

TO: Interested Parties

FROM: Kellyanne Conway, President & CEO  
**the polling company™, inc./WomanTrend**

DATE: March 15, 2010

RE: Executive Summary: Voter Survey in 35 Targeted Congressional Districts

*On behalf of Independent Women's Voice, the polling company™, inc./WomanTrend conducted a survey of 1,200 registered voters residing in 35 U.S. Congressional Districts, a full list of which can be found [here](#). The survey was fielded March 8-10, 2010 at a Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) facility using live callers. Sampling controls were employed at the regional level, meaning that a proportionate number of and demographically representative interviews were collected according to the compositions of the Census-defined regions.*

### **WHAT'S NEXT?**

#### **Voters Want Congress to Hit the Reset or Pause Buttons on Healthcare Reform**

When presented with five different options and asked **what Congress should do next on healthcare reform**, the plurality (40%) of voters said Congress should “start from scratch with a bipartisan proposal” while another 20% thought Congress should “stop working on healthcare legislation this year”. Statistically similar percentages thought Congress should pass it *as-is* (10%), pass it but make *major changes* later on (13%), or pass it but make *minor changes* later on (13%).

- Pluralities of men (48%), women (38%), and voters of all ages, regions, and incomes felt that Congress should start anew with a bipartisan proposal.
  - The strongest proponents for going back to the drawing board were 18-24 year olds (50%), Whites (45%), married voters (44%), conservatives (54%), self-identified Independents (43%) and Republicans (58%).
  - Forty-one percent of voters who watched at least some part of the Blair House healthcare summit also wanted a new beginning.

#### **Events of the Past Two Weeks have Intensified Opposition, Not Shored Up Support, for Healthcare Legislation**

Survey respondents were asked the following: “Has what you’ve read, seen, or heard about healthcare reform over the last week to 10 days made you (ROTATED) more supportive or less supportive of the healthcare legislation being considered in Washington? They were also provided an opportunity to express intensity.

In response, 29% said their support of healthcare reform has increased this month, while the different events and news reports about healthcare have made a majority (55%) *less* supportive. Moreover, 42% say they have become MUCH less supportive.

### Voters Hope Congress Takes the Time to Get Healthcare Right, Even If That Causes Delay

In a split sample question, more than three-quarters of respondents felt that Congress should prioritize quality over expediency when tackling healthcare reform:

- 79% of voters agreed and 14% disagreed: **“I would prefer that Congress do healthcare reform right than do it fast.”**
- 75% agreed and 18% disagreed: **“I would prefer that Congress do no healthcare reform at all than do it wrong.”**
- In both instances, majorities of men, women, and voters of all regions felt Congress should emphasize getting it done correctly than quickly. Majorities of Republicans and Independents also agreed with the two statements and were joined by 66% of Democrats on the first statement and 50% on the second statement. More than four-in-five Independent women agreed with each of the statements.

In a separate question about the timeline for reform, 54% of respondents said Congress and the President should enact healthcare reform **“only when quality legislation is developed, even if it means there is no deadline.”** Seventeen percent wanted action within the next **few weeks**, 13% hoped for action **sometime this year**, and 7% would wait for the **next few years**.

- 55% of men and 53% of women believed that Congress should wait until it takes the time to develop quality legislation. And 57% of self-identified Independents felt the same way.
- The plurality of voters in districts won by Barack Obama (48%) in 2008 and a majority in districts carried by John McCain (55%) believed that Congress should wait until it can vote on better legislation.

### Though It Might Mean Another Year Without Healthcare “Reform”, Voters Demand a “NO” Vote on Current Legislation

By a margin of 2-to-1, agreement outpaced disagreement with the following statement: **“Even if it means healthcare reform is not passed this year, I would prefer that my Member of Congress vote *against* the current legislation being considered in Washington.”**

- No real gender gap emerged, as majorities of men (67%) and women (61%) agreed, and with intensity - 58% of men concurred “strongly” compared with 51% of women.
- Also affirming were 65% of self-identified Independent women and 69% of self-identified Independent men, 89% of Republican women, and 92% of Republican men. Majorities of both Democratic men (68%) and women (63%) *disagreed* with the statement.
- **Sixty-three percent of voters represented by freshmen in Congress, 63% from districts won by John McCain and 61% from districts carried by Barack Obama also agreed that “nothing” is better than “rushing.”**
- 72% of small business owners also preferred their Members of Congress say “no”, regardless of the delay.

**Most Voters – Including Young People and Obama '08 Voters - Will NOT be Upset if the “Democrats’ Version of Healthcare Reform” Does Not Pass This Year**

Given the opportunity to describe their emotions toward a *lack* of healthcare reform this year, 45% of respondents said they would be “**relieved**” and 21% “**pleased**”. Twenty percent indicated they would be “**disappointed**”, 19% would be “**frustrated**”, 14% “**angry**”, and 10% “**anxious**”. The most common reactions among the cohorts were:

	<b>Relieved</b>	<b>Pleased</b>	<b>Disappointed</b>	<b>Frustrated</b>	<b>Angry</b>	<b>Anxious</b>
Men	48%	23%	20%	17%	14%	8%
Women	42%	19%	21%	21%	13%	11%
18-24	52%	19%	18%	17%	11%	13%
Seniors	45%	24%	20%	19%	13%	10%
Independents	45%	17%	17%	19%	11%	8%
McCain Districts	47%	22%	18%	20%	14%	10%
Obama Districts	45%	20%	22%	20%	13%	9%

**Majorities Say Current Healthcare Reform Is Bad Medicine**

Some 53% of voters surveyed anticipated that they and their loved ones would be worse off “if the President and Congress passed their current version of healthcare reform.” In separate questions, majorities also predicted negative effects on the U.S. economy and U.S. healthcare system if the current legislation became law.

<i>Do you think _____ would be (ROTATED) better off or worse off if the President and Congress passed their current version of healthcare reform or do you think it would make no difference?</i>			
<b>Better Off</b>	<b>Worse Off</b>	<b>No Difference</b>	
19%	53%	21%	<b>You and Your Loved Ones</b>
21%	54%	19%	<b>The Economy (Half-Sample)</b>
25%	55%	14%	<b>The Healthcare System (Half-Sample)</b>

- Majorities of Independents in all three questions predicted that they and their loved ones (54%), the economy (51%), and the healthcare system (55%) would be negatively impacted by implementation of the current plan.
- Pluralities of voters in districts won by Barack Obama also anticipated declines for their families (50%) and the healthcare system (48%). A majority felt that the economy would take a turn for the worse (52%).

### Voters Reject Reconciliation

Respondents were informed: “As you might know, the House has been asked to vote on the Senate bill as-is in order to pass it into law. However, Members of the House have been told that they will be able to change the bill later through individual amendments before it becomes the law. I will now read you the opinions of two people.” Outlined in the table below are respondents’ alignments with the two positions presented:

<p>A stacked bar chart showing the percentage of respondents who agree strongly (green) or somewhat (orange) with Person 1's position. The x-axis lists Democrats, Independents, and Republicans. The y-axis represents the percentage of respondents.</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Party</th> <th>Agree Strongly</th> <th>Agree Somewhat</th> <th>Total</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Democrats</td> <td>31%</td> <td>22%</td> <td>53%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Independents</td> <td>15%</td> <td>14%</td> <td>29%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Republicans</td> <td>4%</td> <td>5%</td> <td>9%</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Party	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Total	Democrats	31%	22%	53%	Independents	15%	14%	29%	Republicans	4%	5%	9%	<p>A stacked bar chart showing the percentage of respondents who agree strongly (green) or somewhat (orange) with Person 2's position. The x-axis lists Democrats, Independents, and Republicans. The y-axis represents the percentage of respondents.</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Party</th> <th>Agree Strongly</th> <th>Agree Somewhat</th> <th>Total</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Democrats</td> <td>21%</td> <td>16%</td> <td>37%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Independents</td> <td>48%</td> <td>10%</td> <td>58%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Republicans</td> <td>74%</td> <td>12%</td> <td>86%</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Party	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Total	Democrats	21%	16%	37%	Independents	48%	10%	58%	Republicans	74%	12%	86%
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<p><b>Person 1</b> thinks their Member of Congress should trust the promise of a reconciliation vote after the Senate bill is passed into law and should vote for the Senate bill as is, regardless of what happens after.</p>	<p><b>Person 2</b> thinks their Member of Congress should know that reconciliation is a political promise and that there will be neither incentive to keep it nor leverage to enforce it once the Senate bill is law, and therefore should vote against the Senate bill unless they agree with that bill as written.</p>																																

Among all respondents, 63% sided with Person 2’s sentiments, and 50% emphatically so. Another 28% echoed the ideas of Person 1.

## **THE POLITICAL CURRENCY OF HEALTHCARE**

### **Healthcare Will be on Their Minds as They Head to the Polls this Fall**

Thirty percent of voters said that healthcare will be the “top” issue when deciding which candidate to support for Congress in November; another 52% of voters – the majority – said the issue would be “not the top issue, but one of the top three issues”. Eleven percent placed the issue in their top ten, and 4% said it did not make the cut.

- Majorities of men (81%), women (82%), and voters of all ages, races, regions, political parties, and ideologies said that the issue of healthcare will be in their top three, if not their number one, concerns in November.
- Thirty-three percent of Independent women said healthcare will be their top priority when assessing the candidates and an additional 55% deemed it a top three matter.
- **Notably, a voter’s inclination to weigh healthcare in their political decisions in the November elections was not necessarily because he or she wants this reform to pass. In fact, a number of people who have healthcare on the brain are worried that it might pass.**
- Among those who place healthcare as a top priority heading into this year’s elections:
  - 51% disagreed and 48% agreed that **“health reform should focus on making sure everyone has insurance”**;
  - 63% agreed and 34% disagreed that **“the current legislation gives government too big a role in the healthcare system”**;
  - 65% agreed and 32% disagreed that **“we as a nation can’t afford to pay for the current legislation right now”**;
  - 68% agreed and 31% disagreed that **“healthcare is distracting Congress from other more immediate priorities, like the economy and jobs”**;
  - 81% agreed and 16% disagreed that **“healthcare reform should focus first on bringing down the costs of healthcare and health insurance”**;
  - 45% would feel **“relieved”** and 24% **“pleased”** if Congress does not enact the Democrats’ version of healthcare reform this year; and
  - 71% opposed taxpayer funding of abortion, 24% supported it.

**Just Saying No Has Its Rewards: Voters Inclined to Support Congressional Candidates Who Oppose Current Approach to Healthcare Reform**

Sixty percent of respondents said they would vote for the candidate who opposes **“the current version of healthcare reform and wants to start over”** while 32% said they vote against this candidate. Intensity was with the candidate who rejects the current reform package: 38% would definitely vote for the candidate who opposed it compared to 22% who said they would definitely vote against the candidate.

- Majorities of men (62%), women (58%), and voters of all ages, regions, and incomes said they would vote for the candidate who opposes Washington’s current course on healthcare reform.
- Fifty-nine percent of respondents in districts represented by freshmen said they would vote for the candidate who said **“no”** to the current version of healthcare reform; 31% said they would vote against the candidate.

**Catering to Special Interests in Healthcare Legislation is A Losing Proposition**

Thinking more specifically about the House vote on the Senate bill, **seven-in-ten voters said they would vote AGAINST their Member of Congress if he or she votes for a version of healthcare reform that “includes hundreds of millions of dollars and special breaks for individual states or special interest groups.”** One-in-five said they would vote FOR their Member of Congress who supports this legislation, representing a net negative 50-point deficit for the incumbent who backs it.

*The House of Representatives is likely to vote on the version of health care legislation that passed the U.S. Senate on Christmas Eve without any changes. That means your representative will be voting on a bill that includes hundreds of millions of dollars and special breaks for individual states or special interest lobbying groups. Would you be more likely to vote for or vote against a candidate who votes for this version of healthcare reform?*

	VOTE FOR	VOTE AGAINST	NET
All Voters	20%	70%	<b>-50</b>
Men	21%	71%	<b>-50</b>
Women	20%	68%	<b>-48</b>
Self-ID Democrats	38%	45%	<b>-7</b>
Self-ID Independents	21%	72%	<b>-51</b>
Self-ID Republicans	6%	88%	<b>-82</b>
McCain Districts	21%	72%	<b>-51</b>
Obama Districts	22%	64%	<b>-42</b>

**Writing Is On the Wall: Voters Want Their Own Members to Vote Against Healthcare Reform**

Respondents were presented with three statements about how their Members of Congress voted on healthcare legislation last November and how they might vote in the future. **The Member of Congress who voted *against* the bill in the past and who votes *against* it in the future has the most to gain; the Member who voted *against* it in the past and then votes *for* it in the future has the most to lose. The Member of Congress who voted *for* the bill in November, but then votes *against* it the second time around might be granted a dose of salvation.**

- **Sixty-one percent would be less supportive and 29% more supportive** of a Member of Congress who **previously voted AGAINST the bill and then voted FOR it.**
- **Forty-nine percent would be more supportive and 40% less supportive** of a Member of Congress who **previously voted FOR the bill and then voted AGAINST it.**
- **Fifty-eight percent would be more supportive and 34% less supportive** of a Member of Congress who **previously voted AGAINST the bill and again voted AGAINST it.**

	<i>Member of Congress Who Voted...</i>		
	<b>AGAINST/FOR</b>	<b>FOR/AGAINST</b>	<b>AGAINST/AGAINST</b>
	<b>(NET = % MORE SUPPORTIVE MINUS % LESS SUPPORTIVE)</b>		
<b>ALL VOTERS</b>	<b>-32</b>	<b>+9</b>	<b>+24</b>
Men	<b>-35</b>	+14	+25
Women	<b>-30</b>	+5	+23
McCain District	<b>-35</b>	+4	+28
Obama District	<b>-21</b>	+8	+19
Freshman District	<b>-29</b>	+7	+26
Retiring District	<b>-32</b>	+9	+28
Member Voted “Yes” in November	<b>-32</b>	+11	+22
Member Voted “No” in November	<b>-33</b>	+5	+26

## **THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN HEALTHCARE**

### **Voters Question the Obligation and Right of the Government to Intervene in Healthcare**

Respondents were split sampled and asked to react to two competing statements about mandates on insurance, one affirming a role for government in healthcare and one noting that individual rights would be threatened by federal requirements:

- Disagreement outpaced agreement by more than 3-to-1 with the statement: **“It is the responsibility of the federal government to mandate that everyone have government-approved health insurance and to be penalized if they do not”** (76% disagree vs. 22% agree)
  - *Women were eight points more likely than men to disagree (80% vs. 72%).*
  - *Tri-partisan rejection of this notion emerged: majorities of self-identified Democrats (56%), Independents (70%), and Republicans (96%) similarly rejected any obligation on the part of the federal government to mandate insurance.*
- Agreement outweighed disagreement by 13 points with the argument: **“It would be an unprecedented violation of individual rights for the federal government to mandate that everyone have government-approved health insurance and to be penalized if they do not.”** (55% agree vs. 44% disagree)
  - *Fifty-five percent of men and women alike agreed with the statement.*
  - *Whereas 60% of self-identified Democrats disagreed with the assertion that government would be infringing upon individuals’ rights, 54% of Independents and 75% of Republicans embraced the argument.*

### **Concerns Loom Large About Scope of Government Involvement in Healthcare**

By nearly 2-to-1, respondents agreed, **“the current legislation gives government too big a role in the healthcare system”** (63% agree vs. 32% disagree). Notably, the majority (53%) strongly agreed.

- Men were eight points more likely than women to agree (67% vs. 59%), and the difference was attributable to a nine-point difference in intensity (58% of men strongly agreed compared to 49% of women).
  - Political party affiliation showed a big dividing line on this question: Democratic women disagreed by nearly 2-to-1 (61% vs. 32%) while for Independent women the reverse true, as among them, agreement outpaced disagreement by nearly 2-to-1 (59% vs. 30%). Among Republican women, agreement was 7-to-1 (84% vs. 12%).

## **THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS IN HEALTHCARE: AN OPTION TO OPT OUT**

In a split sample question voters across these 35 congressional districts affirmed the rights of individuals to spend their money in healthcare as they see fit **and** to not be compelled to take part in any healthcare system or insurance policy.

- Agreement outpaced disagreement by 8-to-1 with the suggestion that **“Americans have the right to spend their own money to have access to legal health care services, treatments, and tests”** (86% agree vs. 11% disagree).
- By more than 3-to-1, voters agreed: **“Americans have the right to choose to NOT participate in any healthcare system or plan WITHOUT the government imposing a penalty or fine of any type”** (76% agree vs. 22% disagree)
- Majorities of men and women in each half-sample agreed with the statements, as did majorities of voters of all political affiliations (both ideologically and party self-ID).

## **CONGRESS VIEWED AS MISDIRECTED WITH FOCUS ON HEALTHCARE**

### **Washington Not Concentrating on the Right Issues...**

By more than 2-to-1, voters agreed: **“Healthcare reform is distracting Congress from more immediate priorities, like the economy and jobs”** (69% agree vs. 30% disagree). Intensity of opinion was evident, as 52% of voters strongly agreed with the sentiment. Majorities of voters across the demographic and political spectra felt Congress was misguiding itself right now.

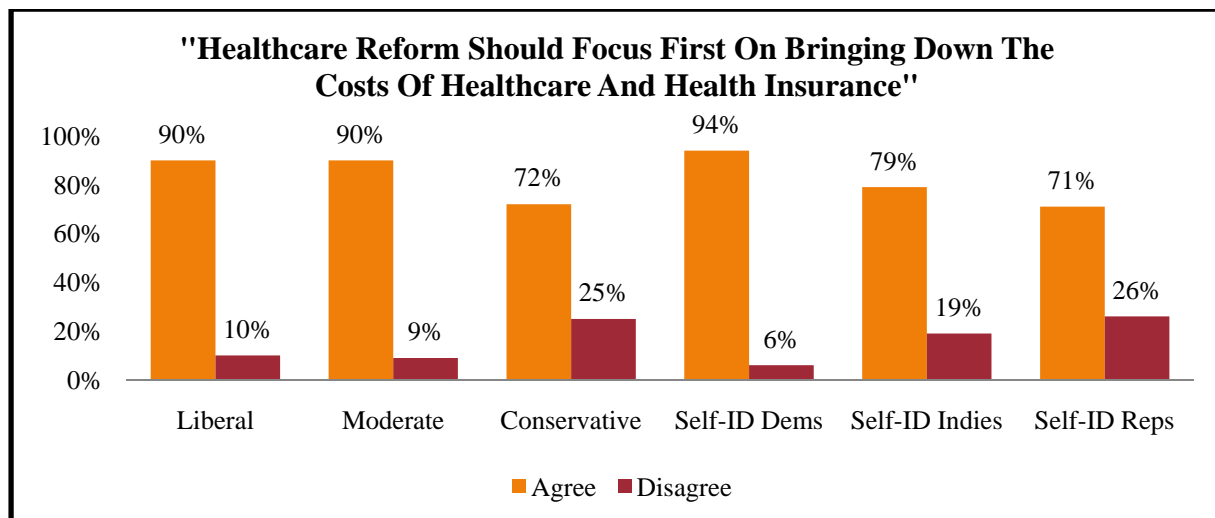
- Voters aged 18-24 and 25-34 were notably more inclined to agree, a fact unsurprising given these cohorts’ higher-than-average unemployment rates.

### **...Or the Right Aspects of Healthcare Reform**

In a split sampled question, 81% of respondents agreed and 18% disagreed with the argument that **“Healthcare reform should focus first on bringing down the costs of healthcare and health insurance.”** The majority (61%) strongly backed the statement.

As outlined in the table below, voters on the “Left” side of the aisle were in stronger agreement than those on the “Right”.

The other half of the sample was presented with the position, **“Health reform should focus on making sure everyone has insurance.”** A slim majority (53%) concurred.

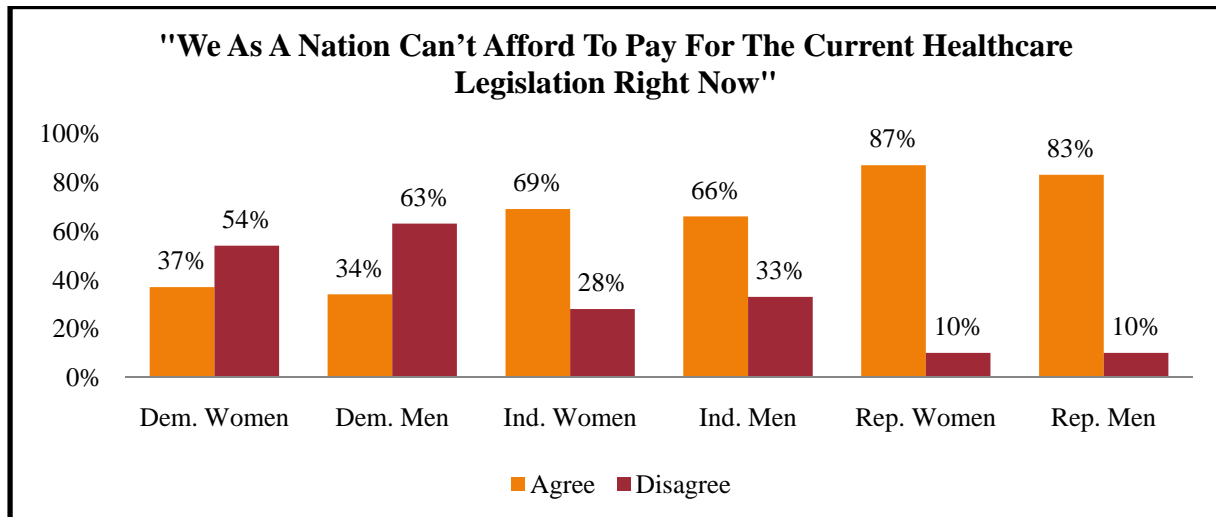


## **VOTERS REJECT THE PRICE TAG OF CURRENT REFORM**

### **The National Purse Cannot Handle “Reform”**

Sixty-four percent of Americans agreed – including 52% strongly – **“We as a nation can’t afford to pay for the current healthcare legislation right now.”** Thirty-three percent disagreed, and 23% did so with intensity.

- 65% of women and 62% of men agreed, as did majorities of voters of all ages and regions of the country. The majority of Whites (68%) and plurality of Blacks (50%) also affirmed the statement.
- Even the Obama '08 voters agree: Three-in-five voters in districts represented by freshmen, 63% in districts won by John McCain, 60% in districts carried by Barack Obama, and 62% in districts represented by retiring members concurred that the nation’s financial status did not allow for the current healthcare legislation.
- As shown in the table below, majorities of Independent women and men aligned with majorities of Republicans of both genders in declaring the nation financially “unfit” for healthcare reform.



## **COSTS & CONSEQUENCES OF HEALTHCARE REFORM**

### **Voters Reject Individual Aspects of Healthcare Reform**

In a rotated and split-sampled fashion, respondents were presented with ten “statements about the current healthcare legislation being considered in Washington.” Voters were asked of each whether knowing the fact **alone** would make them more or less supportive of the legislation.

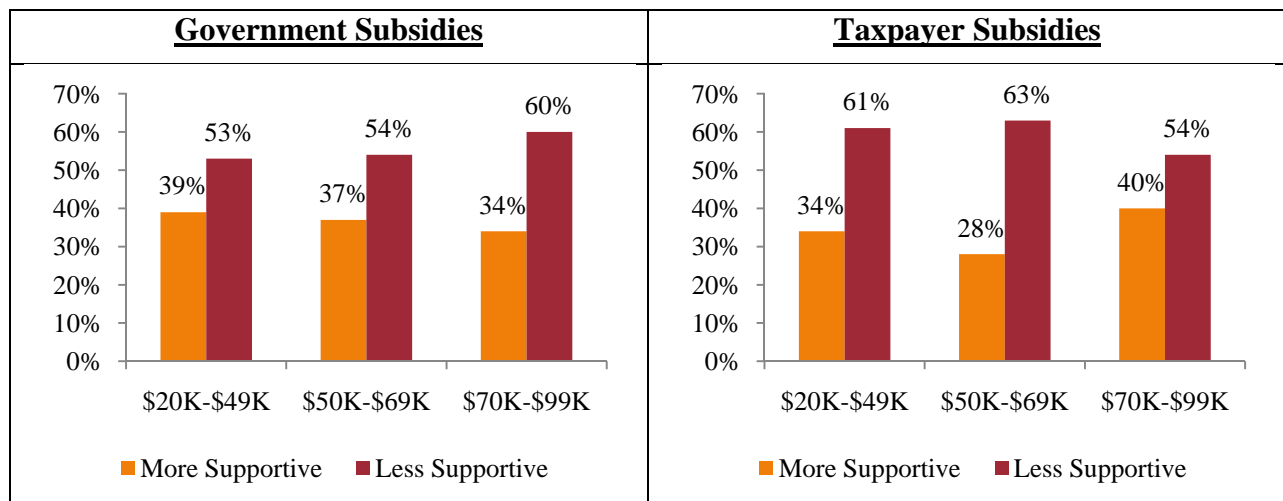
**Each of eleven individual elements of the plan generated net negatives when tested, meaning the percentages of voters less supportive outweighed the percentages of voters more supportive.**

<b>MANDATES &amp; PENALTIES</b>	<b>% MORE SUPPORTIVE</b>	<b>% LESS SUPPORTIVE</b>	<b>NET</b>
Mandates the purchase of insurance and penalizes individuals who do not purchase health insurance with a fine of up to 2.5 percent of their income.	<b>10%</b>	<b>81%</b>	<b>-71</b>
Penalizes employers with 50 or more employees who don't provide what the government deems is sufficient health insurance for their employees, and fines them up to \$2,000 per employee for each low-income employee who purchases subsidized health insurance from the government.	<b>29%</b>	<b>61%</b>	<b>-32</b>

- Majorities of men and women were **less supportive** of the legislation after learning about **provisions** relating to individual and employer mandates and penalties. In fact, more than four-in-five men and women alike said they disliked the legislation less knowing that it would penalize individuals with fines for failing to have health insurance. And, more than three-in-five male and female respondents disliked it for its requirements on businesses.
- Similarly, majorities of Independents were less supportive of the bill knowing that it penalized individuals (84%) and penalized employers (60%).
- Small business owners recoiled in support for the legislation knowing it carried employer mandates (65%) and individual mandates (79%).
- Fifty-eight percent of voters in districts won by Barack Obama were less supportive after being told the legislation carried employer mandates; a larger 76% rejected the individual directives.

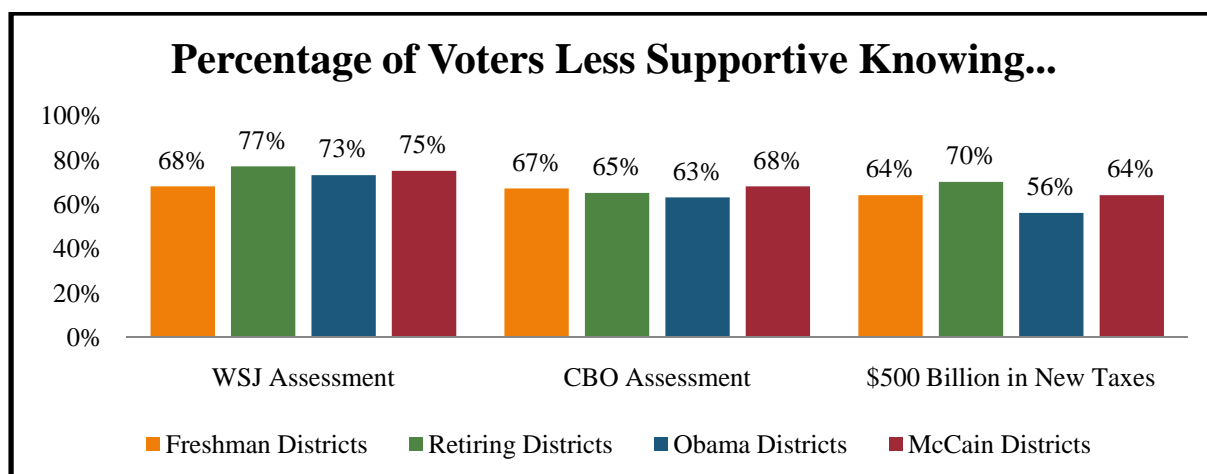
<b>ENTITLEMENTS &amp; SUBSIDIES</b>		<b>% MORE SUPPORTIVE</b>	<b>% LESS SUPPORTIVE</b>	<b>NET</b>
In this legislation, the federal government requires that all individuals must obtain health insurance, but for those who receive government money to help them to them obtain health insurance that money will go directly to the health insurance companies, not to individuals.		<b>33%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>-25</b>
<i>Split Sample</i>	Creates a new middle-class entitlement that provides <b>government</b> subsidies to help purchase health insurance to some people earning up to \$96,000 for a family of four.	<b>35%</b>	<b>59%</b>	<b>-24</b>
	Creates a new middle-class entitlement that provides <b>taxpayer</b> subsidies to help purchase health insurance to some people earning up to \$96,000 for a family of four.	<b>35%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>-20</b>

- Upwards of three-in-five voters rejected federal government subsidies for middle class families as well as direct subsidies to insurance companies.
  - Sixty-one percent of men and 54% of women were less supportive of the legislation knowing it contained insurance company subsidies. Majorities of voters of all ages and across all regions were similarly less inclined to back it.
  - Self-identified Democrats split: 46% were more supportive and 42% were less supportive knowing about the bill’s provisions for direct money to insurance companies. Self-identified Independents and Republicans were notably disinclined to back it (54%-35% among I’s and 73%-23% among R’s).
- In the split sample question, regardless of which term was used – government vs. taxpayer – majorities of “middle class” voters were discouraged from supporting the legislation despite their potential to gain from subsidies:



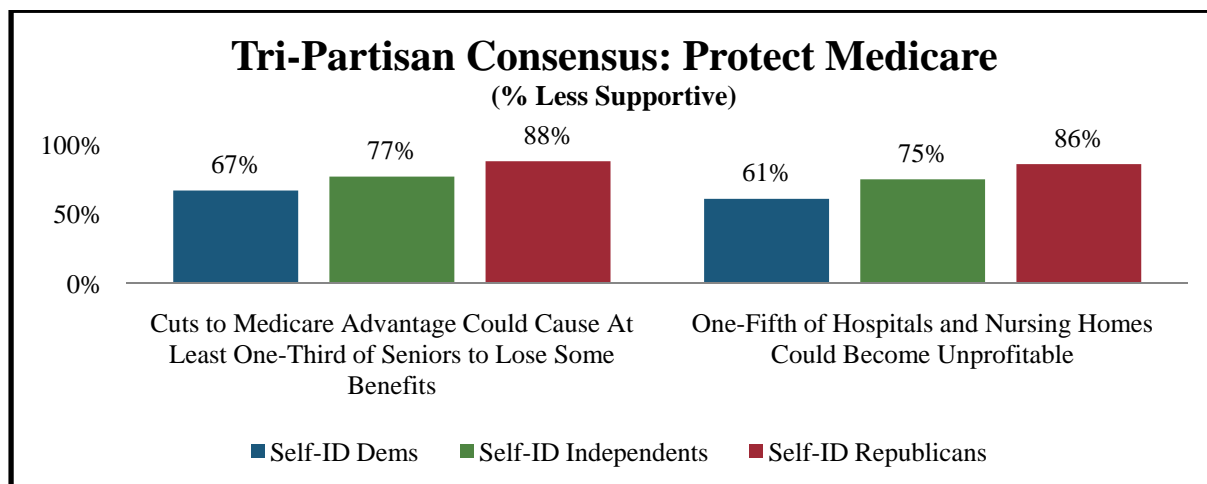
<b>COSTS OF &amp; PAYING FOR LEGISLATION</b>	<b>% MORE SUPPORTIVE</b>	<b>% LESS SUPPORTIVE</b>	<b>NET</b>
According to the <i>Wall Street Journal</i> , the legislation’s QUOTE “fiscal assertions are possible only because of ... fraudulent accounting and budget gimmicks...one [part of] the bill counts 10 years of taxes but only six years of spending. The real cost over a decade is about \$2.3 trillion” END QUOTE.	<b>12%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>-63</b>
According to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, the cost of health insurance premiums in the individual market will increase on average by \$2,100 in the year 2016. This means that if the bill passes, families will pay \$15,200 per year, but \$13,100 per year if it did not pass.	<b>16%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>-51</b>
Calls for nearly \$500 billion in new taxes on insurance companies, high-cost health insurance plans, investment income and savings, and medical goods and services.	<b>26%</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>-36</b>

- Majorities of men, women, voters of all ages, races, regions, incomes, and even political parties indicated that they were less inclined to back the bill after hearing the *Wall Street Journal’s* economic assessment and impact of the legislation. This included 51% of self-identified Democrats, 73% of Independents, and 94% of Republicans.
- Similarly, all **demographic** cohorts were less supportive of the legislation after hearing of the CBO’s evaluation of the legislation. Of the **political** cohorts, 50% of self-identified Democrats, 68% of Independents, and 79% of Republicans said knowing the impact on premiums caused their support to decline.
- Upon learning of the \$500 billion in new taxes, majorities of men (58%), women (68%), self-identified Independents (61%), and Republicans (85%) said they were less apt to back the legislation. Though middle-income and upper-income voters were slightly more supportive compared to others, **majorities of voters across all income cohorts were less supportive upon learning of the taxes on insurance companies, high-cost insurance plans, investment income and savings, and medical goods and services.**



<b>MEDICARE &amp; LOSS OF COVERAGE</b>	<b>% MORE SUPPORTIVE</b>	<b>% LESS SUPPORTIVE</b>	<b>NET</b>
According to the Congressional Budget Office, it could cause 10 million Americans who receive health insurance from their places of employment to lose their existing coverage.	<b>12%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>-66</b>
According to the Chief Actuary for the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, the cuts to Medicare could cause one-fifth of hospitals and nursing homes to become unprofitable, meaning that they might have to reduce or limit services to seniors or even close altogether.	<b>14%</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>-60</b>
Cuts to Medicare Advantage could cause at least one-third of seniors to lose some of their health care benefits.	<b>13%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>-55</b>

- The two statements regarding cuts to Medicare and Medicare beneficiary losses were negatively received, as majorities of all cohorts indicated that they would be less supportive of the legislation. In fact, majorities of self-identified Democrats, Independents, and Republicans aligned:



- CBO estimations that up to 10 million Americans could lose their existing workplace-based health insurance caused another tri-partisan consensus to emerge, as majorities of self-identified Democrats (61%), Independents (76%), and Republicans (92%) said they were less inclined to back the legislation.
- Seventy-nine percent of small business owners also indicated that they were less supportive of current efforts knowing that it contained provisions that could lead workers to lose coverage.

<b>ROLE OF GOVERNMENT</b>	<b>% MORE SUPPORTIVE</b>	<b>% LESS SUPPORTIVE</b>	<b>NET</b>
Gives the Health and Human Services Secretary unprecedented new powers, including the authority to decide what medical care is and is not covered, as well as terms of coverage and who should be eligible.	<b>16%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>-62</b>

- Concerns about augmented authority for the Secretary of Health and Human Services worried voters across the demographic and political spectra. Seventy-six percent of men and women alike, as well as majorities of voters of all ages, races, regions, incomes, and political parties were less supportive upon learning of the expansions and extensions of power to the HHS Secretary.
- Seventy-seven percent of voters in districts won by John McCain and 78% in districts carried by Barack Obama were disinclined to back the legislation upon learning of the new powers for the HHS Secretary.

### **BEST PRACTICES**

#### **Across-the-Board Dictum to Insure Denounced As Sole “Fix” to Healthcare Ills**

By a margin of more than 2-to-1 voters disagreed that **“the only way to improve the healthcare system is for the government to mandate everyone to have health insurance”** (66% disagree vs. 32% agree).

- Majorities of men (69%), women (64%) and voters of all ages and regions disagreed. However, there was no consensus across racial lines, as majorities of Blacks (52%) and Hispanics (59%) agreed.
- Self-identified Democrats agreed by a margin of 63%-34% while Independents disagreed by more than 2-to-1 (68% vs. 29%) and Republicans disagreed by 10-to-1 (90% vs. 9%).
- Voters in districts won by McCain were more likely than those in districts carried by Obama to disagree, but nonetheless majorities in each did so (70% and 62%, respectively).
- Sixty-seven percent of voters with some form insurance and 60% of those currently uninsured felt that mandating insurance would solve the healthcare system’s problems.

#### **Alternatives to Current Reform Embraced**

When presented with four possible “additional ways to improve the current healthcare bill” and asked to select “which, if any” they would like to have included in the bill, three of the four options were chosen by a majority of voters:

70%	Enacting provisions that allow people to buy health insurance on their own with the same tax benefits as people who get their health insurance at work.
68%	Allowing small businesses to form groups to buy health insurance at lower rates and get the purchasing power larger businesses have.
61%	Allowing people in one state to purchase health insurance of their choice and keep their insurance when they move from one state to another.
36%	Enacting legal reforms to help reduce tests and treatments that may not be absolutely needed.

**The three options that received overall majority support were also endorsed by majorities of:**

- Both Men and Women
- Voters of all age cohorts, races/ ethnicities, regions, and incomes
- Liberals, Moderates, and Conservatives
- Self-identified Democrats, Independents, and Republicans
- Voters in districts won by McCain and districts won by Obama
- Small business owners and non-owners alike

**Voters Denounce Inclusion of Abortion in Healthcare Reform**

When asked to consider taxpayer funding of abortions exclusive of their own personal viewpoints on abortion, the majority of voters opposed using tax dollars to pay for abortions by a 67%-26% margin. Opposition was, with 58% of respondents from these 35 districts strongly rejecting taxpayer funding of abortion.

- The plurality of self-identified Democrats (48%) and majorities of Independents (66%) and Republicans (85%) opposed taxpayer funding of abortion. They were joined by 72% of voters hailing from districts won by John McCain and 61% from districts carried by Barack Obama.
- Zero gender gap: 67% of men and 68% of women refused to foot the bill for abortion.

**Respondents in Dead Heat on Insurance Rates**

Respondents were presented with two opposing views on mandating insurance companies to charge the same rates to everyone within an age group. As shown below, voters were closely divided and intensity was evenly matched:

<p><b>44% TOTAL AGREE PERSON 1 (NET)</b>          24% STRONGLY AGREE PERSON 1          20% SOMEWHAT AGREE PERSON 1</p>	<p><b>Person 1</b> says that insurance companies should be required to charge everyone in the same age group the same premium regardless of how healthy or unhealthy an individual is or how often he or she uses the health insurance.</p>
<p><b>44% TOTAL AGREE PERSON 1 (NET)</b>          20% SOMEWHAT AGREE PERSON 1          24% STRONGLY AGREE PERSON 1</p>	<p><b>Person 2</b> says that insurance companies should not be required to charge everyone in the same age group the same premium because it would drive younger and healthier people away from purchasing coverage.</p>

- Cohorts more likely than most to embrace the position held by **Person 1** included: Blacks, the never married (55%) and currently single (50%), liberals (63%), moderates (50%), self-identified Democrats (60%), those with government insurance (51%), and voters with household incomes ranging from \$20,000-\$49,999.
- Conversely, Whites (46%), Southerners (48%), married voters (47%), conservatives (53%), self-identified Republicans (57%), voters with household incomes greater than \$100,000 (55%), and small business owners (50%) stood out as more likely to align with the views represented by **Person 2**.