

Melissa Rogers

Claremont Graduate University
Division of Politics and Economics
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Academic Appointments

2025–Present	Professor, Claremont Graduate University
2025	Director, Division of Politics and Economics
2019–2025	Associate Professor, Claremont Graduate University
2018–Present	Co-Director, Inequality and Policy Research Center
2019–2022	Associate Dean, School of Social Science, Policy, and Evaluation
2019–2021	Chair, Department of International Studies (2019-2020) and Division of Politics and Economics (2021)
2011–2019	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

Leadership and Administrative Experience

Director	Inequality and Policy Research Center, Institute for Democratic Renewal: 2018–Present
Associate Dean	School of Social Science, Policy, and Evaluation: 2019–2022
Director	Division of Politics and Economics: 2021, 2025
Councilmember	American Political Science Association Council (Elected): 2024–Present
Chair	Department of International Studies: 2019–2020
Chair	CGU Faculty Research Committee (University Level): 2020–Present
Chair	APSA 2025 Political Economy Section
Director	CGU Inequality Lab: 2016–2018
Field Chair	American Politics: 2020–Present
Field Chair	Comparative Politics: 2015–Present
Leader	Claremont Faculty Leadership Program: 2020

Books

2028	<i>Divided by Design: Spatial Isolation, Segregation, and Native American Political Power.</i> (w/ Jean Schroedel)
2027	<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

Political Economy of Institutions

2025	Vote Your Region or Your Income? <i>Territory, Politics, and Governance</i> (w/ Dong Wook Lee)
2024	Decentralization and the Spatial Distribution of Infant Mortality in Less Developed Nations. <i>Regional Studies</i> (w/ Pablo Beramendi and Soomin Oh)
2024	The Political Origins of Urban Deconcentration: Evidence from 50 Years of Nightlight Data. <i>Regional Studies, Regional Science</i> 11(1):1-21. (w/ Soha Hammam)
2023	Democracy, Economic Development, and Health Inequalities. <i>Studies in Comparative International Development</i> , 58(3): 511-537. (w/ Ana Salazar, Javier Rodriguez, Rena Salayeva)
2021	Federalism and the Welfare State in Latin America, <i>Regional and Federal Studies</i> 31(1): 163-184.
2021	Federalism and Inequality in Risk-Taking, <i>Frontiers in Political Science</i> (w/ Yuzhu Zeng, Andrew Marx, Mia Poynor, Morgan Lu)

- 2020 Fiscal Decentralization and the Distributive Incidence of the Great Recession, *Regional Studies* 54(7): 881-896 (w/ Pablo Beramendi)
- 2020 When Militant Organizations Lose Militarily but Win Politically, *Cooperation and Conflict* 55(3): 365-387 (w/ Benjamin Acosta)
- 2019 Inter-regional Inequality and the Dynamics of Government Spending, *Journal of Politics* 81(2): 487-504. (w/ Dong Wook Lee)
- 2019 Intra-elite Competition and Long-run Fiscal Development, *Journal of Politics* 81(1): 49-65. (w/ Pablo Beramendi, Mark Dincecco)
- 2018 Disparate Geography and the Origins of Tax Capacity, *Review of International Organizations* 16(1):213-327 (w/ Pablo Beramendi)
- 2017 What's Left to Tax? Partisan Reallocation of Trade Taxation in Less Developed Countries, *Political Research Quarterly* 70(3): 495-508 (w/ Eunyoung Ha)
- 2017 Barriers Against the Egalitarian Turn. *Latin American Research Review*, 52(4): 529-551 (with Pablo Beramendi, Alberto Díaz-Cayeros)
- 2014 Taxing with Dictators and Democrats: Regime Effects, Transfers, and Revenue in Argentina's Provinces. *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 6(1): 3-44
- 2013 National Leverage: Partisan Constraints on Reform in Sub-National Bureaucracies. *Revista Sul America de Ciência Política* 1(1): 112-137
- 2009 Democracias Liberal E Iliberal Na América Latina. (reprint in Portuguese) *Opinião Pública* 15(2): 356-385 (w/ Peter Smith)
- 2008 Liberal and Illiberal Democracy in Latin America. *Latin American Politics and Society* 50(1): 31-57 (w/ Peter Smith)
- 2008 Governmental Performance and Political Regimes: Latin America in Comparative Perspective, 1990-2004. *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 3(2): 101-117 (w/ Peter Smith)

Native American Politics and Voting Access

- 2027 Boosters and Barracks: the Political Economy of Indian Industrial Schools *Journal of Historical Political Economy* (w/ Jean Schroedel, Tessa Provins)
- 2026 Measuring Voter Equity at the Local Level. *Election Law Journal* (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich, Tessa Provins)
- 2024 Federal Incarceration and Native American Felon Disenfranchisement in the US West. *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy* 5(2): 259-283. (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich)
- 2024 Revisiting the Origins of Felony Disenfranchisement in the United States. *Studies in American Political Development* 38(1): 103-116. (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich, Blake Garcia)
- 2024 Achieving Electoral Equity After Brnovich: A Case Study in Native Activism in Nevada. *Social Science Quarterly* 105(3): 567-581. (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich, David Lindgren)
- 2023 Structural Racism, the USPS and Voting by Mail On- and Off-Reservation in Arizona. *Studies in American Political Development* 37: 111-126. (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich)
- 2023 Inequalities in Vote by Mail for Native Americans in the West. *Journal of Historical Political Economy* 2(4) (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich)
- 2020 Assessing the Efficacy of Early Voting Access on Indian Reservations, *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 10(1): 81-99 (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich, Savannah Johnston, Aaron Berg)

Political Methodology and Measurement

- 2025 The Modifiable Areal Unit Problem in Political Science. *Political Analysis* (w/ Dong Wook Lee, Hillel Soifer)
- 2021 Measuring the Rural Continuum in Political Science, *Political Analysis* 29(3): 267-286 (w/ Zoe Nemerever)
- 2019 Measuring Geographic Distribution for Political Research, *Political Analysis* 27(3): 263-280 (w/ Dong Wook Lee)
- 2017 Analysis of Panamanian DMSP/OLS Nightlights Corroborates Suspicions of Inaccurate Fiscal Data, *Remote Sensing Applications: Society and Environment* (November, v8): 99-104 (w/ Andrew Marx)
- 2013 Income Taxation and the Validity of State Capacity Indicators. *Journal of Public Policy* 34(1): 1-24 (w/ Nicholas Weller)

Grants, Fellowships, and Awards

Haynes Foundation Faculty Fellowship 2025, Urban Relocation of Native Americans in Los Angeles (\$16,000)

Fletcher Jones Foundation Award 2024, Felony Disenfranchisement of Native Americans (\$8,000)

New Perspectives in Studies of American Governance 2024 w/ Joseph Dietrich, Jean Schroedel (\$14,692)

Public Agenda Project Democracy Renewal Project Grant 2024 w/ Joseph Dietrich, Jean Schroedel, Tessa Provins (\$50,000)
 American Philosophical Society 2024, Phillips Fund for Native American Research (\$3,200)
 Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program Senior Faculty Nominee 2023, Theme: Political Polarization
 Lincoln Land Initiative, 2023: Support for projects on Police Geography, Gender Effects of Deindustrialization, and the Local Political Economy Conference (\$15,000)
 Institute for Humane Studies 2023: Conceptualizing and Measuring Geographic Polarization (\$2,500; w/ Zoe Nemerever)
 Health and Human Services: ADRD Program, 2021 w/ Javier Rodriguez, Sandra Garcia, Dong Wook Lee (\$45,000)
 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)
 National Science Foundation Dissertation Research Grant, 2007-2009 (\$12,000)

Conferences and Workshops Organized

International

REPAL (2027)

National

Class and Inequality Conference (2022, 2026)

PRIEC (2019, 2024)

Local Political Economy Conference (2023)

Visions in Methodology Conference, Political Methodology Society (2021)

Regional

Southern California Political Institutions and Political Economy Conference (2024)

California Workshop in Empirical Political Science (CaliWEPS IV, 2022)

CGU-UCR Job Market Workshop (2022)

Southern California Comparative Political Institutions (2012, 2017, 2019)

Department of International Studies Student Conference (2018, 2019)

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

Doctoral Mentoring and Student Placement

Committee Chair

Academic, Tenure Track

Shawnika Johnson (Pitzer College), Alma Bezares (Pitzer College, Economics), Zeyad Elkelani (Cairo University, Data Science), Giacomo DiPasquale (Wagner College, Economics), Amy Nantkes (Point Loma Nazarene), Noemi Alexander (Cal Baptist Univ), Yuzhu Zeng (La Sierra University), Lily Rowen (Laramie County Community College), Hajer Basodan (King AbdulAziz University), Lama Shaiekh (King AbdulAziz University), Abdurraof Elakder (University of Tripoli), Sally Albar (King AbdulAziz University)

Academic, Post Doc/Fellowship/Teaching

Soha Hammam (Harvard University), Mark Smith (Loyola Marymount), Timothy Milosch (Biola University), Simon Tang (CSU Fullerton), Gary Hawk (Copper Mountain College), Lauren Shaffer (CSU Northridge), Gia Honnen (Pepperdine), Mona Shadia (Chapman)

Public Sector

Jennifer Cervantez (City Manager, Rancho Santa Margarita), Chris Freeland (City Manager, Indian Wells), Abdulaziz Albinali (Govt of Bahrain), Jake Campbell (Department of Veteran Affairs, LA County Dept of Public Health), Roger Chin (Washington State), Brian Jewett (Laguna Beach Water District), Zaid Alkdidi (Govt of Saudi Arabia), Glenn Steinback (US Navy), Noemi Alexander (Riverside Unified School Board), Amad Abukkazam (Govt of Libya), Inseon Roh (Govt of South Korea), Zeyad Elkelani (Chief Data Scientist, Ministry of the Economy of Egypt), Ibrahim Alsuhaibani (Government of Saudi Arabia)

Private & Non-Profit Sector

Carlos Echeverria-Estrada (National Opinion Research Center), Byron Ramirez (Economist, BPM), Lara Steele (Biogen), Lisa Jene (U.S. Overseas Cooperative Development Council), Shawn Matiossian (Disney), Adriana Mendoza (AARP)

Committee Member

Academic, Tenure Track

Dong Wook Lee (Adelphi University), Joseph Dietrich (Towson University), Kerstin Fisk (Loyola Marymount), Rachelle Walker (Vanguard Univ), Sumaia Alkohani (United Arab Emirates University), Linda Alvarez (CSU Northridge), Carlin Cristanti (UNC Charlotte), Charupol Ruangsuan (Thammasat University), Benjamin Acosta (LSU, IDC-Herzliya), Se Kwen Kim (College of Wooster)

Academic, Post Doc/Fellowship/Teaching

Minjae Yun (Assistant Director, Lowe Institute, Claremont McKenna College), Chungwon Koo (Post Doc, Inequality Center South Korea), Joseph Lake (CSU San Bernadino), Jessica McGuire, Ning Li, Benjamin Smith (Sacramento State)

Public Sector

Paul Pulido (LA Govt), Ichsan Zulkarnaeen (Govt of Indonesia), Morgan Stockman (CDC), Miriam Sierra Aguilar (Washington State), Rainita Nerender (Riverside Co Prosecutor's Office), Francis Assenga (Ministry of the Economy of Tanzania)

Private & Non-Profit Sector

Kristoffer Wikstrom (Neilson), Maryah Garner (Economist, Coleridge Initiative), Yunie Le (Economist, Coleridge Initiative), Jingjing An (Acumen), Sara Kazemian (Acumen), Morgan Stockman (Economist, Blisspoint Media), Eveline Gnabasik, Norvell Thomas, Michael Merino (US Green Building Council), Maria Morales (MIM Consulting), Ben Feingold, Spencer Mueller

Additional Service to the University and Profession

Member	APSA Audit Committee (2024-) and APSA Council Diversity, Equity and Inclusion Committee (2024-)
Chair	Political Methodology Society Diversity Committee (2022-)
Chair	APSA Political Economy Section Best Book Award Committee (2022)
Member	University Budget Committee; Academic Standards Committee (University Level)
Member	CGU Board Chair's Advisory Group; Transdisciplinary Program Advisory Committee
Evaluator	Advancement, Tenure, and Promotion decisions, 2019 (1), 2023 (2), 2025 (2)
Chair	Admissions and Financial Aid Committee (Division Level): 2011-Present
Chair	Academic Search Committees: 2020 (3 Positions)
Member	Academic Search Committee: 2014, 2016, 2017, 2019
Editor	APSA's Representation and Electoral Systems Newsletter
Mentor	Midwest Political Science Association (2018)
Faculty Mentor	"The Current Global Regime and its Great Challenges towards 2050," UCSD and Fundación BBVA (2023-Present)

Reviewer

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, Comparative Economic Studies, American Sociological Review, World Development, Political Behavior, Nature Cities, Journal of Comparative Economics

Invited Talks

March 2027	Harvard University, Ash Center Seminar
November 2026	Johns Hopkins University, Politics Seminar
October 2026	Columbia University
October 2026	Stanford University, Renewing Indigenous Economies Workshop
September 2026	Harvard University, Native American Voting Rights Conference
August 2026	WHOGOV Workshop, University of Oslo
May 2026	Rural Issues Conference, Arkansas State University
May 2026	PIPE American Political Economy Conference, USC
January 2026	UC Berkeley Comparative Politics Colloquium
December 2025	Coalition of Large Tribes Annual Meeting
November 2025	Asymmetric Federalism International Workshop, Santiago De Compostela
October 2025	USC Historical Political Economy Conference
October 2025	Democracy Reform Summit: Removing Barriers to Native Political Participation, Brennan Center at ASU
July 2025	Stanford Hoover Institute Book Workshop: Hans Luedders
June 2025	Harvard: Workshop on Regional Inequality and Innovation
April 2025	Auburn University's Election Center
January 2025	Stanford University: The Political Economy of Geographic Polarization in Rich Democracies
October 2024	University of Arizona School of Government and Public Policy
October 2024	Native Candidate Forum, Phoenix
March 2024	Brennan Center: Convening on Voting Rights, NYU
March 2024	USC: PIPE Workshop on The Political Economy of Native Policy
January 2024	Bocconi University: Conference on Regional Inequalities
September 2023	MIT: Conference on Electoral Administration
May 2023	Bocconi University: DONDENA Center
May 2023	Bocconi University: Department of Social and Political Sciences
April 2023	UQaM: Montréal Inequality and Federalism Conference
March 2023	UCSD: Empirical Study of Gender Research Network
March 2023	Polarization Research Lab Annual Meeting, Stanford
December 2022	USC: Political Institutions and Political Economy Conference
December 2022	University of Houston: Hobby School of Public Affairs
November 2022	USC: Political Institutions and Political Economy Workshop
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	USC: Historical Political Economy of the US West
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 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

Media Participation

Australian National Public Radio: "Malapportionment and Gerrymandering"

Association for Economic Research on Indigenous Peoples Blog: "Distance as an Impediment to Voting Access for Voters in Indian Country"

Voice of America: "Despite Gains, Native Americans Still Face Voting Barriers"

The Economist: "Punching above their weight"

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

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

Panoramas Website: Taxing with Dictators and Democrats

Other Peer Reviewed Publications

2024	"On the Spatial Dimension of Redistributive Politics." In Olivier Jacques and Alain Noël, ed. <i>Inequality and Redistribution Across Territories</i> . McGill University Press
2021	"Book Review: Spending to Win." <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 19(1).
2016	"Inequality and Democratic Representation in Latin America." In Dolores Trevizo and Joe Foweraker, ed. <i>Democracy and Its Discontents in Latin America</i> . Lynne Rienner Press
2013	"Book Review: The Fire Next Door: Mexico's Drug Violence and the Threat to America." <i>Trends in Organized Crime</i> 16(2): 249-250
2010	<i>The Taxation Tango: State Capacity in Argentina's Provinces</i> . UMI Dissertation Publication
2010	"Illiberal and Liberal Democracy in Latin America." In William Smith, ed. <i>Latin American Democratic Transformations</i> . Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers
2002	<i>From Peace to Governance: Police Reform and the International Community</i> Washington, D.C.: Washington Office on Latin America.

Papers Under Review

- | Democracy Distorted (w/ Pablo Beramendi, Carles Boix, Marc Guinjoan)
- | Distance to Government: County Seats and Native American Voting Access (w/ Jean Schroedel). *Revise and Resubmit*
- | Settler Colonial Geography of Native Electoral Access *Revise and Resubmit*
- | Assessing the Impact of Precinct Location and Police Division Management on Crime Response in Dallas (w/ Ben Feingold, Spencer Mueller, Rina Nagashima)
- | Democracy Against the State? Commodity Booms and the Politics of Capacity Building (w/ Pablo Beramendi, Victoria Paniagua)
- | Justice System Encounters and Native American Voting Behavior (w/ Jean Schroedel and Edward Headington) *Revise and Resubmit*
- | Data Centers and Rural Environmental Disamenities: Issues in Indian Country (w/ Jess Geiger, Jean Schroedel) *Revise and Resubmit*
- | Geographic thresholds for reliable inference in policy-relevant spatial units (w/ Javier Rodriguez, Dong Wook Lee, and Soha Hammam)

Book Manuscripts

- | *The Curse of Malapportionment*. Cambridge University Press Elements Series (w/ Pablo Beramendi)

Selected Working Papers

- | Native Voting and Disenfranchisement Policy in the US West (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich)
- | Endogenous Borders (w/ Pablo Beramendi, Dong Wook Lee)
- | Conceptualizing and Quantifying Geographic Polarization in the American States (w/ Zoe Nemerever)
- | Inter-elite Competition and Fiscal Development in the US States (w/ Pablo Beramendi, Travis Cassidy, Mark Dincecco)
- | The Suburbs (w/ Jorge Fernandes)
- | Voter Equity in Indian Country (w/ Tessa Provins, Joe Dietrich, Jean Schroedel)

Curriculum vitae last updated August 2026