

Steven M. Teles

Johns Hopkins University, 555 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington DC 20001
Cell: 617 543 7318 steles2@jhu.edu

EMPLOYMENT

Professor, School of Government and Policy and SNF Agora Institute, Johns Hopkins University, 2025–Present

Associate and Full Professor, Department of Political Science, 2008-2025
Director: JHU Center on Economy and Society, SNF Agora Institute, 2021-2025
Director: Aitchison Public Policy Scholars Program, 2010-2022

Senior Fellow, Niskanen Center, 2017-Present

Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, 2021-2022

Bernard L. Schwartz Fellow, New America Foundation, 2008–2010

Associate Professor of Public Policy, University of Maryland, 2007- 2008

Visiting Lecturer, Yale University, 2006-8 (Law and Political Science 2006-7, Law 2007-8)

Visiting Fellow, Center for the Study of American Politics, Yale University, 2005-6

Fellow, Department of Politics, James Madison Program, Princeton University, 2003-4

Assistant Professor, Department of Politics, Brandeis University, 1999-2006

Research Assistant Professor, Institute on Race and Social Division, Boston University, 1998-9

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, College of the Holy Cross, 1997-98

Visiting Fellow, Institute for United States Studies, University of London, 1997, 1998

Post-Doctoral Fellow, Harvard University, Program on Constitutional Government, 1995-96

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Hamilton College, 1994-1995

EDUCATION

PhD 1995, **MA** 1992: Department of Government and Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia

BOOKS

Director, *Oxford University Press Studies in Post-WWII American Political Development*

Varieties of Abundance (Princeton, Expected Publication 2027)

Never Trump? The Revolt of the Conservative Elites, With Rob Saldin (Oxford, 2020)

The Captured Economy, With Brink Lindsey (Oxford, 2017)

Prison Break: How Conservatives Turned Against Mass Incarceration, With David Dagan (Oxford, 2016)

Conservatism and American Political Development, Co-Editor, With Brian Glenn, (Oxford, 2009)

The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement (Princeton, 2008)

Ethnicity, Social Mobility and Public Policy: Comparing the USA and UK, Co-Editor, With Tariq Modood and Glenn Loury (Cambridge, 2005)

Whose Welfare? Elite Politics and AFDC (Kansas, 1996, revised ed., 1998)

ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

- “Industrial Policy for Factory Housing,” *National Affairs*, Spring 2026
- “Varieties of Abundance,” Niskanen Center, August 2025
- “Minoritarianism is Everywhere,” *National Affairs*, Spring 2025
- “Beyond Academic Sectarianism,” *National Affairs*, Summer 2024
- The Rise of the Abundance Faction,” (with Rob Saldin), Niskanen Center, June 2024
- “Egalitarian Pluralism,” *Daedalus*, Winter 2023 (In Special Issue on *Creating a New Moral Political Economy*)
- “Cost Disease Socialism: How Subsidizing Costs While Restricting Supply Drives America’s Fiscal Imbalance,” Niskanen Center (with Samuel Hammond and Daniel Takash), September 2021
- “The Future is Faction” (with Robert Saldin), *National Affairs*, Fall 2020
- “How The Progressives Became the Tea Party’s Mortal Enemy,” in Bruce Ackerman, Steven Engel and Stephen Skowronek, *The Progressives’ Century* (Yale University Press, 2016)
- “Foundations, Organizational Maintenance, and Partisan Asymmetry,” *PS*, Summer 2016
- “Conservatives and Criminal Justice,” *National Affairs*, Spring 2016 (with David Dagan)
- “God and Climate,” *Democracy Journal*, Spring 2016 (with Lydia Bean)
- “The Social Construction of Policy Feedback: Incarceration, Conservatism and Ideological Change,” *Studies in American Political Development*, Fall 2015
- “The Scourge of Upward Redistribution,” *National Affairs*, Fall 2015
- “Professionalism 2.0: The Case for Plural Professionalism in Education,” (with Jal Mehta, Harvard School of Education), in Rick Hess, ed., *Teaching 2.0* (Harvard Education Press, 2014)
- “Foundations and Policy Change in Polarized Times” (lead author, with Heather Hurlburt and Mark Schmitt), *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, Summer 2014
- “Locked In?: Conservative Reform and the Future of Mass Incarceration,” (with David Dagan), *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 2014
- “Kludgeocracy in America,” *National Affairs*, Fall 2013
- “Jurisdictional Politics: A New Federal Role in Education,” (with Jal Mehta, Harvard School of Education), in Rick Hess, ed., *Carrots, Sticks and the Bully Pulpit* (Harvard Education Press, 2011)
- “The Elusive Craft of Evaluating Advocacy” (w/Mark Schmitt) *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, Summer 2011
- “Compassionate Conservatism, Domestic Policy, and the Politics of Ideational Change,” in Joel Aberbach and Gillian Peele, eds., *The Future of the American Conservative Movement* (Oxford, 2011). Shorter version published as “The Eternal Return of Compassionate Conservatism,” *National Affairs*, Fall 2009
- “Transformative Bureaucracy: Reagan’s Lawyers and the Dynamics of Political Investment,” *Studies in American Political Development*, April 2009

“Turning Back The Tide: Conservatives and Social Security, 1980-2005,” (w/Martha Derthick) in Glenn and Teles, ed., *Conservatism and American Political Development*

“Spreading the Word: The Global Free Market Network,” (w/Daniel Kenney) In Jeffrey Kopstein and Sven Steinmo ed., *Growing Apart?* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 136-169

“Conservative Mobilization Against Entrenched Liberalism,” in Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol, eds., *The Transformation of American Politics* (Princeton, 2008), pp. 160-188

“The Perils of Market Making: The Case of British Pension Reform,” (w/Alan Jacobs), in Marc Landy et. al., *Creating Competitive Markets* (Brookings 2007), pp. 157-183

“Market Failure and Government Failure” (w/Mark Kleiman) in Robert Goodin, Michael Moran and Martin Rein, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Public Policy* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 622-648

“Regime Effects: Ethnicity, Social Mobility, and Public Policy in the USA and Britain,” (w/Robert Mickey and Fawzia Ahmed) in Loury, Modood and Teles, pp. 522-570

“The Public Policy of Skepticism,” *Perspectives on Politics*, March 2004, pp. 39-53

“Riding the Third Rail: Social Security in the Reagan Administration,” (w/Martha Derthick) in Eliot Brownlee and Hugh Graham, *The Reagan Presidency* (Kansas, 2003), pp. 182-208

“The New Politics of Welfare Policy,” (w/Tim Prinz), in Martin Levin and Marc Landy, eds., *Seeking the Center* (Georgetown, 2001), pp. 215-238

“Why is There No Affirmative Action in Britain?” in John Skrentny, ed., *Color Lines* (Chicago, 2001), pp. 241-269. Earlier version in *American Behavioral Scientist*, April 1998

“Beyond Devolution: From Subsidiarity to Mutuality,” (w/Marc Landy) in Robert Howse and Kalypso Nikolaidis, eds., *The Federal Vision* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 413-426

“Devolution, Constitutional Reform, and the Third Way,” (w/Marc Landy), in Stuart White ed., *New Labour: The Progressive Future?* (Macmillan, 2001), pp. 110-125

“The Paradoxes of Welfare State Conservatism,” *The Public Interest*, Fall 2000, pp. 17-40. (Also in Robert Hudson, ed., *The Future of Age-Based Public Policy*, Johns Hopkins, 2005)

“Public Opinion and Interest Groups in the Making of US-China Policy,” in Robert Ross, ed., *After the Cold War* (M.E. Sharpe, 1998), pp. 40-68

REVIEW ESSAYS, POPULAR ARTICLES AND POLICY REPORTS

“Kamala Harris Has Good Vibes—Time For Some Good Policies,” *The Economist*, September 2, 2024

“Want More Affordable Housing and Health Care? Here’s a Fix,” *New York Times*, November 18, 2021 (with Samuel Hammond and Daniel Takash)

“A Moderate Proposal,” *The Atlantic*, November 4, 2021 (with Matthew Yglesias)

“Our Political System is Unfair—Liberals Need To Just Deal With It,” *New York Times*, November 17, 2020

“Never Trumpers Next Move,” *The Atlantic*, May 2020 (with Robert Saldin)

“These Conservatives Knew Trump Would Be a Disaster in a Crisis,” *New York Times*, March 20, 2020

“Radical Centrists Will Decide the Democratic Primary,” *The New Republic*, December 27, 2018

“Republicans Can’t Even Cut Red Tape Correctly,” *New York Times*, May 17, 2018 (with Brink Lindsey)

“How the State Can Make Inequality Even Worse,” *The Nation*, November 21, 2017 (with Brink Lindsey)

“Trump Made the Swamp Worse—Here’s How To Drain It,” *New York Times*, October 26, 2017 (with Brink Lindsey)

“When Politics Drives Scholarship,” *Boston Review*, August 30, 2017 (with Henry Farrell)

“Even The Intellectual Left Is Drawn To Conspiracy Theories About The Right,” *Vox*, July 14, 2017 (with Henry Farrell)

“Competitive Egalitarianism: How To Structure Markets,” *Democracy*, Fall 2016

“A New Agenda for Political Reform,” *Washington Monthly*, March/April/May 2015 (with Lee Drutman, New America Foundation)

“Nudge, or Shove?” *The American Interest*, December 2014

“The Conservative War on Prisons,” *Washington Monthly*, November/December 2012 (with David Dagan, Johns Hopkins University)

“Stay for Tea,” *Washington Monthly*, March/April 2012

“One Size Doesn’t Fit All,” *Washington Monthly*, March-April 2011

“Brains on Drugs,” *Washington Monthly*, May-June 2010

“Incompetent Adversaries: Learning the Right Lessons from the Age of Reagan,” *The American Interest*, July-August 2009

“The Death of the Predator State,” *The American Interest*, January-February 2009

“Commitment, Conservatism and the Welfare State,” *Journal of Health Policy, Politics and Law*, 2002

“The Politics of Race: Justice, Violence and Misinformation,” *Responsive Community*, Spring 1999

“Elites, Ethics, and Expertise,” *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Fall 1996

SELECTED PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

2013-Present, Editorial Board, *Washington Monthly*

Fall 2008-Present: Director, Niskanen/CES Liberaltarian Roundtable

2013-2016, Consultant, Givewell/Open Philanthropy

2014-2016: Director, Kauffman Foundation Project on Rent-Seeking and Upward Redistribution

Winter 2013: Organized Hewlett Foundation Conference on Philanthropy and Political Polarization

2011-2012: Director of Exploratory Project for the Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation on the Growth of the Finance, Law and Consulting Sectors

June 2012: Hoover Institution, Stanford, Visiting Fellow

May 2012: Invited Participant, World Health Organization Consultation on Civil Society Advocacy for Reproductive, Maternal and Child Health, Montreux, Switzerland

Summer 2010: Organized Hewlett Foundation Conference on Advocacy Evaluation

Summer 2006: Member, NEH Political Science Individual Grants Panel

Spring 2006: Co-Director, Conference on Conservatism and American Political Development, Center for the Study of American Politics, Yale University

Winter 2003: Invited Participant, Seminar on the Comparative Politics of Affirmative Action, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Paris

Summer 1996: "Public Opinion and Interest Groups in the Making of US-China Policy," Presented at Harvard/Beijing University Conferences on "Domestic Sources of US-China Policy"

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Johns Hopkins University, Associate Professor of Political Science

Fall 2024:	Institutional Anxiety (with Robbie Shilliam)
Spring 2019/2020/2021/Fall 2022:	Political Polarization
Fall 2018:	Philanthropy and Social Policy
Spring 2015:	Implementation
Spring 2015:	The Causes of Inequality
Fall 2009/2010/2011/Spring 2013/2014/2017/2020:	Policy Disasters
Spring 2009/2010/2011:	Courts, Politics and Public Policy
Fall 2013/2015:	Interest Groups (Graduate)
Fall 2010-2021, Spring 2023:	Thinking Organizationally About Politics
Spring 2011/2013/2015/2019/2021:	Policy Dynamics (Graduate)
Spring 2010/2012/2016, Fall 2020:	Organizations (Graduate, Cross-Listed with Sociology)
Fall 2008/2009:	Political Analysis and Policy Design
Spring 2009, Spring 2020:	The Development of American Conservatism (Graduate)

University of Maryland, Associate Professor of Public Policy

Spring 2008:	Policy Disasters
Fall 2007, Spring 2008	Moral Dimensions of Public Policy

Yale University, Visiting Lecturer of Law and Political Science

Fall 2007-Spring 2008	Preparing Law Teachers (Law)
Spring 2007	Courts, Politics and Public Policy (Political Science)
	Introduction to American Politics (Political Science)
Fall 2006	Organizational Mobilization and Legal Change (Law)
	Political Design in Policy and Legal Analysis (Law)

Brandeis University, Assistant Professor of Politics

Spring 2001/2003/2006	The Politics of Race and Ethnicity
Fall 2004/2005	The United States Congress
Spring 2005	Courts, Politics and Public Policy

Spring 2000/2002/2005
Fall 1999-2002, 2004
Fall 2001-2003
Spring 2001/2003
Spring 2002
Spring 2000
Fall 1999

The Politics of Ideas and Intellectuals
Introduction to American Politics
American National Government
American Political Development (Graduate)
Conservative Political Thought
Poverty and American Social Policy
America in Comparative Perspective

Boston University, Research Assistant Professor of Political Science

Spring 1999
Fall 1998

Policy Analysis and Implementation
Poverty and American Social Policy

College of the Holy Cross, Assistant Professor of Political Science

Spring 1998
Fall 1997/Spring 1998
Fall 1997

American Political Culture and Public Opinion
Introduction to American Politics
Poverty and American Social Policy

Hamilton College, Visiting Assistant Professor Of Government

Spring 1995
Fall 1994

American Political Process
American Political Thought
Seminar on Welfare and Poverty Policy

PHD SUPERVISED
(Field, Year, Placement)

Michael Doonan (American/Public Policy, 2002, Brandeis University)

Jason Pierceson (American/Public Law, 2003, University of Illinois-Springfield)

Melissa Bass (American, 2004, University of Mississippi)

Dan Klinghard (American, 2004, College of the Holy Cross)

Antje Ellermann (American/Comparative, 2005, University of British Columbia)

Liliokanio Peaslee (American/Public Policy, 2008, James Madison University)

Sarah Staszak (American/Public Law, 2009, Princeton)

Devin Fernandes (American/Public Policy/Courts, 2018, Cal State—Chico)

Lauren Foley (American/Courts, 2018, Western Michigan University)

David Dagan (American/Public Law, 2018, Niskanen Center)

Raychel Gadson (American/Public Law, 2025)

Lynsy Smithson Stanley (American, 2025)

AWARDS AND GRANTS

Arnold Ventures, \$250,000 for Center for Economy and Society
Hewlett Foundation, \$15,000,000 for Center on Economy and Society (co-PI)
Hewlett Foundation, \$50,000 for *Never Trump* Book Project
Thomas W. Smith Foundation, \$15,000 for Guest Speaker Program
Smith Richardson Foundation, \$21,303, For Conservatives and Mass Incarceration Project
Kauffman Foundation, \$119,771&49,473, To Direct Project and Write Book on Rent Seeking
Hoover Institution Visiting Fellow, June 2012
Member, Editorial Advisory Board, *The Washington Monthly*, 2010-Present
McGraw-Hill Prize, 2010, Best Journal Article for “Transformative Bureaucracy” from the APSA Law and Courts Section)
Joseph J. Spengler Prize, 2009, For the Best Book Published In The History of Economics and
Herbert Jacob Prize, 2009, For the Best Book Published In Law and Society, for
The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement
Best Faculty Paper, 2007 New England Political Science Association Meeting
John M. Heinz Dissertation Award, National Academy of Social Insurance, 1996
Executive Council, New England Political Science Association, 2006-2007
Visiting Fellow, Center for the Study of American Politics, ISPS, Yale University, 2005-6
Visiting Fellow, Department of Politics, James Madison Program, Princeton U., 2003-4
Visiting Fellow, Program on Constitutional Government, Harvard University, 1995-6
Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation Grant, 2011-12 (The Growth of the Fields of Finance, Law and Consulting, \$49,752)
Gentle Foundation Grant, 2005-6 (Conservatism and American Political Development, \$36,000, Co-PI)
Smith Richardson Foundation Grant, 2005-6 (Politics and Policy Analysis)
Achilles and Bodman Foundation Grant, 2004 (Conservative Legal Movement)
Kellogg Foundation Grant, 1999, (Ethnicity and Social Mobility in the US and UK, Co-PI)
Earhart Foundation Grants, 1997 (Social Security Privatization in the UK), 2004 (Conservative Legal Movement), 2011 (Transformation of American Foundations, \$18,000)