

CURRICULUM VITAE

Richard C. Fording

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Contact:

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Education

Ph. D. Political Science, Florida State University (1998)
Major Field: American Politics
Minor Fields: Public Policy, Comparative Politics

B.A. Political Science, University of Florida (1986)

Professional Experience

Faculty Positions

Marilyn Williams Elmore and John Durr Elmore Endowed Professor, Department of Political Science, 2016-present

Professor, University of Alabama, Department of Political Science, 2011-2016

Professor, University of Kentucky, Department of Political Science, 2009-2011

Associate Professor, University of Kentucky, Department of Political Science, 2002-2009

Assistant Professor, University of Kentucky, Department of Political Science, 1996-2002

Administrative Appointments

Chair, Department of Political Science, University of Alabama, 2011 -2016

Associate Director, University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research, 2007-2011

Acting Director, University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research, 2008-2009

Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Political Science, 2003-2005

Courtesy Appointments

Department of Sociology, Graduate Faculty Member 2009-2011

Joint Faculty Member, Martin School of Public Policy and Administration, 1998-2011

Awards

Herbert A. Simon Book Award for *Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race* (University of Chicago Press). Awarded by the Public Administration Section of the American Political Science Association for significant contributions to public

administration scholarship (limited to books published in 2009, 2010 or 2011), September 4, 2015.

Beryl Radin Award, for the best article published in the *Journal of Public Administration Research 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.

Michael Harrington Book Award for *Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race* (University of Chicago Press). Awarded by the New Political Science Section of the American Political Science Association. The award is given annually to the book that best demonstrates how scholarship can be used in the struggle for a better world. August 31, 2012.

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.

State Politics and Policy Quarterly Best Paper Award for best paper on state politics delivered at a 2008 conference (“Second-Order Devolution and the Implementation of TANF,” with Byungkyu Kim, presented at the MPSA meeting in Chicago, April 2008).

APSA Public Policy Section Best Paper Award, for a paper presented at the 2007 meeting of the American Political Science Association (“Deciding to Discipline: A Multi-Method Study of Race, Choice, and Punishment at the Frontlines of Welfare Reform,” with Sanford Schram, Joe Soss and Linda Houser).

APSA Public Policy Section Best Paper Award, for a paper presented at the 2005 meeting of the American Political Science Association (“The Color of Devolution: The Politics of Local Punishment in the New World of Welfare,” with Sanford Schram and Joe Soss).

APSA State Politics and Policy Section Best Paper Award, for a paper presented at 1997 meeting of the American Political Science Association (“Reassessing the Race to the Bottom in State Welfare Policy,” with William D. Berry and Russell L. Hanson).

Grants

Fording, Richard C., and Matthew Nobles. “A Multilevel Analysis of Hate Crime Commission Using NCVS and UCR Data.” May 16, 2019 – May 15, 2020. Russell Sage Foundation Presidential Grant, Program on Race, Ethnicity and Immigration. \$40,051.

“Putting Sanctions into Practice: Devolution, Privatization, and Caseworker Discretion in the Florida TANF Program,” with Sanford Schram and Joe Soss. April 2007. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation. \$5,000.

“Putting Sanctions into Practice: Devolution, Privatization, and Caseworker Discretion in the Florida TANF Program,” with Sanford Schram and Joe Soss. January 2005-December

2006. Annie E. Casey Foundation (Grant # 205.0059). Awarded to conduct field research in Florida one-stop centers, in support of larger project on sanction implementation. \$60,000.

“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.

University of Kentucky Summer Faculty Research Fellowship, 1997, 1998, 2001. \$5,000.

Faculty Research Committee Grant, Office of Research and Graduate Studies, University of Kentucky, Summer 2000. \$2,000.

Books

Fording, Richard C. and Sanford F. Schram. 2020. *Hard White: The Mainstreaming of Racism in American Politics*. Oxford University Press.

Soss, Joe, Richard C. Fording and Sanford F. Schram. 2011. *Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race*. University of Chicago Press.

- Reviewed in: *CHOICE Magazine*, *New Political Science*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Social Forces*, *Social Service Review*

Kim, HeeMin and Richard C. Fording. 2007. *An Accurate Understanding and a Proper Use of Manifestos: Analyses of Party Manifestos in 25 Western Democracies*. 2007. Seoul, Korea: ORUEM Publishing House. (Published in Korean, Translated by Jinman Cho and Hong-Cheol Kim.)

Schram, Sanford F., Joe Soss and Richard C. Fording, eds. 2003. *Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Journal Articles

Kappelman, Jack and Richard C. Fording. (In Press). “The Effect of State Gun Laws on Youth Suicide: 1979-2017.” *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior*.

Berry, William D., Richard C. Fording and Russell L. Hanson and Justin Crofoot. (In Press.) “The Validity of the Enns and Koch, and Berry et al. Measures of State Policy Mood: Continuing the Debate.” *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*.

Schram, Sanford F. and Richard C. Fording. 2020. "Racial Liberalism Resurgent: Connecting Multi-Racial Protests and Electoral Politics Today." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2020.40>

Cramer, R.J., Fording, R.C., Gerstenfeld, P.B., Kehn, A., Marsden, J., Deitle, C., King, A., Smart, S., & Nobles, M.R. 2020. “Hate-Motivated Behavior: Impacts, Risk Factors, and A Call for Solutions.” *Health Affairs*, November 2020 (1-6). [† invited policy brief as part of Robert Wood Johnson Foundation series]

Patton, Dana J. and Richard C Fording. 2020. "The Effect of Women's Descriptive Representation on Premature Mortality in the United States." *Social Forces*, Volume 99(2), December 2020, 820–846.

Fording, Richard C., and Dana J. Patton. 2020. "The Affordable Care Act and the Diffusion of Policy Feedback: The Case of Medicaid Work Requirements." *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* Jul 2020, 6 (2) 131-153.

Fording, Richard C., and Dana J. Patton. 2019. "Medicaid Expansion and the Political Fate of the Governors Who Support It." *Policy Studies Journal*, 47(2), 274-299.

Fording, Richard C., and Sanford F. Schram. 2017. "The Cognitive and Emotional Basis of Trump Support: The Case of Low Information Voters." *New Political Science*, 39(4): 670-686.

Berry, William D., Evan J. Ringquist, Richard C. Fording and Russell L. Hanson. 2015. "Assessing the Validity of Enns and Koch's Measure of State Policy Mood." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 15(4): 425-435.

Houser, L., Schram, S., Soss, J., Fording, R. 2014. "From Work Support to Work Motivator: Child Care Subsidies and Caseworker Discretion in the Post-Welfare Reform Era." *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy*, 35(2):174-193.

Fording, Richard C., Sanford F. Schram and Joe Soss. 2013. "Do Welfare Sanctions Help or Hurt the Poor? Estimating the Causal Effect of Sanctioning on Client Earnings." *Social Service Review*, Vol. 87, No. 4 (December 2013), pp. 641-676.

Berry, William D., Richard C. Fording, Evan J. Ringquist, Russell L. Hanson and Carl Klarner. 2013. "A New Measure of State Government Ideology, and Evidence that Both the New Measure and an Old Measure are Valid." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 13(2): 164-182.

Fording, Richard C., and Joseph Smith. 2012. "Barack Obama's 'Fight' to End Poverty: Rhetoric and Reality." *Social Science Quarterly* 93(5): 1161-84.

Fording, Richard C., and HeeMin Kim. 2012. "Do Voter Preferences Matter between Elections? Democratic Performance in Western Democracies." *International Area Studies Review* 15(2): 122-140.

Soss, Joe, Richard C. Fording and Sanford F. Schram. 2011. "The Organization of Discipline: From Performance Management to Perversity and Punishment." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 21(suppl 2): 203-232.

Fording, Richard C., Joe Soss, and Sanford F. Schram. 2011. "Race and the Local Politics of Punishment in the New World of Welfare." *American Journal of Sociology* 116, 5: Vol. 116, No. 5 (March 2011), pp. 1610-57.

Schram, Sanford F., Joe Soss, Linda Houser and Richard C. Fording. 2011. "The Third Level of US Welfare Reform: Governmentality Under Neoliberal Paternalism." *Citizenship Studies* 14(6):739-754.

- Kim, Byungkyu, and Richard C. Fording. 2010. "Second-Order Devolution and the Implementation of TANF." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 10, 4 (Winter): 341-367.
- Berry, William D., Richard C. Fording, Evan J. Ringquist, Russell L. Hanson and Carl Klarner. 2010. "Measuring Citizen and Government Ideology in the American States: A Re-appraisal." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 10, 2 (Summer): 117-135.
- HeeMin Kim G. Bingham Powell and Richard C. Fording. 2010. "Electoral Systems, Party Systems, and Ideological Representation: An Analysis of Distortion in Western Democracies." *Comparative Politics* 42, 1 (January): 1-19.
- Schram, Sanford F., Joe Soss, Richard C. Fording, and Linda Houser. 2009. "Deciding to Discipline: A Multi-Method Study of Race, Choice, and Punishment at the Frontlines of Welfare Reform." *American Sociological Review* 74(3), 398-422.
- Soss, Joe, Richard C. Fording, and Sanford F. Schram. 2008. "The Color of Devolution: Race, Federalism, and the Politics of Social Control." *American Journal of Political Science* 52, 3 (July): 536-553.
- Schram, Sanford F., Richard C. Fording and Joe Soss. 2008. "Neoliberal Poverty Governance: Race, Place and the Punitive Turn in U.S. Welfare Policy." *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society* 1, 1 (April): 17-36.
- Fording, Richard C., Joe Soss and Sanford F. Schram. 2007. "Devolution, Discretion and the Impact of Local Political Values on TANF Sanctioning." *Social Service Review* 81(2):285-316.
- Fording, Richard C., and William D. Berry. 2007. "The Historical Impact of Welfare Programs on Poverty in the American States." *Policy Studies Journal* 35(1):37-60.
- Berry, William D., Evan J. Ringquist, Richard C. Fording and Russell L. Hanson. 2007. "The Measurement and Stability of State Citizen Ideology: A Rejoinder." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7(2):160-166.
- Berry, William D., Evan J. Ringquist, Richard C. Fording and Russell L. Hanson. 2007. "The Measurement and Stability of State Citizen Ideology." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7(2):111-132.
- Berry, William D., Evan J. Ringquist, Richard C. Fording and Russell Hanson. 2006. "A Comment on 'Correction: Does State Political Ideology Change Over Time?'" *Political Research Quarterly*, 59 (September 2006): 495.
- Yates, Jeff, and Richard C. Fording. 2005. "Politics and State Punitiveness in Black and White." *Journal of Politics* 67(4): 1099-1121.
- Fording, Richard C., Penny Miller and Dana J. Patton. 2003. "Reform or Resistance? Local Government Response to State-Mandated Ethics Reform." *Publius* 33 (Spring): 1-16.

Berry, William D., Richard C. Fording and Russell L. Hanson. 2003. "Reassessing the 'Race to the Bottom' in State Welfare Policy." *Journal of Politics* 65 (May): 327-49.

Kim, HeeMin, and Richard C. Fording. 2003. "Voter Ideology in Western Democracies: An Update." *European Journal of Political Research* 42:95-105.

Kim, HeeMin, and Richard C. Fording. 2002. "Government Partisanship in Western Democracies, 1946-1998." *European Journal of Political Research* 41(2):187-206.

Kim, HeeMin, and Richard C. Fording. 2001. "Economic Performance, International Tension, and Ideological Swing in Western Democracies: A Comparative Analysis, 1952-1989." *Political Behavior* 23(1): 53-73.

Fording, Richard C. 2001. "The Political Response to Black Insurgency: A Critical Test of Competing Theories of the State." *American Political Science Review* 95(1):115-130. [Reprinted in *Crime and Criminal Justice (The International Library of Essays in Law and Society)*, William T. Lyons, Jr., ed. Ashgate Publishing Co.]

Kim, HeeMin, and Richard C. Fording. 2001. "The Political Significance of Tactical Voting: An Analysis of British Elections." *Comparative Political Studies* 34(3):294-311.

Berry, William D., Richard C. Fording and Russell L. Hanson. 2000. "An Annual Cost of Living Index for the American States, 1960-95." *Journal of Politics* 62(2): 550-567.

Kim, HeeMin, and Richard C. Fording. 1998. "Voter Ideology in Western Democracies, 1946-89." *European Journal of Political Research* 33:73-97.

Berry, William D., Evan J. Ringquist, Richard C. Fording and Russell L. Hanson. 1998. "Measuring Citizen and Government Ideology in the American States, 1960-93." *American Journal of Political Science*, 42:327-48.

Berry, William D., and Richard C. Fording. 1997. "Measuring State Tax Capacity and Effort," with William D. Berry. 1997. *Social Science Quarterly*, 78:158-66.

Fording, Richard C. 1997. "The Conditional Effect of Violence as a Political Tactic: Mass Insurgency, Electoral Context and Welfare Generosity in the American States." *American Journal of Political Science*, 41:1-29.

Book Chapters

Grogan, Colleen, Michael Gusmano and Richard C. Fording. 2017. "State Health and Welfare Programs." Chapter 12 in Virginia Gray, Russell Hanson and Thad Kousser, eds., *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis*, 11th Edition, Congressional Quarterly Press.

Fording, Richard C. 2017. "State Corrections Policy." Chapter 10 in Virginia Gray, Russell Hanson and Thad Kousser, eds., *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis*, 11th Edition, Congressional Quarterly Press.

Fording, Richard C. and John Poe. 2014. "Policies Towards Minority Populations," Chapter 35 in *Oxford Handbook of State and Local Government*, Donald Haider-Markel, ed., Oxford University Press.

Fording, Richard C. 2014. "American Social Policy," in *Developments in American Politics 7*, Gillian Peele, Christopher J. Bailey, Bruce Cain, B. Guy Peters, eds., Palgrave Macmillan.

Fording, Richard C. 2013. "State Welfare Policy," Chapter 35 in *Guide to State Politics and Policy*, Richard Niemi and Joshua Dyck, eds., Sage Publications.

Joe Soss, Sanford F. Schram and Richard C. Fording. 2013. "Performance Management as a Disciplinary Regime: Street-Level Organizations," Chapter 8 in *Work and the Welfare State Street-Level Organizations and Workfare Politics*, Evelyn Z. Brodtkin and Gregory Marston, eds. Georgetown University Press.

Sanford F. Schram, Joe Soss and Richard C. Fording. 2013. "Welfare & Welfare Reform in the Age of Neoliberal Paternalism," Chapter 13 in *Social Policy and Social Justice*, Michael Reisch et al., eds. Sage Publications.

Schram, Sanford F., Joe Soss, Linda Houser and Richard C. Fording. 2011. "The Third Level of US Welfare Reform: Governmentality Under Neoliberal Paternalism," in Jessica Pykett, ed., *Governing Through Pedagogy Re-educating Citizens*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

Sanford F. Schram, Richard C. Fording and Joe Soss. 2011. "Neoliberal Paternalism: Race and the New Poverty Governance," in *State of White Supremacy: Racism, Governance, and the U.S.*, Moon-Kie Jung, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, João CostaVargas, eds. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2011.

Fording, Richard C. 2003. "'Laboratories of Democracy' or Symbolic Politics? The Racial Origins of Welfare Reform." Pp. 72-100 in S.F. Schram, J. Soss, and R.C. Fording, eds. *Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Soss, Joe, Sanford F. Schram, and Richard C. Fording. 2003. "Introduction." Pp. 1-22 in S.F. Schram, J. Soss, and R.C. Fording, eds. *Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Kim, HeeMin, and Richard C. Fording. 2001. "Extending the Estimates to Governments and Electors," in *Mapping Preferences: Parties, Electors, and Governments, 1945-1998*, Ian Budge, et al., eds., London: Oxford University Press.

Kim, HeeMin, and Richard C. Fording. 2000. "Explaining Ideological Swing in Western Democracies: A Comparative Analysis, 1952-1989." In *Handbook of Global Political Policy*, ed. Stuart Nagel. New York: Marcel Dekker, Inc., pp.403-421.

Other Publications, Reports and Reviews

Fording, Richard C. and Sanford F. Schram. Review of *Ignored Racism: White Animus Toward Latinos* (Mark D. Ramirez and David A.M. Peterson), *Perspectives on Politics* (forthcoming, June 2021).

“Trump and the Mainstreaming of Racism in American Politics.” *OUP Blog*, Oxford University Press, December 20, 2020.

Schram, Sanford F., and Richard C. Fording. [“The Rise of Liberal Support for Racial Justice: The critical factor connecting protest and electoral politics today.”](#) Published at Public Seminar, June 25, 2020.

Schram, Sanford F., and Richard C. Fording. [“The Fox News-Fake News-Trump Nexus.”](#) Published at Public Seminar, March 24, 2018.

Fording, Richard C. [“Five Myths about Jeff Sessions.”](#) Op-ed published in the Washington Post, Sunday print edition, January 22nd, 2017.

Fording, Richard C. and Sanford F. Schram. [“Low Information Voters are a Crucial Part of Trump’s Support.”](#) Published in *The Monkey Cage*, November 7, 2016.

Fording, Richard C. and Sanford F. Schram. [“The Welfare Reform Disaster.”](#) *Jacobin*, published August 28th, 2016.

Fording, Richard C. 2013. Review of *Progress for the Poor*. By Lane Kenworthy. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. 168p. \$75.00. *Perspectives on Politics* 11 (01), 265-266.

Fording, Richard C. “MY TURN: Brokered convention? With no GOP nominee gaining enough traction to earn the nomination, a new challenger may appear.” Op-ed in *Tuscaloosa News*, Sunday, February 26, 2012.

Fording, Richard C. 2011. Review of *Wealth and Welfare States: Is America a Laggard or Leader?* By Irwin Garfinkel, Lee Rainwater, and Timothy Smeeding. *Social Service Review*, Vol. 85, No. 2, 297-301.

“Poverty in Kentucky: A New Look at an Old Problem.” Published in *2011 CBER Annual Report*, a publication of the Center for Business and Economic Research at the University of Kentucky.

“Devolution, Discretion and the Impact of Local Political Values on TANF Sanctioning.” Published in *Insights on Southern Poverty*, the newsletter of the University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research, Vol. 4 (1), Spring 2006. Co-authored with Joe Soss and Sanford F. Schram.

“Experimental Evidence of the Influence of Race and Ethnicity on TANF Sanctioning.” Published in *Insights on Southern Poverty*, the newsletter of the University of Kentucky Center

for Poverty Research, Vol. 6 (2), Spring 2009. Co-authored with Sanford F. Schram, Joe Soss and Linda Houser.

In Progress

Butz, Adam, and Richard C. Fording. "The Color of Corrections: Racial Politics and Prison Privatization." (Under review)

Fording, Richard C., and Dana J. Patton. "The Effect of In-Person Voting on the Spread of COVID-19: Evidence from the 2020 Alabama Primary Runoff."

Fording, Richard C., and Joshua Fording. "The Effectiveness of Absentee Voting During a Pandemic: Evidence from Alabama."

Fording, Richard C., and Kunpeng Wang. "Devolution and Welfare Expansion: The Curious Case of SNAP."

Patton, Dana J., Richard C Fording and Michael Nicholson. "Covering the Poor: Explaining Variation in the Expansion of Community Health Centers in the ACA Era."

Fording, Richard C. and Sanford F. Schram. "The Tea Party, Donald Trump and the Co-optation of the White Nationalist Movement."

Hanson, Brenda, Richard C. Fording, Kirsten Laha-Walsh, David Albright. "Dissension in the Ranks? Explaining Veterans' Support for the Trans Military Ban."

Professional Research Presentations

Invited Presentations

"The 2020 U.S. Presidential Election." Virtual webinar hosted by vhs.Böblingen-Sindelfingen, Germany. May 19, 2020.

"Alabama Student Voting Summit" (Co-organizer, moderator and presenter). Virtual conference hosted and funded by the Andrew Goodman Foundation and UA Vote Everywhere. September 12, 2020.

"Hard White: The Mainstreaming of Racism in American Politics." Hunter College, Department of Political Science, September 17, 2020. (Virtual Presentation)

"Hard White: The Mainstreaming of Racism in American Politics." University of Kentucky, Department of Political Science, October 4, 2019.

"The Affordable Care Act and the Diffusion of Policy Feedback: The Case of Medicaid Work Requirements." Russell Sage Foundation, New York, Conference on "The Social, Political, and Economic Effects of the Affordable Care Act." May 29, 2019.

“Understanding Racial Disparities in Social Policy: A Multilevel Framework for Policy Analysis.” Brandeis University, Heller School for Social Policy and Management. July 19, 2018.

“Understanding Racial Disparities in Social Policy: A Multilevel Framework for Policy Analysis.” Office for Planning, Research and Evaluation, Administration for Children and Families (Department of Health and Human Services). Washington, D.C., March 18, 2019.

“The New Ethnocentrism and How it Propelled Trump to Victory.” Dean’s Lecture Series, William Paterson University, Paterson, NJ, March 29, 2018.

“Medicaid Expansion and the Political Fate of the Governors Who Support It.” Policy Studies Journal workshop “Policy Feedback and Feed Forward,” Tucson, AZ, September 28-30, 2017

“The Rise of White Nationalism in Mainstream American Politics.” Hunter College (CUNY), March 22nd, 2017.

“The Impact of the Tea Party Movement on Minority Political Interests in Congress.” (with Hong Min Park and Joseph Smith). University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, February 4, 2016.

“Race and the Local Politics of Punishment in the New World of Welfare.” Penn State University, Department of Political Science, February 25th, 2012.

“Black Faces, White Racists and the Mobilization of American Hate Groups.” Florida State University, Department of Political Science. March 3, 2010

“Black Faces, White Racists and the Mobilization of American Hate Groups.” University of Minnesota, Department of Political Science. November 13, 2009.

“Deciding to Discipline: A Multi-Method Study of Race, Choice, and Punishment at the Frontlines of Welfare Reform.” American University, Department of Government. February 24, 2009.

“The Organization of Discipline: From Performance Management to Perversity and Punishment.” Invited presentation at “Reducing Poverty: Assessing Recent State Policy Innovations and Strategies,” November 20, 2009, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

“Poverty in Kentucky.” Testimony before the Poverty Task Force, Kentucky General Assembly, September 21, 2009, Frankfort, KY.

“Deciding to Discipline: A Multi-Method Study of Race, Choice, and Punishment at the Frontlines of Welfare Reform.” Louisiana State University, LSU Poverty Initiative, May 2, 2008, Baton Rouge, LA.

“Wage Decline and the Principle of Less Eligibility in U.S. Welfare Policy.” Department of Political Science, Texas A&M University, November 2, 2007.

“Wage Decline and the Principle of Less Eligibility in U.S. Social Policy.” Keynote presentation at the Annual Meeting of the West Virginia Political Science Association, West Virginia Wesleyan College, October 26, 2007.

“Deciding to Discipline: A Multi-Method Study of Race, Choice, and Punishment at the Frontlines of Welfare Reform.” Department of Social Science, University of California at Merced. January, 2007.

“The Implementation of Sanctions in Florida’s Welfare Transition (WT) Program.” Research presentation for Workforce Florida, Inc., and the Florida Department of Children and Families, Tallahassee, Florida, September 19, 2006.

“Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform.” Department of Political Science, University of Houston. 2001.

Conference Presentations

“The Effect of State Gun Laws on Youth Suicide: 1979-2017” (with Jack Kappelman). Presented at the Fall Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, D.C., November 13, 2020. (Virtual)

“Dissension in the Ranks? Explaining Veterans’ Support for the Trans Military Ban” (with Brenda Hanson, Kirsten Laha-Walsh, David Albright). Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 10, 2020, Washington, DC. (Virtual)

"Racial Liberalism Resurgent: Connecting Multi-Racial Protests and Electoral Politics Today" (with Sanford Schram). Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 12, 2020, Washington, DC. (Virtual)

“Tracking White Nationalism: From the Extreme to the Mainstream” (with Sanford Schram). Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 30, 2019, Washington, DC.

“Hard White: The Mainstreaming of Racism in American Politics.” Presented at the Southern Politics, Equality, and Representation (SPEAR) Workshop, May 1, 2020. Virtual conference hosted by University of Memphis, University of Tennessee and Vanderbilt University.

“Devolution and Welfare Expansion: The Curious Case of SNAP” (with Kunpeng Wang). Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 4th, 2019, Chicago, IL.

“The New Ethnocentrism and How It Affected Support for Trump in 2016” (with Sanford Schram). Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31, 2018, Boston, MA.

“Medicaid Expansion and the Political Fate of the Governors Who Support It” (with Dana Patton). Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2, 2018, Boston, MA.

“The Cognitive and Emotional Bases of Trump Support: The Case of Low Information Voters” (with Sanford F. Schram). Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31, 2017, San Francisco, CA.

“Covering the Poor: Explaining Variation in the Expansion of Community Health Centers in the ACA Era.” (with Dana J. Patton and Michael Nicholson). Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, January 12th, 2017, New Orleans, LA.

“Covering the Poor: Explaining Variation in the Expansion of Community Health Centers in the ACA Era.” (with Dana J. Patton and Michael Nicholson). Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1, 2016, Philadelphia, PA.

“The Impact of the Tea Party Movement on Minority Political Interests in Congress.” (with Hong Min Park and Joseph Smith). Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 4, 2015, San Francisco, CA.

“Black Faces, White Racists and the Mobilization of American Hate Groups.” (with John Cotter). Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 27, 2014, Washington, D.C.

“Babies as Barriers: Welfare Policy Discourse in an Era of Neoliberalism” (with Linda Houser, Sanford F. Schram, Joe Soss). Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 28, 2014, Washington, D.C.

“When Elephants Drink Tea: Examining the Distinctiveness of Tea Party Republicans in the U.S. Congress, 2009-2014” (with Hong Min Park and Joseph Smith). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 6, 2014, Chicago, IL.

“Race and support for anti-Immigrant policy in the deep south: the moderating role of Racial context” (with Mark Peffley and Brandon Davis). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Alabama Political Science Association, Montgomery, AL., March 22, 2014.

“Race and support for anti-Immigrant policy in the deep south: the moderating role of Racial context” (with Mark Peffley and Brandon Davis). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA., January 10, 2014.

Roundtable Discussion on “Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race.” Panel participant at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Peabody Hotel, Orlando, FL., January 4, 2013.

“The Color of Corrections: Racial Politics and Prison Privatization in the American States” (with Adam Butz). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 13, 2012, Chicago, IL.

“Do Welfare Sanctions Help or Hurt the Poor? Estimating the Causal Effect of Sanctioning on Client Earnings” (with Sanford Schram and Joe Soss). Presented at the Thirty-first Annual APPAM Research Conference, November 5th, 2011, Washington Marriott Hotel and Embassy Suites Hotel - Washington, DC.

“Beyond the Imprisonment Rate: The Impact of Race and Politics on Inmate Treatment in State Prisons” (with Jeremiah Olson). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1, 2011, Seattle Convention Center, Seattle, WA.

“Beyond the Imprisonment Rate: The Impact of Race and Politics on Inmate Treatment in State Prisons” (with Jeremiah Olson). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, January 8th, 2011, Hotel InterContinental, New Orleans.

“Who Knew It Would Rain? Exploring the Mismatch between TANF Programs and Hard Times” (with Joe Soss and Sanford Schram). Presented at the Thirty-first Annual APPAM Research Conference, November 5-7, 2009, Washington Marriott Hotel and Embassy Suites Hotel - Washington, DC.

“Comments and Reflections on ‘Changing Poverty and Changing Anti-Poverty Policies.’” Presented at the 12th Annual Welfare Research and Evaluation Conference, Administration for Children and Families, May 27-29, 2009, Washington, D.C.

“Governing the Poor: The Rise of the Neoliberal Paternalist State” (with Joe Soss and Sanford Schram). Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 4, 2009, Toronto, CA.

“Second-Order Devolution and the Implementation of TANF Work Sanctions - A Multilevel Analysis of the Impact of Decentralization in Policy Implementation” (with Byungkyu Kim). Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2, 2009, Chicago, IL.

“The Organization of Discipline: From Performance Management to Perversity and Punishment” (with Joe Soss and Sanford F. Schram). Paper presented at the meeting of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, November 7, 2008, Los Angeles, CA.

“Sanctions as a Policy Tool in the Transformed System of Welfare-to-Work,” (with Sanford Schram, Joe Soss and Linda Houser). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Association for Welfare Research and Statistics, August 19, 2008, Nashville, TN.

“Sanctions as a Policy Tool in the Transformed System of Welfare-to-Work,” (with Sanford Schram, Joe Soss and Linda Houser). Presented at the 11th Annual Welfare Research and Evaluation Conference, Administration for Children and Families, May 28-30, 2008, Washington, D.C.

“Second-Order Devolution and the Implementation of TANF,” (with Byungkyu Kim). Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 5, 2008, Chicago, IL. Winner of the SPPQ Best Paper Award.

“Distributing Discipline: Race, Politics, and Punishment at the Frontlines of Welfare Reform” (with Sanford Schram and Joe Soss). Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 5, 2008.

“Deciding to Discipline: A Multi-Method Study of Race, Choice, and Punishment at the Frontlines of Welfare Reform ” (with Linda Houser, Sanford Schram and Joe Soss). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1, 2007, Chicago, IL. Winner of the Public Policy Section Best Paper Award.

“Black Faces, White Racists, and the Mobilization of White Hate Groups” (with Kirill Bumin and John Cotter). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2007, Chicago, IL.

“The Bottom Line, the Business Model and the Bogey: Performance Management, Sanctions and the Brave New World of Welfare-to-Work in Florida,” with Sanford Schram and Joe Soss. Paper presented at the meeting of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, November, 2006, Madison, WI.

“The Bottom Line, the Business Model and the Bogey: Performance Management, Sanctions and the Brave New World of Welfare-to-Work in Florida,” with Sanford Schram and Joe Soss. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2, 2006, Philadelphia, PA.

“Race and Devolution: The Politics of Local Punishment in the New World of Welfare,” with Sanford Schram and Joe Soss. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3, 2005, Washington, D.C. Winner of the Public Policy Section Best Paper Award.

“What Happens between Elections?: Government Responsiveness in Western Democracies,” with HeeMin Kim. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3, 2005, Washington, D.C.

“Race and Discretion in the Implementation of Welfare Reform: An Analysis of Local Variation in TANF Sanctioning in Florida,” with Sanford Schram and Joe Soss. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2005, Chicago, IL.

“Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform.” Invited presentation by the School of Public and Environmental Affairs (SPEA), Indiana University, Bloomington, April 23, 2004.

“Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform.” Invited presentation by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights at “Race, Ethnicity, Gender and the Development of National Welfare Policy Press Briefing,” June 6, 2003, Senate Russell Office Building, Washington, D.C.

“State Labor Markets and the ‘Principle of Less Eligibility’ in State Welfare Policy,” with Carl Klarner. Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2003, Chicago, IL.

“Explaining Gubernatorial Success in State Legislatures,” with Neal Woods and David Prince. Presented at the Second Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy, May 24-25, 2002, Milwaukee, WI.

“The Political Origins of Extremism: A Multivariate Analysis of Trends in Organized Hate Groups in the American States,” with John Cotter. Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2002, Chicago, IL.

“The Impact of Labor Markets on State Welfare Policies.” Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 2001, San Francisco, CA.

“Explaining Gubernatorial Success in State Legislatures,” with David Prince. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 2001, San Francisco, CA.

Roundtable participant, “Race and Welfare Reform,” at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 2001, Chicago, IL.

“Reform or Resistance? Local Government Response to State-Mandated Ethics Reform,” with Penny Miller and Dana Patton. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31, 2000, Washington, D.C.

“The Impact of Welfare Programs on Poverty in the American States” with William Berry. Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2000, Chicago, IL.

“Laboratories of Democracy or Symbolic Politics?: The Political Origins of State Welfare Reform.” Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1999, Atlanta, GA.

“The Politics of Prejudice: Establishing the Link between Race and Public Policy.” Presented at the annual meeting of the Kentucky Political Science Association, March 5, 1999, Lexington, KY.

“Racial Disparity in Incarceration Rates in the American States: A Test of Competing Theories,” with Jeff Yates. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, October 1998, Atlanta, Georgia.

“Explaining Tort Litigation Rates in the American States: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Time Series Analysis,” with Jeff Yates, Henry Glick, and Belinda Davis. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1998, Boston, Mass.

“Reassessing the ‘Race to the Bottom’ Thesis: A Spatial Dependence Model of State Welfare Policy,” with William Berry and Russell Hanson. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the

American Political Science Association, August 1997, Washington, D.C. Winner of the State Politics and Policy Section Best Paper Award.

“Explaining Ideological Change: A Cross-National Analysis of Western Democracies, 1949-82,” with HeeMin Kim. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 1997, Chicago, IL.

“The Conditional Effect of Violence as a Political Tactic: Mass Insurgency, Electoral Context and Welfare Generosity in the American States.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 19, 1996, Chicago, IL.

“Ideology, Institutions, and Policy Influence in the American States, 1960-1992,” with William Berry, Evan Ringquist, and Russell Hanson. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 7, 1995, Chicago, IL.

“International Vote Swings in Western Democracies: A Comparative Analysis of Ideological Trends, 1945-85,” with HeeMin Kim. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 7, 1995, Chicago, IL.

“International Vote Swings in Western Democracies: A Comparative Analysis of Ideological Trends, 1945-85,” with HeeMin Kim. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August, 1994, New York, NY.

Courses Taught

Undergraduate:

American Government
State and Local Politics
Issues in Public Policy
Analysis of Public Policy
Race, Class and Public Policy
The Politics of Poverty
Research Methods
Social Movements and U.S. Politics
The Politics of Voting Rights

Graduate:

Introduction to Statistics for Political Science
Multivariate Techniques in Political Science
Strategies of Political Inquiry (Research Design)
Seminar in State Politics and Policy
Seminar in Public Policy – The Policy Process
Seminar in Race and American Politics
Poverty and Public Policy (MPA)

Student Dissertation and Thesis Chair

Dissertation Chair (Ph.D.)

Byungkyu Kim, University of Kentucky, Political Science, 2008. Dissertation Title: “Second-Order Devolution and the Implementation of TANF.”

Adam Butz, University of Kentucky, Political Science, 2011. Dissertation Title: “Privatization and Performance in the Implementation of Temporary Assistance to Needy Families.”

Laura Sojka, University of Alabama, Political Science. 2014. Dissertation Title: “Evaluating Gender and Race Disparities in Campaign Finance in State Legislative Elections.”

Ashley Streat, University of Alabama, Political Science. 2016. Dissertation Title: "Exploitation and Abuse in UN Peacekeeping Operations: Can More Female Troops Provide a Solution?"

Chanley Rainey, University of Alabama, Political Science, 2016. Dissertation Title: "Multicultural Politics and Women's Activism: When Do Race and Nation Enter Women's Frames?"

Brandon Davis, University of Alabama, Political Science, 2017. Dissertation Title: "Predation in State and Nation: Toward a Theory of Minority Participation."

Michael Nicholson, University of Alabama, 2019. Dissertation Title: "The Social Construction of Inmates: Why Some States Force Inmates to Pay for Healthcare, and What that Means for Inmate Mortality."

Undergraduate Honors and Masters Thesis, Chair

April Scoggan (Political Science, 2000)

Julie Murray (Gaines Thesis, 2003)

Nick Hopkins (Political Science, 2002)

Cara Childers (Gaines Thesis, 2008)

Amanda Dunn (MPA Capstone, 2010)

Zachary McCann (MPA, 2017)

Professional Service

Chair, Herbert A. Simon Best Book Award, APSA Public Administration Section, 2016

President, Alabama Political Science Association, 2013-2014.

President, Public Policy Section of the American Political Science Association, 2013-2014.

Public Policy Program Chair, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 2013.

Program Chair, Annual Meeting of the Alabama Political Science Association, April 19-20, 2012, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

APSA Committee on Departmental Services, 2012-2015

State Politics and Policy Quarterly 2010 Best Paper Award Committee, 2011

State Politics and Policy Program Chair, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 2010

Public Policy Program Chair, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 2009.

Nominations Committee, APSA Public Policy Section, 2009

Editorial Board, Ralph Bunche Journal of Public Affairs, 2008-

Executive Council, State Politics and Policy Section of the American Political Science Association, 2002-2004.

State Politics and Policy Section, Best Paper Award Committee, 2002.

Editorial Board for *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 1999-2004.

Anonymous referee for: *Administration and Society*, *American Political Science Review*, *American Sociological Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Politics Research*, *British Journal of*

Political Science, Comparative Political Studies, Georgetown University Press, Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research, Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties, Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law, Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy, Journal of Politics, Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, Journal of Public Policy, Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics, Law and Society Review, National Science Foundation, Office for Planning, Research and Evaluation (OPRE), Perspectives on Politics, Political Behavior, Political Research Quarterly, Policy Studies Journal, Political Studies, New Political Science, Politics, Groups and Identities, Public Administration, Public Administration Review, Public Choice, Public Opinion Quarterly, Public Policy and Administration, Publius, Punishment and Society, Review of Black Political Economy, Social Currents, Social Forces, Social Problems, Social Science Research, Social Service Review, Sociological Forum, State and Local Government Review, State Politics and Policy Quarterly, Social Science Quarterly. University of Michigan Press.

Publicly Available Datasets

State Citizen and Government Ideology

Annual measures of state citizen and government ideology for 50 states, 1960-2013

<http://rcfording.wordpress.com/state-ideology-data/>

State Cost of Living Deflator

Annual state CPI for 50 states, 1960-2007

<http://rcfording.wordpress.com/datasets/>

Voter and Government Ideology in 25 Democracies

Annual measure of median voter position, ideology of parliament and government for 25 democracies, 1945-2000

<http://heeminkimfsu.googlepages.com/datasetsandsolutionconceptscreated>

State Tax Capacity and Effort

Annual measure of state tax capacity and effort for 50 states, 1960-1990

<http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/cocoon/ICPSR/STUDY/01124.xml>

Affiliations

Summersell Center for the Study of the South, University of Alabama

Research Fellow, Institute for Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, University of Kentucky, 2005-

Executive Committee, University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research 2005-2007

Faculty Affiliate, University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research, 2003-2005

APSA Section Membership

State Politics and Policy

Public Policy

Race, Ethnicity and Politics

Political Methodology

College and University Service

University of Alabama

Committee for the Study of Race, Ethnicity and Society, 2012-13
Faculty and Staff Benefits Committee, 2012-2014
Faculty Senate, 2013-2015
Institutional Review Board (Non-medical), 2013-2015
Online Course Continuity Committee, 2012-2013
Chair, Program Review for Criminal Justice Department, 2015-2016
Provost's Committee for Establishing a Center for Public Policy, 2018-2019
Honor's College Program Review Response Task Force, 2019
Advisory Committee on Civic Engagement, 2020-2021
College of Arts and Sciences, Dean's Postdoc Search Committee, 2019-2020
Faculty Advisor (Campus Champion), Vote Everywhere (Andrew Goodman Foundation),
2016-present
College of Arts and Sciences Tenure and Promotion Committee, Fall 2020-present
College of Arts and Sciences, Diversity Committee, Fall 2020-present

University of Kentucky

Undergraduate Disciplinary Hearing Officer, 2010-2011
Ph.D. Program Committee, Martin School of Public Policy and Administration, 2010
Political Science Graduate Placement Director, 2009-2011
Undergraduate Studies Reform Faculty Curricular Committee, Social Science, 2009-2010
Summer Faculty Research Fellowship Committee, 2007- 2010
University Appeals Board, 2007- 2010
University Research Advisory Committee, 2004- 2011
University Senate, 2005-2007
University Senate Committee on Research, 2006
External Review Committee Member for the Sociology Department, 2006
External Review Committee Member for the Martin School of Public Policy and
Administration, 2006
Dean's Search Committee for Department Chair, Political Science, 2002, 2005, 2006