

Should Medicare Reform Target Incentives to Providers or to Patients?

Lauren Nicholas

Faculty Research Fellow, Survey Research Center

David R. Weir

**Research Professor, Survey Research Center and
Director, Health and Retirement Study**

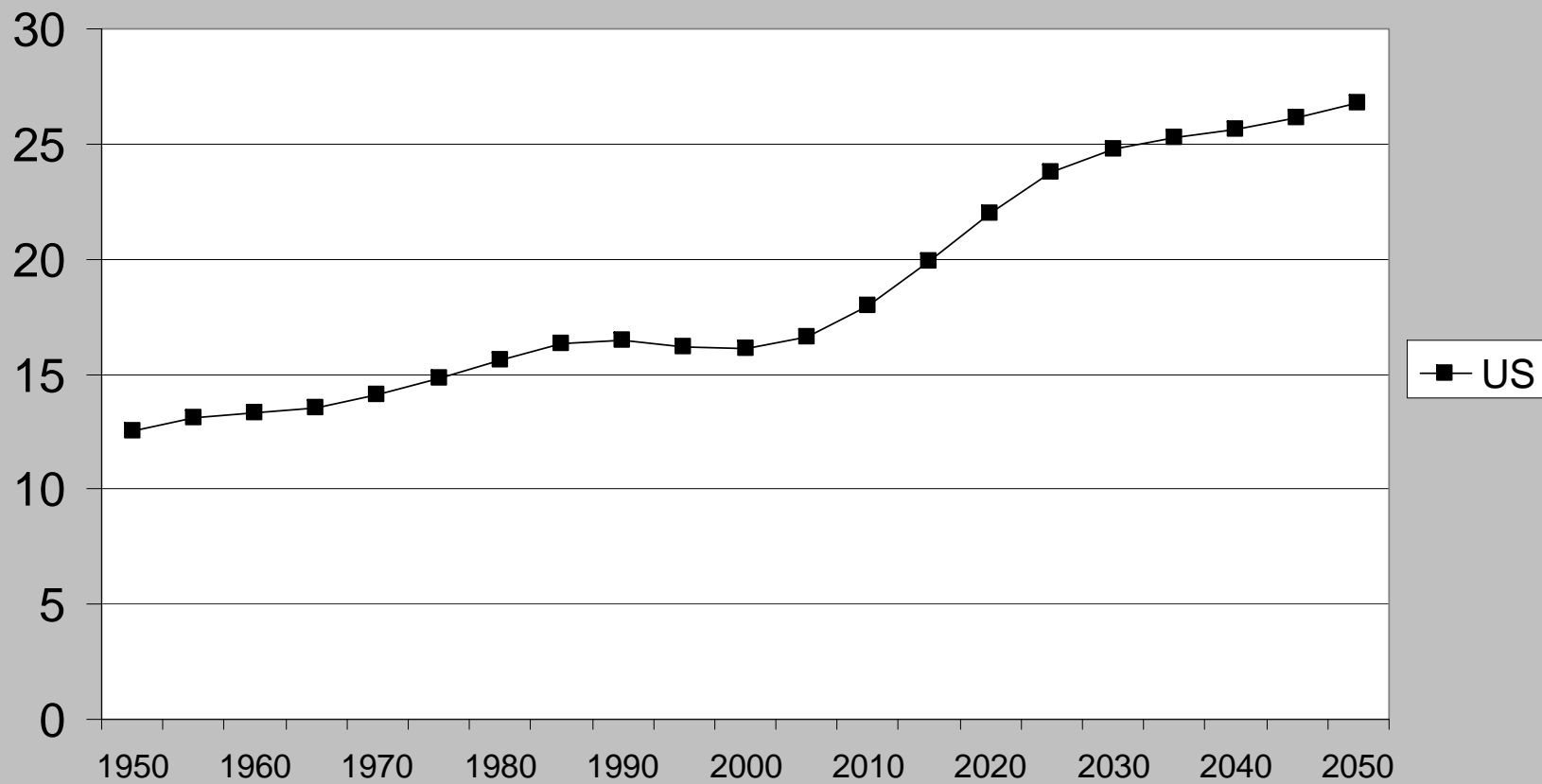
HRS

- The US Health and Retirement Study, and the international network of studies that followed, have a particular relevance to policy.
- Other longitudinal studies of aging also address health and some fundamental science of aging processes
- Only the HRS family of studies also include detailed economic and other measures critical to policy

Aging is the Policy Challenge of the 21st Century

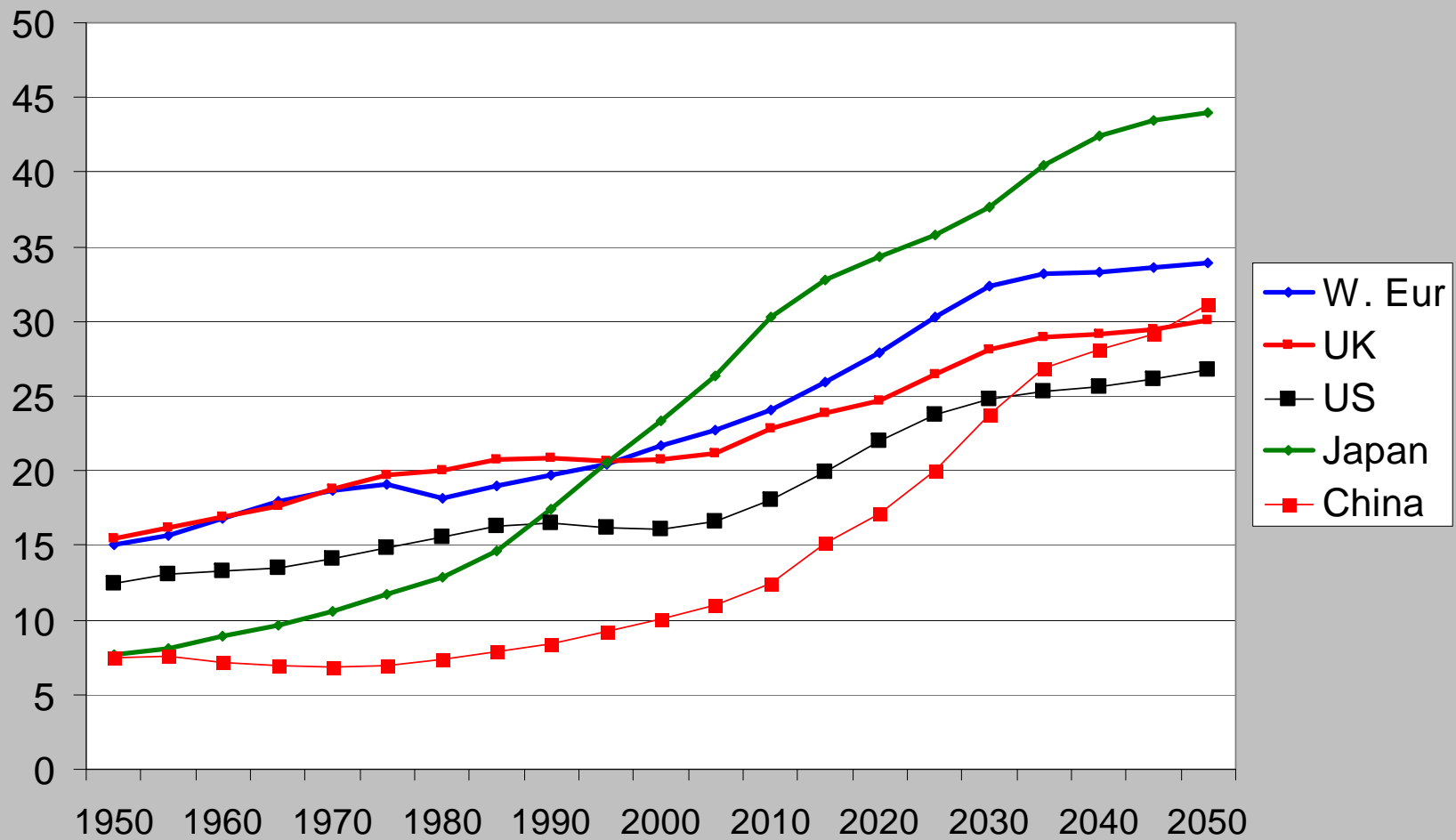
- Everywhere, aging populations create fiscal pressures as commitments to retirees exceed current taxes from workers
- In US, this has been postponed until now by the baby boom and will be less severe than elsewhere even post-baby-boom
- Nevertheless, current impasse over debt limit is essentially the result of aging

Population Aging: % 60 and over, 1950-2050



Source: United Nations, World Population (2006)

Population Aging: % 60 and over, 1950-2050



Source: United Nations, World Population (2006)

US Policies for Older Americans

- Social Security
 - Pension system
 - Current tax and benefit schedules are inconsistent with current survival rates and slow population growth
 - Highly predictable and easily fixed
- Medicare
 - Health care/insurance system
 - Affected by aging but also by unpredictable and currently uncontrolled growth in health care utilization and cost
 - Unfunded liability larger than Social Security

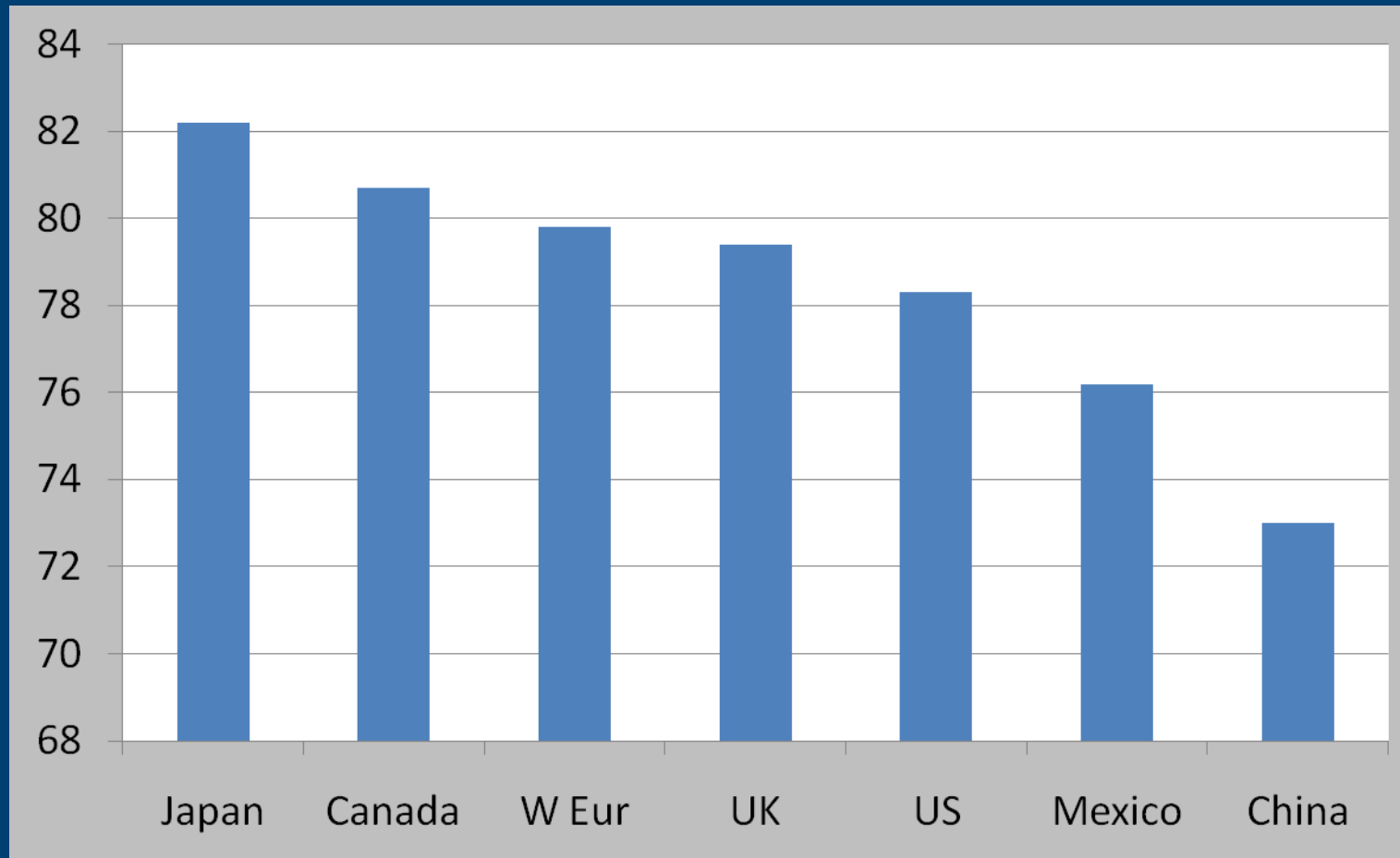
Unfunded Liability

- Present value of promised benefits minus present value of scheduled tax revenue
- Estimated at 41 trillion for Medicare
- Less than half that for Social Security

How to Contain Medicare Spending?

- Best policies would limit spending on treatments that provide little or no benefit
- The US pays much more than other countries for health care, but is less healthy and has lower life expectancy than most other leading economies.

Life Expectancy at Birth, International Comparisons



Society health production function

Health



Society health production function

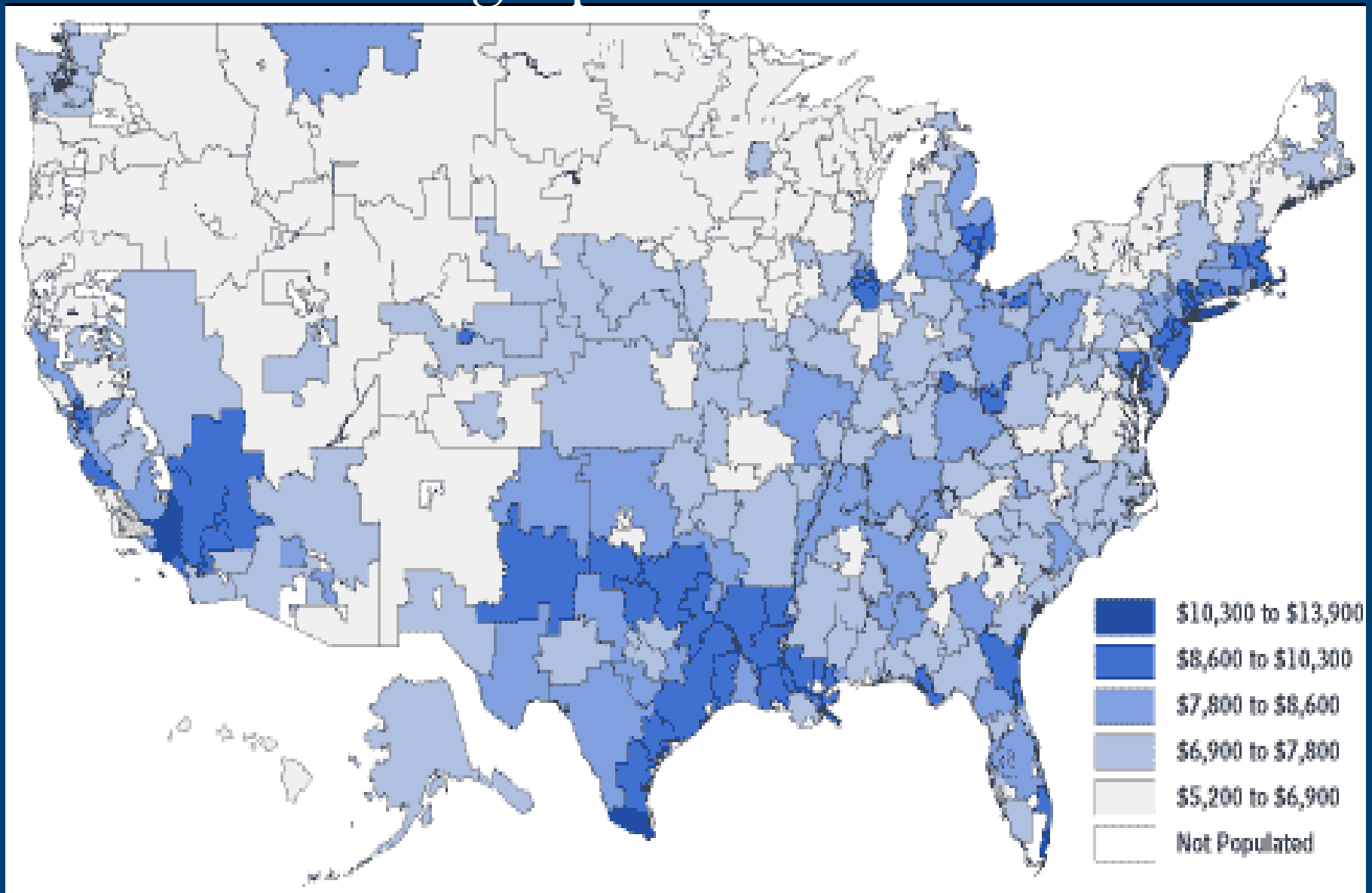
Health



Emphasis on Regional Variation

- Consistent with the international comparisons that suggest some US spending is unproductive, there are similar findings across regions within the US
- “Dartmouth atlas” work of John Wennberg on regional practice variations
- Doctors in local areas practice in particular ways. Some are more expensive than others.

Geographic Variation



Source: Congressional Budget Office

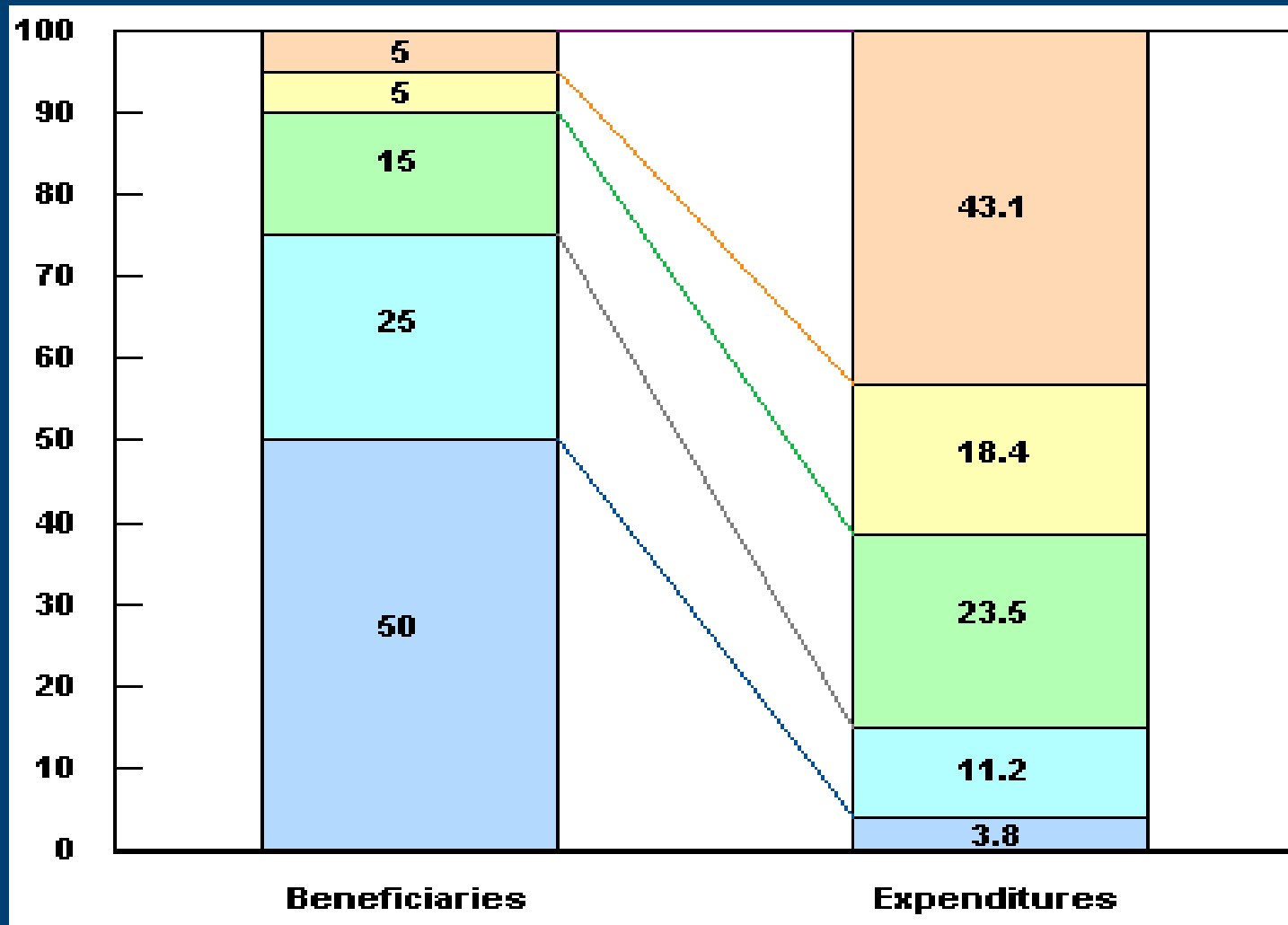
Health economists

- Jon Skinner, Amitabh Chandra, Douglas Staiger, and others show that regions that practice “high-cost” medicine do not have generally better outcomes than those that practice lower-cost medicine
- → Incentivizing providers in high-cost areas to practice what low-cost regions do would save money, and not harm health.

Is health policy too focused on regions (and doctors)?

- What about individuals?
- Do some consume more health care than others, without benefit?
- Is the potential gain from reducing this variation as great or greater than that from reducing regional variation in medical practice?

Distribution of Annual Medicare Expenditures Across Individuals



Source: Congressional Budget Office

Annual distribution greatly exaggerates effect of patient preferences

- One-time costly events
- End of life
- Even using longer time periods those with more severe health problems will have higher spending
- We want to know if some people persistently spend more than others in the same health condition

HRS is particularly valuable for studying entitlement program policies

- Linkages to administrative records of
 - Social Security (since 1992 but going back to 1951)
 - And Medicare (since 2008 but going back to 1987)
- Enormously valuable for policy research

HRS and Medicare

- Already a very active research community
- Most use Medicare claims to define a health event and use HRS to follow up consequences
- Takes medical research beyond narrow focus on short-term mortality or re-hospitalization

Examples

- Iwashyna, et al. JAMA 2010
 - Sepsis (infection) episodes lead to more rapid cognitive and functional decline
- McWilliams, et al. NEJM 2009
 - Lack of health insurance before age 65 raises Medicare spending
- McWilliams, et al, JAMA 2011
 - Part D (drug coverage) led to lower non-drug spending among those with poor coverage before Part D

Can we say whether regional provider variation or individual spending variation is the more promising target for intervention?

Providers or Patients?

- A full answer requires a lot of work, including
 - Studies of behavioral response to incentives
 - Studies of health outcomes of induced changes in provider or patient behavior
- Here, we start with a more basic question: which source exhibits greater “idiosyncratic” variance, i.e., which has greater potential for savings

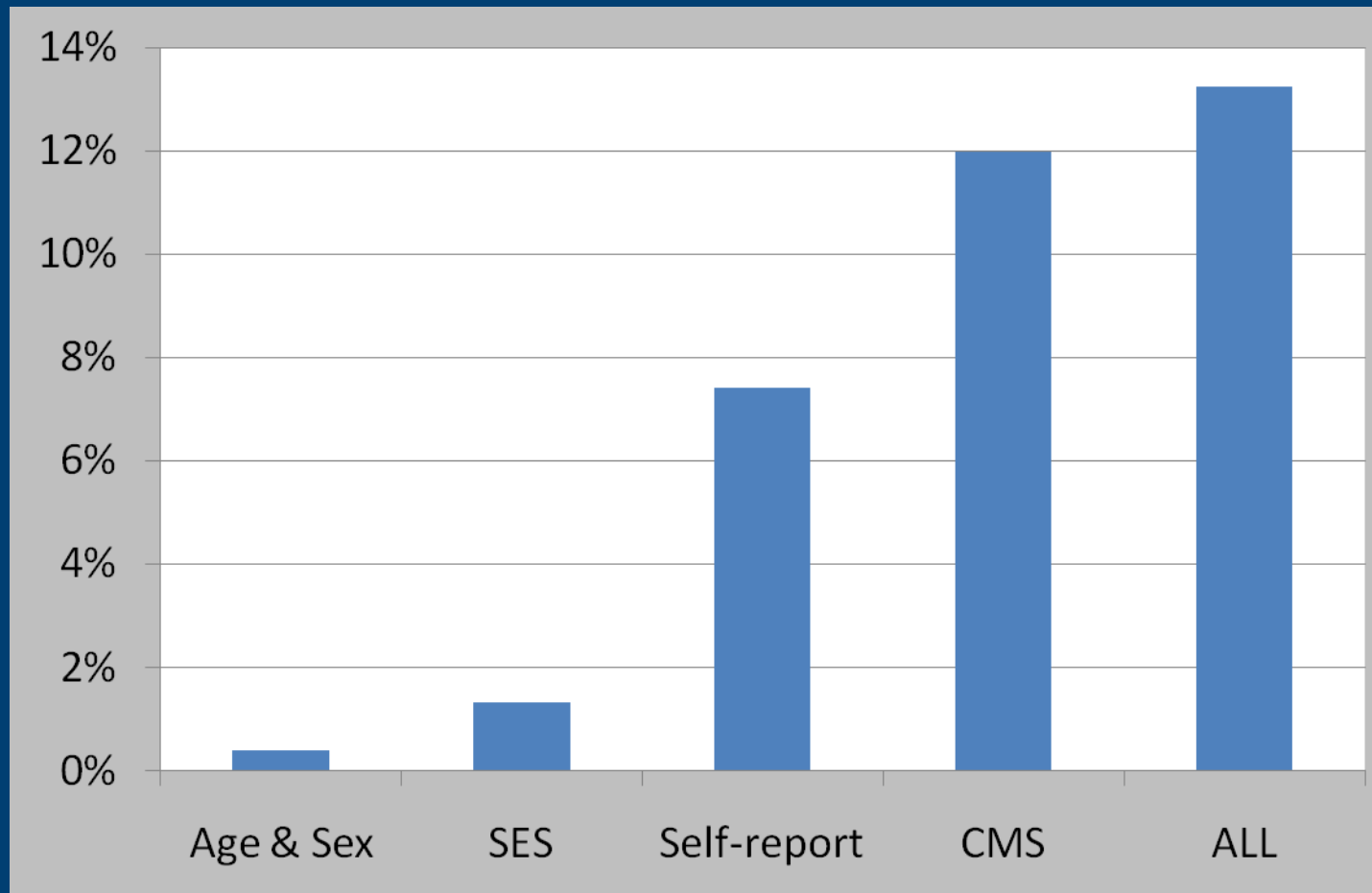
Model Medicare Spending Using Survey Data and Claims Data: Data

- HRS interviews are typically two years apart
- Observe Medicare spending in claims data for time periods between HRS interviews
- Annualize and convert to constant 2006 dollars
- Restrict to periods in the fee-for-service program and ending in interview (not death) N~30,000
- Restrict to persons with at least three such periods of observation N~7500

Model Medicare Spending Using Survey Data and Claims Data: Estimation

- Regress spending in a period on variables observed at the start of that period
- Age, sex
- From HRS survey prior to spending period:
 - SES: education, income, and wealth
 - Self-reported (8) chronic conditions and BMI
 - Self-reported health status
- From Medicare claims
 - (21) Chronic Condition Warehouse diagnoses

Percentage of Individual Variance in Medicare Spending Explained by Different Sources



Using the Model Results

- The model accounts for influence of health and economic characteristics on Medicare spending
- The residual (actual minus predicted spending) reflects unobserved health and the behavior of providers and patients
- We can assess how much of the residual is persistent across providers or patients

Regional Provider Effect

- How much of residual variance not explained by individual health is shared across persons within a region?
- Health Referral Region (HRR)
- 263 in our sample
- Explain 2% of residual variance ($p < .001$)

Patient Effect

- How much of residual variance is shared over time for the same individual?
- 8% of residual variance is explained by individual effect
- → Incentivizing individuals to limit unproductive spending should be a target for policy

Caveats

- Method understates provider influence because it aggregates over all spending while regions may be, e.g., high on cardiovascular but low on cancer spending
- Method overstates influence of patient preferences because of unobserved health characteristics

HRS

HEALTH AND RETIREMENT STUDY
A Longitudinal Study of Health, Retirement, and Aging
Sponsored by the National Institute on Aging

THANK YOU

<http://hrsonline.isr.umich.edu/>

