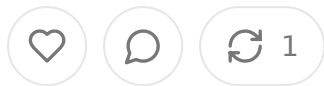


# Understanding the Great ACA Premium Surge of 2025: Market Forces, Regulatory Catalysts, and Entrepreneurial Pathways Forward

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## Abstract

The Affordable Care Act marketplace faces an unprecedented premium inflation crisis in 2025, with average increases approaching twenty percent across most states. This essay examines the regulatory, economic, and structural factors driving this

surge, including the elimination of continuous Medicaid enrollment provisions, sunseting of enhanced premium tax credits, risk pool deterioration, and underlying medical cost inflation. Key drivers include regulatory discontinuities from pandemic-era policies, adverse selection dynamics, consolidated provider market power, and pharmaceutical cost escalation. For health technology entrepreneurs and investors, this crisis presents both challenges and opportunities. Viable intervention points include risk stratification and prevention technologies, alternative care delivery models that bypass traditional fee-for-service economics, price transparency platforms, and innovative insurance structures that realign incentives. The essay argues that meaningful market correction requires moving beyond marginal improvements in claims processing or care coordination toward fundamental restructuring of how health risk is underwritten, how care is delivered, and how value is measured. Entrepreneurs who can build sustainable businesses while genuinely reducing total cost of care will find receptive markets, though the path requires navigating complex regulatory constraints and entrenched stakeholder interests.

## **Introduction: The Twenty Percent Problem**

The American healthcare system has developed a peculiar immunity to the normal economic forces that discipline other industries. When prices rise twenty percent in most markets, consumers flee, competitors emerge, and equilibrium reasserts itself through the beautiful brutality of supply and demand. Healthcare, and particularly the individual insurance market created by the Affordable Care Act, operates under entirely different physics. The projected twenty percent increase in ACA market premiums for 2025 represents not an aberration but an acceleration of trends that have plagued individual coverage since the exchanges launched in 2014.

Understanding why this is happening and what can be done about it requires moving past the usual partisan narratives about the ACA's success or failure and examining the actual mechanics of how individual health insurance markets function under current regulatory architecture.

The numbers tell a stark story that extends beyond simple premium inflation. The benchmark silver plan premium for a forty-year-old non-smoker is projected to exceed seven thousand dollars annually in many markets, before any subsidies. For families, the sticker price can approach the cost of a luxury automobile lease. The most enrollees pay substantially less through premium tax credits masks but does not solve the underlying cost disease. The federal government will spend over seven billion dollars subsidizing marketplace premiums in 2025, representing a nearly threefold increase from pre-pandemic levels. This is not sustainable fiscal policy, efficient market design, or acceptable social insurance architecture.

For entrepreneurs and investors in health technology, this crisis creates a complex landscape. On one hand, massive inefficiency and market dysfunction typically signal opportunity for innovative solutions. On the other, the individual insurance market is so heavily regulated, subsidized, and structurally constrained that many traditional entrepreneurial approaches fail on contact with reality. The graveyard of failed health insurance startups from the past decade offers sobering testimony. Oscar Health, valued at over three billion dollars, has struggled to reach sustained profitability despite raising nearly two billion in capital. Bright Health, which went public via SPAC in 2021, saw its market capitalization collapse from over six billion to under a hundred million before being acquired for parts. Clover Health faces similar challenges. These were not failures of execution but collisions with the fundamental economics of health insurance under current regulatory structures.

Yet the crisis also reveals specific intervention points where technology, better data, and novel business models might bend the cost curve. The question is not whether opportunities exist but rather which opportunities represent genuine solutions versus expensive exercises in moving money around the existing system. This essay attempts to map that territory by first understanding the regulatory drivers of premium inflation, then identifying where entrepreneurial intervention might create real value rather than simply extracting rents from an already dysfunctional market.

## **The Regulatory Architecture Behind Rising Premiums**

The immediate catalyst for the 2025 premium spike involves three regulatory discontinuities that converged simultaneously. First, the continuous enrollment provision that prevented Medicaid disenrollment during the COVID-19 public health emergency ended in early 2023, triggering the largest eligibility redetermination process in the program's history. Over fifteen million individuals lost Medicaid coverage during the unwinding process, with roughly one-third of those losing coverage due to procedural reasons rather than actual ineligibility. Many of these individuals transitioned to ACA marketplace plans, fundamentally changing the profile of exchange populations.

The Medicaid unwinding created adverse selection on an unprecedented scale. The people who successfully navigated the complex process of moving from Medicaid-subsidized marketplace coverage were disproportionately those with chronic conditions and ongoing healthcare needs. Healthy young adults who lost Medicaid coverage often simply became uninsured rather than enrolling in marketplace plans even when heavily subsidized. This is rational individual behavior but catastrophic for insurance pool dynamics. Insurers building 2025 rates in spring and summer of 2024 saw utilization data from the newly transitioned population and recognized they were substantially sicker than the pre-unwinding exchange population. Premium increases followed inexorably from actuarial mathematics.

Second, enhanced premium tax credits enacted as part of the American Rescue Plan Act in 2021 and extended through 2025 by the Inflation Reduction Act created a subsidy cliff that insurers must price around. These enhanced subsidies made marketplace coverage free or nearly free for millions of Americans, driving enrollment to record levels exceeding twenty-one million people by early 2024. However, the enhanced subsidies are scheduled to expire at the end of 2025 unless Congress acts. Insurers pricing 2025 plans face radical uncertainty about 2026 market composition. If subsidies revert to pre-2021 levels, millions of enrollees will face unaffordable premiums and likely drop coverage. The healthiest among them will disenroll first, cratering the risk pool. Rational insurers price in this risk, which means higher premiums in 2025 even though the subsidy cliff has not yet arrived.

Third, the broader regulatory structure of ACA-compliant plans constrains insurability to manage costs in ways that function in other insurance markets. Community rating provisions prevent pricing premiums based on health status and limit age-based variation to a three-to-one ratio, despite actual cost differences that can exceed five-to-one between the oldest and youngest cohorts. Guaranteed issue requirements mean insurers must accept all applicants regardless of health status. Essential health benefits mandates specify ten categories of services that must be covered, limiting ability to offer lower-cost, high-deductible catastrophic plans to anyone over the age of 30. Medical loss ratio requirements mandate that at least eighty percent of premium revenue be spent on medical claims rather than administration or profit, constraining investment in care management infrastructure.

These regulatory requirements are not inherently problematic in a well-functioning risk pool with balanced enrollment across age and health status. They become extremely problematic when adverse selection concentrates sicker, higher-cost individuals in the market. The ACA included three mechanisms designed to prevent this death spiral: an individual mandate penalty to keep healthy people enrolled, risk adjustment transfers between insurers to compensate for adverse selection, and reinsurance programs to protect against catastrophic cases. The individual mandate was zeroed out by tax legislation in 2017, eliminating that behavioral incentive. Risk adjustment exists but creates its own perverse incentives around diagnosis coding and intensity. Reinsurance programs expired after the first three years of the exchange, though some states have implemented their own versions.

What remains is a market structure that cannot efficiently price risk, cannot selectively underwrite, and cannot design benefit structures that trade off comprehensiveness for affordability. Insurers have only a few levers available: narrow provider networks that exclude expensive providers, high cost-sharing that deters utilization, and aggressive prior authorization programs that create friction. All of these approaches generate member dissatisfaction and political backlash while delivering only marginal cost savings. The result is premium inflation that reflects not just underlying medical cost trends but also the growing mismatch between regulatory requirements and market realities.

# Market Structure and the Subsidy Paradox

The enhanced premium tax credits created a paradox that appears throughout state programs but reaches an extreme form in the ACA marketplaces. By making coverage free or nearly free for most enrollees, the subsidies eliminate normal consumer price sensitivity. When someone pays ten dollars per month for a silver plan regardless of whether the sticker price is four hundred or five hundred dollars, they have no incentive to shop for value or accept trade-offs in network breadth or benefit design. Insurers know this and price accordingly. In economic terms, the price elasticity of demand approaches zero for subsidized enrollees, which is precisely the condition that allows suppliers to raise prices without losing market share.

The data bear this out clearly. In markets where enhanced subsidies made coverage free for benchmark silver plans, insurer competition often increased as carriers recognized they could win enrollment without actually being the low-cost option. What matters is network adequacy, provider relationships, and brand recognition over premium efficiency. This inverts normal insurance market competition and creates an environment where the most important customer is not the enrollee but the federal government writing the subsidy checks. Some insurers have explicitly optimized for this reality, building networks and benefit designs that appeal to high-utilizers who care intensely about provider access rather than the broader population that might prefer lower premiums in exchange for narrower networks.

The subsidy structure also creates a poverty trap that discourages income growth for people near eligibility thresholds. An individual earning slightly below four hundred percent of the federal poverty level might pay fifty dollars monthly for coverage, while earning slightly above that threshold could mean paying six hundred dollars more for the same plan. This cliff effect is economically inefficient and socially problematic but it also contributes to keeping lower-income, higher-utilization individuals in the marketplace while potentially driving out higher-income, healthier individuals who face the full unsubsidized premium.

State-level decisions compound these dynamics. States that expanded Medicaid under the ACA moved individuals up to one hundred thirty-eight percent of the federal poverty level into Medicaid, leaving the marketplace to cover those between one hundred thirty-eight and four hundred percent. States that did not expand Medicaid created a coverage gap where individuals below one hundred percent of poverty are ineligible for both Medicaid and marketplace subsidies, leading to high uninsured rates. More relevant for marketplace dynamics, non-expansion states have different risk pools because slightly higher-income populations remain in the individual market rather than enrolling in Medicaid. The result is significant premium variation across states that reflects not just local healthcare costs but also eligibility and enrollment patterns shaped by state policy choices.

Insurer market power dynamics add another layer of complexity. In many markets, one or two insurers dominate the exchanges, facing limited meaningful competition. While new entrants occasionally emerge, they struggle to build provider networks that compete with established carriers, and most withdraw after a few years of loss. The barriers to entry are not primarily regulatory in the licensing sense but operational in the sense that effective health insurance requires enormous scale, sophisticated data analytics, established provider relationships, and complex claims management infrastructure. Technology startups rarely possess these capabilities while established insurers have little incentive to compete aggressively on price. Subsidies insulate most customers from cost sensitivity.

## **The Cost Disease Contagion**

Premium inflation in the individual market reflects and amplifies the underlying cost disease that afflicts American healthcare broadly. Hospital prices have increased roughly double the rate of general inflation for decades, driven by consolidation. Large health systems give health systems enormous negotiating leverage against insurers. When a hospital system controls forty or fifty percent of inpatient beds in a metropolitan area, it cannot build viable networks without including them, and that gives the system monopoly pricing power. Private equity investment in healthcare has accelerated consolidation, with firms acquiring physician practices, ambulatory surgery centers,

and specialty providers, then optimizing for revenue maximization rather than cost efficiency.

Pharmaceutical costs represent another major driver, particularly for specialty drugs that treat chronic conditions. The list price for many biologics exceeds one hundred thousand dollars annually, and the number of such drugs continues to expand. Pharmacy benefit managers theoretically negotiate rebates and discounts, but the economics are opaque and the net savings to health plans are uncertain. Biosimilar competition has been slower to develop in the United States than in Europe, partly due to regulatory complexity and partly due to contracting practices that disadvantage biosimilar manufacturers. For marketplace insurers covering individuals with multiple sclerosis, rheumatoid arthritis, or cancer, pharmacy costs can dwarf all other medical spending.

Utilization patterns also contribute to rising costs in ways that technology has perversely accelerated rather than moderated. The proliferation of diagnostic imaging, genetic testing, and continuous monitoring generates enormous amounts of data that often identify findings of uncertain significance that trigger additional interventions. Some of this represents genuine advances in precision medicine, but much represents defensive medicine, patient demand for testing regardless of clinical utility, and the availability of technology searching for applications. When imaging centers and laboratories can bill separately for every scan and test, they have incentives to maximize volume rather than ensure appropriateness.

Administrative complexity adds substantial costs that are particularly pronounced in the individual market. Insurers must navigate state and federal regulations, manage risk adjustment, process subsidies, integrate with federal and state exchanges, and maintain compliance with evolving requirements around network adequacy, financial coverage, and quality metrics. These administrative burdens do not directly impact health outcomes but represent necessary overhead in the current system. Insurers invest heavily in prior authorization programs, utilization review, and fraud detection, all of which add administrative costs while generating limited savings and creating friction for members and providers.



The fee-for-service payment model that still dominates American healthcare creates incentives for volume rather than value. Physicians and hospitals earn more by doing more, regardless of whether additional interventions improve outcomes. Alternative payment models like bundled payments and capitation exist but cover a minority of care. For individual market insurers trying to control costs, the challenge is that members represent a small fraction of any given provider's patient panel. Physicians optimize their practice patterns for Medicare and large commercial insurers, not the fragmented individual market. This limits the influence that marketplace insurers can exert on delivery system transformation.

## **Entrepreneurial Opportunities in a Distorted Marketplace**

The magnitude of dysfunction in the individual insurance market might seem to create obvious opportunities for innovative solutions, but the history of health insurance startups suggests the opportunity set is smaller and stranger than it appears. The core challenge is that genuine cost reduction in healthcare requires changing how care is delivered, which requires controlling provider behavior, which requires either massive scale to negotiate effectively with consolidated health systems or fundamentally different care delivery models that bypass traditional providers entirely. Most health tech startups have neither.

The most promising entrepreneurial opportunities likely exist in enabling better selection and stratification without running afoul of anti-discrimination provisions. Insurers cannot explicitly select healthier members, but they can design product networks, and member experiences that appeal differentially to different populations. Technology that helps insurers understand which interventions actually improve outcomes for which patients could enable more sophisticated population health management that reduces total cost of care rather than simply shifting costs. This is longitudinal data integration across clinical, behavioral, and social determinants combined with machine learning models that identify high-risk individuals before they become high-cost and interventions that actually modify those trajectories.

Virtual-first care models represent another intervention point, particularly for behavioral health and chronic disease management where traditional in-person care has failed to deliver value commensurate with cost. Telehealth utilization surged during the pandemic and has partially sustained at higher levels, demonstrating patient acceptance. For conditions like diabetes, hypertension, and depression, evidence suggests that well-designed virtual care programs can deliver outcomes comparable to in-person care at substantially lower cost. The challenge is building sustainable businesses when insurers view these services as substitutes for existing benefits rather than complements, leading to reimbursement negotiations that aim for cost neutrality rather than genuine savings.

Price transparency tools could theoretically empower consumers to shop for low cost care, but their impact in the individual market is limited by high deductible cost-sharing that mean most enrollees hit their out-of-pocket maximums regardless where they seek care. The real value in price transparency may be in enabling insurers to design narrower networks around genuinely lower-cost, higher-quality providers and then steering patients to those providers through benefit design. This requires not just displaying prices but integrating quality metrics, coordinating referrals and managing the patient experience to overcome the default tendency to seek care from the nearest or most familiar provider.

Alternative insurance models that move beyond traditional indemnity coverage toward more integrated financing and delivery could address some structural issues but regulatory barriers are substantial. Direct primary care models that charge flat monthly fees for comprehensive primary care services, combined with catastrophic coverage for hospital and specialty care, show promise in reducing total costs while improving patient satisfaction. However, these models struggle to scale without employer sponsorship or regulatory changes that allow them to satisfy individual mandate requirements and qualify for premium tax credits. Health savings accounts in eligible high-deductible plans have shown some success in moderating utilization but their appeal is limited in a market where most enrollees receive substantial subsidies that make comprehensive coverage essentially free.

Predictive analytics and care management platforms represent a crowded space with mixed results. Many insurers have invested heavily in identifying high-risk members and intervening with nurse care managers, medication adherence programs, and care coordination. The evidence on return on investment is mixed at best. Most programs show modest improvements in process measures like medication adherence but struggle to demonstrate reductions in total cost of care. The challenge is that truly high-cost patients often have complex medical and social needs that cannot be addressed through telephone coaching. Effective intervention requires integration of medical care with housing, transportation, nutrition, and behavioral health support, which existing payment models do not accommodate.

## **The Investor's Dilemma**

For venture capital and growth equity investors evaluating opportunities in this space, the dilemma is acute. The addressable market is enormous, the inefficiency is obvious, and the social value of genuine solutions would be substantial. Yet the path to building a large, profitable, sustainable business is obscured by regulatory complexity, entrenched interests, and the reality that most apparent innovation in healthcare represents cost-shifting rather than cost reduction. Investors must distinguish between companies that make money by extracting value from the existing system and companies that make money by actually making the system work better, and the former category is much larger than the latter.

The unit economics of most health insurance businesses are challenging even for established carriers. Underwriting margins in the individual market are typically single digits in good years and negative in bad years. Investment income on float helps, but low interest rates through much of the 2010s compressed that revenue stream. Administrative costs consume fifteen to twenty percent of premium revenue even for efficient operators. This leaves little room for technology platforms or service providers to insert themselves in the value chain and extract meaningful fees. Successful health tech companies in this space typically need to demonstrate that they can reduce medical costs by amounts that exceed their fees, which is a much higher bar than simply improving member satisfaction or streamlining operations.

The exit landscape also poses challenges. Acquisitions by health insurers have become the most common exit path for successful health tech startups, but acquirers are increasingly sophisticated about distinguishing between genuinely differentiated technology and features they could build internally or obtain from multiple vendors. Public markets have shown limited appetite for pure-play health insurance or health services companies that lack clear paths to profitability. The SPAC boom of 2021 briefly opened windows for companies that would not have met traditional IPO standards, but most of those businesses have subsequently struggled, making future public market exits more difficult.

The regulatory risk is non-trivial and difficult to underwrite. Changes to ACA provisions, subsidy levels, or market rules can fundamentally alter business models overnight. A startup that builds technology optimized for current subsidy structures and plan designs could see its value proposition evaporate if Congress modifies the credit formula or changes essential health benefit requirements. Geographic expansion is complicated by state-level variation in regulations, Medicaid eligibility, and market dynamics. What works in Texas may not work in California or New York, and building separate product variants for each state is expensive and operationally complex.

The competitive moat question is also challenging for many health tech businesses in this space. Technology alone rarely provides durable competitive advantage in healthcare because distribution and provider relationships matter more than superior algorithms or user interfaces. A brilliant predictive model for identifying diabetic patients at risk of complications has limited value if you cannot reach those patients with effective interventions or if competing vendors offer similar accuracy. Network effects and data advantages accrue to scale players, which means startups often find themselves in a race to achieve critical mass before running out of capital or being replicated by incumbents.

## **Pathways to Market Correction**

Meaningful correction of the individual insurance market requires changes at multiple levels: regulatory, structural, competitive, and technological. No single intervention will suffice, but combinations of reforms could bend the cost curve maintaining or improving coverage. For entrepreneurs and investors, understanding these potential pathways helps identify which opportunities align with likely policy evolution versus which depend on the status quo persisting.

Subsidy reform represents an obvious target. The enhanced premium tax credits increased enrollment but at enormous fiscal cost and with perverse incentives and price inflation. A more efficient approach might involve income-adjusted vouchers that provide fixed dollar amounts rather than percentage-of-premium subsidies, creating consumer price sensitivity while maintaining affordability. Enrollees would have reason to choose lower-cost plans, and insurers would face competitive pressure to reduce premiums rather than just meet subsidy thresholds. The political challenge is that any reform that reduces subsidies for some enrollees will generate opposition even if the overall system becomes more efficient.

Reinsurance programs have proven effective at moderating premium growth in states that have implemented them. By covering a portion of high-cost claims, reinsurance reduces the risk that insurers face and allows them to price more competitively. The federal government could fund a permanent reinsurance program for the individual market, or states could continue implementing their own programs with or without federal pass-through funding. The objection is that reinsurance is expensive and represents another subsidy layer, but the cost is likely lower than allowing premiums to spiral upward and forcing larger premium tax credits. For entrepreneurs, reinsurance creates opportunities in high-cost case management and specialty pharmacy services that help insurers and reinsurers manage the catastrophic claims that trigger reinsurance payments.

Public option proposals would introduce a government-run health plan competing with private insurers in the marketplaces. Proponents argue this would increase competition and provide a benchmark that holds private insurers accountable. Opponents worry it would leverage government negotiating power to underpay providers, leading to narrow networks and access problems, or that it would

eventually crowd out private options through implicit subsidies. The entrepreneurial implications are ambiguous. A public option might purchase more services from third-party technology vendors if it lacks internal capabilities, or it might reduce the addressable market for solutions targeting private insurers.

Multi-state plans that could operate across state lines with streamlined regulatory approval might increase competition and allow insurers to achieve scale more efficiently. Current regulations require separate licensure and compliance in each state, which creates barriers to entry and prevents national competitors from fully leveraging their scale. The challenge is that healthcare is fundamentally local, with provider markets, cost structures, and practice patterns varying enormously across geographies. A national insurance product would still need local networks and market-specific pricing, limiting the efficiency gains from multi-state operation.

Alternative care delivery models that vertically integrate insurance and provider functions could address some incentive misalignment. Kaiser Permanente has operated this model for decades with generally lower costs and comparable or better outcomes than traditional fee-for-service systems. The model allows for long-term investment in prevention and care coordination because the entity bearing insurance risk directly benefits from keeping people healthy. Technology-enabled versions of this model, sometimes called virtual-first health plans, have attracted significant venture investment. The question is whether they can achieve sufficient scale and network breadth to compete with established insurers while actually reducing costs rather than selecting for healthier populations.

Regulatory changes that allow greater flexibility in benefit design could enable innovation in how insurance products are structured. Current essential health benefits requirements mean that all marketplace plans must cover a comprehensive set of services, limiting the ability to offer lower-cost catastrophic plans or specialized products targeting specific populations. Allowing greater variation could enable experimentation with different models and let consumers choose the trade-offs that work for their circumstances. The risk is that this could lead to adverse selection: healthy people choose bare-bones coverage and sick people choose comprehensive plans, recreating the pre-ACA market dysfunction.

# Conclusion: Building Better Mousetrap

The twenty percent premium increase projected for 2025 in the ACA marketplace reflects deep structural problems that will not be solved through incremental tinkering or marginal technological improvements. The regulatory architecture created by the ACA, modified by subsequent legislation and judicial decisions, intersects with the underlying cost disease in American healthcare to produce a system that serves almost no one well. Enrollees face high premiums and cost-sharing, insurers operate on razor-thin margins or losses, providers struggle with administrative complexity and payment disputes, and taxpayers fund growing subsidies that paper over but do not solve the fundamental inefficiency.

For health technology entrepreneurs and investors, this landscape is both daunting and full of possibility. The failure of previous waves of health insurance innovation provides important lessons about the limits of technology to solve problems that are fundamentally about misaligned incentives, market power, and regulatory constraints. Simply digitizing broken processes or adding analytics to flawed payment models rarely creates sustainable value. The successful opportunities will likely involve actually changing how care is delivered and financed, not just optimizing the existing system.

The most promising paths forward probably involve some combination of regulatory reform to allow greater flexibility and experimentation, technological enablement of genuinely different care models, and business model innovation that better aligns incentives between patients, providers, and payers. This might look like virtual-integrated delivery systems that combine sophisticated risk stratification with proactive intervention for high-risk patients. It might look like specialty solutions that fundamentally change how specific high-cost conditions are managed. It might look like platforms that enable direct relationships between patients and providers while using insurance only for catastrophic protection.

What seems clear is that marginal improvements in claims processing, prior authorization efficiency, or member engagement will not bend the cost curve sufficiently to matter. The system is too broken for incremental fixes to work. Yet

wholesale replacement faces enormous barriers from entrenched interests, regulatory complexity, and the sheer scale of the healthcare economy. The viable middle path involves finding specific points of intervention where innovative approaches can demonstrate value at small scale, then expanding as they prove the model works.

For investors, this means betting on teams that deeply understand both the operational realities of health insurance and the clinical realities of healthcare delivery, who can navigate regulatory complexity while building businesses that genuinely reduce costs rather than shift them. It means patient capital willing to the multi-year journey required to build network relationships, demonstrate clinical outcomes, and achieve the scale necessary for sustainable unit economics. It means recognizing that the biggest opportunities may not look like traditional software businesses and may require business models more similar to insurance or health delivery than to enterprise SaaS.

The magnitude of the problem guarantees continued entrepreneurial effort to solve it. The question is whether the current regulatory and market structure allows solutions to emerge and scale, or whether we will see another wave of well-intentioned startups crash against the rocks of healthcare economics. The answer will determine not the fate of individual companies and funds but the viability of the individual health insurance market and the health security of millions of Americans who depend on it. That makes it not just a business opportunity but a social imperative, which should motivate the best entrepreneurs to tackle it despite the difficulty. The work matters too much to leave to those who built the current system or who profit from its dysfunction.



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