

Stephanie Ternullo

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ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Harvard University 2023-
Post-Doctoral Fellow, Department of Government, Harvard University 2022-2023

EDUCATION

University of Chicago

Ph.D., Sociology 2017-2022

Dissertation: “Becoming Partisans: How Place Makes Politics in the American Heartland”

Committee: Lis Clemens (chair), John Levi Martin, Eric Oliver, Robert Vargas

M.A., Sociology 2019

University of Cambridge

M.Phil, Economic & Social History 2016

Amherst College

B.A., Economics, *summa cum laude* 2015

BOOKS

How the Heartland Went Red: Why Local Forces Matter in an Age of Nationalized Politics. Princeton University Press. 2024.

- Winner of the Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Book Award in Political Sociology
- Winner of the Community and Urban Sociology Outstanding Book Award
- Honorable Mention for Dennis Judd Best Book Award in Urban and Local Politics
- Reviewed in *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *City Journal*, *International Social Science Review*, *Revue Française de Science Politique*, *Choice*, *Oxford Political Review*

Suburban Blues: The Clash of Local and National Politics in America’s Suburbs. Under Contract with Princeton University Press.

ARTICLES

Ternullo, Stephanie. 2026. “Opinion Change in Nonpartisan Contexts: The Case of Residential Zoning Reform.” Conditionally Accepted at *Political Behavior*

Berg, Anna, and Stephanie Ternullo. 2025. “Toward a Qualitative Study of the American Voter.” *Perspectives on Politics*.

Ternullo, Stephanie. 2025. “The Demise of Organized Labor and the Rise of Postindustrial Populism.” *Contemporary Sociology* 54 (5): 362–65. (Invited essay)

- Ternullo, Stephanie. 2025. “[Union Decline and the Heartland’s Turn to the Right.](#)” *Middle West Review* 11 (2): 287–92. Symposium on the Midwest 2024 Election Cycle, 2025. (Invited essay)
- Ternullo, Stephanie. 2024. “[Place-Based Partisanship: How Place \(Re\)Produces Americans’ Partisan Attachments.](#)” *American Journal of Sociology* 130 (2): 293–343.
- Winner of the Jane Addams Award from the Community and Urban Sociology Section of ASA
- Ternullo, Stephanie, Ángela Zorro-Medina, and Robert Vargas. 2024. “[How Political Dynasties Concentrate Advantage within Cities: Evidence from Crime and City Services in Chicago.](#)” *Social Forces* 102 (4): 1310–31.
- Ternullo, Stephanie, and Simon Yamawaki Shachter. 2024. “[Old Patronage in the New Deal: Did Urban Machines Use Work Relief Programs to Benefit the Democratic Party?](#)” *Studies in American Political Development* 38 (1): 56–69.
- Ternullo, Stephanie. 2024. “[The Local Politics of National Realignments: U.S. Political Transformation from the New Deal to the Religious Right.](#)” *Journal of Historical Political Economy* 4 (2): 221–253.
- Ternullo, Stephanie. 2022. “[‘I’m Not Sure What to Believe’: Media Distrust and Opinion Formation during the COVID-19 Pandemic.](#)” *American Political Science Review* 116 (3): 1096–1109.
- Parker, Jeffrey Nathaniel, and Stephanie Ternullo. 2022. “[Gentrifiers Evading Stigma: Social Integrationists in the Neighborhood of the Future.](#)” *Social Problems* 71 (2): 437–454.
- Ternullo, Stephanie. 2022. “[The Electoral Effects of Social Policy: Expanding Old-Age Assistance, 1932–1940.](#)” *The Journal of Politics* 84 (1): 226–41.

BOOK CHAPTERS

- “Rage Against the Machine: How 21st Century Political Machines Constitute Their Own Opposition” (with Jeffrey Nathaniel Parker) in *The Elgar Handbook of Urban Social Movements*, 2023.

ARTICLES IN PROGRESS & UNDER REVIEW

- “[The Politics of Concentrated Advantage](#)”
 - Winner of Best Paper in American Political Economy Award from the APE Section of APSA
- “[Pathways of Local Opinion Formation: The Case of Housing Policy](#)” (with António Câmara and Aidan Connaughton)
- “Varieties of Suburban Politics” (with Michael Shepherd and Dominic Skinnion)
- “The Geographic Roots of Black Partisanship” (with Marcel Roman and Michael Strawbridge)
- “Cultural Dynamics of Working Class Politics in Europe and the United States” (with Linus Westheuser, Koen Damhuis, and Michèle Lamont)

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- “The 2024 Election Marked the Inversion of the Electoral Map,” *Time*, 2024.
- “Local organizations have shaped the rightward turn across America’s industrial Heartland,” *LSE USA Blog*, 2024.
- “History Reveals How Donald Trump Captured the Industrial Heartland—And a Path Forward for Democrats,” *Time*, 2024.
- “Why did Motorville stay blue?” *Contexts Blog*, 2024.
- “Conservatives don’t want a bigger social safety net. But they do want to care for the needy.” *Washington Post’s Monkey Cage*, 2021.
- “The Electoral Effects of Old-Age Assistance and the Social Security Act of 1935,” *Broadstreet*, 2021.
- “Americans want to trust the experts on the coronavirus. That isn’t easy,” *Washington Post’s Monkey Cage*, 2020.

AWARDS AND GRANTS

- 2025 Emerging Scholar Award from APSA’s American Political Economy Section
- 2025 Susan Clarke Young Scholar Award from APSA’s Urban and Local Politics Section
- 2025 Walter Channing Cabot Fellow from Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences
- 2024 Dean’s Competitive Fund from Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences
- 2024 Stone Research Grant from Harvard Kennedy School’s James M. and Cathleen D. Stone Program in Wealth Distribution, Inequality, and Social Policy
- 2021 Mansueto Institute Urban Doctoral Fellowship
- 2020 NSF Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant
- 2020 SSRC Social Data Dissertation Fellowship
- 2020-2021 University of Chicago Henderson Research Grant

CONFERENCES & PRESENTATIONS

- 2026 “Suburban Blues: The Clash of Local and National Politics in America’s Suburbs” *Boston University Sociology Department Colloquium; Sciences Po Cities are Back in Town Programme; Berkeley Economy and Society Initiative*
- 2024-2025 “The Politics of Concentrated Advantage.” *MPSA 2024; UC Berkeley Research Workshop in American Politics; University of Oregon American Politics Workshop; Consortium on the American Political Economy Conference 2024; APSA 2024; MIT American Politics Conference; Hoover Institution Conference on Geographic Polarization; Northwestern American Politics Speaker Series*

- 2025 “Place, Polarization, and the Future of America’s Political Divisions.” *Samuel B. Cummings Lecture at Amherst College Center for Humanistic Inquiry*
- 2023-2025 “How the Heartland Went Red.” *Princeton Center for the Study of Democratic Politics; Amherst College; University of Oregon Wayne Morse Center; Center for Race, Inequality, and Social Equity Studies at Harvard; Midwestern History Association Book Series; UPenn Sociology Department Colloquium; Rural-Urban Bridge Initiative*
- 2023-2024 “Local Political Norms & Liberal Support for Housing.” *BU Urban Inequalities Workshop; Harvard Social & Cultural Analysis Workshop; NYU Identities & Ideologies Project; UC Berkeley WARM Conference; BU American Politics Workshop; Wesleyan Media Project Post-Election Conference*
- 2021-2022 “Place and Partisanship: The Local Contexts of American Political Identity Formation.” *American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, 2021 & 2022.*
- 2021 “‘I Don’t Know What to Believe:’ Media Distrust and Opinion Formation during the COVID-19 Pandemic.” *The Great Mediation: Perspectives on Politics and the New Media*