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N E W S Release

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FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, JULY 14, 1994, A.M.

The Public, Their Doctors, and Health Care Reform: Part II
**Gloomy Doctors and "Scared Public" Spurn Clinton Plan
But Favor Reform Principles**

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GLOOMY DOCTORS AND "SCARED PUBLIC" SPURN CLINTON PLAN BUT FAVOR REFORM PRINCIPLES

Over the past 12 months Americans and their physicians have been frightened by the health care reform debate, and have soured on the "Clinton plan". But both the public and medical doctors continue to strongly support universal coverage as the core element of the changes they seek in the nation's health care system.

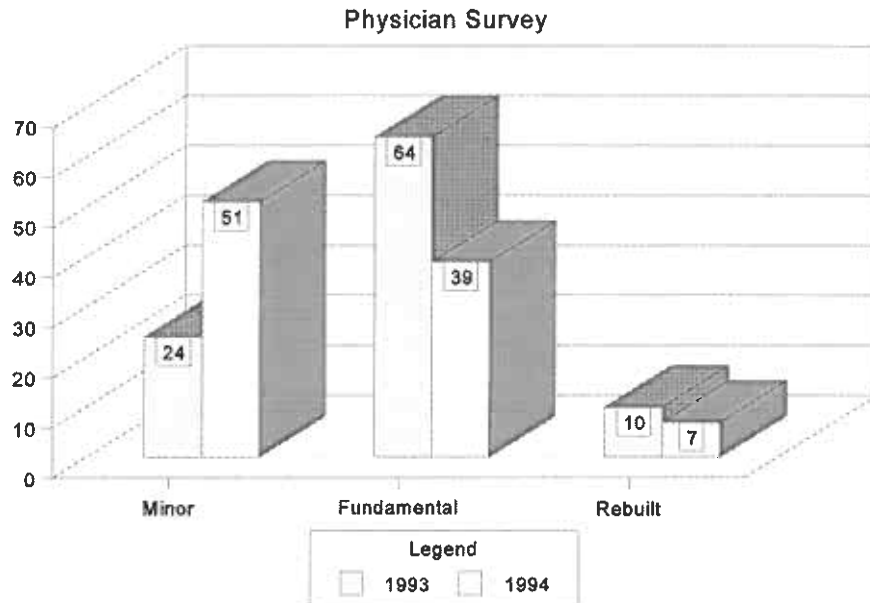
In a dramatic turnabout from a year ago, the new *Times Mirror Center* poll found most practicing physicians (51%) thinking that the country's health care system works pretty well, and requires only minor changes. Fewer thought fundamental changes are required (39%), and still fewer believed that the system should be completely rebuilt (7%). Last April, a 64% majority of a comparable physician sample thought the system needed fundamental change, while only one in four favored minor changes. The current poll only found extensive support for changes in the health care system among doctors who care for minority patients, psychiatrists, salaried physicians, women and primary care doctors.

While doctors have lowered their voices about how much health care reform the country really needs, they continue to think that universal access, and the millions of uninsured people in this country are the top problems facing U.S. medicine. The American public itself says that health care reform that fails to cover all of the uninsured as soon as possible is unacceptable. The public is also prepared to punish members of Congress who vote against reform in November. But paradoxically, the public and physicians express misgivings about employer mandates that would lead to universal coverage.

These are the findings of two recent nationwide telephone surveys that measured trends in opinion about health care reform among representative samples of practicing physicians and the public at large. The public poll of 1,021 adults found 49% opposing the Clinton health care reform plan and 32% favoring it - a complete reversal of figures obtained in a December *Times Mirror Center* survey.

The nation's doctors were even more opposed to the President's health care reform proposals. No fewer than 75% of the nationwide sample of 495 physicians expressed opposition, and only 18% supported the Clinton plan. In April 1993, a *Times Mirror Center* survey found 58% of doctors expressing a favorable opinion of managed competition, the conceptual basis for the health care reform proposals first announced by the Clinton administration last September. However, since last year doctors have changed their minds about how much health care reform the country needs.

Amount of Change Needed



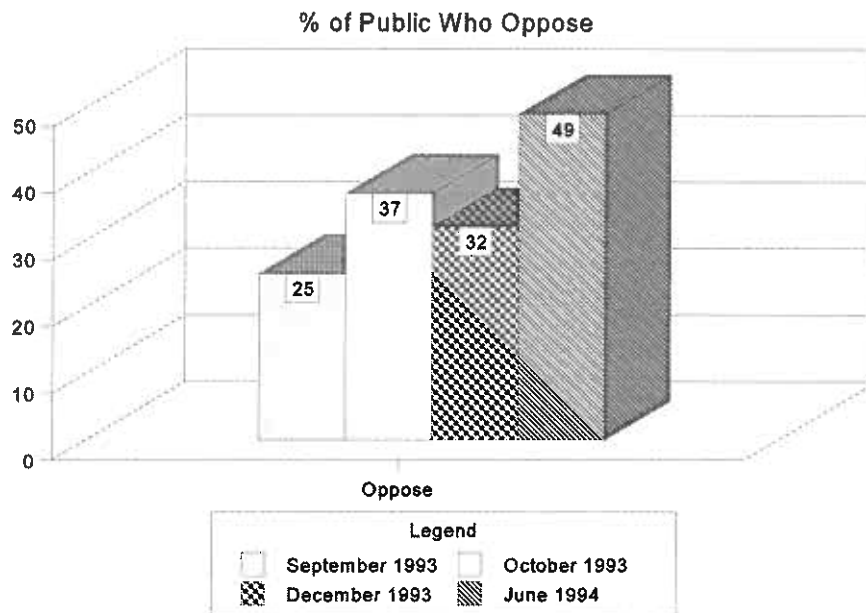
Physicians' Fears

The study found both doctors and their patients deeply worried about how the changes in the system being debated in Washington will affect them. Two in three doctors expect their income to go down over the course of the next five years. Nine in ten expect to have less freedom in how they practice medicine. Six in ten (62%) think there will be an increasing amount of paperwork in medicine, and about the same percentage expect that the health care they deliver to their patients will generally not be as good five years from now as it is today.

Interestingly, the poll found one in four doctors saying that their income has recently declined. However this percentage was greater among specialists (33%), upper income doctors (34%), and those in practice for many years. In contrast, 24% of the total sample said their income has increased recently. Primary care providers (37%), women (28%), members of minorities (33%) and younger doctors (34%) more often reported income gains.

The public is less pessimistic about the future than doctors, but on balance they are not optimistic. Concerns about the probable impact of health care reform have grown since Bill Clinton announced his proposals nine months ago. The percentage of Americans who think that they will have less freedom to choose their own doctor has increased from 45% in September, to 54% in December, to 58% in the current survey. Only 17% think they and their families will be better protected from the cost of a major illness based on what they have heard or read about health care reform, and a large majority expect that broad based federal taxes will be increased.

Growing Opposition To "Clinton Plan"



Universal Access, Yes - Employer Mandates, No

These worries notwithstanding, most Americans continue to strongly endorse the principles of reform that Bill Clinton has championed. No fewer than 76% of those polled by the Times Mirror Center favor changing the health care system so that it covers all medically necessary care. The survey also found that compromise proposals that would not cover all uninsured people for five to seven years were judged as unacceptable by a 52% to 39% majority of respondents.

Despite their dislike of the Clinton proposals, and more modest appetite for reform, most physicians give very high priority to covering the uninsured. The doctors polled by the Times Mirror Center most often named "lack of access" (23%) or the "problems of the uninsured" (26%) when asked about top health care problems facing the country today. Nearly six in ten (58%) rated providing health insurance coverage for those who cannot now afford it as a top health care reform priority. Only reducing the amount of paperwork in medicine (67%) and limiting malpractice suits (68%) were seen as more urgent problems by the representative sample of physicians.

As in Congress, beliefs about how to pay for health care reform conflicted with the objectives of change espoused. By a margin of 50% to 39% the public sample favored only requiring that employers give their employees an opportunity to buy insurance rather than requiring them to pay most of the cost of their workers' insurance. A CBS/NYT administration of this question to a nationally representative sample in March found a 44% to 42% margin of support for the employer mandate approach.

In the current poll, strong opposition to employer mandates comes from the expected quarters: Republicans, affluents, and members of the "Vocal Minority" who are generally

conservative. However, the survey only finds tepid support for the employer mandates from groups that could be expected to back such an approach: those earning less than \$30,000 per year, Democrats, and non-whites. (SEE TABLE ON pp. 23-24). Further analysis of the survey reveals that lower and middle income people who have followed health care reform news very closely are less supportive of the employer mandate than those who have not been so attentive.

On a head to head basis, physicians in the current survey favored giving individuals "the opportunity to purchase" as an approach over the employer mandate by a lopsided 62% to 25%. However, when doctors were asked to choose between four alternative approaches to health care reform, views about employer mandates were more equivocal. But the poll found little equivocation in physician opposition to a single payer approach, nor much enthusiasm for a voluntary plan that covers some, but not all citizens.

Six in ten of the doctors polled (61%) chose the "individual mandate" approach as their first or second choice for health care reform. Fewer, but still a significant number (52%) selected the "employer mandate" approach. In contrast, one in three doctors chose "single payer", and only a slightly larger number (44%) opted for a "voluntary" approach. More than four in ten physician respondents (43%) said the "single payer" was unacceptable to them. One in five also strongly rejected the "voluntary" approach.

Physicians' Preferences

<i>Method of Payment Preferred:</i>	<i>First Choice %</i>	<i>Second Choice %</i>	<i>Totally Unacceptable %</i>
Individual Mandate	28	33	8
Employer Mandate	27	25	16
Voluntary Plan	22	22	21
Single Payer	19	12	43

Women, salaried physicians, internists, psychiatrists and younger doctors expressed more support for the employer mandate approach. The individual approach was more often preferred by men, group fee for service physicians and surgeons. Single payer was named as a totally unacceptable approach by a plurality in all segments of the physician population, excepting psychiatrists. Of note, surgeons find single payer unacceptable (50%), despite the fact that one of their major specialty associations endorsed this approach.

But for all the opposition to single payer, the poll found a 53% majority favor giving people under 65 the option of choosing enrollment in Medicare as part of a national health plan.

Nonetheless, a strong fee for service orientation was apparent among the physicians polled. Doctors say that in their experience private fee-for-service insurance plans perform the best. Three-quarters of doctors say that such plans are best at enabling them to care for their patients in the most appropriate way (76%). Even among doctors who get a third or more of their patients from HMOs, two-thirds (67%) say private fee-for-service plans allow the most appropriate care.

A majority (54%) of physicians also believe that private fee-for-service plans are best at processing insurance claims in a timely fashion. On this measure, HMO doctors rate private fee-for-service (43%) and private managed care plans (37%) about evenly. Three-quarters of physicians say that private fee-for-service plans are best at providing fair and appropriate compensation (78%).

Punishing Congressional Obstructionists

The very peculiar nature of public attitudes on this issue is underscored by how respondents said they would respond at the polls this November should members of Congress take various positions on health care reform. Even though the public opposes the "Clinton plan", respondents were split on whether to reward (43%) or punish (43%) members should they vote for the President's approach. Opinion about other Congressional actions were more decisive. Those who are seen as opposing health care reform may suffer the wrath of the public.

While the public shows little enthusiasm for most specific approaches to health care reform, nearly six in ten respondents (59%) said they would vote against a member who opposed reform; only 26% said they would support such a member. In contrast, a 52% majority of voters are ready to vote for members who support an alternative reform proposal.

While response to members' support of the Clinton plan divided along expected partisan lines, pluralities of Republicans, Democrats and Independents all said they would vote for a member who favored an alternative health care plan. As many as 75% of Democrats, 59% of Independents and 42% of Republicans said they would vote against an obstructionist member.

Public intentions to take actions at the polls in November are more than matched by the amount of political activity and outreach on this issue reported by doctors. Individual physicians have been highly active politically on the issue of health care reform. Half (50%) have written or spoken to public officials about the issue; 47% have tried to influence the opinions of their patients; and one-third (31%) have contributed money to a political candidate or organization because of its position on health care reform.

One of the least active groups of doctors politically are those who support the Clinton plan. Of Clinton plan supporters 40% have contacted public officials, compared to 56% of physicians who oppose Clinton's approach. The contrast is even greater when it comes to trying to influence the views of patients: 23% of Clinton plan supporters have tried to do so, compared to 55% of Clinton's opponents.

A Full Package Preferred

While doctors and the public differ to some extent on who should pay for health care, there is almost universal concurrence as to what services should be included in the health care benefit package. With the exception of the cost of abortions which was opposed by a 68% to 26% margin of the public and favored by only a thin (52%) majority of physicians, supra majorities of both samples favored inclusion of long-term care, preventive services, psychological care and the cost of prescription drugs.

Reflecting their aspirations for a benefits package, most doctors continue to believe that as a nation we do not over spend on health care. Just 39% in the current poll held that view,

compared to 44% who expressed that opinion in 1993. Among the public there has been some erosion in the belief that the country spends too little (40% currently, down from 49%). However, only 38% of Americans think too much is spent on health care.

Physicians are divided over what medical practice reforms to accept for the sake of saving money on health care. A slight majority of physicians favor requiring patients to see a primary care doctor before they can see a specialist (56%), requiring the use of practice guidelines (54%), and placing government limits on private health insurance rates (52%). But physicians oppose price controls on doctor and hospital fees (68%) and not covering expensive medical treatments like transplants and hip replacements (63%). They overwhelmingly oppose putting more restrictions on patients' choice of doctors and hospitals (86%).

On a hotly-debated topic in the medical community, most physicians do not see increasing the number of primary care doctors relative to specialists as an important need. Only one in four (26%) believe that this should be a top priority of health care reform, down from 44% in April 1993. A large majority (79%) opposes having the federal government regulate the training of physicians in order to increase the number of primary care doctors. Interestingly, primary care physicians show an equal distaste for such government regulations (79% opposed).

Whom Do They Trust

Physicians have very little confidence in the political system to make wise recommendations about health care reform. Fewer than one in five physicians have confidence in the Clinton Administration (19%) or Congress (16%). Health insurance groups fare even worse, holding the confidence of only 11% of physicians.

On the other hand doctors have a great deal more confidence in medical associations to make wise decisions. The greatest number of doctors express confidence in their principle specialty association (85%), followed by their own state medical society (70%), and the AMA (56%).

Similarly, a greater percentage of the public has confidence in the American Medical Association (58%) than has confidence in the Clinton Administration (46%), the American Hospital Association (45%) or the Insurance Industry (22%). One measure of the Clinton administration's fall from grace in this area is that, unlike a few months ago, its confidence rating is not meaningfully higher than that of Congressional Republicans (42%) or Democrats (45%).

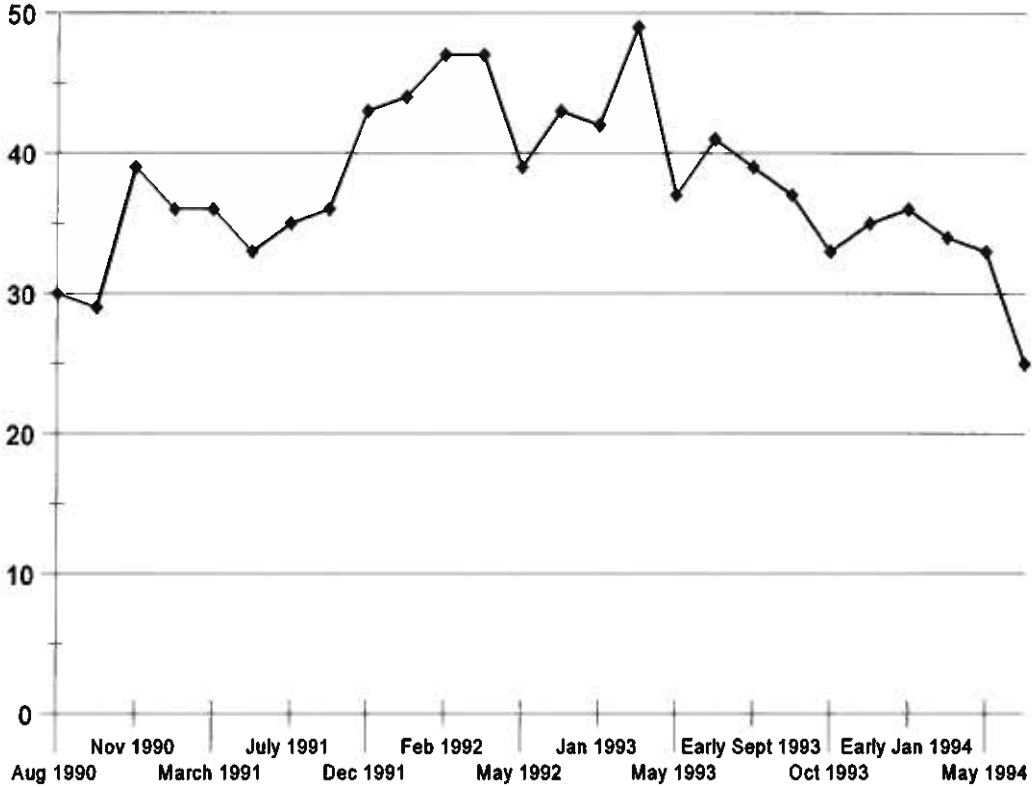
OTHER FINDINGS:

- * Respondents expressed somewhat less urgency than a year ago about most health care concerns. However, the top rated issues for Americans continue to center on future worries rather than present problems. The possibility of paying the cost of long-term care remains a major concern - 64% cited it as such, but down from 68% who saw it as such in April of 1993. Other top concerns that were somewhat less urgent than a year ago include: the possibility of losing insurance through job loss or change, (59% to 50% currently), and the possibility of employer cut-backs on health insurance benefits (53% to 42%).
- * Similarly the percentage of physicians naming each of eight possible goals as a top priority of health care reform has declined since 1993. In the 1994 survey, the three goals cited most often as a top priority are malpractice reform (68%), reducing the amount of paperwork (67%), and providing coverage for the uninsured (58%). The two lowest priority goals are limiting the overall annual increase in health care costs (24%) and increasing the number of primary care physicians relative to specialists (26%). Doctors in the panel-back portion of the sample who expressed less support for fundamental reform than they had a year ago also gave lower priority than they did when first polled in 1993 to discouraging overuse of the system and covering the uninsured.
- * Reflecting increased media coverage and the heightened intensity of the health care debate, one out of five Americans (20%) now identify health care as the most important problem facing the country today, up from 14% in March. Over the same period, the percentage citing crime fell from 31% to 22%, and the percentage of respondents mentioning economic issues continued to edge down.
- * But interest in news about OJ Simpson was far greater than news about health care reform . As many as 48% said they followed Simpson news very closely¹ and 29% fairly closely. Fewer followed news of health care reform (34%) or North Korea very closely (27%). For the first time since the summer of 1990, the percentage saying they are following economic news very closely fell below 30%.
- * Although confidence in the Clinton administration to make wise recommendations about health care has slipped sharply since March, Clinton's overall job rating (42% approve, 44% disapprove) is not markedly different from Times Mirror's previous measurement (46% to 42%).

¹ Interest in Simpson topped public attentiveness to all past celebrity or crime stories covered by TMC since 1986.

STORIES ABOUT U.S. ECONOMY

Percent Who Followed "Very Closely"



PHYSICIAN TABLES

Opinion of Clinton Health Care Reform Proposals

	<i>Favor</i>	<i>Oppose</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Total Physicians</i>	18	75	7 = 100	(495)
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	17	76	7 = 100	(427)
Female	22	70	8 = 100	(68)
<i>Race</i>				
White	17	76	7 = 100	(424)
Non-White	27	67	6 = 100	(69)
<i>Income</i>				
\$200,000 +	17	78	5 = 100	(125)
\$150,000-\$199,999	15	79	5 = 100	(98)
\$125,000-\$149,999	17	77	6 = 100	(95)
< \$125,000	23	66	10 = 100	(133)
<i>Affiliation</i>				
Unaffiliated	19	73	8 = 100	(194)
Affiliated (1/3 +)	24	71	5 = 100	(130)
HMO (1/3 +)	28	66	6 = 100	(99)
<i>Specialty</i>				
Primary Care	26	70	5 = 100	(143)
Specialists	13	79	8 = 100	(310)
Surgery	6	84	10 = 100	(51)
Psychiatry	33	49	19 = 100	(38)
Internal Medicine	16	71	13 = 100	(45)
<i>Years In Practice</i>				
5 or less	22	75	3 = 100	(88)
6-10	17	76	7 = 100	(91)
11-24	14	77	9 = 100	(195)
25 or more	21	71	8 = 100	(119)
<i>Type Of Practice</i>				
Solo Fee for Service	10	83	6 = 100	(141)
Group Fee for Service	16	78	6 = 100	(197)
Salaried	31	61	7 = 100	(163)
Rural Practice (most)	7	89	4 = 100	(67)

Question: *From what you have heard or read, do you favor or oppose the Clinton Administration's health care reform proposals?*

Beliefs About Amount of Change Required for Health Care

	<i>Only Minor Changes</i>		<i>Funda- mental Changes</i>		<i>Completely Rebuilt</i>	
	<i>1993</i>	<i>1994</i>	<i>1993</i>	<i>1994</i>	<i>1993</i>	<i>1994</i>
<i>Total Physicians</i>	24	51	64	39	10	7
<i>Sex</i>						
Male	27	54	61	35	11	7
Female	13	35	75	55	9	8
<i>Race</i>						
White	--	50	--	39	--	8
Non-White	--	55	--	39	--	7
<i>Income</i>						
\$200,000 +	33	58	57	35	8	5
\$150,000-\$199,999	22	60	69	36	8	4
\$125,000-\$149,999	19	52	66	38	13	7
< \$125,000	20	35	65	50	12	12
<i>Affiliation</i>						
Unaffiliated	15	45	69	43	14	7
Affiliated (1/3 +)	30	51	61	38	8	8
HMO (1/3 +)	26	51	65	38	9	8
<i>Specialty</i>						
Primary Care	20	41	63	49	14	6
Specialists	28	57	64	33	7	7
Surgery	30	59	64	32	4	3
Psychiatry	--	28	--	48	--	19
Internal Medicine	--	55	--	35	--	7
<i>Years In Practice</i>						
5 or less	23	45	70	47	6	6
6-10	25	54	63	30	10	14
11-24	24	52	63	39	9	6
25 or more	27	51	55	38	18	5
<i>Type Of Practice</i>						
Solo Fee for Service	25	61	62	27	10	7
Group Fee for Service	28	55	63	36	8	6
Salaried	17	36	69	52	14	10
Rural Practice (most)	21	51	59	45	19	3

Question: *Do You think the health care system in this country works pretty well and requires only minor changes, or do you think it needs fundamental changes, or do you think it needs to be completely rebuilt?*

Percent Rating Each as "Top Priority" For Health Care Reform

	<i>Health Ins. For Poor</i>	<i>Reduce Paperwork</i>	<i>Limit Malpractice</i>
<i>Total Physicians</i>	58	68	68
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	58	70	68
Female	60	60	67
<i>Race</i>			
White	58	65	65
Non-White	61	80	82
<i>Income</i>			
\$200,000 +	62	67	71
\$150,000-\$199,999	50	67	74
\$125,000-\$149,999	66	70	61
< \$125,000	61	69	63
<i>Affiliation</i>			
Unaffiliated	59	69	65
Affiliated (1/3 +)	55	67	72
HMO (1/3 +)	58	65	68
<i>Specialty</i>			
Primary Care	58	69	68
Specialists	56	67	70
Surgery	46	62	66
Psychiatry	78	69	60
Internal Medicine	61	64	77
<i>Years In Practice</i>			
5 or less	55	57	60
6-10	64	63	70
11-24	59	73	69
25 or more	55	75	73
<i>Type Of Practice</i>			
Solo Fee for Service	48	67	77
Group Fee for Service	59	70	67
Salaried	70	67	61
Rural Practice (most)	52	79	80

Health Care Reform Changing Priorities

	<i>Discourage Patients From Overusing The Health Care System</i>		<i>Increase the Number of Primary Care Doctors</i>	
	<i>1993</i>	<i>1994</i>	<i>1993</i>	<i>1994</i>
<i>Total Physicians</i>	58	39	44	26
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	58	40	42	25
Female	60	37	53	27
<i>Race</i>				
White	--	37	--	26
Non-White	--	54	--	25
<i>Income</i>				
\$200,000 +	60	44	34	25
\$150,000-\$199,999	56	33	44	18
\$125,000-\$149,999	60	54	37	37
< \$125,000	59	34	55	26
<i>Affiliation</i>				
Unaffiliated	53	40	49	22
Affiliated (1/3 +)	62	46	41	30
HMO (1/3 +)	65	46	36	29
<i>Specialty</i>				
Primary Care	57	48	64	41
Specialists	59	38	34	18
Surgery	57	29	28	17
Psychiatry	--	39	--	23
Internal Medicine	--	52	--	19
<i>Years In Practice</i>				
5 or less	62	48	45	28
6-10	56	36	51	28
11-24	61	39	35	23
25 or more	56	34	48	26
<i>Type Of Practice</i>				
Solo Fee for Service	60	37	45	23
Group Fee for Service	58	44	39	21
Salaried	56	36	47	31
Rural Practice (most)	72	48	56	38

Issues of Reform

	<i>Require Use of Practice Guidelines</i>		<i>Exclusion of Expensive Treatments</i>		<i>Require Patients To See Primary Care Doctor First</i>	
	<i>Favor</i>	<i>Oppose</i>	<i>Favor</i>	<i>Oppose</i>	<i>Favor</i>	<i>Oppose</i>
Total Physicians	54	43	33	63	56	43
Sex						
Male	55	42	34	62	54	44
Female	48	47	28	70	62	38
Race						
White	54	44	31	65	54	44
Non-White	54	41	45	54	68	32
Income						
\$200,000 +	57	40	33	64	52	48
\$150,000-\$199,999	48	52	39	58	49	49
\$125,000-\$149,999	53	45	27	71	63	36
< \$125,000	55	42	29	67	66	34
Affiliation						
Unaffiliated	57	41	33	64	57	42
Affiliated (1/3 +)	50	46	28	66	62	37
HMO (1/3 +)	50	46	27	67	67	33
Specialty						
Primary Care	50	46	36	59	79	18
Specialists	55	43	33	64	45	55
Surgery	59	40	31	69	46	55
Psychiatry	62	36	31	65	44	56
Internal Medicine	49	51	37	58	57	43
Years In Practice						
5 or less	51	49	34	65	56	44
6-10	50	48	37	62	63	36
11-24	57	38	30	64	55	44
25 or more	56	42	33	61	51	47
Type Of Practice						
Solo Fee for Service	44	53	31	63	53	46
Group Fee for Service	59	40	33	64	51	49
Salaried	59	39	36	61	67	32
Rural Practice (most)	54	44	30	66	56	42

Question: *Would you strongly favor, mostly favor, mostly oppose or strongly oppose each of the following proposals as a way to save money on health care costs?*

Issues of Reform

(Cont'd)

	<i><u>Government Limits On Cost Of Prescription Drugs</u></i>		<i><u>Government Limits On Doctors And Hospital Fees</u></i>		<i><u>Government Limits On Private Health Ins. Rates</u></i>	
	<i>Favor</i>	<i>Oppose</i>	<i>Favor</i>	<i>Oppose</i>	<i>Favor</i>	<i>Oppose</i>
<i>Total Physicians</i>	49	51	31	68	52	46
<i>Sex</i>						
Male	45	54	29	70	49	49
Female	63	37	40	59	64	33
<i>Race</i>						
White	45	55	29	70	50	48
Non-White	74	27	46	53	65	30
<i>Income</i>						
\$200,000 +	53	46	33	66	51	47
\$150,000-\$199,999	43	56	24	76	43	57
\$125,000-\$149,999	51	49	34	65	64	33
< \$125,000	56	43	38	61	60	38
<i>Affiliation</i>						
Unaffiliated	53	46	38	62	57	39
Affiliated (1/3 +)	52	48	31	67	55	44
HMO (1/3 +)	53	47	33	66	52	47
<i>Specialty</i>						
Primary Care	49	51	28	70	55	42
Specialists	47	53	30	70	49	50
Surgery	37	63	24	76	45	54
Psychiatry	63	37	42	58	70	30
Internal Medicine	57	43	33	67	46	52
<i>Years In Practice</i>						
5 or less	52	47	34	66	59	41
6-10	51	48	31	69	53	46
11-24	45	55	27	73	44	52
25 or more	48	52	35	63	57	41
<i>Type Of Practice</i>						
Solo Fee for Service	46	53	25	74	48	49
Group Fee for Service	41	57	25	74	47	52
Salaried	59	41	43	57	62	36
Rural Practice (most)	45	54	26	73	54	44

Confidence in Each to Make Wise Health Care Recommendations

	<i>Clinton Admin.</i>	<i>AMA</i>	<i>State Medical Society</i>	<i>Principal Specialty Assn.</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Total Physicians</i>	19	56	70	85	(495)
<i>Sex</i>					
Male	17	56	72	84	(427)
Female	30	55	64	89	(68)
<i>Race</i>					
White	20	53	69	84	(424)
Non-White	20	76	79	89	(69)
<i>Income</i>					
\$200,000 +	17	58	77	90	(125)
\$150,000-\$199,999	17	56	72	85	(98)
\$125,000-\$149,999	24	56	69	82	(95)
< \$125,000	25	56	64	83	(133)
<i>Affiliation</i>					
Unaffiliated	24	53	71	87	(194)
Affiliated (1/3 +)	23	58	69	87	(130)
HMO (1/3 +)	23	56	69	85	(99)
<i>Specialty</i>					
Primary Care	25	55	67	85	(143)
Specialists	14	58	74	85	(310)
Surgery	4	55	73	80	(51)
Psychiatry	43	48	67	78	(38)
Internal Medicine	19	52	76	87	(45)
<i>Years In Practice</i>					
5 or less	18	57	73	88	(88)
6-10	17	57	63	90	(91)
11-24	18	53	76	83	(195)
25 or more	24	61	66	81	(119)
<i>Type Of Practice</i>					
Solo Fee for Service	11	55	71	80	(141)
Group Fee for Service	14	59	75	87	(197)
Salaried	36	57	64	88	(163)
Rural Practice (most)	14	59	81	95	(67)

Choices of Health Care Plans

(First and Second Choices Combined)

	<i>Employer Mandate</i>	<i>Individual Mandate</i>	<i>Single Payer</i>	<i>Volun- tary</i>
<i>Total Physicians</i>	52	61	3	44
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	47	63	29	47
Female	70	52	38	31
<i>Race</i>				
White	50	63	29	44
Non-White	59	52	42	44
<i>Income</i>				
\$200,000 +	51	68	32	43
\$150,000-\$199,999	48	60	22	55
\$125,000-\$149,999	58	60	35	39
< \$125,000	54	59	38	37
<i>Affiliation</i>				
Unaffiliated	58	55	32	41
Affiliated (1/3 +)	57	61	28	36
HMO (1/3 +)	58	61	29	38
<i>Specialty</i>				
Primary Care	54	61	35	42
Specialists	50	64	28	46
Surgery	38	75	20	46
Psychiatry	61	51	52	32
Internal Medicine	60	63	33	40
<i>Years In Practice</i>				
5 or less	61	68	25	32
6-10	48	67	29	49
11-24	49	62	33	48
25 or more	50	50	35	46
<i>Type Of Practice</i>				
Solo Fee for Service	44	59	29	52
Group Fee for Service	50	72	25	48
Salaried	63	55	37	34
Rural Practice (most)	43	71	18	56

GENERAL PUBLIC TABLES

Percent Who Say The Health Care System Needs To Be "Completely Rebuilt"

	<i>April 1993</i>	<i>June 1994</i>	<i>% Point Change</i>
<i>Total Public</i>	56	37	-19
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	52	36	-16
Female	59	38	-21
<i>Race</i>			
White	54	35	-19
Non-white	67	50	-17
<i>Age</i>			
Under 30	53	38	-15
30-49	54	36	-18
50+	59	38	-21
<i>Education</i>			
College Grad.	36	24	-12
Some College	56	38	-18
High School Grad.	64	39	-25
< H.S. grad.	60	49	-11
<i>Family Income</i>			
\$100,000+	--	14	--
\$50,000-\$99,999	41	26	-15
\$30,000-\$49,999	55	35	-20
< \$30,000	63	46	-17
<i>Region</i>			
East	56	39	-17
Midwest	55	36	-19
South	56	37	-19
West	54	36	-18
<i>Community Size</i>			
Large City	56	38	-18
Suburb	54	32	-22
Small City/Town	--	41	--
Rural Area	--	35	--

Question: *Do you think the health care system in this country works pretty well and requires only minor changes, do you think it needs fundamental changes, or do you think it needs to be completely rebuilt?*

CONT.

CONT.

	<i>April 1993</i>	<i>June 1994</i>	<i>% Point Change</i>
<i>Party ID</i>			
Republican	41	22	-19
Democrat	70	46	-24
Independent	55	41	-14
<i>Past Vote</i>			
Bush	--	21	--
Clinton	--	49	--
Perot	--	30	--
Other	--	38	--
<i>Political Vocalization</i>			
Regular Listener			
To Talk Radio	--	35	--
Contacted Washington			
In Past 12 Months	--	34	--
Both	--	34	--
Neither	--	39	--
<i>Clinton Approval</i>			
Approve	61	43	-18
Disapprove	45	30	-15
Don't Know	57	41	-16

Favor/Oppose Clinton Health Care Plan

	<i>Favor Clinton Plan</i>		<i>Oppose Clinton Plan</i>	
	<i>Dec 93</i>	<i>June 94</i>	<i>Dec 93</i>	<i>June 94</i>
<i>Total Public</i>	49	32	32	49
<i>Sex</i>				
Male	49	31	35	51
Female	50	33	29	47
<i>Race</i>				
White	46	29	35	53
Non-white	71	54	12	23
<i>Age</i>				
Under 30	54	30	29	51
30-49	50	32	34	47
50+	46	34	31	49
<i>Education</i>				
College Grad.	46	33	38	51
Some College	48	31	38	51
High School Grad.	52	30	30	47
< H.S. grad.	51	38	21	45
<i>Family Income</i>				
\$100,000 +	--	25	--	73
\$50,000-\$99,999	41	31	44	51
\$30,000-\$49,999	55	32	32	48
< \$30,000	54	35	27	44
<i>Region</i>				
East	54	39	28	45
Midwest	48	33	36	50
South	50	32	29	48
West	45	24	38	52
<i>Community Size</i>				
Large City	--	38	--	43
Suburb	--	29	--	54
Small City/Town	--	28	--	51
Rural Area	--	32	--	50

Question: *From what you have heard or read, do you favor or oppose the Clinton Administration's health care reform proposals?*

CONT.

CONT.

	<i>Favor Clinton Plan</i>		<i>Oppose Clinton Plan</i>	
	<i>Dec 93</i>	<i>June 94</i>	<i>Dec 93</i>	<i>June 94</i>
<i>Party ID</i>				
Republican	27	14	53	76
Democrat	71	55	14	23
Independent	50	29	34	50
<i>Past Vote</i>				
Bush	21	7	62	81
Clinton	72	60	15	21
Perot	41	23	42	57
Other	50	26	25	50
<i>Political Vocalization</i>				
Regular Listener				
To Talk Radio	43	32	38	55
Contacted Washington				
In Past 12 Months	40	27	46	59
Both	35	25	53	67
Neither	53	33	28	44

Employer Mandates?

	<i>Employers Should Pay</i>	<i>Employers Should Make Available</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
<i>Total Public</i>	39	50	11 = 100
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	39	48	13 = 100
Female	38	53	9 = 100
<i>Race</i>			
White	37	52	11 = 100
Non-white	49	43	9 = 100
<i>Age</i>			
Under 30	42	56	2 = 100
30-49	44	45	11 = 100
50+	31	53	16 = 100
<i>Education</i>			
College Grad.	37	55	8 = 100
Some College	38	52	10 = 100
High School Grad.	39	48	13 = 100
< H.S. grad.	41	46	13 = 100
<i>Family Income</i>			
\$100,000 +	32	60	8 = 100
\$50,000-\$99,999	41	50	9 = 100
\$30,000-\$49,999	44	47	9 = 100
< \$30,000	38	50	12 = 100
<i>Region</i>			
East	39	48	13 = 100
Midwest	40	51	9 = 100
South	39	51	10 = 100
West	37	50	13 = 100
<i>Community Size</i>			
Large City	39	49	12 = 100
Suburb	41	52	7 = 100
Small City/Town	39	47	14 = 100
Rural Area	36	54	10 = 100
<i>Party ID</i>			
Republican	33	57	10 = 100
Democrat	44	45	11 = 100
Independent	40	49	11 = 100

Question:

Some people say that employers should be required to pay most of the costs of health insurance for all their workers. Other people say employers should only be required to offer their workers a chance to buy their own health insurance. Which comes closer to your view -- requiring employers to pay or just requiring employers to make available insurance that workers can pay for?

CONT.

CONT.

	<i>Employers Should Pay</i>	<i>Employers Should Make Available</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
<i>Past Vote</i>			
Bush	28	60	12 = 100
Clinton	48	43	9 = 100
Perot	36	46	18 = 100
Other	38	52	10 = 100
<i>Political Vocalization</i>			
Regular Listener			
To Talk Radio	30	62	8 = 100
Contacted Washington			
In Past 12 Months	33	53	14 = 100
Both	31	60	9 = 100
Neither	44	46	10 = 100
<i>Followed Health Care News</i>			
Very Closely	35	54	11 = 100
Not Very Closely	41	48	11 = 100
<i>Amount Of Change Needed</i>			
Minor Change	31	62	7 = 100
Fundamental Change	36	50	14 = 100
Completely Rebuild	49	41	10 = 100

Compromising on Universal Coverage: How Long Should We Wait Until Everyone Has Health Insurance?

	<i>5-7 Years An Acceptable Compromise</i>	<i>Cover All Immediately</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
Total Public	39	52	9 = 100
Sex			
Male	44	48	8 = 100
Female	35	56	9 = 100
Race			
White	41	50	9 = 100
Non-white	30	65	5 = 100
Age			
Under 30	43	51	6 = 100
30-49	42	50	8 = 100
50+	35	55	10 = 100
Education			
College Grad.	54	36	10 = 100
Some College	51	38	11 = 100
High School Grad.	28	66	6 = 100
< H.S. grad.	19	75	6 = 100
Family Income			
\$100,000 +	56	33	11 = 100
\$50,000-\$99,999	50	43	7 = 100
\$30,000-\$49,999	44	48	8 = 100
< \$30,000	33	60	7 = 100
Region			
East	43	52	5 = 100
Midwest	38	52	10 = 100
South	35	55	10 = 100
West	45	48	7 = 100
Community Size			
Large City	41	50	9 = 100
Suburb	44	46	10 = 100
Small City/Town	34	58	8 = 100
Rural Area	38	56	6 = 100

Question: *Some proposals would cover many of today's uninsured people, but would not cover all uninsured people for another 5 to 7 years. Would you accept this compromise in a health care reform bill, or would everyone have to be covered as soon as possible for you to support it?*

CONT.

CONT.

	<i>5-7 Years An Acceptable Compromise</i>	<i>Cover All Immediately</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>
<i>Party ID</i>			
Republican	45	43	12 = 100
Democrat	41	54	5 = 100
Independent	34	57	9 = 100
<i>Past Vote</i>			
Bush	46	41	13 = 100
Clinton	39	55	6 = 100
Perot	43	52	5 = 100
Other	34	57	9 = 100
<i>Political Vocalization</i>			
Regular Listener			
To Talk Radio	41	51	8 = 100
Contacted Washington			
In Past 12 Months	47	43	10 = 100
Both	47	41	12 = 100
Neither	36	56	8 = 100
<i>Have Health Insurance</i>			
Yes	41	51	8 = 100
No	30	62	8 = 100
<i>Amount of Change Needed</i>			
Minor	46	43	11 = 100
Fundamental	45	46	9 = 100
Completely Rebuild	30	65	5 = 100

HOLDING MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ACCOUNTABLE FOR VOTES ON HEALTH CARE REFORM

% WOULD VOTE FOR/AGAINST MEMBER OF CONGRESS WHO:

	<i>Supports Clinton Health Care Reform</i>		<i>Supports Other Major Health Care Reform</i>		<i>Opposes Major Health Care Reform</i>	
	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>
Total Public	43	43	52	19	26	60
Sex						
Male	42	47	53	19	29	59
Female	44	40	52	19	24	60
Race						
White	40	47	53	19	27	58
Non-white	64	22	49	22	20	68
Age						
Under 30	42	45	63	18	30	60
30-49	45	44	56	17	24	62
50+	42	42	43	23	26	55
Education						
College Grad.	46	43	55	13	23	60
Some College	46	42	51	18	23	64
High School Grad.	41	44	53	20	28	56
< H.S. grad.	40	46	50	29	31	53
Family Income						
\$100,000 +	29	62	53	20	40	41
\$50,000-\$99,999	43	49	59	18	25	66
\$30,000-\$49,999	45	44	49	17	25	64
< \$30,000	46	39	52	22	24	59
Region						
East	49	35	53	21	22	65
Midwest	40	47	47	25	28	58
South	43	45	56	16	27	56
West	41	45	53	15	27	60
Community Size						
Large City	48	41	53	18	22	65
Suburb	43	44	51	21	26	57
Small City/Town	42	43	54	18	28	56
Rural Area	38	48	53	20	32	55

CONT.

CONT.

% WOULD VOTE FOR/AGAINST MEMBER OF CONGRESS WHO:

	<i>Supports Clinton Health Care Reform</i>		<i>Supports Other Major Health Care Reform</i>		<i>Opposes Major Health Care Reform</i>	
	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>
<i>Party ID</i>						
Republican	18	71	45	23	39	42
Democrat	71	18	57	17	18	75
Independent	41	45	56	19	25	59
<i>Past Vote</i>						
Bush	12	76	38	28	42	39
Clinton	77	15	59	18	12	82
Perot	35	50	57	13	27	58
Other	35	46	56	14	28	52
<i>Political Vocalization</i>						
Regular Listener						
To Talk Radio	39	53	47	26	33	55
Contacted Washington						
In Past 12 Months	37	51	48	21	26	60
Both	32	60	34	36	36	52
Neither	46	39	54	18	25	59

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

ABOUT THE SURVEY

General Public

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,021 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period June 23-26, 1994. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Physicians

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a sample of 495 physicians from the general physician population (described in detail in the sample design) during the period June 9 - July 1, 1994. For results based on the total physician sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 5 percentage points.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

General Public

The sample for this survey is a random digit sample of telephone numbers selected from telephone exchanges in the continental United States. The random digit aspect of the sample is used to avoid "listing" bias and provides representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including not-yet-listed). The design of the sample ensures this representation by random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of their area code, telephone exchange, and bank number.

The telephone exchanges were selected with probabilities proportional to their size. The first eight digits of the sampled telephone numbers (area code, telephone exchange, bank number) were selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone households in the U.S. Estimates of the number of telephone households within each county are derived from 1990 Census data on residential telephone incidence that have been updated with state-level information on new telephone installations and county-level projections of the number of households. Only working banks of telephone numbers are selected. A working bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers containing three or more residential listings.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to control the release of sample to the field ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample.

At least three attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chances of making a contact with a potential respondent. All interview breakoffs and refusals were re-contacted at least once in order to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. In each contacted household, interviewers asked to speak with the "youngest male 18 or older who is at home". If there is no eligible man at home, interviewers asked to speak with "the oldest woman 18 or older who lives in the household". This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown empirically to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Non-response in telephone interview surveys produces some known biases in survey-derived estimates because participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to vary also on questions of substantive interest. In order to compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted in analysis.

The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (March 1992). This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of households with adults 18 or older, which are then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights. The analysis only included households in the continental United States that contain a telephone.

The weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters. After an optimum sample balancing solution is reached,

the weights were constrained to fall within the range of 1 to 5. This constraint is useful to ensure that individual respondents do not exert an inordinate effect on the survey's overall results.

PHYSICIAN SURVEY SAMPLE DESIGN

The Times Mirror Physician Survey comprises two types of samples, a reinterview sample of physicians who were first interviewed during March, 1993 (N=201) and a new random sample of physicians from the American Medical Association's list of physicians (N=294).

The random sample of physicians was designed to be representative of all physicians living in the continental U.S. The sample was randomly selected from the American Medical Association's list of physicians. The AMA list includes both AMA members and non-members and is updated weekly through surveys, weekly publication mailings, the postal service address correction service and over 2,000 other sources.

Physicians in the reinterview sample were originally part of a random sample of physicians drawn from the same AMA list described above. Attempts were made to recontact all of the physicians who were interviewed in 1993.

Each physician sampled for this survey was mailed an advance letter on Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press letterhead, signed by Andrew Kohut, Director of the Center. The letters were intended to introduce the survey to prospective respondents, describe the nature and purpose of the survey and encourage participation in the survey. The letters stressed the importance of the survey as a forum for expressing the opinions of doctors as work on the reform of health care begins, and further mentioned that the results of the survey would be released in newspapers, television and public forums.

Approximately one week after the letter was mailed, specially trained interviewers began calling the individual sample members to conduct the survey or set up an appointment to conduct the survey at a later date. Interviewers for this survey were experienced, executive interviewers specially trained to ensure their familiarity with the questionnaire and their professionalism in dealing with medical professionals of this level. In an effort to accommodate the busy schedules of most doctors, calls were made at various times of the day and on different days of the week. On the first telephone contact, respondents were encouraged to set up an appointment to complete the interview at a time most convenient for them. In addition, an 800 number was provided to allow the doctors to call in at any time and complete the interview. The interviewing was conducted from June 9, 1994 through July 1, 1994.

The final sample of physicians was weighted to bring the demographic characteristics of the sample into alignment with the characteristics of the AMA list of physicians. The data were weighted on age, sex and surgical vs. non-surgical specialty.

PHYSICIAN QUESTIONNAIRE

THE TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
PHYSICIAN SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
June 9 - July 1, 1994
N = 495

INTRODUCTORY FORM

**OPTIONAL INTRODUCTIONS:
FOR RECEPTIONIST/NURSE, ETC.:**

Hello, I am _____ calling from Princeton Survey Research Associates. We are conducting a survey of physicians for the Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press. I believe Dr. _____ received a letter a few days ago from Times Mirror telling him about the survey and that we would be calling. I would like to interview Dr. _____ now. The survey should only take about _____ minutes.

(IF NOW IS NOT A GOOD TIME, MAKE APPOINTMENT AND GO TO INTRO CLASSIFICATION QUESTIONS IF THIS PERSON IS KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT THE DOCTOR'S PRACTICE.)

FOR THE DOCTOR:

Hello, I am _____ calling from Princeton Survey Research Associates on behalf of the Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press. We are conducting a nationwide survey of physicians on issues related to the health care situation in this country today. We would very much like to include your views in this important survey. You should have received a letter a few days ago from Times Mirror which described the survey and told you that we would be calling. As we explained in the letter, all of your answers will be strictly confidential and will be used only with the combined responses of all physicians participating in the study. The survey should only take about _____ minutes of your time. May we begin? First...

(GO TO INTRO CLASSIFICATION QUESTIONS UNLESS THEY WERE ANSWERED ON A PREVIOUS CALL BY THE RECEPTIONIST/NURSE. IF CLASSIFICATION QUESTIONS WERE ANSWERED, GO TO Q1.)

INTRO CLASSIFICATION QUESTIONS: these probably could be answered by a receptionist or nurse if that would save some time and if it would help to figure out the HMO quota.

C1. Are you currently affiliated with an alternative health care delivery plan such as a Health Maintenance Organization (HMO), IPA, or Preferred Provider Organization (PPO)? (See definition sheet if need explanation.)

60 Yes
38 No
2 Don't know
100

IF YES TO C1:

C2. With what type of alternative health care delivery plan are you affiliated, an HMO, IPA, or PPO or more than one of these? (ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES)

66 HMO
33 IPA
65 PPO
13 Other
2 Don't know/NA
(N=292)

C3. Do you get one-third or more of your patients from Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs), IPAs, or Preferred Provider Organizations (PPOs)? (SEE DEFINITION SHEET IF NEED EXPLANATION.)

43 Yes
54 No
3 Don't know
100

NOW, FOR OUR FIRST QUESTION:

Q.1 Do you think the health care system in this country works pretty well and requires only minor changes, or do you think it needs fundamental changes, or do you think it needs to be completely rebuilt?

		<u>March 1993</u>
51	Only minor changes	24
39	Fundamental changes	64
7	Completely rebuilt	10
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>
100		100

Q.2 What do you think is the most significant health care problem facing the country today?

		<u>March 1993</u>
*	No problems	*
23	Availability of care/access to care	26
11	High cost for patients	26
26	Unsureds/availability of insurance	23
8	Threat/Cost of malpractice	11
4	Too much emphasis on nonproductive care	8
6	Paperwork/Administrative/Bureaucratic process	8
10	Cost of equipment and procedures	7
2	Unrealistic patient demands/expectations	5
4	Government involvement with medical issues	5
6	Private insurance coverage rules	4
5	Lack of responsibility for own health	3
2	Patient overuse/Abuse of the system	3
2	Non-medical involvement with medical issues	2
*	Drug costs/Pharmaceutical company profits	2
*	Increasing need for care	2
2	Decrease in primary care physicians	2
2	AIDS/HIV	*
1	Reimbursement from third party payers	*
1	Competition from managed care	*
1	Long term stability	*
*	Workload	*
*	Overuse/Abuse of emergency facilities	*
2	Miscellaneous other	7
1	Don't know/No answer	*
29	(NET) Cost	*
49	(NET) Availability	*

Q.3 What is the most difficult problem facing you in your practice today?

March 1993

23	Paperwork/Administrative/Bureaucratic process	27
18	Private insurance coverage rules	16
12	Reimbursement from third party payers	15
8	Threat/Cost of malpractice	10
8	Workload/Providing care/Healing people	9
7	Uninsured/Availability insurance	8
5	Government involvement with medical issues	6
3	High cost for patients	5
4	Long term stability of system	4
2	Non-medical involvement with medical issues	4
4	Competition from managed care	2
2	Lack of responsibility for own health	2
1	Unrealistic patient demands/expectations	2
2	Too much emphasis on non-productive care	2
*	Patient overuse/Abuse of system	1
1	Decrease in primary care physicians	*
1	Overuse/Abuse of emergency facilities	1
1	Increasing need for care	*
*	AIDS/HIV	*
4	Costs of equipment/Procedures	*
3	Availability of/Access to care	*
1	Drug costs/Pharmacy company profits	*
3	Miscellaneous other	4
5	No problems/Things work pretty well	6
4	Don't know/No answer	2
16	(NET) Cost	*
10	(NET) Availability	*

Q.5 Overall, as a nation do we spend too much, too little or the right amount on health care?

March 1993

39	Too much	44
5	Too little	7
48	Right amount	42
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>
100		100

Q.6 As I read from a list tell me whether or not you have confidence in the group that I name to make wise recommendations about health care reform. First... (READ AND ROTATE)

		<u>Have Confidence</u>	<u>Don't Have Confidence</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	The Clinton Administration ²	19	78	3
	March 1993	24	65	11
b.	The Congress	16	79	5
	March 1993	14	82	4
c.	The AMA			
	(American Medical Assn.)	56	39	5
	March 1993	62	35	3
d.	Your state medical society	70	25	5
e.	Your principal speciality association	85	13	2
f.	The AHA			
	(American Hospital Assn.)	36	52	12
	March 1993	41	51	8
g.	Insurance Groups like HIAA			
	(Health Insurance Assn. of America)	11	84	5
	March 1993	16	78	6

² In trend question was listed as "The White House task force on health care reform."

Q.7 As I read from a list, tell me if you think the item that I read should be a top priority of health care reform, important, but not a top priority, or not too important? (READ AND ROTATE)

	<u>Top Priority</u>	<u>Important But Not Priority</u>	<u>Not Too Important</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. Providing health insurance coverage for those who cannot now afford it	58	34	7	1
March 1993	62	33	4	1
b. Making routine or (non catastrophic) care more affordable	43	47	9	1
March 1993	46	42	10	2
c. Reducing the amount of paper work in medicine these days	67	29	4	0
March 1993	77	20	3	0
d. Limiting the overall annual increase in health care costs	24	58	16	2
March 1993	29	53	16	2
e. Making long term care more affordable	38	54	7	1
March 1993	42	50	6	2
f. Finding ways to discourage patients from over using the health care system	39	44	16	1
March 1993	58	34	8	*
g. Increasing the number of primary care physicians, relative to specialists	26	50	23	1
March 1993	44	42	13	1
h. Limiting the frequency of malpractice suits and the size of malpractice settlements	68	27	5	*
March 1993	74	23	2	1

Q.8 From what you have heard or read, do you favor or oppose the Clinton Administration's health care reform proposals?

18	Favor
75	Oppose
<u>7</u>	Not sure/Don't know
100	

NOW I AM GOING TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT YOU THINK IS LIKELY TO HAPPEN TO THE NATION'S HEALTH CARE SYSTEM FIVE YEARS FROM NOW AS A RESULT OF THE HEALTH CARE REFORM DEBATE.

Q.10 Five years from now, do you think physician incomes will increase or decrease or not be changed too much? Would this be by a little or by a lot?³

March 1993

1	Increase a lot	1
4	Increase a little	3
29	Decrease a little	40
32	Decrease a lot	32
31	Not changed too much	20
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>
100		100

Q.11 Five years from now, do you think physicians will have more freedom or less freedom to make treatment decisions that are in the best interest of their patients or won't that change?

March 1993

1	More freedom	2
89	Less freedom	82
9	No different	13
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>
100		100

³ In questions 10 through 13, "Five years from now" was added to current survey because of the introduction to the questions.

Q.12 Five years from now, do you think the quality of health care provided Americans will get better, get worse or not be changed?

March 1993

14	Better	17
59	Worse	51
25	Not be affected	26
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>
100		100

Q.13 Five years from now, do you think the amount of paper work in medicine will increase, decrease or remain about the same?

March 1993

62	Increase	44
13	Decrease	24
24	Remain same	28
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>
100		100

Q.14 Should the federal government regulate the training of physicians in order to increase the number of primary care doctors?

18	Yes
79	No
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Not sure
100	

Q.15 As part of a national health plan, should Americans under the age of 65 be able to choose only among private health insurance plans, or should they also have the option of choosing Medicare?

38	Only private insurance
53	Medicare option as well
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Not sure
100	

Q.16 In your experience, which one of these four types of insurance plans is best at enabling you to care for your patients in the way you think is most appropriate.

11 Private managed care (like HMOs)
6 Medicare
2 Medicaid
76 Private fee-for-service
2 All the same (VOL)
3 Not sure/Don't know/Refused (VOL)
100

Q.17 In your experience, which one of these four types of insurance plans is best in terms of timely processing of insurance claims?

19 Private managed care (like HMOs)
12 Medicare
2 Medicaid
54 Private fee-for-service
2 All the same (VOL)
11 Not sure/Don't know/Refused (VOL)
100

Q.18 In your experience, which one of these four types of insurance plans is best in terms of fair and appropriate compensation?

12 Private managed care (like HMOs)
3 Medicare
1 Medicaid
78 Private fee-for-service
1 All the same (VOL)
5 Not sure/Don't know/Refused (VOL)
100

Q.18a Some people say that employers should be required to pay most of the costs of health insurance for all their workers. Other people say employers should only be required to offer their workers a chance to buy their own health insurance. Which comes closer to your view -- requiring employers to pay or just requiring employers to make available insurance that workers can pay for?

25 Requiring employers to pay
62 Only requiring employers to make insurance available
13 Neither/Not sure/Don't know
100

Q.19 Would you strongly favor, mostly favor, mostly oppose or strongly oppose each of the following proposals as a way to save money on health care costs?

	<u>Strongly Favor</u>	<u>Mostly Favor</u>	<u>Mostly Oppose</u>	<u>Strongly Oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. Requiring physicians to use practice guidelines in their clinical decision making	16	38	22	21	3
b. Not covering certain expensive medical treatments like transplants and hip replacements	11	22	37	26	4
c. Requiring patients to see a family or primary care doctor before they can see a specialist	25	31	20	23	1
d. Putting more restrictions on patients' choice of doctors and hospitals	2	11	30	56	1
e. Placing government limits on the costs of prescription drugs	19	29	29	22	1
f. Placing government limits on the fees that can be charged by individual doctors and hospitals	6	25	29	39	1
g. Placing government limits on the rates that can be charged for private health insurance	16	36	21	25	2

I'M GOING TO TELL YOU SOME DIFFERENT WAYS TO PAY FOR UNIVERSAL HEALTH INSURANCE COVERAGE THAT HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED IN WASHINGTON AND ASK YOUR REACTION.

PROGRAMMER: ROTATE ORDER OF Q.20a, b, c and d)

Q.20a The (first/second/third/last) is called an "employer mandate" plan. Under this plan, all employers are required to offer health insurance to their workers. The employer pays a fixed amount of the health insurance costs, and the employee pays the rest. The employee is given a choice of private health insurance plans. Small businesses and low-income individuals are offered a subsidy to help them pay their health insurance bills.

What is your reaction to this approach? Are you...

16 Very Positive
45 Mostly Positive
22 Mostly Negative
16 Very Negative
1 Need to know more before saying (VOL)
* Don't know/Refused

100

Q.20b The (first/second/third/last) is called an "individual mandate" plan. Under this plan, the individual is required to buy his or her own private health insurance through their job, or to buy it themselves from an insurance broker. An employer might pay some of the health insurance costs of employees but is not required to. Low and moderate income Americans receive an income tax credit to help them pay for health insurance.

What is your reaction to this approach? Are you

17 Very Positive
46 Mostly Positive
25 Mostly Negative
12 Very Negative
* Need to know more before saying (VOL)
* Don't know/Refused

100

Q.20c The (first/second/third/last) is called the "single payer" plan. Under this plan, the individual pays a direct tax to the government and receives a health insurance card. As with Social Security, both individuals and businesses pay taxes to fund the program. Like Medicare for those over age 65, the government -- not the private insurance companies -- runs the system.

What is your reaction to this approach? Are you

13 Very Positive
18 Mostly Positive
24 Mostly Negative
45 Very Negative
* Need to know more before saying (VOL)
* Don't know/Refused
100

Q.20d The (first/second/third/last) is a voluntary plan. It would increase the number of people with health insurance but not cover everyone. Under this plan, no one is required to buy or provide health insurance, but the government helps low-income people buy health insurance and the employer may choose to contribute.

What is your reaction to this approach? Are you

11 Very Positive
35 Mostly Positive
36 Mostly Negative
16 Very Negative
2 Need to know more before saying (VOL)
* Don't know/Refused
100

Q.20e Which one of these four plans would be your first choice?

27 An "employer mandate" plan
28 An "individual mandate" plan
19 A "single payer" plan
22 A voluntary plan that covers some but not all Americans
4 None/not sure/Don't know
100

Q.20f Which one of these four plans would be your second choice?

- 25 An "employer mandate" plan
 - 33 An "individual mandate" plan
 - 12 A "single payer" plan
 - 22 A voluntary plan that covers some but not all Americans
 - 8 None/not sure/Don't know
- 100

Q.20g Which if any of these four plans would be totally unacceptable to you?

- 16 An "employer mandate" plan
 - 8 An "individual mandate" plan
 - 43 A "single payer" plan
 - 21 A less expensive plan that covers some but not all Americans
 - 12 None/not sure/Don't know
- 100

Q.20h Of these four plans, which do you think is most likely to be enacted?

- 32 An "employer mandate" plan
 - 21 An "individual mandate" plan
 - 11 A "single payer" plan
 - 18 A "voluntary" plan
 - 18 None/not sure/Don't know
- 100

Q.21 I'm going to read a list of services and procedures that might be included in a basic health benefit package if a new national health plan is approved. Please tell me after I read each one whether you think it should be included in the basic health benefits package or not.

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. Basic hospital and physician coverage	96	2	2
b. Long-term care	75	23	2
c. Abortions	52	43	5
d. Outpatient prescription drugs	69	28	3
e. Preventive services	93	6	1
f. Psychological or psychiatric counseling for mental health problems	80	18	2

Q.23 During the past six months, have you personally done any of the following things in connection with the health care reform issue?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. Written to or spoken with your Congressman or another public official	50	50	0
b. Written a letter to or called a newspaper or television station	14	86	*
c. Participated in a forum or town meeting regarding health care reform	33	67	0
d. Tried to influence the opinion of your patients	47	52	1
e. Joined or become more active in a physician organization or association	42	58	0
f. Joined or become more active in a community political action organization	15	85	0
g. Personally contributed money to a political candidate or organization because of its positions on health care reform	31	68	1

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Finally, I'd like to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

D1. CHECK RESPONDENT'S SEX:

81	Male
<u>19</u>	Female
100	

D2. YOUR AGE:

13	25-34 years
39	35-44 years
23	45-54 years
15	55-64 years
<u>10</u>	65+ years
100	

D3. What is your race? Are you white, black, or some other?

86	White
3	Black
11	Other
*	Don't know
<u>100</u>	

D4. Are you, yourself, of Hispanic origin or descent, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Spanish background?

5	Yes
94	No
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

D5. Is your total annual household income before taxes \$125,000 or more or is it less than \$125,000?

5	Less than \$75,000
11	\$75,000-\$99,999
13	\$100,000-\$124,999
17	\$125,000-\$149,999
19	\$150,000-\$199,999
25	\$200,000 and over
<u>10</u>	DON'T KNOW/REFUSED
100	

D5A. Did your annual income before taxes increase or decrease or not change too much? Was this by a little or by a lot?

7	Increase a lot
17	Increase a little
16	Decrease a little
12	Decrease a lot
41	Not changed too much
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

D6. Which of the following best describes your current type of practice? **(PLEASE CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.)**

- 28 Fee for service -- solo practice

- 30 Fee for service -- single-specialty partnership or group
 - 27 1-2 groups
 - 29 3-5 groups
 - 15 6-10 groups
 - 28 11 or more groups
 - 1 Don't know

- 11 Fee for service -- multi-specialty partnership or group
 - 29 1-10 groups
 - 32 11-75 groups
 - 18 76+ groups
 - 21 Don't know

- 3 Salaried employee of an HMO

- 11 Salaried hospital employee

- 12 Salaried employee of a university or medical school

- 5 Salaried employee of a state or local government

- 5 Salaried employee of the federal government

- 5 Other **(SPECIFY)**

- * Not sure/No answer

D7. Which of the following do you mainly consider yourself to be? **(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE)**

- 27 Primary care physician **(ASK D7A)**
- 66 Specialist or consultant **(ASK D7B)**
- 4 Educator **(SKIP TO D8)**
- 1 Health Care Association Professional **(SKIP TO D8)**
- 2 Other **(SPECIFY) (SKIP TO D8)**
- * No Answer **(DO NOT READ) (SKIP TO D8)**
- 100

D7a. What kind of primary care? **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY)**

- 32 Family practice
- 11 General practice
- 29 General internal medicine
- 19 Pediatrics
- 5 Emergency
- 4 Other **(SPECIFY)**
- 0 No answer
- 100

D7b. What kind of specialty? **(READ LIST IF NECESSARY)**

1	Allergy
8	Anesthesiology
2	Cardiovascular diseases
1	Critical care
3	Dermatology
2	Emergency Medicine
1	Endocrinology
2	Gastroenterology
1	Hematology
1	Infectious Diseases
1	Internal medicine-- non-general
*	Neonatal/Perinatal Medicine
*	Nephrology
3	Neurology
8	Obstetrics/Gynecology
*	Occupational Medicine
5	Oncology
3	Pathology
1	Physical Medicine
10	Psychiatry
*	Rheumatology
30	Surgery
1	Urology
7	Radiology
2	Pulmonology
6	Other (SPECIFY)
*	Don't know/no answer
<u>100</u>	

D8. Approximately how many years have you been in medical practice, not including the time you were an intern or resident? **(PLEASE ENTER A TWO-DIGIT NUMBER.)**

23	1-5 years
19	6-10 years
15	11-15 years
14	16-20 years
8	21-25 years
6	26-30 years
11	31-40 years
3	41 or more years
<u>1</u>	Don't know
100	

D9. How much if any of your practice is among patients living in rural areas? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-5)**

14	All or most
4	Three quarters (75%)
12	Half (50%)
15	One quarter (25%)
44	Less than a quarter
8	None (VOL)
<u>3</u>	No answer
100	

D10. How much if any of your practice is among patients of minority groups such as blacks and hispanics? **(READ CATEGORIES 1-5)**

6	All or most
6	Three quarters (75%)
19	Half (50%)
28	One quarter (25%)
37	Less than a quarter
1	None (VOL)
<u>3</u>	No answer
100	

D11. In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or Independent?

43	Republican
21	Democrat
33	Independent
1	Other
<u>2</u>	Don't know
100	

D12. Are you a member of the AMA (American Medical Association)?

52	Yes
48	No
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

D13. Are you a member of your state medical association?

68	Yes
32	No
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

D14. Are you a member of your principal specialty association?

91	Yes
8	No
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

GENERAL PUBLIC QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
HEALTH CARE OPINION SURVEY
GENERAL PUBLIC - FINAL TOPLINE
June 23 - 26, 1994
N = 1,021

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am _____ calling for Princeton Survey Research Associates from Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and TV stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President?

		May 1994	March 1994	Early Jan 1994	Early Jan 1994	Dec 1993	Oct 1993	Early Sept 1993	Early Sept 1993	Aug 1993	June 1993	May 1993	April 1993	Feb 1993
42	Approve	46	45	51	48	48	44	49	43	39	39	45	49	56
44	Disapprove	42	42	35	35	36	42	35	43	46	43	37	29	25
<u>14</u> 100	DK/Refused	<u>12</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>17</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100	<u>14</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100	<u>18</u> 100	<u>22</u> 100	<u>19</u> 100

SPLIT SAMPLE FOR Q.2

Form A

Q.2fa What do you think is the most important problem facing this COUNTRY today?

Form B

Q.2fb What do you think is the most important problem for the GOVERNMENT to deal with today?

TRENDS FOR "FORM A" ONLY:

Form B	Form A		March 1994	Dec 1993	Sept 1993	June 1993	April 1993	Jan 1992	May 1990	Jan 1989	April 1987
17	22	Crime/Gangs/Justice system	31	25	15	7	5	3	7	8	3
26	20	Health care (cost/accessibility)	14	14	12	11	13	3	3	1	*
6	12	Unemployment/Lack of Jobs	12	15	23	19	18	22	7	9	13
3	10	Morality/Ethics/Family Values	10	6	8	7	3	3	5	2	3
4	6	Drugs/Alcohol	10	8	5	5	4	4	37	23	6
6	5	Dissatisfaction with government/Politics	5	2	5	5	3	2	2	1	0
7	4	Deficit/National debt/Balanced budget	5	6	9	13	17	4	11	19	12

Q.2fa & Q.2fb con't ...

TRENDS FOR "FORM A" ONLY:

Form B	Form A		March 1994	Dec 1993	Sept 1993	June 1993	April 1993	Jan 1992	May 1990	Jan 1989	April 1987
2	4	Education	5	5	4	5	2	2	4	4	0
8	4	Economy (general)	4	6	9	17	18	43	5	4	7
2	1	Taxes	3	2	3	4	4	1	3	2	0
*	1	Racism	3	1	3	2	3	1	2	0	0
2	2	Homeless	3	5	2	5	2	6	8	10	*
1	2	Poverty	2	3	2	3	3	1	3	4	6
*	*	Inflation/Difference Between wages/Costs	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3
1	1	Too much foreign aid/ Spend money at home	2	1	*	2	2	1	3	1	0
*	1	Environment/Pollution	2	1	1	*	2	1	8	2	0
5	4	Welfare abuse	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1	2	AIDS	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
2	*	Issues related to elderly	1	1	*	2	2	1	2	2	0
1	*	Illegal Immigration	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1	*	Defense/Military	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
2	-	Fear of War	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
-	-	Other social issues	*	3	4	*	*	*	*	*	*
2	1	Other domestic	1	3	1	2	1	10	11	10	21
5	4	Other international	1	2	3	3	1	4	6	10	22
1	2	Other	1	*	2	4	8	1	5	9	1
4	5	Don't know/No Answer	4	6	4	2	4	3	1	3	3
24	22	ECONOMIC(NET)	26	33	47	53	58	76	26	28	35
3	4	POVERTY/ HOMELESS (NET)	6	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
6	4	DEFENSE/INTER- NATIONAL (NET)	2	*	4	*	*	*	*	*	*
(510)	(511)		(989)	(1474)	(2001)	(1507)	(1011)	(1220)	(3004)	(2048)	(4244)

Q.2a Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. **(READ AND ROTATE LIST)** How closely did you follow news stories about ... **(READ SCALE IF NECESSARY)?**

	Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. The civil war in Bosnia	12	28	37	22	1 = 100
May, 1994	18	37	26	18	1 = 100
January, 1994	12	31	32	25	* = 100
Early January, 1994	15	38	30	17	* = 100
December, 1993	15	32	31	21	1 = 100
October, 1993	16	36	30	17	1 = 100
September, 1993	15	32	32	20	1 = 100
Early September, 1993	17	38	26	19	* = 100
August, 1993	19	37	25	18	1 = 100
May, 1993	23	34	28	13	2 = 100
February, 1993	15	32	33	20	* = 100
January, 1993	15	33	30	22	* = 100
September, 1992	10	27	31	31	1 = 100
b. Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy	25	42	23	10	* = 100
May, 1994	33	40	16	10	1 = 100
January, 1994	34	39	16	10	1 = 100
Early January, 1994	36	44	13	7	* = 100
December, 1993	35	41	15	8	1 = 100
October, 1993	33	38	20	9	* = 100
September, 1993	37	40	14	8	1 = 100
Early September, 1993	39	39	14	9	* = 100
August, 1993	41	36	14	9	* = 100
May, 1993	37	38	18	6	1 = 100
February, 1993	49	36	10	5	* = 100
January, 1993	42	39	12	7	* = 100
September, 1992	43	37	13	6	* = 100
May, 1992	39	39	15	6	1 = 100
March, 1992	47	38	11	4	* = 100
February, 1992	47	37	10	6	* = 100
January, 1992	44	40	11	5	* = 100
October, 1991	36	38	16	9	1 = 100

Q.2a con't ...

	Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	<u>DK</u>
c. The Clinton Admin.'s health care reform proposals	34	40	19	7	*=100
May, 1994	37	37	16	9	1=100
January, 1994	38	38	15	9	*=100
Early January, 1994	40	40	14	6	*=100
December, 1993	45	35	12	7	1=100
October, 1993	44	32	17	6	1=100
September, 1993	49	34	11	6	*=100
August, 1993 ⁴	27	32	25	15	1=100
June, 1993	28	38	19	15	*=100
May, 1993	30	30	25	14	1=100
d. The arrest of O.J. Simpson for the alleged murder of his former wife and a male companion	48	29	16	6	1=100
e. Reports about N. Korea's building of nuclear weapons and refusal to allow UN inspections	27	33	26	14	*=100

NEXT I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT HEALTH CARE....

Q.3 Do you think the health care system in this country works pretty well and requires only minor changes, do you think it needs fundamental changes, or do you think it needs to be completely rebuilt?

	<u>Jan</u> <u>1994</u>	<u>April</u> <u>1993</u>
28 Only minor changes	21	15
32 Fundamental changes	33	26
37 Completely rebuilt	42	55
<u>3</u> 100 Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100

⁴ In previous months story was listed as "Reports about the White House task force on health care reform headed by Hillary Clinton.

Q.4 From what you have heard or read, do you favor or oppose the Clinton Administration's health care reform proposals?

		<u>Dec</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1993</u>
32	Favor	49	41	53
49	Oppose	32	37	25
<u>19</u> 100	Not sure/Don't know	<u>19</u> 100	<u>22</u> 100	<u>22</u> 100

Q.5 All other things being equal, would you be likely to vote FOR or AGAINST a member of Congress who did each of the following...? **(READ ITEMS, IN ORDER)**

		<u>Vote</u> <u>For</u>	<u>Vote</u> <u>Against</u>	<u>Won't</u> <u>Affect</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	Supported the Clinton health care reform plan	43	43	5	9
	Newsweek - June 1994	43	41	5	11
b.	Supported other major health care reform	52	19	6	23
	Newsweek - June 1994	52	17	9	22
c.	Opposed major health care reform	26	59	5	10
	Newsweek - June 1994	27	53	6	14

Q.6 What is the most difficult health care problem facing you and your family today?

	<u>April 1993</u>
30 Have no health care problems/None	34
22 Cost of health care/Can't pay for it	24
25 NET: Insurance (responses marked with **)	17
12 **Cost of insurance/High premiums	8
11 **Availability of insurance	6
6 Other specific health care needs	4
4 Aging/Health problems associated with age	4
* Cancer	3
2 **Insurance (general)	3
4 Availability of health care	2
3 Drug costs/Rising cost of RX drugs	2
* Heart disease	2
1 Long term care/Nursing home care	1
* AIDS/HIV/Fear of AIDS	1
2 Medicare/Medicaid policies	1
1 Children's health/Care for children	1
1 Docotr's greed/Overbilling/Overcharging	*
1 Paperwork/Forms/Bureaucracy	*
1 Clinton's plans/Don't trust government	*
1 Other	2
5 Don't know/No Answer	7

Q.7 As I read from a list, tell me whether or not the item I read is a major problem for you and your family. First.....(**READ AND ROTATE**) (is this a major problem for you or not a major problem?)

	<u>Major Problem</u>	<u>Not a Major Problem</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Paying for the cost of routine medical care	32	67	1 = 100
April 1993	40	60	* = 100
b. Paying the cost of a major illness	51	47	2 = 100
April 1993	63	36	1 = 100
c. The possibility of paying the cost of long term care in a nursing home for you or a member of your family	64	32	4 = 100
April 1993	68	29	3 = 100
d. The possibility that your employer may cut back on health care benefits and/or make you pay a larger share of the costs	42	52	6 = 100
April 1993	53	42	5 = 100
e. The quality of the medical care available in your community	13	85	2 = 100
April 1993	23	75	2 = 100
f. The quality of hospital care in your community	15	83	2 = 100
April 1993	23	75	2 = 100
g. The possibility that you might lose your insurance if you lose or change jobs	50	46	4 = 100
April 1993	59	37	4 = 100

Q.8 Thinking about the country as a whole, do you think we spend too much, too little or the right amount on health care?

	<u>April 1993</u>
38 Too much	36
40 Too little	49
13 Right amount	8
<u>9</u> Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>
100	100

Q.9 Generally, do you think Bill Clinton will be successful or unsuccessful in getting a health care reform program enacted by Congress?

		<u>Dec</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1993</u>
42	Successful	55	59
50	Unsuccessful	32	25
<u>8</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>13</u> 100	<u>16</u> 100

Q.10 Do you favor or oppose changing the health care system in this country so that all Americans have health insurance that covers all medically necessary care?

		<u>April</u> <u>1993</u>
76	Favor	83
19	Oppose	13
<u>5</u> 100	Don't know	<u>4</u> 100

Q.11 As I read from a list tell me whether or not you have confidence in the group that I name to make wise recommendations about health care reform. First... (READ AND ROTATE)

		Have <u>Confidence</u>	Don't Have <u>Confidence</u>	Don't <u>Know</u>
a.	The Clinton Administration	46	48	6=100
	March 1994 ⁵	52	43	5=100
	April 1993 ⁶	55	33	12=100
b1.	The Democrats in Congress	45	44	12=100
	March 1994	47	43	10=100
b2.	The Republicans in Congress	42	47	11=100
	March 1994	43	47	10=100
c.	The American Medical Association	58	32	10=100
	March 1994	53	36	11=100
	April 1993	53	40	7=100
d.	American Hospital Association	45	38	17=100
	April 1993	42	43	15=100
e.	Insurance Companies	22	71	7=100
	March 1994	26	65	6=100
	April 1993	22	74	4=100

Q.12 From what you have heard or read about health care reform, do you think that federal income taxes or other taxes that affect everyone will have to be increased to pay for health care reform, or do you think that we will be able to pay for health care reform without a general tax increase?⁷

		Sept <u>1993</u>
67	Will have to tax	74
28	Will not	18
<u>5</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u> 100

⁵ Question stated as "President Clinton".

⁶ Question stated as "The White House task force on health care reform".

⁷ In questions 12 through 14, "health care reform" was used in current survey rather than "Clinton plan" which was used in trend survey(s).

Q.13 From what you have heard or read about health care reform, will you and your family be protected from paying the cost of a major illness better than you are now protected, not as well as you are now protected or about as well as you are now protected?

		<u>Dec</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1993</u>
17	Better	14	17
24	Not as well	28	23
49	About as Well	43	45
<u>10</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>15</u> 100	<u>15</u> 100

Q.14 From what you have heard or read about health care reform, do you think you will you have as much freedom to choose your doctor as you now have or will you have less freedom?

		<u>Dec</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Sept</u> <u>1993</u>
33	As much freedom	32	42
58	Less freedom	54	45
<u>9</u> 100	Don't know/Refused	<u>14</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100

Q.15 Some people say that employers should be required to pay most of the costs of health insurance for all their workers. Other people say employers should only be required to offer their workers a chance to buy their own health insurance. Which comes closer to your view -- requiring employers to pay or just requiring employers to make available insurance that workers can pay for?

		New York Times <u>March 1994</u>
39	Requiring employers to pay	44
50	Only requiring employers to make insurance available	42
0	Depends (VOL)	10
<u>11</u> 100	Neither/Not sure/Don't know	<u>5</u> 100

Q.16 I'm going to read a list of services and procedures that might be included in a basic health benefit package if a new national health plan is approved. Please tell me after I read each one whether you think it should be included in the basic health benefits package or not **(READ AND ROTATE)**

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. Basic hospital and physician coverage	95	4	1
b. Long-term care	85	10	5
c. Abortions	26	68	6
d. The cost of Prescription drugs	78	19	3
e. Preventive services, such as routine checkups	85	13	2
f. Psychological or psychiatric counseling	68	27	5

Congress and the Clinton Administration are also examining compromises that would make their health care reform proposals affordable. I would like your opinion about some of these compromises.

Q.17 Some proposals would cover many of today's uninsured people, but would not cover all uninsured people for another 5 to 7 years. Would you accept this compromise in a health care reform bill, OR would everyone have to be covered as soon as possible for you to support it?

39 Acceptable compromise

52 No, cover everyone as soon as possible

9 Don't know/No response

100

Q.18 Some proposals would reform the health care system so that people cannot be dropped by insurance companies -- or refused coverage -- because of pre-existing conditions. Otherwise, the health insurance system would work the way it does today. Would you accept this compromise that would help some uninsured people get coverage, but would not guarantee basic coverage for everyone?

43 Acceptable compromise

50 No, would not

$\frac{7}{100}$ Don't know/no response

Q.19 Are you, yourself, now covered by any form of health insurance or health plan, including Medicare or Medicaid?

86 Yes

14 No -- GO TO Q.21

$\frac{*}{100}$ Don't know -- GO TO Q.21

Q.20 Is your health insurance an HMO or some other kind of managed care plan that limits your choice of doctors and hospitals to those that are part of the plan?

43 Yes

55 No

$\frac{2}{100}$ Don't know/refused

Q.21 In the 1992 Presidential election, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? (IF VOTED: Who did you vote for?)

25 Bush

33 Clinton

8 Perot

3 Voted, don't remember for whom

26 Did not vote

$\frac{5}{100}$ No answer/Refused

Q. 22 How often, if ever, do you listen to radio shows that invite listeners to call in to discuss current events, public issues and politics: regularly, sometimes, rarely or never?

22 Regularly

27 Sometimes

25 Rarely

26 Never

100

Q.23 Have you ever called, or sent or faxed a letter to your Congressional representative or Senator to express your opinion on an issue?

44 Yes

56 No -- **SKIP TO DEMOGRAPHICS**

* Don't know/Refused -- **SKIP TO DEMOGRAPHICS**

100

Q.24 Have you ever called or sent or faxed a letter to your Congressional representative or Senator to express your opinion on an issue just in the past 12 months?

59 Yes

41 No

* Don't know/Refused

100