Equal Opportunity Rate Hikes

Rising State Insurance Premiums
Not Unique to Medical Malpractice

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Acknowledgments

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About Public Citizen

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The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) recently released a report entitled *Confronting the New Health Care Crisis: Improving Health Care Quality and Lowering Costs By Fixing Our Medical Liability System.*\(^1\) This report, which stated that increasing litigation “raids the wallets of every American” by raising the cost of medical care and thus the cost of health insurance, is best characterized as an advocacy paper on medical malpractice, rather than a factually accurate and well-reasoned analysis of the causes of rising medical malpractice rates.

This is not the first time that medical malpractice insurance rates have spiked upwards. Earlier “crises” (in 1975-6 and 1985-6) similar to today’s “crisis” were due to declining investment fortunes and failed pricing practices of the insurance industry rather than an increase in medical malpractice filings and awards. Then, as now, the insurance industry covered its losses by raising rates dramatically, then blamed the lawyers of innocent patients rightfully seeking compensation for negligence-related injuries.

The *Equal Opportunity Rate Hikes* report’s state-by-state analysis (see page 4) of rising insurance rates across the industry’s product lines is evidence that this “crisis” is due to the underlying economics and business decisions of the industry – not litigation. Physicians, their insurers and Members of Congress should stop blaming the victims of malpractice, or their lawyers, and instead focus on the real culprits – the insurance industry.

Consider the following:

**Medical malpractice insurance rates have remained relatively flat. Only in the past year have malpractice premiums “skyrocketed.”**

- From 1996 to 2000 the total cost of medical malpractice premiums increased 18.9% – less than 4% per year.\(^2\)

- Medical malpractice premium increases have simply kept pace with medical inflation. From 1996 to 2000, the medical care CPI increased 17.6%.\(^3\)

- Doctors in 1997 (latest year available) paid 25 percent less of their average annual incomes for malpractice insurance than they did in 1985, according to the Statistical Abstract of the United States.\(^4\)
The same trends are present in other lines of insurance.

- Medical malpractice insurance premiums for the three riskiest specialties increased 10% from 2000 to 2001.\(^5\)
- Auto insurance premiums increased 8.4% from 2000 to 2001.\(^6\)
- Homeowners insurance premiums increased 8% from 2000 to 2001.\(^7\)
- Health insurance premiums increased 11% from 2000 to 2001.\(^8\)

**Have medical malpractice claims and awards “skyrocketed?”**

- The number of claims per 100 doctors has remained surprisingly constant over the years. Nationwide, the total number of claims closed per 100 doctors was 16.8% in 1991 and 16.7% in 1996.\(^9\) Data for succeeding years is not available because not all claims filed in those years are closed.

- The average medical malpractice payment for all claims closed was virtually flat from 1991 ($29,093) to 1996 ($29,504).\(^10\) Data for succeeding years is not available because not all claims filed in those years are closed.

- The average medical malpractice payment for claims closed with payment climbed 19% from 1991 ($100,172) to 1996 (119,296).\(^11\) This is a modest increase when compared to the corresponding 34.9% increase in the medical care CPI over the same period.\(^12\)

**Doctors are the victims of insurance companies that made bad business decisions.**

- According to the International Risk Management Institute (IRMI): “What is happening to the market for medical malpractice insurance in 2001 is a direct result of trends and events present since the mid to late 1990s. Throughout the 1990s, and reaching a peak around 1997 and 1998, insurers were on a quest for market share, that is, they were driven more by the amount of premium they could book rather than the adequacy of premiums to pay losses. In large part this emphasis on market share was driven by a desire to accumulate large amounts of capital with which to turn into investment income.”\(^13\)

- Added IRMI: “Clearly a business cannot continue operating in that fashion indefinitely. Indeed, this has been the case for such long time writers of professional liability insurance as Frontier, Reliance, and P.I.E. Mutual. These companies, who suffered through several years of weakening performance, have been liquidated or are otherwise inactive.”\(^14\)
Additionally, questionable business practices by the country’s former leading medical malpractice insurer, St. Paul Companies, caused their newly chosen Chief Executive, Jay Fisher, to announce in December that the company would drop the line of coverage after St. Paul reported a $980 million loss on the business for 2001.\textsuperscript{15}

Limiting patients’ rights to sue would not reduce health care costs.

- Total malpractice premiums as a percent of total health care costs amounted to just 56 cents out of every $100 dollars in the year 2000.\textsuperscript{16}

- Based on that small share of the total health care budget, even if Congress eliminated all legal rights of consumers to hold doctors and other health care providers accountable for malpractice the cost “savings” would only be about one-half of one percent of every dollar spent on health care.

- PricewaterhouseCoopers, in a report for the American Association of Health Plans, revealed that while health insurance premiums increased an average of 13.7 percent from 2001 to 2002, less than 1 percent is attributable to the cost of litigation and malpractice (including malpractice premiums).\textsuperscript{17}
State by State Analysis of Equal Opportunity Rate Hikes

The Department of Health and Human Services reported that medical malpractice rates increased between 11–17 percent in 2000 and may have increased 20 percent in 2001. As these rates have increased due to economic and management factors, the insurance rates in other categories – automobile, healthcare, property/casualty, homeowner, commercial and workers’ compensation – have also risen. To put these rate hikes into perspective, the following is a list of similar insurance rate increases in selected states.

Methodological Note: The following quotes about state-based insurance increases are taken from a limited media survey encompassing state and national press coverage for the past two years. A more exhaustive search covering additional states and using other sources is underway by Public Citizen.

Arkansas

**Homeowners Insurance**

- “State Farm in April 2002 got permission to increase homeowners’ rates in Arkansas by an average of 23 percent, Deputy Insurance Commissioner Lenita Blasingame said.”\(^{18}\)
- State Farm Insurance, the state’s largest insurer of homes, on June 20, 2002 said it would stop writing new homeowner policies in Arkansas and 16 other states.\(^{19}\)

California

**Health Insurance**

- Many companies in the state “are bracing for health insurance costs that could rise from 10 percent to 50 percent by the end of 2003. The premiums – which rose as much as 18 percent from 2001 to 2002 – are poised for another climb, with providers passing increases on to the insurers who, in turn, pass them on to the companies.”\(^{20}\) (Note: The HHS report touts the California medical malpractice law as a “success” in part because it kept insurance premiums much lower than the rest of the country. But apparently, this success does not translate into lower insurance costs.)

**Automobile Insurance**

- “Insurers that were cutting rates in 1998 and 1999 are filing rate hike requests by the dozen, regulators said. Although the average rate hike is about 8 percent statewide, insurers said their high-risk drivers are likely to face double-digit premium boosts, with low-risk drivers enjoying little change.”\(^{21}\)

**Homeowners Insurance**

- “Analysts have said the rating actions make it more likely that State Farm will ask for rate increases beyond the two 6.9 percent hikes it already has requested, and that other insurers may follow suit. Homeowners’ insurance premiums have risen significantly in the state. In the last two years, Farmers Insurance Group, the state’s second-largest insurer, has asked for five rate increases ranging from 5 percent to 6.9 percent, while Allstate Corp. has applied for a 22.3 percent hike.”\(^{22}\)
- In June 2002, State Farm Insurance Cos. stopped writing new homeowners policies in 17 states, including California.\(^{23}\)
Workers’ Compensation Insurance
- “Premiums for workers’ comp insurance have risen 20 percent or more since last summer, with no end in sight.”  

Connecticut
Automobile Insurance
- “By mid-May, regulators had approved auto insurers’ increases for 2002 that ranged as high as 25 percent and averaged 7.2 percent statewide. Some consumers could see even larger increases because their insurers are adding more pricing tiers and becoming pickier about who qualifies for the tiers with the lowest rates.”

Homeowners Insurance
- “In homeowners insurance, rate hikes are averaging 8 percent statewide, with some topping 20 percent. And those increases are in addition to annual inflation adjustments of 4 percent to 8 percent that companies apply to the main portion of a homeowner’s policy.”

Florida
Health Insurance
- Rate increases are between 20 and 28 percent this year.

Automobile Insurance
- “Despite 2001 legislation to lower automobile insurance rates in Florida, six of the top 10 writers of private passenger auto have been approved to raise rates by as much as 10.6 percent, the Department of Insurance said. Among writers of standard coverage, Allstate Insurance Co. raised rates on average statewide by 10.6 percent; USAA raised rates 5 percent, and Nationwide Mutual Insurance Co. raised rates 6 percent. Among nonstandard writers covering high-risk drivers, Allstate Indemnity Insurance Co. raised rates statewide by 11.2 percent; USAA Casualty raised rates by 3.7 percent, and Progressive Express Insurance Co. raised rates by 12.2 percent.”

- In June 2002, a request for higher rates: “Several of the state’s largest auto insurers in recent weeks have received approval for rate increases that could be as high as 18 percent in South Florida, according to the state Department of Insurance.”

Homeowners Insurance
- “State Farm Florida, the state’s largest insurer, said it will stop selling new homeowners policies in the state [in June 2002] following regulators’ rejection of a rate increase.”
- “Insurance Commissioner Tom Gallagher rejected State Farm’s request for an average increase of 22 percent on homeowners’ policies [in June 2002], saying it was ‘excessive and unjustified’ … State Farm had gotten a 14 percent rate increase in January based on losses from claims. It also was allowed a 6.4 percent premium increase last year.”
- “Winter Haven-based State Farm Florida was also seeking increases in property insurance rates for condominium and apartment building owners that would average 132 percent statewide.”
- “The insurer [State Farm] has already raised homeowners insurance rates twice before – an average 14.3 percent in January and 6.4 percent in 2001.”
- State Farm announced in May 2002 new rates that will increase “by an average 22 percent throughout the state starting in July, only six months after hiking rates an average 14.2 percent.”
Georgia

Health Insurance

- “Health insurance premiums for private businesses in Georgia are expected to increase about 8.5 percent each year between 2002 and 2005, forcing many employers to reduce benefits, require employees to contribute a ‘greater share’ of costs or stop offering insurance, a new study from the National Coalition on Health Care has found.” 35

Workers’ Compensation Insurance

- Marsh Inc., an Atlanta risk and insurance company, said rates will “increase an average of 10 to 20 percent” workers’ compensation, employee health care benefit plans, general liability, directors and officers liability and employment practices liability.” 36

Louisiana

Automobile Insurance

- “State Farm Insurance Co. said it will no longer accept new auto insurance customers in Louisiana and will seek a 16 percent premium increase that would bring in an additional $151 million. Word of State Farm’s impending auto rate request came about a month after the company was granted a 12 percent, or $25 million rate increase for its homeowners line, according to state representatives.” 37

Homeowners Insurance

- “The Louisiana Insurance Rating Commission granted Allstate Insurance a 12 percent increase on homeowners premiums Wednesday, but delayed State Farm’s request to hike auto rates by an average 16 percent.” 38

- In June 2002, State Farm Insurance Cos. stopped writing new homeowners policies in 17 states, including Louisiana. 39

Property/Casualty Insurance

- “Annual property/casualty insurance rates increased by an average of 31 percent in March, according to a survey of renewals by Internet-based distribution company MarketScout Inc.” 40

Maryland

Automobile Insurance

- “State Farm Insurance Co., the largest homeowner insurer in the state with nearly a quarter of the market, said it needs the 25.2 percent boost because of increases in the number of claims and in the average payment per claim.” 41

- “According to the Maryland Insurance Administration, rates at Travelers Property Casualty Corp. are going up 11.9 percent; Allstate Corp. raised rates 20 percent in January and will raise them an additional 10 percent in October; Nationwide Insurance’s rates will go up 15.5 percent; and Erie Insurance Group’s will go up 9.8 percent. United Services Automobile Association and Farmers Insurance are raising rates 20 percent.” 42

Homeowners Insurance

- In June 2002, State Farm Insurance Cos. stopped writing new homeowners policies in 17 states, including Maryland. 43
**Michigan**

**Automobile Insurance**
- “The cost of auto insurance is about to take a big leap this year, thanks to a premium increase from $14.41 to $71.15 [a 71 percent hike] from the Michigan Catastrophic Claims Association.”

**Missouri**

**Automobile Insurance**
- The average auto insurance expenditure next year is expected to reach $855, compared with $668 in 1995.”

**Homeowners Insurance**
- In June 2002, State Farm Insurance Cos. stopped writing new homeowners policies in 17 states, including Missouri.
- “State Farm, which insures one of every four homes in Missouri, imposed a 13 percent average hike statewide in May to help recover from a reported $5 billion in losses last year. In January, the company raised its overall auto insurance rate in Missouri by 4.3 percent.”
- “Shelter Insurance this spring also increased its homeowner rates by an average of 16 percent. Shelter has more than 1.6 million policies in 13 states in insurance lines such as home and auto.”

**Workers’ Compensation Insurance**
- “Reinsurance and medical inflation is squeezing MEM’s workers’ comp business, which covers nearly 20 percent of Missouri’s market. The company raised rates an average of 8.7 percent for 2002 and expects further increases in 2003.”

**Montana**

**Automobile Insurance**
- “State Farm Mutual Automobile Insurance Co. will raise its overall rate level in Montana an average of 10.7 percent on April 1. The company is the largest auto insurer in Montana.”

**Health Insurance**
- “Tanya Ask of Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Montana said the state’s 10 percent to 13 percent cost increases for employee health insurance are on par with national trends. She said new technology, an aging population that needs more medical attention and higher prescription drug costs all add up to substantial increases in the cost of providing health insurance.”

**Homeowners Insurance**
- In June 2002, State Farm Insurance Cos. stopped writing new homeowners policies in 17 states, including Montana.

**Nevada**

**Health Insurance**
- “Sierra Health Services, the largest health insurance company in Nevada, anticipates premiums will climb between 9 percent and 20 percent, depending on the kind of health insurance product. Nevada Care, the state’s second largest HMO, hopes to keep its price increases below the 17 percent national average increase being predicted by Seattle-based employee benefits consultant Milliman USA.”
**Homeowners Insurance**

- “State Farm raised rates on homeowners insurance by 3.2 percent effective Dec. 1 on new policies and followed with a second increase of 8.5 percent effective April 1. The rate increases became effective a couple of weeks later for existing policies.”

**Homeowners Insurance**

- In June 2002, State Farm Insurance Cos. said it would restrict sales of new policies in Nevada.

**New Jersey**

**Homeowners Insurance**

- State Farm Insurance announced in June 2001 it would “pull out of the Garden State’s auto market.”

**Commercial Insurance**

- “According to Vernon Hill, chief executive of Commerce Bancorp, parent company of Commerce National Insurance Services, commercial insurance rates for businesses in New Jersey have risen 20 to 300 percent since the attacks. The annual cost of liability coverage on the Meadowlands Sports Complex in East Rutherford more than tripled from $700,000 to $2.4 million, said spokesman Dan Emmer.”

**New Mexico**

**Health Insurance**

- “Employee benefits specialist Mike Berg, of Northwestern Mutual Financial Network, said his 200 commercial customers faced rate increases ranging from 20 percent to 45 percent last year.”

**Property/Casualty Insurance**

- “Businesses can expect their property and casualty insurance rates to rise anywhere from 20 to 100 percent this year, industry participants report,” said Tom Padilla, a vice president with Manuel Lujan Insurance Inc. “(A)s a rule of thumb we’re telling people to be prepared for a 20 to 25 percent rate increase. On the high side we’re seeing 50 to 100 percent, sometimes more.”

**North Carolina**

**Health Insurance**

- “Blue Cross and Blue Shield of North Carolina made $48.7 million on its core health insurance business in 2001, a nearly 31 percent jump from the previous year, and experienced growth in revenue and membership, the company reported Tuesday. But despite the strong performance, Blue Cross members will still face steep rate increases, which the company says are necessary to keep a firm handle on the rising cost of prescription drugs, new medical technologies and other medical costs. Blue Cross is expecting medical costs to rise by nearly 20 percent, and that means premiums would increase by at least that much. And the state’s largest health insurer isn’t alone: Most health insurers have raised rates sharply to keep up with rising medical costs and increasing demand for medical care.”

- “Rick Lutovsky, the [Ashville Chamber of Commerce] president and CEO, said his organization also is struggling with the issue as it received a 48 percent increase in health insurance premiums for chamber employees this year.”
Property/Casualty Insurance
- “Upheaval in the property-and-casualty business came as insurers were already raising rates to compensate for lower returns on their investments. Insurers make money by underwriting — collecting more money than they pay out in claims and investing. With the stock market faltering, they’re turning to premium increases to shore up their bottom lines. In 2001, businesses saw premiums jump by as much as 10 percent.”62 Said Larry Roland, president of the Independent Insurance Agents of North Carolina, “They’ll see 20 percent to 30 percent average increases in 2002.”63

Homeowners Insurance
- In June 2002, State Farm Insurance Cos. stopped writing new homeowners policies in 17 states, including North Carolina.64

Ohio
Automobile Insurance
- “The average cost of home and auto insurance for Ohioans is expected to increase 6 percent to 7 percent in 2002 for the second year in a row.”65

Homeowners Insurance
- “The average cost of home and auto insurance for Ohioans is expected to increase 6 percent to 7 percent in 2002 for the second year in a row.”66
- “The largest insurers doing business in Ohio have increased homeowner rates significantly this year. State Farm, the market leader, raised rates 3.9 percent. Columbus-based Nationwide, the second-largest home insurer, increased rates 9.7 percent, the Ohio Department of Insurance said. …Farmers Insurance had the biggest increase, 25.3 percent.”67
- “Statewide, homeowner’s rates are going up 16 percent this year, or $56 for the average home.”68

Oregon
Health Insurance
- “The majority of Oregon and Southwest Washington health insurers last year pushed up premiums more steeply than their payouts for medical care increased. On a per-member basis, the average monthly premium went up 12 percent, compared with an 8 percent increase in medical spending, according to an analysis by The Oregonian of annual financial reports made public in April.”69

Homeowners Insurance
- In June 2002, State Farm Insurance Cos. stopped writing new homeowners policies in 17 states, including Oregon.70

Pennsylvania
Health Insurance
- “To the dismay of many subscribers, the Blues have raised premium rates by about 10 to 15 percent annually in recent years.”71

Automobile Insurance
- “American International Insurance Co., New Jersey’s sixth-largest auto-insurance carrier, has agreed to suspend its planned withdrawal from the state for two years in exchange for an average 8.9 percent rate increase.”72
“About 15 months ago, American International Insurance, a member of the AIG insurance group, filed for a 20.1 percent rate increase and submitted plans to withdraw from the state’s auto-insurance market.”

“Since Nov. 7, the state has also approved rate increases for State Farm Indemnity (7 percent), Colonial Penn (12.9 percent), Liberty Mutual Fire Co. (6 percent), and Liberty Insurance Corp. (8.9 percent).”

Property/Casualty Insurance

“Bethlehem Area school directors learned Monday that next year’s property and liability insurance will more than double to at least $505,982.”

For grocers “Premiums are on the rise, with the property/casualty sector increasing 4.9 percent in 2000, compared with 1.9 percent in 1999, according to A.M. Best Co., an Oldwick, N.J.-based insurance tracking firm.”

Rhode Island

Health Insurance

“Premiums went up 18 percent in Rhode Island from 1998 to 2000, a higher rate than the 10-percent increase in New England and the 11 percent nationally. But the increase may have corrected artificially low rates in Rhode Island that had strained insurers’ financial health. In 2000, the average monthly premium of a Rhode Island HMO was $172, very close to the New England average of $176. In 1999, Rhode Island rates averaged $146, well below the New England average of $160.”

Next year, “UnitedHealthcare of New England projects increases averaging 13 percent to 15 percent, while Blue Cross & Blue Shield of Rhode Island expects the average increase to range from 10 percent to 15 percent, with great variation among individual policies.”

Washington

Automobile Insurance

“Auto insurance rates are expected to increase about 5 percent in Washington state in 2002, according to the commissioner’s office.”

“Safeco’s third-quarter earnings report yesterday sent a clear message to customers of the big Seattle-based insurer: Your rates are going up. Personal auto insurance. Commercial auto insurance. Homeowners’ insurance. Workers’ compensation insurance. All are heading higher, as Safeco struggles to right itself and its balance sheet after quarter upon quarter of disappointing earnings. That includes the quarter ended Sept. 30. Safeco reported a profit of $12.2 million, or 10 cents a share, from its insurance operations. That compares with $9.8 million, or 7 cents a share, in operating profit in the same three-month period last year.”

Homeowners Insurance

“Homeowner insurance rates are expected to increase on average about 10 percent this year and auto insurance rates also are on the rise, state Insurance Commissioner Mike Kreidler said. The 10 percent increase in homeowner rates follows increases averaging 7 percent in the state last year.”

In June 2002, State Farm Insurance Cos. stopped writing new homeowners policies in 17 states, including Washington.
West Virginia

Medical Malpractice Insurance

- “Malpractice insurance rates for some types of practices are running two to three times higher in West Virginia than in neighboring states.”
- “Insurance Commissioner Jane Cline has granted one of West Virginia’s largest medical malpractice insurers a 16 percent rate increase. The decision disappointed the company, which had asked for a 23 percent increase.”
- “Medical Assurance increased its rate by 36 percent in 2000 and by 18 percent in 2001.”
- “A dental malpractice insurance company that covers about half of the state’s dentists has requested a 30 percent rate increase on premiums it charges.”
- “Not only has the total amount of malpractice payouts declined, but the number of malpractice lawsuits has gone down as well, falling 30 percent from the 1994 high.”
- West Virginia paid less than any of its neighboring states for total settlements and verdicts for 1993-2000.
- “The [Insurance Commission] recently refused a request by another insurance company to raise its malpractice rates by 75 percent. That company, OHIC, hasn’t yet paid out a single claim for a West Virginia doctor. It made $1.6 million in profits on $2.4 million in collected premiums since 1998.”
- “Instead of losing doctors, there were 508 more doctors practicing here in 2000 than in 1990. The number of doctors in the state has grown at a rate 20 times greater than the population… The total amount of money paid in medical malpractice settlements and judgments has decreased by one-third from 1995 to 2000.”

Health Insurance

- “Greg Smith, chief executive officer of Mountain State Blue Cross Blue Shield, told a legislative interim committee Monday that his company’s average family premium is projected to reach $16,272 by 2007 – about twice its current level.”

Automobile Insurance

- “Motorists whose auto insurance coverage is with State Farm Insurance Co. will be seeing an increase in their premiums effective last Monday. The state Insurance Commission granted State Farm, the largest auto insurer in West Virginia, an 11.3 percent increase overall, John Mooney, policy and rates analyst, said Tuesday.”
- “Nationwide has an 8.4 percent overall auto rate increase pending, Mooney said. Its last increase was Oct. 15, 2001.”

Commercial Insurance

- “Mike Clowser, executive director of the Contractors Association of West Virginia, said his organization held a seminar in November to warn members of pending premium increases. … Even before Sept. 11, many members’ premiums for commercial and general liability insurance had increased 20 percent to 30 percent, Clowser said.”

Homeowners Insurance

- “A 10 percent rate increase was approved late last September for State Farm homeowners’ policyholders.”
- “[Vince] King [deputy insurance commissioner] said Allstate Insurance was granted a 15 percent increase out of 42.7 percent it requested for homeowners’ policies.”
- “Karen Rugare, spokeswoman for Erie Insurance, said Erie increased premiums by 4.4 percent in April for homeowners’ policies and 6 percent on Nov. 1 for private passenger auto policies.”
In June 2002, State Farm Insurance Cos. stopped writing new homeowners policies in 17 states, including West Virginia.98

**Wisconsin**

*Health Insurance*

- “A new survey by Frank F. Haack & Associates in Wauwatosa indicates that increases of 25 percent or more will continue unchecked for years to come. The Milwaukee area already has health care costs that are 55 percent higher than other Midwestern metropolitan areas.”99
- “This is the third year of 20 percent-plus increases. What we see in these numbers is a crisis for many employers that have to again deal with this,” said Jim Mueller, president of Haack. Increases of 25 percent or more a year mean that health care costs here are doubling every four years.”100

*Property/Casualty Insurance*

- “While Wisconsin rates have been the lowest in the United States, that could change as double-digit increases sweep the nation. State Farm Insurance Company, Wisconsin’s second-largest property casualty insurer, raised its rates 20.3 percent in April, said Tom Mohn, underwriting operations supervisor for the Bloomington, Ill., firm.”101

*Homeowners Insurance*

- “Wisconsin homeowners, lulled into complacency by a decade of flat homeowners’ insurance rates, are being hit by double-digit increases in 2002.”102
- “American Family Insurance, which insures more homes in Wisconsin than any other company, is raising homeowners rates 12.5 percent statewide as of July 1, Fetherston said.”103
- “The state insurance commissioner’s office reported these homeowner policy rate hikes, as of March 30: West Bend Mutual, 8.3 percent; Auto Owners, 6.8 percent; and Acuity Mutual Heritage, 2.2 percent to 11.5 percent, depending on policy type.”104
Endnotes


2 Best’s Aggregates and Averages, 1998 and 2001 Edition, as reported by the Consumer Federation of America, June 17, 2002.


9 Best’s Aggregates and Averages, Schedule P, as reported by the Consumer Federation of America. Data for years 1997 to now are not included because not all of the claims filed in those years have been closed, June 17, 2002.

10 Best’s Aggregates and Averages, Schedule P, as reported by the Consumer Federation of America. Data for years 1997 to now are not included because not all of the claims filed in those years have been closed, June 17, 2002.

11 Best’s Aggregates and Averages, Schedule P, as reported by the Consumer Federation of America. Data for years 1997 to now are not included because not all of the claims filed in those years have been closed, June 17, 2002.


16 Best’s Aggregates and Averages, 1998 and 2001 Editions, as cited in Testimony of Travis Plunkett, Legislative Director, Consumer Federation of America, Before the Subcommittee on Health, July 17, 2002, Exhibit B, p. 12.


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49 Ibid.


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