

**KAISER FAMILY FOUNDATION  
HARVARD SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH**

**HEALTH CARE AGENDA FOR THE NEXT CONGRESS**

FINAL TOPLINE

November 19, 1996

n= 1,000 Voters      Install Equation Editor and double-  
Margin of error:  $\pm 3\%$  [click here to view equation.](#)

n= 500 Form 1 Voters      Install Equation Editor and double-  
Margin of error:  $\pm 5\%$  [click here to view equation.](#)

n=500 Form 2 Voters      Install Equation Editor and double-  
Margin of error:  $\pm 5\%$  [click here to view equation.](#)

Dates of interviewing: November 6-10, 1996

**INTRODUCTION:** Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling for Princeton Survey Research. We're taking an important national survey about some things in the news. May I please speak with the YOUNGEST MALE age 18 or older, who is now at home. **(IF NO MALE AT HOME NOW:** Then, may I speak with the OLDEST FEMALE age 18 or older who is now at home)

1. For PRESIDENT, did you happen to vote for Bob Dole, the Republican; Bill Clinton, the Democrat; Ross Perot, the Reform Party candidate, or someone else?

36	Dole
43	Clinton
8	Perot
2	Someone else
2	Don't know/Can't remember
<u>9</u>	REfused
100	

2. In the presidential election, what issue was MOST important to you in deciding who to vote for? **(OPEN-END. RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE)**

**PROBE FOR SECOND MENTION:** Is there another issue that was almost as important?

*Based on form 1 voters.*

15	Economy/Jobs
7	Budget/Deficit
12	Taxes
6	Health care (NET)
5	Medicare
12	Education
2	Crime/Violence
5	Welfare/Welfare abuse
2	Social Security
8	Abortion
6	Family issues/Moral issues
2	Environment
17	Character of president (positive)
6	Character of president (negative)
3	Leadership (president)
2	Experience (president)
11	Honesty/Integrity of president
2	Age of candidate
6	Other candidate characteristic
7	Straight party vote
2	Size of government/Government control

*Responses less than 2% not shown*

*Total exceeds 100% due to multiple responses*

3. (Yesterday/Last Tuesday) people also voted to elect their representatives in the U.S. CONGRESS. In the election for the U.S. House of Representatives in your district, did you happen to vote for the Republican candidate, the Democratic candidate, some other candidate, or did you choose NOT to vote for Congress?

42	Republican candidate
41	Democratic candidate
2	Other candidate
6	Didn't vote for Congress
1	No election in my district ( <b>VOL.</b> )
5	Don't know/Can't remember
<u>3</u>	Refused

100

4. In the election for U.S. House of Representatives in your district, what issue was MOST important to you in deciding who to vote for? (**OPEN-END. RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE**)

**PROBE FOR SECOND MENTION:** Is there another issue that was almost as important?

*Based on Form 2 voters for Congress N=465.*

7	Economy/Jobs
8	Budget/Deficit
11	Taxes
5	Health Care (NET)
4	Medicare
9	Education
4	Crime/Violence
2	Guns/Gun control
3	Welfare/Welfare abuse
2	Social Security
7	Abortion
3	Family issues/Moral issues
7	Character of president (positive)
4	Leadership
4	Experience
4	Honesty/Integrity of president
2	Environment
13	Straight party vote

*Responses less than 2% not shown*

*Total exceeds 100% due to multiple responses*

**ASK ALL:**

5. Now I'm going to read you some proposals concerning SOCIAL ISSUES that were discussed during this year=s presidential and congressional campaigns. As I read each one, tell me if you generally favor it or oppose it. (First/next,) do you favor or oppose..?

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>	
a.	Changing the laws to make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion	34	58	8	=100
b.	Repealing the ban on assault weapons, so that it is no longer illegal to buy and sell certain firearms	30	65	5	=100
c.	Offering government financial aid or Avouchers≡ to pay parents some of the cost of sending their children to private or parochial schools, or public schools outside their district	44	50	6	=100
d.	Passing a constitutional amendment to allow voluntary prayer in public schools	69	26	5	=100
e.	Expanding family leave, which guarantees workers= rights to take time off from their jobs in certain situations	78	18	4	=100
f.	Limiting affirmative action efforts in hiring, contracts, and college admissions	47	39	14	=100
g.	Getting the U.S. military more involved in stopping illegal drugs from coming into the country	73	23	4	=100
h.	Increasing federal government restrictions on the sale and advertising of tobacco to children	73	25	2	=100
i.	Passing tougher environmental protection laws	73	21	6	=100

6. Of the proposals you just said you favored, which TWO would you MOST like to see the next Congress do something about?

Total  
Mentions

- 17 Changing the abortion laws
- 10 Repealing the ban on assault weapons
- 14 Offering Vouchers for parents of school-age children
- 18 Passing a school prayer amendment
- 13 Expanding family leave
- 13 Limiting affirmative action
- 36 Getting the U.S. military more involved in stopping illegal drugs
- 23 Increasing restrictions on the sale and advertising of tobacco to children
- 28 Passing tougher environmental protection laws
- 1 Don't favor any/None (VOL.)
- 4 Don't know

***Total exceeds 100% due to multiple responses***

**ASK ALL:**

7. Now I'm going to read you some proposals concerning BUDGETARY issues that were discussed during this year=s presidential and congressional campaigns. As I read each one, tell me if you generally favor it or oppose it. (First/next,) do you favor or oppose...?

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>	
a.	Balancing the federal budget in the next six years	88	8	4	=100
b.	Developing an anti-missile defense system	50	41	9	=100
c.	Eliminating the U.S. Department of Education	28	66	6	=100
d1.	( <b>FORM 1</b> ) Developing a program to provide health insurance for uninsured children	81	14	5	=100
d2.	( <b>FORM 2</b> ) Developing a program to provide health insurance for most uninsured people	73	23	4	=100
e.	Providing tax credits for people who attend community colleges	70	25	05	=100
f.	Making major reductions in future spending on Medicare to save the program from bankruptcy	60	32	8	=100
g.	Changing the new welfare reform law to provide more money for job training and day care	73	23	4	=100
h.	Spending more on public schools	74	23	3	=100
i.	Cutting federal income taxes by 15 percent	65	30	5	=100

8. Of the proposals you just said you favored, which TWO would you MOST like to see the next Congress do something about?

Total  
Mentions

- |    |   |
|----|---|
| 39 | Balancing the federal budget in the next six years                |
| 5  | Developing an anti-missile defense system                         |
| 7  | Eliminating the Department of Education                           |
| 15 | <b>(FORM 1)</b> Providing health insurance for uninsured children |
| 15 | <b>(FORM 2)</b> Providing health insurance for uninsured people   |
| 12 | Providing tax credits for community colleges                      |
| 9  | Making major reductions in future spending on Medicare            |
| 17 | Changing the new welfare reform law                               |
| 31 | Spending more on public schools                                   |
| 31 | Cutting federal income taxes by 15 percent                        |
| *  | Don=t favor any/None (VOL.)                                       |
| 3  | Don=t know  |

***Total exceeds 100% due to multiple responses***



9. Considering all government services on the one hand, and taxes on the other, which ONE of the following statements comes CLOSEST to your view...

***Based on Form 1 voters.***

43	Decrease services and taxes
40	Keep taxes and services where they are, OR
13	Increase services and raise taxes?
<u>4</u>	Don=t know
100	

10. You said that you favor cutting federal income taxes by 15 percent. Would you still favor a tax cut if it meant that the federal budget would not be balanced?

27	Yes, would still favor
32	No, would not
35	Do not favor tax cut
<u>6</u>	Don=t know
100	

11. Would you still favor cutting federal income taxes by 15 percent if it meant that spending on federal programs like Medicare and Medicaid would have to be reduced?

25	Yes, would still favor
37	No, would not
35	Do not favor tax cut
<u>3</u>	Don=t know
100	

**ASK ALL:**

12. Now I'm going to read you some areas in which the federal government spends most of its money. Keeping in mind that the federal government now has a budget deficit, please tell me if you think federal spending should be increased, decreased, or kept about the same as it is now in each of the following areas. (First/next) what about federal spending for...(INSERT--READ AND ROTATE. IF NECESSARY, ADD: should it be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?)

		<u>Increased</u>	<u>Decreased</u>	<u>Kept About The Same</u>	<u>DK</u>	
a.	Defense	25	27	46	2	=100
b.	Medicare	30	13	55	2	=100
c.	Social Security	34	10	53	3	=100
d.	Public assistance or welfare programs	11	55	32	2	=100
e.	Medicaid	26	19	52	3	=100

13. Earlier this year, Congress passed a law to reform the welfare system. From what you know about the law, do you think it is...

42 Basically a good law that will make things better

13 Basically a bad law that will make things worse  
OR...

31 Do you think law won't make much difference either way?

14 Don't know  
100

14. Which ONE of the following two statements about welfare reform comes CLOSER to your view of what should be done next...?

- a. The reforms passed by Congress should be put into effect without any changes and we should see how they work

OR...

- b. The reforms passed by Congress should be changed to make sure children on welfare don't face more problems, even if it costs taxpayers more money

***Based on Form 1 voters.***

51 Option A  
41 Option B  
8 Don't know  
100

15. Which ONE of the following two statements about welfare reform comes CLOSER to your view of what should be done next...?

- a. The reforms passed by Congress should be put into effect without any changes and we should see how they work

OR...

- b. The reforms passed by Congress should be changed to protect families now on welfare by providing them with job training and day care, even if it costs taxpayers more money

***Based on Form 2 voters.***

46 Option A  
47 Option B  
7 Don't know  
100

16. Considering all government payments for health care services on the one hand, and taxes on the other, which ONE of the following statements comes CLOSEST to your view...?

***Based on Form 2 voters.***

- 30 Decrease government spending for health care programs and services, and decrease taxes
- 51 Keep taxes and government spending for health care programs and services where they are  
OR...
- 14 Increase government spending for health care programs and services, and raise taxes?

5 Don=t know  
100

17. The number of Americans who rely on HMOs and other managed care health plans for their health coverage continues to grow. Some people say that the government needs to protect consumers from being treated unfairly and not getting the care they should from managed care plans. Others say that this additional government regulation would raise the cost of health insurance too much for everyone. Which position comes CLOSER to your own view?

***Based on Form 1 voters.***

- 54 Government needs to protect consumers
- 38 Additional regulation too costly
- 8 Don=t know

100

18. In recent months, different groups have said that something needs to be done to regulate the operations of HMOs and other managed care plans. Would you MOST like to see these managed care plans regulated by...

***Based on Form 1 voters.***

20	The federal government
33	State governments
19	Voluntary organizations
	OR..
14	Should these managed care plans not be regulated at all?
5	Regulated by other group - (VOL.)
<u>9</u>	Don=t know
100	

**ASK ALL:**

Now I have some questions about the uninsured, that is, people without any health insurance at all.

19. Compared to five years ago, do you think the problem of Americans not having health insurance is a bigger problem, less of a problem, or about the same?

60	Bigger problem
7	Less of a problem
30	About the same
<u>3</u>	Don=t know
100	

20. Which ONE of the following five groups do you think should be MOST responsible for paying for health insurance coverage for the uninsured...?

22	The federal government
17	State governments
20	Employers
4	Charities
31	Individuals themselves
2	Other (VOL.)
*	None/No one (VOL.)
<u>4</u>	Don=t know
100	

21. Which ONE of the following three statements comes CLOSEST to what you think the next Congress should do about people who don=t have health insurance...?

- a. Don=t pass any new laws  
OR...
- b. Make a limited effort to provide health insurance for SOME of the uninsured, which would cost more money  
OR...
- c. Make a MAJOR effort to provide health insurance for nearly all Americans, which would cost a lot more money

23	Option A
37	Option B
32	Option C
<u>8</u>	Don=t know
100	

22. If Congress doesn't think we can afford to guarantee health insurance for everyone, which ONE of the following groups do you think we should try to provide with health insurance coverage first...

52	Children
19	Working people who are currently uninsured
11	Low-income people
12	People who need long-term care
1	Other (VOL.)
1	None/No one (VOL.)
<u>4</u>	Don't know
100	

***Questions 23-24 are based on form 1 voters.***

23. If you HAD TO CHOOSE between the following two groups, which do you think we should provide with health insurance first...

58	Uninsured children
36	Uninsured workers who lose their jobs and their health insurance coverage
1	Other (VOL.)
1	Neither (VOL.)
<u>4</u>	Don't know
100	

24. Suppose Congress tries to provide health insurance for workers who lose their jobs and their health insurance. Do you think Congress should try to cover these workers and their families...

21 By expanding Medicaid, the government program that provides health care benefits to low-income people

34 Through a tax credit to help them buy private health insurance

32 By setting up a new health care program to help the temporarily unemployed

1 Other (VOL.)

4 None/Do nothing (VOL.)

8 Don't know  
100

***Questions 25-26 are Based on Form 2 voters..***

25. Which ONE of the following three statements comes CLOSEST to what you think the next Congress should do about children who don't have health insurance ...?

a. Don't pass any new laws  
OR...

b. Make a limited effort to provide health insurance for children who come from low-income families  
OR...

c. Make a MAJOR effort to provide health insurance for all uninsured children, regardless of their parents' income level?

8 Option A

44 Option B

45 Option C

3 Don't know  
100



26. Suppose Congress tries to provide health insurance for uninsured children. Do you think Congress should try to cover these children...

21 By expanding Medicaid, the government program that provides health care benefits to low-income people

40 Through a tax credit to help parents buy private health insurance for their own children

31 By setting up a new health care program to help children

\* Other (VOL.)

2 None/Do nothing (VOL.)

6 Don't know  
100

27. Would you be willing to pay more -- either in higher health insurance premiums or higher taxes -- in order to increase the number of Americans who have health insurance coverage, or not?

***Based on Form 1 voters.***

47 Yes

47 No

6 Don't know  
100

28. Would you be willing to pay more -- either in higher health insurance premiums or higher taxes -- in order to help people who can't afford to buy health insurance for themselves and their families, or not?

***Based on Form 2 voters.***

50 Yes

44 No

6 Don't know  
100

**ASK ALL:**

29. Compared to five years ago, do you think the cost of health care for families is a bigger problem, less of a problem, or about the same?

68	Bigger problem
3	Less of a problem
27	About the same
<u>2</u>	Don=t know
100	

30. Which ONE of the following two statements comes CLOSER to what you think the next Congress should do to try to control health care costs..?

- a. Congress should get involved and do more to limit how much health insurance companies and managed care plans can charge  
OR...
- b. Congress should NOT get involved and should let competition in the marketplace solve the problem

***Based on Form 1 voters.***

53	Option A
43	Option B
<u>4</u>	Don=t know
100	

31. Which ONE of the following two statements comes CLOSER to what you think the next Congress should do to try to control health care costs..?
- a. Congress should get involved and do more to limit how much doctors and hospitals can charge  
OR...
  - b. Congress should NOT get involved and should let competition in the marketplace solve the problem

***Based on Form 2 voters.***

57	Option A
39	Option B
<u>4</u>	Don=t know
100	

**ASK ALL:**

32. Now I have some questions about Medicare, the government program that provides health insurance primarily to people who are 65 and older. Are either you or your (husband/wife) NOW covered under Medicare?

13	Yes, respondent only
7	Yes, husband/wife only
7	Yes, both
73	No, neither
<u>*</u>	Don=t know
100	

33. Is either your mother or father NOW covered under Medicare?

17	Yes, mother only
5	Yes, father only
13	Yes, both
62	No, neither/Parent deceased
<u>3</u>	Don=t know
100	

34. Looking ahead to when you are eligible for Medicare, which do you think is MOST likely...?

*Based on those not covered by Medicare; n=812.*

14	You will get MOST of the Medicare benefits that are currently provided OR....
50	You will get SOME benefits, but not all that are currently provided OR...
30	You will get NONE of the Medicare benefits that are currently provided?
<u>6</u>	Don=t know
100	

**ASK ALL:**

35. Please tell me whether you would favor or oppose major reductions in future spending on Medicare for each of the following purposes. (First/next), would you favor or oppose major reductions...

- a. To pay for a tax cut

29	Favor
66	Oppose
<u>5</u>	Don=t know
100	

- b1. To prevent the Medicare program from going bankrupt in five years

*Based on Form 1 voters.*

64	Favor
28	Oppose
<u>8</u>	Don=t know
100	

- b2. To preserve the Medicare program for the next generation

***Based on Form 2 voters.***

68	Favor
26	Oppose
<u>6</u>	Don=t know
100	

- c. To balance the federal budget

42	Favor
56	Oppose
<u>2</u>	Don=t know
100	

36. Currently, the federal and state governments share the responsibility for Medicaid, the program which provides health and nursing home benefits for the poor, low-income elderly, and the disabled. In general, do you favor or oppose proposals to turn over the responsibility for Medicaid to the states?

37. Would you still favor turning Medicaid over to the states if you knew that each state would be given only a fixed amount of federal dollars along with the flexibility to decide how to spend it?

60	Favor
42	Yes, would still favor
14	No, would not
4	Don=t know
34	Oppose
6	Don=t know
<u>*</u>	Refused
100	

**ASK ALL:**

38. Recently there has been a debate in Congress and in many states about whether or not Medicaid should be made available to low-income LEGAL immigrants. Do you think Medicaid should be available to low-income LEGAL immigrants, or not?

62 Yes, should be available  
 33 No, should not be available  
5 Don=t know  
 100

39. On a different subject... Which ONE of the following four statements comes CLOSEST to your own views on abortion...?

43 Abortion should be generally available to those who want it  
 OR...  
 15 Abortion should be available, but under stricter limits than it is now  
 OR...  
 32 Abortion should be against the law, except in cases of rape, incest, and to save a woman=life  
 OR...  
 8 Abortion should not be permitted at all  
  
2 Don=t know  
 100

40. We=d like your views on the N-R-A, that is, the National Rifle Association. Are you someone who generally...

26 Supports the NRA  
 33 Opposes the NRA, OR  
 39 Takes no position either way?  
2 Don=t know  
 100

41. Now I have a few questions about health... In general, would you say your health is...?

25	Excellent
32	Very good
25	Good
13	Fair, OR
5	Poor?
<u>  *</u>	Don't know
100	

42. In the past 12 months, have you had a SERIOUS problem with having enough money to pay doctor and hospital bills, or not?

17	Yes
83	No
<u>  *</u>	Don=t know
100	

43. At ANY time in the past 12 months, have you or has someone in your immediate family been without health insurance coverage?

29	Yes
70	No
<u>  1</u>	Don=t know
100	

44. Have you or your family EVER received any welfare benefits, such as government assistance available through the food stamp program or Aid to Families with Dependent Children?

45. Are you or your family NOW receiving any welfare benefits?

19	Yes, have received welfare benefits
5	Yes, now receiving
14	No, not now receiving
80	No, have not
<u>  1</u>	Don=t know
100	

Finally, I'd like to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only...

**D1.RECORD RESPONDENT=S GENDER:**

48	Male
<u>52</u>	Female
100	

D2.Do you or does someone else in your household belong to a labor union?

8	Yes, self
8	Yes, someone else
1	Yes, self and someone else
82	No
<u>1</u>	Don=t know
100	

D3. In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or something else?

D4. Do you consider yourself a STRONG (Republican/Democrat) or NOT a strong (Republican/Democrat)?

D5. As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

17	Strong Republican
16	Not strong Republican
7	Lean Republican
4	Non-lean independent
10	Lean Democrat
17	Not strong Democrat
20	Strong Democrat
7	Something else
1	Don=t know
<u>1</u>	Refused
100	



D6. In general, would you describe your political views as...

8	Very conservative
33	Conservative
39	Moderate
14	Liberal, OR
3	Very liberal?
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

D7. Thinking back to the 1992 presidential election, when Clinton ran against Bush and Perot, did things come up to keep you from voting, or did you happen to vote? **IF YES, ASK:** Did you vote for Clinton, Bush or Perot?

38	Yes, Clinton
33	Yes, Bush
12	Yes, Perot
*	Yes, other candidate
1	Yes, don't remember which candidate
11	No, didn't vote/Too young
<u>5</u>	Don't Remember if voted
100	

D8. What is the LAST grade or class that you COMPLETED in school?

3	None, or grade 1-8
8	High school incomplete (grades 9-11)
31	High school graduate (grade 12 or GED certificate)
4	Business, technical, or vocational school AFTER high school
26	Some college, no 4-year degree
19	College graduate (B.S., B.A. or other 4-year degree)
9	Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college (e.g., toward a master's degree or Ph.D; law or medical school)
<u>*</u>	Don't Know
100	

D9. What is your age?

15	Under 30
43	30 - 39
21	40 - 49
20	50 and older
<u>1</u>	Refused
100	

D10. What is your religious preference -- Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, some other religion, or no religion?

D11. Do you consider yourself a Christian?

D12. Do you consider yourself as a "born again" or an evangelical Christian, or not?

***Based on Christians.***

58	Total Protestant
32	Born again
26	Other Protestant
22	Catholic
2	Jewish
6	Other religion
11	Not religion
<u>1</u>	Don=t know/Refused
100	

D13. Last year, that is in 1995, what was your total family income from all sources, before taxes? Just stop me when I get to the right category.

6	Less than \$10,000
12	\$10,000 to under \$20,000
19	\$20,000 to under \$30,000
20	\$30,000 to under \$50,000
15	\$50,000 to under \$75,000
8	\$75,000 to under \$100,000
5	\$100,000 to under \$200,000
2	\$200,000 or more
5	Don't know
<u>8</u>	Refused
100	

D14. Are you, yourself, of Hispanic or Latino background, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Spanish background?

4	Yes
95	No
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

D15. What is your race? Are you white, black, Asian or some other race?

87	White
10	Black or African American
*	Asian
2	Other or mixed race
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

**END OF INTERVIEW. THANK RESPONDENT:**

Thank you very much for taking the time to answer my questions. Have a nice day/evening.