

Course Title: Health Politics and Policy

Course Number: HSAP 0565

Course Location: School of Public Health, Room 234

Course Date & Time: Tuesdays, 6:00-8:00 PM

Course Instructor: Michael K. Gusmano, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Health Systems and Policy, Rutgers School of Public Health

Office: 683 Hoes Lane West, Room 311, Piscataway Township, NJ 08854

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Office Hours: *By Appointment*

Course Website: Canvas

Required Course Text: None

Course Description: This course is designed to provide an in-depth analysis of the government institutions and processes that affect health policy in the American context. It has two primary goals (1) to explore how the institutional arrangements of American government work with respect to the development of health policy (2) to review several health policy case studies and identify lessons from them. The course explores fundamental challenges that face all health policymakers, whatever country or its level of economic development – and the array of policy instruments that can be deployed to address them. The readings, lectures and writing assignments are designed to help you explore the ways in which choices of policy instruments and their implementation over time are shaped by the nature of government institutions, drawing on the U.S. as the fundamental frame of reference.

Selected Department Competencies Addressed: *Provide a bulleted list of the Department's competencies that will be addressed in this course. If the course is predominantly for MPH students, then include MPH degree competencies for your Department or if it is predominantly for doctoral students, include PhD/DrPH competencies. Begin this section with the following statement:* Each Department identifies competencies for each degree offered. The competencies addressed in this course for the MPH (*or other degrees*) for the Department of Health Systems and Policy:

- 1. Assess and delineate public health policies and practices recognizing legal and ethical implications for individuals and populations;
- 2. Assess community health needs, disparities and the health care delivery system within the context of social, cultural, political, legal and economic forces; Apply quantitative and qualitative research methods in the analysis of health service and policy issues.

- 3. Describe and evaluate the political, social and institutional contexts in which health policies are developed

Please visit the Department webpages on the School of Public Health's website at <http://sph.rutgers.edu/> for additional competencies addressed by this course for other degrees and departments.

Course Objectives: By the completion of this course, students will be able to:

- 1. Outline the policy process for improving the health status of populations
- 2. Identify important concepts, theories, and literature concerning policy making and administration
- 3. Recognize the legal and ethical bases for public health and healthcare policies and procedures
- 4. Describe the steps and procedures for the planning, implementation and evaluation of public health programs, policies and interventions

Course Requirements and Grading:

- The course grades will be based on two papers, five online quizzes, and class participation.
- The two papers give you an opportunity to track a bill in a topic area of your interest (this could be historical rather than current) so that you can really learn more about the federal or state policy making process. In order to make sure that you are giving yourself enough time to collect information about your case, I want you to provide at least one paragraph in which you identify the policy topic on which you will focus your papers by week three (sooner would be better!). Although you may select a policy proposal that was eventually adopted by the Congress and signed into law by the President, please remember that you may select a bill that was not adopted into law. It is acceptable (and may be quite interesting) to write about a policy proposal that failed. If you are new to health policy and want to explore possible topics, I encourage you to search through the last several issues of the journals *Health Affairs*, the *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* and *Milbank Quarterly*. You may look at other journals as well, but these three are particularly useful because they are focused on health policy and provide information about national, state and local policy debates. It is helpful to select a case on which there is already a substantial academic literature, so reviewing these journals is a good starting point. You are not required to collect original data for this paper, so you will be relying on secondary information from newspapers, professional publications and academic journals. Your job is to apply the theories and concepts from class to the "facts" of your case in order to better understand how the political process shaped the policy outcomes.

In the first paper (due on week #5), I want you to analyze how this issue reached the policy agenda. Of all the topics that the President and Congress might address, why did the issue you are exploring reach the agenda when it did? How was the problem defined? How did the definition (or competing definitions) of these problems influence its place on the policy agenda? Were there any “focusing events” that led policy makers to pay attention to this issue? What role did the media play? Did any interest groups advocate for policy change? Did elected officials or members of the bureaucracy advocate for change?

In the second paper (due on week #12), I want you to track your bill through the legislative process. Was the bill adopted or defeated? What explains this outcome? How did political institutions influence the outcome? In both papers I want you to draw on conceptual material from readings, lectures and class discussions. Can you draw on insights from the literature on policy development and health policy implementation to better understand your case?

Both papers should be five pages, double spaced with standard (1”) margins and appropriate references. To the extent possible, you should frame your argument in terms of theories and hypotheses from the literature and use the detailed facts from you case to “test” these hypotheses.

- The midterm and final exams will test your understanding of the class readings. The midterm exam will cover material from weeks 1-6. The final exam will cover material from weeks 8-14. Both exams will include a combination of multiple choice, short answer and essay questions. The midterm exam will be administered in class during the week 7 meeting. The final will be online and is due one week after the final class meeting.
- A list of activities, assignments, projects, exams, etc. that contribute to course grade, and the respective point/percentage value of each:
 1. Paper #1 20 pts.
 2. Paper #2 20 pts.
 3. Midterm Exam 25 pts.
 4. Final Exam 25 pts.
 5. Class Participation 10 pts.
 - Total: 100 pts.

| Competency | Course Objectives(s) | Lessons | Assessment(s) |
|------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | 3, 4 | 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13 | Final exam |
| 2 | 3, 4 | 11, 12, 13, 14 | Final exam |
| 3 | 1, 2 | 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10 | Midterm, Paper #1, Paper #2 |

- *School-wide uniform grading scale:*

Grading Policy: 94 – 100 A
 90 – <94 A-
 87 – <90 B+
 84 – <87 B
 80 – <84 B-
 77 – <80 C+
 70 – <77 C
 <70 F

Course Schedule:

Institutions 1: Federalism, Congress, National values

Week 1: Introduction: A Republican Form of Government

Steinmo, Sven and Jon Watts. 1995. "Its the Institutions Stupid." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*.

Madison, James. Federalist 47, 48, and 51.

Haeder, SF and DL Weimer. 2015. "You can't make me do it, but I could be persuaded: A federalism perspective on the Affordable Care Act," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 40(2): 281-323.

Sparer, M. 2015. Medicaid at 50: remarkable growth fueled by unexpected politics," *Health Affairs* 34(7): 1084-1091.

Week 2: How do "national values" shape public policy?

- *Online 30: Please develop at least one question or comment about the assigned readings and upload your question/comment on CANVAS in the folder provided.*

Objectives: Analyze the role of national values and political culture on public policy.

Beland, Daniel, Philip Rocco, and Alex Waddan. 2016. "Obamacare and the Politics of Universal Health Insurance Coverage in the United States." *Social Policy & Administration* 50(4): 428-451.

- Campbell, John. 2002. "Ideas, Politics and Public Policy." *Annual Review of Sociology*. 28: 21-38.
- Morone, James. 2005. "Introduction: A Nation with the Soul of A Church" *Hellfire Nation*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Morone, James. 1996. "Struggle for American Culture," *Political Science and Politics* 29(3): 424-430.

Week 3: Models of the Policy Process: Incrementalism and Garbage Cans

- *Online 30: Please develop at least one question or comment about the assigned readings and upload your question/comment on CANVAS in the folder provided.*

- Baumgartner, Frank R. 2013. "Ideas and Policy Change." *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions*, 26(2): 239–258.
- Jones, Bryan D. and Frank R. Baumgartner. 2005. "A model of choice for public policy." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 15(3), 325-351.
- Mucciaroni, G. 1992. "The Garbage Can Model & the Study of Policy Making: A Critique" *Polity* 24(3): 459-482.
- Oliver, TR. 2006. "The Politics of Public Health Policy," *Annual Review of Public Health* 27: 195-233.

Week 4: Agenda Setting, Issue Frames and Health Policy

- *Online 30: Please develop at least one question or comment about the assigned readings and upload your question/comment on CANVAS in the folder provided.*

- Foster, C., Thrasher, J., Kim, S., Rose, I., Besley, J., & Navarro, A. 2012. "Agenda-Building Influences on the News Media's Coverage of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration's Push to Regulate Tobacco, 1993-2009." *Journal of Health and Human Services Administration*, 35(3), 303-30.
- Liu, X., Lindquist, E., & Vedlitz, A. 2011. "Explaining media and congressional attention to global climate change, 1969-2005: An empirical test of agenda-setting theory." *Political Research Quarterly*, 64(2), 405-419.
- McGinty, E. E., Kennedy-Hendricks, A., Choksy, S., & Barry, C. L. 2016. "Trends in news media coverage of mental illness in the United States: 1995-2014." *Health Affairs*, 35(6), 1121-1129.
- Stone, Deborah. 1989. "Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas" *Political Science Quarterly* 104 (2): 281-300.

Health Policy Case Studies 1: National health insurance, technocratic politics

Week 5: History of National Health Reform in the U.S.: The Progressive Era to Obama (Paper #1 on Agenda Setting is due)

- *Online 30: Please develop at least one question or comment about the assigned readings and upload your question/comment on CANVAS in the folder provided.*

Klein E. The Lessons of '94: The three reasons the Clinton administration's health care reform effort failed, and how the next Democratic president can get it right. *The American Prospect*, January 22, 2008.

Brown LD. The Amazing Noncollapsing U.S. Health Care System — Is Reform Finally at Hand? *N Engl J Med*. 2008;358;4:325-328.

Peterson, MA. 2011. "It Was a Different Time: Obama and the Unique Opportunity for Health Care Reform" *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 36(3): 429-436.

Week 6: Trump and the ACA

- *Online 30: Please develop at least one question or comment about the assigned readings and upload your question/comment on CANVAS in the folder provided.*

Jaffe, Susan. 2017. "Dismantling the ACA without help from Congress." *The Lancet*. 390: 441-442.

Jost, T. 2016. "Day One And Beyond: What Trump's Election Means For The ACA," *Health Affairs Blog*, November 9 (<http://healthaffairs.org/blog/2016/11/09/day-one-and-beyond-what-trumps-election-means-for-the-aca/>).

Thompson, F.J., M.K. Gusmano and S. Shinohara. 2018. "Trump, Obamacare, And American Federalism: Executive Branch Discretion and Program Durability." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 10.1093/publius/pjy007.

Week 7: Midterm Exam (in class)

Week 8: Technocratic Health Politics *Online 30: Please develop at least one question or comment about the assigned readings and upload your question/comment on CANVAS in the folder provided.*

Fisher, Elliott S., Julie P. Bynum, and Jonathan S. Skinner. 2009. "Slowing the Growth of Health Care Costs — Lessons from Regional Variation." *NEJM* 360 (9):849-852.

Iglehart, J.K. 2009. Prioritizing Comparative-Effectiveness Research – IOM Recommendations. *NEJM* 361(4): 325-28.

Sorenson, C., M.K. Gusmano, and A. Oliver. 2014. "The politics of comparative effectiveness research: lessons from recent history," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 39(1), 139-170.

White, J. 2011. "Prices, Volume, and the Perverse Effects of the Variations Crusade," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 36(4): 775-790.

Institutions 2: Courts, regulatory agencies, interest groups; muddling through

Week 9: Courts

- *Online 30: Please develop at least one question or comment about the assigned readings and upload your question/comment on CANVAS in the folder provided.*

- Jacobson, Peter D. and Matthew L. Kanna. 2001. "Cost-Effectiveness Analysis in the Courts: Recent Trends and Future Prospects," *Journal of Health Politics Policy and Law* 26(2): 291 - 326.
- Parmet, W. 2016. "Health: Policy or Law? A Population-Based Analysis of the Supreme Court's ACA Cases," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, doi:10.1215/03616878-3665949
- Rosoff, AJ. 2001. "Evidenced Based Medicine and the Law: The Courts Confront Clinical Practice Guidelines," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 26(2): 327-367.
- Rosenbaum, S. 2014. "Once more into the breach: The future of subsidies in the federal health insurance reform exchange," *Milbank Quarterly* 92(4): 644-647.

Week 10: Regulatory Agencies

- *Online 30: Please develop at least one question or comment about the assigned readings and upload your question/comment on CANVAS in the folder provided.*

- Sage, William M. 2003. "Unfinished Business: How Litigation Relates to Health Care Regulation," *Journal of Health Politics Policy and Law*, 28: 387 - 420.
- Kronebusch, Karl, Mark Schlesinger, and Tracey Thomas. 2009. "Managed Care Regulation in the States: The Impact on Physicians' Practices and Clinical Autonomy," *Journal of Health Politics Policy and Law*, 34: 219 - 259.
- Mello, Michelle M. 2010. "Federal Trade Commission Regulation of Food Advertising to Children: Possibilities for a Reinvigorated Role," *Journal of Health Politics Policy and Law*, 35: 227 - 276.
- Weimer, David L. 2007. "Public and Private Regulation of Organ Transplantation: Liver Allocation and the Final Rule," *Journal of Health Politics Policy and Law*, 32: 9 - 49.

Week 11: Are policy decisions the result of powerful interests?

- *Online 30: Please develop at least one question or comment about the assigned readings and upload your question/comment on CANVAS in the folder provided.*

- Laugesen, MJ, R Wada, EM Chen. 2012. "In setting doctors' Medicare fees, CMS almost always accepts the relative value update panel's advice on work values," *Health Affairs* 31(5): 965-972.
- Peterson, Mark. 1993. "Political Influence in the 1990s: From Iron Triangles to Issue Networks," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 18: 395-438.
- Tomes, N. 2006. "The Patient as a Policy Factor: An Historical Case Study of the Consumer/Survivor Movement in Mental Health," *Health Affairs* 25(3): 720-729.
- Quadagno, J. 2011. "Interest-group influence on the Patient Protection and Affordability Act of 2010: Winners and Losers in the Health Care Reform Debate," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 36(3): 449-453.

Health Policy Case Studies 2: Age-Rationing, Obesity, Vaccines and Evaluating Health Technology.

Week 12: Do We Need to Age-Ration Health Care? (Paper #2 is Due)

- *Online 30: Please develop at least one question or comment about the assigned readings and upload your question/comment on CANVAS in the folder provided.*

Brock, DW. 1989. "Justice, Health Care, and the Elderly," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 18(3): 297-312.

Callahan, D. 1993. "Response to Roger W. Hunt," *Journal of Medical Ethics* 19: 24-27.

Callahan, D. and SB Nuland. 2011. "The Quagmire: How American Medicine is Destroying Itself," *The New Republic*, May 19th

(<http://www.newrepublic.com/article/economy/magazine/88631/american-medicine-health-care-costs>).

Corn, B. W. 2009. Ending end-of-life phobia -- A prescription for enlightened health care reform. *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 361(27), e63.

Gusmano, MK. 2014. "Is it reasonable to deny older patients treatment for glioblastoma?" *Journal of Law, Medicine & Ethics, Summer*. 183-189.

Week 13: The Politics of Obesity

- *Online 30: Please develop at least one question or comment about the assigned readings and upload your question/comment on CANVAS in the folder provided.*

Barry, C., Brescoll, V., Brownell, K., & Schlesinger, M. 2009. "Obesity Metaphors: How Beliefs about the Causes of Obesity Affect Support for Public Policy," *The Milbank Quarterly*, 87(1): 7.

Brownell, K., & Warner, K. 2009. "The Perils of Ignoring History: Big Tobacco Played Dirty and Millions Died. How Similar Is Big Food?" *The Milbank Quarterly* 87(1): 259.

Gollust SE, Niederdeppe J, Barry CL. 2013. "Framing the consequences of childhood obesity to increase public support for obesity prevention policy," *American Journal of Public Health* 103(11):e96-102.

Kersh, R. 2009. "The Politics of Obesity: A Current Assessment and Look Ahead," *The Milbank Quarterly* 87(1): 295.

Week 14: Evidence and Health Technology

- *Online 30: Please develop at least one question or comment about the assigned readings and upload your question/comment on CANVAS in the folder provided.*

Maschke, K. and M.K. Gusmano. 2016. "Evidence and Access to Biomedical Interventions: The Case of Stem Cell Treatments," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 41(5), doi: 10.1215/03616878-3632212.

Maschke K and M.K. Gusmano. 2016. "Medicare and Amyloid PET Imaging: The Battle Over Evidence," *Journal of Aging and Social Policy*, doi: 10.1080/08959420.2016.1198970.

Maschke, K., M.K. Gusmano and M. Solomon. 2017. "Expensive Breakthrough Treatments: The Case of CAR-T Cell Cancer Treatment." *Health Affairs*. 36 (10): 1698-1700.

Solomon, M.Z., M.K. Gusmano, and K. Maschke. 2016. "The Ethical Imperative and Moral Challenges of Engaging Patients and the Public with Evidence," *Health Affairs*, April 35(4): 583-589.

Final Exam (Online)

Learning Management System: Canvas will be used extensively throughout the semester for course syllabus, assignments, announcements, communication and/or other course-related activities. It is the student's responsibility to familiarize themselves with Canvas and check it regularly. If you have difficulties accessing Canvas, please inform the instructor and Canvas Support (help@canvas.rutgers.edu). Canvas is accessible at canvas.rutgers.edu.

School of Public Health Honor Code: The School of Public Health Honor Code is found in the School Catalog (sph.rutgers.edu/academics/catalog.html). Each student bears a fundamental responsibility for maintaining academic integrity and intellectual honesty in his or her graduate work. For example, all students are expected to observe the generally accepted principles of scholarly work, to submit their own rather than another's work, to refrain from falsifying data, and to refrain from receiving and/or giving aid on examinations or other assigned work requiring independent effort. In submitting written material, the writer takes full responsibility for the work as a whole and implies that, except as properly noted by use of quotation marks, footnotes, etc., both the ideas and the works used are his or her own. In addition to maintaining personal academic integrity, each student is expected to contribute to the academic integrity of the School community by not facilitating inappropriate use of her/his own work by others and by reporting acts of academic dishonesty by others to an appropriate school authority. It should be clearly understood that plagiarism, cheating, or other forms of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated and can lead to sanctions up to and including separation from the Rutgers School of Public Health.

Students with Disabilities: Rutgers University welcomes students with disabilities into all of the University's educational programs. In order to receive consideration for reasonable accommodations, a student must Apply for Services by first completing a Registration Form with the Rutgers Office of Disability Services (ODS) at ods.rutgers.edu. The student will also be required to participate in an ODS intake interview and provide documentation. If reasonable accommodations are granted, ODS will provide you with a Letter of Accommodations which should be shared with your instructors as early in your courses as possible.

Graduate Student Computer Policy: Students are required to possess a personal laptop, no older than approximately two years, that must meet minimum requirements which may be found online at: sph.rutgers.edu/student-life/computer-support.html.

Policy Concerning Use of Recording Devices and Other Electronic Communications Systems: When personally owned communication/recording devices are used by students to record lectures and/or classroom lessons, such use must be authorized by the faculty member or instructor who must give either oral or written permission prior to the start of the semester and identify restrictions, if any, on the use of mobile communications or recording devices.

Policy Concerning Use of Turnitin: Students agree that by taking this course all required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to Turnitin.com (directly or via learning management system, i.e. Canvas) for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers. Use of the Turnitin.com service is subject to the Usage Policy posted on the Turnitin.com site. Students who do not agree should contact the course instructor immediately.

Withdrawal/Refund Schedule: Students who stop attending their course(s) without submitting a completed [Add/Drop Course](#) form will receive a failing grade. Furthermore, students dropping to zero credits for the semester are considered withdrawn and must submit a completed [Leave of Absence](#) form from the School of Public Health's Office of Student Affairs. The School of Public Health refunds tuition only. Administrative and technology fees are non-refundable. You may find the Withdrawal/Refund Schedule on the School of Public Health website at: sph.rutgers.edu/academics/school-calendar.html

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