

# **J. CELESTE LAY**

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## **EDUCATION**

Ph.D., Government and Politics, University of Maryland, College Park, 2004  
M.A., Government and Politics, University of Maryland, College Park, 2001  
B.A., Political Science (*cum laude*), College of Charleston, 1998

## **ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS**

### **Tulane University**

Professor, Political Science, 2022-present  
Associate Professor of Political Science, 2013-2022  
Assistant Professor of Political Science, 2004-2006 & 2008-2013

### **Stonehill College**

Assistant Professor of Political Science, 2006-2008

## **ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS**

**Interim Dean, Newcomb-Tulane College**, Jan. 2023-July 2023

**Senior Associate Dean, Academic Affairs, Newcomb-Tulane College**, Jan. 2019-Dec 2023

**Posse Liaison, Tulane University**, April 2022-July 2023

**Associate Chair, Political Science Department, Tulane University**, 2014-2019

**Director & Creator, U.S. Public Policy Minor**, 2013-2019

## **SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS**

### **Books**

*Public Schools, Private Governance: Education Reform and Democracy in New Orleans*  
(Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2022)

*A Midwestern Mosaic: Immigration and Political Socialization in Rural America* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2012)

*Cultivating Democracy: Civic Environments and Political Socialization in America*, with James G. Gimpel and Jason E. Schuknecht (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2003)

### **Articles in Peer- Reviewed Journals**

*Kids and Politics Project*: See Our [Website](#) for More

"Partisanship on the Playground: Expressive Party Politics among Children" with Angela Bos, Jill Greenlee, Mirya R. Holman, and Zoe Oxley, *Political Research Quarterly* 76 (2023): 1249-1264.

"This One's for the Boys: How Gendered Political Socialization Limits Girls' Political Ambition and Interest," with Mirya R. Holman, Angela Bos, Zoe Oxley, Jill Greenlee, *American Political Science Review* 116 (2022): 484-501.

"TIME for Kids to Learn Gender Stereotypes: Analysis of Gender & Political Leadership in a Common Social Studies Resource for Children" with Mirya R. Holman, Angela Bos, Zoe Oxley, Jill Greenlee, and Allison Buffett (undergraduate student), *Politics & Gender* 17 (2021): 1-22.

"Kids' Views of the President: Replicating Early Political Socialization Scholarship" with Mirya R. Holman, Angela Bos, Zoe Oxley, and Jill Greenlee, *Public Opinion Quarterly* 84 (2020): 141-157.

"100 Years of Suffrage and Girls Still Struggle to Find their 'Fit' in Politics," with Mirya R. Holman, Angela Bos, Zoe Oxley, and Jill Greenlee, *PS: Political Science & Politics* 50 (2020): 474-478.

"Are You Picking Up What I'm Laying Down? Ideology in Low-Information Elections" with Mirya R. Holman, *Urban Affairs Review* 57 (2021): 315-341.

"How Katrina Shaped Trust and Efficacy in New Orleans," with Mirya Holman, *The Forum* 18 (2020): 117-130.

"Policy Learning & Transformational Change: University Policies on Sexual Harassment," *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 40 (2019): 156-165.

Reprinted in *MeToo Political Science*, edited by Nadia E. Brown (CRC Press, 2019).

"They See Dead People (Voting): Correcting Misperceptions about Voter Fraud in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election," with Mirya R. Holman, *Journal of Political Marketing* 18 (2019): 31-68.

"Private Governance of Public Schools: Representation, Priorities & Compliance in New Orleans Charter School Boards," with Anna Bauman (undergraduate student), *Urban Affairs Review* 55 (2019): 1006-1034.

"The Buck Stops with the Education Mayor: Mayoral Control and Local Test Scores in U.S. Urban Mayoral Elections" with Michael Tyburski, *Politics & Policy* 45 (2017): 964-1002.

"Adjusting to Immigrants in Two Midwestern Communities: Same Outcome, Different Process," *Social Science Quarterly* 98 (2017): 1731-1748.

"She Was Born in a Small Town: The Advantages and Disadvantages in Political Knowledge and Efficacy for Rural Girls," *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 38 (2017): 318-334.

"Ignorance Is Bliss: Information Sources and Parents' Beliefs about School Choice in New Orleans" *Urban Affairs Review* 52 (2016): 973-994.

"Polling in Impossible Conditions: Pre-election Polling in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina," with Brian J. Brox, *Journal of Public Management and Social Policy* 22 (2) (2015): Article 4.

"Like Turtles in Their Shells?: Civic Withdrawal among Young People in Diverse Small Towns," *Revistas Debates* 6 (2012): 215-235.

"Race, Retrospective Voting, and Disasters: The Reelection of C. Ray Nagin after Hurricane Katrina" *Urban Affairs Review* 44 (2009): 645-662.

"Put to the Test: Understanding Differences in Support for High-Stakes Testing" with Atiya Kai Stokes-Brown, *American Politics Research* 37 (2009): 429-448.

"Political Socialization and Reactions to Immigration-Related Diversity in Rural America" with James G. Gimpel, *Rural Sociology* 73 (2008): 180-204.

"Smaller Isn't Always Better: School Size and Participation among Young People" *Social Science Quarterly* 88 (2007): 790-815.

"Learning about Politics in Low Income Communities: Poverty and Political Knowledge" *American Politics Research* 34 (2006): 319-340.

"Simulating a Senate Office: The Impact on Student Knowledge and Attitudes" with Kathleen J. Smarick, *Journal of Political Science Education* 2 (2006): 1-16.

"Women Running 'As Women': Candidate Gender, Campaign Issues, and Voter Targeting Strategies" with Paul S. Herrnson and Atiya Kai Stokes, *Journal of Politics* 65 (2003): 244-255.

### **Book Chapters (peer-reviewed)**

"Navigating Choice in an All-Charter System," in *Instincts and Ideals: Essays on Parenting, Schooling, and Democracy*, edited by Gregory J. Fritzberg (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2025), pp 40-46.

"Masculinity and Children's Political Socialization" with Zoe M. Oxley, Jill S. Greelee, Mirya R. Holman and Angela L. Bos, in *Masculinity and Politics*, edited by Monika McDermott and Dan Cassino (New York University Press, 2025).

"Drawing Madam President: How Children Imagine Hillary Clinton as a Political Leader" with Jill S. Greenlee, Angela L. Bos, Mirya R. Holman, and Zoe M. Oxley, In *The Hillary Effect*, edited by Ivy A.M. Cargile, Denise S. Davis, Jennifer L. Merolla and Rachel VanSickle-Ward (Bloomsbury, 2020), pp. 125-128.

"Immigration and New Rural Residents," in *Rural Poverty in the U.S.A.*, edited by Ann R. Tickamyer, Jennifer Sherman, and Jennifer Warlick (Columbia University Press, 2017), pp 193-202. Book winner of the Fred H. Buttell Outstanding Scholarly Achievement Award from the Rural Sociological Society

"The Salience of Schools and Safety: Explaining Mayoral Voting among Women in Cities," in *Minority Voting in the United States*, edited by Kyle L. Kreider and Thomas J. Baldino (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger/ABC-Clio, 2015), pp 168-189.

"Education Policy in the States," In *Guide to State Politics and Policy*, edited by Richard Niemi and Joshua Dyck, CQ Press (Los Angeles: Sage, 2014), pp 367-382.

"Party Identification, Local Partisan Contexts and the Acquisition of Participatory Attitudes" with James G. Gimpel, In *The Social Logic of Politics: Personal Networks as Contexts for Political Behavior*, edited by Alan Zuckerman (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004).

### **Other Scholarly Publications (Selected)**

["New Orleans offers a lesson in why charters are bad for democracy,"](#) 3Streams/Medium, July 16, 2022

["Girls learn early that they don't have a place in politics,"](#) with Mirya Holman, Angela L. Bos, Jill S. Greenlee, and Zoe M. Oxley, "The Conversation," October 25, 2021.

["What do kids think of the president?"](#) with Mirya Holman, Angela L. Bos, Jill S. Greenlee, and Zoe M. Oxley, "The Conversation," February 3, 2020

[“How Uneven Marketing of Schools in New Orleans Is Turning Education into a Commodity,”](#) with Alison Reip (undergraduate student), *Scholars Strategy Network Basic Facts*, November 2017.

Book Review, *The Political Battle of the Sexes: Exploring the Sources of Gender Gaps in Policy Preferences*, *Politics & Gender* 13 (2017): 353-355.

[“When It Comes to New Orleans Schools, Who Is Making the Choices?”](#) “The Conversation” August 25, 2015

[“Rhetoric and Reality in the ‘All Charter’ Approach to School Reform in New Orleans,”](#) *Scholars Strategy Network Basic Facts*, June 2014.

### Op-Eds

[“A flawed, undemocratic school system is failing Louisiana kids,”](#) *Times Picayune/New Orleans Advocate*, October 26, 2022.

[“While Health Bill Benefits Affluent, Losers Include Our Children, Parents, Siblings, Us,”](#) *The New Orleans Advocate*, July 5, 2017

[“Wide Disparity in Outreach Efforts in New Orleans Schools,”](#) with Alison Reip (undergraduate student) *The New Orleans Advocate*, April 20, 2016

[“New Orleans Takeover Is a Model – Of What Not to Do With Georgia Schools,”](#) *Atlanta Journal Constitution* “Get Schooled Blog” Guest Opinion, April 1, 2015; Reprinted for [Empathy Educates](#)

[“Charter Experiment in New Orleans a Failure,”](#) *The New Orleans Advocate*, June 11, 2014

### INVITED PRESENTATIONS (Selected)

“The 2024 Election: What Did the Voters Tell Us?” The Council of State Governments National Conference, New Orleans, December 2024

“The Consequences of Educational Reform in New Orleans,” Loyola University New Orleans, April 2023

[The New Orleans Book Festival](#), March 2023

“You Have to See It to Be It,” Canada Research Chair in Gender, Race & Inclusive Politics, March 2022

[“Who Gets to Vote?”](#) Louisiana Endowment for Humanities, February 2021

American Politics Colloquium, University of Minnesota, November 2020

[“The Political Landscape,”](#) Panel Discussion with Cokie and Steve Roberts, Rep. Bob Livingston and Sen. John Breaux at the National Press Club, Washington, DC, September 2016

Centro de Investigación y Estudios Políticos/Centro de Investigación y Adiestramiento Político y Administrativo /Center for Inter-American Policy and Research, “The 2016 U.S. Presidential Election – A Primer,” September 2016

La Trobe University (Australia) Study Tour: *When the Levee Breaks: New Orleans and the Mississippi*, June 2016

Mandela Washington Fellowship for Young African Leaders, Tulane University, July 2015

Department of Political Science panel with James Carville & Brian Brox, Tulane University, November 2014

Trinity College (Connecticut), Conference on the Challenges and Opportunity of Diversity in New Immigrant Destinations, October 2013

The Kettering Foundation, September 2010

### **CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS (Selected)**

“Choosy Moms Choose Schools: School Choice as a Burden for Mothers,” presented at the Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, January 2024

“Partisanship on the Playground: Ideological Sorting & Polarization among Children,” presented at the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 2019

“Laying the Groundwork for a Takeover: Pre-Katrina Education Policies in Louisiana,” with Bethany Carter, presented at the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 2019

“You cannot be what you cannot see: When and how children see politics as masculine and male,” presented at the European Conference on Politics & Gender, Amsterdam, July 2019

“Patterns in Children’s Male Stereotypic Perceptions of Political Leaders,” presented at the International Society of Political Psychology, Lisbon, July 2019

“Drawing Political Leaders: Race/Ethnicity and Gender in Children’s Views of Politics,” presented at the Society for Research in Child Development meetings, Baltimore, MD, March 2019

“You Cannot Be What You Cannot See: When & How Children See Politics as Masculine & Male,” with Angela Bos, Jill Greenlee, Mirya Holman, and Zoe Oxley, presented at the Southern Political Science Association, January 2019

“Choosy Moms Choose Schools: Gender and School Choice,” presented at the Southern Political Science Association, Austin, TX, January 2019

“Cueless in New Orleans: Voting Behavior When Traditional Shortcuts Are Missing,” with Mirya R. Holman, presented at the American Political Science Association, Boston, September 2018

“Children’s Views of Political Leadership,” with Angela Bos, Jill Greenlee, Mirya R. Holman, and Zoe Oxley, presented at the American Political Science Association, Boston, September 2018

“Gender, Uncertainty, and Misperceptions,” with Mirya R. Holman, presented at the European Political Science Association, Vienna, Austria, June 2018

“Sources and Effects of Gendered Messages about Politics,” with Angela Bos, Jill Greenlee, Mirya Holman, and Zoe Oxley, presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Meetings, April 2018

“Issue Ownership and the Democratic Party on Schools,” presented at the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 2017

“Charter School Boards: Composition, Roles and Public Engagement,” presented at the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 2016

“Issue Ownership and the Effects of Party Convergence: Women’s Shift Away from the Democratic Party on Schools,” presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2015.

### **GRANTS**

### **Research (Selected)**

Monroe Fellows Research Grant, New Orleans Center for the Gulf South (\$9675) to collect public opinion data on New Orleans schools, 2017

Committee on Research Summer Grant, Tulane University (\$9975) to collect public opinion data on New Orleans schools, 2017

Newcomb College Institute, Tulane University, with Mirya R. Holman and Menaka Philips (\$3692) to fund trip to inauguration to interview attendees and protestors, 2016-2017

Carol Lavin Bernick Faculty Grant, Tulane University, with Mirya R. Holman (\$12,500) to fund a subsample in the Cooperative Congressional Election Study, 2016

Newcomb College Institute Research Grant, Tulane University, to study the political socialization of rural girls (\$4000), 2011

Tulane School of Liberal Arts, research grant to complete book (\$10,000), 2008-2010

### **Teaching and Service (Selected)**

New Orleans Center for the Gulf South, Conference Grant to host pre-conference with K-12 teachers and scholars of gender socialization, 2017

Newcomb College Institute, Special Initiatives Grant with Mirya R. Holman, to host New Research on Gender & Political Psychology Conference, 2017

Course Development Grant, Center for Public Service at Tulane University (\$3500), 2014

William L. Duren Professor, Newcomb-Tulane College, Pedagogical Grant to implement poverty simulations in public policy classes (\$4000), 2010

## **AWARDS**

### **Research**

2018 – Elsie Hillman Prize, Pennsylvania Center for Women and Politics at Chatham University, with Mirya Holman, Angie Bos, Jill Greenlee, and Zoe Oxley

Senior Glick Fellowship, School of Liberal Arts at Tulane University (\$5000) – to research gender and voting in mayoral elections, 2013-2014

Roberta Sigel Junior Scholar Paper Award, International Society of Political Psychology, “Patriotism and Political Participation among Russian and American Adolescents,” with Judith Torney-Purta, 2002

### **Teaching and Service**

Honors Professor of the Year, Tulane University Honors Program, 2017

Newcomb College Institute Oak Wreath, 2019, 2017

## **MAIN COURSES TAUGHT**

American Government  
Public Policy  
Elections in America  
The Politics of Education Policy  
Public Opinion & Voting Behavior

## **UNIVERSITY SERVICE**

### **Tulane University**

Advisory Board, Master of Public Administration, School of Professional Advancement, 2019-present

Advisory Board, School of Professional Advancement, 2019-present

Equity, Diversity & Inclusion Faculty Council, 2020-2023

Sexual Harassment Committee, 2020-2022

Tulane Campus Recognition Planning Committee, 2019-2023

Curriculum Committee, School of Professional Advancement, 2019-2021

Newcomb-Tulane Faculty Advisory Committee on Summer Initiatives, 2018-2019

Student Conduct Appellate Board, 2017-2018

Student Conduct Hearing Board, 2016-2017

Commission on Race and Tulane Values, 2016-2018

### **School of Liberal Arts, Tulane University**

Social Policy & Practice Program Advisory Board, 2009-present

City, Culture & Community Ph.D. program, Affiliate faculty, 2010-present

Professor of Practice Review Committee, School of Liberal Arts, 2014-2017 (Chair: 2015-16)

Grievance Committee, School of Liberal Arts, 2010-2013

### **Department of Political Science, Tulane University (Selected)**

Chair, Professor of Practice of American Politics Search Committee, 2024

Assistant Professor of Political Science Search Committee, 2022

Chair, Assistant Professor of American Politics Search Committee, 2014, 2021

Ad-Hoc Committee on Revising Department Constitution, 2020

Budget & Faculty Committee, 2016-2018

Junior Professor Workshop Organizer, 2008-2018

Chair, Visiting Assistant Professor of American Politics Search Committee, 2014, 2016

## **PROFESSIONAL SERVICE (Selected)**

Urban Politics Section Head, Southern Political Science Association meeting, San Juan, Puerto Rico, January 2020

Executive Committee, Urban & Local Politics Section of American Political Science Review, 2018-present

Conference Co-Organizer, New Research on Gender & Political Psychology, October 21-24, 2017, Tulane University

Editorial Board Member, *Urban Affairs Review*, 2017-present

## **COMMUNITY SERVICE**

NOLA-Public Schools Parent Advisory Council, 2023-present

Co-Director for New Orleans Region of Scholars Strategy Network, 2015-2019

Community Support Member, Plan B Nola, 2018-2019