Penn LDI
LEONARD DAVIS INSTITUTE OF HEALTH ECONOMICS

PRESENTS
Medicare for All and Beyond
EXPANDING COVERAGE, CONTAINING COSTS

February 21, 2020
8:00am – 4:15pm
University of Pennsylvania
Penn Law, Fitts Auditorium

Cosponsored by Penn Law and the Annenberg School for Communication
Welcome

Fifty years ago, the Leonard Davis Institute of Health Economics (LDI) hosted a two-day conference on National Health Insurance. As Robert Eilers, founding director of LDI, stated, the goal was "to influence deliberations concerning national health insurance through thorough analyses of current proposals and by providing an objective forum for a discussion of these analyses." Conference participants considered four key features of these proposals: the effects on consumers, costs, financing, and providers.

Today, we gather again to tackle this familiar set of challenges. We are at a critical juncture in health care reform. We have been here before. But this is our time, with its own opportunities and challenges. We have unprecedented amounts of information available about our health care system, along with equally unprecedented levels of misinformation and disinformation.

As we examine approaches to expand health insurance in today’s United States, we aim to engage all of you in productive conversations that go beyond rhetoric and partisanship. We hope you question your beliefs, learn from each other, and find common ground. Our goal is to tackle the trade-offs of policy approaches head on, and to have an honest conversation about costs, affordability, choice, and political feasibility.

I am proud to have LDI carry on its tradition as an unbiased and trusted source of information about the most pressing issues in health policy. As Penn’s hub for health services research, health policy, and health economics, we bridge disciplinary divides and cross school boundaries. Bringing people together is what we do.

On behalf of LDI and our cosponsors, Penn Law and the Annenberg School for Communication, welcome to the University of Pennsylvania. Now the exciting part begins.

Rachel Werner, MD, PhD
Executive Director, Leonard Davis Institute of Health Economics
Robert D. Eilers Professor of Health Care Management and Economics
University of Pennsylvania

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Schedule

8:00 - 8:30am  BREAKFAST & REGISTRATION

8:30 - 8:35am  WELCOME
Rachel Werner, MD, PhD
Executive Director, Penn LDI

8:35 - 8:55am  OPENING REMARKS
Wendell Pritchett, JD, PhD
Provost, University of Pennsylvania

9:00 - 9:45am  KEYNOTE ADDRESS
"Medicare Again: The History, the Politics, the Possibilities"
Paul Starr, PhD
Princeton University

10:00 - 11:00am  AFFORDABILITY STANDARDS
Moderator:
Sherry Glied, PhD, New York University
Panelists:
Tekisha Dwan Everette, PhD, Health Equity Solutions
Ezekiel Emanuel, MD, PhD, University of Pennsylvania
Frances Padilla, MPA, Universal Health Care Foundation of Connecticut
Mark Pauly, PhD, University of Pennsylvania
Lynn Quincy, MA, Altarum

11:15am - 12:15pm  PAYMENT AND PRICING
Moderator:
Julian Harris, MD, MBA, Deerfield Management
Panelists:
Gerard Anderson, PhD, Johns Hopkins University
Miriam Laugesen, PhD, Columbia University
Kevin Mahoney, MBA, DBA, University of Pennsylvania Health System
Kavita Patel, MD, MPH, Brookings Institution

12:15 - 12:45pm  LUNCH

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12:45 – 1:45pm  THE VALUE OF CHOICE
Moderator:
Allison Hoffman, JD, University of Pennsylvania
Panelists:
Keith Ericson, PhD, Boston University
James Fishkin, PhD, Stanford University
Richard Frank, PhD, Harvard University
J. Mario Molina, MD, Keck Graduate Institute

2:00 – 2:45pm  LIVE RECORDING OF TRADEOFFS PODCAST
"Medicared Away? Finding the Right Amount of Coverage for All"
Host:
Dan Gorenstein, Executive Producer
Guests:
Katherine Baicker, PhD, University of Chicago (pre-recorded)
Amitabh Chandra, PhD, Harvard University
Julia Lynch, PhD, University of Pennsylvania

3:00 – 4:00pm  POLITICAL FEASIBILITY
Moderator:
Rodney Whitlock, PhD, McDermott+Consulting
Panelists:
Mollyann Brodie, PhD, Kaiser Family Foundation
Dan Hopkins, PhD, University of Pennsylvania
Diana Mutz, PhD, University of Pennsylvania
Carol Paris, MD, Physicians for a National Health Program

4:00 – 4:15pm  CLOSING REMARKS
Rachel Werner, MD, PhD
Executive Director, Penn LDI
KEYNOTE SPEAKER

PAUL STARR, PhD

Medicare Again: The History, the Politics, the Possibilities

Paul Starr is Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs at Princeton University and Stuart Professor of Communications and Public Affairs at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School. He has chronicled the arc of health care reform in the classic, Pulitzer Prize-winning book The Social Transformation of American Medicine, as well as The Logic of Health Care Reform, and Remedy and Reaction: The Peculiar American Struggle over Health Care Reform. Dr. Starr was senior health policy advisor to the White House during the formulation of the Clinton Health Plan. He serves as co-editor of The American Prospect, a liberal magazine that he co-founded in 1990 with Robert Kuttner and Robert Reich. Dr. Starr holds a BA from Columbia University and a PhD in sociology from Harvard University.
Featured Speakers

Gerard Anderson, PhD

Gerard Anderson is Professor of Health Policy and Management, Professor of International Health, and Professor of Medicine at the Johns Hopkins University, where he directs the Johns Hopkins Center for Hospital Finance and Management. His work encompasses studies of chronic conditions, comparative insurance systems in developing countries, medical education, health care payment reform, and technology diffusion. In previous positions in the Office of the Secretary, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Dr. Anderson helped to develop Medicare prospective payment legislation. He holds a BA from Haverford College and a PhD in public policy analysis from the University of Pennsylvania.

Katherine Baicker, PhD

Katherine Baicker is Dean and the Emmett Dedmon Professor at the University of Chicago Harris School of Public Policy. She is a research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research and serves on the Congressional Budget Office's Panel of Health Advisers. Her research examines the factors that drive the distribution, generosity, and effectiveness of public and private health insurance, with a particular focus on the effect of health system reform. She has been a Commissioner on the Medicare Payment Advisory Commission, and a Member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. Baicker holds a BA from Yale University and a PhD in economics from Harvard University.
Mollyann Brodie, PhD

Mollyann Brodie is Executive Vice President and Chief Operating Officer at the Kaiser Family Foundation (KFF) and Executive Director of KFF’s Public Opinion and Survey Research Program. She oversees KFF’s polling work, including the monthly Health Tracking Poll and ongoing survey partnerships with news media organizations. Dr. Brodie’s research focuses on understanding the U.S. public’s views and knowledge on health care policy issues, and the role of opinion in health policy debates. Dr. Brodie holds an MS in health policy and management and a PhD in health policy from Harvard University.

Amitabh Chandra, PhD

Amitabh Chandra is the Ethel Zimmerman Wiener Professor of Public Policy and Director of Health Policy Research at Harvard University. He is a member of the Congressional Budget Office’s Panel of Health Advisors, and is a Research Associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research. His research focuses on innovation and cost growth in health care, medical malpractice, and racial disparities. Dr. Chandra has testified before the U.S. Senate and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. He holds a BA and a PhD in economics from the University of Kentucky.
Tekisha Dwan Everette, PhD

Tekisha Dwan Everette is Executive Director of Health Equity Solutions, an organization focused on advancing health equity in Connecticut. She has also served as the Managing Director of Federal Government Affairs with the American Diabetes Association and worked as a government relations consultant with Drinker, Biddle, and Reath LLC, where she represented nonprofits on issues such as Medicare, Medicaid, health care reform, and federal appropriations. Dr. Dwan Everette holds two BAs and an MPA from Virginia Tech, and a PhD in sociology from American University, with a concentration in race, gender, and social justice as it relates to social policy.

Ezekiel Emanuel, MD, PhD

Ezekiel Emanuel is Vice Provost for Global Initiatives, the Diane v.S. Levy and Robert M. Levy University Professor, Co-Director of the Healthcare Transformation Institute, and LDJ Senior Fellow at the University of Pennsylvania. He is also the Special Advisor to the Director General of the World Health Organization. Dr. Emanuel has previously served as special advisor for health policy to the director of the White House Office of Management and Budget and chair of the Department of Bioethics at the National Institutes of Health. Dr. Emanuel holds a BA from Amherst College, an MSc from Exeter College, and an MD and a PhD in political philosophy from Harvard University.
Keith Ericson, PhD

Keith Ericson is Associate Professor of Markets, Public Policy, and Law at Boston University, and a Faculty Research Fellow at the National Bureau of Economic Research. His research has examined health care markets and shown how pricing regulation interacts with imperfect competition, as well as how health insurers use dynamic pricing strategies. Dr. Ericson's recent work studies how product standardization affects choice on health insurance exchanges and how mandates to purchase insurance affect behavior. He holds a BA from Williams College, and an AM and PhD in economics from Harvard University.

James Fishkin, PhD

James Fishkin holds the Janet M. Peck Chair in International Communication at Stanford University, where he is Professor of Communication, and Director of the Center for Deliberative Democracy. He is best known for developing Deliberative Polling® — a practice that employs random samples of the citizenry to explore how opinions would change if they were more informed. This process has been used to help governments and policy makers make important decisions in China, Japan, South Korea, Bulgaria, Brazil, Uganda and other countries around the world. Dr. Fishkin holds a BA and a PhD in political science from Yale University, and a second PhD in philosophy from Cambridge University.
**Richard Frank, PhD**

Richard Frank is the Margaret T. Morris Professor of Health Economics at Harvard University. His research focuses on the economics of mental health and substance abuse care, long-term care financing policy, health care competition, implementation of health reform, and disability policy. He previously served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS), directing the office of Disability, Aging and Long-Term Care Policy, as a Special Advisor to the Office of the DHHS Secretary, and as DHHS Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation. Dr. Frank holds a BA from Bard College and a PhD in economics from Boston University.

**Sherry Glied, PhD**

Sherry Glied is Dean of New York University’s Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public Service. Prior to that, she was Professor of Health Policy and Management at Columbia University. She served as Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services during implementation of the Affordable Care Act. She was also Senior Economist for health care and labor market policy on the President’s Council of Economic Advisers under presidents George H. Bush and Clinton, and participated in the Clinton Health Care Task Force. Dr. Glied holds a BA from Yale University, an MA from the University of Toronto, and a PhD in economics from Harvard University.
Dan Gorenstein

Dan Gorenstein is Executive Producer and co-host of the Tradeoffs podcast, Mediamaker-in-Residence at the Annenberg School for Communication, and LDI Adjunct Senior Fellow at the University of Pennsylvania. Tradeoffs combines compelling stories and rigorous research to explore solutions to some of health care's toughest challenges. Before launching the podcast, Mr. Gorenstein was the senior reporter for Marketplace's Health Desk, covering the business of health care. Previously, he was a reporter for New Hampshire Public Radio. He holds a BA from Earlham College.

Julian Harris, MD, MBA

Julian Harris is a Partner on the Healthcare Services team at Deerfield Management. Previously, he led US Strategic Operations for Cigna and managed an investment portfolio focused on technology and innovation. Dr. Harris served as the Associate Director for Health in the Office of Management and Budget in the Obama Administration, overseeing federal spending for Medicare, Medicaid, the Federal Employee Health Benefits Program, and the ACA's Marketplaces. He also directed the Medicaid program in Massachusetts. Dr. Harris holds a BA from Duke University, an MSc from Oxford University, and an MD and MBA from the University of Pennsylvania, where he is Adjunct Professor of Medical Ethics and Health Policy.
Allison Hoffman, JD

Allison K. Hoffman is Professor of Law and LDI Senior Fellow at the University of Pennsylvania. Previously, she was Professor of Law at UCLA. She has written extensively about the legal and normative aspects of health care reform, health insurance markets, and consumer choice. Her expertise includes health insurance regulation, the Affordable Care Act, Medicare, Medicaid, and long-term care. She is co-editor of the Oxford Handbook of U.S. Health Law, which offers the most comprehensive review of U.S. health law in the post-ACA era. Professor Hoffman holds an AB from Dartmouth College and a JD from Yale University.

Daniel Hopkins, PhD

Daniel Hopkins is Professor of Political Science and LDI Senior Fellow at the University of Pennsylvania, where he holds a secondary appointment at the Annenberg School of Communication. His research centers on American politics, with a special emphasis on racial and ethnic politics, local politics, political behavior, and research methods. He is an occasional blogger at The Monkey Cage and FiveThirtyEight. Before joining the University of Pennsylvania, he was a member of the White House Social and Behavioral Sciences Team. Dr. Hopkins holds a BA and a PhD in Government from Harvard University.
Miriam Laugesen, PhD

Miriam Laugesen is Associate Professor of Health Policy and Management at Columbia University. She is a political scientist and health policy researcher who studies health care prices and cost containment, medical interest groups' role in health policy, the regulatory process in agencies, and social and health care service integration. Dr. Laugesen's research focuses on the underlying causes of high health care prices in the U.S., particularly the influence of interest groups in the health policy process. She holds a BA from Victoria University, an MA from Washington University in St. Louis, and a PhD in political science from the University of Melbourne.

Julia Lynch, PhD

Julia Lynch is Associate Professor of Political Science and LDI Senior Fellow at the University of Pennsylvania. Her research concerns the politics of inequality, social policy, and the economy in comparative perspective, with a focus on the U.S. and Western Europe. Her current projects examine the politics of health inequalities and responses to inequalities in income, education, and health care among elites and the mass public. Dr. Lynch is the incoming Chair of the Health Politics and Policy section of the American Political Science Association. She holds a BA from Harvard University and a PhD in political science from the University of California, Berkeley.
Kevin Mahoney, MBA, DBA

Kevin Mahoney is Chief Executive Officer of the University of Pennsylvania Health System and LDI Senior Fellow at the University of Pennsylvania. He has nearly 25 years of experience in managing hospitals and health systems, and has held various leadership posts at Penn Medicine since 1996. Mr. Mahoney’s operational portfolio at Penn Medicine has included strategic planning, information technology, human resources and capital planning. He previously served as Executive Director of Phoenixville Hospital, Executive Director and Chief Operating Officer of Clinical Care Associates, and Vice President for Administration at Bryn Mawr Hospital. He holds a BA from Millersville State College, and an MBA and a doctorate from Temple University.

J. Mario Molina, MD

J. Mario Molina is Founding Dean of the Keck Graduate Institute School of Medicine. He is the former Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Molina Healthcare, a Fortune 500 company founded to provide health care to low-income individuals receiving benefits through government programs, such as Medicaid and Medicare. Prior to joining Molina Healthcare, Dr. Molina was a faculty member at University of Southern California. Dr. Molina holds a BA from California State University, Long Beach and an MD from the University of Southern California. He has also received a certificate in management from the Anderson School of Business at University of California, Los Angeles.
Diana Mutz, PhD

Diana C. Mutz is the Samuel A. Stouffer Chair in Political Science and Communication at the Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Pennsylvania, where she serves as Director of the Institute for the Study of Citizens and Politics. Her work focuses on public opinion, political psychology and mass political behavior, with a particular emphasis on political communication. She received a 2017 Carnegie Fellowship and a 2016 Guggenheim Fellowship to further pursue her research on globalization and public opinion. Dr. Mutz holds a BS from Northwestern University, and an AM and a PhD in political communication from Stanford University.

Frances Padilla, MPA

Frances Padilla is President of Universal Health Care Foundation of Connecticut, a charitable foundation that advocates for universal access to quality and affordable health care. Ms. Padilla is also a consumer advocate on the Connecticut Governor’s Health Care Cabinet, as well as a member of the Connecticut Healthcare Innovation Steering Committee overseeing the implementation of a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services’ Center for Medicaid and Medicare Innovation. She holds a BA from Wesleyan University and an MPA from Harvard University.
Carol Paris, MD

Carol Paris is the immediate past President of Physicians for a National Health Program. She is a recently retired psychiatrist and an outspoken critic of the private-insurance-based U.S. health care system. In 2009, she gained national attention for her protest at a U.S. Senate Finance Committee hearing on health care reform. Her primary interests include strategic activism, recruiting and mentoring medical students and early career physicians, and building coalitions to strengthen the single-payer movement’s impact on the national health care debate. Dr. Paris holds an MD from West Virginia University.

Kavita Patel, MD, MPH

Kavita Patel is a Nonresident Fellow at the Brookings Institution, advisor to the Bipartisan Policy Center, and member of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Physician Focused Payment Model Technical Advisory Committee. She previously served as a senior aide in the Obama administration, playing a critical role in policy development and evaluation connected to health reform, financial regulatory reform, and economic recovery. Dr. Patel is a practicing internist at Johns Hopkins Medicine. She holds a BA from the University of Texas, an MPH from the University of California, Los Angeles and an MD from the University of Texas.
Mark Pauly, PhD

Mark Pauly is Bendheim Professor of Health Care Management at the Wharton School, Professor of Economics, and LDI Senior Fellow at the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Pauly is a former commissioner on the Physician Payment Review Commission, a consultant to the Congressional Budget Office and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, and a member of the Medicare Technical Advisory Panel. Dr. Pauly was recently President of the American Society of Health Economists. He holds an AB from Xavier University, an MA from the University of Delaware, and a PhD in economics from the University of Virginia.

Wendell Pritchett, JD, PhD

Wendell Pritchett is Provost of the University of Pennsylvania and Presidential Professor of Law and Education. He previously served as Chancellor of Rutgers University-Camden. In Philadelphia, he has been Deputy Chief of Staff and Director of Policy for Mayor Michael Nutter, and served as Co-Chair of President Barack Obama’s Urban Policy Task Force. His scholarly work focuses on urban history, especially housing, race relations, and economic development. Provost Pritchett holds a BA from Brown University, a JD from Yale University, and a PhD in history from the University of Pennsylvania.
Lynn Quincy, MA

Lynn Quincy is a Director at Altarum and works on a wide variety of health policy issues, focusing primarily on consumer protection, strategies that provide better value for the health care dollar, and health insurance reform at the federal and state levels. In 2015, Ms. Quincy launched the Healthcare Value Hub, a center that helps advocates and others address high health care costs, lack of transparency and uneven quality. Ms. Quincy previously conducted health care policy research at Mathematica and the Institute for Health Policy Solutions. She holds a BA from Colby College and an MA in economics from the University of Maryland.

Rachel Werner, MD, PhD

Rachel Werner is Executive Director of the Leonard Davis Institute of Health Economics. She is a Professor of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, as well as the Robert D. Eilers Professor of Health Care Management at The Wharton School, and a practicing internist at the Philadelphia VA. Dr. Werner's research examines the effect of health care policies and delivery systems on quality of care, with recent emphasis on the effects of health care payment and organization on post-acute care. She holds a BA from Macalester College, and her MD and PhD in health economics from the University of Pennsylvania.
Rodney Whitlock, PhD

Rodney Whitlock is a consultant with McDermott+Consulting, where he advises businesses on Medicare and Medicaid. He has more than 20 years of experience working with the U.S. Congress, where he served as health policy advisor and as Health Policy Director for Senate Finance Committee Chairman Chuck Grassley and on the staff of former Congressman Charlie Norwood. His Senate experience includes work on Medicaid legislation, the Tax Relief and Health Care Act of 2006, the CHIP Reauthorization Act of 2007 and 2009, and the Affordable Care Act. Dr. Whitlock holds a BA from Roanoke College, an MA from Appalachian State University, and a PhD in political science from the University of Georgia.
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About Penn LDI

Founded in 1967, LDI was the first academic institute of its kind, uniting the scholarly and clinical strengths of Penn’s leading business and medical schools. Over fifty years later, LDI remains one of the most productive and influential health policy research groups in the nation. LDI convenes experts from all of Penn’s twelve schools, the University of Pennsylvania Health System, and the Children’s Hospital of Philadelphia to address our most pressing health care challenges. Through strong translation, dissemination, and policy engagement strategies, LDI bridges the gap between research and policy, ensuring that sound research evidence reaches policymakers and informs key debates. We invite you to learn more and connect with us at ldi.upenn.edu and on Twitter @PennLDI.