

JACOB S. HACKER

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EDUCATION

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

Research Interests Politics of U.S. social policy; American political institutions, policy, and political development in comparative perspective; agenda-setting theory; politics and history.

Honors LOUIS BROWNLOW BOOK AWARD, National Academy of Public Administration.
EMERGING SCHOLAR AWARD, Political Organizations and Parties Section, American Political Science Association, for scholarship within five years of receiving a Ph.D.
JUNIOR FACULTY FELLOWSHIP, Yale University.
ROBERT WOOD JOHNSON FOUNDATION SCHOLARS IN HEALTH POLICY RESEARCH PROGRAM POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWSHIP, University of Michigan (declined).
JUNIOR FELLOWSHIP, HARVARD SOCIETY OF FELLOWS, Harvard University.
WILLIAM F. MILTON FUND RESEARCH GRANT, Harvard University.
ROBERT M. LEYLAN FELLOWSHIP IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, Yale University.
ROBERT HARTLEY FELLOWSHIP IN GOVERNMENTAL STUDIES, The Brookings Institution.
JACOB JAVITS FELLOWSHIP, U.S. Department of Education.
JOHN F. ENDERS DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP, Yale University.

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 G.P.A.

HARVARD COLLEGE. B.A. in Social Studies, *summa cum laude*, 1994.

Honors PHI BETA KAPPA “SENIOR 24,” for the first twenty-four seniors inducted.
JOHN HARVARD SCHOLAR (all semesters), for students with the highest grade averages.
THOMAS TEMPLE HOOPES PRIZE, for outstanding scholarly work and research.
JAMES GORDON BENNETT PRIZE, for the best essay on U.S. governmental policy.
ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE PRIZE, for the Social Studies thesis of highest distinction

Thesis “Setting the Health Reform Agenda: The Ascendance of Managed Competition.” Graded *summa cum laude* by each of two readers, Nov. 1993.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY. B.A. student, 1990-1991. Transferred to Harvard in 1991.

PUBLICATIONS

- Books* *Off Center: George W. Bush, Tax Cuts, and the Erosion of Democracy* (Yale University Press, Under Contract for Delivery in December 2004).
- 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.
- Journal Articles* "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State: The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Retrenchment in the United States," *American Political Science Review* (forthcoming).
- "Bringing the Welfare State Back In: The Promise (and Perils) of the New Social Welfare History," *Journal of Policy History*, forthcoming. To be published in an edited volume based on this special issue of the journal.
- "Learning From Defeat? Political Analysis and the Failure of Health Care Reform in the United States," *British Journal of Political Science* 31:1 (2001): 61-94.
- "A Tale of Two Editions: Marmor's *The Politics of Medicare* and the Study of Health Politics after Thirty Years," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 26:1 (Feb. 2001): 123-41.
- "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* 12:1 (Spring 1998): 57-130.
- "National Health Care Reform: An Idea Whose Time Came and Went," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 21:4 (Winter 1996): 47-96.
- Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson, "Business Power and Social Policy: Employers and the Formation of the American Welfare State," *Politics & Society* 30:2 (June 2002): 277-326.
- Jacob S. Hacker and Theodore R. Marmor, "How Not to Think About Managed Care," *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform* 32:4 (Summer 1999): 661-82.
- Jacob S. Hacker and Theodore R. Marmor, "The Misleading Language of Managed Care," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 24:5 (Oct. 1999): 1033-49.
- Jacob S. Hacker and Theda Skocpol, "The New Politics of U.S. Health Policy," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 22:2 (Summer 1997): 315-38.
- Daniel Beland and Jacob S. Hacker, "Ideas, Private Institutions, and American Welfare State 'Exceptionalism,'" *International Journal of Social Welfare* (forthcoming).
- Chapters* "The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Reform: Uncovering and Explaining Retrenchment in America's Public-Private Welfare Regime." In Wolfgang Streek and Kathleen Thelen, eds., *Change and Continuity in Institutional Analysis* (forthcoming).
- "Change without Reform, Reform without Change: The Politics of U.S. Health Policy Reform in Cross-National Perspective." In Martin Levin and Martin Shapiro, eds., *Comparative Politics and Policymaking at the New Century* (forthcoming).
- "Medicare Plus: Extending Health Coverage by Expanding Medicare." In *Covering America* (Washington, D.C.: Economic and Social Research Institute, 2001).

In Progress *The Risk Factor: The New Economic Insecurity—And What Can Be Done About It.* A trade book on the politics of economic insecurity.

Poverty Politics and Policy Feedback, an edited volume with Joe Soss and Suzanne Mettler on the influence of U.S. social welfare policy on the political mobilization of the poor and other less advantaged groups.

Inequality and American Democracy: Participation, Power, and Policy An accessible undergraduate text based on a lecture course taught at Yale.

Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson, “Abandoning the Middle: The Revealing Case of the Bush Tax Cut of 2001.” Under Review at *Perspectives on Politics*.

“Dismantling the Health Care State? The Politics of Retrenchment in Mature Medical Systems,” June 2003.

Reviews *Dead on Arrival: The Politics of Health Care in Twentieth-Century America*, by Colin Gordon, *Political Science Quarterly* (forthcoming).

Markets and Medicine: The Politics of Health Care Reform in Britain, Germany, and the United States, by Susan Giaimo Governance (forthcoming).

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.

Popular “Call It the Family Risk Factor,” *New York Times*, 11 January 2004.

Articles “How Not to Fix Medicare,” *New York Times*, 2 July 2003.

“Medicare Plus” *Working Today News*, Winter 2003.

“The Perfect Prescription,” *Boston Globe*, Ideas Section, 20 July 2003.

“Medicare Plus: Achieving Universal Health Coverage by Expanding Medicare,” *Health Plan*, July/August 2003.

“Doctor Strangelove: How Republicans Learned to Love Medicare—and Why Seniors Should Be Worried,” *New Republic*, 23 June 2003.

“Health Care Reform: A Century of Defeat,” *Harvard Health Policy Review*, Fall 2000.

“A ‘Tax-and-Credit’ Budget Shortchanges the Public,” *Los Angeles Times*, 13 Feb. 2000. Also appeared in the *Boston Globe*.

“Bradley Does Healthcare,” *Nation*, 25 Oct. 1999.

“In a Prosperous Time, Addressing the Uninsured,” *Los Angeles Times*, 17 Oct. 1999.

“Faith Healers: Can Churches Take Over Social Policy?” *New Republic*, 28 June 1999.

“Medicare: Such a Modest Proposal,” *The Washington Post*, 10 Feb. 1998.

E.J. Dionne Jr. and Jacob S. Hacker, “Health Care Reform is Dead—Long Live Health Care Reform,” *Annals of Emergency Medicine* 30:6 (Dec. 1997).

“The Health-Care Waltz: It’s a Step at a Time (But Who Leads?),” *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis), 13 Feb. 1997.

With Theodore R. Marmor

“Poison Pill: Why the New Reform Bill Will Make Medicare’s Problems Bigger—And Even Harder to Fix,” *Boston Globe*, 7 December 2003.

“Medicare Reform,” *Public Policy & Aging Report*, Fall 2003.

“An Unhealthy Step Backward,” *Los Angeles Times*, 19 October 2003.

“Perspectives on Medicare: The Doomsayers are Wrong,” *Los Angeles Times*, 24 July 1997.

“Perspectives on Medicare: The Ends Don’t Justify the Means Test,” *Los Angeles Times*, 14 July 1997.

EXPERIENCE

- 2002- **YALE UNIVERSITY**, Department of Political Science, New Haven, CT.
Peter Strauss Family Assistant Professor.
Junior Faculty Fellowship for leave, 2004-2005, eight recipients in the social sciences.
Paul Moore Memorial Fund Award, to promote classroom innovation, 2003.
ITS Innovation Fund Award, to promote the use of technology in the classroom, 2003.
- 2002- **AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION**, Washington, DC.
Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy. As the only untenured member of the 14-member task force, chair one of three groups developing a final report.
- 2002-2005 **JFK SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY**, Cambridge, MA.
Scholar, Harvard University Young Faculty Leaders Forum.
- 1999- **NEW AMERICA FOUNDATION**, Washington, DC.
Nonresidential Fellow (2000-2001, 2002-present); *Fellow* (1999-2000)
- 1999- **ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE**, Washington, DC.
Advisory Panel Member, “Workable Strategies to Expand Health Coverage.”
- 1999-2002 **SOCIETY OF FELLOWS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY**, Cambridge, MA.
Junior Fellow.
- 1999-2001 **THE CENTURY FOUNDATION**, New York, NY.
Member, Task Force on Medicare Reform. Authored portions of the group’s report.
- 1997-1999 **THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION**, Governmental Studies Division, Washington, DC.
Guest Scholar (1998-1999); *Robert Hartley Fellow* (1997-1998).
- 1996-1997 **YALE UNIVERSITY**, Department of Political Science, New Haven, CT.
Teaching Fellow, “The U.S. Congress” (led two sections); *Hogan Foundation Teaching Fellow*, “Introduction to U.S. Politics” (led a “writing-intensive” section).

- 1995-1996 **PROFESSOR THEDA SKOCPOL**, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
Research Associate. Analyzed past health care reform efforts in the United States.
- Spring 1994 **HARVARD SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH**, Boston, MA.
Health Policy Fellow, Program on the Future of Health Care.
Teaching Fellow. Developed and graded exams for a graduate health policy course.
- Summer 1993 **SENATE LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES COMMITTEE**, Washington, DC.
Health Policy Intern. Examined President Clinton's health care reform plan.
- Summer 1992 **OFFICE OF REPRESENTATIVE RON WYDEN**, Washington, DC.
Aide to the Chief Health Policy Adviser. Worked on and analyzed health legislation.

PRESENTATIONS/WORKSHOPS

- Jan. 2004 **WBUR'S ON POINT**, Boston, MA.
Discussed "The New Economic Insecurity" on this nationally syndicated talk show.
- Jan. 2004 **POMONA COLLEGE**, Claremont, CA.
Gave two public lectures: on U.S. health policy and on the Medicare drug benefit.
- Dec. 2003 **UNIVERSITY OF BREMEN**, Bremen, Germany.
Presented "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State" as an invited scholar.
- Nov. 2003 **SOCIAL SCIENCE HISTORY ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING**, Baltimore, MD.
Presented "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare States" and participated in a roundtable on Michael Katz's *The Price of Citizenship*.
- Nov. 2003 **CONNECTICUT AGENCY ON AGING**, Hamden, CT.
Delivered keynote address at a meeting on "health care as a basic human right."
- Sept. 2003 **AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING**, Philadelphia, PA.
Presented "Abandoning the Middle," served as a panel discussant, and participated in a roundtable on the work of the Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy.
- July 2003 **THE NEW AMERICA FOUNDATION**, Washington, DC.
Delivered a talk on "U.S. Social Policy at a Crossroads."
- July 2003 **THE MEDICARE BROADCAST**, ABC Radio Network Studios, New York, NY.
WMNF RADIO, Tampa, FL.
Discussed political and policy considerations in the fight over a Medicare drug benefit.
- June 2003 **INTER-UNIVERSITY CONSORTIUM FOR POLITICAL & SOCIAL RESEARCH**, Ann Arbor, MI.
Participated in substantive workshop on "Using the Panel Study of Income Dynamics."
- May 2003 **DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY**, Columbus, OH.
Delivered invited talk on "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State."
- May 2003 **DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY**, Waltham, MA.
Delivered invited talk on "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State."
- May 2003 **MILLER CENTER OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA**, Charlottesville, VA.
Commented on Paul Pierson's *Politics in Time* at the Miller Center's annual conference.
- April 2003 **DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, YALE UNIVERSITY**, New Haven, CT.
Panel discussant at a conference on "Crafting and Operating Institutions."

- March 2003 **YOUNG FACULTY LEADERS FORUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY**, Cambridge, MA.
Delivered talk, “Is Education Different? Inequality, America’s Public-Private Social Welfare System, and the Comparative Politics of U.S. Education Policy.”
- March 2003 **DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY**, New York, NY.
Delivered invited talk on *The Divided Welfare State* at workshop on institutions.
- March 2003 **BIOETHICS SEMINAR, YALE UNIVERSITY**, Cambridge, MA.
Delivered invited talk on *The Divided Welfare State*.
- Jan. 2003 **HEALTH POLICY SCHOLARS PROGRAM, YALE UNIVERSITY**, Cambridge, MA.
Presented “Reform without Change, Change without Reform.”
- Nov. 2002 **JFK SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY**, Cambridge, MA.
Invited speech on *The Divided Welfare State* at Inequality and Social Policy seminar.
- Nov. 2002 **DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS, BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY**, Waltham, MA.
Presented “Reform without Change, Change without Reform.”
- Oct. 2002 **YALE UNIVERSITY BOOKSTORE**, New Haven, CT.
Presented and read from *The Divided Welfare State* at an author’s event.
- Sept. 2002 **AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING**, Boston, MA.
Presented “Privatizing Risk without Privatizing Benefits: U.S. Welfare State Reform in Comparative Perspective” (nominated for best paper in policy studies at the 2002 meeting) and participated in a roundtable on Medicare reform.
- May 2002 **HAUSER CENTER FOR NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY**, Cambridge, MA. Gave a talk on “The Divided Welfare State.”
- Oct. 2001 **MILLER CENTER OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS**, Charlottesville, VA.
Delivered a speech on “The Divided Welfare State” at a public forum.
- Oct. 2001 **DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA**, Charlottesville, VA.
Discussed “The Divided Welfare State” at a workshop on twentieth-century U.S. history.
- Sept. 2001 **AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING**, San Francisco, CA.
Presented “Policy Feedback in the Private Sector: Workplace Benefits and the American Welfare State” and participated in a roundtable on Medicare reform.
- July 2001 **KPFK 90.7**, Los Angeles, CA.
Discussed Bush’s Medicare reform proposal.
- March 2001 **SCHOOL OF LAW, BOSTON UNIVERSITY**, Boston, MA.
Delivered a talk on “The Divided Welfare State.”
- Feb. 2001 **DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, BOSTON COLLEGE**, Chestnut Hill, MA.
Delivered a talk on “The Political Struggle over Public and Private Social Benefits.”
- Sept. 2000 **AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING**, Washington, DC.
Presented “Business Power and Social Policy” (with Paul Pierson) and participated in a roundtable on Theodore Marmor’s *The Politics of Medicare*.
- June 2000 **THE NEW AMERICA FOUNDATION**, Washington, DC.
Delivered a talk, televised by C-SPAN, on “The Future of American Social Insurance.”
- May 2000 **DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS, BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY**, Waltham, MA.
Delivered a talk on “The Politics of U.S. Health Policy in Comparative Perspective.”

- Dec. 1999 **THE CONNECTION, WBUR PUBLIC RADIO**, Boston, MA.
Discussed “The Future of HMOs” as guest on this nationally broadcast program.
- Sept. 1999 **AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING**, Washington, DC.
Presented “Between Welfare Capitalism and the Welfare State: The Politics of Public and Private Pensions” and participated in a roundtable on the politics of managed care.
- July 1999 **RADIO NATION**, Los Angeles, CA.
Discussed Clinton’s Medicare reform proposal on this nationally broadcast talk show.
- May 1999 **HEALTH POLICY SCHOLARS PROGRAM, YALE UNIVERSITY**, New Haven, CT.
Discussed the failure of the Clinton health plan at a program seminar.
- April 1999 **SCHOOL OF POLICY STUDIES, QUEENS UNIVERSITY**, Kingston, Ontario.
Participated in a workshop to provide health policy advice to the Ontario government.
- Dec. 1998 **CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY**, Cambridge, MA.
Presented a talk on health policy at a conference U.S. and Canadian social policies.
- Sept. 1998 **AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING**, Boston, MA.
Organized and chaired a panel and presented a paper, “Sharing the Burden?”
- Nov. 1997 **NATIONAL ACADEMY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION MEETING**, Washington, DC.
Delivered a speech accepting the Louis Brownlow Book Award.
- Sept. 1997 **AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING**, Washington, DC.
Presented “Learning from Defeat? Reflections on the Failure of the Clinton Health Care Reform Effort” and “The Historical Logic of National Health Insurance.”
- April & July 1997 **USA RADIO NETWORK**, Dallas, TX.
Nationally broadcast interview and debate with Regina Herzlinger of Harvard.
- April 1997 **1440 KEYES RADIO STATION**, Corpus Christi, TX.
Interview regarding the aftermath of the failure of the Clinton health plan.
- May 1996 **JOURNAL OF HEALTH POLITICS, POLICY AND LAW CONFERENCE**, Durham, NC.
Delivered a speech discussing “The New Politics of U.S. Health Policy.”

SELECTED MEDIA CITATIONS

- National Public Radio, “Commentary: U.S. Taxpayers Want It Both Ways,” 29 January 2004.
- Robert Moffit, “Medicare-Less,” *New York Post*, 25 June 2003.
- “Medicare Reform: More, Please,” *Roanoke Times & World News*, 23 June 2003, A10.
- Jeff Madrick, “In America, to the Richest Go the Biggest Tax Benefits” *New York Times*, 7 June 2001, C2.
- Gerald Zelizer, “Candidates’ Faith in Charities Goes Too Far,” *USA Today*, 25 Oct. 2000, p. 27A.
- Dan Balz, “Gore, Bradley Search for Distinctions,” *Washington Post*, 27 October 1999, p. A14.
- E. J. Dionne Jr., “44 Million Uninsured and Counting,” *Washington Post*, 13 August 1999, p. A25.
- Will Van Sant, “What’s Hot at APSA,” *Washington Monthly*, September 1998, p. 18.
- Garry Wills, “The Clinton Principle,” *New York Times Magazine*, 19 January 1997, p. 34.