

# Michael T. Hartney

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## ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS AND AFFILIATIONS

**Boston College**, Department of Political Science  
Assistant Professor (2017 – present)

**Stanford University**, Hoover Institution  
W. Glenn Campbell & Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow (2020 – 2021)

**Harvard University**, Program on Education Policy and Governance  
Research Affiliate (2019 – present)

**Lake Forest College**, Department of Politics  
Assistant Professor (2014 – 2016)

## EDUCATION

Ph.D., Political Science, University of Notre Dame, 2014  
Dissertation: “Turning Out Teachers: The Causes & Consequences of Teacher Political Activism”  
- *Winner of the APSA Harold D. Lasswell Award for best doctoral dissertation in the field of public policy studies*

B.A. (Honors), Political Science, *cum laude*, Vanderbilt University, 2005

## BOOKS

1. *How Policies Make Interest Groups: Governments, Unions, and American Education*.  
**The University of Chicago Press**, Forthcoming (August 2022).

## ARTICLES (PEER-REVIEWED)

\*Denotes student co-author

1. “Teachers Unions and School Board Elections: A Reassessment,” *Interest Groups and Advocacy*, 2022.
2. “Off-Cycle and Off-Center: Election Timing and Representation in Municipal Government” with Adam Dynes and Sam Hayes\*, *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 115, No. 3 (August 2021) pp. 1097-1103.
3. Politics, Markets, and Pandemics: Public Education’s Response to Covid-19,” with Leslie Finger, *Perspectives on Politics*, June 2021.
4. “Off-Cycle and Out of Sync: How Election Timing Influences Political Representation,” with Sam Hayes\*, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, March 2021.
5. Financial Solidarity: The Future of Labor Unions in the post-*Janus* Era,” with Leslie Finger, *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (March 2021) pp. 19-35.

6. "Show *Who* the Money? Teacher Sorting Patterns and Performance Pay across U.S. School Districts," with Michael Jones, *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 77, No. 6 (Nov. 2017) pp. 919-931.
7. "Racial Inequality in Democratic Accountability: Evidence from Retrospective Voting in Local Elections," with Patrick Flavin, *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 61, No. 3 (July 2017) pp. 684-697.
8. "When Government Subsidizes Its Own: Collective Bargaining Laws as Agents of Political Mobilization," with Patrick Flavin, *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 59, No. 4 (Oct. 2015) pp. 684-697.
9. "'Ideas about Interests': Explaining the Changing Partisan Politics of Education," with Christina Wolbrecht, *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Sept. 2014) pp. 1-28.
10. "The Political Foundations of the Black-White Education Achievement Gap," with Patrick Flavin, *American Politics Research*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Jan. 2014) pp. 3-33.
11. "From the Schoolhouse to the Statehouse: Teacher Union Political Activism and U.S. State Education Reform Policy," with Patrick Flavin, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* Vol. 11 No. 3 (Sept. 2011). pp. 251-268.

#### **OTHER PUBLICATIONS (NON PEER-REVIEWED)**

1. "Closures and Consequences," with Renu Mukherjee,\* *City Journal*, December 8, 2021.
2. "Virginia Showed That Parents Won't Put Up with Being Ignored by School Boards" with Nora Kenney, *National Review*, November 9, 2021.
3. "Revitalizing Local Democracy: The Case for On-Cycle Local Elections." (New York, NY: Manhattan Institute, October, 2021)
4. "Teacher Union Power in California: The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same," *Hoover Eureka*, Issue 2102: California's Class(room) Struggle. June 24, 2021.
5. "What determined if schools reopened? How many Trump voters were in a district" (with Leslie Finger), *Washington Post*. November 10, 2020.
6. Review of Lesley Lavery, *A Collective Pursuit: Teachers' Unions and Education Reform* (Temple Press), *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (March 2021) pp. 19-35.
7. "School Reopening Decisions Are Linked to Trump 2016 Vote Share and Catholic School Presence" (with Leslie Finger), *Education Next*. October 29, 2020.
8. "Stop playing politics with school re-openings" *Newsweek*. October 16, 2020.
9. "Teachers Unions in the post-*Janus* World," with Daniel DiSalvo, *Education Next*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Fall 2020).
10. "Performance Pay Can Bring Stronger Teachers into the Classroom." Brookings Institution (Brown Center Chalkboard). January 30, 2018
11. "Local Electoral Incentives Perpetuate the Racial Achievement Gap." Brookings Institution (Brown Center Chalkboard). May 16, 2017

12. "Make Education Politics Great Again! Eliminate Off-Cycle School Board Elections." Brookings Institution (Brown Center Chalkboard). February 26, 2017
13. "Would Curbing Unions Silence Teachers' Voices?" *Newsweek*. Oct. 9, 2015
14. "Review of Daniel DiSalvo, *Government against Itself. Public Union Power and Its Consequences* (Oxford University. Press)," *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 13 No. 2 (July 2015) pp. 347-54
15. "Review of Sarah F. Anzia, *Timing and Turnout: How Off-Cycle Elections Benefit Organized Groups* (University of Chicago Press), *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 130 No. 1 (Spring 2015) pp. 152-53
16. "Education Reform from the Grassroots: How and When Parents Can Shape Policy." (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, July 2014)
17. "Does School Board Leadership Matter?" with Arnold Shober, (Washington, DC: Thomas B. Fordham Institute, March 2014).
18. "Promoting Effective Education Governance." Washington, DC: National Governors Association. *Honoring Progress*, Vol. 1 No. 6 (January 2008) pp. 1-13
19. "Implementing Graduation Counts: State Progress to Date," with Bridget Curran and Joseph Pika, (Washington, DC: National Governors Association, July 2008)
20. "Human Capital: Innovative Business and State Policy Strategies for K-12 Educators." Policy brief prepared for the 2007 NGA Meeting at the request of Rhode Island Gov. Donald Carcieri, NGA Education Committee Chair, (Traverse City, MI, July 20-23)
21. "Creating a Greater Supply of High Quality High Schools." Washington, DC: National Governors Association. *Honoring Progress*, Vol. 1 No. 5 (Sept. 2007) pp. 1-14
22. "Teacher Compensation Reform: Pay for Contribution." Washington, DC: National Governors Association. *Honoring Progress*, Vol 1. No. 4 (July 2007) pp. 1-15
23. "How Governors Can Improve College and Work Readiness." Washington, DC: National Governors Association. *Honoring Progress*, Vo. 1 No. 3 (April 2007) pp. 1-13

### **RESEARCH IN PROGRESS**

- Unmasked: How Covid-19 Revealed Painful Truths about America's Schools*, book project
- "Organized Labor and Political Representation," with Dan DiSalvo and Pat Flavin, under review
- "Election Timing and Citizens' Political Knowledge," with David Houston, under review
- "Do Off-Cycle Elections Advantage Organized Interests? Evidence from School Board Elections," with Taylor Nardone\*, in preparation
- "Interest Group Electioneering and Democratic Accountability: Evidence from Teacher-Union Endorsements in School Board Elections," with Vlad Kogan, in preparation

## **ACADEMIC AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS**

- 2020 W. Glenn Campbell & Rita Ricardo-Campbell Hoover National Fellowship Award
- 2015 Harold D. Lasswell Award for the Best Doctoral Dissertation in Public Policy, American Political Science Association
- 2015 Eli J. and Helen Shaheen Award, Top Graduating Student in the Graduate School, Social Sciences. Highest Honor Awarded by the Graduate School at Notre Dame
- 2014 Outstanding Graduate Student Teacher Award (University of Notre Dame)
- 2012 National Academy of Education/Spencer Dissertation Fellowship (\$25,000)
- 2012 American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Albert Shanker Research Fellowship
- 2011 Mellon Foundation ISLA Interdisciplinary Workshop Award (\$11,000)
- 2010 Emerging Education Policy Scholar, Thomas B. Fordham Institute
- 2009 Finalist, National Council on Teacher Quality Research Competition

## **RESEARCH GRANTS**

- 2018 Boston College ATB (GIS) Inaugural Cohort Working Group (\$2,500)
- 2014 Walton Family Foundation/AEI. Principal Investigator. Project Title: "Education Reform from the Grassroots: How and When Parents Can Shape Policy." (\$6,000)
- 2012 Thomas B. Fordham Institute. Co-principal investigator. Project Title: "Does School Board Leadership Matter?" (\$50,000)
- 2011 Rooney Center for the Study of American Democracy Research Grant (\$7,200)
- 2009 National Council on Teacher Quality. Principal Investigator. Project Title: "The Politics of Teacher Professionalization: How Union Interests and the Structure of Education Governance Impact Teacher Pay and Evaluation Policies." (\$5,000)
- 2008 The Wallace Foundation. Principal Investigator. (NGA was subcontractor). Project Title: "Gubernatorial Policies to Improve the K-12 Educator Workforce." (\$175,000)

## **INVITED TALKS**

- Hoover Institution, Stanford University (2022)
- University of Arkansas, Department of Education Reform (2021)
- University College of London, Centre on US Politics (2021)
- Harvard University, PEPG Annual Advisory Board Meeting (2020)
- Brigham Young University, Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy (2020)
- Hoover Institution, Stanford University (2020)
- Harvard University, Radcliffe Institute, "Interest Groups and Education Policy" (2019)
- Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government, PEPG Colloquium (2019)
- Stanford University, GSE Colloquium Series (2018)
- Lawrence University, Department of Government (2017)
- Brookings Institution, Governance Studies Program (2015)
- Purdue University, Department of Political Science (2015)
- Michigan State University, College of Education (2015)

Northwestern University, School of Education and Social Policy (2015)  
University of Munich, Leibniz Institute for Economic Research (2015)  
Maine School Management Association, Keynote Address (2014)  
Lawrence University, Department of Economics (2014)  
University of Virginia, Miller Center of Public Affairs (2013)  
University of Washington, Center on Reinventing Public Education (2012)

### **CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting (2021, '19, '18, '15, '14, '12 '11 '10)  
American Education Research Association Annual Meeting (2019, 2013)  
Association for Policy Analysis & Management Annual Meeting (2012)  
Association for Education Finance and Policy Annual Meeting (2021, 2012)  
Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting (2022, '17, '15, '12, '10)  
State Politics and Policy Annual Conference (2009)

### **TEACHING**

#### **Boston College**

Democracy and Our Schools (undergraduate seminar)  
Environmental Politics and Policy (undergraduate lecture)  
Politics and Policy in the U.S. (undergraduate lecture)  
Introduction to American Politics (undergraduate lecture)  
State and Local Government (undergraduate lecture)  
The Politics of Self Rule (summer abroad course in Ireland and the UK)

#### **Honors theses advised**

|                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Cecilia Milano, Boston College*   | Brendan Herrmann, University of Notre Dame    |
| Lauren Bell, Lake Forest College* | Kaitlin Wegrzyn, University of Notre Dame     |
| Alexis Yusim, Lake Forest College | Brittany Dunn-Pirio, University of Notre Dame |
| Christiana Goff, Boston College   | Adam Martin, Boston College                   |
| Anne Marie Green, Boston College  |   |

\*Denotes project awarded department's top thesis prize

#### **Doctoral students**

Sam Hayes, Boston College (2022)  
Renu Mukherjee, Boston College (expected 2024)

### **SERVICE**

#### **Service to the Discipline**

**Journal reviewer:** *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy, American Education Research Journal, American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, American Politics Research, Educational Researcher Education Finance and Policy, Educational Policy, Educational Researcher, Health Affairs, Journal of Politics, Perspectives on Politics, Policy Studies Journal, Political Behavior, Political Research Quarterly, Social Forces, Social Science Quarterly, State Politics and Policy Quarterly*

**Foundation grants reviewer:** The Spencer Foundation

### **Departmental Service (Boston College)**

- 2021- Director, Department Honors Program
- 2018- Committee member, American Politics faculty searches (2x, F19, F18)
- 2018- PhD Comprehensive Exam committee for American Politics (2x, F18, Sp22)
- 2018- Senior Readings & Research Independent Study Advisor (Sp18, F21, Sp22)
- 2018- Graduate Readings & Research Independent Study Advisor (Sp18, Sp20, F21)
- 2017- Senior Thesis Advisor for Political Science majors (7x)

### **University Program Service (Boston College)**

- Member, Research Services GIS Consultant Search Committee (2019-20)
- Guest lecture, "Education Exceptionalism," for Gabelli Presidential Scholars, Nov. 6, 2018
- Faculty mentor to Gabelli Presidential Scholars Program, 2018-
- Session leader, (American federalism module), U.S-Embassy, Dublin and BC Global Leadership Institute. "Strengthening Cybersecurity", Boston, MA, March 5, 2018

### **University Program Service (Lake Forest College)**

- 2015-17 Member, Human Subjects Review Committee (IRB)
- 2015-17 Member, Academic Honesty Judicial Board
- 2016-17 Political Science Department Assessment Coordinator

### **MEDIA CONTRIBUTIONS AND COVERAGE**

- Washington Post*. "Democrats' real problems aren't the ones you're hearing about." March 1, 2022.
- Bloomberg*. "Chicago Schools Reopen as City's Dispute With Teachers Festers." Jan. 12, 2022.
- Bloomberg*. "Biden Seeks Chicago Schools Opening as Democrats See Risk." Jan. 10, 2022.
- Times of London*. "Americans simply want children at school." Jan. 7, 2022.
- New York Post*. "Researchers: Parents Are Key to 2022 Midterms." Dec. 10, 2021.
- Commonwealth Magazine*. "Are liberals 'addicted' to the pandemic?" May 5, 2021.
- Seattle Times*. "Politics, race were key factors when schools reopened." April 19, 2021.
- Wall Street Journal*. "School Isn't Closed for Lack of Money." March 9, 2021.
- NBC News*. "GOP targets teachers unions in bid to retake suburbs." Feb. 14, 2021.
- The Economist Radio*. "Checks and Balances Podcast." Feb. 11, 2021.
- The Atlantic*. "Is America's Educational System Becoming More Pluralistic?" Feb. 8, 2021.
- The Detroit News*. "School closures create inequity, often don't match virus rates." Feb. 7, 2021.
- Stateline*. "Pressure Grows to Reopen Schools, But Fears Persist." Feb. 3, 2021.
- The New York Times*. "Children Need to Be Back in School Tomorrow." Jan 28, 2021.
- New York Magazine*. "I want to meet my teacher." Jan. 26, 2021.
- The Economist*. "US children losing most by missing school may miss it longest." Jan 19, 2021.
- The Atlantic*. "Why British Kids Went Back to School, and American Kids Did Not." Dec. 19, 2020.
- Stateline*. "Pendulum Swinging Toward Reopening Schools. Then Came the Surge." Nov. 13, 2020.
- Commonwealth Magazine*. "For Catholic schools, class is in session." Oct. 27, 2020.
- The74Million*. "Politics, Not Science, is Driving School Reopening Decisions." Oct. 20, 2020.
- American Catholic Tribune*. "Catholic school enrollment impacts public schools." Oct 16, 2020.
- The New York Times*. "District size and support for Trump, predict school reopenings." Oct 14, 2020.
- Washington Post*. "Support for Trump predictor of whether schools reopened." Oct 15, 2020.
- Education Week*. "Trump, Unions, and Politics in School Reopening." Oct. 13, 2020.
- New York Magazine*. "Remote Learning Is a Catastrophe." Oct. 7, 2020.

*Glamour*. "What's Next for America's Teacher Walkout Movement?" Aug. 27, 2018.  
*Christian Science Monitor*. "Racial Gaps in Education: Do Voters Care?" Oct. 5, 2017.  
*Boston Globe*. "School Boards for White Students." Jan. 6, 2017.  
*Wilson Quarterly*. "How Democrats and Republicans Flipped on Education." Dec. 18, 2014.  
*The Atlantic*. "Building an Effective School Board." March 26, 2014  
*U.S. News and World Report*. "Elections Could Influence Student Achievement." March 26, 2014.  
*Education Week*. "How Boards Contribute to 'Beat the Odds' Districts." March 26, 2014.  
*National Journal*. "Do Educators Make Good School Board Members?" March 31, 2014.  
*American Prospect*. "The Reality of Our Race-Based Achievement Gap." July 31, 2013.  
*Education Week*. "Reports Focus on Closing Achievement Gap." July 16, 2013.  
*Boston Globe*. "Surprising Insights from the Social Sciences." June 2, 2013.

**RELEVANT PROFESSIONAL WORK EXPERIENCE**

Policy Analyst, National Governors Association, Washington, DC, 2006-2008