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## ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Clinton Rossiter Professor of American Institutions, Department of Government, Cornell University, July 2007 to the present

Distinguished Professor, Full Professor, Syracuse University, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Department of Political Science, 2006-2007 (previous positions at Syracuse University: Alumni Associate Professor, 2002- 2006; Associate Professor, 2000-2002; Assistant Professor, 1994-2000; also Senior Research Associate, Alan K. Campbell Public Affairs Institute)

## EDUCATION

Ph.D. Cornell University, Ithaca, NY; Government, May 1994  
M.A. University of Illinois, Urbana, IL; Political Science, October 1989  
B.A. Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA; May 1984, *Summa Cum Laude*

## MAJOR PUBLICATIONS

### *Books*

*Oxford Handbook of American Political Development*, co-edited with Richard M. Valelly and Robert C. Lieberman. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.)

*Degrees of Inequality: How the Politics of Higher Education Sabotaged the American Dream* (New York: Basic Books, 2014).

*The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

*Remaking America: Democracy and Public Policy in an Age of Inequality*, co-edited volume, with Jacob Hacker and Joe Soss. New York: Russell Sage Foundation Press, 2007.

*Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

Winner, *Gladys M. Kammerer Award*, for “best political science publication in the field of U.S. national policy,” American Political Science Association, 2006.

Winner, *J. David Greenstone Prize*, Politics and History Section, American Political Science Association, 2006.

*Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy* (Cornell University Press, 1998).

Winner, *Martha Derthick Best Book Award*, for “lasting contribution to the study of federalism and intergovernmental relations,” Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Section, American Political Science Association, 2013.

Winner, *Gladys M. Kammerer Award*, for “best political science publication in the field of U.S. national policy,” American Political Science Association, 1999.

#### *Articles in Refereed Journals*

“The Polyscape and the Challenges of Contemporary Politics to Policy Maintenance,” *Perspectives on Politics*, June 2016, Vol. 14, #2, pp. 369-390.

“Liking Health Reform But Turned Off by Toxic Politics,” with Lawrence R. Jacobs. *Health Affairs*. Online in April 2016, in print in May 2016, Vol. 36, #2, pp. 915-922..

“From Pioneer Egalitarianism to the Reign of the Superrich: How the U.S. Political System Has Promoted Equality and Inequality Over Time,” *Tax Law Review*, New York University School of Law, Vol. 68, (2015) #3.

“Twenty Years On: Paul Pierson’s *Dismantling the Welfare State*,” Symposium, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, April 2015, forthcoming, 48:2.

“Why Public Opinion Changes: The Implications for Health and Health Policy,” with Lawrence R. Jacobs, *Journal of Health Policy, Politics and Law* Vol. 36, No. 6 (December 2011): 917-34.

“Reconstituting the Submerged State: The Challenges of Social Policy Reform in the Obama Era.” *Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 8, No. 3 (2010): 803-824.

A revised version published in *Obama at the Crossroads*, ed. by Lawrence R. Jacobs and Desmond King, Oxford University Press, 2012.

“On Race and Policy History: A Dialogue About the G.I. Bill,” with Ira Katznelson. *Perspectives on Politics*. Vol. 6, #3 (2008): 519-37.

“Government Program Usage and Political Voice.” With Jeff Stonecash. *Social Science Quarterly*. Vol. 89, Issue #2 (2008): 273-93.

“American Political Development from Citizens’ Perspective: Tracking Federal Government’s Presence in Individual Lives over Time,” with Andrew Milstein, *Studies in American Political Development*, Vol. 21, No.1 (2007): 110-30.

“The Creation of the G.I. Bill of Rights of 1944: Melding Social and Participatory Citizenship Ideals.” *Journal of Policy History* 17 (2005): 345-74.

“‘The Only Good Thing Was the G.I. Bill:’ Program Effects on African American Veterans’ Political Participation,” *Studies in American Political Development*, 19 (Spring 2005): 31-52.

“Civic Generation: Policy Feedback Effects of the G.I. Bill on Political Involvement Over the Life Course,” co-authored with Eric Welch. *British Journal of Political Science* Vol. 34, Issue 3, (July 2004): 497-518.

“The Consequences of Public Policy for Democratic Citizenship: Bridging Policy Studies and Mass Politics,” co-authored with Joe Soss. *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 2, #1 (March 2004): 55-73. [Honorable Mention for Heinz Eulau Award, APSA, 2005]

“Bringing the State Back In to Civic Engagement: Policy Feedback Effects of the G.I. Bill for World War II Veterans,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 96, No. 2 (June 2002): 351-65.

“States’ Rights, Women’s Obligations: Contemporary Welfare Reform in Historical Perspective,” *Women & Politics* Vol. 21, #1 (2000): 1-34.

“The Stratification of Social Citizenship: Gender and Federalism in the Formation of Old Age Insurance and Aid to Dependent Children,” *Journal of Policy History* Vol. 11 (1999): 31-58.

“Dividing Social Citizenship by Gender: The Implementation of Unemployment Insurance and Aid to Dependent Children, 1935-1950,” *Studies in American Political Development* 12 (Fall 1998): 303-342.

“More a Distinction of Words than Things: The Evolution of Separated Powers in the American States,” co-authored with Rogan Kersh, Grant D. Reeher, and Jeffrey M. Stonecash, *Rogers Williams University Law Review* 4 (Fall 1998): 5-49.

“Federalism, Gender and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.” *Polity* 26 (Summer 1994): 635-654.

#### *Chapters in Edited Volumes*

“Introduction,” with Richard Valelly, for *Oxford Handbook of American Political Development*, edited by Richard Valelly, Suzanne Mettler, and Robert Lieberman (Oxford University Press). 2016, pp. 1-23.

“Citizenship,” with Alexis Walker, for *Oxford Handbook on the American Welfare State*, edited by Daniel Beland, Christopher Howard, and Kimberley Morgan (Oxford University Press, 2015), 623-640.

“Policy Feedback,” with Mallory SoRelle, invited chapter for *Theories of the Policy Process*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Edited by Paul Sabatier (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2014) 151-82.

“Obama and the Challenge of Submerged Policies,” commentary on lectures by Theda Skocpol, in *Obama’s New Deal, Tea Party Reaction, and America’s Political Future* (Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 123-144.

“Forward,” *Politics of Veterans’ Policies* edited by Stephen R. Ortiz (University Press of Florida, 2012).

“Eliminating the Market Middle-Man: Redirecting and Expanding Support for College Students,” *Reaching for a New Deal: Ambitious Governance, Economic Meltdown, and Polarized Politics in Obama’s First Two Years*, edited by Theda Skocpol and Lawrence R. Jacobs. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2011), pp. 105-38.

“Promoting Inequality: The Politics of Higher Education Policy in an Era of Conservative Governance,” *The Unsustainable American State*, edited by Lawrence Jacobs and Desmond King. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 197-222.

“The New Politics of Inequality and Poverty: How Policies are Transforming American Citizenship,” with Jacob Hacker and Joe Soss, in *Remaking America: Democracy and Public Policy in an Age of Inequality*, edited by Jacob Hacker, Suzanne Mettler and Joe Soss. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation Press, 2007), pp. 3-23.

“The Development of Democratic Citizenship: Toward a New Research Agenda,” *Democratization in America: American Political Development as a Process of Democratization*, edited by Desmond King, Robert Lieberman, and Gretchen Ritter ( Johns Hopkins University Press), 2009, pp. 233-246.

“The Transformed Welfare State and the Redistribution of Political Voice,” For *The Transformation of American Politics: Activist Government and the Rise of Conservatism*, volume edited by Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol (Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 191-222.

“Inequality and Public Policy,” with Jacob Hacker and Dianne Pinderhughes, for *Inequality and American Democracy: What We Know and What We Need to Learn*, volume edited by Lawrence R. Jacobs and Theda Skocpol. (New York: Russell Sage, 2005), pp. 156-213.

“Policy Feedback Effects for Collective Action: Lessons from Veterans’ Programs,” *Routing the Opposition: Social Movements, Public Policy, and Democracy in America*, ed. Helen Ingram, Valerie Jenness, and David Meyer. (University of Minnesota Press, 2005), pp. 211-235.

“Social Citizens of Separate Sovereignities: Governance in the New Deal Welfare State,” chapter in *The New Deal and the Triumph of Liberalism*, edited by Sidney M. Milkis and Jerome M. Mileur (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pp. 231-71.

#### *Special Issues of Journal*

Co-editor with Lawrence R. Jacobs, Special Issue on “Public Opinion, Health Policy, and American Politics,” *Journal of Health Policy, Politics, and Law*, forthcoming November 2011.

#### *Co-Authored Committee Report*

“American Democracy in an Age of Rising Inequality,” with numerous co-authors, APSA Task Force Report, *Perspectives on Politics*, (December 2004), Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 651-666.

#### **WORK IN PROGRESS**

*The Government-Citizen Disconnect*. Book manuscript in preparation.

“Policy Drift and Gridlock,” With Claire Leavitt, Social Science Research Council, Anxieties of Democracy Project, Political Institutions Working Group.

“The Impact of Visible vs. Submerged Policies on Civic Engagement: The Case of the EITC,” with Delphia Shanks-Booth, work in progress.

“The Impact of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act on Americans’ Support for Health Care Reform and Policy Sustainability,” with Larry Jacobs. Panel study, begun in 2010, with follow-up waves in 2012, 2014, and 2016.

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS

*Articles/Essays for a Broad Audience, Festschriften, etc.*

“Equalizers No More,” selections from *Degrees of Inequality*, in *Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 3, 2014.

“More Bad News for Millennials: College is Actually Making Inequality Worse,” selection from *Degrees of Inequality*, Salon, March 15, 2014.

“Obama’s Forgotten Triumphs,” selection from *Submerged State*, on Salon, October 15, 2011.

“20,000 Leagues Under the State,” *Washington Monthly* (July-August 2011): 29-34.

“Bridging Historical Institutionalism and the Study of Political Behavior: A Promising Intellectual Agenda,” *Clio: Newsletter of Politics and History, An Organized Section of The American Political Science Association*, “From the President,” Vol. 21, No. 1, Fall/Winter 2010-2011. Also, “Bridging Historical Institutionalism and the Study of Political Behavior: Part II,” Vol. 21, No. 2, Spring/Summer 2010-2011.

“Considering How Policies Influence Politics: And Others of the Myriad Legacies of Theodore J. Lowi.” 2010. *Political Science as Public Philosophy: Essays in Honor of Theodore J. Lowi*. W.W. Norton: 2010, 381-88..

“Back to School,” with Theda Skocpol, *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas* Issue 10 (Fall 2008). Also adapted and reprinted as “Reopening the Doors to College,” *Harvard Magazine* (March-April 2009): 24-27.

“Toward a G.I. Bill for the Twenty-First Century,” *Veterans of Foreign Wars Magazine*. April 2006: 20-22.

“Bringing Government Back In to Civic Engagement: Considering the Role of Public Policy,” in *Constructing Civic Virtue: A Symposium on the State of American Citizenship* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Campbell Public Affairs Institute, 2003), pp. 61-70; same essay reprinted in *Focus on Law Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Fall 2002), pp. 8-10; also in *International Journal of Public Administration* Vol. 30, Issue 6 & 7, May 2007, pp. 643-50.

“Social Policy and Federalism: A Comment.” In *Evolving Federalism: The Intergovernmental Balance of Power in America and Europe*. Campbell Public Affairs Institute, Maxwell School, Syracuse University, 2003, pp. 43-48.

*Encyclopedia Articles and Other Short Articles*

“G.I. Bill” and “Social Security Act of 1935” in *Poverty in the United States: An Encyclopedia of History, Politics, and Policy*, eds. Gwendolyn Mink and Alice O’Connor (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), pp. 339-43; 676-83.

“World War II,” in *Encyclopedia of Community: From the Village to the Virtual World*. Eds. Karen Christensen and David Levinson (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2003), Vol. 4, pp. 1483-1485.

“The Fair Labor Standards Act” in *The Reader's Companion to U.S. Women's History*. Eds. Wilma Mankiller, Gwendolyn Mink, Marysa Navarro, Barbara Smith, and Gloria Steinem (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1998), pp. 181-82.

### *Book Reviews*

Review of *Democracy for Realists*, by Christopher Achen and Larry Bartels, and *Democracy: A Case Study*, by David Moss, “Democracy on the Brink: Protecting the Republic in Trump’s America.” *Foreign Affairs*. May/June 2017, pp. 121-126.

Review of *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State* by Andrea Louise Campbell, *Journal of Health Policy, Politics, and Law*, Vol. 31, No. 4, (August 2006): 859-62.

Review of *Welfare's End* by Gwendolyn Mink, *Journal of American History* (June 1999): 337-38

“Constructing Motherhood, Home and Work: New Perspectives on Gender in American Policy Development,” Review Essay of *Home to Work* by Eileen Boris and *The Wages of Motherhood* by Gwendolyn Mink in *Journal of Policy History* Volume 9 (1997): 262-266.

Review of *Political Parties and the State: The American Historical Experience* by Martin Shefter in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* Vol. 27 (Autumn 1996): 338-340.

### *Op-Eds*

“Why Public Opinion on Obamacare Should Worry Us All,” with Larry Jacobs. *The Hill*. June 21, 2016.

“College: The Great Unleveler,” *New York Times*, March 1, 2014.

“We Are the 96 Percent,” with John Sides, *New York Times*, September 25, 2012.

“Our Hidden Government Benefits,” *New York Times*, September 19, 2011. Reprinted in *St. Petersburg Times, Post Standard*

“When Government Withers” *Christian Science Monitor*, December 20, 2005. Reprinted in *The Free-Lance Star* and posted on several political web sites.

“Why Skimp on the G.I. Bill?” *Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 2005. Reprinted in *Newsday, Post Standard, The Capital Times*, and various other newspapers, and on *Military.com*.

## HONORS, GRANTS, AND FELLOWSHIPS

### *External*

American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Elected, 2017  
Best Paper Award, 2016 Health Policy & Politics Section, “The Contingency of Policy Feedback Effects: How Policy Features Interact With Political Conditions and Motivation to Shape Public Opinion,” paper presented with Larry Jacobs at APSA 2015 Meeting.  
Member, National Academy of Social Insurance, beginning December 2013  
Martha Derthick Best Book Award for A Lasting Contribution to the Study of Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, American Political Science Association Organized Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, for *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy*, 2013.  
Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Investigator Award in Health Policy Research, for project, “The Impact of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act on Americans’ Support for Health Care Reform and Policy Sustainability,” 2012-2017.  
Spencer Foundation Grant, for project, “Diminished Opportunities: The Politics of Higher Education Policy,” 2007-2010.  
Russell Sage Foundation Grant, “Effects of Transformations in the U.S. Welfare State on the Distribution of Political Voice, 1973-2007,” 2007-2010.  
Time Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (TESS), Inclusion of Questions, “How Policy Information Influences Political Support for Tax Expenditures: Revealing the Effects of the ‘Hidden Welfare State’” experimental research project with Matthew Guardino.  
J. David Greenstone Prize, Politics & History Section, American Political Science Association, for *Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*, 2006  
Gladys M. Kammerer Award of the American Political Science Association for *Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*, 2006  
Honorable Mention, Heinz Eulau Award, 2005, for best article in *Perspectives on Politics* for “The Consequences of Public Policy for Democratic Citizenship” with Joe Soss.  
Russell Sage Foundation Grant, with Joe Soss and Jacob Hacker, 2005  
Gladys M. Kammerer Award of the American Political Science Association for *Dividing Citizens: Gender & Federalism in New Deal Public Policy*, 1999  
Spencer Foundation, Research Grant, 1999  
National Academy of Education/Spencer Postdoctoral Fellowship, 1997-1998  
Inter-American Foundation Masters Fellowship for Field Research, Summer 1988

### *Internal*

Houston I. Flournoy Fellowship, Cornell University, 2013  
Small Grant, Institute for the Social Sciences, Cornell University, 2012  
Citizenship Research Grant, Campbell Institute, Syracuse University, 2005  
Alumni Associate Professorship, Syracuse University, awarded 2002  
Daniel Patrick Moynihan Award for Excellence in Research, Teaching and Service by a Junior Faculty Member, 2000  
Pilot Projects in Aging Award, Center for Demography and Economics of Aging, Maxwell School, National Institute on Aging Grant, December 1997  
Center for Policy Research, Maxwell School, Summer Project Assistantship, 1998  
Appleby-Mosher Research Grants, Maxwell School, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005  
Mellon Dissertation Fellowship, 1992-1993, Cornell University  
Mellon Semester Fellowship, Fall 1991, Cornell University  
Phi Kappa Phi, University of Illinois, 1989  
Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship, 1988-1989, University of Illinois

Summa cum Laude, Boston College, 1984  
Cross and Crown Honor Society, Boston College, 1984

### **SELECTED INVITED TALKS (SINCE 2000)**

- “When and How Policy Creates a New Politics: Bridging Political Behavior and Policy Feedback Analysis.” Presented at workshops at University of Michigan, November 5, 2015; University of Pennsylvania, February 26, 2016; University of Kansas, March 3, 2016; Columbia University, March 22, 2016; Kennedy School, Harvard University, April 4, 2016.
- “The Polycscape and the Challenges of Contemporary Politics to Policy Maintenance.” Keynote at Conference on “Governance in Trouble? Political Challenges Facing the Nation State.” LaFollete School Symposium, University of Wisconsin-Madison, April 21, 2016.
- “From Pioneer Egalitarianism to the Reign of the Superrich: How the U.S. Political System Has Promoted Equality and Inequality Over Time,” Reply to Thomas Piketty, *Capital*; Paper prepared for delivery at the New York University/UCLA Tax Policy Colloquium, October 3, 2014.
- “Degrees of Inequality: How the Politics of Higher Education Sabotaged the American Dream.”  
Cornell University, Pi Sigma Alpha Lecture, March 13, 2014  
Batten School, University of Virginia, March 21, 2014  
New America Foundation, March 27, 2014  
University of Maryland, March 28, 2014  
Georgetown School of Public Policy, March 10, 2014  
Hamilton College, April 24, 2014  
Providence University, April 28, 2014  
Brown University, April 29, 2014  
Century Foundation/Cornell Alumni event, interview by Joy Reid, New York, NY, May 13, 2014  
Scholars Strategy Network, Annual Meeting, June 2, 2014  
State Higher Education Executive Officers Association, Annual Meeting, Keynote Address, Denver, CO, August 6, 2014  
Council for Opportunity in Education, Annual Meeting, Keynote Address, Washington, DC, September 9, 2014  
Salisbury University, September 25, 2014  
Deans of Adult and Continuing Education, Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities, Annual Meeting, Syracuse, NY, October 22, 2014  
Scholars Strategy Network, New Jersey Network, Drew University, October 24, 2014  
James Madison College, Michigan State University, October 30, 2014  
California State University Academic Senate, Annual Meeting, Keynote Address, Long Beach, CA, November 14, 2014  
Association for the Study of Higher Education, Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, November 22, 2014  
American Association of State Colleges and Universities, Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, December 4, 2014  
Penn State, McCourtney Institute of Democracy, January 22, 2015.  
University of Illinois, Cline Symposium, Keynote Address, March 5, 2015  
Scholars Strategy Network, Confluence Network, St. Louis, MO, March 16, 2015  
American Association of State Colleges and Universities, Washington, DC, March 25, 2015



University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA, Inequality Series talk, March 26, 2015  
College of New Jersey, Spring Keynote & Alan Dawley Lecture, April 23, 2015  
Syracuse University, November 12, 2015

“Graduating Inequality: How Dysfunctional Governance is Undermining Opportunity in American Higher Education,”

Cornell University Board of Trustees and Alumni Council, October 25, 2013.

Board of Trustees, Century Foundation, May 15, 2013.

MIT, April 29, 2013.

Northwestern University, February 22, 2013.

“Treating the American Guilt Complex Over Government Benefits,” Keynote Address, National Academy of Social Insurance, 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Research Conference, Washington, DC, February 1, 2013.

“The Impact of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act on Americans’ Support for Health Care Reform and Policy Sustainability,” Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Annual Meeting, Investigators, October 11, 2012, Princeton, NJ.

“Rent-Seeking Redux: The Politics of For-Profit Colleges.” Presented at the University of Minnesota, Humphrey School, April 2, 2012. Also presented at University of California, Berkeley, American Politics Workshop, April 25, 2012.

“The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy,” School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, November 18, 2011.

“Who Perceives Government’s Role in Their Lives?” GAGE Forum, Miller Center, University of Virginia, October 11, 2011; Department of American Studies, Cornell University, October 18, 2011; Ash Center, Kennedy School, Harvard University, January 25, 2012.

“Commentary on Theda Skocpol’s Obama’s New Deal, Tea Party Reaction, and America’s Political Future,” 2011 Alexis de Tocqueville Lecture, Harvard University, March 25, 2011.

“The Politics of Inequality in the United States,” Russell Sage Foundation, New York, N.Y., May 13, 2008.

“Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation.”

Minnesota Historical Society, Minnesota History Center, St. Paul, Minnesota, February 21, 2009; Maine Town Meeting, Margaret Chase Smith Library, Skowhegan, Maine, June 23, 2006; American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers, Annual Convention, April 19, 2006; National Association of State Approving Agencies, Annual Convention, Arlington, VA, February 27, 2006; Miller Center Forum, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA, February 24, 2006; National Association of Veterans’ Program Administrators, Annual Convention, October 14, 2005.

“Unfinished Work: American Democratization, Citizenship, and Processes of Political Change,” Political Science Seminar, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA, February 23, 2006.

“Civic Generation: The G.I. Bill in the Lives of World War II Veterans.” Pearl and Albert Mall Memorial Lecture, Lyceum Lifelong Learning Institute, Binghamton University, State University of New York, June 5, 2003.

“The Only Good Thing Was the G.I. Bill’: Racial Incorporation and the Educational Provisions of the G.I. Bill Among World War II Veterans.” Seminar on Politics of Public Policy, Institution for Social and Policy Studies, Yale University, May 1, 2003.

“Policy Feedback and Political Participation: Effects of the G.I. Bill for World War II Veterans Over the Life Course,” Seminar on American Political Development, University of Wisconsin, Madison, April 4, 2002.

“Bringing the State Back In to Civic Engagement: Policy Feedback Effects of the G.I. Bill for World War II Veterans,” Seminar for Series in American Political Development and American Political Institutions, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, September 27, 2001.

“The G.I. Bill and American Citizenship: Consequences for the World War II Generation,” Center for American Political Studies, Harvard University, April 14, 2000

“The State of Social Capital in Syracuse,” Community Convening, Central New York Community Foundation, Syracuse, NY, April 10, 2001; also gave same talk to Leadership Greater Syracuse Alumni, September 26, 2001.

#### **CONFERENCE PAPER PRESENTATIONS (SINCE 2000)**

“The Inequality of Policy Effects: Policy Feedbacks and Health Care Reform,” with Larry Jacobs. American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, Sept. 1-4, 2016.

“The Contingency of Policy Feedback Effects: How Policy Features Interact With Political Conditions and Motivation to Shape Public Opinion,” With Lawrence Jacobs, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 3-6, 2015.

“Changes in the Delivery of Social Welfare Policies and their Impact of Americans’ Experiences of and Attitudes about Government, 1975-2015,” with Delphia Shanks. Midwest Political Science Association, Annual Conference, April 17, 2015; also presented at Cornell, Center for Study of Inequality, October 2015.

“Americans Like What They See of Health Reform: The Effects of Visible and Submerged Policy Designs,” with Lawrence R. Jacobs. Midwest Political Science Association, Annual Conference, April 16, 2015.

“The Polycscape and the Challenges of Contemporary Politics to Policy Maintenance,” American Political Science Association, Annual Conference, August 28, 2014.

“Twenty Years On: Paul Pierson’s *Dismantling the Welfare State*,” 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Roundtable, American Political Science Association, Annual Conference, August 28, 2014.

“Taming Conservatism: The Policy Effects of the Affordable Care Act on Attitudes Toward Taxation,” with Lawrence R. Jacobs. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 5, 2014, Chicago, IL.

“Probing the 96 Percent: Social Welfare Policy Usage, Partisanship, and Policy Attitudes,” with Julianna Koch, Annual Conference of the American Political Science Association, August 29-September 1, 2013, Chicago, IL.

“How the Reforming of Health Care is Changing Public Opinion,” With Lawrence R. Jacobs. Midwest Political Science Meeting, April 10-14, 2013, Chicago Illinois.

“The Politics of the For-Profit Colleges: From Liberal Statebuilding to Fiscal Conservatism to Polarized Plutocracy.” Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association. Aug. 30-Sept. 2, 2012, New Orleans. [Meeting cancelled due to hurricane. Panel met via conference call, September 25, 2012.]

“Rent-Seeking Redux: The Politics of For-Profit Colleges.” Annual Meetings of the Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 12-15, 2012.

“Shaping the Health of Democracy: The Impact of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 on Americans’ Political Attitudes and Behavior Over Time.” With Lawrence R. Jacobs. Presented at Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September 2011.

“Effects of the Visible and Hidden Welfare State on the Political Behavior of Mass Publics,” with Julianna Koch. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, March 31-April 3, 2011.

“Reconstituting the Submerged State: The Challenges of Social Policy Reform in the Obama Era.” Presented at conference on “Reconstituting the American State: The Promise and Dilemmas of Obama’s First Year,” Oxford University, March 10-12, 2010.

“Unsustainability of Equal Opportunity: The Development of the Higher Education Act, 1965-2008.” Co-authored with Deondra Rose. Prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Ontario, Sept. 3-6, 2009.

“Who Perceives the State to be Punitive? Exploring Effects of Policy Change on Civic Attitudes, 1980-2008.” Prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Ontario, Sept. 3-6, 2009.

“Policy Lessons: How Experiences of Higher Education Policies Influence Attitudes Toward Government and Participation in Politics.” Presented at Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2-5, 2009.

“From Pioneer to Slacker: The Development of Public Higher Education in the American States, 1960-2007.” Presented at Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28-31, 2008.

“Promoting Inequality: The Politics of Higher Education Policy in an Era of Conservative Governance.” Presented at “Restructuring America: The American State, Political Change, and Rising Inequality,” Conference held at Nuffield College and the Rothermore American Institute, University of Oxford, May 22-24, 2008.

“How Policy Information Influences Political Support for Tax Expenditures: Revealing the Effects of the ‘Hidden Welfare State.’” With Matthew Guardino. Presented at Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 3-6, 2008.

“From Passing Out Roses to Passing Out Thorns: Transformation in Congress and the Politics of Higher Education Policy, 1973-2007.” Presented at Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 3-6, 2008.

“Representing Students or Sallie Mae? Exploring Organizational Feedback Effects of Higher Education Policy, 1965-2007.” Presented at Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 30-September 2, 2007.

“Diminished Opportunities: The Politics of Federal Higher Education Policy in the United States, 1975-2000.” Presented at Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 31-September 3, 2006.

“How Policy Receipt Affects Voter Turnout: Results of the Maxwell Poll.” With Jeff Stonecash, presented at Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 22, 2006.

“Veterans and Homemakers: Gender and the Civic Affiliations of the World War II Generation,” co-authored with Theda Skocpol. Presented at Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 15-18, 2004.

“Invisible Benefits, Visible Burdens: Citizenship in the Restructured Welfare State,” Presented at Workshop on the Transformation of American Politics, Harvard University, March 2004.

“Democratic Pathways: The Meaning and Content of Veterans’ Participation in Postwar Civic Life.” Presented at Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, August 28-31, 2003, Philadelphia, PA.

“A Sense of the State: Tracking the Role of the American Administrative State in Citizens’ Lives Over Time,” with Andrew Milstein. Presented at Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, April 3-6, 2003, Chicago, IL.

“Beyond Representation: Policy Feedback and the Political Construction of Mass Opinion and Behavior,” co-authored with Joe Soss. Presented at Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, April 3-6, 2003, Chicago, IL.

“What Made the Civic Generation So Civic? What World War II Veteran Data Can Tell Us.” Co-authored with Theda Skocpol. Presented at Annual Meeting, Social Science History Association, October 19-22, 2002, St. Louis, MO.

“‘The Only Good Thing Was the G.I. Bill’: Racial Incorporation and the Educational Provisions of the G.I. Bill Among World War II Veterans.” Presented at Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, August 29-September 1, 2002, Boston, MA.

“Incorporating Men into Democratic Citizenship: The Gendered Effects of the G.I. Bill.” Conference on Gender and Citizenship, Cornell Law School, Ithaca, NY, April 19-20, 2002.

“Citizen Soldiers in Civic Life: Effects of Veterans’ Policies for Participation in Social Movements and Conventional Politics,” conference on Democracy, Public Policy and Social Movements, University of California, Irvine, CA, January 11-13, 2002.

“Policy Feedback and Political Participation: Effects of the G.I. Bill for World War II Veterans Over the Life Course,” with Eric Welch, Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 30-September 2, 2001.

“Policy Feedback and Civic Engagement: Effects of the G.I. Bill Among World War II Veterans,” Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 19-22, 2001.

“Bringing the State Back In to Civic Engagement: World War II Veterans, the G.I. Bill, and American Citizenship.” Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C. August 31-September 3, 2000.

#### **OTHER SELECTED CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION (SINCE 2000)**

Panelist, “APSA Taskforce Report on Inequality and American Democracy: After a Decade,” American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, Sept. 1-4, 2016.

Panelist, “The Future of US Higher Education...” American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, Sept. 1-4, 2016.

Discussant, Roundtable panel on Engaged Scholars Address Leading Issues in US Politics, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 2015.

Discussant, “Using Archived Data to Study Public Opinion and American Political Development,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 29, 2014.

Discussant, Roundtable on Obama Administration, Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, March 31-April 3, 2011.

Discussant, “Marginalization and Citizenship in Times of Crisis.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2-5, 2010.

Discussant, “Reforms at Risk: What Happens After Major Policy Changes are Enacted,” by Eric M. Patashnik, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28-30.

Chair and Discussant, panel on “Framing and Social Constructions in Policy Design,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 30-September 2, 2007.

Respondent, “Author Meets Critics” panel on *Soldiers to Citizens: The GI Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*. Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 31-September 3, 2006.

Chair, “The Social Sources of Political Power,” Presidential Theme Panel at Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 31-September 3, 2006.

Chair and Discussant, “Democracy at War: The Effects of Armed Conflict in Comparative Perspective,” Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4, 2005.

Discussant, "Meet the Authors: Nolan McCarty, Keith Poole, and Howard Rosenthal, *Polarized America: the Dance of Political Ideology and Economic Equality*," Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4, 2005.

Discussant, "Democratization: American Politics as a Comparative Case," Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 2-5, 2004.

Panelist, "Teaching Inequality and American Democracy," Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 2-5, 2004.

Panelist, "Report of the Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy: A Roundtable," Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 2-5, 2004.

Panelist, "Author Meets Critics, *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History*, by James Morone." Policy History Conference, Clayton, MO, May 20-22, 2004.

Organizer and Chair, "Author Meets Critics, *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*, by Theda Skocpol." Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 15-18, 2004.

Panelist, "Inequality and American Democracy," Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 15-18, 2004.

Panelist, Panel in Honor of Virginia Sapiro, Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 3-6, 2003.

Discussant, Panel on "Public Policy and Democracy," Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 30-September 2, 2001.

Panelist, "Retrospective: Politics, Post-structuralism and Intersecting Identities: Past, Present and Future Research on Gender, State and Society," Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, October 26-29, 2000, Pittsburgh, PA.

## **EDITORIAL BOARDS**

*Policy Studies Journal*, since 2014  
*Journal of Policy History*, 2001-2013  
*Polity*, 2005-2012  
*Politics and Gender*, 2004-2007

## **COURSES TAUGHT**

Introduction to American Government and Politics (undergraduate)  
The Politics of Change (seminar on Obama presidency, undergraduate)  
The Politics of American Public Policy (undergraduate and graduate levels)  
Gender and Politics (undergraduate level, graduate level)  
Inequality & American Politics (undergraduate level)  
Development of the American Administrative State/The American State (graduate)  
Civic Engagement (senior seminar)  
Writing Seminar (graduate level)

## PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

American Political Science Association, Executive Council, Secretary, Administrative Committee, Rules Committee Chair, 2015-2016.

President, Public Policy Section, American Political Science Association, 2014-2015.

President-Elect, Public Policy Section, American Political Science Association, 2013-2014.

Chair, Heinz Eulau Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 2013.

Member, Nominating Committee, Midwest Political science Association, 2013.

Fellow, Century Foundation, 2012-2016

Member, Committee to Review Editorship of APSA journal, *Perspectives on Politics*, 2011

President, Politics and History Section, American Political Science Association, 2010-2011;

President -Elect, 2009-2010

Chair, Committee to select Best Article published in *Polity* in 2009, 2010

Chair, Committee to select Best Paper published in *American Journal of Political Science* in 2009, 2010

Chair, Women and Politics Best Paper Award Committee, 2007-2008

Member, Hugh Davis Graham Prize Committee, 2006

Member, Ellis Hawley Prize Committee, *Journal of Policy History*, 2006

Member, APSA Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy, 2003-2005: Member, Working Group on Inequality and Public Policy; Coordinator, Teaching Inequality & American Democracy

Co-Program Chair for Politics and History Section, American Political Science Association, for 2004 Annual Meeting

Program Chair, Politics and History Section, Midwest Political Science Association, for 2004 Annual Meeting

Co-Chair, Policy History Conference, May 2004.

Member, Victoria Schuck Book Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 2002-2003

Member, Gladys Kammerer Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 2002

Member, American Political History Initiative, since 2000

Member, Best Dissertation Award Committee, Women and Politics Section, American Political Science Association, 2001

Chair, David Greenstone Book Award Committee, Politics and History Section, American Political Science Association, 2000

Member of Executive Council, Politics and History Section, American Political Science Association, 1998-2000

## MANUSCRIPTS REVIEWED; PROGRAM REVIEWS

Manuscripts reviewed : American Journal of Political Science, American Journal of Sociology, American Political Science Review, *Journal of American History*, *Journal of Policy History*, *Journal of Politics*, National Science Foundation, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Policy Studies Journal*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Politics and Gender*, *Polity*, Princeton University Press, *Social Politics*, *Social Science Quarterly*, University of Chicago Press, University Press of Kansas, University of Michigan Press, and others

External Reviewer: University of Virginia, Department of Politics, 2007; Johns Hopkins University Political Science Department, 2015

## UNIVERSITY SERVICE

At Cornell University, beginning 2007.

Endowed Chair Search Committee, 2016-2017

Organized Conference, "Economic Inequality & American Politics: New Directions in Research," 2016

AD White Selection Committee, 2015-2016

Host for Theda Skocpol, AD White Visiting Faculty Member, 2016

John L. Senior Chair Search Committee, 2015-2017

Internal Review Committee, 2014-2015

Joint Search with Latino Studies, Department of Government, 2014

Diversity Opportunity Search Committee, Government Department, Chair, 2013

Promotion & Tenure Review Committee, Department of Government, Chair, 2011, 2013, 2016

Provost's Committee for New School of Public Policy, 2011

Social Science Internal Advisory Committee, beginning 2008

American Politics Search Committee, Department of Government, 2008; 2010; 2014-2015

Survey Research Institute Advisory Committee, 2007-2009.

Graduate Studies Committee, Department of Government, 2007-2010.

At Syracuse University, 1994-2007.

Department Seminar and Faculty Manuscript Workshop Series, Chair, 2005-2007

American Politics Search Committee, 2005

Chair, Graduate Admissions Committee, Dept. of Political Science, 2005, 2006

Committee to Prepare for External Evaluation, Dept. of Political Science, 2004

Promotion and Tenure Committee, Political Science, 1995, 1998-99, 2003-2004.

Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Political Science, 2000-2001

Moynihhan Award Committee, Maxwell School, 2001, 2002.

Admissions & Aid Committee, Dept. of Political Science, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2005

Graduate Studies Committee, Dept. of Political Science, 2000-2001

American Politics Search Committee, Dept. of Political Science, 2000-2001

Roscoe Martin Fellowship Award Committee, Maxwell School, 1999-2000

Co-Chair, American Politics Search Committee, Dept. of Political Science, 1999-2000

University Maternity Benefits and Parental Leave Committee, 1998-2000

Maxwell Women's Faculty Forum, co-founder, Spring 1998

Committee on Evaluation of Teaching, Dept. of Political Science, Spring 1997

G.I. Bill Celebration Committee, 1996-97

Public Administration Search Committee, Fall 1996

Race and Politics Search Committee, Dept. of Political Science, 1995-96

Freshman Summer Advising, Freshman Forum, 1995

International Relations Search Committee, Dept. of Political Science, 1994-95

## COMMUNITY SERVICE

National Academy of Social Insurance, Member, elected 2013.

Scholars' Strategy Network, Steering Committee, 2011-present

Academic Partner, Central New York Community Foundation, Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey, 2000-2001



## **RADIO AND TV MEDIA APPEARANCES (SELECTED)**

NPR Morning Edition; Boston Public Radio, WGBH-Boston; “Consider This,” Al Jazeera; The Roundtable, WAMC; numerous NPR affiliates and local radio stations.

## **PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT**

National Organizer. NETWORK, A Catholic Social Justice Lobby. Washington, DC 1984-87.

*Last Updated, 5/18/17*