

# Melissa Rogers

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Division of Politics and Economics  
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## Academic Appointments

2019–Present	Associate Professor, Claremont Graduate University
2018–Present	Co-Director, Inequality and Policy Research Center
2019–2022	Associate Dean, School of Social Science and Policy Evaluation
2019–2021	Chair, Department of International Studies (2019-2020) and Division of Politics and Economics (2021)
2011–2019	Assistant Professor, Claremont Graduate University
2010–2011	Visiting Assistant Professor, Claremont Graduate University

## Education

2005–2010	Ph.D. in Political Science, University of California San Diego
2003–2005	M.A. University of California San Diego
1997–2001	A.B. Brown University

## Books

2023	<i>Geography, Capacity, and Inequality II: Redistribution</i> . Cambridge University Press (w/ Pablo Beramendi)
2022	<i>Geography, Capacity, and Inequality I: Spatial Inequality</i> . Cambridge University Press (w/ Pablo Beramendi)
2015	<i>The Politics of Place and the Limits to Redistribution</i> . Routledge Press

## Peer Reviewed Journal Articles

21	Structural Racism, the USPS and Voting by Mail On-and Off-Reservation in Arizona (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich) <i>Studies in American Political Development</i> (2023).
20	Inequalities in Vote by Mail for Native Americans in the West: The Historical Political Economy of Postal Service in Northeastern Arizona, <i>Journal of Historical Political Economy</i> (2023) 2(4) (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich)
19	Measuring the Rural Continuum in Political Science, <i>Political Analysis</i> (2021) 29(3): 267-286 (w/ Zoe Nemerover)
18	Federalism and the Welfare State in Latin America, <i>Regional and Federal Studies</i> (2021) 31(1): 163-184.
17	Federalism and Inequality in Risk-Taking: Evidence from Location Tracking in Mexico during COVID 19, <i>Frontiers in Political Science</i> (2021) (w/ Yuzhu Zeng, Andrew Marx, Mia Poynor, Morgan Lu)
16	Assessing the Efficacy of Early Voting Access on Indian Reservations, <i>Politics, Groups, and Identities</i> (2020) 10(1): 81-99 (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich, Savannah Johnston, Aaron Berg)
15	Fiscal Decentralization and the Distributive Incidence of the Great Recession, <i>Regional Studies</i> (2020) 54(7): 881-896 (w/ Pablo Beramendi)
14	When Militant Organizations Lose Militarily but Win Politically, <i>Cooperation and Conflict</i> (2020) 55(3): 365-387 (w/ Benjamin Acosta)
13	Measuring Geographic Distribution for Political Research, <i>Political Analysis</i> (2019) 27, no. 3: 263-280 (w/ Dong Wook Lee)
12	Inter-regional Inequality and the Dynamics of Government Spending, <i>Journal of Politics</i> (2019) 81(2): 487-504. (w/ Dong Wook Lee)
11	Intra-elite Competition and Long-run Fiscal Development, <i>Journal of Politics</i> (2019) 81(1): 49-65. (w/ Pablo Beramendi and Mark Dinuccio)
10	Disparate Geography and the Origins of Tax Capacity, <i>Review of International Organizations</i> (2018) 16(1):213-327 (w/ Pablo Beramendi)
9	What's Left to Tax? Partisan Reallocation of Trade Taxation in Less Developed Countries, <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> (2017) 70(3): 495-508 (w/ Eunyoung Ha)
8	Barriers Against the Egalitarian Turn. <i>Latin American Research Review</i> , (2017) 52(4): 529-551 (with Pablo Beramendi and Alberto Díaz-Cayeros)
7	Analysis of Panamanian DMSP/OLS Nightlights Corroborates Suspicions of Inaccurate Fiscal Data, <i>Remote Sensing Applications: Society and Environment</i> (2017) (November, v8): 99-104 (w/ Andrew Marx)

- 6 Taxing with Dictators and Democrats: Regime Effects, Transfers, and Revenue in Argentina's Provinces. *Journal of Politics in Latin America* (2014) 6(1): 3-44
- 5 Income Taxation and the Validity of State Capacity Indicators. *Journal of Public Policy* (2013). 34(1): 1-24 (w/ Nicholas Weller)
- 4 National Leverage: Partisan Constraints on Reform in Sub-National Bureaucracies. *Revista Sul America de Ciênciã Política* (2013) 1(1): 112-137
- 3 Democracias Liberal E Iliberal Na América Latina. (reprint in Portuguese) *Opinião Pública* (2009) 15(2): 356-385 (w/ Peter Smith)
- 2 Liberal and Illiberal Democracy in Latin America. *Latin American Politics and Society* (2008) 50(1): 31-57 (w/ Peter Smith)
- 1 Governmental Performance and Political Regimes: Latin America in Comparative Perspective, 1990-2004. *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* (2008) 3(2): 101-117 (w/ Peter Smith)

## Under Review

- The Modifiable Areal Unit Problem in Political Science (w/ Dong Wook Lee and Hillel Soifer)
- Democracy, Economic Development, and Health Inequalities: Regime Type and Premature Mortality by Sex (w/ Ana Salazar, Javier Rodriguez, and Rena Salayeva) *Revise and Resubmit, Studies in Comparative International Development*
- Democracy Distorted (w/ Pablo Beramendi, Carles Boix, and Marc Guinjoan)
- Voting Your Pocket Book or Voting Your Place? (w/ Dong Wook Lee)
- The Political Origins of the Urbanization: Evidence from 50 Years of Nightlight Data (w/ Soha Hammam)
- Federalism and the Spatial Distribution of Infant Mortality in Less Developed Nations: Evidence from Natural Disasters

## Other Peer Reviewed Publications

- 6 "Book Review: Spending to Win." *Perspectives on Politics* 19(1).
- 5 "Inequality and Democratic Representation in Latin America." In Dolores Trevizo and Joe Foweraker, ed. *Democracy and Its Discontents in Latin America*. (2016) Lynne Rienner Press
- 4 "Book Review: The Fire Next Door: Mexico's Drug Violence and the Threat to America." *Trends in Organized Crime* (2013) 16(2): 249-250
- 3 *The Taxation Tango: State Capacity in Argentina's Provinces*. (2010) UMI Dissertation Publication
- 2 "Illiberal and Liberal Democracy in Latin America." In William Smith, ed. *Latin American Democratic Transformations*. (2010). Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers
- 1 *From Peace to Governance: Police Reform and the International Community* Washington, D.C.: Washington Office on Latin America (2002).

## University Leadership Roles

Associate Dean, School of Social Science, Policy, and Evaluation: 2019-2022  
 Co-Director, Inequality and Policy Research, Center of the Institute for Democratic Renewal: 2018-Present  
 Division Chair, Division of Politics and Economics: 2021  
 Department Chair, Department of International Studies: 2019-2020  
 Chair, Faculty Research Committee (University Level): 2020-Present  
 American Politics Field Chair: 2020-Present  
 Comparative Politics Field Chair: 2015-Present  
 Claremont Faculty Leadership Program: 2020  
 Founder and Director, CGU Inequality Lab: 2016-2018  
 Academic Search Committee Chair: 2020 (3 Positions)  
 Academic Search Committee Member: 2014, 2016, 2017, 2019  
 Admissions and Financial Aid Committee (Division Level): 2011-Present  
 Transdisciplinary Program Advisory Committee (University Level)  
 Academic Standards Committee (University Level)  
 Board Chair's Advisory Group (University Level)  
 Geographic Information Systems Advisory Council (University Level)  
 Advisory Library Planning Board (Claremont University Consortium Level)  
 Applied Women's Studies Advisory Committee (University Level)

## Service to the Profession

Chair	Political Methodology Society Diversity Committee (2022-)
	APSA Political Economy Section Best Book Award Committee (2022-)
Organizer	California Workshop in Empirical Political Science (CaliWEPS IV)
	CGU-UCR Job Market Workshop 2022
	Class and Inequality Conference (2022)
	Visions in Methodology Conference, Political Methodology Society (2021)
	Southern California Comparative Political Institutions (2012, 2017, 2019)
	Department of International Studies Student Conference (2018, 2019)
	Politics of Race Immigration Ethnicity Consortium (2019)
Editor	APSA's Representation and Electoral Systems Newsletter
Mentor	Midwest Political Science Association
Panelist	Best Graduate Student Paper, MPSA 2020
Panel Chair	Western Political Science Association 2013, 2019, 2020
	Midwest Political Science Association 2012 & 2017 & 2020
Discussant	Virtual Historical Political Economy Workshop 2020 & 2021
	American Political Science Association 2019 & 2020
	Council for European Studies 2015
	Southern California Comparative Political Institutions 2011, 2012
	Midwest Political Science Association 2012 (2); 2013 (3); 2015; 2016 (2); 2017 (2); 2020
	Western Political Science Association 2013, 2016, 2019, 2020
Evaluator	Advancement, Tenure, and Promotion decisions
Reviewer	<i>American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, British Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, International Studies Quarterly, Trends in Organized Crime, Journal of Public Policy, Political Research Quarterly, Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Journal of Politics in Latin America, Political Science Research and Methods, International Interactions, Political Analysis, Studies in Comparative International Development, Environment and Planning C, Latin American Research Review, Electoral Studies, International Security, Publius, Regional and Federal Studies, Review of International Organizations</i>

## Recent Awards

Health and Human Services: ADRD Program, 2021 (\$45,000, with Javier Rodriguez, Sandra Garcia, Dong Wook Lee)

ICPSR Workshop 2021 "Ethical Collection, Dissemination, and Use of Data on American Indian and Alaska Native Populations"

BLAIS Research Grant, 2018-2019 (\$15,750)

Visiting Fellow, UCSD Center for U.S. Mexican Studies 2018

Fletcher Jones Research Grant, Claremont Graduate University 2017 (\$7,258; with Andrew Marx)

Big Data Faculty Research Award, Claremont Graduate University 2015 (\$3,500)

Fletcher Jones Research Grant, Claremont Graduate University 2015 (\$6,400)

BLAIS Research Grant, 2013-2014 (\$24,876)

Fletcher Jones Research Grant, Claremont Graduate University 2012 (\$7,100)

Avery Fellow, Claremont Colleges 2012-2013, 2015-2016, 2019-2020 (\$6,000)

Post-Doctoral Fellowship, University of Southern California 2010-2011 (Declined)

Post-Doctoral Fellowship, Center for U.S. Mexican Studies 2010-2011 and 2011-2012 (Declined)

Senior Vice Chancellor's Fellowship, Academic Year 2009-2010

National Science Foundation Dissertation Research Grant, 2007-2009 (\$12,000)

Center for Latin American and Iberian Studies Travel Grant, 2006

Dean's Travel Grant, 2006 and 2008

Thurgood Marshall Fellow, University of California San Diego

## Student Placement

### Academic

Alma Bezares (Whittier College, Economics), Dong Wook Lee (Adelphi University), Benjamin Acosta (LSU, IDC-Herzliya), Kerstin Fisk (Loyola Marymount), Zeyad Elkelani (Cairo University, Data Science; Post-Doc UC Irvine), Rachelle Walker (Vanguard Univ), Sumaia Alkohani (U. Al Sharjaf), Linda Alvarez (CSU Northridge), Charupol Ruangsuwan (Thammasat University), Noemi Alexander (Cal Baptist Univ), Amy Nantkes (Point Loma Nazarene), Lily Rowen (Laramie County Community College), Giacomo DiPasquale (Wagner College), Timothy Milosch (Biola University), Joseph Dietrich (Cal Poly Pomona), Minjae Yun (UCLA Law School), Chungwon Koo (Inequality Center South Korea)

### Academic (Post Doc)

Rena Salayeva (CIES, IPRC), Minjae Yun (UCLA Law School), Soha Hammam (IPRC, University of LaVerne)

### Public Sector

Paul Pulido (LA Govt), Ichsan Zulkarnaean (Govt of Indonesia), Abdulaziz Albinali (Govt of Bahrain), Jake Campbell (Department of Veteran Affairs), Roger Chin (Washington State), Brian Jewett (Laguna Beach Water District), Morgan Stockman (CDC), Miriam Sierra Aguilar (Washington State), Zaid Alkdidi (Govt of Saudi Arabia), Glenn Steinback (Department of Defense), Noemi Alexander (Riverside Unified School Board)

### Private & Non-Profit Sector

Carlos Echeverria-Estrada (National Opinion Research Center), Byron Ramirez (BPM), Lara Steele (Biogen), Kristoffer Wikstrom (Neilson), Maryah Garner (Coleridge Initiative), Lisa Jene (U.S. Overseas Cooperative Development Council), Yunie Le (Coleridge Initiative), Jingjing An (Acumen)

## Media Participation

The Washington Post Monkey Cage: "Is your town urban or rural? A lot of money rides on the government's answer—which may soon change"

Dallas Morning News, January 2020

NPR's Marketplace, December 2, 2019

The Washington Post Monkey Cage: "What keeps Native Americans from voting...and what could change this?"

Panoramas Website, University of Pittsburgh: Taxing with Dictators and Democrats

## Selected Working Papers

- Commodity Shocks, State Capacity, and Redistribution (w/ Pablo Beramendi and Victoria Paniagua)
- Endogenous Borders (w/ Pablo Beramendi, Dong Wook Lee, and Spencer Mueller)
- Conceptualizing and Quantifying Geographic Polarization in the American States (w/ Zoe Nemerover)
- The Politics of Death (with Pablo Beramendi and Soomin Oh)
- The Curse of Overrepresentation (w/ Pablo Beramendi)
- Inter-elite Competition and Fiscal Development in the US States (w/ Pablo Beramendi, Travis Cassidy, and Mark Dincecco)
- Political Parties and the Geography of Economic Preferences (w/ Dong Wook Lee)
- Poverty Reduction in the Shadow of Commodity Booms (w/ Lauren Shaffer)
- Comparative Internal Migration (w/ Yuzhu Zeng)

## Legal Training

Redistricting Expert Witness Training, Native American Rights Fund, May-September 2021

## Invited Talks

May 2023	Bocconi University Department of Social and Political Sciences
April 2023	Montréal Inequality and Federalism Conference
December 2022	Political Institutions and Political Economy Conference, USC
December 2022	University of Houston Hobby School of Public Affairs
November 2022	Political Institutions and Political Economy Workshop, USC
September 2022	USC Comparative Politics Workshop
May 2022	Seminar on Fiscal Federalism, Buenos Aires, Argentina
May 2022	Politics of Crisis Workshop, Santiago de Compostela, Spain
May 2022	Princeton Book Workshop
May 2022	Historical Political Economy of the US West, USC
April 2022	Inequality Conference, Konstanz, Germany
April 2022	USC Book Workshop
February 2022	UCSB Political Economy Workshop
February 2022	UC Riverside Political Behavior Workshop
October 2021	IPRC Workshop
February 2021	CGU Tuesday Talk Series
May 2020	UCSD Democracy and Inequality Workshop
May 2020	UC Riverside: Political Behavior Workshop
February 2020	London School of Economics: Comparative Politics Workshop
October 2019	University of Mannheim: The Political Economy of Reforms
July 2019	Peking University: Taxation and Fiscal Capacity Workshop
June 2019	QOG & VDEM (U Gothenburg): State Capacity- Measurement Innovations, Gaps and Challenges Workshop
April 2019	Duke University: State Capacity- Causes and Consequences
December 2018	The Carter Center: Native American Participation in U.S. Elections
October 2018	Center for US-Mexican Studies, UCSD
January 2018	California Police Chief's Executive Leadership Institute
October 2017	Claremont University Club: U.S. Elections in Comparative Perspective
March 2017	University of Amsterdam: Workshop on the Sub-National State in Latin America
March 2017	Texas A&M: Taxation, Fiscal Capacity and Revenue Workshop
March 2017	UC Riverside: Graduate Colloquium
November 2016	CGU Tuesday Talk: "A Natural Experiment of GDP Underreporting using Nightlights Data"
October 2016	CGU Taking the Constitution Seriously Series
September 2016	CGU Tuesday Talk Series: "Intra-elite Competition and Long-run Fiscal Development"
May 2016	SUNY Buffalo: Workshop on the Politics of Redistribution
January 2016	UCLA Comparative Politics Series: "Geography, Elite Competition, and the Origins of Tax Capacity"
April 2015	Stanford University Comparative Politics Workshop: "Geography, Capacity, and Inequality"
February 2014	Occidental College: "Regional Inequality in Latin America"
October 2013	UC San Diego: "Inequality, Electoral Institutions, and Government Spending"
October 2013	CGU Tuesday Talk Series: "Shifting the Burden in Global Markets"
November 2013	IELA: "Regional Inequality within Latin America"
May 2013	CGU Board of Visitors, School of Politics and Economics
February 2012	CGU Tuesday Talk Series: "Uneven Development, Unequal Education"
December 2011	Claremont University Club: "South America and the Global Economic System"
December 2011	CGU Minority Mentors Program: "How to Present at Conferences"
April 2011	CGU Tuesday Talk Series: "Taxing with Dictators Under Democracy"

## Teaching Experience

Claremont Graduate University	Wealth, Poverty, and Inequality Parties and Elections Comparative Political Economy Theories and Issues in Comparative Politics Democracy and Development Comparative Political Institutions Qualitative and Mixed-Methods Research Politics of Non-Democratic Countries Foreign Policy of Latin America Politics of Developing Countries Political and Econ Development in Latin America
Pitzer College	Democracy and Development Wealth, Poverty, and Inequality
Scripps College	Wealth, Poverty, and Inequality
University of California, San Diego	The U.S. Congress Politics of the Southern Cone Latin American Politics
Thunderbird School of Management	Guest Lecturer, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Latin American Business Climate

## Recent Conference Presentations

Polarization Research Lab, March 2023	Conceptualizing and Quantifying Geographic Polarization in the American States
American Political Science Association, September 2022	Political Parties and the Geography of Economic Preferences Conceptualizing and Quantifying Geographic Polarization in the American States Political Origins of Urban Concentration in Latin America
Midwest Political Science Association, April 2022	Voting Your Pocketbook or Voting Your Place? Political Origins of Urban Concentration in Latin America
American Political Science Association, September 2021	Voting Your Pocketbook or Voting Your Place? Democracy Distorted Structural Racism, the USPS and Voting by Mail On-and Off-Reservation in Arizona Political Origins of Urbanization
Royal Geography Society, September 2021	Political Origins of Urban Change in Latin America
American Political Science Association, September 2020	Voting Your Pocketbook or Voting Your Place? The Modifiable Areal Unit Problem in Political Science
Western Political Science Association, April 2020	Voting Your Pocketbook or Voting Your Place?
State Politics Conference, March 2020	Intra-elite Competition and Long-run Fiscal Development in the U.S. States
Southern California Political Methods, September 2019	Measuring Rural Populations in Political Science
American Political Science Association, September 2019	The Politics of Death
Visions in Methodology, May 2019	Measuring Geographic Distribution for Political Research
Western Political Science Association, April 2019	Economic Geography, Industrialization, and Redistribution Geography, Capacity, and Inequality

Midwest Political Science Association, April 2019  
 Economic Geography, Industrialization, and Redistribution  
 Building Subnational State Capacity in Mexico

American Political Science Association, September 2018  
 Economic Geography and Redistribution

Midwest Political Science Association, April 2018  
 Nascent Bureaucracies  
 Measuring Geographic Distribution for Political Research

Electoral Integrity Project, September 2017  
 Assessing the Efficacy of Early Voting Access on Indian Reservations

American Political Science Association, September 2017  
 From Losers to Winners  
 Economic Geography and the Politics of Redistribution  
 What's the Right Answer to Trade Liberalization?

Midwest Political Science Association, April 2017  
 Commodity Shocks, State Capacity, and the Politics of Redistribution  
 Measuring Regional Inequality for Political Research  
 Economic Geography and State Capacity

Southern California Comparative Political Institutions Conference, September 2016  
 Measuring Regional Inequality for Political Research

American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, September 2016  
 Intra-elite Competition and Long-Run Fiscal Development

Latin American Studies Association, New York, May 2016  
 Inequality and Democratic Representation in Latin America

Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2016  
 Regional Inequality and Dynamics Government Expenditure

Western Political Science Association, San Diego, March 2016  
 NAFTA's Opportunities  
 Shifting the Burden

Council for European Studies, Paris, July 2015  
 Geography, Capacity, and Inequality

Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2015  
 Bringing Regions Back In  
 Comparing Inequalities

Southern California Comparative Political Institutions Conference, September 2014  
 Comparing Inequalities

Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2014  
 Regional Inequality and Political Party Representation  
 Bringing Home the Bacon or Serving the Homemade Bread

American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 2013  
 Regional Inequality and Political Parties

International Studies Association-Peace Science Society, Budapest, July 2013  
 Bringing Regions Back In

Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2013  
 Regional Income Inequality and Government Spending  
 Federalism and Regional Income Inequality

International Studies Association, San Francisco, April 2013  
 Shifting the Burden: Partisan Effects on Tax Reform

Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2012  
 Uneven Development, Unequal Education  
 Trading for Development: Local Interests and National Policy Salience

Western Political Science Association, Portland, March 2013  
 National Leverage: Partisan Constraints on Sub-national Bureaucratic Reform  
 Trading for Development: Local Interests and National Policy Salience

Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2011  
 Taxing with Autocrats and Democrats

*Curriculum vitae last updated December 15, 2022*