

Thomas J. Hayes

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Academic Positions

- Associate Professor, University of Connecticut, 2019-present
 - Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Political Science, 2019-present
 - Director, EcoHouse Learning Community, 2020-present
- Assistant Professor, University of Connecticut, 2013-2019
 - U.S. Studies Chair, Fulbright, Universidad Veracruzana, Xalapa Mexico (Spring 2019)
- Visiting Assistant Professor, Trinity University (TX), 2012-2013.

Education

- Ph.D., 2012, Political Science, University of California, Riverside.
 - Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) Summer Institute, Ann Arbor, Michigan 2011.
- M.A., 2006, Political Science, University of Colorado at Denver.
- B.A., 2004, International Affairs (Cum Laude), University of Colorado at Boulder. Minor in Political Science.

Publications

Books:

- Benjamin Bishin (UCR), Thomas J. Hayes, Matthew Incantalupo (Yeshiva University), and Charles Anthony Smith (UCI). 2021. *Elite-led Mobilization and Gay Rights: Dispelling the Myth of Mass Opinion Backlash*. University of Michigan Press.

Articles:

- 16) Christopher Dennis (CSULB), Thomas J. Hayes, Stavros Papadopoulos (UConn PhD), Amy Widestrom (Arcadia). Forthcoming. "The Impact of Political Party Control on Redistributive State Wage Policies Since 1968." *Party Politics*.
- 15) Evelyn Simien (UConn), Thomas J. Hayes, and Carolyn Conway (UConn). 2024. "The Democratic Majority and the 2016 American Presidential Election: Feminist Political Behavior Across Multiple Axes of Identity." *Political Research Quarterly* 77: 371-85.
- 14) Benjamin Bishin (UCR), Thomas J. Hayes, Matthew Incantalupo (Yeshiva University), and Charles Anthony Smith (UCI). 2021. "Immigration and Public Opinion: Will backlash impede immigrants' policy progress?" *Social Science Quarterly*.
- 13) Thomas J. Hayes and Benjamin Bishin. 2020. "Do Elected Officials Serve the Poor on Health Care? Evidence from a Field Experiment on Members of Congress and State Legislators." *The Social Science Journal*.
- 12) Thomas J. Hayes, and Christopher Guay (UConn M.A.). 2020. "Viewing equality as a loss: How Highlighting Policy Costs and Benefits Influences Attitudes." *The Social Science Journal*.

- 11) Benjamin Bishin (UCR), Thomas J. Hayes, Matthew Incantalupo (Yeshiva University), and Charles Anthony Smith (UCI). 2020. "Elite Mobilization: A Theory Explaining Opposition to Gay Rights." *Law & Society Review*.
- 10) Newman, Benjamin J. (UCR) and Thomas J. Hayes. 2019. "Durable Democracy? Economic Inequality and Democratic Accountability in the New Gilded Age." *Political Behavior* 41: 5-30.
- 9) Amy Widestrom (Arcadia), Thomas J. Hayes, and Christopher Dennis (CSULB). 2018. "The Effect of Political Parties on the Distribution of Income in the American States: 1917-2011." *Social Science Quarterly* 99: 895-914.
- 8) Lyle Scruggs (UConn) and Thomas J. Hayes. 2017. "The Influence of Oligarchy on Welfare Generosity: Evidence from the U.S. States." *Politics & Society* 45: 35-66.
- 7) Thomas J. Hayes. 2017. "Bankruptcy Reform and Congressional Action: The Role of Organized Interests in Shaping Policy." *Social Science Research* 64: 67-78.
- 6) Benjamin Bishin (UCR), Thomas J. Hayes, Matthew Incantalupo (Yeshiva University), and Charles Anthony Smith (UCI). 2016. "Opinion Backlash and Public Attitudes: Are Political Advances in Gay Rights Counterproductive?" *American Journal of Political Science* 60: 625-648.
 - o Winner of the 2014 APSA Bailey Award for Best Paper in LGBT Politics.
 - o Co-Winner of the 2015 Best Conference Paper Award from the APSA Law and Courts section.
- 5) Thomas J. Hayes and D. Xavier Medina Vidal (UT-Arlington). 2015. "Fiscal Policy and Economic Inequality in the U.S. States: Taxing and Spending from 1976-2006." *Political Research Quarterly* 68: 392-427.
- 4) Thomas J. Hayes and Christopher Dennis (CSULB). 2014. "State Adoption of Tax Policy: New Data and New Insights." *American Politics Research* 42: 929-955.
- 3) Thomas J. Hayes. 2014. "Do Citizens Link Attitudes with Preferences? Economic Inequality and Government Spending in the New Gilded Age." *Social Science Quarterly* 95: 468-495.
- 2) Thomas J. Hayes. 2013. "Responsiveness in an Era of Inequality: The Case of the U.S. Senate." *Political Research Quarterly*: 66: 585-599.
- 1) Thomas J. Hayes and Benjamin G. Bishin (UCR). 2012. "Issue Salience, Subconstituency Politics, and Legislative Representation." *Congress & the Presidency* 39: 133-159.

Work in Progress

- "The Conditional Influence of Descriptive Representation of the Working Class." With Erinn Lauterbach, Ben Bishin, and Nick Weller. Paper in preparation for journal submission.
- "Late Deciding Voters and Presidential Elections." With Salil Benegal. Paper currently under review.
- "How the Big Lie Undermines American Democracy" With Antonio Ugues Jr. Working Book Project.
- "The Origins and Effects of the Antiracism Uprisings of 2020" With Erica Chenoweth (PI), Jeremy Pressman (Co-PI), Kanisha Bond, Tom Hayes, Zoe Marks, and Jay Ulfelder. Working Book Project.

Technical Reports

- “The Difference that Deliberation Makes: Evaluating the ‘Our Budget, Our Economy’ Public Deliberation.” December, 2010, with Kevin Esterling, Archon Fong, Taeku Lee, Antonio Ugues Jr., D. Xavier Medina Vidal, Hollie Gilman, and Alex Street.

Media/Blog Posts

- “How increasing wealth concentration and inequality leads to less generous state welfare policies.” April 7th, 2017. USApp-American Politics and Policy blog (LSE)
- “Granting Gay Rights does not lead to public opinion backlash, even among Evangelicals.” October 13th, 2016. USApp-American Politics and Policy blog (LSE)
- “Economic inequality: still on the presidential agenda, still much more to be done.” June 1st, 2016. USApp-American Politics and Policy blog (LSE)
- “Obama’s highlighting of economic inequality poses a dilemma for the Republican Party in the lead up to 2016.” January 26th, 2015. USApp-American Politics and Policy blog (LSE)
- “How States can influence inequality with taxing and spending tools.” June 6, 2015. USApp-American Politics and Policy blog (LSE)
- “Some Supreme Court Justices worry that a gay marriage ruling will provoke public backlash. They Shouldn’t be concerned.” with Benjamin Bishin, Matthew Incantalupo, and Anthony Smith. April 30th, 2015. The Monkey Cage
- “Obama’s Highlighting of Economic Inequality Poses Dilemma for Republican Party in the Lead up to 2016.” January 26th, 2015. USApp-American Politics and Policy blog (LSE)
- “States With a Higher Concentration of Income Going to the Top 1% Are More Likely to Adopt an Income Tax.” July 17th, 2014. USApp-American Politics and Policy blog (LSE)
- Guest on Scholars Circle radio program, November 17th, 2013.
- “Senators of Both Parties Respond to Preferences of Wealthy, Ignore the Poorest.” October 1st, 2013. USApp- American Politics and Policy blog (LSE)
- “Should We Fear Opinion Backlash on Gay Marriage?” with Benjamin Bishin, Matthew Incantalupo, and Anthony Smith. June 18th 2013. The Monkey Cage

Selected Conference Presentations

- **American Political Science Association Annual Meeting (2011, 2013, 2017, 2021, 2022)**
 - “The Conditional Influence of Descriptive Representation of the Working Class.” Montreal, Canada. 2022.
 - “Class in Session? Legislator Economic Background & Policy Content in Congress.” Seattle, Washington. 2021.
 - “Preaching to the Choir: How Elite Mobilization Explains the Absence of Mass Opinion Backlash.” San Francisco, California. 2017.
 - “Testing Backlash: The Influence of Political Institutions on Public Attitudes Toward Gay Rights.” Chicago, Illinois. 2013.
 - “Responsiveness in an Era of Inequality: The Case of the U.S. Senate.” Seattle, Washington. 2011.
- **European Political Science Association Annual Meeting (2018)**
 - “Viewing Inequality as Costly: How Highlighting Costs and Benefits Influences Attitudes.” Vienna, Austria.
- **Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting (2015-2016)**

- “The Influence of Oligarchy on Welfare Generosity: Evidence from the U.S. States.” New Orleans, Louisiana. 2016.
- “Bankruptcy Reform and Congressional Action: The Role of Special Interests in Shaping Policy.” New Orleans, Louisiana. 2015.
- **Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting (2008, 2010)**
 - “Testing Opinion Backlash: Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants.” San Diego, CA. 2016.
 - “Senate Responsiveness in an Era of Inequality.” San Antonio, Texas. 2010.
 - “Inequality and the Rural Underclass: Government Spending and Policy Responsiveness in California” San Antonio, Texas. 2010.
 - “Issue Visibility and Legislative Representation.” San Diego, California. 2008.
- **Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting (2011-15, 2018, 2022-24)**
 - “Late Deciding Voters and Presidential Elections.” 2024.
 - “The Conditional Influence of Descriptive Representation of the Working Class.” 2023.
 - “Class in Session? Legislator Economic Background & Policy Content in Congress.” 2022.
 - “Institutions, Policy Making, and Public Opinion: The Case of Gay Marriage.” 2018.
 - “Opinion Backlash: From Attitudes to Action?” 2014.
 - “Threatening Voters: Race, Inequality, and the Politics of Voter ID Laws.” 2014
 - “Testing Backlash: The Influence of Political Institutions on Public Attitudes Toward Gay Rights.” Chicago, Illinois. 2013.
 - “American Attitudes on Economic Inequality.” Chicago, Illinois. 2012.
 - “Individual Attitudes on Political and Economic Inequality.” Chicago, Illinois. 2011.
- **International Society for Political Psychology (2017, 2022)**
 - “Late Deciding Voters and Presidential Elections.” Athens, Greece. 2022.
 - “Immigration and Public Opinion: Will backlash impede immigrants’ policy progress?” Edinburgh, Scotland. 2017.
- **New England Political Science Association (2018)**
 - Support for Reducing Inequality: Citizen Support vs. Public Action” Portsmouth, New Hampshire. 2018.

Invited Talks

- Multiple invited talks on various topics in American politics and policy at Universidad Veracruzana Xalapa, Mexico, Spring 2019. Fulbright U.S. Studies Chair.
- “The American Constitution and Economic Inequality.” Talk given at San Diego Community College during Constitution Week, sponsored by World Cultures Program, 9/14
- “Economic Inequality and Political Representation in the U.S.” Talk given at SUNY Geneseo 10/2015
- “The strength of the U.S. Presidency: Reflections on the recent evolution of executive power.” Sponsored by Department of Political Science at Eastern Connecticut University, 3/2/17

Professional Experience

- *University of Connecticut 2013-present*
 - Politics of Inequality (POLS 2998, undergraduate); Special Topics in American Politics: The Politics of Inequality (POLS 5406, graduate seminar)
 - American Institutions and Policy (POLS 5407, graduate seminar)

- Seminar in Quantitative Methods (POLS 5605, graduate seminar)
- The Presidency and Congress (POLS 3602, undergraduate)
- Congress in Theory and Practice (POLS 3604, undergraduate)
- Introduction to American Politics (POLS 1602, undergraduate)
- Prospectus and Dissertation Writing Seminar (POLS 5630, graduate).
- *Trinity University 2012-2013*
 - American Politics (PLSI 1301)
 - Legislatures in the United States (PLSI 3505)
 - U.S. Political Economy (PLSI 2013)
- *Associate-In/Lecturer (UC-Riverside)*
 - Politics and Economic Policy (POSC 180), Summer 2012
 - Congress (POSC 101), Summer 2009
 - Elections and Political Participation (POSC 143), Summer 2008, 2010, 2011

Honors and Awards

- Scholarship Facilitation Fund (SFF), 2023-24, University of Connecticut.
- Russell Sage Foundation Grant, 2022-23 (\$164,000). “The Origins and Effects of the Antiracism Uprisings of 2020.” Erica Chenoweth (PI), Jeremy Pressman (Co-PI), Kanisha Bond, Tom Hayes, Zoe Marks, and Shea Streeter (Collaborators)
- Scholarship Facilitation Fund (SFF), 2020-21, University of Connecticut.
- Fulbright Award, U.S. Studies Chair, COMEXUS, Veracruz, Mexico. Spring 2019.
- Co-Winner of the 2015 Best Conference Paper Award from the APSA Law and Courts section.
- Winner of the 2014 APSA Bailey Award for Best Paper in LGBT Politics.
- Roper Center Faculty Fellow (2014-2016)
- Scholarship Facilitation Fund (SFF), 2015-16, University of Connecticut.
- Collaborative Research Fund, University of Connecticut, 2014-2015.
- SHARE grant award winner, Spring 2014, University of Connecticut.
- Bennett Foundation Research Fund Award, Fall 2013-2016, University of Connecticut.
- Outstanding Teaching Assistant, University of California Riverside, 2008.
- Graduate Division Fellowship, University of California Riverside, 2006.
- Americorps Education Award. Denver, CO 2004.

Professional Memberships

American Political Science Association, Western Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association

Manuscript/Proposal Reviewer

American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science; Journal of Politics; Political Research Quarterly; Public Opinion Quarterly; American Politics Research; Political Behavior; Politics, Groups, and Identities (PGI); Social Science Quarterly; Legislative Studies Quarterly; Political Science Quarterly