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HEALTH INSURANCE

Risk Pools for the Medically Uninsurable

Released

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April 13, 1988

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy, Chairman
The Honorable Orrin G. Hatch, Ranking Minority Member
Committee on Labor and Human Resources
United States Senate

This report responds to your March 23, 1987, request concerning state-administered health insurance risk pool programs. You asked that we determine the programs' characteristics, enrollment, and financial experience; the characteristics of the persons they insure; and their success in meeting expectations. We agreed with your offices to focus on the programs in Connecticut, Florida, Indiana, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Wisconsin. These six state programs had been in operation for 3 or more years and, therefore, had sufficient experience to permit analysis. We also obtained information on programs in the other nine states that have more recently enacted risk pool legislation. We obtained oral comments on this report from the Department of Health and Human Services and have incorporated them where appropriate.

Risk pool programs provide health insurance to individuals who cannot obtain it because their health conditions make them unacceptable risks to private insurers. The programs provide comprehensive insurance coverage similar to that of employer-sponsored group health plans. Costs to the insured are relatively high because of generally large deductibles and premiums that are usually 25 to 50 percent more than those paid by individuals with private health insurance.

Despite high premiums, the programs require a subsidy. Two states subsidize their risk pools directly from state revenue, while most of the 15 states that have enacted risk pool legislation assess risk pool deficits against insurers doing business in the state. In the majority of these states, however, insurers may credit their full share of risk pool deficits against state premium or corporate income taxes. Allowing a tax credit results in reduced tax collections and has much the same effect as financing the risk pool from general revenues.

The six programs we reviewed have consistently operated at a loss, paying an average of $1.60 in claims for each dollar of premium income in 1986. According to estimates prepared by the Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA), private insurers nationally paid $0.87 in claims per dollar of premium income during that year.

The six programs insured about 20,000 individuals. Middle-aged individuals appear most likely to enroll in risk pools. Enrollees incur higher medical expenses than the general population. The data available indicate that their expenses are higher for treatment of heart conditions, cancer, and diabetes specifically. Insurance industry and advocacy group officials believe that risk pools can also help finance the cost of treating patients with acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS). State officials expressed concern that AIDS patients could increase program costs, but did not know the extent to which persons infected with the virus that causes AIDS have enrolled in risk pools.

The six states we reviewed have not determined the extent to which persons who cannot obtain insurance because of poor health are enrolling in risk pools. State officials generally believe, however, that their programs are not serving all eligible individuals.

As arranged with your offices, unless you publicly announce its contents earlier, we plan no further distribution of this report until 30 days after its issue date. At that time, we will send copies to other congressional committees having jurisdiction over the matters discussed in this report and other interested parties.

If you have any questions, please call me on (202) 275-6195.

Thomas Dowdy

for Michael Zimmerman
Senior Associate Director

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
BLS	Bureau of Labor Statistics
GAO	General Accounting Office
HCFA	Health Care Financing Administration

HEALTH INSURANCE: RISK POOLS FOR THE MEDICALLY UNINSURABLE

INTRODUCTION

About 63 percent of the population is covered by health insurance that is related to employment, normally a group insurance plan. Persons not covered by a group plan may purchase an individual plan. When writing an individual policy, insurance companies normally obtain information on the individual's medical condition to assess the risks involved in providing coverage. Occasionally companies either refuse to provide coverage to, or limit coverage for, persons who have chronic medical conditions that are costly to treat. These persons are commonly referred to as the medically uninsurable.

An estimated 37 million Americans lack health insurance coverage. Researchers believe that from 1 to 2 million of these persons cannot obtain insurance because of medical conditions that make them unacceptable risks to private insurers. Researchers also believe that this group is growing because (1) an increasingly competitive insurance market has led insurers to adopt more restrictive health insurance standards; (2) increasing health care costs, and resulting increased insurance premiums, have discouraged some employers from providing group health insurance as an employee benefit; and (3) advances in diagnostic testing have enabled insurers to identify individuals who have potentially costly illnesses.

In the past, Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans have been a source of insurance for the medically uninsurable. During the 1930s, when the plans pioneered health insurance, all group and individual subscribers paid a uniform rate regardless of their health status. Enrollment in the plans was open to all, and individuals who were at risk of incurring high medical costs benefited because their premiums were subsidized by lower risk individuals. Commercial companies entered the field in the 1940's, and a competitive for-profit health insurance industry developed.

In this competitive environment, Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans began to base premiums for large group policies wholly or partly on the group's health experience, rather than on the experience of all their subscribers. Therefore, the plans had fewer lower risk individual subscribers to subsidize health care costs for high-risk individuals. Not all Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans continue to offer individual insurance coverage without regard to health status, referred to as open enrollment. As of October 1987, Plans in 11 states and the District of Columbia offered open enrollment. Appendix I lists the states in which Plans offer open enrollment.

To help the medically uninsurable, 15 states have passed legislation establishing health insurance risk pool programs.[1] Typically, the states create associations to operate the programs and require all insurers doing business in the state to be members. The associations offer insurance to eligible individuals and establish premiums. If premiums do not cover expenses, deficits are generally shared among association members. Table 1 shows the states that have enacted legislation, and the effective dates.

Table 1: Effective Dates of Risk Pool Authorizing Legislation[a]

State	Effective date
Connecticut	Apr. 1976
Minnesota	July 1976
Wisconsin	Jan. 1981
North Dakota	July 1981
Indiana	Sept. 1981
Florida	July 1982
Montana	July 1985
Tennessee	July 1986
Nebraska	Sept. 1986
Iowa	Jan. 1987
New Mexico	Apr. 1987
Washington	May 1987
Illinois	Apr. 1987
Maine	Sept. 1987
Oregon	Sept. 1987

[a]Rhode Island established a risk pool in 1975. However, Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Rhode Island offers open enrollment. According to a state official, no more than 10 or 12 persons have been enrolled in the risk pool at any time. Because of its small size, we did not examine the Rhode Island program.

In addition, according to a study conducted by the Intergovernmental Health Policy Project, legislatures in 12 states considered, but did not enact, legislation authorizing a risk pool during 1987. Appendix II lists these states.

OBJECTIVES, SCOPE, AND METHODOLOGY

On March 23, 1987, the Chairman and the Ranking Minority Member of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources asked us to obtain information on health insurance risk pools. In later discussions with their offices, we agreed to obtain information on

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[1]Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans in the 15 states with risk pools we examined do not offer open enrollment.

-- the programs' characteristics, including eligibility requirements, covered medical services, deductibles, and coinsurance requirements;

-- the programs' experience concerning enrollment, premium income, claims expenses, and subsidy requirements;

-- enrollees' characteristics, including age, gender, primary illness, and the types and costs of medical services they have received; and

-- the extent to which the programs have met the expectations that led to their creation.

As agreed with the Senators' offices, our review focused on the programs in Connecticut, Florida, Indiana, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Wisconsin. These six state programs had been in operation for 3 or more years and, therefore, had sufficient experience to permit analysis. We also obtained information on programs in the nine other states that have more recently established risk pools.

In the six states, we spoke with and obtained and reviewed appropriate documentation from (1) risk pool program administrators, (2) officials of state insurance departments, and (3) representatives of private groups interested in the programs. For the other nine states, we interviewed and obtained documents from program administrators. We also interviewed representatives of national organizations interested in risk pools. Appendix III lists the groups and organizations we contacted.

To obtain information on program characteristics, we analyzed authorizing legislation, reviewed program administrative policies and procedures, and examined risk pool insurance policies. We compared program characteristics to data on employer-sponsored group insurance plans reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) in its June 1987 Survey of Employee Benefits in Large and Medium Firms, 1986. We discussed program characteristics with program administrators, state insurance department officials, and representatives of private groups interested in risk pools to obtain their views of how program characteristics affect program operations.

To obtain information on the programs' enrollment and financial experience, we analyzed program financial and operating reports prepared by program administrators and state insurance departments. We also discussed enrollment and financial trends with these officials.

To obtain information on the insured, we analyzed reports prepared by program administrators and state insurance departments,

and interviewed program administrators, risk pool association representatives, and state insurance officials. Except for Wisconsin, which surveyed risk pool enrollees in 1982, 1984, and 1986, limited information on the characteristics of the insured was available. Moreover, the results of Wisconsin's surveys may not accurately represent the characteristics of enrollees in that state's risk pool because many of those surveyed did not respond, and state officials did not analyze the characteristics of nonrespondents to determine whether differences existed between them and respondents.

To obtain information on how well the programs have met the expectations that led to their creation, we examined authorizing legislation and reviewed legislative histories and program evaluations where available. We also discussed the programs' effectiveness with program administrators, state insurance officials, and representatives of private groups interested in risk pools.

Our fieldwork was conducted between April and November 1987 in accordance with generally accepted government auditing standards. We obtained oral comments from the Department of Health and Human Services, and have revised the report to reflect these comments where appropriate.

RISK POOL PROGRAM CHARACTERISTICS

Risk pools provide health insurance that is comprehensive, but costly, to persons who can afford, but have difficulty obtaining, health insurance. Risk pool insurance covers a broad range of health services comparable to those covered through group health insurance plans offered by large and medium-sized employers.

Deductibles, or the covered medical expenses an enrollee pays before the plan pays, are usually higher under risk pool insurance than under typical group plans. Further, premiums charged for risk pool insurance are normally 25 to 50 percent higher than rates private insurers charge for an individual policy. The premiums that risk pools charge do not cover claims expenses. Risk pool operating losses are generally shared among private insurers doing business in the state. Most states, however, allow insurers to offset these losses through state tax credits.

Risk Pool Management

The organizational structures of the 15 state risk pools are essentially the same. The risk pool is operated by an association consisting of health insurance providers doing business in the state, including commercial health insurance companies and Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans. Twelve states also require health maintenance organizations to be association members. While

legislation in six states provides for self-insured organizations[2] to be association members, U.S. district courts have held that, under the provisions of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974, employers with self-insured health plans are exempt from state insurance regulation and therefore cannot be required to participate in a risk pool.

The risk pool association manages the program through its governing body, which generally includes health insurance industry officials, state government officials, and consumer representatives. The association recommends premium rates and changes in program benefits within the framework of authorizing legislation. The association contracts with an insurance company to administer the program, issue policies, collect premiums, process claims, and maintain financial records.

State insurance departments oversee program operations--they review and approve program operating plans, premium rates, and changes in program benefits. The departments also review program performance.

Eligibility Requirements

To be eligible for risk pool enrollment, individuals must normally have been rejected for health insurance by one or more insurers. Ten states also grant eligibility to persons who either hold or have been offered a policy with premiums higher than risk pool premiums. Eleven states permit enrollment if an individual was offered a policy that excluded coverage of specific medical conditions. Seven states allow applicants with specified diseases--such as cancer, acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), or juvenile diabetes--that generally make it difficult to obtain insurance to enroll without meeting other requirements. Table 2 summarizes the eligibility requirements of the various state programs.

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[2]Self-insured organizations directly bear the risk and cost of providing health care coverage rather than purchasing coverage from an insurance company.

Table 2: Eligibility Requirements for State Risk Pool Programs[a]

	Individuals are eligible if they			
State	Are refused coverage by (number of insurers)	Are offered limited coverage by other insurers	Are offered high premiums by other insurers	Suffer from specified diseases
Florida	Two	Yes	Yes	No
Illinois	One	No	Yes	Yes
Indiana	Two	Yes	Yes	Yes
Iowa	One	Yes	Yes	Yes
Minnesota	One	Yes	Yes	Yes
Montana	Two	Yes	No	No
Nebraska	One	Yes	Yes	Yes
New Mexico	One	Yes	Yes	No
North Dakota	One	Yes	No	No
Oregon	One	No	No	Yes
Tennessee	One	Yes	Yes	Yes
Washington	One	Yes	Yes	No
Wisconsin	One	Yes	Yes	No

[a]Connecticut and Maine do not have these eligibility requirements.

Insurance Benefits

Risk pool insurance covers a comprehensive range of medical services and is comparable to the coverage that large and medium-sized employers make available through their group health plans. Table 3 provides examples of medical services typically covered or excluded under risk pool insurance policies.

Table 3: Medical Services Typically Covered or Excluded Under Risk Pool Insurance Policies

Covered	Excluded
Hospital services	Experimental treatments
Physician services in-hospital and out-of-hospital	Cosmetic treatments
Prostheses	Eyeglasses and hearing aids
Durable medical equipment	Dental care
Physical therapy	Routine physical examinations
Oral surgery	Expenses payable under other insurance or under government programs
	Custodial care

The programs also protect enrollees from extraordinary medical costs by limiting the out-of-pocket expenses that they must pay during the year. Table 4 shows the out-of-pocket medical expense limits under the state risk pool programs.

Table 4: Out-of-Pocket Medical Expense Limits of State Risk Pool Programs

State	Out-of-pocket limit	
	Individual	Family
Connecticut	$2,000	$4,000
Florida[a]	2,500	5,000
Illinois	1,500	3,000
Indiana[a]	1,000	2,000
Iowa[a]	1,500	3,000
Maine	1,500	3,000
Minnesota	3,000	b
Montana	5,000	b
Nebraska	5,000	b
New Mexico[a]	1,500	2,500
North Dakota	3,000	b
Oregon	c	c
Tennessee[a]	1,500	2,000
Washington[a]	1,500	3,500
Wisconsin	2,000	4,000

[a]The program also offers a higher out-of-pocket limit at a reduced premium.

[b]Limit on out-of-pocket medical expenses is applied "per covered person." No family limit is provided.

[c]As of January 1988, Oregon had not established an out-of-pocket expense limit for its program.

Cost-Sharing and Benefit Limitation Provisions

Risk pool insurance policies contain a number of cost sharing and benefit limitation provisions. These features, which are traditional mechanisms that have long been used in the insurance industry, include

-- deductibles, or the amount of covered medical expenses, either for a calendar year or per hospital admission, an enrollee must pay before the plan provides coverage;

-- coinsurance, or the fixed percentage or amount of covered medical expenses an enrollee must pay after satisfying deductible requirements;

-- waiting periods during which expenses to treat medical conditions diagnosed before the policy was issued, referred to as preexisting conditions, are not covered; and

-- limitations on the maximum amount of medical expenses that will be paid during the enrollee's lifetime.

Cost Sharing Provisions

Risk pool deductibles for medical expenses are generally higher than deductibles under the group health plans that large and medium-sized employers offer. According to risk pool officials, high deductibles discourage unnecessary use of medical services and help control costs. With one exception, Wisconsin, the programs allow enrollees to select from among two or more deductible amounts. BLS found that group health plans covering 78 percent of employees at large and medium-sized firms have medical expense deductibles of $150 or less and that plans covering 93 percent of the employees have deductibles of $200 or less. Table 5 shows the range of medical expense deductible amounts under state risk pool programs.

Table 5: Deductible Amounts for State Risk Pool Programs

State	Medical expense deductibles for an individual	
	Lowest	Highest
Connecticut	$400	$1,500
Florida	1,000	2,000
Illinois	250	1,000
Indiana	200	1,000
Iowa	500	1,000
Maine	500	1,000
Minnesota	500	1,000
Montana	500	1,000
Nebraska	250	1,000
New Mexico	500	1,000
North Dakota	150	1,000
Oregon	a	a
Tennessee	500	2,000
Washington	500	1,000
Wisconsin	1,000	1,000

[a]As of January 1988, Oregon had not established a deductible for its program.

Risk pool coinsurance requirements were generally comparable to those required under group health plans that large and medium-sized employers offer. Thirteen of the 15 states require enrollees to pay 20 percent of covered medical expenses after meeting

deductible requirements. Nebraska requires a 10-percent coinsurance payment, and, as of January 1988, Oregon had not established a coinsurance percentage. BLS found that group health plans covering 86 percent of employees at large and medium-sized firms also contained a 20-percent coinsurance feature.

Benefit Limitation Provisions

Risk pool insurance policies exclude preexisting medical conditions from coverage for a period of time. Preexisting conditions are those that have been diagnosed or treated during a specified period before the effective date of the policy--referred to as the condition period. Costs of treating preexisting conditions are not covered for a period after the effective date of the policy--referred to as the waiting period. Insurers have traditionally used waiting periods for preexisting conditions to prevent persons in poor health from purchasing insurance only when they plan to seek treatment.

Nine programs will waive or reduce the preexisting condition waiting period if the individual had other insurance in force before enrolling. Two of these states require enrollees requesting a waiver to pay a 10-percent premium surcharge. One state will also reduce the waiting period for enrollees who pay a surcharge, whether they had other insurance or not.

Thirteen state risk pool programs limit the maximum amount in benefits payable during an enrollee's lifetime. The limits were generally similar to those of the group health plans that large and medium-sized employers offer. BLS found that group health plans covering about 43 percent of the employees at large and medium-sized firms were covered by a plan that limited lifetime benefits to $500,000 or less.

Table 6 shows the benefit limitation provisions of the state risk pool programs.

Table 6: Benefit Limitation Provisions of State Risk Pool Programs

State	Preexisting condition provisions: Condition period (months)	Preexisting condition provisions: Waiting period (months)	Preexisting condition provisions: Waiver provision	Maximum lifetime benefit
Connecticut	6	12	[a]	$1,000,000
Florida	6	6	None	500,000
Illinois	6	6	[b,c]	500,000
Indiana	6	6	None	None
Iowa	6	6	[b]	250,000
Maine	3	3	[a,b]	500,000
Minnesota	3	6	[a]	250,000
Montana	60	12	[b]	250,000
Nebraska	6	6	[d]	500,000
New Mexico	6	6	[b]	None
North Dakota	3	6	[b]	250,000
Oregon	6	6	[d]	1,000,000
Tennessee	6	6	None	500,000
Washington	6	6	[b]	500,000
Wisconsin	6	6	None	500,000

[a]Waiting period may be waived or reduced under certain limited circumstances.

[b]Waiting period will be waived if the applicant had other health insurance in force before enrolling in the risk pool.

[c]Waiting period will be reduced if the applicant also pays a premium surcharge.

[d]Waiting period will be waived if the applicant had other health insurance in force before enrolling in the risk pool and pays a 10-percent premium surcharge.

Cost-Containment Provisions

Private insurers have included a number of cost-containment features in their health insurance policies. In general, these features discourage individuals from seeking unnecessary medical treatment or encourage them to use less costly treatment alternatives. BLS surveyed large and medium-sized firms to determine whether their health plans included any of nine common

cost-containment measures.[3] BLS found that 68 percent of the employees at large and medium-sized firms were covered by a plan that included at least one of the nine cost-containment features.

Like private insurers, risk pool programs include cost-containment features in their insurance policies. Eight of the state programs have implemented one or more of the provisions covered in the BLS survey. The most common provision, a requirement that decisions to hospitalize enrollees be reviewed by the program administrator, has been adopted by seven states. Three states require enrollees to obtain a second opinion before nonemergency surgery, three states require enrollees to use generic rather than more expensive brand-name drugs, and three states require that routine laboratory tests before hospitalization be performed on an outpatient basis.

Risk Pool Premiums

The basis for setting risk pool insurance premiums is normally prescribed in authorizing legislation. Premiums are usually established based on the rates charged for private health insurance in the state and vary based on age and, sometimes, sex and geographic area. The legislation generally provides for premiums to be adequate to cover anticipated claims expenses, but it limits rates to a multiple of the rates charged by private insurers. Legislation in 12 states provides for multiples between 125 and 150 percent. Three states provide for higher multiple limits, including Montana, which provides a 400-percent limit. Program administrators in the six states we reviewed survey private insurers to determine the average rates they charge for health insurance as a basis for setting risk pool rates. Table 7 shows the rate limits and examples of premiums charged in the six states reviewed.

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[3]The cost containment measures covered in the BLS survey included (1) incentives to encourage a second surgical opinion before nonemergency surgery, (2) incentives to encourage use of outpatient surgery, (3) incentives to use generic rather than more expensive brand-name drugs, (4) limits on reimbursement for nonemergency weekend hospital admissions, (5) separate deductibles for hospital admissions, (6) incentives to have routine laboratory tests done on an outpatient basis before hospitalization, (7) higher payment for delivery at a birthing center, (8) incentives to audit the hospital's statement, and (9) preadmission certification requirements.

Table 7: Rate Limits and Examples of Annual Premium Rates Charged by State Risk Pool Programs

State	Rate limit[a] (percent)	1987 annual premium rates for coverage with a $1,000 medical expense deductible for a 40-year-old Male	40-year-old Female	55-year-old Male	55-year-old Female
Connecticut	150	$1,156	$1,538	$2,077	$2,486
Florida	200	1,924	1,924	3,153	3,153
Indiana	150	1,162	1,597	2,130	2,363
Minnesota	125	641	641	999	999
North Dakota	135	945	945	1,383	1,383
Wisconsin	150	996	1,320	1,784	1,660

[a]Based on rates charged for private health insurance in the state.

Financing Program Deficits

Risk pool authorizing legislation generally prescribes how program operating deficits will be financed. In 12 of the 15 states, deficits are shared among risk pool association members through assessments voted by the association's governing body. These states distribute assessments in proportion to each member's share of total premium income[4] in the state except in Connecticut, which assesses members according to their share of total claims paid, and in Washington, which assesses members according to their share of total health insurance subscribers. Maine plans to finance deficits through a tax on hospital revenues, while Illinois will subsidize its risk pool from general revenues. Tennessee will provide up to $2 million a year from general revenues to cover deficits, with any remaining deficits made up from assessments to association members. Oregon assessed association members for startup costs, but state legislation does not address how operating deficits will be financed.

Nine of the 12 states that assess deficits against association members allow them to credit the assessments against their state taxes. Allowing a tax credit results in reduced tax collections and has much the same effect as subsidizing risk pool losses from general revenues. In the other three states, assessments are considered a cost of doing business that the state insurance department may consider when approving rates the companies propose for their health insurance plans.

[4]Premium income is the revenue an insurer earns from the sale of insurance.

As stated earlier, legislation in six states provides for self-insured organizations to be risk pool association members. The courts, however, have held that because employers with self-insured health plans are exempt from state insurance regulation under the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974, they cannot be required to participate in risk pools.

Insurance industry officials and program administrators in the states we reviewed believed that exempting self-insured organizations from risk pool participation can unfairly increase the burden on persons who obtain private insurance from risk pool association members. Even in states where tax credits relieve insurers from subsidizing risk pools, officials were concerned because of the possibility of the tax credit being repealed. Minnesota, for example, repealed its tax credit provision in 1987.

RISK POOL ENROLLMENT AND FINANCIAL EXPERIENCE

In five of the six programs we reviewed, enrollment has increased since 1983. For the six programs, total enrollment increased 48 percent to 20,545 persons. However, the Minnesota risk pool, with 10,842 insured, has 53 percent of the six-state total.

The risk pools in the six states have consistently operated at a loss. In 1986 the programs paid an average of $1.60 in claims for each dollar of premium income. According to estimates prepared by HCFA, private insurers nationally paid about $0.87 in claims per dollar of premium income during the same period. To date, however, assessments to risk pool association members in the three states that do not permit tax credits have been modest when compared to the total volume of insurance business in the states.

State officials have found that often a conflict exists between the objectives of (1) increasing enrollment by enhancing the attractiveness of the risk pool plan and (2) reducing deficits through higher premiums or reduced coverage.

Enrollment

Enrollment in risk pool programs has increased since 1983, but growth in the programs has not been uniform. Between the end of 1983 (the first year all six were offering policies) and the end of 1986, the number of insured grew from 13,842 to 20,545.[5] About half of the insured at the end of 1986 were in Minnesota. Two newer programs, those in Florida and North Dakota, experienced

[5]The number of policies in force is virtually equivalent to the number of insured persons, according to program officials, since almost all risk pool policies are for individuals rather than families.

significant percentage growth, but from a low base. Table 8 summarizes the number of policies in force at the end of 1983 and 1986.

Table 8: Risk Pool Insurance Policies in Force as of December 31, 1983, and December 31, 1986

State	Policies in force as of December 31, 1983	Policies in force as of December 31, 1986	Change (percent)
Connecticut	3,419	2,315	-32
Florida	49	1,036	2,014
Indiana	2,288	2,998	31
Minnesota	6,043	10,842	79
North Dakota	245	1,279	422
Wisconsin	1,798	2,075	15
Total	13,842	20,545	48

Because of turnover in the enrollee population, the number insured through risk pools has been greater than indicated by the table. Excluding North Dakota, for which data were not readily available, there were about 23,000 policies written and in force during the 3-year period in addition to the 19,266 policies in force on December 31, 1986.

Wisconsin was the only state that has surveyed former enrollees to determine why they had canceled their policies. In 1982 Wisconsin surveyed 562 former enrollees and received responses from 208, or about 37 percent of those surveyed. About 23 percent canceled because they could not afford the insurance premiums. The other cancellations resulted from enrollees obtaining group health insurance coverage, becoming eligible for Medicare, dying, or moving out of the state.

Fiscal Experience

Risk pools in the six states we reviewed have consistently operated at a loss. The six programs incurred an aggregate net operating loss of about $18.1 million in 1986--about three times the 1983 level. Minnesota, with by far the largest enrollment, experienced the greatest loss, $9,024,228 in 1986. Table 9 compares program operating results for calendar years 1983 and 1986.

Table 9: Comparison of Risk Pool Deficits for Calendar Years 1983 and 1986

State	Deficit or (surplus) 1983	1986	Change (percent)
Connecticut	$508,721	$885,375	74
Florida	(6,276)[a]	681,157	[b]
Indiana	177,657	5,160,982	2,805
Minnesota	3,972,634	9,024,228	127
North Dakota	230,896	1,633,219	607
Wisconsin	1,609,052	678,806	-58
Total	$6,492,684	$18,063,767	178

[a]The Florida risk pool was in operation only during the last 4 months of 1983 and, according to program officials, had a surplus primarily because of the 12-month waiting period for coverage of preexisting medical conditions.

[b]Percentage change not calculated.

From calendar year 1983 to calendar year 1986, premium income for the six programs increased by 178 percent, while claims expense increased by 190 percent. Meanwhile, the loss ratio--the ratio of claims expenses to premium income--increased from $1.54 in claims per dollar of income in 1983 to $1.60 in 1986. In comparison, the loss ratio for health insurers nationally, according to HCFA estimates, was $0.87 per dollar of premium income during 1986. Table 10 shows the loss ratios for the six states for calendar years 1983-86.

Table 10: Risk Pool Loss Ratios for Calendar Years 1983-86

State	Claims paid per dollar of premium income 1983	1984	1985	1986
Connecticut	$1.10	$1.28	$1.39	$1.19
Florida	[a]	0.28	1.79	1.25
Indiana	0.83	1.56	1.30	1.70
Minnesota	1.87	1.65	1.49	1.76
North Dakota	2.49	2.32	1.91	2.17
Wisconsin	3.02	2.07	1.35	1.19

[a]The Florida risk pool was in operation only during the last 4 months of 1983 and, according to the pool's audited financial statements, did not incur claims expense during the period.

Administrative Expenses

Risk pools in the six states we reviewed reimburse the company that administers their programs for expenses incurred in issuing policies, processing claims, and paying benefits. This reimbursement, however, is generally subject to limits. Three states reimburse the program administrator for reasonable costs incurred, but Minnesota and North Dakota limit the reimbursement to 12.5 percent of claims expenses. Indiana and Wisconsin pay the administrator a basic monthly fee plus additional fees related to the volume of activities, such as processing insurance applications and insurance claims. Florida, which has the highest rate of administrative expenses, reimburses the administrator for all direct costs incurred, pays a monthly fee for indirect costs, and additional activity-related fees. Administrative expenses ranged from about 3.7 percent of claims expenses in Connecticut and Indiana to about 14.9 percent of claims in Florida.

Assessments

Risk pool association members share in operating losses through assessments voted by the association's governing board. Because the association normally maintains a cash reserve, assessments are not necessarily equal to operating losses for any given year. Table 11 shows the 1986 assessments in the six states.

Table 11: Assessments Levied on Members of State Risk Pool Associations--1986

State	Assessment
Connecticut	$1,490,387
Florida	0
Indiana	4,683,662
Minnesota	9,054,432
North Dakota	1,509,780
Wisconsin	750,000
Total	$17,488,261

Despite concerns expressed that risk pool losses will significantly increase insurance costs, assessments to date have been modest compared to the total volume of insurance business in the states. For the three states that did not permit tax credits, risk pool assessments represented less than 1 percent of the total volume of premium income in those states.

Program Features That Have Affected Operations

Officials in the six states have adjusted program requirements and benefits to achieve two sometimes conflicting objectives--increasing enrollment and controlling costs. Efforts to make the programs more attractive to potential enrollees, mainly involving improved benefits, tend to increase operating losses. Program officials have found that, in particular, reductions in and waivers of preexisting condition waiting periods contribute to increased program losses. However, when program administrators have attempted to control costs through premium increases and benefit restrictions, enrollment has either decreased or increased at a lower rate.

State program officials have not made a detailed analysis of how various changes have affected program operations. According to officials, many factors affect the operations of a risk pool, and it is difficult to isolate the impact of a change or event from the impact of the other factors. Nonetheless, program officials told us that the programs' enrollment history and fiscal experience can provide insight into the impact policy changes are likely to have on program operations.

Efforts to Increase Enrollment

Minnesota has the largest enrollment of the six risk pool programs reviewed, and that enrollment has grown steadily since 1983. Minnesota law limits risk pool premium rates to 125 percent of comparable private insurance rates. However, despite significant loss increases, the state insurance department has not authorized an increase in premium rates since 1985 even though the law would have permitted it. As a result, the program has the lowest premium rates of the six programs reviewed.

Wisconsin has taken several steps to boost enrollment. In 1985 it implemented a program, financed by state revenues, to subsidize risk pool premiums for low-income individuals. Persons with a household income of less than $16,500 are eligible for the premium subsidy, which varies with income. Table 12 shows the percentage of premium subsidies and the number of policyholders assisted as of December 31, 1986.

Table 12: Subsidy Percentage by Income and Number of Persons Assisted by the Wisconsin Program

Household income	Subsidy as a percentage of premium	Number of policies
Under $9,000	33.3	253
$9,000-$11,999	29.0	151
$12,000-$14,999	23.0	138
$15,000-$16,499	17.0	57
Total		599

Participants in this program represented about 29 percent of risk pool enrollees as of December 31, 1986. Wisconsin officials estimated that $433,000 was spent for premium subsidies in 1987. In 1988, the state will introduce a program to also subsidize deductibles for low-income individuals.

Provisions to waive the waiting period for coverage of preexisting medical conditions have proven costly. In 1983, Indiana authorized a waiver for enrollees who paid a 10-percent premium surcharge. Losses increased sharply during 1983 and 1984, and program officials attributed the increase to the waiver provision. Similarly, North Dakota introduced a waiver in 1985 to attract enrollment. According to North Dakota officials, the additional revenue gained from the 50-percent premium surcharge did not cover the sharp increase in claims expenses. The state has since terminated this waiver provision.

Efforts to Control Costs

The Connecticut program experienced sharply increased losses in part due to court action that required the program to provide unlimited coverage for mental and nervous conditions. To moderate losses, Connecticut increased premiums and doubled both deductibles and out-of-pocket expense limits for enrollees in 1985. Enrollment declined by about 20 percent between December 31, 1984, and December 31, 1985. Program officials identified the changes as a major factor in the enrollment decline. The state's robust economy and federal legislation extending health benefits to laid-off workers also contributed to the decline, according to the officials.

In 1983, Wisconsin took various steps to reduce risk pool losses. It raised the limit on risk pool premiums from 130 to 150 percent of comparable private premiums, extended the waiting period for coverage of preexisting medical conditions from 30 days to 6 months, and increased the enrollee's liability for out-of-pocket medical expenses from $1,500 to $2,000. Growth in program participation has been modest, despite the previously noted premium subsidies provided to low-income enrollees.

To reduce losses that occurred as a result of waiving the waiting period for coverage of preexisting medical conditions, Indiana increased base premiums significantly and, in January 1986, increased the waiver surcharge from 10 to 25 percent. Despite this action, losses continued to increase. Program officials believe that the higher premiums resulted in only those with the most costly health conditions enrolling or continuing their enrollment. Average claims paid per policyholder were $3,713 in 1986, the highest of the six programs reviewed. Program officials believe that enrollees paid the higher premiums and the 25-percent waiver surcharge because they had an immediate need for medical care. Indiana has since eliminated the waiver provision.

ENROLLEE CHARACTERISTICS

Risk pool enrollees are most likely to be middle aged. The limited data available suggest that enrollees incur higher medical costs generally and incur higher costs for heart and circulatory diseases, cancer, and diabetes specifically than does the population at large. State officials are concerned about, but have little information on, the potential cost impact on their programs concerning the treatment of AIDS patients.

Researchers who have studied risk pools believe that from 0.5 to 1 percent of the population is medically uninsurable. Their estimates, however, are rough approximations, not supported by detailed research on the size and demographic makeup of this population.

Demographics of Risk Pool Enrollees

Risk pool enrollees are more likely to be between the ages of 40 and 64 than the general population. Five of the six states reviewed maintained data on the age and sex of enrollees. Table 13 compares the age distribution of enrollees in the five states as of December 31, 1986, to that of the U.S. population in 1986. About 54 percent of the enrollees in these states were females, compared to about 52 percent of the national population.

Table 13: Comparison of Age Distribution of Risk Pool Enrollees to the National Population as of December 31, 1986[a]

Age category	Percent distribution	
	Risk pool enrollees	National population
Under 30	22	47
30-39	14	16
40-49	15	11
50-59	26	9
60-64	19	5
Over 64	4	12

[a]The Census Bureau does not publish age distribution estimates for individual states for age categories comparable to those the risk pools maintain. Analysis of Census Bureau state-level data shows that differences between age distribution in the five states and the nation are not significant.

Insurance officials described various factors that influence the makeup of risk pool enrollment. First, women are less likely to participate in the labor force than men and are more likely to depend on their spouse for access to employer-sponsored group insurance plans; and as a result, women are at greater risk of losing access to group insurance because of divorce or death of a spouse. Second, middle-aged workers who lose coverage under group plans because of layoffs or terminations are more likely than younger workers to be in poor health and to experience difficulty in obtaining commercial health insurance. Finally, large numbers of persons 65 and older may not be enrolled because they are generally covered by Medicare.

Wisconsin has conducted periodic surveys to obtain demographic information on its program enrollees. In 1986, Wisconsin surveyed 1,919 enrollees and received responses from 1,101, or about 57 percent. The results of this survey may not accurately represent the characteristics of all enrollees in that state, but do provide information on the respondents. Wisconsin found that

-- 61 percent were not employed, and 13 percent were employed part time; and

-- 88 percent of those who were employed worked for firms employing 25 or fewer people--firms less likely to provide group health insurance.

Cost and Nature of Medical Services Used

The six states we reviewed did not gather consistent data on the health care costs risk pool enrollees incur. Available information on medical expense reimbursements made to enrollees, however, indicates that the costs they incur are higher than those of the average person. Table 14 presents 1986 claims expenses per policyholder, based on the average number of policies outstanding for the year in the six states. The states did not maintain consistent data on claims expenses per insured person, and these figures may slightly overstate average annual expenses for an individual to the extent that more than one person was insured under a policy.

Table 14: Average 1986 Claims Expenses per Policyholder for State Risk Pool Programs

State	Average claims expense per policyholder
Connecticut	$1,742
Florida	2,504
Indiana	3,713
Minnesota	1,804
North Dakota	2,495
Wisconsin	1,555

As the table shows, average claims expense per policyholder, not including deductible and coinsurance expenses paid by the policyholder, varied considerably. The weighted average for the six states was $2,140. In comparison, according to estimates prepared by the Department of Health and Human Services, per capita health care expenses, including deductible and coinsurance payments, averaged about $1,620 nationally in 1986.

Three states have gathered information on the conditions that enrollees suffer from, and one state has gathered information on the conditions that made it difficult for them to obtain insurance in the private market. The company that administers the Florida, Indiana, and Wisconsin programs summarizes claims expenses by the health conditions that led enrollees to seek treatment. These data indicate that enrollees in these states incur more expenses for the

treatment of heart and circulatory diseases, cancer, and diabetes than national averages for all persons the company insures. Table 15 shows the data from the three states.

Table 15: Comparison of 1986 Claims Expenses Incurred, by Medical Condition, for Three State Risk Pool Programs, to Company's 1986 Average Claims Expense

	Percent of claims expenses paid			
Medical condition	Company average	Florida	Indiana	Wisconsin
Heart and circulatory diseases	12	12	15	23
Cancer	7	15	18	13
Abdominal conditions	10	18	10	7
Diabetes	1	5	3	6
Blood disease	1	5	1	6
All other	69	45	53	45

In its periodic surveys, Wisconsin asks enrollees about the health conditions that prevented them from obtaining private insurance. In 1986, about 22 percent of those who responded reported that heart-related diseases prevented them from obtaining insurance. About 11 percent cited hypertension; 14 percent, diabetes; and 9 percent, cancer.

Impact of AIDS on Risk Pool Programs

Both insurance industry and advocacy group officials have indicated that risk pools can help finance the cost of treating AIDS patients. The president of the Health Insurance Association of America, for example, has written that no institution by itself can bear the burden of "the alarming medical bill for AIDS." Likewise, the executive director of the Gay Men's Health Crisis, an organization interested in AIDS-related health care issues, has acknowledged that insurance companies have legitimate concerns about the catastrophic cost of treating AIDS patients. Both have endorsed risk pools as part of the solution to the problem of financing AIDS care.

Program officials in the six states reviewed expressed concern about the potential impact of AIDS-related costs on their risk pool program. None of the states limit coverage of AIDS, and four states--Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, and Nebraska--specifically make individuals diagnosed with AIDS eligible for their programs. None of the states, however, had studied whether individuals likely to develop AIDS were enrolled in their programs or whether enrollees were being treated for the disease. In two states, officials noted that the types of medical services being provided certain enrollees appeared to be consistent with an AIDS diagnosis.

HAVE THE PROGRAMS MET EXPECTATIONS?

The six states we reviewed have not formally assessed risk pool program performance. Risk pool legislation emerged in response to a perception that opportunities to purchase health insurance were decreasing for persons with serious health problems. According to state officials and insurance industry representatives, the legislation generally was a compromise response to other approaches that would have required all insurers to offer open enrollment. Legislators concluded that the risk pool would distribute the burden of persons with chronic or costly medical conditions among insurers more equitably. Legislation authorizing the risk pools did not establish specific goals but rather contained general statements about assisting the medically uninsurable. Legislative histories of the programs generally offered limited insight into what legislators expected the programs to accomplish.

The information that would be needed to evaluate program performance generally has not been developed. Officials in the six states reviewed have not estimated the size of the medically uninsurable population in their states. Consequently, program officials do not know what portion of this population their programs serve. Further, the states generally do not compile information on the makeup of the enrollee population. As a result, program officials do not know which population segments find the programs most attractive or, more importantly, which segments to target in order to bring coverage to those in need. Officials in the six states reviewed generally believe that their programs are not serving all the medically uninsurable in their states.

SUMMARY

Risk pools provide subsidized health insurance to that segment of the uninsured population that cannot obtain it because of poor health. The six programs that we reviewed have assisted a limited number of persons. As of February 1988, conclusive evidence to show that risk pools are or are not effective, and data that would allow comparison of risk pools to other mechanisms for financing health care for the uninsured, had not been developed.

APPENDIX I

STATES IN WHICH BLUE CROSS AND BLUE SHIELD PLANS OFFER OPEN ENROLLMENT

District of Columbia
Maryland
Massachusetts
Michigan
New Hampshire
New Jersey
New York
North Carolina
Pennsylvania
Rhode Island
Vermont
Virginia

STATES THAT CONSIDERED, BUT DID NOT ENACT, LEGISLATION AUTHORIZING A RISK POOL DURING 1987

Alaska
California
Georgia
Mississippi
Missouri
New York
Ohio
South Carolina
South Dakota
Texas
Vermont
West Virginia

PRIVATE GROUPS AND ORGANIZATIONS CONTACTED TO OBTAIN INFORMATION ON RISK POOLS

American Diabetes Association
Washington, D.C.

Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association
Washington, D.C.

Center for Health Affairs
Chevy Chase, Maryland

Communicating for Agriculture
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Employee Benefits Research Institute
Washington, D.C.

Health Insurance Association of America
Washington, D.C.

Intergovernmental Health Policy Project
Georgetown University
Washington, D.C.

National Association of Insurance Commissioners
Kansas City, Kansas

National Governors' Association
Washington, D.C.

National Health Policy Forum
George Washington University
Washington, D.C.

The Center for Study of Social Policy
Washington, D.C.

Urban Institute
Washington, D.C.

Washington Business Group on Health
Washington, D.C.

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