

Jesse H. Rhodes

Professor

Department of Political Science

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Employment

Professor. Department of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Fall 2019-.

Chair. Department of Political Science, Fall 2018-Spring 2021.

Associate Director. UMass Poll, University of Massachusetts Amherst. Fall 2018-.

Associate Professor. Department of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Fall 2013-.

Assistant Professor. Department of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Fall 2008-Spring 2013.

Education

Ph.D. Department of Politics, University of Virginia. Spring 2008.

B.A., Summa cum laude. Department of Politics, Juniata College. Spring 2003.

Books

3. Brian F. Schaffner, Jesse H. Rhodes, and Raymond J. La Raja. 2020. *Hometown Inequality: Race, Class, and Representation in American Local Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

- Named a 2021 Choice Outstanding Academic Title
- Authors Meet Critics Panels, American Political Science Association 2020 Conference, Southern Political Science Association 2021 Conference
- Research from this book was the recipient of the 2017 Best Paper Award from the Class and Inequality Section of the American Political Science Association

2. Jesse H. Rhodes. 2017. *Ballot Blocked: The Political Erosion of the Voting Rights Act*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

1. Jesse H. Rhodes. 2012. *An Education in Politics: The Origins and Evolution of No Child Left Behind*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Articles

24. Brian F. Schaffner, Jesse H. Rhodes, and Raymond J. La Raja. 2022. The Conservative Bias in America's Local Governments. *Political Science Quarterly* 137(1): 125-154.

23. Douglas R. Rice, Jesse H. Rhodes, and Tatishe M. Nteta. Same As It Ever Was? The Impact of Racial Resentment on White Juror Decision-Making. 2022. *Journal of Politics* 84(2): <https://doi.org/10.1086/715991>.

22. Jesse H. Rhodes, Tatishe M. Nteta, Elizabeth A. Sharrow, and Jill S. Greenlee. 2020. Just Locker Room Talk? Explicit Sexism and the Impact of the Access Hollywood Tape on Electoral Support for Donald Trump in 2016. *Political Communication* 37(6): 741-767.
21. Douglas R. Rice, Jesse H. Rhodes, and Tatishe M. Nteta. 2019. Racial Bias in Legal Language. *Research and Politics* April-June: 1-7.
20. Mia I. Costa, Jill S. Greenlee, Tatishe M. Nteta, Jesse H. Rhodes, and Elizabeth A. Sharrow. 2019. Family Ties? The Limits of Fathering Daughters on Congressional Behavior. *American Politics Research*, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1532673X19826273>.
19. Jesse H. Rhodes and Amber B. Vayo. 2019. Fear and Loathing in Presidential Candidate Rhetoric, 1952-2016. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/psq.12512>.
18. Jill S. Greenlee, Tatishe M. Nteta, Jesse H. Rhodes, and Elizabeth A. Sharrow. 2018. Helping to Break the Glass Ceiling? Fathers, Daughters, and Presidential Vote Choice in 2016. *Political Behavior*, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-018-9514-0>.
17. Libby Sharrow, Jesse H. Rhodes, Tatishe M. Nteta, and Jill Greenlee. 2018. The First Daughter Effect: The Impact of Fathering Daughters on Men's Preferences for Gender Equality Policies. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 82(3): 493-523.
16. Brian F. Schaffner, Jesse H. Rhodes, and Raymond J. La Raja. 2018. Detecting and Understanding Donor Strategies in Midterm Elections. *Political Research Quarterly* 71(3): 503-516.
15. Jesse H. Rhodes, Brian F. Schaffner, and Sean McElwee. 2017. Is America More Divided by Race or Class? Race, Income, and Attitudes among Whites, African Americans, and Latinos. *The Forum* 15(1), <https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for.2017.15.issue-1/for-2017-0005/for-2017-0005.xml>.
14. Jesse H. Rhodes and Brian F. Schaffner. 2017. Testing Models of Unequal Representation: Democratic Populists and Republican Oligarchs? *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 12(2): 185-204.
13. Jesse H. Rhodes and Kaylee T. Johnson. 2016. Welcoming Their Hatred: Class Populism in Democratic Rhetoric in American Presidential Campaigns, 1932-2012. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 47(1): 92-121.
12. Tatishe M. Nteta, Jesse H. Rhodes, and Melinda R. Tarsi. 2016. Conditional Representation: Presidential Rhetoric, Public Opinion, and the Representation of African American Interests. *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 1(2): 280-315.
11. Jesse H. Rhodes and Zachary Albert. 2015. The Transformation of Partisan Rhetoric in American Presidential Campaigns, 1952-2012. *Party Politics* 23(5).
10. Jesse H. Rhodes. 2015. Competing Partisan Regimes and the Transformation of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-2013. *TransAtlantica* <https://transatlantica.revues.org/7437>.

9. Jesse H. Rhodes. 2015. Learning Citizenship? How State Education Reforms Affect Parents' Political Attitudes and Behavior. *Political Behavior* 37(1): 181-220.
8. Jesse H. Rhodes. 2014. Party Polarization and the Ascendance of Bipartisan Posturing as a Dominant Strategy in Presidential Rhetoric. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 44(1): 120-142.
7. Jesse H. Rhodes. 2013. The Evolution of Roosevelt's Rhetorical Legacy: Presidential Rhetoric about Rights in Domestic and Foreign Affairs, 1933-2011. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 43(3): 562-591.
6. With Sidney Milkis and Emily Charnock. 2012. What Happened to Post-Partisanship? Barack Obama and the New American Party System. *Perspectives on Politics* 10(1): 57-75.
5. Jesse H. Rhodes. 2011. Progressive Policymaking in a Conservative Age? Civil Rights and the Politics of Federal Education Standards, Testing, and Accountability. *Perspectives on Politics* 9(3): 519-544.
4. Shamira M. Gelbman and Jesse H. Rhodes. 2011. Ideology Construction, Grassroots Mobilization, and Party Strategy in South Africa and the United States, 1934-1948. *Polity* 43(1): 154-178.
3. Sidney M. Milkis and Jesse H. Rhodes. 2009. Barack Obama, the Democratic Party, and the Future of the 'New' American Party System. *The Forum* 7(1): 1-26.
2. Sidney M. Milkis and Jesse H. Rhodes. 2007. George W. Bush, the Republican Party, and the 'New' American Party System. *Perspectives on Politics* 5(3): 461-488.
1. Sidney M. Milkis and Jesse H. Rhodes. 2007. George W. Bush, the Party System, and American Federalism. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 37(3):478-503.

Book Chapters

6. With Brian F. Schaffner and Raymond J. La Raja. Forthcoming. The Conservative Bias in America's Local Governments. In Marylena Mantas and Robert Y. Shapiro, *Current Perspectives on American Politics*. New York: Cengage.
5. Jesse H. Rhodes. Forthcoming. The Rhetoric and Reality of Compassionate Conservatism in the Presidency of George W. Bush. *41: The Presidency of George W. Bush*. Ed. Michael Nelson. University Press of Kansas.
4. Sharrow, Elizabeth, Jesse H. Rhodes, Tatishe M. Nteta, and Jill Greenlee. 2020. Fatherhood, First-Daughters, and the First Woman Presidential Candidate. *The Hillary Effect: Perspectives on Clinton's Legacy*, eds. Ivy Cargile, Denise Davis, Jennifer Merola, and Rachel VanSickle-Ward. London: Bloomsbury.
3. Jesse H. Rhodes. 2015. The Politics of Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Reform. In Max Angerholder, James Kitfield, Norman Ornstein, and Stephen Skowronek, eds., *The Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Presidency*. New York: Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress.

2. Jesse H. Rhodes. 2014. What Influence Do Parties Have in the Presidency and the Bureaucracy? In Marjorie Hershey, ed., *CQ Guide to Political Parties*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

1. Sidney M. Milkis and Jesse H. Rhodes. 2010. The President, Party Politics, and Constitutional Development. *Oxford Handbook of Political Parties and Interest Groups*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Under Review

With Tatishe Nteta et al. Primarily Partisan or Rooted in Racism? Party, Racial Attitudes, and Public Opinion Toward Statehood for Washington D.C. Revise and resubmit.

Work in Progress

Jesse H. Rhodes, Brian F. Schaffner, and Raymond J. La Raja. Are Local Policy Attitudes Distinct?

Jesse H. Rhodes, Tatishe M. Nteta, Raymond J. La Raja, and Alexander Theodoridis. Is this America? Legacies of Racist Electoral Violence, Trump's Racialized Presidency, and the Critical Role of Racial Attitudes in Perceptions of the January 6 Attack on the U.S. Capitol.

Christine Bailey, Paul M. Collins, Jesse H. Rhodes, and Douglas R. Rice. The Effect of Judicial Decisions on Issue Salience and Legal Consciousness in the LGBTQ+ Community.

Douglas R. Rice, Jesse H. Rhodes, and Tatishe M. Nteta. Is Justice (Color)blind? The Language of Law, Implicit Racial Bias, and the Impact of Judicial Selection.

Recent Research Awards

With Paul M. Collins, Douglas R. Rice, and Christine Bailey. Winner, 2022 Best Paper Award, Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association.

With Brian F. Schaffner and Raymond J. La Raja, *Hometown Inequality* named Choice Outstanding Academic Title, Fall 2021.

With Brian F. Schaffner and Raymond J. La Raja, Winner, 2017 Best Paper Award, Class and Inequality Section, American Political Science Association.

Recent Grant Awards

9. With Paul M. Collins and Douglas R. Rice. Understanding Law and Legality in Media. National Science Foundation. Spring 2021-Spring 2024. \$399,987.

8. Electoral Institutions and Voter Turnout among Historically Marginalized Groups. Spring 2020-Fall 2020. Demos Foundation. \$7,000. Fall 2020.

7. The Politics and Demographics of Campaign Contributors in Baltimore and Albuquerque Municipal Elections. Fall 2018-Spring 2019. Demos Foundation. \$15,000.

6. With Brian Schaffner. Inequalities in Voter Turnout and Political Participation. Demos Foundation. Fall 2016-Spring 2017. \$30,000.

5. With Raymond La Raja and Brian Schaffner. Inequality in Representation in Local Government. SBS Research Grant, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Fall 2016-Spring 2017. \$2,800.

4. With Brian Schaffner. The Politics and Demographics of the Donor Class. Demos Foundation. Fall 2015-Spring 2016. \$37,000.

3. The Political Discovery of the Middle Class. SBS Research Grant, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Fall 2013-Spring 2014. \$5,850

2. The Effects of Education Accountability on Citizenship. Spencer Foundation. Fall 2011-Spring 2012. \$39,475.

1. Partisan Rhetoric and the Modern Presidency. Faculty Research Grant, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Fall 2010-Fall 2011. \$9,500.

Public Research Reports

7. With Laura Williamson. Demos, *Same Day Registration: How Registration Reform Can Boost Turnout Among Black and Latinx Voters*. New York, 2021.

6. With Laura Williamson. Demos, *Big Money in Charm City*. New York, 2019.

5. With Brian Schaffner. Demos, *Automatic Voter Registration in Oregon*. New York, 2017.

4. With Brian Schaffner and Sean McElwee. Demos, *Whose Voice, Whose Choice? The Distorting Influence of the Political Donor Class in Our Big-Money Elections*. New York, 2016.

3. With Brian Schaffner and Sean McElwee. Demos, *How Chicago's White Donor Class Distorts Politics*. New York, 2016.

2. With Brian Schaffner and Sean McElwee. Demos, *Miami-Dade's White Donor Class: How Big Donors Distort Democracy*. New York, 2016.

1. With Brian Schaffner and Sean McElwee. Demos, *D.C.'s White Donor Class: Outsized Influence in a Diverse City*. New York, 2016.

Public Scholarship

I have written for – and my research has been cited in - many popular venues, including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *NBC News*, *Newsweek*, *Vox*, *Slate*, *Salon*, *The Nation*, *Mother Jones*, *Huffington Post*, *Washington Monthly*, *Quartz*, *The Conversation*, *Al Jazeera America*, *Financial Times*, *International Business Times*, *American Prospect*, *The Week*, *Fusion*, *U.S. News and World Report*, and *Mic*.

UMass Poll

As Associate Director of the UMass Poll, I help run a survey outfit that regularly conducts public opinion polls on matters of public concern. The results of UMass Poll surveys have featured in major outlets including *National Public Radio*, *NBC's Meet the Press*, *MSNBC*, *CNN*, *Politico*, *Sirius/XM Radio*, *The New York Times*, *the Washington Post*, *WGBH*, *WBUR*, *WBZ-TV and Radio*, *Boston Globe*, *Boston Herald*, *KQED*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

Invited Talks and Presentations

Northwestern University, Yale University, Boston University, Williams College, UMass
Computational Social Science Institute, Springfield, Massachusetts League of Women Voters,
Springfield, Massachusetts Chamber of Commerce

Teaching Awards

4. With Meredith Rolfe and Alexander Theodoridis. Flexible Learning Fellowship. Center for Teaching and Faculty Development. Fall 2022-Spring 2023. \$30,000.
3. Lilly Teaching Fellowship. Center for Teaching and Faculty Development. Fall 2012-Spring 2013.
2. With Raymond LaRaja. Microsoft IMPACT Grant to Improve Introduction to American Politics. Fall 2010-Spring 2011. \$10,000.
1. Pi Sigma Alpha Professor of the Year. Department of Political Science. Spring 2010.

Professional Activities

Grant Reviewer, *Russell Sage Foundation, National Science Foundation, Israel Science Foundation.*

Book Reviewer, *NYU Press, University of Chicago Press, SUNY Press, W.W. Norton, Perspectives on Politics, Oxford University Press, Congressional Quarterly Press, Johns Hopkins University Press, The Forum, Routledge, McGraw-Hill, Journal of Politics.*

Manuscript Reviewer, *American Political Science Review, Journal of Politics, Public Opinion Quarterly, Political Behavior, Election Law Journal, Studies in American Political Development, American Politics Research, Perspectives on Politics, Policy Studies Journal, Journal of Public Policy, Political Research Quarterly, Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics, Political Science Quarterly, Congress and the Presidency, Mobilization, Publius: The Journal of Federalism, New England Journal of Political Science, Virginia Social Science Journal.*

Member, American Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association, Policy History Association.

Professional Service

Member, Best Paper Award Committee, Class and Inequality Section, American Political Science Association, Summer 2021.

Member, Richard E. Matland Emerging Scholar Award Committee, Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Spring 2020.

Member, Best Graduate Student Poster Award Committee, Class and Inequality Section, American Political Science Association, Summer 2019.

Faculty Mentor, APSA Mentoring Program, American Political Science Association, Spring 2018, Spring 2020, Spring 2021, Fall 2021.

Program Committee, Democracy Agenda Mini-Conference, Class and Inequality Section, American Political Science Association, Spring-Summer 2018.

Member, Outreach Committee of the Class and Inequality Section, American Political Science Association, Fall 2017 - .

External Reviewer, Bridgewater State University Department of Political Science, Spring 2017.

Member, Scholars' Strategy Network. Spring 2012-present.

Member, Nominations Committee. Politics and History Section of the American Political Science Association. Summer 2012.

Expert Interviewer, George W. Bush Oral History Project. Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia. August 2010.

College and University Service

Member, College Personnel Committee, Spring 2022.

Associate Director, UMass Poll, Fall 2018-.

Member, William Ross Scholarship Committee, Spring 2018.

Member of Review Committee, SBS in DC Internship Program. Spring 2018.

Member of Organizing Committee, SBS in DC Internship Program. Fall 2017-Spring 2018.

Member, ISSR Research Methods Certificate Committee. Spring 2014.

Member, Five Colleges Faculty Advisory Council. Fall 2013-.

Member, Research Council, Faculty Senate. Fall 2012-Spring 2016.

Member, LeBovidge Undergraduate Research Assistant Award Committee. College of Social and Behavioral Sciences. Spring 2012 and Spring 2013.

Departmental Service

Chair, Promotion Evaluation Subcommittee, Fall 2021.

Member, Promotion Evaluation Subcommittee, Fall 2021.

Chair, Department of Political Science, Fall 2018-Spring 2021.

Member, Hiring Committee for Position of Junior Year Writing Instructor, Spring 2018.

Member, Hiring Committee for Position of Associate Director of Academic Programs, Summer 2017.

Member, Mini-Tenure Review Committee, Spring 2017.

Undergraduate Program Director. Summer 2012 -.

Co-Organizer, Presidential Election Celebration. Department of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Fall 2008, Fall 2012, Fall 2016.

Chair, Global Politics/American Foreign Policy Search Committee. Fall 2014.

Chair, Tenure and Promotion Evaluation Subcommittee. Fall 2014, Fall 2015.

Member, Promotion Evaluation Subcommittee. Fall 2015.

Chair, Graduate Research Initiative Program/Faculty Grant Program Committee. Spring 2012.

Member, Spousal Hire Search Committee. Spring 2012.

Member, Undergraduate Studies Committee. Spring 2012.

American Politics Field Clerk. Fall 2010-Spring 2011; Spring 2012.

Member, Personnel Committee. Fall 2010-Spring 2011, Fall 2014, Fall 2015-Spring 2016.

Member, Tenure and Promotion Committee. Fall 2010, Spring 2017.

Member, Undergraduate Studies Committee. Fall 2009-Spring 2010.

Co-Convener, Institutions and Governance Workshop. Fall 2008-Spring 2011.