



SciencesPo.

HEALTH CARE AND PUBLIC HEALTH IN WESTERN DEMOCRACIES

Political Science, Fall 2010

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Fridays, 5–7pm

Sep 24; Oct 1, 8, 15, 22, 29; Nov 5, 19, 26; Dec 3, 10, 17

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Room S10

Why study health politics? In Western countries, health care expenditure represents large fractions of the gross domestic product—the United States alone spends over \$2 *trillion* per year on health care, and Barack Obama had pledged his administration would pass a substantial health insurance reform, which has since polarized American politics to the extreme. Health issues at the beginning and the end of the life cycle are amongst the most politicised issues—compare, for example, abortion and euthanasia legislation in France and Spain, or conflicts and scandals over the National Health Service in the UK. As Western populations age, chronic disease such as cancer and diabetes will become an increasingly frequent experience. Finally, think of the ‘obesity epidemic’ and its implications for society at large.

This course will explore the politics of **health care** and **public health** in Western democracies. It is also intended to introduce theories and concepts useful for studying health policy in affluent countries. Its sessions will touch upon the funding and organisation of health systems, power relations between social movements in health, pharmaceutical policy and public health issues such as AIDS or tobacco control.

By design, this course will approach health care through the **comparative method**: why do different governments adopt different policies? What are the forces behind common goals and policies in Europe and in other Western democracies? How do different institutions and ideas shape political conflicts over health issues? **Historical insights** will often provide helpful background in answering these questions, as well as perspectives from **health economics** and **basic epidemiology**. No previous knowledge in any of these domains is required for taking the course, but some curiosity in every of them will prove useful.

COURSE ASSIGNMENTS

Students are expected to be regular and active participants in the course, and to complete required readings prior to class meetings. Course sessions start with a 30-minute introduction, after which two students will each give an **oral presentation** of roughly 15 minutes, followed by a 30-minute discussion in both cases. Presentations will be concise, synthetic, descriptive and explanatory, and will make extensive use of the recommended readings.

A **research essay** of roughly 3,500 words is due at the end of the semester (a precise deadline will be given at the first meeting). *In the absence of truly exceptional circumstances, there will be no time extensions.* In the essay, students are required to expand on their oral presentation by adding a strong analytical component to the issue under examination, which involves learning about theoretical perspectives on public policy and thinking critically about them. The reading list for the course contains a set of texts to help students with reviewing their presentations in order to produce analytical essays on the topic.

Feel free to ask for additional guidance on what to read and how to structure essays and oral presentations, yet *do not wait for the very last minute to do so.* The grading policy for the course is 40 points for the presentations, 40 points for the essay and 20 points for attendance and participation. Further expectations about coursework will be outlined at the first meeting. Finally, students will be asked several times to provide feedback on the course.

COURSE SUMMARY

Introduction

Part 1. Actors and Institutions

1. Medicine and the Medical Profession
2. Introduction to Health Systems
3. Patients and Health Movements

Part 2. Regulating Health

4. *The Political Economy of Health Care Provision* — I. Western Europe
5. *The Political Economy of Health Care Provision* — II. North America
6. Modern Epidemics: Before and After AIDS
7. State Responses to Chronic Diseases
8. Birth and Death as Political Issues

Part 3. International Health Politics

9. Developments in Pharmaceutical Policy
10. The Europeanization of Health Politics
11. Global Health and the West

ESSENTIAL READINGS

Most core textbooks have been taken out of reserve (see shelf marks in brackets below) and are available in multiple copies, thanks to Anne-Marie Magnard at the Sciences Po Library.

Main readings

- Baggott, R. 2007. *Understanding Health Policy*. Policy Press. (362.1-BAG-2007)
- Blank, R. and Burau, V. 2007. *Comparative Health Policy*. Palgrave. (362.1-BLA-2007)
- Freeman, R. 2000. *The Politics of Health in Europe*. Manchester University Press. (8°215.332)
- Moran, M. 1999. *Governing the Health Care State*. Manchester University Press. (362.1-MOR-1999)
- Nathanson, C. 2007. *Disease Prevention as Social Change*. Russell Sage Foundation. (362.1-NAT-2007)
- Salter, B. 2004. *The New Politics of Medicine*. Palgrave. (8°253.697)

Reading guide: *Baggott, Blank & Burau and Salter introduce the political forces at play in health policy; Freeman and Moran offer empirical and theoretical perspectives for the political analysis of health systems; and Nathanson analyses public health as a political struggle. These texts are strongly recommended readings.*

Additional readings

- Bourdelaï, P. 2006. *Epidemics Laid Low: A History of What Happened in Rich Countries*. Johns Hopkins University Press [also published in French by Éd. La Martinière in 2005].
- Lupton, D. 1995. *The Imperative of Health: Public Health and the Regulated Body*. Sage.
- Nettleton, S. 2006. *The Sociology of Health and Illness*, 2nd edition. Polity.
- Smith, S., Le Grand, J. and Propper, C. 2008 *The Economics of Social Problems*, 4th edition. Palgrave [Ch. 1, 2 and 10].
- Walshe, K. 2003. *Regulating Healthcare*. Open University Press.
- Porter, D. 1999. *Health, Civilization, and the State*. Routledge.

Reading guide: *Smith et al. and Walshe are accessible introductions to health economics; Nettleton and Lupton review current perspectives in the sociology of health & illness; and Bourdelaï and Porter summarise the history of modern public health in affluent countries.*

Websites

- European Observatory of Health Systems and Policies
<http://www.euro.who.int/observatory>
- OECD Health Data, Information and Working Papers
<http://www.oecd.org/health>

COURSE READINGS

All sessions feature some core readings that should be read and understood before class. Presentations come with two strongly recommended readings on the topic. Finally, the 'Review' texts should be read, analysed and critically discussed by students who are writing their essay on the session's topic.

Part 1. Actors and Institutions

Session 0 Health in the West

Medicine and the civilisation process. Health care and insurance after the Industrial Revolution. Health systems and public health in the post-war context. Current epidemiological trends and health status in Western democracies.

- Readings: Fox, Daniel M. (2006). "The Determinants of Policy for Population Health." *Health Economics, Policy and Law* 1(4): 395–407.
- Klein, R. 2003. "The Crises of the Welfare States." In Cooter, R. and Pickstone, J. (eds), *Companion to Medicine in the Twentieth Century*, Routledge, pp. 155–170.
- Wildavsky, A. 1977. "Doing Better and Feeling Worse: The Political Pathology of Health Policy." *Daedalus* 106(1): 105–23.

Session 1 Medicine and the Medical Profession

- Readings: Blank and Bureau, *Comparative Health Policy*, ch. 5.
- Salter, *The New Politics of Medicine*, ch. 1.

Presentations: Doctors & Collective Action: The French and American Medical Professions

Hassenteufel, P. 1997. *Les médecins face à l'État*. Presses de Sciences Po.

Starr, P. 1992. *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*. Basic Books.

Note: this is the first presentation, and it has some of the longest readings; to make your task easier, you should concentrate on the creation of medical associations in France and in the United States, which is covered in the first chapters of each book.

Negotiating with Doctors: The 1958 Hospital Reform in France

Immergut, E. 1992. *Health Politics: Interests and Institutions in Western Europe*, Cambridge University Press [Ch. 1 and 3].

Jamous, H. 1969. *Sociologie de la décision. La réforme des études médicales et des structures hospitalières*. Éditions du CNRS [Skim].

- Review: Harrison, S. *et al.* 2002. "Policy Emergence and Policy Convergence: The Case of 'Scientific-Bureaucratic Medicine' in the United States and United Kingdom." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 4(1): 1–24; White, J. 2009. "Capacity and Authority: Comments on Governing Doctors and Health Care." *Health Economics, Policy and Law* 4(3): 367–382.

Session 2 Introduction to Health Systems

Readings: Blank and Bureau, *Comparative Health Policy*, ch. 3.

Freeman, *The Politics of Health in Europe*, ch. 2.

Presentations: **Creating a Health System: The British National Health Service, 1946–1974**

Klein, R. 2010. *The New Politics of the NHS. From Creation to Reinvention*. Radcliffe Publishing, 6th edition [Ch. 1, 2, and 3 for last remarks].

Webster, C. 1990. "Conflict and Consensus: Explaining the British Health Service." *Twentieth Century British History* 1(2): 115-151.

Selecting a Health System: The Origins of the French Health Care System, 1945

Dutton, P. 2007. *Differential Diagnoses. A Comparative History of Health Care Problems and Solutions in the U.S. and France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Palier, B. 2005. *Gouverner la sécurité sociale : les réformes du système français de protection sociale depuis 1945*. Presses Universitaires de France [Ch. 2–3 and 5].

Review: Wendt, C. *et al.* 2008. "Healthcare System Types: A Conceptual Framework for Comparison." *Social Policy & Administration* 43(1): 70-90; Wendt, C. 2009. "Mapping European Health Care Systems: A Comparative Analysis of Financing, Service Provision and Access to Healthcare." *Journal of European Social Policy* 19(5): 432–445.

Session 3 Patients and Health Movements

Readings: Epstein, S. 2007. "Patient Groups and Health Movements." In Hackett, E. *et al.* (eds), *Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*, pp. 499–539.

Presentations: **Patient-Based Advocacy: Patient-Support Groups and the AIDS Epidemic**

Barbot, J. 2006. "How to Build an 'Active' Patient? The Work of AIDS Associations in France." *Social Science & Medicine* 62(3): 538–551.

Berridge, V. 2003. "AIDS and Patient-Support Groups." In Cooter, R. and Pickstone, J. (eds), *Companion to Medicine in the Twentieth Century*, Routledge, pp. 687–701.

How Much 'Patient Power' Exactly? Patient Involvement in the British NHS

Mold, A. 2010. "Patient Groups and the Construction of the Patient-Consumer in Britain: An Historical Overview." *Journal of Social Policy* 39(4): 505–521.

Salter, *The New Politics of Medicine*, ch. 3.

Review: Brown, P. *et al.* 2004. "Embodied Health Movements: New Approaches to Social Movements in Health." *Sociology of Health & Illness* 26(1): 50–80 [see also other papers in that special issue].

Part 2. Regulating Health

Session 4 The Political Economy of Health Care Provision—I. Western Europe

Readings: Giaimo, S. 2001. “Who Pays for Health Care Reform?” In Pierson, P. (ed.), *The New Politics of the Welfare State*, Oxford University Press, pp. 334–367.

Cacace, M. *et al.* 2008. “Explaining Convergence and Common Trends in the Role of the State in OECD Healthcare Systems.” *Harvard Health Policy Review* 9(1): 5–16.

Presentations: □ **‘Managerialising’ Health Care: The British National Health Service, 1983–2008**

Greer, S. 2005. “Why Do Good Health Politics Make Bad Health Policy?” In Dawson, S. and Sausman, C. (eds), *Future Health Organizations and Systems*, Palgrave, pp. 105-127.

Ham, C. 2009. *Health Policy in Britain*. Palgrave, 6th edition [Ch. 2, 3 and 10].

□ **Health Reforms in Bismarckian Welfare States: France and Germany, c. 1990–today**

Hassenteufel, P. and Palier, B. 2005. “Les trompe-l’oeil de la ‘gouvernance’ de l’assurance maladie : contrastes franco-allemands.” *Revue française d’administration publique* 133: 13–27; *ibid.*, 2007. “Towards Neo-Bismarckian Health Care States? Comparing Health Insurance Reforms in Bismarckian Welfare Systems.” *Social Policy & Administration* 41(6): 574–596.

Steffen, M. 2010. “Liberal Universalism. The French Health Care System and Its Reforms.” *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 35(3): 353–387.

Review: Hassenteufel, P. 2007. “New Policy Elites and the Growth of the Regulatory Health Care State in Europe.” Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions, Helsinki.

Session 5 The Political Economy of Health Care Provision—II. North America

Readings: Quadagno, J. 2004. “Why the United States Has No National Health Insurance: Stakeholder Mobilization against the Welfare State, 1945–1996.” *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 45 (Special Issue): 25–44 [see also her book, *One Nation Uninsured*, Oxford University Press, 2005].

White, J. 2009. “National Case Studies and Cross-National Learning: U.S. Health Care, 1993–2006.” *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis* 11(3): 401–425.

Presentations: □ **Divergent Welfare Paths: The American and Canadian Health Systems, c. 1910–c.1980**

Boychuk, G. 2008. *National Health Insurance in the United States and Canada. Race, Territory and the Roots of Difference*. Georgetown University Press [Skim].

Tuohy, C. 1999. *Accidental Logics: The Dynamics of Change in the Health Care Arena in the United States, Britain, and Canada*. Oxford University Press [Ch. 2–3, 5 and 7].

□ **Get Insurance or Die Trying: The Clinton and Obama Health Care Plans, 1996–2010**

Steinmo, S. and Watts, J. 1995. "Its the Institutions, Stupid! Why Comprehensive National Health Insurance Fails in America." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 20(2): 329-372 [see also Hacker, J. 2001. "Learning from Defeat? Political Analysis and the Failure of Health Care Reform in the United States." *British Journal of Political Science* 31(1): 61–94].

Hacker, J. 2010. "The Road to Somewhere: Why Health Reform Happened." *Perspectives on Politics* 8(3): 861–876; *ibid.*, 2009. "Yes We Can? The New Push for American Health Security." *Politics & Society* 37(3): 3–32 [note that the author was directly involved in the reform plans; see also the articles by Marmor *et al.*, "The Obama Administration's Options for Health Care Cost Control: Hope Versus Reality." *Annals of Internal Medicine* 150(7): 485–489, 2009; "Health Reform: The Fateful Moment." *New York Review of Books* 56(13), 2009].

Review: Hacker, J. 2004. "Dismantling the Health Care State? Political Institutions, Public Policies and the Comparative Politics of Health Reform." *British Journal of Political Science* 34(4): 693–724.

Session 6 Modern Epidemics: Before and After AIDS

Readings: Bourdelais, *Epidemics Laid Low*, chapters 2 and 5.

Nathanson, *Disease Prevention as Social Change*, ch. 2.

Presentations: □ **Disease as a Threat to Social Order: Cholera in Europe**

Delaporte, F. 1986. *Disease and Civilization. The Cholera in Paris, 1832*. MIT Press.

Evans, R. 1988. "Epidemics and Revolutions: Cholera in Nineteenth-Century Europe." *Past and Present* 120(1): 123-146.

□ **Medicine as a Threat to Social Order: Refusing Vaccination**

Blume, S. 2006. "Anti-Vaccination Movements and Their Interpretations." *Social Science & Medicine* 62(3): 628–642.

Bourdelais, *Epidemics Laid Low*, ch. 6.

Review: Rosenberg, C. 2003. "What is Disease? In Memory of Owsei Temkin" *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 77(3): 491–505.

Session 7 State Responses to Chronic Diseases

Readings: Conrad, P. 2005. "The Shifting Engines of Medicalization." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 46(1): 3–14.

Oliver, T. 2006. "The Politics of Public Health Policy." *Annual Review of Public Health* 27: 195–233.

Presentations: □ **Fighting with Legislation: The Regulation of Tobacco in the U.S. and in Europe**

Studlar, D. 2008. "U.S. Tobacco Control: Public Health, Political Economy, or Morality Policy?" *Review of Policy Research* 25(5): 393-410.

Studlar, D. 2009. "Tobacco Control Policy in Western Europe: A Case of Protracted Paradigm Change." In Capano, G. and Howlett, M. (eds.), *European and North American Policy Change: Drivers and Dynamics*, Routledge, pp. 71-90.

□ **Waging War on Fat: Tackling Obesity in America**

Kersh, R. and Morone, J. 2002. "How the Personal Becomes Political: Prohibitions, Public Health and Obesity." *Studies in American Political Development*, 16(2): 162-175.

Oliver, E. and Lee, T. 2005. "Public Opinion and the Politics of Obesity in America." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 31(5): 923-954 [see also previous articles in that issue].

Review: Cairney, P. 2009. "The Role of Ideas in Policy Transfer: The Case of UK Smoking Bans since Devolution." *Journal of European Public Policy* 16(3): 471-488; Studlar, D. et al. 2008. "Testing Models of Tobacco Control Policy Comparatively." Paper presented at the APSA Annual Meetings, Boston; Harwood, V. 2008. "Theorizing Biopedagogies." In Wright, J. and Harwood, V. (eds), *Biopolitics and the 'Obesity Epidemic.'* *Governing Bodies*, Routledge, pp. 15-30.

Session 8 Birth and Death as Political Problems

Readings: Blank, R. 2007. "Life and Death Decision Making: Issues at the End of Life." Excerpts from Blank, R. and Merrick, J. (eds), *End of Life Decision Making: A Cross-National Study*, MIT Press, 2007.

Engeli, I. 2009. "The Challenges of Abortion and Assisted Reproductive Technologies Policies in Europe." *Contemporary European Politics* 7(1): 56-74.

Presentations: □ **Birth & the Unborn: What Made Abortion Legal in the Netherlands?**

Outshoorn, J. 1996. "The Stability of Compromise: The Politics of Abortion in Western Europe." In Githens, M. and McBride Stetson, D. (eds.), *Abortion Politics: Public Policy in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Routledge, pp.145-165.

Outshoorn, J. 2001. "Policy-Making on Abortion: Arenas, Actors and Arguments in the Netherlands." In McBride Stetson, D. (ed.) *Abortion Politics, Women's Movements, and the State*, Oxford University Press, pp. 205-228. [see also *ibid.*, 2000. "Abortion in the Netherlands. The Successful Pacification of a Controversial Issue." In Krabbendam, H. and ten Napel, H.-M. (eds), *Regulating Morality*, Maklu, pp. 135-147].

□ **Death & the Dying: What Made Euthanasia Legal in the Netherlands?**

Ten Have, H. and Welie, J. 2005. *Death and Medical Power: An Ethical Analysis of Dutch Euthanasia Practice*. Open University Press [Ch. 1; see also ten Have,

H. 2007. "End-of-Life Decision Making in the Netherlands." In Blank, R. and Merrick, J. (eds), *End of Life Decision Making: A Cross-National Study*, MIT Press, 2007, pp. 147–168].

Green-Pedersen, C. 2007. "The Conflict of Conflicts in Comparative Perspective. Euthanasia as a Political Issue in Denmark, Belgium, and the Netherlands." *Comparative Politics* 39(3): 273–291.

Review: Studlar, D. 2001. "What Constitutes Morality Policy? A Cross-National Perspective." In Mooney, C. (ed.), *The Public Clash of Private Values*, Chatham House, pp. 37–51.

Part 3. International Health Politics

Session 9 Issues in Pharmaceutical Policy

Readings: Busfield, J. 2005. "The Globalization of the Pharmaceutical Industry." In Lee, K. and Collin, J. (eds), *Global Change and Health*, Open University Press, pp. 95–110.

Kanavos, P. 1998. "The Politics of Health and the Industrial Economics of Pharmaceuticals: Is there a Single European Dimension?" Paper presented at the PSA Annual Meeting, Keele.

Presentations: **The Politics of Explicit Rationing: The Controversial Role of NICE in Britain**

Abraham, J. 2009. "The Pharmaceutical Industry, the State and the NHS." In Gabe, J. and Calnan, M. (eds), *The New Sociology of the Health Service*, pp. 99–120.

Owen-Smith, A. *et al.* 2009. "Explaining Reactions to Explicit Healthcare Rationing." *Social Science & Medicine* 68(11): 1935–1942.

Europeanizing Markets & Policies: Pharmaceutical Policy in the European Union

Permanand, G. 2006. *EU Pharmaceutical Regulation: The Politics of Policy-Making*. Manchester University Press [Skim].

Permanand, G. and Mossialos, E. 2005. "Constitutional Asymmetry and Pharmaceutical Policy-Making in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 12(4): 687–709.

Review: Maynard, A. and Bloor, K. 2003. "Dilemmas in Regulation of the Market for Pharmaceuticals." *Health Affairs* 22(3): 31–41 [for background reading, see Scherer, F. 2000. "The Pharmaceutical Industry." In Culyer, A. and Newhouse, J. (eds), *Handbook of Health Economics*, Volume 1B, Part 5, Ch. 25, Elsevier, pp. 1297–1336; see esp. Section 8].

Session 10 The Europeanization of Health Politics

Readings: Greer, S. 2009. *The Politics of European Union Health Policies*. Open University Press [Ch. 1 and 2].

Steffen, M. (ed.) 2005. *Health Governance in Europe: Issues, Challenges, and Theories*. Routledge [Introduction and Ch. 1].

Presentations: **Smoking Bans in EU Member-States**

Princen, S. 2007. "Advocacy Coalitions and the Internationalization of Public Health Policies." *Journal of Public Policy* 27(1): 13–33 [see also his 2004 paper, "No Smoking. Venue Choice and the Europeanisation of Anti-Smoking Policy," presented at ECPR, Bologna, 2004].

Mamudu, H. and Studlar, D. 2009. "Multilevel Governance and Shared Sovereignty: European Union, Member States, and the FCTC." *Governance* 22(1): 73–97.

Lobbying over Health Services: Is the EU a Threat to the British NHS?

Greer, S. 2009. *The Politics of European Union Health Policies*. Open University Press [Ch. 9].

Greer, S. 2006. *Responding to Europe: Government, NHS and Stakeholder Responses to the EU Health Challenge*. Nuffield Trust [Skim].

Review: Greer, S. 2009. *The Politics of European Union Health Policies*. Open University Press [Ch. 3 and 11].

Session 11 Global Health and the West

Readings: *No reading for last week! Rejoice!*

Presentations: **The North/South Divide of Disease: NGOs and HIV/AIDS in (Sub-Saharan) Africa**

Seckinelgin, H. 2005. "A Global Disease and Its Governance: HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Agency of NGOs." *Global Governance* 11(3): 351–368.

Doyle, C. and Patel, P. 2008. "Civil Society Organisations and Global Health Initiatives: Problems of Legitimacy." *Social Science & Medicine* 66(9): 1928–1938 [see also Rau, B. 2006. "The Politics of Civil Society in Confronting HIV/AIDS." *International Affairs* 82(2): 285–295].

The North/South Divide of Drugs: Access to Antiretrovirals in Developing Countries

Odell, J. and Sell, S. 2006. "Reframing the Issue: The WTO Coalition on Intellectual Property and Public Health, 2001." In Odell, J. (ed.), *Negotiating Trade. Developing Countries in WTO and NAFTA*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 85–114.

Shadlen, K. 2007. "The Political Economy of AIDS Treatment: Intellectual Property and the Transformation of Generic Supply." *International Studies Quarterly* 51(3): 559–581.

Review: Freeman, R. 2008. "Global Health and the Problem of Governance." *Harvard Health Policy Review* 9(1): 26–34; Bashford, A. 2006. "Global Biopolitics and the History of World Health." *History of the Human Sciences* 19(1): 67–88.

Thanks for attending! Please submit feedback on the course.