

Adverse Selection and (un)Natural Monopoly in Insurance Markets

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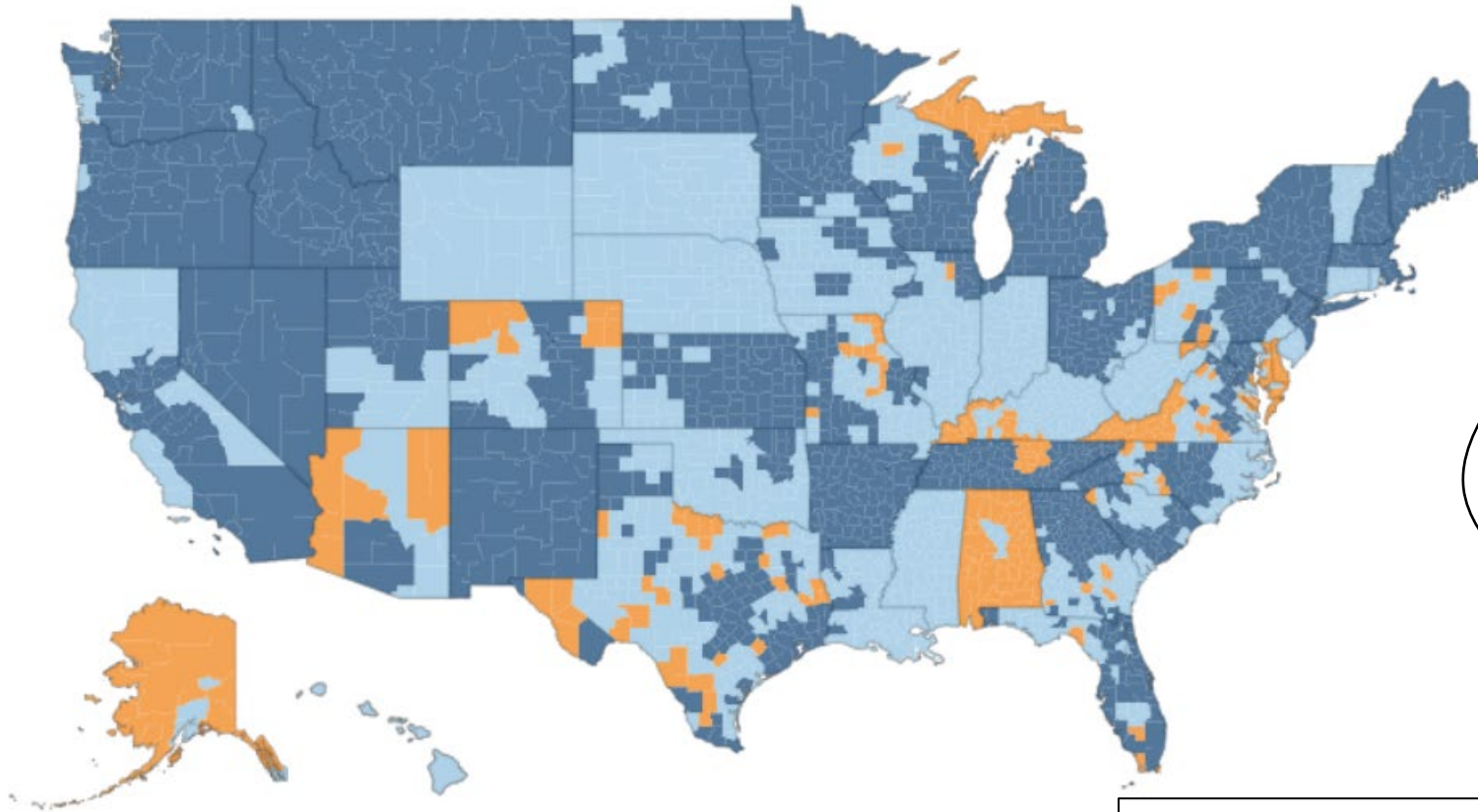
Federal Trade Commission Microeconomics Conference

November 2024

Motivation

- Health insurance systems increasingly rely on **market-based programs**
 - E.g., Medicare Advantage, Obamacare (ACA) exchanges, National systems in many countries (e.g., Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands, Israel, Chile, Australia)
- **Key premise:** Robust participation by enough insurers
 - Most prior research assumes *perfect competition* or treats set of competitors as *exogenous* (e.g., EFC 2010; Starc 2014; Mahoney & Weyl 2017; Decarolis et al. 2020; Curto et al. 2021; Tebaldi 2024)
 - Not much insurance work analyzing competition as an *equilibrium* phenomenon
- **Concern with un-competitive insurance markets**
 - Broadly true for U.S. health insurance (e.g., Medicare Advantage, commercial, medigap – all have >70% of markets “highly concentrated (HHI > 2500)”)
 - Particularly severe in Obamacare exchanges (*next slide*)

Low Competition: ACA Insurance Exchanges



Source: Kaiser Family Foundation (data for 2021)

| <u># Insurers</u> | <u>Share of Markets</u> | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| | Counties | Enrollees |
| 1 insurer | 10% | 3% |
| 2 insurers | 44% | 19% |
| 3+ insurers | 46% | 78% |

54% of county markets (*with 20% of enrollees*) had just 1-2 competitors

24 whole states had ≤ 3 competitors

95% of MSAs “highly concentrated” by antitrust metric (HHI > 2500)

What Explains Limited Participation?

- **Why is robust insurance competition so difficult to sustain?**
- **Standard explanations:**
 1. **Regulatory barriers** (*e.g., state licensing rules, limits on cross-state insurance*)
 2. **Fixed/sunk costs** (*e.g., capital requirements, negotiating with hospitals, setting up billing systems*)
 3. **Political factors** (*especially for Obamacare*)
- **This paper:** We suggest another novel explanation that (concerningly) is a fundamental feature of insurance markets: **Adverse Selection**
 - Classic insurance market failure. Associated with “unraveling” of trade (Akerlof 1970) and “race to the bottom” in insurance quality / benefits (Rothschild & Stiglitz, 1976)
 - **Question:** Can adverse selection also be a barrier to robust competition?

This Paper: Adverse Selection → Low Competition

- We suggest a **new implication of adverse selection** – it can be a barrier to robust firm entry
- **Key insight:** Adverse selection can create a **“race to the bottom” in prices**
 - Firms have incentives to strategically undercut competitors to steal price-sensitive, healthy consumers (Starc 2014, Mahoney & Weyl 2017)
 - Price becomes a tool for “cherry picking” favorable risks.
- **Result:** Hard to sustain markups needed to support profitable entry (while covering fixed costs)
 - (1) Analogous to natural monopoly due to fixed costs – but via an inefficient coordination failure
 - **“Un-Natural” Monopoly**
 - (2) Analogous to quality “race to the bottom” (Rothschild & Stiglitz, 1976) – but for prices (*w/ fixed quality*)
- **Take-away:** Unregulated price competition can be a problem in selection markets
 - Policy to soften/limit price competition (including price floors) can be desirable to boost entry, *lower prices*

Outline of Talk

1. **Model:** Adverse Selection Pricing and Competition

- Framework for understanding when selection market can(not) support a given set of competitors

2. **Descriptive Evidence:**

- Setting: Massachusetts health insurance exchange
- Reduced form: Use quasi-experimental price variation to estimate key elasticities from model.

3. **Structural Model and Policy Analysis:**

- Estimate structural model using Massachusetts market
- Analyze impact of policies to correct adverse selection on firm entry and prices

1. Model: Adverse Selection Pricing and Competition

Plan for Model Section

1. **Setup the model**
2. Walk you through a **simple example** to show the key ideas
3. Discuss **general results** on impact of adverse selection on prices, profits, entry

Model Setup

- **Simple model of insurance market** where firms $j \in \{1, \dots, J\}$ engage in a two-stage entry/competition game:
 1. **Entry:** Each firm j decides whether to participate in the market (involves fixed cost $F \geq 0$)
 2. **Price competition:** Set prices (P_j) to max profits ($\pi_j(P)$) in standard Nash-Bertrand equilibrium
- **Each insurer j has a single (fixed) contract** that differs on attributes X_j
 - General (horizontal) differentiation \rightarrow Need not be ranked on “vertical” quality
 - Examples: Hospital/doctor networks (non-nested), Rx drug coverage, Brand preferences/loyalty
- **Consumers (i) vary** in both preferences ($U_i(X_j)$) and risk/costs (C_{ij})
 - Defining feature of a “**selection market**” (Einav, Finkelstein, Mahoney 2021)
 - Firms cannot price-discriminate against high-risk consumers (as in ACA, many other programs)

Adverse Selection in the Model

- Firms are generally (“horizontally”) differentiated – no clear “High” vs. “Low” quality plan
- **But adverse selection is still relevant!**
- **Key reason:** Sick care more about plans that are a “good match” for their preferred attributes:

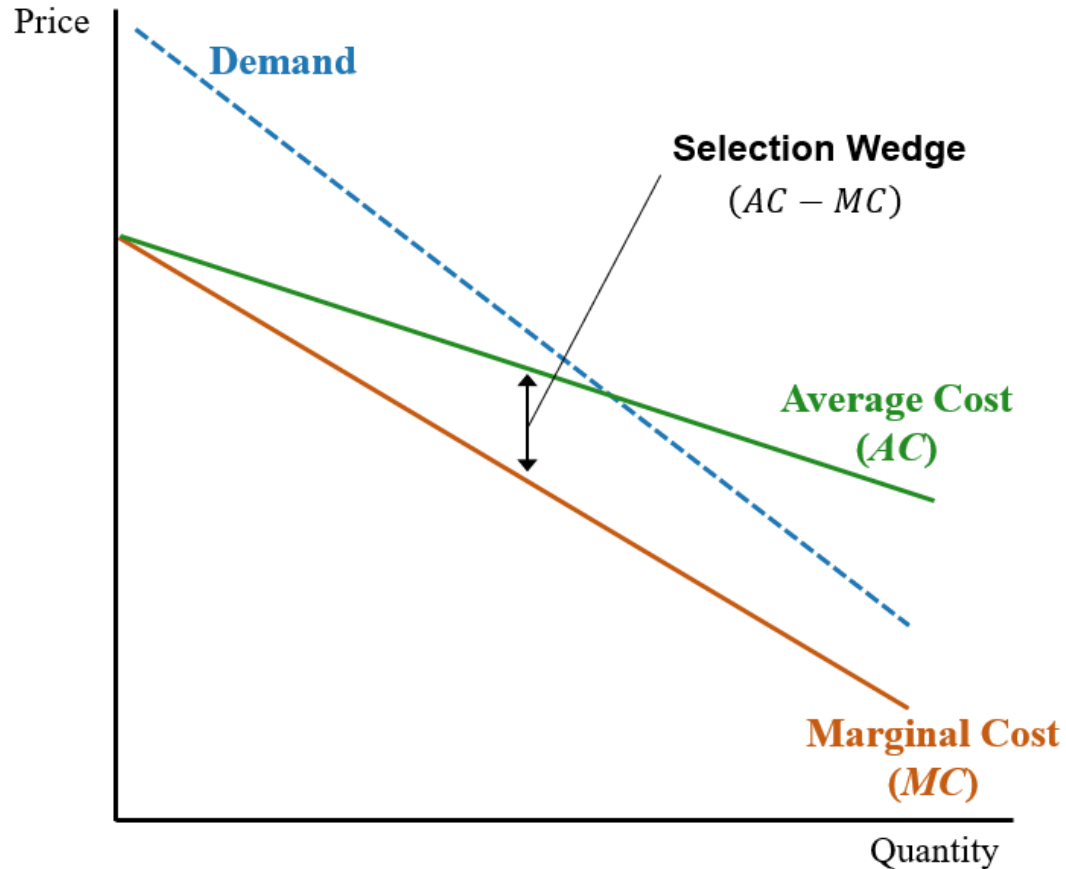
$$U_{ij} = \left(\underbrace{\beta_i}_{\text{WTP for quality}} \times \underbrace{Q_{ij}}_{\text{Match Quality}} \right) - P_j + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

- **Key condition:** $\text{Corr}(\beta_i, \text{Cost}_{ij}) > 0$ (Sick have higher demand for match quality)
↔ Healthy are more price-sensitive in their demand
- **Implication: Adverse Selection in Pricing**
 - Price cutting differentially attracts low-cost marginal consumers
 - **Implication #1:** “Wedge” b/n Average and Marginal Costs = $AC_j(P) - MC_j(P) > 0$
 - **Implication #2:** Price increases raise Avg Costs, $\partial AC_j / \partial P_j > 0$ ↔ “Downward-sloping” AC in quantity

Parallel: Adverse Selection and Natural Monopoly

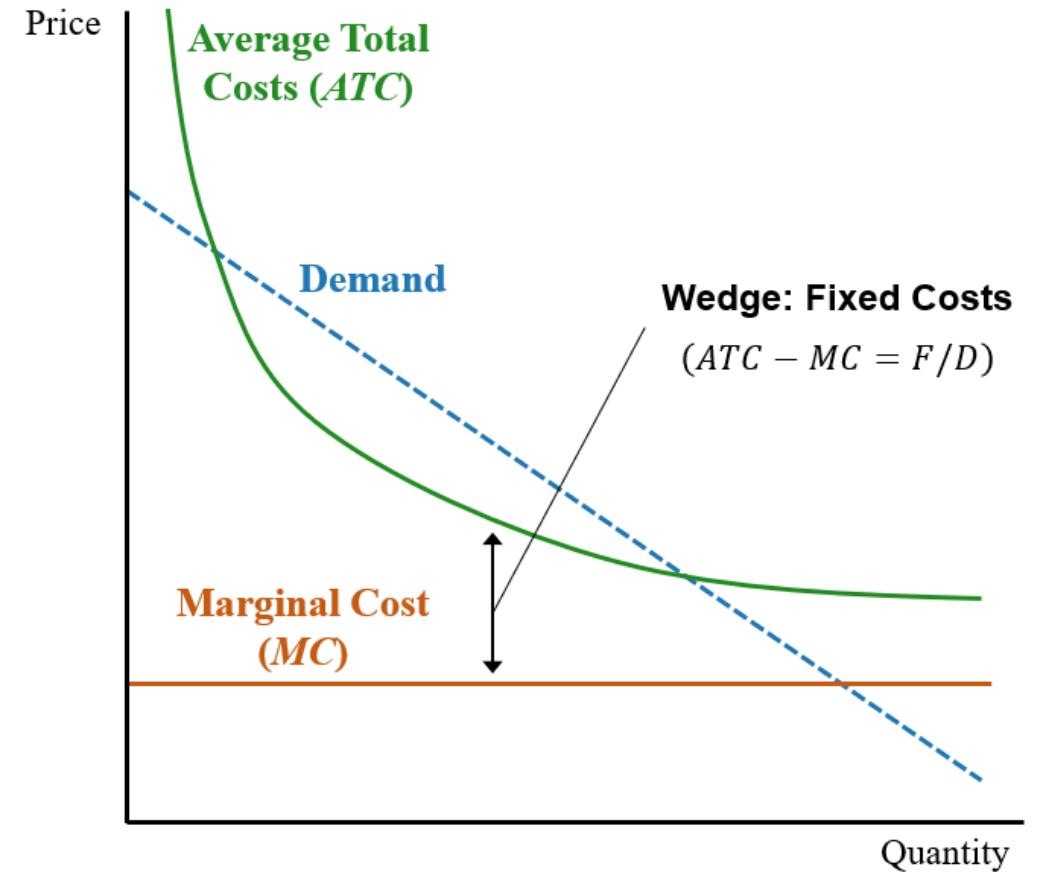
Adverse Selection Market

(due to risk/cost variation)



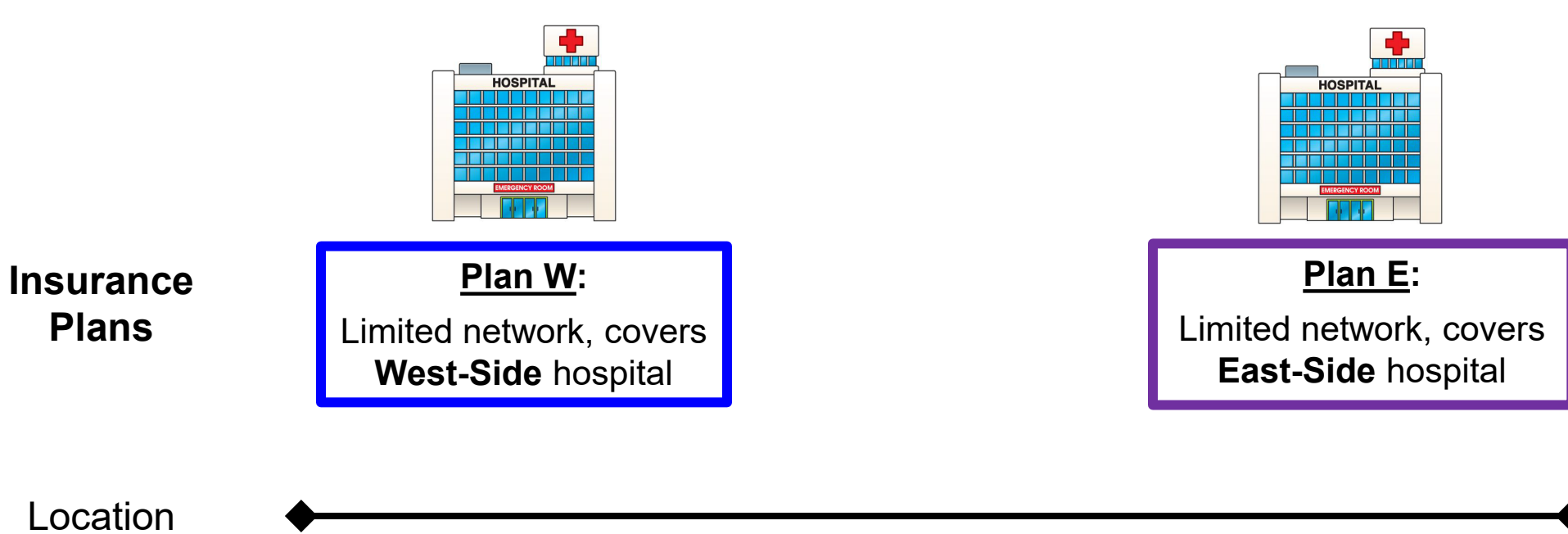
Natural Monopoly Market

(High fixed costs)



- **Common features:** (1) Downward-sloping Average Cost curve
- (2) "Wedge" b/n Average and Marginal Costs

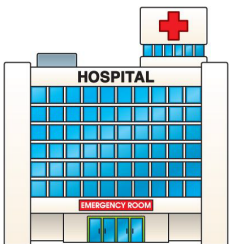
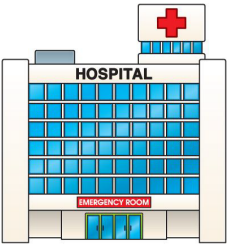
Example: East- vs. West-Side Network Plans (*Hotelling + Risk*)



Notes:

1. Differentiated but symmetric plans

Example: East- vs. West-Side Network Plans (*Hotelling + Risk*)



Insurance Plans

Plan W:
Limited network, covers **West-Side** hospital

Plan E:
Limited network, covers **East-Side** hospital

Location



Consumer Types

{location, risk}



Healthy

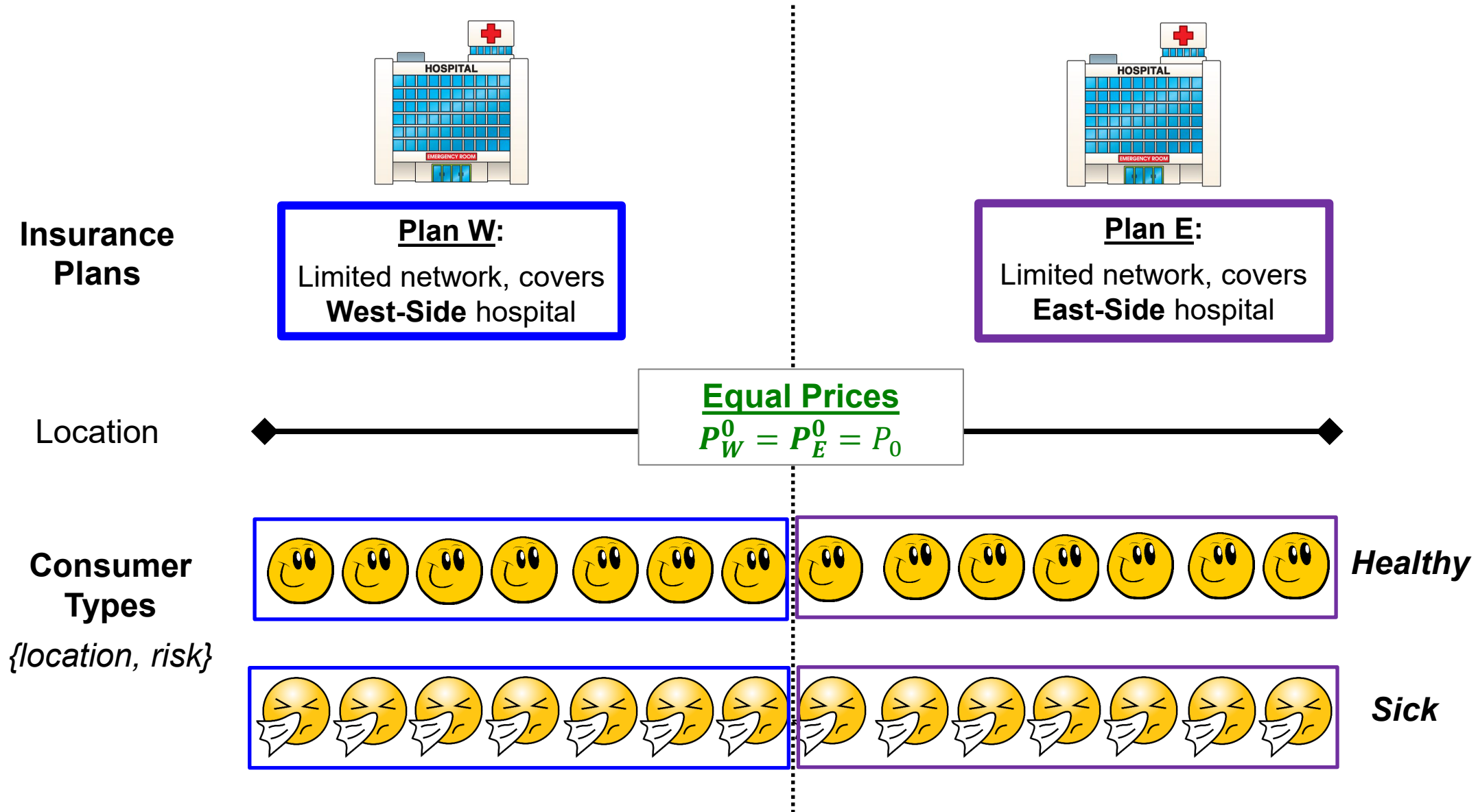


Sick

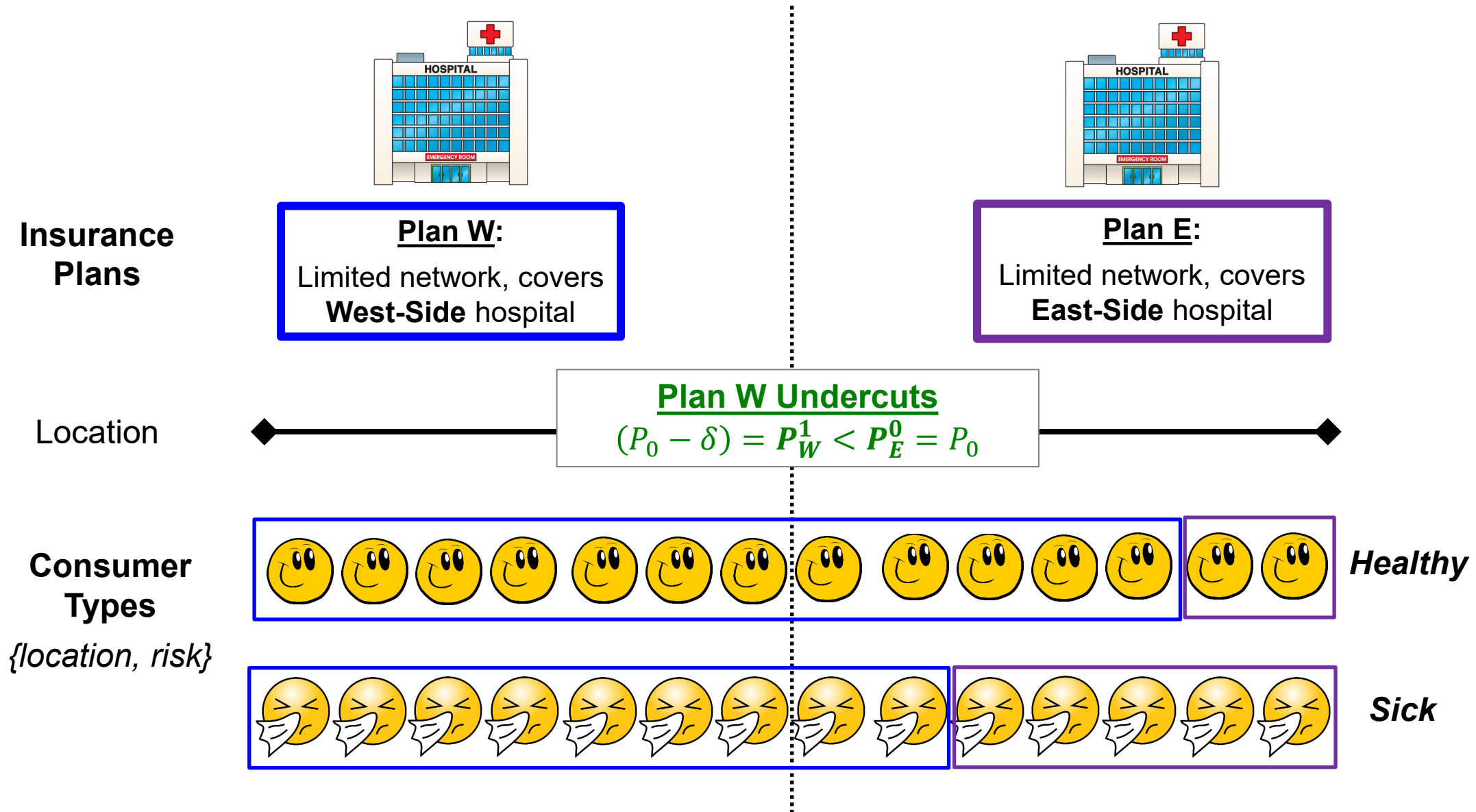
Notes:

1. Differentiated but symmetric plans
2. Consumers vary in:
 - Location
 - Health risk
3. Consumers value:
 - Coverage of their nearby hospital
 - Lower prices

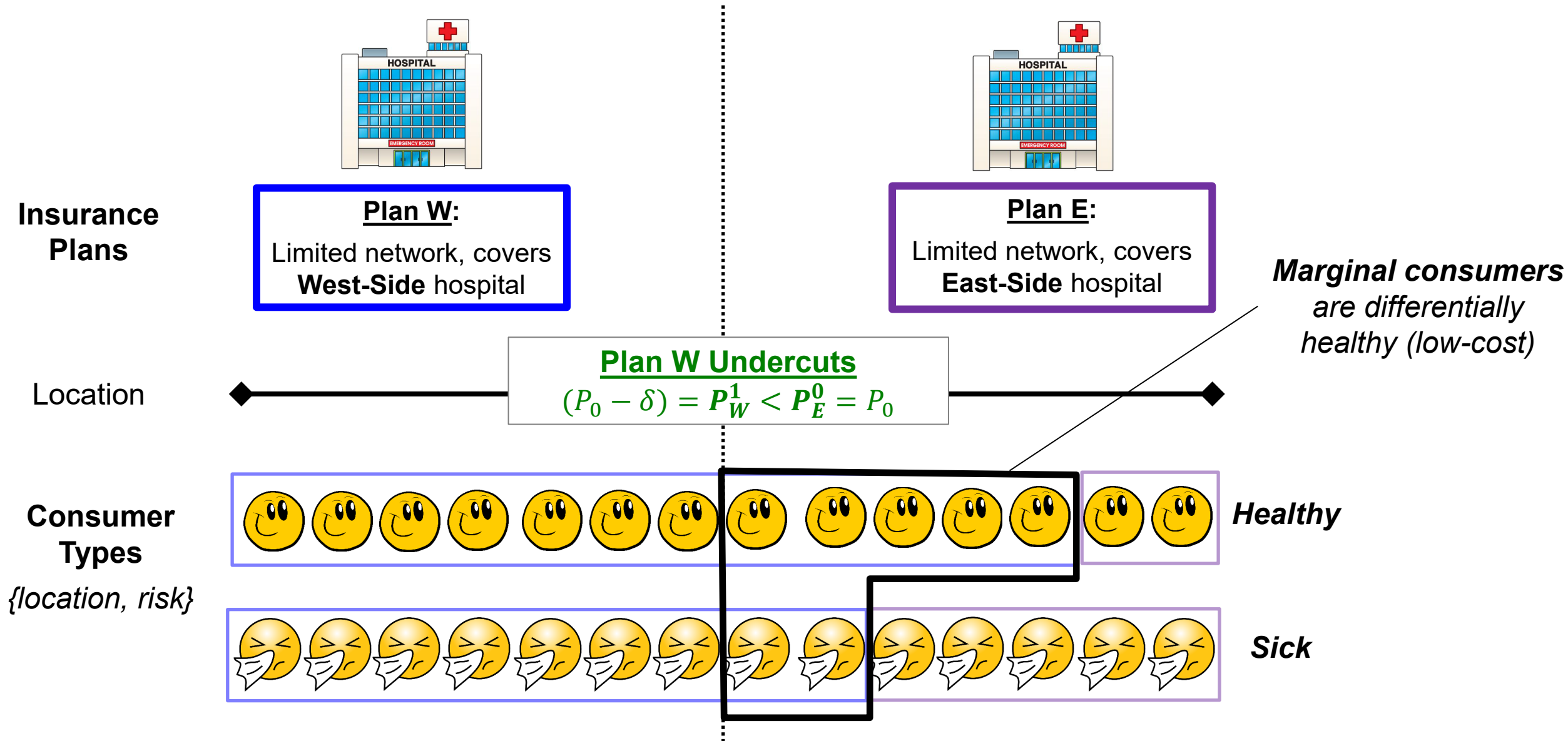
Simple Example: Adverse Selection Pricing Incentives



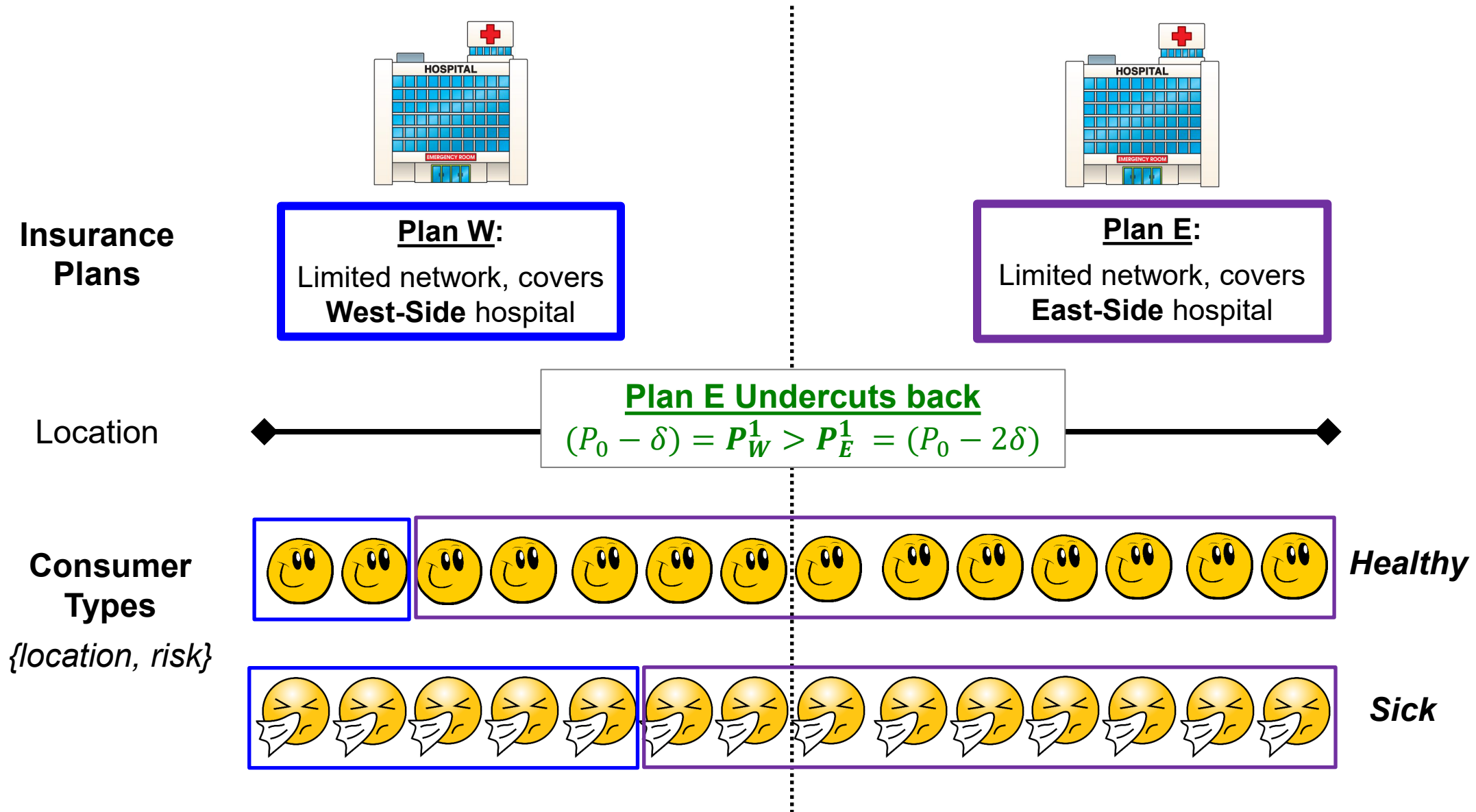
Simple Example: Adverse Selection Pricing Incentives



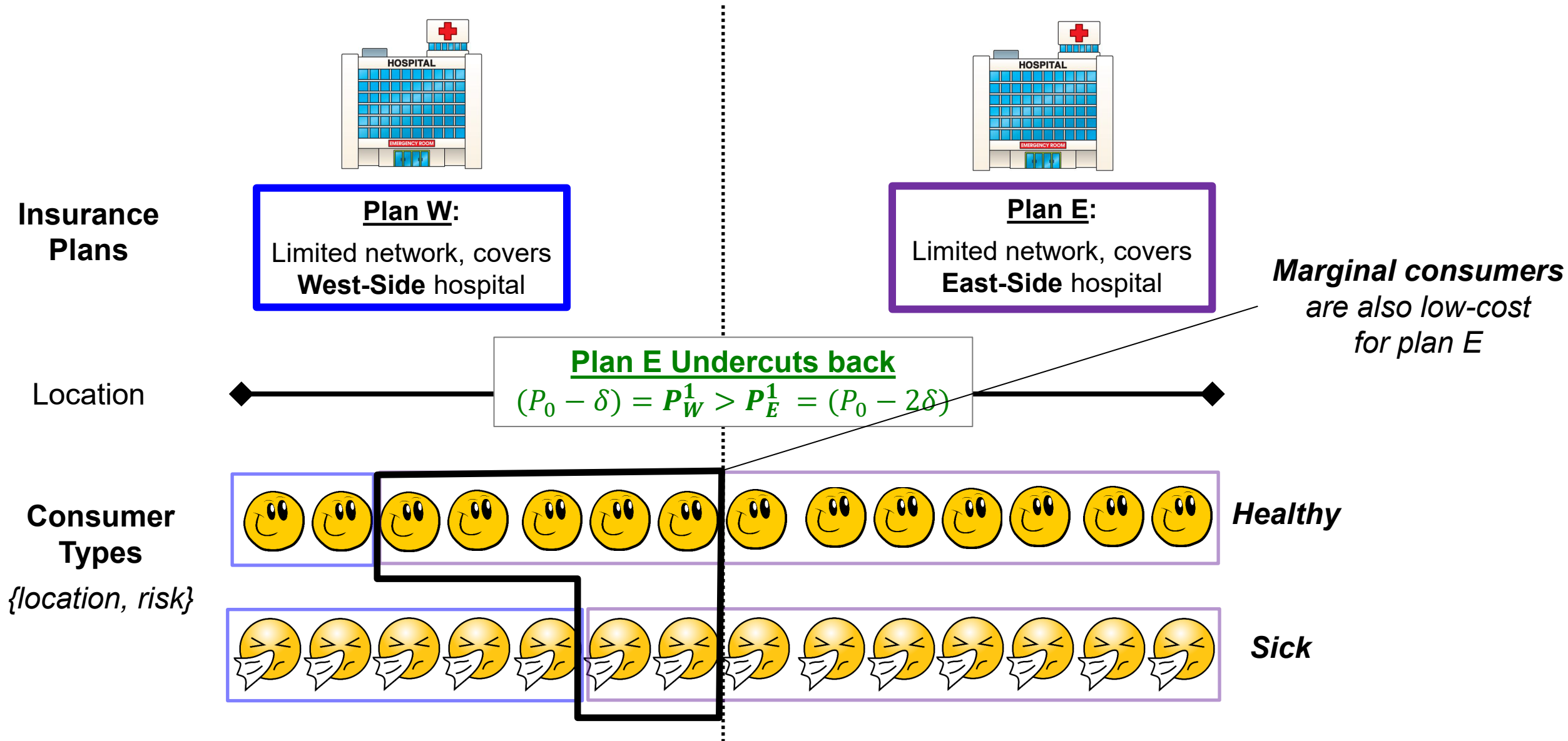
Simple Example: Adverse Selection Pricing Incentives



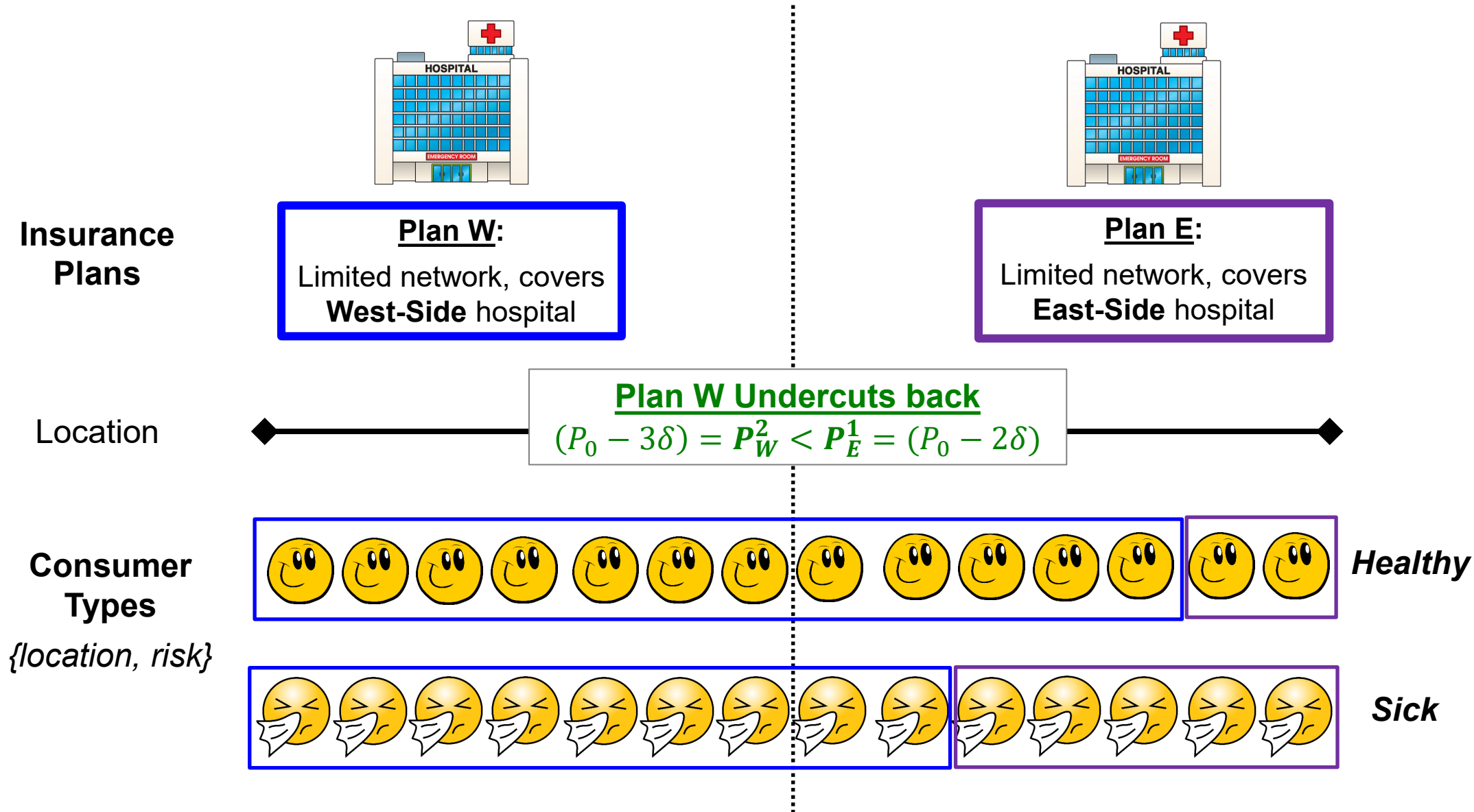
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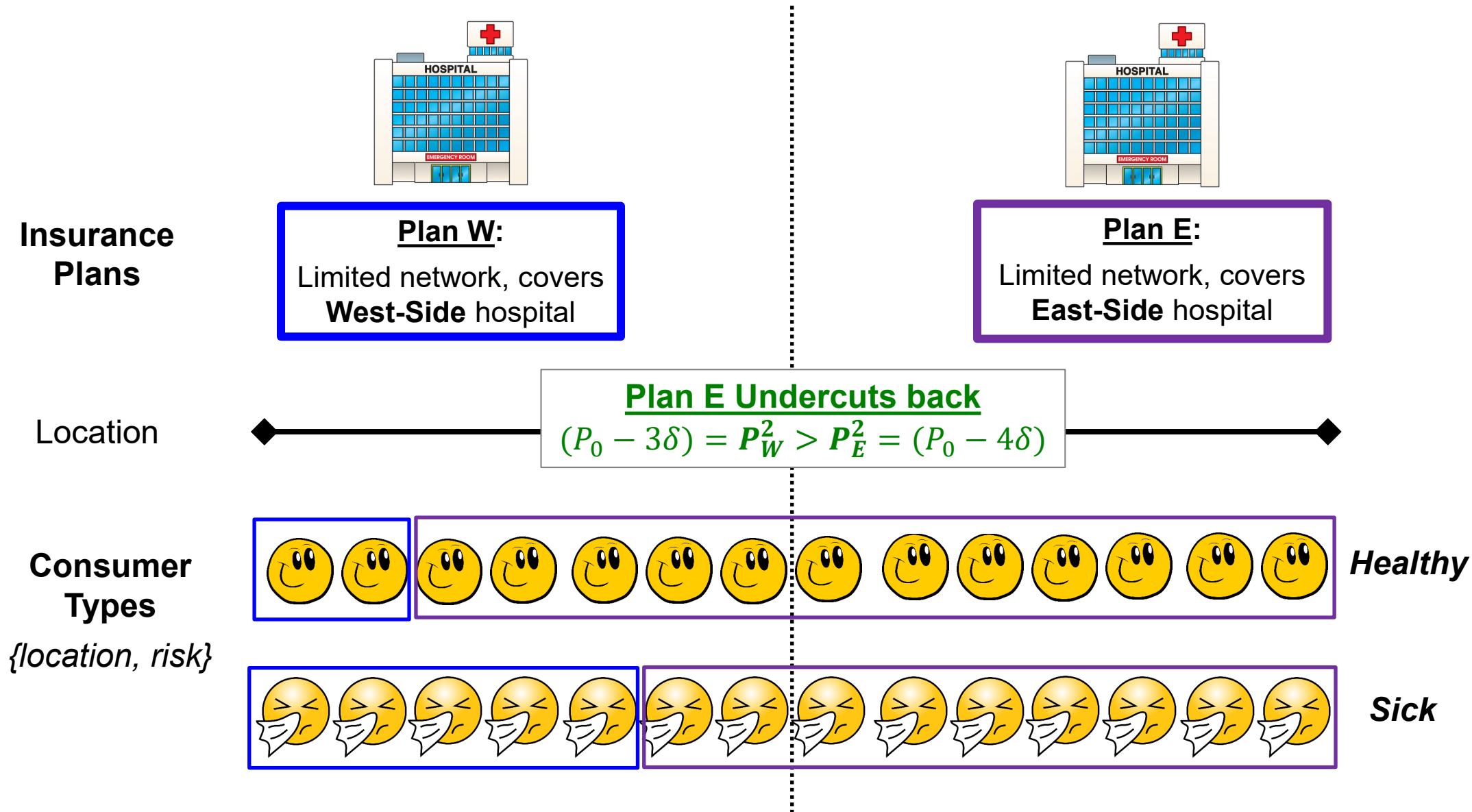
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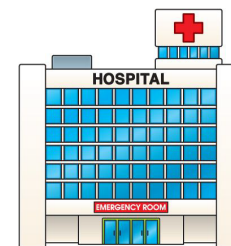
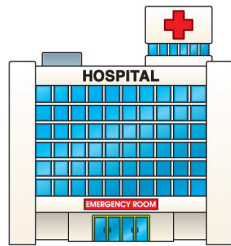
Simple Example: Adverse Selection Pricing Incentives



Simple Example: Adverse Selection Pricing Incentives



Simple Example: Unraveling to “Un-Natural Monopoly”



Insurance Plans

Plan W:
Limited network, covers
West-Side hospital

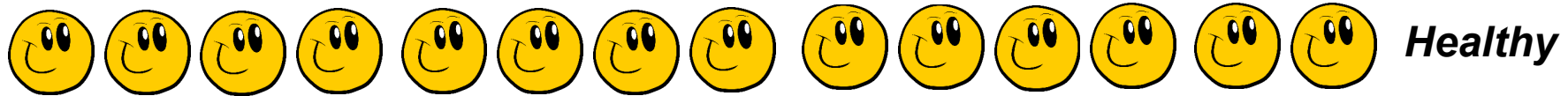
~~**Plan E:**
Limited network, covers
East-Side hospital~~

Location



Consumer Types

{location, risk}

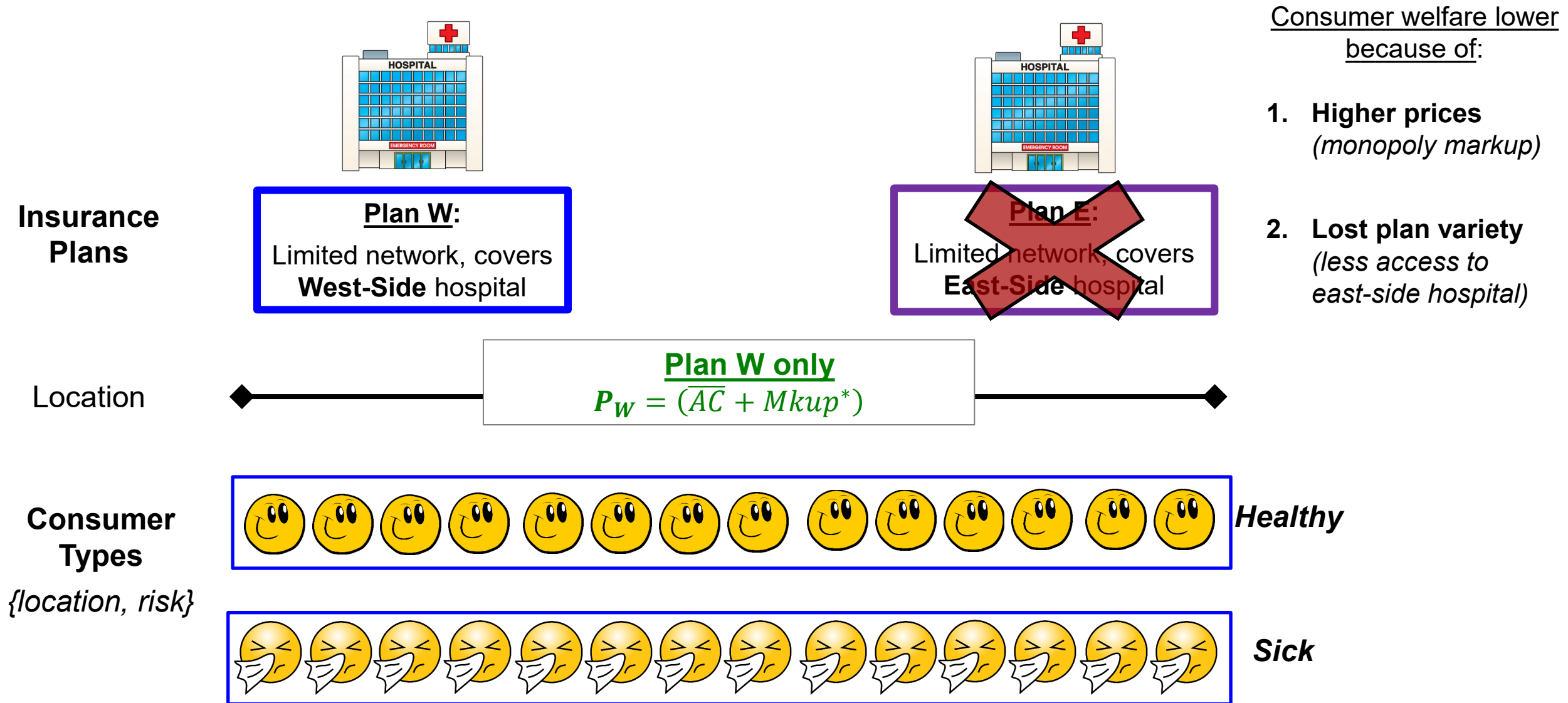


Healthy



Sick

Simple Example: Unraveling to “Un-Natural Monopoly”



General Theory

- **FOC for insurer pricing (standard):** $P_j^* = MC_j(P) + \underbrace{\frac{1}{\eta_{j,P_j}}}_{\text{Lerner Markup}}$

$\eta_{j,P_j} = -\frac{\partial \log D_j}{\partial P_j}$
 (demand semi-elasticity)

- **Implies net profit margin after fixed costs (= $P_j - ATC_j$) of:**

$$\underbrace{P_j^* - ATC_j(P)}_{\text{Net profit margin}} = \underbrace{\frac{1}{\eta_{j,P_j}}}_{\text{Lerner Markup}} - \underbrace{[AC_j(P) - MC_j(P)]}_{\text{Adverse Selection wedge}} - \underbrace{\frac{F}{D_j(P)}}_{\text{Fixed Costs per consumer}}$$

- **Prior work:** With *fixed* participation, adverse selection constrains market power, leading to lower prices and profit margins [Starc (2014), Mahoney & Weyl (2017)]

➤ **Our point:** With *endogenous* entry, selection also limits how many firms can survive

- To break even, need positive net profit margin ↔ **Lerner markup (differentiation)** > **Adverse selection + Fixed costs (limits on entry)**

→ [Visualization](#)

Summary and Policy Implications

- **Main point:** Adverse selection limits entry when insurers strategically compete on prices.
 - Analogous to implications of fixed costs as barrier to entry
- But unlike fixed costs (which are a real cost), this arises from a (potentially inefficient) **coordination failure in price competition**
 - More firms could enter if could commit to not undercut, but cannot coordinate in std competition
 - Equilibrium level of entry may be lower than optimal for consumer welfare
 - **“Un-natural” Monopoly**
- **Role for Policy:** Soften or regulate (downward) price competition
 - Examples: Risk adjustment, Incremental price subsidies (soften); Price floors (regulation)
 - By softening price competition (in moderation!), may sustain more entry and *lower* prices

2. Setting and Descriptive Evidence

Setting: Massachusetts Health Insurance Exchange

- **Setting:** Subsidized pre-ACA Massachusetts insurance exchange (“CommCare”)
 - Population: Low-income adults (0-300% of poverty) without other sources of coverage
 - Heavily subsidized insurance offered by competing private plans (4-5 insurers)
 - Standardized cost sharing & covered services. Plans differ on hospital/doctor networks.

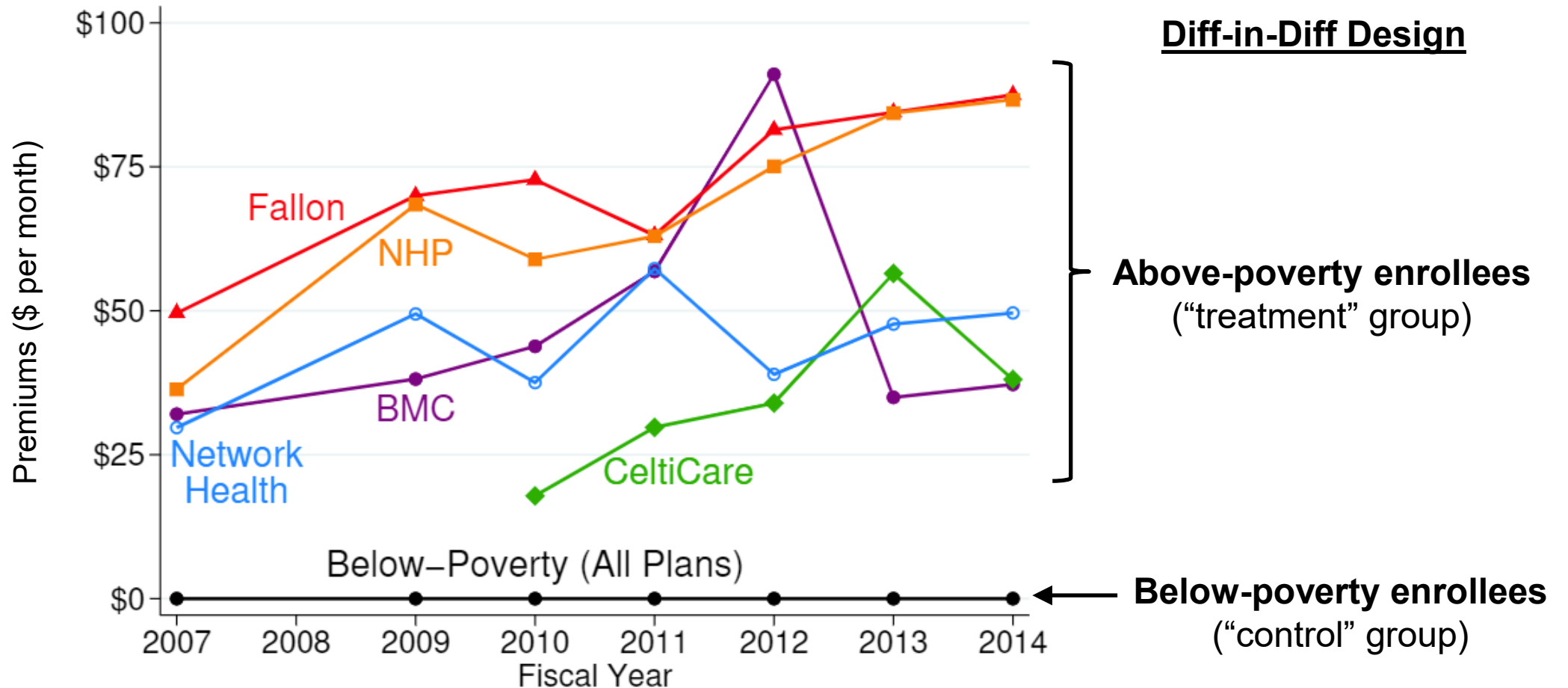
- **CommCare did more to regulate/soften competition** than in the ACA today
 1. Standardized plan designs
 2. Price ceilings and floors (*via “actuarially sound rate regulation”*)
 3. Incremental subsidies: Below-poverty enrollees are fully subsidized (pay \$0 for all plans).
 - Above-poverty enrollees: Pay base amount + Δ Premium for higher-price plans.

- **Incremental subsidies:** Provide useful premium variation to identify key elasticities in our model (*price elasticity of demand, slope of average cost curve*)

Consumer Premium Variation

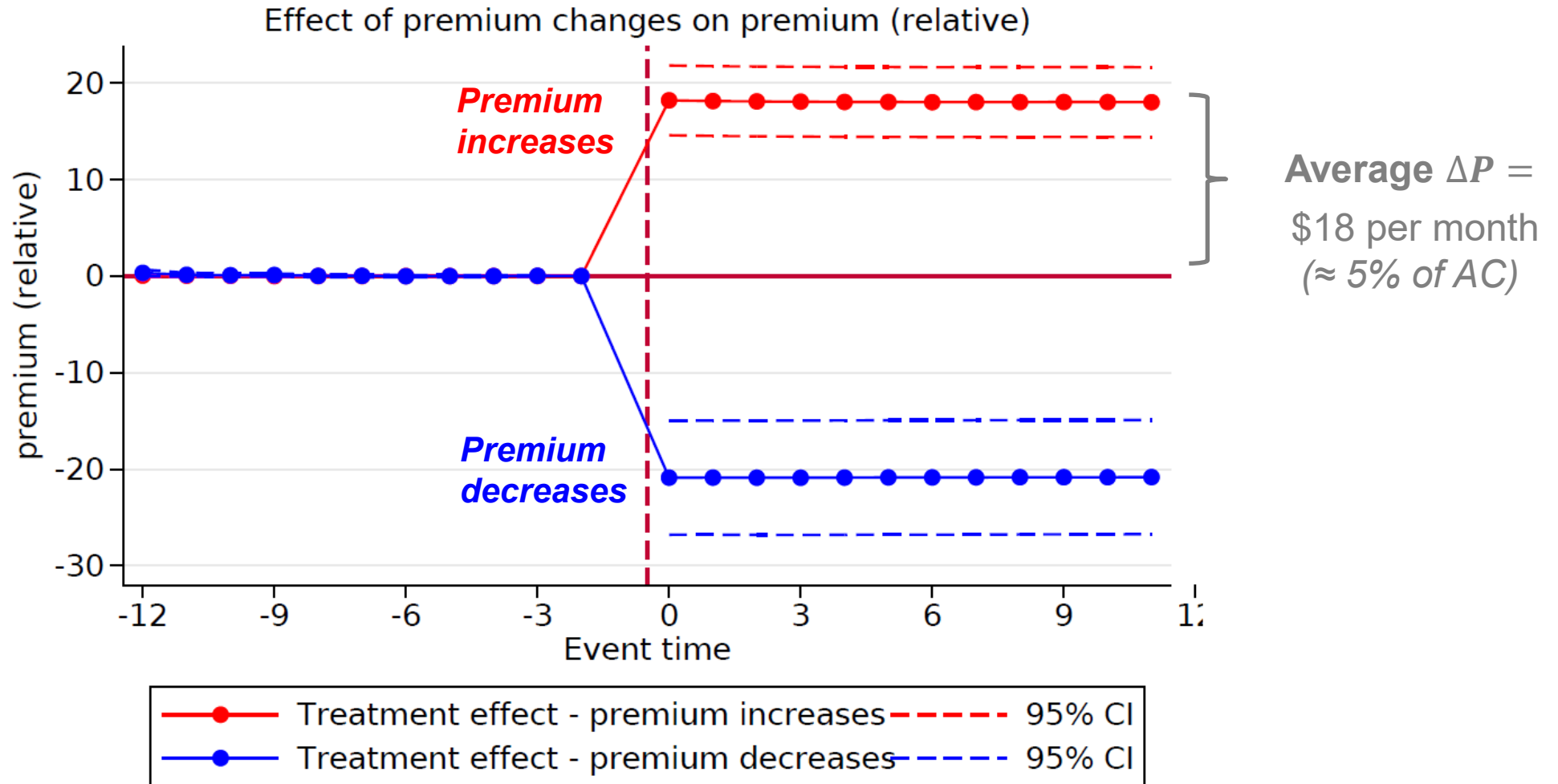
Difference-in-Differences Design:

- Use changes in plan premiums over time x Effect of incremental subsidies by income group



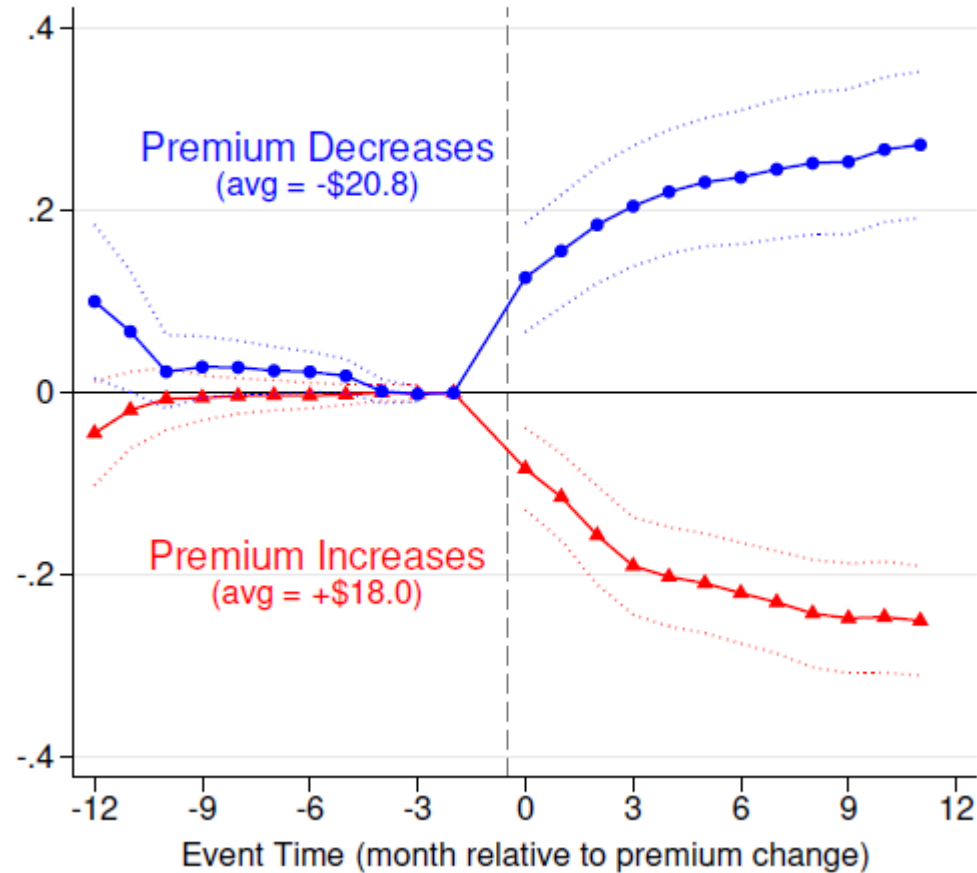
DD Event Study: Premiums (“first stage”)

(a) Relative Premiums



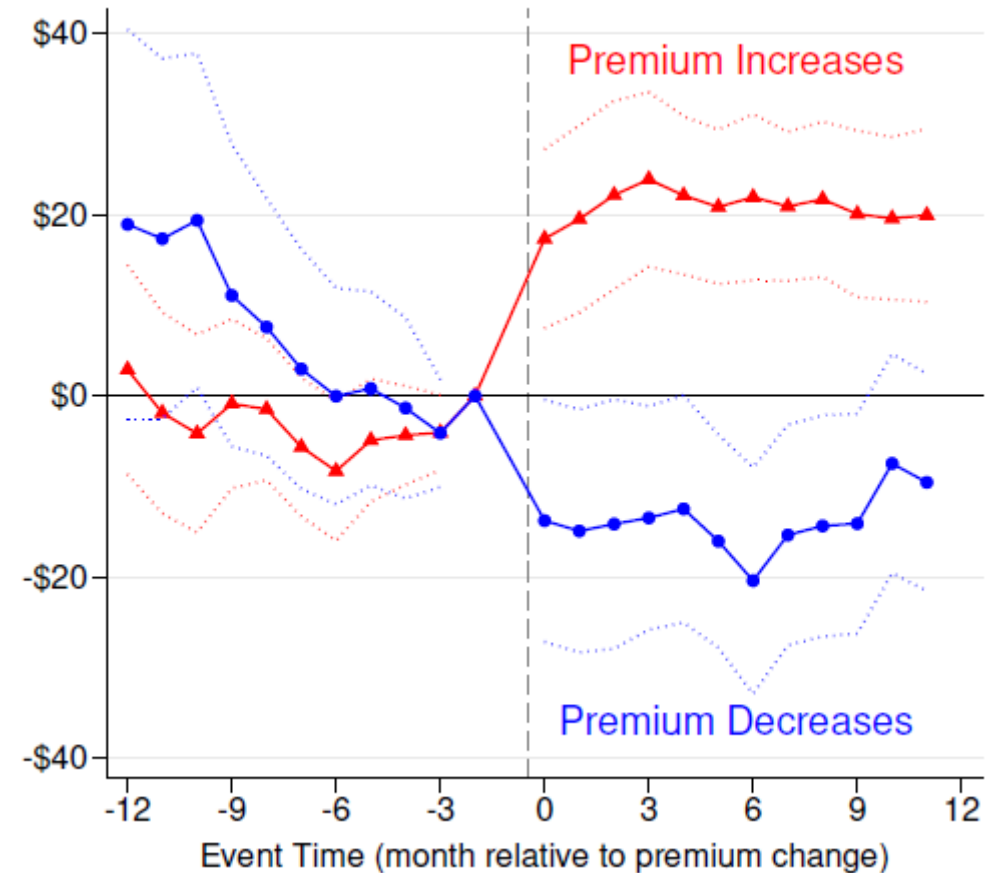
DD Event Study: Market Shares and Average Costs

(a) Log Market Shares



Demand (all enrollees):
Each +\$10 premium \rightarrow \downarrow 10% market share

(b) Average Cost (\$/month)



Average Cost (all enrollees):
Each +\$10 premium \rightarrow \uparrow \$11 Avg Cost
(Slope \approx 1.1)

Reduced Form: DD Estimates

| | Baseline All Enrollees (1) | By Enrollee Type New Enrollees (2) Current Enrollees (3) | | By Enrollee Risk Low Risk (0-25%) (4) Mid Risk (25-75%) (5) High Risk (75-100%) (6) | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|--|--------------------------|--|----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Panel (a): Regression results</i> | | | | | | |
| Premium | 17.87*** (1.45) | 17.90*** (1.56) | 17.08*** (1.43) | 17.25*** (1.47) | 18.09*** (1.44) | 17.79*** (1.51) |
| Log Market Share | -0.181*** (0.019) | -0.429*** (0.040) | -0.080*** (0.015) | -0.257*** (0.026) | -0.178*** (0.018) | -0.130*** (0.016) |
| Average Cost | 20.02*** (2.67) | 37.15*** (5.08) | 16.04*** (3.44) | --- | --- | --- |
| <i>Panel (b): Theory-Relevant Statistics</i> | | | | | | |
| Demand Semi-Elasticity | -0.0101 | -0.0240 | -0.0047 | -0.0149 | -0.0098 | -0.0073 |
| Slope of Avg Costs (=dAC/dP) | 1.12 | 2.08 | 0.94 | --- | --- | --- |
| Adverse Selection Wedge [% of Avg Cost] | \$110.9 [30%] | \$86.5 [21%] | \$201.5 [56%] | --- | --- | --- |
| Num. Observations | 5,888 | 4,922 | 5,750 | 5,359 | 5,819 | 5,612 |
| Average Cost (\$/month) | \$374 | \$411 | \$360 | \$134 | \$239 | \$865 |

Standard errors reported in parentheses. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.10$.

Summary of Reduced Form

- Reduced form results suggest **high price sensitivity** and **strong adverse selection**
 - Large adverse selection “wedge” of 20-30% of average medical costs
 - Large compared to estimate of administrative costs (*~8% of average med costs*)
 - Still 8-10% of avg medical costs even after risk adjustment
- But the Massachusetts market was able to support 4-5 competing insurers. How?
 - Key reason: Use of robust set of “corrective policies” – including price floors, incremental subsidies (<100% poverty), and risk adjustment
- **Next step**: Estimate structural model of insurance demand/cost to assess:
 - What would market competition look like without these corrective policies?
 - What role does each play in sustaining competition / affecting prices?

3. Structural Model and Policy Analysis

Structural Model: Overview

- Follow setup and approach of **Shepard (2022)** and **Jaffe & Shepard (2020)** in estimating structural insurance demand and cost model on CommCare data
1. **Demand:** Multinomial logit choice model using observed micro-data
 - Allow rich observed heterogeneity in price coefficients and value for plan provider network
 - Identification: Include detailed plan FEs in utility → price coefficients identified from same subsidy-driven variation as in our DD strategy
 2. **Insurer Cost:** $C_{ij} = Risk_i \cdot \delta_{j,r}$
 - Estimate risk ($Risk_i$) from observed cost in claims data + Plan effects ($\delta_{j,r}$) using regression model with observable controls + individual FE (*use plan switchers over time*)
 3. **Equilibrium** (two-stage entry game):
 - Stage 2: Conditional on set of entrants E , find Nash equilibrium price P_E^* (*use grid search*)
 - Stage 1: E is an equilibrium if: (a) There is an equilibrium P_E^* where all participants earn profits ≥ 0
(b) No non-participant $k \notin E$ can enter and earn profits at equil. price $P_{E \cup k}^*$

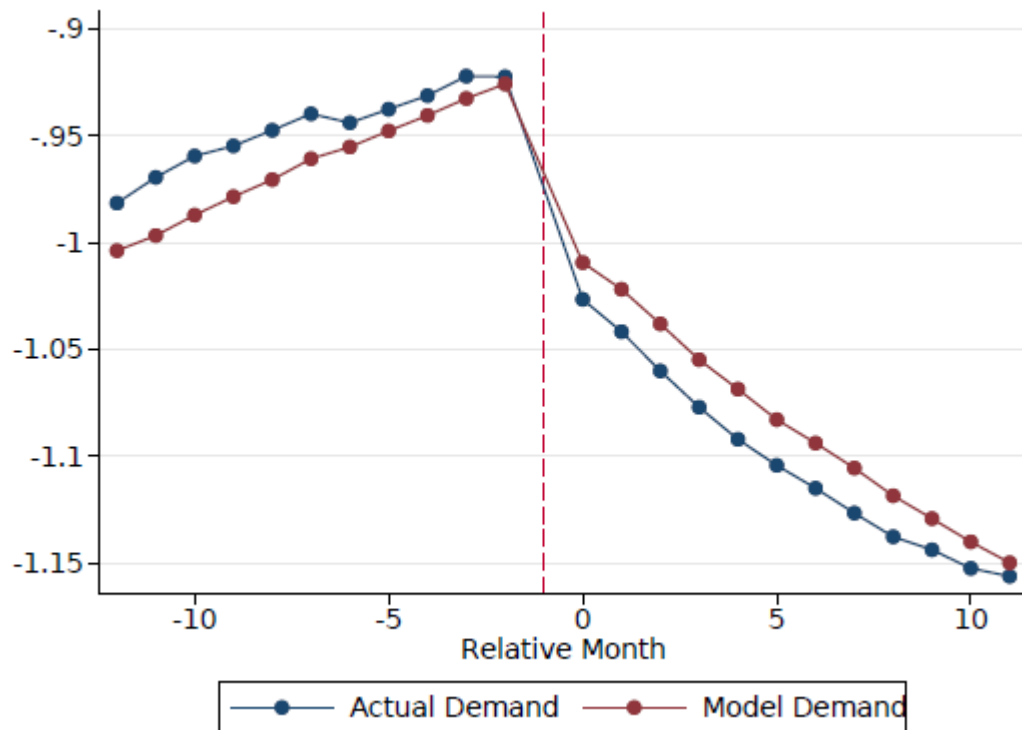
Model Estimates: Demand Elasticities and Adverse Selection

| | <i>(a) Demand Semi-Elasticity</i> | | <i>(b) Avg. Cost Slope (dAC/dP)</i> | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|--|---------------|
| | All Enrollees | New Enrollees | All Enrollees | New Enrollees |
| Overall | -0.016 | -0.029 | 0.899 | 1.685 |
| <i>By Plan</i> | | | | |
| BMC | -0.013 | -0.024 | 0.647 | 1.107 |
| CeltiCare | -0.037 | -0.041 | 0.891 | 1.057 |
| NHP | -0.021 | -0.037 | 1.376 | 3.060 |
| Network | -0.015 | -0.028 | 0.881 | 1.682 |
| <i>By Income Group</i> | | | | |
| 100-150% Poverty | -0.022 | -0.043 | 0.843 | 1.763 |
| 150-200% Poverty | -0.013 | -0.022 | 0.778 | 1.335 |
| 200-250% Poverty | -0.012 | -0.019 | 0.960 | 1.365 |
| 250-300% Poverty | -0.010 | -0.016 | 0.843 | 1.242 |

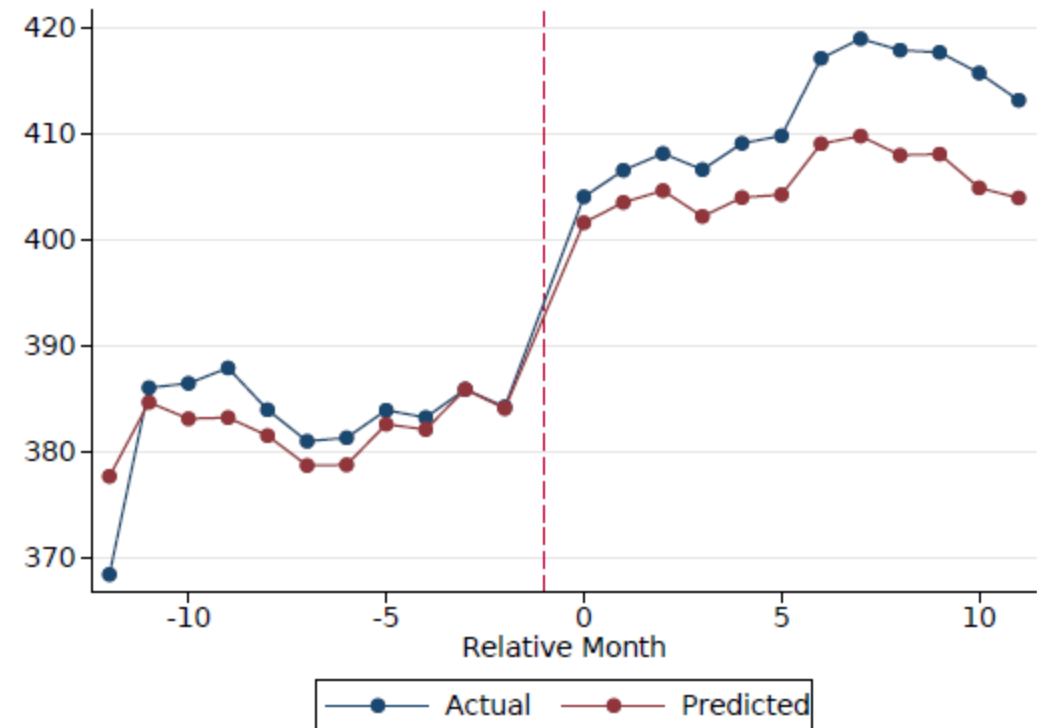
- **All** plans face adverse selection in pricing
 - $\frac{dAC}{dP} > 0$ for all plans
 - Consistent with competition with horizontal differentiation
- Slope of AC curve is close to 1.0 for all enrollees
 - Even larger for new enrollees (due to less inertia)

Model Validation: DD in Actual Demand vs. Structural Model

Market Shares



Average Costs



Policy Counterfactuals

- **Goals:** Understand impact of selection on equilibrium insurer participation, and impact of corrective policies (risk adjustment, price floors)
- **Nash equilibrium in two-stage entry game** (*solve by backward induction*)
 - Stage 2 (pricing): Search for Nash pricing equilibrium among firms $j \in E$ (careful grid search)
 - If no pure strategy equilibrium (occurs when market unravels), find mixed strategy equilibrium
 - Stage 1 (entry): (1) All entrants must earn non-negative profits, (2) No non-entrant can unilaterally enter and earn profits in stage 2 pricing equilibrium that results
- **Additional details:**
 - **Potential entrants:** Four statewide Massachusetts exchange plans
 - **Fixed costs:** In main analysis, use $F = \$0$ (conservative)
 - **Monopoly pricing:** Assume regulator imposes P ceiling of \$475 ($\approx 1.25*AC$) to constrain markups

Finding #1: Unraveling of Competition (w/out corrective policies)

| (1) Policy Scenario | (2) Entrants | (3) Prices | (4) Average price | (5) Surplus |
|------------------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------------|----------------|
|------------------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------------|----------------|

Panel (a): Equilibria as a function of risk adjustment and price floors

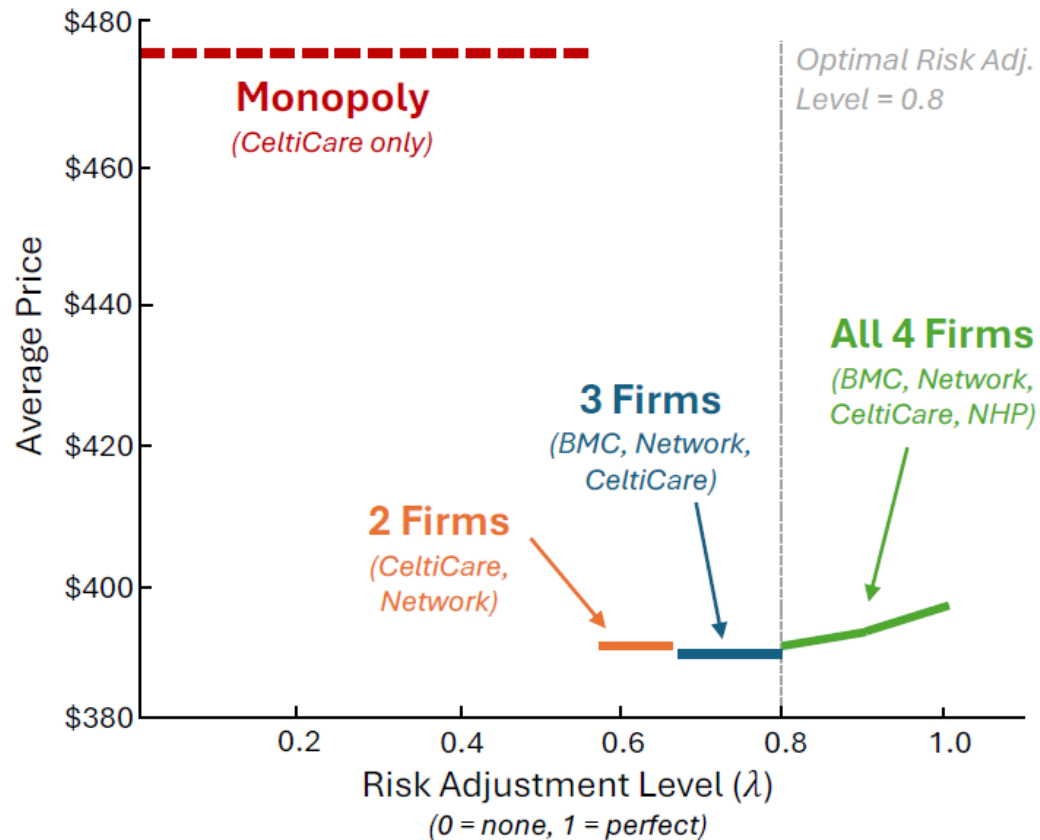
| | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|---------|-------|-----|
| (1) Actual Risk Adj. <i>(baseline)</i> | Monopoly <i>[CeltiCare]</i> | [\$475] | \$475 | \$0 |
| (2) No Risk Adj. <i>($\lambda = 0$)</i> | Monopoly <i>[CeltiCare]</i> | [\$475] | \$475 | \$0 |

➤ **“Un-natural Monopoly” is the only equilibria that survive**

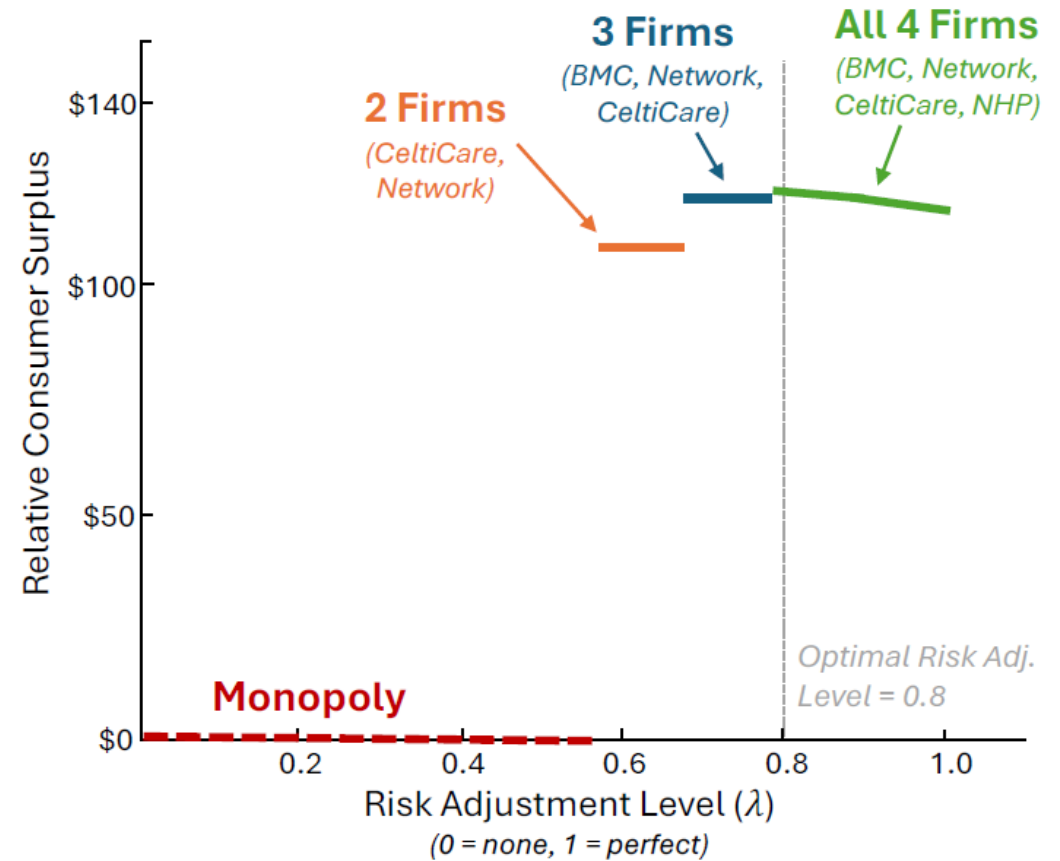
[→ Pricing Reaction Functions](#)

Finding #2: Risk Adjustment → Higher Entry, Often Lower Prices

(a) Average Price (\$/month)



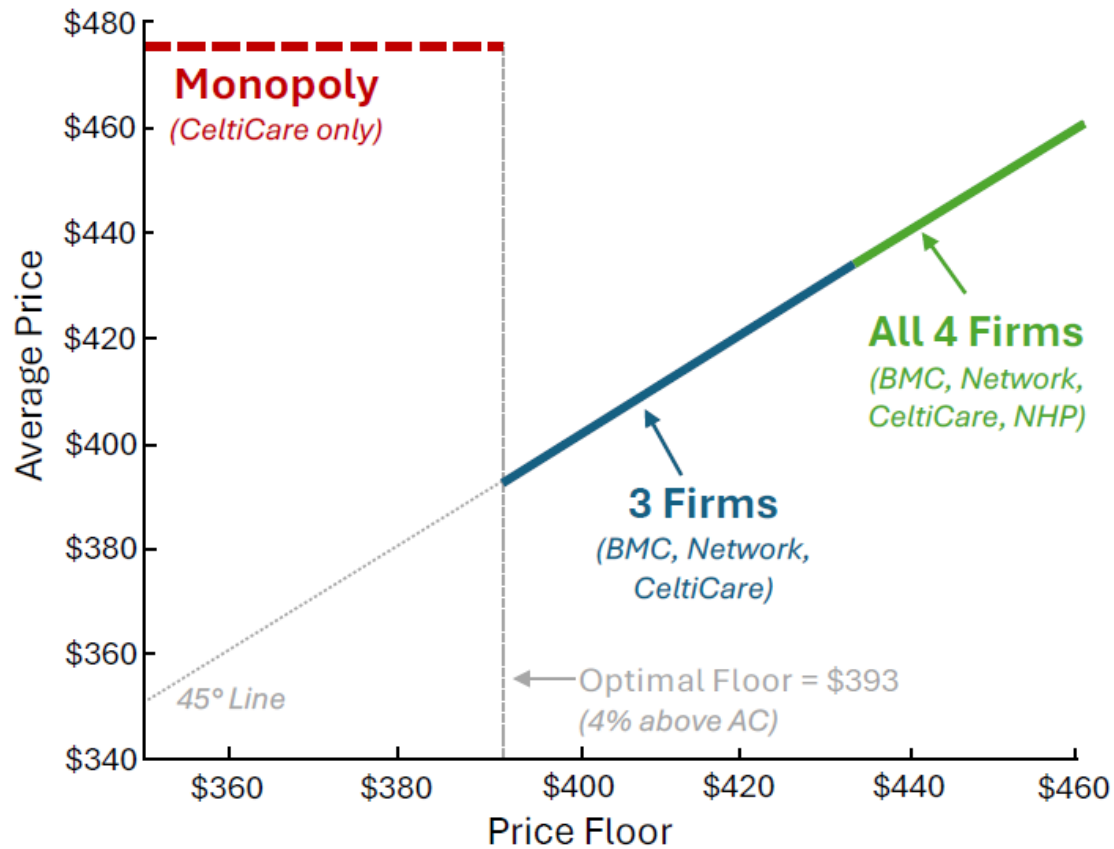
(b) Consumer Surplus (\$/month)



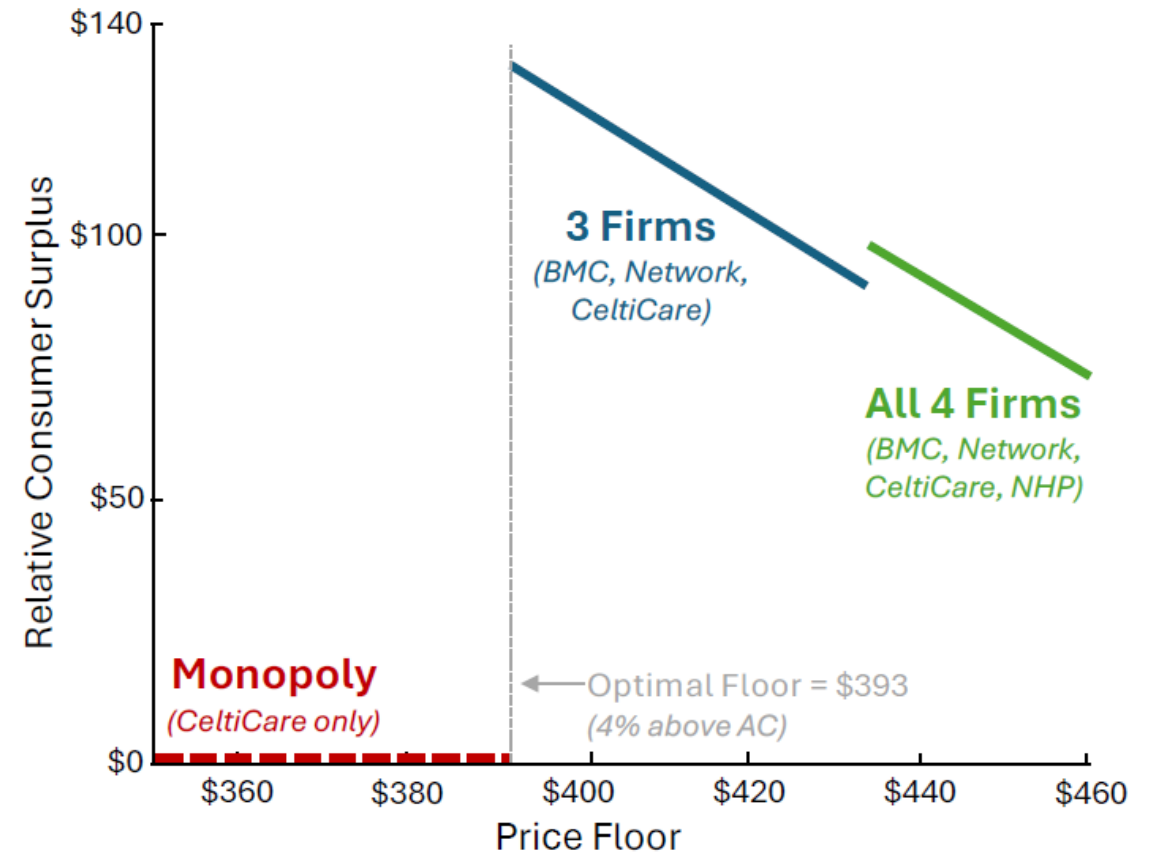
- **Take-aways:** (1) Strong risk adjustment ($\lambda > 0.6$) allows for more entry, lower prices
- (2) But this may be stronger than feasible (e.g., actual risk adj. was $\lambda \approx 0.10-0.30$)

Finding #3: Price Floors → Higher Entry, Often Optimal

(a) Average Price (\$/month)



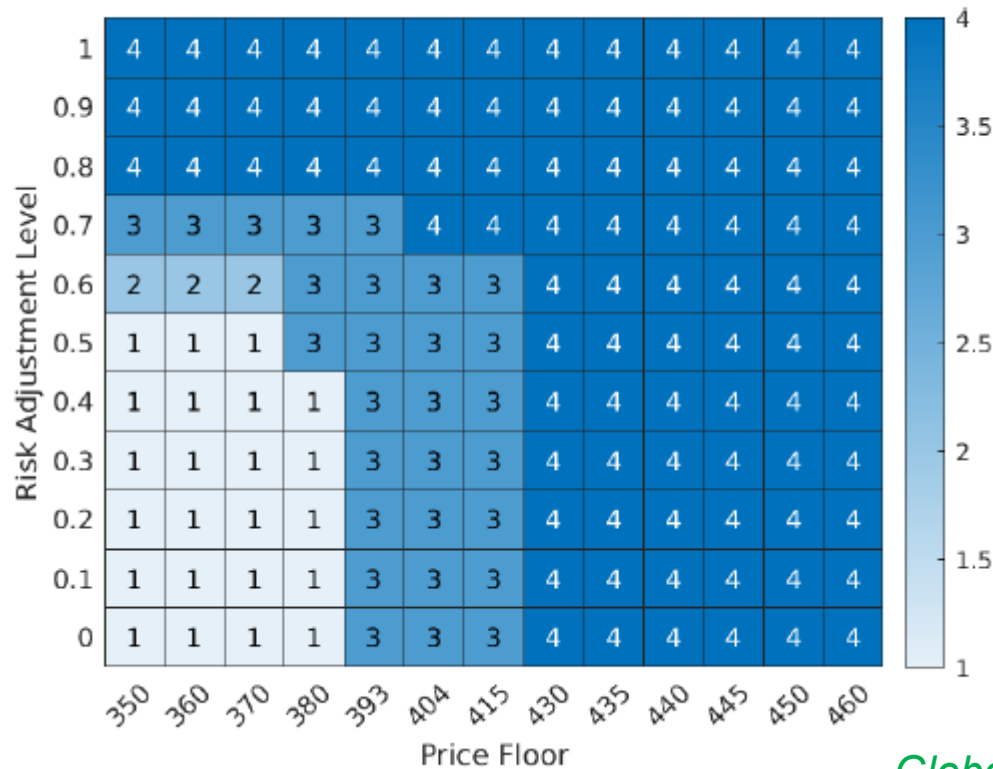
(b) Consumer Surplus (\$/month)



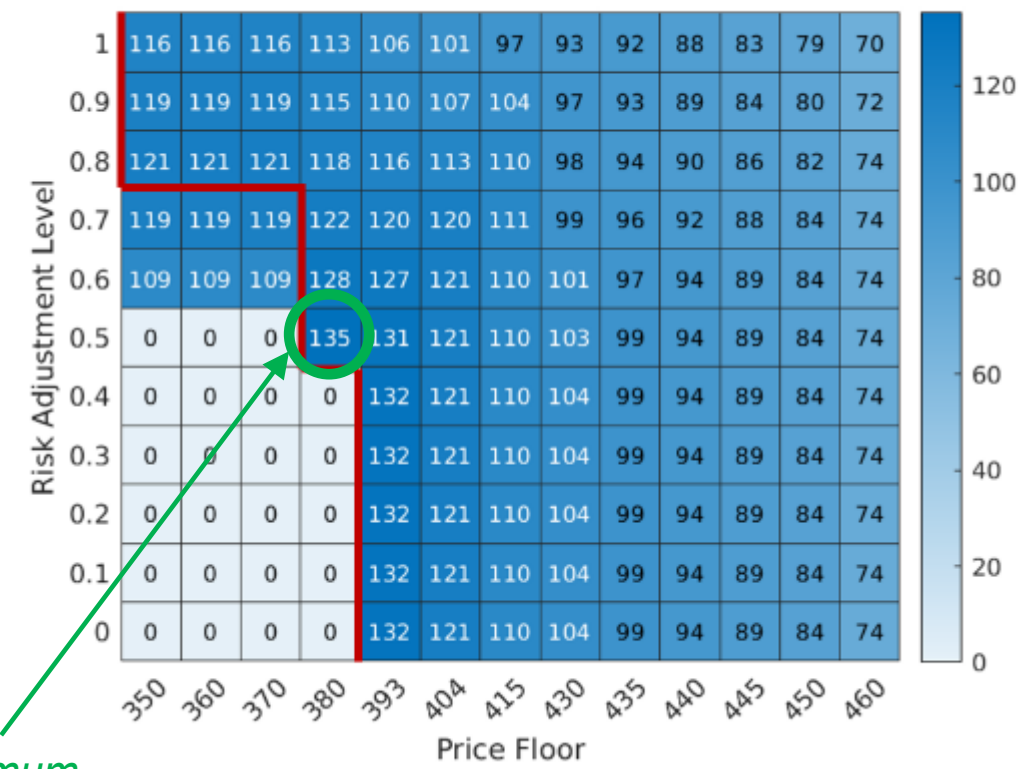
- **Take-aways:** Modest price floor (just above mkt avg costs of \$379) is a **win-win for consumers** → more entry/variety, lower prices, and very feasible policy. But higher price floors are not worth it.

Optimal Combination of Price Floors, Risk Adjustment

(a) Number of Firms



(b) Consumer Surplus (\$/month)



Global optimum

- **Optimal policy:** Modest risk adjustment + Modest price floor (just above mkt avg. costs of \$379). This leads to 3 of 4 firms entering, and relatively low prices.

Conclusion

Conclusion

- **Main point:** Adverse selection limits entry/competition in insurance markets
 - Behaves like fixed costs → downward-sloping AC curve → strong under-cutting incentives
 - In extreme case, market devolves to monopoly
- **Price floors may seem like unlikely policy choice, but they're actually widely used!**
 - MA, Part D have implicit price floors → could explain greater firm participation in these markets
- **Overall:** Provides a new framework to understand role of adverse selection and price competition (and policies to soften/regulate it) in selection markets.
 - Our paper suggests insurance markets are more “fragile” than previously understood.
 - The “managed” part of “managed competition” is critical to making market competition work.

Thank You!

General Results

1. **Limits on profitable pricing equilibrium:** In any profitable equilibrium P^* , no firm j can have an “undercutting deviation” $\tilde{P}_j < P_j^*$ s.t.

$$\frac{\Delta ATC_j}{\Delta P_j} > 1 \quad \leftrightarrow \quad \frac{\Delta AC_j}{\Delta P_j} > 1 - \tilde{\eta}_{j,P_j} \cdot \left(\frac{F_j}{D_j}\right)$$

2. **Limits on # of firms (N^*) in any symmetric pricing equilibrium:**

$$N^* < \left[\underbrace{\left(-\frac{\partial D_j / D_{Mkt}}{\partial P_j / P_j} \right)}_{\text{Share of all consumers attracted per 1\% price cut}} \times \underbrace{\left(\frac{AC_j - MC_j}{P_j} \right)}_{\% \text{ Lower cost that marginal consumers are (selection)}} \right]^{-1}$$

- Example (based on our empirical work): If a 5% price undercut attracts 20% of consumers with 15% below-average cost $\rightarrow N^* < 1.67$
 - No symmetric equilibrium with 2+ firms (less clear whether can support asymmetric eq.)

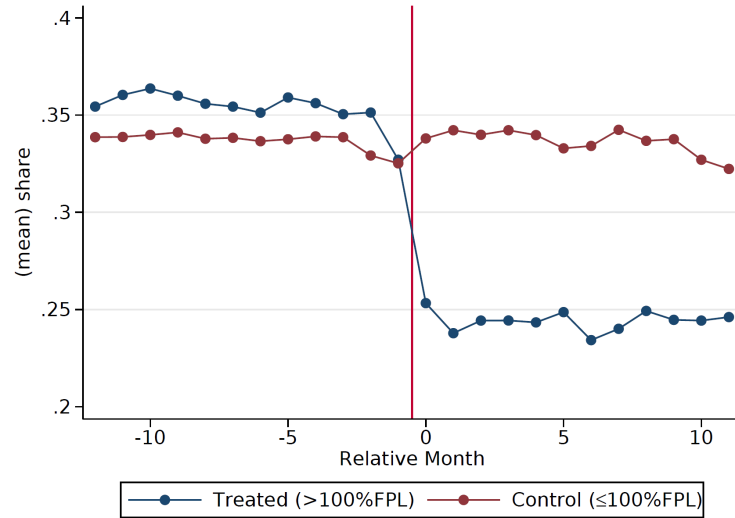
Difference-in-differences with Risk-Adjusted Average Costs

| | Baseline All Enrollees (1) | By Enrollee Type New Enrollees (2) Current Enrollees (3) | | By Enrollee Risk Low Risk (0-25%) (4) Mid Risk (25-75%) (5) High Risk (75-100%) (6) | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|---|----------------------|----------------------|
| Panel (a): Regression results | | | | | | |
| Premium | 17.87*** (1.45) | 17.90*** (1.56) | 17.08*** (1.43) | 17.25*** (1.47) | 18.09*** (1.44) | 17.79*** (1.51) |
| Log Market Share (risk wgt.) | -0.137*** (0.017) | -0.376*** (0.038) | -0.049*** (0.014) | -0.248*** (0.025) | -0.169*** (0.018) | -0.118*** (0.017) |
| Average Costs (risk-adjusted) | 6.185** (2.28) | 13.60*** (3.49) | 8.345* (3.33) | --- | --- | --- |
| Panel (b): Theory-Relevant Statistics | | | | | | |
| Demand Semi-Elasticity | -0.0077 | -0.0210 | -0.0029 | -0.0144 | -0.0093 | -0.0066 |
| Slope of Avg Costs (risk adj.) | 0.35 | 0.76 | 0.49 | --- | --- | --- |
| Adverse Selection Wedge [% of Avg Cost] | \$45.1 [12%] | \$36.2 [9%] | \$168.9 [44%] | --- | --- | --- |
| Num. Observations | 5,888 | 4,922 | 5,750 | 5,359 | 5,819 | 5,612 |
| Risk Adj Average Cost (\$/month) | \$383 | \$394 | \$385 | \$131 | \$239 | \$897 |

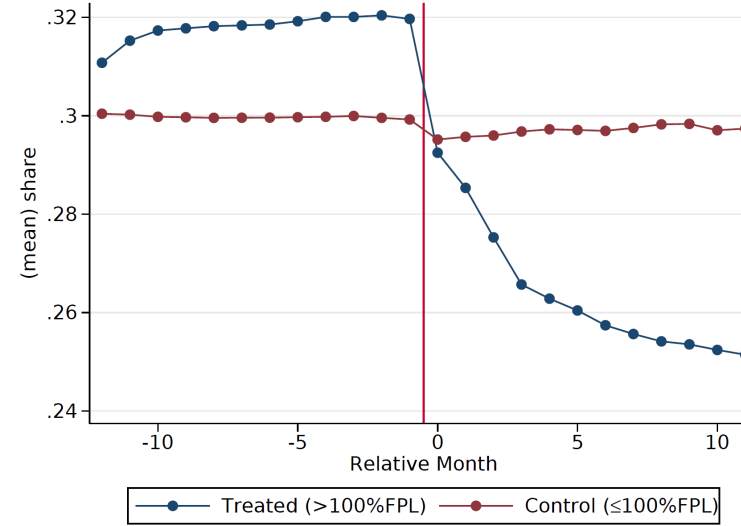
Standard errors reported in parentheses. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, and * $p < 0.10$.

Effect of premium increase on average plan shares

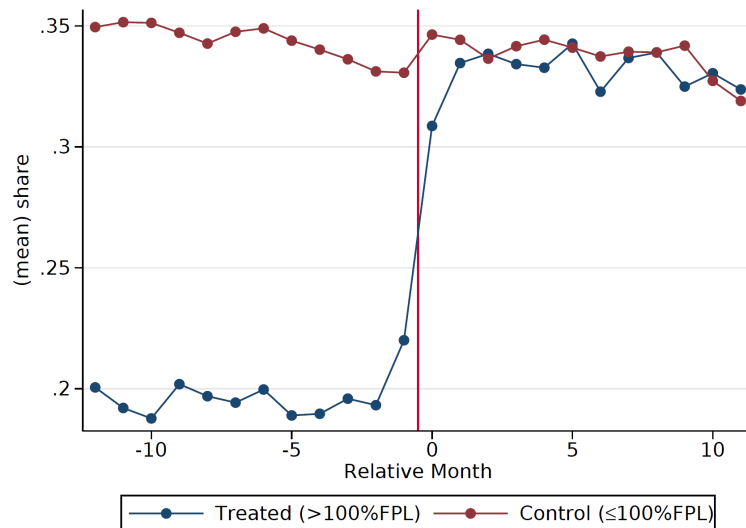
New enrollees, Premium Increase



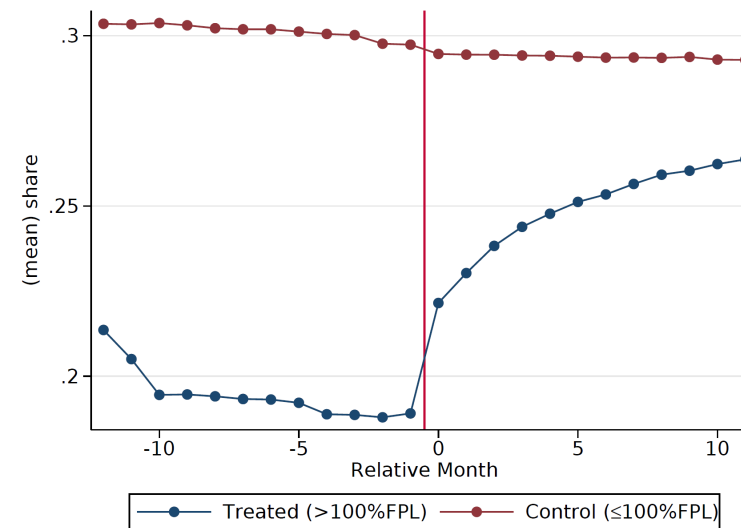
All enrollees, Premium Increase



New enrollees, Premium Decrease

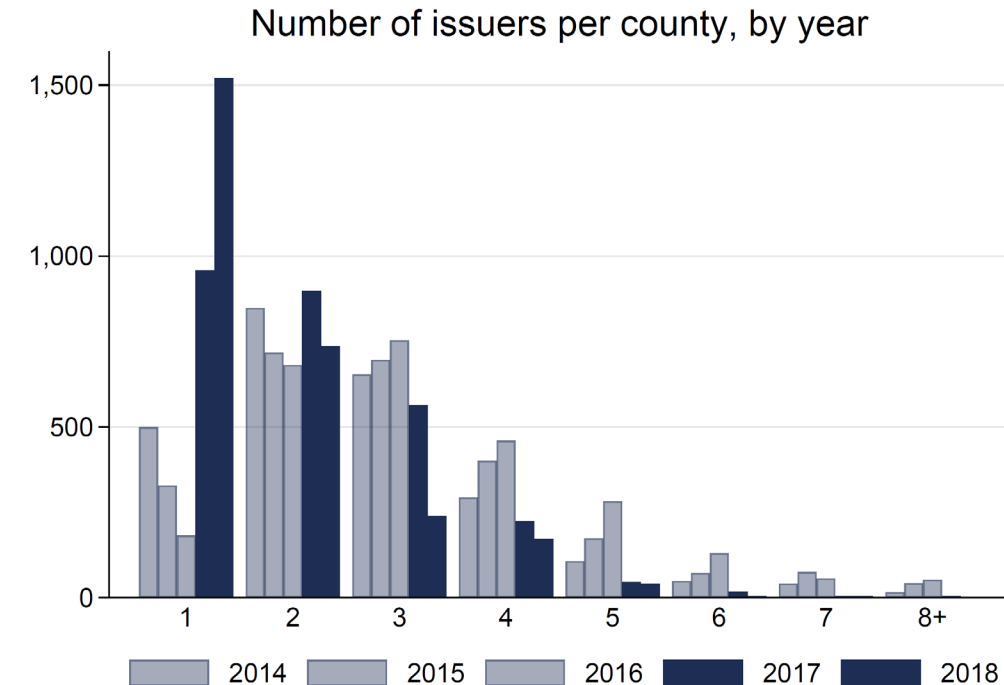


All enrollees Premium Decrease



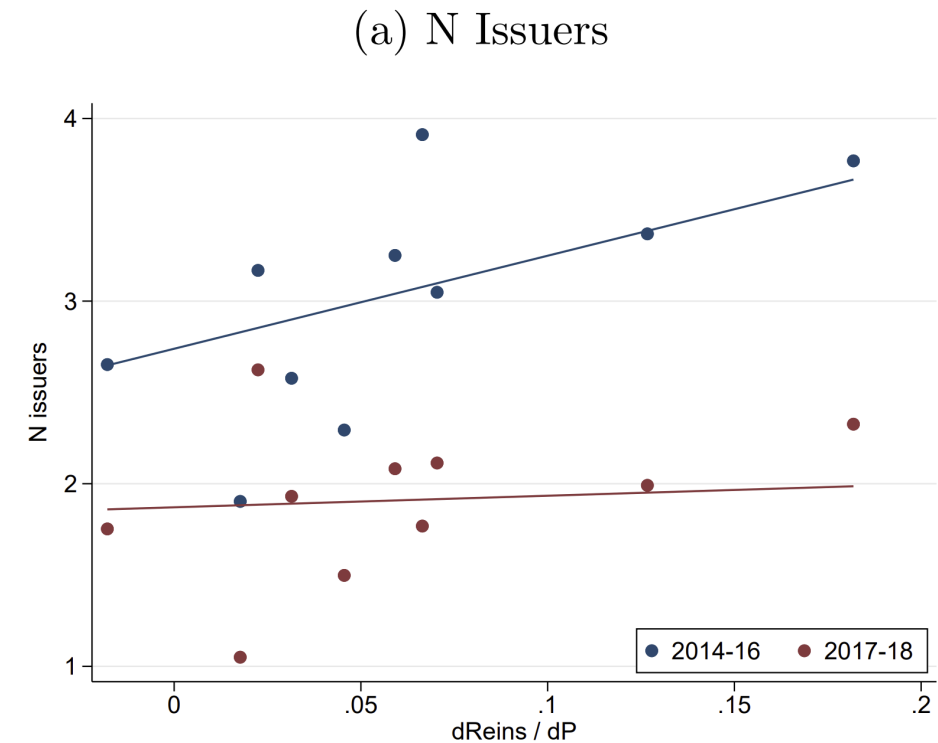
Explaining firm exit in the ACA

- In 2016, the ACA reinsurance scheme expired
- Over the next 2 years, the number of monopoly counties increased from <250 to >1500.
- Our model predicts that removing reinsurance increases the slope of the average cost curve (dAC/dP), leading to exit
- To test this, we estimate state-specific “reinsurance slopes” ($dReinsurance/dP$)
- On average, $dReinsurance/dP$ was about 1.3. That is, reinsurance significantly flattened the dAC/dP slope
- In a diff-in-diff framework, we find that states with larger reinsurance slopes (and hence more steepening of their dAC/dP curves after 2016) have more exit
- The dAC/dP effect can explain >20% of the decrease in # of firms per county



Explaining firm exit in the ACA

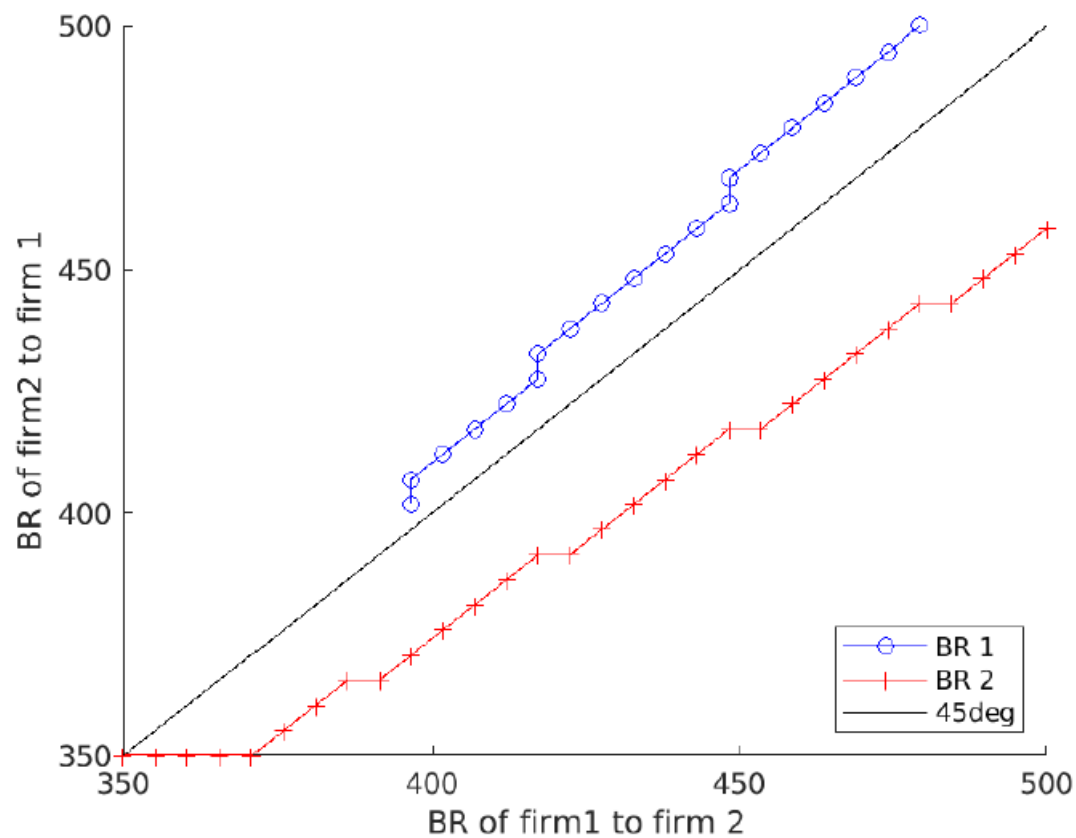
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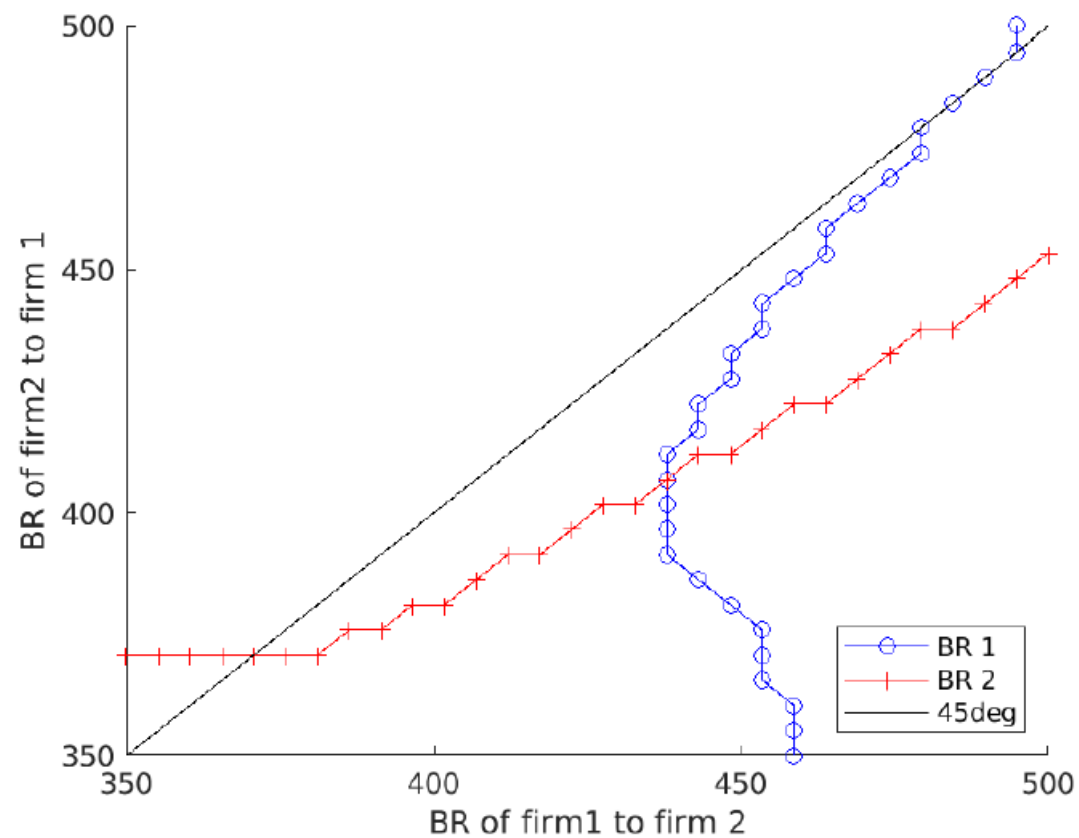
Pricing Best Response Functions

Figure 9. Best Response Curves for BMC and Celticare

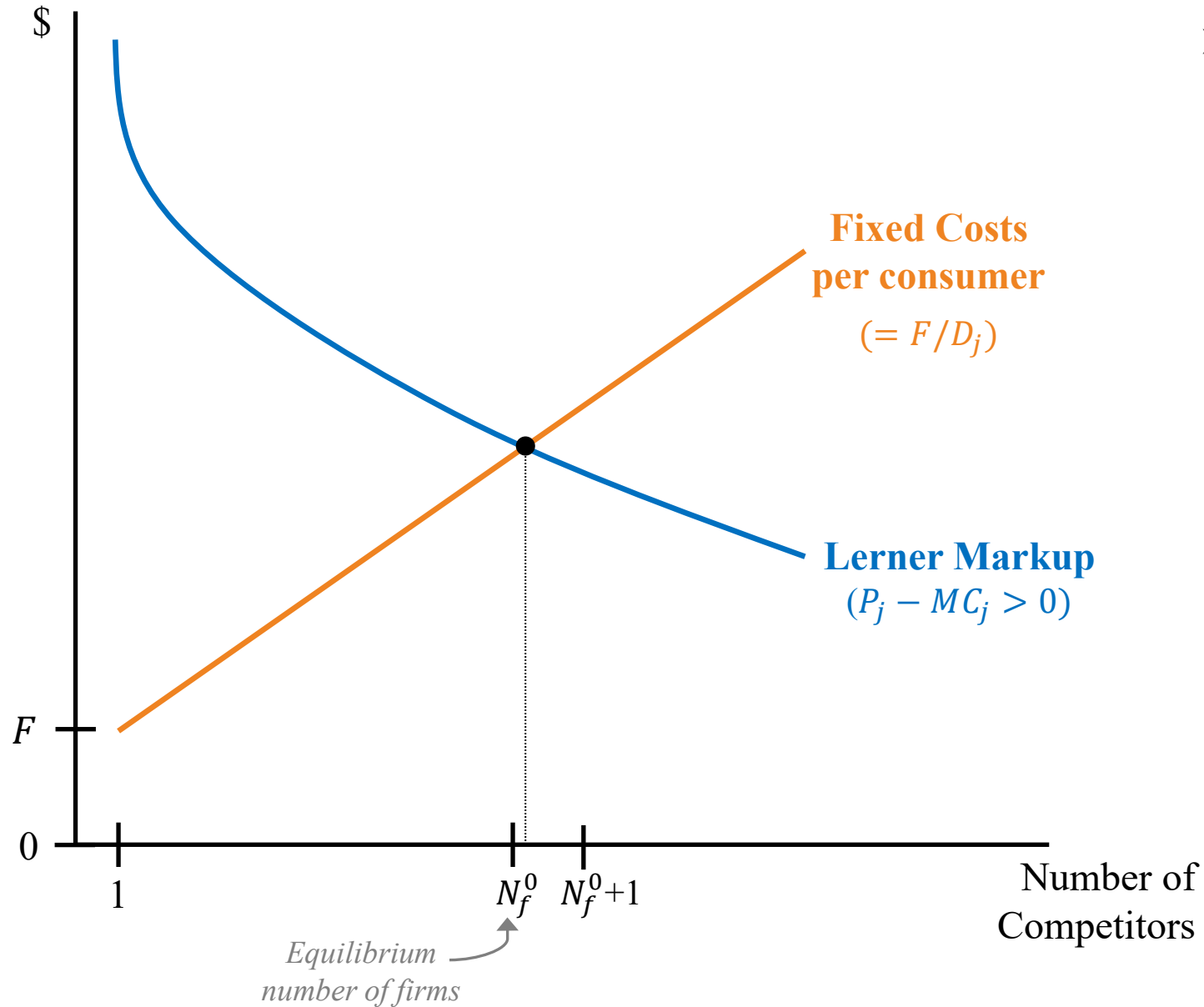
(a) No Risk Adjustment



(b) Perfect Risk Adjustment

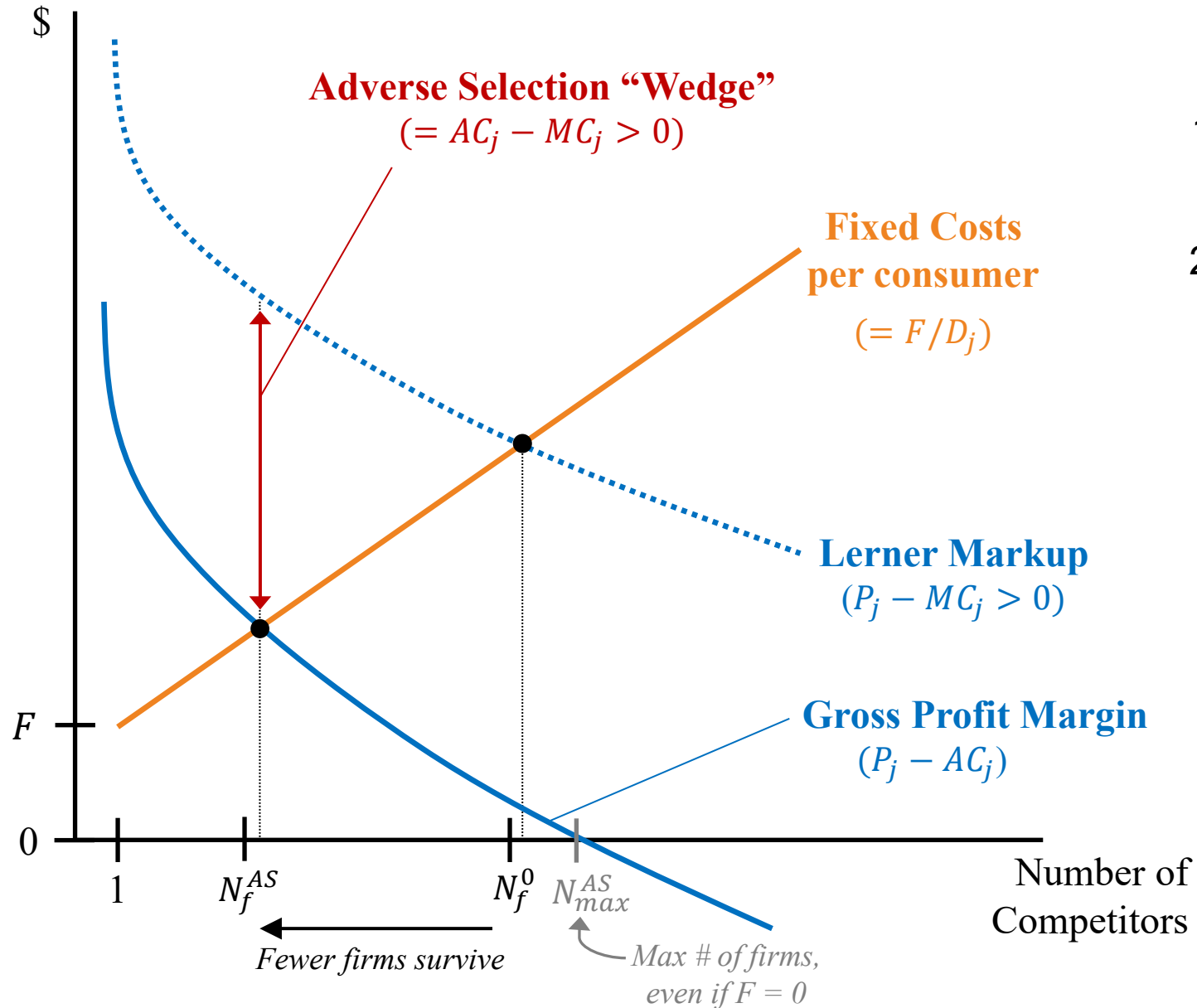


Firm Entry: Market without Adverse Selection



➤ Note: Curves based on simple example with symmetric firms, homogenous fixed costs (e.g., Salop, 1979)

Firm Entry: With Adverse Selection



Implications

1. Fewer firms can compete in equilibrium
2. Limit on how many firms can compete, even without fixed costs