The Battleground: Democratic Perspective

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Democratic Strategic Analysis:

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Between the impending impeachment of President Trump and the fast-approaching 2020 Democratic presidential primaries, the political landscape has transformed and intensified in important ways since the last Battleground Poll in April of this year, putting Republican electoral prospects in peril up and down the ballot. The Democrats are leading both in the presidential ballot as well as the congressional ballot, and that in part is due to shifts to our side from independent voters, namely independent women. Both parties are motivated to vote at similar levels, and independents are increasingly more motivated than they were in April 2019.

Voters are growing more critical of Trump—both in personal and professional terms—and their ratings of his handling of most key issues remain solidly negative. Voters remain pessimistic in their outlook on the future and their concerns over an impending economic downturn that would negatively impact themselves and their families is only increasing. For independents in particular, Trump is failing to meet their expectations related to the economy and job creation, and their faith that he will he will address these issues in ways that will benefit the average American has fallen dramatically.

And yet, these trends notwithstanding, Trump retains some unique and important strengths. Voters continue to assess him positively when it comes to his management of the economy and jobs. Moreover, voters continue to trust Trump more than the Democrats on those central issues (though those advantages are decreasing among key groups of voters, including independents). Importantly, neither Trump nor the Democrats have an advantage on addressing the rising cost of living. Despite the Democrats' ballot leads, this data suggests that the Party's ongoing struggle to create a strong economic profile and offer Americans a plan that speaks to the public's anxiety and vulnerability—and addresses their material needs—is preventing them from capitalizing on Trump and the Republican Party's profound missteps.

The political atmosphere provides an opening for the Democratic presidential candidate to advance a strong economic platform to the American public. But that opening will not last forever. While losing support upon economic issues, Trump is closing the advantage that the Democrats had on immigration and finding success in his divisive approach—an approach that he will, in all likelihood, lean into as he feels increasingly cornered. As a result, the political landscape looks more volatile and competitive than it should just over a year out from Election Day 2020.

The Political Environment

The political context has developed in significant ways since the previous Battleground Poll in April of 2019, yet voters continue to look at the direction of the country with roughly the same levels of concern and dissatisfaction that we saw then. In fact, pessimism about the country's trajectory—with some fluctuation in exact levels—is one of the longest trend lines we have seen in the history of this poll. Currently, a 58 percent majority of voters believes the country is heading down the wrong track, while only 35 percent believe it is headed in the right direction, with another 8 percent of voters unsure. As

noted, this tracks closely with voters' outlook six months ago; in April 2019, 57 percent said the country was heading down the wrong track and 35 percent said it was headed in the right direction. **Even so, these views continue to be dictated largely led by partisanship, with Democrats much more likely to believe the country is headed in the wrong direction than Republicans, and independents closely tracking the overall mean.** Over nine-in-ten Democrats (91 percent) report that the country is headed off on the wrong track compared to almost three-quarters of Republicans (72 percent) who report that the country is headed off on the wrong track (60 percent) versus just 26 percent who believe it is headed in the right direction. There are also significant gender dynamics to this question, with women much more pessimistic (64 percent wrong direction) than men (51 percent wrong direction), and those differences are further exaggerated when looking at the intersection of age and gender, with women under the age of 45 the most concerned (70 percent wrong direction) and older men the most positive (46 percent right direction).

The Economy

Of course, with the political news media dividing its attention fairly equally between coverage of the Democratic Presidential primaries and the daily (hourly) influx of intrigue surrounding Congress' impending impeachment inquiry of President Trump, the issues that are now informing voters' outlook and sense of concern may be changing. While the extent to which the volatile political environment is adding to voters' sense of unease—or relative optimism, as the case may be—the data is clearer in pointing to persistent economic anxiety as the dominant factor underlying voters' mood. This, too, is far from a new development. Consistent with the April 2019 survey findings, 58 percent of voters are either very or somewhat worried that the United States will suffer another economic downturn that will negatively affect their family; 40 percent are not too worried or not at all worried. There is a strong relationship between one's partisan affiliation and one's economic anxiety—or lack thereof. Only 34 percent of Republicans say they are worried about an economic downturn compared to 60 percent of independents (24 percent of whom are very worried) and 80 percent of Democrats (32 percent of whom are very worried). Black and Latinx voters are also far more worried about an economic downturn than white voters, though majorities of every major racial and ethnic voting subgroup report concern over a looming economic downturn. Fifty-five percent of white voters are worried, though intensity is low at 18 percent. By comparison, 72 percent of Black voters are worried, with 38 percent who say they are very worried, and 66 percent of Latinx adults are worried, with 23 percent who are very worried. Intensity among voters of color is led primarily by Black and Latinx women, who experience—and report—the highest levels of economic stress for themselves and their families. Among white voters, economic anxieties do not change significantly between those who are college educated and those who are not. However, college-educated voters of color are more likely to be very worried (35 percent) than voters of color without a 4-year college education (25 percent very worried).

Similar to the racial and ethnic trendlines, while intense concern over a precipitous economic decline that will negatively affect their families is higher for voters in lower income brackets, majorities of voters across all income levels are worried about this prospect, including 63 percent of those who say they are upper class (16 percent very worried), 54 percent of those who say they are middle class (17 percent very worried), 67 percent of those who say they are working class (31 percent very worried), and 60 percent of those who say they are low income (28 percent very worried).

View of Congress

While the economy may be the issue that dominates voters' issue agenda, low levels of faith in major political and governmental institutions to manage the economy only serves to deepen voters' grim outlook on the future. Impressions of both the Republicans and the Democrats in Congress remain

unfavorable, slightly more so in the case of the former. A 51 percent majority of voters has an unfavorable opinion of the Republicans in Congress versus 39 percent who have a favorable opinion. Voters are more divided when it comes to the Democrats in Congress, though a 48 percent plurality of voters is unfavorable toward the Democrats, too, compared to 42 percent who are favorable. As expected, these attitudes fall largely along partisan lines, with 80 percent of Republicans favorable toward the Congressional Republicans (13 percent unfavorable) and 80 percent of the Democrats favorable toward the Congressional Democrats (12 percent unfavorable). However, when it comes to independent voters, Democrats in Congress have a relative—if modest—advantage over their Republican counterparts. While at least one-in-five independents have no opinion of either party, independents are both more favorable toward the Republicans in Congress (32 percent favorable) compared to the Democrats (29 percent favorable) and less unfavorable (49 percent unfavorable toward the Democrats in Congress versus 46 percent unfavorable toward the Republicans in Congress). Notably, while independent men and women feel similarly toward Republicans in Congress, independent women almost entirely lead favorability toward the Democrats. Just under half of independents feel unfavorably toward the Republicans in Congress (roughly 30 percent favorable toward the two parties), while independent women are 7 points more favorable toward the Democrats (39 percent favorable) than toward the Republicans (32 percent).

Views of President Trump

Similar to what we found in the previous Battleground survey last April, a majority of voters remains unfavorable toward President Trump, but these views are intensifying. Forty-two percent of voters overall have a favorable impression of Trump, compared to 56 percent who have an unfavorable view (in April those numbers were 40 favorable and 55 unfavorable). However, intensity has increased in the past seven months; while 48 percent held strongly unfavorable views of Trump in April 2019, a 51 percent majority now holds strongly unfavorable views of Trump. Intensity of those who view Trump favorably are not matched, as only 31 percent are strongly favorable. Trump is also doing worse with independents than he was in April 2019, and while they have stayed consistent in total disapproval from 57 percent unfavorable then to 58 percent today, there is a prominent shift among those who are *strongly* unfavorable—from 43 percent in April 2019 to 51 percent today.

Not surprisingly, though more so than has been the case with other Presidents, Trump's job approval is highly correlated to his personal image; 43 percent of voters approve of the job he is doing as President whereas 53 percent disapprove. While independents have a slightly more positive view of Trump's job performance than they have of his personal image, they still disapprove of his handling of the office by a 17-point margin (36 percent approve compared to 53 percent disapprove). As with his personal image, independent women rate Trump's job performance more negatively than independent men, with 62 percent of independent women disapproving compared to 43 percent of independent men.

Consistent with recent past research, Black voters continue to register the highest disapproval ratings of Trump's job performance as President (84 percent disapprove)—among all demographic subgroups, not just compared to white (48 percent disapprove) and Latinx (65 percent disapprove) voters. As with other subgroups, this disapproval is primarily led by Black women, of which 87 percent disapprove of Trump's job performance compared to 79 percent of Black men. Latinx voters, however, are 4 points less likely to disapprove of Trump's job performance than they were in April. While 69 percent disapproved of his job performance then, 65 percent disapprove today.

Not only do voters disapprove of the job Trump is doing as President, but they also disapprove of his leadership style and general presence. Voters are increasingly saying that "Donald Trump's style and comments are frequently insulting, and he has the wrong approach on many issues." A 52 percent

majority of voters now sees that Trump's style is insulting and wrong, which is up from 49 percent who held this view in April 2019. Comparatively, only 17 percent say that "Donald Trump's style and language bother me, but he is raising important issues," and 29 percent say that "Donald Trump tells it like it is and he has the right approach on the issues I care most about." Independents, in particular, are growing increasingly less tolerant of Trump and have shifted from 21 percent saying they are bothered, but he is raising important issues and 47 percent saying they are insulted in April 2019 to 15 percent saying they are bothered, but he is raising important issues and to a 53 percent majority saying they are insulted today.

Voters only rate Trump's job performance net positively on issues related to jobs and the economy, but they approve less of his job performance on those issues than they did in April 2019; issues related to taxes, healthcare, foreign affairs, and immigration all receive negative ratings. Voters disapprove of Trump's job performance on healthcare the most (57 percent disapprove compared to 39 percent who approve), which is of course problematic for him leading into the 2020 election, as healthcare has consistently topped the list of voters' economic concerns. At least half of voters also disapprove of Trump's handling of foreign affairs (56 percent disapprove compared to 42 percent who approve) and immigration (55 percent disapprove compared to 43 percent who approve). While a 56 percent majority still approves of the job that Trump is doing on the economy, which is consistent with earlier trends, more voters have shifted from being unsure of his job performance to disapproving. This is especially true of independents, whose net approval has been cut in half in the past six months.

While Trump's job performance on healthcare is still lower than on other issues, he has made notable gains in approval in the past six months. Disapproval has remained consistent (58 percent in April and 57 percent today), however approval has increased by 6 points (33 percent in April to 39 percent today). A 51 percent majority of voters believes that the Democrats are doing a better job than Trump on healthcare, but the 9-point margin that Democrats currently have has shrunk from a 20-point margin in April. The advantages that the Democrats have on their handling of immigration and education, though still evident, have also decreased since April, from +27 to +10 for education and from +9 to +2 for immigration. Trump's growing competitiveness on immigration is particularly alarming as he may not have many other issues to exploit as he feels increasingly cornered by events surrounding his impeachment hearings.

Donald Trump Job Performance Ratings				Net Diff (Oct)		Net Diff (April)	
Issues	% Appr.	% Disappr.	% Unsure	Likely Voters	Indepen dents	Likely Voters	Independe nts
Overall Job Performance	43	53	3	-10	-17	-10	-19
Economy	56	41	3	+15	+12	+19	+31
Jobs	57	40	4	+17	+10	+23	+38
Taxes	47	49	4	-2	-11	-3	-14
Immigration	43	55	2	-12	-18	-15	-27
Foreign Affairs	42	56	2	-14	-20	-13	-18
Healthcare	39	57	4	-18	-27	-25	-43

More voters approve of Trump's job on healthcare than in April, but the opposite it true when it comes to their assessments of his handling of economic issues. On the surface, a majority still approves of Trump's job performance on the economy, from 57 percent of voters who approved in April to 56 percent today. This is a modest decrease on the surface, yet independents in particular have dropped 9 points in their assessments of Trump's handling of the economy; 53 percent of independents approve, compared to 62 percent who approved in April. Similarly, while approval on how Trump has been handling job creation has held steady (57 percent approve, compared to 57 percent in April), there has been a 6-point increase in those who disapprove (40 percent, compared to 34 percent in April). This increase in disapproval of job creation is also in part led by independents, whose approval rating has declined 9 points since April from 60 percent to 51 percent today. Other notable subgroups also disapprove of Trump's job performance on the economy, including Democrats (75 percent disapprove), Black voters (68 percent) – particularly Black women (79 percent) – women under age 45 (52 percent), working class voters (52 percent), voters living in union households (51 percent), low income voters (53 percent), voters ages 18-34 (49 percent), women with a college education (51 percent), and independent women (48 percent).

As has been the case for some time, voters trust Trump more than the Democrats on the economy (52 percent trust Trump compared to 40 percent who trust the Democrats) and job creation (52 percent trust Trump compared to 41 percent who trust the Democrats). However, while a plurality of independents still trust Trump more on the economy (49 percent trust Trump compared to 31 percent who trust the Democrats) and job creation (48 percent trust Trump compared to 34 percent who trust the Democrats), their faith in him on these issues has greatly diminished since April, and his advantages that were upward of 30 points on each of these issues have shrunk to low double-digit leads. Voters also trust Trump over the Democrats to handle issues related to taxes (Trump has an 8-point advantage over the Democrats) and advantage addressing the rising cost of living. The Democrats' greatest advantages exist on addressing climate change (the Democrats have a 23-point advantage over Trump), student loans (the Democrats have a 13-point advantage over Trump), education (the Democrats have a 10-point advantage over Trump), and prescription drug costs (the Democrats have a 6-point advantage over Trump).

Donald Trump vs. Democrats in Congress on the Issues			Net Diff (Oct)		Net Diff (April)	
Issues	% Trust Trump	% Trust Dems	Likely Voters	Indepen dents	Likely Voters	Independe nts
Jobs	52	41	-11	-14	-11	-37
The Economy	52	40	-12	-18	-12	-35
Taxes	50	42	-8	-6	-3	-32
National Security	50	44	-6	-23	-4	-22
Immigration	46	48	+2	-2	+9	+3
Retirement Security	45	47	+2	+1	-	-
Rising Cost of Living	44	44	0	+3	-	-
Healthcare	42	51	+9	+9	+20	+17
Prescription Drug Prices	41	47	+6	+5	-	-
Education	41	51	+10	-3	+27	+20

Student Loans	38	51	+13	+12	-	-
Climate Change	31	54	+23	+17	-	-

Trump and Impeachment

The news of Trump's impeachment proceedings has permeated the public's consciousness to the point of saturation, as nearly all voters (94 percent) have seen, read, or heard something about the investigation regarding Trump's impeachment. At least eight-in-ten people in every subgroup are familiar with the impeachment proceedings. This includes a 57 percent majority who says that they closely follow the impeachment proceedings-including 31 percent who follow extremely closely-and 43 percent who do not follow them closely. Only 10 percent of voters are not following closely at all. However, the impact of this coverage has been mixed; indeed, those voters who are following the proceedings more closely tend to be more favorably disposed toward Trump.

Men (36 percent) are much more likely than women (26 percent) to be following the proceedings extremely closely. Older voters are much more likely than younger voters to be following the proceedings extremely closely, including 44 percent of voters ages 65 and older, 38 percent of voters ages 45-64, 25 percent of voters ages 35-44, and only 14 percent of voters ages 18-35. At the same time, Democrats (36 percent) are more likely than Republicans (28 percent) or independents (27 percent) to be following the proceedings extremely closely, and older voters and men within each party are more likely to be closely following the proceedings.

Impeachment is, unsurprisingly, a polarizing issue for voters. While a 51 percent majority agrees that yes, Trump should be impeached, those who disagree are not far behind (46 percent), and there is very strong intensity on both sides (46 percent strongly believe that Trump should be impeached, and 39 percent strongly believe that Trump should not be impeached). Whether or not voters want to impeach Trump falls almost entirely along partisan lines, with similar intensity on both sides; 91 percent of Democrats say that Trump should be impeached, including 84 percent who feel strongly, as well as 90 percent of Republicans who say that Trump should not be impeached, including 82 percent who feel strongly. Independents lean toward wanting to impeach, with a 53 percent majority saying Trump should be impeached (45 percent strongly), while 43 percent say he should not be impeached (31 percent strongly). Intensity toward impeachment is also led by independent women: 65 percent of independent women want to impeach Trump (56 percent strongly) compared to only 39 percent of independent men (32 percent strongly). While voters over the age of 34 in every age group are more split, voters ages 18-34 are solidly in favor of impeachment, with 63 percent wanting to impeach (57 percent strongly). There are also significant differences by gender: a majority of women wants to impeach (57 percent, including 52 percent strongly) while a majority of men does not (52 percent, including 45 percent strongly). Women of color lead the charge for impeachment (91 percent of Black women want to impeach and 65 percent of Latina women want to impeach), but white women split, while white men are 56 percent against impeachment.

The 2020 Election

There is currently a great deal of motivation to vote in the upcoming 2020 elections, even at this relatively early stage, with 82 percent of voters saying they are "extremely likely" to vote. However, motivation is expressed by voters of both major parties, as 84 percent of Republicans and 82 percent of Democrats are "extremely likely to vote." For independents, women lead strong likelihood to vote (82 percent of independent women are extremely likely to vote compared to only 77 percent of men). Voters

ages 35-44 are more motivated to vote (87 percent extremely likely) than all other age groups, including voters ages 18-34 (79 percent), voters ages 45-64 (82 percent), and voters ages 65 and over (78 percent). White voters are also more motivated than voters of color; 85 percent of white voters say they are extremely likely to vote compared to 73 percent of Black and Latinx voters.

Nearly a year out from the general election, a generic Democratic candidate currently has an 8-point advantage over Trump in the 2020 presidential race (50 percent would vote for the Democratic candidate compared to 42 percent who would vote for Trump). However, those trends may change as the Democratic primary contest evolves. There is a 15-point gender gap as well in the presidential race; 50 percent of men are planning on voting for Trump, compared to only 35 percent of women, and 43 percent of men are planning on voting for the Democratic candidate, compared to 57 percent of women. That gap is also significant among white men and women; 53 percent of white men are planning on voting for Trump, compared to only 42 percent of white women, and 39 percent of white men are planning on voting for the Democratic candidate, compared to 51 percent of white women. This is a critical difference from 2016. The Democratic candidate also has a 10-point advantage among independents (34 percent would vote for Trump compared to 44 percent who would vote for the Democratic candidate, and 22 percent are unsure). There is an even larger gender gap among independent men and women. While a 44 percent plurality of independent men leans toward Trump, a 54 percent majority of independent women leans toward the Democratic candidate. The Democrats have an advantage among women across marital status, though intensity is stronger among unmarried women, especially single women. While the Democrats only have a 10-point advantage among married women (52 percent would vote for the Democrat compared to 42 percent who would vote for Trump), that margin widens to a 24-point advantage for unmarried women (58 percent would vote for the Democrat). Single women are 52 points more likely to vote for the Democratic candidate (70 percent) and only 18 percent say they would vote for Trump.

Again, these ballot trends may well change depending on who the Democratic nominee is. Democrats are most favorable of Joe Biden (80 percent favorable), Elizabeth Warren (81 percent favorable), and Bernie Sanders (78 percent favorable), though candidates such as Pete Buttigieg (23 percent never heard), Julián Castro (27 percent never heard), and Cory Booker (18 percent never heard) have yet to make a strong name for themselves among Democrats nationally. Independents are most favorable toward Bernie Sanders (35 percent favorable) and Warren (28 percent favorable), though they are net negative toward both candidates as well as toward Biden.

By far, voters prioritize electing a presidential candidate whose views match their own (78 percent) rather than a candidate who will beat the other side (16 percent). However, Democrats are more willing to sacrifice their own views to elect someone whom they believe is best suited to beating Trump compared to Republicans or independents:

- 89 percent of Republicans want to elect a candidate whose views match their own, compared to 6 percent who want to elect a candidate who can beat the other side
- 83 percent of independents want to elect a candidate whose views match their own, compared to 11 percent who want to elect a candidate who can beat the other side
- 66 percent of Democrats want to elect a candidate whose views match their own, compared to 26 percent who want to elect a candidate who can beat the other side

Although Democrats are also leading in the congressional ballot in 2020, their margin is slightly smaller than the Democratic candidate's margin vis-à-vis Trump. Currently, 48 percent of voters would vote for the Democratic candidate, 42 percent for the Republican candidate, and 10 percent are undecided. While the gender gap is not as strong as it is for the presidential ballot, men are still 10 points more likely to vote

for the Republican candidate than women (47 percent of men plan on voting for the Republican candidate, compared to 37 percent of women), and a 54 percent majority of women plans on voting for the Democratic candidate. A 42 percent plurality of independents plan on voting for the Democratic candidate, though 27 percent are still unsure, and only 32 percent plan on voting for the Republican candidate. Similar to their presidential vote, independent women lead in their support for the Democratic candidate (52 percent) compared to men (29 percent), and independent men remain more undecided (36 percent, compared to 19 percent of women). While majorities of women are more likely to vote for the Democratic candidate in both the presidential and congressional races, the margin is wider in the presidential race, and women vote for the Democratic candidate at a 22-point margin for the presidential race, but only at a 17-point margin in the congressional. This is especially prominent for women over age 45, who vote for the Democratic candidate in the presential race at a 13-point advantage, but only a 6-point advantage for Congress.

The Democratic candidate continues to win with women (54 percent vote for the Democratic candidate compared to 37 percent for the Republican), and they have furthered their lead among Millennials by 19 points (64 percent vote for the Democrat compared to 45 percent in April) and among Black voters by 17 points (84 percent vote for the Democrat compared to 67 percent in April). While the Democrat still has the majority of the vote from voters with a college education, they are 8 points more likely to say they will vote for the Republican candidate now than they were in April (38 percent vote for the Republican compared to 30 percent in April), though that is primarily led by college educated men. College educated women have increased their Democratic vote by 8 points (58 percent vote for the Democrat compared to 50 percent in April).

Democrats and Political Trust

Voters trust the Democrats more than the Republicans to address immigration, the rising cost of living, health care, prescription drug prices, education, student loans, and climate change. Independent voters in particular trust the Democrats much more than voters overall on climate change (+42 Democrats), student loans (+23 Democrats), education (+33 Democrats) and prescription drug prices (+21 Democrats). While Trump has made gains among voters on his immigration platform, Democrats are even stronger on this issue than they were in April compared to congressional Republicans. Republicans continue to have the advantage on job creation, the economy, and national security, but their advantage on the economy has weakened by 2 points (from +12 Republicans in April to +10 today). It is important that the Democratic candidates continue to discuss their economic platforms, because when they do, it is possible to tighten the Republican margin. While Trump is a more polarizing figure, he is stronger than his Party over Democrats on the issues of healthcare, education, taxes, and immigration. These are areas where overall his brand is stronger than the GOP's, especially with independents.

Republicans vs. Democrats in Congress on the Issues			Net Diff (Oct)		Net Diff (April)	
Issues	% Trust GOP	% Trust Dems	Likely Voters	Indepen dents	Likely Voters	Independe nts
Jobs	50	41	-9	-2	-8	-4
The Economy	51	41	-10	-11	-12	-1
Taxes	47	46	-1	+12	+2	+11
National Security	51	41	-10	+7	-10	+7
Immigration	41	53	+12	+24	+8	+23

Retirement Security	44	43	-1	-2	-	-
Rising Cost of Living	40	50	+10	+25	-	-
Health Care	36	57	+21	+38	+24	+54
Prescription Drug Prices	37	52	+15	+21	-	-
Education	36	55	+19	+33	+24	+47
Student Loans	34	53	+19	+23	-	-
Climate Change	27	61	+34	+42	-	-

However, Democrats are stronger on taxes, immigration, the rising cost of living, healthcare, prescription drugs, education, and climate change compared to the Republicans than they are compared to Trump. When compared to Congressional Republicans rather than to Trump, independents are more likely to trust the Democrats, including on issues where Republicans otherwise have leads, such as on the economy and job creation. While independents trust Trump to handle issues related to job creation and the economy (+14 and +18 points, respectively), those margins drop (to +2 and +11, respectively) when it comes to congressional Republicans versus Democrats.

Bottom Line

Democrats have made some important gains over the past six months. Trump is losing his appeal on economic issues, which provides an opening for the Democrats to make up further ground. On top of that, we are seeing their base solidify, as women, Black voters, and college educated voters are all voting for the Democratic candidates at higher rates than they were in April. We also see gender divides increasing, particularly among independent women, who are increasingly becoming dissatisfied with Trump and turning to the Democrats. And yet, Democrats continue to trail Trump on the economy and jobs, and only run even with him on dealing with the rising cost of living. Until Democrats can offer the American public a bold economic plan and vision that convincingly addresses their pessimism, anxiety, and real material insecurity, Trump will remain more competitive than he has a right to be. Issues like immigration - which he is continuing to exploit to his growing advantage - will be used to distract the electorate, divide the country, and victimize new and aspiring American citizens at a time when they, and all economically insecure Americans, need help.