## **Trial Presentation**

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# Assignment

For the Medicare Advantage program and the Health Insurance Exchanges, I have been asked to opine upon:

- The role that competition among private insurers plays in each program
- How the exercise of market power in each program affects enrollees and taxpayers
- The role that regulation plays in each program

## Key Conclusions: Medicare Advantage

- Medicare Advantage relies on competition among private health insurers to:
  - Deliver lower premiums and more generous benefits for seniors
  - Reduce the financial burden on taxpayers
- Medicare Advantage is susceptible to the exercise of market power by health insurers
  - Competition occurs primarily between Medicare Advantage plans
  - Health insurers in the Medicare Advantage program already possess market power
  - Any increase in that market power will harm seniors enrolled in Medicare Advantage and the taxpayers who fund the program
- Regulation cannot replace competition

# Key Conclusions: Health Insurance Exchanges

- Health Insurance Exchanges rely on competition among private health insurers to:
  - Deliver affordable, quality health insurance to individuals
  - Reduce the financial burden on taxpayers
- A substantial reduction in competition would result in:
  - Higher premiums
  - Reduced options
- Presence of subsidies makes the Exchanges especially vulnerable to the exercise of market power
- Regulation cannot replace competition

## The Elements of the Medicare Program

Part A: Hospital inpatient care Part B:
Outpatient care
and doctors visits

Part C: Known today as Medicare Advantage Part D:
Outpatient
prescription drug
coverage

## Original Medicare Overview

 Primary source of health insurance for Americans aged 65 and older (as well as others with certain disabilities)

#### Part A

- Hospital inpatient care
- \$1,288 deductible

#### Part B

- Hospital outpatient care and doctor's visits
- \$166 deductible
- 20% co-insurance
- 2016 premium: \$104.90/month

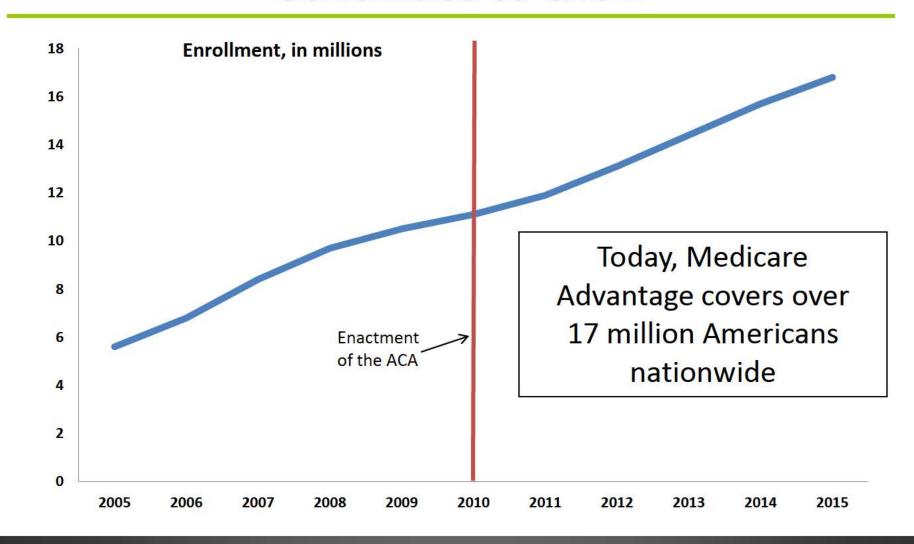
## Original Medicare Overview

- No limit on out-of-pocket costs
  - Unlimited exposure to potentially catastrophic medical costs
- Does not cover:
  - Dental, vision, hearing aids
  - Prescription drugs
    - Available separately through Medicare Part D
    - Average premium: \$39 per month
- No network
  - Enrollees may see any provider that accepts Medicare

## Medigap

- Health insurance policies sold by private insurers to Original Medicare enrollees
  - Also called "MedSupp"
- Covers most or all out-of-pocket costs from deductibles, copays, or co-insurance under Medicare Parts A and B
- Does not cover:
  - Dental, vision, or hearing
  - Prescription drugs
- Premiums average \$183/month nationally
- Guaranteed coverage if a senior enrolls within six months of becoming eligible for Medicare

# Medicare Advantage Enrollment Continues to Grow



# Medicare Advantage Plans

- Must cover at least Part A and B services
- Must limit out-of-pocket costs to \$6,700 or less
- Cost sharing
  - Copayments and co-insurance are set by health plan
- Usually also cover:
  - Dental, vision, hearing aids
  - Prescription drugs

# Medicare Advantage Plans

### Network

 Enrollees typically limited to in-network providers or will face higher cost-sharing

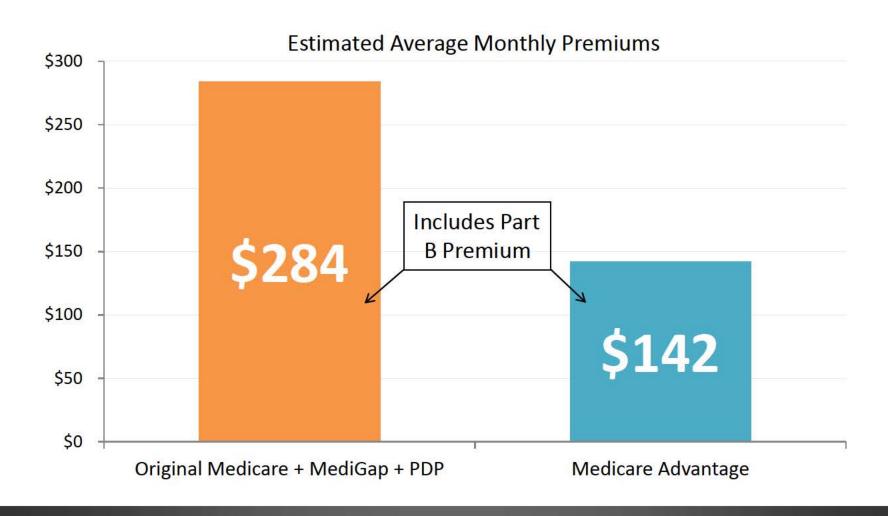
## Premium

- Most enrollees pay no Part C monthly premium
- Some enrollees' Part B premiums are subsidized by their plan

# Key Medicare Advantage and Original Medicare Differences

Benefit	Original Medicare	Medicare Advantage
Out-of-pocket limit	No	\$6,700 or less
Supplemental benefits	No	Yes
Prescription drug coverage	No	Yes
Unrestricted provider network	Yes	No

# Medicare Advantage Plans Have Lower Premiums

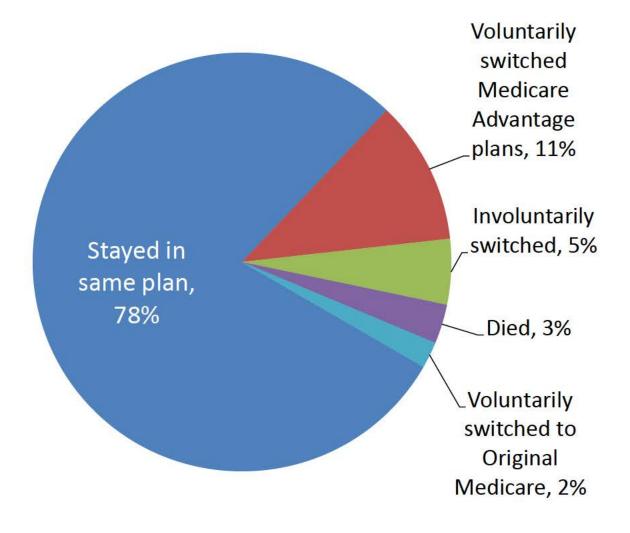


## Medicare Advantage Enrollees

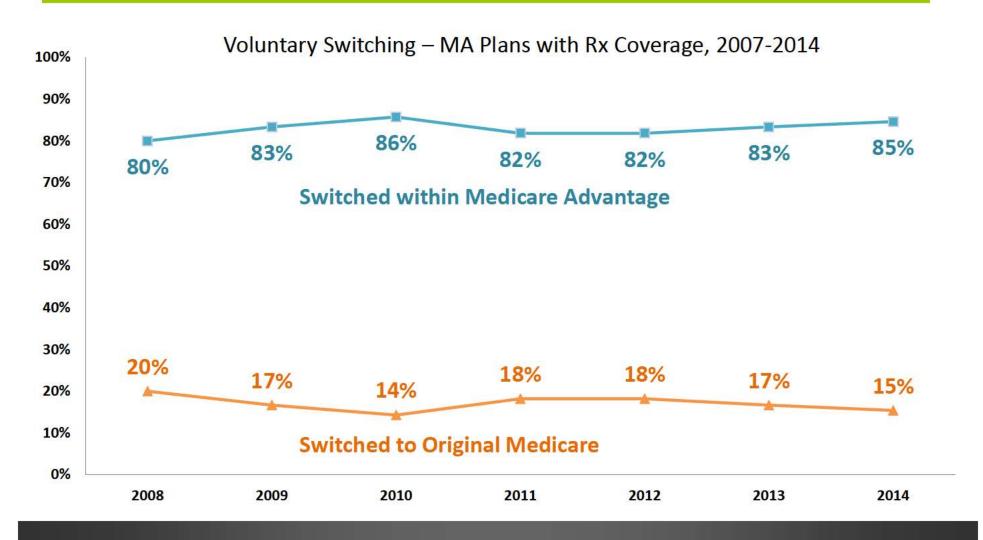
- Medicare Advantage attracts different enrollees than Original Medicare
  - Lower levels of income and education
  - Minorities
  - Urban
  - Healthier
    - Risk scores tend to be 20-30% lower

## Few Medicare Advantage Enrollees Change Plans

Only 2% of Medicare Advantage enrollees voluntarily switched to Original Medicare in 2013-2014.



# Switching from Medicare Advantage to Original Medicare is Rare



## Why is Switching Rare?

### Preferences

 Medicare Advantage plans are significantly different than Original Medicare options

## 2. Familiarity with managed care

 Seniors entering Medicare increasingly have experience with commercial managed care products

## 3. Employer wrap-arounds

 Many employers offer coverage that "wraps around" Original Medicare

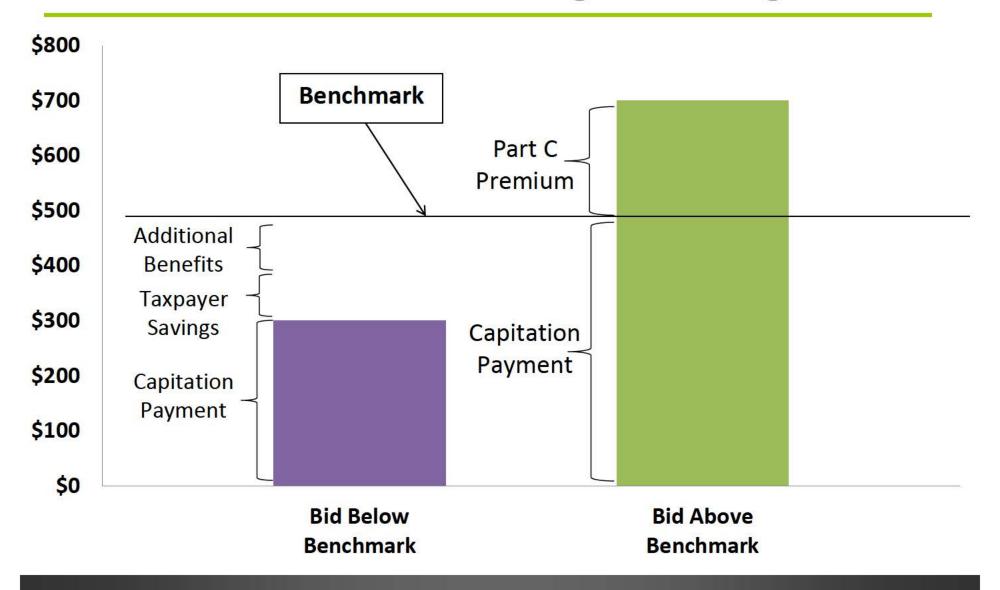
## 4. Behavioral

Status quo bias

## Payment to Medicare Advantage Plans

- Medicare Advantage plans receive a fixed per-beneficiary permonth payment (capitation)
- These capitation payments are determined by a bidding process
  - Each Medicare Advantage plan bids relative to its own benchmark
    - Benchmark reflects average spending in local Original Medicare
  - If plan bids above benchmark, beneficiaries pay a Part C premium
  - If plans bid below the benchmark, savings are shared by beneficiaries and taxpayers
- Implications for elasticity of demand:
  - Beneficiaries face 100% of the consequences of higher bids, but receive only a portion of the savings for lower bids

## Medicare Advantage Bidding



# Factors That Increase Medicare Advantage Plan Revenue

- "Star" quality ratings
  - Plans with a star quality ratings of 4 or above get a 5% increase in their benchmark
  - The higher is a plan's star quality ratings, the higher is its rebate
- Risk adjustment
- Upcoding

# Competitive Bidding in Medicare Advantage



# Evidence of Market Power in Medicare Advantage

- Pass through of benchmark changes
  - Insurers do not pass through 100% of benchmark changes
  - Percentage that is passed through decreases with concentration
- Bidding patterns
  - \$0 premium plans
  - Higher concentration and fewer plans correlated with higher bids

## Accountable Care Organizations

- ACOs designed to alter care delivery within Original Medicare
- But:
  - Dominant payment model is one-sided risk
  - Enrollment and evidence of savings to date is modest
  - Many ACO enrollees get care outside of their ACO's network because:
    - ACOs have no restrictions on provider choice
    - Many ACO networks are incomplete
  - No flexibility in benefit design
  - No prescription drugs or supplemental benefits
- Medicare Advantage enrollment continues to grow despite introduction of ACOs

## Regulation Cannot Replace Competition

- County benchmarks
  - Lean directly on competition: desire to attract enrollees improves efficiency
- Bid review
  - Incentive to minimize costs comes, by design, from competition with other insurers
- Medical Loss Ratio (MLR):
  - Not designed to give insurers incentive to minimize claims or submit the lowest bid possible: that comes from competition
- Presence of market power today highlights regulation's limits

- Created by Congress in the Affordable Care Act in 2014
- Designed to promote access to affordable health insurance
  - Tax subsidies for premiums
  - Subsidized cost-sharing
  - 85% of exchange enrollees are eligible for subsidies
- Created centralized marketplace for individuals to compare and select among health insurance options offered by private insurers
- 2016 enrollment was 11.1 million

- Rely on competition among private insurers
  - The exchanges create a marketplace on which insurers can compete for enrollees
- Benefits of competition
  - Affordable premiums
  - Wide range of health care coverage options

- Insurers submit proposed plan offerings and associated premiums
- Plans are classified into 4 "metal tiers"

Metal	Plan Pays	Consumer Pays
Bronze	60%	40%
Silver	70%	30%
Gold	80%	20%
Platinum	90%	10%

- 70% of enrollees are in silver plans
- 22% are in bronze plans
- 8% combined are in gold and platinum plans

- Premium Subsidies ("Advanced Premium Tax Credit")
  - Subsidy available to any person purchasing on the exchanges whose income is 100-400% of the federal poverty level (\$24,300 for a family of four in 2016)
  - Fixed dollar amount (based on premium of second-lowestcost silver plan)
  - Applicable to all metal tier premiums
  - 85% of all on-exchange enrollees were subsidy-eligible
  - Subsidies reduce premium by 74%

- Premium subsidies and competition
  - Subsidy insulates enrollee from full effect of premium increases, reducing enrollee incentive to exit the market
  - Reduces pressure on plans to keep premiums low absent competition
  - Subsidy design means taxpayers bear largest share of financial burden of premium increases
- Presence of multiple insurers keeps premiums low

## Regulation Cannot Replace Competition

- Regulations are designed to facilitate competition
- Regulations cannot substitute for competition among private insurers

#### Rate review

- Mechanism for insurer to disclose and explain proposed unusual or extraordinary year-over-year premium increases
- CMS lacks authority to reject proposed premium increase

### Medical Loss Ratio

- Calculated at the state level over the previous three years
- Not structured to respond to localized exercise of market power

## Conclusions

- Medicare Advantage and the Exchanges rely on competition among private insurers to deliver low premiums and high quality
  - Competition among private plans in Medicare occurs primarily within Medicare Advantage
  - As more insurers participate on the Exchanges, premiums go down
- A substantial reduction in competition in either program will harm enrollees and taxpayers
- Regulation cannot replace competition
  - Rate review and MLR requirements are not substitutes for competition among private insurers

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