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# ***Kaiser Health Tracking Poll: Election 2008***

**October 2007**

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## **Methodology**

The *Kaiser Health Tracking Survey: Election 2008* was designed and analyzed by public opinion researchers at the Kaiser Family Foundation led by Mollyann Brodie, Ph.D. and Elizabeth Hamel. The survey was conducted from October 1-10, 2007, among a nationally representative random sample of 1,204 adults ages 18 and older, including 294 self-identified Republicans, 420 self-identified Democrats, and 367 self-identified independents.<sup>1</sup> Telephone interviews were carried out in English and Spanish by Princeton Survey Research Associates.

The margin of sampling error for the full survey is plus or minus 3 percentage points; for results based on subgroups, the margin of sampling error is higher. Note that sampling error is only one of many potential sources of error in this or any other public opinion poll.

Values less than 0.5% are indicated by an asterisk (\*).

“VOL” indicates that a response was volunteered by respondent, not an explicitly offered choice.

Due to rounding, percentages may not add to 100.

<sup>1</sup> Question 1a (listed at the end of the questionnaire) comes from a parallel survey of a nationally representative random sample of 1,032 adults interviewed by telephone between October 1-10, 2007, which has a margin of sampling error of plus or minus 4 percentage points. This question was asked on a separate survey because of the desire to track opinions about the most important problem for the president and Congress to address, as well as the issues people most want to hear candidates discuss. In order to avoid biasing answers to either question by asking both questions of the same group, and to preserve a large enough sample for subgroup analysis, the questions were asked on separate surveys rather than split-sampling them on the same survey.

1. Thinking about the campaign for the presidential election in 2008, what two issues would you most like to hear the presidential candidates talk about? **IF R GIVES ONE ISSUE PROBE FOR SECOND:** Is there another issue you'd like to hear about? (**OPEN-END**)

| <u>TOTAL</u> | <u>REP</u> | <u>DEM</u> | <u>IND</u> |  |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|--|
| 44           | 42         | 48         | 44         | Iraq/War in Iraq                                       |
| 38           | 30         | 45         | 39         | Health care (Net)                                      |
| 18           | 14         | 22         | 19         | Health care (general)                                  |
| 10           | 7          | 14         | 9          | The uninsured/access to health care/universal coverage |
| 4            | 3          | 5          | 5          | Health care costs                                      |
| 1            | 2          | 1          | 1          | Medicare/Elderly                                       |
| 5            | 4          | 5          | 5          | Other health care mentions                             |
| 18           | 16         | 21         | 18         | Economic issues (Net)                                  |
| 10           | 10         | 10         | 11         | Economy (general)                                      |
| 5            | 3          | 8          | 4          | Jobs   |
| 1            | --         | 1          | 1          | Poverty/homelessness                                   |
| 3            | 3          | 4          | 3          | Other economy mentions                                 |
| 12           | 15         | 9          | 13         | Immigration/illegal immigration                        |
| 7            | 8          | 8          | 8          | Education/schools                                      |
| 7            | 10         | 4          | 7          | Taxes  |
| 6            | 5          | 6          | 7          | Social Security  |
| 6            | 12         | 1          | 8          | Terrorism/National security (Net)                      |
| 5            | 10         | 1          | 6          | National security                                      |
| 2            | 3          | *          | 1          | Terrorism/war on terror                                |
| 3            | 7          | 1          | 3          | Morality issues (Net)                                  |
| 2            | 4          | 1          | 1          | Abortion   |
| 1            | 1          | --         | 1          | Same sex marriage/gay marriage                         |
| 1            | 3          | --         | 1          | Other mentions moral issues, values issues             |
| 3            | 2          | 2          | 4          | Frustration with government/Corruption (Net)           |
| 1            | *          | 1          | 2          | Government ethics/scandals/corruption                  |
| 1            | 1          | 1          | 2          | Other frustration with government mentions             |
| 3            | 3          | 4          | 3          | Environmental issues/pollution/global warming          |
| 3            | 2          | 3          | 4          | Foreign affairs/not Iraq (Net)                         |
| 3            | 2          | 1          | 4          | Budget deficit/national debt                           |
| 3            | 3          | 3          | 2          | Gas prices/Energy (Net)                                |
| 2            | 2          | 3          | 2          | Gas prices   |
| *            | 1          | *          | *          | Energy issues  |
| 2            | 3          | 3          | *          | Crime/violence   |
| 1            | 1          | 1          | *          | Seniors/retirement issues (not Medicare/health care)   |
| 1            | --         | 1          | 1          | Katrina  |
| *            | --         | 1          | *          | Local issues   |
| 7            | 10         | 6          | 6          | Other  |
| 1            | --         | *          | 2          | Nothing  |
| 11           | 9          | 9          | 8          | Don't know/Refused                                     |

Note: Table will add to more than 100% due to multiple responses.

2. Now thinking specifically about HEALTH CARE, which ONE of the following health care issues would you most like to hear the presidential candidates talk about? **(READ AND RANDOMIZE 1-4, ACCEPT ONE RESPONSE ONLY)**

| <u>TOTAL</u> | <u>REP</u> | <u>DEM</u> | <u>IND</u> |  |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|--|
| 40           | 44         | 38         | 39         | Reducing the costs of health care and health insurance                     |
| 32           | 21         | 41         | 30         | Expanding health insurance coverage for the uninsured                      |
| 15           | 18         | 12         | 16         | Improving the quality of care and reducing medical errors                  |
| 7            | 11         | 5          | 8          | Reducing spending on government health programs like Medicare and Medicaid |
| 2            | 2          | 1          | 3          | None of these <b>(VOL.)</b>  |
| 2            | 3          | 1          | 4          | Other issue <b>(VOL.)</b>  |
| 2            | 1          | 1          | 1          | <b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know/Refused                                    |

3. Thinking about all of the candidates for president in 2008, regardless of political party or who you intend to vote for, which candidate BEST represents your own views on health care? **(OPEN END, DO NOT READ)**

| <u>TOTAL</u> | <u>REP</u> | <u>DEM</u> | <u>IND</u> |   |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|---|
| 23           | 5          | 39         | 20         | Hillary Clinton                                     |
| 8            | 3          | 13         | 4          | Barack Obama  |
| 5            | 14         | *          | 5          | Rudy Giuliani                                       |
| 4            | 2          | 5          | 5          | John Edwards  |
| 2            | 6          | *          | 3          | Mitt Romney   |
| 2            | 6          | --         | 1          | Fred Thompson                                       |
| 1            | 2          | 1          | 2          | John McCain   |
| 1            | 3          | --         | 1          | Mike Huckabee                                       |
| 1            | *          | 1          | 1          | Dennis Kucinich                                     |
| 1            | *          | --         | 2          | Ron Paul  |
| *            | --         | *          | *          | Bill Richardson                                     |
| *            | --         | --         | 1          | Ralph Nader   |
| *            | *          | --         | --         | Alan Keyes  |
| *            | --         | --         | *          | Al Gore   |
| *            | --         | *          | *          | Joe Biden   |
| *            | *          | 1          | --         | Other candidate                                     |
| 1            | --         | 2          | *          | Democratic candidate, non-specific                  |
| 1            | 2          | 1          | 1          | Republican candidate, non-specific                  |
| 50           | 44         | 63         | 45         | Named a candidate                                   |
| 50           | 56         | 37         | 55         | No candidate represents my views/Don't know/Refused |

4. And still thinking about all of the candidates for president, regardless of political party and whether or not you agree with their views, which candidate do you think is placing the BIGGEST EMPHASIS on health care issues? **(OPEN END, DO NOT READ)**

| <u>TOTAL</u> | <u>REP</u> | <u>DEM</u> | <u>IND</u> |   |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|---|
| 42           | 36         | 49         | 46         | Hillary Clinton   |
| 6            | 3          | 8          | 6          | Barack Obama  |
| 3            | 1          | 5          | 2          | John Edwards  |
| 1            | 2          | *          | 3          | Rudy Giuliani   |
| 1            | 4          | --         | 1          | Mitt Romney   |
| 1            | 2          | 1          | *          | John McCain   |
| *            | *          | 1          | *          | Dennis Kucinich   |
| *            | 1          | --         | --         | Fred Thompson   |
| *            | 1          | *          | --         | Mike Huckabee   |
| *            | *          | *          | --         | George W. Bush  |
| *            | --         | *          | --         | Bill Richardson   |
| *            | *          | --         | --         | Other candidate   |
| 1            | 1          | 1          | 1          | Democratic candidate, non-specific                            |
| *            | *          | --         | 1          | Republican candidate, non-specific                            |
| 56           | 52         | 65         | 60         | Named a candidate   |
| 44           | 48         | 35         | 40         | No candidate is placing a big emphasis on health care/DK/Ref. |

5. Thinking about how the issue of health care might affect your vote for president, would you ... **(CATEGORIES READ IN ORDER AND REVERSE ORDER)**

| <u>TOTAL</u> | <u>REP</u> | <u>DEM</u> | <u>IND</u> |  |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|--|
| 13           | 8          | 17         | 9          | ONLY vote for a candidate who shares your views on health care                       |
| 69           | 73         | 68         | 73         | Consider a candidate's position on health care as just one of many important factors |
| 12           | 15         | 11         | 13         | Not see health care as a major issue in your vote                                    |
| 6            | 4          | 4          | 5          | <b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know/Refused  |

6. Which ONE of the following three things would you like to see in a health care reform proposal from a presidential candidate? Would you want your candidate to propose... **(READ)**?

**READ IF NECESSARY:** Which would you want your presidential candidate to propose - a major plan OR a more limited plan OR to keep things as they are?

| <u>TOTAL</u> | <u>REP</u> | <u>DEM</u> | <u>IND</u> |  |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|--|
| 51           | 32         | 68         | 47         | A new health plan that would make a major effort to provide health insurance for all or nearly all of the uninsured BUT would involve a substantial increase in spending |
| 25           | 34         | 19         | 26         | A new health plan that is more limited and would cover only some of the uninsured BUT would involve less new spending  |
| 15           | 25         | 7          | 17         | Keeping things basically as they are?  |
| 9            | 9          | 6          | 11         | <b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know/Refused  |

7. As you may know, most of the Democratic candidates for president have proposed major health care plans. From what you have seen or heard, do you think **(READ AND ROTATE)**?

| <u>TOTAL</u> | <u>REP</u> | <u>DEM</u> | <u>IND</u> |   |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|---|
| 25           | 16         | 28         | 26         | There are important differences between the different Democratic candidates' health care plans (or) |
| 45           | 52         | 45         | 46         | All of the Democratic candidates' health care plans are generally about the same (or)               |
| 30           | 33         | 27         | 28         | <b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know/Refused   |

8. As you may know, Hillary Clinton was involved in proposing major health care reform legislation in the early 1990s, when her husband, Bill Clinton, was president. From what you've seen or heard, do you think that the health care plan Hillary Clinton is proposing now as a presidential candidate is **(READ AND ROTATE)**?

| <u>TOTAL</u> | <u>REP</u> | <u>DEM</u> | <u>IND</u> |   |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|---|
| 35           | 44         | 30         | 37         | Pretty much the same as the one she proposed in the 1990s           |
| 30           | 20         | 38         | 28         | Different in important ways from the plan she proposed in the 1990s |
| 36           | 36         | 32         | 35         | <b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know/Refused                             |

9. Are you NOW self-employed, working full-time for an employer, working part-time for an employer, are you retired, or are you not employed for pay?

- 13 Self-employed
- 39 Full-time for an employer
- 8 Part-time for an employer
- 23 Retired
- 9 Not employed
- 4 Homemaker (VOL.)
- 2 Student (VOL.)
- 4 Disabled (VOL.)
- \* (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused

10. Are you, yourself, now covered by any form of health insurance or health plan or do you not have health insurance at this time? A health plan would include any private insurance plan through your employer or a plan that you purchased yourself, as well as a government program like Medicare or (Medicaid)? **USE VARIANT WORDING IN CALIFORNIA:** (Medi-Cal)

- 84 Yes, insured
- 16 No, not insured
- \* Don't know/Refused

11. Next, I'm going to read you a list of things that some people worry about and others do not. I'd like you to tell me how worried you are about each of the following things. (First/Next,) how worried are you about...(INSERT—READ AND RANDOMIZE)? (Are you very worried, somewhat worried, not too worried, or not at all worried?)

|  | <u>Very<br/>Worried</u> | <u>Somewhat<br/>Worried</u> | <u>Not too<br/>Worried</u> | <u>Not at all<br/>Worried</u> | <u>DK/<br/>Ref.</u> |
|--|-------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| a. Having to pay more for your health care or health insurance   | 39                      | 34                          | 13                         | 13                            | 2                   |
| b. Not being able to afford the health care services you think you need  | 34                      | 28                          | 17                         | 20                            | 1                   |
| c. The quality of health care services you receive getting worse   | 29                      | 30                          | 18                         | 20                            | 2                   |
| d. Not being able to afford the prescription drugs you need  | 31                      | 25                          | 18                         | 26                            | 1                   |
| e. Being the victim of a violent crime   | 20                      | 26                          | 29                         | 25                            | 1                   |
| f. Being the victim of a terrorist attack  | 22                      | 29                          | 23                         | 25                            | *                   |
| g. Your income not keeping up with rising prices   | 41                      | 30                          | 14                         | 14                            | 1                   |
| h. Losing your savings in the stock market   | 16                      | 16                          | 18                         | 47                            | 3                   |
| i. Not being able to pay your rent or mortgage   | 24                      | 19                          | 19                         | 37                            | 1                   |
| j. Losing your job   | 19                      | 17                          | 23                         | 40                            | 1                   |
| k. Having to stay in your current job instead of taking a new job for fear of losing health benefits               | 14                      | 18                          | 21                         | 46                            | 1                   |
| l. Losing your health insurance coverage   | 29                      | 21                          | 19                         | 30                            | 1                   |
| m. Your HEALTH PLAN being more concerned about saving money for the plan than about what treatment is best for you | 32                      | 34                          | 16                         | 16                            | 3                   |

*NOTE: Item J based on those who are employed (n=649), Item K based on those who are employed and insured (n=571), Items L and M based on those who are insured (n=1,073)*



**DEMOGRAPHICS (ASK ALL):**

**(READ)** Finally, I have just a few questions we will use to describe the people who took part in our survey...

**D1. RECORD RESPONDENT'S SEX**

- 48 Male
- 52 Female

**D2. What is your age? (RECORD EXACT AGE AS TWO-DIGIT CODE.)**

\_\_\_\_\_ years

- 19 18-29
- 36 30-49
- 25 50-64
- 17 65 and older
- 3 Undesignated

- 55 TOTAL Under 50
- 42 TOTAL 50 and older

**D3. In politics today, do you consider yourself a [ROTATE: Republican, Democrat/ Democrat, Republican], an Independent, or what?**

- 22 Republican
- 37 Democrat
- 30 Independent
- 5 Other/None
- 5 Don't know
- 2 Refused

**D3. In politics today, do you consider yourself a [ROTATE: Republican, Democrat/ Democrat, Republican], an Independent, or what?**

**D3b. Do you lean more towards the [ROTATE: Republican Party or the Democratic Party/Democratic Party or the Republican Party]?**

Party ID including Leaners

- 32 Republican/Lean Republican
- 51 Democrat/Lean Democrat
- 17 Refused to Lean

D4. Some people are registered to vote and others are not. Are you currently registered to vote at your present address?

- 82 Yes
- 16 No
- 1 Don't know/Refused

D5. Would you say your views in most political matters are liberal, moderate or conservative?

- 19 Liberal
- 42 Moderate
- 32 Conservative
- 5 **(DO NOT READ)** Don't know
- 1 **(DO NOT READ)** Refused

D6. What is the LAST grade or class that you COMPLETED in school? **(DO NOT READ)**

- 3 None, or grade 1-8
- 10 High school incomplete (grades 9-11)
- 33 High school graduate (grade 12 or GED certificate)
- 4 Technical, trade or vocational school AFTER high school
- 23 Some college, no four-year degree (includes associate degree)
- 17 College graduate (B.S., B.A., or other four-year degree)
- 10 Post-graduate or professional schooling after college (e.g., toward a Master's degree or Ph.D; law or medical school)
- 1 Refused

D7. Are you currently married, living with a partner, widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?

- 52 Married
- 7 Living with a partner
- 10 Divorced
- 3 Separated
- 9 Widowed
- 18 Never been married
- 2 Undesignated

D8. Are you, yourself, of Hispanic or Latino background, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Spanish background?

D9. What is your race? Are you white, black, Asian or some other race? **(IF RESPONDENT SAYS HISPANIC ASK: Do you consider yourself a white Hispanic or a black Hispanic?)**

- 70 White, Non Hispanic
- 27 TOTAL Non-White
  - 10 Black or African-American
  - 11 Hispanic
    - 3 Asian
    - 2 Other or mixed race
  - 3 Undesignated

D10. Last year -- that is, in 2006 -- what was your total family income from all sources, before taxes? Just stop me when I get to the right category. **(READ)**

- 15 Less than \$20,000
- 11 \$20,000 to less than \$30,000
- 18 \$30,000 to less than \$50,000
- 16 \$50,000 to less than \$75,000
- 10 \$75,000 to less than \$100,000
- 12 \$100,000 or more
- 5 **(DO NOT READ)** Don't know
- 12 **(DO NOT READ)** Refused

Q1a. What do you think is the most important problem for the president and Congress to address? Is there another problem you think is almost as important for the president and Congress to address? (OPEN-END)<sup>2</sup>

| <u>TOTAL</u> | <u>REP</u> | <u>DEM</u> | <u>IND</u> |  |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|--|
| 54           | 53         | 62         | 52         | Iraq/War in Iraq   |
| 29           | 22         | 36         | 31         | Health care (Net)  |
| 15           | 12         | 18         | 15         | Health care (general)  |
| 6            | 5          | 8          | 7          | The uninsured/access to health care/universal coverage                           |
| 3            | 3          | 4          | 4          | Health care costs  |
| 1            | 1          | 2          | 1          | Medicare/Elderly   |
| 1            | *          | 1          | 1          | Other Medicare mentions  |
| 5            | 3          | 7          | 5          | Other health care mentions   |
| 16           | 19         | 15         | 16         | Economic issues (Net)  |
| 5            | 5          | 4          | 5          | Economy (general)  |
| 4            | 4          | 5          | 4          | Jobs   |
| 3            | 2          | 2          | 3          | Poverty/homelessness   |
| 5            | 8          | 4          | 3          | Other economy mentions   |
| 12           | 13         | 9          | 16         | Immigration/illegal immigration  |
| 6            | 5          | 5          | 7          | Frustration with government/Corruption (Net)                                     |
| 1            | --         | 1          | 2          | Government ethics/scandals/corruption  |
| 1            | 1          | *          | 1          | Partisan politics/Party bickering  |
| 4            | 4          | 4          | 4          | Other frustration with government mentions                                       |
| 5            | 11         | 1          | 5          | Terrorism/National security (Net)  |
| 3            | 5          | 1          | 4          | National security  |
| 2            | 6          | 1          | 1          | Terrorism/war on terror  |
| 4            | 1          | 6          | 3          | Education/schools  |
| 4            | 6          | 3          | 3          | Taxes  |
| 4            | 3          | 4          | 4          | Gas prices/Energy (Net)  |
| 3            | 2          | 3          | 2          | Gas prices   |
| 1            | *          | 1          | 2          | Energy issues  |
| 3            | 4          | 4          | 2          | Social Security  |
| 3            | 4          | 3          | 3          | Budget deficit/national debt   |
| 2            | 2          | 3          | 3          | Foreign affairs/not Iraq (Net)   |
| 2            | 3          | 2          | 1          | Morality issues (including abortion, same-sex marriage, and stem cell research)) |
| 2            | 1          | 3          | 3          | Environmental issues/pollution/global warming                                    |
| 2            | 2          | 2          | 2          | Crime/violence   |
| 1            | 1          | 2          | 1          | Seniors/retirement issues (not Medicare/health care)                             |
| 6            | 8          | 5          | 6          | Other  |
| 10           | 9          | 7          | 10         | Don't know/Refused   |

*Note: Table will add to more than 100% due to multiple responses.*

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## **The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation**

Headquarters  
2400 Sand Hill Road  
Menlo Park, CA 94025  
Phone: (650) 854-9400 Fax: (650) 854-4800

Washington Offices and  
Barbara Jordan Conference Center  
1330 G Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 347-5270 Fax: (202) 347-5274

**[www.kff.org](http://www.kff.org)**

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