

ALEXANDER HERTEL-FERNANDEZ

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ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University

- Assistant Professor: July 2016—

EDUCATION

Harvard University, Cambridge, MA—2010 to 2016

- Ph.D. in Government and Social Policy: May 2016. Dissertation: “Corporate Interests and Conservative Mobilization Across the U.S. States, 1973-2013.”
- Winner, **2017 Harold D. Lasswell Prize** for best dissertation in the field of public policy, American Political Science Association and Policy Studies Organization.

Northwestern University, Evanston, IL—2004 to 2008

- B.A. in Political Science (Honors): June 2008.

BOOKS

- *Politics at Work: How Companies Turn Their Workers into Lobbyists*, Oxford University Press Studies in Postwar American Political Development, March 2018.
- *State Capture: How Conservative Activists, Big Businesses, and Wealthy Donors Reshaped the American States – and the Nation*, Oxford University Press Studies in Postwar American Political Development, February 2019.
- *Millionaires and Billionaires United*, with Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson. Under contract with University of Chicago Press. Book in progress documenting the rise and impact of wealthy donor networks on the left and right.

ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

- “Legislative Staff and Representation in Congress,” with Matto Mildemberger and Leah Stokes. 2018. *American Political Science Review*: 113(1). Winner, **2017 Patrick J. Fett Award** for best paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association meeting on Congress and the presidency.
- “The Study of the Federal Reserve and Power in American Politics.” 2018. *PS: Political Science & Politics*: 51(4).
- “When Political Mega-Donors Join Forces: How the Koch Network and the Democracy Alliance Influence Organized US Politics on the Right and Left,” with Theda Skocpol and Jason Sclar. 2018. *Studies in American Political Development*: 32(2). Lead article.
- “Policy Feedback as Political Weapon: Conservative Advocacy and the Demobilization of the Public Sector Labor Movement.” 2018. *Perspectives on Politics*: 16(2).
- “American Employers as Political Machines.” 2017. *Journal of Politics*: 79(1). Winner, **2017 Fiona McGillivray Award** for best paper presented in the Political Economy section of the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting.
- “The Koch Network and Republican Party Extremism,” with Theda Skocpol. 2016.

Perspectives on Politics: 14(3).

- “How Employers Recruit Their Workers into Politics – And Why Political Scientists Should Care.” 2016. *Perspectives on Politics*: 14(2).
- “Explaining Liberal Policy Woes in the States: The Role of Donors.” 2016. *PS: Political Science & Politics*: 49(3).
- “Explaining Durable Business Coalitions in U.S. Politics.” 2016. *Studies in American Political Development*: 30(1). Lead article.
- “Businesses, Conservatives, and the Ongoing Republican War Over Medicaid Expansion,” with Theda Skocpol and Daniel Lynch. 2016. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law*: 41(2).
- “Asymmetric Interest Group Mobilization and Party Coalitions in US Tax Politics,” with Theda Skocpol. 2015. *Studies in American Political Development*: 29(2).
- “Who Passes Business’s ‘Model Bills’? Policy Capacity and Corporate Influence in U.S. State Politics.” 2014. *Perspectives on Politics*: 12(3).
- “Dismantling Policy through Fiscal Constriction: Examining the Erosion in State Unemployment Insurance Finances.” 2013. *Social Service Review*: 87(3). **Finalist for the 2014 Best Paper Prize** in the *Social Service Review*.
- “Infant Mortality in Chile Reflects Socioeconomic Status.” 2007. *Health Affairs*: 26(5).
- “The Chilean Infant Mortality Decline: Improvement For Whom? Socioeconomic and Geographic Inequalities in Infant Mortality, 1990-2005,” with Alejandro E. Giusti and Juan Manuel Sotelo. 2007. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*: 85(10).

BOOK CHAPTERS

- “How Employers and Conservatives Shaped the Modern Tax State,” with Cathie Jo Martin. 2018. *Worlds of Taxation: The Political Economy of Taxing, Spending, and Redistribution Since 1945*, eds. Gisela Huerlimann, W. Elliot Brownlee, and Eisaku Ide: Palgrave Studies in the History of Finance.
- “Congress Makes Tax Policy: Democrats and Republicans at Two Critical Junctures,” with Theda Skocpol. 2016. *Congress and Policymaking in the 21st Century*, eds. Jeffrey Jenkins and Eric Patashnik: Cambridge University Press.

SELECTED WORKING PAPERS AND PROJECTS

- “Legislative Staff in Congress: Who they are, what they do, and why they matter for US policymaking,” with Matto Mildenerger, Leah Stokes, and Geoffrey Henderson.
- “The Enduring Political Consequences of Right to Work Laws in the U.S. States,” with James Feigenbaum and Vanessa Williamson. 2019. Under review.
- “Bread and Butter or Bread and Roses? Experimental Evidence on Why Public Employees Support Unions,” with Ethan Porter. 2019. Under review.
- “Together We Stand? Exploring the Boundaries of Union Solidarity,” with Ethan Porter. 2019.
- “How U.S. Workers Think About Workplace Democracy: The Structure of Individual Worker Preferences for Labor Representation,” with Will Kimball and Tom Kochan.

2019.

- “Strike for America: The Causal Effects of Mass Teacher Strikes on Public Opinion,” with Suresh Naidu and Adam Reich. 2019.
- “In Search of American Political Economy,” with Jacob Hacker, Paul Pierson, and Kathleen Thelen. 2019.

AWARDS AND GRANTS

- National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship
- Harvard Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality and Social Policy Fellowship
- Harvard Kennedy School Wiener Center for Social Policy Grant—2012
- Scholars Strategy Network Graduate Fellowship—2012 to 2013
- Tobin Project Graduate Research Fellowship—2011 to 2012; 2014 to 2015
- Named to *Pacific Standard*’s “30 Under 30 Thinkers”—2016
- Dirksen Congressional Center Research Award (\$3,500) for “Power, Perceptions, and Policy: Survey of Legislative Staff,” with Matto Mildenberger and Leah Stokes—2016
- Russell Sage Foundation Social Inequality Program Grant (\$75,606) for “The Impact of Wealthy Donor Consortia on U.S. Politics and Public Policy,” with Theda Skocpol—2017 to 2019
- Columbia University Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy Seed Grant for “How U.S. Employers Mobilize Employees to Change Policy: A Survey of State Legislators” (\$8,952)—2017 to 2018
- Columbia University Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy Conference Grant for an East-Coast Consortium on American Political Economy (\$12,000), with Kathleen Thelen (MIT)—2017 to 2018
- Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs Faculty Research Grant for a book workshop on *State Capture*—2017 to 2018
- Washington Center for Equitable Growth and the Russell Sage Foundation for “Unbundling Worker and Manager Preferences for Workplace Organization” (\$36,135)—2017 to 2018
- Hewlett Foundation for the “Development of a Field of American Political Economy” within political science, with Jacob Hacker (Yale), Paul Pierson (Berkeley), and Kathleen Thelen (MIT) (\$560,000)—2019 to 2021.
- Russell Sage Foundation Visiting Scholarship—2018-2019 Academic Year

INVITED ACADEMIC TALKS

- “Strike for America: The Consequences of Mass Public Sector Strikes.” Princeton University Program in Law and Public Affairs Workshop. April 2019.
- “State Capture.” Scholars Strategy Network Book Talk at Washington University in Saint Louis. April 2019.
- “The Right to Strike and State Law: Causes and Consequences.” Princeton University

Workshop on Democracy in the States. March 2019.

- “Why Public Sector Union Members Support their Unions.” University of Pennsylvania American Politics Workshop. March 2019.
- “Finance and the Decline of the U.S. Labor Movement.” Workshop on “The Politics Central Banks Make” at Nuffield College, Oxford. February 2019.
- “Smart ALEC: Private Power, Organization, and Representation in the U.S. States.” Johns Hopkins University Department of Political Science. February 2019.
- “Dilemmas of Solidarity in the Public Sector Labor Movement: Evidence from Iowa.” University of Wisconsin, Madison Workshop on American Politics. February 2019.
- “Elite Extra-Party Coalitions and American Democracy.” SSRC-Freeman Spogli Institute Joint Conference on Political Institutions and Challenges to Democracy. January 2019.
- Presenter and participant, MIT Sloan School of Management Worker Voice Workshop, Good Jobs Good Work Initiative. November 2018.
- “Elite Extra-Party Coalitions and the Erosion of the U.S. Political Parties.” Parties, Representation, and Governance in the 21st Century Workshop, Stanford Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law. November 2018.
- “Money and Politics: How Inequality and Wealth Concentration Are Shaping American Democracy.” Harvard Inequality and Social Policy Panel Discussion, with Danielle Allen, Raymond Fishman, Jacob Hacker, Benjamin Page, and Theda Skocpol. October 2018.
- “State Capture and the Enduring Political Consequences of State Anti-Labor Laws.” Robert R. Wilson Lecture Series; Behavior and Identities Workshop, Department of Political Science and Sanford School of Public Policy. Duke University. October 2018.
- “What Progressives Can Learn from Conservative Cross-State Policy Successes: The Case of Labor Politics.” Scholars Strategy Network Workshop on Policy Feedback Effects, Harvard University. September 2018.
- “State Capture and the Enduring Political Consequences of State Anti-Labor Laws.” Columbia University American Politics Research Workshop. May 2018.
- “Politics at Work: How Companies Turn their Workers into Lobbyists.” Harvard University Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality and Social Policy Speaker Series. April 2018.
- “How Employers Rediscovered their Employees’ Political Voices.” University of California, Los Angeles Organizations and Markets Research Workshop. April 2018.
- “When Political Mega-Donors Join Forces.” Stanford University Center for the Study of Philanthropy and Civil Society. April 2018. Discussion with Adam Bonica, Gara LaMarche, and Rob Reich.
- “Politics at Work: How Companies Turn their Workers into Lobbyists.” University of California, Berkeley Institute for Labor Research and Education, Discussants: Ann Ravel and Kim Voss. April 2018.
- “State Capture and the Enduring Political Consequences of State Anti-Labor Laws.”

University of California, Berkeley Research Workshop on American Politics. April 2018.

- “Politics at Work: How Companies Turn their Workers into Lobbyists.” Purdue University Public Policy Research Institute and Scholars Strategy Network. April 2018
- “Politics at Work: How Companies Turn their Workers into Lobbyists.” Cornell University Center for the Study of Inequality, Discussants: Suzanne Mettler and Rosemary Batt. March 2018.
- “What the Trump Presidency Teaches Us About Big Money Influence in Politics.” University of California, Irvine Conference on Money and Politics (Part II). March 2018.
- “How Employers Rediscovered their Employees’ Political Voices.” Princeton University Qualitative Research Colloquium/Center for the Study of Democratic Politics Seminar. February 2018.
- “Demobilizing Democrats: The Enduring Political Consequences of State Right to Work Laws.” Harvard University Seminar on the State and Capitalism Since 1800. February 2018.
- “State Capture: How Conservative Activists, Big Businesses, and Wealthy Donors Reshaped the American States – and the Nation.” Northwestern University Comparative-Historical Social Science Workshop. February 2018.
- “Interest Groups and Associational Life at Work.” Russell Sage Foundation Workshop on Linking Institutions and Associational Life, November 2017.
- “Cross-State Networks in American Politics: Lessons for Money in Politics” and “What Difference Does Big Money Make in Congress?” Nuffield College, Oxford. September 2017.
- “When Wealthy Donors Join Forces.” Rockefeller Foundation Junior Scholar Forum at Stanford University. June 2017.
- “Politics at Work: Turning Americans into Employee Voters.” University of California, Santa Barbara Colloquium for the Study of Work, Labor, and Democracy. May 2017.
- “Demobilizing Democrats: The Enduring Political Consequences of State Right to Work Laws.” University of California, Santa Barbara American Politics Workshop. May 2017.
- “Politics at Work: Employer Mobilization and Corporate Power.” *Stetson University Law Review* Annual Symposium on “Can Corporations Be Good Citizens? How Corporate Law, Litigation, Lobbying, and Money in Politics Intersect.” March 2017.
- “State Capture: How Conservative Activists, Big Businesses, and Wealthy Donors Reshaped the American States – and the Nation.” University of Iowa, co-sponsored with Scholars Strategy Network and the Iowa Policy Project. February 2017.
- “Policy Feedback as Political Weapon: Conservative Advocacy and the Demobilization of the Public Sector Labor Movement.” Yale University American Politics & Policy Workshop. February 2017.
- “Business and Politics in Trump’s America.” Third Roundtable on Corporate Political Accountability: Money and Influence in Politics, Accountability & Beyond. NYU Stern.

February 2017.

- “Understanding the Organizational Landscape on the Right and Left.” Building Strong Redistricting Reform: A Path to 2021. Ford Foundation Convening. January 2017.
- “Inequality and American Politics: Causes and Consequences.” China Leaders Lecture: Columbia University Visit. November 2016.
- “Turning Americans into Employee Voters.” Joseph S. Murphy Institute for Worker Education and Labor Studies, CUNY. November 2016.
- “Legislative Staff and Congressional Responsiveness on Climate Policy.” Sustainable Development Seminar, Columbia University. October 2016.
- “Employer Mobilization as Corporate Political Power.” Purchasing Power Convening on Money and Politics, Ford Foundation. July 2016.
- Discussant for Tobin Project Graduate Student Prospectus Workshop. June 2016.
- “Wealthy Donors and American Politics.” Freedom Project, Wellesley. April 2016.
- “Funding the State Policy Battleground: The Role of Firms and Foundations.” Scholarly Symposium on Philanthropy, Politics, and Democracy, Duke University. January 2015.
- “Employer Mobilization in U.S. Politics.” Political Economy of Labor Regulation Workshop at Columbia Law School. January 2015.
- “Progressive Taxation and Social Solidarity,” with Cathie Jo Martin. Workshop on Taxation and Redistribution, German Historical Institute. December 2015.

**CONFERENCE
PRESENTATIONS**

- American Political Science Association: 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019 [scheduled]
- Midwest Political Science Association: 2013, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018
- Social Science History Association: 2012
- Southern Political Science Association: 2016
- State Politics and Policy Conference: 2017
- Cooperative Congressional Election Survey Conference: 2017

**NON-ACADEMIC
INVITED TALKS
& SELECTED
MEDIA**

- Panel discussion on “State Capture” with Mark Schmitt and Lydia Bean. New America Political Reform Program. April 2019.
- “Worker Preferences for Labor Organization and Representation.” Washington Center for Equitable Growth. April 2019.
- Oral and Written Testimony in the Connecticut General Assembly Judiciary Committee on behalf of S.B. 440: An Act Protecting Employee Freedom of Speech and Conscience. March 2019.
- Participant and Memo-Writer, AFL-CIO Commission on the Future of Work and Unions. “Rebuilding Worker Power Through Targeted Benefits” and “Summary of Recent Surveys on Worker Voice and Interest in Unions and Professional Associations,” with Tom Kochan and Will Kimball. December 2018.

- Participant, AFL-CIO Roundtable on Polling. December 2018.
- Participant, William F. Buckley Firing Line Debate on the Future of U.S. Public Sector Labor Unions (with Dan DiSalvo). Yale University. December 2018.
- External Reviewer and Roundtable Participant, Hewlett Foundation Madison Initiative Money in Politics Grantmaking. December 2018.
- Keynote Speaker, “Policy as Political Weapon: The Enduring Effects of Anti-Labor Advocacy.” Harvard Law School Labor and Worklife Program Clean Slate Initiative. October 2018.
- “What We Can Learn from Surveys of State Legislatures and State Think Tanks.” Presentation for the Economic Analysis and Research Network Directors Conference (hosted by the Economic Policy Institute). October 2018.
- Participant, “What We All Can Learn From the 2018 Educator Walkouts.” Harvard Law School Labor and Worklife Program and the National Education Association. September 2018.
- Participant, “Rebalancing Economic and Political Power: A Clean Slate for the Future of Labor Law Opening Conference: What Problems Should We Be Solving For?” Harvard Law School Labor and Worklife Program. July 2018.
- “When Political Mega-Donors Join Forces.” Catalyst. May 2018.
- “Politics at Work: How Companies Turn their Workers into Lobbyists.” Network for Responsible Public Policy, Ridgewood, NJ. May 2018.
- “Politics at Work: How Companies Turn their Workers into Lobbyists.” New America Foundation and Economic Policy Institute, Discussants: Thea Lee and Mark Schmitt. April 2018.
- “Politics at Work: How Companies Turn their Workers into Lobbyists.” Roosevelt Institute and Scholars Strategy Network, Discussant: K. Sabeel Rahman. March 2018.
- “Politics at Work: How Companies Turn their Workers into Lobbyists.” Book Culture on West 112th. Discussant: Jacob S. Hacker. March 2018.
- “State Capture: How Conservative Activists, Big Businesses, and Wealthy Donors Reshaped the American States – and the Nation.” Indivisible, Waverly IA Chapter. June 2017.
- “Turning Americans into Employee Voters.” Scholars Strategy Network Summer Donor Salon. Cambridge, MA. June 2017.
- “State of the States: Lessons for Building Cross-State Political Power,” with Theda Skocpol. Scholars Strategy Network Leadership Retreat. May 2017.
- “State Capture: How Conservative Activists, Big Businesses, and Wealthy Donors Reshaped the American States – and the Nation.” Des Moines Public Library and Iowa Policy Project. February 2017.
- “The Shifting Organizational Landscape on the U.S. Right and Left,” with Theda Skocpol. Presentation to the Democracy Alliance Board of Directors. February 2017.
- “Building Progressive Power in the States,” with Theda Skocpol. Economic Analysis

and Research Network Annual Conference. December 2016.

- “Building Progressive Power in the States,” with Theda Skocpol. State Priorities Partnership Annual Conference. July 2016.
- Radio interview about state-level conservative mobilization on *The Kathleen Dunn Show* on Wisconsin Public Radio. January 2016.
- New America Foundation roundtable on employer mobilization of workers. July 2015.
- TV interview about employer mobilization of workers on *Nerding Out with Dorian Warren*, MSNBC. May 2015.
- Radio interview about state-level conservative mobilization on *The Signorile Show*, Sirius XM. January 2015.
- Election 2014 Cambridge Forum Event (broadcast on public television and radio). May 2014.
- Radio interview about state-level conservative mobilization on AM 620 *The Pulse*, Maine. February 2014.
- Scholars Strategy Network Talks at the University of Maine. February 2014.
- Social Security Summer Academy for Washington Interns, National Academy of Social Insurance. July 2013.

**OTHER
SELECTED
PAPERS AND
PROJECTS**

- “How to Rebuild the Labor Movement, State by State.” February 2019. *The American Prospect*.
- “Summary of Recent Surveys on Worker Voice and Interest in Unions and Professional Associations,” with Thomas Kochan and William Kimball. December 2018. AFL-CIO Commission on the Future of Work and Unions.
- “Building Worker Power Through Targeted Benefits.” December 2018. AFL-CIO Commission on the Future of Work and Unions.
- “Citizens Coerced,” with Paul Secunda. 2016. *UCLA Law Review Discourse*.
- “How the Right Trounced Liberals in the States,” with Theda Skocpol. Winter 2016. *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*.
- “Employer Political Coercion: A Growing Threat.” November 2015. *The American Prospect*.
- “Who Owns Your Politics? The Emergence of Employer Mobilization as a Source of Corporate Political Influence.” July 2015. *The New America Foundation*.
- “A Young Person’s Guide to Social Security,” with Kathryn Edwards and Anna Turner. July 2012. *National Academy of Social Insurance*.
- “A New Deal for Young Adults: Restoring the Social Security Student Benefit.” June 2010. *National Academy of Social Insurance*.
- “The Kids Aren’t Alright: Young Adults in the Recession,” with Kathryn Edwards. April 2010. *Economic Policy Institute*.

- “Paving the Way through Internships,” with Kathryn Edwards. March 2010. *Demos*.

**TEACHING
EXPERIENCE**

- “Labor in America: Power, Politics, and Policy in the Workplace.” Seminar for SIPA students. Spring 2018.
- “State Politics and Policy: The Promises and Pitfalls of American Federalism.” Seminar for SIPA students. Spring 2017, 2018. Fall 2018.
- “The Politics of Policymaking: American Institutions in Comparative Perspective.” Core MPA class for SIPA students. Fall 2016, 2017, 2018.
- “Business, Power and Policy in America: Comparative and Historical Perspectives” (designed and led research seminar for Harvard undergraduates); Spring 2015; average student evaluation: 4.6/5; received Certificate of Distinction for teaching.

**SERVICE AT
COLUMBIA -
COMMITTEES**

- Member, SIPA Diversity Task Force—2016 onwards
- Member, SIPA Committee on Faculty Research Grants—2017 onwards
- Member, Truman Scholarship Faculty Selection Committee—2017 onwards
- Member, Search Committee for Politics of Policymaking and Economic and Political Development Term Lecturer—2018
- Member, Search Committee for Latinx Politics Tenure-Track Junior Professor—2018
- Member, University Just Societies Citizenship Subcommittee—2018 onward

**SERVICE AT
COLUMBIA -
EVENTS**

- Organized Election 2016 Event for SIPA. November 2016.
- Organized Author Meets Critics Event for *Read Their Lips* (Vanessa Williamson) with Alex Raskolnikov (Columbia Law School) and David Stasavage (NYU). April 2017.
- Organized “The Politics of Not Shutting Up” Event for SIPA. April 2017.
- Panelist, Citizen.America.Voter Event, SIPA with Robert Shapiro. February 2017.
- Panelist, “Populism in the Americas Event”, Latin American Student Association at SIPA. October 2018.
- Panelist, “Why Policy Matters: Access, Equity, and Voting in the U.S.” event with Mayor Michael Nutter, Jonathan Brater, Farai Chideya, Irene Jor, and Chiraag Bains. October 2018.
- Panelist, “American Government: Constitutional Design and Crisis?” roundtable for SIPA Environmental Science and Policy MPA students. October 2018.
- Panelist, SIPA Admitted Students Day Lunch Discussion. 2018, 2019.
- Co-organizer (with Justin Phillips) of the American Politics Workshop in the Political Science Department—2017 onwards

**SERVICE TO THE
DISCIPLINE**

- Co-organizer, East Coast American Political Economy Annual Workshop, with Kathleen Thelen (MIT).
- Editorial Board Member, *Journal of Politics*—2017 onwards
- Member, American Political Science Association Public Policy Section Council—2018 onwards
- Member, American Political Science Association Public Policy Section Best Paper Award Committee—2016-2017
- Member, American Political Science Association Political Economy Section Best Paper Award Committee—2018-2019
- Chair, American Political Science Association Class and Inequality Section Outreach Committee—2017 onwards
- Board Member, National Academy of Social Insurance—2016 onwards
- Referee: *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Politics Review*, *Business and Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Economics and Politics*, *Journal of Politics*, *Interest Groups and Advocacy Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Behavior*, *Polity*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *Publius*, *Review of Economic Studies*, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, *Social Forces*, *Social Service Review*, *Studies in American Political Development*, *Work and Occupations*; grant reviewer for the Russell Sage Foundation; reviewer for Columbia University Press; reviewer for Scholars Strategy Network post-doctoral fellowship

**OTHER
LANGUAGES
SPOKEN**

- Spanish (write, speak, read)

**OTHER
EMPLOYMENT**

- Research assistant, Economic Policy Institute, Washington DC—2008 to 2010