

HEALTH REFORM IN MASSACHUSETTS: AN UPDATE AS OF FALL 2009

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Sharon K. Long and Karen Stockley



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In April 2006, Massachusetts enacted a health reform bill, entitled *An Act Providing Access To Affordable, Quality, Accountable Health Care* (Chapter 58 of the Acts of 2006), that sought to move the state to near universal insurance coverage and improve access to health care in the state. In order to track the impacts of Chapter 58, the Blue Cross Blue Shield of Massachusetts Foundation began funding an annual survey of nonelderly adults (aged 18 to 64) in the Commonwealth in fall 2006, just prior to the implementation of key elements of health reform. That survey, called the Massachusetts Health Reform Survey (MHRS), has been fielded in the fall of each subsequent year.¹ This report provides an update on the impacts of health reform in the state as of fall 2009. In presenting the findings, we report on the outcomes for adults in the state as of fall 2009 and estimates of how those adults would have fared in Massachusetts in earlier years. We focus on changes under health reform (comparing fall 2009 to the pre-reform period of fall 2006) and changes between fall 2008 to fall 2009, when the effects of the economic recession in the state were most severe. The outcomes examined include health insurance coverage (both insurance coverage at the time of the survey and coverage over the prior year), health care access and use, and the affordability of health care. We also examine support for health reform in the state over time.

1 The first three years of the survey (2006, 2007, and 2008) were funded jointly with the Commonwealth Fund and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.

OVERVIEW OF PROGRESS IN ACCOMPLISHING THE GOALS OF CHAPTER 58

The major components of Chapter 58 were directed at making comprehensive insurance coverage available and affordable for most residents as a first step towards improving access, affordability, and quality of health care. In fall 2009, more than 95 percent of nonelderly adults in the state were insured, up from 87.5 percent in fall 2006. Importantly, the strong system of public coverage in Massachusetts has offset some of the declines in employer-sponsored coverage observed during the economic recession. Compared to an analysis for the nation as a whole, health reform in Massachusetts appears to have provided more protection against a loss of insurance due to the economic downturn for nonelderly adults. Despite the importance of public coverage in the state, the majority of Massachusetts residents continue to obtain insurance coverage through their employer, with no evidence that public coverage has crowded-out employer coverage.

The higher level of insurance coverage in the state has been associated with improvements in health care access, use, and affordability. These important achievements provide evidence that residents are obtaining meaningful, comprehensive coverage. Furthermore, racial and ethnic disparities in health insurance coverage, health care access and use, and the affordability of care in the state have been reduced and, in some cases, eliminated. Most notably, the difference in insurance coverage between minority adults (defined as non-white and Hispanic adults) and white, non-Hispanic adults was eliminated in fall 2009, likely due to the strong increase in insurance coverage among racial/ethnic minority adults in the state under health reform. However, insurance coverage in and of itself has not completely eliminated all barriers to care in the state, nor has it addressed the underlying drivers of ever-increasing costs within the health care system. The latter problem, which extends beyond Massachusetts to the nation as a whole, is the considerable challenge now facing Massachusetts and the nation.

While Massachusetts deferred addressing health care costs in the 2006 legislation so as not to hold up the expansion in coverage, there is broad consensus in the state about the need to control health care costs and robust discussion about how to move forward on cost containment. Last year, the state’s Special Commission on the Health Care Payment System proposed substantial changes in the state’s health care delivery and payment systems. More recently, several state agencies have commissioned investigations into the factors driving high health care costs. With escalating health care costs a serious problem in every state, there is a clear need for strong federal leadership to address the systematic problems with the health care payment system across the nation.

KEY FINDINGS

Overall Impacts of Health Reform on Nonelderly Adults

- Under health reform in Massachusetts, health insurance coverage among nonelderly adults in Massachusetts rose by 7.7 percentage points between fall 2006 and fall 2009, to 95.2 percent covered. As a result, only 4.8 percent of nonelderly Massachusetts adults were uninsured at the time of the survey in fall 2009, a drop of more than 60 percent from fall 2006.
- The share of adults who were ever uninsured over the prior year and the share always uninsured over the prior year were also lower under health reform. The share ever uninsured over the prior year was at 9.7 percent in fall 2009, a drop of nearly half from fall 2006, while the share always uninsured over the prior year was at 2.5 percent, a drop of almost 70 percent from fall 2006.
- Despite the worsening of the economic recession between fall 2008 and fall 2009, uninsurance in Massachusetts remained at a historic low level in fall 2009. Compared to an analysis for the nation as a whole, health reform in Massachusetts appears to have provided more protection against loss of insurance due to the economic downturn for nonelderly adults.
- There is no evidence of public coverage “crowding out” employer-sponsored insurance coverage under health reform in Massachusetts.
- Access to and use of health care improved between fall 2006 and fall 2009, with more adults reporting visits to doctors and other providers (including visits for preventive care) and fewer adults reporting unmet need for care in fall 2009.
- There were also gains in the affordability of care in fall 2009 relative to fall 2006, with adults reporting lower out-of-pocket health care spending relative to family income and lower levels of unmet need because of costs. The latter was lower in fall 2009 than fall 2006 overall and for each of the specific types of care examined, including doctor care; specialist care; medical tests, treatment, or follow-up care; preventive care screenings; prescription drugs; and dental care.
- Nonetheless, some barriers to care persisted in fall 2009: About one in five adults reported problems finding a doctor who would see them and similar proportions reported unmet need for health care and problems paying medical bills.

Impacts of Health Reform on Population Subgroups

- Some of the most vulnerable adults in the state, including lower-income adults and adults with a chronic health condition, reported some of the strongest gains under health reform. Both groups reported significant gains in insurance coverage, health care access and use, and the affordability of care between fall 2006 and fall 2009. For example, insurance coverage rose by 14.1 percentage points for lower-income adults and 6.6 percentage points for adults with a chronic health condition between fall 2006 and fall 2009.
- Adults without dependent children, who were seldom eligible for public support prior to health reform, reported strong gains in insurance coverage, access to and use of health care, and the affordability of care between fall 2006 and fall 2009. For this group, insurance coverage increased by 10.0 percentage points between fall 2009 and fall 2006.
- Middle-class adults, who often make too much to qualify for public support but not enough to easily afford to purchase coverage on their own, also reported gains under health reform in insurance coverage (up 4.7 percentage points) and gains in health care access and use between fall 2006 and fall 2009. There were no improvements in the affordability of care, however, for middle-class adults over this period.

Uninsured Adults

- As was true in fall 2006, adults in Massachusetts who were uninsured at the time of the survey continued to be disproportionately young, male, single, and healthy in fall 2009.
- However, in fall 2009, more of the adults who were uninsured at the time of the survey had insurance coverage at some point in the prior year. In fall 2009, 43.5 percent of the adults who were uninsured at the time of the survey had coverage at some point in the prior year, as compared to 32.6 percent in fall 2006.
- In addition to reporting higher levels of partial-year coverage, adults who were uninsured at the time of the survey in fall 2009 also reported better access to and use of health care and fewer problems with the affordability of care over the prior year than did their counterparts in fall 2006.
- Relatively few (20.1 percent) uninsured adults in fall 2009 had access to coverage through their employer.
- Cost remained a key barrier to obtaining coverage among those who remained uninsured in fall 2009.

The Adequacy of Insurance Coverage Under Health Reform

- In fall 2009, insured adults generally rated their health insurance coverage as being as good as it was prior to health reform in fall 2006.
- Affordability of care was a greater problem for insured adults in Massachusetts in fall 2009 than it was in fall 2006, as health care costs in the state continued to rise.
- In fall 2009, problems paying medical bills affected insured adults of all ages and across all population groups in the state, but were more common among those with high health care needs and lower incomes.

Support for Health Reform

- Support for health reform among nonelderly adults in Massachusetts was quite high when reform began in fall 2006 (68.5 percent), and has remained high over time, with 67.0 percent of nonelderly adults supporting health reform in fall 2009.
- Support for health reform among nonelderly adults in fall 2009 was similar to that in fall 2006 across nearly all major population groups in Massachusetts.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In April 2006, Massachusetts enacted a health reform bill that sought to move the state to near universal insurance coverage through a combination of Medicaid expansions, subsidized private health insurance coverage, insurance market reforms, and requirements for individuals and employers.² The key features of Massachusetts’ initiative, entitled *An Act Providing Access To Affordable, Quality, Accountable Health Care* (Chapter 58 of the Acts of 2006), are:

- An expansion of Massachusetts’ Medicaid program (MassHealth) to children with family income up to 300 percent of the federal poverty level (FPL),
- The elimination of enrollment caps for MassHealth coverage for several populations, including long-term unemployed adults, disabled working adults and persons with HIV,
- Income-related subsidies for health insurance (Commonwealth Care) for adults with family income up to 300 percent of the FPL,
- A new purchasing arrangement (Commonwealth Choice) that links individuals to private health plans,
- Health insurance market reforms that merge the small and non-group markets in an effort to reduce the cost of non-group premiums,
- An individual mandate that requires adults to have health insurance if they have access to an affordable health plan or face state tax penalties, and
- Requirements that employers with 11 or more employees (1) set up a Section 125 plan (or “cafeteria plan”)³ so that workers can pay for health insurance premiums with pre-tax dollars and (2) make a “fair and reasonable” contribution towards their workers’ health insurance or face an assessment not to exceed \$295 per full-time equivalent worker per year.

In order to track the impacts of Chapter 58, the Blue Cross Blue Shield of Massachusetts Foundation began funding an annual survey of nonelderly adults in the Commonwealth in fall 2006. That survey, called the Massachusetts Health Reform Survey (MHRS), has been fielded in the fall of each subsequent year.⁴ To date, the first three annual MHRS (2006 to 2008) have provided the

2 For a summary of the provisions of the legislation, see Health Care Reform Bill Summary [Internet]. Boston: Blue Cross Blue Shield of Massachusetts Foundation; 2006 [cited 2010 May 19]. Available from: http://www.bcbsmafoundation.org/foundationroot/en_US/documents/MassHCReformLawSummary.pdf.

3 Under Section 125 of the Internal Revenue Code, employers can allow their employees to pay for health coverage (and other benefits) on a pre-tax basis. Pre-tax benefits lower payroll-related taxes for both the employer and employees.

4 The first three years of the survey (2006, 2007, and 2008) were funded jointly with the Commonwealth Fund and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.

foundation for a number of studies of the impacts of health reform in Massachusetts (Exhibit I.1). This report, which incorporates data from the 2009 MHRS, provides an update on the impacts of health reform in the state as of fall 2009. We focus on changes under health reform (comparing fall 2009 to the pre-reform period of fall 2006) and changes between fall 2008 and fall 2009, when the effects of the economic recession in the state were most severe. The outcomes examined include health insurance coverage (both insurance coverage at the time of the survey and coverage over the prior year), health care access and use, and the affordability of health care. We also examine support for health reform in the state over time.

EXHIBIT I.1: List of Prior Studies Using the Massachusetts Health Reform Survey to Examine Health Reform in Massachusetts, 2007-2009

2007

Long SK, Cohen M. Getting Ready for Reform: Insurance Coverage and Access to and Use of Care in Massachusetts in Fall 2006. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute; 2007.

2008

Long SK. On the Road to Universal Coverage: Impacts of Health Reform in Massachusetts at One Year. Health Aff (Millwood). 2008; 27(4): w270-84.

Long SK. The Impact of Health Reform on Underinsurance in Massachusetts: Do the Insured Have Adequate Protection? Washington, DC: The Urban Institute; 2008 October.

Long SK. Who Gained the Most Under Health Reform in Massachusetts? Washington, DC: The Urban Institute; 2008 October.

Long SK, Masi PB. How Have Employers Responded to Health Reform in Massachusetts? Findings at the End of One Year. Health Aff (Millwood). 2008; 27(6): w576-83.

2009

Long SK, Masi PB. Access and Affordability: An Update on Health Reform in Massachusetts, Fall 2008. Health Aff (Millwood). 2009; 28(4): w578-87.

Long SK, Masi PB. Access to and Affordability of Care in Massachusetts as of Fall 2008: Geographic and Racial/Ethnic Differences. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute; 2009 May.

Long SK, Stockley K. Health Reform in Massachusetts: An Update on Insurance Coverage and Support for Reform as of Fall 2008. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute; 2009 September.

Long SK, Stockley K. Massachusetts Health Reform: Employer Coverage from Employees' Perspective. Health Aff (Millwood). 2009; 28(6): w1079-87.

Long SK, Stockley K. Emergency Department Visits in Massachusetts: Who Uses Emergency Care and Why? Washington, DC: The Urban Institute; 2009 September.

II. DATA AND METHODS

those adults would have fared in Massachusetts in earlier years based on the parameter estimates from multivariate regression models. As with the models for all nonelderly adults, the regression models for population subgroups control for characteristics of the individual and his or her family and the region of the state in which he or she lives.

For the analysis of the impacts of health reform on racial/ethnic disparities, we compare the outcomes under health reform for racial/ethnic minority adults (defined as non-white and Hispanic adults) and white, non-Hispanic adults, controlling for differences in other characteristics across time and between the two population subgroups in a comparative change or difference-in-differences model.²⁹ Although earlier work showed differences in insurance coverage, access and use, and affordability of care across subgroups of the racial/ethnic population in Massachusetts, we do not have the sample sizes needed to examine the impacts of health reform for different subgroups of non-white and Hispanic adults.³⁰

For the analysis of racial/ethnic disparities, we estimated two different specifications of the regression model. In addition to estimating regression models that control for the full set of variables outlined above for the core analysis of the impacts of health reform, we also estimated regression models that only control for differences in the health care needs of racial/ethnic minority adults and white, non-Hispanic adults. These models, which control for age, gender, and health and disability status, align more closely with the Institute of Medicine’s definition of disparities as all differences *except* those due to health care needs and preferences.³¹ Since the health status and demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the minority and white adults in the study samples were relatively stable over the time period of this study, the estimates of the impacts of health reform on racial and ethnic disparities in Massachusetts were quite similar between the two specifications of the regression models. Consequently, we report the findings for the full regression model in the text and provide the estimates based on the model limited to health care needs in a supplemental exhibit in the Appendix. The predicted values for the racial/ethnic disparities portion of the analysis are calculated using the entire sample from 2009 (both racial/ethnic minority adults and white, non-Hispanic adults) to control for differences in population characteristics beyond race and ethnicity in comparing the impacts of health reform.

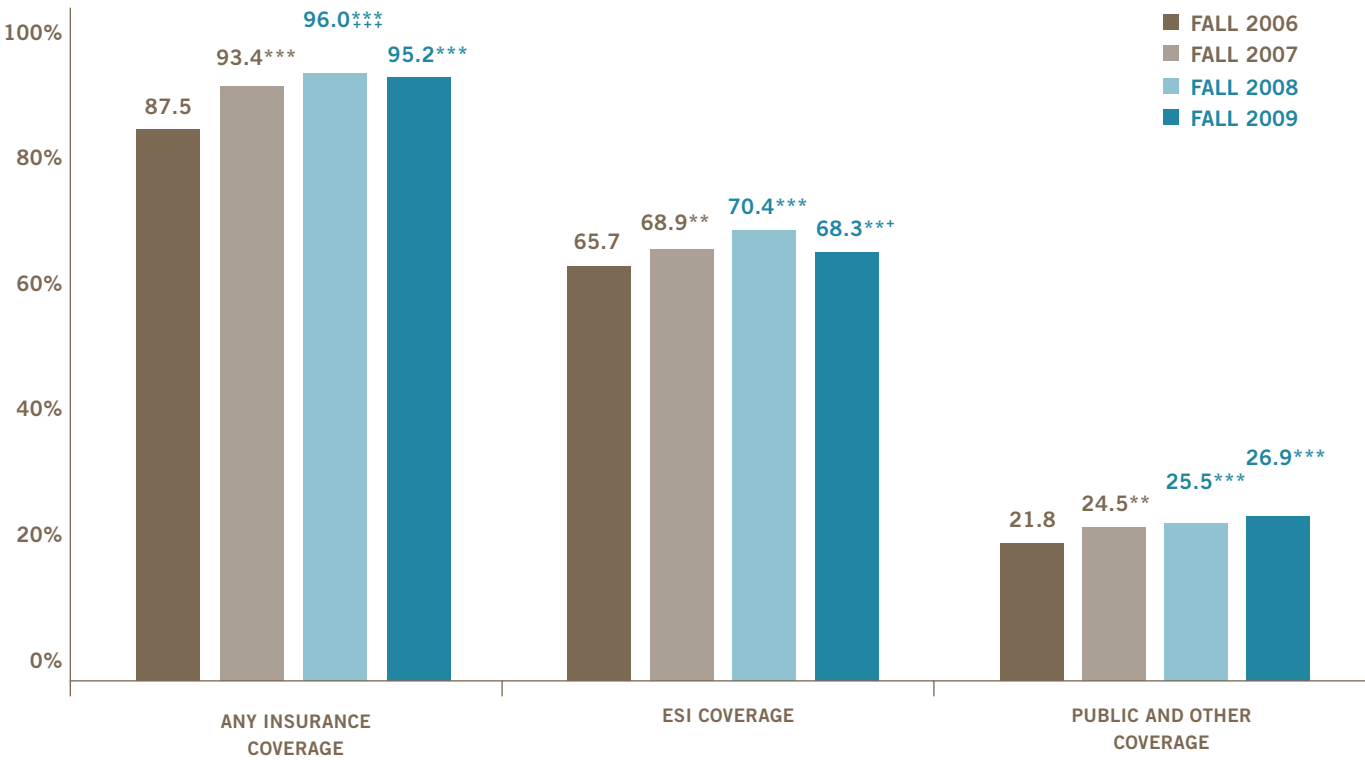
29 Wooldridge JM. What’s New in Econometrics? Lecture 10, Differences-in-Differences Estimation. Cambridge (MA): NBER Summer Institute; 2007. Available from: www.nber.org.

30 The earlier work relied on oversamples of African American and Hispanic adults that were added to the fall 2008 survey. See Long SK, Masi PB. Access to and Affordability of Care in Massachusetts as of Fall 2008: Geographic and Racial/Ethnic Differences. Washington (DC): The Urban Institute; 2009 May.

31 Institute of Medicine. Unequal Treatment: Confronting Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care. Washington (DC): National Academies Press; 2002.

EXHIBIT II.1: CHARACTERISTICS OF MASSACHUSETTS ADULTS 18 TO 64, FALL 2006 TO FALL 2009

EXHIBIT III.1: REGRESSION-ADJUSTED ESTIMATES OF INSURANCE COVERAGE FOR MASSACHUSETTS ADULTS 18 TO 64, FALL 2006 TO FALL 2009



Source: 2006-2009 Massachusetts Health Reform Surveys (N=13,150)
Note: Simple (unadjusted) differences are provided in Appendix Exhibit III.1. The regression-adjusted estimates are derived from models that control for age, gender, race/ethnicity, citizenship, marital status, parent status, education, employment, firm size, health status, disability status, whether the individual has chronic conditions or is pregnant, family income, and region fixed effects. The reported values for adults in 2009 are the actual values for that year. The estimates for earlier years are calculated using the parameter estimates from the regression models to predict the outcomes that the individuals in the 2009 sample would have had if they had been observed in each of the preceding study years.
* (**) (***) Significantly different from fall 2006 at the .10 (.05) (.01) level, two-tailed test.
+ (++) (+++) Significantly different from the prior year at the .10 (.05) (.01) level, two-tailed test.

EXHIBIT III.2: REGRESSION-ADJUSTED ESTIMATES OF HEALTH INSURANCE COVERAGE AND HEALTH CARE ACCESS, USE, AND COSTS FOR MASSACHUSETTS ADULTS 18 TO 64, FALL 2006 TO FALL 2009

	CHANGE SINCE 2006			CHANGE OVER THE LAST YEAR	
	FALL 2006	FALL 2009	2009-2006 DIFFERENCE</		

EXHIBIT V.1: SIMPLE (UNADJUSTED) ESTIMATES OF HEALTH INSURANCE COVERAGE AND HEALTH CARE ACCESS, USE, AND COSTS PRIOR TO HEALTH REFORM FOR RACIAL/ETHNIC MINORITY AND WHITE, NON-HISPANIC MASSACHUSETTS ADULTS 18 TO 64, FALL 2006

	RACIAL/ETHNIC MINORITY ADULTS	WHITE, NON-HISPANIC ADULTS	DIFFERENCE
INSURANCE COVERAGE (%)			
Any insurance coverage	79.4	88.8	-9.5 ***
ESI coverage	51.9	70.1	-18.1 ***
Public and other coverage	27.5	18.8	8.7 ***
Uninsured	20.6	11.2	9.5 ***
HEALTH CARE ACCESS AND USE (%)			
Has a usual source of care (excluding the ED)	79.9	88.0	-8.1 **
Usual source of care is doctor's office or private clinic	41.7	72.9	-31.2 ***
Any general doctor visit in past 12 months	70.6	82.3	-11.7 ***
Visit for preventive care	63.5	71.8	-8.4 **
Multiple doctor visits	57.4	67.6	-10.2 ***
Any specialist visit in past 12 months	41.9	52.5	-10.6 ***
Any dental care visit in past 12 months	59.2	70.1	-10.9 ***
Took any prescription drugs in past 12 months	44.2	57.9	-13.8 ***
Did not get needed care for any reason in past 12 months	26.3	25.5	0.7
Doctor care	7.8	8.1	-0.3
Specialist care	8.5	6.7	1.7
Medical tests, treatment or follow-up care	9.3	9.5	-0.2
Preventive care screening	7.1	6.9	0.2
Prescription drugs	8.4	8.0	0.4
Dental care	15.6		

EXHIBIT VII.4: UNMET NEED FOR HEALTH CARE BECAUSE OF COSTS AMONG MASSACHUSETTS ADULTS 18 TO 64 WITH COVERAGE FOR THE ENTIRE YEAR, BY PROBLEMS PAYING MEDICAL BILLS, FALL 2009

	DID NOT HAVE PROBLEMS PAYING MEDICAL BILLS	HAD PROBLEMS PAYING MEDICAL BILLS
ANY UNMET NEED FOR CARE BECAUSE OF COSTS IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS (%)	6.2	25.1 ***
UNMET NEED FOR SPECIFIC TYPES OF CARE BECAUSE OF COSTS IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS: (%)		
Doctor care	0.6	5.3 ***
Specialist care	0.5	6.8 ***
Medical tests, treatment or follow-up care	0.9	5.2 ***
Preventive care screening	0.9	3.5 **
Prescription drugs	1.4	9.2 ***
Dental care	4.2	12.2 ***
SAMPLE SIZE	2,094	454

Source: 2009 Massachusetts Health Reform Survey

* (**) (***) Significantly different from those who do not report problems paying medical bills at the .10 (.05) (.01) level, two-tailed test.

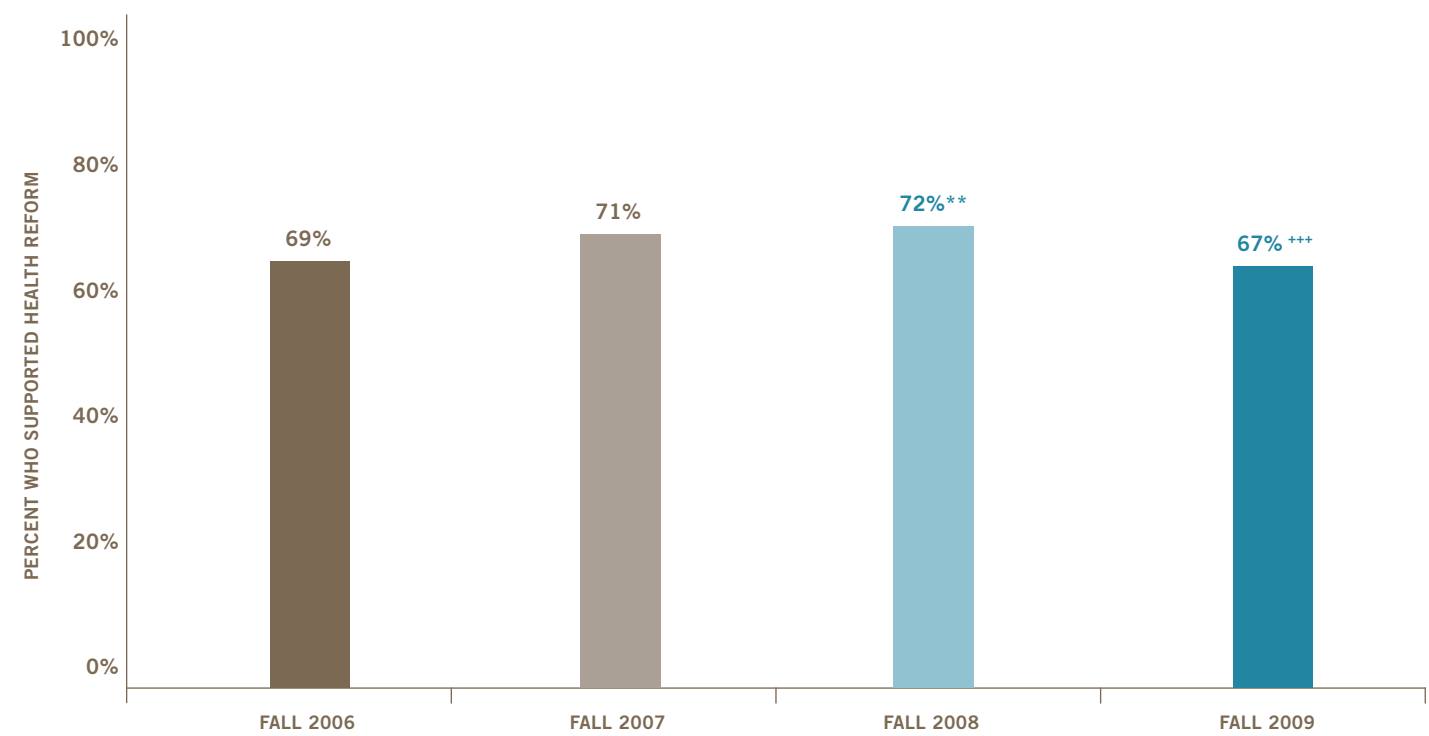
VIII. SUPPORT FOR HEALTH REFORM

KEY FINDINGS

- Support for health reform among nonelderly adults in Massachusetts was quite high when reform began in fall 2006 (68.5 percent), and has remained high over time, with 67.0 percent of nonelderly adults supporting health reform in fall 2009.
- Support for health reform in fall 2009, although not significantly different from the level of support in fall 2006, was below the peak level of support reported in fall 2008 (71.8 percent). The drop in support between fall 2008 and fall 2009 likely reflects the economic downturn and the resulting pressures on the state’s safety net and public coverage programs.
- Support for health reform among nonelderly adults in fall 2009 was similar to that in fall 2006 across nearly all major population groups in Massachusetts.

Massachusetts’ health reform initiative has relied on broad support from employers, providers, insurers, and citizens both to pass the original legislation and to sustain the initiative as it has evolved over time. Support for health reform among nonelderly adults in Massachusetts was quite high when reform began in fall 2

EXHIBIT VIII.1: PERCENT SUPPORTING HEALTH REFORM AMONG MASSACHUSETTS ADULTS 18 TO 64, FALL 2006 TO FALL 2009



Source: 2006- 2009 Massachusetts Health Reform Surveys, N=13,150
* (**) (***) Significantly different from fall 2006 at the .10 (.05) (.01) level, two-tailed test.
+ (++) (+++) Significantly different from the prior year at the .10 (.05) (.01) level, two-tailed test.

EXHIBIT VIII.2: PERCENT SUPPORTING HEALTH REFORM AMONG MASSACHUSETTS ADULTS 18 TO 64, BY FAMILY INCOME, DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS, WORK STATUS, AND GEOGRAPHY, FALL 2006 TO FALL 2009

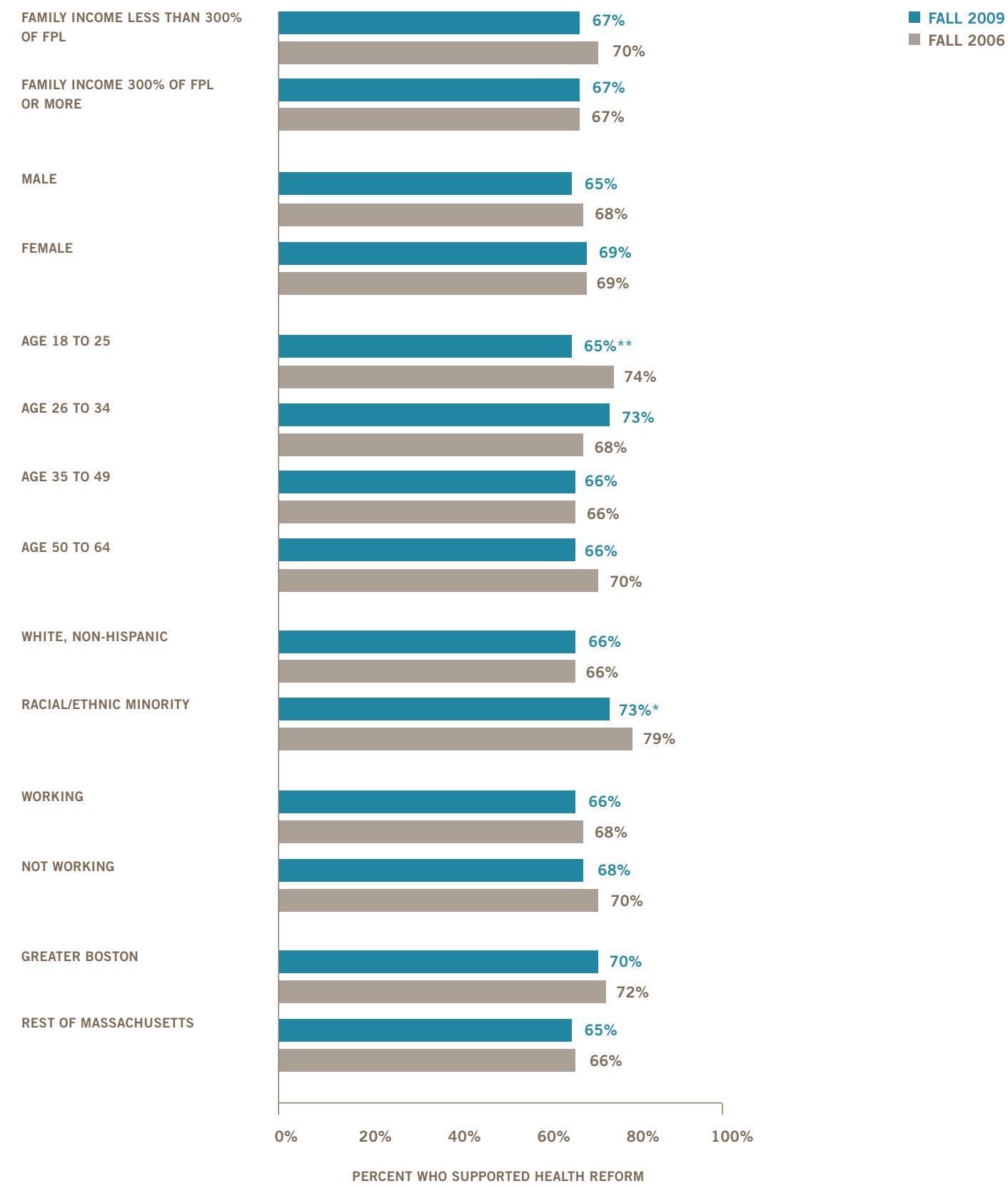
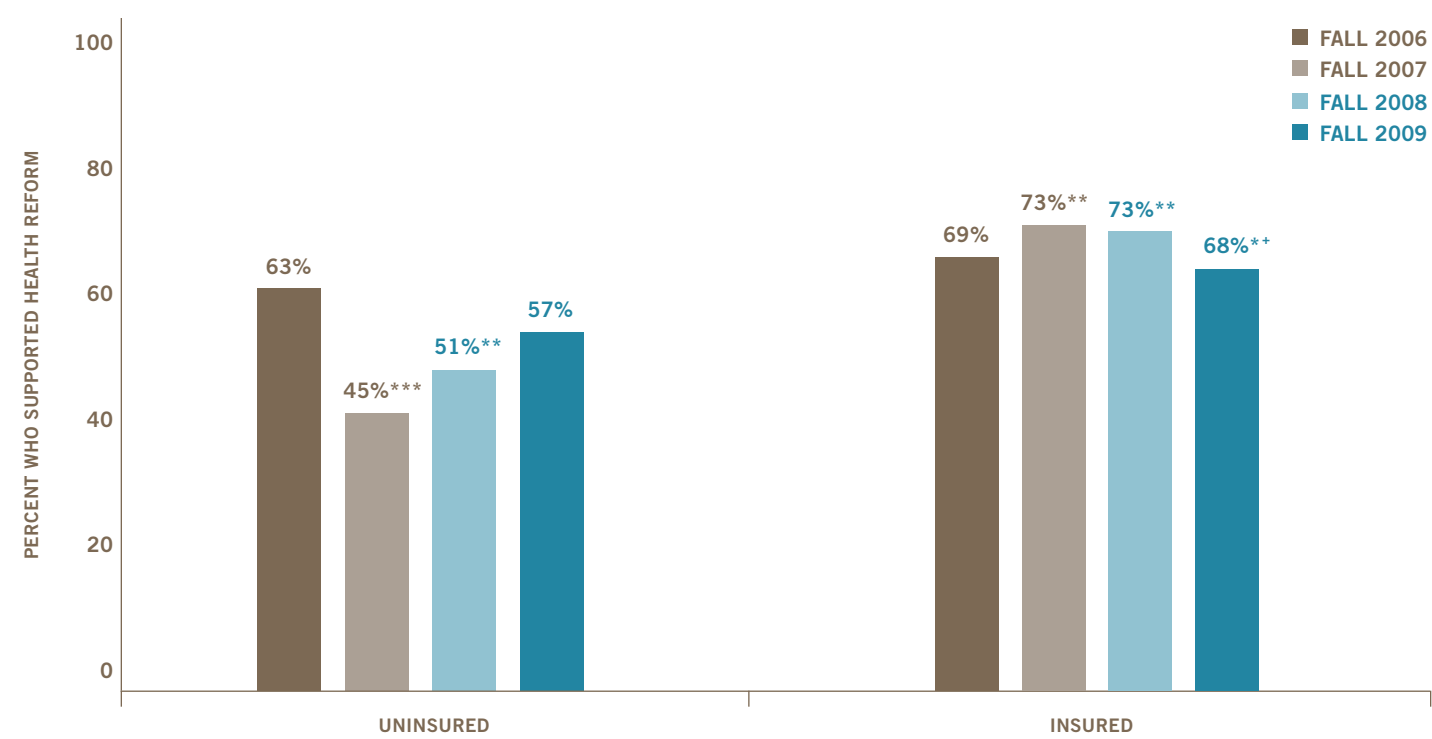


EXHIBIT VIII.3: PERCENT SUPPORTING HEALTH REFORM AMONG MASSACHUSETTS ADULTS 18 TO 64, BY INSURANCE STATUS, FALL 2006 TO FALL 2009



Source: 2006-2009 Massachusetts Health Reform Surveys, N=13,150
* (**) (***) Significantly different from fall 2006 at the .10 (.05) (.01) level, two-tailed test.
+ (++) (+++) Significantly different from the prior year at the .10 (.05) (.01) level, two-tailed test.

IX. PROGRESS IN ACCOMPLISHING THE GOALS OF CHAPTER 58

Massachusetts’ health reform initiative, entitled *An Act Providing Access To Affordable, Quality, Accountable Health Care* (Chapter 58 of the Acts of 2006), aimed to make comprehensive insurance coverage available and affordable for residents as a first step towards improving access, use, affordability, and quality of health care, and towards racial/ethnic disparities in coverage and care in the state. Results from the MHRS suggest that Massachusetts has made significant progress toward each of these goals in the three years since reform was implemented, but some disparities remain, especially with respect to the affordability of health care.

With over 95 percent of working-aged adults insured in fall 2009, Massachusetts has reached near universal insurance coverage. Importantly, the strong system of public coverage in Massachusetts has offset some of the declines in employer-sponsored coverage observed during the economic recession, providing a safety net for Massachusetts residents not available to the nation as a whole. Despite the importance of public coverage in

APPENDIX EXHIBIT III.2 : EXAMPLE OF REGRESSION OUTPUT—MODEL OF PROBABILITY OF BEING INSURED FOR MASSACHUSETTS ADULTS 18 TO 64, FALL 2006 TO FALL 2009

EXPLANATORY VARIABLES	COEFFICIENT ESTIMATE	STANDARD ERROR
Interviewed in Fall 2007	0.059	0.006
Interviewed in Fall 2008	0.085	0.006
Interviewed in Fall 2009	0.077	0.005
Aged 26-34	0.046	0.014
Aged 35-49	0.056	0.013
Aged 50-64	0.069	0.014
Female	0.041	0.005
Hispanic	-0.011	0.012
Non-white, non-hispanic	-0.004	0.008
Living with a partner	-0.053	0.010
Divorced, separated, widowed	-0.023	0.006
Never married	-0.035	0.008
Parent of one or more children under 18	0.031	0.005
High school graduate or some college	0.005	0.017
College graduate or higher	0.022	0.017
Works full-time	0.020	0.009
Unemployed	-0.009	0.011
Self-employed	-0.076	0.009
Works at a firm with <=50 employees	-0.039	0.008
Good health status	-0.038	0.007
Fair or poor health status	-0.060	0.010
Has any chronic condition, or pregnant	0.020	0.006
Hypertension	0.019	0.006
Heart disease	0.017	0.010
Diabetes	0.026	0.007
Asthma	0.004	0.008
US citizen	0.01	

