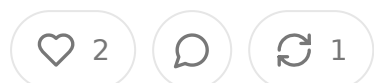


THE REFERENCE BASED PRICING RECKONING: WHY THE MOST HYPED COST SAVINGS STRATEGY IN EMPLOYER HEALTHCARE IS FALLING APART

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ABSTRACT

Reference based pricing has emerged as one of the most discussed cost containment strategies in employer healthcare over the past five years, promising employers savings of twenty to forty percent on their medical spend by paying hospitals and providers based on a percentage above Medicare rates rather than accepting bloated commercial negotiated rates. The pitch is simple and compelling. Medicare pays rational prices that cover actual costs plus reasonable margins. Commercial insurers pay whatever hospitals demand because they lack negotiating leverage. If self insured employers simply pay a multiple of Medicare, they can capture the difference and return it to employees through lower premiums or higher wages. But after several years of real world implementation across hundreds of employer groups representing millions of covered lives, the data shows a much more complicated picture. While some employers report impressive savings, others have abandoned the strategy after member and provider backlash. The model works brilliantly in some markets and catastrophically in others. Member satisfaction varies wildly based on implementation details that most vendors gloss over during the sales process. And perhaps most critically, the entire model depends on legal and regulatory assumptions that may not survive the next few years of healthcare policy evolution. This essay examines the

actual performance of reference based pricing across multiple stakeholder groups identifies the specific conditions under which it succeeds or fails, and explores why this once promising innovation may be reaching the limits of its scalability.

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THE REFERENCE BASED PRICING VALUE PROPOSITION

The economics of reference based pricing sound almost too good to be true, which should immediately make any sophisticated healthcare investor suspicious. The typical self insured employer pays commercial rates that average somewhere between two hundred and two hundred fifty percent of Medicare for inpatient care and one hundred fifty to two hundred percent of Medicare for outpatient services. These vary dramatically by market, with some hospitals in concentrated markets commanding three hundred percent of Medicare or higher. Meanwhile, Medicare itself pays rates that the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services sets through an incredibly complex formula that attempts to approximate actual cost of care delivered plus a small margin. The gap between Medicare and commercial represents pure extraction by providers who have market power.

Reference based pricing vendors come in with a simple pitch. Pay one hundred percent of Medicare for everything. You immediately save thirty to fifty percent of your medical spend. Your members get access to the entire provider network rather than a narrow network. Providers still make money because Medicare rates actually do cover their costs. Everyone wins except the hospitals that were overcharging. The vendor takes a percentage of savings as their fee, so you only pay for performance. Many employers hear this pitch and wonder why they did not do this years ago.

The model has gained significant traction over the past five years. Multiple vendors now operate in this space including ELAP Services, SmartHealth, Zelis, and numerous regional players. Some of the largest third party administrators including Meritx and Cigna have launched reference based pricing options for their self insured clients. Various industry analysts estimate that between two and five million covered lives now operate under some form of reference based pricing arrangement, up from essentially zero a decade ago. Trade publications regularly feature case studies of employers who cut their healthcare spending by millions of dollars through RBP implementation.

But these success stories tend to gloss over some critical implementation details that determine whether reference based pricing actually works or becomes a nightmare. The model depends entirely on execution quality, market conditions, legal strategy, and member communication. When vendors get these right, the savings are real and sustainable. When they get them wrong, employers end up with member revolts, provider lawsuits, and total program failure within eighteen months.

HOW EMPLOYERS ACTUALLY EXPERIENCE RBP IMPLEMENTATION

The employer experience with reference based pricing varies so dramatically that it almost seems like different employers are implementing entirely different strategies. Some employers report smooth implementations with immediate savings and minimal disruption. Others describe implementations as complete disasters that damaged employee relations and created enormous administrative burdens. The differences

comes down to several specific factors that most vendors do not adequately disclose during the sales process.

First, market concentration matters enormously. Reference based pricing works in competitive markets where multiple hospital systems compete for patients and no single provider has dominant market share. In these markets, when a hospital repays a member at one hundred fifty percent of Medicare and threatens to balance bill the member for the difference, the member can credibly threaten to go to a competing hospital next time. The hospital knows this and usually accepts the payment. They may grumble and send threatening letters, but they ultimately write off the balance because they want to preserve access to that employer's members for future service.

But in concentrated markets where one or two hospital systems control seventy or eighty percent of capacity, the dynamics flip completely. The dominant hospital is the member has limited alternatives. They can balance bill aggressively and actually collect because members have nowhere else to go for care. The reference based pricing vendor will tell the member to refuse payment and that the vendor will bill everything, but the member still gets collection calls and credit score threats. The employer ends up spending enormous HR time managing member complaints and ultimately many employers in concentrated markets abandon reference based pricing within two years.

Second, the quality of vendor support infrastructure determines whether members feel protected or abandoned. The best reference based pricing vendors maintain sophisticated member advocacy teams that immediately take over when a provider attempts balance billing. They send legal letters, negotiate directly with providers and shield members from any financial exposure or credit reporting. These vendors understand that member experience drives program sustainability. If members feel supported and protected, they will tolerate occasional balance billing attempts because they trust the vendor to resolve issues.

But some vendors, particularly smaller regional players, lack the infrastructure to actually protect members at scale. They may have one or two people handling member inquiries for thousands of covered lives. When balance billing occurs, members

generic advice to ignore the bills and wait for the vendor to handle it, but then v go by with no resolution and members panic. Some members just pay the balance themselves to avoid collections, which completely defeats the purpose of the program. Employers who work with undercapitalized vendors often see terrible member satisfaction scores and high opt out rates.

Third, employer communication strategy before and during implementation matters more than almost anything else. Employers who treat reference based pricing implementation as primarily a communication challenge tend to succeed. They spend months before launch educating employees about how the program works, what to expect if they receive balance bills, exactly how the vendor will protect them, and how the savings benefit everyone through lower premium contributions or higher wages. They hold town halls, create detailed FAQs, and establish clear escalation paths to address member concerns.

Employers who treat implementation as primarily a finance and benefits administration project tend to fail. They announce the change with a brief email and provide minimal explanation of how balance billing protection works, and then wonder why members panic when they receive their first unexpected bill. Member trust evaporates immediately and employees start looking for new jobs at companies with traditional insurance. The program dies within a year regardless of actual financial savings.

Some of the most successful reference based pricing implementations I have seen involved employers who actually increased their spending on member communication and support during the first year of the program specifically to ensure smooth adoption. They hired additional HR staff focused exclusively on RBP education, created dedicated hotlines for member questions, and even brought in the vendor account team for monthly employee office hours. These employers saw adoption above ninety percent and member satisfaction scores comparable to traditional networks.

THE MEMBER EXPERIENCE PROBLEM NOBODY TALKS ABOUT

Member experience under reference based pricing varies from completely seamless to absolutely terrible depending on factors that members cannot predict or control. This variability creates the single biggest long term sustainability challenge for the model. Even in successful implementations, probably twenty to thirty percent of members have at least one negative experience with balance billing or provider access issues. For most of these members, the vendor resolves the issue within a few weeks with no lasting financial impact. But the emotional impact of receiving an unexpected five thousand dollar bill, even if you intellectually understand the vendor will handle it, creates lasting anxiety that affects member perception of their benefits.

The member experience problems break into several categories. The most common involves surprise balance billing after hospital stays. A member goes to the hospital for a planned procedure, understands that their plan pays one hundred fifty percent of Medicare, receives the procedure, and then six weeks later gets a bill for fifteen thousand dollars representing the difference between what the hospital charged and what the plan paid. The member panics and calls the vendor, who tells them to ignore the bill and forward it to the advocacy team. The vendor sends letters to the hospital explaining the payment methodology and demanding they stop balance billing. The hospital eventually backs down and writes off the balance. Total resolution time is usually four to eight weeks.

From a purely rational perspective, this process works fine. The member never actually pays anything beyond their normal cost sharing. Their credit score is not impacted. The vendor handles all the complexity. But emotionally, receiving that balance bill creates enormous stress even if you trust the process. Many members describe feeling like they are doing something wrong or that they will eventually have to pay. Some members have anxiety every time they need medical care because they worry about triggering another balance billing situation. This ambient stress affects their perception of their overall benefits package even if the financial savings are

The second category of member experience problems involves provider access and willingness to see reference based pricing patients. In theory, members have access to any provider because there is no network restriction. In practice, some providers refuse to see patients they know are covered under reference based pricing plans because they do not want to accept Medicare plus fifty percent for their services, which is perfectly legal. Providers have no obligation to see patients or accept any particular payment amount from commercial plans. When a member tries to schedule an appointment and the provider office asks about insurance and then says they cannot accommodate the patient, the member feels rejected and limited even though they theoretically have broader access than a narrow network plan.

The best reference based pricing vendors maintain lists of provider willingness in the market and help members find alternatives when they encounter access denials. This still creates friction that members do not experience with traditional networks. With a traditional PPO, members know that if a provider is in network, they will definitely be able to schedule an appointment. With reference based pricing, members may need to call multiple providers before finding one willing to see them, particularly for specialists. This friction is manageable for motivated members who understand the savings trade off, but it creates real barriers for members with complex medical needs who need consistent access to specialists.

The third category involves pharmacy benefits and how they interact with reference based pricing for medical claims. Most reference based pricing programs only cover medical claims and still use traditional pharmacy benefit managers for drug costs. This creates weird situations where members get great value on hospital stays but face high costs for specialty medications. Members have trouble understanding how their benefits work so differently for medical versus pharmacy, and some conclude that the program is not really saving them money because their drug costs remain high. Sophisticated vendors now offer integrated medical and pharmacy reference based pricing, but adoption remains limited because pharmacy rebate economics create different incentives than medical claims.

A small but meaningful percentage of members also report feeling embarrassed or stigmatized when explaining their insurance situation to providers. When a provider

asks about insurance and the member has to explain that they have a reference based pricing plan that pays Medicare rates, some providers respond dismissively or state the member has inadequate coverage. This is factually wrong since the member has full coverage with potentially lower cost sharing than traditional insurance, but the interaction still feels bad and makes members question their benefits. Some members start telling providers they are self pay just to avoid the conversation, which defeats the purpose of having insurance in the first place.

PROVIDER RESPONSE AND MARKET POWER DYNAMICS

Provider responses to reference based pricing reveal fundamental dynamics about market power and negotiating leverage in healthcare. Providers who face actual competition generally accept reference based pricing payments with minimal resistance. Providers with market dominance fight aggressively and often successfully force employers to abandon the model. The vendor claims that all providers eventually accept the payments ring hollow in markets where one hospital system controls capacity.

In genuinely competitive markets, hospitals that receive one hundred fifty percent Medicare for a service will often grumble but ultimately accept the payment because they need volume to maintain their cost structure. These hospitals know that if they refuse to see patients from a large employer, those patients will go to a competitor and the hospital loses both the revenue from that encounter and potential future revenue from establishing care relationships. The math works out that taking one hundred fifty percent of Medicare for guaranteed volume makes more sense than holding out for two hundred fifty percent of Medicare and risking volume loss.

But hospitals with market power do the math differently. If a hospital controls seventy percent of beds in a region and the next closest facility is forty miles away, they know that members cannot practically go elsewhere for most care. They can refuse the reference based pricing payment and balance bill aggressively with confidence that many members will eventually pay rather than travel long distances or delay needed care.

care. These hospitals send bills to collections, report to credit agencies, and file lawsuits against patients. Some even refuse to provide emergency care to known reference based pricing patients beyond federal EMTALA stabilization requirements.

The most sophisticated hospital systems have developed specific strategies to undermine reference based pricing. Some immediately send every balance bill to collections rather than negotiating with vendors. This creates maximum stress for members and maximum administrative burden for employers. The hospital knows that many employers will cave and return to traditional contracting rather than manage thousands of member complaints. Other hospital systems refuse to provide cost estimates or preauthorization for reference based pricing patients, forcing members to proceed with care blind to potential balance bills. This uncertainty drives some members to pay out of pocket at in network facilities rather than risk surprise bills.

Some hospitals have also begun requiring patients to sign agreements acknowledging financial responsibility for any amounts not paid by insurance before providing emergency care. These agreements specifically state that if the patient's insurance does not pay the hospital's full charges, the patient owes the difference regardless of what the insurance considers reasonable. Members who sign these agreements under duress before surgery find themselves legally obligated to pay balance bills that vendors promised to protect them from. The legality of these agreements varies by state but they create real exposure that undermines the entire reference based pricing model.

Provider organizations have also started lobbying state legislatures to ban or restrict reference based pricing through various regulatory mechanisms. Some states have passed balance billing prohibitions that sound like consumer protections but actually prevent reference based pricing from working because they require insurers to pay whatever amount is necessary to hold members harmless from balance bills. If members cannot face any balance billing, then hospitals can charge whatever they want and the reference based pricing plan has to pay it. About six states have effectively banned reference based pricing through these types of laws, and more are considering similar legislation pushed by hospital associations.

Physician groups generally respond more favorably to reference based pricing than hospitals, probably because physicians have less market power and more competition. Most physician practices will accept one hundred fifty percent of Medicare for office visits and procedures without significant resistance. They may request higher payments for particularly complex cases, and good vendors will negotiate case by case adjustments when appropriate. But the overall physician response has been much less hostile than the hospital response, which suggests that physicians view Medicare one hundred fifty percent as reasonable compensation while hospitals view it as inadequate.

Interestingly, some of the most expensive providers including academic medical centers often accept reference based pricing payments more readily than mid tier community hospitals. This seems counterintuitive since academic medical centers typically command the highest commercial rates. But these organizations also treat large volumes of Medicare patients and have cost structures that function at Medicare rates. They may prefer commercial rates but they can survive on Medicare plus fifty percent. Mid tier hospitals that have built their business models around two hundred percent of Medicare margins cannot survive on significantly lower payments and are being run more aggressively.

THE LEGAL AND REGULATORY TIME BOMB

The legal and regulatory foundations of reference based pricing rest on several assumptions that may not survive the next few years of policy evolution. The current model depends on the ability of self insured employers to set their own payment rates independent of network contracts, the limitation of state insurance regulation on ERISA plans, and the absence of federal balance billing prohibitions for commercial insurance. All three of these assumptions face significant threats.

The No Surprises Act that took effect in 2022 created federal balance billing prohibitions for emergency services and certain non emergency services at in network facilities. The law was primarily intended to protect consumers from surprise billing when they inadvertently receive care from out of network providers at in network facilities. But the law's independent dispute resolution process for determining

appropriate payment amounts creates a potential model that regulators or legislators could expand to all out of network care. If federal law eventually requires all out of network claims to go through an IDR process where arbitrators determine fair payment amounts, reference based pricing becomes much more complicated and potentially more expensive.

Some reference based pricing vendors argue that the No Surprises Act actually bolsters their model by limiting balance billing exposure for members. And in narrow circumstances this is true. Members who receive emergency care or certain surprise bills now have federal protections regardless of their insurance type. But the broader trend toward government intervention in payment disputes threatens the fundamental premise that employers can unilaterally set payment rates. If every claim becomes a matter of negotiation or arbitration rather than a simple payment at a predetermined percentage of Medicare, the administrative costs and delays undermine the efficiency that makes reference based pricing attractive.

State legislation poses even more immediate threats. Multiple states have passed or are considering comprehensive balance billing prohibitions that apply to all commercial insurance including self insured plans to the extent states can regulate them. Texas, California, and New York have all enacted various forms of balance billing limits. These laws typically require insurers to hold members harmless from balance bills and pay providers adequate amounts to prevent balance billing. The exact mechanisms vary but the effect is the same. Employers cannot simply pay a chosen percentage of Medicare and force providers to accept it if the provider can't submit a balance bill and the insurer has to hold the member harmless.

Reference based pricing vendors fight these laws in court arguing that ERISA preempts state insurance regulation of self insured plans. Sometimes they win these cases and sometimes they lose depending on how the state law is drafted and which federal circuit hears the case. But the overall trajectory is toward more state regulation of payment and billing practices, not less. As hospital pricing comes under increasing political scrutiny, state legislators look for ways to protect consumers from unexpected bills. Reference based pricing members receiving balance bills look

consumers who need protection, even if those members are theoretically protected by vendor advocacy.

The federal government could also act more directly to restrict reference based pricing through modifications to Medicare regulations or ERISA standards. CMS has authority to prevent providers from accepting payments below Medicare as a condition of Medicare participation. While CMS has historically not exercised this authority in ways that affect commercial payment rates, the agency could theoretically require Medicare providers to charge commercial payers at least a certain percentage above Medicare to prevent cost shifting. Such a rule would directly impact reference based pricing by setting a floor on commercial rates.

Similarly, the Department of Labor could issue regulations under ERISA that require self insured plans to use reasonable payment methodologies or network adequacy standards that effectively prohibit reference based pricing. DOL has generally taken a hands off approach to self insured plan design, but as reference based pricing grows and generates more member complaints, regulatory attention increases. A single profile case of a member being harmed by lack of access or balance billing under a reference based pricing plan could trigger federal regulatory action.

The most significant legal risk may come from class action litigation by members claiming that reference based pricing plans breach fiduciary duties under ERISA by exposing members to balance billing and limiting practical provider access. Several such cases are working through federal courts now. If courts determine that plan sponsors have a fiduciary obligation to ensure members have adequate network access and protection from balance bills, reference based pricing in its current form may violate ERISA regardless of financial savings. The savings would be irrelevant if the plan design itself is deemed imprudent.

WHERE RBP ACTUALLY WORKS WELL

Despite all the challenges and risks, reference based pricing does work extremely well in specific circumstances. Understanding these circumstances helps identify when

the model makes sense and where it is likely to fail. The pattern is clear from several years of implementation data across hundreds of employers.

Reference based pricing works best for large self insured employers with over one thousand covered lives in competitive healthcare markets with at least three competing hospital systems. These employers have enough scale to justify dedicated vendor support and sophisticated member communication. Their size also gives them some negotiating leverage with providers who cannot easily afford to lose access to one thousand potential patients. And the competitive market means providers cannot simply refuse care because competitors will take the volume.

The model also works well for employers with relatively young and healthy populations who use healthcare services infrequently. These members have fewer encounters with the healthcare system and therefore fewer opportunities for balance billing conflicts. When they do need care, it is usually straightforward and predictable rather than complex cases requiring multiple specialists and facility types. The member experience remains positive because the overwhelming majority of members never face a balance billing situation.

Employers who invest heavily in member education and support infrastructure see much better outcomes than employers who treat reference based pricing as a set and forget cost saving measure. The successful employers create detailed communication campaigns explaining how the model works, what members should expect, and exactly how to escalate concerns. They train HR staff to handle reference based pricing questions and empower them to intervene quickly when member issues arise. They track member satisfaction metrics constantly and adjust the program based on feedback.

Geographic location also matters enormously. Reference based pricing works much better in the Sun Belt and Western states than in the Northeast or Midwest. This reflects differences in hospital market concentration, state regulatory environment and provider business models. Florida, Texas, Arizona, and California have numerous competitive markets where reference based pricing thrives. Massachusetts, New

Pennsylvania, and Illinois have more concentrated markets and more restrictive regulations where the model struggles.

The model also works well for specific types of healthcare spending including outpatient surgery, diagnostic imaging, and physical therapy. These services have commercial payment rates relative to Medicare, significant provider competition in most markets, and straightforward balance billing resolution because the dollar amounts are usually manageable. Employers can implement reference based pricing just for these categories while maintaining traditional networks for inpatient care and complex specialty services. This hybrid approach captures savings where the model works well while avoiding the risks where it performs poorly.

Some vendors now offer reference based pricing as an opt in program where members can choose traditional network coverage or reference based pricing with enhanced benefits. Members who choose reference based pricing get lower deductibles, lower out of pocket maximums, or higher HSA contributions in exchange for accepting the model. This approach dramatically improves member satisfaction because only members who understand and accept the trade offs participate. It also creates selection effects where the members most likely to have smooth experiences choose the program while members with complex medical needs or strong provider preferences stay in traditional networks.

THE FUTURE OF COST CONTAINMENT

Reference based pricing represents one of the more creative attempts to address the underlying problem of excessive commercial payment rates in American healthcare. The model has demonstrated that significant savings are possible when employers are willing to challenge provider pricing power directly rather than accepting network negotiated rates. But the model also reveals the limits of employer driven cost containment in a system where providers have enormous market power and political influence.

The future probably involves some combination of reference based pricing for simple services in competitive markets, continued traditional networks for complex care

concentrated markets, and increasing government regulation of payment rates across all payer types. Employers who want to control costs cannot rely on any single strategy but need sophisticated benefits designs that use different approaches for different types of care.

The most interesting development may be the emergence of direct contracting between large employers and specific providers at negotiated rates above Medicare but below traditional commercial rates. Rather than using reference based pricing with universal percentage of Medicare payments and balance billing risk, employers negotiate specific rates with key providers that both sides agree to in advance. This provides cost savings similar to reference based pricing with member experience similar to traditional networks. The challenge is that direct contracting requires significant employer resources to negotiate and administer compared to the simplicity of paying a percentage of Medicare for everything.

Some sophisticated employers are now using reference based pricing as a negotiating tool rather than a permanent payment model. They implement reference based pricing to demonstrate they are willing to walk away from unreasonable network rates, using the resulting leverage to negotiate better contracts with must-have providers, and then return to a traditional network with much lower rates. This approach captures the cost savings without the long-term member experience and regulatory risks.

For investors evaluating companies in this space, the key questions are about scalability and regulatory risk. Can reference based pricing vendors build sustainable businesses as state and federal regulations increasingly restrict balance billing? Can providers develop strategies to undermine the model at scale? Can vendors maintain quality member support as they grow to millions of covered lives? The most successful vendors will probably be those who evolve from pure reference based pricing into broader cost containment platforms that use reference based pricing selectively as one tool among many.

The underlying problem that reference based pricing attempts to solve, which is excessive commercial payment rates driven by provider market power, remains unsolved. Until the country addresses hospital consolidation and the resulting pressure

power, employers will continue searching for ways to avoid paying two hundred percent of Medicare or higher for routine care. Reference based pricing is unlikely to be the ultimate solution, but the innovation and market pressure it creates may eventually force more fundamental reforms in how we pay for healthcare.

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