# What Does a Deductible Do? The Impact of Cost-Sharing on Health Care Prices, Quantities, and Spending Dynamics 

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## Medical Care Price Responsiveness

- Price elasticity of demand for health care services ("moral hazard") is a crucial input into many important policy decisions
- Insurance menu offerings (e.g. ACA, large employer)
- Design of payment structure within contract
- National health system priorities / methods for cost control
- Recent trends:
- $82 \%$ of employers offer HDHPs, $30 \%$ in 2015 will only offer an HDHP (up from 16\% in 2014), and five year change in HDHP enrollment from $15 \%$ to $33 \%$ at employers
- Regulation of cost sharing on ACA exchanges


## Our Environment

- Study health care utilization of 160,000 employees and dependents of large self-insured firm
- Relatively high income (Median income \$125,000-150,000)
- Approx. 70\% of employees in one state / location
- The firm discontinued primary health insurance option at end of 2012, forcing most employees into high-deductible plan (HDHP)
- Shift motivated by (i) ACA Cadillac Tax (ii) Health spending trends
- Shift from zero cost-sharing to HDHP
- Income effect compensated for
- Use shift together with detailed data to study many aspects of consumer price responsiveness


## Key Questions

- Question 1: What are the effects of different marginal prices on health care spending?
- Forced HDHP switch causes $16.5 \%$ reduction in total spending for 2013 (\$123 Million)
- Spending reductions from sickest quartile of consumers (ex ante)
- Question 2: How do sick/well off consumers reduce spending?
- Provider price changes (+1.7\%)
- Consumer price shopping (+4.3\%)
- Consumer quantity reductions (-22.4\%)
- Question 3: Are sicker consumers responding to true expected marginal prices or spot prices (short-run)?
- Reductions from ex ante sick consumers when under deductible
- Consumers reduce under deductible spending by $27 \%$, controlling for true end of year price
- Related work: Part D, broadband, electricity


## Overview

(1) Data \& Environment
(2) Impact on Utilization
(3) Decomposition
(4) Consumer Response to NL Contracts
(5) Conclusion \& Next Steps

## Administrative Data

- Large firm with approximately 60,000 US employees (yearly) covering roughly 160,000 lives
- Detailed administrative data from both the insurer and HR department of the firm, covering the years 2009-2013
- Insurance choices / design features
- Demographic data
- Health claims
- Linked HR files (income, job description, etc.)
- ACG medically relevant predictive metrics
- Linked survey data for subset of consumers
- A lot of money at stake-firm's total health care spending in 2012 over $\$ 750$ million


## Policy Change

From 2009-2012 the firm had two primary insurance options:

- PPO:
- Broad provider network
- Zero employee cost-sharing
- 80-85\% market share
- HDHP:
- Same providers
- Linked health savings account with direct subsidy
- Non-linear cost-sharing contract: consumers pay 22\% on average
- 10-15\% market share
- Firm discontinued PPO option for 2013, effectively moving all employees enrolled in the PPO into the HDHP
- First announcement October 2010, many subsequent
- Handel \& Kolstad (2015)


## Insurance Options

| Health Plan Characteristics <br> Family Tier | PPO | HDHP |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Premium | $\$ 0$ | $\$ 0$ |
| Health Savings Account (HSA) | No | Yes |
| HSA Subsidy | - | $\$ 3,750^{\star}$ |
| Max. HSA Contribution | - | $\$ 6,250^{\star \star}$ |
|  | $\$ 0^{* * *}$ | $\$ 3,750^{*}$ |
| Deductible | $0 \%$ | $10 \%$ |
| Coinsurance (IN) | $20 \%$ | $30 \%$ |
| Coinsurance (OUT) | $\$ 0^{* * *}$ | $\$ 6,250^{*}$ |
| Out-of-Pocket Max. |  |  |

* These values apply to the employee-only coverage tier. Employees with no (one) dependent have $0.4 x(0.8 x)$ the values given in this table.
**Single employees have a legal maximum contribution of $\$ 3,100$. Employees over 55 can contribute an extra $\$ 1,000$ in 'catch-up' contribution. This maximum includes the employer subsidy.
${ }^{* * *}$ For out-of-network spending, the PPO has a deductible of $\$ 100$ per person (up to $\$ 300$ ) and an out-of-pocket max. of $\$ 400$ per person (up to $\$ 1200$ ).


## Primary Sample

- Primary sample uses employees and dependents present over entire five-year sample 2009-2013
- Includes only those who were (i) in PPO 2009-2012 (ii) in HDHP 2013
- Internal selection concerns very limited:
- $85 \%$ in PPO in pre-period, more than $95 \%$ of expenses
- Robustness to different pre-horizons removes duration selection
- Limited differential attrition
- Much of literature relies on structural assumptions to separate AS/MH
- Excludes those enrolled in HMO option (stable 4\%)


## Primary Sample

|  | PPO or HDHP in 2012 | PPO in 2012 | Sample in 2012 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{N}$ - Employees | 52,445 | 44,711 | 31,293 |
| N-Emp. \& Dep. | 147,388 | 129,183 | 97,022 |
| Age - Emp. \& Dep. |  |  |  |
| < 18 | 34.5\% | 35.3\% | 36.8\% |
| 18-29 | 12.3\% | 11.5\% | 9.8\% |
| 30-54 | 50.1\% | 50.1\% | 50.1\% |
| $\geq 55$ | 3.1\% | 3.1\% | 3.3\% |
| Income |  |  |  |
| Tier 1 ( $<$ \$75K) | 1.8\% | 1.8\% | 2.0\% |
| Tier 2 (\$75K-\$100K) | 6.6\% | 6.4\% | 6.2\% |
| Tier 3 (\$100K-\$125K) | 30.1\% | 29.8\% | 30.5\% |
| Tier 4 (\$125K-\$150K) | 34.9\% | 35.1\% | 35.3\% |
| Tier 5 (\$150K-\$175K) | 15.5\% | 15.6\% | 15.2\% |
| Tier 6+ (\$175K+) | 11.2\% | 11.3\% | 10.8\% |
| Family Size |  |  |  |
| 1 | 23.7\% | 21.4\% | 17.8\% |
| 2 | 19.6\% | 19.1\% | 18.3\% |
| $3+$ | 56.7\% | 59.5\% | 64.0\% |
| Individual Spending, 2012 |  |  |  |
| Mean | \$5,020 | \$5,401 | \$5,811 |
| 25th Percentile | \$609 | \$687 | \$722 |
| Median | \$1,678 | \$1,869 | \$1,978 |
| 75th Percentile | \$4,601 | \$5,036 | \$5,219 |
| 95th Percentile | \$18,256 | \$19,367 | \$20,201 |
| 99th Percentile | \$49,803 | \$52,872 | \$56,624 |

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## Spending Trends

19.6\% drop in nominal spending, 22.9\% drop in age and CPI adjusted spending

*Vertical line is for Dec 2012

## Anticipatory Spending

Anticipatory intertemporal substitution of claims is apparent, even more apparent in member median spending

*Vertical line is for Dec 2012

## Anticipatory Spending

## Correction for Causal Estimates

- Estimate model on months from January 2009 to December 2011:

$$
\begin{equation*}
\bar{y}_{t}=\alpha+\beta t+\lambda_{\text {month }}+\bar{\epsilon}_{t} \tag{1}
\end{equation*}
$$

- Measure anticipatory spending as deviation from predicted values

$$
\begin{equation*}
\left(y_{\text {Nov2012 }}-\hat{y}_{\text {Nov2012 }}\right)+\left(y_{\text {Dec2012 }}-\hat{y}_{\text {Dec2012 }}\right) \tag{2}
\end{equation*}
$$

- Limited, insignificant excess mass in prior months
- Deviations from trend include anticipatory spending and idiosyncratic shock $\bar{\epsilon}$
- 95\%CI for November-December 2012 'excess mass' of [\$122.57, 212.21], point estimate of $\$ 167.38$


## Treatment Effect of Policy Change

- Calculate 'treatment effect' taking \% change in mean spending between 2012 and 2013, with adjustments
- Use treatment effect, extrapolated to whole firm, to compute \% total medical savings from forced HDHP switch

| HDHP Switch |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Spending Impact | Model |  |  |  |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Year | (1) | CPI | Intertemp. | Early Switcher |
|  |  |  | Substitution | Diff-in-Diff |
| 2009 | 4372.54 | 4244.68 | 4244.68 | - |
| 2010 | 4709.95 | 4273.05 | 4273.05 | - |
| 2011 | 5159.41 | 4434.72 | 4434.72 | - |
| 2012 | 5811.48 | 4764.97 | 4597.58 | - |
| 2013 | 4671.73 | 3673.75 | 3841.14 | - |
| \% Decrease, |  |  |  |  |
| 2012-2013 | -19.61\% | -22.90\% | -16.45\% | -20.12\% |
| \$ Impact |  |  |  |  |
| (million) | -\$147.09 | -\$171.76 | -\$123.40 | - |

## Heterogeneity: Health Status

- Classify consumers into ex ante health status quartiles at beginning of each year
- Sickest consumers reduce spending by large magnitude (26\%)
- Why do rich / sick consumers reduce spending?



## Heterogeneity: Medical Services

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Spending Impact |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Group \% | Spending \% | 2012 Mean Spending | (1) <br> Nominal Spending | $\begin{gathered} (2) \\ \mathrm{CPI} \end{gathered}$ | (3) <br> Intertemp. <br> Substitution |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Inpatient |  | 19.20 | 1115.71 | -0.14 | -0.17 | -0.09 |
| Outpatient Hosp. |  | 17.67 | 1026.84 | -0.18 | -0.22 | -0.12 |
| ER |  | 2.92 | 169.41 | -0.27 | -0.30 | -0.29 |
| Office Visit |  | 7.02 | 407.99 | -0.19 | -0.22 | -0.17 |
| RX |  | 12.25 | 712.14 | -0.22 | -0.25 | -0.22 |
| RX-Brand |  | 11.70 | 679.94 | -0.20 | -0.23 | -0.20 |
| RX-Generic |  | 3.87 | 224.88 | -0.19 | -0.23 | -0.21 |
| Mental Health |  | 9.02 | 524.21 | -0.09 | -0.13 | -0.16 |
| Preventive |  | 8.87 | 515.32 | -0.11 | -0.15 | -0.11 |
| Other |  | 23.06 | 1339.86 | -0.31 | -0.33 | -0.24 |

- Relationship to income, dependants, chronic conditions


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## Prices vs. Quantities in Reduced Utilization

- Significant reduction in total utilization, especially for sick
- We analyze whether drop in utilization is from:
- Providers reducing prices (potential equilibrium effects)
- Price shopping by consumers
- Quantity reductions by consumers
- Decompose different effects by holding prices or quantities constant (in the spirit of Oaxaca (1973), Blinder (1973))
- Analysis leverages detailed data on procedure-provider combinations to investigate
- Over 15 observations in 2012 / 2013 ( $90 \%$ spending)
- Short-run analysis: 2014 coming as well


## Provider Price Changes

- Compute mean price for provider-procedure combinations in 2012 and in 2013
- Compare the following statistics:
- Total spending for 2012 choices at 2012 prices: $T S_{2012,2012}$
- Total spending for 2012 choices at 2013 prices: TS $_{2013,2012}$
- Provider price changes equal:

$$
\frac{T S_{2013,2012}-T S_{2012,2012}}{T S_{2012,2012}}
$$

- Not saying why prices changes happened, just that they did


## Price Shopping

- The extent to which HDHPs induce price shopping is an important policy question [e.g. Lieber (2014)]
- We compute this effect as follows:

$$
\begin{aligned}
P S_{m, t+1, t} & =\frac{\mathbf{P}_{m, Q, t+1} \cdot \mathbf{C}_{m, Q, t+1}-\mathbf{P}_{m, Q, t+1} \cdot \mathbf{C}_{m, Q, t}}{\mathbf{P}_{m, Q, t+1} \cdot \mathbf{C}_{m, Q, t}} \\
P S_{t+1, t} & =\sum_{m=1}^{M} \frac{Y_{m, t}}{Y_{t}} P S_{m, t+1, t}
\end{aligned}
$$

- $m$ is procedure, $Q$ providers offering procedure
- First step is, for each class of procedures compare:
- Mean provider-procedure prices for 2012 choices at 2013 prices
- Mean provider-procedure prices for 2013 choices at 2013 prices
- Second step computes aggregate price-shopping effect across all procedures, holding procedure-specific revenue share constant


## Price Shopping

## Interpretation

- Approach nets out provider price changes and focuses on incremental sorting given 2013 prices
- If prices re-order over time, will bias coefficient towards more price shoping
- Our approach is conditional on procedure
- Could also do conditional on episode of illness
- Example: in our case, substitution to different procedures, that are lower price, enters through quantity impact
- With episode of illness, proecedure substitution in price shopping
- E.g. Surgery vs. management, brand vs. generic


## Quantity Reductions

- We compute \% decrease from quantity reductions as remainder of total effect taking out other two mechanisms
- Compute year to year \% change in total spending as:

$$
\Delta T S_{t+1, t}=\frac{\mathbf{P}_{t+1} \cdot \mathbf{C}_{t+1}-\mathbf{P}_{t} \cdot \mathbf{C}_{t}}{\mathbf{P}_{t} \cdot \mathbf{C}_{t}}
$$

- Effect of quantity reduction:

$$
Q E_{t+1, t}=\Delta T S_{t+1, t}-P P I_{t+1, t}-P S_{t+1, t}
$$

- Remember: this incorporates procedure substitution
- Also compute directly, with very similar results


## Results Decomposition

- Change for 2013 is large departure from trend of increasing health expenditures, and increasing service quantities

| Total Spending Change <br> Decomposition |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\Delta T S_{t+1, t}$ | $P P I_{t+1, t}$ | $P S_{t+1, t}$ | $Q E_{t+1, t}$ |
| $2009-2010$ | $11.3 \%$ | $3.7 \%$ | $-0.8 \%$ | $8.4 \%$ |
| $2010-2011$ | $11.9 \%$ | $3.5 \%$ | $2.2 \%$ | $6.2 \%$ |
| $2011-2012$ | $10.2 \%$ | $0.4 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $9.8 \%$ |
| $2012-2013$ | $-16.4 \%$ | $1.7 \%$ | $4.3 \%$ | $-22.4 \%$ |

- Also, for new employees (approx. 2,000):
- Quantity reduction of $22.3 \%$
- Price index rises by 2.7\%
- Price shopping gives $1.7 \%$ higher spend


## Decomposition: Sickest Consumers

- Surprising that sick and high income consumers reduce spending by quite a bit, and that all of reduction from reduced service quantities



## Decomposition: Imaging Services

- Imaging services (e.g.MRIs / CT scans) thought to be one source of 'moral hazard'



## Decomposition: Top 30 Procedures

- Reproduce decomposition analysis for:
- 30 top procedures by revenue
- 30 top procedures by count
- Substantial difference in changes for 2013 for these top 30 procedures, relative to earlier years

| Total Spending Change <br> Decomposition <br> High Spend Procedures |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\%$ Total Spend | $\Delta T S_{t+1, t}$ | $P P I_{t+1, t}$ | $P S_{t+1, t}$ | $Q E_{t+1, t}$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| No. top 30 w/ Positive Value |  |  |  |  |  |
| $2010-2011$ | - | 26 | 23 | 15 | 22 |
| $2011-2012$ | - | 24 | 19 | 17 | 23 |
| $2012-2013$ | 4 | 13 | 17 | 7 |  |

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## Consumer Responses to Non-Linear Contracts

- Switching to the HDHP not only increases prices, but forces employees to respond to multi-part non-linear contract
- Non-linear contracts are more complicated than typical price (e.g. Aaron-dine, et al., 2013). Are consumers responding to:
- Marginal price (expected EOY)
- Spot price
- Average price

| Coverage Tier | Avg. HDHP <br> Price | \% Under Deductible | \% Over Ded., Under OOP Max. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \% Over OOP } \\ & \quad \text { Max. } \end{aligned}$ | Actuarial Value |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 0 Dependents | 0.428 | $\begin{gathered} 37.92 \% \\ (<\$ 1,500) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 49.16 \% \\ (\$ 1,500-\$ 11,500) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 12.92 \% \\ (>\$ 11,500) \end{gathered}$ | 78.31\% |
| 1 Dependent | 0.293 | $\begin{gathered} 23.22 \% \\ (<\$ 3,000) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 61.08 \% \\ (\$ 3,000-\$ 23,000) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15.70 \% \\ (>\$ 23,000) \end{gathered}$ | 76.59\% |
| 2+ Dependents | 0.201 | $\begin{gathered} 13.30 \% \\ (<\$ 3,750) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 68.40 \% \\ (\$ 3,750-\$ 28,750) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 18.30 \% \\ (>\$ 28,750) \end{gathered}$ | 78.24\% |
| All Tiers | 0.249 | 18.42\% | 64.46\% | 17.12\% | 78.05\% |

## Advantage of Our Setting

- Our setting is uniquely well-suited to answer this question:
- Same large population of consumers over five years
- First four years in free plan, last in non-linear contract
- Key assumption: Constant population health

$$
F_{2013}\left[s_{t} \mid H, X\right]=F_{2011}\left[s_{t} \mid H, X\right], \forall t 1 \ldots . .12
$$

- H is ex ante health status, X is demographics, $s_{t}$ is health status for month $t$
- Key Feature: Dynamics in health status from lower spending bias against incremental spending reductions for low spending consumers
- Will bring in 2014 data to assess longer run


## Approach

- Mapping from H to monthly spending at each point in time:

$$
G\left[M_{t+1}-M_{t} \mid s_{t}, H, X, I n s_{t}\right]
$$

- $I n s_{t}$ can be decomposed into non-linear contract prices
- We observe everything except for $s_{t}$
- Consider distribution of incremental spending, based on observables, at date $t$ for duration $x$ :

$$
G\left(M_{t+x}-M_{t} \mid H, X, I n s_{t}\right)
$$

- For any $(H, X)$, look at incremental behavior for people in given position in contract in month $t$, and compare to incremental spending of associated quantiles in 2011


## Prices

Spot vs. Marginal vs. Average

- Reduce contract position conditional on $(\mathrm{H}, \mathrm{X})$ to three prices
- Spot price $P_{t}^{s}$ : Either 1, 0.1, or 0 depending on NLC arm
- Expected EOY price $P_{t}^{e}: E_{t}\left[P_{t}^{s} \mid M_{t-1}, H, X, I n s_{t}\right]$
- Average price $P_{t}^{a}$ : Ex ante expectation of expected price at beginning of year, conditional on $(H, X)$
- Other things coming......


## Expected EOY Marginal Price

- Use minimal assumptions to get expected EOY marginal price
- Rational expectations is benchmark, in essence testing this
- Step 1: For each individual $i$ and each point in time $t$ define cell by triple $\left(H, X, M_{t-1}\right)$
- Step 2: Form non-parametric distribution of EOY spending $f_{i}\left(M_{i, T} \mid H, X, M_{i, t-1}\right)$
- Step 3: Combine individual distributions within family:

$$
\begin{equation*}
f_{J(i)}\left(M_{T}\right)=\Sigma_{\Sigma_{M_{i, t}=M_{T}}} \Pi_{i}^{J(i)} f_{i}\left(M_{T}\right) \tag{4}
\end{equation*}
$$

- Step 4: Form expected EOY marginal price:

$$
P_{j, t}^{e}=\int_{R_{+}^{J(i)}} P_{J(i)}^{s}\left(M_{T}\right) d F_{J(i)}\left(M_{t}\right)
$$

## Incremental Spending Above OOP Max



- Good test of average vs. combined margin and spot price
- Charts for families


## Incremental Spending: Deductible Region



- Very large and meaningful decrease in ROY spending, suggestive of dynamic effects of economizing now and then being under deductible later


## Incremental Spending: Deductible Region

## Spot vs. Expected EOY Price



- Average expected EOY marginal price in February is 0.09
- Average expected EOY marginal price in March is 0.10


## Incremental Spending: Deductible Region

## Spot vs. Expected EOY Price



- Drop in ROY spending of approximately $20 \%$, despite fact that they are very likely to spend a lot!


## Contribution to ROY Spending Changes by Contract Arm

Contribution to Total ROY Spending<br>Reduction by Plan Arm



- Primary reduction due to individuals under the deductible, particularly early in year


## NLC Analysis: Regressions Analysis

- Regressions that decompose effects of three potentially different prices that consumer respond to:

$$
\begin{aligned}
\log \left(Y_{i, t}\right)= & \alpha_{2013} I_{2013}+\alpha_{t} I_{t}+\left[\theta_{s} P_{i, t}^{s}+\theta_{e} P_{i, t}^{e}\right] l_{2013}+ \\
& {\left[\beta_{s} P_{i, t}^{s}+\beta_{e} P_{i, t}^{e}\right]+\gamma_{h} H_{i}+\gamma_{X} X_{i}+\gamma_{L} \log \left(Y_{i, t-1}\right)+\epsilon_{i, t} }
\end{aligned}
$$

- $Y_{i, t}$ : Log total incremental spending for next month
- Independent variables: Prices faced at beginning of month, health status, demographics, spending to date / recent spending
- Construct counterfactual prices for 2011 consumers to control for history dependent unobserved heterogeneity
- Current specification for July only. Coming:
- Pooled regression over all months
- ROY spending


## Impact of Specific Pricing Components

| VARIABLES | (1) <br> Includes all Controls | Excludes Previous Spending Controls | $\stackrel{(3)}{\text { Excludes Health Controls }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2013 | 0.0562 | 0.0183 | 0.0434 |
|  | (0.0936) | (0.0962) | (0.0966) |
| $($ Spot MP = 1) $\times 2013$ | -0.266** | -0.333** | -0.251* |
|  | (0.136) | (0.140) | (0.141) |
| $($ Spot MP $=0.1) \times 2013$ | -0.137 | -0.174 | -0.148 |
|  | (0.104) | (0.107) | (0.107) |
| 2nd quantile E[EOY MP] x 2013 | -0.113* | -0.167** | -0.169** |
|  | (0.0644) | (0.0661) | (0.0664) |
| 3rd quantile E[EOY MP] x 2013 | -0.104 | -0.140 | -0.195** |
|  | (0.0902) | (0.0926) | (0.0930) |
| 4th quantile E[EOY MP] x 2013 | -0.0568 | -0.149 | -0.196* |
|  | (0.110) | (0.113) | (0.113) |
| Top quantile E[EOY MP] x 2013 | 0.0220 | -0.00252 | -0.0511 |
|  | (0.110) | (0.113) | (0.114) |
| Log Spending Last Month | $0.170^{* * *}$ | - | 13 |
|  | (0.00568) | - | - |
| Log Spending 2 Mths. Ago | $0.123^{* * *}$ | - | - |
|  | (0.00686) | - | - |
| Observations | 60,407 | 60,408 | 60,408 |
| R-squared | 0.368 | 0.333 | 0.326 |

- Other controls have intuitive / predictive power / signs
- Clear emphasis on spot prices


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## Conclusion

- Overall causal impact of HDHP equal to $16.45 \%$ reduction in spending, off spending base of $\$ 750$ Million
- Important to account for anticipatory spending
- Meaningful spending drop for for high income, compensated pop.
- Sickest consumers reduce spending by over 20\%
- Decomposition into quantity effects vs. price shopping
- Large quantity implications, with potentially meaningful implications for welfare
- Limited to no price shopping effect in short run (2014 coming)
- Sickest consumers substantially reduce quantities
- Consumers substantially reduce spending when under deductible (30\%), somewhat when in coinsurance arm, not at all above OOPMax
- Sick consumers reduce spending a lot under deductible, even when expected EOY price is low!!


## Next Steps

- Optimal menu design depending on:
- Consumer price response heterogeneity
- Heterogeneity in medical services responses
- Dynamic responses to non-linear contracts
- Leverage machine learning algorithms
- Welfare a la Baicker et al. (2015):
- Informed consumers vs. uninformed consumers
- Rational price responses
- Categorization of services
- Mechanism underlying dynamic responses
- Beliefs about health risk
- Knowledge of contract
- Myopia
- Learning
- Long-term price shopping and offsets

