

To: Data for Progress
From: YouGov Blue
Date: January 31, 2018
Memo: The Green New Deal

Key Finding: Even with explicit tax increases and an end to all fossil fuel use, the Green New Deal is popular. Support for the Green New Deal is driven by Millennials, students, and non-whites. As the Green New Deal has entered the political conversation, support for it has become more clearly polarized along partisan lines, even as it remains popular among Independents.

On behalf of Data for Progress, YouGov Blue surveyed 1,282 registered voters weighted to be representative at the national level. The survey was fielded online between January 26, 2019 and January 28, 2019 on YouGov's online panel. The results were weighted using a 2018 voter universe to be representative of registered voters nationally by age, sex, race, education, and Census region. The survey margin of error is +/- 3 percent.

This memo reports on the survey's Green New Deal item. The item was constructed with several components in mind: The desire to frame the Green New Deal in explicit policy terms by including concrete components of the plan, the desire to capture the potential costs of such a policy, and the desire to reference the Green New Deal specifically rather than a generic infrastructure program. Our item asked:

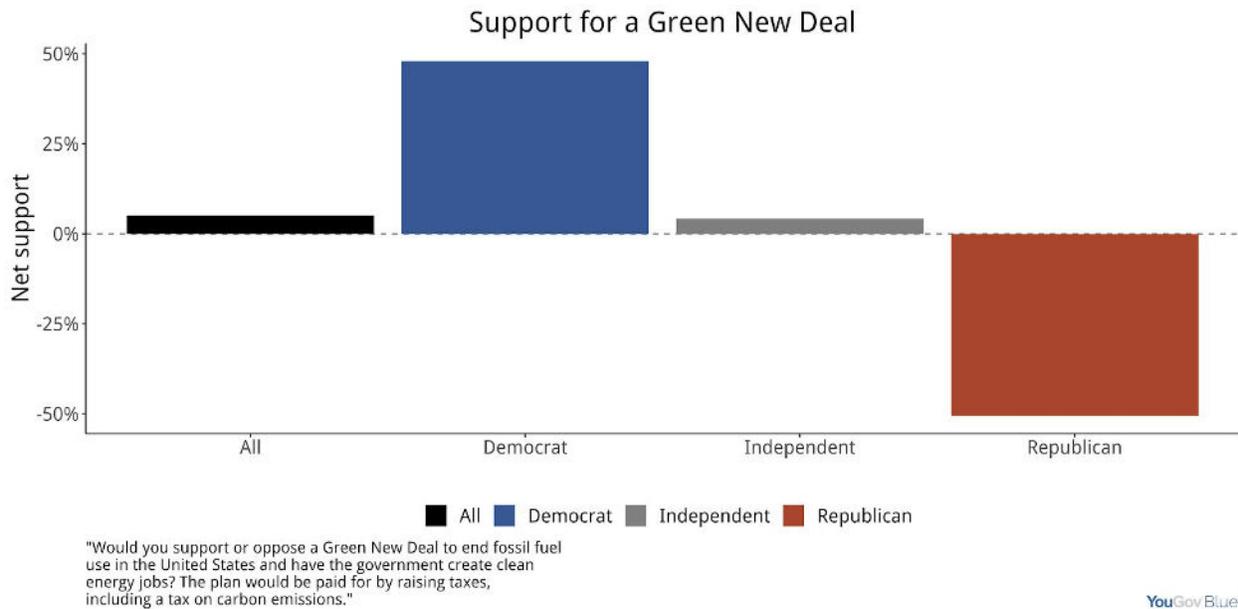
Would you support or oppose a Green New Deal to end fossil fuel use in the United States and have the government create clean energy jobs? The plan would be paid for by raising taxes, including a tax on carbon emissions.

Posing the question in these terms asks voters to consider the Green New Deal in its full political context, including both its objectives and its costs.

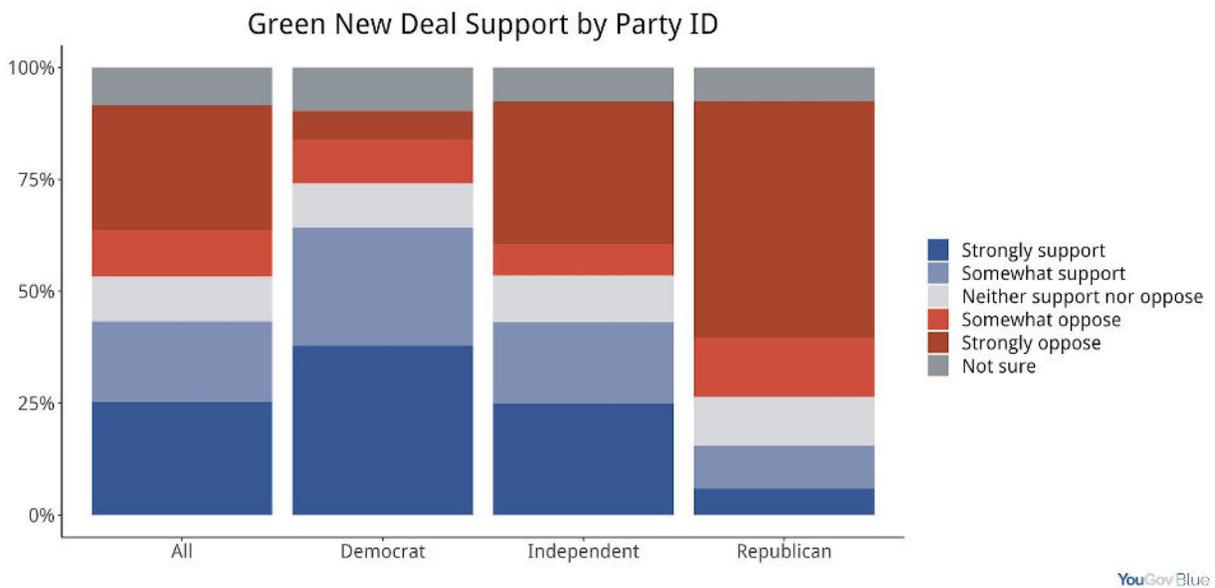
American voters support the Green New Deal by a 43 percent - 38 percent margin, with 10 percent neither supporting nor opposing the Green New Deal, and 9 percent being unsure of their opinion. Democrats support the Green New Deal by a 64 percent -16 percent margin, and Independents support it by a 43 percent - 38 percent margin. Republicans oppose the Green New Deal by a 66 percent -16 percent margin, suggesting that the issue has become polarized.

In previous surveys conducted on behalf of Data for Progress voters have reported supporting individual components of the Green New Deal. We have previously found that voters support federal jobs programs for green infrastructure, and support infrastructure modernization broadly. We have found across our surveys that voters support fighting inequality through changes in the tax code, particularly by raising taxes on the wealthy. Here, we show that the Green New Deal remains popular on net even when voters are explicitly primed with the political phrase "Green New Deal" and with the fact that such a program will likely require new taxation, including taxing carbon emissions, to pay for it. The following figure plots net support for the Green New Deal by

subtracting the percent who say they “strongly oppose” or “somewhat oppose” the item from the percent who say they “strongly support” or “somewhat support” the item.



And the following plots shows the full approval breakdown from strongly support to strongly oppose, and respondents who report being unsure.



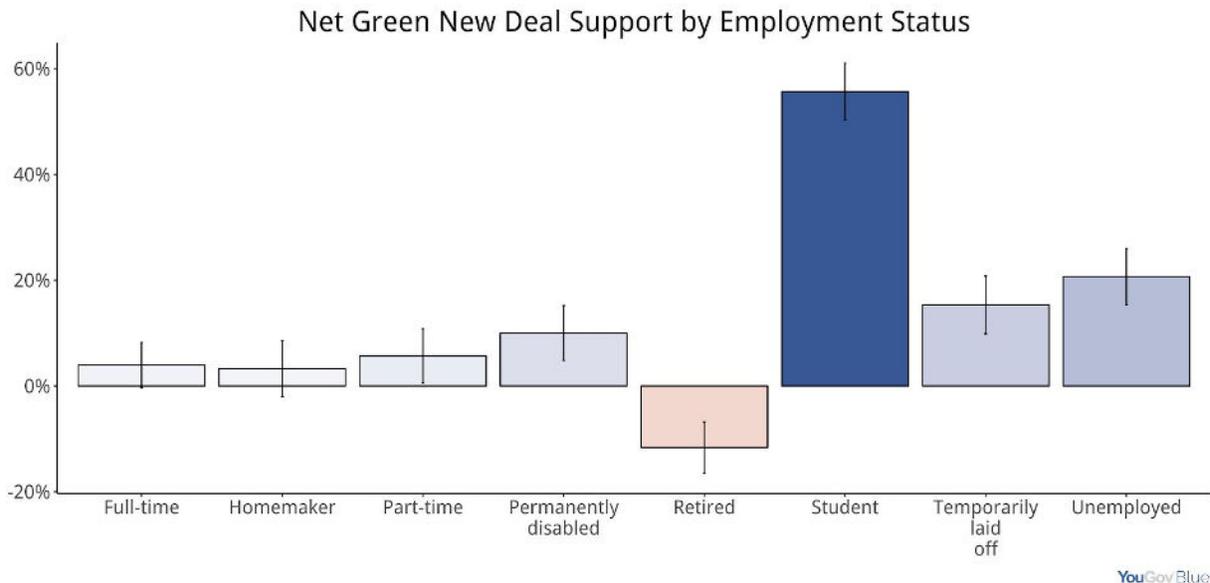
In the November, 2018 *What the Hell Happened* survey YouGov Blue ran on behalf of Data for Progress, we asked an item that did not include any payment information. That item read:

Would you support or oppose giving every unemployed American who wants one a job building energy-efficient infrastructure?

With that framing, we found that 66 percent of respondents supported the policy and just 13 percent opposed the policy. Additionally, 81 percent of Democrats and 51 percent of Republicans approved of this item. Clearly, including a sense of the cost as well as benefits of the policy is important. The issue has also been in the news much more after the election than it was before, so we would expect that this shift in Republican opinion is probably due to cues from elites more so than shifts in question wording.

The Green New Deal as a Jobs Program

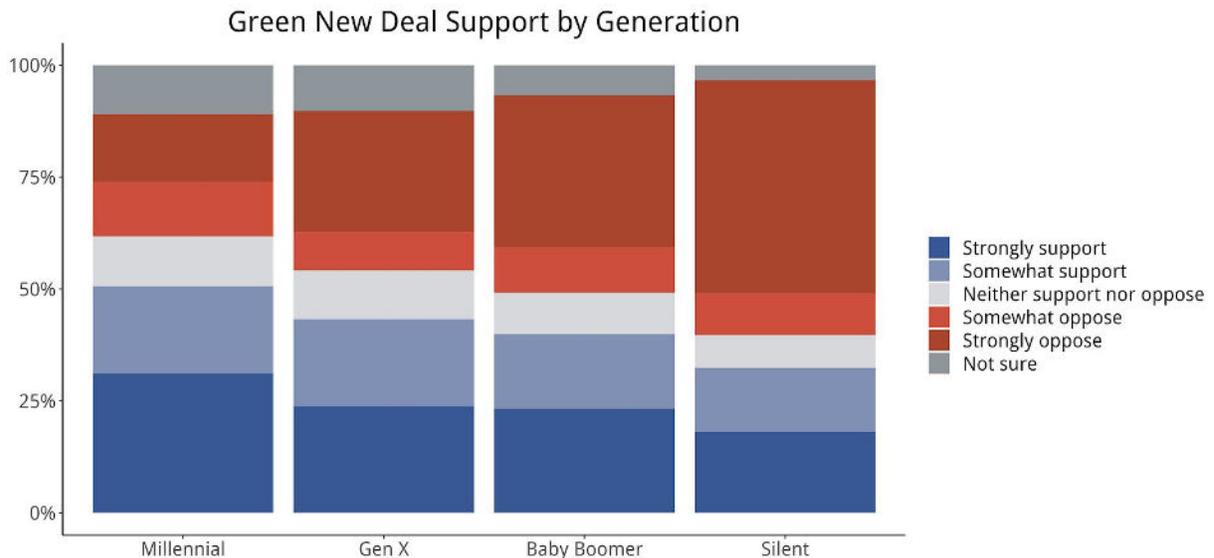
The survey included a variety of demographic items, among them respondents' present employment status. We find slightly higher levels of support for the Green New Deal, which includes a jobs program, among those who reported being unemployed or temporarily laid-off, although the Green New Deal enjoyed net positive support across the range of employment statuses except for self-reported retirees. The following plot demonstrates net support for the Green New Deal by respondents' employment status.



Support for the Green New Deal is strongly driven by students, who support the Green New Deal by a 70 percent-14 percent margin. Similarly, we find a clear generational breakdown in support for the Green New Deal. We follow the Pew Research Center's definition of a millennial as someone born after 1980 (though we also include voters born between 1997 and 2000 in this group, whom Pew classifies as being their own generation, since they are too small a fraction of the sample to analyze separately). Following the Pew Research Center's coding of generations, we coded our respondents into groups by age as follows:

- Respondents between the ages of 18-37 were grouped as “Millennials,”
- Respondents between the ages of 38-53 were grouped as “Generation X,”
- Respondents between the ages of 54-72 were grouped as “Baby Boomers,” and
- Respondents over the age of 72 were grouped as “Silent Generation”

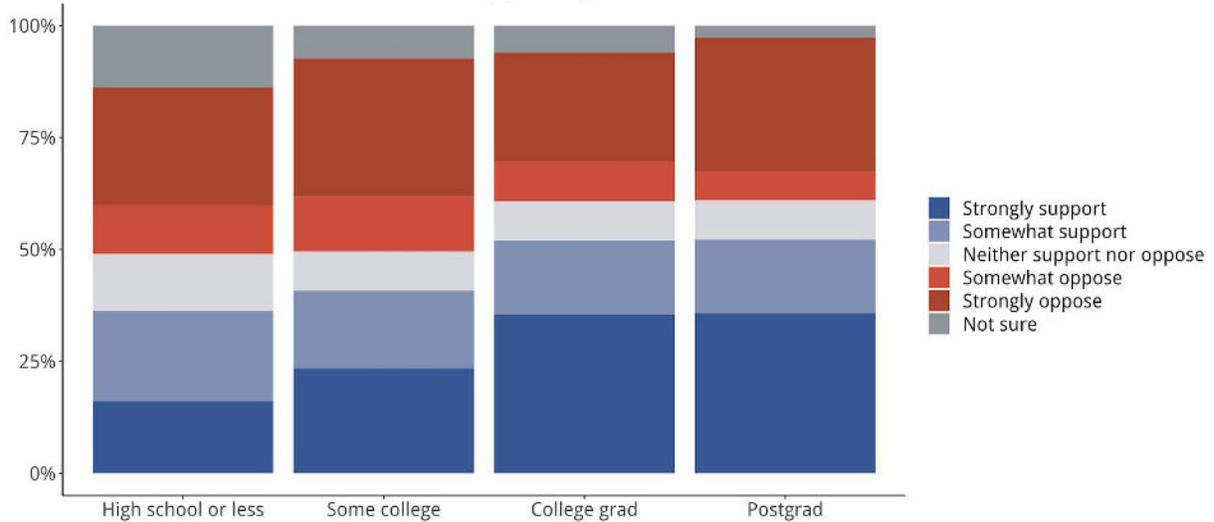
Millennials support the Green New Deal by a 51 percent - 27 percent margin, while Silent Generation respondents opposed the Green New Deal by a 32 percent - 57 percent margin. The two youngest generations in our sample supported the Green New Deal on net, while the two oldest generations opposed it on net.



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While we find that support for the Green New Deal increases with education, we find that the share of respondents reporting either having no opinion or being unsure decreases as well. Among voters with lower levels of education, there is more room for movement on the Green New Deal than among those with higher levels of education.

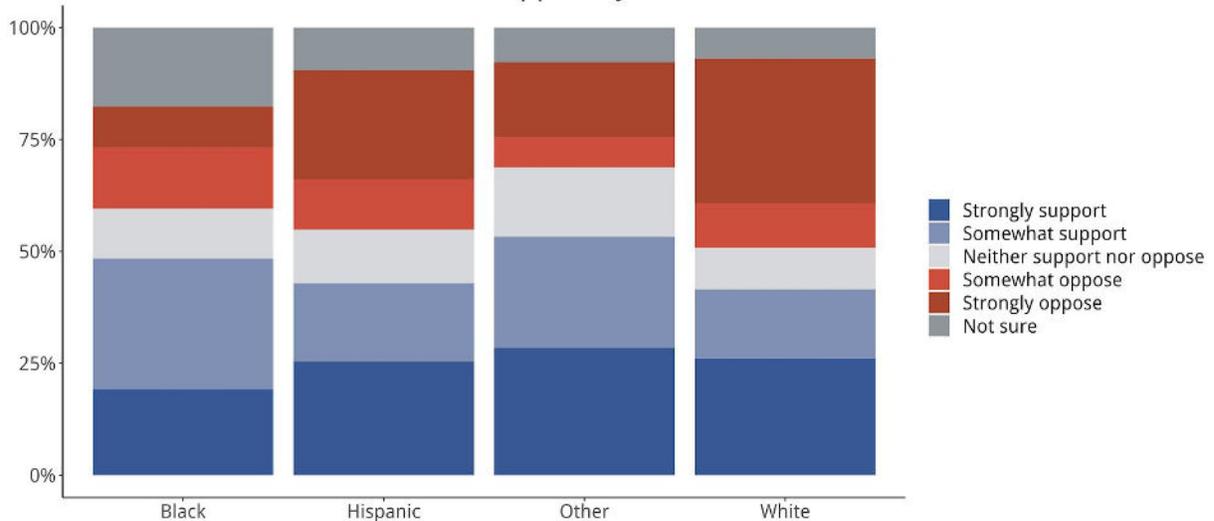
Green New Deal Support by Education



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Among race/ethnicity groups among voters in our survey, white respondents were divided on their views of the Green New Deal, with 42 percent supporting and 43 percent opposing, a difference within the margin of error. Black respondents supported the Green New Deal 48 percent support to 22 percent oppose, Latino respondents by 42 percent to 35 percent, and respondents of another race by 53 percent to 24 percent.

Green New Deal Support by Race



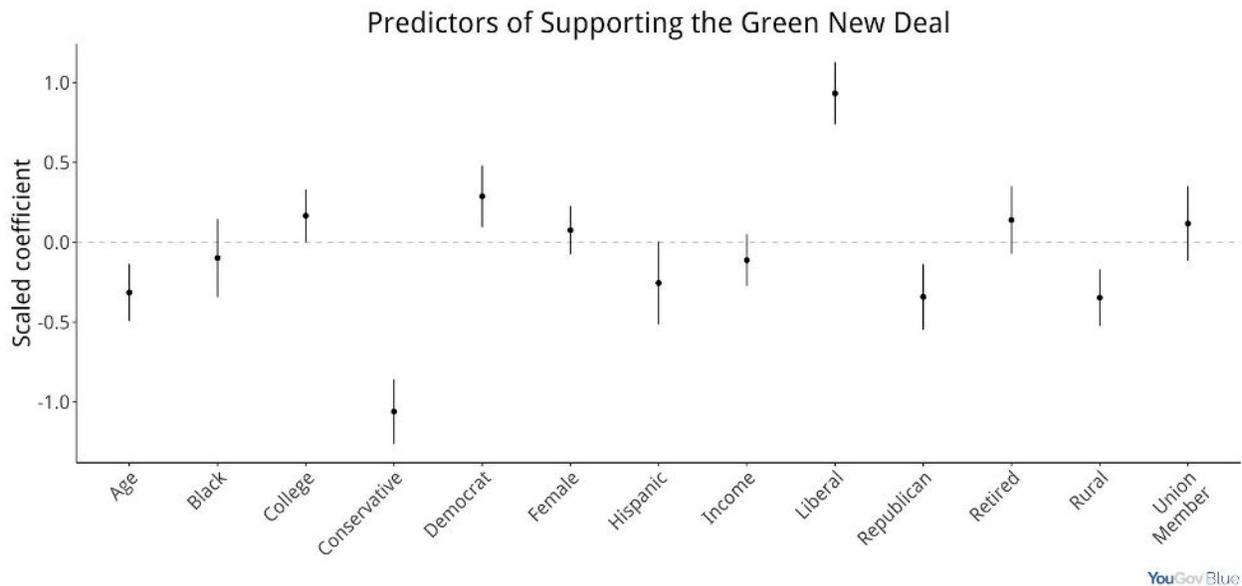
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Modeled Green New Deal Support

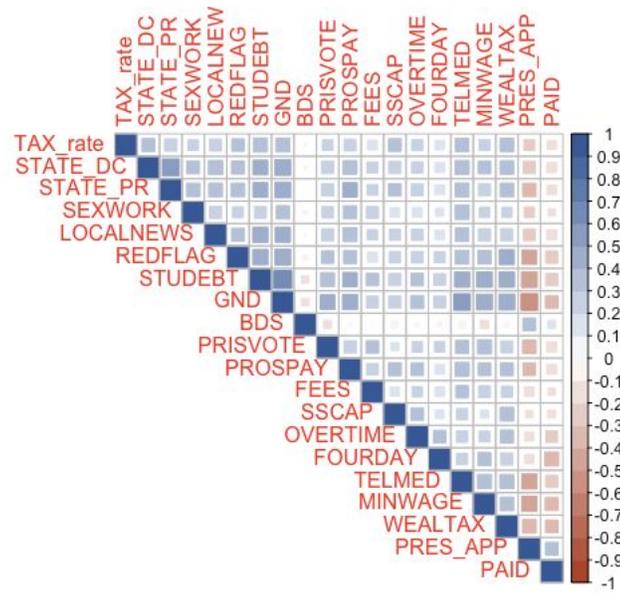
To provide an overview of the variety of factors underlying support for the Green New Deal, we provide a simple linear model built on our Green New Deal support item and a variety of political

and demographic factors. Here, we recode the responses for the Green New Deal item onto a linear scale, so that higher levels of support correspond with higher values. We predict those values using respondents' age, education, sex, race, party identification, ideology, retirement status, rural status, union membership, income, and vote history. We scale the coefficients so that their magnitudes are directly comparable.

The following figure plots the coefficients of the linear model. Perhaps not surprisingly, reporting a liberal ideological self-placement and Democratic party identification are both significant and positive predictors of supporting the Green New Deal, and vice versa for those reporting a conservative ideological self-placement and Republican party identification. While age negatively predicts support for the Green New Deal, retirement status itself does not have a statistically distinguishable correlation with supporting the Green New Deal. Further work is needed on other factors relevant to campaigns and political organizations that might more directly explain support for the Green New Deal.



As a plank of the new progressive agenda, it is perhaps unsurprising that support for the Green New Deal correlates with most of the other policy items posed in our January 2019 wave. The following correlation matrix plots the bivariate correlations between each of the policy agenda items, plus the item measuring approval of Donald Trump. Each cell plots the strength of the correlation between each item, the fuller the square, the stronger the correlation. Blue squares represent a positive correlation, and the negative squares represent a negative correlation. For example, perhaps unsurprisingly, approval of the Green New Deal is strongly and negatively correlated with Trump approval (the cell where GND and PRES_APP meet). The series of blue squares in the “GND” row indicate that the Green New Deal follows similar trends to other progressive policies. In particular, support for the Green New Deal correlates with support for using taxation to eliminate student debt (STUDEBT) and with expanding abortion rights to include access to telemedicine abortion (TELMED).



Including information about revenue generation for the Green New Deal produces a lower but more precise estimate of public support for the policy. Voters on net approve of the Green New Deal, but there is significant variation across partisanship, race, age, and education. Support for the Green New Deal now correlates strongly and positive with other progressive policies, and strongly and negative with approval for President Trump.