

Nicholas Frederick Jacobs

The Goldfarb Family Distinguished Chair in American Government
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APPOINTMENTS

Colby College

Public Policy Lab

Inaugural Director

2025-Present

Government Department

The Goldfarb Family Distinguished Professorship in American Government

2025-Present

Associate Professor

2024-Present

Assistant Professor

2021-2024

Faculty Fellow

2019-2021

Arizona State University

School of Civic and Economic Thought and Leadership

Faculty Research Associate

2018-2021

EDUCATION

University of Virginia

2019

Doctor of Philosophy, *with Distinction*, Government

University of Virginia

2016

Master of Arts, Government

University of Mary Washington

2011

Bachelor of Arts, *Summa Cum Laude*, Political Science

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Nicholas F. Jacobs. (Editor). In Development. *Federalism in a Divided America*. Proposal under review at multiple presses.

Nicholas F. Jacobs. Under Contract. *Roots of Resentment: Place, Partisanship, and the Politics of Neglect in America*. De Gruyter.

Nicholas F. Jacobs and B. Kal Munis (Editors). Under Contract. *Handbook on American Political Geography*. De Gruyter.

Nicholas F. Jacobs (Editor). 2026. *Rethinking Rural: Place-Based Identity, Political Ideology, and Policy in Rural America*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.

Nicholas F. Jacobs and Sidney M. Milkis. 2025. *Subverting the Republic: Donald J. Trump and the Perils of Presidentialism*. Lawrence, KN: University Press of Kansas.

Nicholas F. Jacobs and Daniel M. Shea. 2023. *The Rural Voter: The Politics of Place and the Disuniting of America*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Nicholas F. Jacobs and Sidney M. Milkis. 2022. *What Happened to the Vital Center? Presidentialism, Populist Revolt, and the Fracturing of America*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Refereed Articles

Nicholas F. Jacobs and Joseph Grassi*. 2025. "Embedded Environmentalism: Understanding Rural Resistance to Renewable Energy in Maine." *Maine Policy Review*.

* Undergraduate Student, Colby College

Nicholas F. Jacobs and Craig Parsons. 2025. "The Comparative Federalism of Single Markets in Europe and the United States." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 55 (4): 593–621.

Nicholas F. Jacobs, Martin Moland, and Craig Parsons. 2025. Postfunctionalism Across the Atlantic: The 'New Politics' in European Integration and U.S. Federalism. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 55 (4): 702–731.

Nicholas F. Jacobs, Martin Moland, and Craig Parsons. 2025. Do Citizens Have Views About Single Market Governance? *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 55 (4): 671–701.

Nicholas F. Jacobs and Wasike Imboywa*. 2024. "The Nationalization of Individual Campaign Contributions in U.S. Senate Elections, 1984-2020." *American Politics Research* 52 (3): 239-248.

* Undergraduate Student, Colby College

Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2024. "Seeing Red and Blue: Assessing How Americans Understand Geographic Polarization, Secession, and the Value of Federalism." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 54 (2): 201-227

Lukas K. Alexander* and Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2023. "Presidential Partisanship and Legislative Cooperation in the U.S. Senate, 1993-2021." *Congress & the Presidency* 50 (3): 291-316.

* Undergraduate Student, Colby College

Nicholas F. Jacobs and B. Kal Munis. 2022. "Place-Based Resentment in Contemporary U.S. Elections: The Individual Sources of America's Urban-Rural Divide." *Political Research Quarterly* 76 (3): 1102-1118.

Nicholas F. Jacobs, Desmond King, and Sidney M. Milkis. 2022. State Building in Crisis Governance: Donald Trump and COVID-19. *Political Science Quarterly* 137 (2): 225-261.

Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2021. "Federalism, Polarization, and Policy Responsibility During Covid-19: Experimental and Observational Evidence." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 51 (4): 693-719.

Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2021. "Economic Sectionalism, Executive-Centered Partisanship, and the Politics of the State and Local Tax Deduction." *Political Science Quarterly* 136 (2): 311-338.

Nicholas F. Jacobs and B. Kal Munis. 2020. "Staying in Place: Federalism and the Political Economy of Place Attachment." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 50 (4): 544–565.

Nicholas F. Jacobs, Desmond King, and Sidney M. Milkis. 2019. "Building a Conservative State: Partisan Polarization and the Redeployment of Administrative Power." *Perspectives on Politics* 17 (2): 453-469.

- Nicholas F. Jacobs and B. Kal Munis. 2019. "Place Based Imagery and Voter Evaluations: Experimental Evidence on the Politics of Place." *Political Research Quarterly* 72 (2): 263-277.
- Nicholas F. Jacobs and Connor M. Ewing. 2018. "The Promises and Pathologies of Presidential Federalism." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 48 (3): 552-569.
- Nicholas F. Jacobs and James D. Savage. 2018. "Kennedy's Keynesian Budgetary Politics and the 1962 Public Works Acceleration Act." *Journal of Policy History* 30 (3): 522-551.
- Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2018. "After the White House: The Politics of the Post-Presidency." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 48 (4): 711-740.
- Nicholas F. Jacobs and Sidney M. Milkis. 2017. "Extraordinary Isolation? Woodrow Wilson and the Civil Rights Movement." *Studies in American Political Development* 32 (2): 193-217.
- Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2017. "An Experimental Test of How Americans Think About Federalism." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 47 (4): 572-598.
* Awarded the 2018 "John Kincaid Best Article Award" by the APSA section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations
- Nicholas Jacobs. 2013. "Understanding School Choice: Location as a Determinant of Charter School Stratification." *Journal of Education and Urban Society* 45 (4): 459-482.
* Deemed "Essential Reading" by the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights – 50th Anniversary Towards Justice Campaign
- Nicholas Jacobs. 2013. "Racial, Economic, and Linguistic Segregation: Analyzing Market Supports in the District of Columbia's Public Charter Schools." *Journal of Education and Urban Society* 45 (1): 120-141.
- Edited Book Chapters*
- Nicholas F. Jacobs. Forthcoming. "Managing Conflict, Magnifying Power: The Presidency in U.S. Constitutional Development." In 250 Years In Stefanie Haeffele and Jayme Lemke (eds.) *Reflections on Liberal Democracy in the United States*.
- Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2026. "Context Counts: Economic Inequality within and between Rural and Urban Communities." In Nicholas F. Jacobs (ed.) *Rethinking Rural Politics: Place-Based Identity, Political Ideology, and Policy in Rural America*. Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter.
- Nicholas F. Jacobs, Desmond King, and Sidney M. Milkis. 2022. "State Building in Crisis Governance: Donald Trump and COVID-19." In Marylena Mantas and Robert Y. Shapiro (eds.) *Current Perspectives on American Politics*. New York, NY: The Academy of Political Science.
- Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2021. "Trump, Donald." In Joseph R. Marbach, Ellis Katz, and Troy Smith (eds.) *Federalism in America: An Encyclopedia*. Center for the Study of Federalism. Available On- Line at: <http://encyclopedia.federalism.org>.
- Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2021. "Donald J. Trump's First Inaugural Address." In Yuvraj Singh (ed.), *My Fellow Americans Presidents and Their Inaugural Addresses*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2020. "Polycentric Party Governance: Competition, Federalism, and the Production of Political Leadership in American Politics." In Peter Boettke, Bobbi Herzberg, and Brian

Kogelmann (eds.), *Exploring the Political Economy & Social Philosophy of Vincent & Elinor Ostrom*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Nicholas F. Jacobs and Sidney Milkis. 2020. "Our 'Undivided Support': Donald Trump, the Republican Party, and Executive-Centered Partisanship." In Eric Patashnik and Wendy Schiller (eds.), *Dynamics of American Democracy: Partisan Polarization, Political Competition and Government Performance*. Lawrence, KN: University of Kansas Press.

Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2019. "Obama, Barack." In Joseph R. Marbach, Ellis Katz, and Troy Smith (eds.) *Federalism in America: An Encyclopedia*. Center for the Study of Federalism. Available On- Line at: <http://encyclopedia.federalism.org>.

Editor-Reviewed Articles

Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2025. "Review: Polarized by Degrees: How the Diploma Divide and the Culture War Transformed American Politics." *Public Opinion Quarterly*.

Elizabeth Currid-Halkett and Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2025. Between the Dystopia and the Dream: Rural America in the 2024 Election. *Middle West Review* 11 (2): 305-310.

Nicholas F. Jacobs and Daniel M. Shea. 2025. "Who Are Rural Voters and What's Their Place in Our Federalism." *Federalism Digest*. Center for the Study of Federalism.

Nicholas F. Jacobs and Sidney M. Milkis. 2022. "Critical Dialogue and Response: Political Choice in a Polarized America: How Elite Polarization Shapes Mass Behavior, by Joshua Zingher." *Perspectives on Politics*.

Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2022. "Review: Presidential Control over Administration: A New Historical Analysis of Public Finance Policymaking, 1929-2018, by Patrick O'Brien." *Political Science Quarterly*.

Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2022. "Review: The Other Divide: Polarization and Disengagement in American Politics, by Yanna Krupnikov and John Barry Ryan." *Perspectives on Politics*.

Nicholas F. Jacobs and Sidney Milkis. 2022. "Get Out of the Way: Joe Biden, the U.S. Senate, and Executive-Centered Partisanship during the President's First Year in Office." *The Forum* 19 (4): 709-744.

Sidney M. Milkis and Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2019. "Answering the Call: Leaving the Bench to Serve the President – James F. Byrnes and Franklin Delano Roosevelt." *Journal of Supreme Court History* 44 (1): 71-89.

Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2018. "Building Robust Survey Experiments in Political Science: Or, 'How I Learned to Love the Null'." *SAGE Research Methods Cases*.

Sidney M. Milkis and Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2017. "'I Alone Can Fix It': Donald Trump, the Administrative Presidency, and Hazards of Executive-Centered Partisanship." *The Forum* 15 (3): 583-613.

Nicholas F. Jacobs and James W. Ceaser. 2016. "The 2016 Presidential Election by the Numbers and in Historical Perspective." *The Forum* 14 (4): 361-385.

Nicholas Jacobs. 2013. "Traditional Teacher Education Still Matters." *Phi Delta Kappan* 94 (7).

Policy Briefs and White Papers

Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2025. "Overruled and Underserved: Rethinking Federalism for a Rural America." *Self-Governance in Focus*, Center for Governance and Markets.

Strengthening Maine's Civic Life: Trust, Belonging, and the Future. 2024. *Goldfarb Center for Public Affairs*, Colby College.

Preliminary Findings: 2023 Parent Survey on Childcare Challenges in New England. 2023. *Goldfarb Center for Public Affairs*, Colby College.

Popular Media (Selection)

"What Liberals Get Wrong About Rural Rage." *Politico*. April 5, 2024.

"The Truth about 'Rural Rage'." *Reason*. March 7, 2024 (with Kal Munis).

"New Book on Rural America Started with a False Conclusion, Then Looked for Evidence." *The Daily Yonder*. March 6, 2024.

"Biden Faces an Uphill Climb With Rural Voters. Big New Spending May Not Help." *Barron's*. November 14, 2023 (with Joe Grassi*).
* Undergraduate Student, Colby College

"Will the Maine Massacres Change the Politics of Gun Control in Rural America?" *The Hill*. October 30, 2023 (with Dan Shea).

"Why Resentful Rural Americans Vote Republican." *The Washington Post*. October 20, 2022 (with Kal Munis).

"Colby Polling Initiative: How we Missed Maine's Independent Spirit." *Portland Press Herald*, November 10, 2022 (with Dan Shea and Carrie LeVan).

"Is Obama Breaking Norms as a Former President? Not Really." *The Washington Post*. September 25, 2018.

CURRENT PROJECTS

Book Manuscript

Fragmented Federalism: The Political Dynamics of Nationalization and Polarization in the United States
(in progress)

Working Papers

"If Congress Can't Budget, Can It Influence Intergovernmental Relations?"

"Single Markets and Challenges of De-Federalization in Europe and the United States" (with John Erik Fossum and Craig Parsons)

"Local Government Capacity and Competitive Grants Disadvantage: How Rural Aid Assistance Widens the Rural-Urban Divide."

"Party Reform and Constitutional Change: Tracking Developments in American Federalism with a New Measure of Organizational and Geographic Consolidation in Party Systems."

GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS, AWARDS

Awards

Fellow, Society of Fellows, University of Virginia	2018
John Kincaid Best Article Award, APSA Section on Federalism & Intergovernmental Relations	2018
First Class Teacher of the Year, Stafford County Public Schools	2012
Fitschen Award, UMW Outstanding Political Science Graduate	2011
Pi Sigma Alpha, National Political Science Honor Society, Best Undergraduate Paper	2010

Research Fellowships

Haynesville Fellow, The Haynesville Project	2025-Present
Adam Smith Fellow, Mercatus Center at George Mason University	2017-2019
Beeke-Levy Fellowship, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute	2018
Moody Foundation Research Fellow, Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library	2018
Humane Studies Fellowship, Institute for Humane Studies	2018
Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Fellowship, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library	2017
Jack Miller Center Summer Fellow	2015
President's Fellowship, University of Virginia	2014-2019

Research Grants

Rural Voters and Non-Competitive Elections, Unite America	2024
Maine Civic Health Study, Maine Community Foundation	2024
Rethinking Rural Conference, President's Office, Colby College	2024
Developing Text Analysis, Goldfarb Center at Colby College	2023
SINGLEMARKETS, ARENA Centre for European Studies	2022-2025
Witnessing Rural Resentment, Goldfarb Center at Colby College	2022
McVey Data Science Initiative, Colby College	2021
Special Projects Initiative, Provost's Office, Colby College	2020
Hayek Fund for Scholars, Institute for Humane Studies	2020
Charles Koch Foundation, Dissertation Award	2018
Double-Hoo Undergraduate and Graduate Research Award, UVA	2018
Institute for Humane Studies Research Grant	2018
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Council Competitive Research Grant, UVA	2018
Institute for Humane Studies Scholarship	2017
Conference and Travel Grant, American Political Science Association	2017, 2019
Bradley Fellowship, The Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation	2015- 2017
AHSS Summer Research Award, UVA	2016
Department of Politics Research Grant, UVA	2016

TEACHING

Instructor of Record - Undergraduate Courses

Introduction to American Politics
 Introduction to American State and Local Politics
 Comparative Federalism
 Concepts and Methods of Political Science Research
 Politics of Public Policy in the United States
 Law and Lawlessness in American Politics
 The American Presidency
 American Political Development
 Reinventing the Constitution for the 21st Century: Senior Seminar

Teaching Fellowships and Grants

Data Literacy Hub, Colby College	2024
Center for Arts and Humanities, Colby College	2023
McVey Data Science Initiative, Colby College	2022, 2023
Davis Artificial Intelligence Institute, Colby College	2021
Teaching Active Learning @ Colby Fellowship	2020
Teaching Inequality, Goldfarb Center at Colby College	2020

Honors Theses Advised

- Joseph Grassi. 2025. "Off the Grid: Rural Identity, Environmentalism, and Renewable Energy Policy in Rural New England."
- Serena Klebba. 2025. "Abortion on the Ballot: The Procedural Role of Direct Democracy in Shaping Abortion Policy Post-Dobbs."
- Dev Purohit. 2025. "Shared Track, Divided Rule: The Role of Polycentrism in Shaping Public Transportation in U.S. Metropolises."
- Samuel McKeown. 2024. "After the Bell: Examining the Political and Communal Effects of Rural School Closure."
- Fiona Nash. 2024. "Not in My Zoning Code: Understanding the Mechanisms of Policy Diffusion of Deregulatory Zoning Reform Across U.S. Cities."
- Caleb Schmidt. 2024. "Whose Line is it Anyway: Maine's Pine Tree Power Movement to Predict the Rise and Fall of Large-Scale Utility Municipalization Movements."
- Claudia Miner. 2023. "The Consequences of State Intervention on the Future Attitudes and Participation of Children."
- Caleb Bitting. 2023. "Misinformation's Grip on the American Legislative Process"
- Lukas Alexander. 2022. "Executive-Centered Partisanship in the U.S. Senate"
- Andrew Ordentlich. 2022. "Majority Leaders and Senate Control"
- Esther Kim. 2021. "Polycentric Approaches to Community Policing"
- Sean Holly. 2021. "Construction of Voting Rights in American Constitutional Development"
- Joshua Goldberg. 2020. "Executive Control of the Administrative State"

Advanced Placement Teacher - Virginia Commonwealth Governor's School

- A.P. United States History
- A.P. Human Geography
- A.P. European History
- A.P. United States Government

SERVICECo-Editor – The De Gruyter Series on American Political Geography

Unhyphenated Americans in Transition, Brian Arbour, 2025

Referee

American Political Science Review; American Journal of Political Science; British Journal of Political Science; European Political Science Review; Journal of Politics; Publius: The Journal of Federalism; Journal of Public Policy; Legislative Studies Quarterly; Congress & the Presidency; Political Behavior; American Political Thought; Electoral Studies; Political Geography; Public Opinion Quarterly; Political Science Quarterly; Journal of Experimental Political Science; State Politics & Policy; Rural Sociology; Socius; Theory and Social Inquiry; Perspectives on Politics; Aletheia; Policy Studies Journal; Journal of Rural Studies; State and Local Government Review; Social Science Quarterly; PS: Political Science & Politics; Maine Policy Review; Social Currents; Politics and Religion; Journal of Education Policy; Acta

Politica; Equity & Excellence in Education; Journal of Geographical Systems; School Leadership & Management; Cambridge Journal of Education; Oxford University Press; De Gruyter; Rowman & Littlefield; Springer; Lexington Books; SUNY Press

College Service

Faculty Associate Director, Goldfarb Center, Colby College	2023-Present
Outside Member, Reappointment Committee	2025
McVey Center for Computational and Data Sciences, Advisory Board	2025-Present
Hiring Committee, Director of Colby Center for Resiliency and Economy Impact	2025
Hiring Committee, DavisConnects, Director of Employment and Community Partnerships	2025
Faculty Representative to Board of Trustees, Honorary Degrees Committee	2024-2026
Committee to Establish a Public Policy Major, Colby College	2024-2025
Hiring Committee for Public Policy Post-Doc, Colby College	2024
Hiring Committee for Tenure-Track Faculty, Colby College	2021, 2023, 2024
Faculty Advisory Board, Goldfarb Center, Colby College	2022-2023
Hiring Committee, Goldfarb Center Executive Director, Colby College	2022
Committee to Establish a Public Policy Major, Colby College	2022
Faculty Representative, Truman Scholarship Foundation	2021-Present
Appointed Member, Admissions and Financial Aid Committee, Colby College	2021-2022
Co-Principal Investigator, The Colby Poll	2020
Assistant Director, State Constitution Project, Arizona State University	2018-2020
Honors Examiner, UVA Politics Dept., Honors Program	2017, 2019
Grant Reviewer, UVA Graduate School of Arts and Sciences	2019
Instructional Assistant, UVA Politics Dept., Honors Program	2017, 2018
Coordinator, UVA Politics Dept., Admitted Graduate Student Day	2017, 2018, 2019
Department Representative, UVA Graduate School of Arts and Sciences	2015-2016
Teaching and Research Assistant, Miller Center, Gilder Lehrman Teacher's Seminar	2015

Professional Service

Editorial Board Member, Maine Policy Review	2025-Present
Director and Principle Investigator, <i>NorthPoll: Maine's Civic Compass</i>	2025-Present
Board Member, Rural-Urban Bridge Initiative	2025-Present
Principle Investigator, Rural Voter Survey (Collaborative Instrument)	2024, 2025
Advisor, Project Vote Smart	2023-2025
Chair, Politics and History Section, New England Political Science Association	2022-2023
U.S. Department of the Treasury, USA-Spending Advisory Consultant	2020-2024
Awards Committee, APSA Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations	2019-2020
Advisory Board Member, UMW College of Education	2011-2015

PRESENTATIONS

Invited Presentations, Institutes, and Symposia (Selected)

Pluralism and Self-Governance, Institute for Human Studies	2025
"Federalism and Rural-Urban Divides"	
Revitalizing American Institutions, Stanford University	2025
"Beyond Red and Blue"	
Rural Sociology Society Annual Meeting	2024
"Author Meets Critics: The Rural Voter"	
Institute of Politics, University of Chicago	2024
"Keynote Address, Bridging the Divide Conference"	

European Commission, Directorate General for Internal Market "Research Conference on Single Market"	2024
Mercatus Center, George Mason University "Applied Research on Markets & Morality"	2023
University of Oslo, Norway "The Politics of European and American Single-Market Governance"	2022
Oxford University and Stanford University "The Changing Character of the American Right"	2021
Wright Symposium, American Society for Public Administration "If Congress Can't Budget, Can It Influence Intergovernmental Relations?"	2021
Mercatus Center, George Mason University (Postponed due to COVID-19) "Public Governance and the Classical-Liberal Perspective"	2020
American Political Science Association, APSA Roundtable "Executive Federalism and Populist Challenges to Governance"	2019
Oxford University, Pembroke College "State Constitutional Development and Living Repositories"	2018
University of Toronto, Toronto Political Development Workshop "Urban Political Development"	2018
Oxford University, Nuffield College and the Rothermere American Institute "Social Movements and the American State"	2017
Institute for Humane Studies and Liberty Fund "Federalism and Competition"	2017
John Marshall International Center for the Study of Statesmanship "The Promise and Peril of an Energetic Executive"	2016
Jack Miller Center for Teaching America's Founding Principles and History "Property, Power, and the Rise of Atlantic Constitutions"	2015

Conference Presentations

American Political Science Association; American Society for Public Administration; Association for Budgeting and Fiscal Management; New England Political Science Association; Policy History Conference; Southern Political Science Association; Virginia Social Studies Association

Media Interviews

The Washington Post; The New York Times; Wall Street Journal; USA Today; The Boston Globe; NPR (and affiliates); The Times of London; CNN; BBC; C-Span; Daily Yonder; Forbes; Bloomberg; VOX; Fortune; Real Clear Politics; Roll Call; The Hill; Politico; The Atlantic; Verge; American Banker; Maine 207; News Center Maine; Portland Press Herald; Kennebec Journal; Maine Morning Sentinel