

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Abstract Approved:

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The role of political parties within legislation has been greatly debated over the decades. As health care continues to be an issue of concerns and contention, the question of how politics affects this industry is of importance. Utilizing Congressional records and websites to determine roll call and voice voting within both chambers of Congress, allowed for the analysis of voting patterns and trends. The data demonstrated that control of both the Legislative and Executive branch were ultimately not needed for passage of health policy and that there is no strong definitive split among the parties toward specific policy subjects within health care. Both parties have made significant contributions, and historically have overwhelmingly worked together to pass health related policy.

Key Words: health policy, political party, health care, congressional voting

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The Role of Political Party in Health Policy

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I understand that my project will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University, University Honors College. My signature below authorizes release of my project to any reader upon request.

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The Role of Political Party in Health Policy

INTRODUCTION

Health and Politics

The passage of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act in 2010 once again reignited the political scene in the United States and was the culmination of nearly a century of health reform efforts (Jacobs and Skocpol 2010). This debate covered a wide range of issues but often settled with what the government's role in healthcare is, and subsequently how much sway should politics and political parties have within this industry. It has been argued that the political system of the United States is not established in a way that allows the parties themselves to have the strongest influence over the policies, but rather interest groups who invest resources into campaigns and donations to parties and candidates (Andersen 2007). However, the vast majority of political focus within the US governing system is within the scope of political parties and more specifically the two largest and most influential parties; Democratic and Republican.

The governing document of each political party for a four-year span is the party platform, which illustrates their focus, belief and commitments. Due to the ever changing culture, demographics, political scene and legislation within the United States, party platform gives a good baseline of understanding of the goal of the party. The platform provides a framework of political focus for the next four years and outlines the party's role in advocating for and promoting legislation within areas of interest for both party

members and the American Public in general (Pomper 1967).

The evolution of the platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties since 1935 demonstrates how each party has developed its particular stance on health policy issues and thus provides a good introduction. This project looks specifically at how health policy is influenced and affected by the political ideology and party platform in the Legislative and Executive branches.

Democratic Platform

The evolution of the Democratic health policy platform began in 1948. There was a call to action in establishing a national health plan, support of services for Americans with disabilities, expansion of care for pregnant women, children, and individuals with mental health concerns (Democratic Party Platform of 1948.)

After years of war and international economic struggle, both party platforms focused on creating a healthy economy, emphasizing small business support, taxes, and defense. Both platforms also focus on ending racial segregation.

In 1952 the platform makes mention of health care by touching on increasing research, education, hospitals and decreasing health care costs (Democratic Party Platform of 1952). By 1956 the issue of health care and health of the nation was a staple in the platform as national leadership began to accept that health standards were sinking while costs were rising. Although brief mention was made prior, 1956 also saw the first expanded focus on medical research in the Democratic Party with a commitment to the continuation of these practices, which contributed to a bloom in medical innovation (Democratic Party Platform of 1956).

In 1960 the health policy platform had expanded to include topics such as manpower, aging populations, mental health and hospitals (Democratic Party Platform of 1960). The 1964 platform placed strong emphasis on the training and education of medical professionals, access and care for historically voiceless populations such as children, individuals with mental health issues and migrant workers, as well as the first mention of a prevention focus dealing with smoking habits (Democratic Party Platform of 1964).

The term "coordinated care" was first found in the 1968 platform as attempts were made to reign in rapidly increasing health costs (Democratic Party Platform of 1968).

During the 1980s, the focus of the platform began to shift even more toward access to all Americans with a call for a national health insurance program providing universal coverage (Democratic Party Platform of 1980) and as the 90s were ushered in, the Democratic platform again remained true to the focus of prevention through disease research and immunization efforts (Democratic Party Platform of 1992). After following a similar path for the next several decades and witnessing the implementation of health care reform, the 2012 platform pushed forward a commitment to access, community based approaches to public health and disease prevention (Democratic Party Platform of 2012).

Republican Platforms

In 1944, although healthcare was not a focus of the platform, several mentions were made to address health issues such as continued support of federal programs that aid maternal and child health, dependent children and blind individuals, as well as low

income housing, social security and unemployment insurance to those not already receiving coverage (Republican Party Platform of 1944).

The 1952 Republican platform placed a strong emphasis on the protection of natural resources and clean water. It was stated however, that the focus of Republican health efforts would be on legislation that adequately divided the health care responsibility within all the players in the health field and only policies that did not interfere with local health administration would be supported. Thus the party made clear their lack of support for compulsory health insurance (Republican Party Platform of 1952).

In 1956, the Republican Platform placed stronger emphasis on research and training for medical professionals with an additional focus of cutting costs (Republican Party Platform of 1956). As the platform moved into the 60s the Republican party began to define their focus within health care. The party honed in on strengthening and supporting the private side of health delivery with limited funds allocated to assisting those in need, as well as a focus on disability protection and rehabilitation (Republican Party Platform of 1960).

Under the leadership of President Nixon in the 1970s, the Republican Platform saw an even greater increase on controlling health care cost. A push against national health insurance came by promoting managed care and increasing research to fuel this commitment (Republican Party Platform of 1972).

In the 80s, the focus of the platform became consumer rights and patient choice as a means to reduce costs and increase choices for the consumer. The party also strongly supported the focus on preventative health care models and reimbursement methods as

the ultimate way to cut costs within health care and improve the health of the nation (Republican Party Platform of 1980).

In 1992, health care was a prominent part of the platform as Republicans sought to tackle rising health care costs, but still continued to reiterate their commitment to a focus on preventative care not just treatment (Republican Party Platform of 1992). In 1996 a major health care focus of the platform was Medicare stabilization as well as a call for the restructuring of Medicaid to State control and once again a large emphasis on preventative care (Republican Party Platform of 1996).

In the past several years, PPACA has dominated health care debate. The platform contains a call to repeal the legislation and return health care control to the states and ultimately the consumer with an emphasis on promoting competition to reduce costs. Also a significant portion of the platform deals with tort reform as a means to reduce the amount of defensive medical practice, lower health care spending and increase quality (Republican Party Platform of 2012).

METHODS

This study was done primarily through examination of the Congressional Record and government websites such as the Library of Congress, Senate.gov, House.gov and Thomas.loc.gov. After determining the timeline to focus on, 1935 to present, the major health policies were identified. Records could not be obtained for health policy from 1936 to 1954, so the 14 health policies that fall into this time frame have been omitted from this project's analysis. From here the public law number was referenced for each law. Using a congressional primer, each public law was cross-referenced with its bill number.

Since congressional voting records only exist on government websites for years prior to 1895 and after the year 1989, the majority of the research done for this project was through physical copies of Congressional Records found through several library systems within Oregon. Approximately half of the records existed in the *Congressional Index*, which includes a brief description of the voting record within both houses of Congress for any policy that was passed through Roll Call vote. For the bills that did not exist in this reference, the Congressional Record index for the corresponding year was searched and the page number, which referenced the particular bill was recorded. After obtaining the page number, the page was located and voice vote or roll call vote was established.

The voting records were noted by how many Senate Democrats voted for and against a bill and how many Senate Republicans voted for and against. The same procedure was used to record House Democrat and Republican voting on the same bills.

The total number of Senate and House Democrats and Republicans was also noted to illustrate any members of either chamber who did not vote. For policies passed after 1989, the Library of Congress THOMAS website was utilized to track down vote tallies for Roll Call votes.

Once voting records were obtained each bill was categorized into one of 12 primary categories based on the target and language of the bill. The categories are Fiscal, Governance, Safety, Prevention, Access, Quality, Education, Business, Insurance, Regulation, Research and Environment. For a definition of each category see Appendix F. From this stage the number of each category of bill within the House and Senate was determined and compared against total party numbers.

After this data was established, each policy's congressional voting record was cross-referenced with which chamber of congress was the majority and who was president at the time. This comparison provided unique insights as to how the policy process was impacted.

Also noted was the number of policies passed through each house by unanimous consent, which made fairly strong representation in the data. After analyzing voting patterns and comparing control, each party's voting record was determined on health policies and also the major focuses of the party with which type of policies were passed under their party's control of Congress and/or the White House.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Congress and Policy

Out of 184 laws documented in this project, 35 of them received a unanimous vote for passage from the Senate and 5 within the House of Representatives, meaning all Democrats and Republican were in agreement to pass the law as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. House Unanimous Policy Passage

Year	Policy Title
2002	Medical Device User Fee and Modernization Act
	Mental Health Parity Reauthorization Act
2003	State Children's Health Insurance Program Allotments Extension
2004	Anabolic Steroid Control Act
2006	Pandemic and all-hazards Preparedness Act

Senate Unanimous Policy Passage

1996	Departments of Veterans Affairs, Housing and Urban Development and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act
1998	Controlled Substances Trafficking Prohibition Act
	Ricky Ray Hemophilia Relief Fund Act
1999	Veterans Millennium Health Care and Benefits Act
2000	Breast and Cervical Cancer Prevention and Treatment act
	Needle stick safety and prevention act
	Minority health and health disparities research and education act
	Medicare, Medicaid and SCHIP benefits improvement and protection act of 2000
2001	National institute of biomedical imaging and bioengineering establishment act
	Emergency supplemental appropriations act for recovery from and response to Terrorist Attacks on the US
	Best pharmaceuticals for Children's Act
	Native American Breast and Cervical Caner Treatment Technical Amendment Act
2002	Medical Device User Fee and Modernization Act

	Health care Safety Net Amendments of 2002
	Rare Diseases Act
	Mental Health Parity Reauthorization Act
2003	State Children's Health Insurance Program Allotments Extension
	Pediatric Research Equity Act
	Veterans Health Care, Capital Asset and Business Improvement Act
2004	Organ Donation And Recovery Improvement Act
	Garrett Lee Smith Memorial Act
	Anabolic Steroid Control Act
2005	Patient Navigator Outreach An Chronic Disease Prevention Act
	Patient Safety And Quality Improvement Act
2006	Children's Hospital GME Support Reauthorization Act of 2006
	Ryan White HIV/AIDS Treatment Modernization Act of 2006
	Pandemic and all-hazards Preparedness Act
2007	National Breast and Cervical Cancer Early Detection Program Reauthorization Act of 2007
	Trauma Care Systems Planning and Development Act of 2007
	American National Red Cross Governance Modernization Act of 2007
	Food and Drug Administration Amendments Act of 2007
	Medicare, Medicaid and SCHIP Extension Act of 2007
2008	Health Care Safety Net Act of 2008
	Breast Cancer and Environmental Research Act of 2008
	Poison Center Support, Enhancement and Awareness Act of 2008
2010	Early Hearing Detection and Intervention Act of 2010
	Preservation of Access to Care for Medicare Beneficiaries and Pension Relief Act of 2010
2011	National Alzheimer's Project Act
2013	Medicare IVIG Access Act
	Pandemic and All-Hazards Preparedness Reauthorization Act of 2013
	Children's Hospital GME Support Reauthorization Act of 2013
	PREEMIE Reauthorization Act
	HIV Organ Policy Equity Act

123 of the laws were passed under a Democratic controlled House and Senate and 40 under a Republican controlled Congress. Of the remaining, 12 were passed in a split Congress with a Democratic majority in the House of Representative and Republican majority in The Senate, and 10 were passed in a Democratic majority in the Senate and Republican majority in the House. Interestingly, the longest consecutive run of

Democratic controlled Congress and Presidency yielded 28 health laws passed and the longest consecutive run of Republican controlled Congress and Presidency yielded 39 health policies passed. A break down of the most represented categories of policy suggests that Democrats and Republicans have similar health care focuses.

Looking at Republican control over both House and Senate, the top two categories of policy passed were access and safety. A similar pattern is seen in the Democrat controlled House and Senate with the top two categories represented being access and safety. The majority in a split congress with Democratic control of the house and Republican control of the Senate yielded a focus on fiscal policy. Table 2 shows the break down of policy categories passed by Congressional control.

Table 2. Policy Categories

Republican Control of House and Senate

Category	Number of Policies Passed
Fiscal	3
Governance	1
Safety	8
Prevention	1
Access	12
Quality	6
Education	3
Business	1
Insurance	2
Regulation	1
Research	2
Environment	0

Democratic Control of House and Senate

Category	Number of Policies Passed
Fiscal	9
Governance	4
Safety	18

Prevention	6
Access	22
Quality	10
Education	17
Business	0
Insurance	10
Regulation	12
Research	4
Environment	10

The goal of this project was to analyze the role of political party within health policy. The more health care has entered the forefront of public focus, the more it has become a contentious and polarizing issue leading to the idea that strong differences between the parties exist when it comes to health policy.

Although over the past 8 years a hostile political atmosphere in Congress has played a large role in creating more divisions among Democrats and Republicans, the data shows a tendency of both parties to jointly vote in favor of passing the health policies.

Table 3 demonstrates that only a small representation of laws show a strong division between parties toward the passage of a law. This is seen through a high opposing (no) vote by the minority party toward the passage of a bill in both chambers of Congress. The shaded regions represent which party is the majority at the time.

Table 3. Strong Minority Party Policy Passage Opposition

Year	President	Policy Title	House Voting					
			Democrats			Republicans		
			Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
1954	Eisenhower	Atomic Energy Act	36	146	213	195	7	221
1965	Johnson	Appalachian Redevelopment Act	232	56	295	25	109	140
1974	Ford	Nonprofit Hospital Amendments	167	53	242	38	140	192
1986	Reagan	The Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act	118	130	253	153	24	182

1987	Reagan	OBRA	193	51	258	44	130	177
1990	GHW Bush	OBRA	181	74	260	47	126	175
1993	Clinton	OBRA	217	41	258	0	175	176
2003	GW Bush	Medicare Prescription Drug, Improvement and Modernization Act	16	189	205	204	25	229
2005	GW Bush	Deficit Reduction Act	0	196	202	212	9	232
2009	Obama	Children's Health Insurance Program Reauthorization Act of 2009	249	2	257	40	137	178
2009	Obama	American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009	246	7	257	0	176	178
2010	Obama	Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act	243	0	257	0	173	178
2010	Obama	Health Care and Education Reconciliation Act of 2010	220	33	257	0	178	178

Senate Voting

Year	President	Policy Title	Democrats			Republicans		
			Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
1954	Eisenhower	Atomic Energy Act	13	25	47	44	2	48
1965	Johnson	Appalachian Redevelopment Act	51	7	68	11	15	32
1974	Ford	Nonprofit Hospital Amendments	46	6	56	18	21	42
1986	Reagan	The Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act	22	22	47	39	9	53
1987	Reagan	OBRA	43	5	55	18	23	45
1990	GHW Bush	OBRA	35	20	55	19	25	45
1993	Clinton	OBRA	50	6	57	0	44	44
2003	GW Bush	Medicare Prescription Drug, Improvement and Modernization Act	11	35	48	42	9	51
2005	GW Bush	Deficit Reduction Act	2	41	44	50	5	55
2009	Obama	Children's Health Insurance Program Reauthorization Act of 2009	56	0	57	9	32	41
2009	Obama	American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009	56	0	57	3	38	41
2010	Obama	Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act	54	0	57	2	39	41
2010	Obama	Health Care and Education Reconciliation Act of 2010	54	3	57	0	40	41

Presidents and Policy

Of the 184 policies that were analyzed in this study, 116 were passed under a Republican President and 68 under a Democratic president. The presidency that has produced the most number of health policies to date has been George W. Bush who signed 36 bills into laws, with half of the laws dealing with either access or safety (see Table 4 and Appendix A and B).

The presidential era that shows the largest amount of strong party division on voting for bill passage is under President Obama, with 4 policies in which the largest proportion of the minority party opposed the passage of the bill.

The presidency that yielded the highest proportion of minority opposition to total policies passed was President GHW Bush. This presidency yielded a total of 8 health policies, 3 of which were not supported by the Republicans and passed mainly on the Democratic majority in both the House and the Senate.

A further break down of the data shows that 100 of the policies were passed by a president whose political party did not have a majority in Congress. This demonstrates that over 50% of health policies, within the scope of this project, were passed through joint party cooperation, and that the topic of health care on the whole tends to cross party lines.

A break down of top health policy categories passed under each president is seen in Table 4.

Table 4. Top Policy Categories by President

President	Category of Policy	Number of Policies within Category Passed
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Obama	Access	4
GW Bush	Access	10
Clinton	Access	3
	Fiscal	3
GHW Bush	Access	2
	Regulation	2
	Fiscal	2
Reagan	Fiscal	7
Carter	Quality	3
Ford	Safety	3
	Education	3
	Access	3
	Regulation	3
Nixon	Safety	7
Johnson	Access	6
Kennedy	Quality	2
Eisenhower	Access	2
	Environment	2
	Quality	2

This table demonstrates that among the presidents, the focus on passing policy dealing with increasing access has been substantial.

Beginning with President Eisenhower, policies dealing with access have been the top or one of the top policies passed for 7 out of the 9 presidents represented in this study. There is also a mix of both Republican and Democratic Presidents focusing health policy on access.

Table 4 also demonstrates that there is a wide variety of health policy focuses among the presidents and does not show any strong patterns of a president's political party affecting the type of policy that is passed since both Democratic and Republican presidents passed policy within the different categories.

Unanimous Decisions

Within the scope of this project, the research showed that the House of Representatives passed 5 policies with unanimous consent and the Senate passed 35 laws with unanimous consent. Interestingly, all unanimous votes in both the House and the Senate came under the presidency of George W. Bush or Barack Obama.

All five policies in the House were passed during Republican control of both chambers of Congress during President GW Bush's presidency. The split between the minority and majority party remained fairly close in both chambers of Congress throughout this presidency, which essentially again demonstrates a willingness of both parties to work together.

CONCLUSION

The data in this study did not reveal a tendency by one party or the other to vote for policies that primarily benefitted specific people groups, organizations or government agencies. Instead, what was uncovered was that the public and historical expectations of political parties to propose and vote for certain types of policies, tends to obscure the true political goals of the parties.

This study has shown that the majority of policies passed under both Republican and Democratic controlled Congress and Presidency, were voted into law by members of both parties and most often by a majority in both parties. This suggests that very few health policies were passed with high level of dissent in the minority party.

Another key finding of this study was that, Executive and Legislative control by one political party was not ultimately necessary for the passage of health policy. The majority of the policies were passed by a Republican president working with a Democratic House and Senate (80 policies), and a Democratic president working with a Republican controlled House and Senate passed 15 policies. This results in only 67 of the analyzed policies being passed by a single party controlling both Legislative and Executive branches.

Interestingly, ideology did affect the voting on some policies, most of which tended to fall into the fiscal category, showing that the biggest divide within health policy among the parties lies with budget, appropriations of funds, monetary reform issues and other matters pertaining to more immediate economic repercussions.

Party platforms exist to show the values, focus and determination of a party and what their goal is for the course of the country for the coming four years. The language of both parties' most recent platforms shows that the focus is on decreasing costs and increasing access for Americans. The political language overshadows the similarity of the goals, and public perception of the parties being highly divided plays heavily into the continued polarization.

Looking further, one can see that although much of the party platform over the years has been centered on prevention, only 9 policies out of the 184 analyzed have actually focused on preventative practices or programs.

The findings of this study show that health care is an important issue for both Republicans and Democrats. Although ideological differences do exist between the two parties in terms of fiscal health policies, environmental health policies and implementation measures, the main focus of providing affordable quality care, education and preventative services to as many Americans as possible is common to both parties.

Ultimately, the similarities in policy dealing with access, safety and quality by both parties demonstrates not only that historically both parties work together, but that minus public perception and platform evolution over time, both parties are interested in the same general outcome. Thus, if both parties can find a way to change the public perception of a highly divided political spectrum, health policy can continue to be an area of integrated political action.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A**Voice Passed in The House of Representatives**

Year Passed	President	Majority Party	Policy Title
1955	Eisenhower	Democratic	Air Pollution Control Act
1956			Polio Vaccination Assistance Act Dependents Medical Care Act National Health Survey Act Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1956 Health Amendments Act
1958			Grants-in-Aid to Schools of Public Health Food Additive Amendment
1959			Indian Sanitation Facilities Act Federal Employee Health Benefits Act
1962	Kennedy		Health Services for Agriculture migratory Workers Act
1963			Health Professions Educational Assistance Act Maternal and Child Health And Mental Retardation Planning Amendments
1964	Johnson		Hospital and Medical Facilities Amendments Economic opportunity Act Nurse Training Act
1965			Heart Disease, Cancer and Stroke Amendments
1966			Child Nutrition Act Comprehensive Health Planning Act
1969			National Environmental Policy Act
1970	Nixon		Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act Family Planning Services and Population Research Act Poison Prevention Packaging Act Comprehensive Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism Prevention, Treatment and Rehabilitation Act Emergency Health Personnel Act Lead-based Paint Poisoning Prevention Act
1972			National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act Consumer Product Safety Act
1973			Older Americans Act Emergency Medical Services Systems Act Health Maintenance Organization Act
1974	Ford		Sudden Infant Death Syndrome Act Research in Aging Act Safe Drinking Water Act National Health Planning and Resources Development Act

1976			SSA Amendments Medical Devices Amendments National Consumer Health Information and Health Promotion Act Indian Health care improvement act Health Maintenance Organization Amendments
1977			Rural Health Clinic Services Amendments
1978	Carter		Medicare End Stage Renal Disease Amendments
1982	Reagan		Orphan Drug Act Drug Price Competition and Patent Term Restoration Act
1984			National Organ Transplant Act
1986			Omnibus Health Act
1987			National health service Corp amendments
1988			Clinical Laboratory Improvement Amendment The National Organ Transplant Amendments
1990	GHW Bush		Safe Medical Devices Act
1992			Veterans Health Care Act
1995	Clinton	Republican	Lobbying Disclosure Act Food and Drug Administration Modernization and Accountability Act
1997			Controlled Substances Trafficking Prohibition Act
1998			Ricky Ray Hemophilia Relief Fund Act
1999			Veterans Millennium Health Care and Benefits Act
2000			Needle stick Safety and Prevention Act Minority Health and Health Disparities Research and Education Act National Institute of Biomedical Imaging and Bioengineering Establishment Act
2001	GW Bush		Best Pharmaceuticals for Children's Act Native American Breast and Cervical Cancer Treatment Technical Amendment Act Nurse Reinvestment Act
2002			Rare Diseases Act
2003			Pediatric Research Equity Act
2005			Patient Navigator Outreach An Chronic Disease Prevention Act
2007			National Breast and Cervical Cancer Early Detection Program Reauthorization Act of 2007 Trauma Care Systems Planning and Development Act of 2007 American National Red Cross Governance Modernization Act of 2007
2008			Breast Cancer and Environmental Research Act of 2008
2010	Obama		Early Hearing Detection and Intervention Act of 2010
2011			Combating Autism Reauthorization Act of 2011 National Alzheimer's Project Act
2012			Food and Drug Administration Safety and Innovation Act

2013

Children's Hospital GME Support Reauthorization
Act of 2013
PREEMIE Reauthorization Act
Drug Quality and Security Act
HIV Organ Policy Equity Act

APPENDIX B**Voice Passed in The Senate**

Year Passed	President	Majority Party	Policy Title			
1955	Eisenhower	Democratic	Air Pollution Control Act			
1956			Polio Vaccination Assistance Act			
			Dependents Medical Care Act			
1958			National Health Survey Act			
			Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1956			
			Health Amendments Act			
1959			Grants-in-Aid to Schools of Public Health			
			Food Additive Amendment			
1962			Kennedy	Democratic	Indian Sanitation Facilities Act	
					Federal Employee Health Benefits Act	
	Health Services for Agriculture migratory Workers Act					
1963	The Drug Amendments					
	Health Professions Educational Assistance Act					
1964	Johnson	Democratic			Maternal and Child Health And Mental Retardation Planning Amendments	
					Hospital and Medical Facilities Amendments	
					Economic opportunity Act	
					1965	Nurse Training Act
						Older Americans Act
			1966	Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act		
				Heart Disease, Cancer and Stroke Amendments		
				Clean Air Act Amendments		
				Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments		
				Highway Safety Act		
1967	Child Nutrition Act					
	Comprehensive Health Planning Act					
	Allied Health Profession Personnel Training Act					
	Economic Opportunity Act Amendments					
1967	Mental Health Amendments					
	Mental Retardation Amendments					
	Clinical Laboratory Improvement Act					
1967			Flammable Fabrics Act			

1968			Health Manpower Act
1969			National Environmental Policy Act
1970	Nixon		Family Planning Services and Population Research Act Poison Prevention Packaging Act Comprehensive Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism Prevention, Treatment and Rehabilitation Act Lead-based Paint Poisoning Prevention Act
1972			Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Amendments Uniformed Services Health Professions Revitalization Act National School Lunch and Child Nutrition Amendments National Cooley's Anemia Control Act
1974	Ford		Sudden Infant Death Syndrome Act Research in Aging Act Safe Drinking water act SSA amendments
1976			Medical devices amendments National Consumer Health Information and Health Promotion Act Indian Health Care Improvement Act Health Maintenance Organization Amendments
1977			Medicare, Medicaid Antifraud and Abuse Amendments Rural Health Clinic Services Amendments
1978	Carter		Medicare End Stage Renal Disease Amendments Health Maintenance Organization Amendments Health Planning and Resources Development Amendments
1980			Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act
1982	Reagan	Republican	Orphan Drug Act
1984			Deficit Reduction Act Drug Price Competition and Patent Term Restoration Act National Organ Transplant Act Child Abuse Amendments
1986			Omnibus health act
1987		Democratic	National health service Corp amendments
1988			Clinical Laboratory Improvement Amendment Medical Waste Tracking Act The National Organ Transplant Amendments

1989			OBRA
1990	GHW Bush		Safe Medical Devices Act
1992			Veterans Health Care Act
1993			National Institute of Health Revitalization Act
1997	Clinton	Republican	Food and Drug Administration Modernization and Accountability Act
2001	GW Bush		Nurse Reinvestment Act
2011	Obama	Democratic	Combating Autism Reauthorization Act of 2011
2011			James Zadroga 9/11 Health and Compensation Act of 2010
2013			Drug Quality and Security Act

Roll Call Votes in House of Representatives*Note: Shading indicated Majority Party*

Year	Policy Title	Democrats			Republicans		
		Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
1935	Social Security Act	284	15	322	81	15	103
1954	Atomic Energy Act	36	146	213	195	7	221
1960	Kerr-Mills Act	237	9	283	132	8	153
1962	The Drug Amendments	211	0	263	136	0	174
1965	Appalachian Redevelopment Act	232	56	295	25	109	140
	Older Americans Act	265	0	295	128	1	140
	Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act	170	88	295	115	15	140
	SSA Amendments	237	48	295	70	68	140
	Clean Air Act Amendments	204	2	295	90	2	140
	Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments	252	9	295	88	38	140
1966	Highway Safety Act	239	3	295	121	0	140
	Allied Health Profession Personnel Training Act	244	0	295	120	0	140
	Economic Opportunity Act Amendments	151	33	295	19	76	140
1967	Mental Health Amendments	201	0	247	154	0	187
	Air Quality Act	201	0	247	161	0	187
	Mental Retardation Amendments	194	0	247	160	0	187
	Clinical Laboratory Improvement Act	189	2	247	159	1	187
	Flammable Fabrics Act	191	0	247	154	0	187
	Social Security Amendments	223	2	247	167	1	187
1969	Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act	189	0	243	144	12	192
1970	Water Quality Improvement Act	193	0	243	165	0	192
	Medical Facilities Construction and	212	3	243	67	95	192

	Modernization Amendments						
	Communicable Disease Control Amendments	159	0	243	133	2	192
	Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention Control Act	187	6	243	154	0	192
	Occupational Safety and Health Act	170	36	243	139	24	192
	Clean Air Amendments	209	0	243	165	1	192
1971	Comprehensive Manpower Training Act	204	0	255	139	3	180
1972	Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Amendments	221	3	255	160	12	180
	Uniformed Services Health Professions Revitalization Act	183	7	255	124	6	180
	National School Lunch and Child Nutrition Amendments	220	0	255	157	0	180
	Noise Control Act	203	24	255	153	8	180
	Social Security Amendments	175	1	255	129	0	180
	National Cooley's Anemia Control Act	219	0	255	155	11	180
1974	Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act	199	12	242	154	24	192
	Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act	224	4	242	176	3	192
	Nonprofit Hospital Amendments	167	53	242	38	140	192
	Employee Retirement income security act	229	0	242	178	2	192
1976	Toxic substance control act	248	13	291	112	22	144
	Health Professions Educational Assistance Act	217	20	291	79	38	144
1977	Medicare, Medicaid antifraud and abuse amendments	402 for -- 5 against (Democrat Majority)					
1978	Health Maintenance Organization Amendments	309 for -- 33 against (Democrat Majority)					
1979	Health Planning and Resources Development Amendments	362 for -- 45 against (Democrat Majority)					
1980	Mental Health Systems	181	5	277	96	10	158

	Act						
	Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act	195	48	277	99	43	158
	Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act	228	9	277	123	14	158
1981	Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act	29	209	242	188	2	192
1982	Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act	123	118	242	103	89	192
1983	SSA Amendments	163	54	269	80	40	166
1984	Deficit Reduction Act	191	70	269	77	85	166
	Child Abuse Amendments	241	0	269	155	4	166
1985	Emergency Deficit Reduction and Balanced Budget act	118	130	253	153	24	182
	The Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act	221	24	253	24	150	182
1986	Omnibus budget reconciliation act	193	19	253	112	51	182
1987	OBRA	193	51	258	44	130	177
1988	Medicare Catastrophe Coverage Act	230	9	258	98	63	177
	Medical Waste Tracking Act	234	15	258	156	13	177
	The Technical and Misc Revenue Act	208	1	258	150	0	177
1989	OBRA	272 for -- 128 against (Democrat Majority)					
1990	Americans with Disabilities Act	232	5	260	145	23	175
	Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS resources Emergency Act	249	0	260	159	14	175
	Immigration and Nationality Act	171	54	260	93	64	175
	OBRA	181	74	260	47	126	175
1993	National Institute of Health Revitalization Act	230	16	258	59	114	176
	OBRA	217	41	258	0	175	176
1996	Departans of Veterans Affairs, Housing and Urban Development and Independent Agencies	182	4	204	205	21	230

	Appropriations Act						
	HIPPA	2	193	204	227	0	230
	Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (Welfare Reform Act)	98	98	204	230	2	230
1997	Balanced Budget act of 1997	52	153	206	193	32	228
1999	Medicare, Medicaid and SCHIP Balanced Budget Refinement Act of 1999	125	84	211	170	51	223
2000	Breast and Cervical Cancer Prevention and Treatment act	207	0	211	212	1	223
	Medicare, Medicaid and SCHIP benefits improvement and protection act of 2000	157	9	211	133	51	223
2001	Animal Disease Risk Assessment, Prevention and Control Act	212	0	212	221	0	221
	Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Recovery From and Response to Terrorist Attacks on the US	215	0	212	205	0	221
2002	Health Care Safety Net Amendments of 2002	190	0	212	201	5	221
	Homeland Security Act	88	120	212	207	10	221
2003	Veterans Health Care, Capital Asset and Business Improvement Act	199	0	205	223	2	229
	Medicare Prescription Drug, Improvement and Modernization act	16	189	205	204	25	229
2004	Organ Donation and Recovery Improvement Act	202	0	205	211	2	229
	Project BioShield Act	191	0	205	222	2	229
	Garrett Lee Smith Memorial Act	198	0	205	153	64	229
2005	Patient Safety And Quality Improvement Act	201	0	202	226	3	232
	Deficit Reduction Act	0	196	202	212	9	232
2006	Children's Hospital GME Support	196	1	202	224	3	232

	Reauthorization Act of 2006						
	Ryan White HIV/AIDS Treatment Modernization Act of 2006	119	77	202	205	21	232
2007	Food and Drug Administration Amendments Act of 2007	222	2	233	183	5	202
	Medicare, Medicaid and SCHIP Extension Act of 2007	219	0	233	192	3	202
2008	Genetic Information Nondiscrimination Act of 2008	229	0	233	191	3	202
	Medicare Improvements for Patients and Providers Act of 2008	(Passed over veto) 230	0	233	153	41	202
	Consumer Product Safety Improvement Act of 2008	231	0	233	193	1	202
	Health Care Safety Net Act of 2008	224	0	233	169	24	202
	Emergency Economic Stabilization Act of 2008	172	63	233	91	108	202
	Poison Center Support, Enhancement and Awareness Act of 2008	219	0	233	184	6	202
2009	Children's Health Insurance Program Reauthorization Act of 2009	249	2	257	40	137	178
	American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009	246	7	257	0	176	178
	Family Smoking Prevention and Tobacco Control Act	237	7	257	70	90	178
2010	Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act	219	34	257	0	178	178
	Health Care and Education Reconciliation Act of 2010	220	33	257	0	178	178
	Preservation of Access to Care for Medicare	247	1	257	170	0	178

	Beneficiaries and Pension Relief Act of 2010						
2011	James Zadroga 9/11 Health and Compensation Act of 2010	175	1	193	31	59	242
2013	Medicare IVIG Access Act	178	0	201	223	3	234
	Pandemic and All-Hazards Preparedness Reauthorization Act of 2013	178	0	201	192	28	234

APPENDIX D

Roll Call Votes in Senate

Year	Policy Title	Democrats			Republicans		
		Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
1935	Social Security Act	60	1	69	16	5	25
1954	Atomic Energy Act	13	25	47	44	2	48
1960	Kerr-Mills Act	43	10	65	31	1	35
1965	Appalachian Redevelopment Act	51	7	68	11	15	32
	SSA Amendments	57	7	68	13	17	32
1967	Air Quality Act	55	0	64	33	0	36
	Social Security Amendments	36	11	64	26	3	36
1969	Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act	40	0	57	33	0	43
1970	Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act	43	7	57	32	2	43
1970	Water Quality Improvement Act	45	0	57	35	0	43
	Medical Facilities Construction and Modernization Amendments	53	0	57	23	19	43
	Communicable Disease Control Amendments	39	0	57	32	0	43
	Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention Control Act	27	0	57	27	0	43
	Occupational Safety and Health Act	48	2	57	35	1	43
	Clean Air Amendments	43	0	57	30	0	43
	Emergency Health Personnel Act	36	0	57	30	0	43
1971	Comprehensive Manpower Training Act	49	0	54	38	0	44
1972	National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act	43	0	54	36	0	44
	Consumer Product Safety Act	37	3	54	31	6	44
	Noise Control Act	41	3	54	33	1	44
	Social Security Amendments	36	0	54	23	0	44
1973	Older Americans Act	51	5	56	30	9	42
	Emergency Medical Services Systems Act	54	2	56	37	0	42

	Health Maintenance Organization Act	50	1	56	31	0	42
1974	Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act	37	19	56	20	7	42
	Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act	49	0	56	25	0	42
	Nonprofit Hospital Amendments	46	6	56	18	21	42
	Employee Retirement income security act	50	0	56	33	0	42
	National Health planning and Resources development act	41	5	56	24	12	42
1976	Toxic substance control act	48	0	61	24	6	37
	Health Professions Educational Assistance Act	51	0	61	36	0	37
1980	Mental Health Systems Act	53	1	58	40	1	41
1981	Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act	30	13	46	49	1	53
1982	Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act	44	1	46	49	3	53
1983	SSA Amendments	25	6	45	33	8	55
1985	Emergency Deficit Reduction and Balanced Budget act	22	22	47	39	9	53
	The Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act	42	5	47	51	1	53
1986	Omnibus budget reconciliation act	28	15	47	33	10	53
1987	OBRA	43	5	55	18	23	45
1988	Medicare Catastrophe Coverage Act	52	0	55	34	11	45
	The Technical and Misc Revenue Act	49	1	55	38	0	45
1990	Americans with Disabilities Act	54	0	55	37	6	45
	Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS resources Emergency Act	55	0	55	40	4	45
	Immigration and Nationality Act	51	3	55	40	5	45
	OBRA	35	20	55	19	25	45
1993	OBRA	50	6	57	0	44	44
1995	Lobbying Disclosure Act	47	0	48	51	0	52
1996	HIPPA	46	0	48	52	0	52
	Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (Welfare Reform Act)	25	21	47	53	0	53

1997	Balanced Budget act of 1997	42	3	45	43	12	55
1999	Medicare, Medicaid and SCHIP Balanced Budget Refinement Act of 1999	32	12	45	42	12	55
2002	Homeland Security Act	41	8	Jan- Nov: 50 Nov- Dec: 48	49	0	Jan- Nov: 49 Nov- Dec: 50
2003	Medicare Prescription Drug, Improvement and Modernization act	11	35	48	42	9	51
2004	Project BioShield Act	47	0	48	51	0	51
2005	Deficit Reduction Act	2	41	44	50	5	55
2008	Genetic Information Nondiscrimination Act of 2008	47	0	49	46	0	49
	Medicare Improvements for Patients and Providers Act of 2008	47	0	49	23	26	49
	Consumer Product Safety Improvement Act of 2008	47	0	49	23	26	49
	Health Care Safety Net Act of 2008	45	0	49	42	3	49
	Emergency Economic Stabilization Act of 2008	40	9	49	24	15	49
2009	Children's Health Insurance Program Reauthorization Act of 2009	56	0	57	9	32	41
	American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009	56	0	57	3	38	41
	Family Smoking Prevention and Tobacco Control Act	55	1	57	23	17	41
2010	Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act	54	0	57	2	39	41
	Health Care and Education Reconciliation Act of 2010	54	3	57	0	40	41
2012	Food and Drug Administration Safety and Innovation Act	50	0	51	41	3	47

APPENDIX E

List of Terms

Voice Vote - A vote in which the presiding officer states the question, then asks those in favor and against to say "Yea" or "Nay," respectively, and announces the result according to his or her judgment. The names or numbers of senators voting on each side are not recorded.

Roll Call Vote - A vote in which each senator votes "yea" or "nay" as his or her name is called by the clerk, so that the names of senators voting on each side are recorded. Under the Constitution, a roll call vote must be held if demanded by one-fifth of a quorum of senators present, a minimum of 11.

Conference Report - The report the Conference Committee submits to the chambers for final passage of a bill. Report may consist of adopting, rejecting or adding amendments. Each chamber must adopt the report and then vote for final passage of the bill.

Bill - A legislative proposal offered for debate before its enactment. A statute in draft before it becomes the law.

Law- A Legislative rule/document after enactment, adherence to which is required.

Party Platform - A party platform refers to a political party's formal statement of its basic principles, objectives, and positions on major issues. It is a list of the actions, which a political party supports in order to appeal to the general public for the purpose of attracting vote. Sometimes, a party platform shapes state and national elections by reflecting the changing issues, controversies, and public visions.

APPENDIX F:

Definitions of Policy Categories

Access - Policies dealing with providing access to health care, resources, education or assistance.

Safety - Policies dealing with increasing, improving or maintaining safety within health care delivery, exposure to harmful substances and protection against potentially unsafe actions.

Insurance - Policies dealing with reforming, providing or reducing health insurance coverage.

Fiscal - Policies that deal with budget, appropriation of funds or have immediate economic effects.

Quality - Policies that deal with maintaining and/or improving the quality of health service delivery.

Governance - Policies that deal with establishing entities to regulate or oversee operations of health care related activities.

Regulation - Policies dealing with establishing, increasing or decreasing rules and regulations for health care related activities or policies.

Education - Policies dealing with increasing education for clinically trained individuals as well as public health education.

Business - Policy dealing directly with the intersection of business practices and health care.

Environment - Policy dealing with protecting, improving or maintaining working environments, living environments and natural environments in relation to health care.

Prevention - Policies dealing with establishing practices, education or care that aims to prevent exposure to or the development of unhealthy behaviors, practices or substances.

Research - Policies that deal with the allocation of resources and support to increase health related research projects and programs.

