



# Elizabeth (Liz) McKenna

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## Academic Appointments

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HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL (2022–)

Assistant Professor of Public Policy

Faculty Affiliations: Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Bloomberg Center for Cities, Center for Public Leadership

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY (2020–2022)

Postdoctoral Scholar at the SNF Agora Institute and the P3 Lab

## Education

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Ph.D. in Sociology, 2020

M.A. in Sociology, 2015

Committee: Mara Loveman (chair), Samuel Lucas, Kim Voss, and Paul Pierson

❖ 2021 American Sociological Association Best Dissertation Award [\[link\]](#)

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

A.B. with high honors in Social Studies, 2008

❖ Thomas T. Hoopes Prize

## Research

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### Books

Hahrie Han, Elizabeth McKenna, and Michelle Oyakawa. 2021. *Prisms of the People: Power and Organizing in 21st Century America*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

❖ 2022 American Political Science Association Michael Harrington Book Award

Elizabeth McKenna and Hahrie Han. 2014. *Groundbreakers: How Obama's 2.2 Million Volunteers Transformed Campaigning in America*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

### Book Project

Elizabeth McKenna. *The Revolution Will Be Organized: Power and Protest in Brazil's New Republic, 1988-2018*. Under review.

## Peer-Reviewed Articles and Chapters

Hahrie Han, Elizabeth McKenna, and Andrea Campbell. 2022. "Civic Feedbacks: Linking Collective Action, Organizational Strategy, and Influence over Public Policy." *Perspectives on Politics*, 1-15. [\[link\]](#)

Elizabeth McKenna. 2020. "Taxes and Tithes: The Organizational Foundations of Bolsonarismo." *International Sociology* 35 (6): 610-631. [\[link\]](#)

❖ Selected by IS editors as the September 2022 article of the month

Michelle Oyakawa, Elizabeth McKenna, Hahrie Han. 2020. "Habits of Courage: Reconceptualizing Risk in Social Movement Organizing." *Journal of Community Psychology*, 1-21. [\[link\]](#)

Breno Bringel and Elizabeth McKenna. 2020. "Social Movements in a Global Context" in Walter W. Powell and Patricia Bromley, eds. *The Nonprofit Sector: A Research Handbook* (Third Edition). Stanford University Press, 631-647. [\[link\]](#)

Marshall Ganz and Elizabeth McKenna. 2018. "Bringing Leadership Back In" in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Holly McCammon, eds. *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Second Edition). Wiley-Blackwell, 185-202. [\[link\]](#)

Hahrie Han and Elizabeth McKenna. 2016. "The Untilled Field of Field Campaigns." *Perspectives on Politics* 14(3): 750-57. [\[link\]](#)

## Papers under review

Elizabeth McKenna. "From Mobilization to Organization: The Dynamics of Protest in the Digital Age." Revise and resubmit. *American Sociological Review*.

❖ Herbert Blumer Paper Prize, UC Berkeley Department of Sociology

Matthew Richmond and Elizabeth McKenna. "Placing the Peripheries Within Brazil's Rightward Turn: Urban Transformation and Electoral Realignment." Accepted with minor revisions. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*.

## Working papers

Elizabeth McKenna and Maria Paola Ometto. "The Boycott That Never Was: Political Capitalism and the Targets of Contention in Brazil." (Revising manuscript)

Elizabeth McKenna. "All Politics is Social: The Microfoundations of Social Movement Momentum." (In preparation)

Elizabeth McKenna. "Electoral Sandcastles: The Problem of Civic and Political Infrastructure Funding in America." (Data analysis)

## Engaged scholarship

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Hahrie Han, Elizabeth McKenna, Michelle Oyakawa. 2021. "Media Depicts Activists as One-Issue Ideologues. The Good Ones are Anything But." *Washington Post, Monkey Cage*.

Hahrie Han, Elizabeth McKenna, Michelle Oyakawa. 2021. "Beyond Numbers." *Stanford Social Innovation Review*.

Michelle Oyakawa, Elizabeth McKenna, Hahrie Han. 2021. "Constituency as an Independent Source of Power." *Social Science Research Council*.

- Hahrie Han and Elizabeth McKenna. 2021. "To Learn About the Democratic Party's Future, Look to What Latino Organizers did in Arizona." *The Washington Post, Monkey Cage*.
- Hahrie Han, Elizabeth McKenna, Michelle Oyakawa. 2021. "Book chat with the authors of *Prisms of the People*." *Markets, Power, and Culture*.
- Hahrie Han and Elizabeth McKenna. 2021. "The AMOS Project and the Campaign for Universal Preschool." *SNF Agora Case Studies Series*.
- Doran Schrantz, Michelle Oyakawa, Elizabeth McKenna. 2020. "Building Political Bases to Make Multiracial Democracy Work." *Stanford Social Innovation Review*.
- Elizabeth McKenna and Peter Levine. 2020. "The ISIAAH Trash Referendum." *SNF Agora Case Studies Series*.
- Matthew Richmond and Elizabeth McKenna. 2020. "Revoltas Regionais: Direitização Eleitoral no Brasil e nos EUA." *Horizontes ao Sul*.
- Elizabeth McKenna. 2018. "The Life and Death of Brazil's New Republic." *Berkeley Review of Latin American Studies*, Winter Issue: 14-19; 55-57.
- Hahrie Han and Elizabeth McKenna. 2017. "Hillary for America and the 2016 Election: A Field Organization Inquiry and Debrief." Confidential report.
- Elizabeth McKenna. 2017. "Reforma Eleitoral: Mudar Tudo Para Não Mudar Nada." *NEXO*. Translation cross-posted on *The Berkeley Blog* and the *Berkeley Center for Latin American Studies*.
- Marshall Ganz and Elizabeth McKenna. 2017. "The Practice of Social Movement Leadership." *Mobilizing Ideas*.
- Elizabeth McKenna. 2015. "Tottering Toward the Brink: Brazil's Political Unraveling." *Berkeley Review of Latin American Studies*, Fall Issue: 22-27.
- Rebecca Tarlau and Elizabeth McKenna. 2015. "The Myth of Unified Unrest in Brazil." *Berkeley Center for Latin American Studies*.
- Hahrie Han and Elizabeth McKenna. 2014. "Engaging Voters Can Kick Start Community Activism." *The Washington Post, Monkey Cage*.
- Hahrie Han and Elizabeth McKenna. 2014. "Getting Out The Vote: Not All Ground Games Are Alike." *The Conversation*.
- Elizabeth McKenna. 2014. "Where Are The Protests? The Fitful Giant and Its *Futebol*." *Berkeley Center for Latin American Studies*.

## Awards and honors

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- 2021 American Sociological Association Best Dissertation Award [\[link\]](#)
- 2019 Herbert Blumer Paper Prize, UC Berkeley Department of Sociology
- 2015 Public Sociology Prize, for service in the *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* editorial collective
- 2008 Harvard College Thomas T. Hoopes Prize, for outstanding undergraduate thesis
- 2003 San Mateo County Women's Hall of Fame, Young Woman of Excellence

## Grants and fellowships

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2014-2019	National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship
2017-2018	Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship
2018	UC Berkeley Department of Sociology Leo Lowenthal Fellowship
2016-2017	Stanford Center on Philanthropy and Civil Society Pre-Doctoral Fellowship
2017	National Science Foundation Graduate Research Opportunities Worldwide
2013-2014	Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship (for Brazilian Portuguese)
2014	UC Berkeley Social Justice Fellowship
2014	UC Berkeley Center for Latin American Studies Travel Grant
2008	Elliot and Anne Richardson Public Service Fellowship
2008	Alex G. Booth Travel Fellowship
2007	David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies Grant
2006	Carl and Lily Pforzheimer Public Service Fellowship

## Invited presentations

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"The Global Rise of the Far Right" (with Kathleen Blee and Marco Garrido)

116th Meeting of the American Sociological Association (August 10, 2021)

*Prisms of the People: Power and Organizing in 21st Century America* book talk series (Spring 2021)

### ACADEMIC

George Mason University, Organization Development and Knowledge (January 20, 2021)

University of California, Irvine Center for the Study of Democracy (March 5, 2021)

University of California, Los Angeles Movements, Organizations, and Markets (April 8, 2021)

Scholars Strategy Network (April 27, 2021)

Harvard Kennedy School, Ash Center for Democratic Governance (May 4, 2021) [\[link\]](#)

### PRACTITIONER

New Virginia Majority All-Staff Meeting (April 9, 2021)

Leading Change Network (April 21, 2021)

Ohio Organizing Collaborative All-Staff Retreat (April 21, 2021)

PowerLabs (April 29, 2021) [\[link\]](#)

Climate Advocacy Lab Keynote Address (May 18, 2021)

Organizing Empowerment Project (May 24 and June 14, 2021)

### PHILANTHROPY

Ford Foundation event co-sponsored by the Chan-Zuckerberg Initiative, Democracy and Power Innovation Fund, Funders' Committee for Civic Participation, Heising-Simons Foundation, JPB Foundation, W.K. Kellogg Foundation, and the Rockefeller Family Fund (May 11, 2021) [\[link\]](#)

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (May 12, 2021)

"Flipping the Formula to Build Multiracial Governing Power in America" (with Joy Cushman)

Australia Progress Global Study Tour (May 26, 2021) [\[link\]](#)

"From Patients to Voters: Civic Engagement in Health Care" (with Deborah Turner, Parissa Ballard, and Alister Martin)

Harvard Kennedy School, Ash Center for Democratic Governance (August 5, 2020) [\[link\]](#)

"The Revolution Will Be Organized: Power and Protest in Brazil's New Republic, 1988-2018"

Notre Dame Young Scholars in Social Movements Conference, South Bend, IN (May 3, 2019)

"Democratic Dilemmas: Shifting Political Terrain in Brazil"

Grupo de Brasileiros Pesquisadores, Estudantes, e Profissionais de Tecnologia e Inovação, Stanford, CA (May 22, 2019); Summer institute on the global rise of authoritarianism for community college instructors. Office of Resources for International and Area Studies, Berkeley, CA (May 31, 2019)

"People, Power, and Change: Democracy and Organizing in the U.S. and Brazil"

Public talk with Marshall Ganz at the University of California, Santa Barbara, CA (January 17, 2019)

"How Movements Build Power: Leadership, Strategy, and Organization in Four American States"

Democratic Anxieties, Democratic Resilience. Social Science Research Council and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Mainz, DE (June 15, 2017)

*Groundbreakers: How Obama's 2.2 Million Volunteers Transformed Campaigning in America* book talks

Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA (April 10, 2015) and the Wellesley Club of the Bay Area, Berkeley, CA (April 11, 2015)

## Selected conference presentations

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"Far Right Revolution: The Organizational Antecedents of Political Pendulum Swings"

117th Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Virtual/Seattle, WA). 2021.

"The Long March for Jesus: Civil Society and the Collapse of Brazil's New Republic"

III Congresso da Associação de Brazilianistas na Europa (Virtual/Prague, CZ). 2021.

"The Revolution Will Be Organized: Power and Protest in Brazil's New Republic, 1988-2018"

114th Meeting of the American Sociological Association (New York, NY). 2019; Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting (Barcelona, ES). 2018.

"Perennial Plutocracy: The Role of Capital in the Return of Authoritarianism to Brazil"

American Sociological Association Political Sociology Mini-Conference (New York, NY). 2019; UC Berkeley Center for Right-Wing Studies Inaugural Conference (Berkeley, CA). 2019.

"The Boycott that Never Was: Challenges to the Private Sector in Brazil, 1975-2015"

UCLA Conference on Social Movements, Institutions, and the Economy (Los Angeles, CA). 2016.

"Counting Protesters, or Making Protest Count? The Dynamics of Mobilization in the Digital Age"

Kellogg-Northwestern Conference on Social Movements the Economy (Evanston, IL). 2015. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* Annual Conference (San Diego, CA). 2017,

"A Tale of Three Cities: Class and Politics in Brazil's June Days and Beyond"

110th Meeting of the American Sociological Association. (Chicago, IL). 2015.

"Democratic Organizing and the Academy"

109th Meeting of the American Sociological Association (San Francisco, CA). 2014.

## Teaching

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Co-Instructor of Record for Practicing Democracy (AS.191.367). Johns Hopkins University. 2020.

Graduate Student Instructor for Sociology 5: Research Methods (Heather Haveman). 2016.

Guest lectures: San Francisco State, UC Berkeley Haas School of Business, University of Toronto.

## Service & mentoring

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Research partner and learning cohort advisor, Democracy and Power Innovation Fund, 2019-present

Advisory board member, Leading Change Network, 2014-2019

Sub-theme co-organizer, Latin American and European Organization Studies, 2018

Grad student coordinator, UC Berkeley Social Justice Fellowship, 2014-2016

Editorial board member, *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 2013-2016

Senior thesis mentor, John Towey (political and cultural attitudes towards organized labor), 2016

Conference co-organizer, UC Berkeley Sociology Social Movements Conference, 2015

Ad hoc reviewer for the *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Mobilization*, and the *Journal of Community Psychology*

## Skills and training

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Languages: Portuguese (fluent), Spanish (advanced)

Technical: R (intermediate), Qualtrics, Git/GitHub, NVivo, L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X, Python (basic)

## Other work experience

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Obama for America (Columbus, OH): Field Organizer; Regional Field Director. 2008; 2012

New Sector Alliance (Oakland, CA): Founding Program Manager. 2010-2012.

Center for Digital Inclusion (Rio de Janeiro, BR): Manager, Public Sector Initiatives. 2009-2010.

## References

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**Mara Loveman**

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University of California, Berkeley  
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**Hahrie Han**

Professor of Political Science  
Director of the SNF Agora Institute  
Johns Hopkins University  
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**Marshall Ganz**

Rita E. Hauser Senior Lecturer in  
Leadership, Organizing, and Civil Society  
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**Kim Voss**

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**Walter W. Powell**

Jacks Family Professor of Education, Sociology,  
Organizational Behavior, Management Science  
and Engineering, and Communication  
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**Paul Pierson**

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