Medicare Eligibility and Reported Support for Proposals to Expand Medicare

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Additional Analyses

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Note: For all survey weights in this document, we used the “commonweight” of the Cooperative Election Study (CES). This specific weight is tuned to represent the attitudes and behaviors of all U.S. adults, rather than just voters or registered voters. In election years, it applies to items in the CES pre-election surveys, and all policy questions we use appeared in pre-election surveys.

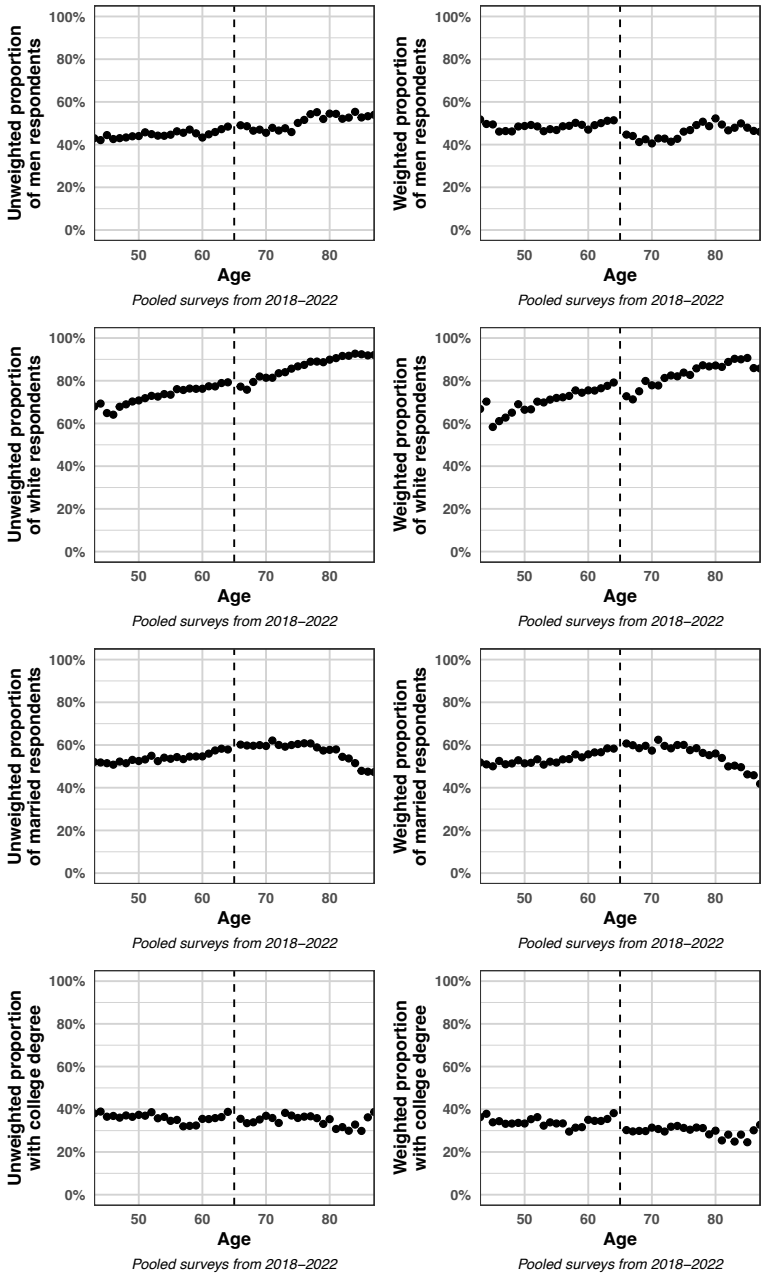

Figure A1. Assessment of discontinuities in demographics at 65 years of age.

Notes: Binned scatterplots of pooled responses to the 2018–2022 waves of the Cooperative Election Study. Respondents were grouped as man/male vs. any other gender, non-Hispanic white vs. any other race/ethnicity, married vs. any other relationship status, and having a college or graduate degree vs. less than college. Plots with and without survey weights are provided to show the discontinuities generated by including survey weights. Given these discontinuities, the paper's main models do not use weights. The dashed line indicates 65 years, i.e. the typical age of Medicare eligibility. Respondents who turned 65 during the survey year were excluded.

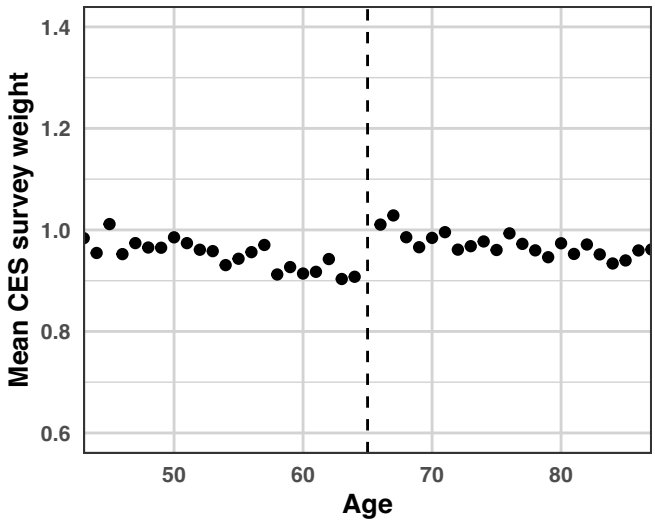

Figure A2. Assessment of discontinuities in survey weights at 65 years of age.

Notes: Binned scatterplots of pooled responses to the 2018–2022 waves of the Cooperative Election Study. Each point provides the mean survey weight ("commonweight") for that age. This plot shows the discontinuity in weighting at 65 years of age, which may explain the demographic discontinuities observed in the weighted graphs of **Figure A1**. Given these discontinuities, the paper's main models do not use weights. The dashed line indicates 65 years, i.e. the typical age of Medicare eligibility. Respondents who turned 65 during the survey year were excluded.

Table A1. Weighted specifications of the main models.

	Reported outcome (ie, coverage or support)									
	Public health insurance coverage		**Expand Medicare to "all Americans"**		**Allow a public option in Medicare**		**Lower Medicare eligibility age to 50 y**		**Allow government to negotiate drug prices**	
	Unweighted	**Weighted**	**Unweighted**	**Weighted**	**Unweighted**	**Weighted**	**Unweighted**	**Weighted**	**Unweighted**	**Weighted**
Adjusted difference at 65 y, pp	**41.3**	**40.5**	**–0.9**	**–1.3**	**–8.0**	**–9.2**	**1.2**	**2.4**	**1.2**	**1.0**
Conventional 95% CI	(38.3 to 44.3)	(36.8 to 44.2)	(–2.8 to 1.1)	(–4.5 to 1.8)	(–14.9 to –1.0)	(–17.4 to –0.9)	(–3.2 to 5.6)	(–3.2 to 7.9)	(–0.3 to 2.7)	(–1.3 to 3.3)
Conventional *P* value	P<0.001	P<0.001	P=0.37	P=0.40	P=0.02	P=0.03	P=0.60	P=0.41	P=0.11	P=0.39
Robust bias-corrected 95% CI	(36.5 to 43.6)	(34.6 to 43.6)	(–3.6 to 1.3)	(–6.1 to 1.5)	(–18.3 to –0.8)	(–21.6 to –1.0)	(–2.4 to 7.9)	(–2.1 to 10.5)	(–0.7 to 3.1)	(–2.0 to 4.1)
Robust bias-corrected *P* value	P<0.001	P<0.001	P=0.36	P=0.23	P=0.03	P=0.03	P=0.29	P=0.19	P=0.22	P=0.51
MSE-optimal bandwidth	3.5	4.5	8.0	6.3	7.0	7.0	5.2	6.0	9.1	8.6
Effective sample size	25,305	33,640	64,616	49,532	4,878	4,878	14,274	16,949	39,565	35,694
Years when polled	2018–2022	2018–2022	2018–2022	2018–2022	2019	2019	2019–2020	2019–2020	2020 & 2022	2020 & 2022

Notes: Re-estimations of the main models with survey weights. The unweighted models are provided for comparison. See main text for full details.

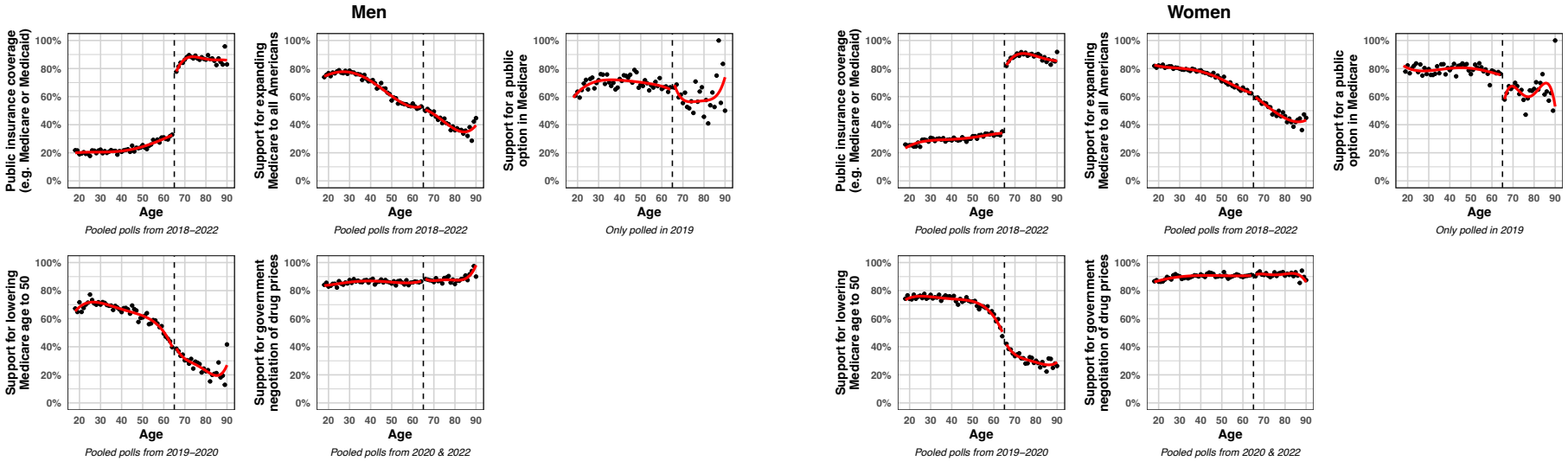

Figure A3. Subgroup figures for men and women.

Notes: Binned scatterplots of responses by gender. “Non-binary”/“other” genders had too few respondents for separate analyses.

Table A2. Subgroup regression discontinuity models for men.

	Reported outcome (ie, coverage or support)									
	Public health insurance coverage		Expand Medicare to "all Americans"		Allow a public option in Medicare		Lower Medicare eligibility age to 50 y		Allow government to negotiate drug prices	
	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted
Adjusted difference at 65 y, pp	**41.2**	**38.3**	**–0.3**	**–2.0**	**4.6**	**4.6**	**2.3**	**3.1**	**2.0**	**2.1**
Conventional 95% CI	(37.6 to 44.8)	(33.3 to 43.3)	(–3.0 to 2.4)	(–6.3 to 2.3)	(–4.8 to 14.0)	(–6.0 to 15.2)	(–3.1 to 7.7)	(–4.2 to 10.4)	(–0.6 to 4.5)	(–1.1 to 5.3)
Conventional *P* value	P<0.001	P<0.001	P=0.83	P=0.35	P=0.34	P=0.39	P=0.40	P=0.40	P=0.13	P=0.20
Robust bias-corrected 95% CI	(35.6 to 44.3)	(30.8 to 42.9)	(–4.2 to 2.7)	(–8.4 to 2.3)	(–5.5 to 18.6)	(–8.3 to 19.6)	(–2.9 to 10.5)	(–4.8 to 13.7)	(–1.1 to 5.7)	(–1.8 to 6.3)
Robust bias-corrected *P* value	P<0.001	P<0.001	P=0.66	P=0.27	P=0.29	P=0.43	P=0.27	P=0.35	P=0.18	P=0.28
MSE-optimal bandwidth	4.5	5.6	8.3	7.4	7.5	7.7	6.5	7.1	7.5	11.1
Effective sample size	15,857	19,466	30,094	26,666	2,323	2,323	7,777	9,026	14,843	21,576
Years when polled	2018–2022	2018–2022	2018–2022	2018–2022	2019	2019	2019–2020	2019–2020	2020 & 2022	2020 & 2022

Table A3. Subgroup regression discontinuity models for women.

	Reported outcome (ie, coverage or support)									
	Public health insurance coverage		Expand Medicare to "all Americans"		Allow a public option in Medicare		Lower Medicare eligibility age to 50 y		Allow government to negotiate drug prices	
	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted
Adjusted difference at 65 y, pp	**43.7**	**44.0**	**–1.2**	**–1.2**	**–20.1**	**–20.7**	**–0.6**	**0.9**	**–0.6**	**–0.3**
Conventional 95% CI	(40.3 to 47.2)	(39.4 to 48.6)	(–3.7 to 1.2)	(–4.8 to 2.4)	(–31.5 to –8.8)	(–34.2 to –7.2)	(–6.5 to 5.2)	(–6.6 to 8.4)	(–3.2 to 1.9)	(–3.2 to 2.6)
Conventional *P* value	P<0.001	P<0.001	P=0.33	P=0.52	P=0.001	P=0.003	P=0.84	P=0.82	P=0.63	P=0.84
Robust bias-corrected 95% CI	(38.3 to 46.5)	(37.0 to 47.8)	(–4.4 to 1.9)	(–6.5 to 2.8)	(–37.5 to –6.7)	(–40.6 to –3.9)	(–5.3 to 8.2)	(–5.6 to 12.0)	(–4.4 to 1.8)	(–4.0 to 3.7)
Robust bias-corrected *P* value	P<0.001	P<0.001	P=0.44	P=0.44	P=0.005	P=0.02	P=0.68	P=0.48	P=0.40	P=0.94
MSE-optimal bandwidth	4.3	4.8	8.9	7.8	5.4	5.7	5.5	6.0	6.1	8.4
Effective sample size	17,734	17,734	34,435	30,481	1,862	1,862	7,725	7,725	14,400	18,986
Years when polled	2018–2022	2018–2022	2018–2022	2018–2022	2019	2019	2019–2020	2019–2020	2020 & 2022	2020 & 2022

Notes: Re-estimations of the main models by gender. "Non-binary"/"other" genders had too few respondents for separate analyses.

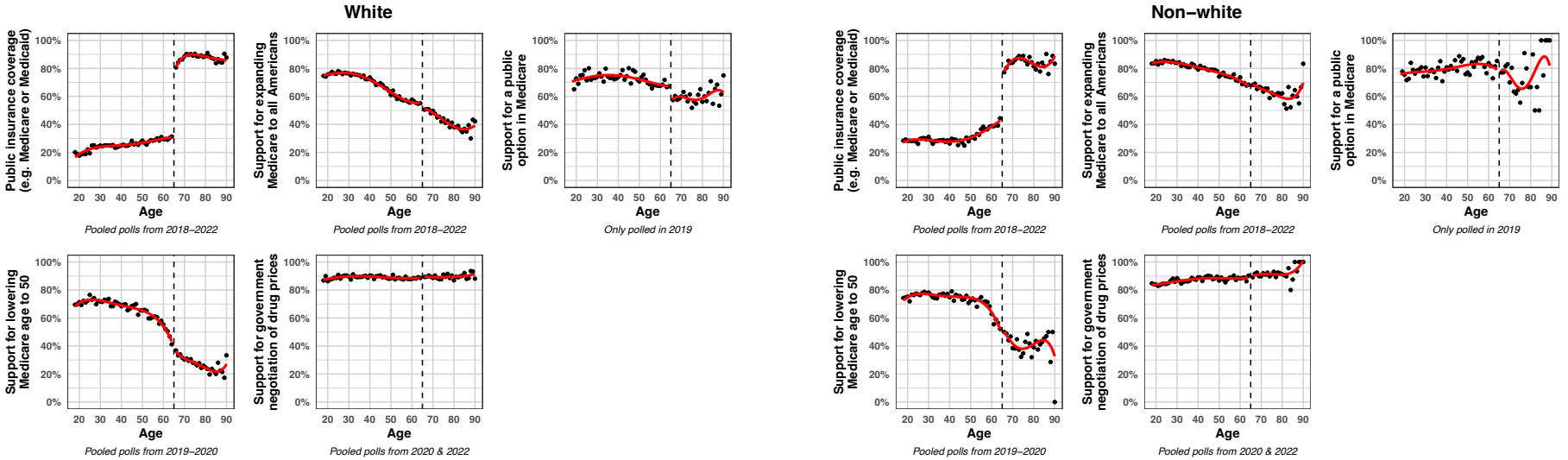

Figure A4. Subgroup figures for white and non-white respondents.

Notes: Binned scatterplots of responses by race/ethnicity. Respondents were grouped as non-Hispanic white vs. any other race/ethnicity.

Table A4. Subgroup regression discontinuity models for white respondents.

	Reported outcome (ie, coverage or support)									
	Public health insurance coverage		Expand Medicare to "all Americans"		Allow a public option in Medicare		Lower Medicare eligibility age to 50 y		Allow government to negotiate drug prices	
	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted
Adjusted difference at 65 y, pp	**45.5**	**46.5**	**–2.8**	**–4.0**	**–10.1**	**–9.4**	**–0.5**	**0.1**	**1.2**	**1.3**
Conventional 95% CI	(42.3 to 48.7)	(43.3 to 49.6)	(–5.0 to –0.5)	(–7.0 to –1.0)	(–17.5 to –2.8)	(–17.3 to –1.5)	(–5.3 to 4.4)	(–5.4 to 5.6)	(–0.4 to 2.7)	(–1.0 to 3.7)
Conventional *P* value	P<0.001	P<0.001	P=0.01	P=0.01	P=0.007	P=0.02	P=0.85	P=0.97	P=0.14	P=0.27
Robust bias-corrected 95% CI	(40.7 to 48.1)	(41.7 to 49.1)	(–6.1 to –0.4)	(–8.5 to –1.0)	(–20.7 to –2.0)	(–20.8 to –1.1)	(–4.2 to 6.7)	(–4.1 to 8.3)	(–0.8 to 3.1)	(–1.2 to 4.8)
Robust bias-corrected *P* value	P<0.001	P<0.001	P=0.03	P=0.01	P=0.02	P=0.03	P=0.66	P=0.51	P=0.25	P=0.23
MSE-optimal bandwidth	4.0	5.2	7.6	6.9	8.3	8.9	5.5	5.5	10.7	8.6
Effective sample size	26,376	32,771	44,912	38,827	4,009	4,009	10,796	10,796	33,521	27,574
Years when polled	2018–2022	2018–2022	2018–2022	2018–2022	2019	2019	2019–2020	2019–2020	2020 & 2022	2020 & 2022

Table A5. Subgroup regression discontinuity models for non-white respondents.

	Reported outcome (ie, coverage or support)									
	Public health insurance coverage		Expand Medicare to "all Americans"		Allow a public option in Medicare		Lower Medicare eligibility age to 50 y		Allow government to negotiate drug prices	
	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted
Adjusted difference at 65 y, pp	**31.4**	**26.0**	**2.5**	**–2.0**	**–14.3**	**–16.9**	**2.0**	**4.6**	**1.3**	**–4.9**
Conventional 95% CI	(26.9 to 35.9)	(17.2 to 34.8)	(–1.4 to 6.3)	(–8.4 to 4.5)	(–30.4 to 1.8)	(–37.0 to 3.2)	(–5.2 to 9.1)	(–6.8 to 16.1)	(–1.8 to 4.4)	(–12.5 to 2.7)
Conventional *P* value	P<0.001	P<0.001	P=0.21	P=0.55	P=0.08	P=0.10	P=0.59	P=0.43	P=0.41	P=0.21
Robust bias-corrected 95% CI	(24.7 to 35.1)	(12.4 to 33.9)	(–2.2 to 7.7)	(–11.7 to 4.4)	(–41.3 to 1.0)	(–49.9 to 3.1)	(–4.9 to 12.9)	(–12.1 to 18.0)	(–3.0 to 5.1)	(–16.9 to 2.3)
Robust bias-corrected *P* value	P<0.001	P<0.001	P=0.28	P=0.38	P=0.06	P=0.08	P=0.38	P=0.70	P=0.62	P=0.14
MSE-optimal bandwidth	6.1	5.7	8.1	7.8	4.4	5.2	7.2	7.5	8.8	5.6
Effective sample size	10,729	9,028	13,872	12,313	775	952	4,710	4,710	8,120	5,305
Years when polled	2018–2022	2018–2022	2018–2022	2018–2022	2019	2019	2019–2020	2019–2020	2020 & 2022	2020 & 2022

Notes: Re-estimations of the main models by race/ethnicity. Respondents were grouped as non-Hispanic white vs. any other race/ethnicity.

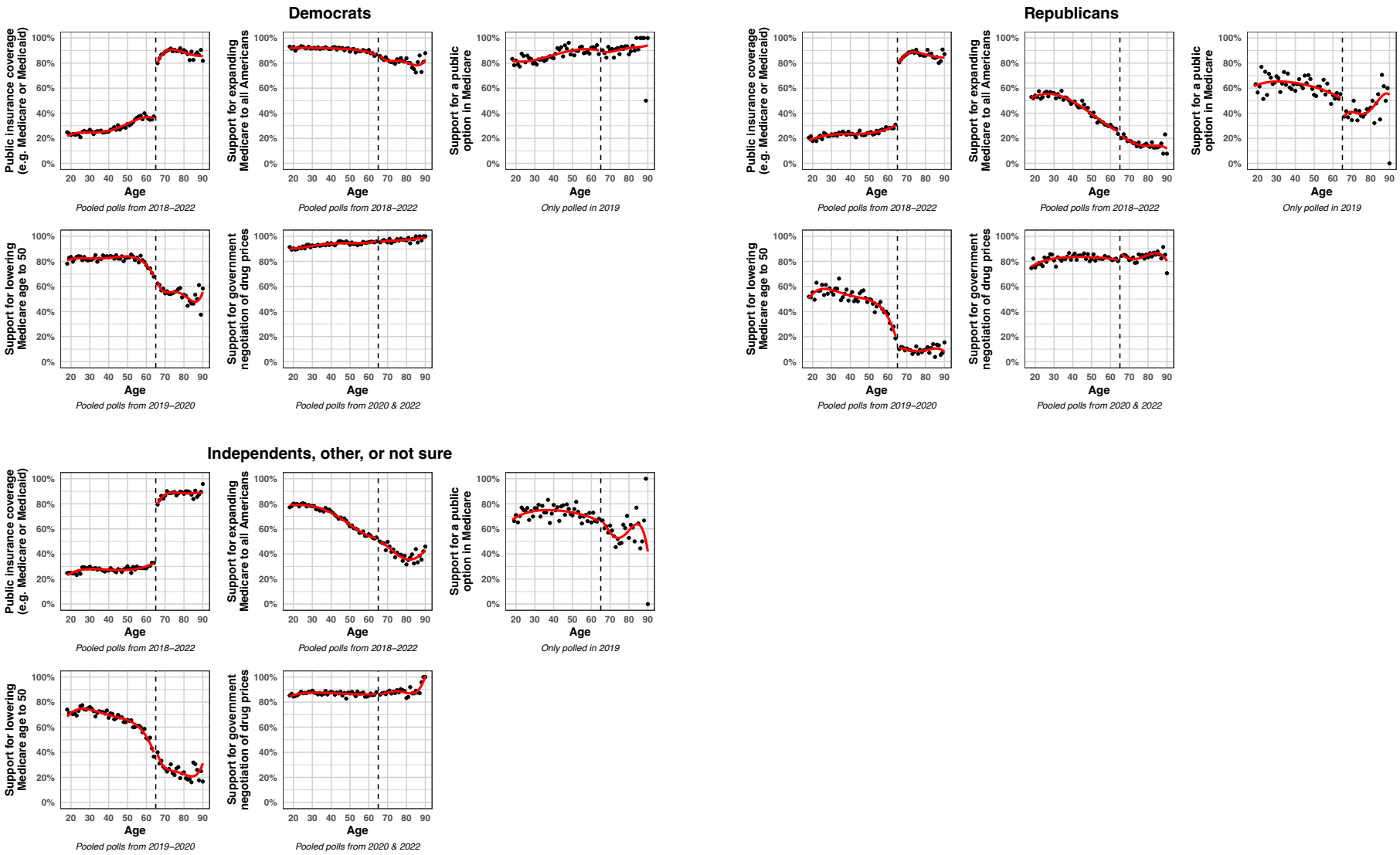

Figure A5. Subgroup figures by partisan identification.

Notes: Binned scatterplots of responses by party identification.

Table A6. Subgroup regression discontinuity models for Democrats.

	Reported outcome (ie, coverage or support)									
	Public health insurance coverage		Expand Medicare to "all Americans"		Allow a public option in Medicare		Lower Medicare eligibility age to 50 y		Allow government to negotiate drug prices	
	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted
Adjusted difference at 65 y, pp	**38.7**	**38.5**	**0.3**	**–1.1**	**–1.5**	**–3.4**	**–1.8**	**2.5**	**–0.1**	**–2.5**
Conventional 95% CI	(34.5 to 42.9)	(33.3 to 43.6)	(–2.2 to 2.7)	(–3.9 to 1.7)	(–8.3 to 5.2)	(–11.7 to 4.9)	(–8.1 to 4.4)	(–5.2 to 10.2)	(–1.7 to 1.5)	(–6.4 to 1.4)
Conventional *P* value	P<0.001	P<0.001	P=0.84	P=0.43	P=0.66	P=0.42	P=0.56	P=0.53	P=0.87	P=0.21
Robust bias-corrected 95% CI	(32.1 to 42.1)	(30.6 to 42.8)	(–2.5 to 3.9)	(–4.0 to 3.0)	(–9.3 to 8.2)	(–13.4 to 7.7)	(–8.0 to 7.8)	(–4.8 to 14.6)	(–2.1 to 2.0)	(–8.3 to 2.1)
Robust bias-corrected *P* value	P<0.001	P<0.001	P=0.67	P=0.79	P=0.90	P=0.60	P=0.98	P=0.32	P=0.98	P=0.24
MSE-optimal bandwidth	4.3	5.8	6.7	8.6	8.6	8.8	5.9	6.5	8.9	7.4
Effective sample size	12,883	16,001	18,840	24,397	1,921	1,921	5,517	6,519	13,958	12,358
Years when polled	2018–2022	2018–2022	2018–2022	2018–2022	2019	2019	2019–2020	2019–2020	2020 & 2022	2020 & 2022

Table A7. Subgroup regression discontinuity models for Republicans.

	Reported outcome (ie, coverage or support)									
	Public health insurance coverage		Expand Medicare to "all Americans"		Allow a public option in Medicare		Lower Medicare eligibility age to 50 y		Allow government to negotiate drug prices	
	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted	Unweighted	Weighted
Adjusted difference at 65 y, pp	**48.3**	**47.5**	**–1.3**	**1.3**	**–17.0**	**–19.3**	**–5.4**	**–2.1**	**6.3**	**9.1**
Conventional 95% CI	(44.7 to 51.9)	(42.9 to 52.2)	(–4.3 to 1.7)	(–2.9 to 5.5)	(–28.0 to –5.9)	(–32.0 to –6.5)	(–10.4 to –0.3)	(–9.4 to 5.3)	(2.4 to 10.3)	(4.3 to 13.9)
Conventional *P* value	P<0.001	P<0.001	P=0.38	P=0.54	P=0.003	P=0.003	P=0.04	P=0.58	P=0.002	P<0.001
Robust bias-corrected 95% CI	(43.0 to 51.7)	(40.6 to 52.1)	(–4.3 to 3.0)	(–3.0 to 7.4)	(–33.0 to –5.5)	(–38.0 to –6.6)	(–10.4 to 2.2)	(–8.2 to 9.0)	(2.8 to 12.2)	(4.9 to 16.5)
Robust bias-corrected *P* value	P<0.001	P<0.001	P=0.73	P=0.40	P=0.006	P=0.005	P=0.20	P=0.93	P=0.002	P<0.001
MSE-optimal bandwidth	6.1	6.8	8.0	8.6	8.3	8.2	6.4	6.2	7.0	6.3
Effective sample size	14,673	14,673	19,241	19,241	1,753	1,753	4,991	4,991	7,865	7,865
Years when polled	2018–2022	2018–2022	2018–2022	2018–2022	2019	2019	2019–2020	2019–2020	2020 & 2022	2020 & 2022

Notes: Re-estimations of the main models by party identification.

Table A8. Subgroup regression discontinuity models for independents, other parties, or not sure.

	Reported outcome (ie, coverage or support)									
	Public health insurance coverage		Expand Medicare to "all Americans"		Allow a public option in Medicare		Lower Medicare eligibility age to 50 y		Allow government to negotiate drug prices	
	Unweighted	**Weighted**	**Unweighted**	**Weighted**	**Unweighted**	**Weighted**	**Unweighted**	**Weighted**	**Unweighted**	**Weighted**
Adjusted difference at 65 y, pp	**43.3**	**40.2**	**–1.5**	**–2.8**	**0.3**	**–5.2**	**13.6**	**0.2**	**–1.4**	**–2.2**
Conventional 95% CI	(39.0 to 47.5)	(33.9 to 46.5)	(–4.9 to 1.9)	(–7.7 to 2.1)	(–12.4 to 13.0)	(–22.1 to 11.7)	(3.7 to 23.4)	(–8.9 to 9.2)	(–5.0 to 2.2)	(–6.9 to 2.5)
Conventional *P* value	P<0.001	P<0.001	P=0.38	P=0.26	P=0.96	P=0.55	P=0.007	P=0.97	P=0.44	P=0.37
Robust bias-corrected 95% CI	(36.8 to 47.2)	(30.6 to 46.0)	(–6.3 to 2.4)	(–9.7 to 2.7)	(–16.3 to 17.1)	(–29.9 to 14.7)	(5.5 to 28.4)	(–8.5 to 13.5)	(–6.7 to 2.2)	(–8.9 to 3.0)
Robust bias-corrected *P* value	P<0.001	P<0.001	P=0.38	P=0.26	P=0.97	P=0.50	P=0.004	P=0.65	P=0.32	P=0.33
MSE-optimal bandwidth	4.7	5.4	8.1	8.3	7.0	6.7	4.1	6.5	6.6	8.4
Effective sample size	10,895	13,507	20,968	20,968	1,392	1,392	3,667	5,439	8,673	11,339
Years when polled	2018–2022	2018–2022	2018–2022	2018–2022	2019	2019	2019–2020	2019–2020	2020 & 2022	2020 & 2022

Notes: Re-estimations of the main models by party identification.