

# Health Reform & American Public Life

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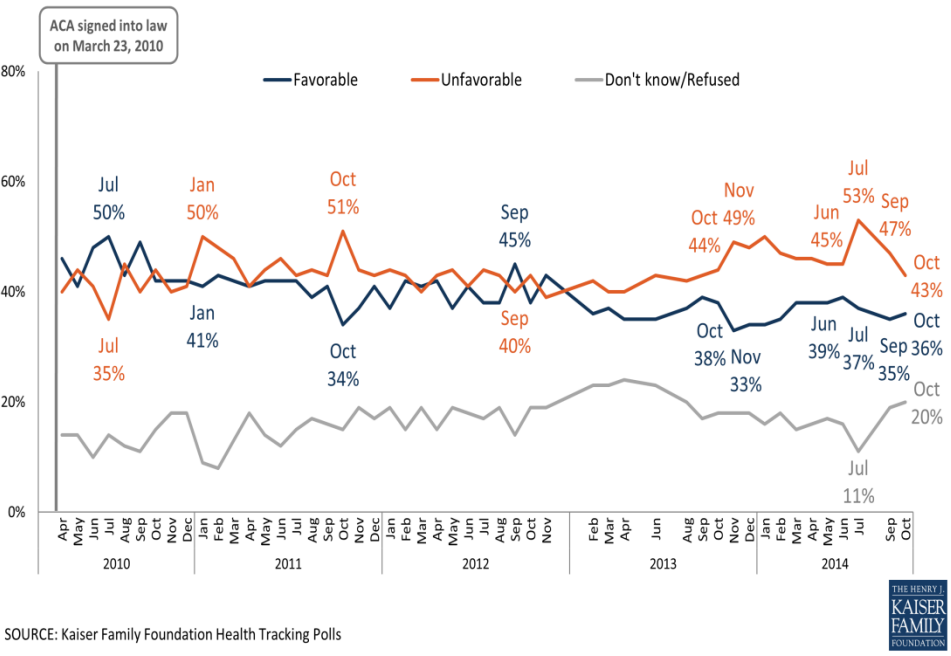
# Honey Badger Don't Care – unless he smells honey



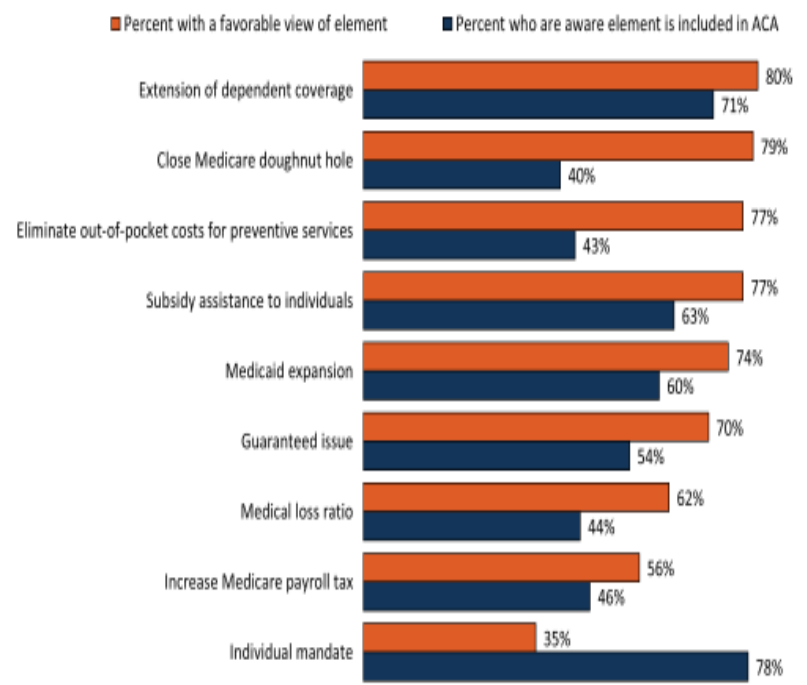
# Split Public: Dislike Abstraction & Embrace Specific Reforms

## Views Of The ACA Similar To A Year Ago

As you may know, a health reform bill was signed into law in 2010. Given what you know about the health reform law, do you have a generally favorable or generally unfavorable opinion of it?



Percent who say they have a favorable opinion of each of the following and percent who say they are aware each is included in the health reform law:

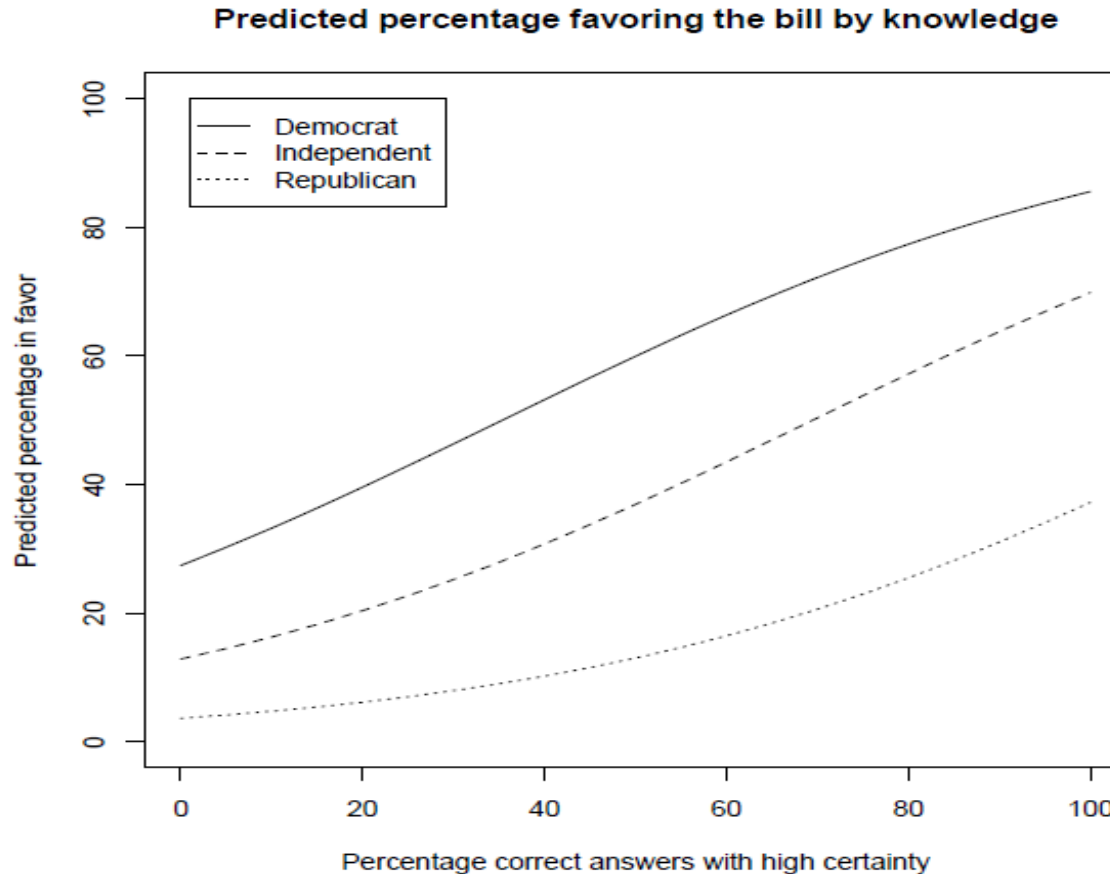


NOTE: Items asked of separate half samples. Response wording abbreviated. See topline for complete wording.  
SOURCE: Kaiser Family Foundation Health Tracking Poll (conducted March 11-17, 2014)

Source: Kaiser Family Foundation Health Tracking Polls, Oct 8-14, 2014 and Mar. 11-17, 2014.

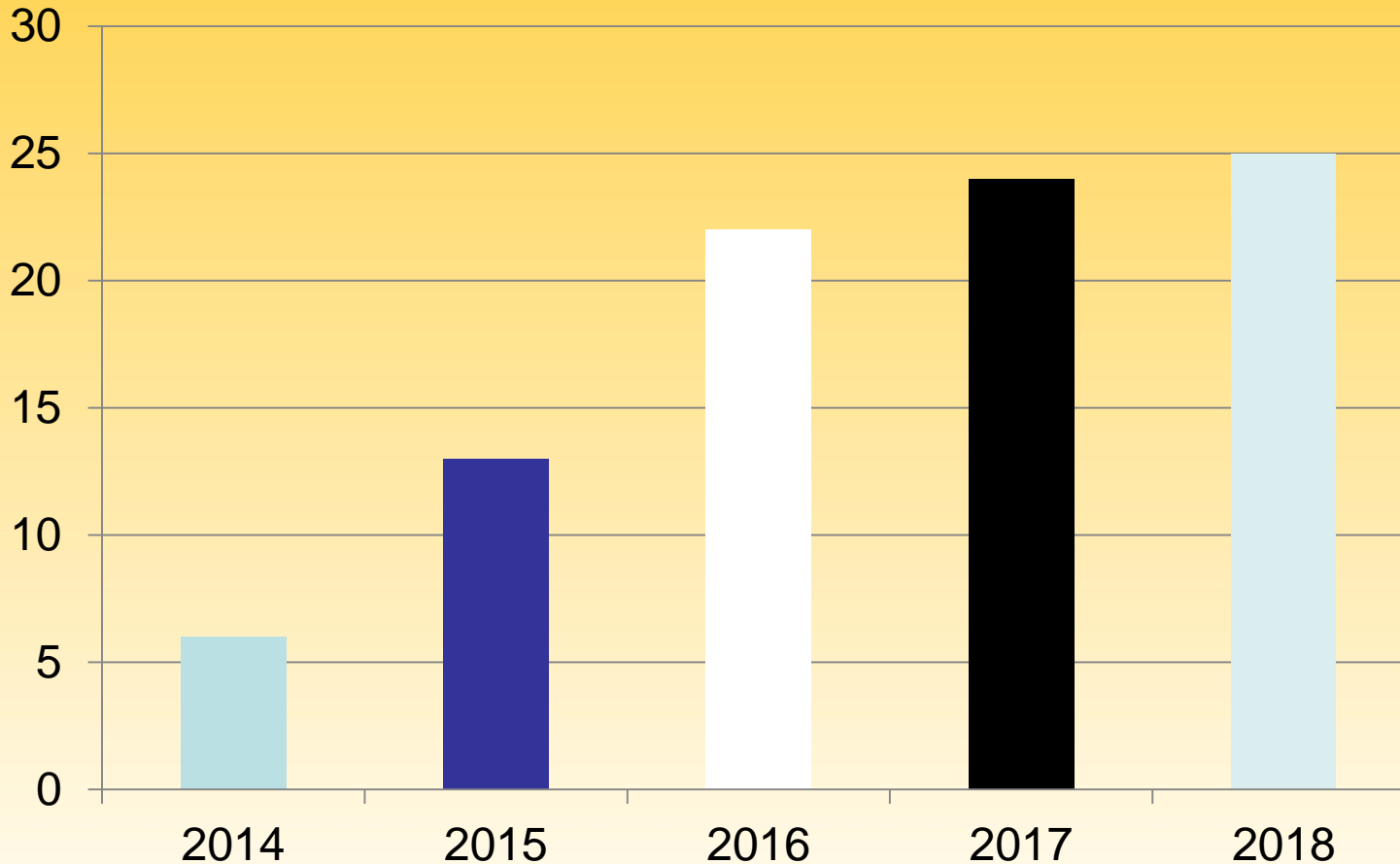
# Key Link: knowledge & Support

**Figure 1: The Relation of Knowledge to Favoring the ACA: Dems, Inds, and Reps Separately**



Source: Gross, et al, "Americans' Attitudes Toward the Affordable Care Act," Stanford University

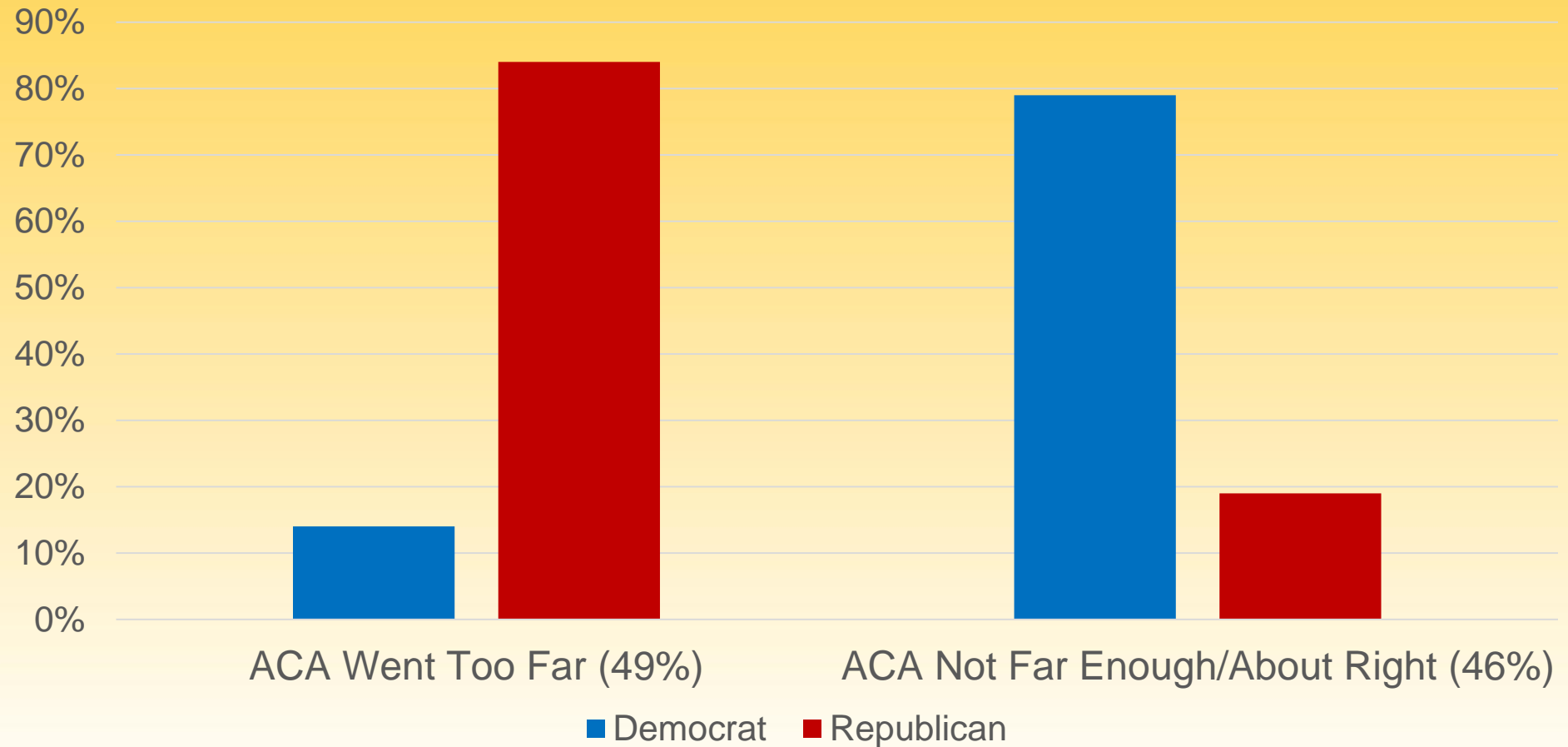
# Future Exchange Enrollment Boost Knowledge & Support?



Source: Congressional Budget Office, The Budget and Economic Outlook: 2014 to 2024.  
[http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/attachments/45010-Outlook2014\\_Feb.pdf](http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/attachments/45010-Outlook2014_Feb.pdf).

# Voters Split over ACA

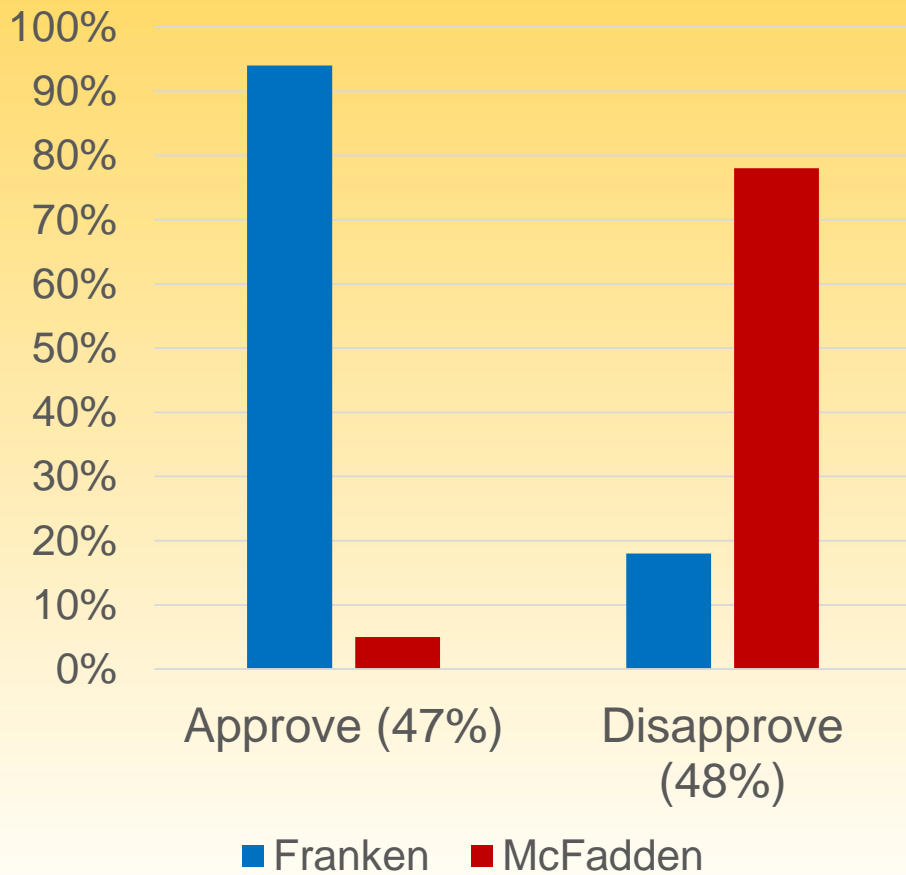
## National House Vote



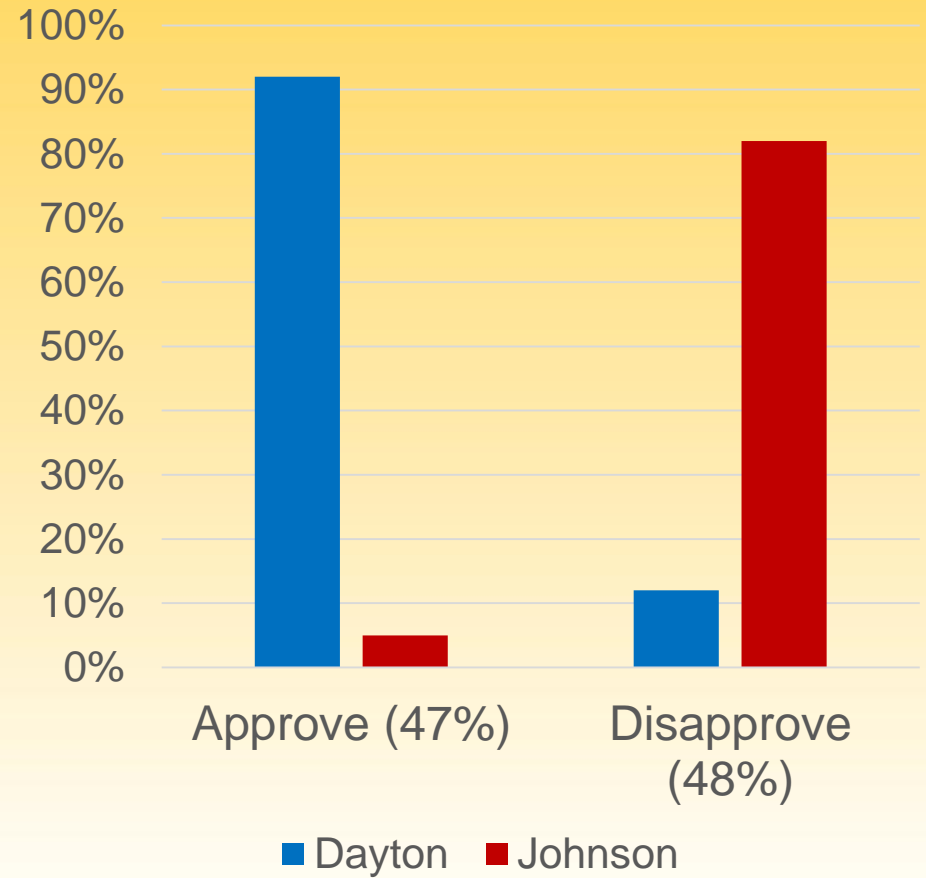
Source: <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/elections/2014/exit-polls#>

# Political Impotence of Health Reform Attacks: Gov Dayton's Handling of MnSure

## MN Senate Vote



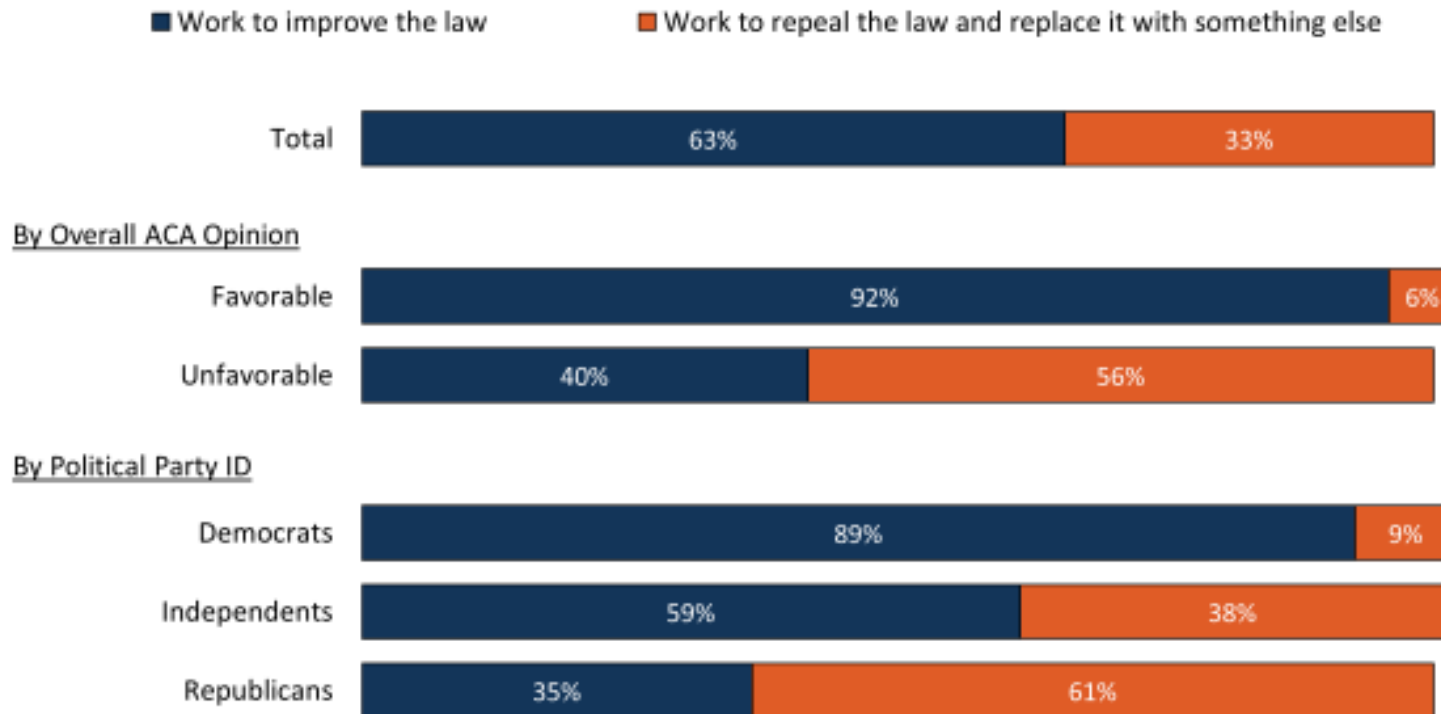
## MN Governor Vote



Source: <http://www.cbsnews.com/elections/2014/>

# Repeal is strongly opposed

Which would you rather see your representative in Congress do when it comes to the health care law?



NOTE: Neither of these/They should do something else (Vol.) and Don't know/Refused answers not shown.

SOURCE: Kaiser Family Foundation Health Tracking Poll (conducted August 25-September 2, 2014)



Source: Kaiser Family Foundation Health Tracking Poll (Aug. 25-Sept. 2, 2014), <http://kff.org/health-reform/poll-finding/kaiser-health-tracking-poll-august-september-2014>

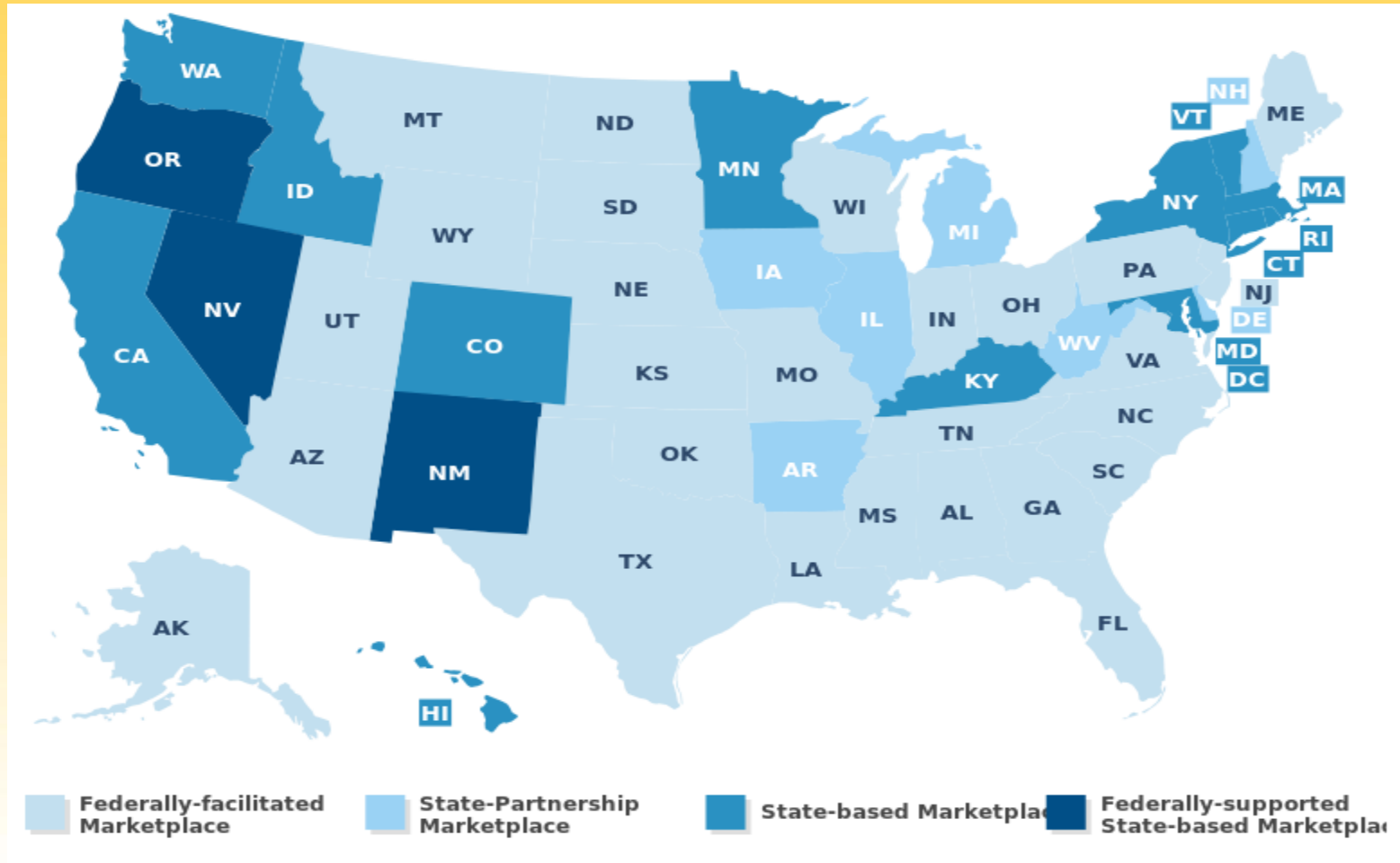


# What “federal takeover”?

## Watch the States

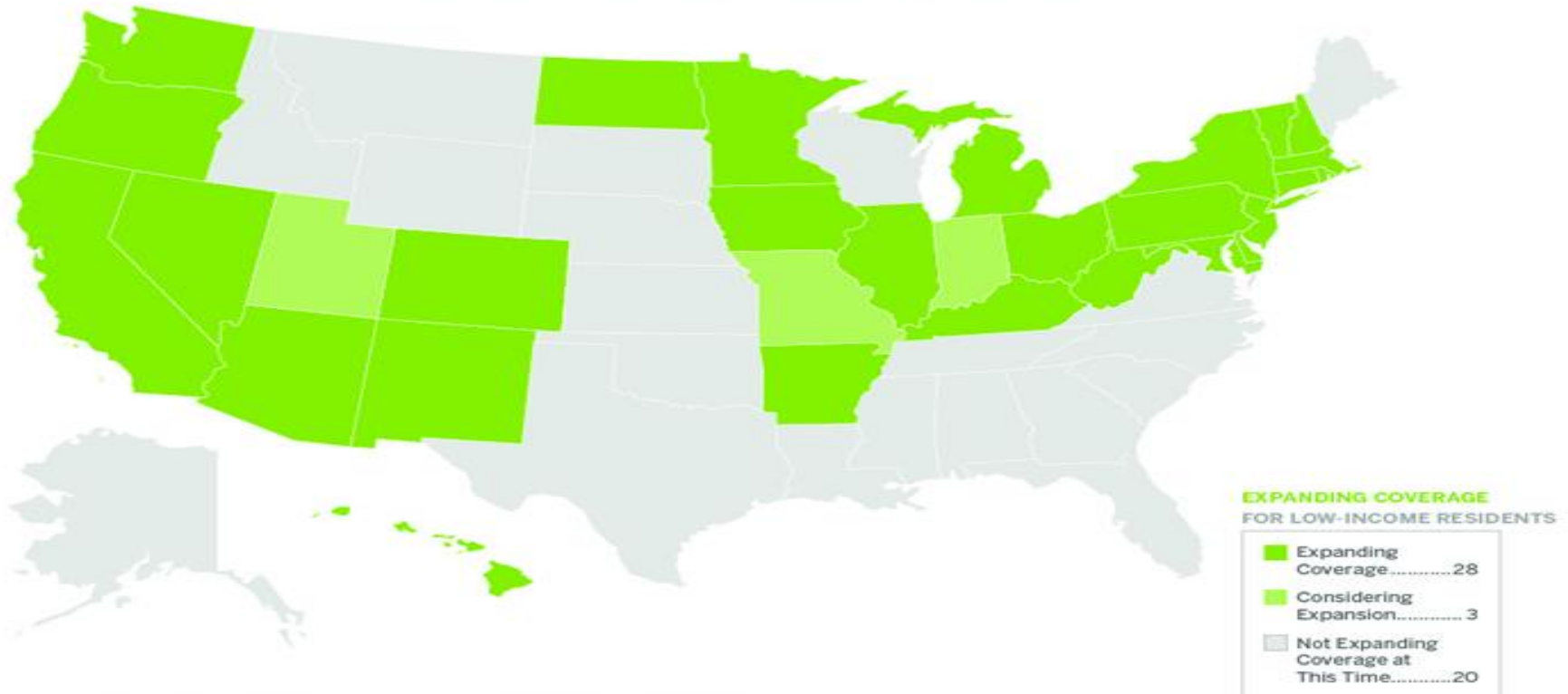


# Health Insurance Exchanges



# Medicaid Expansion

Where the **States** Stand on Medicaid Expansion  
27 States, DC, Expanding Coverage—August 28, 2014



Notes: Based on literature review as of 8/28/2014. All policies subject to change without notice.  
HHS has announced that states can obtain a waiver to use federal funds to shift Medicaid-eligible residents into private health plans.  
The District of Columbia plans to participate in Medicaid expansion and will operate its own exchange.



Learn more about ACA implementation at [advisory.com/daily-briefing](http://advisory.com/daily-briefing)

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# Politics of Medicaid Expansion

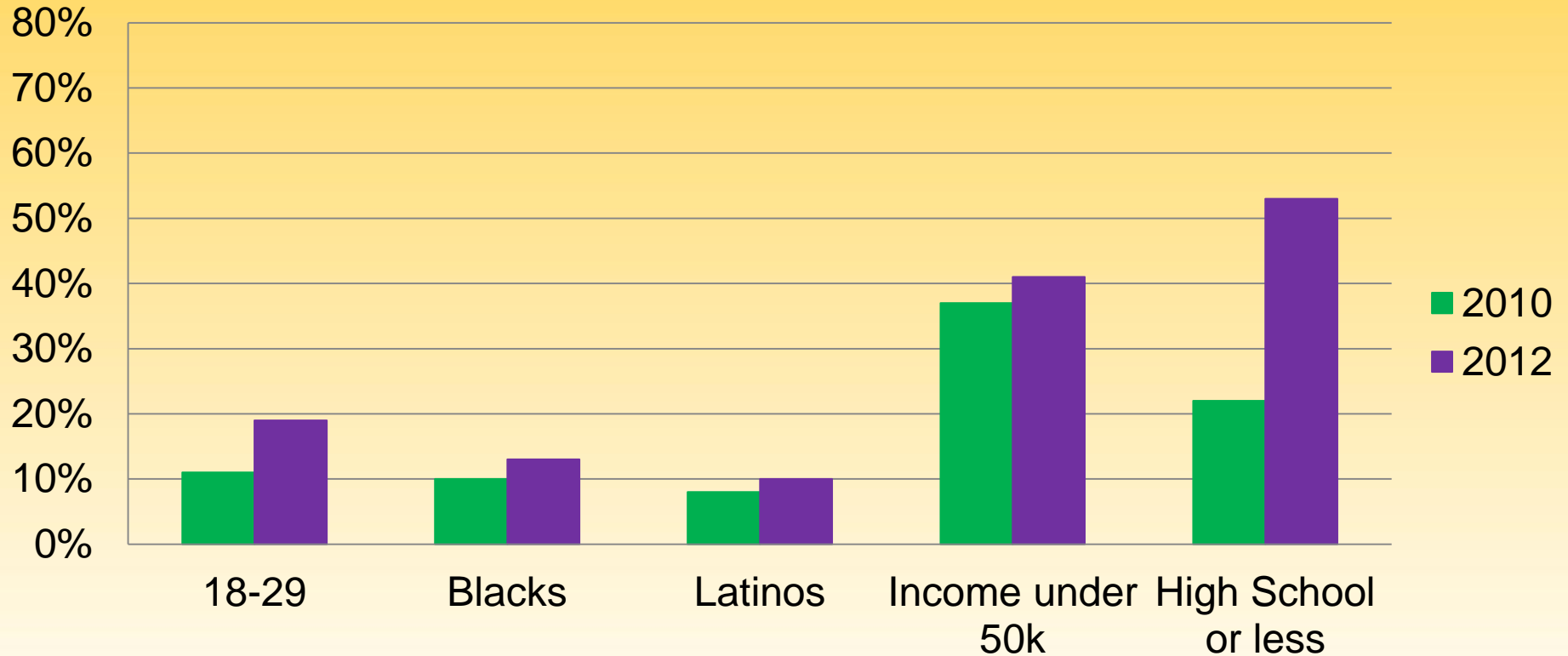
- ❖ **Partisanship** – most consistent, strongest influence
- ❖ **Strong administrative capacity & history of generosity** load dice
- ❖ State familiarity with **federal government bargaining**
- ❖ **Public interest advocates** (California health access)

# America's Electorates: Changing Politics of Repeal



# 1. Which Electorate?

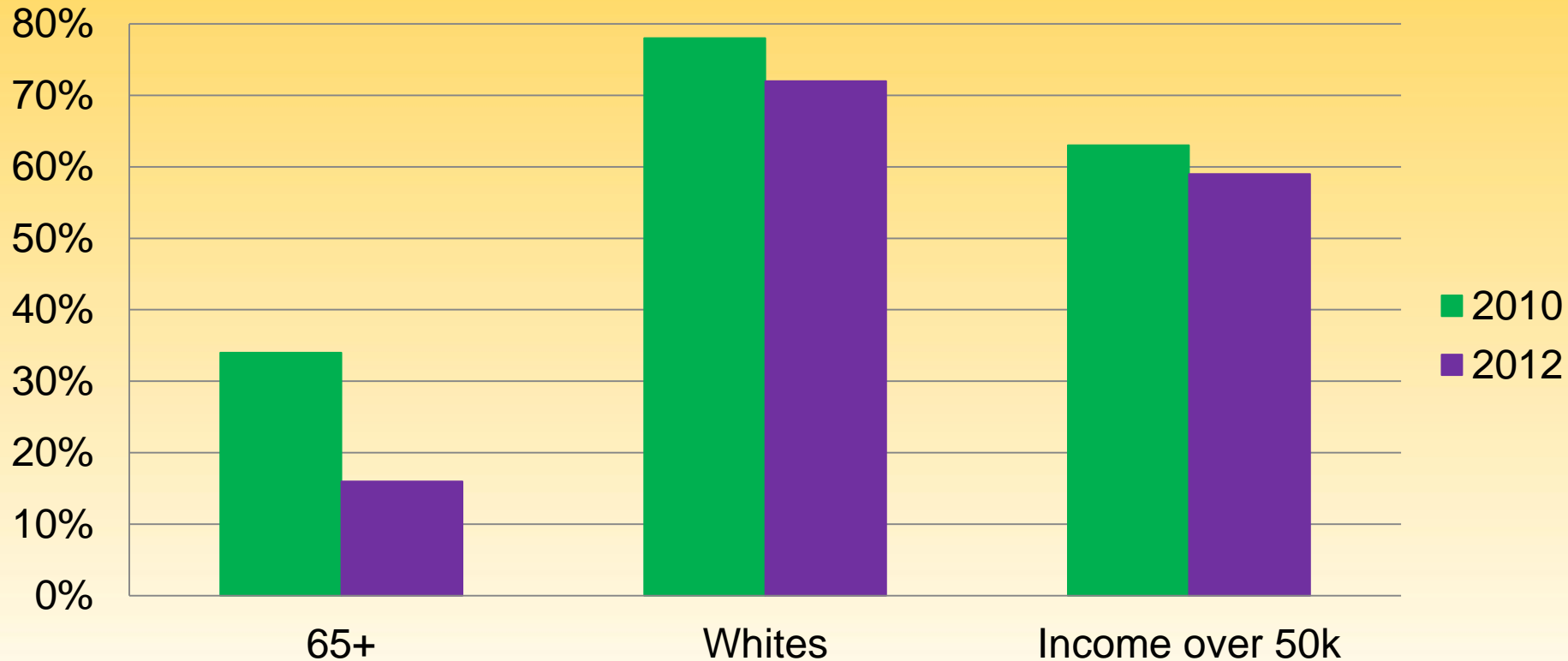
## Percent of Voters from Demographics That Favor Democrats



Sources: <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2010/11/07/weekinreview/20101107-detailed-exitpolls.html>,  
<http://elections.nytimes.com/2012/results/president/exit-polls>

# Partisan Slants to Electorate

## Percent of Voters from Demographics That Favor Republicans



Sources: <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2010/11/07/weekinreview/20101107-detailed-exitpolls.html>,  
<http://elections.nytimes.com/2012/results/president/exit-polls>

# America's New Electorate

- Projected changes in population:

	<b>2005</b>	<b>2050</b>
Seniors	12%	19%
White	67%	47%
Hispanic	14%	29%
Black	13%	13%
Asian	5%	9%
Foreign-born	12%	19%

*Source:* Pew Research Center, 2008

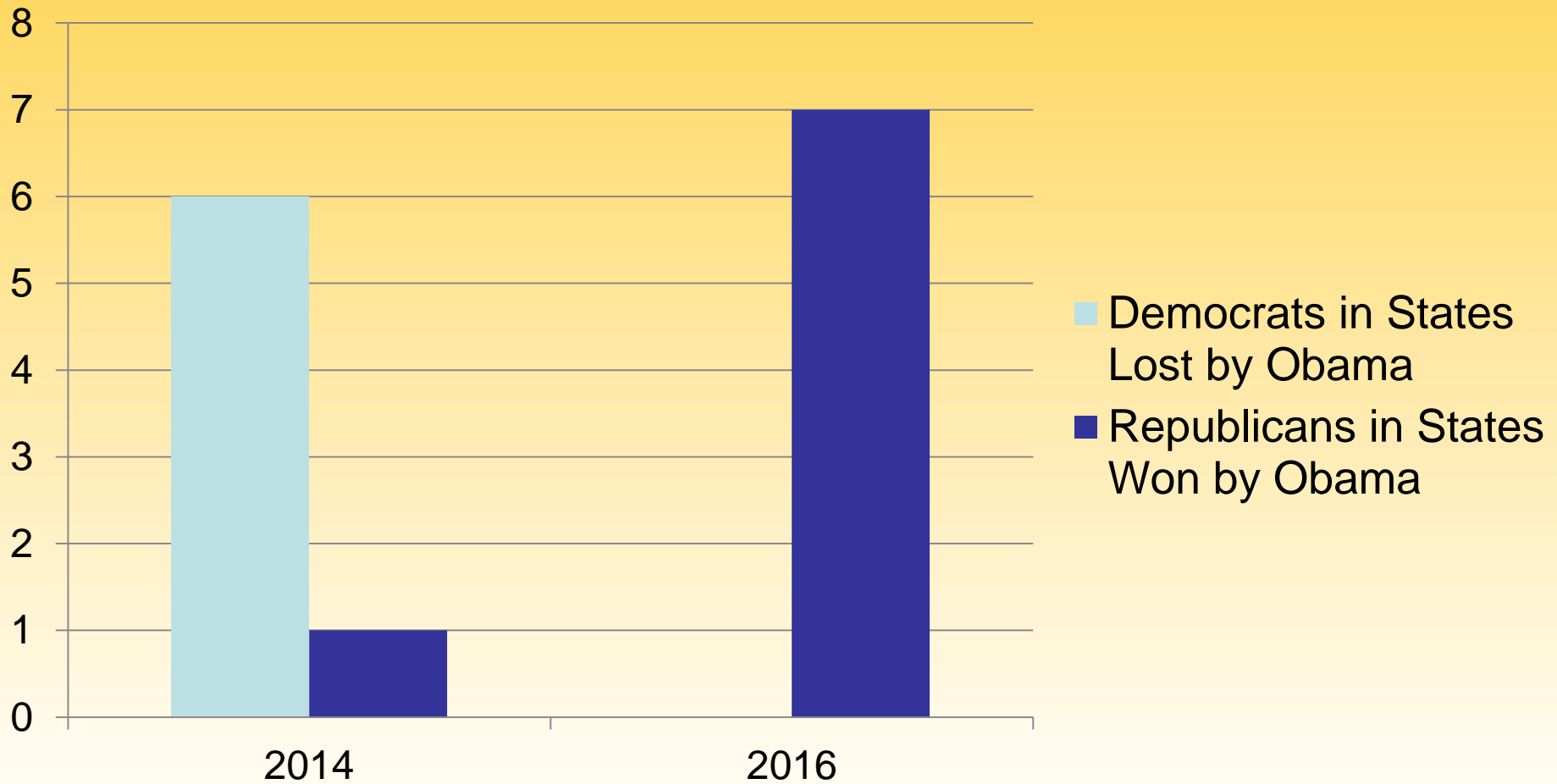


# The New Electorate

	<b>1980</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2012</b>
<b>Vote for Republican Presidential Candidate</b>	55%	55%	59%
<b>White Voters as Proportion of Electorate</b>	89%	74%	72%

# 2. Anticipatory Reaction?

## New GOP Senate Worry About 2016



Sources: <http://elections.nytimes.com/2012/results/president>

# 3. GOP Divides – pragmatists vs very conservative

## Conservatism Scores for Republican Senators

Rank	Member	State	Score
1	James Risch	Idaho	96.8
2	Michael Enzi	Wyo.	95.8
3	Timothy Scott	S.C.	95.7
4	Ted Cruz	Texas	95
5	Jim Inhofe	Okla.	93.3
6	John Barrasso	Wyo.	92.8
7	Mike Lee	Utah	90.8
8	Pat Roberts	Kan.	89.8
9	Ron Johnson	Wis.	89.5
10	Mike Crapo	Idaho	89.2
11	Chuck Grassley	Iowa	88.5
12	David Vitter	La.	85.8
13	Tom Coburn	Okla.	85.5
14	John Cornyn	Texas	84.8
15	Jeff Sessions	Ala.	83.5
16	Jerry Moran	Kan.	82.7
17	Marco Rubio	Fla.	82.5
17	John Thune	S.D.	82.5
19	John Boozman	Ark.	82
19	Rand Paul	Ky.	82
21	Dean Heller	Nev.	80.7
22	Pat Toomey	Pa.	79.5
23	Dan Coats	Ind.	79

24	Richard Shelby	Ala.	78.5
25	Mitch McConnell	Ky.	77.7
26	Deb Fischer	Neb.	77
27	Richard Burr	N.C.	72.5
28	Rob Portman	Ohio	70.7
29	Orrin Hatch	Utah	70.2
30	John Hoeven	N.D.	69.3
31	Saxby Chambliss	Ga.	67.8
31	Mike Johanns	Neb.	67.8
33	Roger Wicker	Miss.	67.7
34	Thad Cochran	Miss.	67.5
35	Kelly Ayotte	N.H.	66.7
36	Mark Kirk	Ill.	66.2
37	Jeff Flake	Ariz.	65.2
38	Bob Corker	Tenn.	64.8
38	Johnny Isakson	Ga.	64.8
40	Lamar Alexander	Tenn.	64.5
40	Lindsey Graham	S.C.	64.5
42	Roy Blunt	Mo.	64.2
43	John McCain	Ariz.	60.2
44	Lisa Murkowski	Alaska	55.5
45	Susan Collins	Maine	55.2

Source: <http://www.nationaljournal.com/2013-vote-ratings/>

# “Houston, we have a problem”

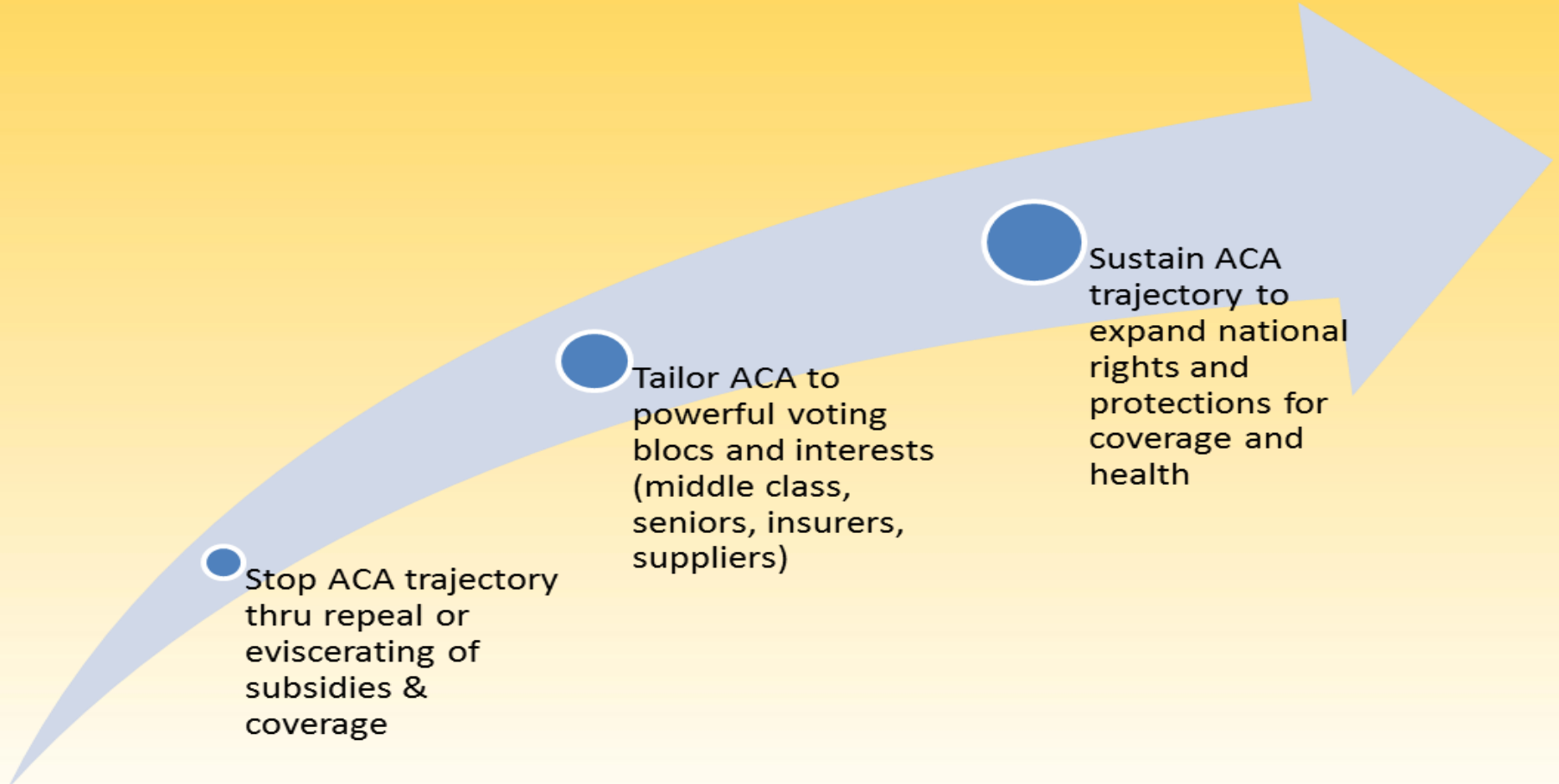


Votes in US House	2011 Debt Ceiling Vote	2013 Sandy Rescue	2013 Fiscal Cliff
Democrats (Y)	50%	99%	90%
Democrats (N)	50%	1%	10%
Republicans (Y)	72%	22%	35%
Republicans (N)	<b>27%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>65%</b>

# ACA in Time: Paths of Development



# Coming Congressional Battles: Significance for Future Development



Stop ACA trajectory  
thru repeal or  
eviscerating of  
subsidies &  
coverage

Tailor ACA to  
powerful voting  
blocs and interests  
(middle class,  
seniors, insurers,  
suppliers)

Sustain ACA  
trajectory to  
expand national  
rights and  
protections for  
coverage and  
health

# Trajectory of Health Reform: Repeal & Collapse

## Politics:

- House GOP moves right
- GOP Senators facing reelection are conservative & pulled by Cruz wing
- ACA headaches – enrollment surge; tax reconciliation confusion; ongoing operational struggles; financial illiteracy

## Policy menu:

- Vote on repeal likely passes & requires veto to defeat
- Stop or slash funding/authorization for Medicaid expansion
- Terminate or substantially scale-back subsidies
- End funding for expanded community health clinics
- Squeeze funding for CMS & state personnel & management

# Trajectory of Health Reform: Incrementalism for Organized

## Politics:

- GOP Senators, Governors face backlash for “taking away” benefits from powerful voting blocs – loss aversion alarms seniors/indies & reinforces gender gap (“hurt women”)
- Businesses, insurers, providers, AARP stop repeal after adjusting to ACA & press for more accommodations

## Policy menu:

- End medical device tax & IPAB
- Lock in expanded drug coverage, subsidies for middle class
- Effectively pressure CMS to grant broader latitude to state waivers for Medicaid expansion (work requirement)
- Regulators tolerate weaker natl protections & reversion to risk segmentation, medical underwriting (h.c. ministries; farm bur)



# Expanding Medicaid is a Matter of Life & Death

	Nation	Texas
No Pap Smears	443,677	110,000
Huge bills for catastrophic care	240,700	63,000
Preventable deaths:	7,115 - 17,104	1,800 - 3,000

Sources: [http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org/sites/default/files/ssn\\_key\\_findings\\_dickman\\_on\\_health\\_effects\\_of\\_refusing\\_medicaid\\_expansion.pdf](http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org/sites/default/files/ssn_key_findings_dickman_on_health_effects_of_refusing_medicaid_expansion.pdf)  
<http://healthaffairs.org/blog/2014/01/30/opting-out-of-medicaid-expansion-the-health-and-financial-impacts/>.

# Trajectory of Health Reform: Slingshot Forward

## Politics: Expansionary cascade (Social Security)

- Dem presidential hopefuls & allies spotlight GOP repeal votes & cuts as “extremism” & as threats to key voters
- 2016 politics splits GOP Senate caucus - prez hopefuls vs “moderates” & those seeking re-election in blue states
- Enrollment approaches 50m, more states adopt Medicaid expansion & all states modernize Medicaid into entitlement

## Policy menu: Preparing Saskatchewan scenarios

- States use new power over contracting, certification, cost allocation to expand coverage/reduce premiums: Spotlight inadequacies in non-reforming states & create new models
- States file for 1332 waivers for Public Option & Single Payer

# The Social Security Model

- Passed in 1935
- Revised financing 1939
- Suspended during Second World War
- Battle to restart program & sustain benefits, 1950s-1960s
- Third Rail of American politics

# SSN REGIONAL NETWORKS

