

# **Mapping the Economic Value of Nursing**

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## **Executive Summary**

This paper reviews current knowledge and understanding of the economic value of nursing. Cost and value are increasing considerations in health care and in decisions by policy-makers, payers and health system executives. Federal policy reflects a commitment to controlling growth in the cost of health care and, increasingly, to aligning cost and quality. Defining and quantifying the economic value that nursing represents can support informed, balanced decision-making with regard to the resources that government, employers and others are willing to commit to educating and utilizing nurses. While economic value should not be the sole factor, it can play a valuable role in advocating for decisions that best serve the goals of patient safety and quality health care.

The nursing profession in the U.S. has addressed issues of economic value since its early history. In 1916, Adelaide Nutting proposed developing new sources of financing for nursing schools. Later, nurses' registries were developed to address pay levels for private-duty nurses. In 1966, ANA established a salary goal of not less than \$6,500 annually for entry-level RNs.

#### **NURSE STAFFING**

Over the past three decades, much of the focus on nursing's economic value has centered on issues of adequate staffing, particularly in hospitals. These issues came into focus in 1983, following the implementation of the Medicare inpatient Prospective Payment System (IPPS). Many hospitals initially responded by reducing their RN staffing. This situation reversed itself in fairly short order, however, as hospitals found that shorter hospital stays—the key to financial health under IPPS—required a greater intensity of RN services.

In the mid- to late 1990s, the growth of managed care payment models meant sharp changes in hospital reimbursement from private health plans. Workplace restructuring schemes adopted by many hospitals involved reductions in their use of RNs and expanded utilization of unlicensed assistive personnel. The profession was challenged to produce evidence of the relationship between staffing levels and outcomes. The result has been a large and still-growing body of research pointing to a link between nurse staffing and improved patient outcomes. A substantial body of research literature now points to the link between nurse staffing and patient outcomes.

In 2003, Leatherman and colleagues explored the "Business Case for Quality" that exists when an organization that spends money on a given intervention realizes a financial return within a reasonable amount of time. Needleman, Buerhaus, Stewart, Zelevinsky & Mattke (2006) applied this approach in formulating the business case for nurse staffing. They identified cost savings resulting from reduced

complications and shorter lengths of stay associated with higher nurse staffing levels.

More recently, Dall, Chen, Seifert, Maddox and Hogan (2009) estimated the impact of increased nurse staffing on medical costs, lives saved and national productivity. They suggested that adding 133,000 RNs to the hospital workforce would save 5900 lives per year, increasing national productivity by \$1.3 billion, or about \$9900 per year per additional RN. Decreases in length of stay resulting from this additional nurse staffing would translate into medical savings of \$6.1 billion, an average of \$46,000 per additional RN per year. Increased productivity attributable to decreased length of stay was estimated at \$231 million per year.

#### VALUE-BASED PURCHASING

Value-based purchasing initiatives (VBP, also known as pay for performance) are intended to realign providers' financial incentives by rewarding them for achieving identified quality outcomes or penalizing them for failing to do so. Among these, recent efforts to tie hospital performance to Medicare reimbursement levels have particularly important implications for nursing and for demonstrating nursing's economic value.

In 2004, Medicare initiated a program, now known as the Hospital Inpatient Quality Reporting (IQR) program, that requires hospitals to report specified process, outcome and experience of care measures (based on responses to the Hospital Consumer Assessment of Healthcare Providers and Systems, HCAHPS). Medicare payment to hospitals that fail to report these data may be reduced by up to 2%.

As a result of the Affordable Care Act, Medicare now also rewards hospitals based on their performance, not just for reporting data on their performance. Hospitals receive additional payment based either on how well they perform on certain quality measures or how much their performance improves.

A related development is Medicare's policy not to reimburse hospitals for the cost of treating identified hospital-acquired conditions (HACs). Non-payment for these HACs creates an incentive for hospitals to achieve or maintain good nurse staffing levels. Their return on investment for better staffing results in prevention of complications and conditions which, under current Medicare policy, are costly to the hospitals. On the other hand, some hospitals that lose money as a result of non-payment for treating preventable HACs may react shortsightedly by reducing nursing staff.

As of October 2012, Medicare penalizes hospitals if patients with a diagnosis of acute myocardial infarction, heart failure or pneumonia are readmitted within 30 days of discharge. Currently, hospitals may face a reduction of up to 1% of their Medicare payments. That

amount will increase, reaching a maximum penalty of 3% in 2015. The diagnoses covered by this policy will also expand.

The Transitional Care Model developed by Mary Naylor, PhD, RN, FAAN of the University of Pennsylvania School of Nursing, utilizes APRNs to facilitate transitions across care settings. This nursing-led model has successfully reduced readmissions and lowered costs. In addition, recent research has suggested a relationship between readmissions and nursing workload and work environments.

Paying for quality performance, non-payment for preventable HACs and penalizing readmissions are aimed at incentivizing improved inpatient hospital care. To the extent that nursing care is linked to quality outcomes, these initiatives may also provide an incentive for improving nursing care, including nurse staffing.

## REFLECTING NURSING INTENSITY IN HOSPITAL PAYMENT

Since implementation of the Medicare IPPS, hospitals receive a bundled payment based on a diagnostic related groups (DRGs). This system does not reflect differences in intensity of nursing care within diagnoses. A model of adjusting hospital payment based on Nursing Intensity Weights (NIW) was adopted by the New York State Medicaid program from 1983 to 2009. Welton and colleagues have proposed removing nursing care from the Medicare IPPS payment to hospitals and instead having Medicare pay for nursing care based on the actual hours of nursing care provided to each patient. Some have recognized the potential benefits of reflecting nursing work within hospital Medicare payment but have questioned the practical and policy feasibility of separating payment for nursing care from the Medicare IPPS payment.

## ADVANCED PRACTICE REGISTERED NURSES (APRNS)

The services of Advanced Practice Registered Nurses (APRNs) can be separately billed and paid for by most insurance and health plans that pay for professional services on a fee-for-service basis, including Medicare. However, Nurse Practitioners (NPs) and Clinical Nurse Specialists (CNSs) are paid by Medicare at 85% of the amount paid to physicians for the same service. Today, paying NPs and CNSs at a lower rate than physicians receive for the same services is a statement about how those services are valued—i.e., that NP and CNS services are assigned a lower value than physician services.

#### CONCLUSION

Improved understanding of nursing's economic value is a tool for explicating and asserting its broad value—both economic and social. That broader value includes functions that may have little quantifiable economic impact, but which are central to nursing's identity as a

discipline focused on care and compassion and key to the profession's social contract.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

#### **Nursing Organizations Should**

- Continue efforts to identify and define the economic value of nursing. They should disseminate relevant research findings and conduct initiatives to educate nurses about nursing's economic value. However, these initiatives should present the economic value of nursing within the broader context of nursing's social and economic value.
- Target their messages on nursing's economic value based on distinctions in the economic, business, scientific and political cases for nursing care quality.
- Continue to carefully monitor the development, refinement and implementation of value-based purchasing and other policy initiatives to realign financial incentives required to health care quality;
- Advocate wider use of nursing-sensitive measures in the Medicare VBP program and in VBP programs developed for use by state Medicaid programs and private health plans;
- Consider advocating inclusion of staffing levels and/or use of hospital-based staffing plans in VBP programs.
- Continue to advocate piloting models for adjusting Medicare hospital payment based on nursing intensity. Evaluation of such models should include any additional documentation burden posed by nurses' recording and reporting of time spent delivering patient care services.
- Encourage health services researchers to evaluate the contributions of APRN services to the quality and value of inpatient care as well as ambulatory and office-based services.
- Work toward consensus on advocating Medicare payment for NP and CNS services at 100% of the Physician Fee Schedule.
- Provide information on health care financing and health policy on a regular basis, to encourage nurses to remain current in their knowledge of these areas.

#### **Individual Nurses Should**

 Seek current information about of and knowledge of health financing and health policy, including initiatives relating to health care quality measurement and value-based purchasing.

#### **Nurse Leaders Should**

- Be familiar with health policy, financing and research evidence related to the economic value of nursing. They should facilitate an understanding of nursing's role in patient and organizational outcomes among other health care organization leaders, and advocate for appropriate allocation of resources to ensure quality patient care.
- Collaborate to develop strategies for improving and, where
  possible, standardizing measurement of staffing needs in acute
  care setting settings. One priority should be to discontinue
  use of the midnight census which fails to reflect admissions,
  discharges and other events that significantly affect needs for
  nursing care—as a basis for determining staffing.

#### **Nursing Education Programs Should**

In programs preparing new nurses, include content on health
policy, current evidence on health care quality, and at least basic
concepts of economics, health care financing and budgeting.
Graduate-level education in nursing should build on this content
to ensure that nurses in advanced roles as clinicians, managers
or executives, and educators, are competent in these areas and
can help to educate other nurses.

# Introduction: Nursing's Social and Economic Value

In its 2011 report, the Institute of Medicine (IOM) Committee on the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Initiative on the Future of Nursing (2011) examined the roles of nursing in meeting the needs of a reformed health care system. The IOM Committee found that "nursing brings to the future ... a steadfast commitment to patient care, improved safety and quality, and better outcomes ... [N]urses have key roles to play as team members and leaders for a reformed and better-integrated, patient-centered health care system" (p.xi). This report thus underscored nursing's social value—its value to society—while also outlining steps that must be taken to more fully realize that value.

The nursing profession has long emphasized its social value. *Nursing's Social Policy Statement* (American Nurses Association [ANA], 2010) and the *Code of Ethics for Nurses* (ANA, 2001) focus on nursing as being based on a *social contract*—a set of obligations to society that arise from being granted the authority to practice our profession. Inherent in the idea of a social contract is that nursing provides necessary and valuable services to society.

In recent years, there has been increasing interest in quantifying nursing's value in economic terms. There are strong reasons for identifying and demonstrating nursing's economic value. But the true value of nursing services is difficult to quantify economically. Nursing cannot be reduced to economic terms, nor should it be. Nursing is a humanizing factor in a health care system increasingly focused on cost. Identifying nursing's economic value should not overshadow the human values—caring, compassion, respect, advocacy, social justice—that form part of nursing's core.

This is a key time to reassert nursing's economic and social value. The Affordable Care Act (ACA) has introduced many new initiatives to expand access to health care coverage and services for tens of millions of Americans and to deliver care more efficiently. Political and legal efforts to derail implementation of the ACA have proved unsuccessful; the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius* (2012) and the outcome of the November 2012 elections have resolved most uncertainties about the health reform law.

## WHY ADDRESS NURSING'S ECONOMIC VALUE?

Why address nursing's economic value? It costs money to educate, employ and retain nurses. These costs are distributed among different groups, including federal and state governments, who provide support for nursing education and research and pay for health care services provided through public health insurance programs; employers, who pay nurses' wages and pay much of the cost of health benefits; and health care consumers, who bear some of costs of their own health care services and premiums. Nursing also provides services with economic value—nursing care generates payment to hospitals, home health agencies, nursing homes, clinics, and other providers; nurses help to decrease hospital lengths of stay, prevent illness, errors, complications and readmissions, all of which saves money for providers and health plans and adds to overall productivity.

#### THE PURPOSE OF THIS PAPER

Cost and value are increasing considerations in health care and in decisions by policy-makers, payers and health system executives. Health care costs have been a focus of national concern for some years, as these costs have continued to climb—from \$253 billion in 1980 to \$714 billion in 1990 and \$2.7 trillion in 2011. (Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services [CMS], 2012). Federal policy reflects an official commitment to controlling the growing cost of health care (Gruber, 2010) and, increasingly, to aligning cost and quality (CMS, 2011). Payers and health care systems continue to seek ways to lower their expenses.

Defining and, where possible, quantifying the economic value that nursing represents—the return on investment that it brings—can support informed, balanced decision-making with regard to the resources that government, employers and others are willing to commit to educating and utilizing nurses. While economic value should not be the sole factor, it can play a valuable role in advocating for decisions that best serve the goals of patient safety and quality health care.

This paper reviews current knowledge and understanding of the economic value of nursing and offers recommendations for consideration by nursing organizations and others to continue and refine efforts to identify and measure nursing's economic value within the broader context of nursing's value. In addition to the discussion presented in this paper, readers are encouraged to carefully examine the report recently produced by the Washington Center on Nursing (2010), What Value Does Nursing Bring? The WCN report provides invaluable discussion and analysis of nursing's value, much of it based on Washington State data.

### **Historical Context**

Issues of economic value are not new to nursing. Early in the history of the profession, the growth of nursing schools was driven not only by a recognition of the need for greater numbers of "trained" caregivers, but also by the source of unpaid labor that the schools represented. Student nurses provided the bulk of nursing care in hospitals (along with much of the other work, such as laundry, cooking and housekeeping). While students' unpaid work was often described as the equivalent of tuition, in fact it represented a source of savings far beyond that value (Nutting, 1916).

This practice created an arguably perverse relationship between nursing schools and hospitals—student nurses as a source of cheap labor justified the cost of operating a nursing school, but this perpetuated schools' dependence on hospitals and sharply limited the use of their graduates. Mary Adelaide Nutting, an early nursing leader, advocated the development of external sources of funding for nursing education, such as charitable donations and public funds, in order to alter this relationship (Nutting, 1916).

The scarcity of hospital jobs for graduate nurses meant that most worked as private-duty nurses. This raised concerns about how to determine nursing's economic value in a very concrete way—how much should nurses be paid by the patient (or the patient's family)? Most nurses were not equipped to bargain on their own behalf. Moreover, competition among private-duty nurses could only drive their wages down. Nurses' registries were a solution to these problems. The registries functioned like a hiring hall for nursing care: nurses

signed up with registries to seek employment, and family members would hire nurses through the registries (Registries and Dollars, 1955). They provided a means to set a "fair" rate of pay for private-duty nurses (and to enforce it by virtually eliminating price competition).

A subsequent growth in hospital nursing brought a need to address nurses' wages and working conditions. How best to do this was the focus of some controversy within nursing. To some, addressing economic issues directly seemed to break with the profession's traditional emphasis on nursing as a caring, patient-centered service. Writing in 1963, former ANA President Elizabeth K. Porter noted:

Many ... nurses—even though they are concerned about their economic plight—seem to be inarticulate or to feel apologetic when they venture into the subject of remuneration. They may discuss or compare salaries among themselves, but they hesitate to bring the subject up with their directors of nursing. "It's not proper," they say. In accepting a promotion or a new position, they sometimes don't even ask about the salary. "Money isn't that important," they explain (Porter, 1963, p.M-4).

Porter also suggested that the profession's religious and military roots had helped to originate "the tradition of nurses as unpaid or underpaid workers" (Porter, 1963). Some nurses also expressed concern that achieving higher wages for nurses would be viewed as contributing to higher health care costs (Ginzberg, 1963).

Although many factors contribute to determining the wage that an employee (or group of employees) commands, wages are one measure of how an employee's services are valued. Thus, ANA used comparisons between nurses' wages and those of other workers to demonstrate that nurses' pay was inequitable. In 1966, ANA identified that the average annual salary for a nurse was \$4,700 while factory workers and secretaries were earning an average of \$5,300 or more (Stewart & Austin, 1962). The 1966 ANA House of Delegates declared that "nurses' salaries ... should reflect the value of their service to society" and established a salary goal of not less than \$6,500 annually for entry-level registered nurses (The Profession Prepares for Its Future, 1966).

ANA and many of its state nurses associations recognized the importance of advocating for nurses' economic security as well as utilizing available tools for securing supportive working and practice conditions. This recognition led to the development of an ANA Economic Security Program (Schutt, 1958) and Economic and General Welfare programs within many state nurses associations.

## Hospital Payment and Nurse Staffing

## MEDICARE PROSPECTIVE PAYMENT SYSTEM FOR INPATIENT HOSPITAL CARE

Over the past three decades, much of the focus on nursing's economic value has centered on issues of adequate staffing, particularly in hospitals. In 1983, Congress approved proposals to change inpatient hospital payment from a cost-based system, in which hospitals were paid based on the actual costs of treating their patients, to a prospective payment system (PPS) in which hospitals are paid based on patients' discharge diagnoses, categorized into diagnostic-related groups (DRGs).

The immediate concerns raised by this change in hospital payment were related to the ways in which it shifted hospitals' financial incentives. Under the inpatient PPS (IPPS)¹, payment amounts were configured based on hospitals' historical charges—that is, they were based largely on hospitals' mean costs for treating patients with similar diagnoses in the past. This is a key time to reassert nursing's economic and social value. The Affordable Care Act (ACA) has introduced many new initiatives to expand access to health care coverage and services for tens of millions of Americans and to deliver care more efficiently. Political and legal efforts to derail implementation of the ACA have proved unsuccessful; the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius (2012) and the outcome of the November 2012 elections have resolved most uncertainties about the health reform law.

One result of this change in Medicare hospital payment was that nursing became solely a cost center: since hospital payment no longer reflected nursing care actually provided to a given patient, variations in nursing care have a direct, measurable impact on a hospital's costs, but not its revenues.

Initially, many hospitals reacted by decreasing their utilization of registered nurses and substituting other nursing staff, including licensed practical nurses (LPNs). This situation reversed itself, however, as hospitals soon found that shorter hospital stays—the key to financial health under IPPS—required a greater intensity of services that was impossible to achieve without sufficient numbers of RNs. The period that followed saw a greatly increased demand for RN services and a pronounced nursing shortage as many hospitals

moved to all-RN staffs and adopted primary nursing models (Aiken, 2008). (Some research has also suggested that a factor in this trend was the small wage differential between RNs and LPNs at that time [Buerhaus, 1993]).

This experience demonstrated that the *expense* of nurses' salaries needs to be balanced against the *savings* that professional nursing services can provide. It continues to be instructive for current discussions of nursing's economic value.

## MANAGED CARE AND WORKPLACE RESTRUCTURING

In the mid- to late 1990s, managed care payment models, which had previously taken root in only a few regions of the U.S., became dominant throughout the country. For most hospitals the growth of managed care—regardless of the specific payment methods employed—meant sharp changes in reimbursement from private health plans.

To address changes in their revenue, many hospitals made rapid adjustments to their operating budgets, particularly in their labor budgets. Nursing care—which by some estimates represents 30% of hospital operating budgets and 44% of direct care costs (Siegrist & Kane, 2003), was an immediate target for these cost-cutting efforts. Workplace restructuring (also called reorganization or reengineering) models adopted by many hospitals involved reductions in their professional staff, particularly RNs, and expanded utilization of unlicensed assistive personnel, both in numbers and in the types of tasks and functions they performed.

Many nurses and nursing organizations cautioned at the time that reduced use of RNs endangered patient safety and reduced quality of care. However, there had been little research linking nurse staffing with patient care outcomes in hospitals. The profession was challenged to produce more evidence of the relationship between staffing and outcomes. This challenge was posed explicitly by the IOM in its 1996 report, *Nursing Staff in Hospitals and Nursing Homes: Is it Adequate?* (Wunderlich, Davis, and Sloane, 1996). The IOM committee that issued this report noted widespread reports from nurses about the impact of staffing changes on quality in hospitals, but found insufficient evidence to conclude that patient care had been harmed. The committee urged nursing organizations and researchers to more fully investigate the hospital nurse staffing-outcomes link.

Initial efforts to support research on this link had begun in 1994, when the ANA launched its Quality and Safety Initiative, with the goal of identifying nursing-sensitive quality indicators (ANA, 1995). Several health services researchers also sharpened their focus on the relationship between nurse staffing and patient outcomes. The result has been a large and still-growing body of research in this area. Beginning with a handful of studies in the late 1990s (Kovner

<sup>1</sup> Since the implementation of the PPS for inpatient hospital services, Medicare has implemented prospective payment systems for other services, including skilled nursing facility, home health agency and outpatient services. The PPS for inpatient hospital services is generally referred to as the inpatient prospective payment system (IPPS) to differentiate it from these other PPSs.

& Gergen, 1998; Blegen & Vaughn, 1998; Bond, Raehl, Pittrle & Franke, 1999; Lichtig, Knauf & Milholland, 1999), the body of research pointing to the impact of RN staffing levels on outcomes of care has grown exponentially. In 2002, studies published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (Aiken, et al., 2002) and the *New England Journal of Medicine* (Needleman, et al., 2002) brought widespread attention to the role of nurse staffing levels in reducing a range of adverse outcomes. Research has continued since then, producing a substantial body of literature pointing to the link between nurse staffing and patient outcomes, including systematic reviews of the literature in 2004 (Lang, Hodge, Olson, Romano & Kravitz, 2004) and 2007 (Kane, Shamliyan, Mueller, Duval, & Wilt, 2007)

While research points clearly to the positive impact of nurse staffing levels on patent outcomes, it has not identified optimal RN staffing levels. In part, this is because a range of other factors (nurses' experience levels, patient acuity, patient population, physical layout of patient care units, etc.) are presumed to play a role in patient outcomes (Burnes Bolton, Aydin, Donaldson, Brown, Sandhu., Friedman, et al., 2007; Mitchell & Mount, 2009).

Outside of hospital inpatient settings, a large body of research addresses the relationships between nurse staffing and resident health status/outcomes in nursing homes (Horn, 2008; Bostick, Rantz, Flesner & Riggs, 2006). IOM reports on nurse staffing (Wunderlich, Davis & Sloane, 1996) and nurses' work environment (Page, 2004) have called for federal nurse staffing requirements in nursing homes, based on the availability of research demonstrating linkages between staffing and outcomes in those settings. (A majority of states have adopted their own requirements for staffing ratios or other minimum staffing requirements in nursing homes). Little research focuses specifically on RN staffing in nursing homes, in part because nursing homes generally employ large numbers of LPNs and nurses aides and comparatively fewer RNs.

There is little current research addressing the impact of RN staffing in home health agencies, clinics and other community and ambulatory settings. One area in which the impact of community-based nursing care has been carefully studied is the Nurse Family Partnership (FNP), a program in which nurses work with first-time low-income or vulnerable mothers from pregnancy until the child turns two. A 2005 RAND study based estimated the cost of the NFP per child at \$9,118 and the "return to society" at \$26,298, for a net return of \$17,180—a cost-benefit ratio of 2.88. For higher-risk mothers, the cost-benefit ratio was 5.70 (Karoly, Kilburn, & Cannon, 2005). The ACA authorizes funding that can provide significant expansion of the NFP.

# STAFFING, OUTCOMES AND THE "BUSINESS CASE FOR QUALITY"

Improved patient outcomes are desirable from many perspectives, but how are they connected to economic value? How do they help to make a case for nursing's economic value?

In 2003, Leatherman and colleagues explored the "Business Case for Quality" (Leatherman, Berwick, Iles, Lewin, Davidoff, Nolan, & Bisognano, 2003). A business case, they explained, exists when an organization that spends money on a given intervention realizes a financial return – in the form of profit, reduced losses or avoided costs—within a reasonable amount of time. The authors argued: "Without a business case for quality, we think it unlikely that the private sector will move quickly and reliably to widely adopt proven quality improvements."

Leatherman, et al. distinguished the *business case* from the *economic case* and the *social case*. Some interventions may have an economic benefit, but that benefit may not accrue to the organization that bears the cost for it. Or the benefit might be realized at some distant point in the future. For example, a hospital might offer nutritional counseling to patients at risk for diabetes. If effective, such counseling might lower diabetes prevalence rates in the community, leading to lower health care costs and greater productivity. It might even decrease future hospitalizations. This service has economic value, but the hospital does not benefit economically from providing it. (Much of the cost savings would likely accrue to payers). Thus, there may an economic case for hospitals to provide nutritional counseling, but not (in this instance) a business case.

In addition, many services or interventions in health care have significant social value in the form of improved quality of life and decreased suffering. But there may be no clear economic benefit that results from them. Thus, there may be a strong social case, but not an economic or business case<sup>2</sup>.

Needleman, Buerhaus, Stewart, Zelevinsky & Mattke (2006) applied this approach in formulating the business case for nurse staffing. Comparing hospitals with higher nurse staffing levels (those in the upper 25%) with hospitals with lower staffing levels (those in the bottom 75%), they identified cost savings resulting from reduced complications and shorter lengths of stay associated with higher nurse staffing levels. Increasing the proportion of nursing hours provided by RNs without increasing total nursing hours was associated with a net reduction in costs for hospitals with lower staffing

<sup>2</sup> In her analysis of literature on nursing and high-value inpatient care, Kurtzman (2010) also identifies a scientific case, based on the availability of sound evidence and a political case, based on the feasibility of proposed interventions.

levels. Increasing overall nursing hours in those hospitals reduced length of stay, complications and patient mortality, but modestly increased hospital costs by 1.5%.

Arguably, much of the research linking nurse staffing and patient outcomes can be interpreted as illustrating the economic value of nurse staffing. Kurtzman (2010) synthesized available literature on staffing and outcomes, expanding on previous efforts by exploring nurses' contributions to high-value care and also including research on APRN services. Among her conclusions:

- Despite finding links between nursing hours per patient day and staffing mix and improved outcomes, research has not established specific staffing standards per se.
- Relatively few studies have addressed nurse staffing and cost or efficiency, but those that have done so have suggested that better nurse staffing is associated with lower costs.
- There is little evidence associating processes of nursing care with patient outcomes or health care costs.
- While there is research literature pointing to the value of APRNs in primary care, there is little research addressing their contributions to inpatient care.

(Kurtzman, 2010, p.39).

Dall, Chen, Seifert, Maddox and Hogan (2009) utilized data from the 2005 National Inpatient Survey and 28 studies on nurse staffing and reduced hospital-based mortality, hospital-acquired pneumonia, unplanned extubation, failure to rescue, nosocomial bloodstream infections, and length of stay. They estimated the impact of increased nurse staffing on medical costs, lives saved and national productivity. The authors suggested that adding 133,000 RNs to the hospital workforce would save 5900 lives per year, increasing national productivity by \$1.3 billion, or about \$9900 per year per additional RN. Decreases in length of stay resulting from this additional nurse staffing would translate into medical savings (before labor costs) of \$6.1 billion, an average of \$46,000 per additional RN per year. Increased productivity attributable to decreased length of stay was estimated at \$231 million per year.

Both Needleman, et al. (2006) and Dall, et al. (2009) found that reduced length of stay accounted for much greater cost savings than did increased salary costs. Their findings overall should not be simplified to stating that increased nurse staffing always saves money for hospitals. Needleman, et al., found that increasing the proportion of RNs (i.e., skill mix) in lower-staffed hospitals without increasing overall staffing would result in savings, while increasing overall nurse staffing would result in a modest increase in costs. Both Needleman and Dall also emphasize the benefits of increased RN staffing that may not be measurable in economic terms or which may

result in economic benefit to entities other than the employer (who, of course, bears the immediate costs of RN staffing), For example, increased productivity benefits the national economy in general. The medical savings resulting from increased RN staffing, as Dall, et al. (2009) observe, are "greater for payers than for individual healthcare facilities." (p.103).

#### **VALUE-BASED PURCHASING**

Value-based purchasing initiatives (VBP, also known as pay for performance) seek to realign providers' financial incentives by rewarding them for achieving identified quality outcomes or penalizing them for failing to do so. Recent efforts to tie hospital performance to Medicare reimbursement levels have particularly important implications for nursing and for demonstrating nursing's economic value.

#### **PAYING FOR REPORTING**

In 2004, Medicare initiated a Reporting Hospital Quality Data for Annual Payment Update (RHQDAPU) program, now known as the Hospital Inpatient Quality Reporting (IQR) program. Under this program, hospitals report 24 clinical process of care measures, 3 outcome measures and 10 patient experience of care measures (based on responses to the Hospital Consumer Assessment of Healthcare Providers and Systems, HCAHPS). Medicare payment to hospitals that fail to report these data may be reduced by up to 2%. The measures included in the Medicare IQR program are updated yearly, and include measures in the following domains:

- Acute Myocardial Infarction
- · Heart Failure
- Pneumonia
- · Surgical Care Improvement Project
- Mortality Measures (30-day mortality rates for Medicare patients)
- Patients' Experience of Care
- Readmission Measure (30-day readmissions for patients with acute myocardial infarction, heart failure and pneumonia)
- AHRQ Patient Safety Indicators (PSIs), Inpatient Quality Indicators (IQIs) and Composite Measures
- AHRQ PSI and Nursing Sensitive Care (this currently includes one measure:
- Death among surgical in patients with serious treatable complications).
- Structural Measures (including participation in a systematic clinical database registry for nursing-sensitive care)

#### TABLE 1

#### **Clinical Process of Care Measures**

- Fibrinolytic Therapy Received Within 30 Minutes of Hospital Arrival
- 2. Primary PCI Received within 90 Minutes of Hospital Arrival
- 3. Discharge Instructions
- 4. Blood Cultures Performed in the Emergency Department (ED) Prior to Initial Antibiotic Received in Hospital
- 5. Initial Antibiotic Selection for Community-Acquired Pneumonia (CAP) in Immunocompetent Patients
- 6. Prophylactic Antibiotic Received within One Hour Prior to Surgical Incision
- 7. Prophylactic Antibiotic Selection for Surgical Patients
- 8. Prophylactic Antibiotics Discontinued within 24 Hours After Surgery
- 9. Cardiac Surgery Patients with Controlled 6:00 a.m. Post-operative Serum Glucose
- Surgery Patients on a Beta Blocker Prior to Arrival Who Received a Beta Blocker During the Perioperative Period
- 11. Surgery Patients with Recommended Venous Thromboembolism Prophylaxis Ordered
- 12. Surgery Patients Who Received Appropriate Venous Thromboembolism Prophylaxis within 24 Hours

#### **Patient Experience of Care Dimensions**

- 1. Nurse Communication
- 2. Doctor Communication
- 3. Hospital Staff Responsiveness
- 4. Pain Management
- 5. Medicine Communication
- 6. Hospital Cleanliness and Quietness
- 7. Discharge Information
- 8. Overall Hospital Rating

- Healthcare-Associated Infections (note that among the measures to be reported starting in October 2014 is one on healthcare provider influenza vaccination)
- · Hospital Acquired Conditions
- Emergency Department Throughput

As of October 2013, reportable measures will also include Cost Efficiency (Medicare spending per beneficiary).

The Medicare Hospital Outpatient Quality Reporting Program (Hospital OQR) focuses on a more limited range of measures. Hospitals failing to report these data may face a 2% reduction in their annual payment update under the Medicare Outpatient Prospective Payment System.

#### **PAYING FOR PERFORMANCE**

As a result of the Affordable Care Act, Medicare now also "reward[s] the hospital based on its actual performance, rather than simply its reporting of data for those measures" (CMS, 2011). Hospitals receive additional payment based either on how well they perform on certain quality measures or how much their performance improves. The measures currently used are listed in Table 1.

In their 2003 article, Leatherman and colleagues (including Donald Berwick, who subsequently served as CMS Administrator) noted that "health care organizations may be reluctant to implement improvements if better quality is not accompanied by better payment or improved margins, or at least equal compensation... Without a business case for quality, we think it unlikely that the private sector will move quickly and reliably to widely adopt proven quality improvements" (p.18). Value-based purchasing (VBP) may strengthen the business case for quality by paying more for better outcomes and thus realigning health care organizations' incentives.

#### **NON-PAYMENT FOR PREVENTABLE HACS**

A related development is Medicare's policy not to reimburse hospitals for the cost of treating identified hospital-acquired conditions (HACs). In 2007, Medicare implemented a policy of not paying hospitals for the cost of treating certain hospital-acquired conditions. If a patient experiences a complication or other condition that requires additional treatment, these are reflected in the patient's discharge diagnoses. Prior to 2007, the hospital's Medicare payment reflected those diagnoses—meaning that the hospital was paid more as a result. Under current payment policy, however, a preventable HAC will not be reflected in the hospital's Medicare payment—i.e., the hospital will not receive additional payment as a result.

As required by the ACA, CMS has introduced a similar program of non-payment for healthcare acquired conditions and other providerpreventable conditions into the Medicaid program, effective July 2012.

#### PENALTIES FOR HOSPITAL READMISSIONS

As of October 2012, Medicare penalizes hospitals if patients with a diagnosis of acute myocardial infarction, heart failure or pneumonia are readmitted within 30 days of discharge. Currently, hospitals may face a reduction of up to 1% of their Medicare payments. That amount will increase, reaching a maximum penalty of 3% in 2015. The diagnoses covered by this policy will also expand.

The Transitional Care Model developed by Mary Naylor, PhD, RN, FAAN of the University of Pennsylvania School of Nursing, facilitates transitions across care settings, utilizing APRNs to provide assessment, evaluation, coordination and follow-up. In six academic and community hospitals in Philadelphia, this model reduced readmissions and costs (by nearly \$5,000) during the 12-month period following hospitalization. (Naylor & Keating, 2008).

McHugh and Ma (2013) examined hospital readmissions in California, New Jersey and Pennsylvania to explore relationships between readmissions and nursing workload and work environments. They found that for each additional patient per nurse in an average nurse workload, odds of readmission for heart failure increased by 7%, 6% for pneumonia patients, and 9% for myocardial infarction patients. Care in hospitals with good work environments was associated with 7% lower odds of readmission for heart failure, 6% lower for myocardial infarction, and 10% lower for pneumonia patients.

## VALUE-BASED PURCHASING AND NURSING'S VALUE

Paying for quality performance, non-payment for preventable HACs and penalizing readmissions are aimed at incentivizing improved inpatient hospital care. To the extent that nursing care is linked to quality outcomes, these initiatives may also provide an incentive for improving nursing care, including nurse staffing. For example, some of the identified preventable HACs (such as falls and nosocomial infections) have been tied, at least in part, to nurse staffing. Non-payment for these HACs creates an incentive for hospitals to achieve or maintain good nurse staffing levels. Hospitals' return on this investment in better staffing results from prevention of complications and conditions which, under current Medicare policy, are costly to the hospitals.

Some quality measures currently being used by Medicare are also linked indirectly to nurse staffing. Kutney-Lee, McHugh, Sloane, Cimiotti, Flynn, Neff & Aiken (2009) found a significant relationship between HCAHPS scores and both staffing levels and nurses' work environment. Patients' positive experiences of nursing care can thus contribute to increased hospital reimbursement.

On the other hand, some hospitals that fare poorly under these VBP programs—those that fail to perform well on quality measures, lose money as a result of non-payment for treating preventable HACs, or face penalties for readmissions—may react shortsightedly by reducing nursing staff, as many hospitals have done in the past when faced with declining revenue.

Buerhaus, Donelan, DesRoches & Hess (2009), in a national survey of registered nurses, included questions on perceptions of Medicare policy changes. When asked about non-payment for hospital-acquired conditions, 37% of 468 respondents who are hospital-employed RNs providing direct patient care, responded that this policy will increase nurses' focus on prevention and surveillance; 23% responded that hospitals will blame nurses for these conditions; 14% responded that they believe the policy will decrease hospital resources provided to improve patient care; and 6% responded that it will increase hospital resources provided to patient care. When asked about the likely impact on nurses, 65% said it will result in more work for nurses; 47% said it will result in additional education and training; 4% each responded that it will result in more nursing staff, more respect for nurses or no change; 3% responded that it will result in higher pay for nurses.

Kurtzman, O'Leary, Sheingold, Devers, Dawson, & Johnson (2011) interviewed 77 hospital leaders and unit nurses regarding the impact of performance-based incentive policies. Although interviewees believed that these policies will have a positive effect on quality and safety, many expressed concerns about their potential impact on nursing, including the possibility that they will increase burden on nurses and blame for failing to meet quality goals, without improvements in staffing levels, work environment, salaries, or turnover. The authors recommended a greater focus on implementation support, redesigning hospital incentives to reward teamwork, and involving nursing leaders in the design of incentive policies.

# Accounting for Nursing Care in Hospital Payment

Billing and payment for inpatient hospital care rarely identifies nursing as a separate charge; nursing is reflected in overall hospital charges. In the 1970s and 1980, many nurses explored prospects for "costing out" nursing services—i.e., separately identifying nursing care in hospital billing. Costing out was viewed as a way of making nursing care more visible and highlighting nursing's central role in patient care. It also was argued to provide a means of paying higher rates for more intensive nursing care services.

Since implementation of the Medicare IPPS, hospitals receive a bundled payment based on DRGs. This system does not reflect differences in intensity of nursing care within diagnoses--i.e., it presumes that nursing needs are identical for patients with similar diagnoses, or that differences are randomly distributed. During the development, piloting and early implementation of the DRG system, several approaches developed for reflecting nursing intensity in DRG payment (Shaffer, 1984; also see Shaffer, 1985).

One model of adjusting hospital payment based on Nursing Intensity Weights (NIW) was adopted by the New York State Medicaid program (which uses DRGs to determine hospital payment) from 1983 to 2009 (Knauf, Ballard, Mossman and Lichtig, 2006). NIWs are based on nursing experts' estimates of average nursing intensity for each DRG. While it provides a means of reflecting nursing care in hospital payment, the NIW model has been criticized for not reflecting variation of nursing intensity within each DRG (Welton, Fischer, Degrace, & Zone-Smith, 2006).

Effective Fiscal Year 2008, Medicare adopted a system of Medicare Severity DRGs (MS-DRGs), which reflects more variation in severity than the prior DRG system by distinguishing between levels of severity of comorbidities and complications. It remains to be seen whether, or how effectively, this system may also reflect variations in nursing care intensity.

Welton and colleagues have proposed removing nursing care from the Medicare IPPS payment to hospitals and instead having Medicare pay for nursing care based on the actual hours of nursing care provided to each patient (Welton & Dismuke, 2008). In the model Welton developed, nurses track and report their hours of patient care in real time through the use of handheld devices, generating a Nursing Intensity Database (NID) that can then be used to adjust hospital payment based on the intensity of nursing care each patient receives. The American Organization of Nurse Executives has been supportive of Welton's work. Others have recognized the potential benefits of reflecting nursing work within hospital Medicare payment but have questioned the practical and policy feasibility of separating payment for nursing care from the Medicare IPPS payment (Ginsburg, 2008; Finkler, 2008; Keepnews, 2006). Since the implementation of the Medicare IPPS, payment policy has moved more toward bundled payments for health care services and away from fee-for-service. Breaking out nursing care from the rest of hospital payment and paying based on the actual amount of nursing care provided both appear to run counter to these trends. Nonetheless, interest has continued in finding ways to reflect nursing intensity within hospital payment.

## **Advanced Practice Nursing**

The services of Advanced Practice Registered Nurses (APRNs) can be separately billed and paid for by most insurance and health plans that pay for professional services on a fee-for-service basis, including Medicare. Medicare Part B pays for services provided by physicians, APRNs and other professional providers according to a Physician Fee Schedule (PFS) updated yearly by CMS. The Physician Fee Schedule is based on a Resource-Based Relative Value Scale (RBRVS).

The RBRVS was designed, in part, to provide an objective basis for determining the value of professional services and to provide for more equitable payment for services across medical specialties (Sullivan-Marx, 2008). An estimation of the physician (practitioner) work value involved in providing a service or procedure (based on time and intensity) accounts for 52% of its relative value. Practice expense (based on the costs associated with delivering a service, such as office rent and salaries) accounts for 44%, and the cost of professional liability insurance accounts for the remaining 4% (American Medical Association, 2011). CMS multiplies the relative value of each service or procedure by a monetary value (a conversion factor), along with an adjustment based on geographical variation in costs, to determine the amount that Medicare will pay under the PFS.

NPs and CNSs are paid by Medicare based on the PFS. However, they are paid 85% of the amount paid to physicians for the same service. This was set by Medicare law when NPs and CNSs were first added as Medicare providers in 1990. (Until 2011, CNM services were paid at 65% of the amount paid to physicians. Section 3114 of the Affordable Care Act, however, increased CNM payment to 100% of the physician amount).

Under current Medicare law and policy, many services provided by NPs and CNSs employed by physicians or outpatient clinics may be billed to Medicare under a physician's name and provider number. When services are billed in this manner, they are paid at 100% of the physician rate.

When payment rates for NPs and CNSs were first set at 85%, nursing organizations had placed a priority on establishing them as Medicare providers. Many policy-makers were not yet fully familiar with the type and quality of services provided by APRNs, and securing equal payment did not appear to be politically feasible. Today, with APRN services more widely recognized, this differential in payment rates may stand out as placing a lower value on NP and CNS services than on physician services.

While paying a lower rate for the same services provides some cost savings, those savings accrue to the Medicare program (and to private health plans, to the extent that many of these payers follow Medicare policy by paying at a lower rate), not to hospitals, clinics or other employers of NPs and CNSs. Furthermore, the availability of

payment at 100% of the physician rate provides an incentive to bill NP and CNS services under a physician's name. This keeps many of these services invisible; Medicare data cannot reflect the full range and volume of NP and CNS services. This is a considerable barrier to identifying the extent of APRNs' contributions to Medicare beneficiaries and to the health care system.

### **Discussion & Recommendations**

# IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUED EXPLORATION OF NURSING'S ECONOMIC VALUE

Efforts to identify and quantify the economic value of nursing have made an important contribution to promoting utilization of nurses in health care services, particularly in the context of an increased focus on controlling or reducing costs. The value of nursing cannot be completely reduced to economic value, however; furthermore, aspects of its economic value may not be quantifiable. Improved understanding of nursing's economic value is a tool for explicating and asserting its broader value, both economic and social. That broader value includes functions that may have little quantifiable economic impact, but which are central to nursing's identity as a discipline focused on care and compassion and key to the profession's social contract.

#### Recommendation

 Nursing organizations should continue efforts to identify and define the economic value of nursing. They should disseminate relevant research findings and conduct initiatives to educate nurses about nursing's economic value. However, these initiatives should present the economic value of nursing within the broader context of nursing's social and economic value.

# DISTINGUISHING WHO BENEFITS FROM VALUE OF NURSING SERVICES

Making good use of information on the economic value of nursing requires consideration of where the economic benefits of nursing services (including the cost-savings that nursing may generate) accrue. Cost-savings that flow primarily to health insurers, for example, are not likely to be persuasive in arguing for higher nurse staffing levels. The distinction offered by Leatherman, et al. (2003), between the business, economic and social cases for quality are helpful in this regard, although the interaction between these "cases" may ultimately be more nuanced than this (as Needleman [2006], for one, suggests in citing economic aspects of social value).

#### Recommendation

 Nurses and nursing organizations should target their messages on nursing's economic value based on distinctions in the economic, business, scientific and political cases for nursing care quality.

#### VALUE-BASED PURCHASING AND REALIGNING FINANCIAL INCENTIVES IN HEALTH CARE

Current efforts to realign financial incentives in health care—to create a stronger business case for quality through value-based purchasing and related efforts—bear careful scrutiny. Forward-thinking hospital leaders will recognize the long-term financial benefit that good nurse staffing and supportive working environments can offer by avoiding complications, improving quality performance and reducing readmissions. However, experience shows that health care organizations do not always take the long view, particularly when threats to reimbursement are concerned. As Kurtzman and colleagues (2011) pointed out, value-based purchasing policies may instead lead, in many organizations, to increased burden and blame. Hospitals that incur loss as a result of poor quality performance, the occurrence of preventable complications or readmissions may do what many hospitals have done in the past when faced with reduced revenue: decrease their use of RNs.

Linking nurse staffing with decreased length of stay, lower rates of complications and lower readmission rates may not be sufficient in and of themselves to convince many health care organizations of the need to increase (or maintain) nurse staffing levels. Whether VBP will be helpful in this regard is not yet clear. It may be worth considering how to make VBP a more valuable tool in achieving and maintaining adequate nurse staffing levels. Whether this means incentivizing other quality outcomes, specifically incentivizing nurse staffing levels or advocating other refinements to VBP, is a topic for future consideration. On the other hand, the implementation of VBP initiatives may strengthen arguments for other regulatory approaches to ensuring adequate nurse staffing (e.g., mandatory hospital staffing plans and/or minimum staffing levels) by linking them to greater potential cost savings for hospitals.

#### Recommendations

- Nursing organizations should continue to carefully monitor the development, refinement and implementation of value-based purchasing and other policy initiatives to realign financial incentives related to health care quality;
- Nursing organizations should advocate wider use of nursingsensitive measures in the Medicare VBP program and in VBP

- programs developed for use by state Medicaid programs and private health plans;
- Nursing organizations should consider advocating inclusion of staffing levels and/or use of hospital-based staffing plans in VBP programs.

## ACCOUNTING FOR NURSING CARE IN HOSPITAL PAYMENT

The invisibility of nursing services in hospital payment has been a concern for many nurses and nursing organizations for decades. The recent refinement of the Medicare IPPS provides an opportunity to explore alternative proposals for reflecting nursing intensity in Medicare hospital payment. The two major models for doing so—the use of Nursing Intensity Weights and the use of a Nursing Intensity Database--each offer strengths and weaknesses. It remains to be seen whether the move to MS-DRGs will better reflect the variability of nursing service intensity.

#### Recommendations

- Nursing organizations should continue to advocate piloting models for adjusting Medicare hospital payment based on nursing intensity. Evaluation of such models should include any additional documentation burden posed by nurses' recording and reporting of time spent delivering patient care services.
- Nursing organizations and nurse leaders should collaborate
  to develop strategies for improving and, where possible,
  standardizing measurement of staffing needs in acute care
  setting settings. One priority should be to discontinue use of the
  midnight census which fails to reflect admissions, discharges
  and other events that significantly affect needs for nursing
  care—as a basis for determining staffing.

#### THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF APRN SERVICES

The economic value of APRN services needs to be considered in light of NPs' and CNSs' lower payment levels under Medicare (and many private health plans). There currently is not a consensus among nursing organizations for seeking equal Medicare payment levels. Certainly, potential cost to the Medicare program is a political consideration. However, the impact of lower payment on utilization of NPs and CNSs within health care systems, and the current financial incentives that keep many of their services invisible, are significant barriers to identifying and realizing the economic value of their services.

#### Recommendations

 Encourage health services researchers to evaluate the contributions of APRN services to the quality and value of inpatient care as well as ambulatory and office-based services.  Nursing organizations should work toward consensus on advocating Medicare payment for NP and CNS services at 100% of the Physician Fee Schedule.

## EDUCATING NURSES ABOUT THE VALUE OF NURSING

Nurses should be knowledgeable about the economic and policy issues that drive decisions relating to their practice. As health care organizations continue to adjust to changes in the health care system, including the financing of health care services, nurses should possess the requisite knowledge to understand those changes, respond to them and to advocate on behalf of themselves and their patients. This means that nurses should have at least a basic understanding of health policy and financing as well as current knowledge regarding the link between nursing and outcomes of care. At the same time, nurses need to remain grounded in the human values on which the profession is based.

#### Recommendations

- Nurses should seek current information about and knowledge
  of health financing and health policy, including initiatives
  relating to health care quality measurement and value-based
  purchasing.
- Nursing organizations should provide information on health care financing and health policy on a regular basis, to encourage nurses to remain current in their knowledge of these areas.
- Nurse managers and executives should be familiar with health policy, financing and research evidence related to the economic value of nursing. They should facilitate an understanding of nursing's role in patient and organizational outcomes among other health care organization leaders, and advocate for appropriate allocation of resources to ensure quality patient care.
- Nursing education programs preparing new nurses should include content on health policy, current evidence on health care quality, and at least basic concepts of economics, health care financing and budgeting. Graduate-level education in nursing should build on this content to ensure that nurses in advanced roles as clinicians, managers or executives, and educators, are competent in these areas and can help to educate other nurses.

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