

GOV 83.13 HEALTH POLITICS AND POLICY

**Winter Quarter 2013
Tues & Thurs 10:00–11:50
X hour Wed 3:00–3:50**

**Prof. Deborah Stone, visiting professor
Silsby Hall 304**

Deborah.stone@dartmouth.edu

**Office Hours: Tues 1:30 - 2:45 pm
Thurs 11:50 am 12:50 (after class)
Other times by appointment**

Topic

Right up there with the economy, the health system tops the American political agenda. The U.S. spends more money on health than any other country, with significantly lower access to health care, higher costs and lower quality. The Affordable Care Act of 2010 (ACA, also called “Obamacare”) was arguably the most contentious and most important domestic policy initiative since and the Civil Rights Act (1964) and Medicare and Medicaid (1965). In this seminar, we will examine four broad questions. First, what are the major problems with the access, cost and quality in the health care system? Second, why is health reform so hard to achieve and how did the ACA come about? Third, what does or will the ACA do when fully implemented? And fourth, what are the perennial reform ideas about improving access, cost and quality that shaped the ACA and will shape its implementation? Throughout the course, we will focus on the role of ideas and institutions in shaping politics.

Schedule changes/additions:

Please mark these three changes on your calendar right away.

1) We will not have class on Thursday January 10. We will hold a make up during **X hour on Wednesday January 16, 3:00 to 3:50 pm.**

2) On Tuesday January 22, usual time, we will meet in the library (Carson) with the reference librarian for an introduction to research in health policy (more detail below under “Research Resources.”)

3) In order to cover all the readings for this week, we will also meet during **X hour Wednesday January 23, 3:00 to 3:50 pm.**

Required work and grading structure

Class participation	20%
Responses to readings (3)	30%
Final paper	50%

Participation

I will evaluate your participation on two criteria—intellectual substance and process. Substantively, you are expected to do the assigned readings before class and demonstrate your understanding and engagement with them through discussion. Good participation doesn't necessarily mean having understood every aspect of the assigned material; it includes posing questions about concepts, arguments, or factual claims from the readings, and offering alternative interpretations. Process-wise, good participation means not only being an engaged listener and contributing comments about the readings or answers to questions. It also means constructive group leadership, such as helping classmates articulate their thoughts, summarizing the thread of a discussion and pulling the class back from digressions, and posing possible resolutions to disagreements. Feel free to come talk with me about your participation and/or your thoughts on how the class is going and how it could work better.

Response Papers

Each student is responsible for producing three written responses to the assigned readings over the course of the semester. The purpose is to force you to take the next step beyond just getting the reading done – to articulate some thoughts about the readings *before* class begins which, in turn, will raise the overall quality of class discussion. As you write these responses, imagine that you will be a main discussion leader in that day's class and that your response is your outline for what you want the class to cover. (Your paper should be prose, however, not outline format.)

The responses papers should cover all the assigned readings for the day (class session). Thus, you should treat each author individually and in context (i.e. intellectual debate) with the other authors for that day (or week if you can manage it). For each reading, begin by stating the author's main argument or point—and where the reading fits in the larger debates. What question does/do the author/authors try to answer? After this basic description, you should do some analysis. Remember, analysis does not mean only knocking something apart (though that is its etymological derivation—to break apart). Good analysis includes synthesis and the ability to recognize a creative contribution. Some topics you might address include:

- What question(s) raised by the readings warrant discussion or further clarification?

- What assumptions or ideas are taken for granted in the reading, and therefore not even discussed?
- Do you disagree with overall approach, theoretical framework or assumptions advanced by the readings? Why?
- Did any of the readings make you see something in a new way? What do you think is each author's novel contribution to the health policy question at hand?

Response papers should be about 3 pages (minimum 2, maximum 4), double-spaced in 12 point font, 1-inch margins. I don't expect these to be polished papers—grammatically correct and decently organized, yes, but not necessarily beautiful writing.

The week of January 15, I will ask students to sign up for three specific dates so that students with response papers will be evenly distributed throughout the term. Use the time before then to look at your calendar and decide which topics and dates will work for you. I'll try to do this in a way that gives each person one "block out." If you can't be present during one of your assigned dates, it is your responsibility to find a classmate willing to trade dates with you.

To get credit for a response paper, you must **post it on Blackboard by 6 pm on the day BEFORE the class session whose readings you cover.** Be sure to write your name, the class date, and readings you cover with full citations at the beginning. I will try to read the papers before class on Tuesday, and to grade them within a week. To post your papers, go to the section in Blackboard called "Response Papers." Click on it and you'll see a screen headed "Discussion Board," and follow instructions.

Reflection Paper (ungraded): In addition to the three graded response papers, ALL students have a short "reflection paper" due on Monday January 14. See description under that date (on p. 6 of the syllabus). This paper will not be graded—it's meant to give you free reign to express some ideas about health politics and policy generated by reflecting on your personal experience. Also, these papers will help us get to know one another, our interests in health policy, and our styles of interacting.

Seminar Paper

Early in the semester, choose a topic that you would like to explore, in consultation with me during office hours. As we are living during a historic moment in American health policy, many of you will likely want to focus on some aspect of the Affordable Care Act, but this is by no means a requirement. I will discuss the seminar paper in more detail during the first two weeks.

DUE DATE: Wednesday March 13 by 4 pm. Your paper should be about 12 to 15 pages, 4500 words maximum and typed double-spaced, with at least 1 inch margins, and using 12 pt. type. Thus, choose a topic that is narrow enough to allow you to delve deeply in 4500 words. Most important, though: choose a topic you care about and want to learn about. I don't expect you to do original research. Rather, I hope you will pose an interesting puzzle or question, synthesize some of the research that seeks to address your

puzzle, juxtapose and evaluate the research literature on the topic, and ideally, come up with a new way of seeing the answer and/or posing the question.

In addition to getting ideas for topics from the course readings, following health politics in *The New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal* and *Washington Post* can be a great way to find out what's hot and get an entrée into a topic.

Research Resources

NOTE: On Tuesday January 22 during regular class period the class will have a special session with librarian Fran Oscadal will hold a session on research resources in Carson (basement of Berry), where we will all have access to computers to learn by doing. I have put all assigned readings for the first three weeks on Blackboard, but after this session you will be responsible for retrieving the readings yourselves.

Mr. Oscadal will first cover how to locate resources through the Dartmouth electronic databases (including the assigned readings for the rest of the semester). Then he will cover specialized resources in health policy and politics. In addition, he will prepare a special "Research Guide" for this seminar, that will appear in the "Research Guide" section of Blackboard.

Among academic journals, the most important for this class is the *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, because its focus is politics and its authors are mainly political scientists. Other leading health policy journals that deal with both policy and politics include *Health Affairs*, *Milbank Memorial Quarterly*, *American Journal of Public Health*, *European Journals of Public Health*. Several clinical journals have special policy sections in every issue with extremely good articles by social scientists, ethicists, clinicians, and others: *New England Journal of Medicine*, *Journal of the American Medical Association* (both American); and *Lancet* and the *British Medical Journal* (both published in UK). The *Hastings Center Report* covers health policy issues with an emphasis on ethical issues.

The Kaiser Family Foundation is an invaluable resource for all kinds of data, issue briefs and analyses: kff.org.

The Commonwealth Foundation also provides many reports on aspects of the US health care system, and in addition it has a focus on the U.S. in comparative perspective.

For government documents, see the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents; Thomas.gov – which provides access to the Congressional Record; and the web sites for relevant congressional committees.

Other expectations

Please let me know if you have any special needs related to disability, illness, family circumstances or religious observance—either at the start of the term or as necessary if something comes up. I’m happy to work out accommodations with you.

I expect near-perfect attendance, barring the unavoidable. If you cannot attend class, please blitz me beforehand to let me know. Three or more absences (that is missing more than 10 percent of the classes) will lower your participation grade unless you have documented excuses.

All students are responsible for understanding and observing Dartmouth’s academic integrity rules. Ignorance of these rules will not excuse you if you violate them. These rules and principles can be reviewed at:

<http://www.dartmouth.edu/~reg/regulations/undergrad/acad-honor.html> and <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~sources/>.

Getting the readings

Almost everything is available in electronic journals from the library. A few items that have not been published in time for the course are available in electronic format on Blackboard under “Assigned Readings” (appropriate week).

We will read almost the entire special issue of *Journal of Health Politics, Policy Law* on the Affordable Care Act (vol. 36, no. 3, 2011). All the articles are available on line, of course, but for those who would like to have this terrific collection all in one handy place with no time cost to retrieve them, I have ordered copies at Wheelock Books. The price is \$16.00. Many of the assigned readings come from this journal (both the special issue and other issues), and I have abbreviated it as “JHPPL.”

I have also ordered one optional background book: William G. Weissert and Carol S. Weissert, *Governing Health: The Politics of Health Policy* (4th edition, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 2012). The book is on reserve at the library for this course. This is an excellent portrayal of American political institutions and policymaking through the lens of health policy. None of it is assigned, but it will be especially useful for students who are not majoring in government and/or who have little background in political science, and might also be very helpful for Gov majors as well as a way to synthesize your understanding of the politics of policymaking.

ASSIGNED READINGS

Week 1

Jan 8: Introduction to the course

Jan 10: Some quick perspectives on the health system to generate ideas for your reflection paper due January 15.

Read as many of these personal narratives as you wish, plus at least 3 news articles about health politics and policy from the last year. Use them to inspire your reflection.

A newly-minted doctor: Danielle Ofri, “Incidental Illness,” *Health Affairs* vol. 23, no. 4 (July 2004): 197-201.

A family with a suddenly disabled person: Andrea Louise Campbell, “Down the Insurance Rabbit Hole,” *New York Times* Apr. 4, 2012.

Patients confronting medical bills: Irene M. Wielawki, “Gouging the Medically Uninsured: A Tale of Two Bills” *Health Affairs* vol. 19, no. 5 (Sept 2000): 180-85.

A doctor practicing “safety-net medicine”: Fitzhugh Mullan, “Tin-Cup Medicine,” *Health Affairs* vol. 20, no. 6 (Nov 2001): 216-21.

An HMO executive: David Carliner, “Getting the Elderly Their Due,” *Health Affairs* vol. 21, no. 6 (Nov 2002): 198-201.

A son-in-law comparing end-of-life care in UK and US: Bill Keller, “How to Die,” *New York Times* Oct. 7, 2012.

JAN 14 by 5 pm: REFLECTION PAPER DUE (about 2 pages): note this is the day before class.

Write a health politics/policy issue that intrigues you and why. As with all the above readings, begin your paper with a personal experience with the health care system (personal can include family, friends, etc.). It could involve experience as a patient, a provider (an EMT, a CPR class, your aunt’s work as an army medic), an administrator of some sort, a bystander to an accident, a volunteer in a non-profit, or—???? I suggest you write in the first-person, at least for a start.

Please post your paper on the blackboard by Monday January 14 at 5 pm, and be prepared to talk about it in class. Note that these papers don’t count as part of your grade, but they *will* affect the first impression you make. These papers will also help you clarify what you hope to get out of this course and what direction your seminar paper might take.

WEEK 2: Ideas and Institutions

Jan 15: Discuss reflection papers

Jan 16: X hour 3:00 – 3:50 pm

Deborah Stone, “Values in Health Policy” in James Morone and Daniel Ehlke, eds., *Health Politics and Policy* (New York: Cengage, forthcoming 2013); on blackboard.

Vanessa Northington Gamble, “Under the Shadow of Tuskegee: African-Americans and Health Care,” *American Journal of Public Health* vol. 87, no. 11 (1997): 1773-78.

Jan 17:

Sven Steinmo and Jon Watts, “It’s the Institutions, Stupid! Why Comprehensive National Health Insurance Always Fails in America,” *JHPPL* vol. 20, no. 2 (1995): 329-372.

James Morone, “Big Ideas, Broken Institutions,” *JHPPL* vol. 36, n. 3 2011: 375-85.

WEEK 3: ACCESS: Medicare and Medicaid

Jan 22 (regular time): meet in Carson room in Berry for session with reference librarian

Jan 23 X hour 3 3:50 pm: Medicare

Lawrence D. Brown and Michael Sparer, “Poor Program’s Progress: The Unanticipated Politics Of Medicaid Policy,” *Health Affairs* 2003 vol. 22, no. 1: 31-44. (Despite its title, this article compares Medicaid and Medicare and gives a good overview of both.)

Jonathan Oberlander, “Medicare: The Great Transformation” in James Morone and Daniel Ehlke, eds., *Health Politics and Policy* (New York: Cengage, 2013) [**note: on blackboard, unpublished manuscript**]

Jan 24: Medicaid [assignment continues on next page]

Colleen Grogan and Erik Patashnik, “Between Welfare Medicine and Mainstream Entitlements: Medicaid at the Political Crossroads,” *JHPPL* vol. 28, no. 5 (2003): 821-58.

Laura Katz Olson, “Medicaid, the States and Health Care Reform,” *New Political Science* vol. 34, no. 1 (March 2011): 37 – 54. (Even though this article is about how Medicaid will work under the ACA, read it now for its information about how Medicaid has been working up until 2009. Then we’ll look at it again in Week 8.)

WEEK 4: ACCESS (continued) and QUALITY

Jan 29: Private Insurance and the Uninsured

Review Deborah Stone, “Values in Health Care” section on Fairness (assigned Jan 16 and on Blackboard).

James C. Robinson. 2006. “The Commercial Health Insurance Industry In An Era Of Eroding Employer Coverage,” *Health Affairs* 25: 1475-1486.

Kaiser Family Foundation, Factsheet, “The Uninsured and the Difference Health Insurance Makes,” Sept. 2012. Available at <http://www.kff.org/uninsured/upload/1420-14.pdf>

Benjamin D. Somers et al., “Mortality and Access to Care Among Adults After State Medicaid Expansions,” *New England Journal of Medicine* vol. 367, no. 11, Sept. 13, 2012: 1025-34.

Susan Starr Sered and Rushika Fernandopoule, *Uninsured in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), chap. 2 “Medicaid, Welfare Reform and Low Wage Work in the New Economy,” pp. 40-56.

January 31: Quality

Karen Davis et. al., “Mirror Mirror on the Wall: An International Update on the Comparative Performance of American Health Care,” Commonwealth Fund, May 2007, available at http://www.commonwealthfund.org/~media/Files/Publications/Fund_Report/2007/May/Mirror_Mirror_on_the_Wall_An_International_Update_on_the_Comparative_Performance_of_American_Health/1027_Davis_mirror_mirror_international_update_v2.pdf

Danielle Ofri, “Quality Measures and the Individual Physician,” *New England Journal of Medicine* vol. 363 no. 7 (2010): 606-607.

Kevin Schulman et al., “The Effect of Race and Sex on Physicians’ Recommendations for Cardiac Catheterization,” *New England Journal of Medicine* vol. 340, no. 8 (1999): 618-26.

WEEK 5: COST: Why health spending grows and what can be done?

Feb 5: Oversupply and Overconsumption

John Wennberg, *Tracking Care* (NY: Oxford University Press 2010), Chap. 1, pp. 4-12 only and Chap. 4 pp. 38-53 (“Interpreting the Pattern of Surgical Variation”).

John Wennberg, “Which Rate is Right,” (editorial), *New England Journal of Medicine* vol. 314, no. 5 (1986): 310-11.

Deborah Stone, “Behind the Jargon: Moral Hazard,” *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* vol. 36, no. 5 (2011): 887-896.

Feb 7: Other explanations

Anderson, G., U. Reinhardt, P. Hussey, and Petrosyan. 2003. “It’s the Prices, Stupid: Why the United States is So Different From Other Countries,” *Health Affairs* 22(3):89-105.

Peter Conrad, “The Shifting Engines of Medicalization,” *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* vol. 36 no. 3 (2005): 3-14.

Julie Appleby, “The Case of CT Angiography: How Americans View and Embrace New Technology,” *Health Affairs* vol. 27, no. 6 (2008): 1515-1521.

Joshua T. Cohen, Peter Neumann and Milton C. Weinstein, “Does Prevention Save Money? Health Economics and the Presidential Candidates,” *New England Journal of Medicine* vol. 358, no. 7 (Feb. 14, 2008): 661-3.

Joe Nocera, “Why Doesn’t No Mean No?” *New York Times* Nov. 21, 2011.

Tara Parker-Pope, “Watchful Waiting for Prostate Cancer,” *New York Times* July 23, 2012 blog: <http://well.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/07/23/choosing-watchful-waiting-for-prostate-cancer/>

WEEK 6: THE AFFORDABLE CARE ACT 2010—How and Why It Passed

Feb 12: [note: assignment for Feb 12 continues next page]

Jacob Hacker, “The Road to Somewhere: Why Health Reform Happened,” *Perspectives on Politics* vol. 8, no. 3, 2010: 861-76

Lawrence D. Brown, “The Elements of Surprise: How Reform Happened,” *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 419-27.

Mark Peterson, "It was a Different Time: Obama and the Unique Opportunity for Health Reform," *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 429-36.

Feb 14: More interpretations of how and why the ACA passed [**looks like a lot of readings but they're all short**]

Judith Feder, "Too Big to Fail: The Enactment of Health Care Reform," *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 413-416.

Marie Gottschalk, "They're Back: The Public Plan, the Reincarnation of Harry and Louise, and the Limits of Obamacare," *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 393-400.

Jill Quadagno, "Interest-Group Influence on the Patient Protection and Affordability Act 2010," *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 449-53.

Paul Blumenthal, "The Legacy of Billy Tauzin: The White House-PhRMA Deal," Sunlight Foundation blog. Feb. 12, 2010.
<http://sunlightfoundation.com/blog/2010/02/12/the-legacy-of-billy-tauzin-the-white-house-phrma-deal/>

Sue Tolleson-Rinehart, "'We Don't Have a Pro-Choice Congress'" Health Advocacy and Coalition Politics in the Affordable Care Act," paper presented to the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2012, used with permission. Read only pp. 1-7 (about the "Stupak Amendment" and abortion coverage in the ACA).

Miriam J. Laugesen, "Civilized Medicine: Physicians and Health Care Reform," *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 507-12.

WEEK 7: WHAT'S IN THE ACA (and what's not)?

I may add some short readings to this and the following week to keep us up-to-date.

For the most detailed explanation of what the ACA does, title by title, see John McDonough, *Inside National Health Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011). This will be an excellent resource for anyone planning to write a seminar paper on a specific aspect of the ACA.

Feb. 19: [**note: readings continue on next page**]

Colleen Grogan, "You Call It Public, I Call It Private. Let's Call the Whole Thing Off?" *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 401-11.

James Brasfield, "The Politics of Ideas: Where Did the Public Option Come From and Where is it Going?" *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 455-59.

Rogan Kersh, "Health Reform: The Politics of Implementation," *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 613-23.

Mark Rodwin, "Why We Need Health Care Reform Now," *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 597-601.

Harold Pollack, "Prevention and Public Health," *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 516-20.

David Mechanic, "Behavioral Health and Health Care Reform," *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 527-31.

Thomas Rice, "A Progressive Turn of Events," *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 491-94.

Feb. 21

Ronald Dworkin, "Why the Mandate is Constitutional," *New York Review of Books* May 12, 2012:

Barry Friedman, "Obamacare and the Court," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 91 Sept. 2012: 87-98.

Frank J. Thompson, "The Medicaid Platform: Can the Termites Be Kept at Bay?" *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 549-54.

Mark Hall, "Getting to Universal Coverage with Better Safety-Net Programs for the Uninsured," *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 521-26.

Review Olson, "Medicaid, The States and Health Care Reform" from Jan. 24.

WEEK 8: PRELIMINARY PAPER PRESENTATIONS

We'll divide the class in half, for presentations of 10-15 minutes each during the two class sessions this last week. Later I'll talk more about how to get the most out of these sessions, but be prepared to post a one-pager on Blackboard by noon the day before your presentation, and to read the other students' one-pagers before class. The goal is to get you focused on your paper and to get you far enough along that you can ask for and receive constructive suggestions from your classmates and me.

Feb 26

Feb 28

WEEK 9: HEALTH POLITICS GOING FORWARD AND BACKWARD

Mar 5:

Lawrence R. Jacobs, "America's Critical Juncture: The Affordable Care Act and Its Reverberations," *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 625-31. (Before you read this article, refresh your memory about Steinmo and Watts, "It's the Institution's Stupid" (Week 2 on Blackboard), and consider how the authors' arguments relate to each other.)

Michael Sparer, "Federalism and the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act 2010: The Founding Fathers Would Not Be Surprised," *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 461-68.

Harold S. Luft, "Health Reform: Avoiding Backlash" *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 485-96.

Kimberly Morgan and Andrea Campbell, "Delegated Governance in the Affordable Care Act," *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 387-90.

Feb 28:

Jonathan Oberlander, "Throwing Darts: America's Elusive Search for Cost Control," *JHPPL* vol. 36, no. 3 (2011): 477-84.

Steven D. Pearson et al., "The Impact of Pay-For-Performance on Health Care Quality in Massachusetts, 2001-2003," *Health Affairs* vol. 27 no. 4 (2008): 1167-76.

Joseph White, "Protecting Medicare: The Best Offense is a Good Defense," *Journal of Health Politics Policy and Law*, 32 (2) 2007: 221-46.

SEMINAR PAPERS DUE WEDNESDAY MARCH 13 AT NOON

Please put your papers on Blackboard in the section called Seminar Papers, and also put a hard copy in my mailbox in Silsby Faculty Lounge.