

Medicaid & Resilient Democracy

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Resilience +

**DEMO
CRACY**



FRAGMENTED DEMOCRACY

MEDICAID, FEDERALISM,
AND UNEQUAL POLITICS

JAMILA MICHENER



The American dream [loud sigh]...I don't know nothing about no American dream. The American nightmare is still a fact. I have to go to the doctor every three months and I have to have pills every damn day. Sometimes you have to choose between medicine and food. Medicaid, I went and it was just so much I left there... But its looking like I'm gonna have to go and stand in somebody's line to get some medical help. That's why when you ask me about the government I say I don't know what's going on there. I don't approve...I'm sure there's something we can do. Like vote. Its supposed to be making a difference if you vote...

-Mabel

How Medicaid Matters Politically



A Broad Story

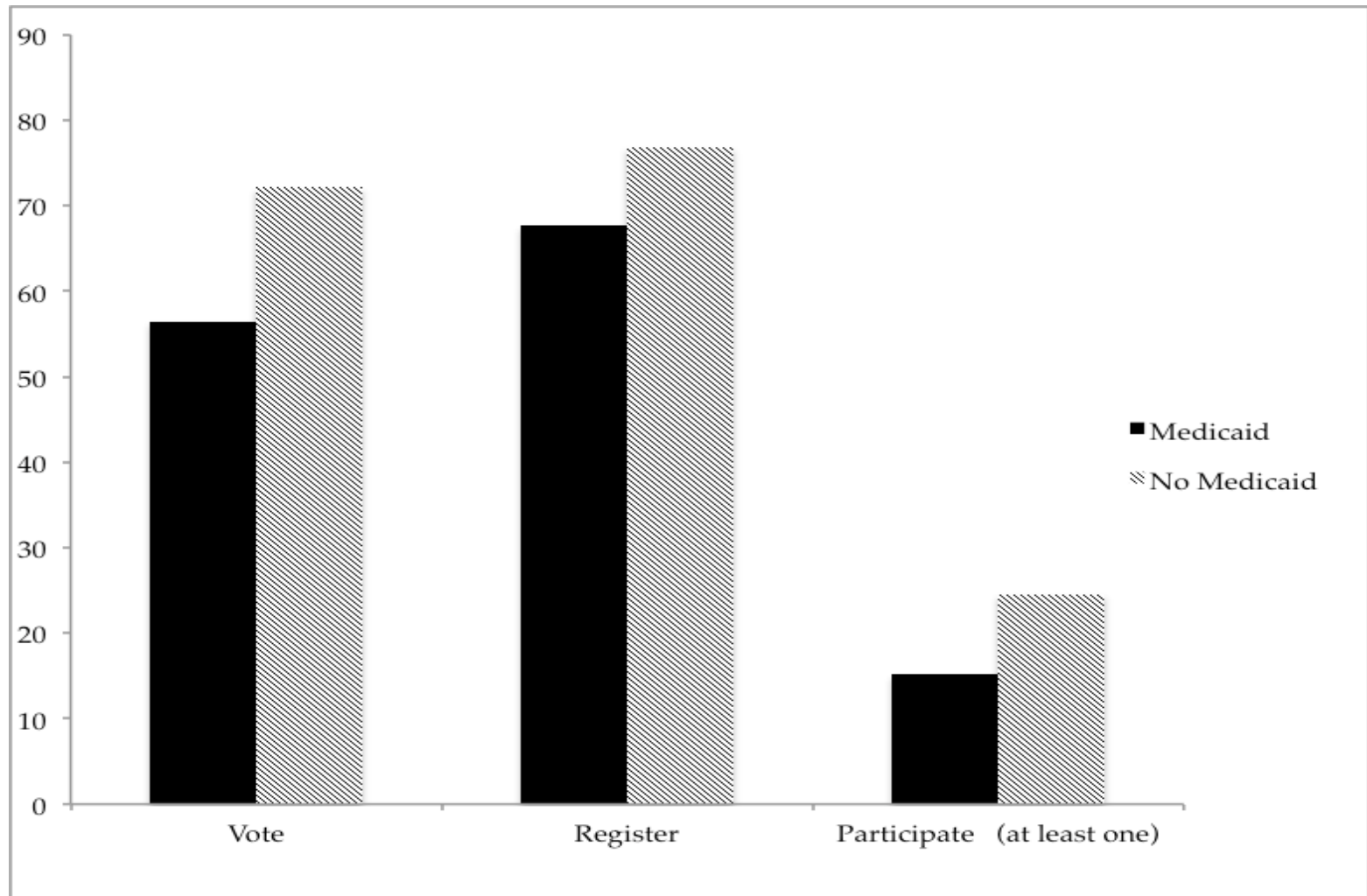
Stigma

- *Louisa*: “you feel embarrassed”
- *Ahmad*: “they treat us like we are stupid animals, we don't know anything... This is what I feel... I feel like shit. I feel like I'm nothing, because when you are in Medicaid, they do whatever. You have to be on their rules.”
- *Daphne*: “I think it does come with a negative stigma. Like they talk about it at school in economics and stuff, just in my business classes, and just hearing my classmates talk about it...”

Negative Bureaucratic Interactions

- *Kris*: “I distinctly remember taking the binder... they gave us a binder and said, ‘Start working on this.’ And it was the Medicaid application, and it was so complex and there were so many pages, and I was like, it can't be this difficult.”
- *Nessa*: “And they so rude and nasty that's why I try not to come up to them 'cause they are rude and they're nasty... I just hate it and so I try not to go up there”
- *Katrina*: “the people that are working in these offices... there's sometimes a respect issue, and there's sometimes just a – I don't know. When I say it felt like they were stupid, part of that is coming from a place of real frustration, and part of it is just the way they talked, which was irritating to me because it felt like the future of my health is in your hands right now so don't talk to me like this...”

Medicaid Utilization & Political Behavior



Analysis

Standard Regression

- **Outcomes:** vote, register, participate
- **Controls:** age, education, employment, income, sex, race, nativity, TANF, civic attitudes, church attendance, health
- **Main Predictor:** Medicaid (parent or child)

Expanded Models

- **Variables:** Drug and Alcohol dependence, depression, incarceration, number of kids, marital status

Matching (Coarsened Exact)

- **Variables:** Age, Education, Race, Marital Status
Income

Seemingly Unrelated Regression

- **Variables:** medication use, emergency room visits, drug and alcohol dependence, federally supported community health centers, number of for profit hospitals, proportion of state residents receiving Medicaid.

So Medicaid is bad for Democracy?



Terrie

“My name is Terrie and I have a 16-year-old son, he’ll be 17 soon. I have traveled a lot so the difference between state to state with Medicaid and what it offers and the programs and how consistent they are; I have a lot of experience with that. Being in [Medicaid] 17 years, you know, it has just been a whirlwind with keeping [my son] safe and healthy.”

Terrie

“Ohio is the easiest, they care about their people.”

“**California**, their **process** is probably faster, but there are **so many people** and it’s so rapid that it is **out of control**.”

“In Georgia, there are limitations in everything that they offer...you can only go to this doctor on this day at this time.”

Terrie

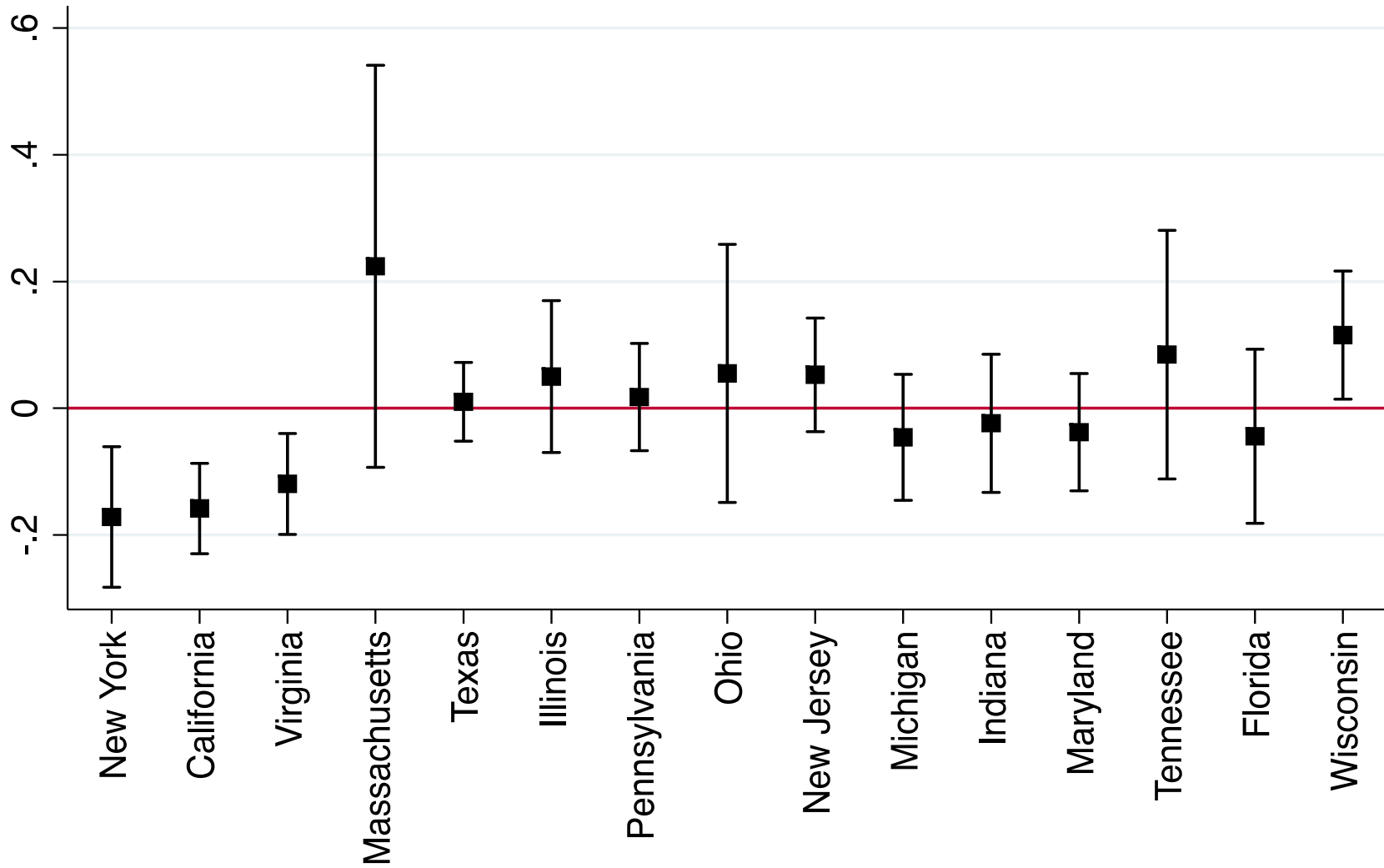
“When I knew I was going to meet you, I got upset a little bit thinking about it, because I’ve got a lot to say about Medicaid. Like for instance, my grandmother was here from Chicago just this past week. She went to the doctor and to the hospital. We got some prescriptions we needed to fill for her. So we go to the pharmacy and we can’t fill this prescription because Medicaid is non-transferable state to state...and her prescription was a \$190, so we really had to find \$190 for her prescription. That was amazing...and for something that’s provided by the government...you’re limiting the use of something meant to make people better.”

It's Political...

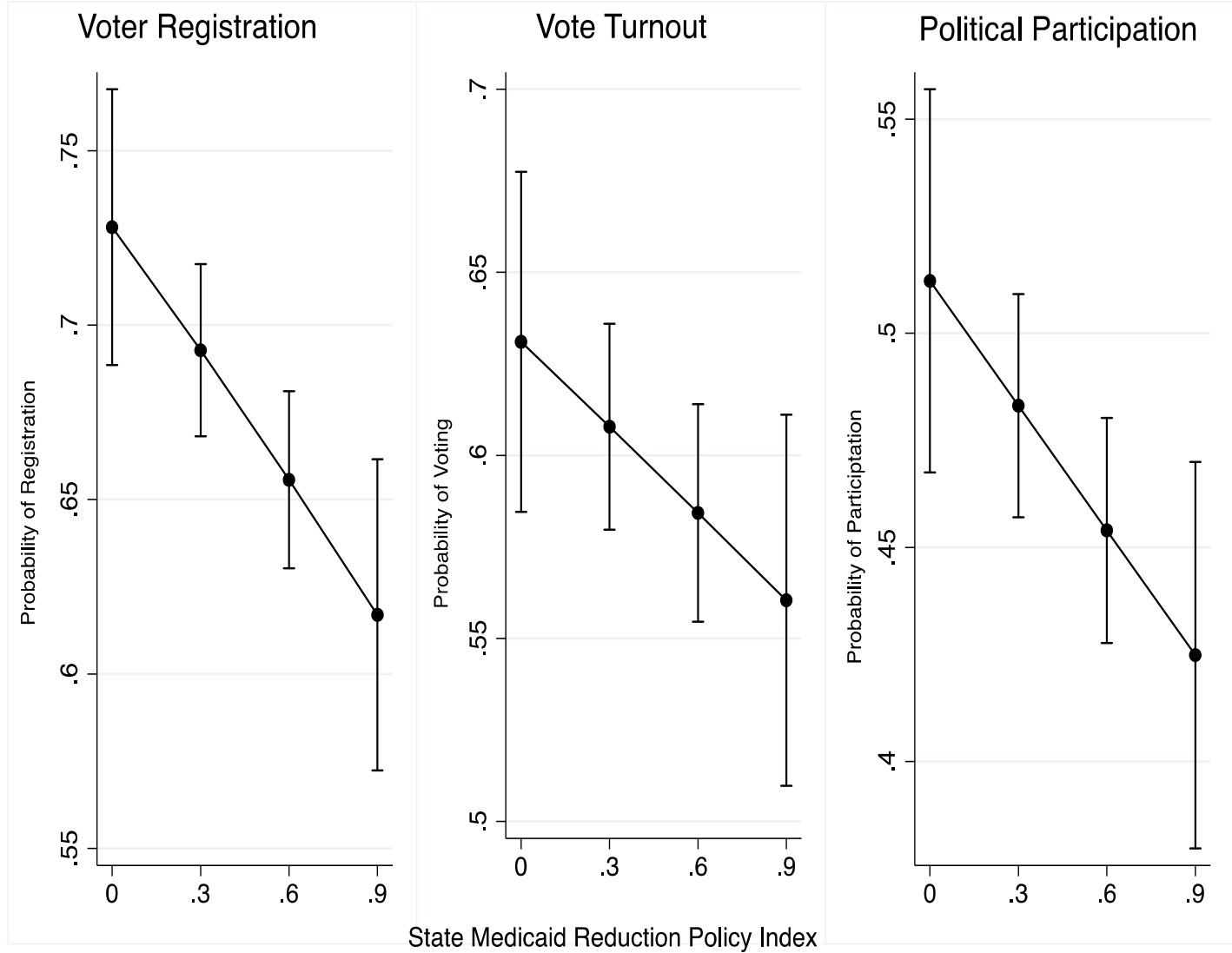
“If it was about helping people, you would say yes, let *my state* be more productive and healthy so that we do not have people losing their lives [and] so that they can be productive citizens.”

“White noise is the people that choose to say well, if they give it to me, they give it to me, if they don't, they don't...white noise also means that you feel *like in your world, you have no say, no say in the process if you don't agree with what is going on in Medicaid*. It's demeaning, you know, *the process*...I have never seen anyone really stand up about Medicaid...I don't know why we don't fight.”

Medicaid and Political Participation Across States



State Medicaid Reduction Policies & Beneficiary Political Outcomes



But Also...Localities Matter



How: Local Density Matters

Table 1 California County Comparisons

County	Medicaid	Poverty	Black	Hispanic	No English Proficiency
Kings	10	21	8.1	49.9	19.9
Tulare	20	26	2.1	58.3	22.9
Fresno	20	26	5.8	49.3	19.2
Madera	29	23	4.6	51.7	19.1

How: Political Discourse Matters

BARRY S.
Kantrowitz

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Medicaid and your Property Tax Bill

Medicaid is a federally mandated program that requires states to provide medical benefits to those who qualify based upon financial criteria. The term "unfunded mandates" refers to a variety of services and programs that are created by either the federal or state government but funded, partially or wholly, by the county governments. Only two states in the country pass the cost of the federal Medicaid mandate onto local governments-- Michigan and New York.

I was shocked to learn that in 2011, Rockland County's mandated share of the Medicaid costs completely exceeded the entire amount of the property taxes that Rockland County collected. That's right, 100% of all the property taxes collected in 2011 were not enough to pay the County's share of the Medicaid Mandate. In 2012, Medicaid consumed 91% of the property taxes received and in 2013 it was 80%. Medicaid costs have not gone down--- they have gone up-- but the County property taxes have gone up more. The 2014 budget projects Medicaid costs of \$74,300,000 and property tax revenue of \$105,060,167, which means that in 2014, Medicaid will still eat up more than 70% of our property taxes.

The 2014 State County and Town tax bills that were issued in late December and were due at the end of January included a breakout of the Medicaid expense as a line item. The expense was not new, but it was the first time it was shown that way on the bills. The purpose was to raise awareness of the cost of this mandated program.

Tackling Medicaid Fraud

As your representative in County government I will do what I can to speak out against the State mandates that are crippling our budget. I recognize however, that at least for the short term, they are here to stay. Therefore, I am supporting efforts to prevent the abuse of Medicaid and other public assistance by those who are taking advantage of a system that is overwhelmed. There are several bills presently pending in the New York State Assembly and Senate. I am sponsoring local legislation to encourage our State lawmakers to provide greater incentives to the county governments to criminally prosecute those that knowingly and intentionally defraud Medicaid. By increasing the local government's financial stake in recoveries from criminal prosecutions, the number of prosecutions should increase. Medicaid fraud takes all forms. Patients who get and take what they aren't entitled to, and service providers who bill without providing services or for services different than provided. Fraud should not be tolerated in any form. I will work closely with our Rockland County District Attorney, Tom Zugibe, on these issues of fraud. More prosecutions will both punish the criminals and deter others from becoming criminals!

How: Hospitals Matter

Medicaid: Safety net and stepping stone

Written by [Mark A. Wallace](#) on July 30, 2015 | [20 Comments](#)



Takeaway

- Your work matters for Democracy
- Policy & discourse around Medicaid are important



**EVERYONE
HAS A
VOICE
THAT
DESERVES TO
BE HEARD**

Thank You!