

**FRANCES FOX PIVEN**  
**Abbreviated Curriculum Vita**

Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Sociology  
Graduate School and University Center  
The City University of New York  
365 Fifth Avenue  
New York City, New York 10016  
(212) 817-8674

**EDUCATION**

Ph.D. University of Chicago, 1962 (Social Science)

M.A. University of Chicago, 1956 (City Planning)

B.A. University of Chicago, 1953

**EMPLOYMENT**

2010 – present    Consortia Faculty, Joseph S. Murphy Institute for Worker Education and Labor Studies, School of Professional Studies, City University of New York

1988 – present    Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Sociology, Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York

1982 – 1988        Professor of Political Science, Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York

1975 – 1976        Professor of Political Science, Brooklyn College, City University of New York (on leave from Boston University)

1972 – 1982        Professor of Political Science, Boston University

1968 – 1972        Associate Professor, Columbia University School of Social Work

1966 – 1968        Assistant Professor, Columbia University School of Social Work

1962 – 1966        Study Director, Research Center, Columbia University School of Social Work, Mobilization for Youth Project

1958 – 1960        Research Fellow, Metropolitan Region Program, Department of Public Law and Government, Columbia University

*Visiting Scholar and Professorships*

2014    ICAN Visiting Scholar/Maxwell Cummings Distinguished Lectureship, McGill University, Montreal, Canada

2012    Visiting Distinguished Lectureship, Ralph Miliband Programme, London School of Economics

2007    Nielson Visiting Professor, Smith College

2000    Wayne Morse Chair of Law and Politics, University of Oregon

1991    Visiting Scholar, A. E. Havens Center, University of Wisconsin

- 1990 Visiting Professor, University of Bologna, Italy
- 1987 Tom Lawson McCall Scholar, Pacific University
- 1987 Visiting Distinguished Professor, Arizona State University
- 1987 Visiting Professor, Department of Sociology, University of California, Santa Barbara
- 1986 Ida Beam Visiting Distinguished Professor, University of Iowa
- 1982 Visiting Scholar, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, Austria
- 1981 Visiting Scholar, Hebrew University
- 1981 Visiting Professor, Faculty of Political Science, University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands
- 1979 Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.
- 1978 Visiting Scholar, New York University School of Law
- 1978 Visiting Scholar, Institute for Advanced Studies in Vienna

## **BOOKS**

*Who's Afraid of Frances Fox Piven: The Essential Writings of the Professor Glenn Beck Loves to Hate*, The New Press, 2011.

*Keeping Down the Black Vote: Race and the Demobilization of American Voters*, The New Press, 2009; co-authored with Lorraine C. Minnite and Margaret Groarke.

*Challenging Authority: How Ordinary People Change America*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2006.

*Welfare, Work and Politics: Confronting Poverty in the Wake of Welfare Reform*, edited with Joan Acker, Margaret Hallock and Sandra Morgen, University of Oregon Press, 2005.

*The War at Home: The Domestic Costs of Bush's Militarism*, The New Press, 2004.

*Welfare Work and Politics: Confronting Poverty in the Wake of Welfare Reform*. Edited volume, University of Oregon Press, 2002; edited with Joan Acker, Margaret Hallock and Sandra Morgen.

*Why Americans Still Don't Vote: And Why Politicians Want It That Way* (Revised and updated edition of *Why Americans Don't Vote*), Beacon Press, 2000; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

*The Breaking of the American Social Compact*. The New Press, 1997; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

*Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*, Updated edition, Vintage, 1993; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

*Labor Parties in Post-Industrial Societies*. Edited volume, Oxford University Press, 1992 ("The Decline of Labor Parties," reprinted in *Inequalities and Societies*, edited by Jeff Manza and Michael Sauder, The New Press, 2003).

*Why Americans Don't Vote*, Pantheon Books, 1988; Vintage paperback, with new Introduction, published in 1989; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

*The Mean Season: The Attack on the Welfare State*. Pantheon Books, 1987. Co-authored with Fred Block, Richard A. Cloward and Barbara Ehrenreich.

*The New Class War: Reagan's Attack on the Welfare State and Its Consequences*, Pantheon Books and Vintage paperback, 1982; Revised and Expanded Edition, 1985; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

*Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*, Pantheon Books, 1977 and Vintage paperback, 1979; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward; Published in the U.K., translated and published in Germany and Italy.

*The Politics of Turmoil: Essays on Class, Race, and Poverty*, Pantheon Books, 1974; Vintage paperback, 1975; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

*Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*, Pantheon Books, 1971 and Vintage paperback, 1972. co-authored with Richard A. Cloward; Published in the U.K., translated and published in Germany and Italy.

## **MAJOR INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL ACADEMIC AWARDS AND HONORS**

### ***Honorary Doctorates***

2015 Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick, New Jersey (*Humane Letters*)

2013 McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada (*Laws*)

2011 National Labor College, Silver Spring, Maryland (*Humane Letters*)

2002 College of Saint Rose, Albany, New York (*Humane Letters*)

1985 Adelphi University, Garden City, New York (*Humane Letters*)

### ***Lifetime Achievement Awards***

2015 Bronislaw Malinowski Award, Society for Applied Anthropology.

2014 Aaron Wildavsky Enduring Contribution Award, Public Policy Section, American Political Science Association.

2014 Transforming America Award, Demos.

2011 Joseph B. Gittler Award, Society for the Study of Social Problems.

2011 Elliott-Black Award, American Ethical Union. This award is “given in tribute for [my] life-long commitment to create a society of peace and justice.”

2010 Award for Lifetime Contributions to Social Justice for Working People, Center for Working Class Life, State University of New York at Stonybrook.

2010 Outstanding Service Award, Political Science Program, Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

2004 Charles E. McCoy Lifetime Achievement Award, New Political Science Section, American Political Science Association.

2002 Inauguration of the Annual Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward Award by the New Political Science Section of the American Political Science Association.

2001 Lifetime Achievement Award in Social Work Education, Council of Social Work Education.

- 2000 Distinguished Career Award for the Practice of Sociology, American Sociological Association.
- 1998 Mary Lepper Award for Academic Achievement and Public Service, Women's Caucus of the American Political Science Association.
- 1995 First recipient of the Lifetime Achievement Award offered by the Political Sociology Section of the American Sociological Association.
- 1991 Founders Award, Society for the Study of Social Problems. This award is conferred for career-long "distinguished contributions to the study and solution of social problems."

***Selected Book and Other Literary Awards, Recognition, and Honors***

- 2014 Puffin Prize for Creative Citizenship, Puffin Foundation and *The Nation* Institute (\$100,000).
- 2012 *Who's Afraid of Frances Fox Piven?* named "Most Valuable Book" in John Nichols, "The Progressive Honor Roll of 2011," *The Nation*, January 9/16, 2012.
- 2011 Alpha Kappa Delta Distinguished Lecture, American Sociological Association.
- 2011 Labor Communicator of the Year, New York Metropolitan Labor Communications Council. This award is given "for bridging the worlds of scholarship and social activism, the better to empower ordinary people."
- 2011 Hon. Shirley Chisholm Lights of Freedom Award, Community Voices Heard. This award is given in recognition of "leadership toward social and economic justice."
- 2011 Award for Contributions to Community Change, Center for Community Change.
- 2011 New York State Senate Legislative Resolution No. 676, "Honoring Dr. Frances Fox Piven upon the occasion of the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the publication of *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare.*"
- 2007 Stein Rokkan Memorial Lecture, University of Bergen, Norway.
- 2005 Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Award, Brooklyn College Labor Education Center.
- 2004 Hope Shapiro Bread and Roses Award, New Jersey Peace Action. This award honored my "commitment to peace and social justice, and [my] tireless work to protect and expand voter rights."
- 2003 Award for Public Understanding of Sociology, American Sociological Association.
- 2000 - present Papers archived at Smith College, Sophia Smith Collection, <http://asteria.fivecolleges.edu/findaids/sophiasmith/mnsss52.html>; also, part of an online exhibit, "Agents of Social Change: New Resources on 20<sup>th</sup> Century Women's Activism," <https://www.smith.edu/library/libs/ssc/agents/piven.html>.
- 1995 Tides Foundation Annual Award for Excellence in Public Advocacy.
- 1994 Jim Waltermire Award, National Association of Secretaries of State. This award is given "in recognition of dedication and outstanding contributions to increase voter participation," for my work as co-founder and Board Secretary of Human SERVE, the national voter registration reform organization that played the leading role in winning congressional passage of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (commonly known as "motor voter").
- 1993 President's Award, American Public Health Association (previous recipients: Roslyn Carter, Jesse Jackson).

- 1986 Bryant Spann Memorial Prize, The Eugene V. Debs Foundation. Awarded the for our two-part article on voter registration, "Trying to Break Down the Barriers," and "How to Get Out the Vote in 1988," published in *The Nation* on November 2 and November 23, 1985. The prize recognizes "published work which evidences social vision and commitment to social justice."
- 1972 *Regulating the Poor* listed among 40 Notable Books by the Notable Books Council, American Library Association.
- 1972 *Regulating the Poor* received the C. Wright Mills Award from the Society for the Study of Social Problems; the Notable Books Council Award from the American Library Association; and was chosen as the Author and Critics Selection by the Eastern Sociological Association.
- 1971 Page one review of *Regulating the Poor* in the *New York Times Book Review*.

### **FELLOWSHIPS AND RESEARCH GRANTS**

- 2000 Carnegie Corporation of New York (grant for a conference on third party politics)
- 1992 Rockefeller Foundation (grant to evaluate the effectiveness of state-level voter registration reforms)
- 1990 Fulbright Program Distinguished Lectureship (University of Bologna Chair in Political Science)
- 1987 Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation Award (for a study of rule-breaking behavior)
- 1987 Social Science Research Council, Joint Committee on Western Europe (grant for a study of women and the welfare state)
- 1986 Scholar Incentive Award, City University of New York
- 1986 Field Foundation (grant for a study of non-voting)
- 1982 American Council of Learned Societies Fellowship
- 1981 Council on European Studies (grant for a study of women and the welfare state)
- 1978 Walter E. Meyer Research Fellowship (New York University School of Law)
- 1976 Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (grant for a study of rule-breaking behavior)
- 1973 John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship
- 1971 Metropolitan Applied Research Center Award
- 1968 Ford Foundation Study Award
- 1962 National Institute of Mental Health (grant for a study of the political origins of the anti-poverty program)

### **SELECTED SCHOLARLY ARTICLES, BOOK CHAPTERS, AND ESSAYS**

The articles cited below are selected from over 200 articles published since 1965 in a variety of journals and books. Some of these articles have been republished a dozen times in different collections and anthologies.

#### ***Journal Articles***

- 2014 "50 and Fighting." *Planning* 80, no. 6 (June): 10-14.
- 2014 "Interdependent Power: Strategizing for the Occupy Movement." *Current Sociology* 62, no. 2 (Mar): 223-231.
- 2013 "On the Organizational Question." *Sociological Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (Mar): 191-193.
- 2013 "Beating Back the Corporate Attack." *New Political Science* 34, no.1 (Mar): 81-90.
- 2010 "Reflections on Scholarship and Activism." *Antipode* 42, no. 4 (Sept): 806-810.
- 2010 "Déjà vu, All Over Again: A Comment on Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson, 'Winner Take-All Politics.'" *Politics and Society* 38, no.2 (June): 205-211.
- 2010 "A Response to Wacquant." *Theoretical Criminology* 14, no.1 (Feb): 111-116. Translated into Norwegian as, "Svar til Wacquant," *Materialisten* 37, no. 32-40. Reprinted in "Ist das Arbeitserzwingungs und Gefangnisregime funktional," *Das Argument* 282: 651-54.
- 2009 "Interest Groups, Representation and American Politics." *Perspectives on Politics* 7, no. 3 (Sept): 637-638.
- 2009 "Inequality and the Politics of Neoliberalism in the United States." *The Journal of Catholic Social Thought* 6, no. 1 (Winter): 169-183.
- 2008 "Can Power from Below Change the World?" *American Sociological Review* 73, no. 1 (Feb): 1-14; Reprinted in *Social Sciences Review*, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences.
- 2007 "The Neo-Liberal Challenge to Sociology." *Contexts* 6, no. 3 (July): 13-15.
- 2006 "Response to 'American Democracy in an Age of Inequality,'" *PS* 39, no. 1 (January): 43-46.
- 2005 "Why Did the Republicans Triumph?" *Contexts* 4, no.1 (Winter): 21-23.
- 2003 "Retrospective Comments," Symposium on *Poor People's Movements*. *Perspectives on Politics* 1, no. 4 (Dec): 707-710.; Reprinted in *Social and Political Movements*, edited by Cyrus Ernesto Zirakzadeh, Vol. 1 "Theorizing About Movements After World War II." Sage Library of Political Science Series, Sage Publications, 2011.
- 2002 "Discipline and Seduction: The Campaign to Regulate American Workers." *Working USA* 6, no. 3 (Dec): 8-17.
- 2002 "The Declining Significance of Class? The Case of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993." *Reflections: Narratives of Professional Helping* 8, no. 1 (Jan): 9-24; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- 2001 "Globalization, American Politics, and Welfare Policy." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 577 (Sept): 26-37; Special Issue on "Reforming Welfare, Redefining Poverty," edited by Randy Albelda and Ann Withorn.
- 2000 "Does the Electoral Path Work for Labor?" *Working USA* 4, no. 1 (June): 8-18; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- 2000 "Power Repertoires and Globalization." *Politics and Society* 28, no. 3 (Sept): 413-430; Translated into Spanish and reprinted as "Repertorios de poder y globalizacion," in *Rev. Venezuela de Econ. y Ciencias Sociales* 8, no. 1 (2002); and *Globalization and Economy*, edited by Paul James and Barry Gills, Vol. 4 "Globalizing Labor." Central Currents in Globalization Series, Sage Publications, 2007; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- 1999 "Sociale zekerheid en arbeid in de Verenigde Staten [Welfare and Work in the United States]." *Tijdschrift Voor Arbeid En Participatie* 20, nol 3 (Jan): 200-214 (Utrecht).

1998 "The Race Among the States in Welfare Benefits: A Comment." *Publius* 28, no.3 (Summer): 39-43; Reprinted as "Comment on Interstate Competition and Welfare Policy," in *Welfare Reform: A Race to the Bottom?*, edited by Sanford F. Schram and Samuel H. Beer. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

1998 "Welfare Reform and the Economic and Cultural Reconstruction of Low Wage Labor Markets." *City & Society* 10, no. 1 (June): 21-36. Translated into Norwegian and reprinted as "Velferdsreform og den økonomiske og kulturelle rekonstruksjonen av lavtlønnsarbeidsmarkedet," in *Omsorgens Forvirring? Antologi om utfordringer i velferdsstaten*, edited by Karen Christensen, Liv Syltevik. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 1999; also, Reprinted in *New Poverty Studies: The Ethnography of Power, Politics and Impoverished People in the United States*, edited by Judith G. Goode and Jeff Maskovsky. New York University Press, 2002.

1998 "Welfare and Work." *Social Justice* 25, no. 1 (Mar): 67-81; Reprinted in *Whose Welfare?*, edited by Gwendolyn Mink, 83-99. Cornell University Press, 1999.

1997 "We Should Have Made a Plan!" *Politics and Society* 25, no. 4 (Dec): 525-532; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

1996 "Northern Bourbons: A Preliminary Report on the National Voter Registration Act," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 29 (March): 39-42; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

1994 "Who Votes, Who Cares?" *Thesis* 8, no. 1 (Spring).

1991 "Collective Protest: A Critique of Resource Mobilization Theory." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 4, no. 4 (Summer): 435-458; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward. Reprinted in *Social Movements: Critiques, Concepts, Case-Studies*, edited by Stanford M. Lyman. New York University Press, 1994.

1989 "Poverty and Electoral Power." *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 16, no. 4 (Dec): 99-105; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

1989 "Government Statistics and Conflicting Explanations of Non-Voting." *PS* 22, no. 3 (Sept): 580-588; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

1988 "National Voter Registration Reform: How It Might be Won." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 21, no. 4 (Autumn): 868-875; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward. Reprinted in *Readings in American Government: The State of the Union*, edited by David C. Saffell. Prentice-Hall, 1991.

1987 "Liberalism and the Welfare State." *Social Science* 72 no. 2 (Summer).

1985 "Prospects for Voter Registration Reform: A Report on the Experiences of the Human SERVE Campaign," *PS* 3, no. 18 (Summer): 582-593; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

1984 "Federal Policy and Urban Fiscal Strain." *Yale Law and Policy Review* 2, no. 2 (Spring): 291-320.

1982 "Economic Demands, Political Rights." *Democracy* 2, no. 3 (July): 33-41.

1981 "Deviant Behavior and the Remaking of the World." *Social Problems* 28 (September): 489-508. Reprinted in *Social Problems, Law, and Society*, edited by Kathryn A. Stout, Richard A. Dello Buono and William J. Chambliss, 69-86. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004.

1979 "Hidden Protest: The Channeling of Female Innovation and Resistance." *Signs: The Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 4, no. 4 (Summer): 651-669; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

1977 "Political Conflict, Urban Structure and the Fiscal Crisis." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 1, no. 3 (Dec): 447-471; co-authored with Roger Friedland and Robert Alford. Reprinted in *Comparing Public Policy: New Concepts and Methods*, edited by Douglas Ashford, 197-225. Sage, 1978. Reprinted in *New Directions for Urban Political Economy*, edited by William K. Tabb, 1982. Reprinted in *New Perspectives on the*

*American Community*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., edited by Larry Lyon and Roland Warren, 1982. Translated into German and reprinted in *Krise und Konflikte des Grossstadt im entwickelten Kapitalismus*, edited by Jurgen Kramer and Rainer Neefs. Basel: Kirhauser Verlag, 1985. Reprinted in *The Sociology of Urban Communities*, edited by Michael Harloe. Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd, 1995.

1977 "The Acquiescence of Social Work." *Society* 14, no. 2 (Jan): 55-63; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

1976 "The Social Structuring of Political Protest." *Politics and Society* 6, no. 3 (Sept): 297-326; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

1974 "Eroding Welfare Rights." *Civil Liberties Review* 1 (Winter-Spring): 41-51; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

1971 "The Relief of Welfare." *Trans-Action* 8, no. 7 (May): 31-9; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward. Reprinted in: *Marriage and the Family: Seeds of Social Change*, edited by Helena Z. Lopata. Van Nostrand, Rinehart, 1973. Reprinted in *The Poverty Establishment*, edited by Pamela Roby. Prentice-Hall, 1974. Reprinted in *Crisis in American Institutions*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., edited by Jerome H. Skolnick and Elliot Currie, 428-445. Little Brown, 1985.

1970 "Comprehensive Social Planning." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 36, no. 4 (July): 226-228.

1969 "Advocacy as a Strategy of Political Management," *Perspecta 12: The Yale Architectural Journal*.

1969 "Whose Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding?" *Social Work* 14, no. 2 (Apr): 96-99; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

1969 "Militant Civil Servants in New York City." *Trans-Action* 7, no. 1 (Nov): 24-28. Reprinted in *Blacks and Bureaucracy: Readings in the Problems and Politics of Change*, edited by Virginia B. Ermer and John H. Strange, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1972. Reprinted in *Bureaucratic Power in National Politics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., edited by Francis E. Rourke, Little Brown, 1972. Reprinted in *Politics, America: The Cutting Edge of Change*, edited by Walter Dean Burnham. Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1973.

1968 "The Urban Crisis and the Consolidation of National Power." *Urban Riots: Violence and Social Change*, edited by Robert H. Connery. The Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science 29, no. 1 (August): 159-68; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

1968 "Dilemmas in Social Planning: A Case Inquiry." *Social Service Review* 42, no. 2 (June): 197-206.

1967 "Separatism Versus Integration: A Rejoinder." *Social Work* 12, no. 3 (July): 110-111; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

1967 "The Case Against Urban Desegregation." *Social Work* 12, no. 1 (January): 12-21; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward. Reprinted in *The New Politics of American Policy: A Reader*, edited by Edgar Litt, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969. Reprinted in *Housing Urban America*, edited by Jon Pynoos, Robert Schafer, and Chester Hartman Aldine Publishing Co., 1969. See also Clarence Funnye and Ronald Shiffman, "The Imperative of De-ghettoization: An Answer to Piven and Cloward," in above issue of *Social Work*. And in the same issue, see the response of Whitney Young, Jr., to this debate: "The Case for Urban Desegregation."

1966 "Participation of Residents in Neighborhood Community Action Programs." *Social Work* 11, no. 1 (January): 73-80. Reprinted in *Community Action Against Poverty: Readings from the Mobilization Experience*, edited by George A. Brager and Francis P. Purcell. College and University Press Publishers, 1967. Reprinted in *Citizen Participation in Urban Development*, edited by Hans B. C. Spiegel. National Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, 1968. Reprinted *The Practice of Social Work*, edited by Robert V. Klenk and Robert M. Ryan. Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1970. Reprinted in *The Practice of Social Work Intervention: Goals, Roles and Strategies*, edited by Frank M. Loewenberg and Ralph Dolgoff. F. E. Peacock Publishers, 1972.

### **Book Chapters**



- 2014 “A New Popular Movement for Social Justice in the United States and Beyond.” In *Social Justice and the University: Globalization, Human Rights and the Future of Democracy*, edited by Jon Shefner, *et al.* Palgrave.
- 2012 “Protest Movements and Violence.” In *Violent Protest, Contentious Politics and the Neoliberal State*, edited by Seraphim Seferiades and Hank Johnston. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- 2011 “Popular Power in a Neo-Liberal World: How Global Interdependence Can Foster Democratic Empowerment.” In *Globalization and Beyond: New Examinations of Global Power and Its Aftermath*, edited by Jon Shefner and Patricia Fernandez-Kelly. Pennsylvania State University Press.
- 2009 “An American Welfare State?” In *International Social Policy: Welfare Regimes in the Developed World*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed., edited by Pete Alcock and Gary Craig. Palgrave Macmillan; co-authored with John Clarke.
- 2009 “How Do We Get from Here to There?” *Democracy, States, and the Struggle for Global Justice*, edited by Heather Gautney, *et al.* Routledge.
- 2008 “Inequality and the Politics of Neoliberalism in the United States.” In *Egalite – Inegalites(s) dans les Ameriques*, edited by Christine Zumello and Polymnia Sagefka. Paris: Institut des Ameriques.
- 2008 “Institutions and Agents in the Politics of Welfare Cutbacks.” In *Remaking America: Democracy and Public Policy in an Age of Inequality*, edited by Joseph Soss, Jacob S. Hacker and Suzanne Mettler. Russell Sage.
- 2007 “From Public Sociology to Politicized Sociologists.” In *Public Sociology: Fifteen Eminent Sociologists Debate Politics and the Profession in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Dan Clawson, *et al.* University of California Press.
- 2005 “Does Voting Matter?” In *Power: A Critical Reader*, edited by Daniel Egan and Levon A. Chorbajian, Pearson; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- 2005 “The Structuring of Protest.” In *Power: A Critical Reader*, edited by Daniel Egan and Levon A. Chorbajian, Pearson; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- 2005 “Relief, Labor, and Civil Disorder: An Overview.” In *Power: A Critical Reader*, edited by Daniel Egan and Levon A. Chorbajian, Pearson; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- 2005 “The Politics of the Great Society.” In *The Great Society and the High Tide of Liberalism*, edited by Sidney M. Milkis and Jerome M. Mileur, University of Massachusetts Press; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- 2005 “Rulemaking, Rulebreaking, and Power.” In *The Handbook of Political Sociology: States, Civil Societies and Globalization*, edited by Thomas Janoski, Robert R. Alford, Alexander Hicks, and Mildred Schwartz, Cambridge University Press; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward. Reprinted in *Derecho y Sociedad*, CIJUS, University of Los Andes, 2007.
- 2004 “The Politics of Policy Science.” In *Problems and Methods in the Study of Politics*, edited by Ian Shapiro, Rogers M. Smith and Tarek E. Masoud, Cambridge University Press.
- 2004 “Discipline and Seduction: The Campaign to Regulate American Workers.” In *Welfare, The Working Poor, and Labor*, edited by Louise Simmons, M. E. Sharpe.
- 2004 “The Welfare Explosion of the 1960s.” In *Welfare and the State: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, Vol. 2 *The Zenith of Western Welfare State Systems*, edited by Nicholas Deakin, Catherine Jones Finer and Bob Matthews, Taylor & Francis; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- 2003 “Why Welfare is Racist.” In *Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform*, edited by Sanford F. Schram, Joe Soss, and Richard C. Fording, University of Michigan Press.

- 2002 “Welfare Policy and American Politics.” In *Welfare Work and Politics: Confronting Poverty in the Wake of Welfare Reform*, edited by Frances Fox Piven, Joan Acker, Margaret Hallock and Sandra Morgen, University of Oregon Press. Reprinted in *Lost Ground: Welfare Reform, Poverty and Beyond*, edited by Randy Albelda and Ann Withorn, South End Press, 2002.
- 2002 “Eras of Protest, Compact and Exit: On How Elites Make the World and Common People Sometimes Humanize It.” In *Paradigm Lost: State Theory Reconsidered*, edited by Stanley Aronowitz and Peter Bratsis, University of Minnesota Press; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- 2001 “An American Welfare State?” In *International Social Policy: Welfare Regimes in the Developed World*, edited by Gary Craig and Peter Alcock, Macmillan; co-authored with John Clarke.
- 1999 “Der Marktfreundliche US-amerikanische Sozialstaat.” In *Jobwunder USA: Modell für Deutschland?* edited by Sabine Lang, Margit Mayer and Christoph Scherrer, Westfälisches Dampfboot.
- 1999 “Disruptive Dissensus: People and Power in the Industrial Age.” In *Reflections on Community Organization: Enduring Themes and Critical Issues*, edited by Jack Rothman, F.E. Peacock Publishers; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- 1998 “Welfare and the Transformation of Electoral Politics.” In *Social Policy and the Conservative Agenda*, edited by Clarence Lo and Michael Schwartz, Blackwell.
- 1997 “The New Reserve Army of Labor.” In *Audacious Democracy: Labor, Intellectuals and the Social Reconstruction of America*, edited by Steve Fraser and Josh Freeman, Houghton Mifflin.
- 1995 “Movements and Dissensus Politics.” In *Cultural Politics and Social Movements*, edited by Marcy Darnovsky, Barbara Epstein, and Richard Flacks, Temple University Press; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- 1995 “The Public Sector Under Siege.” In *Debating the Future of the Public Sphere: Transforming the Public and Private Domains in Free Market Societies*, edited by Stephen Edgell, Dandra Walklate and Gareth Williams, Avebury.
- 1993 “Reforming the Welfare State.” In *A Different Kind of State? Popular Power and Democratic Administration*, edited by Greg Albo, David Langille, and Leo Panitch, Oxford University Press.
- 1992 “The Mayors and the Federal System.” In *In the National Interest: The 1990 Urban Summit*, edited by Ronald Berkman, Joyce F. Brown, Beverly Goldberg, and Tod Mijanovich, Twentieth Century Fund Press.
- 1992 “From Organized to Disorganized Capitalism: Welfare State Politics in the United States.” In *Social Policy in a Changing Europe*. edited by Zsuzsa Ferge and Jon-Eivand Kohlberg, Volume 10, European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research, Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag.
- 1992 “Normalizing Collective Protest.” In *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Aldon Morris and Carol Mueller, Yale University Press; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- 1991 “Rules, Parties, and Political Attitudes: The Multiple Determinants of Nonvoting in the United States.” In *The American Political Party and Europe*, edited by Maurizio Vaudagna, Bologna: The Gramsci Institute.
- 1990 “Explaining the Politics of the Welfare State, or Marching Back Toward Pluralism.” In *Beyond the Marketplace: Rethinking Economy and Society*, edited by Roger Friedland and A. F. Robertson, Aldine de Gruyter; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- 1990 “Why People Deviate in Different Ways: Toward a Theory of the Social Structuring of Deviant Behavior.” In *New Directions in the Study of Justice, Law and Social Control*, edited by the Arizona State University School of Justice Studies Editorial Board. New York: Plenum; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

1984 "Women and the State: Ideology, Power and the Welfare State." In *Gender and the Life Course*, edited by Alice Rossi, Aldine. (This was the Presidential volume consisting of the best papers selected from the 1982 annual meeting of the American Sociological Association.) Reprinted in: *Socialist Review* 14, 1984 (March-April); Reprinted in *For Crying Out Loud: Women and Poverty in the United States*, edited by Rochelle Lefkowitz and Ann Withorn, Pilgrim Press, 1986. Reprinted in *Families and Work*, edited by Naomi Gerstel and Harriet Engel Gross, Temple University Press, 1987. Reprinted in *Women, the State, and Welfare*, edited by Linda Gordon, University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.

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1966 "The Weight of the Poor: A Strategy to End Poverty." *The Nation* 202, no. 18 (May 2): 510-517; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward. Reprinted in *Current Magazine*, July 1966. Reprinted in *The American Child*, Summer 1966. Reprinted in *Poverty: Power and Politics*, edited by Chaim I. Waxman, Grosset and Dunlap, 1968. Reprinted in *Perspectives on Social Welfare: An Introductory Anthology*, edited by Paul E. Weinberger, Macmillan, 1969. Reprinted in *On Their Own: The Poor in Modern America*, edited by David J. Rothman and Sheila M. Rothman, Addison-Wesley, 1972. Reprinted in *Blacks and Bureaucracy: Readings in the Problems and Politics of Change*, edited by Virginia B. Ermer and John H. Strange, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1972. Reprinted in *The Nation* 290, no. 9 (Mar 8, 2010). Reprinted with a New Introduction in *New Political Science* 33 no. 3 (Sept 2011): 271-284.

### **Op-Eds**

#### *New York Times*

- "Helping the Poor as A Last Resort," July 28, 1997.
- "From Workhouse to Workfare," August 1, 1996.
- "Scapegoating Women on Welfare," September 2, 1993; co-authored with Mimi Abramovitz.
- "CUNY: Alive, and Imperiled," October 24, 1993.
- "Democracy on Wheels," April 17, 1992; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- "Workfare Means Mass Peonage," May 30, 1987; co-authored with Barbara Ehrenreich.
- "New Ax, Old Shield," March 5, 1982; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- "Welfare Reform Again," April 11, 1977; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- "Black Electoral Gains? Sizable. But, Still...," November 18, 1977; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- "Poorer and Poorer," July 16, 1974; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- "A Movement on Welfare," August 31, 1973; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- "Welfare II: Let the Rolls Rise," November 16, 1971; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.
- "Welfare I: A Political Response," November 15, 1971; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

#### *(New York) Newsday*

- "Why the Democrats Will Probably Lose: Ignoring the Have-Notes," October 19, 1988; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.



*Los Angeles Times*

“Why We Need Acorn,” April 22, 2010; co-authored with Lorraine C. Minnite.  
“Anti-Corporate Insurgency Making Itself Seen, Felt,” May 21, 2000; co-authored with Peter Dreier.  
“The Trouble with Turnout,” April 17, 1984; co-authored with Richard A. Cloward.

*Knight Ridder*

“The Welfare Stereotype,” April 1994.

*AP Wire Service*

“The Contract with America and Democracy,” March 1995.

*Boston Globe*

“Anti-corporate Insurgency Making Itself Seen, Felt,” August 21, 2000; co-authored with Peter Dreier.

**PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION OFFICERSHIPS**

2007	President, American Sociological Association
1987	Vice-President, Research Committee on Poverty, Social Welfare, and Social Policy, International Sociological Association
1981	Vice-President, American Political Science Association
1981 – 1983	Coordinator, Research Planning Group on Women and the Transformation of the Welfare State, Council for European Studies
1980	President, Society for the Study of Social Problems
1976	Co-Chairperson of the Annual Program of the American Political Science Association
1976	Vice-President, Society for the Study of Social Problems
1974	Co-founder, Caucus for a New Political Science, American Political Science Association
1971 – 1973	President, Planners for Equal Opportunity

**PROFESSIONAL, NON-PROFIT AND GOVERNMENTAL BOARDS**

2011 - present	Board of Directors, Project Vote
2002	Advisory Committee, Democracy, Diversity and Voice Project, University of Maryland
2002	Advisory Board, Center for Study of Working Class Life, State University of New York/Stonybrook
2000 – 2003	Advisory Board of the Center for Place, Culture and Politics, City University of New York
1999	Advisory Board, National Organization on Disability VOTE!
1998	Board of Advisors, Five Borough Institute

1994 – 2010	Chair of the Board, The New Press
1992	Associate, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library
1988 – 1990	Steering Committee, Wagner Institute, City University of New York
1979 – 1982	Visiting Committee, School of Architecture and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
1978 – 1980	At-Large Member, National Board of Directors, American Civil Liberties Union; Chair, Poverty and Civil Liberties Committee, and Poverty and the Constitution Committee
1977 – 1982	Research Advisory Board, Project on Women and Social Change, Smith College
1976 – 1979	National Advisory Committee of the Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin
1975 – 1978	Review Committee of the Metropolitan Studies Center, National Institute of Mental Health
1975 – 1978	Advisory Committee of the Department of Politics, Princeton University
1974 – 1977	Research Planning Group on Urban Social Services, Council for European Studies
1973 – 1976	Editorial and Publications Committee, Society for the Study of Social Problems
1973 – 1975	Panel Member, National Academy of Public Administration Project on Metropolitan Reorganization

#### **SELECTED EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBERSHIPS**

*Contemporary Crises*  
*International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*  
*International Journal of Health Services*  
*International Studies in Social Policy and Law*  
*Journal of Policy History*  
*Journal of Political and Military Sociology*  
*Journal of Progressive Human Services*  
*Journal of Social Policy New Political Science*  
*Logos, A Journal of Modern Culture and Society*  
*Organizations and Society: Critical Perspectives*  
*Party Politics*  
*Policy Studies Review*  
*Social Policy*  
*The Nation Magazine*  
*Yale Law and Policy Review*  
*Working USA*

#### **SELECTED COMMUNITY SERVICE AND ACTIVISM**

I have served in many different capacities, as advocate, adviser, organizer, writer, speaker and fundraiser for many community-based and non-profit organizations, governmental agencies, labor unions, progressive political groups, and social protest movements, including among others: Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), Center for Campus Organizing, Committee for Public Justice, Community Action Networks Program Advisory Committee, Democratic Socialists of America (Honorary Co-Chair), Downtown Welfare Advocates Center (D-WAC), Farmworker Justice Fund, Friends of the Welfare Law Center (Honorary Chair), Hunts Point Multi-Service Center, Institute for Labor Education, Jobs for Justice, Judson Memorial Church Advisory Committee, Massachusetts

Alliance for a Fair Share, Massachusetts Women's Commission in Exile, NYC Mayor John Lindsay's Taskforce on Housing, Movement for Economic Justice, National Institute for Physical Planning (Dublin, Ireland), National Lawyers' Guild ( "60/60" Campaign Advisory Board), Johnson Administration's Office of Economic Opportunity, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Project for the Social Wage, Reclaim America, Training Institute for Careers in Organizing, United Labor Unions (later affiliated with SEIU), United States Commission on Civil Rights, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, University Conversion Project, Wellstone Action Advisory Board, Wellstone Fund, and Young Democratic Socialists.

1982 Co-founder and Board Secretary, Human Service Employees Registration and Voter Education Campaign (Human SERVE)

1966 Co-founder, the National Welfare Rights Organization