KFF AT AAPOR 2019

PAPOR Mini-Conference
June 28th, 2019
Lunna Lopes
Kaiser Family Foundation
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

KFF
Estudios Técnicos Inc.
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

North Region

Metro Region

East Region

West Region

South Region
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

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

- 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
- 23% say they or a family member has a new or worsened health condition
- 9% say they or a family member received mental health services related to hurricane experience

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
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 ± 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 toplines 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 toplines 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 State Level Estimates Of ACA Attitudes

- Between-state variation in implementation of the ACA: Medicaid expansion and state exchanges.
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

M

ACA Favorability

Alaska, State-weight
Alaska, MRP

KFF
Looking At Trend Over Time: Use MRP
Looking At Treatment Effects: Use State Weights

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable:</th>
<th>Weighted State Estimates</th>
<th>MRP State Estimates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicaid expansion</td>
<td>0.047***</td>
<td>0.021***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.012)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State FE</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year FE</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R^2</td>
<td>0.722</td>
<td>0.984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R^2</td>
<td>0.685</td>
<td>0.982</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
ACA Favorability By Medicaid Expansion Within Year Using State-Level Estimates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Expand Medicaid</th>
<th>Did not expand Medicaid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACA Favorability By Medicaid Expansion Within Year

State-level estimates: 58%
Maine and Virginia expanded Medicaid in 2018
Who Are All The Lonely People?

AAPOR Annual Conference
May 17th, 2019
Cailey Muñana, Liz Hamel, Bianca DiJulio, and Mollyann Brodie
Kaiser Family Foundation
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Field Dates</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Total Sample Size (Unweighted) &amp; M.O.S.E</th>
<th>Total reporting loneliness &amp; M.O.S.E</th>
<th>Cell phone sample</th>
<th>LL sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>April 18-May 23, 2018</td>
<td>English, Spanish</td>
<td>1,003 ±3 percentage points</td>
<td>276 ±7 percentage points</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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?

- Older people: 38% (Adults ages 18-49), 61% (Adults ages 50+)
- Younger people: 24% (Adults ages 18-49), 16% (Adults ages 50+)
- Isolated people: 16% (Adults ages 18-49), 18% (Adults ages 50+)
- People with mental health concerns: 10% (Adults ages 18-49), 4% (Adults ages 50+)

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:

- Total: 22%
- Age 18-29: 25%
- Age 30-49: 24%
- Age 50-64: 22%
- Age 65+: 18%

Ages 18-49: 24%
Ages 50+: 20%

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages 18-49</th>
<th>Ages 50+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major problem</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor problem</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isn't really a problem</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major problem</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor problem</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isn't really a problem</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)
Less than half of younger adults cite a specific cause for their feelings of loneliness, compared with older adults.

Among those reporting loneliness or social isolation:

- **Adults ages 18-49:**
  - Specific cause: 54%
  - No specific cause: 41%

- **Adults ages 50+**:
  - Specific cause: 67%
  - No specific cause: 31%

**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**:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Ages 18-49</th>
<th>Ages 50+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Death of a close friend or family member</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A serious illness or injury yourself</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A serious illness or injury in your family</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A negative change in financial status</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A change in living situation</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of a job</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of a partner or spouse</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital separation or divorce</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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...

 Adults ages 18-49

...mental health 69%

...physical health 61%

...personal relationships 58%

...ability to do their job 35%

 Adults ages 50+

43%

47%

36%

29%

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adults ages 18-49</th>
<th>Adults ages 50+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...harming themselves</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...committing a violent act</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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)
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
Senior Vice President for Executive Operations
Executive Director, Public Opinion and Survey Research

@mollybrodie

AAPOR Annual Conference
Toronto, Canada
May 18, 2019
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Most Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The economy and jobs</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun policy</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax cuts and tax reform</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Most Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The economy and jobs</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun policy</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax cuts and tax reform</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**SOURCE:** KFF Election Tracking Poll (conducted September 19-October 2, 2018)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Democratic Voters</th>
<th>Independent Voters</th>
<th>Republican Voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The economy and jobs</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun policy</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax cuts and tax reform</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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?

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

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

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.

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?

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

GOP candidates try to blunt Democrats’ preexisting conditions attacks
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**

**Table 1. Top Five Health Care Issues, Sept. 4 – Oct. 1, 2018**

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

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 analysis of Kantar Media/CMAG data; 2008 data come from the Wisconsin Advertising Project.
An Example

Figure 50
But Issues ≠ Deciding Factors

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

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

SOURCE: CNN 2018 Exit Polls
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

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

Update On Texas v. United States

• On December 14, 2018, the federal judged 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prohibits health insurance companies from <strong>denying coverage</strong> because of a person’s medical history</th>
<th>Prohibits health insurance companies from <strong>charging sick people more</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** KFF Health Tracking Poll (conducted April 11-16, 2019). See topline for full question wording and response options.
NOTE: Question wording has included “Medicare-for-all” since 2018.
SOURCE: KFF Polls. See toplines 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly favor</th>
<th>Somewhat favor</th>
<th>Somewhat oppose</th>
<th>Strongly oppose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>By Political Party ID</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Favor</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
<th>Net favorability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>56%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>+14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Favor</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
<th>Net favorability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guarantee health insurance as a right for all Americans</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>+45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliminate all health insurance premiums and reduce out-of-pocket health care costs for most Americans</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>+37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliminate private health insurance companies</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Require most Americans to pay more in taxes</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threaten the current Medicare program</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead to delays in people getting some medical tests and treatments</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>-44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

- Improving and protecting the ACA: 52%
- Passing a national Medicare-for-all plan: 39%
- Other/DK/Ref. Ref.: 9%

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medicare-for-all</th>
<th>Federal Public Plan Option</th>
<th>Medicare Buy-In Option</th>
<th>Medicaid Buy-In Option</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 candidates</td>
<td>8 candidates</td>
<td>4 candidates</td>
<td>6 candidates</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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.