

**SUZANNE METTLER**

John L. Senior Professor of American Institutions  
Cornell University  
Department of Government  
214 White Hall  
Ithaca, NY 14853-7901  
(315) 412-1910  
FAX (607) 255-4530  
[sbm24@cornell.edu](mailto:sbm24@cornell.edu)

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**ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

John L. Senior Professor of American Institutions, Department of Government, Cornell University, 2018 to present

Clinton Rossiter Professor of American Institutions, Department of Government, Cornell University, 2007 - 2018

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*

*Democratic Resilience: Can the United States Withstand Rising Polarization?* co-edited with Robert C. Lieberman and Kenneth Roberts. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

*Four Threats: The Recurring Crises of American Democracy*, co-authored with Robert C. Lieberman. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2020).

*The Government-Citizen Disconnect*. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2018).

Winner of the Alexander George Book Award of the International Society of Political Psychology, 2019

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

Winner of the 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 of the 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 of the 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*

“Sequential Polarization: The Development of the Rural-Urban Political Divide, 1976-2020,” with Trevor E. Brown, *Perspectives on Politics*, December 2023, published on-line/First View, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592723002918>

“Policy Threat, Partisanship, and the Case of the Affordable Care Act.” With Lawrence R. Jacobs and Ling Zhu. *American Political Science Review*. (2023) 117, 1, 296-310.

“The Pathways of Policy Feedback: How Health Reform Influences Political Efficacy and Political Participation.” With Lawrence R. Jacobs and Ling Zhu. *Policy Studies Journal*. March 2021.

“What Health Reform Tells Us About American Politics,” with Lawrence R. Jacobs, *Journal of Health Policy, Politics, and Law*, 45, 4, August 2020, 581-593.

“Revealing the ‘Hidden Welfare State’: How Policy Information Influences Public Attitudes about Tax Expenditures,” with Matt Guardino. *Journal of Behavior Public Administration*. Vol. 3 (1): 2020.

“The Paradox of the Earned Income Tax Credit: Appreciating Benefits But Not Their Source” with Delphia Shanks-Booth. *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 47 (2): 2019.

“The Trump Presidency and American Democracy: A Historical and Comparative Analysis.” With Robert C. Lieberman, Thomas B. Pepinsky, Kenneth M. Roberts, and Richard Valelly. *Perspectives on Politics*. Vol. 17 (2): 2019.

“When and How New Policy Creates New Politics: Examining the Feedback Effects of the Affordable Care Act on Public Opinion.” With Lawrence R. Jacobs. *Perspectives on Politics*. June 2018, Vol. 16 (2).

“The Polycscape 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 and Special Issues*

“Policy Feedback Theory,” with Mallory SoRelle, in *Theories of the Policy Process*, edited by Christopher J. Weible. 5<sup>th</sup> Ed. Routledge, 2023.

“Democratic Vulnerabilities and Pathways for Reform,” with Robert C. Lieberman, Jamila Michener, Thomas Pepinsky, and Kenneth M. Roberts, in *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Vol. 699, January 2022.

“The Growing Rural-Urban Political Divide and Democratic Vulnerability,” with Trevor Brown, in *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Vol. 699, January 2022, pp. 130-142.

“The Polarization of Higher Education,” with Deondra Rose. In *Federal Higher Education Policymaking in an Era of Racial and Political Polarization*, Edited by Nicholas Hillman and Gary Orfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2022.

“When Rural and Urban Become ‘Us’ versus ‘Them’: How a Growing Divide is Reshaping American Politics,” with Trevor Brown and Samantha Puzzi. *The Forum* 2021, 19 (3): 365-393.

“How Democracies Endure: The Challenges of Polarization and Sources of Resilience,” with Robert C. Lieberman and Kenneth M. Roberts, in *Democratic Resilience: Can the United States Withstand Rising Polarization?* Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2021, 3-34.

“More Than Meets the Eye: Government’s Role in American Social Provision and Its Implications for Public Options,” with Mallory SoRelle. In *Debating The Public Option*, edited by Ganesh Sitaraman and Anne L. Alstott, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021, pp. 6-19.

“Making What Government Does Apparent to Citizens: Policy Feedback Effects, Their Limitations, and How They Might Be Facilitated,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, “New Policies, New Politics? Policy Feedback, Power-Building, and American Governance,” Special Editors: Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson, Vol. 685 (1): 2019.

“Public Policy and Political Dysfunction: The Polycyscape, Policy Maintenance, and Oversight,” with Claire Leavitt, *Can America Govern Itself?* edited by Frances E. Lee and Nolan McCarty. Cambridge University Press, 2019.

“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 Sovereignties: 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*

“Democratic Vulnerabilities and Pathways for Reform.” Special issue of the *ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Co-edited with Robert C. Lieberman and Tom Pepinsky. January 2022.

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

*Polarizing by Place: Understanding the Rural-Urban Divide and Why It Matters for American Politics*, with Trevor E. Brown. Book manuscript, under contract with Princeton University Press.

“How the Transformation of the American Political Economy Spurred a Rural-Urban Political Divide” with Trevor E. Brown. In *Can Democracy and Capitalism Be Reconciled?* edited by Sidney Milkis and Scott Miller. Under contract with Cambridge University Press.

“A Rural-Urban Political Divide Among Whom? Race, Ethnicity, and Political Behavior Across Place,” with Trevor E. Brown, Gisela Pedroza Jauregui and Marissa Rivera, in *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, accepted for publication and in press.

*Making America Healthier: The Affordable Care Act and Civic Renewal*, with Lawrence R. Jacobs and Ling Zhu. Book manuscript under contract with Oxford University Press.

## **OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

### *Articles/Essays for a Broad Audience*

“Where Next, America?” *Radcliffe Magazine*, Fall 2020.

“The Fragile Republic: American Democracy Has Never Faced So Many Threats At Once,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2020.

“Republicans Are Relying on the Affordable Care Act to Respond to the Pandemic,” with Lawrence R. Jacobs and Ling Zhu, *Washington Post*, April 27, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/04/27/republicans-are-relying-affordable-care-act-respond-pandemic/>.

“Outside of Washington, There is a New Vital Center in Health Reform,” with Lawrence R. Jacobs, *Health Affairs Blog*, July 31, 2017, <http://healthaffairs.org/blog/2017/07/31/outside-of-washington-there-is-a-new-vital-center-in-health-care-reform/>

“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*

“Four Deadly Threats to American Democracy are Raging All At Once,” With Robert C. Lieberman. *Los Angeles Times*. November 17, 2020.

“A Plot Against an Embattled Governor? Militias Disrupting Elections? It Happened in the 1850s – And Holds a Lesson for Today.” With Robert C. Lieberman. *TIME*. October 14, 2020.

“The Welfare Boogeyman,” *New York Times*, July 24, 2018.

“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*

Kluge Chair in American Law and Governance, Library of Congress, 2023.

Guggenheim Foundation Fellow, 2019

Radcliffe Institute Fellow, 2019



Alexander George Book Award, International Society of Political Psychology, for *The Government-Citizen Disconnect*, 2019.

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*

New Frontier Grant, College of Arts and Sciences, 2021.

Cornell Center for the Study of Inequality, Faculty Grant, 2018

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

## **CONFERENCES ORGANIZED AND PROJECT CONVENINGS**

Democracy in the Balance Webinar Series, for the American Democracy Collaborative, co-sponsored with the Einaudi Center and the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 2022.

American Democracy Collaborative Conference, “Democratic Vulnerabilities.” June 22, 2021.

American Democracy Collaborative Conference, “Reassessing American Democracy,” January 19, 2021.

Democracy 20/20 Webinar Series, with the American Democracy Collaborative. Organized six Zoom panels on public affairs issues, 2020.

“Democratic Resilience: Can the United States Withstand Rising Polarization?” Conference organized with Ken Roberts and Robert C. Lieberman, held at Cornell University, November 7-8, 2019.

Short Course, “Teaching ‘Introduction to American Politics’ in Turbulent Times,” Organized with American Democracy Collaborative, August 28, 2019. Co-sponsored by Politics and History Section and Political Science Education Section. Annual Conference of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.

American Democracy Collaborative, working group to examine state of US democracy in comparative and historical perspective, formed January 2017, includes Robert Lieberman, Tom Pepinsky, Ken Roberts, and Rick Valelly; as of 2020, Jamila Michener.

“A Republic If We Can Keep It,” Conference on State of American Democracy, April 12-13, 2018, New America Foundation, Washington, DC, sponsored by Cornell Center for the Study of Inequality. Proceedings available at: <http://a-republic-if-we-can-keep-it.inequality.cornell.edu/>

“The State of American Democracy in Comparative and Historical Perspective,” June 6, 2017, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY

“Economic Inequality and American Politics: New Directions in Research” on Friday, Cornell University, April 15, 2016, Ithaca, NY

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

“The Political Economy of the Rural-Urban Divide,” University of Wisconsin, January 25, 2021.

“Four Threats: The Recurring Crises of American Democracy,” University of Washington, Seattle, WA, November 18, 2019; University of Chicago, 2020; Radcliffe Institute 2020; Stanford University 2020; Johns Hopkins University 2020; Commonwealth Club 2020; Equitable Dinners Atlanta 2020; Cornell University Alumni 2020; University of Minnesota 2020; Brown University 2020, London School of Economics 2021, University of Missouri 2021,

University of California-Irvine 2021, Strathmore Series Talk 2021; Kluge Center, Library of Congress, 2022.

“The Government-Citizen Disconnect.” Presented at Harvard Kennedy School, November 2018; Duke, May 2018; Johns Hopkins, December 2017; Oklahoma Policy Institute, August 2017; conference at Cornell Law School, 2017.

“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.” LaFollette 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.”  
2014: Cornell University, Pi Sigma Alpha Lecture; Batten School, University of Virginia; New America Foundation; University of Maryland; Georgetown School of Public Policy; Hamilton College; Providence University; Brown University; Century Foundation/Cornell Alumni event, interview by Joy Reid, New York, NY; Scholars Strategy Network, Annual Meeting; State Higher Education Executive Officers Association, Annual Meeting, Keynote Address, Denver, CO; Council for Opportunity in Education, Annual Meeting, Keynote Address; Salisbury University; Deans of Adult and Continuing Education, Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities, Annual Meeting, Syracuse, NY; Scholars Strategy Network, New Jersey Network, Drew University; James Madison College, Michigan State University; California State University Academic Senate, Annual Meeting, Keynote Address, Long Beach, CA; Association for the Study of Higher Education, Annual Meeting, Washington, DC; American Association of State Colleges and Universities, Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA.  
2015: Penn State, McCourtney Institute of Democracy; University of Illinois, Cline Symposium, Keynote Address; Scholars Strategy Network, Confluence Network, St. Louis, MO; American Association of State Colleges and Universities, Washington, DC; University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA, Inequality Series talk; College of New Jersey, Spring Keynote & Alan Dawley Lecture; Syracuse University

“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 2015)**

“The Rural-Urban Political Divide in the US House of Representatives, 1982-2020,” with Trevor Brown and Danielle Thomsen, at Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 15, 2023.

“How the Transformation of the American Political Economy Spurred a Rural-Urban Political Divide” with Trevor E. Brown, at Conference on Can Democracy and Capitalism Be Reconciled?, University of Virginia, March 7-9, 2023.

“A Growing Rural-Urban Political Divide Among Whom? Considering Race and Ethnicity and Political Behavior Across Place,” with Trevor Brown, Gisela Pedroza Jauregui, and Marissa Rivera, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2023.

“Have Rural Areas Been “Left Behind” By US Government? Public Policy and the Rise of the Rural-Urban Political Divide,” with Trevor Brown, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2022.

“The Role of Public Policy in the United States’ Growing Rural-Urban Political Divide,” with Trevor Brown, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 2022.

“The Rise of the Rural-Urban Political Divide: A Developmental Analysis, 1976–2020,” with Trevor Brown, Prepared for Presentation at the Princeton Conference on Identity and Inequality, March 18, 2022.

“The Rise of the Rural-Urban Political Divide: A Political Economic Analysis, 1970-2020,” with Trevor Brown, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2022.

“The Transformed Republican Party, the Rise of the Rural-Urban Political Divide and Americans’ Shifting Attitudes Toward Government, 1980-2016,” with Trevor Brown. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2021.

“States of Change: The Political Economy of the Political Parties and the Rural-Urban Divide, 1990-2020.” With Trevor Brown and Samantha Puzzi. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

“The Political Economy of the Rural-Urban Divide,” with Trevor Brown, Southern Political Science Association 2021. Revised Version presented at the American Political Economy Workshop, August 2021.

“Democracy Under Siege: Backsliding in the 1890s,” August 29, 2019, American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.

“Political Polarization in the 1790s: The Threat of Political Opposition,” Social Science Research Council, “Political Institutions and Challenges to Democracy: America in Comparative Perspective,” January 31-February 1, 2019, Columbia University, New York City.

“Has Health Reform Reduced Health Disparities? Effects of the Affordable Care Act.” With Lawrence Jacobs, at conference of the Journal of Health Policy, Politics and Law, May 18-19, 2017.

American Political Science Association, Annual Conference, 2019, 2018, 2016, 2015

Midwest Political Science Association, Annual Conference, 2019, 2018, 2015

### **OTHER SELECTED CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION (SINCE 2015)**

Panelist, Book Roundtable on “Phantoms of a Beleaguered Republic,” by Stephen Skowronek, John Dearborn, and Desmond King. American Political Science Association Meeting, October 2021.

Panelist, Book Roundtable on “Four Threats” and “The Upswing,” by Robert Putnam. American Political Science Association Meeting, October 2021.

Panelist, “Author Meets Critics: Four Threats,” American Political Science Association Meeting September 2020.

Panelist, “Author Meets Critics: Let Them Eat Tweets,” by Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson, American Political Science Association Meeting September 2020.

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.

### **EDITORIAL BOARDS**

*Studies in American Political Development*, since 2019

Series editor of Princeton University Press series, Princeton Studies in American Politics: Historical, International, and Comparative Perspectives, since 2019

Cambridge Elements Series in American Politics, Cambridge University Press, since 2018

*Perspectives on Politics*, since 2018

*Policy Studies Journal*, 2014-2019

*Journal of Policy History*, 2001-2013

*Polity*, 2005-2012

*Politics and Gender*, 2004-2007

### **COURSES TAUGHT**

Democracy (senior seminar, undergraduate; upper-level undergraduate)

Introduction to American Government and Politics (undergraduate)

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

## **PHD ADVISING, STUDENTS WHO HAVE COMPLETED DEGREES SINCE 2007**

### Committee Chair

Adrienne Smith (co-chair), 2023  
Richard Barton (co-chair), 2022, Syracuse University  
Claire Leavitt, 2021, Smith College  
Joshua Meyer-Gutbrod (co-chair), 2018, University of South Carolina  
Delphia Shanks-Booth, Hendrix College, 2018  
Mallory SoRelle, Sanford School, Duke University; Winner, APSA Schattschneider Award, Best Dissertation in American Politics, 2017  
Danielle Thomsen, Maxwell School, Syracuse University; Winner, APSA Schattschneider Award, Best Dissertation in American Politics, 2015  
Alexis Walker, Saint Martin's University, Winner, APSA William Anderson Award for Best Dissertation on State & Local Politics, Federalism, or Intergovernmental Relations, 2015  
Julianna Koch, BuzzBack Market Research; Winner, Best Dissertation in State & Local Politics, APSA Section Award, 2014  
Deondra Rose, Sanford School, Duke University; Winner, APSA Leonard D White Award for Best Dissertation in Public Administration, 2013; Winner, Walter Dean Burnham Award for Best Dissertation on Politics & History, APSA Section Award, 2013

### Committee Member

Diane Wong, post-doc, NYU  
Aileen Cardona, Pace University  
David Cortez, University of Notre Dame  
Erin Hern, College of Idaho  
Matthew Guardino, Providence College  
Casey Radostitz, Joint Legislative Audit & Review Committee, Oregon  
Thomas O'Toole, CIPA, Cornell University  
Michael Miller, Barnard College  
Gwendoline Alphonso, Fairfield University  
Samantha Majic, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY

## **PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

Chair, Aaron Wildavsky Book Award, Public Policy Section, American Political Science Association, 2021.  
Theodore Lowi Book Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 2018  
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, Groups, and Identities, 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 [see conferences organized, listed in section above]  
 Chair, Search Committee, Climate Politics & Equitable Futures, American Politics, 2023  
 Public Policy School Committee, Department of Government, 2022-2023, 2023-2024.  
 Coordinator for Public Policy Minor, 2017-2019; 2022-2024  
 Promotion and Tenure Committee, 2019  
 Organized Manuscript Workshop for Junior Colleague, 2018  
 Endowed Chair Search Committee, 2016-2017, 2017-2018, 2018-2019  
 Center for the Study of Inequality, Advisory Committee, since 2017



AD White Selection Committee, 2015-2016, 2016-2017, 2017-2018  
Host for Theda Skocpol, AD White Visiting Faculty Member, 2016, 2024  
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, 2018  
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, 2020-2021, 2021-2022, 2023-2024.

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  
Moynihan 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

## **PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICE**

American Academy of Political and Social Science, Board Member, starting 2019; Chair, Finance Committee, 2021 onward, Treasurer.

Scholars' Strategy Network, Steering Committee, 2011-present; Finance Committee, 2022-2024

Partnership for Public Service, Research Advisory Council, 2022-2023.

Presented briefings on for-profit colleges and veteran students, to congressional staff, Veterans' Affairs, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and American Legion, March and April 2017.

National Academy of Social Insurance, Member, elected 2013.

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

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

CBS Good Morning; NPR Morning Edition; NPR All Things Considered; Boston Public Radio, WGBH-Boston; The Roundtable, WAMC; numerous NPR affiliates and local radio stations; The Ezra Klein Show; Innovation Hub; Sam Seder, Majority Report, Council on Foreign Relations, among others.

**FILM APPEARANCE**

“Fail State,” 2018

**PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT**

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

*Last Updated, 2/22/24*