# AMERICANS' VIEWS ON CURRENT TRADE AND HEALTH POLICIES

September 2016





#### INTRODUCTION

#### Free Trade and the Economy

When asked about free trade policies with different countries around the world, Americans do not always feel the same way about trade. Rather, Americans' beliefs about free trade, and whether that trade has been good or bad for the U.S., change depending on the partner country. Overall, 46% of Americans (including 64% of Republicans) think trade with China, more than with any other country, hurts the United States.

Furthermore, a substantial share of Americans (33% overall, including 47% of Republicans and 24% of Democrats) believe that, over the past ten years, free trade agreements have hurt their community. This belief affects opinions on nearly every other economic issue we asked about, including about the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP).

Despite Washington D.C.'s focus on the TPP, only 29% of Americans say they have heard or read *anything* about this proposed agreement. Among those who have heard of it, 63% are opposed and 68% think it should not be voted on until the new Congress comes into office after the lame-duck session.

Despite a growing number of positive economic indicators, a majority (56%) of Americans think the U.S. economy has either stayed the same (24%) or gotten worse (32%) since the 2008 economic downturn. A majority also believes it has gotten harder for both lower- and middle-income people to get ahead financially. When asked what Congress should prioritize to improve the economy, Americans are divided between narrowing the income gap between rich and poor (42%) and cutting taxes (40%). Democrats favor narrowing the income gap (61%), while Republicans favor cutting taxes (64%). This reflects another partisan split in the perception of the income gap itself: while 59% of Democrats view the income gap as a "very serious problem," only 20% of Republicans feel the same.

#### **Health Care and the Affordable Care Act**

Turning to health care, 43% of Americans say they are very or somewhat worried about not being able to pay their medical costs in the coming year. The top concern (31%) is out-of-pocket costs, such as co-pays and deductibles.

When asked how much they blame different groups for the high costs of health care today, Americans assign the most blame to prescription drug companies (70%), followed by health insurance companies (60%) and the federal government (53%). Republicans blame the federal government the most (68%), while Democrats focus on drug companies (74%).

Finally, Americans are divided on their opinion of how well the Affordable Care Act is working, but more believe it is working very poorly (33%) than very well (17%), including across parties: 71% of Republicans say the ACA is working very poorly, while only 34% of Democrats say very well.

# Free Trade and the Economy

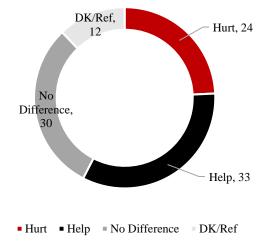
#### Americans divided on free trade, but beliefs depend on the trading partner

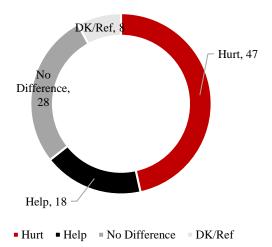
Americans are nearly evenly divided over the impact of free trade agreements on U.S. communities over the past 10 years: 25% say these agreements have helped their community, 33% say they have hurt, and 33% say they have made no difference.

There are significant differences in these beliefs between parties. Republicans are more likely to say these free trade agreements have hurt their community (47%) than Democrats (24%) (Figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1: Democrats' View Of Free Trade's Impact On Community

Figure 2: Republicans' View Of Free Trade's Impact On Community





People in the Midwest (53%) are also more likely to say that free trade agreements hurt their communities than are those in any other region (27% Northeast, 27% South, 26% West).<sup>1</sup>

Many Americans also believe that trade policies with other countries have lost American jobs (65% lost U.S. jobs, 13% created U.S. jobs, 15% no effect on U.S. jobs), and nearly half (49%) think these policies have lowered wages for American workers. Only 14% think these policies have raised American wages. While 89% of Americans favor the federal government creating policies to encourage companies to bring jobs back to the U.S., only 25% think these policies would be very effective, with another 48% saying they would be somewhat effective.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Midwest," defined by U.S. Census 4-Region division, includes: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Despite these negative beliefs about the impact of free trade (and the current state of the U.S. economy, discussed later), a majority of Americans (52%) nonetheless believes the U.S. is the leading economic power in the world today, with no significant partisan variation in this belief. China was ranked second (28%).

These beliefs also have partisan divides: 54% of Democrats believe that free trade has lost more U.S. jobs than it has created, compared to 66% of Independents and 85% of Republicans. Similarly, 38% of Democrats believe free trade has lowered U.S. wages, compared to 50% of Independents and 66% of Republicans. Only 8% of Republicans, 11% of Independents, and 19% of Democrats think free trade has led to higher wages for U.S. workers.

These attitudes reflect beliefs about free trade in general. However, this poll's findings reveal that American attitudes toward free trade agreements vary widely depending on the trade partner, and in some cases are even more negative than these general beliefs.

For example, attitudes toward Canada and Mexico – partners in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) – are quite distinct. Only 8% of Americans think free trade with Canada has hurt the U.S., compared to 34% who think trade with Mexico has hurt America (Figure 3).

American attitudes toward China, however, are the most negative: a near-majority (46%) said that trade with China is hurtful to the U.S. (Figure 3).

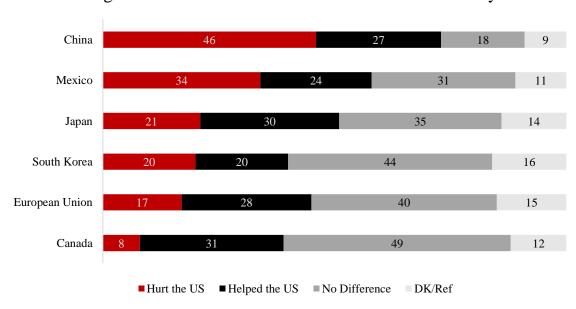


Figure 3: Beliefs About Free Trade With Each Country

Differences in country-specific attitudes vary even more dramatically when accounting for partisanship. Only 15% of Republicans think trade with Canada hurts the U.S., but over 60% think trade with Mexico (61%) and China (64%) hurts America (Figure 4).

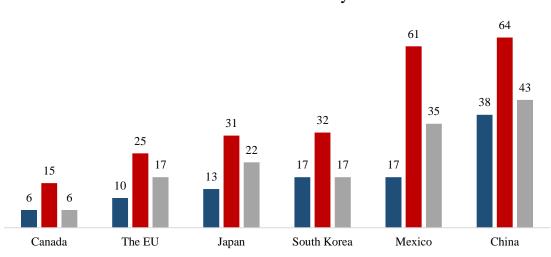


Figure 4: Partisan Beliefs That Free Trade With Each Country Hurts U.S.

Democrats' beliefs are generally less negative, but still depend on the trading partner: a mere 6% of Democrats think trade with Canada hurts the U.S., compared to 17% regarding Mexico and 38% regarding China (Figure 4).

■ Democrats
■ Republicans
■ Independents

This partisan divide is also noteworthy because just ten years ago, in a similarly worded question asked in 2006, Pew Research Center showed that Republicans were considerably more positive on free trade and Democrats were more negative. Republicans were more likely to say trade agreements had helped (43%) rather than hurt (27%) the financial situation of their family. Democrats, on the other hand, were more anti-trade: only 30% said free trade agreements helped their family, while 41% said hurt.<sup>3</sup>

These findings illustrate the notable shift in which party's constituency views free trade as more hurtful. In 2006, Democrats viewed free trade as more hurtful than helpful, but in 2016 this view is more commonly held by Republicans. Not only do Republicans today view free trade as hurtful, they hold consistently more negative beliefs about free trade with every country we asked about, as compared to today's Democrats.

#### Few Americans know about the TPP, but those who do are mostly opposed

President Obama's proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership, a free trade agreement among twelve countries (Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, the U.S., and Vietnam) has become a matter of much discussion during the 2016 election cycle.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Pew question wording: "Thinking about the financial situation of you and your family... Do you think these free trade agreements (like NAFTA and the WTO) have definitely helped, probably helped, probably hurt, or definitely hurt the financial situation of you and your family?"

However, despite the seeming predominance of this issue in the media and in Washington D.C., only 29% of Americans say they have heard or read *anything* about the TPP, while 70% say they have heard or read nothing at all. Of those who say they have heard anything about the TPP, 63% oppose Congress approving the agreement.

Given the persistently negative attitudes toward trade with China shown earlier in the poll, we also asked people who knew about the TPP whether China was part of the proposed agreement. (It is not.) A majority (61%) of these people either falsely believe that China is part of the agreement or do not know whether China is involved. Only 39% of those who have heard of the TPP can correctly identify that China is not included. In other words, only 11% of all Americans have both heard of the TPP *and* know that China is not involved. Given the strongly negative attitudes toward China, this misperception is of note.

Additionally, beliefs about the impact of past free trade agreements are strongly related to current awareness of the Trans-Pacific Partnership: 45% of people who believe free trade has hurt their community have heard of the TPP, compared to a quarter or less of people who believe free trade helped (25%) or made no difference (22%) (Table 1). This suggests that those who negatively view past free trade agreements are more likely to pay attention to current debates about the TPP.

Indeed, those who believe past free trade agreements hurt their community expressed far more negative attitudes on every question we asked about trade policy (Table 1). They were far more likely to say that free trade with every specific country hurt the U.S., and that trade policies with other countries have lost U.S. jobs and lowered U.S. wages. Among those who have heard of the TPP *and* thought past trade hurt their community, 92% opposed Congress approving the TPP.

Table 1: Views of Trade Policies by Perceived Effect of Free Trade on Own Community

		Perceived		
		past trade a	_	Difference
		on own co	mmunity	between hurt
	All	Hurt	Helped	and helped
% saying free trade policies with each country				
have hurt the U.S.				
China	46	81	23	58
Mexico	34	65	13	52
Japan	21	45	8	37
South Korea	20	46	7	39
European Union	17	37	5	32
Canada	8	16	8	8
% saying trade policies have lost U.S. jobs	65	91	39	52
% saying trade policies have lowered U.S. wages	49	82	31	51
% have heard of read anything about TPP	29	45	25	20
% oppose Congress approving TPP (among those who have heard of TPP)	63	92	16	76

Another trade issue that has recently been discussed is "Brexit," or the June 2016 British vote to leave the European Union, and the potential economic problems this departure could create for Britain. When asked whether the U.S. should help Britain by making an effort to increase trade with them, more Americans say we should not do this (49%) than should (37%).

### Parties differ on current state of the economy, visions for its future

Americans are also divided on beliefs about economic experiences and income inequality, the future of the U.S. economy, and what political leaders should do about these issues.

When asked about the economic situation in the U.S. since the downturn in 2008, Americans are of mixed opinion: 41% think it has gotten better, 32% say it has gotten worse, and 24% say it has stayed about the same. Additionally, when asked about the future growth of the U.S. economy, 51% think the economy will continue its current growth rate, 21% think it will grow slower, and only 18% think it will grow faster than it has been. A majority of Americans also believes it has gotten more difficult for lower- (58%) and middle-income (57%) people to get ahead since 2008.

Democrats are more likely to say the economy has gotten better (67%) since 2008, while 51% of Republicans say it has gotten worse. Independents are roughly split between whether the economy has gotten better (36%), worse (35%), or stayed about the same (27%). Republicans are also more likely than Democrats to say lower- and middle-income people have had a harder time getting ahead since 2008: roughly 70% of Republicans, compared to fewer than half of Democrats, express this belief. These findings highlight partisan divides in assessments of the current economic climate.

Similarly, when asked about whether the gap in income between the rich and poor in the U.S. is a problem, 59% of Democrats say it is a very serious problem, compared to only 20% of Republicans (Figure 5).

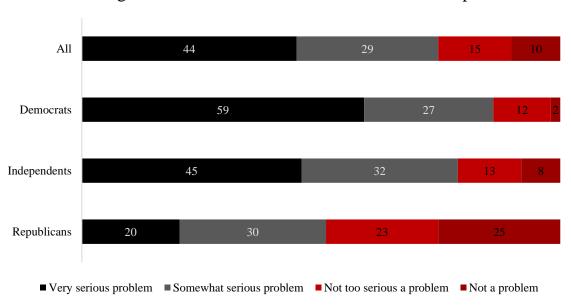


Figure 5: Partisan Beliefs About The Income Gap

These partisan differences are further reflected in beliefs about what the next Congress should prioritize: 61% of Democrats think Congress should prioritize narrowing the income gap, while only 17% of Republicans agree. Rather, a majority (64%) of Republicans think Congress should prioritize cutting taxes in order to grow the economy (Figure 6).

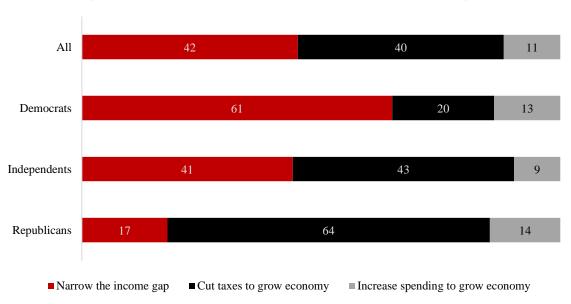


Figure 6: Partisan Beliefs on Priorities for Next Congress

Overall, 42% of Americans think the highest economic priority for the next Congress should be "trying to narrow the income gap between the rich and the poor by raising taxes on upper-income people and spending more on programs for lower-income people." Another 40% say the next

Congress should prioritize growing the economy by cutting taxes, while only 11% say Congress should grow the economy by increasing federal spending on important areas (Figure 6).

Finally, and consistent with other findings about declining and sometimes historic lows in trust in government, only 34% of Americans report they are confident that the federal government correctly reports the unemployment rate.<sup>4</sup> A majority (54%) thinks the unemployment rate is higher than what the government reports. Once more, parties are divided: 46% of Democrats are not confident that the government-reported figure is correct, compared to 68% of Republicans and 72% of Independents.

In sum, partisan divides run throughout both trade and economic beliefs. Beliefs about free trade with other countries, including opinions about the Trans-Pacific Partnership, are heavily influenced by beliefs about the impact of past trade on one's community. Americans' (dis)taste for free trade depends on the potential trading partner, with the strongest opposition to trade with China – particularly among Republicans.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See, for example, Pew Research Center's November 2015 story "Public Trust in Government: 1958-2015." <a href="http://www.people-press.org/2015/11/23/public-trust-in-government-1958-2015/">http://www.people-press.org/2015/11/23/public-trust-in-government-1958-2015/</a>

# Health Care and the Affordable Care Act

### Americans divided on how well ACA is working, but more say very poorly than very well

Six years after the passage of the Affordable Care Act, Americans are divided on how well it is actually working: 47% say it is working well, and 47% say it is working poorly. However, those who think the ACA is working poorly are far more likely to say "very poorly," while those who think it is working well are only say "somewhat well" (Figure 7).

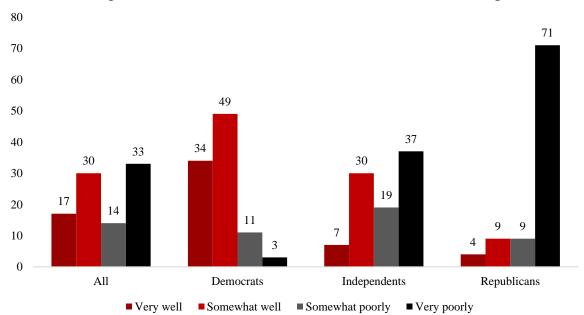


Figure 7: Beliefs About How Well the ACA is Working

The same remains true even across parties. A vast majority of Republicans (71%) say the ACA is working very poorly, compared to only 34% of Democrats who say it is working very well. Indeed, Democrats are more likely to say the ACA is working only somewhat well (49%) (Figure 7). This illustrates the difference in public opinion between strongly negative beliefs and only somewhat positive beliefs toward the ACA.

#### Six years after ACA, desire for public option remains stable

We also asked the following question: "One of the issues being debated in the election this year is whether or not the federal government should establish a government-sponsored health insurance program, often called a public option. People who currently get their private health insurance through the Affordable Care Act would be offered a choice of private health insurance plans or enrolling in this new government insurance program. Do you favor or oppose the government offering such a program?"

Though a slight majority (54%) of all Americans favor a public option, these beliefs are similarly divided along party lines, with 75% of Democrats in favor and 60% of Republicans opposed. Among Independents, 52% favor and 37% oppose a public option (Figure 8).

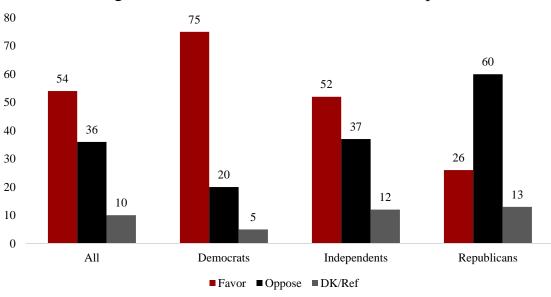


Figure 8: Partisan Beliefs About A Public Option

If a public option were to be offered, Americans are skeptical about its hypothetical pricing and benefits relative to private health insurance plans. Overall, 32% think a public option would offer health insurance at a higher price than private plans, 28% think it would offer a lower price, and 31% expect no difference in price. Similarly, Americans are split on the quality of benefits a public option would offer relative to private plans: 23% think a public option would offer better benefits, 26% think worse, and 44% think there would not be much difference in benefits between a public option and private plans.

Democrats are more likely to say a public option would offer lower prices (39%) and similar benefits (52%) to private plans, while Republicans are more likely to say prices would be higher (42%) and the benefits would be worse (38%) than private plans.

Six years after the ACA was enacted, support for a public option remains generally stable. In 2009, CBS/New York Times asked a similarly worded question.<sup>5</sup> In 2009, 59% of all Americans favored a public option, compared to 54% today. Among Democrats, 80% favored in 2009 and 75% favor it today. Among Republicans, 33% favored a public option in 2009, while that number has dropped to 26% today. Finally, 58% of Independents in 2009 were in favor, compared to 52% today.

10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> CBS/New York Times Poll (12/4-8/2009) question wording: "Would you favor or oppose the government offering some people who are uninsured the choice of a government administered health insurance plan – also known as a 'public option' – that would compete with private health insurance plans?"

#### Over 4 in 10 worried about ability to pay medical costs in the coming year

Despite significant increases in the number of people with health insurance, 43% of Americans say they are still very (19%) or somewhat (24%) worried about not being able to pay their medical costs in the coming year.<sup>6</sup> A majority (56%) say that are not too worried (20%) or not worried at all (36%).

While there are no significant party differences in concern about health care costs, Americans making less than \$25,000 per year are significantly more worried than those with higher incomes: 37% of those making less than \$25,000 say they are very worried, compared to only 5% of those making \$75,000 or more per year.

Among those ages 65 and over, fully 70% said they are not too worried or not at all worried about paying their medical costs this year. Regionally, 53% of people in the South are very or somewhat worried, compared to their peers in the Northeast (37%) and Midwest (33%); this correlates with the disproportionate number of people in the South without health insurance.<sup>7</sup>

Among those who said they are very or somewhat worried about paying their medical costs, their top-ranked concern is out-of-pocket costs, such as co-pays and deductibles (31%).

#### Americans blame drug and insurance companies most for rising health costs

Finally, we asked people to think about six different groups that are prominent in American health care, and asked them to rate how much each group is to blame for the high costs of health care today.<sup>8</sup>

Americans generally blame drug companies the most: 70% said they are "a lot" to blame for the high costs of health care today. Health insurance companies are the next most blamed group (60% blame "a lot"), followed by the federal government (53%). Republicans are most likely to rank the federal government first (Table 2).

Only 12% of Americans, across all party groups, assign "a lot" of blame to patients themselves, making patients the least blamed group for the current high costs of health care.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See the September 2016 Census Report "Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2015," Report Number P60-257, by Jessica C. Barnett and Marina Vornovitsky. Available at <a href="http://www.census.gov/library/publications/2016/demo/p60-257.html">http://www.census.gov/library/publications/2016/demo/p60-257.html</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Figure 7 of the above 2016 Census Report P60-257: <a href="http://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/demo/visualizations/p60/257/figure7.pdf">http://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/demo/visualizations/p60/257/figure7.pdf</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The question read, "How much do you blame each of the following for high health care costs today? How about..." These groups were: the federal government, health insurance companies, drug companies, doctors, hospitals, and patients themselves. The question was repeated for each of the six groups.

Table 2: Top 3 Groups Ranked as "A Lot" to Blame for High Costs of Health Care Today

All Americans	
1. Drug companies	70%
2. Insurance companies	60%
3. Federal government	53%

Democrats		Independents		Republicans	
1. Drug companies	74%	1. Drug companies	73%	1. Federal government	68%
2. Insurance companies	64%	2. Insurance companies	63%	2. Drug companies	61%
3. Hospitals	49%	3. Federal government	55%	3. Insurance companies	47%

In sum, six years after the passage of the Affordable Care Act, Americans are divided over how well the ACA is working, but less so about their sense of who to blame for rising health care costs. Americans are roughly evenly split over how well the ACA is working (47% well, 47% poorly), but negative opinions are more extreme than positive ones: 33% of Americans say it is working *very* poorly, compared to only 17% saying *very* well. Over four in ten Americans are worried about not being able to pay their medical bills in the coming year, and their top concern is out-of-pocket costs. But when asked who to blame for the rising costs of health care, Americans generally agree that prescription drug and health insurance companies are the most to blame – with Republicans also blaming the federal government.

# Methodology

The results are based on polling conducted by *Politico* and Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. Representatives of the two organizations worked closely to develop the survey questionnaire and analyze the results of the poll. *Politico* and Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health paid for the survey and related expenses.

The project team was led by Robert J. Blendon, Sc.D., Richard L. Menschel Professor of Health Policy and Political Analysis at Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, and Joanne Kenen, Executive Editor, Health Care at *Politico/Politico Pro*. Harvard research team also included John M. Benson, Logan S. Casey, and Justin M. Sayde.

Interviews were conducted with a nationally representative sample of 1,000 randomly selected adults, ages 18 and older, via telephone (including cell phones and landlines) by SSRS of Media, Pennsylvania. The interviewing period was August 31 – September 4, 2016. The data were weighted to reflect the demographics of the national adult population as described by the U.S. Census.

When interpreting these findings, one should recognize that all surveys are subject to sampling error. Results may differ from what would be obtained if the whole U.S. adult population had been interviewed. The margin of error for the full sample is  $\pm 3.7$  percentage points. For questions asked of half-samples, the margin of error is approximately  $\pm 5.3$  percentage points.

Possible sources of non-sampling error include non-response bias, as well as question wording and ordering effects. Non-response in telephone surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population. To compensate for these known biases and for variations in probability of selection within and across households, sample data are weighted by household size, cell phone/landline use and demographics (sex, age, race/ethnicity, education, and region) to reflect the true population. Other techniques, including random-digit dialing, replicate subsamples, and systematic respondent selection within households, are used to ensure that the sample is representative.

# Politico/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health Poll

# Americans' Views on Current Trade and Health Policies

This survey was conducted for *Politico* and Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health via telephone by SSRS, an independent research company. Interviews were conducted via telephone (cell phone and landline) August 31 – September 4, 2016, among a nationally representative sample of 1,000 U.S. adults. The margin of error for total respondents is +/- 3.7 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. More information about SSRS can be obtained by visiting <a href="https://www.ssrs.com">www.ssrs.com</a>

### **ECONOMY**

#### (Asked of half-sample A; n = 516)

PQ-01. Since the economic downturn in 2008, do you think the economic situation in the U.S. has gotten better, worse, or has it stayed about the same?

		Stayed about the	Don't know/
Better	Worse	same	Refused
41	32	24	3

#### (Asked of half-sample A: n = 516)

PQ-02. Since the economic downturn in 2008, do you think... (INSERT ITEM)?

a. It has gotten easier or harder for lower-income people to get ahead financially, or hasn't that changed

Easier	Harder	Hasn't changed	Don't know/ Refused
13	58	25	4

b. It has gotten easier or harder for middle-income people to get ahead financially, or hasn't that changed

Easier	Harder	Hasn't changed	Don't know/ Refused
12	57	29	2

# (Asked of half-sample A; n = 516)

PQ-03. Currently the U.S. economy is growing, but slowly. Thinking about the next 10 years, what is your view? Do you think the economy is likely to grow faster than it has been, grow more slowly than it has been, or continue at about the same rate of growth?

Grow faster than it has been	Grow more slowly than it has been	Continue at about the same rate of growth	Don't know/ Refused
18	21	51	10

#### (Asked of half-sample A; n = 516)

PQ-04. If you had to choose, which ONE of the following do you think should be the highest priority for the next Congress?

Trying to narrow the income gap between the rich and the poor by raising taxes on upper-income people and spending more on programs for lower-income people	42
Trying to grow the overall U.S. economy by cutting taxes	40
Trying to grow the overall U.S. economy by increasing federal government spending on important areas	11
Don't know/Refused	7

#### (Asked of half-sample A; n = 516)

PQ-05. Do you think the gap in income between the rich and the poor is a very serious problem, somewhat serious problem, not too serious a problem, or not a problem in the U.S.?

	A	Not too		
A very	somewhat	serious		Don't
serious	serious	a	Not a	know/
problem	problem	problem	problem	Refused
44	29	15	10	1

#### (Asked of half-sample A; n = 516)

PQ-06. Currently the federal government reports that the unemployment rate, that is, the percentage of people looking for work who are unable to find a job, is 4.9%. Are you confident or not confident that this number is correct?

# (Asked of those in half-sample A who say they are not confident that the government reported unemployment number is correct)

PQ-07. Do you think the unemployment rate is higher or lower than what the government currently reports?

### PQ-6/PQ-7 COMBO TABLE

**Base: Total Respondents in Half-Sample A** 

Confident that the number the federal government reports is correct	34
Unemployment rate is higher than what the government currently reports	54
Unemployment rate is lower than what the government currently reports	7
Don't know/Refused	5

# **TRADE**

#### (Asked of half-sample B; n = 484)

PQ-08. Which one of the following do you think is the leading economic power in the world today?

The United States	52
China	28
Japan	6
The European Union	3
Russia	2
India	1
Don't know/Refused	8

#### (Read to half-sample B; n = 484)

Now I want to ask some questions about free trade agreements over the past 10 years.

#### (Asked of half-sample B; n = 484)

PQ-09. In general, over the past 10 years, do you think free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have helped your community or hurt your community, or have they made no difference?

		Have made	Don't
Helped your	Hurt your	no	know/
community	community	difference	Refused
25	33	33	9

PQ-10. In general, do you think current U.S. free trade policies with each of the following countries have helped the U.S., hurt the U.S. or not made much of a difference?

#### a. Mexico

Helped the U.S.	Hurt the U.S.	Not made much of a difference	Don't know/ Refused
24	34	31	11

#### b. Canada

Ualnad tha	Uunt tha	Not made much of a	Don't
Helped the U.S.	Hurt the U.S.	difference	know/ Refused
31	8	49	12

#### c. China

** 1 1.1	77	Not made	Don't
Helped the	Hurt the	much of a	know/
U.S.	U.S.	difference	Refused
27	46	18	9

#### d. South Korea

		Not made	Don't
Helped the	Hurt the	much of a	know/
U.S.	U.S.	difference	Refused
20	20	44	16

#### e. Japan

Helped the	Hurt the	Not made much of a	Don't know/
U.S.	U.S.	difference	Refused
30	21	35	14

# f. The European Union

		Not made	Don't
Helped the	Hurt the	much of a	know/
77.0	** 0	*****	
U.S.	U.S.	difference	Refused

PQ-11. Over the past 10 years, would you say U.S. trade policies with other countries have created more jobs for the U.S., lost more jobs for the U.S., or have U.S. trade policies with other countries had no effect on U.S. jobs?

Created	Lost more		Don't
more jobs	jobs for the	No effect on	know/
for the U.S.	U.S.	U.S. jobs	Refused
ioi tile o.s.	U.S.	0.3. Jubs	Refuseu

#### (Asked of half-sample B; n = 484)

PQ-12. Over the past 10 years, would you say U.S. trade policies have made the wages of American workers higher, lower or not made a difference?

			Don't
		Not made a	know/
Higher	Lower	difference	Refused
14	49	29	8

#### (Asked of half-sample B; n = 484)

PQ-13. Would you favor or oppose having the federal government adopt new policies to encourage companies to bring back jobs to the U.S. from other countries? For example, tax benefits and government investments in projects that could make it more profitable to do business in the U.S.

		Don't know/
Favor	Oppose	Refused
89	8	3

#### (Asked of half-sample B; n = 484)

PQ-14. If the federal government adopted such policies, do you think they would be very effective in bringing jobs back to the U.S., somewhat effective, not too effective, or not effective at all?

Very effective	25
Somewhat effective	48
Not too effective	13
Not at all effective	8
Don't know/Refused	6

PQ-15. As you may know, the U.S. has negotiated a trade agreement with 11 countries bordering on the Pacific called the Trans-Pacific Partnership, also known as TPP. Have you heard or read anything about the Trans-Pacific Partnership, or not?

		Don't know/
Yes	No	Refused
29	70	1

# (Asked of those in half-sample B who have heard of the Trans Pacific Partnership; n = 175)

PQ-16. Do you favor or oppose Congress approving this agreement?

Among the 29% who have heard or read anything about TPP		
		Don't know/
Favor	Oppose	Refused
26	63	11

# (Asked of those in half-sample B who have heard of the Trans Pacific Partnership; n = 175)

PQ-17. After the November election, the old Congress will still be in session until January. This is often referred to as a lame-duck session. Do you think there should be a vote on the Trans-Pacific Partnership, also known as TPP, during this lame-duck session, or should the vote be left until the new Congress comes into office?

Among the 29% who have heard or read anything about TPP			
Should be left			
Should vote	until the new		
during this	Congress		
lame duck	e duck comes into D		
season	office	Refused	
27	68	5	

# (Asked of those in half-sample B who have heard of the Trans Pacific Partnership; n = 175)

PQ-18. To the best of your knowledge, does the Trans-Pacific Partnership, also known as TPP, include China, or not?

Among the 29% who have heard or read anything about TPP		
Correct: Does not include China	39	
Incorrect/unaware (NET)	61	
Includes China	29	
Don't know/Refused	32	

PQ-19. As you may know, Britain has voted to leave the European Union. Many commentators have suggested that this could create economic problems for Britain. To help Britain, do you think the U.S. should make an effort to increase trade with them, or is this something you think the U.S. should not do?

Should	Should not	
increase trade	increase trade	Don't know/
with Britain	with Britain	Refused
37	49	14

## **HEALTH**

#### (Asked of half-sample A; n = 516)

PQ-20. As you may know, the Affordable Care Act is the health care law passed by Barack Obama and Congress in 2010. Overall, how well do you think the Affordable Care Act is working today?

Very well	17
Somewhat well	30
Somewhat poorly	14
Very poorly	33
Don't know/Refused	6

#### (Asked of half-sample A; n = 516)

PQ-21. One of the issues being debated in the election this year is whether or not the federal government should establish a government-sponsored health insurance program, often called a public option. People who currently get their private health insurance through the Affordable Care Act would be offered a choice of private health insurance plans or enrolling in this new government insurance program. Do you favor or oppose the government offering such a program?

Favor	Oppose	Don't know/ Refused
54	36	10

#### (Asked of half-sample A; n = 516)

PQ-22. If there was a public option, do you think it would offer health insurance at a higher or lower price than the current private health insurance plans that are available, or do you think there wouldn't be much difference in price?

		It wouldn't	Don't
Higher	Lower	make a difference	know/ Refused
32	28	31	9

# (Asked of half-sample A; n = 516)

PQ-23. If there was a public option, do you think it would offer better or worse health benefits than the current private health insurance plans that are available, or wouldn't there be much difference?

		It wouldn't make much	Don't know/
Better	Worse	difference	Refused
23	26	44	7

#### (Asked of half-sample A; n = 516)

PQ-24. Thinking about the coming year, how worried are you about not being able to pay medical costs for yourself and your family?

Very worried	19
Somewhat worried	24
Not too worried	20
Not at all worried	36
Don't know/Refused	1

# (Asked of those in half-sample A who are very or somewhat worried about not being able to pay medical costs; n = 199)

PQ-25. Which of the following worries you most about paying your medical costs?

Among the 43% who are very or somewhat worried about not being able to pay medical costs		
Out-of-pocket costs you pay, such as co-pays and deductibles	31	
Surprise bills from doctors or hospitals that you get even if you are covered	22	
Medical costs that are not covered at all by your health insurance	21	
Insurance premiums	11	
The cost of prescription drugs	10	
Other (vol)	3	
Don't know/Refused	2	

# (Asked of half-sample A; n = 516)

PQ-26. How much do you blame each of the following for high health care costs today? How about...(READ ITEM)?

# a. The federal government

			Don't know/
A lot	A little	Not at all	Refused
53	33	12	2

# b. Health insurance companies

			Don't know/
A lot	A little	Not at all	Refused
60	30	9	1

# c. Drug companies

			Don't
			know/
A lot	A little	Not at all	Refused
70	23	5	2

## d. Doctors

			Don't
			know/
A lot	A little	Not at all	Refused
28	47	24	1

# e. Hospitals

			Don't know/
A lot	A little	Not at all	Refused
44	41	13	2

#### f. Patients themselves

			Don't
			know/
A lot	A little	Not at all	Refused
12	50	35	2