# PewResearchCenter 

# As Health Care Law Proceeds, Opposition and Uncertainty Persist 

## A Pew Research Center/USA TODAY Survey

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE \& THE PRESS

Michael Dimock
Director
Carroll Doherty
Associate Director
Jocelyn Kiley
Senior Researcher

1615 L St, N.W., Suite 700
Washington, D.C. 20036
Tel (202) 419-4372
Fax (202) 419-4399
www.people-press.org

## One-in-Four Backs Efforts to Make the Law Fail

## As Health Care Law Proceeds, Opposition and Uncertainty Persist

As a key step in the implementation of the Affordable Care Act approaches, public views of the 2010 health care law are as negative as ever, and many are unaware of the elements of the law that will be going into place. While opposition to the law runs deep, critics are divided over whether the effort should be to make the law work as well as possible or to make it fail.

With health insurance exchanges set to open on Oct. 1, the latest national survey by the Pew Research Center and USA TODAY, conducted Sept. 4-8 among 1,506 adults, finds that $53 \%$ of Americans disapprove of the law while $42 \%$ approve. Overall approval of the Affordable Care Act (ACA) ticked up last July in the wake of the Supreme Court's decision to uphold most of the law ( $47 \%$ approved, $43 \%$
disapproved), but opinions

Opponents of Health Care Law Divided over Next Steps
View of 2010 health care law


PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY Sept. 4-8, 2013. are now as negative as they have been any point since the bill's passage.

The $53 \%$ of the public who disapprove of the law are divided over what they would like elected officials who oppose the law to do now that the law has begun to take effect. About half of disapprovers ( $27 \%$ of the public overall) say these lawmakers "should do what they can to make the law work as well as possible," but nearly as many ( $23 \%$ of the public) say these officials "should do what they can to make the law fail."

This strategic question is a particular point of conflict within the Republican Party.
Overall, just $13 \%$ of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents approve of the law while $85 \%$ disapprove.
Fewer than half of all
Republicans and Republican leaners (43\%) want elected officials who oppose the law to do what they can to make it fail; $37 \%$ say they should try to make it work as well as possible.

However, $64 \%$ of Tea Party Republicans oppose the law and want elected officials to do what they can to make it

## Tea Party Republicans Want Law's Opponents to Do What They Can to Make it Fail

|  | Rep/Rep lean <br> Rep/ |  |  |  |  | Tea <br> Rarty |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Not |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Tea |  |  |  |  |  |  |$\quad$| Dem/ |
| :---: |
| Dem lean |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q60 \& Q69.*Asked of those who disapprove of health care law, based on total.
fail. By comparison, just 31\% of Republicans and Republican leaners who do not agree with the Tea Party favor this approach.

As more of the law's provisions begin to take effect, relatively few Americans say they feel they have a solid understanding of how the law might affect them and their families. Just a quarter ( $25 \%$ ) say they understand the law's impact very well while another $39 \%$ say they understand it somewhat well; roughly a third (34\%) say they have little or no understanding of how the law will affect them. The percentage saying they lack a good understanding of the law's impact has declined only modestly, from $44 \%$ to $34 \%$, since its enactment in March 2010.

Public awareness of specific components of the law varies widely. About seven-in-ten ( $69 \%$ ) say that the law requires uninsured people to get health insurance.

But with health exchanges scheduled to open next month in all 50 states and Washington, D.C., only about half of the public (51\%) says that a health insurance exchange will be available to people in their state. About as many (49\%) say that lower-income people in their states will be eligible for federal subsidies.

Awareness of the availability of health insurance exchanges is much lower in those states that have decided against state involvement in the exchanges. ${ }^{1}$ While about six-in-ten (59\%) of those who live in states with state-based health care exchanges (or state-federal partnerships) say that exchanges will be available in their state, just $44 \%$ of those in states that have decided not to create their own exchanges say this (the federal government will run these state-level exchanges).

More Democrats (63\%) than independents (48\%) or Republicans (40\%) are aware that exchanges will be available in their states. The partisan differences are evident regardless of the type of exchange that will be available in a state.

## Individual Mandate Known; Subsidies, Exchanges Less So



PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q78-Q80. Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.

More Are Aware of Exchanges in States with State-Run Programs

|  | Will health care exchange be available in your state? |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Yes | No | DK |
|  | \% | \% | \% |
| Total | 51 | 16 | $34=100$ |
| Republican | 40 | 19 | $41=100$ |
| Democrat | 63 | 10 | $27=100$ |
| Independent | 48 | 20 | $33=100$ |
| State health care exchange is ... |  |  |  |
| State-based* (24 states) | 59 | 10 | $31=100$ |
| Federal-run (27 states) | 44 | 20 | $35=100$ |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q78.
*Includes state-federal partnerships (state data from Kaiser Family Foundation. See appendix for details). Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.

[^0]
## Most Have Not Yet Felt Law's Impact

About six-in-ten (63\%) Americans have yet to see much of an impact from the health care law on themselves or their family. Looking ahead to the coming years, more anticipate negative personal effects: $41 \%$ say the effect on themselves and their family will be negative ( $25 \%$ say it will be positive).

But assessments of the law's effect on the country so far are already more negative than positive; a plurality (38\%) says the effect on the country so far has been mostly negative, while $24 \%$ say it has been mostly positive and $31 \%$ say it has not yet had much effect. In the future, $47 \%$ say the effect on the country as a whole will be negative, compared with $35 \%$ who say it will be positive.

Among Democrats, 29\% say the law is already having a mostly positive personal effect and $41 \%$ say it is benefitting the country. Republicans have much more negative views of the law, with $28 \%$ reporting a mostly negative personal effect and $59 \%$ saying the law has negatively affected the country.

When it comes to the long-term impact of the law, a plurality of Democrats (44\%) say the law will have a positive effect on them and their

## Republicans Say Health Care Law's Impact Will be Negative

| So far, how has the health |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| care law affected ... | Total | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| You and your family | $\%$ | $\%$ | $\%$ | $\%$ |
| Mostly positive | 17 | 6 | 29 | 15 |
| Mostly negative | 20 | 28 | 13 | 20 |
| Not much of an effect | 63 | 65 | 56 | 65 |

The country as a whole

| Mostly positive | 24 | 8 | 41 | 21 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mostly negative | 38 | 59 | 20 | 40 |
| Not much of an effect | 31 | 29 | 31 | 32 |

In the coming years, how will the health care law affect ...

| You and your family |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mostly positive | 25 | 6 | 44 | 22 |
| Mostly negative | 41 | 65 | 16 | 45 |
| Not much of an effect | 31 | 26 | 36 | 29 |
| The country as a whole |  |  |  |  |
| Mostly positive | 35 | 9 | 63 | 30 |
| Mostly negative | 47 | 75 | 18 | 52 |
| Not much of an effect | 14 | 14 | 15 | 13 |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY Sept. 4-8, 2013. Don't know responses not shown. Figures read down. families, while $65 \%$ of Republicans and $45 \%$ of independents think the law will negatively affect them.

Three-quarters ( $75 \%$ ) of Republicans think the law will negatively affect the country in the coming years, while $63 \%$ of Democrats think its impact will be positive. Although more divided in their predictions, more independents say the law's impact will be negative than positive ( $52 \%$ vs. $30 \%$ ).

## Tepid Support for the Affordable Care Act from the Uninsured

Uninsured Americans - 19\% of those in the current survey -are somewhat more supportive of the health care law, and more likely to view the effects of the Affordable Care Act positively, than those who are currently covered by health insurance.

Nevertheless, the views of this group, which is the target of many aspects of the law, are mixed. The uninsured are about as likely to disapprove (46\%) as approve (49\%) of the law. About a third of the uninsured (32\%) say the law will have a positive effect on them and their families, while as many (33\%) say the impact will be negative.
Among those with health insurance, even fewer (23\%) say the law will have a positive effect on them and their families.

## Uninsured Americans Divided in Views of Health Care Law and its Effects



Uninsured Americans also are less likely than the insured to be aware of the requirement to have health insurance. About six-in-ten (61\%) of those who do not have health insurance know that the law requires the uninsured to get insurance. That compares with $71 \%$ of those who have health insurance. And just half of the uninsured (50\%) are aware that low-income residents in their state will be eligible for federal subsidies to purchase insurance; they are no more likely to be aware of this than are people with health insurance (49\%).

Most people who do not have health insurance (63\%) say they plan to get health insurance within the next six months. About a quarter of the uninsured ( $26 \%$ ) say they are planning to get insurance because of the new health care law, while $33 \%$ say they were planning to get health insurance anyway. Nearly a third (32\%) of those who currently lack health insurance have no plans to get coverage in the next six months.

## A Quarter of the Uninsured Plan to Get Insurance Because of Law

|  | Total <br> $\%$ | Un- <br> insured <br> $\%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Currently have insurance | 81 | -- |
| Not insured | 19 | -- |
| Plan to get insurance within <br> the next six months <br> Because of law <br> Planning to get anyway <br> Other/DK | 12 | 63 |
| Do not plan to get insurance | 5 | 26 |
| DK planning to get insurance | 1 | 33 |
| Don't know if have insurance | $\mathbf{*}$ | 3 |
|  | 100 | $\mathbf{- -}$ |
| N | 1500 | 201 |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q81, Q82, Q84.

## Opinions of Health Care Law Turn More Negative

Currently, $53 \%$ disapprove of the health care law, while $42 \%$ approve. This is among the most negative assessments of the law since it was enacted in March 2010. In July 2012, shortly after the Supreme Court upheld most of the provisions of the Affordable Care Act, $47 \%$ approved of the legislation and $43 \%$ disapproved.

## Views of Health Care Law Since Passage

The current survey finds more intense opposition than support for the health care law. While $41 \%$ strongly disapprove of the law, only about a quarter (26\%) strongly approve.


Overall opinion about the health care law has fluctuated in recent years, yet the patterns of opposition and support across demographic and partisan groups have remained fairly steady since the legislation was first being debated in Congress.


PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q60.

For instance, just 12\% of Republicans favored the health care measures before Congress in July 2009, as town hall protests galvanized opposition to the proposals; currently $11 \%$ of Republicans approve of the health care law. Democratic support has increased 14 points since then, from $61 \%$ to $75 \%$. But there has been little change in Democrats' views of the law since shortly after it was enacted in 2010 (74\% approved in September 2010).

Independents have been critical of the health care proposal, but the current measure is quite negative. Just $36 \%$ of independents approve of the law, while $58 \%$ disapprove.

Support for the law has been higher among lower-income people than those with higher incomes, a pattern that continues to hold today: Half (50\%) of those with annual family incomes of less than \$30,000 currently approve of the law; support falls to just $38 \%$ of those with higher incomes.

Wide racial and ethnic gaps over health care proposals also have long persisted. However, blacks are much more supportive of the law today ( $91 \%$ approve) than when it was being debated in 2009 (50\%).

Whites have consistently opposed the Affordable Care Act. In September 2010, 33\% approved of the law and $56 \%$ disapproved. Today, just $29 \%$ approve and more than twice as many disapprove (67\%).

Wide Partisan Gap over Health Care Law Predates Passage

| \% who approve of 2010 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { July } \\ & \text { 2009* } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Sep } \\ 2010 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Sep } \\ 2013 \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| health care law* | \% | \% | \% |
| Total | 38 | 44 | 42 |
| Men | 37 | 42 | 39 |
| Women | 39 | 47 | 45 |
| Diff | -2 | -5 | -6 |
| White | 33 | 33 | 29 |
| Black | 50 | 81 | 91 |
| Hispanic | 55 | 69 | 61 |
| Diff (White-Black) | -17 | -48 | -62 |
| 18-29 | 44 | 53 | 46 |
| 30-49 | 34 | 45 | 43 |
| 50-64 | 45 | 41 | 40 |
| 65+ | 29 | 37 | 38 |
| Diff (youngest-oldest) | +15 | +16 | +8 |
| College grad+ | 39 | 45 | 45 |
| Some college | 38 | 40 | 39 |
| H.S. or less | 38 | 46 | 42 |
| Diff (college grad-H.S.) | +1 | -1 | +3 |
| Family income |  |  |  |
| \$75,000 or more | 35 | 42 | 38 |
| \$30k-\$75,000 | 37 | 40 | 37 |
| Less than \$30,000 | 44 | 51 | 50 |
| Diff (high-low) | -9 | -9 | -12 |
| Republican | 12 | 11 | 11 |
| Democrat | 61 | 74 | 75 |
| Independent | 34 | 41 | 36 |
| Diff (Rep-Dem) | -49 | -63 | -64 |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q60. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. *In July 2009, question asked if "you generally favor or oppose the health care proposals being discussed in Congress." See topline for full trend.

## Neither Party Has Advantage in Handling Health Care

The public is now split over which party would do the better job dealing with health care: $40 \%$ of Americans say Republicans would do the better job, while $39 \%$ say Democrats would.

This is the best relative showing for Republicans since April 2011 on an issue that has traditionally been an advantage for the Democratic Party. As recently as last December, Democrats were seen as the party better able to deal with health care by a $48 \%-$ $38 \%$ margin.

## GOP Pulls Even with Democrats on Handling Health Care

| Which party could <br> do a better job of <br> dealing with health <br> care? | Rep <br> R | Dem <br> De | Other/ <br> DK | R-D <br> diff |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| September 2013 | 40 | 39 | $20=100$ | +1 |
| December 2012 | 38 | 48 | $14=100$ | -10 |
| March 2012 | 35 | 49 | $16=100$ | -14 |
| October 2011 | 38 | 49 | $13=100$ | -11 |
| April 2011 | 40 | 42 | $19=100$ | -2 |
| October 2010 | 32 | 39 | $24=100$ | -7 |
| September 2010 | 36 | 46 | $18=100$ | -10 |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q29b. Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.

## What People Know about the Health Care Law

Awareness of three of the key components of the health care law (the individual mandate, state health insurance exchanges and federal subsidies for low-income Americans) varies across subgroups of the population.

For instance, although young people are somewhat less likely to be insured than older people, just 56\% of those younger than 30 are aware of the requirement that uninsured people get health insurance. That compares with $73 \%$ of those 30 and older.

Young people are about as likely as other age groups to be aware of the availability of health care exchanges and federal subsidies for lowincome people in their state.

Young People Less Likely to Know that Law Requires the Uninsured to Get Coverage

|  | Require uninsured <br> to get insurance | Exchange in <br> your state | Low-income <br> subsidies |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% aware of each ... | $\%$ | $\%$ | $\%$ |
| Total | 69 | 51 | 49 |
| $18-29$ | 56 | 47 | 52 |
| $30-49$ | 70 | 50 | 51 |
| $50-64$ | 78 | 56 | 49 |
| $65+$ | 72 | 50 | 44 |
| Family income | 75 | 53 | 54 |
| \$75,000+ | 71 | 49 | 50 |
| \$30,000-\$74,999 | 65 | 53 | 46 |
| <\$30,000 | 67 | 64 | 61 |
| Approve of law | 72 | 41 | 41 |
| Disapprove of law |  |  |  |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY Sept 4-8, 2013. Q78-Q80. |  |  |  |

## Appendix: Health Insurance Exchanges by State

States with federal exchanges:
AL, AK, AZ, FL, GA, IN, KS, LA, ME, MS, MO, MT, NE, NJ, NC, ND, OH, OK, PA, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, VA, WI, WY

States with state-based exchanges:
CA, CO, CT, DC, HI, ID, KY, MD, MA, MN, NV, NM, NY, OR, RI, VT, WA

States with state/federal partnership exchanges:
AR, DE, IL, IA, MI, NH, WV

For the analysis in this report, states with state/federal partnerships are grouped with states with state-based exchanges.

Source: Kaiser Family Foundation: http://kff.org/health-reform/state-indicator/health-insurance-exchanges/.

## About the Survey

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted September 4-8, 2013 among a national sample of 1,506 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia ( 751 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 755 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 401 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see http://peoplepress.org/methodology/

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and nativity and region to parameters from the 2011 Census Bureau's American Community Survey and population density to parameters from the Decennial Census. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status and relative usage of landline and cell phones (for those with both), based on extrapolations from the 2012 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size among respondents with a landline phone. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the $95 \%$ level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

| Group | Unweighted <br> sample size <br> 1,506 | Plus or minus... |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Total sample | 396 | 5.9 percentage points |
| Republican | 472 | 5.3 percentage points |
| Democrat | 569 | 4.8 percentage points |
| Independent |  |  |
| Among Rep/Rep Lean | 267 | 7.0 percentage points |
| $\quad$ Tea Party | 381 | 5.8 percentage points |
| $\quad$ non-Tea Party | 1,302 | 3.2 percentage points |
| Insured | 201 | 8.0 percentage points |
| Uninsured |  |  |

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.
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.

## PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE \& THE PRESS/USA TODAY SEPTEMBER 2013 POLITICAL SURVEY <br> FINAL TOPLINE <br> September 4-8, 2013 <br> $\mathrm{N}=1,506$

ASK ALL:
Now, thinking about how Barack Obama is handling some issues...
Q. 3 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling [INSERT ITEMS; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]. How about [NEXT ITEM]? [REPEAT INTRODUCTION AS NECESSARY]

## (VOL.)

Approve
Disapprove
DK/Ref
b. Health care policy

Sep 4-8, 2013 (U)
41
Jan 6-9, 2011
Jun 16-20, 2010
Apr 21-26, 2010
Mar 10-14, 2010
Jan 6-10, 2010
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009
Jul 22-26, 2009
Apr 14-21, 2009
45
42
40
39
38
43
42

| 53 | 6 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 47 | 8 |
| 50 | 7 |
| 51 | 9 |
| 52 | 9 |
| 52 | 10 |
| 47 | 10 |
| 43 | 14 |
| 26 | 23 |

QUESTIONS 1, 3a, 3f, 3i, 4-8 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED
NO QUESTIONS 2, 3d-e, 3g-h, 9
QUESTION 3c HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

## ASK ALL:

Q. 10 If you had to choose, would you rather have a smaller government providing fewer services, or a bigger government providing more services?

Sep 4-8, 2013
Sep 12-16, 2012
Jan 4-8, 2012
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011
Mar 8-14, 2011
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010
Apr 1-5, 2010
Feb 3-9, 2010

| Smaller government, <br> fewer services | Bigger government, <br> more services | (VOL.) <br> Depends | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 51 | 40 | 2 | 7 |
| 51 | 40 | 4 | 6 |
| 52 | 39 | 2 | 7 |
| 48 | 41 | 2 | 8 |
| 50 | 42 | 3 | 5 |
| 50 | 42 | 3 | 5 |
| 50 | 39 | 4 | 8 |
| 50 | 40 | 3 | 7 |
| 51 | 40 | 4 | 6 |
| 48 | 40 | 3 | 9 |
| 42 | 43 | 4 | 11 |
| 47 | 42 | 4 | 7 |
| 45 | 43 | 4 | 8 |
| 49 | 38 | -- | 13 |
| 52 | 36 | -- | 12 |
| 50 | 46 | -- | 4 |
| 45 | 42 | 4 | 9 |
| 48 | 40 | 5 | 7 |
| 60 | 35 | -- | 5 |
| 54 | 39 | -- | 7 |
| 53 | 42 | -- | 6 |
| 54 | 41 | -- | 5 |
| 46 | 40 | 3 | 11 |
| 48 | 41 | -- | 11 |
| 48 | 39 | 3 | 11 |
| 59 | 29 | -- | 12 |
| 51 | 36 | 5 | 8 |
| 54 | 31 | 5 | 10 |
| 57 | 32 | 5 | 6 |

## Q. 10 CONTINUED...



NO QUESTIONS 11-14, 18-28
QUESTIONS 15, 16, 17a-b, 29c HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE QUESTIONS 17c-d, 29a, 29d PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

## ASK ALL:

Q. 29 Please tell me if you think the REPUBLICAN Party or the DEMOCRATIC Party could do the better job of [INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE]? How about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Which party could do the better job of ITEM?]

|  |  | Republican Party | Democratic Party | (VOL.) Both equally | (VOL.) <br> Neither | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| b. | Dealing with health care |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Sep 4-8, 2013 (U) | 40 | 39 | 6 | 9 | 5 |
|  | Dec 5-9, 2012 | 38 | 48 | 4 | 4 | 6 |
|  | Mar 7-11, 2012 | 35 | 49 | 1 | 7 | 8 |
|  | Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 38 | 49 | 3 | 4 | 6 |
|  | Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011 | 40 | 42 | 6 | 5 | 7 |
|  | Oct 13-18, 2010 | 32 | 39 | 5 | 11 | 13 |
|  | Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 36 | 46 | 5 | 7 | 6 |

[^1]
## Q.29b TRENDS FOR COMPARISON...

(VOL.)

| Republican Democratic Both (VOL.) (VOL.) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Party | $\underline{\text { Party }}$ equally Neither |
| DK/Ref |  |

Reforming the U.S. health care system

| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 32 | 45 | 6 | 10 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Aug 27-30, 2009 | 27 | 46 | 4 | 14 | 9 |
| February, 2008 | 26 | 56 | 3 | 8 | 7 |
| October, 2006 | 25 | 46 | 4 | 8 | 17 |
| September, 2006 | 24 | 48 | 5 | 10 | 13 |
| February, 2006 | 27 | 49 | 6 | 9 | 9 |
| Mid-September, 2005 | 28 | 51 | 4 | 10 | 7 |
| July, 2004 | 23 | 50 | 4 | 10 | 13 |
| Early July, 2003 | 31 | 38 | 6 | 10 | 15 |

Regulating health maintenance organizations (HMOs) and managed health care plans

| January, 2002 | 20 | 45 | -- | 6 | 29 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

January, 2001
$30 \quad 4$

| 47 | -- | 6 | 29 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 4 | -- | 7 | 16 |

January, 1999
Reforming the U.S. health care system
Early September, 199831
March, $1998 \quad 25$
October, 1994
34
July, 199434
Reforming health care
December, 1993
Improving health care in the U.S.
January, 199221
May, 199020
NO QUESTIONS 30-34, 40, 42, 43, 46-54, 57-59 QUESTIONS 35-39, 41, 44, 45 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED QUESTIONS 55, 56 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

## ASK ALL:

Q. 60 Do you approve or disapprove of the health care law passed by Barack Obama and Congress in 2010? ASK IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE (Q.60=1,2) [N=1,436]:
Q.60a Do you [approve/disapprove] very strongly, or not so strongly?

Sep 4-8, 2013 (U)
Jun 7-17, 2012
Apr 4-15, 2012
Mar 7-11, 2012
Jan 5-9, 2011
Nov 4-7, 2010
Sep 9-12, 2010

|  | Very | Not so | (VOL.) | Dis- | Very | Not so | (VOL.) | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Approve | strongly | strongly | DK/Ref | approve | strongly | strongly | DK/Ref | DK/Ref |
| 42 | 26 | 16 | 1 | 53 | 41 | 12 | * | 5 |
| 43 | 26 | 17 | 1 | 48 | 35 | 13 | * | 9 |
| 41 | -- | -- | -- | 49 | -- | -- | -- | 10 |
| 47 | -- | -- | -- | 45 | -- | -- | -- | 8 |
| 41 | -- | -- | -- | 48 | -- | -- | -- | 11 |
| 43 | -- | -- | -- | 47 | -- | -- | -- | 10 |
| 38 | -- | -- | -- | 45 | -- | -- | -- | 17 |
| 44 | -- | -- | -- | 46 | -- | -- | -- | 10 |
| 35 | -- | -- | -- | 47 | -- | -- | -- | 17 |
| 40 | -- | -- | -- | 44 | -- | -- | -- | 16 |

## Q.60/60a TREND FOR COMPARISON...

As of right now, do you generally favor or generally oppose the health care bills being discussed in Congress?
IF FAVOR OR OPPOSE: Do you (favor/oppose) these health care bills very strongly, or not so strongly? ${ }^{2}$

| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 40 | -- | -- | -- | 47 |  | -- | -- | -- | 13 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Mar 10-14, 2010 | 38 | -- | -- | -- | 48 | -- | -- | -- | 13 |  |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 38 | -- | -- | -- | 50 | -- | -- | -- | 12 |  |
| Jan 6-10, 2010 | 39 | 23 | 14 | 2 | 48 | 36 | 11 | 1 | 13 |  |
| Dec 9-13, 2009 | 35 | -- | -- | -- | 48 | -- | -- | -- | 17 |  |
| Nov 12-15, 2009 | 42 | -- | -- | -- | 39 | -- | -- | -- | 19 |  |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 38 | -- | -- | -- | 47 | -- | -- | -- | 15 |  |
| Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009 | 34 | 20 | 13 | 1 | 47 | 35 | 11 | 1 | 19 |  |
| Sep 10-15, 2009 | 42 | 29 | 11 | 2 | 44 | 34 | 10 | - | 14 |  |
| Aug 20-27, 2009 | 39 | 25 | 13 | 1 | 46 | 34 | 12 | 1 | 15 |  |
| Jul 22-26,2009 | 38 | -- | -- | -- | 44 | -- | -- | -- | 18 |  |

ASK ALL:
Thinking first about you and your immediate family, that is any family you share a household with...
Q. 61 How well do you feel you understand how the health care law might affect you and your family
[READ]?
(U)

| Sep 4-8 |  | Mar 26-29 |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| $\frac{2013}{25}$ | Very well | $\frac{2010^{3}}{}$ |
| 39 | Somewhat well | 37 |
| 21 | Not too well | 21 |
| 13 | Not at all well | 23 |
| 2 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 1 |

## NO QUESTION 62

## ASK ALL:

Q. 63 So far, that is up until today, has the health care law had a mostly positive, mostly negative, or not much of an effect on you and your family?
(U)

Sep 4-8
$\underline{2013}$
17 Mostly positive
20 Mostly negative
63 Not much of an effect
1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

[^2]
## ASK ALL:

Q. 64 And looking ahead, do you think the overall effect of the health care law on you and your family over the coming years will be mostly positive, mostly negative, or will it not affect you much either way?
ASK IF LAW WILL HAVE NEGATIVE EFFECT ON YOU/FAMILY (Q.64=2) [N=639]:
Q. 65 What's your bigger concern about how the health care law will affect you and your family [READ; RANDOMIZE]?
(U)

Sep 4-8
$\underline{2013}$
25 Mostly positive
41 Mostly negative
15 That it will cost you more money
That it will reduce the quality of your health care
15 Both (VOL.)

* Other reason (VOL.)
* Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

31 Not much of an effect
4 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## ASK ALL:

Now thinking about the effect of the 2010 health care law on the country as a whole...
Q. 66 So far, that is up until today, has the health care law had a mostly positive, mostly negative, or not much of an effect on the country as a whole?
(U)

Sep 4-8
$\underline{2013}$
24 Mostly positive
38 Mostly negative
31 Not much of an effect
7 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## ASK ALL:

Q. 67 And looking ahead, do you think the overall effect of the health care law on the country as a whole over the coming years will be mostly positive, mostly negative, or will it not affect the country much either way?
(U)

Sep 4-8
$\underline{2013}$
35 Mostly positive
47 Mostly negative
14 Not much of an effect
4 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## NO QUESTION 68

## ASK IF 'DISAPPROVE' (Q.60=2):

Q. 69 What do you think elected officials who oppose the health care law should do now that the law has started to take effect? Should they [READ AND RANDOMIZE] or should they [ITEM]?

## BASED ON TOTAL:

(U)

Sep 4-8
$\underline{2013}$
53 NET Disapprove of health care law (Q.60)
27 Do what they can to make the law work as well as possible
23 Do what they can to make the law fail
4 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
47 Approve of health care law/ Don't know (Q.60)

## NO QUESTIONS 70-77

## ASK ALL:

Q. 78 As you may know, health insurance exchanges are being set up around the country that people can use to compare plans and purchase health insurance. From what you've read and heard will one of these health insurance exchanges be available to people in your state, or not?

## (U)

Sep 4-8
2013
51 Yes, there will be an exchange
16 No, there won't be an exchange
34 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## ASK ALL:

Q. 79 And as far as you know, this fall, will lower-income residents in your state be eligible for federal subsidies to purchase health insurance, or not?

## (U)

| Sep 4-8 |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\frac{2013}{49}$ |  |
| 18 |  |
| 33 | Yes, residents eligible for federal subsidies |
| 33 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 80 And do you happen to know whether the health care law will require uninsured people to get health insurance, or doesn't the law require this?
(U)

Sep 4-8
$\underline{2013}$
69 Law requires people to get health insurance
12 Law does not require this
19 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## ASK ALL:

Q. 81 Are you, yourself, now covered by any form of health insurance or health plan or are you not covered at this time? [READ IF NECESSARY: A health plan would include any private insurance plan through your employer or a plan that you purchased yourself, as well as a government program like Medicare or Medicaid]

Sep 4-8, 2013 (U)

| Covered <br> by health <br> insurance | Not <br> covered <br> by health <br> insurance | (VOL.) <br> 819 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |

## Q. 81 CONTINUED ...

Jan 6-10, 2010
Dec 9-13, 2009
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009

| Covered <br> by health <br> insurance | Not <br> covered <br> by health <br> insurance | (VOL.) <br> (VK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 83 | 17 | $*$ |
| 83 | 16 | $*$ |
| 80 | 20 | $*$ |
| 80 | 20 | $*$ |
| 81 | 19 | $*$ |
| 81 | 18 | $*$ |

## ASK IF UNINSURED (Q.81=2):

Q. 82 In the next six months, do you plan to get health insurance for yourself, or not?

BASED ON UNINSURED [ $\mathbf{N}=201$ ]:

| (U) |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| Sep 4-8 |  |
| $\underline{2013}$ |  |
| 63 | Yes, plan to get health insurance |
| 32 | No, do not |
| 5 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

ASK IF UNINSURED AND DON'T PLAN TO GET INSURANCE (Q.82=2):
Q. 83 And what's the main reason that you don't plan to get health insurance? [OPEN END: ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES.] [IF NECESSARY: "Just the main reason you don't plan to get health insurance?"]?
Q. 83 RESULTS NOT SHOWN; USED FOR QUALITATIVE PURPOSES ONLY.

## ASK IF UNINSURED AND PLAN TO GET INSURANCE (Q.82=1):

Q. 84 And do you plan to get health insurance in the next six months because of the new health care law, or is this something you were planning to get anyway? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]?

## BASED ON UNINSURED WHO PLAN TO GET INSURANCE [N=127]:

## (U)

Sep 4-8
$\underline{2013}$
41 Planning to get health insurance because of law
53 Was planning to get health insurance anyway
5 Other (VOL.)
1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## QUESTION 85 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

## ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent?
ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF (PARTY=3,4,5,9):
PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

|  | Republican | Democrat | Independent | (VOL.) <br> No preference | (VOL.) Other party | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Lean } \\ & \text { Rep } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Lean } \\ & \text { Dem } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sep 4-8, 2013 | 26 | 32 | 38 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 17 | 15 |
| Jul 17-21, 2013 | 19 | 29 | 46 | 3 | * | 2 | 19 | 18 |
| Jun 12-16, 2013 | 23 | 33 | 39 | 3 | * | 2 | 17 | 15 |
| May 1-5, 2013 | 25 | 32 | 37 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 14 | 16 |
| Mar 13-17, 2013 | 26 | 33 | 34 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 14 | 15 |
| Feb 13-18, 2013 | 22 | 32 | 41 | 2 | * | 2 | 15 | 19 |
| Jan 9-13, 2013 | 25 | 32 | 38 | 2 | * | 2 | 15 | 16 |

## PARTY/PARTYLN CONTINUED...

|  |  |  |  | (VOL.) | (VOL.) |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | No | Other | (VOL.) | Lean | Lean |
|  | Republican | Democrat | Independent | preference | party | DK/Ref | Rep | Dem |
| Dec 17-19, 2012 | 21 | 32 | 38 | 4 | * | 4 | 15 | 14 |
| Dec 5-9, 2012 | 23 | 33 | 38 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 14 | 19 |
| Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012 | 26 | 34 | 34 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 13 | 16 |
| Oct 24-28, 2012 | 28 | 33 | 33 | 4 | * | 2 | 12 | 16 |
| Oct 4-7, 2012 | 27 | 31 | 36 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 15 | 15 |
| Sep 12-16, 2012 | 24 | 35 | 36 | 2 | * | 2 | 14 | 16 |
| Yearly Totals |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2012 | 24.7 | 32.6 | 36.4 | 3.1 | . 5 | 2.7 | 14.4 | 16.1 |
| 2011 | 24.3 | 32.3 | 37.4 | 3.1 | . 4 | 2.5 | 15.7 | 15.6 |
| 2010 | 25.2 | 32.7 | 35.2 | 3.6 | . 4 | 2.8 | 14.5 | 14.1 |
| 2009 | 23.9 | 34.4 | 35.1 | 3.4 | . 4 | 2.8 | 13.1 | 15.7 |
| 2008 | 25.7 | 36.0 | 31.5 | 3.6 | . 3 | 3.0 | 10.6 | 15.2 |
| 2007 | 25.3 | 32.9 | 34.1 | 4.3 | . 4 | 2.9 | 10.9 | 17.0 |
| 2006 | 27.8 | 33.1 | 30.9 | 4.4 | . 3 | 3.4 | 10.5 | 15.1 |
| 2005 | 29.3 | 32.8 | 30.2 | 4.5 | . 3 | 2.8 | 10.3 | 14.9 |
| 2004 | 30.0 | 33.5 | 29.5 | 3.8 | . 4 | 3.0 | 11.7 | 13.4 |
| 2003 | 30.3 | 31.5 | 30.5 | 4.8 | . 5 | 2.5 | 12.0 | 12.6 |
| 2002 | 30.4 | 31.4 | 29.8 | 5.0 | . 7 | 2.7 | 12.4 | 11.6 |
| 2001 | 29.0 | 33.2 | 29.5 | 5.2 | . 6 | 2.6 | 11.9 | 11.6 |
| 2001 Post-Sept 11 | 30.9 | 31.8 | 27.9 | 5.2 | . 6 | 3.6 | 11.7 | 9.4 |
| 2001 Pre-Sept 11 | 27.3 | 34.4 | 30.9 | 5.1 | . 6 | 1.7 | 12.1 | 13.5 |
| 2000 | 28.0 | 33.4 | 29.1 | 5.5 | . 5 | 3.6 | 11.6 | 11.7 |
| 1999 | 26.6 | 33.5 | 33.7 | 3.9 | . 5 | 1.9 | 13.0 | 14.5 |
| 1998 | 27.9 | 33.7 | 31.1 | 4.6 | . 4 | 2.3 | 11.6 | 13.1 |
| 1997 | 28.0 | 33.4 | 32.0 | 4.0 | . 4 | 2.3 | 12.2 | 14.1 |
| 1996 | 28.9 | 33.9 | 31.8 | 3.0 | . 4 | 2.0 | 12.1 | 14.9 |
| 1995 | 31.6 | 30.0 | 33.7 | 2.4 | . 6 | 1.3 | 15.1 | 13.5 |
| 1994 | 30.1 | 31.5 | 33.5 | 1.3 | -- | 3.6 | 13.7 | 12.2 |
| 1993 | 27.4 | 33.6 | 34.2 | 4.4 | 1.5 | 2.9 | 11.5 | 14.9 |
| 1992 | 27.6 | 33.7 | 34.7 | 1.5 | 0 | 2.5 | 12.6 | 16.5 |
| 1991 | 30.9 | 31.4 | 33.2 | 0 | 1.4 | 3.0 | 14.7 | 10.8 |
| 1990 | 30.9 | 33.2 | 29.3 | 1.2 | 1.9 | 3.4 | 12.4 | 11.3 |
| 1989 | 33 | 33 | 34 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1987 | 26 | 35 | 39 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |

ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS ONLY (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1):
TEAPARTY3 From what you know, do you agree or disagree with the Tea Party movement, or don't you have an opinion either way?

BASED ON REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS [N=657]:

Sep 4-8, 2013
Jul 17-21, 2013
Jun 12-16, 2013
May 23-26, 2013
May 1-5, 2013
Mar 13-17, 2013
Feb 13-18, 2013
Feb 14-17, 2013
Jan 9-13, 2013
Dec 5-9, 2012
Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012 (RVs)
Oct 4-7, 2012
Sep 12-16, 2013

|  |  | No opinion |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Agree  Disagree | either way |  |
|  | 9 | 54 |
| 37 | 10 | 50 |
| 44 | 9 | 46 |
| 41 | 7 | 48 |
| 28 | 8 | 61 |
| 43 | 7 | 47 |
| 36 | 9 | 52 |
| 43 | 9 | 45 |
| 35 | 10 | 51 |
| 37 | 11 | 51 |
| 40 | 8 | 49 |
| 38 | 9 | 50 |
| 39 | 7 | 52 |
| 40 | 9 | 47 |

(VOL.)
Not
Haven't (VOL.) heard of/
heard of Refused DK

| Refused |  | DK |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 |  | -- |
| 1 |  | -- |
| 2 |  | -- |
| 3 |  | -- |
| 1 |  | -- |
| 3 |  | -- |
| 2 | -- |  |
| 2 |  | -- |
| 3 |  | -- |
| 2 |  | -- |
| 3 |  | -- |
| 1 |  |  |

## TEAPARTY3 CONTINUED...

Jun 7-17, 2012
May 9-Jun 3, 2012
Apr 4-15, 2012
Mar 7-11, 2012
Feb 8-12, 2012

| Agree | Disagree | No opinion either way | (VOL.) <br> Haven't heard of | (VOL.) <br> Refused | Not heard of/ DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 42 | 8 | 48 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| 36 | 9 | 53 | 1 | 2 | -- |
| 42 | 8 | 48 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| 38 | 10 | 49 | 2 | 1 | -- |
| 40 | 7 | 51 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| 42 | 8 | 47 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| 37 | 8 | 52 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| 40 | 9 | 48 | 2 | 1 | -- |
| 41 | 9 | 49 | * | 1 | -- |
| 37 | 11 | 51 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| 43 | 7 | 49 | * | 1 | -- |
| 40 | 7 | 51 | * | 1 | -- |
| 42 | 9 | 47 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| 37 | 7 | 52 | 1 | 3 | -- |
| 45 | 9 | 46 | * | 1 | -- |
| 37 | 7 | 54 | 1 | * | -- |
| 41 | 9 | 48 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| 43 | 8 | 47 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| 45 | 6 | 47 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| 48 | 5 | 45 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| 51 | 5 | 42 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| 58 | 5 | 27 | -- | 1 | 9 |
| 54 | 5 | 30 | -- | 1 | 10 |
| 56 | 6 | 29 | -- | * | 9 |
| 46 | 5 | 36 | -- | 1 | 13 |
| 46 | 5 | 30 | -- | * | 19 |
| 53 | 4 | 25 | -- | 1 | 16 |
| 48 | 4 | 26 | -- | 1 | 21 |

## Key to Pew Research trends noted in the topline:

| (U) | Pew Research Center/USA Today polls |
| :--- | :--- |
| (WP) | Pew Research Center/Washington Post polls |

[^3]
[^0]:    1 The health care law establishes exchanges in all 50 states and Washington DC; 27 states have decided not to create their own exchanges and will default to a federal exchange. Of the remaining 24 (including Washington, DC), 17 are creating state-based exchanges, while 7 are creating state-federal partnership exchanges. See Kaiser Family Foundation: http://kff.org/health-reform/state-indicator/health-insurance-exchanges/ for details.

[^1]:    1 In 1989 and earlier, CBS/NYT question read, "In general, government grows bigger as it provides more services. If you had to choose, would you rather have a smaller government providing less services or a bigger government providing more services?"

[^2]:    2
    3 From December 9-13, 2009 and earlier, questions asked about "health care proposals" rather than "health care bills." In March 2010, the question asked about "the new health care reform law" and it did not include the introduction about immediate family.

[^3]:    4
    In the February 2-7, 2011, survey and before, question read "...do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the Tea Party movement..." In October 2010 and earlier, question was asked only of those who had heard or read a lot or a little about the Tea Party. In May 2010 through October 2010, it was described as: "the Tea Party movement that has been involved in campaigns and protests in the U.S. over the past year." In March 2010 it was described as "the Tea Party protests that have taken place in the U.S. over the past year."

