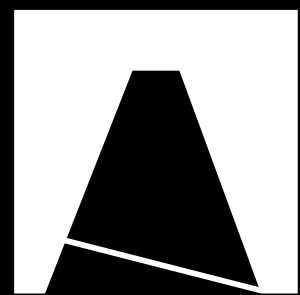


SWING STATE HOUSING POLL



Right to
the City
Action



THE BASICS

5 battleground states: AZ, MI, NC, NV, PA

500 voters per state with an over sample of 100 voters 18-35 in each state

Weighted for renters vs. homeowners

RESEARCH GOALS

- **Validate (or invalidate) belief that permanently affordable housing is a huge underappreciated issue in the election.**
- **Test a battery of proposed policy solutions to address the affordable housing crisis.**
- **Test specific messaging around housing solutions.**
- **Gain insights into how voters perceive “social housing”**



METHODOLOGY

Respondent Universe

Registered voters in Arizona, Michigan, North Carolina, Nevada, and Pennsylvania with oversamples of young voters age 18-35 in each state

Total Sample Size

Base N = 500 in each state, 2500
18-35 OS N = 100 in each state, 500 total

Methodology

Survey interviews were collected online from April 8th – April 20th, 2024.

Overall Margin of Error

±3.1% for registered voters

±9.8% for unregistered voters

SECTION ONE

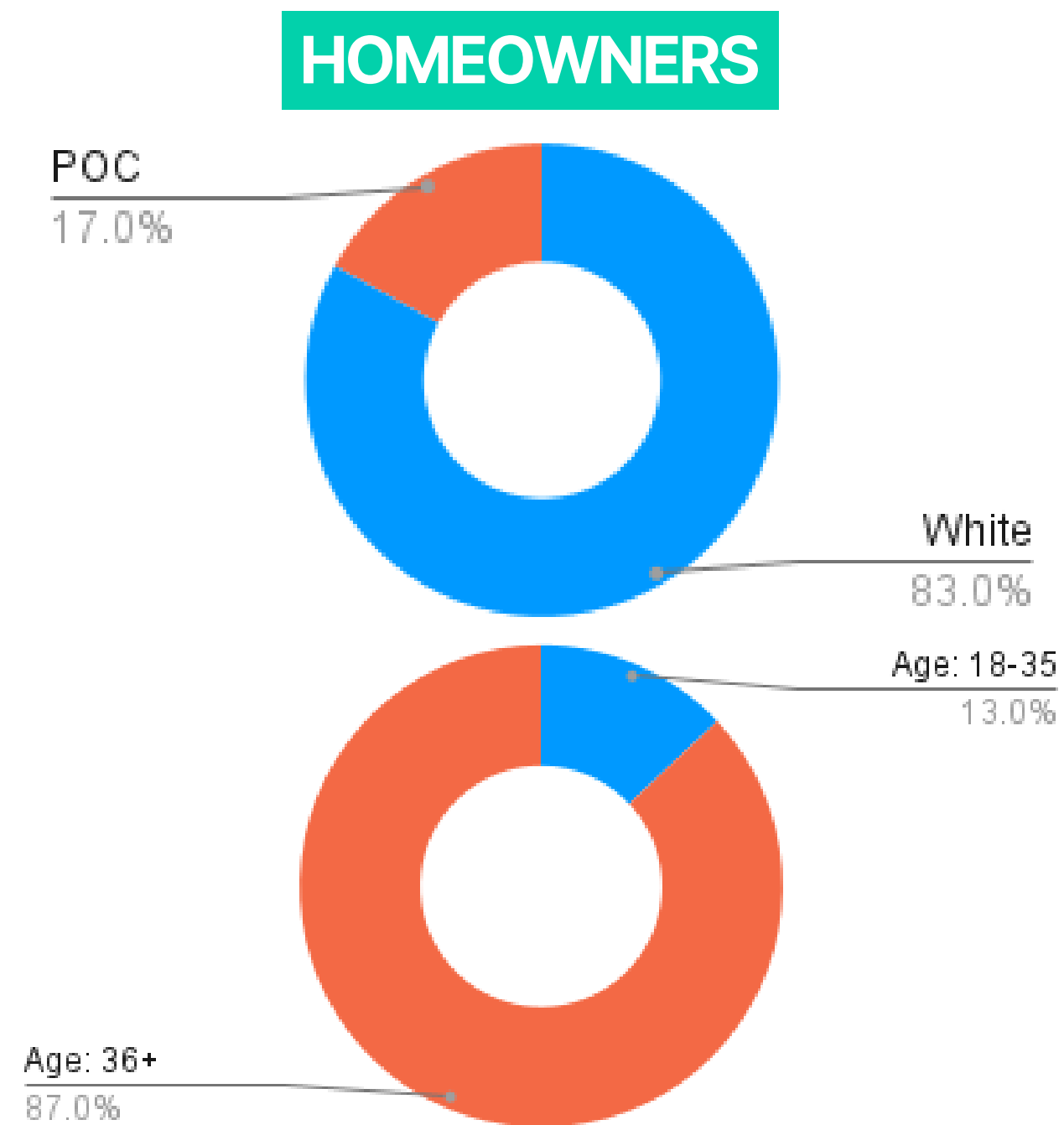
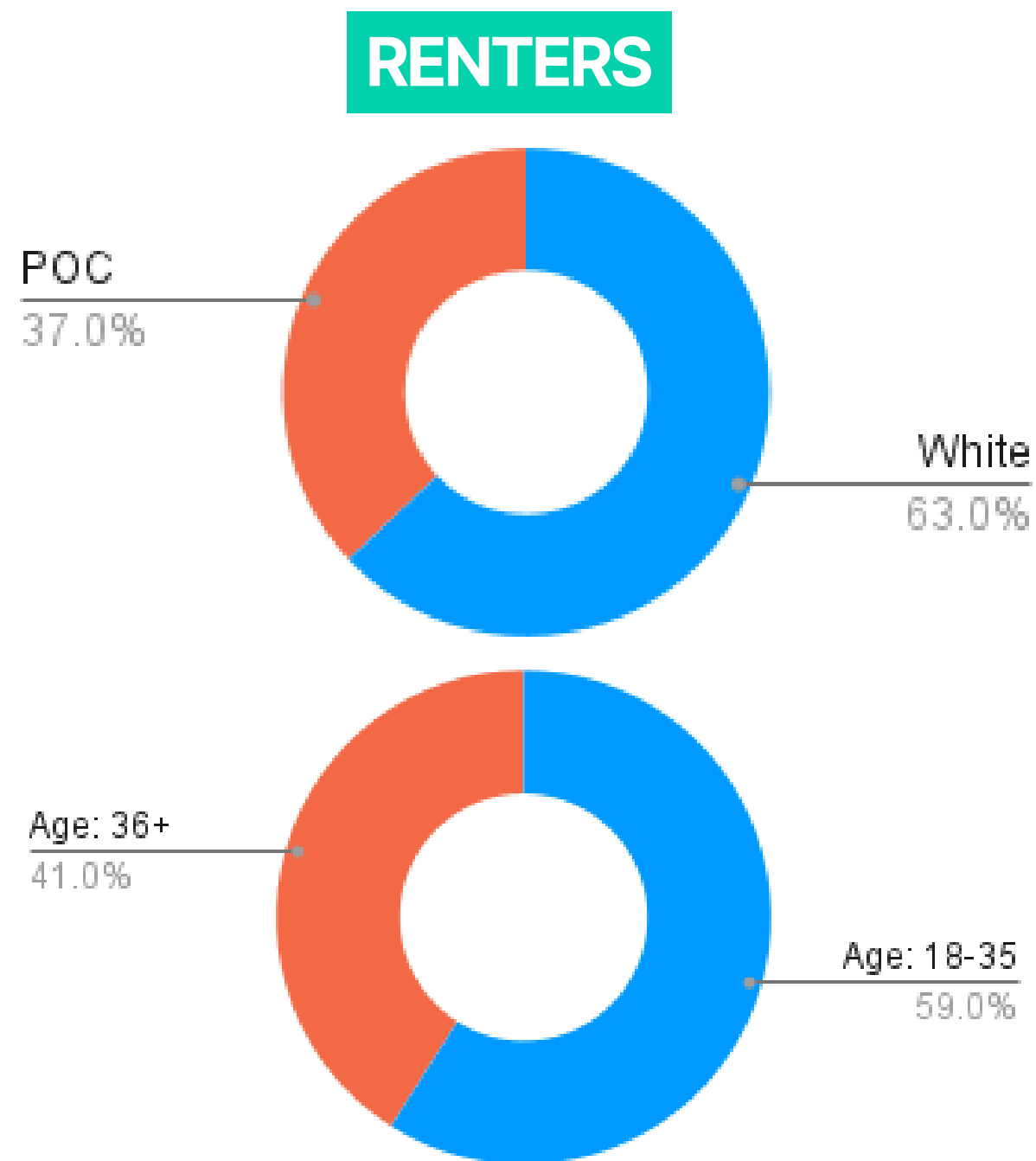
RENTERS AND HOMEOWNERS
DEMOGRAPHIC AND POLITICAL COMPARISON

KEY TAKE AWAY

Renters are more diverse and more progressive than homeowners. However there is a significant enthusiasm gap between renters and homeowners.

HOMEOWNERS AND RENTERS COMPARISON

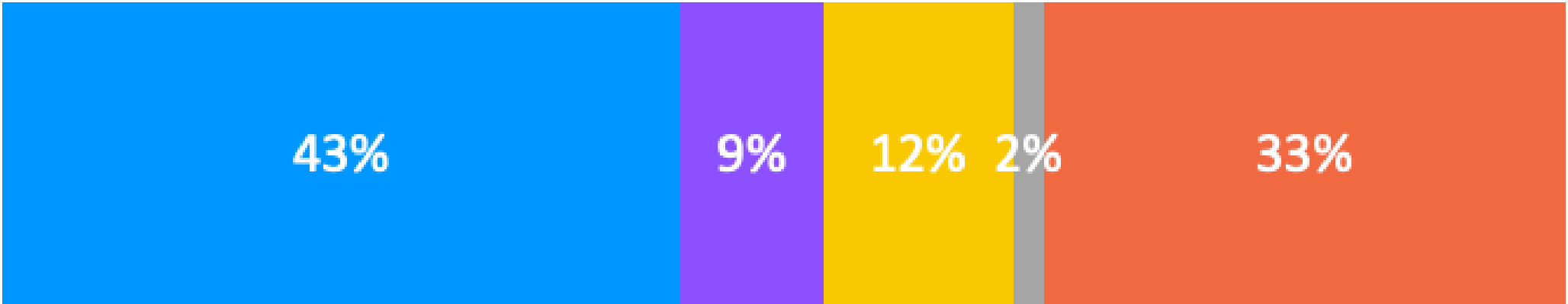
Renters are more diverse and significantly younger than homeowners



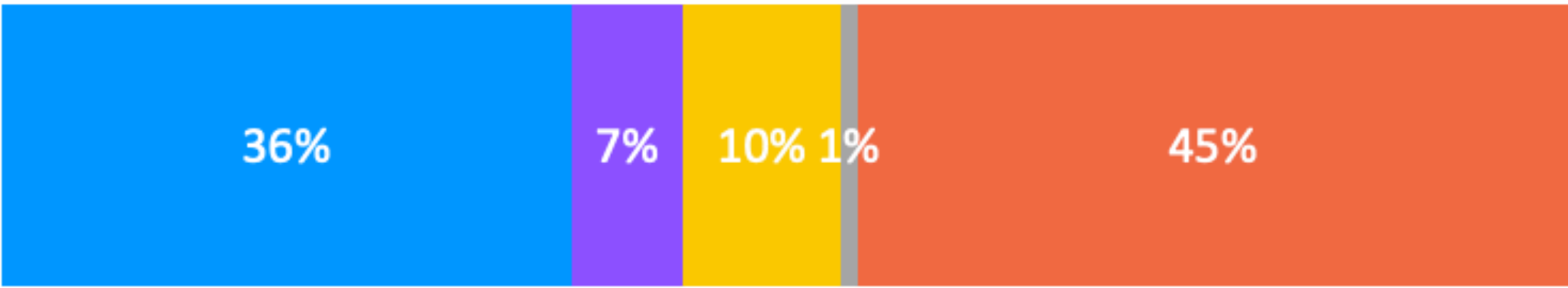
HOMEOWNERS AND RENTERS COMPARISON

VOTE CHOICE

RENTERS



HOMEOWNERS

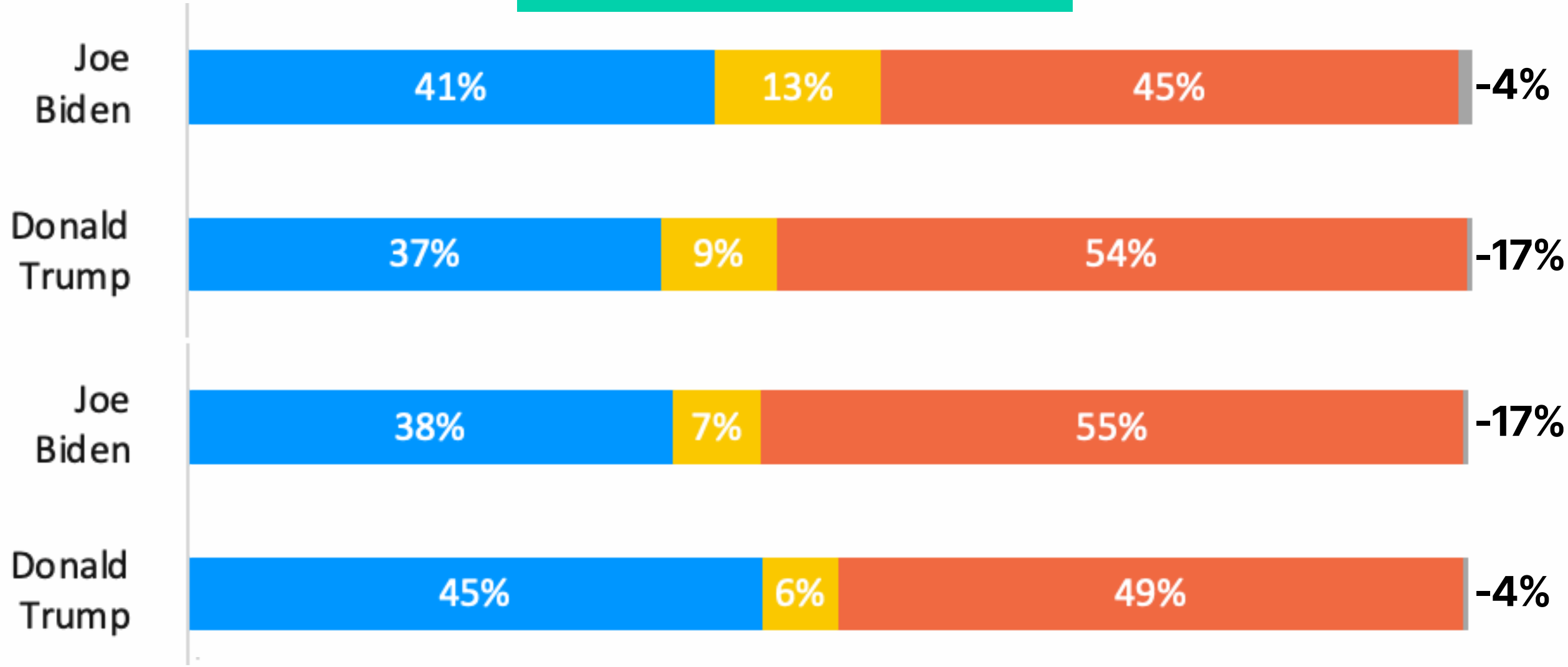


■ Joe Biden ■ Ind/Third party candidate ■ Undecided
■ Will not vote ■ Donald Trump

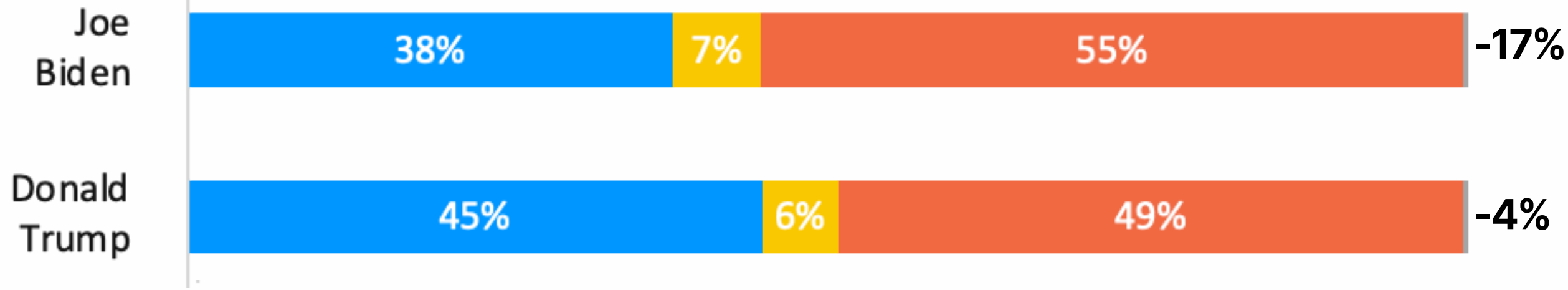
HOMEOWNERS AND RENTERS COMPARISON

FAVORABILITY

RENTERS



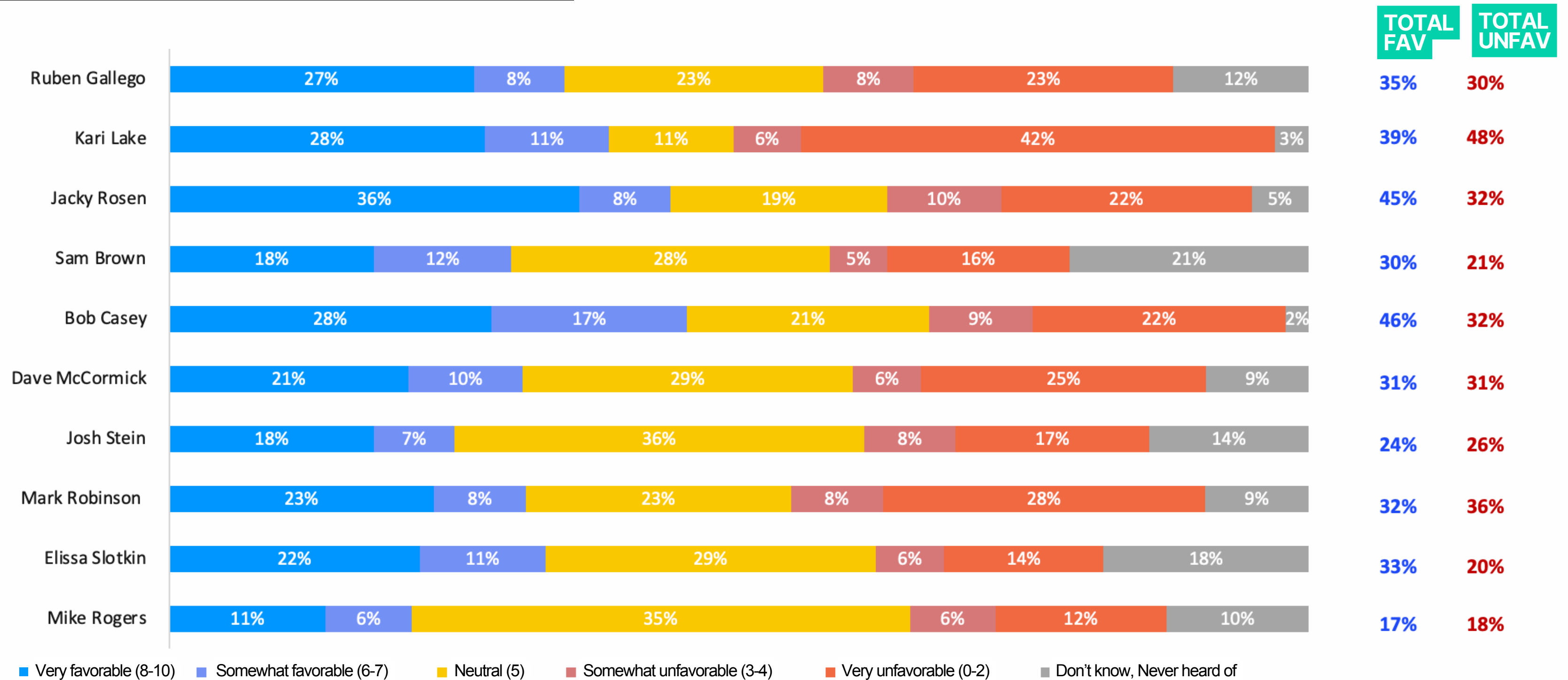
HOMEOWNERS



■ Favorable (6-10) ■ Neutral (5) ■ Not unfavorable (0-4) ■ Don't know/Never heard of

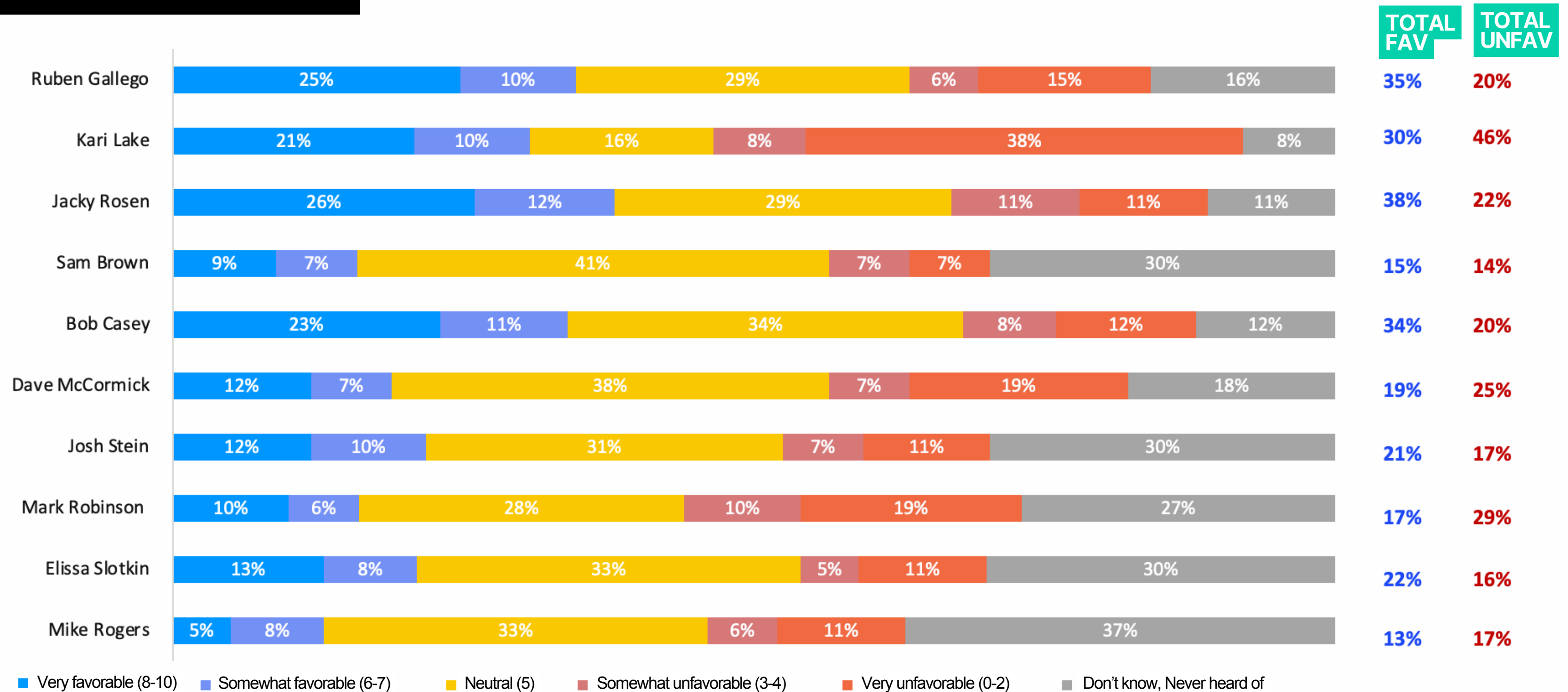
HOMEOWNERS

Q14. Now, we'd like you to rate how you feel about some people and some groups of people using a scale from 0 to 10, where "10" means that you feel VERY WARM and FAVORABLE towards them, "5" means that you feel neither warm or cold (neutral), and "0" means that you feel VERY COLD and UNFAVORABLE towards them.



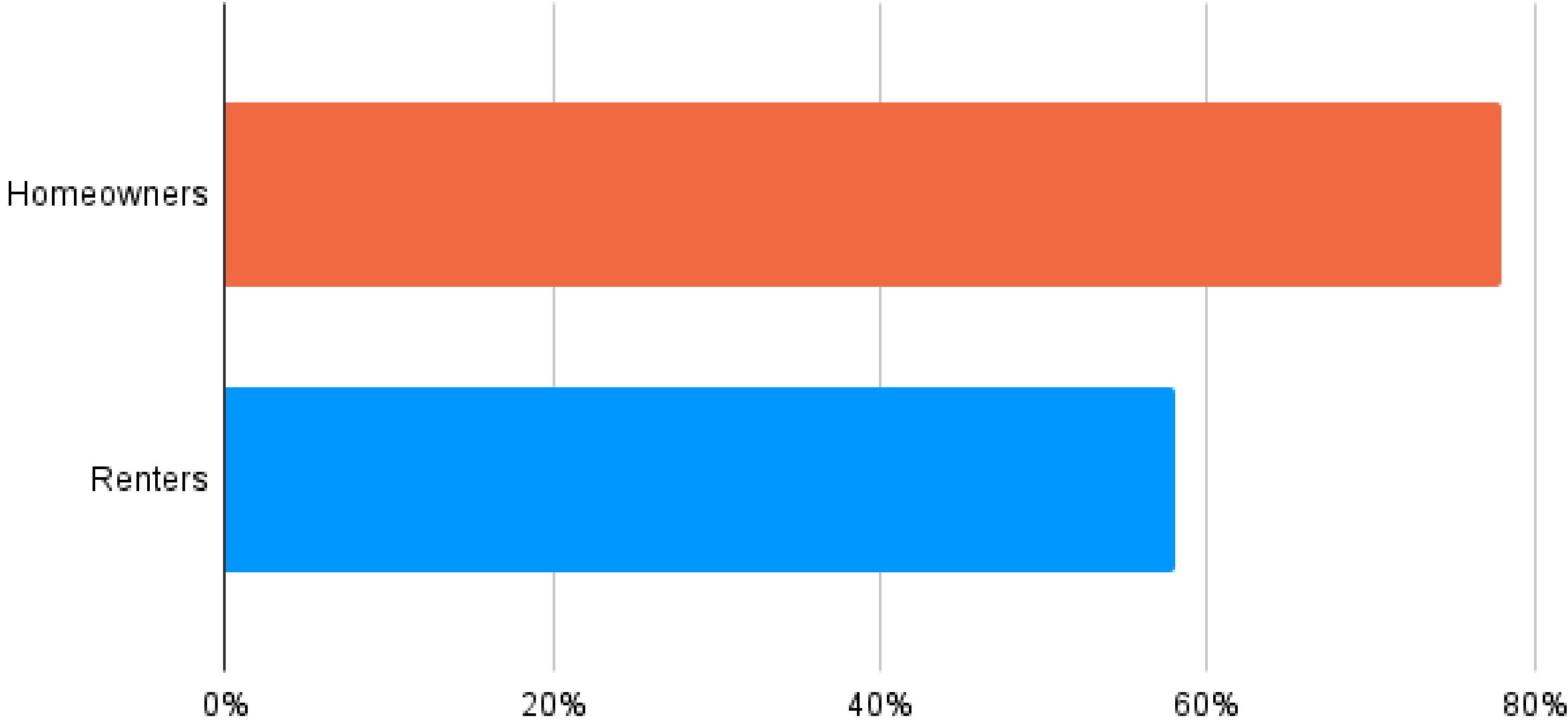
RENTERS

Q14. Now, we'd like you to rate how you feel about some people and some groups of people using a scale from 0 to 10, where "10" means that you feel VERY WARM and FAVORABLE towards them, "5" means that you feel neither warm or cold (neutral), and "0" means that you feel VERY COLD and UNFAVORABLE towards them.



VOTER ENTHUSIASM

% Say they "definitely" will vote



SECTION TWO

VOTER ATTITUDES ON THE
COST OF HOUSING AND RENT

KEY TAKE AWAY

For all voters, but younger voters and renters especially, there is a massive gap between how little they hear politicians talk about issues of housing affordability and rent and how big an impact that issue has on their personal situation.

HOW ARE VOTERS THINKING ABOUT HOUSING COSTS, AND WHAT ARE THEY HEARING FROM POLITICIANS?

Question 1: As we head into an election year you might hear politicians talking about many different issues. How much would you say political leaders are addressing each issue?

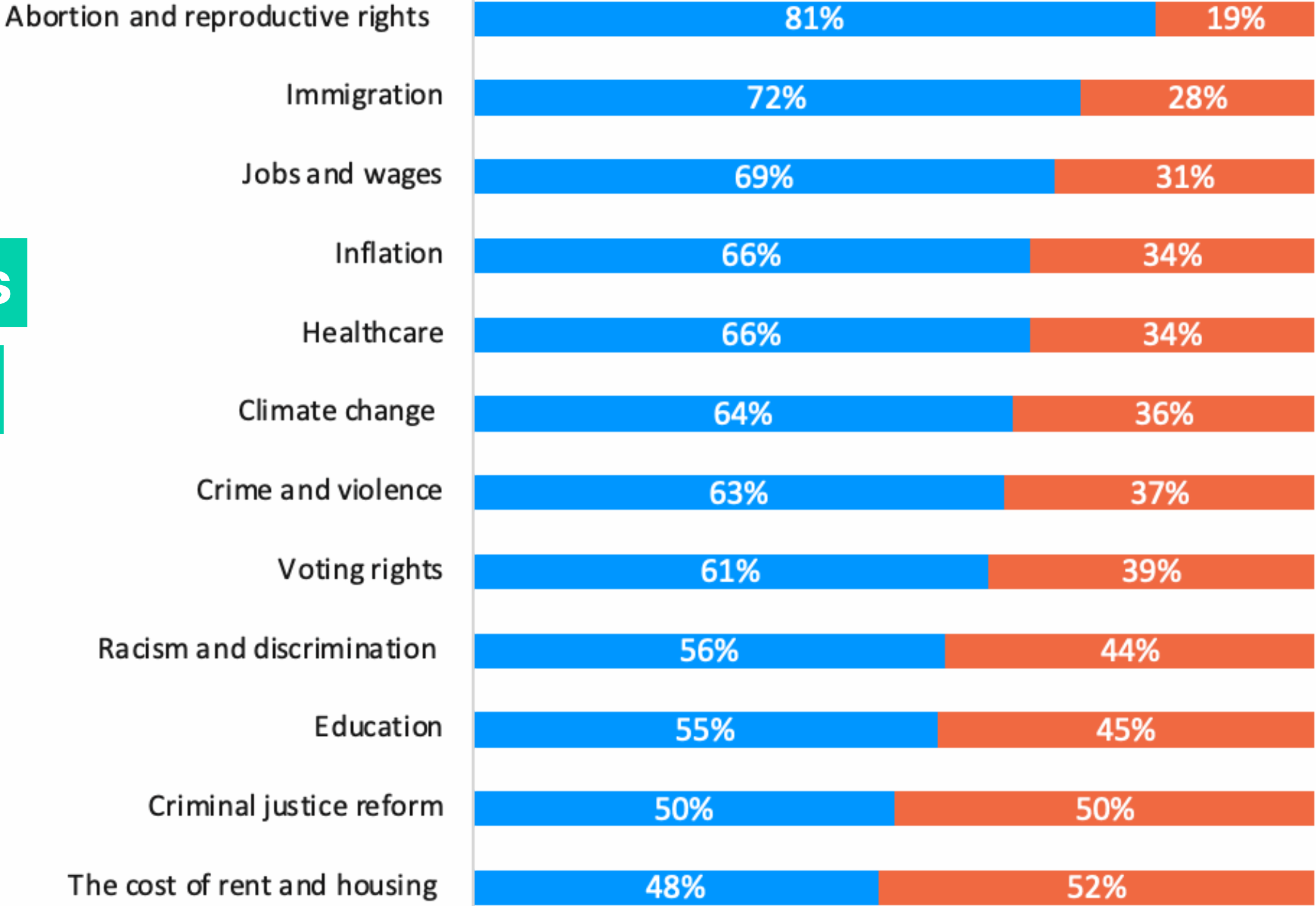
Question 2: Now, here's the same list of issues your lawmakers could work on. For each issue, please tell me how much it would improve your own personal situation if your lawmakers prioritized working on that issue?



ALL VOTERS

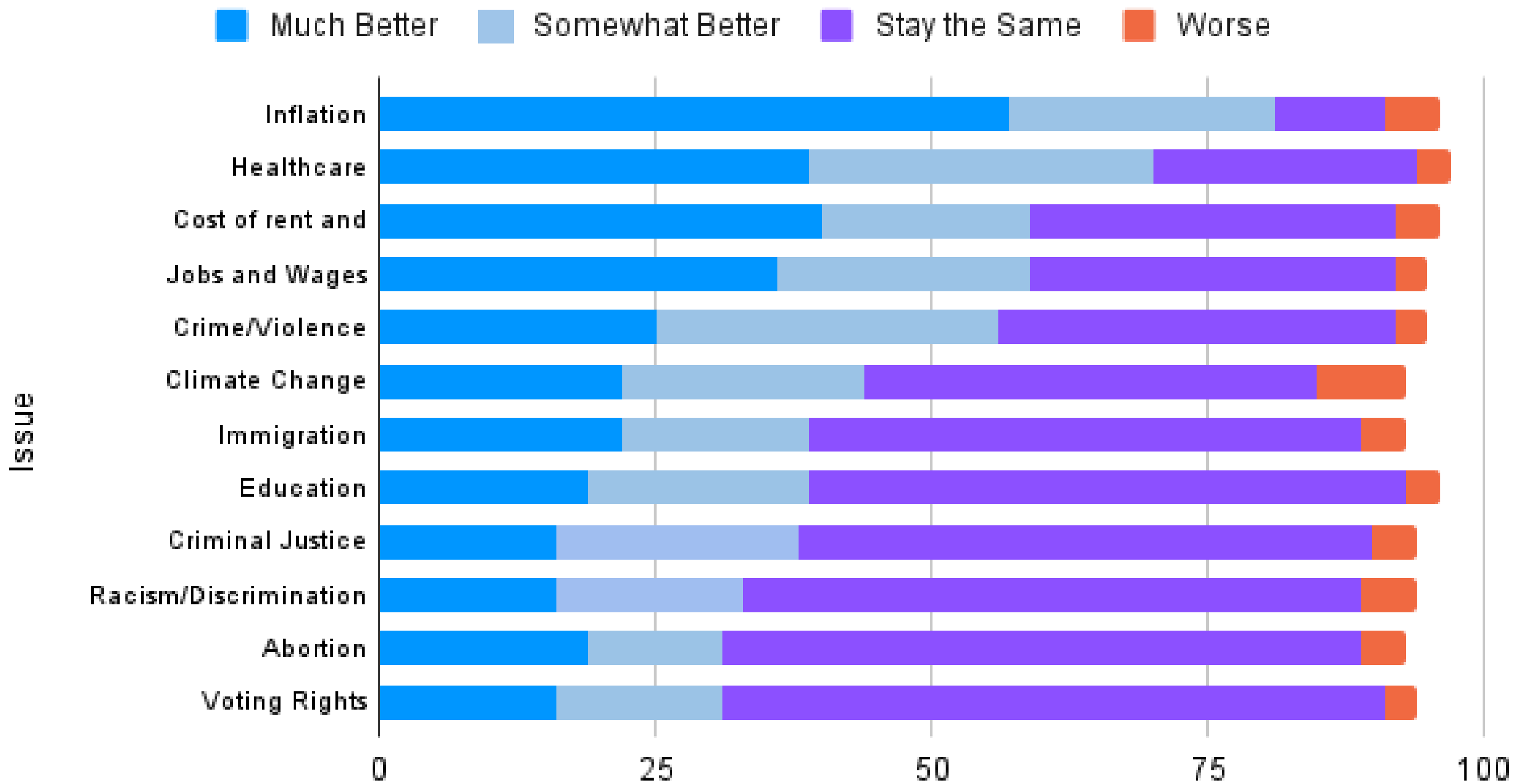
How much are voters hearing politicians address each issue?

- “a lot” or “some”
- “not much” or “not at all”



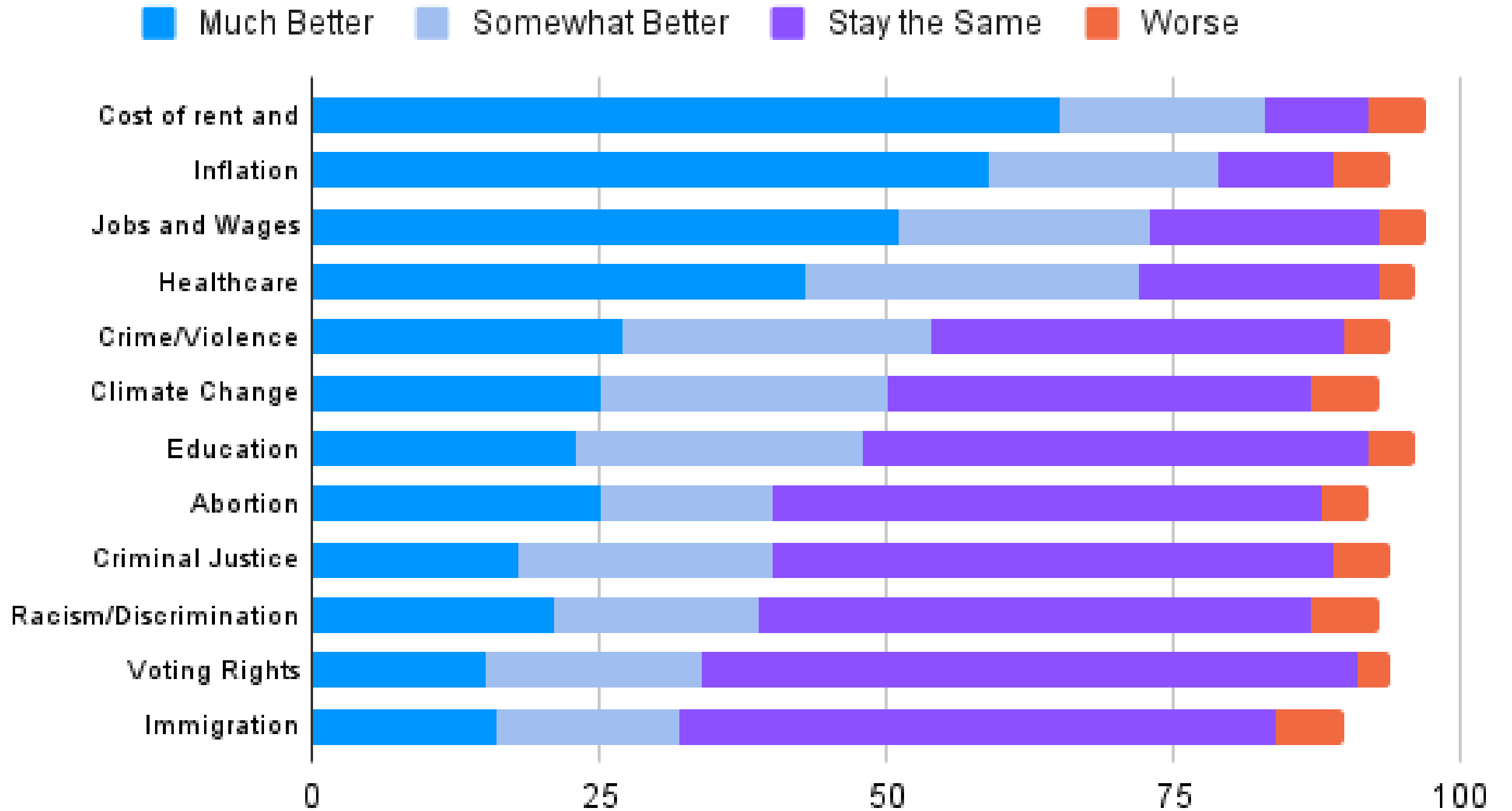
ALL VOTERS

How much would it improve your personal situation if politicians prioritized that issue?



RENTERS

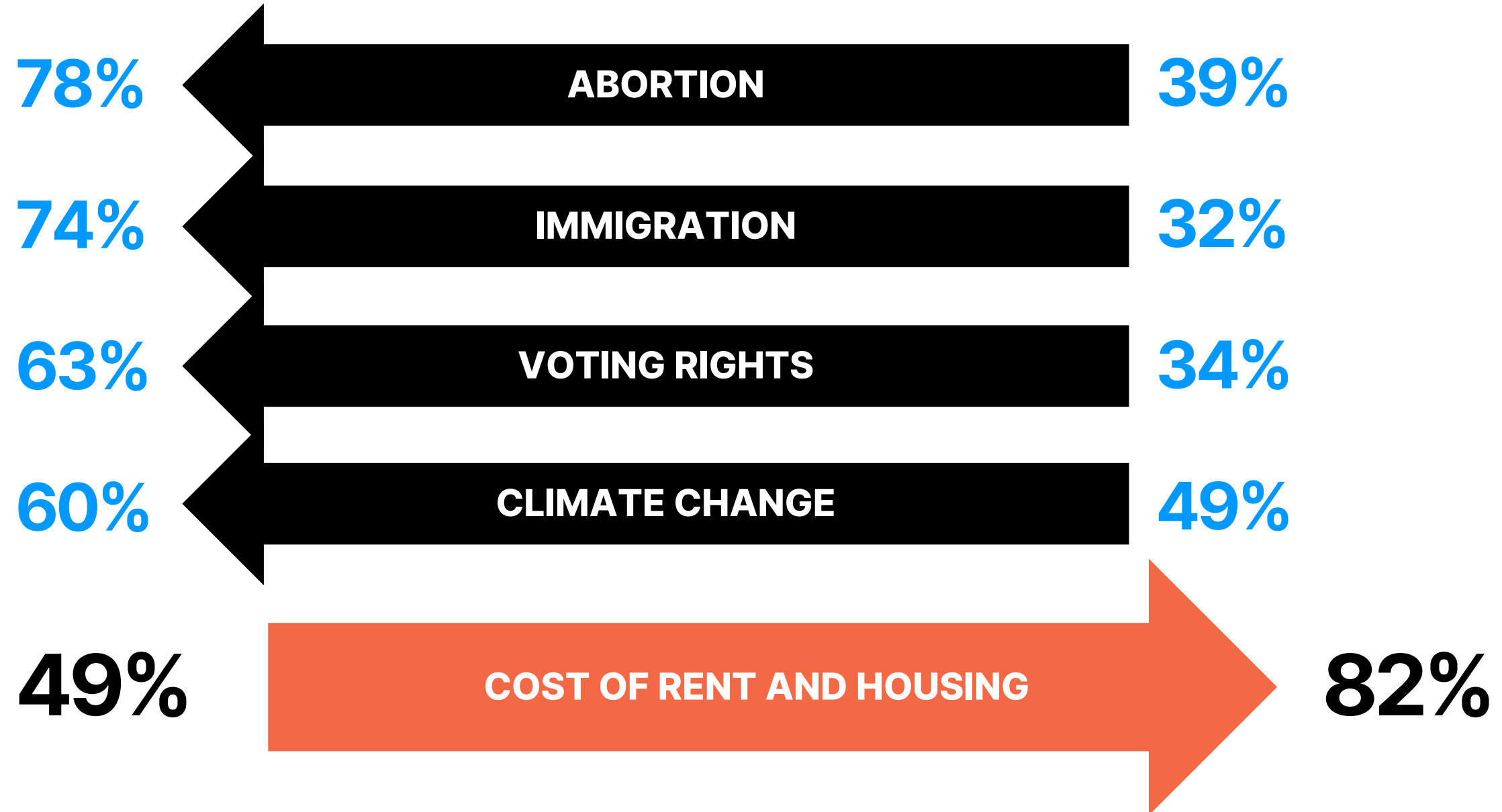
How much would it improve your personal situation if politicians prioritized that issue?



RENTERS

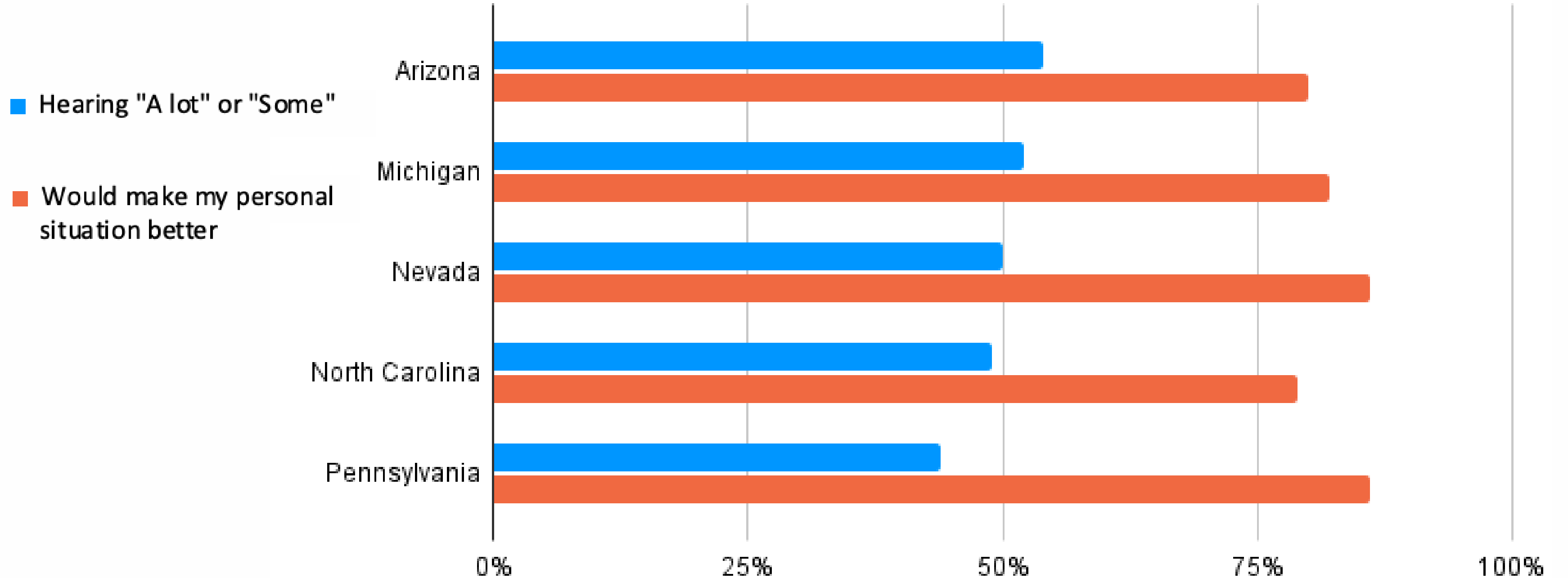
Politicians are addressing / talking about a lot or some

Make my personal situation better or much better if lawmakers prioritized



RENTERS

Across all states, there is a massive gap between how big a priority the cost of rent is for them personally, and how little they are hearing politicians talk about it



SECTION THREE SOLUTIONS

KEY TAKE AWAY

For all voters, but especially renters, progressive solutions – especially direct government involvement in addressing the cost of rent and lack of affordable housing – are very popular. These proposals are more popular than more market based solutions like tax incentives.

VOTERS WERE SHOWN VARIOUS PROPOSALS TO ADDRESS HOUSING COSTS

[RENT STABILIZATION] Enact rent stabilization rules that limit annual rent increases in rental housing to a small increase that cannot be higher than increases in the cost of living.

[SOCIAL SERVICES] Increase funding for supportive housing that combines low-cost housing with social services to help homeless people and others with special needs like substance abuse, mental health, or disabilities.

[AFFORDABLE HOUSING] Commit significant government funding to create more permanently affordable rental housing.

[HOUSING VOUCHERS] Expand government housing vouchers that provide rental assistance funding for individuals and families who cannot otherwise afford to pay rent.

[OFFICE OF SOCIAL HOUSING] Create a new government office that would be responsible for creating permanently affordable housing for all who need it.

[GOOD CAUSE FOR EVICTION] End arbitrary evictions and require landlords to renew leases of current tenants unless the landlord had a good cause not to renew, such as failure to pay rent or other violations of the lease.

[CORPORATE HOUSING] Prohibit large corporations and hedge funds from owning single-family rental units and require those kinds of corporations to sell properties they currently own to tenants, not-for-profit organizations or other non-corporate buyers

[LEGAL REPRESENTATION] Guarantee legal representation for tenants in housing court facing eviction to make it easier for tenants to remain in their homes

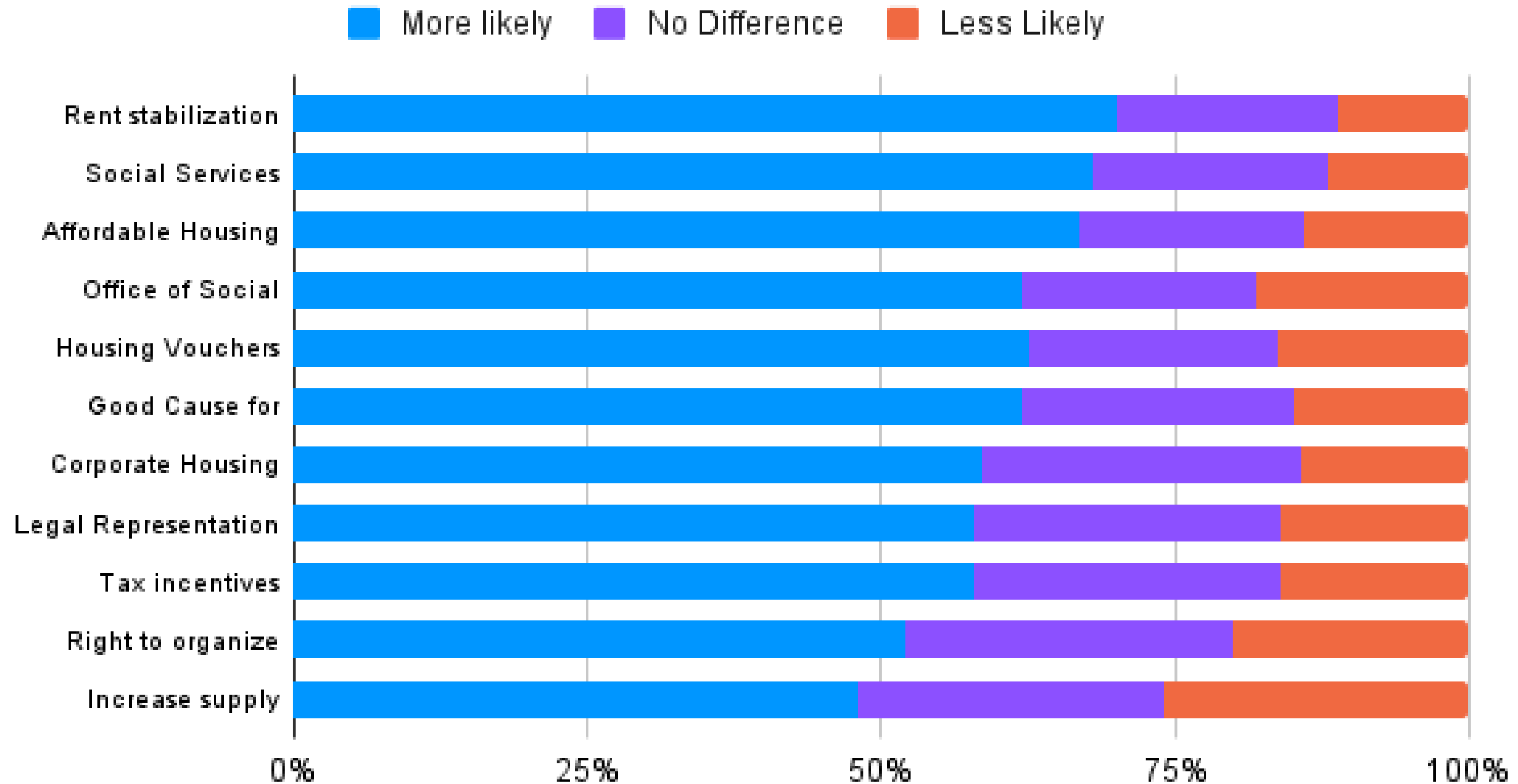
[TAX INCENTIVES] Provide tax incentives for real estate developers to build more rental housing and let market forces lower prices.

[INCREASE SUPPLY] Eliminate regulations and permitting requirements that slow the construction of new housing and limit the supply of available housing, driving prices up.

[RIGHT TO ORGANIZE] Give tenants the right to organize tenant unions that can collectively bargain with landlords about rent and repairs, like workers in unions can collectively bargain with employers

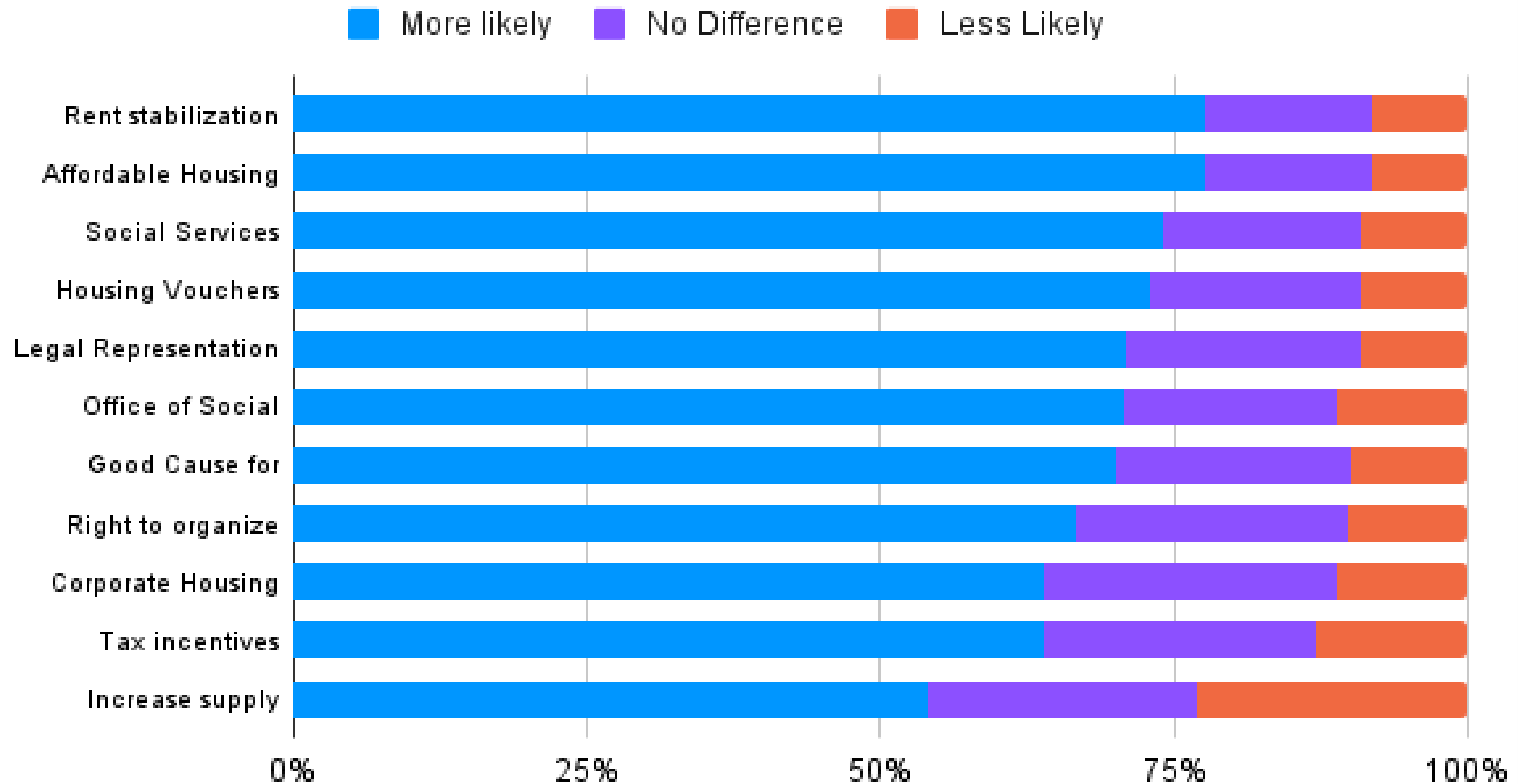
ALL VOTERS

Q20: Rate each proposal on a scale of 0-10 where a 10 means you would be MUCH MORE likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan, a 5 means it would make no difference in your vote if a candidate supports that plan, and a 0 means you would be MUCH LESS likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan.



RENTERS

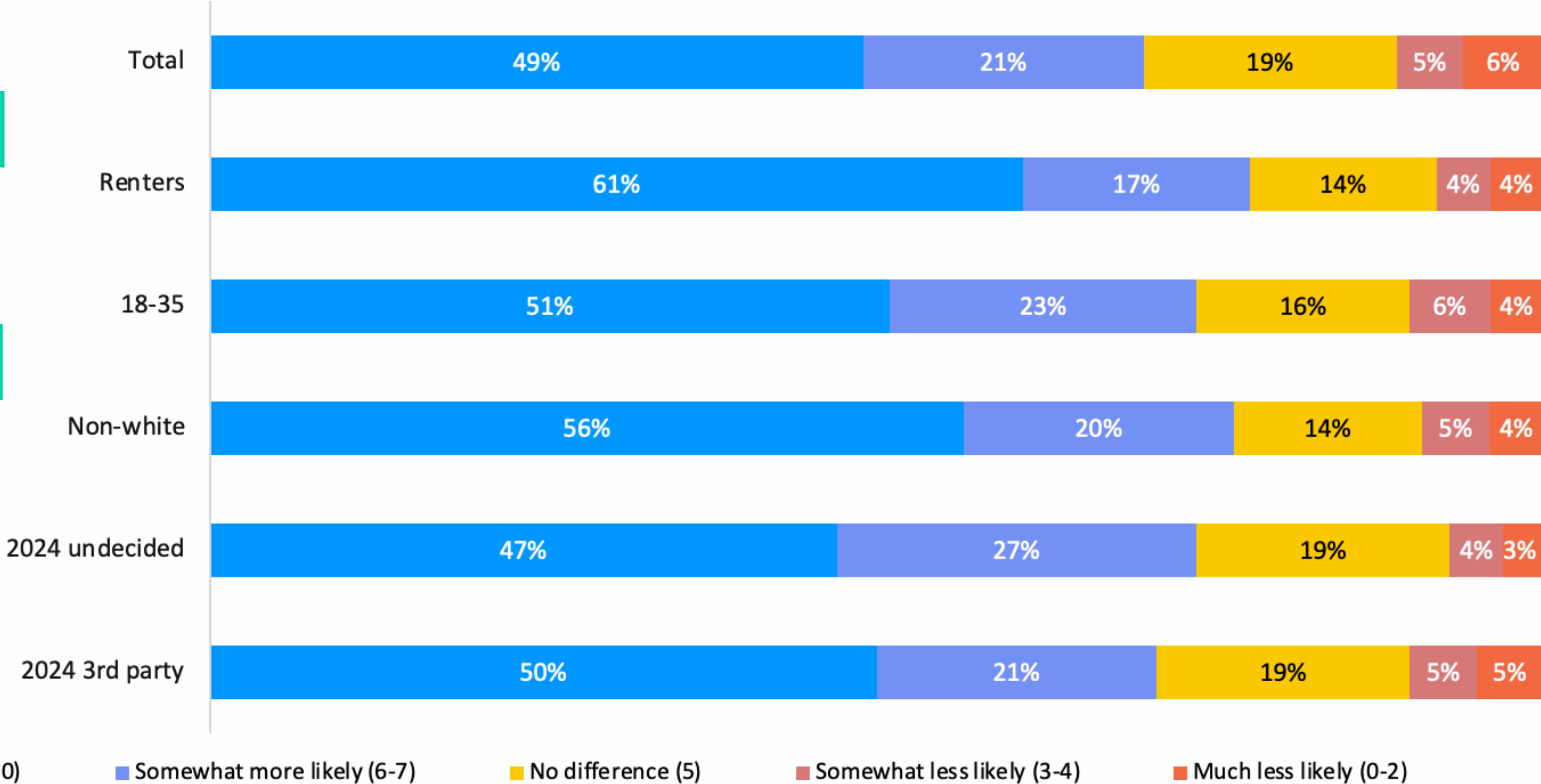
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ALL STATES

Q20. As we head into an election year, you may hear political candidates supporting different plans to address housing issues in [STATE]. Rate each proposal on a scale of 0-10 where a 10 means you would be MUCH MORE likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan, a 5 means it would make no difference in your vote if a candidate supports that plan, and a 0 means you would be MUCH LESS likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan.

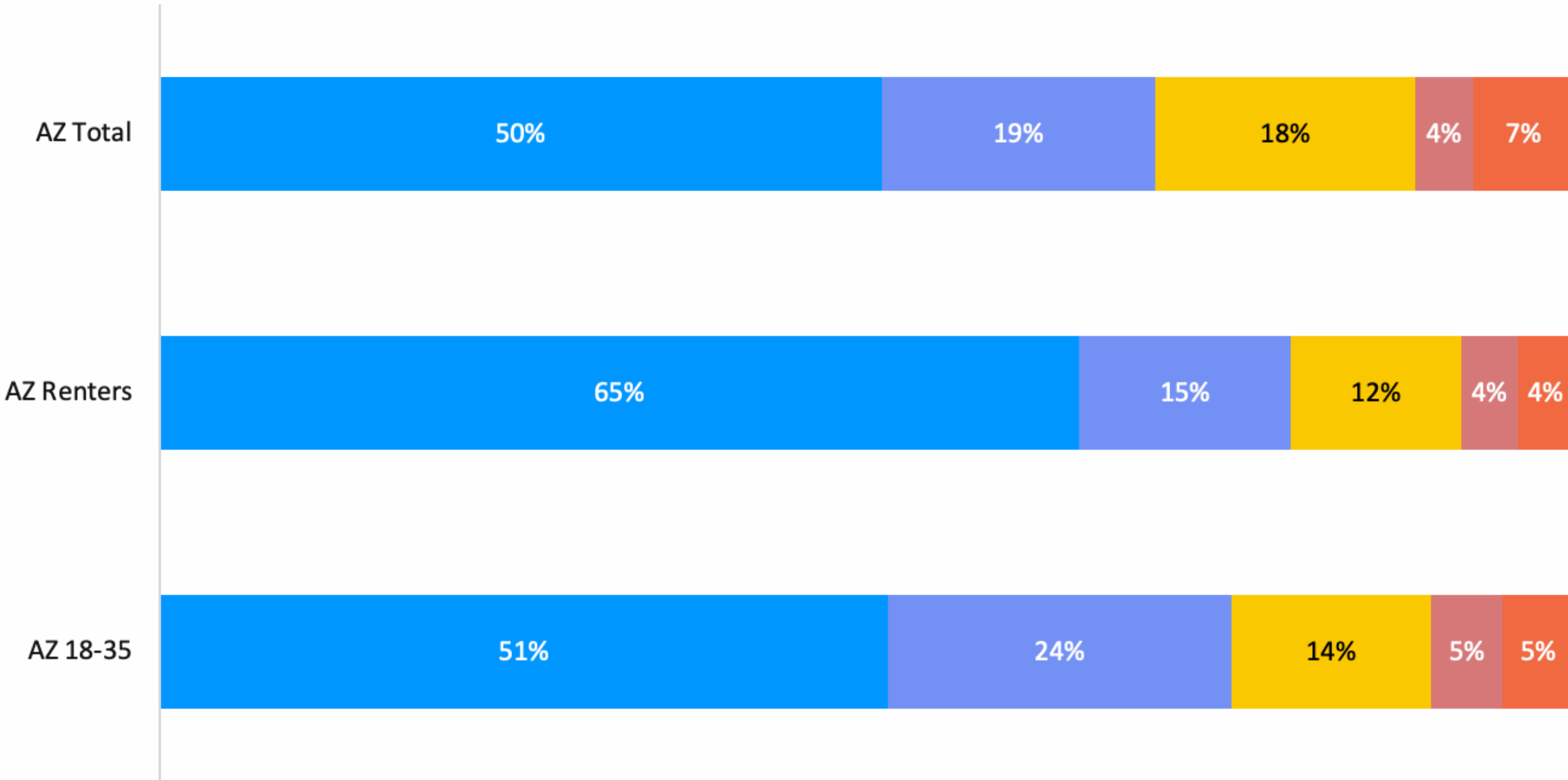
[RENT STABILIZATION]
 Enact rent stabilization rules that limit annual rent increases in rental housing to a small increase that cannot be higher than increases in the cost of living.



ARIZONA

Q20. As we head into an election year, you may hear political candidates supporting different plans to address housing issues in [STATE]. Rate each proposal on a scale of 0-10 where a 10 means you would be MUCH MORE likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan, a 5 means it would make no difference in your vote if a candidate supports that plan, and a 0 means you would be MUCH LESS likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan.

[RENT STABILIZATION]
Enact rent stabilization rules that limit annual rent increases in rental housing to a small increase that cannot be higher than increases in the cost of living.

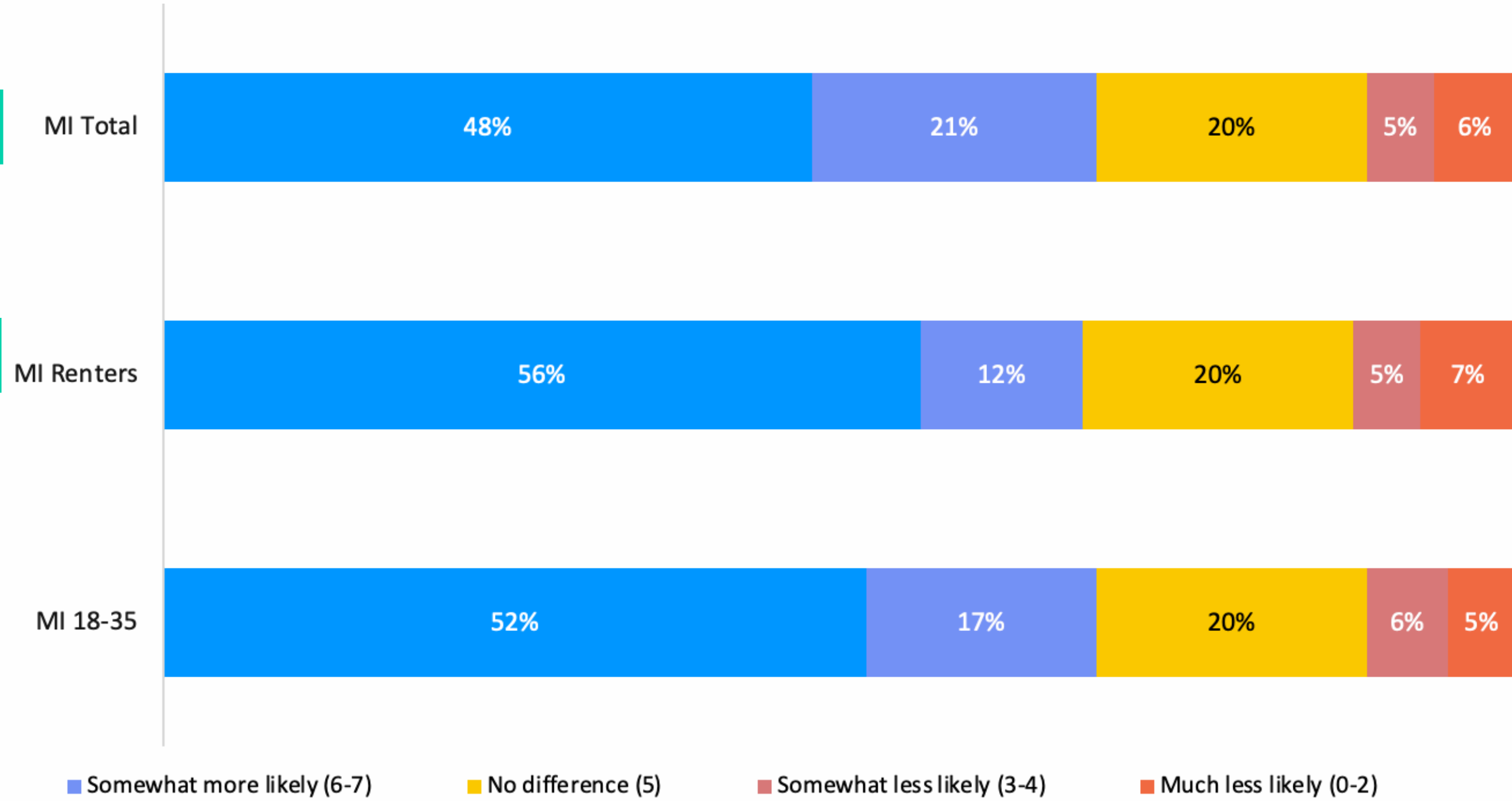


■ Much more likely (8-10) ■ Somewhat more likely (6-7) ■ No difference (5) ■ Somewhat less likely (3-4) ■ Much less likely (0-2)

MICHIGAN

Q20. As we head into an election year, you may hear political candidates supporting different plans to address housing issues in [STATE]. Rate each proposal on a scale of 0-10 where a 10 means you would be MUCH MORE likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan, a 5 means it would make no difference in your vote if a candidate supports that plan, and a 0 means you would be MUCH LESS likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan.

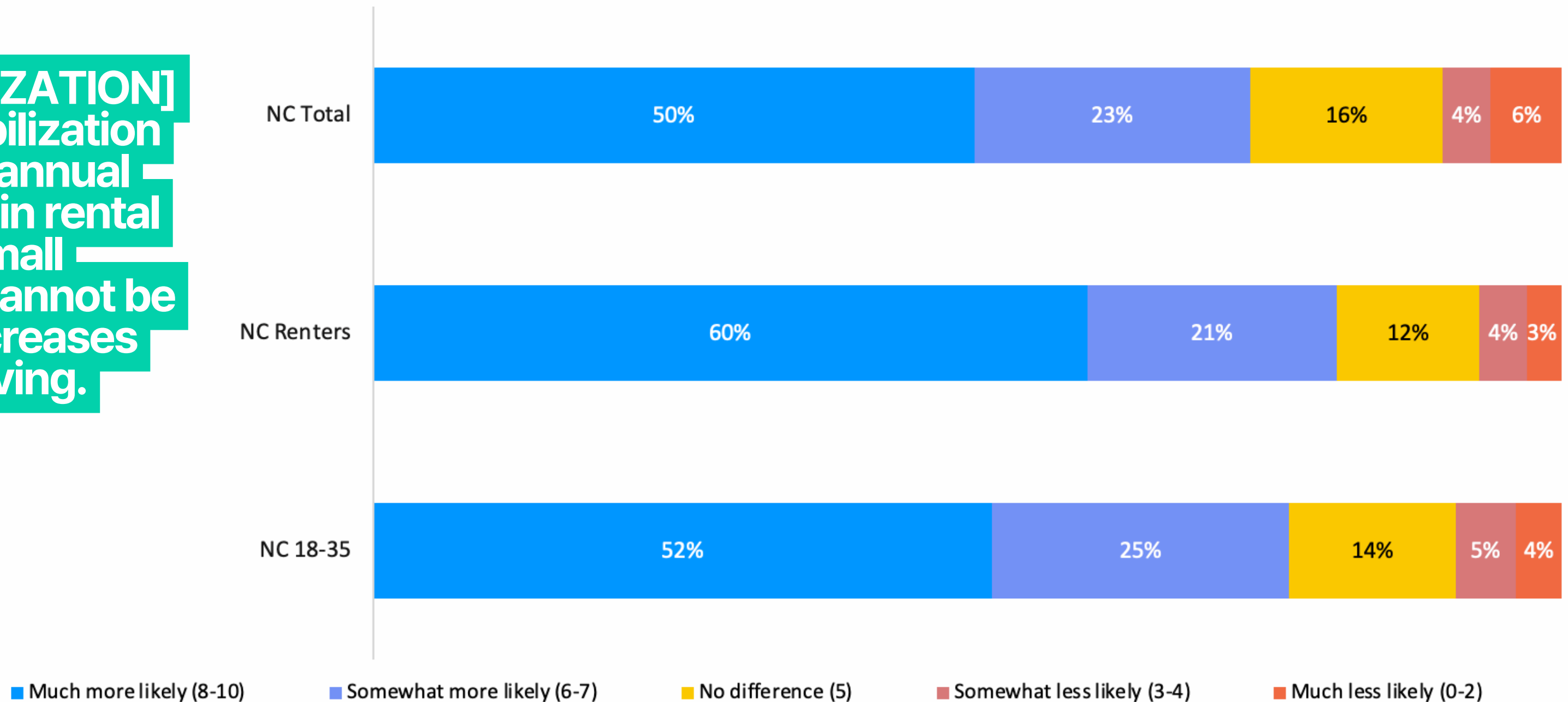
[RENT STABILIZATION]
 Enact rent stabilization rules that limit annual rent increases in rental housing to a small increase that cannot be higher than increases in the cost of living.



NORTH CAROLINA

Q20. As we head into an election year, you may hear political candidates supporting different plans to address housing issues in [STATE]. Rate each proposal on a scale of 0-10 where a 10 means you would be MUCH MORE likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan, a 5 means it would make no difference in your vote if a candidate supports that plan, and a 0 means you would be MUCH LESS likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan.

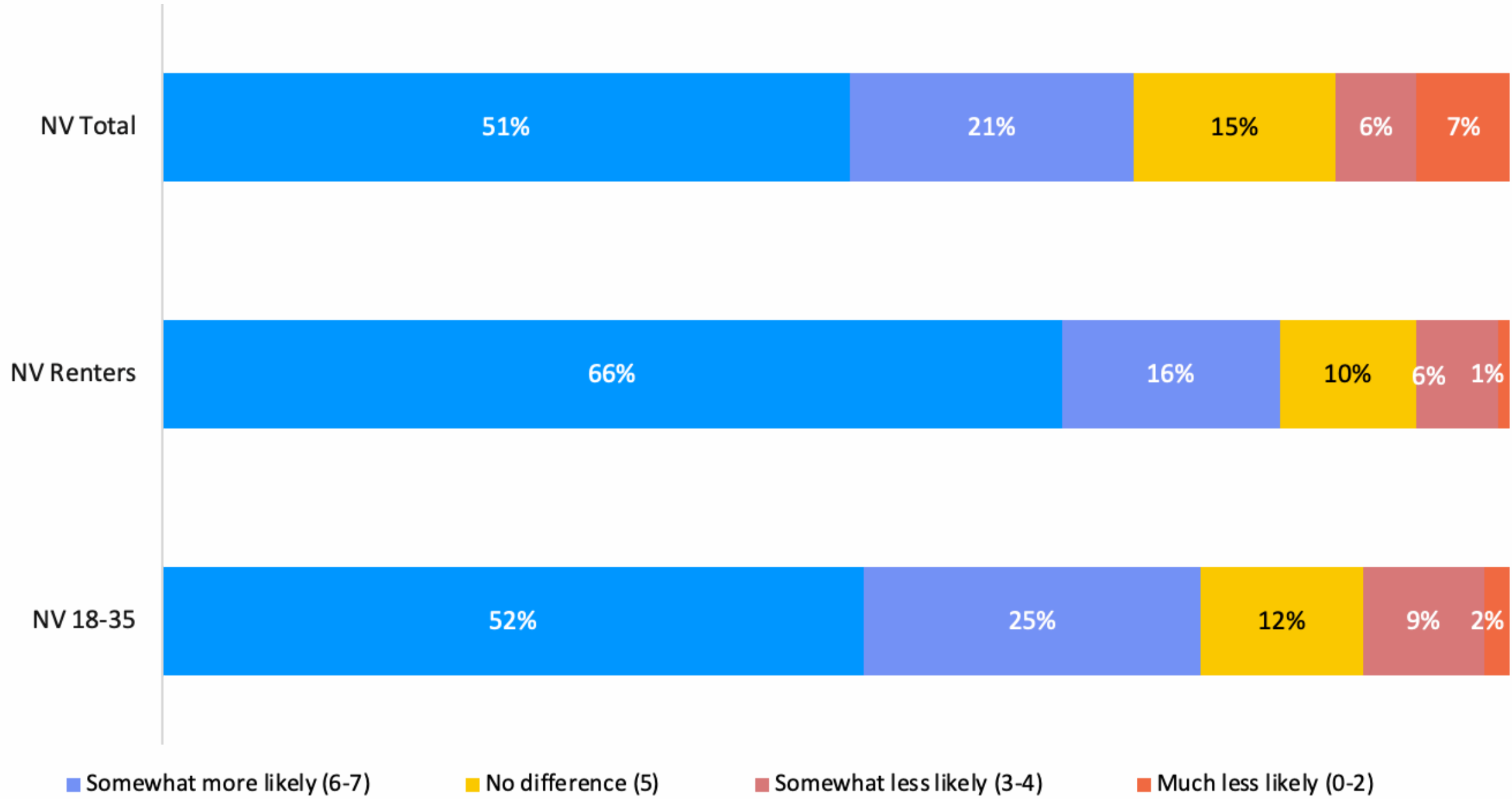
[RENT STABILIZATION]
 Enact rent stabilization rules that limit annual rent increases in rental housing to a small increase that cannot be higher than increases in the cost of living.



NEVADA

Q20. As we head into an election year, you may hear political candidates supporting different plans to address housing issues in [STATE]. Rate each proposal on a scale of 0-10 where a 10 means you would be MUCH MORE likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan, a 5 means it would make no difference in your vote if a candidate supports that plan, and a 0 means you would be MUCH LESS likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan.

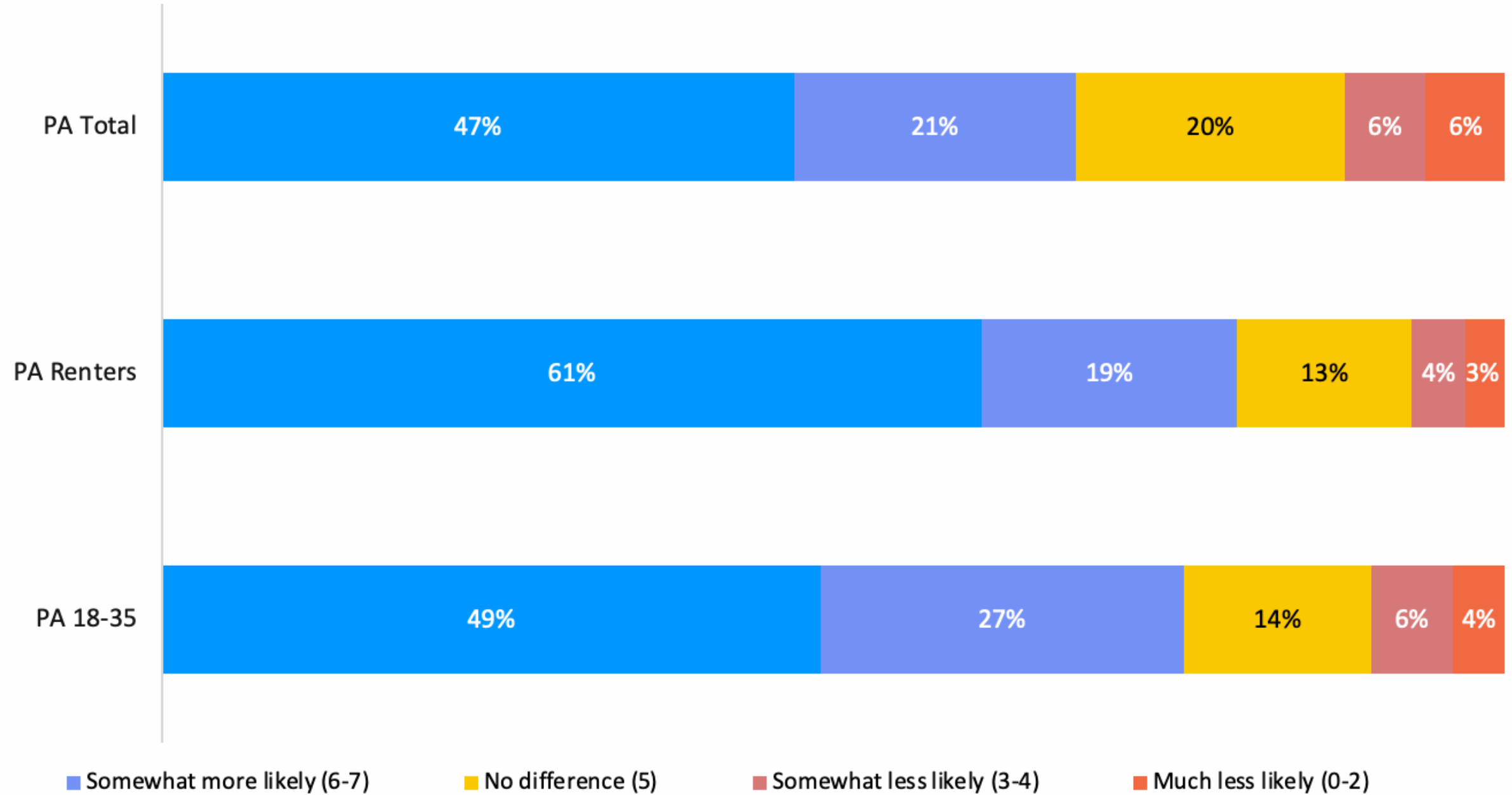
[RENT STABILIZATION]
Enact rent stabilization rules that limit annual rent increases in rental housing to a small increase that cannot be higher than increases in the cost of living.



PENNSYLVANIA

Q20. As we head into an election year, you may hear political candidates supporting different plans to address housing issues in [STATE]. Rate each proposal on a scale of 0-10 where a 10 means you would be MUCH MORE likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan, a 5 means it would make no difference in your vote if a candidate supports that plan, and a 0 means you would be MUCH LESS likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan.

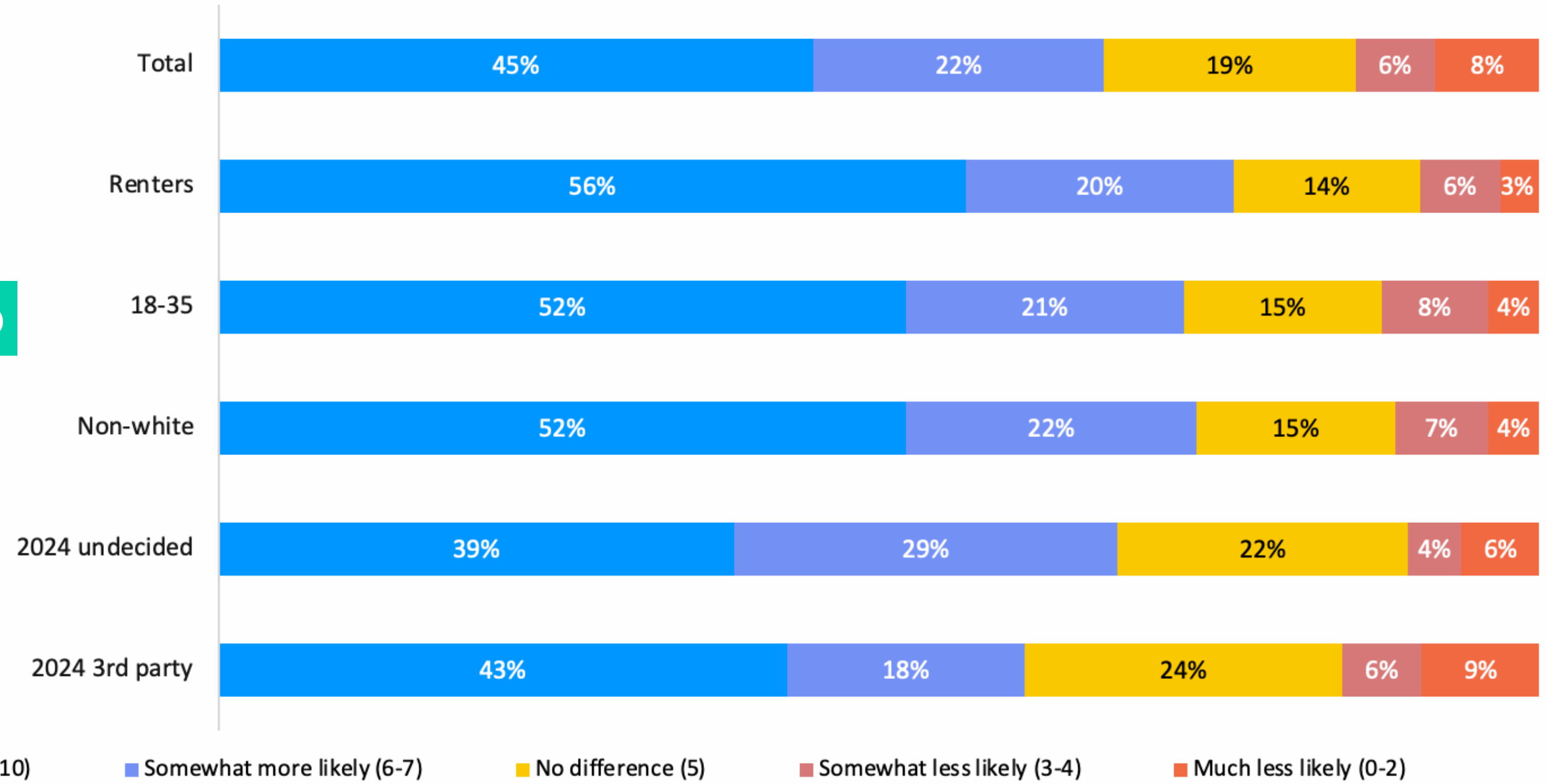
[RENT STABILIZATION]
Enact rent stabilization rules that limit annual rent increases in rental housing to a small increase that cannot be higher than increases in the cost of living.



ALL STATES

Rate each proposal on a scale of 0-10 where a 10 means you would be MUCH MORE likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan, a 5 means it would make no difference in your vote if a candidate supports that plan, and a 0 means you would be MUCH LESS likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan.

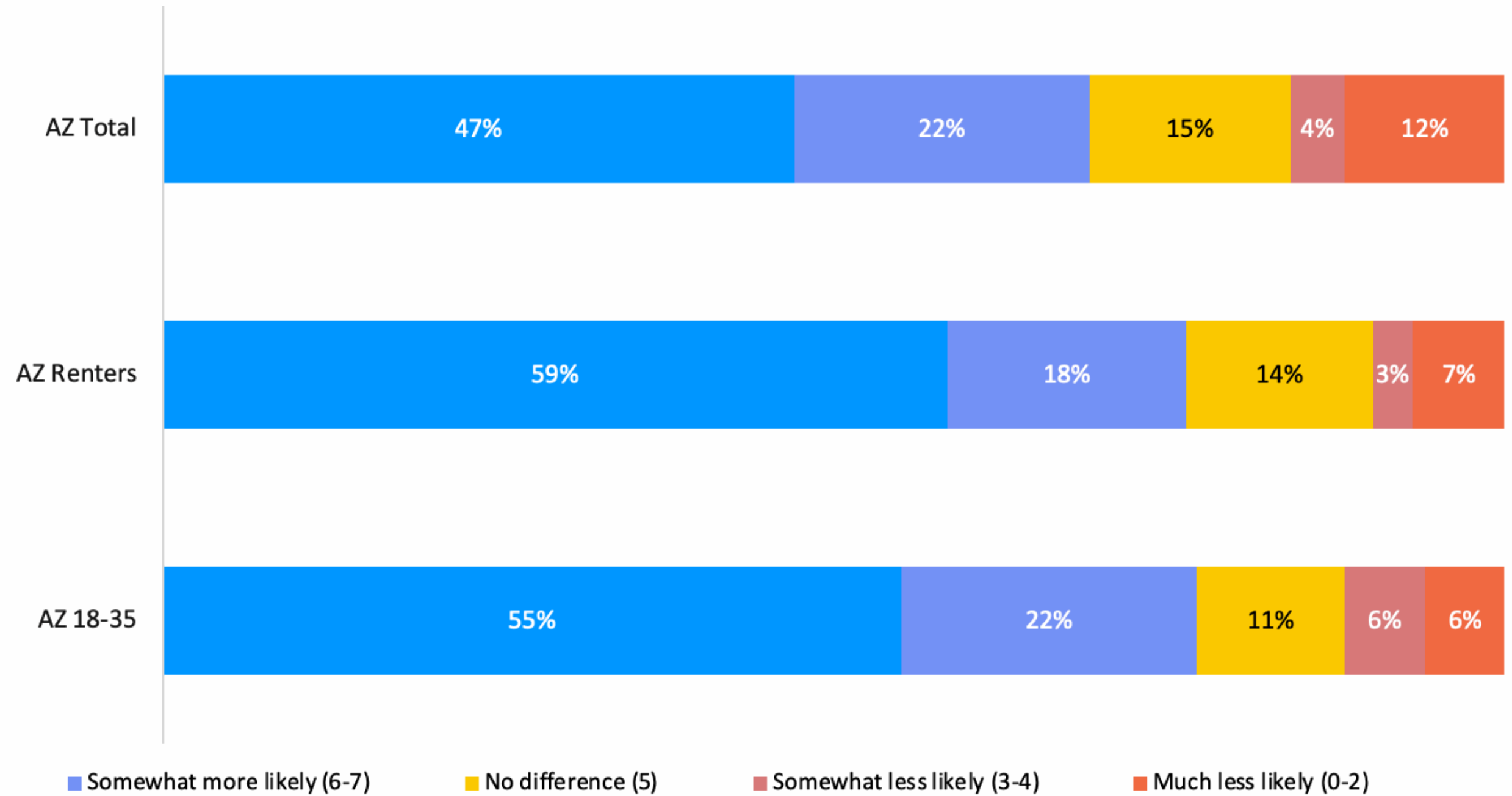
[GOV. FUNDING FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING] Commit significant government funding to create more permanently affordable rental housing.



ARIZONA

Rate each proposal on a scale of 0-10 where a 10 means you would be MUCH MORE likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan, a 5 means it would make no difference in your vote if a candidate supports that plan, and a 0 means you would be MUCH LESS likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan.

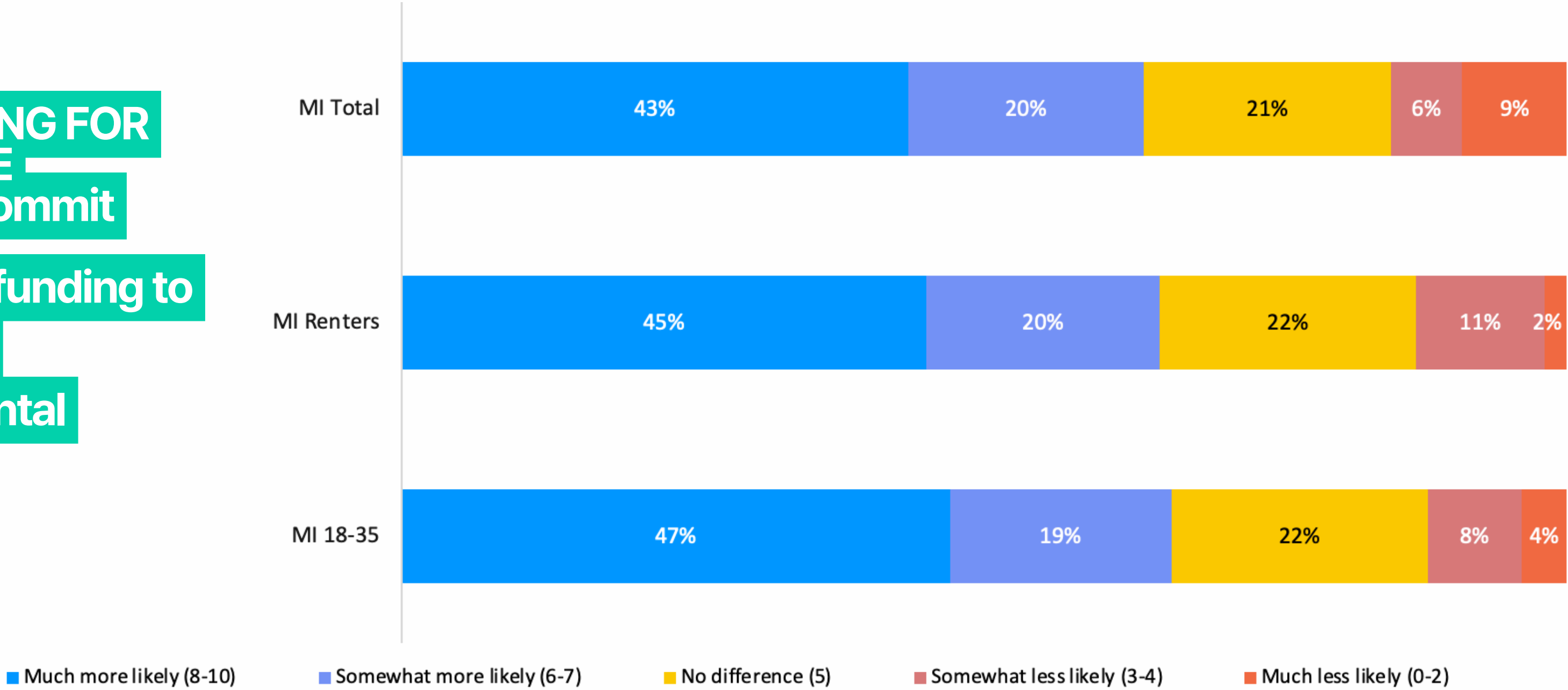
[GOV. FUNDING FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING] Commit significant government funding to create more permanently affordable rental housing.



MICHIGAN

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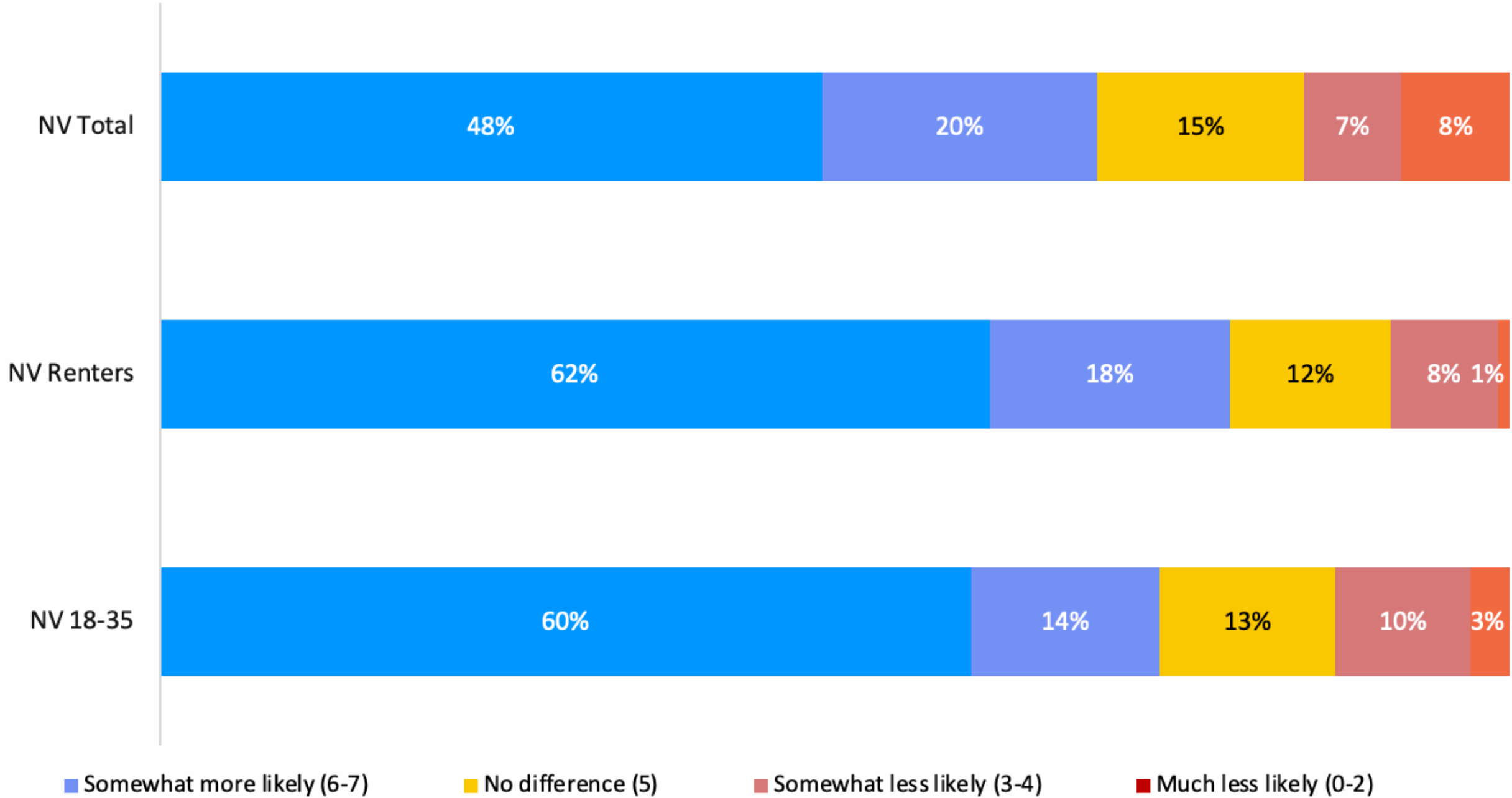
[GOV. FUNDING FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING] Commit significant government funding to create more permanently affordable rental housing.



NEVADA

Rate each proposal on a scale of 0-10 where a 10 means you would be MUCH MORE likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan, a 5 means it would make no difference in your vote if a candidate supports that plan, and a 0 means you would be MUCH LESS likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan.

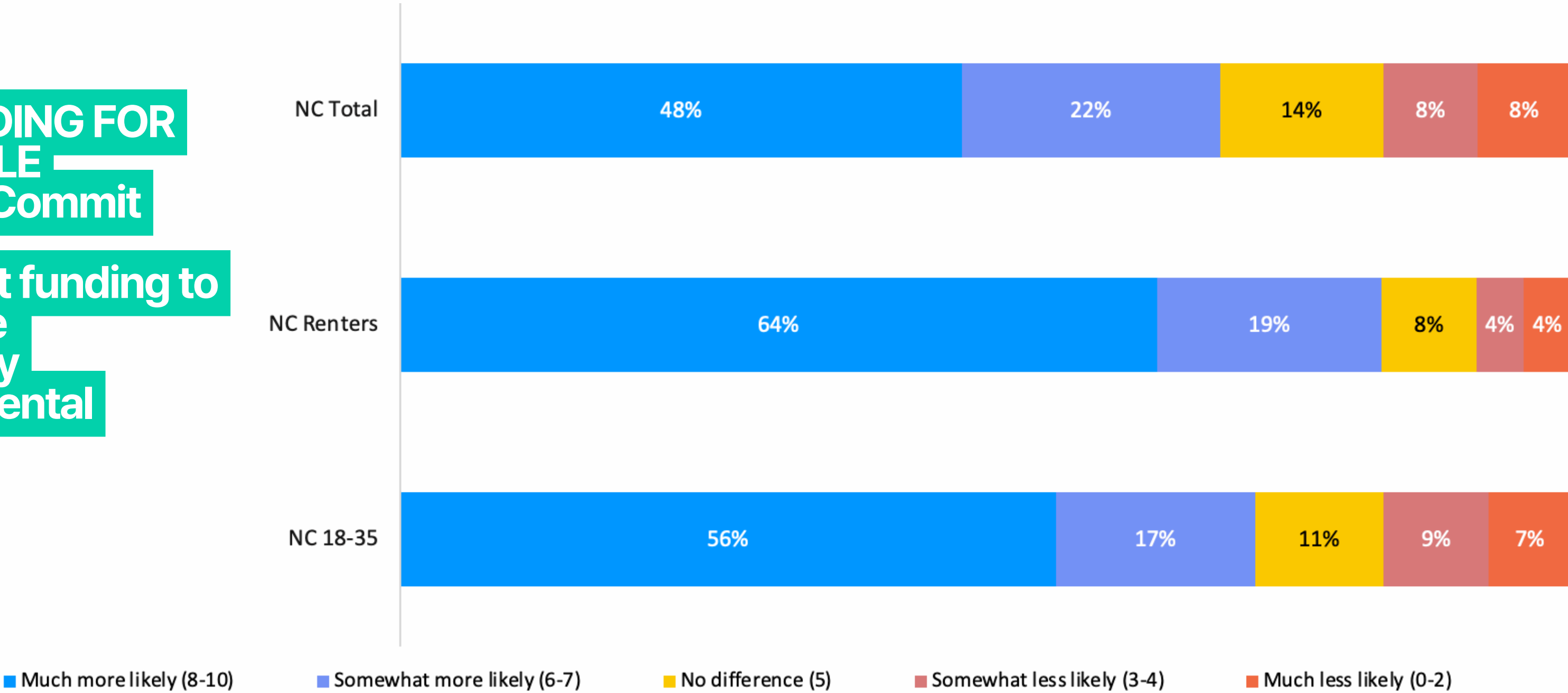
[GOV. FUNDING FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING] Commit significant government funding to create more permanently affordable rental housing.



NORTH CAROLINA

Rate each proposal on a scale of 0-10 where a 10 means you would be MUCH MORE likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan, a 5 means it would make no difference in your vote if a candidate supports that plan, and a 0 means you would be MUCH LESS likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan.

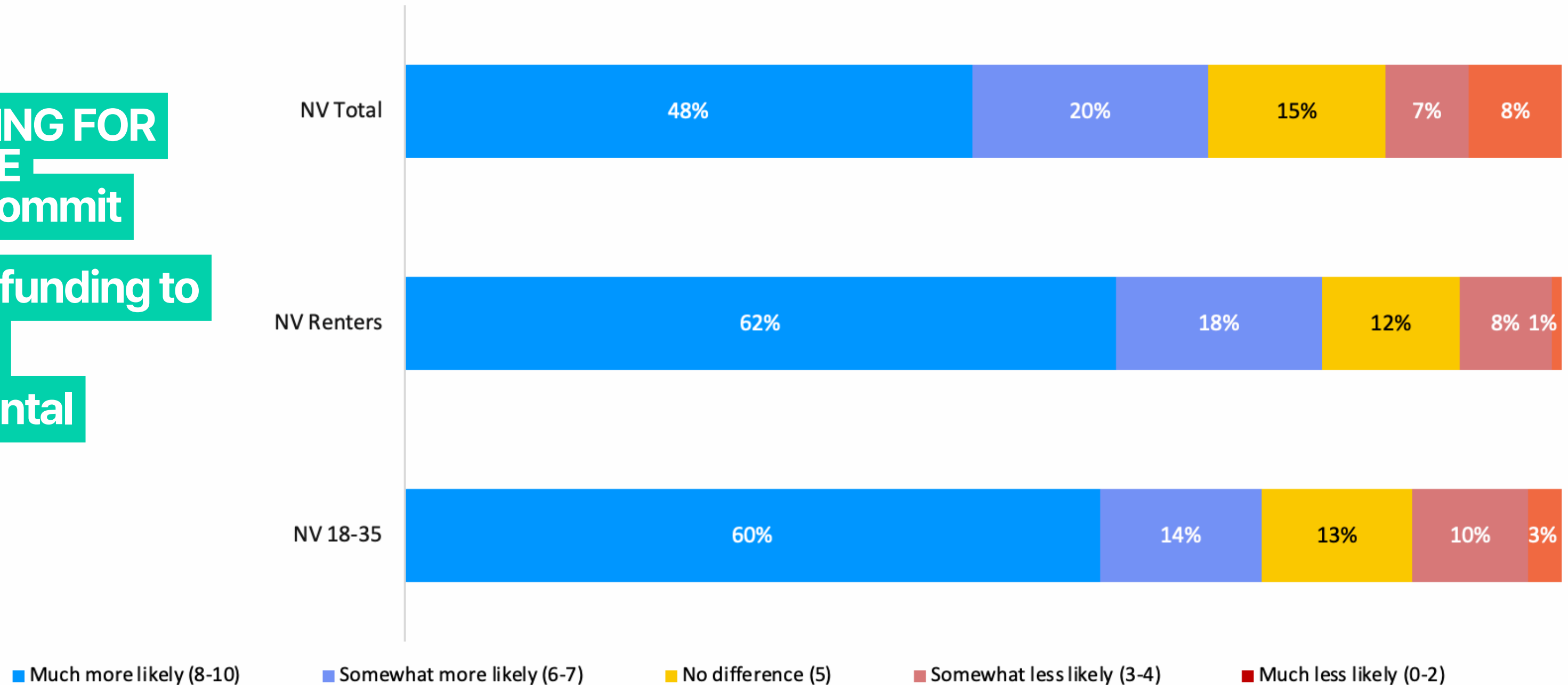
[GOV. FUNDING FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING] Commit significant government funding to create more permanently affordable rental housing.



PENNSYLVANIA

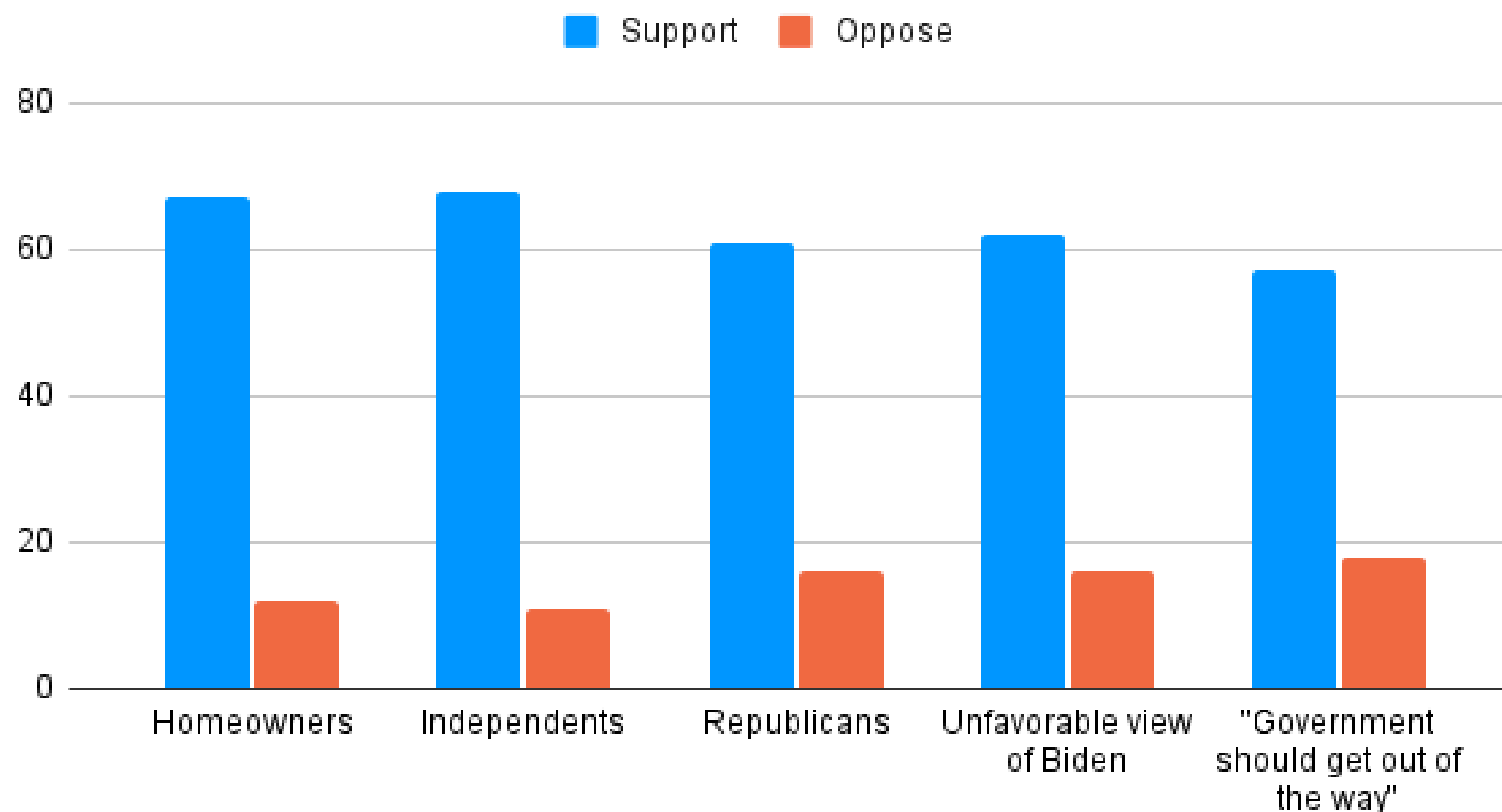
Rate each proposal on a scale of 0-10 where a 10 means you would be MUCH MORE likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan, a 5 means it would make no difference in your vote if a candidate supports that plan, and a 0 means you would be MUCH LESS likely to vote for a candidate who supports that plan.

[GOV. FUNDING FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING] Commit significant government funding to create more permanently affordable rental housing.



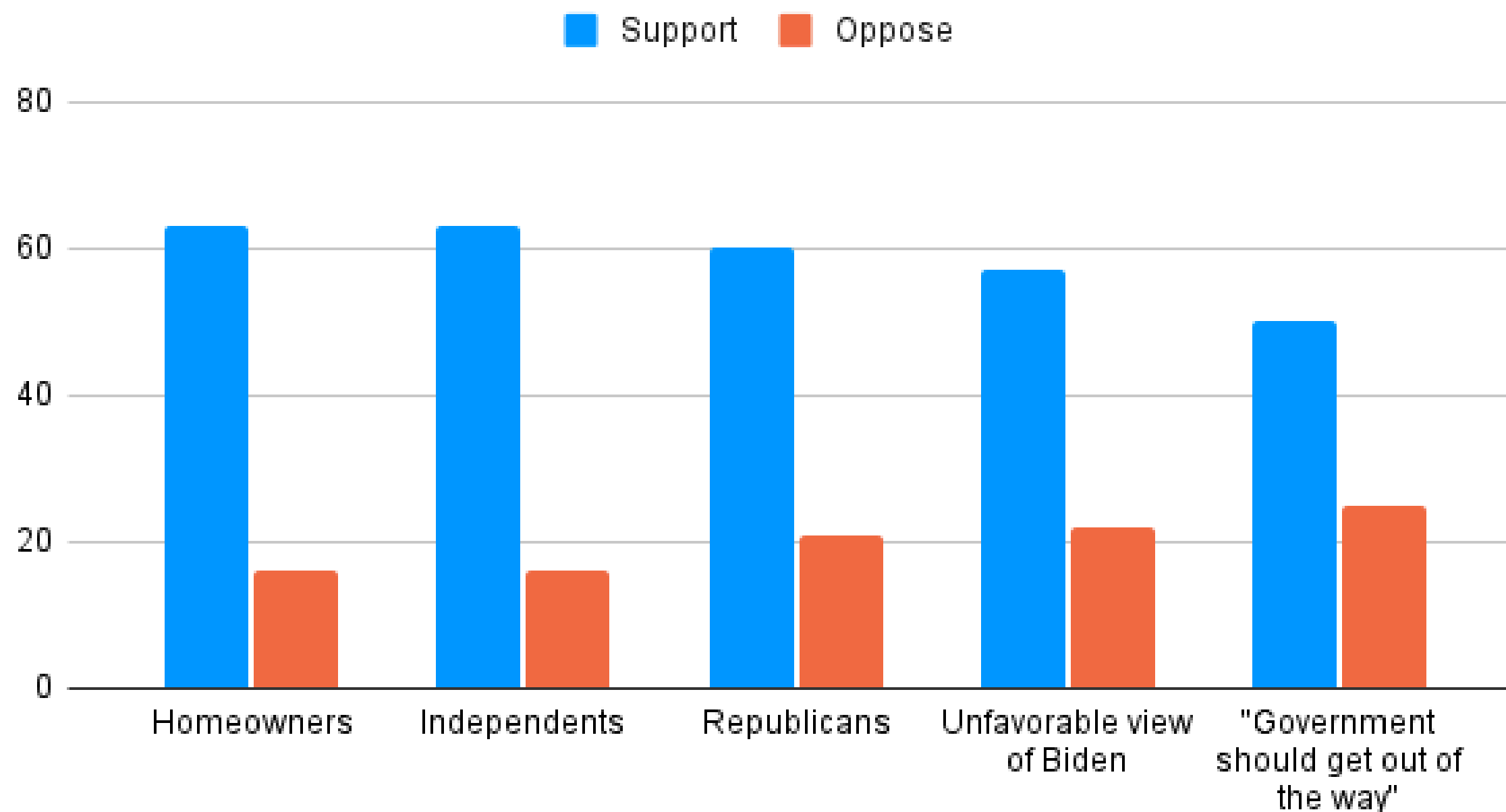
PROGRESSIVE "ACTIVIST GOVERNMENT" SOLUTIONS ARE POPULAR EVEN WITH CONSTITUENCIES THAT SKEW TOWARDS CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATES – INCLUDING PEOPLE WHO EXPLICITLY REJECT THE IDEA OF ACTIVIST GOVERNMENT.

**RENT
STABILIZATION**



PROGRESSIVE "ACTIVIST GOVERNMENT" SOLUTIONS ARE POPULAR EVEN WITH CONSTITUENCIES THAT SKEW TOWARDS GOP CANDIDATES – INCLUDING PEOPLE WHO EXPLICITLY REJECT THE IDEA OF ACTIVIST GOVERNMENT.

GOVERNMENT FUNDING FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING



SECTION FOUR MESSAGING

KEY TAKE AWAY

For all voters but especially renters, more urgent messaging that advocates for significant government action outperforms more moderate messaging and conservative/MAGA messaging.

MESSAGE TEST ONE: BUILDING MORE AFFORDABLE HOUSING

This is an election year and you may hear candidates for office talk about issues of housing and homelessness. Here are a few statements you may hear from candidates, for each statement please select the candidate you would be more likely to vote for.

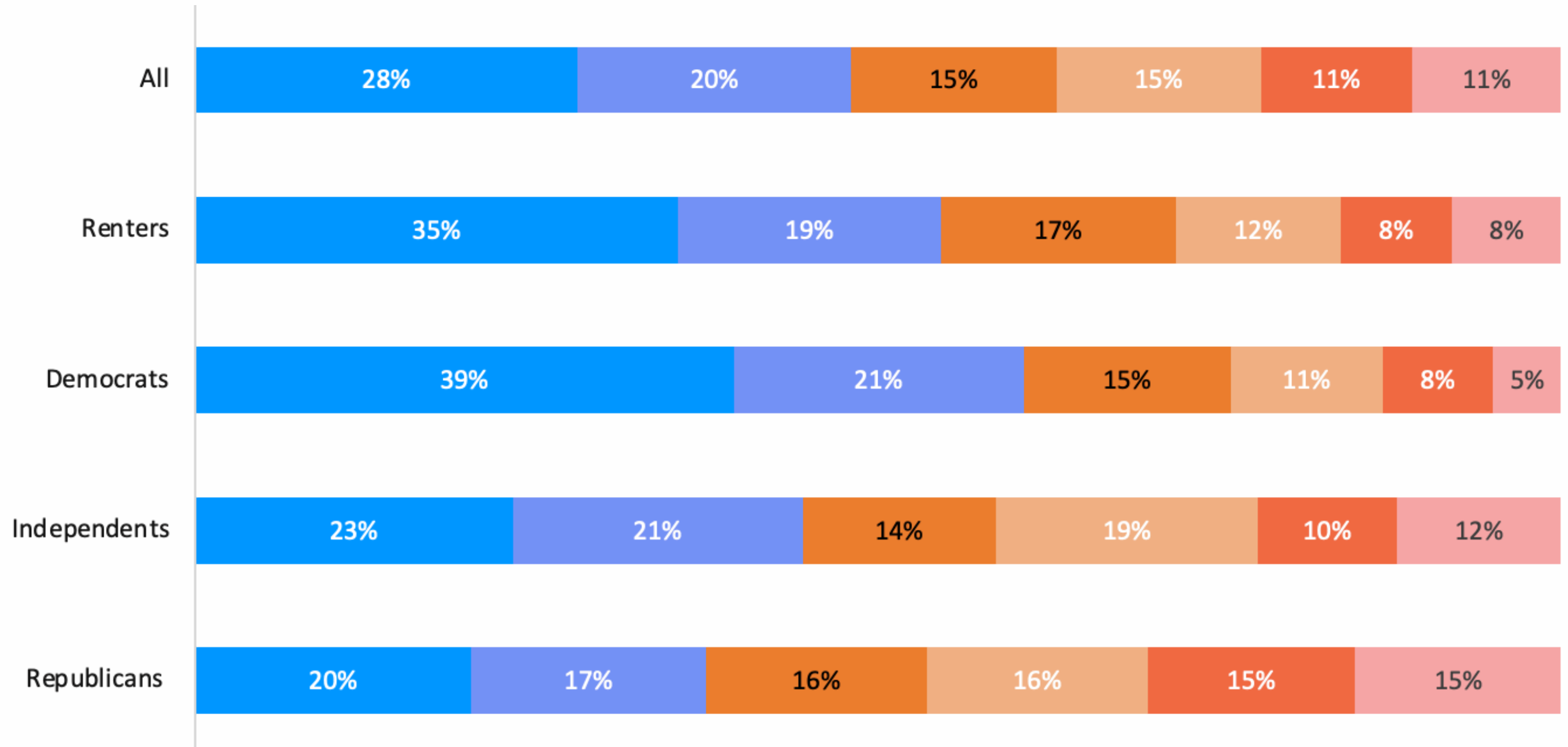
"America has a housing crisis. More than half of all renters are struggling to keep up with rent and evictions are spiking, especially for families with children. Struggling renters deserve help. It's time our elected leaders step up, by funding the creation of more permanently affordable rental housing for working-class and middle-class families."

"America needs more housing. More than half of all renters are rent burdened and evictions are spiking, especially for families with children. Government can help solve this problem but not by imposing burdensome regulations on landlords or massive government spending. Instead, government must work with the private sector by providing tax incentives for developers to build new rental housing for all income levels."

"The government has a poor track record when it comes to creating housing. Public housing projects are some of the lowest quality available and in some cases serve as a breeding ground for crime. We don't want our communities to turn into places like New York City or Chicago. The solution for housing is to clear the homeless out of our communities and allow developers to build, not more government-funded housing."

MESSAGE TEST ONE: BUILDING MORE AFFORDABLE HOUSING

- Much more likely Progressive
- Somewhat more likely Progressive
- Much more likely Moderate
- Somewhat more likely Moderate
- Much more likely conservative
- Somewhat more likely Conservative



MESSAGE TEST TWO: LIMITING RENT INCREASES

This is an election year and you may hear candidates for office talk about issues of housing and homelessness. Here are a few statements you may hear from candidates, for each statement please select the candidate you would be more likely to vote for.

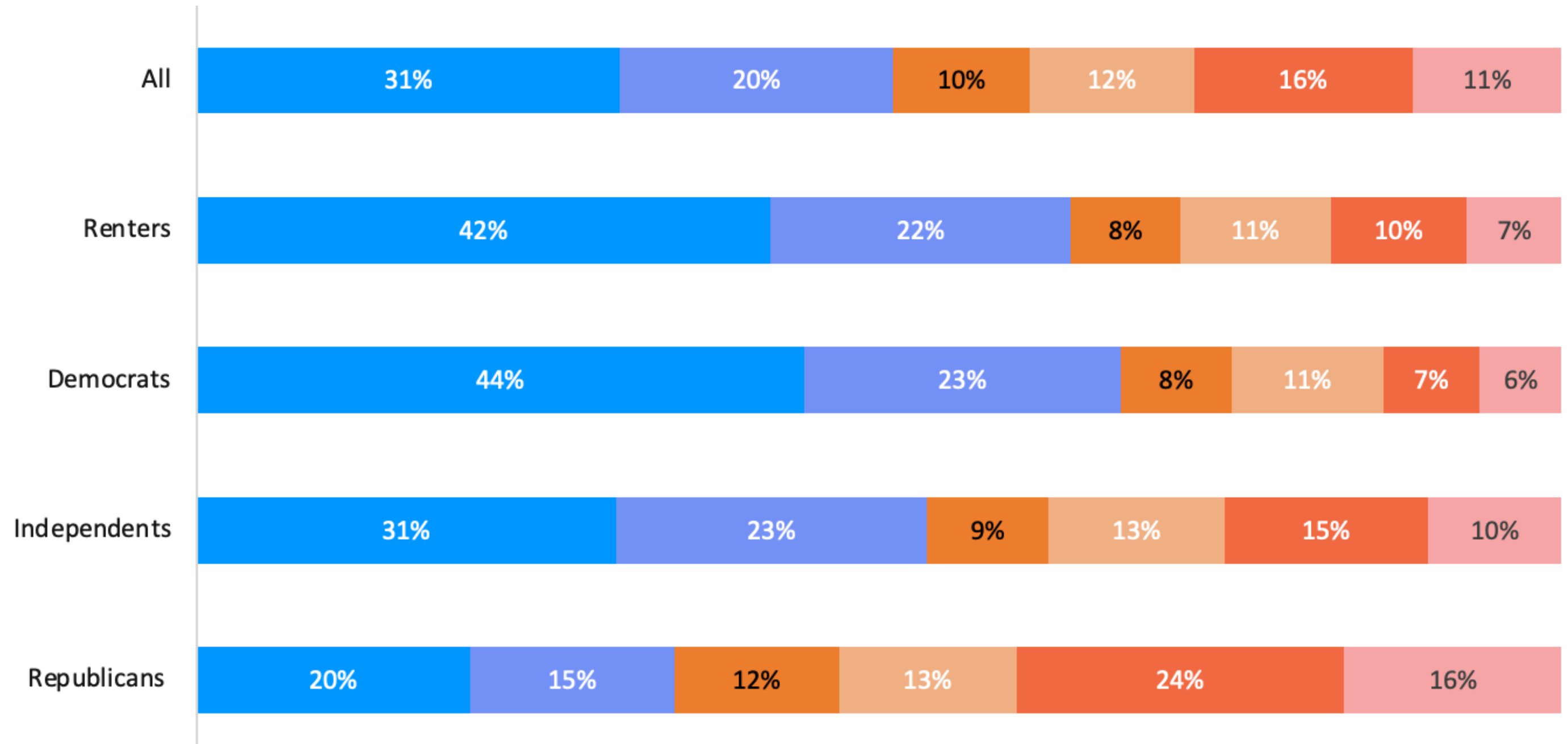
"We all know that the rent is too damn high. Meanwhile, corporate landlords and billionaire hedge fund managers are buying up rental properties, raising rents, and evicting anyone who can't keep up. It's just wrong. We need to limit rent hikes to small annual increases no higher than the regular cost of living so everyday working people can afford a home for their families."

"Rents are increasing but the last thing we need is government mandates that make it harder for small landlords to invest in and improve their properties. Rent caps and burdensome regulations on landlords just make it harder for developers to build enough housing and we can't solve the housing crisis without building more housing, period. It's simple supply and demand."

"Housing costs are rising because the influx of illegal migrants is overwhelming our cities and making a tight housing market even worse. We need to stop the flow of illegal immigrants, not place burdensome regulations on the real estate industry."

MESSAGE TEST TWO: LIMITING RENT INCREASES

- Much more likely Progressive
- Somewhat more likely Progressive
- Much more likely Moderate
- Somewhat more likely Moderate
- Much more likely conservative
- Somewhat more likely Conservative



SECTION FIVE

SOCIAL HOUSING

KEY TAKE AWAY

The concept of “social housing” enjoys wide support and there is a strong foundation on which to build in generating greater intensity of support.

SOME ELECTED OFFICIALS AND ADVOCATES SUPPORT THE CREATION OF "SOCIAL HOUSING" WHICH IS PERMANENTLY AFFORDABLE HOUSING THAT IS OWNED BY THE GOVERNMENT, BY NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS, OR BY TENANTS THEMSELVES AND CAN NEVER BE SOLD TO PRIVATE LANDLORDS. DO YOU SUPPORT OR OPPOSE THE CREATION OF SOCIAL HOUSING TO ADDRESS THE RISING COST OF HOUSING IN [STATE]?

A STRONG PLACE TO START: BROAD, THOUGH SOFT, SUPPORT FOR SOCIAL HOUSING.

	Support		Oppose	
All Voters	72%		28%	
Renters	83%		17%	
	Strongly Support	Somewhat Support	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose
All Voters	23%	50%	11%	16%
Renters	32%	50%	7%	11%

QUALITIES OF SOCIAL HOUSING THAT ARE MOST PERSUASIVE

[QUALITY HOUSING] Social housing is high quality housing where tenants with a range of incomes can live safely and comfortably.

[RENT ADJUSTMENTS] Social housing allows tenants to pay a small percentage of their income on rent rather than a fixed dollar amount. So as your income increases or decreases, your rent is adjusted based on what you can afford and you can never be priced out of your home

[NON-PROFIT HOUSING] Social housing is not owned by private real estate corporations and cannot be sold to private interests seeking to make a profit.

[TENANT RIGHTS] Social housing gives tenant associations much more control over their buildings so tenants have a voice on key decisions that impact their lives and their homes.

HERE ARE SOME STATEMENTS ABOUT SOCIAL HOUSING AND AFTER EACH STATEMENT PLEASE INDICATE IF THIS INFORMATION MAKES YOU MUCH MORE LIKELY, SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY, MUCH LESS LIKELY, OR SOMEWHAT LESS LIKELY TO SUPPORT THE CREATION OF SOCIAL HOUSING IN [STATE]

Description	Much more	Somewhat more	Somewhat less	Much Less
All Voters				
QUALITY HOUSING	32%	47%	15%	6%
RENT ADJUSTMENTS	32%	44%	16%	7%
NON-PROFIT HOUSING	31%	44%	18%	7%
TENANT RIGHTS	26%	50%	18%	7%
Renters				
QUALITY HOUSING	40%	43%	13%	4%
RENT ADJUSTMENTS	40%	42%	13%	4%
NON-PROFIT HOUSING	39%	40%	16%	5%
TENANT RIGHTS	32%	49%	14%	5%

RECOMMENDATIONS

All voters are open to messaging about the cost of housing, but targeted communication to renters can be especially effective for persuasion and mobilization.

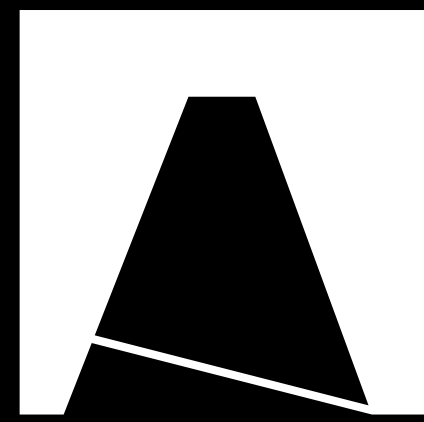
Especially for renters, communicating support for policy solutions that involve an active role for government in controlling housing costs is likely to resonate more effectively than market based solutions.

Narrowing the turnout gap between renters and homeowners should be a major priority for progressives.

Further research is needed to understand how these solutions are received by voters when communicated in partisan messaging, but visible support for progressive housing policies may help energize disaffected voters.



THE
CENTER
FOR **POPULAR
DEMOCRACY**



**Right to
the City
Action**

