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8	Differences Between Emergency Department and Urgent Care Users for Low-Acuity
9	Health Needs: A Public Opinion Analysis
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54	MAIN TEXT
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56	The emergency department (ED) is a commonly utilized healthcare setting for many Americans
57	when unexpected health challenges arise.1 Though vital, the ED is viewed as an expensive site of
58	care, especially for conditions that could be managed in less resource-intensive settings. ² Prior
59	estimates have suggested that a sizable proportion of ED visits are for low-acuity complaints that
60	could be treated in cheaper alternatives, such as urgent care (UC) centers or retail clinics. ² Over

61 the past decade, these alternatives to the ED for unexpected, low-acuity visits have rapidly 62 emerged in the market.³ Policymakers and payers have shown enthusiasm to redirect low-acuity 63 ED patients towards these alternatives given the proposed dual benefits of reducing crowded ED volumes and overall healthcare costs.4 64 65 Though policies have been crafted to realize these proposed benefits, some efforts have been 66 67 controversial, especially those that penalize patients retrospectively for seeking ED care for 68 conditions later deemed to not be actual emergencies.⁵ Further, it is unclear whether or not the introduction of UCs in proximity to EDs is associated with decreasing rates of low-acuity ED 69 70 visits.^{6,7} Prior work has suggested that the rise in UCs have been primarily concentrated in high-71 income areas, thereby calling into question if these alternatives are equitably distributed.8 72 Missing from these prior analyses, however, are end-user perspectives as to why they choose one 73 site of care versus another. We aim to fill this gap by leveraging a unique public opinion survey 74 that allows us to characterize respondents who used EDs compared to UCs for low-acuity health 75 needs, identify factors associated with the use of EDs versus UCs for low-acuity health needs, and summarize low-acuity ED users' reasons for opting for the ED versus an alternative. 76 77 Data come from the "Patients' Perspectives on Health Care in the United States" survey, a 78 randomized, probability-based telephone poll conducted by the Harvard T.H. Chan School of 79 Public Health, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, and National Public Radio. The survey was 80 fielded by the research firm SSRS in 2015, using a random-digit dialing method for cell phones 81 and landlines. Interviews were conducted among U.S. adults, ages 18 years and above, in both 82 English and Spanish. The dataset consisted of a national sample (n=1,002) as well as samples of 83 approximately 1,000 individuals from 7 states chosen for their diverse demographic, geographic, 84 and political contexts (Florida, Kansas, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Texas, and Wisconsin; 85 n=7,036). The broad survey, which has been used for other published work, had an overall response rate similar to other national polls of 13%.¹⁰ 86 87 The variables constructed as primary outcomes were self-reported 1) utilization of EDs and/or 88 UCs, 2) rationale for choice of ED over alternatives; and, 3) health acuity when making this

choice ("To get treatment for a 'major health problem (like a broken bone, cut or high fever)' or

'for a minor health problem (like a sprain or toothache)' or 'some other reason')". Respondents

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91	were categorized as having a low-acuity health need if they chose anything but "major health
92	problem" (Supplement).
93	
94	Independent variables included household income, whether or not a respondent had a regular
95	provider, health insurance, self-reported health (dichotomized as excellent/good or fair/poor),
96	having a chronic illness (yes/no), and resided in a Medicaid expansion state. Covariates
97	associated with health care utilization, including age, gender, race/ethnicity, geographical area,
98	employment status, and education, were included. ¹⁰
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100	For all analyses, we collated the state-level responses into a combined 7-state sample, which was
101	analyzed separately from the smaller national sample. We re-weighted the 7-state sample to
102	reflect its aggregate proportion of the national population based on the 2014 U.S. Census
103	American Community Survey. ¹⁰ Results focus on the combined 7-state sample given its larger
104	sample size, and lack of substantive differences with the smaller national sample (Supplement).
105	
106	We summarize the characteristics of respondents who use both EDs and UCs, regardless of
107	health acuity level. Among the low-acuity user subgroup, we compare differences in
108	characteristics between both sites of care using chi-squared tests. We then conducted
109	multivariable logistic regression modeling to identify characteristics of low-acuity users that may
110	independently predict seeking care at the ED versus UC. Lastly, we summarize why low-acuity
111	ED users opt for the ED versus alternatives. Statistical significance was set at p-values below
112	0.05. Analyses were conducted using Stata 14.0, StataCorp LP, College Station, Texas. The
113	study was exempted from review by the Harvard Office of Human Research Administration.
114	
115	Nearly half of survey respondents (48%) reported accessing care at the ED and/or UC within the
116	past two years. Approximately one-third of adults reported using EDs (32%), while 26%
117	reported using UCs within that time period; their user profiles differed across a variety of
118	socioeconomic factors (Supplement). More than half of ED users (54%) reported seeking ED
119	care for a low-acuity health need; the majority of UC users (84%) had a low-acuity complaint.
120	

121 As compared to low-acuity UC users, a greater percentage of low-acuity ED users identified as 122 non-white (44% ED vs. 30% UC, p<0.001), less likely to have a college degree (49% ED vs. 123 65% UC, p<0.001), more likely to be very low-income (<\$30k annual income) (46% ED vs. 124 29% UC, $p \le 0.001$), less likely to be privately insured (33% ED vs. 51% UC users, p < 0.001), 125 more likely to be chronically ill (48% ED vs. 36% UC, p<0.001), and had poor-to-fair self-126 reported health (33% ED vs. 20% UC, p<0.001). Results from the national survey were similar, 127 though less often statistically significant (Supplement). 128 129 The adjusted model suggested that a number of factors independently predicted low-acuity ED 130 use versus the UC, including being uninsured (OR 1.85 [95% CI: 1.04, 3.27], p-val=0.04), 131 identifying as black (OR 1.78 [95% CI: 1.11, 2.87], p-val=0.02), being unemployed (OR 1.66 [95% CI: 1.12, 2.45], p-val=0.01), and having lower-incomes (<\$30k) (OR 2.67 [95% CI: 1.63, 132 133 4.38], p-val<0.001) (**Table 1**). 134 135 When asked why they chose the ED versus other alternatives, a plurality of low-acuity ED users 136 (33%) reported access concerns (i.e., "other facilities were not open", "too far away", or they 137 were "unable to secure another appointment"), 13% felt that the ED was the only place they 138 could be treated, 11% were brought to the hospital by ambulance, 8% felt the ED had the 139 equipment or staff they needed, and 8% felt they might need hospital admission (Supplement). 140 141 This study leverages a unique public opinion survey to assess self-reported low-acuity health 142 usage of EDs versus alternatives and reasons for this care-seeking behavior. We found that 143 nearly half of the U.S. adult population reports recently using EDs and/or UCs, and the groups 144 who utilize these sites of care differ across a range of socioeconomic factors. Further, over half 145 of ED users self-report turning to the ED for a low-acuity health complaint, despite increasing 146 pressures from payers and policymakers to shunt patients away from the ED for low-acuity 147 health needs.² Those who rely on EDs and UCs for low-acuity health needs differ, suggesting 148 that the least resourced and most vulnerable in society are particularly reliant on the ED for all 149 types of care – regardless of acuity. These findings complement a growing evidence base that the 150 availability of ED alternatives for low-acuity visits are unevenly distributed in communities, with 151 the poorest areas being least likely to benefit from this emerging "alternative" market.^{7,8}

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to receive timely care.

Our findings should be interpreted considering several well-known limitations related to survey research, including non-response bias, ordering effects, and language bias. Recall bias is important to acknowledge given our method for defining low-acuity ED users (i.e. based on selfreport after learning of their ED workup outcome); however, other retrospective or prospective mechanisms for defining low-acuity ED usage also have challenges. Further, this survey required access to a phone and thus may have biased our findings relevant to vulnerable populations towards the null. Also, though comparable to other national polls, this survey's response rate was low; therefore, we employed weighting procedures that adhere to best practices in probabilitybased sampling polling methods.^{9,10} Further, nearly a third of low-acuity ED respondents chose "some other reason" when asked why they opted for the ED versus an alternative, even after being presented with reasons that are commonly thought of as why patients make this choice. Since the survey structure did not permit for respondents to expand upon this answer, further research will be helpful for elucidating care-seeking behavior among low-acuity ED visits. Lastly, though unique, these data are from 2015 and merit contemporary follow-up analyses. Looking ahead, policymakers are likely to promote sustained efforts that redirect patients with low-acuity needs away from the ED towards lower-cost alternatives in an effort to better optimize the perceived value of these healthcare settings. In this policy context, patients should have meaningful access (e.g., availability in their neighborhood and during extended hours, treatment regardless of ability to pay, access to triage consultants such as through certain insurers) to alternatives sites of care before they are penalized for opting for the ED for lowacuity needs. As the COVID-19 pandemic's impact on ED care-seeking behavior has

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demonstrated, it is more important than ever to understand why, when, and where patients elect

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211 TABLE

Table 1. Logistic Regression Results Predicting Emergency Department (ED) Use for Low-Acuity Health Reason (versus Urgent Care) Within the Past Two Years (2014-2015), Adjusted Odds Ratio [95% Confidence Interval], Combined 7-State Sample

		7-State Sample
		Low Acuity Users (n=1,986)
Variables Control		Prob> F: <0.000
Has Regular Care Provider	Yes	
Has Regular Care Flovider	No	0.94 [0.62, 1.41]
	ESHI	
Main Source of Health Insurance	Medicare	1.31 [0.78, 2.20]
	Medicaid	1.49 [0.80, 2.76]
	Other Insurance	1.03 [0.67, 1.60]
	Uninsured	1.85* [1.04, 3.27]
Chronically III	No	
	Yes	1.29 [0.94, 1.78]
7 : /D . H . H	No	
nir/Poor Health	Yes	1.00 [0.69, 1.46]
Gender	Male	
	Female	1.00 [0.74, 1.34]
Race/	White (NH)	
Ethnicity	Black (NH)	1.78* [1.11, 2.87]
	Hispanic	0.86 [0.55, 1.36]
	Other	1.51 [0.84, 2.72]
Age (years)	18-29	-
	30-49	1.08 [0.69, 1.68]

50-64 65+	Low Acuity Users (n=1,986) Prob> F: <0.000 0.88 [0.57, 1.37] 0.78 [0.43, 1.38]
50-64	0.88 [0.57, 1.37]
	-
65+	0.78 [0.43, 1.38]
≤ High School	
Some college+	0.84 [0.61, 1.16]
pyment Full-Time	
Part-time	0.92 [0.57, 1.49]
Unemployed	1.66* [1.12. 2.45]
≥\$100,000	
chold Income \$50,000-\$99,999	1.59* [1.02, 2.46]
\$30,000-\$49,999	3.12*** [1.92, 5.06]
<\$30,000	2.67*** [1.63, 4.38]
chold Location Urban	
Suburban	1.14 [0.81, 1.62]
Rural	1.19 [0.81, 1.74]
in Medicaid Expansion State	
Yes	1.01 [0.76, 1.34]

Note: NH=non-Hispanic; ESHI=employer-sponsored health insurance. Reference groups (--), in order of categories: Has a regular care provider; Employer/Spouse Employer Sponsored Health Insurance (ESHI), Not Chronically Ill, In Good/Excellent Health, Male, non-Hispanic White, Age 18-29, High school education or less, Employed full-time, Household Income >\$100,000, Urban household location, and for state-analysis: does not live in Medicaid expansion state. Responses of "Don't Know" or "Refuse to Answer" to any of the above covariates were considered missing data and excluded from modeling. In terms of total observations, the n=1986 reflects the total number of low-acuity users that were included in the final model; this comes from the total pool of n=7,036 respondents in the combined 7-state sample and includes the smaller subset of low-acuity ED or UC users. Model is significant at P-value: *p<0.05, **<0.01, ***<0.001. Results from the smaller national model are included in the Supplement.