

## CLEM BROOKS

Department of Sociology, Indiana University  
Bloomington, IN, 47405-7103 | [www.indiana.edu/~soc](http://www.indiana.edu/~soc)

Office: 812-855-8939

Department: 812-855-2569

e-mail: [cbrooks@indiana.edu](mailto:cbrooks@indiana.edu)

---

### Employment

- 2006- James H. Rudy Professor. Indiana University, Bloomington
- 2003- Professor of Sociology. Indiana University, Bloomington
- 2004-06 Associate Chair. Department of Sociology. Indiana University, Bloomington
- 2003-04 Visiting Scholar, Department of Communication Science. University of Amsterdam, Netherlands
- 2002-03 Associate Chair. Department of Sociology. Indiana University, Bloomington
- 1999-03 Associate Professor of Sociology. Indiana University, Bloomington
- 1995-99 Assistant Professor of Sociology. Indiana University, Bloomington
- 1994-95 Assistant Professor of Sociology. State University of New York, Stony Brook

### Education

- 1994 Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley. Sociology
- 1989 M.A. University of California, Berkeley. Sociology
- 1987 B.A. Oberlin College. Sociology, Philosophy

### Honors and awards

- 2010-11 National Science Foundation (SES-0960960): "Collaborative Research: Americans' Response to the Economic Crisis: Public Attitudes toward Social Policies." Principal Investigator (co-PI, Jeff Manza; total award: \$243,662)

**Honors and awards (continued)**

- 2008-11 European Science Foundation (07-HumVIB-FP-002): "Welfare Attitudes in a Changing Europe." Principal Investigator (co-PIs, Helena Blomberg, Steffen Mau, Luis Moreno, Wim van Oorschot, Christian Staerklé, Stefan Svallfors). U.S. portion of award: \$175,625; National Science Foundation SES-0830917
- 2008 Honorable mention for the Best Book Award (*Why Welfare States Persist*). Political Sociology Section, American Sociological Association
- 2008 Outstanding Mentor Award. Graduate Student Association, Department of Sociology. Indiana University, Bloomington
- 2007-10 Russell Sage Foundation (RSF-83-08-04): "Inequality and American Social Policy Attitudes." Principal Investigator (co-PI, Jeff Manza; total award: \$161,760)
- 2005-07 National Science Foundation (SES-0452873): "Public Opinion and the Welfare State in Comparative Perspective." Principal Investigator (co-PI, Jeff Manza; total award: \$146,000)
- 2005 Visiting Fellowship, Program on the Political Sociology of the Welfare State. Umeå University, Sweden
- 2004 Sociological Research Association (elected)
- 2001-02 Summer Faculty Fellowships. Indiana University, Bloomington
- 2000 Best Book Award (*Social Cleavages and Political Change*). Political Sociology Section, American Sociological Association
- 1999 American Sociological Association Political Sociology Section Council (elected to three-year term)
- 1999 Honorable mention for the Best Article Award ("The Gender Gap in American Politics"). Political Sociology Section, American Sociological Association
- 1999 Summer Faculty Fellowship. Indiana University, Bloomington
- 1998 Outstanding Junior Faculty Award. Indiana University, Bloomington
- 1998 Best Article Award ("The Religious Factor in U.S. Presidential Elections"). Political Sociology Section, American Sociological Association

**Honors and awards (continued)**

- 1998 Distinguished Article Award ("The Religious Factor in U.S. Presidential Elections"). Society for the Scientific Study of Religion
- 1996-97 Summer Faculty Fellowship. Indiana University Bloomington
- 1996 National Science Foundation/American Sociological Association Fund for the Advancement of the Discipline ("Values and Political Change")
- 1994 National Science Foundation/American Sociological Association Travel Grant
- 1994 Bennett Political Science Essay Competition Honorable Mention ("Postmaterialism and Political Change in Three Western Nations")
- 1993 American Association for Public Opinion Research Student Paper Competition Honorable Mention ("Re-Evaluating Converse's Non-Attitudes Thesis")
- 1992-93 Amy Bowles Johnson Memorial Fellowship. University of California, Berkeley
- 1990-91 Graduate Opportunity Fellowship. University of California, Berkeley
- 1988-90 Graduate Minority Program Fellowships. University of California, Berkeley
- 1987 Honors in Philosophy. Oberlin College

**Research interests**

- Political Behavior
- Social Policy, Electoral Politics, & Mass Opinion in Democracies
- Categorical and Longitudinal Data Analysis
- Public Opinion and Public Policy
- Welfare State Theory

**Teaching fields**

- Political Sociology
- Quantitative Methods
- Comparative Sociology and Comparative Politics
- American Society and Politics
- Opinion Research
- Social Change

**Books**

- 2010 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. *Rights Reversal*. Manuscript in preparation.
- 2007 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. *Why Welfare States Persist: The Importance of Public Opinion in Democracies*. University of Chicago Press.
- 1999 Manza, Jeff and Clem Brooks. *Social Cleavages and Political Change: Voter Alignments and U.S. Party Coalitions*. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Refereed articles**

- 2010 Brooks, Clem, Kyle Dodson, and Nikole Hotchkiss. "National Security Issues and U.S. Presidential Elections, 1992-2008." *Social Science Research* 39: 518-526.
- 2010 Brooks, Clem and Stefan Svallfors. "Why Does Class Matter? Policy Attitudes, Mechanisms, and the Case of the Nordic Countries." *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 28:199-213.
- 2007 Bolzendahl, Catherine and Clem Brooks. "Women's Political Representation and Welfare State Spending in 12 Capitalist Democracies." *Social Forces* 85:1509-1534.
- 2006 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "Social Policy Responsiveness in Developed Democracies." *American Sociological Review*: 71:474-494.
- 2006 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "Why Do Welfare States Persist?" *Journal of Politics* 68:816-827.
- 2006 Brooks, Clem, Paul Nieuwbeerta, and Jeff Manza. "Cleavage-Based Voting Behavior in Cross-National Perspective: Evidence from Six Postwar Democracies." *Social Science Research* 35:88-128.
- 2005 Bolzendahl, Catherine and Clem Brooks. "Polarization, Secularization, or Differences as Usual? The Denominational Cleavage in U.S. Social Attitudes since the 1970s." *The Sociological Quarterly* 46:47-78.

**Refereed articles (continued)**

- 2004 Brooks, Clem and Catherine Bolzendahl. "The Transformation of Gender Role Attitudes: Cohort Replacement, Social-Structural Change, or Ideological Learning?" *Social Science Research* 33:106-133.
- 2004 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "A Great Divide? Religion and Political Change in U.S. National Elections, 1972 - 2000." *The Sociological Quarterly* 45:421-450.
- 2004 Manza, Jeff, Clem Brooks, and Christopher Uggen. "'Civil Death' or Civil Rights? Public Attitudes toward Felon Disenfranchisement in the United States." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 68:276-287.
- 2003 Brooks, Clem, Jeff Manza, and Catherine Bolzendahl. "Voting Behavior and Political Sociology: Theories, Debates, and Future Directions." *Research in Political Sociology* 12:137-173.
- 2002 Brooks, Clem. "Religious Influence and the Politics of Family Decline Concern: Trends, Sources, and U.S. Political Behavior." *American Sociological Review* 67:191-211.
- 2001 Brooks, Clem and Simon Cheng. "Declining Government Confidence and Policy Preferences in the U.S.: Devolution, Regime Effects, or Symbolic Change?" *Social Forces* 79:1343-1375.
- 2000 Brooks, Clem. "Civil Rights Liberalism and the Suppression of a Republican Political Realignment in the U.S., 1972-1996." *American Sociological Review* 65:482-505. Reprinted on the American Sociological Association website as featured article for December, 2000.
- 1999 Brooks, Clem. "Values or Views of Government? Analyzing the Ideological Sources of Public Policy Preferences." *Social Science Research* 28:137-161.
- 1999 Brooks, Clem and David Brady. "Income, Economic Voting, and Long-Term Political Change in the U.S., 1952-1996." *Social Forces* 77:1339-1374.

**Refereed articles (continued)**

- 1999 Manza, Jeff and Clem Brooks. "Group Size, Turnout, and Political Alignments in the Development of U.S. Party Coalitions, 1960-1992." *European Sociological Review* 15:369-390.
- 1998 Manza, Jeff and Clem Brooks. "The Gender Gap in American Politics: When? Why? Implications?" *American Journal of Sociology* 103:1235-1266.
- 1997 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "Class Politics and Political Change in the U.S., 1952-1992." *Social Forces* 76:379-408.
- 1997 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "Social Cleavages and Political Alignments: U.S. Presidential Elections, 1960-1992." *American Sociological Review* 62:937-946.
- 1997 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "The Social and Ideological Bases of Middle Class Political Realignment in the United States, 1972-1992." *American Sociological Review* 62:191-208.
- 1997 Manza, Jeff and Clem Brooks. "The Religious Factor in U.S. Presidential Elections, 1960-1992." *American Journal of Sociology* 103:38-81.
- 1996 Manza, Jeff and Clem Brooks. "Does Class Analysis Still Have Anything to Contribute to the Study of Politics?" *Theory and Society* 26:723-730.
- 1995 Hout, Michael, Clem Brooks, and Jeff Manza. "The Democratic Class Struggle in the United States, 1948-1992." *American Sociological Review* 60:805-828. Translated and reprinted as 1996. "Elezioni Presidenziali e Riallineamento di Classe Negli Stati Uniti, 1948-1992." *Polis* 10:5-24.
- 1994 Brooks, Clem. "Class Consciousness and Politics in Comparative Perspective." *Social Science Research* 23:167-195.
- 1994 Brooks, Clem. "The Selectively Political Citizen? Modeling Attitudes, Non-Attitudes, and Change in 1950s Public Opinion." *Sociological Methods & Research* 22:419-459.

**Refereed articles (continued)**

- 1994 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "Do Changing Values Explain the New Politics? A Critical Assessment of the Postmaterialist Thesis." *The Sociological Quarterly* 35:541-570.
- 1993 Hout, Michael, Clem Brooks, and Jeff Manza. "The Persistence of Classes in Post-industrial Societies." *International Sociology* 8:259-277. Reprinted in David Lee and Byron Turner (eds.) 1996. *Conflicts About Class*. New York: Longman; and Reza Nakaie (ed.) 1999. *Debates on Social Inequality*. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company.

**Other articles**

- 2010 Brooks, Clem. "What Moves Welfare Attitudes? Framing Theory and Comparative Welfare State Research." Stefan Svallfors (ed.) *Welfare Attitudes in Europe: Cleavages, Mechanisms, Formations*.
- 2009 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "Why Public Opinion?" *States, Power and Societies* 15:15-16.
- 2008 Manza, Jeff and Clem Brooks. "Classes and Politics." In Annette Lareau and Dalton Conley (eds.). *Social Class: How Does It Work?* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- 2007 Brooks, Clem. Review of Stefan Svallfors. *The Moral Economy of Class*. *Contemporary Sociology* 36:332-333.
- 2006 Brooks, Clem. "Voters, Satisficing, and Public Policymaking: Recent Directions in the Study of Electoral Politics." *Annual Review of Sociology* 32:191-211.
- 2006 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "Reply to Myles: Theory and Methods for Comparative Opinion/Social Policy Research." *American Sociological Review* 71:499-502.
- 2005 Brooks, Clem. Review of Seymour Martin Lipset and Noah Meltz. *The Paradox of American Unionism*. *Social Force* 83:1798-1791.

**Other articles (continued)**

- 2005 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza, "A Republican Realignment?" *Contexts* 4:27-29.
- 2005 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza, "Exchange on the 2004 Election." *Contexts* 4:5-6.
- 2005 Manza, Jeff, Clem Brooks, and Michael Sauder. "Money, Participation, and Votes: Social Cleavages and Electoral Politics." Pp. 201-226 in Thomas Janowski, Robert Alford, Alexander Hicks, and Mildred Schwartz (eds.). *Handbook of Political Sociology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 2003 Brooks, Clem. Review of Taeku Lee, *Mobilizing Public Opinion: Black Insurgency and Racial Attitudes in the Civil Rights Era*. *American Journal of Sociology* 108:898-900.
- 2002 Manza, Jeff and Clem Brooks. "The Changing Political Fortunes of Mainline Protestants." In Robert Wuthnow (ed.). *The Quiet Hand of God: The Public Role of Mainline Protestantism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 1999 Hout, Michael, Jeff Manza, and Clem Brooks. "Classes, Unions, and the Realignment of U.S. Presidential Voting, 1952-1992." Pp. 83-96 in Geoff Evans (ed.). *The Future of Class Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 1998 Brooks, Clem. Review of Ronald Glassman. *The New Middle Class and Democracy in Global Perspective*. *Contemporary Sociology* 26:405-406.
- 1997 Brooks, Clem. Review of Michael Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters*. *Contemporary Sociology* 26:466-467.
- 1997 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "The Political Alignments of Middle Class Segments, Old and New." Pp. 143-157 in Terry Clark and Michael Rempel (ed.). *The Politics of Postindustrial Society*. Boulder: Westview Press.

**Other articles (continued)**

- 1995 Manza, Jeff, Michael Hout, and Clem Brooks. "Class Voting in Western Democracies: De-alignment, Re-alignment, or Trendless Fluctuation?" *Annual Review of Sociology* 21:137-162.
- 1990 Brooks, Clem. "Political Economy of Professions." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 25:129-136.
- 1989 Brooks, Clem. "Realism in Social Science." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 34:271-280.
- 1989 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "Theories, Theorists, and the Social World: An Introduction to the Symposium on the Foundations of Radical Social Science." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 34:31-49.

**Conference papers**

- 2010 Brooks, Clem. "What Moves Welfare Attitudes? Framing Theory and Comparative Welfare State Research." Meeting of the Welfare Attitudes in a Changing Europe, Multi-Investigator Project. Stockholm, Sweden. May 2010
- 2009 Brooks, Clem. "What Moves Welfare Attitudes? Framing Theory and Comparative Welfare State Research." Meeting of the Welfare Attitudes in a Changing Europe, Multi-Investigator Project. Madrid, Spain. December 2009
- 2009 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "Public Opinion, Policy Feedback, and the War on Terror." Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. San Francisco, California. March 2009.
- 2009 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "Author Meets Critics." Annual Meetings of the Eastern Sociological Society. Baltimore, Maryland. March 2009.
- 2008 Brooks, Clem. "Rights Reversal?" Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle. December. 2008.

**Conference papers (continued)**

- 2007 Brooks, Clem. "The Political Sociology of Elite/Mass Differences." Conference on 'Professors and Their Politics.' Department of Sociology, Harvard University, Cambridge. October. 2007.
- 2006 Manza, Jeff and Clem Brooks. "Classes and Politics." Conference on 'Social Class: How Does It Work?'" New York University, New York. April. 2006.
- 2005 Bolzendahl, Catherine and Clem Brooks. "Women's Political Resources, National Legislatures, and Welfare State Spending in 12 Capitalist Democracies." Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. August 2005.
- 2005 Brooks, Clem. "Social Policy Responsiveness in Developed Democracies." Department of Sociology, Umeå University, Sweden. June 2005.
- 2005 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "Welfare State Persistence in Developed Democracies." Annual Meetings of the Research Committee on Poverty, Social Welfare, and Social Policy. Evanston, Illinois. September 2005.
- 2004 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "The Welfare State, Public Opinion, and Power Resources Theory: Policy Preferences and Welfare State Regimes in Cross-National Perspective." Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. San Francisco, California. August 2004.
- 2004 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "The Welfare State, Public Opinion, and Power Resources Theory: Policy Preferences and Welfare State Regimes in Cross-National Perspective." Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association. Chicago, Illinois. September 2004.
- 2003 Manza, Clem Brooks, and Christopher Uggen. "'Civil Death' or Civil Rights? Public Attitudes Toward Felon Disenfranchisement in the United States." Annual Meetings of the Pacific Sociological Association. Pasadena, California. April 2003

**Conference papers (continued)**

- 2002 Brooks, Clem and Catherine Bolzendahl. "The Transformation of Gender Role Attitudes: Cohort Replacement, Social-Structural Change, or Ideological Learning?" Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. Chicago, Illinois. August 2002
- 2000 Brooks, Clem. "Civil Rights Liberalism and the Suppression of a Republican Political Realignment in the U.S., 1972-1996." Department of Sociology, Duke University. Durham, North Carolina. March 2000
- 2000 Brooks, Clem and Simon Cheng. "Declining Government Confidence and Policy Preferences in the U.S.: Devolution, Regime Effects, or Symbolic Change?" Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. Washington, D.C. August 2000
- 2000 Manza, Jeff and Clem Brooks. "The Changing Political Fortunes of Mainline Protestants?" Pew Charitable Trusts Conference on the Public Role of Mainline Protestants, Princeton University. Princeton, New Jersey. May 2000
- 1999 Brooks, Clem. "Civil Rights Liberalism and the Suppression of a Republican Political Realignment in the U.S., 1972-1996." Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. Chicago, Illinois. August 1999
- 1999 Manza, Jeff and Clem Brooks. "The Revival of the New Deal Coalition? Social Groups and Political Change in the 1990s." Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. Chicago, Illinois. August 1999
- 1998 Brooks, Clem and David Brady. "Economic Voting and Income Distribution, 1952-1996: Individual-Level Processes and Aggregate-Level Effects." Annual Meetings of the Pacific Sociological Association. San Francisco, California. April 1998
- 1997 Manza, Jeff and Clem Brooks. "Group Size, Turnout, and Loyalty in the Making of U.S. Party Coalitions, 1960-1992." Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. Toronto, Ontario. August 1997

**Conference papers (continued)**

- 1996 Brooks, Clem. "Social Problems and Changing Political Alignments in the U.S., 1960-1992." Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. New York, New York. August 1996
- 1996 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "Class Politics and Political Change in the United States Since World War II." Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. New York, New York. August 1996
- 1996 Manza, Jeff and Clem Brooks. "Continuity and Change in the Social Bases of American Political Alignments, 1960-1992." Conference on Social Class and Politics. Woodrow Wilson Center. Washington, D.C. April 1996
- 1995 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "Rethinking Class Politics in the United States Since World War II." Annual Meetings of the Social Science History Association. Chicago, Illinois. November 1995
- 1995 Hout, Michael, Jeff Manza, and Clem Brooks. "Examining the Social Bases of Class Realignment in U.S. Presidential Politics, 1948-1992." Conference on the Future of Class Politics. Nuffield College, Oxford University. February 1995
- 1994 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "Trends in Voting Among Professionals and Managers since 1948." Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. Los Angeles, California. August 1994
- 1994 Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. "Do Changing Values Explain the New Politics?" Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. Los Angeles, California. August 1994
- 1993 Brooks, Clem. "Liberalism and Change Among the American Public Since the 1960s." Survey Research Center Colloquium, University of California. Berkeley, California. November 1993
- 1993 Brooks, Clem. "Liberalism and Change Among the American Public Since the 1960s." Survey Research Center Colloquium, University of California. Berkeley, California. November 1993

**Conference papers (continued)**

- 1993 Brooks, Clem. "Do Americans Have Political Attitudes? Stability and Change in 1950s Public Opinion." Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. Miami Beach, Florida. August, 1993
- 1993 Hout, Michael, Clem Brooks, and Jeff Manza. "Class and Voting in the United States, 1956-1992." Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. Miami Beach, Florida. August, 1993
- 1992 Brooks, Clem. "The Structure of Class Consciousness Revisited." Annual Meetings of the Pacific Sociological Association. Oakland, California. April, 1992
- 1991 Brooks, Clem. "Liberalism and Ideology Among American Workers." Institute for Governmental Studies' Quantitative Political and Social Science Seminar, University of California, Berkeley. Berkeley, California. October, 1991
- 1991 Brooks, Clem. "What's Conservative About Blue-Collar Workers?" Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. Cincinnati, Ohio. August, 1991

**Teaching**

Economy, Organizations, and Work

(Fall 1995; Spring 1996; Spring/Fall 1997)

Graduate Political Sociology

(Spring 1995; Fall 2000; Fall 2002; Spring 2007; Spring 2009)

Introduction to Graduate Social Organization

(Spring 1998; Spring 1999; Spring 2001; Spring 2002; Spring 2003; Spring 2006; Spring 2008; Spring 2009)

Issues and Opinions in American Society and Politics

(Spring 1996; Fall/Spring 1997; Spring 1998; Spring/Fall 1999; Spring 2000; Spring 2001; Spring 2002)

**Teaching (continued)**

Politics and Public Opinion Research

(Spring 2005)

Readings in Sociology

(Spring 1996; Spring 2000; Spring 2006)

Sociological Research Practicum

(Fall 2004; Spring 2005; Summer 2005; Fall 2005; Fall 2006; Spring 2007; Summer 2007; Fall 2007; Fall 2008; Spring 2009; Summer 2009; Fall 2009)

Social Change

(Spring 2005; Spring 2006; Spring 2007; Fall 2008; Fall 2009; Spring 2010)

Statistical Techniques in Sociology I: Continuous Dependent Variables

(Spring 2010)

Topics in Categorical Data Analysis

(Spring 2000; Fall 2001)

Writing Seminar in Political and Economic Sociology

(Fall 2002; Spring 2008)