

**JON A. SHIELDS**  
Government Department  
Claremont McKenna College

**Education**

Ph.D., University of Virginia, Politics, 2006

B.A., University of California, Santa Barbara, Law and Society, 1997 (High Honors)

**Professional Experience:**

Professor of Government, Claremont McKenna College, 2021-

Associate Professor, 2012-2021

Assistant Professor, 2008-2012

Assistant Professor of Political Science, CU—Colorado Springs, 2007-2008

Visiting Assistant Professor of Government, Cornell University, 2006-2007

Research Assistant, Governance Studies, Brookings Institution, 1998-2000

**Fellowships, Grants, Awards:**

G. David Huntoon Senior Teaching Award, 2025

Distinguished Service Award, 2025

Research grant, Randolph Foundation, 2018-19

Course development grant, Koch Foundation, 2017, 2019

Course development grant, Claremont McKenna College, Summer 2016

Research grant, Earhart Foundation, 2014-15

Research grant, Randolph Foundation, 2011-13

Course development grant, Institute for the Study of Secular Society, 2008-09

Dissertation Fellow, Center on Religion and Democracy, University of Virginia, 2005-06

Dissertation Fellow, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 2004-05

President's Fellowship, University of Virginia, 2001-03

Bradley Fellowship, University of Virginia, 2000-04

**Professional Service:**

Member, Alliance for Civics in the Academy, Hoover Institution, 2025-

Member, AEI Conservative Education Reform Network, 2023-

Extended Faculty, Claremont Graduate University, 2023-

Liberty Council, National Liberty Museum in Philadelphia, 2023-

Founding Member, Academic Freedom Alliance, 2021-  
Associated Faculty, Salvatori Center for the Study of Individual Freedom, 2018-  
Member, Heterodox Academy, 2015-  
Co-Director of the Open Academy, Claremont McKenna College, 2022-25  
National Fellowship Advisory Council, Jefferson Scholars Foundation, 2017-2020  
Editorial Advisory Board, *Society*, 2011-21

**Books:**

*The Republican Civil War: What Liz Cheney's Wyoming Tells Us About a Divided American Right* (forthcoming from Oxford University Press, 2026), with Stephanie Muravchik.

*Trump's Democrats* (Brookings Institution Press, 2020), with Stephanie Muravchik.

Reviewed or featured in *America Magazine*, *Boston Globe*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Claremont Review of Books*, *Cranston Herald*, *First Things*, *New York Times*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Politico*, *Providence Journal*, *Revista de Libros*, *Society*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Monthly*.

*Passing on the Right: Conservative Professors in the Progressive University* (Oxford University Press, 2016), with Joshua M. Dunn.

Reviewed or featured in *Academe*, *Academic Questions*, *American Interest*, *The Atlantic*, *BloombergView*, *Boston Magazine*, *Campus Reform*, *Chronicle Review*, *Claremont Review of Books*, *Contemporary Sociology*, *First Things*, *Independent Review*, *Inside Higher Ed*, *Intercollegiate Review*, *National Review*, *New Criterion*, *New York Post*, *New Republic*, *New York Times*, *Philanthropy*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Psychology Today*, *Reason*, *Society*, *Townhall*, *Vox*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Washington Times*, *Weekly Standard*.

*The Democratic Virtues of the Christian Right* (Princeton University Press, 2009).

Reviewed or featured in the *Books and Culture*, *Choice*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Chronicle Review*, *Claremont Review of Books*, *First Things*, *Journal of American Studies of Turkey*, *Journal of Church and State*, *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, *New York Times*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Political Theology*, *Politics and Religion*, *Review of Politics*, and *Society*.

### **Articles and Essays:**

“Closed Classrooms? An Analysis of College Syllabi on Contentious Issues,” Working Paper, July 10, 2025, with Yuval Avnir and Stephanie Muravchik.

Featured in *New York Times*, *The Hill*, *The Chicago Tribune*, *The Jewish Journal*, *Real Clear Politics*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *The Chronicle of Higher Education*

“Trump: New Populist or Old Democrat?” *Critical Review* 31(3-4) 2020: 405-419, with Stephanie Muravchik.

“Religion and the Marriage Problem,” *National Affairs* Number 40 (Summer 2019): 129-146.

“How Catholics and Jews Remade American Politics—And Why We Slight Their Contributions,” *Journal of Church and State* 60(4) 2018: 614-635, with Stephanie Muravchik.

“The Disappearing Conservative Professor,” *National Affairs* Number 37 (Fall 2018): 138-150.

“Fighting Liberalism’s Excesses: Moral Crusades During the Reagan Revolution,” *Journal of Policy History* 26(1) 2014: 103-120.

“The Politics of Motherhood Revisited,” *Contemporary Sociology* 41(1) 2012: 43-48.

“Almost Human: Ambivalence in the Pro-Choice and Pro-Life Movements,” *Critical Review* 23(4) 2011: 495-515.

“Framing the Christian Right: How Progressives and Post-War Liberals Constructed the Religious Right,” *Journal of Church and State* 53(4) 2011: 635-655.

“The Demise of Feminist Communitarianism,” *Perspectives on Political Science* 40(1) 2011: 9-15, with Steven Serna, Pomona `12.

“Abortion and Deliberation: A Rejoinder to Talisse and Maloney,” *Critical Review* 20(1-2) 2008: 181-194.

“Between Passion and Deliberation: The Christian Right and Democratic Ideals,” *Political Science Quarterly* 122(1) 2007: 89-113.

“Christian Citizens: The Promise and Limits of Deliberation,” *Critical Review* 19(1) 2007: 93-109.

**Commentary:**

“Our Therapeutic War over Higher Education,” *Washington Monthly*, forthcoming August 2025.

“Evidence Backs Trump on Higher Ed’s Bias,” *Wall Street Journal*, 13 August 2025, with Yuval Avnir. (Similar version ran in print on August 14)

“These Scholarly Topics Are Hotly Debated. So Why Don’t Syllabi Reflect That?” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 22 July 2025, interview with Emma Pettit.

“This Professor Wants to Win the GOP Bros Back,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 6 May 2025, interview with Jack Stripling for *College Matters* podcast.

“How Universities Die,” *The Chronicle Review*, 4 September 2024.

“JD Vance, Former Cultural Conservative,” *Discourse Magazine*, 3 September 2024.

“Why Abortion Rights Keep Winning in Red States,” *The Atlantic*, 8 November 2023.

“Republicans in Wyoming See Clearly What is Happening,” *New York Times*, 7 September 2023, with Stephanie Muravchik. (Similar version ran in print on September 9)

“Liberal Professors Can Rescue the GOP,” *New York Times*, 23 March 2023. (Similar version ran in print on March 24)

“Liz Cheney and the Twilight of the Old Republican Elite,” *New York Times*, 16 August 2022, with Stephanie Muravchik. (Similar version ran in print on August 18)

“I’m a Conservative Professor Who Opposed Safe Spaces. I was Wrong.” *New York Times*, 7 April 2022. (Similar version ran in print on April 10 in Sunday Review)

“How Donald Trump’s Brutish Code of Honor Explains His Feud with Liz Cheney,” *New York Times*, 3 February 2022. (Similar version ran in print on February 5)

“A Hard But Real Compromise is Possible on Abortion,” *New York Times*, 19 October 2021. (Similar version ran in print on October 21)

“Trump’s Democrats,” *The Glenn Show*, 16 November 2020, interview with Glenn Loury.

“Those Obama-Trump Counties,” *The Bulwark*, 7 November 2020, with Stephanie Muravchik.

“Why Trump Made Gains Among Minority Men Against Biden,” *Fortune*, 6 November 2020, with Stephanie Muravchik.

“Biden Should Adopt Identity Politics of Place,” *Real Clear Policy*, 16 October 2020, with Stephanie Muravchik.

“The Other Democratic Party,” *The Bulwark*, 4 October 2020, with Stephanie Muravchik.

“Those Biden Gaffes? Some Key Voters Actually Like Them,” *New York Times*, 16 September 2020, with Stephanie Muravchik.

“A Conservative Case for Identity Politics,” *New York Times*, 23 January 2018.

“When College Classrooms become Ideologically Segregated, Everyone Suffers,” *NBC THINK*, 8 November 2017.

“Campus Unicorns: Conservative Teachers,” *Wall Street Journal*, 21 April 2016, with Joshua Dunn.

“Do Universities Need Affirmative Action for Conservative Professors?” *Los Angeles Times*, 20 March 2016, with Joshua Dunn.

“No, We’re Not Self-Hating Conservatives,” *National Review Online*, 15 March 2016, with Joshua Dunn.

“Academia isn’t so bad for Conservative Professors,” *Washington Post*, 13 March 2016, Outlook Section, with Joshua Dunn.

“The Real Campus Sexual Assault Problem—and How to Fix It,” *Commentary* (October 2015): 26-31, with Bradford Richardson `15.

“When is a Ban on Abortions ‘Extreme’?” *The Weekly Standard* (online), 10 July 2013.

“Barbarism in Philadelphia,” *The Weekly Standard*, 29 April 2013.

“Abortion and the Limits of Philosophy,” *Public Discourse*, 4 June 2012.

“Manute Bol’s Radical Christianity,” *Wall Street Journal*, 25 June 2010.

“Abortion Politics and its Discontents,” *The New Yorker*, 12 November 2009.

“What Abortionist Killers Believe: The Consequences of a Fringe Theology,” *The Weekly Standard*, 22 June 2009.

“Notre Dame and Obama’s Roe Problem,” *Public Discourse*, 22 May 2009.

“A Time to Kill: Why is anti-abortion violence at an all-time high when radical pro-life activism is on the decline?” *The New Republic*, 2 June 2009.

“Lost in Translation,” *Society* 46(3) 2009.

“Life Support: Why Democrats aren’t rushing to overturn Bush’s abortion restrictions,” *The New Republic*, 2 March 2009.

“The Myth of the Falwell Insurgency,” *First Things*, 2 July 2007.

“In Praise of the Values Voter,” *The Wilson Quarterly* 31(4) 2007: 32-38.

“Spiritual Politics on the Left,” *Society* 43(6) 2006: 57-62.

### **Book Reviews:**

Review of Emily Van Duyn, *Democracy Lives in Darkness: How and Why People Keep Their Politics a Secret* (Oxford), *Perspectives on Politics* 20(4) 2022.

Review of Mark A. Smith, *Secular Faith: How Culture Has Trumped Religion in American Politics* (Chicago), *Journal of Church and State* 59(4) 2017.

Review of Mellissa Moschella: *To Whom Do Children Belong: Parental Rights, Civic Education, and Children's Autonomy* (Cambridge), *Review of Politics*, 79(4) 2017.

Review of Justin Dyer, *Slavery, Abortion, and the Politics of Constitutional Meaning* (Cambridge), *Perspectives on Politics* 12(1) 2014.

"Review Symposium: Religion and American Public Life," *Perspectives on Politics* 10(1) 2012.

"We Gather Together," *Claremont Review of Books* (Summer 2011).  
Review of Robert Putnam and David Campbell, *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us* (Simon and Schuster).

Review of Michael Lienesch, *In the Beginning: Fundamentalism, the Scopes Trial, and the Making of the Antievolution Movement* (UNC Press) in *Politics and Religion* 1(3) 2008.

"State of Protest," *Books & Culture* (May/June 2008).  
Review essay of Preston Shires, *Hippies of the Religious Right* (Baylor).

### **Conferences and Talks:**

"Academic Exchange Mission to Israel," member of academic delegation, August 5-11, 2025.

"Workshop on the Conservative Intellectual Tradition for University Faculty," organizer and presenter, American Enterprise Institute, May 18-23, 2025.

"Conservatism, Higher Education, and Trumpism," speaker (via zoom), Kenan Institute for Ethics, Duke University, March 7, 2025.

"Conservatives are Rare in Academia: Does it Matter?" panel speaker, American Enterprise Institute Faculty Summit, San Diego, CA, January 17-18, 2025.

"The U.S. Presidential Elections: What Comes Next," panel speaker (via zoom), Robert Schuman Center, European University Institute, November 11, 2024.

“Populism and the Challenge to Liberal Democracy in the Atlantic Alliance,” conference participant, sponsored by Salvatori Center, St-Paul-de-Vence, France, June 24-26, 2024.

“The Anglo Roots of American Liberty,” conference participant, sponsored by Salvatori Center, London, May 20-25, 2024.

“Should Universities Proactively Recruit & Hire Conservatives? Debate with Pippa Norris and Eric Kaufmann,” Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, 1 May 2024.

“American Politics and the State of Higher Education,” discussant, Kenan Institute for Ethics, Duke University, 1-2 December 2023.

“What the Republican Civil War Teaches Us about Cancel Culture in American Universities,” lecture, Bucknell Forum, Bucknell University, 17 October 2023.

“The University in an Age of Polarization,” lecture and discussant at the 2023 Sigma Phi National Convention’s Undergraduate Workshop, UC Berkeley, 13 October 2023.

“Convening on Professions, Polarization and Political Economy,” panel discussant, Agora Institute, Johns Hopkins University, 15-17 August 2023.

“Divisions in the Western Liberal Consensus,” discussant at the summer conference of CMC’s Salvatori Center and Policy Lab, St-Paul-de-Vence, France, 27-28 June 2023.

“Righting the Left-Leaning Professoriate,” discussant on panel at spring conference of the School of Civic and Economic Thought and Leadership, Arizona State University, 24 February 2023.

“The Republican Civil War: What Liz Cheney’s Wyoming Tells us about the Past, Present, and Future of the Republican Party,” lecture with Stephanie Muravchik, Claremont McKenna College’s Athenaeum, 25 October 2022.

“Voices of the Right: Political Conservatism in Academia,” discussant on plenary panel at the meeting of the American Political Science Association, Montreal, 16 September 2022.

“The Politics of Identity in Liz Cheney’s Wyoming,” talk, Institute for Humane Studies



Academic Research Symposium, Montreal, 14 September, 2022.

“Academia: The Root of Our Problem?” panel discussant, Free Speech Conference, Pepperdine University, 23 May 2022.

“Cheney’s Republicans,” (zoom) talk, University of Houston Law Center, 11 April 2022.

“Gender Equality After Roe?” moderated discussion between Reva Siegel and Erika Bachiochi, Salvatori Center, Claremont McKenna College, 3 April 2022.

“CMC’s Open Academy,” roundtable discussant, Association of American Colleges and Universities Annual Meeting, Washington DC, 21 January 2022.

“Can the Republican Party be Saved?” panel moderator, Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, 2 March 2021.

“When the Voting Stops: The 2020 Presidential Election in Historical Perspective,” panel discussant, Jefferson Scholars Foundation, The University of Virginia, 30 November 2020.

“Post Election Forum: What Just Happened, and What Does it Mean,” panel discussant, King’s College, 5 November 2020.

“Give Me Liberty, or Give Me Permission,” panel presenter, Pepperdine School of Public Policy, 16 October 2019.

“The Populist Challenge,” panel presenter, Salvatori Center for the Study of Individual Freedom in the Modern World, Claremont McKenna College, 22 February 2019.

“Populism in America and the Rise of Trump,” panel presenter at the meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, 2 September 2018.

“Viewpoint Diversity: Restoring American Higher Education as the Marketplace of Ideas,” panel discussion, School of Public Policy, Pepperdine University, 28 June 2018.

“Trump’s Democrats,” talk sponsored by the Center for the Study of Government and the Individual, University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, 26 April 2018.

“The Disappearing Conservative Professor in the Age of Diversity,” paper presented at a workshop on “The University: Left to Right,” Princeton University, 9 February 2018.

“Threats to Academic Freedom and Freedom of Speech,” talk and panel discussion, Institute for Humane Studies, Washington, DC, 8 February 2018.

“Trump’s Democrats: An Ethnographic Study of a New England Town,” paper presentation for a Dreier Roundtable conference, “Democratic Discontent: How Populism is Reshaping Politics in Europe and America,” Claremont McKenna College, 4-7 January 2018.

“Free Speech on Campus: Should there be any Limits,” panel discussion, Goldfarb Center for Public Affairs and Public Engagement, Colby College, 16 November 2017.

“Red and Blue Classrooms,” Pomona College, 14 September 2017.

“Understanding Trump’s Democrats,” presentation for Dreier Roundtable conference, “Democratic Discontent: How Populism and Nationalism is Reshaping Politics in Europe and America,” St. Paul de Vence, France, 12-15 June 2017.

“Civic Education Workshop,” Salvatori Center for Individual Freedom in the Modern World,” Claremont McKenna College, 19-20 May 2017.

“Viewpoint Diversity in American Higher Education,” panel talk, American Enterprise Institute, 11 May 2017.

“Talking to the Other Side: Discussing Current Politics in the Classroom,” panel discussion, Chapman University, 3 May 2017.

“Conservatism vs. Libertarianism,” a debate sponsored by Young Americans for Liberty, Denver, Colorado, 8 April 2017.

“Free Speech and Open Inquiry on Campus,” panel talk sponsored by the Institute for Humane Studies and Chapman University, 25 February 2017.

“The Quest for Viewpoint Diversity in American Higher Education,” talk sponsored by the Pacific Research Institute, San Francisco, CA, 27 January 2017.

“Conservatives in the Academy,” talk at Cal Poly San Luis Obispo, 13 October 2016.

“Conservatism on College Campuses,” talk sponsored by the Symposium on Science, Reason, and Modern Democracy, Michigan State University, 30 September 2016.

“The Case for Political Diversity in Higher Education,” talk at University of Michigan, 29 September 2016.

“How Far Left to Go? The Quest for Viewpoint Diversity in American Higher Education,” talk at the California Club, 23 September 2016.

“Conservative Professors in the Progressive University,” talk at the Institute for Humane Studies, 9 June 2016.

“The Close-Minded Campus?” panel on *Passing on the Right*, American Enterprise Institute, 8 June 2016.

“Conservative Professors,” keynote address, Board of Trustees Special Recognition Dinner, Claremont McKenna College, 13 May 2016.

“Conservative Professors in the Progressive University,” talk before the Pepperdine Policy School’s board of visitors, California Club, 23 April 2016.

“Intellectual Diversity Conference,” sponsored by the Federalist Society, Stanford Law School, 8 April 2016.

“Conservatives on Campus: Myths and Realities,” panel sponsored by the Freedom Project, Wellesley College, 10 March 2016.

“Prospects for Education in Higher Education,” discussant, conference sponsored by the Berkeley Institute and First Things, Berkeley, CA, 3 August 2015.

“Religion and America’s Marriage Problem,” paper delivered at the symposium on marriage and family, Boisi Center, Boston College, 22 April 2015.

“The Politics of Higher Education: A Symposium on Neil Gross’s *Why Professors are Liberal and Why Conservatives Care*,” organized and moderated, Salvatori Center for Individual Freedom in the Modern World, Claremont McKenna College, 22 February 2014.

“The Politics of Roe at 40,” talk at San Francisco University, 1 June 2013.

“Character and Culture,” panel discussant, Thinking about Politics: A Conference Dedicated to Explaining and Perpetuating the Insights of James Q. Wilson, Harvard University and Boston College, 4-5 April 2013.

“The Abortion War and the Limits of Philosophy,” talk at Azusa Pacific University, 15 November 2012.

“The Future of the American Culture Wars,” talk at The Rooney Center for the Study of American Democracy, University of Notre Dame, 20 April 2012.

“The Christian Right and the Liberal Tradition,” paper delivered at the Conference on American Conservatism: Past and Future, Arizona State University, 7 April 2012.

“Almost Human: Moral Ambivalence in the Pro-Choice and Pro-Life Movements,” paper delivered at the Workshop for the Study of Conservative Movements and Conservatism, University of California, San Diego, 24 May 2011.

“Workshop on Social Conservatism,” organized and moderated, Salvatori Center for Individual Freedom in the Modern World, Claremont McKenna College, 20 May 2011.

“The Future of the American Culture Wars,” Yale Law School, 5 April 2011.

Roundtable chair, “Joshua Dunn’s *Complex Justice* (UNC Press, 2008),” Western Political Science Association, 21 March 2009.

Panel participant on “Christianity and the Media,” Chesterton House, Ithaca, NY, 21 September 2007.

Respondent to lecture by Chris Mooney, author of *The Republican War on Science*, Public Forum on the Politics of Science, Cornell University, Institute for the Social Sciences, 20 September 2007.

“Orthodox Christians in the Liberal Imagination,” paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, 1-4 September 2005.

“The Nature of Christian Right Activism,” paper delivered at Fellows Conference, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 13 May 2005.

“The Second Fall in Locke’s Second Treatise,” paper delivered at the Northeastern Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, 7 November 2003.

“A Closer Look at the Christian Right,” paper delivered at the American Political Development Colloquia, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 20 February 2003.

**Teaching:**

*Claremont McKenna College:* Introduction to American Politics; American Culture Wars; The University Blacklist; The American Class Divide; Liberal Education; Policing the American City; Black Intellectuals; Evangelicals and American Democracy

*University of Colorado--Colorado Springs:* American Culture Wars; Research Methods; Political Parties; Interest Groups

*Cornell University:* Religion and American Democracy; Evangelicals and American Democracy; American Culture Wars