

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

June 25, 2009

Health Care Reform



DEMOCRACY CORPS
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

The survey

This presentation is based primarily on a national Democracy Corps survey of 1,000 2008 voters (836 landline, 164 cell phone weighted; 880 landline, 120 cell phone unweighted) conducted June 19-22, 2009. Margin of error: 3.1 percent.

All data shown reflects results from 846 likely 2010 voters (855 unweighted; margin of error of 3.3 percent) unless otherwise noted.

Some questions were split to half sample of 500 respondents (data shown reflects results from 427 or 419 likely 2010 voters; margin of error of 4.6 percent).

Note: “unemployed” numbers reflect those likely voter households where a member has lost their job in the past year (322 weighted, 309 unweighted)

Five recommendations to expand support for reform

- 1. The Clear Offer:** Insurance that you can never lose, control from insurance companies to the people, reduced costs for family, business and country
- 2. The Big Narrative:** Taking power back from the insurance companies and returning it to regular people
- 3. The Overall Frame:** That status quo is not acceptable or sustainable
- 4. An honest and specific explanation of costs to families and country**
- 5. A strategy for seniors**

Starting point:
Status quo greater risk than change

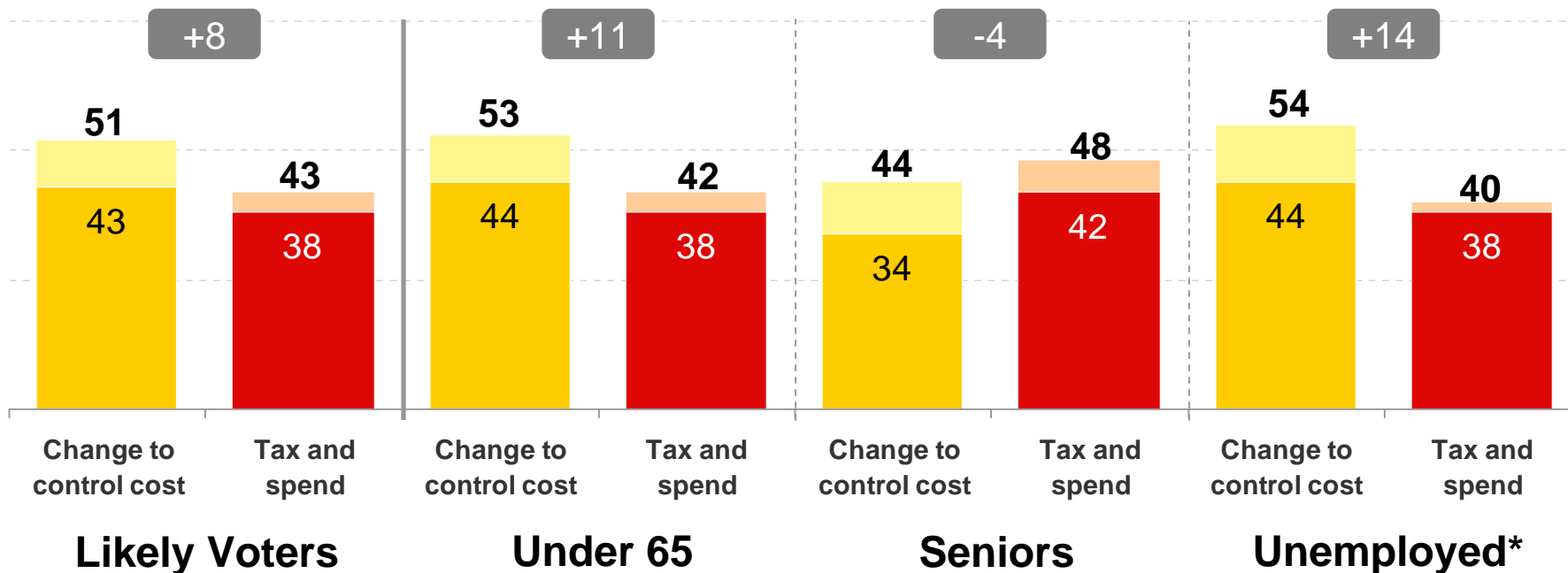
More worried about risk of future cost rises than risk of taxes/spending

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 worried that if we DO NOT change our health care system now, costs will keep rising and it will be hard to afford the health care we need.

Second Statement: I'm more worried that this health care proposal will increase costs through new taxes and more spending.

■ First statement strongly ■ Second statement strongly



*Note: "Unemployed households" -- where either respondent or member of their immediate family has lost their job in the last year.

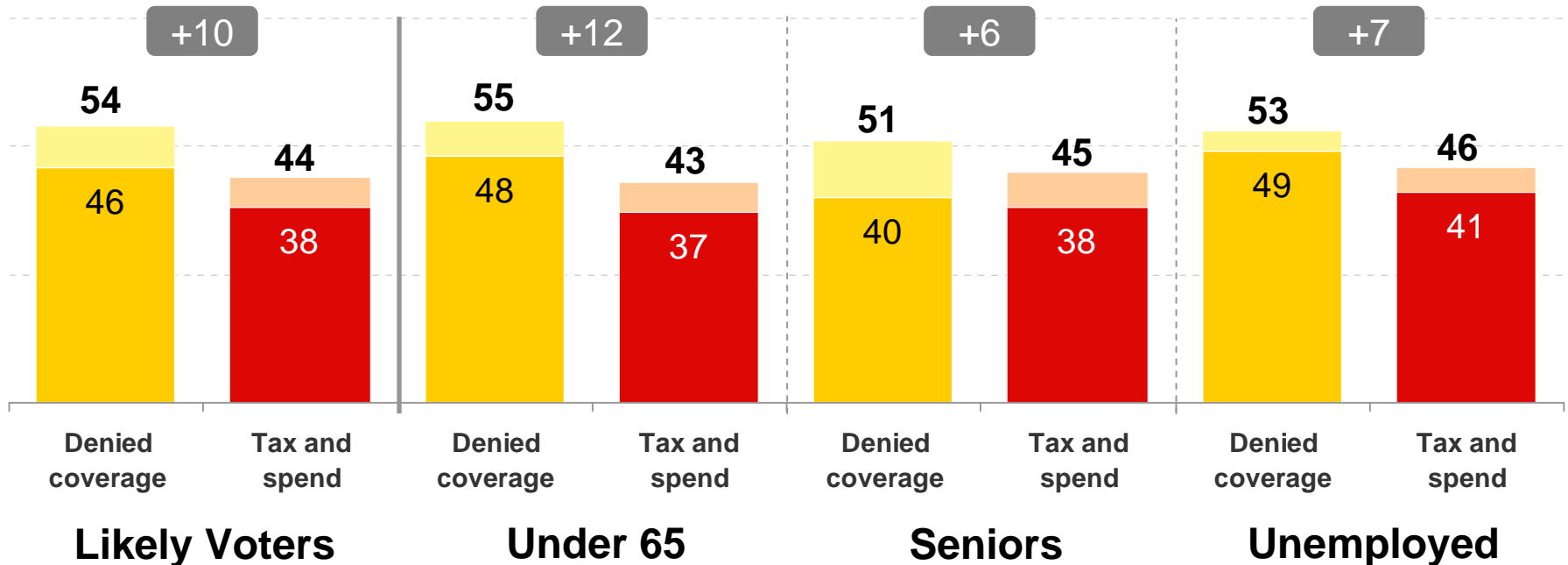
More concern about losing coverage under the status quo

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 worried that if we DO NOT change our health care system now, more people will be denied the coverage they need when they need it most.

Second Statement: I'm more worried that this health care proposal will increase costs through new taxes and more spending.

■ First statement strongly ■ Second statement strongly



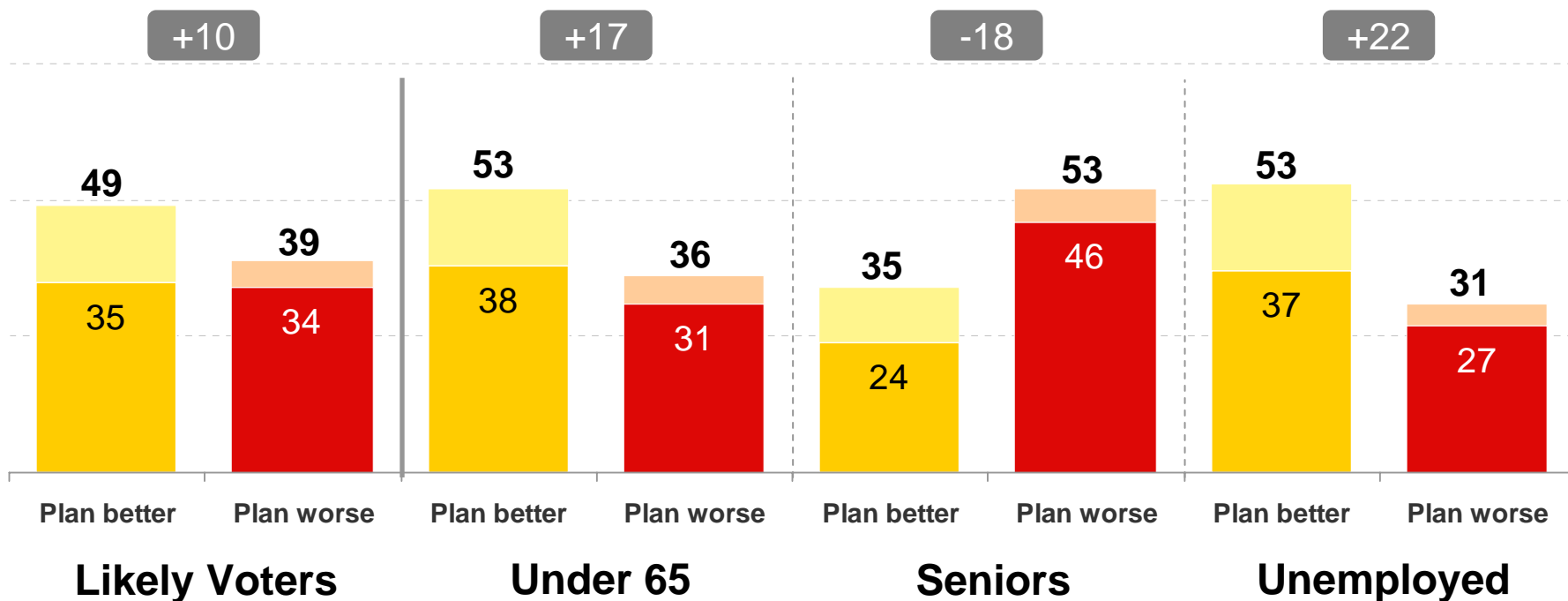
Plan is better than the current system

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: This plan is better than the present health care system.

Second Statement: This plan is worse than the present health care system.

■ First statement strongly ■ Second statement strongly



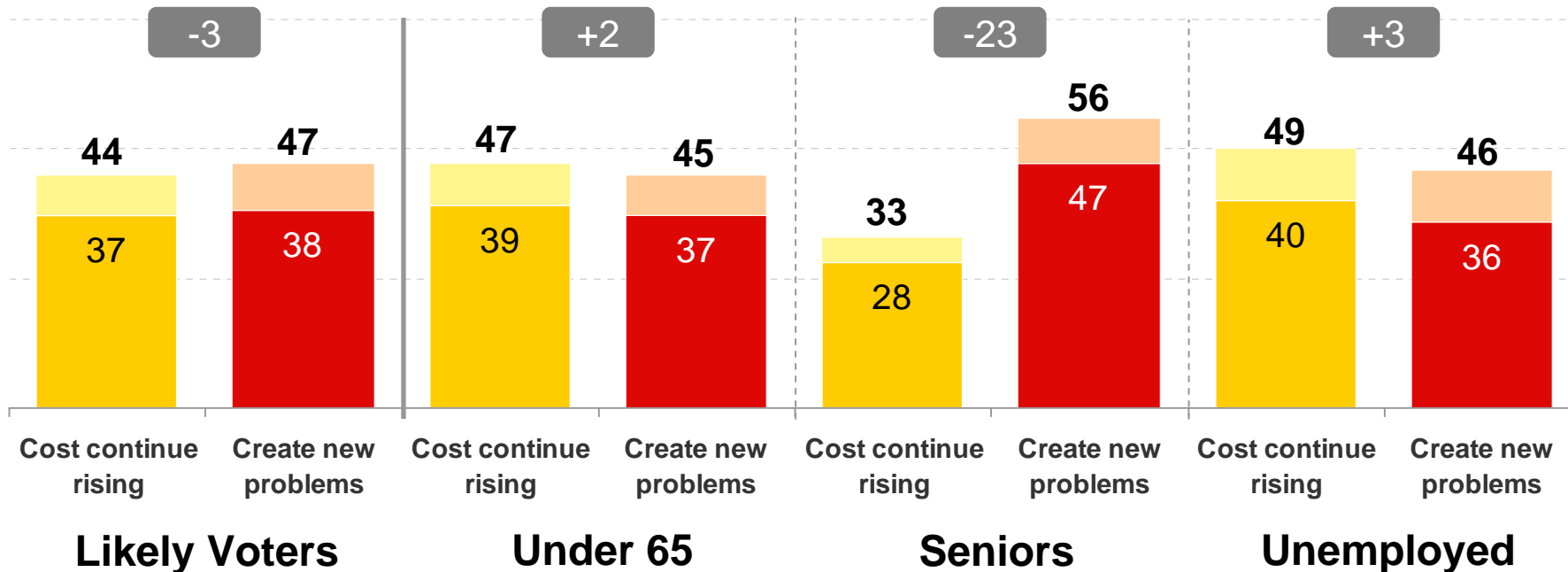
Equal worry about risk of change and risk of government

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.

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 strongly ■ Second statement strongly

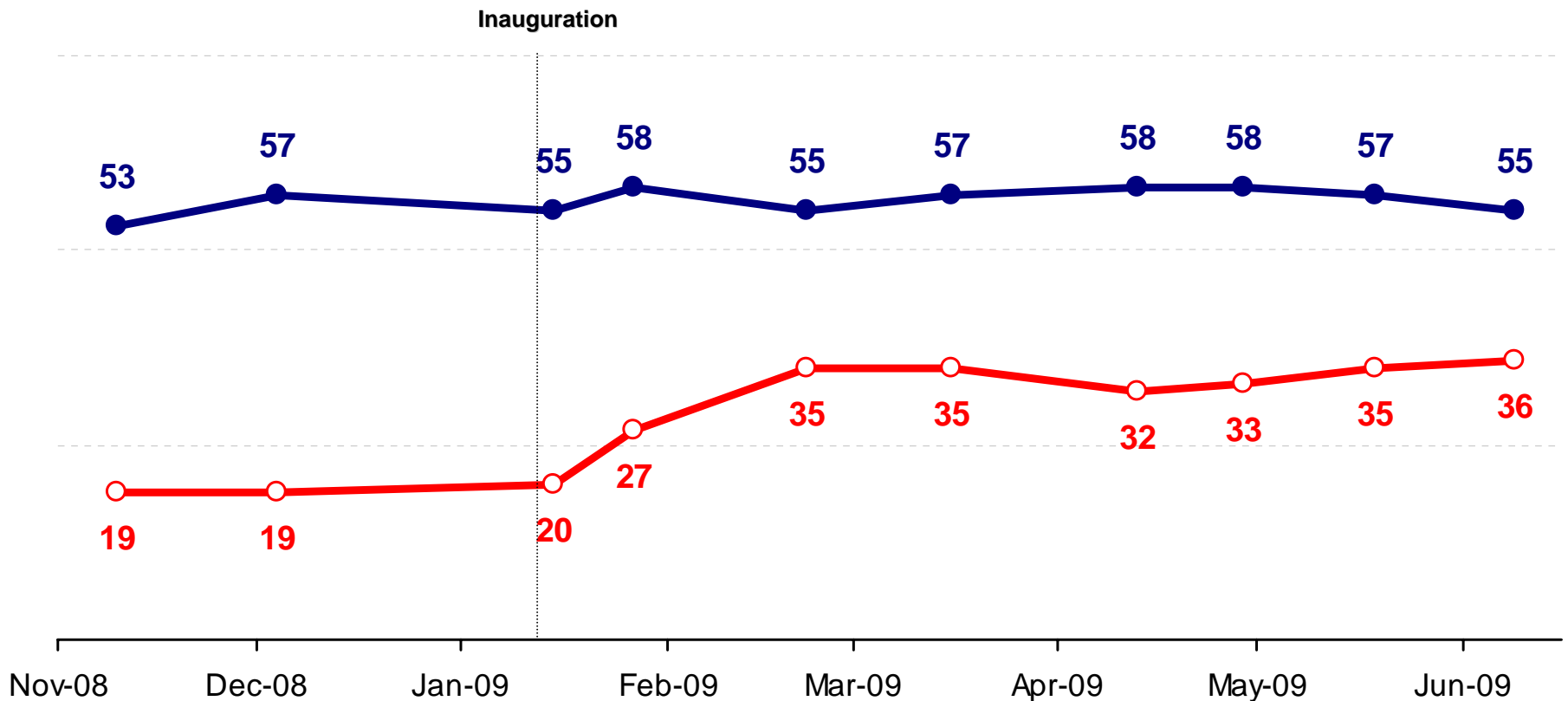


Strength of Obama and Democrats

Obama job approval dips slightly, but very high

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as president?

● Approve
○ Disapprove



**Note: From Democracy Corps surveys over the past several months. Before inauguration, question read: "Do you approve or disapprove of the job being done by Barack Obama as president-elect?" Data represents likely 2010 voters.*

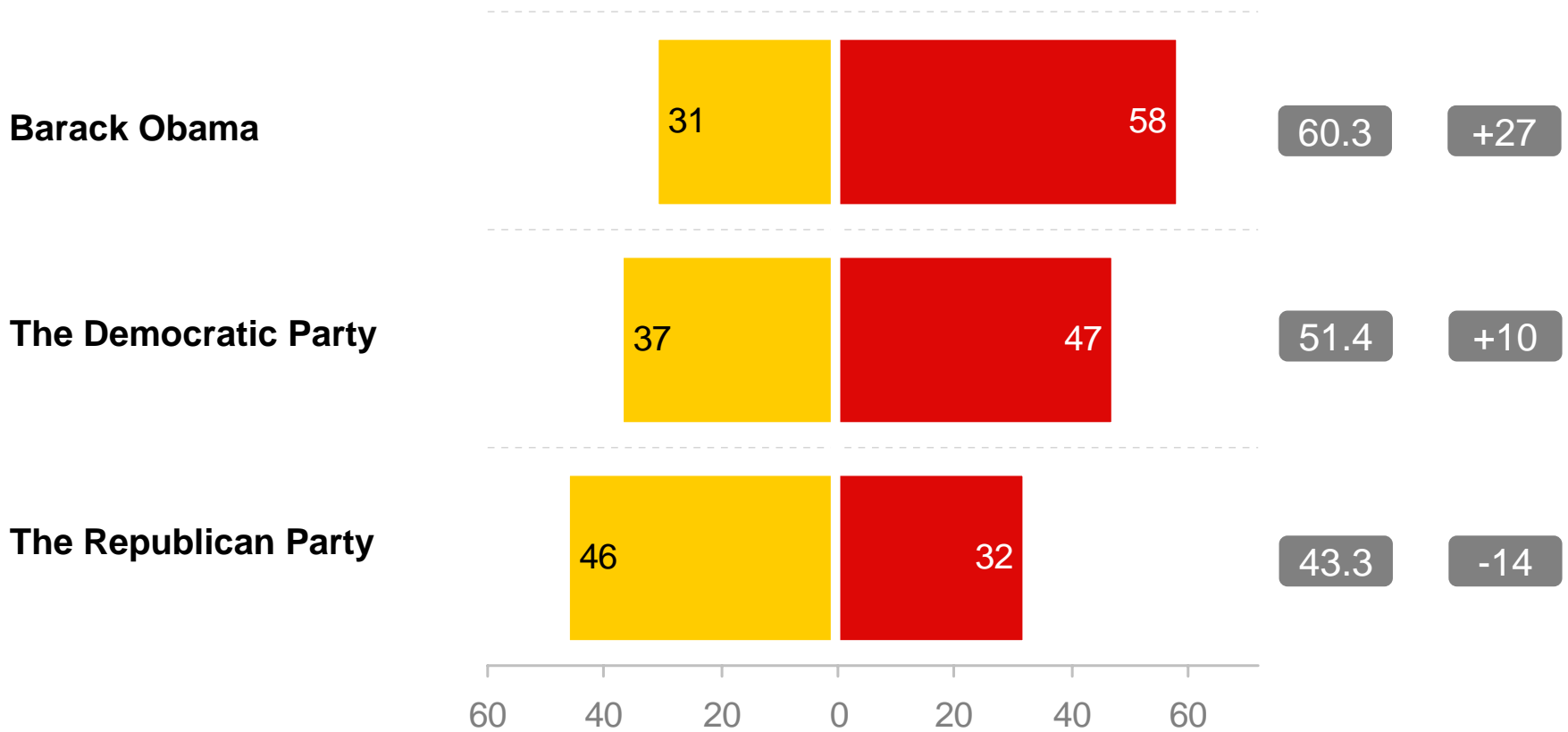
Obama personal favorability very high – and Republicans very low

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

**Therm.
Mean**

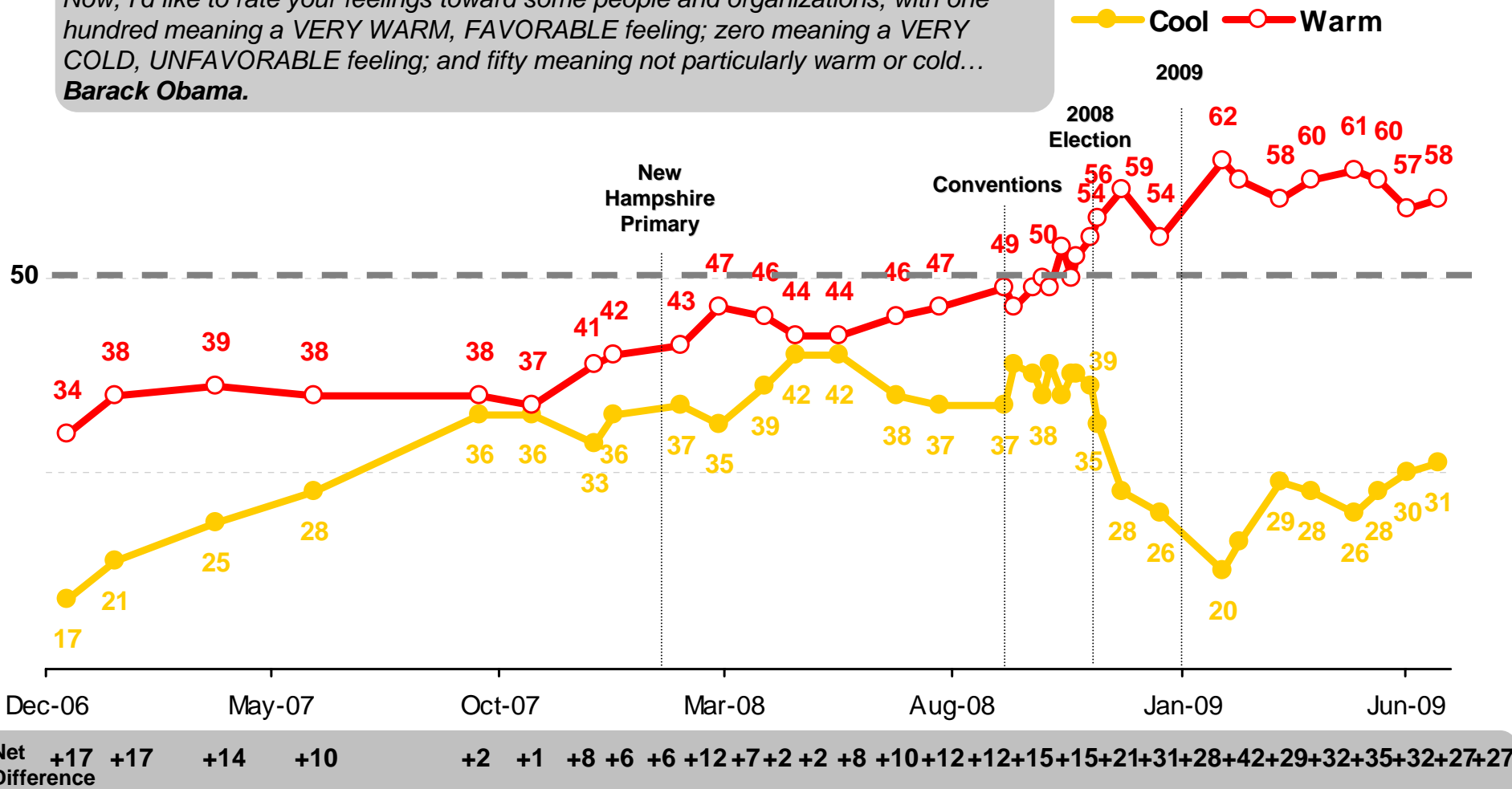
**Warm -
Cool**

■ Cool ■ Warm



Obama's favorability remains high

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold... **Barack Obama.**

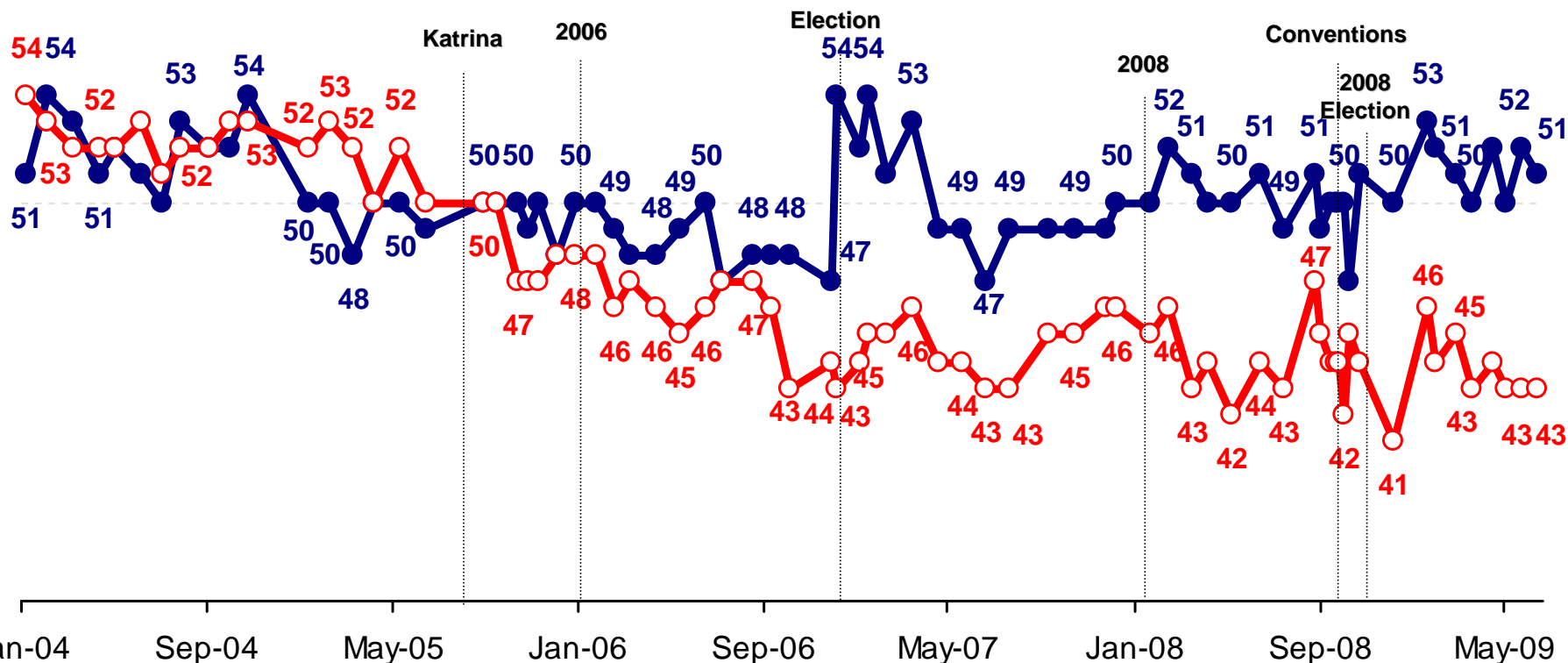


*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last two years. After 2008 election, data represents likely 2010 voters only.

Democratic Party image holds solidly above Republican favorability

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with 100 meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

● Democratic Party
○ Republican Party



Net Difference: -3 -1 -1 +1 +1 -2 -3 -4 -2 0 +3 +2 +3 +2 +4 +4 +1 +5 +3 +11 +9 +7 +5 +4 +6 +4 +4 +6 +8 +8 +7 +6 +4 +8 +9 +7 +6 +7 +9 +8

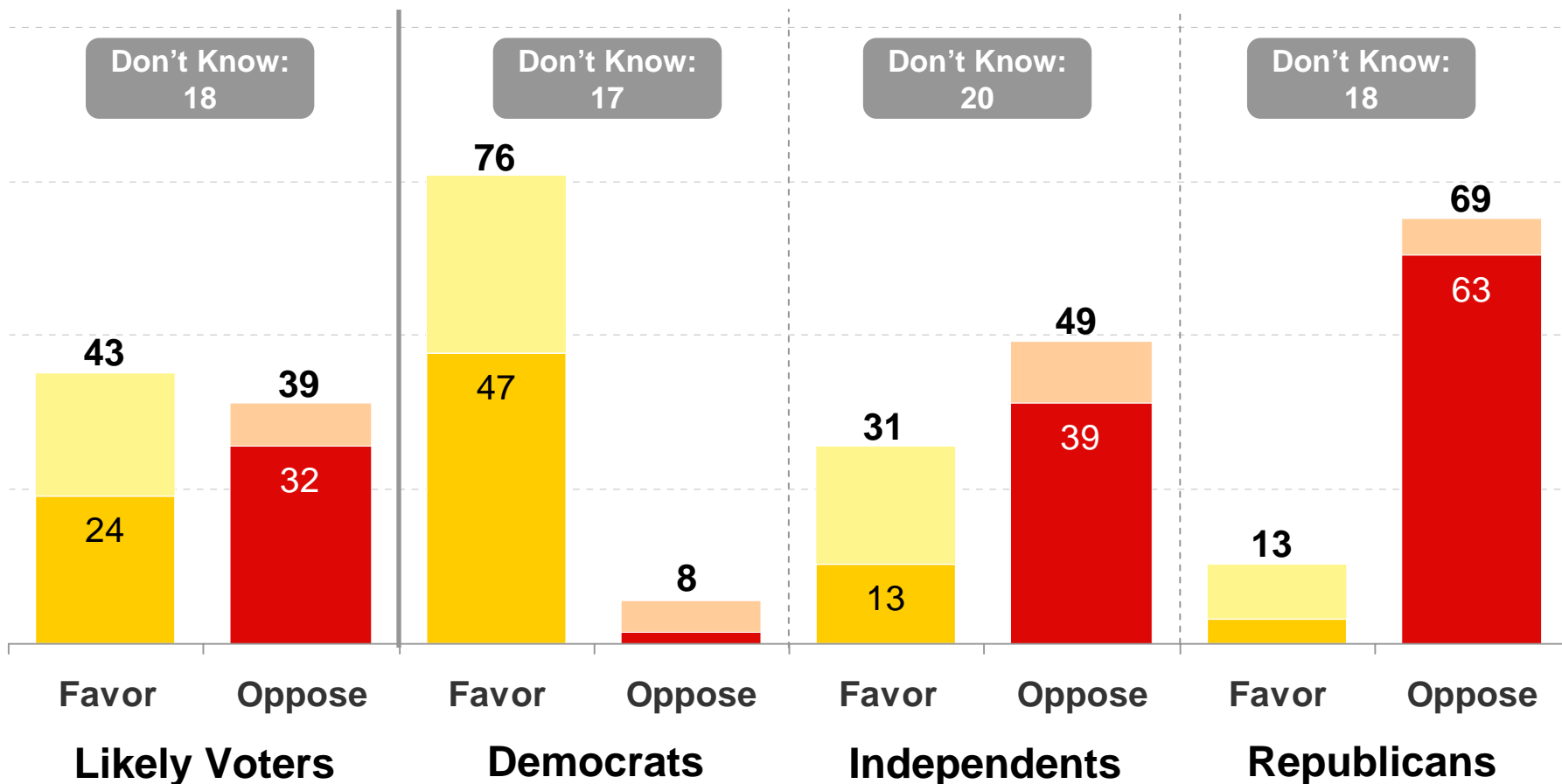
*Note: Data represents the MEAN ratings from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the past four years. After 2008 election, Data reflects 2010 likely voters.

The Obama 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?

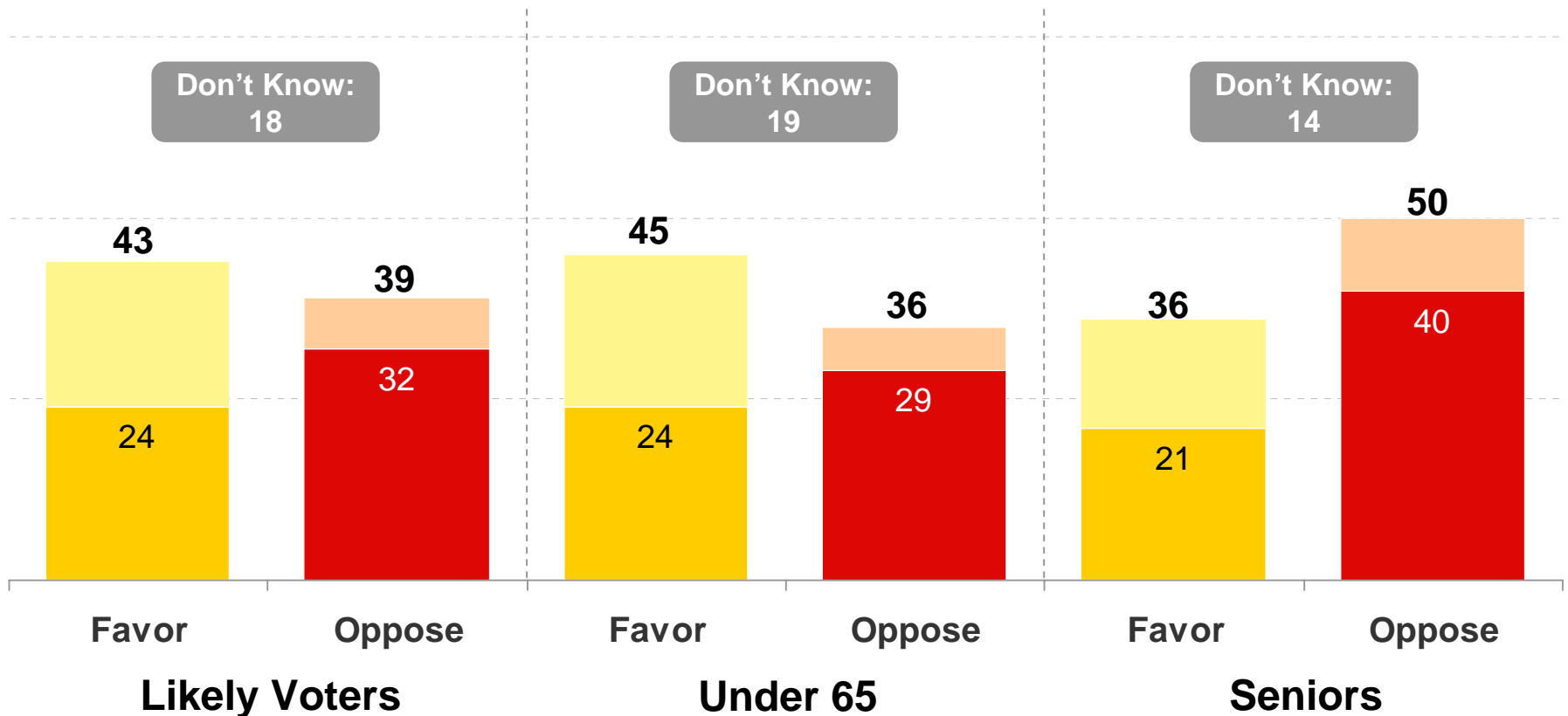
■ Strongly Favor ■ Strongly Oppose



Before description, strong plurality for plan under 65 years

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



Obama and Democrats' health care reform described with financing

Now, I'm going to read you a short description of a health care reform plan that President Obama and the Democrats may propose.

This plan prohibits insurance companies from denying coverage for pre-existing conditions or dropping coverage when someone gets sick and requires them to cover preventive care. It creates a health insurance exchange where individuals can comparison shop among different private plans or a public insurance option.

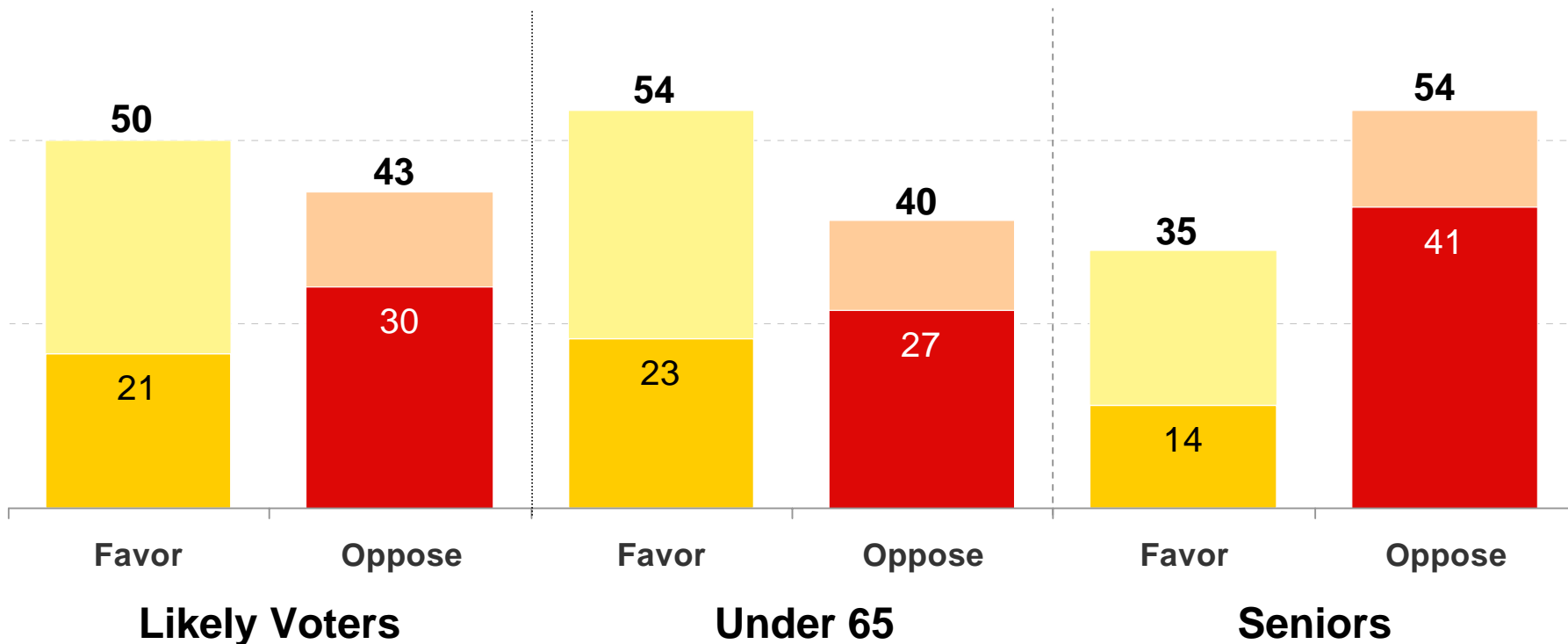
The plan requires all Americans to have health insurance while subsidizing the cost for those with low and moderate incomes. It requires all companies to provide health insurance for their employees or contribute to a fund that will help pay for their coverage with small businesses getting help covering some of the cost.

The plan will be paid for by reducing Medicaid and Medicare spending by 400 billion dollars over the next ten years and implementing some new taxes that might include a small sales tax on goods except for food, higher taxes on those making over 200,000 dollars OR new taxes on alcohol or sugary drinks.

Described Obama plan (with financing) gains majority

Based on what you heard, do you favor or oppose this health care plan?

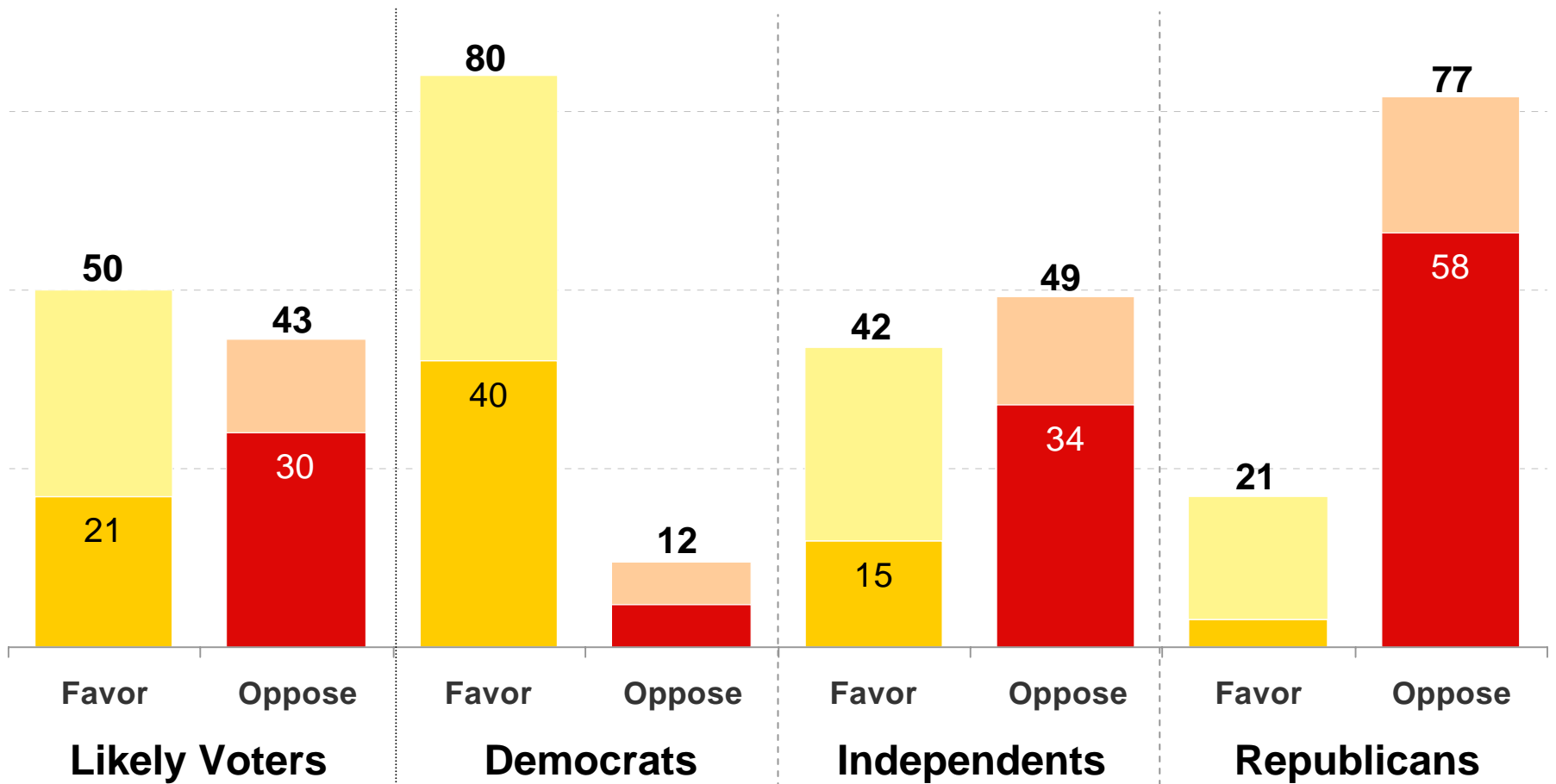
■ Strongly Favor ■ Strongly Oppose



Independents: plan with financing message slightly behind

Based on what you heard, do you favor or oppose this health care plan?

■ Strongly Favor ■ Strongly Oppose



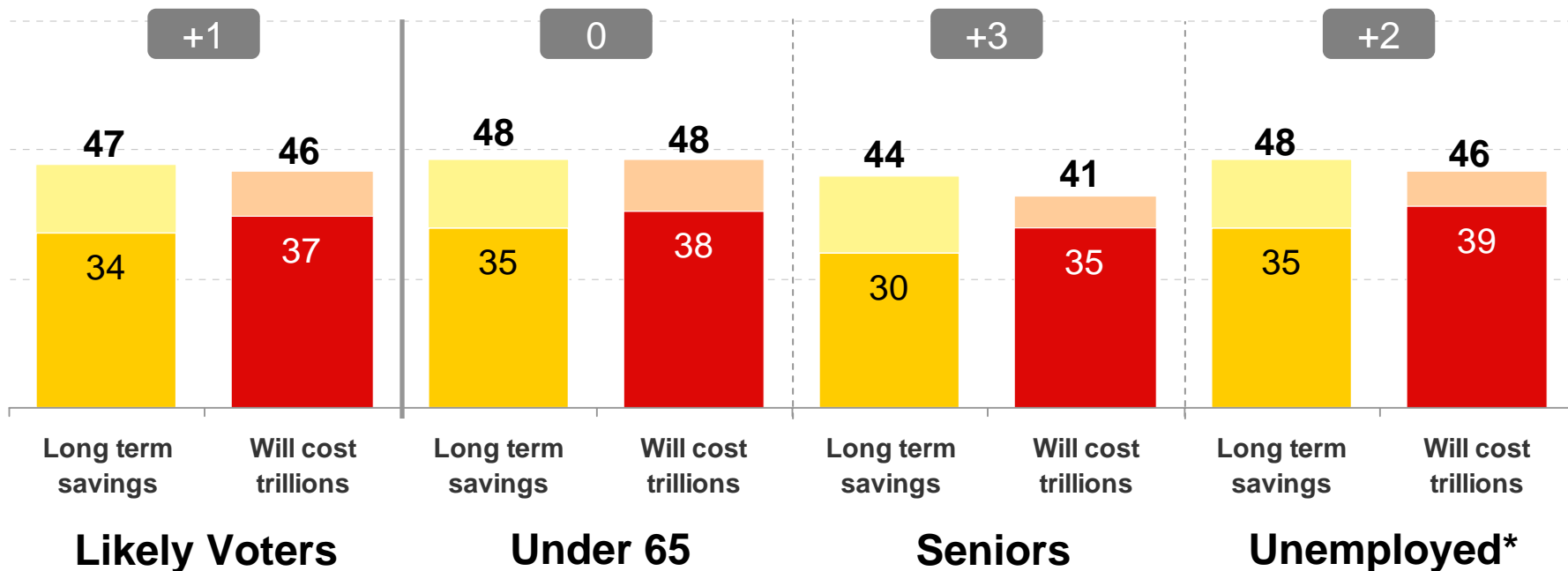
Country divided on whether will mean long term cost savings

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: This plan will require higher spending in the short term but in the long run it will rein in out-of-control health care costs, save trillions of dollars and reduce the deficit.

Second Statement: This plan will require trillions of dollars in new spending that we can't afford when we are already running record deficits.

■ First statement strongly ■ Second statement strongly



*Note: "Unemployed households" -- where either respondent or member of their immediate family has lost their job in the last year.

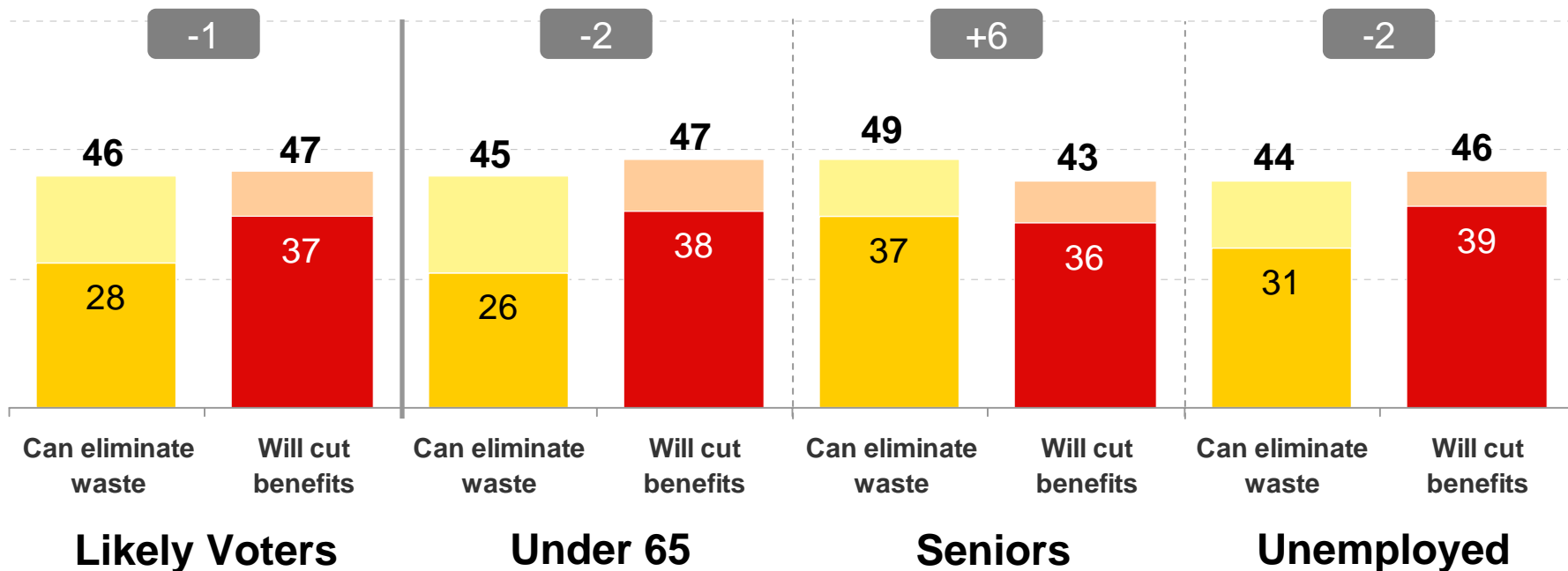
Division in gov't ability to cut costs without cutting Medicare benefits

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: The government will be able to eliminate waste in Medicare to save money without cutting benefits for Medicare recipients.

Second Statement: The government will not be able to eliminate waste in Medicare and will cut benefits for Medicare recipients

■ First statement strongly ■ Second statement strongly



Judging the plan

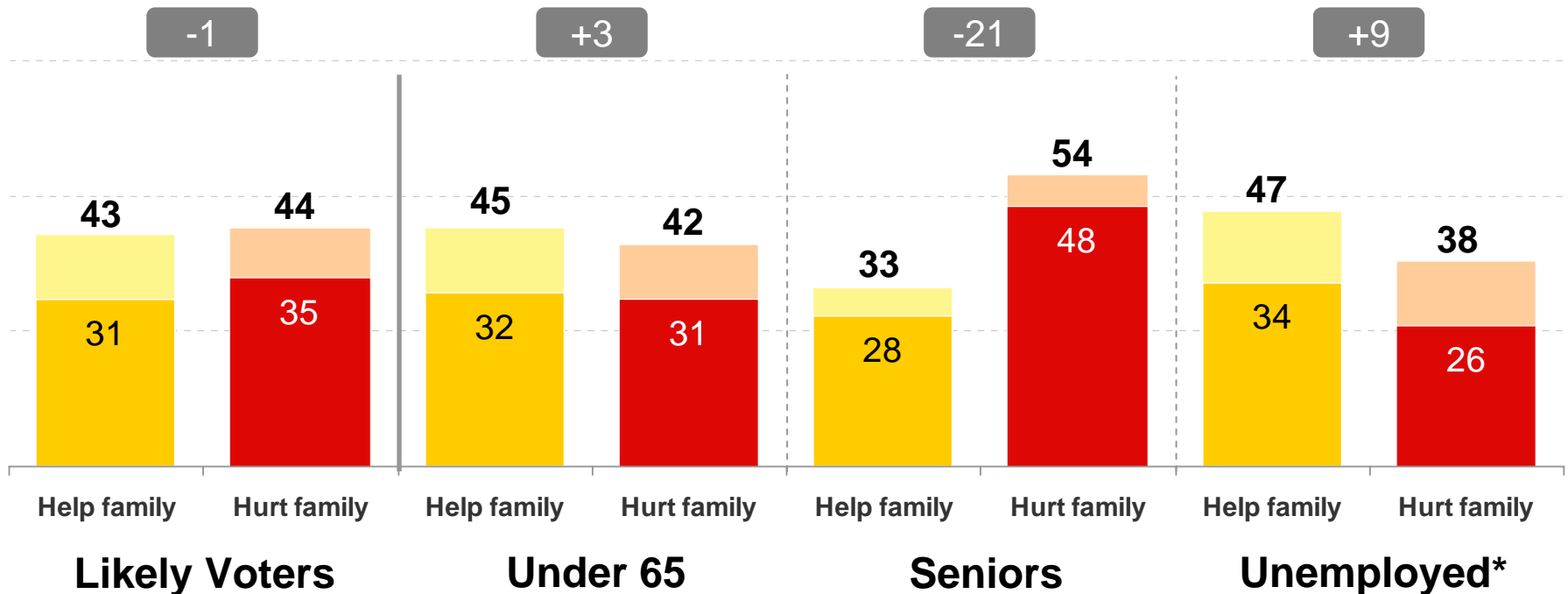
Country split on whether plan will help or hurt their family

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: This plan will help my family.

Second Statement: This plan will hurt my family.

■ First statement strongly ■ Second statement strongly



*Note: "Unemployed households" -- where either respondent or member of their immediate family has lost their job in the last year.

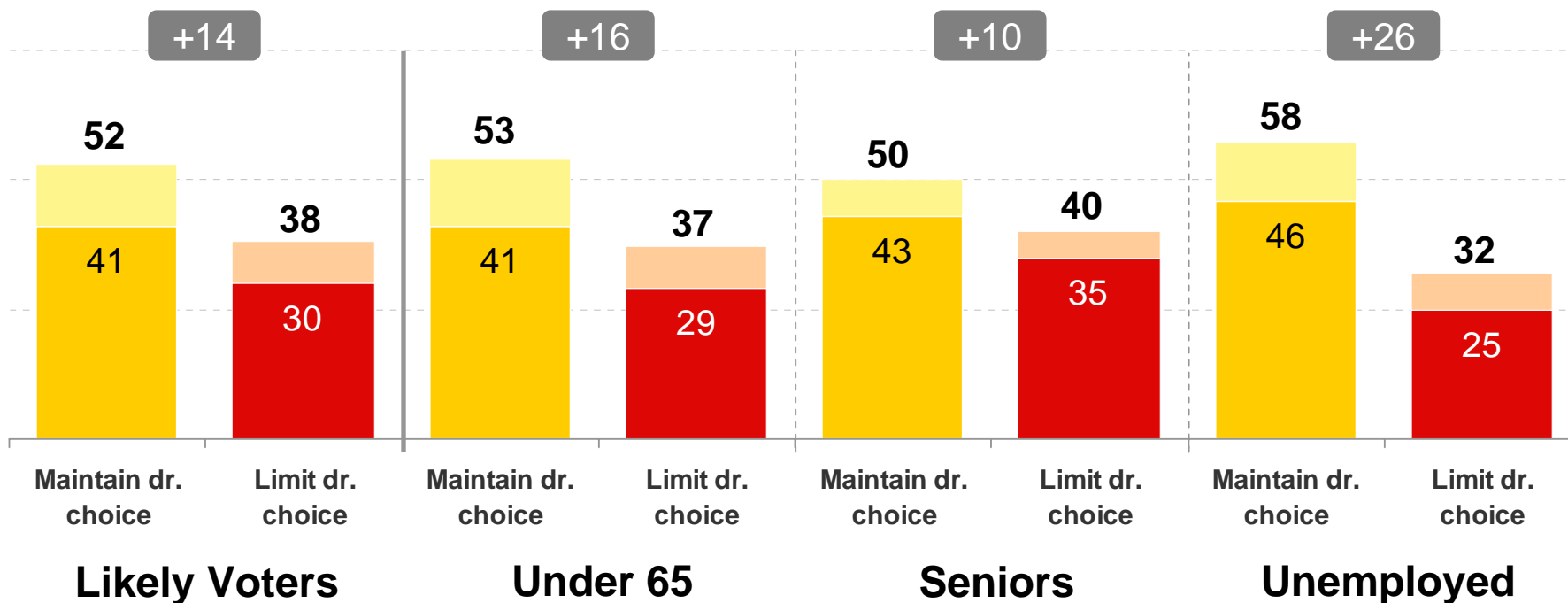
More believe plan will maintain right to choose doctor

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: This plan will maintain my right to choose a doctor.

Second Statement: This plan will limit my right to choose a doctor.

■ First statement strongly ■ Second statement strongly



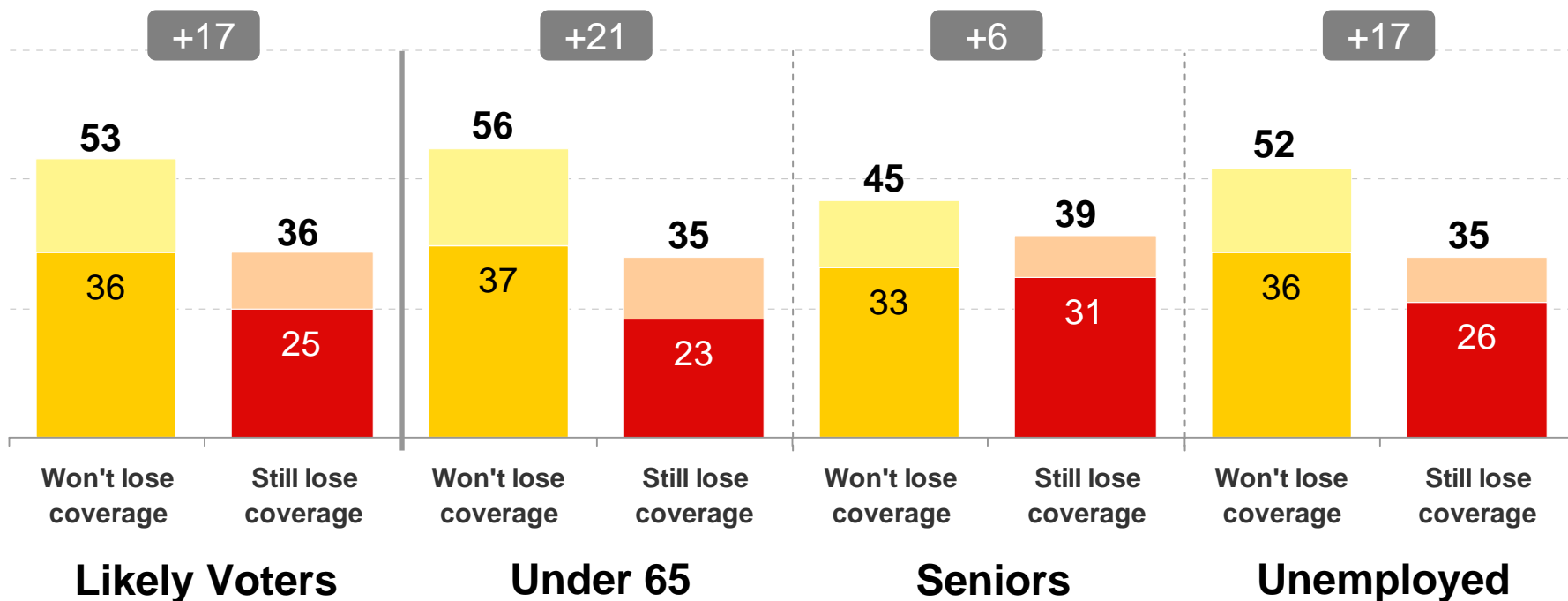
Most believe plan will mean never losing coverage

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: This plan will mean that I won't lose health coverage for any reason.

Second Statement: Under this plan people will still lose coverage.

■ First statement strongly ■ Second statement strongly



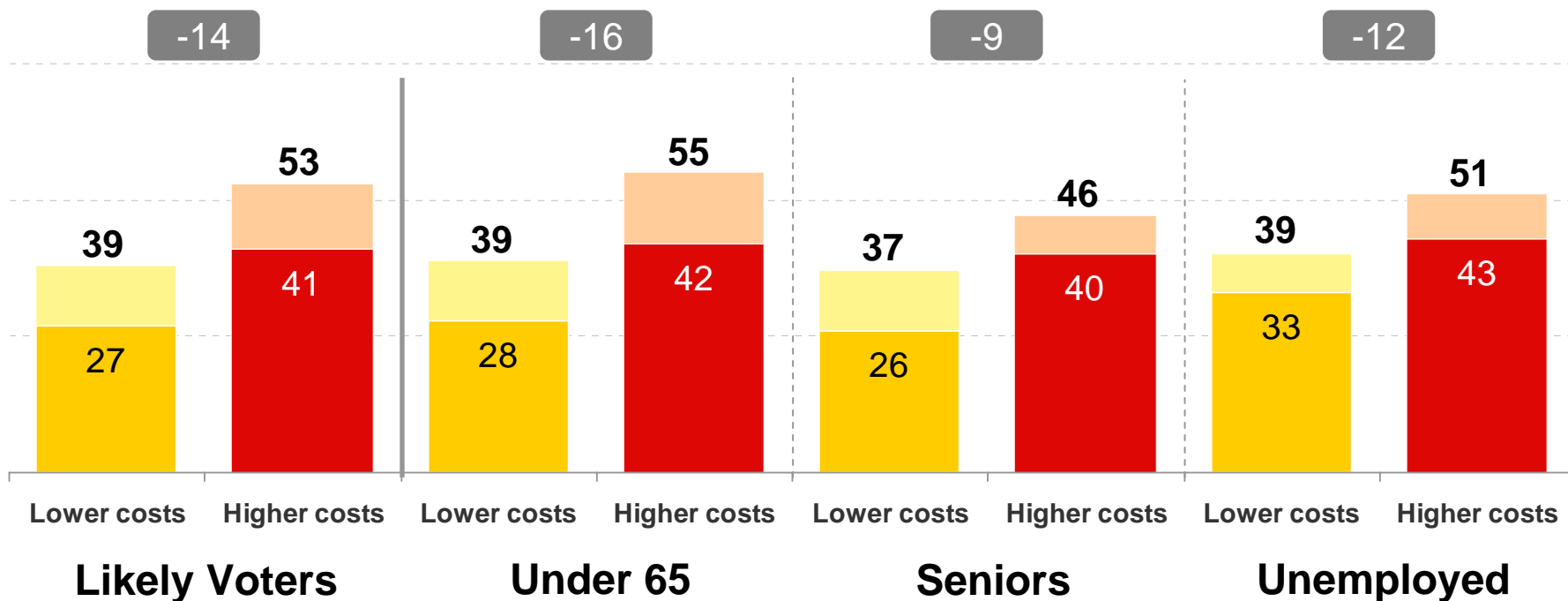
But more believe plan will mean higher costs for families

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: This plan will mean lower costs for my family.

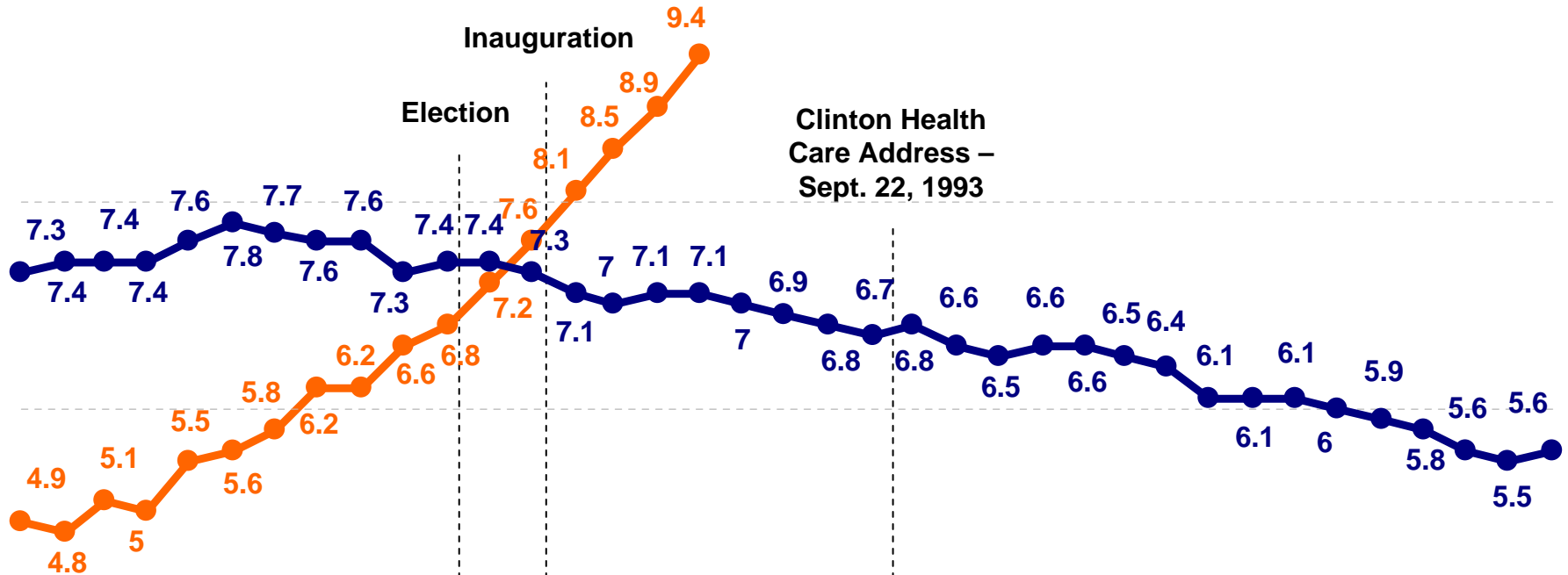
Second Statement: This plan will mean higher costs for my family.

■ First statement strongly ■ Second statement strongly



National unemployment rate: Clinton and Obama

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

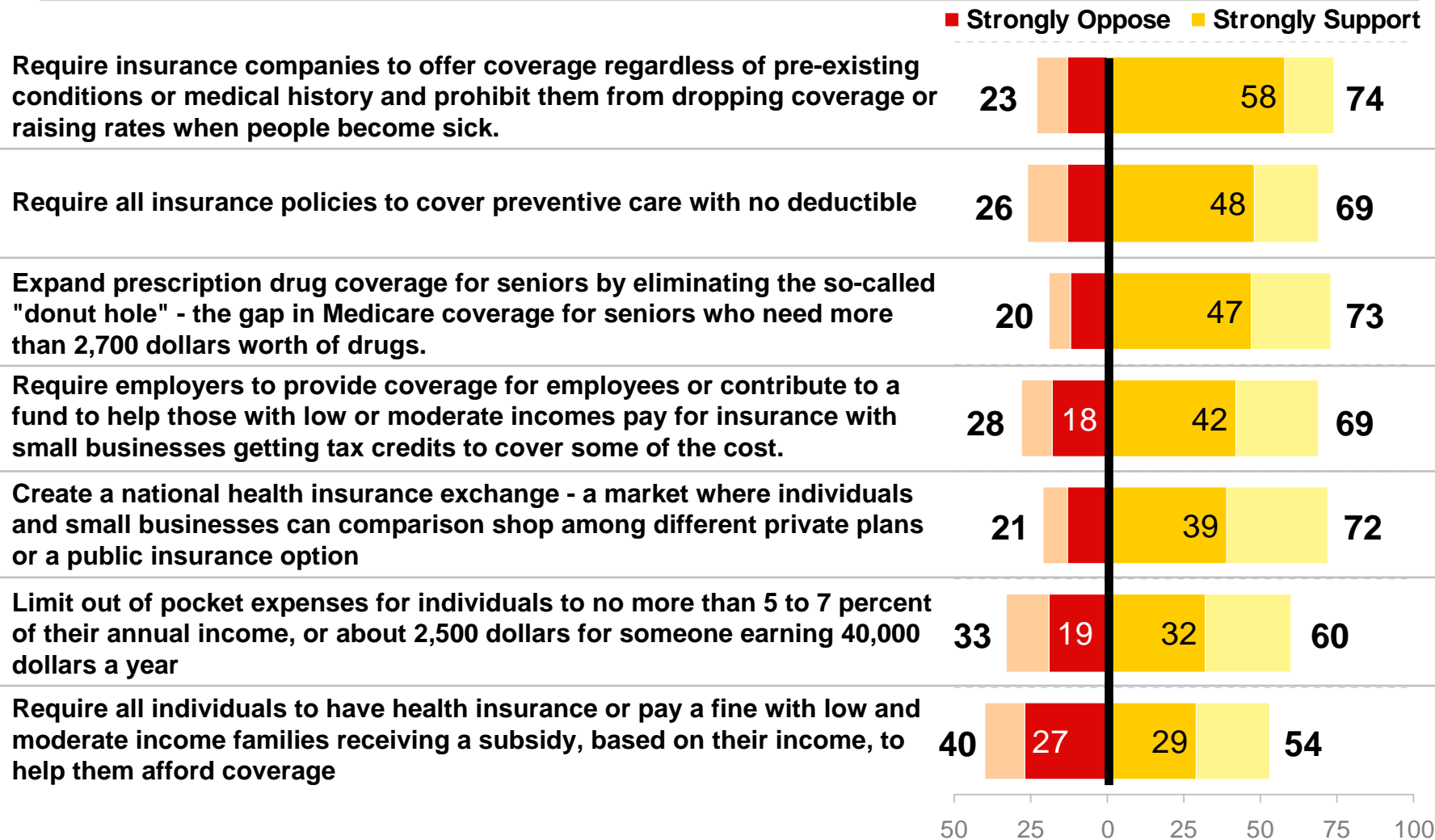


Note: Data from Bureau of Labor Statistics

Key elements of health care plan

Top elements in health care plan

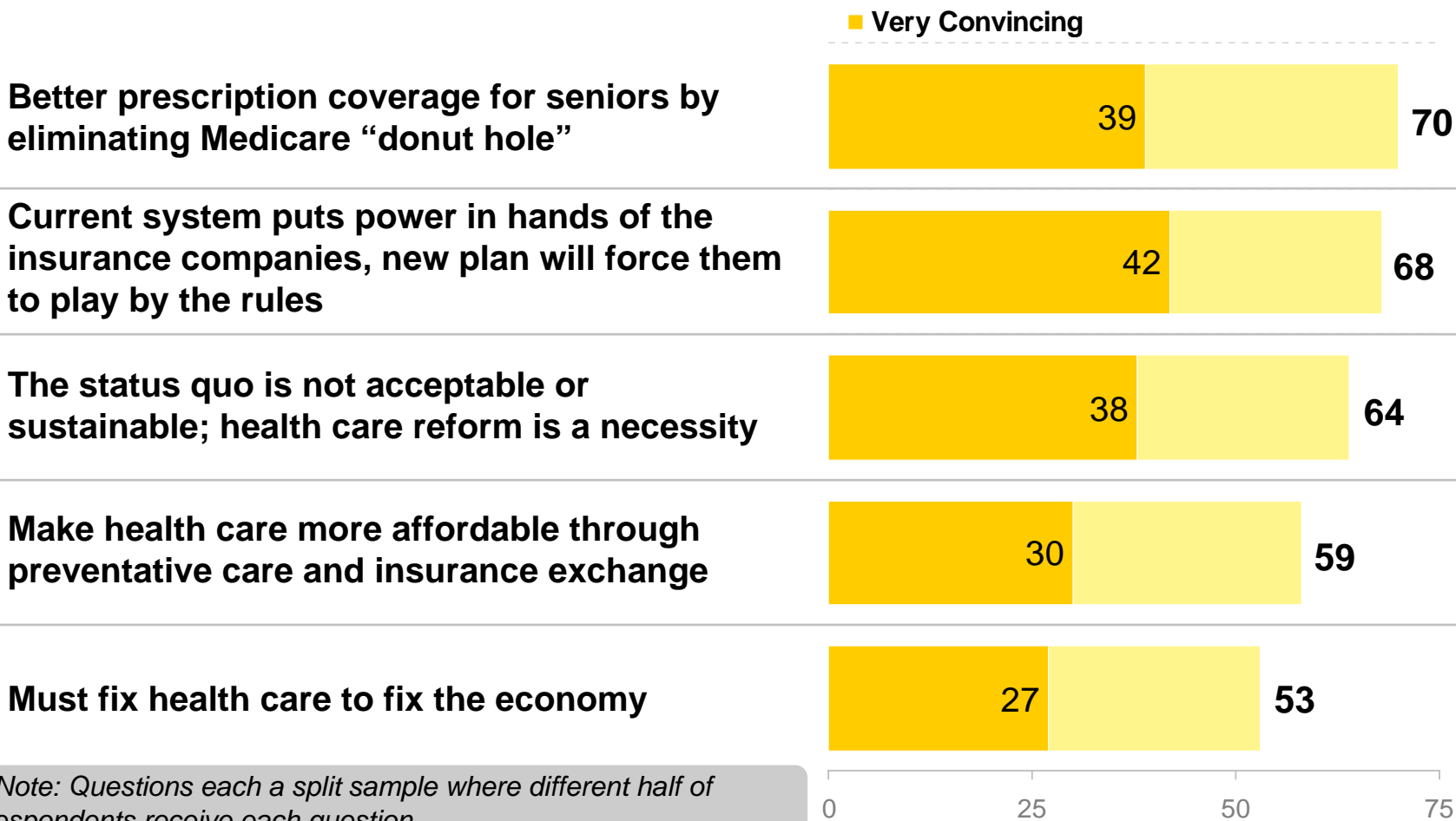
Now I'd like to read you some possible elements from Obama and the Democrats' health care plan. Please tell me if you support or oppose each of these elements.



Overall health care messaging

Proponents' arguments for Obama and Democrat's health care plan

Now let me read you some statements from supporters of Obama and the Democrats' health care plan. For each statement, please tell me how convincing a reason it is to support this 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 and the Democrats' health care plan.



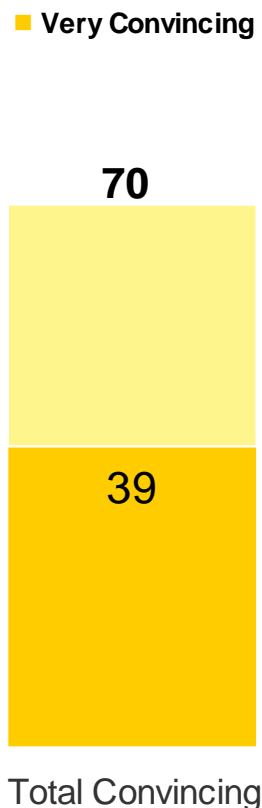
*Note: Questions each a split sample where different half of respondents receive each question.

Proponents' arguments for Obama and Democrat's health care plan

Now let me read you some statements that Obama and the Democrats may make about the public health insurance option. For each statement, please tell me how convincing a reason it is to support the public option -- is it a very convincing reason, a somewhat convincing reason, a little convincing, or not at all a convincing reason to support the public health insurance option.

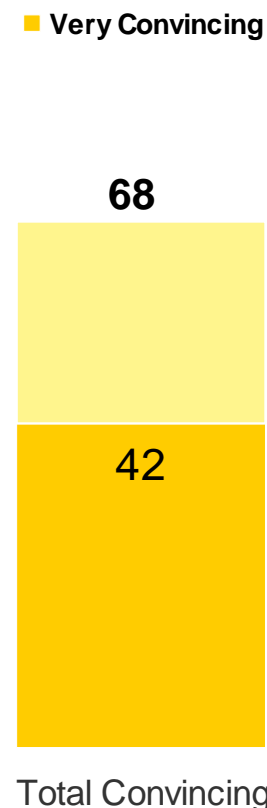
Eliminate the Medicare "donut hole" for snrs.

Under this plan seniors would still receive Medicare coverage, just as they do now with no reductions in benefits. But the plan would also provide seniors with better prescription drug coverage by eliminating the so-called "donut hole" - the gap in Medicare coverage that forces millions of seniors to pay thousands of dollars out-of-pocket for prescription drugs.



Insurance companies to play by the rules

The current system puts the power in the hands of insurance companies. They are fighting to keep the status quo, where they boost their profits by jacking up rates and using the fine print to drop people when they get sick - like one Texas woman who was dropped after she was diagnosed with cancer because she had not disclosed a case of acne. This plan takes power away from the insurance companies, and forces them to play by the rules.



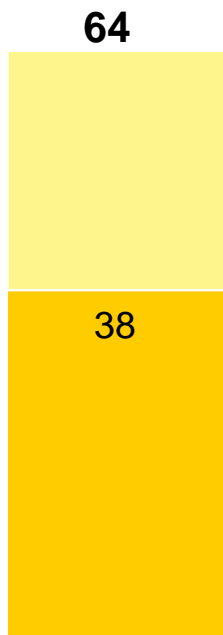
Proponents' arguments for Obama and Democrat's health care plan

Now let me read you some statements that Obama and the Democrats may make about the public health insurance option. For each statement, please tell me how convincing a reason it is to support the public option -- is it a very convincing reason, a somewhat convincing reason, a little convincing, or not at all a convincing reason to support the public health insurance option.

Cannot continue status quo, need reform

Continuing the status quo in health care is not acceptable and not sustainable. Keeping the status quo means the insurance companies are still in charge, jacking up rates and denying coverage. It means more people losing insurance or enslaved to their job, prices skyrocketing for families and businesses and our companies less competitive. We need to change: health care reform is not a luxury, but a necessity.

Very Convincing

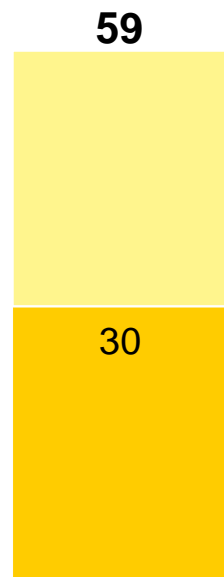


Total Convincing

Create competition to make health care affordable

This plan will change the health care system and make health care more affordable by requiring plans to cover wellness and preventive care, barring them from charging more for age or preexisting conditions, and by creating an insurance exchange that allows individuals and businesses to comparison shop for private policies or a public health insurance option, driving costs down through competition

Very Convincing

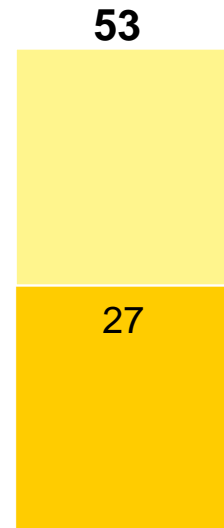


Total Convincing

Must fix health care to fix the economy

To fix the economy we must fix health care. The rising cost of health care is a threat to our economy, it is an escalating burden on our families and businesses and is a ticking-time bomb for the federal budget. By reining in health care costs, this plan will lay the foundation for long-term growth, eventually creating up to 500,000 more jobs every year according to one recent report.

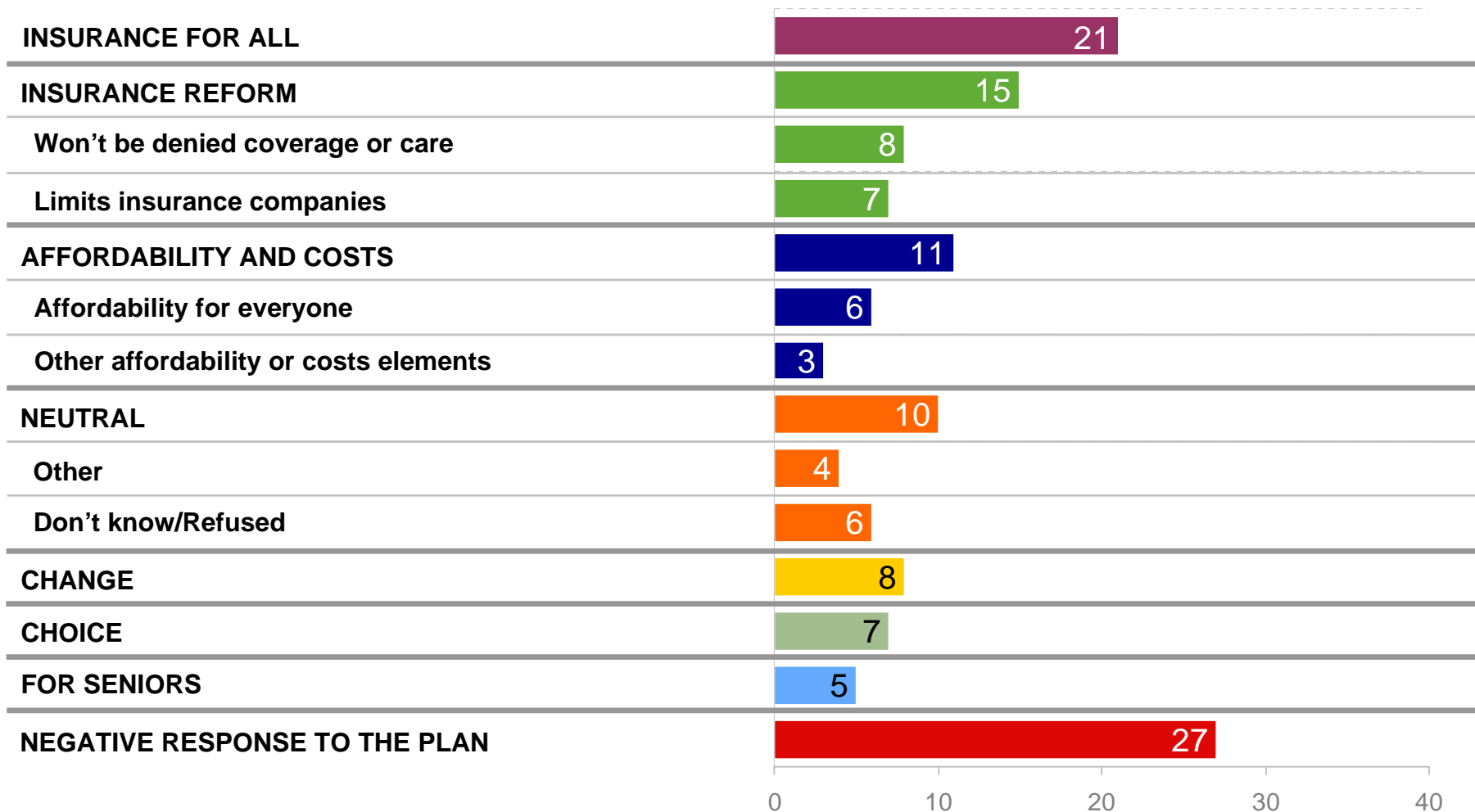
Very Convincing



Total Convincing

Open end: insurance for all, insurance reform top reasons to support

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



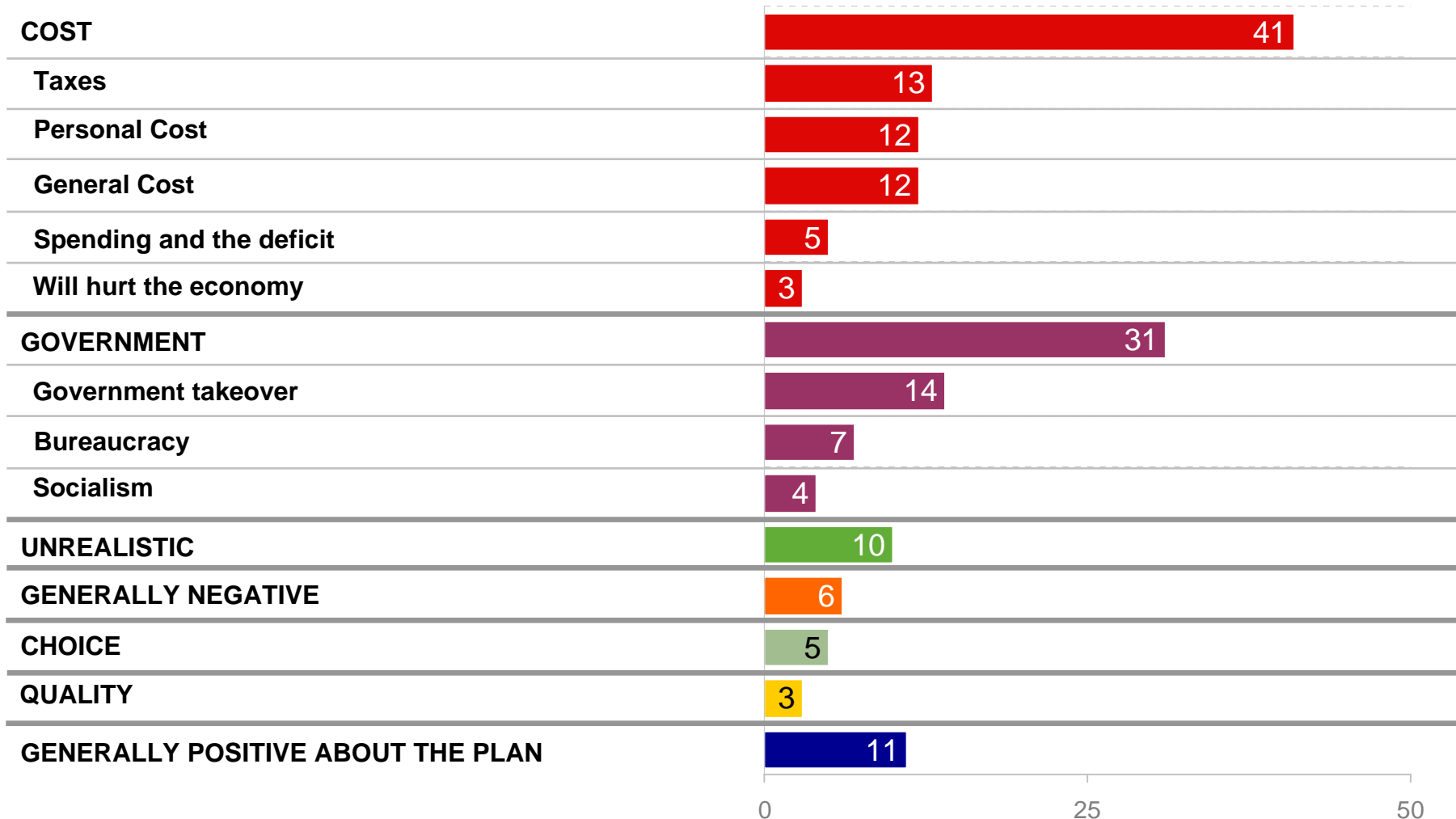
Open end: best reasons to support the Obama health care proposal

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



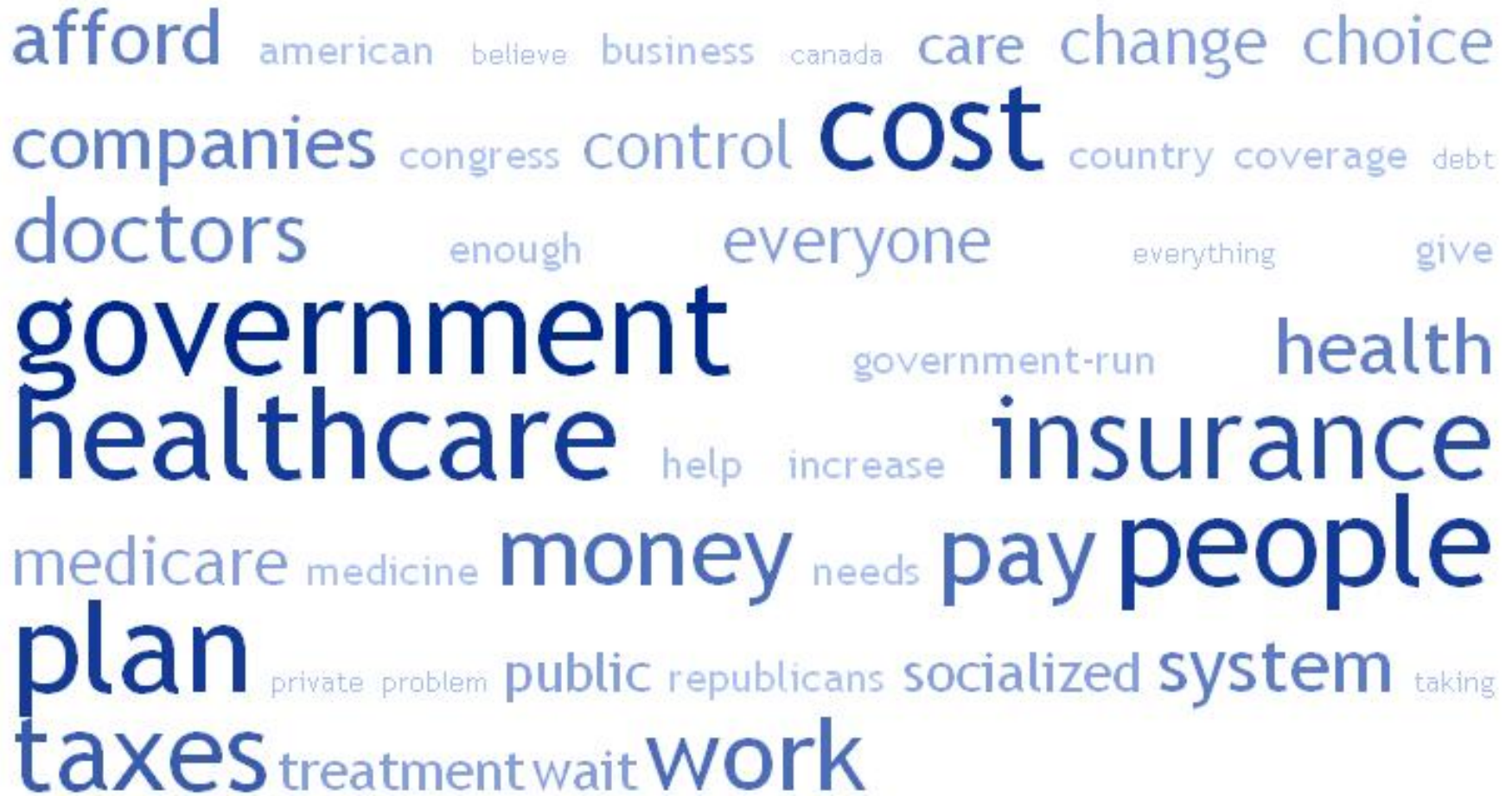
Open end: costs the biggest concern about proposal, takeover language hits

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



Open end: biggest concerns about the health care plan

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



The president's goals for health care reform

The voters see the president engaging, wanting to push Washington to make change and wanting equity and insurance for all.

Well, our current president wants universal health, some type of plan package. I mean that's one of the issues he ran on. – College Educated, 45-60 yr old woman in Chicago suburbs

Universal health care. Just from what I hear and how he talks he wants everyone to be covered. Its good if they're covered as long as I don't have to pay for it. – Woman, age 64-85, Philadelphia, PA

I put equal coverage across all income groups but higher taxes. – College Educated, 30-45 yr old man in Chicago suburbs

I think he wants to see how he can cover the most people at the lowest cost with what he thinks is quality health insurance. – Non-College Educated, 45-60 yr old man in Denver, CO

Get everyone covered. – Non-College Educated, 30-45 yr old woman in Denver, CO

The dialectics of employers dropping them

Voters are very concerned their insurance will change with reform, fear that their employers will drop them. Even though theoretically they still have the option of keeping their own insurance, they are concerned others *like their employers will make decisions that take away that choice* and force them to either change plans or pay more.

**I really suspect that there is a rather large faction of our school board that would say we don't need to pay for the great coverage; let them go sit in that pool. So how much would I have to pay extra to keep what I have now?
– *College Educated, 45-60 yr old woman in Chicago suburbs.***

It would help them; larger companies would go down to the least common denominator of what's offered. This is the new standard. – *College Educated, 30-45 yr old man in Chicago suburbs*

Insurance companies in control

Insurance companies having so much control over the system is a large piece of what is unacceptable and unsustainable. Voters feel that insurance companies have too much power and they are concerned that the insurance companies will continue to use that power to deny people the coverage they need, including their kids in the future.

I have pre-existing conditions and you cannot get insurance in this country if you have a pre-existing condition. That's why I have Cover Colorado. I could afford insurance with regular United Healthcare or Kaiser or wherever, but because I have a pre-existing condition, which millions of people in this country have, they will deny you in a heartbeat and so that's why you have to go somewhere else. – Non-College Educated, 45-60 yr old man in Denver, CO

I think the insurance companies need to have less power in the decision-making process. – College Educated, 45-60 yr old woman in Chicago suburbs

It's crazy. They are saying pay and pay and pay, and then when something happens, they don't want to pay. – Non-College Educated, 30-45 yr old woman in Denver, CO

I have concerns about having, I would love to see a nationalized health care because I have concerns about my son as he gets older being able to get health care with pre-existing conditions. – College Educated, 45-60 yr old woman in Chicago suburbs

The system generally from health insurance cherry picks the people that can afford it and then starts narrowing down classes of, well you're generally healthy until the point where you actually have some coverage, you have some claims or the stories and then they boot you out – College Educated, 30-45 yr old man in Chicago suburbs

Status quo unacceptable and unsustainable

Continuing because when you get laid off you have no options. I never, I hope to never be in that situation again because there's only a certain amount of time on the layoff that you get the insurance. When the insurance runs out you're just desperate at that point and there is a limit as to what you can get from the state so continuing in the direction we're going you end up with the people that, you know, you're not in a good position. You've got so many other things you need to worry about. It's just not, it's not right. I'd rather, I honestly would rather pay more taxes to make sure that when and if something happened and I couldn't work for whatever reason that I still have coverage, you know, other than I broke my arm and I'm going to the emergency room and I know that I'm going to get a charity case work. – *College Educated, 30-45 yr old man in Chicago suburbs*

Participants are more concerned about continuing in the direction we're on then going forward with reform.

I'm more afraid of the status quo because it's just getting worse and worse and worse. In absence of any other plan to save millions of people who are no longer insured, sure, if someone has a better plan. We know the status quo is not it because that's what is broken and that is what is causing the problem. – *Non-College Educated, 45-60 yr old man in Denver, CO*

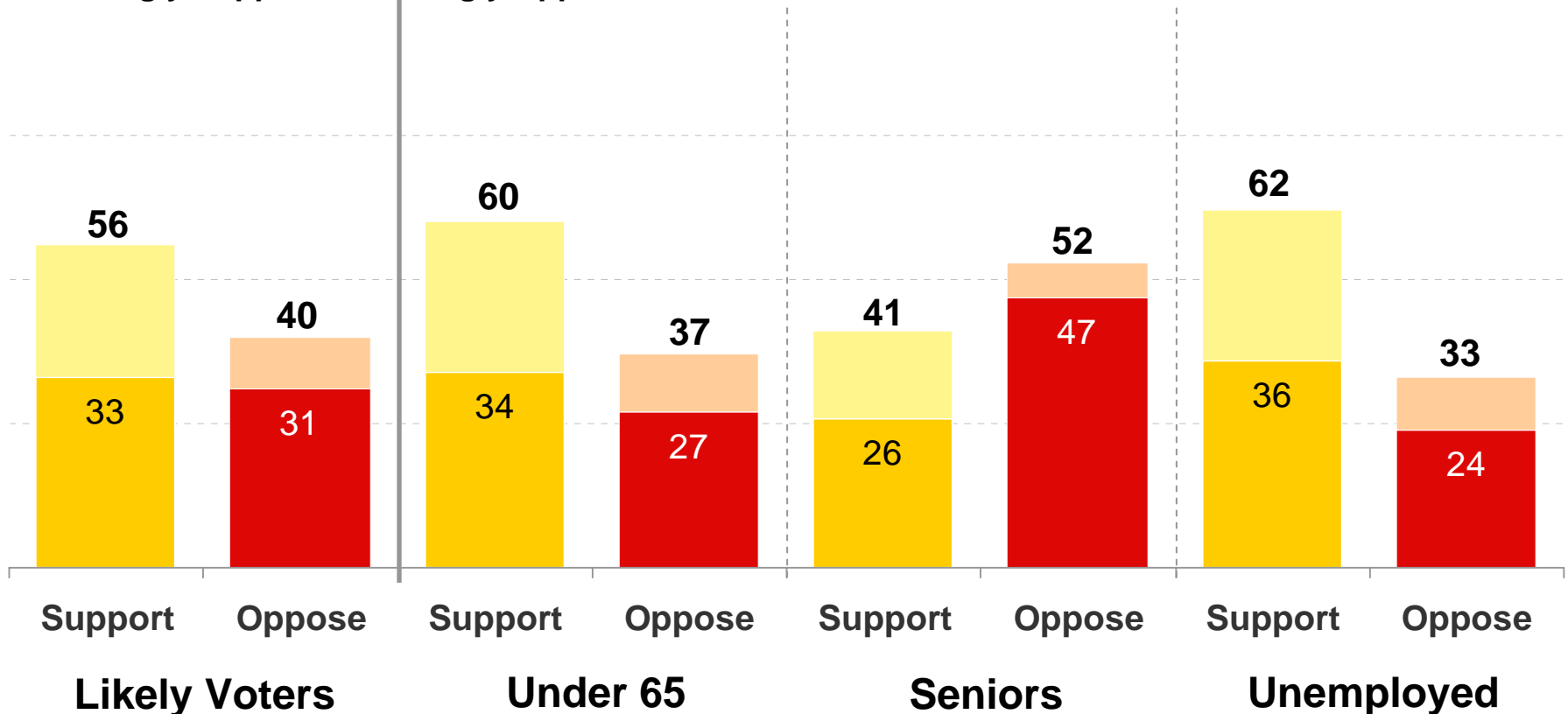
For one, it tells us we need to change. We need change for everybody. It's not just whether you are low income, middle income, high income, it needs to change for everybody. And that's why the status quo. You can say that this new program isn't the right program, but then tell me what is. Don't say staying the same is the answer, have an idea, have a thought. – *Non-College Educated, 45-60 yr old man in Denver, CO*

Debate over the public option

Choice of public option enjoys majority support

Now I'd like to read you some possible elements from Obama and the Democrats' health care plan. Please tell me if you support or oppose each of these elements... **Give all Americans the choice of joining a public health insurance option, run by the government**

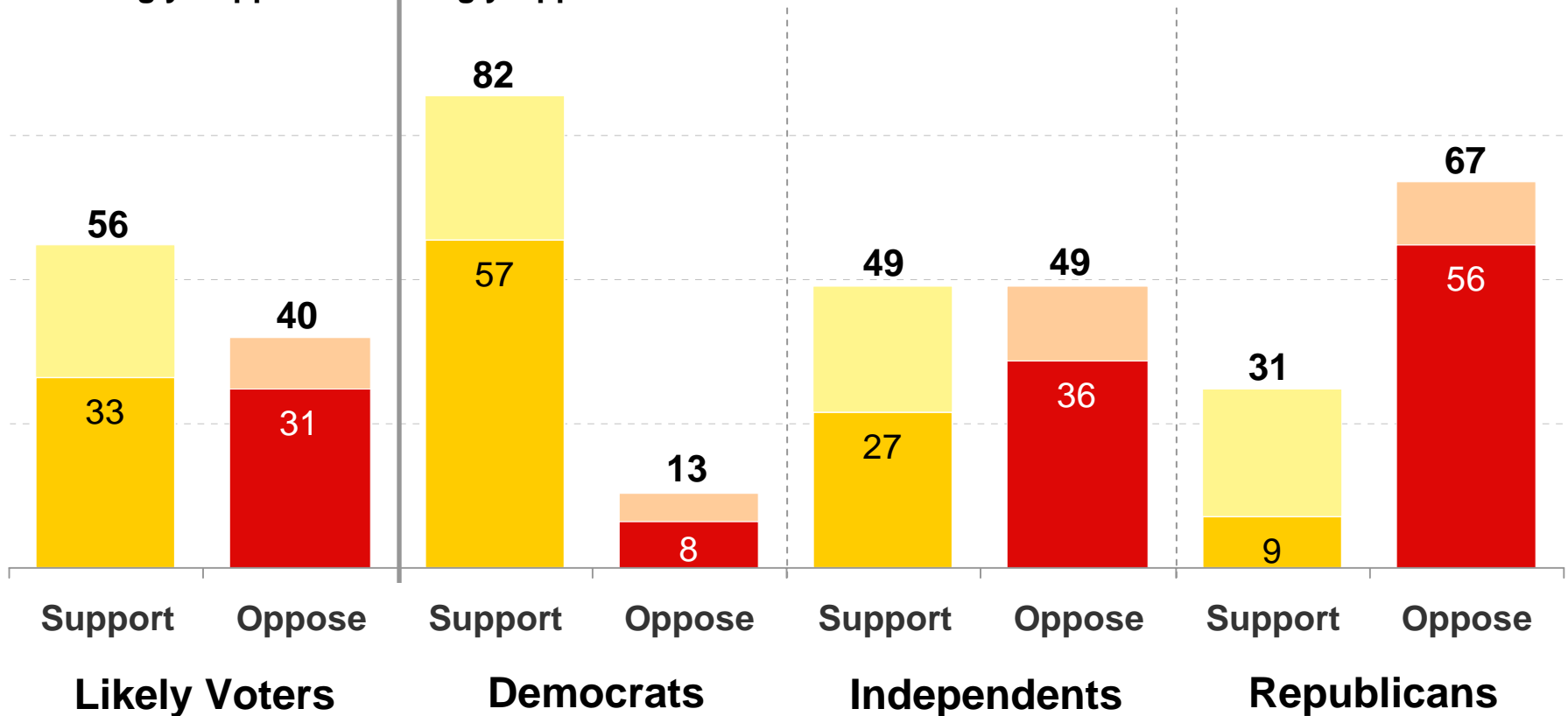
■ Strongly Support ■ Strongly Oppose



Independents split on public option

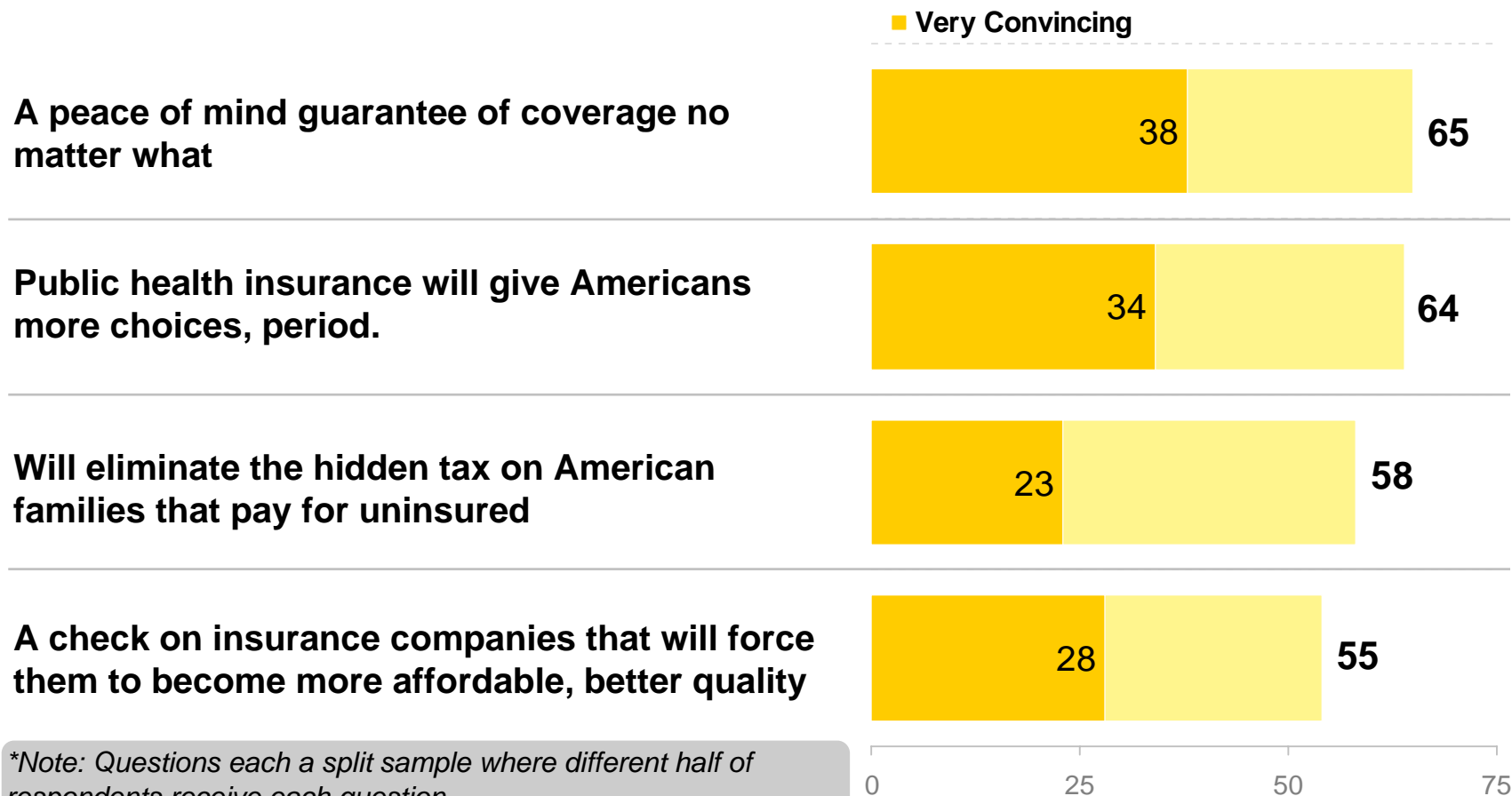
Now I'd like to read you some possible elements from Obama and the Democrats' health care plan. Please tell me if you support or oppose each of these elements... **Give all Americans the choice of joining a public health insurance option, run by the government**

■ Strongly Support ■ Strongly Oppose



Proponents' arguments for public health insurance option

One part of Obama and the Democrats' health care plan gives anyone the choice of joining a public health insurance option, run by the government. Now let me read you some statements that Obama and the Democrats may make about the public health insurance option. For each statement, please tell me how convincing a reason it is to support the public option -- is it a very convincing reason, a somewhat convincing reason, a little convincing, or not at all a convincing reason to support the public health insurance option.



**Note: Questions each a split sample where different half of respondents receive each question.*

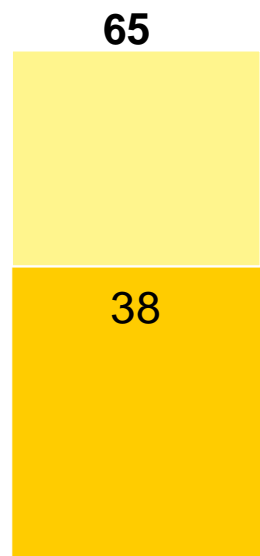
Arguments for the public health insurance option

Now let me read you some statements that Obama and the Democrats may make about the public health insurance option. For each statement, please tell me how convincing a reason it is to support the public option -- is it a very convincing reason, a somewhat convincing reason, a little convincing, or not at all a convincing reason to support the public health insurance option.

Can't lose coverage no matter what happens

Working Americans shouldn't lose their health care coverage if they get sick or lose their job. Having the public health insurance option 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

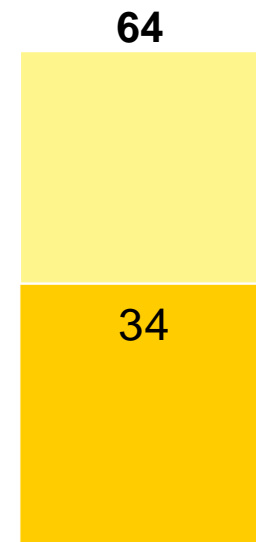


Total Convincing

Choice of doctor, plan with public option

This public health insurance option will give Americans 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 the public option. No one will ever be forced into a new plan or different doctor they don't want, period.

Very Convincing



Total Convincing

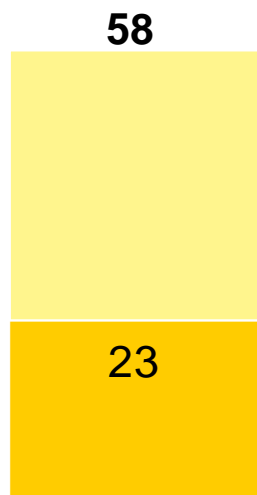
Arguments for the public health insurance option

Now let me read you some statements that Obama and the Democrats may make about the public health insurance option. For each statement, please tell me how convincing a reason it is to support the public option -- is it a very convincing reason, a somewhat convincing reason, a little convincing, or not at all a convincing reason to support the public health insurance option.

Eliminate hidden tax that pay for uninsured

According to an independent report, the average family pays a hidden tax of over 1,000 dollars a year in higher premiums to cover the millions of uninsured who get treatment, without paying for it, in emergency rooms. The public health insurance options will make sure all Americans have at least basic coverage, and thus eliminate this hidden-tax on American families.

Very Convincing

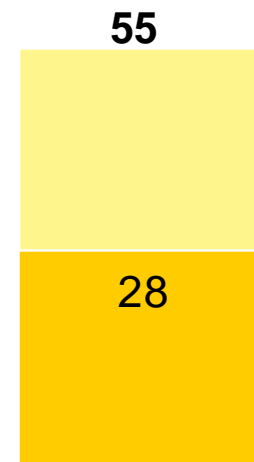


Total Convincing

Check on insurance co. costs and quality

This public health insurance option will act as a check on the insurance companies by making them compete on an even playing field against a plan that has a set of guaranteed benefits and doesn't waste money on overhead or marketing. More competition will force the private health insurance you have now to become more affordable and increase its quality.

Very Convincing



Total Convincing

Opponents' arguments against public health insurance option

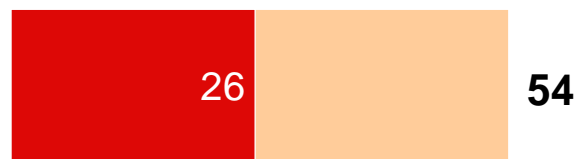
One part of Obama and the Democrats' health care plan gives anyone the choice of joining a public health insurance option, run by the government. Now let me read you some statements that Republicans may make about the public health insurance option. For each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubt in your own mind about the public health insurance option.

■ Very Serious Doubts

A government-run plan is the first step toward a government takeover of health care



Will add trillions to the deficit and raise taxes on the middle class



Public insurance will result in lower quality and increased costs due to gov't inefficiency, fraud



Government plan will have unfair advantage, will kill private health care in America



**Note: Questions each a split sample where different half of respondents receive each question.*



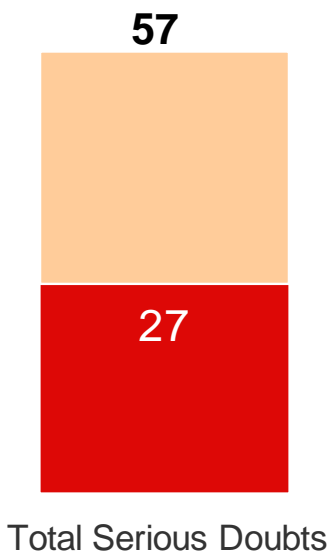
Arguments against Obama's health care plan

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First step toward gov't takeover of health care

The creation of a government-run health care plan is the first step toward a government takeover of health care and socialized medicine. That will mean Americans won't be able to choose their own doctor, politicians and bureaucrats will decide which treatments you can or can't have and patients will have to wait in line for weeks or months before getting the care they need.

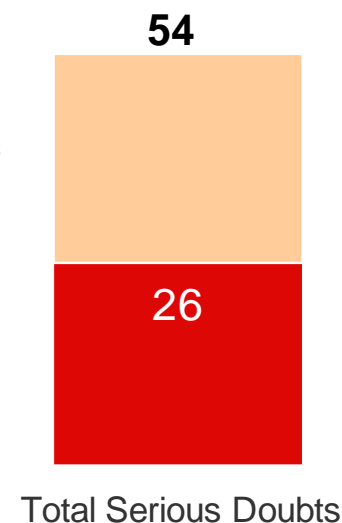
■ Very Serious Doubts



Add trillions to deficit, tax middle class

A government-run health care plan will add one trillion dollars to an already massive budget deficit and will require tax increases on the middle class at a time when they can least afford it. During this time of record deficits we simply cannot afford to spend so much money to fund a government-run health care program that requires higher taxes and will still put us into deeper debt.

■ Very Serious Doubts



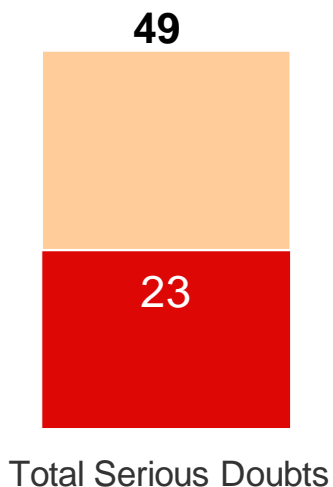
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Inefficient gov't will lower quality, raise cost

The government has never been able to run anything efficiently and cost effectively and health care will be no different. A public insurance plan run by the government will make going to the doctor like going to the DMV and will result in lower quality and increased costs due to the inefficiencies and fraud associated with every government-run program.

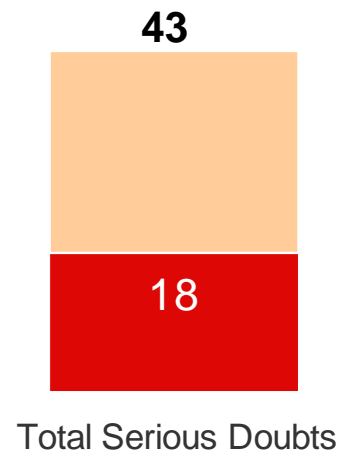
■ Very Serious Doubts



Unfair advantage, end private health care

A government-run plan will have an unfair advantage that will force private insurance companies out of the marketplace, eventually resulting in single-payer, government-run health care system. One independent study says that 120 million Americans who now get their coverage through their employer would switch to the government plan, effectively killing private health care in America.

■ Very Serious Doubts

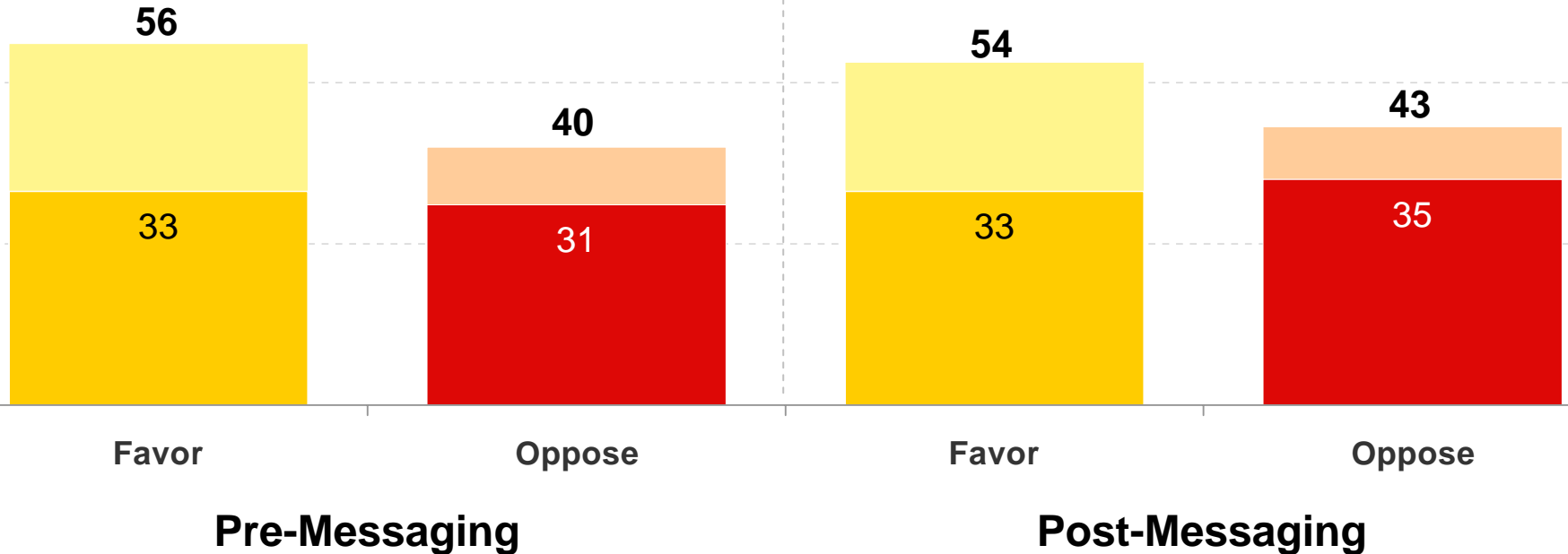


Public Option support holds up after attack

Now that you've heard more about the public option I'd like to ask you again, do you favor or oppose the part of Obama and the Democrats' health care plan that gives all Americans the choice of joining a public health insurance option, run by the government?

■ Strongly Favor ■ Strongly Oppose

Shift: -2



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