



FAMILIES & CHILDREN

- NATIONAL AND SWING SIX STATES QUESTIONNAIRE -

Field Dates: August 17 - 29, 2024

Sample Size: 4,624 adults, including approximately 600 in each state of in Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, and 1,197 nationally

Confidence Interval: National Sample: +/- 3.2% State Samples: +/- 4.5 – 4.6%

Samples Provided by: Multiple online opt-in panels, including Cint, Dynata and Prodege. Sample collection and quality control was managed by QuantifyAI under the direction of the University of Maryland's Program for Public Consultation.

This survey is going to address policies aimed at reducing costs for families with children.

You will be provided with background information, as well as arguments for and against each policy. The survey will take about 20 minutes to answer. Your answers will remain completely anonymous.

[Universal Preschool]

First, we are going to look at a proposal related to preschool. As you may know, preschool is for 3- and 4-year-olds. Preschools provide a service to both children and their parents. For children, preschools provide education and social skills. For parents, preschools provide childcare.

About half of three- and four-year-olds are enrolled in a preschool program.¹ Children from low-income families are much less likely to be in preschool.²

Most states offer preschool programs for free to some but not all children because they have put caps on the amount of funding that can be used for free preschool. Just three states (Florida, Oklahoma and Vermont) and Washington, DC, offer it free to all children.³

For parents who are unable to get a spot in one of the free programs, they have to pay for preschool themselves. The average cost of preschool is about \$8,000 a year.⁴

A proposal has been put forward for the Federal government to provide \$25 billion to states or cities that want it, to help them create or expand preschool programs that are available to all families free of cost.⁵ The federal funding would go to establishing or expanding preschool programs located in public schools.

Here is how the proposal would work:

Any state that wants to create or expand an existing preschool program could apply for a grant from the federal government. As long as the state's program is available free-of-charge to all families, regardless of income, the state will receive money to help cover most of the additional costs of providing universal preschool. If a state does not want to participate, cities within that state can apply for funding.

¹ NCES. (2024) [School Enrollment Rates of Young Children](#)

² [Kids Count Data Center. \(2020\) Young children not in school by poverty status in the United States; US Dept of Education: National Center for Education Statistics. \(2020\) Digest of Education Statistics. table 202.20](#)

³

⁴ Department of Labor. (2023) [New Childcare Data Shows Prices Are Untenable for Families; Brookings. \(2018\) What is the market price of daycare and preschool?](#)

⁵ [Child Care for Working Families Act](#) by Sen. Murray (S. 1354) and Rep. Scott (H.R. 2976)

The proposal would also require an increase in the qualifications for preschool teachers. Eventually, all preschool teachers who are part of this preschool program would need to have the same level of qualifications as elementary school teachers. Currently, most preschool teachers are required to have a 2-year degree, while most elementary teachers need a 4-year degree.⁶

Research indicates that children who go through pre-K are more likely to graduate from high school, as well as attend and graduate from college. This leads them to have higher incomes. They are also less likely to be arrested or have problems with drug abuse.⁷

However, there is also evidence that shows some negative long-term effects from early schooling, with some children developing more aggression, anxiety, or problems paying attention.⁸

In terms of the effects on parents, research has shown that when free preschool is provided, mothers are more likely to enter or re-enter the workforce,⁹ which reduces the poverty rate of families.

However, research has also shown that this increase in employment among mothers can have negative effects on their parenting. This is because working can lead to increases in stress and anxiety.¹⁰

Here is an argument in favor of the proposal:

Q1. Preschool has proven to be effective in preparing children by giving them social and academic skills that provide lasting benefits, so they are more likely to be better socially adjusted and more educated. This leads to more successful and rewarding lives. This is especially true for children from very low-income families, because it helps put them on a path out of poverty. It benefits Americans in the current world economy, where it has become increasingly necessary to be well educated.

How convincing or unconvincing do you find this argument?

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	44%	44%	88%	6%	2%	8%	4%
GOP	36%	51%	87%	7%	4%	11%	3%
Dem.	54%	37%	91%	2%	2%	4%	5%
Indep.	35%	44%	79%	13%	2%	15%	7%
Arizona	41%	45%	86%	6%	4%	9%	5%
GOP	35%	50%	85%	6%	3%	9%	6%
Dem.	52%	40%	92%	4%	2%	6%	2%
Georgia	47%	40%	87%	6%	3%	8%	5%
GOP	40%	44%	84%	7%	4%	11%	6%
Dem.	55%	36%	90%	5%	1%	6%	4%
Michigan	43%	44%	87%	8%	3%	10%	3%
GOP	39%	43%	82%	9%	4%	13%	5%
Dem.	53%	41%	94%	4%	1%	5%	1%
Nevada	42%	45%	87%	8%	3%	11%	3%
GOP	41%	44%	85%	10%	3%	13%	1%
Dem.	50%	42%	92%	3%	2%	5%	3%
Pennsylvania	43%	44%	87%	7%	3%	10%	3%
GOP	32%	48%	80%	11%	5%	16%	4%
Dem.	54%	40%	94%	3%	1%	3%	3%

⁶ BLS. (2021) Occupational Outlook Handbook: Education, Training, and Library Occupations

⁷ RAND Corporation. (2017) Decades of Evidence Demonstrate That Early Childhood Programs Can Benefit Children and Provide Economic Returns.; Learning Policy Institute. (2019) Untangling the Evidence on Preschool Effectiveness: Insights for Policymakers; NBER. (2021) The Long-Term Effects of Universal Preschool in Boston NIH. (2015) Small investment in children's education yields big results; NBER. (2005) Does Head Start Improve Children's Life Chances? Evidence from a Regression Discontinuity Design; Journal of Economic Perspectives. (2013) Investing in Preschool Programs Brookings. (2013) New Evidence Raises Doubts on Obama's Preschool for All; Journal of Public Economics. (2018) Does early child care affect children's development?; Journal of Human Capital. (2012) The Effects of Participation in Public Child Care Centers: Evidence from Chile;

⁸ NBER. (2008) Universal Childcare, Maternal Labor Supply and Family Well-Being; NBER. (2015) Non-Cognitive Deficits and Young Adult Outcomes: The Long-Run Impacts of a Universal Child Care Program; Child Development. (2003) Does amount of time spent in child care predict socioemotional adjustment during the transition to kindergarten?; NICHD. (2006) The NICHD Study of Early Child Care and Youth Development.

⁹ Study of DC universal program, plus summary of studies on other countries: Center for American Progress. (2018) The Effects of Universal Preschool in Washington, D.C.

¹⁰ NBER. (2012) Child Care Subsidies, Maternal Well-Being, and Child-Parent Interactions: Evidence from Three Nationally Representative Datasets; Journal of Public Economics. (2018) Does early child care affect children's development?; NBER. (2008) Universal Childcare, Maternal Labor Supply and Family Well-Being

Wisconsin	40%	45%	85%	10%	3%	13%	3%
GOP	29%	47%	77%	17%	5%	22%	2%
Dem.	56%	38%	94%	2%	1%	4%	3%

Here is an argument against:

Q2. Providing free preschool might be good for the economy, but it's not necessarily what's best for families and parent-child relationships. As the evidence shows, preschool increases the number of working mothers, which leads to an increase in poor parenting. Instead of the government encouraging parents to send their 3- and 4-year-olds off to a public school by making it totally free, we should be encouraging parents to spend more time with their children during those crucial years.

How convincing or unconvincing do you find this argument?

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	23%	37%	60%	28%	12%	40%	0%
GOP	25%	39%	65%	27%	8%	35%	0%
Dem.	22%	33%	55%	29%	16%	45%	0%
Indep.	20%	41%	60%	26%	14%	40%	0%
Arizona	21%	38%	59%	28%	13%	41%	0%
GOP	22%	46%	68%	25%	8%	33%	0%
Dem.	20%	32%	52%	30%	18%	48%	0%
Georgia	28%	32%	60%	27%	13%	40%	0%
GOP	28%	35%	63%	29%	7%	37%	0%
Dem.	28%	29%	57%	25%	18%	43%	0%
Michigan	24%	33%	58%	31%	12%	42%	0%
GOP	26%	35%	61%	32%	6%	38%	1%
Dem.	22%	30%	52%	30%	18%	48%	0%
Nevada	19%	36%	55%	33%	13%	46%	0%
GOP	24%	40%	63%	27%	10%	37%	0%
Dem.	17%	31%	48%	35%	18%	53%	0%
Pennsylvania	23%	34%	57%	28%	15%	43%	0%
GOP	26%	40%	66%	25%	9%	34%	1%
Dem.	20%	28%	48%	32%	20%	52%	0%
Wisconsin	18%	36%	55%	30%	15%	45%	0%
GOP	23%	44%	67%	24%	10%	33%	0%
Dem.	15%	27%	42%	36%	22%	58%	0%

Here is another argument in favor:

Q3. Federal support for pre-school is a good investment. Studies have shown that quality preschool can result in around \$3 in economic gains for every \$1 invested.¹¹ It has also resulted in less government spending. This is because the students who attend preschool earn more money when they get older, and thus rely less on government assistance or get in trouble with the law. Universal preschool also allows more parents to work full-time, earn more, and thus use less government services.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	36%	44%	81%	12%	3%	15%	4%
GOP	31%	44%	76%	17%	4%	21%	4%
Dem.	44%	43%	87%	6%	3%	9%	4%
Indep.	27%	50%	76%	16%	4%	20%	4%

¹¹ RAND Corporation. (2017) Decades of Evidence Demonstrate That Early Childhood Programs Can Benefit Children and Provide Economic Returns.

Arizona	35%	42%	77%	13%	4%	17%	6%
GOP	33%	40%	74%	17%	4%	20%	6%
Dem.	45%	40%	85%	7%	2%	9%	6%
Georgia	39%	43%	82%	10%	3%	13%	5%
GOP	32%	44%	76%	13%	4%	16%	8%
Dem.	46%	42%	87%	8%	2%	10%	3%
Michigan	37%	45%	82%	10%	4%	14%	5%
GOP	36%	45%	81%	9%	5%	14%	5%
Dem.	43%	44%	87%	7%	2%	9%	4%
Nevada	37%	42%	79%	11%	4%	15%	6%
GOP	33%	39%	73%	13%	8%	20%	7%
Dem.	47%	44%	90%	6%	1%	6%	4%
Pennsylvania	36%	43%	80%	12%	4%	16%	4%
GOP	25%	49%	74%	14%	8%	22%	4%
Dem.	49%	38%	87%	8%	1%	9%	5%
Wisconsin	33%	45%	78%	14%	4%	18%	3%
GOP	27%	42%	69%	19%	7%	26%	5%
Dem.	41%	47%	88%	7%	2%	9%	2%

Here is another argument against:

Q4. Studies show that preschool is most beneficial for low-income families. Nearly all states already have programs targeted to low-income families. We do not need to be providing free preschool to higher income families who could afford it. Plus, there's only a handful of universal preschool programs in the country and just not enough solid evidence yet that making preschool free for everyone is better than targeting it to low-income families.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	24%	41%	65%	23%	11%	35%	0%
GOP	26%	42%	67%	24%	9%	33%	0%
Dem.	24%	41%	65%	21%	14%	35%	0%
Indep.	22%	40%	62%	27%	11%	38%	0%
Arizona	24%	43%	68%	22%	10%	32%	1%
GOP	30%	44%	75%	22%	4%	25%	0%
Dem.	23%	38%	61%	24%	15%	39%	1%
Georgia	28%	38%	65%	23%	11%	34%	0%
GOP	30%	42%	71%	21%	8%	29%	0%
Dem.	25%	38%	63%	23%	13%	37%	1%
Michigan	22%	41%	62%	26%	11%	38%	0%
GOP	21%	47%	68%	25%	7%	32%	0%
Dem.	21%	34%	55%	27%	17%	45%	0%
Nevada	25%	40%	65%	26%	10%	35%	0%
GOP	30%	37%	66%	26%	8%	34%	0%
Dem.	22%	41%	63%	23%	14%	37%	1%
Pennsylvania	23%	42%	65%	25%	10%	34%	0%
GOP	25%	45%	69%	23%	7%	30%	1%
Dem.	21%	42%	63%	24%	13%	37%	0%
Wisconsin	21%	38%	60%	30%	10%	40%	0%
GOP	23%	46%	69%	23%	8%	31%	0%
Dem.	21%	31%	52%	35%	12%	48%	0%

Here is another argument in favor:

Q5. The evidence that does exist about making preschool free for all shows that it results in more low-income children participating.¹² This is because, when programs have an income cut-off, families that make just slightly above that income are shut out, even though they still can't afford to pay the full cost. Plus, targeting any program to just one income group requires creating a bureaucracy to constantly check people's incomes. Not only does this cost money, but low-income parents often don't have the time or resources to navigate a complicated bureaucracy. Universal preschool is both simpler and more effective.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	38%	44%	81%	13%	4%	17%	2%
GOP	31%	46%	77%	17%	6%	22%	1%
Dem.	47%	40%	86%	8%	2%	11%	3%
Indep.	28%	48%	76%	17%	5%	22%	2%
Arizona	34%	47%	81%	12%	5%	17%	1%
GOP	29%	50%	79%	15%	5%	19%	2%
Dem.	45%	45%	90%	6%	2%	8%	2%
Georgia	39%	42%	81%	12%	5%	16%	3%
GOP	34%	42%	75%	16%	4%	20%	5%
Dem.	48%	38%	86%	8%	5%	13%	1%
Michigan	36%	48%	84%	11%	3%	14%	1%
GOP	32%	51%	83%	14%	3%	17%	1%
Dem.	43%	44%	88%	8%	2%	11%	2%
Nevada	35%	44%	80%	15%	5%	19%	1%
GOP	35%	37%	72%	19%	8%	27%	1%
Dem.	43%	45%	87%	11%	1%	11%	1%
Pennsylvania	34%	42%	76%	18%	5%	23%	1%
GOP	23%	49%	72%	19%	9%	28%	0%
Dem.	47%	35%	82%	16%	2%	18%	1%
Wisconsin	33%	48%	81%	15%	4%	18%	0%
GOP	23%	49%	72%	20%	7%	28%	1%
Dem.	47%	45%	92%	8%	0%	9%	0%

Here is another argument against:

Q6. The federal government should not be getting even more involved in education. Whenever the federal government provides funding to states, there are strings attached. Once states start relying on the federal government to fund their preschools, then the federal government can start imposing their own standards for early education. This takes power away from the states and the voters in that state who may not agree with the federal government on what young children should be taught.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	26%	36%	62%	24%	14%	38%	0%
GOP	31%	40%	70%	22%	8%	30%	0%
Dem.	22%	32%	54%	27%	19%	46%	0%
Indep.	25%	39%	64%	23%	13%	36%	1%
Arizona	26%	34%	60%	26%	13%	39%	0%
GOP	38%	38%	76%	20%	5%	24%	0%
Dem.	19%	25%	44%	33%	23%	56%	0%
Georgia	28%	35%	63%	21%	16%	37%	0%
GOP	34%	40%	74%	18%	9%	26%	0%
Dem.	22%	32%	54%	25%	21%	46%	0%

¹² NBER. (2017) DOES UNIVERSAL PRESCHOOL HIT THE TARGET? PROGRAM ACCESS AND PRESCHOOL IMPACTS

Michigan	28%	33%	60%	25%	14%	40%	0%
GOP	35%	34%	69%	25%	5%	31%	0%
Dem.	19%	30%	49%	25%	26%	51%	0%
Nevada	23%	36%	59%	25%	15%	40%	0%
GOP	32%	33%	65%	25%	11%	35%	0%
Dem.	16%	38%	53%	25%	21%	46%	1%
Pennsylvania	29%	34%	63%	22%	16%	38%	0%
GOP	40%	35%	75%	18%	7%	25%	0%
Dem.	19%	33%	51%	25%	24%	49%	0%
Wisconsin	19%	38%	57%	27%	16%	43%	0%
GOP	26%	45%	70%	24%	5%	30%	0%
Dem.	13%	30%	44%	29%	27%	56%	0%

Q7. So, here again is the proposal:

Provide \$25 billion to states or cities that want it, to help them create or expand preschool programs that are available to all families free of cost.

How acceptable do you find this proposal, where 0=not at all acceptable, 5=just tolerable, and 10=very acceptable?

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Ref/DK
National	9%	13%	78%	1%
GOP	15%	15%	70%	1%
Dem.	2%	8%	90%	0%
Indep.	12%	23%	65%	0%
Arizona	15%	11%	74%	0%
GOP	21%	13%	67%	0%
Dem.	5%	6%	89%	0%
Georgia	10%	9%	81%	0%
GOP	16%	11%	72%	1%
Dem.	1%	5%	93%	0%
Michigan	11%	13%	76%	0%
GOP	16%	13%	71%	0%
Dem.	3%	9%	88%	0%
Nevada	12%	13%	75%	1%
GOP	19%	16%	65%	1%
Dem.	6%	8%	85%	1%
Pennsylvania	14%	12%	74%	0%
GOP	26%	12%	63%	0%
Dem.	4%	11%	85%	0%
Wisconsin	17%	11%	72%	1%
GOP	29%	13%	58%	1%
Dem.	3%	8%	88%	1%

Q8. In conclusion, do you favor or oppose this proposal?

	Favor	Oppose	Ref. / DK
National	82%	18%	0%
GOP	74%	26%	0%
Dem.	92%	8%	0%
Indep.	76%	24%	0%
Arizona	78%	22%	0%

	GOP	66%	34%	0%
	Dem.	93%	7%	0%
	Georgia	83%	17%	0%
	GOP	73%	27%	0%
	Dem.	93%	7%	0%
	Michigan	83%	17%	0%
	GOP	78%	22%	0%
	Dem.	92%	8%	0%
	Nevada	80%	20%	0%
	GOP	67%	33%	0%
	Dem.	94%	6%	0%
	Pennsylvania	76%	24%	0%
	GOP	63%	37%	0%
	Dem.	90%	10%	0%
	Wisconsin	76%	24%	0%
	GOP	63%	37%	0%
	Dem.	91%	9%	0%

Demographic Findings -- Aggregate of Six Swing States			
	Favor	Oppose	Ref. / DK
Independents	75%	25%	0%
White	76%	24%	0%
Black	89%	11%	0%
Hispanic	87%	13%	0%
Men	79%	21%	0%
Women	79%	21%	0%
18-29	90%	10%	0%
30-49	85%	15%	0%
50-64	75%	25%	0%
65 or older	67%	33%	0%
Less than \$50,000	84%	17%	0%
\$50-100,000	78%	22%	0%
\$100-150,000	77%	24%	0%
More than \$150,000	78%	22%	0%
High School or less	80%	20%	0%
Some college	80%	20%	0%
College degree	78%	22%	0%

[Childcare]

We are now going to look at a proposal that deals with the cost of **childcare, including:**

- **daycare centers,**
- **before- and after-school programs for young children, and**
- **summer programs for young children.**

As you may know, childcare has become more expensive over the last few decades. Families with children under age 5, in which the mother is working, spend on average about 10 percent of their income on childcare.

This varies widely depending on income. Among families that pay for childcare:

- lower income families (less than \$60,000 for a family of four) pay on average 35% of their income
- higher income families (more than \$150,000) pay on average 7%.¹³

¹³ Analysis of US Census Bureau's Survey on Income and Program Participation, income groups adjusted for inflation, by Center for American Progress. (2019) [Working Families Are Spending Big Money on Child Care](#); Department of Labor. (2023) [Childcare Prices in Local Areas: Initial Findings from the National Database for Childcare Prices](#) found that median prices of

A proposal has been put forward to **provide funds to states that want it, for them to help parents cover some of the cost of childcare, so that low- and middle-income families spend no more than 7% of their income on childcare.**¹⁴

The amount that the government will cover depends on the family's income:

- Low-income families -- those making about \$65,000 or less -- would have all of their costs covered.
- Middle income families -- those making between \$65,000 and about \$130,000 -- would have some of their costs covered so they don't spend more than 7% of their income on daycare centers.
- Higher income families would not have any of their costs covered.

The income cut-offs will also depend on which state the family is in, as states with more high-income people often charge much more for childcare. So, if they live in a state where the typical family has a higher income, the income cut-offs will also be higher.

Here is an argument in favor:

Q9. For many low- and middle-income families, the cost of childcare is so high that it makes little economic sense for both parents to work, even when they really want to. In over half of states, childcare for infants is more than college tuition. This keeps them stuck at lower income levels and more likely to need various government services. If childcare is affordable, they can get into the workforce. With time, as their income goes up, they will need fewer government services. This will also help expand the workforce, which will become increasingly necessary in the future as the American population ages.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	42%	43%	85%	9%	4%	12%	3%
GOP	34%	46%	81%	12%	5%	18%	2%
Dem.	53%	39%	92%	4%	2%	6%	3%
Indep.	31%	46%	76%	13%	5%	18%	6%
Arizona	42%	39%	81%	13%	4%	16%	2%
GOP	37%	41%	78%	15%	4%	19%	3%
Dem.	54%	35%	89%	8%	1%	9%	2%
Georgia	42%	44%	86%	9%	3%	11%	3%
GOP	32%	47%	78%	15%	4%	19%	3%
Dem.	49%	44%	93%	3%	1%	3%	4%
Michigan	41%	43%	85%	9%	4%	12%	3%
GOP	36%	46%	81%	8%	5%	13%	6%
Dem.	51%	39%	91%	7%	1%	8%	1%
Nevada	40%	44%	83%	11%	4%	16%	1%
GOP	36%	41%	76%	18%	5%	23%	0%
Dem.	51%	39%	90%	7%	3%	10%	1%
Pennsylvania	38%	45%	83%	11%	5%	15%	2%
GOP	26%	49%	75%	15%	9%	24%	2%
Dem.	51%	40%	91%	7%	0%	7%	2%
Wisconsin	38%	42%	80%	15%	4%	19%	1%
GOP	25%	45%	70%	23%	6%	29%	1%
Dem.	55%	36%	91%	7%	2%	9%	1%

Here is an argument against:

childcare range from 8% to 19.3% of income, with higher prices for infants and toddlers; Department of Treasury (2021) [The economics of child care supply in the United States](#) found that families with children under age 5 that paid for child care spent 13% of their income on childcare in 2017.

¹⁴ [Child Care for Every Community Act](#) by Sen. Warren (S. 388) and Rep. Sherrill (H.R. 953); [Child Care for Working Families Act](#) by Sen. Murray (S. 1354) and Rep. Scott (H.R. 2976)

Q10. The biggest reason that childcare costs have increased so much is actually government policy. They have overregulated childcare centers by strictly limiting how many children any center can have per staff member, even though there is little evidence that this alone results in better childcare. Government subsidies will not solve the underlying problem of expensive childcare. The solution to high childcare costs is not subsidies but less unnecessary government regulation and red tape.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	24%	36%	60%	26%	14%	40%	0%
GOP	29%	39%	68%	25%	7%	32%	0%
Dem.	22%	32%	53%	27%	20%	47%	0%
Indep.	19%	39%	58%	27%	15%	43%	0%
Arizona	22%	38%	60%	27%	13%	40%	0%
GOP	33%	38%	70%	26%	4%	30%	0%
Dem.	14%	37%	50%	26%	23%	50%	0%
Georgia	29%	33%	62%	24%	15%	38%	0%
GOP	31%	35%	66%	26%	8%	34%	0%
Dem.	27%	31%	58%	22%	21%	42%	0%
Michigan	21%	38%	59%	27%	14%	41%	0%
GOP	24%	43%	67%	24%	8%	33%	0%
Dem.	15%	35%	50%	28%	22%	50%	0%
Nevada	17%	40%	56%	26%	17%	44%	0%
GOP	23%	41%	63%	27%	10%	37%	0%
Dem.	13%	36%	49%	24%	26%	51%	0%
Pennsylvania	24%	34%	58%	27%	15%	42%	0%
GOP	28%	41%	69%	24%	7%	31%	0%
Dem.	20%	28%	48%	30%	22%	52%	0%
Wisconsin	17%	36%	53%	32%	15%	47%	0%
GOP	21%	41%	62%	30%	8%	38%	0%
Dem.	14%	29%	43%	35%	23%	57%	0%

Here is another argument in favor:

Q11. Families are the foundation of American society. It is in everybody's interest to make raising a family less demanding and more rewarding. Reducing the high costs of childcare for low- and middle-income families will improve their quality of life in many ways. It will reduce the tremendous economic pressures on young parents that have negative, long-term effects on their children. With less stress in the home, young children will thrive better in their crucial early years and throughout their lives.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	43%	40%	83%	10%	3%	14%	4%
GOP	38%	40%	77%	14%	5%	19%	4%
Dem.	51%	39%	90%	5%	1%	7%	3%
Indep.	35%	41%	77%	15%	5%	20%	4%
Arizona	39%	42%	80%	12%	4%	16%	4%
GOP	34%	40%	74%	15%	5%	20%	7%
Dem.	50%	41%	91%	6%	2%	8%	2%
Georgia	43%	41%	84%	11%	3%	14%	2%
GOP	36%	39%	75%	18%	4%	22%	3%
Dem.	50%	42%	92%	5%	2%	6%	2%
Michigan	41%	44%	85%	9%	3%	12%	3%
GOP	35%	48%	83%	10%	3%	14%	4%
Dem.	48%	44%	91%	5%	1%	5%	3%

Nevada	37%	41%	78%	14%	4%	18%	4%
GOP	32%	41%	73%	18%	5%	23%	4%
Dem.	45%	39%	85%	9%	2%	11%	4%
Pennsylvania	41%	40%	81%	13%	4%	17%	2%
GOP	31%	43%	74%	18%	8%	25%	1%
Dem.	52%	36%	89%	8%	0%	8%	4%
Wisconsin	36%	43%	79%	13%	4%	17%	4%
GOP	24%	45%	70%	19%	7%	27%	4%
Dem.	52%	38%	90%	7%	1%	8%	3%

Here is another argument against:

Q12. Having the government subsidize childcare is one more way that the government is trying to insert itself into people's lives. It is trying to encourage women to put their children in childcare and go to work rather than to take care of their children themselves. This is government manipulation. Using money to try to influence whether parents go to work or stay at home with their children is not something the government should be doing.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	25%	32%	57%	26%	18%	43%	0%
GOP	32%	34%	65%	25%	10%	35%	0%
Dem.	21%	26%	47%	28%	25%	53%	0%
Indep.	19%	44%	63%	22%	15%	37%	0%
Arizona	24%	29%	53%	27%	19%	46%	0%
GOP	33%	32%	65%	25%	10%	35%	1%
Dem.	17%	22%	39%	29%	32%	61%	0%
Georgia	24%	36%	59%	22%	19%	41%	0%
GOP	26%	40%	66%	23%	11%	34%	0%
Dem.	23%	30%	54%	21%	25%	46%	0%
Michigan	25%	32%	57%	26%	17%	43%	0%
GOP	33%	34%	66%	25%	8%	33%	1%
Dem.	17%	29%	46%	25%	30%	54%	0%
Nevada	20%	33%	53%	28%	18%	46%	1%
GOP	26%	31%	57%	30%	13%	43%	0%
Dem.	17%	30%	46%	26%	28%	54%	0%
Pennsylvania	26%	28%	53%	25%	22%	47%	0%
GOP	29%	37%	66%	23%	11%	34%	0%
Dem.	22%	19%	41%	26%	33%	59%	0%
Wisconsin	21%	31%	52%	28%	19%	47%	0%
GOP	27%	40%	67%	24%	9%	33%	0%
Dem.	17%	21%	38%	30%	32%	62%	0%

Q13. So, here again is the proposal:

The federal government would provide funds to states that want it, for them to help parents cover some of the cost of childcare, so that low- and middle-income families spend no more than 7% of their income on childcare.

How acceptable do you find this proposal?

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Ref/DK
National	11%	12%	76%	1%
GOP	18%	13%	68%	0%
Dem.	4%	8%	87%	1%

Indep.	14%	22%	63%	1%
Arizona	13%	13%	74%	0%
GOP	20%	16%	64%	0%
Dem.	4%	6%	90%	0%
Georgia	10%	11%	78%	1%
GOP	17%	14%	69%	1%
Dem.	3%	6%	90%	1%
Michigan	13%	12%	76%	0%
GOP	19%	13%	68%	0%
Dem.	4%	7%	89%	0%
Nevada	12%	13%	75%	0%
GOP	19%	15%	66%	1%
Dem.	7%	8%	86%	0%
Pennsylvania	16%	8%	76%	0%
GOP	27%	9%	64%	1%
Dem.	6%	6%	89%	0%
Wisconsin	17%	11%	72%	0%
GOP	27%	12%	61%	0%
Dem.	5%	7%	87%	0%

Q14. In conclusion, do you favor or oppose this proposal?

	Favor	Oppose	Ref. / DK
National	76%	24%	0%
GOP	66%	34%	0%
Dem.	88%	12%	0%
Indep.	68%	31%	1%
Arizona	76%	23%	1%
GOP	65%	34%	1%
Dem.	91%	9%	0%
Georgia	80%	20%	0%
GOP	72%	28%	0%
Dem.	92%	8%	0%
Michigan	79%	21%	0%
GOP	70%	30%	0%
Dem.	93%	7%	0%
Nevada	77%	23%	0%
GOP	68%	32%	0%
Dem.	85%	15%	0%
Pennsylvania	76%	24%	0%
GOP	63%	37%	0%
Dem.	88%	12%	0%
Wisconsin	74%	26%	0%
GOP	65%	35%	0%
Dem.	87%	12%	1%

Demographic Findings -- Aggregate of Six Swing States			
	Favor	Oppose	Ref. / DK
Independents	69%	31%	0%
White	75%	24%	0%
Black	84%	16%	0%
Hispanic	81%	19%	0%

Men	76%	24%	0%
Women	78%	22%	0%
18-29	86%	14%	0%
30-49	82%	18%	0%
50-64	73%	28%	0%
65 or older	67%	33%	0%
Less than \$50,000	82%	18%	0%
\$50-100,000	76%	24%	0%
\$100-150,000	72%	27%	0%
More than \$150,000	77%	23%	0%
High School or less	79%	21%	0%
Some college	76%	24%	0%
College degree	76%	24%	0%

[Increase Child Tax Credit]

Now let's turn to a proposal related to tax credits.

As you may know, a tax credit reduces the total amount of taxes a person owes. For example, if a person owes \$5,000 in taxes and gets a \$1,000 tax credit, then they will only owe \$4,000.

Some tax credits are also refundable, so if the tax credit is larger than the amount of taxes a person owes, they keep what is leftover.

One tax credit that people can receive is the Child Tax Credit, if they are a parent of a child under 17 that is living with them.

In 2018, Congress passed a law so that parents can receive a Child Tax Credit up to \$2,000 per child under 17, every year. The amount of the tax credit is smaller for very high-income parents, and lower for low-income parents. Parents who have not earned any income during the year generally cannot receive any tax credit.

The tax credit is also partially refundable, up to \$1,600. The amount that is refundable is smaller for lower income parents.

During the Covid pandemic, Congress passed a law to temporarily increase the Child Tax Credit up to \$3,600 per child, and to make it fully refundable no matter the parents' income. According to federal data, this change:

- reduced tax revenue by \$80 billion a year.¹⁵
- reduced the rate of child poverty by about a third.¹⁶

That law expired in 2022, and the tax credit has gone back down to being \$2,000 and partially refundable.

A proposal has been put forward to increase the tax credit back to \$3,600, and to make it fully refundable again.¹⁷

Here is the full proposal:

- 1) **Increase the maximum Child Tax Credit to \$3,600 a year for each child under age 6, and \$3,000 for each child aged 6-17.**
Very high-income parents would receive a smaller credit.
- 2) **Make it fully refundable for all parents who receive it, no matter their income.**

It is estimated that, as before, this proposed change would both reduce federal revenues and reduce child poverty.¹⁸

Here is an argument in favor:

¹⁵ Tax expenditures for CTC were \$118 billion in 2019, \$199 billion in 2021 and \$198 billion in 2022: Congressional Budget Office. (2021) [The Distribution of Major Tax Expenditures in 2019, Table 1](#); Congressional Budget Office, (2021) [Estimated Budgetary Effects of H.R. 1319, American Rescue Plan Act of 2021, Table 9](#).

¹⁶ [Expansions to Child Tax Credit Contributed to 46% Decline in Child Poverty Since 2020](#);

¹⁷ [Working Families Tax Relief Act of 2023](#) by Sen. Brown (D), cosponsors 41D, 2I; and in the Biden Administration's [Proposed Budget for FY2025](#)

¹⁸ Yale University, The Budget Lab (2024) [Child Tax Credit: Conventional Budget Scores](#), difference between "Current policy" and "2021 law" over ten years.

Q15. The higher Child Tax Credit during the pandemic lifted three million children out of poverty, and millions more low- and middle-income families were helped – all just from making a couple changes to a tax credit.¹⁹ When Congress let that law expire, millions of children fell back into poverty. That is unacceptable. Parents are dealing with rising costs of childcare, and so they need a higher child tax credit. Making it fully refundable no matter the parent’s income is necessary to get the full benefits to the poorest families. This is an easy and effective way to improve the well-being of children.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	43%	38%	81%	11%	5%	16%	3%
GOP	37%	41%	78%	13%	8%	20%	2%
Dem.	50%	35%	85%	8%	4%	11%	4%
Indep.	36%	42%	78%	16%	5%	21%	2%
Arizona	41%	40%	80%	11%	7%	18%	2%
GOP	34%	39%	73%	16%	8%	24%	4%
Dem.	52%	37%	89%	6%	4%	10%	1%
Georgia	45%	37%	83%	11%	4%	15%	3%
GOP	41%	37%	78%	15%	5%	20%	2%
Dem.	51%	35%	87%	8%	2%	10%	3%
Michigan	44%	39%	83%	12%	3%	15%	2%
GOP	39%	41%	80%	16%	3%	18%	2%
Dem.	52%	38%	89%	5%	4%	9%	3%
Nevada	43%	37%	81%	13%	5%	18%	1%
GOP	39%	36%	75%	17%	7%	24%	1%
Dem.	54%	33%	87%	9%	3%	12%	1%
Pennsylvania	39%	41%	80%	11%	7%	18%	2%
GOP	29%	42%	71%	17%	10%	27%	2%
Dem.	50%	38%	88%	6%	4%	10%	2%
Wisconsin	37%	42%	78%	16%	5%	21%	1%
GOP	25%	46%	71%	19%	9%	28%	1%
Dem.	53%	36%	89%	9%	2%	11%	0%

Here is an argument against:

Q16. The Child Tax Credit goes to many middle- and high-income parents who don’t need it. Increasing this tax credit will just put more money in the pockets of those well-off parents, who will just spend it on themselves, or save it for retirement. The higher tax credit was only meant to be a response to the widespread job losses caused by the pandemic, as a way to keep everyone afloat and stimulate the economy. But now, most people are back at work, and wages are up, so we don’t need to be giving out more money, especially not to middle- and high-income parents, and further increase the national debt.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	24%	37%	61%	24%	15%	38%	0%
GOP	27%	38%	65%	24%	11%	35%	0%
Dem.	23%	35%	59%	23%	18%	41%	1%
Indep.	21%	38%	59%	27%	13%	41%	1%
Arizona	22%	37%	59%	28%	13%	41%	0%
GOP	29%	39%	68%	23%	10%	32%	0%
Dem.	20%	34%	54%	32%	14%	46%	0%
Georgia	27%	35%	62%	21%	17%	38%	0%
GOP	29%	36%	65%	21%	14%	35%	0%
Dem.	23%	35%	58%	22%	20%	42%	0%

¹⁹ US Census Bureau. (2022) [Expansions to Child Tax Credit Contributed to 46% Decline in Child Poverty Since 2020](#); Columbia University. (2023) [What Would 2022 Child Poverty Rates Have Looked Like if an Expanded Child Tax Credit Had Still Been in Place?](#)

Michigan	24%	36%	60%	26%	15%	41%	0%
GOP	26%	35%	61%	26%	13%	39%	0%
Dem.	22%	37%	59%	24%	17%	41%	0%
Nevada	20%	38%	58%	28%	14%	42%	0%
GOP	25%	36%	61%	25%	15%	39%	0%
Dem.	19%	36%	55%	28%	17%	45%	0%
Pennsylvania	26%	36%	62%	26%	12%	38%	0%
GOP	27%	39%	67%	26%	8%	34%	0%
Dem.	26%	31%	57%	28%	15%	43%	0%
Wisconsin	22%	38%	59%	29%	12%	41%	0%
GOP	29%	38%	66%	26%	8%	34%	0%
Dem.	18%	36%	54%	31%	15%	46%	0%

Here is another argument against:

Q17. The Child Tax Credit was originally created as a way to give working parents a break, to help offset some of the costs of raising kids. It was never meant to be a full-on cash handout. Having the tax credit be fully refundable for everyone – even those who are able to work but don't – just turns it into another entitlement program. Low income and unemployed parents already get many government benefits, such as Medicaid and food stamps. Even more welfare will discourage them from working. Every study on this proposal has found that it will likely lead hundreds of thousands of parents to decide to leave the workforce, which hurts the economy for everyone.²⁰

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	32%	38%	70%	18%	10%	28%	2%
GOP	35%	40%	75%	16%	7%	23%	2%
Dem.	32%	34%	66%	19%	13%	32%	2%
Indep.	22%	44%	67%	23%	10%	33%	1%
Arizona	26%	40%	66%	20%	12%	32%	3%
GOP	33%	41%	74%	18%	7%	24%	2%
Dem.	22%	36%	58%	23%	17%	40%	3%
Georgia	34%	34%	68%	19%	11%	30%	3%
GOP	38%	36%	74%	18%	6%	23%	3%
Dem.	33%	29%	63%	20%	16%	36%	2%
Michigan	30%	35%	66%	21%	12%	33%	2%
GOP	35%	39%	75%	18%	7%	25%	1%
Dem.	26%	35%	61%	20%	16%	36%	3%
Nevada	27%	39%	66%	21%	12%	33%	1%
GOP	38%	34%	71%	19%	9%	28%	1%
Dem.	24%	38%	62%	22%	16%	38%	0%
Pennsylvania	29%	41%	70%	18%	10%	28%	2%
GOP	33%	42%	75%	17%	6%	23%	2%
Dem.	27%	39%	65%	18%	15%	33%	2%
Wisconsin	24%	43%	67%	22%	10%	32%	1%
GOP	30%	47%	77%	16%	7%	23%	0%
Dem.	20%	39%	58%	26%	14%	40%	2%

Here is another argument in favor:

²⁰ Bipartisan Policy Center. (2023) [Assessing the Potential Employment and Poverty-Reduction Effects of an Expanded Child Tax Credit](#)

Q18. Even if some parents decide to leave their jobs to take care of their children, it's estimated it would reduce the workforce by less than 1%.²¹ The long-term benefits of helping families with children and greatly reducing child poverty are much more significant. Poverty has terrible effects on children, and society as a whole. Studies show that increasing the living standards of children results in them doing better in school and earning more when they are adults, as well as reducing their likelihood of getting involved with drugs or crime. Increasing this tax credit is a smart, long-term investment to support families, improve communities, and grow the economy.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	32%	44%	76%	18%	6%	24%	0%
GOP	24%	44%	69%	24%	8%	31%	0%
Dem.	41%	41%	82%	13%	5%	18%	0%
Indep.	27%	50%	77%	17%	7%	23%	0%
Arizona	30%	43%	74%	19%	7%	26%	0%
GOP	26%	45%	70%	22%	8%	30%	0%
Dem.	37%	43%	80%	15%	4%	19%	0%
Georgia	37%	38%	75%	17%	8%	25%	0%
GOP	31%	40%	71%	21%	8%	29%	0%
Dem.	43%	34%	77%	15%	7%	23%	0%
Michigan	35%	42%	77%	17%	5%	23%	0%
GOP	33%	40%	73%	23%	4%	27%	0%
Dem.	41%	43%	84%	10%	6%	16%	0%
Nevada	32%	41%	73%	21%	6%	27%	0%
GOP	31%	36%	67%	25%	8%	33%	0%
Dem.	39%	39%	79%	16%	5%	21%	0%
Pennsylvania	33%	41%	75%	19%	6%	25%	0%
GOP	26%	42%	68%	24%	8%	32%	0%
Dem.	40%	42%	81%	14%	5%	19%	0%
Wisconsin	26%	47%	73%	22%	5%	27%	0%
GOP	20%	48%	68%	27%	6%	33%	0%
Dem.	36%	44%	80%	16%	4%	20%	0%

Q19. So, here again is the proposal:

- 1) **Increase the maximum Child Tax Credit to \$3,600 a year for each child under age 6, and \$3,000 for each child aged 6-17.** Very high-income parents would receive a smaller credit. Parents who have not earned income in the past year would also receive it.
- 2) **Make it fully refundable for all parents who receive it, no matter their income.**

How acceptable do you find this proposal?

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Ref/DK
National	16%	11%	72%	0%
GOP	25%	12%	63%	0%
Dem.	9%	9%	82%	0%
Indep.	16%	15%	68%	1%
Arizona	16%	12%	72%	0%
GOP	21%	10%	68%	0%
Dem.	9%	11%	81%	0%
Georgia	14%	10%	76%	0%
GOP	19%	11%	71%	0%
Dem.	7%	9%	84%	0%

²¹ Author's calculation applying estimates of employment impact to total labor force participation: Bipartisan Policy Center. (2023) [Assessing the Potential Employment and Poverty-Reduction Effects of an Expanded Child Tax Credit](#).

Michigan	17%	12%	70%	0%
GOP	23%	12%	65%	0%
Dem.	10%	11%	79%	0%
Nevada	17%	13%	70%	0%
GOP	25%	14%	61%	0%
Dem.	10%	8%	82%	0%
Pennsylvania	20%	13%	67%	0%
GOP	31%	11%	58%	0%
Dem.	10%	15%	75%	0%
Wisconsin	22%	13%	65%	0%
GOP	32%	10%	58%	0%
Dem.	8%	15%	77%	0%

Q20. In conclusion, do you favor or oppose this proposal?

	Favor	Oppose	Ref. / DK
National	74%	26%	0%
GOP	64%	36%	0%
Dem.	83%	17%	0%
Indep.	74%	25%	1%
Arizona	75%	25%	0%
GOP	69%	31%	0%
Dem.	83%	17%	0%
Georgia	77%	23%	1%
GOP	71%	28%	1%
Dem.	85%	16%	0%
Michigan	74%	26%	0%
GOP	69%	31%	0%
Dem.	83%	17%	0%
Nevada	73%	27%	0%
GOP	64%	36%	0%
Dem.	82%	18%	0%
Pennsylvania	71%	29%	0%
GOP	62%	38%	0%
Dem.	81%	19%	1%
Wisconsin	69%	31%	0%
GOP	60%	40%	0%
Dem.	80%	20%	0%

Demographic Findings -- Aggregate of Six Swing States			
	Favor	Oppose	Ref. / DK
Independents	67%	32%	1%
White	70%	30%	0%
Black	82%	17%	1%
Hispanic	81%	19%	0%
Men	75%	25%	0%
Women	72%	28%	0%
18-29	82%	17%	1%
30-49	83%	17%	0%
50-64	67%	33%	0%
65 or older	58%	43%	0%
Less than \$50,000	78%	22%	0%

\$50-100,000	71%	29%	0%
\$100-150,000	69%	31%	1%
More than \$150,000	74%	26%	0%
High School or less	73%	27%	0%
Some college	73%	26%	0%
College degree	74%	27%	0%

[If Oppose or skipped, Present Q20a]

Q20a. Would you favor this proposal if the tax credit were limited to low-income parents?

	Favor	Oppose	Ref. / DK	Favor Q20a+Q20
National	10%	16%	0%	84%
GOP	14%	22%	0%	78%
Dem.	7%	10%	0%	90%
Indep.	10%	16%	1%	84%
Arizona	10%	15%	0%	0%
GOP	12%	19%	0%	85%
Dem.	9%	8%	0%	90%
Georgia	13%	10%	0%	87%
GOP	14%	14%	0%	86%
Dem.	11%	5%	0%	85%
Michigan	13%	13%	0%	80%
GOP	15%	16%	0%	0%
Dem.	11%	6%	0%	80%
Nevada	13%	14%	0%	92%
GOP	15%	21%	0%	86%
Dem.	9%	9%	0%	96%
Pennsylvania	14%	14%	1%	84%
GOP	16%	21%	1%	94%
Dem.	12%	7%	1%	79%
Wisconsin	11%	20%	1%	91%
GOP	11%	28%	1%	78%
Dem.	11%	9%	0%	93%

Demographic Findings -- Aggregate of Six Swing States				
	Favor	Oppose	Ref. / DK	Favor Q20a+Q20
Independents	13%	19%	1%	80%
White	13%	16%	0%	83%
Black	11%	7%	1%	93%
Hispanic	9%	11%	0%	89%
Men	12%	13%	0%	87%
Women	12%	15%	0%	84%
18-29	10%	7%	0%	93%
30-49	7%	10%	0%	90%
50-64	14%	18%	1%	81%
65 or older	19%	23%	0%	77%
Less than \$50,000	12%	10%	0%	89%
\$50-100,000	13%	16%	0%	84%
\$100-150,000	14%	17%	1%	83%
More than \$150,000	11%	15%	0%	85%

High School or less	13%	14%	1%	85%
Some college	12%	14%	0%	85%
College degree	12%	14%	0%	86%

[Full Sample]

Q20b. Another proposal has been put forward to provide a \$6,000 tax credit to parents with infants under the age of 1. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

	Favor	Oppose	Ref. / DK
National	65%	34%	1%
GOP	55%	45%	0%
Dem.	75%	24%	1%
Indep.	63%	37%	1%
Arizona	65%	34%	1%
GOP	66%	35%	0%
Dem.	68%	31%	1%
Georgia	71%	28%	1%
GOP	63%	37%	1%
Dem.	79%	21%	0%
Michigan	66%	34%	0%
GOP	60%	40%	0%
Dem.	74%	26%	0%
Nevada	63%	37%	0%
GOP	53%	47%	0%
Dem.	73%	27%	0%
Pennsylvania	58%	42%	0%
GOP	47%	53%	0%
Dem.	69%	31%	0%
Wisconsin	57%	43%	0%
GOP	51%	49%	0%
Dem.	65%	35%	0%

Demographic Findings -- Aggregate of Six Swing States			
	Favor	Oppose	Ref. / DK
Independents	60%	40%	0%
White	59%	41%	0%
Black	80%	20%	0%
Hispanic	71%	28%	1%
Men	66%	34%	0%
Women	61%	39%	0%
18-29	79%	20%	1%
30-49	74%	25%	0%
50-64	55%	45%	0%
65 or older	43%	57%	0%
Less than \$50,000	68%	31%	0%
\$50-100,000	62%	38%	0%
\$100-150,000	57%	43%	0%
More than \$150,000	65%	35%	0%
High School or less	64%	36%	0%
Some college	63%	37%	0%
College degree	64%	36%	0%

[Family & Medical Leave]

Now let's shift gears and turn to an issue that affects workers, including those with children: family and medical leave.

As you may know, there is currently some discussion about:

- Whether all employers should be required to allow their employees to take time off for family or medical reasons. (This is known as family and medical leave.)
- Whether employees should keep being paid their salaries—at least partially—while they are on leave. (When employees get some or all of their salaries paid, this is called 'paid leave'.)

Family leave means an employee taking a certain amount of time off from work to:

- take care of a newly born or newly adopted child (this is sometimes called 'parental leave')
- take care of a family member—a spouse, parent, or child—who has a serious health condition

Medical leave means an employee taking a certain amount of time off to recover from a serious health condition. A serious health condition means that it requires professional treatment and makes a person unable to leave the hospital or their home for a period.

This is different from ordinary sick leave, when a person may take a few days off for something like a cold.

Here is some historical background:

In 1993, the Family and Medical Leave Act was passed that requires employers to allow employees to take up to 12 weeks of family or medical leave. It does not require employers to cover any of the employee's salary, but it ensures that the employee cannot be fired as long as they have a legitimate family or medical reasons for taking leave.

However, this law does not apply to about 40% of workers, including:

- workers in businesses that have less than 50 employees,
- workers who have worked less than one year for the employer, and
- workers who work less than about 25 hours per week.

This has stimulated discussion on two key questions.

One key question is whether all employers should be required to allow all workers to take family and medical leave. As mentioned, about 40% of workers do not have a legal guarantee that they can take family and medical leave, meaning that they can be fired if they take time off for family or medical reasons.

Another key question is whether all workers should be paid some or all of their salary when they are on leave. Currently:²²

- Only 45% of all workers are offered **paid medical leave**
- Only 25% of all workers are offered **paid family leave**

A proposal has been put forward that would extend paid family and medical leave to all workers.²³ Here is how it would work:

- **All workers would be allowed to take up to 12 weeks of family or medical leave.** The employer would not be legally allowed to fire those workers, if they took leave for valid family or medical reasons.
- **Workers on leave would receive two thirds of their wages for up to 12 weeks**, up to a maximum of \$4,000 a month, paid by the Federal government.
- **In order to receive payment while on leave, workers would need to submit an application to the government**, which must include official documents from a healthcare professional.

This proposal would be paid for by a new 0.2% payroll tax on employers and employees.

²² Department of Labor. (2024) [Paid Family and Medical Leave Fact Sheet](#)

²³ [FAMILY Act](#) by Sen. Gillibrand (S. 1714) and Rep. DeLauro (H.R. 3481)

So, for a person making \$50,000 a year, this would be a tax of \$100 a year, and their employer would also be taxed \$100.

Here are two arguments in favor of this proposal:

Q21. People need to be able to take leave to care for their new child. Without a program for covering at least a part of their salaries, many simply cannot afford it. The bonds that form between newborn children and their parents in the first weeks of life have a critical effect on the child’s healthy development. Failing to provide every child with this care not only hurts the child but leads to greater costs to society later. Such children are more likely to grow up and have various social and health problems. Every child deserves to get this care, no matter their parents’ income.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	41%	39%	80%	12%	5%	17%	3%
GOP	31%	43%	74%	15%	8%	23%	3%
Dem.	51%	36%	87%	8%	2%	10%	3%
Indep.	35%	40%	75%	17%	6%	22%	3%
Arizona	43%	37%	80%	12%	5%	16%	4%
GOP	32%	42%	74%	16%	5%	21%	5%
Dem.	55%	32%	87%	7%	3%	10%	3%
Georgia	44%	36%	80%	13%	4%	17%	4%
GOP	38%	36%	74%	17%	5%	22%	4%
Dem.	48%	35%	83%	10%	3%	13%	4%
Michigan	45%	40%	85%	9%	4%	13%	3%
GOP	41%	40%	81%	12%	4%	16%	3%
Dem.	52%	38%	90%	3%	4%	7%	3%
Nevada	42%	38%	80%	12%	7%	18%	2%
GOP	36%	36%	72%	17%	11%	28%	0%
Dem.	52%	38%	90%	6%	3%	9%	2%
Pennsylvania	38%	42%	80%	11%	7%	18%	2%
GOP	29%	44%	73%	14%	11%	25%	2%
Dem.	48%	38%	86%	8%	4%	12%	2%
Wisconsin	39%	38%	76%	17%	5%	22%	2%
GOP	33%	34%	67%	23%	8%	31%	2%
Dem.	50%	37%	87%	10%	2%	12%	2%

Q22. Unexpected illnesses happen to everybody, but most workers do not have access to paid medical leave. There needs to be a system in place so that they can recover from a serious illness or take care of a family member, without losing their savings or going into debt. Four in ten American adults earn so little at their jobs that they cannot cover a \$400 emergency expense.²⁴ Yet it is the high-income workers who are most likely to have access to paid leave, even though they can already afford to take leave. We need a new policy that benefits all workers, of all income levels.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	41%	40%	81%	13%	6%	19%	0%
GOP	32%	46%	78%	16%	7%	22%	0%
Dem.	48%	37%	85%	10%	5%	15%	0%
Indep.	41%	36%	77%	16%	6%	22%	1%
Arizona	40%	40%	80%	12%	8%	20%	0%
GOP	32%	45%	77%	14%	8%	22%	0%
Dem.	50%	36%	86%	7%	7%	14%	1%

²⁴ Federal Reserve. (2024) [Report on the Economic Well-Being of U.S. Households in 2023 - May 2024](#)

Georgia	40%	40%	80%	14%	5%	20%	0%
GOP	35%	42%	77%	19%	4%	23%	0%
Dem.	43%	40%	83%	12%	5%	17%	0%
Michigan	42%	37%	80%	14%	7%	20%	0%
GOP	33%	41%	74%	18%	8%	25%	0%
Dem.	53%	33%	86%	8%	6%	14%	0%
Nevada	40%	38%	78%	17%	5%	22%	0%
GOP	34%	35%	69%	24%	7%	30%	1%
Dem.	49%	35%	84%	11%	5%	16%	0%
Pennsylvania	42%	39%	81%	14%	5%	19%	0%
GOP	30%	47%	77%	16%	7%	23%	0%
Dem.	54%	31%	85%	11%	3%	14%	0%
Wisconsin	39%	39%	78%	15%	6%	22%	0%
GOP	33%	39%	72%	21%	8%	28%	0%
Dem.	52%	34%	86%	10%	5%	14%	0%

Here are two arguments against this proposal:

Q23. Let's be clear about this plan—it is a tax that would mean lower take home pay for workers. New taxes will be hard on low-income people who are already living on the edge. Employers are taxed too so they are going to have to get the money from somewhere and so they may cut back on pay raises or cut other benefits—which will hurt workers. Furthermore, because the benefits are just two thirds of a person's income, people with lower incomes will get smaller benefits and the amount will not be enough for them to make ends meet. Many of them will not end up taking the leave, though they still have to pay the tax.²⁵

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	26%	41%	67%	22%	8%	29%	4%
GOP	27%	44%	71%	20%	6%	27%	2%
Dem.	28%	38%	66%	21%	8%	29%	5%
Indep.	21%	41%	61%	27%	9%	36%	3%
Arizona	25%	40%	65%	22%	10%	31%	4%
GOP	32%	40%	71%	18%	7%	25%	4%
Dem.	22%	37%	59%	25%	13%	38%	3%
Georgia	26%	42%	68%	20%	8%	27%	4%
GOP	29%	42%	71%	19%	5%	24%	5%
Dem.	24%	43%	66%	19%	10%	29%	5%
Michigan	28%	39%	67%	22%	8%	29%	3%
GOP	34%	41%	75%	18%	4%	22%	3%
Dem.	24%	39%	62%	24%	11%	34%	3%
Nevada	22%	44%	66%	21%	10%	31%	3%
GOP	24%	42%	66%	22%	9%	31%	3%
Dem.	22%	44%	66%	18%	13%	31%	3%
Pennsylvania	22%	43%	65%	21%	12%	33%	2%
GOP	26%	45%	71%	19%	8%	27%	2%
Dem.	18%	40%	58%	24%	15%	39%	3%
Wisconsin	25%	41%	67%	23%	9%	32%	2%
GOP	28%	45%	73%	19%	7%	26%	1%
Dem.	25%	35%	60%	27%	10%	38%	2%

²⁵ California Budget and Policy Center. (2020) [California's Paid Family Leave Program is Out of Reach for Workers With Very Low Wages](#)

Q24. America does not need another entitlement program that is likely to be wasteful. It is really better for private employers to offer their own leave programs rather than having a one-size fits all government program. Many workers would prefer to request paid time off directly from their employer, rather than deal with the government, which would require filing a bunch of paperwork, and possibly waiting weeks or more to see if they are eligible for benefits.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	28%	38%	66%	21%	13%	34%	0%
GOP	33%	40%	73%	19%	8%	27%	0%
Dem.	23%	36%	60%	23%	17%	40%	0%
Indep.	26%	38%	64%	21%	15%	36%	1%
Arizona	26%	35%	60%	25%	14%	39%	0%
GOP	34%	37%	72%	20%	8%	28%	0%
Dem.	21%	29%	50%	29%	22%	51%	0%
Georgia	29%	36%	65%	22%	13%	35%	0%
GOP	33%	40%	73%	20%	7%	26%	0%
Dem.	23%	34%	57%	24%	19%	44%	0%
Michigan	29%	35%	65%	20%	16%	35%	0%
GOP	37%	33%	71%	18%	12%	29%	0%
Dem.	24%	34%	57%	22%	21%	43%	0%
Nevada	29%	34%	63%	22%	15%	36%	0%
GOP	39%	33%	71%	19%	9%	28%	0%
Dem.	22%	36%	58%	20%	23%	43%	0%
Pennsylvania	30%	34%	64%	21%	14%	35%	0%
GOP	35%	39%	74%	18%	8%	26%	1%
Dem.	26%	29%	55%	24%	21%	45%	0%
Wisconsin	24%	36%	60%	27%	13%	40%	0%
GOP	35%	36%	71%	22%	7%	29%	0%
Dem.	16%	33%	49%	31%	20%	51%	0%

Here is a pair of arguments for and against this proposal:

Q25. We cannot assume businesses will offer paid leave to all workers. If they have not done it by now, they probably won't. Saying it's too complicated to have a government program doesn't make sense—every other developed country has a national paid leave program, and it works great. All of their workers are treated with dignity and respect, while many of ours are forced to choose between caring for their newborn and paying rent. Over 90% of low-wage workers get no paid leave. Putting in place a national program is the only way to ensure that all workers in the U.S. will get paid family and medical leave.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	35%	41%	77%	14%	5%	19%	4%
GOP	25%	45%	70%	19%	7%	26%	4%
Dem.	45%	38%	83%	8%	4%	12%	5%
Indep.	33%	42%	75%	16%	5%	21%	4%
Arizona	32%	43%	75%	15%	7%	22%	4%
GOP	23%	46%	69%	18%	8%	27%	5%
Dem.	43%	41%	84%	10%	4%	13%	3%
Georgia	36%	42%	77%	13%	6%	19%	4%
GOP	27%	48%	75%	16%	6%	21%	4%
Dem.	41%	39%	80%	11%	6%	17%	4%
Michigan	37%	43%	81%	13%	5%	17%	2%
GOP	31%	45%	76%	16%	6%	22%	3%

Dem.	47%	42%	89%	7%	3%	10%	1%
Nevada	33%	42%	75%	16%	6%	22%	3%
GOP	28%	37%	64%	21%	12%	33%	3%
Dem.	42%	41%	84%	11%	3%	14%	3%
Pennsylvania	32%	40%	73%	17%	6%	23%	5%
GOP	23%	42%	64%	23%	9%	32%	4%
Dem.	42%	40%	81%	10%	3%	13%	6%
Wisconsin	33%	41%	73%	18%	6%	24%	3%
GOP	27%	37%	64%	24%	10%	33%	3%
Dem.	43%	41%	84%	9%	3%	12%	4%

Q26. This system will be too easy to abuse. It will be nearly impossible for the federal government to ensure that all of the millions of workers taking leave are doing so for honest reasons. As a result, workers will take leave more often. This will hurt businesses, slow down the economy, and cost the government.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	28%	38%	66%	22%	13%	34%	0%
GOP	35%	41%	76%	18%	7%	25%	0%
Dem.	25%	32%	56%	26%	17%	43%	0%
Indep.	18%	48%	66%	19%	14%	33%	1%
Arizona	22%	37%	60%	27%	13%	40%	0%
GOP	28%	40%	69%	25%	7%	31%	0%
Dem.	19%	33%	52%	29%	20%	49%	0%
Georgia	29%	36%	66%	20%	14%	34%	0%
GOP	37%	36%	73%	19%	8%	27%	0%
Dem.	24%	35%	59%	22%	20%	42%	0%
Michigan	27%	35%	62%	26%	12%	38%	0%
GOP	33%	38%	71%	23%	7%	29%	0%
Dem.	21%	31%	52%	29%	18%	47%	1%
Nevada	26%	38%	64%	23%	13%	36%	0%
GOP	35%	38%	73%	16%	10%	27%	0%
Dem.	22%	36%	58%	22%	20%	42%	0%
Pennsylvania	27%	35%	62%	25%	13%	38%	0%
GOP	34%	38%	72%	20%	8%	28%	0%
Dem.	19%	33%	52%	29%	19%	48%	1%
Wisconsin	24%	36%	61%	28%	11%	39%	1%
GOP	36%	36%	71%	20%	9%	29%	0%
Dem.	15%	34%	49%	35%	15%	50%	1%

Q27. Now, here again is the proposal:

- **All workers would be allowed to take up to 12 weeks of family or medical leave.** The employer would not be legally allowed to fire those workers, if they took leave for valid family or medical reasons.
- **Workers on leave would receive two thirds of their wages for up to 12 weeks,** up to a maximum of \$4,000 a month, paid by the Federal government.
- **In order to receive payment while on leave, workers would need to submit an application to the government,** which must include official documents from a healthcare professional.

This proposal would be paid for by a new 0.2% payroll tax on employers and employees. (For a person making \$50,000, this would be about \$100 a year, and their employer would also be taxed \$100.)

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Ref./DK
National	15%	13%	71%	1%
GOP	24%	14%	62%	1%
Dem.	7%	11%	81%	1%
Indep.	17%	19%	62%	2%
Arizona	17%	16%	68%	0%
GOP	23%	17%	60%	0%
Dem.	8%	10%	81%	0%
Georgia	14%	11%	74%	1%
GOP	21%	13%	65%	1%
Dem.	6%	11%	82%	2%
Michigan	15%	14%	71%	1%
GOP	20%	17%	62%	1%
Dem.	7%	9%	83%	1%
Nevada	19%	15%	66%	0%
GOP	32%	17%	52%	0%
Dem.	10%	14%	75%	1%
Pennsylvania	23%	11%	66%	0%
GOP	35%	12%	53%	0%
Dem.	11%	9%	80%	0%
Wisconsin	19%	11%	70%	0%
GOP	28%	10%	62%	0%
Dem.	7%	10%	83%	0%

Q28. Now finally, do you favor or oppose this proposal?

	Favor	Oppose	Ref. / DK
National	72%	28%	0%
GOP	61%	39%	0%
Dem.	85%	15%	0%
Indep.	65%	35%	0%
Arizona	74%	26%	0%
GOP	62%	38%	0%
Dem.	84%	16%	0%
Georgia	73%	27%	0%
GOP	65%	35%	0%
Dem.	81%	19%	0%
Michigan	75%	25%	0%
GOP	67%	33%	0%
Dem.	86%	14%	0%
Nevada	69%	31%	0%
GOP	52%	48%	0%
Dem.	82%	18%	1%
Pennsylvania	68%	32%	0%
GOP	55%	45%	0%
Dem.	81%	19%	0%
Wisconsin	72%	28%	0%
GOP	63%	37%	0%
Dem.	84%	16%	0%

Demographic Findings -- Aggregate of Six Swing States

Favor Oppose Ref. / DK

Independents	72%	28%	0%
White	69%	31%	0%
Black	83%	17%	1%
Hispanic	76%	24%	0%
Men	71%	29%	0%
Women	73%	27%	0%
18-29	82%	18%	0%
30-49	79%	21%	0%
50-64	67%	33%	0%
65 or older	58%	42%	0%
Less than \$50,000	75%	25%	0%
\$50-100,000	70%	30%	0%
\$100-150,000	71%	29%	0%
More than \$150,000	71%	29%	0%
High School or less	71%	28%	0%
Some college	72%	28%	0%
College degree	72%	28%	0%

Thank you for participating in this policymaking simulation!

Fielding and Sample Size

The national and state surveys were fielded to 4,624 adults online August 17-29, 2024 by the Program for Public Consultation (PPC) at the University of Maryland's School of Public Policy, with representative non-probability samples obtained from multiple online panels, including Cint, Dynata and Prodege.

The national sample is 1,197 adults, with a confidence interval of +/- 3.2% and a response rate of 7.7%.

The state samples are as follows:

- Arizona: 617
- Georgia: 605
- Michigan: 618
- Nevada: 601
- Pennsylvania: 612
- Wisconsin: 587

State samples have confidence intervals that range from +/- 4.5% to 4.6% and response rates of 3.0% to 4.4%.

Pre-Stratification and Weighting

Each sample was pre-stratified and weighted by age, race, ethnicity, gender, education, household income, and metro/non-metro status. 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 sample weighted by Census region, and partisan affiliation to ensure an equal distribution of Republicans and Democrats, including leaners. Some state samples 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.

The maximum weights applied were:

- National: 2.9
- Arizona: 2.8
- Georgia: 2.6
- Michigan: 3.1
- Nevada: 3.3
- Pennsylvania: 2.3
- Wisconsin: 2.5

Sample Collection

Sample collection was managed by QuantifyAI 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.

Data Collection and Privacy

Survey responses were collected directly on the Qualtrics platform. Only respondents with a provided link could take the survey, using their computer or mobile phone.

Privacy and security measures were taken to ensure that data was collected in adherence to the European Union's General Data Protection Regulation policies for data privacy and security, as well as the California Consumer Privacy Act (CCPA).

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.