

TO: **INTERESTED PARTIES**

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

DATE: October 28, 2009

RE: Analysis of Findings: Nationwide Survey of Women on Healthcare

On behalf of The Independent Women's Forum, the polling company™, inc./WomanTrend conducted a nationwide survey of 800 women registered to vote. The survey was conducted October 19-25, 2009 and has an overall margin of error of $\pm 3.5\%$ at a 95% confidence interval. Margins of error of subgroups are higher. A full description of methodology can be found at the end of this analysis.

Healthcare through Women's Economic Lenses

Overview:

What should be done?

- Healthcare is only one of a number of economic issues Congress needs to address according to women nationwide. Everyday living expenses, affordability, and energy costs (including utilities and gasoline) were also prominently mentioned.
- When asked the relative priority of healthcare to other issues, only 16% said healthcare should be top issue for Congress to address; although a slim majority (53%) says it should be in the top three.
- Approximately two-thirds (66%) of women say they think about healthcare reform more for others who need it than for themselves; 10% they consider it mostly in terms of their own needs.
- 51% of women are unsatisfied and 42% are satisfied with what they have read, seen, or heard about the proposals or legislation to change the way healthcare is covered and delivered here in the United States.
- Most would prefer that any expanded involvement **exclude** them personally:
 - 54% would not personally trade in their coverage for a public plan; 38% would.
 - 56% disagree and 36% agree that "women like me would be best served by a government-run healthcare plan."
 - 57% disagree and 34% agree that "a federally-run healthcare program is what is best for my family and me."
- 75% want few to no changes to their **own healthcare** (40% -- be modified, but mostly left as is; 35% -- be left as-is) while 19% want it to undergo dramatic overhaul. For **healthcare generally in the United States**, a plurality of women (48%) wants slight modifications, 11% hope it is left unchanged, and 35% wish for dramatic changes.

WomanTrend, a division of the polling company™, inc.
Kellyanne Conway, President & CEO

On behalf of The Independent Women's Forum

By when?

- **No egg timers:** When asked when Congress and the President should enact healthcare reform, 9% hoped for action in the next few weeks; 20% wanted change by the end of the year; 22% preferred to see reform in the next one or two years; and 43% of women say that Congress and the President should enact healthcare reform **“only when quality legislation is developed, even if it means there is no deadline.”**
- Women nationwide were presented with two differing opinions and asked to align with one, 67% of women agree with the following statement: *“I would prefer that United States Senators and Member of Congress not support poorly-crafted or rushed healthcare legislation. It is more important to get it done right than to get it done fast.”* Only 28% align with the opposite view: *“Something is better than nothing: I would prefer to see my United States Senators and Member of Congress support less-than-perfect healthcare reform. We cannot wait any longer for healthcare reform.”*

At what cost?

- When asked how much should be spent on healthcare reform, most put the acceptable amounts in the thousands (16%), millions (24%), or billions (16%). Only 10% say that \$1 trillion (5%) or more than \$1 trillion (5%) should be spent on healthcare reform.
- Pluralities of women (45%) believe that \$829 billion is too much to spend over the next decade; 6% say the figure is too small; three-in-ten (30%) think the amount is just right.

At what cost to the Members who are voting on it?

- 45% would be less likely and 37% more likely, to vote for a current Member of Congress or candidate for Congress who supports the **\$829 expenditure on healthcare reform.**
- 67% would be less likely to support a candidate and 19% more likely to support a candidate, who favors moving people from their private healthcare plans to a government-run or public option healthcare plans.

What do women hope?

- Women are more optimistic about their own financial futures than the country's economic future as a whole.
- 66% of women describe the quality of their health insurance as “excellent” or “good.” 74% use the same terms to describe the quality of their healthcare. 29% say their health insurance is “fair” or “poor” while 24% say the same of their healthcare.
- When comparing their own quality of health insurance or healthcare to what other Americans have, less than 10% of women think they have the short ends of the stick. 49% of women feel their health insurance is about the same compared to what other Americans have and 50% think their quality of care is similar, too. 34% believe their health insurance is better, 37% say the same of their healthcare.

What do they demand?

- By a margin of 64%-27% of women would “rather have private health insurance than a government-run health insurance plan.”

What do they fear?

- 77% of women say government spends money in a mostly inefficient way; 15% think it spends efficiently.
- 55% think that the CBO projection of \$829 billion is **an underestimation of how much will ultimately be spent on healthcare reform.** 17% think the figure is too high and 12% think the guess is about right.
- 46% believe it is impossible to spend \$829 billion and save the deficit \$81 billion; 44% say it is possible.
- 46% of women predict that “increased federal involvement in healthcare” will result in more doctors leaving the practice of medicine while 12% think it will cause more to join; 34% think the ranks will remain unchanged.
- 58% disagree and 29% agree that “more federal involvement in healthcare will improve the relationships members of my family have with their doctors.”
- 51% of women think more federal involvement will cause declines in the quality of healthcare they and their families receive; 15% feel it will lead to improvements; and 28% believe the quality will remain unchanged.

Whom do they trust on healthcare?

- 53% of women have greater trust in a Congressman of their own political party; 13% have greater trust in a Congresswoman of the opposite political party.
- 61% of women think the private sector does a better job of providing choice in healthcare; 24% have greater confidence in the federal government to do so.
- 48% of women believe the private sector can offer lower costs while ensuring high quality of healthcare for consumers in the country; 36% think the federal government has the advantage.

SPOTLIGHT ON INDEPENDENTS

Role of Government:

- 81% perceive the federal government as a “mostly inefficient” spender.
- 64% trust that the private sector does a better job of providing choice in healthcare; 19% think the federal government does.
- 52% believe the **private sector** can offer lower costs while ensuring high quality healthcare; 28% give the **federal government** the advantage.

Importance & Tenets of Reform

- 68% disagree: “**Overhauling the nation’s healthcare system is so important that it should be enacted even if it significantly increases the federal budget deficit**” (compared to 33% of Democrats and 76% of Republicans).
- 85% agree: “**I would prefer that Congress do healthcare reform right than do it fast.**”
- 46% believe the \$829 billion price tag for healthcare reform is “too much” (compared to 45% overall); just 11% think it is appropriate to spend \$1 trillion or more.

Looking at 2010:

- 73% would be less likely to support a “**candidate for Congress knowing he or she favored moving people from their private healthcare plans to government-run healthcare plans.**”
- 47% would be less likely to support a candidate “**knowing he or she supports this new \$829 billion healthcare bill,**” 31% would be more likely.

SPOTLIGHT ON SMALL BUSINESS OWNERS

Role of Government:

- 80% perceive the federal government as a “mostly inefficient” spender.
- 65% trust that the private sector does a better job of providing choice in healthcare; 25% think the federal government does.
- 56% believe the **private sector** can offer lower costs while ensuring high quality healthcare; 36% give the **federal government** the advantage.

Importance & Tenets of Reform

- 68% disagree: “**Overhauling the nation’s healthcare system is so important that it should be enacted even if it significantly increases the federal budget deficit**” (compared to 54% of non-small business owners).
- 87% agree: “**I would prefer that Congress do healthcare reform right than do it fast.**”
- 53% believe the \$829 billion price tag for healthcare reform is “too much” (compared to 45% overall); just 7% think it is appropriate to spend \$1 trillion or more.

Looking at 2010:

- 71% would be less likely to support a “**candidate for Congress knowing he or she favored moving people from their private healthcare plans to government-run healthcare plans.**”
- 51% would be less likely to support a candidate “**knowing he or she supports this new \$829 billion healthcare bill.**”

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On behalf of The Independent Women's Forum

Women More Confident with Personal Economic Futures than Country's Prospects

A majority (57%) of women felt that they and their families will become more economically secure during the next few years while 35% predicted that their personal security would decline. Women were less optimistic about the direction of the nation's economy, in fact they were split: 44% of women anticipated improvements while 44% foresaw deteriorations. *African-American women, those in households earning \$100K or more, self-identified Democrats, liberals, and 2008 Obama voters were notably more likely to anticipate national **and** personal economic improvements.*

Affording Healthcare a Top Financial Priority for Women, but Few Tell Congress to Make the Issue "Number One"

When it comes to the economy, which of the following is the biggest concern for you and your household? You may select up to two. (READ AND ROTATED. ACCEPT UP TO TWO ANSWERS.)

- 34% GENERAL COST OF LIVING/EVERYDAY EXPENSES
- 34% AFFORDING HEALTHCARE/PAYING FOR PRESCRIPTION DRUGS
- 23% THE INCREASING COST OF ENERGY, INCLUDING GASOLINE AND HOME UTILITIES
- 23% THE FEAR OF LOSING A JOB OR BEING UNEMPLOYED
- 17% A LOSS OF RETIREMENT SAVINGS
- 15% THE COST OF HOUSING/MORTGAGE OR RENT PAYMENTS/LOSING MY HOME
- 13% AFFORDING COLLEGE AND OTHER POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

- 2% OTHER (SPECIFIED) (VOLUNTEERED)
- 2% DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)
- 1% REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)

Respondents were then asked to rank the relative priority of healthcare. Only 16% said the issue merited the "top" spot, with a slim majority (53%) placing it in the top three.

Thinking about all of the different issues that Congress addresses, how much of a priority should healthcare reform be for Congress to address now? (READ LIST. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE.)
Should it be ...

- 16% THE TOP ISSUE
- 53% NOT THE TOP ISSUE, BUT ONE OF THE TOP THREE ISSUES
- 22% NOT ONE OF THE TOP THREE ISSUES, BUT ONE OF THE TOP TEN ISSUES
- 8% NOT ONE OF THE TOP TEN ISSUES

- 1% DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)
- * REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)

On behalf of The Independent Women's Forum

Women Satisfied With Current Coverage

Majorities of women are pleased with their current healthcare and health insurance and few think what they have is worse than what others experience.

<i>In general, how would you rate the quality of health insurance you personally receive?</i>		<i>In general, how would you rate the quality of healthcare you receive?</i>	
66%	TOTAL EXCELLENT/GOOD (NET)	74%	TOTAL EXCELLENT/GOOD (NET)
26%	EXCELLENT	33%	EXCELLENT
40%	GOOD	41%	GOOD
29%	TOTAL FAIR/POOR (NET)	24%	TOTAL FAIR/POOR (NET)
21%	FAIR	19%	FAIR
8%	POOR	5%	POOR

<i>Compared to other Americans, would you say the quality of health insurance you receive is...</i>		<i>Compared to other Americans, would you say the quality of healthcare you receive is...</i>	
49%	ABOUT THE SAME	50%	ABOUT THE SAME
34%	BETTER	37%	BETTER
8%	WORSE	9%	WORSE

Thinking about your own health insurance, which of the following best describes the balance of quality and cost you receive? (READ AND ROTATED TOP TO BOTTOM AND BOTTOM TO TOP)

15%	HIGH QUALITY FOR LOW COST
21%	HIGH QUALITY FOR HIGH COST
37%	THE RIGHT AMOUNT OF QUALITY FOR THE RIGHT COST
4%	LOW QUALITY AT A LOW COST
14%	LOW QUALITY AT A HIGH COST
5%	I DO NOT HAVE HEALTH INSURANCE (VOLUNTEERED)
3%	DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)
1%	REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)

Women Question Practical and Philosophical Role of Government in Healthcare

Why Give a Bad Investor More Money?

At the beginning of the survey, before healthcare was even raised, 77% of women said that “government spends money in a mostly inefficient manner” while 15% said it generally spends in a “mostly efficient” fashion.

- *Inefficiency was considered the modus operandi by majorities of women of all ages, races, regions, political parties, and ideologies.*

“Choice” and “Private” Key Parts of Healthcare Lexicon

By a 61%-24% margin, “the private sector” was thought to “do a better job of providing choice in healthcare” over “the federal government.”

- *Majorities of voters in all age, regional, and educational attainment cohorts believed the private sector to be superior when it comes to providing choice in healthcare. Pluralities of self-identified Democrats (45%) and liberals (49%) agreed, as well as majorities of self-identified Independents (64%), Republicans (81%), moderates (54%), and conservatives (74%).*
- *Groups of women more likely than the average to have greater confidence in the federal government included Blacks (45%), Hispanics (40%), single mothers (30%), self-identified Democrats (38%), liberals (35%), and moderates (27%).*

When it comes to “offer[ing] lower costs while ensuring high quality healthcare for consumers in this country,” women gave the private sector a 12-point edge over the federal government (48%-36%).

- *A majority of self-identified Independents (52%) and plurality of moderates (45%) agreed with the majority of Republicans (72%) and conservatives (63%) who trusted the private sector to do a better job of providing low costs at high quality.*
- *Blacks (57%), Hispanics (52%), unmarried women (41%), women in households with incomes less than \$20K (44%) or \$20K-\$49K (41%), self-identified Democrats (54%), liberals (57%), conservative Democrats (50%), and New Englanders (49%) stood out as more likely than the average to have higher confidence in the federal government.*

On behalf of The Independent Women's Forum

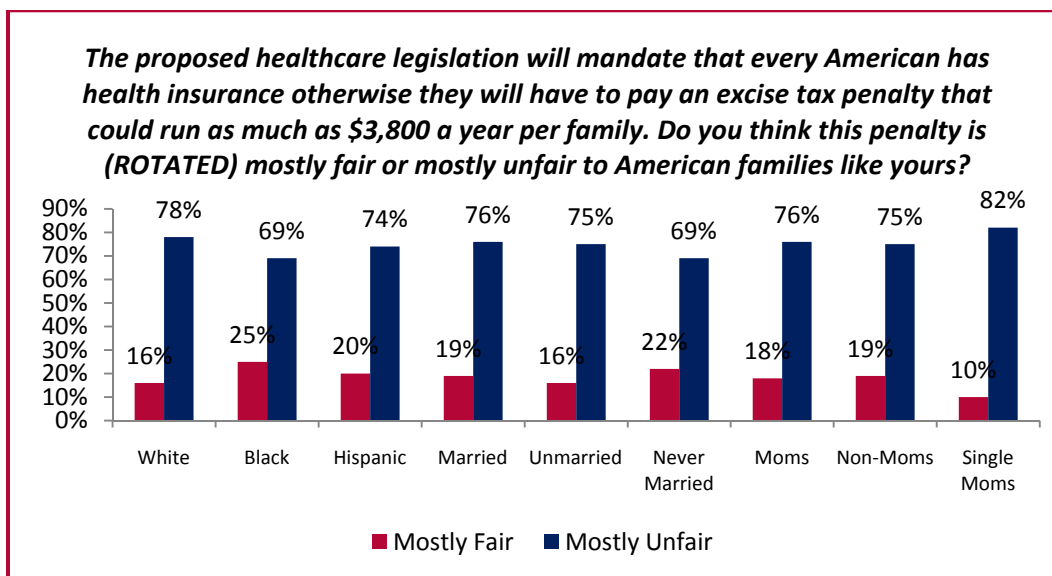
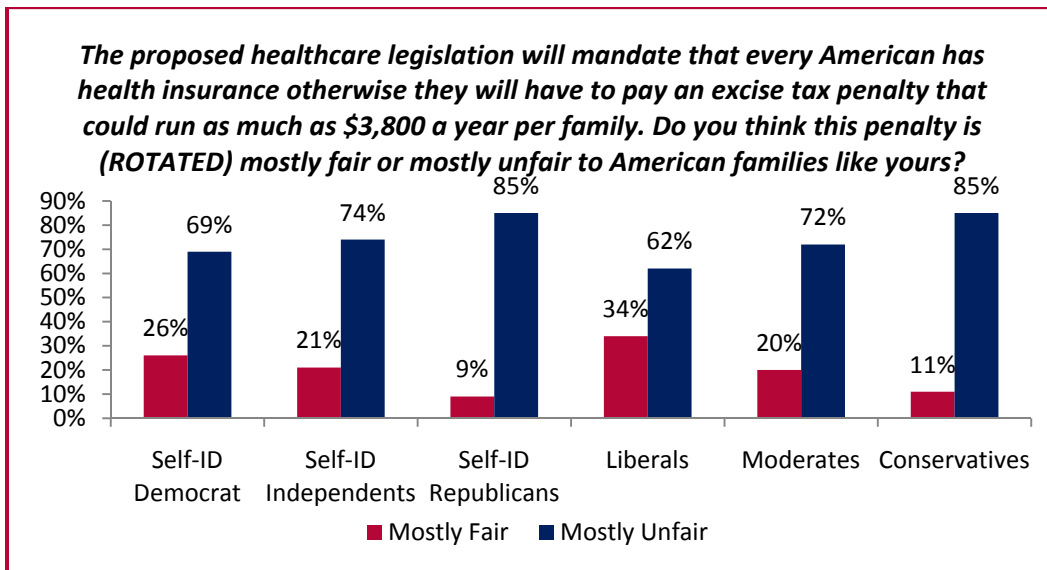
What Are the Consequences of Increased Federal Involvement in Healthcare?

Seven-in-ten women agreed: "Once we allow the federal government to play a bigger role in healthcare, it will be difficult to scale back its influence."

- *Women across age, racial, regional, political, and ideological lines agreed that it would be hard to put the genie (government) back in the bottle when it comes to healthcare.*

More than three-in-four (76%) women said any legislation mandating that "every American has health insurance [or face] an excise tax penalty that could run as much as \$3,800 a year per family" is **mostly unfair**. Less than one-in-five (18%) believed an order such as this is **mostly fair**.

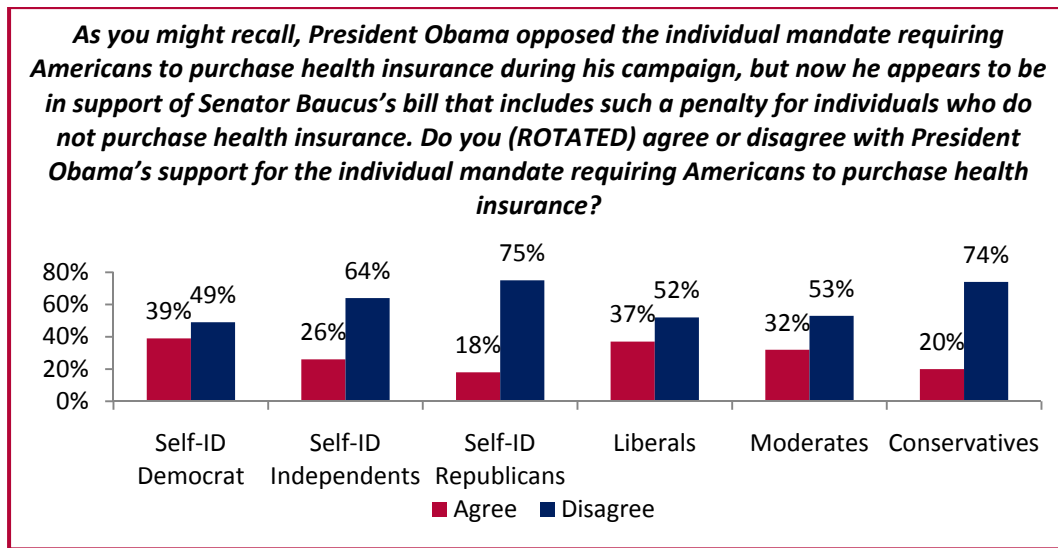
- *A tri-partisan and tri-ideological consensus emerged: majorities of self-identified Democrats, Independents, Republicans, liberals, moderates, and conservatives decried the mandate as mostly unfair.*



On behalf of The Independent Women's Forum

With respect to a mandate, 28% of women agreed and 61% disagreed with President Obama's support for the individual mandate requiring Americans to purchase health insurance. Intensity rested with the opposition, as 42% strongly disagreed with his proposal. It should be noted that this was the only instance in the survey in which the President's name was tied to any parts of the legislation.

- Majorities of women of all ages, marital and parental statuses, and regions, as well as pluralities – if not majorities – of women across ideological and party lines opposed President Obama's position on the issue.

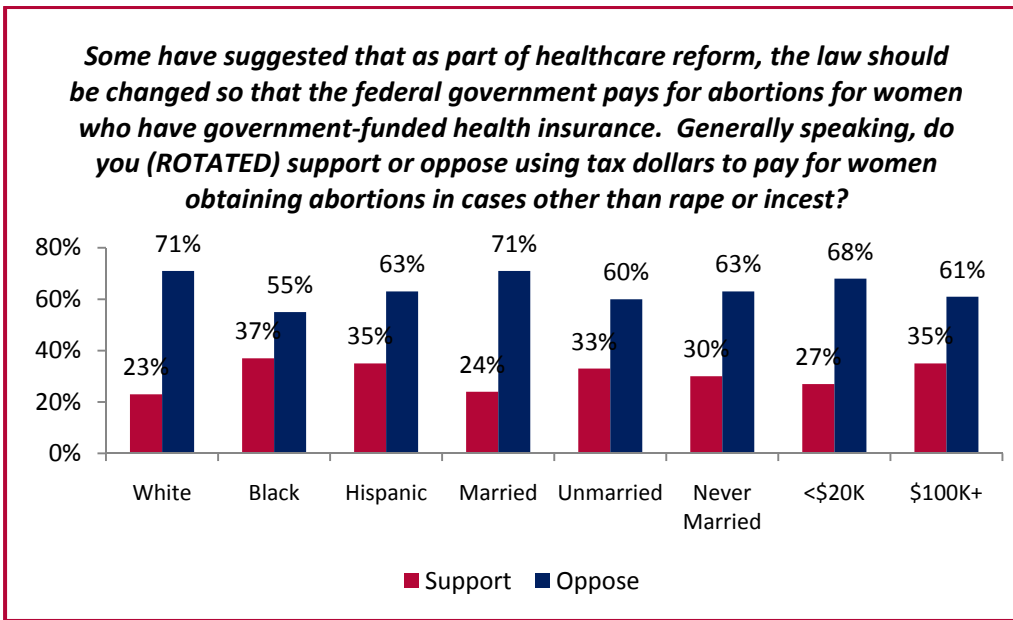
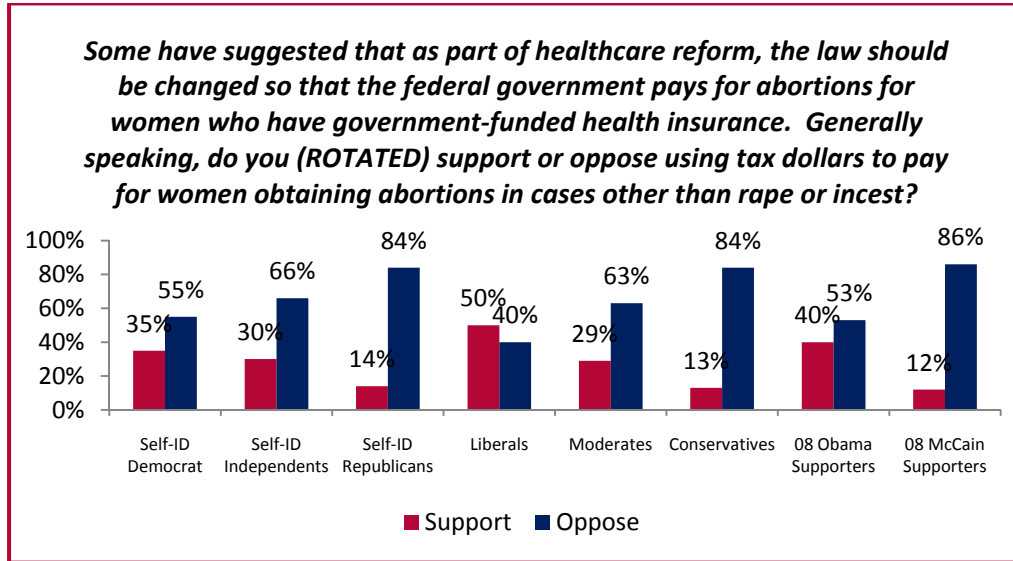


- Fifty-eight percent of women disagreed that **“More federal government involvement in healthcare will improve the relationships members of my family have with their doctors.”**
 - Married and single women alike as well as mothers and those without children were all skeptical, disagreeing with the proposition that more government equals better relationships between patients and physicians.

On behalf of The Independent Women's Forum

What Should Government Cover?

Two-thirds of women objected to government paying for abortions in the healthcare bill, including majorities of women of all ages, races, regions, marital and parental statuses, and political parties (55% of self-identified Democrats, 66% of Independents, and 84% of Republicans). Even 39% of “pro-choicers” qualified their views with their unwillingness to pay for it.



What Women Want

Before getting into the nitty-gritty of healthcare legislation, women were given the opportunity to answer, in an open-ended fashion, what questions or advice they have for their Members of Congress and for the President on healthcare. Their answers were as diverse as women themselves, as no clear consensus emerged as to what remains unknown or unspoken. Concerns about paying for reform, controlling costs, eligibility, and needing to know what is included and excluded from the actual legislative proposals on the table and in the works dominated as some of the central “themes” for women. They need simplicity – someone to actually clear up the confusion as to what’s in and what’s out. A full list of respondents’ questions and advice can be found in the appended topline.

Reform for You, Not Me...

Nearly two-in-three (66%) women said that when they think about healthcare reform, they consider it **“mostly for other people who might need it”** while 10% said they reflect upon it mainly about *themselves*. Twenty-two percent volunteered that what comes to mind are the needs of others and the needs of self.

In a question that utilized split sampling language – outlined below – majorities of women in both versions said they would “probably” or “definitely” not consider trading in their current coverage for government-run healthcare. The language used to describe the public option goes beyond feel-good phraseology. Women are asked what they would do in practice, not just theory, if the public option were truly to be a “choice” for them (though as the question language points out, the chances of the option remaining a true “choice” are likely slim).

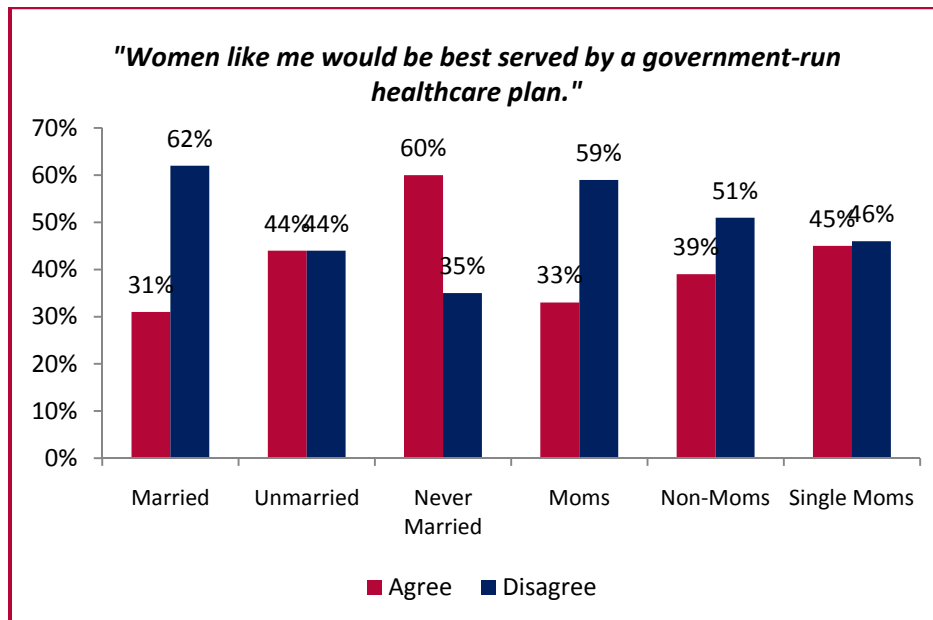
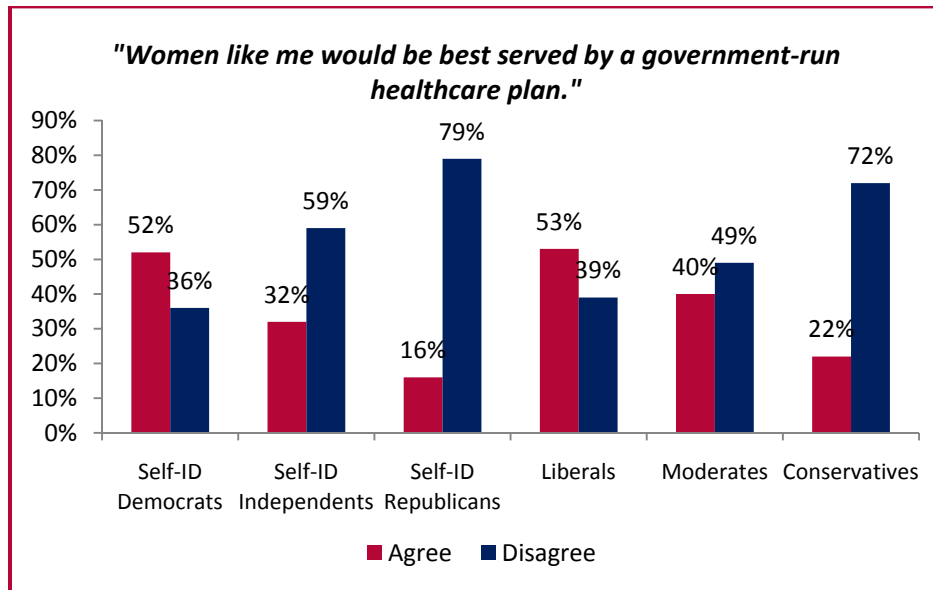
As you might know, some lawmakers in Washington are giving serious consideration to a government-run healthcare program. This is sometimes referred to as the “public option.” According to supporters of the bill, enrollment will be optional. However, some have suggested that if the option is available, employers will stop offering coverage to their employees, meaning Americans will have no choice but to enroll in the (SPLIT SAMPLE: public plan/government-run plan). Which of the following comes closest to your own thinking? (READ AND ROTATED. ACCEPT ONLY ONE.)

Public Plan N=400	Government-Run N=400	
38%	39%	WOULD CONSIDER TRADING IN COVERAGE (NET)
6%	10%	I WOULD DEFINITELY CONSIDER TRADING IN MY CURRENT COVERAGE FOR GOVERNMENT-RUN HEALTHCARE COVERAGE, NO MATTER WHAT THE TERMS WERE
32%	29%	I WOULD PROBABLY CONSIDER TRADING IN MY CURRENT COVERAGE FOR GOVERNMENT-RUN HEALTHCARE COVERAGE, BUT IT DEPENDS ON WHAT THE TERMS WERE
54%	57%	WOULD NOT CONSIDER TRADING IN COVERAGE (NET)
23%	28%	I WOULD PROBABLY NOT CONSIDER TRADING IN MY CURRENT COVERAGE FOR GOVERNMENT-RUN HEALTHCARE COVERAGE, BUT IT DEPENDS ON WHAT THE TERMS WERE
31%	29%	I WOULD DEFINITELY NOT CONSIDER TRADING IN MY CURRENT COVERAGE FOR GOVERNMENT-RUN HEALTHCARE COVERAGE, NO MATTER WHAT THE TERMS WERE
3%	2%	IT DEPENDS/NEED MORE INFORMATION (VOLUNTEERED)

On behalf of The Independent Women's Forum

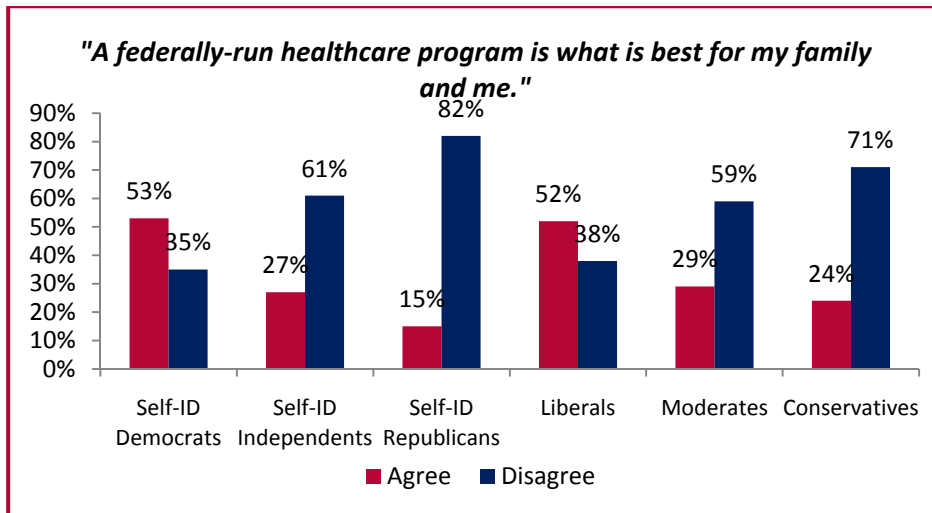
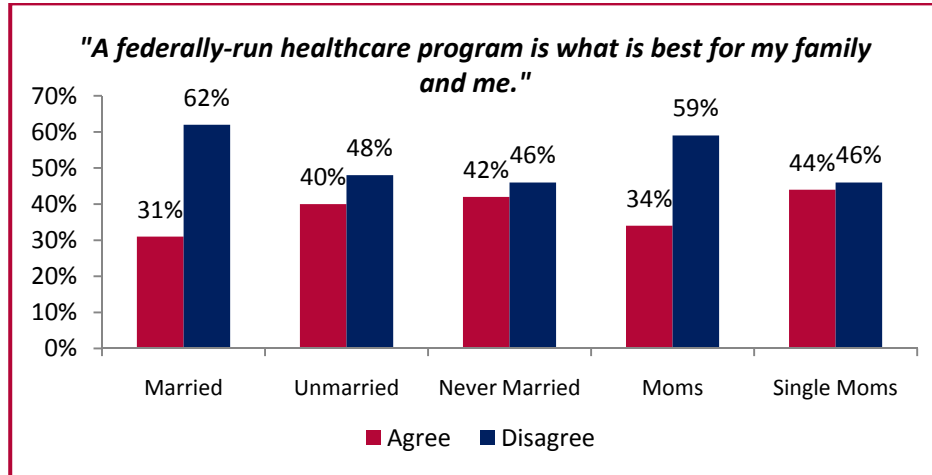
Perhaps women voters' opposition to government-run healthcare is based on the (lack of) outcomes they anticipate if they were to enroll. As demonstrated below, few women believe that expanded influence of government in healthcare would benefit them personally.

- **"Women like me would be best served by a government-run healthcare plan."** Disagreement outpaced agreement with this statement by a margin of 56%-36%. In fact, the percentage of women strongly objecting to this statement was larger than the overall agreement (38% vs. 36%).



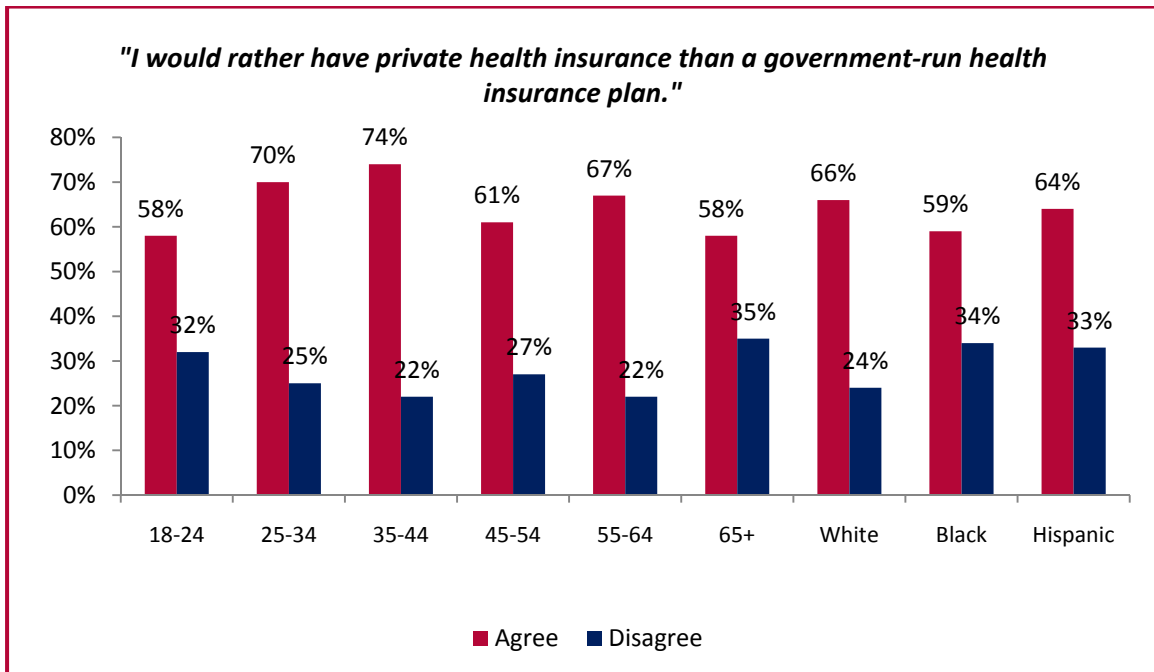
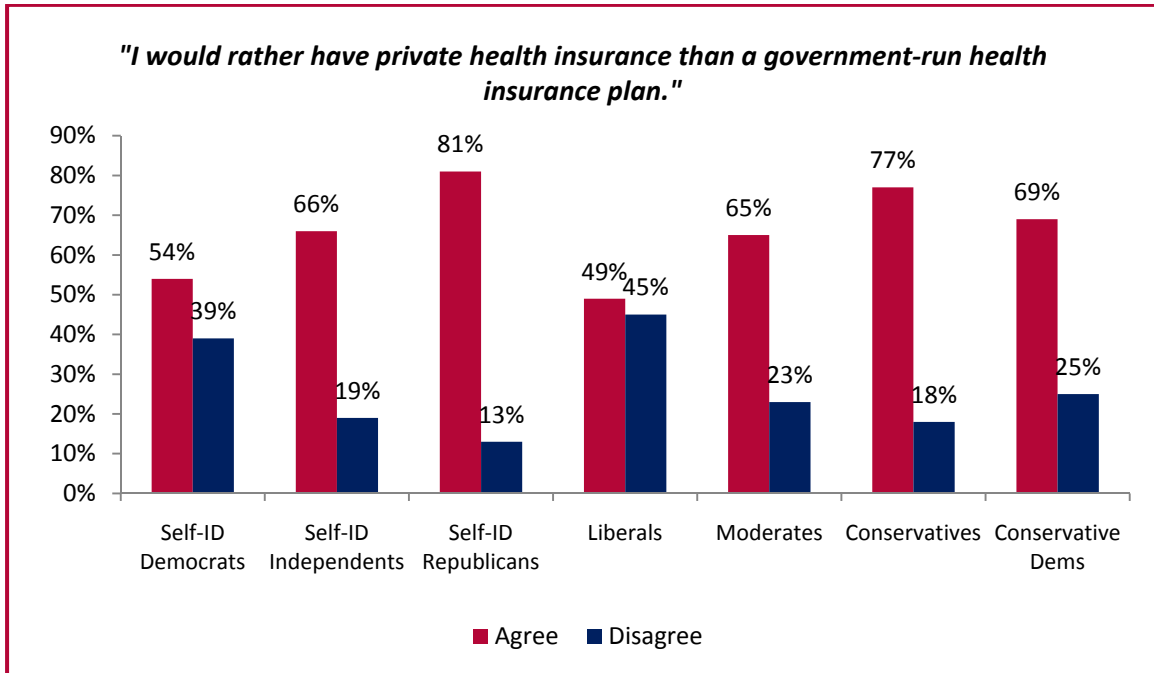
Fifty-seven percent of women in states with a female Senator also disagreed.

- "A federally-run healthcare program is what is best for my family and me."** Fifty-seven percent of women disagreed while 34% agreed, but intense disagreement outpaced intense agreement by more than 2-to-1 (39% vs. 18%). Fifty-six percent of women without children and 59% with children aligned against this statement. The majority of married women (62%) as well as the plurality of unmarried women (48%) also disagreed. At least 52% of women in each of the four major regions dissented with this argument.



On behalf of The Independent Women's Forum

- "I would rather have private health insurance than a government-run health insurance plan."**
 Sixty-five percent of women agreed, more than double the 27% who disagreed. Additionally, intensity clearly favored the women who agreed they would rather have private health insurance over government-run care by 3-to-1 (45% strongly agree vs. 15% strongly disagree). Agreement crossed age, racial, regional, income, political lines, with majorities in all major demographic and political cohorts agreeing.



On behalf of The Independent Women's Forum

Their impulse that reform is “for you, not for me” was further demonstrated through the responses to several questions about who might benefit from a federally-run healthcare program.

- **“A federally-run healthcare program is what is best for other people.”** Disagreement outpaced agreement by a 47%-41% margin. *Majorities of 18-24 year olds, 45-54 year olds, African-Americans, never-married women, low-income (<\$20K per year), self-identified Democrats, liberals, and 2008 Obama voters agreed with this suggestion.*
- **“A federally-run healthcare program is what is best for the elderly and the poor.”** Fifty-five percent of women agreed with this statement (which also reflects the current law) while 38% disagreed. Fifty-one percent of seniors agreed, compared to larger portions of 25-34, 35-44, and 45-54 year olds. *Majorities of voters in the middle (self-identified Independents and moderates) aligned with those on the left in agreement; majorities on the right opposed.*
- **“A federally-run healthcare program is what is best for the uninsured.”** Sixty-three percent of women supported this proposition, including 35% (the plurality) backing it strongly. Twenty-nine percent rejected this, 19% of which opposed it strongly, even though the upshot would leave the uninsured as is. *Majorities of voters across age, racial, marital, parental, and income lines agreed. Again, voters in the middle aligned with those on the left in agreement.*

When it comes to healthcare reform, these women preferred modest adjustments to revolution.

Thirty-five percent of women believed healthcare in the United States should “undergo dramatic overhaul” while the plurality (48%) preferred it “be modified, but mostly left as-is.” Just 11% wanted it to be untouched altogether. **Not a single subgroup of women favored overhaul.**

However, when were asked about their own healthcare, women expressed that much more certitude. A full three-quarters either wanted their own healthcare to be “left as-is” (35%) or “be modified, but mostly left as-is” (40%). Less than one-in-five (19%) wanted it to “undergo dramatic overhaul.” *Seniors were most inclined to hope for no changes (50%).*

<i>Should healthcare in the United States...</i>		<i>And, thinking about your own healthcare, would you like to see it...</i>	
35%	UNDERGO DRAMATIC OVERHAUL	19%	UNDERGO DRAMATIC OVERHAUL
48%	BE MODIFIED, BUT MOSTLY LEFT THE SAME	40%	BE MODIFIED, BUT MOSTLY LEFT THE SAME
11%	BE LEFT AS-IS	35%	BE LEFT AS-IS

...By When?

Is the Clock Ticking and Are Women Hitting the Panic Button?

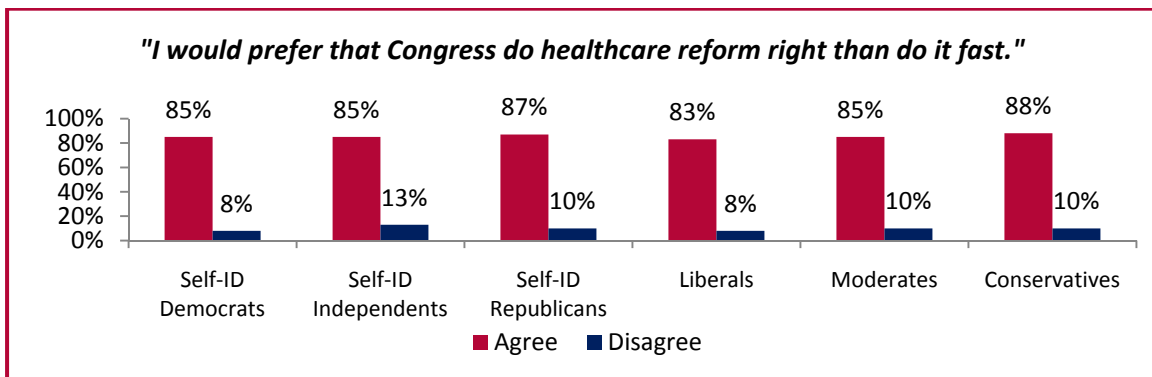
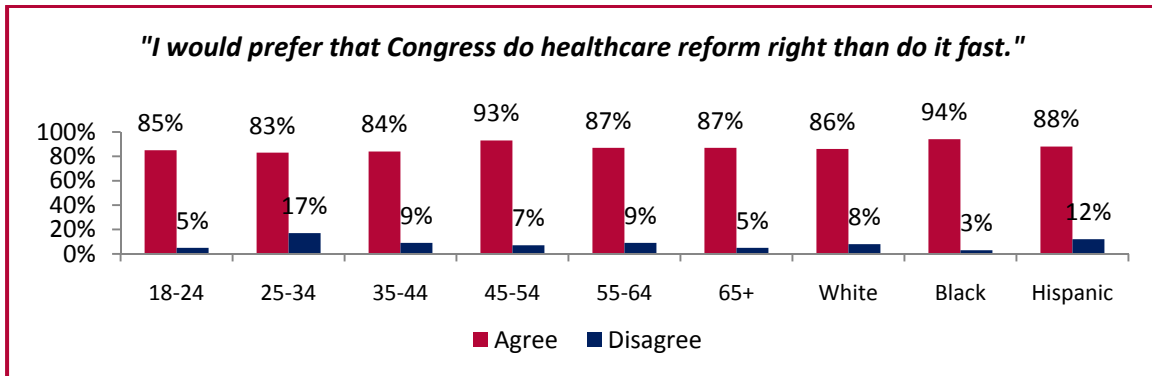
When presented with a list of potential “deadlines” for healthcare reform, the plurality (43%) of women said that Congress and the President should enact healthcare reform **“only when quality legislation is developed, even if it means there is no deadline.”**

- *Pluralities of self-identified Democrats, Independents, and moderates, as well as majorities of Republicans and conservatives said it is best that healthcare reform come only when it's ready.*

By when should Congress and the President enact healthcare reform...(READ LIST)?

9%	WITHIN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS
20%	SOMETIME THIS YEAR
22%	IN THE NEXT YEAR OR TWO
43%	ONLY WHEN QUALITY LEGISLATION IS DEVELOPED, EVEN IF IT MEANS THERE IS NO DEADLINE
3%	NEVER (VOLUNTEERED)
4%	DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)
*	REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)

Separately, 86% of women agreed: ***“I would prefer that Congress do healthcare reform right than do it fast.”*** Agreement was so intense that 71% strongly agreed, including majorities in all major demographic and political groups. Overall, 9% rejected this statement, including no more than 17% of any major demographic cohort (in this case, 25-34 year olds).



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Kellyanne Conway, President & CEO**

On behalf of The Independent Women’s Forum

In a third question about when healthcare reform should be enacted, women were presented with two opposing positions and asked to select which view most represented their thinking and what they would like Congress to do:

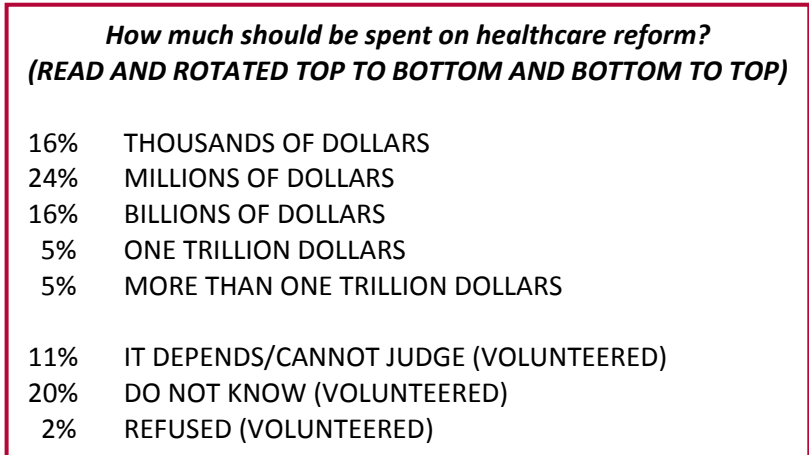
- Two-thirds (67%) of women agreed (including 54% strongly): ***“I would prefer that my United States Senators and Member of Congress not support poorly-crafted or rushed legislation. It is more important to get it done right than to get it done fast.”*** *Groups in agreement with this statement included majorities of women of all ages, races, regions, and marital and parental statuses. Majorities of self-identified Democrats (64%) Independents (68%) and Republicans (76%) as well as majorities of liberals (56%), moderates (69%), and conservatives (74%) agreed, too.*
- Twenty-eight percent (equally split between “strongly” and “somewhat”) felt more urgent, agreeing with the opposing opinion: ***“Something is better than nothing: I would prefer to see my United States Senators and Member of Congress support less-than-perfect healthcare reform. We cannot wait any longer for healthcare reform.”***

I will now read you the opinions of two people. Please tell me which comes closest to your own view:	Person 1: Something is better than nothing: I would prefer to see my United States Senators and Member of Congress support less-than-perfect healthcare reform. We cannot wait any longer for healthcare reform. (% Agree)	Person 2: I would prefer that United States Senators and Member of Congress not support poorly-crafted or rushed healthcare legislation. It is more important to get it done right than to get it done fast. (% Agree)
Self-ID Democrats	32%	64%
Self-ID Independents	27%	68%
Self-ID Republicans	22%	76%
Liberals	39%	56%
Moderates	27%	69%
Conservatives	22%	74%
Whites	27%	69%
Blacks	23%	71%
Hispanics	38%	57%

...And At What Cost?

Few Women Can Stomach \$1 Trillion Price Tag for Healthcare

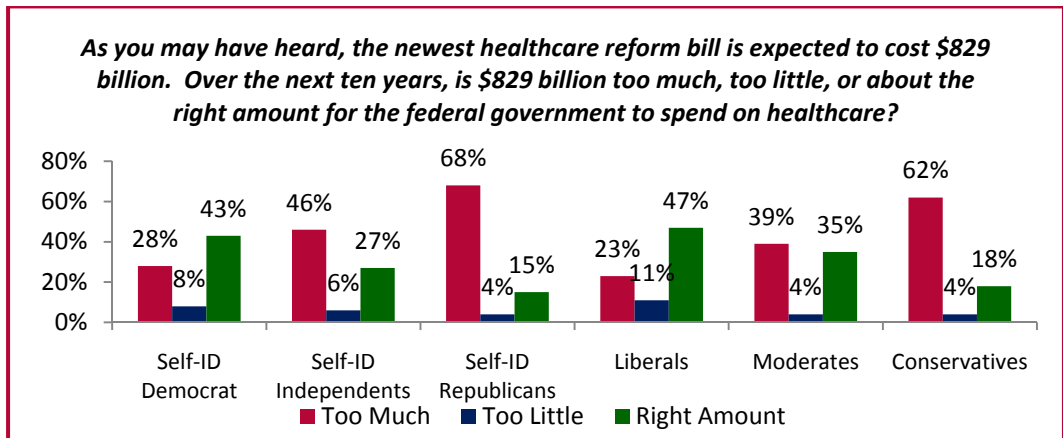
Only one-in-ten women said that “one trillion dollars” (5%) or “more than one trillion dollars” (5%) should be spent on healthcare reform. Most women felt that “thousands” (16%) “millions” (24%) or “billions” (16%) should be spent on fixing the system. One-in-three said they could not judge (11%) or did not know (20%) the amount Congress should authorize for reform.



- One trillion dollars or more was acceptable to only 12% of Democrats, 11% of Independents, 7% of Republicans, 16% of liberals, 10% of moderates, and 7% of conservatives.

Plurality of Women Say \$829 Billion Healthcare Package Tips the Scale as “Too Much”

When informed that “the newest healthcare reform bill is expected to cost \$829 billion¹,” 45% of women decried the price as too high while 30% accepted it as “about the right amount.” Only 6% said the tab is too small and can go even higher, a great irony given the fact that from the time this survey was in the field to when interviews were completed, the price tag, according to some news accounts, is over \$1 trillion. *Pluralities – if not majorities – of women in all age groups aged 25+, self-identified Independents (46%), Republicans (68%), moderates (39%), and conservatives (62%) felt the price tag is too high.*



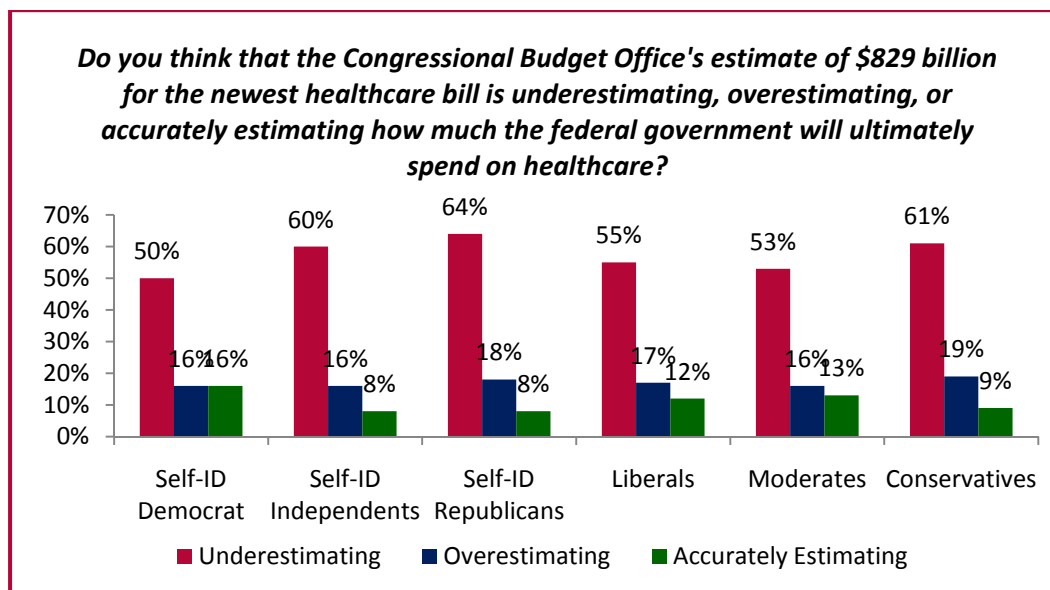
¹ This survey language was developed using the CBO's initial score of the Baucus bill. This language does not include the increased price tag (more than \$1 trillion) made known over the weekend of October 24-25, 2009.

- One-half (50%) said \$829 billion is too much to spend if “if there will still be nearly 17 million American citizens or legal residents uninsured.” Majorities of voters in age cohorts 25+, self-identified Independents and Republicans, and Midwesterners, Southerners, and Westerners also felt the amount was unreasonable given the lack of full coverage.
 - Separately, 73% said that if this much money is being spent, then “Congress should work toward insuring every American citizen or legal resident.” Just 15% thought it is “acceptable to leave 17 million uninsured if \$829 billion is to be spent.” Majorities of women across the demographic (age, region, race, marital/parental statuses) and political spectra (party and ideology) agreed.
- The plurality (40%) said \$829 billion is too much to spend if spending on Medicare, which is the government-run insurance plan for senior citizens, is cut by \$500 billion.” Pluralities of women across the four major regions as well as pluralities of self-identified Independents (41%), Democrats (27%), and moderates (38%) said the cost is too much. Majorities of Republicans (58%) and conservatives (51%) agreed.

Women Have a Difficult Time Believing Congress Can Stay Within Budget...

Fifty-five percent of women believed that the Congressional Budget Office’s projection of \$829 billion **underestimates** “how much the federal government will ultimately spend on healthcare.” Seventeen percent believe the CBO score to overestimate costs while just 12% think it hits the nail on the head.

- One-half of 18-24 year olds and majorities of female voters in all age cohorts aged 25+, as well as majorities of married and unmarried women, mothers and non-mothers figured the estimate to be too low. At least 50% of self-identified Democrats, Independents, Republicans, liberals, moderates, and conservatives also accused the CBO of falling short.



On behalf of The Independent Women's Forum

...And Question the Feasibility of "Spending to Save"

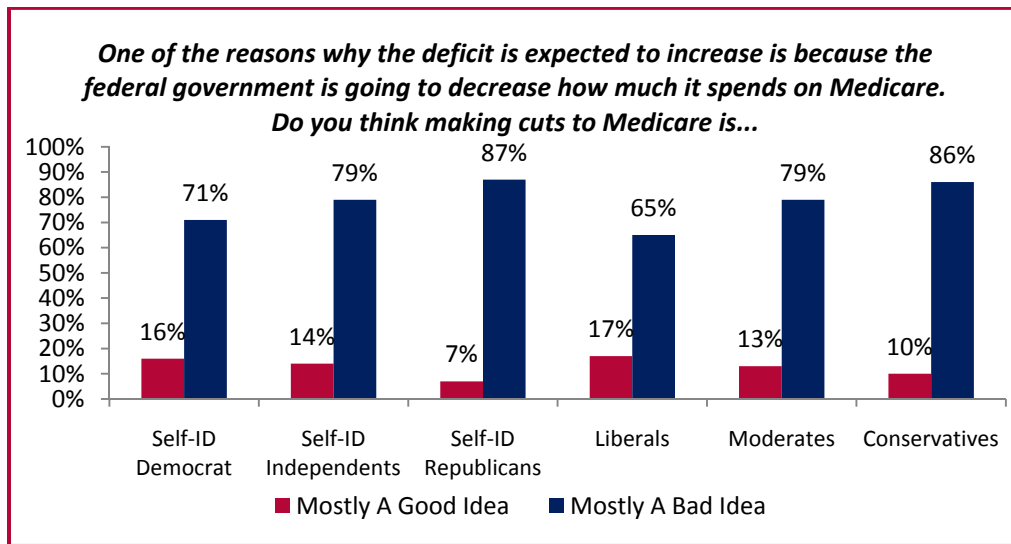
To many women, these numbers literally don't just add up. Whether they are financial sophisticates or can do "back of the envelope" simple math, more doesn't equal less. Separately, more women doubted than believed the CBO estimate that "spending \$829 billion on healthcare will reduce the deficit by about \$81 billion." Forty-six percent of women thought spending to save would not work while 44% thought it might. Intensity rested with the doubters: 23% believed this estimate to be "definitely impossible" while 10% assumed it to be "definitely possible."

- *Voters in the middle and on the right were more skeptical: majorities of self-identified Independents and Republicans figured the reduction to be "impossible."*

(Especially When Medicare is on the Chopping Block)

When informed that "one of the reasons why the deficit is expected to decrease is because the federal government is going to decrease how much it spends on Medicare," 77% of women deemed this tactic a "mostly bad" one. Just 13% considered this approach a "mostly good" idea.

- *Majorities of women of all ages, races, regions, marital and parental statuses, incomes, educational attainments, political parties, ideologies, and regions considered these cuts to Medicare to be a "bad idea." At least 70% of women in every age cohort not benefitting from Medicare rejected this.*



On behalf of The Independent Women's Forum

Tangible and Intangible Burdens of Growing the Deficit, Healthcare Reform

Women narrowly split between “enacting healthcare reform, even if it means the federal deficit grows,” and “keeping the federal deficit from growing, even if it means healthcare reform is not enacted” (44% vs. 41%).

However, when framed in the context of saddling the next generation of taxpayers with the debt, 57% of women disagreed – including 38% strongly – that “overhauling the nation's health care system is so important that it should be enacted even if it significantly increases the federal budget deficit for future generations.” Forty percent agreed, but intensity was weak (18% strongly agreed).

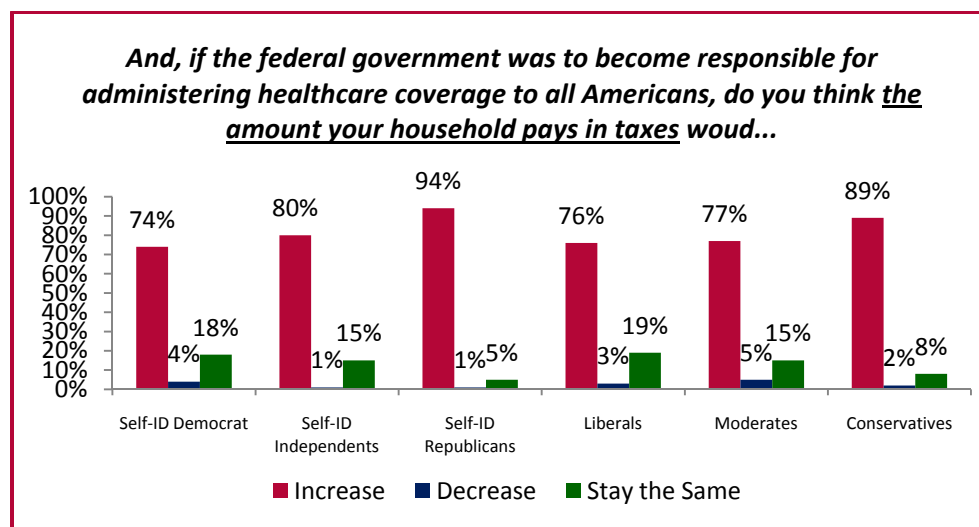
- *Disagreement intensified with age, despite the fact that 18-24 year olds would likely face the responsibility of paying off the debt. Nonetheless, majorities of all major age groups disagreed. Majorities of self-identified Independents and moderates disagreed, too.*

The fact that healthcare reform has a price tag was not lost on these women. Exactly one-half (50%) of women thought **the amounts they pay for healthcare** will increase while 23% expected to pay less and 21% anticipated no changes if the federal government was to become responsible for administering healthcare coverage to all Americans.

- *Majorities of self-identified Independents, Republicans, 25-34 year olds, 35-44 year olds, and seniors all anticipated increased healthcare bills.*

And, slightly more than four-in-five (81%) women believed the **amounts their households pay in taxes** will increase while 3% thought their tax bills will decrease and 13% expected no changes.

- *Majorities of women of all ages, races, marital and parental statuses, incomes, educational levels, political parties, and ideologies anticipated increases in taxes.*



But dollar figures aren't the only possible "costs" of healthcare reform that worry women.

- Fifty-one percent of women believed that the **quality of healthcare** they and their families receive will get worse while 28% predicted no change and only 15% thought it will get better, should government become responsible for administering healthcare coverage to all Americans.
 - *Pluralities – if not majorities – of all women in age cohorts 25+, and majorities of married women, mothers, self-identified Independents and Republicans, moderates, and conservatives all anticipated declines in quality.*

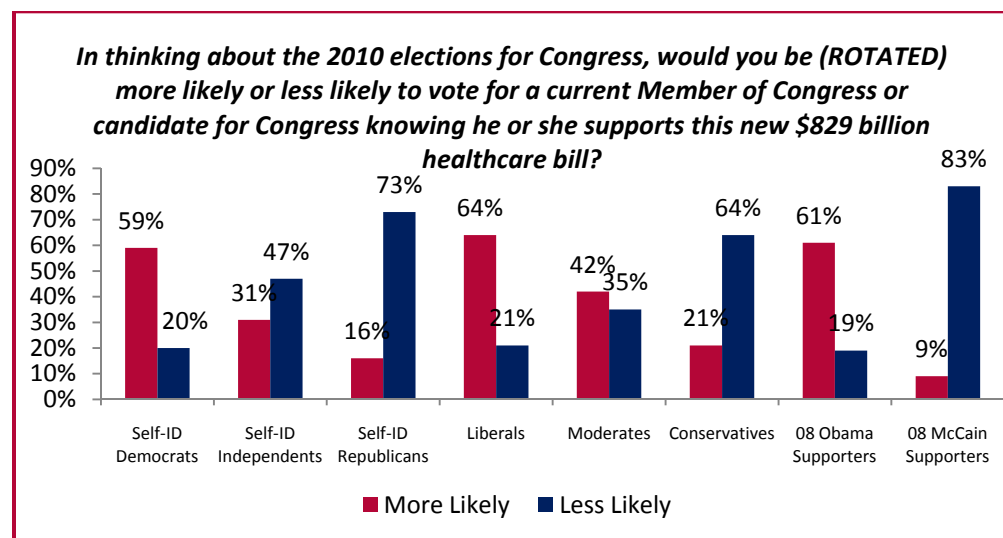
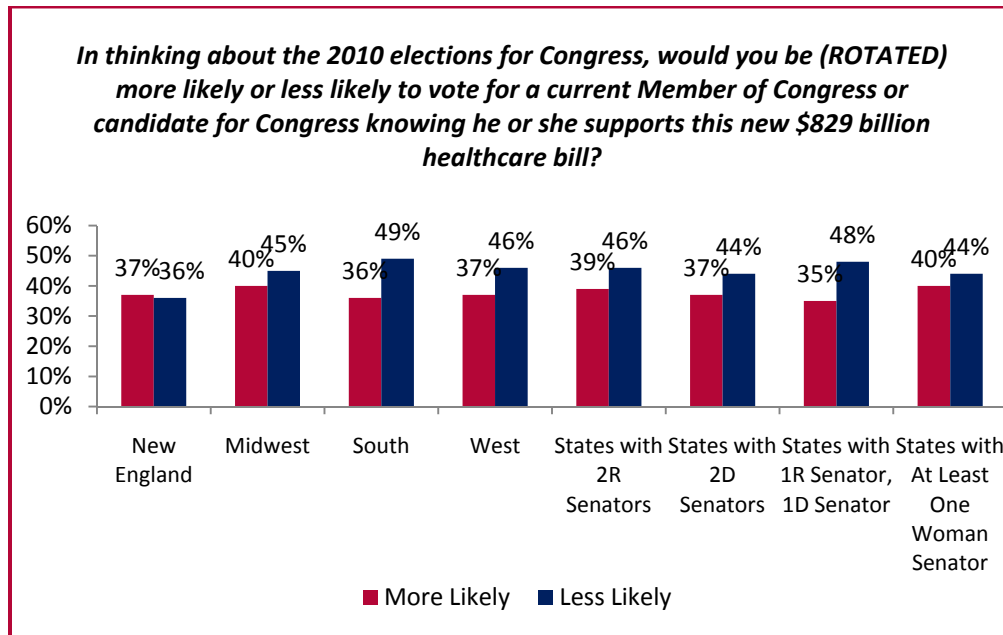
- The percentage of women predicting that more doctors would leave the practice of medicine as a result of increased federal involvement in healthcare outpaced the percentage predicting more doctors joining the practice of medicine by almost 4-to-1 (46% vs. 12%). Slightly more than one-in-three (34%) anticipated no change in the number of doctors practicing medicine.
 - *Seniors were the most apt to believe more doctors would leave practicing medicine (58%).*

Sixty-three percent of women agreed “everyone should have to sacrifice a little in order to make health insurance available to all.” Voters at the bookends of the age spectrum (18-24 year olds and seniors) were in the greatest agreement. It should be noted that these cohorts also often have minimal tax burdens compared than those in the “middle” age groups.

Political Currency: Perils for the 2010 Elections

An elected official's vote or candidate's position on healthcare reform could make or break his ballot performance in 2010. Forty-five percent of women said they would be less likely "to vote for a current Member of Congress or candidate for Congress knowing he or she supports this new \$829 billion healthcare bill." Thirty-seven percent said they would be more inclined to back a candidate who supported this bill, but intensity rested with the candidate who opposed it. The strongest opponents outweighed the strongest supporters by nearly 3-to-1 (27% much less likely vs. 10% much more likely).

- *Forty-seven percent of the coveted "Independent" voters said they would be **less likely** to back a candidate who supports this legislation.*



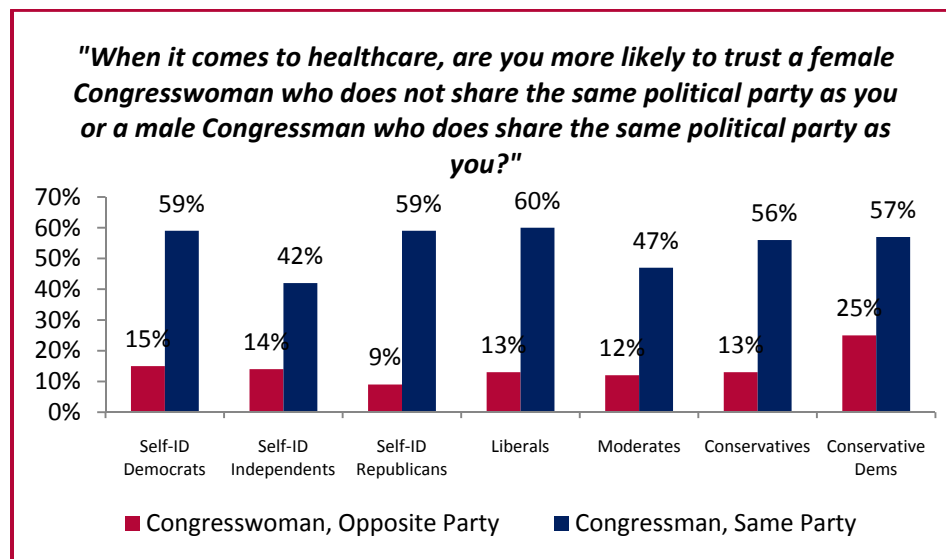
On behalf of The Independent Women's Forum

There are potential costs involved to those leaders who are charged with making decisions about healthcare reform as well. **Firmly two-thirds of women said they would be less inclined to back a candidate for Congress who "favored moving people from their private healthcare plans to government-run healthcare plans."** Nineteen percent of women said they would be more apt to support a candidate who supported compulsory enrollment in government-run plans.

- *Seventy-three percent of Independents, 54% of Democrats, and 84% of Republicans said they would be less likely to back a candidate who favored taking people out of private health insurance.*

Ideological bonds are stronger than gender: when asked whether they trust more a male Member of Congress who shares their political party or a female Member of Congress with whom they do not share a political party, agreement on policy and ideology dominated gender politics 53%-13%.

- **Majorities of women of all ages, educational attainments, and incomes greater than \$20K, said they would be more inclined to trust the Congressman of the same party than a Congresswoman of the opposite party. Self-identified Independents (who by their nature do not "align") said that they would be more inclined to trust the man over the woman. Groups of voters more likely than the average to favor the female included African-Americans (31%), unmarried women (18%), single mothers (21%), and conservative Democrats (25%).**



Methodology

The sample was drawn utilizing Random Digit Dial, a computer dialing technique that ensures that every household in the nation with a landline telephone has an equal chance of being called along with listed household sample. Upon connecting with a female, the potential respondent was screened to ensure registration to vote. Sampling controls were used to ensure that a proportional and representative number of people were interviewed from such demographic groups as age, race and ethnicity, and region according to the most recent figures available from the U.S. Census Bureau and voter registration and turnout figures. Slight post-stratification weighting was applied.

For more information, please contact Kellyanne Conway, President & CEO of the polling company™, inc./WomanTrend, by email (Kellyanne@pollingcompany.com) or by phone (202-667-6557).