

The great Medicaid reshuffling: which business models will survive Trump's healthcare overall?

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Abstract

On July 4, 2025, President Trump signed the “Working Families Tax Cut” legislation into law, introducing the most significant Medicaid and CHIP reforms since the Affordable Care Act. This legislation fundamentally alters the economics of serving Medicaid populations through community engagement requirements, financing reforms that restrict state funding mechanisms, immigration-related eligibility restrictions, and operational changes around enrollment and payment systems. For healthcare technology companies, these changes create clear winners and losers. This analysis examines how different business models will perform under the new regulatory environment, focusing on which companies will benefit from increased state administrative burdens, which will suffer from reduced coverage and reimbursement, and which existing models face existential threats from financing restrictions. The core thesis is straightforward: companies that reduce state

administrative costs or serve commercially insured populations will thrive, while those dependent on Medicaid expansion populations, state directed payments, or provider tax financing face significant headwinds. Understanding these dynamics is critical for angel investors evaluating early-stage healthcare companies over the 24 to 36 months.

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The Medicaid Reduction Reality

Let me be direct about what just happened. This legislation is designed to reduce Medicaid enrollment and federal spending, full stop. The framing around “safeguarding Medicaid and CHIP for the most vulnerable Americans” is political rhetoric that obscures the actual intent and impact. When you require community engagement for adult expansion populations, restrict immigration-based eligibility, reduce retroactive coverage periods, implement six-month renewals instead of annual renewals, and systematically eliminate state financing mechanisms, you are engineering a reduction in both enrollment and per-beneficiary revenue.

The numbers tell the story. Medicaid expansion states must implement community engagement requirements starting January 1, 2027, requiring 80 hours monthly of work, community service, or education for adults in the expansion population. States will conduct renewals every six months instead of annually for this group. Retro

eligibility drops from three months to one month for expansion adults and two months for everyone else. The immigration provisions eliminate federal funding for most qualified noncitizens except lawful permanent residents, Cuban and Haitian entrants, and COFA migrants starting October 1, 2026.

On the financing side, provider tax revenue is frozen at July 4, 2025 levels, with expansion states facing a gradual reduction from current levels to 3.5 percent of patient revenue by fiscal year 2032. State directed payments get capped at 100 percent of Medicare rates for expansion states and 110 percent for non-expansion states. The statistical test loophole for health care related taxes that let states preferentially treat high-Medicaid providers gets closed. Budget neutrality for 1115 demonstrations requires Chief Actuary certification.

What does this add up to? Probably 3 to 5 million people losing Medicaid coverage over the next 24 months, with the heaviest losses in expansion states. States will see their effective match rates worsen as provider tax and state directed payment restrictions reduce their ability to generate federal dollars without increasing state general fund commitments. This creates a doom loop: reduced enrollment means reduced revenue means reduced provider payments means reduced access means sicker remaining populations means higher costs per beneficiary means more pressure to cut rates or benefits.

For investors, this is not a “wait and see” situation. The policy direction is clear, implementation timeline is aggressive, and the impact on business models is predictable. Some companies will benefit enormously from these changes. Many will not.

Business Models That Will Flourish Under New Rules

The obvious winners are companies that help states manage increased administrative complexity while reducing costs. Think about what states now need to do that they did not need to do before. They need to verify community engagement for potentially millions of beneficiaries every month. They need to process renewals twice as

frequently for expansion populations. They need to implement new systems to clean the Social Security Death Master File quarterly for both beneficiaries and providers. They need to prevent duplicate enrollment across states through a new federal system. They need to verify addresses through multiple data sources including USPS, managed care plans, and other reliable sources.

This is a massive operational lift happening simultaneously with budget pressures. States cannot hire their way out of this problem. They need technology that automates verification, reduces manual work, and prevents improper payments. Companies providing these capabilities will see explosive growth.

Eligibility verification platforms are the most obvious beneficiaries. Any company that can automate the monthly verification of work hours, education enrollment, or community service participation will find eager state buyers. The regulatory requirement is clear: states must verify compliance without requiring individuals to submit additional information wherever possible, using reliable information available to the state. This means integrating with state workforce data systems, unemployment insurance systems, education enrollment databases, and potentially third-party verification services. The company that builds a comprehensive community engagement verification platform with pre-built state data integrations will capture enormous value. This is not a nice-to-have system. This is a mandatory system that every Medicaid expansion state must implement by January 1, 2027, or face federal penalties.

The market size is significant. There are currently about 23 million people enrolled in Medicaid through the adult expansion population nationally. Not all of them are subject to community engagement due to the various exceptions and exclusions: parents, caretakers, medically frail individuals, and others. But let's conservatively estimate that 15 million people need monthly verification. If states pay \$2 to \$5 per verification per month, that is \$360 million to \$900 million in annual recurring revenue across a market that did not exist 18 months ago. The companies that win this market will be those that move fastest to build state partnerships and demonstrate they can handle the technical complexity of integrating dozens of disparate data sources while maintaining HIPAA compliance and state security requirements.

Program integrity and fraud prevention tools represent another massive opportunity. The legislation adds specific requirements around deceased beneficiary removal, deceased provider removal, duplicate enrollment prevention, and payment error reduction. States face financial penalties if their eligibility error rates exceed 3 percent starting in fiscal year 2030, with new restrictions on the Secretary's ability to waive these penalties. This creates urgent demand for technology that catches errors before claims are paid. Companies providing predictive analytics for improper payments, real-time eligibility verification, and automated beneficiary data matching will see increased state procurement. The key differentiator will be demonstrably proven error rate reduction with documented ROI. States will pay significant money for solutions that help them avoid federal disallowances.

Address verification and data management platforms have a clear new market. The requirement for states to obtain address information from USPS forwarding addresses, the National Change of Address database, managed care entities, and other data sources creates demand for companies that specialize in address hygiene and enrichment. The managed care reporting requirement where MCOs, PIHPs, PAHPs, and PCCMs must transmit address information directly to states creates an integration challenge that third-party platforms can solve. If you are a company that already does address verification for commercial purposes and can pivot to Medicaid compliance, you have a new revenue stream.

The duplicate enrollment prevention system that CMS must establish by October 2029 represents another infrastructure opportunity. While CMS will build the central federal system, states need technology to submit data monthly and respond to duplicate enrollment alerts. Companies that build state-side integration layers, manage data quality for federal submissions, and automate the residency verification workflows when duplicates are identified will find buyers. This is not sexy technology but it is necessary technology with a captive market.

The renewal technology market gets a substantial boost from the six-month renewal requirement for expansion adults. States that were just getting comfortable with annual renewals now need to handle double the volume for their largest eligible group. Companies providing automated renewal processing, beneficiary

communication platforms, and renewal workflow management will see increased demand. The companies that win will be those that can demonstrably reduce the time required per renewal while maintaining or improving renewal completion rates. States care about two metrics: cost per renewal and inappropriate termination rates. Hit both targets and you will win contracts.

Beyond the administrative technology plays, there is a significant opportunity in commercial insurance enrollment platforms. As millions of people lose Medicaid coverage, they need to transition to Marketplace coverage, employer coverage, or other insurance options. Companies that facilitate this transition, particularly those that can automate the enrollment process and integrate with both Medicaid systems and Marketplace systems, will see volume growth. The legislation specifically recombines notices and account transfers to the Marketplace when beneficiaries are procedurally disenrolled. Companies that make this transition seamless reduce coverage gaps and improve continuity of care while reducing state administrative burden.

The HCBS technology market gets a boost from the new section 1915c waiver option that allows states to cover home and community-based services without requiring institutional level of care determination, beginning July 1, 2028. This expands the addressable market for HCBS management platforms, electronic visit verification systems, caregiver matching platforms, and remote patient monitoring tools. States get \$100 million in fiscal year 2027 to support HCBS systems, which will drive technology procurement. The companies that position themselves as the infrastructure layer for this new waiver option will capture significant value. This is building for the needs-based eligibility criteria that states will establish rather than the traditional ILOC requirements.

Rural health technology represents another winner category. The Rural Health Transformation Program appropriates \$10 billion annually from fiscal years 2021 through 2030, distributed to states with approved applications. Half gets distributed equally across approved states, half goes to at least 25 percent of states based on population and provider concentration. States must use these funds for improving rural health care access, strengthening rural hospital partnerships, implementing

and technology-driven solutions, and ensuring long-term financial solvency of rural hospitals. Companies providing telehealth platforms, remote patient monitoring, hospital-at-home technology, rural care coordination tools, and financial management systems for rural hospitals will find new buyers with federal dollars to spend. The procurement timeline is aggressive since states must have approved applications by December 31, 2025, with funds available immediately thereafter.

Business Models Facing Existential Threats

Now let us talk about who gets destroyed. The most obvious losers are companies whose primary revenue comes from Medicaid expansion populations, particularly those in states that expanded Medicaid and have high immigrant populations. If your customer base is low-income adults aged 19 to 64 without dependent children and you generate revenue through Medicaid claims, you are about to see your addressable market shrink significantly.

Community engagement requirements will reduce enrollment through both active disenrollment of non-compliant beneficiaries and passive disenrollment through increased friction in the renewal process. The research on Medicaid work requirements from Arkansas, which implemented work requirements before they were blocked by courts, showed coverage losses of approximately 25 percent in the affected population within 12 months. Not all of those people were ineligible. Many lost coverage due to reporting requirements, confusion about exemptions, or inability to document their activities. The same pattern will play out nationally, though potentially worse since states will be implementing simultaneously with limited guidance and aggressive timelines.

The immigration restrictions compound the enrollment losses. The restriction of federal funding to only US citizens, nationals, lawful permanent residents, Cuban and Haitian entrants, and COFA migrants starting October 1, 2026 eliminates coverage for refugees, asylees, trafficking victims, Afghan parolees, Ukrainian parolees, and others currently eligible under federal law. The legislation does not change PRWORA,

means these populations remain eligible under federal law, but states cannot claim federal matching funds for their coverage. Some states will cover these populations with state-only funds. Most will not, particularly given the other fiscal pressures from provider tax and state directed payment restrictions. This creates coverage losses concentrated in states with large refugee and asylee populations.

Medicaid MCOs face a perfect storm of bad news. Enrollment declines reduce premium revenue. The elimination of state directed payments or their reduction to Medicare rate caps reduces the ability to overpay certain providers and maintain network adequacy. The provider tax restrictions reduce state fiscal capacity, which will lead to rate cuts. The six-month renewal requirement increases churn, which increases administrative costs and reduces the time to recoup care management investments. Medical loss ratios will compress as states cut rates while medical costs remain sticky. The MCOs that survive will be those with diversified books of business across Medicare Advantage, commercial, and Medicaid. The Medicaid-only MCOs are in serious trouble, particularly those concentrated in expansion states.

The financing reforms are particularly brutal for Medicaid MCOs because they eliminate the hidden subsidy many plans relied on. State directed payments allow states to effectively pay providers above the published Medicaid rates by directing MCO spending to specific providers or provider types. The MCO would pay the provider at a higher rate, the state would reimburse the MCO through a directed payment arrangement, and everyone was happy except the federal government which was matching the inflated costs. The new caps at 100 percent of Medicare rates for expansion states and 110 percent for non-expansion states eliminate this subsidy. Providers will see revenue decline. Networks will narrow. Access will worsen. MCOs caught in the middle will see margins compress or turn negative.

Safety net providers dependent on provider tax financing and state directed payments face existential challenges. The provider tax freeze at July 4, 2025 levels with gradual reductions for expansion states eliminates the ability to generate additional state matching dollars through increased taxes on high-Medicaid-volume providers. The state directed payment caps at Medicare rates reduce payments to safety net hospitals, academic medical centers, and FQHCs that previously received significantly above

Medicare rates through these arrangements. The combination means less revenue with more uncompensated care as newly uninsured patients seek care without coverage.

The math is brutal. Let us say you are a safety net hospital in an expansion state currently receives 70 percent of revenue from Medicaid, with 40 percent of that Medicaid revenue coming through state directed payments that pay you 150 percent of Medicare rates. Your effective Medicaid reimbursement is maybe 120 percent Medicare on average across all service lines. Under the new rules, your state directed payments drop to 100 percent of Medicare. Your overall Medicaid reimbursement falls to maybe 95 percent of Medicare on average. Meanwhile, you lose 10 percent your Medicaid patient volume to coverage losses from community engagement and immigration restrictions. Those patients still show up, but now they are uninsured. Your uncompensated care doubles. Your revenue drops 8 to 10 percent while your costs remain flat or increase. You are now losing money on operations. How do you survive?

The answer for many safety net providers will be they do not survive, at least not in their current form. We will see consolidation, closures, and conversion to other service lines. Companies providing services to these safety net providers or dependent on these providers for patient access will face significant headwinds. If your business model assumes continued existence of a robust safety net provider network, you need to revisit that assumption.

Behavioral health companies serving Medicaid populations face particularly acute challenges because behavioral health conditions frequently qualify individuals for medical frailty exemptions from community engagement, but the exemption requires documentation and determination by the state. In practice, many individuals with substance use disorders or serious mental illness will lose coverage due to inability to navigate the exemption process rather than actual ineligibility. These are the patients least able to manage administrative complexity. The result is reduced covered lives for behavioral health platforms, increased no-show rates as patients lose coverage, and a reduced revenue. Companies that pivoted to Medicaid behavioral health during pandemic expansion are going to see their unit economics deteriorate rapidly.

Maternal health companies face a mixed picture that trends negative. The legislature maintains postpartum medical assistance protections and pregnant women are excluded from community engagement requirements. However, the immigration restrictions eliminate coverage for pregnant women who are qualified noncitizens not lawful permanent residents starting October 1, 2026, except for emergency Medicaid. The retroactive eligibility reduction from three months to one or two months affects women who discover pregnancy and apply for Medicaid to cover prenatal care already received. The net effect is probably a modest reduction in covered prenatal care visits and a more significant reduction in postpartum care visits for immigrant populations. Companies generating revenue from Medicaid prenatal and postpartum visits will see volume pressure.

Chronic care management companies dependent on Medicaid revenue face challenges from both enrollment reductions and the six-month renewal churn. Chronic care management programs require longitudinal engagement over many months to generate ROI. When beneficiaries lose coverage every six months and need to reestablish eligibility, the continuity necessary for effective chronic disease management breaks down. Companies will spend more money reengaging patients who churn off coverage and return, while seeing reduced revenue from successful management due to shorter coverage duration. The economics get tough quickly.

The Gray Zone: Models That Might Survive With Adaptation

Some business models fall into a gray zone where survival depends on execution and adaptation. Medicaid-focused primary care platforms that capitated risk can potentially survive if they move upstream into helping states manage community engagement verification and address validation as part of their care coordination activities. The value proposition shifts from “we reduce ED utilization” to “we keep your beneficiaries engaged and compliant with eligibility requirements while also managing their health.” This is a harder sell but potentially viable for plans with strong state relationships and demonstrated operational capabilities.

Care coordination platforms serving dual eligibles should be relatively insulated the Medicare coverage remains regardless of Medicaid status and the community engagement requirements do not apply to Medicare beneficiaries. However, the elimination of the enhanced FMAP for emergency Medicaid services for expansion populations starting October 1, 2026 means states will see increased costs for emergency care for undocumented patients who lose coverage. This fiscal pressure will create renewed interest in care coordination and diversion strategies for the populations, but the willingness to pay will be lower since states cannot claim enhanced federal match.

Social determinants of health platforms that focus on connecting beneficiaries to community resources could potentially position themselves as community engagement verification partners, documenting volunteer service, community service participation, or education enrollment. The challenge is that most existing SDOH platforms were not built with the verification rigor and data security requirements necessary for eligibility determination. Building to those standards requires significant investment and may not be worthwhile for the market opportunity.

Pharmacy benefit management and specialty pharmacy companies serving Medicaid should see some offsetting factors. Yes, covered lives will decrease. However, the members who remain will be sicker on average since healthier low-income adults will be more likely to lose coverage due to community engagement noncompliance or administrative churn. This means higher utilization per covered life, though potentially lower absolute revenue depending on the magnitude of coverage loss. The elimination of the 90 percent FMAP for expansion population emergency services also puts pressure on state budgets, which typically leads to pharmacy carve-out rate cuts in Medicaid MCO contracts, creating opportunities for PBMs to capture margin.

Investment Implications for Early Stage Health Tech

If you are an angel investor or early stage VC evaluating healthcare companies in 2025 and 2026, this legislation should fundamentally alter your diligence process and investment thesis. The core question you need to ask about any Medicaid-exposed business is simple: will this company have more or fewer potential customers in 24 months than it has today? For most companies serving Medicaid expansion populations, the answer is fewer, and potentially far fewer.

The second question is about state fiscal capacity. Will states have more or fewer dollars available to pay for services in 24 months? Again, for expansion states dealing with provider tax restrictions, state directed payment caps, and enrollment reductions, the answer is fewer. This means pricing pressure, slower sales cycles and reduced contract values even for companies providing valuable services.

The third question is about regulatory risk. Does this company's business model depend on regulatory interpretations or financing mechanisms that are now restricted or prohibited? Many digital health companies serving Medicaid have business models that depend on permissive state plan amendments, creative interpretations of reimbursable services, or 1115 demonstration authority that allowed non-traditional benefit coverage. The requirement for Chief Actuary budget neutrality certification for 1115 demonstrations starting January 1, 2027 makes approval of innovative demonstrations much more difficult. The elimination of state directed payments financing mechanism removes a major tool states used to fund value-based care arrangements and alternative payment models. If your company depends on regulatory flexibility that is being restricted, your path to scale just got much harder.

For companies building administrative tools for states, the opportunity is enormous but the competition will be intense. The companies that win will be those that are the fastest to build partnerships, demonstrate ROI, and achieve scale economies. There is probably room for three to five winners in each major category like community engagement verification, duplicate enrollment prevention, and fraud detection. The rest will struggle to gain traction. As an investor, you want to fund the category leaders or companies with truly differentiated technology or distribution. Me-to solutions will not succeed in this market.

The rural health opportunity is real but requires understanding that rural providers are financially fragile and technology adoption is slow. Companies need to build the reality of rural health systems: limited IT staff, constrained budgets, older technology infrastructure, and resistance to change. The winners will be companies that make implementation simple, provide exceptional support, and demonstrate financial ROI. Selling on clinical outcomes or patient experience will not work. Selling on “this will save you money or help you access federal rural health transformation funding” will work.

For companies with commercial insurance books of business, this is a massive acquisition opportunity. Millions of people losing Medicaid coverage creates an unprecedented opportunity to convert them to commercial members if you can solve the enrollment friction and affordability challenges. Companies building in this need to understand that most people losing Medicaid will be eligible for subsidized Marketplace coverage, but many will not successfully enroll due to complexity or lack of awareness. The company that builds the smoothest off-ramp from Medicaid to Marketplace coverage will capture enormous value.

What This Means for Your Portfolio

If you have existing portfolio companies exposed to Medicaid, you need to have the uncomfortable conversation about how this legislation affects their business now and in six months when the problems are obvious. Companies need to model the financial impact of 20 to 30 percent enrollment reductions in their target populations, prior to pressure from state rate cuts, and increased customer acquisition costs as their addressable market shrinks. Some companies will need to pivot to commercial populations, Medicare populations, or state administrative services. Some will need to raise additional capital to survive the transition. Some will not survive at all.

For companies that provide services to Medicaid MCOs, you need to understand your customers are under severe financial pressure and will be cutting costs aggressively. If your product is not directly tied to regulatory compliance or clearly reduces their operating costs, you will face churn. Position your value proposition

around helping MCOs manage the new regulatory requirements or reduce costs, around improving member experience or health outcomes. Those are nice to have benefits. Cost reduction and compliance are must-have benefits.

For companies serving safety net providers, the financial viability of your customer base is at risk. You need to evaluate which health systems in your customer base are likely to survive the next 24 months and which are at risk of closure or significant service reductions. Focus your customer success efforts on helping your strongest customers succeed and be prepared to write off revenue from customers that fail. Do not invest heavily in customer acquisition from safety net providers unless you have very high confidence in their financial sustainability.

For companies building new products, the opportunity is in administrative technology for states, commercial insurance enrollment platforms, and rural health technology funded by the Rural Health Transformation Program. These are the tailwinds. Everything else in Medicaid is a headwind. That does not mean you cannot build successful companies serving Medicaid populations, but you need to be clear-eyed about the challenging market dynamics and build accordingly.

The investors who will do well in this environment are those who recognize that massive market shift is underway and position accordingly. The Medicaid expansion of the last decade created opportunities for companies serving low-income adults who previously had no coverage. That era is ending. The next era is about administrative efficiency, cost reduction, and serving the populations that remain covered. Invest accordingly.

The bottom line for angel investors is this: Medicaid just got a lot smaller, a lot more administratively complex, and a lot more focused on cost containment rather than coverage expansion. Companies that help states manage that complexity while reducing costs will do well. Companies that depend on the expansion population for revenue will struggle. Companies serving safety net providers dependent on state-directed payments and provider taxes will face existential challenges. And the window to adapt is measured in quarters, not years.

You need to evaluate every Medicaid-exposed investment through this lens. The playbook of “Medicaid is a growing market with increasing coverage” no longer applies. The new playbook is “Medicaid is contracting in enrollment but expand administrative requirements, creating opportunities for the right kinds of tech companies while destroying business models dependent on expansion coverage.” on the right side of that divide and you will do very well. Get on the wrong side : you will watch your portfolio companies struggle and fail despite good execution market shift is not something companies can overcome through better tactics. You need the right strategy for the new market reality.

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