



# **The Real-World Effects of the Affordable Care Act**

## ***A Research Update***

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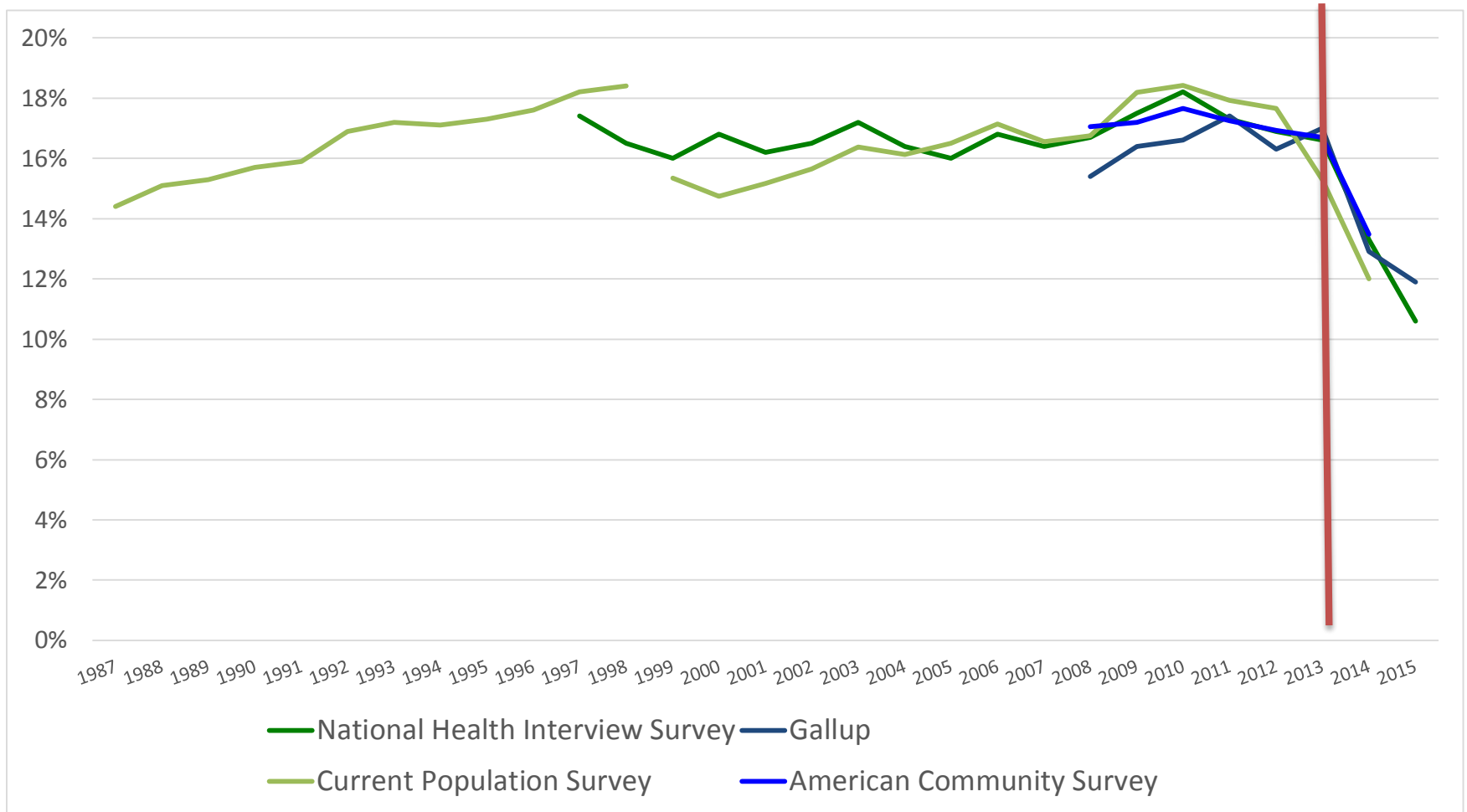
# Outline for Today

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- Overview of research findings on the Affordable Care Act (ACA) and Medicaid:
  - ACA effects on coverage
  - Medicaid expansion impacts on patients
  - Budget effects from Medicaid expansion
- Medicaid reform proposals
- ACA changes under the new administration



# ACA & the Uninsured Rate





# ACA Coverage Effects

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- We attempted to disentangle ACA coverage impacts from these key features, using national survey data
  1. Medicaid expansion
  2. Premium subsidies
  3. The individual mandate
- Study design: ‘Difference-in-Difference’ – pre vs. post comparison, with control groups (geography and/or income)



# Coverage: Findings

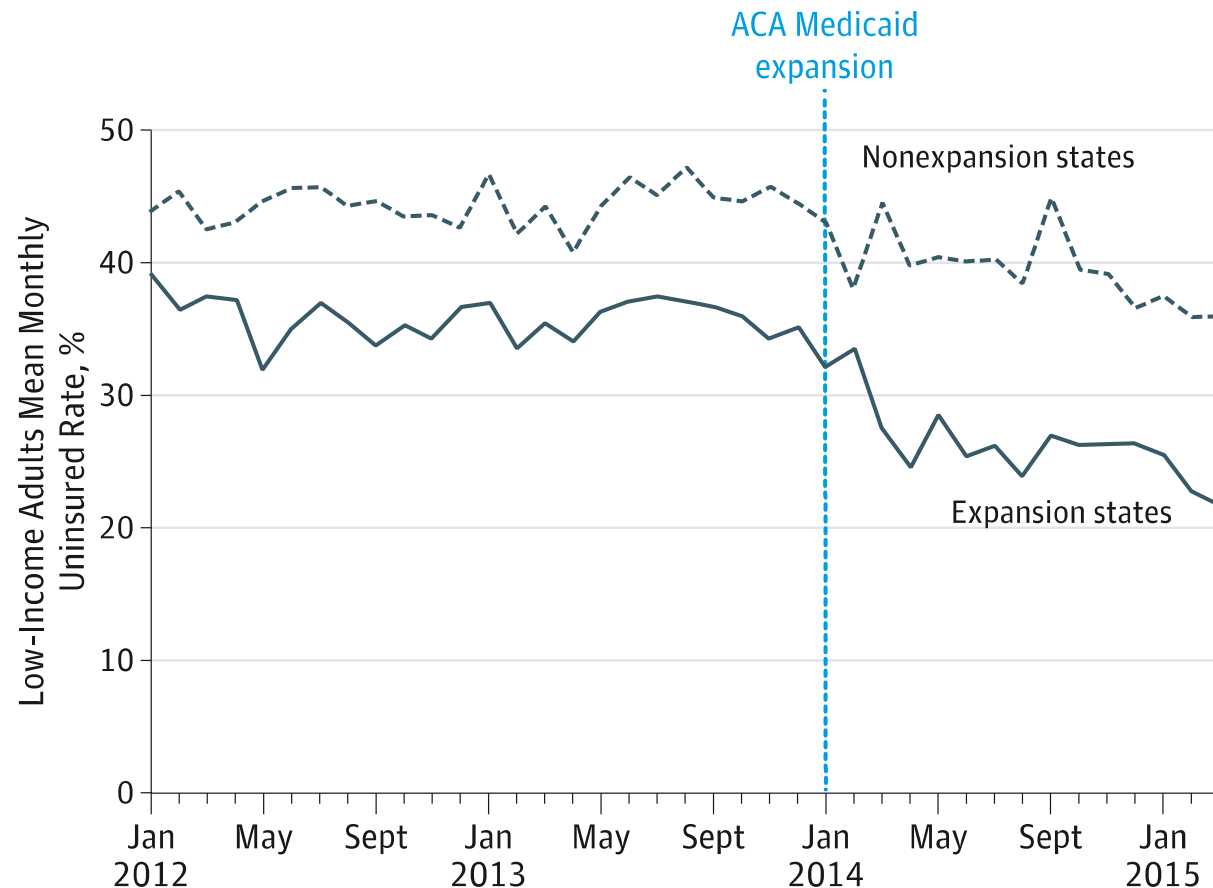
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- 60% of ACA coverage gains were from **Medicaid**
  - 30% from those made newly eligible by the ACA
  - Other 30% due to “woodwork” or “welcome mat” effect for those who were already eligible but not enrolled
    - Streamlined application, navigators, and publicity
    - Includes roughly 1 million children
- 40% of ACA coverage gains were from **premium subsidies** for private insurance
- **Individual mandate** details had little effect on overall enrollment



# Medicaid Expansion: Coverage

Figure 3. Uninsured Rates for Low-Income Adults in Medicaid Expansion vs Nonexpansion States



**Source:**  
Sommers,  
Gunja et al.,  
JAMA 2015



# Access to Care

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*“We have a higher purpose than just handing out Medicaid cards... We will not just accept the hollow victory of numbers covered.”*

*–Seema Verma,  
CMS Administrator*

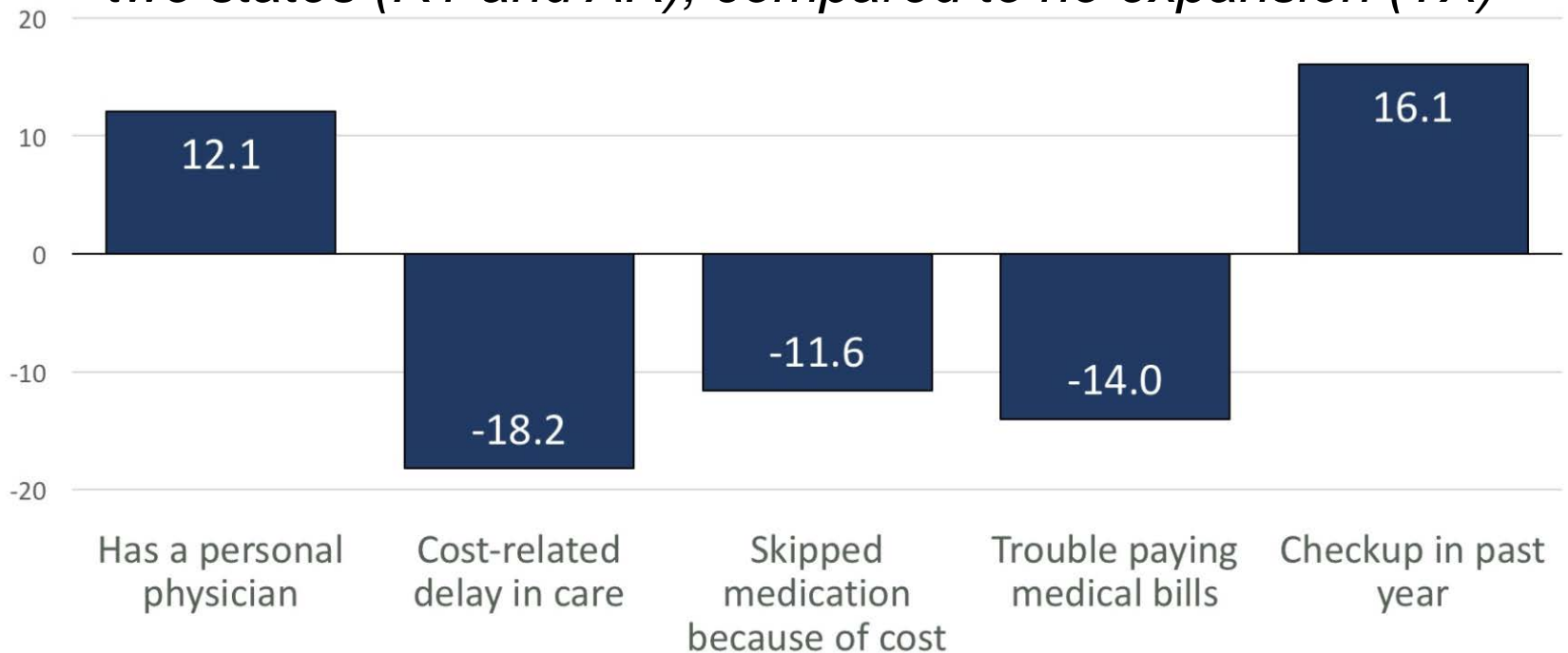
*“Medicaid is a program that has by and large decreased the ability for folks to gain access to care.”*

*–Tom Price,  
Former HHS Secretary*



# Medicaid Expansion: *Better Access & Affordability*

*Changes from 2013 to 2015 after Medicaid expansion in two states (KY and AR), compared to no expansion (TX)*



**Source:** Commonwealth Fund, "In the Literature,"  
Adapted from Sommers et al., JAMA Int Med 2016





# Types of Health Care Use

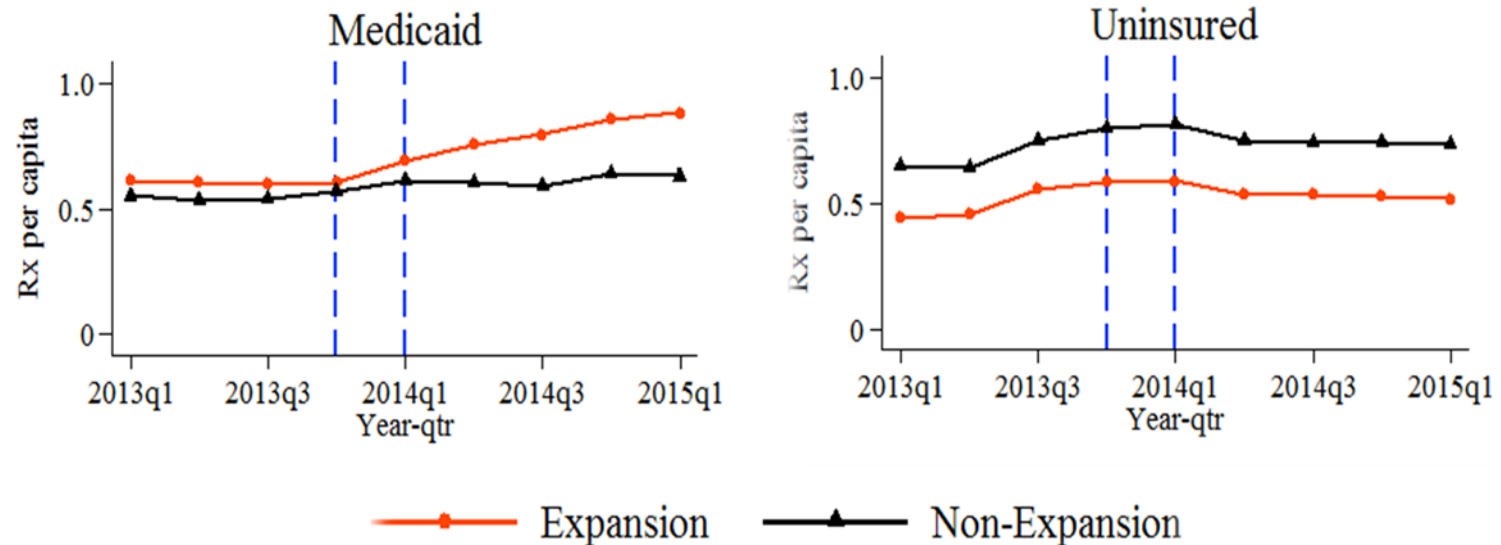
Table 2. Changes in Coverage, Access to Care, Utilization, and Health after the ACA Medicaid Expansion<sup>a</sup>

Outcome	Mean in Expansion States, 2013	Net Change After Expansion (Arkansas and Kentucky vs Texas) <sup>b</sup>			
		2014 Net Change, vs 2013 % (95% CI)	P Value	2015 Net Change, vs 2013 % (95% CI)	P Value
Any office visits in past year	55.5	2.5 (-3.4 to 8.4)	.41	3.0 (-3.8 to 9.7)	.38
Any ED visits in past year	21.0	-1.9 (-7.6 to 3.8)	.51	-6.0 (-11.7 to 0.3)	.04
No. office visits in past year	2.80	0.54 (-0.33 to 1.40)	.22	0.69 (0.05 to 1.33)	.04
No. ED visits in past year	1.16	-0.12 (-0.45 to 0.21)	.48	-0.09 (-0.45 to 0.27)	.62
Any hospitalization in past year	16.9	-1.5 (-6.8 to 3.7)	.57	2.1 (-3.1 to 7.3)	.43
ED is usual location of care <sup>c</sup>	9.6	-5.2 (-10.5 to 0.1)	.06	-6.1 (-10.1 to 2.2)	.003
Glucose check in past year	43.0	2.3 (-5.2 to 9.8)	.54	6.3 (0.0 to 12.6)	.05
Glucose check among those with diabetes <sup>f</sup>	86.2	4.3 (-7.5 to 16.1)	.47	10.7 (1.2 to 20.2)	.03
Regular care for chronic condition <sup>g</sup>	65.7	11.6 (2.0 to 21.2)	.02	12.0 (3.1 to 21.0)	.008

- *More office-based care, preventive care, and chronic disease management*
- *Less reliance on the Emergency Department*



# Prescription Drug Use



- *Overall Effect:* 19% increase in Medicaid prescription drug utilization by mid-2015
- *Largest Gains* - Diabetes Medications 24%, Birth Control 22%, Cardiovascular Medications 21%

**Notes:** "Rx per capita" is per non-elderly adult in the state (not just Medicaid beneficiaries).

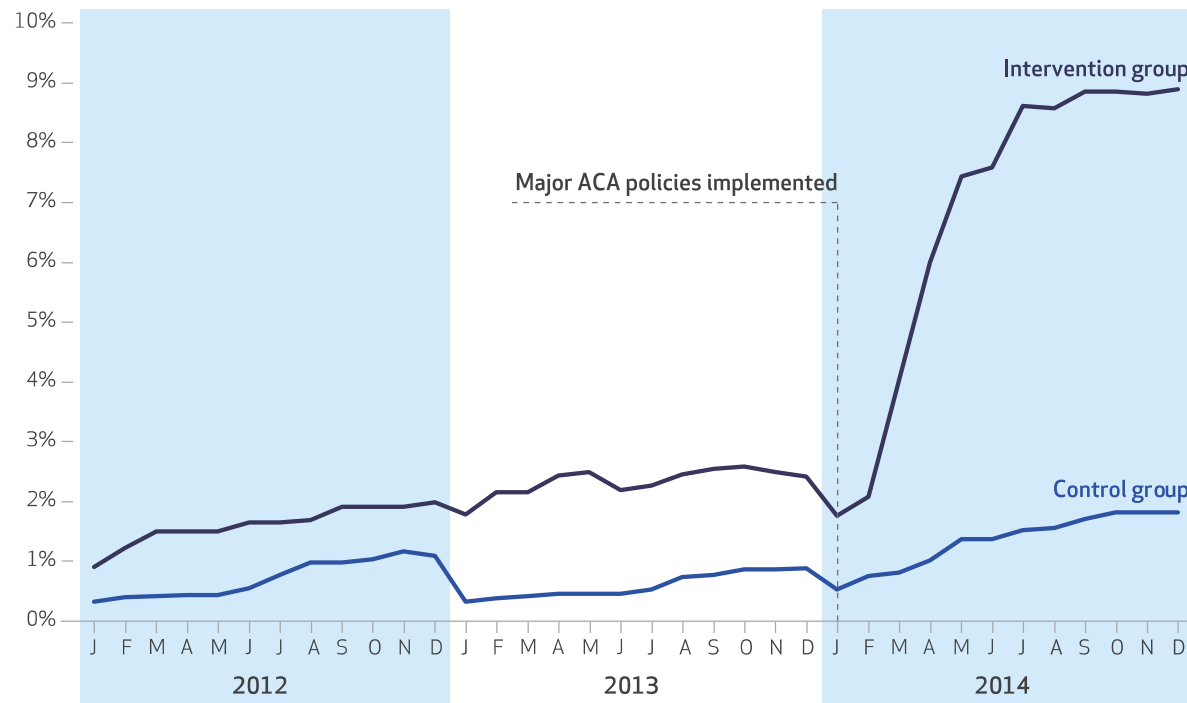
**Source:** Ghosh, Simon, and Sommers 2017 NBER Working Paper



# What About the Marketplaces?

## EXHIBIT 3

Percentages of adults ages 18–63 with family incomes of 138–400 percent of the federal poverty level and nongroup private coverage, 2012–14



- *Insurance gained via non-group private coverage (i.e. Marketplaces)*
- *Led to increased rates of office visits and prescriptions filled*
- *Increased diagnoses of high BP & cholesterol*

**Notes:** Intervention group – uninsured in Year 1 and income 138-400% poverty line;  
Control group – stable employer coverage in Year 1 and income 138-400% of poverty line.

**Source:** Goldman, McCormick, Haas, & Sommers, *Health Affairs* 2018



# Care Quality & Health Outcomes

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

WSJ.com

OPINION | MARCH 10, 2011

## Medicaid Is Worse Than No Coverage at All

*New research shows that patients on this government plan fare poorly. So why does the president want to shove one in four Americans into it?*

By SCOTT GOTTLIEB

 Daily Briefing Blog

## Does expanding coverage improve health care?

7:00 PM on May 5, 2014



**Dan Diamond**, Managing Editor

One of the trickiest questions in health policy seems like it should have an obvious answer:

Does giving people health insurance lead to better outcomes?

"We simply don't know yet," Kate Baicker **told me** last week.



CATO AT LIBERTY

MAY 1, 2013 5:10PM

## Oregon Study Throws a Stop Sign in Front of ObamaCare's Medicaid Expansion

By MICHAEL F. CANNON



# Quality and Health Status

Table 2. Changes in Coverage, Access to Care, Utilization, and Health after the ACA Medicaid Expansion<sup>a</sup>

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Regular care for chronic condition <sup>g</sup>	65.7	11.6 (2.0 to 21.2)	.02	12.0 (3.1 to 21.0)	.008
Excellent quality of care	28.1	-2.7 (-10.8 to 5.5)	.52	2.2 (-5.2 to 9.5)	.56
Fair/poor quality of care	19.9	-2.5 (-8.9 to 3.9)	.45	-7.1 (-13.6 to -0.6)	.03
Excellent self-reported health	12.2	2.4 (-2.3 to 7.1)	.32	4.8 (0.3 to 9.3)	.04
Fair/poor self-reported health	39.6	0.9 (-6.7 to 8.4)	.82	-3.2 (-11.1 to 4.7)	.43
Positive depression screen, PHQ2 score ≥2	47.5	2.0 (-5.5 to 9.4)	.60	-6.9 (-14.6 to 0.8)	.08

- *Improved chronic disease management*
- *Improved perceived quality*
- *Improved self-reported health status*



# Self-Reported Health

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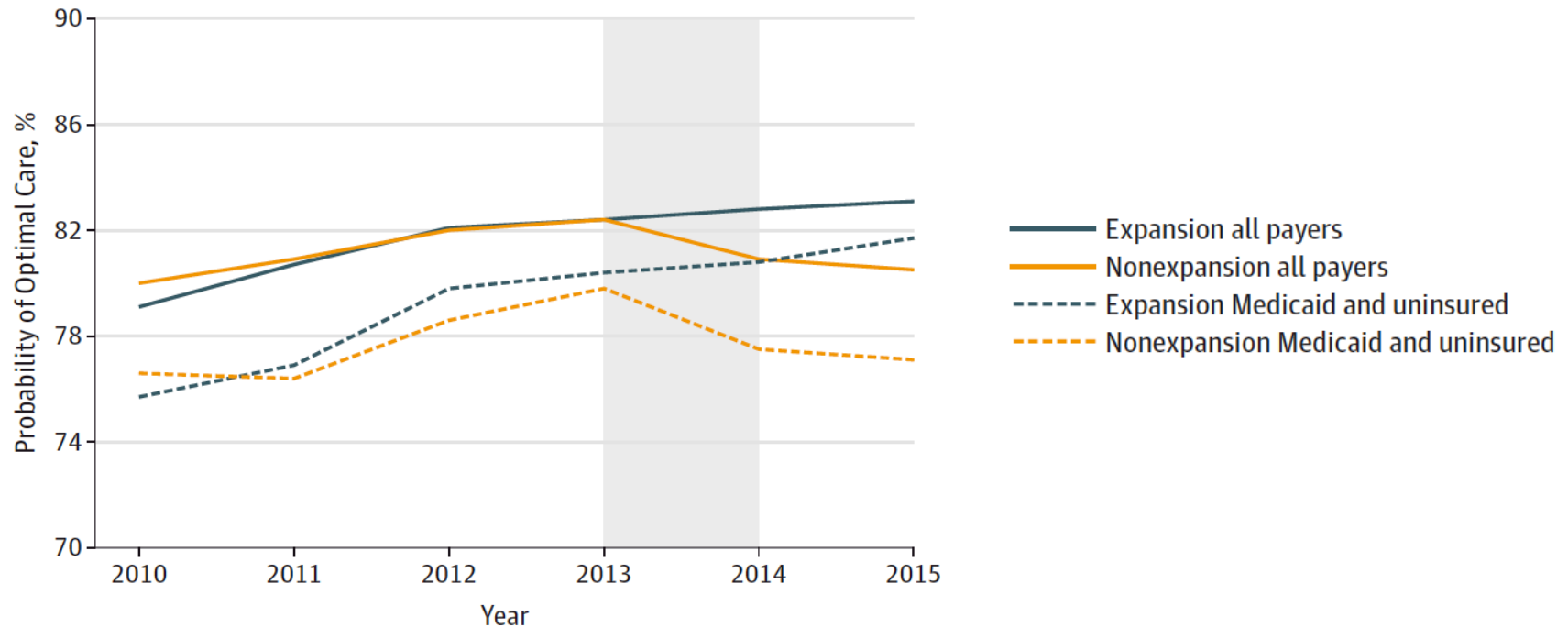
- Consistent finding in our studies of coverage expansions is improved self-reported health
  - State Medicaid expansions in early 2000s
  - Massachusetts health reform in 2006
  - ACA Dependent Coverage Provision in 2010
  - ACA 2014 Marketplace and Medicaid expansions
- Consistent with the Oregon Health Insurance Experiment (RCT of Medicaid coverage)
- Not just “subjective” – prior research shows this is a strong predictor of mortality

**Sources:** Sommers, Baicker, & Epstein *NEJM* 2012; Chua & Sommers, *JAMA* 2014; Wallace & Sommers, *JAMA Peds* 2015; Sommers, Long, & Baicker, *Annals Internal Med* 2014; Sommers, Gunja, Finegold, & Musco, *JAMA* 2015



# Surgical Care

## Receipt of optimal care among surgery admissions



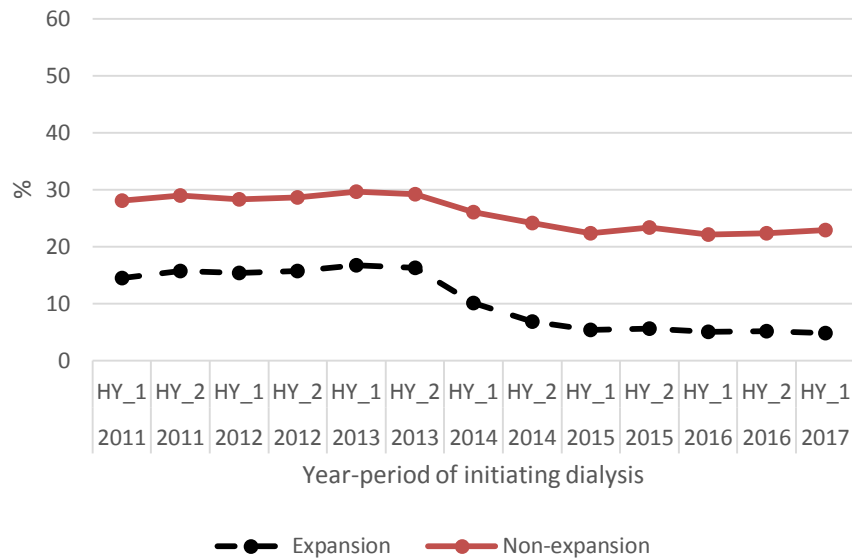
**Notes:** Sample contains 281,682 patients admitted to academic medical centers with one of five surgical conditions. “Optimal care” defined as receipt of cholecystectomy when admitted with acute cholecystitis; receipt of minimally-invasive appendectomy or cholecystectomy when undergoing surgery for acute appendicitis or cholecystitis; and avoidance of amputation when admitted with lower extremity peripheral artery disease.

**Source:** Loehrer, Chang, Scott, Hutter, Patel, Lee, & Sommers, JAMA Surgery 2018

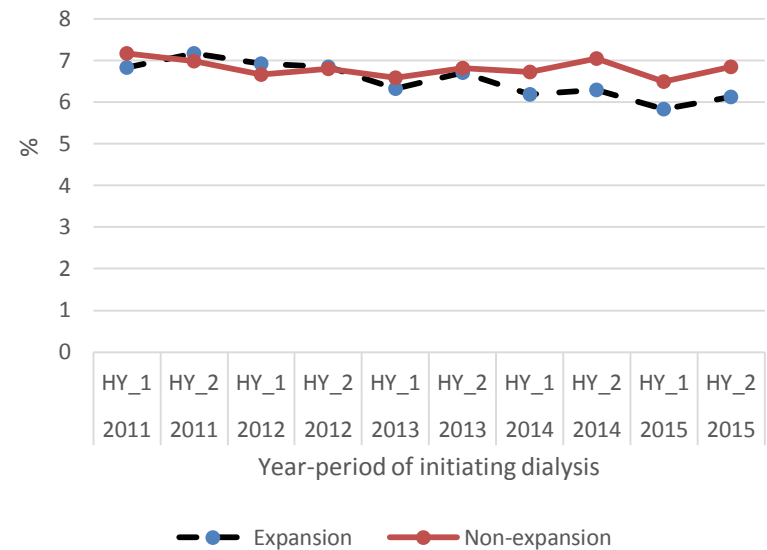


# Chronic Illness: ESRD

% Uninsured when Starting Dialysis



1-Year Mortality



- Improved access to nephrology specialty care pre-dialysis
- Increased use of fistula / graft for dialysis, which reduces infection and clot risk
- 1-year mortality: dropped from 6.9 vs. 6.2% ( $D\text{-in-}D = -0.6, p < 0.05$ )

**Source:** Shailender, Sommers, Thorsness, Mehrotra, Lee, Gutman, & Trivedi – unpublished (do not cite)





# Medicaid Costs

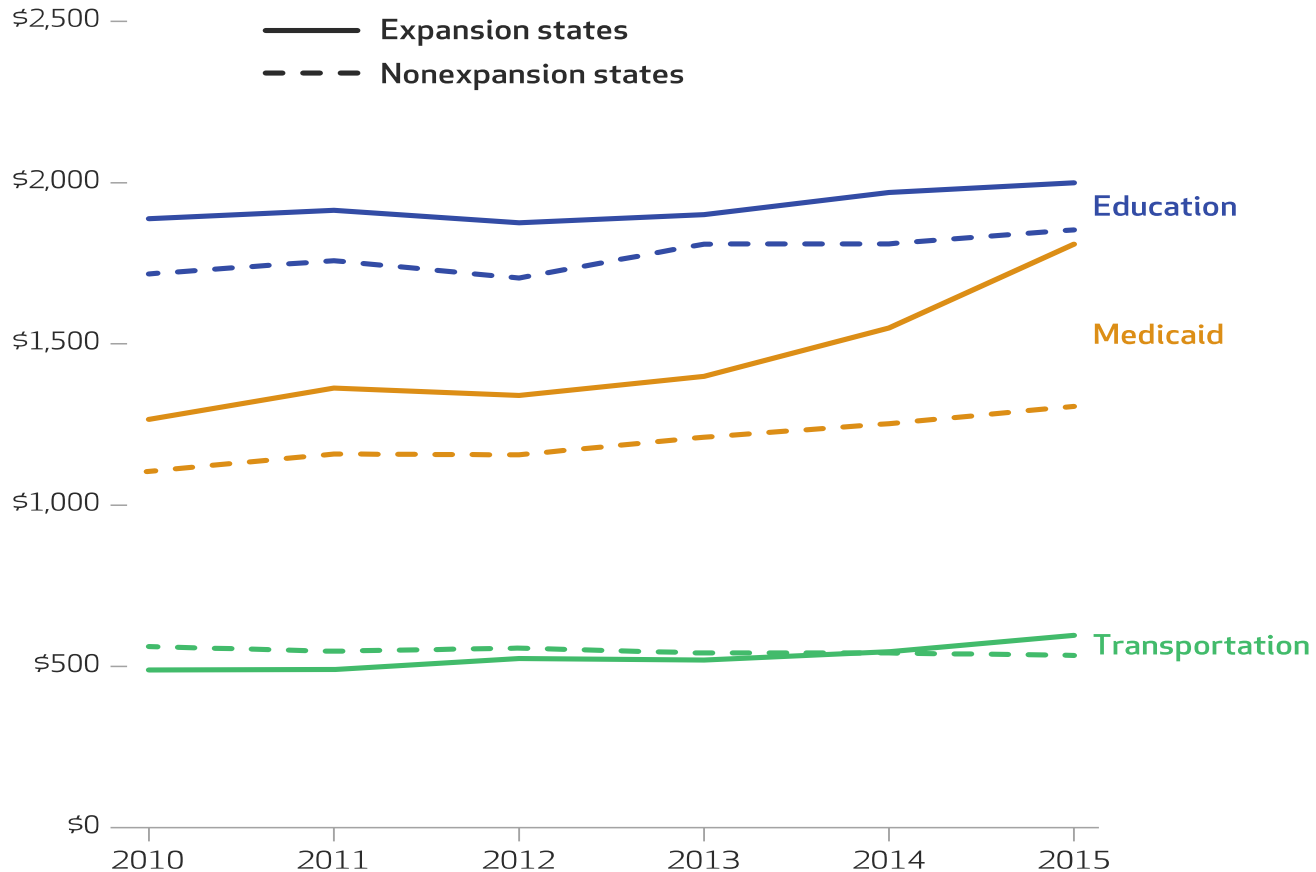
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- ACA expansion covered newly-eligible with 100% federal dollars until 2016, 90% in long-run
- Traditional Federal Medical Assistance Percentage (FMAP) range of 50-83% per state continues for those eligible by pre-ACA criteria
- GOP leaders have proposed changing this to a per capita allotment (and/or block grant) going forward



# Expansion Budget Effects

**State per capita spending on major spending categories in fiscal years 2010–15, by Medicaid expansion status**





# Budget Effects, FY 2010-2015

OUTCOME	MEDICAID EXPANSION EFFECT		% NEWLY-ELIGIBLE EFFECT	
	Percent Change from Expansion	p-value	Change per 1% Newly-Medicaid Eligible	p-value
Total Spending	5.8%	.002	0.32%	.048
<i>Source of Funds</i>				
Federal Funds	12.2%	.006	0.51%	.016
State Funds	2.4%	.24	0.17%	.32
--State General Revenue	2.9%	.35	-0.04%	.81
--Other State Funds	3.1%	.54	0.39%	.28
<i>Category of Spending</i>				
Medicaid	11.7%	<0.001	0.86%	<0.001
K-12 Education	-0.9%	.76	-0.08%	.70
Higher Education	-5.0%	.25	-0.66%	.15
Transportation	8.0%	.062	0.42%	.20
Corrections	-0.4%	.88	-0.17%	.35
Public Assistance	3.6%	.60	-0.21%	.67
Other	10.1%	.057	0.62%	.13

**Source:** Sommers & Gruber, Health Aff 2017



# Trump Era: Legislative Changes

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- Multiple efforts to “repeal and replace” the ACA failed during 2017, usually by narrow margins in the Senate
- Tax law passed in December removed individual mandate for 2019
  - Expected to increase premiums in the ACA insurance Marketplaces, and reduce coverage by millions (?)



# Trump Era:

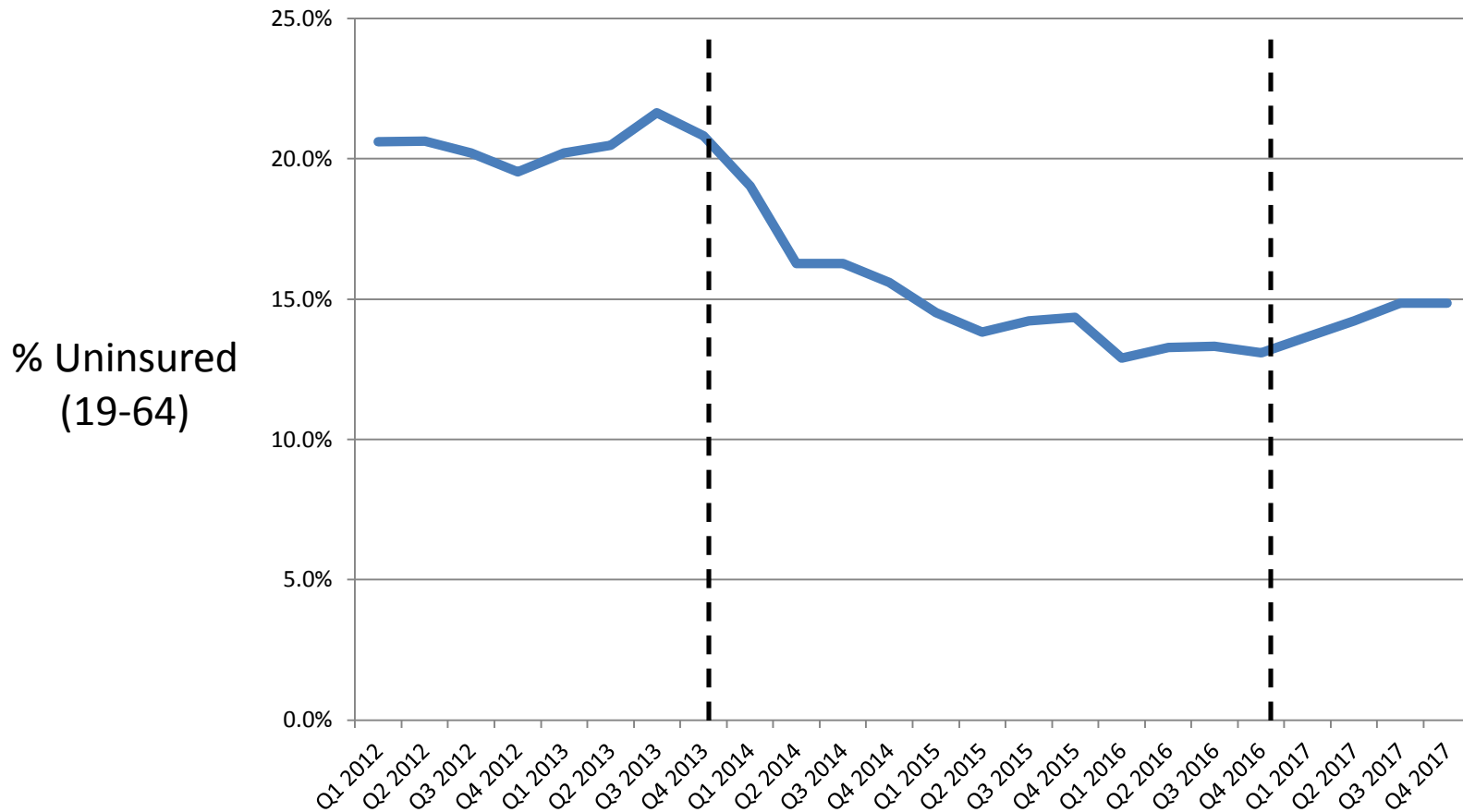
## Changes in ACA Oversight

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- Even without a full repeal, the administration has ample discretion:
  - Cutting advertising for Marketplace outreach
  - Shortening open enrollment periods
  - Stopping payments to insurers for cost-sharing reductions for lower-income households
  - Allowing new, less comprehensive “association health plans” to be offered



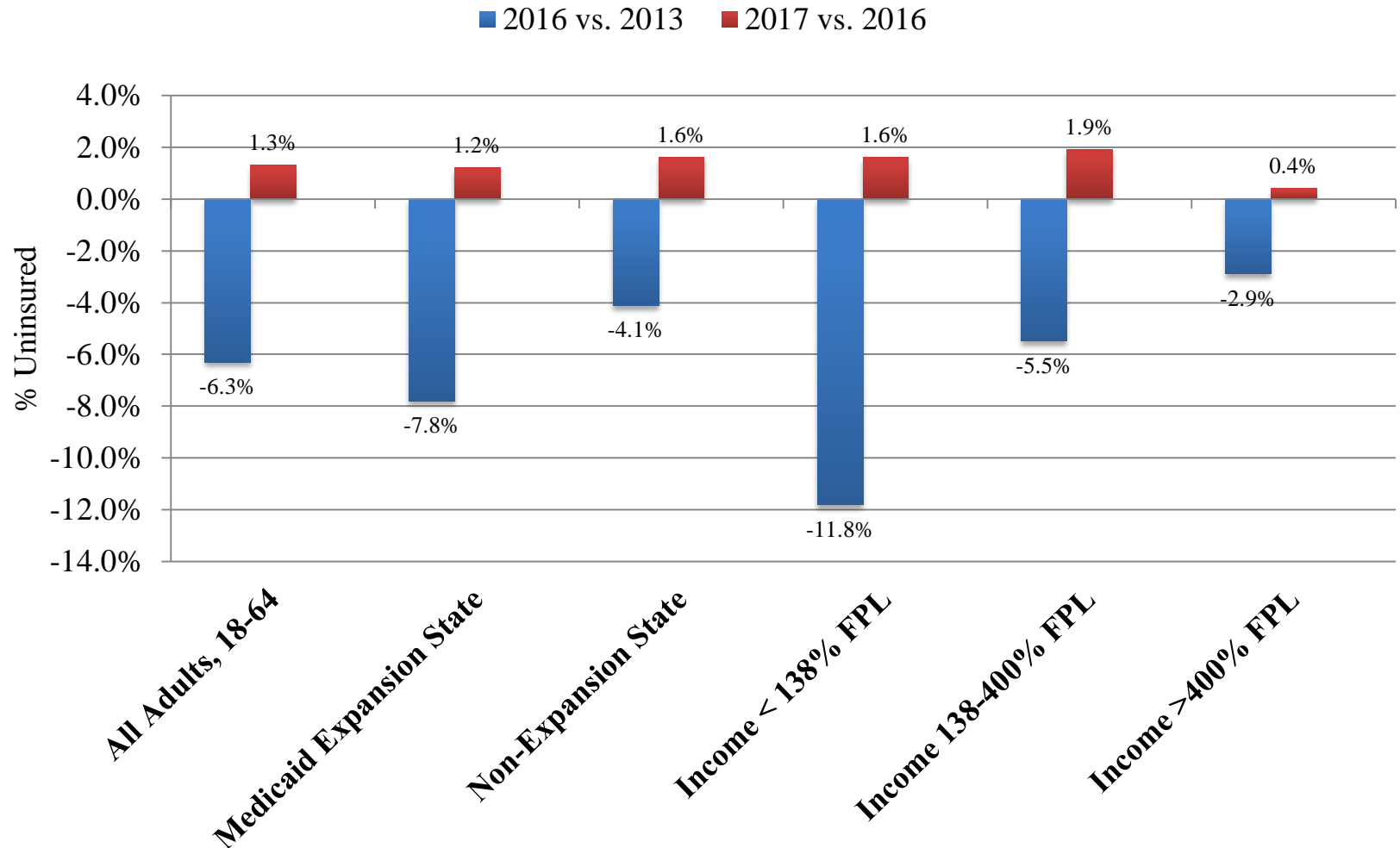
# Trump Era: Early Coverage Changes



Source: Sommers, Clark, & Epstein, *NEJM* 2018



# Trump Era: Early Coverage Changes





# Alternative Coverage Expansions

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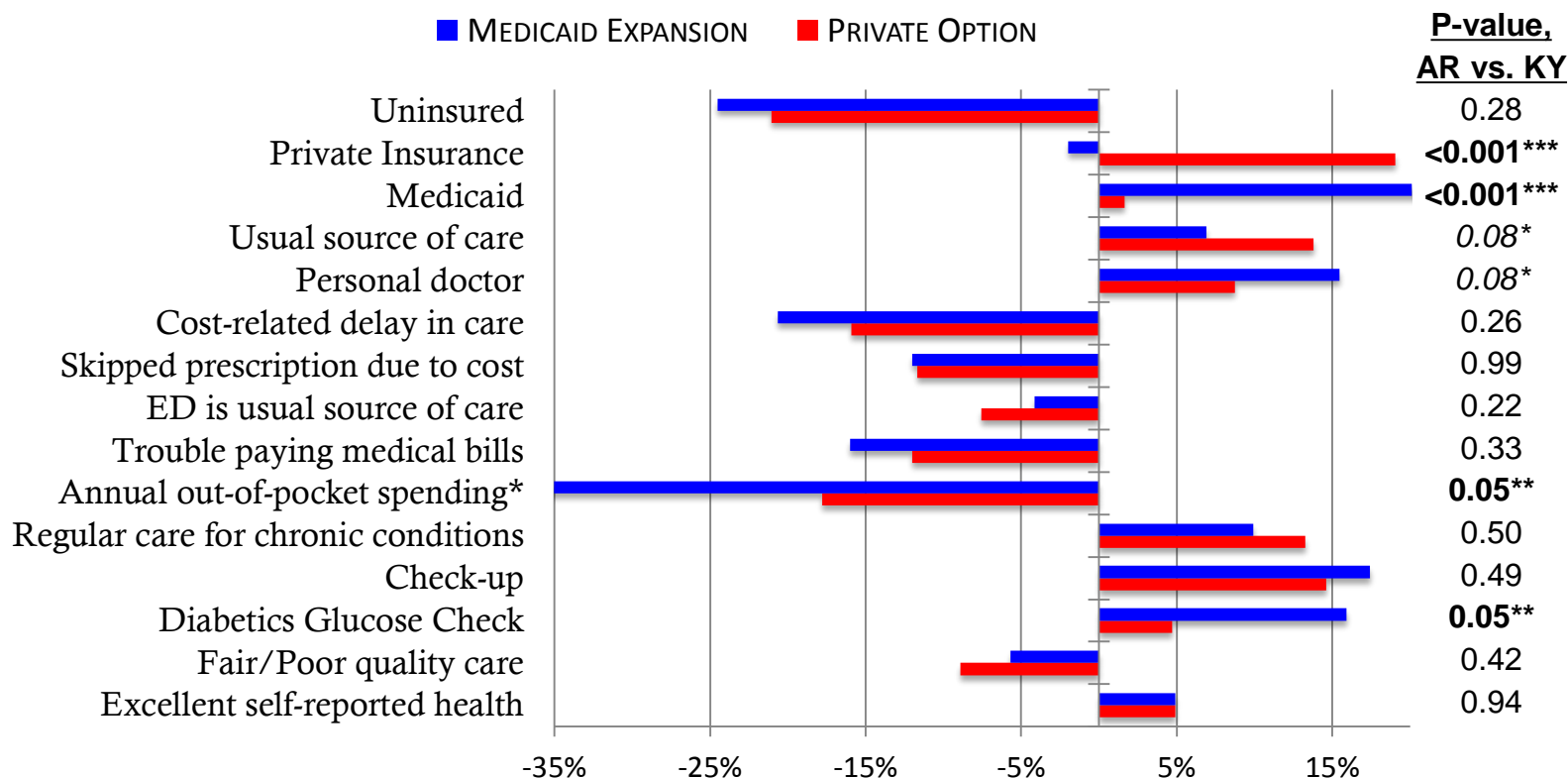
- Via state experimentation and federal waivers, increased interest in alternative expansions
- “Private Option” – use Medicaid dollars to buy private insurance (AR, IA, MA proposal)
- Health Savings Accounts (IN, AR), more cost-sharing (many)
- Healthy Behavior Incentives (MI, IA, IN)
- Work Requirements (AR, KY, IN, NH approved; KS, OH, and others have proposed)





# Private Option vs. Medicaid:

## *Both Beneficial, Few Differences*



**Notes:** Bars show difference-in-differences comparison, relative to non-expansion (Texas).

\* Outcome is Log(Spending), with estimate reported as percent change. All other estimates are percentage-points.

**Source:** Sommers, Orav, Blendon, & Epstein, JAMA Internal Medicine, 2016

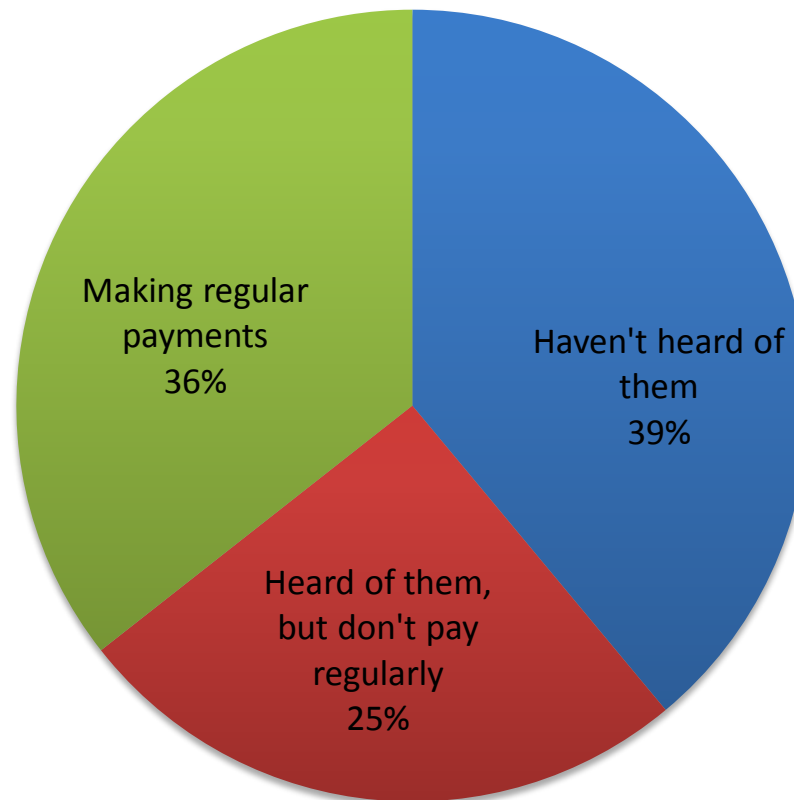


# Health Savings Accounts:

## *Lots of Confusion, Affordability Problems*

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Indiana Medicaid: POWER Health Savings Accounts



*Source: Sommers, Fry, Blendon, & Epstein – unpublished (do not cite)*

**Note:** Survey of 300 adults in Indiana Medicaid, ages 19-64, with incomes < 138% of the federal poverty level

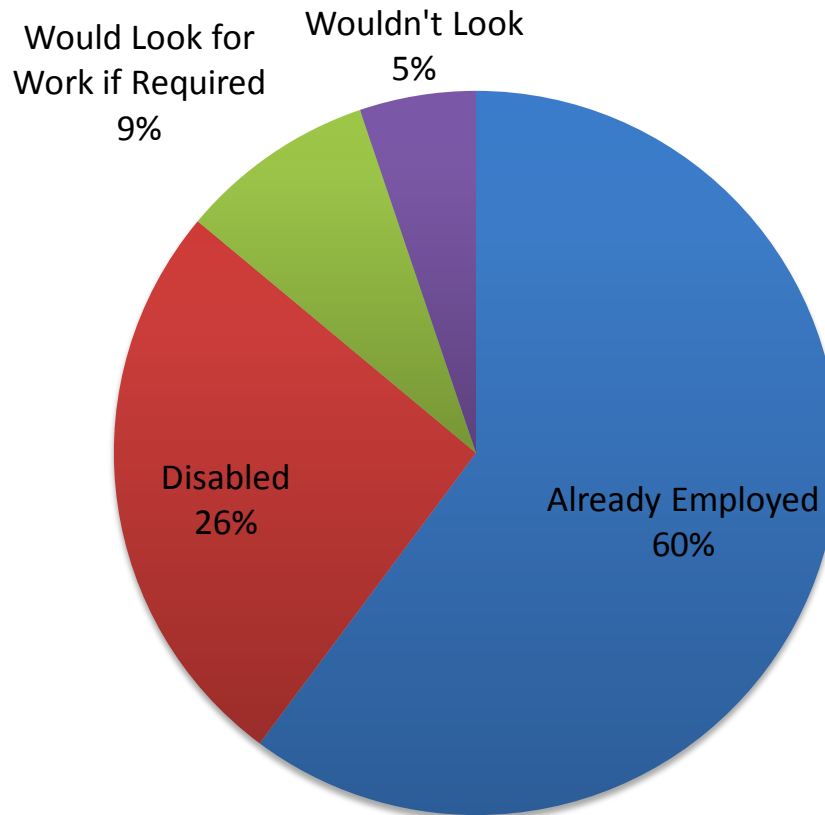


# Work Requirements:

## *Small effects on employment – at what cost?*

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### Kansas Medicaid: Potential Effects of Work Requirements



*Source: Sommers, Fry, Blendon, & Epstein – unpublished (do not cite)*

**Note:** Survey of 1000 adults in Kansas ages 19-64, with incomes < 138% of the federal poverty level



# Concluding Thoughts

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- The ACA had brought the U.S.'s uninsured rate to an historic low
- Medicaid expansion has improved access to care, quality of care, & some health outcomes – but there's still more room to improve
- Lots of policy uncertainty for ACA and Medicaid going forward, and some recent erosion of ACA coverage gains already evident



# Concluding Thoughts

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Benjamin D. Sommers, M.D., Ph.D., Atul A. Gawande, M.D., M.P.H.,  
and Katherine Baicker, Ph.D.



# Questions & Comments?

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Thank you!

Ben Sommers

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