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

**December 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 November 28 through December 9, 2007, among a nationally representative random sample of 1,221 adults ages 18 and older, including 341 self-identified Republicans, 398 self-identified Democrats, and 378 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> Questions 1a, 1b, and 2b come from a parallel survey of a nationally representative random sample of 2,005 adults interviewed by telephone between November 28 and December 10, 2007, which has a margin of sampling error of plus or minus 3 percentage points. These questions were 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, and the public's top issues in their choice for president. In order to avoid biasing answers to any of these questions by asking them all of the same group, and to preserve a large enough sample for subgroup analysis, the questions were asked of separate samples on separate surveys.

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 RESPONDENT GIVES ONE ISSUE PROBE FOR SECOND:** Is there another issue you'd like to hear about?

<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
35	30	39	37	Iraq/War in Iraq
30	26	37	28	Health care (Net)
15	12	21	14	Health care (general)
8	4	9	8	The uninsured/access to health care/universal coverage
2	3	2	3	Health care costs
1	2	*	2	Medicare/Elderly
5	5	5	3	Other health care mentions
21	19	22	21	Economic issues (Net)
10	11	10	10	Economy (general)
4	3	5	5	Jobs
2	1	4	1	Poverty/homelessness
5	4	5	5	Other economy mentions
17	24	11	21	Immigration/illegal immigration
8	9	6	10	Taxes
7	8	4	7	Gas prices/Energy (Net)
5	7	3	3	Gas prices
2	2	*	3	Energy issues
6	6	8	4	Education/schools
6	12	2	5	Terrorism/National security (Net)
4	7	2	4	National security
2	6	1	1	Terrorism/war on terror
5	6	5	5	Social Security
5	10	3	2	Morality issues (Net)
3	7	2	1	Abortion
*	1	--	*	Same sex marriage/gay marriage
*	--	*	--	Stem cells
2	4	1	1	Other mentions moral issues, values issues
4	3	4	5	Foreign affairs/not Iraq (Net)
1	1	1	1	Middle East
*	*	*	*	Iran
3	1	3	4	Other foreign affairs mentions
3	2	2	3	Frustration with government/Corruption (Net)
1	1	1	1	Government ethics/scandals/corruption
*	*	--	--	Partisan politics/Party bickering
*	--	--	*	Campaigns/elections
1	1	1	2	Other frustration with government mentions
3	3	3	2	Budget deficit/national debt
2	*	3	4	Environmental issues/pollution/global warming
2	2	2	1	Crime/violence
1	*	1	1	Seniors/retirement issues (not Medicare/health care)
*	1	--	*	Local issues
6	6	5	5	Other
*	*	*	--	Nothing
13	10	13	12	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>	
41	47	35	43	Reducing the costs of health care and health insurance
31	19	42	29	Expanding health insurance coverage for the uninsured
14	14	13	15	Improving the quality of care and reducing medical errors
8	12	6	8	Reducing spending on government health programs like Medicare and Medicaid
2	4	*	2	None of these <b>(VOL.)</b>
2	1	2	1	Other issue <b>(VOL.)</b>
2	3	2	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)**

<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
22	9	38	18	Hillary Clinton
7	2	14	4	Barack Obama
5	9	2	4	Rudy Giuliani
3	6	1	3	Mitt Romney
3	2	3	3	John Edwards
2	5	*	1	Fred Thompson
2	4	*	1	Mike Huckabee
1	2	1	1	John McCain
1	1	--	1	Ron Paul
*	--	1	*	Dennis Kucinich
*	--	1	*	Joe Biden
*	1	*	*	Bill Richardson
*	--	--	*	Ralph Nader
*	1	--	1	Other candidate
1	--	2	1	Democratic candidate, non-specific
1	3	*	*	Republican candidate, non-specific
6	5	3	9	No candidate represents my views
19	20	13	25	Can't name a candidate
28	33	21	26	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**)

<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
39	33	47	39	Hillary Clinton
5	3	8	4	Barack Obama
3	3	2	4	John Edwards
2	4	1	1	Mitt Romney
1	2	*	2	Rudy Giuliani
1	--	2	1	Dennis Kucinich
*	*	--	*	Fred Thompson
*	1	*	*	John McCain
*	--	--	1	Ron Paul
*	1	--	--	Mike Huckabee
*	--	*	*	Bill Richardson
*	--	*	--	Joe Biden
*	--	--	*	George W. Bush
*	*	--	1	Other candidate
1	1	1	*	Democratic candidate, non-specific
*	1	*	*	Republican candidate, non-specific
4	3	2	6	No candidate is placing a big emphasis on health care
14	16	11	12	Can't name a candidate
29	32	25	29	Don't know/Refused

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>	
14	11	16	13	ONLY vote for a candidate who shares your views on health care (or)
70	72	72	70	Consider a candidate's position on health care as just one of many important factors (or)
10	12	9	12	Not see health care as a major issue in your vote (or)
6	5	4	6	<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>	
48	33	59	49	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
27	31	22	29	A new health plan that is more limited and would cover only some of the uninsured BUT would involve less new spending
15	26	12	12	Keeping things basically as they are?
10	9	7	10	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know/Refused

7. When thinking about rising health care costs, which ONE of the following concerns you most...  
**(READ AND RANDOMIZE)?**

<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
45	41	46	46	Increases in the amount people pay for their health insurance premiums and other out of pocket costs (or)
17	16	21	15	Increases in what the nation as a whole spends on health care (or)
13	14	12	15	Increases in spending on government health insurance programs like Medicare and Medicaid (or)
12	18	10	11	Increases in the health insurance premiums that employers pay to cover their workers (or)
2	2	2	3	All of these <b>(VOL.)</b>
4	4	2	5	None of these <b>(VOL.)</b>
7	6	7	5	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know/Refused

8. 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?

<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
13	17	12	14	Self-employed
40	38	41	41	Full-time for an employer
10	10	10	10	Part-time for an employer
20	20	24	17	Retired
8	7	5	12	Not employed
4	3	3	4	(VOL.) Homemaker
1	0	1	0	(VOL.) Student
4	4	4	2	(VOL.) Disabled
*	0	*	*	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know/Refused

9. 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)

<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
83	90	84	77	Yes, insured
16	10	15	23	No, not insured
1	0	*	*	Don't know/Refused

10. 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)?

**READ FOR FIRST ITEM AND THEN AS NECESSARY:** Are you very worried, somewhat worried, not too worried, or not at all worried?

	<u>Very Worried</u>	<u>Somewhat Worried</u>	<u>Not too Worried</u>	<u>Not at all Worried</u>	<u>DK/ Ref.</u>
a. Having to pay more for your health care or health insurance	41	32	13	13	1
b. Not being able to afford the health care services you think you need	35	30	15	19	1
c. The quality of health care services you receive getting worse	33	29	17	19	1
d. Not being able to afford the prescription drugs you need	31	26	19	24	*
e. Being the victim of a violent crime	21	25	31	22	1
f. Being the victim of a terrorist attack	22	29	26	23	1
g. Your income not keeping up with rising prices	46	28	13	13	*
h. Losing your savings in the stock market	21	17	17	42	2
i. Not being able to pay your rent or mortgage	27	20	19	33	*
<b><i>Item J based on those who are employed (n=694)</i></b>					
j. Losing your job	23	16	23	38	*
<b><i>Item K based on those who are employed and insured (n=603)</i></b>					
k. Having to stay in your current job instead of taking a new job for fear of losing health benefits	14	15	22	48	1
<b><i>Items L-M based on those who are insured (n=1,086)</i></b>					
l. Losing your health insurance coverage	29	22	21	27	1
m. Your HEALTH PLAN being more concerned about saving money for the plan than about what treatment is best for you	33	34	16	14	3



**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**

47 Male  
53 Female

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

17 18-29  
38 30-49  
25 50-64  
17 65 and older  
2 Undesignated

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

26 Republican  
34 Democrat  
30 Independent  
6 Other/None  
3 Don't know  
1 Refused

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

*Asked of those who say independent, other, none, don't know, refused to D3*

D3/D3B Combination table based on total

35 Republican/Lean Republican  
47 Democrat/Lean Democratic  
18 Refused to Lean

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

80 Yes  
19 No  
1 Don't know/Refused

- D4b. As you may know, states will be holding presidential primaries or caucuses over the next few months to select each party's nominee for president. I'd like you to rate the chances that you will vote in your state's upcoming presidential primary or caucus. Are you absolutely certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or less than that?

*Asked of Registered Voters (n=1,063)*

70	Absolutely certain to vote
14	Will probably vote
8	Chances are 50-50 I will vote
4	Less than that
2	Won't vote ( <b>VOL.</b> )
2	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know
*	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Refused

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

19	Liberal
39	Moderate
35	Conservative
6	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know
1	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Refused

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

4	None, or grade 1-8
9	High school incomplete (grades 9-11)
30	High school graduate (grade 12 or GED certificate)
5	Technical, trade or vocational school AFTER high school
24	Some college, no four-year degree (includes associate degree)
18	College graduate (B.S., B.A., or other four-year degree)
9	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?

55	Married
7	Living with a partner
10	Divorced
2	Separated
7	Widowed
18	Never been married
1	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?)**

72	White, Non Hispanic
26	Total Non-White
10	Black or African-American
11	Hispanic
3	Asian
2	Other or mixed race
2	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)**

14	Less than \$20,000
12	\$20,000 to less than \$30,000
20	\$30,000 to less than \$50,000
13	\$50,000 to less than \$75,000
11	\$75,000 to less than \$100,000
13	\$100,000 or more
6	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't know
11	<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Refused

# SUPPLEMENTAL SURVEY QUESTIONS (See Methodology on page 1 for more details)

Q1a. To begin... What do you think is the most important problem for the President and Congress to address? **IF R GIVES ONE PROBLEM ASK:** Is there another problem you think is almost as important for the President and Congress to address? (**OPEN-END**)

*Asked of one half sample (Form A)*

<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
46	38	54	46	Iraq/War in Iraq
24	21	30	23	Health care (Net)
12	11	14	13	Health care (general)
5	3	8	3	The uninsured/access to health care/universal coverage
3	4	3	3	Health care costs
1	2	2	0	Medicare/Elderly
3	2	3	3	Other health care mentions
22	20	26	16	Economic issues (Net)
11	10	15	7	Economy (general)
4	3	3	6	Jobs
2	1	3	1	Poverty/homelessness
5	6	6	3	Other economy mentions
15	23	8	19	Immigration/illegal immigration
8	6	9	9	Gas prices/Energy (Net)
6	5	7	7	Gas prices
2	2	1	2	Energy issues
7	15	3	6	Terrorism/National security (Net)
4	9	2	4	National security
2	5	0	3	Terrorism/war on terror
5	6	3	8	Frustration with government/Corruption (Net)
1	1	1	1	Government ethics/scandals/corruption
1	1	0	2	Partisan politics/Party bickering
4	5	2	5	Other frustration with government mentions
5	8	3	7	Taxes
4	2	5	2	Education/schools
3	4	3	3	Social Security
3	4	2	5	Budget deficit/national debt
3	4	3	3	Foreign affairs/not Iraq (Net)
*	1	1	0	Middle East
2	3	2	3	Other foreign affairs mentions
2	1	3	2	Environmental issues/pollution/global warming
2	5	1	1	Morality issues (Net)
1	3	0	1	Abortion
*	1	*	0	Same sex marriage/gay marriage
*	1	*	*	Moral issues (general)
*	1	*	*	Other mentions moral issues, values issues
2	1	3	1	Crime/violence
1	1	1	0	Seniors/retirement issues (not Medicare/health care)
6	5	6	6	Other
13	10	10	13	Don't know/Refused
(n=993)	(n=261)	(n=366)	(n=266)	

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

Q.1b Thinking ahead to the November 2008 presidential election, what is the single most important issue in your choice for president? **IF R GIVES ONE ISSUE ASK:** Is there one other issue that's nearly as important? **(OPEN-END)**

*Asked of one half sample (Form B)*

<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
<b>29</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>30</b>	Iraq/War in Iraq
<b>21</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>22</b>	<u>Economic issues (Net)</u>
15	14	14	17	Economy (general)
3	3	5	2	<u>Jobs (Subnet)</u>
1	0	1	*	Poverty/homelessness
3	2	5	3	Other economy mentions
<b>21</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>20</b>	<u>Health care (Net)</u>
13	11	18	13	Health care (general)
3	2	5	2	The uninsured/access to health care/universal coverage
2	2	4	2	<u>Health care costs (Subnet)</u>
1	1	1	1	<u>Medicare/Elderly (Subnet)</u>
1	2	1	2	Other health care mentions
<b>12</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>16</b>	Immigration/illegal immigration
<b>11</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<u>Frustration with government/Corruption (Net)</u>
7	11	5	7	Government ethics/scandals/corruption
*	*	1	*	Partisan politics/Party bickering
3	4	3	2	Other frustration with government mentions
<b>8</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>	<u>Terrorism/National security (Net)</u>
7	12	3	8	National security
1	3	*	1	Terrorism/war on terror
<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	Taxes
<b>5</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<u>Morality issues (Net)</u>
2	3	*	2	Abortion
1	2	0	1	Same sex marriage/gay marriage
1	2	0	0	Moral issues (general)
3	8	*	2	Other mentions moral issues, values issues
<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	Education/schools
<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<u>Gas prices/Energy (Net)</u>
4	4	4	3	Gas prices
1	0	1	*	Energy issues
<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<u>Foreign affairs/not Iraq (Net)</u>
*	*	1	*	Middle East
4	4	3	4	Other foreign affairs mentions
<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	Social Security
<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	Environmental issues/pollution/global warming
<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	Budget deficit/national debt
<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>*</b>	Crime/violence
<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	Seniors/retirement issues (not Medicare/health care)
<b>11</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>	Other
<b>17</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>15</b>	Don't know/Refused
(n=1,012)	(n=287)	(n=311)	(n=317)	

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

- Q2a. Overall, which of the following will be MOST important when you decide who to vote for. Will it be...(ROTATE: (the candidates' stands on the issues) or (your perception of the candidates' leadership abilities, character, values, and experience)?

*Asked of one half sample (Form B)*

<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
46	37	53	49	The candidates' stands on the issues
45	57	39	42	Perceptions of the candidates
10	5	8	9	(DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused
(n=1,012)	(n=287)	(n=311)	(n=317)	



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