

## **KIMBERLY J. MORGAN**

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Washington DC 20052  
202-994-2809 (tel) kjmorgan@gwu.edu

### **ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

Professor, Political Science and International Affairs, George Washington University, 2013-present  
Associate Professor, George Washington University, 2008-2013  
Assistant Professor, George Washington University, 2003-2008

### **EDUCATION**

Ph.D. January 2001                      Princeton University  
M.A. June 1996                         Princeton University  
B.A. June 1992                         Northwestern University (*summa cum laude*)

### **RESEARCH AND TEACHING INTERESTS**

European politics, U.S. and comparative social policy, migration, gender and politics, health policy

### **GRANTS, HONORS, AND VISITING FELLOWSHIPS**

Writing in the Discipline, Best Assignment Award, GWU, 2017-18.  
Honors Faculty Fellow, GWU, 2015-16.  
Institut d'Études Politiques, Paris, France, visiting faculty, November 2015  
Academic Advising Award, GWU, 2013-14.  
Max Planck-Sciences Po Center, Paris, France, visiting fellow June-July 2013  
Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, the Netherlands, visiting professor, summer 2012,  
Radboud University, Nijmegen, the Netherlands, visiting professor, summer 2009 and 2011  
George Washington University Facilitating Fund, 2009-2010  
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Fellowship, 2008-09  
Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Investigators Award, 2006-08 co-investigator (\$275,000)  
National Science Foundation research grant, 2007-08, faculty associate (\$130,525)  
Policy Research Scholar, George Washington Institute of Public Policy, 2003-05  
Lipset Award for the Best Comparative Dissertation, Society for Comparative Research, 2002  
Best Dissertation Prize, Women and Politics Section of the APSA, 2001  
Best Paper Prize, Women and Politics Section, Annual Meeting of the APSA, 2001  
Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Scholar in Health Policy Research, Yale University, 2001-03  
New York University, Institute of French Studies, postdoctoral fellow, 2000-01

### **PUBLICATIONS**

#### ***Books and edited volumes***

*The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State.* Co-edited with Daniel Béland, Herbert Obinger, and Chris Pierson. (Oxford University Press 2021).  
*The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control.* Co-edited with Ann Shola Orloff. (Cambridge University Press 2017)  
“Maternalism and the Politics of Care: A Festschrift for Sonya Michel.” Co-edited with Kristin Ghodsee and Maria Bucur, *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 22, 3 (Fall 2015).  
*The Oxford Handbook of U.S. Social Policy.* Co-edited with Daniel Béland and Chris Howard (Oxford University Press 2014).

*The Delegated Welfare State: Medicare, Markets, and the Governance of Social Policy.* Co-authored with Andrea Louise Campbell (Oxford University Press 2011).

*Working Mothers and the Welfare State: Religion and the Politics of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe and the United States* (Stanford University Press 2006).

### **Refereed journal articles**

“Riding the Tiger: Managing Risk in U.S. Housing Finance and Health Insurance Welfare Markets,” with Alexander Reisenbichler. *Socio-Economic Review*. Published online March 22, 2021.

“Policing Markets: The Role of the Social Partners in Internal Immigration Enforcement.” *Journal of European Social Policy* 30, no. 5 (November 2020): 571-86.

“Transparency in Qualitative Research: An Overview of Key Findings and Implications of the Qualitative Transparency Deliberations,” with Alan Jacobs et al. *Perspectives on Politics*. Published online January 6, 2021.

“Leveraging Identities: The Strategic Manipulation of Social Hierarchies for Political Gain,” with Erik Bleich. *Theory and Society* 48, no. 4 (2019): 511-534.

“Academic Research and Legislative Advocacy: Information Use in the Campaign against Repeal of the ACA,” with Elizabeth Rigby. *Journal of Health Policy, Politics & Law* 43, no. 3 (2018): 511-535

“Gender, Right-Wing Populism, and Immigrant Integration Policies in France, 1989-2012,” *West European Politics* 40, no. 4 (2017): 887-906.

“Introduction: Sonya Michel’s Feminist, Comparative, and Historical Vision of Welfare, Care, and Social Reform,” *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 22, 3 (Fall 2015): 271-5.

“Veto-Player or Agent of Reform? Congress, Health Care Entitlements, and the Changing American State,” *Revue Française de Science Politique* 64, 2 (April 2014): 247-264.

“Path Shifting in the Welfare State: Electoral Competition and the Expansion of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe,” *World Politics* 65, 1 (January 2013).

“From Sick Man to Miracle: Explaining the Robustness of the German Labor Market during the Financial Crisis,” with Alexander Reisenbichler, *Politics & Society* 40, 4 (December 2012).

“The Origins of Tax Systems: A French-American Comparison,” with Monica Prasad, *American Journal of Sociology* 114, 5 (March 2009): 1350-94.

“Caring Time Policies: Trends and Implications,” *Comparative European Politics* 7, 1 (2009): 37-55.

“The Political Path to a Dual-Earner/Dual-Carer Society: Pitfalls and Possibilities,” *Politics & Society* 36, 3 (September 2008): 403-420.

Reprinted in Janet Gornick and Marcia Meyers, eds., *Institutions for Gender Egalitarianism: Creating the Conditions for Egalitarian Dual Earner / Dual Caregiver Families* (Verso Press, 2009), pp. 317-37.

“Financing the Welfare State: Elite Politics and the Decline of the Social Insurance Model in America,” with Andrea Louise Campbell, *Studies in American Political Development* 19, 2 (Fall 2005): 173-95.

“Federalism and the Politics of Old-Age Care in Germany and the United States,” with Andrea Louise Campbell, *Comparative Political Studies* 38, 8 (October 2005): 887-914.

“The Production of Child Care: How Labor Markets Shape Social Policy and Vice Versa.” *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 12, 2 (Summer 2005): 243-63. Special issue on gendering the varieties of capitalism, edited by Leslie McCall and Ann Shola Orloff.

“The Politics of Mothers’ Employment: France in Comparative Perspective,” *World Politics* 55, 2 (January 2003): 259-89.

“Paid to Care: The Origins and Effects of Care Leave Policies in Western Europe,” with Kathrina Zippel, *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 10, 1 (Spring 2003): 49-85.

“Forging the Frontiers Between State, Church, and Family: Religious Cleavages and the Origins of Early Childhood Care and Education Policies in France, Sweden, and Germany,” *Politics and Society* 30, 1 (March 2002): 113-48.

“Gender and the Welfare State,” *Comparative Politics* 34, 1 (October 2001): 105-24.

“A Child of the Sixties: The Great Society, the New Right, and the Politics of Child Care,” *Journal of Policy History* 13, 2 (March 2001): 215-50.

### **Other essays**

“If Democrats Want to Go Big on Social Protection, Taxing Rich People Won’t Be Enough.” *Washington Post: Monkey Cage*, September 15, 2021.

“European Social Policy Embraces Solidarity in a Crisis.” *Current History* 120, 824 (March 2021): 87-92.

“The Ties that Bind and Fray.” *European Journal of Sociology* 61, 3 (2021): 526-528.

“Missed Opportunities, Partial Solutions: Why America Doesn’t Have a System of Family Care.” *American Prospect*. October 19, 2020.

“The Impoverished Rhetoric of the U.S. Welfare State.” *Current History* 116, 793 (November 2017): 324-327.

“Fasten Your Seat Belts: Studying Policy Reform in an Interconnected World.” *European Journal of Sociology* 58, 3 (December 2017): 625-628.

“Process Tracing and the Causal Identification Revolution,” *New Political Economy* 21, 5 (2016): 489-92.

“Policing Markets: Campaigns against Irregular Migrant Labor in Western Europe,” *LIEPP Working Paper*, no. 54 (June 2016).

“Doomed from the Start: Why Obamacare’s Disastrous Rollout is No Surprise,” *Foreign Affairs* snapshot (web only), October 17, 2013.

“Quelles politiques publiques pour concilier vie familiale et vie professionnelle?” *Informations Sociales* 177 (May-June 2013): 140-9.

“How Germany Won the Euro Crisis: And Why Its Gains Could Be Fleeting,” with Alexander Reisenbichler (first author), *Foreign Affairs* snapshot (web only): June 20, 2013.

“America’s Misguided Approach to Social Welfare,” *Foreign Affairs* (Jan/Feb 2013).

“Using the Private Sector to Deliver Public Benefits,” with Andrea Louise Campbell, *Scholars Strategy Network Key Findings* (May 2012).

“Delegated Governance in the Affordable Care Act,” with Andrea Louise Campbell, *Journal of Health Politics, Policy & Law* 36, 3 (June 2011): 387-91.

“The Challenge of Faith,” with Sally Steenland in *A Woman’s Nation – The Shriver Report* (Center for American Progress 2010).

“La religión y los cimientos históricos de las políticas públicas dirigidas a madres y padres trabajadores,” *Panorama Social* no. 10 (January 2010), pp. 140-52.

“Welfare: International Historical Perspectives,” in *The Child: An Encyclopedic Companion* (University of Chicago Press 2009), pp. 1029-30.

“The Religious Foundations of Policies for Working Parents,” *European Studies Forum* 38, 1 (Spring 2008): 50-6.

“Caring Time Policies: Trends and Implications,” in *APSA European Politics and Society Newsletter*, vol. 6, 1 (Spring/Summer 2007): 8-9.

“Les politiques du temps de l’enfant en Europe occidentale: tendances et implications.” *Recherches et Prévisions* no. 83 (March 2006): 29-43.

“Policy Feedbacks and the European Welfare State,” in *APSA European Politics and Society Newsletter*, vol. 5, 2 (Spring/Summer 2006): 8-10.

“Child Care and the Liberal Welfare Regime: A Review Essay,” *Review of Policy Research* 20, 4 (December 2003): 743-48.

### **Book chapters**

“Governance,” co-authored with Daniel Béland, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*. Co-edited with Daniel Béland, Herbert Obinger, and Chris Pierson. (Oxford University Press 2021).

“Promoting Quality and Equality through Early Education and Care,” in Ganesh Sitaraman and Anne Alstott, eds., *Politics, Policy, and Public Options* (Cambridge University Press, 2021).

- “Varieties of Electoral Dilemmas: Partisan Jousting over Welfare States and Immigration in a Changing Europe” in *Welfare Democracies and Party Politics: Explaining Electoral Dynamics in Times of Changing Welfare Capitalism*, eds. Philip Manow, Bruno Palier, and Hanna Schwander (Oxford University Press 2018).
- “Comparative Politics and American Political Development,” *Oxford Handbook of American Political Development*, eds. Richard Valelly, Suzanne Mettler, and Robert Lieberman (Oxford University Press 2016).
- “The German Labor Market: No Longer the Sick Man of Europe,” with Alexander Reisenbichler in Brigitte Unger, ed., *The German Model – Seen By Its Neighbors* (SE Publishing 2015).
- “The Medicare Challenge: Clients, Cost Controls, and Congress,” Rob Hudson, ed., *The New Politics of Old-Age Policy 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.* (Johns Hopkins 2014).
- “The Delegated Welfare State,” with Andrea Louise Campbell, in James A. Morone and Daniel Ehlke, ed., *Health Policy & Politics* fifth ed. (Cengage 2014).
- “Promoting Social Investment through Work-Family Policies: Which Nations Do It and Why,” *Towards a Social Investment Welfare State? Ideas, Policies and Challenges* Nathalie Morel, Bruno Palier, and Joakim Palme, eds. (Bristol Policy Press 2012).
- “The Politics of Time: Methodological and Theoretical Issues in Comparing and Explaining Work-Family Policies,” *States, Families and Children: The ‘Time Politics’ of Child Care and School Education in Post-War Europe*, eds. Karen Hagemann and Cristina Allemann-Ghionda (Berghahn Press 2011).
- “Medicare: Deservingness Encounters Cost Containment” in Rob Hudson, ed., *The New Politics of Old-Age Policy 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.* (Johns Hopkins 2010).
- “Child Care and the Social Investment Model: Political Conditions for Reform,” *What Future for Social Investment*, eds. Nathalie Morel, Bruno Palier, and Joakim Palme, Institute for Future Studies Research Report (2009).
- “The Religious Foundations of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe,” *Religion, Class Coalitions, and Welfare States*, eds. Kees van Kersbergen and Philip Manow (Cambridge University Press 2009).
- “The Political Path to a Dual-Earner/Dual-Carer Society: Pitfalls and Possibilities,” *Institutions for Gender Egalitarianism: Creating the Conditions for Egalitarian Dual Earner / Dual Caregiver Families*, eds. Janet Gornick and Marcia Meyers (Verso Press 2009).
- “Towards the Europeanization of Work-Family Policies? The Impact of the EU on Policies for Working Parents,” *Gender Politics in the Expanding European Union: Mobilization, Inclusion, and Exclusion*, edited by Silke Roth (London, New York: Berghahn Books 2008).
- “Constricting the Welfare State: Tax Policy and the Political Movement against Government,” *Remaking America: Democracy and Public Policy in an Age of Inequality*, edited by Joe Soss, Suzanne Mettler, and Jacob Hacker (NY: Russell Sage, 2007).
- “Does Anyone Have a *Libre Choix*? Child Care and the Crisis of the Welfare State in France,” Sonya Michel and Rianne Mahon, eds., *Child Care Policy at the Crossroads: Gender and Welfare State Restructuring* (Routledge Press 2002).

### **Works in Progress**

- “Hostile Environments: State Infrastructural Power and the Exclusion of Unauthorized Migrants in Western Europe.” Revised and resubmitted; under review.
- “De-Magnetizing the Market: European Integration, Employer Sanctions, and the Crackdown on Undeclared Work.” Forthcoming in Tesseltje de Lange, Willem Maas, and Annette Schrauwen, eds., *Money Matters in Migration* (Cambridge University Press).
- “Social Investment or Child Care on the Cheap? Quality, Workforce, and Access Considerations in the Expansion of Early Childhood Education and Care.” Forthcoming in Julian Garritzmann, Silja Häusermann, and Bruno Palier, eds., *The World Politics of Social Investment* (Oxford University Press).
- “Worlds of Welfare Regimes.” Forthcoming in Veronica Anghel and Erik Jones, eds., *Developments in European Politics*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition.

## INVITED PRESENTATIONS (LAST FIVE YEARS)

“Hostile Environments: Immigration Enforcement and State Infrastructural Power in Western Europe.” **University of Toronto** (November 19, 2019); **Stanford University** (February 13, 2020); **Oxford University** (March 4, 2021).

“Riding the Tiger: Managing Risk in the U.S. Social Welfare Marketplaces of Housing Finance and Health Insurance.” Political economy workshop, **Georgetown University** (April 24, 2019); Comparative Governance workshop, **Brown University** (April 3, 2019).

“Policing Markets: Internal Immigration Control and the Infrastructural Capacities of European States.” **DC Area Labor and Working-Class History Seminar** (March 22, 2019).

“Gated Communities: The Power and Limits of European States in Internal Immigration Control.” History and Social Science Forum, **University of Chicago** (February 11, 2019); Department of Sociology, **NYU-Abu Dhabi**, (November 22, 2018); David P. Calleo seminar series at **Johns Hopkins University-SAIS** (November 6, 2018).

Speaker on *Women in Work, Politics and Academia*, **Georgetown University** (November 14, 2018).

“Immigration Enforcement and State Transformation in Europe.” Department of Political Science, **University of British Columbia** (April 9, 2018).

“Social Investment or Child Care on the Cheap? Quality, Workforce, and Access Considerations in the Expansion of Early Childhood Education and Care.” **Duke University** (April 3, 2018); **Stockholm University** (August 31, 2021).

“Immigration Control and the Many Hands of the State.” **Northwestern University** (September 29, 2017).

Panel participant at the **U.S. Department of State**, Analytic Exchange on Populism and Nationalism Post-Brexit, June 26, 2017.

Presentation on the Migration Crisis in Europe, **Defense Intelligence Agency**, May 24, 2017.

U.S.-EU conference panel participant, **Washington, DC**, January 24, 2017.

## CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION (LAST FIVE YEARS)

“De-Magnetizing the Market: European Integration, Employer Sanctions, and the Crackdown on Undeclared Work.” **American Political Science Association** Annual Meeting (virtual), Sept. 30-Oct. 3, 2021.

Discussant, *Democracy Declined: The Failed Politics of Financial Protection*, **American Political Science Association** Annual Meeting (virtual), Sept. 30-Oct. 3, 2021.

Chair, *Growth and Welfare in Advanced Capitalist Economies*, **International Conference of Europeanists** (virtual), June 23-25, 2021.

Discussant, *Empire of Vice*, **American Political Science Association** Annual Meeting, September 2020.

Discussant, *Social Policies and Problems in Historical Perspective*, **American Political Science Association** Annual Meeting, September 2020.

“Promoting Quality and Equality through a Public Option in Early Childhood Education and Care.” Debating the Public Option, **Vanderbilt University**, January 10, 2020.

“Gated Communities: Welfare States, Labor Markets, and other Internal Sites of Immigration Control,” **International Conference of Europeanists**, Madrid, Spain, June 20-22, 2019

“Tolerating Irregular Migration: Immigration Non-Enforcement in Western Europe.” **American Political Science Association** Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, August 29-Sept. 1, 2019.

“Breaking News Panel: Immigration and the Realignment of European Politics” **American Political Science Association** Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, August 29-Sept. 1, 2019.

“Immigration Enforcement and the Many Hands of the State.” **Social Science History Association** Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, November 21-24.

“Policing Markets: Internal Immigration Control and the Infrastructural Capacities of European States.” Presentation at **Workshop on Immigration and the Welfare state: The Role of Capital and Labor**. Remote access participation. May 15, 2019.

“Riding the Tiger: Managing Risk in the U.S. Social Welfare Marketplaces of Housing Finance and Health Insurance.” Co-authored with Alexander Reisenbichler, **American Political Science Association** Annual Meeting, Boston, MA, August 30-September 2, 2018.

Panelist on author meets critics for Mark Vail’s *Liberalism in Illiberal States*, **American Political Science Association** Annual Meeting, Boston, MA, August 30-September 2, 2018.

“Social Investment or Child Care on the Cheap? Quality, Workforce, and Access Considerations in the Expansion of Early Childhood Education and Care.” **World Politics of Social Investment** conference at the European University Institute, Fiesole, Italy, May 14-15, 2018.

“Policing Markets: Immigration Enforcement and State Transformation in Europe.” **International Conference of Europeanists**, Chicago, Illinois, March 28-30, 2018

Editors meets critics session, “The Many Hands of the State,” **International Conference of Europeanists**, Chicago, Illinois, March 28-30, 2018.

“Social Investment or Child Care on the Cheap? Quality, Workforce, and Access Considerations in the Expansion of Early Childhood Education and Care.” **International Conference of Europeanists**, Chicago, Illinois, March 28-30, 2018.

Editors meets critics session, “The Many Hands of the State,” **Social Science History Association** Annual Meeting, Montreal, Canada, November 2-5, 2017.

Discussant for a book panel on *Secular Conversions: Political Institutions and Religious Education in the United States and Australia, 1800-2000*, **Social Science History Association** Annual Meeting, Montreal, Canada, November 2-5, 2017.

“Immigration Control and the Many Hands of the State.” **International Conference of Europeanists**, Glasgow, Scotland, July 12-14, 2017.

Discussant for a panel on “Mobilizations around the Marketization of Welfare: The Cases of Health Care, Care, and Domestic Work.” **International Conference of Europeanists**, Glasgow, Scotland, July 12-14, 2017.

“Family Reunification and Marriage Migration Policies as Ethnic and Class Filters.” **Race, Gender, and Class in the Politics of Migration: Empiricist and Normative Approaches** conference at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center, May 12-13, 2017.

“Social Investment or Child Care on the Cheap? Quality, Workforce, and Access Considerations in the Expansion of Early Childhood Education and Care.” **World Politics of Social Investment** conference at the Institut d’Études Politiques, Paris, France, March 9-11, 2017.

## LEADERSHIP IN PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

### *American Political Science Association*

Best Book of the Year prize, committee chair, 2021-22

Politics & History, President, 2020-21

Migration & Politics best article award prize, committee chair, 2020-21

Steering Committee on the Qualitative Transparency Deliberations, 2016-2019

Co-Chair of the Annual Meeting, 2016

European Politics and Society, President, 2015-16

European Politics and Society, Division Chair for the 2015 Annual Meeting

Organized Section on Public Policy, Best Paper committee, 2014-15

Task Force, *Perspectives on Politics* editorship, 2014

Presidential Task Force, “Getting to Yes in Politics,” European politics subgroup, 2013

Victoria Schuck award, best book on women and politics award committee, 2010-11

Best paper on French politics, award committee, 2010-11

Politics and History program co-chair, 2009 Annual Meeting

### *Council on European Studies*

Executive committee, May 2018-present  
Conference committee chair, 2021-22  
Comparative Historical Workshop participant, March 13, 2014  
Dissertation Completion Fellowship Committee, 2012-13  
European Studies best book prize committee, 2011-12

*Other*

Member of the Scholars Strategy Network  
Program Committee Co-Chair, Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, 2010  
NASI Policy Research Project, “Designing a Long-Term Care System for the Future,” 2003-05

**EDITORIAL BOARDS**

*Socio-Economic Review* editorial board, January 2020-present  
*Politics & Society*, editorial board, January 2017-present  
*Social Politics*, associate editor 2008-2013, advisory board, 2016-2021  
*French Politics, Culture and Society*, editorial board  
*Journal of Women and Public Policy*, editorial board

**STUDENTS SUPERVISED**

**Doctoral dissertations**

*In progress*

Joseph Cerrone (research committee)  
Dennis Yuen Li (chair)  
Emily Schraudenbach (research committee)  
Marko Zilovic (chair)

*Completed*

Christie Arendt (chair)  
Jeffrey Becker (outside reader)  
Dina Bishara (research committee)  
Kerry Crawford (research committee)  
Tonya Giannoni (research committee)  
Jeannette Haney (research committee)  
Jacob Haselswerdt (research committee)  
Michelle Jurkovich (research committee)  
Brian Karlsson (chair)  
Katie Kuhn (research committee)  
Alexander Reisenbichler (chair)  
Renu Singh (Georgetown University; research committee)  
Jeremy Streatfeild (chair)  
Alanna Van Antwerp (research committee)

**MA Theses**

Aojie Ju (ESIA)  
Amanda Spencer (ESIA)  
Jennifer Windell (ESIA)

**UNDERGRADUATE THESES**

Madeline Beecher

Emily Bernstein  
Hanna Burt  
Douglas Cohen  
Mariabruna Jennings  
Caroline Jevon  
Madeleine O'Brien  
Noah Ouellette  
Jonathan Robinson  
Arian Rubio  
Samantha Seiler  
Jacob Winn  
Nicole Wright  
Nikolas Youngsmith

## **ACADEMIC ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES**

### *George Washington University*

Director, European and Eurasian Studies Program, Elliott School of International Affairs, Fall 2019-present

Elliott School of International Affairs Dean's Search Committee, co-chair, 2020

Promotion and Tenure Committee, Department of Political Science, 2014-present

CCAS Dean's Council, 2017-2020

Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Political Science, Fall 2010-2014

### *Outside institutions*

Program review, Wake Forest University (2020-21)

Reviewer, Center for Engaged Scholarship (2018-present)

External Examiner, Dublin University (2020-2022)