

Americans Say Tax Plan Helps Wealthy, Not Middle Class
Republicans Expect Economic Boost, but not Personal Tax Cut
 December 3-5, 2017

The Republican tax plan faces opposition from a majority of Americans. Over half disapprove of it – including four in 10 who disapprove strongly, and only one in five Americans expects their own taxes to go down. Though the plan finds support from Republicans who believe it will help the economy overall, only one-third of Republicans expect their own taxes to go down. Large majorities of all political stripes believe the plan will help corporations and the wealthy, but only one in three Americans believes it will help the middle class.

Views of Republican Tax Plan

| | Total | Reps | Dems | Inds |
|------------|-------|------|------|------|
| Approve | 35% | 76% | 7% | 33% |
| Disapprove | 53 | 13 | 84 | 52 |

Partisanship plays more of a factor than income when assessing the Republican plan: Democrats of all income levels tend to oppose the plan, while the plan is favored by Republicans regardless of income.

Few Americans think the plan will lead to lower taxes for them personally, and this is true of Republicans as well, despite their strong support of the plan. One-third of Republicans think their taxes will be lowered; most Democrats expect their own taxes will go up. By almost a 2 to 1 margin, independents are more likely to think they'll go up rather than down.

Under the Plan, You Expect Your Own Taxes To...

| | Total | Reps | Dems | Inds |
|---------------|-------|------|------|------|
| Go up | 41% | 18% | 59% | 40% |
| Go down | 22 | 31 | 14 | 22 |
| Stay the same | 30 | 43 | 22 | 29 |

Most Americans of all political persuasions believe the plan will help large corporations, the wealthy, and Wall Street investors. More think these groups will benefit than think they themselves would. This is the case among Republicans too. Just over half think the plan will help them and their families, a figure that drops to a quarter among Americans overall.

Who Will The Republican Tax Plan Help?

| | Total | Reps | Dems | Inds |
|------------------------|-------|------|------|------|
| Large corporations | 76% | 70% | 86% | 73% |
| Wealthy Americans | 69% | 58% | 80% | 67% |
| Middle Class Americans | 31% | 66% | 7% | 29% |
| You and your family | 24% | 52% | 7% | 21% |

Republican optimism about the plan's effect on the economy may be because Republicans agree with the idea that large corporations will use the money they save from tax cuts to create jobs. Six in 10 Republicans think this will happen. Just over a quarter of Americans overall agree.

Would Corporations Use Tax Cut Money to Create Jobs?

| | Total | Reps | Dems | Inds |
|-----|-------|------|------|------|
| Yes | 28% | 62% | 7% | 26% |
| No | 64 | 31 | 88 | 66 |

Republicans also see some benefits to the Republican tax plan that other Americans do not. Seven in 10 Republicans think the new tax plan will help the economy. This view is shared by just 6% of Democrats and just a third of Americans overall.

The Republican Tax Plan Will Make the Economy...

| | Total | Reps | Dems | Inds |
|-----------|-------|------|------|------|
| Better | 33% | 72% | 6% | 31% |
| Worse | 43 | 7 | 75 | 40 |
| No effect | 16 | 13 | 15 | 19 |

Despite little expectation of tax relief for themselves, more than three in four Republicans say the plan is fair to people like them, a sentiment that cuts across income levels, suggesting that their views are driven more by the prospects for the wider economy. In contrast, nearly nine in 10 Democrats say the plan is unfair.

For People Like You, The Republican Tax Plan Is...

| | Total | Reps | Dems | Inds |
|--------|-------|------|------|------|
| Fair | 38% | 77% | 10% | 37% |
| Unfair | 53 | 12 | 86 | 51 |

Republicans are more apt to say the tax plan favors both large campaign donors and average Americans. But most Americans overall - including eight in 10 Democrats - say the plan favors large campaign donors over average Americans.

The Republican Tax Plan Favors...

| | Total | Reps | Dems | Inds |
|-----------------------|-------|------|------|------|
| Large campaign donors | 54% | 23% | 81% | 53% |
| Average Americans | 10 | 20 | 5 | 9 |
| Both equally | 26 | 44 | 10 | 28 |

While most Democrats and over half of independents think it's just a few people at the top of the economy that have a chance to get ahead, three in four Republicans think the playing field is even.

Republicans are more likely than they were last year to think everyone had a fair chance to get ahead in the U.S.

Who Can Get Ahead in the U.S.?

| | Total | Reps | Dems | Inds |
|-------------------------------------|-------|------|------|------|
| Everyone has a fair chance | 43% | 77% | 20% | 41% |
| Just a few at the top have a chance | 53 | 20 | 76 | 55 |

More than half of Americans say they would be either disappointed or angry if the tax plan is signed into law. Even among Republicans, enthusiasm is somewhat muted. While most Republicans would be satisfied to see the Republican plan enacted, just one in five describe themselves as excited by the prospect.

How Would You Feel if the Republican Tax Plan Becomes Law?

| | Total | Reps | Dems | Inds |
|--------------|-------|------|------|------|
| Excited | 8% | 19% | 1% | 7% |
| Satisfied | 28 | 58 | 6 | 28 |
| Disappointed | 31 | 10 | 47 | 31 |
| Angry | 22 | 3 | 39 | 19 |

Things could still change. Fewer than half of Americans feel they have a good understanding of what the plan will do. Most – 56% - feel they haven't heard enough about it yet, however, of those who say they do have a good understanding, 56% strongly disapprove of the plan.

The Tax Plan: Impact on the Deficit, Social Programs

Republicans are relatively more likely than Democrats or independents to say an increase in the federal budget deficit is acceptable if their own income taxes are lowered.

Acceptable to Increase the Deficit if it Meant Your Taxes Were Lower

| | Total | Reps | Dems | Inds |
|--------------------|-------|------|------|------|
| Yes, acceptable | 33% | 43% | 25% | 33% |
| No, not acceptable | 57 | 44 | 68 | 57 |

But most Republicans don't believe the new tax plan will grow the deficit. 60% of Republicans think the plan will decrease the deficit over time. This view is not shared by most Democrats and independents.

The Republican Tax Plan Will...

| | Total | Reps | Dems | Inds |
|----------------------|-------|------|------|------|
| Increase the deficit | 57% | 31% | 79% | 56% |
| Decrease the deficit | 32 | 60 | 14 | 31 |

And while most Americans overall think the tax cuts will be paid for at least in part with cuts to Medicare and Social Security, most Republicans don't think this will happen.

Will Cuts in Medicare and Social Security be Paying for the Republican Tax Plan?

| | Total | Reps | Dems | Inds |
|----------|-------|------|------|------|
| Will | 61% | 37% | 80% | 59% |
| Will Not | 29 | 51 | 14 | 29 |

Where Republicans agree with most Americans is that changes to the Affordable Care Act – such as the elimination of the individual mandate - should not be part of the Republican tax plan. Still, most Republicans who would prefer that the ACA be left out of the legislation nevertheless approve of the Republican plan in large numbers.

Should Changes to the ACA be Part of the Republican Tax Plan?

| | Total | Reps | Dems | Inds |
|-----|-------|------|------|------|
| Yes | 21% | 24% | 18% | 21% |
| No | 68 | 62 | 72 | 67 |

President Trump

Republicans see the tax plan as Donald Trump keeping a campaign promise.

The Republican Tax Plan Shows That Donald Trump Is... (among Republicans)

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| Keeping a campaign promise | 64% |
| Breaking a campaign promise | 5 |
| Neither | 26 |

Republicans may see this tax plan as the President keeping a campaign promise because they are far less likely than Democrats or independents to see his administration's policies as favoring the rich over other groups.

Who Do Trump Administration's Policies Favor?

| | Total | Reps | Dems | Inds |
|--------------------|-------|------|------|------|
| Rich | 63% | 24% | 94% | 61% |
| Middle Class | 8 | 18 | 2 | 8 |
| Poor | 1 | 2 | * | 1 |
| Treat all the same | 22 | 46 | 3 | 23 |

President Trump's handling of both tax policy and the deficit is met with disapproval among most Americans, but large majorities of Republicans approve. Of the issues asked about in the poll, he gets his highest approval rating from Americans on his handling of the economy.

64% say the nation's economy is in good shape. The public's views of the economy have been positive for the past year.

President Trump Job Ratings – Specifics

| | Approve | Disapprove |
|------------|---------|------------|
| Economy | 42% | 52 |
| Tax policy | 35% | 55 |
| Deficit | 33% | 55 |

Overall, 36% of Americans approve of the job Donald Trump is doing as president, while 57% disapprove. That's a slight dip in his approval since late October, but similar to where it was in September. Most Republicans continue to approve, while Democrats overwhelmingly disapprove.

President Trump's Job Rating

| | Now | 10/2017 | 9/2017 |
|------------|-----|---------|--------|
| Approve | 36% | 39% | 35% |
| Disapprove | 57 | 55 | 55 |

This poll was conducted by telephone December 3-5, 2017 among a random sample of 1,120 adults nationwide. Data collection was conducted on behalf of CBS News by SSRS of Glen Mills, PA. Phone numbers were dialed from samples of both standard land-line and cell phones.

The poll employed a random digit dial methodology. For the landline sample, a respondent was randomly selected from all adults in the household. For the cell sample, interviews were conducted with the person who answered the phone.

Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish using live interviewers. The data have been weighted to reflect U.S. Census figures on demographic variables.

The error due to sampling for results based on the entire sample could be plus or minus four percentage points. The error for subgroups may be higher and is available by request. The margin of error includes the effects of standard weighting procedures which enlarge sampling error slightly.

This poll release conforms to the Standards of Disclosure of the National Council on Public Polls.

CBS NEWS POLL

Americans Say Tax Plan Helps Wealthy, Not Middle Class

December 3-5, 2017

Q1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president?

| | ** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ** | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| | Total | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| | % | % | % | % |
| Approve | 36 | 77 | 6 | 37 |
| Disapprove | 57 | 17 | 92 | 54 |
| Don't know/No answer | 6 | 7 | 2 | 9 |

Q2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling the economy?

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Approve | 42 | 83 | 8 | 45 |
| Disapprove | 52 | 10 | 87 | 49 |
| Don't know/No answer | 6 | 6 | 5 | 6 |

Q3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling tax policy?

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Approve | 35 | 76 | 6 | 34 |
| Disapprove | 55 | 12 | 87 | 55 |
| Don't know/No answer | 10 | 12 | 7 | 11 |

Q4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling the budget deficit?

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Approve | 33 | 71 | 6 | 32 |
| Disapprove | 55 | 14 | 87 | 53 |
| Don't know/No answer | 12 | 14 | 7 | 15 |

Q5. How would you rate the condition of the national economy these days? Is it very good, fairly good, fairly bad, or very bad?

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Very good | 15 | 30 | 5 | 14 |
| Fairly good | 49 | 57 | 43 | 48 |
| Fairly bad | 22 | 8 | 33 | 21 |
| Very bad | 12 | 3 | 15 | 14 |
| Don't know/No answer | 3 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Q6. Do you think the economy is getting better, getting worse, or staying about the same?

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Better | 36 | 73 | 13 | 32 |
| Worse | 24 | 9 | 35 | 24 |
| Same | 40 | 18 | 51 | 43 |
| Don't know/No answer | 1 | - | 1 | 1 |

Q7. In general, do you think the policies of the Trump administration favor the rich, favor the middle class, favor the poor, or do they treat all groups the same?

| | ** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ** | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| | Total | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| | % | % | % | % |
| Rich | 63 | 24 | 94 | 61 |
| Middle class | 8 | 18 | 2 | 8 |
| Poor | 1 | 2 | * | 1 |
| Treat all groups the same | 22 | 46 | 3 | 23 |
| Don't know/No answer | 6 | 9 | * | 8 |

Q8. Which comes closer to your view? In today's economy, everyone has a fair chance to get ahead in the long run or in today's economy, it's mainly just a few people at the top who have a chance to get ahead?

| | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Everyone has a fair chance | 43 | 77 | 20 | 41 |
| Just a few people at top get ahead | 53 | 20 | 76 | 55 |
| Don't know/No answer | 4 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Q9. In general, would it be acceptable to have an increase in the federal budget deficit if it meant that your own federal income taxes were lower, or would this not be acceptable?

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Acceptable | 33 | 43 | 25 | 33 |
| Not acceptable | 57 | 44 | 68 | 57 |
| Don't know/No answer | 10 | 14 | 7 | 10 |

Q10. Do you favor or oppose building a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border to try to stop illegal immigration?

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Favor | 36 | 71 | 11 | 35 |
| Oppose | 61 | 26 | 88 | 61 |
| Don't know/No answer | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 |

Q11. In general, do you favor or oppose allowing young immigrants who were brought to the U.S. illegally as children to remain in the country if they meet certain requirements such as going to school or joining the military, and not having a criminal record?

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Favor | 84 | 74 | 93 | 82 |
| Oppose | 14 | 23 | 7 | 14 |
| Don't know/No answer | 2 | 4 | * | 3 |

Q12-q20 FOR FUTURE RELEASE

Q25. From what you have heard or read, do you approve or disapprove of the Republican tax plan?

| | ** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ** | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| | Total | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| | % | % | % | % |
| Strongly approve | 16 | 46 | 2 | 10 |
| Somewhat approve | 19 | 30 | 5 | 23 |
| Somewhat disapprove | 13 | 7 | 13 | 16 |
| Strongly disapprove | 40 | 6 | 71 | 36 |
| Don't know/No answer | 12 | 12 | 8 | 15 |

Q26. Do you feel you have a good understanding of what the Republican tax plan would do, or haven't you heard enough about it yet?

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Good understanding | 43 | 48 | 48 | 37 |
| Haven't heard enough yet | 56 | 51 | 51 | 61 |
| Don't know/No answer | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |

Q27. Which best describes how you would feel if the Republican tax plan is signed into law?

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Excited | 8 | 19 | 1 | 7 |
| Satisfied | 28 | 58 | 6 | 28 |
| Disappointed | 31 | 10 | 47 | 31 |
| Angry | 22 | 3 | 39 | 19 |
| Don't know/No answer | 11 | 10 | 8 | 15 |

Q28. From what you have heard or read, overall, does the Republican tax plan seem fair to people like you, or seem unfair to people like you?

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Fair to people like you | 38 | 77 | 10 | 37 |
| Unfair to people like you | 53 | 12 | 86 | 51 |
| Don't know/No answer | 9 | 11 | 4 | 12 |

Q29. Overall, do you expect your own taxes to go up, go down, or stay the same under the Republican tax plan?

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Go up | 41 | 18 | 59 | 40 |
| Go down | 22 | 31 | 14 | 22 |
| Stay the same | 30 | 43 | 22 | 29 |
| Don't know/No answer | 7 | 9 | 5 | 8 |

Q30. From what you know of the Republican tax plan, do you think the plan is a sign of Donald Trump keeping a campaign promise, breaking a campaign promise, or neither?

| | ** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ** | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| | Total | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| | % | % | % | % |
| Keeping a campaign promise | 33 | 64 | 20 | 25 |
| Breaking a campaign promise | 23 | 5 | 35 | 23 |
| Neither | 38 | 26 | 39 | 44 |
| Don't know/No answer | 6 | 5 | 5 | 7 |

Q31. Do you think the Republican tax plan favors average Americans over large campaign donors, favors large campaign donors over average Americans, or treats both groups equally?

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Average Americans | 10 | 20 | 5 | 9 |
| Large campaign donors | 54 | 23 | 81 | 53 |
| Both equally | 26 | 44 | 10 | 28 |
| Don't know/No answer | 9 | 13 | 4 | 11 |

Q32. Please tell me whether you think the Republican tax plan will help, hurt, or have no effect on each of the following? How about...?

a. Large corporations

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Help | 76 | 70 | 86 | 73 |
| Hurt | 5 | 8 | 3 | 6 |
| No effect | 12 | 14 | 8 | 14 |
| Don't know/No answer | 6 | 9 | 3 | 7 |

b. Small businesses

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Help | 34 | 65 | 15 | 32 |
| Hurt | 41 | 15 | 66 | 38 |
| No effect | 13 | 9 | 10 | 18 |
| Don't know/No answer | 11 | 12 | 9 | 12 |

c. Middle-class Americans

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Help | 31 | 66 | 7 | 29 |
| Hurt | 46 | 11 | 77 | 42 |
| No effect | 17 | 16 | 13 | 21 |
| Don't know/No answer | 6 | 7 | 3 | 8 |

d. Wealthy Americans

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Help | 69 | 58 | 80 | 67 |
| Hurt | 8 | 10 | 4 | 9 |
| No effect | 16 | 23 | 12 | 16 |
| Don't know/No answer | 7 | 9 | 4 | 8 |

Q32. Please tell me whether you think the Republican tax plan will help, hurt, or have no effect on each of the following? How about...?

e. You and your family

| | ** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ** | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| | Total % | Rep % | Dem % | Ind % |
| Help | 24 | 52 | 7 | 21 |
| Hurt | 44 | 10 | 73 | 42 |
| No effect | 25 | 30 | 16 | 30 |
| Don't know/No answer | 6 | 8 | 4 | 7 |

f. Wall Street investors

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Help | 66 | 59 | 77 | 61 |
| Hurt | 6 | 8 | 5 | 5 |
| No effect | 17 | 17 | 11 | 21 |
| Don't know/No answer | 12 | 16 | 7 | 13 |

g. Poor Americans

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Help | 24 | 48 | 4 | 25 |
| Hurt | 55 | 21 | 86 | 52 |
| No effect | 15 | 24 | 8 | 16 |
| Don't know/No answer | 6 | 7 | 3 | 7 |

h. Large political donors

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Help | 64 | 46 | 80 | 63 |
| Hurt | 6 | 9 | 4 | 6 |
| No effect | 19 | 29 | 13 | 19 |
| Don't know/No answer | 11 | 17 | 4 | 12 |

Q33. Do you think the Republican tax plan will make the economy better, make the economy worse, or not affect the economy?

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Better | 33 | 72 | 6 | 31 |
| Worse | 43 | 7 | 75 | 40 |
| No effect | 16 | 13 | 15 | 19 |
| Don't know/No answer | 8 | 7 | 4 | 11 |

Q34. If taxes are reduced on large corporations do you think they will mostly use that money to hire more American workers and create jobs, or will they mostly keep that money for themselves and their shareholders?

| | ** TOTAL RESPONDENTS ** | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| | Total | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| | % | % | % | % |
| Hire and create more jobs | 28 | 62 | 7 | 26 |
| Keep money for shareholders | 64 | 31 | 88 | 66 |
| Don't know/No answer | 7 | 7 | 5 | 9 |

Q35. Do you think changes to the 2010 Affordable Care Act should be included in any new tax plan, or kept separate from any new tax plan?

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Should be included | 21 | 24 | 18 | 21 |
| Should be kept separate | 68 | 62 | 72 | 67 |
| Don't know/No answer | 12 | 14 | 10 | 12 |

Q36. Do you think the effect of the Republican tax plan will increase the federal deficit over time, or decrease the federal deficit over time?

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Increase deficit | 57 | 31 | 79 | 56 |
| Decrease deficit | 32 | 60 | 14 | 31 |
| No difference (vol.) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know/No answer | 9 | 9 | 7 | 11 |

Q37. In order to help pay for the Republican tax plan, do you think there will or will not be cuts in benefits for Medicare and Social Security recipients?

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Will | 61 | 37 | 80 | 59 |
| Will not | 29 | 51 | 14 | 29 |
| Medicare, not Social Security (vol.) | 1 | * | 2 | * |
| Social Security, not Medicare (vol.) | - | - | - | - |
| Don't know/No answer | 10 | 12 | 4 | 12 |

Q38. Thinking about your household income, would you say that it is more than enough so that you can save money or buy some extras, just enough to meet your bills and obligations, or is it not enough to meet your bills and obligations?

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----|----|----|----|
| Can save and buy extras | 30 | 41 | 20 | 30 |
| Just enough to pay bills | 45 | 47 | 49 | 41 |
| Not enough to pay bills, etc. | 24 | 9 | 30 | 27 |
| Don't know/No answer | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |

| | <u>UNWEIGHTED</u> | <u>WEIGHTED</u> |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Total Respondents | 1,120 | |
| Total Republicans | 275 | 267 |
| Total Democrats | 364 | 354 |
| Total Independents | 481 | 500 |