

## VITA

Sanford F. Schram

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### Current Academic Appointment:

Professor of Political Science, Hunter College, CUNY, 2013-  
Professor of Sociology, CUNY Graduate Center, 2016-

### Education:

Ph.D. Political Science SUNY/Albany, December, 1979  
Albany, New York 12222  
Major: American Political Systems  
Minors: Political Theory/Public Administration  
Cognate: Social Psychology

M.A. Political Science SUNY/Albany, December, 1973  
Albany, New York 12222

B.A. St. Lawrence University, May 1971  
Canton, New York 13617

### Honors and Awards:

Herbert Simon Award from the American Political Science Association for *Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), Co-authored with Joe Soss and Richard C. Fording, 2015.

International Research Collaboration Award, "Social Impact Bonds and the Welfare State: Financialization and Its Implications for Democratic Governance," University of Sydney, 2014-2015.

CHOICE Magazine Outstanding Academic Title for 2013 for *Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race* (University of Chicago Press), 2013.

Beryl Radin Award for the best article published in the *Journal of Public Research Administration and Theory* in 2011, for the article "The Organization of Discipline: From Performance Management to Perversity and Punishment." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 21(suppl 2): 203-232.

Oliver Cromwell Cox Book Award for *Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race* (University of Chicago Press). Awarded by the Section on Racial and Ethnic Minorities (SREM) of the American Sociological Association, August 19, 2012.

Michael Harrington Award from the American Political Science Association for *Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), Co-authored with Joe Soss and Richard C. Fording, 2012.

Charles McCoy Career Achievement Award, American Political Science Association, Caucus for a New Political Science, 2012.

Best Paper Award, Public Policy Section, American Political Science Association, Co-authored with Joe Soss, Richard C. Fording, and Linda Houser, "Deciding to Discipline: A Multi Method Study of Race, Choice, and Punishment at the Frontlines of Welfare Reform," (Paper presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 29-September 2, 2007).

Best Paper Award, Public Policy Section, American Political Science Association, Co-authored with Richard Fording and Joe Soss, "The Color of Devolution: The Politics of Local Punishment in an Era of Neoliberal Welfare Reform," (Paper presented at the 2005 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 31-September 3, 2005).

Rosabeth Moss Kanter Change Masters Award, Bryn Mawr College 2002-2003.

Michael Harrington Award from the American Political Science Association for *Words of Welfare: The Poverty of Social Science and the Social Science of Poverty* (Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 1996.

Distinguished Alumnus Rockefeller College of Public Affairs & Policy, 1989.

Alumni Citation, St. Lawrence University, 2008.

**Prior Academic Teaching Appointments:**

Visiting Professor, Graduate School of Social Work and Social Research, Bryn Mawr College, 9/97-8/2013

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Hawai'i, 8/96-6/97

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Macalester College, 9/91-6/96

Associate Professor, Political Science, SUNY/Potsdam, 1983-1991

Assistant Professor, Political Science, SUNY/Potsdam, 1980-1983

Instructor, Political Science, SUNY/Potsdam, 1978-1980

**Prior Academic Administrative Appointments:**

Affiliate, National Poverty Center, University of Michigan, 2007-2013

Co-Director, Center on Ethnicities, Communities and Social Policy, Bryn Mawr College, 2002-2006

Director of Public Policy Center, School of Social Work, University of Hawai'i, 8/96-8/97

Acting Chairperson, Department of Political Science, SUNY/Potsdam 13676, 1/84-12/84

Chairperson, Department of Political Science, SUNY/Potsdam, Potsdam NY 13676, 1/85-8/89

Acting Chairperson, Department of Political Science, Macalester College, St. Paul MN, 6/92-7/93

**Visiting Appointments:**

Visiting Fellow, US Studies Centre, University of Sydney, 2/14-4/14

Visiting Professor, Copenhagen Business School, Copenhagen, Denmark, 6/23-8/14/2013

Visiting Professor, Comparative Welfare Policy, Johannes Kepler University, Linz, Austria, 6/1-6/21/12

Visiting Scholar, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1/11-6/11

Visiting Professor, Institut d'études politiques, University of Strasbourg, 10/10

Visiting Scholar, National Poverty Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 9/07-12/07

Visiting Professor (Faculty Exchange), Department of Political Science, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 1995-1996

Adjunct Professor, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities, Minneapolis MN, Spring, 1995

Visiting Scholar, Visiting Associate Professor, Robert M. La Follette Institute of Public Affairs, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993-94

Visiting Affiliate, Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993-94

Walter Mondale Policy Fellow, Humphrey School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, 1991-92.

Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Macalester College, 9/89-8/91

Visiting Scholar, Visiting Associate Professor, Robert M. La Follette Institute of Public Affairs, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1986-1987

Affiliate, Institute for Research on Poverty, UW/Madison, 1986-1987

**Editorial Appointments:**

Editorial Board, *Social Work for a New Century* (Michael Reisch editor, Multi-volumes, Sage)

External Review Board, *Social Service Review*

Editorial Board, *New Political Science*

Editorial Board, *Critical Public Policy: Analysis and Practice*

International Advisory Board, *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*

Consulting Editor, *Social Work: Journal of the National Association of Social Workers*, 2001-2004

Co-Editor, Annual Review for *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 1995-2000

Editor, Special Issue on Future of Higher Education and American Democracy, *New Political Science*, 12/14

**Journal Manuscript Review:**

*American Political Science Review*

*American Sociological Review*

*American Journal of Sociology*

*American Journal of Political Science*

*Antipode*

*Journal of Politics*

*New Political Science*

*Perspectives on Politics*  
*Polity*  
*Publius: The Journal of Federalism*  
*Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*  
*Journal of Political and Military Sociology*  
*Signs*  
*Social Science Quarterly*  
*Social Forces*  
*Social Service Review*  
*Social Work*  
*Critical Policy Analysis*  
*Policy Sciences*

**Book Manuscript Review:**

Cambridge University Press  
Columbia University Press  
Cornell University Press  
Duke University Press  
MIT Press  
New York University Press  
Oxford University Press  
Pennsylvania State University Press  
Princeton University Press  
Stanford University Press  
State University of New York Press  
Temple University Press  
University of California Press  
University of Chicago Press  
University of Illinois Press  
University of Pennsylvania Press  
Yale University Press

**Recent Tenure(T)/Reappointment(R)/Promotion(P) Reviews:**

Political Science:

Brooklyn College (T), Brooklyn College (P), Brown University (T), City College-CUNY (P), University of California-Irvine (T), Drake University (T), Fordham University (P), Haverford College (R), Kent State University (T), University of Oregon (T), Hunter College-CUNY (T), Hunter College-CUNY (T), Hunter College (P), Johns Hopkins University (P), Ohio University (T), Providence College (T), Rhode Island College (T), Rochester Institute of Technology (T), Rhodes College (T), Rutgers University-Newark (P), UC-Santa Cruz (R), University of Massachusetts-Amherst (P), University of South Florida (T), Wheaton College (T), Pace University (P)

Sociology:

Northwestern University (T), University of Connecticut (P), Florida Atlantic University (T), John Jay College (T), University of Massachusetts-Boston (T), Ohio University (P), Rutgers University-Camden (T)

Social Work:

Columbia University (T), University of Georgia (T), University of Michigan (T), Rutgers University (T), University of South Carolina (T), University of Chicago (R), Widener University (T)

History:

University of Vermont (P)

Science and Technology Studies:

RPI (T)

Public Affairs:

American University (P), American University (P), University of Minnesota-Twin Cities (T), Virginia

Commonwealth University (P)

School of Communication:

University of Southern California (T)

**Primary Teaching Areas:**

American Politics  
Political Behavior  
Political Economy  
Neoliberalism  
Public Policy Making and Analysis  
Social Welfare Policy  
Social Theory  
Contemporary Political Theory  
Power  
Globalization  
Welfare Reform  
Welfare Politics  
Politics of Criminalization  
Public Policy Advocacy  
Class, Race and Gender  
Social Science Research Methods  
Political Research Methods  
Administration and Management of Public Agencies

Courses Taught (D=Doctoral, M=Masters, U=Undergraduate)

American Politics (D/M/U)  
Politics of Neoliberalism (D/M/U)  
Welfare Politics (D/M/U)  
Public Policy (D/M/U)  
Social Theory (D/M/U)  
Research Methods (D/M/U)  
Contemporary Political Thought (D/U)  
Power and Democracy in the US (U)  
Political Parties (U)  
Urban Politics (U)  
Politics of Inequality (U)  
Politics of Criminalization (U)  
Politics of Rage (U)  
US Politics (U)

Possible Additional Doctoral Courses:

Social Movements and Social Justice  
Race and Racism in Contemporary US Politics  
Neoliberal Political Economy  
Politics of Inequality  
US Political Behavior  
Power and Democracy in the US  
Politics of Higher Education  
Neoliberalism, Marx and Foucault

**Director of Work for the Ph.D.:**

Ronald Ayler (Bryn Mawr)  
Rosemary Barbera (Bryn Mawr)  
Wesley Bryant (Bryn Mawr)  
Thomas Duffin (Bryn Mawr)  
Guy Feldman (Bryn Mawr)

Patrick Kaylor (Bryn Mawr)  
Janet Panning (Bryn Mawr)  
Michael Pfeiffer (Bryn Mawr)  
Melania Popa-Mabe (Bryn Mawr)  
Roland Stahl (Bryn Mawr)  
Jennifer Stotter (Bryn Mawr)

**Committee Member for the Ph.D.:**

Robin Templeton (CUNY)  
Atsuko Sato (UH-Manoa)  
Nina Berven (University of Bergen, Norway)  
Page Buck (Bryn Mawr)  
Margo Campbell (Bryn Mawr)  
Mary Caplan (UC-Berkeley)  
Ivory Copeland (University of Delaware)  
Grace Cheng (UH-Manoa)  
Patrice Gammon (Bryn Mawr)  
Tine Hartmann (Bryn Mawr)  
Thomas Hawley (UH-Manoa)  
Linda Houser (Bryn Mawr)  
Tina Kimmel (UC-Berkeley)  
Isis Leslie (Rutgers University)  
Justine McNamara (Bryn Mawr)  
Lauren Miltenberger (University of Delaware)  
Stephen Pimpare (CUNY Graduate Center)  
Sarah Podolin (Bryn Mawr)  
Greg Richardson (UH-Manoa)  
Corey Shdaimah (Bryn Mawr)  
Barbara Toews (Bryn Mawr)  
Sarah Van Belle (Bryn Mawr)

**Books Published:**

*Words of Welfare: The Poverty of Social Science and the Social Science of Poverty* (Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1995). Winner of the Michael Harrington Book Award for 1996 from American Political Science Association.

*Tales of the State: Narrative in U.S. Politics and Public Policy* (Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997). Co-edited with Philip T. Neisser.

*Welfare Reform: A Race to the Bottom?* (Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), Co-edited with Samuel H. Beer.

*After Welfare: The Culture of Postindustrial Social Policy* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

*Praxis for the Poor: Piven and Cloward and the Future of Social Science in Social Welfare* (New York: New York University Press, 2002).

*Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), Co-edited with Richard C. Fording and Joe Soss.

*Welfare Discipline: Discourse, Governance, and Globalization* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006).

*Making Political Science Matter: Debating Knowledge, Research and Method* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), Co-edited with Brian Caterino.

*Change Research: A Case Study of Housing Advocacy and Social Work Research* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), Co-authored with Corey Shdaimah and Roland Stahl.

*Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), Co-authored with Joe Soss and Richard C. Fording. Harrington and Simon Awards from APSA and Cox Award from ASA.

*Real Social Science: Applied Phronesis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), Co-edited with Bent Flyvbjerg and Todd Landman.

*Becoming a Footnote: An Activist-Scholar Finds His Voice, Learns to Write and Survives Academia* (SUNY Press, 2013).

*The Return of Ordinary Capitalism: Neoliberalism, Precarity, Occupy* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

*Neoliberalizing the University: Implications for American Democracy* (New York: Routledge, 2016). Edited volume.

*Rethinking Neoliberalism: Resisting the Disciplinary Regime* (New York: Routledge, 2017), Edited with Marianna Pavlovskaya.

*Hard White: Outgroup Hostility and the Mainstreaming of Racism in America* co-authored with Richard C. Fording (under review at Oxford University Press).

#### **Published Articles and Book Chapters:**

with Richard Hurley, "Title XX and the Elderly," *Social Work*, March 1977, pp. 95-102.

with David F. Osten, "CETA and the Aging," *Aging and Work*, August 1978, pp. 163-74.

"Elderly Policy Particularism and the New Social Services," *Social Service Review*, March 1979, pp. 75-91.

"Citizen Participation in Planning Social Services Programs," *Social Work*, March 1980, pp. 153-54.

"Elderly Policy Particularism," *The Aging in Politics: Process and Policy*, Robert B. Hudson, ed. (Springfield, Ill: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1981).

"Politics, Professionalism and the Changing Federalism," *Social Service Review*, March 1981, pp. 78-92.

"The Myth of Workfare," *Catalyst*, Winter 1982, pp. 49-61.

"Social Services for Older People," *Age or Need?* Bernice Neugarten, ed. (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1983).

with J. Patrick Turbett, "Civil Disorder and the Welfare Explosion: A Two-Step Process," *American Sociological Review*, June 1983, pp. 408-14.

with J. Patrick Turbett, "The Welfare Explosion: Mass Society versus Social Control," *Social Service Review*, December 1983, pp. 614-25.

with Antone Aboud, "Public Policy and Public Sector Strike Behavior," *Journal of Collective Negotiations*, Spring 1984, pp. 109-15.

with Antone Aboud, "An Overview of Plant Closing Legislation and Issues," *Plant Closing Legislation*, Antone Aboud, ed. (Key Issues Number 27 ILR Press, Cornell University, 1984).

with Antone Aboud, "Plant Closing Legislation and Issues," Paul Studohar and Holly Brown, eds., *Deindustrialization and Plant Closings* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1986).

"The New Federalism and Social Welfare: AFDC in the Midwest," Peter Eisinger and William Gormley, Jr., eds., *The Midwest Response to the New Federalism* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

with Pat Turbett and Paul Wilken, "Child Poverty and Welfare Benefits: Reconsideration with State Data," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, October 1988, pp. 409-422.

with Paul Wilken, "It's No 'Laffer' Matter: Welfare Spending and Poverty," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, April 1989, pp. 203-218.

with Michael Wiseman, "Should Families be Protected from AFDC-UP?" (Madison, WI: Institute for Research on Poverty Discussion Paper #860-88).

with Theresa Funciello, "Welfare in the Cuomo Years: Less is Less," in *New York State Today*, Peter Colby and John K. White, eds. (Albany: SUNY Press, 1989), pp. 281-91.

with Funciello, "Post-Mortem on the Deterioration of the Welfare Grant," in *The Reconstruction of Family Policy*, Elaine Anderson and Richard Hula, eds. (Greenwood Press, 1991), pp. 149-64.

"Welfare Spending and Poverty: More is Less," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, April 1991, pp. 129-42.

"The Postmodern Presidency and the Grammar of Electronic Electioneering," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, June 1991, pp. 210-16.

"Postpositivistic Policy Analysis and the Family Support Act of 1988: Symbols at the Expense of Substance," *Polity*, Summer 1992, pp. 633-55.

"World Hunger: A Review--Bread for the World, *Hunger 1993: Uprooted People* (1993)," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, October 1993, pp. 492-93.

"Postindustrial Family Policy: Just Say No to Women and Children," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 26,1, March 1994, pp. 36-63.

with Gary Krueger, "Interstate Variation in Welfare Benefits and Migration of the Poor: Substantive Concerns and Symbolic Responses," (Madison WI: Institute for Research on Poverty Discussion Paper, DP #1032-94).

"Postmodern Policy Analysis: Identity and Difference in Social Policy," *Policy Sciences*, 26, 2, Spring 1993, pp. 249-70.

with Philip T. Neisser, "(Re)doubling Denial: Industrial Welfare Policy Meets Postindustrial Poverty," *Social Text*, 41, Winter 1994, pp. 41-60.

with Gary Krueger, "'Welfare Magnets' and Benefit Decline: Symbolic Problems and Substantive Consequences," *Publius*, 24,4, December 1994, pp. 44-67.

"Inverting Political Economy: Perspective, Position, and Discourse in the Analysis of Poverty," *Rethinking MARXISM*, 8,2, Summer 1995, pp. 78-99.

"Against Policy Analysis: Critical Reason and Poststructural Resistance," *Policy Sciences*, 28, 4, Fall 1995, 375-84.

with Carol Weissert, "Federalism 1995-1996: An Overview," *Publius*, 26, 3, Fall 1996, pp. 1-26.

with Carol Weissert, "Federalism 1996-1997: An Overview," *Publius*, 27, 2, Spring 1997, pp. 1-31.

with Lawrence Nitz and Gary Krueger, "Without Cause or Effect: Reconsidering Welfare Migration as a Policy Problem," *American Journal of Political Science*, 42, 1, January 1998, pp. 210-30.

with R. Scott Daniels, "'Poor' Statistical Accounting: Welfare Policy Research in Cyberspace and Public Sphere," *Theory & Event*, 2.2, Spring 1998.

with Carol Weissert, "Federalism 1997-1998: An Overview," *Publius*, 28, 2, Spring 1998, pp. 1-28.

"Introduction," Welfare Reform: A Race to the Bottom? Special Issue, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 28, 3, Summer 1998, pp. 1-9.

with Joe Soss, "Making Something Out of Nothing: Welfare Reform and the New Race to the Bottom," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 28, 3, Summer 1998, pp. 67-88.

with Joe Soss, "The Real Value of Welfare: Why Poor Families Do Not Migrate," *Politics and Society*, 27, 1, March 1999, pp. 39-66.

with Thomas Vartanian, Joe Soss, and Jim Baumohl, "Already Hit Bottom: Welfare Retrenchment, General Assistance and Single Male Migration," *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 26, 2, June 1999, pp. 151-74.

with Carol Weissert, "The State of U.S. Federalism: 1998-1999," *Publius*, 29, 2, Spring 1999, pp. 1-34.

"In the Clinic: The Medicalization of Welfare," *Social Text*, 62, 18, 1, Spring 2000, pp. 81-107.

with Carol Weissert, "The State of U.S. Federalism: 1999-2000," *Publius*, 30, 1-2, Winter/Spring 2000, pp. 1-19.

with Joe Soss, Thomas Vartanian and Erin O'Brien, "Setting the Terms of Relief: Explaining State Policy Choices in the Devolution Revolution," *American Journal of Political Science*, 45, 2, April 2001, pp. 378-95.

"Federalism: Reconciling National Values with States Rights and Local Control in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," *Focus on Law Studies*, (a dialogue with Michael Belknap, Michael Greve, Jennie Kronenfeld, Kathryn McDermott, Robert Nagel, Paul Posner, Denise Scheberle, and Sanford Schram) Published by the American Bar Association, 26, 1, Spring 2001, pp. 1-16.

with Joe Soss, "Success Stories: Welfare Reform, Policy Discourse, and the Politics of Welfare Reform," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 577, September 2001, pp. 49-65.

"Social Welfare After September 11," *The Nonprofit Quarterly*, Spring 2002, pp. 21-24.

with Joe Soss, "Success Stories: Welfare Reform, Policy Discourse, and the Politics of Welfare Reform," in Randy Albelda and Ann Withorn, eds., *Lost Ground: Welfare, Poverty and Beyond* (Boston: South End Press, 2002), pp. 57-78.

"Race and State Welfare Reform Choices: A Cause for Concern," in *From Poverty to Punishment: How Welfare Reform Punishes the Poor* (Oakland CA: Applied Research Center, 2002), pp. 89-107.

"Federalism in the United States," in Ann L. Griffiths, ed. *Handbook of Federal Countries, 2002* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), pp. 342-57.

with Joe Soss, Thomas Vartanian and Erin O'Brien, "The Hard Line and the Color Line: Race, Welfare, and the Roots of Get-Tough Reform," in Sanford F. Schram, Joe Soss, and Richard Fording, eds., *Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), pp. 225-53.

"Illusions of Change: Rethinking the Current Welfare Retrenchment," *Social Service Review* 77, 3, September 2003, pp. 475-80.

"Return to Politics: Perestroika and Postparadigmatic Political Science," *Political Theory* 31, 6, December 2003, pp. 835-51.

"The Praxis of *Poor People's Movements*: Strategy and Theory in Dissensus Politics," *Perspectives on Politics* 1, 4, December 2003, pp. 715-720.

with Joe Soss, Tom Vartanian, and Erin O'Brien, "Welfare Policy Choices in the States: Does the Hard Line Follow the Color Line?," *Focus*, 23, 1, Winter 2004, pp. 9-15.

"Beyond Paradigm: Resisting the Assimilation of Phroentic Social Science," *Politics & Society*, 32, 3, September 2004, pp. 413-433.

"Putting a Black Face on Welfare: The Good and the Bad," in Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram, eds. *Deserving and Entitled: Social Constructions and Public Policy* (SUNY Press, 2005), pp. 261-89.

"Return to Politics: Perestroika, Phronesis, and Post-Paradigmatic Political Science," in Kristen Monroe, ed., *Perestroika! The Raucous Rebellion in Political Science* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 103-14.

"Federalism in the United States," in Ann L. Griffiths, ed. *Handbook of Federal Countries, 2004* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), pp. 372-391.

"Dependency," in *Poverty in America: An Encyclopedia of History, Policy, and Society*, Gwendolyn Mink, Alice O'Connor, eds. (New York: ABC-CLIO, 2004), pp. 225-226.

"'Working Poor'," in *Poverty in America: An Encyclopedia of History, Policy, and Society*, Gwendolyn Mink, Alice O'Connor, eds. (New York: ABC-CLIO, 2004), pp. 832-834.

"Regulating the Poor: *Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward*," in *Poverty in America: An Encyclopedia of History, Policy, and Society*, Gwendolyn Mink, Alice O'Connor, eds. (New York: ABC-CLIO, 2004), pp. 627-628.

"Contextualizing Racial Disparities in American Welfare Reform: Toward a New Poverty Research," *Perspectives on Politics* 3, 2, June 2005, pp. 253-68.

"Social Security Act of 1935," in *Encyclopedia of American Federalism*, Joseph Marbach, Ellis Katz and Troy Smith, eds. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006), pp. 577-78.

"Shapiro v. Thompson," in *Encyclopedia of American Federalism*, Joseph Marbach, Ellis Katz and Troy Smith, eds. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006), p. 566.

"Personal Responsibility & Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996," in *Encyclopedia of American Federalism*, Joseph Marbach, Ellis Katz and Troy Smith, eds. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006), pp. 477-79.

"TANF," in *Encyclopedia of American Federalism*, Joseph Marbach, Ellis Katz and Troy Smith, eds. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006), pp. 636-37.

“That Old Black Magic? The New Politics of Racial Implication,” in Keith Kilty and Elizabeth Segal, eds., *The Promise of Welfare Reform: Results or Rhetoric?* (New York: Halworth Press, 2006).

“Homelessness and the Ownership Society: An Inclusive Exclusion,” *Political Theory* 34, 1, February 2006, pp. 132-35.

“New Poverty Research,” in *Encyclopedia of Governance*, Mark Bevir, ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006).

with Joe Soss, “Coloring the Terms of Membership: Reinventing the Divided Citizenry in an Era of Neoliberal Paternalism,” (Ann Arbor: National Poverty Center, Working Paper #06-13, June, 2006).

with Richard Fording and Joe Soss, “Devolution, Discretion, and Local Variation in TANF Sanctioning.” (Lexington: University of Kentucky, Center on Poverty Research, Discussion Paper #DP2006-04, 2006).

with Richard Fording and Joe Soss, “Devolution, Discretion, and Variation in Local TANF Sanctioning,” *Insights on Southern Poverty* 4, 1, Spring 2006, pp. 1, 3-5.

with Richard Fording and Joe Soss, “The Bottom Line, the Business Model and the Bogey: Performance Management, Sanctions, and the Brave New World of Welfare-to-Work in Florida.” (Lexington: University of Kentucky, Center on Poverty Research, Discussion Paper #DP2006-10, 2006).

with Joe Soss, “Welfare Reform as a Failed Political Strategy: Evidence and Explanations for the Stability of Public Opinion,” *Focus*, 24, 3, Fall-Winter 2006, pp. 17-23.

with Joe Soss, “A Public Transformed? Welfare Reform and Policy Feedback,” *American Political Science Review*, 101, 1, February 2007, pp. 111-127.

with Richard Fording and Joe Soss, “Devolution, Discretion and the Effect of Local Political Values on TANF Sanctioning,” *Social Service Review* 81, 2 (June 2007): 285-316.

with Richard Fording and Joe Soss, “Distributing Discipline: Race, Politics, and Punishment at the Front Lines of Welfare Reform,” (Lexington: University of Kentucky, Center on Poverty Research, Discussion Paper #DP 2007-04, 2007).

with Joe Soss, “The Promise of a Public Transformed: Welfare Reform and Policy Feedback,” in Joe Soss, Jacob Hacker, and Suzanne Mettler, eds. *Remaking America: Democracy and Public Policy in an Age of Inequality* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2007), pp. 99-118.

“Taking Political Science Seriously: Mixing Methods Makes for a More Contingent but Self-Reflective Discipline,” *Human Studies*, 30, 3 (September 2007): 275-280.

“Race, Blood, Land: Fugitive Fictions and the Facts of America,” *Theory & Event*, 11, 3 (Fall 2007): [http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/theory\\_and\\_event/v010/10.3schram.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/theory_and_event/v010/10.3schram.html).

“Poor People’s Movements,” entry, *Encyclopedia of Social History*, forthcoming.

with Joe Soss, “Coloring the Terms of Membership: Reinventing the Divided Citizenry in an Era of Neoliberal Paternalism,” in Ann Chih Lin and David Harris, ed., *The Colors of Poverty: Why Racial and Ethnic Disparities Persist* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2009), pp. 293-322.

“Success Story Syndrome: Crediting Welfare Reform Rather than the People Who Survive It,” *New Labor Forum* 17, 1 (Spring 2008): 90-99.

with Brian Caterino, "A Response to Todd Landsman," *Political Studies* 6, 2 (May 2008): 186-87.

with Richard Fording and Joe Soss, "Neoliberal Poverty Governance: Race, Place and the Punitive Turn in U.S. Welfare Policy," *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 1, 1 (April 2008): 17-36..

with Joe Soss and Richard Fording, "The Color of Devolution: The Politics of Local Punishment in an Era of Neo-liberal Welfare Reform," *American Journal of Political Science* 52, 3 (July 2008): 536-553 .

with Joe Soss, Richard C. Fording, and Linda Houser, "Deciding to Discipline: A Multi-Method Study of Race, Choice and Punishment on the Frontlines of Welfare Reform," (Ann Arbor: National Poverty Center, Working Paper #07-33, 2007): [http://www.npc.umich.edu/publications/u/working\\_paper07-33.pdf](http://www.npc.umich.edu/publications/u/working_paper07-33.pdf).

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### **Book Reviews Published:**

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Ellen Reese, *They Say Cutback; We Say Fightback! Welfare Activism in an Era of Retrenchment* (New York: Sage Foundation, 2011), *American Journal of Sociology* 118 (2013): 1118-1120.

Rena Steinzor and Sidney Shapiro, *The People's Agents and the Battle to Protect the American Public: Special Interests, Government, and Threats to Health, Safety and the Environment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010). *Perspectives on Politics* 10, 3 (September 2012): 844-845.

Ben Fine, *Theories of Social Capital: Researchers Behaving Badly* (London: Pluto Press, 2010) *Perspectives on Politics* 9, 1 (March 2011): 156-157.

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- Jeffrey Isaac, *The Poverty of Progressivism: The Future of American Democracy in a Time of Liberal Decline* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), *Perspectives on Politics*, 2, 1, March 2004, pp. 117-118.
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- Desmond King, *Actively Seeking Work? The Politics of Unemployment and Welfare Policy in the United States and Great Britain* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), *American Political Science Review*, 91, 1, February 1997, pp. 218-19.
- Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds. *States, Social Knowledge, and the Origins of Modern Social Policies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), *Journal of Politics*, February 1997.

Herbert J. Gans, *The War Against the Poor: The Underclass and Antipoverty Policy* (New York: Basic Books, 1995); Melvin L. Oliver & Thomas M. Shapiro, *Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality* (New York: Routledge, 1995), *The Annals*, 548, November 1996, pp. 233-34.

Richard Nathan, *Turning Promises into Performance: The Management Challenge of Implementing Workfare* (Columbia University Press, 1993), *Publius*, Fall 1993, pp. 151-52.

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Martha Derthick, *Agency Under Stress: The Social Security Administration in American Government* (Brookings, 1990), *Journal of Politics*, May 1992, pp. 593-95.

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Thomas Wartenberg, *Forms of Power: From Domination to Transformation* (Temple, 1990), *American Political Science Review*, March 1992, pp. 223-24.

Stewart Clegg, *Frameworks of Power* (Sage, 1989), *American Political Science Review*, March 1991, pp. 262-63.

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Judith Marcus and Zoltan Tarr, *Georg Luckas* (Transaction Books, 1989), *Perspective*, Fall 1990, p. 245.

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Jeffrey C. Isaac, *Power and Marxist Theory: A Realist View by* (Cornell, 1987), *American Political Science Review*, September, 1988, pp. 975-76.

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Paul M. Johnson and William R. Thompson, ed., *Rhythms in Politics and Economics*, *Perspective*, 15, 4, July/August, 1986, p. 120.

Clement Cottingham, ed., *Race, Poverty and the Underclass, Administration in Social Work*, Spring 1984, pp. 134-35.

#### **Research Papers Presented:**

with John K. White, "Renovation versus Realignment: Variations in State Republican Party Renovation in New York and Connecticut" (Paper presented at the Northeastern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Newark, New Jersey, November 1981).

"Realignment and the Mass Media: The Effects of Television on Partisanship" (Paper presented at the New York State Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Albany, New York, April 1982).

"The Aging and the New Federalism: Age vs. Need Strategies" (Paper presented at the Gerontological Society Annual Meeting, Boston Massachusetts, October, 1983).

with J. Patrick Turbett, "The Standardization of AFDC" (Paper presented at the New York State Sociological Association Annual Meeting, November, 1983).

with J. Patrick Turbett, "State Discretion in AFDC" (Paper presented at the New York State Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New York, New York, April 1985).

with "The Intergovernmental Structure of AFDC: Consequences for the Poor in an Age of Social Cutbacks" (Paper presented at the New York State Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Albany, New York, April 1986).

with J. Patrick Turbett and Paul H. Wilken, "Welfare Dependency and Poverty Reconsidered" (Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., August, 1986).

with J. Patrick Turbett and Paul H. Wilken, "Child Poverty and Welfare Dependency: A Reconsideration with State Data" (Paper presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, New York, New York, September 1986).

"(Dis)courses of Dependency: Workfare and the Code of Welfare," (Paper presented at the NEH Summer Seminar "Symbolism and Politics" directed by Murray Edelman, June 11 - August 6, 1987, University of Wisconsin-Madison).

"The Ideological Limits of Welfare Rights: The Political Consequences of the Commodification of Welfare," (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the New York State Political Science Association, April 29, 1988, Albany, New York).

"State Discretion in AFDC: Response to the Reagan Reforms," (Paper presented at the 10th Annual Meeting of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, October 28, 1988, Seattle, Washington).

with Theresa Funciello, "Post-Mortem on the Deterioration of the Welfare Grant," (Paper presented at the 20th Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association, November 12, 1988, Providence, Rhode Island).

with Mark Prus and Turbett, "Intergovernmental Finance in Social Welfare: The Effects of Food Stamps on AFDC," (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2, 1989, Atlanta, Georgia).

"Reinforcing the Work Ethic by Negative Example: The Family Support Act," (Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 3, 1990, San Francisco CA).

"JOBS: The Politics of Workfare," (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 29, 1991, Washington DC).

"Pragmatic Theories vs. Theories of Pragmatism: Post-positivistic Political Theory," (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, March 18, 1992, San Francisco CA).

"Substitution, Competition, Attraction and Crowding-Out: The Intergovernmental Dynamics for Financing Public Assistance," (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1, 1992, Chicago IL).

"Postindustrial Welfare Policy: Just Say No to Women and Children," (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2, 1992, Chicago IL).

"Welfare Magnets' and Benefit Decline: Symbolic Problems and Substantive Consequences," (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1, 1994, New York City).

"*Regulating the Poor: The Universal Technology of the Self*," (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2, 1994, New York City).

"Contracting America: Business, Law and the Contagion of Policy Discourse in the Personal Responsibility Act of 1995," (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2, 1995, Chicago, Illinois).

"Welfare-Taking as a Social Movement: Micro-Power, Performative Politics and Narratives of Welfare (In)dependency," (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2, 1995, Chicago, Illinois).

"The Orphanage as the New State of Nature," (Paper Presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 30, 1996, San Francisco, California).

"American Federalism in Review: 1996," (Paper Presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 31, 1996, San Francisco, California).

"Policy Developments in American Federalism," (Paper Presented at the American Society for Public Administration, July 26, 1997, Philadelphia PA).

"Overview of American Federalism: 1996-1997," (Paper Presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 28, 1997, Washington, D.C.).

with Joe Soss, "The Real Value of Welfare: Why There is No Welfare Migration," (Paper Presented at the Conference, "Welfare Reform: A Race to the Bottom?" Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC, March 27, 1998).

"Deconstructing Devolution: Racing to the Bottom and Other Ironies of Welfare Reform," (Paper Presented at the Western Political Science Association, Seattle WA, March 26, 1999).

"Major Developments in American Federalism, 1997-1998," (Paper Presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 28-31, 1998, Boston MA).

"After Social Security: Reconsidering Universalism in the Welfare State," (Paper Presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 2-5, 1999, Atlanta, Georgia).

"The Social Work of Politics: The 'Other' in Jane Addams' Feminist Theory of Democracy," (Paper Presented at the Northeast Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia PA, November 5, 1999).

"Race, Riots, and Reform: Welfare Reform Politics from the 1960s to the 1990s," (Paper Presented at Conference on *Work, Welfare and Politics*, Center for the Study of Women in Society, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, February 28-29, 2000).

With Joe Soss, Tom Vartanian and Erin O'Brien, "Race, Ideology and Economy: Welfare Retrenchment in the Devolution Revolution," (Paper Presented at Conference on *Work, Welfare and Politics*, Center for the Study of Women in Society, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, February 28-29, 2000).

with Joe Soss, Tom Vartanian and Erin O'Brien, "Setting the Terms of Relief: Explaining State Policy Choices in the Devolution Revolution," (Paper Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April, 21, 2000).

"The Future of Social Science in Social Welfare: Piven and Cloward, Daniel P. Moynihan, David Ellwood, Jane Addams," (Paper Presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 31-September 3, 2000, Washington DC).

"Putting a Black Face on Welfare: The Good and the Bad," (Paper Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April, 20, 2001).

"Putting a Black Face on Welfare: The Good and the Bad," (Presentation at the Institute on Race and Social Division, Boston University, October 17, 2001).

"The Real Social Security Crisis: The Linguistic Bankruptcy of 'Insurance'" (Paper Presented at the Conference "The Social Security 'Crisis': Critical Analysis and Solutions, The Center for Full Employment and Price Stability, University of Missouri - Kansas City, November 12, 2001).

"The Stigma of Entitlements: Bureaucratic Tragedies under Welfare Reform" (Presentation at the "Food Security Research to Action Colloquium," Prevention Institute and California Department of Health Services, Sacramento, California, November 15-16, 2001).

"The Invisible Hand (Maiden): Privatization, Neoliberalism, Globalization and the Behavioral Modification Regime of Welfare Reform" (Paper Presented at the 100<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Anthropology Association, Washington DC, November 28, 2001).

"The Real Uses of a False Dichotomy: Murray Edelman Deconstructed the Symbolic/Substance Divide and Political Science Was Never the Same" (Paper Presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 29-September 1, 2002, Boston, Massachusetts).

"Racial Disparities under Welfare Reform: A New Racism?" (Paper presented at the 2003 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 28-31, 2003).

"Did Somebody Say Dependency? The Globalization of Welfare Policy Discourse" (Paper presented at the 2004 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 2-5, 2004).  
with Richard Fording and Joe Soss, "Local Discretion and the Implementation of Welfare Reform: An Analysis of Sanctioning Outcomes in the Florida TANF Program," (Paper presented at the 2005 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 7-10, 2005).

with Richard Fording and Joe Soss, "The Color of Devolution: The Politics of Local Punishment in an Era of Neoliberal Welfare Reform," (Paper presented at the 2005 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 31-September 3, 2005).

"Rethinking the Ownership Society: Discourse and its Others," (Paper presented at the 2005 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 31-September 3, 2005).

with Richard Fording and Joe Soss, "The Business Model, the Bottom Line, and the Boegey: Sanctions, Performance Measurement, and the Brave New World of Welfare-to-Work in Florida," (Paper presented at the 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 31-September 3, 2006).

"The Colour of Devolution: Race, Place and the Punitive Turn in Poverty Management," (Workshop on Poverty and Place, Cambridge-MIT Institute, Cambridge University, St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, England, September 27-29, 2006).

with Joe Soss and Richard Fording, "The Politics of Performance and Punishment: Administrative Feedback and the Dynamics of Welfare Sanctioning" (Paper presented at the Fall Conference of the Association for Policy Analysis and Management, Madison Wisconsin, November 2-4, 2006).

with Richard Fording and Joe Soss, "Wel\*Mart: Devolution, Privatization and the Punitive Turn in Poverty Management," (Paper presented at the American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Oakland, California, October 12-15, 2006).

with Linda Houser, Richard Fording and Joe Soss, "Deciding to Discipline: A Multi Method Study of Race, Choice, and Punishment at the Frontlines of Welfare Reform," (Paper presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 29-September 2, 2007).

with Linda Houser, Richard Fording and Joe Soss, "Sanctions as a Policy Tool in the Transformed System of Welfare-to-Work," (Paper presented at the 11<sup>th</sup> Annual Welfare Research and Evaluation Conference, Administration for Children and Families, Washington, DC, May 28-30, 2008).

with Joe Soss, and Richard Fording, "Governing the Poor: The Rise of the Neoliberal Paternalist State" (Paper presented at the 2009 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, September 1-4, 2009).

with Joe Soss and Richard Fording, "Who Knew It Would Rain? Exploring the Mismatch between TANF Programs and Hard Times" (Paper presented at the Fall Conference of the Association for Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, DC, November 5-7, 2009).

with Linda Houser, Joe Soss, and Richard Fording, "Caseworker Discretion and Child Care Subsidies in the TANF Era" (Presentation prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Society for Social Work Research San Francisco, California, January 14-17, 2010).

with Joe Soss, Linda Houser, Richard Fording, Paul Rosenstein and Tatiana Winterbottom "The Recovery Model Comes to Welfare: Success Stories, Oblates, Advanced Marginalization, and the Medicalization of Welfare" (Paper presented at the 17th Annual Meeting of the Council of European Studies, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, April 15-17, 2010).

with Joe Soss and Richard Fording, "The Organization of Discipline: From Performance Management to Perversity and Punishment," (presented at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, Chicago, IL, May 27-30, 2010).

"Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent power of Race" (Council for European Studies, June 26, 2011, Barcelona, Spain).

"Frances Fox Piven: The Professor Glenn Beck Loves to Hate" (Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, Las Vegas, NV, August 18-21, 2011).

with Basha Silverman, "The End of Social Work: The Neoliberalization of Doing Good" (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September 1-4, 2011).

"Why Frances Fox Piven is My Hero" (Prepared comments presented at a Roundtable in Honor of Frances Fox Piven, at the at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September 1-4, 2011).

"Revisiting Non-Profits for Hire, by Steven Smith and Michael Lipsky," (Prepared comments presented at the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 29-September 1, 2013).

"Babies as Barriers: Framing Non-employment in an Era of Neoliberalism," (Paper presented at the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 29-September 1, 2013).

"Middle-Class Melancholia: The Self-Sufficiency Ideal After the Demise of Christianized Capitalism (U.S. Style)" (Paper presented at the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Las Vegas, NV April 3, 2015).

"The Cognitive and Emotional Bases of Trump Support: The Case of Low-Information Voters," (with Richard C. Fording, co-author), Paper Presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 2, 2017, San Francisco, CA).

"Why Trump Won: Outgroup Hostility as the New Ethnocentrism" (with Richard C. Fording, co-author),

Paper Presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 31, 2018:  
<http://www.roosevelthouse.hunter.cuny.edu/?forum-post=trump-won-outgroup-hostility-new-ethnocentrism>.

### **Conference Panels:**

Chair, "Social Policy Implementation" (Panel at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 18-20, 1991, Chicago IL).

Discussant, "Reengendering the Family in Political Theory and Welfare Policy," (Panel at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2, 1993, Washington DC).

Chair, "Discursive Economies of Postindustrialism," (Panel at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2, 1994, New York City).

Discussant, "Rountable: Twenty-five years of *Regulating the Poor*," (Panel at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Review, September 3, 1994, New York City).

Discussant, "State Capacity to Implement Welfare Reform: A Comparison Across Four Midwestern States" (Panel at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 23, 1998, Chicago IL).

Chair, "Explorations in Postpositivistic Policy Analysis" (Panel at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 2-5, 1999, Atlanta, Georgia).

Discussant, "Beyond 'Poverty': Rethinking Income Inadequacy Using New Perspectives and New Approaches," (Panel at the 23<sup>rd</sup> Research Conference of the Association of Public Policy Analysis and Management, November 1-3, 2001, Washington, DC).

Participant, Roundtable Celebrating 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Publication of *Poor People's Movements* (American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 29-September 1, 2002, Boston, Massachusetts).

Participant, Roundtable discussing Kenneth Hoover's *Economics as Ideology: Keynes, Laski, Hayek, and the Creation of Contemporary Politics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003) (Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Portland, Oregon, March 11-14, 2004).

Participant, Roundtable of contributors to *Perestroika! The Raucous Rebellion in Political Science* (New Haven): Yale University Press, 2005) (Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, April 20-23, 2006).

Discussant, "Problematizing the Normative/Empirical Distinction in Political Theory," (Panel at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, August 30-September 2, 2006).

Chair and discussant, "Progressive Sociology: Once Real, Then Lost, Now Reclaimed," (Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York, New York, August 10-14, 2007).

Chair and discussant, "The Welfare State: As it Was, Is and Should Be," (Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York, NY, August 10-14, 2007).

Participant, Roundtable on Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race, by Joe Soss, Richard C. Ford and Sanford F. Schram (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), Society for Social Work and Research, Washington, DC, January 16, 2012.

Participant, Roundtable on Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race, by Joe Soss, Richard C. Ford and Sanford F. Schram (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 14, 2012.

Chair and discussant, "Theorizing Mass Politics and Public Policy," Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 14, 2012.

Discussant, "Fragile Bodies, Fragile Minds," (Association for Political Theory, Nashville, TN, October 10-12, 2013).

Chair, "Education, Politics, Race and Punishment," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, August 28-31, 2014.

Discussant, "Occupy: Political Possibilities and Missed Opportunities," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, August 28-31, 2014.

Discussant, Author Meets Critics, Andrew Dilts, *Punishment and Inclusion: Race, Membership, and the Limits of American Liberalism* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014) (Western Political Science Association, Las Vegas, April 3, 2015).

Discussant, Roundtable on Shared Governance in Higher Education (Western Political Science Association, San Diego, CA, March 26, 2016).

Chair, Social Welfare Programs, Panel (American Sociological Association, Seattle, WA, August 19, 2016).

Chair, Theme Panel: 20 Years After Welfare Reform (American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, September 1, 2016).

### **Conferences Organized:**

with Sam Beer, I organized a conference "Welfare Reform: A Race to the Bottom?" which was sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC, March 27, 1998. We then co-edited a special issue of *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* in which all the papers from the conference appeared and published with Johns Hopkins University Press an expanded edited volume of the papers under the sponsorship of the Wilson Center. I also had primary responsibility for organizing a conference "Welfare Reform: Where Have We Been/Where Are We Going?" at Bryn Mawr College, February 28-March 1, 2002. The proceedings of this conference have also been published by Bryn Mawr College.

**Faculty Seminar** I co-facilitated a two-year faculty seminar on neoliberalism, which resulted in the published edited collection *Rethinking Neoliberalism: Resisting the Disciplinary Regime* (Routledge, 2017).

### **Current Research:**

I am completing a book manuscript with Richard Fording entitled *Hard White: Trump and the Alt-Right*.

### **Op-Ed Articles:**

I am a regular contributor to Public Seminar: <http://www.publicseminar.org/author/sschram/>.

"Do Work Requirements for Federal Assistance Help People Escape Poverty? No. Here's What Really Happens," *The Washington Post*, August 13, 2018: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/08/13/do-work-requirements-for-federal-assistance-help-people-escape-poverty-no-heres-what-really-happens/?utm\\_term=.6fe8be62ca7f](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/08/13/do-work-requirements-for-federal-assistance-help-people-escape-poverty-no-heres-what-really-happens/?utm_term=.6fe8be62ca7f).

"Trump's Latest Bid to Punish the Poor," *Jacobin*, June 26, 2018: <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2018/06/donald-trump-snap-tanf-welfare-reorganization>

With Richard Fording, "The Fox News-Fake News-Trump Nexus," *Public Seminar*, March 24, 2018: <http://www.publicseminar.org/2018/03/the-fox-news-fake-news-trump-nexus/>.

With Richard C. Fording, "The Welfare Reform Disaster," *Jacobin*, August 28, 2016: <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/08/welfare-reform-clinton-twentieth-anniversary-poverty>.

With Joe Soss, "Demonizing the Poor," *Jacobin*, September 3, 2015: <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/09/welfare-republicans-sam-brownback-race-corporations/>.

“Low-Information Voters are a Crucial Part of Trump’s Support,” *Washington Post*, November 7, 2016: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/11/07/low-information-voters-are-a-crucial-part-of-trumps-support/?utm\\_term=.2dd76776c783](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/11/07/low-information-voters-are-a-crucial-part-of-trumps-support/?utm_term=.2dd76776c783)

“Occupy Neoliberalism: Mad as Hell and Not Going to Take It Anymore,” [Occupy.com](http://www.occupy.com), February 15, 2012.

“The Expiring Welfare Law: Jobs Add Little,” *Newsday*, September 22, 2002, p. A28.

“Barn Door Opens to Expose Failure of Welfare Reform,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 7, 2002, p. A19.

With Joe Soss, “New Report Sows Confusion About Welfare, Poverty,” *WomensEnews*, August 1, 2001 (<http://www.womensenews.org/article.cfm/dyn/aid/179>), *Chicago Tribune*, August 8, 2001.

“The Other Miscount: Welfare Reform,” *Philadelphia Daily News*, January 16, 2001 ([http://dailynews.philly.com/content/daily\\_news/2001/01/16/opinion/COUN16.htm](http://dailynews.philly.com/content/daily_news/2001/01/16/opinion/COUN16.htm))

“Welfare Reform is Failing,” *The Honolulu Advertiser*, August 10, 1997, pp. B1-4.

“What Should Hawaii Do About Botched Welfare Reform,” *The Honolulu Advertiser*, February 2, 1997, pp. B1-6.

“Welfare Cuts to Hit Legal Immigrants the Hardest,” *The Honolulu Advertiser*, January 19, 1997, pp. B1-6.

“Welfare Reform Will Fail: Cost Later Will Dwarf Savings Now,” *The Honolulu Advertiser*, December 8, 1996, p. B1.

“The Welfare Dust Bowl,” *The Honolulu Advertiser*, October 20, 1996, pp. B1-B4.

“Welfare Reform: Block Grants No Answer,” *The Honolulu Advertiser*, July 21, 1996, pp. B1-4.

“Cato Figures Inflate Welfare Benefits,” *The Honolulu Advertiser*, January 21, 1996, p. A12.

“Is Poverty Best Seen as a Personal Responsibility?” *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*, January 3, 1995, p. A11.

“Finding New Ways to Blame the Poor,” *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, March 14, 1994, p. A14.

“Privatized public assistance in the U.S. falls far short of American’s basic needs,” *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*, February 17, 1991, p. A12.

### **Public Presentations:**

“Hard White: Trump and the Mainstreaming of Racism in America” (Southampton Democratic Club, Southampton Inn, Southampton, NY, September 28, 2018).

“Why Trump Won: Outgroup Hostility as the New Ethnocentrism,” co-authored with Richard C. Fording (Paper presented to the American Politics Workshop, PhD/MA Political Science Program, The Graduate Center, City University of New York, April 12, 2018).

“The Cognitive and Emotional Sources of Trump Support: The Case of Low-Information Voters,” (Presentation, Pi Sigma Alpha Lecture, Government Department, St. Lawrence University, December 12, 2017).

“The Neoliberal Relations of Poverty: The Welfare State under Assault,” (Keynote Presentation at the International Symposium: Seeking and Seizing - The Nordic Way? at the National Institute for Health and Welfare, Helsinki, Finland, November 2-3, 2017): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WLYV8j6kJsE>

“The Knight’s Move: Social Change in an Age of Consolidated Power,” (Political Theory Workshop, Brown University, Providence, RI, February 10, 2017).

“The Knight’s Move: Social Change in an Age of Consolidated Power,” (Political Science Department, Providence College, Providence, RI, October 5, 2016).

“Why the Welfare Poor will Always be with Us: The Political Construction of Scapegoats is Never-Ending,” Wisconsin Hope Lab, University of Wisconsin, Madison WI, October 19, 2015.

The Crisis of Higher Education and the Future of American Democracy: Presidential Politics, Academic Freedom and Neoliberalism,” Wisconsin Hope Lab, University of Wisconsin, Madison WI, October 20, 2015.

“The Next Neoliberal Thing: Social Impact Bonds,” (West Coast Poverty Center, University of Washington-Seattle, Seattle WA, April 13, 2015).

“Whither the Welfare State: A Cashless Service Sector,” Community Speak Out, ACT Council of Social Services, Sydney Australia, September 21, 2014, via video recording.

“The Appeal and Limitations of Social Impact Bonds,” Designing Social Change Conferenc, ACT Council of Social Services, Ann Harding Conference Centre, Building 24, University of Canberra, University Drive South, Bruce ACT 2617 via Skype., August 7, 2014.

“The Best of Times, the Worst of Times: U.S. Inequality in the New Gilded Age,” (Political Science Student Association, Hunter College, Glass Cafeteria, May 7, 2014).

“Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race,” Social Work, University of Sydney, Australia, April 4, 2014.

“Becoming a Footnote: An Activist/Scholar Finds His Voice, Learns to Write and Survives Academia,” University of New South Wales, Kensington, Australia, April 2, 2014.

“The Next Neoliberal Thing: Social Impact Bonds,” Massey University, Auckland, New Zealand, March 26, 2014.

“Social Impact Bonds: The Next Neoliberal Thing,” US Studies Centre, University of Sydney, Australia, March 19, 2014.

“How I Learned to Write,” Formal Dinner Speaker, Women’s College, University of Sydney, Australia, March 17, 2014.

“Poverty Governance Today: Resisting Neoliberal Paternalism,” Political Economy Speakers Series, University of Sydney, Australia, March 13, 2014.

“Shutdown Politics: 2013,” Panel Presentation for “The Government Shutdown: Where Do We Go from Here?” Roosevelt House, Hunter College, CUNY, October 17, 2013).

“Change Research: Bottom-Up, Problem-Driven and Politically Engaged” (A Presentation at the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel, December 16, 2012).

“Bridging Research and Activism: Challenging Community-Based Research,” (Keynote Address, Making the Academy Matter for Community Conference, School of Social Work, Haifa University, December 17, 2012).

“Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race,” (Political Science Department, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, February 29, 2012).

“Deciding to Discipline: Race, and the Frontlines of Welfare Reform,” (Public Presentation, Center for American Policy Responsiveness, Political Science Department, Pennsylvania State University, State College, PA, February 24, 2012).

“Three Heads are Better than One: Collaboration, Mixed Methods and Disciplining the Poor,” (Public Presentation, Political Science Department, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, AL, February 3, 2012).

“Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race” (Public presentation, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia, January 6, 2012).

“Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Organizational Forms and Paternalism Policy Tools” (Public presentation, Johannes Kepler University, Linz, Austria, December 16, 2011).

“Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race” (Public presentation,, University of Vienna, December 14, 2011).

“Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race” (Public presentation, Political Science Department, University of Aarhus, May 25, 2011).

“The Transformation of Poverty Governance: Neoliberal Organizational Forms and Paternalist Policy Tools” (Symposium presentation, Political Science Department, University of Aarhus, Denmark, May 24, 2011).

“Myth and Ceremony in Welfare Bureaucracy: Re-enacting the Deep Semiotic Structure of Deservingness” (presented at Poverty and the Bureaucratic State: A Symposium in Honor of Joel Handler, UCLA School of Law, March 11, 2011).

“The Deep Semiotic Structure of Deservingness: Discourse and Identity in Welfare Policy” (presented at the Center for Cultural Sociology, Yale University, November 12, 2010).

“Governing the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race,” (presented at the Northeast People of Color Conference, University at Buffalo School of Law, October 23, 2009).

“The Organization of Discipline: From Performance Management to Perversity and Punishment,” (presented at the symposium “Welfare States in Transition: Social Policy Transformation in Organizational Practice,” School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, May 15, 2009).

“The Third Level of Welfare Reform: Neoliberal Pedagogy,” (presented at the conference on “Women, Welfare Rights and Access to Higher Education,” Brooklyn College, March 24, 2009).

“At the Frontlines of Neoliberal Poverty Governance: Bottom-Up Strategies for Change,” Keynote address at The Welfare State from Below: The 20th Anniversary of the Social Welfare Research Centre (University College of Oslo, Norway, November 20, 2008).

“Neoliberal Poverty Governance: Disciplining the Poor in an Era of Globalization,” (The Pedagogical State: Education, Citizenship, Governing, The Open University, Milton Keynes, England, September 24-25, 2008).

“Neoliberal Poverty Governance and the Presidential Election of 2008” (Presentation for “What the Next President Needs to Know about Welfare and Poverty,” School of Social Policy and Practice, University of Pennsylvania, September 18, 2008).

“Neoliberal Poverty Governance: U.S. Welfare Policy in an Age of Globalization” (Presentation at “The New Poverty Agenda: Reshaping Policies in the 21st Century” Queen's University, International Institute on Social Policy, Kingston, Ontario, August 18-20, 2008).

[http://www.queensu.ca/sps/conferences\\_events/qiisp/2008/Schram.pdf](http://www.queensu.ca/sps/conferences_events/qiisp/2008/Schram.pdf)

“Deciding to Discipline: A Multi-Method Study of Race, Choice and Punishment on the Frontlines of Welfare Reform,” (Presentation for Alumni Reunion Weekend, St. Lawrence University, May 30-31, 2008).

“Deciding to Discipline: A Multi-Method Study of Race, Choice and Punishment on the Frontlines of Welfare Reform,” (National Poverty Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, November 30, 2007).

“Neoliberal Poverty Governance: Race, Place and the Punitive Turn in U.S Welfare Policy,” (RS7 Workshop, Activation and New Governance Structures, Nordic Centre of Excellence, Oslo University College, Oslo, Norway October 22-23, 2007).

"Neoliberal Poverty Governance: Race, Place and the Punitive Turn in Poverty Management," (Department of Geography, Pennsylvania State University, October 19, 2007).

"The Color of Devolution: Race, Place and the Punitive Turn in Poverty Management," (Pennsylvania Legal Aid Network Statewide Conference, Harrisburg, PA, May 24-25, 2006).

"Uncaring Neoliberal Paternalism: A Compassionate Response to the Punitive Turn in Poverty Management" (Presentation at the In/Dependence Conference for the Center on 21<sup>st</sup> Century Studies, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, April 7, 2006).

<http://www.uwm.edu/Dept/21st/conferences/independence.shtml>.

"A Continuing Legacy: Race as a Resource for Affirming Welfare Retrenchment," (Presentation to Department of Public Policy and Public Affairs, John W. McCormack Graduate School of Policy Studies, University of Massachusetts-Boston, April 9, 2004).

"Contextualizing Racial Disparities Under Welfare Reform: Toward a New Poverty Research," (Presentation to the Weekly Brown Bag Series, "What Counts?" Center on Science and Society, Bryn Mawr College, February 12, 2004.)

"Illusions of Change: Rethinking the Current Welfare Retrenchment," (Presentation at the Department of Government, University College Cork, Ireland, October 13, 2003).

"Assuming the Best: A Counter-Discourse for Social Policy," (Closing Presentation at the "Whose Welfare: Income Transfers & Social Justice Conference, Center for Social Justice, Boalt Hall School of Law, University of California-Berkeley, Berkeley CA, November 15, 2002).

"Success Stories: Welfare Reform, Policy Discourse and the Future of Social Policy," (Presentation at the Episcopal Church of Redeemer, Haverford PA, April 21, 2002).

"Putting a Black Face on Welfare: The Good and the Bad," (Presentation at Parents' Weekend, Bryn Mawr College, November 2, 2001).

Testimony on Welfare Reform Reauthorization, U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Education and the Workforce, Subcommittee on 21st Century Competitiveness, September 20, 2001  
<http://www.brynmawr.edu/Acads/GSSW/schram/findings.pdf>.

"Putting a Black Face on Welfare: The Good and the Bad," (Keynote Address, Politics and Arts Group Conference, Narrative, Identity, Order, September 13-15, 2001, Tampere, Finland).

"Success Stories: Welfare Reform and Policy Discourse," (University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland, September 12, 2001).

"Rethinking Welfare Reform from the Bottom Up," (Presentation at the "Peoplespeak" Welfare Reform Conference, Organized by Widener University Center for Social Work Education and the Delaware County Coalition to Save Our Safety Net, February 23, 2001, Chester, PA)

<http://www.dccsos.org/3-2001%20sos%20alert.htm>.

"Putting a Black Face on Welfare: The Good and the Bad," (Bryn Mawr College, Center for Visual Culture, October 4, 2000).

"Predicting Welfare Reform Retrenchment" (Monmouth University, School of Social Work, April 14, 2000, West Long Branch NJ).

"After Social Security: Reconsidering Universalism in the Welfare State," (A Presentation as part of the Political Colloquium Series, the New School for Social Research, September 21, 1999, New York City).

"Deconstructing Devolution: Racing to the Bottom and Other Ironies of Welfare Reform," (1999 Sandison Memorial Lecture, University of Western Washington, April 29, 1999, Bellingham, Washington).

"Contracting America: A Postindustrial Ethic," (A Presentation, Masters Students Speakers Series, April 1, 1998, Bryn Mawr College).

"Deconstructing Devolution: Reconsidering Welfare Reform," (A Presentation, Doctoral Students Speakers Series, March 17, 1998, Bryn Mawr College).

"The Secret Story of Welfare Reform: Ushering in a New Era of Inequality" (The Annual Lecture for Louise Hess Miller Learning Center for Modern Media, October 16, 1997, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Honolulu Hawai'i).

"The Race to the Bottom in Welfare Reform: Rules for Resistance" (Communities in Action, A Conference Sponsored by the Committee on Welfare Concerns, October 17, 1997, State Capitol, Honolulu Hawai'i).

"Rethinking Welfare Reform: What's Next?" (Keynote Address, Annual Meeting of the Hawaii Public Health Association, April 21, 1997, Honolulu HI).

"Don't Sign the Contract with America" (Greater Minneapolis Area Social Work Continuing Education Workshop, Shokapee MN October 11, 1995).

"Home Economists as the Real Economists," (Institute for Research on Poverty, Seminar Series, March 28, 1994).

"Ross Perot and the Politics of Resentment," (Temple Emanuel, St. Paul Minnesota, June 12, 1993).

"Reinforcing the Work Ethic by Negative Example," (University of Minnesota, School of Social Work, March 21, 1990).

"Social Assistance, Self-Reliance and Personal Empowerment" (Annual Dinner of the St. Lawrence County Community Development Agency, June, 1986).

"Social Welfare as a 'Public Good'" (St. Lawrence County Department of Social Services, December 1985).

"Social Security and Social Welfare" (50th Anniversary of Social Security, Hopkinton Democratic Town Committee, June, 1985).

"The Myths of Welfare" (St. Mary's Parish Council, Potsdam N.Y., March 1982).

#### **Media Links:**

<http://ussc.edu.au/news-room/interviews/Sandy-Schram-on-Social-Impact-Bonds>

<http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/lifematters/private-money-for-public-good/5337854>

#### **Grants:**

"Islamophobia in the Frontlines of Western Welfare: Austria, Denmark, U.S." CUNY/PSC Research Grant, Grant/Contract Number: 68568-00 46, 2015-16. nominal amount for course release.

"Islamophobia in the Frontlines of Western Welfare: Austria, Denmark, U.S.," Ostereichische National Bank, 18,000 Euros. Submitted July 15, 2015.

"The Federated Social Safety Net: TANF-UI Interaction in the Great Recession" (initial letter of inquiry submitted to the Russell Sage Foundation, February 16, 2011).

"Sanctions and Welfare-to-Work in Florida," Annie E. Casey Foundation, January 1, 2005-December 31, 2006, extended one year, \$60,000 total (grant #205.0059).

"Putting Sanctions into Practice: Devolution, Privatization, and Caseworker Discretion in the Florida TANF Program," with Richard Fording and Joe Soss. April 2007. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation. (Funded through University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research, Internal Grants Program). \$5,000.

Bryn Mawr College Faculty Research Grant, "Welfare Caseworkers and Race: An Experiment," 6/06-6/07, \$2,500.

“Race and Discretion in the Implementation of Welfare Reform: An Analysis of Local Variation in TANF Sanctioning Policies in Florida.” Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation. May 15, 2004-December 15, 2004. \$19,100.

Bryn Mawr College Faculty Research Grant, “Implementing Welfare Reform,” 6/04-6/06, \$2,500.

“Low-Income Home Repair: Problems and Policies,” (Grant from Women’s Community Revitalization Project and the William Penn Foundation, 2003-2005), \$48,000.

Evaluation of “Supporting Families After Welfare Reform,” sponsored by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. \$398,000 grant. With Carolyn Needleman and Tom Vartanian. 2000-2003.

Summer Stipend, “Boundaries and Borderlands,” Summer Institute on Multiculturalism, American Association of Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) at Brown University, Providence RI, 7/13-7/23/00.

Summer Stipend, Wye Faculty Seminar at the Aspen Institute on "Citizenship and the American Polity," Queenstown MD, 7/22-7/28/00.

Summer Stipend, National Institute of Mental Health, Seminar on "Poverty, Risk and Mental Health," University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 7/23/98-7/30/98.

Bryn Mawr College Faculty Research Grant “Clinical Issues in Welfare Reform,” 7/98-7/99. \$3,000.

Summer Stipend, National Endowment of Humanities Summer Seminar, "Social Problems: The Constructionist Stance," 6/12-7/28/94.

Summer Stipend, National Endowment of Humanities Summer Seminar, "Symbolism in Politics," 7/11/87-8/7/87.

#### **Recent College Service:**

Truman Scholarship Committee, 2018-  
Facilitator, Roosevelt House Faculty Research Seminar on Researching the Roots of Rage: Resurgent Racism in the U.S. Today, 2016-2017  
Co-facilitator, Hunter College Faculty Seminar on Neoliberalism, 2014-2016  
Faculty Associate Roosevelt House, 2013-  
Public Policy Faculty Advisory Committee, Roosevelt House, 2013-  
Public Law Search, Political Science Department, Hunter, 2013-14, 2016-17  
Public Policy Planning Committee, Roosevelt House, Hunter, 2013-14  
Strategic Planning Committee, Roosevelt House, Hunter, 2013-2015  
Legacy of the Great Society Planning Committee, Roosevelt House, Hunter, 2013-2014  
School of Liberal Arts, Social Work Tenure and Promotion Committee, Hunter, 2013-  
360° Steering Committee, 2009-2013  
Policy Committee, Graduate School of Social Work, 2006-2008  
Curriculum Committee, Graduate School of Social Work, 2003-2006, 2010-2012  
Search Committee, Graduate School of Social Work, 2005-2006  
Search Committee, Sociology Department, 2004  
Diversity Committee, Graduate School of Social Work, 1997-99, 2000-2003  
Admissions Committee, Graduate School of Social Work, 1998-2000, 2002-2004  
Sustained Dialogue on Diversity Advisory Committee, 2003-2006  
Committee on Academic Computing, 1998-2001, Chair, 2000-01  
Senior Advisory Group on Information Technology, 2000-2001  
Blackboard Demonstration Project, 2001  
Steering Committee, Center on Ethnicities, Communities and Social Policy, 2001-2003  
Co-Director, Center on Ethnicities, Communities and Social Policy, 2002-2006  
Steering Committee Center on Visual Culture, 2001-2003

#### **Other Academic Service:**

SUNY Task Force on Unequal Access to Information, 1986

Middle States Accreditation Team, Kean College of New Jersey, 1990-91  
Outside Evaluator for Tenure Reviews for 12 faculty from other institutions, 1999-

**Community Service:**

Member, Affordable Housing Coalition, Philadelphia, PA 2002-2008  
Chair, Research Working Group on General Assistance, Hawai`i Department of Human Services, 9/96-6/97  
Committee on Welfare Concerns, Honolulu HI, 6/96-6/97  
Board Member, Citizens Against Violent Acts, 1985-1986  
St. Paul Area Coalition for the Homeless, 1992-1995  
Panelist, St. Paul Mayoralty Candidates Debate on Poverty and Homelessness, Union Gospel Mission, St. Paul MN, August 25, 1993

**Membership in Professional Associations:**

American Sociological Association  
American Political Science Association  
Midwest Political Science Association  
Association for Policy Analysis and Management

REFERENCES AVAILABLE UPON REQUEST