

## Molly Elizabeth Reynolds

The Brookings Institution  
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### Experience

**The Brookings Institution**, Washington, DC  
Senior Fellow, Governance Studies, 2019-present  
Fellow, Governance Studies, 2015-2018

### Education

**University of Michigan**, Ann Arbor, MI  
Ph.D., Joint Program in Political Science and Public Policy, August 2015  
M.A., Political Science, December 2012  
Dissertation Title: *Exceptions to the Rule: Majoritarian Procedures and Majority Party Power in the U.S. Senate*  
Dissertation Committee: Richard Hall and Charles Shipan, co-chairs; Kenneth Kollman, Elisabeth Gerber

**Smith College**, Northampton, MA  
B.A., Government (major), Economics (minor), 2006  
*Magna cum laude*, with Highest Honors in Government

### Awards and Fellowships

- Carl Albert Award for Best Dissertation in Legislative Studies, Legislative Studies Section, American Political Science Association, 2016
- Gerald R. Ford Fellowship, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan (\$20,000), 2014-15
- Gerald R. Ford Research Grant, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan (\$1,854), 2014-15
- Horowitz Foundation for Social Policy Research Grant (\$7,500), 2013
- Margaret Ayers Host Award, Rackham Graduate School, University of Michigan (\$5,000), 2013
- Centennial Spring/Summer Fellowship, Rackham Graduate School, University of Michigan (\$6,000), 2012
- Summer Collaboration Fellowship, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan (\$3,000, with Richard L. Hall), 2012
- National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship, Honorable Mention, 2009, 2010, and 2011
- Rackham Merit Fellow, University of Michigan, 2009-2015
- Dawes Prize for the Best Undergraduate Work on Political Science, Smith College, 2006
- Phi Beta Kappa, Smith College, 2005 (elected as a junior)

## **Books**

*Exceptions to the Rule: The Politics of Filibuster Limitations in the U.S. Senate* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2017).

## **Peer-Reviewed Publications**

“The Personal or the Partisan? The Politics of House Appropriations Amendments, 1985-2016,” forthcoming 2019, *Congress and the Presidency*

“‘Big Money’ Wasted? Issue Advertising and Legislative Voting on the Affordable Care Act,” *Political Research Quarterly* 71.1 (March 2018): 102-114, with Richard L. Hall

“Putting the Brakes on Greased Wheels: The Politics of Weak Obstruction in the United States Senate,” *Congress and the Presidency* 44.3 (October 2017): 344-368, with Daniel B. Magleby

“Targeted Issue Advertising: The Inside Ends of Outside Lobbying,” *Journal of Politics* 74.3 (July 2012): 888-902, with Richard L. Hall

## **Work in Progress**

“Who Fights the Good Party Fight? Individual Incentives to Engage in Partisan Messaging in the U.S. Senate”

“Just How Unorthodox? Assessing Committee Deliberation on the Components of Omnibus Spending Bills,” with Peter Hanson (Grinnell College)

“The Politics of Legislative Fluff,” with Pamela Clouser McCann (University of Southern California)

“Team Players or Spoilers? Gubernatorial Participation in Health Care Debates,” with Elizabeth Mann Levesque (Brookings)

“The Decline in Congressional Capacity,” for edited volume on congressional capacity; Lee Drutman, Kevin Kosar, and Tim LaPira, eds.

“The Politics of Gender,” with Nancy Burns and Donald R. Kinder, for edited volume *New Directions in Public Opinion*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Adam Berinsky, ed.

## **Book Chapters and Selected Non-Peer Reviewed Publications**

“The President and Congress,” in *The Obama Legacy*, eds. Andrew Rudalevige and Bert Rockman (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, forthcoming)

“Financing the 2016 Congressional Elections,” with Richard L. Hall, in *Financing the 2016 Elections*, ed. David B. Magleby (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, forthcoming)

*Vital Statistics on Congress*, The Brookings Institution, on-going (last update May 2018)

- “What If You Could Pick the Pivot? Budget Reconciliation and Pivotal Politics in the Contemporary Congress,” *Journal of Politics* 80.3 (July 2018): 1069-1075
- “Is It Even Possible to Succeed as House G.O.P. Speaker?” *New York Times*, April 12, 2018
- “Trump’s Problem Isn’t the Filibuster. It’s the Republicans,” *New York Times*, April 5, 2018
- “Yes, Congress Could Shut the Government Down Tomorrow. It Probably Won’t,” *Monkey Cage*, *Washington Post*, January 18, 2018
- “Congress Just Averted a Government Shutdown—But Maybe Not for Long,” *Monkey Cage*, *Washington Post*, December 8, 2017 (with Sarah Binder and John Sides)
- “This Is Why the Congressional Budget Process is Broken,” *Monkey Cage*, *Washington Post*, October 16, 2017
- “Procedural Politics at the Start of the 115<sup>th</sup> Congress,” *Extensions: A Journal of the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center*, Summer 2017
- “Considering the Budget Resolution in the Senate: Challenges and Consequences of Reform,” *The Brookings Institution*, May 2017
- “Congress Just Dodged a Government Shutdown. Here’s What Comes Next,” *Monkey Cage*, *Washington Post*, April 28, 2017
- “How the Health-Care Debacle Exposed Republicans’ Serious Weaknesses, None of Which are Going Away Soon,” *New York Post*, March 24, 2017
- “Fiscal Fights of the Obama Administration,” with Phillip Wallach, *The Brookings Institution*, December 2016
- “5 Tips on How U.S. Presidents Can Work Best with Congress,” *Monkey Cage*, *Washington Post*, December 1, 2016 (with Tony Lucadamo)
- “End of the Honeymoon?” with Jeff Chidester and Tony Lucadamo, *Miller Center at the University of Virginia*, November 2016
- “Four storylines in competitive House races could shape the nation’s future,” *Las Vegas Sun*, September 26, 2016
- “What Congress Has, and Hasn’t, Accomplished on Spending Legislation,” August 5, 2016, *WSJ Washington Wire*
- “What a smaller Republican House majority could mean for Paul Ryan,” April 11, 2016, *WSJ Washington Wire*
- “From Base Closings to the Budget: Exceptions to the Filibuster in the United States Senate,” in *Party and Procedure in the United States Congress*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., eds. Jacob Straus and Matthew Glassman (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016)

“Restoring Congress as the First Branch,” with Kevin R. Kosar, Lee Drutman, Paul Glasstris, Yuval Levin, and Jonathan Rauch, *R Street Policy Study No. 50*, R Street Institute, January 2016

“The Politics of Gender,” with Nancy Burns, Ashley E. Jardina, and Donald R. Kinder, in *New Directions in Public Opinion*, ed. Adam J. Berinsky (New York: Routledge, 2015)

“Truth and Reconciliation,” with Thomas Mann and Norman Ornstein, *The New Republic*, April 20, 2009.

“Assessing the 110th Congress, Anticipating the 111th,” with Sarah Binder, Thomas Mann, and Norman Ornstein, *Mending the Broken Branch*, vol. 3, The Brookings Institution, January 2009

“Could Congress Be Waking Up?” with Thomas Mann, *New York Times*, January 19, 2008

“One Year Later: Is Congress Still the Broken Branch?” with Sarah Binder and Thomas Mann, *Mending the Broken Branch*, vol. 2, The Brookings Institution, January 2008

“Is the Broken Branch on the Mend? An Early Report on the 110th Congress,” with Sarah Binder and Thomas Mann, *Mending the Broken Branch*, vol. 1, The Brookings Institution, October 2007

“A New, Improved Congress?” with Thomas Mann, *New York Times*, August 26, 2007

“Is Congress on the Mend?” with Thomas Mann, *New York Times*, April 28, 2007

### **Conference Papers**

“Just How Unorthodox? Assessing Committee Deliberation on the Components of Omnibus Spending Bills,” presented at the 2018 Congressional Rules and Procedures Conference, University of Georgia and the 2018 Conference on Effective Lawmaking, Vanderbilt University

“The Politics of Legislative Fluff,” presented at the 2018 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL

“The Decline in Congressional Capacity,” presented at The State of Congressional Capacity Conference, New America Foundation, March 2018

“The Personal or the Partisan? The Politics of House Appropriations Amendments, 1985-2016,” presented at the 2017 Congress and History Conference, Washington, D.C., and the 2017 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA

“Using Procedural Change to Obscure the Causal Chain: Creating Delegation Exceptions in the U.S. Senate,” presented at the 2015 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL

“Procedural Change for Policy Gain: Creating Majoritarian Exceptions in the U.S. Senate,” presented at the 2014 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.

“Restraining the President through Majoritarian Rule Change in the United States Senate,” presented at the 2014 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL

“Picking the Pivot: Use and Consequences of the Budget Reconciliation Procedures in the United States Senate,” presented at the 2013 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL

“Rules, Roll Calls, and Representation: Special Rules and the Roll Call Record in the House of Representatives,” with Daniel B. Magleby, presented at the 2013 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL

“Issue Advertising and Legislative Voting on the Affordable Care Act,” with Richard L. Hall, presented at the 2013 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL

“Designing State Legislative Institutions: The Case of Tax and Expenditure Limitations,” presented at the 2012 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL

“The Cost of Doing Business: Obstruction, Roll Calls, and Unanimous Consent in the United States Senate,” with Daniel B. Magleby, presented at the 2012 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL

“Partisan Gender Gaps and Racial Divides,” with Nancy Burns, Ashley E. Jardina, and Donald R. Kinder, presented at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA

“Issue Advertising and Roll Call Voting,” with Richard L. Hall, presented at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL

“Issue Advertising and Legislative Advocacy,” with Richard L. Hall, presented at the 2010 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.

### **Selected Invited Presentations**

2018: Yale University (American Politics and Public Policy Workshop); National Community Action Foundation; Brookings Mountain West/University of Nevada, Las Vegas; The Hoover Institution; University of North Carolina (American Politics Workshop)

2017: University of Oklahoma (Carl Albert Center); University of Southern California (Price School Governance Salon); New America/R Street Legislative Branch Capacity Working Group; American Association for the Advancement of Science; The Hoover Institution; American University (Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies); American Network of Community Options and Resources; Consortium for Citizens with Disabilities

2016: Brookings Mountain West/University of Nevada, Las Vegas; National Budgeting Roundtable; University of Virginia (American Politics Workshop)

2015: House Democracy Partnership/National Democratic Institute Parliamentary Exchange Program

### **Past Professional Experience**

Research Assistant, Professors Nancy Burns and Donald Kinder, University of Michigan, 2010-2015

Research Assistant, Professor Kenneth Kollman, University of Michigan, 2010

Research Assistant, Professor Michael Traugott, University of Michigan, 2009

Senior Research Coordinator, Senior Fellows Thomas Mann and Sarah Binder, Governance Studies, The Brookings Institution, 2006-2009

### **Teaching Experience**

*George Mason University:*

Instructor, Public Administration 540: Public Policy Process, Spring 2017, Spring 2018, Spring 2019.

*University of Michigan:*

Instructor, Political Science 311: American Political Processes, Summer 2014

Instructor, introductory American politics module for incoming international masters' students, Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy, August 2014

Graduate Student Instructor, Political Science 326: American State Politics (Professor Jenna Bednar), Fall 2010; Fall 2011

Graduate Student Instructor/Administrative Assistant, Political Science 111: Introduction to American Politics (Professor Kenneth Kollman), Winter 2012

### **Additional Training**

Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models Summer Institute, Princeton University, Summer 2012

### **Pedagogical Training**

University of Michigan Graduate Teacher Certificate, Fall 2014

Sweetland 993 (half-semester training for upper-level writing instructors), Fall 2010

POLSCI 993 (one-semester instructor training), Fall 2010

Center for Research on Learning and Teaching GSI Teaching Orientation, Fall 2010

### **Institutional and Departmental Service**

Co-moderator (with Michael O'Hanlon), Brookings Institution Pechman Lunch, 2018-present

Brookings Institution Inclusion and Diversity Committee

- Co-chair, 2018-present
- Governance Studies representative, 2016-present

Co-President, Graduate Association of Political Scientists (GAPS), 2012-2013

Co-Coordinator, Interdisciplinary Workshop on American Politics, University of Michigan Department of Political Science, 2011-2012

Member, Admissions Committee, Joint Doctoral Program in Political Science and Public Policy, Ford School of Public Policy, University of Michigan, 2012

Member, Women's Caucus, University of Michigan Department of Political Science, 2009-2015

### **Professional Service**

Member, Advisory Committee, US 2050, Peterson and Ford Foundations, 2018-present

Reviewer for: *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Research and Politics*, *Congress and the Presidency*, *Political Research Quarterly*

Conference discussant: Midwest Political Science Association (2018); American Political Science Association (2017); Midwest Political Science Association (2011); "Presidential Power in the United States: Emerging Research," University of Michigan (2014)

### **References**

Available upon request.

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