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Interviews: 2,065 likely 2018 voters nationwide
Dates: March 3-15, 2018

FINAL

Study #12303b
Tax Messaging Online Survey
March 2018

46 Male	
54 Female	
[109]	

Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise stated.

S2a.   Are you registered to vote in **(STATE)**, are you not currently registered to vote, or are you not sure about your registration status?

Registered to vote.............................	100	**CONTINUE**	[117]
Not registered to vote	-	**TERMINATE**	
Not sure about registration status ...	-		

S2b.   What are the chances that you will vote in the November 2018 general elections for U.S. Congress and other offices–are you very likely to vote, fairly likely to vote, just somewhat likely to vote, or not likely to vote?

Very likely to vote..............................	82		[118]
Fairly likely to vote	12	**CONTINUE**	
Just somewhat likely to vote	6		
Not likely to vote	-	**TERMINATE**	
Not sure	-		

S3.   Thinking about all the different elections in which you have been eligible to vote over the past several years–local, state, and national–how many of these elections would you say you voted in?

Voted in nearly all of these elections	67	[119]
Voted in most of these elections........................	20	
Voted in about half of these elections...............	7	
Voted in fewer than half of these elections	4	
Voted in hardly any of these elections	2	

S4a.   Who did you vote for in the November 2016 presidential election?

Voted for Donald Trump	45	**CONTINUE**	[120]
Voted for Hillary Clinton	50		
Voted for Gary Johnson..................................	4	**SKIP TO Q.S5**	
Voted for Jill Stein..	1		
Did not get a chance to vote in this election	-	**TERMINATE**	
Don't recall...	-		

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY "DONALD TRUMP" IN Q.S4a)
S4b.   Did you strongly support Donald Trump for president, or did you have mixed feelings about voting for him?

Strongly supported Trump	57	[121]
Had mixed feelings about voting for Trump	43	

S5.   How would you describe your overall point of view in terms of the political parties?

Mostly Democratic............................	28	[122]
Leaning Democratic..........................	14	
Completely independent...................	19	
Leaning Republican..........................	14	
Mostly Republican	25	
Total Democratic	**42**	
Total Republican	**39**	

S7.   For statistical purposes only, please indicate how old you are.

18-24	2	[124-125]
25-29	7	
30-34	9	
35-39	8	
40-44	8	
45-49	9	
50-54	8	
55-59	11	
60-64	11	
65-69	14	
70-74	7	
75 and over....................................	6	

S8.   What is the last grade that you completed in school?

Grade school	-	[126-127]
Some high school	1	
High school graduate..	28	
Some college, no degree.......................................	22	
Vocational training	3	
2-year college degree..	8	
4-year college/bachelor's degree............................	19	
Some postgraduate work, no degree......................	3	
2 or 3 years' postgraduate work/master's degree	10	
PhD or professional degree (MD, JD, MBA)............	6	

S9.   Are you from a Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish-speaking background? **(IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT SAY "YES," ASK:)** And again, for statistical purposes only, please indicate your race.

White	73	[128/129]
Black/African American	12	
Hispanic...	9	
Asian	4	
Other	1	
Prefer not to say	1	

1.   How satisfied are you with the state of the economy today?

Very satisfied.....................................	15	[130]
Somewhat satisfied	49	
Somewhat dissatisfied......................	25	
Very dissatisfied	11	
Total Satisfied	**64**	
Total Dissatisfied	**36**	

2.   Do you approve or disapprove of the job Donald Trump is doing as president?

Approve–strongly	21	[131]
Approve–somewhat...........................	24	
Disapprove–somewhat......................	11	
Disapprove–strongly..........................	44	
Total Approve	**45**	
Total Disapprove	**55**	

3.   If the election for Congress were held today, how would you vote?

Definitely for the Democrat..	32	[132]
Probably for the Democrat	10	
Lean slightly toward the Democrat	5	
Completely undecided...	13	
Lean slightly toward the Republican..........................	6	
Probably for the Republican	11	
Definitely for the Republican	23	
Total Democrat	**47**	
Total Republican	**40**	

4a.   Which party do you think would do a better job of handling the issue of federal taxes?

	3/18	6/17	6/12	
Democrats would do a much better	19	18	16	[133]
Democrats would do a somewhat better job	18	16	19	
No difference	23	28	30	
Republicans would do a somewhat better job..........	17	15	20	
Republicans would do a much better job	23	23	15	
Total Democrats Would Do Better Job	**37**	**34**	**35**	
Total Republicans Would Do Better Job	**40**	**38**	**35**	

4b.   Which party do you think would do a better job of handling the issue of the economy?

	3/18	6/17	
Democrats would do a much better.........................	20	20	[134]
Democrats would do a somewhat better job	17	16	
No difference...	21	22	
Republicans would do a somewhat better job	19	19	
Republicans would do a much better job.................	23	23	
Total Democrats Would Do Better Job	**37**	**36**	
Total Republicans Would Do Better Job	**42**	**42**	

5.   Below are some groups and laws that are in the news. For each one, please indicate whether your feelings are favorable or unfavorable toward that group or law.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY VERY OR SOMEWHAT FAVORABLE

	Total Fav	Total Unfav	Very Favorable	Somewhat Favorable	Neutral	Somewhat Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	
Working families **	**73**	**7**	47	26	20	4	3	[141]
Middle-class families *	**68**	**12**	39	29	20	7	5	[136]
The new federal tax law signed by President Trump *	**42**	**39**	21	21	19	16	23	[135]
The Affordable Care Act, or Obamacare **	**41**	**43**	20	21	16	15	28	[144]
The new federal tax law passed by Republicans **	**39**	**39**	20	19	22	15	24	[140]
Shareholders *	**30**	**27**	9	21	43	16	11	[137]
Large corporations *	**29**	**42**	9	20	29	26	16	[138]
The GOP *	**27**	**46**	10	17	27	16	30	[139]
Wealthy shareholders **	**13**	**51**	4	9	36	25	26	[142]
Corporate CEOs **	**12**	**52**	4	8	36	24	28	[143]

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/D).
** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS B/C).

6.   Here are some priorities that Congress might try to achieve. Please rate how high a priority you think each one should be, using a scale from 0 to 10, on which lower numbers closer to 0 mean a lower priority and higher numbers closer to 10 mean a higher priority. You may use any number from 0 to 10, depending on how strongly you feel.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY HIGHEST PRIORITY (RATING OF "9-10")

	Highest Priority		Lower Priority		
	9-10	7-8	4-6	0-3	
Protect Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, and education from cuts *	68	20	9	3	[157-158]
Reduce the cost of healthcare **	64	25	9	2	[165-166]
Make sure big corporations pay their fair share in taxes *	57	25	15	3	[149-150]
Make sure the wealthy pay their fair share in taxes **	56	24	15	5	[159-160]
Close tax loopholes that benefit wealthy campaign donors *	55	25	14	6	[153-154]
End tax breaks for corporations that send profits and jobs offshore *	52	28	16	4	[151-152]
Increase funding for education, healthcare, and infrastructure **	51	31	15	3	[167-168]
Close tax loopholes that benefit corporate special interests **	50	29	16	5	[163-164]
Reduce taxes on the middle class	47	33	17	3	[145-146]
End tax breaks for big pharmaceutical companies **	45	29	18	8	[161-162]
Reduce the national debt..	42	34	21	3	[147-148]
Invest in building and modernizing infrastructure *	35	40	20	5	[155-156]

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/C).
** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS B/D).

Next we have some questions about the new federal tax law passed by Congress and signed by President Trump in December.

7a.   How much have you heard about this new federal tax law and the changes it made to the tax system?

Heard a lot	32	[169]
Heard some	47	
Heard just a little	15	
Have not heard much at all	6	

7b.   Overall, do you support or oppose the new tax law passed by Congress and signed by President Trump?

Strongly support	18	[170]
Somewhat support	29	
Somewhat oppose	20	
Strongly oppose	24	
No opinion	9	
Total Support	**47**	
Total Oppose	**44**	

8a.   If you learned that your member of Congress had voted <u>in favor</u> of the tax law, how would that affect your vote this November? *

I would be much more likely to vote for this member of Congress	16	[171]
I would be somewhat more likely to vote for this member of Congress	12	
It would not affect my vote either way	35	
I would be somewhat less likely to vote for this member of Congress	17	
I would be much less likely to vote for this member of Congress	20	
Total More Likely To Vote	**28**	
Total Less Likely To Vote	**37**	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/B).

8b.   If you learned that your member of Congress had voted <u>against</u> the tax law, how would that affect your vote this November? **

I would be much more likely to vote for this member of Congress	15	[172]
I would be somewhat more likely to vote for this member of Congress	17	
It would not affect my vote either way	31	
I would be somewhat less likely to vote for this member of Congress	22	
I would be much less likely to vote for this member of Congress	15	
Total More Likely To Vote	**32**	
Total Less Likely To Vote	**37**	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS C/D).

9.   Do you think that the new tax law will have a positive impact, a negative impact, or no impact either way on each of the following?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY NEGATIVE IMPACT

	Positive Impact	Negative Impact	No Impact Either Way	
The budget deficit				[174]
March 2018	20	52	28	
June 2017	30	49	21	
Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security				[178]
March 2018 **	16	50	34	
The fairness of the tax system				[175]
March 2018	31	48	21	
June 2017	38	47	15	
Public services like education and healthcare				[177]
March 2018 *	17	46	37	
June 2017	26	54	20	
The economy and jobs				[173]
March 2018	47	29	24	
June 2017	46	36	18	
Your own finances				[176]
March 2018	35	28	37	
June 2017	43	33	24	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/D).
** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS B/C).

10a.   Under this tax plan, do you think you and your family will...?

	3/18	10/17[1]	
Pay less in taxes	32	30	[179]
Pay the same amount in taxes	30	30	
Pay more in taxes	20	22	
Don't know	18	18	

[1]Comparative data comes from a survey conducted by Hart/GSG.

Q.10b AND Q.10c ARE ROTATED BY FORM.

10b.   So far, have you or your household had your taxes lowered as a result of the tax law?

Yes	22	[180/473]
No	50	
Not sure	28	

10c.   So far, have you or anyone in your household seen an increase in take-home pay as a result of the tax law?

Yes	33	[208/458]
No	50	
Not sure	17	

11.   Who do you think will benefit the most from the tax plan…? **(IF RESPONDENT CHOOSES "THE WEALTHY" OR "THE MIDDLE CLASS," ASK:)** Do you think the **(wealthy/middle class)** will benefit much more or somewhat more?

	3/18*	10/17[1]	
The Wealthy	**60**	**59**	
Will benefit much more...............................	46	46	[209]
Will benefit somewhat more	14	13	
The Middle Class	**17**	**16**	
Will benefit much more...............................	7	6	
Will benefit somewhat more	10	10	
Both equally	23	25	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/C).
[1]Comparative data comes from a survey conducted by Hart/GSG.

12.   From what you have heard and read, will the tax cuts for corporations in the law…? **(IF RESPONDENT CHOOSES MAINLY BENEFIT EMPLOYEES" OR "MAINLY BENEFIT SHAREHOLDERS," ASK:)** Do you think the **(employees/ shareholders and executives)** will benefit much more or somewhat more? **

Mainly Benefit Employees By Improving Wages And Benefits	**12**	[211]
Will benefit much more	5	
Will benefit somewhat more...................................	7	
Mainly Benefit Shareholders And Corporate Executives	**58**	
Will benefit much more	46	
Will benefit somewhat more...................................	12	
Both equally..	30	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS B/D).

13a.   Suppose that your choice in the election for Congress in November is between a Republican who strongly supports the new tax reform law, and a Democrat who favors repealing the new tax law and making the wealthy and corporations pay their fair share. In that case, how would you vote? *

Definitely for the Democrat...............	37	[213/215/216]
Probably for the Democrat................	13	
Completely undecided......................	16	
Probably for the Republican	11	
Definitely for the Republican.............	23	
Total Democrat	**50**	
Total Republican	**34**	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/D).

13b.   Suppose that your choice in the election for Congress in November is between Republican who strongly supports the new tax reform law, and a Democrat who favors repealing the law's tax cuts for corporations and the wealthy but keeping tax cuts for the middle class. In that case, how would you vote? **

Definitely for the Democrat...............	29	[214/217/218]
Probably for the Democrat................	17	
Completely undecided......................	20	
Probably for the Republican	14	
Definitely for the Republican.............	20	
Total Democrat	**46**	
Total Republican	**34**	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS B/C).

14.   Since the tax law was passed, many corporations have announced that they will buy back some stock from current shareholders. In your opinion, are these stock buybacks a positive result, a negative result, or neither a positive nor negative result of the law?

Positive result	17	[219]
Negative result	21	
Neither positive nor negative	34	
No opinion	28	

Q.16a AND Q.16b ARE ASKED OF EVERYONE AND ARE ROTATED.

16a.   Here are some reasons that Republicans give for <u>supporting</u> the new tax law. Please rank them in order, from first to fifth, in terms of how strong a reason you feel each is to support the tax law.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST COMBINED TOP THREE REASONS PERCENTAGE

	Top Reason	Combined Top Two Reasons	Combined Top Three Reasons	
The law cuts taxes for ordinary Americans, allowing them to keep more of their money	41	63	82	[223]
Companies are raising wages and giving bonuses to their employees	17	46	70	
Companies are investing more and creating more jobs in America	18	39	66	
The law makes the tax code simpler.........................	16	29	43	
The law makes the tax code more fair	8	23	40	

16b.   Here are some <u>concerns</u> that Democrats have raised about the new tax law. Please rank them in order, from first to sixth, in terms of how much they concern you personally.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST COMBINED TOP THREE CONCERNS PERCENTAGE

	Top Concern	Combined Top Two Concerns	Combined Top Three Concerns	
The tax law will lead to large cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security....................................	26	44	60	[224]
The tax cuts for corporations are permanent, but the tax cuts for the middle class are only temporary........	17	38	60	
The law will eventually increase taxes on a majority of Americans...	16	34	52	
The vast majority of the law's tax cuts will go to the wealthy and large corporations	17	35	51	
The law will increase the budget deficit and the national debt	16	29	43	
The law gives big tax cuts to special interests and Republican campaign donors	8	20	35	

17. Next are some statements, both positive and negative, that people have made about the new tax law. For each one, please indicate whether you think it is definitely true, probably true, probably false, or definitely false.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY DEFINITELY OR PROBABLY TRUE

	Total True	Total False	Definitely True	Probably True	Probably False	Definitely False	
The tax cuts for corporations are permanent, but the tax cuts for the middle class are only temporary **	**73**	**27**	30	43	24	3	[235]
The vast majority of the law's tax cuts will go to the wealthy and large corporations *	**72**	**28**	35	37	22	6	[232]
The tax law will increase the budget deficit, which will result in large cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security **	**70**	**30**	29	41	25	5	[236]
The law gives big tax cuts to special interests and Republican campaign donors **	**69**	**31**	34	35	24	7	[237]
The tax law will increase the budget deficit and the national debt *	**68**	**32**	28	40	27	5	[230]
The tax law will eventually increase taxes on a majority of Americans, when fully phased in **	**67**	**33**	22	45	26	7	[239]
The tax law will eventually increase taxes on a majority of Americans *	**64**	**36**	23	41	29	7	[234]
The law cuts taxes for ordinary Americans, allowing them to keep more of their money	**61**	**39**	24	37	30	9	[226]
The tax law will raise private health insurance premiums **	**60**	**40**	17	43	33	7	[238]
The tax law will lead to large cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security *	**60**	**40**	16	44	32	8	[231]
The law makes the tax code simpler	**55**	**45**	13	42	35	10	[225]
Companies are investing more and creating more jobs in America as a result of the tax law	**54**	**46**	21	33	36	10	[227]
Companies are raising wages and giving bonuses to their employees as a result of the tax law	**53**	**47**	21	32	36	11	[228]
The tax law will end health coverage for millions of people *	**51**	**49**	13	38	35	14	[233]
The law makes the tax code more fair	**43**	**57**	9	34	37	20	[229]

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/C).
** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS B/D).

Q.17 SUMMARY (POSITIVE STATEMENTS)			

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY DEFINITELY OR PROBABLY TRUE

	Total True	Total False	
The law cuts taxes for ordinary Americans, allowing them to keep more of their money	**61**	**39**	[226]
The law makes the tax code simpler	**55**	**45**	[225]
Companies are investing more and creating more jobs in America as a result of the tax law	**54**	**46**	[227]
Companies are raising wages and giving bonuses to their employees as a result of the tax law....	**53**	**47**	[228]
The law makes the tax code more fair	**43**	**57**	[229]

Q.17 SUMMARY (NEGATIVE STATEMENTS)			

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY DEFINITELY OR PROBABLY TRUE

	Total True	Total False	
The tax cuts for corporations are permanent, but the tax cuts for the middle class are only temporary **	**73**	**27**	[235]
The vast majority of the law's tax cuts will go to the wealthy and large corporations *	**72**	**28**	[232]
The tax law will increase the budget deficit, which will result in large cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security **..	**70**	**30**	[236]
The law gives big tax cuts to special interests and Republican campaign donors **....................	**69**	**31**	[237]
The tax law will increase the budget deficit and the national debt *	**68**	**32**	[230]
The tax law will eventually increase taxes on a majority of Americans, when fully phased in ** ...	**67**	**33**	[239]
The tax law will eventually increase taxes on a majority of Americans *	**64**	**36**	[234]
The tax law will raise private health insurance premiums **..	**60**	**40**	[238]
The tax law will lead to large cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security *	**60**	**40**	[231]
The tax law will end health coverage for millions of people *	**51**	**49**	[233]

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/C).
** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS B/D).

EACH RESPONDENT SEES TWO QUESTIONS IN Q.18 SERIES. ROTATE Q.18a/Q.18c AND Q.18b/Q.18d.

18a.	Below you will see two statements about taxes, one from Republicans and one from Democrats. Please indicate which of the two statements you agree with more. *

Republicans say: Our tax reform law means that Americans will have a simpler, fairer tax code that lets them keep more of their hard-earned money. A typical family of four saves $2,059 a year. The law doubles the standard tax deduction and the child tax credit, and simplifies your taxes. This reform lets job creators and workers compete and win, which will create hundreds of thousands of new American jobs. Republicans kept their promise, and now middle-class families are seeing higher wages and bigger paychecks.

Democrats say: We will pay a price for these huge tax breaks to corporations and wealthy campaign donors. Republicans are already proposing cuts to Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, and education. Instead, we should make sure the rich and corporations pay their fair share of taxes, so we can protect these priorities. And we should invest in our communities to have better schools, fix roads, bridges, and transit systems, make healthcare more affordable, and provide a secure retirement with dignity.

Agree more with Republicans	20	[241]
Agree somewhat more with Republicans	20	
Agree somewhat more with Democrats.....................	27	
Agree more with Democrats.....................................	33	
Total Agree More With Republicans	**40**	
Total Agree More With Democrats	**60**	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/D).

18b.	Below you will see two statements about taxes, one from Republicans and one from Democrats. Please indicate which of the two statements you agree with more. **

Republicans say: Our tax reform law means that Americans will have a simpler, fairer tax code that lets them keep more of their hard-earned money. A typical family of four saves $2,059 a year. The law doubles the standard tax deduction and the child tax credit, and simplifies your taxes. This reform lets job creators and workers compete and win, which will create hundreds of thousands of new American jobs. Republicans kept their promise, and now middle-class families are seeing higher wages and bigger paychecks.

Democrats say: To pay for tax giveaways to the wealthy and corporations, Republicans increased the number of Americans without health insurance by 13 million and raised private health insurance premiums by $2,000. They also handed out billions in tax breaks to insurance companies and pharmaceutical companies, the same corporations that are raising our insurance premiums and drug prices. Republicans are undermining Americans' healthcare, just to pay off big corporations and political donors.

Agree more with Republicans............................	22	[243]
Agree somewhat more with Republicans	24	
Agree somewhat more with Democrats............	24	
Agree more with Democrats	30	
Total Agree More With Republicans	**46**	
Total Agree More With Democrats	**54**	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS B/C).

18c. Below you will see two statements about taxes, one from Republicans and one from Democrats. Please indicate which of the two statements you agree with more. *

Republicans say: Our tax reform law means that Americans will have a simpler, fairer tax code that lets them keep more of their hard-earned money. A typical family of four saves $2,059 a year. The law doubles the standard tax deduction and the child tax credit, and simplifies your taxes. This reform lets job creators and workers compete and win, which will create hundreds of thousands of new American jobs. Republicans kept their promise, and now middle-class families are seeing higher wages and bigger paychecks.

Democrats say: This corrupt Washington deal included a special loophole that gives an average tax break of more than $50,000 to dozens of the same Republican politicians who passed it. It gives a tax cut of more than $1 billion a year to the billionaire Koch brothers, one of whom donated $500,000 to Speaker Paul Ryan's political fund a few days after the law passed and who have promised $400 million to help reelect Republicans. This law was written for politicians and their wealthy donors, not for the American people.

Agree more with Republicans	22	[242]
Agree somewhat more with Republicans	24	
Agree somewhat more with Democrats.....................	23	
Agree more with Democrats......................................	31	
Total Agree More With Republicans	**46**	
Total Agree More With Democrats	**54**	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/D).

18d. Below you will see two statements about taxes, one from Republicans and one from Democrats. Please indicate which of the two statements you agree with more. **

Republicans say: Our tax reform law means that Americans will have a simpler, fairer tax code that lets them keep more of their hard-earned money. A typical family of four saves $2,059 a year. The law doubles the standard tax deduction and the child tax credit, and simplifies your taxes. This reform lets job creators and workers compete and win, which will create hundreds of thousands of new American jobs. Republicans kept their promise, and now middle-class families are seeing higher wages and bigger paychecks.

Democrats say: This law delivers huge tax breaks to millionaires and wealthy corporations, while middle-class families are left to pick up the tab yet again. 83% of the tax cuts go to the richest 1%, while a majority of Americans will eventually end up paying higher taxes. Republicans gave permanent tax cuts to big drug companies, big oil, and other corporations, but average Americans only got temporary tax cuts. This law rigs the tax code and the economy even further in favor of those at the top.

Agree more with Republicans............................	22	[244]
Agree somewhat more with Republicans	24	
Agree somewhat more with Democrats............	21	
Agree more with Democrats	33	
Total Agree More With Republicans	**46**	
Total Agree More With Democrats	**54**	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS B/C).

19.   You will now see some pairs of statements about different tax issues made by Democrats and Republicans. For each pair, please indicate which statement you feel is more convincing on that particular issue.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY FEEL DEMOCRATIC STATEMENT IS SOMEWHAT OR MUCH MORE CONVINCING

Republican Statement	Republican Statement			Democratic Statement			Democratic Statement
	Total Rep	Much More	Some-what More	Some-what More	Much More	Total Dem	
Our tax reform is providing much-needed tax relief to middle-class families, an average of $2,000 per family *	42	18	24	28	30	58	The law gave large permanent tax cuts to corporations, but the middle-class tax cuts are only temporary * [245/375]
More than 400 companies have announced bonuses, wage hikes, or other employee benefits, affecting more than four million workers, since tax reform passed *	42	17	25	28	30	58	Only a tiny fraction of America's 26 million businesses have given their workers bonuses or a raise, but corporations have spent $200 billion on stock buybacks to benefit CEOs and wealthy shareholders * [246/376]
Tax reform is growing the economy by putting more money in people's pockets and creating a level playing field for American business **	43	18	25	25	32	57	The law will weaken our economy by increasing the national debt, which will force deep cuts to Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, and education ** [253/410]
Our tax cuts will benefit all Americans by growing the economy and allowing people to keep more of the money they earn *	45	20	25	25	30	55	The law gives 83% of the tax cuts to the wealthiest 1%, and gives corporations $500 billion in new tax breaks * [247/377]
Our tax cuts will benefit all Americans by growing the economy and allowing people to keep more of the money they earn **	45	21	24	26	29	55	The law gave the biggest tax breaks to Republican politicians and to the wealthy donors and corporate interests who fund their campaigns ** [252/409]
Our tax reform is providing much-needed tax relief to middle-class families, an average of $2,000 per family **	48	20	28	24	28	52	The tax law actually raises taxes on most Americans when it is fully phased in ** [250/380]
Thanks to tax reform, companies have announced $480 billion in new investments in America that will create thousands of new jobs **	48	21	27	28	24	52	Studies show that these are not new investments, it is what corporations had already planned to spend before the tax cuts became law ** [254/411]
More than 400 companies have announced bonuses, wage hikes, or other employee benefits, affecting more than four million workers, since tax reform passed **	49	23	26	26	25	51	The law creates enormous incentives for the rich and corporations to hoard profits, rather than reinvesting them in workers or creating new jobs, hurting economic growth and increasing inequality ** [251/408]

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/C).
** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS B/D).

Q.19 (cont'd)

Republican Statement	Republican Statement			Democratic Statement			Democratic Statement
	Total **Rep**	Much More	Some-what More	Some-what More	Much More	Total **Dem**	
Tax reform is growing the economy by putting more money in people's pockets and creating a level playing field for American business *	**50**	22	28	24	26	**50**	The law will weaken our economy by forcing deep cuts to Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, and education * [248/378]
Thanks to tax reform, companies have announced $480 billion in new investments in America that will create thousands of new jobs *	**55**	22	33	27	18	**45**	The law actually includes a new tax break for corporations that outsource jobs, which will send even more jobs offshore * [249/379]

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/C).

20. Looking ahead, the following are some positions on tax issues that a candidate for Congress might take. For each one, please indicate whether this position would make you more likely or less likely to vote for the candidate.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY MUCH OR SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY TO VOTE FOR THE CANDIDATE

	Total More Likely	Total Less Likely	Much More Likely To Vote For	Somewhat More Likely To Vote For	No Effect On Vote Either Way	Somewhat Less Likely To Vote For	Much Less Likely To Vote For	
Make the tax cuts for the middle class permanent **	**74**	**7**	45	29	19	4	3	[261]
Make sure wealthy investors are taxed at a rate at least as high as workers pay on their wages **	**69**	**10**	42	27	21	5	5	[264]
End tax breaks for corporations that outsource jobs or shift profits offshore *	**68**	**11**	38	30	21	7	4	[260]
Close the loophole that benefits wealthy business owners like Trump and use the revenue for infrastructure **	**64**	**13**	37	27	23	6	7	[263]
Close the loophole that benefits wealthy business owners and use the revenue for infrastructure *	**64**	**14**	35	29	22	7	7	[259]
Repeal the tax cuts for the wealthy and corporations, but keep the tax cuts for the middle class **	**58**	**19**	29	29	23	9	10	[262]
Repeal the tax cuts for the wealthy and corporations *	**55**	**23**	31	24	22	12	11	[257]
Repeal the new tax law and pass tax reform that makes the rich and corporations pay their fair share *	**54**	**25**	31	23	21	11	14	[256]
Scale back the recent tax cut for corporations and use the revenue to invest in infrastructure **	**53**	**18**	23	30	29	9	9	[265]
Raise the corporate tax rate and use the revenue to invest in infrastructure *	**50**	**22**	24	26	28	12	10	[258]
Repeal the new tax law and start over on tax reform	**43**	**33**	20	23	24	12	21	[255]

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/D).
** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS B/C).

FORMS A/B GET Q.21a THEN Q.21b (GOP INCUMBENT, ATTACKED FOR VOTING YES).
FORMS C/D GET Q.22a THEN Q.22b (DEM INCUMBENT, DEFENDING NO VOTE).

21a.   You will now see a statement from Republicans in Congress who voted in <u>favor</u> of the new tax law. Please indicate how strong a reason you feel this is for supporting Republicans in Congress. Use a scale from 1 to 7, on which a 7 means it is an extremely strong reason, a 1 means it is not a strong reason, and a 4 is in the middle. You may use any number from 1 to 7 to rate how you feel. *

Our historic tax reform is working for America. It's working for families, it's working for businesses, and it's working for our economy. 90% of working people will see bigger paychecks, and the typical family of four will see a tax cut of more than $2,000. Company after company has been announcing new bonuses, increased wages, and renewed investment in America. We produced a simpler, fairer tax code that allows Americans to keep more of their hard-earned paychecks, and it is improving people's lives.

6-7, extremely strong reason to support	33	
5...	20	[266]
4...	14	
3...	8	
1-2, not a strong reason to support......................	25	
Mean	***4.3***	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/B).

21b.   Below are some concerns that people have raised about Republican members of Congress who voted for the new tax law. For each one, please indicate how serious a concern this would be for you about Republicans in Congress. Use a scale from 1 to 7, on which a 7 means it is an extremely serious concern, a 1 means it is not a serious concern, and a 4 is in the middle.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY EXTREMELY SERIOUS CONCERN (RATING OF "6-7")

	Extremely Serious Concern		Not A Serious Concern	
	6-7	4-5	1-3	
Dozens of Republican politicians voted for a special tax loophole that will cut their own taxes by an average of more than $50,000 per year ++	63	26	11	[311]
Republicans gave pharmaceutical and health insurance companies billions in new tax breaks, but now those companies are raising drug prices and our insurance premiums ++	62	28	10	[308]
Republicans' tax breaks cost $1.5 trillion, and now they want to cut Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, and education in order to pay for their tax breaks for big corporations and the richest 1% *.....................................	62	26	12	[267]
Republicans gave a tax cut of more than $1 billion a year to the billionaire Koch brothers, who promised to spend $400 million to reelect Republicans who voted for the law. This was a political payoff ++	57	27	16	[280]
Republicans gave the richest 1% an average tax cut of $51,000, but 60% of taxpayers get an average cut of only a dollar a day ++..................................	57	27	16	[309]
Republicans voted to increase the national debt by $1.5 trillion, putting our children and grandchildren in debt to pay for their tax cuts ++.......................	56	34	10	[310]
Republicans opened up a huge new loophole that gives billions to wealthy business owners and real estate developers like Donald Trump who can game the system–but working people don't qualify + ...	56	27	17	[277]
Republicans made their big tax cut for corporations permanent, but chose to make the tax cuts for individuals and families temporary and let them expire in eight years *	55	32	13	[268]

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/B).
+ Asked of one-fourth the respondents (FORM A).
++ Asked of one-fourth the respondents (FORM B).

Q.21b (cont'd)

	Extremely Serious Concern		Not A Serious Concern	
	6-7	4-5	1-3	
Republicans promised that their tax plan would cut average people's taxes by $4,000 per year, but in reality the law eventually raises taxes on a majority of American families ++	55	31	14	[279]
Republicans voted to end health insurance for 13 million Americans and increase private health insurance premiums by $2,000 to pay for their tax breaks for corporations and the wealthy *	55	27	18	[272]
Republicans gave 83% of their tax cuts to the wealthiest 1% of families + ...	55	24	21	[276]
Republicans were dishonest about their tax law–starting next year, tax cuts for individuals and families will shrink a bit every year, and in eight years they will completely disappear *	54	30	16	[271]
Republicans allow corporations to pay much lower taxes on profits earned in foreign countries, giving corporations even more incentive to outsource our jobs and shift profits offshore *	54	30	16	[269]
Republicans are raising taxes on millions of families by preventing them from deducting all of their state and local taxes on their federal tax return. But corporations get to keep this deduction *	54	29	17	[270]
Republicans gave a huge tax cut to big pharmaceutical companies that are raising prices for consumers. AbbVie, the maker of Humira, will only pay a 9% tax rate this year–far lower than many working families pay + ...	53	33	14	[275]
Republicans gave a tax cut of more than $1 billion a year to the billionaire Koch brothers, one of whom donated $500,000 to Speaker Paul Ryan's political fund just days after the law passed. This was a political payoff + ...	51	26	23	[274]
The Republican tax law eventually raises taxes on a majority of American families + ...	50	33	17	[273]
Republicans gave $500 billion in tax cuts to corporations, which could have been used to upgrade our nation's infrastructure and create half a million jobs + ...	46	32	22	[278]

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/B).
+ Asked of one-fourth the respondents (FORM A).
++ Asked of one-fourth the respondents (FORM B).

22a. Below is a statement raising concerns about Democratic members of Congress who voted against the new tax law. Please indicate how serious a concern this would be for you about Democrats in Congress. Use a scale from 1 to 7, on which a 7 means it is an extremely serious concern, a 1 means it is not a serious concern, and a 4 is in the middle. **

Tax reform is sweeping across America. Small businesses are growing. Paychecks are going up. Families are saving more for what matters. Democratic politicians said they would support tax cuts for hard-working families, but when they had the chance they said no, voting against tax cuts for you. They stood with Chuck Schumer and Nancy Pelosi instead of with us. Democrats should not have put politics ahead of good jobs and tax cuts.

6-7, extremely serious concern	46	[312]
5	14	
4	21	
3	5	
1-2, not a serious concern.......................	14	
Mean	*4.9*	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS C/D).

22b.   Below are some statements from Democratic members of Congress who voted against the new tax law. For each one, please indicate how strong a reason you feel this is for voting no on the tax law. Use a scale from 1 to 7, on which a 7 means it is an extremely strong reason to vote no, a 1 means it is not a strong reason, and a 4 is in the middle.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY EXTREMELY STRONG REASON TO VOTE NO (RATING OF "6-7")

	Extremely Strong Reason		Not A Strong Reason	
	6-7	4-5	1-3	
The law gave pharmaceutical and health insurance companies billions in new tax breaks, but now those companies are raising drug prices and our insurance premiums ++	61	29	10	[327]
The new law cost $1.5 trillion, and now Republicans want to cut Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, and education in order to pay for their tax breaks for big corporations and the richest 1% **	60	27	13	[313]
The law gave 83% of the tax cuts to the wealthiest 1% of families +	56	25	19	[322]
The law gave a tax cut of more than $1 billion a year to the billionaire Koch brothers, one of whom donated $500,000 to Speaker Paul Ryan's political fund just days after the law passed. This was a political pay off +	56	24	20	[320]
The law gave a huge tax cut to big pharmaceutical companies that are raising prices for consumers. AbbVie, the maker of Humira, will only pay a 9% tax rate this year–far lower than many working families pay +	55	30	15	[321]
The law opened up a huge new loophole that gives billions to wealthy business owners and real estate developers like Donald Trump who can game the system–but working people don't qualify +	55	29	16	[323]
The law gave a tax cut of more than $1 billion a year to the billionaire Koch brothers, who promised to spend $400 million to reelect Republicans who voted for the law. This was a political payoff ++	55	27	18	[326]
The law eventually raises taxes on a majority of American families +	55	27	18	[319]
The law allows corporations to pay much lower taxes on profits earned in foreign countries, giving corporations even more incentive to outsource our jobs and shift profits offshore **	54	32	14	[315]
The law increased the national debt by $1.5 trillion, putting our children and grandchildren in debt to pay for tax cuts ++	54	32	14	[329]
The law made the big tax cut for corporations permanent, but the tax cuts for individuals and families are only temporary and expire in eight years **	54	30	16	[314]
The law included a special tax loophole that gives dozens of Republican politicians an average tax cut of more than $50,000 per year ++	54	30	16	[330]
The law raises taxes on millions of families by preventing them from deducting all of their state and local taxes on their federal tax return. But corporations get to keep this deduction **	52	31	17	[316]
The law ended health insurance for 13 million Americans and increased private health insurance premiums by $2,000 to pay for tax breaks for corporations and the wealthy **	52	30	18	[318]
The law gave the richest 1% an average tax cut of $51,000, but 60% of taxpayers get an average cut of only a dollar a day ++	51	32	17	[328]
Republicans were dishonest about the law–starting next year, tax cuts for individuals and families will shrink a bit every year, and in eight years they will completely disappear **	49	33	18	[317]
Republicans promised that their tax plan would cut average people's taxes by $4,000 per year, but in reality the law eventually raises taxes on a majority of American families ++	49	31	20	[325]
The law gave $500 billion in tax cuts to corporations, which could have been used to upgrade our nation's infrastructure and create half a million jobs +	47	30	23	[324]

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS C/D).
+ Asked of one-fourth the respondents (FORM C).
++ Asked of one-fourth the respondents (FORM D).

23.   You will now see some statements from Republican members of Congress who voted in <u>favor</u> of the new tax law. Please select the three that you feel are the best reasons for a member of Congress to support the tax law, and rank them from first to third.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST COMBINED TOP THREE REASONS PERCENTAGE

	Top Reason	Combined Top Two Reasons	Combined Top Three Reasons	
90% of American workers will receive bigger paychecks, thanks to the tax cuts...	20	36	50	[331-332]
Under this law, the standard deduction is doubled to $24,000, which will cut taxes for millions of middle-class families	16	30	45	
Most Americans will see their taxes go down thanks to this tax bill, by $2,059 each year for a typical family of four	13	29	41	
The law doubled the child tax credit from $1,000 to $2,000, helping working families...	11	24	30	
Since the law passed, many companies are bringing hundreds of billions of dollars home that were trapped offshore, creating thousands of jobs...	8	18	29	
The law repealed the individual mandate in Obamacare that forced many people to buy insurance they didn't need or couldn't afford	10	17	26	
More than 400 companies have announced bonuses, wage increases, and/or benefit increases for four million employees due to the tax law...	6	14	22	
The lower corporate tax rate means that U.S. companies can now compete better around the world...	7	13	21	
Under this law, middle-class families will no longer be forced to pay the Alternative Minimum Tax or AMT	5	11	19	
After the tax law was passed, Apple announced it would invest $350 billion in the United States over the next five years and gave $2,500 in stock to each employee.....................................	4	9	13	

24.   Please indicate which three of these phrases, if any, best describe your own concerns about the new tax law.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Dishonest and deceptive	32 [333-334]
Time bomb for the middle class............................	30 >
Trump tax scam **	27
Shortchanging our future	25
Republican tax scam *..	22
Trump tax giveaway *	18
Republican tax giveaway **	18
Corrupt deal...	17
Bait and switch	16
Trickle down	12
Tax heist..	5
None of these	32

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/C).
** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS B/D).

25.   The new tax cuts reduce federal revenues, which could result in cuts to the programs below. Please indicate which three of these cuts, if any, you would most like to avoid.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Avoid cuts in Medicare..	61 [335]
Avoid cuts in Social Security disability benefits	54 >
Avoid cuts in K-12 education	35
Avoid cuts in Medicaid	34
Avoid cuts in transportation and infrastructure.................	26
Avoid cuts in environmental protection	19
Avoid cuts in food and nutrition programs........................	16
Avoid cuts in college loans and student financial aid........	16
None of these	8

Now thinking about all the issues you have read about in this survey…

26.   Overall, do you support or oppose the new tax law passed by Congress and signed by President Trump?

	Q.26	*Initial Response (Q.7b)*	
Strongly support	18	18	[336]
Somewhat support	24	29	
Somewhat oppose............................	16	20	
Strongly oppose	36	24	
No opinion	6	9	
Total Support	**42**	**47**	
Total Oppose	**52**	**44**	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY "SUPPORT/OPPOSE" IN Q.26)
27.   Why do you (support/oppose) the new tax law? What are the two or three most important reasons you feel that way? Please be as specific as possible. [337-347]

SUPPORT	
More money on my paycheck, more take home pay, more money in my pocket	36%
Tax breaks, paying less taxes, lower tax rates for the middle class	26
Creating more jobs, companies bringing jobs back to America, more job creation	16
Good for the middle class, good for the families, for all Americans	15
Good for the economy, will stimulate the economy, promotes economic development	12
Good for businesses, strong business climate, more competitive	7
Obamacare/ACA is illegal, a scam, gets rid of the individual mandate, other criticisms of Obamacare	5
Something needed to be done, a step in the right direction, like it, good idea, better than what we had before	4
Don't know; no response	6

Q.27 (cont'd)

OPPOSE	
Designed to benefit the rich/wealthy, corporations, more wealth into the hands of the 1%	45%
Bad for the middle class, hurts the middle class, middle class will end up paying the price, does nothing for middle class	22
Cuts for individuals expire, will expire in 8 years, they are not permanent, they are only temporary	12
Bad for the economy, weakens the economy, raises, increases the deficit	12
Threatens Medicare, Medicaid	8
Hurts the poor, the needy, the poor will get poorer, hurts the lower class	7
Threatens Social Security, cuts to Social Security	7
Trump not honest, lining his own pockets, he is a fraud, this benefits him/family, don't trust him	6
Lies, they are lying, dishonest, deceiving law, lack of trust, deceptive in the way it is portrayed	5
Don't know; no response	4%

28a.   If you learned that your member of Congress had voted <u>in favor</u> of the tax law, how would that affect your vote in November?

	Q.28a	*Initial Response (Q.8a)*	
I would be much more likely to vote for this member of Congress	18	16	[348]
I would be somewhat more likely to vote for this member of Congress......	11	12	
It would not affect my vote either way	26	35	
I would be somewhat less likely to vote for this member of Congress	19	17	
I would be much less likely to vote for this member of Congress	26	20	
Total More Likely To Vote	**29**	**28**	
Total Less Likely To Vote	**45**	**37**	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS A/B).

28b.   If you learned that your member of Congress had voted <u>against</u> the tax law, how would that affect your vote in November? **

	Q.28b	*Initial Response (Q.8b)*	
I would be much more likely to vote for this member of Congress	19	15	[349]
I would be somewhat more likely to vote for this member of Congress......	21	17	
It would not affect my vote either way	26	31	
I would be somewhat less likely to vote for this member of Congress	15	22	
I would be much less likely to vote for this member of Congress	19	15	
Total More Likely To Vote	**40**	**32**	
Total Less Likely To Vote	**34**	**37**	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORMS CD).

29a.   Which party do you think would do a better job of handling the issue of federal taxes?

	Q.29a	Initial Response (Q.4a)	
Democrats would do a much better........................	21	19	[350]
Democrats would do a somewhat better job	20	18	
No difference...	21	23	
Republicans would do a somewhat better job	17	17	
Republicans would do a much better job................	21	23	
Total Democrats Would Do Better Job	**41**	**37**	
Total Republicans Would Do Better Job	**38**	**40**	

29b.   Which party do you think would do a better job of handling the issue of the economy?

	Q.29b	Initial Response (Q.4b)	
Democrats would do a much better........................	20	20	[351]
Democrats would do a somewhat better job	19	17	
No difference...	20	21	
Republicans would do a somewhat better job	19	19	
Republicans would do a much better job................	22	23	
Total Democrats Would Do Better Job	**39**	**37**	
Total Republicans Would Do Better Job	**41**	**42**	

30.   And if the election for Congress were held today, how would you vote?

	Q.30	Initial Response (Q.3)	
Definitely for the Democrat	31	32	[352]
Probably for the Democrat	10	10	
Lean slightly toward the Democrat......................	6	5	
Completely undecided	15	13	
Lean slightly toward the Republican	5	6	
Probably for the Republican...............................	11	11	
Definitely for the Republican	22	23	
Total Democrat	**47**	**47**	
Total Republican	**38**	**40**	

FACTUALS: These last few questions are for statistical purposes only.

F1.   How would you describe the area in which you live?

Urban...	20	[353]
Suburban...	56	
Small town	9	
Rural..	15	

F2.   Are you currently single and never married, unmarried and living with a partner, married, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Single	20	[354]
Unmarried, living with partner	6	
Married	59	
Separated.......................................	-	
Widowed...	5	
Divorced	10	

F3.   Please indicate whether each of the following applies to you.

	Yes, Applies To Me	No, Does Not Apply To Me	Not Sure	
Your or someone in your household is self-employed or owns a small business	16	83	1	[355]
You or someone in your household is a member of a labor union	14	85	1	[356]
You itemize deductions on your federal tax return	45	49	6	[357]
You are a military veteran	12	87	1	[358]

F4.   Which of these best describes your current situation?

Employed..	61	[359]
Student...	2	
Homemaker......................................	5	
Retired...	25	
Unemployed, looking for work	4	
Other	3	

F5.   How active would you say you are in politics–very active, fairly active, just somewhat active, or not too active?

Very active..	9	[361]
Fairly active	31	
Just somewhat active	33	
Very active..	27	

F6.   Thinking about your general approach to issues, do you consider yourself to be…?

Conservative.....................................	36	[362]
Moderate	44	
Liberal..	20	

F7.   If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, what would the total be?

Less than $10,000............................	3	[363]
Between $10,000 and $19,999.........	4	
Between $20,000 and $29,999.........	8	
Between $30,000 and $39,999.........	12	
Between $40,000 and $49,999.........	12	
Between $50,000 and $74,999.........	20	
Between $75,000 and $99,999.........	14	
Between $100,000 and $149,999.....	16	
$150,000 or more	11	