

Christopher M. Whaley

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Professional Experience

- 2023-Present Associate Professor, Department of Health Services, Policy and Practice, *Brown University School of Public Health*
- 2023-Present Associate Director, *Brown University Center for Advancing Health Policy through Research*
- 2019-2023 Economist, *RAND Corporation*
- 2019-2023 Professor, *RAND Pardee Graduate School*
- 2021-2023 Core Member, *RAND Center for Causal Inference*
- 2016-2019 Associate Policy Researcher, *RAND Corporation*
- 2015-2016 Research Economist, *Berkeley Center for Health Technology*

External Service and Professional Activities

- 2025-Present NIHCM Foundation Research Award Judge
- 2024-Present Governing Board, *Health Care Cost Institute*
- 2022-Present Editorial Board, *Medical Care Research and Review*
- 2021-Present Editorial Board, *Health Services Research*
- 2022-Present Advisory Board, Texas Employers for Affordable Healthcare
- 2022 Member, Expert Panel on the No Surprises Act and Health Care Consolidation, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation
- 2021-2022 Mentor, California Public Employees' Retirement System Health Care Training Academy

Education

- 2011-2015 University of California, Berkeley, Ph.D., Health Policy (Economics Track)
- 2004-2008 University of Chicago, B.A., Economics

Awards and Honors

- 2024 Finalist, NIHCM Foundation Annual Health Care Research Award
- 2022 *National Association of Health Data Organizations*, Innovation in Data Dissemination Award
- 2021 *American Journal of Managed Care*, Seema S. Sonnad Emerging Leader in Managed Care Research Award
- 2020 Conference on Health IT and Analytics, Young Scholar Award
- 2020 RAND Gold Medal
- 2019 RAND Bronze Medal
- 2018 RAND Health Associate Peer Mentor Award
- 2015 AHRQ Research Conference Director's Award
- 2015 Finalist, NIHCM Foundation Annual Health Care Research Award

Teaching

- 2024-2025 Measuring and Improving the Quality of Health Care (*Brown MPH students*)
- 2021-2023 Health Economics (*RAND PhD students*)
- 2015-2019 Microeconomics of Health Care Policy (*Health economics for UC Berkeley MBA, MPH, and PhD students*)

Invited Testimony

- House Ways and Means Oversight Subcommittee. September 2025. Reassessing the Value of Nonprofit Hospital Tax Exemptions: Community Benefit or Missed Opportunity? https://waysandmeans.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/Whaley_Ways-and-Means-Nonprofit-Hospitals-.pdf
- Vermont House Committee on Health Care. April 2025. S.126 Payment Reforms Presentation: “Vermont Healthcare Affordability: Cost Drivers and Economic Impacts” <https://gmcboard.vermont.gov/legislative-testimony>
- California Office of Health Care Affordability Board. August 2024. Examining Monterey-Area Hospital Prices.
- United States Senate Special Committee on Aging. July 2024. Health Care Transparency: Lowering Costs and Empowering Patients. Statement: Whaley, Christopher. 2024. “*Health Care Price Transparency Opportunities to Lower Costs and Improve Competition.*” https://www.aging.senate.gov/download/testimony_whaley-071124
- Oregon Senate Interim Committee on Health Care. May 2024. *Price Transparency and Uses of All-Payer Claims Data.*
- U.S. House Education and Workforce Committee, Subcommittee on Health, Employment, Labor, and Pensions. January 2024. *Lowering Costs and Increasing Access to Health Care with Employer-Driven Innovation.* Statement: Whaley, Christopher M. 2024. “*Reducing Costs and Improving Access to Care: Employer-Driven Health Benefit Design Innovations.*” <https://www.rand.org/pubs/testimonies/CTA3159-1.html>.
- U.S. Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions. May 2023. *Price Transparency Roundtable.*
- U.S. House Ways and Means Committee. May 2023. *Full Committee Hearing on Health Care Price Transparency: A Patient’s Right to Know.* Statement: Whaley, Christopher M. 2023. “*Health Care Price Transparency: Opportunities to Improve Affordability and Data Effectiveness,*” May. <https://www.rand.org/pubs/testimonies/CTA2767-1.html>.
- Texas House of Representatives Select Committee on Health Care Reform. August 2022. Statement: Whaley, Christopher M. 2022. “*Health Care Affordability: State Policy Options to Control Costs.*” RAND Corporation. <https://www.rand.org/pubs/testimonies/CTA2157-1.html>.
- California State Assembly Committee on Health. October 2020. “*Health Care Affordability: How to Control Costs in California?*”

Publications

Peer Reviewed Publications (Economics)

1. Yuji Mizushima, Christopher Whaley, and Hao Yu. “The Repeal of Noneconomic Damage Caps and Medical Malpractice Insurance Premiums.” *Accepted, Health Economics*
2. Agrawal, Virat, Jonathan H. Cantor, Neeraj Sood, and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2021. “The Impact of the COVID-19 Vaccine Distribution on Mental Health Outcomes.” Working Paper 29593. Working Paper Series. National Bureau of Economic Research. <https://doi.org/10.3386/w29593>. Media coverage: [MarketWatch](#), [The Economist](#), *Accepted, American Journal of Health Economics*
3. Bravata, Dena, Jonathan Cantor, Neeraj Sood, and **Christopher Whaley**. 2025. “Back to School: The Effect of School Visits During COVID-19 on COVID-19 Outcomes.” *Journal of Health*

Economics, June, 103025. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhealeco.2025.103025>.

4. Lin, Haizhen, Ian M. McCarthy, Michael Richards, and **Christopher Whaley**. 2025. “Owning the Agent: Hospital Influence on Physician Behaviors.” *Journal of Human Resources*, May. <https://doi.org/10.3368/jhr.0723-13024R2>.
5. Munnich, Elizabeth L., Michael R. Richards, **Christopher M. Whaley**, and Xiaoxi Zhao. 2021. “Raising the Stakes: Physician Facility Investments and Provider Agency.” <https://doi.org/10.7249/WRA621-4>, *Conditionally Accepted, American Economic Review*
6. Levin, Jonathan S., Xiaoxi Zhao, and **Christopher Whaley**. 2025. “Impact of Hospital-Physician Vertical Integration on Physician-Administered Drug Spending and Utilization.” *Health Economics* 34 (2): 345–67. <https://doi.org/10.1002/hec.4909>.
7. **Whaley, Christopher M.**, and Xiaoxi Zhao. 2024. “The Effects of Physician Vertical Integration on Referral Patterns, Patient Welfare, and Market Dynamics.” *Journal of Public Economics* 238 (October):105175. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2024.105175>.
8. Richards, Michael R., and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2024. “Hospital Behavior over the Private Equity Life Cycle.” *Journal of Health Economics*, May, 102902. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhealeco.2024.102902>.
9. Lin, Haizhen, Elizabeth L. Munnich, Michael R. Richards, **Christopher M. Whaley**, and Xiaoxi Zhao. 2023. “Private Equity and Healthcare Firm Behavior: Evidence from Ambulatory Surgery Centers.” *Journal of Health Economics*, August, 102801. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhealeco.2023.102801>.
2024 NIHCM Foundation Annual Health Care Research Award Finalist
10. Rabideau, Brendan, Michael R. Richards, and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2024. “Training Labor and Treatment Behavior: Evidence from Physician Residency Programs.” *Health Economics* <https://doi.org/10.1002/hec.4841>.
11. Agrawal, Virat, Jonathan Cantor, Neeraj Sood, and **Christopher Whaley**. 2023 “The Impact of COVID-19 Shelter-in-Place Policy Responses on Excess Mortality.” *Health Economics*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/hec.4737>.
12. Cantor, Jonathan, Neeraj Sood, Dena M. Bravata, Megan Pera, and **Christopher Whaley**. 2022. “The Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic and Policy Response on Health Care Utilization: Evidence from County-Level Medical Claims and Cellphone Data.” *Journal of Health Economics*, January, 102581. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhealeco.2022.102581>.
13. Richards, Michael R., Jonathan Seward, and **Christopher Whaley**. 2021. “Treatment Consolidation after Vertical Integration: Evidence from Outpatient Procedure Markets.” *Journal of Health Economics*, November, 102569. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhealeco.2021.102569>.
14. Chen, Alice J., Michael R. Richards, **Christopher M. Whaley**, and Xiaoxi Zhao. 2022. “The Extent of Externalities from Medicare Payment Policy.” *American Journal of Health Economics* 8 (2): 181–215. <https://doi.org/10.1086/718769>.

15. Aouad, Marion, Timothy T. Brown, and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2021. "Understanding the Distributional Impacts of Health Insurance Reform: Evidence from a Consumer Cost-Sharing Program." *Health Economics* 30 (11): 2780–93. <https://doi.org/10.1002/hec.4410>.
16. **Whaley, Christopher M.** 2019. "Provider Responses to Online Price Transparency." *Journal of Health Economics* 66 (June): 241–59.
17. **Whaley, Christopher**, Timothy Brown, and James Robinson. "Consumer responses to price transparency alone versus price transparency combined with reference pricing." *American Journal of Health Economics* 5, no. 2 (2019): 227-249.
18. Aouad, Marion, Timothy T. Brown, and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2019. "Reference Pricing: The Case of Screening Colonoscopies." *Journal of Health Economics* 65 (May): 246–59.
19. **Whaley, Christopher M.**, and Timothy T. Brown. 2018. "Firm Responses to Targeted Consumer Incentives: Evidence from Reference Pricing for Surgical Services." *Journal of Health Economics* 61 (September): 111–33.
20. **Whaley, Christopher**, Chaoran Guo, and Timothy T. Brown. 2017. "The Moral Hazard Effects of Consumer Responses to Targeted Cost-Sharing." *Journal of Health Economics* 56:201–21.
21. Frech, H.E., III., **Christopher Whaley**, Benjamin R. Handel, Liora Bowers, Carol J. Simon, and Richard M. Scheffler. 2015. "Market Power, Transactions Costs, and the Entry of Accountable Care Organizations in Health Care." *Review of Industrial Organization*, vol. 47, 167-193.

Working Papers (Economics)

- Arnold, Daniel and Christopher Whaley, Who Pays for Health Care Costs? The Effects of Health Care Prices on Wages. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2020. https://www.rand.org/pubs/working_papers/WRA621-2.html. *Revise and Resubmit, Journal of Public Economics*
- Damberg, Cheryl, Michael Richards, Christopher Whaley, Xiaoxi Zhao. 2024. "Efficiency in Organizational Structure? Assessing Heterogeneous Effects in Hospital-Physician Integration. *Revise and Resubmit, Journal of Health Economics*
- Richards, Michael R., Maggie Shi, and Christopher M. Whaley. 2025. "Economic Shocks and Healthcare Capital Investments." Working Paper. Working Paper Series. National Bureau of Economic Research. <https://doi.org/10.3386/w33487>. *Revise and Resubmit, American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*
- Brownstein, John, Jonathan H. Cantor, Benjamin Rader, Kosali I. Simon, and Christopher M. Whaley. 2022. "If You Build It, Will They Vaccinate? The Impact of COVID-19 Vaccine Sites on Vaccination Rates and Outcomes." w30429. National Bureau of Economic Research. <https://doi.org/10.3386/w30429>.
- Agrawal, Virat, Neeraj Sood, and Christopher M. Whaley. 2022. "The Ex-Ante Moral Hazard Effects of COVID-19 Vaccines" w30602. National Bureau of Economic Research. <https://doi.org/10.3386/w30602>.

- Richards, Michael R., Maggie Shi, and Christopher M. Whaley. 2024. “Managing Margins: PE Effects on Financial, Physical, and Human Capital.” Working Paper. National Bureau of Economic Research. <https://doi.org/10.3386/w32840>.
- Myers, David, Jay Shroff, Yashaswini Singh, and Christopher M. Whaley. “Corporate Practice of Medicine: Vertical Alignment and Medicare Advantage Risk Coding.”
- Chartock, Benjamin and Christopher Whaley. “Bidding in Arbitration: Negotiated Rates from Disputes Between Insurers and Doctors in the No Surprises Act.”
- Arnold, Daniel, Nandita Radhakrishnan, and Christopher Whaley. 2025. “Foisted: The Spillover Effects of Hospital Mergers on Costs and Utilization.” SSRN Scholarly Paper. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=5265291>.

Peer Reviewed Publications (Health Policy and Health Services Research)

22. Khunte, Mihir, Nandita Radhakrishnan, **Christopher Whaley**, and Yashaswini Singh. 2025. “Association of Private Equity and Hospital Consolidation and Negotiated Prices of Radiologic Services.” *Journal of the American College of Radiology*, ahead of print, September 2. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jacr.2025.07.008>.
23. Shepherd, Martha, Pen-Che Ho, Jon Harris-Shapiro, et al. 2025. “The Effects of a Digital Digestive Care Management Program on Employee Absenteeism.” *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine* 67 (9): e612–15. <https://doi.org/10.1097/JOM.0000000000003441>.
24. Singh, Yashaswini, Jonathan Cantor, **Christopher M. Whaley**, Bryant Shuey, Rebecca Bilden, and J. Travis Donahoe. 2025. “Private Equity Acquiring Large Shares Of The Opioid Treatment Market Without Changing Market-Level Methadone Supply.” *Health Affairs* 44 (9): 1181–89. <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2025.00326>.
25. Fang, Cal Chengqi, Sabrina D. Wang, Jonathan Cantor, **Christopher M. Whaley**, Brian Briscoe, and Joseph Dov Bruch. 2025. “Pay Gap Between Nonprofit Hospital CEOs And Employees Grew, 2009–23.” *Health Affairs* 44 (8): 953–62. <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2024.01494>.
26. Philips, Alexander P., and **Christopher Whaley**. 2025. “Commercial Price Variation in Ophthalmology.” *JAMA Ophthalmology* 143 (8): 703–7. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamaophthalmol.2025.1693>.
27. Philips, Alexander P., and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2025. “Commercial Price Variation for Common Services in General Surgery.” *JAMA Network Open* 8 (6): e2517818. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2025.17818>.
28. Wang, Yang, Jared Perkins, **Christopher M. Whaley**, and Ge Bai. 2025. “Sharp Rise In Urban Hospitals With Rural Status In Medicare, 2017–23.” *Health Affairs* 44 (8): 963–69. <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2025.00019>.
29. Philips, Alexander P., and **Christopher Whaley**. 2025. “Commercial Price Variation for Common Imaging Studies.” *Health Affairs Scholar* 3 (5): qxaf092. <https://doi.org/10.1093/haschl/qxaf092>.

30. Philips, Alexander P., and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2025. "Commercial Price Variation for Emergency Services Evaluation and Management." *Annals of Emergency Medicine*, May. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annemergmed.2025.04.016>.
31. Robinson, James C., and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2025. "Site-Neutral Payment And Biosimilars Competition Are Complementary Purchaser Strategies For Cancer Biologics." *Health Affairs* 44 (6): 677–83. <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2024.01549>.
32. Ryan, Andrew M., **Christopher M. Whaley**, Erin C. Fuse Brown, Nandita Radhakrishnan, and Roslyn C. Murray. 2025. "Rhode Island's Affordability Standards Led To Hospital Price Reductions And Lower Insurance Premiums." *Health Affairs* 44 (5): 597–605. <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2024.01146>.
33. Nguyen, Thuy, **Christopher Whaley**, Kosali I. Simon, and Jonathan Cantor. 2025. "Health Care Workforce Recovery After the End of the COVID-19 Emergency." *JAMA*, June. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2025.8588>.
34. Ryan, Andrew M., Anupama Warriar, Geronimo Bejarano, **Christopher M. Whaley**, David J. Meyers, and Meehir N. Dixit. 2025. "Trends in Plan Offerings, Enrollment, and Premiums in Medicare Advantage and Medigap." *Health Services Research*: e14456. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6773.14456>.
35. Bejarano, Geronimo, Hamid Torabzadeh, Durga Borkar, **Christopher Whaley**, and Yashaswini Singh. 2025. "Private Equity Acquisitions and Industry Payments in Ophthalmology." *JAMA Ophthalmology*, February. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamaophthalmol.2025.0002>.
36. Singh, Yashaswini, Geronimo Bejarano Cardenas, Hamid Torabzadeh, Durga Borkar, and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2025. "Physician Turnover Increased In Private Equity–Acquired Physician Practices." *Health Affairs* 44 (3): 280–87. <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2024.00974>.
37. **Whaley, Christopher**, Nandita Radhakrishnan, Michael Richards, Kosali Simon, and Benjamin Chartock. 2025. "Understanding Health Care Price Variation: Evidence from Transparency-in-Coverage Data." *Health Affairs Scholar* 3 (2): qxaf011. <https://doi.org/10.1093/haschl/qxaf011>.
38. Singh, Yashaswini, Nandita Radhakrishnan, Loren Adler, and **Christopher Whaley**. 2025. "Growth of Private Equity and Hospital Consolidation in Primary Care and Price Implications." *JAMA Health Forum* 6 (1): e244935. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamahealthforum.2024.4935>.
39. Wang, Yang, **Christopher M. Whaley**, and Ge Bai. 2025. "Healthcare Price Transparency: Research Findings and Implications for Policy and Practice." *Journal of General Internal Medicine*, January. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11606-024-09295-4>.
40. **Whaley, Christopher**, Marilyn Bartlett, and Ge Bai. 2024. "Financial Performance Gaps Between Critical Access Hospitals and Other Acute Care Hospitals." *JAMA Health Forum* 5 (12): e243959. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamahealthforum.2024.3959>.
41. Crespin, Daniel, Michael Dworsky, Jonathan Levin, Teague Ruder, and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2024. "Upcoding Linked To Up To Two-Thirds Of Growth In Highest-Intensity Hospital Discharges

In 5 States, 2011–19.” *Health Affairs* 43 (12): 1619–27. <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2024.00596>.

42. Murray, Roslyn C., **Christopher M. Whaley**, Erin C. Fuse Brown, and Andrew M. Ryan. 2024. “Hospital Payment Caps Could Save State Employee Health Plans Millions While Keeping Hospital Operating Margins Healthy.” *Health Affairs* 43 (12): 1680–88. <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2024.00691>.
43. Singh, Yashaswini, Jonathan Cantor, Erin Fuse Brown, and **Christopher Whaley**. 2024. “Private Equity Penetration in Behavioral Health in the United States, 2010–2022.” *Journal of General Internal Medicine*, November. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11606-024-09218-3>.
44. Cantor, Jonathan, **Christopher M. Whaley**, Jason Ward, and Anupam B. Jena. 2024. “COVID-19 School Closures Were Associated with A Decline In Employment For Female Nurses With Young Children.” *Health Affairs* 43 (9): 1329–37. <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2023.01250>.
45. Yu, Anthony and **Christopher Whaley**. “Nursing Home Certificate of Need Moratoria during the COVID-19 Pandemic.” *Accepted, Inquiry*
46. Khazanchi, Rohan, Benjamin Rader, Jonathan Cantor, Kathleen A. McManus, Dena M. Bravata, Rebecca Weintraub, **Christopher Whaley**, and John S. Brownstein. 2024. “Spatial Accessibility and Uptake of Pediatric COVID-19 Vaccinations by Social Vulnerability.” *Pediatrics*, July, e2024065938. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2024-065938>.
47. Zhao, Xiaoxi, Michael R Richards, Cheryl L Damberg, and **Christopher Whaley**. 2024. “Market Landscape and Insurer-Provider Integration: The Case of Ambulatory Surgery Centers.” *Health Affairs Scholar*, June. <https://doi.org/10.1093/haschl/qxae081>.
48. Singh, Yashaswini, Megha Reddy, and **Christopher Whaley**. 2024. “Trends in Private Equity Consolidation in Cardiovascular Care.” *JAMA Health Forum* 5 (6): e241478. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamahealthforum.2024.1478>.
49. Robinson, James, **Christopher Whaley**, and Sanket Dhruva. 2024. “Prices and Complications in Hospital-Based and Freestanding Surgery Centers,” *American Journal of Managed Care* April 2024, 30 (April): 179–84. <https://doi.org/10.37765/ajmc.2024.89529>
50. Loo, Theoren M., Myra Altman, Dena M. Bravata, and **Christopher Whaley**. 2024. “Medical Spending Among US Households With Children With a Mental Health Condition Between 2017 and 2021.” *JAMA Network Open* 7 (3): e241860–e241860.
51. Robinson, James C., **Christopher Whaley**, and Sanket S. Dhruva. 2024. “Hospital Prices for Physician-Administered Drugs for Patients with Private Insurance.” *New England Journal of Medicine* 390 (4): 338–45. <https://doi.org/10.1056/NEJMsa2306609>.
52. McDonald, Tim, Arindam Debbarma, **Christopher Whaley**, Rachel Reid, and Bryan Dowd. 2023. “Barriers Primary Care Clinic Leaders Face to Improving Value in a Consumer Choice Health Plan Design.” *Health Affairs Scholar* 1 (6). <https://doi.org/10.1093/haschl/qxad065>.

53. Nguyen, Thuy, **Christopher Whaley**, Kosali I. Simon, and Jonathan Cantor. 2023. "Changes in Employment in the US Health Care Workforce, 2016-2022." *JAMA*, November. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2023.18932>.
54. Kerber, Rose, Erin L. Duffy, and **Christopher Whaley**. 2023. "Commercial Payments for COVID-19–Associated Inpatient Stays in 2020." *JAMA Health Forum* 4 (11): e233711. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamahealthforum.2023.3711>.
55. Chartock, Benjamin L., Kosali Simon, and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2023. "Transparency in Coverage Data and Variation in Prices for Common Health Care Services." *JAMA Health Forum* 4 (10): e233663. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamahealthforum.2023.3663>.
56. Kalmin, Mariah M., Jonathan H. Cantor, Dena M. Bravata, Pen-Che Ho, **Christopher Whaley**, and Ryan K. McBain. 2023. "Utilization and Spending on Mental Health Services Among Children and Youths With Commercial Insurance." *JAMA Network Open* 6 (10): e2336979. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2023.36979>.
57. Cantor, Jonathan H., Ryan K. McBain, Pen-Che Ho, Dena M. Bravata, and **Christopher Whaley**. 2023. "Telehealth and In-Person Mental Health Service Utilization and Spending, 2019 to 2022." *JAMA Health Forum* 4 (8): e232645. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamahealthforum.2023.2645>.
Media Coverage: [*Forbes*](#), [*New York Times*](#), [*Time*](#), [*Washington Post*](#)
58. McBain, Ryan K., Jonathan Cantor, Megan F. Pera, Joshua Breslau, Dena M. Bravata, and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2023. "Mental Health Service Utilization Rates Among Commercially Insured Adults in the US During the First Year of the COVID-19 Pandemic." *JAMA Health Forum* 4 (1): e224936. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamahealthforum.2022.4936>.
Media Coverage: [*STAT*](#), [*Washington Times*](#), [*Fierce Health*](#), [*Washington Post*](#)
59. Gidwani, Risha, Lori Uscher-Pines, Aaron Kofner, and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2023. "Differences in Telehealth during COVID-19 between Commercial and Medicaid Enrollees." *The American Journal of Managed Care* 29 (1): 19–26. <https://doi.org/10.37765/ajmc.2023.89300>.
60. **Whaley, Christopher**, and Austin Frakt. 2022. "If Patients Don't Use Available Health Service Pricing Information, Is Transparency Still Important?" *AMA Journal of Ethics* 24 (11): 1056–62. <https://doi.org/10.1001/amajethics.2022.1056>.
61. Levin, Jonathan S., Swad Komanduri, and **Christopher Whaley**. 2022. "Association between Hospital-Physician Vertical Integration and Medication Adherence Rates." *Health Services Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6773.14090>.
62. **Whaley, Christopher M.**, Yuki Ito, Jonathan T. Kolstad, David W. Cowling, and Benjamin Handel. 2022. "The Health Plan Environment In California Contributed To Differential Use Of Telehealth During The COVID-19 Pandemic." *Health Affairs* 41 (12): 1812–20. <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2022.00464>.
63. Rader, Benjamin, Christina M. Astley, Kara Sewalk, Paul L. Delamater, Kathryn Cordiano, Laura Wronski, Jessica Malaty Rivera, et al. 2022. "Spatial Modeling of Vaccine Deserts as Barriers to Controlling SARS-CoV-2." *Communications Medicine* 2 (1): 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43856->

64. Cantor, Jonathan H., **Christopher M. Whaley**, Bradley D. Stein, and David Powell. 2022. “Analysis of Substance Use Disorder Treatment Admissions in the US by Sex and Race and Ethnicity Before and During the COVID-19 Pandemic.” *JAMA Network Open* 5 (9): e2232795. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2022.32795>.
Media coverage: [Axios](#)
65. Crespin, Daniel J., and **Christopher Whaley**. 2022. “The Effect of Hospital Discharge Price Increases on Publicly Reported Measures of Quality.” *Health Services Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6773.14040>.
66. Wright, John R., Divya K. Madhusudhan, David C. Lawrence, Sharon A. Watts, Daniel J. Lord, **Christopher Whaley**, and Dena M. Bravata. 2022. “Costs of Specialist Referrals From Employer-Sponsored Integrated Health Care Clinics Are Lower Than Those From Community Providers.” *Journal of General Internal Medicine*, July. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11606-022-07724-w>.
67. Levinson, Zachary, Jonathan Cantor, Malcolm V. Williams, and **Christopher Whaley**. 2022. “The Association of Strained ICU Capacity with Hospital Patient Racial and Ethnic Composition and Federal Relief during the COVID-19 Pandemic.” *Health Services Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6773.14028>.
68. Kranz, Ashley M., Grace Gahlon, Andrew W. Dick, Sarah L. Goff, **Christopher Whaley**, and Kimberley H. Geissler. 2022. “Variation in Prices for an Evidence-Based Pediatric Preventive Service.” *Health Services Research* 57 (5): 1175–81. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6773.13995>.
69. Kranz, Ashley M., Sarah L. Goff, Andrew W. Dick, **Christopher Whaley**, and Kimberley H. Geissler. 2022. “Delivery of Fluoride Varnish during Pediatric Medical Visits by Rurality.” *Journal of Public Health Dentistry* 82 (3): 271–79. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jphd.12518>.
70. Levinson, Zachary, Nabeel Qureshi, Jodi L. Liu, and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2022. “Trends In Hospital Prices Paid By Private Health Plans Varied Substantially Across The US.” *Health Affairs* 41 (4): 516–22. <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2021.01476>.
71. Rader, Benjamin, **Christopher M Whaley**, Wesley S Rogers, John S Brownstein, and Jonathan Cantor. 2022. “Assessment of Geographic Access to Monoclonal Antibodies in the United States.” *Journal of Travel Medicine*, March. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jtm/taac018>.
72. Cantor, Jonathan, **Christopher Whaley**, Kosali Simon, and Thuy Nguyen. 2022. “US Health Care Workforce Changes During the First and Second Years of the COVID-19 Pandemic.” *JAMA Health Forum* 3 (2): e215217. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamahealthforum.2021.5217>.
73. **Whaley, Christopher M.**, Daniel R. Arnold, Nate Gross, and Anupam B. Jena. 2021. “Physician Compensation In Physician-Owned And Hospital-Owned Practices.” *Health Affairs* 40 (12): 1865–74. <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2021.01007>.
74. **Whaley, Christopher M.**, Tina Koo, Vineet M. Arora, Ishani Ganguli, Nate Gross, and Anupam B. Jena. 2021. “Female Physicians Earn An Estimated \$2 Million Less Than Male Physicians Over A Simulated 40-Year Career.” *Health Affairs* 40 (12): 1856–64.

<https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2021.00461>.

Media coverage: [New York Times](#)

75. Geissler, Kimberley H., Andrew W. Dick, Sarah L. Goff, **Christopher Whaley**, and Ashley M. Kranz. 2021. "Dental Fluoride Varnish Application During Medical Visits Among Children Who Are Privately Insured." *JAMA Network Open* 4 (8): e2122953. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2021.22953>.
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2. Levin, Jonathan S., Daniel J. Crespín, Jin Kim, Rachel O. Reid, **Christopher M. Whaley**, and Michael Dworsky. 2024. “Methodologies to Measure Upcoding in Provider Settings: A Scoping Review.” RAND Corporation. https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA2683-1.html.
3. **Whaley, Christopher M.**, Brian Briscoombe, Rose Kerber, Brenna O’Neill, and Aaron Kofner. 2022. “Prices Paid to Hospitals by Private Health Plans: Findings from Round 4 of an Employer-Led Transparency Initiative.” Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.
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7. Kapinos, Kandice A., Carter C. Price, Drew M. Anderson, Adrienne M. Propp, Raffaele Vardavas, and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2021. “Analysis of the 10Plan: A Self-Pay System Designed to Minimize the Burden of Health Care Costs,” January. https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR4270.html.
8. Mulcahy, Andrew W., Brian Phillips, and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2021. “Balancing Access and Cost Control in the TRICARE Prescription Drug Benefit,” January. https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR4445.html.
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10. Duffy, Erin L., **Christopher Whaley**, and Chapin White. “The Price and Spending Impacts of Limits on Payments to Hospitals for Out-of-Network Care.” 2020. https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR4378.html
11. White, Chapin and **Christopher Whaley**. “Prices Paid to Hospitals by Private Health Plans Are High Relative to Medicare and Vary Widely: Findings from an Employer-Led Transparency Initiative.” Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2019. https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR3033.html.
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12. Eibner, Christine, Dmitry Khodyakov, Erin Audrey Taylor, et al. “First Annual Evaluation Report of the Medicare Advantage Value-Based Insurance Design Model Test.” RAND Corporation, 2018. <https://www.cms.gov/priorities/innovation/files/reports/vbid-yr1-evalrpt.pdf>
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Non-Peer Reviewed Research and Reports

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5. Brown, Erin C. Fuse, Megha Reddy, and **Christopher M. Whaley**. 2024. "The FTC's Noncompete Rule: Legal Challenges And Potential Solutions For Physician Markets." *Health Affairs Forefront*, August. <https://doi.org/10.1377/forefront.20240828.827737>.
6. Murray, Roslyn C, **Christopher M Whaley**, Erin C Fuse Brown, and Andrew M Ryan. 2024. "How Payment Caps Can Reduce Hospital Prices and Spending: Lessons from the Oregon State Employee Plan." Milbank Memorial Fund. https://www.milbank.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/HospitalPriceCaps_Final.pdf
7. Brown, Erin C. Fuse, Yashaswini Singh, **Christopher M. Whaley**, and Jared Perkins. 2024. "The Rise Of Health Care Consolidation And What To Do About It." *Health Affairs Forefront*, September. <https://doi.org/10.1377/forefront.20240906.397095>.
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12. **Whaley, Christopher M.**, and Ge Bai. 2023. "Health Care Price Transparency Legislation: How Can Congress Help Employers And Workers?" *Health Affairs Forefront*. <https://doi.org/10.1377/forefront.20230906.594215>.
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Grants and Contracts

Active Projects

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 2025-2026 | The Physician Practice Ecosystem over the Private Equity Life Cycle
Sponsor: Commonwealth Fund
Amount: \$198,000
Role: Co-Investigator |
| 2025 | Understanding Price Variation Using Transparency in Coverage (TiC) Data
Sponsor: NIHCM Foundation
Amount: \$50,000
Role: Principal Investigator |
| 2024-2026 | Using Transparency in Coverage data to build on work promoting transparency in comparing hospital prices across insurers
Sponsor: Robert Wood Johnson Foundation
Amount: \$500,000
Role: Principal Investigator |
| 2024-2025 | Health Care Price Transparency
Sponsor: Patient Rights Advocate
Amount: \$300,000
Role: Principal Investigator |
| 2022-2024 | Assessing the Impacts of Insurer-Provider Vertical Integration
Sponsor: Commonwealth Fund
Amount: \$334,000
Role: Principal Investigator |
| 2022-2023 | Health Care Price Transparency
Sponsor: Patient Rights Advocate
Amount: \$250,000
Role: Principal Investigator |
| 2022-2027 | Health Services Utilization During the COVID-19 Pandemic (R01 AG073286-01A1) |

Sponsor: National Institute on Aging
Amount \$2,419,820
Role: Principal Investigator

2021-2024 Comparing Quality of Care for Pediatric Dental Procedures Conducted in Ambulatory Surgical Centers and Hospital Outpatient Departments (R01 HS027994-01A1)
Sponsor: Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality
Amount: \$1,199,996
Role: Co-Investigator (PI: Ashley Kranz, RAND)

2022-2025 Analysis of a Tiered Clinic Cost-sharing Health Insurance Benefit Design (R01HS026898)
Sponsor: Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality
Amount: \$1,179,090
Role: Co-Investigator (RAND site PI, PI: Bryan Dowd, University of Minnesota)

2022-2023 Telehealth Quality
Sponsor: California Public Employees' Retirement System
Amount: \$120,000
Role: Principal Investigator

2022 Health Care Markets
Sponsor: Arnold Ventures
Amount: \$83,000
Role: Principal Investigator

2022-2023 Hospital Price Transparency
Sponsor: Robert Wood Johnson Foundation
Amount: \$1,100,000
Role: Principal Investigator

2021-2022 Telehealth During COVID-19
Sponsor: California Health Care Foundation
Amount: \$300,000
Role: Principal Investigator

2019-2024 The Effects of Insurance Benefit Design Innovations on Patient Health (K01 AG061274)
Sponsor: National Institute on Aging
Role: Principal Investigator
Amount: \$650,000

2019-2023 Affordability Cures
Sponsor: Health Care Services Corporation
Role: Principal Investigator
Amount: \$1,000,000

Completed Projects

2021-2022 Hospital Price Transparency
Sponsor: Robert Wood Johnson Foundation

	Amount: \$450,000 Role: Principal Investigator
2020-2021	Hospital Payment Policy Responses to COVID Sponsor: Arnold Ventures Amount: \$70,000 Role: Principal Investigator
2020-2021	Effect of COVID-19 on Use of Telehealth for Diabetes Patients Sponsor: Livongo Amount: \$107,000 Role: Principal Investigator
2020-2021	Non-Emergency Medical Transportation and Rideshares Sponsor: Lyft Amount: \$140,000 Role: Principal Investigator
2020-2021	Prices Paid to Hospitals by Private Health Plans Sponsor: Arnold Foundation Role: Principal Investigator Amount: \$993,000
2019-2021	Hospital Price Transparency Initiative Sponsor: Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Role: Principal Investigator Amount: \$300,000
2019-2019	Evaluation of HCM Programs Sponsor: Health Care Services Corporation Role: Principal Investigator Amount: \$50,000
2018-2019	Machine Learning to Improve Risk Adjustment Sponsor: RAND-Initiated Research Role: Principal Investigator Amount: \$200,000
2018-2019	Providing Transparency in Hospital Prices to Improve the Ability of Self-Insured Employers to Demand Value Sponsor: Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Role: Principal Investigator Amount: \$105,000
2018-2020	Evaluation of CalPERS Reference Pricing Program for Prescription Drugs Sponsor: California Public Employees' Retirement System Role: Principal Investigator Amount: \$285,000

- 2018-2019 The Impact of Reference Pricing on Hospital-Insurer Bargaining
Sponsor: National Institute for Health Care Management Foundation
Role: Principal Investigator
Amount: \$55,000
- 2017-2019 Using Big Data to Estimate the Effects of Complex Cost-Sharing Rules on Colorectal Cancer Screening and Patient Health (R21 CA219229-01)
Sponsor: National Cancer Institute
Role: Principal Investigator
Amount: \$475,000
- 2017-2019 Reference Pricing as a Purchasing Strategy to Promote Cost-Effective Drug Choice
Sponsor: Laura and John Arnold Foundation
Role: Co-Investigator
Amount: \$795,000
- 2015-2016 The Effect of Reference Based Benefits on State Healthcare Expenditures
Sponsor: Health Care Cost Institute and Laura and John Arnold Foundation
Role: Co-Investigator
Amount: \$128,000

Presentations (+Co-author)

- 2025 ASSA Annual Meeting, University of Washington CHOICE Institute, Bates White Antitrust Conference, ASHE, AHEC, National Institute on Aging—Changing Ownership of Health Care Entities in the U.S. Workshop
- 2024 ASSA Annual Meeting, AHRQ, Congressional Budget Office
- 2023 Johns Hopkins School of Public Health, Weill Cornell, National Quality Forum, NBER Health Care⁺, NBER Aging (discussant), USC, ASHE, Medtronic, Rice University Baker Institute
- 2022 ASSA Annual Meeting, APPAM, Academy Health, ASHE, Montana State University, Indiana University, European-American Health Economics Conference, Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (CMS) Innovation Center, RAND Center for Causal Inference Symposium, NIMH Conference on Mental Health Services Research, Weill Cornell, Health Enhancement Research Organization Forum, 32BJ Health Fund, Federal Trade Commission Microeconomics Conference,⁺ Bipartisan Policy Center, UCLA Health Services Research, Brown School of Public Health, Caribbean Health Economics Symposium, Verily Life Sciences
- 2021 Executive Office of the President, RAND Board of Trustees, Stanford Healthcare Provider Market Consolidation Workshop, UCLA Health Policy and Management, USC Price, Medicare Payment Advisory Commission, ASHE, APPAM, Electronic Health Economics Colloquium,⁺ NBER Summer Institute,⁺ RAND Causal Inference Seminar, RAND Education Brownbag, Catalyst for Payment Reform, UCSF, Numerous employers and employer organizations

- 2020 Federal Trade Commission Microeconomics Conference, Congressional Budget Office Health Panel of Advisors, APPAM, Penn State Health Care Policy, Conference on Health IT and Analytics, NBER Labor Studies,⁺ ASHE (Cancelled), Academy Health (Cancelled), EuHEA (Cancelled), Numerous employers and employer organizations
- 2019 APPAM, European-American Health Economics Conference, ASHE, IIOC, Claremont Graduate University, Clemson, American-European Health Economics Study Group, Health Econometrics Workshop, Employer's Forum of Indiana, National Value-Based Payment and Pay for Performance Summit
- 2018 ASHE, Southern California Conference in Applied Microeconomics
- 2017 Yale School of Public Health, Indiana University SPEA, iHEA, Health Econometrics Workshop, NIHCM, RAND
- 2016 AEA Annual Meeting, RAND, Congressional Budget Office, Federal Trade Commission, University of Minnesota School of Public Health, Weill Cornell, Kellogg Health Markets Conference, University of Chicago Health Economics Workshop, UC Berkeley, ASHE, Consumers Union, International Industrial Organization Conference
- 2015 National Association for State Health Policy, Berkeley School of Public Health, Academy Health
- 2014 CEGA Conference on Behavioral Health Economics, ASHE, Academy Health, Stanford Research in Progress, CITRIS Research Exchange
- 2013 Peder Sather Workshop on Industrial Organization (discussant), Academy Health

Student Advising

Xiaoyu Nie (2019, RAND PRGS) – Analysis Group
 Xiaoxi Zhao (2021, Boston University) – RAND
 Justus Timmers (2023, University of Texas Economics) – Bates White
 Virat Agrawal (2025, USC Policy PhD) – USC Schaeffer Center
 Hyesung Oh (Brown HSPP Post-doc)
 Geronimo Bejarano Cardenas (Brown HSPP PhD)
 Matthew Maughan (Brown HSPP PhD)
 Nandita Radhakrishnan (Brown HSPP pre-doc) – Columbia Management Science and Engineering
 Neil Mehta (Brown HSPP pre-doc) – Wall Street Journal, reporter

Referee for Professional Journals

Academic Emergency Medicine, AEJ: Applied, AEJ: Policy, American Economic Review, American Journal of Managed Care, American Journal of Preventive Medicine, BMC Health Services Research, BMJ Quality, Canadian Journal of Economics, Econometrics, Economic Journal, European Journal of Health Economics, Family Medicine and Community Health, Health Affairs, Health Economics, Health Services Research, Health Policy, Health Security, International Journal of Health Economics and Management, JAMA, JAMA Forum, JAMA Internal Medicine, JAMA Network Open, Journal of the American Dental Association, Journal of Comparative Effectiveness Research, Journal of Health Economics, Journal of Political Economy, Journal of Public Economics, Journal of Risk and Insurance, Management Science, Medical Care Research and Review, Management Science, Milbank Quarterly,

New England Journal of Medicine, Pediatrics, Public Health, Public Health Reports, Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, Review of Economics and Statistics, Review of Industrial Organization, Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vaccine

Scientific Review Committees

National Institute on Aging study section

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation

APPAM 2021 Conference

ASHE 2021 “Competition in Health Care Markets and Insurer and Hospital Behavior” Theme Chair