

Professor: Alexandra SIPPEL (Senior Lecturer in British historical studies, Université Toulouse -Jean Jaurès).

Course Title: The British and American healthcare systems since the 1930s.

Number of hours: 20 hours (lectures).

ECTS: 5

Syllabus

Sciences Po Toulouse

DU Anglophone

International and Comparative Studies Diploma

COURSE CONTENT:

This course examines the evolution of public health care systems in the United States of America and in the United Kingdom since the 1930s. In doing so, it shows how both nations attempted to meet their populations' expectations for an access to health services and treatments worthy of global powers. It also sheds light on the widespread resistance to publicly funded and administered services: in the USA, big government has been equated with soviet (or other) socialism for the best part of the twentieth century, and the same fears resurfaced as B. Obama promoted his Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act. Though the post-war consensus was stronger in Britain, it largely fell apart in the late 1970s and the British seem to have now become equally wary of government spending and intervention, even though the National Health Service seems to be the last branch of the welfare state to face a major overhaul.

In order to address the evolution of health care policies in both countries, it is necessary to address some institutional/constitutional background to better understand how nation-wide policies depend on state/nation choices in their daily administration: American states are quite autonomous in their management of Medicaid, and of the more recent Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act. As for Britain, though the NHS is still "National" as the acronym suggests, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland have adopted their own specificities as health falls within the sphere of devolved powers.

Another feature that is worth considering to fully comprehend the increasing distrust governments have met since the 1980s is the general economic context: Keynesianism was superseded by the rise of neo-liberalism among intellectuals first, and then within conservative political parties, drawing the more liberal ones (Dems in the US, and Labour in Britain) more to the center of the political game as Clinton and Blair opted for Third Way politics. The shape of the economy was also paramount in how public opinion viewed public spending in general, as well as benefits and the prospect of universal healthcare in particular.

COURSE OBJECTIVES:

- Comparing and contrasting the creation and evolution of the British National Health Service in Britain after World War II with the US' consistent distrust of "socialised medicine". Comparing and contrasting nationwide systems and local (state or national) variations.

- Understanding how conflicting economic theories gained ground in public opinion, and how the general economic context fostered more demand for reforms of public programs.
- Studying the interplay of public and private actors in the supply of care and treatment.
- Questioning the role of the government in promoting its citizens' health (e.g. by regulation and by information campaigns).

GRADING AND EVALUATION:

Students will be given a written assignment in the last session of the course. 2hrs.

LEARNING RESOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY:

The course is based on official documents, research papers and research monographs. It is also illustrated by press articles and Youtube videos that are used to provide short introductions and overviews of given topics. The following bibliography is a selection of the academic sources I used for this course; it is not limited to these items, nor are students expected to read or have read them all.

Recommended readings:

BELAND, Daniel, ROCCO Philip, WADDAN, Alex. *Obamacare Wars: Federalism, State politics and the Affordable Care Act*. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2016.

CHARLOT, Monica. "L'opinion britannique et le Welfare State". *Revue française de science politique*, n°4-5, 1982, pp. 703-719.

GAWANDE, Atul. "Is Health Care a Right? It's a question that divides Americans, including those from my home town. But it's possible to find common ground." *The New Yorker*, October 2, 2017 Issue.

HAWE, Emma. "Sixty Years of the NHS: Changes in Demographics, Expenditure, Workforce and Family Services." Office of Health Economics, 2008.

HAYES, Nick. "Did we really want a National Health Service? Hospitals, Patients and Public Opinion before 1948". *The English Historical Review*, Vol. CXXVII, Issue 526, 1 June 2012, pp. 625-661.

ROBERTS, John, C. "If Clinton Wins: Little Chance of Major Reforms of Health Care", *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 305, No. 6861 (Oct. 1, 1992), pp. 1041-2.

STARFIELD, Barbara. "US and UK Health Care: A Special Relationship? Why is the Grass Greener?" *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 330, No. 7493 (Mar. 26, 2005), pp. 727-729.

SYDENSTRICKER, Edgar. "Health in the New Deal", *The Annals of the American Society for Political Science*. Vol. 176, Issue 1, Nov., 1934, pp. 131-137.

The website of the Kaiser Family Foundation provides a wealth of data and studies about healthcare in the US.

Further reading:

General overview:

Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Public Health Service, National Institutes of Health. "200 Years of American Medicine (1776-1976)", DHEW Publication No. (NIH) 76-1069.

HARKER, Rachael. "NHS Funding and Expenditure". Briefing Paper No. SN0724, 14 June 2017. www.parliament.uk/commons-library.

SZETER, Simon. "The Population Health Approach in Historical Perspective." *American Journal of Public Health*, March 2003, Vol. 93, No. 3, pp. 421-431.

KNOBLAUCH, Heidi Katherine. "'Campaign won as a Public Issue will stay Won': Using Cartoons and Comics to Fight National Health Care Reform 1940s and Beyond." *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 104, No.2 "Public Health then and now", Feb., 2014.

HOOVER, Kenneth. "The Rise of Conservative Capitalism: Ideological Tensions within the Reagan and Thatcher Governments". *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Apr., 1987), pp. 245-258.

On the birth of the NHS:

Guy DAIN, "the B.M.A. and the N.H.S." *British Medical Journal*, Jul. 5, 1958, pp. 1-3. On the tenth anniversary of the NHS Appointed Day).
 OHE Briefing, No. 13, Dec. 1980, Effects of Prescription Charges.
 WEBSTER, Charles. "Doctors, Public Service and Profit: General Practitioners and the NHS." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 40 (1990), pp. 197-216.

On US attempted reforms and implementation of Medicare and Medicaid.

"Securing Today and tomorrow; Understanding the Benefits" provided by the Social Security Administration. <https://www.ssa.gov/pubs/EN-05-10024.pdf>

"The Hill-Burton Act and Civil Rights: Expanding Hospital Care for Black Southerners, 1939-1960". THOMAS, Karen K. *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 72, No. 4 (Nov. 2006, pp. 823-870).

BELLIN Lowell Eliezer, "The Intellectual Decline of the Health Care Left", *Medical Care*, Vol. 18, No. 19 (Sep., 1980), pp. 960-968.

DeWITT, Larry. "The Development of Social Security in America." *Social Security Bulletin*, Vol. 70, No. 3, 2010.
<https://www.ssa.gov/policy/docs/ssb/v70n3/v70n3p1.html>

Georgetown University Health Policy Institute. Center for children and Families.
<https://ccf.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Snapshot-of-Children%E2%80%99s-Coverage-by-Race-and-Ethnicity.pdf>
<https://kaiserfamilyfoundation.files.wordpress.com/2013/01/7731-03.pdf>
<https://www.kff.org/medicare/timeline/medicare-timeline/>

The Harvard Law Review Association. "Universal Access to Health Care", *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 108, No. 6 (Apr., 1995), pp. 1323-1340.

Medicare Spending and Financing, A Primer, 2011. The Kaiser Foundation.

TOWERS, Bernard. "Prospects for a National Health Service or for Comprehensive Health Insurance", *Journal of Medical Ethics*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Mar., 1977), pp. 42-48.

On the rise of neoliberalism and reforms started in the 1980s and 1990s.

ALTMAN, Drew. "Health Care for the Poor". *The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*, Vol. 468, *Health Care Policy in America* (Jul., 1983), pp. 103-121.

BESLEY, Timothy, & al. "Alternative Systems of Health Care Provision". *Economic Policy*, Vol. 9, No. 19 (Oct., 1994), pp. 199-258.

CARYL, Christian. "The Great Backlash: 1979". *Foreign Policy*, No. 173 (July/August 2009), pp. 50-56.

DAVIS, Karen. "Reagan Administration Health Policy". *Journal of Public Health Policy*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Dec., 1981), pp. 312-332.

DAY, Patricia, KLEIN Rudolf. "The Politics of Modernization: Britain's National Health Service in the 1980s". *The Milbank Quarterly*, Vol. 67, No. 1 (1989), pp. 1-34.

- FAIR, John, D., HUTCHESON, John, A, and Jr. “British Conservatism in the Twentieth Century: An Emerging Ideological Tradition.” *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*. Vol. 19, No. 4 (Winter, 1987), pp. 549-578.
- GREENWALD Leslie, SANDIER Simone. « Le Financement des soins médicaux aux Etats-Unis : Entre lois du marché et régulation. » *Revue d'économie financière*, no. 34, 1995, Le financement de la santé, pp. 255-280.
- GROSS, Neil, MEDVETZ Thomas and RUSSELL, Rupert. “The Contemporary American Conservative Movement”, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 37 (2011), pp. 325-354.
- JORDAN, Jason. “Federalism and Health Care Cost Containment in Comparative Perspective”, *Publius*. Vol. 39, No. 1 “Federalism and Health Policy” (Winter, 2009), pp. 164-186.
- KLEIN, Rudolf. “Big Bang Health Care Reform: Does it Work?: The Case of Britain’s 1991 National Health Service Reforms”. *The Milbank Quarterly*, Vol. 73, No. 3 (1995), pp. 299-337.
- SCOTT-SAMUEL, Alex & al. “The Impact of Thatcherism on Health and Well-Being in Britain”. *International Journal of Health Services*, Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 53-71, 2014.
- STRUYK, Raymond, J., “Administering Social Welfare: The Reagan Record”, *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Summer, 1985), pp. 481-500.
- SUTCLIFFE-BRAITHWAITE, Florence. “Neo-liberalism and Morality in the Making of Thatcherite Social Policy”. *The Historical Journal*. Vol. 55, No. 2 (June, 2012), pp. 497-520.
- VASS, Alex. “Press: Are the Media Losing Faith in the NHS?” *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 323, No. 7318 (Oct. 20, 2001), p. 941.
- WARDEN, John. “Beginning of the End State NHS”, *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 301, No. 6745 (Jul., 28, 1990), p. 199.

On the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act.

- GRUNWALD, Michael. “Think Again: Obama’s New Deal”, *Foreign Policy*, No. 195 (Sept./Oct. 2012), pp. 45-50.
- HOWARD, A.E. Dick. “The Changing Face of the Supreme Court”, *Virginia Law Review*, Vol. 101, No. 2 (April 2015), pp. 231-316.
- PULCINI Joyce. “Policy and Politics: The 2012 Republican and Democratic Health Care Platforms”. *The American Journal of Nursing*, Vol. 112, No. 10 (Oct., 2012), pp. 22-25.
- <https://letsmove.obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/> Michelle Obama’s Let’s Move campaign on the Obama White House website.

Miscellaneous.

- “Statistics on Smoking, England 2017. NHS Digital, National Statistics: Information and Technology for Better Health and Care. 15 June 2017.
- “Tobacco Economics”, Action on Smoking and Health, Facts at a Glance. March 2017. www.ash.org.uk
- CHAMBERS, Stephanie & TRAILL, Bruce. “What the UK public believes causes obesity, and what they want to do about it: a cross-sectional study.” *Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (November 2011), pp. 430-444.
- <https://letsmove.obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/> Michelle Obama’s Let’s Move campaign on the Obama White House website.

PECK Jonathan and BEZOLD, Clement. "Health Care and AIDS", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Vol. 522, "The Future: Trends into the Twenty-First Century" (Jul. 1992), pp. 130-139.

PERSAUD, Rajendra. "Smokers' Rights to Health Care", *Journal of Medical Ethics*, Vol. 21, No. 5 (Oct., 1995), pp. 281-287.

RAYNER, Mike, SCARBOROUGH, Peter. "The Burden of Food Related Ill Health in the UK", *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* (1979-), Vol. 59, No. 12 (Dec., 2005), pp. 1054-1057.

REBROVICK, Tripp. "The Politics of Diet: 'Eco-Dietetics,' Neoliberalism and the History of Dietetic Discourses. *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 4 (Dec. 2015), pp. 678-689.

CALENDAR:

- Session 1: General Introduction: Life expectancy in the twentieth century, the rise of Keynesianism and bases of social security in the interwar and post-war periods.
- Session 2: The creation of the National Health Service (NHS) in Britain in 1948: "a true piece of socialism, a true piece of Christianity too?" (A. Bevan). Plus some evolutions until the 1980s.
- Session 3: Roosevelt's and Truman's failed attempts at including health care into their social security package. 1965 and the creation of Medicare and Medicaid by LB Johnson. (With a focus on the US Constitution as some non-US students may not be very familiar with it).
- Session 4: The rise of intellectual neoliberalism and how it came to pervade political parties, the evolution of the economic context since the 1970s.
- Session 5: How Margaret Thatcher's reforms impacted existing welfare and health care systems: neoliberalism in government. Also: New Labour's and the Coalition's latest reforms.
- Session 6: Bill Clinton's plan. "Romneycare" in Massachusetts.
- Session 7: The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act: from the original project to the final version. Promises, protests, compromise.
- Session 8: The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, continued, with a focus on its foreseeable future. And: questions that both the US and the UK are facing (from a choice of several possible topics including but not limited to obesity, addictions, smoking).
- Session 9: A Focus on a choice of possible topics according to students' interests: First Ladies and healthcare in the US; the HIV-AIDS crisis and how treatments became available; how the price of drugs and treatments is fixed; NHS Scotland as different from NHS England.
- Session 10: final written exam: short essay questions, 2hrs.