

# Market Power and Redistribution: Evidence from the Affordable Care Act<sup>1</sup>

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## Broad motivation

- ▶ Negative effects of market power on consumers long recognized — but focus on aggregates, not the distributional consequences
- ▶ Yet market power can have substantial distributional implications
- ▶ Many government policies create markets that aim to both: (1) get efficiency gains from competition and (2) implement redistributive policies
- ▶ **In this paper we use the empirical laboratory of publicly-subsidized health insurance markets to examine if these policy objectives may be in direct conflict with each other**

## Our Goals and Contributions

1. Outline general economic forces that govern distributional consequences of strategic intermediaries
  - ▶ Heterogeneous consumers
  - ▶ Uniform pricing
  - ▶ Firms with market power
2. Highlight general mechanism: a **demographic externality** wherein my price depends on demographic composition of neighbors
3. Quantify the efficiency and distributional losses from market power in an important program with strategic intermediaries and means-tested public transfers

### Empirical context:

- ▶ Market for health insurance plans created in 2010 under the Affordable Care Act
- ▶ Why is ACA a good environment to study distributional effects of market power?
  1. **In-kind means-tested** subsidies
  2. Scope for intermediaries' **market power**

## Preview of Results

- ▶ Market power:
  - ▶ 21% lower average CS
  - ▶ 15pp lower rate of insurance coverage
  - ▶ Firms capture 50% of surplus from public transfers
- ▶ Impact of market power varies across income groups
  - ▶ Willingness to pay for insurance low among low-income (subsidized) consumers
  - ▶ Larger relative losses from market power among low-income consumers
- ▶ Means-tested subsidy design *exacerbates* distortions from market power and is inefficient under a utilitarian welfare function
- ▶ Need high preferences for redistribution for the means-testing in the presence of market power to be the CS-maximizing policy

Setting and Data

Conceptual Model

Empirical Model

Policy Simulations

## Basic Institutional Facts

- ▶ ACA Marketplaces - individual health insurance contracts
- ▶ Ca. 9 million potential consumers
- ▶ Markets (roughly) at county level (2,561 counties)
- ▶ Consumers don't have to buy, but insurers have to sell
- ▶ **Uniform list prices conditional on age and market**<sup>2</sup>
- ▶ Consumers with low incomes eligible for means-tested subsidies

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<sup>2</sup>Smoking status can be underwritten, but in practice is not verifiable.

## Means-Tested Subsidies

- ▶ A key feature of the market is that list prices are uniform conditional on age, but consumers are eligible for **means-tested subsidies**
- ▶  $CAP$  := maximum amount that **tax family**  $f$  “should” be spending on health insurance premiums
- ▶  $SLSP$  := premium of the second cheapest Silver (70%) plan in family  $f$ 's market for the **coverage family**
- ▶ Compute subsidy (tax credit) for **tax family**
  - ▶ If  $CAP > SLSP$ , subsidy=0
  - ▶ If  $CAP < SLSP$ , subsidy =  $(SLSP - CAP)$
  - ▶ Subsidy at most equal to actual premiums paid

**Important:** The premiums below are only estimates. You'll need to fill out a Marketplace application to get actual plan prices. Some plans and details you see here may change.

## 121 Health Plans

[BACK TO QUESTIONS](#)

Viewing:

[HEALTH PLANS](#) [DENTAL PLANS](#)

Sort:

[BY MONTHLY PREMIUM](#) [BY DEDUCTIBLE](#)

### NARROW YOUR RESULTS

See only plans with these features

#### Premium

less than \$200 (17)

less than \$300 (80)

less than \$400 (119)

less than \$500 (121)

Get more details about premiums

#### Coverage categories

Bronze plans (33)

Silver plans (42)

Gold plans (33)

Platinum plans (13)

Get more details about categories

#### Plan Types

PPO (52)

HMO (64)

POS (5)

Get more details about plan types

#### Insurance companies

Aetna (5)

### Health Choice Insurance Co. · Health Choice Value Bronze

[Compare](#)

Bronze HMO

Plan ID: 70239A20010043

ESTIMATED MONTHLY PREMIUM

\$153

ESTIMATED DEDUCTIBLE

\$5,000

Estimated individual total

ESTIMATED OUT-OF-POCKET  
MAXIMUM

\$6,600

Estimated individual total

#### COPAYMENTS / COINSURANCE

Primary doctor:

**\$20 Copay after deductible**

Specialist doctor:

**\$50 Copay after deductible**

Emergency room care:

**\$500 Copay after deductible**

Generic drugs:

**\$15 Copay after deductible**

#### PEOPLE COVERED

1 (Age 40): Covered

#### MORE INFORMATION

Summary of Benefits

Plan brochure

Provider directory

List of covered drugs

[LEARN MORE ABOUT THIS PLAN](#)

- ▶ Online interface for plan choice personalizes premiums and cost-sharing
- ▶ Plans are highly multi-dimensional

# Data

For year 2017 (closest to equilibrium set of institutions),

- ▶ **Choice set data:**
  - ▶ CMS data on all plan features, plan premiums, and where plans are offered
- ▶ **Enrollment data:**
  - ▶ Outside option (i.e. potential market size) data provided by KFF
  - ▶ CMS enrollment data: county by metal; county by demographic group; plan-level
- ▶ **Demographics:**
  - ▶ ACS survey - restrict the sample to individuals without public insurance (incl. Medicaid expansion) or ESI

## Summary Statistics

	Mean <sup>3</sup>	Std. Dev.	10th pctile	90th pctile
<b>A. Choice set</b>				
Number of large insurers	2.16	1.13	1	4
Average annual premium (age 40), \$	5,106	902	3,978	6,351
<b>B. Enrollment</b>				
Market size	7,867	25,756	479	15,671
Share outside option	0.60	0.17	0.43	0.76
Plan-level enrollment	3,165	12,040	39	6,353
<b>C. ACS Sample of Potential Consumers</b>				
Age	39	2	36	42
Income in % FPL	295	52	231	365
Annual max premium subsidy, \$	2,349	1,244	919	4,226

<sup>3</sup>Across counties; not population-weighted

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# Overview of Conceptual Model

- ▶ Conceptual model has three key ingredients:
  1. Heterogeneous consumers → marginal cost, demand, subsidy
  2. Uniform pricing rule
  3. Firms that may have market power
- ▶ Three aims for the model:
  1. Uniform pricing rule has distributional implications per se
  2. Amplified with the introduction of type-specific subsidies
  3. Further amplified with the exercise of market power
- ▶ Assume that subsidy schedule embeds policymaker's preferences for redistribution
- ▶ Bottom line: cautions against the use of private intermediaries in environments with redistributional objectives

## Demand

- ▶ Unit mass of consumers faces a menu options,  $j = 1, \dots, J$ , with associated utility:

$$U_{ij} = u_j(p_j, w_i, \theta_i, \epsilon_{ij}), \quad (1)$$

where  $i$  indexes the consumer,  $p_j$  is the product's price,  $w_i$  are consumer characteristics,  $\theta_i$  is a vector of utility parameters, and  $\epsilon_i$  is a vector of preference shocks

- ▶ Usual discrete choice DGP:  $U_{ij} > U_{ik}, \forall k$  and  $U_{ij} > 0$ .
- ▶ Market-level demand from aggregating demands:

$$s_j(p) = \int s_{jd}(p_j, w)g(w)dw, \quad (2)$$

where  $s_{jd}(p; d)$  is the share of consumers within group  $d$  who buy good  $j$  and density consumer characteristics  $g(w)$

## Uniform Pricing Rule Without Market Power

- ▶ Under perfect competition, prices are set equal to average marginal cost:

$$\bar{p}_j = \frac{1}{s_j(\bar{p})} \int c_{dw} \cdot s_{jw}(\bar{p}, w) g(w) dw. \quad (3)$$

- ▶ First observation: the regulatory prohibition on price discrimination has distributional implications
- ▶ Uniform pricing: pools together consumers of different types, competitive price that is the sum of marginal costs weighted by each consumer type's share of market demand
- ▶ Even without market power, the equilibrium price depends on the demographic composition of their market via a pooling mechanisms in the vein of Rothschild and Stiglitz (1976) and Waldfogel (2003)
- ▶ **We label this economic relationship a “demographic externality”**

## Targeted Subsidies Introduce Another Dimension of Heterogeneity

- ▶ Denoting schedule of targeted subsidies as  $Z(w)$ , demand shifts outward:

$$s_j(p, Z(w)) = \int s_{jw}(p, z_w)g(w)dw, \quad (4)$$

- ▶ Competitive price now determined by:

$$\hat{p}_j = \frac{1}{s_j(\hat{p}, Z(w))} \int c_{jw} \cdot s_{jw}(\hat{p}, z_w)g(w)dw. \quad (5)$$

- ▶ Second primary observation: pass-through (out-of-pocket reduction in expenditures) will generally not equal  $z_w$  since  $\bar{p} \neq \hat{p}$
- ▶ Change in price in response to a marginal change in the subsidy to only type  $a$ :

$$\frac{d\hat{p}_j}{dz_a} = - \frac{(\hat{p}_j - c_{ja}) \frac{\partial s_{ja}(\hat{p}, z_a)}{\partial z_a} g(a)}{\int s_{jw}(\hat{p}, z_w) + (\hat{p}_j - c_{dw}) \frac{\partial s_{jw}(\hat{p}, z_w)}{\partial \hat{p}_j} g(w)dw} \neq 0 \quad (6)$$

## With Market Power

- ▶ Third observation: intermediaries with market power will further distort the equilibrium distribution of benefits from the targeted subsidy
- ▶ Key point: firms with market power equate *marginal* revenues and costs instead of *average* revenue and cost:

$$\int s_{jd}(\tilde{p}, z_d) + \tilde{p}_j \cdot \frac{\partial s_{jd}(\tilde{p}, z_d)}{\partial \tilde{p}_j} dD = \int c_{jd} \cdot \frac{\partial s_{jd}(\tilde{p}, z_d)}{\partial \tilde{p}_j} dD. \quad (7)$$

- ▶ Change in prices with targeted subsidy:

$$\frac{d\tilde{p}_j}{dz_a} = - \frac{\frac{\partial s_{ja}(\tilde{p}, z_a)}{\partial z_a} + (\tilde{p}_j - c_{ja}) \cdot \frac{\partial^2 s_{ja}(\tilde{p}, z_a)}{\partial \tilde{p}_j \partial z_a}}{\int 2 \frac{\partial s_{jd}(\tilde{p}, z_d)}{\partial \tilde{p}_j} + (\tilde{p}_j - c_{jd}) \cdot \frac{\partial^2 s_{jd}(\tilde{p}, z_d)}{\partial \tilde{p}_j^2} dD} \leq 0 \quad (8)$$

- ▶ Higher-order analogue of perfectly competitive counterpart
- ▶ Sign of expression is ambiguous: empirical matter

## Summary: Equilibrium Consumer Prices with Targeted Subsidies

	Subsidy	$p_H$	$p_L$
Competitive, $mc_i = \overline{mc}$	Yes	$p = mc$	$p - s$
Competitive, $mc_i = \overline{mc}$	No	$p = mc$	$p$
Incidence		0	$s$
Competitive, $mc_i \neq \overline{mc}$	Yes	$\bar{p}^c = AVC(s > 0)$	$\bar{p}^c - s$
Competitive, $mc_i \neq \overline{mc}$	No	$p^c = AVC(s = 0)$	$p^c$
Incidence		$p^c - \bar{p}^c$	$p^c - \bar{p}^c + s$
Market Power	Yes	$\tilde{p}^m$	$\tilde{p}^m - s$
Market Power	No	$p^m$	$p^m$
Incidence		$p^m - \tilde{p}^m$	$p^m - \tilde{p}^m + s$

- ▶ Difference between intended redistribution and actual outcomes is:  
 $p^m - \tilde{p}^m - p^c + \bar{p}^c$
- ▶ Bottom line: caution when using strategic intermediaries in environments with redistributive objectives

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## Demand Model

- ▶ We posit that individual  $i$  in family  $f$  in market  $t$  chooses plan  $j$  from the available choice set  $J$ , so as to maximize average family utility:

$$u_{ij} = -\alpha_{d(i)} p_{ij} + \psi_{d(i)} + \gamma AV_{ij} + \delta_j +$$

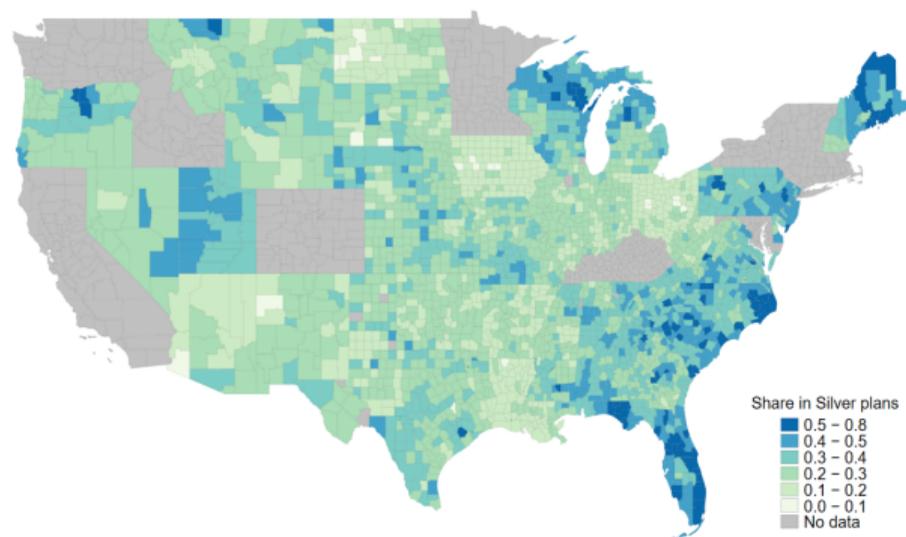
- ▶ Family  $f$  chooses a single plan or the outside option to maximize the average utility across family members:

$$\epsilon_{fj} + \frac{1}{N_f} \sum_{i \in f} u_{ij} > \epsilon_{fk} + \frac{1}{N_f} \sum_{i \in f} u_{ik}, \forall k \in J \text{ s.t. } k \neq j$$

- ▶  $p_{ij}$  is the premium that depends on income and age
- ▶  $\psi_{a(i)}$  - average level of utility that consumers of age  $a$  get from purchasing any plan
- ▶  $AV_{ij}$  - actuarial value of the plan that depends on income
- ▶  $\delta_j$  - non-parametrically captures the average utility from purchasing plan  $j$
- ▶  $\epsilon_{fj}$  - family-level idiosyncratic taste shock for plan  $j$
- ▶ Allow for demographic-group level variation in  $\alpha$

## Demand Estimation and Identification

- ▶ Moments: market-metal; market-demographic cells; plan level (e.g. silver shares)



- ▶ Price regulation as a source of **identifying variation** (similar in spirit to Tebaldi, Torgovitsky, Yang 2019) – consumers face **regulation-induced** different prices for the same plan due to differences in age composition of their coverage family and household income

## Demand Estimates

### Demand: parameters of utility function

	Mean	Age <25	Age 25–40	Age >40
Coefficient on premium, \$000 ( $\alpha$ )				
Income <200% FPL		-5.17 (0.33)	-2.47 (0.16)	-2.21 (0.14)
Income >200% FPL and <400% FPL		-4.32 (0.27)	-0.64 (0.04)	-3.94 (0.26)
Income >400% FPL		-1.13 (0.07)	-0.20 (0.01)	-0.46 (0.04)
Age-specific intercepts		1.52 (0.10)	-1.72 (0.11)	base
Actuarial Value	26.83 (1.69)			

- ▶ Higher-income consumers are less price sensitive at any age

## Supply Model: Payoffs

- ▶ Profit function of firm  $f$  offering plan portfolio  $J_f$ :

$$\Pi_f(\mathbf{b}) = \sum_{j \in J_f} \sum_{d \in D} \left[ (b_j \tau^d - c_j \kappa^d) s_j^d(p(b)) M^d \right]$$

- ▶  $d$  is consumer type (age/income)
- ▶  $\tau$  is a statutory age-adjustment revenue multiplier
- ▶  $s_j^d(p(b))$  the share of consumers in age-income group  $d$  that buys plan  $j$ ;  $p(b)$  is the link function between list price and consumer price
- ▶ Demand (shares), subsidies, and costs vary by  $d$
- ▶ The insurer maximizes profits by choosing a **one uniform price** for each plan  $j \in f$  that then gets age-adjusted exogenously with  $\tau$
- ▶ The chosen bid satisfies the FOC or the MLR constraint

## First-order Conditions

- ▶ Each insurer  $f$  chooses a vector of baseline list prices  $\mathbf{b}$  to maximize profits
- ▶ Subject to regulatory constraints on profit margins (MLR), the optimal list price  $b_j$  for each plan  $j \in J_f$  has to satisfy the following first-order condition:

$$\sum_{k \in J_f} \sum_{d \in D} \left[ (b_k \tau^d - c_k \kappa^d) \frac{\partial s_k^d(p(b))}{\partial b_j} M^d + 1(j = k) \cdot \tau^d s_j^d(p(b)) M^d \right] = 0$$

- ▶ Subsidies introduce a new term in the FOC that links premiums and plan list prices:

$$\frac{ds_j(p(b))}{db_k} = \frac{\partial s_j(p(b))}{\partial p_k} \cdot \frac{\partial p_k}{\partial b_k}$$

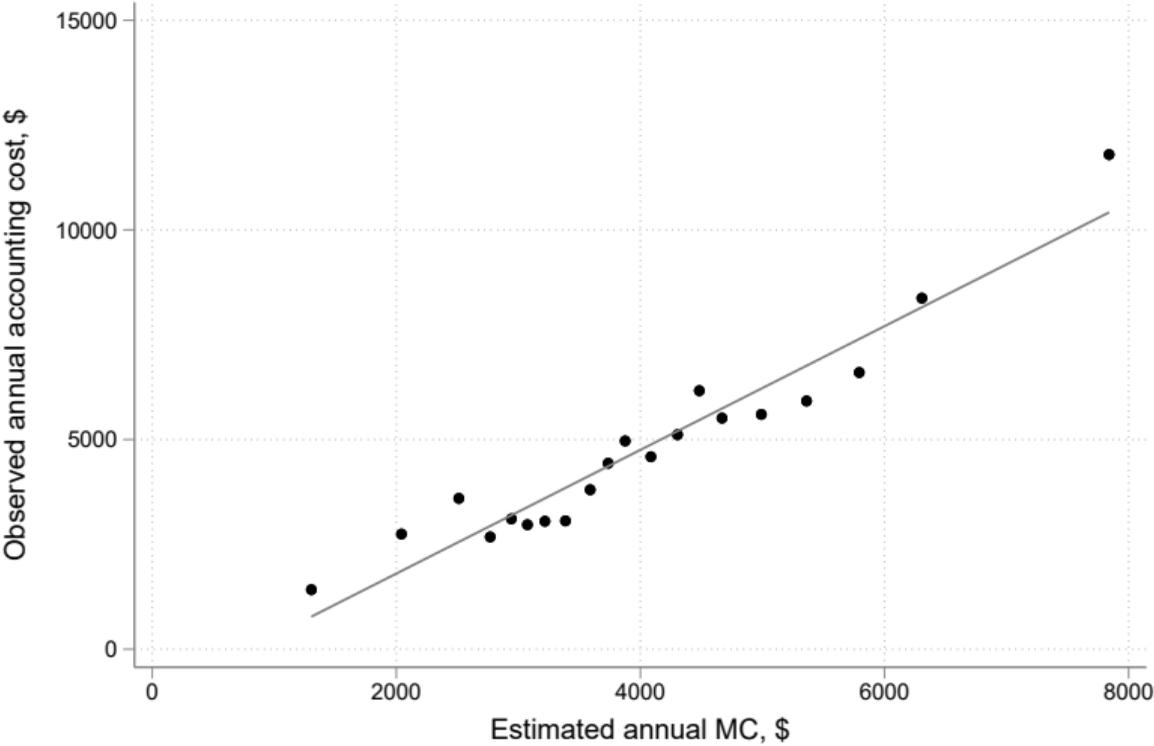
- ▶ Last term varies between zero for highly subsidized consumers and one for unsubsidized consumers

## Supply Model Estimates

<b>Supply: inversion of first-order conditions</b>	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Marginal cost for a 20 year old with income <200% FPL, \$	1,561 <sup>^</sup>	457 <sup>^</sup>	732 <sup>^</sup>	4,102 <sup>^</sup>
60% actuarial value plans	1,332	265	747	2,710
70% actuarial value plans	1,506	368	732	3,268
80% actuarial value plans	2,137	467	1,173	4,102
Estimated cost multipliers <sup>‡</sup>				
Income <200% FPL	2.77 <sup>‡‡</sup>			
Income >200% FPL and <400% FPL	2.15 <sup>‡‡</sup>			
Income >400% FPL	1.97 <sup>‡‡</sup>			

- ▶ Cost of coverage increases with plan generosity
- ▶ Lower-income consumers are more expensive for the firms to cover

# Inverted MCs Highly Correlated with Accounting costs



## Consumer Surplus

- ▶ Baseline surplus for consumer  $i$  with a vector of marginal utilities  $\theta_i$  takes the following form:

$$CS(\theta_i) = \frac{1}{\alpha_i} \left[ \gamma + \ln \left[ 1 + \sum_{j=1}^J \exp(u_{ij}(\theta_i)) \right] \right]$$

- ▶  $\gamma$  is Euler's constant
- ▶ Consumer surplus with preference for redistribution (Atkinson, 1970):

$$CS_i^\lambda = \begin{cases} \frac{1}{1-\lambda} [(y_i + CS_i)^{1-\lambda} - y_i^{1-\lambda}] & \text{if } \lambda \neq 1, \\ \log(y_i + CS_i) - \log(y_i) & \text{if } \lambda = 1 \end{cases} \quad (9)$$

- ▶ As  $\lambda$  increases, transfers to lower-income households become more valued by the society than equivalent transfers to higher-income households.

Setting and Data

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Empirical Model

**Policy Simulations**

- ▶ Quantifying the aggregate and distributional consequences of market power in ACA Marketplaces

## Quantifying Market Power: Distortions in CS and Insurance Coverage

	With market power		Perfect competition	
	Observed	Remove (premium) subsidies	Keep subsidies; firms set $p = AC$	Remove subsidies; firms set $p = AC$
<b>Average across potential consumers (\$)</b>				
Consumer surplus	<b>2,495</b>	2,152	<b>3,147</b>	2,534
Insurer profit	729	338		
Taxpayer cost of subsidies	1,434	23	1,775	69
Taxpayer cost net of savings on uncompensated care	614	-406	698	-548
<b>Insurance rate</b>	<b>0.45</b>	0.23	<b>0.59</b>	0.34
<b>Average 20 year old list premium (unweighted), \$</b>	2,401	2,239	1,743	1,592
<b>Among consumers buying insurance (\$)</b>				
Average cost of covering a buyer	3,993	3,348	4,045	3,425
Average list premium among buyers	<b>5,618</b>	4,788	<b>4,044</b>	3,426
Insurer profit per buyer	1,625	1,441		
Taxpayer cost of subsidies per buyer	3,196	96	3,010	204

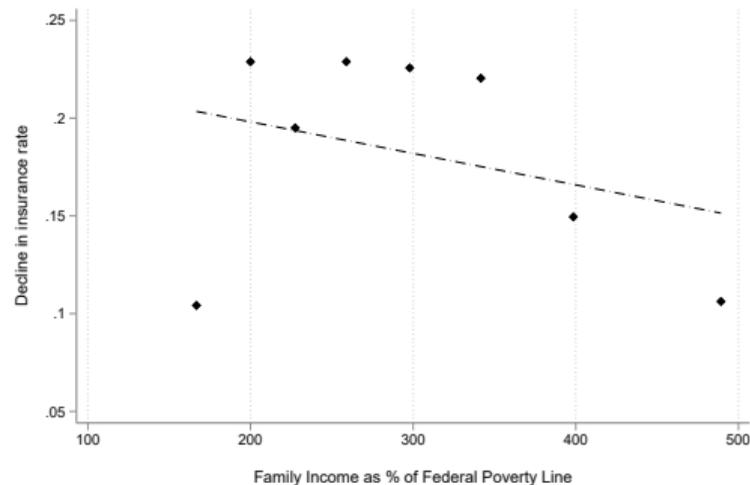
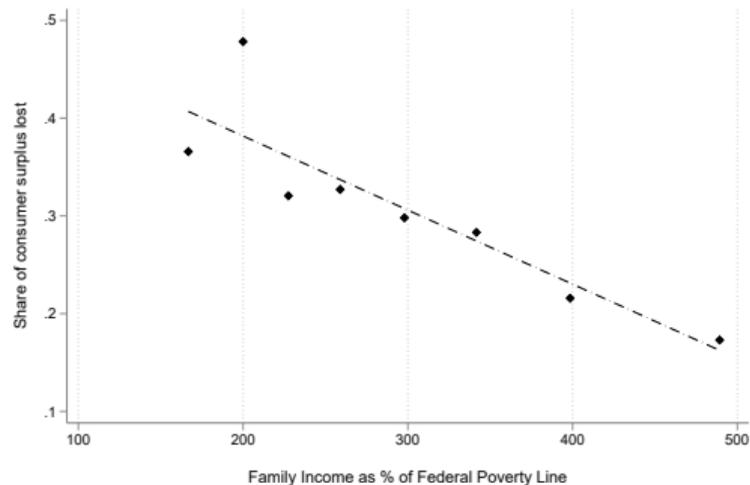
- ▶ Market power leads to 21% lower CS and 15pp lower rate of insurance coverage

## Quantifying Market Power: Distortions in Subsidy Pass-Through

	With market power		Perfect competition	
	Baseline – observed	Remove (premium) subsidies	Keep subsidies; firms set $p = AC$	Remove subsidies; firms set $p = AC$
<b>Average across potential consumers (\$)</b>				
Consumer surplus	2,495	2,152	3,147	2,534
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<b>Insurance rate</b>	0.45	0.23	0.59	0.34

- ▶ Subsidies crucial for stimulating enrollment, but consumers value insurance at less than its cash value
- ▶ With market power, \$1,400 subsidy spending per capita generates only \$734 extra CS+PS - large DWL
- ▶ **Firms capture 53% of the generated surplus**

# Distributional Effects of Market Power



- ▶ Higher relative loss in CS from market power among lower-income consumers; higher absolute loss in insurance coverage

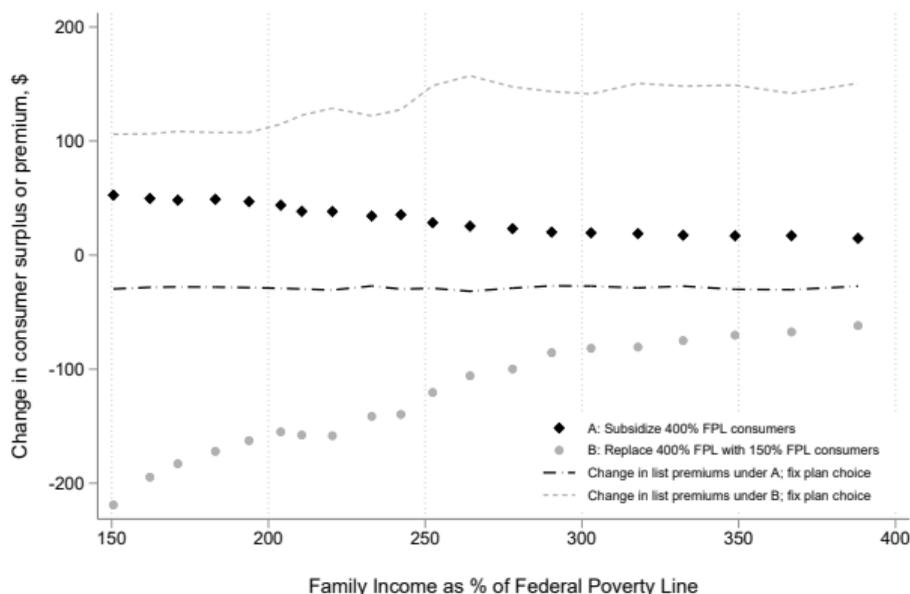
- ▶ Role of subsidy design in driving the aggregate and the distributional effects of market power

## Demographic Externality

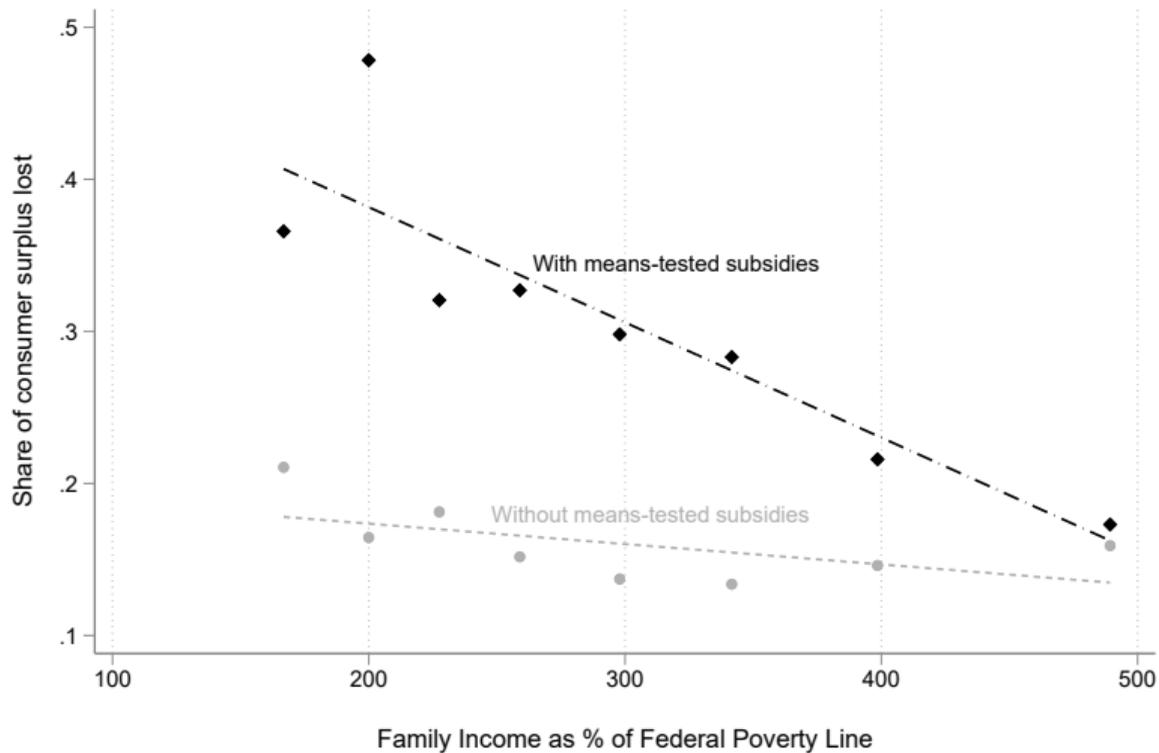
- ▶ Under (conditionally) uniform price regulation, the composition of consumer types matters for what prices firms set – a “demographic” externality
- ▶ At baseline, consumers vary in their demand (level and slope) and cost of coverage – correlated with level of income
- ▶ **Means-tested subsidies alter the demand dimension of heterogeneity**
- ▶ Changes the composition of who buys the product and pricing incentives of firms with market power

## Demographic Externality: Example of American Rescue Plan Act

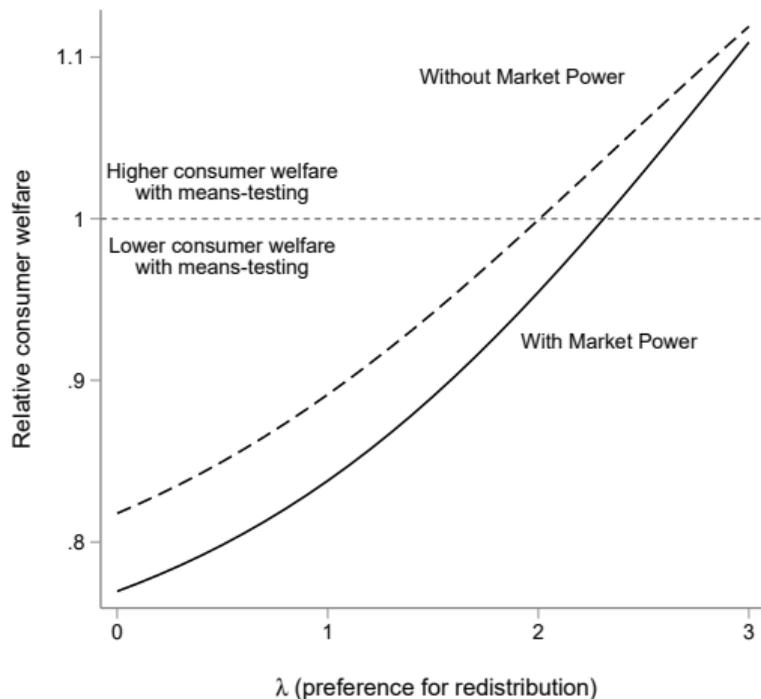
- ▶ Which consumers are subsidized and the level of subsidies matters for prices that other consumers face
- ▶ Example: introducing subsidies for 400% FPL + consumers (American Rescue Plan Act) decreases prices slightly for everyone else.



# Means-Tested Subsidies Exacerbate Distributional Effects of Market Power



# Equity-Efficiency Tradeoff in Subsidy Design



- ▶ For any preference for redistribution, surplus losses from means-testing are higher when market power is present
- ▶ In the presence of market power, need higher preferences for redistribution to prefer means-testing over flat subsidies

## Conclusion

- ▶ Long literature in IO critiquing public enterprise
- ▶ Policy response: “leverage the private sector”
- ▶ This paper: cautions against the use of private intermediaries in environments with redistributive objectives
- ▶ Bottom line: have to have strong preference for redistribution to make targeted subsidies in the ACA efficient
- ▶ Still to do: calculate change in provision marginal cost to equate public provision with private outcomes

**THANK YOU!**

**THANK YOU!**