

KFF AT AAPOR 2019

PAPOR Mini-Conference

June 28^h, 2019

Lunna Lopes

Kaiser Family Foundation



Filling the need for trusted information on national health issues.

Surveying Puerto Rico Residents One Year After Hurricane Maria

AAPOR Annual Conference
May 18th, 2019

Bianca DiJulio, Liz Hamel, Mollyann Brodie, Kaiser Family Foundation
Anitza Maria Cox, Carlos Torija, Estudios Tecnicos
Eran Ben-Porath, SSRS



Filling the need for trusted information on national health issues.

The Project

- Survey to understand needs, views and experiences of Puerto Rico residents after Hurricane Maria
- Release in advance of one-year anniversary to help inform progress and ongoing challenges
- Compliment KFF policy analysis work and qualitative interviews
- Partnered with Washington Post
- Consulted with SSRS

Key Facts About Puerto Rico

- ~3 million adults
- More than 90% live in urban areas, largely coastal
- Nearly half live in poverty
- About the size of Connecticut
- Mountainous
- Mostly Spanish-speaking

How to conduct a representative survey there?

- Who can do the field work?
 - Local firm w/boots on the ground, key cultural understanding, “PR Spanish”
- Who to include in the sample?
 - Include those who left and haven’t returned?
 - Just Puerto Rico, or also USVI?
- How to ensure representation across island?
 - 90% urban, but key to understand how people in more remote rural areas fared
- How to collect data?
 - Phone, in-person, other?

Pros and Cons of Phone

Pros

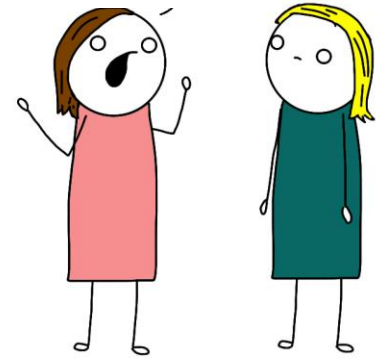
- Can include those who have left the island
- Can more easily include U.S. Virgin Islands
- Less expensive

Cons

- Phone has been pretty unproductive after storm
- *Longer* field period (6-8 weeks)
- Missing those without phones – possibly 9% of population who is sickest, oldest, most remote
- After storm, using a virtual call center, no monitoring of interviewers
- Can't stratify by region for cell phones



Pros and Cons of In-Person



Pros

- Better representation
- Could stratify by harder hit locations more easily
- *Shorter* field period (4-6 weeks)
- Better “face validity”

Cons

- Misses those who have left the island (the '787 generation')
- Makes including the Virgin Islands more challenging
- Higher design effect due to multi level stratification
- Weighting to PRCS (pre-storm population)
- More expensive

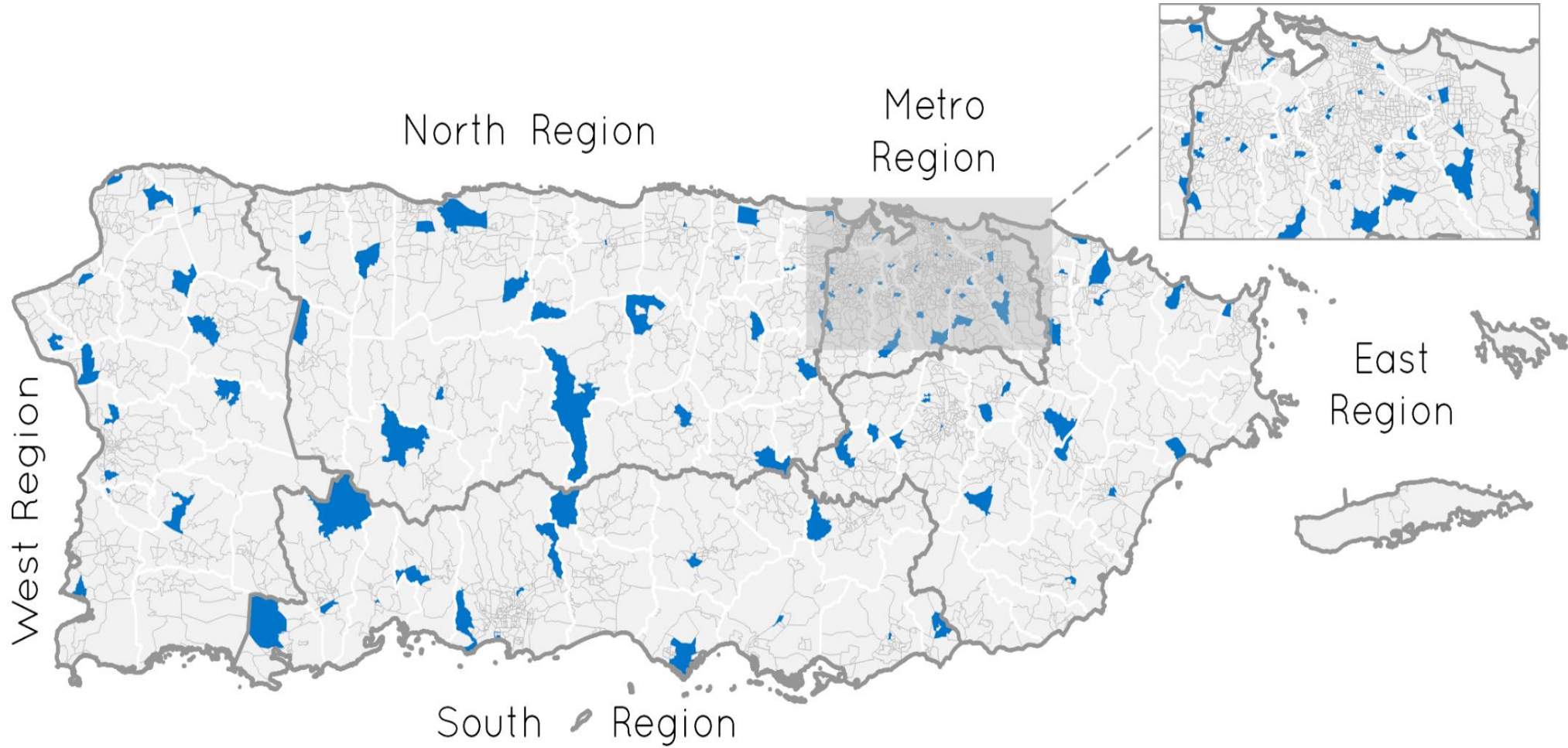
Final Survey Design: In-person Interviews

- Representative of people across Puerto Rico
 - Big cities, small towns
 - High and lower impact areas
- N=1500
- Summer 2018, to release in advance of September 20, 2018 (1 year post Maria)

Sample Selection

- Multistage Probabilistic Sample
- Stratified across 5 regions
- Randomly selected 100 Census Block Groups across regions (in proportion to region's size)
- In each selected Block Group, 15 interviews were conducted with randomly selected adults
- Sample frame: 2010 US Census of Population and Housing in Puerto Rico and 2016 Puerto Rico American Community Survey

Regions and Selected Block Groups



Field Work Procedures

- Interviewers went to randomly selected block within each block group
- The first household was selected randomly and subsequent households were selected following a systematic pattern
- If the selected household was not available (e.g. abandoned), the interviewer went to the house immediately next door
- Once a residential unit was selected, interviewers made three attempts (different days/times) until an interview or a hard refusal was obtained
- Randomly selected individual within households (next/last birthday)

Weighting & Final Methods Specs

- N=1,500
- MOSE +/- 3.5
- Weighted to Census Bureau's 2012-2016 Puerto Rico ACS
 - Weighted on sex and age within each region
 - Balanced by education using overall 2016 Puerto Rico ACS

Key Finding: Wide-Ranging Impacts Of Hurricane Maria



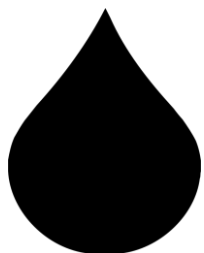
26% said their home was destroyed or had major damage



42% had income or employment losses



44% had a long-term power outage (4 months or more)



21% drank water from a natural source



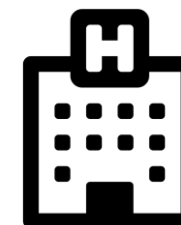
21% said their vehicle was damaged

83%
of Puerto Rico residents
were impacted by
Hurricane Maria in at least
one of these ways

9% say they or a family member received mental health services related to hurricane experience



23% say they or a family member has a new or worsened health condition



SOURCE: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation Survey of Puerto Rico Residents (conducted July 3-August 29, 2018)

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Policy Feedback in Action: How State Actions Have Influenced ACA Opinions

2019 AAPOR Conference

Ashley Kirzinger, Ph.D., Associate Director, Public Opinion and Survey Research



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Survey Design Basics: Kaiser Health Tracking Poll

- General U.S. adult population ages 18+ (not just voters)
- Random digit dial (RDD) sampling
- Landline and cell phone with live interviewers in English and Spanish
- Weighted to adjust demographics to match U.S. Census data
- For most surveys:
 - Sample size ~ 1,200
 - M.O.S.E for full sample \pm 3 percentage points
- KFF is a charter member of the Transparency Initiative of the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR)

The Data

- KFF Health Tracking Polls from 2010-2019 ($n= 126,283$)
- Includes zip codes as well as traditional demographic variables (education, age, gender, PID, race/ethnicity, health status)

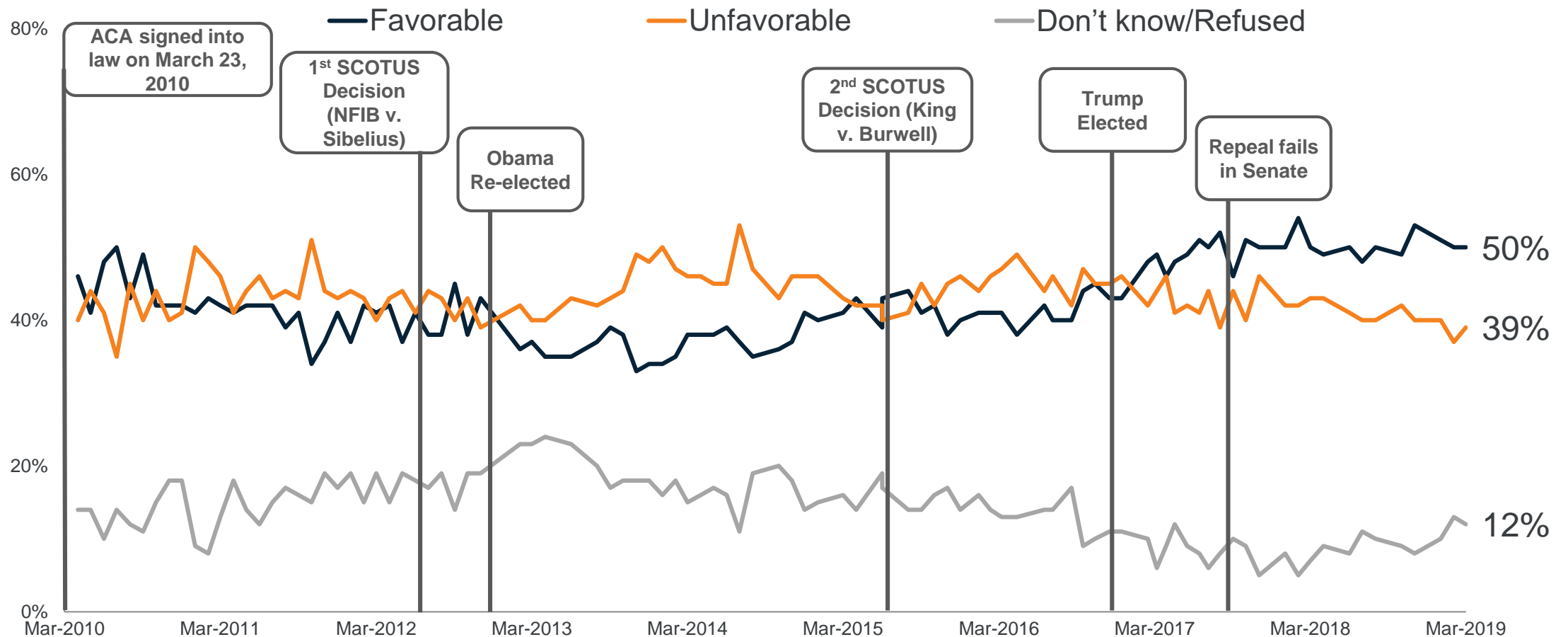
As you may know a health reform bill was signed into law in 2010, known commonly as the Affordable Care Act or Obamacare. Given what you know about the health reform law, do you have a generally (favorable) or generally (unfavorable) opinion of it? Is that a very (favorable/unfavorable) or somewhat (favorable/unfavorable) opinion?

What Do We Know About Public Opinion On The ACA?

1. Opinions largely **stable** and **divided**
2. Can't overstate the effect of **partisanship**
3. Most **provisions are popular**, except individual mandate
4. Remaining **confusion**, misperceptions
5. In wake of repeal effort, ACA **became more popular**
(but still divided)

Public Opinion On The ACA – Stable And Divided

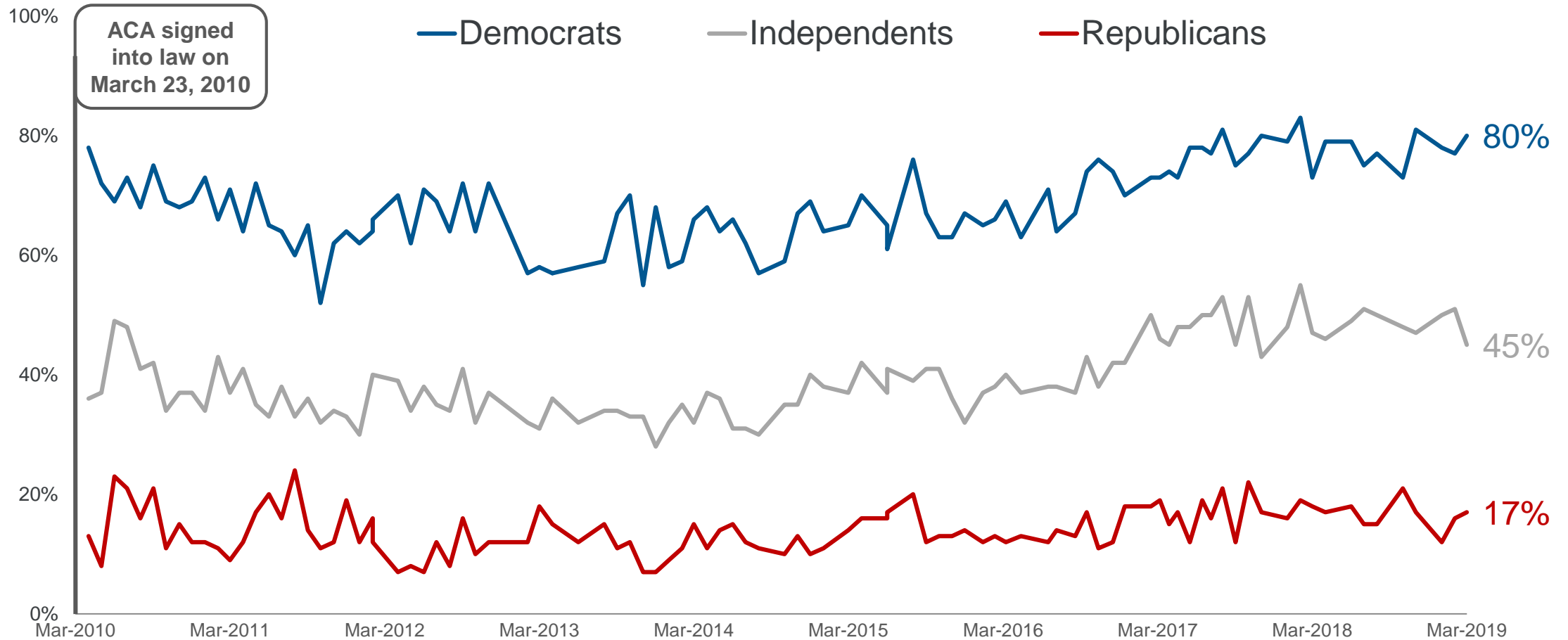
Given what you know about the health reform law, do you have a generally **favorable** or generally **unfavorable** opinion of it?



SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Polls. See topline for full question wording and response options.

Ongoing Partisan Divide On ACA

Percent who say they have a **favorable opinion** of the health reform law:



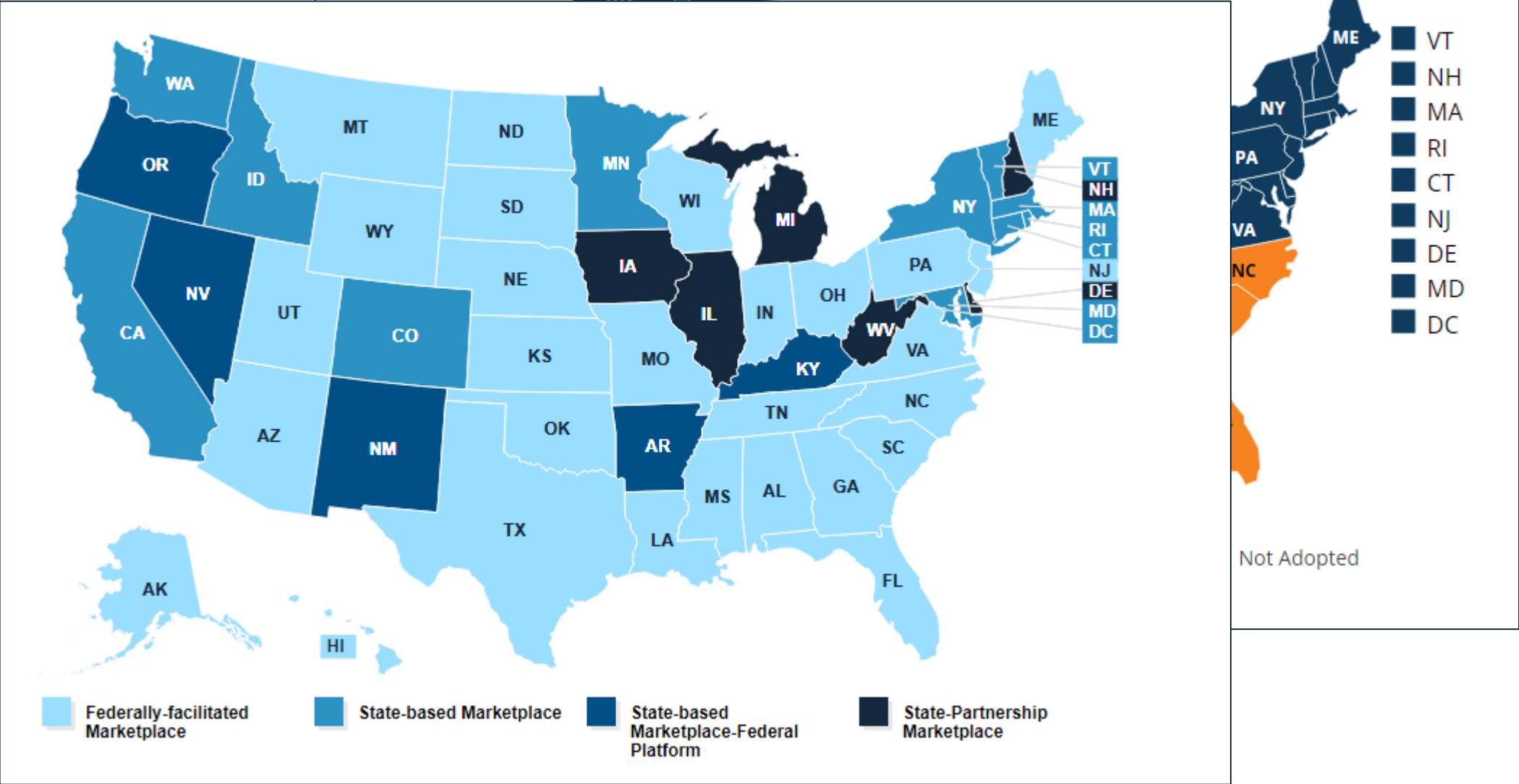
SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Polls. See topline for full question wording and response options.

What Is The Policy Feedback Effect?

- The effects of public opinion on policy have long been empirically documented (Page and Shapiro, 1983, 1992; Erikson, Wright and McIver, 1993; Erikson, MacKuen, and Stimson, 2001).
- Empirical examinations of the extent to which public policy affects public opinion and political behavior are more recent (Campbell, 2003; Hopkins and Parish, 2019; Mettler and Soss, 2004; Sances and Clinton, 2017; Weaver and Lerman, 2010).
- Studying the effect of policy on opinion **with the understanding** that the affected opinion will shape future policy-making on this issue.

Modeling S

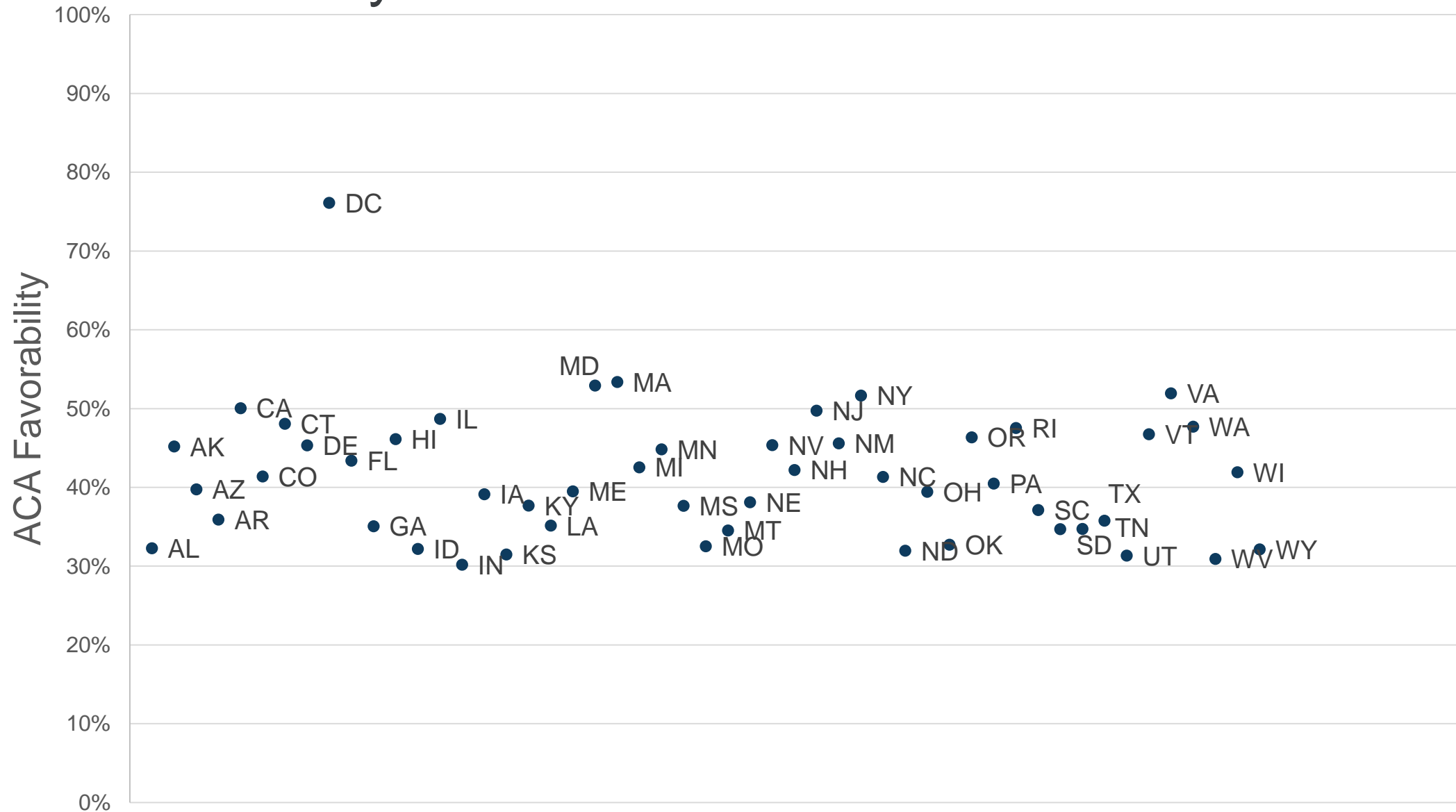
Status of State Action on the Medicaid Expansion Decision



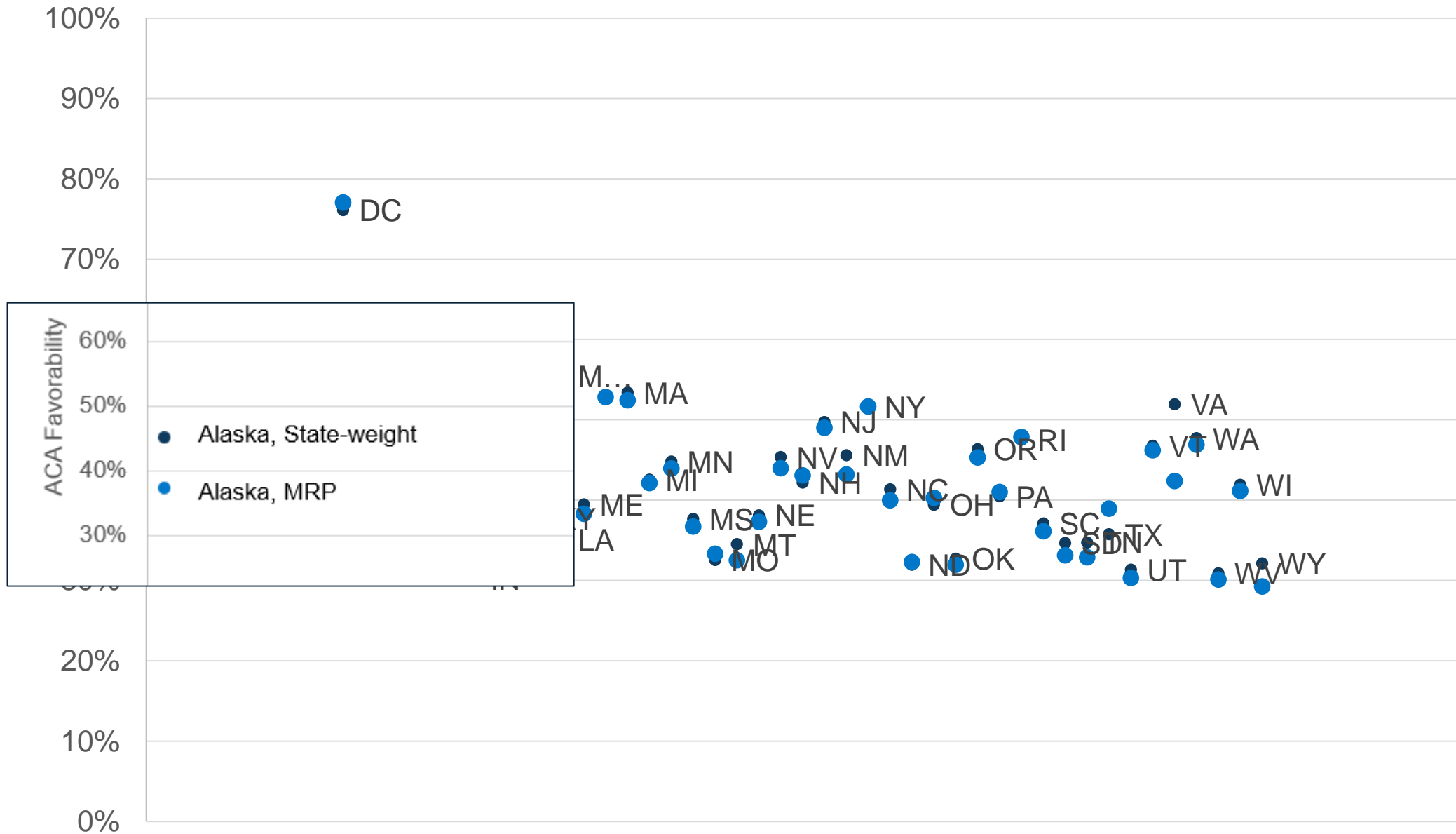
How To Examine State-Level Opinions?

1. Just use the national weights (DO NOT DO THIS)
2. Develop state-level weights based on ACS data within the state (BE CAREFUL ABOUT SAMPLE SIZE/STATISTICAL NOISE)
3. Develop multilevel regression and poststratification (MRP) estimates (BE CAREFUL ABOUT SMOOTHING AWAY THE TREATMENT EFFECT)

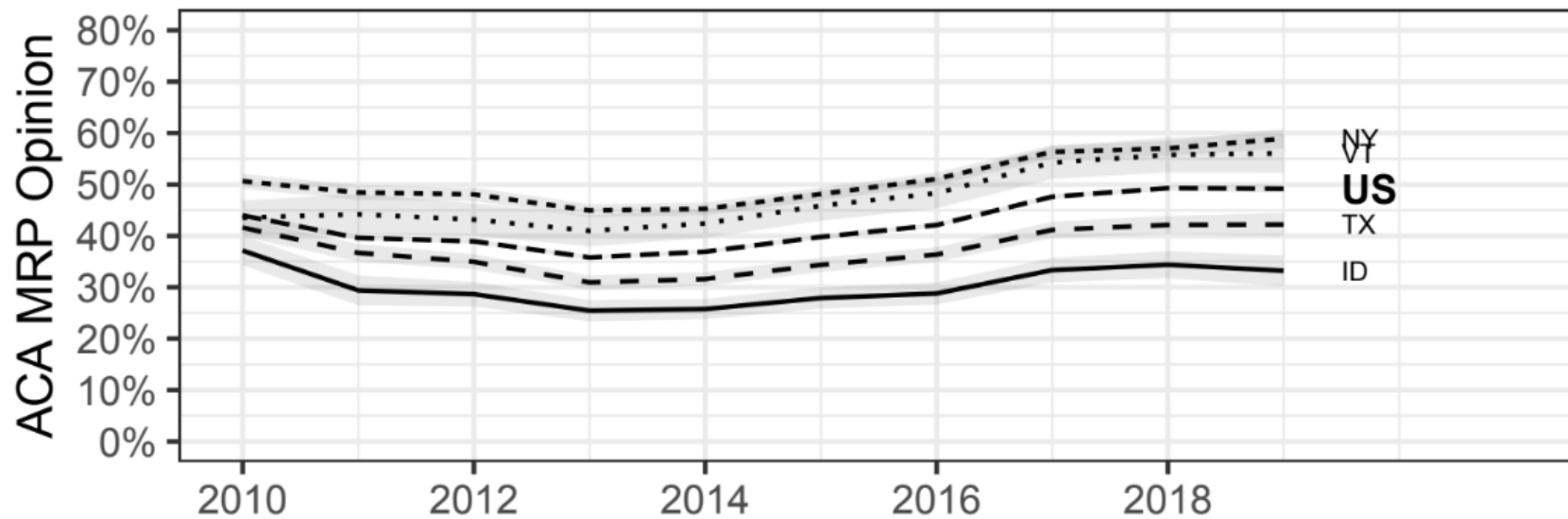
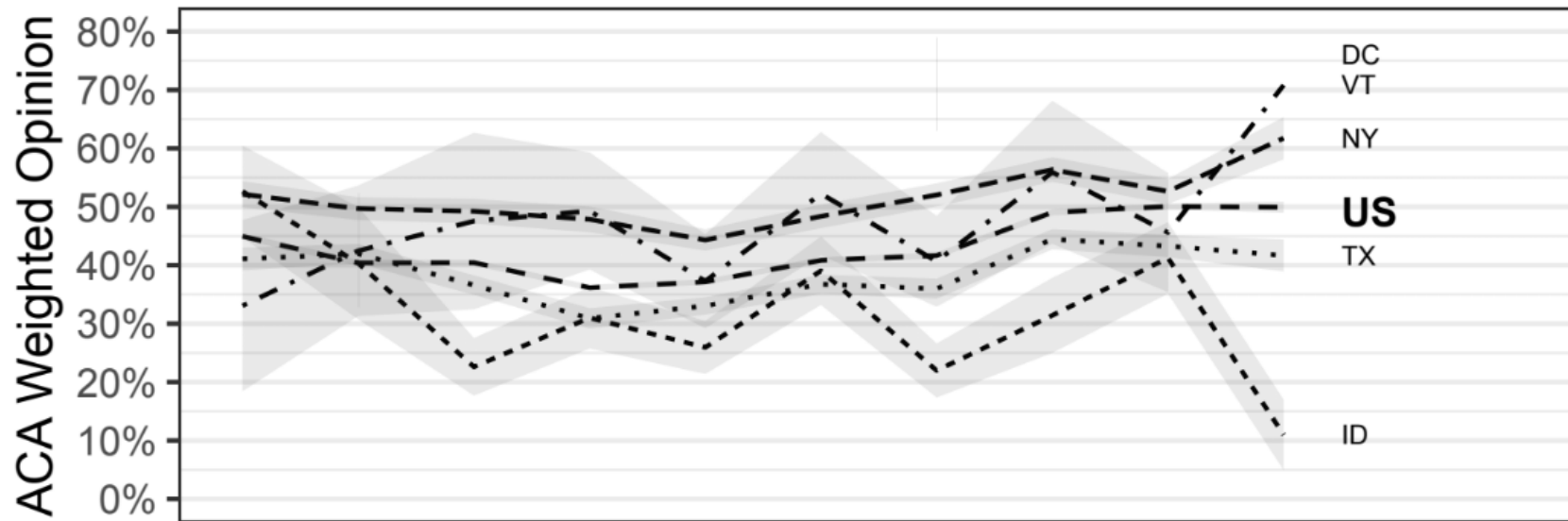
State-Level Measures (Weighted Opinion) Of ACA Favorability



State-Level Measures (MRP) Of ACA Favorability



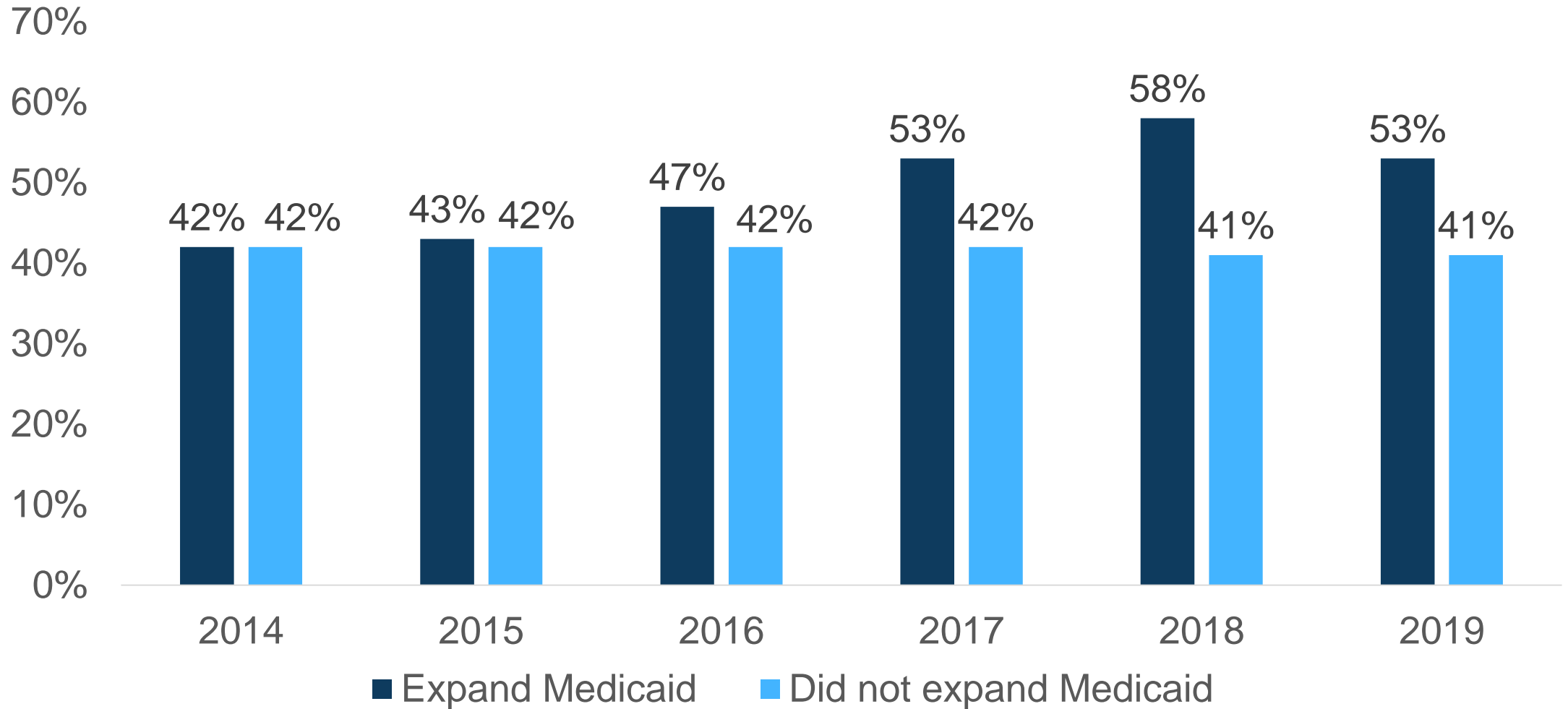
Looking At Trend Over Time: Use MRP



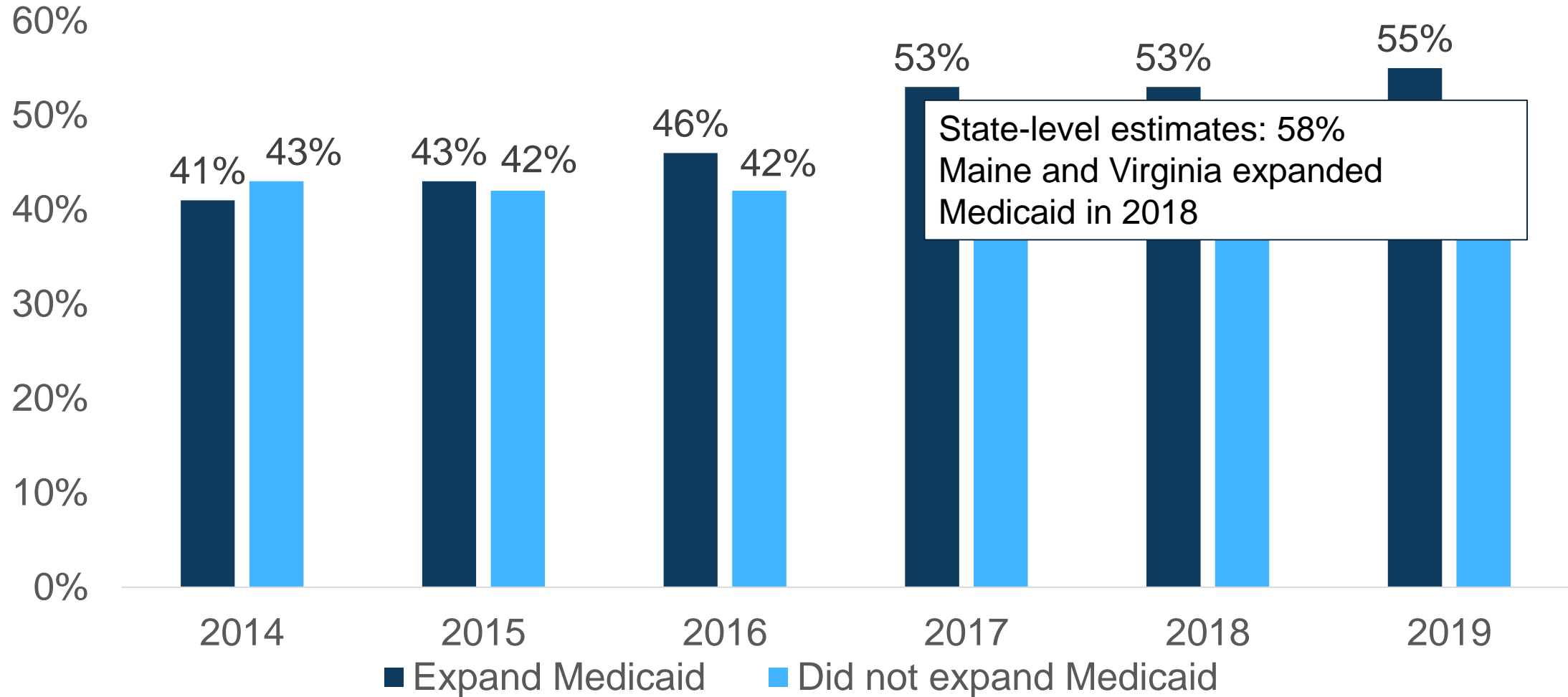
Looking At Treatment Effects: Use State Weights

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Weighted	MRP
	State Estimates	State Estimates
	(1)	(2)
Medicaid expansion	0.047*** (0.012)	0.021*** (0.004)
State FE	X	X
Year FE	X	X
Observations	508	508
R ²	0.722	0.984
Adjusted R ²	0.685	0.982
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

ACA Favorability By Medicaid Expansion Within Year Using State-Level Estimates



ACA Favorability By Medicaid Expansion Within Year



Who Are All The Lonely People?

AAPOR Annual Conference

May 17th, 2019

Cailey Muñana, Liz Hamel, Bianca DiJulio, and Mollyann Brodie

Kaiser Family Foundation



Filling the need for trusted information on national health issues.

KFF/Economist Survey On Loneliness And Social Isolation

- KFF/The Economist conducted a survey on loneliness/social isolation in the United States, United Kingdom, and Japan in Spring 2018
- Why do this survey?
 - Attention to issue
 - Health, economic, and societal implications
 - Complex, multifaceted issue with many confounding factors; difficult to address
 - Discussion about who is most affected by feelings of loneliness – it may not necessarily be who we think
- Survey Methods:
 - Dual-frame RDD telephone survey with an oversample of those who qualified as feeling lonely or socially isolated

Country	Field Dates	Language	Total Sample Size (Unweighted) & M.O.S.E	Total reporting loneliness & M.O.S.E	Cell phone sample	LL sample
United States	April 18-May 23, 2018	English, Spanish	1,003 ±3 percentage points	276 ±7 percentage points	720	283

Defining “Loneliness”

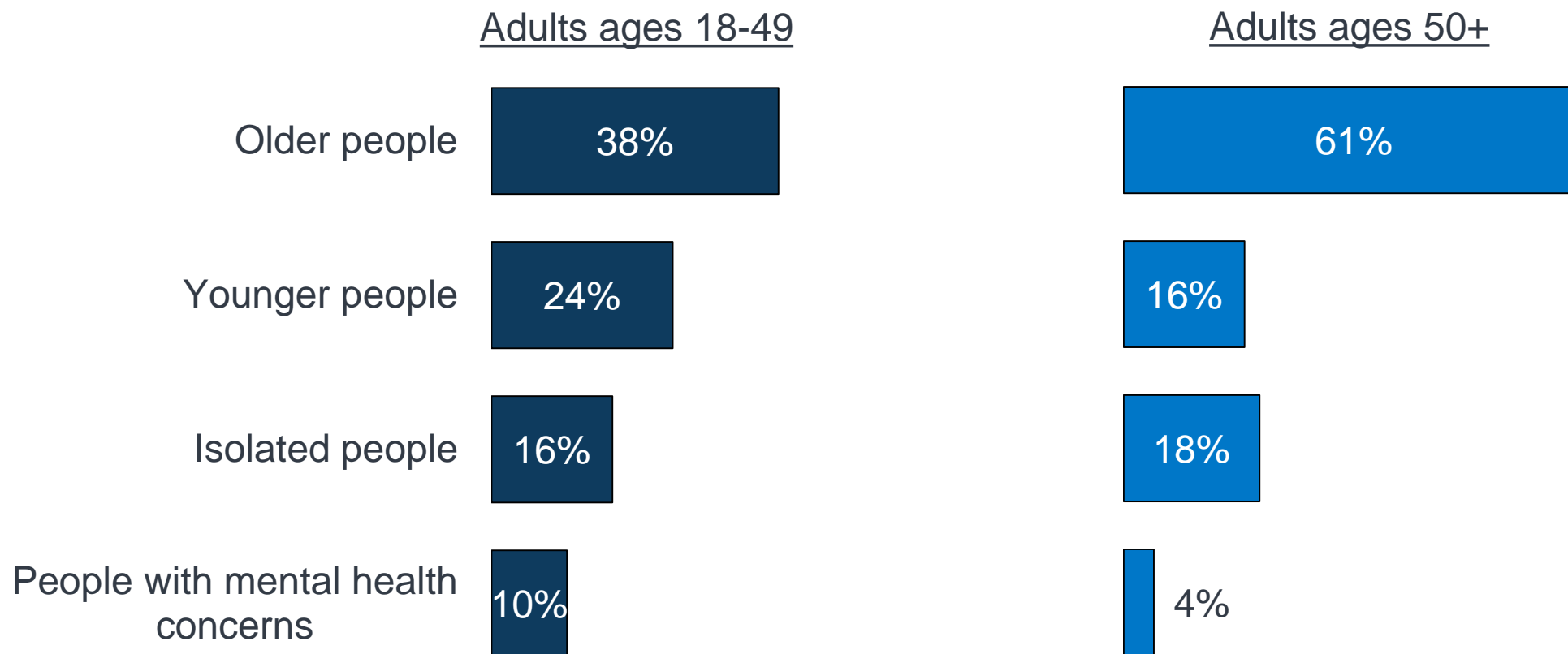
- Our survey defined people as lonely if they said they “always” or “often” feel **at least one** of the following:
 - Lonely
 - That they lack companionship
 - Left out
 - Isolated from others
- This definition is a conglomerate of several different definitions, notably the UCLA Loneliness Scale, which is one of the most widely used instruments when assessing loneliness
- In our survey, the prevalence of loneliness was 22% in the U.S.

Why Study The Relationship Between Age And Loneliness?

- Literature Review
 - Several studies have shown that older age groups are more likely to experience feelings of loneliness than their younger counterparts
 - However, there is growing evidence that suggests young adults may be at least as prone to experiencing feelings of loneliness and social isolation as older adults
- Research questions:
 - Who experiences loneliness?
 - How does this lived experience differ based on certain demographics, such as age?
 - What is the relationship between age and loneliness?

Across Age Groups, Older People Thought Of Most Often As Feeling Lonely

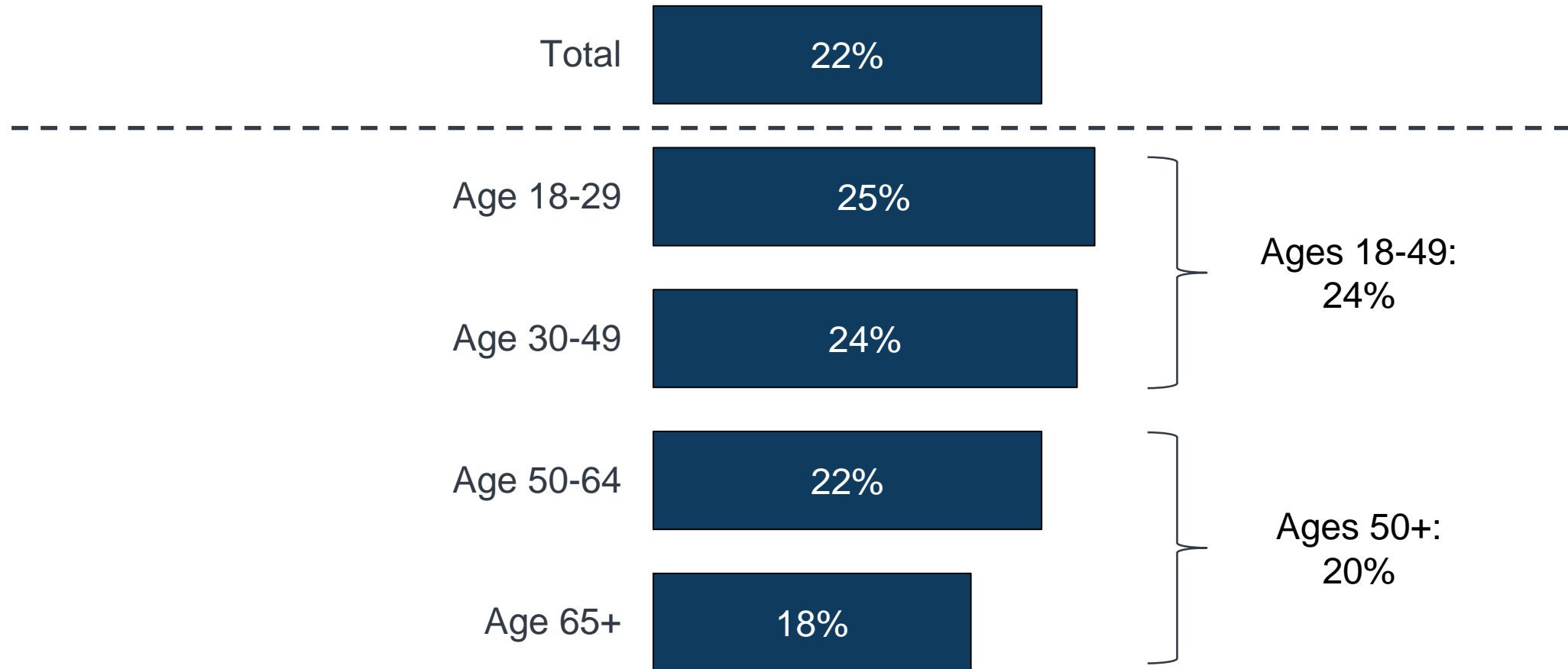
When you think about people in the United States who are lonely, what group of people comes to mind?



SOURCE: Kaiser Family Foundation/The Economist Survey on Loneliness and Social Isolation in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Japan (conducted April–June 2018)

Reports Of Loneliness And Social Isolation Similar Across Age Groups

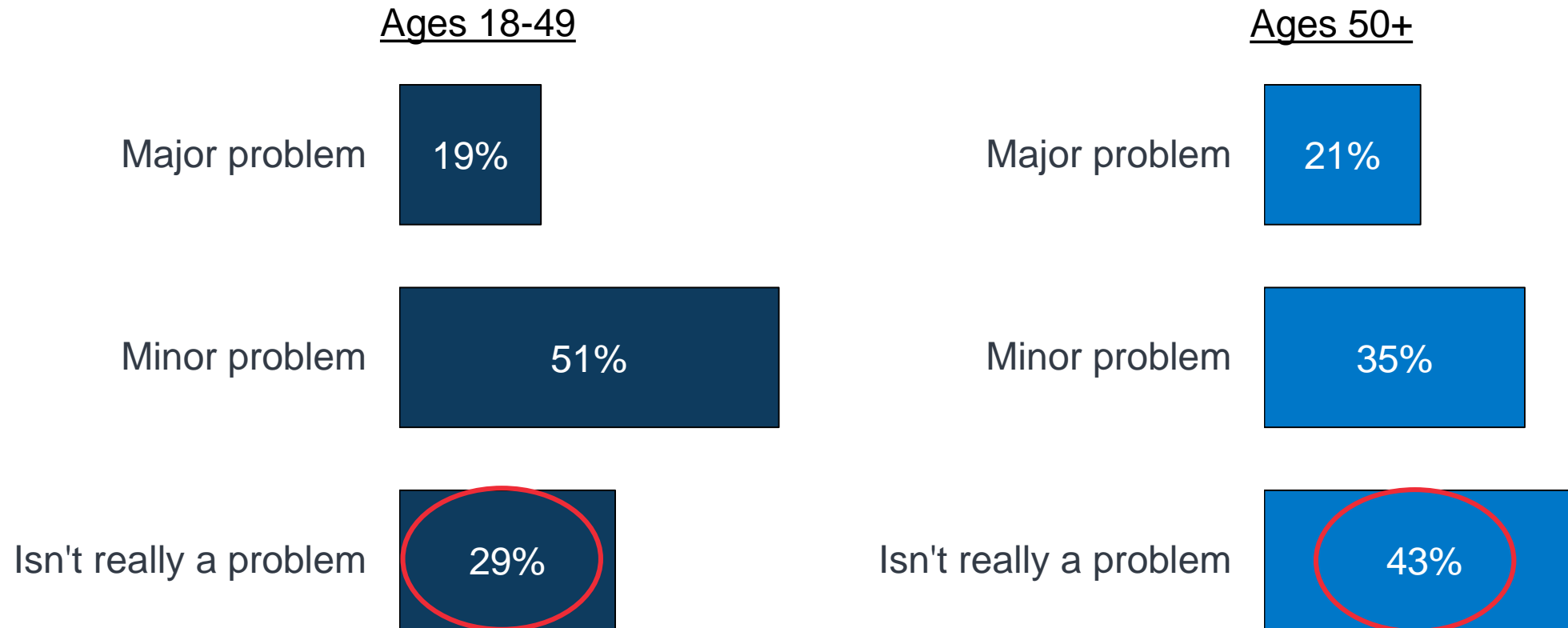
Percent who say they always or often feel lonely, left out, isolated, or that they lack companionship:



SOURCE: Kaiser Family Foundation/The Economist Survey on Loneliness and Social Isolation in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Japan (conducted April–June 2018)

More Adults Ages 18-49 Say That Loneliness Is A Major Or Minor Problem For Them

AMONG THOSE REPORTING LONELINESS OR SOCIAL ISOLATION: Would you say that being lonely is a major problem for you, a minor problem, or not really a problem?

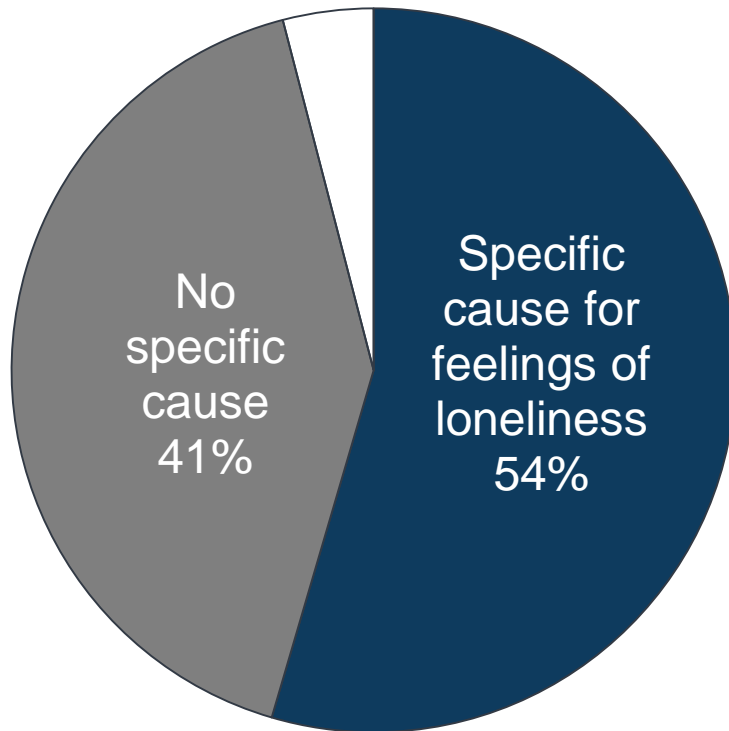


SOURCE: Kaiser Family Foundation/The Economist Survey on Loneliness and Social Isolation in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Japan (conducted April–June 2018)

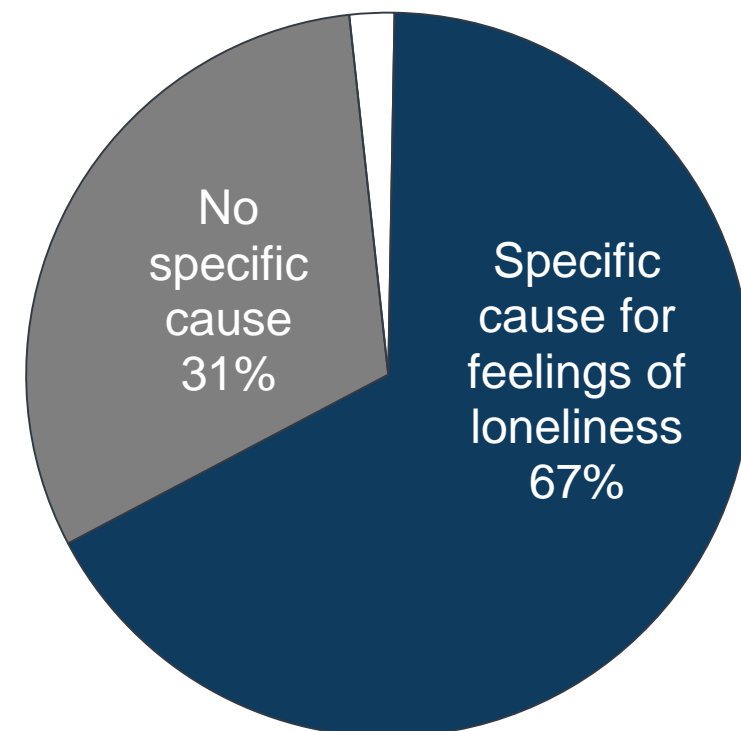
Fewer Younger Adults Cite Specific Cause For Feelings Of Loneliness

AMONG THOSE REPORTING LONELINESS OR SOCIAL ISOLATION: Would you say there is a specific cause for your feelings of loneliness?

Adults ages 18-49



Adults ages 50+



NOTE: White space represents the share who said "Not sure/Declined to answer."

SOURCE: Kaiser Family Foundation/The Economist Survey on Loneliness and Social Isolation in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Japan (conducted April–June 2018)

Negative Life Experiences

AMONG THOSE REPORTING LONELINESS OR ISOLATION: Percent who say they have experienced each of the following in the **past two years**:

● Ages 18-49

● Ages 50+

Death of a close friend or family member

53% ●

● 67%

A serious illness or injury yourself

29% ●

● 49%

A serious illness or injury in your family

43% ● ● 49%

A negative change in financial status

41% ●

● 51%

A change in living situation

37% ●

● 53%

Loss of a job

13% ●

● 36%

Death of a partner or spouse

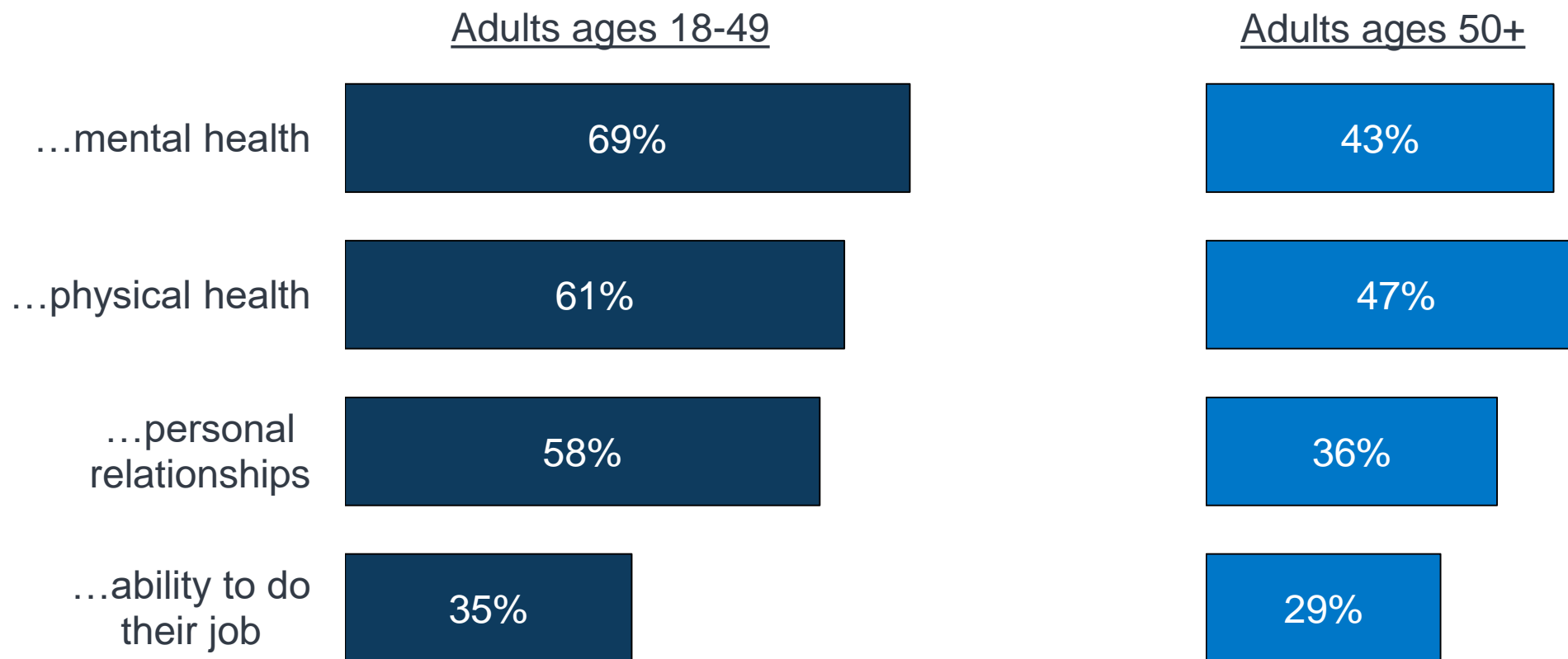
10% ● ● 12%

Marital separation or divorce

11% ● ● 13%

More Adults Ages 18-49 Say Loneliness Has Negatively Impacted Their Mental And Physical Health, Personal Relationships

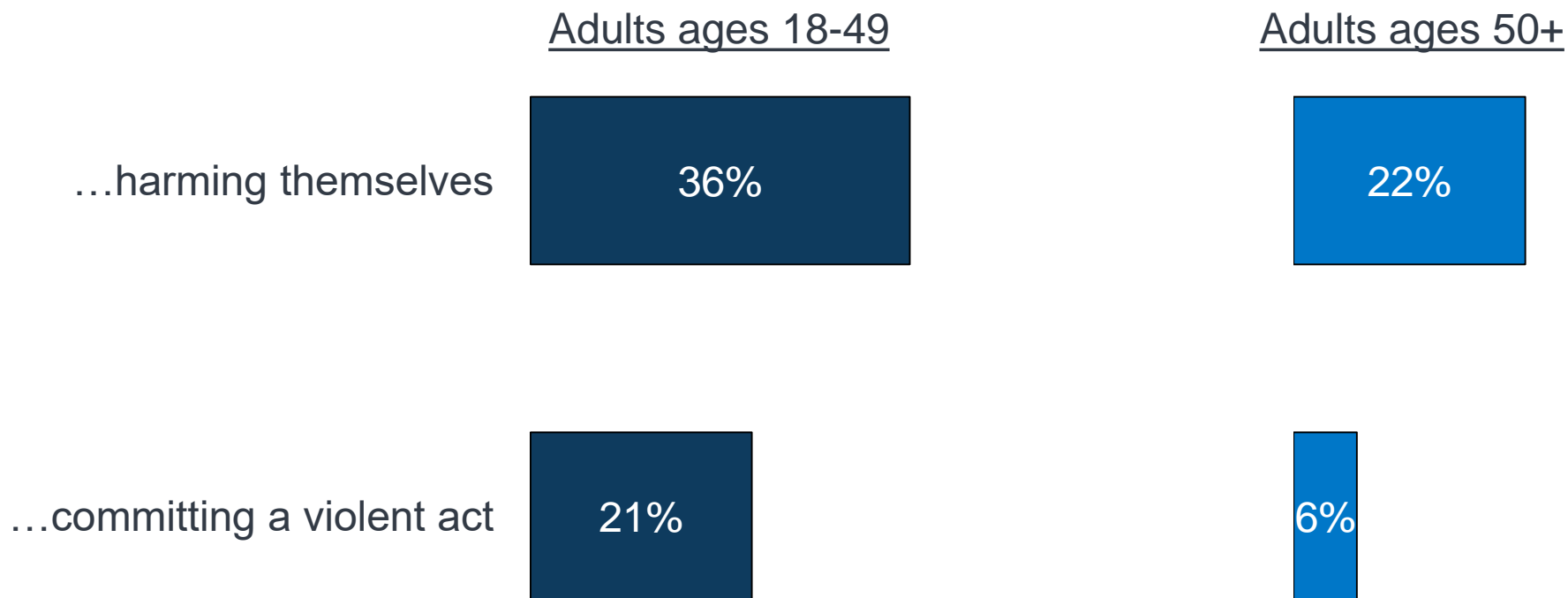
AMONG THOSE REPORTING LONELINESS OR SOCIAL ISOLATION: Percent who say feeling lonely has had a **negative impact** on their...



SOURCE: Kaiser Family Foundation/The Economist Survey on Loneliness and Social Isolation in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Japan (conducted April–June 2018)

More Adults Ages 18-49 Say That Their Feelings Of Loneliness Have Led Them To Think Violent Thoughts

AMONG THOSE REPORTING LONELINESS OR ISOLATION: Percent who say their feelings of loneliness have led them to think about:



SOURCE: Kaiser Family Foundation/The Economist Survey on Loneliness and Social Isolation in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Japan (conducted April–June 2018)

Coping Mechanisms

- When feeling **lonely**, adults ages 18-49 are **more likely** to...
 - Abuse **alcohol** or **drugs**
 - Browse the internet or **social media** sites...as compared to adults ages 50+
- However, similar shares of adults report coping in other ways, such as exercising, overeating, or talking with others about their feelings of loneliness

Takeaways

- Conventional wisdom says that older people are lonely, but younger people may be just as likely to experience loneliness
- Our survey found that similar shares across age groups report feelings of loneliness
- However, the lived experience of loneliness is different when comparing younger people to older people
- Follow-up questions about the impact of loneliness may help target people who could benefit from interventions
- Larger sample size needed to explore these and other age groups further

Role of Health Care in 2018 Midterms

Mollyann Brodie

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AAPOR Annual Conference

Toronto, Canada

May 18, 2019

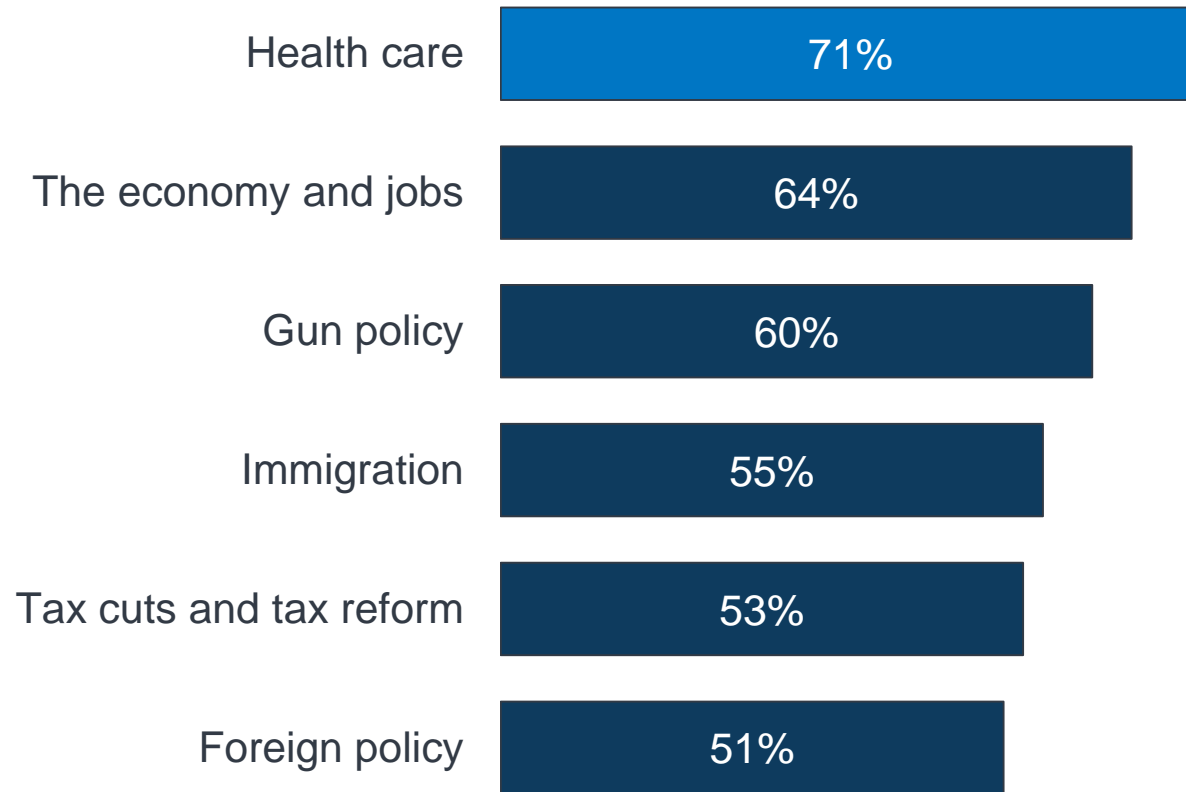


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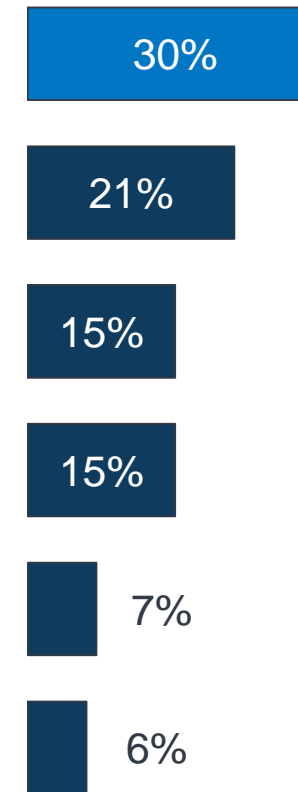
What We Knew Headed Into Election Day

Health Care Is Top Issue For Voters In Midterm Elections

Percent who say each issue is **very important** in deciding how to vote for Congress this year:



When asked to choose one, percent who say each is the **most important**:

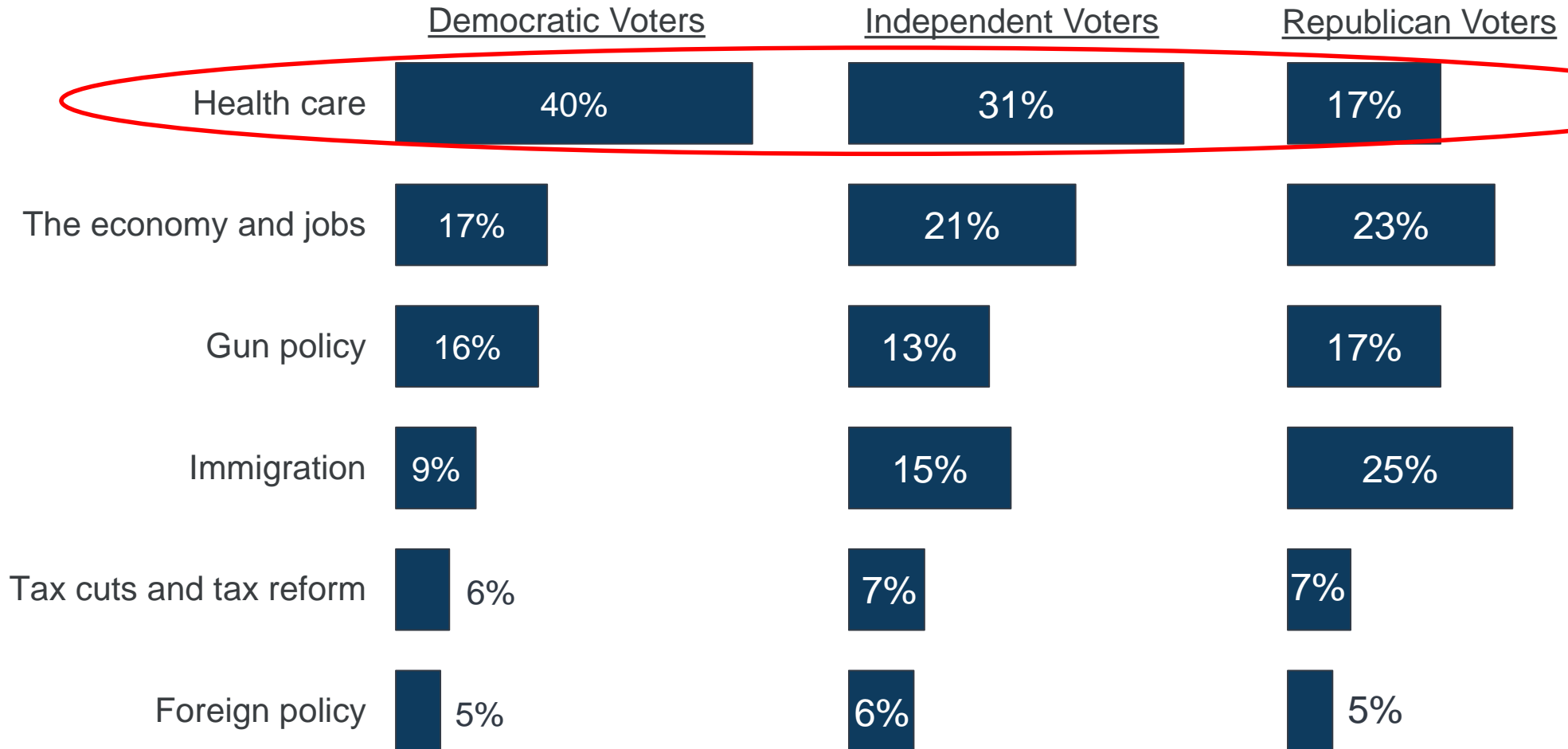


NOTE: Questions asked of registered voters. For second question, percentages based on total.

SOURCE: KFF Election Tracking Poll (conducted September 19-October 2, 2018)

Health Care Tops Issues Among Democratic And Independent Voters, Ranks Lower Among Republican Voters

Percent who say most important to vote:



SOURCE: KFF Election Tracking Poll (conducted September 19-October 2, 2018)

What Do You Mean When You Say Health Care?

What specifically do you mean when you say health care is one of the most important issues in vote?

<u>RANK</u>	<u>TOTAL VOTERS</u>	<u>DEMOCRATIC VOTERS</u>	<u>INDEPENDENT VOTERS</u>	<u>REPUBLICAN VOTERS</u>
1	Health care costs (24%)	Increased access (31%)	Health care costs (27%)	Health care costs (23%)
2	Increased access (19%)	Health care costs (22%)	Increased access (19%)	Opposition to/Repealing the ACA (18%)
3	Opposition to/Repealing the ACA (8%)	Medicare/senior concerns (9%)	Opposition to/Repealing the ACA (6%)	Medicare/senior concerns (7%)
4	Medicare/senior concerns (7%)	Improving/implementing the ACA (7%)	Medicare/senior concerns (6%)	Concern about quality of coverage/care (7%)

SOURCE: KFF Election Tracking Poll (conducted September 19-October 2, 2018)

Texas v. United States and President Trump Administrative Actions

- Texas v. United States, brought by 18 Republican state attorneys general and two GOP governors in February 2018 challenged the constitutionality of the ACA.
- President Trump's administration announced in June 2018 that it will no longer defend the ACA's protections for people with pre-existing medical conditions.

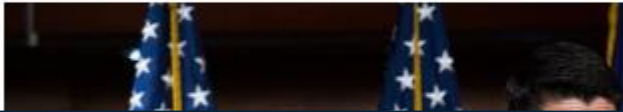
Why The Pre-Existing Conditions Argument Is Killing Republican Candidates



John C. Goodman Contributor ⓘ

Policy

I offer market-based healthcare solutions.



POLITICS

The Fate of Obamacare's Most Popular Provision

In the 2018 elections, Republican lawmakers are torn between their ongoing pledges to repeal or oppose the health-care reform, and overwhelming support for its protections for people with preexisting conditions.

POLICY-ISH

FACT CHECK: Who's Right About Protections For Pre-Existing Conditions?

October 11, 2018 - 10:48 AM ET

Does Ohio's Mike DeWine want to get rid of pre-existing condition coverage?

FROM **KHN**

By Amy Sherman on Thursday, October 4th, 2018 at 10:00 a.m.



The Daily 202: Preexisting conditions take center stage in Democratic attack ads

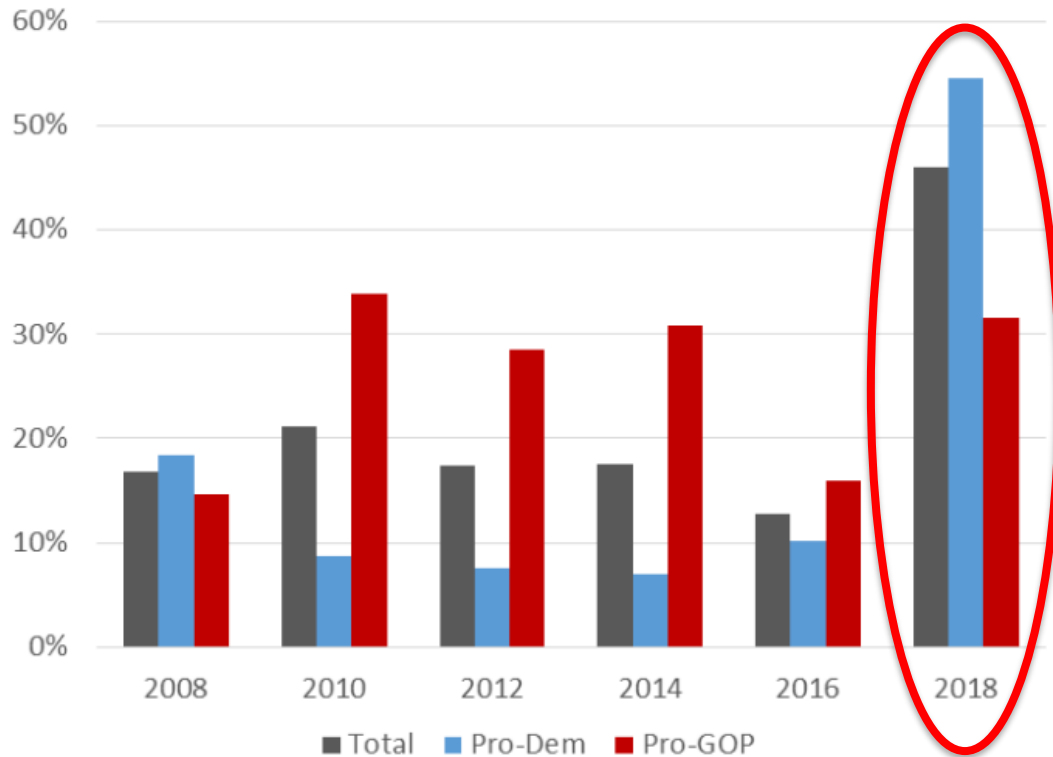
PowerPost

GOP candidates try to blunt Democrats' preexisting conditions attacks

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Both Democratic And Republican Candidates Embrace Health Care, Especially Protections For Pre-Existing Conditions

FIGURE 1: DISCUSSION OF HEALTH CARE IN FEDERAL AD AIRINGS, 2008-2018



Numbers include ads aired on broadcast television for U.S. House and U.S. Senate races from September 18 – October 15 for each year.
CITE SOURCE OF DATA AS: Wesleyan Media Project analysis of Kantar Media/CMAG data; 2008 data come from the Wisconsin Advertising Project.

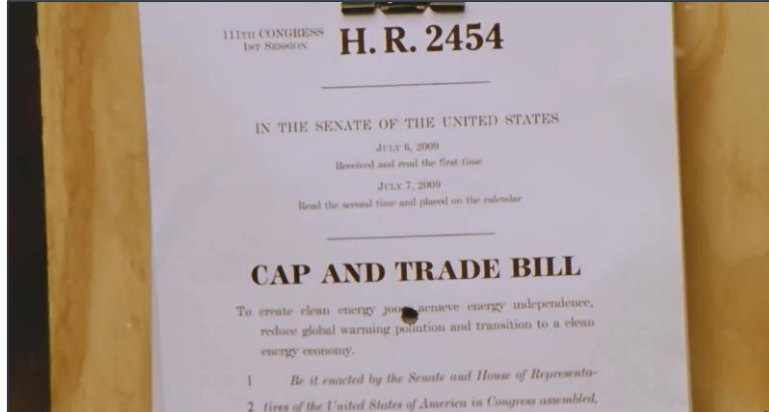
WESLEYAN
MEDIA PROJECT

TABLE 1. Top Five Health Care Issues, Sept. 4 - Oct. 1, 2018

TOP FIVE ISSUES OUT OF ALL HEALTH CARE ADS	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Coverage for Pre-existing Conditions	77,105	32.6%
Medicare	46,688	19.8%
Prescription Drug Costs	19,217	8.1%
Government Intervention in Health Care	18,153	7.7%
Funded by Insurance Companies	16,176	6.8%

Numbers include federal and gubernatorial English-language ads aired on broadcast television mentioning health care from September 4 to October 1, 2018.
CITE SOURCE OF DATA AS: Wesleyan Media Project student team analysis of Kantar Media/CMAG data.

An Example



But Issues ≠ Deciding Factors

Major factor in their decision about who to vote for Congress:		Very important in their decision about who to vote for Congress:	
The candidates' character and experience	73%	Health care	71%
The candidates' support for or opposition to President Trump	66	The economy and jobs	64
Which party controls Congress, the Republicans or the Democrats	66	Gun policy	60
The candidates' political party	51	Immigration	55
The candidates' gender	6	Tax cuts and tax reform	53

SOURCE: KFF Election Tracking Poll (conducted September 19-October 2, 2018)

What Happened in 2018?

Exit Polling: Health Care

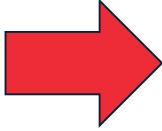
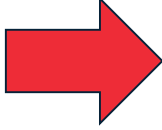
- 41% of voters identified *health care* as the most important issue facing the country, immigration and economy ranked second with 23% and 22% respectively.
- 69% of voters said health care in the U.S. need “major changes,” 55% of these individuals voted for Democrats

Health Care Voters Are Largely Democratic and Women

- KFF Tracking Polls conducted prior to the election consistently found that 30% of voters are “health care voters.”
- Large shares of voters who say health care is their top issue are women voters (62%) and Democratic/Democratic-leaning Independent voters (68%).
- Washington Post’s survey of Battleground Voters on Election Day found the same with larger shares of women voters (24% v. 15% of men voters) and Democratic voters (32% vs. 8% of Rep voters, 21% of Independent voters) saying health care was the top issue in their vote.

Looking To 2020: Medicare-For-All And Other Proposals To Expand Government Coverage

Continuing ACA Pre-Existing Conditions Protections Tops Public's Priorities For Congress, Ranks Lower For Republicans

% who say each is the TOP PRIORITY for Congress to work on:	Total	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
 Making sure the ACA's pre-existing condition protections continue	21% #1	31% #1	24% #1	11%
Lowering prescription drug costs for as many Americans as possible	20	20	20	20
 Implementing a national Medicare-for-all plan	11	20	8	3
Repealing and replacing the ACA	11	3	7	27 #1
Protecting people from surprise high out-of-network medical bills	9	4	10	8

SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Poll (conducted January 9-14, 2019). See topline for full question wording and response options.

Update On Texas v. United States

- On December 14, 2018, the federal judge sided with the plaintiffs- since the 2017 tax bill passed by Congress zeroed out the penalty for not having health insurance, **the ACA is invalid.**
- Democrat attorneys general have already taken actions to appeal the judge's ruling in the case and, due to the government shutdown, the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals has paused the case.
- **Currently, the ACA remains the law of the land.** But if this ruling is upheld, the consequences will be far-reaching.

Majorities Say Pre-Existing Condition Protections Are Very Important To Them

Percent who say it is “very important” to them that the following provisions remain law:

Prohibits health insurance companies from **denying coverage** because of a person’s medical history

Total

70%

Prohibits health insurance companies from **charging sick people more**

64%

Democrats

82%

73%

Independents

68%

63%

Republicans

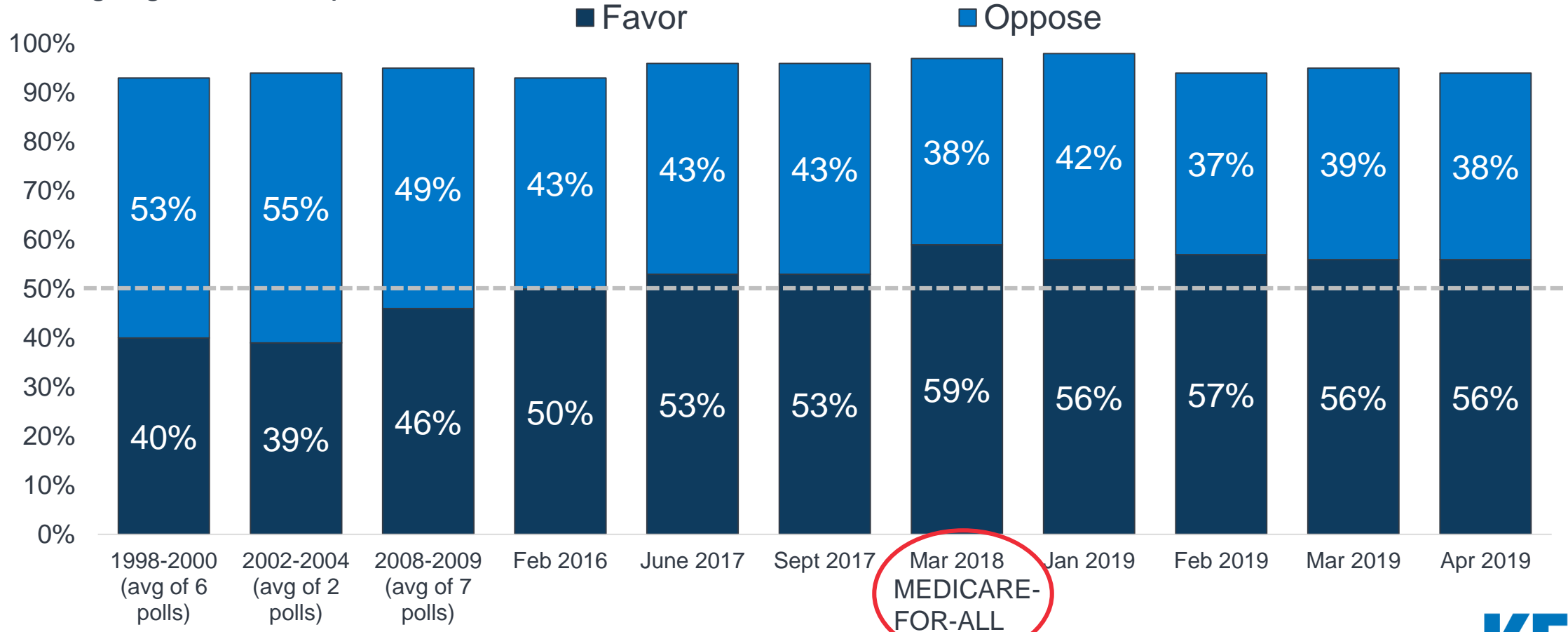
54%

51%

SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Poll (conducted April 11-16, 2019). See topline for full question wording and response options.

Modest Increase In Support For Single-Payer Health Care Over Time

Percent who favor or oppose a national health plan in which all Americans would get their insurance from a single government plan:



NOTE: Question wording has included "Medicare-for-all" since 2018.

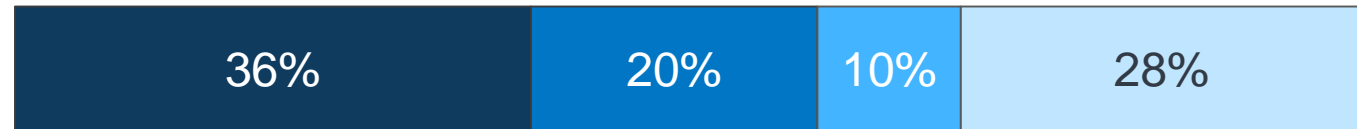
SOURCE: KFF Polls. See topline for full question wording and response options.

Similar Shares Of Republicans “Strongly Oppose” And Democrats “Strongly Favor” National Health Plan

Do you favor or oppose having a national health plan, or Medicare-for-all, in which all Americans would get their insurance from a single government plan?

■ Strongly favor ■ Somewhat favor ■ Somewhat oppose ■ Strongly oppose

Total

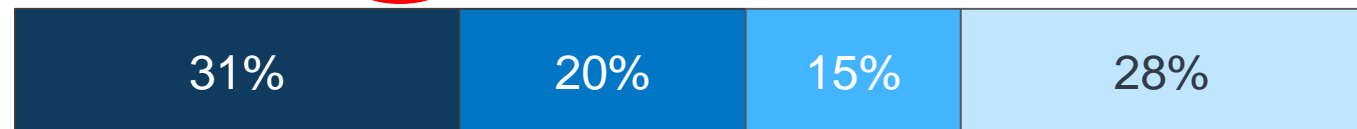


By Political Party ID

Democrats



Independents



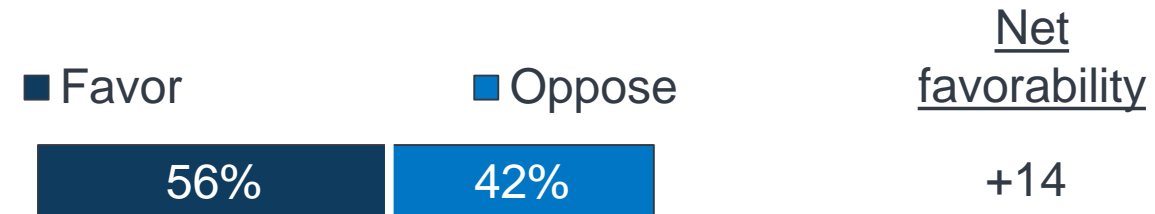
Republicans



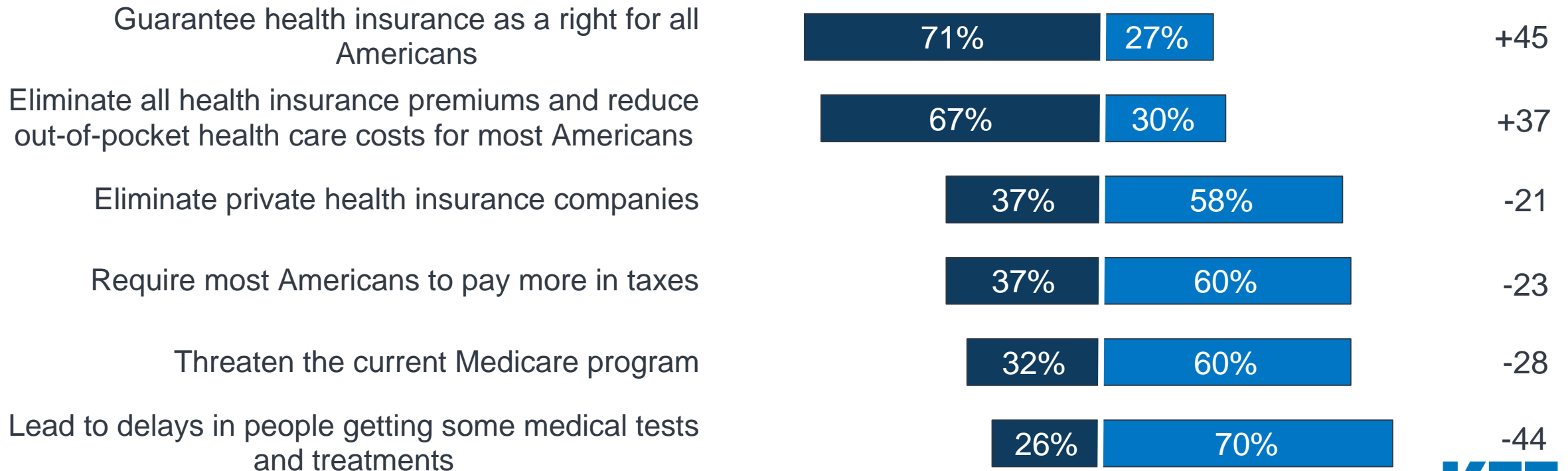
SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Poll (conducted April 11-16, 2019). See topline for full question wording and response options.

Public's Views Of Medicare-For-All Can Shift Significantly After Hearing Arguments

Do you favor or oppose having a national health plan, sometimes called Medicare-for-all?



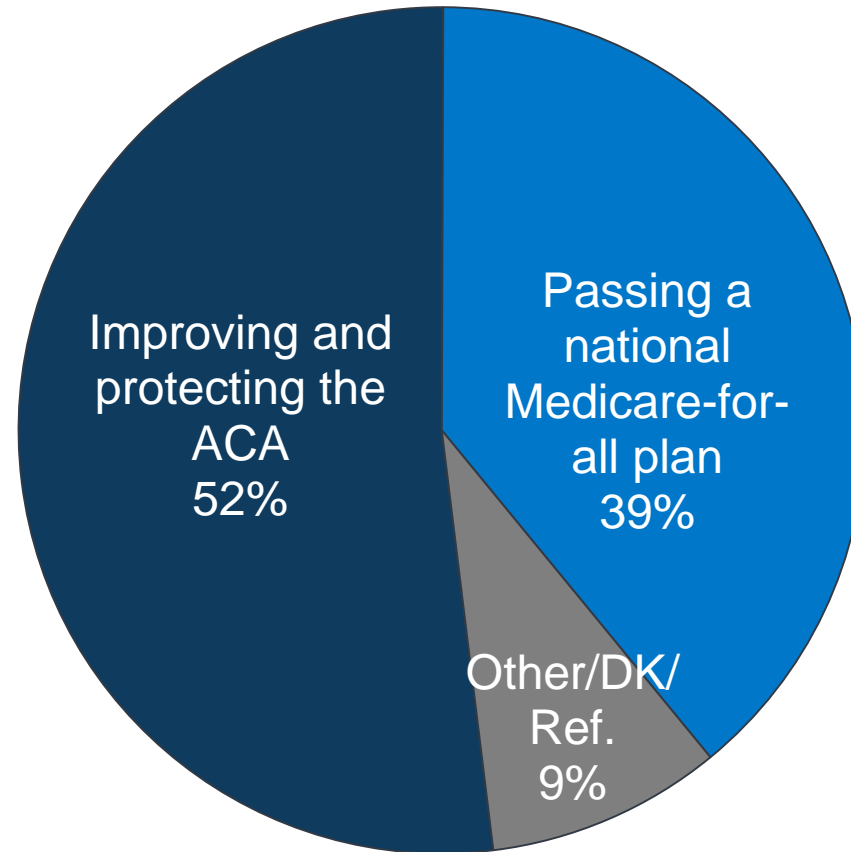
Would you favor or oppose a national Medicare-for-all plan if you heard that it would do the following?



SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Poll (conducted January 9-14, 2019). See topline for full question wording and response options.































Democrats Want House Democrats To Focus On Improving And Protecting The ACA Rather Than Passing Medicare-For-All

AMONG DEMOCRATS: Do you think Democrats in the House should focus their efforts on improving and protecting the Affordable Care Act or passing a national Medicare-for-all plan?



SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Poll (conducted April 11-16, 2019). See topline for full question wording and response options.

Democratic Presidential Candidates Are Engaged On This Issue

Medicare-for-all	Federal Public Plan Option	Medicare Buy-In Option	Medicaid Buy-In Option
12 candidates	8 candidates	4 candidates	6 candidates
 Booker  Buttigieg  Castro	 Bennet  Biden	 Booker  Gillibrand	 Booker  Harris
 Gabbard  Gillibrand  Harris	 Booker  Delaney	 Harris  Klobuchar	 Gillibrand  Klobuchar
 Ryan  Sanders  Swalwell	 Harris  Hickenlooper		 Swalwell  Warren
 Warren  Williamson  Yang	 Klobuchar  O'Rourke		

- Jay Inslee [Gov, WA] introduced a state public option bill
- Seth Moulton [D, MA] stated that he wants “Medicare, or better, a more modern version of Medicare to be available to everybody”

SOURCE: Candidate images are from the New York Times, ‘Who’s Running for President in 2020?’, April, 2019; Cosponsorship of current Members of Congress taken from Congress.gov; Other candidates positions are taken from campaign websites when available or interviews, available upon request. As of 5/2/2019.



Thank you.