### JACOB S. HACKER

Director, Institution for Social and Policy Studies Stanley B. Resor Professor of Political Science, Yale University 77 Prospect Street, New Haven, CT 06511 (203) 432-5554 • fax: (203) 432-3296 • jacob.hacker@yale.edu

### **EXPERIENCE**

## Yale University, Institution for Social and Policy Studies

Director, 2011-Residential Fellow, 2004 Nonresidential Fellow, 2002 - 2004

# Yale University, Department of Political Science

Stanley B. Resor Professor, 2009-Professor, 2006-2008 Peter Strauss Family Associate Professor, 2005-2006 Peter Strauss Family Assistant Professor, 2002-2005 Junior Faculty Fellowship, 2004-2005 (eight recipients in the social sciences) Moore Memorial Fund and ITS Innovation Fund Instructional Awards, 2003

## University of California, Berkeley

Professor of Political Science, 2008-2009

### Yale University, MacMillan Center

Senior Research Fellow, International and Area Studies, 2002-

#### **EDUCATION**

#### **Yale University**

Ph.D. in Political Science, with Distinction, 2000

Dissertation "Boundary Wars: The Political Struggle over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States." Graded *distinguished* by each of three readers, Nov. 2000

Prizes Harold D. Lasswell Award, American Political Science Association, for the best dissertation relating to policy studies completed in 1999 or 2000.

**Association of Public Policy Analysis and Management Dissertation Award,** for the best dissertation on public policy completed in the academic years 1999-2001. **John Heinz Dissertation Award**, National Academy of Social Insurance, for the best dissertation related to the arena of social insurance awarded during 2000-2001.

### **Harvard University**

Exchange Scholar in Government, 1995-1996. 4.0 GPA

#### **Harvard College**

B.A. in Social Studies, summa cum laude, 1994

#### **PUBLICATIONS**

#### **Books**

American Amnesia: How the War on Government Led Us To Forget What Made America Prosper. Co-authored with Paul Pierson. Simon and Schuster, March 2016.

Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer—And Turned Its Back on the Middle Class. Co-authored with Paul Pierson. Simon and Schuster, September 2010 (paperback, March 2011).

Shared Responsibility, Shared Risk: Government, Markets, and Social Policy in the Twenty-First Century, an edited volume with Ann O'Leary. Oxford University Press, January 2011.

The Great Risk Shift: The New Economic Insecurity and the Decline of the American Dream. Oxford University Press, October 2006, paperback 2008.

*Health At Risk*, an edited volume in The Privatization of Risk series (with the Social Science Research Council). Columbia University Press, September 2008.

Remaking America: Democracy and Public Policy in an Age of Inequality, an edited volume with Joe Soss and Suzanne Mettler. Russell Sage Foundation, November 2007.

Off Center: The Republican Revolution and the Erosion of American Democracy. Yale University Press, 2005 (with Paul Pierson). Paperback edition with a new afterword, September 2006.

The Divided Welfare State: The Battle over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States. Cambridge University Press, 2002.

The Road to Nowhere: The Genesis of President Clinton's Plan for Health Security. Princeton University Press, 1997. Recipient of the Brownlow Book Award.

### Articles in Social Science Journals

"Out of Balance: Medicare, Interest Groups, and American Politics," *Generations: Journal of the American Society of Aging*, forthcoming.

"After the 'Master Theory': Downs, Schattschneider, and the Rebirth of Policy-Focused Analysis," (with P. Pierson) *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (3) (Nov. 2014): 642-662.

"Detaining Democracy? Criminal Justice and American Civic Life," (with V. Weaver and C. Wildeman). *American Academy of Political and Social Science* 651, no. 1(Jan. 2014): 6-21.

"The Economic Security Index: A New Measure for Research and Policy Analysis," (with G. Huber, A. Nichols, P. Rehm, M. Schlesinger, R. Valletta, S. Craig). *Review of Income and Wealth* 4 Jul 2013 doi: 10.1111/roiw.12053.

- "The Insecure American: Economic Experiences, Financial Worries, and Policy Attitudes," (with P. Rehm, M. Schlesinger). *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 1 (2013): 23-49.
- "Insecure Alliances: Risk, Inequality, and Support for the Welfare State," (with P. Rehm and M. Schlesinger). *American Political Science Review* 106, no. 2 (2012): 386-406.
- "Presidents and the Political Economy: The Coalitional Foundations of Presidential Power" (with Paul Pierson), *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 42, no.1 (2012):101-131.
- "The Road to Somewhere: Why Health Care Reform Happened, or Why Political Scientists Who Study Public Policy Shouldn't Assume They Know How to Shape It," *Perspectives on Politics* 8, no. 3 (2010): 861-876.
- "Winner-Take-All Politics: Inequality, Political Organization and the Rise of Top Incomes in the United States" (with P. Pierson). *Politics & Society* 38, no.2 (2010): 152-204.
- "Winner-Take-All Politics and Political Science: A Response," (with P. Pierson). *Politics & Society*, 2010.
- "Healing the Rift between Political Science and Practical Politics," *The Forum* 8, no. 3 (2010).
- "Yes We Can? The New Push for American Health Security," *Politics & Society* 37 (2009): 3.
- "The Policy Scientist of Democracy: The Discipline of Harold D. Lasswell," *American Political Science Review*, (with J. Farr and N. Kazee), Special Centennial Volume (November 2006).
- "Abandoning the Middle: The Revealing Case of the Bush Tax Cuts," *Perspectives on Politics* 3 (March 2005): 33-53 (with P. Pierson).
- "Bringing the Welfare State Back In: The Promise (and Perils) of the New Social Welfare History," *Journal of Policy History* 17 (2005): 125-154.
- "Varieties of Capitalist Interest *and* Capitalist Power: A Response to Swenson," *Studies in American Political Development* 18 (2004): 186-195 (with P. Pierson).
- "American Democracy in an Age of Rising Inequality: Report of the American Political Science Association Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy," (with the Task Force members) *Perspectives on Politics* 2, no.4 (2004): 651-66.
- "Dismantling the Health Care State? Political Institutions, Public Policies, and the Comparative Politics of Health Reform," *British Journal of Political Science* 34 (October 2004): 693-724.
- "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State: The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Retrenchment in the United States," *American Political Science Review* 98, no. 2 (2004): 243-60.

- "Ideas, Private Institutions, and American Welfare State 'Exceptionalism," *International Journal of Social Welfare* 13, no.1 (2004): 42-54 (with D. Beland).
- "Business Power and Social Policy: Employers and the Formation of the American Welfare State," *Politics & Society* 30, no. 2 (2002): 277-325 (with Paul Pierson).
- "Learning From Defeat? Political Analysis and the Failure of Health Care Reform in the United States," *British Journal of Political Science* 31, no. 1 (2001):61-94.
- "The Historical Logic of National Health Insurance: Structure and Sequence in the Development of British, Canadian, and U.S. Medical Policy," *Studies in American Political Development* 12, no.1 (1998): 57-130.
- "The New Politics of U.S. Health Policy," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 22, no.2 (1997): 315-38 (with T. Skocpol).
- "National Health Care Reform: An Idea Whose Time Came and Went," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 2, no.4 (1996): 47-96.

## Other Scholarly Articles (Short Pieces and/or Policy, Medical, or Law Journals)

- "Restoring Retirement Security: The Market Crisis, the 'Great Risk Shift,' and the Challenge for Our Nation," *Elder Law Journal* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2011).
- "Economic Insecurity: The Downward Spiral of the Middle Class," *Community & Banking* (Fall 2011): 25-28.
- "Why Reform Happened," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law* 36, no.3 (2011): 429-435.
- "You Might Be a Public Intellectual If..." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 43, no. 4 (2010): 657-659.
- "Poor Substitutes—Why Cooperatives and Triggers Can't Achieve the Goals of a Public Option," *New England Journal of Medicine* (Oct. 22, 2009): 361:1617.
- "Healthy Competition The Why and How of Public-Plan Choice," *New England Journal of Medicine* 360 (May 28, 2009): 2269-2271.
- "Measuring the Quality of Life in the U.S.: Political Reflections," *Perspectives on Politics* 7, no. 4 (2009): 911-912.
- "Health Perspectives: "Dr. President: the Need For—and Perils of—Health Policy Expertise in the White House," *New England Journal of Medicine* (Sept. 11, 2008).
- "Perspective: Putting Politics First," *Health Affairs* 27 (2008): 718-723.
- "Healing Our Sicko Health Care System," *New England Journal of Medicine* (August 23, 2007) 357:733.
- "Medicare Reform and Social Insurance," *Yale Journal of Health Policy, Law, and Ethics*, (with T. Marmor).
- "How Not to Think About Managed Care," *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform* 32, no. 4 (1999): 661-82 (with T. Marmor).

"The Misleading Language of Managed Care," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 24, no. 5 (1999): 1033-43 (with T. Marmor).

## Chapters/Reports

"From Servant to Master? Medicare, Cost Control, and the Future of American Health Care," in Alan Cohen et al., eds., *Medicare and Medicaid at 50: America's Entitlement Programs in the Age of Affordable Care* (New York: Oxford 2015).

"Drift and Coversion: Hidden Faces of Institutional Change," in K. Thelen and J. Mahoney, eds., *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences* (New York: Cambridge Press, 2015).

"Insecurity, Austerity, and the American Social Contract," in David Woolner, ed., *Progressivism in America: Past, Present, Future* (New York: Oxford, 2015)

"Confronting Assymetric Polarization," in Nathaniel Persily, ed., *Solutions to Polarization* (New York: Cambridge Press, 2015).

*ESI Update: Economic Security Continues to Improve in 2012* (with G. Huber, A. Nichols, P. Rehm, S. Craig) with support from the Rockefeller Foundation, November 2013.

ESI Update: Economic Security Improves in 2011 (with G. Huber, A. Nichols, P. Rehm, S. Craig) with support from the Rockefeller Foundation, November 2012.

*Economic Insecurity Across the American States* (with G. Huber, A. Nichols, P. Rehm, S. Craig) with support from the Rockefeller Foundation, June 2012.

"How American Politics is Undermining the American Dream—and What It Means for the UK," in Sophia Parker, ed., *The Shape of Things to Come? America's Cautionary Tale* (London: Resolution Foundation, 2012).

"The Middle Class at Risk," in K. Porter, ed., *Broke: How Debt Bankrupts the Middle Class* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011).

"Sharing Risk and Responsibility in a New Economic Era," "Health Care Reform 2.0," and "America's Next Social Contract" (with Ann O'Leary) in Hacker and O'Leary, *Shared Risk, Shared Responsibility* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

*Economic Insecurity and the Great Recession* (with G. Huber, A. Nichols, M. Schlesinger, P. Rehm). Presented at the New America Foundation with support from the Rockefeller Foundation, November 2011.

Standing on Shaky Ground: Americans' Experiences with Economic Insecurity (with P. Rehm and M. Schlesinger). Presented at New America Foundation with support from the Rockefeller Foundation, December 2010.

- Economic Security at Risk: Findings from the Economic Security Index (with G. Huber, P. Rehm, M. Schlesinger, R. Valletta). Presented at New America Foundation with support from the Rockefeller Foundation, July 2010.
- The Economic Security Index: A New Measure of the Economic Security of American Workers and Their Families (with G. Huber, P. Rehm, M. Schlesinger, R. Valletta). Presented at New America Foundation with support from the Rockefeller Foundation, July 2010.
- "Working Families at Risk: Understanding—and Confronting—the New Economic Insecurity," in *Old Assumptions, New Realities: Ensuring Economic Security for Working Families in the 21st Century.*" Russell Sage Foundation, October, 2010.
- "The Privatization of U.S. Health Politics: Roots and Realities of America's Vexed Public-Private System of Health Benefits." In Morone and Robbins, ed., *Health Politics and Policy* (Clifton, NY: Delmar Publishers, 2008).
- "The Politics of Risk Privatization in U.S. Social Policy," for Martin Landy and Martin Levin, eds., *The Politics and Economics of the Market* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institute, 2007).
- "The Risky Outlook for Middle-Class America," for John Edwards, Marion Crain, and Arne Kalleberg, eds., *Ending Poverty in America: How to Restore the American Dream* (New York: New Press, 2007).
- "Introduction," "Just How Good *is* American Medical Care" (with Elizabeth McGlynn and David Meltzer), and "The New Push for American Health Security," in Hacker, ed., *Health At Risk* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).
- "Tax Politics and the Struggle over Activist Government" (with Paul Pierson), for Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Transformations in American Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
- "The Welfare State," for Sarah Binder, Rod Rhodes, and Bert Rockman, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- "Policy Drift: The Hidden Politics of U.S. Welfare State Retrenchment." In Streeck and Thelen, eds., *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- "The Privatization of Risk and the Economic Insecurity of American Families," Paper for the Social Science Research Council's Project on the Privatization of Risk, October 2005, http://privatizationofrisk.ssrc.org/Hacker.
- "Inequality and Public Policy." In Jacobs and Skocpol, eds., *American Democracy in an Age of Rising Inequality: Report of the APSA Task Force on Inequality & American Democracy* with Suzanne Mettler and Dianne Pinderhughes (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004.)
- "Reform without Change, Change without Reform: The Politics of U.S. Health Policy Reform in Cross-National Perspective." In Levin and Shapiro, eds.,

Transatlantic Policymaking in an Age of Austerity: Diversity and Drift (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004.

### <u>Proposals</u>

Prosperity Economics: Building an Economy for All (with N. Loewentheil). Presented at Economic Policy Institute on July 31, 2012 with support from AFL-CIO, Center for Community Change, EPI, Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, National Council of Raza, and SEIU.

"Flexible Authority: Ensuring Health Exchanges Shape the Rules of the Game," with D. Archer, Institute for America's Future, March 5, 2012.

"Public Plan Choice in Congressional Health Plans: The Good, the Not-So-Good, and the Ugly." Institute for America's Future, August 20, 2009.

"How to Structure a Play-or-Pay Requirement on Employers," (with Ken Jacobs). Berkeley Center for Health Economic and Family Security (CHEFS), June 2009.

"Prescription for Success: Lessons from California for National Health Reform," (with Melissa Rodgers), Berkeley Center for Health Economic and Family Security (CHEFS), June 2009.

"Healthy Competition: How to Structure Public Health Insurance Plan Choice to Ensure Risk-Sharing, Cost Control, and Quality Improvement," CHEFS, April 2009.

"The Case for Public Plan Choice in National Health Reform: Key to Cost Control and Quality Coverage," CHEFS, December 2008.

"The Health Care for America Plan," A Proposal for New Labor Forum/The Lewin Group, October 2007.

"Health Care for America: A Proposal for Guaranteed, Affordable Health Care for All Americans Building on Medicare and Employment-based Insurance." EPI Briefing #180, January, 11, 2007.

"Universal Insurance: Providing Security to Expand Opportunity," A Proposal for the Hamilton Project (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2006).

"Medicare Plus: Increasing Health Coverage by Expanding Medicare." In *Covering America* (Washington, DC: Economic and Social Research Institute, 2001).

#### Scholarly Reviews

The Accidental Republic, by John Fabian Witt, American Historical Review 110 (Feb. 2005).

Dead on Arrival: The Politics of Health Care in Twentieth-Century America, by Colin Gordon, Political Science Quarterly 18:4 (Winter 2003-04): 708-09.

Markets and Medicine: The Politics of Health Care Reform in Britain, Germany, and the United States, by Susan Giaimo, Governance17:1 (January 2004): 129-32.

The Price of Citizenship: Redefining the American Welfare State, by Michael B. Katz, Journal of Social History (Winter 2002).

False Alarm: Why the Greatest Threat to Social Security and Medicare is the Campaign to Save Them, by Joseph White, Health Affairs (January/February 2002).

*Medicare HMOs: Making Them Work for the Chronically Ill*, by Richard Kronick and Joy de Beyer, *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 24:5 (Oct. 1999): 1230-37.

*Market-Driven Health Care*, by Regina Herzlinger, *Journal of Health Politics*, *Policy and Law* 22:6 (Dec. 1997): 1443-47.

"Response to Herzlinger," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 23:6 (Dec. 1998): 998-1003.

Medicaid and the Limits of State Health Reform, by Michael S. Sparer, and Governing Health: The Politics of Health Policy, by Carol and William Weissert, Journal of Policy Analysis and Management 16:4 (Fall 1997): 630-41.

## In Progress

"The Case for Policy-Focused Political Analysis," with P. Pierson.

"Drift and Conversion: Hidden Faces of Institutional Change," with K. Thelen and P. Pierson.

The Politics of Policy Development: Bridging Policy Analysis and Political Science, with P. Pierson.

"Drift and Democracy: The Neglected Politics of Policy Inaction," with P. Pierson.

"Why Elephants Don't Weep: Economic Inequality, Partisanship, and American Politics," with M. Schlesinger and P. Rehm.

"Risk, Insurance, and Redistribution: Income Instability and the Welfare State in Rich Democracies," with P. Rehm.

#### PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

The American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, PA *Board Member*, 2013-

**The American Prospect,** New York, NY *Board Member*, 2012-

**The Century Foundation**, New York, NY *Board Member*, 2012-

**Economic Policy Institute**, Washington, DC *Board Member*, 2011-

**Scholars Strategy Network,** Boston, MA *Steering Committee Member*, 2009-

### PAST PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

## National Academy of Social Insurance, Washington, DC

Board Member, 2008-2010; Vice President, 2010-2013

## New America Foundation, Washington, DC

Fellow, 1999-2000; Nonresidential Fellow, 2002-2005

### Social Science Research Council, New York, NY

Chair, Project on "the Privatization of Risk," 2005-2006

## American Political Science Association, Washington, DC

Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy, chaired working group. Council Member, Politics & History Section

### JFK School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA

Scholar, 2002-2004. Harvard University young Faculty Leaders Forum

## Society of Fellows, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA

Junior Fellow, 1999-2002

## Economic and Social Research Institute, Washington, DC

Advisory Panel Member, "Workable Strategies to Expand Health Coverage," 1999-2003

### The Century Foundation, New York, NY

*Member*, Task Force on Medicare Reform, 1999-2001. Authored portions of group's report.

### The Brookings Institution, Governmental Studies Division, Washington, DC

Guest Scholar, 1998-1999); Robert Hartley Fellow, 1997-1998

#### **GRANTS**

#### **AWARDS**

2014 Heinz Eulau Prize, best article published in *Perspectives on Politics* in 2013.

Northern California Book Award, Non-Fiction, Winner-Take-All Politics, 2010.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Exploring American Economic Security: An Extended Project Using the Economic Security Index," Phase 2, Rockefeller Foundation, 2011-14, \$621,856.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Exploring American Economic Security," Rockefeller Foundation, 2010-11, \$479,600

<sup>&</sup>quot;The Index of Economic Security," Rockefeller Foundation, 2007-2009, \$591,726.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Perceptions of Economic Security," Rockefeller Foundation, 2007-2010, \$213,189...

Inducted into the National Academy of Social Insurance, 2004.

Emerging Scholar Award, APSA Political Organizations and Parties Section, 2002.

Junior Faculty Fellowship, Yale University, 2003.

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Scholars in Health Policy Research.

Program Postdoctoral Fellowship, 2002, University of Michigan (Declined).

William F. Milton Fund Research Grant, 2000, Harvard University.

Junior Fellowship, Harvard Society of Fellows, 1999, Harvard University.

Louis Brownlow Book Award, 1997, National Academy of Public Administration.

Hartley Fellowship in Governmental Studies, 1997, The Brookings Institution.

Robert M. Leylan Fellowship in the Social Sciences, 1996, Yale University.

John F. Enders Dissertation Fellowship, 1996, Yale University.

Jacob Javits Fellowship, 1994, U.S. Department of Education.

Senior Thesis Prizes: Thomas Temple Hoopes Prize, James Gordon Bennett Prize, Alexis de Tocqueville Prize, Harvard University, 1994.

Phi Beta Kappa "Senior 24, for the first twenty-four seniors inducted, 1993.

### MAJOR CURRENT UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Director, Institution for Social and Policy Studies

**ISPS** Executive Committee

Jackson Institute Executive Committee

MacMillan Center Executive Committee

Ethics, Politics, and Economics Executive Committee

Department Strategy Committee

Poynter Fellowship Committee

Nursing School External Advisory Committee

#### OTHER ARTICLES (SELECTED SINCE 2003)

"The Split: 19 Reasons Democrats Will Remain Divided and What It Means for the Party's Future" *The New Republic* 

"Making America Great Again: The Case for a Mixed Economy," (with P. Pierson) *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2016

"Clinton's Bold Vision, Hidden in Plain Sight," (with P. Pierson) New York Times, March 2016

- "The Real Cause of the Flint Crisis," (with P. Pierson) *The Atlantic*, March 7, 2016
- "The ACA Has Survived Yet Again. Now What?" American Prospect, June 2015.
- "No Cost for Extremism," (with P. Pierson) American Prospect, May 2015.
- "Don't Get Mad At The IRS On Tax Day, Pray For It To Get More Powerful", *LA Times*, April 15, 2015
- "Miliband's Not Talking about 'Predistribution' but He Has Embraced My Big Idea," *New Statesman*, April 2015.
- "Yes, Inequality Is Still a Big Problem and One We Can Tackle," (with P. Pierson) *Moyers & Co*, February 2015.
- "A Tocqueville for Today," (with P. Pierson) American Prospect, Mar 2014.
- "Beware an Unchecked President," (with O. Hathaway) LA Times, op-ed, 8 Dec 2013.
- "Inequality is Hindering Growth," (with N. Loewentheil) Baltimore Sun, op-ed, 12 Aug 2013.
- "How to Reinvigorate the Centre-Left? Predistribution," *The Guardian*, 12 June 2013.
- "How Big Money Corrupts the Economy," (with N. Loewentheil). Democracy, 27, Winter 2013.
- "The Wider Battle for Equality," (with N. Loewentheil) Boston Review, Nov/Dec 2012.
- "Powell's Diagnosis—And Ours," (with P. Pierson) American Prospect, 28 Nov 2012.
- "What Obama Needs To Do Now," (with N. Loewentheil) Salon, 8 Nov 2012.
- "All Will Benefit If More Are Secure," (with N. Loewentheil) *Room for Debate—New York Times*, 12 Oct 2012.
- "Big Love: The GOP and the Super-Rich," (with P. Pierson) Reuters Op-ed, 12 Dec 2012.
- "What Krugman and Stiglitz Can Tell Us," (with P. Pierson) *The New York Review of Books*, 27 Sept 2012.
- "U.S. Growth in 'Prosperity Economics," (with N. Loewentheil) *Politico* Op-ed, 2 Aug 2012.
- "Romney is the Right Man for America. George Romney, That Is," (with P. Pierson) *Washington Post*, 10 February 2012.
- "Romney's Returns Show Progressive Taxes Are Dead for the Superrich," (with P. Pierson) *CNN Opinion*, 24 January 2012.
- "Our Unbalanced Democracy," (with Oona Hathaway) New York Times, 31 Jul 2011.
- "The Wisconsin Union Fight Isn't about Benefits. It's about Labor's Influence," (with P. Pierson) *Washington Post*, 6 March 2011.
- "Health-Care Reform, 2015," *Democracy*, no. 18 (2010): 8-24.
- "The Stalemate State," (with P. Pierson) *American Prospect*, November, 2010.

- "Inside the Wealth Conspiracy," (with P. Pierson) Bloomberg Op-Ed, 22 Nov 2010.
- "For the Good of Democracy, Tax Cuts for the Rich Must Expire," LA Times, 23 Sept. 2010.
- "Health Care 2.0," American Prospect, September 2010.
- "After Massachusetts, Why the Democrats Should Still Pass Health-Care Reform," (with D. Hopkins) *Washington Post*, 19 Jan 2010.
- "Senate Health Bill is Launch Pad," Politico, 22 Dec 2009.
- "Health Care for the Blue Dogs," Washington Post, 28 July 2009.
- "A Strong Safety Net Encourages Healthy Risk-Taking," American Prospect, May 2009.
- "Take Off: What Barack Obama Can Learn from JetBlue," (with E. Jacobs) *New Republic*, 15 April 2009.
- "Road Map to Healthcare Reform," Christian Science Monitor, 3 February 2009.
- "A Healthy Economy," New Republic, 31 December 2008.
- "A Mandate Isn't Mandatory," Los Angeles Times Op-Ed, 26 Feb 2008.
- "It Wasn't Just Iraq," American Prospect, 19 November 2006.
- "It's Not the Economy Stupid," Washington Post, 29 October 2006.
- "Fixing the Left's Health-Care Prescription, Slate, 10 October 2006.
- "Pumped Up: The Tour de France's Denouement," New Republic Online, 2 August 2006.
- "There Goes the Rug," Los Angeles Times, 15 January 2006.
- "The Center No Longer Holds," (with P. Pierson) New York Times Magazine, 20 November 2005.
- Response to Elizabeth Warren and Amelia Warren Tyagi, "What's Hurting the Middle Class," *Boston Review*, September/October 2005.
- "Insurance Policy," New Republic, 4 July 2005.
- "Bigger and Better," American Prospect, 30 September 2005.
- "The New Insecurity: Families are Slipping Off the Economic Ladder," *Boston Globe*, 24 April 2005.
- "Popular Fiction" (with Paul Pierson) New Republic Online, 16 November 2004.
- "After Welfare," A Review of Jason DeParle's "American Dream," New Republic, 11 October 2004.
- "Good Medicine," *American Prospect*, 10 October 2004 (with Mark Schlesinger); reprinted in the *Yale Journal of Medicine and Law*.
- "It's Still the Economy, Stupid!" *Boston Globe*, Ideas Section, 5 September 2004.
- "The Middle-Class Tightrope," Washington Post, 18 August 2004.
- "False Positive: The So-Called Good Economy," New Republic, 16/23 August 2004.
- "Call It the Family Risk Factor," New York Times, 11 January 2004.

"How Not to Fix Medicare," New York Times, 2 July 2003.

"The Perfect Prescription," Boston Globe, Ideas Section, 20 July 2003.

### **CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY**

Jun 2009 HOUSE ED	UCATION & LABOR	COMMITTEE,	testimony	on health reform.
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- Jan 2007 HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, testimony on middle class.
- Jan 2007 **SENATE HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR & PENSIONS COMMITTEE**, testimony on middle class.

### PRESENTATIONS & LECTURES (SELECTED SINCE 2005)

Jun 2016 <b>ECONOMIC POLICY INSTITUTE</b> (Washington, DC) – Deba	Jun	2016	<b>ECONO</b>	MIC POLIC	CY INSTITUTE	(Washington	DC - I	Debat
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- May 2016 MILLER CENTER (UVA) Debate
- Apr 2016 WESTMINSTER TOWN HALL (Minneapolis, MN) Talk/Q&A
- Mar 2016 **NEW AMERICA FOUNDATION** (Washington, DC) conversation/book signing
- Oct 2015 **OECD WORLD FORUM** (Mexico) panelist
- Sep 2015 **EQUITABLE GROWTH ROUNDTABLE** (NYC) presentation/panelist
- Mar 2015 NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS EVENT, presentation/discussion
- Jan 2015 **HLEG Plenary Mtg** OECD (Paris)
- Dec 2014 **POLICY NETWORK CONF**, presentation, London
- Dec 2014 **DISABILITY RIGHTS CONF** presentation, London
- Nov 2014 MEDICARE AND MEDICAID AT 50, panelist, Yale Law School
- Oct 2014 COMMISSION ON INFRASTRUCTURE/JOBS, contributor, DC
- Oct 2014 NEW YORKER MAGAZINE FESTIVAL, panelist
- Apr 2014 NEW HAVEN MEDICAL ASSOC MEETING, guest speaker
- Apr 2014 CT MIRROR, "Small State, Big Debate: Inequality," U. of Hartford
- Feb 2014 **PRINCETON**, "Medicare and Medicaid at 50," panelist
- Feb 2014 **RUDD CENTER**, "Corporate America and Food Policy," Yale
- Feb 2014 **BRENNAN CENTER**, "Democratic Dysfunction," panelist, New York
- Feb 2014 CANADIAN INST FOR ADVANCED RESEARCH, panelist, Toronto
- Nov 2013 **NORTHWESTERN**, "Institutional & Policy Transformation," panelist

- Nov 2013 **CLINTON INST.**, "Progressivism in America," panelist, Dublin, Ireland
- Nov 2013 YALE LAW/ISPS, "The Progressives' Century," panelist
- Jun 2013 POLICY NETWORK/INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT, "Predistribution," UK
- May 2013 YALE ISPS, "Purchasing Power," moderator
- Apr 2013 YALE ISPS, "Future of Medicare," panelist
- Mar 2013 **TEMPLE UNIVERSITY**, public lecture, Philadelphia
- Feb 2013 TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY, public lecture, Ft. Worth, TX
- Dec 2012 **TEETERING ON THE FISCAL CLIFF**, panelist, Yale Law School
- Dec 2012 YALE GRADUATE SCHOOL, "In the Company of Scholars" public lecture
- Nov 2012 YALE LIVE, "Next Four Years for America," panelist
- Oct 2012 **RECASTING PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS,** panelist, University of Virginia
- Sep 2012 UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, public lecture, Toronto, Canada
- Sep 2012 CORNELL PROGRAM ON ETHICS, PUBLIC LIFE, public lecture, Ithaca, NY
- Jul 2012 **POLICY NETWORK,** presented on "Winner-Take-All Politics," Oxford, UK
- May 2012 THE ANATOMY OF CAMPAIGN FINANCE, panelist, New School, New York
- Feb 2012 RISK, INEQUALITY, AND THE WELFARE STATE, invited talk, Seoul, Korea
- Nov 2011 **THE VOLATILITY ECONOMY**, panelist, public discussion on middle class, Yale
- Nov 2011 OECD CONFERENCE ON ECONOMIC SECURITY, presented paper, Paris
- Nov 2011 HAMILTON COLLEGE, LEVITT CENTER INEQUALITY SERIES, speaker
- Oct 2011 UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN HILLSDALE LECTURE, Madison, WI
- Oct 2011 CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INEQUITIES, keynote, Milan
- Jun 2011 NASI 25<sup>TH</sup> ANNUAL MEETING, keynote, Washington, DC
- May 2011 PROGRESSIVE GOVERNANCE CONFERENCE, keynote, Oslo
- Apr 2011 **BRENNAN JUSTICE CENTER**, panelist on inequality, New York
- Mar 2011 **ELDER LAW CONFERENCE**, presented paper, University of Illinois
- Mar 2011 **COLORADO COLLEGE**, lecture on inequality, Boulder, CO
- Mar 2011 **PROJECT PERICLES D4D NATIONAL CONFERENCE**, panelist, New York
- Mar 2011 **ELON UNIVERSITY**, public lecture on health reform, North Carolina
- Feb 2011 UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, public lecture on inequality, Minneapolis
- Jan 2011 **FAMILIES USA**, Health Action Committee, closing speech, Washington, DC
- Dec 2010 LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF CONNECTICUT, keynote, Hartford, CT

- Nov 2010 CONNECTICUT ASSOCIATION OF HUMAN SERVICES, keynote, Hartford
- Sep 2010 HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL, event on Winner-Take-All Politics, Cambridge
- Sep 2010 TOBIN PROJECT, roundtable event with members of Congress, Washington, DC
- May 2010 HOLLAND LECTURE, "THE MIDDLE CLASS AT RISK," Omaha, NE
- May 2010 TOBIN PROJECT, panelist retreat, Cambridge, MA
- Apr 2010 NEW AMERICA FOUNDATION FORUM ON INEQUALITY, Washington, DC
- Mar 2010 MAX PLANCK INSTITUTE, "Inequality in the US" Workshop, Germany
- Jan 2010 NASI ANNUAL CONFERENCE, Keynote, Washington, DC
- Oct 2009 GEORGETOWN LAW SCHOOL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE, lecture, DC
- Oct 2009 COLLEGE OF HOLY CROSS, public lecture, Worchester, MA
- Sep 2009 **NEJM ROUNDTABLE HEALTH CARE REFORM,** Harvard, panelist, Boston
- Dec 2007 NATIONAL CONGRESS ON UN-UNDERINSURED, Keynote Speaker, DC
- Oct 2007 **DEMOCRATIC BUDGET GROUP**, talk on economic insecurity, Washington, DC
- Oct 2007 NEW JERSEY CITIZEN ACTION GROUP, Keynote, Trenton, NJ
- Oct 2007 CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS, Presentation, Washington DC
- Aug 2007 AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, Plenary Speaker, New York
- Apr 2006 NYU DEPT OF SOCIOLOGY, lecture on "Privatizing Risk," New York
- Mar 2006 CENTER ON POVERTY, WORK and OPPORTUNITY, talk, Chapel Hill, NC
- Feb 2006 MILLER CENTER FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS, public lecture, Charlottesville, VA
- Dec 2005 **DEMOS**, joint talk with Paul Pierson on *Off Center*, New York
- Oct 2005 CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS, talk on Off Center, Washington, DC
- Nov 2005 HARVARD DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT, talk on "Privatizing Risk"

### MEDIA EVENTS/APPEARANCES (SELECTED SINCE 2004)

- Jun 2014 WSHU, "State of Disparity Report," discussion with radio host
- Apr 2014 **AP Press**, "Middle Class Slippage," commentator
- Mar 2014 NPR's Where We Live, "New Retirement Savings Program," commentator
- Jan 2013 Minnesota Public Radio, "America's Shrinking Middle Class," discussion
- Nov 2013 PBS Newshour, "What Role Should Gov't Play in Health Care," interview
- Nov 2013 Moyers & Co (PBS), "Obamacare's Rocky Rollout," interview

- Oct 2013 PBS Newshour, "States Talking Medicaid Opt-Out Option," interview
- Oct 2013 Chris Haye's 'All In,' "Debunking a Republican Stunt," interview
- Aug 2013 NBC Dateline, "America Now: On the Edge," expert commentator
- Jun 2013 BBC-4 News, with Andy Fleming on the origins of "Predistribution"
- Jan 2013 **CBC**, with Keith Boag, interview, "Who Killed the American Dream?"
- Dec 2012 **PBS Independent Lens,** "Park Avenue: Money, Power & the American Dream"
- Oct 2012 BBC Radio, "The World at One with Martha Kearney," interview
- Sep 2012 MSNBC, "Up with Chris Hayes," interview
- Jun 2012 Radio Open Source, interview
- Jan 2012 KCRW Radio, "To the Point," interview
- Jan 2012 CT Public Radio, "Where We Live," discussion on inequality and growth
- Jan 2012 **PBS, "Moyers & Company"** interview
- Dec 2011 Foreign Affairs, "Focus On," video interview
- Dec 2011 PRI Public Radio, "To the Best of Our Knowledge," interview
- Dec 2011 NPR, "On Point," interview.
- Dec 2011 Minnesota Public Radio, interview on Midmorning Show
- Dec 2011 Wisconsin Public Radio, "To the Best of Our Knowledge," interview
- Oct 2011 **Reuters**, interview about Occupy Wall Street
- Aug 2011 NBC Dateline, "The Town that Jobs Forgot," expert commentator
- Dec 2010 WAMU (DC), "The Kojo Nnamdi Show," interview on health care reform
- Dec 2010 **Democracy Now**, interview on inequality
- Nov 2010 CBS, "CBS Sunday Morning," interview on inequality
- Nov 2010 KPFK (LA), "Background Briefing with Ian Masters"
- Nov 2010 WNYC, "The Takeaway," interview on economic insecurity
- Nov 2010 Public Radio International, "Marketplace," interview
- Oct 2010 Bloomberg Media, "Charlie Rose Show," interview
- Oct 2010 NPR, "Here and Now," interview on inequality and politics
- Oct 2010 CT Public Radio, "Where We Live," interview on inequality and politics
- Feb 2010 CNN with Carol Costello, interview on inequality and politics.
- Dec 2009 **PBS Newshour**, discussant on public option
- Nov 2009 **CNN Money**, with Poppy Harlow, interview on public option

- Oct 2009 Backstory Radio, "American History Guys," on health care history
- Oct 2009 CT Public Radio, "Where We Live," on public option and health reform
- Oct 2009 **CSPAN**, "Washington Journal," on public option and health reform
- Oct 2009 KQED (San Francisco), "Forum with Michael Krasny," on health care bill
- Oct 2009 **BLOOMBERG News (TV)**, on health care proposals
- Sep 2009 CSPAN, "Washington Journal," interview on health care proposals
- Sep 2009 **PBS NewsHour**, on health care proposals
- Aug 2009 CT Public Radio, "Where We Live," on health care debate
- Aug 2009 **Reuters TV**, on health care debate
- Aug 2009 WNYC Radio (NY), "The Brian Lehrer Show," on health care debate
- Jul 2009 American Public Media, "Marketplace," on health care options
- Jul 2009 Bloomberg TV, with Eric Wagner, on health care
- Jul 2009 Sirius Radio, "The Bob Edwards Show," interview on health care proposals
- Jan 2007 NPR, "On Point," on economic insecurity
- Dec 2006 Air America Radio, "Sam Seder Show," on economic insecurity
- Oct 2006 Air American Radio, "Al Franken Show," on economic insecurity
- Sep 2006 CT Public Radio, "Where We Live," on economic insecurity
- Jul 2006 NPR, ON POINT, discussion on inequality
- Nov 2005 NPR, Fresh Air with Terry Gross, with Paul Pierson on Off Center
- Nov 2005 The Al Franken Show, on Off Center
- Aug 2005 The Al Franken Show, on economic insecurity
- Jun 2005 NPR, "On Point," on middle class
- Feb 2005 NPR, "The Diane Rehm Show," on privatization of Social Security
- Feb 2005 CNBC's Bullseye, discussion on Social Security reform
- Feb 2005 **PBS**, NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, on the philosophy of Social Security
- Feb 2005 NPR, "All Things Considered," on ownership society
- Feb 2005 Connecticut Public Radio, Business Report, on economic insecurity
- Jan 2005 NPR, "The Diane Rehm Show," on risk in the U.S. economy
- Oct 2004 KCRW (Santa Monica), "To the Point," on economic insecurity
- Jan 2004 **NPR, "On Point,"** on economic insecurity