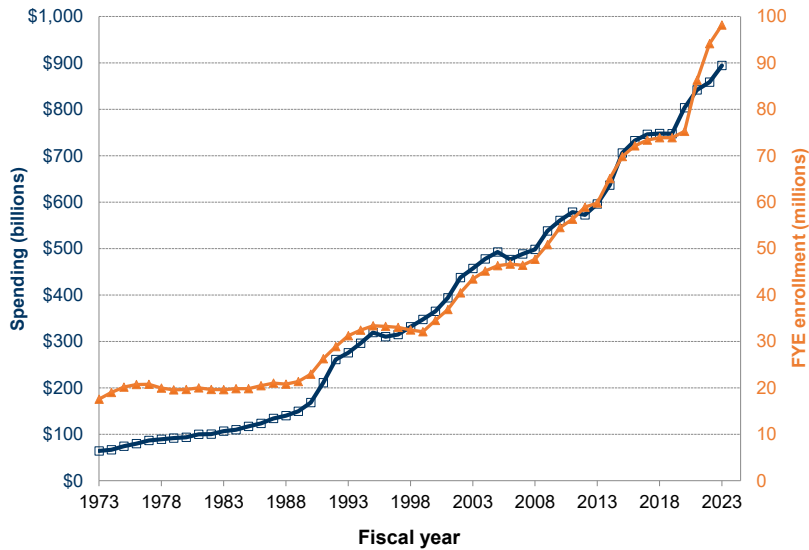


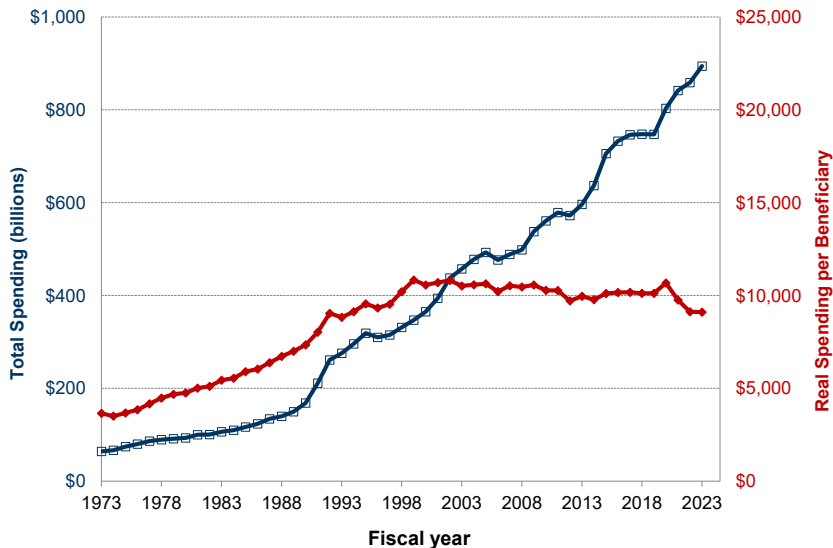
FIGURE 1: Medicaid Enrollment and Spending, FY 1973—FY 2023

Data source: <https://www.macpac.gov/publication/medicaid-enrollment-and-total-spending-levels-and-annual-growth/>



Notes: FY is fiscal year. FYE is full-year equivalent, which also may be referred to as average monthly enrollment. All numbers exclude CHIP-financed coverage. Data before FY 1977 have been adjusted to the current federal fiscal year basis (October 1 to September 30). The amounts shown in this exhibit may differ from those published elsewhere due to slight differences in the timing of data and the treatment of certain adjustments. The amounts may also differ from prior versions of MACStats due to changes in methodology by the CMS Office of the Actuary (OACT). Spending consists of federal and state Medicaid expenditures for benefits and administration, excluding the Vaccines for Children program. Enrollment counts are FYEs and, for fiscal years before FY 1990, have been estimated from counts of persons served (see <https://www.macpac.gov/macstats/data-sources-and-methods/> for a discussion of how enrollees are counted). Enrollment data for FYs 2013–2020 are projected. Enrollment for FYs 1999–2023 include estimates for the territories.

Sources: For FY 2023: MACPAC, 2024, analysis of CMS-64 FMR net expenditure data as of May 29, 2024, and CMS-64 enrollment reports as of October 15, 2024. For FY 2022: MACPAC, 2023, analysis of CMS-64 FMR net expenditure data as of May 30, 2023, and CMS-64 enrollment reports as of October 25, 2023. For FY 2021: MACPAC, 2022, analysis of CMS-64 FMR net expenditure data as of June 8, 2022, and CMS-64 enrollment reports as of October 24, 2022. For FYs 2019 and 2020: OACT, CMS, 2021, data compilation provided to MACPAC, September 21. OACT, CMS, 2020, data compilation provided to MACPAC, October 19.

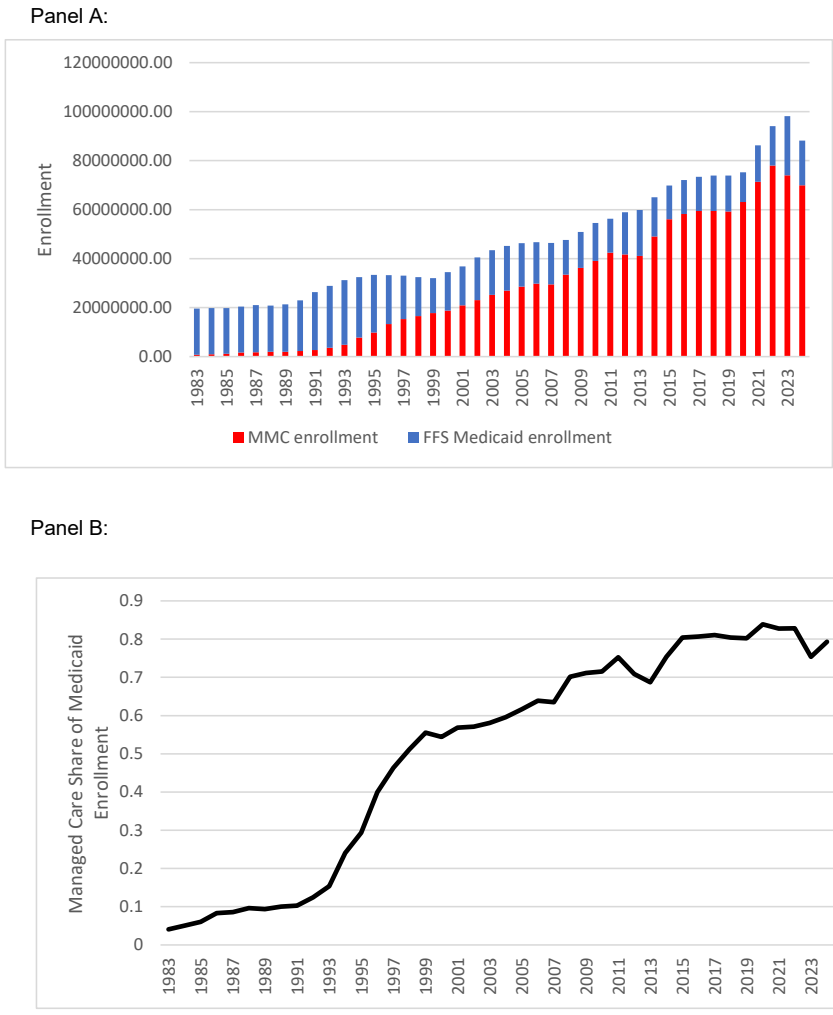


Data:

Source: FRED

Fiscal year	Average FYE enrollment (mill)	Fed + state spending (\$bill.)	Date for CPI-U	CPI-U (for inflation adj)	Fed + State Expenditure (Inflation-adjusted, \$2023)	Real Spending per Beneficiary
1973	17.6	\$9.4	1973-01-01	14.6	\$64.2	\$3,655
1974	19.0	\$10.8	1974-01-01	16.2	\$66.6	\$3,501
1975	20.2	\$13.1	1975-01-01	17.7	\$74.2	\$3,678
1976	20.7	\$14.9	1976-01-01	18.7	\$79.8	\$3,848
1977	20.7	\$17.2	1977-01-01	19.9	\$86.5	\$4,169
1978	20.0	\$19.1	1978-01-01	21.4	\$89.4	\$4,480
1979	19.6	\$21.8	1979-01-01	23.8	\$91.6	\$4,686
1980	19.6	\$25.2	1980-01-01	27.0	\$93.4	\$4,758
1981	20.0	\$29.8	1981-01-01	29.8	\$100.0	\$5,009
1982	19.6	\$31.8	1982-01-01	31.7	\$100.3	\$5,110
1983	19.6	\$34.9	1983-01-01	32.7	\$106.6	\$5,442
1984	19.8	\$37.4	1984-01-01	34.1	\$109.8	\$5,541
1985	19.8	\$41.3	1985-01-01	35.3	\$116.9	\$5,896
1986	20.5	\$44.4	1986-01-01	36.0	\$123.4	\$6,034
1987	21.0	\$50.0	1987-01-01	37.3	\$134.1	\$6,385
1988	20.8	\$54.3	1988-01-01	38.8	\$140.0	\$6,724
1989	21.4	\$60.9	1989-01-01	40.7	\$149.6	\$7,003
1990	22.9	\$72.2	1990-01-01	42.9	\$168.4	\$7,336
1991	26.3	\$94.3	1991-01-01	44.7	\$211.0	\$8,025
1992	28.9	\$120.2	1992-01-01	46.0	\$261.2	\$9,045
1993	31.2	\$130.6	1993-01-01	47.4	\$275.5	\$8,824
1994	32.4	\$143.8	1994-01-01	48.6	\$295.9	\$9,124
1995	33.4	\$159.5	1995-01-01	50.0	\$319.0	\$9,558
1996	33.2	\$159.6	1996-01-01	51.5	\$310.0	\$9,328
1997	33.0	\$166.0	1997-01-01	52.7	\$314.9	\$9,535
1998	32.5	\$177.3	1998-01-01	53.5	\$331.4	\$10,209
1999	32.1	\$190.0	1999-01-01	54.7	\$347.3	\$10,831
2000	34.5	\$206.2	2000-01-01	56.5	\$365.0	\$10,570
2001	36.9	\$229.0	2001-01-01	58.1	\$394.2	\$10,694
2002	40.5	\$258.2	2002-01-01	59.0	\$437.7	\$10,813
2003	43.5	\$276.2	2003-01-01	60.4	\$457.2	\$10,517
2004	45.2	\$296.3	2004-01-01	62.0	\$477.9	\$10,581
2005	46.3	\$315.9	2005-01-01	64.1	\$492.8	\$10,637
2006	46.7	\$315.1	2006-01-01	66.1	\$476.6	\$10,213
2007	46.4	\$332.2	2007-01-01	68.0	\$488.5	\$10,524
2008	47.7	\$351.9	2008-01-01	70.6	\$498.4	\$10,457
2009	50.9	\$378.6	2009-01-01	70.4	\$537.8	\$10,573
2010	54.5	\$401.5	2010-01-01	71.6	\$560.8	\$10,281
2011	56.3	\$427.0	2011-01-01	73.8	\$578.5	\$10,273
2012	58.9	\$431.0	2012-01-01	75.3	\$572.4	\$9,712
2013	59.8	\$456.0	2013-01-01	76.5	\$596.1	\$9,963
2014	65.1	\$494.7	2014-01-01	77.7	\$636.7	\$9,780
2015	69.8	\$549.1	2015-01-01	77.8	\$705.7	\$10,110
2016	72.1	\$577.3	2016-01-01	78.8	\$732.6	\$10,157
2017	73.4	\$600.0	2017-01-01	80.4	\$746.3	\$10,172
2018	73.9	\$616.1	2018-01-01	82.4	\$747.7	\$10,120
2019	73.9	\$626.9	2019-01-01	83.9	\$747.2	\$10,116
2020	75.3	\$682.7	2020-01-01	85.0	\$803.2	\$10,671
2021	86.3	\$748.2	2021-01-01	88.9	\$841.6	\$9,755
2022	94.1	\$824.2	2022-01-01	96.0	\$858.6	\$9,122
2023	98.2	\$894.2	2023-01-01	100.0	\$894.2	\$9,109

FIGURE 2: Medicaid Program Growth and Key Policy Events



Notes: The figure documents the shift in Medicaid enrollment from state-run fee-for-service plans to private managed care plans over 1983–2024. The left panel shows total Medicaid enrollment (in full-year equivalent enrollees) decomposed into fee-for-service and managed care. The right panel plots the managed care share over time (managed care enrollment divided by total enrollment), which rises from near zero in the mid-1980s to 84 percent by 2024. Managed care enrollment is defined broadly to include risk-based plans and primary care case management.

Sources: Managed care enrollment data come from several sources: Kaiser Family Foundation (1995) for data on 1983–1994, Kaiser Family Foundation (2001) for 1995–2000, Kaiser Family Foundation (2011) for 2002–2011, and Kaiser Family Foundation (2026) for 2013–2024. Managed care enrollment for 2001, 2012, and 2023 is linearly interpolated from adjacent years. Total Medicaid enrollment is from MACPAC (2026) (exhibit 10).

Data:

Year	MMC enrollment	Total Medicaid enrollment	FFS Medicaid enrollment	Managed care share
1983	800000.00	19585933.32	18785933.32	0.040845641
1984	1000000.00	19815832.23	18815832.23	0.050464699
1985	1200000.00	19822193.07	18622193.07	0.060538206
1986	1700000.00	20459185.71	18759185.71	0.083092261
1987	1800000.00	20998948.37	19198948.37	0.085718578
1988	2000000.00	20815392.71	18815392.71	0.096082742
1989	2000000.00	21364242.29	19364242.29	0.093614366
1990	2300000.00	22949000.00	20649000.00	0.100222232
1991	2700000.00	26293000.00	23593000.00	0.102688929
1992	3600000.00	28877900.00	25277900.00	0.124662804
1993	4800000.00	31226000.00	26426000.00	0.153718055
1994	7800000.00	32432000.00	24632000.00	0.240503207
1995	9800000.00	33372000.00	23572000.00	0.293659355
1996	13300000.00	33233000.00	19933000.00	0.400204616
1997	15300000.00	33026000.00	17726000.00	0.463271362
1998	16600000.00	32460000.00	15860000.00	0.511398644
1999	17800000.00	32065297.08	14265297.08	0.555117264
2000	18800000.00	34533514.92	15733514.92	0.544398682
2001	20958834.00	36858008.17	15899174.17	0.568637185
2002	23117668.00	40474004.08	17356336.08	0.571173239
2003	25262873.00	43475086.08	18212213.08	0.58108851
2004	26913570.00	45162765.50	18249195.50	0.59592387
2005	28575585.00	46324842.01	17749257.01	0.616852293
2006	29830406.00	46668677.40	16838271.40	0.639195445
2007	29463098.00	46417325.60	16954227.60	0.634743549
2008	33427582.00	47664812.34	14237230.34	0.701305226
2009	36202281.00	50867976.75	14665695.75	0.711690995
2010	39020325.00	54544125.00	15523800.00	0.715390063
2011	42384539.00	56316499.03	13931960.03	0.752613173
2012	41760558.00	58932526.17	17171968.17	0.708616459
2013	41136577.00	59834586.45	18698009.45	0.687504994
2014	49066571.00	65096062.64	16029491.64	0.753756357
2015	56104336.00	69803012.17	13698676.17	0.803752363
2016	58204533.00	72125330.33	13920797.33	0.806991562
2017	59481393.00	73368193.21	13886800.21	0.810724517
2018	59420680.00	73884515.19	14463835.19	0.804237259
2019	59265562.00	73870000.00	14604438.00	0.802295411
2020	63129055.00	75271000.00	12141945.00	0.838690266
2021	71388941.00	86276994.50	14888053.50	0.827438895
2022	77984484.00	94124719.33	16140235.33	0.828522885
2023	73968257.00	98168425.58	24200168.58	0.753483175
2024	69952030.00	88219025.83	18266995.83	0.79293587



FIGURE 3: The Effects of Private Managed Care vs. State-Run Fee-for-service on Spending

Data:

Government Spending:

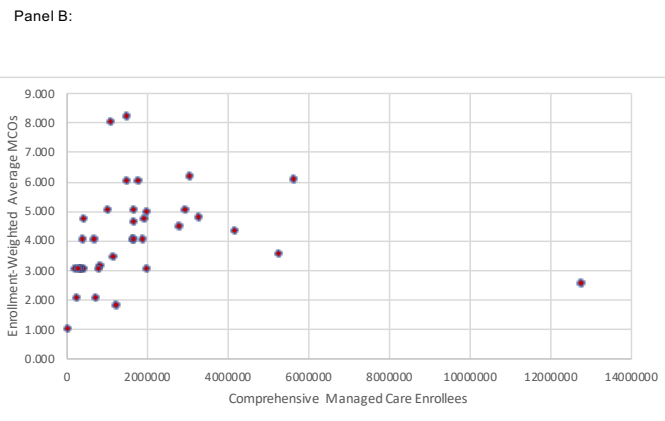
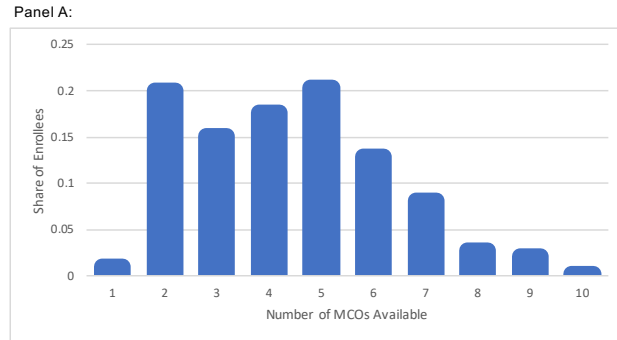
Paper Title	Authors (Publication Year)	Estimates	lower_est	upper_est
A Randomized Trial to Evaluate the Effectiveness of a Medicaid HMO*	Leibowitz et al. (1992)	0.09	-0.0035	0.1793
Does Contracting Out Increase the Efficiency of Government Programs? Evidence from Medicaid HMOs	Duggan (2004)	0.17	-0.03	0.37
Has the Shift to Managed Care Reduced Medicaid Expenditures? Evidence from State and Local-Level Mandates	Duggan and Hayford (2013)	-0.014	-0.132	0.104
Effect of Privatized Managed Care on Public Insurance Spending and Generosity: Evidence from Medicaid	Perez (2017)	-0.132	-0.23	-0.03
Health Care Rationing in Public Insurance Programs: Evidence from Medicaid	Layton et al. (2022)	0.259	0.2	0.32
The Dynamic Fiscal Costs of Outsourcing Health Insurance - Evidence from Medicaid	Layton and Politzer (2025)	0.1879	0.031	0.345

Healthcare Spending:

Paper Title	Authors (Publication Year)	Estimates	lower_est	upper_est
Medicaid Managed Care and Cost Containment in the Adult Disabled Population	Bums (2009)	-0.17	-0.45	0.11
Using HMOs to Serve the Medicaid Population: What Are the Effects on Utilization and Does the Type of HMO Matter?	Herring and Adams (2011)	-0.01	-0.05	0.03
A Dose of Managed Care: Controlling Drug Spending in Medicaid	Dranove et al. (2021)	-0.21	-0.37	-0.01
Health Care Rationing in Public Insurance Programs: Evidence from Medicaid	Layton et al. (2022)	0.215	0.16	0.27
The Private Provision of Public Services: Evidence from Random Assignment in Medicaid	Macambira et al. (2025)	-0.069	-0.1	-0.04

Notes: Note: The figure shows estimates of the causal effects of private Medicaid managed care (relative to a state-run fee-for-service plan) on Medicaid spending, drawing on key papers from the literature. The top panel shows the impact on government spending—what the state pays to insurers. The bottom panel shows impacts on healthcare spending—the cost of healthcare actually used by patients. The gap between the two includes insurer administrative costs and profits. Green indicates a statistically significant decrease in spending. Red indicates a statistically significant increase in spending. The included studies differ based on the geography, populations, and services studied. Most studies are national in scope—with the exception of Leibowitz, Buchanan and Mann (1992) [Unidentified state], Duggan (2004) [California], Layton et al. (2022) [Texas], and Macambira et al. (2025) [Louisiana]—and focus on total spending (government or healthcare). The one exception is Dranove, Ody and Starc (2021), which studies the effects of Medicaid managed care on pharmacy spending.

FIGURE 5: Variation in Number of Medicaid Managed Organizations per County



Notes: The figure shows the distribution of number of Medicaid Managed Care Organizations (MCOs) available per county. Panel A shows the enrollment-weighted distribution of MCO availability; bars reflect the share of enrollees residing in counties with a given number of MCOs. Panel B plots each state's comprehensive managed care enrollment against its enrollment-weighted average number of MCOs per county.

Sources: Comprehensive managed care enrollment in Panel B is from the CMS Medicaid Managed Care Enrollment Report, 2022; all other data are from T-MSIS Analytic Files (TAF), December 2022. We restricted the sample to 36 states with comprehensive Medicaid managed care programs with high quality data.

Data: **Source: TMSIS - TAF, CMS**

Number of MCO	enrollees	share
1	514520	0.01028493
2	9969531	0.19928464
3	7523021	0.15038045
4	8798141	0.17586929
5	10165533	0.2032026
6	6459944	0.12913021
7	4078504	0.08152672
8	1391561	0.02781643
9	1014586	0.02028093
10	111249	0.0022238

state	Comprehensive Managed Care Enrollees	Average MCOs per County
AZ	1938718	4.709
CA	12781265	2.497
DE	261758	2.000
FL	4202917	4.290
GA	2008026	3.000
HI	450159	4.732
IA	753561	2.000
IL	2796521	4.470
IN	1659715	4.000
KS	443835	3.000
KY	1494070	6.000
LA	1694452	5.000
MA	848004	3.116
MD	1496250	8.197
MI	3074159	6.128
MN	1180108	3.430
MS	365169	3.000
NC	1700679	4.613
ND	36865	1.000
NE	373492	3.000
NH	236926	3.000
NJ	2019216	4.965
NM	814749	3.000
NV	698726	4.000
NY	5640784	6.031
OH	2962985	5.000
OR	1265779	1.779
PA	3288966	4.782
RI	300893	3.000
SC	1045650	5.000
TN	1697632	4.000
TX	5295360	3.495
UT	396559	4.000
VA	1794045	6.000
WA	1894623	4.013
WI	1106248	7.995