The Politics of Health Care Reform Implementation After the Midterms

National Congress on Health Insurance Reform
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The 2010 Mid-Term Elections: What Happened and What Issues Drove Voters?
Republicans Make Large Congressional Gains, Earning House Majority

**Senate**: 51-47-2 Democratic Majority
GOP Gains: 6
(60 needed to pass most legislation)

**House**: 242-193 Republican Majority
GOP Gains: 63
(218 majority needed to pass legislation)
Governors
29 R (+6)
20 D (-7)
1 Ind (+1)

Partisan Legislative Chambers
56 R (+13)
48 D (-13)
(GOP +675 state seats)
Independent Voters Moved To GOP
28% of Overall Voters

Source: Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research, Nov. 5, 2010
Health Reform Part of Election Narrative that Government Grew Too Big Under Democrats

Role of Government
- Does Too Much: 56%
- Should Do More: 38%

Source: CNN Exit Polling Data
What Now for Health Reform?
The Most Recent Numbers: Where Americans Stand Now On Health Reform

Q: Do you support or oppose the changes to the health-care system that have been enacted by Congress and the Obama administration?

- **All**
  - Support: 45%
  - Oppose: 50%
  - No opinion: 5%
  - Details:
    - Repeal all of it: 18%
    - Repeal parts of it: 19%
    - Wait and see: 17%

- **Democrats**
  - Support: 75%
  - Oppose: 21%
  - No opinion: 4%
  - Details:
    - Repeal all of it: 39%
    - Repeal parts of it: 28%
    - Wait and see: 12%

- **Independents**
  - Support: 38%
  - Oppose: 56%
  - No opinion: 6%
  - Details:
    - Repeal all of it: 33%
    - Repeal parts of it: 51%
    - Wait and see: 19%

- **Republicans**
  - Support: 17%
  - Oppose: 80%
  - No opinion: 3%
  - Details:
    - Repeal all of it: 20%
    - Repeal parts of it: 67%

Q: Do you think the health-care reform law is more likely to...

- **Help or hurt the economy overall?**
  - **All**
    - Help: 39%
    - Hurt: 54%
  - **Democrats**
    - Help: 68%
    - Hurt: 28%
  - **Independents**
    - Help: 31%
    - Hurt: 60%
  - **Republicans**
    - Help: 16%
    - Hurt: 80%

- **Create jobs or cut the number of jobs in the country?**
  - **All**
    - Create jobs: 38%
    - Cut jobs: 46%
  - **Democrats**
    - Create jobs: 59%
    - Cut jobs: 27%
  - **Independents**
    - Create jobs: 33%
    - Cut jobs: 51%
  - **Republicans**
    - Create jobs: 20%
    - Cut jobs: 67%

- **Increase or decrease the federal deficit?**
  - **All**
    - Decrease: 29%
    - Increase: 62%
  - **Democrats**
    - Decrease: 46%
    - Increase: 46%
  - **Independents**
    - Decrease: 24%
    - Increase: 66%
  - **Republicans**
    - Decrease: 17%
    - Increase: 78%

*Neither/no opinion answers not shown.

SOURCE: This Washington Post-ABC News poll was conducted by telephone Jan. 13 to 16, 2011, among a random national sample of 1,063 adults, including users of both conventional and cellular phones. The results from the full survey have a margin of sampling error of plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. Sampling, data collection and tabulation by TNS of Horsham, Pa. Due to rounding not all questions total to 100 percent.
32 Million Gain Coverage Under Reform
Major Role for States, Major Changes in Insurance Markets

282 million non-elderly population

2010
- 30m (11%) Medicaid & CHIP
- 35m (12%) Nongroup & Other
- 54m (19%) Employer
- 162m (57%) Exchanges
- 24m (9%) Uninsured

2019
- 25m (9%) Medicaid & CHIP
- 51m (18%) Nongroup & Other
- 23m (8%) Employer
- 159m (56%) Exchanges
- 24m (9%) Uninsured

Source: Congressional Budget Office (CBO), March 20, 2010
The Overall GOP Approach To Health Reform

- Repeal
- Replace
- Oversight and Investigations
- Congressional Review Act
- Block funding through Appropriations
- Surgical strikes
GOP Targets and Policy Proposals

• Some Specific ACA Targets
  - Individual mandate
  - Medicaid eligibility
  - Industry taxes and fees
  - Employer penalties
  - CLASS Act
  - 1099 small business tax relief
  - Medicare payment cuts
  - IPAB and PCORI
  - State prevention fund

• Some Specific Reforms
  - Medical liability reform
  - Insurance reform
  - Tax credits
  - HSA expansions
  - Purchase across state lines
  - Medicare SGR
Also Shaping the Agenda
"Rising health costs will put tremendous pressure on the federal budget during the next few decades and beyond. . . Putting the federal budget on a sustainable path would […] require a significant reduction in the growth of federal health spending relative to current law."

Source: Presentation to the IOM by Douglas W. Elmendorf, May 26, 2010

"Federal health care spending represents our single largest fiscal challenge over the long-run. As the baby boomers retire and overall health care costs continue to grow faster than the economy, federal health spending threatens to balloon. Under its extended-baseline scenario, CBO projects that federal health care spending for Medicare, Medicaid, the Children’s Health Insurance Program (CHIP), and the health insurance exchange subsidies will grow from nearly 6 percent of GDP in 2010 to about 10 percent in 2035, and continue to grow thereafter."