

### Realistic Health Reform: Spanning the Ideological Divide

National Academy of Social Insurance February 2, 2007

#### Joseph R. Antos

Wilson H. Taylor Scholar in Health Care and Retirement Policy American Enterprise Institute

## How health spending stacks up



OACT, 2005 NHE estimates as of 1/07; OMB Analytical Perspectives FY 2006



## Rapid growth of insurance, subsidies



### "Unsustainable"

Real spending growth, 2005-2030 331% 350% 300% 250% 166% 200% 147% 150% 72% 100% 50% 0% GDP Medicaid Medicare Social Security

If it can't happen, it won't...but we may not like the consequences.

Insufficient revenue is not the problem—it is the mismatch of spending and value.

Innovation is driven by 3<sup>rd</sup> party payment.

Innovation outpaces knowledge, judgment.

**Source:** David Walker, *Saving Our Future Requires Tough Choices Today*, GAO, August 24, 2006

# **Opposing strategies**

#### Market reform

Reduce moral hazard

Consumerism, choice, and competition yield efficiency, promote expanded coverage and quality care

"Money follows the patient"

### **Government expansion**

Avoid market failure

Large government programs can drive efficiency and ensure universal coverage, consumer protection, and quality care

"Patient follows the money"



# **Opposing fears**

#### Supporters of a government solution fear

- The sick lose coverage
- People can't make good decisions
- Lack of direct controls means excessive profits, no effective cost control for the 10% who spend most of the money
- Quality will suffer as competition drives down premiums

### Supporters of a market solution fear

- Coverage is in name only
- One size does not fit all
- Regulatory capture drives up spending, heavy-handed limits on the use of services
- Control limits ability, desire to innovate



## Blended strategy for a blended system

# U.S. health system a hodgepodge of market and regulatory elements

- Government finances more than half of health spending
- Private payers adapt to Medicare's policies
- Regulatory and research agencies influence private markets

# Specific proposals often a blend of market and regulatory elements

Federal and state programs can lead the way in key areas



### No easy answers

### **Develop information**

- What works: data on costs, outcomes, provider performance
- Effectiveness, comparative effectiveness, cost effectiveness

### Improve delivery

Guidelines, care management, health promotion

### Improve payment strategies

P4P, bidding, negotiation

#### Promote effective consumerism, competition

- Premium support, decision support, financial incentives
- Streamline regulatory process, malpractice reform

### Limit unnecessary spending

Modify entitlement status, cap tax exclusion





# Policy logjam

Scary numbers won't force good policy.

Non-negotiable demands prevent progress.

Incentives matter...but so does institutional setting.

We do not know how to slow the rate of growth of health spending.

There are many possibilities for oneoff savings.

Enhance value—but do not centralize decisions.



