

THE POLITICS OF HEALTH POLICY
CHS/HS M287
Winter 2006

Class meets: **Thurs. 3-6 pm, Room: 41-268 SPH**

Instructor: **E. Richard Brown, Ph.D.**

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Special Reader: **Jeanne T. Black, MBA**

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Office hours: Thurs 11:00 am –12:00 pm & Monday (to be announced) (21-275B CHS) and
by appointment

Course Description

Examination of the politics of the health policy process, including the effects of political structure and institutions; economic and social factors; interest groups, classes, and social movements; media and public opinion, and other factors. The emphasis is both on understanding how public policy is made as well as how to influence the process.

Students will learn about (1) how health policy is developed, adopted, and implemented, (2) the political, institutional, economic, social, and other factors that influence and shape the process, and (3) the basic approaches and tools of strategic advocacy.

The course meets weekly with the first two hours devoted to lecture and discussion and the third hour usually involving a guest speaker relevant to that session's topic. Students are expected to participate in class discussions. Students either work in an advocacy organization during the quarter and write a paper about it, or they work in group projects and are responsible for fully participating in their group, contributing to the group paper, and completing individual assignments.

Requirements

Students will choose a policy issue to work on during the quarter and select either Option A or Option B:

Option A—select an advocacy organization related to the issue and participate in it at least 4 hours per week;

Option B—participate in a class project work group on a policy issue with 2-4 other students.

If you select **Option A**, you will write a three-part term paper about the advocacy organization. If you select **Option B**, you will conduct group research on the politics of the issue and write a three-part group term paper; in addition, you will write an individual paper about an advocacy organization related to the issue. See separate Course Requirements handout for details.

Grades

Students will be graded on the following basis:

Option A	Option B
Term paper (in three parts): 75%	Term paper (in three parts): 75%
Contributions to advocacy organization: 20%	Contributions to group project: 5%
	Individual paper: 15%
Participation in class discussions: 5%	Participation in class discussions: 5%

Required Books:

Please purchase the following:

Carol S. **Weissert** & William G. **Weissert**. 2002. *Governing Health: The Politics of Health Policy* (2nd edition). Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Paperback: \$28.95

John W. **Kingdon**. 1995. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. 2nd Edition. New York: Longman. Paperback: \$40.20

Jim **Shultz**, *Democracy Owners' Manual: A Practical Guide To Changing the World*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002. Paperback: \$22.00

Optional Book:

Randy **Shaw**, *The Activist's Handbook: A Primer*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press; Updated edition, 2001. Paperback: \$19.95

L = readings that will be available electronically through UCLA Library Course Reserves. Go to <http://www2.library.ucla.edu/service/index.cfm> and click on the following: "Course Materials"; "Course Reserves"; "Search Course Reserves". Search for course "M287".

R = readings that are reprinted in a course reader available at *Westwood Copies*, 1001 Gayley (next to Coffee Bean). Phone 310-208-3233.

Other resources are accessible through the Internet.

I recommend that you subscribe to *California Healthline*, a FREE daily email health policy newsletter. You can sign up without cost at: <http://www.californiahealthline.org>

Class Topic/Readings

Jan 12 **Health Policy: Introduction and A Federal Perspective**

This session focuses on the basics of the policy process, and a federal perspective on health policy.

Shultz: Chapter 1, "What Is Government's Job?" pp. 7-16.

Weissert & Weissert: Chapter 1, "Congress," (pp. 15-71), Chapter 2, "The Presidency," (pp. 72-109).

Jan 12, cont.

Political process and structure (Optional Session, 5-6 pm)

Resources for Optional Session:

The Federal legislative process:

- Congress.org: <http://www.congress.org/congressorg/issues/basics/?style=legis>
- U.S. House of Representatives: http://www.house.gov/house/Tying_it_all.shtml

Information on Federal government and Congress:

- League of Women Voters of California:
<http://ca.lwv.org/lwvc/edfund/govtinfo/federal.html>
- Capitol Advantage's Congress.org: <http://www.congress.org/congressorg/home/>
- THOMAS, the Library of Congress: thomas.loc.gov/
- OMB Watch: <http://www.ombwatch.org/>

Information on California State Government and legislative processes:

- League of Women Voters of California:
<http://ca.lwv.org/lwvc/edfund/govtinfo/state.html> especially: *The Legislative Process: A Citizen's Guide to Participation*: <http://ca.lwv.org/lwvc/pdf/guide.pdf>
- California bills, state law, legislators, etc.: <http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/>

Information on how a bill becomes a law:

- Family USA's "How a Bill Becomes a Law":
<http://www.familiesusa.org/resources/tools-for-advocates/tips/how-a-bill.html>
- Legislative Counsel, State of California:
www.leginfo.ca.gov/guide.html#Appendix_A

Jan 19 Health Policy and Federalism: A State/California Perspective

This session examines health policymaking and federalism in state government, with an emphasis on California.

Weissert & Weissert: Chapter 5, "States and Health Care Reform," (pp. 192-241).

Anton TJ, "New Federalism and Intergovernmental Fiscal Relationships: The Implications for Health Policy," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 1997; 22(3): 691- 720. **L**

Kousser T, "The Politics of Discretionary Medicaid Spending, 1980-1993," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 2002; 27(4): 639-671. **L**

Sparer MS, "States and the Politics of Incrementalism: Health Policy in Wisconsin During the 1990s," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 2004; 29: 269-291. **L**

Optional Reading:

Shaw, Chapter 2, "Elected Officials: Inspiring Fear and Loathing," pp. 45-80.

Guest Speaker (5-6 p.m.): Assemblymember Karen Bass

Jan 26 Agendas and the Policy Making Process: Conceptual Models and Realpolitik

The first step in making or changing policy is to get your issue on the policy or political agenda. Several conceptual models have been developed to enhance our understanding of the process and how to intervene.

Weissert & Weissert: Chapter 6, “The Policy Process,” (pp. 245-280).

Kingdon: read entire book (~230 pages).

Declercq E, Simmes D, “The Politics of ‘Drive-Through Deliveries’: Putting Early Post-Partum Discharge on the Legislative Agenda,” *Milbank Quarterly*. 1997; 75:175-202. **L**

Marmor TR, Hamburger T, “The Missing Alternative: How Washington Elites Pushed Single-Payer Reform Plans Off the Agenda,” in *Understanding Health Care Reform*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994, pp. 159-169. **R**

Optional Reading:

Shaw, Chapter 8, “Getting Started: Agenda Setting and Action Plans,” pp. 251-275.

SB 840, California Health Insurance Reliability Act (single-payer legislation), Senator Sheila Kuehl: Go to <http://info.sen.ca.gov> and click on “Legislation”. Select “2005-2006 Session” and “Senate” and enter “840”. What can you learn about the changes that would result from SB 840, the groups supporting it, and the groups opposing it?

Guest Speaker (5-6 p.m.): Governor Michael Dukakis, Visiting Professor, UCLA Department of Public Policy

Feb 2 Strategic Advocacy: Policy Change Goals and Objectives

Strategic advocacy means more than just changing a policy. It requires having clear long-range policy goals and short-range objectives, and developing a strategy, often multi-stage, to achieve them. We will examine the setting of policy goals in the context of health care reform.

Shultz: Chapter 6, “Developing a Strategy,” pp. 71-82.

Chafel JA, Condit K, “Advocacy for Children in Poverty,” in Chafel JA (ed), *Child Poverty and Public Policy*, Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 1993, pp. 273-302. **R**

Oliver TR, “Holding Back the Tide: Policies to Preserve and Reconstruct Health Insurance Coverage in Maryland,” *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 2004; 29: 203-236. **L**

Mitchell DJB, “Impeding Earl Warren: California’s Health Insurance Plan That Wasn’t and What Might Have Been,” *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 2002; 27: 947-976. **L**

Feb 2, cont.

Optional Reading:

Shaw: Chapter 1, “Don’t Respond, Strategize,” pp. 5-44.

Workshop (5-6 p.m.): Setting policy change goals and objectives

Resources for Workshop:

The Midwest Academy, Overview of “The Midwest Academy Direct Action Organizing Process,”

www.mindspring.com/~midwestacademy/Organize/page5.html **R**

Midwest Academy Strategy Chart, www.midwestacademy.com **R**

Partners in Policymaking, “Strategies for System Change”:

<http://www.partnersinpolicymaking.com/curriculumchange.html>

Feb 9 Strategic Framing of Issues and Media Advocacy to Achieve Policy Goals

Strategic framing to achieve policy goals by shaping the public dialogue and debate on the issues.

Dorfman L, Wallack L, Woodruff K, “More Than a Message: Framing Public Health Advocacy to Change Corporate Practices,” *Health Education and Behavior*, 2005; 32(3): 320-36. **L**

Wallack L, “Media Advocacy: A Strategy for Empowering People and Communities.” *Journal of Public Health Policy* 1994; 15:420-436. **R**

Shultz: Chapter 10, “Messages and Media,” pp. 132-156.

UCLA Center for Communications and Community, “Framing and Strategic Communications Terms” **R**

Bogdanich W, “Safety Group Closely Echoes Rail Industry,” *New York Times*, Nov. 14, 2004. **L**

Optional Reading:

Shaw: Chapter 5, “The Media: Winning More Than Coverage,” pp. 150-184.

Workshop (5-6 p.m.): Framing exercise

Resources for Workshop:

FrameWorks Institute:

The FrameWorks Institute, “The FrameWorks Perspective: Strategic Frame Analysis”

<http://www.frameworksinstitute.org/strategicanalysis/perspective.shtml>

Andress L, “Strategic Frame Analysis & Policy Making”

www.frameworksinstitute.org/products/issue18framing.shtml and

“A Five Minute Refresher Course in Framing”

www.frameworksinstitute.org/products/issue8framing.shtml

Feb 9 Workshop resources, cont.

American Public Health Association

www.apha.org/news/Media_Advocacy_Manual.pdf

Families USA tips on media advocacy:

<http://www.familiesusa.org/resources/tools-for-advocates/tips/index.html>

Feb 16 Interest Groups and Lobbying

Stakeholders in an issue often wield a lot of influence in the policy process, but the power of interest groups is very unequal.

Weissert & Weissert: Chapter 3, “Interest Groups,” (pp. 110-153).

Wilkerson JD, Carrell D, “Money, Politics, and Medicine: The American Medical PAC’s Strategy of Giving in U.S. House Races,” *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 1999; 24(2): 335-355. **L**

Peltz JF, Levin M. “How Big Tobacco Got Its Way in California,” *Los Angeles Times*. September 14, 2003. **L**

Mello MM, and Brennan TA, “The Controversy Over High-Dose Chemotherapy with Autologous Bone Marrow Transplant for Breast Cancer,” *Health Affairs* 2001; 20(5): 101-117. **L**

Mayer M, “From Access to Evidence: An Advocate’s Journey,” *Journal of Clinical Oncology*, 2003; 21(20): 3881-3884. **L**

Havemann J, “Last-Minute Swap Let Spending Bill Through,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 24, 2005. **L**

Shultz: Chapter 2, “The Rules of Politics,” pp. 17-29 and Chapter 11, “Lobbying,” pp. 157-179.

Optional Reading:

Wahl AM, Gunkel SE, “Due Process, Resource Mobilization, and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, 1971-1996: The Politics of Social Regulation in Historical Perspective,” *Social Problems*, 1999; 46(4): 591-616. **L**

Guest speaker: James Lott, Executive Vice President,
Hospital Association of Southern California

Feb 23 Initiatives and Their Implementation

An increasingly frequent component of policy change strategies includes initiatives, an often highly charged political process in which “direct democracy” substitutes for representative democratic legislative processes. Even when initiatives are enacted, politics affects their implementation.

Shultz: Chapter 12, “Initiatives,” pp. 180-196.

Feb 23, cont.

- Najera AP, "History of successful ballot initiatives—California," *Cancer*, 1998; 83(Suppl): 2680 – 2684. **L**
- Nicholl J, "Tobacco Tax Initiatives to Prevent Tobacco Use: A Study of Eight Statewide Campaigns," *Cancer*, 1998; 83(Suppl):2666-2679. **L**
- Scheffler RM, and Adams N, "Millionaires and Mental Health: Proposition 63 in California," *Health Affairs* 2005; Web Exclusives: W5—212-224. **L**
- Balbach ED, Traynor MP, Glantz SA, "The implementation of California's tobacco tax initiative: The critical role of outsider strategies in protecting Proposition 99," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law* 2000; 25: 689-715. **L**
- Halper E, "State's Tobacco Revenue Surges," *Los Angeles Times*, December 27, 2005. **L**

Optional Reading:

- Percival, GL. "The influence of local contextual characteristics on the implementation of a statewide voter initiative: the case of California's Substance Abuse and Crime Prevention Act (Proposition 36)," *Policy Studies Journal* 32(4): 589(22). December 2004. **L**

Resources:

- DeVitto R, Larsen M, Kennedy P, Czyzewski A, Sowinski J, Nicholl J, "How to Run A Successful Statewide Ballot Campaign: Florida Amendment 6 Campaign": <http://ncth.confex.com/ncth/responses/2002/287.pdf>
- California General Election, November 2, 2004, Election Returns — California Secretary of State: <http://vote2004.ss.ca.gov/>

Guest speaker: Jack Nicholl, Nicholl Campaigns

Mar 2 Coalitions and Social Movements

Having a great policy proposal is never enough to change policy. It also requires demonstrating powerful or influential support for it. Coalitions and social movements can be valuable assets in efforts to change policies.

- Shultz:** Chapter 9, "Building and Maintaining Advocacy Coalitions," pp. 120-131, and Chapter 8, "Organizing," pp. 96-119.
- McCarthy JD, and Wolfson M, "Resource Mobilization by Local Social Movement Organizations: Agency, Strategy, and Organization in the Movement Against Drinking and Driving," *American Sociological Review*, 1996; 61: 1070-1088. **L**
- Bouman J, The Power of Working with Community Organizations: The Illinois FamilyCare Campaign—Effective Results Through Collaboration, *Clearinghouse Review Journal of Poverty Law and Policy*, January–February 2005, 583-596, <http://www.povertylaw.org/legalresearch/articles/free/501048.pdf>

Mar 2, cont.

Hoffman B, "Health Care Reform and Social Movements in the United States,"
American Journal of Public Health, 2003; 93: 75-85. **L**

Nathanson CA, "The Skeptic's Guide to a Movement for Universal Health Insurance,"
Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law 2003; 28(2-3): 443-471. **L**

Optional Reading:

Shaw: Chapter 3, "Coalition Activism: Rounding Up the Unusual Suspects," pp. 81-114, and Chapter 7, "Direct Action: ACTing UP and Sitting In," pp. 212-250.

Workshop (5-6 p.m.): Empowerment and Mobilization for Policy Changes exercise

Resources for Workshop:

The Midwest Academy: www.midwestacademy.com

"The Midwest Academy Direct Action Organizing Process" **R**

"Working With Coalitions" **R**

"Action Guidelines" **R**

"Accountability Sessions" **R**

Advocacy Institute:

"Actions For People-Centered Campaigns," Washington, DC: Advocacy Institute, 2004. **R**

"Leadership Roles Within an Advocacy Movement," Washington, DC: Advocacy Institute, 2004. **R**

Information on Coalition Building I: Starting a Coalition:

ctb.ku.edu/tools/en/section_1057.htm and

Coalition Building II: Maintaining a Coalition

ctb.ku.edu/tools/en/section_1058.htm

Mar 9 The Role of Research and Data in Policy Advocacy

Research, policy analysis and data play an important role in promoting evidence-based policy and supporting evidence-based advocacy.

Shultz: Chapter 7, "Research and Analysis," pp. 83-95.

Sorian R, and Baugh T, "Power of Information: Closing the Gap Between Research and Policy," *Health Affairs*, 2002; 21(2): 264-273. **L**

Gray BH, Gusmano MK, Collins SR, "AHCPR and the Changing Politics of Health Services Research," *Health Affairs*, 2003; Web Exclusives:W3—283-307. **L**

Gaus CR, "An Insider's Perspective on the Near-Death Experience of AHCPR," *Health Affairs*, 2003; Web Exclusives:W3—311-313. **L**

Mar 9, cont.

Brown ER, Holtby S, Zahnd E, Abbott GB, “Community-based Participatory Research in the California Health Interview Survey,” *Preventing Chronic Disease* 2005; 2(4): 1-8 (online e-journal: http://www.cdc.gov/pcd/issues/2005/oct/05_0046.htm)

L

Michaels D, and Monforton M, “Manufacturing Uncertainty: Contested Science and the Protection of the Public’s Health and Environment,” *American Journal of Public Health* 2005 (Suppl 1); 95(51): S39-S48. **L**

The Access Project, *Using Data: A Guide for Community Health Activists*, Boston, MA: The Access Project: www.accessproject.org/downloads/data.pdf

“Use Data to State Your Case,” Sacramento: Center for Health Improvement, 2004 **R**

Workshop (5-6 p.m.): Peggy Toy, Director, Health DATA,
UCLA Center for Health Policy Research

Resources for Workshop:

“CHIS Making an Impact.” Los Angeles: UCLA Center for Health Policy Research, November 2005, pp. 1-4. (Handout; www.chis.ucla.edu/pdf/chis_making_impact.pdf)

UCLA Center for Health Policy Research: www.healthpolicy.ucla.edu

Health DATA (Data Advocacy and Technical Assistance) Program at the UCLA Center for Health Policy Research: www.healthpolicy.ucla.edu/HealthData/index.html

Mar 16 Student Presentations of Term Projects (3-7 pm)