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Education

1980 Ph.D., Economics, University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign)
1978 M.S., Economics, University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign)
1976 M.A., Economics, University of Arkansas (Fayetteville)
1975 B.A., Economics and Business, Hendrix College (Conway, Arkansas)

Career Brief

Len Nichols became Director of the Center for Health Policy Research and Ethics at George Mason University on March 1, 2010. Prior to that he was Director of the Health Policy Program at the New America Foundation, a non-profit, non-partisan policy research institute based in Washington, D.C, since April 2005. He has been intimately involved in health reform debates, policy development, and communication for over 17 years, and is one of the few analysts in Washington that maintains the respect and engagement of elected officials from both sides of the aisle. Len frequently testifies before Congress and is actively involved in providing technical expertise to members of Congress, governors, state legislators, and other policy officials around the country. Len has consistently sought to add moral arguments to the health policy debate, which can become so technical – and distorted -- that it is easy to lose sight of why this issue is so important to real people and to our country. Because of his reputation as an honest and knowledgeable health reform analyst, he is frequently interviewed and quoted by major media outlets including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *National Journal*, *the Wall Street Journal*, *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines, *National Public Radio*, *Lerher News Hour*, *the British Broadcasting Service*, *NBC Nightly News*, *ABC News Tonight*, and *CBS Evening News*.

Prior to the New America, Len was Vice President of the Center for Studying Health System Change and a Principal Research Associate at the Urban Institute. During the first two years of the Clinton Administration, Len was the Senior Advisor for Health Policy at the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Len was also a visiting Public Health Service Fellow at the Agency for Health Care Policy and Research during 1991-1992, and prior to that he was an Associate Professor and Economics Department Chair at Wellesley College, where he taught from 1980-1991. He served on Medicare's Competitive Pricing Advisory Commission (CPAC) pursuant to the BBA, and as a member of the 2001 Technical Review Panel for the Medicare Trustees Reports. Len has also been an advisor to the World Bank, the Pan American Health Organization.

Professional Background

- 2010- Director, Center for Health Policy Research and Ethics, George Mason University
- 2005-10 Director, Health Policy Program, New America Foundation
- 2001-05 Vice President, Center for Studying Health System Change
- 1997-01 Principle Research Associate, The Urban Institute
- 1994-96 Senior Research Associate, The Urban Institute
- 1993-94 Senior Health Policy Advisor, Office of Management and Budget
- 1991-93 Public Health Service Fellow, Agency for Health Care Policy and Research
- 1988-91 Economics Department Chair, Wellesley College
- 1987-94 Associate Professor of Economics, Wellesley College
- 1984-85 Visiting Research Professor, Federal Trade Commission
- 1980-87 Assistant Professor of Economics, Wellesley College

Refereed Publications

“Be Not Afraid,” *New England Journal of Medicine* (February 24, 2010), v. 362:e30.

“Stewardship: What Kind of Society Do We Want?”, in *Connecting American Values with Health Reform*, Hastings Center, July 2009.

“The Long Road to Health Reform Requires Bi-Partisan Leadership,” *Health Affairs* (May/June 2008), with Christine Ferguson and Elizabeth Fowler.

“Crossroads in Quality,” *Health Affairs* (May/June 2008), with Margaret O’Kane, Janet Corrigan, Sandra M. Foote, Sean R. Tunis, George J. Isham, Elliott S. Fisher, Jack C. Ebeler, James A. Block, Bruce E. Bradley, Christine K. Cassel, Debra L. Ness and John Tooker.

“Why Do Latinos Have So Little Employer-Sponsored Insurance,” *Inquiry* (November, 2007) with James D. Reschovsky and Jack Hadley.

“The Moral Case for Covering Children (and Everyone Else),” *Health Affairs* 26:2 (March/April 2007) pp. 405-07.

“Hospital Payment Systems: Will Payers Like the Future Better than the Past?” *Health Affairs* v. 25(1):81-93 (January/February 2006), with Ann O’Leary.

“State Health Insurance Market Reforms and Access to Insurance for High Risk Employees,” *Journal of Health Economics* v. 24 (2005), pp. 725-50, with Amy Davidoff and Linda J. Blumberg.

“The Effects of Medicaid Reimbursement on Access to Care of Medicaid Enrollees: A Community Perspective,” *Medical Care Research and Review* v. 62 # 6 (2005) with Peter Cunningham.

“Changes in Medicaid Physician Fees, 1998-2003: Implications for Physician Participation,” *Health Affairs Web Exclusive* (June 23, 2004), with Stephen Zuckerman, Joshua McFeeters, and Peter Cunningham.

“Ten Myths About the Uninsured,” *Healthplan* (May/June 2004), with Mark Pauly.

“Improving State Insurance Market Reform: What’s Left to Try?” in *State Health Insurance Market Reform: Toward Inclusive and Sustainable Health Insurance Markets*. Alan C. Monheit and Joel C. Cantor, eds. (Routledge Press: New York). 2004.

“Are Market Forces Strong Enough to Deliver Efficient Health Care Systems? Confidence is Waning in 12 Communities,” *Health Affairs* (March/April 2004), with Paul B. Ginsburg, Robert A. Berenson, Jon Christianson, and Robert E. Hurley. (7th - most downloaded article from *Health Affairs* website in calendar 2004).

“Why Are So Many Americans Uninsured?” in *Health Policy and the Uninsured*. Catherine McLaughlin edited. Urban Institute Press: Washington, DC. February 2004 (with Linda J. Blumberg).

“A New Approach to Risk Spreading via Coverage-Expansion Subsidies,” *American Economic Review* v. 93, #2 (May 2003) with John Holahan, Linda J. Blumberg, and Yu-Chu Shen.

“The Non-Group Insurance Market: Short on Fact, Long on Opinions and Policy Disputes,” *Health Affairs web exclusive* (October 23, 2002), with Mark V. Pauly.

“Health Insurance Expansions of Working Families: A Comparison of Targeting Strategies,” *Health Affairs* v. 21 # 4 (July/August 2002), with Danielle Ferry, Sherry Glied, and Bowen Garrett.

“Can Defined Contribution Health Insurance Reduce Cost Growth?” *Employee Benefit Research Institute Issue Brief # 246* (June 2002).

“Worker Decisions to Purchase Health Insurance,” *International Journal of Health Care Finance and Economics*, v. 1 # 3/4, with Linda J. Blumberg and Jessica Banthin. September/December 2001.

“Premium Rebates and the New Consensus on Medicare Reform,” *Health Care Financing Review* v. 23 # 2, with Roger Feldman, Bryan Dowd, Robert Coulam, and Ann Mutti (Winter 2001).

“Policy Options for Filling Gaps in the Health Insurance Coverage of Older Workers and Early Retirees,” in *Ensuring Health and Income Security for an Aging Workforce*. P. Budetti, R. Burkhauser, J. Gregory, and H. Hunt, eds. Upjohn Institute: Kalamazoo, MI 2001.

“Health Care Quality: At What Cost?” Future of the Public Sector Issue Brief # 13, (May 1998).

“The Health Status of Workers Who Decline Employer-Sponsored Insurance,” *Health Affairs* 20(6):180-87, with Linda J. Blumberg, 2001.

“The Not-So-Simple Economics (and Politics) of Medicare Reform,” in *The Political Economy of Health Care Reforms*, Huizhong Zhou, ed. Upjohn Institute: Kalamazoo, MI. 2001.

“Who Really Wants Price Competition Among Medicare’s Managed Care Plans?”, with Robert D. Reischauer. *Health Affairs*, v. 19 # 5 (September/October 2000).

“Competitive Pricing by Medicare’s Private Health Plans: Be Careful What You Wish For,” in M. Moon, editor, Competition with Constraints: Challenges Facing Medicare Reform. Urban Institute Press (2000).

“Regulating Non-Group Health Insurance Markets: What Have We Learned So Far?” Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law v. 25 # 1 (February 2000).

“Health System Reform Debates and Medical Expenditure Surveys,” in A. Monheit and R. Wilson, eds., Informing American Health Care Policy. Josey-Bass (1999).

“Managing the Medicare Health Insurance Market for Beneficiaries and Taxpayers,” in Robert Helms, ed., Medicare in the 21st Century: Seeking Fair and Efficient Reform. AEI Press (1999).

“State Policy Options for Nonprofit Conversion,” with Jill Marsteller and Randall R. Bovbjerg, Health Services Research v. 33 # 5 (December 1998, Part II).

“Building a Marketplace for Elderly Consumers,” Generations v. 22 # 2 (Summer 1998).

“The Health Care Labor Force and National Health Care Spending: Tracing the Health Care Dollar to Health Professionals,” (with C. Eugene Steuerle), in Health Benefits and the Workforce Volume 2. US Department of Labor, Pension and Welfare Benefits Administration. (Washington, DC). 1998.

“A Different Kind of New Federalism? The Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act,” (with Linda J. Blumberg), Health Affairs v. 17 # 3 (May/June 1998).

“The Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996: Summary of Provisions and Anticipated Effects,” (with Linda J. Blumberg) Journal of Medical Practice Management v. 14 # 1 (July/August) 1998.

“Managed Competition as a Route to Markets That Serve Public Needs: A View From Near the White House,” in Health Policy: Understanding Our Choices from National Reform to Market Force, edited by Marilyn M. Rosenthal and Max Heirich. Westview Press: Boulder, Colorado (1998).

“Beyond National Health Reform: A View from the States,” with John Holahan, National Tax Association Proceedings of the 89th Annual Conference, National Tax Association, 1997.

“Managed Care and the Resurgence of Any Willing Provider and Freedom of Choice State Legislation,” with Jill A. Marsteller, Diana K. Verrilli, and Randall R. Bovbjerg, Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law v. 22 # 5 (October 1997) pp. 1133-1189.

“Medical Savings Accounts for Developing Countries,” with Kai Hong Phua and Nicholas Prescott, in G. Schieber, ed. Innovations in Health Care Financing, World Bank: Washington D.C. (1997).

“Who Will Jump Into the MSA Pond?” Business and Health, October 1996.

“State Health Policy in the 1990s,” with John Holahan, in Health Policy, Federalism, and the American States, Robert F. Rich and William D. White, eds., Urban Institute Press, Washington, DC, 1996.

“First, Do No Harm: Developing Health Insurance Market Reform Packages,” with Linda J. Blumberg, Health Affairs v. 15 # 3 (Fall 1996).

“The Effects of Health Insurance and Physician Characteristics on Patient Choice of Physician,” with Philip F. Cooper and Amy K. Taylor, Inquiry v. 33 # 3 (Fall 1996).

“Winners and Losers in the Employment-Related Health Insurance Market: How Are Net Health Benefits Distributed?” with Alan C. Monheit and Thomas M. Selden, Inquiry v. 32 # 4 (Winter 1995/1996).

"Nonphysician Health Care Providers: Use of Ambulatory Services, Expenditures, and Sources of Payment," National Medical Expenditure Survey Research Findings No. 27, 1996.

”Medical Savings Accounts,” Business and Health (September 1995).

“MSAs and Risk Segmentation,” Health Affairs v. 14 #2 (Summer 1995).

“Thoughts on Saving Medicare with the Market,” Internist: Health Policy and Practice (July/August 1995)

“Numerical Estimates and the Policy Debate,” Health Affairs, v. 14 #1 (Spring 1995), and in H. Aaron, ed., The Problem That Won’t Go Away: Reforming U.S. Health Care Financing. Brookings Press (Washington, DC) 1996.

"The Clinton Health Plan: Financing, Estimation, and Economic Effects," (with Alice M. Rivlin and David M. Cutler), Health Affairs, Spring (I) 1994.

"Establishing the Real Investment Costs of Inflation: Some Results from Cointegration, Causation, and Sign Tests," (with Katherine T. McClain), Journal of Post-Keynesian Economics, winter 1993.

"Estimating Costs of Underutilizing Advanced Practice Nurses," Nursing Economics v. 10 #5 (Sept-Oct. 1992).

"Consistent Comparisons Between Monopoly and Perfect Competition," (with Susan Skeath, Ann Velenchik, and Karl Case), Journal of Economic Education v. 23 #3 (Summer 1992).

"Overhead Workers and Political Economy Macro Models," (with Bruce Norton) Review of Radical Political Economics v. 22 #4 (September 1991).

"On the Sources of Scope Economies in US Manufacturing Firms," Review of Industrial Organization v. 4 #1 (Spring 1989).

“Contributions of Diversification, Promotion, and R & D to the Value of Multiproduct Firms: A Tobin's q Approach," Financial Management, v 15, #4 (Winter 1986, with Manuel Jose and Jerry L. Stevens).

"On the Existence of a Market for Second Hand Physical Capital: An Empirical Test of the Keynesian vs. Neoclassical Assumptions," Journal of Macroeconomics, V. 8, #2 (Spring 1986, with James H. Grant).

"Advertising and Economic Welfare," American Economic Review, v. 75, #1, March 1985.

"Wage-Risk Premiums and Worker's Compensation: A Refinement of Estimates of Compensating Wage Differential," Journal of Political Economy, v. 92, #2, (April 1983, with Richard J. Arnould).

“Grey Literature” Policy Research Publications

“Future of Colorado Health Care,” (with Julie Barnes and Micah Weinberg), Colorado Health Foundation, (November 2009).

“Grand Junction Colorado: A Health Community that Works,” *New America Foundation* (August 2009)

“Realigning U.S. Health Care Incentives to Better Serve Patients and Taxpayers,” (with Health CEOs for Health Reform) *New America Foundation* (June 2009)

“A Modest Proposal for a Competing Public Health Plan,” (with John Bertko). *New America Foundation* (March 2009)

Making Medicare Sustainable. Edited with Robert A. Berenson, MD. New America Foundation, March 2009. Co-authored essay within that volume with Robert A. Berenson and Thomas Emswiler, “Reforming Medicare’s Governance to Enhance Value-Based Purchasing.”

“Hill Physicians Medical Group: Independent Physicians Working to Improve Quality and Reduce Costs,” (with Tom Emswiler) *Commonwealth Fund* (March 2009)

“Baylor Health Care System: High-Performance Integrated Care,” (with Tom Emswiler) *Commonwealth Fund* (March 2009)

“Employer Health Costs in a Global Economy,” *New America Foundation* (May 2008), with Sarah Axeen.

“Lessons from California’s Health Reform Efforts for the National Debate,” *New America Foundation* (March 2008), with Peter Harbage and Leif Wellington Haase.

“A Sustainable Health System for All Americans,” *New America Foundation, Next Social Contract Policy Proposal*, July 2007.

“A Premium Price: The Hidden Costs all Californian’s Pay for our Fragmented Health System,” *New America Foundation Issue Brief #3*, December 2006.

“Health Reform Massachusetts Style: Ink Blot Test *and* Example for Us All,” *New America Foundation, Issue Brief #2*, May 2006.

“Outline of the New America Vision of the 21st Century Health Care System,” *New America Foundation, Issue Brief #1*, January, 2006. .

“Shared Responsibility to Cover California’s Children: A Key Step on the Road to Universal Health Insurance.” *New America Foundation, California Working Paper #1*, November 2005. with Cindy Zeldin and Peter Harbage.

“Insuring Health Coverage for California’s Immigrant Children.” *New America Foundation, California Working Paper #2*, November 2005. with Cindy Zeldin and Peter Harbage.

“Insuring Seamless Insurance Coverage for California’s Children.” *New America Foundation, California Working Paper #3*, November 2005. with Cindy Zeldin and Peter Harbage.

“Workers Without Health Insurance: Who are They and How Can Policy Reach Them?” W. W. Kellogg Foundation, Community Voices Publication. With Bowen Garrett and Emily K. Greenman. 2001.

“Expanding Health Insurance Coverage: A New Federal/State Approach,” with John Holahan and Linda J. Blumberg, in Jack A. Meyer and Elliot Wicks eds., *Covering America: Real Remedies for the Uninsured*. Economic and Social Research Institute. June 2001. (available from: www.esresearch.org).

“The Working Uninsured in California and the US,” with Linda J. Blumberg. *California Health Policy Brief*. May 2001. Kaiser Family Foundation.

“Health Care Policy for Low-Income People in California,” Assessing New Federalism State Report (with Stephen Zuckerman et al) (October 1998).

“Health Care Policy for Low-Income People in Colorado,” Assessing New Federalism State Report (with Marilyn Moon et al), (May 1998)

“Health Care Policy for Low Income People in Washington,” (with Leighton Ku, Susan Wall, Steven Norton), Assessing the New Federalism State Report, November 1997.

Recent Testimony

“Why Doing Nothing is Not an Option,” Massachusetts Division of Health Care Finance and Policy, March 16, 2010.

“Competition in the Healthcare Marketplace” -- U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation -- July 16, 2009.

“Health Care Reform and Small Business” -- U.S. Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship – July 9, 2009

“Statement for Coverage Roundtable” – U.S. Senate Committee on Finance – May 5, 2009.

“Addressing Insurance Market Reform in National Health Reform,” – U.S. Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions – March 24, 2009

“Making Health Care Reform Work for Small Business,” – U.S. House Committee on Small Business – September 18, 2008

“State-Based Reform Efforts,” – U.S. Senate Committee on Finance Health Reform Summit – June 16, 2008

“Health Care and the Budget,” U.S. Senate Budget Committee, June 26, 2007.

|| On Medicare’s Sustainability,” Medicare Payment Advisory Commission, September 6, 2006

|| Small Business Health Insurance: First, Do No Harm, Then, Do the Right Things,” US Senate Committee on Finance, April 6, 2006.

|| Challenges Facing Small Employers in Purchasing Health Insurance,” US Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship, April 20, 2005.

“Myths About the Uninsured,” US House Ways and Means Committee, Subcommittee on Health, March 9, 2004.

“Increasing Stress on the US Health Care System: Structural Crisis or Temporary?” Special Committee on Aging, US Senate, March 10, 2003.

“Association Health Plans and Alternative Ways to Increase Coverage Among Workers in Small Firms,” Small Business Committee, US Senate, February 5, 2003.

Op-eds and Opinion Publications

“Reform Pays in Colorado,” *Denver Post*, December 6, 2009.

Regular contributor to National Journal Health Reform Blog, New America Foundation’s Health Dialogue Blog, and occasional invited participant in NYTimes Economix Blog and Washington Post Blog.

“On California’s Quest for Health Reform,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 30, 2007 (with Leif Wellington Haase).

“Where’s Obama’s Mandate?” *American Prospect Online*, June 4, 2007.

“Enable a Moderate Health Care Solution,” *Washington Post.com*, September 30, 2006.

“Mr. Businessman, Help Heal the Sick,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 30, 2006.

“Prescribe a Smart Fix for New York Health Care,” *New York Daily News* op-ed, May 25, 2006.

“Wal-Mart Bill is No Solution,” *Baltimore Sun* op-ed, January 12, 2006.

“Dr. Bradley vs. Dr. Gore,” *Washington Post* op-ed with John Holahan, January 6, 2000.

Important Monographs and Reports

“Options for Defining Medicare Advantage Regions: An Assessment of Tradeoffs,” (with Paul B. Ginsburg, Robert E. Hurley, Joy M. Grossman, Bradley C. Strunk, Cara S. Lesser, and Lydia

E. Regopoulos), final report to HHS/ASPE, pursuant to Contract No. HHSP233200400287P, July 30, 2004.

“Simulating Health Insurance Tax Credits Using the Health Insurance Reform Simulation Model (HIRSM),” Final report to DOL/PWBA, December 2001, (with Linda J. Blumberg, Yu-Chu Shen, and Matthew Buettgens).

“How Many Nurses Will We Need? An Essay on Why the Current Literature Cannot Substitute for Expert Judgment,” Final report to HRSA/DON. October, 2001.

“Estimating the Effects on Firms and Workers of Changing the Tax Treatment for Employer-Sponsored Health Insurance.” Final report to DOL/PWBA, August 2000 (with Linda J. Blumberg).

“Choosing Employment-Based Health Insurance Arrangements: An Application of the Health Insurance Reform Simulation Model,” Final Report to DOL/PWBA, for Contract # J-9-P-7-0044, (With Linda J. Blumberg and David Liska) (March 1999).

“Variations in the Uninsured: State and County Level Analyses,” with Jill A. Marsteller, Adam Badawi, Beth Kessler, Shruti Rajan, and Stephen Zuckerman, Urban Institute Monograph, June 1998.

“Small Firms, Their Diversity, and Health Insurance,” Urban Institute Monograph, 1997 (with Linda J. Blumberg, Gregory P. Acs, Cori E. Uccello, and Jill A. Marsteller).

Selected Recent Presentations

“Health Reform 2010: Where are we and where are we headed?,” Grantmakers in Health, March 10, 2010; North Carolina Hospital Association, February 19, 2010; Texas Hospital Association, February 17, 2010; American Hospital Association Board of Directors, February 1, 2010; Americas Health Insurance Plans Executive Council, February 4, 2010; American Medical Association Leadership Council, January 7, 2010.

“The Role of Government in Health Care,” *Health Affairs conference: Separating Fact from Fiction in the Health Reform Debate*, National Press Club, August 20, 2009.

“Health System Reform: Will It Reduce Disparities?” US Department of HHS Office of Minority Health Conference, August 10, 2009

“Financing Health Reform,” *Alliance for Health Reform*, July 13, 2009

“Health System Payment Reform: A Conceptual Framework,” *Avalere conference: Paying for Value*, Washington, DC, June 12, 2009

“Health System Reform: Economic, Scriptural, and Political Perspectives,” *Colorado Council of Churches*, Denver, CO May 20, 2009

“Health System Reform: Why, What, and What the ACC Can Do,” *Bishop Lecture, American College of Cardiology Scientific Conference*, Orlando, FL March 29, 2009.

“Health System Reform: National, State, and Private Options,” *New Hampshire Endowment for Health*, Concord, NH March 16, 2009

“Economic, Political, and Systemic Forces for and Against Health Reform,” *Association of American Medical Colleges Council of Learned Societies’ Knapp Lecture*, Charleston, SC March 6, 2009.

“Health System Reform: How Are We Doing So Far?”

Colorado Health Symposium, Keystone, CO, July 29, 2009

San Diegans for Health Access, San Diego, CA, July 18, 2009

The Permanente Medicare Group Leaders Meeting, San Francisco, CA June 26, 2009

Grantmakers in Health, New Orleans, LA March 18, 2009

Fundraising Experience

New America Foundation	\$1.2 million per year for 2008-09 \$0.4 million per year for 2005-07
Health System Change	not solely my responsibility, \$3m per year for 2001-05
Urban Institute	\$0.4 million per year average for 1995-01

Professional Activities

Created Health CEOs for Health Reform, a group of nine executives from across the health system and country that are committed to improving our health system performance for all.
http://www.newamerica.net/programs/health_policy/hc4hr/#

Referee for: *Journal of Health Economics, Inquiry, Health Affairs, Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law, New England Journal of Medicine, Health Care Financing Review, Health Services Research, Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Journal of the American Medical Association, Southern Economic Journal*

Member, Competitive Pricing Advisory Commission, for U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Health Care Financing Administration, Medicare, 1998-2002.

Member, Technical Review Panel for the Medicare Trustees Reports (2000; first panel since 1991).