

Index

- ABC News polls, on health care, 8
Aboud v. Detroit Board of Education, 292
 abortion funding
 Affordable Care Act prohibitions on, xviii–xix, 30–31, 38–44
 religious objections to, 264–267
 Women's Health Amendment and, 44–50
 accessibility of health care, 10–13
Accommodation 2.0, religious freedom challenges to ACA and, 68, 88, 93, 241–251, 259
Accommodation 3.0 245–247, 311–312
Accommodation 4.0 312
Accommodation 5.0 314–317
 Ackerman, Bruce, 229
Adkins v. Children's Hospital, 430
 Adler, Jonathan
 on federal exchanges, 372, 378–379
 on *King v. Burwell*, 397, 400, 404–407, 428
 on passage of ACA, 20–22
 repeal attempts of ACA and, 104–107, 110, 112
 standing doctrine and, 367–368
 Supreme Court rulings on ACA and, 270, 272–277
 affirmative action cases, 314n.28
 affordability of health care, 10–12
 Affordable Care Act (ACA). *see also* HealthCare.gov; Section 36 of Affordable Care Act (ACA)
 assessment of, 545–560
 Cadillac Tax in, 5
 cancellation notices for enrollees in, xx–xxi, 82, 183–202
 constitutional challenges to, 77–78, 108–114
 contraceptive mandate and, 53–56, xviii–xix
 defunding attempts against, 121–124
 employer mandate in, 107–109
 enrollment launch date for, 138–139
 executive actions concerning, xx–xxi, 41–44, 213, 219–223
 executive actions relating to, 204–205
 future of, 558–560
 grandfathering of substandard plans in, 189–193
 implementation of, xix–xx, 70–79, 178–180
 income verification for customers in, 182
 legal challenges to, 73–79, 101–104, 542–544, xviii
 minimum essential coverage criteria in, 81–82
 passage of, xviii, 537–540
 presidential politics and, 455–457
 redistribution in, 13–14
 repeal attempts of, 73–79, 104–107
 subsidies for, xxii–xxiii
 support of, 38–40, 543–545
 three-legged stool in, 17–22, 80
 “trilemma” of health care reform and, 10–11
 Alexander, Lamar, 153–154, 410
 Alito, Samuel (Justice)
 ACA rulings and, 78, 343
 contraceptive mandate in ACA and, 47, 294–295
 death of Scalia and, 481
 Federalist Society and, 113
 on information disclosure, 448
King v. Burwell and, 391–392, 394, 398–399, 408, 442–445
 least restrictive means principle and, 314

- Alito, Samuel (Justice)
 on Medicaid expansion, 546
 nomination of, 488–490
 Obama inauguration and, 83
 religious freedom rulings and, 60, 250,
 253–254, 258, 263, 291–294, 296–297, 299,
 301–302
 taxes for mandates and, 123
 Zubik v. Burwell and, 511–512, 521, 524, 532
 Alliance Defending Freedom, 90–92, 249,
 498, 518
 Alliance Defense Fund, 90–92
 Alliance of Community Health Plans, 552–556
 Alter, Jonathan, 32, 41
 Altman, Drew, 403
Amelia Bedelia Helps Out, 275
 American Academy of Actuaries, 215
 American Center for Law & Justice, 91–92
 American Constitution Society, 346
 American Enterprise Institute, 27–28, 101–102,
 104, 107–109
 American Freedom Law Center, 92, 498
 American Legislative Exchange Council,
 106–107
 Americans with Disabilities Act, 538
The American Prospect, 7
 America's Health Insurance Plans lobby
 group, 194–195, 221, 236–237, 289
The America We Deserve (Trump), 460
 Andres, Jose, 120
 Anthem Health Care, 550
 appropriation process, as ACA defunding
 strategy, 128–129
 Armour, Stephanie, 382
 Arnold, Richard S., 6
 Arterton, Cameron, 278, 326
 Attkisson, Sharyl, 377
 Autocam company, 95
 Axelrod, David, 13, 471
 Ayotte, Kelly, 159

 Babbitt, Bruce, 6
 Bacharach, Robert, 231
 Backer, Janice, 185
 Bader, Lawson, 406
 Bagley, Nicholas
 challenges to ACA and, 21, 274–275, 367, 415
 on employer mandate delay, 355
 on federal exchanges, 102, 324, 351
 grandfather status for substandard
 insurance and, 224
 Gruber video and, 377, 384

 individual mandate and, 208
 on *King v. Burwell*, 390, 392–393, 396, 406
 Baier, Brett, 456, 462
 Baker Hostetler Law firm, 355–356
 Balkin, Jack, 346
 Bancroft PLLC, 358
 Barnes, Robert, 427, 432
 Barone, Michael, 233, 492
 Barrasso, John, 410, 412, 415, 427–428
 Barrett, John Q., 502
 Barro, Josh, 198
 Bash, Dana, 461, 464
 Bashman, Howard, 321
 Bataille, Julie, 236
 Baucus, Max
 Cruz filibuster, 147–148
 drafting of ACA and, 19, 539–540
 federal subsidies and, 278, 342–343, 382
 HealthCare.gov launch failure and,
 136–137, 142, 160, 179
 Bauer, Bob, 41
 Bazelon, Emily, 336
 Beck, Glenn, 125
 Becket Fund for Religious Liberty, 54, 91–93,
 241–242, 244–247, 249–251, 265–267,
 309–311, 498–500, 516, 518
 Belmont Abbey College, 66, 91–92
 Benedict XVI (Pope), 61
 Berman, Russell, 427
 Berry, Jonathan, 115–117
 Bertolini, Mark, 138, 139, 170, 228
 Beshear, Steve, 170
Between Two Ferns (television show), 285
 Beutler, Brian, 166, 288, 378–379
 Bickel, Danny, 244
 Bidelman, Carl, 170
 Biden, Joseph, 43, 63, 171, 218, 446, 449, 484,
 486–489, 497
 Biden Rules, Supreme Court nominations
 and, 485–486
 Bingaman, Jeff, 270, 277–278
 bipartisanship, absence of, in passage of ACA,
 536–540
Bitter Pill (Brill), 13–14, 20
 Black, Barry C., 151–152
 Blackmun, Harry (Justice), 6
 Blase, Brian, 548
 blood transfusions, religious freedom
 arguments against, 262–267
 BlueCrossBlueShield, 194–195, 550
Blueprint to Defunding Obamacare, 120–124
 Blumstein, James F., 27, 108

- Blunt, Roy, 61–62, 541–542
Bob Jones University v. United States, 60
 Boehner, John
 on cancellation of insurance under ACA, 217–218
 challenges to executive action and, 353, 359, 365
 Congressional staff in federal exchanges and, 212
 Cruz filibuster and, 143–144, 146–147, 156–159
 debt ceiling crisis and, 181–183
 government shutdown, 176–177
 on *Hobby Lobby* decision, 304–305
 House defunding initiatives for ACA and, 75, 125
 House opposition to ACA and, 34
 repeal attempts of ACA and, 79
 Supreme Court rulings on ACA and, 130
 Women's Health Amendment and, 62
 Bokhary, Kemal, 478
 Bondi, Pam, 112, 357, 409
 Boozman, John, 177
 Bork, Robert, 334, 484–485
 Boxer, Barbara, 36, 47, 232–233, 304–305
 Bozell, L. Brent, 124–125
 Brady, Robert, 359
 Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act, impact on ACA of, 18–22
 Bravin, Jess, 389
 Brennan, William (Justice), 85–87, 485
 Brewer, Jan, 122–123, 175
 Breyer, Stephen G. (Justice), 6, 294
 King v. Burwell and, 479
 on Medicaid expansion, 546
 NFIB v. Sebelius and, 122–123
 nomination of, 487–488
 religious freedom rulings and, 254, 306, 308
 Supreme Court budget hearings and, 418
 on Supreme Court building, 515
 Wheaton College ruling and, 310
 Zubik v. Burwell and, 505–508, 516–517, 521, 523, 534
 Brill, Steven
 on attempted repeals of ACA, 70, 73–75
 on Cadillac Tax, 473
 on cancellation notices from ACA, 195–196
 on grandfathered status for substandard insurance, 191–192, 224
 on HealthCare.gov failure, 137–138, 167–168, 183, 228
 on minimum essential coverage criteria in ACA, 81–82
 on passage of ACA, 20
 on Section 36B (ACA), 24, 322
 on Supreme Court ACA rulings, 13–14
 Brown, Janice Rogers, 230, 232–233
 Brown, Reginald J., 280–281
 Brown, Scott, 23–24, 37, 130, 133, 212, 379, 540
 Brownback, Sam, 46
Brown v. Board of Education, 515
 budgetary process in Congress, defunding of ACA strategies using, 121–126
 Burck, William, 359
 Burge, Dave, 169
 Burke, Raymond, 61
 Burr, Richard, 129–131
 Burwell, Sylvia Matthews, 158, 289, 361–362, 387, 403, 412, 414–415, 436, 449, 502
Burwell v. Hobby Lobby Stores, 289, 290–314
 Bush, George H. W., 421–422, 485–486
 Bush, George W., 229, 422, 465–467, 487–488
 Bush, Jeb, 459
Bush v. Gore, 229, 422
Bush v. Palm Beach Canvassing Board, 465
 business lobbies, challenges to individual mandate by, 206–208
 Buttle, Rhett, 208
 Cadillac Tax, 5, 470–476, 556–558
 Campbell, Simone, 40
 cancellation notices for ACA enrollees, xx–xxi, 82, 183–202
 executive action concerning, 219–223, 350–351
 grandfather status for substandard plans and, 190–193
 hardship exemption for, 223–226
 statistics on, 194–195
 Canegallo, Kristie, 446
 Cannan, John, 345
 Cannon, Michael
 challenges to ACA and, 20–22
 on federal exchanges, 372, 378–379
 King v. Burwell and, 398, 400–402, 404–407, 428
 repeal attempts of ACA and, 104–107, 110, 112–114, 122
 Supreme Court rulings on ACA and, 270, 272–279
 on tax credits in ACA, 372–373
 Cantor, Eric, 157, 555
 Capps, Louis, 34

- Cardozo, Benjamin (Justice), 297
 CareFirst Insurance, 195
 Carmon, Irin, 308
 Carney, Jay, 37, 168, 179, 183, 186, 231–232
 Carroll, Conn, 491
 Carter, Jimmy, 421
Carthago Delenda Est (Cato the Elder), 105
 Carvin, Michael
 challenges to ACA and, 21–22, 404, 417, 434–436
 Congressional challenge to executive actions and, 358–359
 D.C. Circuit Court *en banc* hearing and, 330–331, 333–341
 election of 2000 and, 465
 federal exchanges challenges and, 103, 109–111, 269–269, 271–277, 279–281
 on Gruber videos, 376–377, 384–385
Halbig v. Burwell and, 321, 325, 404
 individual mandate in ACA and, 90, 114–119
King v. Burwell and, 325–328, 331–332, 387–388, 390–391, 396–402, 407–410, 436
 on political ethics, 404–407
 on “rump” exchanges, 395–396
 on *Zubik v. Burwell*, 534
 Casey, Bob, 44–46, 62, 276, 542
Catholic Exchange, 48
 Catholic Health Association, 39–40
 Cato Institute, 104–106
 CBS News polls, on health care, 8
 Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS)
 ACA enrollment launch date and, 138–139
 Congress and Congressional health coverage and, 213–214
 failure of HealthCare.gov and, 136–137, 139–142, 167
 federal exchanges in ACA and, 71, 74–75, 133–136, 547–551
 Medicaid expansion under ACA and, 546–547
 Section 1402 of ACA and, 360–364
 certiorari petitions
 en banc proceedings, 329–333, 336–341
 Hobby Lobby suit and, 97
 CGI Federal, 140–142
 Chabot, Steve, 354
 Chait, Jonathan, 197–198, 228, 379
 Chambliss, Saxby, 35
 Chandler, Seth, 225
 Chao, Henry, 134–136, 138–139, 141–142, 227–228
 Chase, Salmon P. (Justice), 502
 Cheney, Dick, 497
Chevron v. Natural Resources Defense Council, 324, 325–326
 Chocola, Chris, 121
 Christian Brothers Employee Benefit Trust, 532
 Christie, Chris, 107, 457
 Christina, Tom
 on federal exchanges, xxii, 26–29, 101–102, 104, 107–110, 269–270, 279–280
 King v. Burwell and, 393–396, 410, 440
 repeal of ACA and, 112
Citizens United v. FEC, xxi, 252–254
 Civil Rights Act of 1964, 538
 Title VII of, 261
Clapper v. Amnesty International, 447–448
 Clark, Tom C., 521
 Clement, Paul, 357–358
 contraceptive mandate challenges and, 315–316, 498–500
 Hobby Lobby suit and, 255–267
 religious freedom challenges and, 249–251, 301
 Scalia's death and, 480
Zubik v. Burwell and, 502–508, 510–511, 518–519, 521
 Clinton, Bill, 216–217, 422, 487–488
 health care reform proposal of, xviii, 3–7, 14, 76
 Clinton, Hillary, 79, xxiii–xxiv
 on Cadillac tax, 474
 Clinton healthcare initiative and, xviii, 3–7, 460–461, 468–470
 on judicial nominations, 496–497
 on *King v. Burwell*, 451
 public option in ACA and, 559
 in Senate, 230
 support of ACA by, 217, 462, 467–470
Clinton v. City of New York, 349
 Club for Growth, 121
 Clyburn, James, 42
 Coburn, Tom, 130, 153
 Cohen, Gary, 160
 Cohn, Jonathan, 161, 274, 375, 379–380
 Colbert, Stephen, 169
 Collins, Paul Jr., 420, 424, 429
 Collins, Susan, 215
 Colloton, Steven, 495
 Collyer, Rosemary M., 360, 362–368
 Colorado Consumer Health Initiative, 283, 289
 community rating requirement, in ACA, 17–22

- Competitive Enterprise Institute, 101–102, 104, 107–111, 114–119, 280–281, 372–373, 400, 406–407, 542
- comprehensiveness of health care, 10–11
 ACA mandate for, 11–15
- Condeluci, Christopher E., 18, 273
- Conestoga Wood Specialties, 249–251
- Conference of Catholic Bishops, 55, 60, xix, 33–34, 39–40
- Congress. *see* House of Representatives; Senate
- Congressional Budget Office (CBO), 11n.54, 19–22, 473, 547–551, 556–558
- Congressional employees, ACA enrollment for, 211–214, 348–349
- Congressional staff, participation in federal exchanges by, 211–214
- Connolly, Ceci, 552
- conscience exemptions in ACA, 31, 43, 49–50, 63–66
- Constitution Action Project, 121–124
- Constitutional Accountability Center, 28–29, 330, 400, 434
- continuing resolutions (CRs) (Congress), as
 ACA defunding strategy, 121–126, 143–144, 155–157
- contraceptive coverage in ACA
 church health plans and, 531–533
 defunding of, proposals for, 122–124
 for-profit businesses and, 92–97, 245–257, 294–295, 314–317, 540–541
 gender equality and, 306
 insured plans coverage and, 529–530
 judicial invalidation of, 232–233
 mandate for, 53–56, 60–63, 206, xviii–xxii, xxiv, 45–50
 ministerial exception and, 56–60
 religious groups opposition to, 88–97, 241–267
 self-insurance and, 530–531
 Supreme Court rulings on, xxi, 85–88, 241–267, 297–303
 Wheaton College challenge and, 311–314
 Zubik v. Burwell suit and, 501–519
- Cooke, Charles C. W., 284
- Cook Political Report, 126
- Coolidge, Calvin, 431
- Cooper, Chuck, 358–359
- Cooper, Jim, 39
- Cooper and Kirk law firm, 358–359
- cooperative federalism, 273
- Corbin, Caroline Mala, 253
- Cornhusker Kickback*, 35–36
 “*Cornhusker Kickback*,” passage of ACA and, 34–38
- Cornyn, John, 130, 153, 159, 491
- corporate free speech
 contraceptive mandate and, 294–295, 314–317, 540–541
 Hobby Lobby lawsuit and, xxi, 252–267, 293–294
- Corzine, John, 187
- cost sharing, in Women's Health
 Amendment, 45
- Couric, Katie, 298, 307–308
- Covington and Burling law firm, 358
- Coyle, Marcia, 314, 435
- Crawford, Jan, 435
- Crenshaw, Ander, 418
- Crocket, Davy, 154
- Cruz, Ted, xx
 on cost-sharing subsidies in ACA, 361–362
 death of Scalia and, 497
 debt ceiling crisis and, 182
 defunding of ACA and, 127–131
 election of 2000 and, 465
 filibuster against ACA by, 143–157
 government shutdown and, 124–125, 176–177
 HealthCare.gov failure and, 139
 on *King v. Burwell*, 451, 466
 opposition to Garland from, 493–495
 repeal of ACA supported by, 455–457
 on Section 36B challenge, 324–325
 support of Roberts by, 465
 Trump attacked by, 462–463
- Cuban healthcare system, 468–470
- Cummings, Elijah, 172, 383
- Cuomo, Andrew, 175–176
- Cutler, David, 71–72, 76, 133–134, 554
- The Daily Kos*, 7
- The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*, 168, 185
- Daley, William M., 13–14
- Daschle, Tom, 23–24, 41, 43
- Davis, Andre M., 281, 327
- Davis, Sean, 491
- D.C. Circuit Court
 en banc hearings before, 332–341, 346–347
 judicial appointments to, 230–233, 329
- death spiral predictions, ACA exemptions and, 215, 438, 554, 558–560
- debt ceiling crisis, 181–183
- Defense of Marriage Act, 357

- defunding strategies against ACA, 121–131, 143–147
 Section 1402 challenges and, 360–368
 DeGette, Diana, 212
 Delery, Stuart F., 269
 Dellinger, Walter, 428
 DeMint, Jim, 128
 Democratic Party
 ACA failures and vulnerability of, 218–220, 223–226
 continuing resolutions on ACA in, 156–157
 contraceptive mandate in ACA and, 33–35, 38, 46–47
 control of Senate by, 23, 74, 229–230
 election of 2008 and, 7
 election of 2016 and, 467–470, xxiii
 Medicaid expansion in ACA and, 35–36
 passage of ACA and, 537–540
 Women's Health Amendment and, 62
 Deneen, Patrick, 243
 Denniston, Lyle, 324, 340–341, 420, 428, 436–437
 DeParle, Nancy-Ann, 73, 382
 Department of Health and Human Services (HHS)
 ACA implementation and, 71–72
 ACA updates on blog posts by, 205
 contraception coverage mandate and, 122–124
 contraceptive mandate and, xix, 53–57, 64–66
 federal ACA exchanges and, 133–134
 Dickerson, Michael, 184
 Dionne, E. J., 60–61
 Dobelbower, Peter, 96
 Dolan, Timothy M., 64
 Dole, Bob, 76
 Donelon, Jim, 222, 554
 Donner, Jason, 292–293
 Dordt College, 498
 Dorf, Michael, 534
 Dow, Robert M. Jr., 309
 Doyle, Arthur Conan, 49–50
Dred Scott decision, 252
 Driehaus, Steve, 43n.98
 Drum, Kevin, 373
 Durbin, Dick, 48, 146, 150–151, 212–213, 330, 475
 King v. Burwell and, 387
 Earnest, Josh, 304–305, 325, 365, 373, 415, 475, 490, 528, 532
 Edwards, Harry T., 268, 271–277, 279–280, 323–328, 334–336, 377
 Eggleston, Neil, 446
 Eid, Allison, 495
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 421
Elane Photography v. Willock, 302
 Elmendorf, Douglas W., 11n.54, 19
 Emanuel, Ezekiel, 24, 72–73, 283, 470–472
 Emanuel, Rahm, 24, 41, 73, 79
 emergency contraception, 47–48
 ACA coverage for, xix
 Emergency Medical Treatment and Active Labor Act (EMTALA), 462
Employee Benefits Security Administration Form 700 68–69, 88–89, 241–251, 309, 315
 Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA), 96, 313–314, 528–533
 employer mandate in ACA
 delayed implementation of, 206–211, 354–355, 556–558
 legal challenges to, 107–109, 114–117, 301–317
 employer-sponsored health plans, 470–472, 552–556
Employment Division v. Smith, 86–87
en banc review, 96–97, 329–330, 332–338
 enrollment in ACA
 December deadline for, 235–237
 failed launch of, xix–xxi, 124, 139–142, 160–161, 165–183
 in federal exchanges, 547–551
 improved procedures for, 234–235
 launch deadlines for, 138–139, 227–228, 287–288
 statistics on, 545–546
 Enzi, Mike, 125, 148
 Eshbaugh-Soha, Matthew, 420, 424, 429
 Estrada, Miguel, 230, 232–233, 269
 ethics
 political ethics, 404–407
 of political warfare, 404–407
 executive action
 on ACA provisions, xx–xxi, 41–44, 219–223, 552–556
 Congressional challenges to, 352–368
 on Congressional staff in federal exchanges, 213, 347–349
 contraceptive coverage in ACA, xviii–xix
 Obama's use of, 203–204
Fairness for American Families Act, 215–216
 Fallin, Mary, 113–114

- Fallon, Jimmy, 356
 family planning services, ACA and, 47–48
 Family Research Council, 32, 55
 Farrow, Ronan, 381
 Federal Employee Health Benefits Program
 Congress and staff coverage in, 211–214,
 347–351
 contraceptive coverage in, 54–55
 federal exchanges in ACA
 Congressional legislation on, 12n.56
 defunding strategies for stopping, 121–126
 employer mandate and, 107–109
 enrollment in, 547–551
 Gruber's support for, 374–375
 HealthCare.gov failures and, 132–134,
 136–137, 171
 implementation of, 159, 206–208
 insurance coverage standards for, 81–82
 legal challenges to, 101–104, 117–119,
 269–277, 322–328
 pool diversity and, 282–283
 proposed Congressional use of, 211–214
 “rump” exchanges, 394–396,
 439–442
 state health care coverage and, xxii, 26–27,
 36–38, 101–107, 111–114, 132–133
 subsidies and, 18–22, 271–280
 “such exchange” concept and, 393–394
 Supreme Court rulings on, xxi, 438–442
 tax credits policy and, 27–28, 101–104,
 122–124
 federalism, ACA challenges based on,
 104–107, 272–277, 396–399
Federalist Papers, 126, 147–148, 363
 Federalist Society for Law & Public Policy,
 113, 495
Federal Register, ACA provisions in, 191–192,
 196
 Feinberg, Ken, 534
 Feinstein, Dianne, 233
 “Fight the Forty” campaign, 473–476
 filibusters, Senate use of
 Cruz oration as, 148–153
 for judicial nominations, 229–233, 489–490,
 492–497
 nuclear option and, 229–231
 First Amendment
 ministerial exception and, 58–60
 religious freedom in, 85–88, 93–97,
 290–292
 First Liberty Institute, 92
 Fischer, Deb, 125
 Fisher, David, 361
Fisher v. University of Texas, Austin, 314n.28
 Flake, Jeff, 125
Florida Flim Flam, ACA negotiations and, 36
 Foley, Elizabeth Price, 352–353
 Food and Drug Administration, contraceptive
 methods approved by, 47–49, 57
 Ford, Gerald, 421
 for-profit businesses
 ACA contraceptive mandate and, 92–97,
 245–251, 259–267, 315–317, 540–541
 corporate free speech and, 252–254, 293–303
 Foster, Richard, 82
 Fowler, Liz, 274, 322
 Frakt, Austin, 224
 Francis (Pope), 61, 243
 Francisco, Noel
 contraceptive mandate challenges and,
 498, 502
 on individual mandate, 90
 on repeal of ACA, 110
 Zubik v. Burwell and, 508, 510–513, 517,
 523–525, 527–528, 533
 Franken, Al, 47, 490
 Fransen, James W., 274
 FreedomWorks, 115, 121
 Free Exercise Clause (First Amendment)
 contraceptive mandate in ACA and, 88–92
 religious freedom and, 85–88
 free speech, corporate right to, Hobby Lobby
 lawsuit and, xxi, 252–267
 Friedman, Paul L., 117–119
 Friedman, Richard, 430–431
 Friedman, Thomas, 3
Friedrichs v. California Teachers Association,
 292
 Galen Institute, 112
 Galifianakis, Zach, 285
Gallup surveys, on health care, 8, 555–556
 Gang of 14, 230
 Gardner, Cory, 194–195
 Garland, Merrick, 482–483, 489, 491, 496–497
 Garner, Bryan A., 478
 Garvey, John, 60
 Geidner, Chris, 419
 gender equality, Hobby Lobby decision and,
 300–303, 306
 Gershengorn, Ian, 6n.23, 446
 Gilbert, Cass, 514–515
 Gingrey, Phil, 158
 Ginsburg, Douglas H., 334–335, 485

- Ginsburg, Ruth Bader (Justice), xxi
 celebrity status, 306–309
 challenges to ACA and, 78
 on contraceptive mandate, 246, 257
 dissenting opinions of, 445
 on ERISA cases, 528–529
 on internal tensions in Supreme Court, 435
King v. Burwell and, 391, 408–410
 nomination of, 487–488
 Obama inauguration and, 83
 on religious freedom rulings, 296–303, 306
 on Scalia, 479, 481
 on Supreme Court building, 515
 Wheaton College suit and, 312–314
 Women's Health Amendment and, 62
Zubik v. Burwell and, 505–506, 511, 521, 524, 527
- Gluck, Abbe R., 396–397
- Goldstein, Amy, 185
- Goldstein, Tom, 293, 427
- Good Morning America*, 169–170
- Goodnough, Abby, 409
- Government Accountability Office (GAO), 134–135, 550
- grandfather status for substandard plans in
 ACA, 189–193, 197, 200, 218–223, 555
 religious freedom litigation and, 260–262
- Grassley, Charles, 125, 148, 211–214, 491–493
- Gray, Vincent, 222
- Greal, Mary, 472
- Greenawalt, Robert, 19–20
- Greenberger, Marsha, 265–266
- Green Eggs and Ham* (Seuss), 150–152
- Green family (David and Barbara), 92–97, 248–251, 255, 265, 294–295
- Greenhouse, Linda, 28–29, 533
- Greenstein, Robert, 476
- Gregory, Roger L., 280–281, 325–328
- Greve, Michael S., 27–29, 108, 110, 222–223, 542–543
- Griesbach, William C., 214, 348–349, 366–367
- Griffith, Thomas, 268–269, 271–280, 321–328, 336–341
- Gross, Terry, 379
- Grote Industries, 95
- Gruber, Jonathan
 on Cadillac Tax, 473
 on cancellations of policies, 198, 225–226, 553
 on federal exchanges, 282, 371–385
 on grandfather status for substandard insurance, 192
 on redistribution in ACA, 13
 repeal attempts of ACA and, 80
 on Section 36B, 24
 support for ACA by, 374–375
- Gruender, Raymond, 495
- guaranteed issue, in ACA, 17–22
- Gupta, Sanjay, 425
- Gutmacher Institute, 54–55
- Halbig, Jacqueline, 115, 122, 233
- Halbig v. Burwell*, 321, 329, 332–341, 347, 372–373, 377, 404, 433
- Halbig v. Sebelius*, 268, 270
- Halligan, Caitlin, 231
- Ham, Mary Katherine, 462
- Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*, 422–423
- Hamilton, David F., 309
- Hannity, Sean, 126
- Hardiman, Thomas, 495
- Harding, Warren G., 431
- Hardman, Emily, 266
- hardship exemption for individual mandate, 223–226, 553–556
- Hardy, Brandon, 170–171
- Harkin, Tom, 361–362
- Harlan, John Marshall II (Justice), 86
- The Harlan Institute, 115
- Harris, Scott S., 337–338, 503
- Harris v. Quinn*, 290–292
- “Harry and Louise” commercials, 4–7, 9, 32, 186
- Hasen, Rick, 384, 428
- Hatch, Orrin, 44–45, 63–66, 103–104, 387, 410
- Hauser, Jessica, 326
- Hawkins, Kristan, 293
- Health, Education, Labor and Pensions (HELP) Committee, 19–20, 44, 277–279
- health care, public opinion paradoxes about, 7–9, 186–189
- HealthCare.gov
 December enrollment deadline and, 235–237
 failed launch of, xix–xxi, 124, 139–142, 160–161, 165–183
 improvement of, 234–235, 286–288
 inadequate testing of, 134–135
 “tech surge” response to failure of, 184–185, 227–229
 warnings about flaws in, 136–137
- Healthcare Leadership Council, 472
- Health Insurance Association of America, 4–7

- “Health Insurance Legal Issues” (Jost), 376–377
Health Matrix, 107
 Health Resources and Services Administration (HRSA), 45–48
 Health Security Act proposal, 4–7
Hearts of Atlanta Motel v. United States, 421
 Heineman, Dave, 35–36
 Henderson, Chad, 166–167
 Henkins, John I., 30
 Henry, Ed, 183
 Heritage Action for America, 121, 127–129
 Heritage Foundation, 128, 495, 537, xviii
 Hewitt, Hugh, 38
 HighMark Health Services, 195
 Hill, Anita, 486
 Hobby Lobby stores. *see* *Hobby Lobby v. Burwell*; *Sebelius v. Hobby Lobby Stores*
Hobby Lobby v. Burwell, xix, xxi, 47, 62, 92–97, 244, 245–247, 540–541
 Hogue, Ilyse, 266
 Holder, Eric, 354, 358, 449
Honor Flight, 173–176
 Hoover, Herbert, 431
Hosanna-Tabor Evangelical Lutheran Church and School v. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 58, 67–69
 House of Representatives
 attempts to repeal ACA in, 79–80
 challenges to executive action in, 352–368
 Congressional employees in federal exchanges in, 211–214, 348–351
 continuing resolutions on ACA in, 156–157
 debt ceiling crisis and, 181–183
 defunding of ACA initiatives in, xx, 75, 121–127, 143–147, 155–157
 delay of employer mandate in ACA by, 209–211
 federal exchanges debate in, 102–103, 132–134
 passage of ACA in, xviii, 15, 17–19, 21–22, 24–26, 33–34, 37–40, 42–43, 212, 345–347
 Religious Freedom Restoration Act in, 88
 Republican control of, 7, 74, 203, 416
 Supreme Court budget hearings and, 418–419
 Women’s Health Amendment in, 47–48, 62
House of Representatives v. Burwell, 360
 Houston, Sam, 154
 Howe, Amy, 524
 Howell, Beryl A., 346–347
 Hoyer, Steny, 324
 H&R Block, 133–134
 Hudson, Henry, 118
 Hughes, Charles Evans (Chief Justice), 297, 431–433
 Hurley, Lawrence, 419
 Hurst, Douglas, 388, 390
Husky Electronics v. Ritz, 524
 Hyde, Henry, 31
 Hyde Amendment, 31, 33–34, 41–42, 47
 Ifill, Sherrilyn, 436–437
 Ignani, Karen, 192, 221, 225, 289
 income levels, individual mandate in ACA and, 115–117, 189–190
 individual mandate
 constitutional challenges to, 77–78, 109–117, 190–193, 279–280, 344–347
 delayed implementation of, 215–223, 551–556
 development of, 17–22
 hardship exemption for, 223–226, 553–556
 implementation of, 159, 206–208
 income levels in, 115–117, 189–190
 millennials’ skirting of, 282–283
 penalties for enforcement of, 190–193, 206–208, 342–347
 starting date for, 138
 tax penalties for, 388–391, 551–556
 Trump’s criticism of, 464
 information disclosure, Supreme Court rulings on, 447–449
 Ingraham, Laura, 458
 Inhofe, Jim, 125, 148
 Institute of Medicine (IOM), 53–57
 insurance industry
 Cadillac tax and, 471–476
 cancellation notices in ACA and, 196, 220–223
 contraceptive coverage in insured plans and, 529–530
 delay of employer mandate and, 209–211
 enrollment in ACA and, 235–236, 550–551
 government subsidies in ACA for, 17–22
 grandfather status for substandard plans and, 190–193
 impact of ACA in, 558–560
 Section 1402 subsidies and, 364–368
 Trump’s criticism of, 464
 Internal Revenue Service (IRS)
 cost-sharing subsidies in ACA and, 361–368
 federal exchanges in ACA and, 101–104, 107–111, 116–117, 207–208, 279–280

- Section 36B interpretation, 321–328
 subsidized policies and, 389–391, 399–400
- International Foundation of Employee Benefits Plans, 471–472
- Issa, Darrell, 209, 384
- Iwry, Mark, 207–208, 354
- Jaffer, Jameel, 448
- James, LeBron, 284
- Jarrett, Valerie, 192, 196
- Jay, John, 432
- Jeffords, Jim, 229–230
- Jenkins (Father), 62–63, 242
- Jewett, Aubrey, 409
- Jindal, Bobby, 409
- Johnson, Lyndon B., 209, 421
- Johnson, Ron, 214, 288, 347–351, 366–368, 411–414
- Johnson v. OPM*, 351–352, 366–368
- Jones, David K., 415
- Jones Day Law Firm, 90, 109, 113–114, 116, 333–341, 359, 388, 498–500
- Jost, Ken, 447
- Jost, Timothy, 82, 376–377, 390–391, 404, 409, 474
- judicial nominations, Senate filibusters of, 229–233
- Kagan, Elena (Justice)
 contraceptive mandate and, 122–123
 on federal exchanges, 27, 271, 395–396
King v. Burwell and, 399, 447
 on Medicaid expansion, 546
 nomination of, 489–491
 religious freedom rulings and, 42, 254, 256–257, 262–264, 294, 306, 308
 rulings on ACA and, 59, 343
 on Scalia's death, 480–481, 520
Wheaton College ruling and, 310–311
Zubik v. Burwell and, 505, 510–511, 521–522, 524
- Kaine, Tim, 150–151
- Kaiser Family Foundation, 5, 8, 13, 282, 559
- Kaiser Permanente, 194–195, 550
- Kapur, Sahil, 338
- Kasich, John, 123, 457–459
 on Trump, 463
- Katsas, Greg, 359
- Katyal, Neal, 343, 400, 447
- Kavanaugh, Brett, 347, 366–367
- Kazman, Samuel, 108–112, 115–117, 400
- Keehan, Carol (Sister), 39, 66–67, 69
- Keeping the Affordable Care Act Promise Act*, 215
- Keep Your Health Plan Act of 2013*, 218–220
- Kellar, Brianna, 183
- Kelly, Paul Joseph Jr., 242
- Kendall, Brent, 389
- Kendall, Douglas, 330, 434
- Kennedy, Anthony (Justice), xxi, 291, 445
 ACA rulings and, 27–29, 78, 123, 343
 contraceptive mandate rulings and, 264–267
Hobby Lobby v. Burwell and, 540
 House budget hearings and, 418–419
King v. Burwell and, 387, 396–399, 401, 436–437
 on Medicaid expansion, 546
 Reagan's nomination of, 485
 religious freedom rulings and, 250, 254, 256–258, 291, 295–297, 300–301
 Scalia and, 479, 481
Zubik v. Burwell and, 504–505, 508–510, 521
- Kennedy, Edward
 death of, 22–23
 passage of ACA and, 15–16, 32, 80–81, 88, 210, 295
 Supreme Court nominations and, 484
- Kennedy, John F., 421
- Kennedy, Vicki, 15
- Kerr, Orin, 496
- Kerry, John, 23, 381, 489
- Kethledge, Raymond, 495
- Kibbe, Matt, 121
- Kimmel, Jimmy, 168–169
- King, David M., 117–119, 388–390
- King & Spalding law firm, 357
- King v. Burwell*, xxii–xxiii
 Congressional legislation following, 472–476
 constitutional issues in, 21–22, 77, 270, 518–519
 dissenting opinions in, 442–445, 482
 federal exchanges debate and, 103, 116–119
 impact on healthcare of, 403–410
 lawyers involved in, 325–328
 media comments on, 433–435, 445–446
 Obama's comments on, 81, 424–428, 544
 Supreme Court decision on, 331–341, 360, 386–402, 435–451
- King v. Sebelius*, 280–281
- Kirk, Paul G., 23
- Klein, Ezra, 72, 123, 131
 on cancellation of policies by ACA, 200, 224–225

- on HealthCare.gov failure, 137, 171, 177, 179, 185
- on health care reform “trilemma,” 10–11
- on implementation of individual mandate, 216
- on public opinion about health care, 7–9
- on Supreme Court support of ACA, 433–434
- Klein, Phillip A., 191–192, 378
- Klemencic, David, 115
- Kliff, Sarah, 161, 165–166, 197–198, 200, 205–208, 220, 273, 375
- Kline, John, 410
- Klobuchar, Amy, 35
- Kneedler, Edwin S., 446
- Knizhnik, Shana, 307–308
- Knoller, Mark, 200
- Koch, Kim, 326
- Koppelman, Andrew, 404
- Kovner, Rachel, 477
- Krauthammer, Charles, 153
- Kreidler, Mike, 221–222
- Kruger, Leondra R., 58–59
- Krugman, Paul, 161, 270–271
- Krupp, Ethan, 284
- Kurtz, Howard, 378
- Kysar, Rebecca M., 345–347
- LaCouture, Brittany, 273
- Lambeth, Royce, 314
- Lambrew, Jeanne, 72–73, 190–193, 196–197, 200, 208, 382
- Landrieu, Mary, 215–216, 218–219, 555
- Larsen, Joan, 495
- Laszewski, Robert, 193, 221, 288, 555
- law of general applicability, 87
- Leahy, Patrick, 77–78, 151, 291n.6
- least restrictive means principle, contraceptive mandate and, 314
- Lee, Mike
 - on cost-sharing subsidies in ACA, 361–362
 - Cruz filibuster and, 151
 - debt ceiling crisis and, 182
 - defunding attempts of ACA and, 128–131, 147–148, 155–156
 - government shutdown and, 124–126
 - opposition to Obama judicial nominations by, 491
- Lee, Rex, 147–148
- Lee, Thomas, 495
- Leno, Jay, 168–169
- Leo, Leonard, 340–341
- LePage, Paul, 106–107
- Levin, Mark, 356
- Levin, Sandy, 416
- Levin, Yuval, 224
- Levitt, Larry, 559
- Levy, Brenda, 388, 390
- Liasson, Mara, 328
- “Liberals Put the Squeeze to Justice Roberts” (Will), 77–78
- Liberty Institute, 92
- Lieberman, Joe, 559–560
- LifeNews*, 45, 55
- Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act*, 298
- Lilly Ledbetter v. Goodyear*, 298
- Limbaugh, Rush, 145–147
- Line Item Veto Act, 349, 352, 363
- Liptak, Adam, 297, 416–417, 419, 448
- Lithwick, Dahlia, 306, 357
- Little Sisters of the Poor, 296–297, 309–311, xix, xxi–xxii, xxiv
 - church health plan used by, 532–533
 - contraceptive mandate and, 39, 63, 66–69, 88–92, 259, 498–500
 - enrollment deadline for ACA and, 237
 - individual mandate and, 206
 - religious freedom challenges and, 241–251, 296–297, 309–311, 315–317
 - Wheaton College challenge compared with, 311–314
 - Zubik v. Burwell* suit and, 501–519, 523–536
- Liu, Goodwin, 231
- Lo Sasso, Anthony, 55
- Lott, Trent, 230
- Louisiana Purchase*, ACA negotiations and, 36
- Lowery, Carrie, 115
- Lowry, Rich, 284–285
- Lucero, Carlos F., 242
- Luck, Rose, 388, 390
- Luttig, Mike, 466, 494
- Lynch, Loretta, 517
- Madison, James, 147–148, 172n.54, 363
- Maguire, Mother Loraine Marie Claire, 88–89, 242–245, 497–500, 501–502, 516, 519
- MakeDCListen oration, xx, 131, 145–147, 151
- Malkin, Michelle, 194–195
- Manchin, Joe, 62, 215, 223, 542
- Marbury v. Madison*, 435, 441
- Marcus, Ruth, 306
- Marshall, John (Chief Justice), 432–433, 435, 441
- Martin, Jenny Beth, 121

- Martínez, William J., 241
 Matthews, Chris, 60
 Mauro, Tony, 357, 437
 Mazur, Mark, 207, 209
 McArdle, Megan, 378
 McCain, John, 129–131, 152–153, 471
 McCarthy, Kevin, 157
 McConnell, Michael, 533–534
 McConnell, Mitch
 on ACA Medicaid expansion, 77
 on cancellation notices under ACA, 199, 555
 on Cruz filibuster, 146, 153
 on failure of HealthCare.gov, 142
 on federal exchanges, 412–413
 on Hobby Lobby decision, 304–305
 on judicial nominations, 489–493
 on nuclear option, 233
 on repeal of ACA, 79, 130, 538–540
 on Supreme Court challenges to ACA, 406
 McCorvey, Norma, 30–31
 McDonough, Denis, 63, 137, 161, 171, 196, 220, 446, 475
 McDonough, John, 210, 273
 McGinnis, John, 496
 McKinnin, Kate, 169
 McKinsey consulting firm, 136–139, 179, 555
 McMahon, Emily, 101–102, 278
 Meadows, Mark, 125–126
 media coverage of ACA
 King v. Burwell decision and, 433–435, 445–446
 NFIB v. Sebelius decision and, 343–344
 Supreme Court media restrictions and, 306–309
 Media Research Center, 124
 Medicaid
 ACA expansion of, 122–124, 457–459, 546–547, xxi, 35–36, 77–78
 passage of, 538
 Medicare, passage of, 209, 538
 Meese, Edwin iii, 121
 Mehta, Amit P., 351
 Melling, Louise, 266, 516–517
 Merrill, Thomas, 396
Merrill Lynch v. Manning, 524
 Metzger, Gillian, 396
 Miers, Harriet, 488
 Mikulski, Barbara, 44–50, 54, 57, 213, 264, 513, 541
 Milbank, Dana, 428
 millennial generation, enrollment in ACA and, 282–286
 Miller, Thomas P.
 challenges to ACA and, 108, 110, 118, 279–280
 federal exchanges and, 27, 400, 405
 repeal attempts of ACA and, 112–116
 Millett, Patricia Ann, 231, 233, 329
 Millhiser, Ian, 279–280
 ministerial exception, ACA contraceptive mandate and, 56–60
 Miscamble, Bill (Father), 243
 Mitchell, George, 6
 Mitchell, Jonathan, 112
 More, Thomas, 83
 Morgan, Piers, 435
 Mosteller, Brian, 445
 Murkowski, Lisa, 46, 215
 Murphy, Erin, 502
 Murray, Patty, 47, 314–317, 360–361, 387
 Murthy, Vivek, H., 387
 Nagourney, Adam, 22
 NARAL, 44
 National Academy of Sciences, 53–56
 National Association of Insurance Commissioners, 37–38, 550
 National Federation of Independent Business, 110
 National Organization for Women, 44, 48
 national parks, government shutdown closure of, 173–176
 National Retail Federation, 206
 National Right to Life Committee, 42, 45–46
 National Security Division, Supreme Court rulings on, 447–449
 National Women's Health Network, 55
 National Women's Law Center, 55
 Native American sacraments, 86–87
 Needham, Mike, 121, 128
 Nelson, Ben, 34–38, 48, 62
 challenges to ACA and, 271–273, 275–277
 federal exchanges and, 379–380, 396
 King v. Burwell and, 387
 NetRoots Nation, 7
 Network group, 38–40
 Neuborne, Burt, 507
 Neugebauer, Randy, 43–44, 174
New Republic magazine, 105–106
NFIB v. Sebelius
 constitutionality of ACA and, 108–109, 518–519
 contraceptive coverage in ACA and, 122–123
 defunding of ACA and, 25–27

- individual mandate upheld in, 77–78, 467, 552
- insurance coverage standards and, 81, 190
- King v. Burwell* and, 399–402, 423–424, 438, 441
- Medicaid expansion under ACA and, 457
- state opposition to ACA and, 542–543
- Supreme Court opinions in, 343–344, 482, 488, 543–544
- Nixon, Richard, 421
- nonprofit organizations
 - church health plans and, 531–533
 - contraceptive coverage in ACA and, xix, 88–92, 504–519
- notice and comment period, contraceptive mandate and, 56
- Notre Dame University
 - contraceptive mandate opposition by, 62–63, 69, 242–251
 - Obama's address to, 30–31
- nuclear option, Senate use of, 229–233, 329
- Obama, Barack
 - on Cadillac Tax, 475
 - Cadillac tax and, 471–472
 - cancellation notices in ACA and, 195–202
 - commentary on Supreme Court rulings by, 77–81, 420–428, 445–446, 449–451, 528–529, 534, 543–545
 - Congressional address on ACA by, 11–15, 32–33
 - Congressional staff in federal exchanges and, 212–213
 - as constitutional lawyer, 304–305
 - debt ceiling crisis and, 181–183
 - election in 2012 and, 82–83, 467
 - on employer mandate delay, 209, 354–355
 - executive actions by, 41–44, 203–204, 552–556
 - Garland nomination by, 482–483, 489–490, 493–497
 - Ginsburg and, 308–309
 - government shutdown and, 176–177
 - grandfather status for substandard plans and, 186–189, 193, 195
 - on hyperpartisanship, 537–540
 - implementation of ACA and, 70–79, 178–180, 537–540
 - improvements to HealthCare.gov, 234–235
 - on individual mandate, 342
 - judicial nominations and, 488–491
 - Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act* and, 298
 - marketing of ACA by, 11, 201–202, 283–286
 - Michelle Obama and, 120
 - nomination of, 7
 - Notre Dame address by, 30–31
 - on nuclear option, 230
 - on paradox in health care reform, 186–189
 - reaction to contraceptive mandate and, 61–69
 - Scalia's death and, 481–482
 - “tech surge” response to HealthCare.gov failure and, 183–184
 - Obama, Michelle, 120, 481
 - Obamacare. *see* Affordable Care Act (ACA)
 - Obergefell v. Hodges*, 59–60, 445, 482
 - O'Brien, Conan, 169
 - O'Connor, Sandra Day (Justice), 87, 487–488, 529
 - Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs (OIRA), 75–76
 - Office of Personnel Management (OPM), 213–214, 348–351
 - Olbermann, Keith, 252
 - O'Malley, Sean, 32
 - The Onion*, 79n.46
 - Orange, Vincent, 222
 - Organizing for America (OFA), 167, 201
 - Origination Clause (U.S. Constitution), 345–347
 - Orszag, Peter, 72, 191, 382–383, 473–474
 - Pacific Legal Foundation, 344, 347
 - Palazzo, Steven, 173–174
 - Park, Todd, 76
 - Patrick, Deval, 22–23
 - Paul, Rand, 125–126, 148–149, 156, 462
 - debt ceiling crisis and, 182
 - Paulsen, Michael Stokes, 87
 - Pavone, Frank (Father), 40, 517
 - Pear, Robert, 270, 274, 327, 373
 - Pelley, Scott, 462
 - Pelosi, Nancy
 - on Cadillac Tax, 475
 - on cancellation of insurance under ACA, 217–219
 - on Congressional challenge to executive actions, 355–356
 - on Hobby Lobby decision, 304–305
 - King v. Burwell*, 387, 413, 416
 - passage of ACA and, 24–25, 33–34, 41–44, 62, 144, 270
 - per curiam* opinion, in *Zubik v. Burwell*, 525–536

- Perich, Cheryl, 58
 Perrelli, Tom, 6n.23, 343n.7
 Persico, Lawrence (Bishop), 502
 Pillard, Cornelia T. L., 231, 233, 329, 510n.13
 Pitts, Joe, 414
 Planned Parenthood, 42, 44, 55, 266
Planned Parenthood v. Casey, 45, 300, 422
 Podesta, John, 204
Politifact, 14, 23, 198, 383
 Posner, Richard A., 309
 Pottery Barn Rule, ACA challenges and, 413–414
 Powe, Lucas A., 434–435
 Powell, Louis (Justice), 484
 Praeger, Sandy, 104, 222
The Preserving Freedom and Choice in Healthcare Act, 411
 presidential politics, repeal of Affordable Care Act and, 455–465
 preventive care, contraceptive mandate and, 12, 56–57
 Priebus, Reince, 79
 Priests for Life, 40, 69, 498, 517
 Pro-Life Caucus, 33
 Protect Women's Health from Corporate Interference Act, 314–317
 Pruitt, Scott, 111–114, 323, 397–398
Pruitt v. Sebelius, 111–114, 117, 344–345
 Pryor, William, 494–495
 Public Company Accounting Oversight Board, 110–111
 Public Health Service Act 1970, Title x, 47
 public opinion polls
 on cancellation of policies by ACA, 198–202
 on government shutdown, 177
 paradoxes in, on health care reform, 7–9, 186–189
 public option in ACA, 559–560
 QSSI company, HealthCare.gov testing and, 135
 Quinn Emanuel Urquhart & Sullivan LLP, 359
 Radia, Ryan, 372–374
 Radnofsky, Louise, 389
 Raimer, David, 502
Raines v. Byrd, 349, 352, 363
 Randolph, A. Raymond, 268–280, 321–328
 Reagan, Ronald, 334, 421, 484–485
 Rehnquist, William (Chief Justice), 86, 466, 488, 529
 Reid, Harry
 on Cadillac Tax, 475
 cloture votes and, 155–157, 230
 on Congressional staff in federal exchanges, 212
 Cruz filibuster and, 136–137, 144, 146, 149–152, 157–159
 on D.C. Circuit Court, 330
 debt ceiling crisis and, 182–183
 defunding attempts for ACA and, 125
 government shutdown and, 176–177
 on Hobby Lobby decision, 306
 on judicial nominations, 232–233, 338–339
 King v. Burwell and, 387, 413
 passage of ACA and, 19–24, 34–38, 344–345
 Section 36B and, 277–279
 Service Members Home Ownership Tax Act of 2009 (SMHOTA), 345–347
 reinsurance, in ACA, 559
 religious freedom
 contraceptive coverage in ACA and, xix, xxi, 31, 38–40, 43, 49–50, 54–56, 60–69, 88–97, 241–251, 504–519, 540–541
 corporate free speech and, 252–254, 293–294
 slippery slope argument against protection of, 262–267
 Supreme Court rulings on, 85–88, 247–251, 290–292, 295–297, 301–317
Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA), 88, 93, 97, 250–267, 294, 298–303, 310–311, 317, 508–512
 rent-seeking behavior, delay of employer mandate and, 208–211
 repeal attempts of ACA, 70, 73–79, 104–107, 139, 235–237
 presidential politics and, 455–476
 Republican Party
 alternatives to ACA and, 410–411
 attacks on Obama by, 73
 cancellation of insurance by ACA targeted by, 202
 contraception mandate in ACA and, 46–48
 control of House by, 74
 control of Senate by, 22–24, 37
 debt ceiling crisis and, 181–183
 defunding strategies against ACA by, 75, 125–131, 143–144, 147–153
 federal exchanges in ACA and, xxii–xxiii
 government shutdown and, 176–177
 King v. Burwell and, 451

- opposition to ACA in, xviii, xxi, 13–14, 22, 25, 34–35, 41, 43, 151–153
- opposition to Clinton healthcare reforms by, 6–7
- opposition to Obama judicial nominations by, 484–493
- presidential election of 2012 and, 79–81
- repeal attempts of ACA by, 74–75, 79–81
- shutdown of federal government by, xix–xx, 124–126
- Supreme Court nominees blocked by, xxiii, 6
- Trump's ascendancy in, xxiii
- Women's Health Amendment and, 62
- Rice, Susan, 445–446
- Richards, Cecile, 33, 266
- Rienzi, Mark, 54, 91–92, 95–96, 244–245, 502, 516
- Rigell, Scott, 418
- Risch, Jim, 125, 148, 151
- risk corridors, in ACA, 559
- Rivkin, David, 352–353, 355–360
- Roberts, John (Chief Justice), xxiii
 - Cruz and, 465–467
 - defunding proposals for ACA and, 25
 - on former chief justices, 432–433
 - on Garland nomination, 492
 - individual mandate in ACA and, 91, 116–117, 190, 344, 346
 - on judicial nominations, 230–231
 - King v. Burwell* and, 387–388, 399–402, 433–435, 437–444, 465–467
 - on Medicaid expansion, 546
 - nomination of, 465–467, 487–488
 - religious freedom rulings and, 255–257, 261, 264, 293–294, 303
 - Scalia's death and, 479–482, 520
 - Supreme Court rulings on ACA and, 59–60, 75, 77–78, 130, 251, 270, 291–292, 560
 - tax credits in ACA and, 122–123
 - Verrilli on, 518
 - Zubik v. Burwell* and, 503, 508, 510, 512–514, 521, 524–527
- Roberts, Owen (Justice), 430
- Roberts, Pat, 148
- Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 133–134
- Rockefeller, Jay, 35
- Roe v. Wade*, 30–31, 421–422
- Roman Catholic Archbishop of Washington v. Burwell*, 497
- Romney, Mitt, 23, 79–80, 130, 193, 374, 460, 467, 537, xix
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 3, 82, 209, 429–432, 468
- Rosen, Jeffrey, 433
- Roth, Yaakov, 109–110, 115–117, 281, 321, 331–332, 340, 389–390, 402
- Roy, Avik, 125, 225, 476
- Rubiner, Laurie, 37
- Rubio, Marco, 125–126, 148, 156
 - debt ceiling crisis and, 182
 - on *King v. Burwell*, 451
 - repeal of ACA supported by, 456–457
 - Trump and, 464
- Ruger, Todd, 419
- “rump” exchanges, ACA federal exchanges as, 394–396, 439–442
- “rump” exchanges, in ACA, 394–396
- Rumpf, Sarah, 115
- Runyon v. McCrary*, 421
- Ryan, Paul, 365, 412–414
 - King v. Burwell* and, 387, 410–411
- safe harbor provisions
 - contraceptive coverage in for-profit businesses and, 93–97
 - religious exemption for contraception and, 64–66
- Salmon, Matt, 157
- same-sex marriage, 245n.13
- Sanders, Bernie, 462, 467–470, 474, xxiii–xxiv
- Santorum, Rick, 80–81
- Saturday Night Live*, 169, 204
- Savage, Charlie, 203, 448
- Savage, David, 534
- Scalia, Antonin (Justice), xxii–xxiii
 - ACA Supreme Court rulings and, 78, 81, 123, 250, 256–257, 291, 343–344, 435
 - appointment of, 334
 - Congress and, 173, 416–417, 419
 - death of, 81, 233, 336, 478–482, 491, 497–498
 - dissenting opinions of, 297, 482, 535–536
 - on federal exchanges, 394–396
 - King v. Burwell* dissent by, 442–445, 450–451
 - on Medicaid expansion, 546
 - NFIB v. Sebelius* and, 543–544
 - at Obama inauguration, 83
 - presidential politics and death of, 493–497
 - on standing doctrine, 367
 - Supreme Court opinions and, 59, 87–88, 94, 388

- Scalia, Paul (Father), 480–481, 497
 Schiliro, Phil, 21n.20, 25n.43
 Schmidt, Jean, 42
 Schragger, Richard C., 523
Schuetz v. BAMN, 314n.28
 Schumer, Charles E., 35, 62, 88, 150, 474, 538
 Schwartzman, Micah, 523
 Skrebes, Robyn J., 170
 Scott, Dylan, 324
 Scott, Rick, 408–409
 Scully, Tom, 160
 Sebelius, Kathleen, 63–66, 76, 84
 cancellation notices in ACA and, 196–199
 grandfather status for substandard plans
 and, 193–194
 on hardship exemption, 223–226, 553–556
 HealthCare.gov failure and, 124, 139–142,
 160–161, 166, 168, 171, 178–179
 on improvements to HealthCare.gov,
 234–237
 on individual mandate, 216
 King v. Burwell and, 387, 401, 502
 on launch date for ACA enrollment, 228
 resignation of, 288–289, 361
Sebelius v. Hobby Lobby Stores, 247–267
 Section 36B (ACA), 101–107. *see also* federal
 exchanges in ACA
 drafting of, 19–22, 24
 Gruber and, 374–375
 Internal Revenue Service interpretation
 and, 321–328
 legal challenges to, 101–111, 269–279,
 321–328, 371–374, 399–400
 state exchanges and, 26–27, 37–38
 “term of art” arguments and, 393–394
 Section 1401 of Affordable Care Act, 360–368
 Section 1402 of Affordable Care Act, 360–368
 Segall, Eric, 419
 self-insurance
 cancellation in ACA of, 194–202
 contraceptive coverage and, 54–55, 530–531
 Senate
 attempted repeals of ACA and, 74, 79, 139
 Clinton health care reform initiative in,
 6–7
 cloture votes in, 155–157, 230–231
 Congressional employees in federal
 exchanges in, 211–214, 348–351
 contraceptive mandate in, 122–124
 Cruz’s oration against ACA in, xx, 145–148
 debt ceiling crisis and, 181–183
 defunding of ACA initiatives in, 124–131,
 143–144, 151–153
 Democratic control of, 23, 74, 229–230
 filibuster against ACA in, 148–153
 Gang of 14 in, 230
 judicial filibusters in, 229–233, 489–490,
 492–497
 nuclear option in, 229–231
 passage of ACA in, xviii, 15–27, 70
 religious freedom laws in, 88
 Republican control of, 22–24, 37–39, 73,
 203, 229–230
 Section 36B drafting in, 277–279
 Section 1402 funding denied by, 361–364
 Stupak amendment to ACA in, 34
 Women’s Health Amendment, 44–50, 62
 Senate Conservatives Fund PAC, 128–129
 “sensible conscience clause,” ACA and, 31, 43
 sequestration
 debt ceiling crisis and, 181–183
 funding for ACA and, 360–364
 Service Members Home Ownership Tax Act
 of 2009 (SMHOTA), 345–347
 Sessions, Jeff, 148, 151, 491
 Seventh-Day Adventist Church, 85–86
 sex discrimination, religious freedom
 arguments against, 262–267
 Sexton, John, 375
 Shaheen, Jeanne, 555
 Shanks, Nelson, 481
 Shapiro, Ilya, 400, 503
Shelby County v. Holder, 307–308
Sherbert v. Verner, 85–86
Sheriff v. Gillie, 524
 Shesol, Jeff, 429
 shutdown of federal government
 ACA defunding strategy linked to, 124–126,
 143–144, 152–153, 155–159
 furloughed federal employees and, 171–173
 national parks closure during, 173–176
 Obama’s position during, 176–177
 over ACA, xx
 Silberman, Laurence H., 365–366
 Silver, Nate, 82
The Silver Blaze (Doyle), 49–50
 Simas, David, 160
 single-payer health insurance
 Clinton’s proposals for, 469–470
 Sanders’ proposals for, 467–470
 Trump’s support of, 460–462
 Sissel, Matt, 344–347

- Slaughter, Louise M., 355–356
 Small Business Health Options Programs (SHOP) exchanges, 213–214, 348–351
 Small Business Majority, 208
 Smith, Alfred, 86–87
 Snead, Carter, 243
 Snowe, Olympia J., 270, 277–279
 Social Security Act of 1935, 538
 Social Security Amendments of 1965, 538
 Somin, Ilya, 496
 Sotomayor, Sonia (Justice), xxi, 66
 contraceptive mandate and, 206, 243–245, 258–259
 death of Scalia and, 480–481
 Hobby Lobby rulings and, 95–96, 253–259, 262–267, 306
 King v. Burwell and, 395–396
 nomination of, 489–490
 Wheaton College rulings and, 310–314
 Zubik v. Burwell and, 507, 510–514, 521, 524, 527
 Souter, David (Justice), 483, 485–486, 489–490
 Souza, Pete, 70, 445–446
 Spencer, James R., 118–119
 Spiro, Topher, 274
Spokeo v. Robins, 524
 Srinivasan, Sri, 231, 329, 336
 standing doctrine
 ACA court challenges and, 211–214, 348–349
 challenges to ACA and, 351–353
 House challenge to executive action and, 362–368
 King v. Burwell and, 389–391
 non-appropriation theory of, 363
 Starr, Kenneth, 334
 state health care coverage
 ACA requirements concerning, 349–351, 558–560
 contraceptive coverage and, 54–55
 federal ACA exchanges and, 132–134, 170, 271–280, 408–410, xxii, 26–27, 36–38, 101–107, 111–114, 122–124
 in *King v. Burwell*, 437–442
 Medicaid expansion under ACA and, 77–78, 457–459, 546–547
 opposition to ACA and, 105–107
 Section 36B provision and, 321–328, 376–385
 subsidies in ACA and, 392–396
 Trump's plans for, 464–465
 state insurance commissioners, ACA implementation and, 221–222, 350–351
 “State-Run Programs Are Not a Viable Option for Creating a Public Plan” (Jost), 376
 Stephanopoulos, George, 342
 Stern, Todd, 6
 Stevens, John Paul (Justice), 290–292, 363, 483, 490, 521–522
 Stewart, Jon, 168, 185, 216
 Stohr, Greg, 330
 Stras, David, 495
 Strassel, Kimberly, 458–459
 Stupak, Bart, 33–34, 38, 40–43, 48–49, 61–63, 174, 275, 346
 Sturgeon, John, 477
Sturgeon v. Frost, 477
 subsidies, in ACA
 cost-sharing subsidies, 360–368
 employer mandate and, 107–109
 implementation of, 159
 individual mandate penalties and, 388–391
 legal challenges to, 109–111, 114–117, 271–280, 360–368, 410–414
 proposed defunding of, 122–124
 tax credits on federal exchanges, 17–22, 206–208
 “such exchange” concept, ACA federal exchanges and, 393–394
 Suderman, Peter, 167, 378, 416
 Summers, Larry, 71–72, 191
 Sunstein, Cass, 75–76, 229
 Supreme Court (U.S.). *see also* specific cases, e.g., *King v. Burwell*
 abortion rulings by, 45
 affirmative action cases, 314n.28
 budget hearings for, 417–418
 challenges to ACA before, 77–78, 109–111, 118–119, 386–402
 circuit split reviews and, 118–119, 321–328
 construction of building for, 514–515
 contraceptive mandate rulings by, xxi, 85–88, 241–251
 dissenting opinions in, 297–303, 442–445
 election of 2012 and, 81
 government shutdown and, 172–173
 impact of Scalia's death on, 479–482
 internal tensions in, 435
 justices recess activities, 477–478
 media presence in, 306–309

- Medicaid expansion modifications to ACA
 by, 122–124
 mourning rituals in, 502–503
 nominations to, 229–231, 482–497
per curiam opinions in, 525–536
 Presidential commentaries on, 420–431,
 544–545
 recusals by justices on, 291n.6
 religious freedom rulings by, 85–88,
 247–251, 290–303
 Roosevelt court-packing scheme and,
 429–432
 Rule 13 of, 331–332
 “stealth nominees” to, 485–486
 Voting Rights Act rulings, 307–308
 Wheaton College ruling and, 310–311
*Supreme Power: Franklin Roosevelt vs. the
 Supreme Court* (Sheshol), 429
 Susan B. Anthony List, 38, 43–44
 Sutton, Jeffrey, 480
 Sykes, Diane, 494–495
- Taft, William Howard, 432–433, 514
 Talkin, Pamela, 303
Talking Points Memo, 21–22
 Tanden, Neera, 217
 Taney, Roger, 252
 Taranto, James, 64
 Task Force on National Health Care Reform,
 3–7
 Tavenner, Marilyn, 136–137, 141–142, 160–161,
 171, 289
 tax credits
 federal exchanges in ACA and, 206–208,
 438–442, xxi, 28–29, 101–104
 hardship exemption for individual mandate
 and, 223–226
 proposed elimination of, 122–124
 taxes on health insurance
 penalties in individual mandate, 190–193,
 206–208, 342–347, 551–556
 proposals for, 470–476
 subsidized policies and, 388–392
 Tea Party
 defunding of ACA and, 120–126
 opposition to ACA by, 23–24, 32–34, 188,
 203
 Tea Party Patriots, 121
 Tebbe, Nelson, 523
 “tech surge” response to HealthCare.gov
 failure, 184–185, 227–229
- Telluride Association, 27
 “term of art” argument, in *King v. Burwell*,
 392–396
 Thacker, Stephanie D., 281
 third-party administrators, contraceptive
 coverage in ACA and, 257–258, 510–511,
 530–533
 Thomas, Clarence (Justice), 78, 123, 229, 250,
 343, 442, 479, 481
 on Medicaid expansion, 546
 nomination of, 486–487
 Zubik v. Burwell and, 521
 Thomas, Evan, 7
 Thomas More Law Center, 90–92
 three-legged stool in Affordable Care Act,
 17–22, 80, 438
 Thune, John, 125
 Thurmond, Strom, 146
 Tiahart, Todd, 75
 Times Square Alliance, 244
 Todd, Chuck, 199–200
 Toobin, Jeffrey, 82–83, 413–414
 Toomey, Pat, 125
 Totenberg, Nina, 327–328, 485–486
*The Tough Luck Constitution and the Assault
 on Health Care Reform* (Koppelman),
 404
*Traffix Devices Inc. v Marketing Displays
 Inc.*, 465
 Trautwein, Neil, 206
 Treasury Department
 delay of employer mandate
 and, 206–211
 federal subsidies and, 278–279, 326
 Treat, Sharon, 106–107
 Tribe, Laurence, 42, 229, 420
 “trilemma” in health care reform, 10–11
 Truman, Harry S., 468
 Trump, Donald J.
 criticism of ACA by, 462–465
 Cruz attacked by, 466–467
 entry into presidential race, 2016, 455,
 459–460, xxiii–xxiv
 on judicial nominations, 494–496
 single-payer health care supported by,
 460–462
 Tucci, Jon, 165
 Turley, Jonathan, 359, 362–364
 Turner, Grace Marie, 112
 Twentieth Amendment, 83
 Twenty-Seventh Amendment, 172

- Udall, Mark, 314–317, 555
 uninsured population, US statistics on, 8–9
 union rights, Supreme Court rulings on, 290–292
 United Healthcare, 550
United States v. Butler, 429
United States v. Lee, 257
United States v. Lopez, 422
University of California v. Bakke, 421
Unprecedented, the Constitutional Challenge to Obamacare (Blackman), 77, 467
 Upton, Fred, 178–179, 410
 Urban Institute, on cancellation notices for ACA enrollees, 195
- vaccinations, religious freedom arguments against, 262–267
 Van Hollen, Chris, 216
 Vermeule, Adrian, 527
 Verrilli, Donald
 on contraceptive mandate litigation, 542
 corporate mandate litigation and, 250–251
 D.C. Circuit Court en banc proceedings and, 337–341, xxii–xxiii
 grandfather clause and, 261, 264
 on individual mandate, 78, 343–344
 King v. Burwell and, 392–396, 401–402, 408–410, 416–417, 419, 425–426
 on Obama and the Supreme Court, 544–545
 religious freedom litigation and, 254, 256–257, 259, 299–300
 reputation of, 446–449
 retirement of, 517–519
 Zubik v. Burwell and, 502–519, 523–525
 Villach, Eugene, 86
 Vitter, David, 125, 148
Volokh Conspiracy blog, 112, 371–374
 Voting Rights Act of 1965, 538
 Vox, 7
- Walsh, Kevin, 138
 Walsh, Mark, 250, 291–292, 387, 436–438, 446, 524, 527
 Warner, Mark, 475–476
- The Washington Post's WonkBlog*, 7
 Wasserman, David, 126
 Waxman, Harry, 409–410
Webster v. Reproductive Health Services, 421
 Weiner, Robert, 335–336
 Weingarten, Randi, 474
 Weinstein, Rick, 371–378, 381
West Coast Hotel v. Parish, 430–431
Wheaton College v. Burwell, 55, 65, 296, 303, 309–314, 527, 532
 White, Adam J., 335–336, 432, 488
 White, Ronald A., 111–112, 117
 White, William P., 222
White House Dossier, 120
 “Why This Conservative Lawyer Thinks He Can Still Cripple Obamacare” (Kapur), 338
 Wilkins, Robert, 231, 233, 329
 Will, George F., 77
 Willett, Don, 495
 Williams, Ann Claire, 309–310
 Williams, Ron, 559–560
 Williamson, Kevin D., 474
 Wilson, Joe, 32–34
 Windham, Lori, 265
 Women’s Health Amendment, xviii–xix, 44–50
 ministerial exception and, 56–60
 religious reaction to, 61–63, 541–542
 workplace discrimination, religious objection to contraceptive mandates and, 261–262
 Wuerle, Donald (Archbishop), 497
 Wyden, Ron, 387
 Wydra, Elizabeth, 400
 Wyrick, Patrick, 111–114, 117
- Yglesias, Matthew, 161, 171
 Yoo, John, 434, 496
 York, Byron, 130–131, 153
 Young, Jeffrey, 235
- Zients, Jeffrey, 184, 227–229, 234–235
 Zubik, David A. (Bishop), 498–500, 502
Zubik v. Burwell, 501–519, 521–536