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AUSTRALIAN CENTRE
FOR
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ON HEALTH

Reforming health care financing – allowing opting out of Medicare with risk-adjusted subsidies?

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Agenda

1. Private Health Insurance in Australia;
2. Subsidising PHI in Australia:
 - Why?
 - How?
3. How to Proceed?



Part 1.

Private Health Insurance in Australia



Private Health Insurance (PHI)

- Voluntary coverage;
- 44% of the population has PHI (2007);
- PHI share of total health expenditures 7% (2007);
- Fairly competitive market:
 - 38 funds (32 not-for-profit);
 - 60% market share for the 4 largest insurers;
- Heavily regulated (e.g. *mandatory subsidies*).



PHI coverage

- Supplementary coverage for (parts of) the costs of services uncovered by Medicare (e.g. hospital charges levied by private hospitals);
- Duplicate coverage for the costs of services (partly) covered by Medicare
 - Increased choice of doctor for hospital treatment (public patients are assigned a hospital doctor);
 - Shorter waiting times;
 - Better (perceived) quality of care.



Complex system of subsidies in PHI

- 30-40% *ad valorem* premium subsidy to individuals who purchase PHI;
- Claims-equalisation scheme;
- A tax penalty of 1% of income (for incomes exceeding \$50,000 p.a. for singles and \$100,000 p.a. for couples) if individuals do not hold PHI (the Medicare levy surcharge).
- Lifetime community-rating per product per insurer (with open enrolment).



Part 2.

Subsidising PHI: why & how?



Subsidising PHI: WHY?

- Direct way to achieve the goal of achieving an affordable access to (the coverage of) health care services for vulnerable groups (e.g. low-income or high-risks individuals).
- The main country-specific policy argument for subsidising PHI in Australia is to decrease pressure on public financing by:
 1. Increasing consumers' choice of coverage;
 2. Increasingly relying on private resources to finance health care;
 3. Indirect way to achieve affordable access to services for everyone.



Subsidising PHI: not without problems

- a. Duplication?
- b. Effective in decreasing the pressure on public financing overtime?
- c. Adverse selection: a constant threat to PHI stability?
- d. Two-tier system?
- e. Is there a stable equilibrium with acceptable waiting times in the public sector? (Scotton, 1989).
- f. Political and regulatory instability.



Interim conclusions

- Subsidising Duplicate PHI appears not to be able to achieve its main policy goals:
 - To decrease the financial pressure on the public scheme;
 - Affordability and fairness in the access to services for everyone.
- Subsidising PHI is unnecessary to guarantee affordable access to health care services already covered by Medicare, and disproportionate because it results in several problems which create instability and inefficiencies in the market.



Subsidising PHI: How?

- Taking the decision to subsidise PHI as given.
- Four regulatory tools to make PHI affordable in a competitive insurance market:
 1. Risk-adjusted subsidies;
 2. Claims-based subsidies;
 3. Premium-adjusted subsidies;
 4. Premium rate restrictions;
 5. Combination of the above mentioned strategies.



1. Risk-adjusted subsidies

- High-risks receive a risk-adjusted subsidy from a Subsidy Fund, filled with mandatory contributions from the low-risks.
- Risk-adjusted subsidies are equal to the predicted expenses based on the risk factors that insurers use, such as age and health status.



Risk-equalisation

- Risk-equalisation refers to a system of *ex-ante* risk-adjusted subsidies that equalises the financial differences between insurers that arise from differences in their risk profile.



Effects

- Risk-equalisation schemes achieve affordability in competitive PHI markets;

- No distortion of premium competition:
 - Insurers are fully free to ask risk-rated premiums;

 - Consumers are fully price sensitive at the margin.



2. Claims-based subsidies

- Claims-based subsidies are based on some or all actual expenses of insurers, e.g. above a certain threshold for each individual.
- Claims-equalisation refers to a system of *ex-post* claims-based subsidies that equalises the financial differences between insurers that arise from differences in their claims.



Effects

- Claims-equalisation schemes result in a reduction of the insurers' financial risk that:
 - » Reduces the premiums, in particular for the high risks (i.e. it increases affordability);
 - » Limits price-competition (i.e. it decreases efficiency);

→ tradeoff affordability - efficiency



3. Premium-adjusted subsidies

- Effective in achieving affordability.
- But, not optimal:
 - They reduce the consumers' and insurers' incentives for efficiency:
 - » Less effective price-competition and risk of premium inflation;
 - » A welfare loss because of the moral hazard due to over-insurance.
 - They create a misallocation of subsidies.

→ tradeoff affordability - efficiency



4. Premium rate restrictions

- An alternative strategy is implicit cross-subsidies enforced by premium rate restrictions (and open enrollment) for a specified insurance coverage.

- Examples of premium rate restrictions:
 - » Community rating;
 - » A ban on certain rating factors;
 - » Rate band.



Premium rate restrictions

- Goal: to create implicit cross-subsidies from the low-risks to the high-risks.
- Effect: Such pooling of people with different risks creates substantial predictable profits and losses for subgroups → and thereby create incentives for risk-selection.

→ tradeoff affordability - selection



The preferred strategy

- Risk-adjusted subsidies or risk-equalisation is the preferred strategy because:
 - In the case of perfect risk equalisation there is no need for any other strategy and no tradeoff exists.
 - Each of the other strategies inevitably confronts policymakers with a tradeoff.



Part 3.

How to proceed?



How to proceed?

- The current system of duplicate coverage and subsidies is not sustainable on economic grounds.
- Duplication can be removed by:
 1. Rely entirely on PHI (e.g. confine Medicare to a safety-net role (US-model));
 2. Rely entirely on Medicare & reducing the role of PHI (e.g. confine PHI to supplementary coverage);
 3. “Medicare/PHI Choice”.



Which direction?

1. 100% PHI

2. 100% Medicare

3. "Medicare/PHI Choice"



1. Only PHI

- An increasing reliance on unregulated competitive markets for PHI results in:
 - » An increasing conflict with society's goal of *affordability*;
 - » A *welfare loss* to society, e.g. if individuals' (altruistic) preferences cannot be met.

- Most OECD countries (including Australia) consider affordability and equity in the access to health care as fundamental goals.

- Only PHI is not an option!



2. Only Medicare

- An alternative to Subsidising Duplicate PHI in Australia could also be to have a universal mandatory coverage scheme for a uniform set of benefits (Butler, 2008).
- More efficient and equitable to invest the 3 billion AUD currently used to subsidise PHI on improving Medicare's responsiveness to consumers preferences and needs.



2. Only Medicare

- Universality and uniformity of coverage does not account for heterogeneity across individuals (especially across income groups) and across treatments:
 - ✓ It does not reflect differences in preferences;
 - ✓ By forcing a level of coverage above the one some groups would have chosen autonomously, it induces moral hazard above the social optimal.

- Universal mandatory coverage for a uniform set of services is not per se a *necessary* and/or *proportionate* measure to achieve the goal of affordable access to (the coverage of) health care services.



c. “Medicare/PHI Choice”

- No duplication of coverage;
- Make Medicare & PHI fully substitutable (i.e. “opting-out”): consumers may choose to either be enrolled in Medicare (zero-premium) or PHI (positive-premium);
- PHI has to pay all health care expenses of their insured.



c. “Medicare/PHI Choice”

- The current forms of subsidy for PHI:
 - a. 30-40% premium-related subsidies;
 - b. Ex-post claims-based subsidies
(= excess loss compensations, although called risk-equalisation);
 - c. Community rating per product.

- Effects of a and b: reduction of incentives for efficiency;

- Effects of c: risk selection; and premium differentiation via product differentiation.



Why not risk-adjusted subsidies?

- Why not ex-ante risk-adjusted subsidies?
- Risk equalisation should be the primary regulatory tool to escape from the tradeoffs between affordability, efficiency and selection.



c. “Medicare/PHI Choice”

- From the current *ex-post* claims-equalisation to *ex-ante* risk-equalisation (e.g. Risk-Based Capitation - RBC - proposal (2003)) and add to RBC risk-adjusters (e.g. age & gender), predictors implemented in other countries:
 - » Region;
 - » Health status (e.g. DCGs, PCGs, DTCs etc.);
 - » Socio-economic status; etc...
- PHI receives a risk-adjusted “opt-out” subsidy;
- Long run: both PHI and Medicare receive the same risk-adjusted subsidy.
- Allow insurers to risk rate & replace community rating by a premium rate band;
- Reconsider the necessity and proportionality of the 30-40% subsidies *vis a vis* their goals.



Pragmatic solution

- Effects of “Medicare/PHI Choice” :
 - » Policy goals achieved;
 - » PHI: more tools and incentives for efficiency (consumers, insurers);
 - » Substantial reduction of problems;
 - » Less selection, both by consumers and by insurers;
 - » PHI becomes attractive for low-risks.