# Health Reform that Matches American Values, Traditions

Alan Sager, Ph.D.

Professor of Health Policy and Management Director, Health Reform Program Boston University School of Public Health

HIMSS – New England Chapter 4th Annual Public Policy Forum

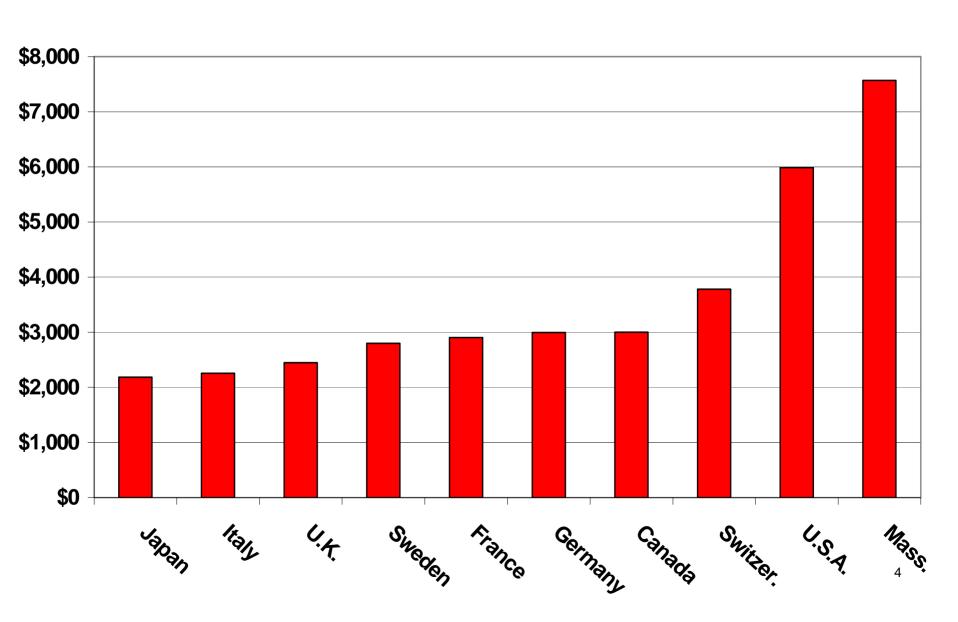
Friday 8 May 2009 Norwood, Massachusetts

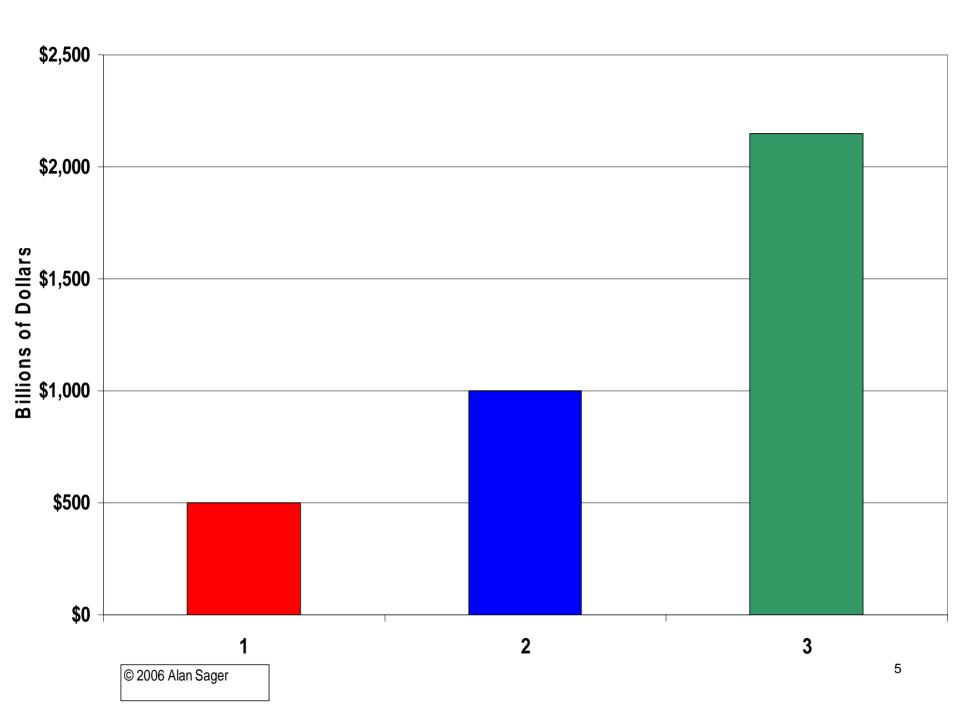
## Forces making for change, demanding more value

- Cost—new pressure for control; is more money for business-as-usual possible?
- Coverage—added pressure to cover all; how to pay for it?
- Caregivers—right shape? Right numbers?
- Care—can it be more patient-centered?
- Confidence—medical security is the aim competent, timely care when needed, but no worries about bill when sick or about losing coverage ever

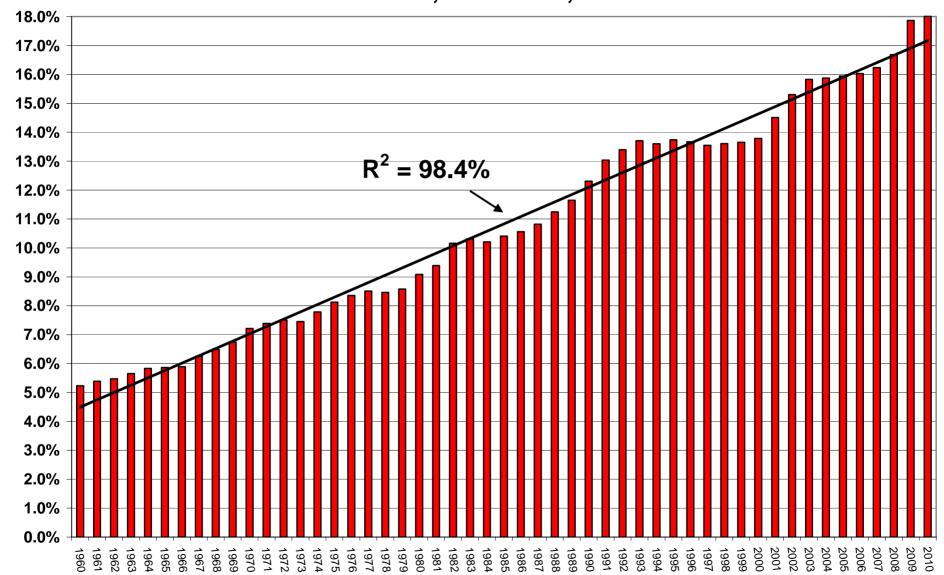
### A. Is anyone surprised?

### Health Spending per Person, Selected Wealthy Nations, 2003

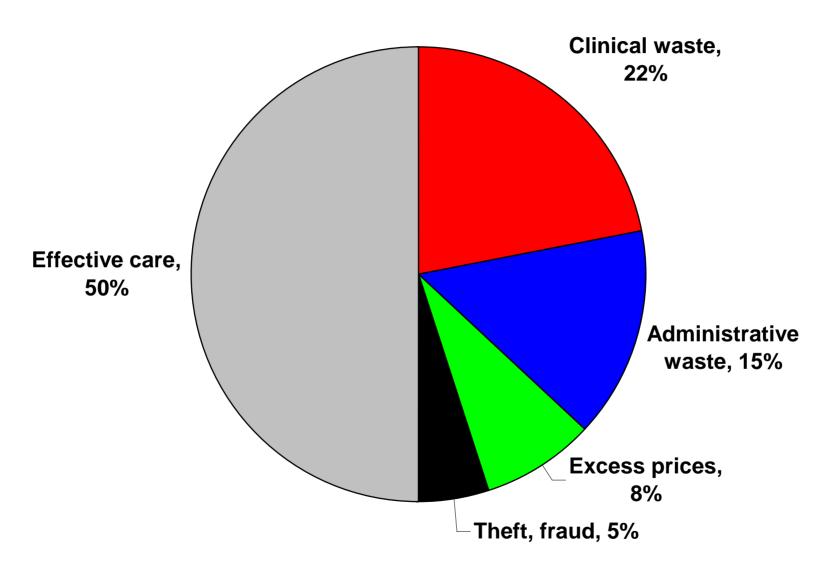




#### Health Share of U.S. GDP, 1960-2010, 20 March 09 edition



#### U.S. Health Care Waste, Estimated



#### Causes of waste

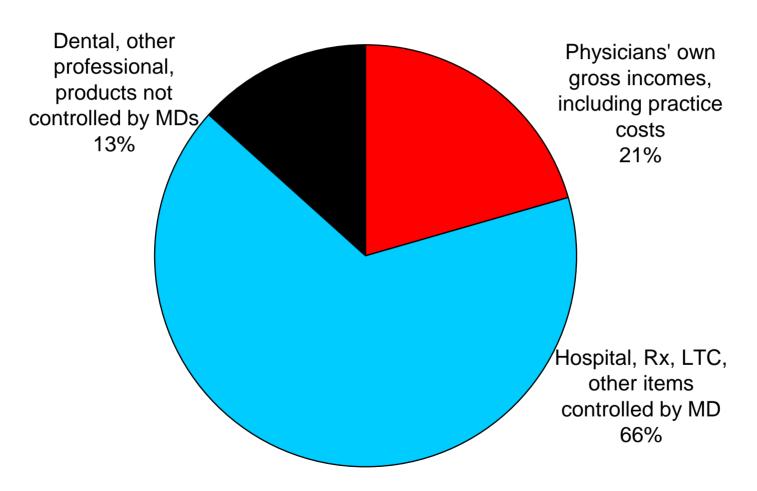
#### Clinical

- Financial incentives to do more
- Defensive medicine
- Lack of knowledge or failure to use it
- Mismatches between caregiver capacity and patient need

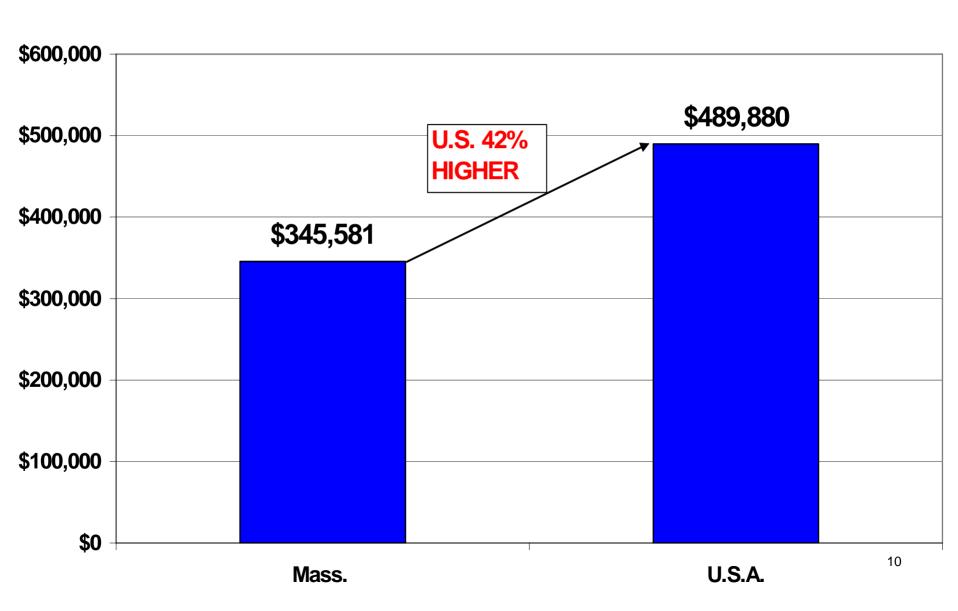
#### Paperwork

- Mistrust, doctor-payer, hospital-payer
- Complexity of forms, formularies, rules, networks
- High prices of meds, equipment, some incomes
- Theft
  - Belief that more money replaces what's stolen
  - Weak punishment

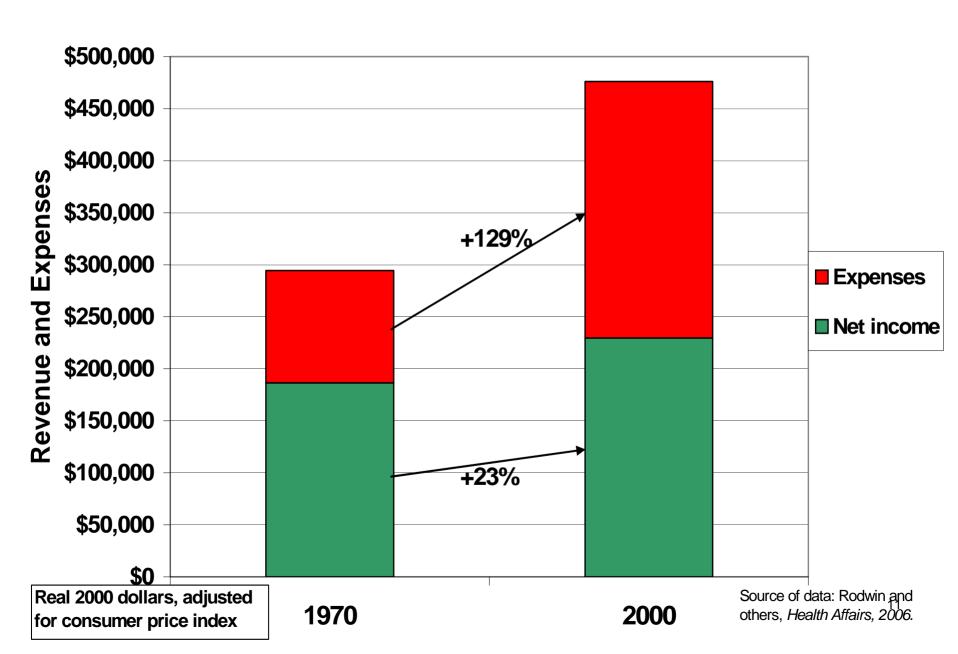
### PHYSICIANS RECEIVE OR CONTROL 87% OF U.S. PERSONAL HEALTH SPENDING, 2005



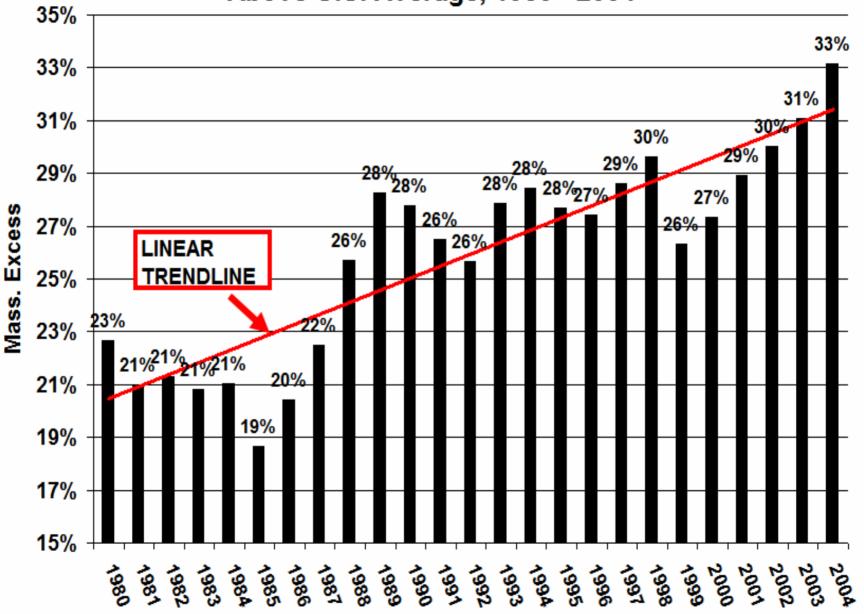
## Estimated Gross Income per Physician, Massachusetts and U.S., 2002



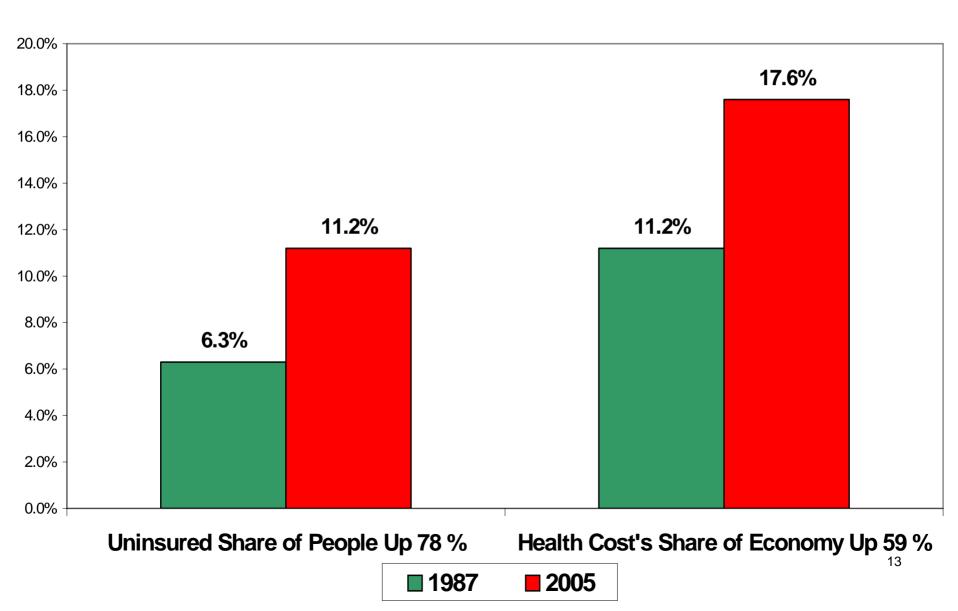
#### U.S. Physician Net Revenue and Expenses, 1970 + 2000



#### Excess Massachusetts Personal Health Cost per Person, Above U.S. Average, 1980 - 2004



### Health Cost's Share of Massachusetts Economy and Uninsured Share of People, 1987 + 2005



### B. Surprised about what?

- Failure to cover everyone
- Failure to contain cost
- Failure to identify and protect all needed hospitals
- Failure to train and pay enough primary care physicians

## No villains – just decade after decade of unfortunate accidents (?)

- 1945 1970: strong economy—what better to spend more money on than health care?
- → 25 years of blank check medicine → financial addiction to more money for business as usual
- 1972 2009: almost four decades of failed cost controls, market and regulatory

# Why does US spend so much more? Why have cost controls failed?

- Much money flows through invisible underground aqueducts → little pressure to spend less (elsewhere, neurons are linked)
- No top-down political consensus among employers, unions, government, hospitals, and doctors that \$X is all we can afford
- Assertion that constraining revenue means rationing (deny valuable care; wave bloody shirt)
- Cost controls have had little effective political support—why?

### Cost control: Why little political support?

- Seldom any tangible benefit offered (abstract goodgovernment, so savings trickle invisibly to payers)
- Caregivers deeply want more money
- Hospitals, doctors, drug makers are volume-driven, because TR rises with volume much faster than TC
- Obsession with formulas
  - DRG, RBRVS, formularies
  - Invitation to mistrust, gaming, complexity, administrative waste
  - Formulas manifest weak political support but don't substitute
- "Faith-based cost controls"—prevention, EHRs, case management for chronically ill.
- Doctors control almost 90% of personal health spending but have been squeezed, manipulated, or ignored—rarely involved as partners in cost control.

### Strong rhetoric but weak action

- Market competition! Government regulation!
- Neither works in health care, → anarchy
- Talk that cost control is essential politically
  - but nothing has worked, so we regularly rely on more revenue to balance the books
- Talk that increased primary care supply and medical homes are essential
  - but nearly nothing real has been done
- Talk that stabilizing needed hospitals/ERs is essential
  - but nearly nothing has been done
- Talk that units of payment have to change
  - but will they be changed, and why will that help?

## That's why we need to do things differently—here's an <u>illustration</u>

- Dramatic health care peace treaty
- Squeeze the wasted 50%, capture, recycle
- Assure revenue to finance high-quality, appropriate care at each needed hospital
- Attract best physicians to primary care
- Get research and marketing costs out of drugs' prices
- Free up resources for long-term care

### Peace treaty's key principles

- 1. Since neither free market competition nor traditional government action work to contain cost in health care, we need a <u>substitute</u> to achieve homeostasis, equilibrium.
- 2. Integrate payment reform with delivery reform
- 3. Integrate coverage for all with cost control
- 4. Doctors and patients adopt reforms voluntarily
- 5. <u>Incremental</u>, narrow but deep reforms with top-down (money follows patient) and bottom-up elements (care networks are formed locally)
- 6. Sustain all needed caregivers

### Peace treaty's key principles

- 7. Negotiate a deal with doctors, one that liberates, motivates, and obliges them to spend carefully, squeeze out clinical waste
- 8. Doctors should steer by <u>clinical</u> compasses, not legal or financial ones
- But dollars are finite: "professionalism within a budget"
- 10. Only motive to deny care or save money should be to spend it better → trust → slash payment-related paperwork
- 11. Move to 300,000 FTE primary doctors (panel size drops from 2,000-2,500 to 1,000 per primary)
- 12. Reform must bootstrap its own political support. If enough doctors support a reform, it will pass

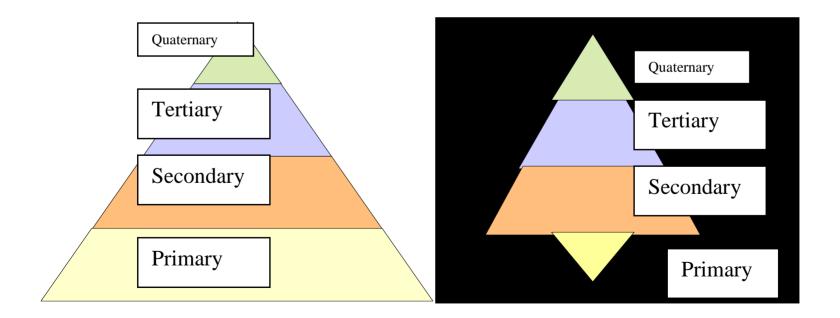
### Peace treaty's key background

- Real primary care essential to coverage, cost containment, and patient-centered care
- U.S.A. has about ½ as many primary care MDs/1,000 as the other wealthy nations
- Debt/tuition relief not commensurate with problem
  - Average physician debt now above \$150K
  - That's < 1 year's net income differential between primary care and high-paying specialties
- Only much higher incomes will attract more MDs to primary care

### The inverted primary care pyramid

Chart X: the traditional health care pyramid, resting on a broad and solid primary care base.

Chart Y: Today's inverted primary care pyramid, in which growing pressure and disruption are imposed on primary care doctors by health care delivery and financing.



# Peace treaty key <u>provisions</u>—a package deal for physicians

- End financial incentives to do more—cease to pay primaries by FFS
- End defensive medicine—patients voluntarily waive right to sue (replace with no-fault compensation + separate MD quality assurance)
- 3. End payment-related paperwork
- 4. Full risk-adjusted capitation to primary care groups
  - 20 MDs → 20K patients @\$8K = \$160M/year in Mass.

# Peace treaty key <u>provisions</u>—a package deal for physicians

- Clinical, managerial, conflict resolution, decision support, financial, IT, monitoring support for groups
- 6. Establish three budgets, in separate water-tight compartments
  - One to pay primaries—base target income = \$250K
    (=\$75B = 2.9 percent of U.S. health spending, a rise from about \$45B today)
  - One to pay specialists—no cuts in incomes
  - One to pay for all the labs, imaging, surgery, meds,
    LTC they authorize
  - → No party has financial incentive to do more or less

### True to American values, traditions

- Health care suffers dearth of innovation
  - Or, at least, a near-dearth experience
- Tinkering, empiricism—not ideology
- Smallness—no one gets too big to fail
- If free market can't work in health care, what can?
- Facilitate bottom-up, integrated efforts, and see what works

#### What can liberate innovators?

- 1. Voluntary
- 2. Small
- 3. Integrate finance and delivery
- 4. Bottom-up and top-down
- 5. Let doctors, as fiduciary professionals, try different things
- 6. Let patients follow their doctors, voluntarily waiving right to sue
- 7. Let risk-adjusted money follow patients
- 8. Easier Medicare, Medicaid, ERISA waivers
- 9. Standardize one-price payments to hospitals (as Maryland), and to drug-makers
- 10. Standardize benefits
- 11. Standardize patient rights, protections
- 12. Weather helm: trustworthy self-regulation
  - Provide for financial neutrality, so money saved is used to finance more care that's needed

# One hand for yourself and one for the ship

