

The Downward Spiral

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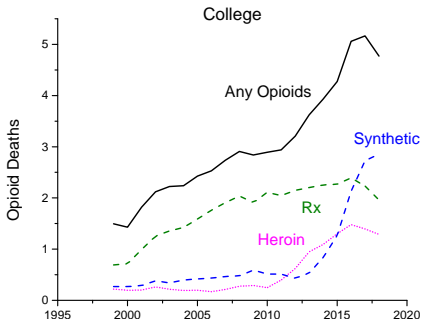
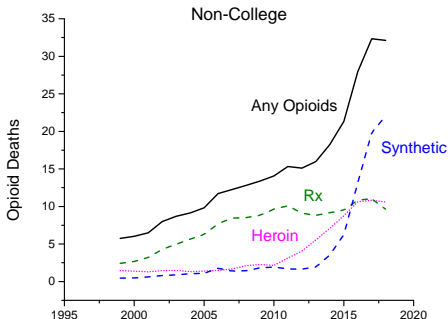
*The views expressed do not necessarily reflect the position of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland or the Federal Reserve System.

Introduction

The US Opioid Crisis

- Since 2000, more than 500,000 opioid overdose deaths.
- Leading cause of accidental death since 2017.

Opioid Deaths per 100,000 population by education



- Death rate and rise in synthetic opioids death rate particularly high for non-college.

Question

- What accounts for the dramatic rise in opioid overdose deaths?

Analysis

- Model recreational opioid usage, addiction, and death
- Calibrate to 2015–18 **cross-sectional** medical/economic data
 - Separate calibrations for college and non-college
 - Perform a cross-state validation check
- Assess various causal factors for the opioid crisis
 - Changes from 2000 to 2015–18 in
 - Prices (Rx and street)
 - Medical practices (Rx dosage levels and Rx durations)
 - Risk of death conditional on addiction
 - Misinformation about addiction risk

Main Findings

- All factors together account for:
 - 73% of the \uparrow in non-college deaths
 - 49% of the \uparrow in college deaths
- Most important factors: \downarrow in prices, \uparrow in death risk, \downarrow in misinformation
- Consumers value recreational opioids
 - non-college: 0.52% of their consumption
 - college: 0.23%
- Consumers value medical interventions that reduce addiction or death risk
 - even though these could increase opioid consumption and deaths

In the 1990s physicians rethought the need to manage pain

- 1995: Dr. James Campbell addresses the American Pain Society: **treat pain as the “fifth vital sign”** (American Pain Society, 1999)

Drug companies entered the scene

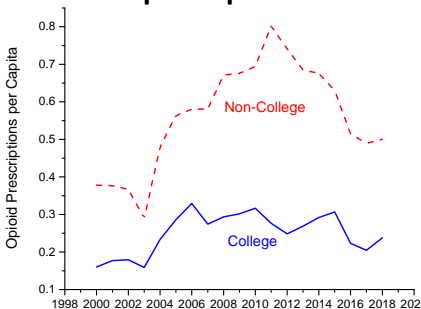
- 1996: Purdue Pharma introduces **OxyContin** with aggressive marketing campaign claiming:
 - “(d)elayed absorption, as provided by OxyContin tablets, is believed to reduce the abuse liability of a drug”
 - rate of addiction: < 1%
- Pills were open to abuse by crushing then snorting or injecting.

Introduction

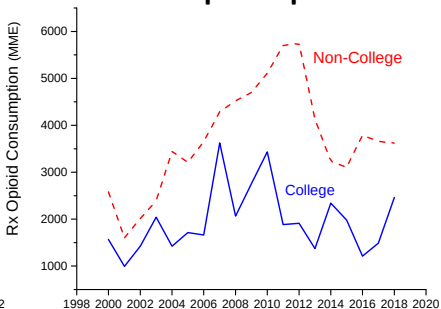
Increase in prescription opioids

Starting in early 2000's, large increase in Rx opioid use.

Opioid prescriptions per capita

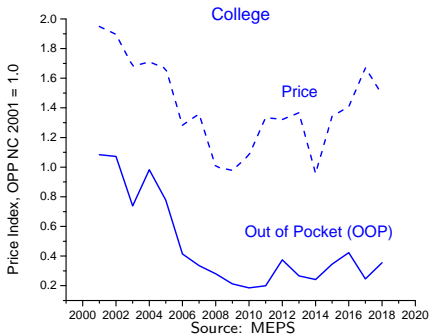
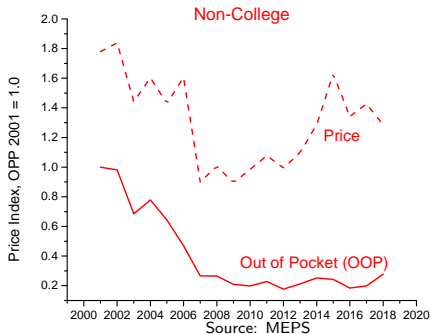


Avg Rx opioid consumption cond on a prescription



Source: Medical Expenditure Panel Survey (MEPS), sample: non-students ages 18-64

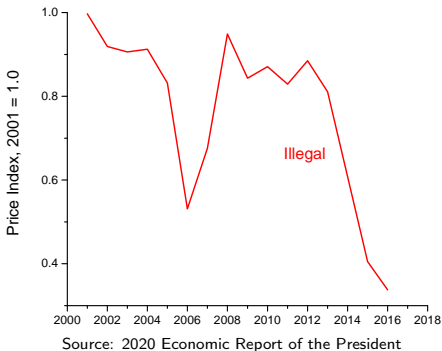
And dramatic fall in prescription opioid prices.



Drivers:

- advent of generic prescription opioids in 2004
- 2001–2010: % of Rx opioids funded by govt ↑ from 17% to 60% due to Medicare Part D Rx drug coverage (2006) and ↑ in SSDI recepiency.

As well as fall in illegal opioid prices.



Drivers:

- diversion of opioids from legal sources onto the black market
- illegal imports of inexpensive powerful and more deadly synthetic opioids, fentanyl

US Population Ages 18-64 by Opioid Use, 2015/18

	Nonuser	Prescription	Misuser	Addict	Dead
<i>Non-College</i>	0.80688	0.13477	0.04479	0.01328	0.00028
<i>College</i>	0.87342	0.09182	0.03040	0.00432	0.00005

Source: NSDUH, MEPS, and CDC Vital Statistics

- **Misuser:** use any opioids w/o a prescription, use for reasons other than directed by a physician, use more than prescribed
- **Addict:** misuser who has an opioids dependence according to criteria in the American Psychiatric Association *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-5)
- Calibrated model will match this distribution

US Population Ages 18-64 by Opioid Use, 2015/18

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<i>College</i>	0.87342	0.09182	0.03040	0.00432	0.00005
<i>NC/CL</i>		1.47	1.47	3.07	5.60

Source: NSDUH, MEPS, and CDC Vital Statistics

- Non-college:
 - 3 times more likely to be an addict
 - 5.6 times more likely to die from opioid overdose
 - About twice as likely to die conditional on addiction

Non-college account for **86%** of addicts and **93%** of deaths.

Goods

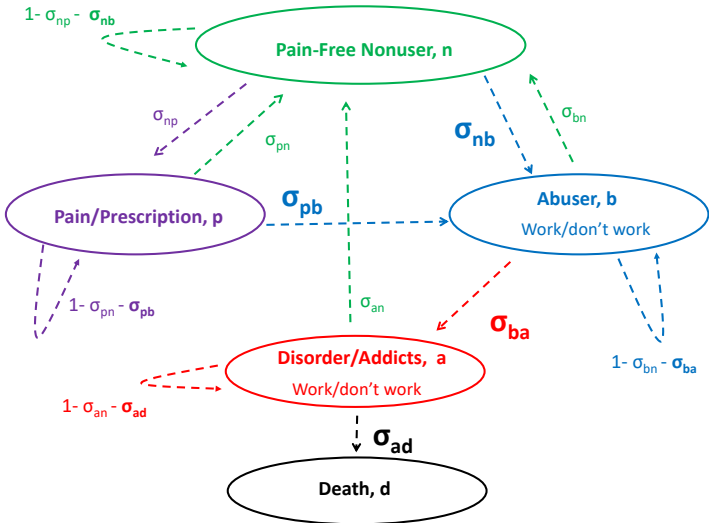
- Three goods: consumption, c , leisure, l , and opioids, o
 - price of prescription opioids, p
 - prescription level of opioids, \underline{o}
 - price of black market opioids, q

Addiction

- Five stages of potential addiction, $s = n, p, b, a, d$
- n , nonuser—everyone starts here
- p , prescription user
 - $\rightarrow b$, abuser—either nonuser or prescription user
 - $\rightarrow a$, addict
 - $\rightarrow d$, death

Transition Probabilities

- Transition probability from stage i to j , σ_{ij}
 - some endogenous, some exogenous



Labor

- Hours worked are indivisible, $h \in \{0, \mathfrak{h}\}$
- Productivity in stage s , π_s
 - $\pi_a < \pi_b < \pi_p = \pi_n$
- Non-employment transfer, t
- Employment decision made after opioid decision
- Nonusers and prescription users always work

Budget Constraint

$$c = \begin{cases} \pi_s \mathfrak{h}, & \text{works}/\sim\text{use}, s = n; \\ \pi_s \mathfrak{h} - qo, & \text{works}/\text{uses}, s = n, b, a; \\ \pi_s \mathfrak{h} - p\underline{o} - q(o - \underline{o}), & \text{works}/\text{uses}, s = p; \\ t - qo, & \sim\text{work}/\text{uses}, s = b, a. \end{cases}$$

Opioid utility function – state contingent

$$O(o - \underline{o}) = \begin{cases} O_s(o - \underline{o}) + \varepsilon_s = \mu_s[(o - \underline{o})^{1-\psi} - 1]/(1 - \psi) + \varepsilon_s, & \text{user in } s = n, p; \\ O_s(o - \underline{o}) = \mu_b[(o - \underline{o})^{1-\psi} - 1]/(1 - \psi), & \text{user in } s = b; \\ O_s(o - \underline{o}) = \mu_a[(o - \underline{o})^{1-\psi} - 1]/(1 - \psi) - \omega_a, & \text{user in } s = a; \\ 0, & \text{nonabuser in } s = n, p. \end{cases}$$

with state contingent weights

$$\mu_a \geq \mu_b \geq \mu_p \geq \mu_n;$$

Gumbel euphoria shocks

$$\Pr[\varepsilon_s \leq \tilde{\varepsilon}_s] = \Gamma(\tilde{\varepsilon}_s) = \exp(-\exp[-(\tilde{\varepsilon}_s - \nu_s)/\zeta_s]), \text{ for } s = n, p;$$

and addiction utility cost $\omega_a \geq 0$.

Leisure utility function – state contingent

$$L(l) = \begin{cases} L_s(1 - h) = (1 - \mu_s)\eta \ln(1 - h), & \text{work, } s = n, p, b, a; \\ L_s(1) + \lambda_s = \lambda_s & \sim \text{work, } s = b, a. \end{cases}$$

with **Gumbel leisure shocks**

$$\Pr[\lambda_s \leq \tilde{\lambda}_s] = \Lambda(\tilde{\lambda}_s) = \exp(-\exp[-(\tilde{\lambda}_s - \iota_s)/\xi_s]), \text{ for } s = b, a.$$

Goods utility function – state contingent

$$U(c) = (1 - \mu_s)(1 - \eta)(c^{1-\rho} - 1)/(1 - \rho).$$

Objective probabilities of addiction and death – endogenous

$$\sigma_{ij} = S_{ij}(o) = \kappa_j \sqrt{o}, \text{ for } (i \rightarrow j) = (b \rightarrow a), (a \rightarrow d)$$

- function of opioid use, o

Subjective probability of addiction – early stage of crisis

$$\tilde{\sigma}_{ba} = \alpha S_{ba}(o), \text{ with } 0 \leq \alpha \leq 1$$

- degree of misperception, α

Expected Lifetime Utilities

- N , nonuser
 - before ecstasy shock, ε_n
- P , prescription user
 - before ecstasy shock, ε_p
- B , abuser
 - before leisure shock, λ_b
- A , addict
 - before leisure shock, λ_a
- δ , value of death
- β , discount factor

Prescription User

- *Threshold rule for opioid use*

$$o = \begin{cases} \underline{o}, & \text{abide by Rx, if } \varepsilon_p < \varepsilon_p^*; \\ o > \underline{o}, & \text{don't abide, if } \varepsilon_p > \varepsilon_p^*. \end{cases}$$

- *Odds abide by prescription*

$$\Pr(\text{abide}) = \underbrace{\Gamma(\varepsilon_p^*)}_{\text{Gumbel}}$$

$$\Pr(\text{don't abide}) = 1 - \Gamma(\varepsilon_p^*)$$

Prescription User's Bellman equation

$$\begin{aligned}
 P = & \underbrace{\Gamma(\varepsilon_p^*)}_{\text{abide}} \left\{ U(\pi_p \mathfrak{h} - \mathbf{p}\underline{o}) + L_p(1 - \mathfrak{h}) + \beta[(1 - \sigma_{pn})P + \sigma_{pn}N] \right\} \\
 & + \underbrace{[1 - \Gamma(\varepsilon_p^*)]}_{\text{don't abide}} \left\{ \max_{o > \underline{o}} U(\pi_p \mathfrak{h} - \mathbf{p}\underline{o} - \mathbf{q}(o - \underline{o})) + O_p(o - \underline{o}) \right. \\
 & \left. + \mathbf{E}[\varepsilon_p | \varepsilon_p \geq \varepsilon_p^*] + L_p(1 - \mathfrak{h}) + \beta[(1 - \sigma_{bn})B + \sigma_{bn}N] \right\}.
 \end{aligned}$$

Abusers

- *Threshold rule for working*

$$h = \begin{cases} 1, & \text{work, if } \lambda_b < \lambda_b^*; \\ 0, & \text{don't work, if } \lambda_b > \lambda_b^*. \end{cases}$$

- *Odds of work and no work*

$$\Pr(\text{work}) = \Lambda(\lambda_b^*) \text{ and } \Pr(\text{don't work}) = 1 - \Lambda(\lambda_b^*)$$

- *Odds of addiction*

- Actual: $S_{ba}(o)$
- Perceived: $\alpha S_{ba}(o)$
 - functions of opioid use, o

Abuser's Bellman equation

$$\begin{aligned}
 B = \max_{o > \underline{o}} & \left\{ \underbrace{\Lambda(\lambda_b^*)}_{\text{work}} \left\{ U(\pi_b \mathfrak{h} - \mathbf{q}o) + O_b(o - \underline{o}) + L_b(1 - \mathfrak{h}) \right. \right. \\
 & \left. \left. + [1 - \alpha S_{ba}(o)] \beta [(1 - \sigma_{bn})B + \sigma_{bn}N] + \alpha S_{ba}(o) \beta A \right\} \right. \\
 & \quad + \\
 & \left. \underbrace{[1 - \Lambda(\lambda_b^*)]}_{\text{don't work}} \left\{ U(t - \mathbf{q}o) + O_b(o - \underline{o}) + L_b(1) + \mathbf{E}[\lambda_b | \lambda_b \geq \lambda_b^*] \right. \right. \\
 & \left. \left. + [1 - \alpha S_{ba}(o)] \beta [(1 - \sigma_{bn})B + \sigma_{bn}N] + \underbrace{\alpha S_{ba}(o)}_{\text{addiction}} \beta A \right\} \right\}.
 \end{aligned}$$

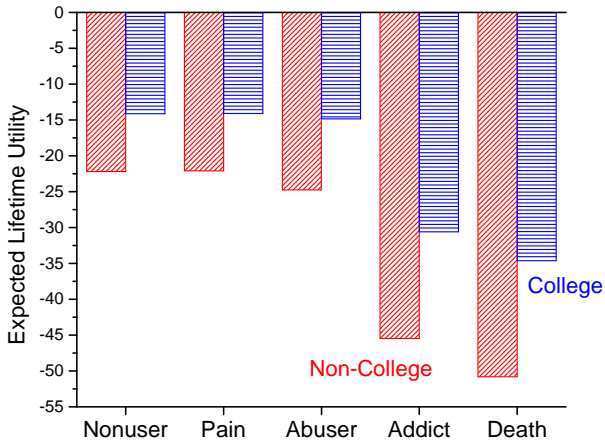
misinformation

- Between 2000 and 2018:
 - \downarrow opioid prices (\mathbf{p} and \mathbf{q})
 - \uparrow prescription dosage level ($\underline{\mathbf{o}}$)
 - \uparrow prescription duration ($\downarrow \sigma_{pn}$)
 - \uparrow death risk conditional on addiction (κ_d)
 - due to shift in opioid consumption towards more deadly fentanyl
 - \downarrow misinformation about addiction risk ($\uparrow \alpha$)
- Assess impact of these changes on usage and deaths

- Model period is one year.
- Calibrate model to 2015–2018 cross-sectional data **assuming no misinformation** ($\alpha = 1$).
- Some parameters are set directly others are chosen by targeting moments such as
 - opioid consumption levels and transition rates by stage of usage, opioid price elasticity, VSL.
- To determine α in 2000:
 - assume beliefs about addiction risk in 2000 are same as in 2010 (peak of Rx distribution).
 - target 2010–2018 change in deaths given observed changes in prices, Rx's, and death risk.
- Separate calibrations for college and non-college.

Baseline Calibration

The Downward Spiral



Cross-State Validation Check

Triplicate Prescription Programs

- When OxyContin was introduced in 1996, some states had drug monitoring programs called Triplicate Prescription Programs.
 - California, Idaho, Illinois, NY, Texas
- Triplicate states:
 - OxyContin distribution was $\approx 50\%$ ↓
 - **Less marketing** of OxyContin
 - Opioid deaths were 45% ↓
 - Number of people misusing opioids was 50% ↓

(Alpert, Evans, Lieber and Powell, 2019)
- Is the model-implied relationship between **distribution and marketing of Rx opioids** and **opioid misuse/deaths** consistent with this evidence?

Cross-State Validation Check

Mimicking Triplicate Prescription Programs

Exercise: Compare misuse/deaths in

- 2000 steady state and
- 2000 steady state with Triplicate Prescription Programs:
 - Rx opioid distribution 50% lower:
 - ① ↓ # Rx users (σ_{np})
 - ② ↓ Rx strength (\underline{a} in budget constraint only)
 - ③ Equal share decline in both
 - Less OxyContin marketing:
 - Eliminated misinformation

Deaths in 2000: Effect of Triplicate Prescription Programs

	Deaths	Misusers (%)
2000 steady state	17,449	3.0
Rx opioid distribution 50%↓		
↓ # <i>Rx users</i>	7,124 (59.2%↓)	1.3 (56.1%↓)
↓ <i>Rx strength</i>	10,608 (39.2%↓)	2.0 (33.3%↓)
↓ <i>Both</i>	8,632 (50.5%↓)	1.6 (46.3%↓)

- Alpert et al (2022): 45% lower deaths in triplicate states.

Deaths in 2000: Effect of Triplicate Prescription Programs

	Deaths	Misusers (%)
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↓ <i>Both</i>	8,632 (50.5%↓)	1.6 (46.3%↓)

- Alpert et al (2022): 50% less misusers in triplicate states.

- Between 2000 and 2018
 - ① prices declined
 - ② prescriptions became more powerful
 - ③ prescription lengths got longer
 - ④ risk of death conditional on addiction increased
 - ⑤ misinformation about addiction risk declined
- Use model to assess the contribution of each factor to the rise in opioid usage and death.

Experiment: Higher prices

Increase opioid prices: street 155%, prescription 350%

Non-college			
	Baseline 2018	$\uparrow p$ and q 2000	% Change 2018 to 2000
<i>Opioid Consumption</i>			
Average	365.6	119.7	67% \downarrow
Misusers	3,967.8	3,877.7	
Addicts	14,372.3	8,865.2	
<i>Demographics</i>			
Misusers	0.0444	0.0179	
Addicts	0.0132	0.0057	
Deaths	37,596	12,662	
Deaths, explained		83%	

- Higher prices \Rightarrow 67% decline in opioid consumption for non-college.

Experiment: Higher prices

Increase opioid prices: street 155%, prescription 350%

Non-college			
	Baseline 2018	$\uparrow p$ and q 2000	% Change 2018 to 2000
<i>Opioid Consumption</i>			
Average	365.6	119.7	
Misusers	3,967.8	3,877.7	2% ↓
Addicts	14,372.3	8,865.2	38% ↓
<i>Demographics</i>			
Misusers	0.0444	0.0179	60% ↓
Addicts	0.0132	0.0057	57% ↓
Deaths	37,596	12,662	
Deaths, explained		83%	

- Both consumption conditional on misuse/addiction and the number of misusers/addicts decline.

Experiment: Higher prices

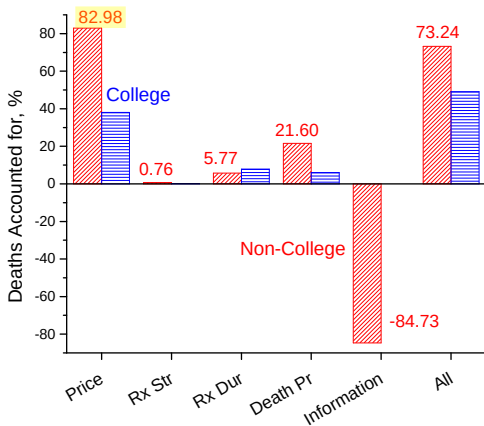
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- Non-college: $\approx 7,549$ deaths in 2000
- Change in prices generates $\approx 83\%$ of change in deaths

Results Summary

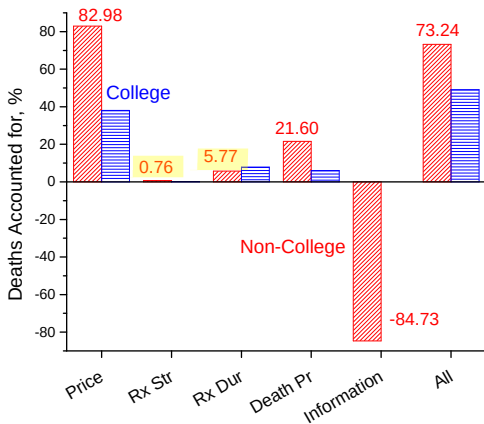
Accounting for the increase in opioid deaths 2000 to 2018



- Decline in prices had the largest effect accounting for 83% of the rise in non-college deaths.

Results Summary

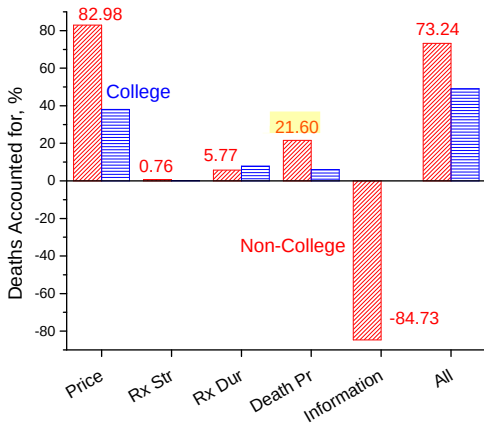
Accounting for the increase in opioid deaths 2000 to 2018



- Changes in Rx dosages and durations had little effect.

Results Summary

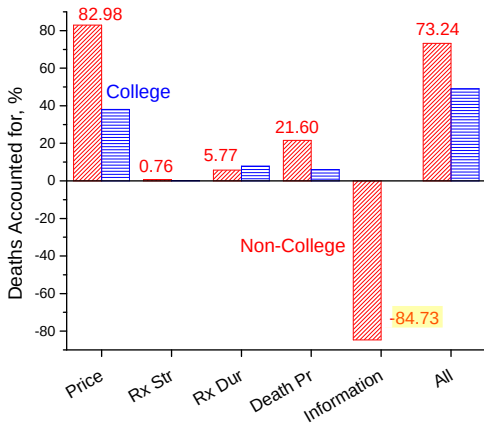
Accounting for the increase in opioid deaths 2000 to 2018



- Increases in the risk of death accounts for 22% of the rise.

Results Summary

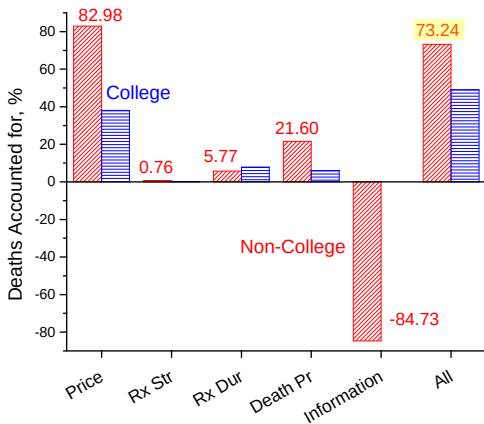
Accounting for the increase in opioid deaths 2000 to 2018



- Decline in misinformation reduced deaths by 85% of the rise.

Results Summary

Accounting for the increase in opioid deaths 2000 to 2018



- All factors together account for 73% of the rise in deaths for non-college and 49% for college.

- A model of the opioid crisis is developed and calibrated.
- Find:
 - drop in Rx and street prices of opioids
 - increases in Rx strength and duration
 - increase in addicts' death risk and
 - decline in misinformationcan account for more than 70% of rise in non-college deaths.
- Drop in prices and increase in death risk had the largest impact.

Results: Medical Advances

Reducing the probability of addiction or death

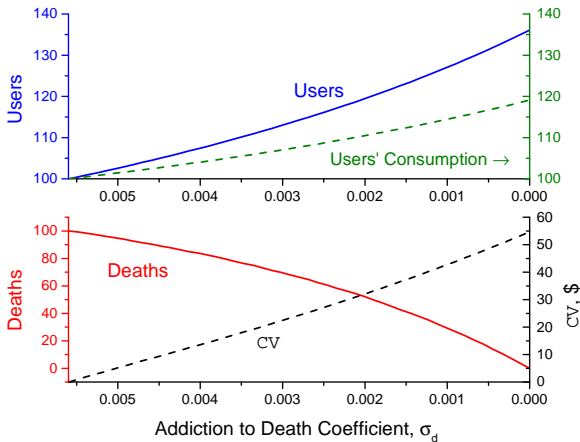
- Consider two medical advances:
 - ① A reduction in the probability of death for a given level of opioid usage

Example: improvements in drugs like Naloxone
 - ② A reduction in the probability of addiction for a given level of opioid usage

Example: development of less addictive opioids
- What are the implications for usage and deaths?

Results: Medical Advances

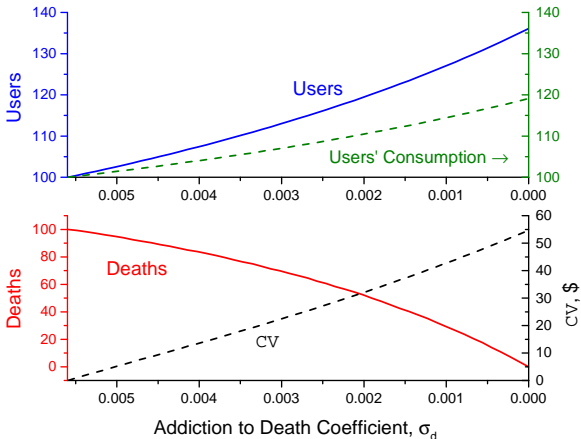
Reducing the probability of dying by lowering σ_d



- Number of users and their usage levels \uparrow .
- Consistent with Doleac and Mukherjee (2021) who find \uparrow access to naloxone \Rightarrow \uparrow usage using cross-state variation.

Results: Medical Advances

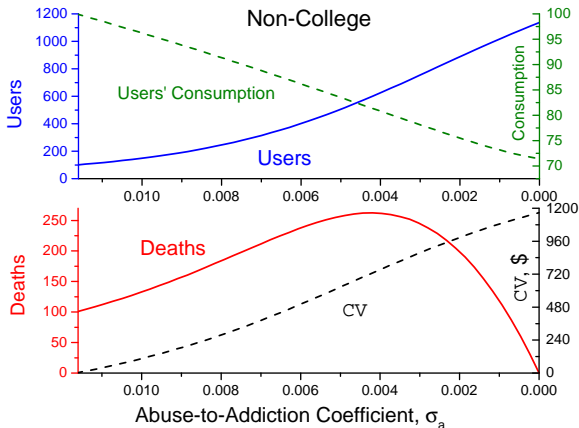
Reducing the probability of dying by lowering σ_d



- On net, **deaths** ↓.
- Avg. WTP \approx \$24 for 50% ↓ in cond. death prob.

Results: Medical Advances

Reducing the probability of addiction by lowering σ_a



- Number of users \uparrow substantially but usage levels \downarrow (less addicts). Deaths \uparrow and then \downarrow .
- Avg. WTP \approx \$522 for 50% \downarrow in cond. addiction prob.

Baseline Calibration

Value of recreational opioids to consumers

- What is the willingness to pay to move from a world without illegal opioids to their availability at the 2015–2018 prices?

**WTP to reduce illicit price of opioids
from ∞ to baseline value**

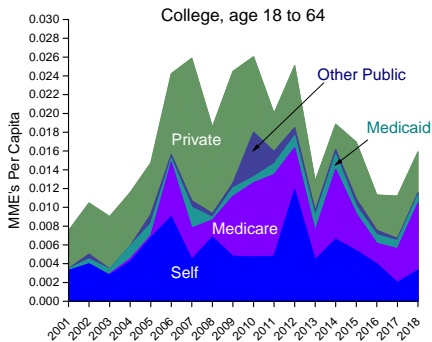
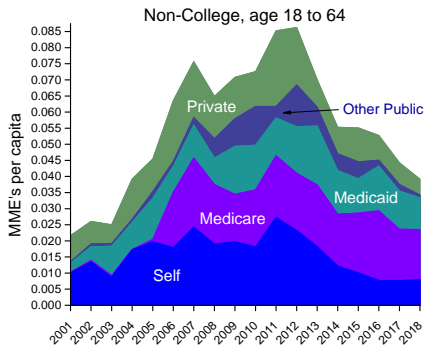
	Non-College	College
Non-user	\$198.64	\$146.40
Prescription-user	\$363.80	\$272.05
Average	\$225.85	\$159.99

- Non-college average WTP = **0.52%** of non-opioid consumption.
- College is **0.23%**.

- 1990s: pain management movement
- 1995: American Pain Society argues pain is the fifth vital sign
- 1996: Purdue Pharma introduces OxyContin with an aggressive marketing campaign targeted at physicians.
- 2002–2005: Hospital Consumer Assessment of Healthcare Providers and Systems Survey (HCAHPS) and 2005 Deficit Reduction Act links Medicare/Medicaid payments to hospitals to pain management survey results.
- 2004: generic opioids enter the Rx market
- 2006: a Mexican lab dramatically ↑ US fentanyl supply, was quickly shut down through cooperative action of US and Mexico.
- 2001–2010: % of Rx opioids funded by govt ↑ 17% to 60%
- 2006: Medicare part D prescription drug coverage
- 2007–2010: SSDI rolls expand
- 2010: tamper-resistant OxyContin formulation released, heroin usage ↑
- 2013: fentanyl enters the US black market primarily from China/Mexico

Introduction

Primary payer by MME



- 2001–2010: % of Rx opioids funded by govt ↑ 17% to 60%

- *Threshold rule for opioid use*

$$o = \begin{cases} 0, & \text{don't use, if } \varepsilon_n < \varepsilon_n^*; \\ o > \underline{o}, & \text{use, if } \varepsilon_n > \varepsilon_n^*. \end{cases}$$

–odds don't use and use, $\Gamma(\varepsilon_n^*)$ and $1 - \Gamma(\varepsilon_n^*)$

- *Nonuser's Bellman equation*

$$N = \underbrace{\Gamma(\varepsilon_n^*)}_{\text{don't use}} \left\{ U(\pi_n \mathfrak{h}) + L_n(1 - \mathfrak{h}) + \beta [(1 - \sigma_{np})N + \sigma_{np}P] \right\} \\ + \underbrace{[1 - \Gamma(\varepsilon_n^*)]}_{\text{use}} \left\{ \max_{o > \underline{o}} U(\pi_n \mathfrak{h} - \mathbf{q}o) + O_n(o - \underline{o}) \right\} \\ + \mathbf{E}[\varepsilon_n | \varepsilon_n \geq \varepsilon_n^*] + L_n(1 - \mathfrak{h}) + \beta [(1 - \sigma_{bn})B + \sigma_{bn}N] \left\{ \right.$$

Nonuser's threshold equation

$$\varepsilon_n^* = \underbrace{U(\pi_n h) + L_n(1 - h) + \beta[(1 - \sigma_{np})N + \sigma_{np}P]}_{\text{expected utility if don't use}} - \max_{o > \underline{o}} \left\{ \underbrace{U(\pi_n h - qo) + L_n(1 - h) + O_n(o - \underline{o}) + \beta[(1 - \sigma_{bn})B + \sigma_{bn}N]}_{\text{expected utility if use net of euphoria shock}} \right\}.$$

Addicts

- *Threshold rule for working*

$$h = \begin{cases} 1, & \text{work, if } \lambda_a < \lambda_a^*; \\ 0, & \text{don't work, if } \lambda_a > \lambda_a^*. \end{cases}$$

- *Odds of work and no work*

$$\Pr(\text{work}) = \Lambda(\lambda_a^*) \text{ and } \Pr(\text{don't work}) = 1 - \Lambda(\lambda_a^*)$$

- *Odds of death, $S_{ad}(o)$*

Addict's Bellman equation

$$\begin{aligned}
 A = \max_{o > \underline{o}} & \left\{ \underbrace{\Lambda(\lambda_a^*)}_{\text{work}} \left\{ U(\pi_a \mathfrak{h} - \mathbf{q}o) + O_a(o - \underline{o}) + L_a(1 - \mathfrak{h}) \right. \right. \\
 & \left. \left. + [1 - S_{ad}(o)]\beta[(1 - \sigma_{an})A + \sigma_{an}N] + S_{ad}(o)\beta\delta \right\} \right. \\
 & \quad + \\
 & \left. \underbrace{[1 - \Lambda(\lambda_a^*)]}_{\text{don't work}} \left\{ U(t - \mathbf{q}o) + O_a(o - \underline{o}) + L_a(1) + \mathbf{E}[\lambda_a | \lambda_a \geq \lambda_a^*] \right. \right. \\
 & \quad \left. \left. + [1 - S_{ad}(o)]\beta[(1 - \sigma_{an})A + \sigma_{an}N] + \underbrace{S_{ad}(o)\beta\delta}_{\text{death}} \right\} \right\}.
 \end{aligned}$$

- In the estimated Markov chains:
 - stages are different
 - misusers: include abusers and first-time misusers
 - some transition matrix elements picked directly from the data
 - rest are estimated
 - use data on (unconditional) fractions of population in each stage [▶ details](#)
 - and imposing model-implied restrictions on elements [▶ details](#)
- Using estimation results:
 - solve nonlinear system to obtain some model parameters.

Parameter	Explanation	Non-College	College
σ_{np}	Prob[$n \rightarrow p$]	0.0347	0.0449
σ_{pn}	Prob[$p \rightarrow n$]	0.1759	0.3703
σ_{bn}	Prob[$b \rightarrow n$]	0.1419	0.1854
σ_{an}	Prob[$a \rightarrow n$]	0.0455	0.0290
$\Gamma(\varepsilon_n^*)$	Non-misusers \div Nonusers	0.9966	0.9989
$\Gamma(\varepsilon_p^*)$	Non-misusers \div Prescription users	0.9689	0.9510
$S_{ba}(o)$	Prob[$b \rightarrow a$]	0.0232	0.0069
$S_{ad}(o)$	Prob[$a \rightarrow d$]	0.0212	0.0106

- Estimation gives us 4 exogenous transition probabilities and 4 target moments.

US Population Ages 18-64 by Opioid Use, Fractions

	Nonuser	Prescription	Misuser	Addict	Dead
	t_n	t_p	t_m	t_a	t_d
<i>Non-College</i>	0.80688	0.13477	0.04479	0.01328	0.00028
<i>College</i>	0.87342	0.09182	0.03040	0.00432	0.00005

Source: 2015–2018 NSDUH, MEPS, and CDC Vital Statistics

- **Misuser:** use any opioids w/o a prescription, use them for reasons other than directed by a physician, use more than prescribed
- **Addict:** misuser who has an opioids dependence according to criteria in the American Psychiatric Association *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-5).

Transition Matrix for the Model

$$T = [i \rightarrow j]$$

Cells have **endogenous** components

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \left[\begin{array}{c} i/j \\ n \\ p \\ b \\ a \\ d \end{array} \right.
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{ccc}
 \begin{array}{c} \rightarrow n \\ \Gamma(\varepsilon_n^*)(1 - \sigma_{np}) + [1 - \Gamma(\varepsilon_n^*)]\sigma_{bn} \\ \Gamma(\varepsilon_p^*)\sigma_{pn} + [1 - \Gamma(\varepsilon_p^*)]\sigma_{bn} \\ [1 - S_{ba}(o)]\sigma_{bn} \\ [1 - S_{ad}(o)]\sigma_{an} \\ 1 \end{array} &
 \begin{array}{c} \rightarrow p \\ \Gamma(\varepsilon_n^*)\sigma_{np} \\ \Gamma(\varepsilon_p^*)(1 - \sigma_{pn}) \\ 0 \\ 0 \\ 0 \end{array} &
 \begin{array}{c} \rightarrow b \\ [1 - \Gamma(\varepsilon_n^*)](1 - \sigma_{bn}) \\ [1 - \Gamma(\varepsilon_p^*)](1 - \sigma_{bn}) \\ [1 - S_{ba}(o)](1 - \sigma_{bn}) \\ 0 \\ 0 \end{array}
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{cc}
 \begin{array}{c} \rightarrow a \\ 0 \\ 0 \\ S_{ba}(o) \\ [1 - S_{ad}(o)](1 - \sigma_{an}) \\ 0 \end{array} &
 \begin{array}{c} \rightarrow d \\ 0 \\ 0 \\ 0 \\ S_{ad}(o) \\ 0 \end{array}
 \end{array}
 \right]$$

Transition Matrix for the Model Mapped to the Data

$$T = [i \rightarrow j]$$

Cells have **endogenous** components

$$\begin{array}{c}
 i/j \\
 n \\
 p \\
 m \\
 a \\
 d
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{ccc}
 \begin{array}{c} \rightarrow n \\ \Gamma(\varepsilon_n^*)(1 - \sigma_{np}) \\ \Gamma(\varepsilon_n^*)\sigma_{pn} \\ \{\tilde{e}_b[1 - S_{ba}(o)] + \tilde{e}_n + \tilde{e}_p\}\Gamma(\varepsilon_n^*)\sigma_{bn} \\ [1 - S_{ad}(o)]\sigma_{an}\Gamma(\varepsilon_n^*) \\ 1 \end{array} &
 \begin{array}{c} \rightarrow p \\ \Gamma(\varepsilon_p^*)\sigma_{np} \\ \Gamma(\varepsilon_p^*)(1 - \sigma_{pn}) \\ 0 \\ 0 \\ 0 \end{array} &
 \begin{array}{c} \rightarrow m \\ [1 - \Gamma(\varepsilon_n^*)(1 - \sigma_{np}) + [1 - \Gamma(\varepsilon_p^*)]\sigma_{np} \\ [1 - \Gamma(\varepsilon_n^*)]\sigma_{pn} + [1 - \Gamma(\varepsilon_p^*)](1 - \sigma_{pn}) \\ T_{mm} \\ [1 - S_{ad}(o)]\sigma_{an}[1 - \Gamma(\varepsilon_n^*)] \\ 0 \end{array}
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{cc}
 \begin{array}{c} \rightarrow a \\ 0 \\ 0 \\ \tilde{e}_b S_{ba}(o) \\ [1 - S_{ad}(o)](1 - \sigma_{an}) \\ 0 \end{array} &
 \begin{array}{c} \rightarrow d \\ 0 \\ 0 \\ 0 \\ S_{ad}(o) \\ 0 \end{array}
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

Estimated Transition Matrix–Data

2 cross-cell restrictions—implied by model

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \left[\begin{array}{c} i/j \\ n \\ p \\ m \\ a \\ d \end{array} \right.
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{c}
 \rightarrow n \\
 1 - T_{np} - T_{nm} \\
 T_{pn} \\
 T_{mn} \\
 T_{an} \\
 (T_{nn}T_{pp} - T_{np}T_{pn}) / (T_{pp} - T_{np})
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{c}
 \rightarrow p \\
 T_{np} \\
 1 - T_{pn} - T_{pm} \\
 0 \\
 0 \\
 0
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{c}
 \rightarrow m \\
 T_{nm} \\
 T_{pm} \\
 1 - T_{mn} - T_{ma} \\
 T_{an}(1 - T_{dn}) / T_{dn} \\
 1 - T_{dn}
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{c}
 \rightarrow a \\
 0 \\
 0 \\
 T_{ma} \\
 1 - T_{an} - T_{ad} \\
 0
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{c}
 \rightarrow d \\
 0 \\
 0 \\
 0 \\
 T_{ad} \\
 0
 \end{array}
 \right] ,$$

Non-College

Prescription

avg annual usage, \underline{o}	3,544 MME
avg OOP expenses	\$48.38
price, p (avg OOP exp/avg usage)	\$0.014/MME

Street

Source: MEPS

MME - morphine milligram equivalents

- avg annual usage \approx 10 MME a day
- Typical doses:
 - Starting: 15 MME every 12 hours
 - Standard: less than 60 MME every 12 hours

Non-College

Prescription

avg annual usage, o	3,544 MME
avg OOP expenses	\$48.38
price, p (avg OOP exp/avg usage)	\$0.014/MME

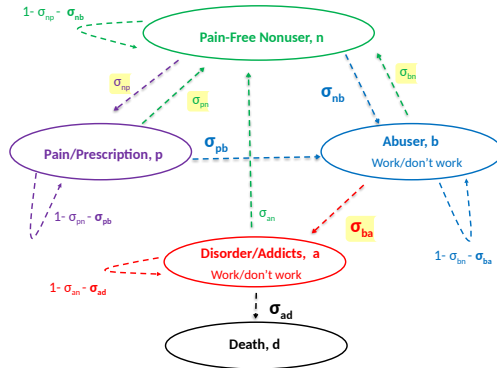
Street

oxycodone street price	\$0.67/MME
given by friends/relatives or stolen	65%
price, q ($0.35 \times$ street price)	\$0.24/MME

Source: MEPS

MME - morphine milligram equivalents

- street price: $q = \$0.67 \times 0.35 = \0.24 per MME



- **Data:** Some transitions taken directly from data and **some estimated** by targeting usage demographics.
- **Calibration:** Set exogenous transitions to observed/estimated values and use endogenous ones as targets.

Opioid usage:

- weights on opioid utility, euphoria shock variances, addiction and death probabilities
- **Targets:** abusers and addicts opioid consumption; transition rates: nonuser (Rx user) to abuser, abuser to addict, addict to dead

Employment:

- variances of leisure shocks and labor productivities of abusers and addicts
- **Targets:** abusers and addicts relative employment rates and income

Rest:

- death and addiction disutility, extent of misperception in 2000
- **Targets:** statistical value of life, opioid price elasticity, 2010-18 Δ deaths

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- variances of leisure shocks and labor productivities of abusers and addicts
- **Targets:** abusers and addicts relative employment rates and income

Rest:

- **death** and **addiction disutility**, extent of misperception in 2000
- **Targets:** **statistical value of life**, **opioid price elasticity**, 2010-18 Δ deaths

Source of Opioids for Misusers and Addicts

Source	Misusers	Addicts	Total
<i>Non-College</i>			
Prescribed by one or more doctor	31.92	34.42	32.40
Given from friends/relatives	44.49	23.31	40.43
Bought from friends/relatives	10.06	17.43	11.47
Stolen (hospitals, friends/relatives)	3.57	2.82	3.43
Bought from dealer	5.29	18.47	7.82
Other	4.67	3.54	4.45
<i>College</i>			
Prescribed by one or more doctor	43.09	57.24	44.60
Given from friends/relatives	44.89	15.55	41.75
Bought from friends/relatives	4.56	17.79	5.97
Stolen (hospitals, friends/relatives)	3.50	1.93	3.33
Bought from dealer	0.88	6.04	1.43
Other	3.09	1.46	2.91

\$ Street Price per mg				
<i>Opioid</i>	<i>Street Rx</i>	<i>DDS</i>	<i>Silk Road</i>	<i>MME</i>
Hydromorphone	3.29	4.47	3.55	4
Oxymorphone	1.57	1.65	1.58	3
Methadone	0.96	1.16	0.93	3
Oxycodone	0.97	0.86	0.99	1.5
Hydrocodone	0.81	0.9	0.97	1

Source: Dasgupta et al. (2013).
MME - morphine milligram equivalents

- Oxycodone street price \approx \$1 per mg = \$0.67 per MME
- StreetRx: website of anonymously submitted street prices for drugs
- Drug Diversion Survey (DDS): data from an illegal drug surveillance group run by Denver Health
- Silk Road: anonymous online drug marketplace

Calibration

Cost of Opioids: prescription sources

		Non-College	College
Average yearly prescribed opioid usage	\underline{o}	3,544 MME (≈ 10 MME a day)	1,785 MME (≈ 5 MME a day)
Avg OOP expenses on prescribed opioids in 2015		\$48.38	\$37.10
Prescription price (avg OOP exp/avg usage)	p	\$0.014 per MME	\$0.021 per MME

Source: MEPS

MME - morphine milligram equivalents

Parameters Set Directly

Parameter	Explanation	Non-College	College	Comment
<i>From the Literature</i>				
ρ	Relative risk aversion	2		Standard
η	Weight on leisure	0.64		C.&P. (1995)
β	Discount factors, nonaddicts	0.96		Standard
<i>From the US Data</i>				
<i>Transitions</i>				
σ_{np}	Prob[$n \rightarrow p$]	0.0347	0.0449	PTM estimation
σ_{pn}	Prob[$p \rightarrow n$]	0.1759	0.3703	PTM estimation
σ_{bn}	Prob[$b \rightarrow n$]	0.1419	0.1854	PTM estimation
σ_{an}	Prob[$a \rightarrow n$]	0.0455	0.0290	PTM estimation
<i>Employment</i>				
h	Hours worked	0.38	0.41	CPS
π_n	Productivity, nonusers	1	1.49	normalization
t	Income, non-employed	0.079	0.129	CPS
<i>Opioids</i>				
o	Rx usage, MME	3,543.75	1,785.00	MEPS
p	Rx price/1,000 MME	0.000137	0.000208	MEPS
q	Street price/1,000 MME	0.00235	0.00125	MEPS and NSDUH

- **Parameters:**
 - weights on opioid utility, euphoria shock variances, addiction and death probabilities
- **Target moments:**

Non-College		
	Data	Model
<i>Opioid Consumption</i>		
Misusers	3,967.8	3,967.8
Addicts	14,372.5	14,372.3
<i>Transition Probabilities</i>		
Nonuser → Abuser	0.0029	0.0029
Prescription User → Abuser	0.0267	0.0267
Abuser → Addict	0.0232	0.0232
Addict → Death	0.0212	0.0212

- **Parameters:**
 - variances of leisure shocks and relative labor productivities of abusers and addicts
- **Target moments:**

Non-College		
	Data	Model
<i>Employment</i>		
Misuser/Nonuser	0.94	0.94
Addict/Nonuser	0.73	0.73
<i>Income</i>		
Misuser/Nonuser	0.90	0.90
Addict/Nonuser	0.67	0.67

- **Parameters:**
 - death utility, addiction disutility, misinformation in 2000
- **Target moments:**

Non-College		
	Data	Model
Value of Statistical Life	\$9ml	\$8.9ml
Opioid price elasticity	-0.95	-0.88
Change in deaths 2018 to 2010	50%↓	50%↓

- In 2000, non-college underestimate addiction risk by 17.5% ($\alpha = 0.825$).

Gumbel leisure shocks

$\Pr[\lambda_s \leq \tilde{\lambda}_s] = \Lambda(\tilde{\lambda}_s) = \exp(-\exp[-(\tilde{\lambda}_s - \iota_s)/\zeta_s])$, for $s = b, a$.

$E[\lambda_s]$ is normalized to zero.

Parameter Values

		Non-College	College
$\tilde{\zeta}_{b,\iota_b}$	leisure shock, abusers	1.760, -1.0159	0.471, -0.2719
$\tilde{\zeta}_{a,\iota_a}$	leisure shock, addicts	1.360, -0.7850	1.200, -0.6927
π_b	relative productivity, abusers	0.934	0.895
π_a	relative productivity, addicts	0.841	0.986

Targets

	Model	Data	Model	Data
	Non-College		College	
<i>Employment (fraction)</i>				
All misusers/Nonusers	0.94	0.94	0.99	0.99
Addicts/Nonusers	0.73	0.73	0.85	0.85
<i>Income</i>				
All misusers/Nonusers	0.90	0.90	0.91	0.91
Addicts/Nonusers	0.67	0.67	0.87	0.87

Gumbel euphoria shocks

$$\Pr[\varepsilon_s \leq \tilde{\varepsilon}_s] = \Gamma(\tilde{\varepsilon}_s) = \exp(-\exp[-(\tilde{\varepsilon}_s - \nu_s)/\zeta_s]), \text{ for } s = n, p;$$

$E[\varepsilon_s]$ is normalized to zero.

Parameter Values

		Non-College	College
ζ_n, ν_n	euphoria shock, nonusers	0.4160, -0.2401	0.0910, -0.0525
ζ_p, ν_p	euphoria shock, Rx users	0.7560, -0.4364	0.2406, -0.1389

Targets

	Model	Data	Model	Data
	<i>Non-College</i>		<i>College</i>	
Nonuser \rightarrow Abuser	0.0029	0.0029		
Prescription User \rightarrow Abuser	0.0267	0.0267		

Odds of Addiction and Death

$$\sigma_{ij} = S_{ij}(o) = \sigma_j \sqrt{o}, \text{ for } (i \rightarrow j) = (b \rightarrow a), (a \rightarrow d).$$

Parameter Values

		Non-College	College
σ_a	Prob[$b \rightarrow a$]	0.01165	0.00406
σ_d	Prob[$a \rightarrow d$]	0.00559	0.00286

Targets

	Model	Data	Model	Data
	<i>Non-College</i>		<i>College</i>	
Prob[$b \rightarrow a$]	0.0232	0.0232	0.0069	0.0069
Prob[$a \rightarrow d$]	0.0212	0.0212	0.0106	0.0106

	Targets			
	Model		Data	
	Model	Data	Model	Data
	<i>Non-College</i>		<i>College</i>	
<i>Opioid Consumption</i>				
Usage, first-time misusers, MME		3,967.8		2,893.2
Usage, abusers, MME		3,967.8		2,893.2
Usage, addicts, MME		14,372.5		13,772.0

Non-college

$$3,967.8 = (50 \text{ MME per day}) \times (22\% \text{ of days per year})$$

$$14,372.5 = (90 \text{ MME per day}) \times (43\% \text{ of days per year})$$

College

$$2,893.2 = (50 \text{ MME per day}) \times (16\% \text{ of days per year})$$

$$13,772.0 = (90 \text{ MME per day}) \times (42\% \text{ of days per year})$$

Sources: Dowell et al. (2016) and Glanz et al. (2019), NSDUH (days per year)

Targets

	Model	Data	Model	Data
	<i>Non-College</i>		<i>College</i>	
<i>Opioid Consumption</i>				
Usage, first-time misusers, MME	3,967.7	3,967.8	2,901.6	2,893.2
Usage, abusers, MME	3,967.8	3,967.8	2,900.7	2,893.2
Usage, addicts, MME	14,372.3	14,372.5	13,772.4	13,772.0

Parameter Values

		Non-College	College
ψ	elasticity of opioid use	1.652	
$\mu_n = \mu_p$	utility weight on opioids	0.00131	
μ_b	utility weight on opioids	0.0182	0.0237
μ_a	utility weight on opioids	0.870	0.333

Targets

	Model	Data	Model	Data
		<i>Non-College</i>	<i>College</i>	
<i>VSL (millions of 2018 dollars)</i>		9.0		11.8
		<i>All</i>		
Opioid price elasticity		-0.95		

- **VSL**: value of statistical life based on willingness to pay to reduce risk of death
- Mean VSL of \$10 million and income elasticity of 0.5 (Viscusi and Aldy, 2003)

Targets

	Model	Data	Model	Data
		<i>Non-College</i>		<i>College</i>
VSL (<i>millions of 2018 dollars</i>)		9.0		11.8
		<i>All</i>		
Opioid price elasticity		-0.95		

- Opioid price elasticity: Estimates range from -1.5 to -0.4
- Target -0.95, midpoint of range

Targets

	Model	Data	Model	Data
	<i>Non-College</i>		<i>College</i>	
VSL (<i>millions of 2018 dollars</i>)	8.9	9.0	11.9	11.8
	<i>All</i>			
Opioid price elasticity	-0.88	-0.95		

Parameter Values

		Non-College	College
δ	utility associated with death	-50.80	-34.63
ω_a	utility cost of addiction	4.004	1.84

Experiment: Higher prices

Increase opioid prices: street 155%, prescription 350%

	Non-college		
	Baseline 2018	$\uparrow p$ and q 2000	% Change 2018 to 2000
<i>Employment</i>			
Misusers	0.9439	0.9680	3% \uparrow
Addicts	0.7260	0.8001	10% \uparrow
All	0.9939	0.9983	0.4% \uparrow

- Higher prices \Rightarrow more misusers and addicts employed.
- \uparrow employment due to less misusers/addicts and their higher employment rate.

Experiment: Less powerful prescriptions

Decrease Rx strength (\underline{o}) by 42%

Non-college			
	Baseline 2018	$\downarrow \underline{o}$ 2000	% Change 2018 to 2000
<i>Opioid Consumption</i>			
Average	365.6	363.4	0.60% \downarrow
Misusers	3,967.8	3,967.2	0.02% \downarrow
Addicts	14,372.3	14,372.2	0.00% \downarrow
<i>Demographics</i>			
Misusers	0.0444	0.0441	0.68% \downarrow
Addicts	0.0132	0.0131	0.76% \downarrow
Deaths	37,596	37,367	0.61% \downarrow
Deaths, explained		0.76%	

- Lower Rx strength \Rightarrow 0.6% decline in opioid consumption.
- Change in prices generates $\approx 0.76\%$ of change in deaths

Experiment: Less powerful prescriptions

Decrease Rx strength (\underline{o}) by 42%

Non-college			
	Baseline	$\downarrow \underline{o}$	% Change
	2018	2000	2018 to 2000
<i>Employment</i>			
Misusers	0.9439	0.9439	0.00%
Addicts	0.7260	0.7260	0.00%

- No effect on misusers' and addicts' employment.

Experiment: Shorter prescription lengths

Increase $p \rightarrow n$ transitions (σ_{pn}) by 16%

Non-college			
	Baseline 2018	$\uparrow \sigma_{pn}$ 2000	% Change 2018 to 2000
<i>Opioid Consumption</i>			
Average	365.6	348.7	5% ↓
Misusers	3,967.8	3,967.7	0% ↓
Addicts	14,372.3	14,372.3	0% ↓
<i>Demographics</i>			
Misusers	0.0444	0.0423	5% ↓
Addicts	0.0132	0.0126	5% ↓
Deaths	37,596	35,862	5% ↓
Deaths, explained		5.77%	

- Reducing Rx lengths has a small effect.
- Longer Rx lengths accounts for $\approx 6\%$ of rise in deaths

Experiment: Shorter prescription lengths

Increase $p \rightarrow n$ transitions (σ_{pn}) by 16%

Non-college			
	Baseline 2018	$\uparrow \sigma_{pn}$ 2000	% Change 2018 to 2000
<i>Employment</i>			
Misusers	0.9439	0.9439	0.00%
Addicts	0.7260	0.7260	0.00%

- No effect on misusers' and addicts' employment.

Experiment: Lower death probability

Decrease $\text{Prob}[a \rightarrow d]$ by 41%

	Non-college		
	Baseline 2018	\downarrow Prob[$a \rightarrow d$] 2000	% Change 2018 to 2000
<i>Opioid Consumption</i>			
Average	365.6	410.0	12% \uparrow
Misusers	3,967.8	3,971.3	0% \uparrow
Addicts	14,372.3	14,736.6	3% \uparrow
<i>Demographics</i>			
Misusers	0.0444	0.0468	5% \uparrow
Addicts	0.0132	0.0152	15% \uparrow
Deaths	37,596	31,106	17% \downarrow
Deaths, explained		21.60%	

- Lowering death prob: opioid consumption \uparrow but deaths \downarrow .
- Higher death prob accounts for $\approx 22\%$ of rise in deaths

Experiment: Lower death probability

Decrease $\text{Prob}[a \rightarrow d]$ by 41%

Non-college

	Baseline 2018	\downarrow Prob[$a \rightarrow d$] 2000	% Change 2018 to 2000
<i>Employment</i>			
Misusers	0.9439	0.9439	0%
Addicts	0.7260	0.7286	0.36%

Experiment: Misinformation about addiction risk

$\alpha = 0.825$

	Non-college		
	Baseline 2018	Misinformation 2000	% Change 2018 to 2000
<i>Opioid Consumption</i>			
Average	365.6	614.2	68% ↑
Misusers	3,967.8	4,004.8	1% ↑
Addicts	14,372.3	14,364.5	0% ↓
<i>Demographics</i>			
Misusers	0.0444	0.0741	67% ↑
Addicts	0.0132	0.0221	67% ↑
Deaths	37,596	63,054	68% ↑
Deaths, explained		-84.73%	

- With misinformation opioid consumption ↑.
- Eliminating misinformation reduced deaths by \approx -85%

Non-college

	Baseline 2018	$\alpha = 0.77$ 2000	% Change 2018 to 2000
<i>Employment</i>			
Misusers	0.9439	0.9440	0.00%
Addicts	0.7260	0.7260	0.00%

Experiment: All changes

prices, dosage, Rx length set to 2000 values

	Baseline 2018	All changes 2000	% Change 2018 to 2000
<i>Opioid Consumption</i>			
Average	365.6	199.3	45% ↓
Misusers	3,967.8	3,920.5	1% ↓
Addicts	14,372.3	8,900.1	38% ↓
<i>Demographics</i>			
Misusers	0.0444	0.0287	35% ↓
Addicts	0.0132	0.0098	26% ↓
Deaths	37,596	15,591	59% ↓
Deaths, explained		73.24%	

- All 3 changes \Rightarrow 45% decline in opioid consumption.
- Together accounts for $\approx 73\%$ of rise in deaths

Experiment, Non-College

All changes

Non-college

	Baseline 2018	All changes 2000	% Change 2018 to 2000
<i>Employment</i>			
Misusers	0.9439	0.9682	2.57%
Addicts	0.7260	0.8012	10.36%

▶ back

- Build on the models of rational addiction by Becker and Murphy (1988), Orphanides and Zervos (1995), and Strulik (2021).
- Habit-formation in Becker and Murphy (1988) is replaced by state-contingent preferences.
 - BM-type models can have multiple steady states and cycles.
- First quantitative model of opioid crisis where stages map naturally into the data.
- Captures three key features of addiction:
 - **Reinforcement:** current opioid consumption \uparrow future consumption.
 - **Tolerance:** utility declines with opioid consumption.
 - **Withdrawal:** users crave opioids.
- Allows for: dynamics, misinformation, medical innovations, deaths and death risk.

- Ruhm (2018): changes in unemployment, poverty, median household incomes, home prices, and exposure to import competition account for less than 10% of the increase in opioid deaths from 1999 to 2015.
- Pierce and Schott (2020): an increase from 25th to 75th percentile in a county's import competition from China (due to the permanent normal trade relations bill in 2000) accounts for less than 20% of the increase in the drug overdose death rate between 1999 and 2018.
- Ruhm (2019) and Case and Deaton (2017): changes in unemployment rates and median income have only a minor effect on opioid deaths.
- Charles, Hurst, and Schwartz (2019): decline in manufacturing share of employment from 2000 to 2015 could explain all of the increase in opioid deaths over that period (using state-level data).
- Cutler and Glaeser (2021): estimating CHS 2019 model at the commuting zone level and including basic demographic controls eliminates the relationship between manufacturing decline and opioid deaths.
- Cutler and Glaeser (2021): changes in demand-side factors alone, such as physical pain, depression, despair, and social isolation can only explain a small fraction of the increase in opioid use and deaths from 1996 to 2012.

2015/18 US Population Ages 18-64, Education Shares by Opioid Use

	Population	Prescription	Misuser	Addict	Dead
<i>Non-College</i>	0.667	0.747	0.748	0.861	0.925
<i>College</i>	0.333	0.253	0.252	0.139	0.075

Source: NSDUH, MEPS, and CDC Vital Statistics

- Most addicts and opioid deaths are **non-college**.

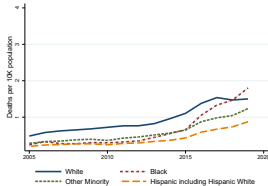
Opioid Death Rates by Demographics

From: Agarwal, Li, Roman, and Sorokina (2022)

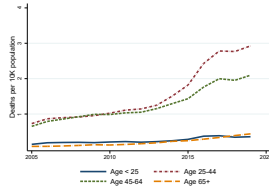
Figure 3 Opioid Death Rates by Consumer Demographics

This figure plots opioid-related overall death rates per 10K population by consumer demographics (age groups, gender, race groups, and education groups) over time. Rates are constructed relative to their respective population. Data source: CDC/NCHS, National Center for Health Statistics, Mortality.

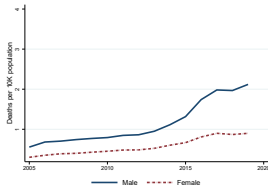
Panel A: Opioid Death Rates by Consumer Race



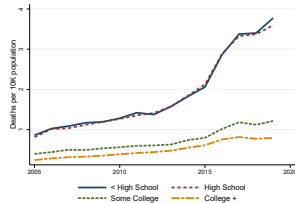
Panel B: Opioid Death Rates by Consumer Age



Panel C: Opioid Death Rates by Consumer Gender



Panel D: Opioid Death Rates by Consumer Education



Source: Agarwal, Li, Roman, and Sorokina (2022)

- Death rates are higher and rose faster among 25–64 year-olds, males, and those with a high school degree or less education.