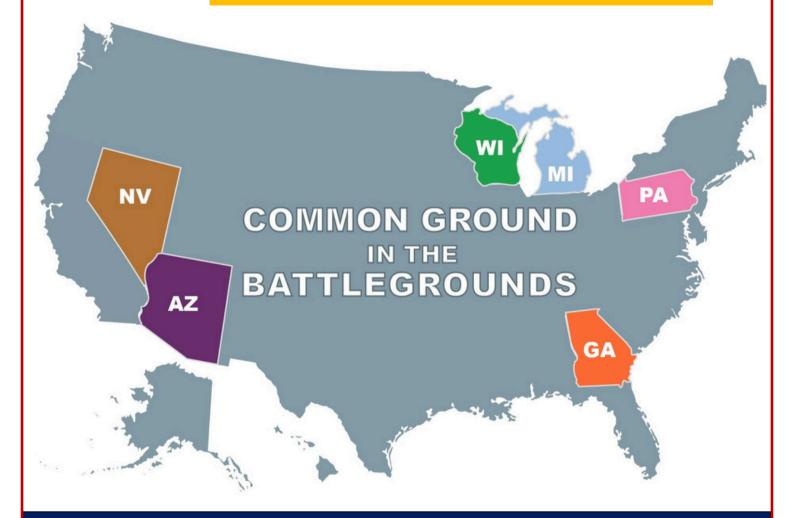


## PROGRAM FOR PUBLIC CONSULTATION

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

#### THE SWING SIX ISSUE SURVEYS



Over 50 Policy Positions supported by bipartisan majorities in SIX SWING stateS & nationally

RESEARCHERS I STEVEN KULL EVAN SCOT FEHSENFELD EVAN CHARLES LEWITUS

OCTOBER 2024

WITH ASSISTANCE FROM I ALLISON STETTLER
KATRINA FULLER

#### **COMMON GROUND IN THE BATTLEGROUNDS**

Americans are undeniably polarized regarding who should serve as President and represent them in Congress. As candidates take positions on various policies, one may also assume that the public is equally divided on these policy issues as well. But is this actually the case?

The Program for Public Consultation (PPC) at the University of Maryland's School of Public Policy conducted ten surveys in six swing states and nationally, in the run up to the 2024 election. The surveys focused on policies that have been proposed by the Presidential candidates or Members of Congress, as well as some policies already in place.

The surveys revealed a remarkable amount of bipartisan common ground. Clearly, among the public, there is much more agreement on how to solve national problems than there is among their representatives, a fact that could potentially help guide elected officials once the divisive election cycle is over.

The intention of PPC is to give the public a greater voice in their government, by providing elected officials and the media clear information about the public's views on actual policy questions that Members of Congress and the White House face.

To ensure respondents evaluated real policy proposals rather than misrepresentations from either side, PPC conducted "public consultation surveys." Unlike standard polls that often lack full descriptions, these surveys provide a brief overview of the proposal, present arguments for and against, and then allow respondents to make recommendations. In most cases, the content is reviewed by both proponents and opponents of the policies.

These surveys asked about policies regarding:

- Cost of Living:
  - Health Care Costs (pg. 6)
  - Housing Costs (pg. 9)
  - Families with Children (pg. 12)
- Abortion and Birth Control (pg. 15)
- Immigration and the Border (pg. 18)
- International Trade and Tariffs (pg. 20)

- Environment and Energy (pg. 22)
- International Engagement, NATO and Ukraine (pg. 27)
- Social Security Shortfall (pg. 29)
- Stock Trading by Elected Officials (pg. 32)

The surveys revealed substantial common ground between Republicans and Democrats, with bipartisan majorities in every swing state, as well as nationally, converging on over 50 policy positions. An additional five policy positions had the support of bipartisan majorities nationally and in half or more of the swing states overall, with the other states having an overall majority and one party in support, but with one party that was statistically divided.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The confidence interval for Republican or Democratic sub-groups in each state sample is approximately seven percentage points. If 53% of Republicans are in favor and 47% oppose, or vice versa, the difference between them (six percentage points) is within the confidence interval, and thus they are considered statistically divided.

Total Number of Policy Positions Supported by Majorities of Republicans and Democrats, by State:			
Arizona:	59	Nevada:	55
Georgia:	60	Pennsylvania:	55
Michigan:	55	Wisconsin:	56
	Nationwide	59	

# POLICIES WITH BIPARTISAN MAJORITY SUPPORT IN ALL SIX SWING STATES & NATIONALLY

The policies are described briefly in this list. A more detailed description was provided to respondents and is presented under the "Details" section of the report. Links to the full questionnaire are also provided in the full report that can be accessed through the link to the "Full Report."

Health Care Costs	Cap the prices of prescription drugs to what is charged in other developed countries
	Make permanent the higher, pandemic-era ACA subsidies
	Expedite bringing generic drugs to market by prohibiting "pay-to-delay" agreements between brand-name and generic drug makers
	Revoke patents for excessively priced drugs that were developed with federal aid
	Continue the Executive policy requiring price transparency by healthcare and insurance providers
	Increase Federal government funding for treatment for substance use disorder so that nearly all who want it can get it

Housing Costs	\$40 billion for housing affordable to very low and low-income households
	\$25 billion for housing affordable to low and middle-income households
	Tax credit for building housing in which 60% is affordable to middle-income households
	Tax credit to build affordable housing in non-urban low-income areas
	\$24 billion worth of new public Housing Vouchers
	Deny large corporations any tax deductions related to their purchase or ownership of single-family houses
	Require large corporations to sell all their single-family houses and prohibit any further purchases

	Reinstate the pandemic-era Child Tax Credits, with a credit up to \$3,600 per child, fully refundable
Families with Children	\$25 billion for states to set up free universal preschool
	Subsidize childcare so low- and middle-income parents pay no more than 7% of their income

## Abortion & Birth Control

Do NOT criminalize abortion before fetal viability

Pass a Federal law forbidding states from banning birth control

Continue the ACA requirement that health insurance cover long-term birth control

Increase funding for health clinics so they can provide long-term birth control for free or at low cost

Require public schools teach about birth control

#### International Trade and Tariffs

The US continuing the current international arrangement of having mutually low tariffs, rather than raising tariffs on all imports to 10-20 percent

Continue the high tariffs on Chinese imports

The US working to make trade agreements with enforceable labor standards

The US working to make trade agreements with enforceable environmental standards

## Immigration and the Border

Do NOT undertake a program of mass deportation throughout the country

Employ 2,000 new Border Patrol officers and increase funding for border surveillance

Require employers verify all new hires are legal, using the E-Verify system, while at the same time increasing the number of work visas to meet the demand for workers

### sa

Electric vehicles, tax credits for:

- buying a new EV
- buying a used EV
- installing EV charging stations

Clean energy, tax credits for:

- cost of equipment for producing clean energy
- electricity produced with clean energy
- the production of transportation fuel with fewer emissions

Energy & Environment

Energy-efficiency, tax credits for:

- building energy efficient home or residential building
- energy-saving improvements to homes or residential buildings
- installing new energy-efficient heating or air conditioning system
- building new energy-efficient commercial buildings
- energy-saving improvements to commercial buildings

Continue the Federal mandate that requires increasing fuel efficiency standards for cars and light trucks

International Engagement, NATO and Ukraine US foreign policy continuing to place a high priority on the principle of collective security, which says that when a country is attacked, other countries will come together to help defend it

Maintain US membership in NATO, and abiding by Article 5

Continue to provide Ukraine with humanitarian aid

Continue to abide by the moratorium on nuclear testing

Gradu

taxed)

Gradually raise the payroll tax from 6.2 to at least 6.5 percent

Reduce benefits for the top 20 percent of lifetime earners

Social Security
Shortfall

Gradually raise the retirement age from 67 to at least 68 years old

Raise the minimum monthly benefit by around \$500 and index it so it is always 125% of the Federal poverty line

Subject wages over \$400,000 to the payroll tax (currently only wages up to \$169,000 are

Increase benefits for those 85 years and older by five percent

Change the cost-of-living adjustments so that they focus on the goods and services that older adults tend to buy

Stock Trading by Elected Officials

Prohibit Members of Congress from trading individual stocks

Prohibit the President, Vice President and Supreme Court Justices from trading individual stocks

# POLICIES WITH BIPARTISAN MAJORITY SUPPORT IN HALF OR MORE SWING STATES & NATIONALLY

Families with Children

Create a national 12-week paid family and medical leave program for all workers (Bipartisan majorities in AZ, GA, MI, PA and WI, Democrats in favor and Republicans divided in NV)

Provide a \$6,000 Child Tax Credit for parents of children under age one

(Bipartisan support in AZ, GA and MI; Democrats in favor and Republicans divided in NV, PA and WI)

Energy and Environment Do NOT increase offshore drilling

(Bipartisan majorities in AZ, GA, MI, NV and WI, Democrats in favor and Republicans divided in PA)

Abortion and Birth Control

Have a federal law for abortion, rather than leaving it up to states

(Bipartisan majorities in AZ, GA, MI, PA and WI, Democrats in favor and Republicans divided in NV)

International Engagement

Continue to provide Ukraine with military aid

Engagement (Bipartisan majorities in AZ, GA, PA and WI, Democrats in favor and Republicans divided in MI and NV)

#### SURVEY DESIGN

PPC took respondents through a process called a 'policymaking simulation' that seeks to put respondents in the shoes of a policymaker. Respondents were:

- given a briefing on policy options under consideration;
- evaluated strongly stated arguments both for and against each option;
- and only then made their final recommendation.

In nearly all cases the content was reviewed by proponents and opponents of the policies under consideration. The Flesch-Kincaid readability test was used to verify that the survey material would be comprehensible to a person with a high school education.

The ten surveys were fielded from May 23rd through October 14th, 2024. Every survey was offered in both English and Spanish.

Surveys were conducted in Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. Each state sample was approximately 600, with confidence intervals ranging from +/- 4.4% to 4.6%.

Each survey was also conducted nationally, with nearly all surveys having a national sample of approximately 1,200 or more, and confidence intervals of +/-3.9% or less.

Sample collection was managed by QuantifyAl with oversight from PPC. Samples were drawn from multiple large online panels, including Cint, Prodege, and Dynata, whose members are recruited using non-probability sampling methods.

Each sample was pre-stratified and weighted by age, race, ethnicity, gender, education, household income, and metro/non-metro status in every case, as well as marital status, home ownership, and partisan affiliation in most cases. The national sample was further weighted by Census region.

## - COST OF LIVING -

## **HEALTH CARE COSTS**

#### BIPARTISAN MAJORITIES IN ALL SIX SWING STATES & NATIONALLY

- Cap the prices of prescription drugs to what is charged in other developed countries
- Make permanent the higher, pandemic-era ACA subsidies
- Prohibit "pay-to-delay" agreements between brand-name and generic drug makers
- Revoke patents for excessively priced drugs that were developed with federal aid
- Continue the Executive policy requiring price transparency by healthcare and insurance providers
- Increase Federal government funding for treatment for substance use disorder so that nearly all who want it can get it

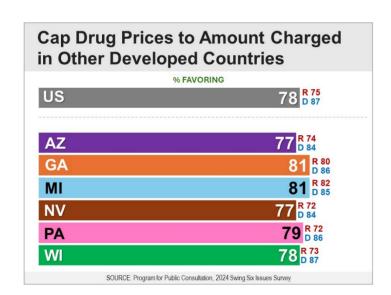


#### **DETAILS:**

#### Cap Drug Prices

<u>Proposal</u>: The Federal government capping the price of all drugs to what is charged in other developed countries, which would reduce the price of drugs by about half.

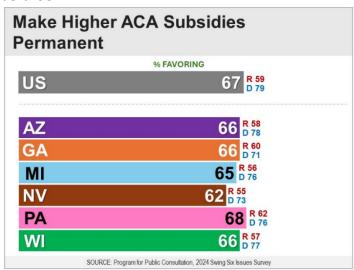
<u>Support:</u> Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (77% to 81%), including majorities of Democrats (84-87%) and Republicans (72-82%). Nationally, support is 78% (Republicans 75%, Democrats 87%).



#### Make Permanent Higher ACA Health Insurance Subsidies

<u>Proposal</u>: Making permanent the pandemic-era increases to the Affordable Care Act (ACA) subsidies for lower and middle-income households, which cap premium payments at 8.5% of income and reduce deductibles.

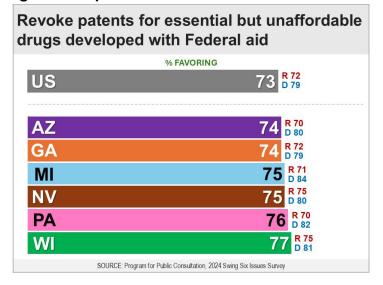
<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (62-68%), including majorities of Republicans (55-62%) and Democrats (71-78%). Nationally, support is 67% (Republicans 59%, Democrats 79%).



#### Revoke Patents for Essential but Unaffordable Drugs Developed with Federal Aid

<u>Proposal:</u> In the event that the government determines the price of a patented drug is not accessible to some or most of the people that need it, and that drug was developed with the aid of federal funding and is necessary for public health and safety, the Federal government will override the drug company's patent, and license other companies to produce the drug as well.

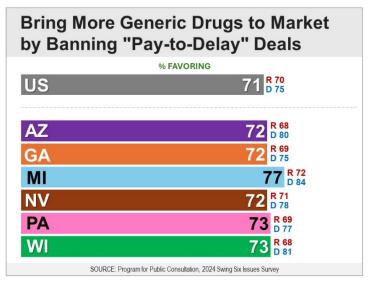
<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (74% to 77%), including majorities of Republicans (70-75%) and Democrats (79-84%). Nationally, support is 73% (Republicans 72%, Democrats 79%).



#### Ban Pay-to-Delay Deals

<u>Proposal</u>: Prohibiting "pay-to-delay" deals – in which brand-name drug companies preserve their ability to charge high prices by paying generic drug companies to delay bringing their generic version to market.

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (72-77%), including majorities of Republicans (68-72%) and Democrats (75-84%). Nationally, support is 71% (Republicans 70%, Democrats 75%).

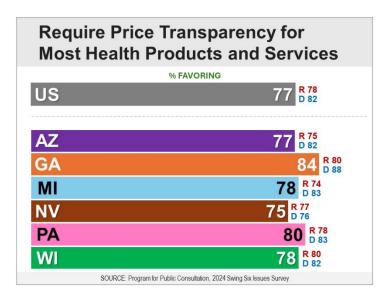




#### **Require Price Transparency**

<u>Proposal</u>: Continuing the Executive Branch policy that requires most health and insurance providers to make their prices publicly available, as a means of promoting competition.

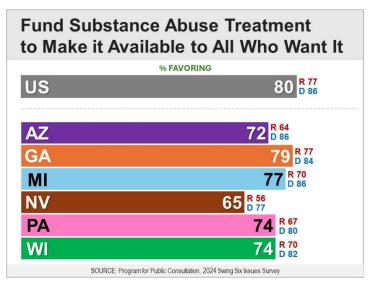
<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (75%-84%), including majorities of Republicans (74-80%) and Democrats (76-88%). Nationally, support is 77% (Republicans 78%, Democrats 82%).



#### Investment in Substance Abuse Treatment

Proposal: Providing \$13 billion in additional Federal funding to help make treatment for substance use disorder low-cost or free to nearly everyone who needs and wants it.

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (65-79%), including majorities of Republicans (56-77%) and Democrats (77-86%). Nationally, support is 80% (Republicans 77%, Democrats 86%).





### **HOUSING COSTS**

#### BIPARTISAN MAJORITIES IN EVERY SWING STATE & NATIONALLY

- Provide billions in grants and tax incentives to build or repair homes affordable for low and middle-income households
- \$24 billion worth of new public Housing Vouchers
- Require large corporations to sell all of the single-family houses they own
- Deny large corporations any tax deductions related to their purchase or ownership of houses



#### **DETAILS:**

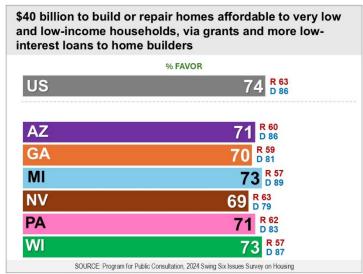
#### Federal Investment in Housing Affordable to Low- and Middle-Income Households

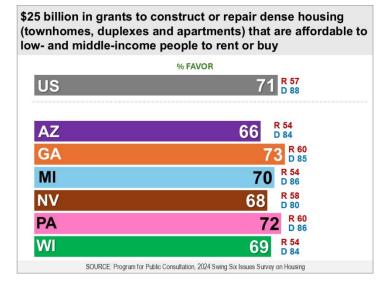
<u>Proposal</u>: \$40 billion to build or repair housing affordable to very low and low-income households, through 1) grants to cities and states, and 2) support for more low-interest loans to home builders.

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (69-73%). This includes majorities of Republicans (57-63%) and Democrats (79-89%). Nationally, support is 74% (Republicans 63%, Democrats 86%).

<u>Proposal</u>: \$25 billion to build or repair housing affordable to low and middle-income households, through grants to cities and states.

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (66-73%), including majorities of Republicans (54-60%) and Democrats (80-86%). Nationally, support is 71% (Republicans 57%, Democrats 88%).





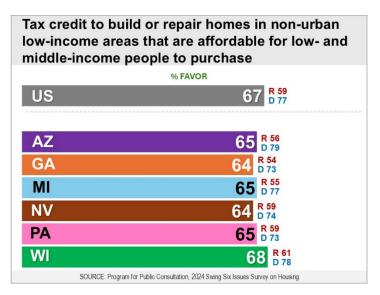
<u>Proposal</u>: Providing a tax credit for building or repairing housing to be rented, on the condition that 60% of them are affordable to middle-income households.

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (69-73%), including majorities of Republicans (56-64%) and Democrats (79-86%). Nationally, support is 73% (Republicans 63%, Democrats 85%).

<u>Proposal</u>: Providing tax incentives for building or repairing housing that is affordable for low and middle-income people to purchase—specifically in low-income, non-urban areas.

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (64-68%), including majorities of Republicans (54-61%) and Democrats (73-79%). Nationally, support is 67% (Republicans 59%, Democrats 77%).

#### Tax credit to build or repair homes, on the condition that 60% of the homes are affordable to middle-income households to rent % FAVOR US 73 R 63 70 R 61 AZ 72 R 64 GA 69 R 56 MI 69 R 62 NV 72 R 64 PA WI SOURCE: Program for Public Consultation, 2024 Swing Six Issues Survey on Housing

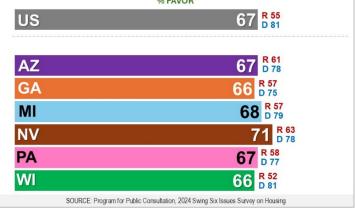


#### **Reduce Large Corporate Ownership of Houses**

Proposal: Requiring corporations with more than \$50 million in assets to sell all their single-family houses, townhouses and duplexes within the next ten years, and prohibit them from buying any more, with substantial financial penalties for noncompliance.

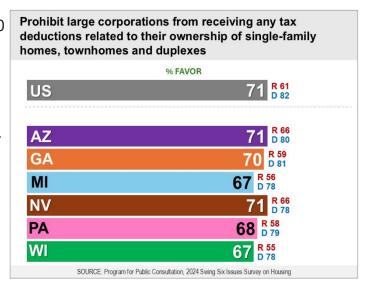
Support: Majorities in every swing state (66-71%), including majorities of Democrats (75-81%). Among Republicans, majorities are in favor in five of the swing states (57-63%) and nationally (55%). In Wisconsin, Republicans are statistically divided (52%). Nationally, a bipartisan majority of 67% are in support (Republicans 55%, Democrats 81%).





<u>Proposal</u>: Denying corporations that own more than 50 single-family houses, townhouses or duplexes any Federal tax deductions related to their ownership of those houses (e.g. for mortgage interest or depreciation).

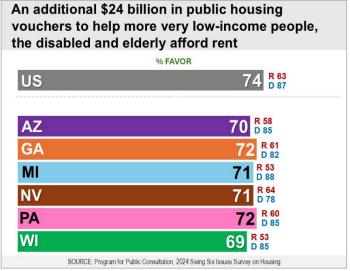
<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (67-71%), including majorities of Republicans (55-66%) and Democrats (78-81%). Nationally, support is 71% (Republicans 61%, Democrats 82%).



#### **Provide More Public Housing Vouchers**

<u>Proposal</u>: Providing an additional \$24 billion to public Housing Vouchers to help more very low-income, disabled and elderly people cover rent in the private housing market.

Support: Majorities in every swing state (69-72%), including majorities of Democrats (78-88%). Among Republicans, majorities are in favor in Arizona, Georgia, Nevada and Pennsylvania (58-64%), and nationally (63%), while they are statistically divided in Michigan and Wisconsin (53% in each). Nationally, a bipartisan majority of 74% are in support (Republicans 63%, Democrats 87%).





## **FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN**

#### BIPARTISAN MAJORITY IN ALL SIX SWING STATES & NATIONALLY

- Reinstate the pandemic-era Child Tax Credits, which had a maximum credit of \$3,600 and were fully refundable
- \$25 billion for states to set up free universal preschool
- Subsidize childcare so low- and middle-income parents pay no more than 7% of their income

## BIPARTISAN MAJORITY IN FIVE SWING STATES & NATIONALLY; IN ONE STATE DEMOCRATS IN FAVOR, REPUBLICANS DIVIDED

Create a national 12-week paid family and medical leave program for all workers

## BIPARTISAN MAJORITY IN THREE SWING STATES & NATIONALLY; IN THREE STATES DEMOCRATS IN FAVOR, REPUBLICANS DIVIDED

Provide a \$6,000 Child Tax Credit for parents of children under age one

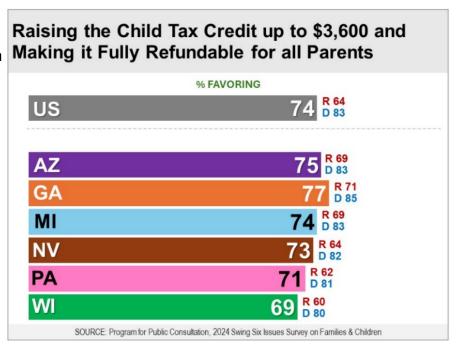


#### **DETAILS:**

#### Child Tax Credit

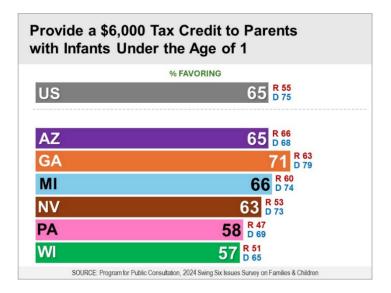
<u>Proposal</u>: Reinstating the pandemic-era Child Tax Credit, which had a maximum of \$3,600 and was fully refundable.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in the swing states (69-77%), including majorities of Republicans (60-71%) and Democrats (80-85%). Nationally, support is 74% (Republicans 64%, Democrats 83%).



<u>Proposal</u>: Raising the Child Tax Credit to \$6,000 for parents of children under the age of one.

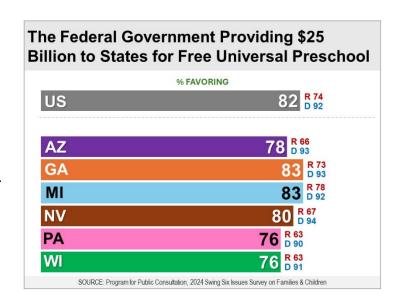
Support: Majorities in every swing state (57-71%), including majorities of Democrats (65-79%). However, views are more mixed among Republicans: Majorities are in support in Arizona, Georgia, and Michigan (60-66%), and they are statistically divided in Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin (47%-53%). Nationally, a bipartisan majority of 65% are in support (Republicans 55%, Democrats 75%)



#### Federal Funding of Universal Free Preschool

Proposal: \$25 billion to help states or local governments that want to set up or expand free preschool programs, available to all 3-4 year-olds.

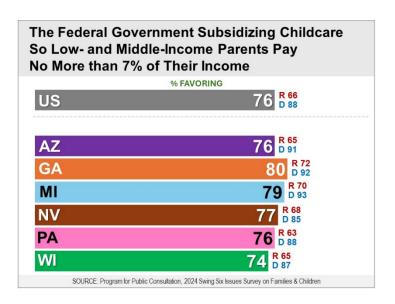
Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (76-83%), including majorities of Republicans (63-78%) and Democrats (90-94%). Nationally, support is 82% (Republicans 74%, Democrats 92%).



#### **Federal Subsidies for Childcare**

<u>Proposal</u>: Subsidize childcare programs for young children, so they are free for low-income parents and middle-income parents pay no more than 7% of their income.

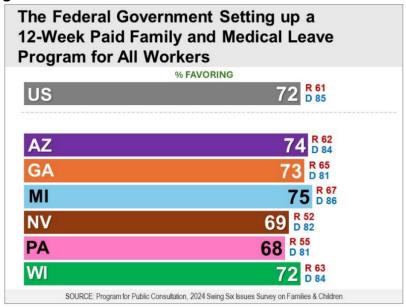
<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (74-80%), including majorities of Republicans (63-72%) and Democrats (85-93%). Nationally support is 76% (Republicans 66%, Democrats 88%).



#### **National Paid Family and Medical Leave Program**

<u>Proposal:</u> Creating a national paid family and medical leave program that would require employers to allow all workers to take up to 12 weeks of leave, providing workers on leave with two-thirds of their wages (up to \$4,000 a month). Funding would be from a new 0.2% payroll tax on both employees and employers.

Support: Majorities in every swing state (68-75%), including majorities of Democrats in every swing state (81-86%), and majorities of Republicans in Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin (55-67%). In Nevada, Republicans are statistically divided (52%). Nationally, a bipartisan majority of 72% is in support (Republicans 61%, Democrats 85%).





### **ABORTION & BIRTH CONTROL**

#### **BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN SIX SWING STATES & NATIONALLY**

- Do NOT criminalize abortion before fetal viability
- Pass a Federal law forbidding states from banning birth control
- Continue the Affordable Care Act requirement that health insurance cover long-term birth control
- Increase funding for health clinics so they can provide long-term birth control for free or at low cost
- Require public schools to teach about birth control

## BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN FIVE SWING STATES & NATIONALLY; ONE STATE DEMOCRATS FAVOR AND REPUBLICANS DIVIDED

Have a federal law for abortion, rather than leaving it up to states

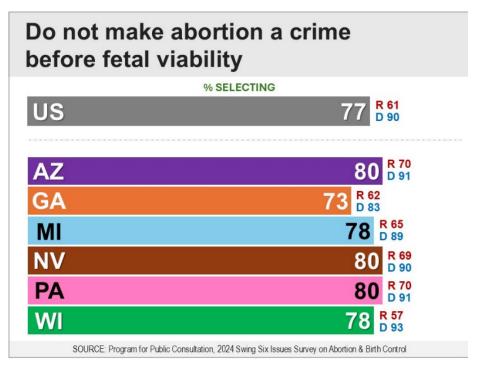


#### **DETAILS:**

#### Criminalization of Abortion

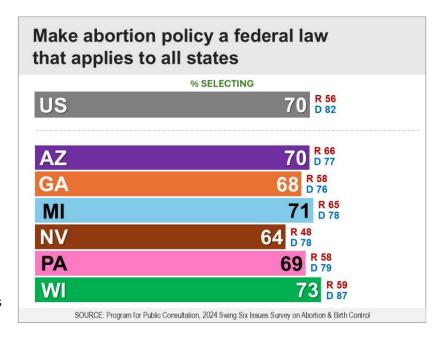
Proposal: Before making their decision, respondents were informed that criminalizing abortion can mean prison time or fines for the doctor, the woman, or both, and that if they choose to criminalize, they would then be able to choose who should be punished. Finally, respondents could choose to: make abortion a crime 1) at all stages of pregnancy, 2) only after 15 weeks, 3) only after fetal viability (22-24 weeks), or 4) not make abortion a crime at any stage of pregnancy.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state do not want abortion to be criminalized before fetal viability (73-80%) – selected only after fetal viability or do not make abortion a crime at all. This includes majorities of Republicans (57-70%) and Democrats (83-93%). Nationally, support is 77% (Republicans 61%, Democrats 90%).



Proposal: After choosing which abortion law they favor, respondents were asked whether they want their preferred abortion law to be a federal law that applies nationwide, or only the law in their own state with every other state able to have their own law.

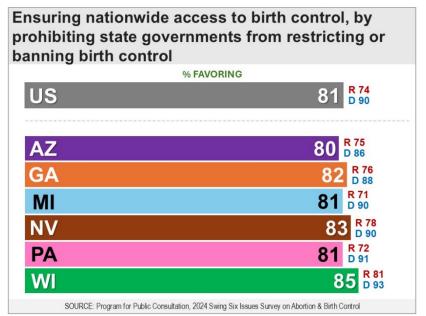
Support: Majorities in every swing state favor having a federal abortion law (64%-73%), including majorities of Democrats (76-87%). Among Republicans, majorities prefer a federal law in five states (58-66%) and nationally (56%), but are divided in Nevada (48%). Nationally, a bipartisan majority of 70% is in support (Republicans 56%, Democrats 82%).



#### Access to Birth Control

<u>Proposal</u>: Congress passing a law to ensure nationwide access to birth control, by prohibiting state governments from restricting or banning birth control.

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (80-85%), including majorities of Republicans (71%-81%) and Democrats (86%-93%). Nationally, support is 81% (Republicans 74%, Democrats 90%).





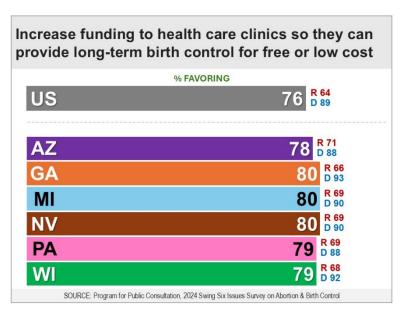
<u>Proposal</u>: Continue the Affordable Care Act mandate that most insurance plans cover long-term birth control such as the pill and IUDs.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (85-90%), including majorities of Republicans (76-87%) and Democrats (91-96%). Nationally, support is 85% (Republicans 78%, Democrats 94%).

<u>Proposal</u>: Increase funding for health care clinics so they can provide long-term birth control for free or at a low cost to low-income women.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (78-80%), including majorities of Republicans (66-71%) and Democrats (88-93%). Nationally, support is 76% (Republicans 64%, Democrats 89%).

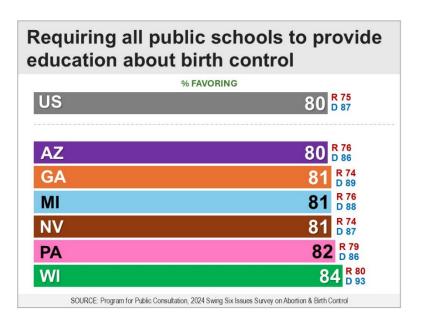
#### Federal government continue to require health insurance to cover long-term birth control % FAVORING 85 R 78 US 85 R 80 AZ 86 R 76 GA 86 R 77 MI 90 R 87 NV 89 R 84 PA 89 R 84 WI SOURCE: Program for Public Consultation, 2024 Swing Six Issues Survey on Abortion & Birth Control



#### **Education about Birth Control**

<u>Proposal</u>: Require all public schools to provide education about birth control.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (80-84%), including majorities of Republicans (74-80%) and Democrats (86-93%). Nationally, support is 80% (Republicans 75%, Democrats 87%).



## **IMMIGRATION AND THE BORDER**

#### **BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN SIX SWING STATES & NATIONALLY**

- Do NOT undertake a program of mass deportation throughout the country
- Employ 2,000 new Border Patrol officers and increase funding for border surveillance
- Require employers verify all new hires are legal, using the E-Verify system, while at the same time increasing the number of work visas to meet the demand for workers



#### **DETAILS:**

#### **Mass Deportation**

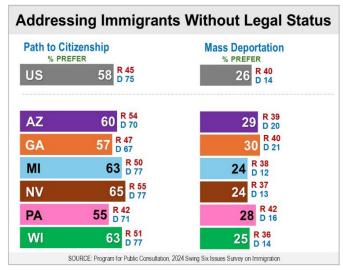
<u>Proposals:</u> Respondents evaluated two proposals, including pro and con arguments for each, for dealing with the millions of undocumented immigrants who have been living in the US:

- Create a new type of visa that would be available to undocumented immigrants who have been living in the US for some years and have not committed a serious crime. They would pay a penalty, and any taxes they owe. After several years, they would be allowed to apply for citizenship. Those who do not apply or qualify for the visa would be subject to deportation.
- Undertake a program of mass deportation throughout the country, with the goal of finding, detaining and deporting most or all of the 11 million people who have been living in the US without legal status. States would be asked to use their local law enforcement or National Guard, and the Federal government may use the military. Large facilities would be built to hold people who have been detained. The cost would be \$100 billion or more.

They were then asked which proposal they prefer, and given the option to choose "neither".

<u>Support:</u> Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (69-75%) do not support mass deportation – they chose a path to citizenship or neither. This includes majorities of Republicans (56-64%) and Democrats (78-86%). Nationally, 73% do not support mass deportation (Republicans 58%, Democrats 85%)

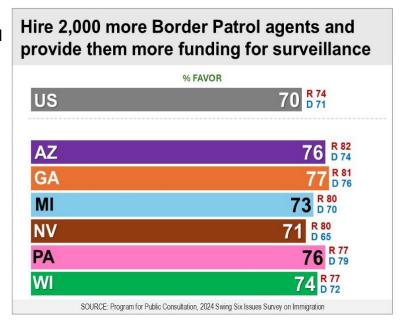
The path to citizenship option is preferred by overall majorities in every swing state (55-65%), including majorities of Democrats (67-77%). Among Republicans in five of the six swing states a path to citizenship is preferred over mass deportation: majorities prefer a path to citizenship in Arizona, Nevada and Wisconsin, (51-55%), as well as pluralities in Michigan (50% vs 38%) and Georgia (47% vs 40%). In Pennsylvania, Republicans are evenly divided (42% for each option). Nationally, 58% prefer a path to citizenship, including a majority of Democrats (75%), as well as 45% of Republicans, with 40% supporting mass deportation.



#### **Border Security**

<u>Proposal</u>: Increase the number of Border Patrol agents from about 20,000 to 22,000, and provide them more funding for surveillance.

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (71-77%), including majorities of Republicans (77-82%) and Democrats (65-79%). Nationally, support is 70% (Republicans 74%, Democrats 71%).



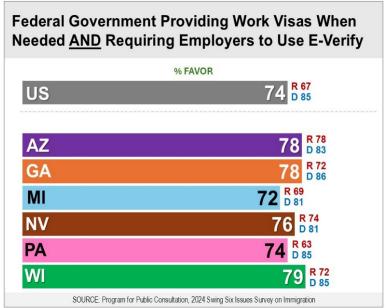
#### Migrant Workers

<u>Proposal</u>: Respondents evaluated two proposals to deter illegal border crossings by migrant workers:

- Require employers to verify that all new hires are legally allowed to work in the US by using the E-Verify system
- Increase the number of work visas available to meet the demand for such workers, which in the current economy would substantially increase the number of visas available.

Those who only favored one of the proposals were then asked whether they would favor both as a package.

<u>Support</u>: Combining those who favored each proposal on their own, with those who favored both proposals only as a package, a bipartisan majority in every swing state favors both proposals (72-79%), including majorities of Republicans (63-78%) and Democrats (81-86%). Nationally, support is 74% (Republicans 67%, Democrats 85%).



### **INTERNATIONAL TRADE & TARIFFS**

#### **BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN SIX SWING STATES & NATIONALLY**

- The US continuing the current international arrangement of having mutually low tariffs, rather than raising tariffs on all imports to 10-20 percent
- Continue the high tariffs on Chinese imports
- The US working to make agreements with enforceable labor and environmental standards



#### **DETAILS:**

#### Continuing with Low Tariffs vs Raising All Tariffs to 10-20 Percent

Proposal: Respondents evaluated two proposals: The US continuing to actively work to promote international trade through a system in which countries negotiate to lower their tariffs on a mutual basis, provided each country abides by agreed-upon rules; or the US imposing 10-20 percent tariffs on imports from all countries, including those with which we have free trade agreements. Finally, they were asked to choose which they preferred.

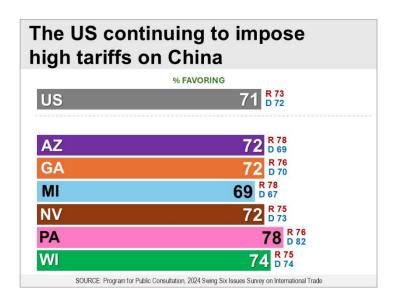
Support: The US continuing to have low tariffs on a mutual basis with other countries, provided they abide by agreed-upon rules, is preferred by bipartisan majorities in every swing state (64-71%), including majorities of Republicans (57-65%) and Democrats (66-77%). Nationally, it is 68% (Republicans 60%, Democrats 77%).

ld US tariff	policy be?	
basis with other	Continue to have low tariffs on a mutu- basis with other countries, provided they abide by agreed-upon rules	
US	68 R 60 D 77	
AZ	67 R 60	
GA	64 R 57	
MI	71 R 65	
NV	69 R 60	
PA	65 R 57	
	D 50	
	Continue to have basis with other they abide by US  AZ  GA  MI  NV	

#### **Higher Tariffs on Chinese Imports**

Proposal: The US continuing to impose tariffs of about 20% on average on Chinese imports, in response to their alleged violations of international trade rules, specifically the Chinese government's failure to stop Chinese companies from stealing US intellectual property, or trying to undermine foreign companies by selling products at a much lower cost in other countries than what they sell them for in China (known as "dumping").

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (69-78%), including majorities of Republicans (75-78%) and Democrats (67-82%). Nationally, support is 71% (Republicans 73%, Democrats 72%).



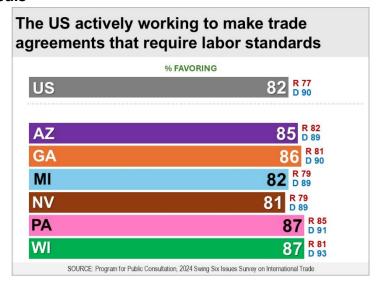
#### Labor and Environmental Standards in Trade Deals

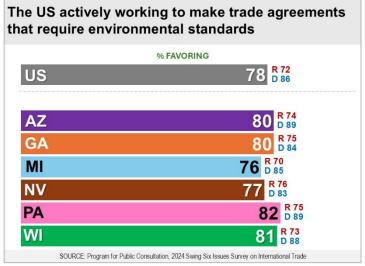
<u>Proposal</u>: The US is actively working to make agreements that include requirements that each member country abide by international labor standards (e.g. a prohibition on child labor and the right of workers to collectively bargain), do not lower their labor standards to get a competitive edge, and set up an enforcement mechanism.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (81-87%), including majorities of Republicans (79-85%) and Democrats (89-93%). Nationally, support is 82% (Republicans 77%, Democrats 90%).

<u>Proposal</u>: The US actively working to make agreements that include requirements that each member country abide by the environmental standards in any international agreements they have signed, do not lower their environmental standards to get a competitive edge, and set up an enforcement mechanism.

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (76-82%), including majorities of Republicans (70-76%) and Democrats (83-89%). Nationally, support is 78% (Republicans 72%, Democrats 86%).







## **ENERGY & ENVIRONMENT**

#### BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN SIX SWING STATES & NATIONALLY

- Continue the recently-passed tax credits for:
  - o electric vehicles and charging stations,
  - o clean energy production, and
  - energy-efficiency improvements to homes and buildings
- Continue the Environmental Protection Agency's regulation requiring new cars and light trucks to get 20-30% more miles per gallon by 2027

## BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN FIVE STATES & NATIONALLY; IN ONE STATE DEMOCRATS FAVOR AND REPUBLICANS DIVIDED

• Do NOT increase offshore drilling

#### **DETAILS:**



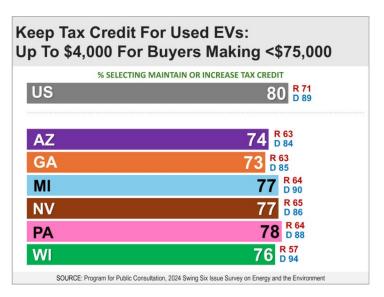
#### Tax Credits for Electric Vehicles

<u>Options</u>: Repeal, maintain or increase the tax credit of up to \$7,500 for buying new electric vehicles, for buyers making up to \$150,000.

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities support maintaining or increasing this tax credit in every swing state (73-77%), including majorities of Republicans (58-66%) and Democrats (85-89%). Nationally, it is 79% (Republicans 69%, Democrats 89%).

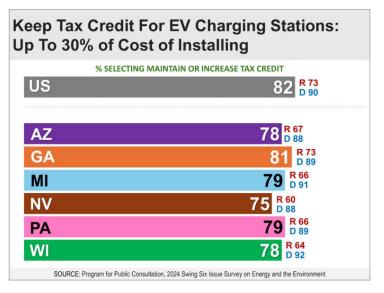
Options: Repeal, maintain, or increase the tax credit of up to \$4,000 for buying used electric vehicles, for buyers making up to \$75,000.

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities support maintaining or increasing this tax credit in every swing state (73-78%), including majorities of Republicans (57-65%) and Democrats (84-94%). Nationally, it is 80% (Republicans 71%, Democrats 89%).



Options: Repeal, maintain, or increase the tax credit of up to 30% of the cost of installing electric vehicle charging stations that are available to the public.

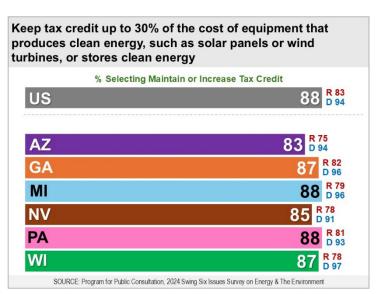
Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (75-81%) support maintaining or increasing this tax credit, including majorities of Republicans (60-73%) and Democrats (88-92%). Nationally, it is 82% (Republicans 73%, Democrats 90%).



#### Tax Credits for Clean Energy

Options: Repeal, maintain, or increase the tax credit of up to 30% of the cost of equipment for producing clean energy, such as solar panels or wind turbines.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (83-88%) support maintaining or increasing this tax credit, including majorities of Republicans (75-82%) and Democrats (91-97%). Nationally, it is 88% (Republicans 83%, Democrats 94%).



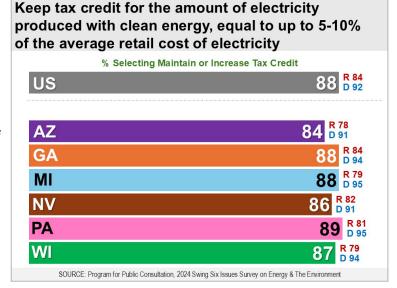


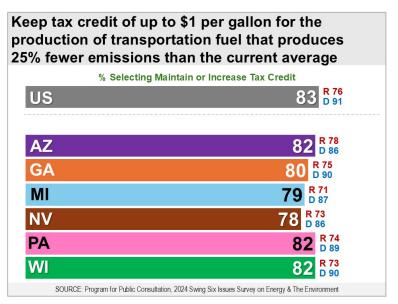
Options: Repeal, maintain, or increase the tax credit for the amount of electricity produced with clean energy, equal to up to 5-10% of the average retail cost of electricity.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (84-89%) support maintaining or increasing this tax credit, including majorities of Republicans (78-84%) and Democrats (91-95%). Nationally, it is 88% (Republicans 84%, Democrats 92%).

Options: Repeal, maintain, or increase the tax credit of up to \$1 per gallon for the production of transportation fuel that produces 25% fewer emissions than the current average.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (78-82%) support maintaining or increasing this tax credit, including majorities of Republicans (71-78%) and Democrats (86-90%). Nationally, it is 83% (Republicans 76%, Democrats 91%).

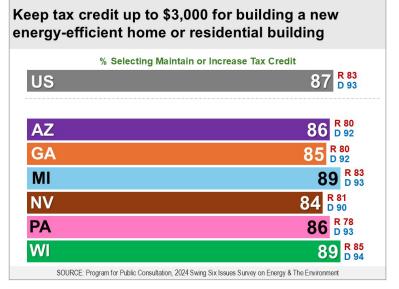




#### Tax Credits for Energy-Efficiency: Residential

<u>Options</u>: Repeal, maintain, or increase the tax credit of up to \$3,000 for building a new energy-efficient home or residential building.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (84-89%) support maintaining or increasing this tax credit, including majorities of Republicans (78-85%) and Democrats (90-94%). Nationally, it is 87% (Republicans 83%, Democrats 93%).

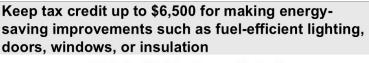


Options: Repeal, maintain, or increase the tax credit of up to \$6,500 for making energy-efficiency improvements, such as fuel-efficient lighting, doors, windows or insulation, to homes or residential buildings.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (83-88%) support maintaining or increasing this tax credit, including majorities of Republicans (76-82%) and Democrats (88-96%). Nationally, it is 86% (Republicans 82%, Democrats 92%).

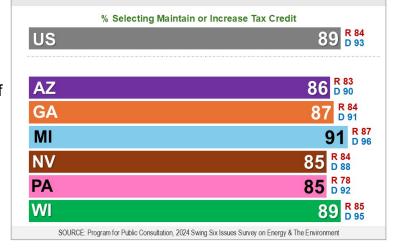
Options: Repeal, maintain, or increase the tax credit of up to \$1,500 for installing a new energy-efficient heating or air conditioning system in a home or residential building.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (85-91%) support maintaining or increasing this tax credit, including majorities of Republicans (78-87%) and Democrats (88-96%). Nationally, it is 89% (Republicans 84%, Democrats 93%).





## Keep tax credit up to \$1,500 for installing a new energy-efficient heating or air conditioning system

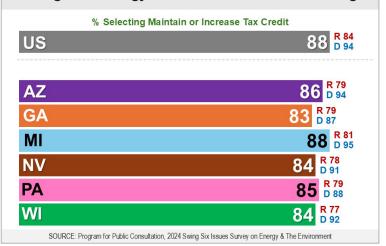


#### Tax Credits for Energy-Efficiency: Commercial

Options: Repeal, maintain, or increase the tax credit of up to \$4.75 per square foot for building new energy-efficient commercial buildings.

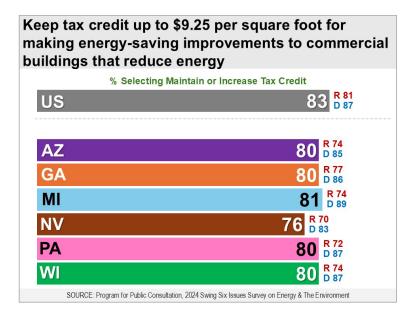
Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (83-88%) support maintaining or increasing this tax credit, including majorities of Republicans (77-81%) and Democrats (87-95%). Nationally, it is 88% (Republicans 84%, Democrats 94%).

## Keep tax credit up to \$4.75 per square foot for building new energy-efficient commercial buildings



Options: Repeal, maintain, or increase the tax credit of up to \$9.25 per square foot for making energy-saving improvements that reduce energy usage in commercial buildings.

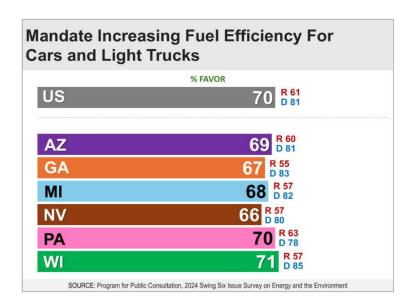
Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (76-81%) support maintaining or increasing this tax credit, including majorities of Republicans (70-77%) and Democrats (83-89%). Nationally, it is 83% (Republicans 81%, Democrats 87%).



#### **Fuel Efficiency Standards for Cars**

<u>Proposal</u>: Continue the Environmental Protection Agency's regulation requiring new cars and light trucks to get 20-30% more miles per gallon by 2027.

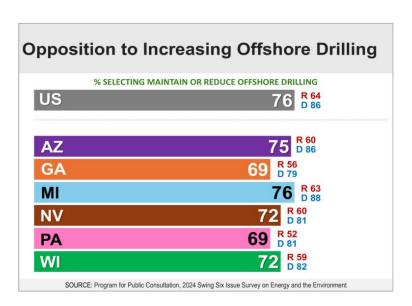
Support: Bipartisan majorities are in support in every swing state (66-71%), including majorities of Republicans (55-63%) and Democrats (78-85%). Nationally, support is 70% (Republicans 61%, Democrats 81%).



#### Offshore Drilling

Options: When the Federal government is making decisions about offshore drilling leases, whether it should seek to maintain, increase or decrease the amount of offshore drilling.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (69-76%) support maintaining or reducing the amount of offshore drilling. Among Republicans, majorities (56-63%) take this position in five states, and in Pennsylvania they are statistically divided (52%). Nationally, it is 76% (Republicans 64%, Democrats 86%).



## INTERNATIONAL ENGAGEMENT, NATO AND UKRAINE

#### **BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN SIX SWING STATES & NATIONALLY**

- US foreign policy continuing to place a high priority on the principle of collective security, which says that when a country is attacked, other countries will come together to help defend it
- Maintain US membership in NATO, and abiding by Article 5
- Continue to provide Ukraine with humanitarian aid
- Continue to abide by the moratorium on nuclear testing

## BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN FOUR SWING STATES & NATIONALLY; TWO STATES DEMOCRATS FAVOR AND REPUBLICANS DIVIDED

Continue to provide Ukraine with military aid

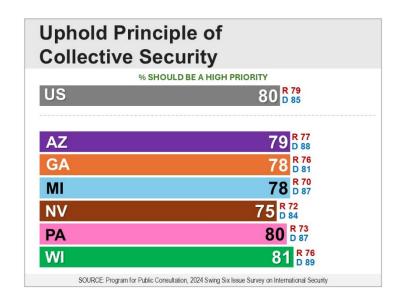


#### **DETAILS:**

#### **Collective Security**

<u>Proposal:</u> Make it a high priority in US foreign policy to uphold the principle on collective security, by contributing to collective military operations and/or using economic sanctions in response to international aggression.

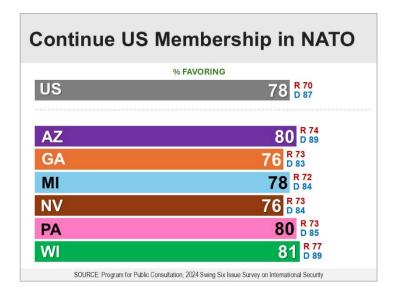
Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (75-81%), including majorities of Republicans (70-77%) and Democrats (81-89%). Nationally, it is 80% (Republicans 79%, Democrats 85%).



#### **NATO**

<u>Proposal</u>: The US maintaining its membership in NATO, and abiding by Article 5, which respondents were informed requires the US to help defend, through military force, any NATO member that comes under attack.

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (76-81%), including majorities of Republicans (72-77%) and Democrats (83-89%). Nationally, it is 78% (Republicans 70%, Democrats 87%).



#### Aid to Ukraine

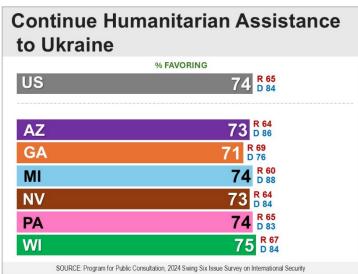
<u>Proposal</u>: The US continuing to provide Ukraine with military aid, including weapons, ammunition and intelligence.

Support: Majorities in every swing state (64-71%), including majorities of Democrats (73-85%). Among Republicans, majorities are in favor in Arizona, Georgia, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin (56-60%), as well as nationally (57%), while in Michigan and Nevada they are evenly divided (50%). Nationally, a bipartisan majority of 67% are in support (Republicans 57%, Democrats 79%).

<u>Proposal</u>: The US continuing to provide Ukraine with humanitarian aid, including food, shelter, and funding to repair their infrastructure.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (71-75%), including majorities of Republicans (60-69%) and Democrats (76-88%). Nationally, support is 74% (Republicans 65%, Democrats 84%).

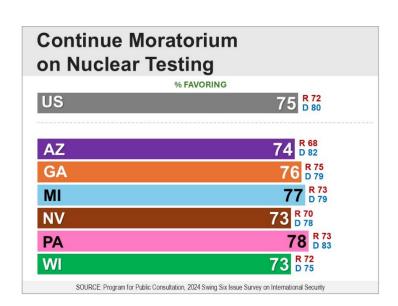




#### **Nuclear Testing**

<u>Proposal</u>: The US continuing to abide by the moratorium on nuclear testing that the other nuclear powers, except North Korea, have abided by for three decades, in line with the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty.

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (73-78%), including majorities of Republicans (68-75%) and Democrats (75-83%). Nationally, support is 75% (Republicans 72%, Democrats 80%).



### **SOCIAL SECURITY SHORTFALL**

#### **BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN SIX STATES & NATIONALLY**

- To address the Social Security Trust Fund's shortfall:
  - Subject wages over \$400,000 to the payroll tax (currently only wages up to \$169,000 are taxed)
  - Gradually raise the payroll tax from 6.2 to at least 6.5 percent
  - Reduce benefits for at least the top 20 percent of lifetime earners
  - o Gradually raise the retirement age from 67 to at least 68 years old
- Raise the minimum monthly benefit for people who have worked for 30 years, from \$1,066 to \$1,570, and keep it at 125% of the Federal poverty line
- Increase benefits for those 85 years and older by five percent
- Change the cost-of-living adjustments to focus on the goods and services that older adults tend to buy, which would increase benefits

Combined, these changes would eliminate 78% of the shortfall, extending Social Security's solvency for decades.



#### **DETAILS:**

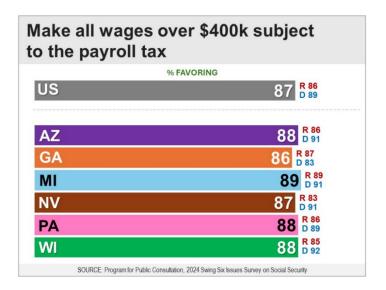
#### **How the Survey Was Conducted**

Respondents were informed about the Social Security Trust Fund's shortfall and the consequences if it is not addressed. They were presented multiple options for addressing it, including revenue increases and benefit reductions. For each, they were informed about its impact on the shortfall and evaluated pro and con arguments. Possible benefit increases were also evaluated, together with information about how they would increase the shortfall. Respondents were not instructed to reduce the shortfall, but were given feedback about the cumulative impact of their choices on the shortfall.

#### Revenue Increases

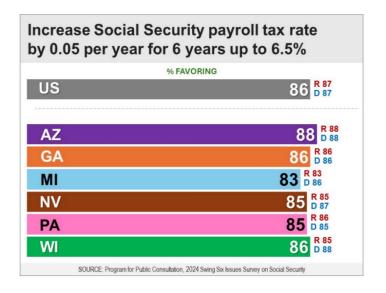
<u>Proposal</u>: Make all wages over \$400,000 subject to the payroll tax (currently only wages up to \$169,000 are subject), which would eliminate 60% of the shortfall.

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (86%-89%), including majorities of Republicans (83%-89%) and Democrats (83%-92%). Nationally, support t is 87% (Republicans 86%, Democrats 89%)



Options: Gradually increase the payroll tax from 6.2 percent to 6.5 percent over six years, to 6.9 percent over fourteen years, or to 7.2 percent over twenty years, or do none of those. Respondents were informed about the impact on the shortfall for each level.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (83-88%) support gradually increasing the payroll tax to at least 6.5 percent, which would eliminate 15% of the shortfall. This includes majorities of Republicans (83%-88%) and Democrats (85%-88%). Nationally, support is 86% (Republicans 87%, Democrats 87%).



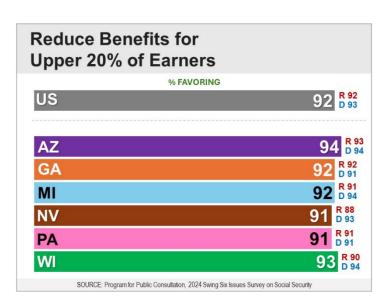
#### **Benefit Reductions**

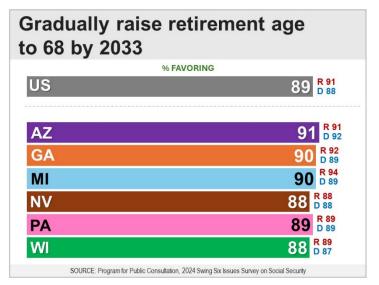
Options: Reducing benefits for the top 20 percent of lifetime earners, the top 40 percent, or the top 50 percent, or do none of those. Respondents were informed about the impact on the shortfall for each level.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (91-94%) support reducing benefits for at least the top 20 percent of lifetime earners, which would eliminate 11% of the shortfall. This includes majorities of Republicans (88%-93%) and Democrats (91%-94%). Nationally, support is 92% (Republicans 92%, Democrats 93%).

Options: Raise the full retirement age, which is currently set at 67 years old: raise it to 68 by 2033, to 69 by 2041, or to 70 by 2064, or do none of those. Respondents were informed about the impact on the shortfall for each level. Respondents were informed about the impact on the shortfall for each level.

Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (88-91%) support raising the retirement age to at least 68, which would eliminate 15% of the shortfall. This includes majorities of Republicans (88%-94%) and Democrats (87%-92%). Nationally, support is 89% (Republicans 91%, Democrats 88%).





#### Benefit Increases

<u>Proposal</u>: Increase the minimum monthly benefit for someone who worked 30 years from \$1,066 to \$1,570, and keep it at 125% of the Federal poverty line, which would increase the shortfall by 7%.

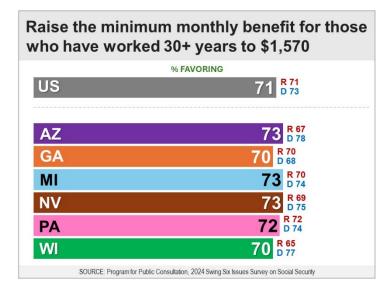
<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (70-73%), including majorities of Republicans (65-72%) and Democrats (68-78%). Nationally, support is 71% (Republicans 71%, Democrats 73%).

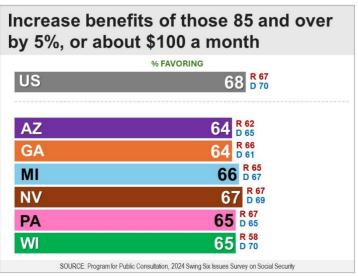
<u>Proposal</u>: Raising benefits for those 85 and over by five percent, or about \$100 a month, which would increase the shortfall by 4%.

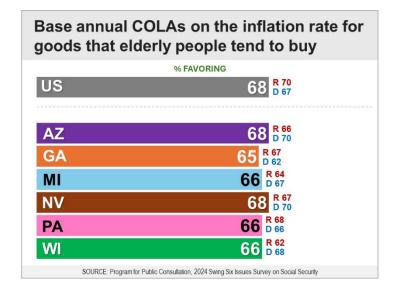
Support: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (64-67%), including majorities of Republicans (58%-67%) and Democrats (61%-70%). Nationally, support is 68% (Republicans 67%, Democrats 70%).

<u>Proposal</u>: Changing the way cost-of-living adjustments are calculated by focusing on the goods and services that older adults tend to buy (known as COLA-E), which would increase the shortfall by 12%.

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (65-68%), including majorities of Republicans (62%-68%) and Democrats (62%-70%). Nationally, support is 68% (Republicans 70%, Democrats 67%).







### STOCK TRADING BY ELECTED OFFICIALS

#### **BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN SIX SWING STATES & NATIONALLY**

- Prohibit Members of Congress from trading individual stocks,
- Prohibit the President, Vice President and Supreme Court Justices from trading individual stocks



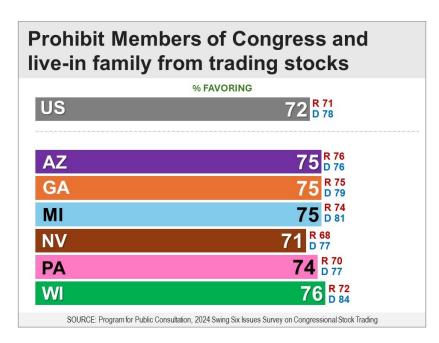
#### **DETAILS:**

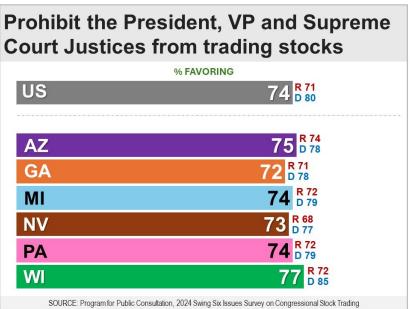
<u>Proposal:</u> Prohibit Members of Congress and their live-in family from trading stocks in individual companies, and require that they either sell any such stocks they own or put them in a blind trust. They would still be allowed to buy and sell shares in large portfolios, like mutual funds.

<u>Support:</u> Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (71-76%), including majorities of Republicans (68-76%) and Democrats (76-84%). Nationally, support is 72% (Republicans 71%, Democrats 78%).

Proposal: Prohibit the President, Vice President and Supreme Court Justices, and their live-in family, from trading stocks in individual companies, and require that they either sell any such stocks they own or put them in a blind trust. They would still be allowed to buy and sell shares in large portfolios, like mutual funds.

<u>Support</u>: Bipartisan majorities in every swing state (72-77%), including majorities of Republicans (68-74%) and Democrats (77-85%). Nationally, support is 74% (Republicans 71%, Democrats 80%).





### **Detailed Survey Methodology**

The ten surveys were fielded from May 23rd through October 14th, 2024. Nearly all surveys had approximately 1,200 national respondents or more, and approximately 600 respondents from each state of Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. The confidence intervals for the national samples range from +/-2.3% to 3.9%, and for the state samples from +/-4.4% to 4.6%. For the series as a whole, a total of 44,340 respondents participated, including 12,912 nationally, and approximately 5,400 in each state.

#### **Pre-Stratification and Weighting**

Each sample was pre-stratified and weighted by: age, race, ethnicity, gender, education, household income, and metro/non-metro status to match the general adult population. For eight of the ten surveys, the samples were further weighted by marital status and home ownership. National and state benchmarks came from the Census Bureau's 2022 American Community Survey and 2023 Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement.

The national samples were also weighted by Census region, as well as partisan affiliation to ensure a roughly equal distribution of Republicans and Democrats, including leaners. State samples that did not have a roughly equal partisan distribution were weighted by partisan affiliation to match party registration records, when available, or to ensure a roughly equal distribution of Republicans and Democrats, including leaners.

Maximum weights for the national samples ranged from 2.4 to 4.4, and for the state samples they ranged from 2.2 to 5.8.

#### Sample Collection

Sample collection was managed by QuantifyAl with oversight from PPC. Samples were drawn from multiple large online panels, including Cint, Prodege, and Dynata, whose members are recruited using non-probability sampling methods. The selected sample was invited to participate via email invitation, push notification, or SMS for cell phone users. Respondents were offered cash or cash-equivalent incentives to participate in the survey.

#### **Quality Control**

Quality control measures in the sample collection process to disqualify duplicate respondents and survey bots included:

- checking respondents' IP addresses to determine if there are duplicate respondents
- employing an "operating system & Web browser check" to determine if there are any cross-panel duplicates
- using hCaptcha to detect and disqualify survey bots.

Quality control measures within the survey to disqualify dishonest or mischievous respondents, as well as survey bots, included:

an attention-check question, e.g. Select the word that does not belong. [Tuesday]; [Friday];
 [April]; [Wednesday]

- an honesty question, e.g. What have you done in the past week? Select all that apply. [Won a gold medal at the Olympics]; [Watched TV]; [Got a license to operate a Class SSGN submarine]; [Read a book]
- a speed limit, which disqualified respondents who moved through the first quarter of the survey at a pace roughly triple the average reading speed.

Lastly, respondents were removed from the sample who answered less than half the substantive questions, or who engaged in straight-lining.