# NATHAN J. KELLY

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## ACADEMIC POSITIONS

- Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Tennessee, 2019–present
- Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Tennessee, 2011–2019
- Fellow, Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2017–2019
- Visiting Scholar, Russell Sage Foundation, 2017–2018
- Fellow, Center for Social Justice, University of Tennessee, 2009–present
- Faculty Associate, Howard Baker Center for Public Policy, University of Tennessee, 2009—present
- Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Tennesee, 2005–2011
- Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University at Buffalo, State University of New York, 2004–2005

## **EDUCATION**

### University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

- Ph.D. Political Science, 2004
- M.A. Political Science, 2001

#### Wheaton College

• B.A. Political Science (Summa Cum Laude), 1999

# Books

- 2021. Hijacking the Agenda (with Jana Morgan, Christopher Witko, and Peter Enns) New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- 2020. America's Inequality Trap. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Reviewed in Perspectives on Politics and Political Science Quarterly)
- 2009. The Politics of Income Inequality in the United States. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Reviewed in Perspectives on Politics, Political Science Quarterly, and Choice. One of Book Authority's "Best Income Inequality Books of All Time.")

## JOURNAL ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

- 2021. "Hurdles to shared prosperity: congress, parties, and the national policy process in an era of inequality" (with Jana Morgan), In *The American Political Economy*, Jacob S. Hacker, Alexander Hertel-Fernandez, Paul Pierson, and Kathleen Thelen eds. (Cambridge University Press).
- 2021. "Inequality, Exclusion, and Tolerance for Political Dissent in Latin America," (with Jana Morgan). Comparative Political Studies. Early Access. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414021997.
- 2019. "Federalism, Government Liberalism, and Union Weakness in America," (with Sarah Young, Chris Witko, and David Darmofal). State Politics and Policy Quarterly. 19(4): 428-450. DOI: 10.1177/1532440019851806.
- 2018. "Democracy that Excludes: Persistent Inequalities and the Future of Democratic Governance," In *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Robert A. Scott and Marlis C. Buchmann eds. (Wiley).
- 2017. "Social Patterns of Inequality, Partisan Competition, and Latin American Support for Redistribution" (with Jana Morgan) *The Journal of Politics* 79(1):193-209. DOI: 10.1086/687412.
- 2017. "Moving Forward with Time Series Analysis" (with Peter Enns, Takaaki Masaki, and Patrick Wohlfarth) Research & Politics 4(4), October 2017. DOI: 10.1177/2053168017732231.
- 2016. "Class Bias in Voter Turnout and Income Inequality" (with William Franko and Christopher Witko) *Perspectives on Politics* 14(2):351-368. DOI: 10.1017/S1537592716000062.
- 2016. "Don't Jettison the General Error Correction Model Just Yet: A Practical Guide to Avoiding Spurious Regression with the GECM" (with Peter K. Enns, Takaaki Masaki,

- and Patrick C. Wohlfarth) Research & Politics 3(2), May 2016 DOI: 10.1177/2053168016643345.
- 2015. "Partisan Politics, Financial Deregulation, and the New Gilded Age" (with Eric Keller) Political Research Quarterly 68(3):428-442. DOI: 10.1177/1065912915591218.
- 2014. "Government Ideology and Unemployment in the U.S. States" (with Christopher Witko) State Politics and Policy Quarterly 14(4):389-413. DOI: 10.1177/1532440014550410.
- 2014. "Conditional Status Quo Bias and Top Income Shares: How U.S. Political Institutions Have Benefited the Rich" (with Peter K. K. Enns, Jana Morgan, Thomas Volscho, and Christopher Witko) *The Journal of Politics* 76(2):289–303. DOI: 10.1017/S0022381613001321.
- 2013. "Market Inequality and Redistribution in Latin America and the Caribbean" (with Jana Morgan) *The Journal of Politics* 75(3): 672–685. DOI: 10.1017/S0022381613000509.
- 2012. "The Rise of the Super-rich: Power Resources, Taxes, and the Dynamics of Top Income Shares, 1949-2008" (with Thomas Volscho) American Sociological Review 77(5):679-699. DOI: 10.1177/0003122412458508.
- 2012. "Federalism and American Inequality" (with Christopher Witko) Journal of Politics 74(2): 414-426. DOI: 10.1017/S0022381611001678
- 2010. "Inequality and the Dynamics of Public Opinion: The Self-Reinforcing Link Between Economic Inequality and Mass Preferences" (with Peter K. Enns) American Journal of Political Science 54(4):855–870. DOI: 10.1111/j.1540-5907.2010.00472.x
- 2010. "Explaining Attitudes Toward Fighting Latin American Inequality" (with Jana Morgan) Poverty & Public Policy 2(3):Article 6. DOI: 10.2202/1944-2858.1091.
- 2008. "Legislative Productivity of the U.S. Congress, 1789-2004" (with J. Tobin Grant) *Political Analysis* 16(3):303-323. DOI: 10.1093/pan/mpm035.
- 2008. "Religious Traditionalism and Latino Politics in the United States" (with Jana Morgan) American Politics Research 36(2):236–263. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X07309738.
- 2006. "Dynamic Models for Dynamic Theories: The Ins and Outs of Lagged Dependent Variable Models" (with Luke Keele) *Political Analysis* 14(2):186–205. DOI: 10.1093/pan/mpj006.
- 2005. "Political Choice, Public Policy, and Distributional Outcomes" American Journal of Political Science 49(4):865–880. DOI: 10.1111/j.1540-5907.2005.00160.x.

- 2005. "Religion and Latino Partisanship in the United States" (with Jana Morgan Kelly) Political Research Quarterly 58(1):87–95. DOI: 10.1177/106591290505800108.
- 2004. "Issue Attitudes and Survey Continuity across Interview Mode in the 2000 NES" (with Brian Fogarty and H. Whitt Kilburn. *Political Analysis* 13(1):95–108. DOI: 10.1093/pan/mpi005.
- 2004. "Does Politics Really Matter? Policy and Government's Equalizing Influence in the United States" American Politics Research 32(3):264–284. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X03259938.

# OTHER WRITING

- 2021. "Adults Throwing Knox County Kids Under the Bus." Tennessee Lookout. 9/2/2021.
- 2021. "A Dad's Plea: My Daughter Is in 3rd Grade and COVID-19 Is Spreading Like Wildfire in Our TN Schools. We Need Help From Anyone Willing to Stand Up for Kids." The 74 Million. 9/1/2021.
- 2015. "How Republicans and Democrats Enhanced Inequality by Undermining Financial Regulation." London School of Economics American Politics and Policy Blog. 7/8/2015.
- 2015. Review of Affluence and Influence. Public Opinion Quarterly 79(1):207–209. DOI: 10.1093/poq/nfu064.
- 2014. "Congressional Gridlock Helps to Make Income Inequality Worse." London School of Economics American Politics and Policy Blog. 4/10/2014.
- 2014. "Political Economy: Conditioning Markets to Reduce Income Inequality." World Politics Review. 4/8/2014.
- 2013. "How the Filibuster (and Gridlock) Only Helps the Rich"  $Talking\ Points\ Memo.$  12/6/2013.
- 2013. Review of Wage Policy, Income Distribution, and Democratic Theory by Oren M. Levin-Waldman. Perspectives on Politics 11(1):269–270. DOI: 10.1017/S1537592712003192
- 2012. "There Aren't That Many Takers in America." The Monkey Cage. 9/27/2012.
- 2011. "How Politics Makes the Market, Altering the Gap Between Rich and Poor." The Huffington Post. 2/4/2011.

### WORKS IN PROGRESS

Exclusionary Democracy. Book manuscript and related articles in preparation (with Jana Morgan).

"Inequality, Exclusion, and Democratic Norms in Latin America," Article under review (with Jana Morgan).

"Rising Inequality, Campaign Finance, and the Congressional Economic Agenda," Article in preparation (with Jana Morgan, Chris Witko, and Peter Enns).

"Racial Inequality and Attitudes Toward Pro-Poor Policy in the United States," Article in preparation (with Jana Morgan).

"The Representational Deficit of Latinos in the U.S. House of Representatives" Article under review (with Gio Pleites-Hernandez).

# RESEARCH GRANTS

Russell Sage Foundation. "Racial Inequality, Pandemic, and Democracy: COVID-19 and Unequal Citizenship in Times of Crisis." (Co-Principal investigator with Jana Morgan. 2021-2022. (\$37,630 awarded).

National Science Foundation. Collaborative Research: Money, Rhetoric, and the Public (Non)Response to Rising Inequality (\$151,100 requested, UT portion of collaborative proposal, not funded).

Andrew Carnegie Fellow, Carnegie Corporation of New York, "America's Inequality Trap," 2017-2019. (\$200,000 awarded).

Russell Sage Foundation. "Rising Inequality and the Congressional Economic Agenda." (Co-Principal investigator with Peter Enns, Jana Morgan, and Christopher Witko). 2012-2015. (\$70,000 awarded).

National Science Foundation. Collaborative Research: Money, Rhetoric, and the Public (Non)Response to Rising Inequality (\$151,100 requested, UT portion of collaborative proposal, not funded).

Russell Sage Foundation. "Money, Rhetoric, and the Public (Non)Response to Rising Inequality." (Co-Principal investigator with Peter Enns, Jana Morgan, and Christopher Witko). 2012-2015. (\$192,163 awarded).

University of Tennessee Chancellor's Professional Development Award. 2011 (\$5,000 awarded).

University of Tennessee Scholarly Activity and Research Incentive Fund Summer Graduate Research Assistant Award. 2007.

University of Tennessee Chancellor's Professional Development Award. 2006 (\$3,800 awarded).

University at Buffalo, SUNY Baldy Center for Law and Social Policy Small Research Grant. 2005 (award declined).

National Science Foundation Dissertation Grant (SES-0318044) for "Doctoral Dissertation Research in Political Science." (Co-Principal Investigator). 2003 (\$8,056 awarded).

# HONORS, AWARDS, AND PRIZES

2017-2019. Andrew Carnegie Fellowship from the Carnegie Corporation of New York (for "America's Inequality Trap: How Economic Inequality Reinforces Itself through Politics").

2017-2018. Russell Sage Foundation, Visiting Scholar.

2016. Outstanding Reviewer Award, Political Research Quarterly.

2014. Chancellor's Grant for Faculty Research, University of Tennessee.

2014. Super Reviewer, American Journal of Political Science.

2014. Outstanding Reviewer Award, Political Research Quarterly.

2010-2015. Junior Faculty Excellence Award, University of Tennessee College of Arts and Sciences.

2009. Finalist for College of Arts and Sciences Junior Faculty Research Award, University of Tennessee.

2009. Professor of the Year, University of Tennessee Department of Political Science Graduate Student Association.

2009. QUEST Scholar of the Week, highlighting the work of a faculty member at the University of Tennessee who is doing outstanding work regardless of the field.

2004. Finalist for the E.E. Schattschneider Award, given by the American Political Science

Association for the best dissertation in American politics.

2003. James Prothro Award, for "outstanding research by a graduate student in political science," University of North Carolina.

1999-2004. Raymond Dawson Graduate Fellowship, University of North Carolina.

# CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION

#### American Political Science Association

- Papers presented: 2019, 2018, 2017, 2014, 2013, 2012, 2011, 2010, 2009, 2008, 2007, 2006, 2005, 2004, 2003, 2002, 2001, 2000
- Discussant/Panel Chair: 2009, 2008, 2007

#### **European Political Science Association**

- Papers presented: 2019
- Discussant/Panel Chair: 2019

#### Midwest Political Science Association

- Papers presented: 2017, 2015, 2014, 2013, 2012, 2009, 2008, 2007, 2006, 2005, 2004, 2002, 2001, 2000
- Discussant/Panel Chair: 2015, 2014, 2012, 2009, 2008

#### Southern Political Science Association

• Papers presented: 2016, 2003, 2002

#### Society for Political Methodology

• Papers presented: 2008, 2003

#### Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties Conference (Political Studies Association)

• Papers presented: 2009

#### Latin American Studies Association

• Papers presented: 2016, 2010, 2006

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- Contemporary Issues in Public Policy (POLS 311), University of Tennessee (35 undergraduates Fall 2020, 32 undergraduates Fall 2019)
- Seminar on Inequality and Politics (POLS 597), University of Tennessee (3 graduate students Fall 2018)
- Time Series Analysis (POLS 610), University of Tennessee (7 graduate students Fall 2021, 8 graduate students Spring 2019, 10 graduate students Spring 2017, 6 graduate students Spring 2013, 12 graduate students Summer 2011, 11 graduate students Summer 2008)
- Research Design (POLS 511), University of Tennessee (6 graduate students Spring 2021, 8 graduate students Fall 2015, 6 graduate students Spring 2015, 4 graduate students Spring 2014, 10 graduate students Spring 2012, 8 graduate students Spring 2011, 13 graduate students Spring 2010, 6 graduate students Spring 2009, 14 graduate students Spring 2008, 6 graduate students Spring 2006)
- Public Policy Making (PSC 314), University at Buffalo (48 undergraduates Fall 2004)
- **Presidency** (POLS 532), University of Tennessee (6 graduate students Summer 2010)
- Research Seminar in American Political Behavior and Institutions (POLS 639), University of Tennessee (4 graduate students Spring 2014, 6 graduate students Spring 2008)
- Congress (POLS 412), University of Tennessee (30 undergraduates Fall 2015, 25 undergraduates Spring 2013, 30 undergraduates Fall 2012, 33 undergraduates Spring 2012, 35 undergraduates Spring 2011, 35 undergraduates Fall 2010, 35 undergraduates Spring 2010, 35 undergraduates Fall 2009, 35 undergraduates Fall 2009, 35 undergraduates Fall 2008, 48 undergraduates Fall 2007, 54 undergraduates Fall 2006, 46 undergraduates Fall 2005)
- American Politics Core Seminar (POLS 530), University of Tennessee (3 grduate students Fall 2016, 6 graduate students Fall 2015, 6 graduate students Fall 2014, 10 graduate students Fall 2012, 7 graduate students Fall 2010, 15 graduate students Fall 2009, 11 graduate students Fall 2008, 13 graduate students Fall 2007, 14 graduate students Fall 2006, 11 graduate students Spring 2006)
- Introduction to American Politics (PSC 101), University at Buffalo (284 undergraduates Spring 2005)
- American Politics Core Seminar (PSC 505), University at Buffalo (13 graduate students Spring 2005)
- Election Year Politics (PSC 180), University at Buffalo (112 undergraduates Fall 2004)

### INVITED TALKS AND CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION

1st Annual American Political Economy Conference, "Hijacking the Agenda Plenary Book Session," August 2021.

Scholars Strategy Network Leader Convening, "Strategies for Combating Income Inequality." January 2019.

University of Miami, Department of Political Science, "How American Politics Responds to Shifting Inequality." December 2018.

City University of New York Graduate Center, Department of Political Science, "Economic Power, Political Power, and the Congressional Agenda." October 2018.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Center for European Studies Inequality Workshop, "America's Inequality Trap." April 2018.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Center for European Studies Inequality Workshop, "Buying Words: How Campaign Donations Influence the Congressional Economic Agenda." April 2018.

Northwestern University, Workshop on Reviving American Democracy. January 2018.

Columbia University, Department of Political Science American Politics Workshop, "Public Opinion, Elections, and Policymaking in an Era of Rising Inequality." October 2017.

Columbia University, Center for Wealth and Inequality, "America's Inequality Trap: The Inequality Reinforcing Effects of Status Quo Bias and Inegalitarian Policymaking." October 2017.

Indiana University, Department of Political Science, "America's Inequality Trap: How Public Opinion and Election Outcomes Reinforce Economic Inequality." September 2017.

University of Houston, Department of Political Science, "America's Inequality Trap." March 2017.

Texas A & M University, Department of Political Science, "America's Inequality Trap." February 2017.

University of Wisconsin, Department of Political Science and Institute for Resarch on Poverty, "America's Inequality Trap." January 2017.

Yale University and Washington Center for Equitable Growth, "Meeting on the Consequences of Economic Inequality." April 2015.

Pennsylvania State University, Center for American Political Responsiveness. "Is Economic Inequality Self-Reinforcing?" February 2015.

Nathan Cummings Foundation, "Panel on Wealth Inequalities." January 2015, New York, NY.

University of Iowa Inequality, Politics, and Policy Workshop, "The Politics of Oligarchy: Taxation, Financial Regulation, Power Resources, and the Super-Rich in the United States, 1918-2012." February 2014.

University of Iowa Bose Speaker Series, "Partisan Politics, Financial Deregulation, and the New Gilded Age." February 2014.

University of Pittsburgh, "Conditional Status Quo Bias and Top Income Shares." September 2013.

Texas A&M University, "The Rise of the 1%: How U.S. Political Institutions Have Benefited the Rich." June 2013.

University of Connecticut, "The Rise of the 1%: How U.S. Political Institutions Benefit the Rich." October 2012.

Society for Political Methodology 29th Annual Summer Meeting. July 2012.

Washington University St. Louis, "The Rise of the Super-rich: Power Resources, Taxes, and the Dynamics of Top Income Shares, 1949-2008." November, 2011.

Catholic University Institute of Political Science, Santiago, Chile, "Market Conditioning, Redistribution and Income Inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean." August 2011.

University of Chile School of Economics and Business, Santiago, Chile, "Causes and Consequences of Income Inequality in Latin America." August 2011.

American University, "Inequality and the Dynamics of Public Opinion." November 2009.

Stony Brook University, "The Politics of Income Inequality in the United States." January 2009.

University of North Carolina, "The Politics of Income Inequality in the United States." January 2009.

Society for Political Methodology 24th Annual Summer Meeting. July 2007.

George Mason School of Law, Law and Economics Center Program on Politics and Economics. June 2007.

University of Tennessee, "Policy Flow in the United States, 1789-2002." March 2005.

University at Buffalo, "Political Choice, Public Policy, and Distributional Outcomes." December 2003.

Tufts University, "Political Choice, Public Policy, and Distributional Outcomes." December 2003.

### Professional Service and Activity

#### **Editorial Boards**

Political Behavior, 2018—present Social Science Research, 2017—present State Politics and Policy Quarterly, 2014—2020 American Journal of Political Science, 2014—2018

### Review Committees, Panels, and Advisory Boards

Russell Sage Foundation Social, Political, and Inequality Adivsory Committee

#### Reviewer

American Journal of Political Science; American Journal of Sociology; American Political Science Review; American Politics Research; American Sociological Review; British Journal of Political Science; Cambridge University Press; Comparative Politics; Comparative Political Studies; Economics and Politics; European Sociological Review; Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion; Journal of Income Distribution; Journal of Politics; Journal of Public Policy; Justice System Journal; Legislative Studies Quarterly; McGraw-Hill; National Science Foundation; Oxford University Press; Party Politics; Perspectives on Politics; Policy Studies Journal; Political Analysis; Political Behavior; Politics and Religion; Politics, Groups and Identities; Political Research Quarterly; Public Budgeting and Finance; Public Opinion Quarterly; Routledge Press; Royal Society of New Zealand Marsden Fund; Russell Sage Foundation; Social Science Quarterly; Social Science Research; Socioeconomic Review; Sociological Quarterly; Sociology of Religion; State Politics and Policy Quarterly; Westview Press; World Politics.

#### Program Committees

Southern Political Science Association 2020 Annual Meeting Southern Political Science Association 2016 Annual Meeting

### **Professional Memberships**

American Political Science Association, Lifetime Member

- Class and Inequality Section
- Political Methodology Section
- Legislative Studies Section

- Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Section
- Political Economy Section

Midwest Political Science Association, Lifetime

Scholars Strategy Network, Co-director of Tennessee Chapter

### Departmental

University of Tennessee

- Public Policy/Public Administration Search Committee, 2021.
- Open Field Search Committee (2 searches), 2019
- American Politics Search Committee (2 searches, chair), 2015.
- London Study Abroad Committee (chair), 2013.
- Graduate Studies Committee (elected), 2010-2011, 2013-present.
- Advisory Committee to the Head (elected), 2006-2011, 2013-2015.
- Undergraduate Studies Committee (elected), 2006–2010.
- Methodology Ph.D. Exam Committee (chair), 2009–2011.
- Methodology Ph.D. Exam Committee (member), 2012–present.
- American Politics Ph.D. Exam Committee, 2007–present.
- American Politics Ph.D. Exam Committee (chair), 2007–2008.
- Task Force on Departmental Response to Academic Program Review, 2008.
- American Politics Search Committee, 2006–2007.

### University at Buffalo

• Undergraduate Curriculum Committee, 2004–2005.

#### Dissertation Committee Service

- Giovanny Pleites-Hernandez, University of Tennessee, chair (initial placement, UNC-Asheville, NTT)
- Eric Keller, University of Tennessee, chair (initial placement, Chair of Blount County Democratic Party)
- Sarah Young, University of Tennessee
- Mikel Norris, University of Tennessee
- Matt Gross, University of Tennessee
- Doug Spence, University of Tennessee
- Jamie Todhunter, University of Tennessee
- Amy Atchison, University of Tennessee
- Colin Glennon, University of Tennessee
- Josh Grubbs, University of Tennessee
- Kristin Wagers, University of Tennessee

#### M.A. Committee Service

- Brandon O'Neill, University of Tennessee
- Elizabeth Scaperoth, University of Tennessee
- John Dickey, University of Tennessee
- Dan Dufty, University of Tennessee
- Sara Jeffords, University of Tennessee
- Mike Wennerlund, University of Tennessee
- Katie Meridith, University of Tennessee

#### College and University

- Department of Psychology Department Head Retention Committee, University of Tennessee, 2017.
- Organizer of Panel Discussion on The Trump Era and the Future of Economic Inequality, University of Tennessee, 2017.
- Organizer of Panel Discussion on Mass Incarceration, University of Tennessee, 2017.

- Roundtable on Mayer's *Dark Money*, University of Tennessee Center for the Study of Social Justice, 2017.
- Chancellor's Grant Award Committee, 2017.
- Dean's Advisory Committee, 2014–present.
- Haines-Morris Award Committee, 2013-2016.
- Roundtable on Piketty's *Capital in America*, University of Tennessee Center for the Study of Social Justice, 2014.
- Arts and Sciences Dean's Advisory Board Excellence Professor Research Presentation, 2012.
- University of Tennessee Inequality Roundtable Participant, 2012.
- Social Science Faculty Representative, Arts and Sciences Showcase, Scholars Invitational, 2012.
- Arts and Sciences Pre-game Showcase Speaker, 2012.
- College of Arts and Sciences Teaching Award Committee, 2010.
- University Planning Committee for 2009 Focus on Poverty.
- Advisor to Ian Orr in College Scholars Program, 2008-2010.
- Advisor to Madi Teague in Undergraduate Summer Internship Program, 2009.

#### Community

- Co-director, Data and Analysis, KCS-PASS.
- Expert Guest, The Phil Show "Income Inequality and Politics", NewsTalk 98.7, Knoxville, TN.
- Expert Guest, Tennessee This Week, WATE-TV, Knoxville, TN.
- Expert Guest, At Issue with Ben Merens, Wisconsin Public Radio.
- Expert Guest, Talkback Segment: "National Election: 47% Comments", WATE-TV, Knoxville, TN.
- Expert Guest, David Sirota Show, AM 760, Denver, CO.
- Commissioner, Knoxville-Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission, 2009–2014.
- Invited Speaker, Poverty Course and Seminar, All Souls Church, Knoxville, TN, March, 2009.
- Invited Speaker, Torch Club International, Knoxville, TN, January, 2009.

- Invited Speaker, West Knox Rotary Club, Knoxville, TN, September, 2008.
- Invited Participant, Math Careers Night, Christenberry Elementary School, Knoxville, TN, April, 2008.
- Invited Speaker, Community Forum on Religion and Politics in the 2004 Elections, Buffalo, NY, January, 2005.

# REFERENCES

Available upon request.