

navigator*

A Guide for Advocates:
Tax Policy and
Infrastructure Investment



Methodology

Global Strategy Group conducted a phone survey of **1,500 likely 2022 voters** in 15 battleground congressional districts (AZ-01, GA-06, IA-03, KS-03, MI-08, MN-02, NH-01, NJ-11, NV-04, PA-17, PA-07, TX-32, VA-07, WA-08, and WI-03) from June 26th – July 1st, 2021. The survey included an oversample of 50 additional AAPI voters and 30 additional Hispanic voters. The margin of error at the 95% confidence level is +/-2.5%. The margin of error on sub-samples is greater.

Demographics of likely voter population

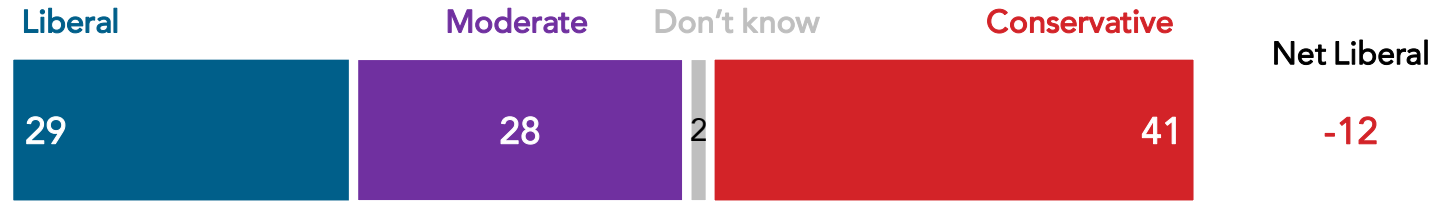
Women	Men	18-44	45-64	65+	Non-Coll	College	White	Black	Hispanic	AAPI
51	49	34	40	26	58	40	85	7	5	3

Key Takeaways:

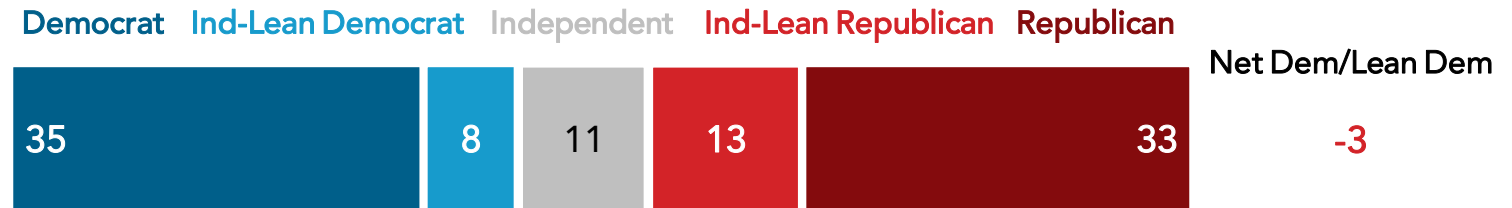
- Across 15 Democrat-held House battleground districts, voters support higher taxes on the wealthy and big corporations despite conservative leanings overall.
- Centering tax proposals in the conversation about Democrats' economic plan is helpful – not hurtful – in these House battlegrounds.
- Making a strong, positive case for Democrats' economic vision, including its investments and approach to taxes, effectively inoculates against Republican attacks.

Even in Districts Where Republicans Outnumber Democrats, Taxing “the Wealthy and Big Corporations” Is Popular

When it comes to politics, do you generally think of yourself as:

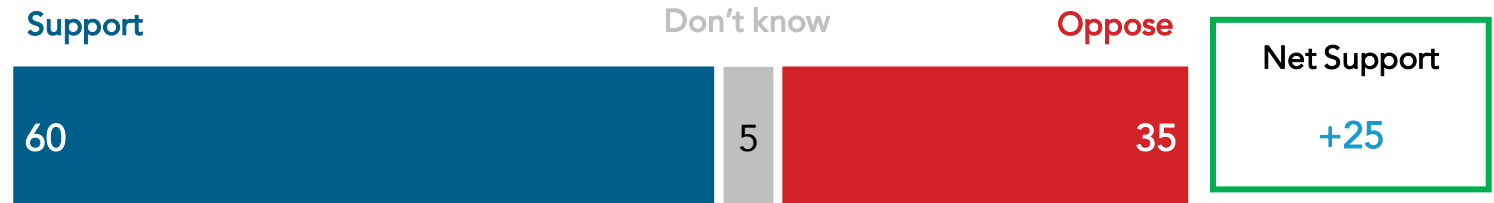


When it comes to politics, do you generally think of yourself as a(n)...



2020 vote recall: **Biden+4**

In general, do you support or oppose raising taxes on the wealthy and big corporations?

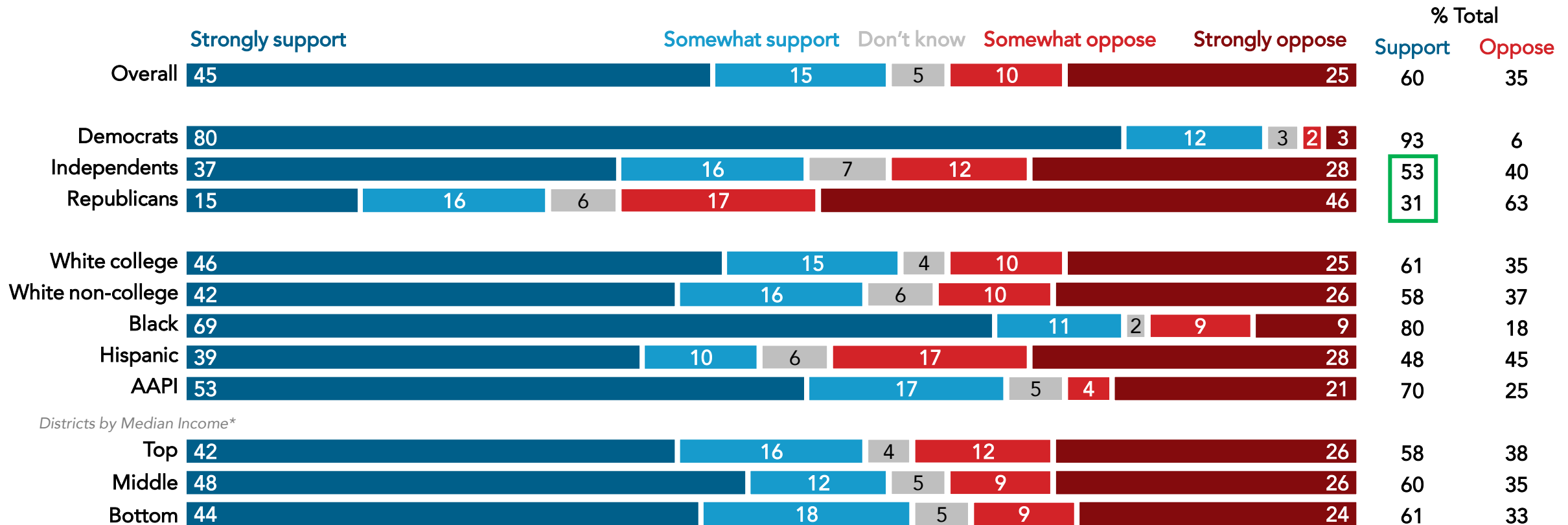


Survey of 1,500 likely 2022 midterm voters from 15 House battleground districts, conducted June 26-July 1, 2021. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org.

Higher Taxes for Wealthy Individuals and Corporations Have Broad Appeal

Intensity of support is high: 45% strongly support raising taxes on the wealthy and big corporations.

In general, do you support or oppose raising taxes on the wealthy and big corporations?

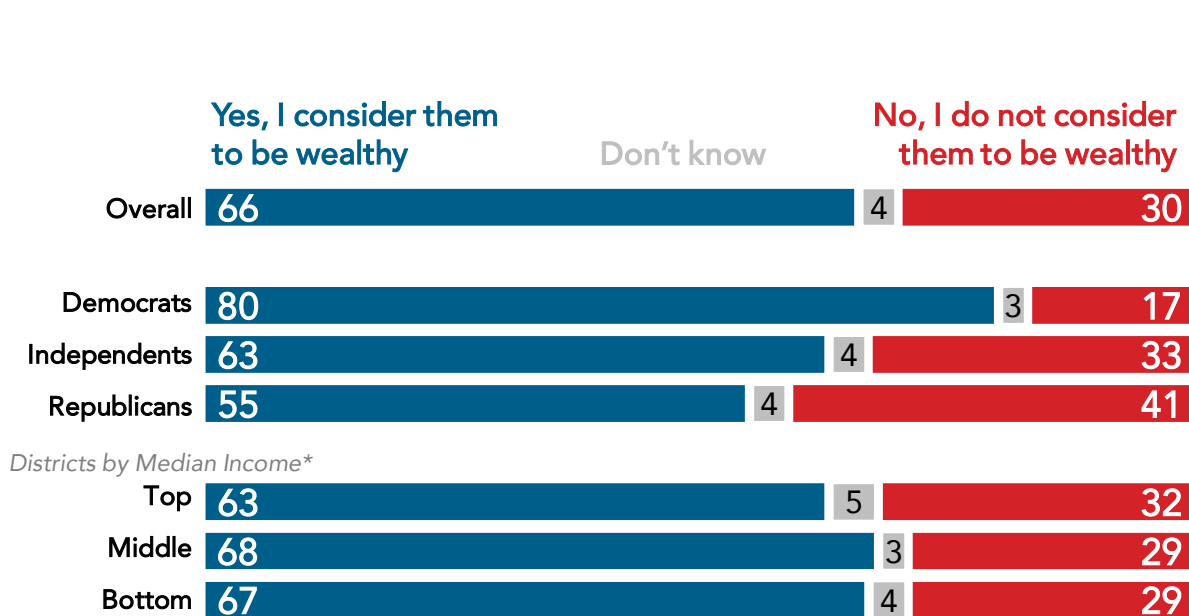


*Based on ACS 2014-2018 median income estimate via DailyKos. "Top" includes NJ-11, GA-06, WA-08, MN-02, and VA-07. "Middle" includes NH-01, KS-03, TX-32, MI-08, and PA-17. "Bottom" includes IA-03, PA-07, NV-04, WI-03, and AZ-01. Survey of 1,500 likely 2022 midterm voters from 15 House battleground districts, conducted June 26-July 1, 2021. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org.

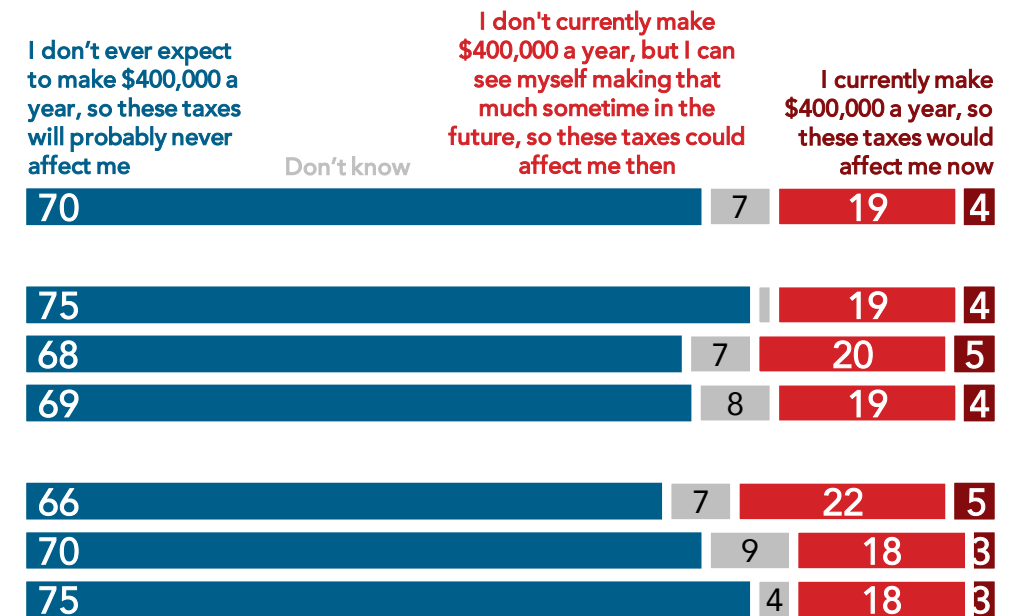
What Is "Wealthy"? Incomes Over \$400,000 Qualify, and Most Voters Don't See Themselves at Risk of Taxes on "Wealthy"

Even in the wealthier districts polled, around two-thirds of voters say \$400,000 a year qualifies as "wealthy" and few believe they will ever make that much.

Do you consider an individual who makes more than \$400,000 annually to be wealthy or not?



Suppose the federal government decided to pass legislation to raise taxes on individuals earning over \$400,000 a year. Which of the following best describes your thoughts on the impact this would have on your own personal income taxes?

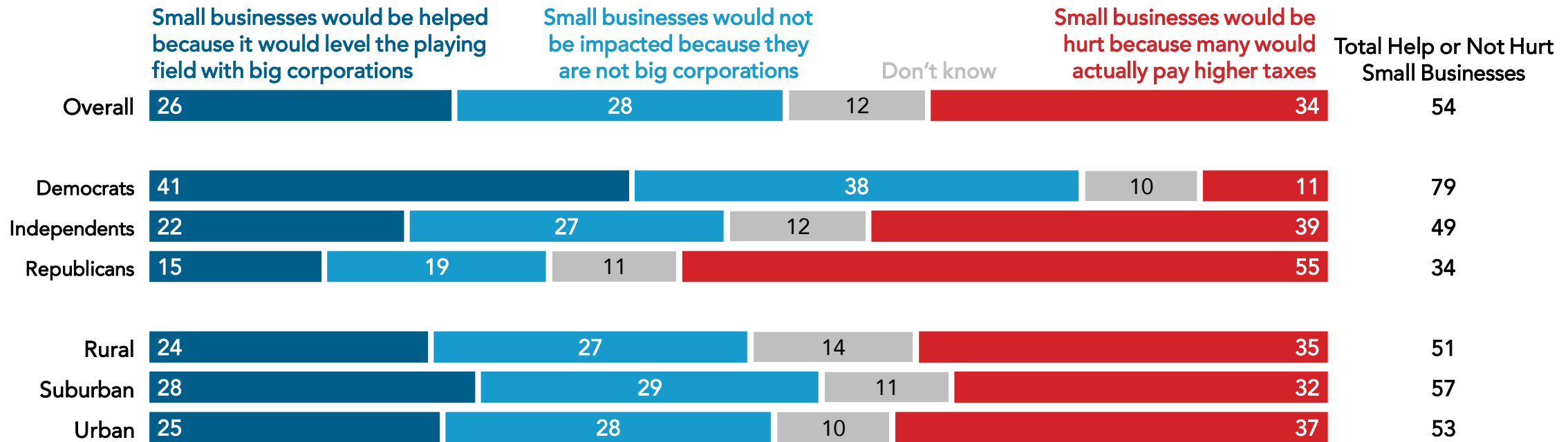


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Most Don't Think Local Small Businesses Are Hurt By Taxes On "Big Corporations"

The argument that taxes on "big corporations" will hit local small businesses has credibility with some voters, but most tend to believe small businesses will be unaffected or even helped.

If the federal government decided to increase taxes on big corporations...Which of the following best describes the impact you think that would have on small businesses in your community?

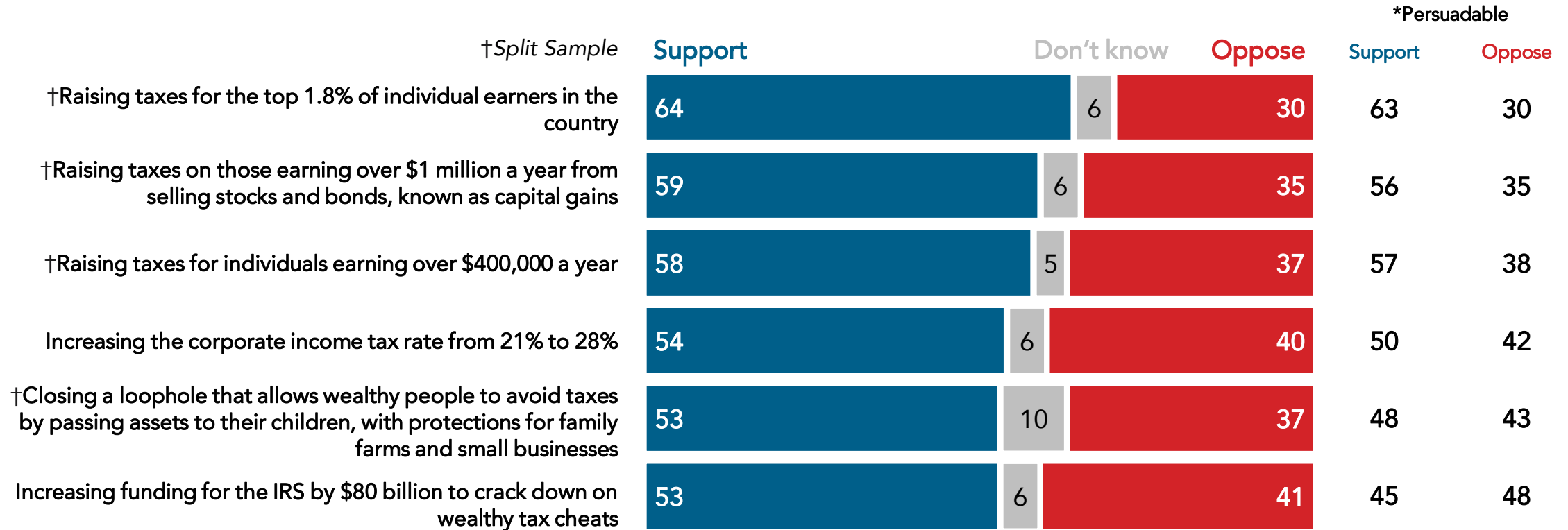


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Majority Support for Array of Tax Proposals Impacting the Wealthy and Big Corporations

Tax increases on the “top 1.8% of individual earners” (64% support) are more popular than tax increases on those “earning over \$400,000 a year” (58%). But, all proposals tested garner majority support.

Now I have a list of policy proposals, and I want you to tell me whether you support or oppose each. Do you support or oppose...

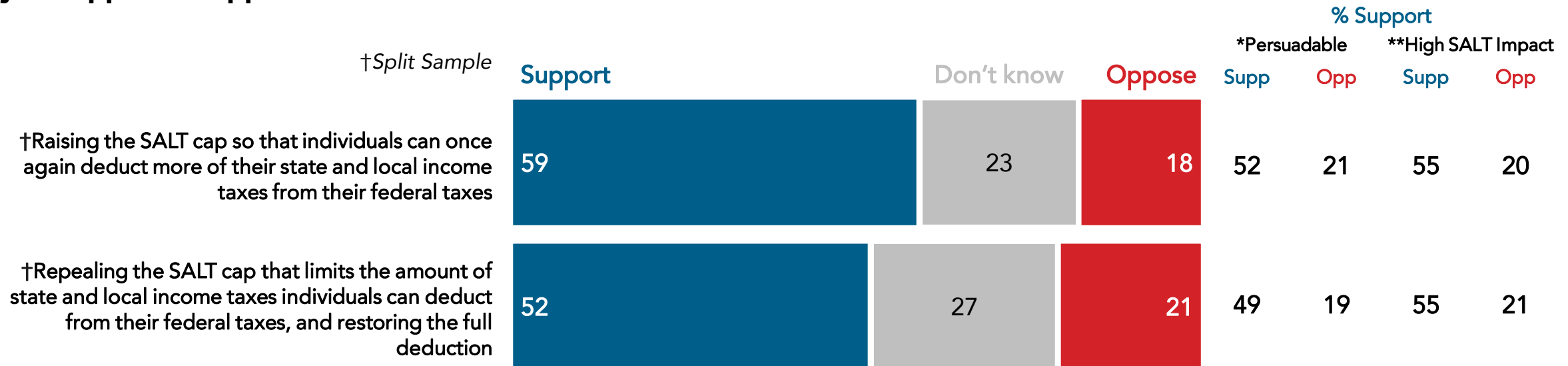


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Most Voters Prefer Changes to State and Local Tax Deduction

Language of “raising” the SALT cap (59% support) has greater support than “repealing” (52%).

Now I have a list of policy proposals, and I want you to tell me whether you support or oppose each one. Do you support or oppose...



22% of voters are "SALT-sensitive," and not only support raising or repealing the SALT cap but feel they would personally save money if this happened. They are a Democratic group (D+18), but only a third are liberal (35%), and they are especially likely to live in a higher-income district (41%). But they generally also support other tax policies tested...

- 80% of SALT-sensitive voters support raising taxes on the top 1.8% of individual earners
- 73% of SALT-sensitive voters support closing tax loopholes
- 72% of SALT-sensitive voters support raising capital gains taxes and raising taxes on those earning more than \$400,000 annually

*"Persuadable voters" are defined as political independents who are not very liberal or very conservative. **"High SALT impact voters" are defined as those who live in five districts where SALT deductions had been highest, according to a [2017 Bloomberg News analysis](#) (NJ-11, GA-6, VA-7, MN-2, KS-3). Survey of 1,500 likely 2022 midterm voters from 15 House battleground districts, conducted June 26-July 1, 2021. For more info, visit [navigatorresearch.org](#).

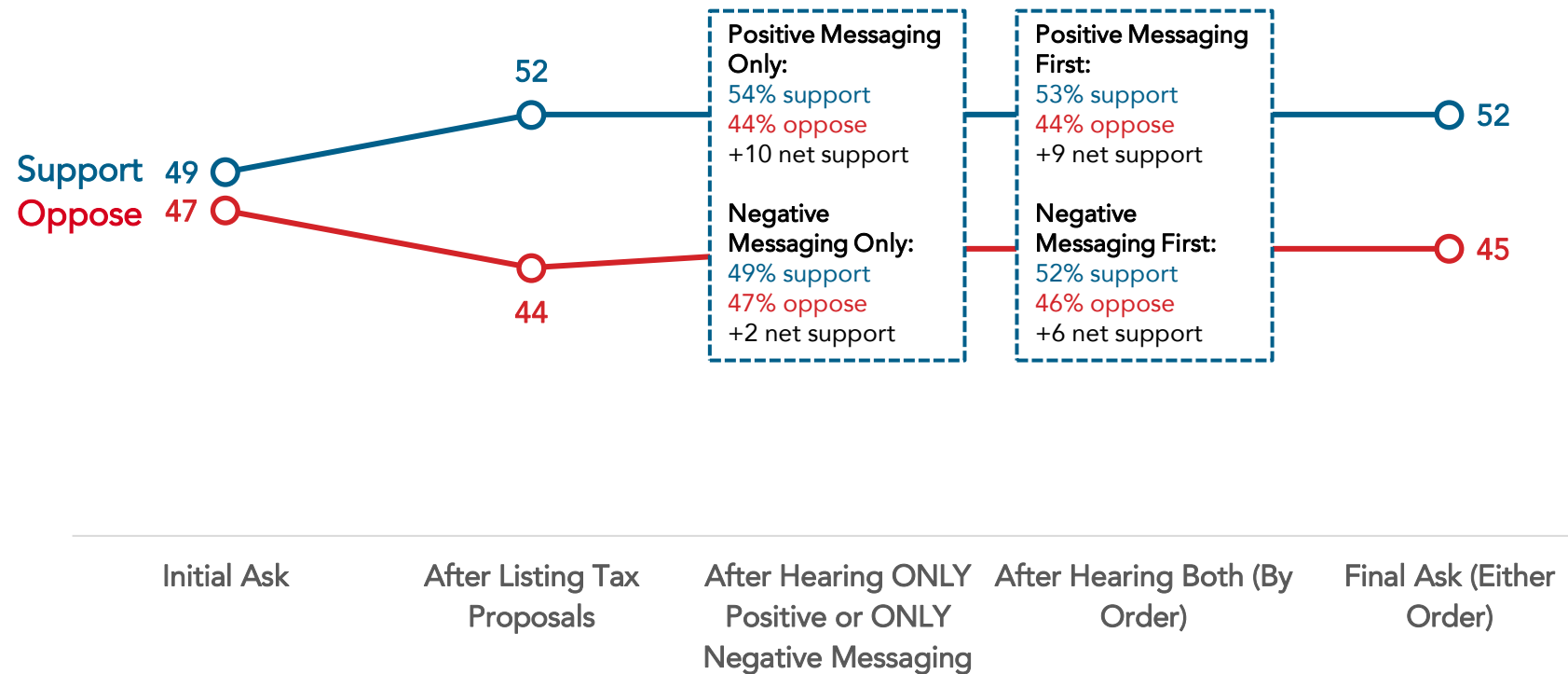
Making the Case for the Democratic Economic Vision Inoculates Against Republican Attacks

Measuring support for Democrats' economic plan over the course of the survey shows Republican attacks can have an impact, but it is minimized if voters also hear more information in favor of the plan.

Do you support or oppose the economic plan from President Biden and the Democrats in Congress?

Negative Message Tested: Opponents say the Democratic plan is a massive, wasteful spending spree that will be a disaster for our economic recovery. More taxes and spending will fuel inflation, meaning low-and middle-class families pay higher prices for everything from gas to food. And job-killing tax hikes will sabotage our economy, crush small and medium-sized businesses still recovering from the pandemic, and send American jobs overseas by punishing or penalizing companies here at home.

Having heard this statement, can you tell me once again, do you support or oppose the economic plan from President Biden and the Democrats in Congress?



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Support for Democratic Economic Plan Grows When Tax Components Are Described

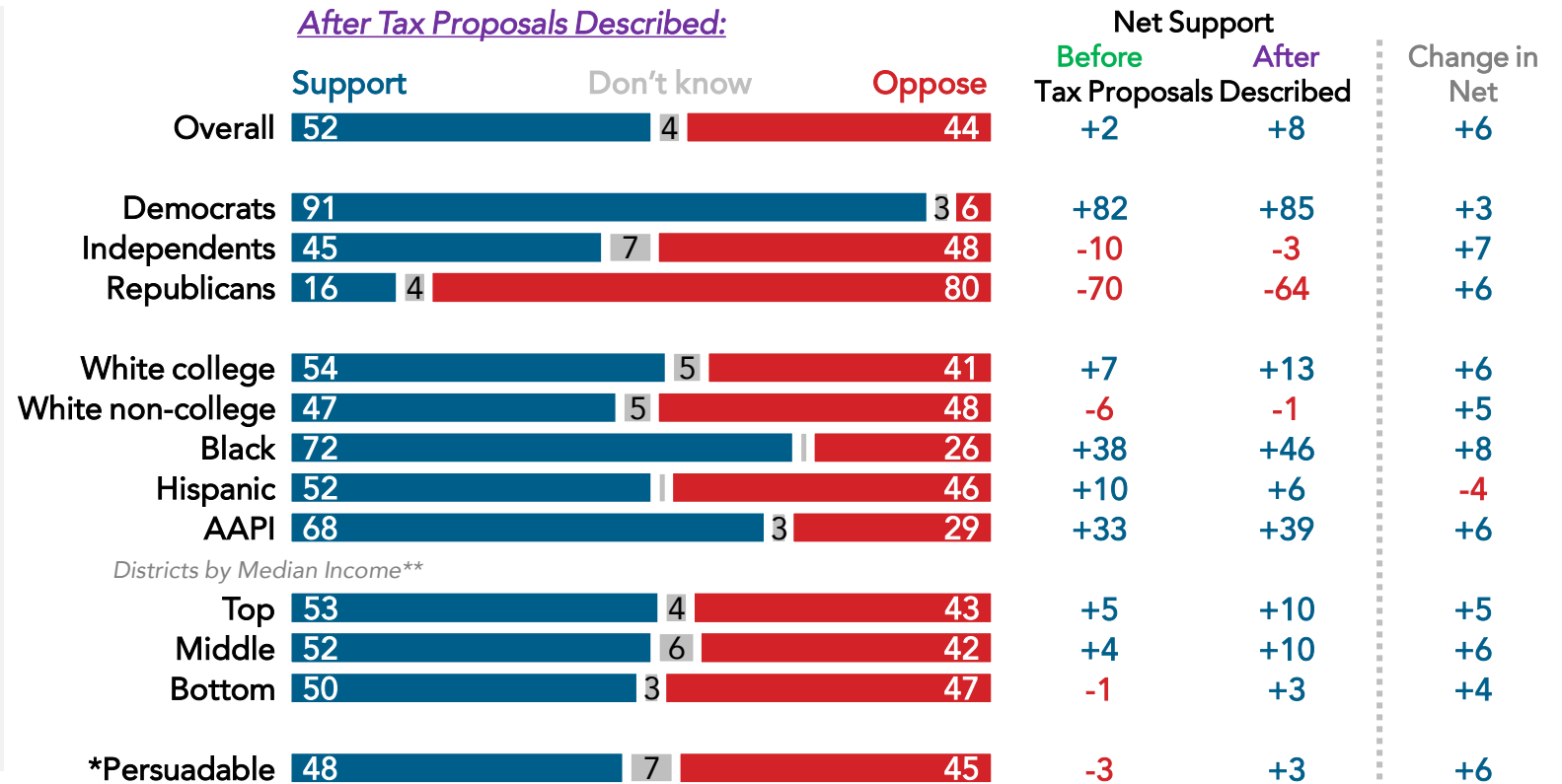
With some exceptions, gains are spread evenly across demographic and political groups.

Initial Ask: Congress is considering an economic plan from President Biden that would invest in affordable health care, education, childcare, and tax cuts for the middle class and lower-income Americans, as well as infrastructure improvements for roads, bridges, high speed internet, clean energy and more. The plan would cost \$4 trillion. Just based on what you know, do you support or oppose this economic plan from President Biden and the Democrats in Congress?

Ask with Tax Proposals Described: Biden and the Democrats in Congress have proposed paying for these investments by raising taxes on big corporations and the wealthy, and their ideas include:

- Raising taxes on individuals earning over \$400,000 a year;
- Raising taxes for those earning over \$1 million from the sale of stocks and bonds, known as capital gains;
- Increasing the corporate tax rate from 21% to 28%;
- And increasing funding for the IRS to crack down on wealthy tax cheats.

Having heard this information, do you support or oppose the economic plan from President Biden and the Democrats in Congress?



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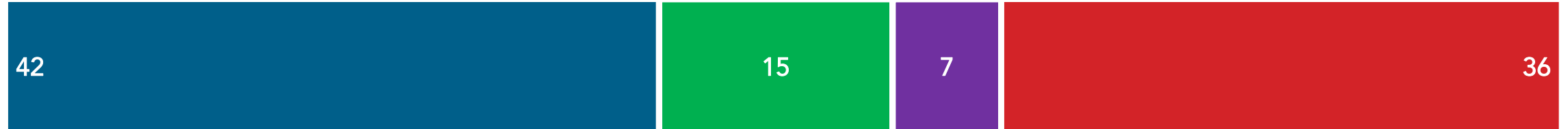
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A Segment of Persuadable Voters Are Especially Critical

The Democratic Economic Plan: Supporter Targets



Base

Always supports the economic plan

Economic Targets: Democrats and Independents

Sometimes supports/always undecided on the economic plan and identify as Democrats or independents

- More voters who live in urban areas (36%) than the overall electorate (26%)
- More voters of color (21%) than the overall electorate (15%)
- Biden+26 (versus Biden+4 in overall electorate)
- More moderate (43%) than the overall electorate (28%)

Economic Targets: Republicans

Sometimes supports/always undecided on the economic plan and identify as Republicans

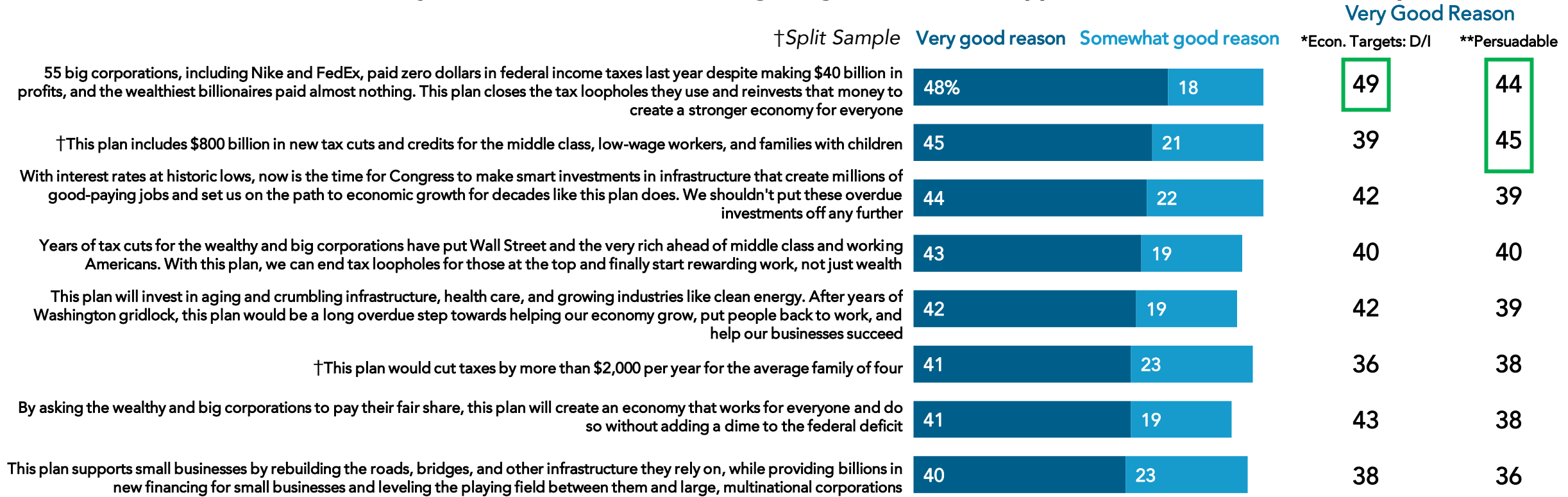
Oppo

Never supports the economic plan

Cracking Down on Corporate Tax Dodgers – and Reinvesting in the Economy – Is a Winning Message

Among target voters, pointing to the outrageous status quo on taxes for the wealthy and big corporations is the strongest appeal. It’s also important for persuadable voters to hear about the substantial tax cuts in the plan.

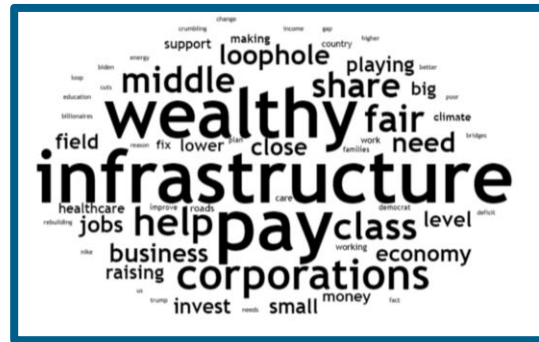
Please indicate whether or not you think each of the following is a good reason to support Biden and the Democrats’ plan.



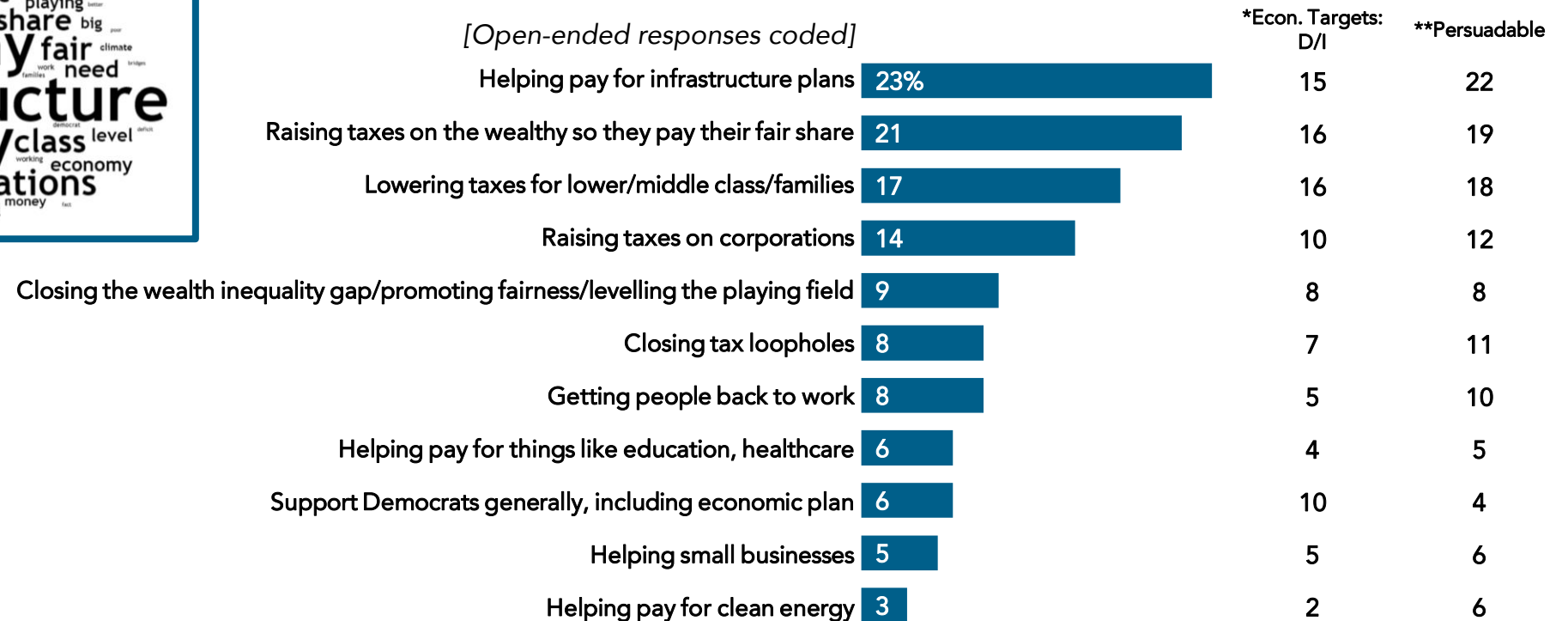
*"Economic Targets: D/I" are voters who sometimes supports/always undecided on the economic plan and identify as Democrats or independents. **"Persuadable voters" are political independents who are not very liberal or very conservative.
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Raising Taxes on Wealthy & Corporations and Lowering Taxes on Middle Class are Strong Reasons to Support the Plan

[Among supporters of the plan] Out of what you heard, what were the one or two most convincing reasons to support the Democrats' economic plan?



[Open-ended responses coded]

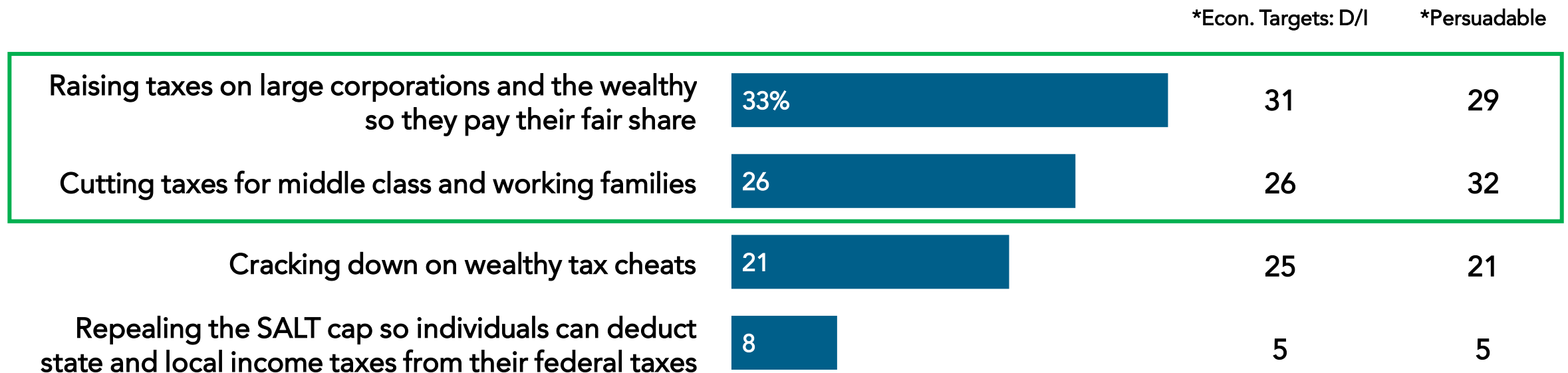


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Top Priorities on Taxes: Getting All to Pay Their Fair Share, Lowering Taxes for Middle/Working Class Families

Raising taxes on large corporations and the wealthy and cutting taxes for middle- and working-class families are seen as top priorities.

As Congress considers different tax proposals, which do you think should be their highest priority?



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Key Recommendations

- Do not shy away from the debate over taxes. These proposals are popular on their own and make plans for spending and investment more palatable. The most popular proposals focus on the top tier of individual earners:
 - *Raising taxes for the top 1.8% of individual earners (better than: those earning over \$400,000)*
 - *Raising capital gains taxes for those earning over \$1 million*

Key Recommendations

- The cases for increased investment and changes to the tax code can both point to problems that need fixing.
 - Tell voters how bad it is: 55 big corporations paid zero dollars in federal income taxes last year, and the wealthiest billionaires paid almost nothing. This plan closes the tax loopholes they use.
 - But, remind voters there is also relief for families like their own: these investments include \$800 billion in new tax cuts and credits for the middle class, low-wage workers, and families with kids.

Key Recommendations

- Get out in front of conservative attacks.
 - In this competitive, polarized landscape, even very popular proposals will need to overcome partisan resistance. Before voters hear more than the basics, opinion on the legislation is divided.
 - Conservative narratives demonizing these plans are likely to have purchase, particularly in districts like these, *unless* the affirmative case is made early and proactively.

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About Navigator

In a world where the news cycle is the length of a tweet, our leaders often lack the real-time public-sentiment analysis to shape the best approaches to talking about the issues that matter the most. Navigator is designed to act as a consistent, flexible, responsive tool to inform policy debates by conducting research and reliable guidance to inform allies, elected leaders, and the press. Navigator is a project led by pollsters from Global Strategy Group and GBAO along with an advisory committee, including: Andrea Purse, progressive strategist; Arkadi Gerney, The Hub Project; Joel Payne, The Hub Project; Christina Reynolds, EMILY's List; Delvone Michael, Working Families; Felicia Wong, Roosevelt Institute; Mike Podhorzer, AFL-CIO; Jesse Ferguson, progressive strategist; Navin Nayak, Center for American Progress Action Fund; Stephanie Valencia, EquisLabs; and Melanie Newman, Planned Parenthood Action Fund.

About the Study

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For Press inquiries contact:

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To learn more about Navigator:

<http://navigatorresearch.org>

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