

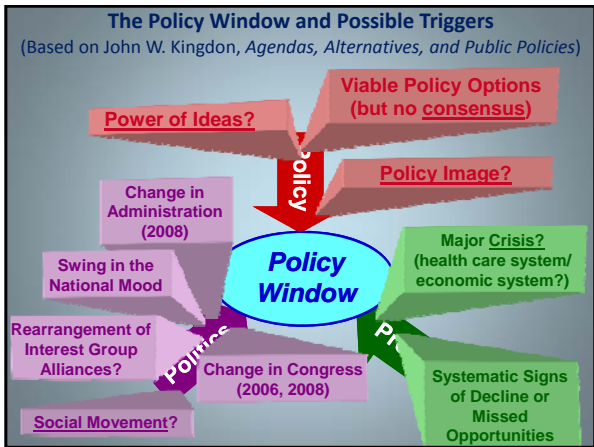
Is This the Era of Health Care Reform? Why This Time is Different from All Other Times

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Leonard Davis Institute of Health Economics
Health Policy Seminar Series
University of Pennsylvania
February 20, 2009

The easy out:
This time is not different

But not so fast...is there a reason to
anticipate that this time *is* different?



“Google” the term “health care crisis”:
Over 500,000 hits

Rational Responses to Health Care System Problems?

	Costs				Coverage			Consequence			
	Int'l Mea-sures	HC Inflation	Gov't Spend	Bus. Spend	Indiv'l Spend	Un-insured	Under-insured	Dispar-ities	Quality/ Outcomes	Int'l Rank	Pop Health
1912	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	-
FDR	0	0	0	0	--	-/0	0	0	0	0	0
Truman	0	0	0	0	++?	+	+	0	0	0	0
Nixon/ Ford	0	-	-	-?	+	-(+)	-	0	0	0	0
Carter	0?	--	--?	-?	+	-(+)	-	0	0	0	0
Clinton	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0
Now	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-

0 = No evidence or limited perception of problem - = widely recognized evidence of problem
 -- = evidence of problem and getting worse ++ = evidence of problem but getting better
 © Mark A. Peterson: From "Getting to Health Reform: Institutions, Politics, and Lessons from the Past," book manuscript

- Institutional-Political-Economic-Policy Contexts**
- [The Institutional Context](#)
 - [The Political Context](#)
 - [The Economic Context](#)
 - [The Policy Context](#)
 - [Presidential/Administration Leadership](#)
- From: Mark A. Peterson, *Legislating Together: The White House and Capitol Hill from Eisenhower to Reagan* (Harvard University Press, 1990).

Institutional-Political-Economic-Policy Contexts

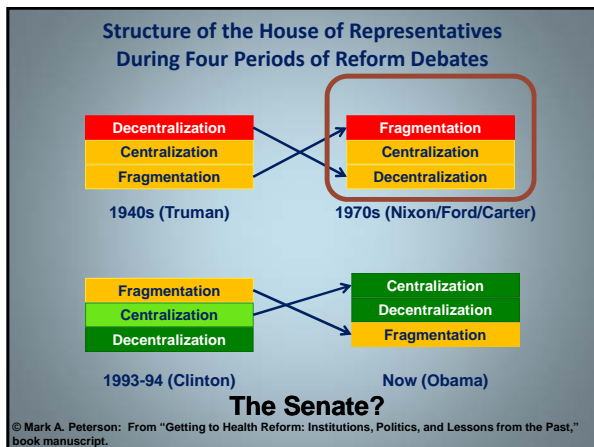
- The Institutional Context**
 - Congress

Mark A. Peterson, *Legislating Together: The White House and Capitol Hill from Eisenhower to Reagan* (Harvard University Press, 1990).

Types of Legislative Structure - Policy Effects

Policy Effects	Centralized	Decentralized	Fragmented
Promotes Policy Change	Legislative Majority Favors Change	Supportive Chairs and Committees as Proto-coalitions	Multiple Coalition Strategies
Threatens Policy Change	Legislative Majority Opposes Change	Antagonistic Chairs Exercise Baronial Veto	Issue Complexity Reinforces Fragmentation

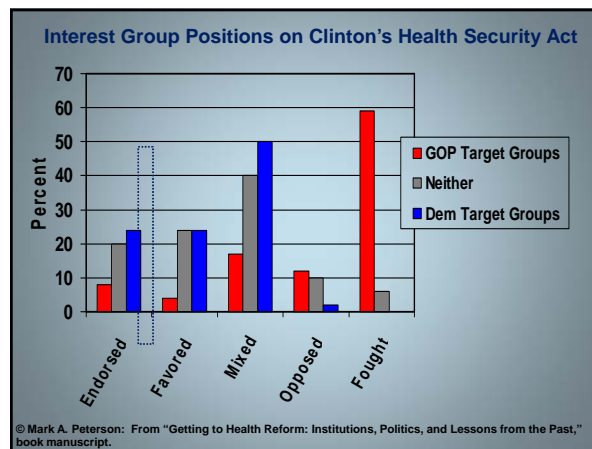
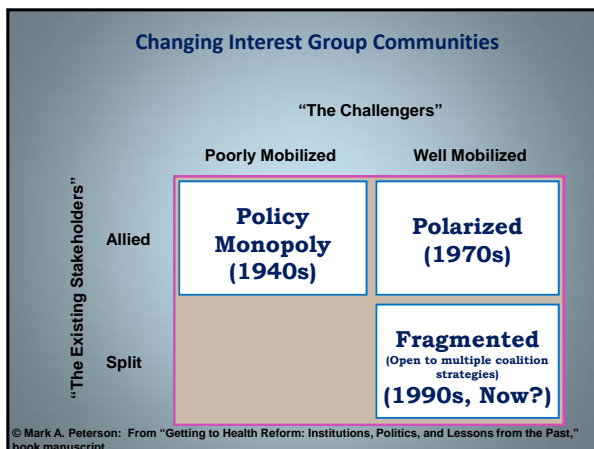
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Institutional-Political-Economic-Policy Contexts

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 - Interest Groups

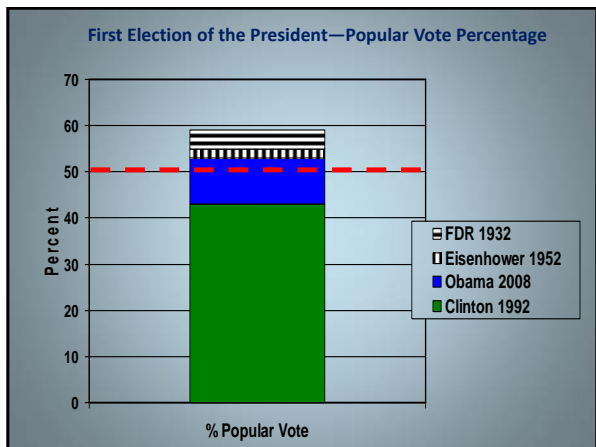
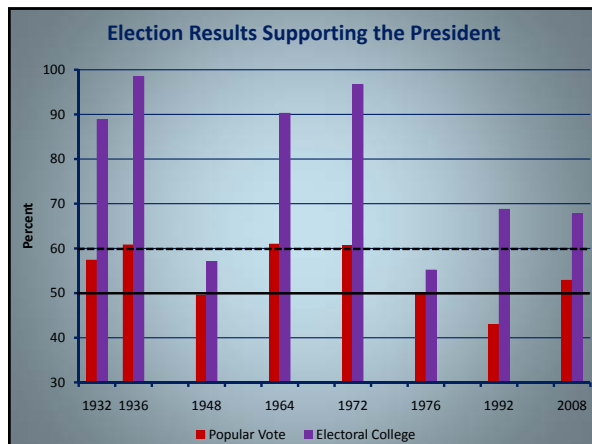
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Institutional-Political-Economic-Policy Contexts

- **The Institutional Context**
 - Congress
 - Interest Groups
- **The Political Context**
 - Presidential Election Returns

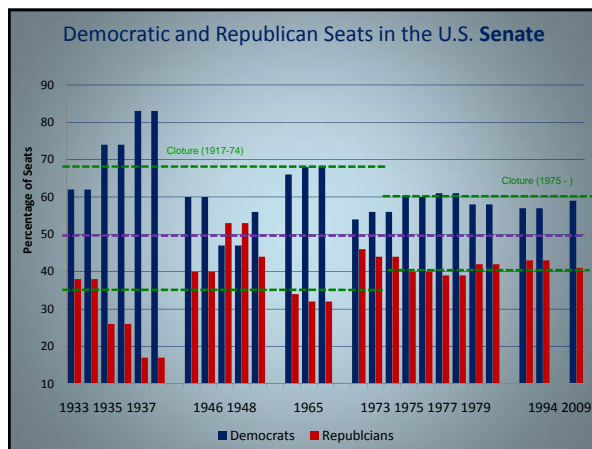
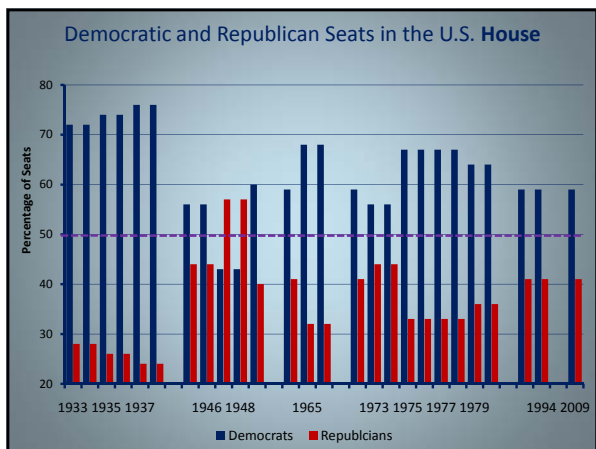
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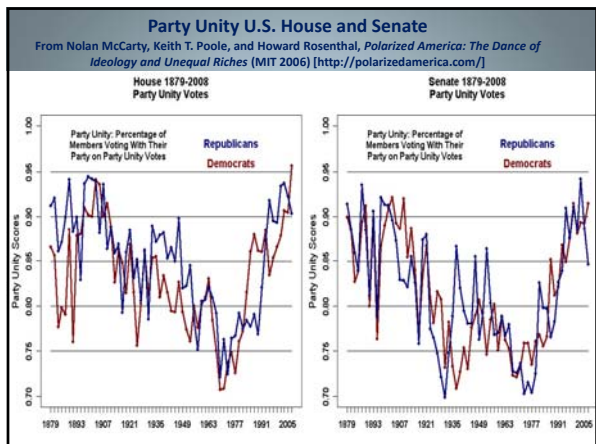


Institutional-Political-Economic-Policy Contexts

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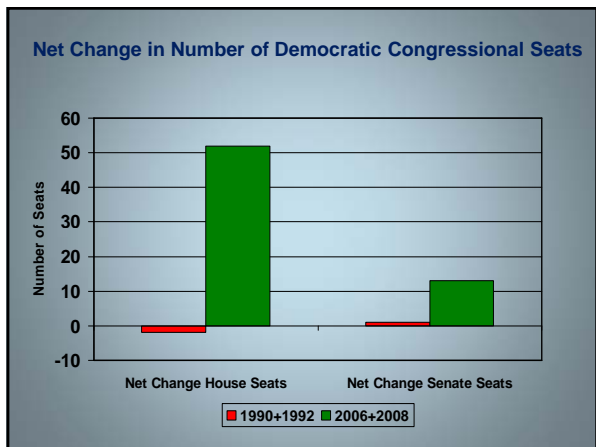


Comparison of Three Democratic Presidents and "Solid Votes" (Majority = 218)

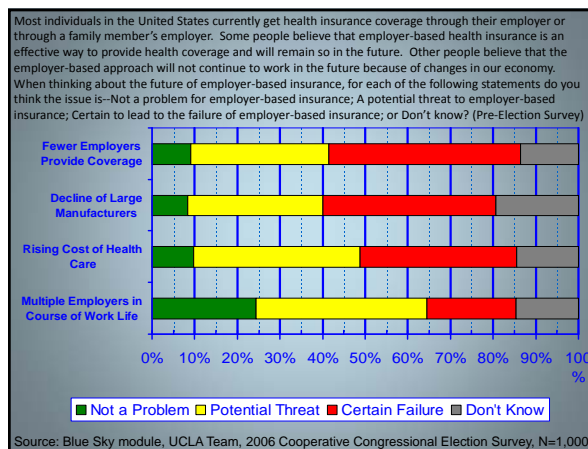
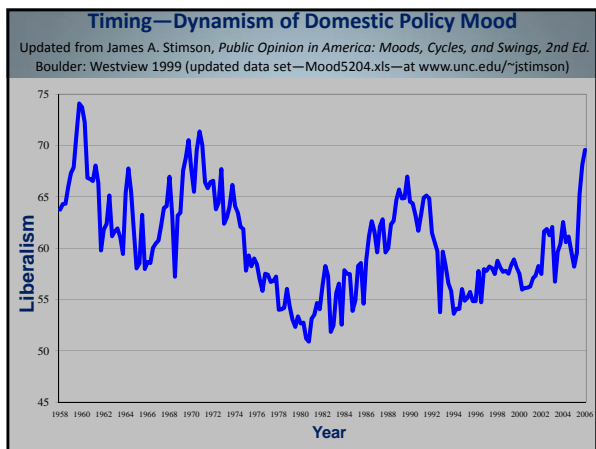
President	First Year	Democratic Seats		Democratic Party Unity	"Solid Votes"
Carter	1977	292	X	.67	195
Clinton	1993	258	X	.85	219
Obama	2009	257	X	.96 (110 th Congress)	247

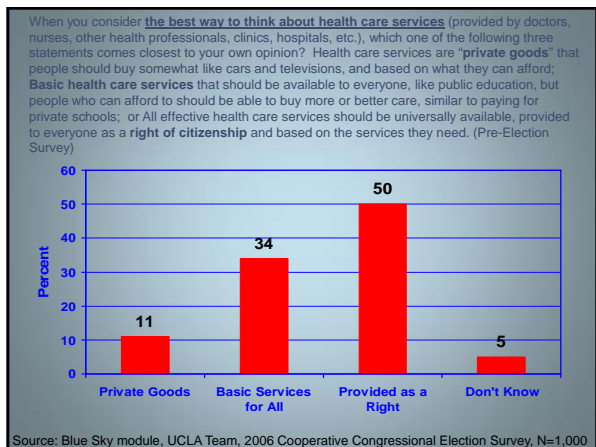
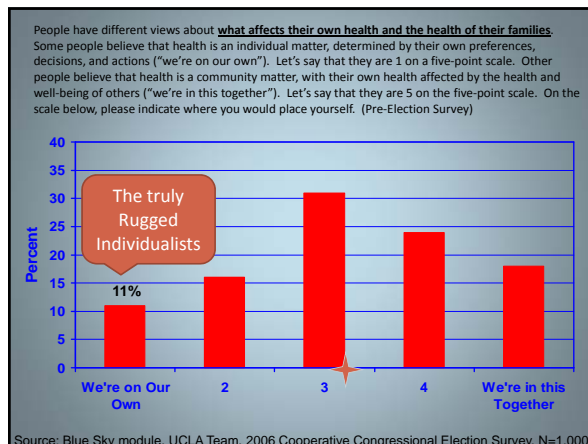
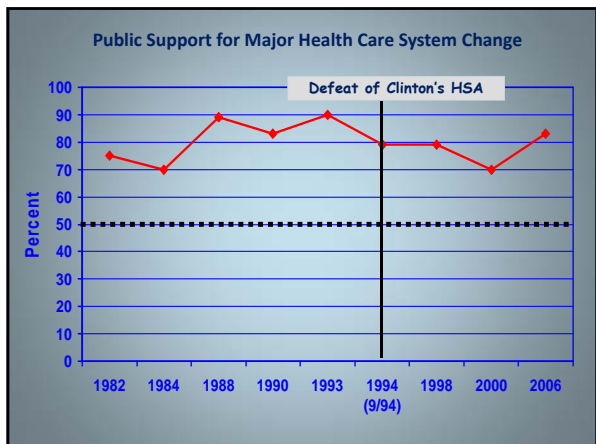
Economic Stimulus: 246

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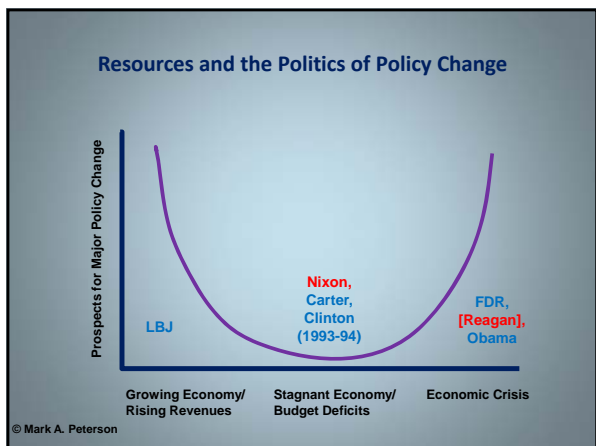


- ### Institutional-Political-Economic-Policy Contexts
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 - Congressional Election Returns
 - Public opinion
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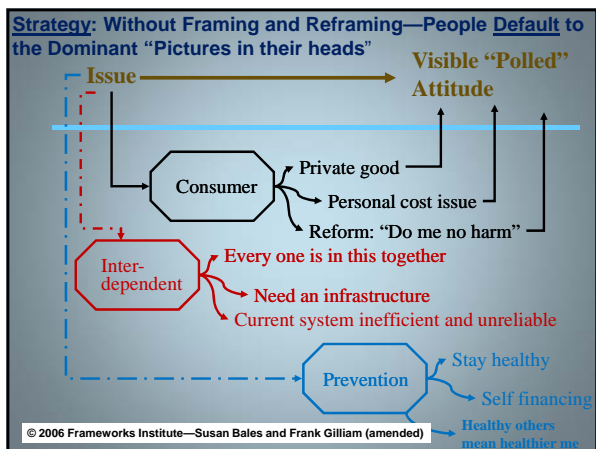
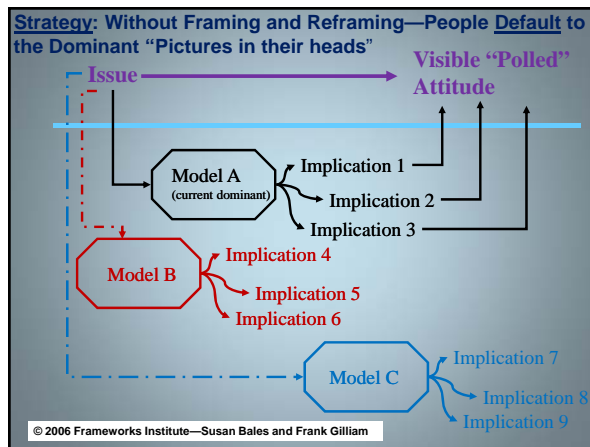
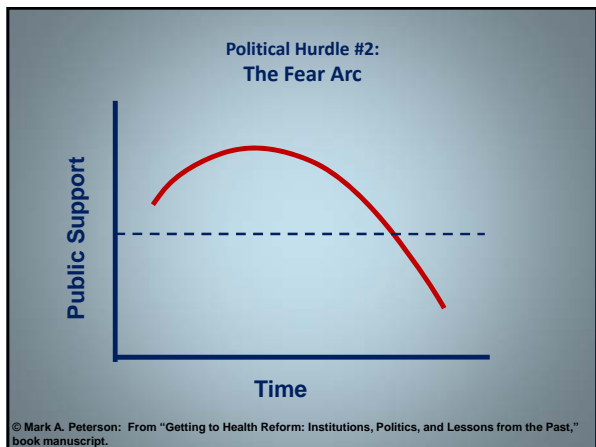
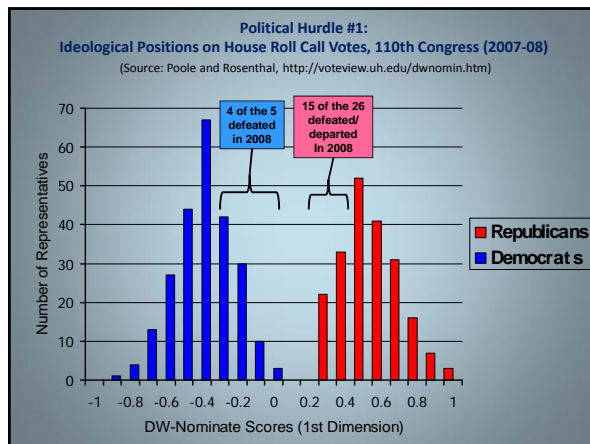
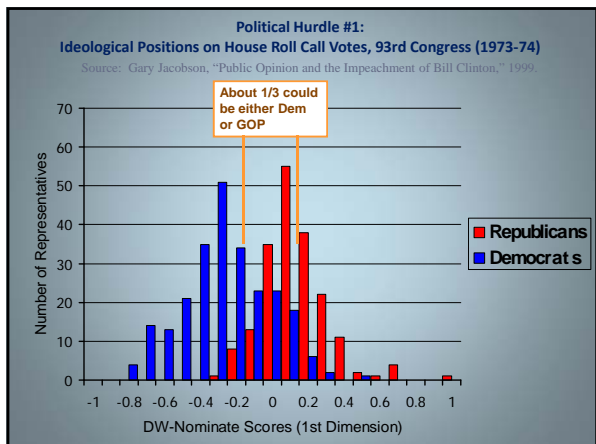




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 - Growing Resources vs. 0-sum constraint vs. Crisis
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 - Growing Resources vs. 0-sum constraint vs. Crisis
 - **The Policy Context**
 - Regulatory & Redistributive: high conflict
 - **Presidential Leadership**
- Mark A. Peterson, *Legislating Together: The White House and Capitol Hill from Eisenhower to Reagan* (Harvard University Press, 1990).



The Individual Cognitive Process

- **Duality of Individuals' Information Processing**
 Based on Drew Westen, *The Political Brain* (PublicAffairs, 2007)
 - "Rational"
 - But also...
 - "Emotional"
 - Kahneman and Tversky: "Prospect Theory"

This Direction Does Not Work

People Need Values Cues
(Based on George Lakoff)

- **Level One:** *Big ideas (and Emotional Connectors)*, like freedom, individual rights/responsibilities, justice, prevention, family, equality, security, and opportunity
- **Level Two:** *Issue-types*, like women's rights, the environment, children's issues, work, health care
- **Level Three:** *Specific proposals*, like the earned income tax credit, day care, minimum wage, individual health insurance mandate

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CHANGE.GOV
THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

"Today we begin in earnest the work of making sure that the world we leave our children is just a little bit better than the one we inhabit today."
President-elect Barack Obama

NEWS NEWROOM BLOG LEARN AGENDA AMERICAN MOMENTS EMERGENCY SERIES JOBS ABOUT SEARCH

NEWSROOM BLOG

Join the Discussion: Former Sen. Daschle responds on health care

Tuesday, December 2, 2008 11:14pm EST / Posted by Tom McCreary

More than 3,500 readers comments later, we're excited to report on the success of our second community discussion on health care, the first open conversation of its kind on Change.gov.

Members of our Health Care Transition team, including former Senator Tom Daschle, were eager to dig in to the comments and find out more about the issues and concerns that drove the community conversation online.

Here's a look at what they had to say:

UPCOMING EVENTS

THE INAUGURATION
JANUARY 20, 2009 in WASHINGTON, DC

THE AGENDA

- Revitalizing the Economy
- Ending the War in Iraq
- Providing Health Care for All
- Promoting America
- Restoring America on Global Leadership

YOUR ADMINISTRATION

Los Angeles Times

Retooling Obama's campaign machine for the long haul

The vast network that helped elect Obama will be tapped to lobby lawmakers on behalf of the president, with an eye toward reelection. A service organization as a nonprofit arm is also considered.

By Peter Wallsten
January 14, 2009

Reporting from Washington — As Barack Obama builds his administration and prepares to take office next week, his political team is quietly planning for a nationwide hiring binge that would marshal an army of full-time organizers to press the new president's agenda and lay the foundation for his reelection.

The organization, known internally as "Barack Obama 2.0," is being designed to sustain a grass-roots network of millions that was mobilized last year to elect Obama and now is widely considered the country's most potent political machine.

Organizers and even Republicans say the scope of this permanent campaign structure is unprecedented for a president. People familiar with the plan say Obama's team would use the network in part to pressure lawmakers — particularly wavering Democrats — to help him pass complex legislation on the economy, healthcare and energy.

© Los Angeles Times

ORGANIZING FOR AMERICA

"I'M ASKING YOU TO BELIEVE. Not just in my ability to bring about 'real change in Washington' — I'm asking you to believe in yours."
BARACK OBAMA

GET INVOLVED NOW
FIND AN EVENT NEAR YOU

BECAUSE IT'S ABOUT YOU

Our online tools make local organizing easy

Join My.BarackObama, our online community with over a million members. Get access to the tools you need to effectively organize for Barack Obama and build this movement for change.

Create Your Account

Your First Name:
Your Last Name:
Zip Code:
Email Address:
Password:
Password (again):

Find local events and groups

Presidents in Political Time
(Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton*)

- **Reconstruction** of the political order
 - FDR
 - [Reagan]
 - **Obama?**
- **Articulation** of the political order
 - LBJ
- **Preemption** of the political order
 - **Nixon**
 - **Clinton**
- **Disjunction** of the political order
 - Hoover
 - **Carter**
 - [Bush II?]

Blue Sky Health

http://www.blueskyhealthinitiative.org/

About Blue Sky Health | Toward A New Health System | Blue Sky in Action | Resources

What is Blue Sky Health?

Visit History

Blue Sky Health Team

Connect & Donate

Upcoming Events

How to Get Involved

Sign Up for Updates

Stay informed. Enter your e-mail address below to learn more about Blue Sky Health.

What is Blue Sky Health?

Blue Sky Health is an initiative dedicated to changing the way Americans think about, deliver, and finance health and health care systems.

Our vision is broader than what is traditionally conceived as "health care reform." Instead of focusing solely on expanding insurance coverage or improving medical care once illness has occurred, we are developing system-wide solutions designed to improve the health of society as a whole and make illness less common, severe, and costly.

We believe that we can overcome the shortcomings of the current health system by seeking solutions that embrace not just universal coverage but that also focus on prevention and the systematic promotion of health for all Americans.

We are committed to developing an effective and fundamental reform strategy for elevating the current U.S. health system into a truly effective one. Our Blue Sky Health team has already developed a blueprint that outlines what a transformed health system might look like and that explores alternative approaches to organizing and financing health systems, in ways that promote the health of all individuals.

To develop the best solutions for our nation's health problems, we believe that we must work collectively with experts and practitioners in the public and private sectors, including those who are working inside the existing institutions of health.

Why Transformational Business?

A Vision For The Future
Optimizing Health: The Importance Of Prevention

Sign Up for Updates
Stay informed. Enter your e-mail address below to learn more about Blue Sky Health

Submit

A Vision For The Future
What would a transformed health care system look like if it were designed today to ensure efficiency, enable universal access, track performance and offer services targeted at the prevention and improvement of health in our communities?

That is the question Blue Sky Health is trying to answer, and while we don't have all of the solutions just yet, we do have several well-developed ideas that were outlined in a recent article published in [Health Affairs](#).

The graphic below shows our ideas for how a transformed system could be organized. To learn more about the role and function of each key feature in a transformed system, please scroll over the graphic.

The diagram illustrates a 'HEALTH DEVELOPMENT TRUST' model. At the top, 'Public and Private Revenues' (with a dollar sign icon) flow into the trust. The trust then allocates resources to 'Traditional Public Health Activities'. Below this, 'Medical Systems' (including 'Hospital and Ambulatory') and 'Primary Health Services' are shown. 'Population Health Activities' also receive resources. At the bottom, 'Civic, Business and Nonprofit Activities' (including 'Public Health & Prevention', 'Child Care', 'Schools', 'Workplaces', and 'Senior Centers') are supported. The entire system is monitored through 'Performance Monitoring/Evaluation' and 'Health Impact Assessments'.