(revised June 2020)

SAMUEL KERNELL

Department of Political Science

UC San Diego

La Jolla Ca. 92093-0521 skernell@ucsd.edu

**EDUCATION**

B.A Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi, 1967

(Political Science and Sociology)

M.A. University of California, Berkeley, 1968

(Political Science)

Ph.D University of California, Berkeley, 1975

(Political Science)

# EMPLOYMENT

1968-69 Instructor, University of Mississippi

1969-73 Lecturer, University of California, Berkeley

1974-77 Instructor and Assistant Professor, University of Minnesota

1977-79 Acting Associate Professor, University of California, San Diego

1979-84 Associate Professor, University of California, San Diego

1985-87 Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution

1984- Professor, University of California, San Diego

**GRANTS**

Social Science Research Council award for survey data acquisition, 1976.

National Science Foundation award to study political change in industrial democracies, 1978-1980.

Field Institute Faculty Fellow, 1980-1981.

Dirksen Center Research Grant for research on the professionalization of congressional careers in the late 19th century, 1981-82.

National Fellow, The Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 1982-83.

National Science Foundation award to study the emergence of the modern political career structure in America, 1984-86.

Luce Foundation (to Brookings Institution) to organize seminar of American and Japanese scholars, 1987-1989.

Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute award for travel to Roosevelt Library, 1989.

National Science Foundation award for project, A Nation of States: Mapping the Impact of National Political Forces Through State Electoral Institutions, 1840-1940, 2001-2003.

National Science Foundation award for project "Do Veto Threats Matter," 2004-2006.

National Science Foundation award for project “Presidents’ Legislative Preferences,” 2018-2021.

PRIZES and AWARDS

CQ Prize for the best paper on legislative studies that was presented at the 2003 APSA meetings.

Longley Prize for best journal article published on representation and electoral systems in 2005, awarded by Electoral Systems and Representation section of APSA.

Co-winner of the APSA’s J. David Greenstone Prize for the best book in politics and history, 2015, for *Party Ballots, Reform, and the Transformation of America’s Electoral System.*

Presidency and Executive Politics’ Legacy Award, 2016, for *Going Public.*

Fett prize for best paper presented to MWPSA conference on American politics, 2017.

# BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS

*Strategy and Choice in Congressional Elections* (with Gary C. Jacobson). New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981. Revised 2nd edition, 1983.

*Congress: We the People, A Study and Viewer's* Guide (with Dianne Kernell). Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association, 1984.

*Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership.* Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1986. Revised, 4th edition, 2006. A companion documentary video, Going Public: Presidential Communication in a Media Age (1992).

*Chief of Staff: Twenty-five Years of Managing the Presidency* (co-author and editor with Samuel L. Popkin). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

*Parallel Politics: Economic Policymaking in Japan and the United States.* (editor and co-author) Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1990.

*The Politics of Divided Government* (co-editor with Gary W. Cox). Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991.

*The Logic of American Politics* (with Gary C. Jacobson, Thad Kousser and Lynn Vavreck) Washington: SAGE/CQ Press, 1999. Revised 9th edition 2019.

*Principles and Practice of American* Politics (co-editor with Steven S. Smith) Washington: CQ Press, 2000. Revised 7th edition, 2017.

*James Madison: The Theory and Politics of Republican Government* (editor and author) Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.

[Introduction: James Madison and Political Science](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/Madison-Intro.pdf)

[Chapter 5: “The True Principles of Republican Government”](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/Madison-TruePrinciples.pdf)

*Party Ballots, Reform and the Transformation of America’s Electoral System* (with Erik J. Engstrom) New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

# ARTICLES

"Is the Senate More Liberal Than the House?" *Journal of Politics,* May, 1973, pp. 332-363.

["A Re-evaluation of Black Voting in Mississippi," *A*](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/reevaluationofblackvoting.pdf)*merican Political Science Review*, 67, December 1973, pp.

1307-1318.

"Public Support for Presidents" with Peter Sperlich and Aaron Wildavsky in *Perspectives on the Presidency*, edited by Aaron Wildavsky. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1975, pp. 148-183.

["The Truman Doctrine Speech: A Case Study of the Dynamics of Presidential Opinion Leadership,"](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/trumandoctrinespeech.pdf) *Social Science History*, 1, Fall 1976, pp. 20-44.

["Presidential Popularity and Negative Voting: An Alternative Explanation of the Midterm Electoral Decline of the President's Party," *A*](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/negativevoting.pdf)*merican Political Science Review*, 71, March 1977, pp. 44-66.

["Toward Understanding 19th Century Congressional Careers: Ambition, Competition, and Rotation,"](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/towardunderstanding19thc.pdf) *American Journal of Political Science*, 21, November 1977, pp. 669-693.

["Explaining Presidential Popularity," *A*](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/explainingprespopularity.pdf)*merican Political Science Review*, 72, June 1978, pp. 506-552.

"A Disaggregation Model of Trends in Presidential Popularity: 1952-1974," 1978 Proceedings of the American Statistical Association, Spring 1979, pp. 13-135.

"Communication: Reply," *American Political Science Review* 73, 1979, pp. 545-546.

"Is the California Electorate Becoming More Conservative?" (with Jack Citrin and Peter Linguiti), State Data Program Research Report No. 4, 1980; reprinted as a Field Research Report, July 1980.

["A Critical Threshold Model of Presidential Approval," (](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/ACriticalThresholdModelofPresidentialPopularity.pdf)with Douglas Hibbs) in *Contemporary Political Economy: Studies in the Interdependence of Politics and Economics*, edited by Douglas A. Hibbs and Heins Fassbender. Amsterdam: North Holland, 1981, pp. 49-72.

"The Presidency and the People: The Modern Paradox" in *The Presidency and the Political System*, edited by Michael Nelson. Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1983), pp. 233-263.

"A Primer on Demographic Targeting," *Election Politics* I, Winter, 1983, pp. 16-20.

"Strategy and Choice in the 1982 Congressional Elections" (with Gary Jacobson), Political Science, Vol. 15, Fall 1982, pp. 423-430; reprinted in Controversies in Voting Behavior, edited Richard B. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg, 2nd edition. Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1984, pp. 239-250.

"Campaigning, Governing, and the Contemporary Presidency," in *The New Direction in American Politics* , edited by John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson. Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1985, pp. 117-142.

"Interpreting the 1974 Congressional Election," (with Gary C. Jacobson), *American Political Science Review*, 80, September 1986, pp. 591-593.

["The Early Nationalization of Political News in America,"](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/TheEarlyNationalization.pdf) *Studies in American Political Development*, 1, 1986, pp.

255-278.

["Congress and the Presidency as News in the Nineteenth Century"](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/congresspresasnews.pdf) (with Gary C. Jacobson), *Journal of Politics*, 49, 1987, pp. 1016-1035.

"Communication: Reply," *Studies in American Political Development*, 2, 1987, pp. 340-342.

["The Evolution of the White House Staff."](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/EvolutionoftheWhitehouseStaff.pdf) In Can the Government Govern? edited by John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson. Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1989, pp. 185-237.

["National Forces in the 1986 House Elections,"](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/nationalforces.pdf) (with Gary C. Jacobson), *Legislative Studies Quarterly* XV, February 1990, pp. 185-237.

“Determining the Predictability of Partisan Voting Patterns in California Elections, 1978-1984” (with B. Grofman). In *Political Gerrymandering and the Courts*, edited by B. Grofman. New York: Agathon Press, 1990.

“The Need for a Comparative Perspective.” In *Parallel Politics: Economic Policymaking in Japan and the United States.* Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1990.

“The Primacy of Politics in Economic Policy.” In *Parallel Politics: Economic Policymaking in Japan and the United States.* Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1990.

“New and Old Lessons on White House Management.” In *Executive Leadership in Anglo-American Systems*, edited by Colin Campbell and Margaret Jane Wgzorworski. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991.

[“The Evolution of the White House Staff.” A](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/resources/EvolutionoftheWhitehouseStaff.pdf)bridged version in *The Managerial Presidency*, edited by James Pfiffner. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publisher, 1991

“Facing an Opposition Congress: The President’s Strategic Circumstances.” In *The Politics of Divided Government*, edited by G. Cox and S. Kernell. Boulder: Westview Press, 1991.

[“The Evolution of the White House Staff.”](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/resources/EvolutionoftheWhitehouseStaff.pdf) In James P. Pfiffner and Roger H. Davidson (eds.), *Understanding the Presidency*, New York: Longman, 1997.

“The Theory and Practice of Going Public.” In Shanto Iyengar and Richard Reeves, *Do the Media Govern***?** Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishing, 1997.

[“Is Network Coverage of the President Biased?”](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/networknewscoverage.pdf) (with Tim Groeling) 60 *Journal of Politics,* November 1998, pp.

1063-1087.

[“Has Cable Ended the Golden Age of Presidential Television?”](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/cableended.pdf) (with Matthew A. Baum) 93 *American Political Science Review*, March 1999, pp. 99-114.

[“Congress and America’s Political Development: The Transformation of the Post Office from Patronage to Service.”](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/rfdajps.pdf) ( with Michael McDonald) 43 *American Journal of Political Science*, July 1999, pp. 792-811.

[“Serving Competing Principals: The Budget Estimates of OMB and CBO in an Era of Divided Government.” (](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/ombcbopsq.pdf)with Erik J. Engstrom) 29 *Presidential Studies Quarterly* December 1999, pp. 820-829.

[“Congress, the President and Party Competition Via Network News,” (](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/networknewscoverage.pdf)with Tim Groeling) In John R. Bond and Richard Fleisher (eds) *Polarized Politics: Congress and the President in a Partisan Era* Washington: CQ Press, 2000.

["Life Before Polls: Ohio Politicians Predict the 1828 Presidential Vote," *P*](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/lifebeforepolls.pdf)*S* , Summer, 2000, pp. 569-574. (errata)

["Rural Free Delivery As A Critical Test of Alternative Models of American Political Development: A Comment."](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/ruralfreedeliverycriticaltest.pdf) *Studies in American Political Developmen*t Spring, vol. 15: 2001, pp.103-112.

["Economic Class and Popular Support for Franklin Roosevelt in War and Peace."](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/economicclassandpopularsupport.pdf) (with Matthew A. Baum) 65 *Public Opinion Quarterly* Summer 2001, pp. 198-229.

[“’The True Principles of Republican Government’: Reassessing James Madison’s Political Science.”](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/Madison-TruePrinciples_000.pdf) In Kernell (ed.) *James Madison: The Theory and Politics of Republican Government*, 2003.

"Assessing the President's Role as Party Agent in Congressional Elections: The Case of Bill Clinton in 2000," (with Gary C. Jacobson and Jeff Lazarus) *Legislative Studies Quarterly* vol 29, 2004, pp. 159-184. (Abstract)

[“Manufactured Responsiveness: The Impact of State Electoral Laws on Unified Party Control of the Presidency and House of Representatives, 1840-1940,”](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/ManufacturedResponsiveness.pdf) (with Erik J. Engstrom) *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 49, No. 3, July 2005, Pp. 531-549.

"The Impact of Presidential Elections on Party Control of the Senate, 1840-1940," (with Erik J. Engstrom) in David Brady and Mat McCubbins (eds.) *Process, Party and Policy Making: Further New Perspectives on the History of Congress,* Stanford University Press, 2008.

[“How Cable Ended the Golden Age of Presidential Television: From 1969 to 2006,”](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/cableended_000.pdf) (with Matthew A. Baum). In Kernell and Steven Smith (eds) *Principles and Practice of American Politics.* Washington: CQ Press, 2000. Revised 3rd edition, 2006.

[“Cable and the Partisan Polarization of the President's Audience,”](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/KernellandRice.pdf) (with Laurie Rice) *Presidential Studies Quarterly,* Vol. 41 2011. pp. 693-711

[“Veto Rhetoric and Legislative Riders,”](http://pages.ucsd.edu/~skernell/styled/documents/Hassell_et_al-2015-American_Journal_of_Political_Science_000.pdf) (with Hans J.G. Hassell) *American Journal of Political Science,* 2016 60(4): 845-859.

“Presidents’ Vetoes and Audience Costs,” (with Laurie L. Rice). *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. 2019 49(1): 130-152.

“New Data for Investigating the President’s Legislative Program: OMB Logs and SAPs.” (with Laurie L. Rice). *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. 2019 49(2): 330-357.

[“Monitoring the Economy,” (with Georgia Kernell). *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties.* (online) 2019: 1-21.](https://www.dropbox.com/s/uc3etf22jn6spar/Monitoring%20the%20economy.pdf?dl=0)

[“Veto Threat Bargaining with a Bicameral Congress,” (with Scott Guenther). *Political Research Quarterly.* (online) 2020: 1-17.](https://www.dropbox.com/s/pc65kp50b1mujf8/vtb%20with%20bicameral%20congress%20%20final.pdf?dl=0)