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March 24, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK MCLARTY
MARK GEARAN
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

FROM: RAHM EMANUEL *R.E.*
SUBJECT: HEALTH CARE SURVEY

Attached please find results from a Wall Street Journal survey. Peter Hart did an extra analysis for us on the health care findings of this survey. I thought you would be interested in his report.

TO: Health Care Task Force

FROM: Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc.

DATE: March 19, 1993

SUBJECT: Health Care Findings from National Survey

The recent poll we conducted for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal* offers valuable insights into the public's opinions on health care reform. Almost three in four adults believe the current system is inadequate and needs a complete overhaul--and are willing to accept significant compromises to ensure that the package covers all Americans.

Without doubt, some elements of the health care program the task force is now designing will prove less popular than will others. However, if the Clinton Administration can keep the whole issue before the public, it will find that Americans see that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages, as the following table shows.

Public Attitudes toward the Advantages and Disadvantages of Health Care Reform

I would like to read some of the advantages and disadvantages that people have mentioned about a health care program that President Clinton may propose.

Three of the advantages are that 1) every American would have health coverage, 2) Americans would be able to keep their health care coverage, even if they lose or change their jobs or develop a serious illness, and 3) the overall cost to the economy and to the federal government would be less.

Three of the disadvantages are that 1) higher taxes would be required in order to make sure that everyone is covered, 2) the government would be more involved with the health care system than it is now, and would restrict how much doctors and hospitals can charge, and 3) patients would be limited in their choice of doctors and in the availability of some high-tech health care services.

With this information in mind, would you say that the advantages of this health care proposal outweigh the disadvantages, or do you believe that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages?

	<u>All Voters</u>	<u>Clinton Voters</u>	<u>Bush Voters</u>	<u>Perot Voters</u>	<u>Non- Voters</u>	<u>Under Age 50</u>	<u>Over Age 50</u>
Advantages outweigh disadvantages	56	69	38	58	62	61	48
Disadvantages outweigh advantages	33	21	49	31	30	31	36

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We have looked closely at three separate constituencies in the health care debate:

- **Priority health care supporters**, who see health care reform as a top priority for the federal government and who believe the advantages of President Clinton's potential health care reform proposal outweigh the disadvantages (28% of the public);
- **Priority health care opponents**, who see health care as a top priority, but who believe that the disadvantages of the proposal are greater than the advantages (11% of the public); and
- A **swing** group, who either do not think health care reform should be one of the government's top priorities or who are open to persuasion on either side of the debate over the benefits and drawbacks of the Administration's proposal (61% of the public).

Priority Supporters

It is no coincidence that **priority supporters** are politically distinct from the two other groups we have analyzed. Though our goal in this memo is primarily to address the attitudes of the American public on policy matters, rather than political considerations, it is analytically impossible to separate the political orientation of priority supporters from the confidence they express in the likely direction of health care reform.

Priority supporters--satisfied with their own experience with the current system--appear to be influenced most by concerns for security of health care coverage. Their biggest expectation, should the government pass a program for health care reform, is greater access for everyone, and four in five say they would be willing to pay higher taxes to bring this about. Priority supporters are a public opinion resource that must be mobilized in the coming debate.

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- Priority supporters are Democrats by better than three to one (59% Democrats and 18% Republicans). In contrast, the partisan orientation of priority opponents matches that of Americans overall (42% Democrats and 31% Republicans), while members of the swing group are evenly divided between the two parties. Three in four priority supporters express positive feelings toward Bill Clinton on a personal level and approve of the selection of Hillary Rodham Clinton to head the health care task force.
- Priority supporters are even more negative about the current health care system than are other groups, despite their satisfaction with the health care they receive personally. They are anxious more than dissatisfied, and are more likely to have stayed at a job they would have otherwise left due to concerns about losing their health insurance coverage.
- Priority supporters also appear to be more willing to sacrifice to ensure health care coverage for others. They recognize that providing universal coverage will require additional taxes. This group proves the most willing to make other trade-offs, such as limits on their choice of a doctor (though they are unwilling to pay higher premiums and co-payments), and show little hostility toward increased government involvement with the system.
- These supporters' faith in the direction of health care reform, however, does not increase their optimism that a package will be passed. As is true of the other groups we have examined, a majority of priority supporters expect Congress to fail to pass some type of major health care reform this year.

The priority supporters of health care reform constitute a substantial bloc of the public (28%), and can provide crucial political momentum in helping a package to pass. (An additional 27% of the public also support health care reform, but do not see this issue as a priority.) Since this group is already supportive of the likely proposal in all its details and is motivated by the importance of the issue, it will be well worth the Administration's while to provide channels of expression to allow this group to voice its support.

Priority Opponents

Priority opponents are only a small core group, representing 11% of the public. However, if this group were mobilized (because of their concerns about the quality and cost of health care), the impact of their vocal opposition would be magnified.

- Priority opponents are much more concerned about the quality of health care than are other members of the public. They are less likely to be satisfied with the quality of the care they now receive, to be content with their personal access to health care, and to feel that they get what they pay for when it comes to health care.
- Priority opponents also appear to be anxious about health care reform's cost to them personally. They are most likely to believe that health care can be provided for all Americans without raising taxes. They are much more divided on their willingness to pay higher taxes (to achieve universal access) than are priority supporters.

Surprisingly, priority opponents are willing to make many of the trade-offs that health care reform is likely to require. Though they consider health care reform an important issue and are not satisfied with the current system, they see fewer advantages in reforming the system than do supporters. Although winning over this small group may be difficult, their resistance is significant because it is from their ranks that the organized opposition to health care reform will elicit letters and calls to Congress. The key to minimizing this group's resistance to health care reform lies in reassuring them that under a new system, their access will improve, their quality will not suffer, and that they will get more of what they pay for.

The Swing Group

In politics as in policy debate, it is the middle that decides the vote in most elections and the passage of most legislation. This will be particularly true for the legislation on health care reform, for which public opinion will either be the impetus for or the barrier to Congress' debate. This swing group of Americans represents 61% of the public, but is really divided into potential allies (27%) and the somewhat more resistant middle. The major differences between these two groups are political: potential allies are more Democratic, more liberal, and for those who voted last November, generally more like to have voted for Bill Clinton. They are better educated, younger, more affluent, and more likely to be professionals and managers than are those in the resistant middle. Though health care reform is not one of their top priorities for the federal government, potential allies show a willingness to sacrifice--76% would be willing to pay higher taxes in order to ensure coverage for everyone, and (unlike any other group) a majority would even accept higher deductibles and co-payments.

The "resistant middle" is more conservative politically, and the voters among this group supported George Bush. The resistant middle also is particularly concerned about the cost of health care, and only a minority say they would be willing to pay higher taxes to ensure universal health care access. These adults are far less accepting of increased government involvement in the health care system than is any other group we have examined, and they also are not willing to accept limits on their choice of a doctor.

As a whole, the swing group appears to be less troubled by the current system, which no doubt accounts for the lower priority they attach to this issue. Those who are generally supportive of reform, but who are not engaged on the issue, are unlikely to play much of a role in the debate. However, those who feel health care reform should not be a priority and who think that the proposed package has more disadvantages than advantages have the potential to set back the chances of Congress' passing the Administration's program. It will be important to remind this group of the benefits of reform, and even more vital to reassure them that resolving this issue (which they have placed decidedly on their back burner) will not disturb the satisfaction they currently feel with their own experiences in the health care system.

Summary

Our findings lead us to emphasize three key points:

1. The public must be educated on the complexity of the changes to be made. Americans need to understand that, even once the proposed health care reform package is announced, change will not happen overnight, and that they will not have to make both cost and health care adjustments immediately. This is but the first step in a long journey.
2. President Clinton needs to emphasize the concept of security; that is, that Americans will no longer have to worry about losing their insurance coverage if they lose or change their job. The public needs reassurance that these changes will mean something better for them, both now and in the long term. The more people perceive health care reform as an issue of security, the stronger the Clinton case will be.

Memo to the Health Care Task Force

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3. The challenge to the Administration is to focus the public's attention on the big picture and not allow the reform package to be picked apart. If we were working for the other side, we would suggest attacking the proposal by finding the weakest link and breaking down Americans' enthusiasm for health care reform by playing on their insecurity on that one issue--most likely their fears about higher costs and lower quality. Since people (even the most skeptical of Americans) are ready to make sacrifices, the Administration's appeal should be made in the same way as the one that has worked successfully for the economic package: that the individual elements are necessary to make the program work as a whole.

Appendix

We have appended to this memorandum a copy of the survey questionnaire and several tables that show the cross-tabulated responses of selected subgroups. We would be happy to provide additional information for any questions in this survey that are of interest and, in addition, invite any inquiries should the task force wish further analysis or interpretation of these findings.

HART-TEETER
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1503 RespondentsDates: March 5-9, 1993

FINAL

Study #4037
NBC News/WSJ
March 1993

48 Male
52 Female
[5]

AREA		TYPE	SAMPLE POINT			FORM	DATE
[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]	[13] [14]

March 1993

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered	79	[15]
Not registered	21	
Not sure	-	

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Right direction	43	47	45	15	34	[16]
Wrong track	35	27	32	71	48	
Mixed (VOL)	11	14	11	9	13	
Not sure	11	12	12	5	5	

3. I'm going to read you the names of several people and institutions who are active in public affairs. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neu- tral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
The U.S. Congress							[17]
March 1993	3	22	24	28	17	6	
January 1993	4	20	27	28	16	5	
May 1992	2	16	20	31	27	4	
The Republican Party							[18]
March 1993	8	27	23	22	16	4	
Bill Clinton							[19]
March 1993	26	30	15	12	14	3	
January 1993	33	31	15	9	7	5	
December 1992	26	34	18	10	9	3	
May 1992	8	24	24	23	14	7	
Health Insurance companies							[20]
March 1993	4	12	17	27	35	5	
Ross Perot							[21]
March 1993	16	31	25	13	11	4	
January 1993	16	26	24	16	14	4	
December 1992	13	22	27	18	15	5	
May 1992	12	20	25	7	6	30	
The Democratic Party							[22]
March 1993	15	32	20	18	12	3	
Pharmaceutical companies							[23]
March 1993	4	14	23	24	26	9	
Al Gore							[24]
March 1993	19	28	23	12	9	9	
January 1993	23	32	22	9	6	8	
December 1992	21	30	21	10	9	9	
Hillary Rodham Clinton							[25]
March 1993	25	29	18	11	12	5	
January 1993	27	30	21	8	8	6	
December 1992	21	25	25	8	11	10	

- 4a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Approve	57	51	[26]
Disapprove	26	16	
Not sure	17	33	

(FORM A)

4b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

Approve	52	[27]
Disapprove	28	
Not sure	20	

(FORM A)

4c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

Approve	47	[28]
Disapprove	22	
Not sure	31	

(BOTH FORMS)

5a. Do you believe that Hillary Rodham Clinton has the right amount of influence in the Clinton Administration, too much influence, or not enough influence in the Clinton Administration?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Right amount	46	50	[29]
Too much influence	38	35	
Not enough influence	7	6	
Not sure	9	9	

5b. Do you believe Hillary Rodham Clinton should or should not be involved in the development of major policy positions in the Clinton Administration?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Hillary Rodham Clinton should be involved	48	47	[30]
Hillary Rodham Clinton should not be involved	45	45	
Not sure	7	8	

(FORM B)

5c. Do you approve or disapprove of the selection of Hillary Rodham Clinton to head President Clinton's health care task force?

Approve of selection of Hillary Rodham Clinton	54	[31]
Disapprove of selection of Hillary Rodham Clinton	37	
Not sure	9	

(BOTH FORMS)

6. Now that the presidency and the Congress are both controlled by the same party, do you expect that Congress and the president will be able to work together to end the gridlock in Washington, or do you think things will be pretty much as they were before because Congress and the president always have differences?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
President and Congress will be able to work together	47	61	[32]
Things will be pretty much as they were before	47	34	
Not sure	6	5	

- 7a. Let me read you a list of goals that have been proposed for the federal government to achieve. Please tell me which one of these goals you think should be the top priority for the federal government. **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)** [33]

	Q.7a Top Priority	Q.7b. Next Top Priority	Combined Priority	1/93 Combined Priority
Reducing the federal budget deficit	32	20	52	53
Reducing the influence of lobbyists and special interests	8	10	18	17
Stimulating economic growth	23	17	40	41
Dealing with U.S. foreign policy issues and crises	2	6	8	12
Reforming the health care system	17	27	44	42
Cutting taxes for the middle class	13	14	27	24
Other (VOL)	1	SKIP	1	-
All equally (VOL)	3	-	3	4
None of these (VOL)	-	TO Q.8	-	-
Not sure	1	1	2	2
No top priority	NA	5	NA	NA

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOSE A TOP PRIORITY IN Q.7a.)

- 7b. And which of these goals do you think should be the next top priority for the federal government to achieve? **(READ LIST AGAIN. RECORD UNDER COLUMN Q.7b. ABOVE.)** [34]

(ASK EVERYONE.)

8. Now, I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country? **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

	3/93	1/93	12/92	5/92	9/91	
Inflation	7	7	6	7	11	[35]
Unemployment	44	44	46	46	37	
Interest rates	2	2	3	2	3	
The federal budget deficit	28	28	24	22	21	
Federal taxes	7	5	5	5	7	
The U.S. trade deficit	8	8	10	8	8	
All equally important (VOL)	3	5	5	8	10	
None is important (VOL)	-	-	-	-	-	
Not sure	1	1	1	2	3	

(FORM B)

9. Thinking about the conditions facing Bill Clinton at the beginning of his term, do you think they are more difficult, about the same, or less difficult than those that faced George Bush at the beginning of his term as president?

	3/93	1/93 *	
More difficult	57	55	[36]
About the same	28	34	
Less difficult	10	9	
Not sure	5	2	

* The question read, "Thinking about the conditions facing Bill Clinton as he becomes president..."

(FORM A)

10a. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Will get better	39	50	53	32	31	[37]
Will get worse	15	9	10	20	24	
Will stay about the same	43	39	35	45	40	
Not sure	3	2	2	3	5	

(FORM B)

10b. If President Clinton's economic plan is passed, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same during the next year?

Will get better	33	[38]
Will get worse	22	
Will stay about the same	41	
Not sure	4	

(BOTH FORMS)

11a. Do you believe that it will or will not be necessary for Congress to raise taxes in the next year to reduce the budget deficit?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Tax increase will be necessary	66	69	[39]
Tax increase will not be necessary	29	27	
Not sure	5	4	

11b. Do you believe that your own personal taxes will go up, or not? (IF "YES," ASK:) Do you think they will go up a lot or just a little?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>9/92*</u>	
Taxes will go up a lot	30	24	34	[40]
Taxes will go up a little	51	55	41	
Taxes will not go up	13	15	18	
Not sure	6	6	7	

* The question was asked only of registered voters and read, "If Clinton is elected president..."

12. Now I would like to read a brief description of Bill Clinton's economic plan, and a brief description of the plan the Republicans in Congress will most likely propose, and then ask which proposal you prefer. **(ROTATE ORDER OF STATEMENTS.)**

President Clinton's proposal increases the tax rate on upper-income Americans, creates a new tax on all forms of energy, cuts defense spending, reduces payments to hospitals and doctors, and increases spending on highways, worker training, and research and development.

The probable Republican proposal does not increase taxes on upper-income Americans, does not add a new energy tax, eliminates most of Clinton's proposals for increased federal spending, and makes deeper cuts in other domestic spending and benefit programs.

Which economic proposal do you prefer **(ROTATE)**--President Clinton's proposal or the probable Republican proposal?

President Clinton's proposal	62	[41]
Probable Republican proposal	30	
Not sure	8	

13. Now I would like to read some elements of President Clinton's economic plan. For each one I read, please tell me if you favor or oppose this part of the plan. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** Do you favor or oppose **(READ ITEM)?**

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Increasing the corporate tax rate from thirty-four percent to thirty-six percent	65	29	6	[42]
Increasing the tax rate for families who earn more than one hundred forty thousand dollars annually from thirty-one percent to thirty-six percent	78	20	2	[43]
Imposing a tax on all forms of energy, including gasoline, heating oil, and natural gas	35	62	3	[44]
Increasing spending on the Head Start program, so it will be available to every child who is eligible	75	20	5	[45]
Increasing the taxes paid on Social Security benefits to couples who make more than thirty-two thousand dollars and individuals who make more than twenty-five thousand dollars	40	56	4	[46]
Adding a ten percent income tax surcharge on incomes over two hundred fifty thousand dollars	79	18	3	[47]
Increasing government spending on transportation and communications	42	50	8	[48]

(FORM B)

14. Here are some statements people have made about President Clinton's economic plan. For each one I mention, please tell me if you agree or disagree with that statement. **(READ EACH ITEM, AND ASK:)** Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
The plan will reduce unemployment	52	39	9	[49]
The plan will make the U.S. more competitive internationally ..	50	37	13	[50]
The plan will reduce the budget deficit	52	40	8	[51]
The plan will raise wages and living standards	38	55	7	[52]

(BOTH FORMS)

15. Do you believe that the economic situation in the U.S. requires government spending to stimulate the economy, or do you believe the economy will recover on its own without action by the federal government?

Government spending is required to stimulate economy	50	[53]
Economy will recover on its own without government action	40	
Not sure	10	

- 16a. Do you believe that the Republicans in Congress are interested in offering a realistic alternative to President Clinton's economic plan, or do you think they oppose Bill Clinton's plan for political reasons?

Republicans are interested in offering a realistic alternative	25	[54]
Republicans oppose Clinton's plan for political reasons	62	
Republicans have not offered an alternative (VOL)	2	
Not sure	11	

- 16b. Now, let me read some specific issues. When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, neither, or would both do about the same? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

	<u>Democratic Party</u>	<u>Republican Party</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Dealing with the economy						[55]
March 1993	34	18	11	34	3	
July 1992 *	26	18	18	35	3	
May 1992	29	23	17	26	5	
January 1992 *	28	23	12	33	4	
October 1991 *	27	28	14	26	5	
October 1990 *	31	30	13	21	5	
November 1989 *	26	40	10	18	6	
Reducing the federal deficit						
March 1993	39	16	18	23	4	
April 1992 *	20	19	37	18	6	
October 1991 *	24	29	24	16	7	
October 1990 *	25	27	23	19	6	[56]
November 1989 *	21	28	26	17	8	
Standing up to the special interests						
March 1993	36	13	23	20	8	[57]
Dealing with the problem of health care						
March 1993	57	9	12	17	5	
April 1992 *	48	12	18	17	5	
October 1991 *	46	12	16	18	8	[58]

(FORM A)

- 17a. Do you believe that Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big government kind of Democrat, or is he a different kind of Democrat?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>10/92 *</u>	
Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big government Democrat ..	29	35	[59]
Bill Clinton is a different kind of Democrat	60	56	
Not sure	11	9	

* Asked only of registered voters.

(BOTH FORMS)

- 17b. Now, I would like to read two statements about President Clinton's economic plan, and then ask you which statement comes closer to your point of view. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

STATEMENT A: Bill Clinton's plan relies too heavily on tax increases and too little on spending cuts to bring down the budget deficit.

STATEMENT B: Bill Clinton's plan provides a good balance between cuts in spending and tax increases to bring down the budget deficit.

Statement A/relies too heavily on tax increases	50	[60]
Statement B/provides a good balance	43	
Some of both (VOL)	2	
Neither (VOL)	1	
Not sure	4	

- 17c. Do you think Bill Clinton's economic plan should be passed by Congress pretty much as is, or do you think Congress should make major changes to President Clinton's plan?

President Clinton's plan should be passed as is	39	[61]
Congress should make major changes to President Clinton's plan	38	
Congress should make <u>minor</u> changes to President Clinton's plan (VOL)	16	
Not sure	7	

(FORM A)

- 18a. I am going to read some proposals that have been made for spending cuts in the federal budget. For each one I read, please tell me whether you favor making **major** spending cuts, **minor** spending cuts, or no spending cuts in that area. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) Would you favor making major spending cuts, minor spending cuts, or no spending cuts in (READ ITEM)?**

	Major Cuts	Minor Cuts	No Cuts	Not Sure	
Farm subsidies	25	36	35	4	[62]
Veterans' benefits	5	31	61	3	[63]
Defense	36	44	18	2	[64]
Welfare assistance to families with dependent children	24	42	30	4	[65]
Science programs, such as the space station and the super collider	43	37	16	4	[66]

(FORM B)

- 18b. Some people think that in order to reduce the budget deficit, the government will have to limit the growth in entitlement programs, such as Social Security and Medicare. For each change in Social Security benefits I read, please tell me if you would favor or oppose that change as a means of reducing the budget deficit **(READ EACH ITEM, AND ASK:) Would you favor or oppose that change as a means of reducing the budget deficit? (START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Favor	Oppose	Not Sure	
Freezing cost-of-living increases in Social Security for one year, which would save forty-nine billion dollars	53	44	3	[67]
Reducing cost-of-living increases for Social Security recipients who are above the poverty line, which would save nine billion dollars	50	45	5	[68]
Increasing the retirement age for Social Security benefits from sixty-five to sixty-seven years of age by the year 2000, which would save no money in the next five years, but would save sixty billion dollars in twenty years	44	53	3	[69]

(FORM A)

19a. Do you think that Congress will pass or will fail to pass some type of major economic program this year?

Congress will pass major economic program	51	[70]
Congress will fail to pass major economic program	41	
Not sure	8	

Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about health care.

(FORM B)

19b. Do you think that Congress will pass or will fail to pass some type of major health care reform this year?

Congress will pass major health care reform	40	[71]
Congress will fail to pass major health care reform	53	
Not sure	7	

(BOTH FORMS)

20a. Do you think that, overall, the current health care system meets or does not meet the needs of most Americans?

Health care system meets the needs of most Americans	19	[72]
Health care system does not meet the needs of most Americans	78	
Not sure	3	

20b. Which of the following do you see as the most important health care issue at the present time: **(READ CHOICES SLOWLY. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

The <u>cost</u> of health care	48	[73]
People who are not covered by insurance	35	
The <u>quality</u> of health care	8	
All equally (VOL)	8	
None of these (VOL)	-	
Not sure	1	

(FORM B)

20c. Which one of the following six groups do you think is most responsible for the high cost of health care? **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)** [74]

	Q.20c Most Responsible	Q.20d. Next Most Responsible	Combined Responsible	6/91 * Combined Responsible
Doctors	21	26	47	43
Hospitals	14	19	33	29
Federal government	5	7	12	19
Patients	2	3	5	5
Lawyers	19	14	33	33
Health insurance companies	28	20	48	47
Other (VOL)	1	-	1	-
All equally (VOL)	8	-	8	7
None of these (VOL)	-	-	-	-
Not sure	2	-	2	5
No group is most responsible	NA	11	NA	NA

(FORM B—ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOSE A MOST RESPONSIBLE GROUP IN Q.20c.)

20d. Which group do you think is next most responsible? **(READ LIST AGAIN. RECORD RESPONSE UNDER Q.20d ABOVE.)** [75]

* Asked only of registered voters.

(ASK EVERYONE--BOTH FORMS)

- 21a. I would like to ask you about your own experiences with the health care system. For each element of health care I read, please tell me whether you are satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, would you say you are satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied? **(START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Somewhat Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Very Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
The quality of the health care you and your family receive	74	17	8	1	[76]
The cost of the coverage you receive	42	30	26	2	[77]
The <u>availability</u> of health care to you and your family ..	74	15	10	1	[78]
The ability of your insurance to cover you in the case of a catastrophic illness	53	21	16	10	[79]

- 21b. Have you ever considered leaving a job, but stayed because of the fear of losing health insurance?

Have stayed at a job for fear of losing insurance	31	[80]
Have not stayed at a job for fear of losing insurance	65	
Not sure	4	

(FORM A)

- 22a. I am going to read a list of benefits that might be included as part of a national health care system. For each one I read, please tell me whether you think this benefit should be included, even if it adds to your share of the cost of the program, or whether the national health care system should not be responsible for providing that benefit. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** Should **(READ ITEM)** be included or should the national health care system not be responsible for providing this benefit? **(START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Should Be Included</u>	<u>Should Not Be Included</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Doctor's fees	75	21	4	[81]
Hospital costs	87	10	3	[82]
Nursing home care for the elderly	80	16	4	[83]
Prescription medicines	75	22	3	[84]
Dental care	67	31	2	[85]
Vision care	68	30	2	[86]

(FORM B)

- 22b. If the U.S. government were to pass a program for health care reform, how might things be different for you, your family, and for the country? (PROBE.) What do you think would be the biggest advantages? What do you think would be the biggest disadvantages?

Net Advantages		68%	Net Disadvantages	40%
Easier to get insurance, coverage for everyone	34		Cost will be too high, prices will skyrocket for the consumer	11
Control costs, make insurance affordable	27		Quality of health care will decline, will get even worse than it already is	8
Quality of health care will improve, better health care for everyone	7		Won't be able to choose own doctor, medical facility	6
Good for the country	4		Not interested, have good benefits	4
Benefits for the poor	4		Against government involvement in health care	3

			Don't know, no response	12

(BOTH FORMS)

- 23a. Which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Statement A: It will be possible to control health care costs and cover all Americans by making changes in the current health care system.

Statement B: It will not be possible to control health care costs and cover all Americans without a complete overhaul of our current health care system.

Statement A/changes to current health care system	22	[95]
Statement B/complete overhaul of current health care system	74	
Not sure	4	

(FORM B)

- 23b. Which of the following approaches do you think would be the better way to provide health coverage for all Americans? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Proposal A: Employers would be required to buy insurance for their workers, and the government would pay for the cost of coverage for the unemployed.

Proposal B: Individuals would be given tax credits and deductions to shop for and buy their own health insurance.

Proposal A/employers provide coverage	43	[96]
Proposal B/individuals given tax credits and deductions	48	
Neither (VOL)	5	
Not sure	4	

(BOTH FORMS)

- 23c. Which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Statement A: The health care system should provide whatever type of care is called for, regardless of the cost, age of the patient, or seriousness of the patient's illness.

Statement B: The health care system should not pay for costly procedures for terminally ill and elderly patients, in cases when it is likely that these procedures would prolong their lives for only a few days or weeks.

Statement A/provide whatever care is called for	53	[97]
Statement B/not pay for costly procedures	40	
Not sure	7	

- 24a. Here are some statements people have made about America's health care system. For each one, please tell me if you agree or disagree with the statement. **(START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
A health care system of the future should continue to involve both the government and private insurance companies				[98]
March 1993	73	21	6	
I would be willing to pay higher taxes so that everyone can have health insurance				[99]
March 1993	66	30	4	
June 1991 *	47	48	4	
Everyone should pay some portion of their health care costs				[100]
March 1993	88	9	3	
June 1991 **	71	25	4	
Regardless of how the system is working overall, I personally get what I pay for when it comes to health care				[101]
March 1993	62	34	4	
All employers, even small business owners, should be required to provide health insurance for their workers				[102]
March 1993	63	33	4	
June 1991 ***	68	30	3	
It will be possible to provide health care coverage for all Americans without raising taxes				[103]
March 1993	29	67	4	

* The question was asked only of registered voters and read, "Would you be willing or not willing to pay an increase in taxes or higher medical insurance premiums to cover those who are not covered now?"

** The question was asked only of registered voters and read, "Please tell me if you favor or oppose the following. Require everyone to pay some share of their medical costs, such as doctor's visits, prescriptions, and hospital stays as an incentive for people to use the health care system less and thereby hold costs down."

*** The question was asked only of registered voters and read, "Do you think all employers, regardless of size, should or should not be required to provide health insurance for their employees?"

- 24b. Regardless of your own preference, which of the following statements comes closer to describing what you think a national health care system would entail? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Statement A: A national health care system would be controlled by the federal government, which would be responsible for providing health care coverage to all Americans.

Statement B: A national health care system would rely on public and private insurers, would be regulated by the federal government to control costs, and would guarantee at least a minimum level of health care for all Americans.

Statement A/controlled by federal government	23	[104]
Statement B/public and private insurers	70	
Some of both (VOL)	2	
Neither (VOL)	2	
Not sure	3	

- 25a. I would like to read some of the advantages and disadvantages that people have mentioned about a health care program that President Clinton may propose. **(ROTATE ORDER OF DESCRIPTIONS.)**

Three of the advantages are that 1) every American would have health coverage, 2) Americans would be able to keep their health care coverage, even if they lose or change their jobs or develop a serious illness, and 3) the overall cost to the economy and to the federal government would be less.

Three of the disadvantages are that 1) higher taxes would be required in order to make sure that everyone is covered, 2) the government would be more involved with the health care system than it is now, and would restrict how much doctors and hospitals can charge, and 3) patients would be limited in their choice of doctors and in the availability of some high-tech health care services.

With this information in mind, would you say that the advantages of this health care proposal outweigh the disadvantages, or do you believe that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages?

Advantages outweigh disadvantages	56	[105]
Disadvantages outweigh advantages	33	
Some of both, advantages and disadvantages about equal (VOL)	5	
Not sure	6	

- 25b. Now I am going to read some of the compromises that Americans may be asked to make as a part of guaranteeing health care coverage to all Americans at a reasonable cost. For each one I read, please tell me if this compromise would be totally acceptable, somewhat acceptable, somewhat unacceptable, or totally unacceptable. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) Would (READ ITEM) be totally acceptable, somewhat acceptable, somewhat unacceptable, or totally unacceptable? (START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Totally Accept- <u>able</u>	Somewhat Accept- <u>able</u>	Somewhat Unaccept- <u>able</u>	Totally Unaccept- <u>able</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Limits on the right to choose your own doctor	22	30	17	31	-	[106]
Limits on damage awards for medical malpractice	44	32	10	11	3	[107]
More government involvement in the health care system	28	43	15	12	2	[108]
A two-dollar increase in the tax on a pack of cigarettes	57	13	7	21	2	[109]
Government limits on what doctors and hospitals can charge	59	28	6	6	1	[110]
A fifty-cent increase in the tax on a six- pack of beer	67	20	5	7	1	[111]
Higher insurance deductibles and co- payments	12	34	24	26	4	[112]
A one-dollar increase in the tax on a quart of liquor or wine	65	20	6	7	2	[113]
Limits on the availability of expensive high-tech health care services	15	36	22	21	6	[114]

Now, I would like to ask you about foreign policy.

(FORM A)

26. President Clinton has said the U.S. would be willing to send some ground troops to Bosnia as part of a peacekeeping force if a peace agreement is reached between the warring factions. Do you favor or oppose using American ground troops in such an operation?

	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93+</u>	<u>12/92+</u>	<u>8/92+*</u>	<u>7/92+*</u>	
Favor	41	34	26	33	27	[96]
Oppose	51	54	62	54	65	
Not sure	8	12	12	13	8	

* Asked only of registered voters.

+ The question read, "Do you favor or oppose the United States sending troops to the former Yugoslavia to try to help stop the civil war there?"

(FORM B)

27. President Clinton has proposed an increase in aid to Russia to stabilize Russia's democratic government, which he believes would promote world peace and America's long-term security interests. Opponents of this proposal believe that it is more important to use this money to pay for our needs at home. Do you favor or oppose this proposal to increase aid to Russia?

Favor	33	[116]
Oppose	62	
Not sure	5	

(BOTH FORMS)

Finally, one question on a different topic.

28. Do you think the Clinton Administration should or should not allow distribution in the U.S. of RU-486, the European-made drug that induces abortion in the early stages of pregnancy?

Should allow RU-486	46	[117]
Should not allow RU-486	45	
Not sure	9	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

- F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

Didn't vote	19	[118]
Voted for George Bush	26	
Voted for Bill Clinton	36	
Voted for Ross Perot	12	
Other candidate (VOL)	-	
Too young (VOL)	1	
Not sure/refused	6	

- F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal	6	[119]
Somewhat liberal	17	
Moderate	26	
Somewhat conservative	23	
Very conservative	9	
No thoughts	17	
Not sure	2	

- F3. And generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF 'DEMOCRAT' OR 'REPUBLICAN,' ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? (IF 'NOT SURE,' CODE AS 'NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.')

(IF 'INDEPENDENT,' ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? (IF 'NOT SURE,' CODE AS 'STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.')

Strong Democrat	17	[120]
Not strong Democrat	17	
Independent/lean Democrat	9	
Strictly Independent	17	
Independent/lean Republican	8	
Not strong Republican	13	
Strong Republican	11	
Other	5	
Refused	1	
Don't know/nothing	2	

- F4. What is the last grade you completed in school? (DO NOT READ CHOICES.)

Grade school	2	[121]
Some high school	10	
High school graduate	33	
Some college, no degree	15	
Vocational training, 2-year college	9	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree	18	
Some postgraduate work, no degree	3	
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's degree	8	
Doctoral degree/law degree	2	
Not sure	-	

- F5. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24	10	45-49	9	[122]
25-29	11	50-54	6	
30-34	11	55-59	6	
35-39	12	60-64	6	
40-44	11	65 and over	18	
		Refused	-	

F6a. What type of work do you do?

Professional/manager	23	[123]
White collar worker	18	
Blue collar worker	23	
Farmer	1	
Student	3	
Homemaker	7	
Retired	21	
Unemployed	3	
Never worked/not sure	1	

(ASK OF ALL WOMEN)

F6b. Do you work outside the home or not?

Work outside the home	31	[124]
Do not work outside the home	20	
Not sure/refused	1	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F7a. Now I'd like to find out about your current health care coverage situation. Are you presently covered or not covered by health insurance? (IF "COVERED," ASK:) And is everyone in your immediate family living with you also covered by health insurance?

Covered By Health Insurance		[125]
Respondent and everyone in immediate family	81	
Respondent, but not everyone in family	6	
Respondent, but not sure about family	-	
Not Covered By Health Insurance	12	
Not Sure/Refused	1	

CONTINUE

SKIP TO Q.F8.

(ASK ALL RESPONDENTS WHO CURRENTLY HAVE HEALTH INSURANCE.)

F7b. Which one of the following statements best describes how your health insurance is paid for? (READ CHOICES.)

You or a family member pays the full cost	13	[126]
You or a family member pays part, and an employer pays part	41	
An employer pays the full cost	15	
The government pays through Medicare or Medicaid	9	
Combination (VOL)	8	
Not sure	1	
Not currently covered by health insurance	13	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F8. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant	50	[127]
Catholic	30	
Jewish	2	
Other	14	
None	3	
Not sure/refused	1	

F9. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White	79	[128]
Black	11	
Hispanic	6	
Asian	1	
Other	2	
Not sure/refused	1	

- F10. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000	9	[129]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000	15	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000	18	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000	16	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000	12	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000	14	
More than \$75,000	11	
Not sure/refused	5	

KEY GROUP ANALYSIS: ATTITUDE TOWARD HEALTH CARE REFORM

	<u>Proportion Of Total Electorate</u>	<u>Priority Health Care Reform Supporters</u>	<u>Priority Health Care Reform Opponents</u>	<u>Health Care Reform Not A Priority/ Not Sure on Clinton Plan</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>All Adults</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>61</u>
<u>Area</u>				
Northeast	23	31	10	59
Midwest	24	29	13	58
South	32	25	11	64
West	21	28	13	59
<u>Voter Registration</u>				
Registered voters	79	28	10	62
Non-registered adults	21	30	16	54
<u>Party Identification</u>				
Democrats	43	38	11	51
Independents	25	26	12	62
Republicans	32	17	11	72
<u>Sex</u>				
Men	48	28	10	62
Women	52	29	13	58
<u>Women's Work Status</u>				
Working women	31	30	12	58
Women at home	20	27	13	60
<u>Age</u>				
18 to 34	32	30	13	57
35 to 49	32	29	9	62
50 to 64	18	25	12	63
65 and over	18	26	13	61
Men under 40	22	27	10	63
Women under 40	22	32	15	53
Men 40 and over	26	28	10	62
Women 40 and over	30	26	11	63

(Continued)

KEY GROUP ANALYSIS: ATTITUDE TOWARD HEALTH CARE REFORM

	<u>Proportion Of Total Electorate</u> %	<u>Priority Health Care Reform Supporters</u> %	<u>Priority Health Care Reform Opponents</u> %	<u>Health Care Reform Not A Priority/ Not Sure on Clinton Plan</u> %
<u>All Adults</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>61</u>
<u>Race</u>				
Whites	79	28	10	62
Blacks	11	29	15	56
Hispanics	6	30	19	51
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$20,000	24	28	16	56
\$20,000 to \$50,000	46	27	12	61
Over \$50,000	25	32	7	61
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professionals/managers	23	34	6	60
White collar workers	18	26	12	62
Blue collar workers	23	26	15	59
Retirees	21	26	13	61
<u>Education</u>				
High school graduates or less	45	25	16	59
Some college, vocational training	24	28	8	64
4-year college graduates or more	31	33	7	60
<u>Health Insurance Coverage</u>				
Covered by insurance	87	28	11	61
Not covered by insurance	12	28	13	59
<u>Source of Coverage: Covered by Insurance</u>				
Pay for own coverage	13	30	11	59
Employer pays all or part	56	29	10	61
Medicare/Medicaid	8	29	16	55
<u>Political Ideology</u>				
Liberals	23	39	10	51
Moderates	26	31	9	60
Conservatives	32	18	12	70

(Continued)

KEY GROUP ANALYSIS: ATTITUDE TOWARD HEALTH CARE REFORM

	<u>Proportion Of Total Electorate</u>	<u>Priority Health Care Reform Supporters</u>	<u>Priority Health Care Reform Opponents</u>	<u>Health Care Reform Not A Priority/ Not Sure on Clinton Plan</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>All Adults</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>61</u>
<u>Religion</u>				
Protestants	50	26	10	64
Catholics	30	31	13	56
<u>Presidential Race</u>				
Bush voters	26	15	11	74
Clinton voters	36	40	11	49
Perot voters	12	25	9	66
Non-voters	19	28	14	58
<u>Clinton Economic Program</u>				
Favor as it is	39	38	10	52
Favor major changes	38	18	14	68

Column 71

3/9/93

HART - TEETER

NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Study 4037
March 5-9, 1993

Q.19b. (FORM B) Do you think that Congress will pass or will fail to pass some type of major health care reform this year? *

Banner 1

Banner 1			Area				Race			Age				Income			Occupation		
			=====				-----			=====				-----			=====		
	All Registered Adults	Voters	Northeast	Midwest	South	West	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	18-34	35-49	50-64	65 and over	Under \$20,000	\$20,000 to \$50,000	Over \$50,000	Profes- sionals/ managers	White collar workers	Blue collar workers
Total	748	608	176	181	233	158	591	89	43	228	242	128	147	177	336	197	181	135	164
Congress will pass major health care reform	302 40%	248 41%	76 43%	83 46%	82 35%	61 39%	233 40%	39 44%	20 47%	85 37%	90 37%	60 47%	66 45%	85 48%	118 35%	83 42%	75 41%	51 38%	64 39%
Congress will fail to pass major health care reform	398 53%	322 53%	88 50%	89 49%	138 59%	83 52%	321 54%	45 50%	22 51%	138 61%	135 56%	56 44%	68 46%	80 45%	196 58%	105 53%	95 53%	77 57%	89 54%
Not sure	48 7%	38 6%	12 7%	9 5%	13 6%	14 9%	37 6%	5 6%	1 2%	5 2%	17 7%	12 9%	13 9%	12 7%	22 7%	9 5%	11 6%	7 5%	11 7%

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

Column 71

3/9/93

HART - TEETER

NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Study 4037
March 5-9, 1993

Q.19b. (FORM B) Do you think that Congress will pass or will fail to pass some type of major health care reform this year? *

Banner 3	Party Identification				Presidential Race				Political Ideology		Sex		Health Coverage		Source of Coverage			
	All Adults	Democrats	Independents	Republicans	Bush voters	Clinton voters	Perot voters	Non-voters	Liberals	Conservatives	Men	Women	Working women	Covered by insurance	Not covered by insurance	Pay for own coverage	Employer pays all or part	Medicare/Medicaid
Total	748	312	197	232	208	262	84	142	153	248	363	385	221	652	88	99	416	59
Congress will pass major health care reform	302 40%	132 42%	80 41%	88 38%	70 34%	123 47%	26 31%	54 38%	65 42%	97 39%	137 38%	165 43%	96 43%	264 40%	34 39%	46 46%	160 38%	28 47%
Congress will fail to pass major health care reform	398 53%	158 51%	103 52%	133 57%	132 63%	117 45%	52 62%	79 56%	78 51%	140 57%	208 57%	190 49%	112 51%	344 53%	51 58%	47 48%	231 56%	24 41%
Not sure	48 7%	22 7%	14 7%	11 5%	6 3%	22 8%	6 7%	9 6%	10 7%	11 4%	18 5%	30 8%	13 6%	44 7%	3 3%	6 6%	25 6%	7 12%

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

Column 73

3/9/93

HART - TEETER
NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Study 4037
March 5-9, 1993

Q.20b. Which of the following do you see as the most important health care issue at the present time:

Banner 1			Area				Race			Age				Income		Occupation			
	All Registered Adults	Voters	Northeast	Midwest	South	West	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	18-34	35-49	50-64	65 and over	Under \$20,000	\$20,000 to \$50,000	Over \$50,000	Profes- sionals/ managers	White collar workers	Blue collar workers
Total	1503	1186	350	365	475	313	1194	164	92	480	464	274	278	360	687	384	349	270	353
The cost of health care	716 48%	572 48%	155 44%	182 50%	238 50%	141 45%	596 50%	56 34%	39 42%	227 47%	230 50%	137 50%	120 43%	154 43%	332 48%	194 51%	171 49%	132 49%	181 51%
People who are not covered by insurance	517 35%	404 34%	133 38%	118 32%	151 32%	115 37%	397 33%	71 43%	31 34%	176 37%	154 33%	92 34%	93 34%	117 32%	231 34%	144 37%	129 37%	84 31%	117 33%
The quality of health care	120 8%	93 8%	31 9%	25 7%	41 9%	23 7%	79 7%	23 14%	12 13%	43 9%	30 6%	18 6%	28 10%	42 12%	58 9%	18 5%	22 6%	21 8%	24 7%
All equally (VOL)	125 8%	97 8%	27 8%	33 9%	37 8%	28 9%	102 9%	11 7%	8 9%	33 7%	45 10%	21 8%	24 9%	37 10%	58 8%	24 6%	25 7%	32 12%	25 7%
None of these (VOL)	5 -	4 -	1 -	1 -	1 -	2 1%	4 -	- -	1 1%	- -	1 -	3 1%	1 -	1 -	1 -	1 -	2 1%	1 -	- -
Not sure	20 1%	16 2%	3 1%	6 2%	7 1%	4 1%	16 1%	3 2%	1 1%	1 -	4 1%	3 1%	12 4%	9 3%	7 1%	3 1%	- -	- -	6 2%

Column 73

3/9/93

HART - TEETER

NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Study 4037
March 5-9, 1993

Q.20b. Which of the following do you see as the most important health care issue at the present time:

Banner 3	Party Identification				Presidential Race				Political Ideology		Sex			Health Coverage		Source of Coverage		
	All Adults	Demo- crats	Indepen- dents	Repub- licans	Bush voters	Clinton voters	Perot voters	Non- voters	Liberals	Conser- vatives	Men	Women	Working women	Covered by insurance	Not covered by insurance	Pay for own coverage	Employer pays all or part	Medicare/ Medicaid
Total	1503	653	370	471	388	533	185	289	342	486	726	777	464	1313	179	203	833	129
The cost of health care	716 48%	284 44%	161 43%	267 57%	217 56%	230 43%	99 53%	118 41%	143 42%	259 53%	359 49%	357 46%	224 48%	637 49%	74 41%	92 45%	429 51%	50 39%
People who are not covered by insurance	517 35%	242 37%	132 36%	142 30%	126 33%	192 36%	50 27%	115 40%	136 40%	140 29%	252 35%	265 34%	160 35%	445 34%	69 39%	70 35%	282 34%	40 31%
The quality of health care	120 8%	55 8%	34 9%	30 6%	25 6%	48 9%	15 8%	23 8%	32 9%	42 9%	54 7%	66 8%	34 7%	106 8%	13 7%	19 9%	60 7%	19 15%
All equally (VOL)	125 8%	59 9%	35 9%	29 6%	18 5%	48 9%	20 11%	29 10%	30 9%	40 8%	49 7%	76 10%	44 10%	102 8%	21 12%	17 8%	55 7%	13 10%
None of these (VOL)	5 -	1 -	2 1%	1 -	1 -	- -	- -	1 -	- -	2 -	4 1%	1 -	- -	5 -	- -	1 1%	2 -	1 1%
Not sure	20 1%	12 2%	6 2%	2 1%	1 -	15 3%	1 1%	3 1%	1 -	3 1%	8 1%	12 2%	2 -	18 1%	2 1%	4 2%	5 1%	6 4%

Column 574

3/10/93

HART - TEETER
NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Study 4037
March 5-9, 1993

Q.20c,d. (COMBINED) (FORM B) Which one of the following six groups do you think is most responsible for the high cost of health care? *

Banner 1			Area				Race			Age				Income			Occupation		
	All Registered Adults	Voters	Northeast	Midwest	South	West	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	18-34	35-49	50-64	65 and over	Under \$20,000	\$20,000 to \$50,000	Over \$50,000	Profes- sionals/ managers	White collar workers	Blue collar workers
Total	736	597	172	176	233	155	580	88	43	225	239	124	145	173	333	192	178	133	162
Doctors	354 47%	279 47%	101 59%	79 45%	117 50%	56 36%	275 47%	50 57%	17 40%	101 45%	99 41%	62 50%	89 61%	108 62%	147 44%	80 42%	74 42%	54 41%	74 46%
Hospitals	249 33%	196 33%	61 35%	69 39%	77 33%	42 27%	200 34%	30 34%	15 35%	68 30%	73 31%	47 38%	59 41%	62 36%	122 37%	53 28%	51 29%	45 34%	51 31%
Federal government	86 12%	68 11%	15 9%	15 9%	34 15%	22 14%	61 11%	14 16%	7 16%	31 14%	25 10%	18 15%	10 7%	15 9%	42 13%	20 10%	18 10%	13 10%	20 12%
Patients	42 5%	32 5%	9 5%	9 5%	16 7%	8 5%	35 6%	5 6%	- -	12 5%	17 7%	8 6%	5 3%	5 3%	23 7%	12 6%	11 6%	14 11%	10 6%
Lawyers	246 33%	212 36%	52 30%	57 32%	70 30%	67 43%	201 35%	16 18%	19 44%	75 33%	86 36%	45 36%	40 28%	40 23%	117 35%	79 41%	82 46%	47 35%	47 29%
Health insurance companies	357 48%	285 48%	80 47%	83 47%	120 52%	74 48%	274 47%	44 50%	24 56%	145 64%	119 50%	43 35%	50 34%	79 46%	169 51%	98 51%	86 48%	66 50%	96 59%

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

HART - TEETER

Column 574

NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Study 4037
March 5-9, 1993

3/10/93

Q.20c,d. (COMBINED) (FORM B) Which one of the following six groups do you think is most responsible for the high cost of health care? *

Banner 3	Party Identification				Presidential Race				Political Ideology		Sex			Health Coverage		Source of Coverage		
	All Adults	Demo- crats	Indepen- dents	Repub- licans	Bush voters	Clinton voters	Perot voters	Non- voters	Liberals	Conser- vatives	Men	Women	Working women	Covered by insurance	Not covered by insurance	Pay for own coverage	Employer pays all or part	Medicare/ Medicaid
Total	736	305	194	230	206	255	83	140	150	243	360	376	218	641	87	97	411	58
Doctors	354 47%	171 56%	84 43%	94 41%	83 40%	137 54%	37 45%	75 54%	68 45%	112 46%	172 48%	181 48%	100 46%	312 49%	39 45%	42 43%	192 47%	35 60%
Hospitals	249 33%	106 35%	70 36%	71 31%	62 30%	86 34%	30 36%	49 35%	58 39%	85 35%	116 32%	133 35%	73 33%	224 35%	22 25%	34 35%	135 33%	23 40%
Federal government	86 12%	29 10%	26 13%	31 13%	31 15%	19 7%	6 7%	21 15%	16 11%	31 13%	47 13%	39 10%	23 11%	68 11%	15 17%	15 15%	38 9%	7 12%
Patients	42 5%	8 3%	16 8%	18 8%	15 7%	8 3%	10 12%	6 4%	3 2%	19 8%	25 7%	17 5%	13 6%	39 6%	3 3%	5 5%	29 7%	2 3%
Lawyers	246 33%	77 25%	64 33%	105 46%	98 48%	63 25%	33 40%	36 26%	46 31%	102 42%	138 38%	108 29%	66 30%	214 33%	28 32%	29 30%	151 37%	13 22%
Health insurance companies	357 48%	175 57%	87 45%	93 40%	87 42%	144 56%	35 42%	70 50%	86 57%	102 42%	163 45%	194 52%	121 56%	300 47%	53 61%	46 47%	203 49%	25 43%

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

Column 5098

3/9/93

HART - TEETER

NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Study 4037
March 5-9, 1993

Q.24a. PROPORTIONS WHO AGREE WITH SELECTED STATEMENTS ABOUT AMERICA'S HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

Banner 1			Area				Race			Age				Income			Occupation		
	All Registered Adults	Registered Voters	Northeast	Midwest	South	West	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	18-34	35-49	50-64	65 and over	Under \$20,000	\$20,000 to \$50,000	Over \$50,000	Profes- sionals/ managers	White collar workers	Blue collar workers
Total	1503	1186	350	365	475	313	1194	164	92	480	464	274	278	360	687	384	349	270	353
Everyone should pay some portion of their health care costs	1317 88%	1040 88%	297 85%	308 84%	431 91%	281 90%	1061 89%	135 82%	81 88%	431 90%	397 86%	237 86%	245 88%	304 84%	605 88%	347 90%	314 90%	233 86%	307 87%
A health care system of the future should continue to involve both the government and private insurance companies	1101 73%	868 73%	259 74%	261 72%	356 75%	225 72%	857 72%	135 82%	69 75%	373 78%	322 69%	196 72%	205 74%	263 73%	501 73%	282 73%	255 73%	205 76%	252 71%
I would be willing to pay higher taxes so that everyone can have health insurance	988 66%	786 66%	227 65%	240 66%	310 65%	211 67%	770 64%	119 73%	62 67%	309 64%	292 63%	193 70%	190 68%	228 63%	465 68%	256 67%	236 68%	170 63%	228 65%
All employers, even small business owners, should be required to provide health insurance for their workers	951 63%	708 60%	240 69%	233 64%	307 65%	171 55%	705 59%	144 88%	64 70%	365 76%	275 59%	166 61%	139 50%	271 75%	436 63%	202 53%	193 55%	178 66%	256 73%
Regardless of how the system is working overall, I personally get what I pay for when it comes to health care	937 62%	781 66%	220 63%	226 62%	279 59%	212 68%	774 65%	72 44%	51 55%	261 54%	274 59%	189 69%	209 75%	213 59%	416 61%	265 69%	213 61%	170 63%	190 54%
It will be possible to provide health care coverage for all Americans without raising taxes	440 29%	339 29%	113 32%	103 28%	135 28%	89 28%	326 27%	66 40%	34 37%	153 32%	126 27%	82 30%	77 28%	141 39%	194 28%	86 22%	80 23%	69 26%	125 35%

HART - TEETER

Column 5098

NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Study 4037
March 5-9, 1993

3/9/93

Q.24a. PROPORTIONS WHO AGREE WITH SELECTED STATEMENTS ABOUT AMERICA'S HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

Banner 3	Party Identification				Presidential Race				Political Ideology		Sex			Health Coverage		Source of Coverage		
	All Adults	Demo- crats	Indepen- dents	Repub- licans	Bush voters	Clinton voters	Perot voters	Non- voters	Liberals	Conser- vatives	Men	Women	Working women	Covered by insurance	Not covered by insurance	Pay for own coverage	Employer pays all or part	Medicare/Medicaid
Total	1503	653	370	471	388	533	185	289	342	486	726	777	464	1313	179	203	833	129
Everyone should pay some portion of their health care costs	1317 88%	563 86%	316 85%	430 91%	355 91%	455 85%	160 86%	251 87%	297 87%	426 88%	646 89%	671 86%	405 87%	1155 88%	152 85%	188 93%	726 87%	111 86%
A health care system of the future should continue to involve both the government and private insurance companies	1101 73%	518 79%	266 72%	311 66%	256 66%	424 80%	128 69%	219 76%	263 77%	328 67%	542 75%	559 72%	335 72%	957 73%	134 75%	128 63%	610 73%	102 79%
I would be willing to pay higher taxes so that everyone can have health insurance	988 66%	516 79%	245 66%	220 47%	192 49%	432 81%	116 63%	184 64%	278 81%	241 50%	475 65%	513 66%	314 68%	855 65%	126 70%	123 61%	541 65%	95 74%
All employers, even small business owners, should be required to provide health insurance for their workers	951 63%	483 74%	223 60%	238 51%	190 49%	377 71%	97 52%	221 76%	239 70%	263 54%	429 59%	522 67%	324 70%	806 61%	138 77%	97 48%	531 64%	95 74%
Regardless of how the system is working overall, I personally get what I pay for when it comes to health care	937 62%	389 60%	213 58%	331 70%	283 73%	331 62%	116 63%	150 52%	225 66%	327 67%	463 64%	474 61%	275 59%	860 65%	73 41%	131 65%	540 65%	92 71%
It will be possible to provide health care coverage for all Americans without raising taxes	440 29%	174 27%	115 31%	146 31%	122 31%	130 24%	56 30%	99 34%	76 22%	166 34%	215 30%	225 29%	122 26%	364 28%	73 41%	56 28%	221 27%	43 33%

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Q.25a. I would like to read some of the advantages and disadvantages that people have mentioned about a health care program that President Clinton may propose. With this information in mind, would you say that the advantages of this health care proposal outweigh the disadvantages, or do you believe that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages?

Three of the advantages are that 1) every American would have health coverage, 2) Americans would be able to keep their health care coverage, even if they lose or change their jobs or develop a serious illness, and 3) the overall cost to the economy and to the federal government would be less.

Three of the disadvantages are that 1) higher taxes would be required in order to make sure that everyone is covered, 2) the government would be more involved with the health care system than it is now, and would restrict how much doctors and hospitals can charge, and 3) patients would be limited in their choice of doctors and in the availability of some high-tech health care services.

Banner 1	Area						Race			Age				Income		Occupation			
	All Registered Adults	Voters	Northeast	Midwest	South	West	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	18-34	35-49	50-64	65 and over	Under \$20,000	\$20,000 to \$50,000	Over \$50,000	Profes- sionals/ managers	White collar workers	Blue collar workers
Total	1503	1186	350	365	475	313	1194	164	92	480	464	274	278	360	687	384	349	270	353
Advantages outweigh disadvantages	849 56%	665 56%	211 60%	206 57%	261 55%	171 55%	663 56%	99 60%	51 56%	306 64%	273 59%	139 51%	127 46%	182 51%	389 56%	242 63%	231 66%	144 53%	201 57%
Disadvantages outweigh advantages	493 33%	389 33%	100 29%	122 33%	167 35%	104 33%	398 33%	49 30%	33 36%	145 30%	146 31%	94 34%	106 38%	130 36%	232 34%	107 28%	85 24%	102 38%	120 34%
Some of both, advantages and disadvantages about equal (VOL)	69 5%	57 5%	17 5%	15 4%	18 4%	19 6%	59 5%	5 3%	4 4%	18 4%	18 4%	16 6%	17 6%	18 5%	27 4%	21 5%	19 6%	12 5%	15 4%
Not sure	92 6%	75 6%	22 6%	22 6%	29 6%	19 6%	74 6%	11 7%	4 4%	11 2%	27 6%	25 9%	28 10%	30 8%	39 6%	14 4%	14 4%	12 4%	17 5%

3/9/93

HART - TEETER

NBC News/Wall Street Journal
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Q.25a. I would like to read some of the advantages and disadvantages that people have mentioned about a health care program that President Clinton may propose. With this information in mind, would you say that the advantages of this health care proposal outweigh the disadvantages, or do you believe that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages?

Three of the advantages are that 1) every American would have health coverage, 2) Americans would be able to keep their health care coverage, even if they lose or change their jobs or develop a serious illness, and 3) the overall cost to the economy and to the federal government would be less.

Three of the disadvantages are that 1) higher taxes would be required in order to make sure that everyone is covered, 2) the government would be more involved with the health care system than it is now, and would restrict how much doctors and hospitals can charge, and 3) patients would be limited in their choice of doctors and in the availability of some high-tech health care services.

Banner 3	Party Identification				Presidential Race				Political Ideology		Sex		Health Coverage		Source of Coverage			
	All Adults	Demo-crats	Indepen-dents	Repub-licans	Bush voters	Clinton voters	Perot voters	Non-voters	Liberals	Conser-vatives	Men	Women	Working women	Not Covered by insurance	Covered by insurance	Pay for own coverage	Employer pays all or part	Medicare/Medicaid
Total	1503	653	370	471	388	533	185	289	342	486	726	777	464	1313	179	203	833	129
Advantages outweigh disadvantages	849 56%	444 68%	209 56%	193 41%	148 38%	368 69%	108 58%	178 62%	236 69%	209 43%	407 56%	442 57%	281 61%	743 57%	99 55%	111 55%	499 60%	66 51%
Disadvantages outweigh advantages	493 33%	153 23%	111 30%	224 48%	191 49%	114 21%	58 31%	88 30%	77 23%	215 44%	245 34%	248 32%	139 30%	429 33%	60 34%	73 36%	252 30%	47 36%
Some of both, advantages and disadvantages about equal (VOL)	69 5%	23 4%	21 6%	25 5%	27 7%	22 4%	7 4%	8 3%	14 4%	26 5%	34 5%	35 4%	24 5%	60 4%	9 5%	6 3%	37 5%	5 4%
Not sure	92 6%	33 5%	29 8%	29 6%	22 6%	29 6%	12 7%	15 5%	15 4%	36 8%	40 5%	52 7%	20 4%	81 6%	11 6%	13 6%	45 5%	11 9%

HART - TEETER

NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Study 4037
March 5-9, 1993

Column 5106

3/10/93

Q.25b. PROPORTIONS WHO SAY SELECTED COMPROMISES AMERICANS MAY BE ASKED TO MAKE AS PART OF GUARANTEEING HEALTH COVERAGE TO ALL AMERICANS ARE TOTALLY OR SOMEWHAT ACCEPTABLE

Banner 1			Area				Race			Age				Income			Occupation		
	All Registered Adults	Registered Voters	Northeast	Midwest	South	West	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	18-34	35-49	50-64	65 and over	Under \$20,000	\$20,000 to \$50,000	Over \$50,000	Profes- sionals/ managers	White collar workers	Blue collar workers
Total	1503	1186	350	365	475	313	1194	164	92	480	464	274	278	360	687	384	349	270	353
Government limits on what doctors and hospitals can charge	1311 87%	1030 87%	304 87%	311 85%	423 89%	273 87%	1047 88%	137 84%	80 87%	413 86%	418 90%	241 88%	233 84%	311 86%	609 89%	337 88%	304 87%	235 87%	316 90%
A fifty-cent increase in the tax on a six-pack of beer	1299 87%	1021 86%	297 85%	310 85%	421 89%	271 87%	1035 87%	140 85%	79 86%	414 86%	402 87%	242 88%	237 85%	309 86%	600 87%	332 86%	314 90%	234 87%	300 85%
A one-dollar increase in the tax on a quart of liquor or wine	1277 85%	1015 86%	300 86%	294 81%	416 88%	267 85%	1014 87%	135 82%	82 89%	405 84%	397 86%	237 86%	233 84%	298 83%	592 86%	329 86%	308 88%	229 85%	300 85%
Limits on damage awards for medical malpractice	1146 76%	925 78%	271 77%	273 75%	367 77%	235 75%	953 80%	91 55%	63 68%	338 70%	378 81%	222 81%	206 74%	240 67%	534 78%	319 83%	289 83%	211 78%	262 74%
More government involvement in the health care system	1059 71%	805 68%	271 77%	249 68%	334 70%	205 65%	814 68%	138 84%	70 76%	382 80%	325 70%	192 70%	154 55%	268 74%	483 70%	266 69%	243 70%	196 73%	282 80%
A two-dollar increase in the tax on a pack of cigarettes	1058 70%	843 71%	260 74%	247 68%	324 68%	227 73%	834 70%	107 65%	75 82%	345 72%	336 72%	186 68%	188 68%	222 62%	484 70%	306 80%	281 81%	202 75%	225 64%
Limits on the right to choose your own doctor	777 52%	604 51%	177 51%	172 47%	265 56%	163 52%	595 50%	96 59%	56 61%	277 58%	213 46%	144 53%	142 51%	201 56%	366 53%	172 45%	167 48%	122 45%	202 57%
Limits on the availability of expensive high-tech health care services	767 51%	617 52%	165 47%	183 50%	258 54%	161 51%	622 52%	79 48%	40 43%	217 45%	236 51%	155 57%	155 56%	180 50%	368 54%	179 47%	173 50%	141 52%	186 53%
Higher insurance deductibles and co-payments	687 46%	563 47%	176 50%	170 47%	190 40%	151 48%	570 48%	59 36%	36 39%	208 43%	209 45%	142 52%	126 45%	139 39%	297 43%	218 57%	181 52%	119 44%	158 45%

HART - TEETER

Column 5106

NBC News/Wall Street Journal
Study 4037
March 5-9, 1993

3/10/93

Q.25b. PROPORTIONS WHO SAY SELECTED COMPROMISES AMERICANS MAY BE ASKED TO MAKE AS PART OF GUARANTEEING HEALTH COVERAGE TO ALL AMERICANS ARE TOTALLY OR SOMEWHAT ACCEPTABLE

Banner 3	Party Identification				Presidential Race				Political Ideology		Sex			Health Coverage		Source of Coverage		
	All Adults	Demo- crats	Indepen- dents	Repub- licans	Bush voters	Clinton voters	Perot voters	Non- voters	Liberals	Conser- vatives	Men	Women	Working women	Covered by insur- ance	Not covered by insur- ance	Pay for own coverage	Employer pays all or part	Medicare/ Medicaid
Total	1503	653	370	471	388	533	185	289	342	486	726	777	464	1313	179	203	833	129
Government limits on what doctors and hospitals can charge	1311 87%	592 91%	333 90%	377 80%	307 79%	490 92%	169 91%	253 88%	318 93%	392 81%	619 85%	692 89%	423 91%	1144 87%	160 89%	165 81%	740 89%	111 86%
A fifty-cent increase in the tax on a six-pack of beer	1299 87%	582 89%	314 85%	394 84%	321 83%	479 90%	159 86%	250 87%	301 88%	417 86%	609 84%	690 89%	426 92%	1142 87%	150 84%	174 86%	725 87%	110 85%
A one-dollar increase in the tax on a quart of liquor or wine	1277 85%	574 88%	310 84%	384 82%	314 81%	481 90%	155 84%	238 82%	298 87%	401 83%	607 84%	670 86%	408 88%	1117 85%	150 84%	168 83%	716 86%	104 81%
Limits on damage awards for medical malpractice	1146 76%	479 73%	286 77%	374 79%	315 81%	405 76%	151 82%	199 69%	256 75%	381 78%	564 78%	582 75%	357 77%	1020 78%	120 67%	155 76%	658 79%	88 68%
More government involvement in the health care system	1059 71%	536 82%	277 75%	240 51%	187 48%	441 83%	130 70%	229 79%	285 83%	261 54%	502 69%	557 72%	353 76%	910 69%	140 78%	131 65%	598 72%	83 64%
A two-dollar increase in the tax on a pack of cigarettes	1058 70%	476 73%	251 68%	325 69%	282 73%	395 74%	128 69%	191 66%	261 76%	341 70%	505 70%	553 71%	348 75%	940 72%	112 63%	139 68%	622 75%	75 58%
Limits on the right to choose your own doctor	777 52%	384 59%	197 53%	192 41%	150 39%	317 59%	105 57%	164 57%	194 57%	213 44%	396 55%	381 49%	224 48%	665 51%	106 59%	101 50%	421 51%	66 51%
Limits on the availability of expensive high-tech health care services	767 51%	360 55%	172 46%	231 49%	198 51%	278 52%	106 57%	135 47%	166 49%	251 52%	380 52%	387 50%	231 50%	671 51%	89 50%	115 57%	404 48%	65 50%
Higher insurance deductibles and co-payments	687 46%	308 47%	167 45%	209 44%	181 47%	259 49%	96 52%	107 37%	173 51%	211 43%	367 51%	320 41%	203 44%	603 46%	81 45%	80 39%	391 47%	61 47%

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HEALTH CARE UPDATE



The Need for Health Care Reform

July 26, 1993

Resolution on National Health Care Reform

The American health care system is in crisis. Costs are increasing at about ten percent each year; health care currently accounts for more than 14 percent of gross domestic product; and more is spent, per capita, on health care in America than in any other nation in the world. This condition is untenable, and a national solution to this crisis must be found.

The Governors are committed to national reform and support a solution that recognizes the uniqueness of states within a comprehensive federal framework. They remain committed to working with the President and Congress to achieve such a structure and are confident that it will soon become a reality. The Governors also believe that state-based health care initiatives will continue to play a significant role in the development of national health policy. State-based reforms serve as testimony to the importance of states as laboratories of federal policy. Comprehensive strategies have been implemented in a number of states while other states have achieved smaller-scale reforms. Many of these smaller reforms have focused on increasing the availability and affordability of insurance for small businesses.

However, in the face of ever-increasing health care costs, states must move ahead on a parallel track of change. The issues of access, cost containment, and public health persist, and the states must have the ability to take action to address these problems prior to the final reform. They simply cannot afford to sit still. Aside from the overall increases in health care costs, unfunded federal Medicaid mandates in the last decade have shifted hundreds of millions of dollars in health costs to state budgets and thereby prevented states from investing resources in worthy innovative health programs.

States are willing and ready to address some of these health care problems now, and the federal government should not act as an impediment to the implementation of these reforms. Unfortunately in many cases, federal laws and regulations prohibit states from pursuing various health reform strategies.

The Governors pledge to continue working with the President and Congress to take the necessary legislative and regulatory action to facilitate state-based incremental change. The following reforms should be pursued now and, where necessary, incorporated into comprehensive health care reform legislation:

- Permit states to implement Medicaid managed care programs through state plan amendments rather than the cumbersome waiver process. As the nation moves away from fee-for-service medicine and toward organized systems of care, the federal government should remove the statutory and regulatory barriers which now hinder state development of managed care systems in Medicaid. For more than ten years, states have demonstrated successfully, through waivers, their ability to provide care through such systems. (policy reference : C27.4.1.2, policy interpretation- June 1992)

- Streamline federal approval of state waivers required for state reform efforts and expedite permanent status approval for state waiver programs once their effectiveness has been demonstrated. (C27.4.1.2, policy Interpretation- June 1992)
- Establish, in cooperation with states, national uniform minimum standards for health insurance. Such minimum standards should address, at a minimum: guarantee issue, renewal and portability of health insurance coverage; experience rating and risk sharing; and red lining practices. (EC5.2.4, C27.4.2.2)
- Provide states with clear authority to assure that state-based small group insurance purchasing pools have consumer protections and are financially viable. (EC5.2.4, C27.4.1.3)
- Establish waiver provisions in the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) so that states may have the opportunity to include self-insured plans in state-based reform programs. (C27.4.1.3)
- Establish, in cooperation with states, national uniform minimum standards for Medical tort reform. Ideally, such tort reform will result in a decrease in the practice of defensive medicine while at the same time assuring appropriate levels of compensation for patients injured by medical negligence. (EC5.2.6, C27.4.2.4)
- Reform current federal anti-trust statutes so that states may establish partnerships and limited data sharing among competing providers. (EC5.4, policy Interpretation- June 1992)
- Provide assistance in strengthening the primary and preventive care infrastructure and provide incentives for students to serve in primary and preventive care professions. (EC5.2.10, C27.4.2.3)

Taken together, these legislative and regulatory reforms will not only permit states to continue their efforts at expanding access and controlling costs, but also will provide the federal government with models for the anticipated national comprehensive reform.