



Americans on Proposals in the 2022 Reconciliation Budget

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OVERVIEW

Over the last year, President Biden and Democrats in Congress have created a framework for a 2022 budget that includes proposals addressing health care, child care, education, housing, the environment, workforce development, immigration and numerous other areas. Currently, Congressional Committees are in the process of drafting legislation that aligns with those proposals.

The <u>Program for Public Consultation</u> (PPC) of the School of Public Policy at the University of Maryland conducted an analysis of publicly available polling data on proposals included in the budget reconciliation framework – a total of 33.

Seventeen proposals were tested using PPC's in-depth survey method in which respondents are briefed on the proposal and evaluate arguments for and against before coming to their conclusions. The content is reviewed in advance by experts who are proponents and opponents of the proposals to ensure that the briefing is accurate and balanced and that the arguments are the strongest ones being made.

Standard polls included in the analysis were conducted by Morning Consult, Pew Research Center, the Kaiser Family Foundation, Ipsos, YouGov University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center, Harvard University's T.H. Chan School of Public Health, Marquette Law School, Yale University's Program on Climate Change Communication and George Mason University's Center for Climate Change Communication.

All 33 proposals tested received majority support, in most cases large majorities. In all cases, this includes majorities of Democrats and independents. Among Republicans, majorities support 18 of the proposals and pluralities support another three, while for only five of the proposals is a majority opposed. On two proposals their views are roughly divided, and for one, a plurality is opposed. For four, Republican views vary according to how the proposal is presented.

HEALTHCARE

Medicare Negotiating Drug Prices – A large bipartisan majority supports allowing Medicare to negotiate drug prices directly with pharmaceutical companies.

Expanding Medicare Coverage – A large bipartisan majority supports expanding Medicare coverage to include dental, vision and hearing.

Medicare Eligibility Age – A large majority supports lowering the Medicare eligibility age to 60, including a plurality of Republicans.

Home Health Care – A large bipartisan majority supports expanding home health care services and support for home care workers.

Medicaid – A bipartisan majority supports providing health insurance to low-income families in states that have not expanded Medicaid.

Raising Income Cut-off for ACA Subsidies – A bipartisan majority supports expanding the ACA subsidies to raise the income cut-off to include more people.

Increase ACA Subsidies for Low-Income Buyers – A majority supports increasing the ACA subsidies for low-income people. Among Republicans, a plurality is opposed.



ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Minimum Renewable Energy Standards – A bipartisan majority supports establishing a minimum renewable energy requirement for all electric companies nationwide.

Clean Energy Tax Credits – Large bipartisan majorities support tax credits for clean energy equipment and production.

Energy-Efficiency Improvement Tax Credits – Large bipartisan majorities support tax credits for energy-efficiency improvements.

Federal Environmental Jobs Program – Large bipartisan majorities support federal job creation programs dedicated to conservation and environmental projects.

Electric Bus Tax Credits – Bipartisan majorities support using tax credits to increase the number of electric buses.

Electric Car Tax Credits – Large majorities support using tax credits to increase the number of electric cars. But a majority of Republicans were opposed.

FAMILIES AND CHILDREN

Child Tax Credits – Majorities support extending the pandemic-relief reforms made to the Child Tax Credits, which increased the amount of the credit and the number of parents eligible for the maximum amount. Republicans are either divided or a plurality in favor.

Paid Family and Medical Leave – Majorities support the federal government providing all workers with paid family & medical leave, paid for out of general revenues or with a new payroll tax. Republican responses are variable: a majority is opposed when the leave is paid for out of general revenues, while views are roughly divided when the leave is paid for with a payroll tax.

Subsidized Child Care – A majority supports subsidizing child care so that low-income families do not pay anything, and middle-income families pay no more than 7% of their income. Republican views are variable: when the idea is presented in a standard poll a plurality is in favor, but when they are briefed and evaluate competing arguments a majority is opposed.

Childhood Nutrition – A majority supports making permanent the pandemic-relief expansion of summer SNAP benefits for low-income families with children. A majority of Republicans were opposed.

Affordable Housing – Majorities support increased federal investments to build more affordable housing, with a slight majority or a plurality of Republicans in favor as well.

Financial Assistance for First-Time Homebuyers – A bipartisan majority supports providing financial assistance to first-time homebuyers.

Repairing Public Housing – A bipartisan majority supports providing funding to repair public housing.



EDUCATION

Public School Buildings – A bipartisan majority supports increasing funding to renovate and construct new public school buildings.

Pell Grant – A bipartisan majority supports increasing the size of the means-tested Pell Grants, which provide higher education aid to low-income students.

Preschool – Majorities support universal free preschool for 3- and 4-year-olds. Republicans' views vary between a plurality in favor and a plurality opposed.

Community College – Majorities support the federal government covering tuition at community colleges, but less than half of Republicans.

Minority-Serving Higher Education – Majorities and pluralities support proposals for increasing funding for minority-serving colleges and universities, with Republicans opposed.

IMMIGRATION

Undocumented Immigrants – Large majorities support providing most undocumented immigrants with lawful permanent status and a path to citizenship. Republican responses vary but majorities are supportive when they are provided more complete information about the process and the requirements entailed in gaining legal status, or if the question is about immigrants brought to the US as children (Dreamers).

WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT

Job Training – Large bipartisan majorities support increased funding for sector-based job training, specifically for cybersecurity and the enrgy industry.

Apprenticeships – A large bipartisan majority supports increasing apprenticeships through offering tax credits.

TAXES

Corporate Taxes – A large majority supports raising corporate taxes, while Republican views were roughly divided.

Taxes on Corporations' Foreign Earnings – A bipartisan majority supports increasing the tax rate on corporations' foreign earnings.

Global Minimum Corporate Tax – A majority supports countries establishing a minimum corporate tax rate of 15 percent.

Taxes on Income Over \$400,000 – A large majority supports increasing taxes on those making over \$400,000. Republicans agree in principle that the wealthy should pay higher taxes, and large majorities favor raising specific taxes on the wealthy in a context that highlights the budget deficit. However, Republicans are divided when the tax increase is in support of infrastructure.

IRS Tax Enforcement Budget – A large majority favors increasing the IRS' budget to bolster tax enforcement, particularly on those making over \$400,000, with a slight majority of Republicans opposed.



Medicare Negotiating Drug Prices

A large bipartisan majority supports allowing Medicare to negotiate drug prices directly with pharmaceutical companies.

Allowing Medicare to negotiate drug prices with pharmaceutical companies, and allowing private insurance to use those lower prices, is part of the reconciliation budget framework.

A variety of polls have found robust bipartisan majorities in favor of allowing Medicare to negotiate drug prices:

- Asked whether they would support a policy, "allowing the federal government to negotiate with drug companies to get a lower price on medications that would apply to both Medicare and private insurance," 89% were in support (Democrats 97%, independents 87%, Republicans 84%). (<u>December</u> 2020, Kaiser Family Foundation)
- After being provided a detailed briefing on prescription drug prices, and deliberating on the topic with experts and peers, respondents were asked if they favor a policy to, "allow Medicare to negotiate drug prices." Ninety-two percent were in favor, including equal shares of Democrats, independents, and Republicans (92%). (2019, Center for Deliberative Democracy)
- Asked whether they support "allowing the U.S. to negotiate prescription drug prices through Medicare," 66% were in support (Democrats 78%, independents 61%, Republicans 56%). (<u>June 2021, Morning Consult/Politico</u>)



Expanding Medicare Coverage

A large bipartisan majority supports expanding Medicare coverage to include dental, vision and hearing.

Expanding Medicare coverage to include dental, vision and hearing is part of the reconciliation budget framework.

A large bipartisan majority supports expanding Medicare coverage to include dental, vision and hearing:

• Asked whether they support "adding dental, vision and hearing to Medicare," eighty-four percent were in favor (Democrats 89%, independents 84%, Republicans 79%). (*June 2021, Morning Consult/Politico*)

Medicare Eligibility Age

A large majority supports lowering the Medicare eligibility age to 60, including a plurality of Republicans.

Lowering the Medicare eligibility age is part of the reconciliation budget framework. No specific age is mentioned, but the Biden administration has specifically called for lowering the eligibility age to 60.

A large majority overall supports lowering the Medicare eligibility age to 60, including a plurality of Republicans.



- Asked whether they support "lowering the Medicare eligibility age to 60," 61% were in support, including 75% of Democrats and 56% of independents. Among Republicans, a plurality of 49% were in support, and just 38% opposed with 12% saying they did not know or had no opinion. (<u>June 2021, Morning Consult/Politico</u>)
- Asked whether they favor "lowering the age when people become eligible for Medicare from 65 to 60,"
 65% were in support, including 79% of Democrats, 61% of independents, and 51% of Republicans.
 (December 2020, Kaiser Family Foundation)

Home Health Care

A large bipartisan majority supports expanding home health care services and support for home care workers. However, when the proposal is targeted to low-income recipients, Republican support drops to half, though with low levels of opposition.

The reconciliation budget framework calls for increasing federal funding to increase access to home health care services for the elderly and people with disabilities and increasing wages of the healthcare workers that provide those services, but details have not yet been provided.

Polls find a bipartisan majority in favor of this proposal:

Asked whether they favor "expanding home health services and support for direct care workers," 77% were in support (Democrats 86%, Independents 73%, Republicans 70%). (<u>June 2021, Morning Consult/Politico</u>)

The Biden administration has also called for increasing Medicaid funding to expand home and community-based services specifically for low-income recipients as well as to raise health care workers' wages and benefits. When the proposal is modified to target low-income people, Republican support drops to half, but with low levels of opposition.

 Asked more specifically about providing funding to "allow more people with low incomes to receive long-term care in their own homes," 63% were in favor (with just 10% opposed), including threequarters of Democrats and 60% of independents. Among Republicans, a plurality of 49% were in favor (opposed 17%, neither favored nor opposed 34%). (March 2021, AP-NORC)

Medicaid

A bipartisan majority supports providing health insurance to low-income families in states that have not expanded Medicaid.

The reconciliation budget framework calls for filling the Medicaid coverage gap, which means providing a Medicaid-style health insurance option to those who would be receiving Medicaid had their state expanded it under the Affordable Care Act.

A bipartisan majority favors creating a new health coverage option for low-income people in states that have not expanded Medicaid.

- Asked whether they favor "creating a health coverage option for low-income people in states that have not expanded Medicaid," 68% were in support (Democrats 85%, independents 68%, Republicans 53%). (June 2021, Morning Consult/Politico)
- Asked whether they favor "guaranteeing health insurance coverage to lower-income people whose states have not expanded their Medicaid program," 76% were in support (Democrats 95%, independents 74%, Republicans 54%). (December 2020, Kaiser Family Foundation)



Raising Income Cut-off for ACA Subsidies

A bipartisan majority supports expanding the ACA subsidies to raise the income cut-off to include more people.

The reconciliation budget framework calls for extending the American Rescue Plan's increase to ACA subsidies. Those increased subsidies lowered premiums for insurance plans bought on the Marketplace, for all income groups, and lowered the deductibles for all Marketplace insurance plans.

While there is no standard polling on the public's view of extending the increased subsidies, deliberative polling by the Center for Deliberative Democracy before the pandemic (2019) found a bipartisan majority in favor of raising the income cut-off to receive the subsidies.

Respondents were first provided a detailed briefing on health insurance costs and the Affordable Care
Act subsidies and deliberated on the topic with experts and peers. Respondents were then asked about
a proposal concerning the ACA subsidies. Expanding ACA subsidies to those making above 400
percent of the federal poverty line was favored by 72%, including 87% of Democrats, 70% of
independents, and 51% of Republicans (opposed 28%, in the middle 21%). (2019, Center for
Deliberative Democracy)

Increase ACA Subsidies for Low-Income Buyers

A majority supports increasing the ACA subsidies for low-income people. Among Republicans, a plurality is opposed.

The reconciliation budget framework calls for extending the American Rescue Plan's increase to ACA subsidies. Those increased subsidies lowered premiums for insurance plans bought on the Marketplace, for all income groups, and lowered the deductibles for all Marketplace insurance plans.

While there is no standard polling on the public's view of extending the increased subsidies, deliberative polling by the Center for Deliberative Democracy before the pandemic (2019) found a majority in favor of increasing ACA subsidies for low-income buyers.



Respondents were first provided a detailed briefing on health insurance costs and the Affordable Care
Act subsidies and deliberated on the topic with experts and peers. Respondents were then asked about
a proposal concerning the ACA subsidies. Increasing the size of the ACA subsidies that go to people
making under 200 percent of the federal poverty line (about \$24,000 for an individual) was favored by
60%, including 82% of Democrats and 55% of Independents. Among Republicans, less than half (40%)
were opposed, with 33% in favor and 27% answering "in the middle". (2019, Center for Deliberative
Democracy)

ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Minimum Renewable Energy Standards

A bipartisan majority supports establishing a minimum renewable energy requirement for all electric companies nationwide.

Establishing a nationwide "Clean Energy Standard" that requires electric companies to have a certain share of their energy come from renewable sources is in the reconciliation budget framework.

A public consultation survey found a large bipartisan majority favors establishing such a national standard, rather than continuing to have renewable energy standards determined on a state-by-state basis.

Respondents were first briefed on the topics of air pollution and greenhouse gases. They were then
introduced to a proposal to require electric companies to have a minimum portion of their electricity
come from renewable sources, which they were informed would raise energy prices by 1-2 percent. In
the end, 74% favored the proposal (Republicans 56%, Democrats 89%, independents 71%). (<u>January</u>
2017, PPC)

Clean Energy Tax Credits

Large bipartisan majorities support tax credits for clean energy equipment and production.

Tax credits for energy-efficiency improvement and clean energy projects are part of the reconciliation budget framework.

A public consultation survey found large bipartisan majorities in favor of tax credits to subsidize clean energy equipment and production.

Respondents were first briefed on the topics of air pollution and greenhouse gases, and then evaluated arguments for and against increasing the use of tax credits to reduce emissions. In the end, they gave their final recommendations on a series of tax credits.

Bipartisan majorities favored tax credits for:

- the cost of equipment that produces clean energy, such as solar panels or wind turbines, or stores clean energy: up to 30% of equipment costs (75%, Democrats 91%, independents 70%, Republicans 58%)
- the amount of electricity produced with clean energy: up to 5-10% of the average retail cost of electricity (76%, Democrats 89%, independents 71%, Republicans 62%)

A proposal for making ordinary fuel cleaner also received majority support, but only half among Republicans.

• Producing transportation fuel that produces 25% less emissions: up to \$1 per gallon (62%, Democrats 74%, independents 60%, Republicans 50%) (October 2020, PPC)



Energy-Efficiency Improvement Tax Credits

Large bipartisan majorities support tax credits for energy-efficiency improvements.

Tax credits for energy-efficiency improvement projects are part of the reconciliation budget framework.

A public consultation survey found large and bipartisan majorities in favor of tax credits to subsidize energyefficiency improvements.

Respondents were first briefed on the topics of air pollution and greenhouse gases, and then evaluated arguments for and against increasing the use of tax credits to reduce emissions. In the end, they gave their final recommendations on a series of tax credits.

Bipartisan majorities favored tax credits for energy-efficiency improvements:

- building a new energy-efficient home or residential building: up to \$3,000 (79%, Democrats 88%, independents 78%, Republicans 70%)
- making energy-saving improvements such as fuelefficient lighting, doors, windows, or insulation: up to \$6,500 (78%, Democrats 87%, independents 72%, Republicans 70%)
- installing a new energy-efficient heating or air conditioning system: up to \$1,500 (84%, Democrats 93%, independents 82%, Republicans 75%)
- building new energy-efficient commercial buildings: up to \$4.75 per square foot (72%, Democrats 83%, independents 67%, Republicans 61%)



 making energy-saving improvements to commercial buildings that reduce energy: up to \$9.25 per square foot (66%, Democrats 78%, independents 63%, Republicans 52%) (October 2020, PPC)

Federal Environmental Jobs Program

Large bipartisan majorities support federal job creation programs dedicated to conservation and environmental projects.

Creating a Civilian Climate Corps for conservation, infrastructure resilience, and environmental justice projects is part of the reconciliation budget framework.

A variety of polls found that large bipartisan majorities support creating federal jobs programs focused on conservation and other environmental projects:

- Asked whether they support a policy to, "re-establish the Civilian Conservation Corps, which would employ workers to protect natural ecosystems, plant trees in rural and urban areas, and restore the soil on farmlands," 85% were in support (Democrats 93%, independents 89%, Republicans 74%).
 (December 2020, Yale University/George Mason University)
- Asked whether they would support a policy to, "create a jobs program that would hire unemployed coal
 workers to safely close down old coal mines and restore the natural landscape," 83% were in support
 (Democrats 95%, independents 79%, Republicans 70%). (<u>December 2020, Yale University/George
 Mason University</u>)

A public consultation survey, in which respondents evaluated arguments for and against federal jobs programs, found large bipartisan majorities in support of creating environmentally focused federal jobs programs, or having them ready to go in the event of an economic downturn:



- A community projects program dedicated to reclaiming land affected by pollution, improving energy efficiency, or renovating older public buildings, that would employ 750,000 people at a cost of \$30 billion a year. (80%, Democrats 92%, independents 78%, Republicans 69%).
- The US Forest Service employing 100,000 young people at a cost of \$250 million a year (82%, Democrats 89%, independents 81%, Republicans 73%). (*January 2017, PPC*)

Electric Bus Tax Credits

A large and bipartisan majority supports using tax credits to increase the number of electric buses.

Increasing the production and sale of electric vehicles, in part through tax credits, is part of the reconciliation budget framework.

A public consultation survey found a bipartisan majority in favor of tax credits for electric buses.

Respondents were first briefed on the topics of air pollution and greenhouse gases, and then evaluated
arguments for and against increasing the use of tax credits to reduce emissions. In the end, 69%
favored a tax credit for manufacturers of fully electric buses, equal to 10% of the sales price of each
bus sold (Democrats 84%, independents 65%, Republicans 52%). (October 2020, PPC)

Electric Car Tax Credits

Large majorities support using tax credits to increase the number of electric cars, with a majority of Republicans opposed.

Increasing the production and sale of electric vehicles, in part through tax credits, is part of the reconciliation budget framework.

A public consultation survey found large majorities, sometimes bipartisan, in favor of tax credits for electric cars.

Respondents were first briefed on the topics of air pollution and greenhouse gases, and then evaluated arguments for and against increasing the use of tax credits to reduce emissions. In the end, they gave their final recommendations on a series of tax credits related to electric vehicles:



- For the purchase of a new electric car, a tax credit up to \$7,500 (63%, Democrats 80%, independents 64%). Among Republicans 43% favored and 55% opposed. Half of Republicans 18-34 years old were in favor (49%).
- For people making under \$30,000, a tax credit of \$5,000 for the purchase of a used electric car (64%, Democrats 84%, independents 63%). Among Republicans 42% favored and 56% opposed. However, some Republican demographic groups were in favor, including 18-34 year-olds (53%), non-whites (64%), those in households with income below \$30,000 (60%), and women (50%).
 (October 2020, PPC)

FAMILIES AND CHILDREN

Child Tax Credits

Majorities support extending the pandemic-relief reforms made to the Child Tax Credits, which increased the amount of the credit and the number of parents eligible for the maximum amount. Republicans are either divided or a plurality in favor.

Extending the reforms made to the Child Tax Credits that was part of the 2021 pandemic-relief bill is part of the reconciliation budget framework. Those reforms increased the amount of the credit, and the number of parents eligible for the maximum amount.

Majorities have supported the proposal to extend these credits, with Republicans divided or a plurality in favor.

- Asked whether they support including in "the \$1.8 trillion economic spending plan developed by the Biden administration," the provision to, "[extend] the recently expanded child tax credit for four years," 57% were in support and just 26% opposed with 18% saying they did not know or had no opinion. Three-quarters of Democrats were in support (73%), as were 53% of independents. Among Republicans, 41% were in support and 43% opposed. (May 2021, Morning Consult/Politico)
- Asked whether they support including in, "the infrastructure plan being developed by the Biden administration," the, "extension of the child tax credit expansion," 62% were in support and just 24% were opposed, with 16% saying they did not know or had no opinion. Nearly three-quarters of Democrats were in support (74%), as were 55% of independents and a plurality of Republicans (49%, opposed 39%). (March 2021, Morning Consult/Politico)

Paid Family and Medical Leave

Majorities support the federal government providing all workers with paid family & medical leave, paid for out of general revenues or with a new payroll tax. Republican responses are variable: a majority is opposed when it is paid for out of general revenues, while views are roughly divided when the leave is paid for with a payroll tax.

The reconciliation bill framework has called for a national, universal paid family and medical leave program, while the Biden administration and lawmakers have proposed a more detailed plan, guaranteeing all workers up to 12 weeks of leave, during which they would receive two-thirds of their wages.

A public consultation found six-in-ten (but only one-in-three Republicans) in favor of the federal government guaranteeing all workers 12 weeks of paid family and medical leave, during which they would earn up to two-thirds of their wages, up to a maximum of \$4,000.



- Respondents were first briefed on the prevalence of employers allowing leave and providing paid leave.
 They were then introduced to the above policy, which they were informed would cost about \$23 billion a
 year; and evaluated several arguments for and against. In the end, 59% were in favor, including 82% of
 Democrats and 55% of independents. Among Republicans, just 35% were in favor. However, a majority
 of Republicans aged 18-34 did favor the proposal (56%).
 - When broken out six ways, according to Cook's PVI rating, the proposal garnered majority support from voters in very red (56%) as well as very blue congressional districts (72%). (*August 2021, PPC*)

Two surveys (<u>PPC March 2020</u>, <u>Pew December 2016</u>) specified that the source of the funding for the paid family and medical leave would be a payroll tax (which is not the case in the current reconciliation bill proposal) and received slightly higher support overall, and in this case half of Republicans.

• In the public consultation survey respondents were briefed on the issue and presented a proposal for 12 weeks of paid family and medical leave to be supported with a new 0.62% payroll tax that would be



split evenly between employers and employees. Support was much higher among Republicans for this proposal. Two-thirds (67%) were in favor, including 86% of Democrats and 66% of independents. Republicans were divided (favor 48%, opposed 51%).

When broken out six ways, according to Cook's PVI rating, from very red to very blue Congressional districts, the policy garnered majority support in both very red (61%) and very blue (73%) districts.

• In the Pew survey released March 2017, respondents were told to consider, "proposals for dealing with employees who need to take leave from work for family or medical reasons," including "a government fund which all employers and employees would pay into through payroll contributions that would provide paid leave to any worker who needed to take it," 62% favored the proposal (Republicans 53%, Independents 57%, Democrats 74%).

Subsidized Child Care

A majority supports subsidizing childcare so that low-income families do not pay anything, and middle-income families pay no more than 7% of their income. Republican views are variable: when the idea is presented in a standard poll a plurality is in favor, but when they are briefed and evaluate competing arguments a majority is opposed.

Making childcare more affordable is part of the reconciliation budget framework, and the Biden administration has provided more specific plans, calling for low-income families to not have to pay for childcare and for middle-income families to pay no more than seven percent of their income on childcare.



A large majority supports the Biden administration's proposal for ensuring that low- and middle-income families pay no more than seven percent of their income for childcare.

Asked whether they support including funding to, "[ensure] low- and middle-income families pay no more than 7% of their income on childcare," in the "\$1.8 trillion economic spending plan developed by the Biden administration," 64% were in favor, including 79% of Democrats and 62% of independents. Among Republicans, a plurality of 45% was in favor (opposed 37%, don't know/no opinion 20%). (May 2021, Morning Consult/Politico)

A public consultation survey, that included a briefing and the evaluation of pro and con arguments, found nearly two-in-three in favor of the federal government subsidizing childcare, so that low-income families do not pay anything, and middle-income families pay no more than seven percent of their income. Republican support was much lower with a majority opposed.

• Respondents were first briefed on the costs of childcare and how much families at different income levels. They were then introduced to a proposal for subsidizing childcare costs, based on the Child Care for Working for Families Act (H.R. 2817, S. 1360); and evaluated arguments for and against. In the end, 63% were in favor, including 86% of Democrats and 59% of independents. Among Republicans, 39% were in favor with 60% opposed. However, among some Republican demographic groups, majorities were in favor, including 18-34 year-olds (55%) and non-whites (57%), as well as half (49%) of Republican women.

When broken out six ways, according to Cook's PVI rating, the proposal garnered majority support from voters in very blue congressional districts (79%) and very red districts (62%). (*August 2021, PPC*)



Childhood Nutrition

A majority supports making permanent the pandemic-relief expansion of summer SNAP benefits for low-income families with children. A majority of Republicans is opposed. However, among Republicans 18-34 and other demographic groups, a majority favors the idea.

Increasing funding for childhood nutrition is part of the reconciliation budget framework, and President Biden's American Families Plan has offered more specifics, including extending the pandemic-relief policy that has provided additional SNAP benefits to low-income families during the summer months.



A public consultation survey found two-inthree in favor of a proposal–put forward in the Americans Families Plan–making permanent the pandemic relief policy of providing additional SNAP benefits, of up to \$130 a month during the summer, to low-income families with children.

• Respondents were first briefed on the original pandemic relief policy and presented the proposal for continuing to provide those additional benefits during the summer months, which they were told would cost about \$2.5 billion a year; and evaluated arguments for and against. In the end, 66% were in favor, including 85% of Democrats and 67% of independents.

Just 44% of Republicans were in favor (55% opposed). However, majorities of Republicans in some demographic groups were in favor, including 18-34 year-olds (55%) and those in households with income below \$30,000 (57%), as well as half of Republican women.

When broken out six ways, according to Cook's PVI rating, the proposal garnered majority support from voters in very red (66%) as well as very blue congressional districts (78%). (*August 2021, PPC*)

Affordable Housing

Majorities support increased federal investments to build more affordable housing, with a slight majority or a plurality of Republicans in favor as well.

Increasing federal investments in the creation of new affordable housing and the upkeep of current public housing stocks is part of the reconciliation budget framework.

When increased federal funding for affordable housing was being considered for the infrastructure bill later in 2021, large majorities were supportive, with a slight majority or plurality of Republicans in favor. As federal funding for affordable housing was not included in the infrastructure bill, this suggests that its inclusion in the reconciliation bill would elicit similar levels of support.



- Asked whether they support, "Increased housing options for low-income Americans," being included in the "infrastructure plan being developed by the Biden administration," 70% were in support, including 87% of Democrats, 68% of independents and a modest majority of Republicans (53%, opposed 37%, don't know/no opinion 10%). (March 2021, Morning Consult/Politico)
- Told to think about, "the infrastructure package being considered by Congress," and asked whether they favor, "Funding for affordable housing," 67% were in favor and just 15% opposed, with 18%



neither favor nor oppose. Eighty-five percent of Democrats were in favor, as were 72% of independents. Among Republicans, a plurality was in favor (41%, opposed 31%, neither favor nor oppose 28%).

While just four-in-ten Republicans overall were in favor of the proposal, half of Republicans ages 18-34 were in support (49%, opposed 21%). (*July 2021, AP-NORC*)

However, when a poll specified the amount of \$213 billion for housing, while a majority overall was in favor, a plurality of Republicans was opposed.

 Asked whether they support, "\$213 billion towards building, renovating, and retrofitting affordable and energy efficient housing units," as part of "President Biden's infrastructure plan," 61% were in support, including 84% of Democrats and 55% of independents. Among Republicans, just 36% were in support (opposed 49%). (April 2021, Morning Consult/Politico)

It should be noted that the question did not clarify that the \$213 billion would be spent over 10 years and thus the respondent may have assumed that it would be spent over as short a period as one year.

In response to a more general question, an overwhelming bipartisan majority favored the federal government building more public housing.

 Asked how important it is for the, "national government to take the following actions: Build more public housing," 78% said it was somewhat or very important, including 95% of Democrats and 54% of Republicans. (<u>December 2020, Pew Research Center</u>)

Financial Assistance for First-Time Homebuyers

A bipartisan majority supports providing financial assistance to first-time homebuyers.

Expanding financial assistance to first-time homebuyers to help more people become homeowners, particularly low- and middle-income households, is part of the reconciliation budget framework.

When put in the context of the reconciliation bill, which respondents were told has no Republican support in Congress, bipartisan majorities are in support of providing financial assistance to first-time homebuyers.

Told that, "Congress is currently working to pass a budget resolution without Republican support, often referred to as the reconciliation bill, that will set spending and tax priorities," respondents were then asked whether they support the following proposals:

- Down payment assistance for first-time homebuyers (66%, Republicans 53%, Democrats 81%, independents 60%)
- A low- and middle-income first-time homebuyer tax credit, a tax credit for low and middle-income adults who have not previously owned a home. (70%, Republicans 59%, Democrats 84%, independents 65%) (Sep 2021, Morning Consult/Bipartisan Policy Center)

Repairing Public Housing

A bipartisan majority supports providing funding to repair public housing.

Addressing the public housing repair backlog is part of the reconciliation budget framework.

A large bipartisan majority supports including funding in the reconciliation budget to repair public housing, even when told that the budget did not have any Republican support in Congress.

Told that, "Congress is currently working to pass a budget resolution without Republican support, often referred to as the reconciliation bill, that will set spending and tax priorities," respondents were asked whether they support, "Funding to address repairs needed in public housing." Sixty nine percent were in support of this proposal (Republicans 57%, Democrats 83%, independents 65%). (Sep 2021, Morning Consult/Bipartisan Policy Center)



Public School Buildings

A bipartisan majority supports increasing funding to renovate and construct new public school buildings.

Increasing federal funding to renovate and construct new public schools is part of the reconciliation budget framework.

Polls have found bipartisan majorities in support of increasing funding for public school buildings and making it a top priority for Congress.

Asked whether they support a policy to spend, "\$100 billion to build and improve public schools," as part of, "President Biden's infrastructure plan," 72% were in support (Democrats 87%, independents 63%, Republicans 62%). (April 2021, Morning Consult/Politico)

In a public consultation survey in which respondents evaluated arguments for and against federal jobs programs, a large bipartisan majority supported creating a federal jobs program to renovate schools, or having them ready to go in the event of an economic downturn:

- A school renovation program that would employ 650,000 construction and maintenance workers and cost \$50 billion a year (81%, Democrats 93%, independents 79%, Republicans 69%). (<u>January 2017,</u> PPC)
- Asked whether, "increasing federal spending on school buildings," should or should not be an extremely important priority for Congress, 66% said it should be (Democrats 73%, Republicans 55%). (<u>December 2018, Harvard University/Politico</u>)

Pell Grant

A bipartisan majority supports increasing the size of the means-tested Pell Grants, which provide higher education aid to low-income students.

Increasing the size of the Pell Grant, which provides lowincome students with financial aid to help cover the cost of getting a higher education, is part of the reconciliation budget framework. The Biden administration has specifically called for increasing the maximum amount of the grant by about \$1,800 a year.

A public consultation survey found a large and bipartisan majority in support of increasing the maximum Pell Grant by \$1,800.



After evaluating arguments for and against increasing federal aid to higher education, respondents
were briefed on the means-tested Pell Grant program. They were presented a proposal for increasing
the maximum grant by \$1,800–from \$6,500 to \$8,300 a year–which they were told would cost about
\$8.5 billion a year. In the end, 70% were in favor, including 88% of Democrats, 64% of independents
and 53% of Republicans.

When broken out six ways, according to Cook's PVI rating, the proposal garnered majority support from voters in very red (67%) as well as very blue congressional districts (79%). (*August 2021, PPC*)

Preschool

Majorities support universal free preschool for 3- and 4-year-olds. Republicans' views vary between a plurality in favor and a plurality opposed.

Providing free preschool to all 3- and 4-year-olds is part of the reconciliation budget framework. This proposal was originally part of the infrastructure plan but was removed.



Majorities approve of universal or free preschool programs, when presented as part of the infrastructure plan or as part of the \$1.8 trillion spending plan. Republicans do not have a clear majority position, with less than half favoring or opposing the proposal.

- Asked whether they support including the policy to, "[Provide] free universal preschool for all 3- and 4-year-olds," in the "\$1.8 trillion economic spending plan developed by the Biden administration," 63% were in support (with just 26% opposed), including 83% of Democrats and 58% of independents.
 Among Republicans, 42% were in support and 46% opposed. (May 2021, Morning Consult/Politico)
- Told to think about, "the infrastructure package being considered by Congress," and asked whether
 they support a proposal for, "free preschool programs," 67% were in support (with just 16% opposed),
 including 83% of Democrats and 67% of independents. Among Republicans a plurality of 47% were in
 support (opposed 30%, neither favored nor opposed 22%). Republicans aged 18-34 supported the
 policy (56%). (July 2021, AP-NORC)

Community College

Majorities support the federal government covering tuition at community colleges, but less than half of Republicans.

Increasing higher education funding to make community colleges tuition-free is part of the reconciliation budget framework, but specifics for how that is achieved have yet to be spelled out.

A public consultation survey found a large majority, but less than half of Republicans, in favor of a proposal to provide two years of tuition-free community college, based on the specifics from the College for All Act (H.R. 2730, S. 1288). This proposal would have the federal government provide grants to states to help them fully cover the costs of community college tuition for any student that wants to enroll.



Respondents were first briefed on the topic of higher education costs and financial aid. They then
evaluated arguments for and against increasing such financial aid in general, and arguments for and
against the proposal to make community college tuition-free, which they were told would cost around \$11
billion a year. In the end, 62% of voters favored the proposal, including 89% of Democrats and 58% of
independents. Among Republicans, just 32% were in favor.

The number in favor increases if the federal subsidies are not limited to community college. An additional 9% favor increased federal support for community colleges if it extends to all colleges and university students, including an additional 12% of Republicans and 5% of Democrats. Thus, including those who want to increase support for community college and those who insist on a broader federal role, 71% of respondents favor some type of increase in federal support for college education, including 44% of Republicans, 69% of independents, and virtually all Democrats.

While less than half of Republicans overall favored the proposal, majorities of Republicans in some demographic groups did, including those ages 18-34 (54%), non-whites (57%), women (51%), those in households making under \$30,000 (54%) and between \$30,000 and \$50,000 (56%), as well as those with a high school education or less (57%).

When broken out six ways, according to Cook's PVI rating, the initial proposal garnered majority support from voters in very red (56%) as well as very blue congressional districts (76%). (August 2021, PPC)



When the proposal to have free community college is framed as part of the infrastructure plan or Biden's economic plan, about six-in-ten are supportive, but less than half of Republicans.

- Asked whether they support including the policy of, "making two years of community college free," in the "\$1.8 trillion economic spending plan developed by the Biden administration," 59% were in support, including eight-in-ten Democrats and 57% of independents. Among Republicans, just 34% were in support and a majority were opposed (57%). (May 2021, Morning Consult/Politico)
- Asked whether they support including funding for "free community college," in the "infrastructure plan being developed by the Biden administration," 60% were in support, including 79% of Democrats and 58% of independents. Among Republicans, just 38% were in support and 56% opposed. (<u>March 2021,</u> <u>Morning Consult/Politico</u>)

A poll by Pew Research Center (July 2021) found majority support for making *all* public colleges and universities tuition-free.

 Asked whether they support "making tuition at public colleges and universities free for all American students," 63% were in support, including 85% of Democrats. Among Republicans, just 36% were in support and 63% opposed.

While a majority of Republicans overall did not support the proposal, a majority of Republicans in households with income below \$30,000 did (60%), as did half of those with a high school education or less (48%). (July 2021, Pew Research Center)

A similar number supported making four-year public colleges and universities tuition free, but on a meanstested basis.

 Asked whether they support "making four-year public colleges and universities tuition-free for all students whose families make less than \$125,000," 64% were in support, including 87% of Democrats and 74% of independents, but just 36% of Republicans. (<u>November 2020, SurveyMonkey/New York Times</u>)

Minority-Serving Higher Education

Majorities and pluralities support proposals for increasing funding for minority-serving colleges and universities, with Republicans opposed.

Increasing funding for minority-serving higher education institutions, such as Historically Black Colleges and Universities, to reduce costs of attendance and increase research capabilities, is part of the reconciliation budget framework.

Polls have found a majority and a plurality in support of proposals for the government to subsidize tuition for students at minority-serving institutions:

- Asked whether they support including a policy of "Offering two years of subsidized tuition for low- and middle-income students enrolled in minority-serving universities/colleges," in the "\$1.8 trillion economic spending plan developed by the Biden administration," 56% were in support, including 80% of Democrats and 51% of independents. Among Republicans, just 32% were in support with 55% opposed. (May 2021, Morning Consult/Politico)
- Asked whether they support including funding for "reduced tuition at historically Black colleges and universities," in the "infrastructure plan being developed by the Biden administration," 48% were in support and 40% opposed. Seven-in-ten Democrats were in favor (68%), a plurality of independents (44%), while just one-in-four Republicans were in support (opposed 66%). (March 2021, Morning Consult/Politico)

IMMIGRATION

Undocumented Immigrants

Large majorities support providing most undocumented immigrants with lawful permanent status and a path to citizenship. Republican responses vary but majorities are supportive when they are provided more complete information about the process and the requirements entailed in gaining legal status, or if the question is about immigrants brought to the US as children (Dreamers).

Providing lawful permanent status for "qualified" immigrants is part of the reconciliation budget framework, although details have not yet been specified. The Biden administration has called for the passage of the U.S. Citizenship Act (H.R. 1177, S. 348), which would create a new long-term visa program for undocumented immigrants which would allow them to eventually receive a green card and then citizenship; and create a quicker pathway to citizenship for immigrants brought to the US as children (aka Dreamers). Under the bill, such immigrants could only qualify for this path to citizenship if they have a clean criminal record, have been in the US since January 2021, and pay any taxes they might owe.

Two public consultation surveys asked about proposals for providing undocumented immigrants with legal status and a pathway to citizenship in general and for those brought to the US as children.

In both surveys, respondents were first briefed on the topic of undocumented immigrants. They were then told about proposals in Congressional legislation that would provide undocumented immigrants with a pathway to citizenship and the process and requirements entailed; and evaluated arguments for and against each policy.

- Three-quarters favored creating a new long-term visa with a potential for permanent residency and then
 citizenship after several years for undocumented immigrants who have a clean criminal record, have
 been in the US for some time, and have paid back any taxes they owe (Democrats 92%, independents
 72%, Republicans 55%). (November 2019, PPC)
- Eight-in-ten favored providing undocumented immigrants who were brought to the US illegally as children and are eligible for DACA status, with full legal status and a pathway to citizenship (Democrats 92%, independents 74%, Republicans 69%). (*March 2018, PPC*)

Other polling generally shows majority support for giving undocumented immigrants a path to citizenship. Republican responses vary, but in all cases less than half are opposed. Polls that spell out the requirements that must be met have elicited high Republican support, while those that do not can elicit divided responses or even opposition.

- Asked whether immigrants "who have been in this country for a number of years, hold a job, speak
 English and are willing to pay any back taxes that they owe," should be allowed to stay and eventually
 apply for citizenship, 90% were in favor, including 87% of Republicans, 89% of independents, and 96%
 of Democrats. (March 2017, CNN ORC)
- Asked whether they support the White House's legislation to, "[create] an 8-year path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who are currently living in the United States," 60% were in support, including 75% of Democrats. Republicans were divided, with 42% in favor and 43% opposed. (<u>February 2021</u>, <u>Morning Consult/Politico</u>)

When it comes to giving Dreamers – those brought to the US illegally as children – a path to citizenship, polls show large bipartisan support.

- Asked whether they agree with the policy to, "create a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants brought here as children," 79% agreed (Democrats 93%, independents 70%, Republicans 68%).
 (<u>August 2020, Marquette Law School</u>)
- Asked if they support, "creating a legal way for the following groups of immigrants, who meet certain qualifications, to become U.S. citizens" and then specifying "undocumented immigrants who were brought to the U.S. as children," 66% were in support (Democrats 83%, independents 63%, Republicans 54%). (May 2021, NPR/Ipsos)

WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT

Sector-Based Job Training

Large bipartisan majorities support increased funding for sector-based job training, specifically in cybersecurity and the energy industry.

Increasing federal funding for job training is part of the reconciliation budget framework, but details for how that will be carried out are not specified. The Biden administration has called for funding more sector-based training in high-demand sectors.

A PPC survey found large bipartisan majorities in favor of increasing funding for job training in specific areas, as one response to mitigate the negative effects of increasing international trade. Respondents were first briefed on federal funding for workforce development, and evaluated arguments for and against increasing it, before giving their final recommendation on proposals related to workforce development.



- Eighty-one percent favored increasing the amount spent on training programs for cybersecurity jobs (81%, Democrats 90%, independents 72%, Republicans 74%), and
- Eighty-two percent favored increasing the amount spent on training programs for jobs in the energy industry (82%, Democrats 93%, independents 76%, Republicans 72%) (*May 2019, PPC*)

Apprenticeships

A large bipartisan majority supports increasing apprenticeships through offering tax credits.

Increasing federal funding for workforce development is part of the reconciliation budget framework, but details for how that will be carried out are not specified. The Biden administration has called for increasing the number of Registered Apprenticeships.

A public consultation survey found a large bipartisan majority in favor of increasing apprenticeships through offering tax credits to employers, as one response to mitigate the negative effects of increasing international trade.

Respondents were first briefed on federal funding for workforce development, and evaluated arguments for and against increasing it, before giving their final recommendation on proposals related to workforce development.

 Eighty-three percent favored encouraging employers to offer more extensive apprenticeship programs by offering them a tax credit up to \$5,000 for each new apprentice (Democrats 87%, independents 74%, Republicans 81%). (<u>May 2019, PPC</u>)

Corporate Taxes

A large majority supports raising corporate taxes, with Republican views roughly divided.

The reconciliation budget framework calls for corporations to pay their "fair share" in taxes, but specific details have not yet been provided. However, the Biden administration has called for raising the corporate tax rate from 21 to 28 percent, framing it as going halfway back to the 35% rate from before the 2017 tax cuts.

Asked about "tax rates on large businesses and corporations," 68% said they should be raised, including 84% of Democrats. Among Republicans a 50% plurality said they should be raised (kept the same 26%, lowered 19%). (September 2019, Pew)

In the context of a public consultation survey in which respondents could adjust federal taxes and spending as they saw fit, six-in-ten raised the corporate tax rate to halfway between the current rate and the rate before the 2017 tax cuts, with a slight plurality of Republicans opposed.

 Respondents were briefed on the 2017 reduction of the corporate tax rate, and given the options to lower it, keep it the same, raise it halfway back to the 2017 rate, all the way back, or more. Fifty-nine percent raised the rate at least halfway back to the 2017 rate, including 73% of Democrats and 55% of independents. Among Republicans, 44% raised the rate at least halfway back, with 49% keeping it the same or decreasing it. (<u>July 2018, PPC</u>)

In the context of funding the proposed infrastructure plan, a majority has favored raising corporate taxes. Republicans vary between a plurality in favor and a slight plurality opposed.

- Asked whether they would favor "raising taxes on corporations," to "pay for infrastructure improvements," 66% were in favor, including 89% of Democrats. Among Republicans, a plurality was in favor (43%, opposed 36%, neither favored nor opposed 21%). (*July 2021, AP-NORC*)
- Told that "President Biden is seeking to fund the \$2 trillion infrastructure plan through 15 years of higher taxes on corporations," and asked whether they support, "using corporate tax increases to fund the infrastructure plan," 65% were in support, including 85% of Democrats and 60% of independents. Among Republicans, 42% were in support and 47% opposed. (April 2021, Morning Consult/Politico)

Tax on Corporations' Foreign Earnings

A bipartisan majority supports increasing the tax rate on corporations' foreign earnings.

Increasing the tax rate on US corporations' foreign earnings is part of the budget reconciliation framework. A bipartisan majority supports this proposal, even when told it is specifically part of a Democratic taxation plan.

Asked whether they support, "the following components of the House Democrats' tax plan: Increasing
the tax rate for corporate foreign earnings," 66% were in support (Republicans 66%, Democrats 75%,
independents 63%). (Sep 2021, Morning Consult/Politico)

Global Minimum Corporate Tax

A majority supports countries establishing a minimum corporate tax rate of 15 percent.

The US adopting, along with other advanced countries, a minimum corporate tax rate of 15 percent is part of the budget reconciliation framework.

When told that the purpose of this proposal is to prevent domestic tax avoidance by corporations, a majority supports countries adopting such a minimum corporate tax rate, including a plurality of Republicans.

 Asked whether they would support or oppose, "countries agreeing to a 15% minimum tax on corporations to prevent them from avoiding taxes by setting up their headquarters in countries with low



tax rates," 56% were in support, including 73% of Democrats and 55% of independents. Among Republicans, 44% were in support with 35% opposed and 21% choosing do not know or no opinion. (*June 2021, YouGov*)

Taxes on Income Over \$400,000

A large majority supports increasing taxes on those making over \$400,000. Republicans agree in principle that the wealthy should pay higher taxes, and large majorities favor raising specific taxes on the wealthy in a context that highlights the budget deficit. However, Republicans are divided when the tax increase is in support of infrastructure.

Ensuring that those making over \$400,000 pay their "fair share" is part of the reconciliation budget framework, but specifics have yet to be provided. The Biden administration has called for increasing the highest income tax rate back to the level it was before the 2017 tax reform bill, and taxing capital gains and dividends like ordinary income for those earning over \$1 million.

 Asked whether they agree with the following statement, "the wealthiest Americans should pay higher taxes," 75% agree, including 87% of Democrats, 69% of independents, and 66% of Republicans. (<u>April</u> <u>2021, Morning Consult/Politico</u>)

But when the proposed tax increase is presented by itself–without a specified purpose–a large majority still favors it, but a modest majority of Republicans are opposed.

Asked whether they support, "raising taxes on Americans making \$400,000 or more and keeping tax rates at current levels for those making less than \$400,000," 67% were in support, including 88% of Democrats and 70% of independents. Among Republicans, 45% were in support and 54% opposed. (November 2020, SurveyMonkey/New York Times)

When questions specify the purpose of higher taxes on the wealthy, large majorities support.

In the context of a 2019 public consultation survey in which respondents could adjust federal taxes and spending (not linked to a policy objective) and received feedback about the impact on the budget deficit, bipartisan majorities raised taxes on earned income over \$200,000, raised capital gains on income over \$200,000, and imposed a 4% surtax on income over \$5 million.

- Raise tax rates for income \$200,000 to \$500,000 back to the level they were before the 2017 tax reforms, generating \$55 billion (64%, Democrats 74%, independents 62%, Republicans 54%)
- Raise tax rates for income \$500,000 to \$1 million back to the level they were before the 2017 tax reforms, generating \$17 billion (68%, Democrats 79%, independents 70%, Republicans 56%)
- Raise tax rates for income above \$1 million back-to-back to the level they were before the 2017 tax reforms, generating \$39 billion (71%, Democrats 79%, independents 71%, Republicans 61%)
- Raise taxes on capital gains and dividends by treating them as ordinary income, for income \$200,000 to \$500,000, generating \$19 billion (60%, Democrats 67%, independents 56%, Republicans 54%)
- Raise taxes on capital gains and dividends by treating them as ordinary income, for income \$500,000 to \$1 million, generating \$13 billion (72%, Democrats 79%, independents 73%, Republicans 64%)
- Raise taxes on capital gains and dividends by treating them as ordinary income, for income above \$1 million, generating \$90 billion (75%, Democrats 80%, independents 73%, Republicans 69%)
- Adopt at least a 4% surtax on income over \$5 million (75%, Democrats 83%, independents 75%, Republicans 65%). (August 2019, PPC)

A large majority supports raising taxes on incomes over \$400,000 when it is linked to paying for infrastructure, with Republicans divided.

 Asked whether they support "raising taxes on households making more than \$400,000 a year," in order to "pay for infrastructure improvements," 64% were in support, including 84% of Democrats and 59% of



independents. Republicans were divided (40% support, 39% opposed). Among Republicans 18-34, 49% were in favor (29% opposed) (*July 2021, AP-NORC*)

IRS Tax Enforcement Budget

A large majority favors increasing the IRS' budget to bolster tax enforcement, particularly on those making over \$400,000, with a slight majority of Republicans opposed.

Increasing funding for IRS tax enforcement is part of the reconciliation budget framework, but details have not yet been provided. The Biden administration has called for increasing such funding by roughly \$8 billion and ensuring all new enforcement is targeted at those making over \$400,000.

A public consultation survey found majority support for increasing the IRS budget for tax enforcement, particularly on those making over \$400,000.



Respondents were first briefed on the proposal for increasing the IRS' budget for enforcement; and
evaluated arguments for and against. In the end, 68% were in favor, including 88% of Democrats and
65% of independents. Among Republicans, 46% were in favor, with 52% opposed. However, majorities
of Republicans in some demographic groups were in favor, including 18-34 year-olds (57%), nonwhites (57%), and those in households making below \$30,000 (60%).

When broken out six ways, according to Cook's PVI rating, the proposal garnered majority support from voters in very red (64%) as well as very blue congressional districts (79%). (*August 2021, PPC*)



The Program for Public Consultation seeks to improve democratic governance by consulting the citizenry on key public policy issues governments face. It has developed innovative survey methods that simulate the process that policymakers go through— getting a briefing, hearing arguments, dealing with tradeoffs—before coming to their conclusion. It also uses surveys to help find common ground between conflicting parties. The Program for Public Consultation is part of the School of Public Policy at the University of Maryland.

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