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.) DK/Ref
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	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 5
Mar 8-14, 2011	50	42	3	5
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	50	42	3	5 8
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)		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 54	36 31	5 5	8
CBS: November 2000 CBS: October 2000	54 57	31 32	5 5	10 6
CBS. OCTOBER 2000	5/	32	Э	О

Q.10 CONTINUED...

		-	Bigger government,	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
ARC/Mach Docts October 2000 (RM)	rev	<u>wer services</u>	more services	<u>Depends</u>	DK/Ref
ABC/Wash Post: October 2000 (RV)	(01/)	58	32		10
ABC/Wash Post: Early October 2000	(KV)	58	33		9
LA Times: September 2000 (RV)		59 50	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
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
CBS/NYT: January 1989 ¹		41	48	4	7
CBS/NYT: October 1988 (Likely vote	ers)	47	37	7	9
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?]

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

	Approve	Very estrongly		(VOL.) DK/Ref		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

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>	strongly	strongly	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	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... 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.) 1

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.)
	<u>insurance</u>	<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>	<u>either way</u>	<u>heard of</u>	<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...

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	No opinion either way	(VOL.) Haven't heard of	(VOL.) Refused	Not heard of/ <u>DK</u>
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."