Thomas J. Hayes

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Academic Positions

- Associate Professor, University of Connecticut, 2019-present
  - Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Political Science, 2019-2025
  - Director, EcoHouse Learning Community, 2020-present
- Assistant Professor, University of Connecticut, 2013-2019
  - U.S. Studies Chair, Fulbright, Universidad Veracruzana, Xalapa Mexico (Spring 2019)
- Visiting Assistant Professor, Trinity University (TX), 2012-2013.

Education

- Ph.D., 2012, Political Science, University of California, Riverside.
  - Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) Summer Institute, Ann Arbor, Michigan 2011.
- M.A., 2006, Political Science, University of Colorado at Denver.
- B.A., 2004, International Affairs (Cum Laude), University of Colorado at Boulder. Minor in Political Science.

Publications

Books:

Post-Tenure

- Benjamin Bishin (UCR), Thomas J. Hayes, Matthew Incantalupo (Yeshiva University), and Charles Anthony Smith (UCI). 2021. *Elite-led Mobilization and Gay Rights: Dispelling the Myth of Mass Opinion Backlash.* University of Michigan Press.

Articles:

Post-Tenure

- Salil Benegal (Union College), Thomas J. Hayes, and Antonio Ugues Jr. (St. Mary's College). 2026. "The Politics of Enmity: Outgroup Hostility and Support for the Big Lie." *Political Research Quarterly* 79 (3): 812-826.
- Erinn Lauterbach (Villanova), Thomas J. Hayes, Nick Weller (UCR), and Ben Bishin (UCR). 2026. "Working-Class Legislators, Bill Writing, and Introduction: Limited Evidence of Substantive Representation in Congress." *Political Research Quarterly* 79 (3): 781-795.
- Thomas J. Hayes and Salil Benegal (Union College). 2025. "Late-Deciding Voters in U.S. Presidential Elections." *American Politics Research* 53 (5): 499-508.
- Christopher Dennis (CSULB), Thomas J. Hayes, Stavros Papadopoulos (UConn PhD), and Amy Widestrom (Arcadia). 2025. "The Impact of Political Party Control and Economic Forces on Redistributive State Wage Policies Since 1968." *Party Politics* 31 (4): 770-778.
- Evelyn Simien (UConn), Thomas J. Hayes, and Carolyn Conway (UConn PhD candidate). 2024.

"The Democratic Majority and the 2016 American Presidential Election: Feminist Political Behavior Across Multiple Axes of Identity." *Political Research Quarterly* 77 (1): 371-385.

- Thomas J. Hayes and Benjamin Bishin (UCR). 2024. "Do Elected Officials Serve the Poor on Health Care? Evidence from a Field Experiment on Members of Congress and State Legislators." *The Social Science Journal* 61 (1): 30-46.
- Thomas J. Hayes and Christopher Guay (UConn M.A.). 2022. "Viewing Equality as a Loss: How Highlighting Policy Costs and Benefits Influences Attitudes." *The Social Science Journal* 59 (2): 193-207.
- Benjamin Bishin (UCR), Thomas J. Hayes, Matthew Incantalupo (Yeshiva University), and Charles Anthony Smith (UCI). 2021. "Immigration and Public Opinion: Will Backlash Impede Immigrants' Policy Progress?" *Social Science Quarterly* 102 (6): 3036-3049.
- Benjamin Bishin (UCR), Thomas J. Hayes, Matthew Incantalupo (Yeshiva University), and Charles Anthony Smith (UCI). 2020. "Elite Mobilization: A Theory Explaining Opposition to Gay Rights." *Law & Society Review* 54 (1): 233-264.

Pre-Tenure

- Newman, Benjamin J. (UCR) and Thomas J. Hayes. 2019. "Durable Democracy? Economic Inequality and Democratic Accountability in the New Gilded Age." *Political Behavior* 41 (1): 5-30.
- Amy Widestrom (Arcadia), Thomas J. Hayes, and Christopher Dennis (CSULB). 2018. "The Effect of Political Parties on the Distribution of Income in the American States: 1917-2011." *Social Science Quarterly* 99 (3): 895-914.
- Lyle Scruggs (UConn) and Thomas J. Hayes. 2017. "The Influence of Inequality on Welfare Generosity: Evidence from the US States." *Politics & Society* 45 (1): 35-66.
- Thomas J. Hayes. 2017. "Bankruptcy Reform and Congressional Action: The Role of Organized Interests in Shaping Policy." *Social Science Research* 64: 67-78.
- Benjamin Bishin (UCR), Thomas J. Hayes, Matthew Incantalupo (Yeshiva University), and Charles Anthony Smith (UCI). 2016. "Opinion Backlash and Public Attitudes: Are Political Advances in Gay Rights Counterproductive?" *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (3): 625-648.
    - *Winner of the 2014 APSA Bailey Award for Best Paper in LGBT Politics.*
    - *Co-Winner of the 2015 Best Conference Paper Award from the APSA Law and Courts section.*
- Thomas J. Hayes and D. Xavier Medina Vidal (UT-Arlington). 2015. "Fiscal Policy and Economic Inequality in the U.S. States: Taxing and Spending from 1976 to 2006." *Political Research Quarterly* 68 (2): 392-407.
- Thomas J. Hayes and Christopher Dennis (CSULB). 2014. "State Adoption of Tax Policy: New Data and New Insights." *American Politics Research* 42 (6): 929-955.
- Thomas J. Hayes. 2014. "Do Citizens Link Attitudes with Preferences? Economic Inequality and Government Spending in the New Gilded Age." *Social Science Quarterly* 95 (2): 468-485.
- Thomas J. Hayes. 2013. "Responsiveness in an Era of Inequality: The Case of the U.S. Senate." *Political Research Quarterly* 66 (3): 585-599.
- Thomas J. Hayes and Benjamin G. Bishin (UCR). 2012. "Issue Salience, Subconstituency Politics, and Legislative Representation." *Congress & the Presidency* 39 (2): 133-159.

Work in Progress

- "The Big Lie and the Crisis of American Democracy." With Antonio Ugues Jr and Salil Benegal. Working Book Project.
- "The Origins and Effects of the Antiracism Uprisings of 2020." With Erica Chenoweth, Jeremy Pressman, Jason Byers, Kanisha Bond, Zoe Marks. Paper in preparation for journal submission.
- "The Effects of the 2020 Antiracism Uprising on the 2020 Presidential Election." With Erica Chenoweth, Jeremy Pressman, Jason Byers, Kanisha Bond, Zoe Marks. Paper in preparation for journal submission.

Book Reviews:

- Hayes, Thomas J. 2024. Review of *Poverty in the Pandemic: Policy Lessons from COVID-19*, by Zachary Parolin. *Political Science Quarterly* 139 (3): 496-497.
- Hayes, Thomas J. 2019. Review of *The New Economic Populism: How States Respond to Economic Inequality*, by William W. Franko and Christopher Witko. *American Review of Public Administration* 49 (3): 386-387.

Technical Reports

- "The Difference that Deliberation Makes: Evaluating the 'Our Budget, Our Economy' Public Deliberation." December, 2010, with Kevin Esterling, Archon Fong, Taeku Lee, Antonio Ugues Jr., D. Xavier Medina Vidal, Hollie Gilman, and Alex Street.

Media/Blog Posts

- "How increasing wealth concentration and inequality leads to less generous state welfare policies." April 7th, 2017. USApp-American Politics and Policy blog (LSE)
- "Granting Gay Rights does not lead to public opinion backlash, even among Evangelicals." October 13th, 2016. USApp-American Politics and Policy blog (LSE)
- "Economic inequality: still on the presidential agenda, still much more to be done." June 1st, 2016. USApp-American Politics and Policy blog (LSE)
- "Obama's highlighting of economic inequality poses a dilemma for the Republican Party in the lead up to 2016." January 26th, 2015. USApp-American Politics and Policy blog (LSE)
- "How States can influence inequality with taxing and spending tools." June 6, 2015. USApp-American Politics and Policy blog (LSE)
- "Some Supreme Court Justices worry that a gay marriage ruling will provoke public backlash. They Shouldn't be concerned." with Benjamin Bishin, Matthew Incantalupo, and Anthony Smith. April 30th, 2015. The Monkey Cage
- "Obama's Highlighting of Economic Inequality Poses Dilemma for Republican Party in the Lead up to 2016." January 26th, 2015. USApp-American Politics and Policy blog (LSE)
- "States With a Higher Concentration of Income Going to the Top 1% Are More Likely to Adopt an Income Tax." July 17th, 2014. USApp-American Politics and Policy blog (LSE)
- Guest on Scholars Circle radio program, November 17th, 2013.
- "Senators of Both Parties Respond to Preferences of Wealthy, Ignore the Poorest." October 1st, 2013. USApp- American Politics and Policy blog (LSE)
- "Should We Fear Opinion Backlash on Gay Marriage?" with Benjamin Bishin, Matthew Incantalupo, and Anthony Smith. June 18th 2013. The Monkey Cage

Selected Conference Presentations

- **American Political Science Association Annual Meeting (2011, 2013, 2017, 2021, 2022)**
  - "The Conditional Influence of Descriptive Representation of the Working Class." Montreal, Canada. 2022.
  - "Class in Session? Legislator Economic Background & Policy Content in Congress." Seattle, Washington. 2021.
  - "Preaching to the Choir: How Elite Mobilization Explains the Absence of Mass Opinion Backlash." San Francisco, California. 2017.
  - "Testing Backlash: The Influence of Political Institutions on Public Attitudes Toward Gay Rights." Chicago, Illinois. 2013.
  - "Responsiveness in an Era of Inequality: The Case of the U.S. Senate." Seattle, Washington. 2011.
- **European Political Science Association Annual Meeting (2018)**
  - "Viewing Inequality as Costly: How Highlighting Costs and Benefits Influences Attitudes." Vienna, Austria.
- **Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting (2015-2016)**
  - "The Influence of Oligarchy on Welfare Generosity: Evidence from the U.S. States." New Orleans, Louisiana. 2016.
  - "Bankruptcy Reform and Congressional Action: The Role of Special Interests in Shaping Policy." New Orleans, Louisiana. 2015.
- **Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting (2008, 2010)**
  - "Testing Opinion Backlash: Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants." San Diego, CA. 2016.
  - "Senate Responsiveness in an Era of Inequality." San Antonio, Texas. 2010.
  - "Inequality and the Rural Underclass: Government Spending and Policy Responsiveness in California" San Antonio, Texas. 2010.
  - "Issue Visibility and Legislative Representation." San Diego, California. 2008.
- **Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting (2011-15, 2018, 2022-25)**
  - "How the Big Lie Undermines American Democracy." 2025.
  - "Late Deciding Voters and Presidential Elections." 2024.
  - "The Conditional Influence of Descriptive Representation of the Working Class." 2023.
  - "Class in Session? Legislator Economic Background & Policy Content in Congress." 2022.
  - "Institutions, Policy Making, and Public Opinion: The Case of Gay Marriage." 2018.
  - "Opinion Backlash: From Attitudes to Action?" 2014.
  - "Threatening Voters: Race, Inequality, and the Politics of Voter ID Laws." 2014
  - "Testing Backlash: The Influence of Political Institutions on Public Attitudes Toward Gay Rights." Chicago, Illinois. 2013.
  - "American Attitudes on Economic Inequality." Chicago, Illinois. 2012.
  - "Individual Attitudes on Political and Economic Inequality." Chicago, Illinois. 2011.
- **International Society for Political Psychology (2017, 2022)**
  - "Late Deciding Voters and Presidential Elections." Athens, Greece. 2022.
  - "Immigration and Public Opinion: Will backlash impede immigrants' policy progress?" Edinburgh, Scotland. 2017.
- **New England Political Science Association (2018)**
  - Support for Reducing Inequality: Citizen Support vs. Public Action" Portsmouth, New Hampshire. 2018.

Invited Talks

- La Communidad Intellectual Learning Community. University of Connecticut. "Wealth Inequality." October 23rd, 2025.
- Smith College. October 11th, 2024. "LGBTQ+ Politics and the US Election."
- Multiple invited talks on various topics in American politics and policy at Universidad Veracruzana Xalapa, Mexico, Spring 2019. Fulbright U.S. Studies Chair.
- "The American Constitution and Economic Inequality." Talk given at San Diego Community College during Constitution Week, sponsored by World Cultures Program, 9/14
- "Economic Inequality and Political Representation in the U.S." Talk given at SUNY Geneseo 10/2015
- "The strength of the U.S. Presidency: Reflections on the recent evolution of executive power." Sponsored by Department of Political Science at Eastern Connecticut University, 3/2/17

Professional Experience

- *University of Connecticut 2013-present*
    - Politics of Inequality (POLS 2998, undergraduate); Special Topics in American Politics: The Politics of Inequality (POLS 5406, graduate seminar)
    - American Institutions and Policy (POLS 5407, graduate seminar)
    - Seminar in Quantitative Methods (POLS 5605, graduate seminar)
    - The Presidency and Congress (POLS 3602, undergraduate)
    - Congress in Theory and Practice (POLS 3604, undergraduate)
    - Introduction to American Politics (POLS 1602, undergraduate)
    - Prospectus and Dissertation Writing Seminar (POLS 5630, graduate).
- *Trinity University 2012-2013*
    - American Politics (PLSI 1301)
    - Legislatures in the United States (PLSI 3505)
    - U.S. Political Economy (PLSI 2013)
- *Associate-In/Lecturer (UC-Riverside)*
    - Politics and Economic Policy (POSC 180), Summer 2012
    - Congress (POSC 101), Summer 2009
    - Elections and Political Participation (POSC 143), Summer 2008, 2010, 2011

Honors and Awards

- Scholarship Facilitation Fund (SFF), 2023-24, University of Connecticut.
- Russell Sage Foundation Grant, 2022-23 ($164,000). "The Origins and Effects of the Antiracism Uprisings of 2020." Erica Chenoweth (PI), Jeremy Pressman (Co-PI), Kanisha Bond, Tom Hayes, Zoe Marks, and Shea Streeter (Collaborators)
- Scholarship Facilitation Fund (SFF), 2020-21, University of Connecticut.
- Fulbright Award, U.S. Studies Chair, COMEXUS, Veracruz, Mexico. Spring 2019.
- Co-Winner of the 2015 Best Conference Paper Award from the APSA Law and Courts section.
- Winner of the 2014 APSA Bailey Award for Best Paper in LGBT Politics.
- Roper Center Faculty Fellow (2014-2016)
- Scholarship Facilitation Fund (SFF), 2015-16, University of Connecticut.
- Collaborative Research Fund, University of Connecticut, 2014-2015.

- SHARE grant award winner, Spring 2014, University of Connecticut.
- Bennett Foundation Research Fund Award, Fall 2013-2016, University of Connecticut.
- Outstanding Teaching Assistant, University of California Riverside, 2008.
- Graduate Division Fellowship, University of California Riverside, 2006.
- Americorps Education Award. Denver, CO 2004.

Professional Memberships

American Political Science Association, Western Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association

Manuscript/Proposal Reviewer

American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science; Journal of Politics; Political Research Quarterly; Public Opinion Quarterly; American Politics Research; Political Behavior; Politics, Groups, and Identities (PGI); Social Science Quarterly; Legislative Studies Quarterly; Political Science Quarterly