

Curriculum Vitae

David R. Riemer

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Milwaukee, WI 53233

Website:

www.govinplace.org

CURRENT Work

Community Advocates Public Policy Institute

Milwaukee, WI

Senior Fellow: December 2011 to present

Director: February 2008 to November 2011

Community Advocates was established in 1976 to provide advocacy services to impoverished Milwaukeeans. The organization's Public Policy Institute focuses on the design and adoption of policies that will greatly reduce poverty and improve the lives of low-income people.

Responsible for developing and advancing policies to dramatically reduce poverty in Wisconsin and the U.S. and improve the health care of low-income people. Major achievements include research, education, organization and advocacy that resulted in:

- *Models for cutting poverty in half in Wisconsin and US*: Lead the development of a five-part "policy package" for reducing poverty, which an independent analysis by the Urban Institute estimated would reduce Wisconsin and US poverty by half (<http://www.urban.org/research/publication/reducing-poverty-wisconsin-analysis-community-advocates-public-policy-institute>). Also assisted organizations in New York City and Washington, DC, in formulating similar "policy packages," whose analyses by the Urban Institute show similar 50%+ reduction in poverty.

- *Stronger Way Act*: Assisted U.S. Senator Tammy Baldwin (D-WI) in introducing (2016 and 2018) federal legislation, co-sponsored by U.S. Senator Cory Booker (D-NJ) that would create a national Transitional Jobs program and expand the Earned Income Tax Credit.

- *Wisconsin Transitional Jobs Demonstration Project*: Drafted state legislation that created, in 2009, and helped to preserve in 2011, a Transitional Jobs program that at its peak provided wage-paying jobs to up to 2,000 low-income, unemployed adults.

- *Wisconsin Parity Act*: Helped lead a coalition that succeeded in amending Wisconsin law to require parity coverage of addiction and mental health treatment in individual and group policies.

- *Amicus briefs in the Affordable Care Act case*: Submitted three *amicus* briefs to U.S. Supreme Court in support of the constitutionality of the Affordable Care Act.

- *Milwaukee smoke-free air ordinance*: Worked with City of Milwaukee officials to supplement the state's smoke-free air statute via a city ordinance that provides more effective enforcement.

- *"Dane Difference" analysis*: With 2012 grant from UW Partnership Program, analyzed reasons for effectiveness of Wisconsin State Employee Health Plan in uniquely controlling health insurance premiums in Dane County. Results published in 2015.

- *Effective Affordable Care Act Implementation*: With ongoing support from the Open Society Foundations, advanced state efforts to expand Medicaid coverage to vulnerable low-income groups, including incarcerated individuals leaving prison or jail and needing addiction treatment.

For more information, see: http://ppi.communityadvocates.net/policy_projects/.

PRIOR WORK

Wisconsin Health Project
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

September 2004 to August 2007

Project Director for a grant-funded, non-profit program created to tackle the two major health care problems facing Wisconsin: (1) a large (10% of population) and growing number of uninsured residents, and (2) double-digit annual increases in health care costs. The Wisconsin Health Project designed the bi-partisan Wisconsin Health Plan and worked with other advocates of comprehensive health insurance reform to develop Healthy Wisconsin, which the Wisconsin Senate approved in June 2007 and which laid the foundation for future discussion of health insurance reform in the state. See: www.wisconsinhealthplan.org

Candidate for Milwaukee County Executive

November 2003 to April 2004

Campaigned full-time for the position of Milwaukee County Executive against then-incumbent Scott Walker (later Governor of Wisconsin until defeated in 2018, as well as candidate for President until withdrawing prior to 2016 Iowa Caucuses). Received approximately 101,000 votes, nearly 43% of the total votes cast, on April 6, 2004.

As part of the campaign, put together a campaign organization, consisting of a small paid staff and over 150 volunteers; raised roughly \$500,000 from over 1,500 donors; won endorsements from approximately two dozen elected officials, as well as numerous labor unions and advocacy groups; prepared detailed position papers on controlling Milwaukee County spending and taxes, economic development, and health care access and costs; and participated in nearly 20 forums and debates.

Wisconsin Department of Administration
Division of Executive Budget and Finance
Madison, Wisconsin

December 2002 to October 2003

State Budget Director. Appointed to the position by Governor Jim Doyle in December 2002. Supervised an 80 person staff.

Primary responsibility was to solve the State of Wisconsin's projected \$3.2 billion deficit, and produce for the Governor and work with the Wisconsin Legislature to enact a balanced budget for the FY 2003-2005 biennium that preserved vital state education, health, and other services without raising taxes. A budget meeting these criteria was signed by the Governor in July 2003.

In general, under the State budget Director's supervision, the Division of Executive Budget and Finance provides policy analysis and recommendations to the Governor, prepares the Governor's state budget proposals, performs accounting services for the state, and oversees the state's capital finance program.

Atlantic Fellowship in Public Policy
London, England and Oxford, England

January to June 2002

The Atlantic Fellowship program was administered by the British Council and sponsored by the British Government. Examined the use of refundable income tax credits – the Earned Income Tax Credit in the United States, the Working Families Tax Credit and recently adopted Working Tax Credit and Child Tax Credit in the UK – to encourage unemployed adults to go to work and to “make work pay” enough to get out of poverty. In London, worked with the Personal Tax unit of Revenue Policy in the Inland Revenue. Also affiliated with the Rothermere American Institute at Oxford University, and co-taught a seminar on US urban politics and policy.

City of Milwaukee

June 1996 to January 2002

Department of Administration
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

December 1988 to September 1993

Director of Administration. Responsible for coordinating and providing overall direction to five, formerly separate divisions of City government: Intergovernmental Relations, Budget and Management, Business Operations (including Purchasing, Printing and Records), Information and Technology Management, and Community Block Grant Administration. As director of this 139-person, \$9 million department, oversaw most of the centralized non-employee functions of the City's 7,500-person, \$700 million government. Also staffed the Charter School Review Committee and handled special policy and management problems at the Mayor's request.

Office of the Mayor
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

September 1993 to June 1996

Chief of Staff. Served as the Mayor's assistant in administrative matters and supervised the day-to-day functions of the Mayor's administrative staff. Also represented the Mayor at City meetings and in other official City business. Carried out other special projects for the Mayor.

Department of Budget and Management Analysis
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

May 1988 to December 1988

Director of Budget and Management. Responsible for analyzing budget requests from approximately 40 City departments and agencies, recommending a City-wide budget to the Mayor, and supporting the Mayor's proposed budget through enactment by the Common Council; assisting the Mayor in developing long-range fiscal policy; conducting budget and management studies; and submitting recommendations on all budget variances and vacancy requests. The City's overall budget exceeded \$700 million at the time. Supervised staff of 20 persons. Responsible for departmental budget of over \$1 million.

Time Insurance Company
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

1985 to 1988

Director for Managed Health Care Development, Counsel for Cost Containment. Responsible for the development of strategies for expanding Time's network of preferred provider arrangements; adding preferred providers to the network; assisting in the design of health insurance plans; and keeping corporate management informed on developments in the areas of health care costs, managed health care, and government.

Attorney and Consultant
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

1984

Clients: Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services; Milwaukee Regional Medical Center; Center for Health Policy and Program Evaluation; University of Wisconsin-Madison Select Committee on the Future of the University; and Wisconsin State Assembly.

Wisconsin State Legislature
Legislative Fiscal Bureau
Madison, Wisconsin

1983

Counsel for Health Care Financing. Principal responsibilities: providing legal, fiscal, and policy analysis to individual legislators, the Joint Committee on Finance, and the Legislature regarding health care cost containment.

Areas of responsibility: hospital rate setting; certificate of need; health maintenance organizations (HMOs) and preferred provider organizations (PPOs); state employee health plan; health insurance for the uninsured.

Outcome: Legislation (enacted as part of 1983-85 budget bill, 1983 Wisconsin Act 27) establishing a hospital rate setting commission, substantially revising the certificate of need program, legalizing HMOs and PPOS, restructuring the state employee health plan, revising the responsibilities of the state's health facilities financing authority and limiting access of health facilities to industrial revenue bonds, and increasing the categories of laid-off workers and other who can maintain health insurance through employers' group policies.

National Conference of State Legislatures
Washington, D.C.

1981 to 1982

Senior Staff Director for Human Resources. Principal responsibilities: promoting adoption of NCSL policies by Congress and the Administration; informing and advising state legislators about federal human resource programs, the federal budget and state-federal relations; and staffing the NCSL Negotiating Team on the Federalism Initiative.

Areas of responsibility: health care (Medicaid, cost containment, public health, mental health); income security (AFDC, child support, welfare reform); social services; state-federal relations. Supervised three professional staff associates.

United States Senate 1978 to 1981
Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research
Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Chairman
Washington, D.C.

Counsel. Principal responsibilities: promoting passage of legislation favored by Senator through advocacy and negotiation; drafting bills, amendments, speeches, and other documents; staffing Senator in connection with Subcommittee hearings, testimony before other committees of Congress, Senate floor debate, and Senate/House conferences.

Areas of responsibility: health budget and appropriations; mental health, drug regulation

Major legislative outcome: Mental Health Systems Act (Public Law 96-398), October 7, 1980; and Drug Regulation Reform Act (S. 1075, enacted by Senate on September 26, 1979).

Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services 1976 to 1978
Madison, Wisconsin

Special Counsel. Responsible for promoting passage, through drafting of legislation, advocacy, and negotiation, of revision of Wisconsin's Children's Code (enacted as Chapter 354, Laws of 1977).

Drafted numerous administrative rules, especially for Wisconsin's Medicaid program. Prepared report on stepparent liability under Wisconsin's welfare system.

Wisconsin Governor's Office 1975 to 1976
Madison, Wisconsin

Legal Advisor to Governor Patrick J. Lucey. Participated in drafting and promoting passage of State Public Defender law (enacted as part of the 1977-79 budget bill, Chapter 29, Laws of 1977) and voluntary school integration law (enacted as Chapter 220, Laws of 1975).

Served as pardon and extradition counsel, reviewed agency contracts and grant applications, and handled various legal problems, Represented the Governor on the State Claims Board.

Mintz, Levin, Cohn, Glovsky and Popeo Summer of 1974
Boston, Massachusetts
Law Clerk

Ginsburg, Feldman and Bress Summer of 1973
Washington, D.C.
Law Clerk

Citizens Advocate Center 1971 to 1973
Washington, D.C.
Research Associate

EDUCATION

Harvard Law School, JD. 1975

Harvard College, A.B., 1970, in History and Literature, Magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa

Riverside High School, Milwaukee, Wisconsin (1966)

COMMUNITY SERVICE

National Academy of Social Insurance (NASI)—elected December 2011

National Academy of Social Insurance Study Panel on State Health Exchanges (2010-12)

National Academy of Social Insurance Study Panel on Economic Security (2019-)

Wisconsin Legislative Council Committee on Healthcare Reform Implementation (2010-2011)

Milwaukee Public Library Board of Trustees (2003-2013), President (2008-2010)

University of Wisconsin Population Health Institute Advisory Board (2004—2010)

University of Minnesota (Humphrey School) Leadership Advisory Group (2004-2008)

Highland Community School Board of Trustees Milwaukee, Wisconsin (1996-2006)

Board of Directors, New Hope Project, Milwaukee, Wisconsin (1991-2002)

Commission on State/Local Partnerships for the 21st Century (Kettl Commission) (2001)

Milwaukee Private Industry Council (1996-2001)

Council on Pilot Projects for the Uninsured, WI Department of Health and Social Services (1988-1990)

Council on Health Care Coverage for the Uninsured, WI Department of Health and Social Services (1985-1988)

Member, WI Legislative Council Special Committee on Employment Disincentives (1986)

Chair, National Board of Directors, Congress for a Working America (1985-1988)

Member, Zoning Board of Appeals, Madison, Wisconsin (1977-1978)

PUBLICATIONS

Putting Government In Its Place: The Case for a New Deal 3.0 (HenschelHAUS, 2019)

The Prisoners of Welfare: Liberating America's Poor from Unemployment and Low Wages (Praeger, 1988)

Law Review Articles:

David R. Riemer, "Follow the Money: The Impact of Consumer Choice and Economic Incentives on Conflict Resolution in Health Care," *Hamline Journal of Public Law and Policy*, Vol. 29, No. 2, Spring 2008.

David R. Riemer, "Government As Administrator Vs. Government As Purchaser: Do Rules Or Markets Create Greater Accountability In Serving the Poor?" (*Fordham Urban Law Journal*, June 2001)

Reports and Blogs:

Julie Kerksick, David Riemer, and Conor Williams, "Using Transitional Jobs to Increase Employment of SSDI Applicants and Beneficiaries," Section II, Part 5, of Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, *SSDI Solutions: Ideas to Strengthen the Social Security Disability Insurance Program* (Infinity Publishing: Mach 2016)

Mike Bare, Eric Bakken, John Mullahy and David Riemer, "The Dane Difference: Why Are Dane County's Exchange Premiums Lower," *Health Affairs*, December 18, 2014, <http://healthaffairs.org/blog/2014/12/18/the-dane-difference-why-are-dane-countys-exchange-premiums-lower/>

Mike Bare, Eric Bakken, David Riemer, and John Mullahy, "The Dane Difference: Why Does Wisconsin Health Insurance Exchange for State Employees in Dane County Get Much Lower Premiums Than Is Exchanges in he Sate's 71 Other Counties? What Lessons Can Policymakers Learn?," published on the Community Advocates Public Policy Institute website in December 2014, http://communityadvocates.net/ppi/programs/aca/the_dane_difference.php

David R. Riemer, "Supplementing the Working Poor's Earnings Through the Income Tax: Comparison of U.S. and U.K. Current Law, Proposed Policy and Alternatives," 2001 Atlantic Fellowships in Public Policy, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, June 2002.

David R. Riemer, "Replacing Welfare with Work; The Case for an Employment Maintenance Model," *Focus* (Madison, Wisconsin: The Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin-Madison), Volume 16, No. 2, Winter 1994-1995.

John Goddeeris, Barbara Wolfe, David R. Riemer, and Nancy Cross Dunham, "Hospital Rate-Setting: National Evidence and Issues for Wisconsin," in Danziger and Witte, eds., State Policy Choices: The Wisconsin Experience (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

David R. Riemer, "Wisconsin's 'Dual Strategy' for Health Care Cost Containment: The Foundation is Laid for Insuring the Uninsured," Section III of National Health Policy Forum/Intergovernmental Health Policy Project, Beyond the Rhetoric of Competition Versus Regulation: Business and Government Strategies to Manage Health Care Costs and Meet Indigent Care Needs, December, 1985.

David R. Riemer, Nancy Cross Dunham, and Jay Noren, "Wisconsin Hospital Rate-Setting Policies: Analysis and Recommendations of Operational Alternatives," Policy Paper 85-3, Center for Health Policy and Program Evaluation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, April, 1985.

David R. Riemer, "Wisconsin's Uninsured: The Scope of the Problem and Alternative Solutions," report prepared for the Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services and transmitted to the Wisconsin Legislature, January, 1985.

David R. Riemer, "Insuring Wisconsin's Uninsured: The Dynamics of Providing Indigent and Other Uninsured Residents with Health Insurance in the Midst of a Cost Containment Revolution," Section IV-1 of Academy for State and Local Government, Access to Care for the Medically Indigent: A Resource Document for State and Local Officials, December, 1984.

David R. Riemer, Nancy Cross Dunham, and Jay Noren, "Health Care Cost Containment in Wisconsin: Strategies for the Future," Policy Paper 84-4, Center for Health Policy and Program Evaluation University of Wisconsin-Madison October, 1984.

Newspaper Stories and Op-Eds

David Riemer, "Why Milwaukee Needs a New Deal," Urban Milwaukee, November 15, 2019, <https://urbanmilwaukee.com/2019/11/15/why-milwaukee-needs-a-new-deal/>

Erik Gunn, "Rebooting the New Deal," November 5, 2019, <https://wisconsinexaminer.com/2019/11/05/rebooting-the-new-deal/>

"The Case for a New Deal 3.0: An Interview with David Riemer, Spotlight on Poverty & Opportunity, October 30, 2019, <https://spotlightonpoverty.org/spotlight-exclusives/the-case-for-a-new-deal-3-0-an-interview-with-david-riemer/>

David R. Riemer, "Just Say 'No' to a Gas Tax Increase," The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, op-ed, July 19, 2014, <http://www.jsonline.com/news/opinion/just-say-no-to-a-gas-tax-increase-b99306575z1-267734111.html>

David Riemer and Michael Bare, "Let's Put Our Fiscal House in Order," The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, op-ed, January 17, 2014, <http://www.jsonline.com/news/opinion/lets-put-our-fiscal-house-in-order-b99185905z1-240925591.html>

David R. Riemer, "Governor Scott Walker Embraces Obamacare," The Milwaukee Journal – Sentinel, op-ed, June 12, 2013, <http://www.jsonline.com/news/opinion/gov-scott-walker-embraces-obamacare-b9931363z1-211122391.html>

David R. Riemer and Conor Williams, "Four Steps to Dramatically Reduce Poverty in Our State," The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, op-ed, September 2, 2012, <http://www.jsonline.com/news/opinion/four-steps-to-dramatically-reduce-poverty-in-the-state-34717q0-171613161.html>

"Plan Aims to Cut Wisconsin's Poverty Rate in Half," The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, story, November 27, 2011, <http://www.jsonline.com/news/wisconsin/plan-aims-to-cut-wisconsins-poverty-rate-in-half-tp35kk5-134569983.html>

David Riemer, "Touchdown for Health Insurance," Open Society Foundation Voices, September 4, 2012, <http://www.soros.org/voices/touchdown-health-insurance>

David R. Riemer, "A Role for Government in Combating Poverty," The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, op-ed, October 29, 2011, <http://www.jsonline.com/news/opinion/a-role-for-government-in-combating-poverty-132831483.html>

David R. Riemer, "Poverty's Wide Reach, and What We Can Do About It," The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, op-ed, October 1 and 8, 2011, <http://www.jsonline.com/news/opinion/povertys-wide-reach-and-what-we-can-do-about-it-130876763.html>

See also: "Ending This Scourge Requires United Effort," The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, lead editorial, October 1, 2011, <http://www.jsonline.com/news/opinion/ending-this-scurge-requires-united-effort-130886228.html>

David R. Riemer, "EITC Fulfills Conservative Goals," The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, op-ed., March 29, 2011, <http://www.jsonline.com/news/opinion/118875254.html>

David R. Riemer, "A Five-Step Plan to Fix Finances," The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, op-ed, January 15, 2011, <http://www.jsonline.com/news/opinion/113635074.html>

David R. Riemer, "A Dream Budget for America's Health," Improving Population Health, December 20, 2010, <http://www.improvingpopulationhealth.org/blog/2010/07/a-dream-budget-for-americas-health.html>

David R. Riemer, "You Know Those Roads? They're Heavily Subsidized," The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, op-ed, April 3, 2010, <http://www.jsonline.com/news/opinion/89803737.html>

David R. Riemer, "Jobless Need Government to Create Jobs," The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, op-ed, December 12, 2009, <http://www.jsonline.com/news/opinion/79091897.html>

David R. Riemer, "Prescription for a Health Insurance Compromise: Forget the Public Option and Co-ops, Rewire the Exchange," Committee for Economic Development website, September 24, 2009, <http://www.ced.org/commentary/65-commentary/378-prescription-for-a-health-insurance-compromise-forget-the-public-option-and-co-ops-rewire--the-exchange>

David R. Riemer and Alain Enthoven, "The Only Public Health Plan We Need," The New York Times, op-ed, June 24, 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/25/opinion/25enthoven.html>

David R. Riemer, "Let Us End Poverty in Milwaukee," The Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, op-ed, May 23, 2009, <http://www.jsonline.com/news/opinion/79091897.html>

David R. Riemer, "Tax Relief for Working Families: The Earned Income Tax Credit penalizes people as they rise up the ladder. Here's how to fix it." The New Democrat Blueprint, Volume 9, Winter 2001, pp. 38-39.

David R. Riemer, "The Marriage Tax on the Poor," Op-Ed Page, The New York Times, July 21, 2000.

Legal Briefs:

David R. Riemer and Dean A. Strang, three Briefs *Amicus Curiae* of David R. Riemer and Community Advocates in the "Affordable Care Act Cases, Florida et al. v. Department of Health and Human Services et al. (Medicaid question), Department of Health and Human Services et al. v. Florida et al. (Minimum Essential Coverage question), and National Federation of Independent Business et al. v. Kathleen Sebelius, Secretary of Health and Human Services et al. (Severability question).

David R. Riemer, Michael D. Hess, Leonard J. Koerner, and Edward F.X. Hart, Brief *Amicus Curiae* of Rudolph W. Giuliani and John O. Norquist in the "Cleveland School Choice Case," Zelman et al. v. Simmons-Harris et al., U.S. Supreme Court, 2001.

David R. Riemer, Brief *Amicus Curiae* of Howard L. Fuller, John O. Norquist, et al., in the "Wisconsin School Choice Case," Jackson et al. v. Benson et al., Wisconsin Supreme Court, December 16, 1997.

INTERVIEWS

Health care policy: video interview by Lawrence University Professor *Emeritus* Merton D. Finkler www.facebook.com/foxvalleyhealthcare.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH

Visiting Professor, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawla II), Faculty of Law, Canon Law and Administration. Lublin Poland. Taught course on the "U.S. Health System and Law" (March 2016)

Visiting Scholar, Urban Planning, School of Architecture and Urban Planning, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (2004-2008)

Co-taught seminar at Oxford University, Oxford, England on U.S. urban politics and policy (April-May 2002)

Adjunct Associate Professor, School of Architecture and Urban Planning, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (1997). Co-taught with Mayor John Norquist both undergraduate and graduate courses on contemporary urban problems.

FELLOWSHIPS

Resident, Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Center, Bellagio, Italy (2012)

Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship, Hungary (1999)

Wasserstein Public Interest Law Fellowship, Harvard Law School (1997)

AWARDS

2017 Herb Kohl "Helping Hand" Award...for "tireless efforts to alleviate poverty in Wisconsin"
Presented by the Wisconsin Community Action Program Association (WISCAP)

2017 Eisenberg Award...for "instrumental role in crafting the statutory language leading to the creation of the SPD (State Public Defender)"
Presented by the Wisconsin State Public Defender Board

WEBSITE

"Putting Government In Its Place" www.govinplace.org

PERSONAL

Born July 17, 1949, in Bellefonte, Pennsylvania

Married to Ellie Graan (Speech and Language Pathologist, Milwaukee Public Schools, retired)

Children:

- Daniel Graan Riemer
(BA, University of Chicago, 2009; JD, University of Wisconsin Law School, 2014)
Member of the Wisconsin Bar
State Representative, 7th Assembly District, Wisconsin Legislature, 2013-present
1st Lieutenant, Judge Advocate General Corps, U.S. Army Reserve

- Joseph Graan Riemer
(BA, NYU, 2011; JD University of Minnesota Law School, 2015),
Member of the Washington State Bar, Criminal defense attorney

Father: the late Neal Riemer, Professor of Political Science, Drew University

Mother: the late Ruby Riemer, poet and teacher