

September 2022

# The Inflation Reduction Act

Findings and Recommendations from  
Polling of Likely Voters Nationwide

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# Methodology



Impact Research, Americans for Tax Fairness, and Americans for Tax Fairness Action Fund conducted a nationwide online survey of likely 2022 voters.



The survey consisted of N=1200 respondents, including a base sample of N=1000 likely voters and an N=200 oversample of pure Independents (not including leaners). In total, N=312 pure Independents were interviewed.



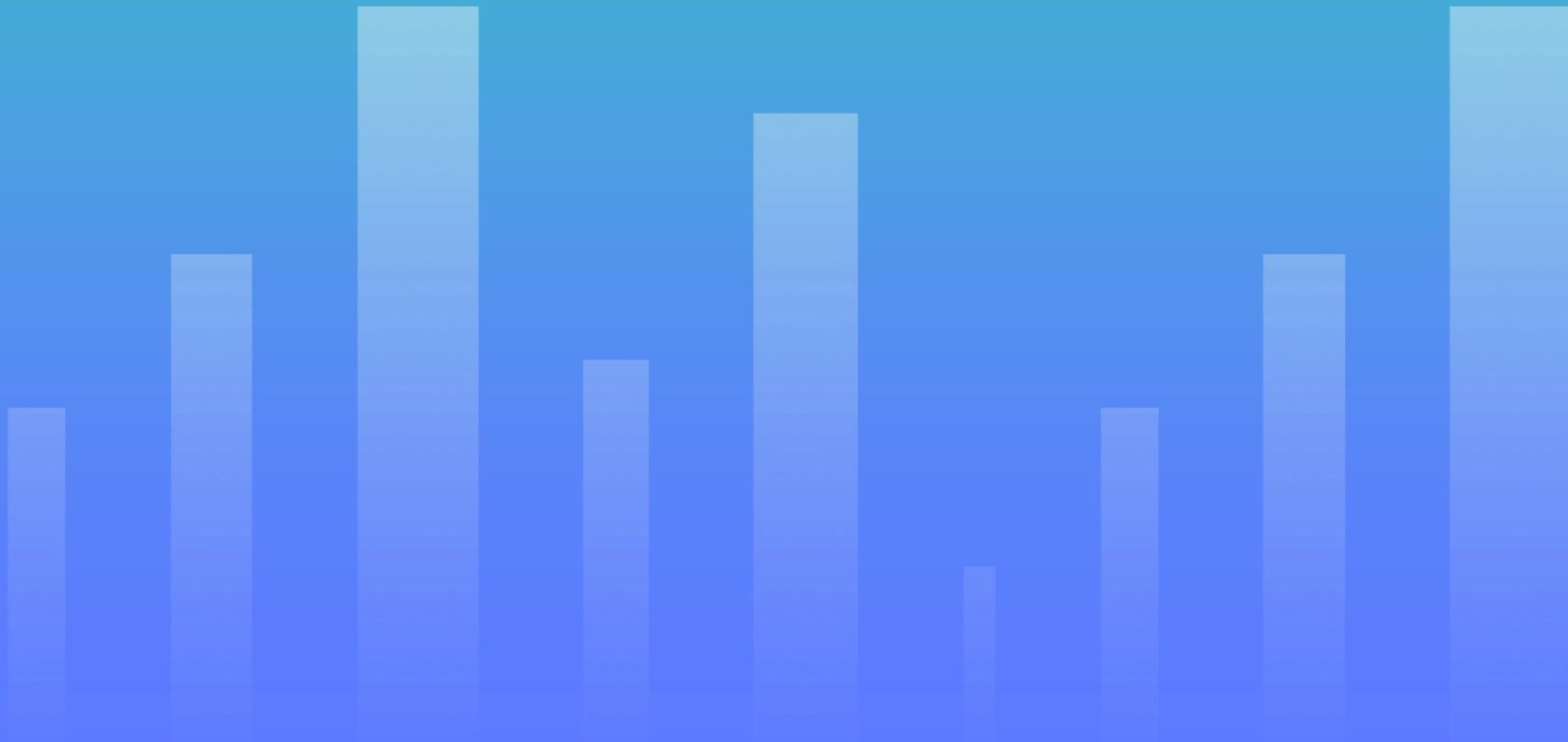
Interviews were conducted August 30 – September 7, 2022.



The 95% confidence interval for the base sample is +/- 3.10 percentage points. The 95% confidence interval for subgroups varies and is higher.



# Support for the IRA

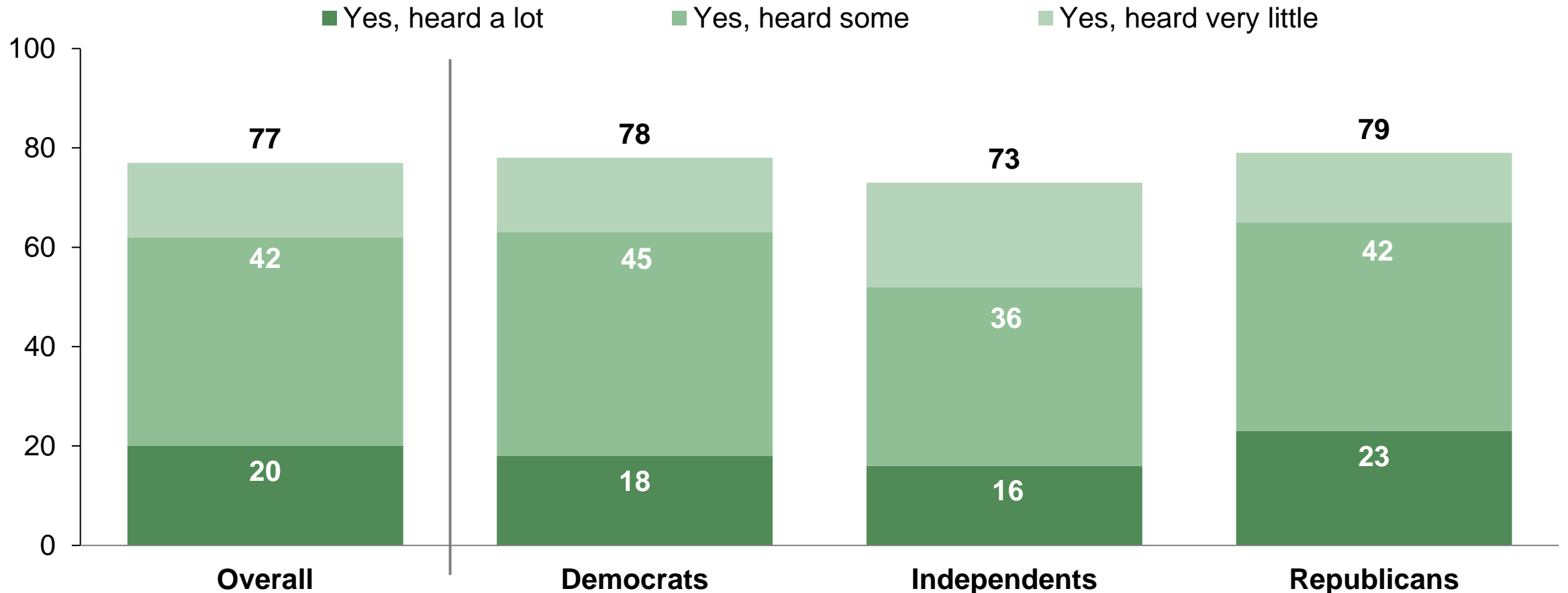


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# Eight in ten voters have heard at least something about the Inflation Reduction Act, but only a fifth report having heard *a lot*.

Republicans report having heard a little more about it.

*Have you seen, read, or heard anything about the new legislation called the Inflation Reduction Act that was recently passed by Congress and signed into law by President Biden?*

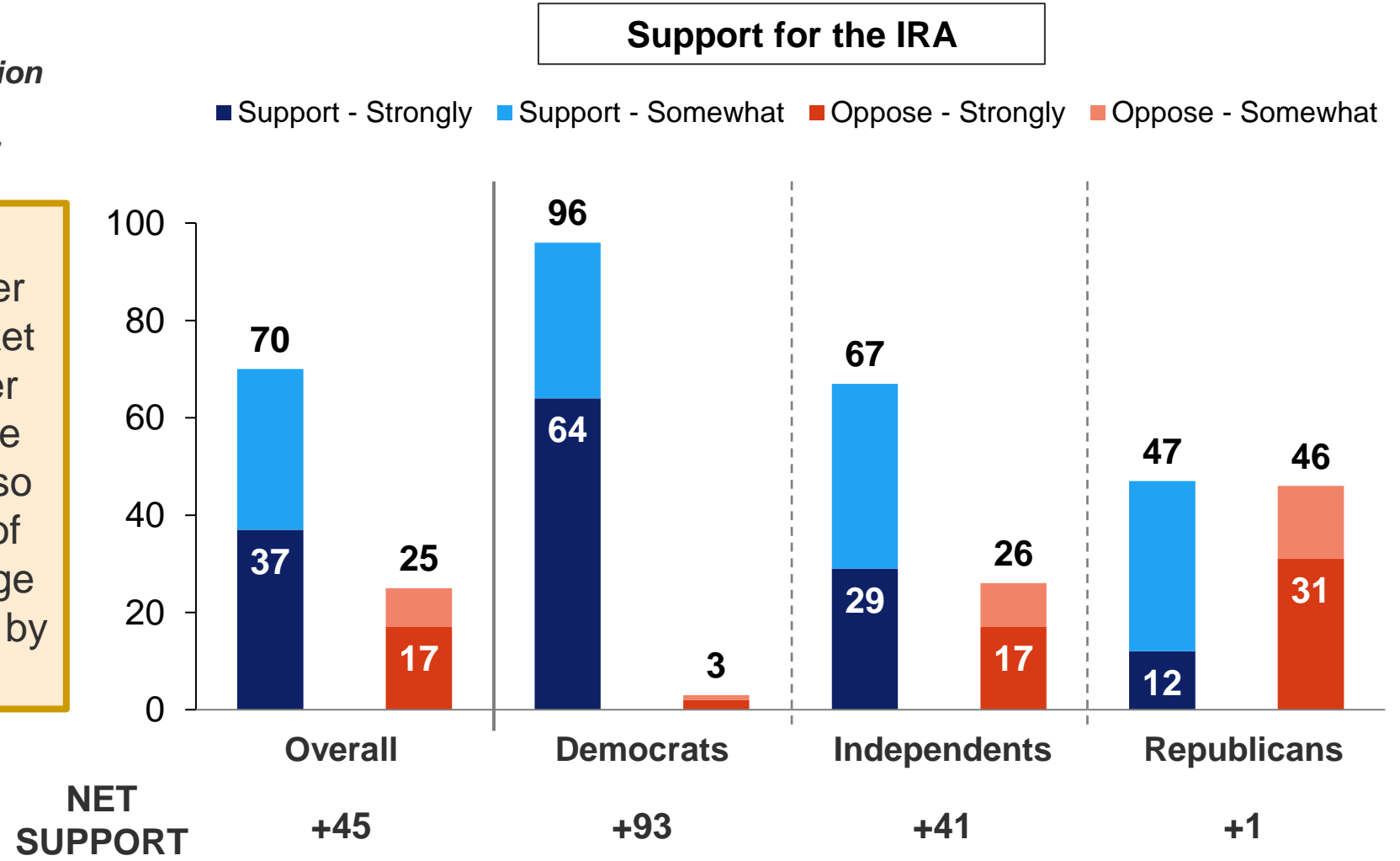


# When given a description of the IRA, without saying how it will be paid for, a strong majority of voters support it (70%), and just 25% oppose it.

Two-thirds of Independents favor it, Democrats universally support it, and even a narrow plurality of Republicans support it.

*Below is a description of the Inflation Reduction Act. Please read the description and then indicate whether you support or oppose it:*

The Inflation Reduction Act gives Medicare the power to negotiate lower drug prices, caps seniors' out-of-pocket prescription drug costs, and will lower health insurance premiums for people who buy insurance on their own. It also invests in increasing the production of clean energy to combat climate change and reduces the federal budget deficit by \$300 billion.



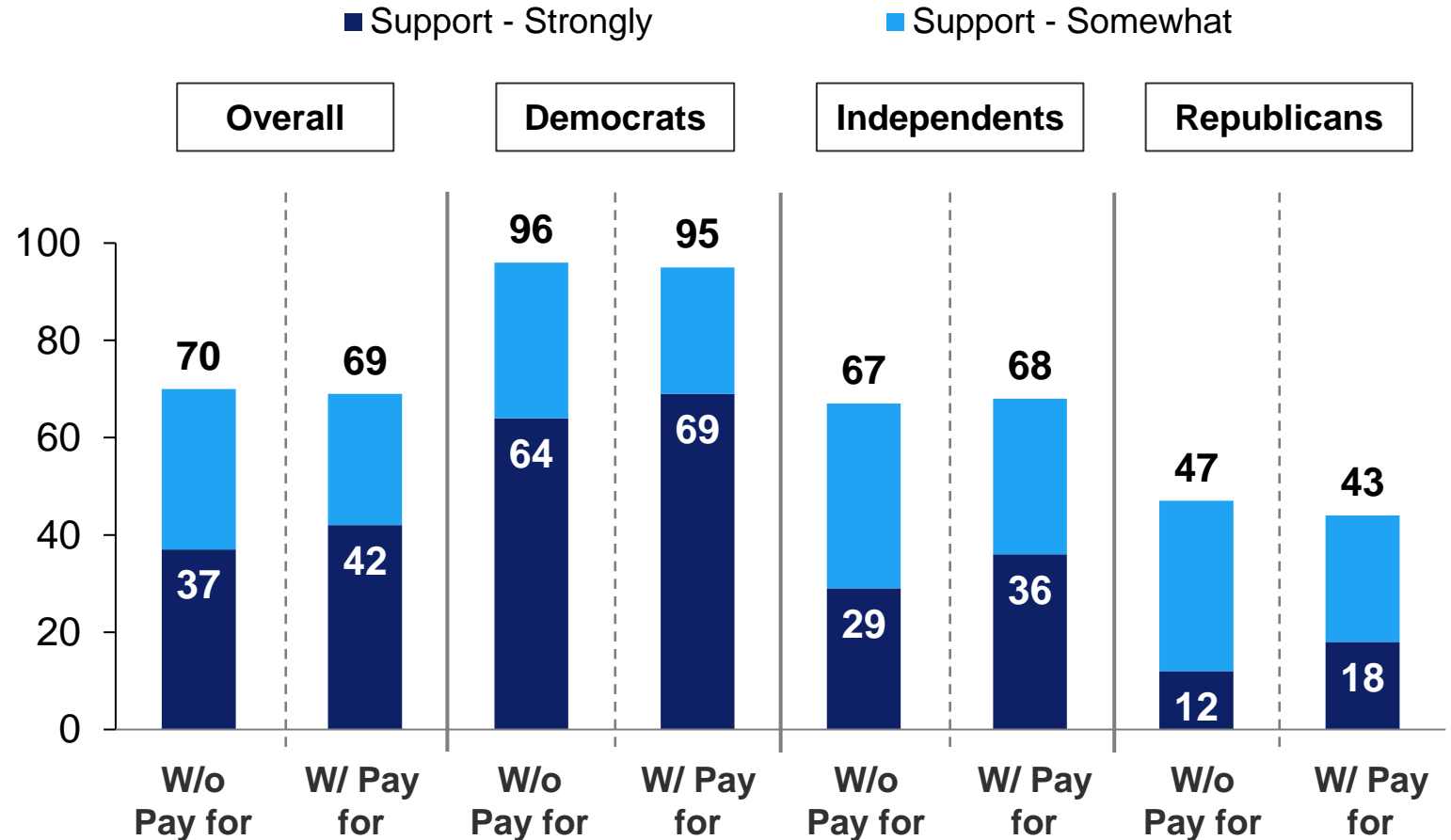
# And when respondents hear how the IRA will be paid for, *strong* support rises by 5 points.

Strong support increases by 7 points with Independents after they hear about the pay fors.

**Support for the IRA Without and With Pay-for Description**

*Below is a description of how the Inflation Reduction Act will be paid for:*

The Inflation Reduction Act will be paid for by requiring billion-dollar corporations to pay a minimum tax rate of 15%, by a 1% tax on corporate stock buybacks, and by strengthening IRS enforcement to crack down on tax cheating by the wealthy and corporations.



# The IRA's most popular components are all related to either prescription drugs or taxes.

That it strengthens tax enforcement is tied with Medicare negotiations in terms of *intense* support.

## IRA Components: Top Tier

■ Much more likely to support IRA

■ Somewhat more likely to support IRA

It gives Medicare the power to negotiate with drug companies to lower prescription drug prices

It strengthens tax enforcement to crack down on tax cheating by the wealthy and corporations

It caps insulin costs for seniors at \$35 a month

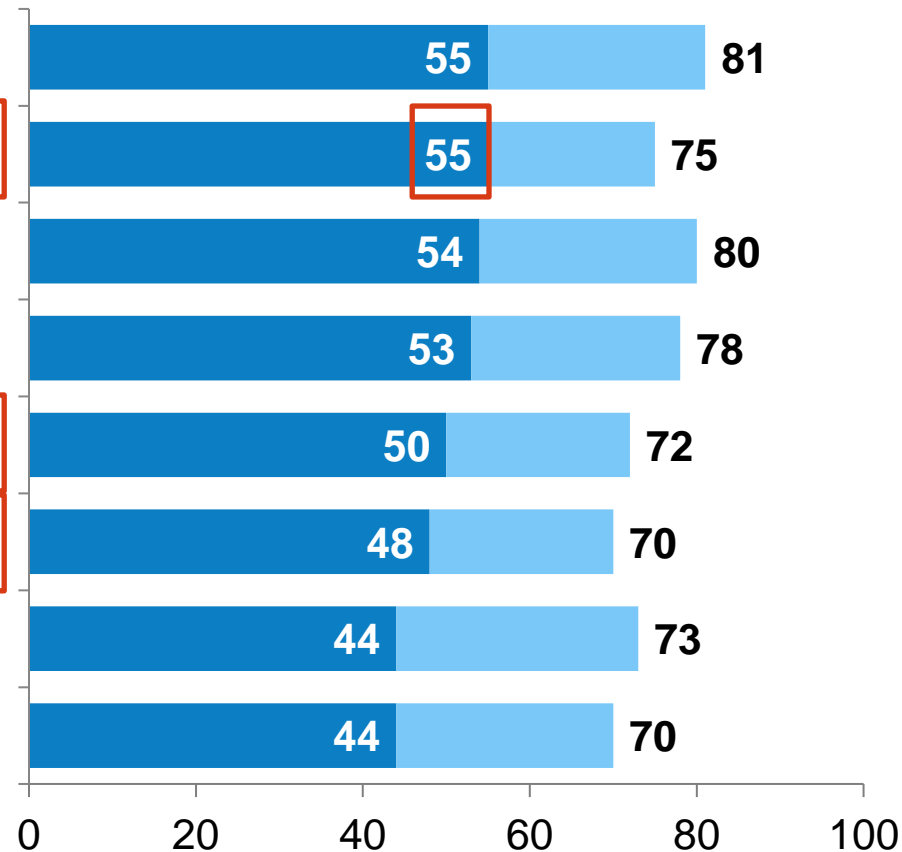
It caps out-of-pocket prescription costs for seniors

It will not raise taxes on anyone making less than \$400,000 a year or on small businesses

It requires billion-dollar corporations to pay a tax rate of at least 15%

It will reduce health care premiums by an average of \$800 a year for 13 million people

It will reduce the deficit by \$300 billion



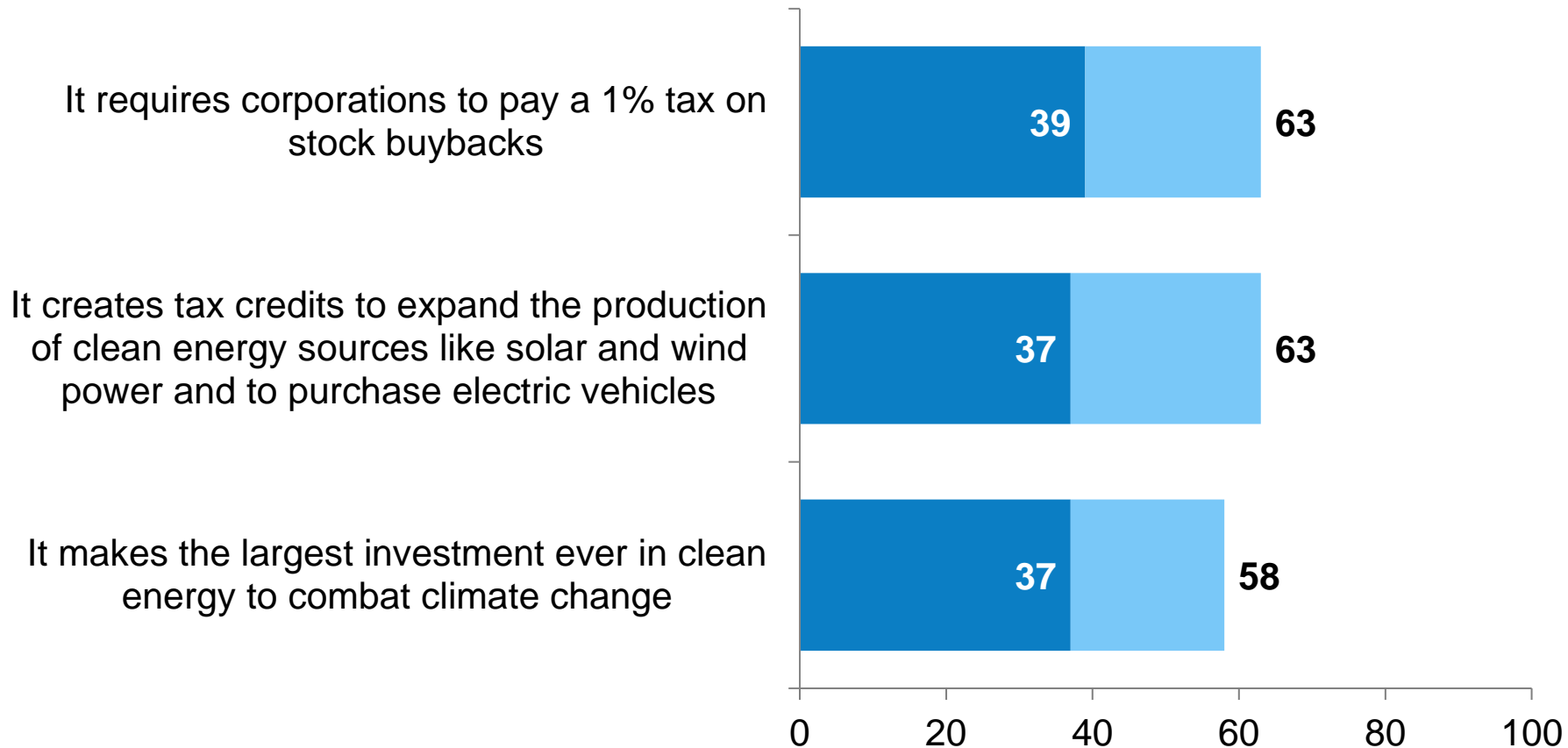
## % TOTAL MORE LIKELY

IND.	IND. <55	IND. 55+
84	87	82
80	82	77
82	84	79
79	77	80
75	78	71
65	63	68
70	75	64
68	70	65

# The stock buyback and clean energy/climate components are lower tier for voters but are still net positives.

## IRA Components: 2<sup>nd</sup> Tier

■ Much more likely to support IRA    ■ Somewhat more likely to support IRA



## % TOTAL MORE LIKELY

IND.    IND. <55    IND. 55+

59    58    60

55    64    46

60    62    58

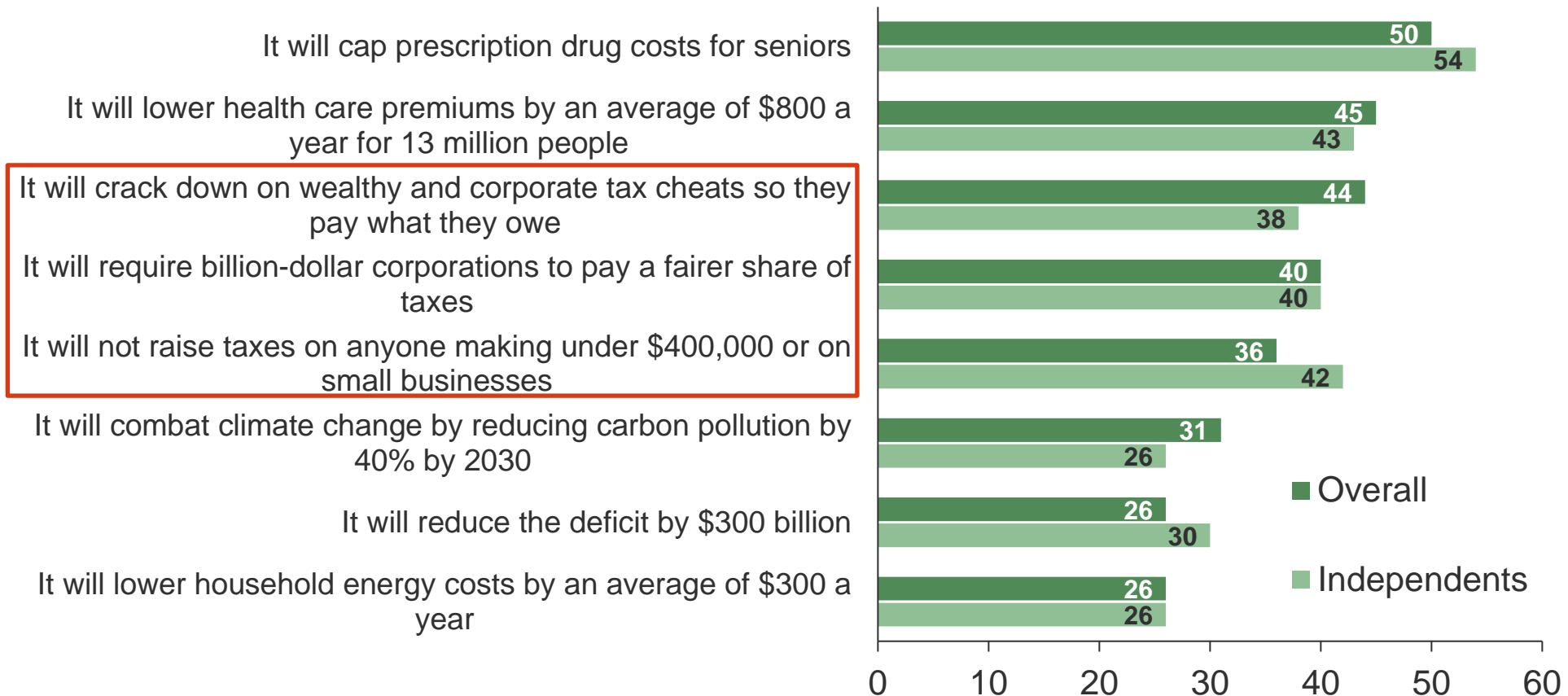


# The components focused on prescription drugs/healthcare and taxes also come out on top when we force voters to choose which components they like best.

The prescription drug reform is especially dominant among older Independents.

Regardless of whether you support the Inflation Reduction Act, or not, which of the following do you think are the **THREE** best reasons to support it?

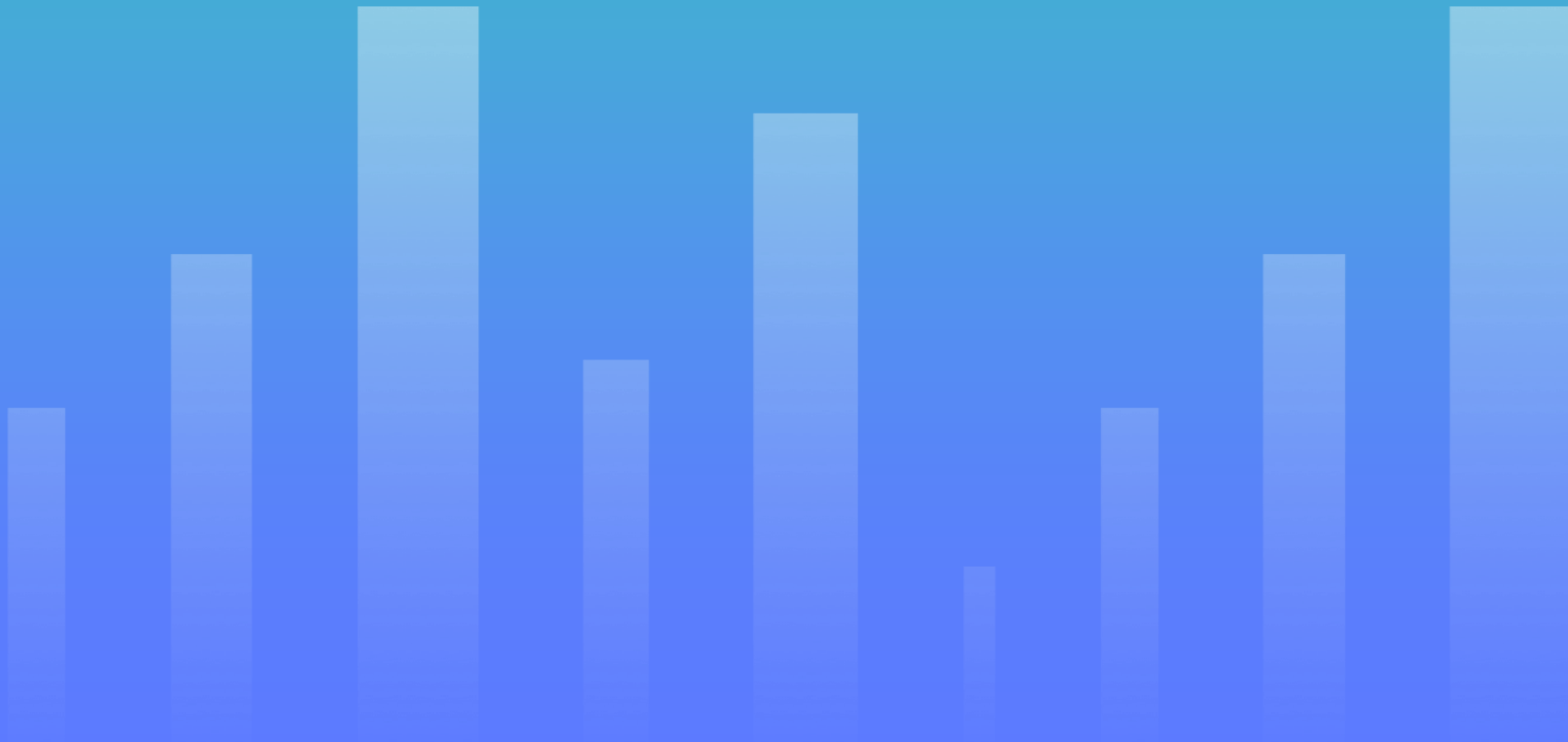
[% TOP 3 COMBINED]



	IND. <55	IND. 55+
It will cap prescription drug costs for seniors	48	61
It will lower health care premiums by an average of \$800 a year for 13 million people	50	35
It will crack down on wealthy and corporate tax cheats so they pay what they owe	33	44
It will require billion-dollar corporations to pay a fairer share of taxes	41	40
It will not raise taxes on anyone making under \$400,000 or on small businesses	43	40
It will combat climate change by reducing carbon pollution by 40% by 2030	29	23
It will reduce the deficit by \$300 billion	32	28
It will lower household energy costs by an average of \$300 a year	24	29



# IRA Messaging



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# MaxDiff Messaging Exercise

- Respondents were shown 9 different messages in support of the Inflation Reduction Act.
- Respondents saw a series of 7 “screens,” each with 4 different messages per screen.
- Respondents were asked to select the message that made them MOST supportive of the IRA and the message that made them LEAST supportive of the IRA.
- Each message was seen at least 3 times — against different messages each time.
- The MaxDiff exercise generates over 16,000 data points, which are used to identify the relative strength of each message and determine the combinations for the greatest audience “reach.”

On each of the following screens you will see different statements about the Inflation Reduction Act.

For each screen, please select the statement that makes you MOST SUPPORTIVE of the Inflation Reduction Act and then the statement that makes you LEAST SUPPORTIVE of the Inflation Reduction Act.

To help us best understand your views, you will see each of these statements more than once in different combinations in the following screens.

(1 of 7)

MOST SUPPORTIVE		LEAST SUPPORTIVE
<input type="radio"/>	The Inflation Reduction Act lowers costs for working families and seniors by making the wealthy and billion-dollar corporations pay a fairer share in taxes. It will not raise taxes on anyone making under \$400,000 a year or on small businesses and it will reduce the deficit by \$300 billion.	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/>	With the Inflation Reduction Act, the American people won and special interests lost. Big drug and oil corporations spent nearly \$100 million to defeat this law, because they knew it would mean less price gouging by them and lower prescription drug and energy costs for the American people.	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/>	The richest 1% avoid paying \$160 billion a year in taxes because the IRS does not have enough staff to audit them. The Inflation Reduction Act will strengthen tax enforcement to help catch wealthy and corporate tax cheats and make them pay what they owe.	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/>	The Inflation Reduction Act will help reduce inflation by allowing Medicare to negotiate lower drug prices, lowering health care premiums by an average of \$800 a year for 13 million people, reducing household energy costs by an average of \$300 a year, and reducing the deficit by \$300 billion.	<input type="radio"/>

Click the 'Next' button to continue...

**The top messages in support of the IRA focus on reducing prescription drug prices, reducing inflation by lowering costs, and how the law is paid for by making billion-dollar corporations pay their fair share.**

IRA Messaging – Top Tier % Top 3 Choices (% Top Choice)	Overall	Ind.	Ind. Women	Ind. Men	Ind <55	Ind. 55+
<b>[PRESCRIPTION DRUGS]</b> The Inflation Reduction Act will lower prescription drug prices by finally giving Medicare the power to negotiate with drug corporations to lower costs, and by capping overall out-of-pocket costs on prescription drugs for seniors and on insulin at \$35 a month.	<b>54</b> <b>(32)</b>	53 (35)	50 (33)	56 (38)	49 (28)	58 (43)
<b>[INFLATION]</b> The Inflation Reduction Act will help reduce inflation by allowing Medicare to negotiate lower drug prices, lowering health care premiums by an average of \$800 a year for 13 million people, reducing household energy costs by an average of \$300 a year, and reducing the deficit by \$300 billion.	<b>51</b> <b>(9)</b>	53 (8)	47 (6)	59 (10)	49 (6)	56 (10)
<b>[REDUCES COSTS AND PAID FOR]</b> The Inflation Reduction Act will reduce prescription drug prices, health care premiums, and energy costs for working families and seniors. <b><i>It is fully paid for by making billion-dollar corporations pay a fairer share of taxes, cracking down on wealthy tax cheats, and preventing price gouging by drug corporations.</i></b>	<b>48</b> <b>(10)</b>	51 (11)	54 (13)	47 (8)	50 (15)	52 (6)
<b>[TAXES &amp; DEFICIT]</b> The Inflation Reduction Act lowers costs for working families and seniors by <b><i>making the wealthy and billion-dollar corporations pay a fairer share in taxes. It will not raise taxes on anyone making under \$400,000 a year or on small businesses,</i></b> and it will reduce the deficit by \$300 billion.	<b>43</b> <b>(15)</b>	40 (13)	44 (16)	36 (11)	40 (11)	40 (16)

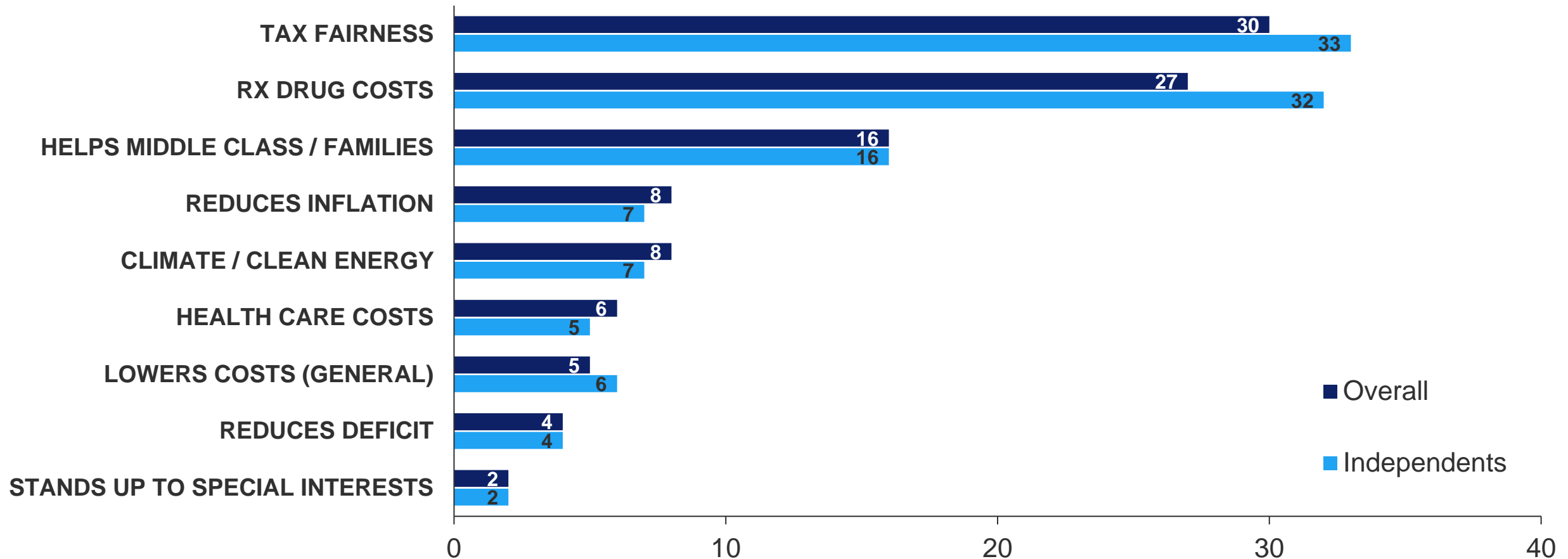
# Frames on special interests, the IRS, clean energy, and the tax components (without also attaching them to the cost-lowering benefits of the IRA) do not test as strongly.

IRA Messaging – Second Tier % Top 3 Choices (% Top Choice)	Overall	Ind.
<p><b>[BILLION-DOLLAR CORPORATIONS]</b> The Inflation Reduction Act will make billion-dollar corporations pay a fairer share of taxes. Many of these corporations pay a lower tax rate than nurses, firefighters, and teachers, and 55 corporations paid \$0 federal income taxes in 2020. This law will ensure they no longer pay a lower tax rate than average Americans.</p>	<p><b>33</b> <b>(10)</b></p>	<p>34 (9)</p>
<p><b>[TAX SYSTEM]</b> The Inflation Reduction Act will make our tax code fairer by making billion-dollar corporations pay a fairer share of taxes and cracking down on wealthy tax cheats. It won't raise taxes on anyone making under \$400,000 a year or on small businesses.</p>	<p><b>24</b> <b>(6)</b></p>	<p>24 (6)</p>
<p><b>[CLEAN ENERGY]</b> The Inflation Reduction Act will make the biggest investment ever in clean energy to lower household energy costs, reduce our dependence on foreign oil, and combat climate change. It will provide tax credits to expand the use of solar and wind power and electric vehicles, and reduce carbon pollution by 40% by 2030.</p>	<p><b>21</b> <b>(11)</b></p>	<p>19 (9)</p>
<p><b>[IRS]</b> The richest 1% avoid paying \$160 billion a year in taxes because the IRS does not have enough staff to audit them. The Inflation Reduction Act will strengthen tax enforcement to help catch wealthy and corporate tax cheats and make them pay what they owe.</p>	<p><b>19</b> <b>(7)</b></p>	<p>19 (8)</p>
<p><b>[SPECIAL INTERESTS]</b> With the Inflation Reduction Act, the American people won and special interests lost. Big drug and oil corporations spent nearly \$100 million to defeat this law, because they knew it would mean less price gouging by them and lower prescription drug and energy costs for the American people.</p>	<p><b>8</b> <b>(2)</b></p>	<p>7 (2)</p>

# In open-ends on the best reason to support the IRA, tax fairness tops the list, followed closely by prescription drug costs, both ranking far ahead of other reasons.

That it will generally help families is a distant third.

*Regardless of whether you support the Inflation Reduction Act, or not, what do you think is the best reason to support it?  
[OPEN-ENDED] [MULTIPLE RESPONSES ACCEPTED]*



Overall  
Independents



# IRA Attack and Response



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# The most effective rebuttal to the GOP's inflation/spending hit is that the IRA reduces the deficit, is fully paid for by making billion-dollar corporations pay their fair share and won't raise taxes on anyone making under \$400K.

Which of the following statements do you agree with more:

## INFLATION ATTACK

Republicans say that instead of doing anything to address inflation, which is at a 40-year high, Democrats in Congress passed this reckless law, which is a \$750 billion government spending spree that will make inflation much worse.

### PAID FOR RESPONSE

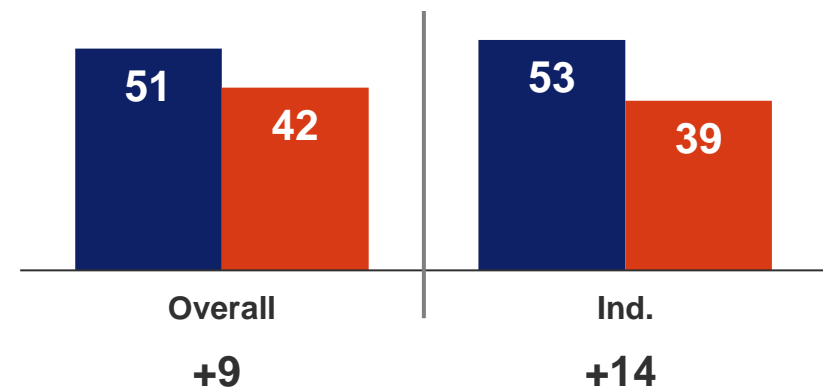
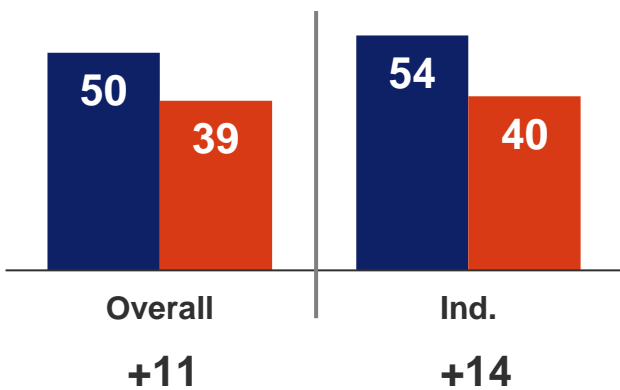
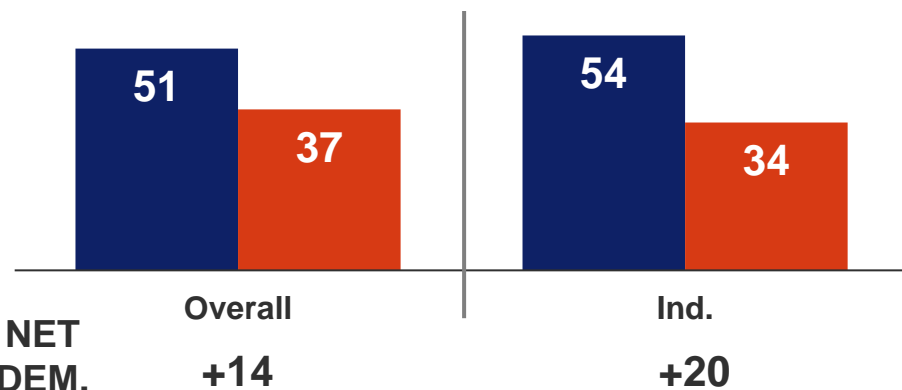
Democrats say the Inflation Reduction Act is more than fully paid for -- in fact, it will reduce the deficit by \$300 billion. It does this by making billion-dollar corporations pay a fairer share of taxes, by cracking down on wealthy and corporate tax cheats, and by preventing price gouging by drug corporations. It will not raise taxes on anyone making under \$400,000.

### REDUCE INFLATION RESPONSE

Democrats say the Inflation Reduction Act will reduce inflation by allowing Medicare to negotiate lower prescription drug prices, by reducing energy costs for families by an average of \$300 a year, and by reducing the budget deficit by \$300 billion.

### COUNTERATTACK RESPONSE

Democrats say when Republicans were in charge, they passed huge tax cuts for billionaires and corporations. Now they have again sided with their special interest donors to oppose the Inflation Reduction Act, which will lower prescription drug prices and household energy costs charged by greedy corporations and make them pay a fairer share of taxes.





# This same 'paid for' response is also the most effective response to a GOP attack on how the IRA will raise taxes on the middle class and small businesses.

A similar response that leads with a line about the GOP lying also does well with Independents.

**Which of the following statements do you agree with more:**

## TAXES ATTACK

*Republicans say this reckless law is a tax hike on working families. It includes \$500 billion of new taxes, most of which will be paid by middle and lower income people and small businesses. With our country already facing a recession, the American people cannot afford the higher taxes from this law.*

### PAID FOR RESPONSE

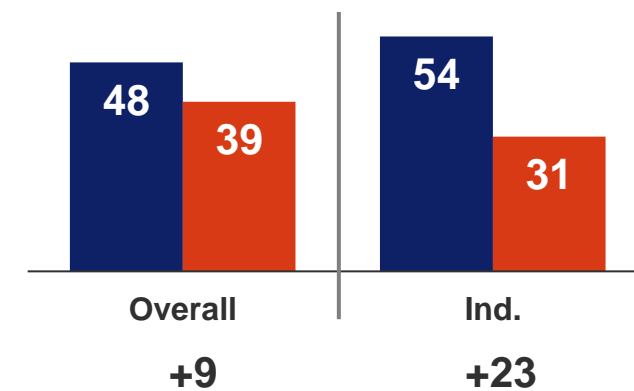
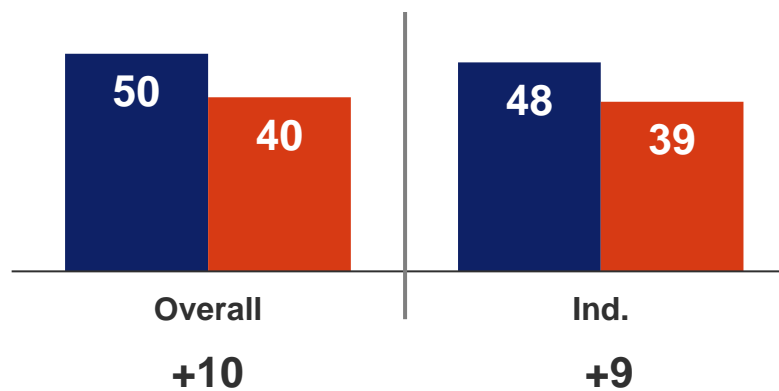
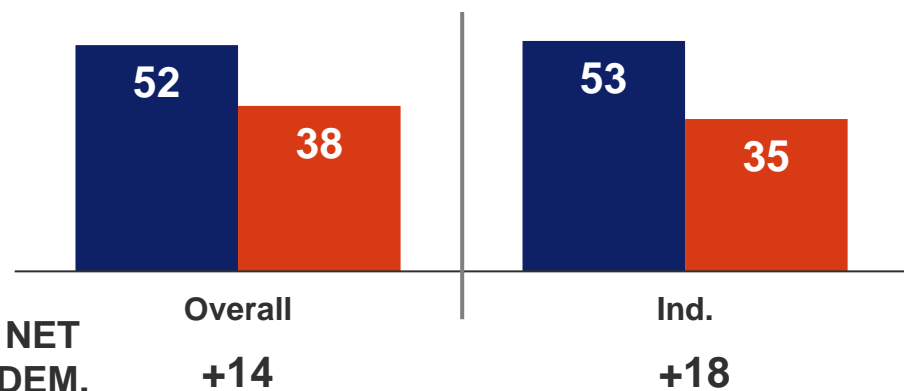
*Democrats say the Inflation Reduction Act is more than fully paid for -- in fact, it will reduce the deficit by \$300 billion. It does this by making billion-dollar corporations pay a fairer share of taxes, by cracking down on wealthy and corporate tax cheats, and by preventing price gouging by drug corporations. It will not raise taxes on anyone making under \$400,000.*

### COUNTERATTACK RESPONSE

*Democrats say when Republicans were in charge, they passed huge tax breaks for billionaires and corporations. Now they are opposing the Inflation Reduction Act, which does not raise taxes on anyone making under \$400,000 a year and is fully paid for by making billion-dollar corporations pay a fairer share of taxes and by cracking down on wealthy tax cheats.*

### GOP LYING RESPONSE

*Democrats say Republicans are lying about this law. The truth is, it will not raise taxes on anyone making under \$400,000 a year or on small businesses. It only raises taxes on billion-dollar corporations and on wealthy and corporate tax cheats by making them pay the taxes they owe.*



# When responding to Republicans' IRS attack, it's most convincing to highlight that the law will restore staffing levels to where they were before GOP budget cuts, so it can catch more wealthy and corporate tax cheats.

*Which of the following statements do you agree with more:*

## IRS ATTACK

*Republicans say Democrats in Congress voted for this reckless law which spends \$80 billion to hire 87,000 new IRS agents - doubling the size of the IRS. They will harass middle-class families and small businesses by treating them like tax cheats and auditing their taxes.*

### IMPROVE IRS RESPONSE

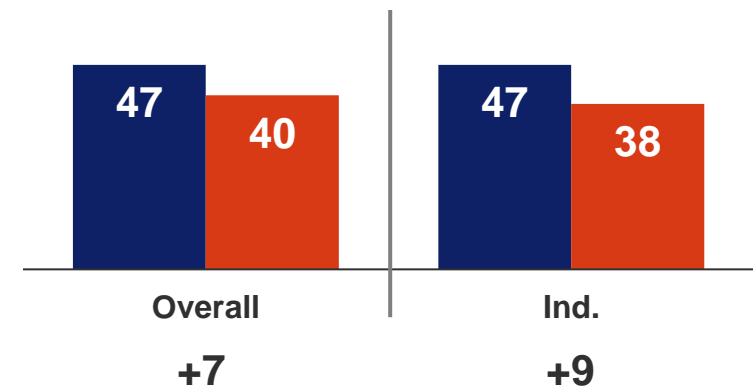
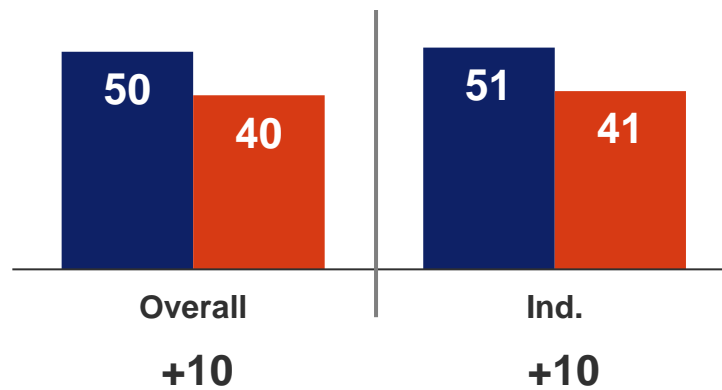
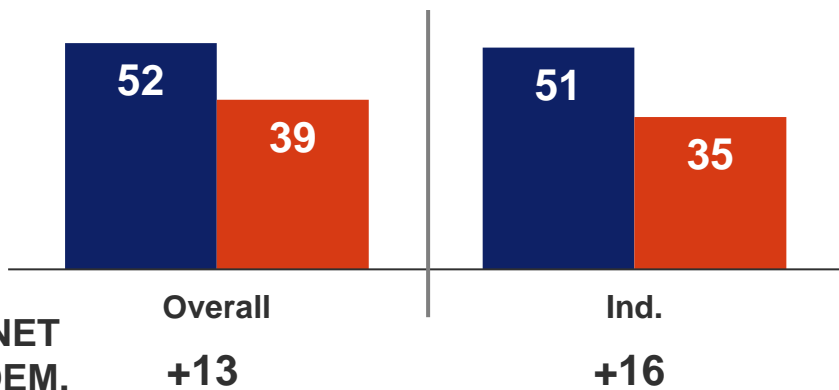
*Democrats say by restoring IRS staffing levels to where they were before deep Republican budget cuts, this law will make the IRS work better for taxpayers. That means shorter waits to get tax refunds and questions answered, and catching more wealthy and corporate tax cheats.*

### CATCH CHEATS RESPONSE

*Democrats say the IRS will not increase the audit rates of small businesses or people making less than \$400,000 a year. It will only crack down on tax cheating by the wealthy and corporations. Due to weak enforcement now, the richest 1% avoid paying \$160 billion a year that they owe in taxes.*

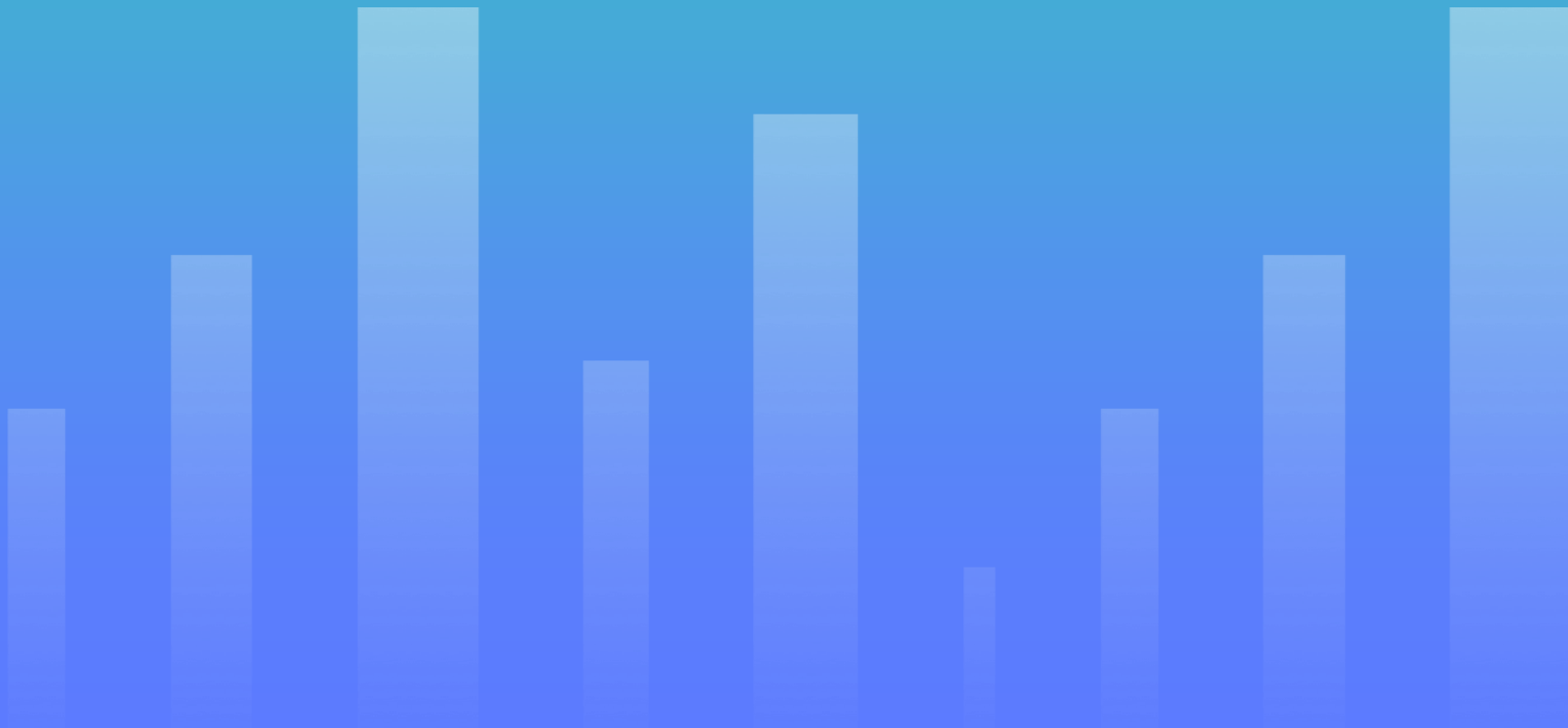
### PAID FOR – LIE RESPONSE

*Democrats say you are being lied to. There's no army of 87,000 new IRS agents. Republicans made deep cuts to the IRS budget so that audit rates of corporations and the wealthy are way down from what they used to be. This law will enable the IRS to audit wealthy and corporate tax cheats to make sure they pay what they owe.*





# IRS Enforcement

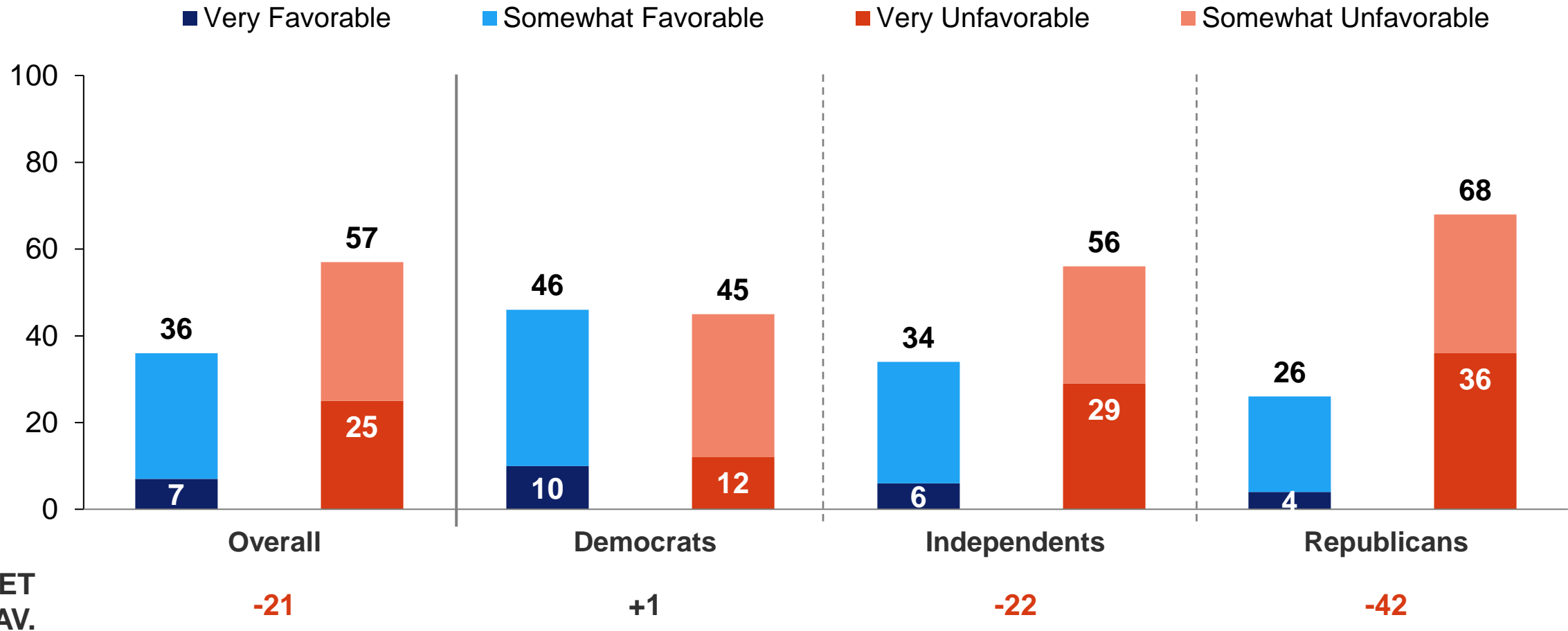


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# A majority of voters rate the IRS unfavorably (57%), and just 36% view them favorably.

Republicans dislike the IRS the most, but Democrats are also not exactly fond of it.

Popularity of The IRS



# Referencing the IRS significantly lowers support for the tax enforcement component, especially with Independents.

Including language about making them “pay what they owe” does not increase support.

## IRA Components: IRS Enforcement Language Differences

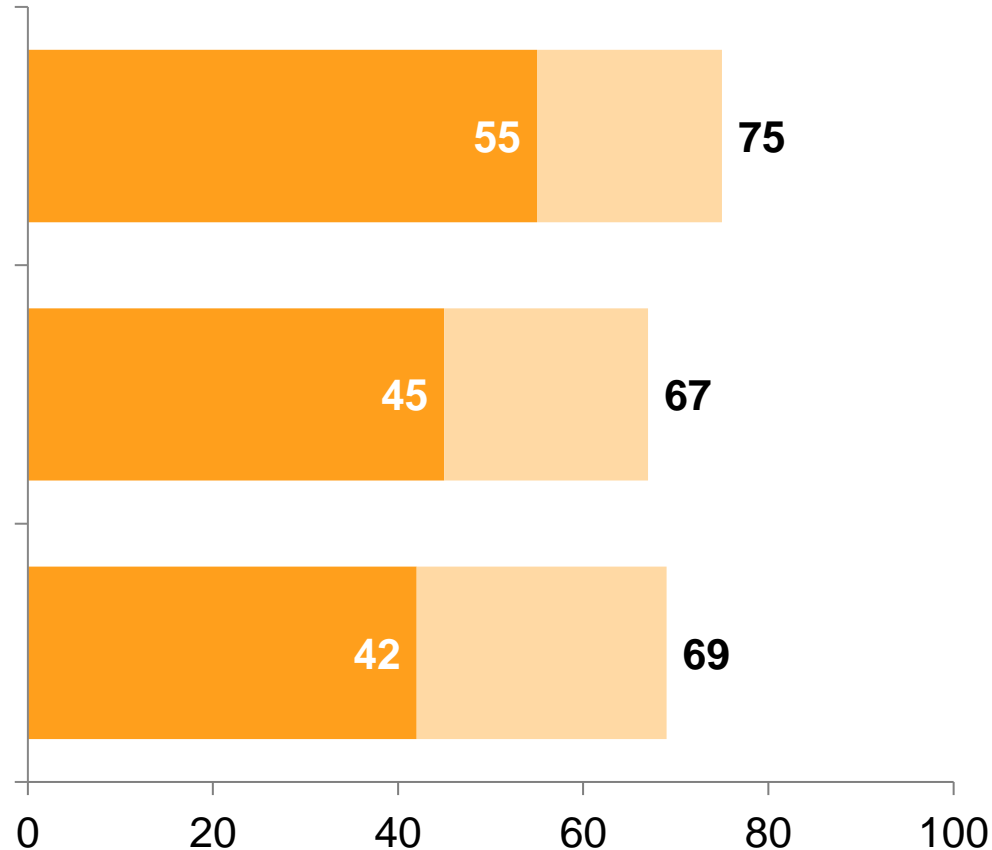
■ Much more likely to support IRA

■ Somewhat more likely to support IRA

It strengthens tax enforcement to crack down on tax cheating by the wealthy and corporations

It strengthens IRS enforcement to crack down on tax cheating by the wealthy and corporations

It strengthens IRS enforcement to crack down on tax cheating by the wealthy and corporations so they pay what they owe



**% TOTAL MORE LIKELY**

**IND.**

80

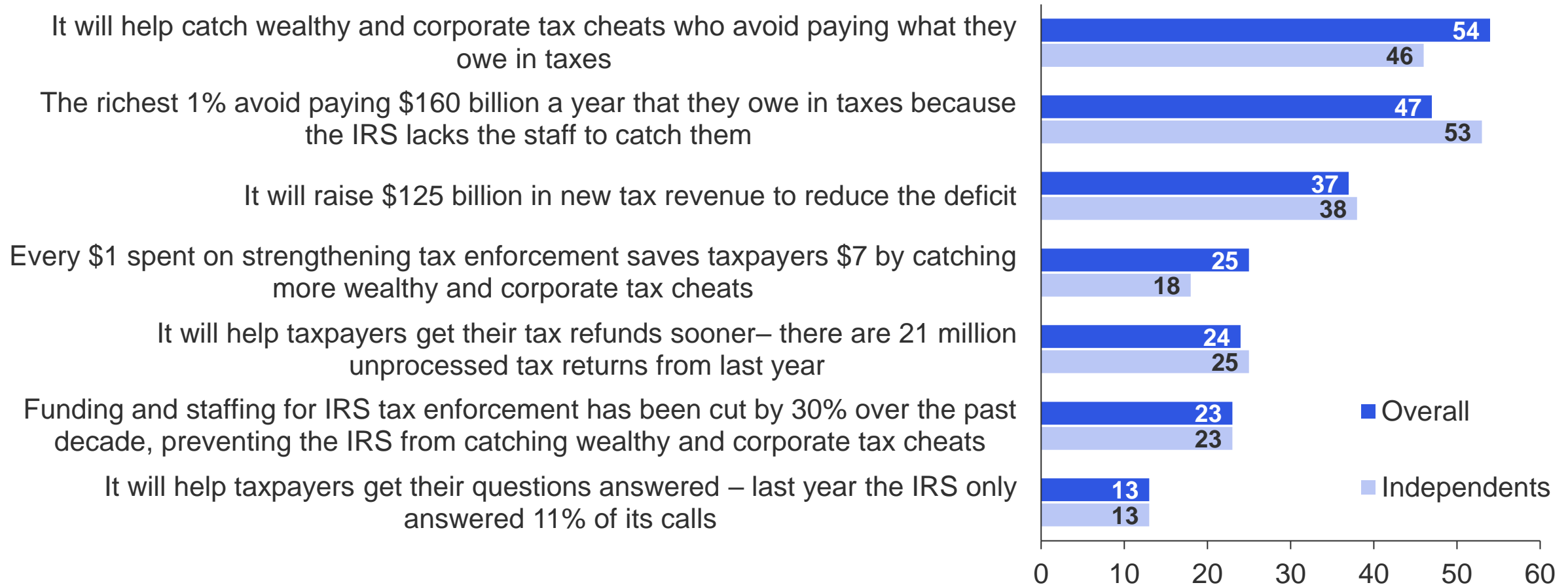
66

65

# Helping to catch more wealthy and corporate tax cheats and highlighting that the richest 1% avoid \$160 billion in taxes each year due to a lack of IRS staff clearly emerge as the top reasons to support strengthening the IRS.

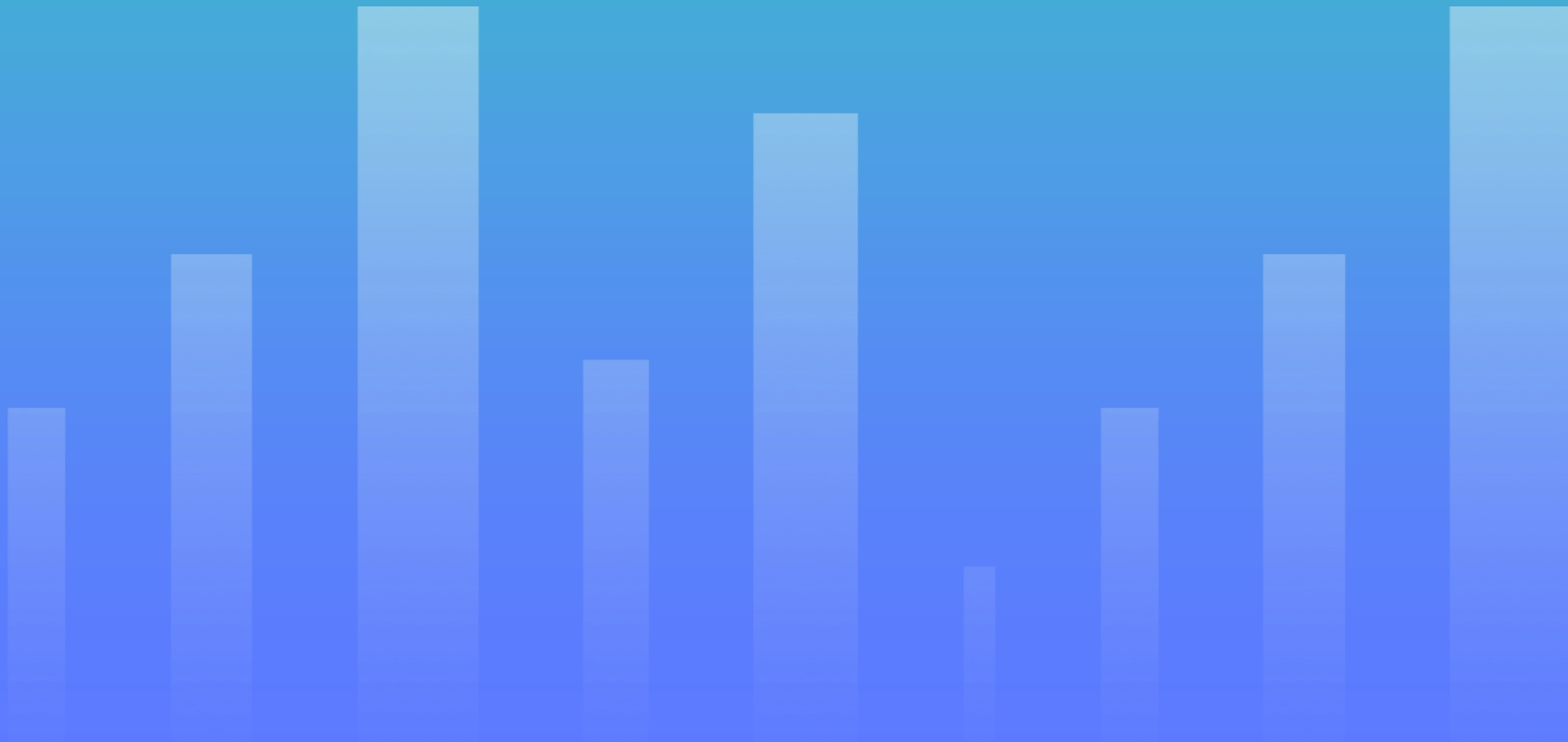
That strengthening the IRS will reduce the deficit \$125 billion is the third best reason.

*Which of the following do you think are the best THREE reasons to support strengthening the IRS?  
[TOP 3 COMBINED]*





# Corporate Minimum Tax

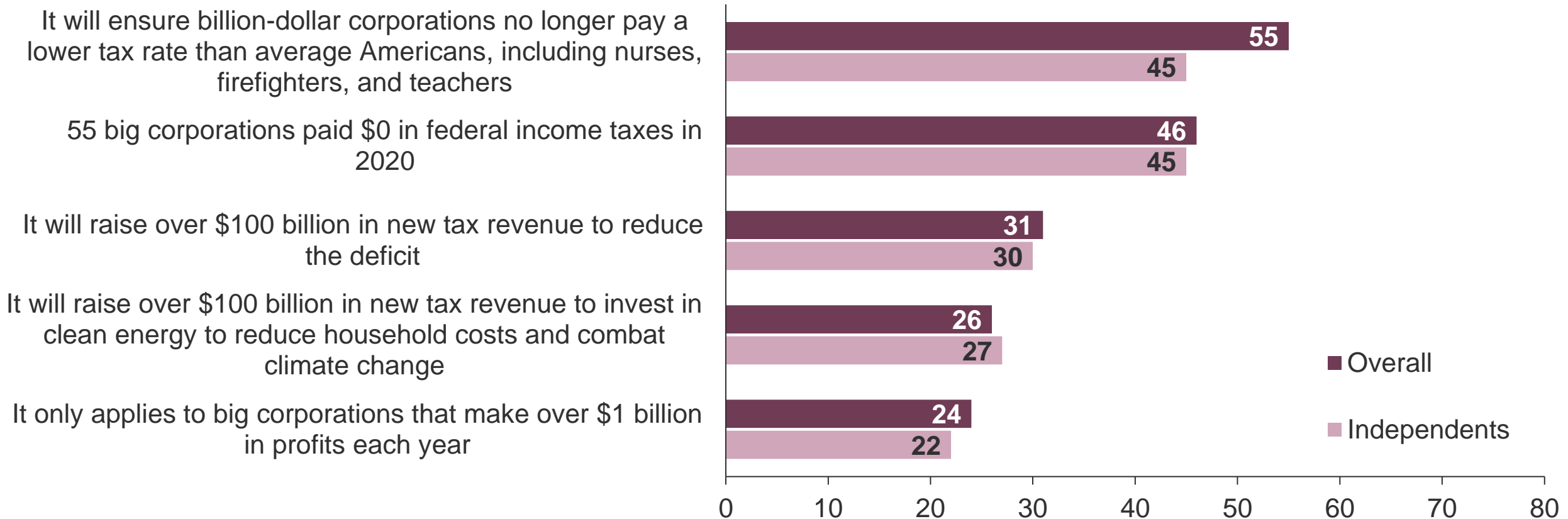


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# The best reasons to support the corporate minimum tax are that it will ensure billion-dollar corporations no longer pay a lower tax rate than average Americans and because 55 big corporations paid no income taxes in 2020.

Which of the following do you think are the best TWO reasons to support requiring billion-dollar corporations to pay a minimum tax rate of at least 15%?

[TOP 2 COMBINED]





# There is little difference in impact between using “billion-dollar” or “billionaire” corporations.

The former generates more intensity overall, but the latter tests a little higher with Independents.

## IRA Components: Corporate Minimum Tax Language Differences

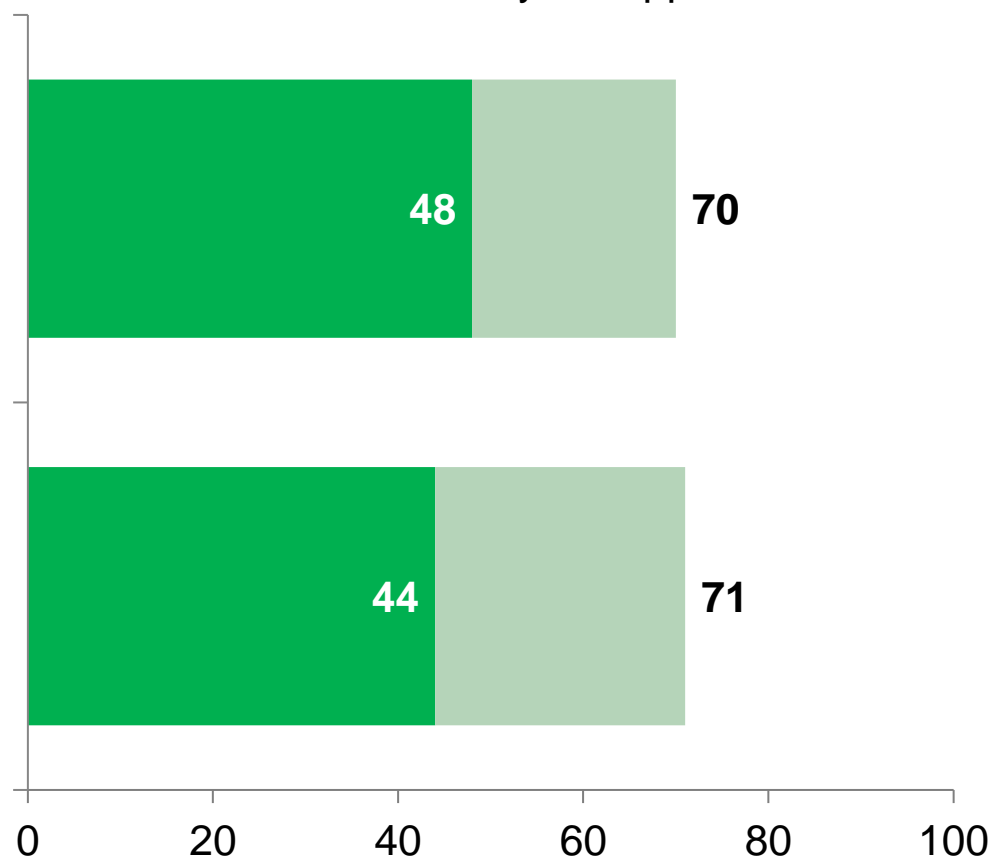
**% TOTAL MORE LIKELY**

**IND.**

■ Much more likely to support IRA

■ Somewhat more likely to support IRA

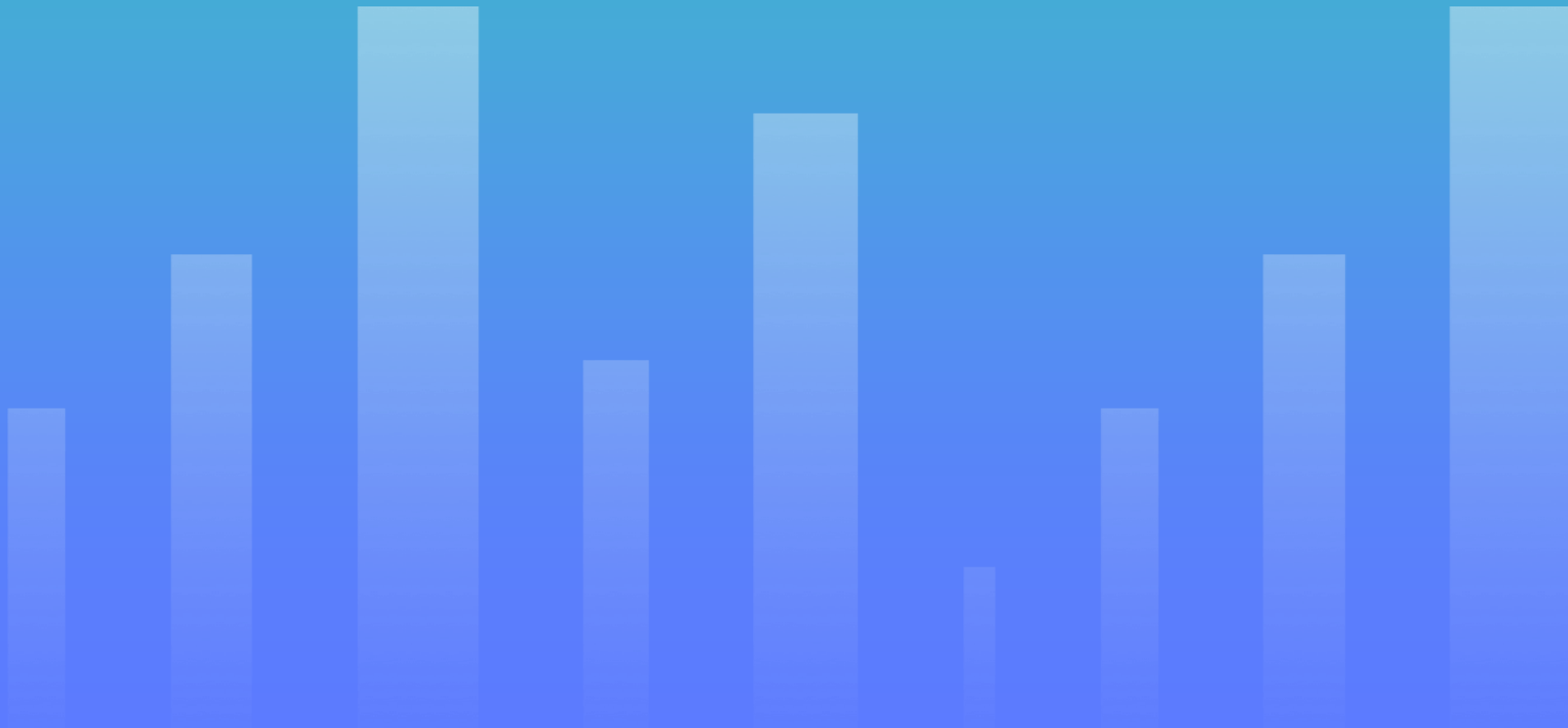
It requires billion-dollar corporations to pay a tax rate of at least 15%



It requires billionaire corporations to pay a tax rate of at least 15%



# Billionaire Minimum Income Tax



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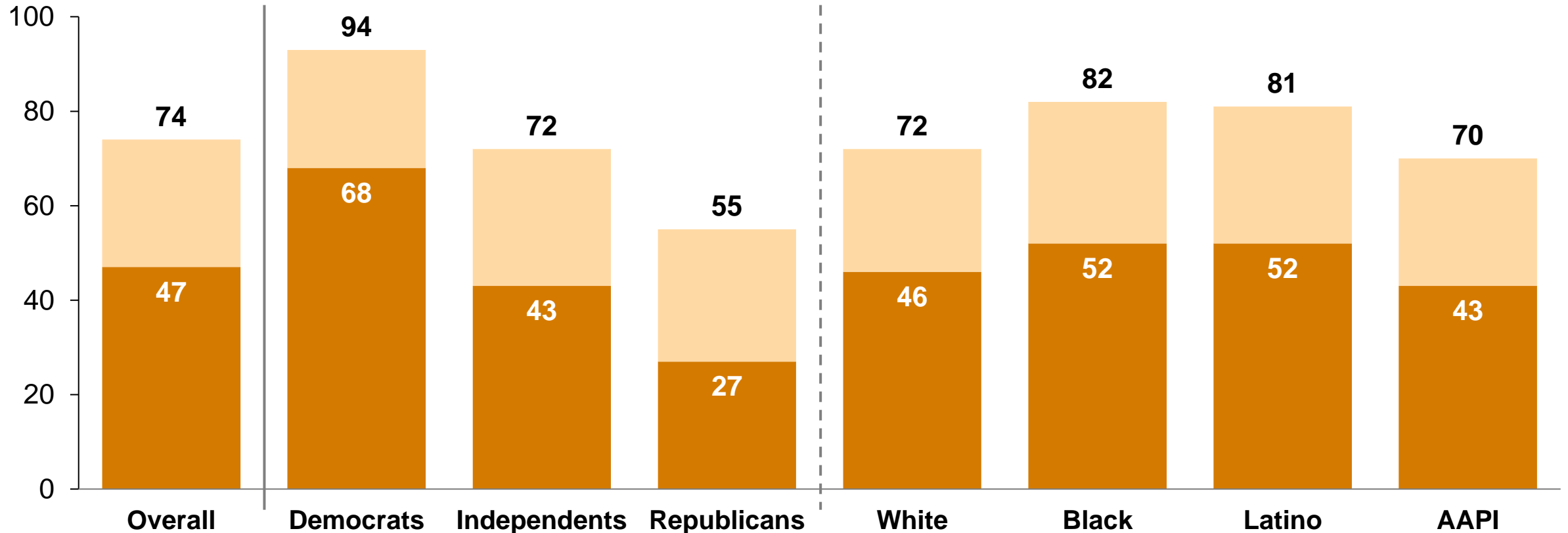
# Three-quarters of voters support a Billionaire Minimum Income Tax of 20%.

Strong majorities across partisan and racial lines support it.

*Would you support or oppose a Billionaire Minimum Income Tax, which would require American households worth more than \$100 million to pay at least 20% of their annual income in taxes?*

■ Support - Strongly

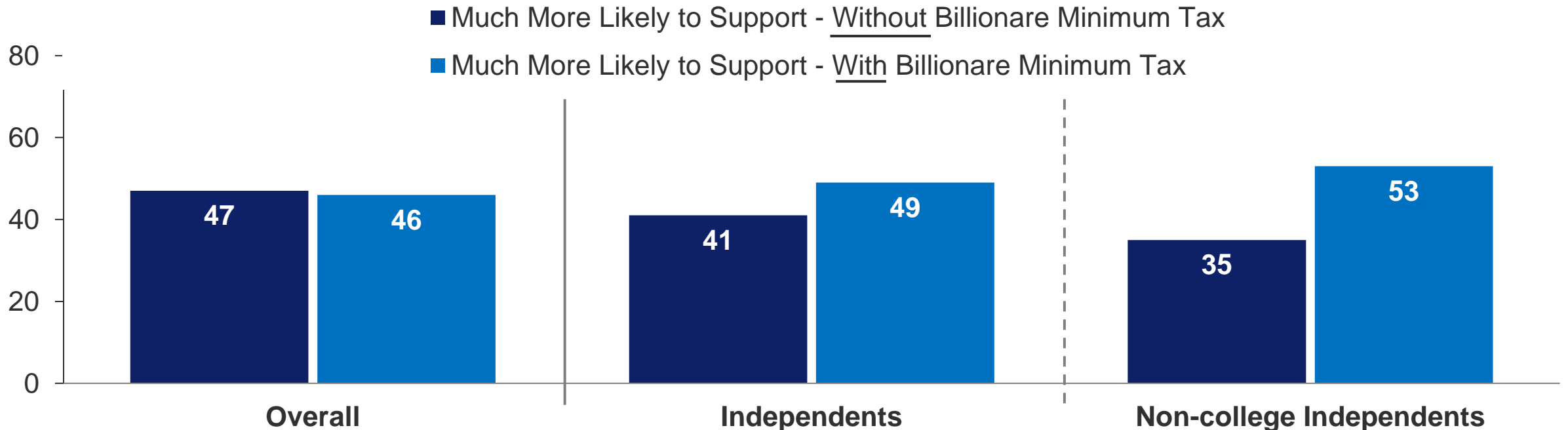
■ Support - Somewhat



# Adding a reference to the billionaire income tax boosts support among Independents – and especially non-college Independents – for a message similar to what many Frontline Democrats are using.

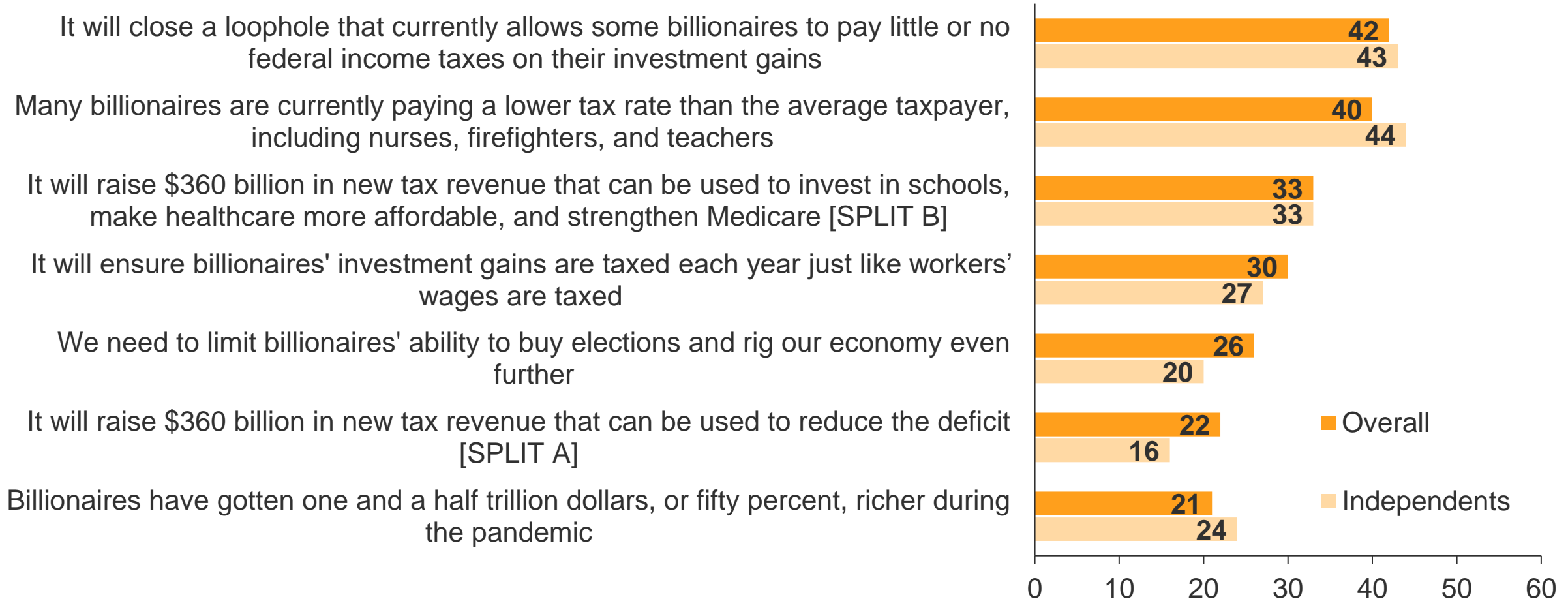
*Below is a statement from a candidate for Congress. Please read it then indicate whether you would be much more likely, somewhat more likely, no more likely, or less likely to support that candidate:*

*To help Americans keep up with rising costs, we passed legislation that allows Medicare to negotiate lower drug prices and that brings the manufacturing of supply chains back to the U.S. Now we need to pass legislation that bans members of Congress from trading individual stocks **[SPLIT: and pass a billionaire income tax that makes them pay their fair share by requiring those worth more than \$100 million to pay an income tax rate of at least 20%.]***



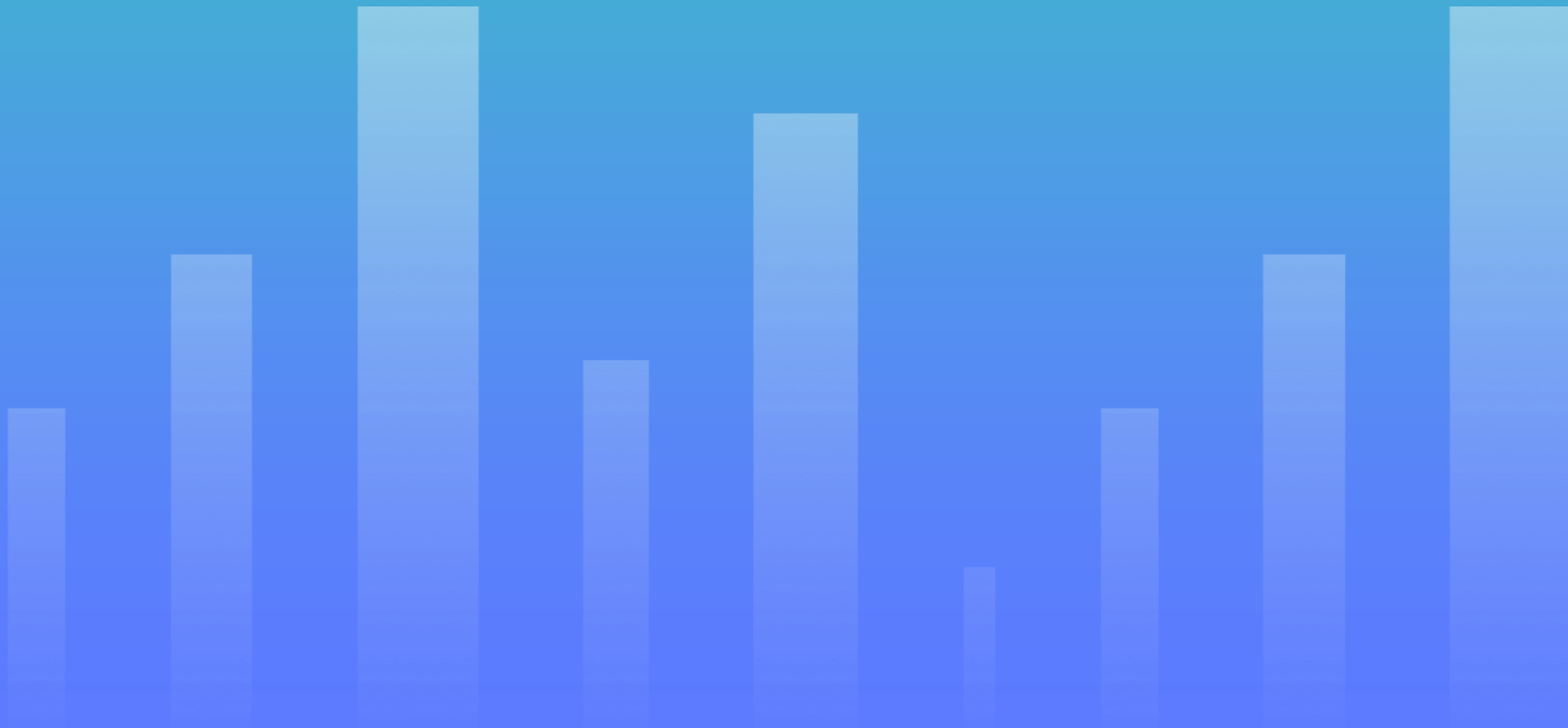
# The best reasons to support the Billionaire Minimum Income Tax are that it will close a loophole that allows billionaires to pay little taxes on investment gains and because many are paying a lower tax rate than the average taxpayer.

Which of the following do you think are the best TWO reasons to support a billionaire income tax, which would require American households worth more than \$100 million to pay at least 20% of their annual income in taxes? [TOP 2 COMBINED]





# Key Findings & Recommendations



# Key Findings and Recommendations (1 of 3)

- **Awareness of the Inflation Reduction Act's details is relatively low.** Just a fifth of voters say they have heard *a lot* about the IRA (20%), including just 16% of Independents.
- **However, when we give respondents a description of the IRA, 70% support it.** This includes over two-thirds of Independents (67%), and even a plurality of Republicans (47%).
- **The most popular components of the IRA address prescription drugs/healthcare and taxes.** Components focused on these issues consistently emerge as most popular throughout the poll and get far more traction than components related to clean energy, climate change, energy costs, or the deficit.
- **Our messaging should highlight how it lowers costs by:**
  - Giving Medicare the power to negotiate lower prescription drug prices
  - Capping out-of-pocket prescription drug costs and the cost of insulin at \$35 for seniors
  - Reducing health care premiums by an average of \$800 a year for 13 million people
- **And how it is paid for (and NOT paid for) by:**
  - Cracking down on tax cheating by the wealthy and corporations
  - Requiring billion-dollar corporations to pay a tax rate of at least 15%
  - Not raising taxes on anyone making under \$400,000 or on small businesses

# Key Findings and Recommendations (2 of 3)

- **Suggested Core Message in Support of IRA:** *The Inflation Reduction Act will help reduce inflation by allowing Medicare to negotiate lower drug prices, capping out-of-pocket prescription drugs and the cost of insulin for seniors, and lowering health care premiums by an average of \$800 a year for 13 million people. It is fully paid for by cracking down on wealthy and corporate tax cheats and by making billion-dollar corporations pay a fairer share of taxes. And it will not raise taxes on anyone making under \$400,000 or on small businesses.*
- **Best response to GOP attacks on spending/inflation/taxes:** *Democrats say the Inflation Reduction Act is more than fully paid for -- in fact, it will reduce the deficit by \$300 billion. It does this by making billion-dollar corporations pay a fairer share of taxes, by cracking down on wealthy and corporate tax cheats, and by preventing price gouging by drug corporations. It will not raise taxes on anyone making under \$400,000.*
- **Best response to GOP attacks on IRS funding:** *Democrats say by restoring IRS staffing levels to where they were before deep Republican budget cuts, this law will make the IRS work better for taxpayers. That means shorter waits to get tax refunds and questions answered, and catching more wealthy and corporate tax cheats.*

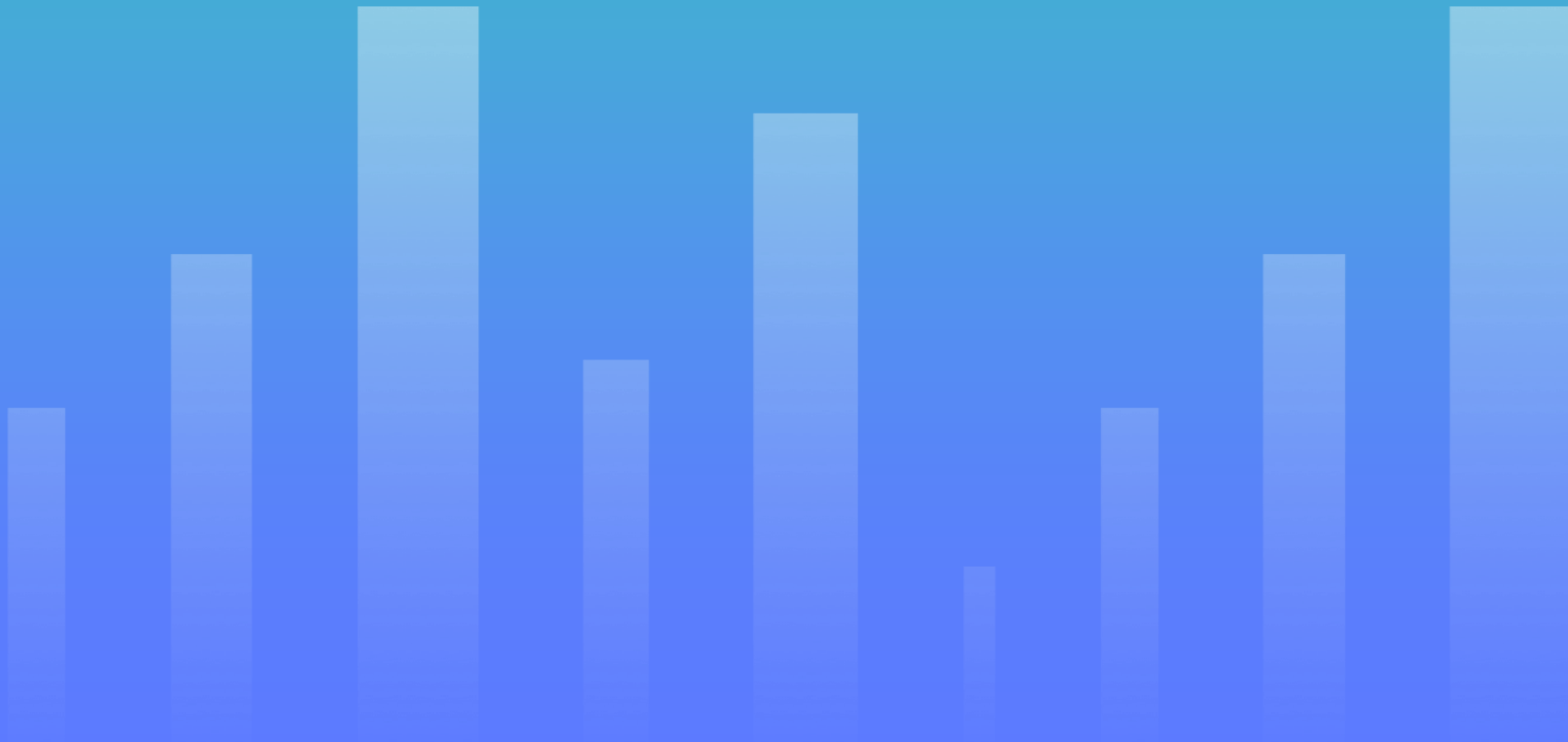


# Key Findings and Recommendations (3 of 3)

- **Best messaging on the 15% minimum tax rate for billion-dollar corporations:**
  - *The IRA ensures billion-dollar corporations will no longer pay a lower tax rate than average Americans, including nurses, firefighters, and teachers.*
  - *55 big corporations paid \$0 in federal taxes in 2020*
- **Best messaging on strengthening the IRS:**
  - *The richest 1% avoid paying \$160 billion a year that they owe in taxes due to a lack of tax enforcement*
  - *The IRA strengthens tax enforcement to help catch wealthy and corporate tax cheats who avoid paying what they owe in taxes*
  - ***Note: It is more effective to talk about strengthening “tax enforcement” than “IRS enforcement,” which is much less popular.***
- **Best messaging on the billionaire income tax:**
  - *The billionaire income tax will close a loophole that currently allows some billionaires to pay little or no federal income taxes on their investment gains.*
  - *Many billionaires are currently paying a lower tax rate than the average taxpayer, including nurses, firefighters, and teachers.*



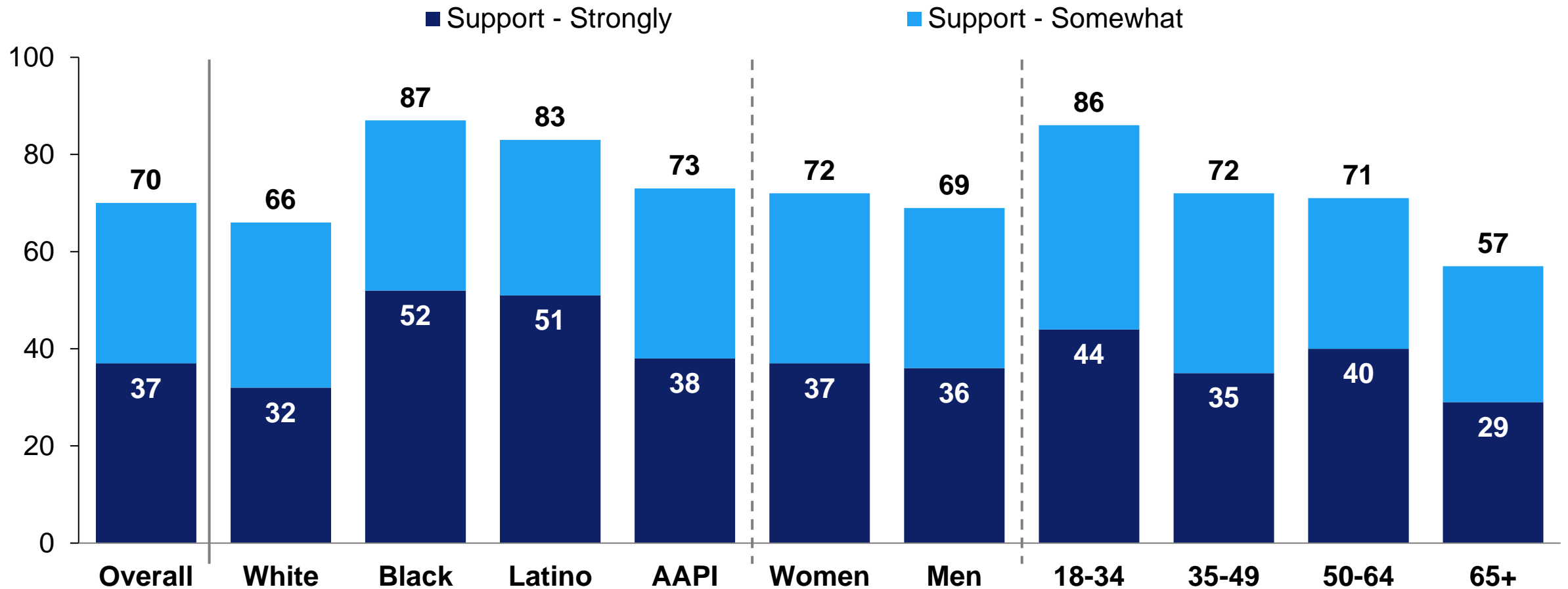
# Appendix: Support for the IRA by Demographic



# Robust majorities across racial, gender, and age lines support the IRA.

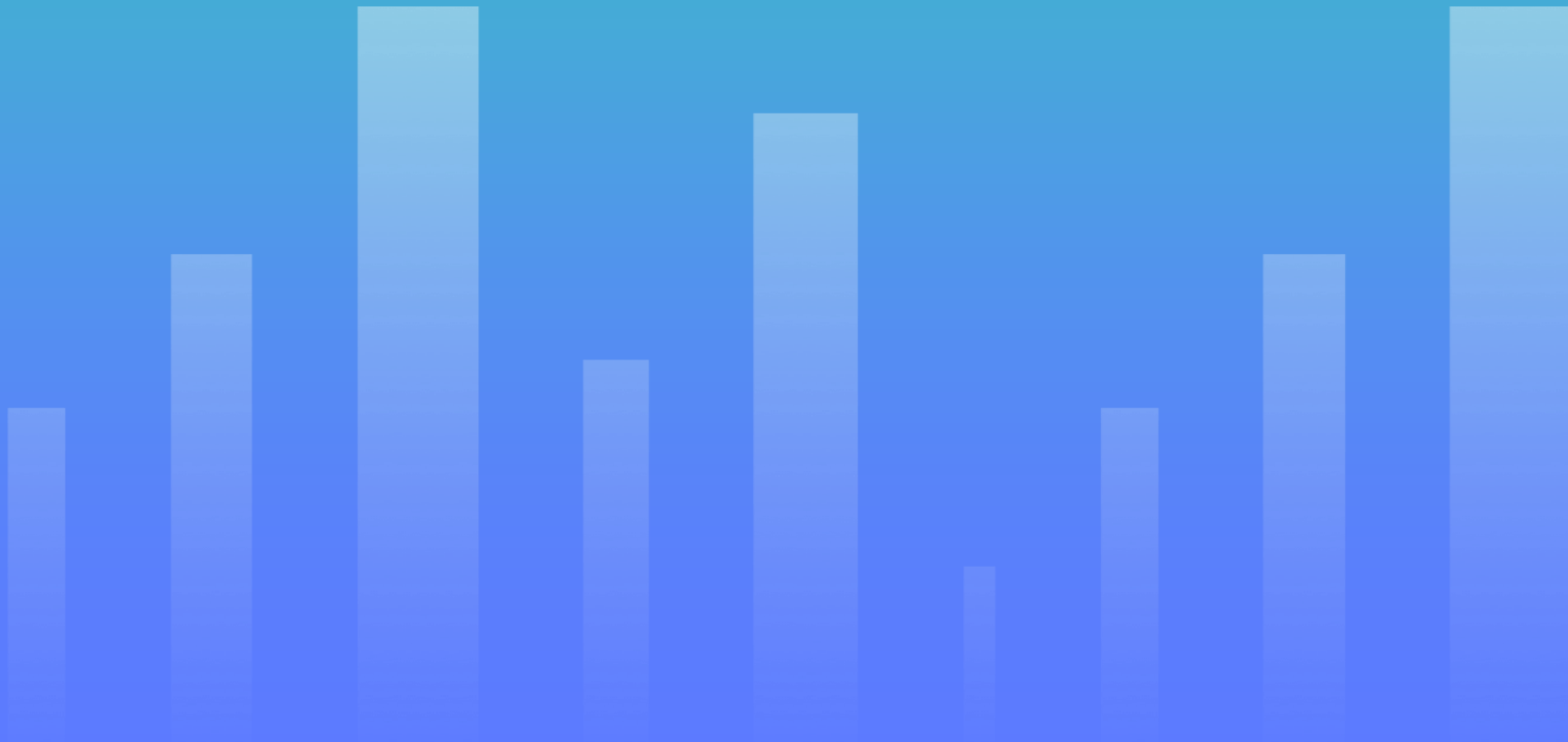
Support is especially high among voters of color and younger voters.

Support for the IRA by Demographic



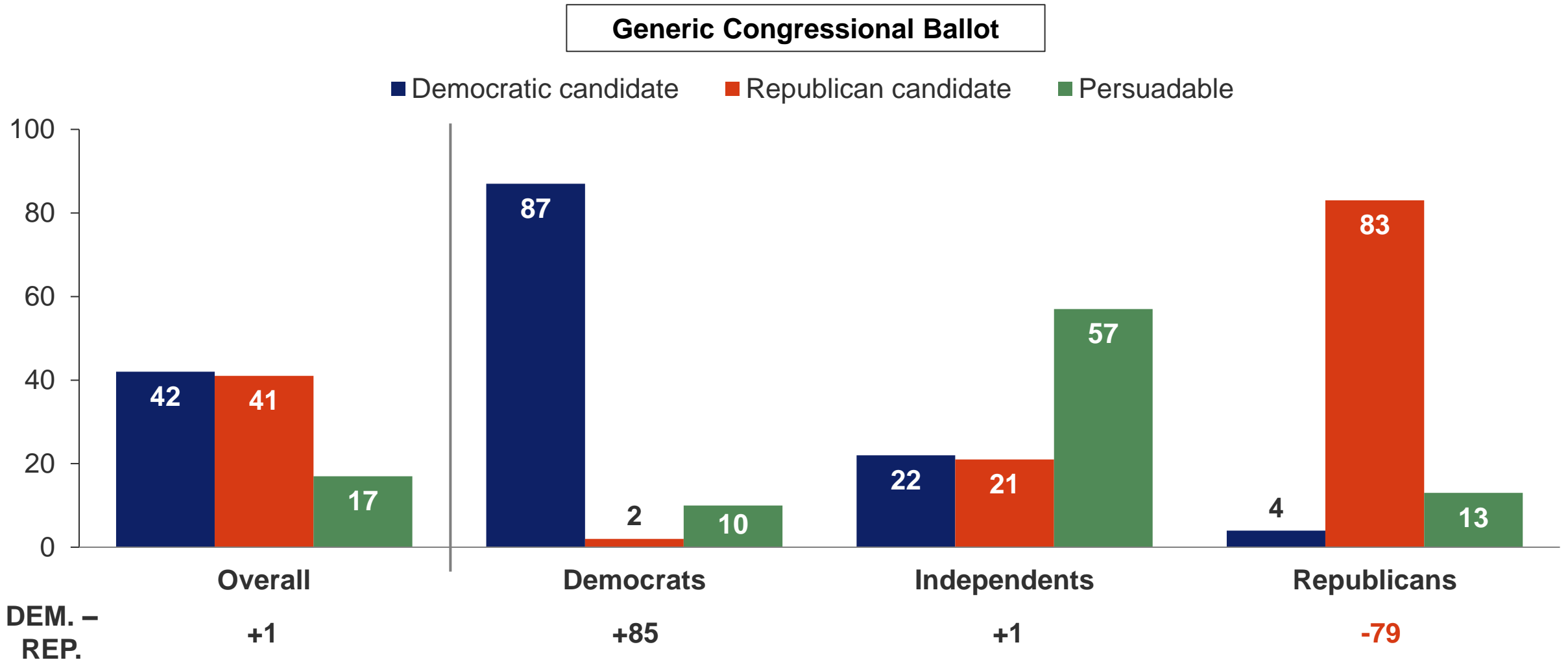


# Appendix: Political Environment



# The political landscape is tight, with Democrats holding a narrow 1-point lead on the generic ballot.

A majority of Independents are persuadable (57%), and neither party has a foothold with them.



# President Biden and Trump are both underwater on their popularity, but POTUS' numbers are slightly better than Trump's.

The same is true of Democrats and Republicans in Congress.

Popularity of Political Figures

Very Favorable    Somewhat Favorable    Very Unfavorable    Somewhat Unfavorable

