

**Thomas J. Main**  
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### Education

Ph.D. Princeton University, Politics, 1994.

MPA (Two Year), Harvard Kennedy School of Government, 1988.

BA, University of Chicago, Disciplines of the Humanities, 1977.

### Recent Publications

#### **Books:**

Thomas J. Main, *The Rise of the Alt-Right*, Brookings Institution Press, July 3, 2018.

Thomas J. Main, *Homelessness in New York City: Policymaking from Koch to de Blasio*, (NYU: NYU Press, 2016, <https://nyupress.org/books/9781479846870/>). Paperback edition with a new preface published September 27, 2017.

Thomas J. Main, ed.; *Is the American Constitution Obsolete?* (Carolina Academic Press, 2013, <http://www.cap-press.com/books/isbn/9781594609589/Is-the-American-Constitution-Obsolete>).

#### **Journalism:**

Thomas J. Main, "De Blasio's Effort to Redirect New York City Welfare Policy," *National Affairs*, Forthcoming fall 2018.

Thomas J. Main, "What's the alt-right, and how large is its audience?" *Los Angeles Times*, August 22, 2017; <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-main-alt-right-audience-20170822-story.html>.

Peter Nasaw and Thomas J. Main, "De Blasio and Homelessness: A New Progressive Mayor Wrestles with an Old Social Problem," "De Blasio Wrestles with Homelessness—Part Two: Setbacks and Responses," "De Blasio Wrestles with Homelessness—Part Three: Can de Blasio Turn the Tide?" *Gotham Gazette*, May 1, 2017; <http://www.gothamgazette.com/opinion/6902-de-blasio-and-homelessness-a-new-progressive-mayor-wrestles-with-an-old-social-problem> (Three part series on homeless policy under de Blasio)

### **Recent Publications** (continued)

Thomas J. Main, “What's the Alt-Right?” *Los Angeles Times*; August 25, 2016; <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-main-alt-right-trump-20160825-snap-story.html>; (Op Ed article).

Thomas J. Main, “What police are doing right (and wrong) with the homeless in downtown LA,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 5, 2016; <http://www.latimes.com/books/jacketcopy/la-ca-jc-homeless-skid-row-20160727-snap-story.html>; (Review of, Forrest Stuart; *Down, Out, and Under Arrest: Policing and Everyday Life in Skid Row*; University of Chicago Press).

Thomas J. Main, “No Shelter From the Storm,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 25, 2016; <https://www.wsj.com/articles/no-shelter-from-the-storm-1456358728>; (Review of Matthew Desmond; *Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City*; Crown, 2016).

Thomas J. Main, “America Needs a Prime Minister,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 2, 2016; <https://www.wsj.com/articles/america-needs-a-prime-minister-1462231575>, (Review of William G. Howell and Terry M. Moe; *Relic: How Our Constitution Undermines Effective Government and Why We Need a More Powerful Presidency*; Basic Books, 2016).

Thomas J. Main, “A Failure of Basic Management: The real reason Gilbert Taylor stepped down as New York City’s homelessness commissioner,” *City Journal*, December 16, 2015; <https://www.city-journal.org/html/failure-basic-management-14076.html>.

Thomas J. Main, “Welfare Isn’t Dead,” *City Journal*, December 7, 2015; <https://www.city-journal.org/html/welfare-isn%E2%80%99t-dead-14058.html>; (Review of *\$2.00 a Day: Living on Almost Nothing in America*, by Kathryn J. Edin and H. Luke Shaefer, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2015).

### **Book in Progress**

Thomas J. Main, “Welfare and the Politics of Bureaucracy: How Mayors Manage New York City’s Human Resources Administration,” under review for publication by Cornell University Press.

### **Recent Academic and Professional Recognition**

Participant, Roundtable discussion on performance management in New York City homeless shelters, Manhattan Institute, June 18, 2018.

Presenter: “Alt-Right Ideology: Racialism,” Society for the Study of Africana Philosophy, Alfred Prettyman, Director; January 21, 2018.

### **Recent Academic and Professional Recognition (continued)**

Presenter: “The Continuing Story of Policymaking for the Homeless in New York City,” Columbia University Seminar on Full Employment, Social Welfare & Equity, Prof. Sheila Collins, Co-chair, April 17, 2017.

Presenter: “The Alt-Right: A New Challenge to American Democracy,” New York University Oasis Discussion Group, Prof. Lawrence M. Mead, Director; March 22, 2017.

Panelist: “Homelessness, Crime, and Public Policy Symposium,” Presley Center for Crime and Justice Studies, University of California, Riverside; February 9, 2017.

“Essential” rating of, Thomas J. Main; *Homelessness in New York City: Policymaking from Koch to de Blasio* (NYU Press, 2016) in *Choice*, “January Editor’s Picks,” January 12, 2017; <http://www.choice360.org/blog/january-editors-picks>.

Certificate of Recognition, City University of New York, Salute to Scholars, December 6, 2016.

Panelist: “Affordable Housing and Homelessness in New York City from La Guardia to De Blasio,” Gotham Center for New York City History, CUNY Graduate Center, October 26, 2016.

Speaker: Policy Forum on Preventing and Ending Homelessness in New York City; Long Island University, Brooklyn, June 17, 2017.

### **Recent Media Appearances**

Guest: *Bob Herbert's Op-Ed TV*, “The Ever Present Issue of Homelessness in NYC,” May 15, 2017; <http://www.cuny.tv/show/opedtv/PR2006215>.

Guest: *CUNY Forum*, “Homelessness in New York City: Crisis and Policy,” April 10, 2017; <http://www.cuny.tv/show/cunyforum>.

Featured in: Sarah Brown, “The Scholars Who Study the Alt-Right, a Movement Defined by White Supremacists,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, December 7, 2016; <http://www.chronicle.com/article/The-Scholars-Who-Study-the/238588>.

Guest: *CBS Evening News with Scott Pelley*, “Some alt-right leaders say Trump victory has given them big boost,” November 21, 2016; <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/some-alt-right-leaders-say-donald-trump-victory-has-given-them-big-boost/>.

Keynote Speaker: Westside Tenants’ Conference, “Recent Homelessness Policy in New York City”; November 19, 2016; Fordham Law School.

### **Recent Media Appearances** (continued)

Guest, “Forum”; “Democratic Leaders Demand Trump Rescind Steve Bannon Appointment”; KQED Radio; November 16, 2016; <https://ww2.kqed.org/forum/2016/11/15/democratic-leaders-demand-trump-rescind-steve-bannon-appointment/>.

Guest, *The Leonard Lopate Show*, “Solving Homelessness in NYC”; WNYC Radio; September 23, 2016; <http://www.wnyc.org/story/the-leonard-lopate-show-2016-09-23>.

Speaker: NYN Media podcast on homelessness in New York City; September 20, 2016; <http://nynmedia.com/news/nyn-media-podcast-on-homelessness-with-thomas-main>.

Speaker: *City Journal* podcast, “Directionless on Homelessness”; August 31, 2016; <https://www.city-journal.org/html/directionless-homelessness-14750.html>.

Guest: *The Brian Lehrer Show*, “A History of NYC Homelessness and Mayoral Policy,” WNYC Radio, August 30, 2016; <http://www.wnyc.org/story/nycs-mayors-vs-homelessness>.

### **Recent Teaching and Student Development**

#### **Graduate Courses Taught:**

PAF 9190, *Capstone Seminar*; PAF 9132, *Governing New York City*; PAF 9100, *Introduction to Public Affairs*; PAF 9103: *Communication in Public Settings*; PAF 9199, *Selected Topics in Public Administration: Homelessness and Related Social Problems*; PAF 9199, *Selected Topics in Public Administration: Urban Politics*.

#### **Undergraduate Courses Taught:**

PAF 4140, *Capstone Practicum*; PAF 1250, *Public Administration in Modern Society*; PAF 3201, *Public Communication and Organization*;

#### **Student Development:**

Supervised approx. 200 Capstone Theses by Marxe School MPA students over the last 5 years.

### **Recent Grants**

PSC-CUNY Research Award Cycle 49: \$4,530 for research on “Managing the Social Welfare Bureaucracy of New York City” April 13, 2018.

PSC-CUNY Research Award Cycle 48; \$11,903.54, for research on the Alt-Right; May 15, 2017

Marxe School of Public and International Affairs; Dean’s Research Award; \$4,999 for research on the Alt-Right; April 30, 2017.

Democracy Fund; \$45,000 for research on the Alt-Right; April 1, 2017.

### **Recent Grants (continued)**

Marxe School of Public and International Affairs; Dean's Research Award; \$4,999 for research on the Alt-Right; December 14, 2016.

Achelis and Bodman Foundations; \$25,000 for research on "Managing the Social Welfare Bureaucracy of New York City"; May 5, 2016.

### **Endorsements of *The Rise of the Alt-Right*:**

"In a matter of a few years the Alt-Right has gone from obscurity to well-deserved infamy. But a purely moral reaction to it is not sufficient. To combat it we also need clarity about its history, its size, and its intellectual foundations, such as they are. Thomas Main is the first to offer both a sober, empirical analysis of the Alt-Right movement and a serious engagement with its fundamental presuppositions. An indispensable map of the circle of hell in which we now find ourselves."--**Mark Lilla, Prof. of Humanities, Columbia University**

"Thomas Main's *Rise of the Alt-Right* is a thorough examination of this movement, its origins and its possible future. Main does something special—he takes the time to look at the movement through data on its audience. This challenges the notion that the ideas animating this movement represent a fringe viewpoint. For those concerned about the rise of this movement and its possible future arc, Main's book is required reading."---**Heidi Beirich, Director, Intelligence Project at Southern Poverty Law Center**

### **Reviews of *Homelessness in New York City***

"A must-read for anyone seeking to understand the challenges of homeless policy in urban America."—**Choice**

"Historians of public policy and urban politics in particular will appreciate this glimpse into the inner workings of how experts, activists, and public officials attempted to address the problem of homelessness in the nation's largest city. This book will also be useful in undergraduate and graduate courses on policy history, urban history, and recent U.S. history."—**Journal of American History**

"A must-read . . . a ray of hope as we consider the current political climate."—**Journal of Urban Affairs**

"Main's account of key developments in homelessness policy in New York City is meticulously researched, highly detailed, and worthy of praise. The book makes extensive and effective use of interviews that the author conducted with a wide range of policy actors past and present . . . a compelling history of what has been done to date and how we got where we are."—**European Journal of Homelessness**

"*Homelessness in New York City* is an accessible and diligently researched account, drawing on a wide range of secondary data sources and interviews with key politicians, public officials, homeless advocates, service providers and researchers. Central to the value of the book is its unmatched comprehensiveness and detail. . . . [A] reflective and illuminating book."  
—**International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**

### **Reviews of *Homelessness in New York City* (continued)**

"[Main's] attention to detail and balanced judgment makes this a valuable history of social-policy research."—*City Journal*

"An invaluable resource to scholars studying contemporary homelessness and urban policy. Main provides an in-depth narrative of important moments of policymaking, showing the significant cumulative impact of seemingly minute events."—*Gothamcenter.org*

### **Endorsements of *Homelessness in New York City*:**

"Thomas Main has produced a well-documented and comprehensive analysis of five mayors' efforts over more than thirty years to respond to the growing challenge of urban homelessness. Readers interested in issues of big cities and the policy process that drives politicians' actions will learn much from this book." --**Charles Brecher; Prof., New York University; Co-author, *Power Failure: New York City Politics and Policy since 1960***

"Government has wrestled with homelessness for decades, especially in New York. Thomas Main's book is *the* definitive account of that struggle. It is deeply researched, fluently written, and absolutely absorbing. It is also even-handed. Main questions the nostrums for social problems peddled by left and right, but he also rejects the view that government must inevitably fail. Rather, progress is possible—if we persevere. There are answers—but not easy ones. As Max Weber said, politics is 'the strong and slow boring of hard boards.'"—**Lawrence M. Mead; Prof., New York University; Author *The New Politics of Poverty***

"This finely crafted study invites us to explore a double paradox: first, that policies addressing homelessness in New York City are legally and morally necessary, but politically and substantively difficult to impossible; and second, that relatively conservative mayoral administrations developed the nation's largest and best funded set of programs for weak, vulnerable, and marginal populations. It is a probing investigation of vexing policy challenges."—**John Mollenkopf; Distinguished Prof, CUNY; Author, *A Phoenix in the Ashes***

"Homelessness in New York City is one of the big stories of the last several decades as inequality returns to the U.S. Lots of people know the story, but usually only small pieces of it. Some people know the legal battles, and others know the funding streams; some scholars follow the aggregate numbers and others study particular interventions; many writers have told stories of individual trials and triumphs, and homeless people, too, have their own important versions of what happened to them. But we have all been handicapped because we could not understand fully how our pieces fit together into a larger picture; the context has always been a little foggy. No longer. Main has given us a definitive history of modern homelessness in New York City. This is the book you should start with to understand how we got where we are."—**Brendan O'Flaherty; Prof., Columbia University; Author, *City Economics***

"Professor Main narrates a fascinating history of one of New York City's greatest social struggles of the last third of a century. It is compelling reading, filled with battles fought and lessons learned in moving a government and a society to a better place."—**Robert Hayes, Founder, National and New York Coalitions for the Homeless; MacArthur Foundation Fellow**