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The Future of Health Care after Repeal and Replace is Pulled: Millennials Speak Out about Health Care

A summary of key findings from the first-of-its-kind monthly survey of racially and ethnically diverse young adults

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Gen FORWARD



black youth project

Millennials Speak Out about Health Care

GenForward: A survey of the Black Youth Project with the
AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research.

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Reports and topline of the GenForward surveys by the
Black Youth Project are available at:

www.GenForwardSurvey.com

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i. Black Youth Project and the GenForward Survey

For over 10 years, the Black Youth Project (BYP), housed at the Center for the Study of Race, Politics, and Culture at the University of Chicago, has dedicated its work to understanding the challenges and opportunities faced by young people of color in the contemporary United States. We are committed to disaggregating the larger category often labeled Millennials because our previous research has shown important differences in lived experiences and political attitudes among young adults of different racial and ethnic backgrounds.¹ We continue this mission with our GenForward surveys.

GenForward is a survey of the Black Youth Project at the University of Chicago with the Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research. The GenForward Survey is the first of its kind—a nationally representative survey of over 1750 young adults ages 18-30 conducted bimonthly that pays special attention to how race and ethnicity influence how young adults or Millennials experience and think about the world. Given the importance of race and ethnicity for shaping the diverse perspectives and lived experiences of young people, we believe researchers make a mistake when they present data on young adults in a manner that assumes a monolithic Millennial generation and young adult vote.

Millennials now represent the largest generation of Americans, and they are by far the most racially and ethnically diverse generation in the country.² About 19 percent of millennials identify as Latino or Hispanic, 13 percent as Black or African American, and 6 percent as Asian American. Thus, to fully understand how young adults think about elections and politicians, issues such as terrorism or gun violence, as well as their economic futures and race relations, we have to apply an intersectional lens and pay attention to characteristics such as race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality. In this report, we provide an extensive analysis of young adults' attitudes about health care, the Affordable Care Act, and their health care policy preferences for the future.

The report reflects the Black Youth Project's sustained commitment to *knowledge, voice* and *action* among young people, in particular young people of color. We create *knowledge* by detailing the real-life experiences of young people and how their perspectives and preferences differ based on their race and ethnicity. We help amplify their *voices* by providing platforms and opportunities for young people to weigh in on

¹ See, for example, our previous report, *Black Millennials in America* (available at http://blackyouthproject.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/BYP_ReportDesign04b_Dec03_HiRes.pdf).

² See: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/03/31/10-demographic-trends-that-are-shaping-the-u-s-and-the-world/>.

the issues most important to them. Finally, we present our data in an accessible form to multiple constituencies with the hope that our findings will contribute to a call to *action* to bring about change rooted in the ways young people of color experience contemporary America and imagine a more equal and just future.

ii. Key Findings



- > Young adults are widely supportive of the federal government's role in helping provide Americans with health insurance. For example, 79% of African Americans, 80% of Asian Americans, 74% of Latino/as, and 59% of whites believe that it is the responsibility of the federal government to make sure all Americans have health care coverage.
- > Young adults of color give widespread approval to the Affordable Care Act: 83% of African Americans, 78% of Asian Americans, and 68% of Latino/as approve of the ACA. A majority of young whites (55%) also approves of the Affordable Care Act but are more measured in their support. Overall, young adults appear more supportive—63% approval among 18-30-year-olds—of the Affordable Care Act than the general population; the ACA gets approval from approximately 49% of the general population.
- > Large differences exist across race and ethnicity in attitudes toward the repeal of the Affordable Care Act. For example, while 36% of whites want to see the ACA repealed, only 17% of Latino/as, 15% of Asian Americans, and 11% of African Americans Millennials favor a repeal of the ACA.
- > Views about Obamacare vary dramatically by partisanship within and across racial groups. For example, 81% of white Democrats approve of the ACA, compared to only 17% of white Republicans, a gap of 64 percentage points.
- > There is little support for a single payer health care system among Millennials. Only 39% of Millennials overall support single payer health care, which is similar to the level of support for this policy among the general population (38%), according to a recent AP-NORC survey.

Millennials Speak Out about Health Care

I. General Views about Health Care

In 2010 following a long and contentious public debate, President Obama and the Democratic-controlled Congress passed the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, or what came to be known as Obamacare. Now, following the election of President Trump and with Republicans holding a firm grasp on Congress, Republicans have failed to repeal and replace Obamacare with their own health care plan.

Largely missing from the public debate over health care policy are the views of young adults, and especially the views of young adults of color. The Affordable Care Act is premised on the individual mandate which requires the active participation of young adults in the health insurance marketplace. And while the freshly proposed alternative from the Republican Congress would have likely lowered premiums for younger adults in particular, it was never made clear from politicians, journalists or even policy advocates what young Americans thought about the Affordable Care Act and Republican efforts to repeal and replace Obamacare. We believe it is imperative that policy makers include the preferences of young adults in any conversation about the future of America's health care system, since their participation as young and relatively healthy members of any pool is necessary to keep health insurance prices under control. In fact, our data indicates that health care is an issue of top priority for young adults: 30% of Asian Americans, 29% of whites, 25% of African Americans, and 23% of Latino/as identify health care as one of the three most important problems facing the country today.

It is especially important to consider how young adult's perspectives toward health care vary across racial and ethnic groups, as young adults of color (African Americans and Latino/as in particular) face greater health challenges than do young whites. For example, data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) indicate that young African Americans and Latino/as (ages 18-24) have lower self-reported evaluations of their own health compared to white young adults. And other data (from the United States Census Bureau) shows that young adult African Americans and

Latino/as have lower enrollments in health insurance than young whites.³

In addition to analyzing differences across race and ethnicity, this report also looks at differences between Democrats, Republicans, and Independents in preferences about health care. For young adults of color—African Americans, Latino/as and Asian Americans, few of whom identify explicitly with the Republican Party—we distinguish Democratic Party identifiers (including those who lean toward the Democratic Party) from non-Democrats (e.g., pure Independents and Republicans).⁴ Our data contain 325 Latino/a Democrats and 176 Latino/a non-Democrats, 388 African American Democrats and 121 African American non-Democrats, and 195 Asian American Democrats and 75 Asian American non-Democrats. For young whites, we compare health care attitudes between Democrats, Independents, and Republicans. Our data contain 262 white Democrats, 70 white Independents, and 171 white Republicans.

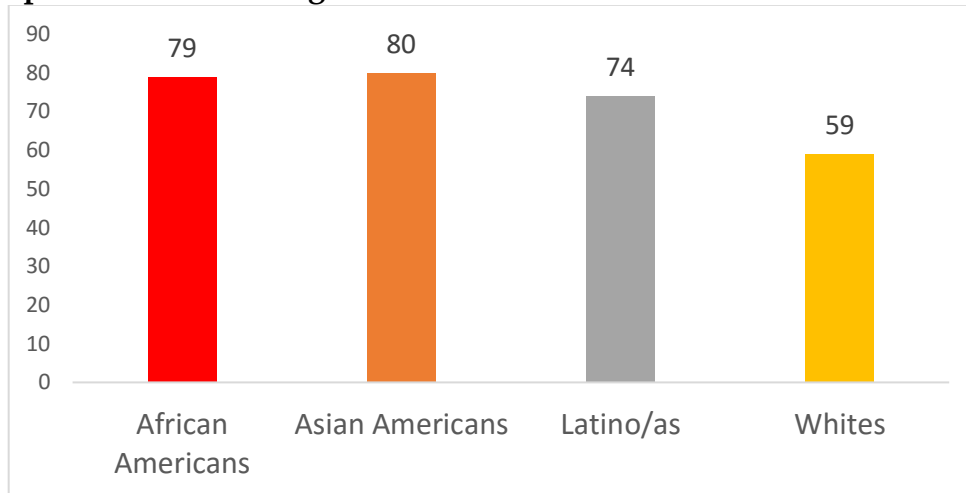
We start this report with a focus on the general attitudes of young adults about health care and then later proceed to outline how Millennials feel about the Affordable Care Act. Given that the House of Representatives was unable to agree on a bill to repeal and replace Obamacare, attention to how young adults feel about the Affordable Care Act at this moment seems especially important. But we begin our discussion of health care by asking: what do young adults think about the role of the federal government in ensuring health care coverage?

First, Figure 1 shows that large majorities (79% of African Americans, 80% of Asian Americans, and 74% of Latino/as) of young adults of color believe it is the federal government's responsibility to ensure health care coverage for all Americans. A majority of young whites (59%) also believes it is the government's responsibility to make sure Americans have health care coverage, yet young whites are considerably less likely to endorse this idea than young adults of color.

³ See our previous report, [Black Millennials in America](#), for these and other statistics about the health challenges facing young adults of color.

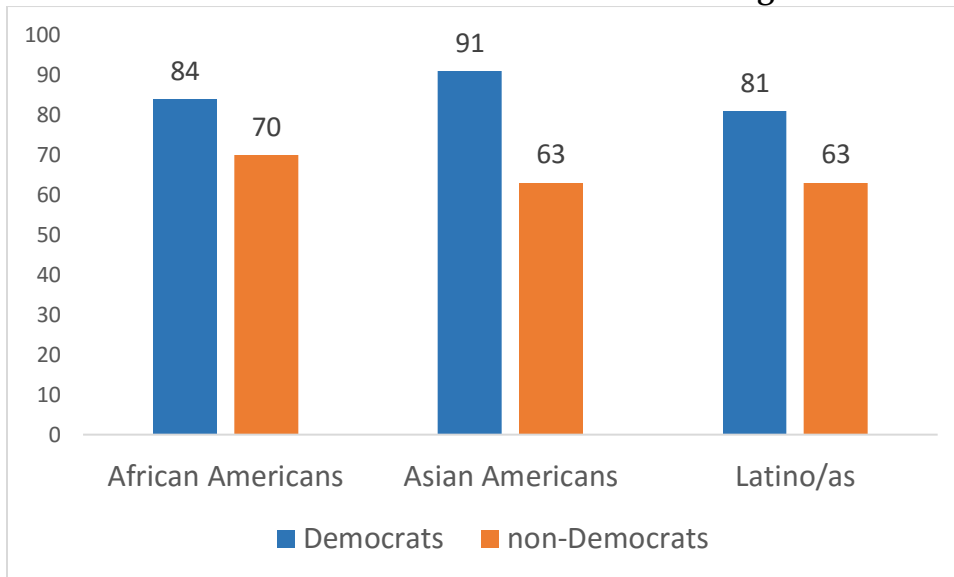
⁴ Only 8% of African Americans, 20% of Asian Americans, and 14% of Latino/as identify with or lean towards the Republican Party, compared to 34% of whites.

Figure 1. Percentage of Young Adults Who Think the Federal Government is Responsible for Making Sure all Americans have Health Care Coverage



As Figure 2 shows, we find consistent differences in beliefs between African American, Asian American and Latino/a Democrats and non-Democrats about the responsibility of the federal government to make health care accessible. The differences that exist between Democratic and non-Democratic identifiers are consistently large: among African Americans, Democrats are 14 percentage points more supportive than non-Democrats of the idea that the federal government is responsible for making sure all Americans have health care coverage. We also find a 28 percentage point difference among Asian Americans and an 18 percentage point difference among Latino/as. But, **even for young adults of color who are *not* Democrats, we still find that majorities believe the that the federal government is responsible for ensuring all Americans have health care coverage.**

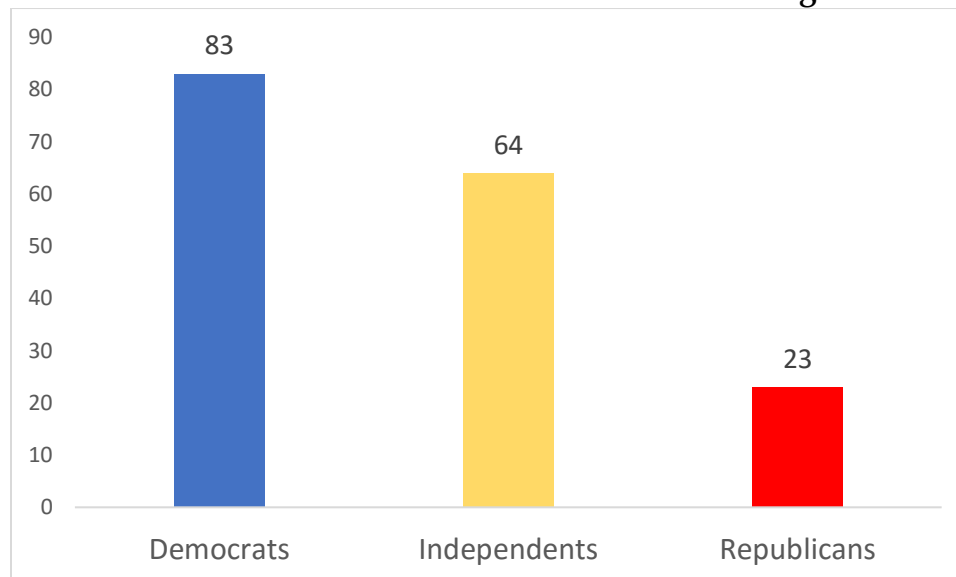
Figure 2. Differences between Democrats and non-Democrats among Young Adults of Color in the Belief that the Federal Government is Responsible for Making Sure all Americans have Health Care Coverage



Note: Data contain 325 Latino/a Democrats and 176 Latino/a non-Democrats, 388 African American Democrats and 121 African American non-Democrats, and 195 Asian American Democrats and 75 Asian American non-Democrats

Figure 3 displays the percentage of Democrats, Independents, and Republicans—among young whites—who believe that the federal government has a responsibility to ensure all Americans have health care coverage. As Figure 3 shows, there is a huge gap (of 60 percentage points) between white Democrats (83% support) and Republicans (23% support) with white Independents (64%) falling in between but closer to Democrats. Opposition to the idea of the federal government ensuring all Americans have health care is concentrated mostly among young white Republicans.

Figure 3. Differences between Democrats, Republicans, and Independents among Young Whites in the Belief that the Federal Government is Responsible for Making Sure all Americans have Health Care Coverage

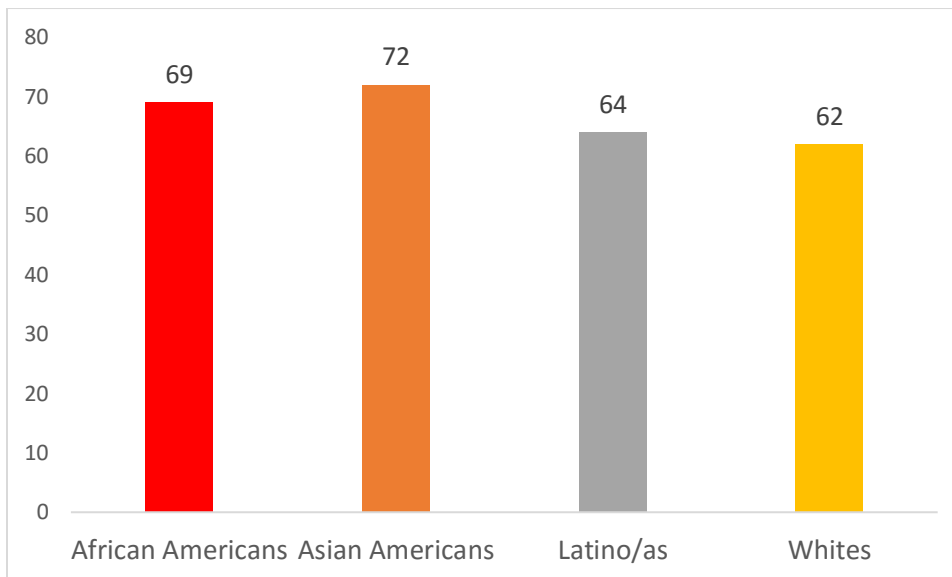


Note: Data contain 262 white Democrats, 70 white Independents, and 171 white Republicans.

Overall, 67% of all young adults believe it is the responsibility of the federal government to provide all Americans with health care coverage. This figure is slightly higher than that for the general public. According to a January, 2017 Pew Research Center [poll](#), 60% of American adults believe that providing all Americans with health care is the responsibility of the federal government. However, our analysis above indicates that it is a mistake to aggregate the views of Millennials on this issue. Young adults of color and Democrats, independent of race and ethnicity, are more likely to say the federal government is responsible for providing health care coverage than young whites and Republicans.

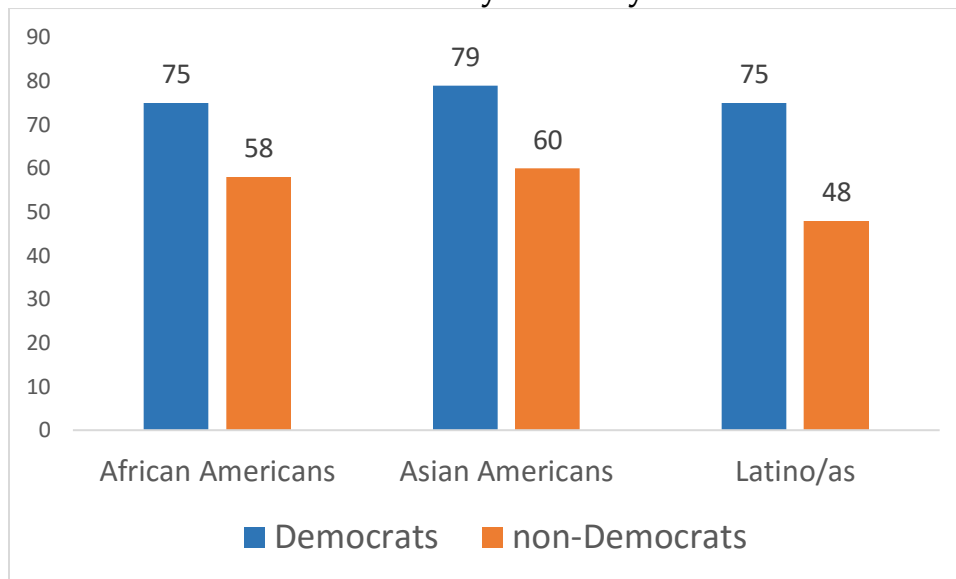
As another general indicator of preferences for government-supported health care, we asked our sample whether they think the government should spend more or less money to help people pay for health insurance if they cannot pay for it themselves. As Figure 4 shows, majorities of all young adults—69% of African Americans, 72% of Asian Americans, 64% of Latino/as, and 62% of whites—support increasing government spending on health insurance for those who otherwise cannot afford it.

Figure 4. Percentage of Respondents Who Favor an Increase in Government Spending to Help People Pay for Health Insurance When They Can't Pay for it Themselves



As before, responses to this question are also divided across party lines. Figures 5 and 6 show that Democrats are much more supportive of increased government spending on health insurance than Independents and Republicans. For instance, Figure 5 shows that Latino/a Democrats are 27 percentage points more supportive of government spending on health insurance than Latino/a non-Democrats. We similarly find a 19 percentage point partisan difference among Asian Americans and a 17 percentage point partisan difference among African Americans.

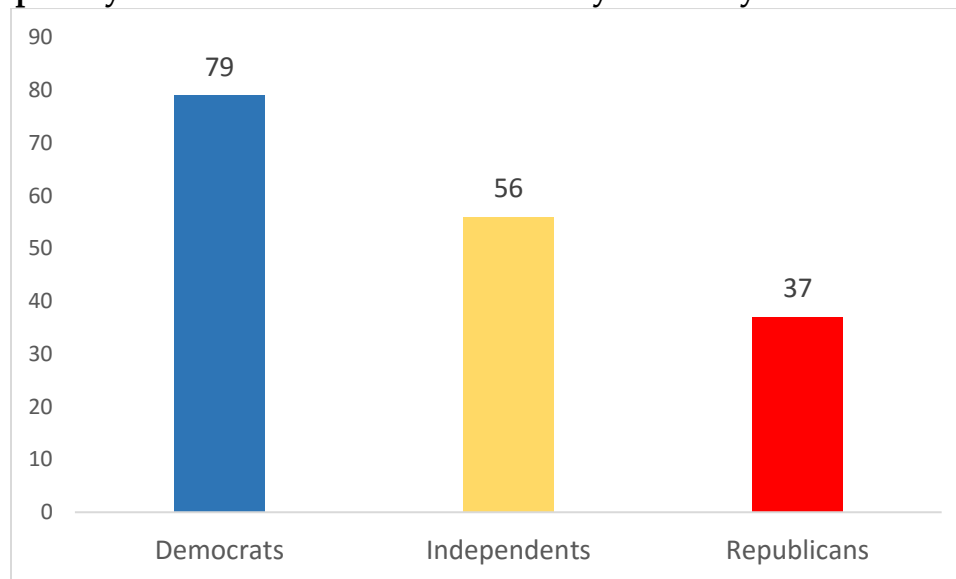
Figure 5. Differences between Democrats and non-Democrats among Young Adults of Color in Favoring an Increase in Government Spending to Help People Pay for Health Insurance When They Can't Pay for it Themselves



Note: Data contain 325 Latino/a Democrats and 176 Latino/a non-Democrats, 388 African American Democrats and 121 African American non-Democrats, and 195 Asian American Democrats and 75 Asian American non-Democrats

Figure 6 presents the differences between young white Democrats, Republicans, and Independents on the question of government spending to provide health insurance to those who cannot afford it. We again find large differences across partisanship in preferences for increased government spending on health insurance: 79% of white Democrats support increased spending, compared to 56% of white independents and only 37% of white Republicans (a 42 percentage point difference with white Democrats).

Figure 6. Differences between Democrats, Independents, and Republicans among White Young Adults in Favoring an Increase in Government Spending to Help People Pay for Health Insurance When They Can't Pay for it Themselves



Note: Data contains 262 white Democrats, 70 white Independents, and 171 white Republicans.

In sum, our findings about Millennials' general attitudes toward health care indicate that many believe the government has a responsibility to provide health care coverage and many also support greater government spending for such efforts. However, our data also suggests some important differences across race and ethnicity and partisanship in views about health care. African American, Latino/a, Asian American, and young adults who generally identify as Democrats report the highest levels of support for the federal government's responsibility in ensuring health care coverage for all Americans. These same groups also support increased government spending to provide coverage for people who cannot afford it on their own. Young white Republicans consistently register the lowest levels of support for government-supported health insurance.

We next turn to a consideration of young adults' specific health care policy preferences and in particular their views about the Affordable Care Act or Obamacare. Again, understanding how Millennials feel about Obamacare seems especially pertinent should Republicans decide at some later point to once again attempt to craft a bill intended to repeal and/or replace the Affordable Care Act.

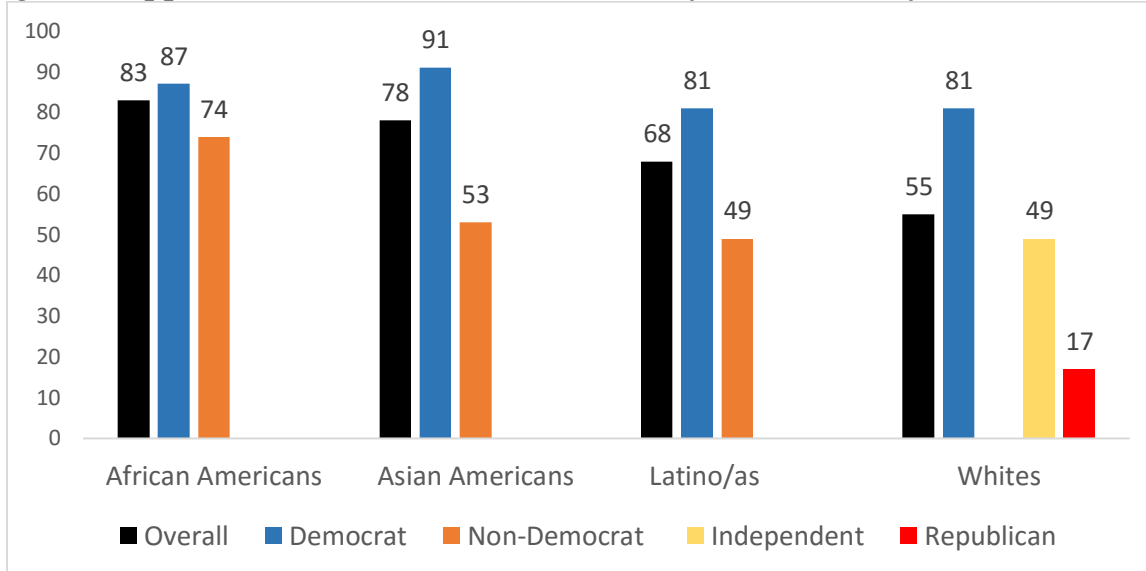
II. Views about the Affordable Care Act

Figure 7 shows the percentages of young adults, across both race/ethnicity and partisanship, who approve of the Affordable Care Act. Overall, majorities of young adults in all racial and ethnic groups support Obamacare, though African Americans (83%) and Asian Americans (78%) are the most supportive, followed by Latino/as (68%) and whites (55%).

Figure 7 also reveals major differences in approval of the Affordable Care Act across partisanship. The gap between millennial Democrats and non-Democrats is especially large among Asian Americans (38 percentage points) and Latino/as (32 percentage points). We find a smaller difference (13 percentage points) between African American Democrats and non-Democrats, which shows that support for the Affordable Care Act among African Americans is fairly widespread even among African Americans who do not identify with the Democratic Party.

Finally, Figure 7 also shows that the partisan gap in approval of the Affordable Care Act is most dramatic among whites. For young white Democrats, 81% approve of the health care law, while only 49% of Independents and 17% of young white Republicans approve of President Obama's signature legislative achievement. This gap between Democrats and Republicans (64 percentage points) among white Millennials is massive, much bigger than the gap in views about the ACA among young adults of color. Thus, it seems that most of the opposition to the Affordable Care Act among young adults comes from Republicans, especially white Republicans.

Figure 7. Approval of the Affordable Care Act, by Race/Ethnicity and Partisanship



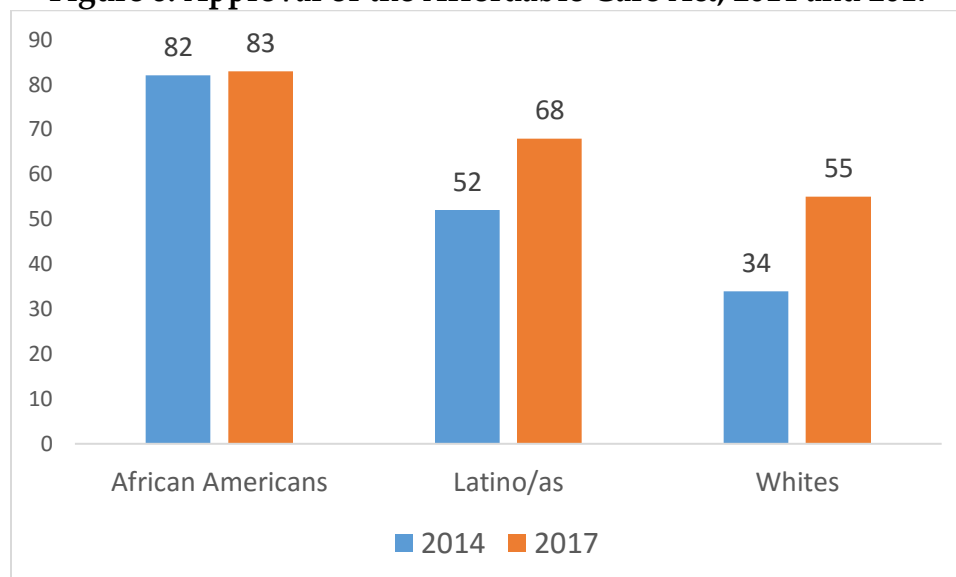
Note: Data contain 325 Latino/a Democrats and 176 Latino/a non-Democrats, 388 African American Democrats and 121 African American non-Democrats, 195 Asian American Democrats and 75 Asian American non-Democrats, and 262 white Democrats, 70 white Independents, and 171 white Republicans.

Overall, 63% of Millennials approve of the Affordable Care Act, much higher than most estimates of the law’s support in the general population. For example, the Real Clear Politics [polling average](#) shows just 49% of the general population approves of the Affordable Care Act. Thus, Millennials are much more approving of Obamacare than older generations. But, as the data above indicate, it is also vital to look across race and ethnicity as well as partisanship to understand the views of the diverse Millennial generation.

Approval of the Affordable Care Act Over Time

Our data also suggests that approval of the Affordable Care Act has grown over time, especially among young Latino/as and whites. Figure 8 compares the percentage of respondents who approved of the Affordable Care Act in January 2014, based on a Black Youth Project survey of 18-29-year-olds that used an identical question wording, to the percentage of respondents who approve of the Affordable Care Act in the February 2017 GenForward survey.⁵ As Figure 8 shows, in 2014 52% of Latino/as approved of the Affordable Care Act, while 68% of Latino/as today approve of the law. In 2014, just 34% of whites approved of the Affordable Care Act, while today a majority (55%) approves. The approval rating of the ACA among African Americans is extremely high in both surveys, with 82% support in 2014 and 83% in 2017. But for Latino/as and white young people, our data show that support for the Affordable Care Act has grown considerably over time.

Figure 8. Approval of the Affordable Care Act, 2014 and 2017



⁵ We do not include Asian Americans in this Figure because there was not an oversample of Asian Americans in the 2014 BYP survey for a comparison.

Perceptions of the Affordable Care Act

Attitudes about the Affordable Care Act are likely to be partly rooted in perceptions about whether the law is working well or not, and the extent to which people perceive the law as positively or negatively impacting their own family. Figure 9 presents data on perceptions of how well the ACA is working today across racial and ethnic groups. African Americans (55%) are the only group in which a majority of respondents believes the law is “working relatively well.” Somewhat smaller percentages of Asian Americans (43%) and Latino/as (45%) believe the ACA is working relatively well, compared with just 26% of whites. Instead, young whites have more negative views about the ACA than other groups, with 22% of young whites reporting that the ACA is “fatally flawed” and another 42% believing that the ACA has “serious problems.” Young people of color are sanguine about the ACA, as smaller percentages of Asian Americans (33%), Latino/as (25%), and African Americans (15%) believe the ACA has serious problems, and only 14% of Latino/as, 8% of African Americans and 9% of Asian Americans believe the law is fatally flawed.

Figure 9. Perceptions of How Well the ACA is Working, by Race/Ethnicity

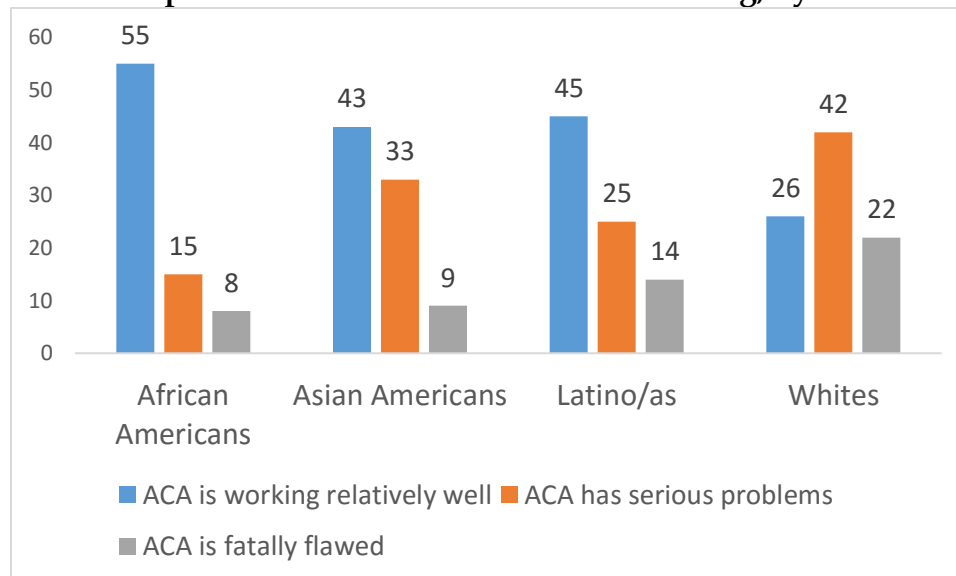
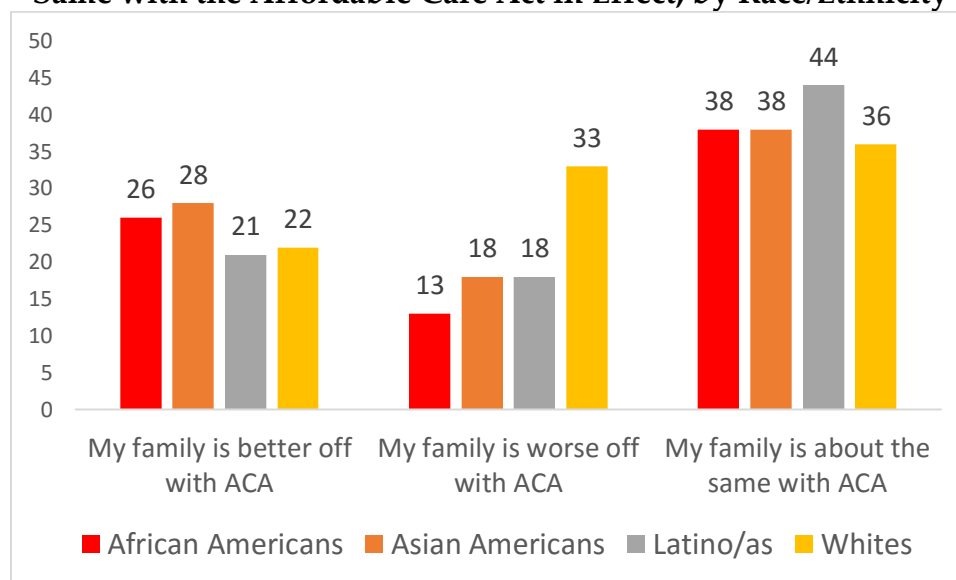


Figure 10 shows how young adults believe the Affordable Care Act has affected them and their families. Despite majority support for the ACA across racial and ethnic groups, relatively low percentages of respondents believe that the ACA made their family **better off**: only 26% of African Americans express this view, along with 28% of Asian Americans, 21% of Latino/as, and 22% of whites. We also find that whites (33%) are the most likely to say that the ACA made their family **worse off**, a view shared by 13% of African Americans, and 18% of both Asian Americans and Latino/as. Most commonly, young adults in each racial and ethnic group report that their families are doing **about the same** with the ACA as they were before it.

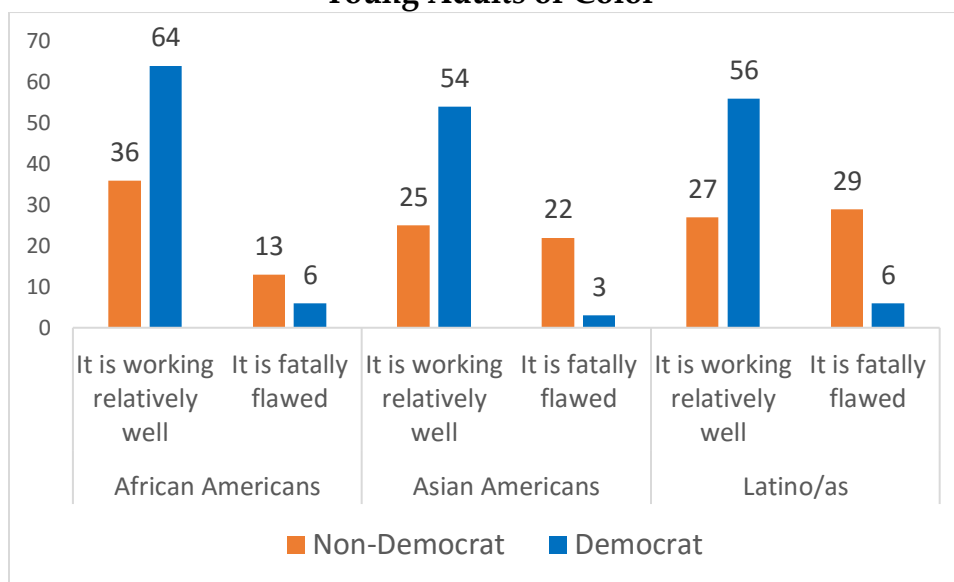
Figure 10. Views about Whether One’s Family is Better Off, Worse Off, or About the Same with the Affordable Care Act in Effect, by Race/Ethnicity



As expected, views about how the ACA is working in general and its impact on one’s family vary widely by partisanship. Figure 11 presents the partisan breakdown of perceptions of whether the Affordable Care Act is working relatively well or is fatally flawed among young adults of color, while Figure 12 presents the percentage of respondents expressing these attitudes across partisanship among young whites.

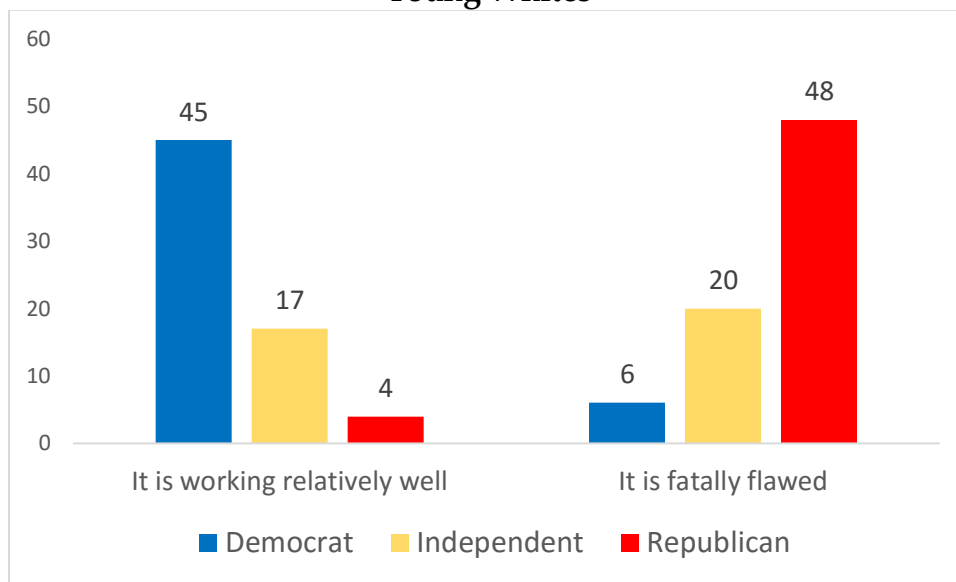
As Figures 11 and 12 show, **party identification matters for Millennials' assessments of the Affordable Care Act.** Majorities of Democrats in each group perceive the ACA as working relatively well, while very few Democrats say that the health care law is fatally flawed. Respondents of color who do not identify as Democrats and white Republican young adults are much more likely to say that the ACA is fatally flawed.

Figure 11. Perceptions of How Well the ACA is Working, by Partisanship among Young Adults of Color



Note: Data contains 325 Latino/a Democrats and 176 Latino/a non-Democrats, 388 African American Democrats and 121 African American non-Democrats, and 195 Asian American Democrats and 75 Asian American non-Democrats

Figure 12. Perceptions of How Well the ACA is Working, by Partisanship among Young Whites

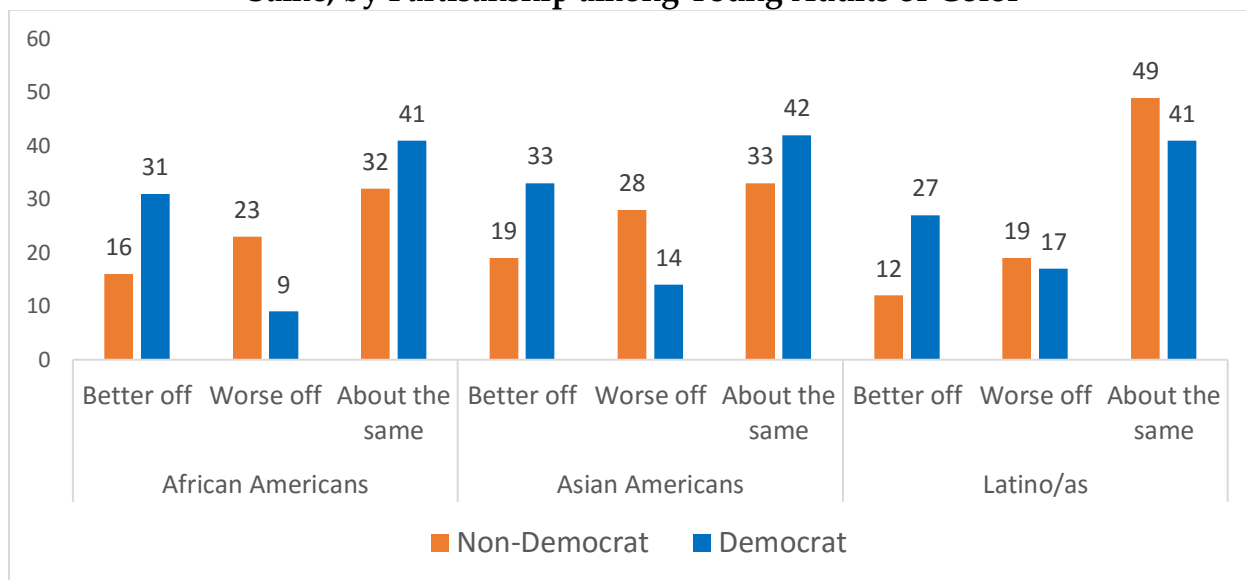


Note: Data contains 262 white Democrats, 70 white Independents, and 171 white Republicans.

Figure 13 presents attitudes about how the ACA has affected the well-being of one’s family (whether it has made one’s family better off, worse off or about the same) across partisanship among young adults of color, and Figure 14 presents the partisan breakdown among young whites.

Figure 13 demonstrates that among Millennials of color, Democrats are more likely than non-Democrats to say that the health care policy has made their family better off, while non-Democrats of color are consistently more likely to say that the policy has made their family worse off. Among each racial and ethnic group, however, the most common answer provided by Democrats and non-Democrats alike is that their families are doing about the same with the ACA as they were doing without it.

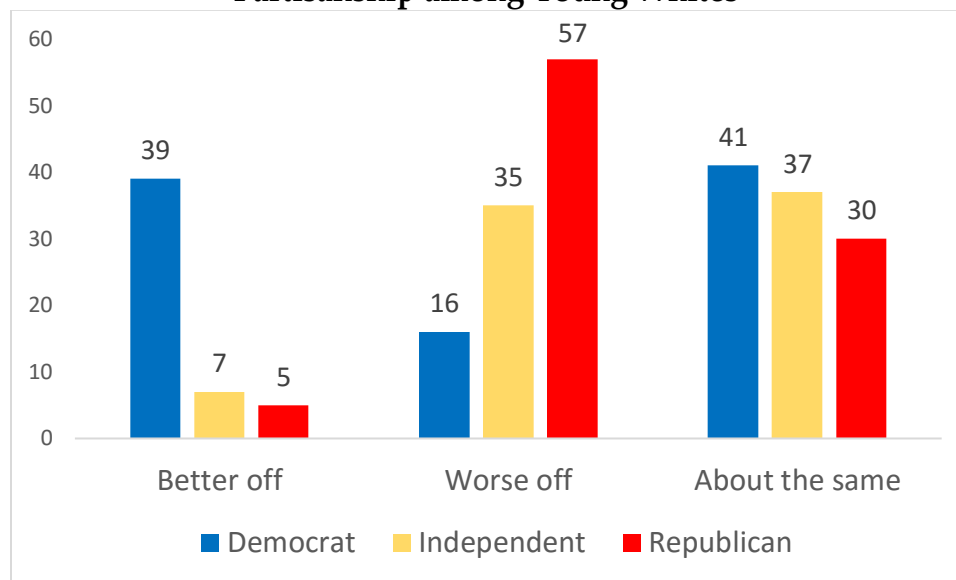
Figure 13. Views about Whether One’s Family is Better Off, Worse Off or About the Same, by Partisanship among Young Adults of Color



Note: Data contains 325 Latino/a Democrats and 176 Latino/a non-Democrats, 388 African American Democrats and 121 African American non-Democrats, and 195 Asian American Democrats and 75 Asian American non-Democrats

Figure 14 similarly shows that white Democrats are more likely to report that the health care policy has made their family better off (39%) than they say it has made them worse off (16%)—though the most likely response for white Democrats is that they are doing “about the same” (41%). In contrast, a significantly larger proportion of white Republicans report that the law has made them worse off (57%) than better off (5%).

Figure 14. Views about Whether One’s Family is Better Off or Worse Off, by Partisanship among Young Whites⁶



Note: Data contains 262 white Democrats, 70 white Independents, and 171 white Republicans.

In sum, across all racial and ethnic groups our findings demonstrate that perceptions of how well the ACA is currently functioning vary dramatically by partisanship. This illuminates the seemingly intractable partisan conflict on this issue among political elites and members of Congress. But while there are some deep differences in views about Obamacare among Millennials, young adults also tell us they have some clear preferences about specific provisions within the Affordable Care act. We turn to those findings next.

⁶ Responses do not equal 100% because a number of respondents provided a response of “no opinion.”

Attitudes Toward the Affordable Care Act's Policy Provisions

Though the Affordable Care Act has generated considerable political controversy since it was passed, many of its provisions enjoy high levels of public support. In fact, it was tension over individual provisions that caused tension among Republicans, resulting in their inability to pass the American Health Care Act or Trumpcare in the House of Representatives. [Studies](#) have regularly shown that the American public generally favors some elements of the law more than others.⁷ We asked our sample for their views about specific components of the Affordable Care Act, including measures like the individual mandate and the provision allowing young adults to stay on their parent's health insurance until the age of 26. Figures 15 through 18 present support for these elements of the ACA among African Americans (Figure 15), Asian Americans (Figure 16), Latino/as (Figure 17) and whites (Figure 18). Figures 15 through 18 also show the extent to which support for various elements of the law vary by partisanship.

By far, the individual mandate is the least popular provision of the ACA among young people. Only 28% of African Americans, 43% of Asian Americans, 23% of Latino/as and 28% of whites favor the requirement that all Americans have health insurance or pay a fine. On this issue, Millennials may be aligned with the version of 'Trumpcare' recently pulled from consideration which proposed removing the individual mandate.

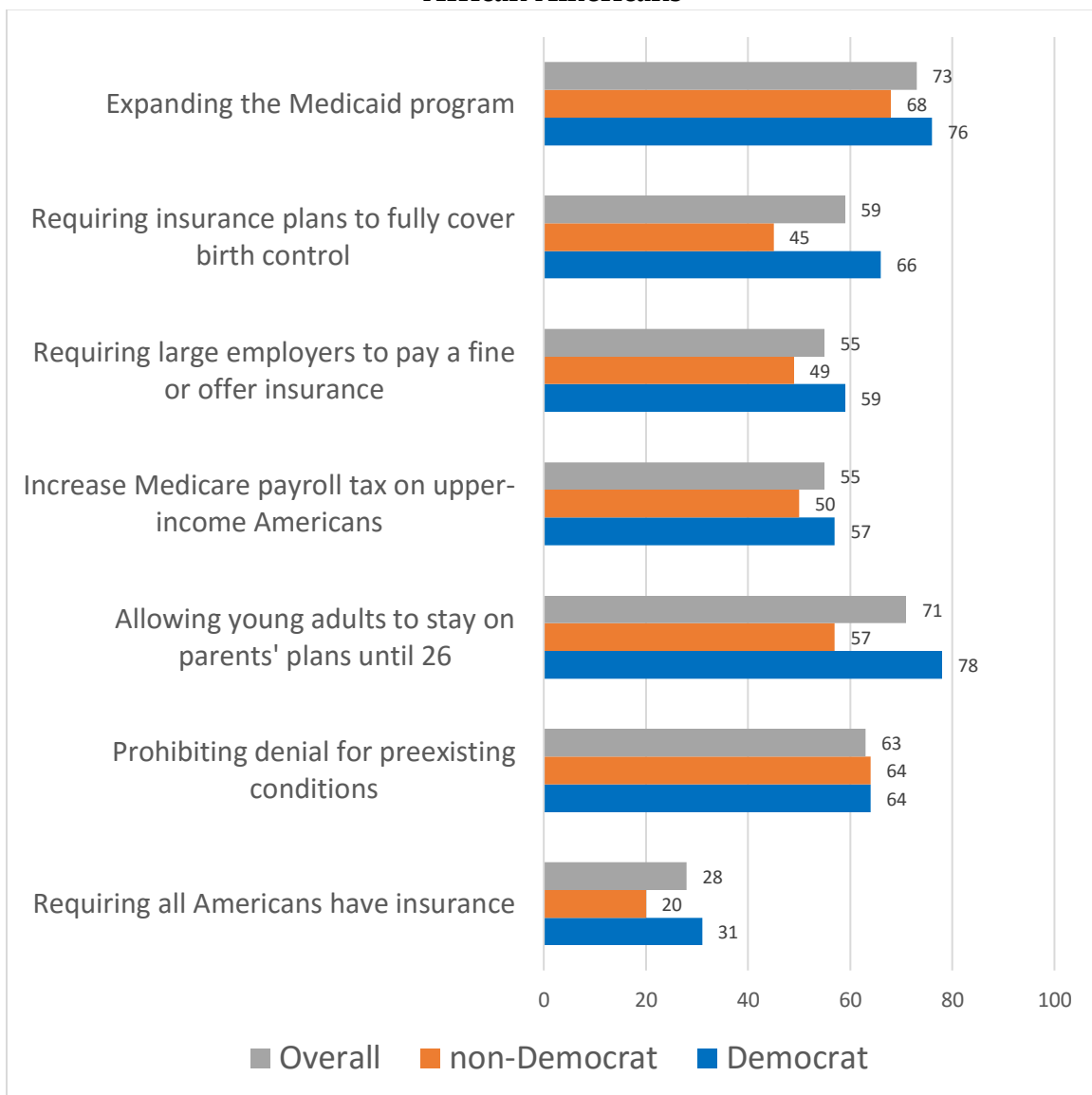
The most popular provision among young adults, in comparison, is allowing young people up to the age of 26 to remain on their parents' insurance plan. Perhaps unsurprisingly, 71% of African Americans, 77% of Asian Americans, 72% of Latino/as, and 77% of white Millennials support this provision.

Young people also provide broad support for Medicaid expansion, with 73% of both African Americans and Latino/as, 76% of Asian Americans, and 69% of whites supporting the expansion of Medicaid to provide health care coverage to low-income, uninsured adults. On this issue young people are squarely opposed to one of the key provisions of Trumpcare. The Congressional Budget Office estimated that if the

⁷ Gross, Wendy, Tobias Stark, Jon Krosnick, Josh Pasek, Gaurav Sood, Trevor Tompson, Jennifer Agiesta, and Dennis Junius. "Americans' attitudes toward the Affordable Care Act: Would better public understanding increase or decrease favorability." *Unpublished manuscript. Research conducted with support from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, GfK, Stanford University and the Associated Press* (2012).

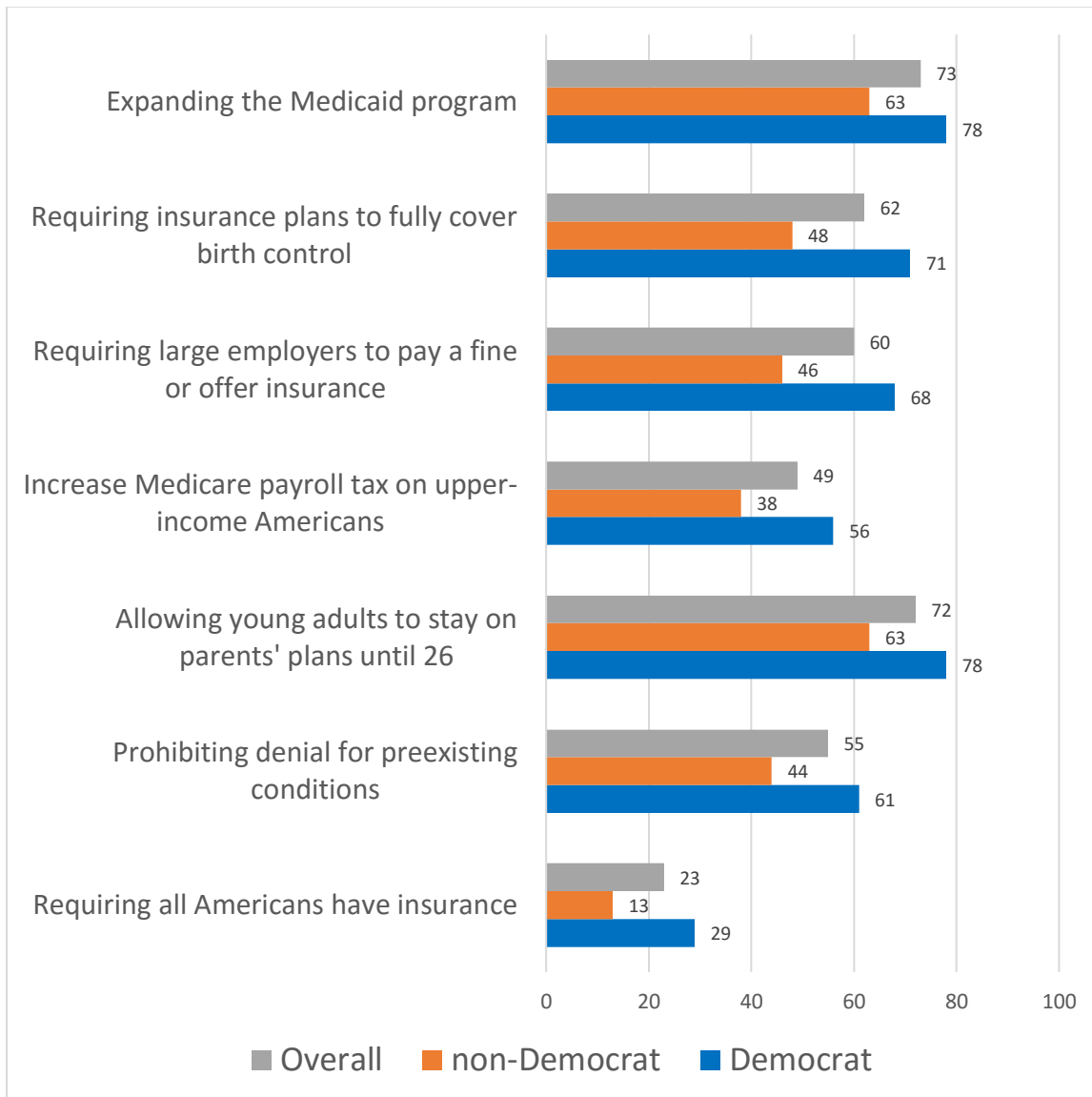
American Health Care plan or “Trumpcare” had passed, 14 million fewer people would have health insurance with Medicaid—and 24 million fewer people overall would have health care coverage—many of them children, disabled, and elderly.

Figure 15. Support for Elements of the Affordable Care Act, African Americans



Note: Data contain 388 African American Democrats and 121 African American non-Democrats.

Figure 16. Support for Elements of the Affordable Care Act, Latino/as

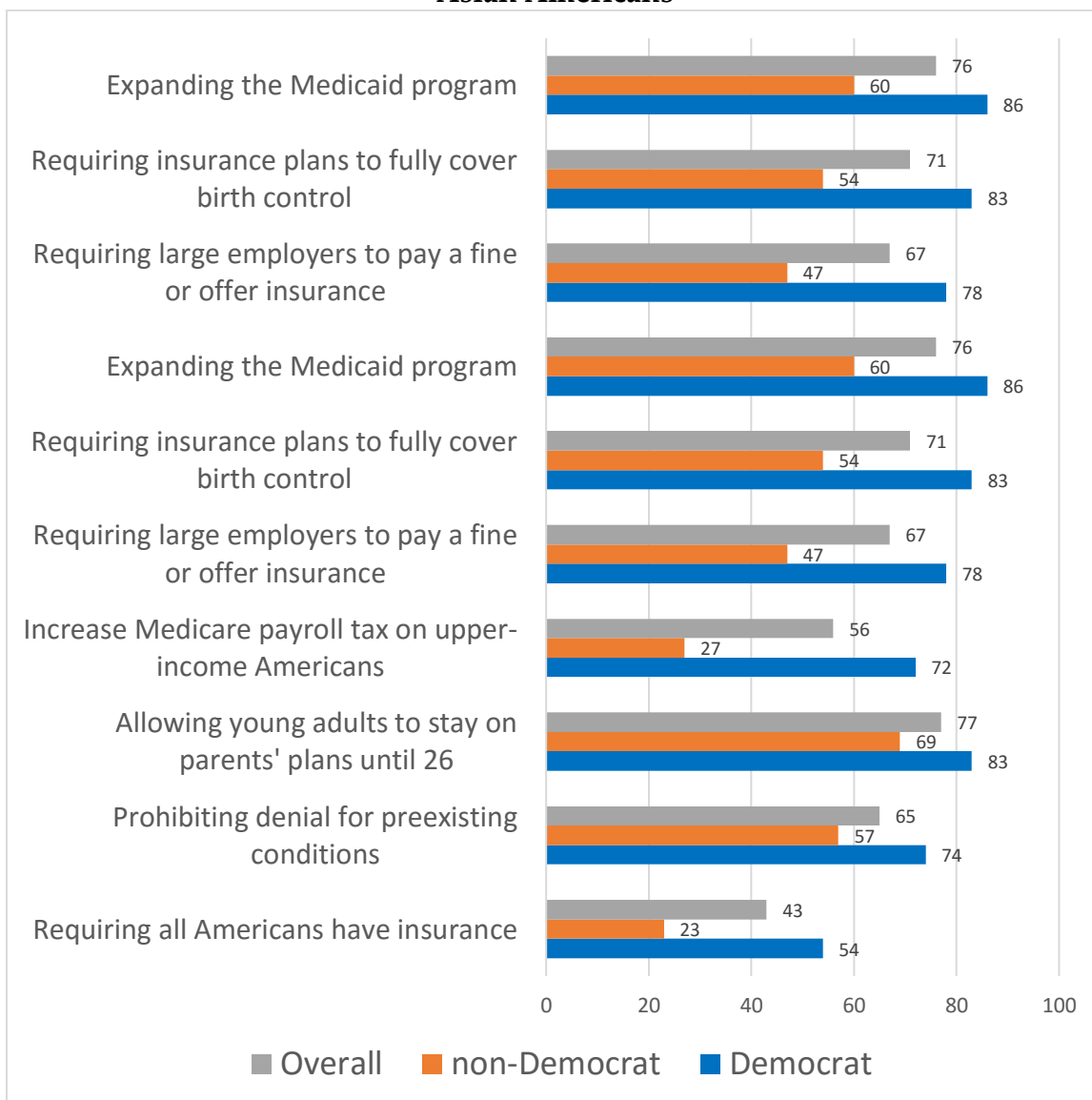


Note: Data contain 325 Latino/a Democrats and 176 Latino/a non-Democrats.

A notable finding in Figures 15 and 16 is the limited partisan disagreement among African Americans and Latino/as in support for increasing Medicare payroll taxes on upper-income Americans. There is only a 7 percentage point difference between African American non-Democrats and African American Democrats in support for this element of the ACA, and an 18 percentage point difference between Latino/a non-

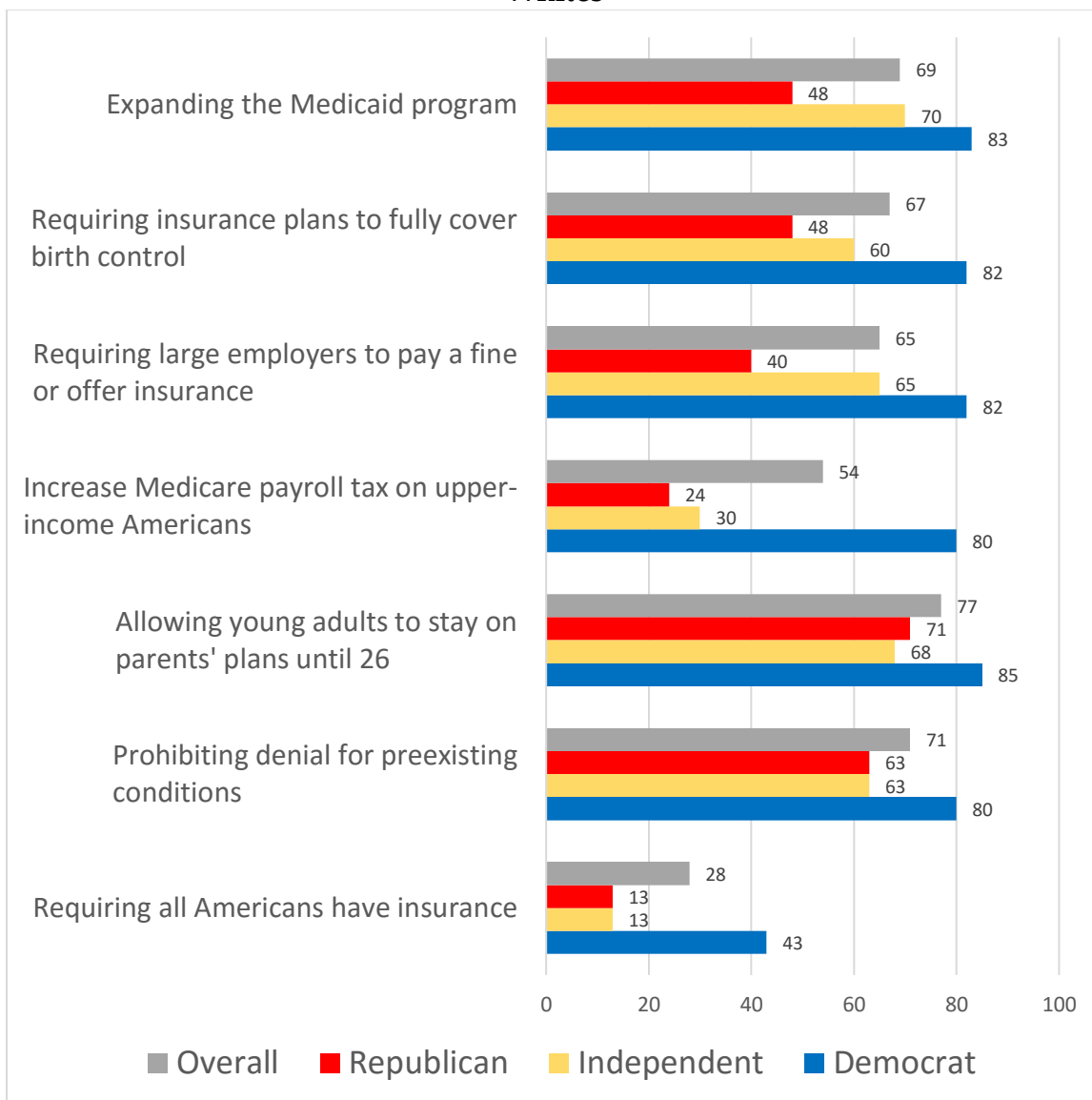
Democrats and Latino Democrats. By comparison, there is a 45 percentage point gap between Asian American non-Democrats and Asian American Democrats—presented in Figure 17—and a 56 percentage point difference between white Republicans and white Democrats—presented in Figure 18—in support for increasing Medicare payroll taxes on high earners.

Figure 17. Support for Elements of the Affordable Care Act, Asian Americans



Note: Data contain 195 Asian American Democrats and 75 Asian American non-Democrats

Figure 18. Support for Elements of the Affordable Care Act, Whites



Note: Data contain 262 white Democrats, 70 white Independents, and 171 white Republicans.

The data presented in Figures 15 through 18 also show that there are some areas of Obamacare where young adults differ dramatically by partisanship, while other elements of the law generate greater consensus. The most popular provisions in the law among non-Democrats include: expanding Medicaid, allowing young adults to stay on their parent’s insurance for longer, and prohibiting insurance companies from denying

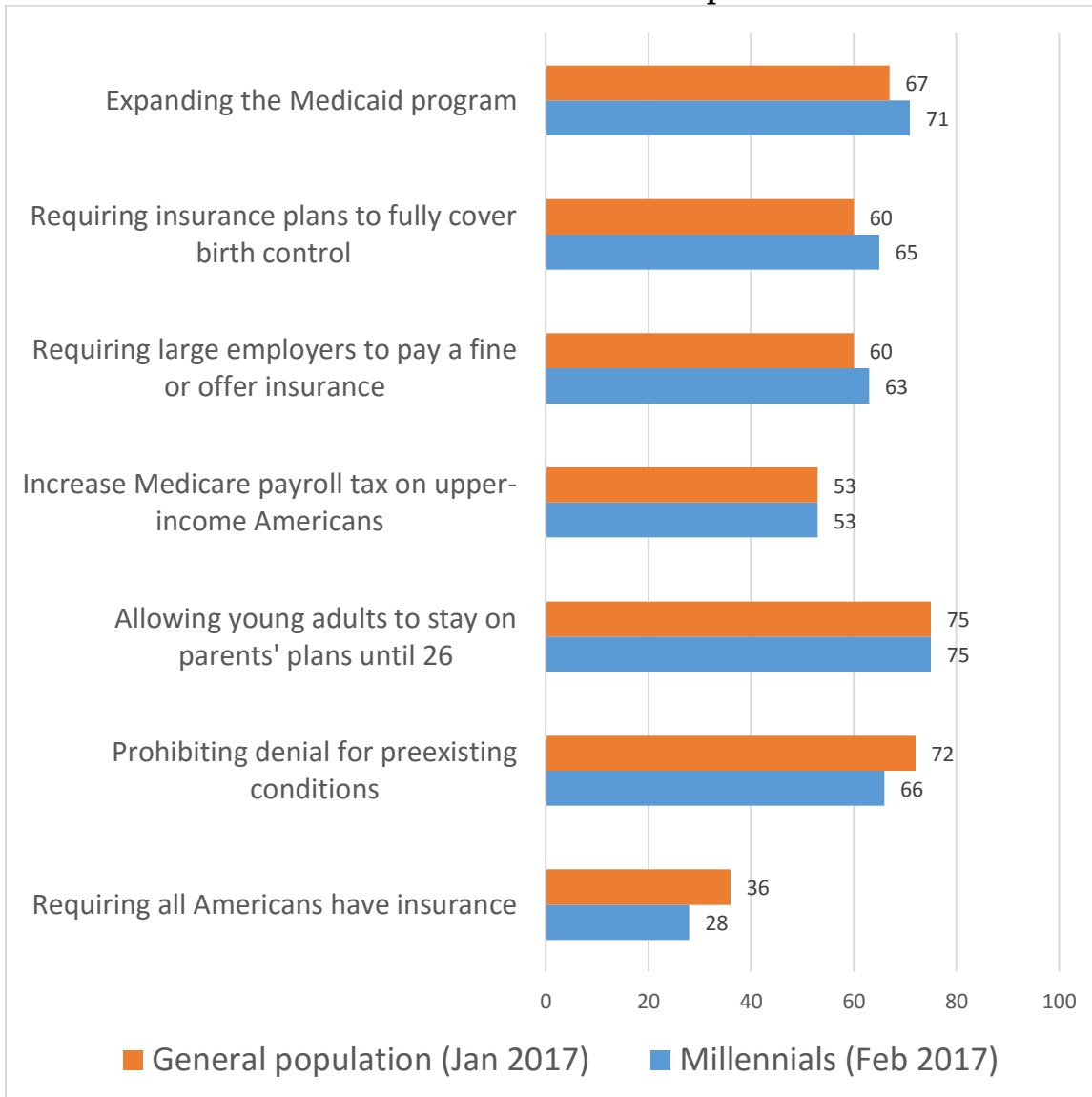
coverage to individuals with preexisting conditions. The individual mandate again stands out as the least popular provision, with Asian American Democrats (54%) the only group for whom the provision has majority levels of support.

One element of the ACA that consistently divides Democrats from non-Democrats is the issue of birth control coverage. Currently, the ACA requires insurers to cover all FDA-approved forms of birth control without out-of-pocket costs. For each racial and ethnic group, a majority of Democrats supports this component of the ACA (82% of white Democrats, 83% of Asian American Democrats, 71% of Latino/a Democrats, and 66% of African American Democrats). Meanwhile, this element has some support among non-Democrats but struggles to gain majority support, as only 48% of white Republicans, 54% of Asian American non-Democrats, 48% of Latino/a non-Democrats, and 45% of African American non-Democrats support this policy. Thus, even while there are large partisan differences in general attitudes toward the Affordable Care Act, the picture becomes more complicated when analyzing specific components of the law. Clearly, some elements of the law are more divisive than others.

How do the health care views of young adults compare to the views of the general population? Figure 19 below contrasts the views of all Millennials to the views expressed in a recent national adult sample from an AP-NORC [survey](#) fielded in January 2017.

As Figure 19 shows, Millennials' views about the ACA's policies are in many respects similar to the views of the general population. For example, 36% of the general population favors the individual mandate, compared to just 28% of Millennials. Of course, our data above suggest there is no uniform Millennial generation, and that attitudes toward policies like the Affordable Care Act also vary considerably across race/ethnicity and partisanship.

Figure 19. Attitudes Toward Elements of the Affordable Care Act, Millennials vs. the General Population

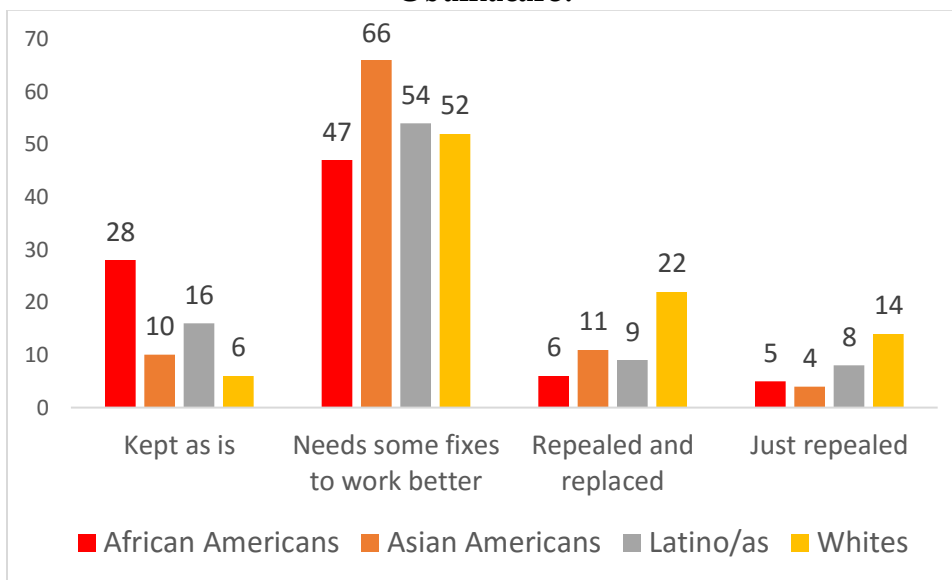


III. Young Adults' Health Care Policy Prescriptions

We conclude with Millennials' views concerning what should be done about health care. This is an especially pressing question given the inability of President Trump and the Republican-led Congress to deliver on their promise of repealing and replacing Obamacare. Should Obamacare be repealed, and how concerned are young people about the consequences of repeal? Would young people rally around alternative health care proposals like a single payer health care system?

First, we ask young people what they think should happen to the Affordable Care Act: whether it should be kept as is, fixed to work better, repealed and replaced, or just repealed. As Figure 20 shows, the most common response in each racial and ethnic group is that the ACA needs some fixes to work better, a view shared by a majority of Asian Americans (66%), Latino/as (54%) and whites (52%). Forty-seven percent of African Americans also say that the ACA needs some fixes to work better. This answer does not receive a majority from African American Millennials largely because a substantial percentage of African American young adults (28%) believe the ACA should be kept as it is. We also find that whites are the group most likely to say that the ACA should either be repealed (14%) or repealed and replaced (22%). Fewer young adults of color think that the ACA should be repealed and instead are more likely to say that the Affordable Care Act should be kept as it is than repealed.

Figure 20. Which is Closer to Your View on the Affordable Care Act, also Known as Obamacare?

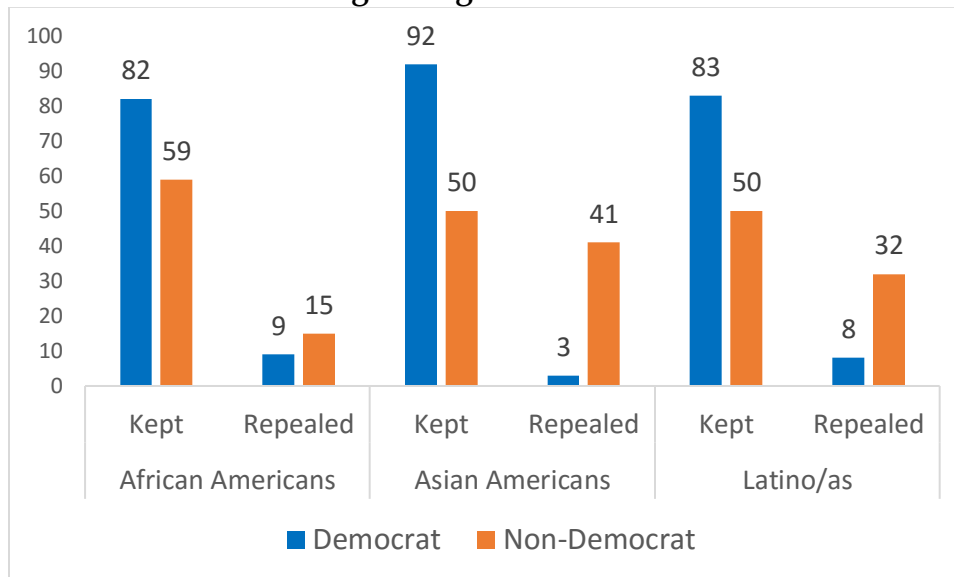


We further evaluate young peoples’ thoughts about what should happen to Obamacare across party lines. Figures 21 and 22 distinguish respondents who indicated they want to “keep” Obamacare (either as it is or with some fixes) from those who say Obamacare should be repealed (either just repealed or repealed and replaced.) We combine these responses to make the subsequent analyses clearer.⁸ Figure 21 distinguishes Democrats from non-Democrats among young adults of color, while Figure 22 distinguishes Democrats, Republicans, and Independents among young whites.

As Figure 21 shows, Democrats are more supportive of keeping the Affordable Care Act than non-Democrats. Yet what is surprising is that **majorities of non-Democratic African Americans (59%), Asian Americans (50%) and Latino/as (50%) say that the Affordable Care Act should be kept.** Repealing Obamacare does not generate widespread support among young adults of color, even among those who do not identify with the Democratic Party, although many would agree that the ACA needs to be fixed.

⁸ We understand that “just repeal” is fundamentally different from “repeal and replace,” but both response options favor a repeal of the Affordable Care Act.

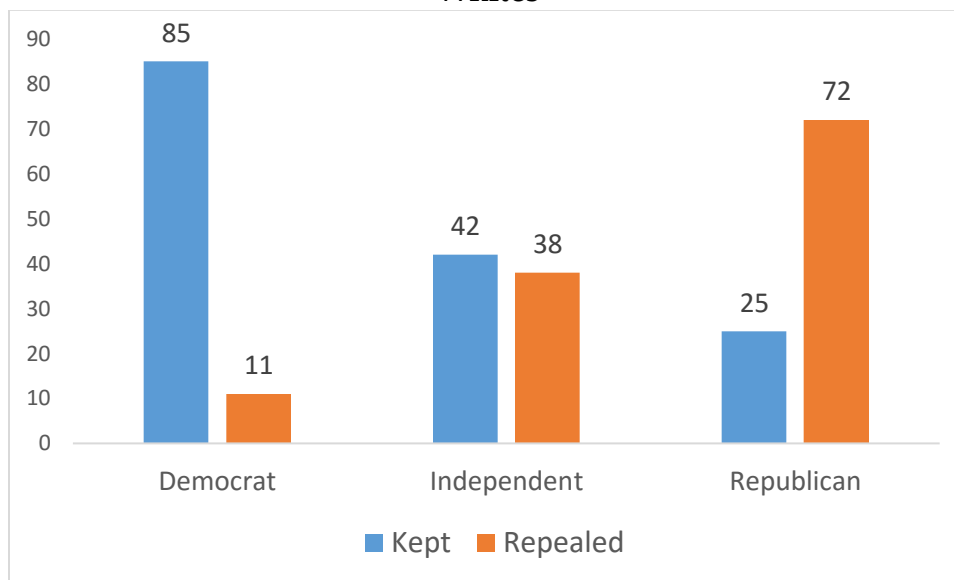
Figure 21. View on Whether the ACA Should be Kept or Repealed by Partisanship among Young Adults of Color



Note: "Kept" includes the response options "it is working well" and "it needs some fixes to work better." "Repealed" includes the response options "repeal and replace" and "just repeal." Data contain 325 Latino/a Democrats and 176 Latino/a non-Democrats, 388 African American Democrats and 121 African American non-Democrats, and 195 Asian American Democrats and 75 Asian American non-Democrats

Figure 22 shows the stark differences across partisanship in views about what should happen to the Affordable Care Act among young whites. Democrats overwhelmingly favor keeping rather than repealing the law (85% to 11%), Independents are fairly evenly divided (42% to 38%) while Republicans strongly favor repeal (25% want to keep the law, while 72% say it should be repealed). While African American, Asian American Latino/a young adults of all political persuasions are generally supportive of keeping the Affordable Care Act, young whites are deeply divided by partisanship in their view of what should happen to the law moving forward.

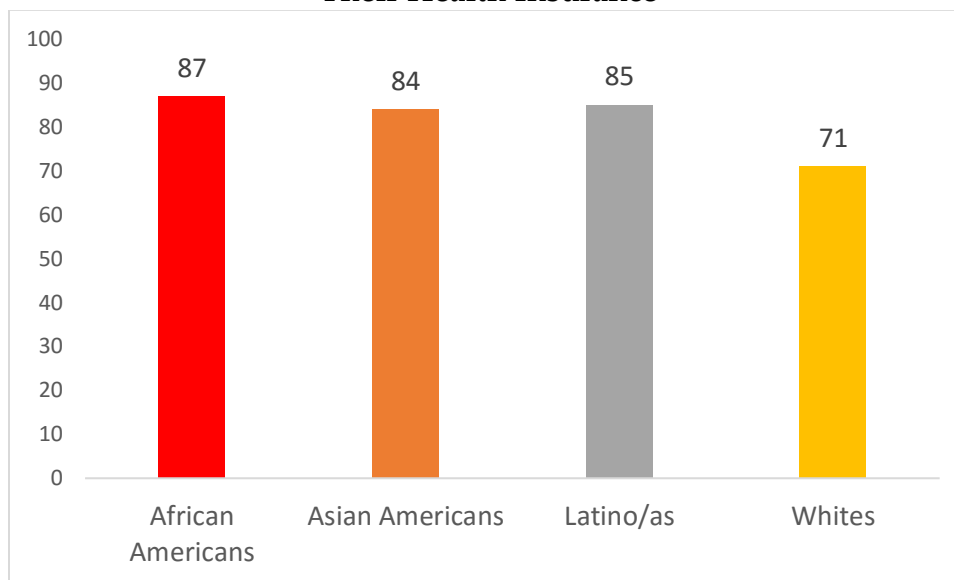
Figure 22. Should the ACA be Kept or Repealed? By Partisanship among Young Whites



Note: Kept includes the response options “it is working well” and “it needs some fixes to work better.” Repealed includes the response options “repeal and replace” and “just repeal.” Data contain 262 white Democrats, 70 white Independents, and 171 white Republicans.

One of the reasons many people may oppose repealing the ACA is due to concerns that doing so would leave many people who have gained health coverage from the Affordable Care Act without health insurance. We wanted to know the extent to which this possibility was of concern to Millennials. Figure 23 presents the percentage of respondents who say that they are extremely, very, or somewhat concerned that repeal of the Affordable Care Act would cause many Americans to lose their health insurance.

Figure 23. Concern that Repealing Obamacare Would Cause Many Americans to Lose Their Health Insurance



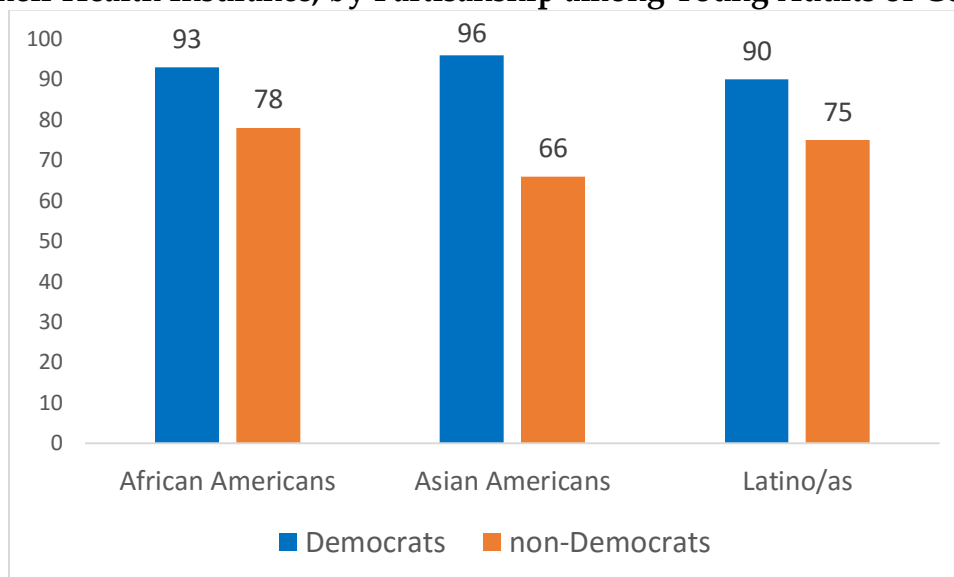
As Figure 23 shows, there is deep and widespread concern that repealing Obamacare would cause many Americans to lose health insurance: 87% of African Americans express this concern, along with 84% of Asian Americans, 85% of Latino/as, and 71% of whites. And now that we know that the CBO projected that nearly 24 million Americans would lose their health care under the proposed Republican American Healthcare Act, the lack of support for repeal of Obamacare among those other than white Republican millennials is less surprising given Millennials' concern that repeal of the ACA would lead to people losing their health insurance.

Overall, 78% of Millennials are at least somewhat concerned that many Americans will lose health insurance if the Affordable Care Act were repealed. This is similar to the 83% of the general public who express at least some concern in a recent [AP-NORC survey](#).

Concern about Americans losing health insurance is also divided by partisanship. Figure 24 displays the differences between Democratic and non-Democratic young adults of color regarding their concern that many Americans will lose health insurance if Obamacare is repealed. Democrats overwhelmingly express concern: 93% of African Americans, 96% of Asian Americans, and 90% of Latino/as say they are concerned about

people losing health insurance if Obamacare is repealed. And while non-Democrats express less concern, we still find that majorities of African Americans (78%), Asian Americans (66%) and Latino/as (75%) are concerned about an ACA repeal causing individuals to lose their health insurance.

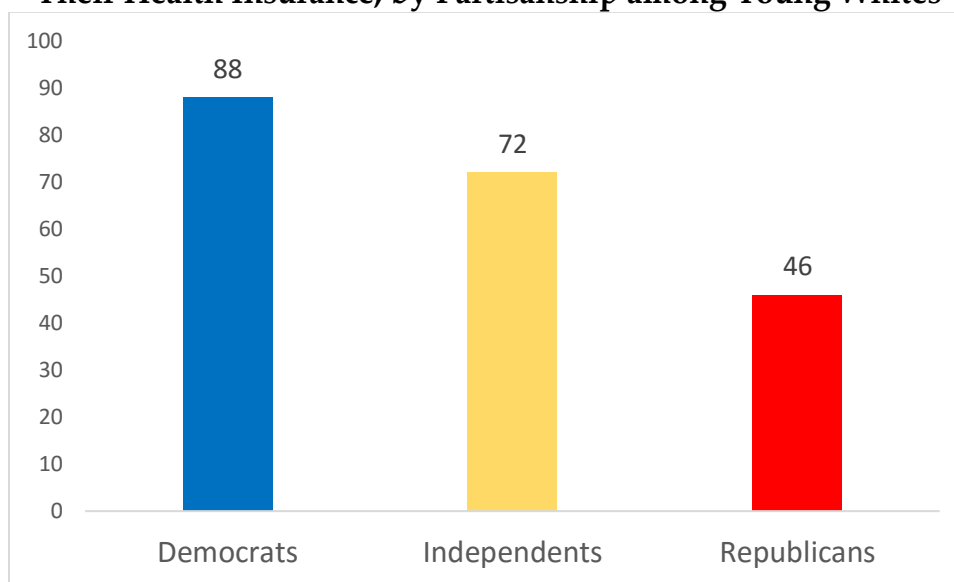
Figure 24. Concern that Repealing Obamacare Would Cause Many Americans to Lose Their Health Insurance, by Partisanship among Young Adults of Color



Note: Data contain 325 Latino/a Democrats and 176 Latino/a non-Democrats, 388 African American Democrats and 121 African American non-Democrats, and 195 Asian American Democrats and 75 Asian American non-Democrats

Figure 25 presents the partisan breakdown of this concern among whites. Figure 25 shows that 88% of white Democrats, 72% of white Independents, and 46% of white Republicans say they would be at least somewhat concerned about people losing health insurance if the ACA was repealed. Thus, only among white Millennial Republicans do we find less than a majority of the group expressing concern about those who might lose their health insurance if the ACA is repealed; and even among white Republicans, nearly a majority report such concerns.

Figure 25. Concern that Repealing Obamacare Would Cause Many Americans to Lose Their Health Insurance, by Partisanship among Young Whites



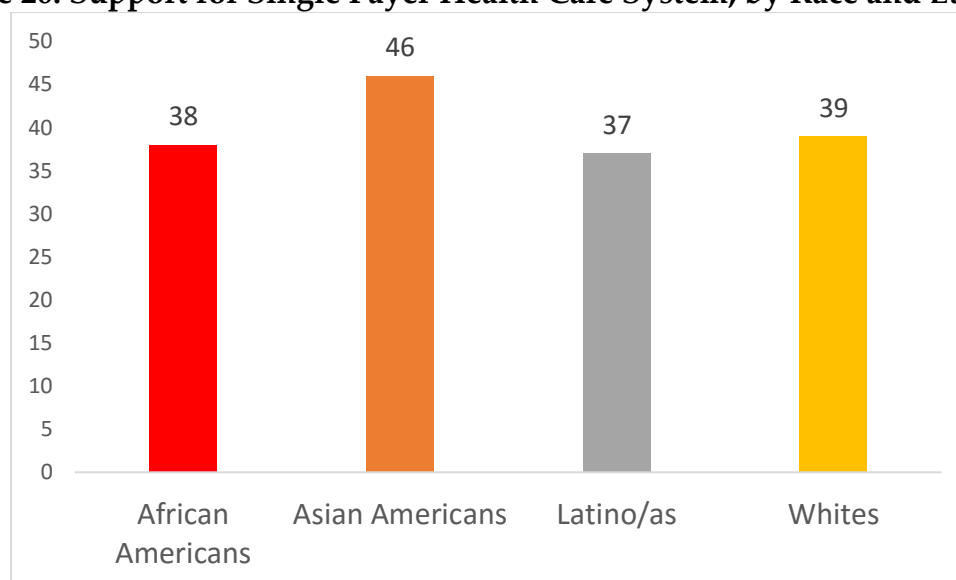
Note: Data contains 262 white Democrats, 70 white Independents, and 171 white Republicans.

In sum, our data show limited support among Millennials for repeal of the Affordable Care Act and widespread concern that repealing the ACA would leave many low-income Americans without health insurance. But, as our data also demonstrate, attitudes toward Obamacare vary across race and ethnicity and partisanship. African American, Latino/a and Asian American Millennials (both Democrat and non-Democrat) overwhelmingly tend to support keeping the ACA. White Millennials, especially Republicans, are more supportive of repeal and some appear to be less concerned that repealing Obamacare would leave many without health insurance.

As a final consideration about young adults' attitudes about the future of health care, we asked our respondents whether they would support a single payer health care plan (i.e., a government plan under which all Americans would get their health insurance). Our wording of the question specifically asked whether one would favor or oppose a single payer health care system, in which all Americans would get their health insurance from one government plan. Figure 26 presents the levels of support for this proposal across race and ethnicity.

As Figure 26 shows, only a minority of respondents in each racial and ethnic group support single payer health insurance: 38% of African Americans, 46% of Asian Americans, 37% of Latino/as, and 39% of whites.⁹ Overall, however, only 39% of Millennials are currently supportive of a single payer health care system. This is similar to the general population; 38% of the general public say they would support such a health care plan in a recent AP-NORC general population [survey](#).

Figure 26. Support for Single Payer Health Care System, by Race and Ethnicity

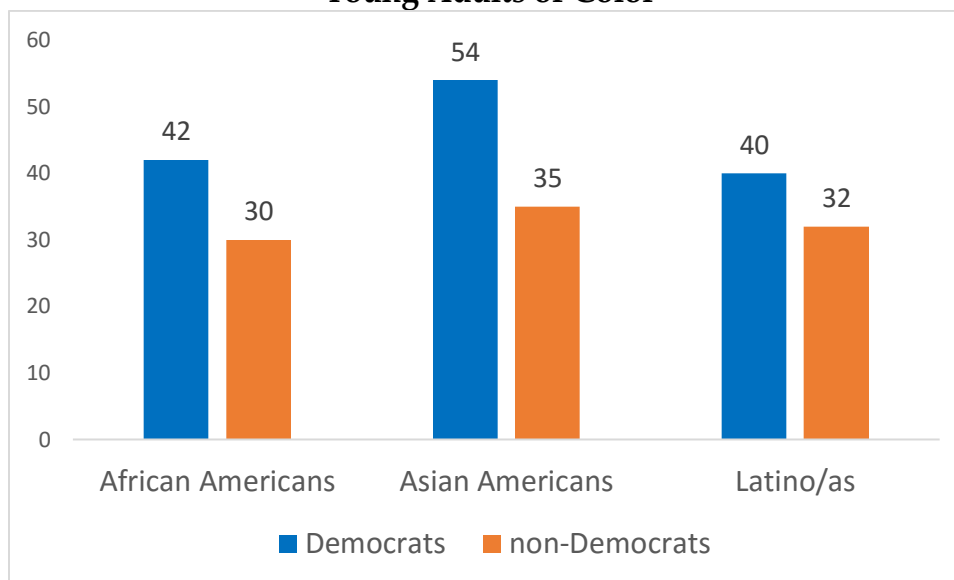


Despite the low overall support for a single-payer system, we expected that support for such a system would be greater among Democrats given that a single payer health care system has been endorsed by elites with a more progressive orientation—like Bernie Sanders. Data presented in Figures 27 and 28 support this expectation.

⁹ It is, of course, possible that many of our respondents were unclear about what a single-payer health care system might entail and thus interpreted the question as asking for their feedback on a system to replace Obamacare.

Figure 27 presents the differences between Democrats and non-Democrats in support for single payer health care among Millennials of color. Figure 27 shows that Democrats are in general more supportive than non-Democrats of single payer health care. However, even among Democrats, only among Asian Americans (54%) does single payer healthcare receive a majority of support.

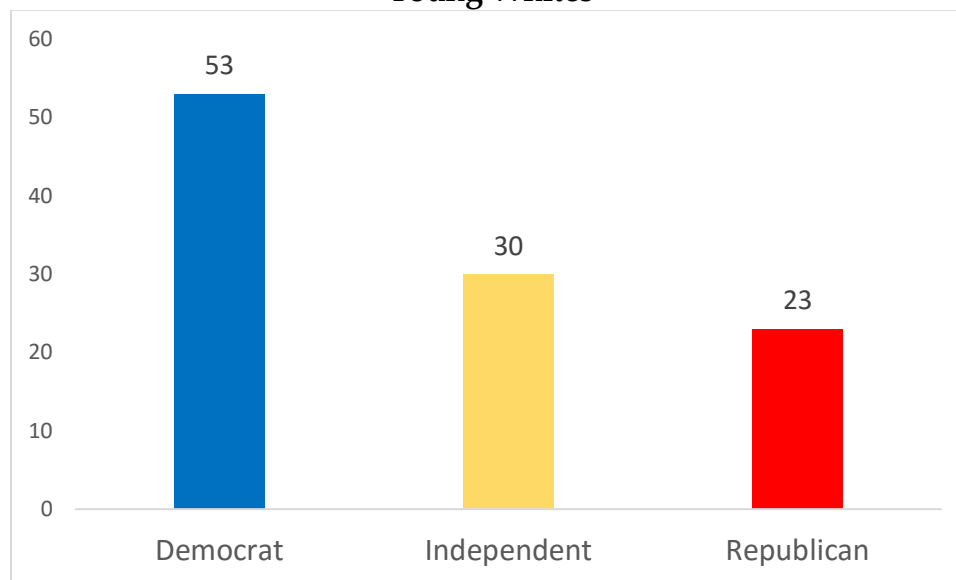
Figure 27. Support for Single Payer Health Care System, by Partisanship among Young Adults of Color



Note: Data contains 325 Latino/a Democrats and 176 Latino/a non-Democrats, 388 African American Democrats and 121 African American non-Democrats, and 195 Asian American Democrats and 75 Asian American non-Democrats

Figure 28 presents support across partisanship among young whites. A slight majority of young white Democrats support single payer health care (53%), but support is much lower among white Independents (30%) and Republicans (23%).

Figure 28. Support for Single Payer Health Care System, by Partisanship among Young Whites



Note: Data contains 262 white Democrats, 70 white Independents, and 171 white Republicans.

This data suggests that young adults are not widely supportive of a single payer healthcare system. Asian American and white Democrats are most supportive of such a proposal, with significant proportions but less than a majority of African American and Latino/a Democrats also registering support.

IV. Conclusion

In sum, our data suggest that young adults' preferred policy solution to America's health care challenges is some version of the Affordable Care Act with fixes to ensure that it works better. They largely do not support repeal of Obamacare, however, they do realize it has issues that have to be addressed. As we have noted throughout our report, preferences for the future of health care policy vary in crucial ways across race, ethnicity and partisanship. For example, whites are most supportive of repeal of the ACA, especially white Republicans. In contrast, Democrats are most supportive of keeping Obamacare with fixes. And young whites and Asian Americans Democrats seem to be most supportive of a single-payer health system. Politicians should be

mindful of these complexities in the attitudes of Millennials on the issue of health care if they hope to create policies that addresses the needs and concerns of this generation and win their support.

V. Study Methodology

The GenForward February survey is a project of the Black Youth Project at the University of Chicago, with The Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research. Interviews were conducted with a representative sample from GenForwardSM, a nationally representative survey panel of adults ages 18-30 recruited and administered by NORC at the University of Chicago and funded by grants to the Black Youth Project at the University of Chicago from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and the Ford Foundation.

A total of 1,833 interviews were conducted between February 16 and March 6, 2017 with adults ages 18-30 representing the 50 states and the District of Columbia, including completed interviews with 516 African American young adults, 277 Asian American young adults, 504 Latino/a young adults, 505 white young adults, and 31 young adults with other racial and ethnic backgrounds. The survey was offered in English and Spanish and via telephone and web modes.

The GenForward survey was built from two sample sources: Fifty-one percent of the completed interviews are sourced from NORC's AmeriSpeak® Panel. AmeriSpeak is a probability based panel that also uses address-based sample but sourced from the NORC National Frame with enhanced sample coverage. During the initial recruitment phase of the AmeriSpeak panel, randomly selected U.S. households were sampled with a known, non-zero probability of selection and then contacted by U.S. mail, email, telephone, and field interviewers (face-to-face).

Forty-nine percent of the completed interviews are sourced from the Black Youth Project (BYP) panel of young adults recruited by NORC. The BYP sample is from a probability-based household panel that uses an address-based sample from a registered voter database of the entire U.S. Households were selected using stratified random sampling to support over-sampling of households with African Americans, Latino/as, and Asian Americans ages 18-30. NORC contacted sampled households by U.S. mail and by telephone, inviting them to register and participate in public opinion surveys twice a month.

Panelists on both the BYP and AmeriSpeak panels are invited to register for the panel via the web or by telephone to participate in public opinion surveys. Of the 1,833 completed interviews in the GenForward February survey, 93 percent were completed by web and 7 percent by telephone. The survey completion rate is 33.2 percent. The weighted household panel recruitment rate is 20.4 percent and the weighted household panel retention rate is 94.4 percent, for a cumulative AAPOR Response Rate 3 of 6.4 percent. The overall margin of sampling error is +/- 4.0 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level, including the design effect. Among subgroups, the margin of sampling error at the 95 percent confidence level is +/- 6.4 percentage points for African Americans, +/- 7.6 percentage points for Asian Americans, +/- 6.3 percentage points for Latino/as, and +/- 5.9 percentage points for whites. To encourage cooperation, respondents were offered incentives for completing the survey that ranged from the cash-equivalent of \$3 to the cash-equivalent of \$10.

The interviews from the two probability-based sample sources were combined for statistical weighting and analysis. The combined panel samples provide sample coverage of approximately 97% of the U.S. household population. Those excluded from the sample include people with P.O. Box only addresses, some addresses not listed in the USPS Delivery Sequence File, and some newly constructed dwellings. The statistical weights incorporate the appropriate probability of selection for the BYP and AmeriSpeak samples, nonresponse adjustments, and also, raking ratio adjustments to population benchmarks for 18-30 year old adults. A poststratification process is used to adjust for any survey nonresponse as well as any non-coverage or under- and over-sampling resulting from the study-specific sample design. The poststratification process was done separately for each racial/ethnic group and involved the following variables: age, gender, education, and census region. The weighted data, which reflect the U.S. population of adults ages 18-30, and the 18-30 year-old populations for African Americans, Latino/as, Asian Americans, and non-Latino/a whites, were used for all analyses.