health insurers friend or foe of health reform?

bruce bodaken chairman and ceo blue shield of california

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looking back to 1994

reform seemed inevitable

- broad public support
- Dole and 11 other republican senators supported many principles of plan
- AMA and U.S. Chamber supported employer mandate



and then...

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a decade later, in massachusetts

the reform

- individual mandate
- employer payment obligations
- insurance exchange
- subsidies for low-income
- expansion of Medicaid



the role of one insurer

"This hopeful moment would not be near if not for two catalyzing forces—a constitutional amendment headed to next year's ballot ... and the Blue Cross Blue Shield Foundation's dramatic 'Roadmap to Coverage'."

-- Boston Herald

last year in california

- gov. schwarzenegger and democratic assembly speaker propose "shared responsibility" reform package
 - individual and employer mandates, medicaid expansion
 - new purchasing pool
 - guarantee-issue with no health status rating
 - limits on insurer administrative expenses and profit
 - transparency



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health plans weren't the problem

- actively supported by three major california insurers (health net, kaiser and blue shield)
- most large national insurers played a constructive role in shaping the legislation (united, cigna, and aetna)
- defeated by budget woes and a few determined foes with different agendas (single-payer advocates, tobacco industry and blue cross)

federal reform could look similar

• shared responsibility approach of MA and CA is reflected in numerous federal reform proposals

- obama (as well as clinton and edwards)
- wyden/bennett
- langevine/shays
- senator kennedy also is likely to propose plan that borrows from the shared responsibility model, which he supported in massachusetts
- mccain unlikely to support mandates

obama's plan

access

- employer pay-or-play
- kids coverage mandate
- insurance exchange
- public plan option
- guarantee-issue
- subsidies for low-income
- expanded public programs

cost & quality

- improve care management
- invest \$50 million in health IT
- promote generic drugs
- permit drug reimportation
- authorize CMS to negotiate drug prices
- require more transparency
- establish comparative effectiveness institute
- limit insurer admin expenses

can we expect industry support?

concerns about business risks posed by big, governmentsponsored purchasing pools/exchanges

- risk selection problems
- increased regulation
- government involvement in negotiating prices

concerns about individual and employer mandates

- small business customers might resent insurer support
- purchase requirement could invite rate regulation

other provisions the industry doesn't like

- administrative cost limits
- guarantee-issue without a comprehensive mandate
 but there's a ticking time bomb......

pressures to support reform

Average Insurance Costs Per Worker Hour



Source: KFF analysis of data from the BLS National Compensation Survey, 1999-2005. blue 🗑 of california blue

eroding markets

Percentage of Small Firms (3-199) Offering Coverage



Source: Kaiser Family Foundation/HRET Employer Health Benefits Survey, 2007.

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eroding coverage for the insured

Percentage of adults 19-64 with inadequate coverage



Source: Commonweath Fund Biennial Health Insurance Surveys, 2003 and 2007.

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the ranks of the uninsured have grown

Millions of Non-elderly Uninsured Americans



Source: US Census Bureau

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negative media coverage and regulatory scrutiny



insurers could go either way

insurers won't support measures that undermine the viability of a private market

- pooling without a level playing field
- guarantee-issue without a mandate
- provisions that make costs unmanageable
 - benefit mandates
 - limitations on care management
 - underpayment of public programs (i.e., cost-shift)

tenor will also be important

which approach will health reform proponents take?

- treat health plans as potential partners
- or as the enemy

strange bedfellows coalitions

divided we fail better healthcare together healthcare coverage for the uninsured national coalition on health care

healthcare for america now!

"a \$25 million advertising campaign that demonizes private health insurers"

--Slate

has a new day dawned?

- harry and louise return...but this time worry about their uninsured friend
- backers include: NFIB, Families USA, and Federation of American Hospitals
- AHIP joins in praise for the ad

