

Melissa Rogers

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Division of Politics and Economics
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Academic Appointments

2025–Present	Professor, Claremont Graduate University
2019–2025	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

2025	<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

29	The Modifiable Areal Unit Problem in Political Science. Forthcoming, <i>Political Analysis</i> (w/ Dong Wook Lee, Hillel Soifer)
28	Vote Your Region or Your Income? Forthcoming, <i>Territory, Politics, and Governance</i> (w/ Dong Wook Lee)
27	Federal Incarceration and Native American Felon Disenfranchisement in the US West (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich) 5(2): 259-283. <i>Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy</i>
26	Decentralization and the Spatial Distribution of Infant Mortality in Less Developed Nations. <i>Regional Studies</i> (w/ Pablo Beramendi and Soomin Oh)
25	Revisiting the Origins of Felony Disenfranchisement in the United States. 38(1): 103 - 116. <i>Studies in American Political Development</i> . (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich, Blake Garcia)
24	Achieving Electoral Equity After Brnovich: A Case Study in Native Activism in Nevada. <i>Social Science Quarterly</i> , (2024) 105(3): 567-581. (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich, David Lindgren)
23	The Political Origins of Urban Deconcentration: Evidence from 50 Years of Nightlight Data. <i>Regional Studies, Regional Science</i> , (2024) 11(1):1-21. (w/ Soha Hammam)
22	Democracy, Economic Development, and Health Inequalities. <i>Studies in Comparative International Development</i> , (2023) 58(3): 511-537. (w/ Ana Salazar, Javier Rodriguez, Rena Salayeva)
21	Structural Racism, the USPS and Voting by Mail On-and Off-Reservation in Arizona. <i>Studies in American Political Development</i> (2023) 37: 111-126. (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich).
20	Inequalities in Vote by Mail for Native Americans in the West. <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, <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, *Cooperation and Conflict* (2020) 55(3): 365-387 (w/ Benjamin Acosta)
- 13 | Measuring Geographic Distribution for Political Research, *Political Analysis* (2019) 27(3): 263-280 (w/ Dong Wook Lee)
- 12 | Inter-regional Inequality and the Dynamics of Government Spending, *Journal of Politics* (2019) 81(2): 487-504. (w/ Dong Wook Lee)
- 11 | Intra-elite Competition and Long-run Fiscal Development, *Journal of Politics* (2019) 81(1): 49-65. (w/ Pablo Beramendi, Mark Dincecco)
- 10 | Disparate Geography and the Origins of Tax Capacity, *Review of International Organizations* (2018) 16(1):213-327 (w/ Pablo Beramendi)
- 9 | What's Left to Tax? Partisan Reallocation of Trade Taxation in Less Developed Countries, *Political Research Quarterly* (2017) 70(3): 495-508 (w/ Eunyoung Ha)
- 8 | Barriers Against the Egalitarian Turn. *Latin American Research Review*, (2017) 52(4): 529-551 (with Pablo Beramendi, Alberto Díaz-Cayeros)
- 7 | Analysis of Panamanian DMSP/OLS Nightlights Corroborates Suspicions of Inaccurate Fiscal Data, *Remote Sensing Applications: Society and Environment* (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 Ciência 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)

Other Peer Reviewed Publications

- 7 | "On the Spatial Dimension of Redistributive Politics." In Olivier Jacques and Alain Noël, ed. *Inequality and Redistribution Across Territories*. (2024) McGill University Press
- 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).

Under Review

- | Democracy Distorted (w/ Pablo Beramendi, Carles Boix, Marc Guinjoan)
- | Measuring Voter Equity at the Local Level (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich, Tessa Provins) *Revise and Resubmit, Election Law Journal*
- | 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)

Book Manuscripts

- | *Spatial Segregation and Political Exclusion of Native Americans in the United States* (w/ Jean Schroedel)

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
Director, Division of Politics and Economics: 2021, 2025
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)
Budget Committee (University Level)
Academic Standards Committee (University Level)
Board Chair's Advisory Group (University Level)

Recent Awards

Haynes Foundation Faculty Fellowship 2025, Urban Relocation of Native Americans in Los Angeles (\$16,000)
Fletcher Jones Foundation Award, Felony Disenfranchisement of Native Americans (\$8,000)
New Perspectives in Studies of American Governance (\$14,692, w/ Joseph Dietrich, Jean Schroedel)
Public Agenda Project Democracy Renewal Project Grant (\$50,000; w/ Joseph Dietrich, Jean Schroedel, Tessa Provins)
American Philosophical Society, 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 (\$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, 2015-1016, 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)

Service to the Profession

Council	American Political Science Association Council (Elected) (2024-) APSA Council Diversity, Equity and Inclusion Committee (2024-)
Chair	Political Methodology Society Diversity Committee (2022-) APSA Political Economy Section Best Book Award Committee (2022) APSA 2025 Political Economy Section

Organizer	Southern California Political Institutions and Political Economy Conference (2024) PRIEC at CGU (2024) Local Political Economy Conference (2023) California Workshop in Empirical Political Science (CaliWEPS IV, 2022) 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)
Evaluator	Advancement, Tenure, and Promotion decisions, 2019 (1), 2023 (2)
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)
Panelist	Best Graduate Student Paper, MPSA 2020
Panel Chair	Western Political Science Association 2013, 2019, 2020 Midwest Political Science Association 2012, 2017, 2019
Discussant	Historical Political Economy Workshop 2020 & 2021 Political Institutions & Political Economy Collaborative 2022, 2023 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
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, Comparative Economic Studies, American Sociological Review, World Development, Political Behavior</i>

Ph.D. 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), Lily Rowen (Laramie County Community College), Hager Basodan (King AbdulAziz University), Lama Shaiekh (King AbdulAziz University), Abdurraof Elakder (University of Tripoli)

Academic, Post Doc/Fellowship/Teaching

Soha Hammam (Fellow, Harvard University), Timothy Milosch (Biola University), Simon Tang (CSU Fullerton), Gary Hawk (Copper Mountain College), Lauren Shaffer (CSU Northridge), Gia Honnen (Pepperdine)

Public Sector

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 (Department of Defense), 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)

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)

Committee Member

Academic, Tenure Track

	Dong Wook Lee (Adelphi University), Joseph Dietrich (Towson University), Kerstin Fisk (Loyola Marymount), Rachelle Walker (Vanguard Univ), Sumaia Alkohlani (United Arab Emirates University), Linda Alvarez (CSU Northridge), Charupol Ruangsuwan (Thammasat University), Benjamin Acosta (LSU, IDC-Herzliya)
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, Se Kwen Kim (University of LaVerne), Benjamin Smith (Sacramento State)
Public Sector	Paul Pulido (LA Govt), Ichsan Zulkarnaean (Govt of Indonesia), Morgan Stockman (CDC), Miriam Sierra Aguilar (Washington State), Rainita Nerender (Riverside Co Prosecutor's Office)
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

Media Participation

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

Selected Working Papers

- Native Voting and Disenfranchisement Policy in the US West (w/ Jean Schroedel, Joseph Dietrich)
- Criminal Justice Encounters and Political Participation in Indian Country (w/Jean Schroedel)
- Endogenous Borders (w/ Pablo Beramendi, Dong Wook Lee)
- Conceptualizing and Quantifying Geographic Polarization in the American States (w/ Zoe Nemerover)
- Inter-elite Competition and Fiscal Development in the US States (w/ Pablo Beramendi, Travis Cassidy, Mark Dincecco)
- Political Parties and the Geography of Economic Preferences (w/ Dong Wook Lee)
- Deindustrialization and Government's Role in Gendered Employment Recomposition (w/ Maggie Kohl)
- The Curse of Overrepresentation (w/ Pablo Beramendi)

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

Scripps College	Democracy and Development Wealth, Poverty, and Inequality
University of California, San Diego	Wealth, Poverty, and Inequality
Thunderbird School of Management	The U.S. Congress Politics of the Southern Cone Latin American Politics Guest Lecturer, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Latin American Business Climate

Invited Talks

June 2025	Harvard: Workshop on Regional Inequality and Innovation
April 2025	UCLA: American Indian Studies and Lusk School of Public Policy
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- 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”

Legal Training

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