



Lay out

- A presentation based on a special issue of Chronique Internationale de l'Ires dedicated to the Covid-19 pandemic.
- The Covid-19 pandemic led to different types of crisis (sanitary, economic, social, political sometimes, etc.): here the focus is on the sanitary crisis.
- It highlights the predominant role of states and of executive powers in the handling of healthcare systems, mostly national but in some cases local.



Lay out

- The purpose is to compare the government responses to the pandemic : content and practical details of the measures mobilised.
- ♦ The main hypothesis: government responses depend greatly on national health system arrangements and trajectories (and healthcare policies). Or in other terms on the type of healthcare states that emerged and developped nationally.



Some preliminary observations on comparative statistics

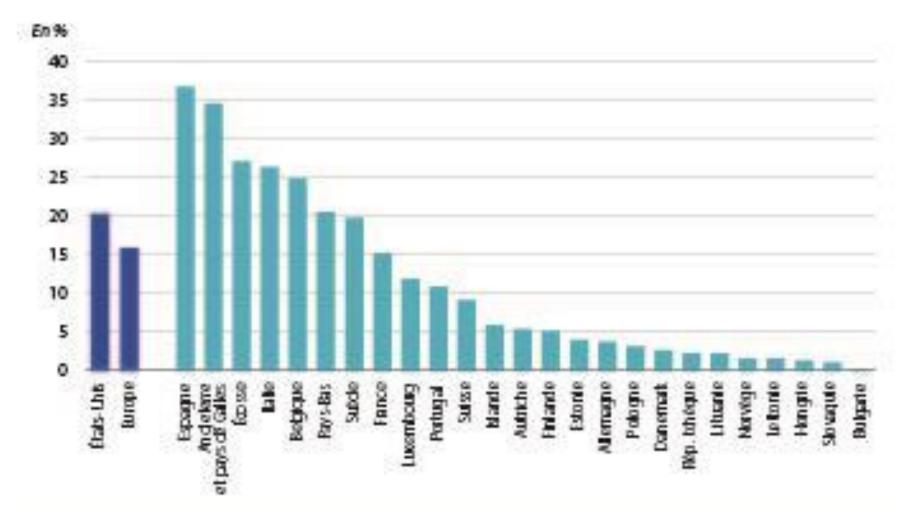
The meaning of statistical data

- The most common statistical indicators currently advanced by countries are aimed at constraining the flow of Covid-19 patients out of the hospitals.
- But they are often inappropriate to measure and compare properly the state of the pandemic in different countries.
- The most reliable cross-country indicator is by far the excess mortality rate.



Table 1: Excess cumulated mortality during week

10 to 26 of 2020



Source: Aron et Muellbauer (2020).



Restrictions and lockdowns

Executives powers at the forefront

- Lockdown as a privileged choice to "flatten the curve", except Sweden.
- Lockdown as a way to spread out in time the virus transmission, not to swamp hospitals.
- Lockdowns decided by executive powers, mostly at the national level with a few exceptions.
- Lockdowns set up to reassure the population, but also to force and obtain its political consent.



Lockdowns and other restrictive measures

- Degree and forms of restrictions differ among "healthcare states".
- But they generally reinforce the role of national and central governments.
- The key role of central governments also enhanced by the setting up of task forces composed of scientific experts and aimed at legitimizing lockdowns.



Covid-19 and inequalities

- The exposure to the virus depending from :
- Life and social conditions: pre-existing health conditions, unstable or substandard housing conditions, food insecurity, etc., professional activities (frontline workers vs. remote workers);
- Access to health insurance coverage and access to care (primary care and hospital care).
- > Age: the elderly disproportionally affected.
- All countries experienced some sort of social, racial and aging disparities regarding the diffusion of the virus but very few paid attention.



Covid-19 and social inequalities

- When attention was paid, it was mostly by guaranteeing financial access to care through :
- Enlarging the scope of the coverage to virus screening etc.
- Covering out of pocket expenses for patients needed to be treated medically.
- But very rarely by taking care of the elderly people, notably those in nursing homes.



Restructuring healthcare capacities

Hospitals ill-prepared

- Hospitals ill-prepared to the surge of the Covid-19 pandemic because of budget pressures since decades.
- Urgent need to increase ICU beds to handle the surge of Covid-19 patients.
- Transfers of patients between regions (France), between public and private hospitals (Ireland), sometimes between countries (in Europe).



Mobilizing the healthcare workforce

- Urgent need to increase healthcare workforce by numbers :
- Easing licensure requirements for practitioners (including students), mobilizing retired doctors and nurses, developing telehealth.
- Workload intensified, particularly for the nurses (more hours per day, downgrading the ratio nurses/patient), with few gratifications.
- But weak mobilisation of primary care with a few exceptions.



Challenges for industrial and innovative systems

Shortage of medical equipment

- All countries experienced shortages in medical equipment (masks, ventilators, testing kits, chemicals than go into them, etc.).
- Sourcing appeared to be more and more uncertain because of supply chains disruptions, implying sanitary security risks.
- Companies urged by governments to boost production of medical products.



High degree of interdependence in trade of Covid-19 related products

- OECD countries tend to be importers and exporters of Covid-19 medical goods.
- China specialised in medical consumables and protective garments; OECD countries specialised in medical devices.
- Developing countries are more dependent on OECD and G20 countries for access to Covid-19 goods.



Some innovative responses but also some failures

- The experience of the Manufacturing Emergency Response Team in Massachusetts: a successful partnership with researchers, manufacturing companies and health care institutions to develop new supply chains for critical material.
- The failure of US government and private company partnership to deliver affordable and flexible ventilators as highlighted by W. Lazonick.

Lessons for the second wave?

New explosion of caseloads, and back to lockdowns

- Covid 19 is resurging everywhere, except in China up to now.
- Within countries, Covid 19 is resurging all over the territory this time.
- With Covid-19 cases at record levels, US and European states are implementing a new round of restrictions, although less constraining.
- But more protests are coming out today.



Reinforcing hospital and Testing-Tracing-Isolating capacities yet to come

- Hospital capacities near saturation again.
- The Testing-Tracing-Isolating strategy, although less costly than lockdowns and stimulus packages, is difficult to implement in the US and Europe.
- Asian countries as counter examples.



The race to vaccines lead by Biotech

- Several candidates in competition : biotech firms took the lead in new vaccines.
- Production and distribution capacities limited, among developped countries but also between developped and developping countries.
- Resistance to vaccines.
- Access to vaccines for whom?

Conclusion

- An need to take the precaution principle seriously to face chronic diseases and to promote coordinated actions at the international level.
- A need for improved health data collection and exchange.
- A need for more resilient health systems.
- A need to make vaccines « global common goods ».



Thank you for your attention

