

## Health, Politics, and Culture: Medicare and Medicaid Policy in the 1960s

*CLUSTER 60CW - AMERICA 1954-1974 - SEM 5*

<b>Class Location:</b>	PUB AFF 2278	<b>Class Meeting Time</b>	M 3pm - 5:50pm PT
<b>Instructor:</b>	Ryan Baxter-King (he/him)	<b>Email:</b>	ryanbaxterking@ucla.edu
<b>Office Location:</b>	Bunche Hall 4337	<b>Zoom Office Hours:</b>	<a href="https://tinyurl.com/OH-60s-2024">tinyurl.com/OH-60s-2024</a>



*Photo Credit: LBJ Presidential Library*

**Course Description:** This seminar examines the intersection of health, politics, and policy through a case study of Medicare's and Medicaid's emergence in the 1960s. By studying this massive expansion of federal involvement in healthcare policy, students will learn about presidential power, the lawmaking process, and the implementation of public policy. The course will also examine the effect of these programs on public health and whether all parts of society benefited equally from their implementation. Finally, students will be invited to think about how government efforts to improve society's health shapes individuals' engagement with the political process -- and what this means for democracy.

## Learning Goals

<p><b>Foundational Knowledge</b></p> <p><i>Key Information</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Recall key details of case studies</li> <li>● Recall the theoretical arguments of classic political science and public policy theories</li> </ul> <p><i>Key Ideas</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● How political actors can(not) affect policy</li> <li>● How policy influences voters' lives</li> <li>● How politics/policy affects voters' political attitudes and behaviors</li> <li>● When voters demand changes in policy</li> </ul>	<p><b>Application Goals</b></p> <p><i>Critical thinking</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Evaluate whether a specific case study supports a specific social science theory</li> <li>● Interpret the behavior of political actors using theoretical frameworks</li> <li>● Interpret the attitudes and behaviors of voters using theoretical frameworks</li> </ul> <p><i>Research Skills: Reading and Writing</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Reading scientific articles and books</li> <li>● Conducting original research</li> <li>● Constructing and writing an original essay</li> </ul>
<p><b>Integration Goals</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Identify (dis)similarities between the actions different political actors can take</li> <li>● Understand how actors in different parts of the political system affect each other and public policy</li> <li>● Apply knowledge of the political system to current events</li> </ul>	<p><b>Human Dimensions Goals</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Understand and challenge personal assumptions (e.g. about policy, political actors, and politics)</li> <li>● Understand why other individuals might hold different political positions</li> </ul>
<p><b>Caring Goals</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Feel confident in reading and interpreting current events (e.g. the behavior of politicians, reasoning about the benefits, costs, and implications of public policy)</li> <li>● Identify new areas in which you are interested in (e.g. current events, public policy, public health, or social sciences)</li> <li>● Leave the course with a foundation of knowledge as well as questions you are interested in exploring in the future</li> </ul>	<p><b>“Learning-How-to-Learn” Goals</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Balancing in-depth knowledge of a subject area with high-level takeaways</li> <li>● Testing the implications of theoretical arguments in a real-world context</li> <li>● Connecting arguments from one topic area (e.g. the presidency or Congress) with those from another topic area (e.g. public policy)</li> </ul>

## *Course Materials*

All course readings for this course will be posted on the course website, available through the UCLA library (e.g. journal articles), or available on a public website. Readings posted on CCLE are for your use in this course; do not circulate or share these readings.

## *Course Policies*

**Email:** As the instructor, my goal is to respond to emails within 24 hours, excluding weekends and holidays. I will attempt to respond to urgent emails more quickly. However, to ensure a timely resolution please reach out as soon as possible if and when you encounter any issues or have something you would like to discuss.

**Office Hours:** While seminar discussions occur in a shared space, office hours are an opportunity for one-on-one discussion between students and the instructor. Time is available each week if you would like to discuss the class readings, the research paper, or other topics. While some students find attending office hours to be daunting, I highly encourage everyone to attend regularly, even (or especially) if this is something outside of your comfort zone. Office hours will be held by Zoom and can be scheduled on Calendly. Please email me if you have a recurring conflict during the standard office hour slots.

- Link: <https://calendly.com/ryanbaxterking/office-hours-60s-cluster-1>

**CCLE:** Readings for each week will be available in advance via CCLE or via a URL provided on the syllabus. Students will also submit assignments through CCLE. Please make sure you can log in before the first class and contact the instructor with any issues.

**Attendance:** If you are unable to come to class, please email me as soon as possible to request an excused absence. Excused absences, which must be confirmed before the start of class, will not count against your attendance and participation grade. However, students may be required to demonstrate engagement with the material in an alternative learning mode, for example attending office hours or submitting an additional writing assignment. Unexcused absences will count against your participation grade.

**Extensions and Late Work:** Written assignment due dates are carefully scheduled throughout the quarter so that you have the necessary tools to engage in the assignment, make incremental progress on your research paper, and ensure that I have enough time to provide you with feedback before the next assignment. If you require an extension, email me as soon as possible.

In general, requests for extensions made within 48 hours of the assignment deadline will not be granted and will receive a 10% deduction.

**Accommodations:** If you require an accommodation, please let me know. I am happy to work with you. As part of this, please submit a “Request for Service” to the Center for Accessible Education (CAE) as soon as possible.

**Academic Integrity:** As noted in section C, subsection 102.01 in the UCLA’s Student Conduct Code:

“All forms of academic misconduct or research misconduct, including, but not limited to, cheating, fabrication or falsification, plagiarism, multiple submissions or facilitating academic misconduct which occurs in academic exercises or submissions.”

**Acknowledgement:** Thank you to Professor Zachary Oberfield for sharing his syllabi for his courses on *The Congress* and *The American Presidency*.

**COVID-19 and Attendance:** Attendance is especially important in discussion-based courses like this seminar. However, one lesson from the COVID-19 pandemic is the importance of protecting ourselves, our families, close contacts, and each other. I intend to be flexible with attendance this quarter to facilitate both learning and the protection of our health. I trust that you will follow university policies and common sense in choosing whether to come to class. If you are unable to attend class, I will work with you to find opportunities for you to demonstrate engagement with the course material.

### *Assignments and Grading*

Each Week:		Research Paper:	
Class Participation	25%	Identify Case Study	10%
Weekly Reading Questions	5%	Identify Political Actor	10%
		Rough Draft	15%
		Final Draft	35%

#### **Class Participation:**

This class is a discussion-based seminar with minimal lecturing from the instructor. This format places a greater emphasis on student participation. Engagement within the classroom often takes

many forms including participation in small group discussions, active listening, and avoiding distractions (e.g. texting, side conversations). Participation also includes speaking during discussions with the entire class. Speaking in front of larger groups is easier for some people than others. If you find yourself speaking often, consider switching to an active listening role for a portion of the discussion. If you find yourself speaking less, please watch for an opportunity to engage in the discussion. If you find yourself unable to do this, please talk with me about potentially finding alternative ways to demonstrate your engagement.

### **Weekly Reading Questions:**

Each week, students will answer several reading questions on CCLE about that week's readings. So that I have time to review these questions before class and incorporate the answers into our discussion, **reading questions must be submitted by Monday at 8:00am PT.**

To help ensure work-life balance, students will not answer reading questions on weeks where one of the research paper assignments is due. However, students should still expect to participate in similar discussions about the readings in class on these weeks. Given that extenuating circumstances often arise in the course of a quarter, students may also pick **one week** in which to skip the reading questions with no questions asked and without notifying the instructor.

As with all assignments submitted during this course, your answers to these reading questions must reflect only your own work. I encourage you to discuss the readings with your classmates before class. However, your answers to these reading questions may not be coordinated with other students.

### **Research Paper:**

Over the course of the quarter, students will write an 8-10 page (double-spaced) research paper on a policy passed in the 1960s or 1970s. In addition to learning about the policy, students will analyze the actions of a specific political actor, either the president at the time the policy was passed or a Member of Congress who voted on the policy. The focus of the paper will vary slightly depending on whether students choose to study a president or a Member of Congress:

- A. Which of the two theories of presidential power discussed in this course better explains whether the president succeeded or failed in passing the specific policy?
- B. Using the two theories of legislative behavior discussed in the course, explain why this Member of Congress voted in the way that they did. As part of this discussion, explain which (or both) of the theories is more consistent with this decision.

Through this assignment, students will gain experience conducting original qualitative research and using a new case study to evaluate social science theories. In order to spread the work out over the course of the quarter, this research paper consists of four incremental assignments. **All assignments are due before the start of class on the week they are due.**

- **Week 4 - Identify Case Study:** Identify a case study from the 1960s or 1970s (i.e. a policy passed by Congress and signed by the president). Submit a one page (Times New Roman, double-spaced, 12 point font, 1 inch margins) paper describing the case study (e.g. what did the policy do, who were the main supporters of the policy, who was president at the time, were there any other major political actors involved in the process, is the policy still in place). All information should have a citation and the paper should cite at least four distinct sources. All citations should be located on a second page.
- **Week 6 - Identify Political Actor:** Identify either (a) the president or (b) a specific Member of Congress as the focus of the research paper. Submit a one page (Times New Roman, double-spaced, 12 point font, 1 inch margins) paper giving background on the actor and describing whether the actor supported or opposed the policy. An assignment prompt will be distributed separately.
- **Week 8 - Rough Draft:** Submit a rough draft of the research paper. An assignment prompt will be distributed separately.
- **Finals Week - Final Draft:** Submit a final draft of the research paper. An assignment prompt will be distributed separately.

## Course Outline

Week 1   Introduction to Medicare and Medicaid	
Prior to class read:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Kaiser Family Foundation Documentary (17 minutes, <a href="#">Link</a>)</li><li>2. Dickerson 2013 article (<a href="#">Slate</a>, <a href="#">CBS</a>)</li></ol>
Due before class:	Nothing!
Question of the Week	What is Medicare and Medicaid?
Research Skill:	How to <u>read</u> a social science theory; Academic honesty and avoiding plagiarism

Week 2   Presidential Power	
Prior to class read:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Neustadt 1960, Ch. 1-3</li><li>2. Blumenthal and Morone 2010, Ch. 5</li></ol>
Due on Monday at 8:00 AM	Weekly Reading Questions
Question of the Week	Is presidential power the power to persuade?
Research Skill:	How to <u>test</u> a social science theory

Week 3   Presidential Power	
Prior to class read:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Kernell 2006, Ch. 1-2</li><li>2. Blumenthal and Morone 2010, Ch. 4</li></ol>
Due on Monday at 8:00 AM	Weekly Reading Questions
Question of the Week	Is presidential power the power to put public pressure on other political actors?
Research Skill:	Finding case studies for your research paper

Week 4   Congress	
Prior to class read:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Mayhew 1974, Part 1</li> <li>2. Marmor 1973, Ch. 3-4</li> </ol>
Due on Monday <i>before</i> class:	Assignment #1: Identify Case Study
Question of the Week	What motivates Members of Congress?
Research Skill:	Providing peer-to-peer feedback

Week 5   Congress	
Prior to class read:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Fenno 1978, Ch. 1, 5</li> <li>2. Smith and Moore 2008, Ch. 2 (p. 19-23, p. 26-40)</li> <li>3. Duscha 1968 (<a href="#">NY Times</a>; <a href="#">ProQuest</a>)</li> </ol>
Due on Monday at 8:00 AM	Weekly Reading Questions
Question of the Week	How do Members of Congress view the world?
Research Skill:	Gathering qualitative evidence for the research paper (1/2)

Week 6   Policymaking and the Bureaucracy	
Prior to class read:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Olson 2010, Ch. 2</li> <li>2. Podcast Episode TBA</li> </ol>
Due on Monday <i>before</i> class:	Assignment #2: Identify Political Actor
Question of the Week	What happens to a policy once Congress and then the President passes a law?
Research Skill:	<i>Visit from librarians:</i> Gathering qualitative evidence for the research paper (2/2)



<b>Week 7   Policymaking and the Bureaucracy</b>	
Prior to class read:	1. Michener 2018, Ch. 1, 3, 5
Due on Monday at 8:00 AM	Weekly Reading Questions
Question of the Week	How is policy shaped by the interaction of national, state, and local governments
Research Skill:	Reading quantitative social science articles (1/2)

<b>Week 8   Public Opinion and Policy Preferences</b>	
Prior to class read:	1. Zaller 1992, Ch. 1-3 2. Haselswerdt 2020 ( <a href="#">Link</a> ) * <i>* Discuss reading strategy in class Week 7</i>
Due on Monday <i>before</i> class:	Assignment #3: Rough Draft of Final Paper
Question of the Week	Where do voters' opinions about politics and policy come from?
Research Skill:	Reading quantitative social science articles (2/2)

<b>Week 9   Experience with Government and Political Participation</b>	
Prior to class read:	1. Mettler 2011 (Intro., Ch. 1, 5) 2. Baicker and Finkelstein 2019 ( <a href="#">Link</a> ) <i>* Discuss reading strategy in class Week 8</i>
Due on Monday at 8:00 AM	Weekly Reading Questions
Question of the Week	How do voters' experiences with government policies influence their opinions and political participation?
Research Skill:	Incorporating written feedback into future drafts

Week 10   Tentative: Politics and COVID-19	
Prior to class read:	TBA
Due on Monday at 8:00 AM	Weekly Reading Questions
Question of the Week	How did politics and the COVID-19 pandemic influence each other?
Research Skill:	Writing introductions and conclusions

Finals Week
Final Paper due by the end of Finals Week

### *Books and Articles: Full Citations*

Baicker, Katherine, and Amy Finkelstein. "The Impact of Medicaid Expansion on Voter Participation: Evidence from the Oregon Health Insurance Experiment." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 14, no. 4 (2019): 383-400.

Blumenthal, David, and James Morone. *The heart of power: health and politics in the Oval Office*. Univ of California Press, 2010.

Dickerson, John. "Kennedycare." *Slate*, November 18, 2013.  
<https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2013/11/john-f-kennedys-health-care-failure-jfk-and-barack-obamas-tough-fights-to-reform-health-care.html>.

Duscha, Julius. "The Most Important Man on Capitol Hill Today." *New York Times Magazine* 25 (1968): 76.

- Link: <https://www.proquest.com/docview/118340464/pageviewPDF/D85B5981B9934159PQ/7>

Haselswerdt, Jake. "Carving out: Isolating the true effect of self-interest on policy attitudes." *American Political Science Review* 114, no. 4 (2020): 1103-1116.

Kaiser Family Foundation "Medicare and Medicaid at 50." *KFF* (blog), April 14, 2015.  
<https://www.kff.org/medicare/video/medicare-and-medicare-at-50/>.

Kernell, Samuel. *Going public: New strategies of presidential leadership*. Cq Press, 2006.

Marmor, Theodore R. *The politics of Medicare*. Routledge, 1973.

Mettler, Suzanne. *The submerged state: How invisible government policies undermine American democracy*. University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Michener, Jamila. *Fragmented democracy: Medicaid, federalism, and unequal politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Neustadt, Richard E. *Presidential power*. New York: New American Library, 1960.

Olson, Laura Katz. *The politics of Medicaid*. Columbia University Press, 2010.

Smith, David G., and Judith D. Moore. *Medicaid politics and policy*. Routledge, 2017.

Zaller, John R. *The nature and origins of mass opinion*. Cambridge university press, 1992.

Zernike, Kate, Abby Goodnough, and Pam Belluck. "In Health Bill's Defeat, Medicaid Comes of Age." *The New York Times*, March 27, 2017, sec. Health.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/27/health/medicaid-obamacare.html>.

## *Additional Resources:*

### **Writing Resources:**

- UCLA Undergraduate Writing Center Online Resources
  - <https://wp.ucla.edu/wc/resources/handouts-for-students/>
- The Chicago Manual of Style:
  - <https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/16/contents.html>
- Purdue Online Writing Lab
  - [https://owl.purdue.edu/owl/purdue\\_owl.html](https://owl.purdue.edu/owl/purdue_owl.html)

### **Other Resources:**

- Information for students about COVID-19
  - <https://newsroom.ucla.edu/faq-for-students-COVID-19>
- Learning Disabilities
  - <https://www.osd.ucla.edu>
- Center for Accessible Education
  - <https://cae.ucla.edu>
- UCLA Office of Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion
  - <https://equity.ucla.edu/>
- Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS):
  - <https://www.counseling.ucla.edu>
- Sexual Harassment/Sexual Violence
  - <http://www.sexualharassment.ucla.edu>
- UCLA Student in Crisis Resources
  - <https://studentincrisis.ucla.edu/>
- Bias Reporting
  - <https://www.reportincidents.ucla.edu>
- LGBTQ Campus Resource Center
  - <https://www.lgbt.ucla.edu/>