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## CURRICULUM VITAE

### EDUCATION

A.B. Stanford University, 1966 (Honors in Political Science)  
M.Phil. Yale University, 1969 (Political Science)  
Ph.D. Yale University, 1972 (Political Science)

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

1968 Lecturer in Political Science, University of California, Riverside  
1970-1979 Instructor to Associate Professor of Political Science, Trinity College  
1973 Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science, Yale University  
1979-1983 Associate Professor of Political Science, University of California, San Diego  
1983-2004 Professor of Political Science, University of California, San Diego  
1986-1987 Professor of Political Science, Stanford University  
1993-1996 Chair, Department of Political Science, University of California, San Diego  
2004-2016 Distinguished Professor of Political Science, University of California, San Diego  
2016- Distinguished Professor of Political Science Emeritus, U.C. San Diego

### GRANTS AND AWARDS

National Science Foundation Award No. SES 80-07577 to study national events and individual voting behavior in congressional elections, 1980-82.

Gladys M. Kammerer Award from the American Political Science Association for the best publication in 1980 in the field of U.S. national policy (*Money in Congressional Elections*), 1981.

Congressional Quarterly Press award for the best paper presented on legislative politics at the 1990 meeting of the American Political Science Association ("The Persistence of Democratic House Majorities: Structure or Politics?"), 1991.

Leon Epstein Award from the Political Organizations and Parties section of the American Political Science Association for a book that has made a distinguished contribution to the field (*Money in Congressional Elections*), 1991.

Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 1990-91.

Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1991-

Richard Neustadt Award from the Center for the Study of the Presidency for the best article published in *Presidential Studies Quarterly* in 2003 ("The Bush Presidency and the American Electorate"), 2004.

The Warren E. Miller Prize awarded by the APSA's Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Section in recognition of an outstanding career of intellectual accomplishment and service to the profession in the field, 2020.

## PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Campaign Finance Study Group of the Institute of Politics, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 1977-1984.  
Committee on Congressional Election Research of National Election Studies, 1978-1982; Chair, 1986-1988.  
Hastings Center Project on Legislative and Representative Ethics, 1982-1983.  
ICPSR Council, 1985-1987.  
Board of Overseers, National Election Studies, 1985-1993.  
Program Committee, APSA (1985), WPSA (1985), MPSA (2003)  
Chair, APSA Research Support Committee, 1990-1992.  
APSA Council, 1993-1994.  
NSF Political Science Advisory Panel, 1993-1994.  
APSA Treasurer, 1995-1997.  
Campaign Finance Institute Academic Advisory Board, 2000-2010.  
Chair, APSA Elections Review Committee, 2001-2002.  
Phi Beta Kappa Visiting Scholar, 2004-2005.

### Professional Memberships

American Political Science Association  
Midwest Political Science Association  
Southern Political Science Association  
Western Political Science Association  
Association for Public Opinion Research  
Academy of Political Science

## PUBLICATIONS

### Books

*Money in Congressional Elections.* Yale University Press, 1980.  
*American Parties in Decline* (with William Crotty). Little, Brown and Company, 1980.  
*Strategy and Choice in Congressional Elections* (with Samuel Kernell). Yale University Press, 1981; second edition, 1983.  
*The Politics of Congressional Elections.* Little, Brown and Company, 1983; second edition, 1987; third edition, HarperCollins, 1992; fourth edition, Longman, 1997; fifth edition, 2001, sixth edition, 2004, seventh edition, 2009; eighth edition, 2012; ninth edition (with Jamie Carson), Rowman & Littlefield, 2016; tenth edition (with Jamie Carson), 2020.  
*The Electoral Origins of Divided Government: Competition in U.S. House Elections, 1946-1988,* Westview Press, 1990.  
*The Logic of American Politics* (with Samuel Kernell). Congressional Quarterly Press, 2000; second edition, 2003; third edition, 2006 (Vietnamese translation, 2008); fourth edition (with Samuel Kernell and Thad Kousser), 2009; fifth edition, 2012; sixth edition 2014 (with Samuel Kernell, Thad Kousser, and Lynn Vavreck); seventh edition, 2016; eighth edition, 2018; ninth edition, 2020.  
*A Divider, Not a Uniter: George W. Bush and the American People,* Pearson Longman, 2007; postscript edition (The 2006 Election and Beyond), 2008; second edition, 2011.  
*Presidents and Parties in the Public Mind,* University of Chicago Press, 2019.

### Articles in Journals and Collections

“Race by Any Other Name,” *Social Policy*, Vol. 4 (July/August, 1973), pp. 36-41.

- “The Impact of Broadcast Campaigning on Electoral Outcomes,” *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 37 (August, 1975), pp. 769-793. Edited and translated as “Propaganda radio-televisiva e risultati elettorali,” *Mercurio: Sintesi del pensiero economico e sociale contemporaneo*, Vol. 19 (June, 1976), pp. 20-24.
- “Practical Consequences of Campaign Finance Reform: An Incumbent Protection Act?” *Public Policy*, Vol. 24 (Winter, 1976), pp. 1-32.
- “Presidential Coattails in 1972,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 40 (Summer, 1976), pp. 194-200.
- “The Effects of Campaign Spending in Congressional Elections,” *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 72 (June, 1978), pp. 469-491.
- “Public Funds for Congressional Campaigns: Who Would Benefit?” *Political Finance*, ed. Herbert E. Alexander. Sage Electoral Studies Yearbook, Vol. 5 (1979), pp. 99-127.
- “The Pattern of Campaign Contributions to Candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives, 1972-1978,” *An Analysis of the Impact of the Federal Election Campaign Act, 1972-1978*. From the Institute of Politics, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. Prepared for the Committee on House Administration of the U.S. House of Representatives. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, October 1979, pp. 20-42.
- “Campaign Finance Regulation: Politics and Policy in the 1970s,” *Paths to Political Reform*, ed. William Crotty. Lexington Books, 1980, pp. 239-281.
- “Congressional Elections 1978: The Case of the Vanishing Challengers,” *Congressional Elections*, ed. Louis Maisel and Joseph Cooper. Sage Electoral Studies Yearbook, Vol. 6 (1981), pp. 219-247.
- “Incumbents and Voters in the 1978 Congressional Elections,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 6 (May, 1981), pp. 183-200.
- “Strategy and Choice in the 1982 Congressional Elections” (with Samuel Kernell), *PS*, Vol. 15 (Fall, 1982), pp. 423-430, reprinted, with a postscript, in *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 2nd edition, ed. Richard G. Niemi and Herbert Weisberg. Congressional Quarterly Press, 1984.
- “Congressional Campaign Finance and the Revival of the Republican Party,” *The United States Congress*, ed. Dennis Hale. Transaction Books, 1983, pp. 313-330.
- “Money in the 1980 and 1982 Congressional Elections,” *Money and Politics in the United States: Financing Elections in the 1980s*, ed. Michael J. Malbin. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, and Chatham, New Jersey: Chatham House, 1984, pp. 38-69.
- “Parties and PACs in Congressional Elections,” *Congress Reconsidered*, 3rd edition, ed. Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1985, pp. 131-158.
- “Congress: Politics After a Landslide Without Coattails,” *The Elections of 1984*, ed. Michael Nelson. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1985, pp. 215-237.
- “The Republican Advantage in Campaign Finance,” *The New Direction in American Politics*, ed. John Chubb and Paul Peterson. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1985, pp. 143-173.
- “Money and Votes Reconsidered: Congressional Elections, 1972-1982,” *Public Choice*, Vol. 47 (1985), pp. 7-62. (Carnegie Papers on Political Economy, vol. 5, ed. A. H. Meltzer, K. T. Poole, and T. Romer).
- “Political Action Committees, Electoral Politics, and Congressional Ethics,” *Representation and Responsibility: Exploring Legislative Ethics*, ed. Bruce Jennings and Daniel Callahan. New York: Plenum Press, 1985, pp. 41-65.
- “Party Organization and Distribution of Campaign Resources: Republicans and Democrats in 1982,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 100 (Winter, 1985-86), pp. 603-625.
- “Interpreting the 1974 Congressional Election” (with Samuel Kernell), *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 80 (June, 1986), pp. 591-593.

- “The Etiology of Congressional Realignment in the Intermountain West,” *Party Realignment in the Intermountain West*, ed. Peter F. Galderisi, John Francis, and Randy T. Simmons. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986, pp. 149-173.
- “Running Scared: Elections and Congressional Politics in the 1980s,” *Congress: Structure and Policy*, ed. Mathew McCubbins and Terry Sullivan. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp. 34-81.
- “Enough is Too Much: Money and Competition in House Elections, 1972-1984,” *Elections in America*, ed. Kay L. Schlozman. Winchester, Massachusetts: Allan and Unwin, 1987, pp. 173-195.
- “The Marginals Never Vanished: Incumbency and Competition in Elections to the U.S. House of Representatives, 1952-1982,” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 31 (February 1987), pp. 126-141. Reprinted in *The Congress of The United States, 1789-1989*, ed. Joel H. Silbey. Brooklyn, New York: Carlson, 1991, Vol. 2, pp. 547-562.
- “Congress and the Presidency as News in the Nineteenth Century” (with Samuel Kernell), *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 49 (November 1987), pp. 1016-1035.
- “Parties and PACs in Congressional Elections,” *Congress Reconsidered*, 4th Edition, ed. Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1989, pp. 117-152.
- “Congress: A Singular Continuity,” *The Elections of 1988*, ed. Michael Nelson. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1989, pp. 127-152.
- “Strategic Politicians and the Dynamics of House Elections, 1946-86,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 83 (September 1989), pp. 773-793.
- “Information and Voting in California Senate Elections” (with Raymond Wolfinger), *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 14 (November 1989), pp. 509-529.
- “Campaign Finance and Democratic Control,” *Hofstra Law Review*, Vol. 18 (Fall 1989), pp. 369-384.
- “National Forces in the 1986 House Elections” (with Samuel Kernell), *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 15 (February 1990), pp. 65-87.
- “Meager Patrimony: The Reagan Era and Republican Representation in Congress,” *Looking Back on the Reagan Presidency*, ed. Larry Berman. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990, pp. 288-316.
- “The Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections: New Evidence for Old Arguments,” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 34 (May 1990), pp. 334-362.
- “Does the Economy Matter in Midterm Elections?” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 34, (May 1990), pp. 400-407.
- “The Economy in U.S. House Elections,” *Economics and Politics: The Calculus of Support*, eds. Helmut Norpoth, Michael Lewis-Beck, and Jean-Dominique LaFay. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991, pp. 33-48.
- “Explaining Divided Government: Why Can’t Republicans Win the House?” *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 24 (December 1991), pp. 640-43.
- “The Persistence of Democratic House Majorities,” *The Politics of Divided Government*, ed. Gary W. Cox and Samuel Kernell. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1991, pp. 57-84.
- “Financing Congressional Elections,” *Political Parties and Elections in the United States: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Louis Sandy Maisel. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991, pp. 372-380.
- “The Misallocation of Resources in House Campaigns,” *Congress Reconsidered*, 5th edition, ed. Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1993, pp. 115-139.
- “Congress: Unusual Year, Unusual Election,” *The Elections of 1992*, ed. Michael Nelson. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1993, pp. 153-182.

- “You Can’t Beat Somebody with Nobody: Trends in Partisan Opposition,” *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 3rd Edition, ed. Richard Niemi and Herbert Weisberg. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1993, pp. 241-267. (Reprint of Chapter 4 of *The Electoral Origins of Divided Government*.)
- “Getting the Details Right: A Comment on ‘Changing Meanings of Electoral Marginality in U.S. House Elections, 1824-1978’,” *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 46 (March 1993), pp. 49-54.
- “Deficit Cutting Politics and Congressional Elections,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 108 (Fall, 1993), pp. 375-402.
- “Checking Out: The Effects of Bank Overdrafts on the 1992 House Elections” (with Michael A. Dimock), *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 38 (August 1994), pp. 601-624.
- “Checks and Choices: The House Bank Scandal’s Impact on Voters in 1992” (with Michael A. Dimock), *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 57 (November 1995), pp. 1143-1159.
- “The House Under Term Limits: A Comment,” *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 76 (December 1995), pp. 720-724.
- “The 1994 House Elections in Perspective,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 111, (Summer, 1996), pp. 203-223; also in *Midterm: The Elections of 1994 in Context*, ed., Philip A. Klinkner. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996, pp. 1-20.
- “Divided Government and the 1994 House Elections,” *Divided Government: Change, Uncertainty, and the Constitutional Order*, ed., Peter F. Galderisi. Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield, 1996, pp. 61-83.
- “Congress: Unprecedented and Unsurprising,” *The Elections of 1996*, ed., Michael Nelson. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1997, pp. 143-167.
- “The Effect of the AFL-CIO’s ‘Voter Education’ Campaign on the 1996 House Elections,” *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 61 (February 1999), pp. 185-94.
- “Impeachment Politics in the 1998 Congressional Elections,” *Political Science Quarterly* 114 (Spring 1999), pp. 31-51.
- “Party Polarization in National Politics: The Electoral Connection,” *Polarized Politics: Congress and the President in a Partisan Era*, ed. Jon R. Bond and Richard Fleisher. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2000, pp. 9-30. Reprinted in *Principles and Practice of American Politics*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., ed. Samuel Kernell and Steven Smith Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2010, pp. 530-546.
- “Reversal of Fortune: The Transformation of U.S. House Elections in the 1990s,” *Continuity and Change in House Elections*, ed. David W. Brady, John F. Cogan, and Morris P. Fiorina. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000, pp. 10-38
- “Question Wording and the House Vote: Some Experimental Evidence” (with Janet Box-Steffensmeier and Tobin Grant), *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol. 64 (Fall 2000), pp. 257-270.
- “Public Opinion and the Impeachment of Bill Clinton,” *British Elections and Parties Review*, Vol. 10, ed. Philip Cowley, David Denver, Andrew Russell and Lisa Harrison (London: Frank Cass, 2000) pp. 1 - 31.
- “The 2000 Elections and Beyond,” a supplement to *The Logic of American Politics*, by Samuel Kernell and Gary C. Jacobson. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2001, pp. 1-42.
- “Congress: Elections and Stalemate,” *The Elections of 2000*, ed. Michael Nelson. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press (2001), pp. 185-209.
- “A House and Senate Divided: The Clinton Legacy and the Congressional Elections of 2000,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 116 (Spring 2001), pp. 5-27.
- Comment on “‘Compassionate Conservatism’—ein Modell für Europa?” *Politische Studien*, Vol. 52, No. 378 (July/August 2001), pp. 124-130.

- “Bill Clinton und die Wahlen des Jahres 2000,” *Die Clinton-Präsidentschaft im Rückblick. Reihe: Argumente und Materialien 31*; ed. Stephan Bierling and Reinhard Meier-Walser (München: Hanns Seidel Stiftung, 2001), pp. 93-118.
- “Terror, Terrain, and Turnout: The 2002 Midterm Election,” *Political Science Quarterly* 118 (Spring 2003), pp. 1-22.
- “Partisan Polarization in Presidential Support: The Electoral Connection,” *Congress and the Presidency* 30 (Spring 2003), pp. 1-36; updated version reprinted in *Readings in Presidential Politics*, ed. George W. Edwards III (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2006), pp. 69-108.
- “Reconsidering ‘Reconsidering the Trend in Incumbent Vote Percentages in House Elections’: A Comment,” *American Review of Politics* (Fall 2003), pp. 241-244.
- “The Bush Presidency and the American Electorate,” *The George W. Bush Presidency: An Early Assessment*, ed. Fred Greenstein. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, pp. 197-227; also in *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 32 (December 2003), pp. 701-729.
- “The Logic of American Politics in Wartime” (with Samuel Kernell), supplement to *The Logic of American Politics* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., by Samuel Kernell and Gary C. Jacobson. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2004, pp. 1-49.
- “Assessing the President’s Role as Party Agent in Congressional Elections: The Case of Bill Clinton in 2000” (with Samuel Kernell and Jeffrey Lazarus), *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29 (May 2004), pp. 159-184.
- “Partisan and Ideological Polarization in the California Electorate,” *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 4 (Summer 2004), pp. 113-139.
- “The Congress: The Structural Basis of Republican Success,” *The Elections of 2004*, ed. Michael Nelson. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2005, pp. 163-186.
- “Polarized Politics and the 2004 Congressional and Presidential Elections,” *Political Science Quarterly* 120 (Summer 2005), pp. 199-218; reprinted in *The Meaning of American Democracy*, ed. Robert Y. Shapiro (New York: Academy of Political Science, 2005), pp. 185-204.
- “All Quiet on the Western Front: Redistricting and Party Competition in California House Elections,” *Redistricting in the New Millennium*, ed. Peter Galderisi. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005, pp. 217-244.
- “The Case Against Mandatory Competition for APSA Offices,” *Perestroika! The Raucous Rebellion in Political Science*, ed. Kristen Monroe. Yale University Press, 2005, pp. 241-249.
- “Modern Election Campaigns and Representation,” *Institutions of Democracy: The Legislative Branch*, ed. Paul Quirk and Sarah Binder. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 109-147.
- “The First Congressional Elections after BCRA,” *One Election Later: 2004 Politics after the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act*, ed., Michael Malbin. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006, pp. 185-203.
- “Measuring Campaign Spending Effects in U.S. House Elections,” *Capturing Campaign Effects*, ed. Henry Brady and Richard Johnston. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006, pp. 199-220.
- “Campaign Spending Effects in U.S. Senate Elections: Evidence from the National Annenberg Election Survey,” *Electoral Studies* 25 (June 2006), pp. 195-226.
- “Competition in U.S. Congressional Elections,” *The Marketplace of Democracy*, ed. Michael P. McDonald and John Samples. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2006, pp. 26-52.
- “The Polls: Polarized Opinion in the States: Partisan Differences in Approval Ratings of Governors, Senators, and George W. Bush,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36 (December 2006), pp. 732-757.
- “Disconnected or Joined at the Hip” (Comment on Morris P. Fiorina and Matthew S. Levandusky’s “Disconnected: The Political Class vs. the People”) *Red and Blue Nation?* Vol. 1, ed. Pietro S. Nivola and David W. Brady. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institutions, 2006, pp. 85-95.

- “Why Other Sources of Polarization Matter More” (Comment on Thomas Mann’s “Polarizing the House of Representatives: How Much Does Gerrymandering Matter?”), *Red and Blue Nation?* Vol. 1, ed. Pietro S. Nivola and David W. Brady. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2006, pp. 284-290.
- “The Public, the President, and the War in Iraq,” *Politics and Polarization: The Presidency of George W. Bush*, ed. George C. Edwards III and Desmond King. Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 245-284.
- “Referendum: The 2006 Midterm Congressional Elections.” *Political Science Quarterly* 122 (Spring, 2007), pp. 1-24.
- “George W. Bush, Polarization, and the War in Iraq,” *The George W. Bush Legacy*, ed. Colin Campbell, Bert A. Rockman, and Andrew Rudalevige. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2007, pp. 62-91.
- “Explaining the Ideological Polarization of the Congressional Parties Since the 1970s,” *Process, Party and Policy Making: Further New Perspectives on the History of Congress*, ed. David Brady and Mathew McCubbins. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007, pp. 91-101.
- “The Logic of American Politics Under Divided Government: The Legacy of the 2006 Elections” (with Samuel Kernell), supplement to *The Logic of American Politics* 3rd ed., by Samuel Kernell and Gary C. Jacobson. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2008, pp. 1-35.
- “The President, the War, and Voting Behavior in the 2006 House Elections,” *Fault Lines: Why the Republicans Lost Congress*, ed. Jeffrey J. Mondak and Donna-Gene Mitchell. New York: Routledge, 2008, pp. 128-147.
- “Party, Performance, and Strategic Politicians: The Dynamics of Elections for Senator and Governor in 2006” (with Adam R. Brown), *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 8 (Winter 2008), pp. 384-409.
- “Congress: The Second Wave.” *The Elections of 2008*, ed. Michael Nelson. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2009, pp. 100-121.
- “The 2008 Presidential and Congressional Elections: Anti-Bush Referendum and Prospects for the Democratic Majority.” *Political Science Quarterly* 124 (Spring 2009), pp. 1-30. Reprinted in *Ten Presidential Elections, 1980-2016*, ed. Demetrios James Caraley. (New York: Academy of Political Science, 2018, pp. 217-247.
- “The Effects of the George W. Bush Presidency on Partisan Attitudes,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39 (June 2009), pp. 172-209.
- “George W. Bush, the Iraq War, and the Election of Barack Obama,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 40 (June 2010), pp. 207-224.
- “Perception, Memory, and Partisan Polarization on the Iraq War,” *Political Science Quarterly* 125 (Spring 2010), pp. 1-26.
- “A Tale of Two Wars: Public Opinion on the U.S. Military Interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 40 (December 2010), pp. 585-610.
- “A Collective Dilemma Solved: The Distribution of Party Campaign Resources in the 2006 and 2008 Congressional Elections.” *Election Law Journal* 9 (December 2010), pp. 381-397.
- “The Republican Resurgence in 2010,” *Political Science Quarterly* 126 (Spring, 2011):27-52; condensed version published as “Barack Obama, the Tea Party, and the 2010 Midterm Elections,” *Extensions*, (Summer, 2011):6-11,
- “Legislative Success and Political Failure: The Public’s Reaction to Barack Obama’s Early Presidency,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 41 (June 2011):219-242; reprinted in *Understanding the Presidency*, ed. James Pfiffner and Roger Davidson (New York: Pearson 2013), pp. 176-200.
- “Obama and the Polarized Public” *Obama in Office: The First Two Years*, ed. James A. Thurber. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2011, pp. 19-40.
- “Partisan Differences in Job Approval Ratings of George W. Bush and U.S. Senators in the States,” *Facing the Challenge of Democracy: Explorations in the Analysis of Public Opinion and Political*

*Participation*, ed. Benjamin Highton and Paul Sniderman. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011, pp. 153-184.

- “Polarization, Public Opinion and the Presidency: The Obama and Anti-Obama Coalitions,” *The Obama Presidency: Appraisals and Prospects*, ed. Bert A. Rockman, Andrew Rudalevige, and Colin Campbell. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2012, pp. 94-122.
- “The Electoral Origins of Polarized Politics: Evidence from the 2010 Cooperative Congressional Election Study,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 56 (December 2012): 1612-1630.
- “The President’s Effect on Partisan Attitudes,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 42 (December 2012):683-718.
- “Introduction,” *White House Studies* 12:2 (2012):113-123.
- “Presidents, Partisans, and Polarized Politics,” *Can We Talk? The Rise of Rude, Nasty, Stubborn Politics*, ed. Danial Shea and Morris Fiorina. New York: Pearson, 2013, pp. 100-122.
- “No Compromise: The Electoral Origins of Legislative Gridlock,” *Principles and Practice in American Politics*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., ed. Samuel Kernell and Steven Smith. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2013, pp. 541-562; updated version in 6<sup>th</sup> ed., 2016, pp. 330-350.
- “Partisanship, Money, and Competition: Elections and the Transformation of Congress since the 1970s,” *Congress Reconsidered*, 10<sup>th</sup> ed., ed. Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2013, pp. 117-144; updated versions, 11<sup>th</sup> ed., 2017, pp. 89-117, and 12<sup>th</sup> edition, 2021, pp. 101-132.
- “How the Economy and Partisanship Shaped the 2012 Presidential and Congressional Elections,” *Political Science Quarterly* 128 (Spring 2013): 1-38. Reprinted in *Ten Presidential Elections, 1980-2016*, ed. Demetrios James Caraley. New York: Academy of Political Science, 2018, pp. 249-284.
- “Partisan Polarization in American Politics: A Background Paper,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 43 (December 2013):688-708.
- “Congress: Partisanship and Polarization,” *The Elections of 2012*, ed. Michael Nelson. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2014, pp. 145-171.
- “Eroding the Electoral Foundations of Partisan Polarization,” *Solutions to the Political Polarization in America*, ed. Nathaniel Persily. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 83-95.
- “How Presidents Shape Their Party’s Reputation and Prospects: New Evidence,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 45 (March 2015):1-28.
- “Obama and Nationalized Electoral Politics in the 2014 Midterm,” *Political Science Quarterly* 130 (Spring 2015):1-26.
- “How Do Campaigns Matter?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 18 (May 2015):31-47.
- “It’s Nothing Personal: The Decline of the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections,” *Journal of Politics* 77:3 (July 2015):861-873.
- “Partisan Media and Electoral Polarization in 2012: Evidence from the American National Election Study,” *American Gridlock: The Sources, Characters and Impact of Polarization*, ed James A. Thurber and Antoine Yoshinaka. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 259-286.
- “Barack Obama and the Nationalization of Electoral Politics in 2012,” *Electoral Studies* 40 (December 2015):471-481.
- “The Tea Party and the 2012 Presidential Election” (with Leigh Bradberry), *Electoral Studies* 40 (December 2015):500-508.
- “The Coevolution of Affect Toward Presidents and Their Parties,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 46 (June 2016):1-29.
- “The Obama Legacy and the Future of Partisan Conflict: Demographic Change and Generational Imprinting,” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 667 (September 2016):72-91.



- “Polarization, Gridlock, and Presidential Campaign Politics in 2016,” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 667 (September 2016): 226-246.
- “The Electoral Connection, Then and Now,” *Governing in a Polarized Age: Elections, Parties, and Political Representation*, ed. Alan Gerber and Eric Schickler. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017, pp. 35-64.
- “Congress: Nationalized, Polarized, and Partisan,” *The Elections of 2016*, ed. Michael Nelson. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2017, pp. 165-188.
- “The Triumph of Polarized Partisanship: Donald Trump’s Improbable Victory in 2016,” *Political Science Quarterly*, 132 (Spring 2017):1-34. Reprinted in *Ten Presidential Elections, 1980-2016*, ed. Demetrios James Caraley. New York: Academy of Political Science, 2018, pp.285-317.
- “Donald Trump, the Public, and Congress: The First 7 Months.” *The Forum*, 15:3 (November 2017):525-545.
- “Republican Candidates’ Positions on Donald Trump in the 2016 Congressional Elections: Strategies and Consequences” (with Huchen Liu), *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 48:1 (March 2018):49-71.
- “The Effects of the Early Trump Presidency on Public Attitudes toward the Republican Party,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 48:3 (September 2018): 405-435.
- “Extreme Referendum: Donald Trump and the 2018 Midterm Elections,” *Political Science Quarterly* 134 (Spring 2019): 1-30.
- “Dealing with Disruption: Congressional Republicans’ Responses to Donald Trump’s Behavior and Agenda” (with Huchen Liu), *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (December 2019):1-26.
- “*Divide et Impera*: Polarization in Trump’s America.” In *Four Years of Trump: The U.S. and the World.*, ed. Mario Del Pero and Paolo Magri. Milan: Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale, 2020, , pp. 15-47.
- “Donald Trump and the Parties: Impeachment, Pandemic, Protest and Electoral Politics in 2020,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (December 2020), in press.

#### Recent Conference Papers

- “Age, Race, Party, and Ideology: Generational Imprinting during the Obama Presidency,” prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 7-10, 2016.
- “The Effects of the Clinton-Trump Contest on the 2016 U.S. House and Senate Elections,” prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 6-9, 2017.
- “Republican Candidates’ Positions on Donald Trump in the 2016 Congressional Elections: Strategies and Consequences” (With Huchen Liu), prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 6-9, 2017.
- “The Effect of the Obama Presidency on the Parties,” prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, August 31-September 3, 2017.
- “The Effect of the Early Trump Presidency on Attitudes toward the Republican Party,” prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 5-8, 2018.
- “Dealing with Disruption: Determinants of Congressional Republicans’ Responses to Trump’s Agenda and Behavior” (with Huchen Liu), prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 5-8, 2018.
- “Donald Trump and the 2018 Election,” prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 30-September 2, 2018.

- “Extreme Referendum: Donald Trump and the 2018 Midterm Elections,” prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 4-7, 2019.
- “Money and Mobilization in the 2018 Congressional Elections,” prepared for delivery at “Partisanship Reconsidered: A Conference to Honor David Magleby,” Brigham Young University, June 6-8, 2019.
- “Donald Trump and the Future of the American Parties,” prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 16-19, 2020.
- “Donald Trump and the Parties: Impeachment, Pandemic, Protest, and Electoral Politics in 2020,” prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Virtual Meeting, September 9-13, 2020.