

## DR. PHILIP ROCCO

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### EDUCATION

2015	PhD, Political Science	University of California, Berkeley
2010	MA, Political Science	University of California, Berkeley
2009	BA, Political Science	University of Pennsylvania

### CAREER HISTORY

2021	Associate Professor of Political Science	Marquette University
2016–2021	Assistant Professor of Political Science	Marquette University
2015–2016	Postdoctoral Associate	University of Pittsburgh
2010	Lecturer	Mills College

### SCHOLARSHIP

#### Books

##### *In Print*

2020	<i>American Political Development and the Trump Presidency</i> . Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
2016	<i>Obamacare Wars: Federalism, State Politics, and the Affordable Care Act</i> . University Press of Kansas.

##### *In Progress*

*Madison's Engineers: How Policy Science Remade Federalism*. Under Contract, Columbia University Press.

### Peer-Reviewed Scholarly Articles

##### *In Print*

2022	Flexible Aid in an Uncertain World: the Coronavirus State and Local Fiscal Recovery Fund Program. <i>State and Local Government Review</i> . DOI: <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/0160323X221101005">10.1177/0160323X221101005</a>
2022	"Voice in an Asymmetric Federation? The U.S. Territories as Intergovernmental Actors. <i>Regional and Federal Studies</i> . DOI: <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2022.2053522">10.1080/13597566.2022.2053522</a>
2022	Calling in "Sick": COVID-19, Opportunism, Pretext, and Subnational Democracy. In press, <i>Global Studies Quarterly</i> . <a href="https://doi.org/10.1093/isagsq/ksac017">https://doi.org/10.1093/isagsq/ksac017</a>
2022	"COVID-19, Poverty Reduction, and Partisanship in Canada and the United States."

*Policy and Society*. DOI: [10.1093/polsoc/puac002](https://doi.org/10.1093/polsoc/puac002)

- 2021 “Trump, Bolsonaro, and the Framing of the COVID-19 Crisis: How Political Institutions Shape Presidential Strategies”, *World Affairs*, 184(40): 413–440.
- 2021 “Keeping Score: The Congressional Budget Office and the Politics of Institutional Durability.” *Polity* 53 (4): 691–717.
- 2021 “Who Counts Where? Federalism and the Politics of COVID-19 Surveillance.” *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law* 46 (4): 959–987.
- 2021 “Fiscal Federalism and Economic Crises in the United States: Lessons from the COVID-19 Pandemic and Great Recession.” *Publius* 51 (3): 365–395.
- 2021 “Federalism and the Covid-19 crisis: Canada, Australia and the United States in Comparative Perspective.” *Publius* 51 (4).
- 2021 “COVID-19, Federalism, Policy Feedback, and Health Care Funding in Canada, the United States, and Mexico.” *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis* 23(2): 143-156
- 2020 “Direct Democracy and the Fate of Medicaid Expansion.” *JAMA Health Forum*. August 21.
- 2020 “Stuck in Neutral? American Federalism and the Politics of Counter-Cyclical Responses to COVID-19.” *Policy & Society* 39 (3): 458–77.
- 2020 “An Engine of Change? The Affordable Care Act and the Shifting Politics of Medicare Demonstration Projects.” *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* 6(2): 67–84.
- 2020 “State Politics and the Uneven Fate of Medicaid Expansion.” *Health Affairs* 39 (3): 494–501.
- 2020 “The Affordable Care Act in the States: Fragmented Politics, Unstable Policy.” *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law* 45(4): 647–660.
- 2020 “Designing Policy Resilience: Lessons from the Affordable Care Act,” *Policy Sciences* 53(2): 269–89.
- 2019 “From Trial and Error to Major Reform: The Politics of Medicare Demonstration Projects.” *Public Administration* 97 (3): 621–38.
- 2019 “The ACA and the Politics of Policy Feedback.” *Policy Studies Journal* 47 (2): 395–422.
- 2018 “Politics at the Cutting Edge: Intergovernmental Policy Innovation in the Affordable Care Act.” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 48 (3): 425–453.

- 2018 "Obamacare in the Trump Era: Where Are We Now? Where Are We Going?" *The Political Quarterly* 89 (4): 687–694.
- 2018 "Federalism and the Politics of Bottom-Up Social Policy Diffusion in the United States, Mexico, and Canada." *Political Science Quarterly* 133 (Fall): 527–560.
- 2018 "How Intense Policy Demanders Shape Post-Reform Politics: Evidence from the Affordable Care Act," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law* 43 (2): 271–304.
- 2018 "Paths to (De)centralization: Territorial Dynamics and Social Policy in the People's Republic of China and the US." *Environment and Planning C* 36 (5): 897–915.
- 2017 "The Anti-Analytic Presidency Revisited." *The Forum* 15(2): 363–378.
- 2017 "Informal Caregiving and the Politics of Policy Drift in the United States." *Journal of Aging and Social Policy* 29 (5): 413-432.
- 2017 "Making Health Policy for Low-Income Populations: An Assessment of Public Participation in a New Medicaid Waiver Process." *Journal of Health Policy, Politics, and Law* 42 (6): 1039-1064.
- 2017 "The New Politics of US Health Care Prices: Institutional Reconfiguration and the Emergence of All-Payer Claims Databases." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law* 42 (1): 5–52.
- 2017 "Integrating Caregivers of Older Adult Patients into Discharge Planning to Lower Resource Utilization: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis of Randomized Controlled Trials." *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society* 65 (8): 1748–1755.
- 2016 "Obamacare and the Politics of Universal Health Insurance Coverage in the United States." *Social Policy & Administration* 50(4): 428–451.
- 2016 "Reassessing Policy Drift: Social Policy Change in the United States," *Social Policy & Administration* 50 (2): 201–218.
- 2015 "Modernizing Medicaid Managed Care: Can States Meet the Data Challenges?" *JAMA* 314 (15):1559–60.
- 2015 "Serving Clients When the Server Crashes: How Frontline Workers Cope with E-Government Challenges." *Public Administration Review* 75(6): 817–827.
- 2015 "Polarized Stakeholders and Institutional Vulnerabilities: The Enduring Politics of the Affordable Care Act." *Clinical Therapeutics* 37 (4): 720–726.
- 2015 "Making Federalism Work? The Politics of Intergovernmental Collaboration and The

PPACA." *Journal of Health and Human Services Administration* 37(4): 412–461.

- 2014 "Implementing Health Reform in the United States: Intergovernmental Politics and the Dilemmas of Institutional Design." *Health Policy* 116 (Spring): 51–60.
- 2014 "Obamacare, Universal Credit, and the Trilemma of Public Services." *Public Administration Review* 74(2): 142–3.
- 2014 "From Metaphors to Measures: Observable Indicators of Gradual Institutional Change." *Journal of Public Policy* 34 (1): 35–62.
- 2014 "Is Federalism a Political Safety Valve? Evidence from Congressional Decision-Making, 1960–2005." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 44 (1): 1–23.

#### *In Progress*

Counting Like a State: The Politics of Intergovernmental Partnerships in the 2020 Census. Revise and Resubmit, *Political Science Quarterly*.

#### **Book Chapters**

##### *In Print*

- 2021 "Laboratories of What? American Federalism and the Politics of Democratic Subversion," in *Democratic Resilience*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 297–319.
- 2020 "Medicaid Expansion: Intergovernmental Reform meets Nationalized Politics," in *Medicare and Medicaid: A Reference Handbook*, ABC-CLIO, pp. 126–135.
- 2020 "The Quiet Politics of Medicaid Work Requirements," in *Medicaid: Enrollment, Eligibility, and Key Issues*, Nova Science Publishers, pp. 111–140.
- 2020 "Introduction," in *American Political Development and the Trump Presidency*, University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 1–12.
- 2020 "The Policy State and the Post-Truth Presidency," in *American Political Development and The Trump Presidency*, University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 114–129.
- 2011 "Wissensproduktion in der RAND Corporation," in *Macht und Geist im Kalten Krieg*, Hamburg: Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, 301–320.

#### **Book Reviews and Review Essays**

##### *In Print*

- 2021 *Government statistical agencies and the politics of credibility. Public Administration.*
- 2020 "Review Essay: Ending Federalism as We Know It," *Jacobin* 39: 58-64.

- 2020 *Red State Blues. Perspectives on Politics* 18(2): 627–29.
- 2019 *Clientelism, Capitalism, and Democracy: The Rise of Programmatic Politics in the United States and Britain. Public Administration* 97(4): 960–61.
- 2018 *Policy Drift: Shared Powers and the Making of U.S. Law and Policy. American Review of Public Administration.*
- 2018 *Fragmented Democracy: Medicaid, Federalism, and Unequal Politics. Perspectives on Politics* 16 (December): 1166–1168.
- 2018 *The Policy State: An American Predicament. Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 49 (2): 346–347.
- 2018 *The Mutual Housing Experiment: New Deal Communities for the Urban Middle Class. Political Science Quarterly* 132 (4): 777-778.
- 2017 *The Federal Design Dilemma. Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 47(4), e13.
- 2016 Review Essay: Open Government and the Politics of Public Knowledge in the United States. *Public Administration* 94 (3): 846–853.
- 2015 Review Essay: Mapping the Policy State. *Public Administration* 93(1): 248–254.
- 2014 Review Essay: Muddling Through Hard Times. *Public Administration* 92 (2): 525–530.
- 2013 *The Delegated Welfare State: Medicare, Markets and the Governance of Social Policy, Public Administration* 91 (4): 1075–77.
- 2013 *The Unwieldy American State. Public Administration Review* 73 (5): 765–7.

### **Other Publications and Public-Facing Work**

#### *Reports*

- 2021 *Strengthening Local Government Finances: State and Federal Policies for a Crisis Era.* University of Illinois at Chicago, Government Finance Research Center.
- 2020 *The Human Costs of Local Fiscal Crises During COVID-19.* Report prepared under contract with the National League of Cities.
- 2016 *Addressing the Needs of Caregivers at Risk: A New Policy Strategy.* University of Pittsburgh, Health Policy Institute.
- 2015 *Addressing the Health Needs of an Aging America: New Opportunities for Evidence-Based Policy Solutions.* University of Pittsburgh, Health Policy Institute

*Short Form Public Scholarship*

- 2022 “Why you should vote in the April 5 Milwaukee County Board Elections,” *Milwaukee Record*, March 22.
- 2022 “Whose Cream City?” *The Recombobulation Area*, March 21.
- 2022 “The Dark, Forgotten Carnival,” *The Recombobulation Area*, March 22.
- 2021 “Congress is waiting on the CBO for its Build Back Better report – but how did fiscal scorekeepers come to be so powerful in politics?,” *The Conversation*, November 16.
- 2021 “Opponents of health reform have found a friend in the CBO, but it doesn't have to be that way,” *Sick Note*, September 29.
- 2021 “Will Recovery Funds Really Allow State and Local Governments to Build Back Better?” *Notes on the Crises*, June 25.
- 2021 “The Myth of ‘Unnecessary’ Federal Aid to State and Local Governments,” *Governing*, March 3.
- 2021 “How to End the GOP’s Attacks on State-Level Democracy,” *Jacobin*, February 19.
- 2020 “Trump is Attempting a Brazen, Anti-Democratic Power Grab. And It Has Nothing to Do With the Election,” *Jacobin*, November 17.
- 2020 “State and Local Austerity is a Death Trap—Rip it Up and Start Again.” *Notes on the Crises*, July 16.
- 2020 “The fragmentation of federal expertise has enabled the politicisation of Covid-19 numbers in the USA.” *London School of Economics American Politics and Policy Blog*, April 14.
- 2020 “We must ensure free and fair elections do not become another casualty of Covid-19.” *London School of Economics American Politics and Policy Blog*, March 20.
- 2019 “The citizenship question isn’t the only threat to the Census. Here’s what’s at stake,” *Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog*, July 11.
- 2018 “Despite Democrats’ takeover of the House, don’t expect Republicans to give up on undoing Obamacare,” *London School of Economics, US Politics and Policy Blog*, November 14.
- 2018 “Eight years of attacks and Obamacare still stands,” *Policy Options Politiques* blog,

Institute for Research on Public Policy, May 15.

- 2018 “Why the extreme reaction to Obamacare could be the new normal in American politics,” *The Conversation*, April 9.
- 2017 “Justice Roberts said political science is ‘sociological gobbledygook.’ Here’s why he said it, and why he’s mistaken,” *Washington Post Monkey Cage Blog*, October 4.
- 2017 “The CBO can’t score Republicans’ health-care plan in time. That’s where Jimmy Kimmel comes in.” *Washington Post, The Monkey Cage*, September 20.
- 2017 “Orthodoxy, Politics, and Prose,” American Sociological Association. *Policy Trajectories blog*, August 23.
- 2017 “Most presidents rely on expertise. Trump treats experts like the enemy,” *Washington Post Monkey Cage Blog*, July 24.
- 2016 “Here’s three easy ways a Republican president could dismantle the ACA — short of outright repeal,” *Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog*, January 26.
- 2016 “How Much Does Congress Care About Drug Prices? Less Than It Should,” *Health Affairs blog*, January 13.
- 2014 “How Patronage Politics Ate the Port Authority,” *Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog*, January 13.

#### *Blog Posts*

- 2017 “The precarious future of the Affordable Care Act,” The Broadbent Institute blog, May 4.
- 2017 “How the War Over Obamacare Can Erode American Democracy,” *University Press of Kansas Blog*, March 15.
- 2017 “With their Obamacare replacement, Republicans are jumping blindfolded through the policy window.” *London School of Economics: American Politics and Policy Blog*, March 14.
- 2016 “Presidential Politics and U.S. Health Care Reform in 2016 and Beyond,” Political Studies Association blog, February 5.

#### *Op Eds*

- 2020 “Wisconsin’s pandemic primary will put voters’ lives at risk,” *Jacobin*, April 4.
- 2017 “Will Congress Listen to the Kochs or to the docs on health care?” *The Cap Times*, June 26.

- 2017 "Honest Numbers and the Republican Health Care Bill," *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, June 22.
- 2017 "Republicans can still harm Obamacare through neglect," *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, March 28.
- 2016 "Fear and loathing and James Madison," *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, November 25.

## **MEDIA CONTRIBUTIONS**

- 2022 *Wispolitics*, interview, April 25, 2022.
- 2022 Fox 6, interview, April 12, 2022.
- 2022 *Washington Post*, interview, April 9, 2022.
- 2022 *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, April 7, 2022.
- 2022 Wisconsin Public Radio, April 7, 2022.
- 2022 WUWM, March 31, 2022.
- 2022 *Politico*, interview, March 23, 2022.
- 2022 *Wisconsin Examiner*, interview, March 3, 2022.
- 2022 *Wisconsin Examiner*, interview, January 25, 2022.
- 2021 *Wisconsin Examiner*, interview, December 3, 2021.
- 2021 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, September 21, 2021.
- 2021 WUWM, interview, September 14, 2021.
- 2021 WUWM, interview, August 19, 2021.
- 2021 *NextCity*, interview, August 17, 2021.
- 2021 *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, interview, August 11, 2021.
- 2021 *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, interview, July 19, 2021.
- 2021 *Vox*, interview, June 15, 2021.
- 2021 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, June 15, 2021.
- 2021 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, June 7, 2021.
- 2021 *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, interview, April 30, 2021.
- 2021 *Wisconsin Examiner*, interview, April 1, 2021.
- 2021 *Wisconsin Examiner*, interview, March 31, 2021.
- 2021 *The Advocate*, interview, March 6, 2021.
- 2021 *Wisconsin Examiner*, interview, March 5, 2021.
- 2021 *Governing*, interview, March 2, 2021.
- 2021 *FiveThirtyEight*, interview, February 16, 2021.
- 2021 WTMJ, interview, February 15, 2021.
- 2021 Southern Poverty Law Center -- Hatewatch Blog, interview, January 22, 2021.
- 2021 CBS 58, interview, January 20, 2021.
- 2020 *Patch*, interview, December 5, 2020.
- 2020 *Le Devoir*, interview, November 28, 2020.
- 2020 WUWM, interview, November 23, 2020.
- 2020 *Le Devoir*, interview, November 14, 2020.
- 2020 *Wisconsin Examiner*, interview, November 11, 2020.
- 2020 Spectrum News Wisconsin, interview, November 3, 2020.



2020 *The Nation*, interview, October 21, 2020.  
2020 *Wisconsin Examiner*, interview, October 12, 2020.  
2020 WISN, interview, October 2, 2020.  
2020 *Wisconsin Examiner*, interview, September 12, 2020.  
2020 *Washington Post*, interview, August 14, 2020.  
2020 WUWM 89.7, interview, August 7, 2020.  
2020 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, July 28, 2020.  
2020 *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, interview, July 14, 2020.  
2020 *The American Prospect*, interview, July 13, 2020.  
2020 ARTNews, interview, May 29, 2020.  
2020 *New America Weekly*, interview, April 23, 2020.  
2020 WUWM 87.7, interview, April 22, 2020.  
2020 R Street Institute, interview, March 20, 2020.  
2020 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, March 16, 2020.  
2020 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, March 16, 2020.  
2020 WUWM 89.7, interview, March 13, 2020.  
2020 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, December 20, 2019.  
2019 Spectrum 1 News, interview, November 24, 2019.  
2019 Spectrum 1 News, interview, November 13, 2019.  
2019 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, November 11, 2019.  
2019 *La Vanguardia*, interview, November 3, 2019.  
2019 WISN, interview, October 20, 2019.  
2019 *Christian Science Monitor*, interview, September 16, 2019.  
2019 *American Prospect*, interview, September 12, 2019.  
2019 Spectrum 1 News, interview, August 2, 2019.  
2019 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, July 1, 2019.  
2019 C-SPAN, interview, May 18, 2019.  
2019 *FiveThirtyEight*, interview, May 16, 2019.  
2019 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, May 13, 2019.  
2019 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, April 15, 2019.  
2019 WISN, interview, March 19, 2019.  
2019 *The Economist*, interview, March 12, 2019.  
2019 *The Economist*, interview, March 9, 2019.  
2019 *FiveThirtyEight*, interview, February 12, 2019.  
2019 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, January 17, 2019.  
2018 *FiveThirtyEight*, interview, December 18, 2018.  
2018 Spectrum 1 News Milwaukee, interview, December 17, 2018.  
2018 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, December 17, 2018.  
2018 CBS 58, interview, December 9, 2018.  
2018 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, December 6, 2018.  
2018 WUWM 89.7, interview, November 9, 2018.  
2018 WTMJ, interview, November 7, 2018.  
2018 *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, interview, October 19, 2018.  
2018 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, July 30, 2018.  
2018 *No Jargon Podcast*, interview, June 28, 2018.  
2018 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, June 21, 2018.

- 2018 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, April 19, 2018.
- 2018 *The Week in Health Law* Podcast, interview, March 30, 2018.
- 2018 *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, interview, March 2, 2018.
- 2018 *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, interview, February 9, 2018.
- 2018 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, January 22, 2018.
- 2017 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, December 28, 2017.
- 2017 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, November 28, 2017.
- 2017 *Slate France*, interview, September 29, 2017.
- 2017 CBS 58, interview, September 28, 2017.
- 2017 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, September 15, 2017.
- 2017 Fox 6, interview, July 19, 2017.
- 2017 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, June 27, 2017.
- 2017 CBS 58, interview, June 22, 2017.
- 2017 *FiveThirtyEight*, interview, June 22, 2017.
- 2017 Fox 6, interview, June 22, 2017.
- 2017 *Politifact*, interview, June 22, 2017.
- 2017 CBS 58, interview, May 24, 2017.
- 2017 *The Monocle* "Foreign Desk" Podcast, interview, April 29, 2017.
- 2017 CBS 58, interview, March 15, 2017.
- 2017 BBC International, interview, March 13, 2017.
- 2017 Fox6, interview, January 29, 2017.
- 2017 WISN, interview, January 23, 2017.
- 2017 Wisconsin Public Radio, interview, January 20, 2017.
- 2016 WTMJ-TV, interview, November 9, 2016.
- 2016 WTMJ-TV, interview, October 31, 2016.
- 2016 *Pacific Standard*, interview, April 11, 2016.

## PRESENTATIONS

### *Invited Talks*

- 2022 Flexible Aid in an Uncertain World: The Coronavirus State and Local Fiscal Recovery Funds Program, Michigan State University Government Fiscal Sustainability Workgroup, Chicago, May 20, 2022.
- 2021 Strengthening Local Government Finance: State and Federal Aid for a Crisis Era, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, September 14, 2021.
- 2021 Counting Like a State: The Politics of Intergovernmental Partnerships in the 2020 Census, University of Illinois, Chicago, May 5.
- 2020 COVID–19 and the Crisis of American Federalism, Jain Family Institute, November 24, 2020.
- 2020 Policy Analysis and the Limits of Incrementalism. Guest talk in SPP 181, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, November 18, 2020.

- 2020      Comments on the Politics of COVID-19," The Washington Center, September 21, 2020.
- 2020      Keeping Score: The Congressional Budget Office and the Politics of Institutional Durability, The Brookings Institution, September 18, 2020.
- 2020      Six Insights on Direct Democracy and Medicaid Expansion, Panel on Missouri Medicaid Expansion, University of Missouri–St. Louis, July 30.
- 2020      Stuck in Neutral? Federalism, Policy Instruments, and Counter-Cyclical Responses to COVID-19 in the United States. Conference on Revisiting Policy Theories and Preparing Solutions for COVID-19, Yonsei University, South Korea, May 21.
- 2020      Counting Like a State: Federalism and the Politics of the 2020 Census, Milwaukee Area Political Science Seminar, UW Milwaukee, February 7.
- 2019      Laboratories of What? Polarized Federalism and the Challenge of Subnational Democracy, Conference on Democratic Resilience, Cornell University, November 8.
- 2019      Roundtable on "Advocacy in the Academy," University of Kentucky, Center for Equality and Social Justice, October 11.
- 2019      An Engine of Change? The Affordable Care Act and the Shifting Politics of Medicare Demonstration Projects (with Andrew Kelly), Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, May 29.
- 2019      Calculating Power: The Congressional Budget Office and the Politics of Durability, Northwestern University, Workshop on Social Policy, Evanston, Illinois, May 24.
- 2019      Laboratories of What? Civic Epistemology and the Challenge of Subnational Democracy, Princeton University Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, March 29, 2019.
- 2019      Laboratories of What? State Governments, Democracy, and the Politics of Numbers, University of Denver Department of Political Science, Denver, Colorado, February 11.
- 2019      Breakout Session: From Research to Legislation, Scholars Strategy Network Annual Leadership Convening, Washington, DC, January 17.
- 2019      Breakout Session: Medicaid Policy in the States, Scholars Strategy Network Annual Leadership Convening, Washington, DC, January 18, 2019.
- 2018      Quality as Quantity: Medicare Reform and the Quiet Politics of Measurement, University of Wisconsin – Madison, American Politics Workshop, Madison, Wisconsin, February 12.
- 2017      Quiet Politics and the Power of Numbers: Quality Measurement in the Affordable

Care Act, University of Houston Conference on “Healthcare Politics at the Crossroads,” Houston, Texas, October 27.

- 2016 Challenges to the ACA and the Impact on the Policymaking Environment. Health Policy Institute of Ohio, Columbus, Ohio, October 26, 2016.
- 2016 The Evolving Politics of the Affordable Care Act, University of Pittsburgh School of Nursing, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, March 22, 2016.
- 2015 Beyond Carrots and Sticks: Contentious Federalism and the Governance of Health Reform. Invited talk at University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, November 23, 2015.
- 2015 Reorganizing the Activist State: Generative Institutions and the Politics of Federalism. Invited talk at Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, November 19, 2015
- 2015 Reorganizing the Activist State: Generative Institutions and the Politics of Federalism. Invited talk at the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts, November 30, 2015.
- 2014 Reinventing Federalism: Conservatives and the Politics of the Policy State, 1952–1955. University of Texas at Austin, Graduate Conference in Public Law. Austin, Texas, October 30, 2014
- 2013 Issues of Scale and Multi-Level Governance. Conference on Complex Transboundary Problems: EU and US Perspectives. EU Center of Excellence, University of California, Berkeley. October 18–19.
- 2013 Scaling Up? Venue Shifting and Power in Urban Politics. Guest Lecture in PS 175A: The Politics and Policy of Metropolitan America, UC Berkeley, Berkeley, CA, October 17.
- 2013 Forging a Complex Republic: Policy Conflict and Statutory Mandates for Intergovernmental Collaboration in the United States, 1947–2008. Guest Lecture in PS 150: The American Legal System. University of California, Berkeley. July 24.
- 2013 The Politics of Intergovernmental Collaboration and Health Reform in the United States. Invited presentation at Uppsala University, Sweden. June 12–14, 2013.
- 2012 Forging Collaborative Intergovernmental Relations in the United States, 1945–2012. Invited presentation at Uppsala University, Sweden. August 30–31.
- 2012 Governing Challenges in the “Compound Republic”. Guest Lecture in PS 150: The American Legal System. University of California, Berkeley. June 2.
- 2012 Analytical Challenges in the Study of Organizational Complexity . Invited paper

at Complex Systems, Pernicious Instability, and Institutional Resilience: Urgent Challenges for Public Administration. Utrecht University, Netherlands. June 11–14.

- 2011 Organizations as Arenas of Power. Guest Lecture at Mills College, November 17.
- 2011 Process Tracing for Causal Inference in Vesla Weaver’s “Frontlash.” Presentation given at Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research. Syracuse University, June.
- 2010 The RAND Paradigm: Interdisciplinary Policy Science for the Cold War State. Invited paper at the Conference on the Intellectual History of the Cold War. Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung. Hamburg, Germany. September 1-3.

### *Conference Presentations*

- 2022 Roundtable on COVID-19 and Federalism, Southern Political Science Association Conference, San Antonio, Texas, January 15, 2022.
- 2022 No Federalism Without Political Safeguards: The Dilemma of Territorial Federalism, Southern Political Science Association Conference, San Antonio, Texas, January 14, 2022.
- 2021 Voice in an Asymmetric Federation? The U.S. Territories as Intergovernmental Actors, Milwaukee Area Political Science Seminar, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, December 10, 2021.
- 2021 Seeing Like a Fiscal State; Or, Why Certain Schemes to Represent State and Local Fiscal Needs During COVID-19 Have Failed, American Society for Public Administration Meetings, April, 2021 (Virtual)
- 2020 Counting a Fragmented Country: Intergovernmental Politics and the 2020 Census, Deil S. Wright Symposium, American Society for Public Administration Meetings, Anaheim, CA, April 3, 2020 (cancelled)
- 2019 Quality as Quantity: Medicare Reform and the Quiet Politics of Measurement, American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 31, 2019
- 2019 Varieties of US State-Level Democracy, American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 2.
- 2019 Calculating Power: The Congressional Budget Office and the Politics of Durability. Western Political Science Association, San Diego, CA, April 20, 2019
- 2018 Policy Feedback and the Politics of the Affordable Care Act. Research Conference in Public Administration, Policy, and Management, Canadian Association of Programs in Public Administration, Regina, Saskatchewan, June 1.

- 2018 Politics at the Cutting Edge: Intergovernmental Policy Innovation in the Affordable Care Act. Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 7.
- 2017 The ACA and the Politics of Policy Feedback. Policy Studies Journal Workshop on Policy Feedback and Feed Forward, University of Arizona, September 28–30.
- 2017 Beyond the Tax Revolt: Ideas, Experts, and the Politics of Fiscal Policy in the States, 1960–1996, American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 31.
- 2017 The ACA’s Hidden Bipartisanship? Innovation Models and the Politics of Federalism, American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 31.
- 2017 Experimental Institutions: Medicare Demonstrations and the Politics of Trial and Error. Western Political Science Association Vancouver, British Columbia, April 12.
- 2016 Generative Institutions and the Transformation of US Social Policy. Social Science History Association, Chicago, IL, November 17.
- 2016 Reorganizing the Activist State: Conservatives, Commissions, and the Politics of Federalism. American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, September 4.
- 2016 The Politics of Trial and Error: Policy Learning and Medicare Demonstration Projects. American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA. September 2.
- 2015 How do we make health policy for low-income populations? An analysis of public input and Medicaid waivers under the Affordable Care Act. Poster presented at American College of Physicians (ACP) Western Pennsylvania Regional Meeting, November 7, 2015.
- 2015 Reconfiguring the Politics of Health Price Transparency: Federalism, Bricolage, and the Emergence of All Payer Claims Databases. Poster presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA September 3-6.
- 2014 Reinventing Federalism: Conservatives and the Politics of the Policy State, 1947–1957. Paper presented at the Social Science History Association conference, Toronto, ON, November 6-9.
- 2014 Policy Implementation Under Stress: How the Affordable Care Act’s Frontline Workers Cope with Public Service Delivery. American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 28–31.

- 2013 Forging Collaborative Intergovernmental Relations, 1945–2012. American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL. August 29–September 1.
- 2013 Intergovernmental Collaboration and the Affordable Care Act. Paper presented at the Research. Workshop in American Politics, University of California – Berkeley. February 20.
- 2012 From Metaphors to Measures: Re-thinking Empirical Indicators of Gradual Institutional Change, Policy History Conference, Richmond, VA. June, 2012.
- 2012 Choosing to Keep the Compound Republic: Explaining Variation in the Decentralization of U.S. Public Policy, 1960-2006. Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA. January.
- 2011 “Open-ended” Policy Change: Pathways of Development in Devolutionary Social Policies. Midwest Political Science Association Conference. Chicago IL. March 31-April 2.

#### *On-Campus Presentations*

- 2020 Stuck in Neutral? Federalism, Policy Instruments, and Counter-Cyclical Responses to COVID-19 in the United States, Marquette University Law School, September 2.
- 2020 How Federalism is Affecting the US Economic Response to COVID-19. Lightning talk for Marquette University COVID-19 Research Initiative, June 23.
- 2020 The 2020 Election and COVID-19: Are We Ready?, Short lecture for Marquette University Course on COVID-19, June.
- 2020 What can state and local officials do to build a pandemic-ready society? Short talk for Marquette University Center for Urban Research, Teaching, and Outreach, May 22.
- 2019 The Political Economy of US Healthcare Policy, US Health Care from a Global Perspective, Guest lecture for Marquette University—São Camilo International Partnership, July 15, 2019.

#### **GRANTS AND CONTRACTS**

##### *Grants*

- 2021 Joyce Foundation, awarded November 2021. Project: "Local Governments' Use of ARPA Funds on Policing, Violence Prevention, and Criminal Justice Reform," \$217,863.00. Co-Principal Investigator.

- 2020 American Political Science Association Small Research Grant, awarded July 2020. Project: "Counting in a Pandemic," \$2,445.00. Principal Investigator.
- 2020 American Political Science Association Research Partnerships on Critical Issues, awarded February 2020. Project: "Citizen Engagement, Democratic Deliberation, and the Rural Water Crisis," \$20,000.00. Co-Principal Investigator.
- 2018 Marquette University Summer Faculty Fellowship and Regular Research Grant, awarded July 2018. Project: "The Determinants of Conflict Over Mandated Policy Analysis in the US Congress," \$7,540.00. Principal Investigator
- 2016 Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Grant, awarded August, 2016. Project: "Hidden Bi-partisanship in ACA Implementation? Factors Shaping State-Level Decisions to Engage in CMS Innovation Center Demonstration Projects," \$5,000.00. Co-Principal Investigator.

#### *Contracts*

- 2020 National League of Cities Contract, awarded August, 2020. Project: "The Human Costs of Local Fiscal Crises During COVID-19," \$5,000.00. Co-Principal Investigator.

#### **HONORS AND AWARDS**

- 2019 Way Klingler Young Scholar Award, Marquette University
- 2016 APSA William Anderson Award for best dissertation in the general field of federalism or intergovernmental relations, state and local politics
- 2014 Honorarium, University of Texas at Austin Graduate Conference in Public Law
- 2014 Social Science History Association / Tilly Graduate Student Travel Award
- 2013 Mike Synar Graduate Research Fellowship, Berkeley Institute of Governmental Studies
- 2013 European Academy of Bozen/Bolzano, Winter School on Federalism and Governance, Accommodation Scholarship (Declined)
- 2013 Center for Right Wing Studies Mini Grant, University of California, Berkeley
- 2013 Dean's Normative Time Fellowship, University of California, Berkeley
- 2012 Graduate Division Fellowship Award, University of California, Berkeley
- 2012 Outstanding Graduate Student Instructor Award, University of California, Berkeley
- 2009 Rose Undergraduate Research Award, University of Pennsylvania
- 2009 Philo Bennett Prize, Best Undergraduate Thesis in American Politics or Political Theory, University of Pennsylvania
- 2008 Penn Program on Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism, Undergraduate Research Grant (shared with David Reinecke)
- 2008 Undergraduate Student Travel Grant, University of Pennsylvania



2008 University Scholars Society Grant, University of Pennsylvania

**SERVICE  
Profession**

*Committees*

- 2022 William Anderson Prize Committee, American Political Science Association, 2022
- 2021 Daniel Elazar Award Committee, APSA Organized Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, Chairman, 2021
- 2019 Deil S. Wright Best Paper Award Committee, APSA Organized Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, Member, 2019
- 2018 Medicaid Working Group Leader, Scholars Strategy Network, 2018–2020
- 2017 Martha Derthick Book Award Committee, APSA Organized Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, Member, 2017

*Editorial Work*

- 2021 *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law*, Editorial Board Member, 2021–Present
- 2018 *Journal of Aging and Social Policy*, Editorial Board Member, 2018–Present
- 2013 *Business and Politics*, Managing Editor, 2013–2015

*Manuscript Reviewer*

- 2022 *Regional and Federal Studies*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2022
- 2021 *The Lancet Regional Health: Americas*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2021
- 2021 *Public Budgeting and Finance*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2021
- 2021 *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2021
- 2020 *Health Affairs*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2020
- 2020 *Journal of Public Health*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2020
- 2019 *Studies in American Political Development*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2019–Present
- 2019 *American Political Science Reviewer*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2019–Present
- 2019 *American Journal of Political Science*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2019–Present
- 2019 W.W. Norton, Textbook Reviewer, 2019
- 2018 Cambridge University Press, Manuscript Reviewer, 2018
- 2018 *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2018

- 2018 *Medical Care*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2018
- 2018 *Critical Public Health*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2018
- 2017 *Journal of Urban Affairs*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2017
- 2017 *Political Science Quarterly*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2017
- 2017 *Governance*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2017–Present
- 2017 *Critical Policy Studies*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2017
- 2017 Routledge, Manuscript Reviewer, 2017
- 2017 *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2017–Present
- 2016 *American Politics Research*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2016
- 2016 *Policy Studies Journal*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2016–Present
- 2016 *Public Administration Review*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2016
- 2016 *Public Administration*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2016–Present
- 2016 *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law*, Manuscript Reviewer, 2016–Present

*Membership in Learned Societies*

- 2021 Southern Political Science Association, Program Organizer, Mini-Conference on Territorial Politics in the U.S. and Beyond, 2021–22
- 2019 American Society for Public Administration, Organizer, Deil S. Wright Symposium, 2019
- 2018 Western Political Science Association, Chairperson, Public Policy Division, 2018–2019
- 2018 American Political Science Association, Organized Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, Division Chair, 2018–2019
- 2017 American Political Science Association, Organized Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, Executive Committee Member, 2017–2019

*External Committee Member*

- 2021 Kasia Klasa, PhD, Political Science, University of Michigan, 2021–Present
- 2017 Mario Scarpinato, MHA, University of Pittsburgh Graduate School of Public Health, 2017

**University**

- 2020 Marquette Core Curriculum Assessment, Portfolio Reviewer, 2020
- 2019 Ad Hoc Committee on Civic Engagement, Member, 2019–2020
- 2019 Committee on Data Management, Member, 2019–2020

2018 Health Equity Minor Community of Practice, Member, 2018

## **Department**

### *Administrative Assignments*

2021 Director of Undergraduate Studies, 2021–Present

2019 Department Webmaster, 2019–Present

### *Committees*

2021 Undergraduate Studies Committee, 2016–2021

2021 Ad Hoc Committee on Public Policy Minor, 2021–Present

2020 Chair's Advisory Committee, 2020–Present

2020 Identity and Politics Search Committee, 2020

2019 Ad Hoc Committee on Assessment, 2019–Present

2018 Ad Hoc Committee on Public Policy / Political Economy Major, 2018

## **COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT**

2021 "Obamacare Wars," Talk for First Unitarian Society of Milwaukee, December 5, 2021.

2020 "Whose Crisis? COVID-19, Health Reform, and the Politics of Uncertainty," Talk for Osher Lifelong Learning Series, UW Milwaukee, April 16, 2020.

2018 Election Inspector, City of Milwaukee, 2018–Present

## **OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS**

2021 American Association of University Professors, Marquette University Chapter, Executive Committee, Acting Vice President, 2021–Present

2021 American Association of University Professors, Marquette University Chapter, Executive Committee, Member at Large, 2021

## **TEACHING RESPONSIBILITIES**

**2022**

POSC 4931/5931, American Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations (Spring)

**2021**

POSC 4216, American Public Policy (Fall)

POSC 3101, Wrtnng/Argumentation in Pol Sci.: Numbers, Policy, and Democracy (Fall)

POSC 6931, Graduate Seminar in American Federalism (Spring)

POSC 3101, Wrtnng/Argumentation in Pol Sci.: Numbers, Policy, and Democracy (Spring)

**2020**

CORE 1929, Foundations Methods of Inquiry: Health and Wellbeing (Fall)

POSC 3101, Wrtnng/Argumentation in Pol Sci.: Numbers, Policy, and Democracy (Fall)

**2019**

POSC 2201, American Politics (Fall)

CORE 1929, Foundations Methods of Inquiry: Health and Wellbeing (Fall)

POSC 3101, Wrtnng/Argumentation in Pol Sci.: Numbers, Policy, and Democracy (Summer)

POSC 3101, Wrtnng/Argumentation in Pol Sci.: Numbers, Policy, and Democracy (Spring)

POSC 4216, American Public Policy (Spring)

**2018**

CORE 1929, Foundations Methods of Inquiry: Health and Wellbeing (Fall)

POSC 2201, American Politics (Fall)

POSC 2201, American Politics (Spring)

POSC 4216, American Public Policy (Spring)

**2017**

POSC 2201, American Politics (Fall)

POSC 4931, Topics in Political Science: Numbers, Policy, and Democracy (Fall)

POSC 2201, American Politics (Spring)

POSC 4216, American Public Policy (Spring)

**2016**

POSC 2201, American Politics (Fall)

POSC 4216, American Public Policy (Fall)

**REFERENCES**

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