

# Larry M. Bartels

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## ***Academic Positions***

Vanderbilt University (2011-present)

University Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Law, 2022-present.

May Werthan Shayne Chair of Public Policy and Social Science, 2011-present.

Professor of Political Science, 2011-2022.

Princeton University (1991-2011)

Donald E. Stokes Professor of Public and International Affairs, 1999-2011.

Stuart Professor of Communications and Public Affairs in the Woodrow Wilson School, 1991-99.

Professor of Politics and Public Affairs, 1991-2011.

University of Rochester (1983-1991)

Associate Professor of Political Science, 1986-91.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, 1984-86.

Instructor, Department of Political Science, 1983.

## ***Education***

Ph.D. in Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, 1983.

M.A. in Political Science, Yale University, 1978.

B.A. awarded Magna cum Laude and with Distinction in Political Science, Yale College, 1978.

## ***Awards and Honors***

Career Achievement Award, Society for Political Methodology, 2021.

*Jeopardy* answer: 'OBAMA MADE IT THROUGH LARRY BARTELS' "UNEQUAL DEMOCRACY: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE NEW" THIS "AGE", LIKE THE 1870-98 ONE.' April 28, 2020 (\$1600).

Elected to American Philosophical Society, 2019.

Earl Sutherland Prize for Career Achievement in Research, Vanderbilt University, 2017.

David O. Sears Award from the International Society of Political Psychology, 2017 (with Christopher H. Achen, for the best book on the political psychology of mass behavior published in 2016).

Association of American Publishers PROSE Award, Government & Politics, 2017 (with Christopher H. Achen).

Andrew Carnegie Fellowship from the Carnegie Corporation of New York (for "Political Inequality in Affluent Democracies: The U.S. in Comparative Perspective"), 2015-17.

Warren E. Miller Prize from the Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior section of the American Political Science Association, 2014 (awarded every two or three years for an outstanding career of intellectual accomplishment and service to the profession).

Grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation (for "Wealthy Americans, Democracy, and the Common Good," in collaboration with Benjamin I. Page, Fay Lomax Cook, Christopher Jencks, and Jason Seawright), 2012.

Elected to National Academy of Sciences, 2012.

Grant from the Russell Sage Foundation (for "Affluent Americans and the Common Good," in collaboration with Benjamin I. Page), 2010.

Grant from the Global Collaborative Research Fund, Princeton University (for an international research network on "Economic Crisis, Public Policy, and Inequality," in collaboration with Jonas Pontusson), 2010-11.

Elected to American Academy of Political and Social Science (Robert A. Dahl Fellow), 2010.

Grant from the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies (for a research cluster on "The Politics of Economic Crisis," in collaboration with Nancy Bermeo and Jonas Pontusson), 2009-11.

Gladys M. Kammerer Award from the American Political Science Association, 2009 (for the best political science publication in 2008 in the field of U.S. national policy).

Leon Epstein Book Award from the Political Organizations and Parties Section of APSA, 2009 (for a book published in the last two calendar years that makes an outstanding contribution to research and scholarship on political organizations and parties).

Selected as an inaugural Fellow of the Society for Political Methodology, 2009.

Best Paper Awards from the Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Section of APSA, 1998, 2004, and 2006 (for the best paper on elections, public opinion, or voting behavior presented at the previous year's meeting of the APSA). Disqualified from further consideration by edict of the section president, 2006.

Grant from the Russell Sage Foundation (for “Unequal Democracy: The Politics of Economic Inequality”), 2005-06.

Carnegie Scholar grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York (for “Promoting Public Understanding of the American Electoral Process”), 2004-06.

Franklin L. Burdette Award from the American Political Science Association, 2003 (for the best paper presented at the 2002 meeting of the APSA).

Grant from the Russell Sage Foundation (for “American Perceptions of Economic Inequality,” in collaboration with Nancy Burns and Donald R. Kinder), 2002.

Grant from the Russell Sage Foundation (for the Princeton Working Group on Inequality, in collaboration with Bruce Western, Paul DiMaggio, and Howard Rosenthal), 2001-04.

Grant from The Pew Charitable Trusts (for “Campaign Reform”), 1997-2000.

Doris Graber Award from the Political Communication Section of APSA, 1997 (for the best paper on political communication presented at the 1996 meeting of the APSA).

Fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, 1996-97.

Elected to American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1995.

National Science Foundation research grant, 1995-99 (SBR-9510920, “The Production and Impact of Economic News”).

Advanced Research Fellowship in Foreign Policy Studies from the Social Science Research Council, 1991-95.

Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award from the American Political Science Association, 1989 (for the best book published in the United States in 1988 on government, politics, or international affairs).

Fellowship from the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California, 1987-88.

National Science Foundation research grant (in collaboration with Henry E. Brady), 1984-87 (SES-8319693, “Collaborative Research on Momentum in Presidential Primaries”).

E. E. Schattschneider Award from the American Political Science Association, 1984 (for the best doctoral dissertation completed or accepted in 1983 in the field of American government).

National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship, 1978-81.

## ***Publications***

### ***Books***

*Democracy Erodes from the Top: Leaders, Citizens, and the Challenge of Populism in Europe.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (2023).

*Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*, 2nd edition. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, and Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (2016).

*Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government* (with Christopher H. Achen). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (2016; with a new afterword 2017).

*Mass Politics in Tough Times: Opinions, Votes and Protest in the Great Recession* (ed., with Nancy Bermeo). New York: Oxford University Press (2014).

*Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, and Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (2008). Subsequently published in Mandarin and Korean translations.

*Campaign Reform: Insights and Evidence* (ed., with Lynn Vavreck). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (2000).

*Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (1988).

## **Articles**

“Ethnic Antagonism Erodes Republicans’ Commitment to Democracy.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 117:37 (2020), 22752-22759.

“Partisanship in the Trump Era.” *Journal of Politics* 80:4 (2018), 1483-1494.

“Failure to Converge: Presidential Candidates, Core Partisans, and the Missing Middle in American Electoral Politics.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 667 (2016), 143-165.

“Remembering to Forget: A Note on the Duration of Campaign Advertising Effects.” *Political Communication* 31:4 (2014), 532-544.

“A Generational Model of Political Learning” (with Simon Jackman). *Electoral Studies* 33:1 (2014), 7-18.

“Political Effects of the Great Recession.” *ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 650 (2013), 47-75.

“Democracy and the Policy Preferences of Wealthy Americans” (with Benjamin I. Page and Jason Seawright). *Perspectives on Politics* 11:1 (2013), 51-73.

“A Tale of Two Tax Cuts, a Wage Squeeze, and a Tax Credit.” *National Tax Journal* 59:3 (2006), 403-423.

“What’s the Matter with *What’s the Matter with Kansas?*” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 1:2 (2006), 201-226.

“Homer Gets a Tax Cut: Inequality and Public Policy in the American Mind.” *Perspectives on Politics* 3:1 (2005), 15-31.

“Beyond the Running Tally: Partisan Bias in Political Perceptions.” *Political Behavior* 24:2 (2002), 117-150.

- “Question Order and Declining Faith in Elections.” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 66:1 (2002), 67-79.
- “Presidential Vote Models: A Recount” (with John Zaller). *PS: Political Science & Politics* 34:1 (2001), 9-20.
- “Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996.” *American Journal of Political Science* 44:1 (2000), 35-50.
- “Panel Effects in the American National Election Studies.” *Political Analysis* 8:1 (2000), 1-20.
- “Electoral Continuity and Change, 1868-1996.” *Electoral Studies* 17:3 (1998), 301-326.
- “Specification Uncertainty and Model Averaging.” *American Journal of Political Science* 41:2 (1997), 641-674.
- “Pooling Disparate Observations.” *American Journal of Political Science* 40:3 (1996), 905-942.
- “Uninformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections.” *American Journal of Political Science* 40:1 (1996), 194-230.
- “The American Public’s Defense Spending Preferences in the Post-Cold War Era.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 58:4 (1994), 479-508.
- “Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure.” *American Political Science Review* 87:2 (1993), 267-285. Reprinted in Philip Seib, ed., *Political Communication*. London: Sage Publications (2007).
- “Instrumental and ‘Quasi-Instrumental’ Variables.” *American Journal of Political Science* 35:3 (1991), 777-800.
- “Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Buildup.” *American Political Science Review* 85:2 (1991), 457-474.
- “Candidate Choice and the Dynamics of the Presidential Nominating Process.” *American Journal of Political Science* 31:1 (1987), 1-30.
- “Issue Voting Under Uncertainty: An Empirical Test.” *American Journal of Political Science* 30:4 (1986), 709-728.
- “Alternative Misspecifications in Simultaneous-Equation Models.” *Political Methodology* 11:3-4 (1985), 181-199.
- “Power and Influence as a Covariance Structure.” *Political Methodology* 11:1-2 (1985), 49-69.
- “New Measures of Issue Salience: An Evaluation” (with Richard G. Niemi). *Journal of Politics* 47:4 (1985), 1212-1220.
- “Expectations and Preferences in Presidential Nominating Campaigns.” *American Political Science Review* 79:3 (1985), 804-815.
- “Resource Allocation in a Presidential Campaign.” *Journal of Politics* 47:3 (1985), 928-936.

“The Responsiveness of Approval Voting to Political Circumstances” (with Richard G. Niemi). *PS: Political Science & Politics* 17:3 (1984), 571-577.

### **Book Chapters**

“Measuring Political Inequality.” In Noam Lupu and Jonas Pontusson, eds., *Unequal Democracies: Public Policy, Responsiveness, and Redistribution in an Era of Rising Economic Inequality*. New York: Cambridge University Press (forthcoming).

“Parties, Groups, and Public Policy: Searching for an Electoral Connection.” In Christopher F. Karpowitz and Jeremy C. Pope, eds., *Reconsidering Parties and Partisanship*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (forthcoming).

“Democracy Erodes from the Top: Public Opinion and Democratic ‘Backsliding’ in Europe.” In Emmanouil M. L. Economou, Nicholas C. Kyriazis, and Athanasios Platias, eds., *Democracy in Times of Crises: Challenges, Problems and Policy Proposals*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature (2022), 41-67.

“Mass Politics in Tough Times” (with Nancy Bermeo). In Nancy Bermeo and Larry M. Bartels, eds., *Mass Politics in Tough Times: Opinions, Votes and Protest in the Great Recession*. New York: Oxford University Press (2014), 1-39.

“Ideology and Retrospection in Electoral Responses to the Great Recession.” In Nancy Bermeo and Larry M. Bartels, eds., *Mass Politics in Tough Times: Opinions, Votes and Protest in the Great Recession*. New York: Oxford University Press (2014), 185-223.

“Economic Inequality and Political Representation.” In Lawrence Jacobs and Desmond King, eds., *The Unsustainable American State*. New York: Oxford University Press (2009), 167-196. (Reprinted from *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*.)

“The Partisan Political Economy.” In Richard M. Valelly, ed., *Princeton Readings in American Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (2009), 577-606. (Reprinted from *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*.)

“Electoral Continuity and Change, 1868-1996.” In Richard M. Valelly, ed., *Princeton Readings in American Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (2009), 421-446. (Reprinted from *Electoral Studies*.)

“Priming and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns.” In Henry E. Brady and Richard Johnston, eds., *Capturing Campaign Effects*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (2006), 78-112.

“Three Virtues of Panel Data for the Analysis of Campaign Effects.” In Henry E. Brady and Richard Johnston, eds., *Capturing Campaign Effects*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (2006), 134-163.

“Inequality and American Governance” (with Hugh Hechler, Rodney E. Hero, and Lawrence R. Jacobs). In Lawrence R. Jacobs and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Inequality and American Democracy: What We Know and What We Need to Learn*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation (2005), 88-155.

“Democracy with Attitudes.” In Michael B. MacKuen and George Rabinowitz, eds., *Electoral Democracy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (2003), 48-82.

“The Impact of Candidate Traits in American Presidential Elections.” In Anthony King, ed., *Leaders’ Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2002), 44-69.

“An Agenda for Voting Research.” In Elihu Katz and Yael Warshel, eds., *Election Studies: What’s Their Use?* Boulder, CO: Westview Press (2001), 59-81.

“Campaign Quality: Standards for Evaluation, Benchmarks for Reform.” In Larry M. Bartels and Lynn Vavreck, eds., *Campaign Reform: Insights and Evidence*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (2000), 1-61.

“Where the Ducks Are: Voting Power in a Party System.” In John Geer, ed., *Politicians and Party Politics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press (1998), 43-79.

“The State of Quantitative Political Methodology” (with Henry E. Brady). In Ada W. Finifter, ed., *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*. Washington: American Political Science Association (1993), 121-159.

“The Impact of Electioneering in the United States.” In David Butler and Austin Ranney, eds., *Electioneering: A Comparative Study of Continuity and Change*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (1992), 244-277.

“After Iowa: Momentum in Presidential Primaries.” In Peverill Squire, ed., *The Iowa Caucuses and the Presidential Nominating Process*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press (1989), 121-148.

### ***Essays and Reviews***

“Democracy’s Challenges—And Ours.” *International Studies Review* forum on “Global Challenges to Democracy: Perspectives on Democratic Backsliding” (forthcoming).

“Government for the People: A Reply to the Symposium” (with Christopher H. Achen). *Critical Review* 30 (2018), 139-162.

“Statistics as if Politics Mattered: A Reply to Fowler and Hall” (with Christopher H. Achen). *Journal of Politics* 80:4 (2018), 1438-1453.

“Elections in America.” Special editor’s introduction to symposium on “Elections in America.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 667 (2016), 36-49.

Review of *Inequality: What Can Be Done?*, by Anthony Atkinson. *Perspectives on Politics* 14 (2016), 544-545.

“A First Step toward Happiness.” (Review of *The Political Economy of Human Happiness*, by Benjamin Radcliff.) *European Political Science* 15 (2016), 423-428.

“Representation” (with Joshua D. Clinton and John G. Geer). In Richard Valelly, Suzanne Mettler, and Robert Lieberman, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development*. New York: Oxford University Press (2016), 399-424.

“Democracy for Realists: Holding Up A Mirror to the Electorate” (with Christopher Achen). *Juncture* 22:4 (2016), 269-275.

“Political Inequality and American Democracy.” *Extensions* (Winter 2016), 4-8.

- "The Political Education of John Zaller." *Critical Review: A Journal of Politics and Society* 24:4 (2012), 463-488. Reprinted in Jeffrey Friedman, ed., *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion Reconsidered: What Determines Public Opinion?* New York: Routledge (2015), 47-72.
- "A New Deal Fantasy Meets Old Political Realities." In Theda Skocpol, *Obama and America's Political Future*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press (2012), 91-110.
- "Elections in Hard Times." *Public Policy Research* 19:1 (2012), 44-50.
- "The Politics of Less." (Review of *The Age of Austerity: How Scarcity Will Remake American Politics*, by Thomas Byrne Edsall.) *Democracy* 24 (2012), 77-83.
- "Stanley Kelley, Jr." (with John G. Geer and Fred I. Greenstein). *PS: Political Science & Politics* 43:2 (2010), 376-379.
- "The Study of Electoral Behavior." In Jan E. Leighley, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press (2010), 239-261.
- "Henry Brady, Big Scientist" (with Richard Johnston, Cynthia S. Kaplan, and Marcia K. Meyers). *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42:4 (2009), 793-798.
- "Voice, and Then What?" In Gary King, Kay L. Schlozman, and Norman H. Nie, eds., *The Future of Political Science: 100 Perspectives*. New York: Routledge (2009), 104-105.
- "The Irrational Electorate." *Wilson Quarterly* 32:4 (2008), 44-50.
- "Homer Gets a Warm Hug: A Note on Ignorance and Extenuation." *Perspectives on Politics* 5:4 (2007), 773-778.
- "Is the Water Rising? Reflections on Inequality and American Democracy." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 39:1 (2006), 39-42.
- "What's Wrong with Short-Term Thinking?" *Boston Review* (Summer 2004), 23. Reprinted in Rick Perlstein, *The Stock Ticker and the Superjumbo: How the Democrats Can Once Again Become America's Dominant Political Party*. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press (2005).
- "A Methodological Education: Part II." *The Political Methodologist* 12:2 (2004), 4-6.
- "Lots of Opinion, Not Much Action: The Study of Mass Politics from Key to Kinder." In Edward D. Mansfield and Richard Sisson, eds., *The Evolution of Political Knowledge: Theory and Inquiry in American Politics*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press (2004), 153-157.
- "Is 'Popular Rule' Possible? Polls, Political Psychology, and Democracy." *Brookings Review* 21:3 (2003), 12-15. Reprinted in Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, eds., *American Politics: Classic and Contemporary Readings*, 7th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing (2007).
- "Economic Behavior in Political Context" (with Henry E. Brady). *American Economic Review* 93:2, Papers and Proceedings (2003), 156-161.



“Public Opinion: Political Aspects.” In Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes, eds., *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*. Oxford: Pergamon (2001), 12560-12563.

*Campaign Reform: Insights and Evidence*. Report of the Task Force on Campaign Reform Funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts. Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University (September 1998). Reprinted in Larry M. Bartels and Lynn Vavreck, eds., *Campaign Reform: Insights and Evidence*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press (2000), 201-247.

“Posterior Distributions from Model Averaging: A Clarification.” *The Political Methodologist* 9:2 (1998), 17-19.

“The American National Election Studies: A Progress Report” (with Virginia Sapiro). *PS: Political Science & Politics* 31:1 (1998), 64-68.

“Econometrics and Elections.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 11:3 (1997), 195-196.

“Donald Stokes and the Study of Electoral Politics.” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 30:2 (1997), 230-232. Reprinted in slightly modified form as “Donald E. Stokes” in John G. Geer, ed., *Public Opinion and Polling Around the World, Volume 1*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio (2004), 457-461.

Review of *Going Negative: How Political Advertisements Shrink and Polarize the Electorate*, by Stephen Ansolabehere and Shanto Iyengar. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 60:3 (1996), 456-461.

“The 1996 National Election Study.” *Votes & Opinions* 2:2 (1996), 26-27, 39.

Review of *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*, by Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. *The Political Methodologist* 6:2 (1995), 8-11. Reprinted in slightly modified form as “Some Unfulfilled Promises of Quantitative Imperialism” in Henry E. Brady and David Collier, eds., *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield (2004), 69-74; second edition (2010), 83-88.

Review of *Public Opinion in America: Moods, Cycles, and Swings*, by James A. Stimson. *Political Science Quarterly* 107:2 (1992), 364-365.

“Five Approaches to Model Specification.” *The Political Methodologist* 3:2 (1990), 2-6.

Review of *Watching Politicians: Essays on Participant Observation*, by Richard F. Fenno, Jr. *The Political Methodologist* 3:2 (1990), 16-17.

Review of *Bifurcated Politics: Evolution and Reform in the National Party Convention*, by Byron E. Shafer. *American Political Science Review* 83:4 (1989), 1400-1402.

“Poll Review: The 1988 Presidential Primaries” (with C. Anthony Broh). *Public Opinion Quarterly* 53:4 (1989), 563-589.

### ***Selected Occasional Pieces***

“The Predicament of Mitt Romney.” *Deseret News*, October 31, 2022.

“Trench Warfare: The 2020 Election in Historical Perspective.” Vanderbilt Project on Unity & American Democracy, January 2021.

“Under Trump, Democrats and Republicans Have Never Been More Divided—On Nearly Everything.” *Washington Post—The Monkey Cage*, May 21, 2020.

“A Lot of Candidates May Make It Seem Like Democracy Is Working, But It Isn’t.” *New York Times*, June 25, 2019.

“White People Get More Conservative When They Move Up—Not Down—Economically” (with Katherine Cramer). *Washington Post—The Monkey Cage*, May 14, 2018.

“How Paul Ryan Lost the Republican Party.” *Washington Post—The Monkey Cage*, April 15, 2018.

“Here’s How Little Americans Have Learned about Donald Trump.” *Washington Post—The Monkey Cage*, February 21, 2018.

“The GOP Tax Bill is Business As Usual in America’s Unequal Democracy.” *Washington Post—The Monkey Cage*, December 20, 2017.

“The ‘Wave’ of Right-Wing Populist Sentiment Is a Myth.” *Washington Post—The Monkey Cage*, June 21, 2017.

“2016 Was an Ordinary Election, Not a Realignment.” *Washington Post—The Monkey Cage*, November 10, 2016.

“The Myth of American Exceptionalism.” *New York Times—Campaign Stops*, November 9, 2016.

“Why Are White Men the Soccer Moms of 2016?” *Vox.com*, September 20, 2016.

“The Rise of Presidential Extremists.” *New York Times—Campaign Stops*, September 12, 2016.

“No, Sanders Supporters Are Not More Liberal than Clinton’s: Here’s What Really Drives Elections” (with Christopher H. Achen). *Washington Post—The Monkey Cage*, June 7, 2016.

“Do Sanders Supporters Favor His Policies?” (with Christopher H. Achen). *New York Times—Campaign Stops*, May 23, 2016.

“The Presidential Primaries are Out of Control—and the Party Conventions are Broken” (with Christopher H. Achen). *Los Angeles Times*, May 2, 2016.

“Can ‘Conservative Principles’ Boost Working-Class Incomes?” *Washington Post—The Monkey Cage*, January 15, 2015.

“Here’s How a Cartoon Smiley Face Punched a Big Hole in Democratic Theory.” *Washington Post—The Monkey Cage*, September 4, 2014.

“Obama’s Uphill Struggle Against Economic Inequality.” *Washington Post—The Monkey Cage*, July 24, 2014.

“U.S. Is a World Leader in Class Conflict Over Government Spending.” *Washington Post—The Monkey Cage*, April 21, 2014.

“Can the Republican Party Thrive on White Identity?” *Washington Post—The Monkey Cage*, April 16, 2014.

“Rich People Rule!” *The Monkey Cage*, April 8, 2014.

“In America’s War on Poverty, the Free Market is AWOL.” *Washington Post—The Monkey Cage*, February 26, 2014.

“Your Genes Influence Your Political Views. So What?” *Washington Post—The Monkey Cage*, November 12, 2013.

“Americans Are More Conservative Than They Have Been in Decades.” *Washington Post—The Monkey Cage*, September 30, 2013.

“Power to (Altruists Concerned With) the Poor?” *The Monkey Cage*, August 13, 2013.

“Who Needs Math?” *The Monkey Cage*, April 9, 2013.

“The 1% Aren’t Like the Rest of Us” (with Benjamin I. Page). *Los Angeles Times*, March 22, 2013.

“Obama Toes the Line.” *The Monkey Cage*, January 8, 2013.

“Want a Strong Economy? Vote Democrat.” *Salon*, November 2, 2012.

“Dueling Tax Truths.” *Model Politics*, October 15, 2012.

“The Fiscal Facts of Life: Do Americans Understand Where Budget Deficits Come From?” *Model Politics*, August 11, 2012.

“Meet the Undecided” (with Lynn Vavreck). *New York Times*, July 30, 2012.

“The Muddled Majority.” *Boston Review*, July/August 2012.

“Near-sighted Voters.” *New York Times*, April 15, 2012.

“Our Own Facts.” *Model Politics*, March 12, 2012.

“Politics is a Matter of Life and Death (Times 23,000).” *The Monkey Cage*, January 30, 2012.

“Occupy’s Impact Beyond the Beltway.” *Moyers & Company*, January 18, 2012.

“What’s Really at Stake in the Payroll Tax Fight—And Why It Isn’t Over.” *Model Politics*, January 13, 2012.

“Below the Surface, Surprising Trust in Government” (with Marc Hetherington). *The Monkey Cage*, December 26, 2011.

“The President’s Fate May Hinge on 2009.” *The Monkey Cage*, November 2, 2011.

“On Taxes, an Energized Minority.” *Model Politics*, October 26, 2010.

“How Smart is the American Voter?” *Los Angeles Times*, November 3, 2008.

“Why the Economy Fares Much Better Under Democrats.” *Christian Science Monitor*, October 21, 2008.

“Inequalities: Since World War II, Republicans and Democrats Have Presided Over Startlingly Different Economies.” *New York Times Magazine*, April 27, 2008.

“Who’s Bitter Now?” *New York Times*, April 17, 2008.

“Economic Amnesia Buys Incumbents.” *Los Angeles Times*, June 20, 2004.

“Unenlightened Self-Interest: The Strange Appeal of Estate Tax Repeal.” *The American Prospect*, June 2004, A17-A19.

“GOP Always Falls Down on the Jobs.” *Los Angeles Times*, September 26, 2003.

“Redrawing the Lines.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 22, 2001.

“Don’t Ignore History.” *Brookings Review* 7:2 (Spring 1989), 32-33.

### ***Selected Professional Activities***

#### ***American Political Science Association***

Publications Planning Committee, 2013.

Vice President, 2010-11.

Chair, Development Committee, 2009-12.

Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy, 2003-04.

Executive Council, Political Organizations and Parties Section, 2003-05.

Chair, Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award Committee, 1998.

President, Political Methodology Section, 1993-95.

Vice President, Political Methodology Section, 1991-93.

Annual Meeting Program Committee: 1988 (Political Methodology Section), 1990 (Political Behavior Section).

#### ***American National Election Studies***

Board of Overseers, 1992-2000 (chair, 1997-2000).

Election Study Planning Committees: 1996 (chair), 1998, 2000.

Pilot Study Planning Committees: 1993, 1995 (chair).

#### ***Advisory Boards and Committees***

Fellows Nominating Committee, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 2018-present.

International Advisory Board, Election Study Center, National Chengchi University, Taipei, 2013-2015. Center Associate, 2010-present.

Advisory Board, Annenberg National Election Study, 2006-08.

Scientific Advisory Board, Polimetrix, 2004-08.

Editorial Boards, *American Political Science Review* (2007-12), *The Forum* (2007-11), *Political Analysis* (1988-2009), *American Journal of Political Science* (2002-06), *Political Communication* (2001-05), *Public Opinion Quarterly* (1990-94), *The Political Methodologist* (1990-93), *Political Methodology* (1985-86).

### ***University and Departmental Service***

Co-director, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vanderbilt University, 2011-present.

Trans-Institutional Programs Council, Vanderbilt University, 2014-2016.

Search committees in Comparative Politics and American Politics, Vanderbilt University, 2011-12, 2013-14 (chair), 2015-16, 2017-18 (chair), 2018-19 (chair), 2019-20 (chair), 2022-23 (chair).

Omnibus senior search committee, Department of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, 2015-16 (chair).

Seigenthaler Chair in American History search committee, Vanderbilt University, 2015-16.

Arts and Science Dean search committee, Vanderbilt University, 2014-15.

Founding director, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton University, 1999-2011.

Committee on Conference and Faculty Appeal, Princeton University, 2007-11.

Institutional Review Panel for Human Subjects, Princeton University, 2007-08, 2009-11.

University Committee on Public Lectures, Princeton University, 1993-95 (chair).

University Committee on Diversity and Liberal Education, Princeton University, 1993-94.

Woodrow Wilson School Dean search committee, Princeton University, 1994-95, 2001-02 (chair).

Search committees in American Politics, Formal Theory and Quantitative Methods, Comparative Politics, Political Theory, Princeton University, various years.

Omnibus search committee, Politics Department, Princeton University, 2007-08 (chair), 2009-10.

Advisory committee to the chair of the Politics Department, Princeton University, various years.

Senior search committee in American Political Behavior, Department of Political Science and Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan, 1997-98.

Consultant to University Task Force on American and Comparative Democratic and Legal Institutions, University of Pennsylvania, 1997.

External Review Committee, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, 1993, 2007.

Graduate Advisor, Department of Political Science, University of Rochester, 1986-87, 1989-91.

### ***Conferences Organized***

Workshop on *Public Opinion and the Crisis of Democracy in Europe*, Vanderbilt University, 2021.

Oppenheimer Reconsidered: Paths Forward in the Study of Congressional Politics and Representation (with Frances Lee), Vanderbilt University, 2019.

Elections in America, Vanderbilt University, 2016.

Workshop on *Democracy for Realists*, Vanderbilt University, 2014.

Political Representation (with Joshua Clinton and John Geer). Vanderbilt University, 2013.

Workshop on *Unequal Democracy*, Vanderbilt University, 2012.

Popular Reactions to the Economic Crisis (with Nancy Bermeo and Jonas Pontusson), Oxford University, 2011.

The Politics of Economic Crisis in Advanced Industrial States (with Nancy Bermeo and Jonas Pontusson), Princeton University, 2010.

The American Electoral Process, Princeton University, 2008.

Democratic Deliberation (with Christopher Achen, Christopher Karpowitz, Steven Macedo, Adam Meirowitz, and Tali Mendelberg), Princeton University, 2006.

The American Conservative Movement (with Mickey Edwards, Robert George, and Keith Whittington), Princeton University, 2005.

Political Polarization (with Fred Greenstein and Mickey Edwards), Princeton University, 2004.

Brookings/Princeton Election Series (with Thomas Mann), Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, 2004, 2008.

Inequality and American Democracy, Princeton University, 2003.

Political Accountability (with Nolan McCarty), Princeton University, 2002.

Trust in Government (with Wendy Rahn), Princeton University, 2001.

Political Participation: Building a Research Agenda (with Virginia Sapiro), Princeton University, 2000.

Annenberg Conference on the Impact of Presidential Campaigns (with John Zaller), University of Pennsylvania, 1994.

Stuart Symposium on The Mass Media in the Electoral Process, Princeton University, 1992.

***Lectures and Seminars***

Jepson Leadership Forum, Jepson School of Leadership Studies, University of Richmond, 2019.

Just Societies Speaker Series, Division of Social Science, Columbia University, 2018.

Condorcet Lecture, 4th Conference in Political Economy and Political Science, Institute for Advanced Study in Toulouse and Toulouse School of Economics, 2017.

Dean's Distinguished Lecture, Rutgers University, 2017.

State of Democracy Lecture, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University (with Christopher H. Achen), 2016  
(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BspHNBMN5cI>).

Pi Sigma Alpha Address, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association (San Juan), 2016.

Norbert Lechner Memorial Lecture, Faculty of Social Sciences and History, Diego Portales University (Santiago), 2015 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tx-kIEQYZR4>).

Empire Lecture, Midwest Political Science Association (with Christopher H. Achen), 2015.

Janus Forum, American University, 2015.

Porteous Guest Lecturer, San Diego State University, 2014.

Charles Hyneman Centennial Lecture, Department of Political Science, Indiana University, 2014.

Presidential panel on "Grappling with Inequality," Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association (New York), 2013.

Featured speaker, 25th Annual Conference of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics (Milan), 2013.

Panel on "The New Science of Elections," National Academy of Sciences (Washington), 2013.

Jerome Weinstein Memorial Lecture, Franklin & Marshall College, 2013.

Dean's Lecture, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, 2012  
(<http://www.radcliffe.harvard.edu/event/2012-larry-bartels-lecture>).

W. Lewis and Helen R. Abbott Memorial Lecture, Colorado College, 2012.

Deep Issues of the 2012 Elections, Cornell University, 2012  
(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pjzyMcITelc>).

Morton-Kenney Lecture, Southern Illinois University, 2012.

Plenary panel, 18th International Conference of Europeanists (Barcelona), 2011.

Covey Lecture on Political Analysis, Loyola University Chicago, 2011.

Golden Lecture, Lafayette College, 2010.

Keynote address, Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study Ninth International Conference, Election Study Center, National Chengchi University (Taipei), 2009.

Keynote address, 40th Anniversary Conference on "Dynamics of Inequality in America from 1968 to Today," Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University, 2009.

Parthemos Lecture, University of Georgia, 2009.

Plenary panel, Canadian Political Science Association (Vancouver), 2008.

Keynote address, conference on "Public Opinion, Communication, and Elections," World Association for Public Opinion Research (Jerusalem), 2007.

Plenary address, Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties Specialist Group, Annual Meeting of the Political Studies Association (London), 2000.

Miller-Converse Lecture, Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan, 1999.

Research presentations at Arizona State University; Bavarian American Academy (Munich); Brookings Institution; California Institute of Technology; University of California, Berkeley; University of California, Davis; University of California, Los Angeles; University of California, San Diego; University of California, Santa Barbara; Carnegie Mellon University; National Chengchi University (Taipei); Chicago Area Behavior Workshop; University of Chicago; Columbia University; Cornell University; Duke University; Florida State University; Fordham University; George Mason University; Georgetown University; Harvard University; University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; Indiana University; Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica (Taipei) ; ICPSR Summer Program in Quantitative Methods of Social Research; University of Iowa; Juan March Institute (Madrid); King's College (London); MacArthur Foundation; Manchester Graduate Summer Programme in Social Change (Cheshire); University of Maryland; Massachusetts Institute of Technology; McGill University; University of Michigan; University of Minnesota; New York Area Political Psychology Workshop; New York University; University of North Carolina; Northwestern University; University of Notre Dame; Ohio University; Ohio State University; Oxford University; University of Padua; University of Pennsylvania; Pennsylvania State University; Diego Portales University (Santiago); Public Policy Institute of California; Princeton University; University of Rochester; Rutgers University; Russell Sage Foundation; Sciences Po (Paris); Stanford University; SUNY-Buffalo; Syracuse University; Temple University; Texas A&M University; University of Toronto; Tulane University; Vanderbilt University; University of Virginia; University of Washington; Yale University.

### ***Other***

Board of Trustees, Russell Sage Foundation, 2013-present.

Co-chair (with Claudine Gay), Social Science Research Council "Anxieties of Democracy" Working Group on Participation, 2015-17.

Eleventh (public) member of New Jersey Legislative Apportionment Commission, 2001. (See Sam Hirsch, "Unpacking *Page v. Bartels*: A Fresh Redistricting Paradigm Emerges in New Jersey," *Election Law Journal*, 1:1 (2002), 7-24.)

Chair, Pew Task Force on Campaign Reform, 1997-98.