



# Osher Lifelong Learning Institute, Fall 2025

#### **Contemporary Economic Policy**

University of Minnesota November 10, 2025

Robert Rebelein, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Economics
Vassar College







#### **The Economics of Public Policy Issues**

- Week 1 (10/20): Economic Update & Central Bank Independence Geoffrey Woglom, Amherst College
- Week 2 (10/27): Climate Change Economics Sarah Jacobson, Williams College
- Week 3 (11/3) Al and Inequality Geoffrey Woglom, Amherst College
- Week 4 (11/10): Health Care Economics, Robert Rebelein, Vassar College
- Week 5 (11/17): Trade and Globalization, Adina Ardelan, Santa Clara University



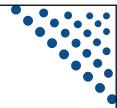
# **Submitting Questions**

- Submit questions in the chat or by raising your digital hand.
  - I will try to handle them as they come up.
- We will do a verbal Q&A after the material has been presented.
- Slides will be available on the NEED website tomorrow (<a href="https://needelegation.org/delivered\_presentations.php">https://needelegation.org/delivered\_presentations.php</a>)



3

# Major Problems in the US



- Expenditure growth is unsustainable
- ACCESS to healthcare is not always great
- QUALITY of healthcare is not always great
- Increasing dependence on government payments
- Lack of competition in key markets







- U.S. Healthcare spending
- Assessing the current system
  - Access
  - Quality
- The economics of Healthcare
  - Includes reasons for rising expenditures
- Concentration in specific markets
  - Pharmaceuticals
  - Hospitals
  - Insurance
- Alternative Healthcare systems



### Before we start...



- Much of the data presented today comes from research done by the Kaiser Family Foundation. You can learn much more about the economics of healthcare issues at <a href="https://www.kff.org">www.kff.org</a>
- Expenditure = Price times Quantity







### Healthcare expenditure in the U.S.



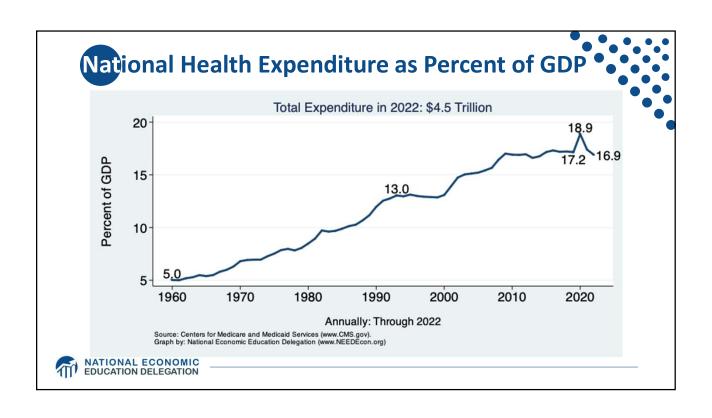
7

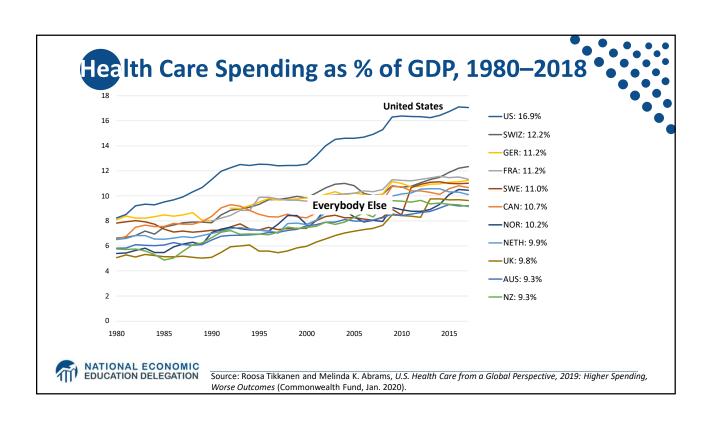
# **Health Economics is Big Business**

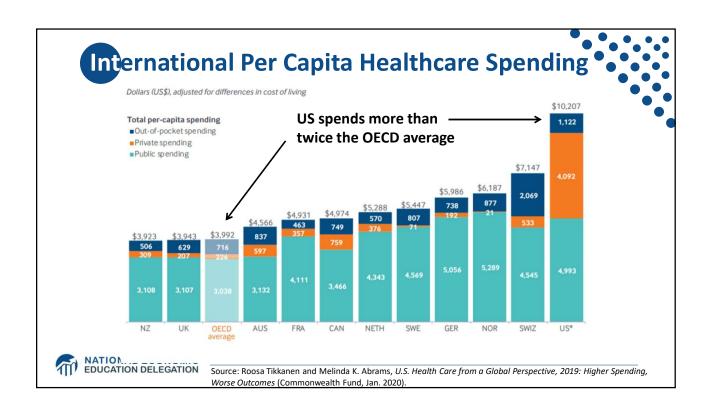
- Healthcare is the biggest industry and the largest employer in
- We spend **A LOT** on healthcare:
  - In 2023, U.S. national health expenditures were about \$4.9 trillion (\$14,570 per person) which is approximately 17.6% of GDP
  - Expenditures grew 7.5% from 2022 to 2023
- U.S. Healthcare industry would be the 3rd largest economy in the world

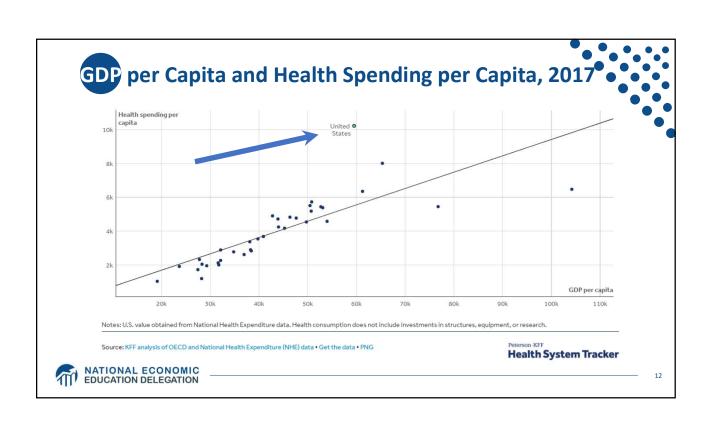


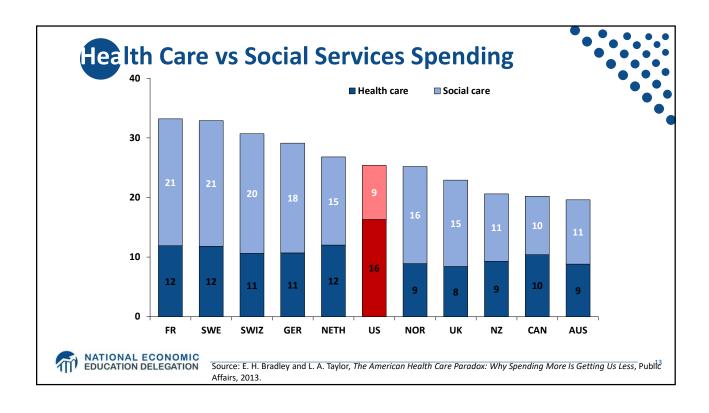
the U.S.











# Health Care vs Social Care Spending



 From 2000 to 2011, for every dollar the US spent on health care, the country spent another \$1.00 on social services, whereas across the OECD, for every dollar spent on health care, countries spend an additional \$2.50 on social services

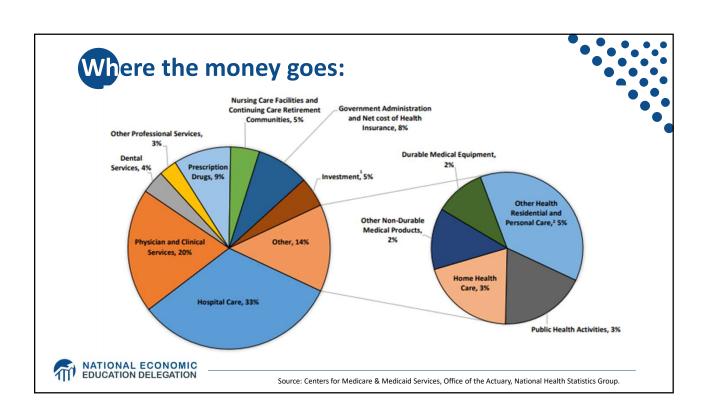




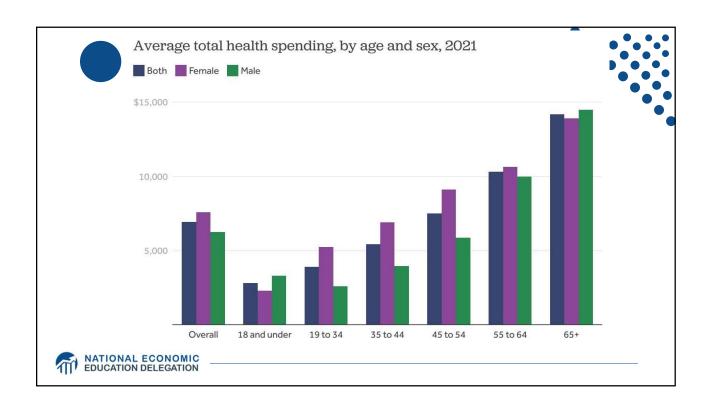


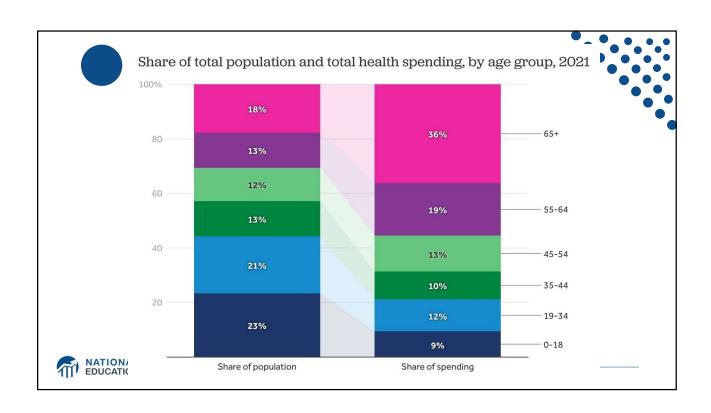
#### **Selected Statistics**

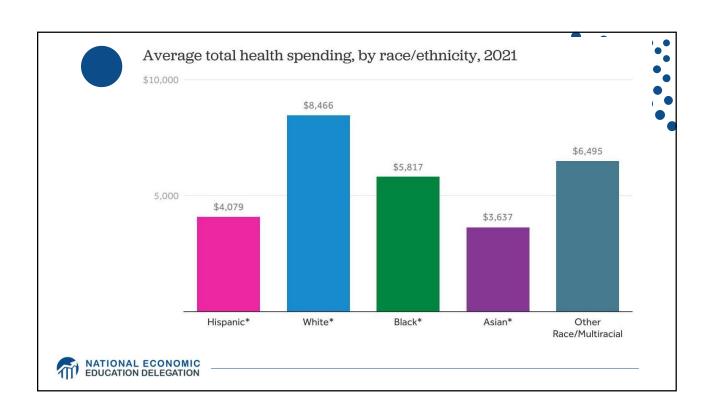


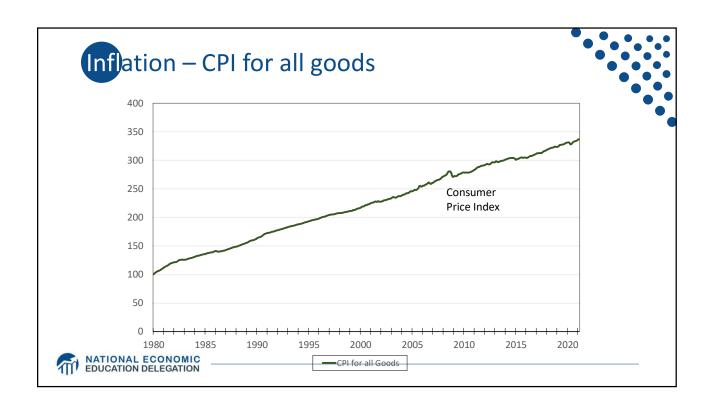


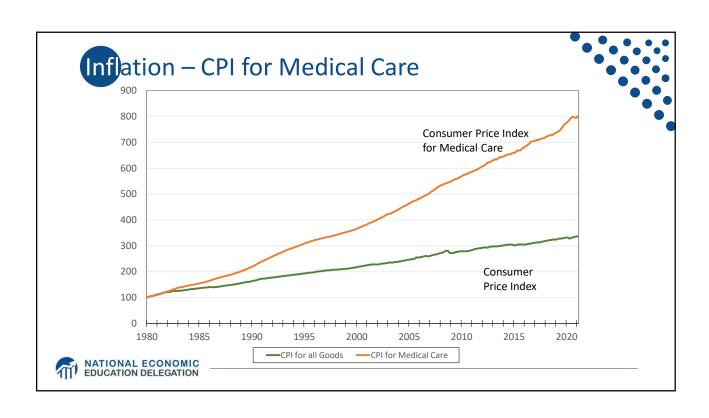
|      | Total<br>(\$bill) | Out-of-<br>Pocket | Medicare | Medicaid | Private & other Health Ins. | Other<br>Third-<br>Party<br>Payers | GDP<br>(\$bill) | Total<br>Expends<br>as a<br>share of<br>GDP | Medicare<br>&<br>Medicaid<br>share of<br>Federal<br>Budget |
|------|-------------------|-------------------|----------|----------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|---|--|
| 1960 | \$27              | 48%               | 0%       | 0%       | 27%                         | 25%                                | \$543           | 5%  | 0%   |
| 1980 | \$255             | 23%               | 15%      | 10%      | 31%                         | 22%                                | \$2,863         | 9%  | 8%   |
| 2000 | \$1,369           | 15%               | 16%      | 15%      | 36%                         | 19%                                | \$10,285        | 13%   | 19%  |
| 2023 | \$4,866           | 10%               | 21%      | 18%      | 30%                         | 21%                                | \$27,800        | 17.6%                                       | 28%  |







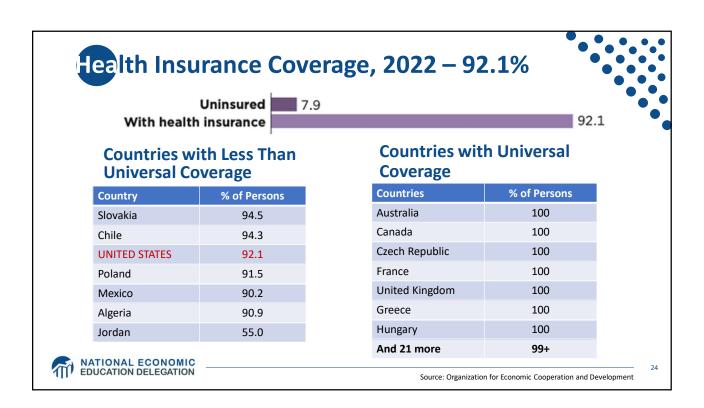


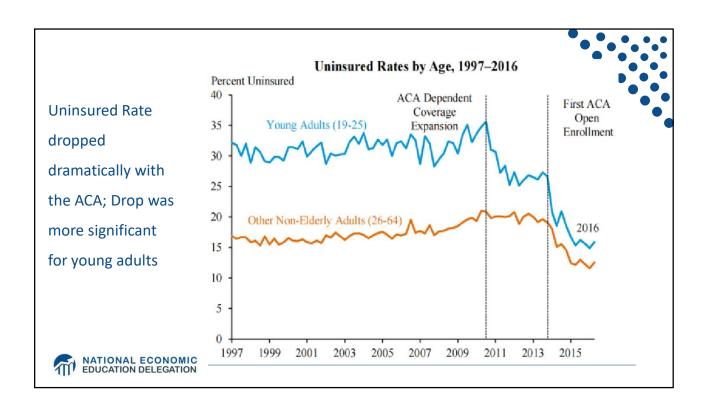


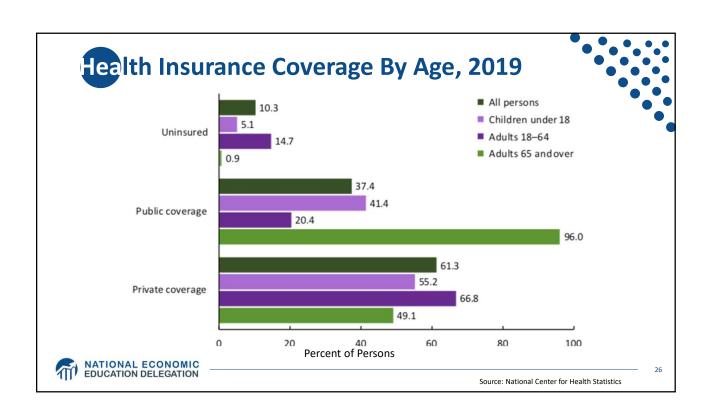


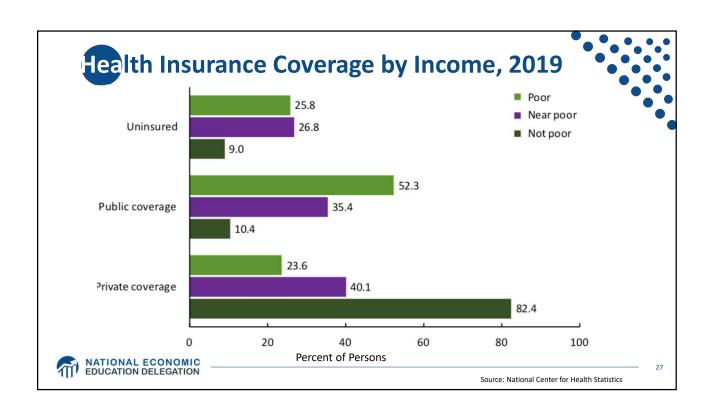
**Access** to Healthcare Services

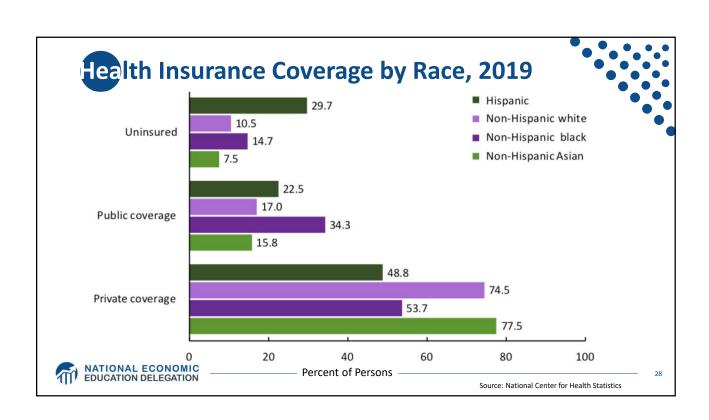


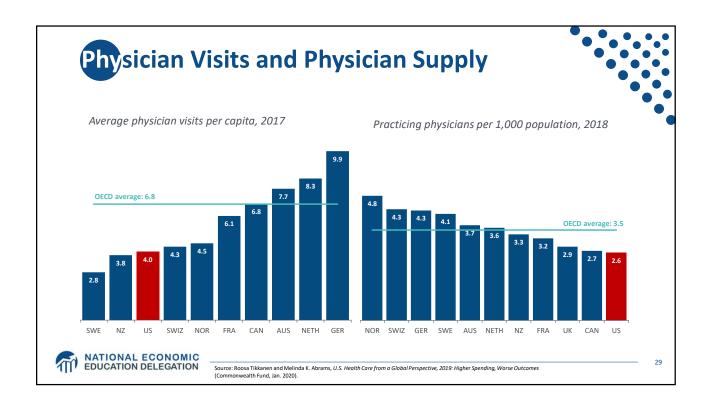


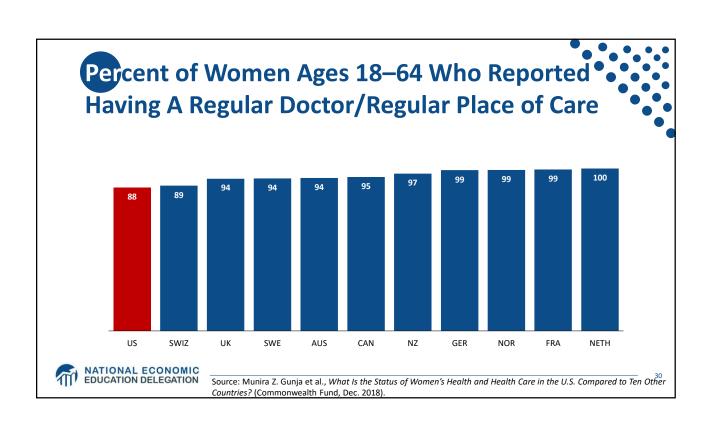


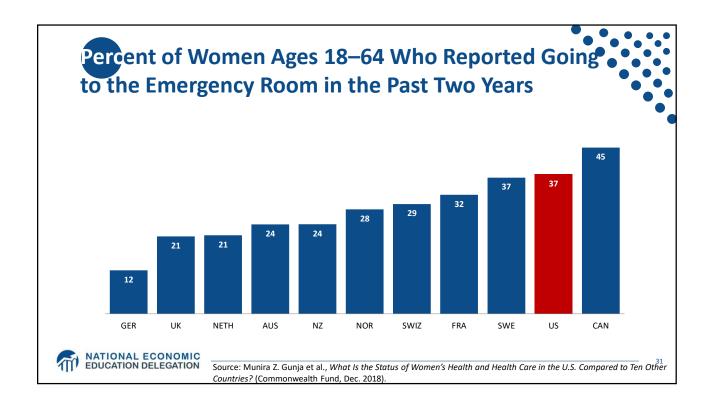


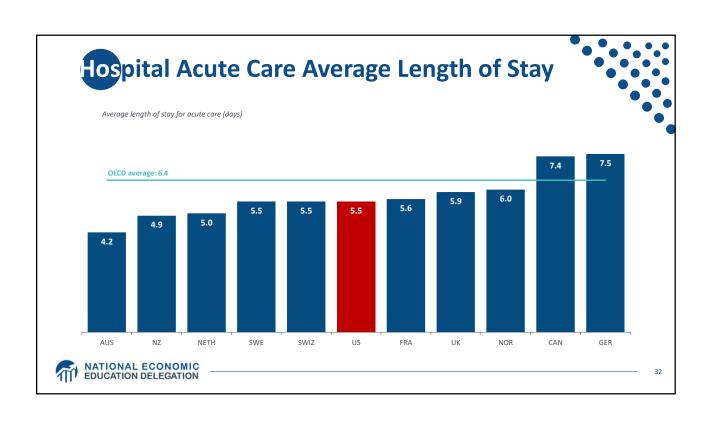


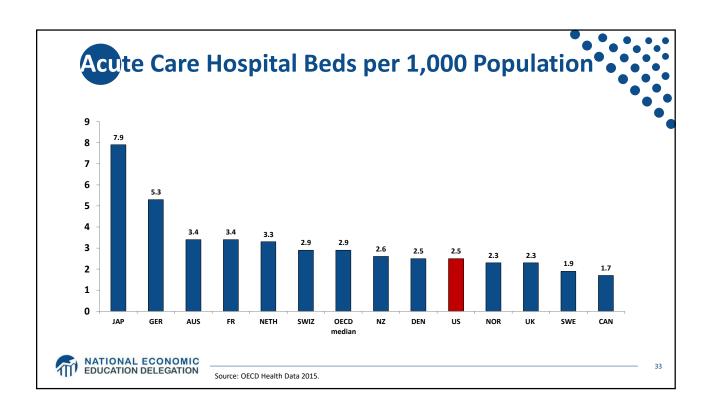


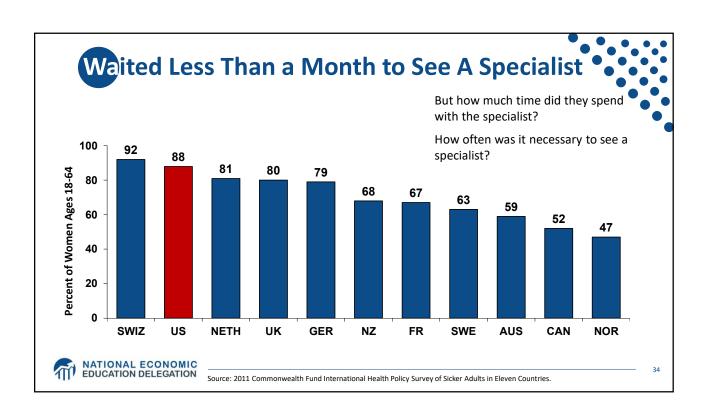


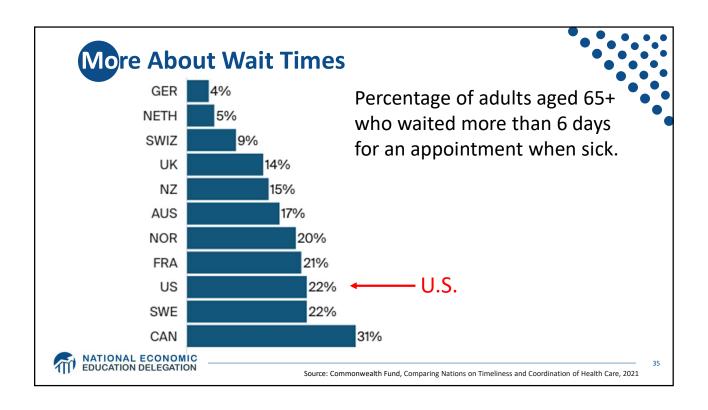


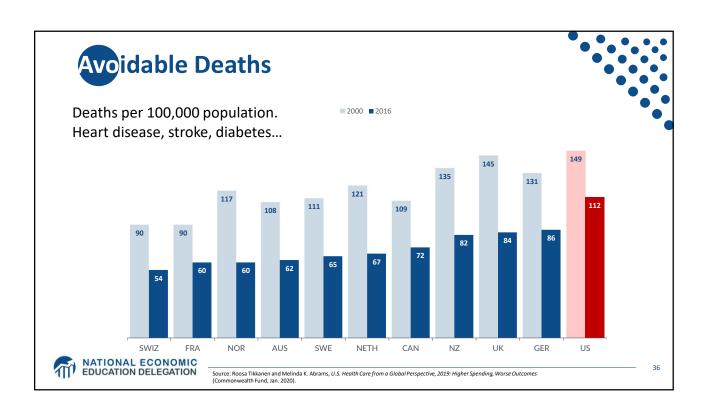


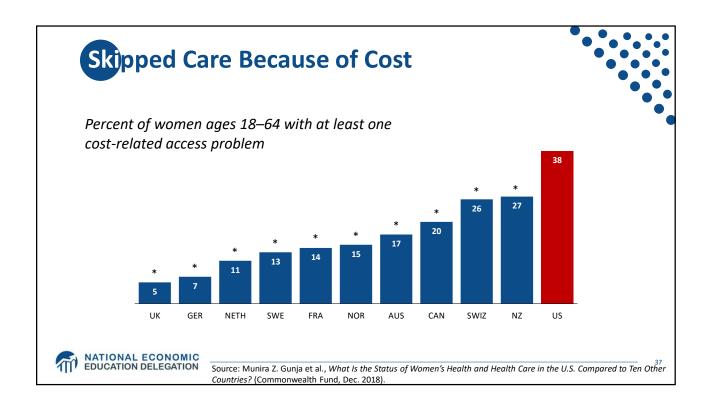


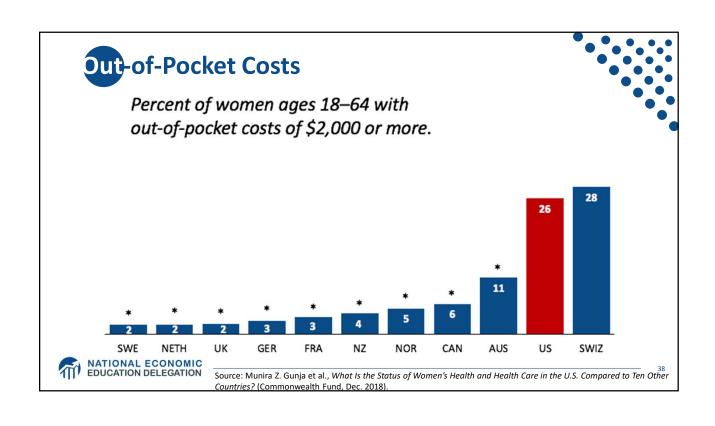


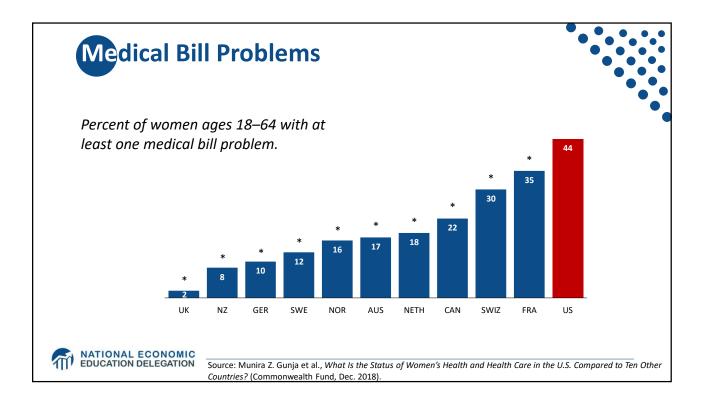












# Notes about Healthcare Access

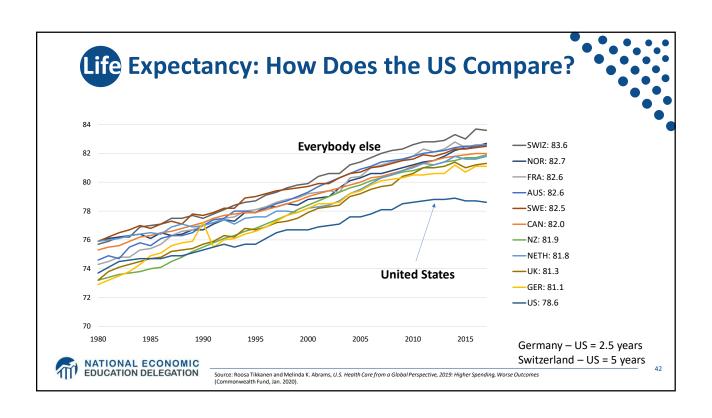
- Insurance coverage in the U.S. is not universal.
  - Is universal in most other developed countries.
- Wait times are not necessarily lower in the U.S.
- Supply of medical personnel and equipment is lower than some other countries
- Emergency room use is higher in the U.S. than elsewhere.
- Specialized medicine more accessible in the U.S.
- Avoidable deaths are higher in U.S., perhaps indicating less access to care





**Quality** of Healthcare Services





# Life Expectancy at Birth by Race/Ethnicity, 2019

| Race/Ethnicity | Life Expectancy<br>(Years) |  |  |  |  |
|----------------|----------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| All Races      | 78.8                       |  |  |  |  |
| White          | 78.8                       |  |  |  |  |
| Black          | 74.8                       |  |  |  |  |
| Hispanic       | 81.9                       |  |  |  |  |
| Asian          | 85.6                       |  |  |  |  |



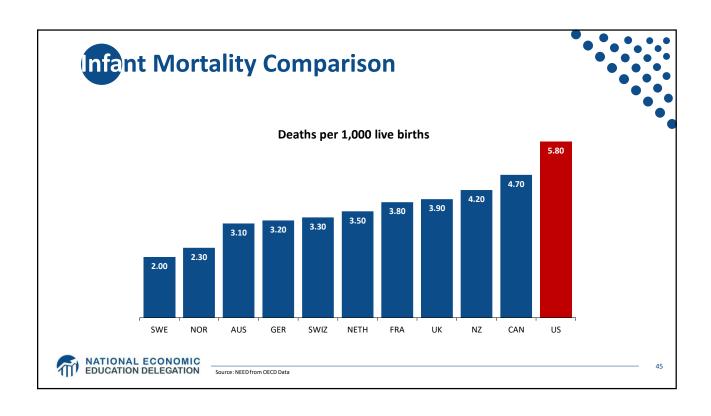
Source: KFF, Key Data on Health and Health Care by Race and Ethnicity

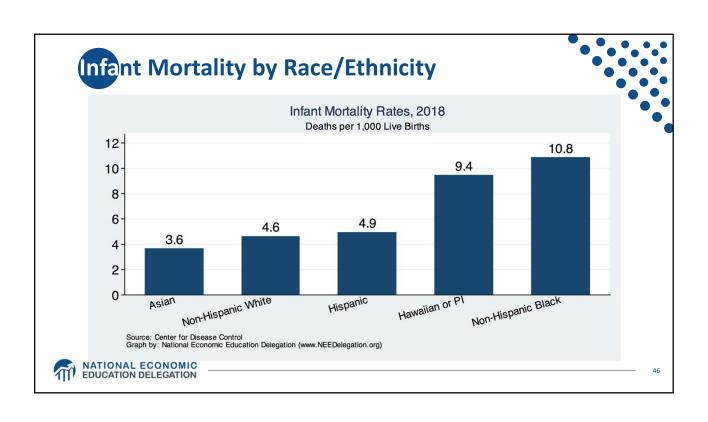
# Income Also Matters – Reflecting Access?

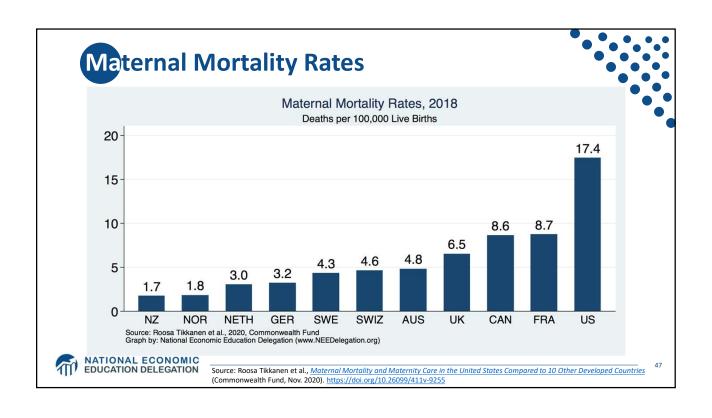
| Sex   | Income Category            | Life Expectancy<br>(Years) | Difference<br>High vs Low |  |  |
|-------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|--|--|
| Women | Highest Incomes (top 1%)   | 88.9                       | 10.1 years                |  |  |
|       | Lowest Incomes (bottom 1%) | 10.1 years                 |                           |  |  |
|       |                            |                            |                           |  |  |
| Men   | Highest Incomes (top 1%)   | 87.3                       | 14.6 years                |  |  |
|       | Lowest Incomes (bottom 1%) | 72.7                       | 14.6 years                |  |  |

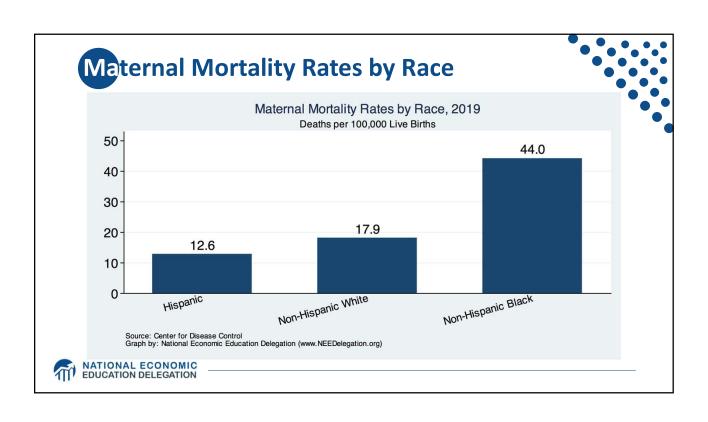


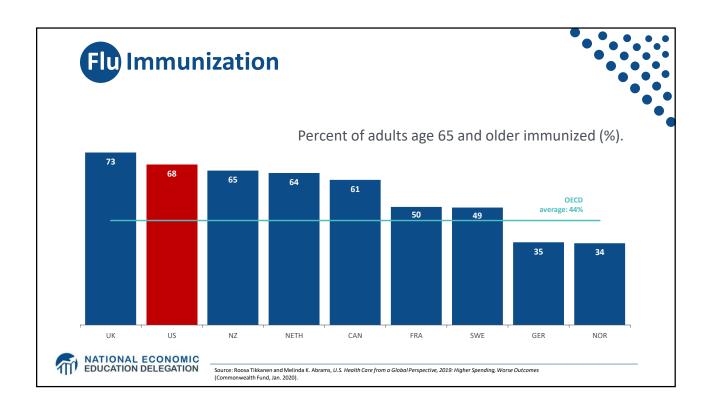
 $Source: https://healthinequality.org/documents/paper/healthineq\_summary.pdf$ 

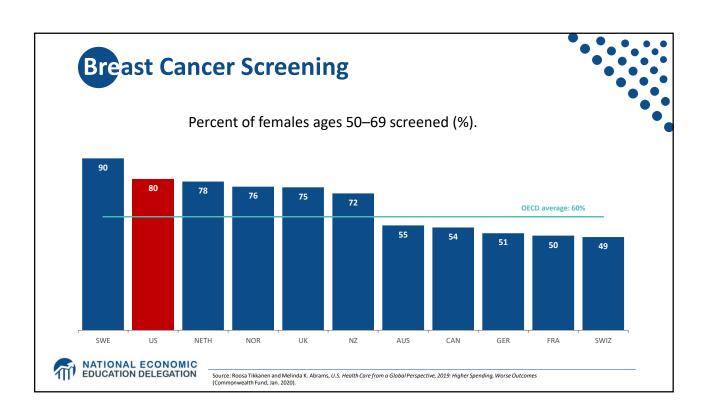










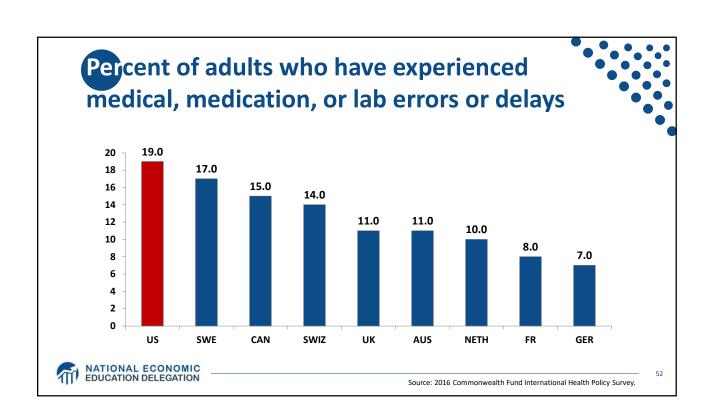


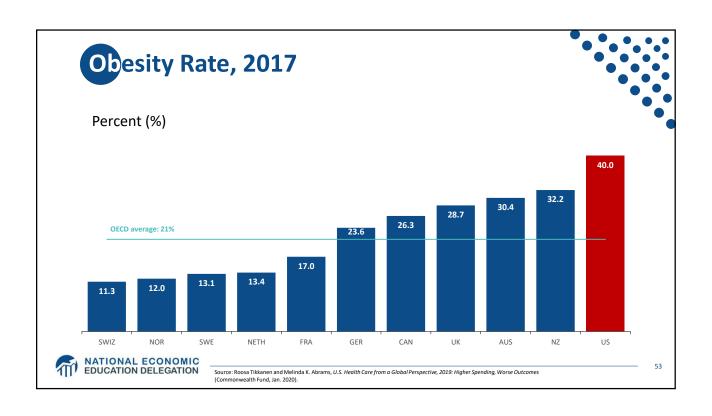
### **Prevention and Screening**

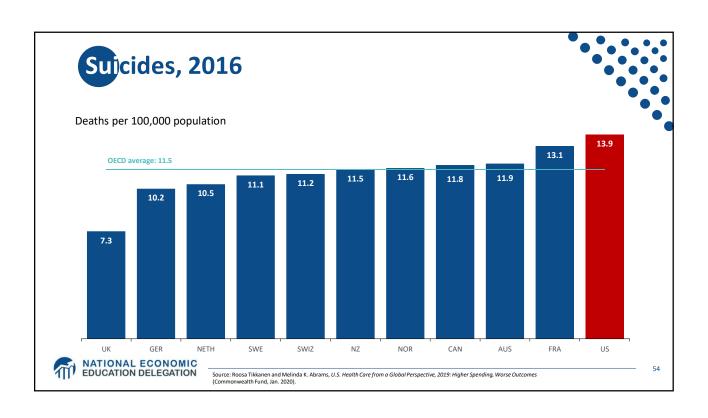


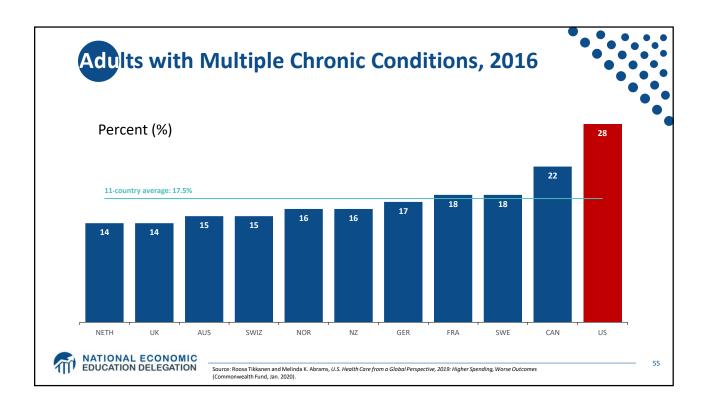
- The U.S. excels in **some** prevention measures (high ranking:
  - including flu vaccinations and breast cancer screenings.
- The U.S. has:
  - The highest average five-year survival rate for breast cancer,
  - but the Lowest for cervical cancer.











# Notes About U.S. Healthcare Quality

- The U.S. has the highest chronic disease burden
  - and an obesity rate that is two times higher than the OECD average.
- The U.S. has **fewer physicians** and **fewer physician visits** than most peer countries
- The U.S. has the **highest rate of avoidable deaths**.
- Americans use more expensive technologies and specialists
  - MRIs, and specialized procedures, such as hip replacements, more often than our peers.
- The U.S. outperforms its peers in terms of many preventive measures



### Notes About U.S. Healthcare Quality

- The U.S. has the highest chronic disease burden
  - and an obesity rate that is two times higher than the OECD average.
- Americans had **fewer physician visits** than peers in most countries
  - which may be related to a low supply of physicians in the U.S.
- The U.S. has among the highest # of hospitalizations from preventable causes
  - and the highest rate of avoidable deaths.
- Americans use some expensive technologies
  - MRIs, and specialized procedures, such as hip replacements, more often than our peers.
- The U.S. outperforms its peers in terms of preventive measures
  - One of the highest rates of breast cancer screening among women ages 50 to 69.
  - Second-highest rate (after the U.K.) of flu vaccinations among people age 65 and older.



# **Quality of Care Notes**



- Metrics of quality in the U.S. don't compare well to other countries.
- The system has challenges: obesity, lifestyle, etc.
- The system has bright spots: immunization and screening rates





### The Economics of Healthcare



59



#### The Healthcare system consists of many markets:

- Medical services
- Physicians
- Nurses
- Other care providers
- Hospital facilities
- Pharmaceuticals

- Health Insurance
- Medical supplies (e.g., diagnostic and therapeutic equipment)
- Nursing homes
- · Rehab facilities
- Other?

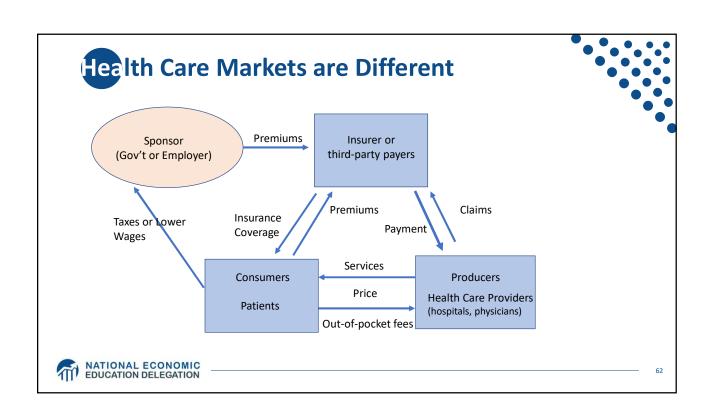


bU

### **Medical Services Unlike Other Products**

- cost to
- For most products, the price reflects the good's value to buyers and the cost to sellers for producing the good; prices adjust to balance supply and demand.
  - Market prices guide economic decisions and help to allocate society's scarce resources.
- Third-party payment system separates buyers from the true cost of the products/services they are consuming
- Many healthcare products/services are heterogeneous across consumers
- Buyers are poorly informed and ask suppliers what they need





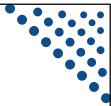
### How much does an office visit cost to produce?

- Any ideas? Includes cost of facility and supplies, wages for doctors and nurses and other staff, their utilities and insurance, etc. (Do the doctors know???)
- We pay a small co-pay
- One result is that we consume more healthcare than we would if we had to pay its full cost



63

#### Rising HC Expenditures: Demand factors



- Rising incomes
  - health care is a "normal" good
- Aging population
- Unhealthy lifestyles
- Over-indulgence in specialized care
  - 2 in 5 adults in the U.S. get general care from specialists

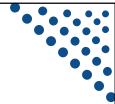


#### Rising HC Expenditures: Demand factors (cont.)

- Role of providers:
  - Supplier induced demand (?)
  - Defensive medicine (?)
- Third-party payer system separates consumers from the cost of services
  - → Prices can't properly signal surpluses or shortages, etc.



### **Risi**ng HC Expenditures: Supply Factors



- Limited supply of physicians
- Changes in medical technology
  - improved quality of tests, procedures, drugs, etc.
- Slow productivity growth
- Complex payment systems
- High administrative costs & lack of price control
  - Health care payers and providers spend \$496 billion per year on billing/insurance costs







- 1. The United States has the only profit-motivated healthcare system in the world.
- 2. We have a health RESTORATION system, not a health **CARE** system.



67

#### **Another Difference: "Right" or Moral Imperative**



- Health care as a product is often viewed as a "right" or moral imperative.
  - This view argues for greater government interaction in the market, primarily to promote access.
    - ∘ → Subsidies for insurance and care.
    - → Market regulations to reduce inequities.
- Unfettered free markets are unlikely to achieve social goals with respect to health care.



# **Consequences of Rising Expenditures**

- Reduced access to care
  - Waiting for treatment increases costs
- Slower wage growth
- Personal bankruptcies
- Impact on government budgets





Tradeoffs take place among access, quality, and cost:

- Increasing quality in health care may lead to higher health care costs.
  - This could mean a compromise in access (affordability).
- I.e., with increasing quality, access may suffer.
- By increasing access, quality and cost may suffer.
- By decreasing costs, quality may suffer.

In healthcare in the United States, there are potential opportunities to improve all three simultaneously.

E.g., it is possible that increasing quality can reduce costs.

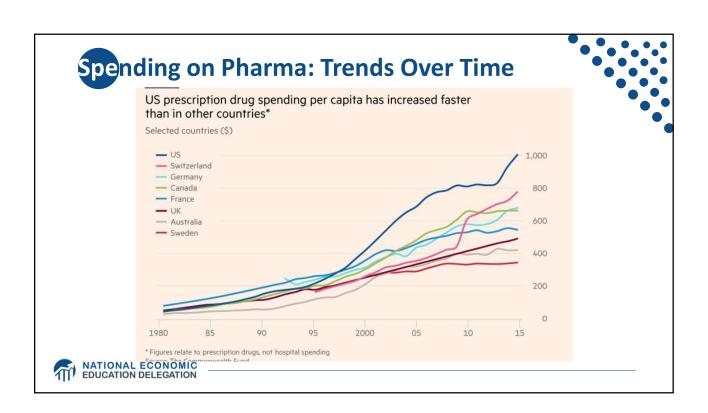


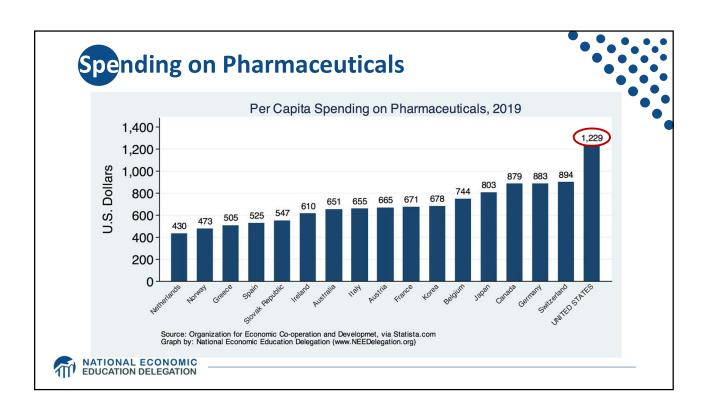


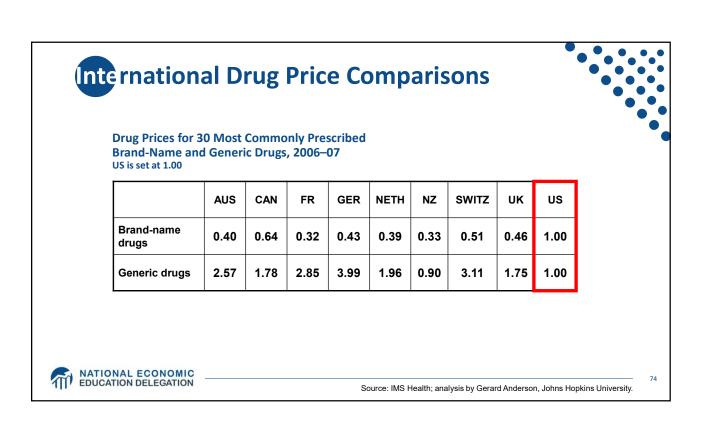
# **Concentration in specific markets:**

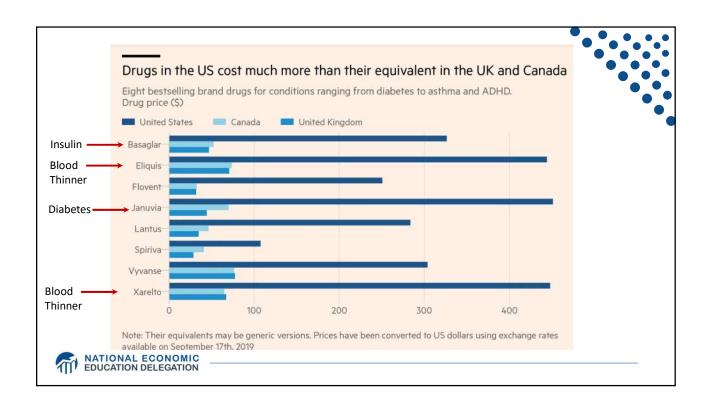
# 1) Pharmaceuticals











## Reasons for higher drug prices

- By law, Medicare (Part D) has been unable to negotiate drug prices like other insurance programs do.
  - Beginning 01/01/2026, Medicare will implement negotiate prices for 10 drugs (Part of the Inflation Reduction Act of 2022)
- In 2017, Medicare spent nearly \$8 billion on insulin.
  - Researchers found that if Medicare were allowed to negotiate drug prices like the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) can, Medicare could save about \$4.4 billion/year just on insulin.
- Growing concentration of pharmaceutical companies.



## **How Much is Negotiation Worth?**

- ce federal
- The CBO estimates that drug pricing negotiation would reduce federal spending by \$456 billion and increase revenues by \$45 billion over 10 years. This would include:
  - direct savings for Medicare Part D (\$448B)
  - lower spending for the Affordable Care Act's subsidies for commercial health plans
  - lower spending for the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program
  - more government tax revenue because employers using savings from reduced premiums to fund wage increases for their workers.



Source: Congressional Budget Office, https://www.cbo.gov/system/files/2019-12/hr3 complete.pdf

77

## **Concentration in Pharmaceutical Companies**

- Between 1995 and 2015, 60 drug companies merged into 10.
- The number of mergers and acquisitions involving one of the top 25 firms more than doubled, from 29 in 2006 to 61 in 2015
- Research indicates that fewer competitors are associated with higher prices -- Especially in the market for generics.
- Mergers have a varied impact on innovation: R&D spending, patent approvals, and drug approvals.
  - Some studies have found a negative effect.





## 2) Hospital Consolidations



79

## **Hospital Monopolization**





- Hospitals acquired 8,000 more medical practices.
- 14,000 more physicians left independent practice to become hospital employees.
- Between 1999 and 2018, hospital profit margins soared!
  - From 100% in 1999 to 317% in 2018.
- Evidence suggests that with more government oversight and restraining mergers, health care costs would have been lower.



## **Potential Benefits of Consolidation**



#### Consolidation could lead to potential benefits

- Better coordination of care; Investment in care quality; reduction of costly, unnecessary duplication; Savings from scale, etc.

#### • But, ...

- Consolidation isn't integration.
- Evidence doesn't support the claims.
  - Consolidation has not led to lower costs, better quality, or coordinated care.



Source: Martin Gaynor, NIHCM.org, Supersized: The Rise of Hospital Giants

81

#### **Evidence on Consolidation** 0.3 **Price Increase Following a Hospital Merger** 0.2 Post-Merger Effect on Log Prices Increase of About 6% 0.1 Very small increase The price effect of a merger declines with the distance between the hospitals. -0.2 10 20 50 Distance (Miles) NATIONAL ECONOMIC EDUCATION DELEGATION

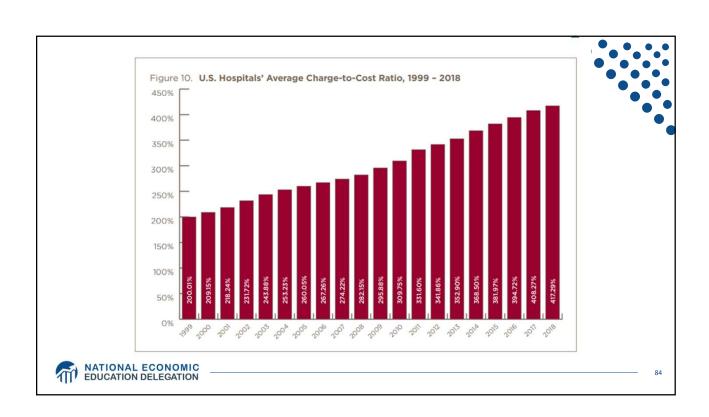
### **Hospital Monopolization Across the Nation**



- Hospitals Charge Patients More Than Four Times the Cost of Care
- The most expensive hospitals cost of care range from 1,129% at the low end to 1,808% at the high end.
- Most of the top 100 most expensive hospitals are located in states in the south and west.
  - Florida had the highest number, with 40 hospitals.
  - Other top states included Texas with 14 hospitals, Alabama with eight, Nevada with seven, and California with six.



83

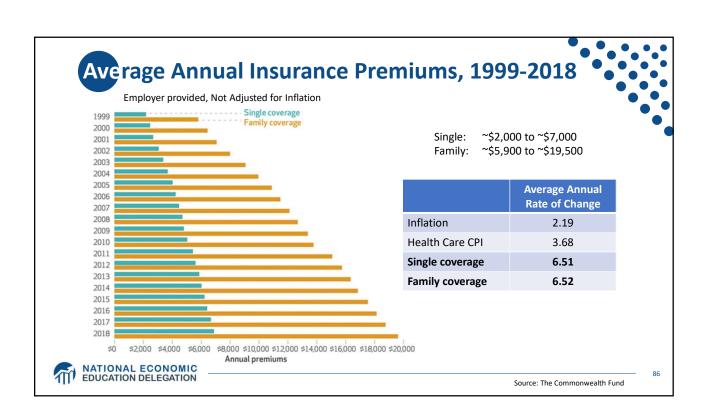


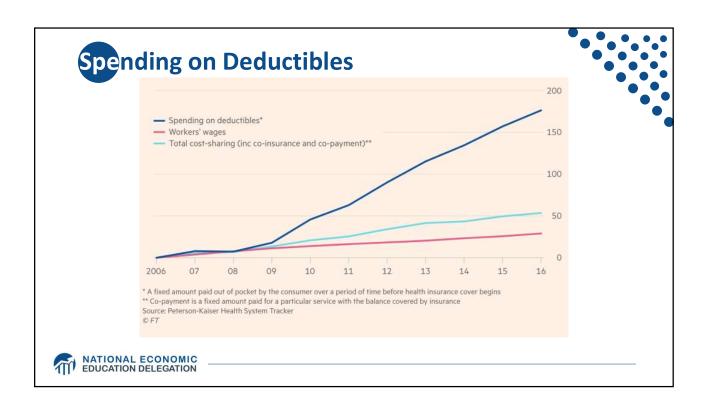


## **Concentration in specific markets:**

## 3) Health Insurance







## Reason for Higher Health Insurance Rates



- Rising prices in the health sector
- Advances in medical technologies
- Increased demand for services
- Decreasing competition in health insurance markets



## consolidation in Health Insurance Markets

- empeting for
- As of 2011, there were close to 100 insurers in Switzerland competing for consumer health care dollars, forcing firms to compete by setting prices to just cover costs.
- In the United States, **markets are state specific**; consumers can choose only from plans available in the state in which they reside.
- In 2019, of the 50 states and the District of Columbia:
  - 21 had only 1 or 2 insurers (up from 11 in 2014)
  - 14 had 3 or 4, and
  - 16 states had 5 or more. (CA had 11)

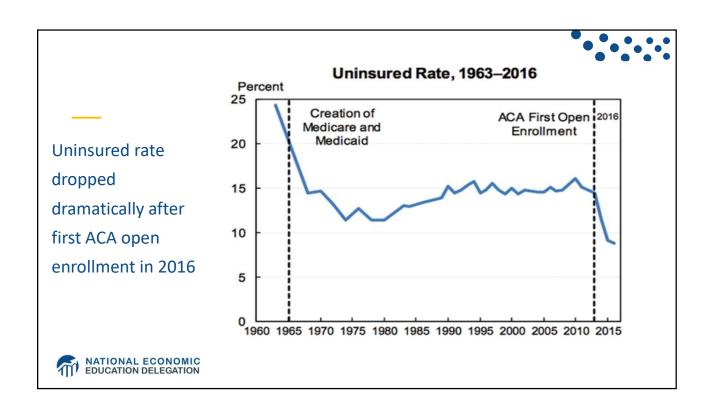


Source: KRR. Number of Issuers Participating in the Individual Health Insurance Marketplaces

## What the Affordable Care Act did:

- curanco
- Created Insurance "exchanges" where individuals could buy insurance
  - Premium could be subsidized by federal government (depends on person's income)
  - Subsidies expanded during the pandemic
- Significantly expanded Medicaid eligibility, now up to 138% of poverty level
  - Fed pays 90% of the cost for these people
  - Both Red (21) and Blue (20) states have accepted this expansion
  - Added about 20 million people to Medicaid
- Required insurance companies to cover children up to age 26
- Required people to have insurance and companies to offer insurance to employees (many exceptions allowed)
- Prevented insurance companies from excluding preexisting conditions







Imposed additional requirements for <u>Medicaid-expansion</u> people:

- Tougher work requirements (many already working)
- Additional eligibility verifications (2x per year); may be difficult for many recipients to follow
- Multiple groups estimate about 10 million people will lose Medicaid eligibility and hundreds of rural hospitals will have to close
- Savings of around \$1 trillion expected over next 10 years



# Fact vs Fiction



- Illegal immigrants are not eligible for Medicare or Medicaid
  - Exception: States can offer emergency care to illegal immigrants; this comprises less than 0.5% of all Medicaid spending



# **Alternative Health Care Structures**





## **Definition: Universal Coverage**



- **Universal coverage** refers to a healthcare system in which *all* individuals have the same insurance coverage.
- Generally, this coverage includes:
  - Access to all needed services and benefits.
  - Protects individuals from excessive financial hardships.
    - o Medical indebtedness is the #1 cause of bankruptcies in the United States.



95

## **Definition: Single-Payer**



- Only the financing component is nationalized.
  - The money for the payment can be either collected by:
    - o Taxes collected by the government
    - o Premiums collected by National or Public Health Insurance
- Single-payer systems: 17 countries
  - Norway, Japan, United Kingdom, Kuwait, Sweden, Bahrain, Brunei, Canada, United Arab Emirates, Denmark, Finland, Slovenia, Italy, Portugal, Cyprus, Spain, and Iceland.



#### **Definition: Socialized Medicine**



- **Socialized medicine** this model takes the single-payer system one step further.
  - Government not only pays for health care but also operates the hospitals and employs the medical staff.
- This is NOT, and has NEVER been, part of the debate in the United States.



97

#### **Definition: Third-Party Payer**



- A **third-party payer** is an entity that pays medical claims on behalf of the insured. Examples of third-party payers include government agencies, insurance companies, health maintenance organizations (HMOs), and employers.
  - Employer-sponsored health plans
  - Individual market health plans
  - National health insurance



## Potential pros and cons of national insurance



- Universal coverage
- Government controls quality of care
- No medical bills or co-pays (or debt!)
- Consolidated medical records (lower administrative costs; fewer errors)
- Higher wages/wage growth

#### Potential Cons

- Higher taxes
- Long wait times for elective services
- Government determines service eligibility
- May reduce incentives for innovation



99

## **Consequences of Rising Health Expenditures**



- Reduced access to care
  - Waiting for treatment increases costs
- Slower wage growth
- Personal bankruptcies
- Impact on government budgets



## Summary/closing thoughts

- Healthcare is a very complex issue
- The U.S. HealthCare system is not performing well.
  - Very expensive with mixed results regarding quality and access.
- One reason for rising expenditures is reduced competition in healthcare markets.



101

# **Closing Thoughts...**



- Third-party payment system is inefficient
  - Separates buyers and sellers from the price
  - For other goods, prices signal resource shortages or surpluses
  - High administrative costs
- The United States has the only profit-motivated healthcare system in the world.

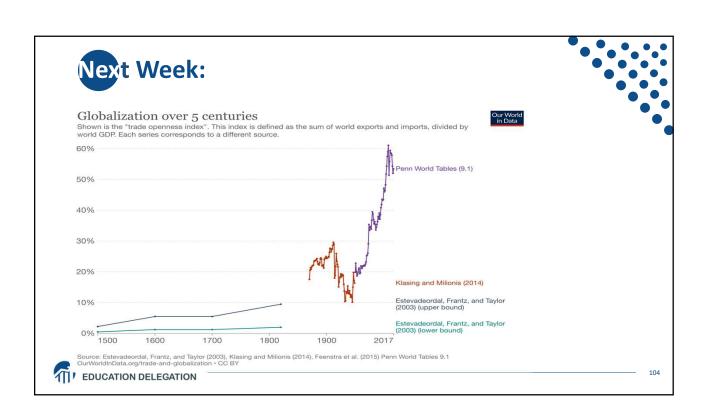






- Is health care a right or a privilege?
  - If the former, this argues for greater government involvement
- Must have someone decide how to ration healthcare services. Currently, health insurance companies do this
- Changing the focus from maximizing profits to maximizing health would help.









## **Any Questions?**

www.NEEDEcon.org Robert Rebelein, Ph.D. Rebelein@vassar.edu

Contact NEED: info@NEEDEcon.org

Submit a testimonial: www.NEEDEcon.org/testimonials.php

Become a Friend of NEED: www.NEEDEcon.org/friend.php

