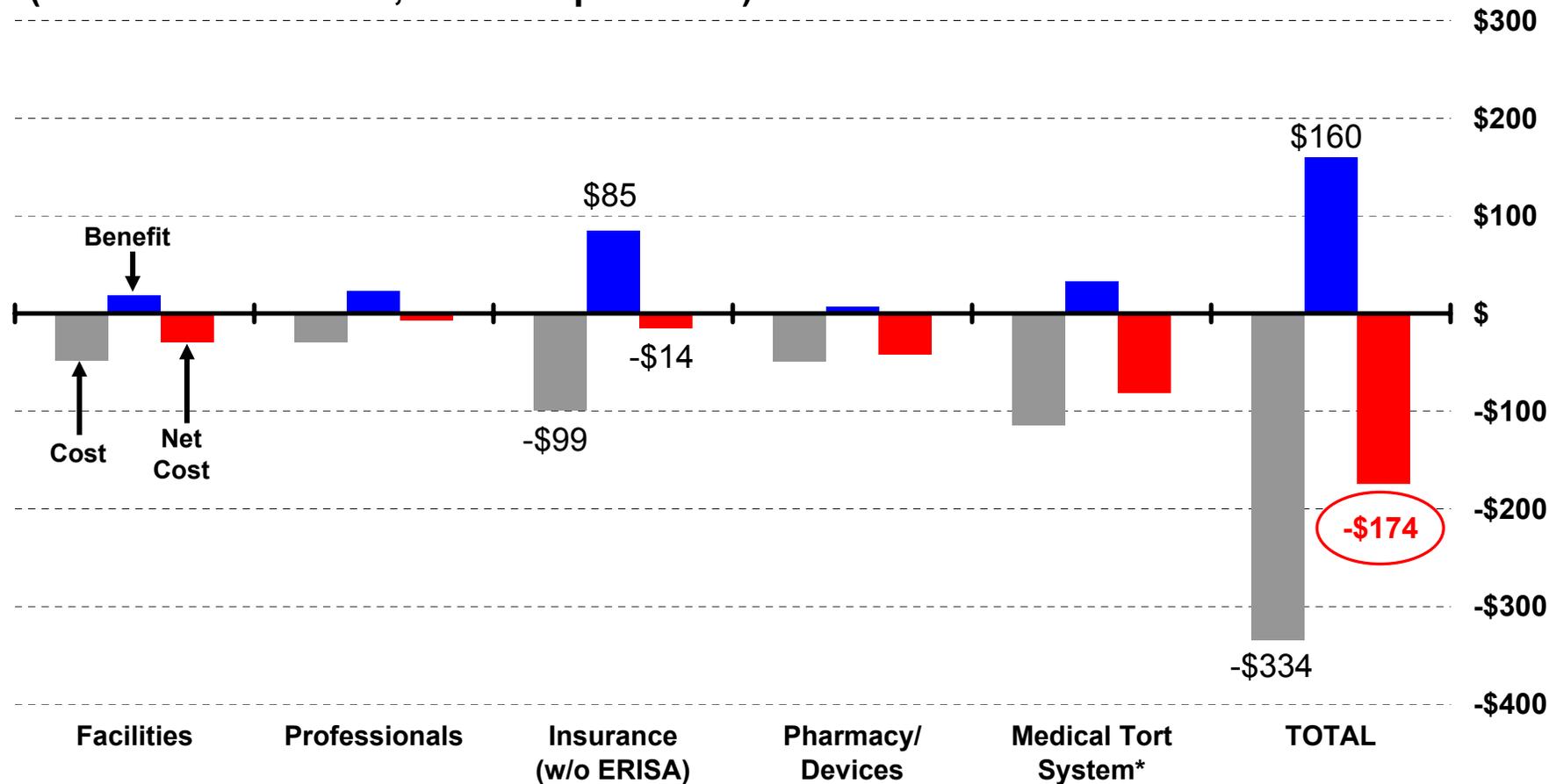


# Health Regulation Costs, Without ERISA Benefits, Outweigh Benefits by \$174 Billion in 2002

(in billions of dollars, bottom up method)



Source: Christopher J. Conover, Center for Health Policy, Law and Management, Duke University

\*Includes costs of medical professional liability insurance, courts and defensive medicine. Claimants' costs not compensated through awards are excluded.

Prepared by the Joint Economic Committee  
 Chairman Robert F. Bennet  
 May 17, 2004