

# THE PUBLIC AND THE CRITICAL ISSUES BEFORE CONGRESS IN THE SUMMER AND FALL OF 2017

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**HARVARD**  
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# INTRODUCTION

At the time this poll’s results are being released, the Congress is engaged in a number of debates about the future of critical national issues. Some of these issues are so important that they may impact the outcome of the 2018 Congressional election. Some are about to be voted on by Congress in the coming months, and an understanding of public opinion is likely to play an important role.

This report reflects both of these concerns. The first section deals with the possible role of a number of key issues in the 2018 Congressional election. The second section relates to current public opinion on issues being debated by Congress.

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## **PART 1: A LOOK AHEAD TO THE 2018 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS: VOTERS' VIEWS ON THE POTENTIAL ISSUES**

In recent months the extraordinary level of visible conflict in Washington and around the country over the future direction of the nation has led to speculation that the Congressional elections in 2018 could be of substantial importance in resolving these deep divisions. Though the election is months away, the attention given this pending event has led *Politico* and Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health to produce a special polling section focused on the upcoming election.

Using data from a June 2017 national poll, we analyze the views today of three groups of voters about critical issues in the 2018 election. These groups are (1) all registered voters, (2) registered voters who say they intend to vote for the Republican candidate in their congressional district, and (3) registered voters who say they intend to vote for the Democratic candidate. These registered voters were given eleven priority choices and asked how important each would be in deciding their congressional vote. Presenting the results for each of these groups individually allows us to examine what might happen if different scenarios were to arise depending on the actual election turnout of each group in 2018.

Table 1 shows how each of the three groups of voters responded when asked to rate the importance to their vote of a range of potential election issues. Each of the issues is currently very visible in Washington debates and the national news. Prior research suggests that the mid-term elections in a president's first term in office are often seen as a referendum on the new president's policy decision-making.<sup>1,2</sup> Thus all of the items listed reflect President Trump's initiatives, as well as his overall job performance.

Table 1 shows substantial variation among the three groups of voters on what they see as their top issues, those they consider to be extremely important in their 2018 voting decision. The top three issues for registered voters as a whole are: the President's effort to prevent domestic terrorism, his effort to repeal and replace the ACA/Obamacare, and his proposed budgetary spending priorities. For voters intending to vote for a Republican for Congress in 2018, the top issues likewise include terrorism and the ACA/Obamacare replacement. But in addition, the President's effort to keep out unauthorized immigrants is among the top three issues. Potential voters for Democratic House candidates have somewhat different priorities. They are the possible improper White House involvement with the Russian government, President Trump's decision to withdraw from the Paris climate change agreement, and his efforts to repeal and replace the ACA/Obamacare.

Given the extraordinary recent focus on the ACA/Obamacare debate, it is important to note that there are other issues that could have a more important impact on voters' choices for Congressional races than this one. Likewise, President Trump's efforts to cut federal income taxes for individuals and businesses is not seen as a top-ranking voting issue by any of the three groups, though it is of interest among the current majority party in Congress.

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<sup>1</sup> McGhee, Eric. 2014. "How the 'Midterm Penalty' is Hurting Democrats." *The Washington Post*. February 11, 2014. [http://wapo.st/1kytsJn?tid=ss\\_tw&utm\\_term=.3703bec7f7a9](http://wapo.st/1kytsJn?tid=ss_tw&utm_term=.3703bec7f7a9)

<sup>2</sup> See literature review on this topic in Folke, O. and Snyder, J. M. 2012. Gubernatorial Midterm Slumps. *American Journal of Political Science* 56: 931–948. doi:10.1111/j.1540-5907.2012.00599.x

**Table 1: Top Political Issues, by Vote Intent in the 2018 Congressional Election**

| Issue   | <i>% saying extremely important to vote decision</i> |                                     |                                     |
|---|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
|   | All registered voters                                | Intend to vote <b>Rep</b> candidate | Intend to vote <b>Dem</b> candidate |
| President Trump’s effort to prevent terrorist attacks in the U.S.                   | 39   | 47                                  | 34                                  |
| President Trump’s effort to repeal and replace the ACA                              | 37   | 31                                  | 46                                  |
| President Trump’s proposed federal budget   | 34   | 27                                  | 44                                  |
| Allegations about White House involvement with Russian government                   | 31   | 12                                  | 49                                  |
| President Trump’s effort to keep out unauthorized or illegal immigrants             | 31   | 32                                  | 36                                  |
| President Trump’s ban on travelers from some Middle Eastern countries               | 31   | 28                                  | 35                                  |
| President Trump’s decision to withdraw the U.S. from Paris climate change agreement | 30   | 12                                  | 49                                  |
| President Trump’s overall job as President  | 29   | 23                                  | 38                                  |
| President Trump’s defense policies  | 29   | 29                                  | 32                                  |
| President Trump’s effort to cut federal income taxes for individuals and businesses | 28   | 28                                  | 29                                  |
| President Trump’s trade policies  | 24   | 20                                  | 30                                  |

POLITICO/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, The Public and the Critical Issues Before Congress in the Summer and Fall of 2017, June 14 – 18, 2017. Base: registered voters.

Lastly, of note, the President’s overall job performance rating is not seen as a top voting issue by any of the three groups. If this holds true, then his general public rating on this measure (generally quite low in other recent polls)<sup>3</sup> may not play as decisive a role in the Congressional election outcome as it has in prior mid-term elections. The takeaway from this preview is that voters’ ultimate choice may be based on a wider range of issues than has been currently recognized.

<sup>3</sup> HuffPost Pollster, Trump Job Approval. <http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/trump-job-approval>

## PART 2: THE PUBLIC AND THE ISSUES UNDER DEBATE IN CONGRESS

The non-budgetary debates in Washington during the summer and early fall are likely to focus on three broad and controversial issues: (1) the possible repeal and replacement of the ACA/Obamacare, (2) the debate over President Trump's proposals to substantially cut federal income taxes for individuals and businesses, and (3) the appropriate response to President Trump's decision to withdraw the U.S. from the international Paris climate change agreement. The national opinion poll results from *Politico* and Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health focus on these critical questions.

In interpreting these findings it is important to take into account the political situation facing the U.S. today. As shown in numerous reports and studies, the voting public has become increasingly polarized along partisan lines on many issues today.<sup>4,5</sup> As a result, the behavior of elected figures more often reflects the views of those who identify with their party than those of the general public as a whole.

The results presented here show the views of the general public, as well as those who identify themselves as Republicans, Democrats and political Independents. A point of importance throughout our report is the extent of the wide gap between Republicans (the majority party in Washington today) and Democrats (the minority party).

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<sup>4</sup> Abramowitz, Alan I. 2014. "Partisan Nation: The Rise of Affective Partisanship in the American Electorate." In *The State of the Parties: The Changing Role of Contemporary American Parties*, 7th ed., edited by John C. Green, Daniel J. Coffey, and David B. Cohen. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 21-36.

<sup>5</sup> Campbell, James E. 2016. *Polarized: Making Sense of a Divided America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapters 6, 7, 8.

## I. THE ACA/OBAMACARE

Much of the current controversial debate in Congress over the need to repeal and replace the ACA/Obamacare centers on the view by Republican leaders that the law is directly hurting many Americans and the position of Democratic leaders that the law needs to be maintained because it is directly helping so many Americans today.

As portrayed in Table 2, neither of these positions reflects the point of view of the general public as a whole. More report being helped by the law than hurt. These individuals who were impacted represent millions of people. However, the majority of both Republicans and Democrats believe that the law has not had a direct impact on them. Republicans are more likely to report being hurt by the law (31%) than helped, while more Democrats report being helped (36%). An issue raised in the current debate is whether President Trump’s voters see themselves being hurt or helped by this law. The poll asked those individuals who voted for the current President their views on this question. About six in ten (61%) reported the law had no direct impact on them, 36% said it has hurt them, and 3% said the law has helped them.

**Table 2: Views on Whether the ACA (Obamacare) Has Directly Helped or Hurt Them, by Trump Voters and Party Identification**

|                     | Total adults | Trump voters | Rep | Dem | Ind |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Helped              | 24           | 3            | 8   | 36  | 23  |
| Hurt                | 16           | 36           | 31  | 2   | 21  |
| No difference       | 58           | 61           | 60  | 60  | 54  |
| Don’t know/ Refused | 2            | *            | 1   | 2   | 2   |

POLITICO/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, The Public and the Critical Issues Before Congress in the Summer and Fall of 2017, June 14 – 18, 2017. Base: U.S. adults.

The current debate in Congress over replacing the ACA/Obamacare involves a number of complex issues. Three that have received much of the attention in the media are: (1) providing financial assistance to fewer individuals to purchase their health insurance than the current law while lowering forecasted government spending and taxes, (2) lowering the number of people to be covered by Medicaid in the years ahead and reducing government spending and taxes, and (3) changing the law so private insurers can charge those with pre-existing medical conditions higher premiums and at the same time allowing them to charge lower rates to those without these health conditions.

As Tables 3 and 4 show, most of the general public does not approve of either providing financial assistance to fewer individuals to purchase their health insurance or lowering the number of people to be covered by Medicaid. In contrast, the majority of Republicans do support the former and they are more divided on the issues of Medicaid.

**Table 3: Attitudes Toward the Extent of Coverage Provided by a Replacement Plan for the ACA (Obamacare), by Party Identification**

|  | Total adults | Rep | Dem | Ind |
|--|--------------|-----|-----|-----|
| That the replacement plan would provide financial assistance to purchase insurance to the same number of people as the ACA or Obamacare does now | 57           | 27  | 79  | 54  |
| That it would provide assistance to somewhat fewer people but save taxpayer money  | 22           | 42  | 11  | 22  |
| That it would provide assistance to a lot fewer people, saving even more money   | 12           | 20  | 5   | 13  |
| Don't know/ Refused  | 9            | 11  | 5   | 11  |

POLITICO/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, The Public and the Critical Issues Before Congress in the Summer and Fall of 2017, June 14 – 18, 2017. Base: U.S. adults.

**Table 4: Views on Whether President Trump's Proposal to Replace the ACA (Obamacare) Should Reduce the Number of People on Medicaid and as a Result Reduce Government Spending and Taxes or Keep the Same Number Currently Covered and Same Spending and Taxes, by Party Identification**

|   | Total adults | Rep | Dem | Ind |
|---|--------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Keep the number of people covered under Medicaid as it is today | 72           | 52  | 90  | 69  |
| Reduce the number of people on Medicaid                         | 22           | 46  | 8   | 23  |
| Don't know/ Refused   | 6            | 2   | 2   | 8   |

POLITICO/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, The Public and the Critical Issues Before Congress in the Summer and Fall of 2017, June 14 – 18, 2017. Base: U.S. adults.

As to the third issue, ending health insurance regulatory protections for those who have pre-existing medical conditions, Table 5 shows all groups regardless of party oppose changing this policy in any new legislation. Thus, the core of much of the House and Senate repeal and replace bills remains unpopular with most of the general public, and on two of the three measures, even with Republicans.

**Table 5: Attitudes Toward a Proposal That Would Charge Those With Pre-Existing Medical Conditions More for Health Insurance, by Party Identification**

|                     | Total adults | Rep | Dem | Ind |
|---------------------|--------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Favor               | 22           | 35  | 16  | 21  |
| Oppose              | 71           | 59  | 81  | 70  |
| Don't know/ Refused | 7            | 6   | 3   | 9   |

POLITICO/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, The Public and the Critical Issues Before Congress in the Summer and Fall of 2017, June 14 – 18, 2017. Base: U.S. adults.

## II. CUTTING FEDERAL INCOME TAXES FOR INDIVIDUALS AND BUSINESSES

The Congress will be considering President Trump’s proposal to substantially reduce the federal tax rate that individuals and businesses currently pay in exchange for reducing or eliminating some tax deductions and credits that are available to those filing taxes today. The President has made this issue one of his top priorities and has suggested that these significant tax changes will help the overall economy and individuals. As discussed in the first section of this report, this issue is not seen as a particularly salient voting issue by most registered voters today.

The poll examines the general public’s views about the tax reduction issue along five dimensions: (1) whether the President’s general policies are currently helping the economy, (2) support for his overall tax policy changes, (3) whether his tax proposal will help the economy in the future, (4) whether they see themselves as individuals benefiting if these tax changes are enacted, and (5) support for reducing or eliminating some specific tax deductions as part of a plan that would lower overall tax rates.

The poll findings for these five tax-related issues are presented in Tables 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10.

**Table 6: Views on the Impact of President Trump’s Policies on the Economy, by Party Identification**

|                     | Total adults | Rep | Dem | Ind |
|---------------------|--------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Helped              | 26           | 56  | 4   | 23  |
| Hurt                | 34           | 5   | 57  | 32  |
| No difference       | 38           | 38  | 38  | 42  |
| Don’t know/ Refused | 2            | 1   | 1   | 3   |

POLITICO/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, The Public and the Critical Issues Before Congress in the Summer and Fall of 2017, June 14 – 18, 2017. Base: U.S. adults.

**Table 7: Attitudes Toward President Trump’s Tax Cut Proposal, by Party Identification**

|                     | Total adults | Rep | Dem | Ind |
|---------------------|--------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Favor               | 24           | 40  | 9   | 27  |
| Oppose              | 62           | 41  | 85  | 60  |
| Don’t know/ Refused | 14           | 19  | 6   | 13  |

POLITICO/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, The Public and the Critical Issues Before Congress in the Summer and Fall of 2017, June 14 – 18, 2017. Base: U.S. adults.

**Table 8: Views on Whether President Trump’s Tax Cut Proposal Will Improve the Economy and Create More Jobs or Not, by Party Identification**

|                     | Total adults | Rep | Dem | Ind |
|---------------------|--------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Improve             | 34           | 62  | 8   | 38  |
| Not improve         | 57           | 27  | 85  | 56  |
| Don’t know/ Refused | 9            | 11  | 7   | 6   |

POLITICO/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, The Public and the Critical Issues Before Congress in the Summer and Fall of 2017, June 14 – 18, 2017. Base: U.S. adults.

**Table 9: Views on Whether President Trump’s Tax Cut Proposal Would Help or Hurt Them, by Party Identification**

|                     | Total adults | Rep | Dem | Ind |
|---------------------|--------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Help                | 20           | 35  | 7   | 21  |
| Hurt                | 33           | 12  | 50  | 33  |
| No difference       | 42           | 45  | 40  | 46  |
| Don’t know/ Refused | 5            | 8   | 3   | *   |

POLITICO/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, The Public and the Critical Issues Before Congress in the Summer and Fall of 2017, June 14 – 18, 2017. Base: U.S. adults.

**Table 10: Views on Proposals to Change the Federal Income Tax System so It Would Lower the Overall Rate Paid in Exchange for Also Reducing or Eliminating Some Tax Deductions and Credits, by Party Identification**

|   | % favoring   |     |     |     |
|---|--------------|-----|-----|-----|
|   | Total adults | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| The deduction for education expenses  | 56           | 66  | 43  | 61  |
| The deduction for mortgage interest   | 56           | 63  | 48  | 60  |
| The deduction for childcare expenses  | 54           | 63  | 43  | 58  |
| The federal deduction for state and local taxes Americans pay                     | 53           | 62  | 35  | 64  |
| Tax breaks for retirement accounts like 401(k)                                    | 53           | 55  | 45  | 59  |
| The deduction for charitable contributions  | 52           | 56  | 49  | 51  |
| The exclusion of employer-paid health insurance premiums from your taxable income | 43           | 56  | 33  | 45  |

POLITICO/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, The Public and the Critical Issues Before Congress in the Summer and Fall of 2017, June 14 – 18, 2017. Base: U.S. adults.

As shown in Table 6, the public has divided views about the impact to date of the President's general economic policies. But these aggregate views hide the significant polarization by party around this issue. While 56% of Republicans believe his policies have helped the economy, 57% of Democrats believe that his policies have hurt the economy.

As shown in Table 7, the majority (62%) of the general public opposes the President's current tax proposals. Only about one in four (24%) support them. Even among Republicans views are equally divided about this major presidential initiative, with 40% in favor, 41% opposed.

The rationale for these findings can be seen in Tables 8 and 9. Most do not believe that the economy will improve as a result of the enactment of the President's tax proposals. However, once again, the extraordinary level of partisan polarization can be seen here. Although most Republicans do not support these tax proposals (Table 7), the majority (62%) do believe they will help the economy. Democrats, on the other hand, overwhelmingly (85%) think these tax proposals will not improve the U.S. economy.

As to the impact on individuals (Table 9), only one in five see themselves being personally helped by the tax change proposal. Only 35% of Republicans see themselves helped, while that figure is 7% for Democrats.

However, as shown in Table 10, there is much more support in the abstract for proposals that would lower the overall tax rate while reducing or eliminating specific tax deductions and credits. Slightly over half support six of the seven proposed specific deduction and tax trade-off proposals. It is only the tax deduction (exclusion) for employer-paid health insurance premiums that garners less than majority support (43%). Once more, reflecting conflicting views by party in the Congress, the majority of Republicans support limiting this exclusion (56%), compared to 33% of Democrats. The other major tax policy division between the parties is over the federal deduction for state and local taxes paid by individuals. More than six in ten Republicans (62%) would limit this deduction, compared with only 35% of Democrats.

Of historic note, public support for eliminating tax deductions and credits declines substantially if its purpose is to reduce the federal deficit vs. lowering individuals' federal tax rates.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> CBS News Poll, December 2012; McClatchy-Marist Poll, December 2012.

### III. U.S. CLIMATE CHANGE POLICY

The final issue addressed in our latest poll relates to President Trump’s decision to withdraw the U.S. government’s involvement from the international Paris climate change agreement. We asked respondents (1) if they approved or disapproved of this decision, (2) their support for more U.S. involvement with other countries on climate change issues, (3) their support for greater financial aid to lower-income countries trying to deal with problems related to climate change, and (4) if they agreed with one of President Trump’s stated rationales for leaving the Paris climate change agreement. These results are reflected in Tables 11, 12, 13, and 14.

**Table 11: Views of President Trump’s Decision to Withdraw the U.S. from the Paris Climate Change Agreement, by Party Identification**

|                     | Total adults | Rep | Dem | Ind |
|---------------------|--------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Approve             | 30           | 65  | 9   | 30  |
| Disapprove          | 53           | 12  | 81  | 54  |
| Don’t know/ Refused | 17           | 23  | 10  | 16  |

POLITICO/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, The Public and the Critical Issues Before Congress in the Summer and Fall of 2017, June 14 – 18, 2017. Base: U.S. adults.

**Table 12: Views of Whether in the Future the U.S. Should Put More Effort, Less Effort, or About the Same Effort into Working with Other Countries to Address Climate Change, by Party Identification**

|                       | Total adults | Rep | Dem | Ind |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----|-----|-----|
| More effort           | 59           | 39  | 75  | 60  |
| Less effort           | 12           | 26  | 2   | 10  |
| About the same effort | 26           | 35  | 21  | 25  |
| Don’t know/ Refused   | 3            | *   | 2   | 5   |

POLITICO/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, The Public and the Critical Issues Before Congress in the Summer and Fall of 2017, June 14 – 18, 2017. Base: U.S. adults.

**Table 13: Views of U.S. Spending on Assisting Poorer Countries in Addressing the Effects of Climate Change, by Party Identification**

|                      | Total adults | Rep | Dem | Ind |
|----------------------|--------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Spend more           | 36           | 12  | 49  | 40  |
| Spend less           | 26           | 53  | 6   | 25  |
| Spend about the same | 34           | 29  | 42  | 32  |
| Don’t know/ Refused  | 4            | 6   | 3   | 3   |

POLITICO/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, The Public and the Critical Issues Before Congress in the Summer and Fall of 2017, June 14 – 18, 2017. Base: U.S. adults.

**Table 14: Views Toward President Trump’s Statement That ‘the Paris Climate Change Agreement Is Less About Climate and More About Other Countries Gaining a Financial Advantage over the United States’, by Party Identification**

|                     | Total adults | Rep | Dem | Ind |
|---------------------|--------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Strongly agree      | 18           | 39  | 5   | 17  |
| Somewhat agree      | 24           | 34  | 13  | 28  |
| Somewhat disagree   | 16           | 15  | 14  | 19  |
| Strongly disagree   | 36           | 6   | 63  | 33  |
| Don’t know/ Refused | 6            | 6   | 5   | 3   |

POLITICO/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, The Public and the Critical Issues Before Congress in the Summer and Fall of 2017, June 14 – 18, 2017. Base: U.S. adults.

The majority (53%) of the U.S. public disapproves of the President’s decision to exit the Paris climate change agreement, while 30% approve (Table 11). However, the partisan division is once again clear. The majority of Republicans approve of his decision (65%) and the majority of Democrats disapprove of it (81%).

As shown in Table 12, broader and more extensive international cooperation on climate change is supported by the majority (59%) of the general public. But once again, this is not the case for Republicans, only 39% of whom support putting more effort into working with other countries to address climate change.

Public support is weaker on the question of providing more financial assistance to poorer countries in responding to these climate change issues (Table 13). Only slightly more than one in three (36%) support more funding here, with the highest support level being 49% by Democrats vs. 12% among Republicans.

One of President Trump’s stated rationales for leaving the Paris climate change agreement was that the agreement was less about climate change and more about other countries gaining a financial advantage over the U.S. Overall, 42% of the public agrees with this rationale, whereas 52% disagrees. Once again, deep divisions are present. While 73% of Republicans agree with this rationale, only 18% of Democrats agree.

## **PART 2 CONCLUSION**

Taken together, on three key issues being debated this summer and fall in Congress – the future of the ACA, the President’s vision for tax reform, and his broad decisions on the U.S.’s future global role in responding to climate change – the general public at this time is not supportive of President Trump’s general policy positions, but the members of his own political party are. Currently, all the disagreements appear centered on the contentious health care debate. But this poll suggests these political divisions will present themselves on a number of other important issues likely to surface in the near future and all the way through the 2018 Congressional elections.

## 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 questionnaires and analyze the results of the polls. *Politico* and Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health paid for the surveys 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 1,011 randomly selected adults, ages 18 and older, via telephone (including cell phones and landlines) by SSRS of Glen Mills, Pennsylvania. The interviewing period was June 14 – 18, 2017. 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. Some questions were asked of registered voters and/or half-samples:

|                                   | <b>Number of Interviews<br/>(unweighted n)</b> | <b>Margin of Error<br/>(percentage points)</b> |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| Total U.S. adults                 | 1,011  | $\pm 3.7$                                      |
| Half-samples of U.S. adults       | 501-510  | $\pm 5.3$                                      |
| Total registered voters           | 827  | $\pm 4.1$                                      |
| Half-samples of registered voters | 411-416  | $\pm 5.9$                                      |

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**

**THE PUBLIC AND THE CRITICAL ISSUES BEFORE CONGRESS  
IN THE SUMMER AND FALL OF 2017**

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) **June 14 - 18, 2017**, among a nationally representative sample of **1,011 U.S. adults**. The margin of error for total respondents is  $\pm 3.7$  percentage points at the 95% confidence level. More information about SSRS can be obtained by visiting [www.ssrs.com](http://www.ssrs.com)

**Part 1: A Look Ahead to the 2018 Congressional Elections:  
Voters' Views on the Potential Issues  
(Responses of Registered Voters, by 2018 Congressional Voting Intent)**

PO-02. I'm going to read you a list of several things Donald Trump has done as president. Looking ahead to the 2018 election for Congress, please tell me how important each of these will be when you decide who to vote for in the congressional election. How about (INSERT ITEM)? Will that be extremely important in your vote, very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important?

**(Asked of registered voters; n=827)**

a. President Trump's overall job as President

|                                    | Extremely important | Very important | Somewhat important | Not very important | Not at all important | Don't know/Refused |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| <b>Total registered voters</b>     | 29                  | 32             | 16                 | 7                  | 14                   | 2                  |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Rep</b> | 23                  | 36             | 21                 | 8                  | 12                   | *                  |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Dem</b> | 38                  | 31             | 10                 | 5                  | 15                   | 1                  |

**(Asked of registered voters in half-sample A; n=411)**

b. His effort to cut federal income taxes for individuals and businesses

|                                    | Extremely important | Very important | Somewhat important | Not very important | Not at all important | Don't know/Refused |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| <b>Total registered voters</b>     | 28                  | 31             | 26                 | 7                  | 6                    | 2                  |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Rep</b> | 28                  | 40             | 22                 | 7                  | 3                    | *                  |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Dem</b> | 29                  | 27             | 28                 | 7                  | 7                    | 2                  |

**(Asked of registered voters in half-sample A; n=411)**

c. His trade policies

|                                    | <b>Extremely important</b> | <b>Very important</b> | <b>Somewhat important</b> | <b>Not very important</b> | <b>Not at all important</b> | <b>Don't know/Refused</b> |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| <b>Total registered voters</b>     | 24                         | 34                    | 26                        | 7                         | 5                           | 4                         |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Rep</b> | 20                         | 38                    | 27                        | 6                         | 6                           | 3                         |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Dem</b> | 30                         | 30                    | 25                        | 6                         | 4                           | 5                         |

**(Asked of registered voters in half-sample A; n=411)**

d. His defense policies

|                                    | <b>Extremely important</b> | <b>Very important</b> | <b>Somewhat important</b> | <b>Not very important</b> | <b>Not at all important</b> | <b>Don't know/Refused</b> |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| <b>Total registered voters</b>     | 29                         | 33                    | 24                        | 5                         | 7                           | 2                         |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Rep</b> | 29                         | 35                    | 19                        | 5                         | 9                           | 3                         |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Dem</b> | 32                         | 31                    | 25                        | 5                         | 5                           | 2                         |

**(Asked of registered voters in half-sample A; n=411)**

e. Allegations about White House involvement with the Russian government

|                                    | <b>Extremely important</b> | <b>Very important</b> | <b>Somewhat important</b> | <b>Not very important</b> | <b>Not at all important</b> | <b>Don't know/Refused</b> |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| <b>Total registered voters</b>     | 31                         | 22                    | 15                        | 12                        | 19                          | 1                         |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Rep</b> | 12                         | 10                    | 21                        | 21                        | 35                          | 1                         |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Dem</b> | 49                         | 32                    | 11                        | 1                         | 7                           | *                         |

**(Asked of registered voters in half-sample A; n=411)**

f. His ban on travelers from some Middle Eastern countries

|                                    | <b>Extremely important</b> | <b>Very important</b> | <b>Somewhat important</b> | <b>Not very important</b> | <b>Not at all important</b> | <b>Don't know/Refused</b> |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| <b>Total registered voters</b>     | 31                         | 29                    | 23                        | 6                         | 9                           | 2                         |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Rep</b> | 28                         | 30                    | 21                        | 8                         | 12                          | 1                         |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Dem</b> | 35                         | 32                    | 22                        | 4                         | 5                           | 2                         |

**(Asked of registered voters in half-sample B; n=416)**

g. His effort to keep out unauthorized or illegal immigrants

|                                    | <b>Extremely important</b> | <b>Very important</b> | <b>Somewhat important</b> | <b>Not very important</b> | <b>Not at all important</b> | <b>Don't know/ Refused</b> |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <b>Total registered voters</b>     | 31                         | 28                    | 21                        | 5                         | 12                          | 3                          |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Rep</b> | 32                         | 37                    | 17                        | 5                         | 8                           | 1                          |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Dem</b> | 36                         | 21                    | 22                        | 6                         | 13                          | 2                          |

**(Asked of registered voters in half-sample B; n=416)**

h. His effort to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act, or Obamacare

|                                    | <b>Extremely important</b> | <b>Very important</b> | <b>Somewhat important</b> | <b>Not very important</b> | <b>Not at all important</b> | <b>Don't know/ Refused</b> |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <b>Total registered voters</b>     | 37                         | 29                    | 14                        | 8                         | 9                           | 3                          |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Rep</b> | 31                         | 34                    | 18                        | 8                         | 7                           | 2                          |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Dem</b> | 46                         | 25                    | 14                        | 5                         | 9                           | 1                          |

**(Asked of registered voters in half-sample B; n=416)**

i. His decision to withdraw the U.S. from the Paris climate change agreement

|                                    | <b>Extremely important</b> | <b>Very important</b> | <b>Somewhat important</b> | <b>Not very important</b> | <b>Not at all important</b> | <b>Don't know/ Refused</b> |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <b>Total registered voters</b>     | 30                         | 22                    | 19                        | 9                         | 13                          | 7                          |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Rep</b> | 12                         | 23                    | 30                        | 13                        | 17                          | 5                          |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Dem</b> | 49                         | 22                    | 11                        | 6                         | 9                           | 3                          |

**(Asked of registered voters in half-sample B; n=416)**

j. His proposed federal budget, which would reduce many items of domestic spending and increase spending for national defense

|                                    | <b>Extremely important</b> | <b>Very important</b> | <b>Somewhat important</b> | <b>Not very important</b> | <b>Not at all important</b> | <b>Don't know/ Refused</b> |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <b>Total registered voters</b>     | 34                         | 33                    | 18                        | 6                         | 7                           | 2                          |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Rep</b> | 27                         | 39                    | 22                        | 6                         | 5                           | 1                          |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Dem</b> | 44                         | 28                    | 15                        | 5                         | 8                           | -                          |

**(Asked of registered voters in half-sample B; n=416)**

k. His effort to prevent terrorist attacks in the U.S.

|                                    | <b>Extremely important</b> | <b>Very important</b> | <b>Somewhat important</b> | <b>Not very important</b> | <b>Not at all important</b> | <b>Don't know/Refused</b> |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| <b>Total registered voters</b>     | 39                         | 33                    | 10                        | 7                         | 9                           | 2                         |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Rep</b> | 47                         | 37                    | 6                         | 5                         | 4                           | 1                         |
| <b>House vote intent 2018: Dem</b> | 34                         | 30                    | 14                        | 10                        | 10                          | 2                         |

## Part 2: The Public and the Issues Under Debate in Congress (Responses of U.S. adults, by Party identification)

### I. The ACA/Obamacare

**(Asked of half-sample B; n=501)**

PO-08. So far, would you say the Affordable Care Act, also called Obamacare, has directly helped you, directly hurt you, or has it not had a direct impact?

|                          | Helped | Hurt | No difference | Don't know/<br>Refused |
|--------------------------|--------|------|---------------|------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 24     | 16   | 58            | 2                      |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 8      | 31   | 60            | 1                      |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 36     | 2    | 60            | 2                      |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 23     | 21   | 54            | 2                      |

**(Asked of half-sample B; n=501)**

PO-08a. President Trump and Republicans in Congress are working on a replacement law for the Affordable Care Act, also known as the ACA or Obamacare. One of their goals is to reduce the taxes that currently support this program and to lower future government spending. Currently the ACA or Obamacare is providing financial assistance to millions of people to help them pay for health insurance. Which of the following would you prefer?

|  | Total U.S.<br>adults | Republican | Democrat | Independent |
|--|----------------------|------------|----------|-------------|
| That the replacement plan would provide financial assistance to purchase insurance to the same number of people as the ACA or Obamacare does now | 57                   | 27         | 79       | 54          |
| That it would provide assistance to somewhat fewer people but save taxpayer money  | 22                   | 42         | 11       | 22          |
| That it would provide assistance to a lot fewer people, saving even more money   | 12                   | 20         | 5        | 13          |
| Don't know/Refused   | 9                    | 11         | 5        | 11          |

**(Asked of half-sample B; n=501)**

PO-9. One proposal being considered in the replacement is for the federal government to allow insurers to provide health care plans that would charge those with pre-existing medical conditions substantially more for their health insurance. This would mean higher premiums for people who have pre-existing medical conditions. In many cases these may be older people. But it would mean lower premiums for those without pre-existing medical conditions. In many cases these may be younger people. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

|                          | Favor | Oppose | Don't know/<br>Refused |
|--------------------------|-------|--------|------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 22    | 71     | 7                      |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 35    | 59     | 6                      |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 16    | 81     | 3                      |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 21    | 70     | 9                      |

**(Asked of half-sample B; n=501)**

PO-10a. President Trump and Republicans in Congress are also proposing to cut back the number of people enrolled in Medicaid, the government program that provides health insurance and long term care to certain low-income adults and children and disabled people, to the same number it was before the ACA or Obamacare was passed. This proposal would reduce the number of people on Medicaid by millions, but would also reduce government spending and taxes. Would you prefer to keep the number of people covered under Medicaid as it is today, or to reduce the number of people on Medicaid by millions, but reduce government spending and taxes?

|                          | <b>Keep the number of people covered under Medicaid as it is today</b> | <b>Reduce the number of people on Medicaid</b> | <b>Don't know/ Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|--|--|----------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 72   | 22   | 6                          |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 52   | 46   | 2                          |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 90   | 8  | 2                          |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 69   | 23   | 8                          |

## **II. Cutting Federal Income Taxes for Individuals and Businesses**

**(Asked of half-sample A; n=510)**

PO-03. Do you think President Trump's policies so far have helped or hurt the U.S. economy, or haven't they made much difference?

|                          | <b>Helped</b> | <b>Hurt</b> | <b>No difference</b> | <b>Don't know/<br/>Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|---------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 26            | 34          | 38                   | 2                              |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 56            | 5           | 38                   | 1                              |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 4             | 57          | 38                   | 1                              |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 23            | 32          | 42                   | 3                              |

**(Asked of half-sample A; n=510)**

PO-04. President Trump has proposed a tax plan that would lower tax rates for individuals and families, reduce the number of tax brackets, and lower rates for all businesses. It would double the standard deduction that individuals can take without having to itemize on their tax forms. In addition, Trump's plan would eliminate all income tax deductions except mortgage interest and charitable contributions. That means people could no longer deduct state and local taxes, work-related deductions for the self-employed, and tax credits for retirement accounts like 401(k)s. In addition, their employer-paid health insurance premiums would be taxed. Do you favor or oppose this new tax proposal?

|                          | <b>Favor</b> | <b>Oppose</b> | <b>Don't know/<br/>Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 24           | 62            | 14                             |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 40           | 41            | 19                             |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 9            | 85            | 6                              |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 27           | 60            | 13                             |

**(Asked of half-sample A; n=510)**

PO-05. If it is enacted, do you think President Trump's tax proposal will improve the economy and create more jobs or not?

|                          | <b>Improve</b> | <b>Not improve</b> | <b>Don't know/<br/>Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 34             | 57                 | 9                              |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 62             | 27                 | 11                             |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 8              | 85                 | 7                              |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 38             | 56                 | 6                              |

**(Asked of half-sample A; n=510)**

PO-06. If it is enacted, do you think President Trump's tax proposal will help you or hurt you, or don't you think it will make much difference?

|                          | <b>Help</b> | <b>Hurt</b> | <b>No difference</b> | <b>Don't know/<br/>Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 20          | 33          | 42                   | 5                              |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 35          | 12          | 45                   | 8                              |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 7           | 50          | 40                   | 3                              |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 21          | 33          | 46                   | *                              |

**(Asked of half-sample A; n=510)**

PO-07. Proposals to change the federal income tax system would lower the overall rate you pay in exchange for also reducing or eliminating some tax deductions and credits. For each, please tell me if you would favor or oppose eliminating or reducing the deduction in order to lower the overall tax rate.

- a. The deduction for mortgage interest

|                          | <b>Favor</b> | <b>Oppose</b> | <b>Don't know/<br/>Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 56           | 36            | 8                              |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 63           | 32            | 5                              |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 48           | 43            | 9                              |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 60           | 34            | 6                              |

- b. The deduction for education expenses

|                          | <b>Favor</b> | <b>Oppose</b> | <b>Don't know/<br/>Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 56           | 39            | 5                              |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 66           | 27            | 7                              |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 43           | 55            | 2                              |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 61           | 35            | 4                              |

- c. The deduction for charitable contributions

|                          | <b>Favor</b> | <b>Oppose</b> | <b>Don't know/<br/>Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 52           | 42            | 6                              |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 56           | 40            | 4                              |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 49           | 46            | 5                              |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 51           | 44            | 5                              |

- d. The deduction for childcare expenses

|                          | <b>Favor</b> | <b>Oppose</b> | <b>Don't know/<br/>Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 54           | 40            | 6                              |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 63           | 34            | 3                              |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 43           | 53            | 4                              |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 58           | 36            | 6                              |

- e. The exclusion of employer-paid health insurance premiums from your taxable income

|                          | <b>Favor</b> | <b>Oppose</b> | <b>Don't know/<br/>Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 43           | 45            | 12                             |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 56           | 34            | 10                             |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 33           | 57            | 10                             |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 45           | 43            | 12                             |

f. Tax breaks for retirement accounts like 401(k)s

|                          | <b>Favor</b> | <b>Oppose</b> | <b>Don't know/<br/>Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 53           | 39            | 8                              |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 55           | 39            | 6                              |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 45           | 48            | 7                              |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 59           | 32            | 9                              |

g. The federal deduction for state and local taxes Americans pay

|                          | <b>Favor</b> | <b>Oppose</b> | <b>Don't know/<br/>Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 53           | 38            | 9                              |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 62           | 28            | 10                             |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 35           | 58            | 7                              |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 64           | 31            | 5                              |

**PO-07 Favor Summary Table (% Favor)**

**Base: Half-sample A (n=510)**

|   | <b>Total U.S.<br/>adults</b> | <b>Republican</b> | <b>Democrat</b> | <b>Independent</b> |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| The deduction for education expenses  | 56                           | 66                | 43              | 61                 |
| The deduction for mortgage interest   | 56                           | 63                | 48              | 60                 |
| The deduction for childcare expenses  | 54                           | 63                | 43              | 58                 |
| The federal deduction for state and local taxes Americans pay                     | 53                           | 62                | 35              | 64                 |
| Tax breaks for retirement accounts like 401(k)                                    | 53                           | 55                | 45              | 59                 |
| The deduction for charitable contributions  | 52                           | 56                | 49              | 51                 |
| The exclusion of employer-paid health insurance premiums from your taxable income | 43                           | 56                | 33              | 45                 |

### **III. U.S. Climate Change Policy**

**(Asked of half-sample B; n=501)**

PO-10b. Do you approve or disapprove of President Trump's decision to withdraw the U.S. from the Paris climate change agreement?

|                          | <b>Approve</b> | <b>Disapprove</b> | <b>Don't know/<br/>Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 30             | 53                | 17                             |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 65             | 12                | 23                             |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 9              | 81                | 10                             |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 30             | 54                | 16                             |

**(Asked of half-sample B; n=501)**

PO-11. In the future, do you think the U.S. should put more effort, less effort, or about the same effort into working with other countries to address climate change?

|                          | <b>More effort</b> | <b>Less effort</b> | <b>About the<br/>same effort</b> | <b>Don't know/<br/>Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 59                 | 12                 | 26                               | 3                              |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 39                 | 26                 | 35                               | *                              |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 75                 | 2                  | 21                               | 2                              |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 60                 | 10                 | 25                               | 5                              |

**(Asked of half-sample B; n=501)**

PO-12. Do you think the U.S. should spend more, less, or about the same as it does now on assisting poorer countries in addressing the effects of climate change?

|                          | <b>Spend more</b> | <b>Spend less</b> | <b>Spend about<br/>the same</b> | <b>Don't know/<br/>Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 36                | 26                | 34                              | 4                              |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 12                | 53                | 29                              | 6                              |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 49                | 6                 | 42                              | 3                              |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 40                | 25                | 32                              | 3                              |

**(Asked of half-sample B; n=501)**

PO-13. President Trump has said that the Paris climate change agreement is less about the climate and more about other countries gaining a financial advantage over the United States. Do you strongly agree with the President's statement, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

|                          | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Somewhat agree</b> | <b>Somewhat disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> | <b>Don't know/Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 18                    | 24                    | 16                       | 36                       | 6                         |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 39                    | 34                    | 15                       | 6                        | 6                         |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 5                     | 13                    | 14                       | 63                       | 5                         |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 17                    | 28                    | 19                       | 33                       | 3                         |

Collapsed Agree/Disagree

|                          | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Don't know/Refused</b> |
|--------------------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| <b>Total U.S. adults</b> | 42           | 52              | 6                         |
| <b>Republican</b>        | 73           | 21              | 6                         |
| <b>Democrat</b>          | 18           | 77              | 5                         |
| <b>Independent</b>       | 45           | 52              | 3                         |

**Sample Sizes and Margins of Error**

|                                   | <b>Number of Interviews<br/>(unweighted n)</b> | <b>Margin of Error<br/>(percentage points)</b> |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| Total U.S. adults                 | 1,011  | ±3.7   |
| Half-samples of U.S. adults       | 501-510  | ±5.3   |
| Total registered voters           | 827  | ±4.1   |
| Half-samples of registered voters | 411-416  | ±5.9   |