

KAConsulting, LLC

To: Mark Rodgers, The Clapham Group

From: Kellyanne Conway, KAConsulting LLC

Date: August 1, 2024

Re: National Online Omnibus Survey among 1,005 Registered Voters

U.S. Voters to Washington: The Farm Bill Must Put American Farmers First

Executive Summary

A Vast Majority Agree States Should Set Standards and Laws for Goods Sold in Their State

States rights received strong “tri-partisan” support (majority of self-identified Republicans, Independents, and Democrats) from respondents. This included higher majorities of Republicans, who wanted states to retain their Constitutional power to set state standards for goods and agriculture.

- **78% of Republicans agree** that states should have the ability to set their own standards for goods sold in their state and,
- **72% of Republicans agree** states should be able to create their own laws with respect to agricultural products sold in their state.

Most Americans Want the Farm Bill to Protect U.S. Farmers

As Congress considers a new Farm Bill, most Americans want it to protect U.S. farm ownership and limit foreign influence in agriculture. Most agree that the Farm Bill should make it easier for Americans to own farms.

- **77% of Republicans agree** any Farm Bill should make it easier for Americans to retain ownership of American farms and farmland and,
- **71% of Republicans disagree** that a Farm Bill should make it easier for foreign-owned companies, including from Communist China, to have access to and control America’s meat supply.

Majorities Want States to Set the Standards for Goods Sold in Their State, in Harmony with – not Subservient to -- Reasonable Federal Laws

As Congress considers a new Farm Bill, our recent survey data shows that most Americans want states to have the power to set their standards for goods and agriculture. People trust local governments to make decisions that align with their individual communities' needs. This strong support for states' rights is especially evident among older adults, wealthier Americans, Republicans, and those with college degrees.

In 2018, California voters overwhelmingly approved Proposition 12, setting new minimum standards for certain agricultural products sold in the state, including requirements for breeding pigs. This state-level initiative faced legal challenges, culminating in a landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Natural Pork Producers Council v. Ross* on May 11, 2023, which upheld Proposition 12 in a 5-4 ruling.¹

The Court's decision underscores the ongoing debate about states' rights to regulate commerce within their borders, even when such regulations affect interstate trade. This ruling has sparked a legislative response in the form of the Ending Agricultural Trade Suppression (EATS) Act, introduced in both chambers of Congress². The EATS Act aims to prohibit states from imposing standards on agricultural products sold in interstate commerce if the production occurs in another state.

However, the EATS Act has faced bipartisan opposition and criticism from a diverse array of over 170 organizations, including the National Governors Association and the National Conference of State Legislatures. In addition, 223 bipartisan members of Congress also oppose the EATS Act and signed letters opposing this bill or language like it in the federal Farm Bill. Critics argue that the act undermines principles of federalism and the 10th Amendment, which reserves powers not delegated to the federal government to the states.

The debate over the EATS Act reveals a divide within the agricultural industry itself. Large producers generally support the act, and midsize and smaller producers and family farmer organizations oppose it. Opinions often split more along geographic lines than partisan ones.

As the Farm Bill discussions continue, issues of state authority, agricultural regulation, economic growth, and market dynamics are likely to play a significant role in shaping policy outcomes that will affect producers, consumers, and state governments across the nation.

¹ [21-468 National Pork Producers Council v. Ross \(05/11/2023\)](#)

² <https://www.congress.gov/bill/118th-congress/house-bill/4417/text?s=3&r=3>

State and Federal Standards: A Vast Majority Agree States Should Set Standards and Laws for Goods Sold in Their State, and Foreign Companies Should be Required to Follow State and Local Laws.

States rights received strong “tri-partisan” support (majority of self-identified Republicans, Independents, and Democrats) from respondents. Federalism stood tall, with states setting their standards and laws so long as it does not conflict with federal laws, which they also view as important. Respondents were even more unified in their belief that foreign-owned companies must follow state and local laws in which they do business.

Currently, individual states can set their own standards for goods sold within their state, as long as they don't conflict with federal standards. Some people say that individual states should not be able to enforce their own standards and that federal law only should govern. Knowing this, please indicate if you (ROTATE) agree or disagree with the following statements.

I. “States should have the ability to set their own standards for goods sold in their state” scores a more than 3-to-1 concurrence (69% agreement; 22% disagreement) among the survey respondents Key crosstabs follow.

★ **Groups more likely to agree (69% TOTAL AGREE):**

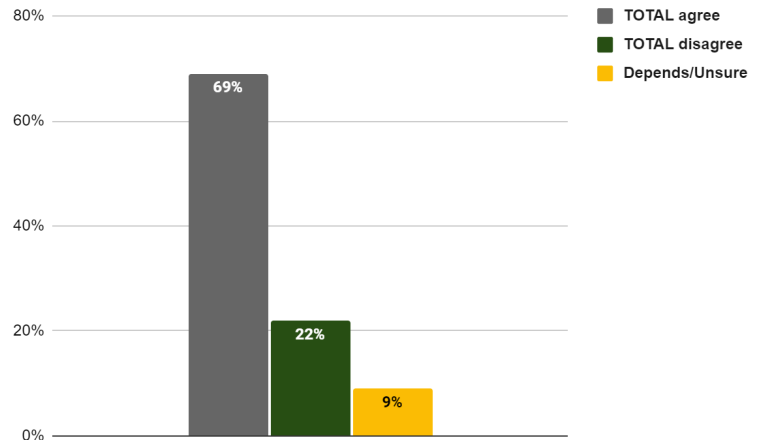
- Republican (78%)
- College-educated (76%)
- Ages 35-54 (73%)
- \$100K+ income (72%)

★ **Groups more likely to disagree (22% TOTAL DISAGREE):**

- Hispanic (34%)
- Children in Household (29%)
- Ages 18-34 (28%)
- Black (28%)
- Men (27%)
- Independents (26%)
- Under \$50K income (25%)
- Democrat (24%)

★ **Groups more likely to be unsure (9% TOTAL UNSURE):**

- Not employed (14%)
- Female (13%)
- Ages 55+ (12%)
- No college degree (11%)



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II. “Individual states should be able to create their own laws with respect to agricultural products sold in their state” produced the same type of 3-to-1 strong assent as the previous question (66% agreement; 20% disagreement)

★ **Groups more likely to agree (66% TOTAL AGREE):**

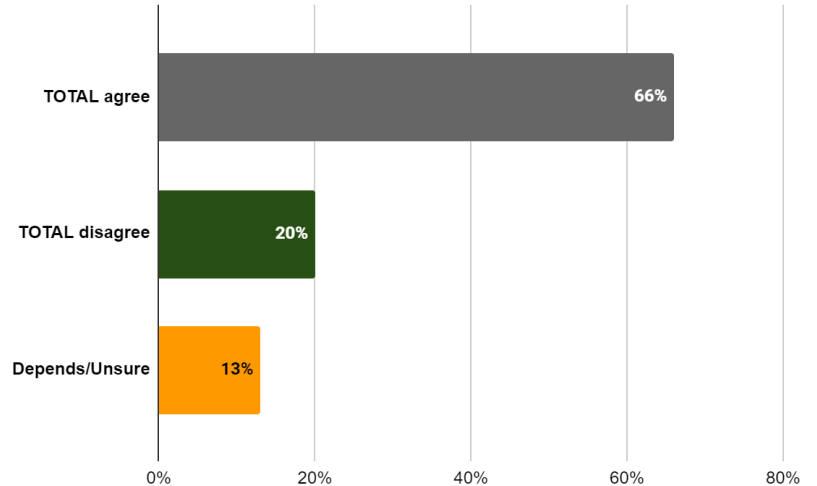
- Northwest (74%)
- Republican (72%)
- \$50K-\$100K income (71%)
- Ages 35-54 (70%)
- College-educated (69%)
- Not employed (69%)
- Men (68%)

★ **Groups more likely to disagree (20% TOTAL DISAGREE):**

- Children in Household (25%)
- Democrat (24%)
- Full-time employed (24%)
- Ages 18-34 (22%)
- South (22%)
- Black (22%)

★ **Groups more likely to be unsure (13% TOTAL UNSURE):**

- Part-time employment (21%)
- Under \$50K income (18%)
- Independents (18%)
- Women (16%)
- Ages 55+ (17%)

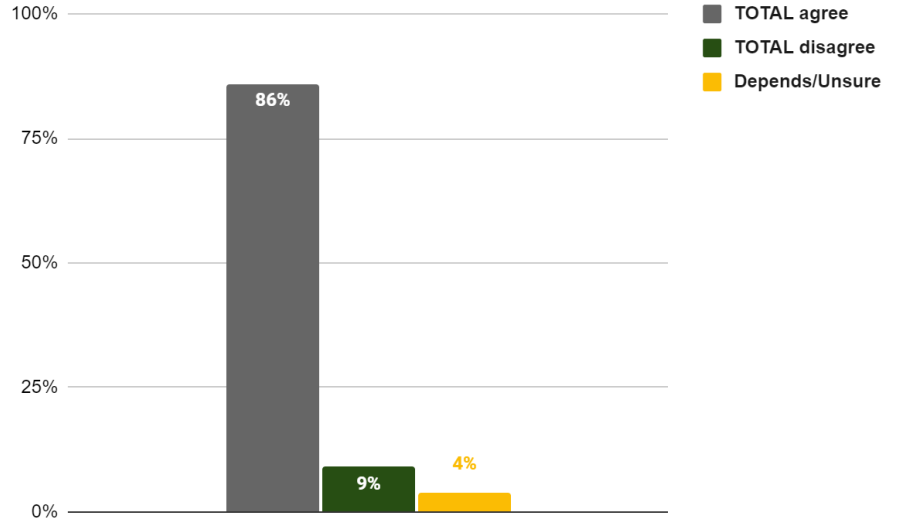


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III. "Foreign-owned companies that do business in the United States should be required to comply with all state and local laws." This precept garnered near unanimity in polling terms. Less than 10% disagreed. Solid support spanned geographic, demographic, socioeconomic, political, gender, and age differences.

★ **Groups more likely to agree (86% TOTAL AGREE):**

- Northeast (94%)
- Ages 55+ (92%)
- Retired (92%)
- \$50K-\$100K income (92%)
- Independent (92%)
- College-educated (90%)
- White (90%)
- \$100K+ income (89%)
- Democrat (88%)



★ **Groups more likely to disagree (9% TOTAL DISAGREE):**

- Ages 18-34 (19%)
- Hispanic (18%)
- Republican (16%)
- Under \$50K income (16%)
- Men (13%)
- Children in Household (14%)

Most Americans Want the Farm Bill to Protect U.S. Farmers

Overall, there is a clear demand for policies that put American farmers first and protect local agriculture from foreign competition. As Congress considers a new Farm Bill, most Americans want it to protect U.S. farm ownership and limit foreign influence in agriculture. Most (77%) agree that the Farm Bill should make it easier for Americans to own farms, with strong support from women, older adults, and those with moderate incomes. Meanwhile, 60% oppose giving advantages to foreign-owned meat companies over American family farms, and 62% are against letting foreign companies control America's meat supply.

The U.S. Congress may vote this year on a Farm Bill, federal legislation that sets the direction for a variety of agricultural and food programs in the United States. Knowing this, please indicate if you (ROTATE) agree or disagree with the following statements:

I. “The Farm Bill should make it easier for Americans to retain ownership of American farms and farmland.” Limited disagreement (9%) seen again, as the vast majority (77%) agree with this proposed framing of the Farm Bill.

★ **Groups more likely to agree**
(77% TOTAL AGREE):

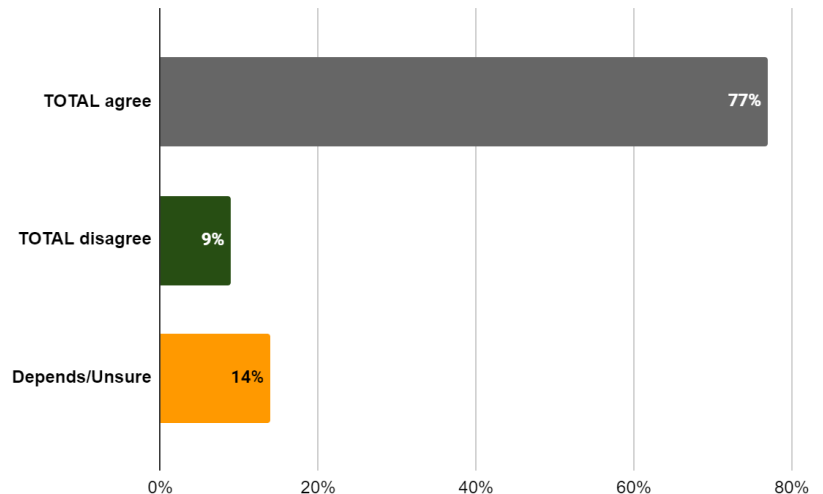
- Midwest (82%)
- Democrat (78%)
- Independent (81%)
- Retired (88%)
- Hispanic (79%)

★ **Groups more likely to disagree**
(9% TOTAL DISAGREE):

- Ages 18-34 (14%)
- Republican (14%)
- Children in Household (13%)
- Full-time employment (13%)

★ **Groups more likely to be unsure**
(14% TOTAL UNSURE):

- Black (18%)
- Age 55+ (16%)



II. "The Farm Bill should reward largely foreign-owned meat companies at the expense of many smaller American family farms." Six-in-ten disagree with this assertion, while just 23% agree. Though it should be noted that "at the expense of" is a triggering and galvanizing phrase.

★ **Groups more likely to agree (23% TOTAL AGREE):**

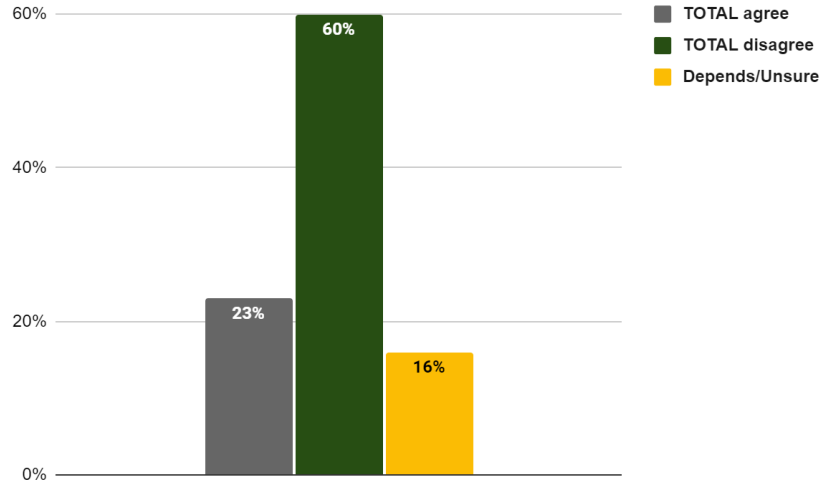
- Black (46%)
- Hispanic (42%)
- Ages 18-34 (35%)
- Men (33%)
- Ages 35-54 (27%)
- Northeast (27%)
- West (29%)
- Democrat (25%)
- Children in Household (28%)
- No college degree (27%)
- Full-time employment (27%)

★ **Groups more likely to disagree (60% TOTAL DISAGREE):**

- Ages 55+ (71%)
- College-educated (71%)
- Midwest (69%)
- Part-time employment (67%)
- Women (65%)
- \$50K-\$100K income (64%)
- Independent (63%)
- \$100K+ income (62%)
- South (62%)
- Republican (62%)

★ **Groups more likely to be unsure (16% TOTAL UNSURE):**

- Not employed (23%)
- Women (21%)
- Independent (21%)



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III. "The Farm Bill should make it easier for foreign-owned companies, including from Communist China, to have access to and control of America's meat supply" Again, six-in-ten disagree with this declaration that the Farm Bill should reward and appease foreign-owned companies. It is notable that some of the same groups of voters (Blacks, Ages 18-34, Hispanics, Men, Democrats) were more likely to agree in this question and the previous question.

★ **Groups more likely to agree**
(23% TOTAL AGREE):

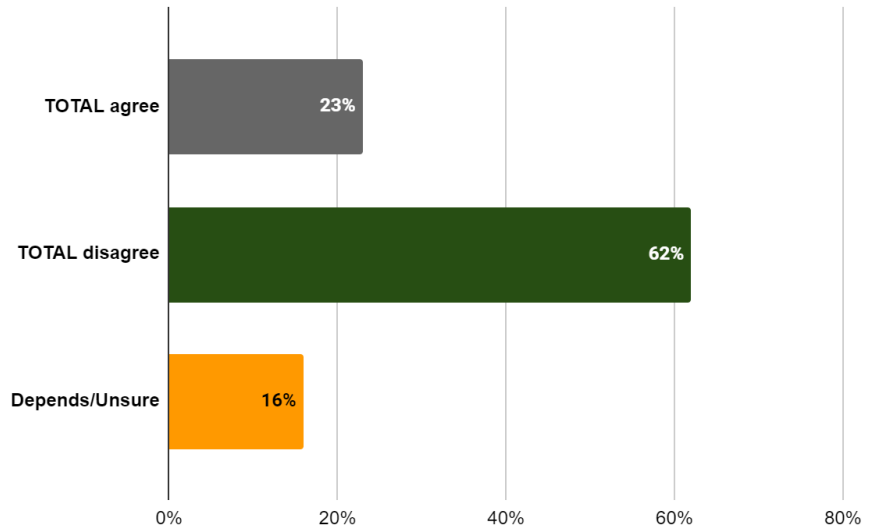
- Ages 18-34 (34%)
- Black (32%)
- Hispanic (32%)
- Children in Household (29%)
- Men (28%)
- Democrat (26%)
- Full-time employment (26%)

★ **Groups more likely to disagree**
(62% TOTAL DISAGREE):

- Retired (80%)
- Republican (71%)
- \$50K-\$100K income (68%)
- Women (66%)
- White (65%)

★ **Groups more likely to be unsure** **(16% TOTAL UNSURE):**

- Independents (29%)
- Ages 18-34 (21%)
- Under \$50K income (21%)
- Hispanic (20%)



IV. "The Farm Bill in Congress should override state markets for agricultural products, which have most often offered business opportunities to American farmers who innovate and invest in specific meat products" Split views (35% agree - 38% disagree) with a significantly higher number of people saying they are "unsure" (27%) suggests the framing of this message is inadequate.

★ **Groups more likely to agree (35% TOTAL AGREE):**

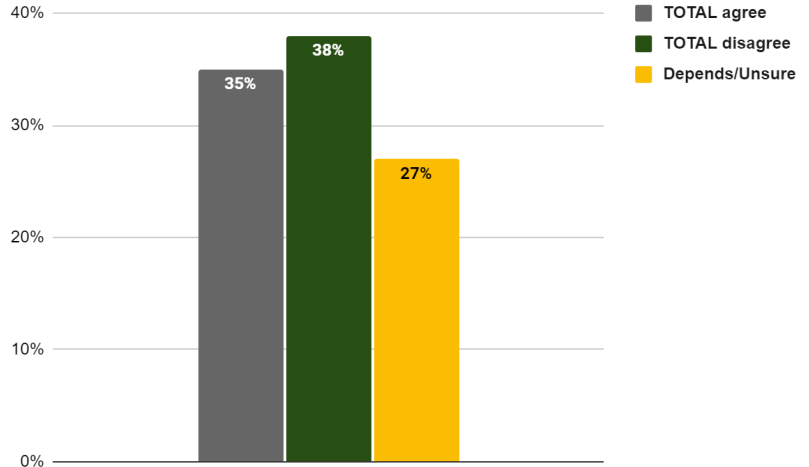
- Black (51%)
- Democrat (43%)
- Ages 18-34 (42%)
- Hispanic (42%)
- West (40%)
- Children in Household (39%)

★ **Groups more likely to disagree (38% TOTAL DISAGREE):**

- Men (46%)
- Ages 35-54 (43%)
- Northeast (44%)
- Republican (44%)
- Independent (43%)
- Full-time employment (43%)

★ **Groups more likely to be unsure (27% TOTAL):**

- Women (37%)
- Ages 55+ (35%)
- Democrat (31%)
- College-educated (31%)
- Not employed (35%)
- White (32%)



Survey Methodology

The Clapham Group recently added questions to an Online Omnibus Survey among 1,005 Registered Voters Nationwide. This quantitative research was conducted between July 30-31, 2024. Sampling controls were used to ensure that a proportional and representative number of voters were interviewed from such demographic groups as age, gender, race, and geographic region. The margin of error is \pm 3.0% at the 95% confidence interval for the overall survey, and M.O.E.s for subgroups are larger.