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**THE MEASUREMENT FUTURE IN HEALTH
TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT**

**NEW ZEALAND: 40 YEARS OF QALY MEASUREMENT
FAILURE AND THE END OF THE LEGACY HTA
CURRICULUM**

**Paul C Langley PhD Adjunct Professor, College of Pharmacy, University of
Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN**

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ABSTRACT

Background: New Zealand health technology assessment (HTA) has inherited a legacy framework centered on health-state preferences, utilities, quality-adjusted life years (QALYs), cost-per-QALY incremental cost-effectiveness ratios (ICERs) and reference-case modelling. Twenty New Zealand studies have identified measurement inversion, curriculum inversion and the apparent absence of representational-measurement foundations from the publicly available HTA and health-economics knowledge base. This paper examines the consequences of that failure for the QALY and the future of New Zealand HTA education.

Methods: The QALY construction, $QALY = T \times U$, is assessed against the requirements of representational measurement, ratio measurement, dimensional homogeneity, attribute-specific measurement and commensurability. These findings are considered alongside the New Zealand program-content assessment of 17 representational-measurement topics and 20 contemporary HTA topics.

Results: The QALY cannot exist as a lawful measure. Time can be represented as a ratio measure, but a health-state preference score does not acquire proportional meaning merely because it is bounded between zero and one or described as a utility. A value $U = 0.5$ does not establish that anything has been measured as one-half. More fundamentally, even a hypothetical lawful preference ratio would remain a proportional relationship within Preference Space. It cannot become the proportional relationship required within Time Space merely because the same numeral is employed. Numerical equality is not measurement equivalence. Consequently, no lawful proportional adjustment of time means no lawful QALY, no lawful incremental QALY and no scientifically meaningful cost-per-QALY ICER. Downstream modelling cannot repair a measurement failure occurring before the QALY is created.

The New Zealand program-content findings provide a striking explanation for the persistence of this construction: representational measurement 0/17 versus contemporary HTA 20/20. The downstream analytical apparatus has been taught while its logically prior measurement foundations were apparently absent.

Conclusions: The appropriate response is not curriculum supplementation but curriculum reconstruction. Measurement must become the gatekeeper for quantitative claims. A nine-unit reconstruction program provides an immediately available framework built around attributes, lawful manifest and latent measurement, admissible arithmetic, dimensional constraints, and empirically evaluable, replicable and falsifiable therapy-impact claims. New Zealand HTA must move from numerical convention to lawful measurement.

INTRODUCTION

New Zealand health technology assessment (HTA) teaching and research centers appear remarkably resistant to the argument that legacy HTA has an unenviable distinction: it presents itself as a quantitative discipline while failing to establish the measurement foundations required for its central quantitative claims. Despite some 20 New Zealand studies documenting measurement inversion, curriculum inversion and the absence of lawful measurement standards

from teaching, research and program content, the New Zealand HTA community remains firmly committed to the legacy framework of health-state preferences, utilities, QALYs, cost-per-QALY claims and reference-case simulation models ¹.

If New Zealand is to make the necessary transition to an HTA curriculum grounded in lawful measurement, a catalyst may now be available. A recent evaluation of the measurement basis of the QALY demonstrates that the problem is not merely that the QALY is imperfect, controversial or inadequately validated ². The QALY has never existed as a lawful measurement construct. More importantly, there was no missing measurement proof that might eventually have justified it. Given the nature of the preference scores employed and the quantitative role assigned to them, the required proof could never have been provided.

For more than 40 years, an apparent failure to recognize the requirements of representational measurement and the constraints imposed by scales of measurement allowed the QALY to occupy the center of legacy HTA. New Zealand inherited this framework and incorporated its constructs into academic teaching, health economics and technology assessment. The 20 New Zealand studies now provide a substantial body of evidence that the measurement assumptions underlying that inheritance were not subjected to the logically prior standards required for lawful quantitative claims.

This is an extraordinary achievement in the history of the quantitative sciences. HTA developed an increasingly sophisticated analytical apparatus while largely ignoring the measurement requirements governing whether its numbers represented measures and whether the interpretations placed upon its arithmetic were empirically meaningful. These are not recently invented objections. The formal development of representational measurement theory and scale types established standards more than 70 years ago requiring the properties of a measure to be demonstrated before quantitative operations and their interpretations can be justified ^{3 4}. Dimensional considerations impose additional constraints upon the relationships claimed between measured quantities.

The implications for New Zealand are therefore no longer confined to methodological debate. Twenty studies have already identified the broader measurement and curriculum problem. The demonstration that the QALY itself cannot exist as a lawful measure now exposes the consequences of that failure at the center of the legacy framework. If the foundational QALY construction fails, the downstream architecture of incremental QALYs, cost-per-QALY ICERs and QALY-based reference-case modelling loses its measurement foundation.

Measurement must precede arithmetic. Legacy HTA reversed that order. The issue for New Zealand is now whether its universities, research centers and HTA institutions are prepared to reverse it back.

UNDERSTANDING MEASUREMENT

The distinction between numbers and measures is fundamental. Any collection of numbers can be added, subtracted, multiplied or divided computationally. The ability of a calculator or computer to perform an arithmetic operation does not establish that the result has an empirical interpretation.

Numbers become measures only when they represent an attribute through a measurement structure possessing defined properties. Those properties determine which transformations, comparisons and arithmetic interpretations are admissible.

Ratio measurement is critical whenever proportional meaning is claimed. A lawful ratio measure possesses equal units and a non-arbitrary zero, with admissible similarity transformations of the form $x' = ax$, $a > 0$. Statements such as one quantity being twice another or one-half another depend upon that ratio structure. A number does not acquire proportional meaning merely because it has been assigned a zero, bounded between zero and one, or described as a utility.

This distinction is fatal to the conventional QALY. Time can be represented on a ratio scale. Twelve months is twice six months, and the proportional relationship is preserved under admissible changes of the time unit. A health-state preference score does not acquire corresponding ratio properties merely because it is expressed numerically. In particular, assigning a composite health-state valuation the number 0.5 does not establish that one-half of a defined attribute has been measured.

New Zealand legacy HTA nevertheless proceeds as though this distinction did not matter. Preference scores are treated as utilities; utilities are multiplied by time; QALYs are subtracted to create incremental QALYs; and incremental costs are divided by these quantities to create cost-per-QALY ICERs. These operations are then incorporated into economic evaluations and decision models intended to inform health technology assessment and resource-allocation decisions. The arithmetic becomes progressively more elaborate while the measurement failure at its foundation remains untouched.

The significance for New Zealand is reinforced by the 20 studies that have already examined its HTA and health-economics knowledge base, teaching and program content. These investigations have repeatedly identified the same underlying problem: extensive engagement with the downstream methods of contemporary HTA without corresponding recognition of the representational-measurement requirements that should determine whether the quantities entering those methods support the arithmetic and interpretations imposed upon them.

The issue is therefore not simply whether New Zealand analysts perform the accepted calculations correctly. They undoubtedly can. The prior question is whether the numbers entering those calculations are measures possessing the properties required for the quantitative claims being made. Computational sophistication cannot answer that question after the event.

This is measurement inversion: arithmetic is performed first and the measurement legitimacy of the quantities upon which it depends is either assumed or left unexamined. The 20 New Zealand studies indicate that this inversion is not an isolated methodological oversight. It is embedded in the knowledge and educational framework through which legacy HTA has been taught and reproduced.

Measurement must precede arithmetic. Once that requirement is imposed, the conventional QALY becomes the critical test that New Zealand legacy HTA cannot pass.

THE IMPOSSIBLE TRANSFORMATION

For more than four decades, thousands of teachers, researchers and analysts have accepted the proposition that the QALY can simply be defined as the product of time and a health-state preference value ⁵:

$$\text{QALY} = T \times U$$

But definition cannot create measurement properties. The preference score (U) originates as a valuation attached to a composite, multiattribute health state. It is then assigned an entirely different quantitative role: it is treated as though it were a lawful proportional adjustment to ratio-measured time. Thus, if (U=0.5), twelve months is declared equivalent to six “quality-adjusted” months.

The obvious question is: what has been measured as one-half? The answer is nothing. A composite preference valuation bounded between zero and one does not thereby become a ratio measure. It has not acquired a non-arbitrary zero, equal units or invariant ratios. The number 0.5 therefore cannot mean one-half in the measurement sense required for a proportional adjustment to time.

The problem is deeper than inadequate validation. Neither representational measurement theory nor the dimensional requirements governing quantitative relationships can justify taking an arbitrary preference-based number and treating it as a proportional adjustment to ratio-measured time. The preference valuation and elapsed time are fundamentally different quantitative objects. Calling the former “utility,” declaring it dimensionless, or bounding it between zero and one cannot confer the measurement properties required for the role assigned to it.

This is the sleight of hand at the center of the QALY. A valuation of a composite health state is transformed by definition into something it has never been demonstrated to be and, given its construction, cannot be a lawful proportional measure capable of adjusting time. Twelve months multiplied by 0.5 certainly produces the number six. What has not been produced is a measured quantity corresponding to six months of “quality-adjusted” time.

There is consequently no mystery awaiting resolution by additional empirical research. There is no missing validation study, alternative tariff, larger preference sample or more sophisticated statistical model that can supply the measurement properties absent from the construction itself. There was no missing proof. There was no possible proof.

The QALY has therefore never existed as a meaningful measurement construct. What has existed is a numerical convention in which an arbitrary preference-based valuation is multiplied by elapsed time and the product is given the name “quality-adjusted life years.” For more than 40 years, New Zealand HTA has accepted that convention as measurement. The question now is not how the QALY should be improved. It is why New Zealand universities, research centers and HTA agencies should continue to teach and apply a quantitative construction that cannot satisfy the measurement requirements necessary for its claimed interpretation.

DIMENSIONAL HOMOGENEITY

Dimensional homogeneity provides a second and independent constraint upon quantitative operations. It is not sufficient that numbers can be multiplied or divided computationally. The quantities represented by those numbers carry dimensions, and the dimensional meaning of the resulting quantity must be preserved throughout the operation. A quantitative equation cannot acquire empirical meaning merely because its numerical calculation can be performed.

Two lawful ratio measures representing different attributes can be multiplied or divided. Distance divided by time produces velocity; mass divided by volume produces density. In such cases, the resulting quantity has a derived dimension determined by the dimensions of the quantities entering the operation. If distance has dimension $[L]$ and time has dimension $[T]$, then: Velocity = Distance / Time and $[V] = [L] / [T]$ in dimensional theory terms. There is therefore no general requirement that the numerator and denominator represent the same attribute when the purpose is to construct a dimensioned derived quantity.

The requirement is different when division is claimed to produce a dimensionless proportion. If T_1 and T_0 are two lawful measures of time, then T_1 / T_0 has the dimensional representation $[T] / [T] = 1$. The time dimensions cancel. If $T_1 = 6$ months and $T_0 = 12$ months then $T_1 / T_0 = 6 / 12 = 0.5$. The resulting value of 0.5 has a clear empirical interpretation: the first duration is one-half of the second. Both quantities are lawful ratio measures of the same attribute. The resulting dimensionless number is therefore a lawful proportional measure.

This distinction is critical. A dimensionless number is not necessarily a dimensionless proportional measure. Merely assigning a number between zero and one does not establish that it represents the ratio of two commensurable ratio measures. Nor does calling such a number a “utility” establish the proportional meaning required for it to function as an adjustment factor.

This is precisely where the QALY fails. If the QALY is claimed to retain the dimension of time, then $[QALY] = [T]$ which given $QALY = T \times U$ dimensional homogeneity requires $[QALY] = [T] \times [U]$. Therefore, if $[QALY] = [T]$ then $[U] = 1$.

The utility must therefore function as a dimensionless factor. But this requirement does not establish that U is a lawful dimensionless proportional measure. That requires a measurement foundation of its own. A value of $U = 0.5$ must possess an empirical basis for meaning one-half if it is to reduce twelve months proportionally to six months.

The conventional health-state preference score provides no such basis. It is a numerical valuation assigned to a composite, multiattribute health state. It is not produced as the ratio of two commensurable ratio measures of a defined attribute. Its dimensions have not cancelled to produce a lawful proportion. Bounding the score between zero and one merely produces a number within a numerical interval; it does not establish the measurement structure required for the statement “one-half.”

The QALY therefore commits a fundamental substitution. It substitutes a dimensionless preference number for a dimensionless proportional measure and then treats the two as equivalent. They are

not. The distinction can be stated simply: Dimensionless number $\neq$ dimensionless proportional measure $\neq$ lawful proportional adjustment to time.

This is why $U = 0.5$ cannot simply be applied to twelve months to claim six measured “quality-adjusted” months. The arithmetic $12 \times 0.5 = 6$ is computationally correct. But computational correctness does not establish measurement legitimacy. The QALY requires the preference score to perform a measurement function that its construction cannot support.

Dimensional homogeneity therefore does not rescue the QALY. It exposes the problem. If the product is claimed to remain a measure in time, the multiplier must possess the legitimate dimensionless proportional meaning required to adjust time. The conventional preference-based utility does not.

Once again, the conclusion is unavoidable: The ability to multiply T by U demonstrates only that two numbers can be multiplied. It does not demonstrate that the resulting number is a measure of quality-adjusted time.

ATTRIBUTE AND MEASUREMENT SPACE

A further requirement is recognition of the attribute space within which a measure has meaning. Measurement does not produce numbers that are free to acquire whatever interpretation is subsequently convenient. A measure represents an identified attribute within a defined measurement structure. Its units, zero, ordering, ratios and admissible operations derive their meaning from that structure. A numerical value established in one attribute space cannot simply be transferred to another attribute space and assumed to retain, or acquire, the quantitative properties required there.

Consider time. Duration occupies a clearly defined Time Space. If T_1 and T_0 are lawful ratio measures of duration, then T_1 / T_0 is a comparison within that same attribute space. If $T_1 = 6$ months and $T_0 = 12$ months then $T_1 / T_0 = 0.5$. The value 0.5 has an unambiguous proportional interpretation within Time Space where $T_1 = 0.5 \times T_0$. Six months is one-half of twelve months. The proportional adjustment is justified because both quantities are lawful ratio measures of the same attribute. The proportion has been created from measurement within Time Space.

Now consider the health-state preference score used in the QALY. It originates in an entirely different Preference Space. Respondents assign values to composite descriptions of health states, and the resulting numbers are represented conventionally on a scale bounded by values such as zero and one. Whatever interpretation may legitimately be attached to those numbers within Preference Space, they are not measures of duration.

Yet the QALY requires a preference number to perform precisely the proportional function required within Time Space. If $U = 0.5$ and $T = 12$ months, the QALY procedure asserts $T_{\text{adjusted}} = 0.5 \times 12 \text{ months} = 6 \text{ months}$.

For this to represent a lawful proportional adjustment of time, the value 0.5 must have the meaning required by $T_{\text{adjusted}} / T = 0.5$. But that is a statement about a proportion within Time Space. The

number 0.5 generated in Preference Space does not become a time proportion merely because it has the same numerical value as the ratio 6/12.

This distinction is fundamental 0.5 in Preference Space $\neq 0.5$ as a proportional measure in Time Space. Numerical identity is not measurement identity.

The problem is even more decisive because the conventional health-state preference value is not itself a lawful ratio measure of a defined unidimensional preference attribute. Its value of 0.5 therefore does not establish “one-half” even within Preference Space. The QALY then takes this arbitrary preference-based number and assigns it the additional role of representing one-half of elapsed time.

There are consequently two distinct failures. First, the preference score lacks the ratio measurement structure required to establish 0.5 as a lawful proportion. Second, the numerical value is nevertheless used as though it were the proportional adjustment required within the entirely different attribute space of time.

Representational measurement provides no authority for this procedure. Nor can dimensional notation rescue it. The fact that a preference score is treated as dimensionless does not establish that it is a lawful dimensionless proportion, still less that it possesses the proportional meaning required to adjust a ratio measure of duration.

The error can be expressed very simply: Preference number = 0.5 does not establish Time proportion = 0.5 and therefore cannot establish $T_{\text{adjusted}} / T = 0.5$. The QALY simply assumes the equivalence required for its construction.

This is the fundamental category error at the heart of quality adjustment. A number created in Preference Space is assigned, without lawful measurement justification, the proportional meaning required in Time Space. The arithmetic can be performed; the measurement claim cannot.

COMMENSURABILITY

The concept of commensurability, the quality of being measurable or comparable, makes the failure still clearer. A ratio expressing a proportion such as “one-half” obtains its empirical meaning from comparison of commensurable measures of the same attribute. If T_1 and T_2 are lawful ratio measures of duration, then: $T_1 / T_2 = 0.5$ means that T_1 is one-half of T_2 in Time Space. The numerator and denominator are commensurable measures of time.

Similarly, even if it were assumed hypothetically that P_1 and P_2 were lawful ratio measures of the same preference attribute $P_1 / P_2 = 0.5$ would establish only that P_1 is one-half of P_2 in Preference Space. P_1 and P_2 would be commensurable with each other, just as T_1 and T_2 are commensurable with each other. But preference and time are not commensurable attributes. Consequently $P_1 / P_2 = 0.5$ does not establish: $T_1 / T_2 = 0.5$

The appearance of the same number on both sides cannot bridge the distinction between the attributes. The first 0.5 represents a proportional relationship between two preference measures; the second represents a proportional relationship between two time measures.

Numerical equality does not establish commensurability, and it does not establish measurement equivalence. This is precisely the operation required by the QALY. A number originating in Preference Space is treated as though it were the proportional adjustment required in Time Space. Even granting lawful ratio measurement of preference for the sake of argument cannot justify that substitution.

The problem is therefore not simply that conventional utility scores fail ratio measurement. Even a lawful preference ratio would remain a preference ratio. It cannot become a time ratio merely because both are represented by the same number.

THE QALY CANNOT EXIST AS A LAWFUL MEASURE

The failure of the QALY is now unavoidable. It cannot be rescued by better preference instruments, alternative elicitation procedures, larger samples, different tariffs or more sophisticated statistical transformations. The problem is not that the conventional health-state preference score has failed to demonstrate adequate ratio properties. Even if, purely for argument, a lawful ratio measure could be constructed in Preference Space, the QALY would still fail. Numerical equality is not measurement equivalence.

This eliminates the final possible defense of the QALY. Giving preference values lawful ratio properties would not solve the problem. Ratio measurement establishes proportional meaning within the attribute space being measured. It does not authorize that proportion to be reassigned as the proportional adjustment of a different attribute. The QALY nevertheless requires exactly this unsupported substitution. Given $QALY = T \times U$ a value $U = 0.5$ is used to assert $T_{adjusted} = 0.5 \times T$ and therefore $T_{adjusted} / T = 0.5$. But the proportional relationship required here is a relationship in Time Space. A ratio established in Preference Space cannot, merely by numerical substitution, become a ratio in Time Space.

The conventional QALY is in an even worse position because its health-state preference scores are not lawful ratio measures of a defined unidimensional attribute in the first place. The construction therefore fails twice. It fails to establish the required proportional measurement properties for the preference number, and even if those properties were granted hypothetically, they would remain properties of a relationship in Preference Space rather than the required proportional relationship in Time Space.

There is therefore no escape route through better measurement of preference. The problem is inherent in the QALY construction itself. This has consequences far beyond the QALY. The QALY is the gateway quantity upon which the downstream architecture of legacy cost-utility HTA depends. If the QALY cannot exist as a lawful measure, neither can subtraction of QALYs manufacture a lawful incremental QALY: $\Delta QALY = QALY_2 - QALY_1$. If the denominator is not a lawful measure of incremental therapy impact, subsequent division cannot manufacture a scientifically meaningful cost-per-QALY $ICER = \Delta Cost / \Delta QALY$.

Nor can a reference case repair the failure by specifying discount rates, model structures, time horizons, sensitivity analyses, uncertainty distributions or decision thresholds. These operations occur downstream of the failed QALY construction. Increasing their sophistication cannot create the measurement quantity that was never established upstream. The sequence is therefore inexorable: No lawful proportional adjustment of time → no lawful QALY → no lawful Δ QALY → no scientifically meaningful cost-per-QALY ICER → collapse of the QALY-based reference-case framework.

This is why the QALY problem cannot be accommodated as another methodological limitation of legacy HTA. There is nothing to validate, refine or repair. The attempted construction fails before the QALY comes into existence as a measure. Everything in legacy cost-utility HTA that requires the QALY as an input consequently loses its measurement foundation.

For more than forty years, legacy HTA has behaved as though assigning the same numeral to relationships in different attribute spaces makes those relationships interchangeable. It does not $P1 / P2 = 0.5$ does not establish $T1 / T2 = 0.5$. No amount of convention, institutional acceptance or computational sophistication can make that implication true. The QALY cannot exist as a lawful measure. Its attempted construction is abortive, and the legacy HTA framework built downstream upon it collapses with it.

NEW ZEALAND: FAILED CURRICULUM CONTENT

The measurement failure identified in the preceding sections cannot be separated from what New Zealand universities teach. The program-content evidence has already been assembled, published and communicated to the principal New Zealand university-affiliated HTA and health economics research and teaching environments ⁶. This assessment forms part of the wider body of 20 New Zealand studies examining measurement inversion, curriculum inversion and the knowledge foundations of legacy HTA. The program-content result could hardly have been more striking: 0/17 for representational-measurement content and 20/20 for contemporary HTA content.

The assessment examined the collective publicly available teaching, training, research and methodological content of the major New Zealand university affiliated HTA and health economics environments. Importantly, the institutions were pooled. A topic did not have to appear across all universities to qualify as represented. Substantive evidence from any institution was sufficient for the topic to be recorded as present. The test therefore gave the New Zealand academic HTA community every reasonable opportunity to demonstrate that representational measurement formed part of its collective knowledge base.

It did not.

The first assessment comprised 17 topics representing the foundations required for lawful measurement. These included measurement preceding arithmetic, attribute definition, scales of measurement, admissible transformations, ratio measurement, dimensional homogeneity, the distinction between manifest and latent attributes, linear ratio measurement, Rasch measurement, person-item conjoint measurement, specific objectivity, invariance and attribute possession.

The result was: Representational measurement: 0/17

The second assessment comprised 20 topics characterizing contemporary HTA and health economics. These included economic evaluation, cost-effectiveness analysis, cost-utility analysis, utilities, QALYs, ICERs, decision-analytic modelling, uncertainty analysis, patient-reported outcomes, evidence synthesis, reimbursement decision making and resource allocation.

The result was: Contemporary HTA: 20/20

This is not evidence of an unsophisticated New Zealand HTA community. It demonstrates something considerably more troubling: complete representation of the downstream analytical apparatus accompanied by an apparent absence of the logically prior measurement framework required to determine whether that apparatus has quantitative legitimacy.

The result provides an unusually clear example of curriculum inversion. Students can be introduced to utilities before establishing what constitutes a lawful measure; to QALYs before establishing whether the preference multiplier possesses the proportional properties required of it; to ICERs before establishing whether the denominator represents a legitimate quantity; and to increasingly sophisticated decision models before being taught that arithmetic operations acquire empirical meaning only through the properties of the measures upon which they operate.

The 0/17 result also helps explain the otherwise extraordinary survival of the QALY in New Zealand HTA. If students and faculty are not introduced to representational measurement, ratio measurement, dimensional homogeneity, commensurability and attribute-specific measurement requirements, they lack the conceptual framework necessary to identify the fundamental error in the QALY construction. The QALY survived not because New Zealand HTA demonstrated its measurement legitimacy, but in an academic environment in which the knowledge required to challenge that legitimacy was apparently absent from the publicly documented program content.

The new analysis of the QALY makes the consequences of this curriculum failure impossible to avoid. A preference value generated in Preference Space cannot simply be treated as the proportional adjustment required in Time Space. A value of 0.5 attached to a composite health-state valuation does not establish that anything has been measured as one-half. Even the hypothetical construction of a lawful preference ratio would not solve the problem: a preference ratio remains a preference ratio; it does not become a time ratio merely because both happen to be represented by the same number.

The consequences propagate throughout the curriculum. If the QALY cannot exist as a lawful measure, there is no lawful incremental QALY. Without a lawful incremental QALY, there is no scientifically meaningful cost-per-QALY ICER. Reference-case simulation, discounting, uncertainty analysis and additional modelling cannot restore a measurement foundation that failed before the QALY was created.

The significance of the 0/17 result has therefore changed. When first presented, it documented a major omission in New Zealand HTA program content. It must now be understood as evidence of the curricular environment that allowed an impossible measurement construction to be taught and

applied for decades without its foundational error being recognized. The failure has disadvantaged not only generations of students but also generations of faculty. Many of those now teaching utilities, QALYs, ICERs and reference-case methods are teaching what they themselves were taught. If representational measurement, ratio measurement, dimensional homogeneity, commensurability and the distinction between manifest and latent attributes were absent from their own education, they were denied the intellectual tools required to interrogate the measurement legitimacy of the framework they subsequently inherited and taught.

The resulting curriculum failure is therefore self-replicating: faculty reproduce what previous faculty taught them, students inherit the same analytical framework, and institutional continuity is mistaken for scientific validation. This explains how measurement inversion could persist across generations without requiring incompetence or bad faith on the part of individual faculty. But the explanation has an important limit. Once the missing measurement framework has been identified and its consequences made explicit, inheritance can no longer justify reproduction.

What faculty were taught explains the past; it cannot determine what they teach next.

Nor can the result now be treated simply as historical evidence. The New Zealand academic community has already been presented with the findings through a substantial sequence of studies. The absence of representational measurement has been identified. Its consequences for utilities, QALYs, ICERs and the reference-case framework have now been made explicit. Ignorance may explain the original curriculum. It cannot justify its continuation after the omission and its consequences have been brought directly to the attention of those responsible for teaching and research.

This places New Zealand universities in a fundamentally different position as they approach the 2027 academic year. The question is no longer whether representational measurement would be an interesting addition to existing HTA teaching. The question is whether the existing curriculum can survive once representational measurement becomes its gatekeeper.

It cannot be resolved by moving from 0/17 to 2/17 or 5/17 while retaining the existing analytical architecture. Measurement is not a collection of additional topics to be appended to the 20/20 legacy curriculum. Once students understand that measurement precedes arithmetic, that attributes must be identified, that manifest and latent attributes require different measurement pathways, and that proportional claims require appropriate measurement structures, they will inevitably apply those standards to the methods they are subsequently taught.

The contradiction will then be obvious.

New Zealand cannot coherently teach measurement first and legacy HTA second without requiring legacy HTA to pass the measurement standards it previously ignored. Once that test is imposed, its central QALY-based architecture fails. The 0/17 versus 20/20 finding therefore represents more than curriculum imbalance. It identifies the knowledge failure that permitted measurement inversion to become normal HTA practice. The appropriate response is not curriculum supplementation. It is curriculum reconstruction.

The baseline has already been established. Twenty New Zealand studies have documented different aspects of the measurement and knowledge problem. The New Zealand HTA academic community has been put on notice. The QALY measurement failure is now explicit.

The issue for 2027 is therefore not whether New Zealand HTA programs will add representational measurement to legacy HTA. It is whether they will begin replacing a failed 20/20 legacy curriculum with an assessment framework in which lawful measurement determines what may legitimately be taught as quantitative science. Universities, faculty and students should accept no less.

THE TRANSFORMATION TO LAWFUL MEASUREMENT

Abandonment of the legacy HTA curriculum does not leave New Zealand universities and research centers without a way forward. The required transformation has already been set out in a nine-unit program, *Reconstructing HTA Programs: Measurement before Arithmetic*⁷. Its importance is not that it offers another variant of conventional HTA education. It does the opposite. It abandons the inherited sequence and reconstructs HTA from the measurement foundations that should have preceded quantitative analysis from the outset.

The transformation begins with a simple reversal: measurement must precede arithmetic. Students are not introduced first to utilities, QALYs, ICERs and reference-case models and subsequently asked to consider their measurement properties. They begin by identifying the attribute about which a therapy-impact claim is to be made and determining what would constitute a lawful measure of that attribute. Only after the measurement requirements have been satisfied does arithmetic become admissible.

The nine-unit program develops this reconstruction progressively. It begins with measurement inversion and the consequences of allowing arithmetic to precede measurement. It then establishes the importance of attributes, scale types, admissible transformations, dimensional homogeneity and the restrictions that measurement properties impose upon quantitative claims. The distinction between manifest and latent attributes becomes fundamental. Manifest attributes require appropriate linear ratio measurement. Latent attributes require construction of a unidimensional measurement system capable of establishing possession of the attribute, with Rasch measurement providing the required framework.

The program then moves from measurement principles to their application in therapy evaluation. Students learn why assigning numbers to observations does not itself create measurement; why conventional multiattribute preference scores cannot perform the proportional measurement role demanded of them by the QALY; and why arithmetic cannot repair a measurement failure that has already occurred. Therapy-impact claims must instead be constructed from measures whose properties have been established and must be capable of empirical evaluation, replication and falsification.

This changes the intellectual structure of HTA. The reference case is no longer the organizing principle. Measurement is. The question is no longer whether an analysis conforms to an accepted

methodological convention but whether the quantities entering the analysis are lawful measures and whether the operations performed upon them are permitted by their measurement properties.

The nine units are therefore not intended to repair legacy HTA. They provide the basis for its replacement. Utilities, QALYs and cost-per-QALY reference-case claims are not retained and surrounded by additional qualifications. Constructs that fail the measurement gate are abandoned. Those that survive lawful measurement scrutiny can remain. The curriculum is reconstructed from what can legitimately be measured rather than from what legacy HTA has traditionally chosen to calculate.

This distinction is critical for New Zealand universities. The transformation does not require waiting for PHARMAC, ISPOR or any other organization to authorize a new scientific standard. The standards of lawful measurement already exist. Nor is there a requirement to wait for another generation of methodological debate. Once a quantitative operation has been shown to lack the measurement properties necessary for its claimed interpretation, institutional convention cannot preserve its scientific legitimacy.

The case for transition in New Zealand is particularly difficult to postpone because the problem is no longer unidentified. Twenty studies have now examined different aspects of the New Zealand HTA and health economics knowledge base, measurement framework and program content. The 0/17 versus 20/20 program-content result has established the extent of curriculum inversion, while the QALY analysis now demonstrates the consequences of that inversion for the central quantitative construct of legacy cost-utility HTA. The missing measurement framework has been identified; the consequences of its absence have been demonstrated; and a framework for replacement is available.

The nine-unit program demonstrates that the transition can begin immediately. It provides faculty with a coherent structure for replacing measurement inversion with measurement discipline and students with the intellectual tools required to distinguish a numerical calculation from a scientifically defensible quantitative claim.

New Zealand HTA therefore faces not a choice between two competing schools of economic evaluation. There is only one scientifically defensible direction of travel: from a legacy curriculum constructed around numerical convention to an assessment framework constructed around lawful measurement.

The institutional transition may be demanding. The scientific requirement is not. After 20 New Zealand studies, the issue is no longer whether the measurement failure has been identified. It is whether New Zealand universities will now act upon it.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr Paul Langley is a health economist. Originally from the UK, Dr Langley completed his graduate studies in Canada and has taught in the UK, Canada, New Zealand and the United States. After over 20 years teaching university in New Zealand, Dr Langley moved to take up academic positions in the United States. He now lives in Tucson, Arizona to enjoy the Catalina mountains, the Sonoran desert, the absence of mosquitos and his swimming pool.

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