House Support for Medicare for All Growing But Still Needs to Catch Up with Voters

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Support for Medicare for All in the House of Representatives has grown in recent years. On March 17, 2021, Reps. Pramila Jayapal and Debbie Dingell introduced the <u>Medicare for All Act of 2021</u> with a record 112 original cosponsors. The Medicare for All Act of 2019 (<u>H.R. 1384</u>) ended the 116th Congress with a total of 118 cosponsors and four congressional hearings.

However, Members of Congress are still far behind the general public. While only one in four House Members have cosponsored the Medicare or All Act, voters consistently favor Medicare for All in public polling. This gap between Members and their constituents shows up in all the key committees that may consider Medicare for All in the House.

Strong and Growing Public Support for Medicare for All

Support for Medicare for All is strong across the country. A national exit poll from the 2020 general election found that 72 percent of Americans are in favor of switching to a government-run healthcare plan like Medicare for All. A Kaiser Family Foundation tracking poll found that Medicare or All consistently had majority support from June 2017 to January 2020. The COVID-19 pandemic has increased support for Medicare for All. A Morning Consult poll found that "more than two in five U.S. adults say the outbreak has increased their likelihood of supporting universal health care proposals where the government would provide all Americans with health insurance," including one in four Republicans and 34 percent of independents.

Key House Committees

Healthcare jurisdiction is divided up between many committees in the House. As a result, the Medicare for All Act of 2019 was referred to six House committees: Energy and Commerce, Ways and Means, Education and Labor, Rules, Oversight and Reform, and Armed Services. Four House committees held hearings on the bill: Budget, Energy and Commerce, Ways and Means, and Rules. Information on those committees and additional committees of interest is provided below.

Energy & Commerce:

- <u>Subcommittee on Health:</u> The Subcommittee on Health is the primary committee of jurisdiction for the Medicare for All Act. It has broad jurisdiction over public health, health providers, Medicaid, the Indian Health Service and other matters relevant to Medicare for All.
- Hearing: The E&C Subcommittee on Health held a hearing, <u>Proposals to Achieve Universal Health</u>
 <u>Care Coverage</u>, on December 10, 2019 on the Medicare for All Act of 2019 as well as eight other bills.
 Witnesses included:
 - o Rep. Pramila Jayapal
 - o President Jean Ross, National Nurses United
 - o Douglas Holtz-Eakin, President, American Action Forum (Republican witness)
 - Scott W. Atlas, David and Joan Traitel Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University (Republican witness)

Ways & Means:

- **Subcommittee on Health:** Beyond the Ways and Means Committee's general jurisdiction over taxes and revenue, the Health Subcommittee's jurisdiction includes Medicare, drug pricing, and existing subsidies for private health insurance.
- **Hearing:** The Ways and Means Subcommittee on Health held a hearing, <u>Pathways to Universal Health Coverage</u>, on June 12, 2019 on ways to strengthen the Affordable Care Act, the addition of a lower-cost public option, Medicare and Medicaid buy-ins, Medicare for America, and Medicare for All. Witnesses included:
 - o Rebecca Wood, Patient advocate and mother who lives outside of Boston, Massachusetts
 - Tricia Neuman, Senior Vice President and Director of the Program on Medicare Policy, Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation
 - o Donald M. Berwick, President Emeritus and Senior Fellow, Institute for Healthcare Improvement and Former Administrator, Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services
 - o Pam MacEwan, Chief Executive Officer, Washington Health Benefit Exchange
 - o Chiquita Brooks-LaSure, Managing Director, Manatt Health
 - o Grace-Marie Turner, President of the Galen Institute (Republican witness)

<u>Education & Labor:</u> The Education and Labor Committee has jurisdiction over employee benefits, including health benefits.

Rules: In addition to considering rules to bring major legislation to the House floor, the Rules Committee also has original jurisdiction for legislation that affects the rules of the House. Given the congressional hearings required by the Medicare for All Act, it could come before the House Rules Committee as an original jurisdiction matter in addition to a standard Rules Committee meeting.

- **Hearing:** The Rules Committee <u>held</u> a hearing on Medicare for All on April 30, 2019. Witnesses included:
 - o Dr. Dean Baker, Senior Economist, Center for Economic and Policy Research
 - o Dr. Sara Collins, Vice President for Health Care Coverage and Access, Commonwealth Fund
 - o Dr. Doris Browne, Immediate Past-President, National Medical Association
 - o Dr. Farzon Nahvi, Emergency Room Physician
 - o Mr. Ady Barkan, Founder, Be A Hero Organization
 - o Ms. Grace-Marie Turner, President of Galen Institute (Republican witness)
 - o Dr. Charles Blahous, J. Fish and Lillian F. Smith Chair and Senior Research Strategist, Mercatus Center (Republican witness)

<u>Oversight & Reform:</u> In addition to being the main investigative committee in the House, the Committee on Oversight and Reform has jurisdiction over federal workers and general jurisdiction over government operations and efficiency.

<u>Armed Services:</u> The House Armed Services Committee, specifically the Subcommittee on Military Personnel, has jurisdiction over Medicare for All to the extent it affects military personnel and their families.

<u>Budget:</u> While the Medicare for All Act of 2019 was not referred to the House Committee on the Budget, the Budget Committee would have to hold a markup if Medicare for All advanced through the budget reconciliation process.

- **Hearing:** The Budget Committee held a hearing, "Key Design Components and Considerations for Establishing a Single-Payer Health Care System," on May 22, 2019 with the focus on Medicare for All. Witnesses included:
 - o Mark Hadley, Deputy Director, Congressional Budget Office
 - Dr. Jessica Banthin; Deputy Assistant Director for Health, Retirement, and Long-Term Analysis; Congressional Budget Office
 - o Dr. Jeffrey Kling, Associate Director for Economic Analysis, Congressional Budget Office

<u>Small Business:</u> The Medicare for All Act of 2019 was not referred to the Small Business Committee. Nevertheless, the committee frequently holds hearings on healthcare issues in relation to small businesses.

Leadership of Key House Committees in the 117th Congress

Committee and subcommittee chairs set the agenda, deciding on hearings and markups. Support among committee leaders is essential to advancing Medicare for All through the House. Chairs of seven of the eight key committees (and one key subcommittee) have cosponsored the Medicare for All Act. However, the Chairs of the Ways & Means Committee and Health Subcommittee of the Energy & Commerce Committee have not yet cosponsored.

Committee	Chair (Democrat)	Ranking Member (Republican)
Energy & Commerce	Frank Pallone, Jr. (NJ)*	Cathy McMorris Rodgers (WA)
Subcommittee on Health	Anna G. Eshoo (CA)	Brett Guthrie (KY)
Ways & Means	Richard Neal (MA)	Kevin Brady (TX)
Subcommittee on Health	Lloyd Doggett (TX)*	Devin Nunes (CA)
Education & Labor	Bobby Scott (VA)*	Virginia Foxx (NC)
Rules	Jim McGovern (MA)*	Tom Cole (OK)
Oversight & Reform	Carolyn Maloney (NY)*	James Comer (KY)
Armed Services	Adam Smith (WA)*	Mike Rogers (AL)
Budget	John Yarmuth (KY)*	Jason Smith (MO)
Small Business	Nydia Velázquez (NY)*	Blaine Luetkemeyer (MO)

^{*} Cosponsor of the Medicare for All Act in the 117th Congress

Members Supporting Medicare for All by Committee

Cosponsors listed below are based on committee memberships and Medicare for All cosponsorship as of March 17, 2021.

Committee	Cosponsors ¹	Non-Cosponsors
Energy & Commerce 16 of 32 Democrats (50%) 0 of 26 Republicans (0%) 16 of 58 Members (28%)	Nanette Barragán (CA) ² Tony Cárdenas (CA) ² Yvette D. Clarke (NY) Diana DeGette (CO) Debbie Dingell (MI) ² Michael Doyle (PA) Robin Kelly (IL) ² Jerry McNerney (CA) Frank Pallone Jr. (NJ) ² Bobby L. Rush (IL) John P. Sarbanes (MD) ² Jan Schakowsky (IL) Paul D. Tonko (NY) Lori Trahan (MA) ² Marc Veasey (TX) Peter Welch (VT) ²	Lisa Blunt Rochester (DE) ² G.K. Butterfield (NC) ² Kathy Castor (FL) ² Angie Craig (MN) ² Anna G. Eshoo (CA) ² Lizzie Fletcher (TX) ² Ann Kuster (NH) ² Doris O. Matsui (CA) ² A. Donald McEachin (VA) Tom O'Halleran (AZ) Scott Peters (CA) Kathleen Rice (NY) Raul Ruiz (CA) ² Kurt Schrader (OR) ² Kim Schrier (WA) ² Darren Soto (FL) All Republicans
Ways & Means 12 of 25 Democrats (48%) 0 of 18 Republicans (0%) 12 of 43 Members (28%)	Don Beyer (VA) Earl Blumenauer (OR) ³ Brendan Boyle (PA) Judy Chu (CA) ³ Danny K. Davis (IL) Lloyd Doggett (TX) ³ Jimmy Gomez (CA) ³ Brian Higgins (NY) Daniel Kildee (MI) Jimmy Panetta (CA) Linda Sanchez (CA) Mike Thompson (CA)	Suzan DelBene (WA) Dwight Evans (PA) ³ Steven Horsford (NV) ³ Ron Kind (WI) ³ John B. Larson (CT) Gwen Moore (WI) Stephanie Murphy (FL) Richard E. Neal (MA) Bill Pascrell Jr. (NJ) Stacey E. Plaskett (VI) Bradley Schneider (IL) ³ Terri A. Sewell (AL) ³ Thomas Suozzi (NY) All Republicans

¹ Includes the bill sponsor, Rep. Pramila Jayapal

² Member of Health Subcommittee

³ Member of Health Subcommittee

Education & Labor 19 of 29 Democrats (66%) 0 of 22 Republicans (0%) 19 of 51 Members (37%)	Alma Adams (NC) Suzanne Bonamici (OR) Jamaal Bowman (NY) Mark DeSaulnier (CA) Adriano Espaillat (NY) Raul Grijalva (AZ) Jahana Hayes (CT) Pramila Jayapal (WA) Mondaire Jones (NY) Teresa Leger Fernández (NM) Andy Levin (MI) Ilhan Omar (MN) Mark Pocan (WI) Gregorio Kilili Camacho Sablan (MP) Bobby Scott (VA) Mark Takano (CA) Susan Wild (PA) Frederica Wilson (FL) John A. Yarmuth (KY)	Joaquin Castro (TX) Joe Courtney (CT) Kathy Manning (NC) Lucy McBath (GA) Kweisi Mfume (MD) Joseph Morelle (NY) Frank Mrvan (IN) Donald Norcross (NJ) Haley Stevens (MI) Mikie Sherrill (NJ) All Republicans
Rules 5 of 9 Democrats (56%) 0 of 4 Republicans (0%) 5 of 13 Members (38%)	Mark DeSaulnier (CA) Alcee L. Hastings (FL) James McGovern (MA) Ed Perlmutter (CO) Jamie Raskin (MD)	Joseph Morelle (NY) Deborah Ross (NC) Mary Gay Scanlon (PA) Norma Torres (CA) All Republicans
Oversight & Reform 18 of 24 Democrats (75%) 0 of 20 Republicans (0%) 18 of 44 Members (41%)	Cori Bush (MO) Danny K. Davis (IL) Mark DeSaulnier (CA) Jimmy Gomez (CA) Henry C. "Hank" Johnson Jr. (GA) Robin Kelly (IL) Ro Khanna (CA) Brenda Lawrence (MI) Carolyn Maloney (NY) Eleanor Holmes Norton (DC) Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (NY) Katie Porter (CA) Ayanna Pressley (MA) Jamie Raskin (MD) John P. Sarbanes (MD) Jackie Speier (CA) Rashida Tlaib (MI) Peter Welch (VT)	Gerald E. "Gerry" Connolly (VA) Jim Cooper (TN) Raja Krishnamoorthi (IL) Stephen F. Lynch (MA) Kweisi Mfume (MD) Debbie Wasserman Schultz (FL) All Republicans

Armed Services 13 of 30 Democrats (43%) 0 of 28 Republicans (0%) 13 of 58 Members (22%)	Anthony Brown (MD) Salud Carbajal (CA) Veronica Escobar (TX) Ruben Gallego (AZ) Sara Jacobs (CA) Kai Kahele (HI) William Keating (MA) Ro Khanna (CA) Jim Langevin (RI) Jimmy Panetta (CA) Adam Smith (WA) Jackie Speier (CA) Marc Veasey (TX)	Jim Cooper (TN) Joe Courtney (CT) Jason Crow (CO) John Garamendi (CA) Jared Golden (ME) ⁴ Chrissy Houlahan (PA) Andy Kim (NJ) Rick Larsen (WA) Elaine Luria (VA) Joseph Morelle (NY) Seth Moulton (MA) Stephanie Murphy (FL) Donald Norcross (NJ) Mikie Sherrill (NJ) Elissa Slotkin (MI) Filemon Vela Jr. (TX)
		Marilyn Strickland (WA) All Republicans
Budget 13 of 21 Democrats (62%) 0 of 15 Republicans (0%) 13 of 36 Members (36%)	Brendan Boyle (PA) Judy Chu (CA) Lloyd Doggett (TX) Brian Higgins (NY) Sheila Jackson Lee (TX) Pramila Jayapal (WA) Hakeem Jeffries (NY) Daniel Kildee (MI) Barbara Lee (CA) David Price (NC) Jan Schakowsky (IL) Bobby Scott (VA) John A. Yarmuth (KY)	Jim Cooper (TN) Steven Horsford (NV) Joseph Morelle (NY) Seth Moulton (MA) Scott Peters (CA) Stacey E. Plaskett (VI) Albio Sires (NJ) Jennifer Wexton (VA) All Republicans
Small Business 3 of 14 Democrats (21%) 0 of 12 Republicans (0%) 3 of 26 Members (12%)	Judy Chu (CA) Marie Newman (IL) Nydia M. Velázquez (NY	Carolyn Bourdeaux (GA) Angie Craig (MN) Jason Crow (CO) Sharice Davids (KS) Antonio Delgado (NY) Dwight Evans (PA) Jared Golden (ME) ³ Chrissy Houlahan (PA) Andy Kim (NJ) Kweisi Mfume (MD) Dean Phillips (MN) All Republicans

⁴ Cosponsor of the Medicare for All Act in the 116th Congress
www.progressivecaucusactionfund.org

ENTIRE HOUSE⁵

113 of 223 Democrats (51%) O of 213 Republicans (0%) 113 of 436 Members⁶ (26%) Karen Bass (CA) Andre Carson (IN) Matt Cartwright (PA) David Cicilline (RI) Katherine Clark (MA) Emanuel Cleaver (MO) Steve Cohen (TN)

Peter A. DeFazio (OR) Theodore E. Deutch (FL)

Lois Frankel (FL)

Jesús "Chuy" Garcia (IL)

Al Green (TX) Josh Harder (CA) Jared Huffman (CA) Ann Kirkpatrick (AZ) Mike Levin (CA) Ted Lieu (CA) Zoe Lofgren (CA) Alan Lowenthal (CA) Gregory W. Meeks (NY) Grace Meng (NY) Jerrold Nadler (NY) Grace Napolitano (CA)

Joe Neguse (CO)

Donald M. Pavne, Jr. (NJ) Chellie Pingree (ME) Lucille Roybal-Allard (CA) Adam B. Schiff (CA) Brad Sherman (CA)

Eric Swalwell (CA) Dina Titus (NV)

Bennie Thompson (MS) Ritchie Torres (NY) Juan Vargas (CA) Maxine Waters (CA)

Bonnie Watson Coleman (NJ)

Nikema Williams (GA)

Pete Aguilar (CA) Collin Z. Allred (TX) Jake Auchincloss (MA) Cynthia Axne (IA) Joyce Beatty (OH)⁷ Ami Bera (CA)

Sanford D. Bishop Jr. (GA)

Julia Brownlev (CA) Cheri Bustos (IL) Ed Case (HI) Sean Casten (IL)

James E. Clyburn (SC) Luis J. Correa (CA) Jim Costa (CA) Charlie Crist (FL) Henry Cuellar (TX) Madeleine Dean (PA)

Rosa L. DeLauro (CT) Val Butler Deminas (FL)

Bill Foster (IL) Svlvia Garcia (TX) Vicente Gonzalez (TX)⁶ Josh Gottheimer (NJ) James A. Himes (CT) Steny H. Hoyer (MD)

Eddie Bernice Johnson (TX)

Marcy Kaptur (OH) Derek Kilmer (WA) Conor Lamb (PA) Al Lawson, Jr. (FL) Susie Lee (NV) Tom Malinowski (NJ)

Sean Patrick Maloney (NY) Betty McCollum (MN) Chris Pappas (NH) Nancy Pelosi (CA) Mike Quigley (IL)

C.A. Dutch Ruppersberger (MD)

Tim Ryan (OH)⁶

Michael F. Q. San Nicolas (GU)

David Scott (GA)

Abigail Davis Spanberger (VA)

Greg Stanton (AZ) David J. Trone (MD) Lauren Underwood (IL)

All Republicans

⁵ This row lists the remaining Members not serving on the committees listed above in the table.

⁶ This includes delegates and the Puerto Rico Resident Commissioner. There are currently four vacant House seats.

⁷ Cosponsor of the Medicare for All Act in the 116th Congress

Conclusion

Congressional support is less than half of what it should be relative to broad support among the general public. Only 26 percent of House members have cosponsored the Medicare for All Act. Slightly more than half of House Democrats have cosponsored, and no House Republicans have.

The House Oversight & Reform Committee, House Education & Labor Committee, and House Rules Committee register the highest levels of support for Medicare for All among key committees, with about 40 percent of their committee members supporting the bill. On the Oversight & Reform Committee, three-quarters of Democrats support Medicare for All. In addition, more than one-third of House Budget Committee members (and 62 percent of Democratic members) support Medicare for All.

While Medicare for All has majority support among Americans, it lacks proportional support among members on the two most important committees of jurisdiction: the Energy & Commerce and Ways & Means Committees. Not only do all Republicans on those committees fail to support Medicare for All, half of Democrats on those committees have not cosponsored the bill yet. (In fact, they cosponsor Medicare for All at a slightly lower rate than House Democrats overall.) This suggests a major schism between those members of those committees and the people they represent. The case to committee members should be convincing whether they care more about public health or family budgets: a Lancet study found that implementing Medicare for All would save lives and money (over \$450 billion annually).

Unfortunately, the Small Business Committee shows the least support for Medicare for All of the key committees - with only three members cosponsoring. This is out of step with the needs of small businesses. Prior to the pandemic, small business owners already struggled with healthcare costs and the pandemic has exacerbated the situation. A Medicare for All system would alleviate many of the financial burdens small businesses face by eliminating healthcare costs.

Americans recognize that Medicare for All is more vital than ever as the country recovers from the COVID-19 pandemic. Members of Congress, particularly those on key House committees, need to catch up.