The Pulse of the Public on Health in the Election and Health Policy

Drew Altman, Ph.D.
President and CEO, KFF
Founding Publisher, Kaiser Health News

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KFF At A Glance

• The new KFF, established in 1991

• Our Mission: “Filling the need for trusted information on national health issues”

…subtext: a counterweight to the money and politics in health and a voice for people

• We do this in three main ways: policy analysis; polling/survey research; journalism (KHN)

• California based, with a substantial DC presence

• We are an endowed non-profit operating organization (a “public charity”), not a foundation, supported 70% by our endowment, 30% by external funds

• No connection to Kaiser Permanente, the big HMO (we call ourselves “KFF” to avoid confusion)

• Good brand, bad name
1. Filling a need for independent, unbiased polling data in health that’s in the public domain and in the public record

2. Give the public a voice in the system, especially groups who don’t often have one

3. Show where leadership is necessary and where public information is low and education challenges exist

4. Go beyond opinion, and document the public’s experiences and problems

5. We poll ourselves and with news organizations

KFF is “the gold standard of health care polling” (Washington Post)
Health As An Election Issue
Figure 5

Health Care Is a Top Issue for Voters

Most important issue facing the country among 2018 voters

- Health care: 41%
- Immigration: 23%
- Economy: 22%
- Gun policy: 10%

SOURCE: 2018 National exit poll conducted by CNN, ABC, NBC, and CBS
### Major Factors in 2018 Vote

Percent who say each of the following is a major factor in their decision about who to vote for Congress:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The candidates’ character and experience</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The candidates’ support for or opposition to President Trump</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which party controls Congress, the Republicans or the Democrats</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The candidates’ political party</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The candidates’ gender</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Democrats And Independents In “Blue Wall” States Say Defeating President Trump Is Their Top Motivation To Vote In 2020 Election

Percent who say each of the following will be the one thing that will motivate them to vote in the 2020 presidential election:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RANK</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>DEMOCRATS</th>
<th>INDEPENDENTS</th>
<th>REPUBLICANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>To defeat Trump (21%)</td>
<td>To defeat Trump (39%)</td>
<td>To defeat Trump (20%)</td>
<td>To re-elect Trump/Don’t want to see a Democrat elected (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>It is my civic duty (9%)</td>
<td>Health care (9%)</td>
<td>It is my civic duty (8%)</td>
<td>It is my civic duty (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Health care (8%)</td>
<td>It is my civic duty (7%)</td>
<td>Health care (7%)</td>
<td>The economy (7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Top 3 responses shown
Figure 8
Health Care And The Economy Are Top Issues For Blue Wall Voters; Other Priorities Differ By Partisans

Percent who say each of the following issues will be the most important in deciding their vote for president next year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The economy</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate change</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun policy</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy/national security</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International trade/tariffs</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Majority of Likely Democratic 2020 Voters View All Progressive Platforms As Good Ideas

Do you think each of the following is a good idea or a bad idea?

- **Green New Deal**: 92% Good idea, 6% Bad idea
- **Pathway to citizenship for immigrants in the U.S. illegally**: 91% Good idea, 8% Bad idea
- **Ban on future sales of assault weapons**: 88% Good idea, 12% Bad idea
- **Ban on owning assault weapons including mandatory buybacks**: 83% Good idea, 17% Bad idea
- **A national Medicare-for-all plan**: 62% Good idea, 35% Bad idea
- **No longer detaining people for crossing the U.S. border illegally**: 56% Good idea, 40% Bad idea
- **A ban on hydraulic fracturing, or fracking**: 54% Good idea, 42% Bad idea

**NOTE**: Among likely 2020 Democratic voters.

Swing Voters Split As To Whether Progressive Policies Are Good Or Bad Ideas

AMONG SWING VOTERS: Do you think each of the following is a good idea or a bad idea?

- Pathway to citizenship for immigrants in the U.S. illegally: 70% good, 28% bad
- Green New Deal: 67% good, 31% bad
- Ban on future sales of assault weapons: 66% good, 33% bad
- Ban on owning assault weapons including mandatory buybacks: 54% good, 45% bad
- A ban on hydraulic fracturing, or fracking: 40% good, 54% bad
- A national Medicare-for-all plan: 36% good, 62% bad
- No longer detaining people for crossing the U.S. border illegally: 27% good, 71% bad

Majorities Across Partisans Name Costs And Maintaining Pre-Existing Protections As Top Health Priorities For Congress

Percent who say each of the following should be a top priority for Congress:

- **Lowering prescription drug costs**: 81% (DEMOCRATS), 66% (INDEPENDENTS), 62% (REPUBLICANS)
- **Maintaining ACA’s pre-existing condition protections**: 87% (DEMOCRATS), 68% (INDEPENDENTS), 51% (REPUBLICANS)
- **Lowering what people pay for health care**: 72% (DEMOCRATS), 65% (INDEPENDENTS), 51% (REPUBLICANS)
- **Protecting people from surprise high out-of-network medical bills**: 68% (DEMOCRATS), 55% (INDEPENDENTS), 42% (REPUBLICANS)
- **Expanding government financial help for those buying coverage on the ACA marketplace**: 49% (DEMOCRATS), 26% (INDEPENDENTS), 15% (REPUBLICANS)
- **Implementing a national Medicare-for-all plan**: 44% (DEMOCRATS), 28% (INDEPENDENTS), 13% (REPUBLICANS)
- **Repealing and replacing the ACA**: 17% (DEMOCRATS), 28% (INDEPENDENTS), 46% (REPUBLICANS)

**SOURCE:** KFF Health Tracking Poll (conducted September 3-8, 2019). See topline for full question wording and response options.
Democrats: More Want Their Leaders To Focus On Improving And Protecting The ACA Than Passing Medicare-for-all Plan

Do you think Democrats in Congress should focus their efforts on improving and protecting the 2010 Affordable Care Act or should they focus their efforts on passing a national Medicare-for-all plan?

NOTE: Among Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents.

SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Poll (conducted April 11-16, 2019). See topline for full question wording and response options.
What Is The Health Issue, And Do Democrats Emphasize The Wrong Message?
The vast majority of Americans are insured, and many uninsured people are eligible for ACA coverage.
Figure 15

Health Costs for Families with Employer Coverage Now Exceed the Cost of a VW Beetle

Note: Health spending includes employee and employer premium contributions for family coverage as well as family out-of-pocket spending. Large employers are those with one thousand or more employees. Auto prices are the MSRP for the lowest cost model/trim that year. Source: KFF analysis of IBM MarketScan Commercial Claims; Encounters Database and KFF Employer Health Benefits Survey; and newcartestdrive.com and motortrend.com.
Cumulative Increases in Family Coverage Premiums, General Annual Deductibles, Inflation, and Workers' Earnings, 2009-2019

NOTE: Average general annual deductibles are for single coverage and are among all covered workers. Workers in plans without a general annual deductible for in-network services are assigned a value of zero.

Suppose you had an unexpected medical bill, and the amount came to $500. Based on your current financial situation, how would you pay the bill?

- Pay the bill right away by cash or check: 34%
- Put it on a credit card and pay it off in full at the next statement: 13%
- Put it on a credit card and pay it off over time: 20%
- Borrow money from a bank, payday lender, or friends/family to pay the bill: 7%
- Arrange a payment plan with a doctor, provider, or hospital (Vol.): 6%
- Would not be able to pay the bill at all: 19%

NET Would not be able to pay without borrowing/going into debt: 51%

AMONG THE INSURED: Percent who say it is difficult to afford to pay...

SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Polls. See toplines for full question wording and response options.
The Consequences Of Medical Bills

AMONG THOSE WHO HAD PROBLEMS PAYING MEDICAL BILLS: Percent who say they or someone else in their household did each of the following in the past 12 months in order to pay medical bills:

- Cut spending on household items: 74%
- Put off vacation or major household purchases: 68%
- Used up all or most of their savings: 58%
- Taken an extra job or worked more hours: 51%
- Increased their credit card debt: 41%
- Borrowed money from friends or family: 39%
- Taken money out of long-term savings accounts: 38%
- Sought the aid of a charity or non-profit organization: 24%
- Changed their living situation: 22%
- Taken out another type of loan: 17%
- Borrowed money from a payday lender: 10%
- Taken out another mortgage on their home: 2%

Figure 20
4 In 10 Adults Ages 18-64 Living In A Household With A Serious Medical Condition Have Had Problems Paying Medical Bills

Percent who say they or a household member had problems paying medical bills in the past 12 months:

- Total: 29%
- Serious medical condition in household, such as cancer, stroke, heart disease, diabetes, or serious mental health illness: 39%
- No serious medical condition in household: 22%

NOTE: Among adults ages 18-64.
Figure 21

Share Of Income Spent On Premium Contributions And Out-Of-Pocket Costs By Families Making 199% FPL Or Less, 2017

NOTE: Premium contributions do not include the amounts paid by the employer or by the premium tax credit.

The silent affordability crisis facing sick people

Percent who say they or a family member have done the following in the past year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition in Family</th>
<th>No Chronic Condition</th>
<th>With Chronic Condition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Postponed or put off care</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treated at home instead of seeing doctor</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoided doctor-recommended test or treatment</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not filled a prescription or skipped doses</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes to any</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data: Kaiser Family Foundation; Chart: Axios Visuals

People with major medical illnesses are having serious problems paying for the healthcare they need—a crisis that is flying under the radar while attention is focused on hot policy issues like the Affordable Care Act and Medicare for All.
Bill Of The Month

This crowdsourced investigation by Kaiser Health News and NPR dissects and explains your medical bills every month in order to shed light on U.S. health care prices and to help patients learn how to be more active in managing costs. Do you have a medical bill that you’d like us to see and scrutinize? Submit it here and tell us the story behind it.

Year One Of KHN’s ‘Bill Of The Month’: A Kaleidoscope Of Financial Challenges

Meet the patients we profiled in 2018. Listen to their medical billing stories. Learn about the policy issues. See how medical charges can be fought or resolved. To be continued in 2019.

For toenail fungus, a $1,500 prescription and a cleaned-out health account

By Deirdre Loach, Kaiser Health News, Posted: April 5, 2018

During Anne Selkowitz’s weekend visit to Scharer Dermatology & Skin Cancer Center in Washington, D.C., in January, the physician assistant diagnosed fungus in ten of her toenails. The carefully manicured toes were unrecognizable. It was the latest symptom in a long and painful battle with a commonly treated disorder. For Anne, 79, it was the first time she’d had to confront the costs of treatment. And it cost $1,500.
Prescription Drugs
Majorities Favor Policy Proposals to Keep Rx Drug Costs Down

Percent who favor each of the following actions to keep prescription drug costs down:

- Allowing the government to negotiate with Rx companies to get a lower price for people on Medicare: 88%
- Allowing the government to negotiate with Rx companies to get a lower price for both Medicare and private insurance: 85%
- Placing an annual limit on out-of-pocket costs for seniors enrolled in Medicare Rx drug coverage: 81%
- Allowing Americans to buy prescription drugs imported from licensed Canadian pharmacies: 78%
- Allowing Medicare to place limits on how much Rx companies can increase the price of drugs based on annual inflation rates: 76%
- Increasing taxes on drug companies that refuse to negotiate the price of medications with the federal government: 72%
- Lowering what Medicare pays for some drugs based on amounts in other countries where governments more closely control prices: 62%

SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Poll (conducted October 3-8, 2019). See topline for full question wording and response options.
Figure 26
Support For Government Negotiations With Drug Companies Can Shift With Arguments

Would you favor or oppose allowing the federal government to negotiate with drug companies for lower prices if you heard…?

- **People could save money on prescription drugs**
  - Favor: 89%
  - Oppose: 9%

- **The federal government could pay less for prescription drugs for people on Medicare**
  - Favor: 79%
  - Oppose: 17%

- **It could lead to less R&D of new drugs**
  - Favor: 33%
  - Oppose: 62%

- **It could limit access to newer prescription drugs**
  - Favor: 29%
  - Oppose: 65%

*SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Poll (conducted October 3-8, 2019). See topline for full question wording and response options.*
Medicare-for-all
Democrats', Independents' Belief That Government Should be Responsible for Health Care Goes Up; Republicans' Agreement Stays Low

Source: Gallup polls
Decline In Support For Medicare-for-all Since Peak In March 2018

Percent who favor or oppose a national health plan in which all Americans would get their insurance from a single government plan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Favor %</th>
<th>Oppose %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1998-2000</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2004</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-2009</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 2016</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2017</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 2017</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 2018</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2019</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 2019</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 2019</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 2019</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 2019</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 2019</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 2019</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Question wording has included “Medicare-for-all” since 2018.
SOURCE: KFF Polls. See toplines for full question wording and response options.
Figure 30

Large Partisan Divide On National Health Plan

Do you favor or oppose having a national health plan, or Medicare-for-all, in which all Americans would get their insurance from a single government plan?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly favor</th>
<th>Somewhat favor</th>
<th>Somewhat oppose</th>
<th>Strongly oppose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Democrats</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independents</strong></td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Republicans</strong></td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Poll (conducted October 3-8, 2019). See topline for full question wording and response options.
The < The Change, The > The Support?

Percent who favor or oppose:

- **Medicare-for-all**: 47% favor, 51% oppose
- **Public option**: 24% favor, 73% oppose
- **Optional Medicare-for-all**: 24% favor, 74% oppose
- **Medicaid buy-in**: 18% favor, 75% oppose
- **Medicare buy-in for ages 50-64**: 18% favor, 77% oppose

**SOURCE**: KFF Health Tracking Polls. See toplines for full question wording and response options.
Public’s Views Of Medicare-for-all Can Shift Significantly After Hearing Arguments

Do you favor or oppose having a national health plan, sometimes called Medicare-for-all?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Favor</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
<th>Net favorability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>56%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>+14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Would you favor or oppose a national Medicare-for-all plan if you heard that it would do the following?

- Guarantee health insurance as a right for all Americans: 71% Favor, 27% Oppose, Net favorability +45
- Eliminate all health insurance premiums and reduce out-of-pocket health care costs for most Americans: 67% Favor, 30% Oppose, Net favorability +37
- Eliminate private health insurance companies: 37% Favor, 58% Oppose, Net favorability -21
- Require most Americans to pay more in taxes: 37% Favor, 60% Oppose, Net favorability -23
- Threaten the current Medicare program: 32% Favor, 60% Oppose, Net favorability -28
- Lead to delays in people getting some medical tests and treatments: 26% Favor, 70% Oppose, Net favorability -44

Majorities Think Many Aspects Of Health Care System Would Be Unchanged Under Medicare-for-all

Do you think each of the following would happen under a national health plan, sometimes called Medicare-for-all?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taxes for most people would increase</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would continue to pay deductibles and co-pays when they use health care services</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All U.S. residents would have health insurance coverage</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People with insurance through their jobs would be able to keep their current plans</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People who buy their own insurance would be able to keep their current plans</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals and employers would continue to pay health insurance premiums</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors and hospitals would be paid less</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private health insurance companies would still be the primary way Americans get coverage</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most Medicare-for-all Supporters Think They Would Be Able To Keep Their Health Insurance

- Yes, think they and their family would **be able to keep their current health insurance**
- No, think they and their family would **not be able to keep their current health insurance**

**Total**

- 55%
- 35%
- DK

**Among those who favor having a national health insurance plan or Medicare-for-all**

- 67%
- 24%
- DK

**Among those who oppose having a national health insurance plan or Medicare-for-all**

- 41%
- 51%
- DK

Insights From Nine Years Of Polling On The ACA
Figure 36
Favorability On ACA Ticked Up Since Repeal, But Remains Divided

Given what you know about the health reform law, do you have a generally favorable or generally unfavorable opinion of it?

SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Polls. See toplines for full question wording and response options.
Deep And Persistent Partisan Divide

Percent who say they have a **favorable opinion** of the health reform law:

- **Democrats**
  - Mar-2010: 80%
  - Mar-2011: 80%
  - Mar-2012: 80%
  - Mar-2013: 80%
  - Mar-2014: 80%
  - Mar-2015: 80%
  - Mar-2016: 80%
  - Mar-2017: 80%
  - Mar-2018: 80%
  - Mar-2019: 81%

- **Independents**
  - Mar-2010: 50%
  - Mar-2011: 50%
  - Mar-2012: 50%
  - Mar-2013: 50%
  - Mar-2014: 50%
  - Mar-2015: 50%
  - Mar-2016: 50%
  - Mar-2017: 50%
  - Mar-2018: 50%
  - Mar-2019: 51%

- **Republicans**
  - Mar-2010: 10%
  - Mar-2011: 10%
  - Mar-2012: 10%
  - Mar-2013: 10%
  - Mar-2014: 10%
  - Mar-2015: 10%
  - Mar-2016: 10%
  - Mar-2017: 10%
  - Mar-2018: 10%
  - Mar-2019: 15%

**Source:** KFF Health Tracking Polls. See toplines for full question wording and response options.
Partisan Perceptions Of Law’s Personal Impact Among The General Public

So far, would you say the health care law has directly helped you and your family, directly hurt you and your family, or has it not had a direct impact?

**By Political Party ID**

- **Total**: 18% Helped, 29% Hurt, 50% No direct impact
- **Democrats**: 32% Helped, 10% Hurt, 56% No direct impact
- **Independents**: 16% Helped, 32% Hurt, 49% No direct impact
- **Republicans**: 4% Helped, 52% Hurt, 42% No direct impact

Sadly, Even Primary Care Physicians’ Views Of ACA Divide Sharply On Party Lines

Overall, what is your opinion of the health care law that was passed in 2010, also known as the Affordable Care Act (ACA) or Obamacare?

Among physicians who are:

- Republicans
  - Favorable: 13%
  - Unfavorable: 87%

- Independents
  - Favorable: 42%
  - Unfavorable: 58%

- Democrats
  - Favorable: 87%
  - Unfavorable: 12%

SOURCE: KFF/Commonwealth Fund 2015 National Survey of Primary Care Providers. See topline for full question wording and response options.
## Most ACA Provisions Are Popular Across Parties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% with a FAVORABLE opinion of each:</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extension of dependent coverage to age 26</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance exchanges</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidies for purchasing individual coverage</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close Medicare Rx drug “doughnut hole”</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No-cost preventive services</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicaid expansion option for states</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer mandate</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No denials for pre-existing conditions</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase Medicare payroll tax</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** KFF Health Tracking Poll (conducted November 14-19, 2018). See topline for full question wording and response options.
Most Unpopular ACA Provision: Individual Mandate

Percent with an **unfavorable opinion** of the ACA requiring nearly all Americans to have health insurance or else pay a fine:

![Graph showing percentage of unfavorable opinions over time](chart.png)

**Congress Sets Individual Mandate Penalty To $0 Beginning In 2019**

SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Polls. See toplines for full question wording and response options.
Health Care Is Complicated, Public Knowledge About What The ACA Actually Does Is Spotty

Since the 2010 health care law was passed, has the share of people who are uninsured…

- Decreased (correct answer) 41%
- Increased 31%
- Stayed about the same 26%
- Don’t know/Refused 2%

NET: 59%

SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Poll (March 6-12, 2017). See topline for full question wording and response options.
Death Panel Myth Persists

To the best of your knowledge, would you say the health reform law does or does not...establish a government panel to make decisions about end-of-life care for people on Medicare?

- Yes, law does this: 41%
- No, law does not do this: 41%
- Don't know/Refused: 19%

SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Poll (conducted December 2-9, 2014). See topline for full question wording and response options.
Medicaid: Who Loves Ya?
Figure 45

Medicaid: More Popular Than Some People Think, Even In Non-Expansion States

Percent who say…

…they have a **favorable view** of Medicaid (Feb 2018) 74% 74%

…Medicaid is **very or somewhat important** for them and their family (Jul 2017) 67% 60%

…they or a close friend or family member have **received help from Medicaid** at some point (Feb 2018) 71% 67%

…the Medicaid program is **working well** for most people covered (Feb 2018) 51% 53%

…they **oppose reducing funding** for Medicaid to pay for the Republican tax plan (Nov 2017) 75% 72%

SOURCE: KFF Health Tracking Polls
Majority Of Residents In Non-Expansion States Want Their State To Expand Their Medicaid Programs

Among those living in non-expansion states:

Do you think your state should keep Medicaid as it is today or expand Medicaid to cover more low-income uninsured people?

- **Keep Medicaid as it is today**: 34%
- **Expand Medicaid to cover more low-income uninsured people**: 59%
- **Other/DK**: 8%

Source: KFF Health Tracking Poll (conducted November 14-19, 2018). See topline for full question wording and response options.
Future Of Medicaid?

Which of these two descriptions comes closer to your view of what Medicaid should look like in the future?

**Block Grant**
- Medicaid should be changed so that instead of matching state Medicaid spending, the federal government limits how much it gives states to help pay for Medicaid coverage on a per person basis but lets states decide which groups of people and what health services they want to cover.

**Keep Medicaid as-is**
- Medicaid should largely continue as it is today, with the federal government guaranteeing coverage for low-income people, setting standards for who states cover and what benefits people get, and matching states' Medicaid spending as the number of people on the program goes up or down.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Block Grant</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keep Medicaid as-is</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>40%</td>
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</table>

Most See Medicaid As Government Health Insurance, Half Of Republicans View It As Welfare

Which comes closer to your view? Medicaid is primarily a…

- …welfare program
- …government health insurance program that helps people pay for health care

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>27%</th>
<th>69%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>82%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
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<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>51%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The Disconnect?
A Venn Diagram Of Health Policy Priorities?

- **Policymakers & Politicians**
- **The ACA / Medicare-for-all**
  - Delivery & Payment Reform "Value"
- **The Health Care & Research Communities**
  - Pocketbook Issues
  - Deductibles
  - Drug Costs
  - Surprise Bills
- **The American People**
- **The Media**

Figure 50

KFF

HENRY J KAISER FAMILY FOUNDATION
The Many Health Cost Problems

Figure 51
1. Public is divided sharply on partisan lines, with health care as a symbol/proxy for larger partisan divisions in the country. Partisanship, even more than interest groups, is the driving force in health policy today.

2. The health care problem we don’t talk about enough: problems paying health care bills for people who are sick, and lower wage. That’s the heart of our health crisis.

3. The Democratic message could be more focused on costs, especially for the general election. (Is Elizabeth Warren re-focusing the message?)

4. All policies have tradeoffs, and it is a safe bet that future legislation will be much more modest than the ideas being debated today

5. What we are debating today might not be what we’re debating tomorrow. The Texas ACA case, or a Trump win in 2020, could completely change the agenda.

6. Good luck to us all.
Thank you.