

Providing Insights that Contribute to Better Health Policy

# The State of Competition in Local Health Care Markets

Statement of Paul B. Ginsburg, FTC/DOJ Hearings on Health Care and Competition Law and Policy February 26, 2003

### **Key Points**

- Rise and fall of managed care throughout the 1990s shapes competition today
- Forces outside purview of anti-trust enforcement have influenced competition
  - Many have limited competition
- Many markets have limited prospects for effective competition



# Center for Studying Health System Change (HSC)

- Research on changes in the organization and delivery of care -- and their impact on people
  - Objective information for policy makers
  - Funded by The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation

Emphasis on health care markets

www.hschange.org

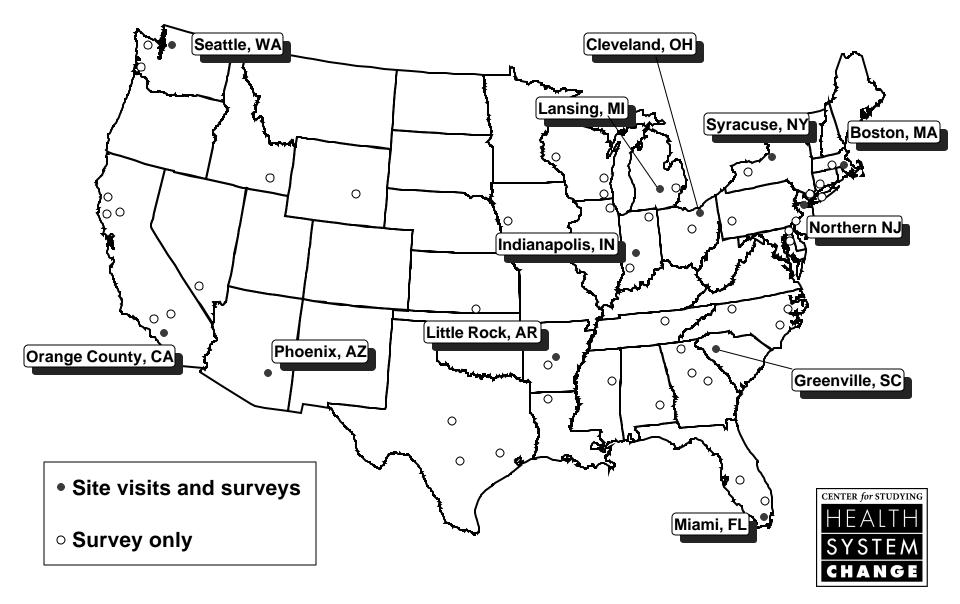


#### **CTS Site Visits**

- Insight into changing market trends
- Visit 12 randomly selected sites every two years
- Most recent visits in 2000-2001
- Conduct 50-90 interviews in each site, including a broad cross-section of local health system leaders
- "Triangulate" results



### The CTS Sites



#### Plan of Talk

- Background: Experience of 1990s
- Hospitals
- Physicians
- Insurers
- Provider/Insurer relations
- Purchasers
- Overall potential for competition



## **Background: Ascendancy of Managed Care**

- Narrow networks, provider risk, and authorizations become core components of financing
- National and regional managed care plans formed and expand vigorously
- Hospitals form systems and consolidate
- Managed care and Medicare cuts pressure hospitals to contain costs
- Physicians chafe at loss of autonomy and incomed

### Background: Retreat of Managed Care

- Less restrictive model of managed care emerges in response to backlash and economic boom
  - Broader provider choice
  - Fewer requirements for authorizations
  - Reduced use of risk contracting



# Background: Provider Response to Retreat of Managed Care

- Provider structures developed for managed care unravel
  - Less basis for vertical integration
  - Little follow through on clinical integration
- Providers regain leverage with health plans



### Slowing of Trend of Hospital Consolidation

- Fewer players left—reaching the limits
- Managed care less threatening
- Little excess capacity in face of increasing demand



### Hospitals Focus Competition on Perceived Quality

- Vigorous competition in some consolidated markets
  - Mostly on non-price dimensions
- Return of the "medical arms race" for profitable services

Sharp increase in promotional activity



# Hospitals Facing Entry Threat: Specialty Facilities (1)

- Focus on profitable services
  - Inadvertent market signals
  - Specialization increases impact of pricing distortions
- Tool for hospitals to invade others' geographic turf
- Additional threat from physician-owned facilities



# Hospitals Facing Entry Threat: Specialty Facilities (2)

 Potential for erosion of traditional cross subsidies

Plan resistance to contracting



### Physician Consolidation into Single-Specialty Groups

- Key motivations
  - Achieve scale to purchase profitable equipment
  - Increase leverage with health plans
- Lack of emphasis on multi-specialty groups
- Decline in physician-hospital organizations



### Insurer Consolidation Mostly Across Markets

- Fewer opportunities for consolidation within markets
  - Some opportunities for entry through purchase of hospitalowned plans
  - Many examples of failed entry
- Most plan mergers oriented to scale economies
  - Information technology
  - Care management technology
  - Marketing economies
  - But scale economies difficult to achieve



### Nature of Health Plan Competition

- Product innovation
  - Customization for diverse employers
    - Competing with other vendors
  - Emphasis on case management
  - Novel benefit structures
- Customer service
- Pricing "discipline"



### Blue Cross-Blue Shield: Solidified Dominance in Some Markets

- Historically large market shares
- Benefit from shift in consumer preferences
  Broad networks
  - PPOs rather than HMOs



### Blue Consolidation Intertwined with Conversion

- States less resistant
  - Potential revenue source
- Greater attention to price
- Split within Blue world on virtue of conversion



### Hospitals Gaining Leverage Over Plans

"Must have" status of leading hospitals

- Constrained hospital capacity
- Hospitals have resisted tiered networks
- Evidence of moderately higher price trends

### Physician Leverage Has Grown Less

- Brand-name status carries less clout for physicians
  - Key exception is some single-specialty groups
  - Most physicians are price takers
  - Price trend has remained low

Trend towards leaving networks and boutique medicine

# Purchasers Influence Nature of Plan and Provider Competition

Demands for broad networks

- Taking sides in showdowns
- Shape of benefit package

Willingness to pay for quality



### **Changing Purchaser Behavior**

- Decline in collective activity
  - National mergers
  - Smaller HR departments
  - Lack of success in past
- Behavior follows economic cycles
  - Profitability
  - Tightness of labor markets



# Competition on Clinical Quality Limited by Lack of Information

Mixed experience with hospital report cards

 "Private regulation" approach of Leapfrog Group

Government may need to act as catalyst



# Many Markets Have Limited Potential for Price Competition

- Small numbers of hospital systems and health plans
  - Entry difficult
- Barriers to consumer price incentives
  - Limits to cost sharing
  - Absence of useful information on clinical quality
  - Leaders' desire to protect cross subsidies to care for the uninsured

## How to Deal with Absence of Competition

- Informal "public utility" pressures
  - Can prevent egregious behavior
  - But unlikely to meet other goals for competition
- Medicare payment provides incentives to control costs
- Alternative options
  - ▶ 1970s-style regulation
  - Increase patient financial responsibility

