

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

June 15, 2009

The Health Care Reform Debate



DEMOCRACY CORPS
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

The survey

This presentation is based primarily on a national Democracy Corps survey of 1,013 2008 voters (850 landline, 163 cell phone weighted; 893 landline, 120 cell phone unweighted) conducted May 28 through June 1, 2009. Margin of error: 3.1 percent.

All data shown reflects results from 890 likely 2010 voters (897 unweighted; margin of error of 3.3 percent) unless otherwise noted.

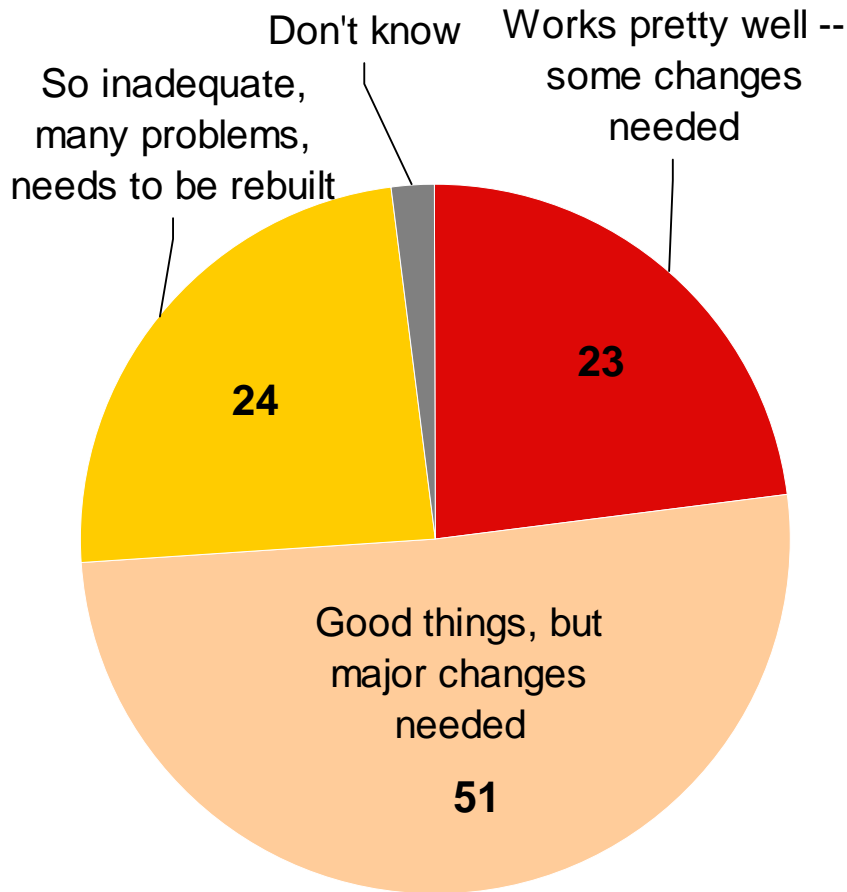
Some questions were split to half sample of 506 or 507 respondents (data shown reflects results from 445 likely 2010 voters; margin of error of 4.6 percent).

- 1993 data comparisons from Democratic National Committee surveys conducted by Greenberg-Lake Analysis Group of 1000 voters nationwide, March 24-25, 1993, and September 8-9, 1993**
- For all 1993 to 2009 comparative graphs, the full sample of 1,013 2008 voters is used for more direct comparability.**

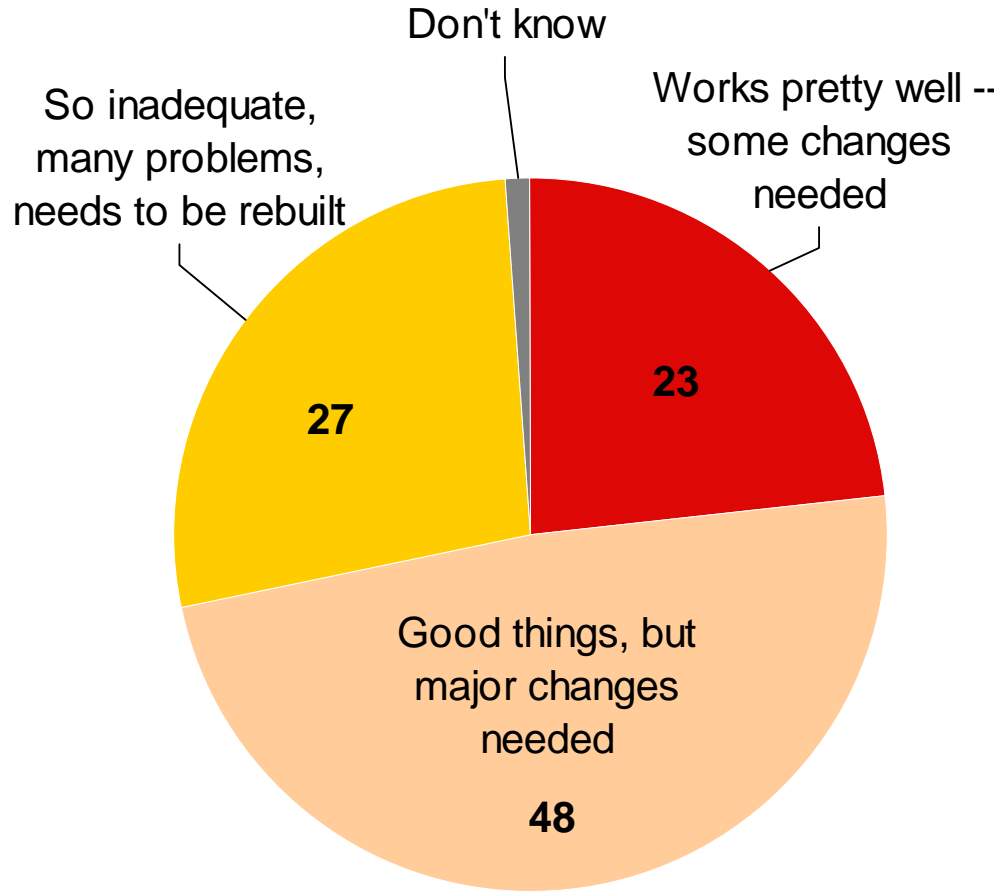
Pivotal Moments for Health Care Reform: 1993 and Now

Nearly identical demand for reform: summer 1993 and June 2009

Which of the following do you agree with the most?



Then



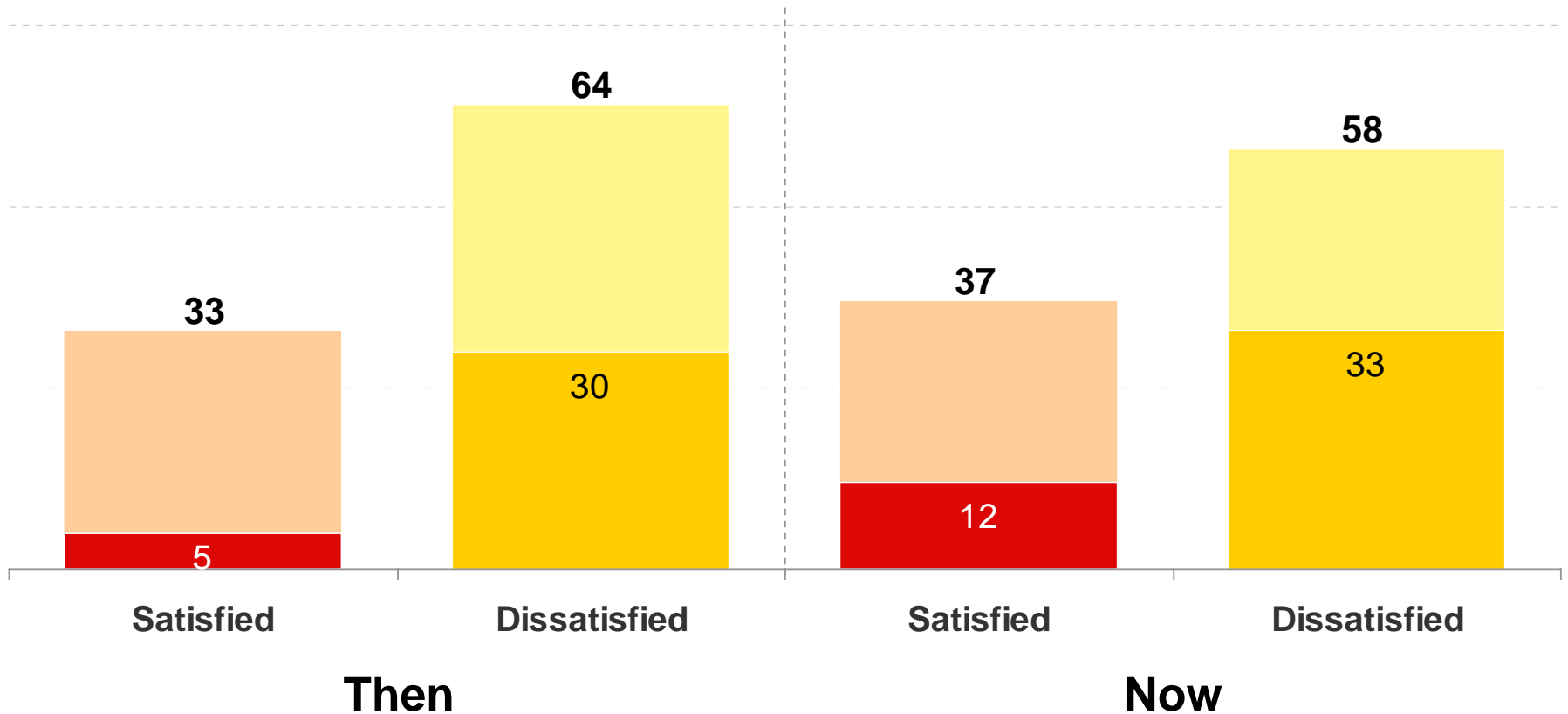
Now

Note: 1993 language for second choice reads "There are some good things..."

Dissatisfaction with health insurance system: 1993 and 2009

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the health insurance system in the United States generally?

■ Very Satisfied ■ Very Dissatisfied

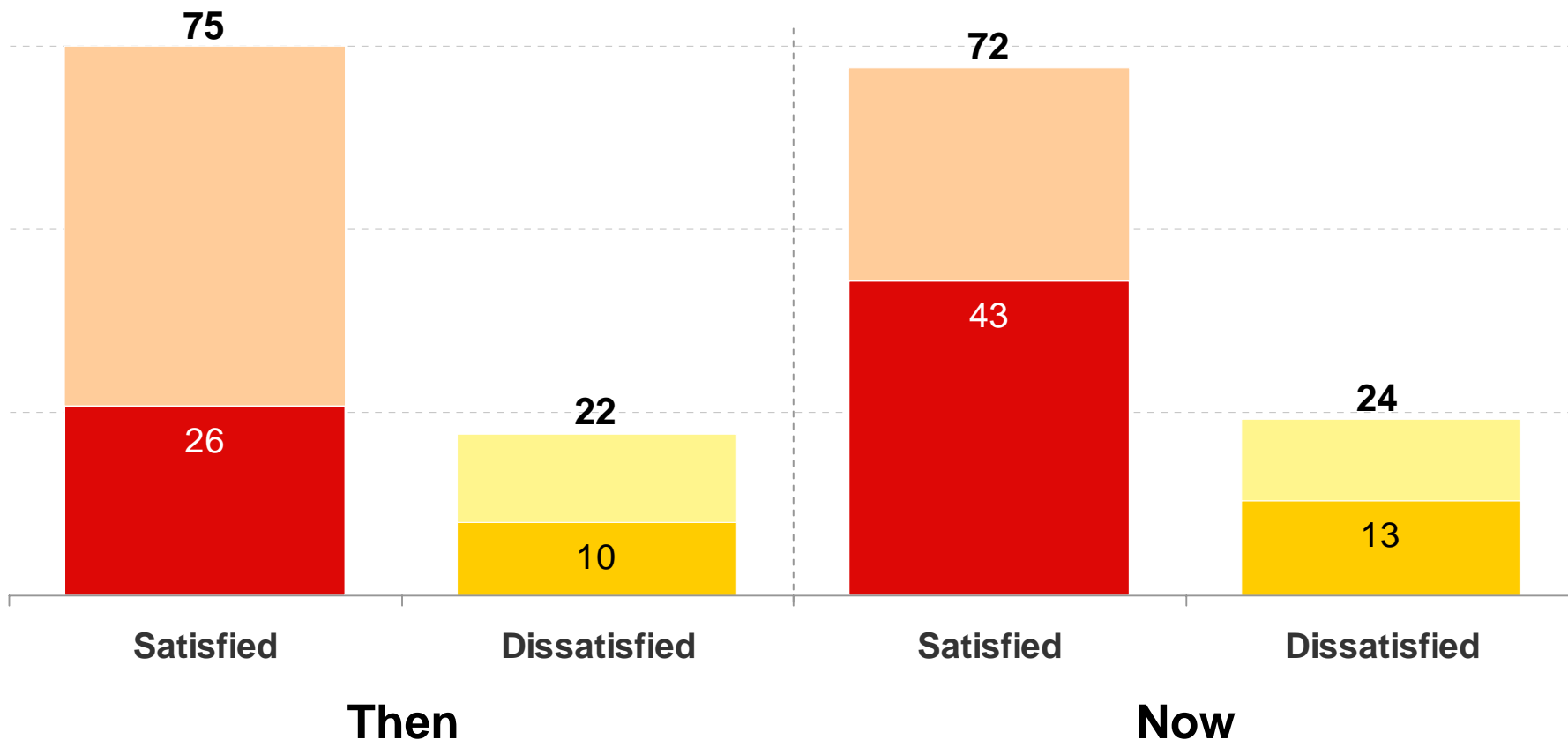


Note: "Then" from September 1993. June 2009 data shows full sample of 1,000 2008 voters for full comparative value.

Satisfaction w/ own health insurance allowing risk aversion: 1993 and 2009

Thinking about your own situation and your own family, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your own health insurance coverage?

■ Very Satisfied ■ Very Dissatisfied



Note: Then from March 1993 survey where question was worded differently: Are you personally satisfied or dissatisfied with your own health insurance plan? June 2009 data shows full sample of 1,000 2008 voters for full comparative value.

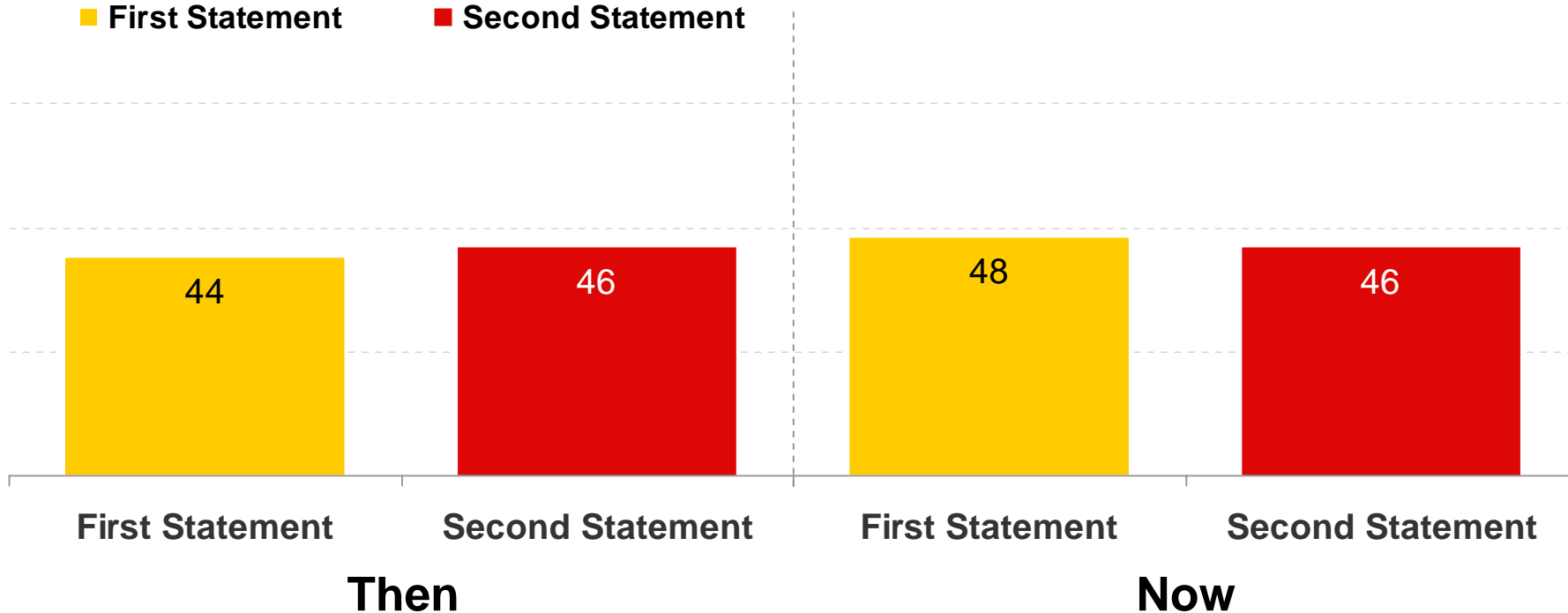
Same divide on concern with status quo versus government change

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

First Statement: I'm more concerned that the current healthcare system won't be changed and that costs will continue to rise out of control and people will continue to lose health insurance coverage when they need it.

Second Statement: I'm more concerned that the government will try to change the healthcare system and create new problems - hurting small businesses, raising taxes, reducing quality and limiting people's choice of doctor.

■ First Statement ■ Second Statement

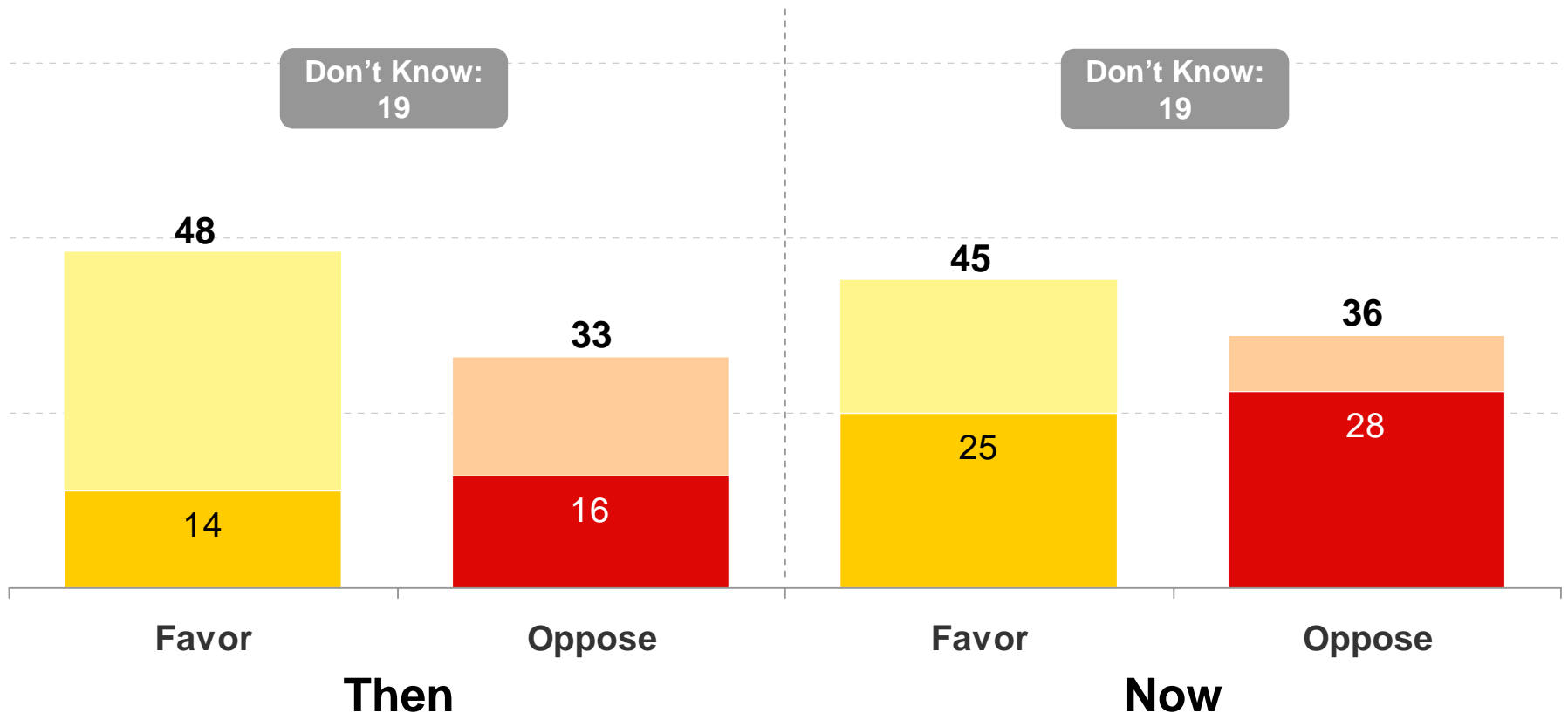


Note: 2009 wording slightly changed to add "I'm more concerned that..." Intensity (strongly, not so strongly) not asked in 1993 survey. Intensity not shown as not asked in 1993.

Similar levels of support for Obama and Clinton plans: 1993 and 2009

As you may have heard, President Obama is preparing a plan to change the health care system. From what you have heard about this plan, do you favor or oppose Obama's health care proposal?

■ Strongly Favor ■ Strongly Oppose



Note: Then is the average of summer 1993 surveys; wording: "This month, Bill Clinton will present his program to change the health care system. From what you've heard, do you favor of oppose his health care proposals?"

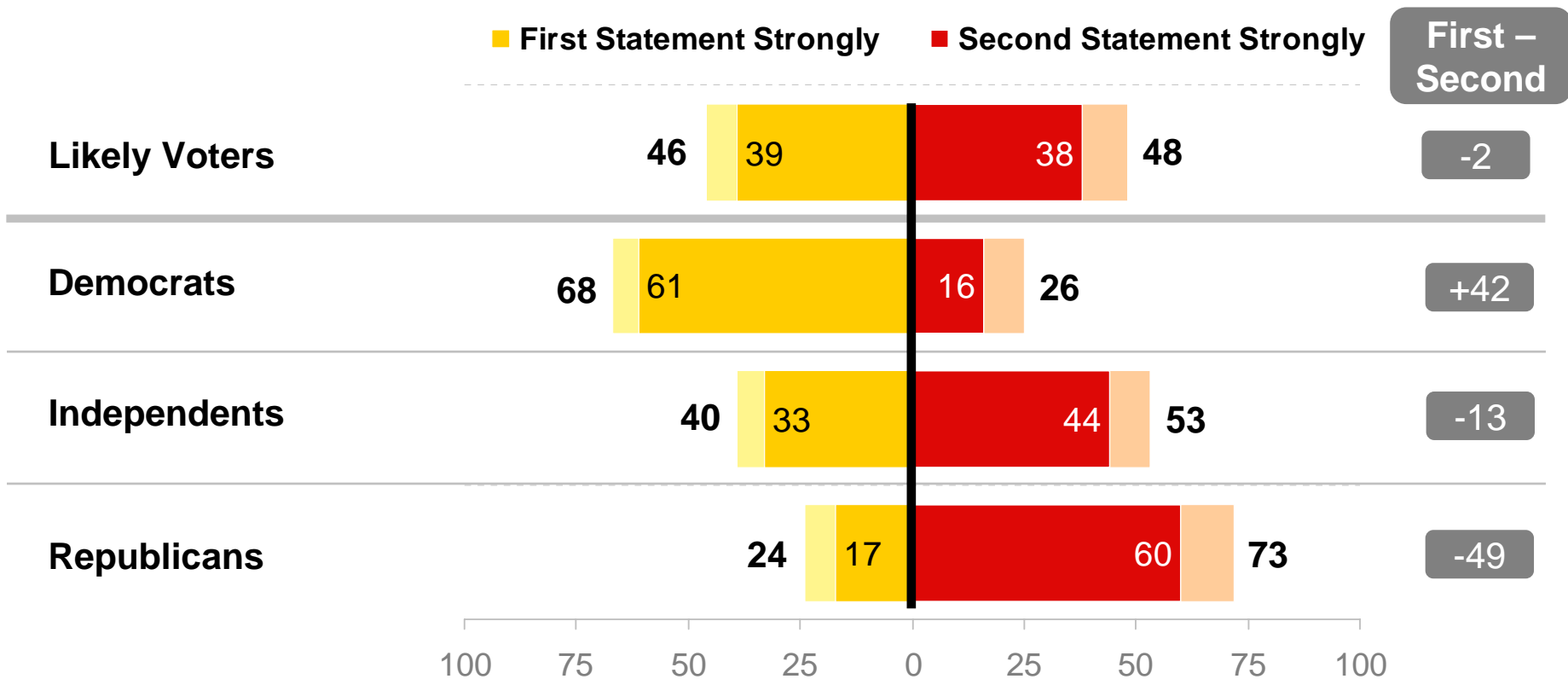
Government, Markets or Health Care

Country divided on risk of change or risk of government

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

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Second Statement: I'm more concerned that the government will try to change the healthcare system and create new problems - hurting small businesses, raising taxes, reducing quality and limiting people's choice of doctor.

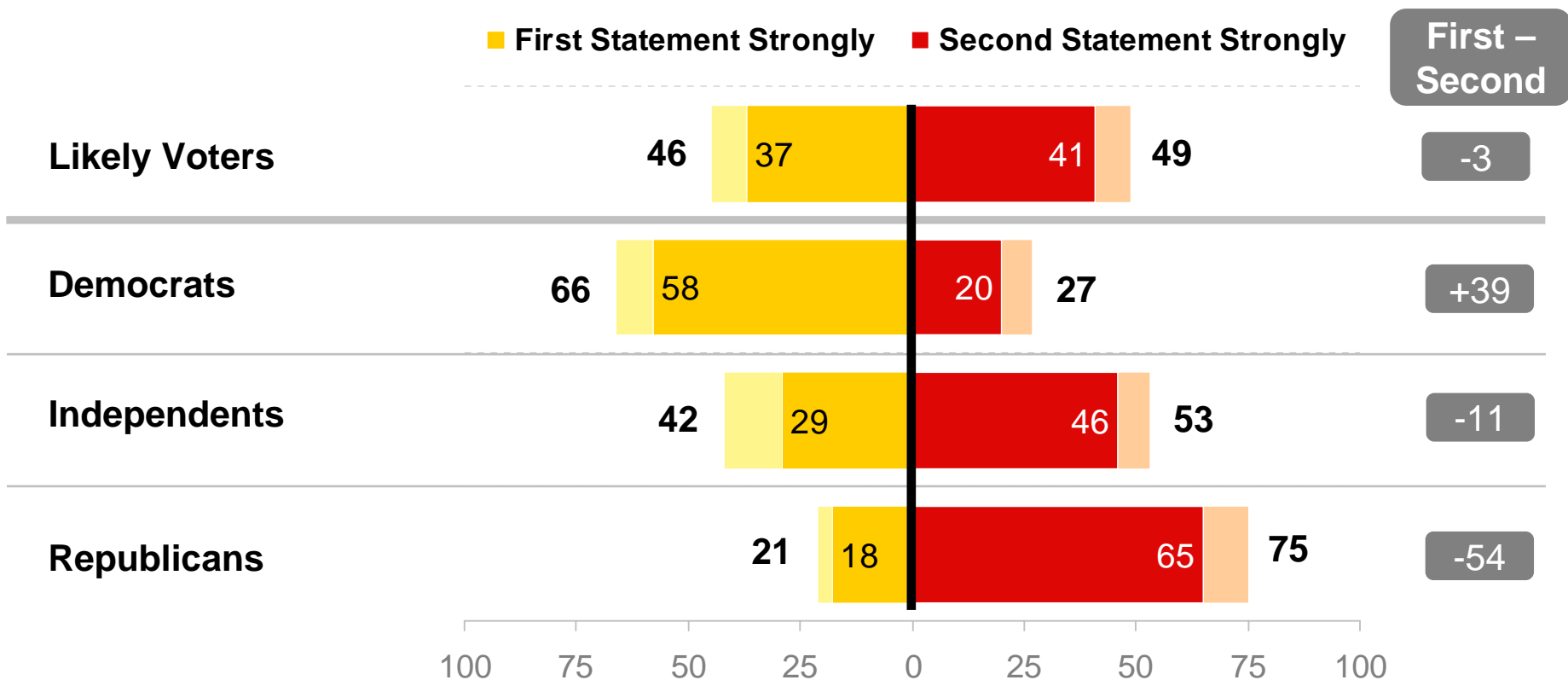


Country divided on fear of insurance companies or fear of government

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

First Statement: I'm more concerned that if we don't change the current system, insurance companies will continue to have too much control over my health care.

Second Statement: I'm more concerned that if we change the current system, the government will end up having too much control over my health care.

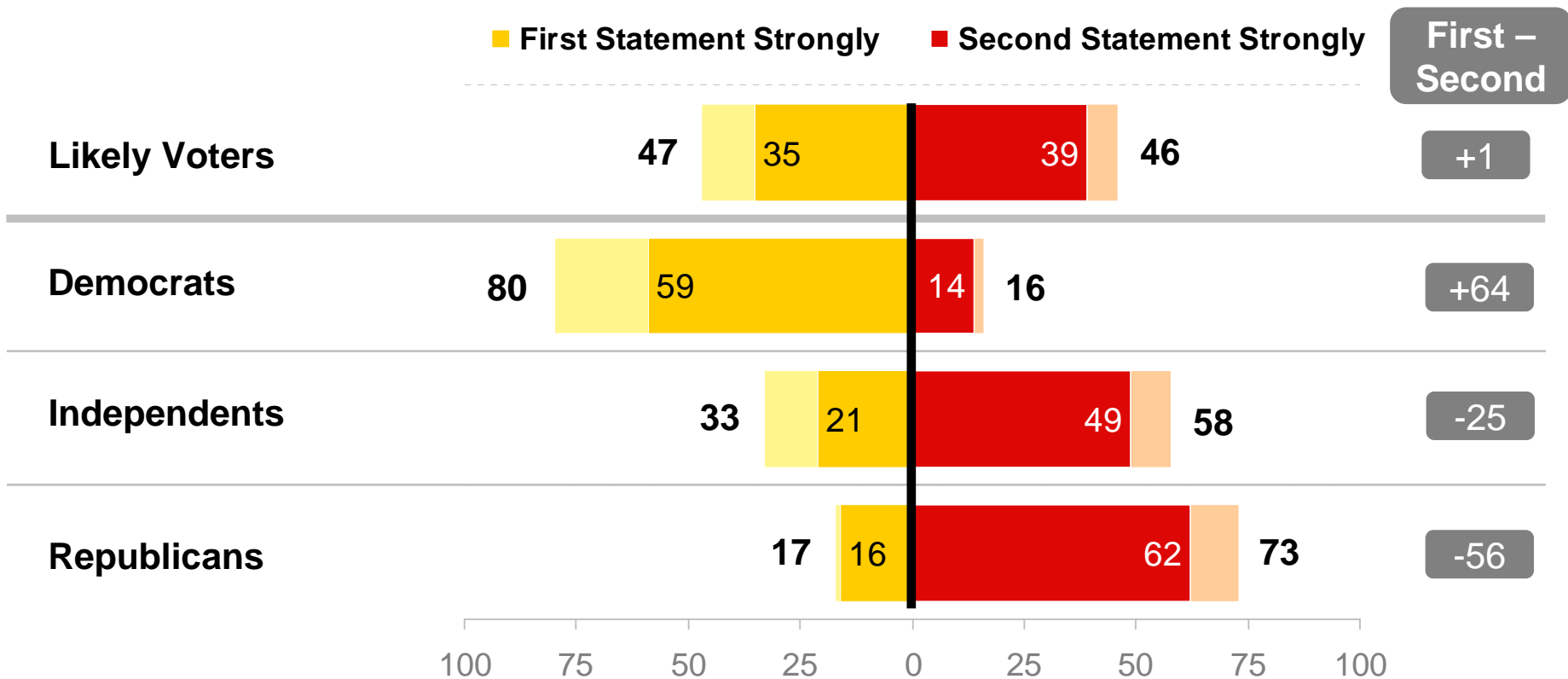


Country divided on inefficiency of insurance companies or government

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

First Statement: When it comes to health care, insurance companies are more inefficient because they are profit-driven and spend so much money on marketing and advertising instead of providing quality care.

Second Statement: When it comes to health care, the government is more inefficient because everything the government runs is rampant with waste, fraud and abuse.

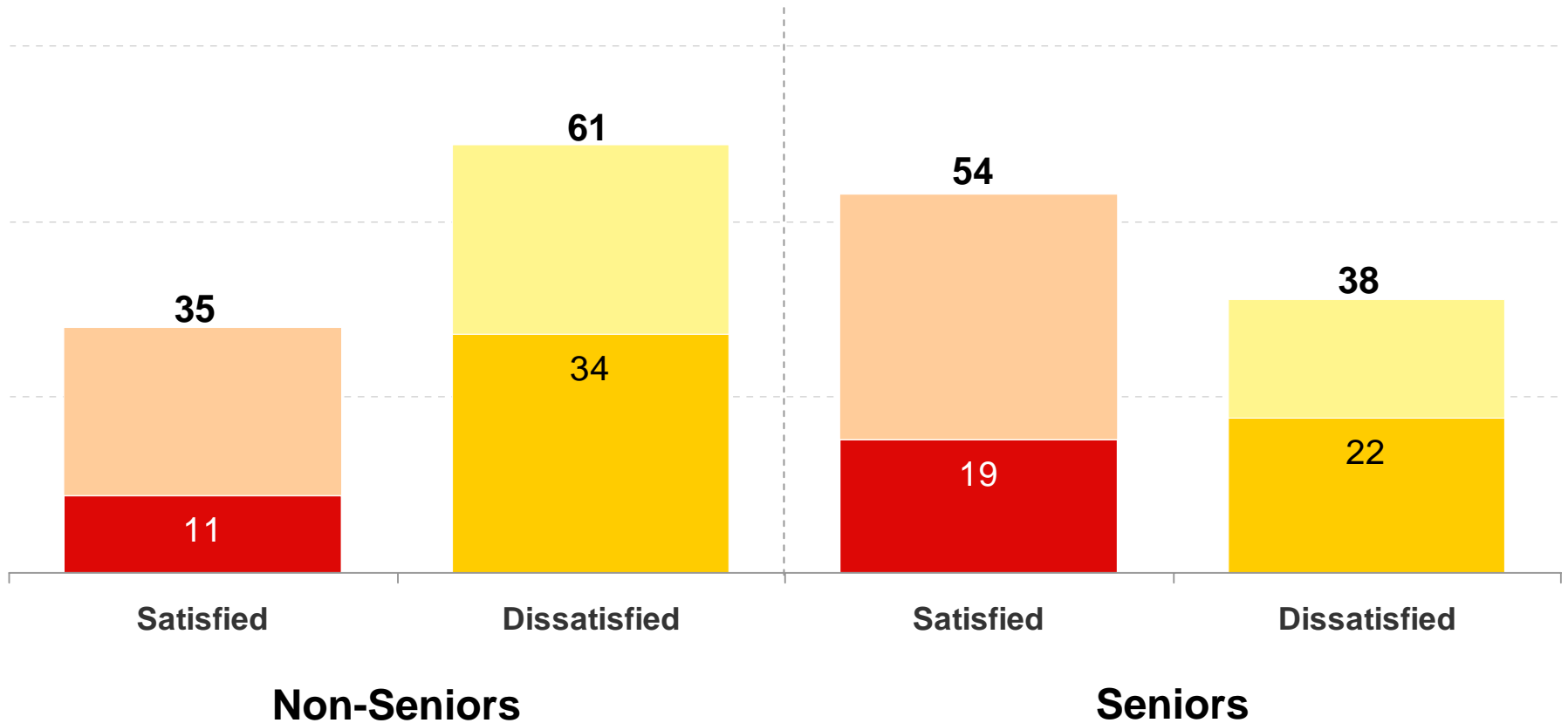


The Demand for Change

High dissatisfaction with health insurance system under 65 years

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the health insurance system in the United States generally?

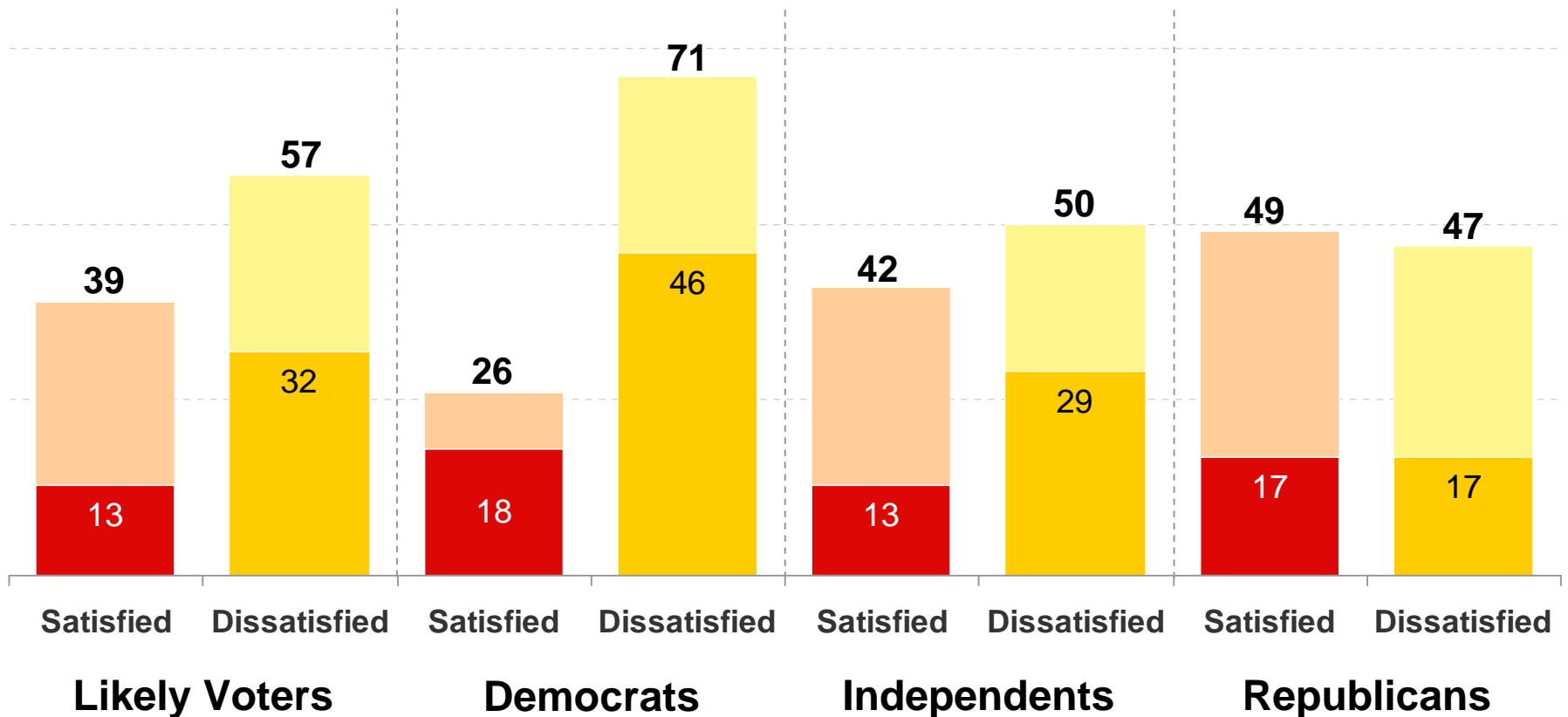
■ Very Satisfied ■ Very Dissatisfied



Satisfaction different depending on party

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the health insurance system in the United States generally?

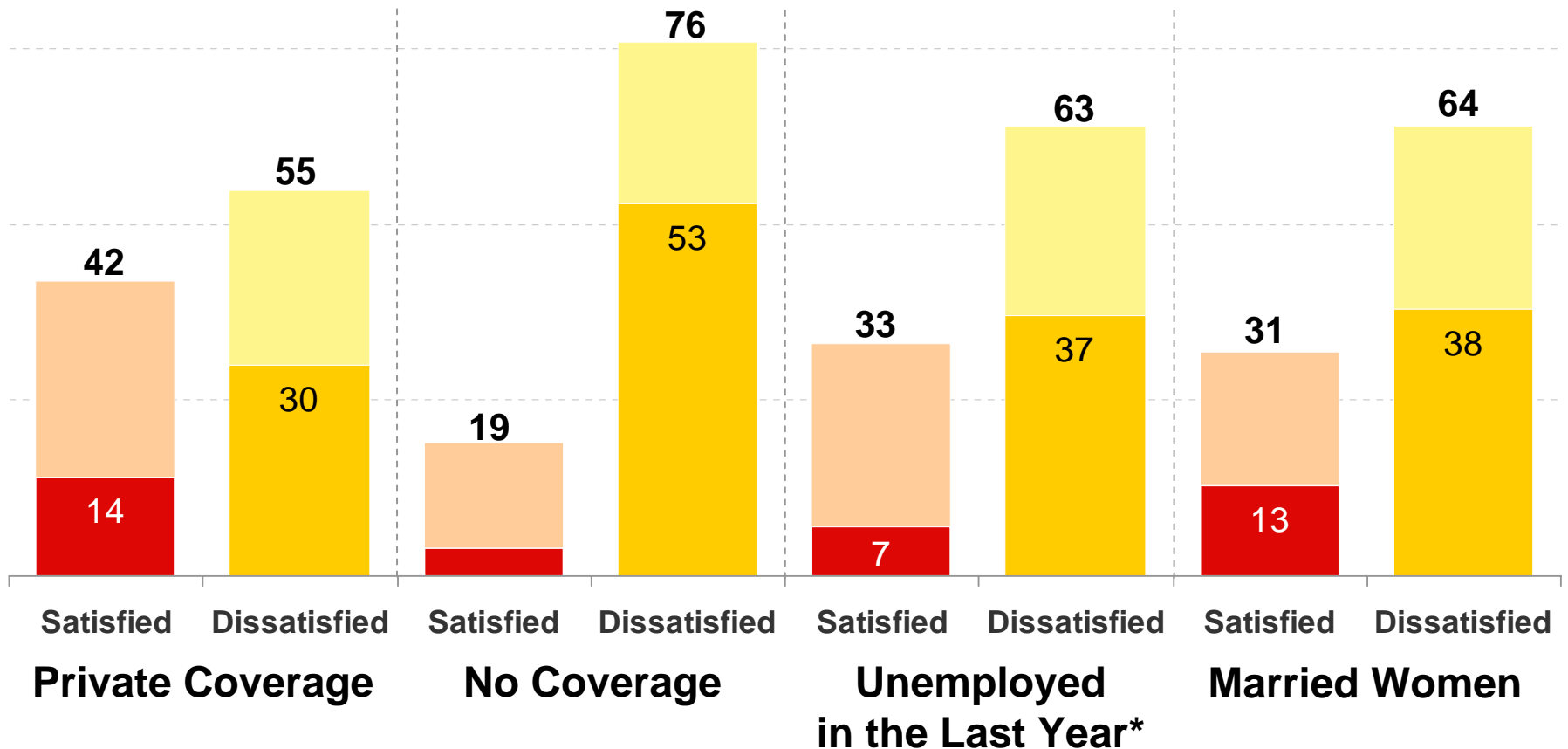
■ Very Satisfied ■ Very Dissatisfied



Dissatisfaction highest with unemployed, no coverage, married women

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the health insurance system in the United States generally?

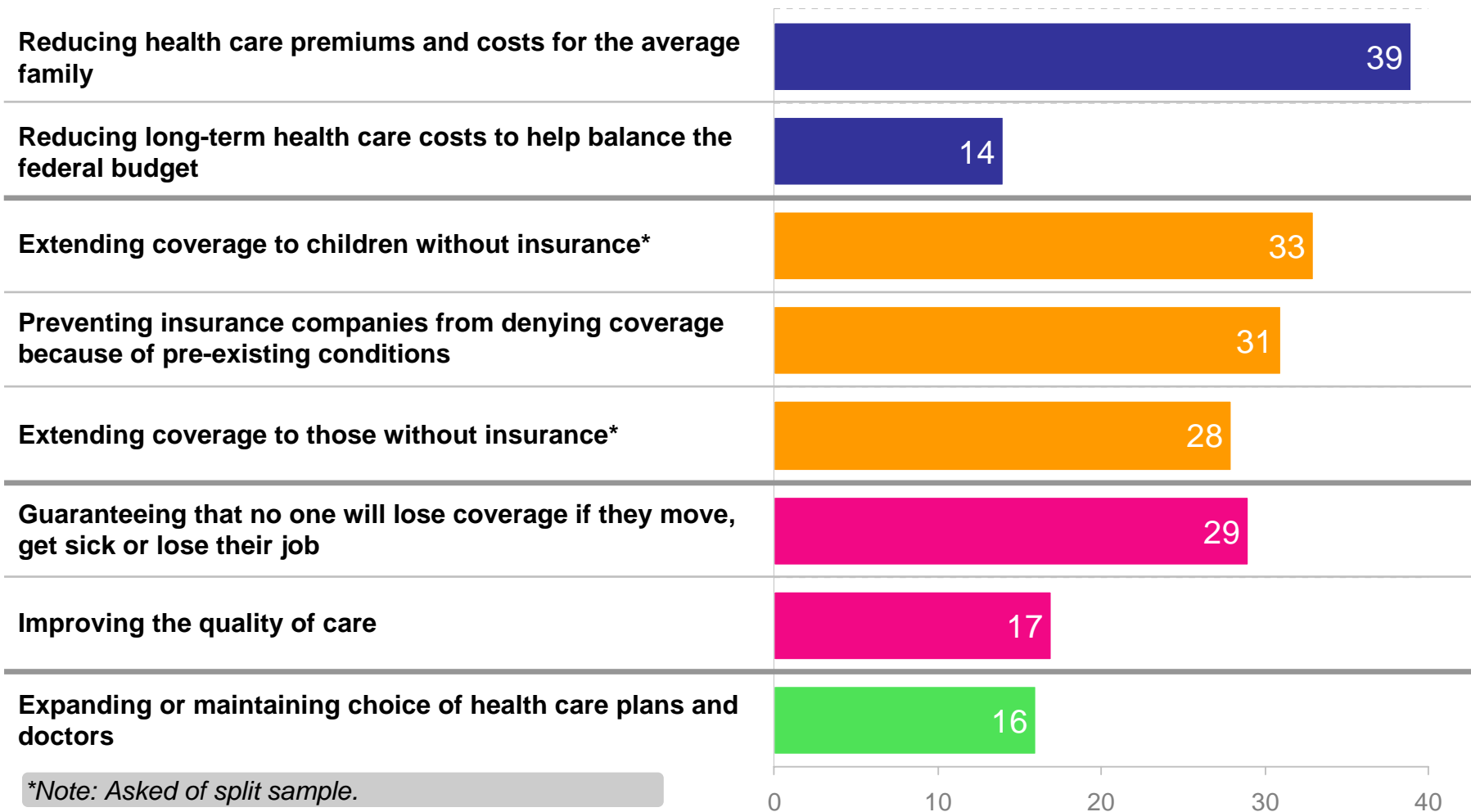
■ Very Satisfied ■ Very Dissatisfied



*Note: Either respondent or close family member.

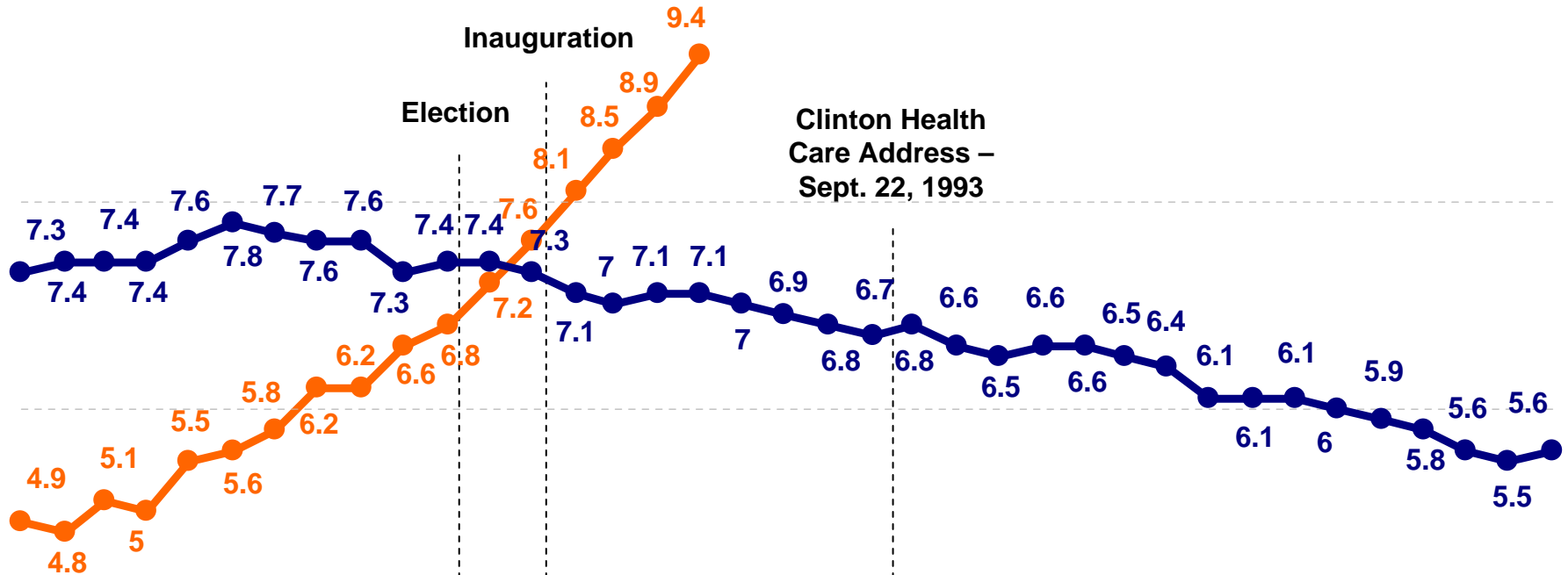
Most important goals for health care reform

Now I'm going to read you a list of goals that some people say they are trying to accomplish with health care reform. Please tell me which TWO goals you think are most important to achieve.



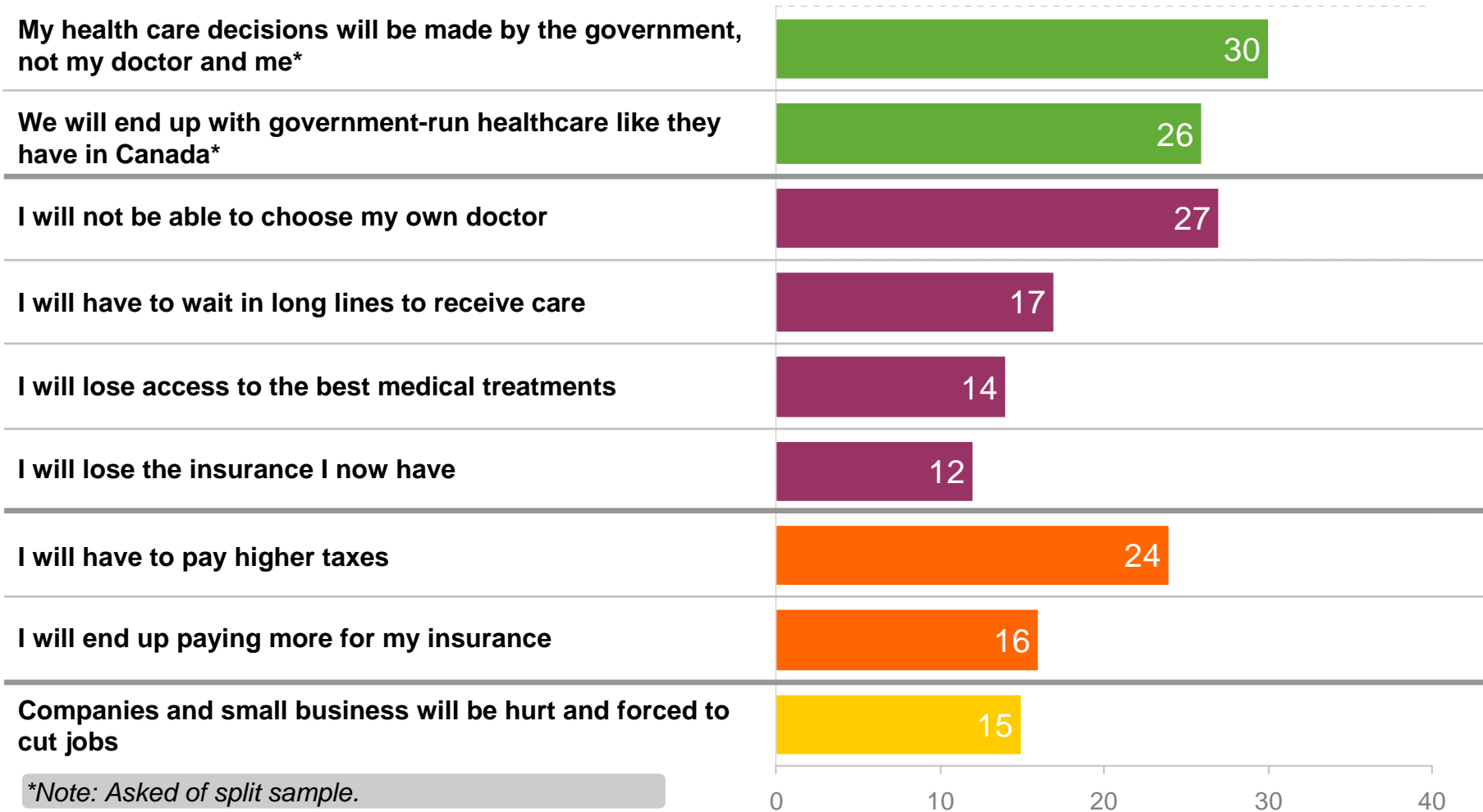
National unemployment rate: Clinton and Obama

- Unemployment Clinton Era: January 1992 - January 1995
- Unemployment: Obama Era, January 2008 - May 2009



Biggest concerns about health care reform

Now I'm going to read you a list of concerns some people have about health care reform. Please tell me which TWO things you are most concerned about happening if we pass health care reform.

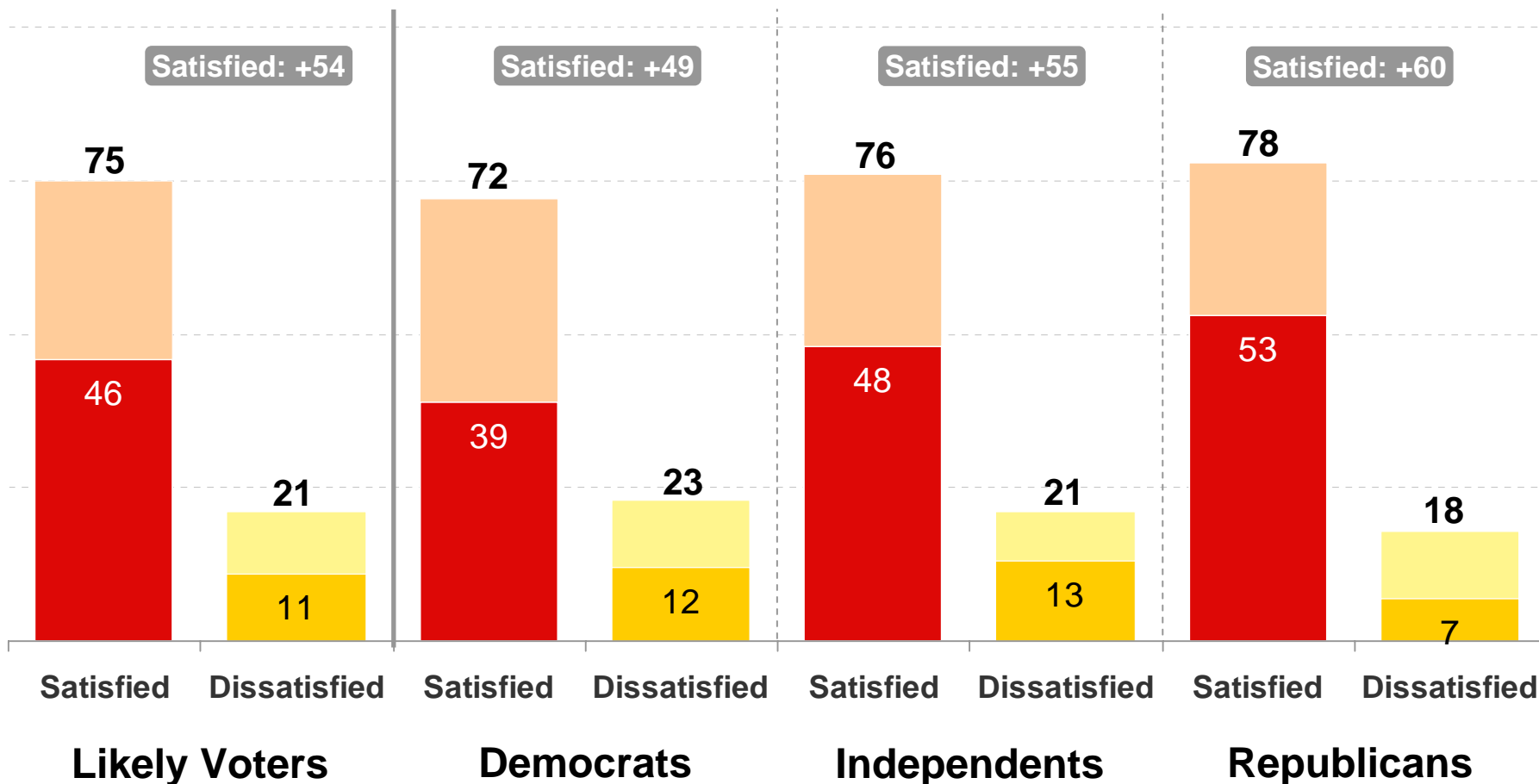


*Note: Asked of split sample.

But $\frac{3}{4}$ satisfied with own insurance – making more risk averse

Thinking about your own situation and your own family, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your own health insurance coverage?

■ Very satisfied ■ Very dissatisfied

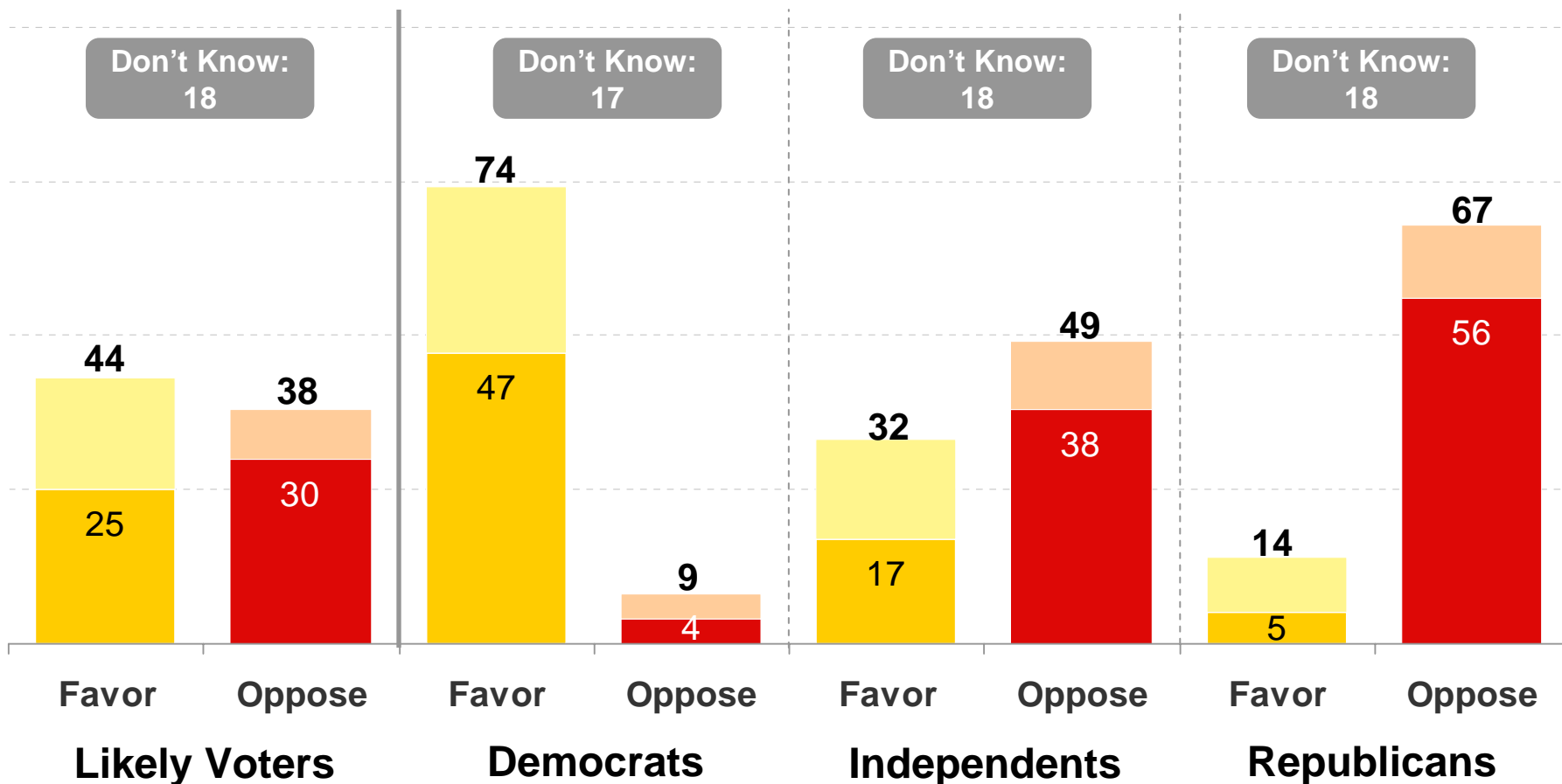


Support for Obama's Health Care Plan

Before description, plurality for Obama plan

As you may have heard, President Obama is preparing a plan to change the health care system. From what you have heard about this plan, do you favor or oppose Obama's health care proposal?

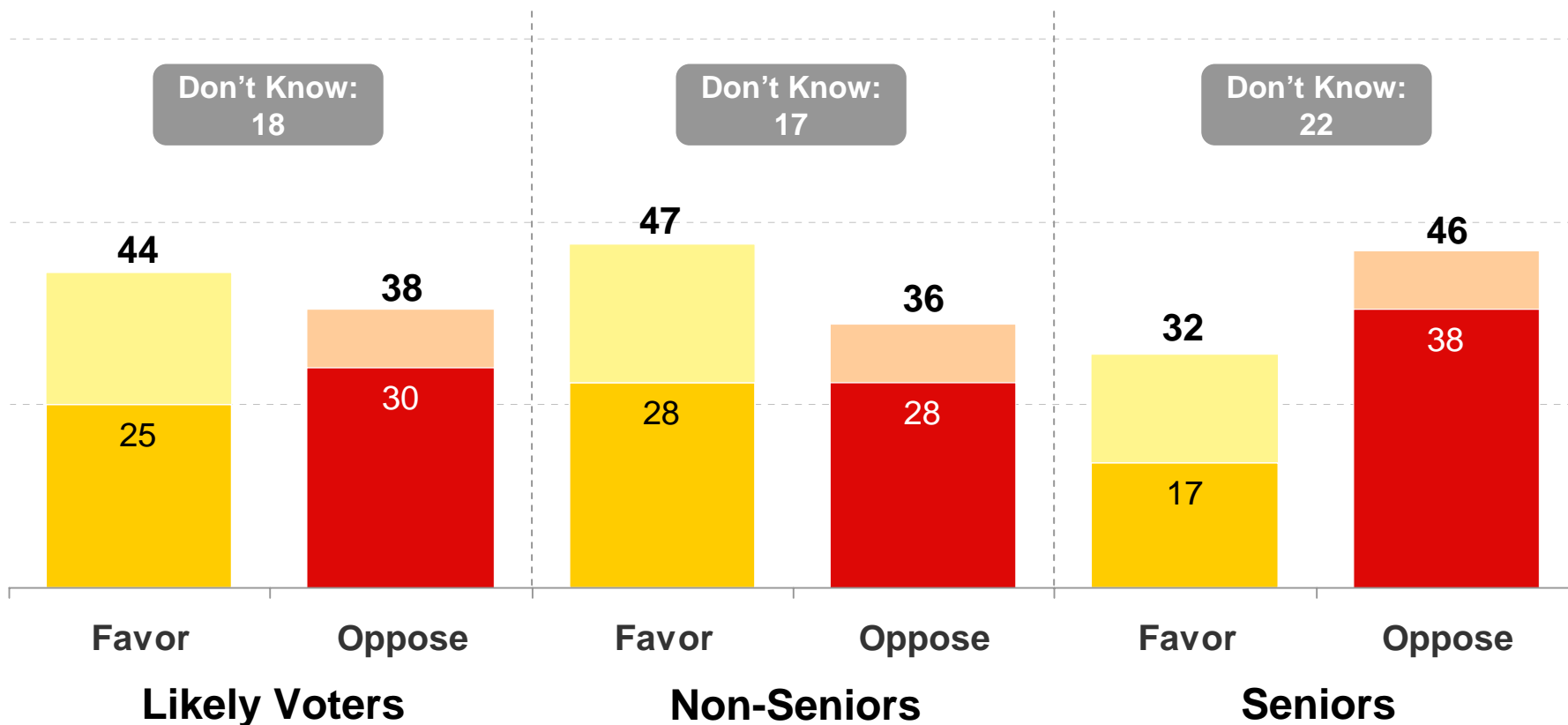
■ Strongly Favor ■ Strongly Oppose



Before description, strong plurality for plan under 65 years

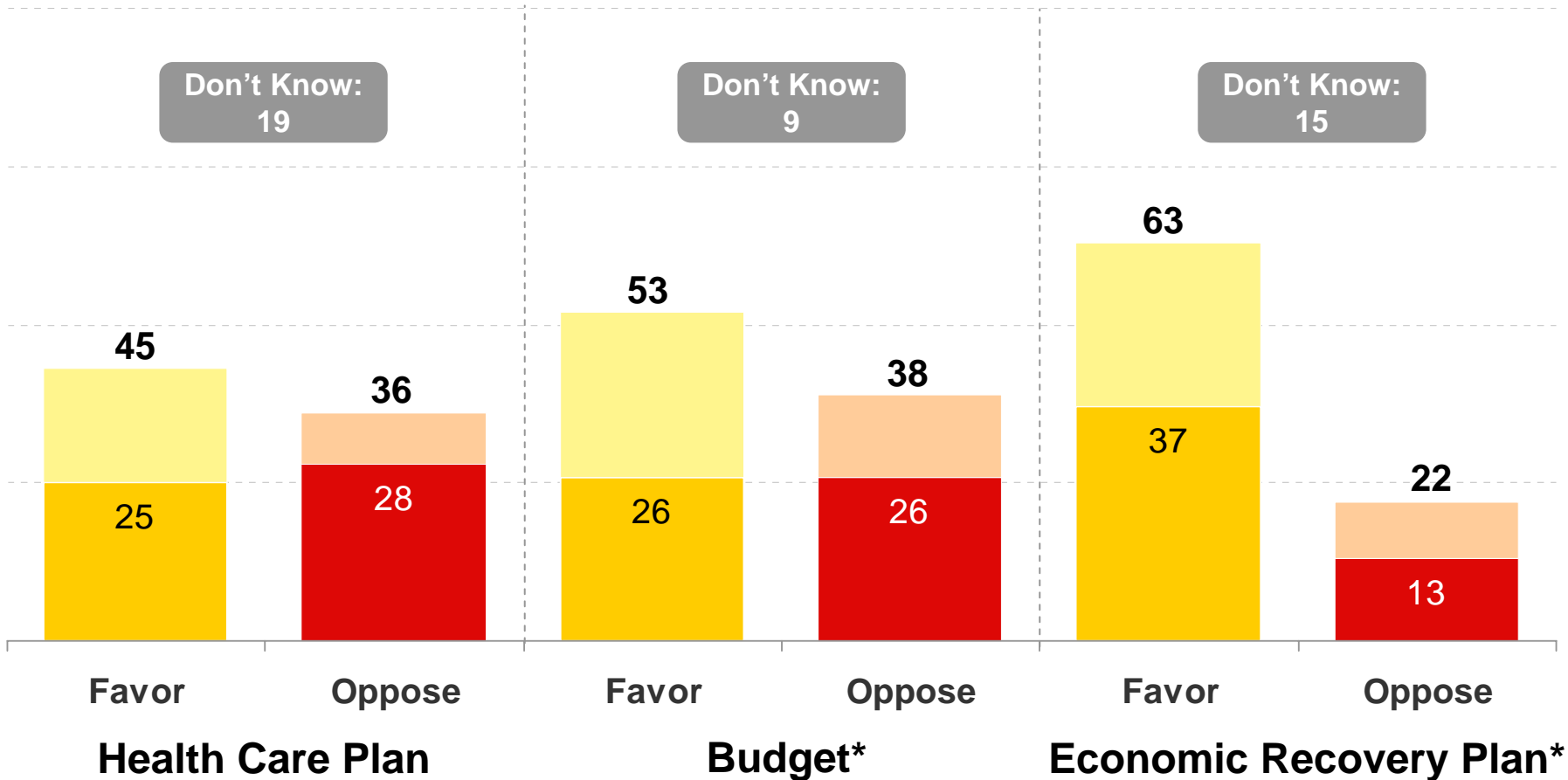
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■ Strongly Favor ■ Strongly Oppose



Early support for health care behind early support for budget and recovery plan

■ Strongly Favor ■ Strongly Oppose



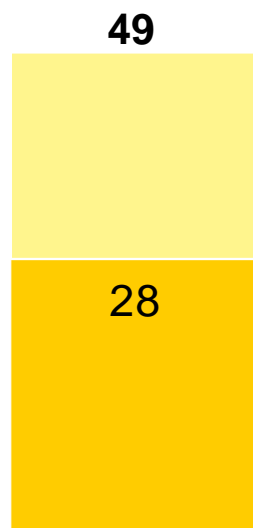
*Note: Data from full sample of 2008 voters. Approval of budget asked on March 08, 2009. Approval of Economic recovery plan asked December 18, 2008.

After description and attack, small plurality for Obama plan

Now I'm going to read you two statements about a health care plan that President Obama may propose.

Obama's plan would ensure all Americans have quality, affordable health care that insurance companies cannot deny you if you lose your job or have a pre-existing illness. It is a uniquely American solution that guarantees people the choice of keeping their current doctor and plan or choosing another private or public option. It would save families 2500 dollars a year and bring down costs by increasing preventive care.

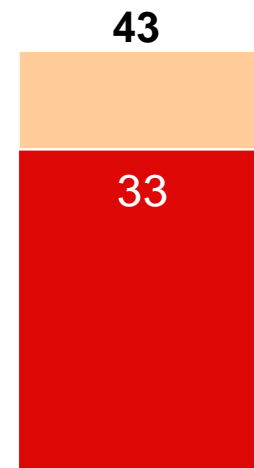
■ Strongly favor



Favor Plan

Critics say this plan is a government takeover of health care that takes decisions out of doctors' and patient's hands and gives them to Washington bureaucrats. This plan would bring a Canadian-style system where Americans are forced to wait in line for care and even denied needed treatments. And the plan would cost over a trillion dollars, resulting in higher deficits and more taxes on all Americans.

■ Strongly oppose



Oppose Plan

Majority for Obama's plan under 65 years

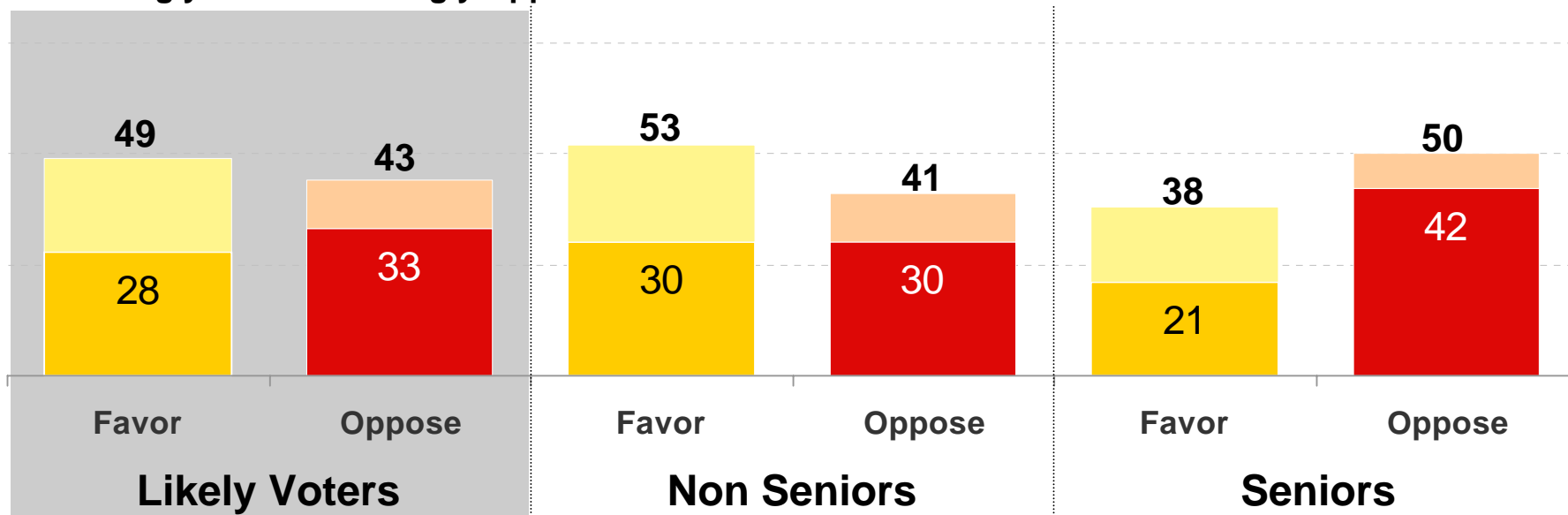
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Now that you've heard more info about Obama's plan, would you favor or oppose this proposal to change the health care system?

■ Strongly Favor ■ Strongly Oppose



After description and attack, small plurality for Obama plan

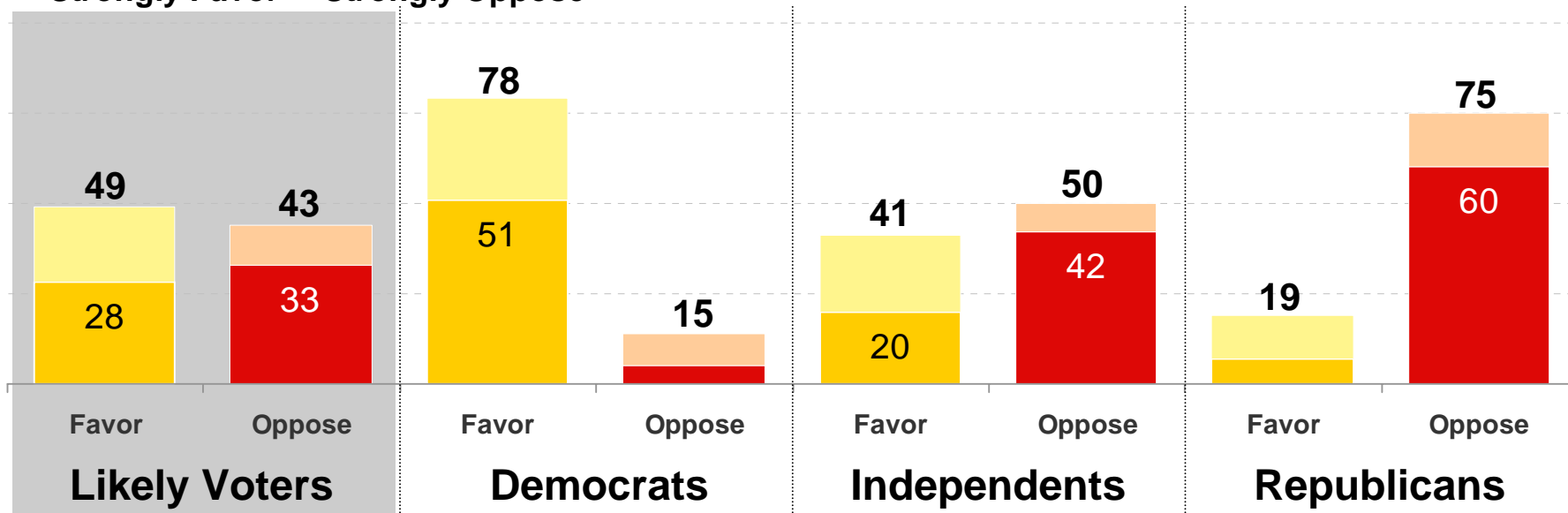
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Now that you've heard more info about Obama's plan, would you favor or oppose this proposal to change the health care system?

■ Strongly Favor ■ Strongly Oppose



Obama plan support holds up after whole survey of heated debate

Sometimes during surveys like this people change their minds. So let me again read you two statements about Obama's plan...

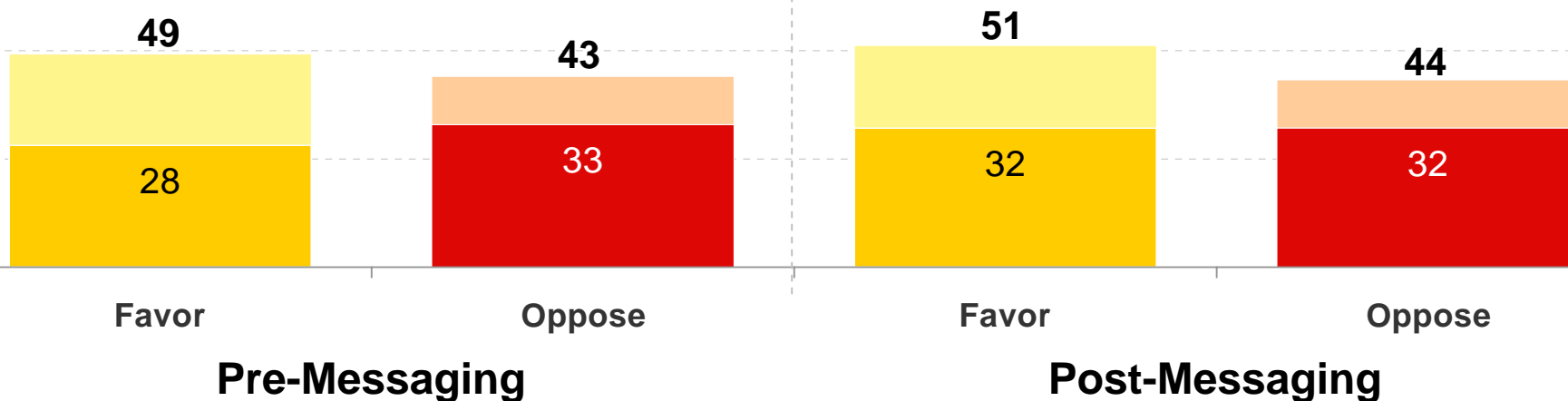
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After hearing everything about Obama's plan, do you favor or oppose this proposal to change the health care system?

■ Strongly Favor ■ Strongly Oppose

Shift: +1



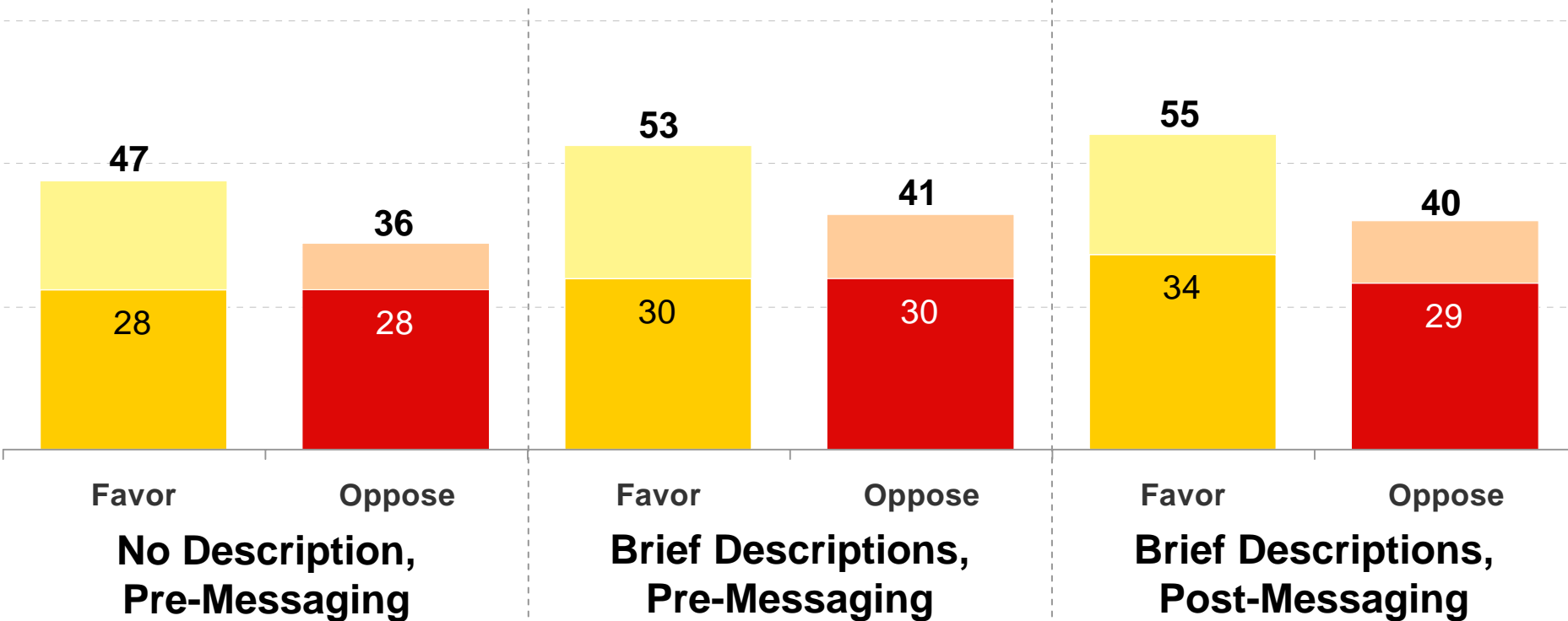
Progression of support for Obama's plan: voters under 65 years

No Description, Pre-Messaging

With Description of Obama Plan and Critical Argument

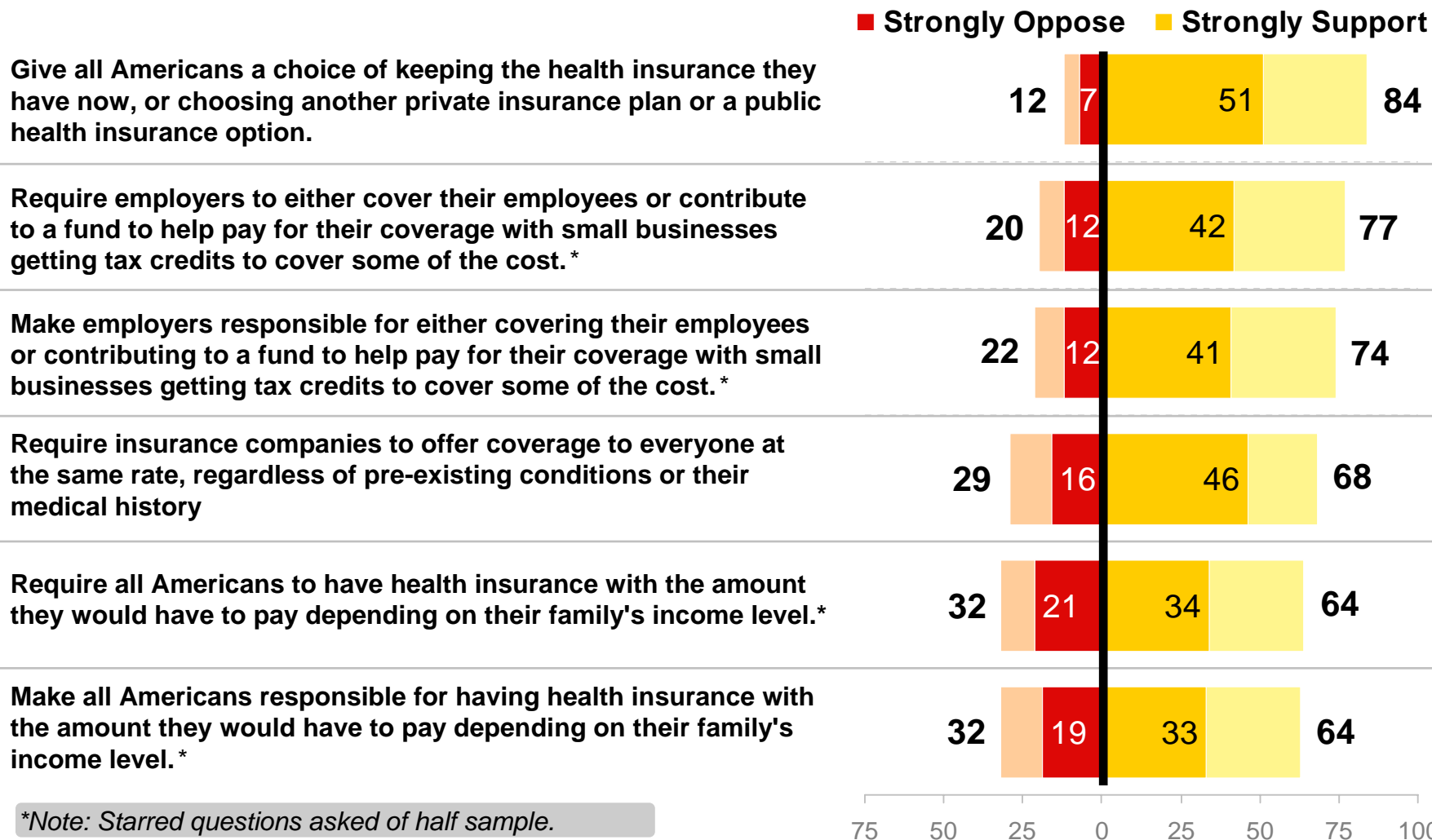
With Description of Obama Plan and Critical Argument (*Post messages in favor and attacks – equal in length*)

■ Strongly Favor ■ Strongly Oppose



Choice with public option top scoring element of Obama's plan

Now I'd like to read you some possible elements from Obama's health care plan. Please tell me if you support or oppose each of these elements.

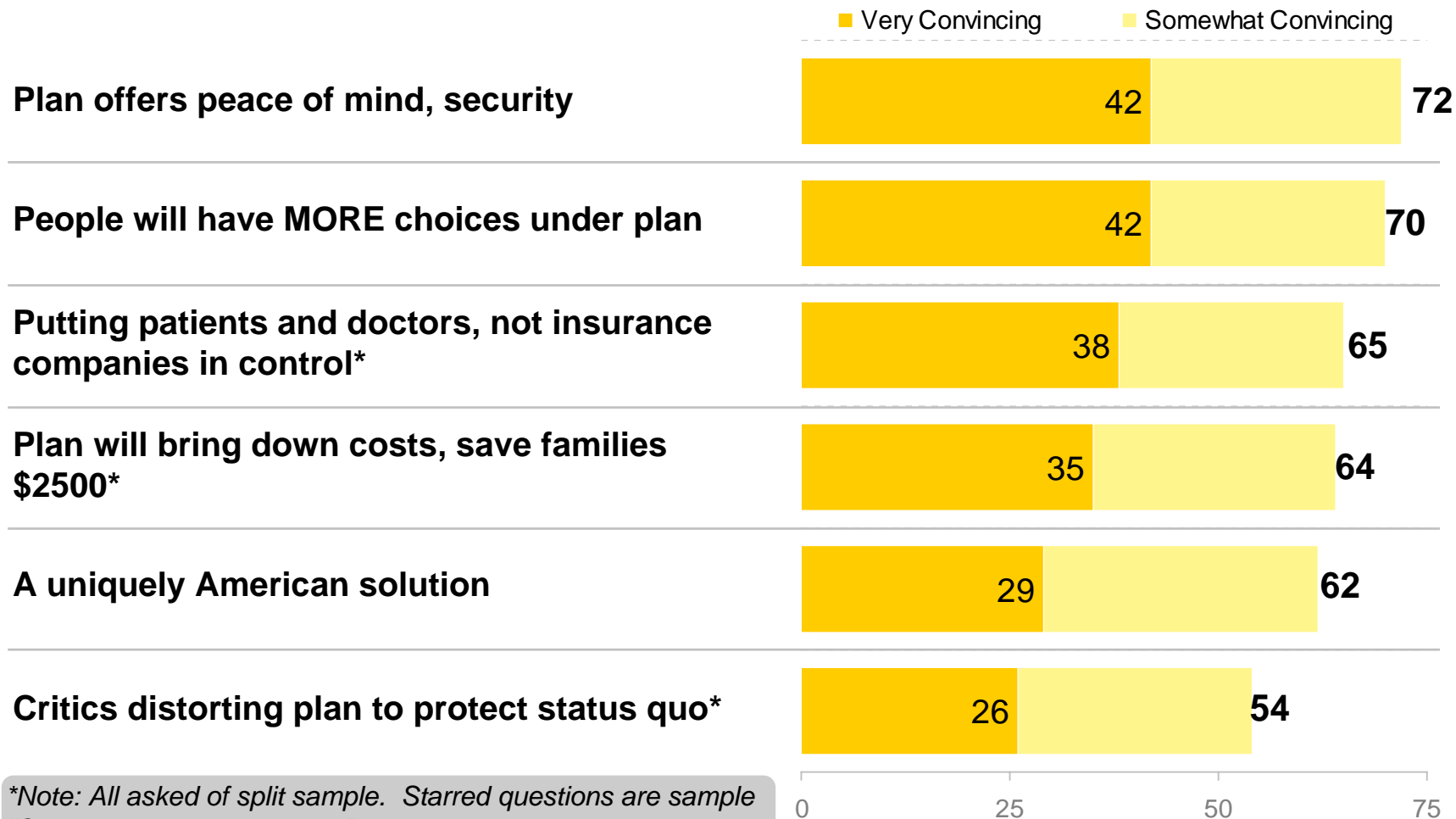


*Note: Starred questions asked of half sample.

Positive Health Care Messages

Arguments for Obama's health care plan

Now let me read you some statements from supporters of Obama's health care plan. For each statement, please tell me how convincing a reason it is to support Obama's health care plan -- is it a very convincing reason, a somewhat convincing reason, a little convincing, or not at all a convincing reason to support Obama's health care plan.



*Note: All asked of split sample. Starred questions are sample "C" and the rest are sample "D"

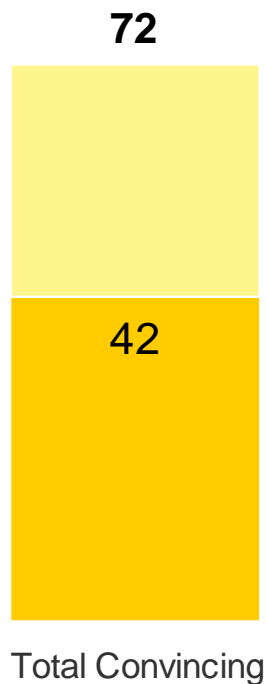
Arguments for Obama's health care plan

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Plan offers peace of mind, security

Americans who work for a living and play by the rules shouldn't lose their health care coverage if they get sick or lose their job. Obama's plan guarantees that quality, affordable coverage will be there for you no matter what happens, giving you the peace of mind that even if times get tough, you will always have access to quality health care at a price you can afford.

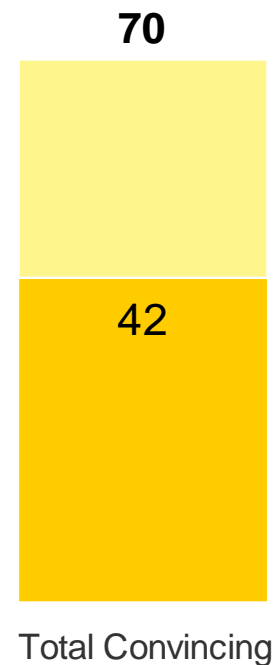
Very Convincing



People will have MORE choices under plan

Under Obama's plan, not only will your choice of doctor and plan be guaranteed, but you'll actually have MORE choices. If you like the doctor or health plan you have now you can keep them - if not, you can pick another private plan that better fits your needs or you can choose a public health insurance option. No one will ever be forced into a new plan or different doctor they don't want.

Very Convincing



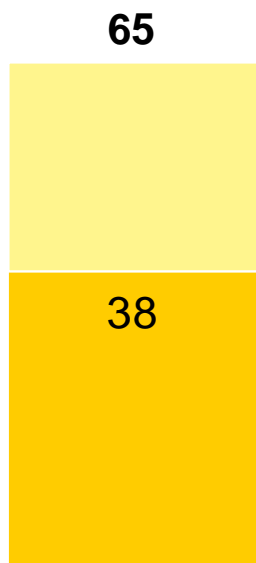
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Patients, drs in control, not insurance co.

Insurance company bureaucrats are making too many of your health care decisions - everyone has a horror story about trying to get your insurance company on the phone after they won't pay a bill or deny treatment that you and your doctor have decided is needed. Obama's plan will put you and your doctor back in control by stopping insurance companies from denying coverage based on pre-existing conditions.

Very Convincing

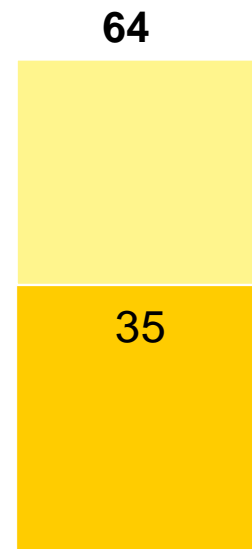


Total Convincing

Plan will bring down costs and save families \$2500

Under Obama's plan, you'll pay less for the health insurance you have now. His plan will bring costs down and save the average family 2,500 dollars a year by cutting waste, improving technology, focusing on preventive care and forcing insurance companies to compete so more money goes to quality care and less to bloated CEO pay, overhead and profits.

Very Convincing



Total Convincing

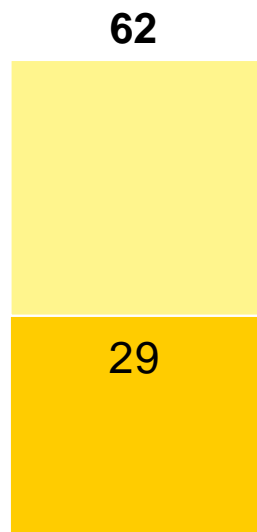
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A uniquely American solution

You can get the best care in the world in this country, but fewer and fewer Americans can afford it. Obama's plan is a uniquely American solution that builds on the best of what works but fixes what's broken. It fosters competition to improve quality and drive down costs, and it guarantees Americans the freedom to choose the plan and doctor that is best for them.

Very Convincing

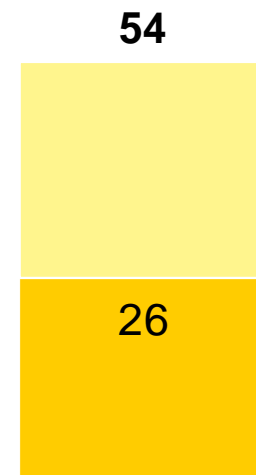


Total Convincing

Critics distorting plan to protect status quo

Instead of offering solutions, Obama's critics are distorting his plan and trying to scare Americans so they can maintain the status quo where insurance company profits come before you and your care. But the status quo means premiums will keep rising, more Americans will lose their coverage and insurance company bureaucrats will keep denying care. We need to pass Obama's plan to reform this broken system.

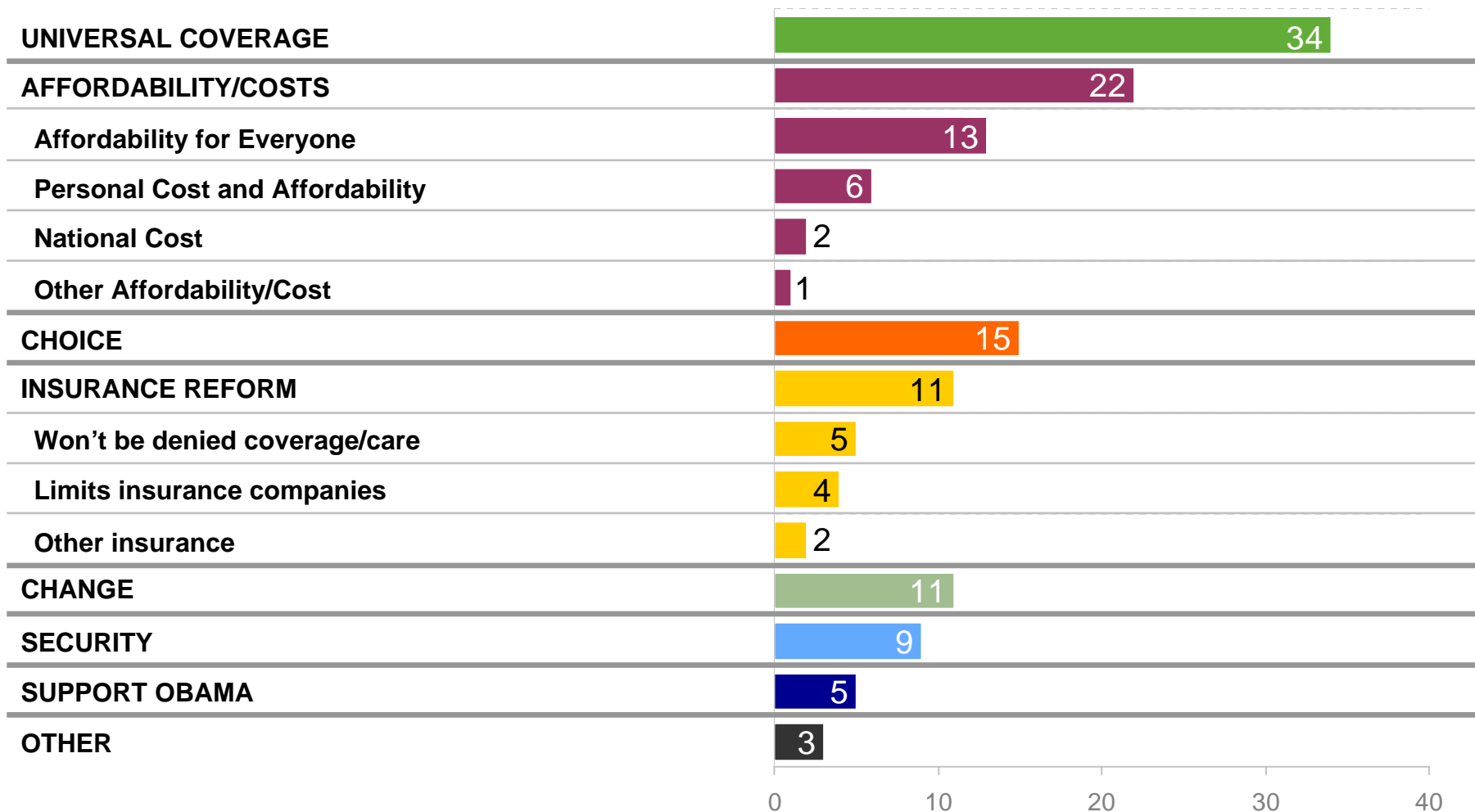
Very Convincing



Total Convincing

Open end: universal coverage, affordability stood out for plan supporters

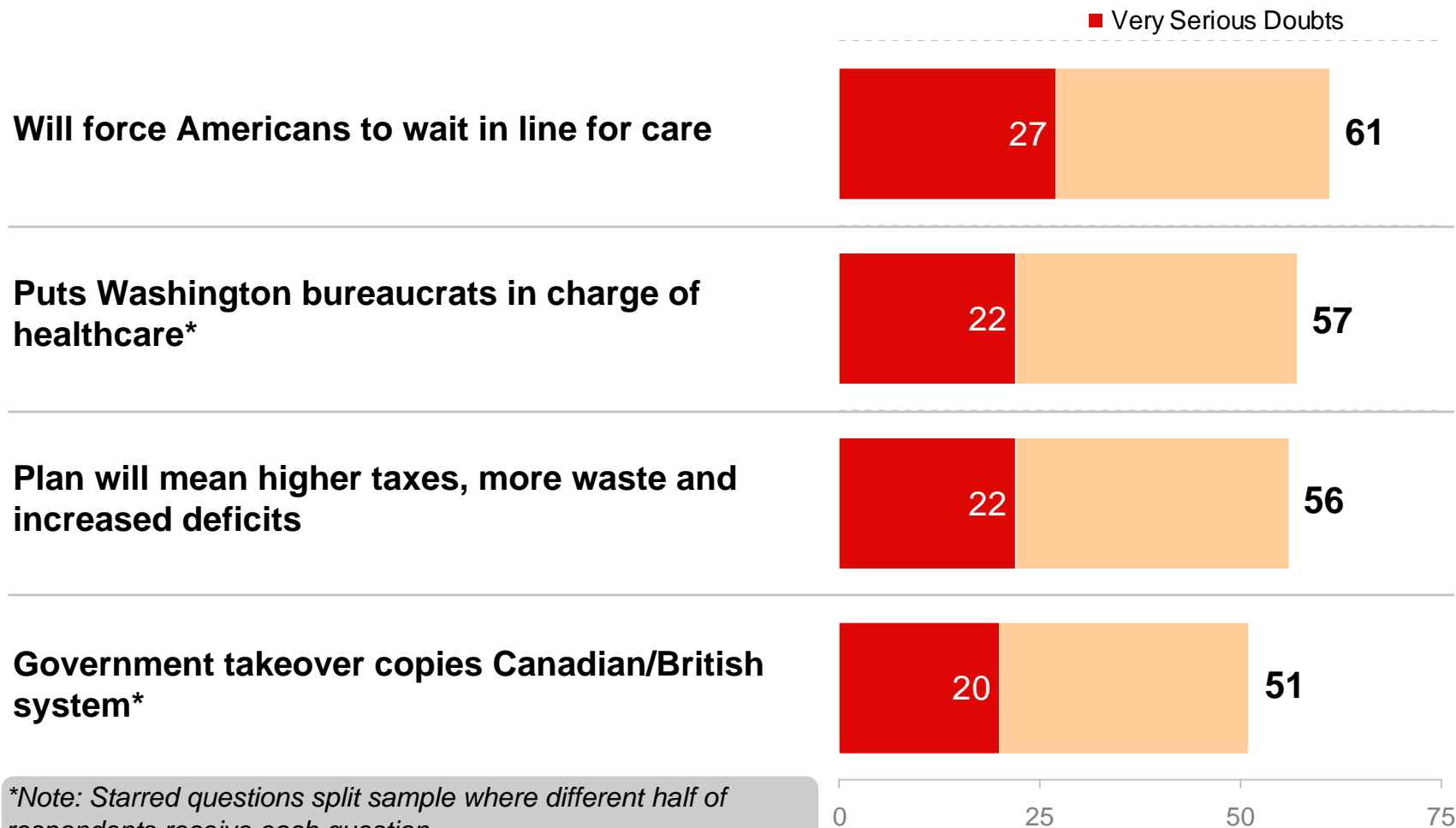
After hearing all the positive and negative things about Obama's health care proposal, what stood out to you as the best reason to support the plan?



Critical Health Care Messages

Opponents' arguments against Obama's health care plan

Now let me read you some statements from opponents of Obama's health care plan. For each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubt in your own mind about Obama's health care plan.



*Note: Starred questions split sample where different half of respondents receive each question.

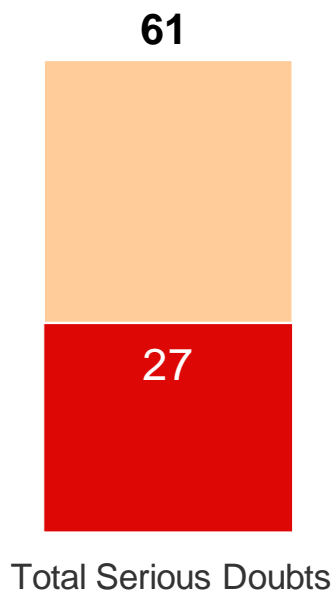
Arguments against Obama's health care plan

Now let me read you some statements from opponents of Obama's health care plan. For each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubt in your own mind about Obama's health care plan.

Will force Americans to wait in line for care

Americans should not have to wait weeks or months for treatment they need and no one should be denied the care they require because of government limits or rationing. But under the Democrats' government-run plan, politicians and bureaucrats would decide what treatments you can or can't have and make Americans wait in line to get the treatments they are allowed to receive.

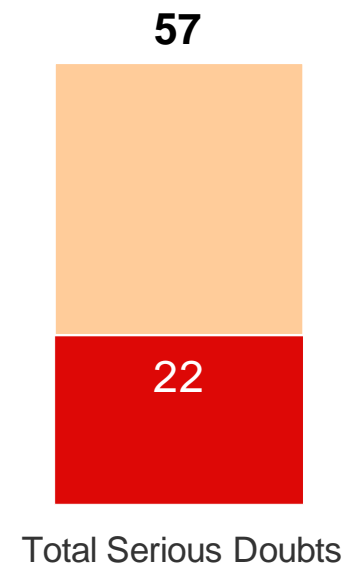
■ Very Serious Doubts



Puts Washington bureaucrats in charge of healthcare

No Washington bureaucrat should stand between your family and your doctor, but the Democrats' plan takes control of treatment away from patients and doctors and gives it to a committee of Washington politicians instead. We must preserve the sacred doctor-patient relationship and ensure that doctors are making the decisions, not federal bureaucrats.

■ Very Serious Doubts



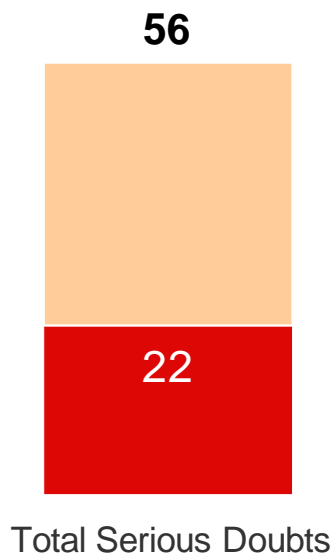
Arguments against Obama's health care plan

Now let me read you some statements from opponents of Obama's health care plan. For each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubt in your own mind about Obama's health care plan.

Plan means higher taxes, more waste and debt

Every American should have access to quality healthcare, but the Democrats want to raise taxes so they can push the 50 million uninsured Americans into a new government program that will increase waste, fraud, and abuse and cost trillions of dollars. With record deficits we can't afford this expensive new program on top of the financial bailout and Obama's stimulus plan.

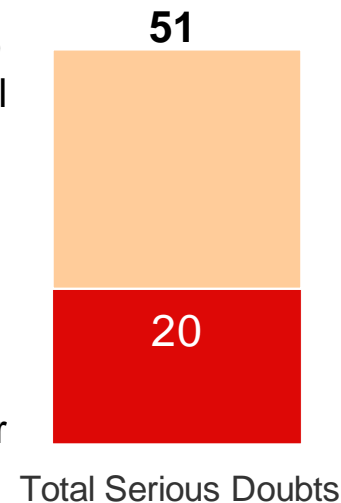
■ Very Serious Doubts



Gov. takeover copies Canadian/British system

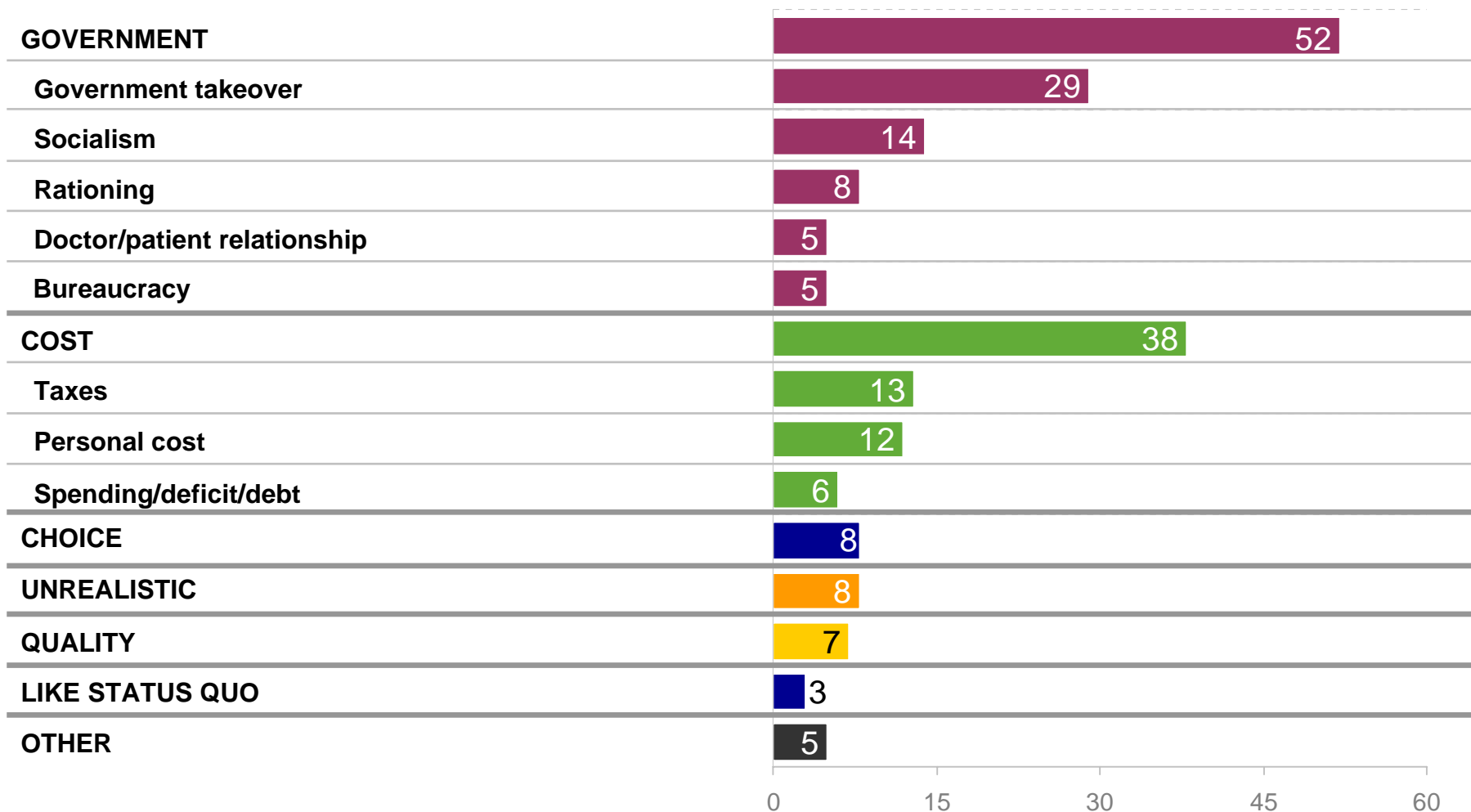
There's no doubt that we have a health care crisis, but the Democrats' plan for a government takeover of health care will mean Americans won't be able to choose their doctor and will get lower quality care. We have a 50 percent higher survival rate for cancer than anybody else in the world, yet the Democrats want to copy government-run systems like Canada or Britain.

■ Very Serious Doubts



Open end: government involvement, costs stood out for plan opposers

After hearing all the positive and negative things about Obama's health care proposal, what worries you the most about the Obama health care plan?



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