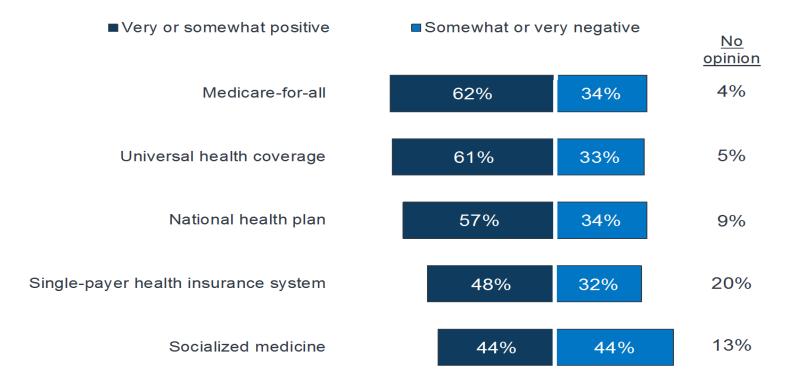


### What's in a Name?

Figure 4

#### Terminology Affects Public Opinion On Single-Payer

Do you have a positive or negative reaction to the following terms?



NOTE: Items asked of separate half samples.

SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Poll (conducted from November 8-13, 2017)



## A Road Map:

- 1. What's Your Problem?
- 2. Single Payer

what's it look like?

Why it works

3. Underlying questions

inequality!

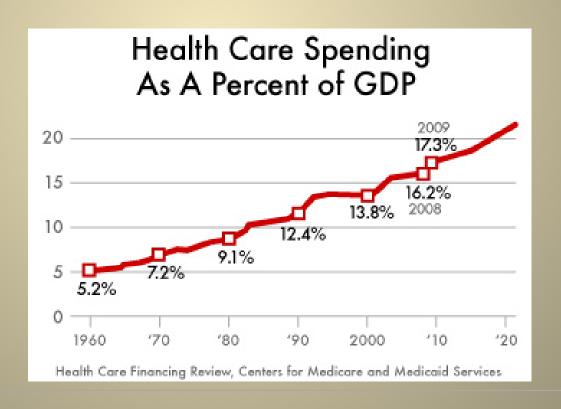
social values!





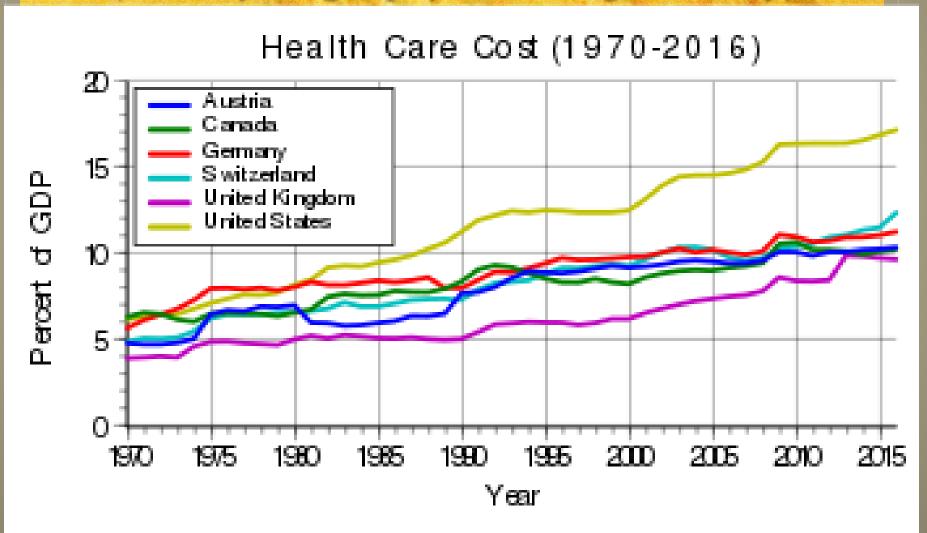
## I. What's Your Problem?

#### ■ 1. Costs



### Costs in Context

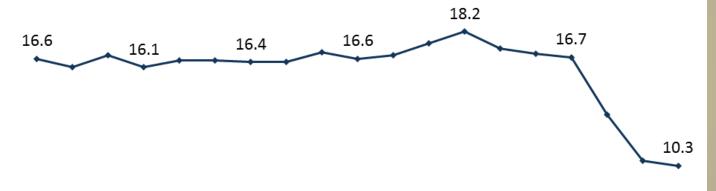
(Or why single payer never goes away)



# I. What's Your problem? The unisured

Figure 1

### Uninsured Rate Among the Nonelderly Population, 1998-2016



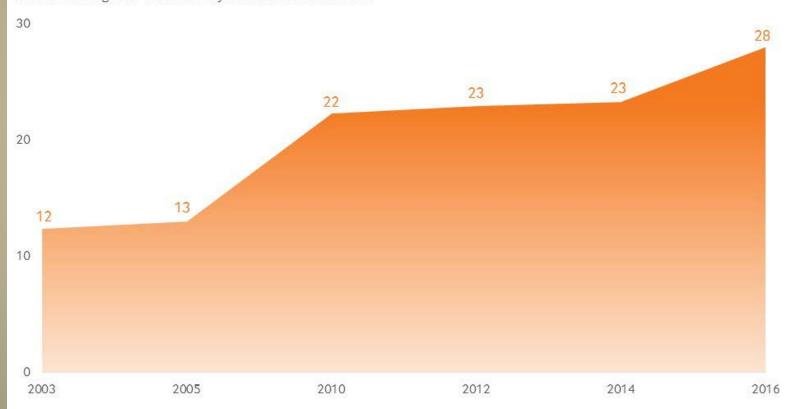
1998 1999 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016



# What's your problem: The underinsured

More Than One-Quarter of Insured Adults Were Underinsured in 2016

Percent adults ages 19-64 insured all year who were underinsured\*



<sup>\*</sup> Underinsured defined as insured all year but experienced one of the following: out-of-pocket costs, excluding premiums, equaled 10% or more of income; out-of-pocket costs, excluding premiums, equaled 5% or more of income if low-income (<200% of poverty); or deductibles equaled 5% or more of income.

Data: Commonwealth Fund Biennial Health Insurance Surveys (2003, 2005, 2010, 2012, 2014, and 2016).



# What's Your Problem? 3. Outcomes

■ 3. Outcomes











# Life Expectancy at Birth (CIA, 2014)

<ul><li>Japan</li></ul>	84.46	rank: 3	
<ul><li>Singapore</li></ul>	84.38	4	
<ul><li>Switzerland</li></ul>	82.39	8	
<ul><li>Australia</li></ul>	82.07	10	
Italy	82.03	11	
Canada	81.67	14	
■ France	81.66	15	
<ul><li>Germany</li></ul>	80.44	28	
■ USA	79.56	42	

## What's Your Problem?

- 1. Costs (required)
- 2. Access to care
- 3. Outcomes

■ 4. Quality of Care

■ 5. Pick your own

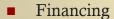




### II. MEDICARE FOR ALL

#### Bernie Sanders:

- Comprehensive, Universal benefits.
- No copayments
- Total costs: \$1.38 trillion



- Family premium: 2.2% of income
- 6.2% payroll / employers
- Income tax increases: 37% on 250k 500k

up to 52% on \$10 million



- Tax expenditure (\$290 billion)
- Out of pocket costs (460 billion)
- Employer health insurance premiums (est 14k per employee)





## WHY IT WORKS

#### **COSTS:**



- ADMINISTRATIVE LEVIATHAN
- MONOPSONY BUYER

- COVERAGE
  - EVERYONE IN

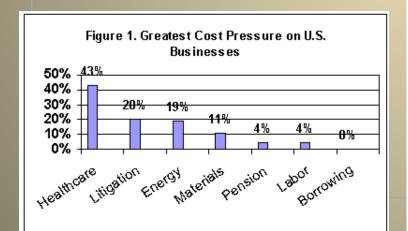
## Medicare for All A RADICAL CHANGE?

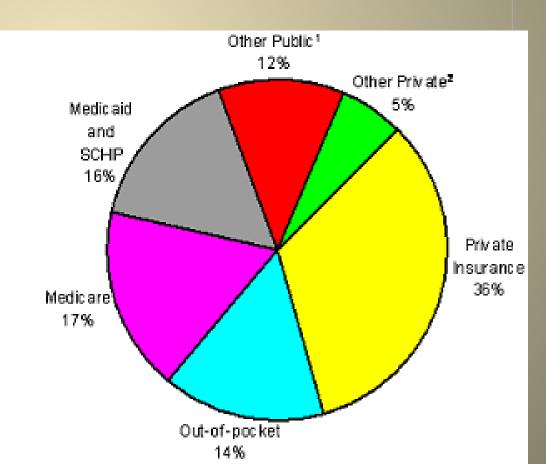
GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS: 44% [++]

PRIVATE INSURANCE: 36%

OUT OF POCKET: 14%

(And growing fastest)





# III. The underlying questions

Inequality

■ What kind of society?

■ A new generation rising?

## Inequality (1970) (Ginni Coefficient)

United Kingdom 24.3

Denmark 31

Germany 31.3

Canada 31.6

Sweden 31.6

Japan 34.1

#### United States 35.8

France 36.2

Brazil 56

Mexico 58.3

## Economic Inequality (latest, CIA)

(1970)	(2005-11)	Rise/Decline Inequality
Sweden (31.6)	23	-8.6
Denmark (31)	24.8	-6.2
Germany (31.3)	27	-4.3
Canada (31.6)	32.1	+.7
France (36.2)	32.7	-3.5
Japan (34.1)	37.6	+3.5
United States (35.8)	45	+9.2
Mexico (58.3)	48.3	-10
Brazil (56)	51.9	-4.1
Lesotho	63.1	

#### Inequalty

### Life Expectancy by Zip Code – Injustice?

RALEIGH-DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

Short Distances to Large Gaps in Health

Follow the discussion
#CloseHealthGaps









#### What Kind of Society?

#### Health Care Reflects our social values



#### Millennials:

### Different generation, different attitudes

#### More support for single payer among those under 30 than older adults

Is it the federal government's responsibility to make sure all Americans have health care coverage?

	Yes, governmen	nt is respon	sible	No, gove	ernment	is not re	esponsible
	Single nationa govt program			Continue M Medic			vt involvement f any kind
Total		33%	25%	33%	5%		
18-29		45	20	24	7		
30-49		31	29	32	4		
50-64		28	28	37	4		
65+		30	22	38	4		
AMONG REPUBLICANS/REI	PUBLICAN LEANERS						
All Rep/Lean Rep		12	17		57	9	
18-29		22	16	41		17	
30+		10	18		61		7
AMONG DEMOCRATS/DEM	OCRATIC LEANERS						
All Dem/Lean Dem	52		31	13 1			
18-29	66		23	8 2			
30+	48		34	14 1			

Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Survey conducted June 8-18, 2017.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Total Population	2043
Age Under 18	2018
Age 18-29	2027
Age 30-44	2035
Age 45-64	2051
Age 65+	after 2060

## Thank You

WITH A NEW PREFACE

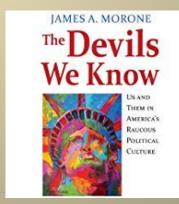
JAMES A. MORONE

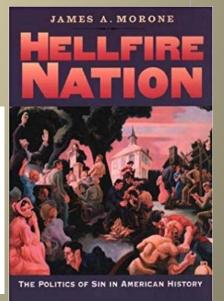


THE HEART of POWER

HEALTH AND POLITICS IN THE OVAL OFFICE James\_Morone@brown.edu







## IV. The ACA Implementing Medicaid in the States

#### Parent of Dependent Child - eligibility for Medicaid

Arkansas	16% <b>FPL</b>	\$3,768/ family 4)
Louisiana	24%	\$5,662
Texas	25%	\$5,887
New Hampshire	47%	\$11,0685
Montana	54%	\$12,717
Michigan	64%	15,072
Arizona, California	106%	\$24,963
New York	150%	\$35,325
Massachusetts	133%	31,320
Connecticut	191%	\$44,980

# Lessons From Health Reform 5. Speed!!!

Obama Clinton

Speech on Health Care Month 1.3 Month 8

Plan Before Congress Month 4 Month 12

Passes Both Chambers Month 11 Never

Finale Month 13 Month 19

## Lessons from Health Reform 7. Learn to Lose



### Lessons from Health Reform

- Congress: Run the Machine
- Go Public: Symbols
- Go Public: Philosophy
- Health Care systems reflect social values
- Speed!!!
- Hush the economists
- Learn to Lose