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

As Health Care Law Proceeds, Opposition and Uncertainty Persist

A Pew Research Center/USA TODAY Survey

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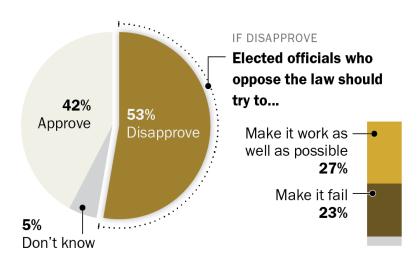
As Health Care Law Proceeds, Opposition and Uncertainty Persist

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 are now as negative as they

Opponents of Health Care Law Divided over Next Steps

View of 2010 health care law



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

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 fail. By comparison, just 31%

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

	Rep/Rep lean				7
Health care law passed by	Total	Rep/ Rep lean	Tea Party	Not Tea	Dem/ Dem lean
Obama and Congress in 2010	%	%	%	%	%
Approve	42	13	5	17	73
Disapprove	53	85	94	80	23
Elected officials should try to* Make law work as well as possible	27	37	24	44	15
Make it fail	23	43	64	31	6
Don't know	<u>5</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>1</u> 100	<u>4</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q60 & Q69.*Asked of those who disapprove of health care law, based on total.

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.

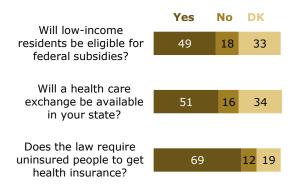
Public awareness of specific components of the law varies widely. About seven-in-ten (69%) say that the law requires uninsured people to get health insurance.

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 <u>Kaiser Family Foundation</u>. See appendix for details). Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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.

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 families, while 65% of Republicans and 45% of independents think the law will negatively affect them.

Republicans Say Health Care Law's Impact Will be Negative

<u>So far</u> , 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
<u>In the coming years</u> , 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.

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

			health ance?	Insured- Uninsured
	Total	Yes	No	difference
Views of health care law	%	%	%	
Approve	42	40	49	-9
Disapprove	53	55	46	+9
<u>In the coming years</u> , how will the health care law affect				
You and your family				
Mostly positive	25	23	32	-9
Mostly negative	41	43	33	+10
Not much effect	31	31	30	+1
The country as a whole				
Mostly positive	35	36	35	+1
Mostly negative	47	49	39	+10
Not much effect	14	11	24	-13
Understand the law very/somewhat well	64	66	56	+10
Awareness of law % saying "yes"				
Uninsured required to get insurance	69	71	61	+10
Insurance exchange will be available in state	51	51	50	+1
Subsidies available for low- income people	49	49	50	-1

PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY Sept. 4-8, 2013. Don't know responses not shown. Figures read down.

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	Un- insured
	%	%
Currently have insurance	81	
Not insured	19	
Plan to get insurance within the next six months	12	63
Because of law	5	26
Planning to get anyway	6	33
Other/DK	1	3
Do not plan to get insurance	6	32
DK planning to get insurance	1	5
Don't know if have insurance	*	<u></u>
	100	100
N	1506	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. <u>In July 2012</u>, shortly after the Supreme Court upheld most of the provisions of the Affordable Care

Act, 47% approved of the legislation and 43% disapproved.

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.

Views of Health Care Law Since Passage



Apr Sept 2010 2013

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

For instance, just 12% of Republicans <u>favored</u>

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

0/ who approve of 2010	July 2009*	Sep 2010	Sep 2013
% who approve of 2010 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 do a better job of dealing with health	Rep	Dem	Other/ DK	R-D diff
care?	%	%	%	
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 to get insurance	Exchange in your state	Low-income 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			
\$75,000+	75	53	54
\$30,000-\$74,999	71	49	50
<\$30,000	65	53	46
Approve of law	67	64	61
Disapprove of law	72	41	41
PEW RESEARCH CENTE	R/USA TODAY Sent 4-8	2013 078-080	

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://people-press.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 sample size	Plus or minus
Total sample	1,506	2.9 percentage points
Republican	396	5.7 percentage points
Democrat	472	5.3 percentage points
Independent	569	4.8 percentage points
Among Rep/Rep Lean		
Tea Party	267	7.0 percentage points
non-Tea Party	381	5.8 percentage points
Insured	1,302	3.2 percentage points
Uninsured	201	8.0 percentage points

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.

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PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS/USA TODAY SEPTEMBER 2013 POLITICAL SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE September 4-8, 2013 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]

		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
b.	Health care policy			
	Sep 4-8, 2013 (U)	41	53	6
	Jan 6-9, 2011	45	47	8
	Jun 16-20, 2010	42	50	7
	Apr 21-26, 2010	40	51	9
	Mar 10-14, 2010	39	52	9
	Jan 6-10, 2010	38	52	10
	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	43	47	10
	Jul 22-26, 2009	42	43	14
	Apr 14-21, 2009	51	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?

	Smaller government, fewer services	Bigger government, more services	(VOL.) Depends	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Sep 4-8, 2013	51	40	<u>Depends</u> 2	7
Sep 12-16, 2012	51	40	4	6
Jan 4-8, 2012	52	39	2	7
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	48	41	2	8
Mar 8-14, 2011	50	42	3	5
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	50	42	3	5
Apr 1-5, 2010	50	39	4	8
Feb 3-9, 2010	50	40	3	7
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	51	40	4	6
Mar 9-12, 2009	48	40	3	9
Late October 2008	42	43	4	11
November 2007	47	42	4	7
January 2007	45	43	4	8
LA Times/Bloomberg: January 2006	49	38		13
LA Times: January 2005	52	36		12
ABC/Wash Post: June 2004	50	46		4
CBS/NYT: November 2003	45	42	4	9
CBS/NYT: July 2003	48	40	5	7
ABC: November 2002 (Likely voters)) 60	35		5
Wash Post: September 2002	54	39		7
ABC/Wash Post: July 2002	53	42		6
ABC/Wash Post: January 2002	54	41		5
CBS/NYT: January 2002	46	40	3	11
LA Times: November 2001	48	41		11
CBS/NYT: October 2001	48	39	3	11
LA Times: March 2001	59	29		12
CBS: January 2001	51	36	5	8
CBS: November 2000	54	31	5	10
CBS: October 2000	57	32	5	6

Q.10 CONTINUED...

	Smaller government, fewer services	Bigger government, more services	(VOL.) Depends	(VOL.) DK/Ref
ABC/Wash Post: October 2000 (RV)	58	32		10
ABC/Wash Post: Early October 2000	(RV) 58	33		9
LA Times: September 2000 (RV)	59	26		15
ABC/Wash Post: July 2000	59	34		7
ABC/Wash Post: April 2000	56	38		7
CBS: September 1999	46	43	5	6 6
ABC/Wash Post: August 1998	59	35		6
ABC/Wash Post: August 1996	63	32		5
LA Times: April 1996	62	28		10
CBS/NYT: February 1996	61	30	4	5
LA Times: October 1995	68	23		9
LA Times: September 1995	62	27		11
LA Times: January 1995	63	27		10
LA Times: June 1993	60	29		11
ABC/Wash Post: February 1993	67	30		2
ABC/Wash Post: July 1992	55	38		7
CBS/NYT: October 1991	42	43	7	8 7
CBS/NYT: January 1989¹	41	48	4	7
CBS/NYT: October 1988 (Likely vote	ers) 47	37	7	9 6
ABC/Wash Post: July 1988	49	45		6
CBS/NYT: May 1988	43	44	5	8
ABC/Wash Post: July 1984	49	43		7
CBS/NYT: March 1980	54	32		14
CBS/NYT: June 1978	53	36		11
Wash Post: January 1978	40	39		21
CBS/NYT: November 1976	42	45		13
CBS/NYT: October 1976 (RV)	49	37		14
CBS/NYT: September 1976 (RV)	48	41		11
CBS/NYT: June 1976	42	43		15
CBS/NYT: May 1976	41	43		16
CBS/NYT: April 1976	40	44		16

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 <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	(VOL.) Both equally	(VOL.) Neither	(VOL.) 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

-

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?"

Q.29b TRENDS FOR COMPARISON...

			(VOL.)		
	Republican	Democratic	Both	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Party</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>equally</u>	<u>Neither</u>	DK/Ref
Reforming the U.S. health care sy	/stem				
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	47		7	16
January, 1999	25	46		7	22
Reforming the U.S. health care sy	/stem				
Early September, 1998	31	43	7	7	12
March, 1998	25	53	6	8	8
October, 1994	34	41	5	10	10
July, 1994	34	48	2	8	8
Reforming health care					
December, 1993	25	47		10	18
Improving health care in the U.S.					
January, 1992	21	56		8	15
May, 1990	20	50		16	14

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?

	<u>Approve</u>	Very strongly	Not so strongly			Very strongly	Not so strongly	(VOL.) DK/Ref	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Sep 4-8, 2013 (U)	42	26	16	1	53	41	12	*	5
Jun 7-17, 2012	43	26	17	1	48	35	13	*	9
Apr 4-15, 2012	41				49				10
Mar 7-11, 2012	47				45				8
Jan 5-9, 2011	41				48				11
Nov 4-7, 2010	43				47				10
Sep 9-12, 2010	38				45				17
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	44				46				10
Jul 8-11, 2010	35				47				17
Apr 1-5, 2010	40				44				16

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

IF FAVOR OR OPPOSE: Do you (favor/oppose) these health care bills very strongly, or not so strongly? 2

	Generall	y <i>Very</i>	Not so	(VOL.)	Generally	- Very	Not so	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>favor</u>	<u>strongly</u>	<u>strongly</u>	DK/Ref	<u>oppose</u>	<u>strongly</u>	<u>strongly</u>	DK/Ref	DK/Ref
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	<i>35</i>	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... 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
<u>2013</u>		<u>2010</u> 3
25	Very well	18
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 <u>2013</u> 17 Mostly positive 20 Mostly negative Not much of an effect 63 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

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.

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
 2013
  25
           Mostly positive
           Mostly negative
  41
              That it will cost you more money
   15
              That it will reduce the quality of your health care
   11
              Both (VOL.)
   15
              Other reason (VOL.)
              Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
            Not much of an effect
  31
           Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
   4
```

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
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
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
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
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
2013
49
Yes, residents eligible for federal subsidies
No, residents not eligible for federal subsidies
Jon'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
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]

		Not	
	Covered	covered	
	by health	by health	(VOL.)
	insurance	<u>insurance</u>	DK/Ref
Sep 4-8, 2013 (U)	81	19	*

Q.81 CONTINUED ...

		Not	
	Covered	covered	
	by health	by health	(VOL.)
	<u>insurance</u>	<u>insurance</u>	DK/Ref
Jan 6-10, 2010	83	17	*
Dec 9-13, 2009	83	16	*
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	80	20	*
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	80	20	*
Jul 22-26, 2009	81	19	*
Jun 10-14, 2009	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 [N=201]:

(U)
Sep 4-8
2013
63
Yes, plan to get health insurance
No, do not
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
2013
41 Planning to get health insurance because of law
Was planning to get health insurance anyway
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?

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)			
				No	Other	(VOL.)	Lean	Lean
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	preference	party	DK/Ref	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>
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		Lean	Lean
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>preference</u>	party	DK/Ref	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>
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	2 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	<i>27.9</i>	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]:

				(VOL.)		Not
			No opinion	Haven't	(VOL.)	heard of/
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	either way	heard of	<u>Refused</u>	<u>DK</u>
Sep 4-8, 2013	35	9	54	1	1	
Jul 17-21, 2013	37	10	50	2	1	
Jun 12-16, 2013	44	9	46	1	2	
May 23-26, 2013	41	7	48	1	3	
May 1-5, 2013	28	8	61	2	1	
Mar 13-17, 2013	43	7	47	1	1	
Feb 13-18, 2013	36	9	52	1	3	
Feb 14-17, 2013	43	9	45	1	2	
Jan 9-13, 2013	35	10	51	2	2	
Dec 5-9, 2012	37	11	51	1	*	
Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012 (RVs)	40	8	49	1	2	
Oct 4-7, 2012	38	9	50	1	3	
Sep 12-16, 2013	39	7	52	1	1	
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012	40	9	47	2	1	

TEAPARTY3 CONTINUED...

	Agree	Disagree	No opinion either way	(VOL.) Haven't heard of	(VOL.) Refused	Not heard of/ DK
Jun 7-17, 2012	42	8	48	1	1	
May 9-Jun 3, 2012	36	9	53	1	2	
Apr 4-15, 2012	42	8	48	1	1	
Mar 7-11, 2012	38	10	49	2	1	
Feb 8-12, 2012	40	7	51	1	1	
Jan 11-16, 2012	42	8	47	1	1	
Jan 4-8, 2012	37	8	52	1	1	
Dec 7-11, 2011	40	9	48	2	1	
Nov 9-14, 2011	41	9	49	*	1	
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	37	11	51	1	1	
Aug 17-21, 2011	43	7	49	*	1	
Jul 20-24, 2011	40	7	51	*	1	
Jun 15-19, 2011	42	9	47	1	1	
May 25-30, 2011	37	7	52	1	3	
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	45	9	46	*	1	
Mar 8-14, 2011	37	7	54	1	*	
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	41	9	48	1	1	
Feb 2-7, 2011 ⁴	43	8	47	1	1	
Jan 5-9, 2011	45	6	47	1	1	
Dec 1-5, 2010	48	5	45	1	1	
Nov 4-7, 2010	51	5	42	1	1	
Oct 27-30, 2010 (RVs)	58	5	27		1	9
Oct 13-18, 2010 (RVs)	54	5	30		1	10
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	56	6	29		*	9
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	46	5	36		1	13
Jun 16-20, 2010	46	5	30		*	19
May 20-23, 2010	53	4	25		1	16
Mar 11-21, 2010	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

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."