

To: Heather R. Higgins, Independent Women's Voice
From: John McLaughlin, McLaughlin & Associates
Re: Strategic Summary - National Survey May 22, 2015
Date: May 29th, 2015

Methodology: *This national survey of 1,000 likely 2016 general election voters was conducted from May 19th to 22nd, 2015. All interviews were conducted online; survey invitations were distributed randomly within predetermined geographic units. These units were structured to correlate with actual voter turnout in a nationwide general election. This poll of 1,000 likely general election voters has an accuracy of +/- 3.1% at a 95% confidence interval.*

Key Takeaways:

- There is majority opposition to ObamaCare (52% to 44%).
- The majority wants to either repeal (20%), replace (28%) or make major changes (22%) to ObamaCare.
- There is broad opposition to the individual mandate (59% to 37%).
- In a King vs. Burwell ruling for the plaintiffs, only 29% want to extend the law. 11% want to do nothing, 13% want major changes proposed, and 27% want transition assistance to prevent the loss of insurance while making sure that mandates and penalties no longer apply.
- Among Republican voters 38%, the largest group, want Congress to provide a limited, targeted plan that provides temporary transition assistance in exchange for lifting mandates and penalties in non-exchange states. The next largest GOP voter group, at 19%, wants GOP Members to use the opportunity to propose major changes to the law. Only 15% want to simply allow the court decision to take effect.. This holds among undecideds and Conservatives, only the gap is even more stark. Much larger groups of these key voter groups would prefer to see GOP Members support temporary transitional assistance in exchange for dumping mandates and penalties than would like to see GOP Members do nothing.
- By a 2:1 margin, 46% of voters favor using reconciliation to actually make changes to ACA, providing transition assistance, and setting up full repeal in 2017, while only 21% think conservatives should use reconciliation for a vote for full repeal that will be vetoed and leave Obamacare unchanged.
- Voters want a strategy of actual outcomes, even if they are only limited, not just good intentions that leave Obamacare's implementation untouched.
- Currently only 1 in 5 voters support doing medical device tax repeal now and the majority would favor it as a part of a full repeal when everyone gets relief at the same time.
- The majority (59%) are more likely to support a candidate who will make strategic changes to ObamaCare, like repealing the individual mandate, v. candidates who will only vote for full repeal (15%) or candidates who will not vote to change the law at all (16%).

Majority opposition to ObamaCare

Like many other polls, our most recent national survey conducted on behalf of Independent Women’s Voice shows that the majority of American voters disapprove of the Affordable Care Act also known as ObamaCare 52% to 44%.

Do you approve or disapprove of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, also known as “ObamaCare?”

Responses	Total
Total Approve	44.3%
1. Strongly approve	18.9%
2. Somewhat approve	25.5%
Total Disapprove	51.8%
3. Somewhat disapprove	19.8%
4. Strongly disapprove	32.0%
5. Don’t Know	3.9%

The majority wants to either replace Obamacare or make major changes

This poll also shows that an even larger majority of Americans really do not like the Affordable Care Act in its present form and wants some real reform pending possible repeal and replacing of the act with a better alternative in 2017.

Which of the following best describes your feelings on the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, also known as “ObamaCare?”

Responses	Total
1. It should be repealed completely with no further legislative action	20.2%
2. It should be repealed and replaced with a more moderate solution to healthcare	27.5%
3. It should be kept law, but major changes are necessary	22.2%
4. It should be kept largely as is, but only the slightest of changes necessary to be made in the future	20.6%
5. It’s completely fine as is	4.3%
6. Don’t Know	5.2%

When the voters were asked which among five positions best describes their own, the plurality belonged to repeal and replace with a more moderate solution (28%), or to keep the law only with major changes (22%). At some point it appears that keeping the law only with major changes might as well be repealing and replacing it.

If we total support for repeal, repeal and replace, and keep but only with major changes, it comes to 69%. In contrast, only 21% would keep the law with slight changes and only 4% would keep the law exactly as it is. There is clearly real dissatisfaction with the Affordable Care Act as it currently exists. Public opinion among the majority of voters is clearly in favor of dismantling this bad law. When we add up our repeal choices with major changes, the support becomes near unanimous with voters in the conservative Republican base.

Strategically, among the 16% of all voters who are not voting for Republicans for Congress, but disapprove of the



job President Obama is doing, 86% support repeal (25%), repeal/replace (31%), or major changes to the Affordable Care Act (31%). Only 10% would leave it largely as it as. So repeal, replace or major changes attracts voters to the Republican column. Those voters who disapprove of Obama and aren't voting Republican yet are mostly Independents and moderates.

The same is true among those who are undecided on the ballot for Congress: By 70% to 12%, they support repeal, replace or major changes; among independents, the number is 78% to 14%; among independent women, 75% to 12%; among those in state exchange states, 63% to 29%; among those in the non-state exchange states, 72% to 23%; among conservatives, 89% to 6%; and among conservative Republicans, 95% to 2%.

It is very clear that if the law cannot be repealed due to a Presidential veto, major changes that essentially dismantle the most unpopular provisions of the Affordable Care Act would be very popular with the majority of voters.

Individual Mandate Broadly Opposed

Clearly, a strong driver of public disapproval for ObamaCare is the individual mandate. When asked whether they support or oppose requiring all Americans to have health insurance or pay a tax penalty – essentially, a description of the individual mandate - almost six in ten Americans, 59%, say they are opposed.

The Affordable Care Act requires all Americans to have health insurance or pay a tax penalty, this is called the "individual mandate." Do you support or oppose the individual mandate?

Reponses	Total
Total Support	36.7%
1. Strongly Support	13.7%
2. Somewhat Support	22.9%
Total Oppose	58.7%
3. Somewhat Oppose	19.2%
4. Strongly Oppose	39.5%
5. Don't Know	4.6%

In a King ruling for plaintiffs, only 29% want to extend the law with its subsidies and mandates:

When the voters were presented with a description of the *King vs Burwell* Supreme Court case and the possibility that the Supreme Court would rule in favor of the plaintiffs, there was no consensus as to what the Republicans should do – save that doing nothing was largely unacceptable. Only 29% -- a group that skewed heavily democrat, 76% and liberal, 61% -- said the Republicans should vote with Democrats to change the law, extending subsidies and reapplying the mandates. Only 11% said let the court decision take effect and do nothing. 13% said use it as an opportunity to make major changes and 27% said provide a limited targeted plan with transition assistance, while making sure the mandate and penalties no longer apply. There was also a large 21% who said they didn't know what to do.

Informational Background:

King vs. Burwell is a Supreme Court case in which the plaintiffs say the IRS rewrote the clear language of the Affordable Care Act in order to count those states that chose not to form their own exchanges as if they did, and thereby make them subject to the same penalties and benefits. The Supreme Court heard arguments in March and will give its decision in June. If the Court rules for the plaintiffs, people in at least 34 states will no longer be subject to the individual and employer mandates and tax penalties. About 7 million people in those states will no longer benefit from the federal subsidies that go to insurance companies in order to make the insurance they provide more affordable; those people are at risk of losing their insurance.

If the Supreme Court rules in favor of the plaintiffs, the Democrats will suggest that the people who have lost their insurance can easily get it back if Republicans would simply agree to change a few words in the Affordable Care Act to amend it so that it would treat all states like state exchange states. Of course that would also reinstate the individual and employer mandates and tax penalties in those states. Do you think Republicans should... ?

Responses	Total
1. Vote with the Democrats to change the law, thereby reinstating the subsidies as well as the mandates and tax penalties in those states	28.9%
2. Let the court decision take effect, and not do anything to address the increased costs and loss of insurance some consumers will now face in those states	10.6%
3. Use this as an opportunity to propose major changes to the law, knowing the President will veto it and blame Republicans for not being serious about fixing the problem	12.6%
4. Provide a limited, targeted plan that provides temporary transition assistance to the people who aren't getting to be able to afford their insurance, while making sure that the mandates and tax penalties no longer apply in those states – which if sufficiently popular might not be vetoed	26.6%
5. Don't Know	21.3%

Instead, the largest group of Republican voters appears to want Republican Members of Congress to provide a limited, targeted plan that provides temporary transition assistance in exchange for lifting mandates and penalties in non-exchange states. This group, at 38%, is twice as large as the next largest GOP voter group, which, at 19%, wants GOP Members to use the opportunity to propose major changes to the law, knowing the President will veto such legislation. Perhaps surprisingly, only 15% – fewer than one in seven – of GOP voters want GOP Members to do nothing to address the increased costs of insurance that will be faced by Obamacare consumers in non-exchange states.

Even among conservative voters (36-14%) and conservative GOP voters (42-14%), the dynamic holds: Much larger groups of these key voter groups would prefer to see GOP Members support temporary transitional assistance in exchange for dumping mandates and penalties than would like to see GOP Members do nothing.

By a 2 to 1 Margin Voters favor using Reconciliation for Full Repeal; Majority supports actually making changes to ACA, setting up repeal in 2017

When the voters were asked about the possibility of conservatives using reconciliation to make changes to the Affordable Care Act, the plurality of voters, 46%, said the Republicans should use it for major changes that will set up repealing and replacing ObamaCare in 2017 – for example providing transition assistance while requiring more freedom from the law. Contrary to what many GOP Members and key staffers seem to think, only 21%

would use reconciliation for a vote for full repeal and forcing a presidential veto.

This summer, many conservatives have argued for the use of reconciliation, a special Congressional budgetary procedure that cannot be filibustered in the Senate and therefore requires only 51 Senate votes to pass legislation. Regarding changes to the Affordable Care Act and the use of reconciliation, with which do you agree more? (SPLIT SAMPLE)

Responses	Total
1. Republicans should use reconciliation to have a vote for full repeal of ObamaCare and force the President to veto it, as everyone agrees he will. ObamaCare will continue unchanged but the Republicans promised to do everything they could to repeal ObamaCare and this would be the first time since the law passed that they actually succeeded in at least putting a repeal bill on the President's desk.	20.9%
2. Republicans should use reconciliation to vote for changes to ObamaCare that will set up real repeal and replace in 2017, and that could get the President's signature and actually delay or undo some of the harm of ObamaCare in the short term. For instance, they should extend temporary transition assistance so as not to hurt people because of a messed up law that doesn't allow people to get the health care that was promised, and in exchange they should demand more freedom and health care choice so that states won't feel pressured to set up state exchanges.	46.1%
3. Don't Know	33.0%

It seems that across the board and among the Republican base that the plurality of voters would use reconciliation to make changes to ObamaCare that could actually get the President's signature, and actually delay or undo some of the harm of ObamaCare in the short term, setting up full repeal and replace for 2017.

The second half of the split sample question was phrased a statement about reconciliation strategy:

This summer, many conservatives have argued for the use of reconciliation, a special Congressional budgetary procedure that cannot be filibustered in the Senate and therefore requires only 51 Senate votes to pass legislation. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Reconciliation should not be used for a full repeal show vote that will be vetoed and will ultimately leave ObamaCare intact, but instead should be used for something that advances real reform that would be hard for President Obama to veto, because even Democrats will feel they need to be for it? (SPLIT SAMPLE)

Reponses	Total
Total Agree	58.7%
1. Strongly Agree	17.7%
2. Somewhat Agree	41.0%
Total Disagree	21.2%
3. Somewhat Disagree	15.1%
4. Strongly Disagree	6.1%
5. Don't Know	20.1%

Voters want a Strategy of Measurable Outcomes, Not just Good Intentions

When asked which approach they would prefer to see pursued by conservatives who oppose ObamaCare, the majority support limited targeted measures that prevent harm to average Americans while both keeping every interest on board for repeal, and slowing or delaying the law, by a margin of 55% to 24%.

Which approach would you prefer to see conservative groups that oppose ObamaCare pursue while Barack Obama is

still President?

Responses	Total
1. Encourage votes for full repeal and oppose anything short of a full repeal, even though that will fail and will allow ObamaCare to continue to be implemented.	23.7%
2. Encourage votes for limited, targeted, popular measures that prevent harm to average Americans between now and 2017, keep every interest on board for repeal, and slow or delay the implementation of the law.	54.8%
3. Don't Know	21.5%

Currently only 1 in 5 Voters support Medical Device Tax Repeal

When the voters were explained the history of the medical device industry on ObamaCare, and the importance of keeping all interests at the table to achieve full repeal, only 22% favored repealing the tax. The majority, 56%, would only suspend the tax until full repeal (34%),- or else would leave it in place (21%).

The medical device industry did not oppose the implementation of the Affordable Care Act, but then because they had not supported it either found that the law included a tax on medical devices. It has been reported that the industry has spent \$30 million trying to repeal that tax from ObamaCare. There is in fact specific legislation to that effect included in the Republican budget, separate from a full repeal of ObamaCare. If that tax is repealed, the medical device industry will have no further interest in future changes to the law or its repeal, and may in fact support keeping the law as is. Which of the following strategies do you think Republicans should follow?

Responses	Total
1. Republicans in Congress should go ahead with a vote to repeal the medical device tax.	22.3%
2. Republicans in Congress should temporarily suspend the tax so the medical device industry isn't hurt, but then make clear that the full repeal of their tax will only occur when the entire law is repealed and all of the American people are granted relief of their own at the same time.	34.2%
3. Republicans in Congress should neither repeal nor suspend the tax on the medical device industry.	21.4%
4. Don't Know	22.1%

Attention Candidates: Voters are Watching

Among all voters when they were asked which candidate for Congress they were more likely to support, the strong majority, 59%, favored the candidate who would accomplish strategic changes to ObamaCare like repealing the individual mandate.

All things being equal, which candidate for Congress are you more likely to vote for?

Reponses	Total
1. A candidate who will only vote for a full repeal of ObamaCare, even though they know it will never make it past President Obama's veto.	15.0%
2. A candidate who will vote to accomplish actual strategic changes to ObamaCare like repealing the individual mandate	59.0%



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3. A candidate who will not vote to repeal or make any changes to ObamaCare	15.9%
4. Don't Know	10.1%

Majority Opposition to Obamacare

It seems very clear from these latest results that the majority of American voters are very unhappy with their current state of Health Care. They want change. Very few are satisfied with the changes that the Affordable Care Act brought about. The strong majority of voters want reform. Regarding this reform there may be very little difference between repealing and replacing ObamaCare on the one hand, and making major changes on the other – either way, they want to see actual progress, not just symbolic votes. Repealing the individual mandate presents a huge opportunity to force changes. Repealing the individual mandate is clearly the beachhead to replacing ObamaCare.

Demographic Breakdown 5-22-2015

Party	Total	Age	Total	Race	%
Republican	33%	18-29	14%	White	73%
Democrat	39%	30-40	18%	African American	12%
Independent	28%	41-55	28%	Hispanic	11%
Ideology	%	56-65	21%	Asian	3%
Liberal	32%	Over 65	19%	Gender	%
Moderate	35%			Male	47%
Conservative	34%			Female	53%