

GEORGE HAWLEY
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Academic Positions

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Alabama, 2018-present
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Alabama, 2013-2018
Visiting Assistant Professor, The Honors College, University of Houston, 2012-2013
Adjunct Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Houston, 2011-12

Education

Ph.D. University of Houston, Political Science, May 2012
M.A. University of Houston, Political Science, May 2010
B.A. Central Washington University, Print Journalism and Political Science, June 2006

Books

George Hawley. 2022. *Conservatism in a Divided America: The Right and Identity Politics*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press

Reviewed in *Publishers Weekly*, *Religion and Liberty Online*, *Maiseh Review*, *Law and Liberty*, and *Library Journal*

Included in the University of Alabama College of Arts and Sciences “Summer Reading List 2023”

George Hawley. 2018. *The Alt-Right: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press

Reviewed in *The Guardian*, *American Political Thought*, *Interpretation*, *Counterpunch*, *Socialism Today*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Socialist Standard*, and *Socialist Review*

Listed as “Book of the Day” by *The Guardian*, March 22, 2019

George Hawley. 2017. *Demography, Culture, and the Decline of America’s Christian Denominations*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books

Reviewed in *Review of Religious Research*, *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, *Religion Watch*, and *First Things*

Winner of Award of Commendation from the Concordia Historical Institute

Books (Continued)

George Hawley. 2017. *Making Sense of the Alt-Right*. New York: Columbia University Press

Reviewed in *Political Science Quarterly*, *Politics and Religion*, *The Washington Post*, *Nations and Nationalism*, *Publishers Weekly*, *Library Journal*, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, *Democratization*, *Politique Etrangere*, *Pacific Standard*, *Daily Kos*, *Ikhtilaf*, *Times Higher Education*, *New Statesman*, *Searchlight Magazine*, *VoegelinView*, *The Times Literary Supplement*, *The Forward*, and *The Common Reader*

George Hawley. 2016. *Right-Wing Critics of American Conservatism*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas

Reviewed in *Perspectives on Politics*, *American Political Thought*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Journal for the Study of Radicalism*, *Journal of Information Ethics*, *Choice*, *Law and Liberty*, *The Claremont Review of Books*, *Reason*, *The University Bookman*, *Chronicles*, *Institute of Public Affairs Review*, and *The American Conservative*

George Hawley. 2014. *White Voters in 21st Century America*. New York: Routledge

George Hawley. 2013. *Voting and Migration Patterns in the U.S.* New York: Routledge

Book Chapters and Scholarly Articles

George Hawley. 2023. "Are Right-Wing Americans Really More Tolerant of Political Violence?" In *The Palgrave Handbook of Left-Wing Extremism, Volume 2*, ed. José Pedro Zúquete. London: Palgrave Macmillan

José Pedro Zúquete, Richard Marcy, and George Hawley. 2023. "Examining the Performance and Political Influence of Far-Right Vanguard Leaders: The Case of Jonathan Bowden." Forthcoming in *Journal of Political Ideologies*

Jack Thompson and George Hawley. 2021. "Does the Alt-Right Still Matter? An Examination of Alt-Right Influence Between 2016 and 2018." *Nations and Nationalism* 27(4)

George Hawley. 2021. "Religion and the Alt-Right." In *The Routledge Handbook of Religion and Ideology*, ed. Jeffrey Haynes. New York: Routledge

George Hawley. 2021. "'The 'Groyper' Movement in the U.S.: Challenges for the Post-Alt-Right." In *Contemporary Far Right Thinkers and the Future of Liberal Democracy*, eds. A. James McAdams and Alejandro Castrillon. New York: Routledge

George Hawley. 2021. "Media and the 'Alt-Right.'" In *The Routledge Companion to Media Misinformation and Populism*, eds. Howard Tumber & Silvio Waisbord. New York: Routledge

Book Chapters and Scholarly Articles (Continued)

George Hawley. 2021. "The Stillborn Revolution: The Failure of Right-Wing Populism in the United States." In *Global Resurgence of the Right: Conceptual and Regional Perspectives*, eds. Gastón Souroujon and Gisela Pereyra Doval. New York: Routledge

George Hawley. 2020. "Republican Voters and Conservative Ideology." In *The Vanishing Tradition: Perspectives on American Conservatism*, ed. Paul Gottfried. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press

Hong Min Park and George Hawley. 2020. "Determinants of the Opinion Gap between the Elites and the Public in the United States." *The Social Science Journal* 57(1)

George Hawley. 2019. "Immigration Status, Immigrant Family Ties, and Support for the Democratic Party." *Social Science Quarterly* 100(4)

Mathew Manweller, George Hawley, and Kristen Hawley. 2017. "Competing Liberal Values: The Effects of VRA Sec. 2 Litigation on Electoral Competitiveness." *Law Journal for Social Justice* 7(Spring)

George Hawley. 2016. "Immigration." in *American Governance*, ed. Stephen L. Schechter. Farmington Hill, MI: Macmillan Reference USA

George Hawley. 2016. "Geographic Mobility and Sorting." in *American Governance*, ed. Stephen L. Schechter. Farmington Hill, MI: Macmillan Reference USA

George Hawley. 2015. "Attitudes toward Mormons and Voter Behavior in the 2012 Presidential Election." *Politics and Religion* 8(1)

George Hawley. 2013. "Local Political Context and Polarization in the Electorate: Evidence from the 2004 Presidential Election." *American Review of Politics* 34(1)

George Hawley. 2013. "Issue Voting and Immigration: Do Restrictionist Policies Cost Congressional Republicans Votes?" *Social Science Quarterly* 94(5)

George Hawley and Iñaki Sagorzazu. 2012. "Where Did the Votes Go? Reassessing American Party Realignments via Vote Transfers between Major Parties from 1860 to 2008." *Electoral Studies* 31(4)

George Hawley. 2012. "Home Affordability, Female Marriage Rates, and Vote Choice in the 2000 Presidential Election: Evidence from U.S. Counties." *Party Politics* 18(5)

George Hawley. 2012. "Immigration and American Politics." in *Institutions, Policy and American Government*. McGraw-Hill Publishing, textbook compiled by the University of Houston

George Hawley. 2011. "Political Threat and Immigration: Party Identification, Demographic Context, and Immigration Policy Preferences." *Social Science Quarterly* 91(2)

Book Chapters and Scholarly Articles (Continued)

George Hawley. 2005. "Obesity is Not a Disease." in *Obesity: Opposing Viewpoints*, ed. Andrea C. Nakaya. Farmington Hills, MI: Greenhaven Press

Non-Refereed Reports

George Hawley and Richard Hanania. 2020. *The National Populist Illusion: Why Culture, Not Economics, Drives American Politics*. Los Angeles, CA: The Center for the Study of Partisanship and Ideology

George Hawley. 2019. *Are Trump Supporters Anti-Muslim?* Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution

George Hawley. 2019. *Ambivalent Nativism: Trump Supporters' Attitudes toward Islam and Muslim Immigration*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution

George Hawley. 2018. *The Demography of the Alt-Right*. Charlottesville, VA: The Institute for Family Studies

George Hawley. 2017. *How Mortgages and Marriages Influence Election Outcomes*. Charlottesville, VA: The Institute for Family Studies.

George Hawley. 2016. "The LCMS in the Face of Demographic and Social Change." Special issue of *The Journal of Lutheran Mission*. St. Louis, MO. Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod

Jason Marczak, Jeronimo Cortina, and George Hawley. 2011. *The Economic Impact of Immigrant Related Local Ordinances*. New York: Americas Society and Council of the Americas

Book Reviews in Scholarly Journals

George Hawley. 2023. Review of *The Two Moralities: Conservatives, Liberals, and the Roots of Our Political Divide* by Ronnie Janoff-Bulman. Forthcoming in *American Political Thought*.

George Hawley. 2022. Review of *Far-Right Vanguard* by John Huntington. *Perspectives on Politics*. 20(2)

George Hawley. 2021. Review of *Blue Metros, Red States: The Shifting Urban-Rural Divide in America's Swing States* by David F. Damore, Karen A. Danielsen, and Robert E. Lang. *Political Science Quarterly*. 136(3)

George Hawley. 2020. Review of *Producers. Parasites. Patriots: Race and the New Right-Wing Politics of Precarity* by Daniel Martinez HoSang and Joseph E. Lowndes. *American Political Thought*. 9(3)

Book Reviews in Scholarly Journals (Continued)

George Hawley. 2019. Review of *The Rise of the Alt-Right* by Thomas Main. *Political Science Quarterly*. 134(4)

George Hawley. 2019. Review of *Welcoming New Americans? Local Governments and Immigrant Incorporation* by Abigail Fisher Williamson. *Political Science Quarterly*. 134(3)

George Hawley. 2018. Review of *The People Vs. Democracy: Why Our Freedom is in Danger and How to Save It* by Yascha Mounk. *Modern Age*. Summer

George Hawley. 2018. Review of *Blood and Faith: Christianity in American White Nationalism* by Damon T. Berry. *Politics and Religion*. 11(3)

George Hawley. 2016. Review of *White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics* by Marissa Abrajano and Zoltan L. Hajnal, *Political Science Quarterly*. 131

Selected Opinion Writing

George Hawley. 2021. "Lessons of Glenn Youngkin's Shocking Victory in the Virginia Governor's Race." *The New York Post*. November 3

George Hawley and Richard Hanania. 2020. "The Working-Class Party Myth, and What Really Motivates Voters." *National Review*. December 13

George Hawley. 2020. "A Liberal History of Conservatism." *The Washington Examiner*. October 22.

George Hawley. 2018. "The Extreme Right is a Threat to Some Individuals but will Never Hold Political Power." *The Washington Post*. February 16

George Hawley. 2017. "The European Roots of the Alt-Right." *Foreign Affairs*. October 27

Carson Holloway and George Hawley. 2017. "Did the 2016 Election Provide a Blueprint for the Future Success of the Republican Party?" *Starting Points*. January 23

George Hawley. 2017. "How Donald Trump can Change Conservatism." *The New York Times*. January 19

George Hawley. 2016. "A Right-Wing Revolt against Trump? Dream on." *New York Daily News*. March 25

Articles in Law and Liberty

"Making Americans Less Partisan," August 28, 2023

"The Future of Immigration Politics," May 22, 2023

Articles in Law and Liberty (Continued)

- “Choosing How We Vote,” October 20, 2022
- “The Mythical Progressive-Conservative Voter,” September 19, 2022
- “Nostalgia for 1990s Conservatism,” August 24, 2022
- “Surveying the American Right,” April 19, 2022
- “Partisan Democracy,” December 6, 2021
- “The Promise of Populism,” October 14, 2021
- “Stranger Things in *Reaganland*,” August 2, 2021
- “After National Conservatism,” May 31, 2021
- “The Man Behind the Curtain?” September 2, 2020
- “Talk Radio, Take One,” July 6, 2020
- “Takin’ it to the Streets,” May 8, 2020
- “Surviving Russophobia,” December 2, 2019
- “What Really Happened in the Last Presidential Race?” June 27, 2019
- “What are the Real Fault Lines Dividing Americans?” March 18, 2019
- “Welcome to the Party, Pal,” July 2, 2018
- “Lee Edwards’ *Just Right* and the Lessons of Movement Politics,” April 16, 2018
- “What the Abortion Debate Hath Wrought,” December 21, 2017
- “Bannon’s World of Political Warcraft,” November 20, 2017

Articles in The American Conservative

- “The Alt-Right’s Moment has Come and Gone,” December 6, 2018
- “America’s Polarization has Nothing to do with Ideology,” April 24, 2018
- “Some Conservatives have been Against Capitalism for Centuries,” October 1, 2017
- “The Alt-Right is not who you Think they Are,” August 25, 2017
- “Is there really a Racial Divide between North and South?” July 30, 2017

Articles in The American Conservative (Continued)

“No, Americans are not Polarized by Ideology,” June 12, 2017

“Is the Religious Right to Blame for Christianity’s Decline?” June 5, 2017

“What Americans Think about Open Marriages,” May 16, 2017

“How Many People Actually Feel White Guilt?” April 11, 2017

“Does the Religious Right’s Decline Help the Alt-Right?” March 30, 2017

Selected Invited Presentations

George Hawley, “Author meets his critics: *Conservatism in a Divided America*.” Panel discussion at the Intercollegiate Studies Institute American Politics and Government Summit, Fort Lauderdale, FL, March 2023

George Hawley and Kat Robison Hasani. “Understanding Negative Affect toward Christians, Muslims, and Jews,” Presented at “Religious Liberty in Diverse Communities: Understanding Cultural Challenges” conference hosted by the Institute for Humane Studies, March 2022

George Hawley. “Conservatism After(?) Trump: Frustration and Factionalism in the American Right,” Presented at the Center for the Study of Government and the Individual, March 2022

George Hawley. “Laundered Identity: The Ambiguous Place of Right-Wing Identity Politics in the U.S.” Presented at “International Workshop: Blurring Boundaries? Illiberal conservatism and the New Right” conference at SCRIPTS Berlin, September 2021

George Hawley. “‘Groypers’ versus TPUSA: New Strategies on the American Far Right” Presented at the “New-Right Thinkers and the Crisis of Liberal Democracy” conference at the University of Notre Dame, February 2020

George Hawley. “The Rise and Fall of the Alt-Right.” Presented at the “From America to Europe: Identity, Mass Immigration, and White Backlash” conference in Lisbon, Portugal, November 2019

George Hawley. “Islam and Populism in the United States.” Presented at the “Muslims in the West” workshop at the Brookings Institute, March 2019

George Hawley. “Lessons from the Alt-Right’s Rise and Fall.” Presented at the Centre of Excellence for National Security “Age of Rages” workshop, Singapore, February 2019

George Hawley. “The Extreme Right and Health Care Policy.” Presented at the University of Alabama College of Community Health Sciences, December 2018

Selected Invited Presentations

George Hawley. "Does the Conservative Movement have a Future?" Presented at the University of Georgia Department of Political Science, November 2018

George Hawley, Melani McCalister, Adam Russell Taylor. "The Present: The Alt-Right in the United States and Beyond Over the Last Decade." Panel discussion part of the Berkeley Center conference on "Christianity and the Alt-Right," held at Georgetown University, October, 2018

Alexandra Woodward, Ned Ryun, George Hawley, Katie Harbath, and Andrew Marantz "Will Social Media Save Democracy?" Panel discussion at the Cato Institute, June, 2018

George Hawley. "Is the Alt-Right Collapsing?" Presented to the Center for Right-Wing Studies at the University of California, Berkeley in 2018, Berkeley, CA

George Hawley. "The Strange and Troubling Rise of the Alt-Right," Leadership Birmingham/Leadership Alabama 2017, Birmingham, AL

George Hawley and Daniel McCarthy, "Intellectuals and Trump: Understanding our Disruptive Moment." The Hauenstein Center for Presidential Studies, the program was part of the "2017 Conservative/Progressive Summit," Grand Rapids, MI

George Hawley. "In Conversation: George Hawley," International Center for Photography, the program was held in conjunction with the "Right-Wing Fringe and the 2016 Election" section of the ICP Museum's current exhibition, Perpetual Revolution: The Image and Social Change. New York, NY

George Hawley. "The Rise of the Extreme Right," Public Affairs Week 2017, Baruch College, Marxe School of Public and International Affairs, New York, NY

George Hawley. "Author Meets His Critics: *Right-Wing Critics of American Conservatism*," Panel discussion at the 2017 Western Political Science Association Conference, Vancouver, Canada

George Hawley. "What is the Future of the Conservative Movement?" Election Day presentation at the Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy, Columbia, MO

George Hawley. "Demographic Change and the State of the LCMS." Presentation in 2016 to the leadership of the Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod, St. Louis, MO

George Hawley. "Right-Wing Critics of American Conservatism." Presented in fall 2015 at the University of Alabama Department of Political Science Speaker Colloquium, Tuscaloosa, AL

George Hawley. "Polarized Politics: How to Restore Trust in Government." Presented in spring 2014 at the University of Alabama Honors College, Tuscaloosa, AL

Selected Conference Papers

George Hawley. "The Political Consequences of Immigration across Generations." Paper presented at the 2017 Pacific Northwest Political Science Association Conference

George Hawley and Iñaki Sagarzazu. "The Electoral Implications of Declining Union Membership." Paper presented at the 2016 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference

George Hawley and Mathew Manweller. "Population Growth and Incumbency in County Elections" Paper presented at the 2014 American Political Science Association Annual Conference

George Hawley. "Ethnicity and the White Vote: Does it still Matter?" Paper presented at the 2014 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference

George Hawley. "Racial Resentment and White Turnout in 2008 and 2012." Paper Presented at the 2013 Pacific Northwest Political Science Association Annual Conference

George Hawley. "How Responsive to Public Opinion are Members of Congress on the Subject of Immigration?" Paper Presented at the 2012 Pacific Northwest Political Science Association Annual Conference

George Hawley. "Do Latino Voters Reward Pro-Immigration Members of Congress? Do Non-Hispanic White Voters Punish Them? Evidence from the 2006 Congressional Elections." Paper presented at the 2012 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference

Iñaki Sagarzazu and George Hawley. "The 2010 Midterm Senate Elections in Historical Perspective." Paper presented at the 2012 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference

George Hawley. "Is Geographic Polarization Driving Partisan Polarization?" Paper presented at the 2011 Pacific Northwest Political Science Association Annual Conference?

Noah Kaplan, Ernesto Calvo, and George Hawley. "Do Leadership PAC Donations Predict Cosponsorship in the U.S. House of Representatives for the 105th through 110th Congresses?" Paper presented at the 2011 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference

George Hawley. "Political Threat and Immigration: Party Identification, Demographic Context, and Immigration Policy Preferences." Paper presented at the 2010 Pacific Northwest Political Science Association Annual Conference

Teaching Experience

Instructor: Religion and American Politics (Graduate Course, University of Alabama)

Instructor: Demographic Change and Politics (Graduate Course, University of Alabama)

Teaching Experience (continued)

Instructor: American Political Behavior (Graduate Course, University of Alabama)
Instructor: Quantitative Methods I (Graduate Course, University of Alabama)
Instructor: Quantitative Methods II (Graduate Course, University of Alabama)
Instructor: Migration and American Politics (University of Alabama)
Instructor: Religion and Politics (University of Alabama)
Instructor: The Conservative Movement in America (University of Alabama)
Instructor: Political Parties and Elections (University of Alabama)
Instructor: Introduction to American Politics (University of Alabama)
Instructor: Introduction to American Politics (Online, University of Alabama)
Instructor: Honors American & Texas Government (University of Houston Honors College)
Instructor: American & Texas Government (University of Houston)

Selected Service

Dissertation committee chair (2018-present)
Dissertation committee member (2017-present)
Comprehensive exam committee member (2014-present)
Outside tenure dossier reviewer (2019; 2020)
Journal Reviewer: *Journal of Politics*, *Politics and Religion*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Social Science Quarterly*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Sociological Forum*, *Political Behavior*, *American Politics Research*, *Justice Quarterly*, *American Review of Politics*, *Journal for the Study of Radicalism*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Acta Sociologica*, *American Political Thought*, *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, *Journalism*, *Nations and Nationalism*, *Religions*, *International Journal of Communication*, *New Political Science*
Book Publisher Peer Reviewer: Cambridge University Press, University Press of Kansas, Yale University Press, Rowman & Littlefield International, Palgrave Macmillan, Oxford University Press, Columbia University Press, Routledge, Northern Illinois University Press, Springer
Technology and Learning Committee Member: University of Alabama (2015-2018)
Graduate Studies Committee Member: Department of Political Science, University of Alabama (2015-present)
Speaker Colloquium Series Chair: Department of Political Science, University of Alabama (2015-2016)
Undergraduate Studies Committee Member: Department of Political Science, University of Alabama (2013-2015; 2022-present)
Graduate Studies Committee Member: Department of Political Science, University of Alabama (2015-present)
American Politics Search Committee Member: Department of Political Science, University of Alabama (2014-2015; 2018-2019)
Public Policy Search Committee Member: Department of Political Science, University of Alabama (2015-2016)
Secondary Faculty Advisor: University of Alabama College Democrats (2014-2020)
Faculty Advisor: University of Alabama Young Americans for Freedom (2017-present); University of Alabama College Republicans (2020-present); University of Alabama TurningPoint USA (2019-2023); UA American Enterprise Institute (2021-2023)

Media Commentating

I have been quoted, interviewed, or mentioned in the following media venues: *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *New York Magazine*, *National Public Radio*, *The Guardian*, *The Week*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, *Le Monde* (France), *Haaretz* (Israel), *USA Today*, *Bloomberg*, *The New York Daily News*, *Christianity Today*, *Roll Call*, *Newsweek*, *PolitiFact*, *The Daily Beast*, *The Washington Times*, *Washington Monthly*, *RealClearPolicy*, *The Weekly Standard*, *National Review*, *MSNBC.com*, *Birmingham Business Journal*, *Vanity Fair*, *Alabama Public Radio*, *Vice*, *Boston Magazine*, *WalletHub*, *The Toronto Star*, *Starting Points*, *The Anniston Star*, *Peng Pai* (China), *BBC Radio*, *O Estado de S.Paulo* (Brazil), *Tribune de Genève* (Switzerland), *24 Heures* (Switzerland), *Die Zeit*(Germany), *The Forward*, *Yahoo News*.