



SCHOOL OF
PUBLIC POLICY

PROGRAM FOR
PUBLIC CONSULTATION

Ohioans on the FY 2025 Federal Budget QUESTIONNAIRE

Field Dates: July 5 – August 13, 2025

Sample Size: 649 Ohio Residents (326 from OH-7, 323 from OH-13)

Confidence Interval: +/- 4% (combined sample) **Response Rate:**

Confidence Interval for Independent groups: GOP: +/-6.1%; Dems: +/-5.7%

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 the federal budget, including proposals for changing spending and taxes.

You will be provided background information, as well as arguments for and against each proposal. This survey will take about 20 minutes to answer.

[Demos Privacy Notice]

First, we are going to ask you a few questions about yourself, such as your age, ethnicity, income, and education.

This information is important because it allows us to make sure we have a representative sample of citizens.

PRIVACY NOTICE: The answers to these questions and all of your personal information will be kept **completely anonymous and confidential**. We are both **ethically committed to protecting your privacy**, and as part of the **University of Maryland** we are **legally required to do so**.

In this survey you will have the opportunity to propose how the US federal budget should be designed for this year. Congress is currently working on this and you will have the opportunity to make your recommendations for how the decision makers in Washington DC spend our tax dollars and also how the money should be raised.

You will first be presented what is called the **"Discretionary Budget,"** which is the part of the budget that Congress decides on each year. It does not cover what is called "mandatory spending," which includes such programs as Social Security and Medicare.

For the Discretionary Budget you will see the amounts of spending for last year for 32 different areas of "discretionary" spending. You will then be able to increase or decrease them, as you see fit, for this year.

You will also explore what are called **"General Revenues."** This is income the government gets from taxes like income taxes, corporate taxes, and others that can be used for general purposes. You will be able to raise or lower these taxes as you see fit.

The budget for this year is still being worked out. Assuming a continuation of last year's spending the **budget deficit** is projected to be \$1.9 trillion (\$1,900 billion) this year because spending is projected to exceed revenues. As you go along and make changes to spending or revenues, you'll see the effect of your decisions on the size of the projected **budget deficit**.

But before we begin, we would like to have you consider four major issues that come up in discussions about the federal budget.

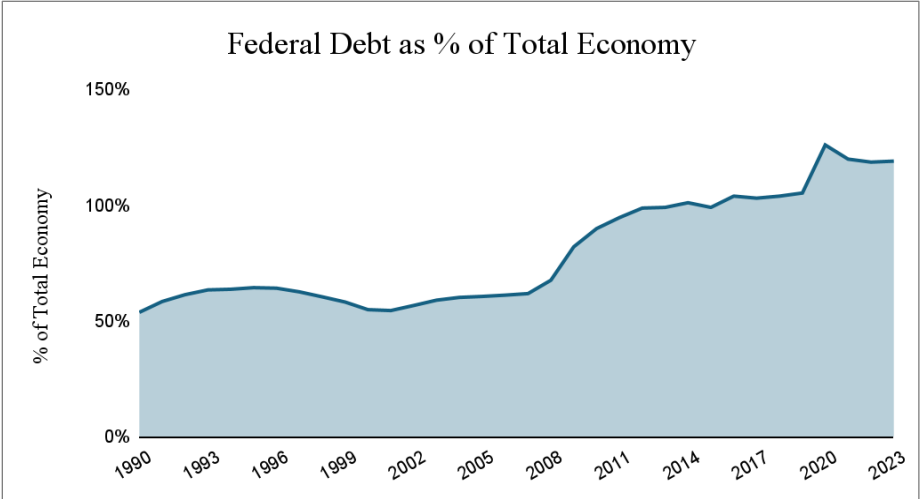
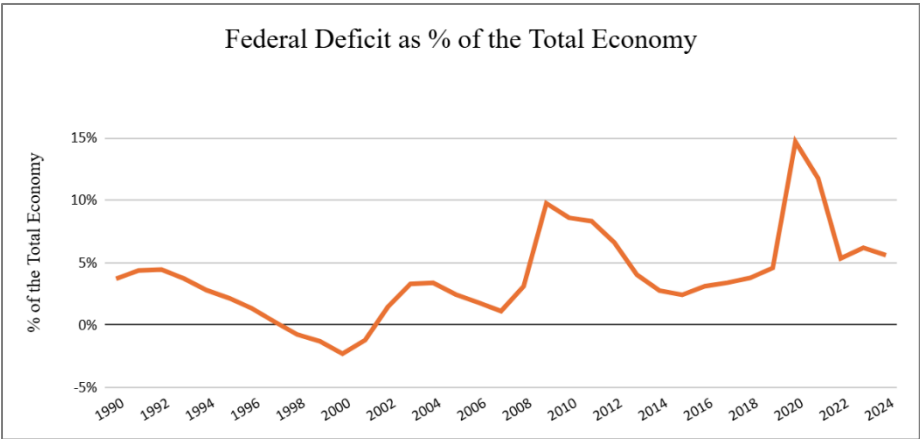
The first issue is about how important it is to address the budget deficit - the amount the government spends over and above what it takes in in revenues. Here is some background on the deficit.

You can see how much the deficit has been in terms of a percentage of GDP, or gross domestic product. GDP is the total value of everything produced by all people and companies in the US economy.¹ As you can see the deficit has gone up and down over the years. The deficit spiked during the economic downturn of 2007-2010 and the Covid period of 2020-2022.

When the Federal government runs a deficit, it has to borrow money to cover it. It does this primarily by selling Treasury bills (also called T-bills), which are like IOUs that have to be repaid with interest.

You can see the amount of debt the federal government has had over time as a percentage of the total economy.² This percentage can go down when there is a budget surplus, but also when the economy grows faster than the deficit. It goes up when there is a budget deficit (requiring more borrowing) or when the economy slows down.

So now, as you know, there is a debate about how high a priority it should be to reduce the federal government deficit. Here is an argument in favor of making reducing the deficit a high priority.



Q1. We have been running huge deficits for years now, putting the national debt on a path to unsustainable heights. The government cannot continue to spend beyond its means indefinitely. The debt owed by the federal government is about \$36 trillion - more than the size of the entire US economy. Interest payments on the debt are growing, requiring further borrowing, which will likely increase interest rates and hurt the economy. We need to make reducing the deficit a top priority.

How convincing or unconvincing do you find this argument?

Q1	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Ref / DK
OH7&13	52.9%	39.1%	92.0%	4.3%	1.5%	5.8%	2.2%
Republicans	53.6%	38.6%	92.2%	4.5%	0.6%	5.1%	2.7%
Democrats	57.3%	35.0%	92.3%	3.3%	2.4%	5.7%	2.1%

Here is a counter argument.

Q2. More important than reducing the deficit is for the government to continue making investments that ensure the economy continues to grow and that more people are brought into the workforce. There are seven million people who are unemployed or underemployed and wages are only just starting to keep up with inflation. Cutting government spending or raising taxes could weaken the economy and reduce investments. We shouldn't be obsessive about reducing the deficit. Our interest payments, as a percentage of GDP, are similar to how they have been historically.

¹ Federal Reserve. Federal Surplus or Deficit [-] as Percent of Gross Domestic Product, accessed January 2024; data for 2024 from Congressional Budget Office. Monthly Budget Review: Summary for Fiscal Year 2024.

² Federal Reserve. Gross Federal Debt as Percent of Gross Domestic Product, accessed January 2024

How convincing or unconvincing do you find this argument?

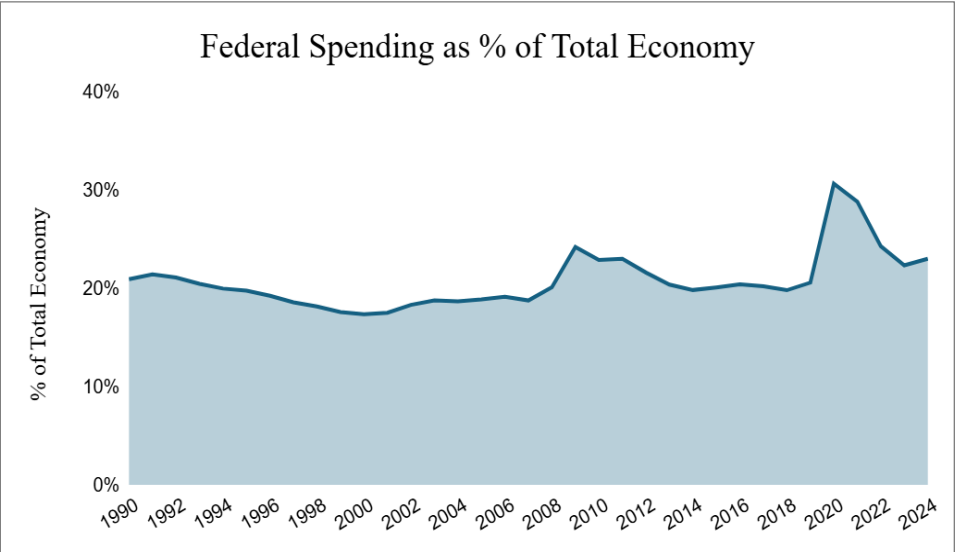
Q2	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Ref / DK
OH7&13	22.2%	53.2%	75.4%	17.5%	6.9%	24.4%	0.2%
Republicans	20.0%	46.2%	66.2%	22.6%	10.8%	33.4%	0.4%
Democrats	26.0%	59.7%	85.7%	10.5%	3.8%	14.3%	0.0%

SIZE OF GOVERNMENT

Another major issue is about the size of the federal government and how active it should be.

In 2024 the entire Federal government budget was 23% of the economy (gross domestic product).³ The size of the federal budget as a percentage of the economy has varied over the last decades with changes in the level of government spending and the size of the economy. As you can see, during the 2007-2010 and 2020-2022 economic downturns there were spikes because the economy went into a recession and because the government spent more on things like unemployment benefits and stimulating the economy.

So now, here is an argument in favor of limiting the size of the federal government.



Q3. Too often, people think government is the solution, when it really is the problem. The federal government is susceptible to waste, fraud, and abuse. We’ve all seen how government can fail, whether by spending too much money or imposing heavy-handed regulations. Too often it gets involved in things that are best left to the private sector.

Q3	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Ref / DK
OH7&13	48.2%	35.3%	83.5%	12.3%	3.8%	16.1%	0.4%
Republicans	52.5%	36.0%	88.5%	9.6%	1.1%	10.7%	0.8%
Democrats	48.6%	31.4%	80.0%	13.4%	6.7%	20.1%	0.0%

Here is a counter argument.

Q4. We shouldn’t just cut government for its own sake. As a share of the economy, the federal government is at about the average for the last four decades – unchanged since Ronald Reagan. The government does many necessary things – making sure that our food, air, and water are safe; that we have national parks; that we will be secure when we retire; that our airplanes are safe; and that we are protected from threats at home and from abroad.

Q4	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Ref / DK
OH7&13	25.9%	54.4%	80.3%	15.4%	3.8%	19.2%	0.4%
Republicans	20.8%	49.4%	70.2%	21.8%	7.7%	29.5%	0.3%
Democrats	32.0%	59.0%	91.0%	7.6%	0.8%	8.4%	0.7%

³ Congressional Budget Office. [Monthly Budget Review: Summary for Fiscal Year 2024](#)

Another issue is how important it is for government to spend money on public investments, such as scientific and medical research, development of new sources of energy, development and maintenance of roads and bridges, and educating young people who become part of the workforce.

Here is an argument in favor of spending money on public investments.

Q5. When making up a budget, we must not scrimp on investing in the future, because such investments bring big returns later on. Investments in scientific discoveries, medical breakthroughs, and new sources of energy, upgrading the workforce, and improving our transportation infrastructure are key for America to be prosperous. They are also necessary to compete with rising nations such as China. Corporations can not provide these important things for the common good because they are too focused on short-term profits. Government investments create good jobs in the short run, as well as a higher quality of life in the long run.

Q5	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Ref / DK
OH7&13	48.6%	36.2%	84.8%	12.9%	1.6%	14.5%	0.7%
Republicans	42.2%	35.9%	78.1%	19.0%	2.2%	21.2%	0.7%
Democrats	58.6%	33.7%	92.3%	5.9%	1.1%	7.0%	0.7%

Here is a counter argument.

Q6. Investment in the future is important, but the private sector is much better at it than government. The government is inefficient and wasteful. And when government officials “invest” taxpayers’ money they think more about what is good for their short-term political interests than the long-term interests of the country. Thus, there is no coherent and stable plan. Furthermore, when the government borrows money, this can reduce investments by the private sector. The resources used by government programs are better left free for the natural innovation that responds to market demand.

Q6	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Ref / DK
OH7&13	27.3%	51.1%	78.4%	16.7%	4.9%	21.6%	0.0%
Republicans	30.0%	50.7%	80.7%	16.1%	3.2%	19.3%	0.0%
Democrats	26.4%	50.9%	77.3%	15.8%	6.9%	22.7%	0.0%

Another major issue is how much the US spends on defense or the military, which makes up about half of all discretionary spending.

Here is an argument in favor of reducing spending on defense.

Q7. The Pentagon keeps thinking we need to be the world’s policeman, leading us to have this huge defense budget that is over twice as big as China’s and six times larger than Russia’s - even while Russia is actively at war.⁴ US military spending is bigger than it has ever been, even higher than during the Cold War under President Reagan. We can deal with global threats by working together with our allies and sharing the burden. Furthermore, there is a lot of waste in the defense budget. Defense contractors persuade lawmakers to approve expensive weapons that aren’t really needed by giving them large campaign contributions. Clearly, there is room to cut the defense budget while still being, by far, the most powerful and secure country in the world.

Q7	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Ref / DK
OH7&13	48.8%	35.3%	84.1%	11.2%	3.7%	14.9%	1.0%
Republicans	40.9%	36.3%	77.2%	15.5%	5.7%	21.2%	1.6%
Democrats	59.0%	34.0%	93.0%	4.7%	1.7%	6.4%	0.6%

⁴ Russian spending is \$146 billion, and Chinese spending is \$235 billion: International Institute for Strategic Studies. (2025) [The Military Balance: Defence Spending and Procurement Trends](#). An alternative estimate puts Chinese spending at \$471 billion: Texas National Security Review. (2024) [Estimating China's Defense Spending: How to Get It Wrong \(and Right\)](#)

Here is a counter argument.

Q8. America is threatened by hostile forces in many corners of the world. We should have the ability to quickly project overwhelming military power anywhere. Much of our military equipment needs to be revamped. If major conflicts were to break out in more than one place, we would not be able to deal with them all. We do have deficit problems, but national defense is the first responsibility of government and it is too important to let budget concerns dictate our level of spending. It should not be shortchanged. Furthermore, cutting defense spending would throw a lot of people out of work. We are spending less than four percent of our economy on defense - clearly we can and need to spend more.

Q8	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Ref / DK
OH7&13	25.5%	50.6%	76.1%	18.1%	5.7%	23.8%	0.1%
Republicans	27.6%	49.6%	77.2%	19.5%	3.1%	22.6%	0.2%
Democrats	25.2%	52.4%	77.6%	14.8%	7.6%	22.4%	0.0%

Now, as we mentioned at the beginning, you will work with the spending items in the Discretionary Budget that Congress considers and adjusts each year. Then you will work with the taxes that make up the government's general revenues - those revenues that Congress can vote to use for any purpose.

Presented below are the amounts spent in 2024 for major areas of the Discretionary Budget. For each area of government spending, please enter your recommended amounts, adjusting them up or down or leaving them the same.

In the box on the side, you will see the projected deficit for 2025. As you go along, you will see the effect of the changes you make on the deficit. Every time you increase spending, the deficit will go up. Every time you reduce spending, the deficit will go down.

If you recommend eliminating spending for an area, you must enter "0" for that spending item.

Later you will also have the opportunity to make changes in revenues or taxes. These, too, can increase or decrease the deficit. You are not required to reduce or eliminate the deficit. You should make the budget that you think is best. At any time, if you want to change a decision you made, you can use the BACK button.

Discretionary Federal Spending

Transportation

Q9a. Highways : building and maintaining interstate highways, bridges; setting and enforcing safety standards ⁵					2024	\$66B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	67	58%	6.0%	35.6%	57.9%	0.6%
Republicans	67	55%	8.5%	36.1%	54.8%	0.7%
Democrats	68	52%	3.0%	31.6%	64.9%	0.5%

Q9b. Air Travel and Railroads : overseeing airports and railways, air traffic control, setting and enforcing safety standards ⁶					2024	\$34B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	35	61.2%	26.1%	12.2%	61.2%	0.6%
Republicans	35	56.1%	31.9%	11.3%	56.1%	0.7%
Democrats	35	70.2%	18.4%	10.9%	70.2%	0.5%

⁵ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: Federal Highway Administration plus Federal Motor Carrier Safety Administration plus National Highway Traffic Safety Administration

⁶ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY 2025: Federal Aviation Administration plus Federal Railroad Administration plus (White House, OMB, Table 25-1: line 401 ground transportation, railroads)

Q9c. Mass Transit: Amtrak; developing and maintaining subway systems, buses; setting and enforcing safety standards ⁷					2024	\$21B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	22	57.9%	31.4%	10.2%	57.9%	0.6%
Republicans	22	51.3%	39.5%	8.5%	51.3%	0.7%
Democrats	23	59.6%	22.3%	10.3%	66.9%	0.5%

Federal Administration of Justice

Q10a. Enforcement of Federal Laws: FBI, Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms (ATF), federal court system for federal crimes--primarily drug trafficking, fraud and certain violent crimes ⁸					2024	\$46B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	N/A	N/A	40.1%	9.4%	49.8%	0.7%
Republicans	divided	divided	40.0%	9.1%	50.2%	0.7%
Democrats	48	52.5%	35.8%	8.7%	55.0%	0.5%

Q10b. Federal Prison System: building and running federal prisons, managing parole and re-entry supervision ⁹					2024	\$9B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	N/A	N/A	30.6%	26.5%	42.2%	0.7%
Republicans	N/A	N/A	30.0%	20.1%	49.2%	0.7%
Democrats	N/A	N/A	28.0%	33.8%	37.6%	0.5%

Science and Research

Q11. Space Program (NASA): space probes, the space shuttle, international space station, study of Earth from space ¹⁰					2024	\$25B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	divided	divided	31.6%	17.4%	50.4%	0.6%
Republicans	N/A	N/A	36.7%	20.0%	42.7%	0.7%
Democrats	27	53.9%	23.9%	13.5%	62.0%	0.5%

Q12. Science: support for basic and applied research in biology, computers, engineering, earth sciences, economics, energy, etc.. ¹¹					2024	\$28B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	30	53.3%	28.3%	8.1%	63.1%	0.6%
Republicans	29	53.9%	39.6%	5.8%	53.9%	0.7%
Democrats	30	66.4%	15.0%	8.9%	75.6%	0.5%

Q13. Medical Research: research on physical and mental diseases and treatments ¹²					2024	\$50B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	52	56.0%	20.6%	18.6%	60.2%	0.6%
Republicans	N/A	N/A	30.1%	19.9%	49.3%	0.7%
Democrats	55	55.9%	11.4%	15.2%	72.8%	0.5%

⁷ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: Federal Transit Administration

⁸ White House, OMB, Table 3-2 FY2025: line 751 federal law enforcement activities

⁹ White House, OMB, Table 3-2 FY2025: line 753 federal correctional activities

¹⁰ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: National Aeronautics and Space Administration

¹¹ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: National Science Foundation plus National Oceanic and Atmospheric Organization (within Department of Commerce) plus U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) plus White House, OMB, Table 3.2: Other Natural Resources line 306

¹² White House, OMB, Table 3-2 FY2025: line 552 health research and training

International Aid

Q14a. Humanitarian Assistance: assistance to victims of disasters like floods, famines; food aid to severely malnourished people; aid to refugees. ¹³					2024	\$9B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	N/A	N/A	26.2%	29.5%	43.8%	0.6%
Republicans	10	51.4%	30.8%	17.1%	51.4%	0.7%
Democrats	N/A	N/A	20.8%	41.6%	37.1%	0.5%

Q14b. Development Assistance: aid to people in extreme poverty to help them develop economically, providing loans, training, and technology; the Peace Corps. ¹⁴					2024	\$16B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	N/A	N/A	40.9%	11.7%	46.9%	0.6%
Republicans	15	51.4%	51.4%	7.8%	40.2%	0.7%
Democrats	17	55.4%	29.6%	14.5%	55.4%	0.5%

Q14c. Global Health: medical aid to people in poor countries, international efforts to prevent and respond to pandemics, AIDS prevention, maternal health, child survival. ¹⁵					2024	\$9B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	N/A	N/A	34.0%	27.3%	38.1%	0.7%
Republicans	N/A	N/A	41.7%	14.1%	43.5%	0.7%
Democrats	N/A	N/A	25.5%	39.4%	34.6%	0.5%

Q14d. Economic Support Fund: economic development aid to countries of strategic concern to the US. ¹⁶					2024	\$8B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	N/A	N/A	31.5%	32.0%	35.9%	0.6%
Republicans	N/A	N/A	39.2%	19.7%	40.4%	0.7%
Democrats	N/A	N/A	20.0%	44.5%	35.0%	0.5%

Q14e. Military Aid: ongoing aid for countries of strategic interest to the US, primarily military equipment and weapons (does not include recent extra short-term aid for Ukraine and Israel). ¹⁷					2024	\$10B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	N/A	N/A	36.2%	28.2%	35.1%	0.6%
Republicans	N/A	N/A	35.6%	25.1%	38.6%	0.7%
Democrats	N/A	N/A	31.7%	32.6%	35.2%	0.5%

Q15. State Department: management of US diplomatic and economic relations with other countries, deal with international conflicts, maintain embassies. ¹⁸					2024	\$10B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	N/A	N/A	35.2%	28.5%	35.8%	0.6%
Republicans	N/A	N/A	37.8%	23.2%	38.3%	0.7%
Democrats	N/A	N/A	30.2%	33.1%	36.2%	0.5%

¹³ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: International Disaster Assistance plus Migration and Refugee Assistance

¹⁴ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: Agency for International Development plus Multilateral Assistance plus Peace Corps plus Millennium Challenge Corporation

¹⁵ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: Global Health Programs

¹⁶ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: Economic support and development fund

¹⁷ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: Foreign military financing grants

¹⁸ White House, OMB, Table 25-1 FY2025: State Department operations

Q16. UN and UN Peacekeeping: dealing with international conflict, peacekeeping operations, UN core budget, World Court.. ¹⁹					2024	\$3B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	N/A	N/A	20.9%	30.0%	49.1%	0.0%
Republicans	N/A	N/A	27.5%	23.5%	49.0%	0.0%
Democrats	4	51.6%	11.8%	36.6%	51.6%	0.0%

Environment and Natural Resources

Q17a. Conservation and Land Management: National Parks, oversight of livestock grazing, mining, fish and wildlife protection, federal fire-fighting efforts, protection of wetlands, water conservation.. ²⁰					2024	\$51B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	52	55.2%	35.5%	8.7%	55.2%	0.6%
Republicans	N/A	N/A	46.5%	6.3%	46.5%	0.7%
Democrats	54	52.4%	23.2%	9.7%	66.5%	0.5%

Q17b. Pollution Control: monitoring and enforcing regulations of air, water, and ground pollution; cleaning up pollution, hazardous waste sites.. ²¹					2024	\$41B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	42	58.1%	34.2%	7.2%	58.1%	0.6%
Republicans	N/A	N/A	45.6%	6.3%	47.4%	0.7%
Democrats	44	55.0%	22.1%	6.6%	70.7%	0.5%

Energy

Q18a. Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy: research and development of new technologies for improving energy efficiency, and producing energy from solar, wind, hydroelectric, and geothermal power.. ²²					2024	\$16B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	17	54.6%	33.0%	11.8%	54.6%	0.6%
Republicans	N/A	N/A	46.4%	7.4%	45.5%	0.7%
Democrats	18	60.6%	19.5%	13.9%	66.0%	0.5%

Q18b. Oil, Natural Gas, and Coal: research and development of new extraction methods; subsidies to companies to extract from public lands by drilling/fracking; cost of cleaning up unused coal mines and oil wells.. ²³					2024	\$8B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	N/A	N/A	29.3%	23.9%	46.3%	0.6%
Republicans	9	57.9%	23.4%	18.0%	57.9%	0.7%
Democrats	N/A	N/A	32.0%	28.7%	38.8%	0.5%

¹⁹ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: International Organizations and Conferences

²⁰ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: Bureau of Reclamation plus Table 3.2 FY2025: Line 301 water resources plus Line 302 conservation and land management plus Line 303 recreational resources

²¹ White House, OMB, Table 3-2 FY2025: Line 304 pollution control and abatement

²² White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency plus Elective Payment for Energy Property and Electricity Produced from Certain Renewable Resources, Etc (the latter took effect in 2024)

²³ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: Mineral Leasing and Associated Payment plus Fossil Energy and Carbon Management plus Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement

Q18c. Nuclear Power: research and development; subsidies for upgrading or building new plants ²⁴					2024	\$2B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	3	51.4%	13.6%	34.5%	51.4%	0.6%
Republicans	3	56.7%	13.8%	28.8%	56.7%	0.7%
Democrats	divided	divided	10.0%	39.3%	50.1%	0.5%

Housing Programs

Q19. Housing Programs: for the elderly and people with low incomes, public housing, address homelessness, reduce lead and other home health and safety hazards ²⁵					2024	\$56B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	58	57.7%	30.3%	8.3%	60.7%	0.7%
Republicans	N/A	N/A	44.1%	7.7%	47.5%	0.7%
Democrats	60	55.6%	17.9%	7.5%	74.1%	0.5%

Homeland Security

Q20. Homeland Security: border protection, TSA, immigration, and responding to terrorist threats ²⁶					2024	\$66B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	67	52.2%	36.3%	10.8%	52.2%	0.7%
Republicans	67	53.0%	33.6%	12.7%	53.0%	0.7%
Democrats	68	54.1%	34.0%	8.3%	57.1%	0.5%

Veterans' Benefits

Q21. Veterans' Benefits: medical care, home loans, education for veterans ²⁷					2024	\$346B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	349	53.1%	25.3%	10.7%	63.3%	0.7%
Republicans	348	57.4%	30.0%	10.7%	58.6%	0.7%
Democrats	350	61.7%	18.9%	9.2%	71.4%	0.5%

Job Training

Q22. Job Training: retraining unemployed workers, helping them find jobs ²⁸					2024	\$8B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	9	51.1%	20.2%	28.1%	51.1%	0.7%
Republicans	9	51.3%	30.2%	17.8%	51.3%	0.7%
Democrats	9	52.5%	10.0%	37.0%	52.5%	0.5%

²⁴ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025:

²⁵ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: Department of Housing and Urban Development

²⁶ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: Department of Homeland Security minus Federal Emergency Management Agency

²⁷ White House, OMB, Table 3-2 FY2025: Line 700 veterans benefits and services

²⁸ White House, OMB, Table 3-2 FY2025: Line 504 training and employment

Education

Q23a. Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education: aiding school districts in poor areas, school infrastructure, national testing, teacher training, Native American education. ²⁹					2024	\$96B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	98	61.4%	29.1%	7.9%	62.3%	0.7%
Republicans	divided	divided	43.3%	5.8%	50.2%	0.7%
Democrats	100	63.0%	15.5%	7.8%	76.2%	0.5%

Q23b. Special Education: for students with disabilities. ³⁰					2024	\$20B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	22	56.8%	14.6%	19.9%	64.7%	0.7%
Republicans	21	52.1%	23.2%	24.0%	52.1%	0.7%
Democrats	22	71.9%	6.3%	15.0%	78.2%	0.5%

Q23c. Higher Education: primarily financial aid for college students, includes Pell Grants. ³¹					2024	\$25B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	26	56.6%	26.3%	16.2%	56.6%	0.8%
Republicans	N/A	N/A	39.9%	12.9%	46.2%	1.0%
Democrats	28	54.8%	11.4%	17.1%	71.0%	0.5%

Agriculture Subsidies

Q24a. Subsidies to Small Farmers: annual payments to farmers with small farms (less than 500 acres). ³²					2024	\$4B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	5	66.0%	10.4%	22.8%	66.2%	0.6%
Republicans	5	70.9%	11.7%	16.4%	71.2%	0.7%
Democrats	5	61.6%	9.6%	28.3%	61.6%	0.5%

Q24b. Subsidies to Agricultural Corporations: annual payments to large farming companies, manufacturers of farming equipment and fertilizers. ³³					2024	\$21B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	N/A	N/A	49.4%	7.3%	42.8%	0.6%
Republicans	20	51.0%	51.0%	6.3%	42.0%	0.7%
Democrats	N/A	N/A	45.4%	7.0%	47.0%	0.5%

²⁹ White House, OMB, Table 3-2 Line 501 minus Table 26-1 FY2025: - Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services

³⁰ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services

³¹ White House, OMB, Table 26-1 FY2025: Office of Postsecondary Education plus Total Student Financial Assistance

³² 15% of White House, OMB, Historical Tables, Table 3.2 & 5.1 FY2020: Line 351 farm income stabilization. [Note: The 15% approximates how much goes to farms with <500 acres]

³³ 85% of White House, OMB, Historical Tables, Table 3.2 & 5.1 FY2020: Line 351 farm income stabilization. [Note: The 85% approximates how much goes to farms with >500 acres]

Defense

Q25a. Core Defense Budget: support for 3.4 million military and civilian personnel; purchasing weapons, airplanes, ships, tanks etc.; developing new weapon systems; maintaining approximately 4,800 bases (750 abroad). ³⁴					2024	\$860B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	N/A	N/A	45.9%	9.1%	44.5%	0.6%
Republicans	N/A	N/A	39.8%	11.3%	48.2%	0.7%
Democrats	N/A	N/A	47.4%	5.5%	46.6%	0.5%

Q25b. Intelligence Agencies: gathering and analyzing information; satellites; cybersecurity; includes CIA and NSA. ³⁵					2024	\$77B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	N/A	N/A	43.9%	10.1%	45.5%	0.6%
Republicans	N/A	N/A	42.9%	10.3%	46.2%	0.7%
Democrats	N/A	N/A	41.0%	8.7%	49.8%	0.5%

Q25c. Nuclear Weapons: maintaining about 5,000 nuclear weapons; upgrading and developing new weapons. ³⁶					2024	\$36B
	Majority Position	% Support for Majority Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	Ref/DK
OH7&13	N/A	N/A	45.2%	10.4%	43.9%	0.6%
Republicans	N/A	N/A	42.2%	10.6%	46.5%	0.7%
Democrats	N/A	N/A	43.8%	9.4%	46.3%	0.5%

General Revenues

We will now turn to General Revenues or taxes. In a moment you will be able to adjust the levels of different types of taxes. First, we would like you to consider some broader debates about taxes. The first is a debate on whether it is important to reduce or increase taxes.

Here is an argument in favor of reducing taxes.

[Q26.] For the economy to grow, it is important to reduce tax rates. There have been numerous cases when taxes were cut and the economy grew: under Kennedy in the 1960s, or when the capital gains tax was lowered in 1997. All across the country, high taxes are holding back businesses from growing and creating more jobs. This makes investors hesitate to invest, because they aren't confident they will get a good return. All this dampens the economy. Lower tax rates will energize the economy and free up the natural vitality of our system.

Q26	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Ref / DK
OH7&13	50.1%	36.8%	86.9%	9.2%	3.2%	12.4%	0.7%
Republicans	50.4%	39.5%	89.9%	8.3%	0.9%	9.2%	0.9%
Democrats	54.6%	30.8%	85.4%	8.6%	5.5%	14.1%	0.4%

³⁴ White House OMB, Table 3-2 FY2025 Line 051

³⁵ Office of the Director of National Intelligence: Intelligence Community Budget, National Intelligence Program [Note: Budget numbers are appropriated amount, not net outlays]

³⁶ White House, OMB, Historical Tables, Table 3-2 FY2025: Line 053 atomic energy defense activities

Here is a counter argument:

[Q27.] It is unwise and shortsighted to cut taxes when we have a major deficit - one that is projected to grow even higher in the future. It is a myth that lower taxes always help the economy. In the 1950s and '60s taxes were far higher - yet the economy boomed and was better than at any time since. After 2001, when taxes were cut, the economy did not perform as well as in the 1990s when taxes were higher. What is most important is that we have a realistic and balanced approach that considers what we really need from government, what taxes are needed to pay for it, and that the deficit goes down, not up.

Q27	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Ref / DK
OH7&13	21.8%	54.5%	76.3%	18.5%	5.0%	23.5%	0.1%
Republicans	19.9%	46.0%	65.9%	25.9%	8.2%	34.1%	0.0%
Democrats	25.5%	61.1%	86.6%	10.8%	2.6%	13.4%	0.0%

Revenues (cont.)

Another debate is about what the income tax rate should be for people with very high incomes.

Here is an argument in favor of raising taxes on high incomes:

[Q28.] Over the last several decades, the wealth of most Americans has barely grown at all, even though American workers have become far more productive. Meanwhile, the wealth of the people in the top brackets has grown by leaps and bounds, so that the top 1% now has more wealth than the entire bottom 80%. A key reason is that taxes on upper incomes have been cut and are far lower than they were just decades ago, as well as being lower than they are in most developed democracies. It's great that the wealthy have succeeded, but it is only fair that they pay a greater share - and they can afford it.

Q28	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Ref / DK
OH7&13	54.6%	32.5%	87.1%	7.7%	3.9%	11.6%	1.3%
Republicans	42.9%	37.6%	80.5%	12.3%	6.4%	18.7%	0.9%
Democrats	67.1%	25.8%	92.9%	3.3%	2.2%	5.5%	1.6%

Here is a counter argument:

[Q29.] The people at the top already pay a lot. In reality, the one in ten who are best off are paying two-thirds of the amount the federal government collects in income tax. Furthermore, people with high incomes play an important role in the economy. Because they are the ones that have amassed capital, they can take the risk to create new businesses that hire people. This is no time to pursue more 'soak the rich' policies. We want to encourage them to invest and create jobs.

Q29	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Ref / DK
OH7&13	24.1%	45.3%	69.4%	18.6%	11.7%	30.3%	0.3%
Republicans	28.3%	47.0%	75.3%	20.1%	4.7%	24.8%	0.0%
Democrats	22.6%	46.7%	69.3%	13.2%	16.8%	30.0%	0.7%

Revenues (cont.)

The first revenue area we will explore is income taxes - the biggest source of revenues.

The table below shows the *effective tax rates* that people with different income levels pay, on average, to the federal government, most often by money being withheld from their paychecks.³⁷

³⁷ JCT, Overview of the Federal Tax System as in Effect for 2024, Table A-6; JCT, Overview of the Federal Tax System as in Effect for 2017, Table A-6. Effective rates presented are equal to the average individual income tax rate plus the average employment tax rate. Income categories in JCT's 2024 analysis are different from those used in 2017, and so the author adjusted the rates accordingly to approximate what the 2017 rates would be using the 2024 income categories.

The effective tax rate shown below is the percentage of their income that people actually pay, after exemptions, credits and deductions. These are lower than a person's marginal tax rate, which you may have read about, and only applies to some of their earnings.

These effective tax rates include FICA payments that are made to Social Security and Medicare.

We will now give you the option to change the effective tax rate for different income groups.

Here are the income tax brackets. For each one you can choose what effective tax rate should be.

As you may know, in 2018 the government enacted temporary tax reductions that are scheduled to expire later this year, and tax rates will go back to 2017 rates.

You can decide to keep those lower rates (or reduce them further), or go back to the higher 2017 rates (or increase them further).

As a reminder, at any time, if you want to change a decision you made, you can use the BACK button.

Income Bracket	Reduce further:		Keep 2018 temporary tax rates	Go back to 2017 rates	Increase further:	
	-4%	-2%			+2%	+4%
Q30a. \$30,000 - \$40,000	0.0%	2.0%	4.0%	5.9%	7.9%	9.9%
Effect on Revenue	-\$24B	-\$12B	\$0B	+\$11B	+\$23B	+\$35B
Q30b. \$40,000 - \$50,000	2.5%	4.5%	6.5%	9.0%	11.0%	13.0%
Effect on Revenue	-\$26B	-\$13B	\$0B	+\$16B	+\$29B	+\$42B
Q30c. \$50,000 - \$60,000	4.8%	6.8%	8.8%	11.8%	13.8%	15.8%
Effect on Revenue	-\$29B	-\$15B	\$0B	+\$22B	+\$36B	+\$51B
Q30d. \$60,000 - \$80,000	6.8%	8.8%	10.8%	13.4%	15.4%	17.4%
Effect on Revenue	-\$63B	-\$32B	\$0B	+\$41B	+\$73B	+\$105B
Q30e. \$80,000 - \$100,000	8.7%	10.7%	12.7%	14.7%	16.7%	18.7%
Effect on Revenue	-\$57B	-\$29B	\$0B	+\$29B	+\$57B	+\$86B
Q30f. \$100,000 - \$200,000	11.8%	13.8%	15.8%	18.4%	20.4%	22.4%
Effect on Revenue	-\$172B	-\$86B	\$0B	+\$112B	+\$198B	+\$284B
Q30g. \$200,000 - \$500,000	16.7%	18.7%	20.7%	23.5%	25.5%	27.5%
Effect on Revenue	-\$208B	-\$104B	\$0B	+\$145B	+\$249B	+\$353B
Q30h. \$500,000 - \$1 million	20.6%	22.6%	24.6%	27.6%	29.6%	31.6%
Effect on Revenue	-\$64B	-\$32B	\$0B	+\$48B	+\$80B	+\$112B
Q30i. Above \$1 million	22.8%	24.8%	26.8%	29.0%	31.0%	33.0%
Effect on Revenue	-\$132B	-\$66B	\$0	+\$73B	+\$139B	+\$205B

Income Bracket:		Reduce Further				Increase Further		
Q30a.	Majority Position	-4%	-2%	Keep 2018 temporary rates	Go back to 2017 rates	+2%	+4%	DK/Ref
\$30k - \$40k								
Effect on Revenue		-\$24B	-\$12B	\$0B	+\$11B	+\$23B	+\$35B	
OH7&13	Keep current rates	14.3%	18.3%	48.7%	13.2%	3.7%	1.4%	0.3%
Republicans	Keep current rates	14.6%	14.9%	52.6%	11.6%	3.9%	1.8%	0.6%
Democrats	Keep current rates	12.9%	18.5%	49.3%	14.8%	3.4%	0.9%	0.0%

Income Bracket:		Reduce Further		Increase Further				
Q30b. \$40k - \$50k	Majority Position	-4%	-2%	Keep 2018 temporary rates	Go back to 2017 rates	+2%	+4%	DK/Ref
Effect on Revenue		-\$26B	-\$13B	\$0B	+\$16B	+\$29B	+\$42B	
OH7&13	Keep current rates	10.4%	21.1%	31.7%	29.7%	4.3%	2.3%	0.4%
Republicans	Keep current rates	11.5%	18.6%	34.3%	28.8%	4.2%	2.0%	0.6%
Democrats	Keep current rates	9.2%	21.7%	28.0%	33.7%	4.8%	2.3%	0.3%
Income Bracket:		Reduce Further		Increase Further				
Q30c. \$50k - \$60k	Majority Position	-4%	-2%	Keep 2018 temporary rates	Go back to 2017 rates	+2%	+4%	DK/Ref
Effect on Revenue		-\$29B	-\$15B	\$0B	+\$22B	+\$36B	+\$51B	
OH7&13	Keep current rates	8.6%	15.5%	37.1%	24.7%	11.7%	1.8%	0.5%
Republicans	Keep current rates	9.9%	14.7%	32.8%	29.5%	11.4%	1.1%	0.6%
Democrats	Keep current rates	7.2%	12.8%	41.0%	23.2%	13.5%	2.1%	0.3%
Income Bracket:		Reduce Further		Increase Further				
Q30d. \$60k - \$80k	Majority Position	-4%	-2%	Keep 2018 temporary rates	Go back to 2017 rates	+2%	+4%	DK/Ref
Effect on Revenue		-\$63B	-\$32B	\$0B	+\$41B	+\$73B	+\$105B	
OH7&13	Keep current rates	6.7%	12.8%	35.5%	23.2%	17.8%	3.2%	0.9%
Republicans	Keep current rates	6.9%	14.1%	32.0%	20.0%	24.1%	1.8%	1.1%
Democrats	Keep current rates	6.4%	9.5%	37.0%	27.6%	14.3%	4.5%	0.5%
Income Bracket:		Reduce Further		Increase Further				
Q30e. \$80k - \$100k	Majority Position	-4%	-2%	Keep 2018 temporary rates	Go back to 2017 rates	+2%	+4%	DK/Ref
Effect on Revenue		-\$57B	-\$29B	\$0B	+\$29B	+\$57B	+\$86B	
OH7&13	Go back to 2017	5.7%	9.9%	27.0%	31.1%	19.3%	6.2%	0.9%
Republicans	Go back to 2017	5.2%	10.5%	32.2%	25.2%	19.5%	6.0%	1.4%
Democrats	Go back to 2017	6.1%	6.5%	21.5%	37.5%	21.1%	7.0%	0.3%
Income Bracket:		Reduce Further		Increase Further				
Q30f. \$100k - \$200k	Majority Position	-4%	-2%	Keep 2018 temporary rates	Go back to 2017 rates	+2%	+4%	DK/Ref
Effect on Revenue		-\$172B	-\$86B	\$0B	+\$112B	+\$198B	+\$284B	
OH7&13	Go back to 2017	3.8%	7.8%	21.2%	30.7%	24.2%	11.7%	0.7%
Republicans	Go back to 2017	5.1%	9.1%	22.9%	29.7%	20.9%	11.7%	0.7%
Democrats	Go back to 2017	2.2%	4.7%	19.8%	31.6%	28.4%	12.5%	0.8%
Income Bracket:		Reduce Further		Increase Further				
Q30g. \$200k - \$500k	Majority Position	-4%	-2%	Keep 2018 temporary rates	Go back to 2017 rates	+2%	+4%	DK/Ref
Effect on Revenue		-\$208B	-\$104B	\$0B	+\$145B	+\$249B	+\$353B	
OH7&13	Go back to 2017	3.0%	5.0%	16.1%	27.7%	30.3%	17.1%	0.7%
Republicans	Go back to 2017	4.1%	5.6%	22.1%	27.4%	25.2%	15.0%	0.7%
Democrats	Increase rates further	1.3%	3.4%	11.0%	26.7%	36.8%	20.0%	0.8%
Income Bracket:		Reduce Further		Increase Further				
Q30h. \$500k - \$1M	Majority Position	-4%	-2%	Keep 2018 temporary rates	Go back to 2017 rates	+2%	+4%	DK/Ref
Effect on Revenue		-\$64B	-\$32B	\$0B	+\$48B	+\$80B	+\$112B	
OH7&13	Increase rates further	2.6%	4.5%	12.5%	19.4%	31.8%	28.4%	0.8%
Republicans	Go back to 2017	2.8%	5.2%	17.4%	23.2%	32.0%	18.1%	1.3%
Democrats	Increase rates further	2.1%	3.1%	6.9%	15.6%	32.7%	39.1%	0.5%

Income Bracket:		Reduce Further		Increase Further				
Q30i. Above \$1M	Majority Position	-4%	-2%	Keep 2018 temporary rates	Go back to 2017 rates	+2%	+4%	DK/Ref
Effect on Revenue		-\$132B	-\$66B	\$0	+\$73B	+\$139B	+\$205B	
OH7&13	Increase rates further	2.9%	3.0%	12.7%	12.1%	16.6%	52.2%	0.4%
Republicans	Increase rates further	3.2%	4.1%	18.0%	17.4%	16.9%	39.8%	0.6%
Democrats	Increase rates further	2.0%	1.6%	6.2%	7.4%	16.1%	66.5%	0.3%

Now let's turn to taxes on capital gains and dividends.

Capital gains are profits from the sale of investments, such as stocks and property.

Dividends are profits distributed by companies to people who own stock in that company.

Over two-thirds of all capital gains go to people making over \$1 million a year.³⁸ Thus, any increases to this tax rate will primarily affect very high-income people. Currently, income from capital gains and dividends is taxed differently – often less – than income from wages or salaries. Here is the capital gains tax rate currently paid by individuals in different income tax brackets.

Individual Income Level	Tax Rate for Capital Gains and Dividends
Up to \$50,000	0%
\$50,000 to \$530,000	15%
Over \$530,000	20%

[Q31.] There is a proposal for changing the tax rate for capital gains and dividends by taxing them at the same rate that income from wages and salaries are taxed.³⁹ This would increase revenues.

You can now choose whether you favor this change and for which income levels. You can see how much revenue is generated for each one.

Income Bracket	Do not change how capital gains and dividends are taxed (Effect on revenue)	Tax capital gains and dividends the same as income from wages (Effect on revenue)
Q31a. \$40,000 - \$50,000	\$0	+\$1 B
Q31b. \$50,000 - \$60,000	\$0	+\$1 B
Q31c. \$60,000 – \$80,000	\$0	+\$1 B
Q31d. \$80,000 - \$100,000	\$0	+\$1 B
Q31e. \$100,000 - \$200,000	\$0	+\$11 B
Q31f. \$200,000 - \$500,000	\$0	+\$26 B
Q31g. \$500,000 - \$1 million	\$0	+\$18 B
Q31h. Above \$1 million	\$0	+\$120 B

³⁸ Tax Policy Center. (2024) Fiscal Facts: Who Has Capital Gains?

³⁹ JCT, Overview of the Federal Tax System as in Effect for 2024, Tables A-9 and A-10. Revenue effects are calculated for each income group by adjusting the average marginal tax rates on capital gains to equal the average marginal tax rate on labor income (not including employment taxes).

Q31a. \$40,000 - \$50,000	Do not change how capital gains and dividends are taxed	Tax capital gains and dividends the same as income from wages	Ref. / Dk
OH7&13	73.9%	24.7%	1.4%
Republicans	68.1%	29.8%	2.1%
Democrats	78.4%	20.7%	1.0%

Q31b. \$50,000 - \$60,000	Do not change how capital gains and dividends are taxed	Tax capital gains and dividends the same as income from wages	Ref. / Dk
OH7&13	69.1%	29.2%	1.7%
Republicans	69.1%	28.0%	2.8%
Democrats	68.4%	30.6%	1.0%

Q31c. \$60,000 - \$80,000	Do not change how capital gains and dividends are taxed	Tax capital gains and dividends the same as income from wages	Ref. / Dk
OH7&13	64.4%	34.2%	1.4%
Republicans	63.5%	34.3%	2.2%
Democrats	62.7%	36.3%	1.0%

Q31d. \$80,000 - \$100,000	Do not change how capital gains and dividends are taxed	Tax capital gains and dividends the same as income from wages	Ref. / Dk
OH7&13	60.8%	38.7%	0.5%
Republicans	68.1%	31.3%	0.6%
Democrats	54.2%	45.6%	0.3%

Q31e. \$100,000 - \$200,000	Do not change how capital gains and dividends are taxed	Tax capital gains and dividends the same as income from wages	Ref. / Dk
OH7&13	46.3%	52.6%	1.1%
Republicans	48.4%	50.2%	1.4%
Democrats	46.3%	52.8%	0.9%

Q31f. \$200,000 - \$500,000	Do not change how capital gains and dividends are taxed	Tax capital gains and dividends the same as income from wages	Ref. / Dk
OH7&13	32.4%	66.2%	1.4%
Republicans	32.7%	64.7%	2.6%
Democrats	32.2%	67.2%	0.6%

Q31g. \$500,000 - \$1 million	Do not change how capital gains and dividends are taxed	Tax capital gains and dividends the same as income from wages	Ref. / Dk
OH7&13	22.0%	76.0%	1.9%
Republicans	24.4%	73.2%	2.4%
Democrats	19.9%	78.3%	1.8%

Q31h. Above \$1 million	Do not change how capital gains and dividends are taxed	Tax capital gains and dividends the same as income from wages	Ref. / Dk
OH7&13	14.9%	83.5%	1.7%
Republicans	18.5%	78.7%	2.8%
Democrats	9.9%	89.2%	0.9%

[Q32.] Another option is to change the tax applied to wealth that is passed on to a person's heirs when they die. This is known as the estate tax. The estate tax only applies to inherited wealth over a certain amount. The tax rate also has a cap. These amounts have changed over the years.

In 2009, the first \$3.5 million for individuals and \$7 million for couples was tax-free. For the amounts over that level, the top tax rate was 45%. In 2011, the tax-free amount went up to \$5.5 million for individuals and \$11 million for couples, and the top tax rate was lowered to 40%.

In 2018, the tax-free amount was again raised to \$14 million for individuals and \$28 million for couples. The top tax rate was kept at 40%. What is your recommendation?

		Effect on Revenue
1	Eliminate the estate tax completely ⁴⁰	-\$34 B
2	Continue to tax inherited wealth over \$14 million for individuals and \$28 million for married couples, up to 40%	\$0 B
3	Tax inherited wealth over \$5 million for individuals and \$11 million for married couples, up to 40%. ⁴¹	+\$17 B
4	Tax inherited wealth over \$3.5 million for individuals and \$7 million for married couples, up to 45%. ⁴²	+\$54 B

Q32	Eliminate state tax completely	Continue to tax inherited wealth over \$14 million for individuals and \$28 million for married couples, up to 40%	Tax inherited wealth over \$5 million for individuals and \$11 million for married couples, up to 40%	Tax inherited wealth over \$3.5 million for individuals and \$7 million for married couples, up to 45%	Ref/Dk	2011
OH7&13	12.2%	36.7%	33.9%	17.0%	0.1%	50.9%
Republicans	19.0%	36.6%	29.1%	15.4%	0.0%	44.5%
Democrats	6.4%	39.5%	37.8%	16.3%	0.0%	54.1%

Another proposal is to impose a tax on the wealth of individuals or married couples with very high net worth—the top one tenth of one percent of the population. A proposal has been introduced to impose an extra tax of 2% on the amount of wealth over \$50 million, and 3% on the amount of wealth over \$1 billion.⁴³ The 2% tax would affect about 120,000 households.⁴⁴ The 3% tax would affect about 800 households. This proposal would reduce the deficit by \$200 billion a year..⁴⁵

Here is an argument in favor:

Q33. The ultra-rich benefit the most from our economy, so they should pay their fair share. But in fact, billionaires pay lower tax rates than teachers and nurses, because they can use their wealth to game the tax system. They then use their money to lobby Congress to pass even more laws that favor the wealthy.

Q33	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Ref / DK
OH7&13	52.7%	34.4%	87.1%	7.6%	5.0%	12.6%	0.3%
Republicans	42.8%	40.4%	83.2%	11.0%	5.8%	16.8%	0.0%
Democrats	63.8%	27.5%	91.3%	3.2%	5.1%	8.3%	0.4%

Here is an argument against:

Q34. A wealth tax punishes the successful, who already contribute more in total taxes than everyone else. It will discourage investment and job creation, and drive entrepreneurs out of America. Instead of taking more from those who succeed, we should focus on smarter spending and policies that benefit everyone without stifling people's ambition.

Q34	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Ref / DK
OH7&13	23.5%	46.3%	69.8%	18.9%	11.3%	30.2%	0.0%
Republicans	24.9%	46.7%	71.6%	21.9%	6.5%	28.4%	0.0%
Democrats	24.2%	47.1%	71.3%	13.7%	15.1%	28.8%	0.0%

⁴⁰ JCT, Overview of the Federal Tax System as in Effect for 2024, Table A-1.

⁴¹ CBO, Budgetary Outcomes Under Alternative Assumptions About Spending and Revenues, The 2017 Tax Act's Higher Estate and Gift Tax Exemptions Are Extended.

⁴² Department of Treasury, Office of Tax Analysis. (2025) The Cost and Distribution of Extending Expiring Provisions of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017, footnote 5

⁴³ Ultra-Millionaire Tax Act of 2024 by Rep. Jayapal (H.R.7749) and Sen. Warren (S. 4017)

⁴⁴ Credit Suisse. (2023) Global Wealth Report 2023, Figure 6

⁴⁵ Penn Wharton Budget Model. (2021) Budgetary and Economic Effects of Senator Elizabeth Warren's Wealth Tax Legislation, Table 1, average of 10-year Dynamic model.

So here again is the proposal:

Impose an extra annual tax of 2% on wealth over \$50 million, and 3% on wealth over \$1 billion. This proposal would **reduce the deficit by \$200 billion a year**.⁴⁶ Q35. What is your recommendation?

		Effect on Revenue
1	Do not charge an extra tax on wealth over \$50 million	-0-
2	Charge an extra tax of 2% on wealth over \$50 million, and an extra tax of 3% on wealth over \$1 billion	+\$200 B

Q35	Do not charge an extra tax on wealth over \$50 million	Charge an extra tax of 2% on wealth over \$50 million, and an extra tax of 3% on wealth over \$1 billion	Ref. / Dk
OH7&13	21.8%	78.2%	0.0%
Republicans	29.4%	70.6%	0.0%
Democrats	16.4%	83.6%	0.0%

[CORPORATE INCOME TAXES]

We are now going to look at corporate taxes. Corporations do not pay tax on their entire income; they only pay tax on their profits (income minus spending).

The top corporate tax rate has been changed several times over the last century. It was at its highest in 1950, when the top corporate tax rate was about 50%. In the 1980s, the top rate was lowered to about 35%. And then in 2017 it was lowered to a flat rate of 21% for all corporations.

Just like individuals, corporations have exemptions, credits, and deductions that they apply to their profits before calculating their tax. Therefore, their effective tax rate—the amount that they actually pay—is on average about 12%.⁴⁷

Large corporations pay a lower effective rate, of less than 10% on average. This is often because they have a greater ability to use specialized tax maneuvers.⁴⁸

There has been discussion about whether the corporate tax rate should be changed.

Q36. Here is an argument in favor of lowering the corporate tax rate:

Lowering the corporate tax rate will boost economic growth. Corporations will have more money to invest in the US, which will create more jobs. A lower tax rate will also encourage more corporations to move to the US. Many corporations also keep their profits overseas to avoid the US' tax rate, and if it is lowered then they will bring it back to the US, which will boost revenue.

Q36	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Ref / DK
OH7&13	37.1%	42.5%	79.6%	14.3%	6.1%	20.4%	0.0%
Republicans	38.2%	47.7%	85.9%	11.4%	2.8%	14.2%	0.0%
Democrats	40.1%	37.0%	77.1%	13.7%	9.2%	22.9%	0.0%

Here is an argument in favor of raising the corporate tax rate:

Q37. The government has been lowering corporate taxes for half a century. The result: large corporations have used around 80% of that extra money to enrich their wealthy owners, rather than making investments that create American jobs.⁴⁹ Large corporations and their

⁴⁶ Penn Wharton Budget Model. (2021) Budgetary and Economic Effects of Senator Elizabeth Warren's Wealth Tax Legislation, Table 1, average of 10-year Dynamic model.

⁴⁷ Effective tax rate calculated using FRED. Federal Government: Tax Receipts on Corporate Income (2023: \$445B), and FRED. National income: Corporate profits before tax (without IVA and CCAAdj) (2023: \$3,693B). Results align with previous Federal Reserve analyses: Federal Reserve. (2023) The TCJA and Domestic Corporate Tax Rates.

⁴⁸ GAO. (2021) Corporate Income Tax: Effective Rates Before and After 2017 Law Change; ITEP. (2024) Corporate Taxes Before and After the Trump Tax Law, Figure 3, using SEC filing data.

⁴⁹ IMF. (2019) U.S. Investment Since the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017

owners have grown wealthier, while the government deficit has grown larger. It is time corporations start paying their fair share like they used to.

Q37	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Ref / DK
OH7&13	35.5%	46.6%	82.1%	14.4%	3.6%	18.0%	0.0%
Republicans	30.8%	41.3%	72.1%	22.7%	5.3%	28.0%	0.0%
Democrats	40.7%	49.7%	90.4%	6.9%	2.7%	9.6%	0.0%

You will now have the option to raise or lower the tax on corporate profits.

[Q38.] Which of the following options do you recommend?⁵⁰

	Decrease effective tax rate to:			Current effective tax rate	Increase effective tax rate to:		
Tax rate on corporate profit	6%	8%	10%	12%	14%	16%	18%
Effect on Revenue	-\$122 B	-\$81 B	-\$41 B	\$0	+\$41 B	+\$81 B	+\$122 B

Q38	Majority Position	% support for maj. Position	Decrease effective tax rate			Current effective tax rate	Increase effective tax rate to:					
			6%	8%	10%		12%	14%	16%	18%	DK /Ref	Increase
OH7&13	Increase to 14%	76%	2.0%	2.0%	8.0%	11.6%	36.2%	20.6%	19.6%	0.0%	76.4%	40%
Republicans	Increase to 14%	68%	3.6%	2.3%	10.6%	15.7%	39.7%	16.1%	12.1%	0.0%	67.9%	28%
Democrats	Increase to 16%	51%	0.6%	0.3%	4.8%	8.3%	35.1%	24.8%	26.1%	0.0%	86.0%	51%

Revenues (cont.)

[Q39.] Every day that financial markets are open, roughly \$1 trillion worth of stocks, bonds and derivatives are traded. Another proposal would tax each trade transaction by a percent of the value of the security being traded..⁵¹

Here are three options. What is your recommendation?

	Effect on Revenue
1 Do not charge a tax on financial transactions	-0-
2 Charge of a tax of 0.01%, so a trade of \$10,000 would be charged \$1	+\$30B
4 Charge a tax of 0.1%, so a trade of \$10,000 would be charged \$10	+\$77B

Q39	Do not charge a tax on financial transactions	Charge of a tax of 0.01%, so a trade of \$10,000 would be charged \$1	Charge a tax of 0.1%, so a trade of \$10,000 would be charged \$10	Ref. / Dk	Charge of a tax of at least 0.01%
OH7&13	23.7%	47.8%	28.5%	0.0%	76.3%
Republicans	26.0%	50.0%	24.0%	0.0%	74.0%
Democrats	21.3%	46.7%	32.0%	0.0%	78.7%

Now let's turn to options for **reducing tax revenue**, which would **increase the deficit**.

Another option is to eliminate income taxes on the extra income that workers receive from working overtime. As you may know, workers receive overtime pay when they work more than 40 hours in a week. Overtime pay is usually about one and a half times (1.5 times) their

⁵⁰ CBO, Options for Reducing the Deficit: 2025 to 2034, Increase the Corporate Income Tax Rate by 1 Percentage Point, using annual average deficit reduction over a ten-year period (\$13.6 billion). Effective tax rate options are the equivalent to 12%, 15%, 18%, 21%, 24%, 27% and 31%.

⁵¹ 0.01% tax: CBO, Options for Reducing the Deficit: 2025 to 2034, Revenues - Impose a Tax on Financial Transactions, annual average of ten-year effect on the deficit. 0.1% tax: CBO, Options for Reducing the Deficit: 2019 to 2028, Revenues - Impose a Tax on Financial Transactions, annual average of ten-year effect on the deficit, adjusted for inflation 118th Congress, Schatz, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/118th-congress/senate-bill/2491>

ordinary hourly wage. There is a proposal to eliminate income taxes on the extra amount workers receive for overtime, over and above their ordinary hourly wage. Here is an example:

If a person makes \$20 an hour, and they work overtime, they receive \$20 PLUS an additional \$10 an hour. Under this proposal, they would not pay income tax on that extra \$10 an hour. This proposal would **reduce revenues by about \$60 billion a year**.⁵²

Q40. What is your recommendation:

	Effect on Revenue
1 Do not change	\$0 B
2 Eliminate income taxes on the extra amount workers receive for overtime, over and above their ordinary hourly wage ⁵³	-\$60 B

Q40	Do not change	Eliminate income taxes on the extra amount workers receive for overtime, over and above their ordinary hourly wage	Ref. / Dk
OH7&13	40.8%	59.2%	0.0%
Republicans	35.8%	64.2%	0.0%
Democrats	44.7%	55.3%	0.0%

[Taxes on Tips]

Another option is to eliminate income taxes on income made from tips.

As you may know, many workers in the service industry earn tips as part of their income. For some, especially workers in restaurants, tips make up a significant amount of their income.

Q41. This proposal would **reduce revenues by about \$7 billion a year**.⁵⁴

	Effect on Revenue
1 Do not change	\$0 B
2 Eliminate income tax on tips ⁵⁵	-\$7 B

Q41	Do not change	Eliminate income tax on tips	Ref. / Dk
OH7&13	38.9%	61.1%	0.0%
Republicans	32.8%	67.2%	0.0%
Democrats	44.8%	55.2%	0.0%

Lastly, let's turn to federal spending on programs that provide assistance to low-income Americans.

One of the largest low-income assistance programs is Medicaid.

Medicaid is a health insurance program that covers about 41 million adults (including about 7 million seniors) and 30 million children -- about a fifth of the US population.

⁵² Penn Wharton Budget Model. (2025) The FY2025 House Budget reconciliation and Trump Administration Tax Proposals: Budgetary, Economic, and Distributional Effects, Table 2.a, average of 10-year budgetary effect

⁵³ Penn Wharton Budget Model. (2025) The FY2025 House Budget reconciliation and Trump Administration Tax Proposals: Budgetary, Economic, and Distributional Effects, Table 2.a, average of 10-year budgetary effect

⁵⁴ Penn Wharton Budget Model. (2025) The FY2025 House Budget reconciliation and Trump Administration Tax Proposals: Budgetary, Economic, and Distributional Effects, Table 2.a, average of 10-year budgetary effect

⁵⁵ Penn Wharton Budget Model. (2025) The FY2025 House Budget reconciliation and Trump Administration Tax Proposals: Budgetary, Economic, and Distributional Effects, Table 2.a, average of 10-year budgetary effect

People can get Medicaid if their income is below a certain level. Here is the cutoff level in most states:

- For a single person: income must be below about \$20,000
- For a couple with two children: income must be below about \$43,000

And some people with slightly higher incomes can get on Medicaid if they are pregnant, disabled, or in need of long-term health care.

In 2024, the federal government spent \$608 billion on Medicaid..⁵⁶ If spending on Medicaid is reduced, this would result in fewer people being covered by Medicaid. If spending on Medicaid is increased, this would allow more people to be covered by Medicaid.

Q42. What do you think federal spending on Medicaid should be for 2025. As mentioned, last year it was \$608 billion. \$ [NUMBER BOX] billion

Q42	Maj. Position	% support for maj. Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	DK/Ref
OH7&13	614	50.8%	23.4%	7.3%	69.3%	0.0%
Republicans	610	55.5%	35.9%	8.1%	56.1%	0.0%
Democrats	615	53.9%	8.9%	6.1%	85.0%	0.0%

Another low-income assistance program is the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), also known as food stamps. SNAP provides monthly food credits to about 25 million adults (including about 7 million seniors) and 16 million children..⁵⁷ The average monthly credit is \$187 per person..⁵⁸

People can get SNAP if their income is below a certain level:

- For a single person: income must be below about \$20,000
- For a couple with two children: income must be below about \$42,000

Able-bodied adults without young children must work for at least 20 hours a week, or be actively seeking work, in order to get SNAP credits. In 2024, the federal government spent \$100 billion on SNAP..⁵⁹ If spending on SNAP is decreased, this would result in a reduction of the amount of the credit, or fewer people receiving credits. If spending on SNAP is increased, this would allow credits to be increased, or more people to receive credits:

Q43. What do you think federal spending on SNAP should be for 2025. As mentioned, last year it was \$100 billion. \$ [NUMBER BOX] billion

Q43	Maj. Position	% support for maj. Position	Decrease	Keep same	Increase	DK/Ref
OH7&13	110	53.2%	20.7%	13.1%	66.2%	0.0%
Republicans	109	50.6%	32.0%	13.0%	55.0%	0.0%
Democrats	110	59.7%	8.7%	12.0%	79.3%	0.0%

Thank you for your work! We greatly appreciate the time and thought you have put into this survey.

[If Deficit < \$1900B] Congratulations, you reduced the budget deficit by \$_____ billion.

[if Deficit = 0] Congratulations, you eliminated the budget deficit.

[If Deficit < 0] Congratulations, you eliminated the budget deficit and created a budget surplus of \$_____billion.

⁵⁶ CMS. (2025) [Fiscal Year 2024 Financial Report, p. 37](#)

⁵⁷ USDA, FNS. (2025) [SNAP In Action Dashboard](#)

⁵⁸ USDA. (2025) [Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program Participation and Costs](#), accessed May 23, 2025

⁵⁹ USDA. (2025) [Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program Participation and Costs](#), accessed May 23, 2025

Methodology

Fielding and Sample Size

The survey was fielded to 649 adults (326 from OH-7, 323 from OH-13) online July 5th - Aug 13th, 2025 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 combined sample has a confidence interval is +/- 4.0%, calculated using the following formula:

Confidence interval = Square Root $((1 + \text{variance of the sample weights}) / \text{size of the sample})$

The response rate was 5.5%.

Pre-Stratification and Weighting

The sample was pre-stratified and weighted by age, gender, race, income, education, and home ownership using benchmarks came from the Census Bureau's 2022 American Community Survey and 2023 Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement.

The mean weight was 1.0 (minimum weight: 0.48; maximum weight: 2.13)

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.