

Individual Mandates: What are they, do they matter, and how do we make them work?

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What is an individual mandate?

A requirement that all individuals in a defined population (e.g., children, adults, all permanent residents) obtain health insurance coverage (public or private) that satisfies a minimum standard.



Mandated level of coverage must be made available to all.

- Currently, no guaranteed source for purchasing coverage.
- Implementation requires that all have access to coverage that meets the minimum standards.
- Likely to require changes to market regulations and/or creation of new purchasing options/entities.



Mandated level of coverage must be made affordable.

- Public insurance coverage and/or subsidized private insurance plans can be used to provide affordable coverage.
- Affordability standards must be set for individuals at different socio-economic levels.
- Complete mandates require subsidizing up to those affordability standards, otherwise exceptions to the mandate will be necessary.



Coverage should be adequate to provide effective access to necessary care.

- Minimum coverage standards sufficient for the high-income may not provide the low-income with adequate access;
- Subsidies for different income groups would ideally be pegged to coverage that would provide them with effective access to care at an affordable level.
 - Must take premium **and** out-of-pocket liability into account.



Why does an individual mandate matter?

- Universal coverage can't be achieved without one;
- Adverse selection will occur under a voluntary system;
- Necessary to redirect current spending on the uninsured to finance reforms.



Evidence on voluntary participation

- Abundant evidence that voluntary options will leave many uninsured;
- Depending upon the generosity of subsidies and associated market reforms, researchers find the uninsured can be reduced by 30-50% with voluntary measures;
- As prices increase over time, uninsured would grow.



Implications of Adverse Selection

- Voluntary participants in a new subsidized, more accessible insurance option are those who are older & less healthy than average.
- This selection will increase average costs of new plan.
 - Higher premiums for enrollees unless government intervenes by subsidizing risk or redistributing costs in another way.
 - Further dissuades healthy from participating;
 - Dissuades insurers from participating.



Implications of Adverse Selection, continued

- Spreading risk with a mandate is much easier:
 - Costs of high need can be spread broadly, at low marginal cost to the healthy;
 - No dissuading coverage among the healthy,
 - Pool wouldn't get more expensive due to insured population decreasing over time.
- Primary impact of mandate: increased financing burden on the younger and healthier. However,
 - Their access to health insurance and medical care is more stable and secure;
 - Young with modest incomes can be protected via income-related subsidies.



Insurance reforms and mandates

- No risk selection in and out of insurance market means:
 - no need for coverage denials;
 - no need to medically underwrite policies;
 - could allow limited age rating or not;
 - Age rating will require subsidies to apply to higher incomes to keep coverage affordable for near elderly;
 - Pure community rating in near term would be more disruptive in terms of price changes. If want this, can consider phasing into it.
 - depending upon insurance options, may need some risk adjustment across plans.



Insurance exchanges can plan useful role in:

- Risk spreading;
- Cost containment;
- Delivering subsidies;
- Facilitating & ensuring enrollment;
- Ensuring meaningful coverage;
- Promoting health insurance transparency;
- Promoting health insurance accountability.



Sources of Financing for Health Reform

- Individual mandate frees up current public spending.
 - Safety net hospital support from Medicaid/Medicare;
 - Other spending on the uninsured;
- Voluntary reform still expensive as it attracts the higher need, but politically tough to redirect \$.
 - Reluctant enrollees relatively inexpensive but greatly increases claim to public funding.



Long-run financing issues

- Long-run costs issues are same as the ones we face today without a mandate:
 - Increased chronic illness;
 - Growth in health technology;
 - Prescription drug cost growth;
 - Market imperfections –
 - Insurer consolidation + Provider consolidation \implies lack of competition



Options to address long-run costs, increasing in power

- Managed competition;
- Public insurance plan option;
- Exchange as provider rate negotiator;
- All-payer rate setting.



Mandate Enforcement

- Necessary to reach universal coverage and matter of fairness;
- Primary focus –
 - Make it easy to enroll in qualifying coverage.
 - Outreach and education investment;
 - Easy enrollment options
 - Learn from best public programs (short applications, on-line, mail, wide array of in-person options including schools);
 - Provider involvement
 - Employer involvement



Mandate enforcement, continued

- **Secondarily, will need penalties.**
 - Initially small, as bugs worked out;
 - My preferred approach is to deem people as covered and enroll them, using penalties primarily to collect unpaid premiums.
 - Back premiums paid to insurers;
 - Penalty add-on goes to state coffers;
 - Back premiums owed take subsidy eligibility into account.

- **Penalties assessed at tax time;**
 - Insurers required to provide form with info on coverage during year;
 - Failure to report leads to tax penalties.



Summary

- Absent single payer, no universal coverage without a mandate;
- Voluntary measures will enroll the higher cost, creating high premiums and instability in insurance pools without large addt'l gov't subsidies.
- Can't lay claim to current gov't dollars without full coverage.
- Long-run financing issues are central, regardless of mandate or not.
- Enforcement can be designed to feel more like enrollment than punishment.

