I have argued in this thesis that the principles which are impartially justifiable in the distribution of health care services seem to disallow the trade-off of an individual's moral agency through loss of a minimum set of capabilities for aggregate gains of capabilities beyond the minimum, the welfare of all members of society, or that of certain subgroups in society, including the socioeconomically worst-off. I derived what is impartially justifiable or not from an interpretation of Kant's ethics for justice in health care. These moral obligations derived hold in particular for premature death and disability prevention which are the most frequent cause of early loss of moral agency. A just society should establish impartially acceptable principles of how the obligations for these central functions of health care are met. These principles should be set independent from trade-offs with more peripheral functions of health care or other welfare goals. I suggested that we should determine a budget which cannot reasonably be rejected by those threatened by premature death or disability. of this when my proposal is

This total budget should be spent on insurance for both preventive and curative health care services which effectively avoid loss of moral agency. I argued that the

services for that purpose should be ranked according to their cost-effectiveness, but that cost differences that are due to morally objectionable causes such as discriminatory research efforts of the government in the past should be discounted.

What a reasonable budget is depends partly on empirical facts such as the economic means of a society, the costs of health care services, and the proportion of people threatened by premature death and loss of moral agency. It seems ethically required that in a society with a higher average level of income we should be under an obligation to sacrifice a greater part of our income to prevent premature death and loss of moral agency than in a society with, on average, a lower level of income. In particular, the budget for the central functions of health care should be set at the highest level that is feasible in order to still allow the socioeconomically worst-off group to pursue the characteristic life-plans of a society.

I further argued that in cost-effectiveness analysis the benefits should not include a discounting measure for the lower quality of life when my proposal is applied for determining whose life or basic capabilities we should save. determining other benefits, such as the benefits of non For measuring other benefits, such as the benefits of non life-saving programs or life-saving programs at ages well life-saving programs or life-expectancy, such discounting beyond the adequate life-expectancy, such discounting

measures may indeed be justifiable.⁶⁴ It may be possible to argue that an impartially justifiable set of principles would suggest or even mandate the inclusion of information about quality-of-life on that level of health care. I rejected the proposal to discount the moral value of saving a life of lower quality from premature death or loss of moral agency because the reason why such lives should be saved is independent of their quality and should in its strength, therefore, also not vary with it. We should save such lives because of our commitment to human dignity itself which is sustained by our moral agency, at every level of it.

We have to distinguish between the moral and the prudential value of saving lives. I have argued that the moral value of saving lives from premature death and the loss of moral agency cannot convincingly be derived from what lives we would prudently want to save. The moral value of saving lives from premature death and loss of moral agency appears to be to some degree independent of the prudential value of saving such lives. We value our lives for reasons that go beyond the fact that we are moral agents, which may not give some of us much of a reason to value life at all. But the lives of others we should help to protect from premature death or loss of moral agency we should value for that reason.

⁶⁴ Brock (1992), (1993)

If, instead of following my proposal, we ranked health care services for premature death and loss of moral agency prevention according to their willingness-to-pay value in society we might have a means to contribute to the maximization of human well-being in society. But such ranking should be rejected, since it is not impartially justifiable to use the health care which protects against premature death and the loss of moral agency for the purpose of societal aggregate well-being maximization. The respect of others as free and equal citizens puts constraints on what we can define as the morally central functions of health care in that respect. This is the most important consequence of a commitment to a broadly Kantian account of moral reasoning for justice in health care.

To assume that as a community we could define the goals of health care without such constraints is plausible from a communitarian or a utilitarian view of ethics and metaethics. Such a communitarian view was, for example, presented by Ezekiel Emanuel, who adopts a Hegelian critique of the kind of Kantian moral reasoning used in this essay. 65 His alternative proposal would allow relatively small communities to use their own values to define the role of health care for all possible functions of health care, including premature death and loss of moral agency prevention. I have tried to

⁶⁵ Emanuel (1991)

Emanuel and other communitarians. 66 They claim that there cannot be impartially accepted principles for the distribution of health care resources in the absence of shared ideals of the good. For the sake of furthering this discussion, I have tried to provide such a set of principles for what I believe are the ethically central functions of health care; still, there is an important point to the communitarian critique since I am less confident about the availability of such principles for less central functions of health care. This gives us reason not to speak about justice in health care as a single social good.

think, the most promising, in which he considers health insurance as an important resource which everyone should be entitled to according to a fair distribution of income. If his approach is adopted for more peripheral health care functions, there can be trade-offs between health care and other social goods such as education or income, and these trade-offs can be determined partly by the ideals of the good that the majority of society accepts. 67

To the extent that there are not many substantive and

⁶⁶ Williams (1985), Walzer (1983)

⁶⁷ Dworkin (1993), (1981)

universal principles of prudential reasoning, Dworkin's proposal may converge with communitarian proposals to distribute health care under the conditions of a fair income distribution. The disagreement between Dworkin and communitarians would then be about what constitutes a fair distribution of income. This kind of convergence also may be expected because what is prudential for someone to do depends on the ideal of the good she accepts.

Nevertheless, neither for reasons of prudence nor for the expression of community values should the state be permitted to sacrifice the most basic capabilities of moral agents, a point which neither communitarians like Emanuel nor equality-of-resource focussed liberals like Dworkin appear to be able to fully accommodate. It can even less be accommodated by utilitarian theories of just health care because in such theories moral agency is just one value among others and can be traded-off against other values in whatever way is dictated by aggregate total utility reasoning.

Communitarian and utilitarian theories of justice have for health care distribution similar problems as they face for the distribution of the basic liberties. The health care which protects our moral agency against premature extinction should not be permitted to become part of either a

⁶⁸ Lyons (1994)

communitarian or utilitarian distributional mechanism for (at least partly) the same reasons for which we should not allow the basic liberties to be included there. The problem is not that they might, depending on circumstances, not get their proper affirmation in such a mechanism, but that they are in such a mechanism in the first place. The affirmation of the basic liberties, as well as the protection of moral agency, should be unconditional, beyond the influence from our accepted ideals of the good, and beyond collective self-interest.

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