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July 2015

## **U.S. Polling Shows Strong Opposition to More of the Same U.S. Trade Deals from Independents, Republicans and Democrats Alike**

*Recent polling reveals broad U.S. public opposition to more of the same trade deals among independents, Republicans and Democrats. Though Americans tend to support trade, they oppose an expansion of status quo trade policies, complicating the push for the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP).*

A June 2015 *New York Times* / *CBS News* poll revealed that 63 percent of the U.S. public believes that “trade restrictions are necessary to protect domestic industries” while only 30 percent think “free trade must be allowed, even if domestic industries are hurt by foreign competition.” Democrats, Republicans and independents all overwhelmingly supported protection of domestic businesses over “free trade” at any cost.<sup>1</sup>

These results confirm years of polls showing majority, trans-partisan opposition to the status quo trade model. Indeed, a June 2015 *NBC News* poll found that 66 percent of the U.S. public says “protecting American industries and jobs by limiting imports from other countries” is more important than “allowing free trade so you can buy products at low prices no matter what country they come from.”<sup>2</sup> One month earlier, a poll from Ipsos Public Affairs found that 84 percent of the U.S. public believes that “protecting American manufacturing jobs” is more important than “getting Americans access to more products” when trade agreements put U.S. jobs at risk.<sup>3</sup> The findings are relevant for the TPP, which includes special protections for firms that offshore U.S. jobs to countries like TPP member Vietnam,<sup>4</sup> where minimum wages average less than 60 cents an hour.<sup>5</sup>

The same May 2015 Ipsos poll found that 73 percent of the U.S. public believes that Congress should oppose any “international trade agreement that does not specifically prohibit currency manipulation.”<sup>6</sup> That would presumably include the TPP, as the Obama administration has repeatedly dismissed Congress’ bipartisan, bicameral demand for the TPP to include binding disciplines against currency manipulation.<sup>7</sup> The poll revealed that 88 percent of the U.S. public considers it important “that any international trade agreements negotiated by the United States have specific rules preventing currency manipulation.”

In addition to indicating broad public opposition to the specific content of the TPP (e.g. its job offshoring incentives or lack of currency manipulation disciplines), recent polls also show that the U.S. public believes that the status quo trade model that the TPP would expand has been damaging to the middle class. A June 2015 *NBC News* / *Wall Street Journal* poll found that a plurality of the U.S. public believes that “free trade between the United States and foreign countries...has hurt the United States.”<sup>8</sup> A May 2015 poll by the Pew Research Center confirmed that this is the dominant opinion:

- 46 percent said that free trade agreements “lead to job losses,” while only 17 percent said they “create jobs.” Among Republicans, Democrats and independents alike, those stating that trade pacts lead to job losses vastly outnumbered those stating they lead to job gains (from two to one to three to one).
- 46 percent said that free trade agreements “make the wages of American workers” lower, while only 11 percent said they make wages higher. Indeed, no more than 11 percent of Republicans, Democrats or independents said that trade pacts increase wages.
- 34 percent said that free trade agreements actually “slow the economy down” and 25 percent said they do “not make a difference” for economic growth, while only 31 percent said they “make the economy grow.”
- 30 percent said that free trade agreements actually “make the price of products sold in the U.S.” higher and 24 percent said they do not impact consumer prices, while only 36 percent said they lower prices.
- Among those earning less than \$30,000 a year, 44 percent said free trade agreements have hurt their financial situation and that of their family, while only 38 percent said they have helped their financial situation.
- Among those who rated their personal financial situation as “poor,” 55 percent said free trade agreements have hurt their family’s finances, while only 27 percent said they have helped their family’s finances.<sup>9</sup>

The findings followed an April 2014 *NBC News / Wall Street Journal* poll in which a plurality of Americans said they would support “a candidate who says that free trade with other countries will mainly be negative for America because it will cause the loss of U.S. jobs to other countries, which will hurt wages and jobs here.”<sup>10</sup> A plurality also stated that the recent model of globalization has been “bad because it has subjected American companies and employees to unfair competition and cheap labor.”<sup>11</sup>

That may explain why a January 2014 national poll by Democratic Hart Research Associates and GOP Chesapeake Beach Consulting found that 62 percent of the U.S. voting public opposes expanding status quo trade policies by Fast Tracking the TPP. Opposition to Fast Tracking the TPP was the majority position across all age groups, income brackets and geographic regions.<sup>12</sup> Similar results were found in a Hart Research Associates poll conducted for the AFL-CIO on the evening of the 2014 congressional elections: 49 percent stated opposition to Fast-Tracking the TPP, compared with 36 percent support. Among those who felt strongly, opposition to Fast Tracking the TPP outweighed support by two to one.<sup>13</sup> Candidates in that election, as with earlier elections, took note of the public’s opposition to more-of-the-same on trade.

***Republican and Democratic Candidates Compete to Oppose Unfair Trade in Recent Elections:*** High-profile races in the 2014 midterm congressional elections featured both candidates competing to portray themselves as the greater opponent of unfair trade. Republican challengers sought to outdo the fair-trade voting records of Democratic incumbents by proclaiming their own rejection of existing “free trade” agreements (FTAs), while the incumbents touted their votes against the FTAs.<sup>14</sup> Even incumbents who could *not* themselves claim a fair trade record still campaigned with the anti-unfair-trade frame by attacking their opponents on offshoring, voicing opposition to tax policies that incentivize offshoring or citing instances of being “tough on China.”<sup>15</sup>

In the 2012 election, the presidential campaigns of Barack Obama and Mitt Romney deployed more than three times as many trade-themed ads as were used in the 2008 presidential race, creating a trade-reform-

is-urgently needed narrative that reinforced the majority view of the U.S. public.<sup>16</sup> A Kantar Media study found that presidential campaigns spent an unprecedented \$68 million – about \$34 million each – in ads attacking more-of-the-same trade policies. Trade-themed presidential ads aired an estimated 83,000 times in 2012, more than twice the number of trade-related airings in 2008. Of the 16 most-targeted media markets for these ads, nine were not located in the free-trade-wary Rust Belt, but in parts of the country that, despite prior support for “free trade,” received a heavy dose of campaigning for trade reform.<sup>17</sup>

Following the presidential trend, 57 percent of candidates in competitive congressional races in 2012 also campaigned on trade policy via ads or campaign websites. Out of more than 125 paid ads used by congressional candidates across 30 U.S. states,<sup>18</sup> only one indicated support for any trade deals modeled on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile, Senate candidates who employed ads against status quo trade policies won seats in Connecticut, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Wisconsin. Such campaigning both reflected and reinforced the U.S. public’s broad rejection of the trade status quo enshrined in NAFTA-style FTAs.

***Americans Tend to Support Trade in General, But Oppose More-of-the-Same Trade Policies:*** Some recent polls that proponents of status quo trade policy have errantly claimed as endorsements of the TPP actually have confirmed what polling has consistently shown: the U.S. public tends to support the goal of expanded trade while opposing the content of TPP-like deals. A May 2015 *Reuters/Ipsos* poll, for example, found that a majority of the U.S. public supports the concept of “new international trade agreements to promote the sale of American goods abroad.”<sup>20</sup> Who would be opposed to trade deals framed as simply boosting exports? The poll did not address any elements of the TPP that have made the sweeping deal so controversial. It did not ask, for example, whether respondents support “new international trade agreements that could offshore U.S. jobs,” despite widespread concern about the TPP’s incentives for U.S. firms to relocate abroad. According to Ipsos’ own data from its other May 2015 trade poll, had the *Reuters/Ipsos* survey mentioned the TPP’s actual content (e.g. its job offshoring incentives or lack of currency manipulation disciplines), the result would have been broad TPP opposition.<sup>21</sup>

Other recent polls asking about “free trade” in general have produced mixed results. As mentioned, a June 2015 *NBC News / Wall Street Journal* poll found that a plurality of the U.S. public believes that “free trade” has been damaging to the United States.<sup>22</sup> Other polls have found support for the general notion of trade but have not asked about the TPP or any of the other controversial deals that form the current trade policy agenda.<sup>23</sup> These include, for example, a March 2015 Gallup poll, a May 2015 YouGov poll and the aforementioned May 2015 Pew Research Center poll,<sup>24</sup> in addition to surveys conducted in 2013 and 2014 by Pew Research Center and *NBC News* in conjunction with *The Wall Street Journal*.<sup>25</sup> The polls found plurality or majority U.S. support for “foreign trade,” “free trade” or “*the growing trade and business ties between the U.S. and other countries*,” as Pew worded it.<sup>26</sup> (And though Americans tend to support trade in general, they do not rank trade as a policy priority, even when they are *not* asked about the specific controversial content of pending deals like the TPP – respondents ranked signing trade agreements as the lowest of 15 potential policy priorities in a January 2015 *NBC News / Wall Street Journal* poll.)<sup>27</sup>

General support for trade is not surprising. Past polls, including ones by these same polling groups, have found majority support for trade but majority opposition to the content of status quo trade deals.<sup>28</sup> As mentioned, a January 2014 Hart/Chesapeake poll found 62 percent opposition to Fast Tracking the TPP. Among those with strong opinions, opponents outnumbered proponents by more than three to one (43 percent strongly opposing versus 12 percent strongly favoring). The poll also asked respondents to assess the strength of common arguments for and against the TPP. While 50 percent or more of the respondents

found seven anti-TPP arguments convincing, none of the pro-TPP arguments were ranked as convincing by a majority of respondents. For example, the poll gave respondents these competing arguments: “Workers in countries like Vietnam and Malaysia are exploited and paid as little as 28 cents an hour, which creates unfair competition that drives down wages for American workers,” and “Free trade is good for the U.S. economy,” supporting 38 million jobs and one third of agricultural sales. Sixty-six percent of respondents identified with the former, anti-TPP argument while 49 percent identified with the pro-TPP argument (the highest percentage among all pro-TPP arguments).<sup>29</sup> And three in five respondents found this argument compelling: “This is a NAFTA-style trade deal, and since NAFTA, the United States has run up an eight-trillion-dollar trade deficit, resulting in millions of lost manufacturing jobs.”<sup>30</sup>

Those results are consistent with a May 2012 Angus Reid Public Opinion poll that found that U.S. respondents who believe that the United States should “renegotiate” or “leave” NAFTA outnumbered by nearly 4-to-1 those that say the country should “continue to be a member” (53 vs. 15 percent). Support for the “leave” or “renegotiate” positions dominated among Republicans, Democrats, and independents alike. Just 1 in 3 U.S. respondents thought that NAFTA benefitted the overall U.S. economy, and only 1 in 4 saw the pact as having benefitted U.S. workers.<sup>31</sup>

Given such results, it is not surprising that the NAFTA-style FTAs passed by Congress in 2011 with Korea, Panama, and Colombia bring political liability. Immediately after passage, a plurality of U.S. voters expressed opposition to the FTAs in an October 2011 *National Journal* survey, with Republicans and Democrats showing equivalent levels of opposition. Republicans without a college education opposed the FTAs by a nearly 2-to-1 margin and women expressed especially high opposition.<sup>32</sup>

***Broad Opposition to Status Quo Trade Policy Has Been Consistent in Recent Years:*** The findings of recent polls confirm earlier results showing that Americans see our trade policy playing a major role in putting workers behind. In January 2011, most Americans said they believed the trend towards a global economy was bad for the country, compared with 60 percent who said it was good in 2001.<sup>33</sup>

In 2010, while testing Democratic messages for voter response, Democratic polling firm Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research found that 45 percent of voters were much more likely or somewhat more likely to support a Democratic candidate if he or she were to highlight an opponent’s support of the Colombia, Panama and South Korea FTAs.<sup>34</sup> Of four possible messages, the anti-FTA message was just as powerful in swaying voters as a statement in support of tax cuts for the middle class rather than the rich. The anti-FTA message was more powerful than a message on opposing tax breaks for companies outsourcing American jobs and statements linking the opposing candidate to former President Bush’s policies.

An *NBC News-Wall Street Journal* poll in 2010 found that 53 percent of Americans believed that FTAs have hurt the United States, up from 32 percent in 1999, with the shift mostly attributable to a change in thinking by upper-income Americans. Only 17 percent in 2010 believed that FTAs have benefitted the United States. When the same poll was conducted in 2007, 46 percent of respondents believed FTAs were harmful compared to 28 percent who believed they were helpful. In other words, sentiment against FTAs shifted from a 3-to-2 margin in 2007 to a 3-to-1 margin in 2010. Among self-identified Tea Party supporters, 61 percent believed FTAs have hurt the United States, while “among those earning \$75,000 or more, 50 percent said free-trade pacts have hurt the U.S., up from 24 percent who said the same in 1999.”<sup>35</sup>

Repeated polls have found trade-related outsourcing to be the foremost problem on the minds of U.S. voters. During an election cycle focused on job creation, a July 2012 poll conducted by the Mellman Group and North Star Opinion Research asked voters to name “the single biggest obstacle for creating

manufacturing jobs in America today.” “Our trade policies encourage outsourcing” was the top response.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, a September 2010 *NBC News-Wall Street Journal* poll found that the impact of trade and outsourcing was one of the only issues on which Americans of different classes, occupations and political persuasions agree. Eighty-six percent said outsourcing of jobs by U.S. firms to low-wage foreign nations is a top cause of our economic woes – by far the top concern, with deficits and health care costs well behind. Interestingly, the only causes that got a majority of support were related to corporate greed, not excessive regulation. Sixty-nine percent of Americans thought that “free trade agreements between the United States and other countries cost the U.S. jobs” – a new high for “free trade” opposition. Among those surveyed, Republicans were even more concerned than Democrats. Also noteworthy is that those who found no real impact from trade deals overtook those who felt that trade deals have been beneficial.<sup>37</sup>

***Republicans Want Fair Trade, Just Like Democrats:*** Republicans at all educational levels are highly skeptical of status quo trade policy. In a May 2011 *National Journal* poll, nearly 60 percent of Republicans at lower educational levels agreed with the statement that “international trade has been bad for the U.S. economy because imports have reduced demand for American-made goods, cost jobs here at home, and produced potentially unsafe products.” Only 36 percent agreed with the alternative statement that “international trade has been good for the U.S. economy because demand for U.S. products abroad has resulted in economic growth and jobs for Americans and provided more choices for consumers.” This skepticism has moved up the educational scale, with nearly half of college-educated Republicans also preferring the former statement. Most Republicans in both educational groups believed that “decisions by American companies to relocate jobs to other countries” has played “a major role” in “the high unemployment of the past few years;” and that competition from “lower-paid workers” abroad would inevitably lead to slower growth in Americans’ income in the future.<sup>38</sup>

***Polling from Earlier Elections Shows Sustained Public Demands for Fair Trade:*** Just after the November 2010 election, Greenberg Quinlan Rosner released the results of a poll<sup>39</sup> they took for Democracy Corps and Campaign for America’s Future. Several interesting findings emerged:

- While many pundits have suggested that Americans are primarily upset at the Democratic Party or President Obama, Americans felt even less “warm” about corporations. Among voters, only 29 percent felt warm towards corporations, while the comparable number is only 13 percent among non-voters. The numbers for big banks specifically were even worse in some regards: 12 percent among voters, and 16 percent among non-voters. These were lower ratings than for Obama, the Democrats, the GOP, Sarah Palin, Newt Gingrich, the NRA, labor unions and more. (Only “the state of the economy” garnered lower warm ratings, while “The Tea Party” fared poorly among non-voters.)
- Voters that voted for Democrats cited job offshoring as the most important issue facing the country, and said that the GOP candidate’s support for job offshoring was the most important reason to not vote Republican.
- Polling respondents were read four distinct narratives of campaign messages that generic Democratic candidates ran on in 2010, and were asked whether that campaign narrative would make them more or less likely to vote for the candidate. The first reminded voters’ of the GOP’s role in creating the conditions behind the recession, the second criticized GOP support for job offshoring, the third focused on GOP support for “free trade agreements” and how America should instead give benefits to companies that create jobs in the country, the fourth criticized that Obama promised change but instead Democrats wrecked the economy. The third message did the best among voters, and the second message did the best among non-voters – both obviously dealing with fair trade themes.

- Regardless of how or whether they voted, poll respondents were asked to respond to whether they agreed with a set of statements about the state of the country. The first related to concerns about the size of the national debt, the second to Wall Street rather than Main Street being bailed out, the third about lack of bipartisanship, the fourth on corporate influence in election finance, the fifth on inequality and CEO bonuses, and the sixth and final message focused on job offshoring and the need to “make things in America.” Eighty-nine percent of voters agreed with the sixth message on fair trade – more than any other narrative. Among non-voters, 85 percent agreed with the sixth message – second only to the third narrative about bipartisanship. Moreover, the percentage gap between those that agreed vs. disagreed with the fair trade message was the widest of all the narratives, i.e. it “won” by the largest margin.
- Poll respondents were asked whether they favored a series of two hypothetical policies that the next Congress could take up: upgrading our national infrastructure, or launching a five year fair trade plan that attacks job offshoring. The second plan fared significantly more favorably among both voters and non-voters, and there was also a larger (positive) gap between those that favored versus disapproved of the latter proposal.

So far so good. But then, poll respondents were asked a bizarre trade-related question: would they favor a hypothetical Democratic or hypothetical Republican proposal on trade. These were characterized as:

“On trade and exports, the Democratic leaders say we need to double our exports over the next five years, that requires ending subsidies to corporations that send jobs abroad, passing trade agreements to open markets, enforcing an even playing field for US companies, and working globally to limit trade imbalances.”

OR

“On trade and exports, the Republican leaders say we need to increase our exports, and that requires passing more trade agreements, getting government out of the way. American workers can compete and win with any workers across the world.”

When given these binary alternatives, more voting respondents favored the GOP proposal, while more non-voting respondents favored the Dem proposal. In other words, the only way for Democrats to squander the significant advantage that robust fair trade advocacy brings for them is to start sounding too much like Republicans, blur the line between the parties, and insist on “passing more trade agreements.”

Greenberg and CAF anticipated this argument, and tested an alternative set of messages:

“On trade and exports, the Democratic leaders say, It's time to challenge countries like China that are taking our jobs, end subsidies to corporations that send jobs abroad, stop passing NAFTA-like trade deals until we have a national strategy for making things in America and exporting goods, not jobs.”

OR

“On trade and exports, the Republican leaders say we need to increase our exports, and that requires passing more trade agreements, getting government out of the way. American workers can compete and win with any workers across the world.”

Unsurprisingly, Democrats regain the upper hand when their position is described as blocking more NAFTA-like deals and aggressively creating jobs. A significantly higher percentage of voters and non-voters alike said that they “strongly support” the first statement, while support for the Republican position

dropped among both voters and non-voters. And, as Greenberg's crosstabs show,<sup>40</sup> the stronger statement helped Democrats especially with swing voters, independents, and their own base – all of whom were relatively more turned off by the blurry message. In other words, as Public Citizen found in an analysis of 182 races in the 2010 election, the best defense is a good fair trade offense.<sup>41</sup>

### ***Recent Polling Data Confirm Earlier Findings of U.S. Public Opposition to Status Quo Trade***

Mellman Group / North Star Opinion Research, June 28-July 2, 2012

- U.S. voters supported Buy American policies by a 12-to-1 margin. The overwhelming support has grown since prior iterations of the same poll – Buy American received an 11-to-1 margin of support in 2011 and a 5-to-1 margin in 2010.<sup>42</sup>
- Buy American enjoyed resounding support across the political spectrum, with 91 percent of Democrats, 87 percent of Republicans, and 87 percent of independents all favoring Buy American provisions.<sup>43</sup>

*USA Today* / Gallup, Nov. 20-22, 2009<sup>44</sup>

- Twice as many Americans volunteered that “keeping manufacturing jobs here/stopping sending overseas” and “higher taxes on imports/Buy American” are the best ways to create more U.S. jobs, as compared with other policies (like lowering taxes).

Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, April 28, 2009<sup>45</sup>

- Forty percent of Americans – including 42 percent of Republicans and 45 percent of independents – said that “free trade agreements – like NAFTA, and the policies of the World Trade Organization” (WTO) have been “a bad thing” for the United States, while 10-15 percent less of each demographic said they have been a good thing. This is a dramatic reversal from a 2004 poll in which Americans believed that these trade agreements have been a good thing, by a 47-34 margin.
- Only 4 percent of Americans believed that these policies have helped the financial situation of them and their family; and only 11 and 13 percent respectively believed that they have led to higher wages and more jobs. By contrast, 33 percent didn't even believe that these policies lower the price of products that they buy – a key claim of NAFTA-WTO supporters.

Zogby, September 2008<sup>46</sup>

- The poll found that NAFTA opposition is the majority position across every demographic. *Hispanics were among the most anti-NAFTA, as were progressives, liberals, Democrats and internationalists.*

Greenberg Quinlan Rosner, September 2008<sup>47</sup>

- The survey revealed that a majority of voters are cool to NAFTA, regardless of party affiliation, ideology, gender, age, generational cohort, race, educational level, union membership status, marital status, parental status, religion, how they feel about the direction of the country, and which party controls their congressional district. *Catholic, swing and independent voters – among the most sought after constituencies – were among the most anti-NAFTA voting blocs.*

## ENDNOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> “Americans’ Views on Income Inequality and Workers’ Rights,” *The New York Times / CBS News Poll*, June 3, 2015. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/06/03/business/income-inequality-workers-rights-international-trade-poll.html>.
- <sup>2</sup> *NBC News*, “NBC News Online Survey: Public Opinion on Free Trade,” June 9, 2015. Available at: <http://msnbcmedia.msn.com/i/MSNBC/Sections/NEWS/NBCOnlineSurveyFreeTradeTOPLINES.pdf>.
- <sup>3</sup> Ipsos Public Affairs, “Perceptions of International Trade,” conducted for the Alliance for American Manufacturing, May 6, 2015. Available at: <http://www.ipsos-na.com/download/pr.aspx?id=14490>.
- <sup>4</sup> See Public Citizen, “TPP Leak Reveals Extraordinary New Powers for Thousands of Foreign Firms to Challenge U.S. Policies and Demand Taxpayer Compensation,” PC press release, March 25, 2015. Available at: <https://www.citizen.org/documents/tpp-investment-leak-2015-release.pdf>.
- <sup>5</sup> Government of Vietnam, Decree 182/2013/ND-CP, wages in effect for 2015. Available at: <http://www.wageindicator.org/main/salary/minimum-wage/vietnam>.
- <sup>6</sup> Ipsos Public Affairs, “Perceptions of International Trade,” conducted for the Alliance for American Manufacturing, May 6, 2015. Available at: <http://www.ipsos-na.com/download/pr.aspx?id=14490>.
- <sup>7</sup> Jonathan Weisman, “Currency Battle Is Tethered to Obama Trade Agenda,” *The New York Times*, February 15, 2015. Available at: [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/16/business/economy/obamas-trade-agenda-may-hinge-on-attacking-currency-manipulation.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/16/business/economy/obamas-trade-agenda-may-hinge-on-attacking-currency-manipulation.html?_r=1).
- <sup>8</sup> Hart Research Associates and Public Opinion Strategies, “Study #15179: *NBC News/Wall Street Journal* Survey,” conducted for *NBC News* and *The Wall Street Journal*, June 2015. Available at: <http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/WSJNBCpoll06222015.pdf>. The poll also found that Americans are divided between opposition and support for presidential candidates who support “signing a trade agreement with selected Asian and Pacific Rim countries,” though among those who feel strongly, opposition outweighs support.
- <sup>9</sup> Pew Research Center, “Free Trade Agreements Seen as Good for U.S., But Concerns Persist,” May 27, 2015. Available at: <http://www.people-press.org/files/2015/05/5-27-15-Trade-release.pdf>. For earlier, similar results from the Pew Research Center, see Pew Research Center, “Topline Results: Spring 2014 Survey,” September 16, 2014. Available at: <http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2014/09/Pew-Research-Center-Trade-Report-TOPLINE-September-16-2014.pdf>. The May 2015 poll also found majority support for the position that free trade agreements have been broadly good for the United States, which is paradoxical given the findings of plurality support for the positions that free trade agreements have spurred job and wage losses, no or negative impacts on consumer prices and no or negative impacts on U.S. economic growth. The reasons for this paradox are unclear, though the finding of general support for free trade agreements may stem from the U.S. public’s support for the general notion of trade expansion, which polls have consistently shown alongside broad opposition to status quo trade deals, as explained in this memo.
- <sup>10</sup> Hart Research Associates and Public Opinion Strategies, “*NBC News/Wall Street Journal* Survey,” conducted April 23-27, 2014, at 19. Available at: <http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/WSJNBCpoll04232014.pdf>.
- <sup>11</sup> Hart Research Associates and Public Opinion Strategies, “*NBC News/Wall Street Journal* Survey,” conducted April 23-27, 2014, at 19. Available at: <http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/WSJNBCpoll04232014.pdf>.
- <sup>12</sup> Hart Research Associates and Chesapeake Beach Consulting, “National Survey on Fast-Track Authority for TPP Trade Pact,” January 27, 2014. Available at: [http://fasttrackpoll.info/docs/Fast-Track-Survey\\_Memo.pdf](http://fasttrackpoll.info/docs/Fast-Track-Survey_Memo.pdf).
- <sup>13</sup> Hart Research Associates, “AFL-CIO 2014 Election Night Survey,” conducted on November 4, 2014, at 8. Available at: <http://www.americansfortaxfairness.org/files/2014-election-survey-by-Hart-Research-for-AFL-CIO-11-5-14.pdf>.
- <sup>14</sup> For example, in the closely fought race for Minnesota’s eighth district seat, Republican challenger Stewart Mills tried to convert popular rejection of existing FTAs into rejection of Democratic incumbent Rep. Rick Nolan, using an [ad](#) that blamed “politicians like Rick” for “trade deals that reward outsourcers, while killing Minnesota jobs.” Nolan, who was not in office during the votes for any existing FTAs, boasted on his campaign [website](#) that he “fought against ‘fast-tracking’ the ongoing TPP trade negotiations, and will continue to stand up for fair trade.” Voters opted for Nolan. And in the competitive Michigan Senate race, Republican Terri Lynn Land sought to trump Democratic Representative Gary Peters’ 100 percent record of opposition to FTAs by flaunting her own anti-FTA position, stating in an [ad](#), “My plan will save Michigan jobs by ending unfair foreign trade deals and developing new agreements that open up markets for Michigan exports.” Peters’ campaign [website](#) touted his fair trade record, stating, “He has stood up for Michigan manufacturers and opposed any new trade deal that does not require our foreign trading partners play by the same rules as American companies.” Peters beat Land handily although the race had long been deemed competitive.
- <sup>15</sup> For example, even Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, with a 100 percent record of supporting unfair trade deals, was obliged to create and air an [ad](#) claiming he “fought against unfair foreign trade” after [multiple ads](#) attacked him for supporting damaging trade deals and costing American jobs.



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<sup>16</sup> For more information, see the Public Citizen news release: “Obama, Romney and Congressional Candidates Nationwide Used Trade-Themed Ads to Appeal to U.S. Majority Opposing Trade Status Quo, Reinforcing Public Anger and Building Expectations for Reform,” Nov. 7 2012. Available at: <http://www.citizen.org/documents/2012-election-report.pdf>.

<sup>17</sup> Elizabeth Wilner, “Role of Jobs, Outsourcing and Trade in Select Critical 2012 Contests,” Kantar Media memo, Nov. 13, 2012. Available at: <http://americanmanufacturing.org/files/CMAG%20AAM%20postelelex%20analysis%20FINAL.pdf>.

<sup>18</sup> To view these trade-themed ads, visit <http://www.citizen.org/2012-election-ad-index>.

<sup>19</sup> This lone ad came from GOP candidate Linda Lingle, who lost her bid for Hawaii’s Senate seat.

<sup>20</sup> Ipsos Public Affairs, “Trade Agreements,” conducted for *Reuters*, May 27, 2015. Available at: <http://www.ipsos-na.com/download/pr.aspx?id=14544>.

<sup>21</sup> Ipsos Public Affairs, “Perceptions of International Trade,” conducted for the Alliance for American Manufacturing, May 6, 2015. Available at: <http://www.ipsos-na.com/download/pr.aspx?id=14490>.

<sup>22</sup> Hart Research Associates and Public Opinion Strategies, “Study #15179: *NBC News/Wall Street Journal* Survey,” conducted for *NBC News* and *The Wall Street Journal*, June 2015. Available at:

<http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/WSJNBCpoll06222015.pdf>.

<sup>23</sup> One exception is a poll commissioned by the “Progressive Coalition for American Jobs” (PCAJ), a pro-TPP public relations project that does not actually list any progressive organizations as members, run by 270 Strategies – a public relations firm led by former President Obama aides and campaigners. The poll of Democratic voters unsurprisingly found 52 percent Democratic support for the TPP when framed as “President Obama’s Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement.” Then the poll posed even more blatantly biased questions such as asking opinions on the TPP after stating, “[The TPP] would make it easier for businesses in several countries, including the U.S., Japan, Canada and Malaysia to sell their products and services. The agreement would lower taxes on goods sold internationally, reduce trade barriers, and raise trade standards in the areas of how workers are treated, environmental protections, and human rights.” Unsurprisingly this copy-and-paste of the Obama administration’s misleading TPP sales pitch resulted in increased support for the administration’s trade agenda. Unlike the poll conducted by Democratic Hart Research Associates and GOP Chesapeake Beach Consulting, which offered arguments on both sides of the TPP debate and found consistently stronger support for arguments against the TPP, the PCAJ poll offered no arguments to counterbalance its blunt pro-TPP sales pitch. Benenson Strategy Group, poll conducted for Progressive Coalition for American Jobs, April 2015. Available at:

<http://static1.squarespace.com/static/54e2b1d1e4b043f1c9a2a9ed/t/55424db8e4b04641a244468d/1430408665168/trade-poll.pdf>.

<sup>24</sup> Gallup, “Majority in U.S. Still See Opportunity in Foreign Trade,” March 9, 2015. Available at:

<http://www.gallup.com/poll/181886/majority-opportunity-foreign-trade.aspx>. YouGov, “Americans see more good than bad in

free trade,” May 12, 2015. Available at: <https://today.yougov.com/news/2015/05/12/free-trade/>. Pew Research Center, “Free Trade Agreements Seen as Good for U.S., But Concerns Persist,” May 27, 2015. Available at: [http://www.people-](http://www.people-press.org/files/2015/05/5-27-15-Trade-release.pdf)

[press.org/files/2015/05/5-27-15-Trade-release.pdf](http://www.people-press.org/files/2015/05/5-27-15-Trade-release.pdf). An April 2015 version of the June 2015 *NBC News / Wall Street Journal* poll also found slight plurality support for “free trade,” though that was reversed two months later. Hart Research Associates and Public Opinion Strategies, “Study #15179: *NBC News/Wall Street Journal* Survey,” conducted for *NBC News* and *The Wall Street Journal*, April 2015. Available at: <http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/WSJNBCpoll05042015.pdf>.

<sup>25</sup> Pew Research Center, “America’s Place in the World, VI,” Pew poll results, December 2013, at 16. Available at: <http://www.people-press.org/files/legacy-questionnaires/12-3-13%20APW%20VI%20Topline%20for%20Release.pdf>. *NBC News* and *The Wall Street Journal*, “*NBC News/Wall Street Journal* Survey,” Hart Research Associates and Public Opinion Strategies memo, March 2014, at 15. Available at:

<http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/WSJNBCpoll03052014.pdf>.

<sup>26</sup> Pew Research Center, “America’s Place in the World, VI,” Pew poll results, December 2013, at 16. Available at:

<http://www.people-press.org/files/legacy-questionnaires/12-3-13%20APW%20VI%20Topline%20for%20Release.pdf>. See also

Pew Research Center, “Topline Results: Spring 2014 Survey,” September 16, 2014, at 33. Available at:

<http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2014/09/Pew-Research-Center-Trade-Report-TOPLINE-September-16-2014.pdf>.

<sup>27</sup> Hart Research Associates and Public Opinion Strategies, “*NBC News/Wall Street Journal* Survey,” conducted January 14-17, 2015, at 15. Available at: <http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/WSJNBCpoll01192014.pdf>.

<sup>28</sup> As one example of the difference between the U.S. public’s support for trade in general and opposition to the actual content of FTAs, an April 2014 Pew Research Center poll found that the American public is generally supportive of increased trade with the European Union. Half of respondents even indicated support in principle for a U.S.-EU FTA. But when the poll asked about the actual terms being negotiated as part of the U.S.-EU Trans-Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (TAFTA), the public’s support was eclipsed by public opposition. When the poll stated that the deal could include “removing all restrictions on investment between the U.S. and the European Union,” a plurality of U.S. respondents stated that they opposed these terms. When the poll stated that the deal could include “removing all duties that increase the price of goods imported from the European Union,” a plurality of U.S. respondents again indicated their opposition. Pew Research Center, “Topline Results,” April 9, 2014. Available at: <http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2014/04/Pages-from-Pew-Research-Center-Bertelsmann-Foundation-U.S.-Germany-Trade-TOPLINE-FINAL-Wednesday-April-9-2014.pdf>.

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- <sup>29</sup> Hart Research Associates and Chesapeake Beach Consulting, “National Survey on Fast-Track Authority for TPP Trade Pact,” January 27, 2014, at 3. Available at: [http://fasttrackpoll.info/docs/Fast-Track-Survey\\_Memo.pdf](http://fasttrackpoll.info/docs/Fast-Track-Survey_Memo.pdf).
- <sup>30</sup> While the January 2014 Hart/Chesapeake poll actually provided arguments for and against the TPP, based on the content of the deal, a June 2015 Pew Research Center poll asked about the TPP without providing any information about the deal’s content and instead simply framing it as a “free-trade agreement with countries in the Asian-Pacific region.” Unsurprisingly, respondents expressed greater support for the deal, which aligns with earlier polls showing public support for the general notion of open trade. (Even so, the poll found that plurality support for the TPP among U.S. respondents trailed behind that of all other TPP nations except Malaysia.) Pew Research Center, “Topline Results: Spring 2015 Survey,” June 23, 2015. Available at: <http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2015/06/Balance-of-Power-Report-TOPLINE-FOR-RELEASE-June-23-2015.pdf>.
- <sup>31</sup> Angus Reid Public Opinion poll, May 7-8, 2012. Available at: [http://www.angus-reid.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/2012.05.17\\_NAFTA.pdf](http://www.angus-reid.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/2012.05.17_NAFTA.pdf).
- <sup>32</sup> United Technologies / *National Journal* Poll, Oct. 13-16, 2011. Available at: <http://www.nationaljournal.com/daily/in-both-parties-a-schism-on-trade-20111017>.
- <sup>33</sup> *Washington Post* Poll, Jan. 13-17, 2011. Available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/story/2011/01/28/ST2011012802479.html?sid=ST2011012802479>.
- <sup>34</sup> Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research, “Democracy Corps: Frequency Questionnaire,” Oct. 2010. Available at: <http://www.democracycorps.com/wp-content/files/dcor100410fq10.pdf>.
- <sup>35</sup> Sara Murray and Douglas Belkin, “Americans Sour on Trade,” *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 4, 2010. Available at: <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB20001424052748703466104575529753735783116.html>.
- <sup>36</sup> Mellman Group and North Star Opinion Research Poll, Jun. 28 – Jul. 2, 2012. Available at: <http://americanmanufacturing.org/files/Toplines.pdf>.
- <sup>37</sup> NBC News and *Wall Street Journal*, “Survey: Study #101061,” Hart/McInturff, Sept. Available at: <http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/WSJNBCPoll09282010.pdf>.
- <sup>38</sup> Mathew Cooper, “Trade Gulf,” *National Journal*, May 26, 2011. Poll conducted by Allstate / *National Journal* / Heartland Monitor November 29 to December 1, 2010.
- <sup>39</sup> Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research, “Democracy Corps: Frequency Questionnaire,” Oct. 6, 2010. Available at <http://www.democracycorps.com/wp-content/files/dcorcaf110310fq14.pdf>.
- <sup>40</sup> Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research, “Post-Mortem Survey: The Historic 2010 Election,” Nov. 2-3, 2010, pg. 57- 58. Available at: <http://www.democracycorps.com/wp-content/files/dcor112010-CAFpostelection.FINAL.pdf>.
- <sup>41</sup> Todd Tucker, “Election 2010: The Best Defense was a Fair Trade Offense,” Nov. 3, 2010. Available at: [http://www.citizen.org/documents/2010\\_Election\\_Trade\\_Report.pdf](http://www.citizen.org/documents/2010_Election_Trade_Report.pdf).
- <sup>42</sup> Mellman Group and North Star Opinion Research Poll, Jun. 28 – Jul. 2, 2012, at 2. Available at: <http://www.americanmanufacturing.org/blog/entry/voters-see-manufacturing-as-the-irreplaceable-core-of-a-strong-economy>.
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