

Political Science 383/483
Health Policy and Politics in the U.S.

Professor Joseph White

Fall, 2006

MWF 10:30 a.m. – 11:20 a.m.

Mather Memorial 225

Draft Syllabus, July 11, 2006

Mather House 113

Phone: 368-2426

Office Hours: MW 1:00 – 2:30 pm

The Topic:

Health care in the United States consumes 15 percent of the national economy, and the share is rising quickly. Access to, cost, and quality of medical services are of fundamental interest to all Americans, even or especially those who are too young or too frail to know what their interests are. Government is involved with health care in more ways than anyone can count

These factors all make health policy important for its own sake. They also make evaluation of how health policy is made a good way to study politics. Instead of talking about institutions in isolation, this course studies politics by looking at what government actually does about public problems.

Therefore this course is designed especially for two groups of students. One is political science students. The other is those who might choose careers in public health, medicine, or related fields. It may have a bit too much politics for one group, and a bit too much health policy for the other. I hope each will conclude that both aspects of the course are important and interesting.

Outline of the Course and its Objectives:

In the first half of the course we will focus on health policy itself. We will work to understand the extremely complex system of health care finance and delivery in the United States, and the extensive range of issues that people can raise if they want to improve the system. As a matter of political theory, this part of the course should give students a sense of how hard a task politicians and bureaucrats face in trying to meet our demands to make the system better. For those who expect to work in the health care system in some way, this should give you a more realistic sense of what you will be getting into.

In the second half of the course we will focus on how health policy is made. The text for this half of the course uses a model of the policy-making process to show how institutions relate to each other and the opportunities and constraints faced by groups as they pursue their health policy goals. In addition to the two course textbooks, which provide a look at health care politics more generally, we will also emphasize specific

issues, such as cost control and why the United States does not have national health insurance, and some analytic questions, such as the role of markets in health care.

Course Requirements:

The work for this course will include reading done by all students; **two in-class exams during the first half of the course**; a **final exam on December 12**; and separate **reports on supplementary reading**, due in class on **December 1**. Undergraduates will be required to do one reading report, of a minimum of 2000 words. Students will also be expected to participate in class discussion by reporting to the class about what they found interesting (or dubious) in their supplementary reading. **Graduate students will be required to read two supplementary books, both on the same policy topic, and complete a 3500 word report on those two books. They will also be required to lead any class discussion of their topic.**

Grades for undergraduates will be based 20% for each of the first two exams; 20% for the reading report; and 30% for the final.

Grades for graduate students will be based 15% for each of the first two exams; on the midterm, 30% for the reading report, and 30% for the final.

YOU WILL NOTE THAT THIS ONLY ADDS TO 90%. The balance will be determined by class participation. HOWEVER: it is difficult to grade class participation on an "A/B/C" basis. My expectations are that students attend the class and participate in class discussion. If a student's attendance and participation are particularly scant, the 10% for participation will receive a lower than average grade, so weight the person's total grade downward. If a student's attendance and participation are particularly strong, it will be graded so as to weight the overall grade upward. Of course, on an A/B/C/D/F system, 10% usually will not swing the overall grade. But it will be better to attend and participate.

All assigned readings should be done prior to the class for which they are scheduled, as they will be discussed on the indicated date.

Reading for all students will include two texts and a selection of articles. Some of the articles can be downloaded directly from public websites. Others will be placed on electronic and hardcopy reserve. In a few cases I may hand out copies.

There is virtually a third book (in volume) of articles that I have written. Those will be placed on the course blackboard site as well as on e-reserves, but I could arrange to create a reader of those articles if students so request, figuring that copyright on my own work should not be an issue.

There are two required texts. Please note that you need the specific (4th) editions of each text:

Thomas S. Bodenheimer and Kevin Grumbach. 2001. *Understanding Health Policy: A Clinical Approach 4th ed.* (Lange Medical Books)

Beaufort B. Longest, Jr. 2005. *Health Policymaking in the United States, 4th ed.* (Health Administration Press)

The supplementary texts from which students will choose their books for book reviews are listed at the end of this syllabus. Articles are listed below on the schedule of assignments.

Schedule of Assignments and Readings:

Section I: Morality, Economics, Law and Professions

August 28: First class. Introduction and explanation of the course

August 30: James A. Morone, "Morality, Politics, and Health Policy." From David Mechanic et al. eds., *Policy Challenges in Modern Health Care* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), pp. 1-25

Sept 1: No class; instructor will be at American Political Science Association meeting, presenting a paper on the politics of health services research.

Sept 4: No class, Labor Day

Sept 6: Timothy Stoltzfus Jost, "Our Broken Health Care System and How to Fix It: An Essay on Health Law and Policy," *Wake Forest Law Review* 41:2 (Summer, 2006) pp. 537-573.

Sept 8: Joseph White, "National Health Care/Insurance Systems." From *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, 4th ed.* (2001).

Joseph White, "Health Care Reform: What's the Problem?" From Theodore R. Marmor and Philip R. DeJong eds., *Ageing, Social Security and Affordability.* (Ashgate: 1998).

Mark V. Pauly, "Trading Cost, Quality, and Coverage of the Uninsured: What Will We Demand and What Will We Supply?" From Stuart Altman, Uwe E. Reinhardt, and Alexandra E. Shields eds., *The Future U.S. Healthcare System: Who Will Care For the Poor and Uninsured?* (Health Administration Press: 1998)

Section II: The Financing and Organization of American Health Care

Sept 11: Bodenheimer and Grumbach Chapters 1-3 and 15, pages 1-29 and 158-166.

Sept 13: Bodenheimer and Grumbach, Chapter 4, "Reimbursing Health Care Providers," and Chapter 5, "Capitation Payment in Managed Care." Pages 30-45.

Sept 15: Bodenheimer and Grumbach, Chapters 6-7, "How Health Care Is Organized I and II." Pages 46-68.

Sept 18: Bodenheimer and Grumbach, Chapter 8, "Painful vs. Painless Cost Control," and Chapter 9, "Mechanisms for Controlling Costs," pages 69-92.

Sept 20: Joseph White, "Targets and Systems of Health Care Cost Control." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 24:4 (August 1999).

Sept 22: Bodenheimer and Grumbach, Chapter 10, "Long-term Care." Pages 93-101.

Students must select the book or books for their supplementary reading by this date.

Sept 25: Longest, Appendices A and B, "Overview of Medicare" and "Overview of Medicaid," pp. 355-378.

Sept 27: Bodenheimer and Grumbach, Chapter 14, "Health Care in Four Nations," pp. 143-157.

Sept 29: **First Exam**

Section III: Medical Care, Health, and Quality

October 2: NO CLASS, Yom Kippur

October 4: Bodenheimer and Grumbach, Chapters 11-12, "The Prevention of Illness" and "The Quality of Health Care," pp. 102-128;
Joseph White, "Choice, Trust, and Two Models of Quality." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 24:5 (1999).

October 6: Michael L. Millenson, "Still Demanding Medical Excellence," and Lucian L. Leape, "Preventing Medical Errors." From David Mechanic et al. eds., *Policy Challenges in Modern Health Care* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), pp. 151-77.

October 9: GAO: "Medical Malpractice: Implications of Rising Premiums on Access to Health Care." August, 2003. Pages 5-7 (Results in Brief), 12-30 (Implications for Access and Practice of Defensive Medicine), 53-55 (Research on Defensive Medicine). Download from: <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d03836.pdf>

Kenneth E. Thorpe, "The Medical Malpractice 'Crisis': Recent Trends And the Impact of State Tort Reforms." *Health Affairs Web Supplement* 21 January 2004, pp. 20-30.

October 11: Bodenheimer and Grumbach Chapter 13, “Medical Ethics and the Rationing of Health Care.” Pages 129-142.

October 13: Robert H. Binstock, “Scapegoating the Aged: Intergenerational Equity and Age-Based Rationing.” From Jonathan Oberlander et al. eds., *The Social Medicine Reader Vol. 3* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 267-283.
Joseph White, “Health Care at the End of Life” ms.

October 16: Bodenheimer and Grumbach, Chapter 17, “The Health Care Workforce,” and Chapter 18, “Conclusion: Tensions and Challenges.” Pages 176-189.

October 18: Deborah Stone, “The Doctor as Businessman: The Changing Politics of a Cultural Icon” From Mark A. Peterson ed., *Healthy Markets? The New Competition in Health Care* (Duke University Press, 1998)

October 20: Second Exam

Section 4: The Health Care Policy Process

October 23: NO CLASS, Fall Break.

October 25: Joseph White, “Three Meanings of Capacity: Or, Why the Federal Government Is Most Likely to Lead on Insurance Access Issues.” *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 28: 2-3 (2003).

October 27: Longest, Chapter 1, “Health and Health Policy.” Pp. 1-32

October 30: Longest, Chapter 2, “Impact of Health Policy.” Pp. 33-73

November 1: Catch-up discussion

November 3: Longest, Chapter 3, “Context and Process of Health Policymaking.” Pp. 75-123.

November 6: Longest, Chapter 4, “Policy Competency.” Pp. 125-160.

November 8: Longest, Chapter 5, “Policy Formulation: Agenda Setting.” Pp. 161-201.
Note: think about the reading from October 6, on quality of care, as you read this.

November 10: Longest, Chapter 6, “Policy Formulation: Development of Legislation.” Pp. 203-237.

November 13: Allen Schick, “How a Bill Did Not Become a Law.” In Thomas E. Mann and Norman J. Ornstein eds., *Intensive Care: How Congress Shapes Health Policy*. (American Enterprise Institute and The Brookings Institution: 1995).

November 15: Sven Steinmo and Jon Watts, “It’s the Institutions Stupid! Why Comprehensive National Health Insurance Always Fails in America.”

Joseph White, “The Horses and the Jumps: Comments on the Health Care Reform Steeplechase.” Both from *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 20:2 (Summer 1995).

November 17: Longest, Chapter 7, “Policy Implementation: Rulemaking.” Pp. 239-267.

November 20: Longest, Chapter 8, “Policy Implementation: Operation.” Pp. 269-302.

November 22: No reading assigned; catch-up discussion focusing on Longest and on White’s “Three Meanings of Capacity” article.

November 24: NO CLASS, Thanksgiving Break

November 27: Longest Chapter 9, “Policy Modification.” Pp. 303-353.

November 29: Timothy Stoltzfus Jost, “Our Broken Health Care System and How to Fix It: An Essay on Health Law and Policy,” *Wake Forest Law Review* 41:2 (Summer, 2006) pp. 573-618.

December 1: ***Reading Reports Due Today***

Class discussion on supplementary readings.

December 4: Class discussion on supplementary readings.

December 6: Class discussion on supplementary readings.

December 8: Concluding lecture and discussion (may continue discussion of supplementary readings).

Final Exam: DECEMBER 12: 9:00 a.m. – 11:30 a.m.



Suggested Books for Supplementary Reading Reports:

The books on this list are definitely acceptable. Students may request permission to report on another book, but consent is at the discretion of the instructor.

Topic 1: National Health Insurance.

Jacob S. Hacker. 1997. *The Road to Nowhere: The Genesis of President Clinton’s Plan for Health Security*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Haynes Johnson and David S. Broder. 1996. *The System: The American Way of Politics at the Breaking Point*. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

Rick Mayes. 2004. *Universal Coverage: The Elusive Quest for National Health Insurance*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Jill Quadagno. 2005. *One Nation Uninsured: Why the U.S. Has No National Health Insurance*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Theda Skocpol. 1996. *Boomerang: Health Care Reform and the Turn Against Government*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Topic 2: Medicare

Edward F. Lawlor. 2003. *Redesigning the Medicare Contract: Politics, Markets and Agency*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Theodore R. Marmor. 2000. *The Politics of Medicare, 2nd ed.* New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Moon, Marilyn. 2006. *Medicare: A Policy Primer*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.

Jonathan Oberlander. 2003. *The Political Life of Medicare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

David G. Smith. 2002. *Entitlement Politics: Medicare and Medicaid, 1995 – 2001*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Topic 3: Politics and Public Health

Eric Feldman and Ronald Bayer eds., 1999. *Blood Feuds: AIDS, Blood, and the Politics of Medical Disaster*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Christopher H. Foreman, Jr. 1994. *Plagues, Products & Politics: Emergent Public Health Hazards and National Policymaking*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

David A. Kessler. 2001. *A Question of Intent: A Great American Battle With a Deadly Industry*. New York: Public Affairs.

Michael A. Pertschuk. 2001. *Smoke in Their Eyes: Lessons in Movement Leadership from the Tobacco Wars*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Randy Shilts. 1987. *And the Band Played On: Politics, People and the AIDS Epidemic*. New York: St. Martins Press.

Topic 5: History

Paul Starr. 1984. *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*. New York: Basic Books.

Rosemary Stevens. 1989. *In Sickness and in Wealth*. New York: Basic Books.

Carolyn Tuohy. 1999. *Accidental Logics: The Dynamics of Change in the Health Care Arena in the United States, Britain, and Canada*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Topic 6: Quality and Inequality

Robert G. Evans, M. L. Barer and T. R. Marmor eds. 1994. *Why Are Some People Healthy, and Others Not? The Determinants of Health in Populations*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Institute of Medicine. 2001. *Crossing the Quality Chasm: A New Health System for the 21st Century*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Medicine.

Ichiro Kawachi and Bruce P. Kennedy. 2002. *The Health of Nations: Why Inequality Is Harmful to Your Health*. New York: The New Press.

Topic 7: Efficiency

Henry J. Aaron and William B. Schwartz, with Melissa Cox. 2005. *Can We Say No? The Challenge of Rationing Health Care*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution

Robert A. Berenson and Walter A. Zelman. 1999. *The Managed Care Blues and How to Cure Them*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Peter J. Neumann. 2005. *Using Cost-Effectiveness Analysis to Improve Health Care: Opportunities and Barriers*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Thomas Rice. 2002. *The Economics of Health Reconsidered 2nd ed.* Chicago: Health Administration Press.