

TO: Interested Parties
FR: Mark Riddle, Future Majority
RE: Revenue Polling – Taxing billionaires, wealthy boosts support for \$3.5T BBB bill
DT: September 27, 2021

Since the 2020 election, Future Majority has surveyed 48,755 voters in swing congressional districts and states with our partners at Change Research. This memo includes data from the most recent surveys where revenue was tested.

- Battleground States. Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Michigan, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin (2,529 likely voters, Aug. 29 – Sept. 2).
- The Seven Trump/House D Congressional Districts. These are the seven CDs that voted for former President Trump and a House Democrat in 2020 (1,218 likely voters, Sept. 12-16). The CDs are IA-03, IL-17, ME-02, MI-08, NJ-03, PA-08, WI-03. Detailed district-specific results are available in the appendix.
- 37 Battleground Congressional Districts. 37 districts (20D, 17R) decided by +/- 5 percentage points in 2020 (2,352 likely voters, Sept. 10-14).¹
- Arizona. Additional survey of Arizona (936 likely voters, Sept. 10-15).
- West Virginia. Separately, Global Strategy Group (GSG) surveyed West Virginia (600 registered voters, Aug. 9-15) and we reference their results here ([deck](#), [toplines](#)).

Key findings

- Majority support in key CDs & key states for the \$3.5 trillion Build Back Better bill.
- Strong support for taxing the wealthy and overwhelming support for taxing the ultra-wealthy and billionaires to generate revenue for the \$3.5 trillion Build Back Better bill.
- Majority support for \$3.5 trillion bill is further strengthened to super-majority bipartisan support when it is paid for by taxes on billionaires and the ultra-wealthy.

Key recommendations

- It's the pay-fors, not the price tag, that determine the popularity of \$3.5 trillion bill in key CDs and states.
- Democrats should unite around the bill and strengthen it with popular pay-fors rather than deliver less for voters.
- Funding the \$3.5 trillion bill with deficit spending dramatically decreases support for the bill; lawmakers should look to fund it with popular revenue sources.
- Messaging opportunity to position tax reform as cleaning up corruption.

Starting Point: Proposed \$3.5 trillion bill enjoys majority support in battleground states and districts.

- **The \$3.5 trillion bill enjoys 56% support in battleground states, 56-42 (+14) support in 37 competitive House districts, 53-43 (+10) support in the seven Trump/Democrat districts, 54-43 (+11) in Arizona, and 48-47 (+1) in West Virginia (GSG).** Voters were

¹ These 37 HDs are: AZ-01, AZ-06, CA-21, CA-25, CA-39, CA-48, FL-26, FL-27, GA-07, IA-01, IA-02, IA-03, IL-14, IL-17, IN-05, MI-08, MI-11, MN-01, MN-02, NE-02, NJ-07, NV-03, NV-04, NY-22, OK-05, PA-07, PA-08, PA-17, SC-01, TX-07, TX-15, TX-23, TX-24, UT-04, VA-07, WA-08, WI-03

asked about the proposed \$3.5 trillion in new spending over the next ten years to expand Medicare benefits, invest in preschool education, community college, childcare, family leave, affordable college, and fund efforts to combat climate change.

New Revenue Policy Tested: The Billionaire Tax

When voters in key CDs and states are asked about their support for the \$3.5 trillion bill, **their support for the bill dramatically increases if it is paid for by applying the Billionaire Tax.** (The Billionaire Tax on the Senate Finance Committee [menu](#) is an annual tax on untaxed investment gains over \$1 billion. House members Pascrell, Davis, Wild and Bowman have proposed a one-time tax on gains over \$1 billion). Both annual and one-time versions are extremely popular; the annual Billionaire Tax edges the one-time Billionaire Tax in polls to-date.

- In the 37 swing districts, support for the \$3.5 trillion bill increases from 56-42 (+14) to 69-26 (+43) when funded by the annual Billionaire Tax.
- For voters in the seven Trump/Democrat districts, support for the \$3.5 trillion bill strengthens from 53-43 (+10) to 69-24 (+45) when funded by the annual Billionaire Tax.
- For AZ voters, support for the \$3.5 trillion bill rises from 54-43 (+11) to 67-28 (+39) when funded by the annual Billionaire Tax.
- For WV voters (GSG survey), support for the \$3.5 trillion bill rises from 48-47 (+1) to 65-29 (+36) with the Billionaire Tax (one-time version tested).

Key Findings on Generating Revenue for Investments: Voters overwhelmingly support higher taxes on the ultra-wealthy, and strongly support increased taxes on the highest income Americans. Proposed taxes on large corporations can strengthen, and do not undermine, support for the \$3.5 trillion bill. Voters are strongly opposed to taxes or fees that could be perceived as an increase cost to working Americans, and strongly opposed to raising the national debt to pay for this bill.

- **Annual Billionaire Tax:** When the \$3.5 trillion bill is funded by a tax on billionaires' investment gains above \$1 billion – at the same rate as wages and salaries – support for the package goes up 29 points from 56-42 (+14) to 69-26 (+43) in the 37 swing House districts. Among voters in the seven Trump/Democrat districts, support for the bill increases from 53-43 (+10) to 69-24 (+45) when funded by the annual Billionaire Tax. Among Arizona voters, support for the \$3.5 trillion bill rises from 54-43 (+11) to 67-28 (+39) when funded by the annual Billionaire Tax.
- **One-time Billionaire Tax:** When the \$3.5 trillion bill is funded by a one-time tax on billionaires' investment gains above \$1 billion, support for the bill goes up 20 points from 56-42 (+14) to 63-29 (+34) in the 37 swing House districts. Among voters in the seven Trump/Democrat districts, support for the bill increases from 53-43 (+10) to 61-28 (+33) when funded by the one-time Billionaire Tax. Among Arizona voters, support for the bill rises from 54-43 (+11) to 56-35 (+21) when funded by the one-time Billionaire Tax. Among West Virginia voters (GSG), support for the \$3.5 trillion bill rises from 48-47 (+1) to 65-29 (+36) when funded by the one-time Billionaire Tax.

- Annual wealth tax (Ultra-Millionaire Tax Act):** 64% of voters in battleground states, 67% in the 37 swing House districts, 68% in the seven Trump/Democrat House districts, and 63% in Arizona support a wealth tax of 2% a year on households whose net worth is at least \$50 million. When funded by this tax, support for the \$3.5 trillion bill increased 23 points in the 37 districts from 56-42 (+14) to 67-30 (+37), increased 31 points in the 7 Trump/Democrat districts from 53-43 (+10) to 68-27 (+41), increased 19 points in Arizona from 54-43 (+11) to 63-33 (+30), and increased 31 points in West Virginia (GSG) from 48-47 (+1) to 64-32 (+32).
- One-time “Patriot Tax” wealth tax:** 62% of voters in the 37 swing districts supported the \$3.5 trillion bill when funded by a one-time 2.5% tax on an individual’s wealth above \$50 million, and a 5% tax on wealth above \$100 million, [as proposed](#) by Rep. Suozzi. Funded by this one-time wealth tax, support for the bill increased 17 points, from 56-42 (+14) to 62-31 (+31), in the 37 districts. In the seven Trump/Democrat districts, support increased from 53-43 (+10) to 63-30 (+33), in Arizona, support increased from 54-43 (+11) to 58-34 (+24), and in West Virginia (GSG), support increased from 48-47 (+1) to 59-36 (+23).
- Trump’s proposed wealth tax:** 54% of voters in battleground states, 57% in the 37 swing congressional districts, 60% in the seven Trump/Democrat congressional districts, and 54% in Arizona support assessing a one-time 14.5% tax on an individual’s wealth above ten million dollars, as originally proposed by Donald Trump in 1999. Notably, Republican net support for the bill increases 63 points from 14-83 (-69) to 44-50 (-6).
- Raising capital gains tax rate on over \$1m in investment gains:** 57% of voters in battleground states, 59% in the 37 swing congressional districts, and 65% in the seven Trump/Democrat congressional districts support raising the capital-gains tax rate for individuals earning at least \$1 million annually. When funded by this tax, support for the

Closer Look: Independent Voters

Among the 317 Independent voters surveyed in Arizona, support for the \$3.5 trillion bill begins at 54-43 (+11). When the bill is paid for by various revenue mechanisms, support for the bill...

- Increases to **+43** (67-24) with an annual Billionaire Tax
- Increases to **+28** (60-32) with a one-time Billionaire Tax
- Increases to **+26** (60-34) with an annual wealth tax
- Increases to **+15** (51-36) with Trump’s proposed wealth tax
- Increases to **+48** (70-22) with closing tax loopholes on the wealthy
- Increases to **+20** (58-38) with a 25% corporate tax
- Increases to **+15** (55-40) with a 28% corporate tax

Among the 925 Independent voters surveyed in the 37 swing House Districts, **their top three priorities** (of 18 choices) for the \$3.5 trillion bill are:

- A tax cut for Americans making less than \$400k (named by 37%)
- Lowering Rx prices (named by 37%)
- Raising taxes on wealthy and large corporations (named by 36%)

\$3.5 trillion bill increased 10 points in the 37 swing districts from 56-42 (+14) to 59-35 (+24). In the seven Trump/Democrat districts, support increased from 53-43 (+10) to 59-33 (+26), and in Arizona, support increased from 54-43 (+11) to 57-38 (+19).

- **Raising income tax rate, above \$400k:** 56% of voters in battleground states, 57% in the 37 swing congressional districts, 62% in the seven Trump/Democrat congressional districts, and 55% in Arizona support raising the income tax rate on individuals earning more than \$400,000. When funded by this tax, support for the \$3.5 trillion bill increased 4 points in the 37 districts from 56-42 (+14) to 57-39 (+18), increased 16 points in the 7 Trump/Democrat districts from 53-43 (+10) to 61-35 (+26), increased 3 points in Arizona from 54-43 (+11) to 55-41 (+14), and increased 22 points in West Virginia from 48-47 (+1) to 59-36 (+23).
- **Corporate tax 25%:** Fifty-four percent of voters in battleground states, 55% in the 37 swing congressional districts, 55% in the seven Trump/Democrat congressional districts, and 56% in Arizona support raising the corporate tax from 21% to 25% to fund infrastructure investments. Among Arizona voters, support for the \$3.5 trillion bill starts at 54-43 (+11) and funding the bill with a 25% corporate tax rate increases support of the bill to 55-40 (+15).
- **Corporate tax 28%:** Funding the \$3.5 trillion bill received 52-43 (+9) support in the 37 swing congressional districts when paid for by increasing the corporate tax from 21% to 28%, received 52-41 support (+11) in the seven Trump/Democrat districts, and received 52-44 support (+8) net support in Arizona. In WV, support for the \$3.5 trillion bill increases from 48-47 (+1) to 55-39 (+16) when funded by a 28% corporate tax rate.
- **Estate tax:** Fifty-two percent of voters in battleground states, 57% in the 37 swing congressional districts, and 55% in the seven Trump/Democrat congressional districts support an increase on the estate tax on inheritances of \$7 million or more. A majority of voters in all states and districts polled support the BBB bill when it is funded by an estate tax, with net support ranging from +8 to +11.
- **Closing loopholes on the wealthy:** When the \$3.5 trillion bill is funded by “closing the loophole that often allows the wealthy to avoid paying taxes on investment gains for their entire lives,” support for the package goes up 38 points from 56-42 (+14) to 74-22 (+52) in the 37 swing House districts. Among voters in the seven Trump/Democrat districts, support for the bill increases from 53-43 (+10) to 75-21 (+54). Among AZ voters, support for the bill rises from 54-43 (+11) to 71-24 (+47) when closing this loophole. Among WV voters (GSG), support for the bill rises from 48-47 (+1) to 70-24 (+46) when funded by closing loopholes. This general question can apply to ending stepped-up basis for the wealthy, and also covers the Billionaire Tax and Ultra-Millionaire Tax Act.

Regressive taxes and deficit spending are strongly opposed by all voters:

- Seventy-eight percent of voters in battleground states and 76% of voters in the seven Trump/Democrat congressional districts oppose raising the gas tax by 5 cents per gallon.
- **Seventy-one percent** of voters in battleground states and **73%** of voters in the seven Trump/Democrat congressional districts **oppose increasing federal borrowing an adding to the national debt to fund infrastructure investments.** In West Virginia, support for the \$3.5 trillion bill dips from +1 (48-47) to -44 (25-69) when it is funded by increasing federal borrowing.
- Sixty-seven percent of voters in battleground states and 64% of voters in the seven Trump/Democrat congressional districts oppose assessing tolls and user fees when people access infrastructure once it is built

Democrats also have an opportunity in the tax debate to argue they are cleaning up corruption. A recent [report](#) by the Treasury Department asserted the top 5% of taxpayers evade nearly \$600 billion last year, which translates to about \$7 trillion in lost tax revenue over the next decade. Democrats should say they are cleaning up the corruption in the tax code.

- **Two Flags:** Democrats just making the case that they are lowering costs and cutting taxes could be a tough sell. It risks committing the fundamental political sin of not acknowledging the existence of a voters' painful reality.
 - i. 63% of voters in battleground states and 62% of voters in the seven Trump/Democrat congressional districts say their income is falling behind the cost of living. 25% in battleground states and 28% in the seven districts say their income is staying even with the cost of living. Just 5% in battleground states and 4% in the seven districts say their income is going up faster than the cost of living. Very few are doing very well.
 - ii. 60% of voters in battleground states and 59% of voters in the seven Trump/Democrat congressional districts think taxes will go up on those making less than \$400,000 a year even if President Biden says they won't.

Bonus: 65% of voters in the battleground states and 64% of voters in the seven Trump/Democrat congressional districts support the \$1.2 trillion infrastructure plan.

APPENDIX: District-level data for Trump / House Dem Congressional Districts

	IL-17	ME-02	WI-03	MI-08	IA-03	PA Districts*	Average**
<i>Number of respondents (Sept. 19-22, 2021)</i>	320	268	339	253	402	416	1218
Baseline support for \$3.5T bill	57-41%	53-45%	54-43%	51-45%	52-44%	58-40%	53-43%
Support for bill when paid for by... Annual billionaires' untaxed investment gains tax	71-24%	72-25%	73-19%	70-24%	63-30%	70-23%	69-24%
One-time billionaires' untaxed investment gains tax	61-27%	66-28%	68-24%	65-24%	57-31%	65-27%	61-28%
Annual 2% wealth tax on \$50m+ wealth	67-28%	72-24%	76-21%	69-27%	61-35%	69-28%	68-27%
One-time 2.5% tax on wealth \$50m+ and one-time 5% tax on wealth \$100m+	64-28%	66-31%	67-24%	63-30%	58-36%	64-30%	63-30%
One-time 14.5% wealth tax on wealth over \$10m	58-29%	63-28%	62-27%	59-33%	53-35%	55-33%	60-28%
Raising capital gains tax rate on over \$1m in investment gains	59-33%	64-31%	62-30%	56-36%	59-34%	59-37%	59-33%
Raising income tax rate, above \$400k	59-35%	64-33%	67-30%	59-37%	53-42%	59-36%	61-35%
25% corporate tax rate	53-40%	61-36%	56-36%	53-41%	51-43%	50-44%	55-40%
28% corporate tax rate	50-40%	54-41%	57-35%	51-43%	47-48%	50-45%	52-41%
Estate tax	49-42%	60-38%	59-36%	53-43%	45-49%	53-43%	52-41%
Closing the loophole that often allows the wealthy to avoid paying taxes on investment gains	77-19%	79-20%	80-16%	74-22%	73-22%	78-20%	75-21%
Deficit spending	19-73%	16-79%	14-81%	14-79%	16-78%	16-78%	16-76%

*PA Districts include PA-07 (battleground), PA-08 (Trump / House Dem), and PA-17 (battleground)

**Average across all 7 Trump / House Dem districts. District-level polling for seventh district, NJ-03, not available.