

DRUGS, MONEY, AND SECRET HANDSHAKES

In the warped world of prescription drug pricing, generic drugs can cost more than branded ones, old drugs can be relaunched at astronomical prices, and low-cost options are shut out of the market. In Drugs, Money and Secret Handshakes, Robin Feldman shines a light into the dark corners of the pharmaceutical industry to expose a web of shadowy deals in which higher-priced drugs receive favorable treatment and patients are channeled toward the most expensive medicines. At the center of this web are the highly secretive middle players who establish coverage levels for patients and negotiate with drug companies. By offering lucrative payments to these middle players (as well as to doctors and hospitals), drug companies ensure that inexpensive drugs never gain traction. This system of perverse incentives has delivered the kind of exorbitant drug prices - and profits - that everyone loves except for those who pay the bills.

ROBIN FELDMAN is the Arthur J. Goldberg Distinguished Professor of Law at the University of California Hastings. She is an award-winning scholar whose work has been called 'absolutely remarkable' and a 'must read'. Feldman has published four books and more than fifty articles, and she has been cited by the White House and members of Congress. In 2017, she participated in the GAO's report to Congress on Artificial Intelligence and in an Army Cyber Institute threatcasting exercise on weaponization of data.



Drugs, Money, and Secret Handshakes

THE UNSTOPPABLE GROWTH OF PRESCRIPTION DRUG PRICES

Robin Feldman

University of California Hastings College of the Law







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108482455

DOI: 10.1017/9781108687676

© Robin Feldman 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2019

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-108-48245-5 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



To my husband Boris, with whom I have shared 32 wonderful years, and to the children we have been blessed to receive, Natalie, Talya, Eli, Sam, and Adam.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

List	t of Figures pag	e ix
List	t of Tables	xi
Ack	knowledgments	xiii
1	Introduction	1
2	The Landscape	5
3	Pharmacy Benefit Managers and Insurers	18
4	Pharmacies, Doctors, and Patient Groups	44
5	May Your Drug Price Be Ever Green	60
6	Solutions	86
No	tes	113
Ind	ex	179



FIGURES

2.1	Flow of payments through the pharmaceutical	
	supply chain pag	16
5.1	Number of drugs with three or more added patents	
	in a year, 2005–15	80
5.2	Number of drugs with five or more added patents	
	in a year, 2005–15	81
5.3	Number of drugs with an added orphan drug exclusivity,	
	2005–15	83
5.4	Number of times a use code was added to a patent,	
	2005–15	84
5.5	Number of drugs that added at least one use code,	
	2005–15	85



TABLES

5.1	Comparison of newly and previously approved drugs		
	with Orange Book additions by year	age	73
5.2	Number of drugs newly approved with an added patent		
	compared to number of drugs with an added patent		
	in a year		74
5.3	Percentage of top 106 bestselling drugs that had their		
	protection cliff extended		76
5.4	Total number of unique, small-molecule drugs listed in		
	the Orange Book, 2005–15		77
5.5	Number of drugs with added patents and/or exclusivities		
	out of all drugs, 2005–15		77
5.6	Number of times each drug had an Orange Book		
	addition		78



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply grateful to those who were willing to answer endless queries and provide comments on prior drafts, including Gretchen Cappio, Juliette Cubanski, Leemore Dafney, Richard Evans, Matt Gallaway, Jeremy Goldhaber-Fiebert, Jack Hoadley, Jane Horvath, Elizabeth Jex, Cheryl Johnson, Kurt Karst, Kristie LaSalle, Mark Lemley, Gretchen Obrist, Vanessa Plaister, David Rousseau, Lynn Sarko, and Henry Su. Any errors are entirely my own. I am indebted to Nanette McGuinness for incomparable proofreading. I also wish to thank Ehrik Aldana, Giora Ashkenazi, John Gray, Nicholas Massoni, Prianka Misra, Rabiah Oral, Sophia Tao, Nick Thieme, and Jennifer Wong for invaluable research assistance. Finally, I wish to express my deep gratitude to Connie Wang for her extraordinary contributions to research design and implementation. Without Connie, Chapter 5 would not have been possible.

Research for this piece was funded in part by a generous grant from the Laura and John Arnold Foundation. Portions of this work were adopted from two works, Perverse Incentives: Why Everyone Prefers High Drug Prices – Except for Those Who Pay the Bills (*Harvard Journal on Legislation* 2019) and May Your Drug Price Be Ever Green (*Journal of Law and the Biosciences* 2018) (peer-reviewed), and are included here with the permission of those journals.

In accordance with the protocols outlined in the Harvard Journal of Law & Technology Open Letter on Ethical Norms, all of the data from Chapter 5 is publicly available for future use by other academics through the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/; see Robin

xiii



xiv

Acknowledgments

Feldman, Mark A. Lemley, Jonathan S. Masur & Arti K. Rai, Open Letter on Ethical Norms in Intellectual Property Scholarship, 29 *Harvard J.L. & Tech.* 339, 350–52 (2016) (signed by dozens of professors). In further accordance with these protocols, funding information for the UC Hastings Institute for Innovation Law can be found at http://innovation.uchastings.edu/about/funding/.