) • America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (-.71) • Party ID (-.71) • Our country must avoid becoming socialist (.70) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (.70)	• Our country must avoid becoming socialist (.65) • America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (.62) • Ideology (-.60) • I support the Black Lives Matter movement (-.58) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (.57) • Gender is based on who we know ourselves to be, not by biological sex (-.54) • I get frustrated when people criticize the U.S. (.52)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	• God has called on conservative Christians to take control of our politics and culture (.50) • Pride in own race (.33)	• It's very important to me that people respect rule and order (.45) • Pride in own race (.39) • Age / older (.26)

Note what doesn't rise to the top:
It's very important to me that people respect rule and order

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	2nd Amendment The right to bear arms is absolute and should never be limited vs. the right to bear arms should be done away with	**Abortion*** Abortion should be legal in all cases, most, illegal in most, illegal in all
Top predictors	• I support the Black Lives Matter movement (-.58) • Party ID (-.53) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (.51) • America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (.51) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (.43)	• Ideology (.66) • I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.64) • America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (-.64) • Party ID (.63) • Religion is needed to keep people from being immoral (-.61) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.61) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (-.59) • Gender is based on who we know ourselves to be, not by biological sex (-.54)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	• People of color becoming the majority in 2050 will strengthen US (-.38) • A college education is the best way to get ahead in the U.S. (-.30) • Pride in being a man (.24)	• Frequency of church attendance (-.45) • Born-again / evangelical Christian (-.45) • Government should advocate for Christian religious values (-.36)

* In a separate survey that will soon be released, we explore the connections across gender, sexism, and abortion in much more expansive way.

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	Inflation / cost of living Is a big problem in our society today	**Safety net programs** Favor increasing funds for safety net programs like SNAP/food stamps and cash assistance
Top predictors	• Many people in government and politics look down on people who have blue collar jobs (.27) • I support the Black Lives Matter movement (-.26) • Many liberals think they're better than conservatives (.26) • Gender is based on who we know ourselves to be, not by biological sex (-.23) • Our country must avoid becoming socialist (.23) • I feel like I'm not as free as I used to be in America (.22)	• I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.63) • Ideology (.58) • Party ID (.55) • Our country must avoid becoming socialist (-.53) • Gender is based on who we know ourselves to be, not by biological sex (.52) • Far-right Christians are trying to impose their beliefs on everyone else (.51)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	• Household income (-.13) • A college education is the best way to get ahead in the U.S. (-.16) • Consumes MSNBC (-.14)	• People of color becoming in 2050 will strengthen country (.37) • College education is the best way to get ahead in the U.S. (.32) • Not married (.19) • Race is Black (.16) • Household income (-.12)

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	Teaching about gender identity High school students should learn about different gender identities	**Teaching about sexual orientation** High school students should learn about sexual orientation
Top predictors	• I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.71) • Gender is based on who we know ourselves to be, not by biological sex (.68) • Party ID (.63) • Ideology (.63) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.61) • America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (-.61)	• I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.66) • Gender is based on who we know ourselves to be, not by biological sex (.64) • Party ID (.60) • Ideology (.59) • Far-right Christians are trying to impose their beliefs on everyone else (.58) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.57)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	• Consumes CNN (.32) • Consumes MSNBC (.28) • Education level (.11)	• Consumes CNN (.31)

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	Teaching sex ed High school students should learn about comprehensive sex education	**Teaching about sexism and gender inequality** High school students should learn about sexism and gender inequality
Top predictors	• Far-right Christians are trying to impose their beliefs on everyone else (.47) • I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.47) • Ideology (.47) • Party ID (.44) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (-.44) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.43)	• I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.67) • Party ID (.60) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (-.60) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.60) • America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (-.59) • Ideology (.59)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	• Government should declare U.S. a Christian nation (-.36) • Government should advocate for Christian religious values (-.28) • Not married (.12)	• U.S. Constitution was inspired by God and reflects God's vision (-.36) • Many people in government and politics look down on people who have blue collar jobs (-.30)

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	Teaching about systemic racism High school students should learn about systemic racism	**Teaching critical race theory** High school students should learn about critical race theory
Top predictors	• I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.73) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (-.65) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.65) • Party ID (.64) • Ideology (.61) • Far-right Christians are trying to impose their beliefs on everyone else (.60)	• I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.71) • Party ID (.61) • Gender is based on who we know ourselves to be, not by biological sex (.58) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (-.57) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (.48)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	• Consumes Fox News (-.41) • Race is Black (.20) • Race is white (-.20)	• People of color becoming the majority in 2050 will strengthen country (.41) • Race is white (-.23) • Race is Black (.21)

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	Teaching about slavery High school students should learn about the history of slavery	**Teaching about religions** High school students should learn about non-Christian religions
Top predictors	• Our government should favor Christianity over other religions (-.22) • People of color becoming the majority in 2050 will weaken the country (-.21) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (-.20) • Government should advocate for Christian religious values • Having one strong leader for America is more important than having a democracy (-.20) • Government should declare U.S. a Christian nation (-.19) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.19) • Federal government should stop enforcing separation of church / state (-.18)	• America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (-.36) • Far-right Christians are trying to impose their beliefs on everyone else (.34) • Ideology (.33) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.32) • Party ID (.31) • I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.31)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	• Founding fathers wanted religious freedom for just Christians (-.11) • Sometimes it is okay to engage in violence against other citizens to protect American culture and values (-.11) • Education level (.09)	• Read national newspapers, like NYT, Washington Post, WSJ (.28) • People of color becoming the majority in 2050 will weaken country (-.24) • Education level (.23) • I enjoy thinking about complex problems and new solutions (.21)

PERRY
UNDEM

Racism / racial inequality Is a big problem in our society today	Climate change Is a big problem in our society today
Top predictors	
• I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.67) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (-.61) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.61) • Party ID (.56) • America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (-.54) • These days, society seems to punish men just for acting like men (-.54)	• I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.73) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (-.66) • Party ID (.64) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.64) • Ideology (.63) • Far-right Christians are trying to impose their beliefs on everyone else (.61)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	
• People of color becoming the majority in 2050 will strengthen US (.40) • People who live in cities look down on people in rural areas (-.22) • Race is white (-.20) • Race is Black (.18) • Women (.11)	• Consumes Fox News (-.43) • Consumes conservative talk radio / OAN / Newsmax / Breitbart (-.39)

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	The "woke agenda" Is a big problem in our society today	Attacks on free speech Are a big problem in our society today
Top predictors	• Our country must avoid becoming socialist (.70) • America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (.69) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (.67) • I support the Black Lives Matter movement (-.66) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (.63)	• America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (.48) • These days, society seems to punish men just for acting like men (.48) • Our country must avoid becoming socialist (.46) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (.45) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (.43) • I support the Black Lives Matter movement (-.43)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	• Pride in own race (.33) • Pride in being a man (.30) • I can usually feel when a claim is true or false even if I can't explain how I know (.20)	• I feel like I'm not as free as I used to be in America (.35) • Pride in own race (.23) • I can usually feel when a claim is true or false even if I can't explain how I know (.21) • People who live in cities look down on people in rural areas (.20)

PERRY
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	Sexism / gender inequality Is a big problem in our society today	**Same-sex marriage** Favor same-sex couples having the same rights and privileges to marry
Top predictors	• I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.60) • Gender is based on who we know ourselves to be, not by biological sex (.55) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (-.53) • These days, society seems to punish men just for acting like men (.52) • Our country must avoid becoming socialist (-.51) • Far-right Christians are trying to impose their beliefs on everyone else (.51)	• Ideology (.60) • Gender is based on who we know ourselves to be, not by biological sex (.58) • America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (-.56) • The Bible is literal word of God (-.56) • Religion is needed to keep people from being immoral (-.55) • I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.53) • Party ID (.53) • Far-right Christians are trying to impose their beliefs on everyone else (.52)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	• People of color becoming the majority in 2050 will strengthen U.S. (.35) • A college education is the best way to get ahead in the U.S. (.25) • Pride in being a man (-.24) • Pride in being a woman (.16) • Women (.15)	• Government should declare U.S. a Christian nation (-.47) • Born-again / evangelical Christian (-.44) • Government should advocate for Christian religious values (-.38) • Frequency of church attendance (-.37) • I usually consult many different opinions before forming my own view (.15)

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	Education Favor my state government spending more on its public universities	**Education** Favor canceling up to $10,000 of a person's federal student loan debt
Top predictors	• I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.54) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.50) • Ideology (.49) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (-.49) • I want there to be equal numbers of men and women in positions of power in our society (.48) • Party ID (.48)	• I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.69) • Party ID (.61) • Ideology (.61) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (-.57) • Our country must avoid becoming socialist (-.56) • Gender is based on who we know ourselves to be, not by biological sex (.56) • I want there to be equal numbers of men and women in positions of power in our society (.52)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	• A college education is the best way to get ahead in the U.S. (.32)	• Consumes Fox News (-.42) • Consumes Conservative talk radio (-.33) • A college education is the best way to get ahead in the U.S. (.31) • Age / younger (-.23) • Race is Black (.22)

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	Education Favor using taxpayer dollars to fund religious schools	**Education** Favor allowing teachers and coaches to lead students in Christian prayer
Top predictors	• Religion is needed to keep people from being immoral (.57) • America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (.54) • Our government should favor Christianity over other religions (.52) • The Bible is literal word of God (.51) • I'd rather put my trust in the wisdom of ordinary people than the opinions of experts and intellectuals (.50) • Far-right Christians are trying to impose their beliefs on everyone else (-.50) • God has called on conservative Christians to take control of our politics and culture (.49) • Our country must avoid becoming socialist (.48)	• America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (.71) • Religion is needed to keep people from being immoral (.70) • The Bible is literal word of God (.65) • Our country must avoid becoming socialist (.64) • Ideology (-.63) • Our government should favor Christianity over other religions (.63) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (.63) • Far-right Christians are trying to impose their beliefs on everyone else (-.60)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	• Federal government should stop enforcing separation of church / state (.45) • Having one strong leader for America is more important than having a democracy (.33) • Frequency of church attendance (.38) • Sometimes it is okay to engage in violence against other citizens to protect American culture and values (.26)	• Pride in being Christian (.55) • Born-again / evangelical Christian (.44) • Frequency of church attendance (.42) • Does not consume nat'l newspapers like NYT, Washington Post, WSJ (.39) • Having one strong leader for America is more important than having a democracy (.33)

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Lack of freedom of religion Is a big problem in our society today	Discrimination against Christians Is a big problem in our society today
Top predictors	• America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (.44) • Religion is needed to keep people from being immoral (.44) • I'd rather put my trust in the wisdom of ordinary people than the opinions of experts and intellectuals (.42) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (.41) • Far-right Christians are trying to impose their beliefs on everyone else (-.41) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (.40) • Our government should favor Christianity over other religions (.40)	• America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (.67) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (.63) • Religion is needed to keep people from being immoral (.62) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (.61) • Our country must avoid becoming socialist (.60) • Far-right Christians are trying to impose their beliefs on everyone else (-.58) • Ideology (-.58) • The Bible is literal word of God (.57)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	• I feel like I'm not as free as I used to be in America (.33) • U.S. Constitution was inspired by God and reflects God's vision (.32) • Frequency of church attendance (.30) • Having one strong leader for America is more important than having a democracy (.23)	• God has called on conservative Christians to take control of our politics and culture (.51) • Frequency of church attendance (.43) • Born-again / evangelical Christian (.40) • Pride in own race (.36) • Having one strong leader for America is more important than having a democracy (.28)

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	Religious exemptions Discrimination laws should apply to everyone, regardless of religion vs. have rel. exemptions	**Religious safety net** Favor shifting safety net programs from the government to religious organizations
Top predictors	• White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (-.56) • America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (-.55) • I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.54) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.53) • Ideology (.53) • These days, society seems to punish men just for acting like men (-.52) • Party ID (.52)	• America is losing important American traditions like marriage, family, religion, and the flag (.56) • Religion is needed to keep people from being immoral (.55) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (.51) • Our country must avoid becoming socialist (.51) • Our gov't should favor Christianity over other religions (.51) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (.50) • The Bible is literal word of God (.50) • I'd rather put my trust in the wisdom of ordinary people than the opinions of experts and intellectuals (.50)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	• Frequency of church attendance (-.36) • Born-again / evangelical Christian (-.35) • People who live in cities look down on people in rural areas (-.24) • Sometimes it is okay to engage in violence against other citizens to protect American culture and values (-.21)	• God has called on conservative Christians to take control of our politics and culture (.46) • Federal government should stop enforcing separation of church / state (.45) • Frequency of church attendance (.32) • Having one strong leader for America is more important than having a democracy (.31) • Sometimes it is okay to engage in violence against other citizens to protect American culture and values (.27)

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	Voting More concerned about making sure that every eligible voter who wants to vote can do so than making sure that ineligible people can't vote	**Reparations** Favor cash payments to descendants of slaves
Top predictors	• I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.67) • White men are the most attacked group in the country right now (-.64) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.61) • Party ID (.61) • These days, society seems to punish men just for acting like men (-.59) • Our country must avoid becoming socialist (-.57)	• I support the Black Lives Matter movement (.68) • Ideology (.54) • Gender is based on who we know ourselves to be, not by biological sex (.54) • Party ID (.54) • People of color becoming the majority in 2050 will strengthen country (.51) • Our country must avoid becoming socialist (-.50) • Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, or other racial/ethnic minorities (-.49)
Uniquely highly correlated with policy / issue position	• Consumes conservative talk radio / OAN / Newsmax / Breitbart (-.37) • People who live in cities look down on people in rural areas (-.24)	• Race is Black (.37) • Race is white (-.32) • Age / younger (-.29) • People in rural areas look down on people in cities (.26) • Have recently read books that deal with racism (.25)

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For more information:

Tresa Undem
tresa@perryundem.com

Duncan Gans
duncan@perryundem.com