

AMERICANS' VIEWS ON DOMESTIC POLICIES IN PRESIDENT TRUMP'S FIRST 100 DAYS

April 2017

POLITICO



HARVARD
T.H. CHAN
SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH

INTRODUCTION

This poll covers four major issues during President Trump’s first 100 days in office.

I. The Future of the Affordable Care Act & Medicaid.....	2
II. Changing Immigration Policy.....	13
III. The EPA & Environmental Regulation	16
IV. Charter School Expansion	19

Republicans in Congress, led by Speaker Paul Ryan (R-WI), introduced the American Health Care Act (AHCA) as a bill intended to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act (ACA), or Obamacare. The AHCA dealt with many issues, including government subsidies to help people purchase health insurance, comprehensiveness of care, and Medicaid, among others. However, the bill was ultimately withdrawn without a vote due to lack of Republican support, and President Trump and Congressional leadership are currently considering how to move forward.

President Trump also continued his campaign’s focus on reducing immigration to the United States, issuing two major executive orders on the topic and moving ahead with plans to build a wall along the Mexican border.

President Trump also issued executive orders intended to significantly reduce government regulation. His proposed budget also included a 31% cut to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), an agency whose regulations have been particularly singled out by President Trump as damaging to U.S. jobs.

Finally, one of the more contentious appointments to President Trump’s cabinet was Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos. President Trump and Secretary DeVos are both proponents of expanding charter schools and the use of vouchers, an issue that will likely be focused on in the near future.

A major theme of this report is the continued polarization of attitudes along every issue. Because Republicans now control both the executive and legislative branches, this report highlights the persistent differences in attitudes between Republicans and the public as a whole.

This survey was conducted March 22-26, 2017, among a nationally representative telephone sample of 1,019 U.S. adults. An additional poll was conducted March 29 - April 2, 2017, among a second, independent, nationally representative telephone sample of 1,017 adults. Further methodological information is included at the end of the report.

I. The Future of the Affordable Care Act & Medicaid

A central theme of President Trump's campaign was his promise to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act (ACA), also known as Obamacare. Since his inauguration, there has been an ongoing debate around this effort. Republicans in Congress, led by Speaker Paul Ryan (R-WI), introduced the American Health Care Act (AHCA) as a repeal-and-replace bill. However, the bill was ultimately withdrawn without a vote due to lack of Republican support.

The first survey was conducted during the debate around the AHCA, with the bill's withdrawal landing exactly in the middle of the survey's fielding period.¹ As a result, we conducted an additional poll to measure attitudes about what Republicans in Congress should do about Obamacare in the future (given that the AHCA was withdrawn), and how the Republicans' handling of Obamacare so far might influence voting in the 2018 midterm elections.²

As Republicans consider future plans for legislation regarding the Affordable Care Act and health care more generally, some of the major issues that have been discussed include (1) subsidies to help people buy health insurance, (2) comprehensiveness of health care coverage, and (3) eligibility requirements related to Medicaid. These issues are reported below.

Most Americans think the GOP should work with Democrats to fix the ACA or move on; Most Republicans think GOP should try a new replacement plan or repeal ACA entirely

After the AHCA was withdrawn, respondents were asked what they believe President Trump and Republicans in Congress should do in the future regarding the ACA or Obamacare.

As Figure 1 shows, a majority of Americans (60%) think that President Trump and Republicans should either work with Democrats on a compromise plan to improve the existing Obamacare program (41%), or stop focusing on Obamacare and move on to other issues entirely (19%).

In particular, a majority of Democrats (58%) and plurality of Independents (41%) think that Republicans should try to work together with Democrats on a compromise bill to improve the ACA (Figure 1).

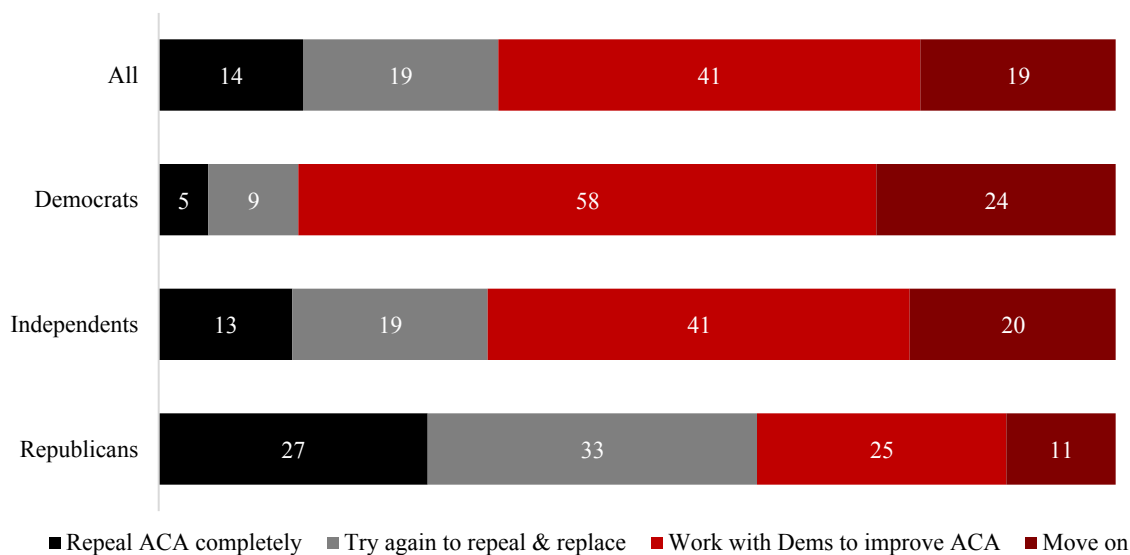
However, a majority of Republicans (60%) favor either trying again with a new plan to repeal and replace Obamacare (33%) or just repealing the ACA all together (27%) (Figure 1). This latter divide in public opinion also reflects – or perhaps explains – the similar divide among Republican Party leadership.³

¹ The first survey was conducted from Wednesday, March 22 to Sunday, March 26, 2017, among a sample of 1,019 adults. The AHCA bill was withdrawn on Friday, March 24. We tested any potential differences in health care related opinions before and after the bill's withdrawal. We did so by examining respondents who took the survey before the bill's withdrawal (respondents on Wednesday and Thursday, n=437) to those who took the survey after the bill's withdrawal (respondents on Saturday and Sunday, n=445). Respondents who took the survey on Friday were excluded from this analysis (n=137). There were no statistically significant differences in opinion on any Obamacare-related question.

² The second survey was conducted March 29 to April 2, 2017, among an independent sample of 1,017 respondents.

³ "GOP unveils Obamacare replacement amid sharp party divide," Rachael Bade, Paul Demko, and Jennifer Haberkorn, *Politico*. March 6, 2017. <http://politi.co/2lOSnLE>.

Figure 1:
Americans' Preferences for What Trump and Republicans
Should Do About ACA/Obamacare in the Future



A quarter of Republicans (25%) think that President Trump and Republicans in Congress should work with Democrats on a compromise plan, while another 11% think that Republican leadership should stop focusing on the ACA and move on to other issues (Figure 1).

60% of registered voters say President Trump’s handling of ACA will influence their vote in 2018 midterms

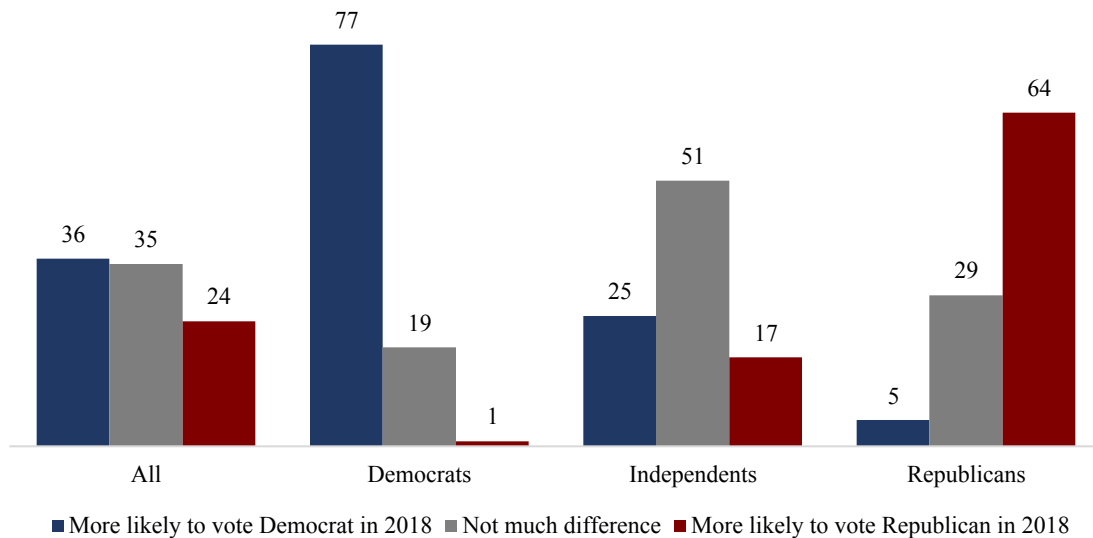
In the days after the withdrawal of the Republican proposed bill to repeal and replace the ACA, people were also asked, “Given what President Trump and Republicans in Congress have done so far on the ACA or Obamacare, would you be more likely to vote for a Democrat in the 2018 congressional election, more likely to vote for a Republican, or wouldn’t it make much difference in your vote?”

As Figure 2 shows, a majority of registered voters (60%) say that how President Trump and Republicans in Congress have handled the ACA so far will affect their vote in the 2018 midterm elections.⁴

Specifically, 36% of registered voters say they are more likely to vote for a Democrat in 2018, while 24% say they are more likely to vote for a Republican. This difference is statistically significant. Only 35% of registered voters say President Trump and Republicans’ handling of the ACA so far will not make much difference to their vote in 2018 (Figure 2).

⁴ For this question only, given its discussion of prospective voting behavior, we report findings based on respondents who said they are registered voters (n=836).

Figure 2:
Registered Voters on How President Trump's Handling of
Obamacare Will Influence Their Vote in 2018 Midterms



For the most part, however, Democrats and Republicans tend to say that it will make them more likely to vote for their own party: 77% of registered voters who are Democrats say they are now more likely to vote for a Democrat in 2018, and 64% of registered voters who are Republicans say they are now more likely to vote for a Republican in 2018. A majority (51%) of registered voters who are Independents say that how President Trump and Republicans in Congress have handled the ACA so far will not make much difference in their vote in 2018 (Figure 2).⁵

This poll shows an important change from the past: the issue of healthcare, and particularly Obamacare, is now more salient to Democrats than to Republicans, whereas in the past the reverse was true.⁶ Assuming this trend continues, this shift in salience suggests Democrats are likely to benefit in the 2018 midterm elections.

This also suggests that Republican voters strongly want their elected officials to try again to repeal and possibly replace Obamacare. Figure 1 shows that a majority of Republicans want this to happen, and our previous polling shows that the repeal of Obamacare is the top issue among

⁵ The difference between registered voters who are Independent and said they are more likely to vote for a Democrat (25%) versus a Republican (17%) in 2018 is *not* statistically significant.

⁶ One measure of salience is how strongly people favor or oppose an issue. As recently as February 2017, 68% of Republicans strongly disapproved of the ACA, while only 50% of Democrats strongly approved of it (CBS News Poll, February 17-21, 2017). This 18-point gap shows that Republicans previously held stronger opinions than Democrats about the ACA, whereas our poll now shows a 13-point gap with Democrats holding stronger views about the issue.

Trump voters and Republicans more generally.⁷ This suggests President Trump and Congressional Republicans would likely face backlash from their constituencies if they were to move on to other issues at this time without repealing and replacing the ACA.

Americans polarized about how many people should receive health insurance subsidies in future Obamacare replacement bills

Republican leaders have discussed a number of options for future health care legislation to replace the Affordable Care Act, including how much government financial assistance or subsidies should be offered to help people buy health insurance.

President Trump has repeatedly stated that his plan would cover “everybody,” or at least as many people as Obamacare.⁸ Speaker Paul Ryan has proposed reducing the overall amount of financial assistance offered to help people purchase health insurance, thus reducing the number of people covered, in order to save money.⁹ The Freedom Caucus has proposed substantially fewer subsidies or reduced financial assistance from the government.¹⁰

Therefore, people were asked: “Currently, the ACA or Obamacare is providing financial assistance to millions of people to help them pay for health insurance. When it comes to a replacement for Obamacare, which of the following would you prefer? (1) That the replacement plan would provide financial assistance to purchase insurance to the same number of people as Obamacare does now, (2) That the replacement plan would provide insurance to fewer people but saves taxpayer money, or (3) That the replacement plan would provide access to insurance but would not provide taxpayer assistance for purchasing it, saving even more money?”

Figure 3 shows that a plurality of Americans (42%) think that any Obamacare replacement plan should provide financial assistance to purchase health insurance to the same number of people as Obamacare does now. This includes 57% of Democrats, 44% of Independents, and 21% of Republicans.

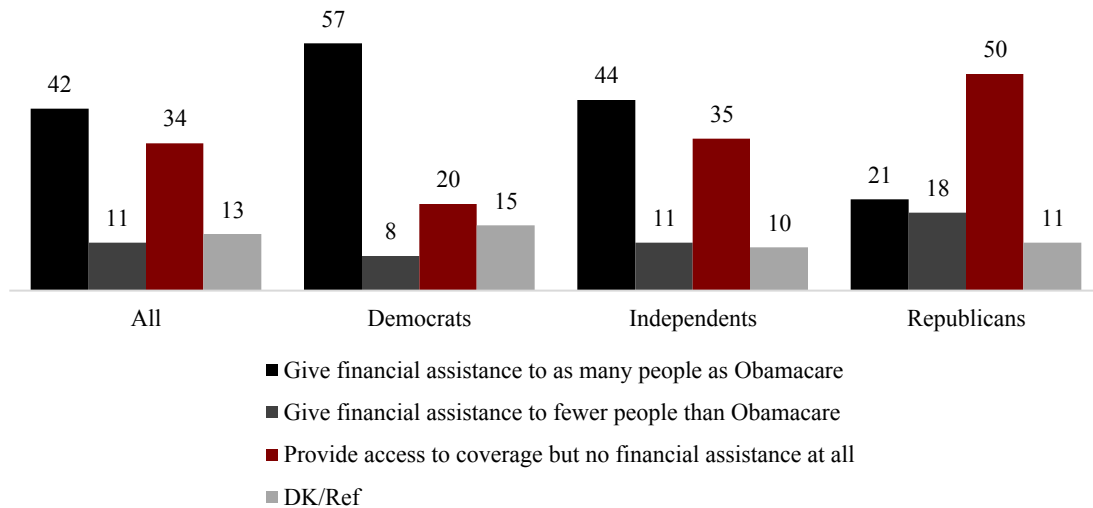
⁷ Figure 1, “Americans’ Views on Domestic Priorities for President Trump’s First 100 Days,” Politico-Harvard Poll. January 2017. <https://www.hsph.harvard.edu/horp/politico-harvard-t-h-chan-school-of-public-health-polls/>.

⁸ “Trump vows ‘insurance for everybody’ in Obamacare replacement plan,” Robert Costa and Amy Goldstein, *The Washington Post*. January 15, 2017. http://wapo.st/2jUzrPk?tid=ss_tw.

⁹ “GOP unveils Obamacare replacement amid sharp party divide,” Rachael Bade, Paul Demko, and Jennifer Haberkorn, *Politico*. March 6, 2017. <http://politi.co/2lOSnLE>.

¹⁰ “Freedom Caucus backs ACA ‘repeal and replace’ that counts on private health care,” David Weigel, *The Washington Post*. February 15, 2017. http://wapo.st/2lhOJxO?tid=ss_tw.

Figure 3:
Americans' Preferences for How Many People Should
Receive Financial Assistance to Buy Health Insurance
Under a Future Obamacare Replacement Plan



However, more than a third (34%) of Americans say that a replacement plan should instead provide no financial assistance *at all*. One in five Democrats (20%), more than a third of Independents (35%), and half of Republicans (50%) share the belief that a replacement plan should provide no financial assistance at all for purchasing health insurance (Figure 3).

Only 11% of Americans say a replacement plan should provide less financial assistance or cover fewer people than Obamacare in order to save money. This is the least supported option among all three partisan groups: only 8% of Democrats, 11% of Independents, and 18% of Republicans support covering fewer people than Obamacare in order to save money (Figure 3).

Majority supports government requiring insurers to provide plans with comprehensive coverage, even if it means higher premiums; Republicans disagree

Another issue in the ongoing health care debate is whether health insurers should be required to offer plans with a minimum level of comprehensive coverage (covering “essential benefits”), or whether they should be allowed to offer plans with very little coverage at lower costs. This became a central conflict during the AHCA debate, as the Freedom Caucus pushed to eliminate the “essential benefits” requirement of Obamacare despite Republican concern over the popularity of this requirement.¹¹

¹¹ “White House moves to tweak health care bill to win over conservatives,” Josh Dawsey and Jennifer Haberkorn, *Politico*. March 22, 2017. <http://politi.co/2mtZ7nx>.

Respondents were also asked: “Thinking about the future of the ACA or Obamacare, which of the following would you prefer? The federal government should allow insurers to provide health care plans with less comprehensive benefits than are required now. This would mean lower premiums, but would provide significantly less protection for unexpected illnesses. Or, things should be kept as they are now, where premiums are higher but insurers must offer health care plans with comprehensive benefits that provide better protection for unexpected illness. Which would you prefer?”

Figure 4:
Americans' Preferences for Whether Government Should Allow Health Insurers to Provide Low Coverage, Low Cost Plans, or Require Comprehensive Coverage, Higher Cost Plans

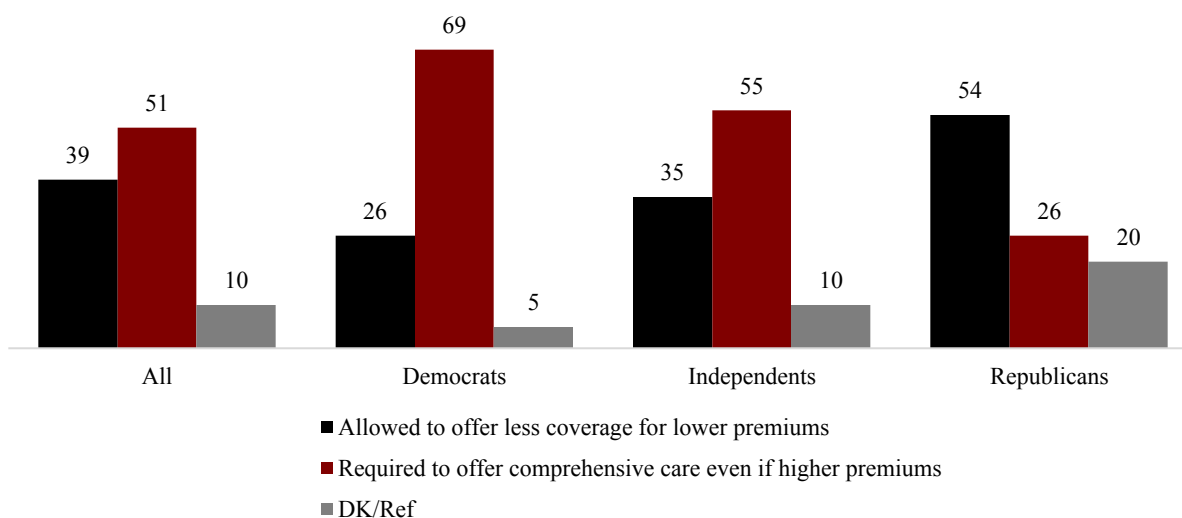


Figure 4 shows that a majority (51%) of Americans – including 69% of Democrats, 55% of Independents, and 26% of Republicans – think that the government should require insurers to offer plans with more comprehensive coverage even though it would mean higher premiums.

In contrast, a majority of Republicans (54%) think that insurers should be allowed to offer lower-cost health plans with less coverage (Figure 4).

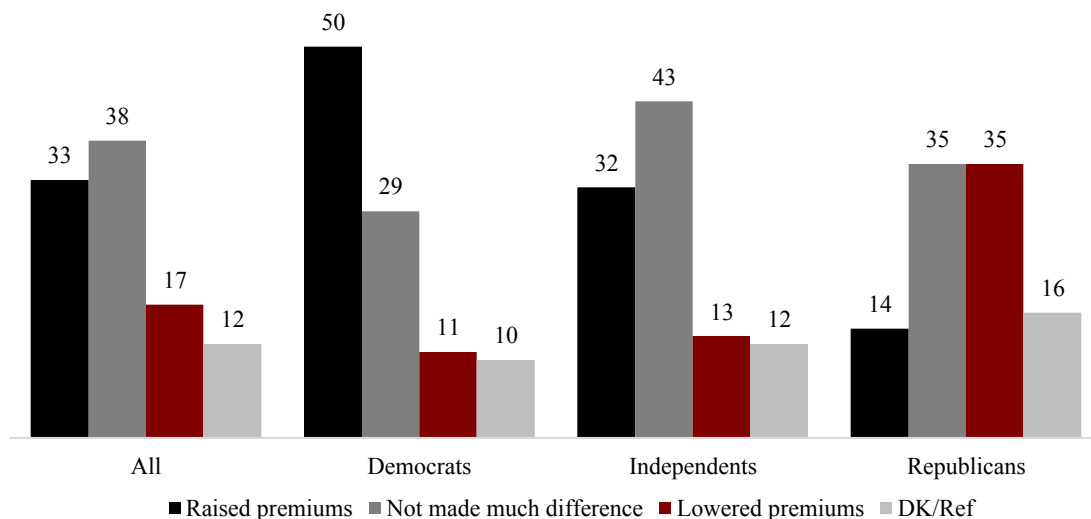
Few Americans, including Republicans, believe AHCA would have lowered premiums, yet Republicans still prefer AHCA to Obamacare

Another often-cited concern in the ongoing health care debate is the high price of health insurance premiums. Many Republicans argue that Obamacare raised premiums. They also argued that a key benefit of the AHCA was that it would lower premiums.

However, as Figure 5 shows, when asked whether the House Republican replacement bill (AHCA) would have raised or lowered health insurance premiums for most people, only 17% think it would have lowered premiums. The vast majority (83%) of Americans were

unconvinced: 38% think it would not have made much difference, 33% think it would have raised premiums, and 12% did not know what impact it might have had.

Figure 5:
Americans' Beliefs About How the AHCA
Would Have Affected Premiums For Most People



Among Republicans, only 35% believe that the AHCA would have lowered premiums. Another 35% believe it would not have made much difference, 14% say it would have raised premiums, and 16% do not know (Figure 5).

Despite this, when people were asked whether they would prefer the AHCA to Obamacare, 64% of Republicans prefer the proposed AHCA. In contrast 60% of the public as a whole say they would prefer to keep Obamacare over the proposed plan in the AHCA.

As Republicans in Congress consider new legislation to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act, addressing the perception of the future bill's impact on premiums will be important.

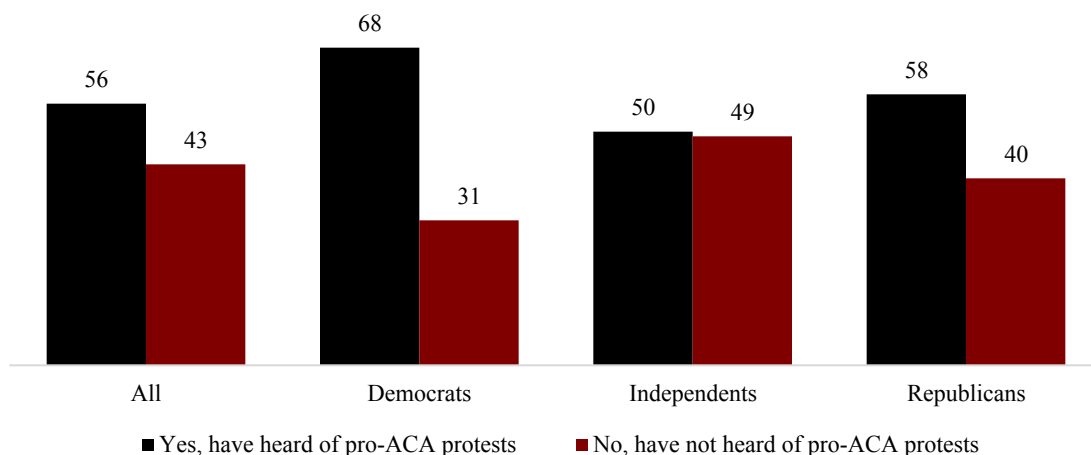
Most have heard about pro-Obamacare town hall protests, but little net change in opinion

In recent months, many people have attended local town halls, protests, or other events in order to voice support for the Affordable Care Act or opposition to its repeal.¹²

Overall, a majority of people (56%) have heard of these protests, including 68% of Democrats and 58% of Republicans. Independents are the least likely to report having read or seen anything about these protests, but still 50% report hearing about them (Figure 6).

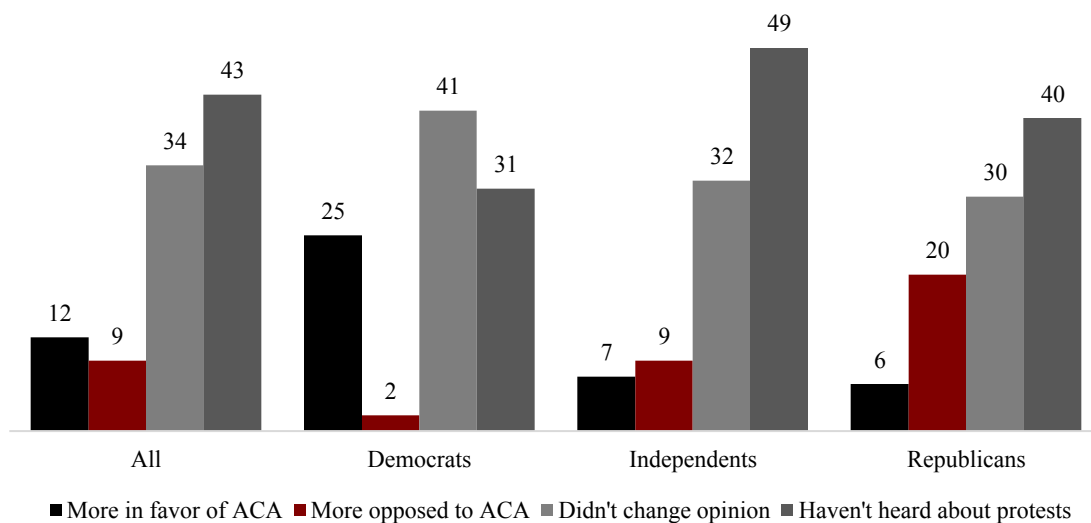
¹² "Republicans face anger over Obamacare repeal during town halls," Victoria Colliver, *Politico*. February 4, 2017. <http://politi.co/2jPoY2X>.

Figure 6:
Whether Americans Have Seen or Read Anything About
Town Hall Protests in Favor of Keeping Obamacare



Hearing about these protests appear to have had little net change in overall opinion about the ACA or Obamacare: 12% of Americans say these protests have made them more in favor of the ACA, while 9% say more opposed. A third (34%) say these protests have made no difference, and 43% say they have not heard about the protests (Figure 7).

Figure 7:
Whether Pro-Obamacare Protests Have Changed
Americans' Feelings Toward Obamacare



Additionally, Figure 7 shows that Democrats are more likely to say hearing about the protests increased their favorability of the ACA, while Republicans are more likely to say the protests increased their opposition to the ACA. This mirrors the earlier findings that partisans say they are more likely to vote for members of their own party due to President Trump's handling of Obamacare (Figure 2).

The future of Medicaid

The Affordable Care Act included funding for states to expand their Medicaid program and eligibility. At the time of this report, thirty-two states and the District of Columbia have expanded their Medicaid program under this ACA provision.¹³

The recent Republican proposal (the AHCA) to repeal and replace the ACA would have eliminated the Medicaid expansion provision, added new Medicaid eligibility requirements, lowered spending, and shifted control over the program's implementation to the states.¹⁴

Republicans support increasing states' authority over Medicaid in exchange for less federal funding, but public as a whole opposes such a trade

One of the AHCA's provisions would have shifted more control over directing the Medicaid program to individual states, while reducing the amount of federal funding given to the states for Medicaid over the long term.

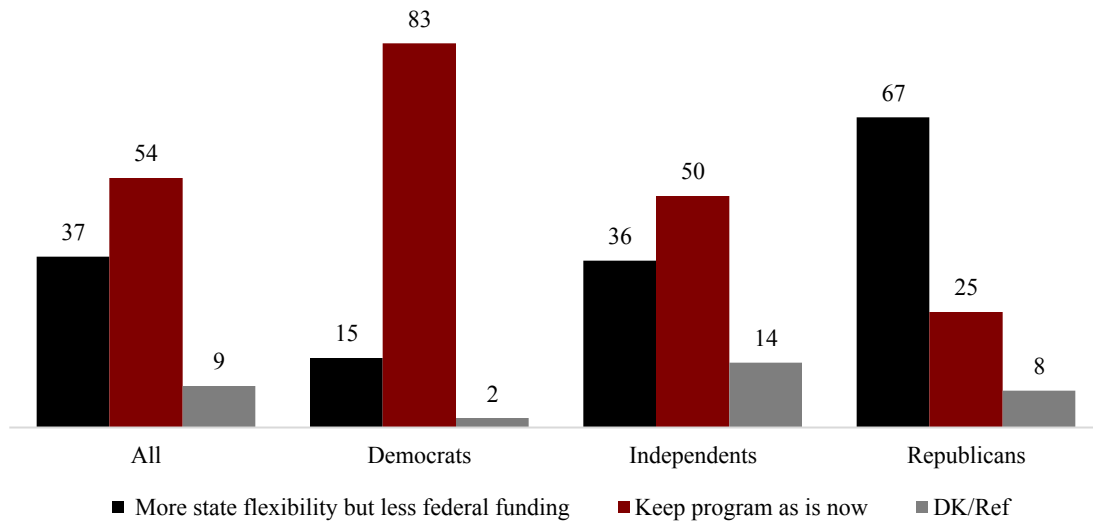
Therefore, people were asked: "Currently in Washington, there is a discussion of increasing the role of the state governments in directing Medicaid. The Republicans propose giving states less federal money, but increasing flexibility in who to cover and how to spend the money. Which would you prefer: more flexibility but less federal money for state governments, or keeping the program as it is now?"

As Figure 8 shows, a majority of Americans (54%) prefer continuing to fund the program as it is now. A super-majority (83%) of Democrats share this belief. However, two-thirds of Republicans (67%) prefer giving states more flexibility in directing the program in exchange for less federal funding.

¹³ "Current Status of State Medicaid Expansion Decisions." Kaiser Family Foundation. <http://kff.org/health-reform/slide/current-status-of-the-medicaid-expansion-decision/>.

¹⁴ "GOP split over Medicaid imperils Obamacare plans," Burgess Everett, Rachael Bade, and Rachana Pradhan, *Politico*, January 23, 2017. <http://politi.co/2k13CiG>.

Figure 8:
Americans' Preferences for Funding Medicaid



This finding contrasts with the views of multiple Republican governors in states that expanded their Medicaid program using federal money provided by the ACA.¹⁵

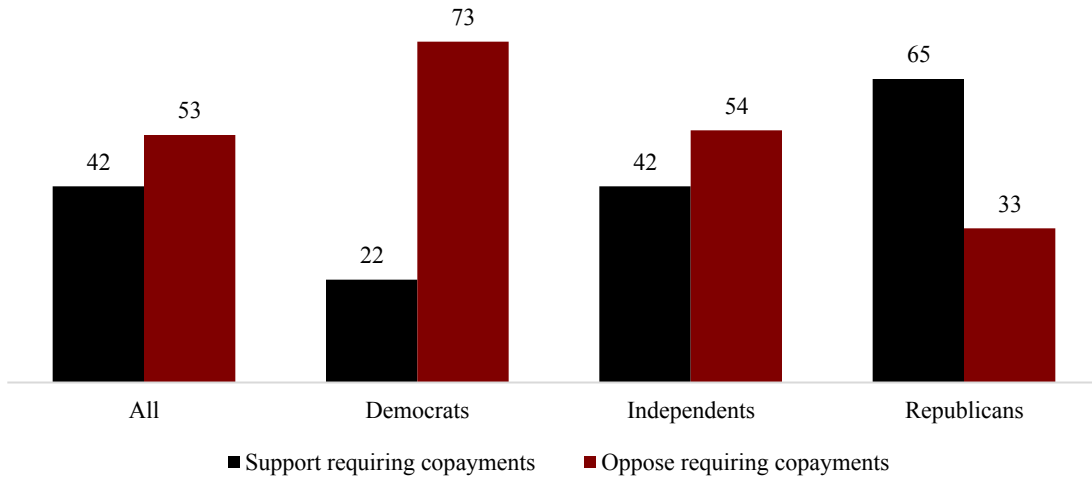
Support for Medicaid work requirements but not co-payments

Congressional Republicans also proposed adding new requirements for low-income people to meet to receive Medicaid benefits. One proposal would require those on Medicaid to make co-payments any time they seen a doctor. Another would require low-income, able-bodied adults without children to work in order to receive Medicaid benefits.

As Figure 9 shows, fewer than half (42%) of all Americans support requiring Medicaid beneficiaries to make co-payments at the doctor's office. Both Democrats (73%) and Independents (54%) oppose the proposal, while only a third (33%) of Republicans oppose it.

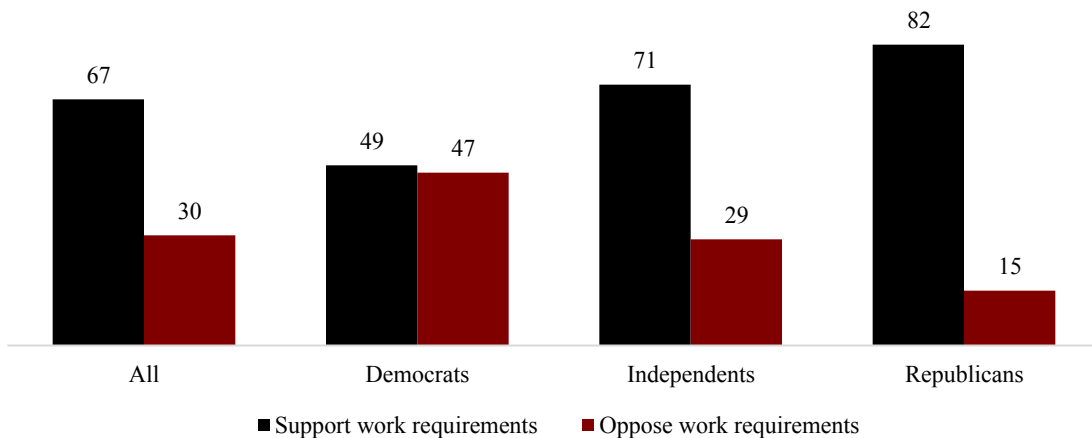
¹⁵ "GOP governors split on Obamacare replacement," Rachana Pradhan and Brianna Ehley, *Politico*. February 25, 2017. <http://politi.co/2lm9Z2g>.

Figure 9:
Americans' Preferences for Requiring Medicaid
Beneficiaries to Make Co-Payments At Doctor



However, a two-thirds majority (67%) of Americans support new work requirements for low-income, able-bodied individuals without children to be able to receive Medicaid benefits. This includes 49% of Democrats, 71% of Independents, and 82% of Republicans (Figure 10).

Figure 10:
Americans' Preferences for Requiring
Low-Income, Able-Bodied Adults Without Children
To Work to Receive Medicaid Benefits



Given Republicans support for these requirements, the findings suggest that Republicans in Congress will likely focus on adding requirements to Medicaid eligibility.

II. Changing Immigration Policy

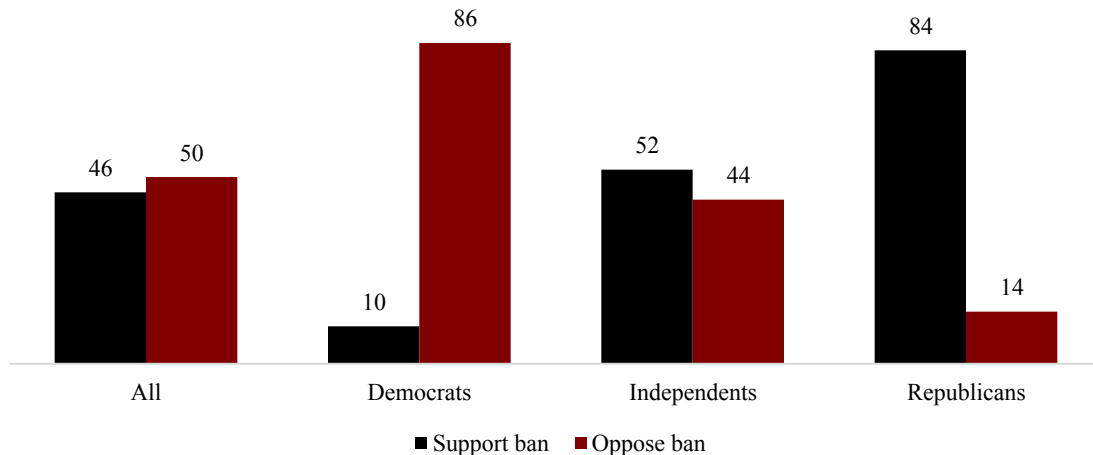
During President Trump’s first 100 days, he has continued his campaign’s focus on major restrictions on immigration to the United States. He has issued two executive orders on the matter (both halted by the judicial system), and contractor bids are now being accepted on building a wall along the Mexican border.

Half or more of Americans oppose executive orders temporarily banning immigration, while super-majority of Republicans support them

President Trump’s executive orders included two general prohibitions on immigration. One halted most immigration and travel, with very few exceptions, from six Middle Eastern countries for a period of 90 days. The other halted immigration of all refugees around the world from entering the U.S. for 120 days.

Opinions on these immigration orders clearly demonstrate attitude polarization: while 86% of Democrats oppose the temporary ban on immigration from Middle Eastern countries, 84% of Republicans support it (Figure 11).

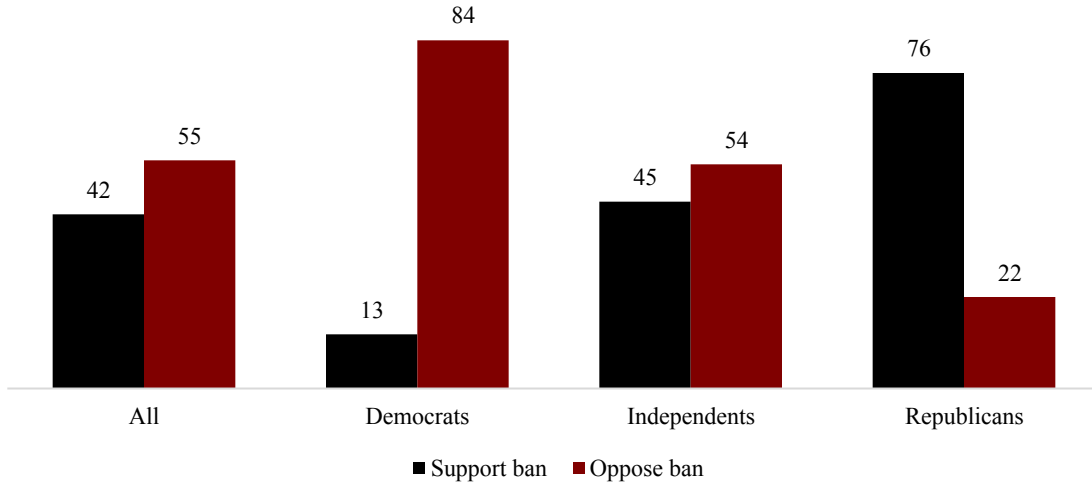
Figure 11:
Americans' Views on President Trump's Immigration Ban
on Six Middle Eastern Countries for 90 Days



Similarly, 84% of Democrats oppose the ban on refugee immigration, while 76% of Republicans support it (Figure 12).

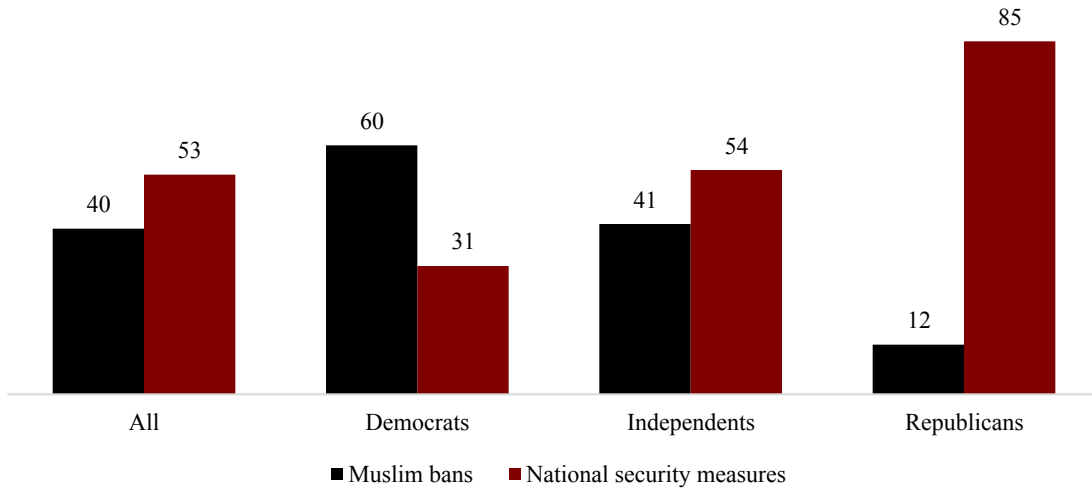
Independents are more likely to oppose the refugee ban (54%; Figure 12) than they are the Middle Eastern ban (44%; Figure 11).

Figure 12:
Americans' Views on President Trump's Immigration Ban
on All Refugees for 120 Days



As Figure 13 shows, a majority of Americans (53%) view President Trump's executive orders prohibiting immigration and travel as national security measures rather than explicit bans on Muslims. This includes a majority of Independents (54%), as well as a super majority of Republicans (85%).

Figure 13:
Americans' Perceptions of Whether Trump's Immigration
Orders Are National Security Measures or Muslim Bans

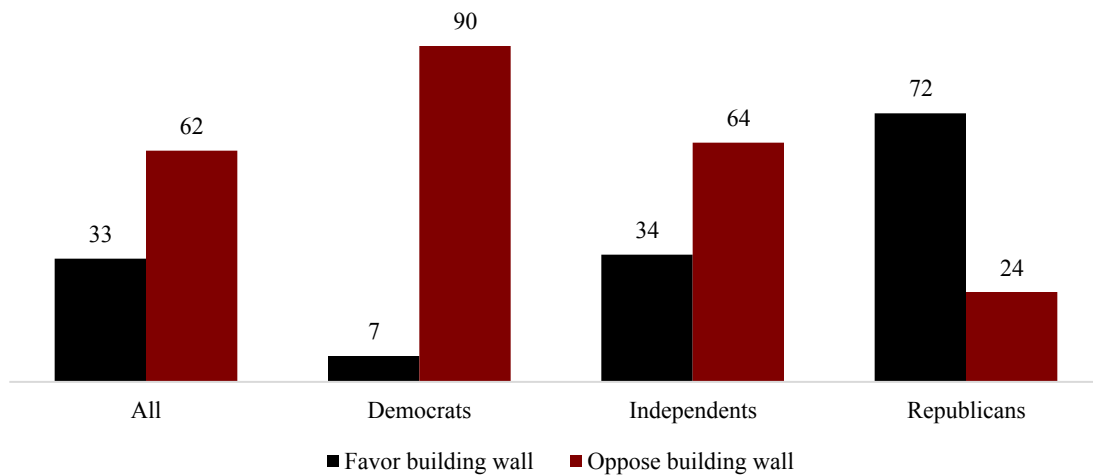


The majority of Democrats (60%), however, view these orders as bans on Muslim immigrants (Figure 13).

**Majority of Republicans support “The Wall,” but public opposes;
Supporters of building the wall not deterred by U.S. paying the bill**

Overall, only 33% of Americans favor President Trump’s plan to build a wall along the Mexican border. This is virtually unchanged from our December 2016 poll (35% support) about Americans’ preferences prior to President Trump’s inauguration. However, 72% of Republicans support building a wall along the Mexican border (Figure 14).

Figure 14:
Americans' Preferences for
Building A Wall Along the Mexican Border



Independents oppose building a wall by a nearly two-to-one margin (64% oppose, 34% support), along with 90% of Democrats (Figure 14).

Respondents who said they favor building a wall were then asked, “The Mexican government insists it will not pay for the wall. Do you still support building the wall if it means the United States government has to pay for it?”

Among those who support building a wall, 95% support building it even if the United States has to pay for it, with no significant party variation.

Future action on immigration will likely depend on whether President Trump follows the preferences of Republican voters, or those of the public as a whole. It may also depend on how President Trump’s executive orders fare as they proceed through the judicial system.

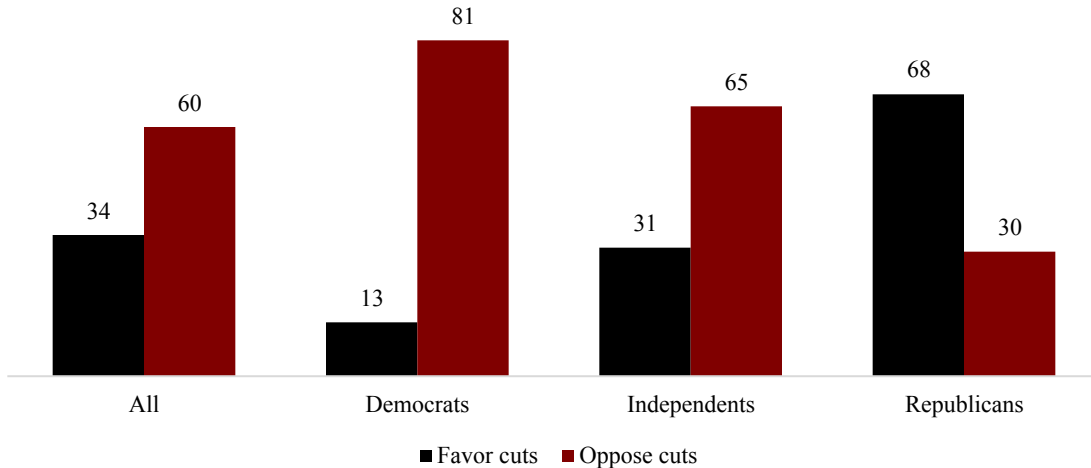
III. The EPA & Environmental Regulation

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is a government agency that focuses on protecting human health and the environment. President Trump’s proposed budget includes a 31% cut in EPA funding, the largest of any proposed agency cuts.¹⁶

Majority of the public, but not of Republicans, oppose significant EPA cuts

As Figure 15 shows, a majority of the public (60%) oppose President Trump’s proposed cuts to the EPA. This includes 65% of Independents and 81% of Democrats. However, nearly seven in ten Republicans (68%) support these cuts.

Figure 15:
Americans' Views of President Trump's Proposed Cuts to the Environmental Protection Agency's Budget

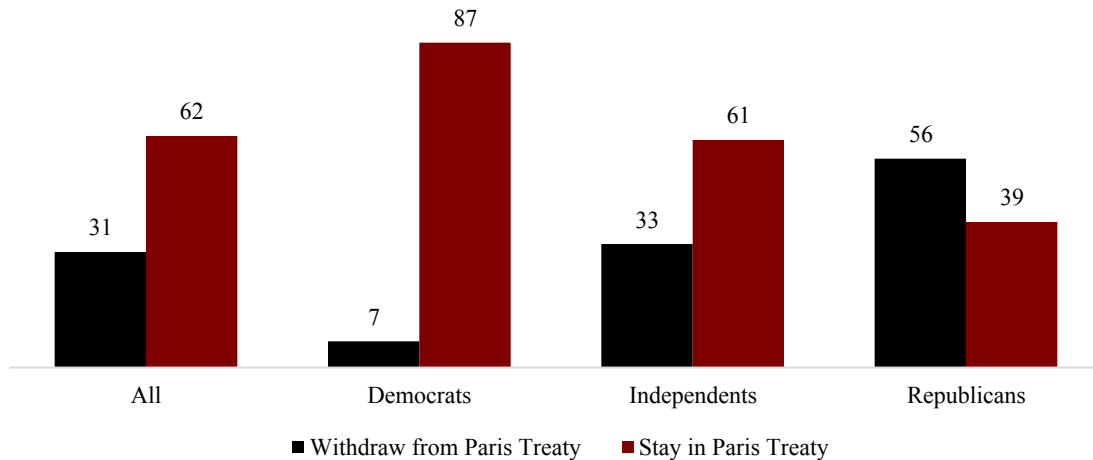


Opinion follows similar patterns on the topic of the Paris Climate Treaty. People were asked, “As you may know, the Paris Agreement on Climate Change is an agreement that calls for countries to collectively reduce their overall emissions that are harmful to the environment. The United States and 192 other countries signed this agreement in 2015, but President Trump has proposed withdrawing the U.S. from this agreement due to his concerns that government regulations growing from this agreement will lead to the loss of U.S. jobs. Do you think President Trump should withdraw the U.S. from this agreement, or allow the U.S. to continue as a participating country?”

¹⁶ “Who Wins and Loses in Trump’s Proposed Budget,” Alicia Parlapiano and Gregor Aisch, *The New York Times*. March 16, 2017. <https://nyti.ms/2mLka1z>.

“Budget: Agency Winners and Losers,” PoliticoPro DataPoint. March 20, 2017. <https://www.politicopro.com/datapoint/2017/03/budget-agency-winners-and-losers-000374>.

Figure 16:
Americans' Preferences for Whether the U.S. Should
Withdraw From or Stay in Paris Climate Treaty



A majority of the public (62%), Independents (61%), and Democrats (87%) support the U.S. remaining in the Paris Climate Treaty, while a smaller majority of Republicans (56%) would prefer to withdraw from the treaty (Figure 16).

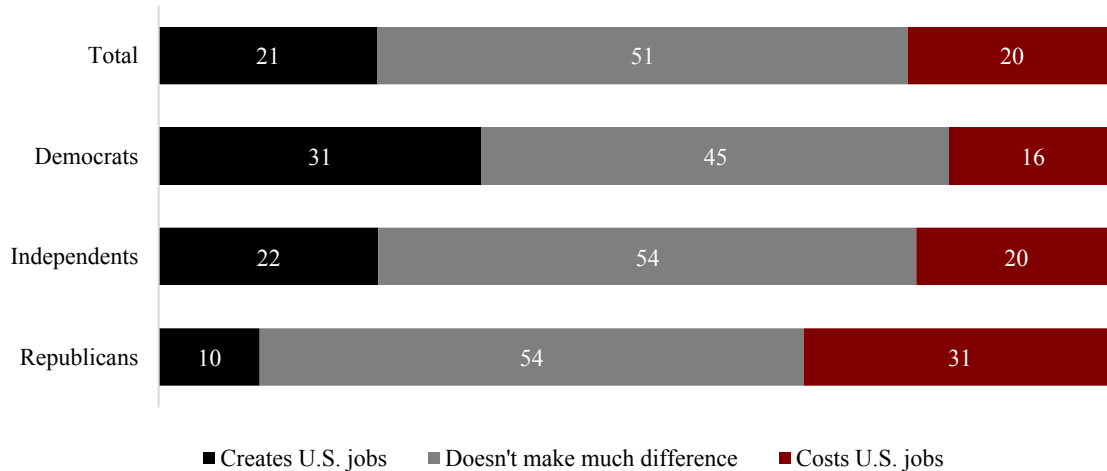
Most Americans, of all party affiliations, do *not* believe environmental regulation costs jobs

One of the primary roles of the EPA is to protect human and environmental health through writing and enforcing regulation.¹⁷ President Trump has often referred to these regulations as harmful to U.S. jobs.

However, Americans do not share this belief. A majority (51%) instead think that government regulation to address climate change makes no difference to U.S. jobs, while roughly equal parts think it creates (21%) or costs (20%) U.S. jobs. Democrats are more likely to say it creates jobs (31%), while Republicans say it costs jobs (31%) (Figure 17).

¹⁷ <https://www.epa.gov/aboutepa/our-mission-and-what-we-do>

Figure 17:
Americans' Beliefs in The Effects of Government
Regulation to Address Climate Change on U.S. Jobs



Taken together, these findings show that Republicans are more enthusiastic about cutting the EPA's budget (68% favor; Figure 15) than withdrawing from the Paris climate agreement (56% favor; Figure 16). Additionally, though President Trump and Republican leaders have argued that EPA regulation harms U.S. jobs, only 31% of Republicans think government regulation designed to address climate change costs U.S. jobs (Figure 17). This suggests that Republican support for cutting the EPA's budget is based on other issues beyond loss of U.S. jobs, and likely more about attitudes regarding government regulation more generally.

IV. Charter School Expansion

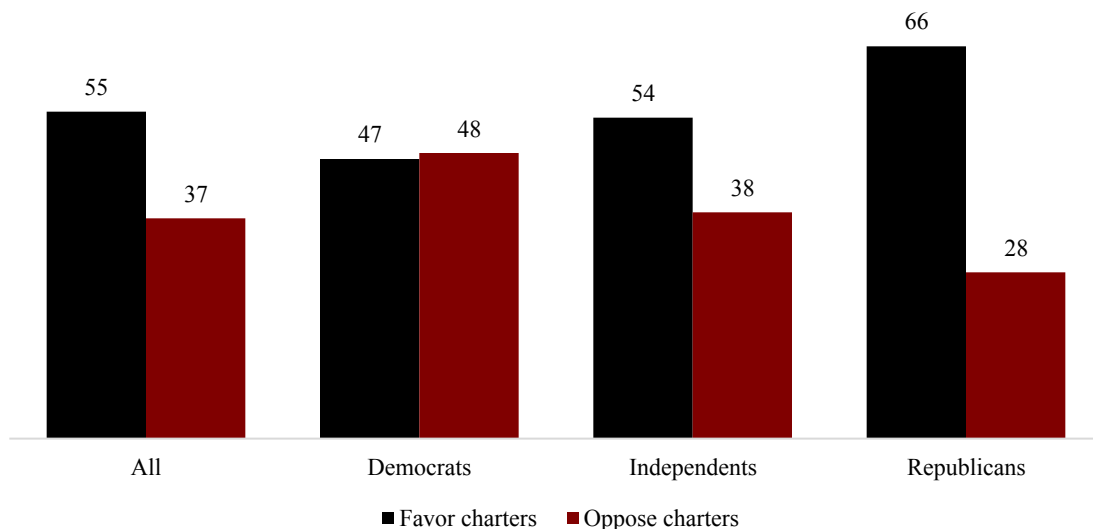
President Trump and his Secretary of Education, Betsy DeVos, have proposed increased federal funding for charter schools and vouchers to attend them. Americans generally favor charter schools, but are more divided on the specifics of such policy.

Americans favor charter schools generally, but think they should meet state standards

People were asked, “As you may know, charter schools are an alternative to public schools. They operate independently of local school boards and districts, though they still receive taxpayer funding. Do you favor or oppose the idea of charter schools in your community?”

Overall, 55% of Americans generally support the idea of charter schools in their community. This includes 47% of Democrats, 54% of Independents, and 66% of Republicans (Figure 18).

Figure 18:
Americans' Preferences on Charter Schools

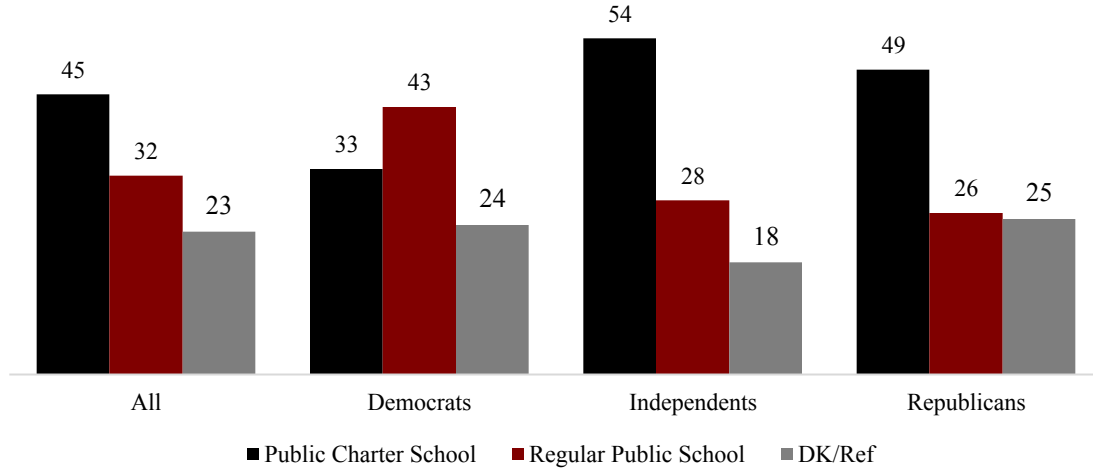


Urban residents are more likely to support having charter schools in their community (60% favor) than rural residents (45% favor).

Additionally, as Figure 19 shows, a plurality of Americans (45%) thinks that students, on average, receive a better education at public charter schools than they do at regular public schools (32%), with the remaining 23% not sure.

A majority of Independents (54%) believe that students generally receive a better education at charter schools than regular public schools. Independents were more likely than Democrats (33%) or Republicans (49%) to report this belief (Figure 19).

Figure 19:
Americans' Beliefs Of Whether Students Generally
Receive a Better Education at Charter or Public Schools



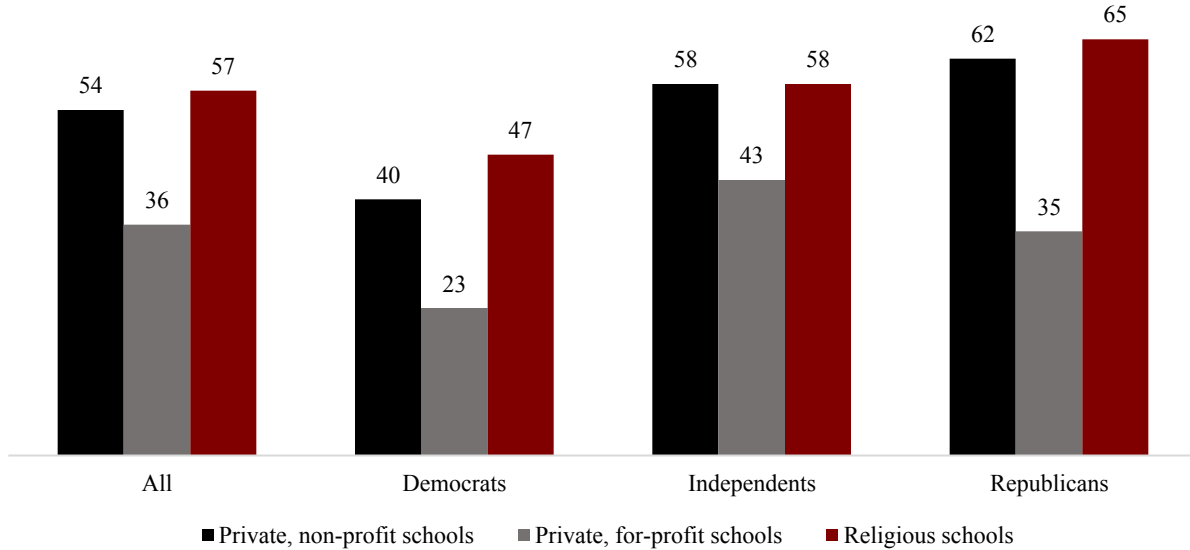
Nonetheless, 74% of Americans believe that charter schools should have to meet state education standards in the way regular public schools do, rather than being allowed to operate independently without having to meet those standards. More than 7-in-10 members of Democrats (78%), Independents (75%), and Republicans (71%) share this belief.

Americans generally support vouchers, but not for for-profit schools

President Trump and Secretary DeVos have both advocated that governments provide financial support for students to attend private educational institutions. Often this financial support is referred to as “vouchers.”

Figure 20 shows that a majority of Americans support vouchers for private non-profit schools (54%) and religious schools (57%), but not in the case of private for-profit schools (36%).

Figure 20:
Americans' Support for Vouchers for Different Types of Schools



Republicans are the most enthusiastic supporters of vouchers for private non-profit schools (62%) and religious schools (65%), whereas Democrats are the least: 40% of Democrats support private non-profit school vouchers, and 47% support religious school vouchers (Figure 20).

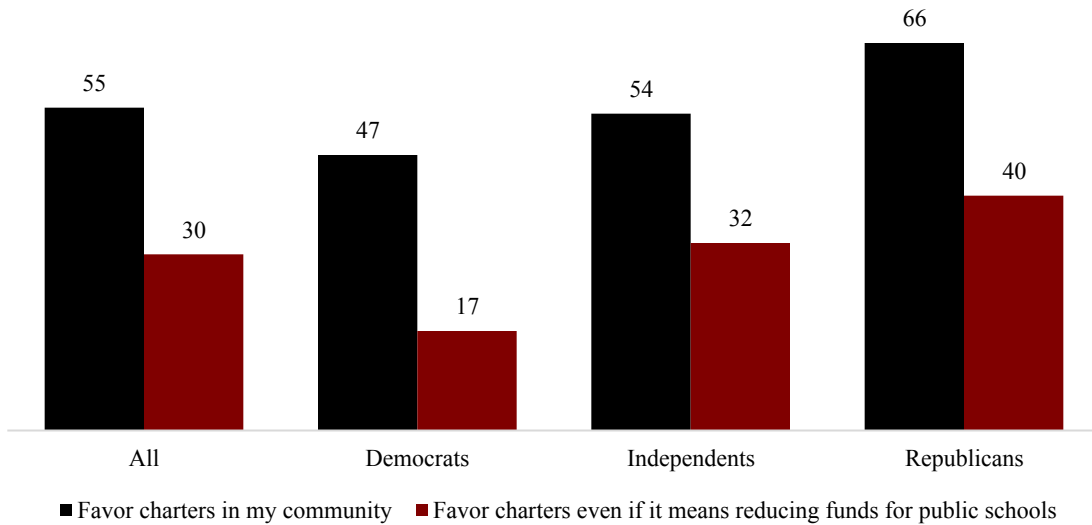
Independents fall in the middle, with 58% supporting vouchers for both private non-profit and religious schools (Figure 20).

Across the board, support is low for vouchers for private, for-profit schools. Only 23% of Democrats, 35% of Republicans, and 43% of Independents support this proposal (Figure 20).

Americans favor charter schools – unless it means reducing public school funding

Though a majority of Americans generally support charter schools (Figure 18), Figure 21 shows that this support drops significantly across all party affiliations when asked, “Would you favor or oppose having charter schools in your community if funding them meant reducing the amount of funds for the regular public schools?”

Figure 21:
Americans' Support for Charter Schools,
In General vs. If It Reduces Public School Funds



When reminded that funding charter schools may mean reducing the amount of funds for regular public schools, overall support for charters drops from 55% to 30%. Support for charters among Democrats drops by thirty points, Independents by twenty-two points, and Republicans by twenty-six points (Figure 21).

Overall, these findings show substantial support for the expansion and funding of charter schools. This also suggests that the use of vouchers for religious and private non-profit schools will likely proceed under President Trump and Secretary DeVos. One major obstacle to the expansion of these schools will be public resistance to shifting funds from public schools to these new entities.

Conclusion

These poll results address four major policy issues being debated during the first 100 days of President Trump's administration. The findings highlight continued and dramatic polarization of American attitudes along every one of these issues. Republican attitudes differ substantially not only from Democratic opinions, but from those of the public as a whole.

On the topic of the Affordable Care Act (ACA), a majority of Americans think that President Trump and Republicans should either work with Democrats to fix the ACA, or move on to other issues. However, a majority of Republicans want the GOP to either try a new repeal-and-replace plan or to repeal the law entirely. This divide in public opinion also reflects – or perhaps explains – the similar divide in Republican party leadership. This also suggests President Trump and Congressional Republicans would likely face backlash from their constituencies if they were to move on to other issues without developing an alternative to the ACA.

The ACA expanded Medicaid, and the Republicans' AHCA sought to repeal this measure. On this topic, the majority of Americans prefer keeping Medicaid funding as it currently is, rather shifting control to states in exchange for less federal money. A majority of Republicans prefer making this exchange. Republicans in Congress also proposed new requirements to Medicaid eligibility. A majority of Americans support adding work requirements for able-bodied adults without children. However, they do not support requiring co-payments when receiving medical care. Republicans strongly support both proposals. If Republicans in Congress are responsive to their own party's constituency, they will likely focus on adding both these requirements.

Regarding immigration, another hotly debated issue, a majority of Americans view President Trump's executive orders as national security measures rather than Muslim bans, but half or more still oppose them. Republicans, however, support them by wide margins. Support for a wall along the Mexican border is polarized along party lines. Those who support building it still support doing so even if the U.S. government pays the entire bill. Future action on immigration will likely depend on how President Trump's executive orders fare in the judicial system.

As to the EPA, the majority of the public – including the majority of Republicans – do not share President Trump's belief that environmental regulation harms U.S. jobs. The majority of Americans also oppose President Trump's proposed cuts to the EPA's budget, though Republicans once again support them. This suggests that Republican support for cutting the EPA's budget is not based on perceived U.S. job loss, but rather attitudes regarding regulation.

Finally, regarding the debate over the future of K-12 education, the findings show substantial support for the expansion and funding of charter schools. However, one major obstacle to the expansion of charters and vouchers will be public resistance to funding them at the expense of regular public schools.

At the end of President Trump's first 100 days, the country is not united on the main issues being debated today. One of the broader questions raised but not answered here is whether in the future President Trump will follow the preferences of Republican voters or those of the whole public. These results suggest the future will look dramatically different if one is chosen over another.

Methodology

The results are based on two polls 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 for the first poll were conducted with a nationally representative sample of 1,019 randomly selected adults, ages 18 and older, via telephone (including cell phones and landlines) by SSRS of Media, Pennsylvania. The interviewing period was March 22 – 26, 2017.

Interviews for the second poll were conducted with a nationally representative sample of 1,017 randomly selected adults, ages 18 and older, via telephone (including cell phones and landlines) by SSRS of Media, Pennsylvania. The interviewing period was March 29 – April 2, 2017.

The data for each of the polls 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 first poll is ± 3.7 percentage points; for the second poll, ± 3.8 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.



53 West Baltimore Pike. Media, PA 19063
 484-840-4300 www.ssrs.com

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

Americans’ Views on Domestic Policies in President Trump’s First 100 Days – Part 1

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) March 22 – 26, 2017, among a nationally representative sample of 1,019 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 www.ssrs.com

PO-01. Do you favor or oppose repealing the Affordable Care Act, or Obamacare?

	Favor	Oppose	Don't know/ Refused
Total	44	45	11
Republican	67	25	8
Democrat	27	66	7
Independent	45	42	13

PO-1. Do you favor or oppose repealing the Affordable Care Act, or Obamacare?

(If favor repealing the Affordable Care Act, ask)

PO-2. Do you prefer replacing the Affordable Care Act, or Obamacare, with an alternative plan, or not replacing it?

**PO-1/PO-2 Combo Table
 Based on total respondents**

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
Repeal and replace with an alternative plan	26	52	7	27
Repeal and not replace it	16	13	20	15
Repeal but don't know if replace or not	2	2	*	3
Oppose repeal	45	25	66	42
Don't know/Refused	11	8	7	13

PO-03. Since the November 2016 election for president, would you say your opinion towards the Affordable Care Act, also known as the ACA or Obamacare, has become more favorable of the law, less favorable of it, or has your opinion of the law stayed about the same since the election?

	More favorable	Less favorable	Stayed about the same	Don't know/ Refused
Total	12	14	69	5
Republican	3	24	67	6
Democrat	21	8	66	5
Independent	12	15	69	4

(Asked of those who said they had become more or less favorable to the ACA since the November 2016 election)

PO-04. What would you say was the single biggest reason that led to that change?

Data not analyzed

(Asked of half-sample A; n=494)

PO-05. Currently the ACA or Obamacare is providing financial assistance to millions of people to help them pay for health insurance. When it comes to a replacement for Obamacare, which of the following would you prefer...?

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
That the replacement plan would provide financial assistance to purchase insurance to the same number of people as Obamacare does now	42	21	57	44
That the replacement plan would provide insurance to fewer people but saves taxpayer money	11	18	8	11
That the replacement plan would provide access to insurance but would not provide taxpayer assistance for purchasing it, saving even more money	34	50	20	35
Don't know/Refused	13	11	15	10

(Asked of half-sample A; n=494)

PO-06. Thinking about the future of the ACA or Obamacare, which of the following would you prefer? The federal government should allow insurers to provide health care plans with less comprehensive benefits than are required now. This would mean lower premiums, but would provide significantly less protection for unexpected illnesses. Or, things should be kept as they are now, where premiums are higher but insurers must offer health care plans with comprehensive benefits that provide better protection for unexpected illness. Which would you prefer...?

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
The government should allow insurers to offer plans with less health care coverage for lower premiums	39	54	26	35
The government should require insurers to offer plans with more comprehensive health care coverage though it would mean higher premiums	51	26	69	55
Don't know/Refused	10	20	5	10

(Asked of half-sample A; n=494)

PO-07. The House Republicans have released a “repeal and replace” bill that replaces some – but not all – of the Affordable Care Act, or Obamacare, in the hopes of significantly lessening the costs of the overall program and providing more choices of health care plans. According to the Congressional Budget Office, this plan would reduce the deficit, provide more choices of health plans, and eliminate the requirement that people have health insurance, but it would lead to 14 million fewer people having health insurance in the next year. If you had to choose, would you prefer this proposed plan, or would you prefer to keep the Affordable Care Act or Obamacare?

	Prefer this proposed plan	Prefer to keep Obamacare	Something else/neither (vol)	Don't know/Refused
Total	34	60	3	3
Republican	64	24	7	5
Democrat	11	85	1	3
Independent	37	57	2	4

(Asked of half-sample A; n=494)

PO-08. Do you think the House Republican replacement bill will raise or lower health insurance premiums for most people, or don't you think it will make much difference?

	Raise premiums	Lower premiums	Won't make much difference	Don't know/Refused
Total	33	17	38	12
Republican	14	35	35	16
Democrat	50	11	29	10
Independent	32	13	43	12

(Asked of half-sample A; n=494)

PO-09. Have you seen or read anything about people protesting at town halls around the country in favor of keeping the ACA or Obamacare, or not?

	Yes	No	Don't know/ Refused
Total	56	43	1
Republican	58	40	2
Democrat	68	31	1
Independent	50	49	1

(Asked of those in half-sample A who said they have seen or read anything about people protesting at town halls around the country in favor of keeping the ACA or Obamacare)

PO-10. Did that news make you more in favor of keeping the ACA or Obamacare, more in favor of repealing the ACA or Obamacare, or did it not change your opinion about the ACA or Obamacare?

PO-09/PO-10 Combo Table

Based on total half-sample A respondents; n=494

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
Have seen or read anything about people protesting at town halls around the country in favor of keeping the ACA or Obamacare	56	58	68	50
and made you more in favor of keeping the ACA or Obamacare	12	6	25	7
and made you more in favor of repealing the ACA or Obamacare	9	20	2	9
Did not change opinion of the ACA or Obamacare	34	30	41	32
Don't know if it made you more or less in favor	1	2	*	2
Have not seen or read anything about people protesting at town halls around the country in favor of keeping the ACA or Obamacare	43	40	31	49
Don't know/Refused	1	2	1	1

(Asked of half-sample B; n=525)

PO-11. Currently in Washington, there is a discussion of increasing the role of the state governments in directing Medicaid. The Republicans propose giving states less federal money, but increasing flexibility in who to cover and how to spend the money. Which would you prefer: more flexibility but less federal money for state governments, or keeping the program as it is now?

	More flexibility but less federal money for state governments	Keeping the program as it is now	Don't know/Refused
Total	37	54	9
Republican	67	25	8
Democrat	15	83	2
Independent	36	50	14

(Asked of half-sample B; n=525)

PO-12. Some states are considering adding requirements for low-income people who receive health insurance through Medicaid. Please tell me whether you support or oppose each of the following proposals. Do you support or oppose...?

- a. Requiring low-income people on Medicaid to make co-payments any time they see a doctor

	Support	Oppose	Don't know/Refused
Total	42	53	5
Republican	65	33	2
Democrat	22	73	5
Independent	42	54	4

- b. Requiring low-income, able-bodied adults without children to work in order to receive Medicaid benefits

	Support	Oppose	Don't know/Refused
Total	67	30	3
Republican	82	15	3
Democrat	49	47	4
Independent	71	29	*

(Asked of half-sample A; n=494)

PO-13. As you may know, charter schools are an alternative to public schools. They operate independently of local school boards and districts, though they still receive taxpayer funding. Do you favor or oppose the idea of charter schools in your community?

	Favor	Oppose	Don't know/ Refused
Total	55	37	8
Republican	66	28	6
Democrat	47	48	5
Independent	54	38	8

(Asked of half-sample A; n=494)

PO-14. Would you favor or oppose having charter schools in your community if funding them meant reducing the amount of funds for the regular public schools?

	Favor	Oppose	Don't know/ Refused
Total	30	64	6
Republican	40	57	3
Democrat	17	77	6
Independent	32	60	8

(Asked of half-sample A; n=494)

PO-15. Do you think charter schools should have to meet state education standards in the way regular public schools do, or should charter schools be allowed to operate independently without having to meet those standards?

	Meet State Standards	Operate Independently	Don't know/ Refused
Total	74	24	2
Republican	71	29	*
Democrat	78	19	3
Independent	75	25	*

(Asked of half-sample A; n=494)

PO-16. On average, do you believe most students receive a better education at a public charter school or a better education at a regular public school?

	Public Charter School	Regular Public School	Don't know/ Refused
Total	45	32	23
Republican	49	26	25
Democrat	33	43	24
Independent	54	28	18

(Asked of half-sample A; n=494)

PO-17. As you may know, some school districts have programs that allow parents to send their children to approved private or religious schools using taxpayer money to help pay the tuition. This is sometimes called a voucher. Do you favor or oppose the idea of allowing this in your community?

a. Private, non-profit schools

	Favor	Oppose	Don't know/ Refused
Total	54	41	5
Republican	62	32	6
Democrat	40	55	5
Independent	58	37	5

b. Private, for-profit schools

	Favor	Oppose	Don't know/ Refused
Total	36	56	8
Republican	35	57	8
Democrat	23	70	7
Independent	43	49	8

c. Religious schools

	Favor	Oppose	Don't know/ Refused
Total	57	39	4
Republican	65	31	4
Democrat	47	49	4
Independent	58	40	2

(Asked of half-sample B; n=525)

PO-18. President Trump has proposed a plan to build a wall along the Mexican border to help stop illegal immigration. Government experts estimate this will cost about \$20 billion. Do you favor or oppose building this wall?

	Favor	Oppose	Depends who pays for it (vol)	Don't know/Refused
Total	33	62	*	5
Republican	72	24	*	4
Democrat	7	90	-	3
Independent	34	64	1	1

(Asked of those in half-sample B who favor building a wall along the Mexican border to help stop illegal immigration; n=192)

PO-19. The Mexican government insists it will not pay for the wall. Do you still support building the wall if it means the United States government has to pay for it?

	Yes, build the wall even if U.S. pays	No, do not build the wall if U.S. pays	Mexico will pay for it somehow (vol)	Don't know/Refused
Total	95	4	*	1
Republican	96	2	-	2
Democrat	96	4	-	-
Independent	94	4	*	2

PO-18/PO-19 Combo Table

Based on total half-sample B respondents; n=525

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
Favor building a wall along the Mexican border to help stop illegal immigration	33	72	7	34
Yes, build the wall even if U.S. pays	32	69	7	32
No, do not build the wall if U.S. pays	1	2	*	1
Mexico will pay for it somehow (vol)	*	-	-	*
Don't know/Refused	*	1	-	1
Oppose building a wall along the Mexican border to help stop illegal immigration	62	24	90	64
Depends who pays for it (vol)	*	*	-	1
Don't know/Refused if favor or oppose building a wall along the Mexican border to help stop illegal immigration	5	4	3	1

(Asked of half-sample B; n=525)

PO-20. President Trump has issued a new executive order to stop all immigration and travel, with very few exceptions, from six Middle Eastern countries. Some say this is basically a ban to prevent Muslim people from entering America. Others say this is an important national security measure. Which comes closer to your view, even if neither is exactly right? Is this ...?

	A Muslim ban	A National security measure	Both (vol)	Don't know/ Refused
Total	40	53	2	5
Republican	12	85	2	1
Democrat	60	31	1	8
Independent	41	54	2	3

(Asked of half-sample B; n=525)

PO-21. Talking about this same executive order, President Trump ordered a stop to **all immigration and travel**, with very few exceptions, from six Middle Eastern countries to the U.S. for a period of 90 days. Do you support or oppose this policy?

	Support	Oppose	Don't know/ Refused
Total	46	50	4
Republican	84	14	2
Democrat	10	86	4
Independent	52	44	4

(Asked of half-sample B; n=525)

PO-22. The same executive order also stops **all refugees**, from anywhere in the world, from coming to the U.S. for 120 days. Do you support or oppose this policy?

	Support	Oppose	Don't know/ Refused
Total	42	55	3
Republican	76	22	2
Democrat	13	84	3
Independent	45	54	1

(Asked of half-sample B; n=525)

PO-23. President Trump has proposed substantial cuts in the budget for the EPA, or Environmental Protection Agency, because he thinks the activities of the EPA are not necessary. Others say the activities of the EPA are necessary and the EPA's budget should not be cut. Do you favor or oppose making substantial cuts in the EPA budget?

	Favor	Oppose	Don't know/ Refused
Total	34	60	6
Republican	68	30	2
Democrat	13	81	6
Independent	31	65	4

(Asked of half-sample B; n=525)

PO-24. Do you believe that government regulation of business aimed at addressing climate change and global warming generally creates U.S. jobs, costs U.S. jobs, or do these efforts not make much of a difference for U.S. jobs?

	Creates U.S. jobs	Costs U.S. jobs	Not make much difference	Don't know/Refused
Total	21	20	51	8
Republican	10	31	54	5
Democrat	31	16	45	8
Independent	22	20	54	4

(Asked of half-sample B; n=525)

PO-24. Do you believe that government regulation of business aimed at addressing climate change and global warming generally creates U.S. jobs, costs U.S. jobs, or do these efforts not make much of a difference for U.S. jobs?

(If generally costs U.S. jobs, ask:)

PO-25. Which do you think should be given the bigger priority? Reducing climate change even if it costs U.S. jobs, or Protecting U.S. jobs even if it hurts efforts to reduce climate change?

PO-24/PO-25 Combo Table

Based on total half-sample B respondents; n=525

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
Creates U.S. jobs	21	10	31	22
Costs U.S. jobs	20	31	16	20
Reducing climate change even if it costs jobs should be the bigger priority	4	3	7	3
Protecting jobs even if it hurts efforts to reduce climate change should be the bigger priority	15	28	8	15
Don't know which should be the bigger priority	1	*	1	2
Not make much difference for U.S. jobs	51	54	45	54
Don't know/Refused	7	5	8	4

(Asked of half-sample B; n=525)

PO-26. As you may know, the Paris Agreement on Climate Change is an agreement that calls for countries to collectively reduce their overall emissions that are harmful to the environment. The United States and 192 other countries signed this agreement in 2015, but President Trump has proposed withdrawing the U.S. from this agreement due to his concerns that government regulations growing from this agreement will lead to the loss of U.S. jobs. Do you think President Trump should withdraw the U.S. from this agreement, or allow the U.S. to continue as a participating country?

	Withdrawal the U.S. from agreement	Allow U.S. to continue to participate	Don't know/ Refused
Total	31	62	7
Republican	56	39	5
Democrat	7	87	6
Independent	33	61	6

PO-27. Since the November 2016 election for president, have you attended or participated in any protests, rallies, marches, town halls, or other political events in order to support President Trump and his policies, events that oppose President Trump and his policies, or have you not participated in any events like these since the election?

	Attended/ participated to support	Attended/ participated to oppose	Have not participated in any events	Don't know/ Refused
Total	5	8	87	*
Republican	3	3	94	*
Democrat	6	13	80	1
Independent	4	8	88	-



53 West Baltimore Pike. Media, PA 19063
 484-840-4300 www.ssrs.com

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

Americans’ Views on Domestic Policies in President Trump’s First 100 Days – Part 2

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) March 29 – April 2, 2017, among a nationally representative sample of 1,017 U.S. adults. The margin of error for total respondents is +/- 3.8 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. More information about SSRS can be obtained by visiting www.ssrs.com

PO-01. Recently, Republicans in Congress released a “repeal and replace” bill that would have replaced some – but not all – of the Affordable Care Act, also known as the ACA or Obamacare. According to the Congressional Budget Office, this plan would have reduced the deficit, provided more choices of health plans, and eliminated the requirement that people have health insurance. However, it also would have led to 14 million fewer people having health insurance next year. Republicans abandoned the plan after not getting enough votes to pass the bill. What do you think President Trump and Republicans in Congress should do in the future? Should they...(READ LIST)?

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
Repeal the ACA or Obamacare completely	14	27	5	13
Try again to develop a new plan that would repeal and replace part of the ACA or Obamacare	19	33	9	19
Work with Democrats on a compromise plan to improve the existing ACA or Obamacare	41	25	58	41
Stop focusing on the ACA or Obamacare and move on to other issues	19	11	24	20
Don’t know/Refused	7	4	4	7

PO-02. Given what President Trump and Republicans in Congress have done so far on the ACA or Obamacare, would you be more likely to vote for a Democrat in the 2018 congressional election, more likely to vote for a Republican, or wouldn't it make much difference in your vote?

Responses of registered voters (n = 836)

	Vote for a Democrat	Vote for a Republican	It wouldn't make much difference in my vote	Don't know/Refused
Total registered voters	36	24	35	5
Republican reg. voters	5	64	29	2
Democratic reg. voters	77	1	19	3
Independent reg. voters	25	17	51	7