

# Larry M. Bartels

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Woodrow Wilson School  
of Public and International Affairs  
Princeton University  
Princeton, New Jersey 08544-1013

*bartels@princeton.edu*  
Office: 609-258-4794  
Fax: 609-258-5014  
Assistant: 609-258-6980

## ***Academic Positions***

Professor of Politics and Public Affairs, Princeton University, 1991-present.

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

Stuart Professor of Communications and Public Affairs in the Woodrow Wilson School, 1991-1999.

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Rochester, 1986-1991.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Rochester, 1984-1986.

Instructor, Department of Political Science, University of Rochester, 1983.

## ***Education***

Ph.D. in Political Science, University of California at 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***

Best Paper Award from the Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Section, 2006 (for the best paper on elections, public opinion, or voting behavior presented at the 2005 meeting of the APSA).

Grant from the Russell Sage Foundation (for “Unequal Democracy: The Politics of Economic Inequality”), 2005-2006.

Best Paper Award from the Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Section, 2004 (for the best paper on elections, public opinion, or voting behavior presented at the 2003 meeting of the APSA).

Carnegie Scholar grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York (for “Promoting Public Understanding of the American Electoral Process”), 2004-2006.

Franklin L. Burdette Award, 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), 2001-2004.

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

Best Paper Award from the Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Section, 1998 (for the best paper on elections, public opinion, or voting behavior presented at the 1997 meeting of the APSA).

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

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

Fellowship, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, 1996-1997.

Elected to American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1995.

National Science Foundation research grant, 1995-1999 (SBR-9510920, “The Production and Impact of Economic News”).

Advanced Research Fellowship in Foreign Policy Studies, Social Science Research Council, 1991-1995.

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

Fellowship, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California, 1987-1988.

National Science Foundation research grant (in collaboration with Henry E. Brady), 1984-1987 (SES-8319693, “Collaborative Research on Momentum in Presidential Primaries”).

E. E. Schattschneider Award, 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, 1978-1981.

## ***Publications***

### **Books**

*Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, and Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

*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: Princeton University Press, 1988.

### **Articles**

“A Tale of Two Tax Cuts, a Wage Squeeze, and a Tax Credit.” *National Tax Journal* 59:3 (September 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 (March 2005), 15-31.

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

“Question Order and Declining Faith in Elections.” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 66:1 (Spring 2002), 67-79.

“Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996.” *American Journal of Political Science* 44:1 (January 2000), 35-50.

“Panel Effects in the American National Election Studies.” *Political Analysis* 8:1 (Winter 2000), 1-20.

“Electoral Continuity and Change, 1868-1996.” *Electoral Studies* 17:3 (September 1998), 301-326.

“Specification Uncertainty and Model Averaging.” *American Journal of Political Science* 41:2 (April 1997), 641-674.

“Pooling Disparate Observations.” *American Journal of Political Science* 40:3 (August 1996), 905-942.

“Uninformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections.” *American Journal of Political Science* 40:1 (February 1996), 194-230.

"The American Public's Defense Spending Preferences in the Post-Cold War Era." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 58:4 (Winter 1994), 479-508.

"Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure." *American Political Science Review* 87:2 (June 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 (August 1991), 777-800.

"Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Buildup." *American Political Science Review* 85:2 (June 1991), 457-474.

"Candidate Choice and the Dynamics of the Presidential Nominating Process." *American Journal of Political Science* 31:1 (February 1987), 1-30.

"Issue Voting Under Uncertainty: An Empirical Test." *American Journal of Political Science* 30:4 (November 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 Saliency: An Evaluation" (with Richard G. Niemi). *Journal of Politics* 47:4 (November 1985), 1212-1220.

"Expectations and Preferences in Presidential Nominating Campaigns." *American Political Science Review* 79:3 (September 1985), 804-815.

"Resource Allocation in a Presidential Campaign." *Journal of Politics* 47:3 (August 1985), 928-936.

### **Book Chapters**

"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 Heclo, 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, Reviews, and Occasional Pieces**

“Voice, and Then What?” In Gary King, Norman H. Nie, and Kay L. Schlozman, eds., *Political Science: What Should We Know? What Should They Know?* New York: Routledge, forthcoming.

“Inequalities: Since World War II, Republicans and Democrats Have Presided Over Startlingly Different Economies.” *New York Times Magazine*, April 27, 2008, page 22.

“Who's Bitter Now?” *New York Times*, April 17, page A29.

“Homer Gets a Warm Hug: A Note on Ignorance and Extenuation.” *Perspectives on Politics* 5:4 (December 2007), 773-778.

“Is the Water Rising? Reflections on Inequality and American Democracy.” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 39:1 (January 2006), 39-42.

“The Least-Tough Choice for Most is to Tap the Rich.” *Newark Star-Ledger*, December 29, 2005, page 11.

"A Methodological Education: Part II." *The Political Methodologist* 12:2 (Fall 2004), 4-6.

"A Dime's Worth of Difference? What's at Stake in November." *Signature: National Constitution Center Newsletter*, Fall 2004, 4-8.

"What's Wrong with Short-Term Thinking?" *Boston Review*, Summer 2004, page 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.

"Economic Amnesia Buys Incumbents." *Los Angeles Times*, June 20, 2004, M1-M2.

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

"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.

"GOP Always Falls Down on the Jobs." *Los Angeles Times*, September 26, 2003, page B15.

"Is 'Popular Rule' Possible? Polls, Political Psychology, and Democracy." *Brookings Review* 21:3 (Summer 2003), 12-15.

"Economic Behavior in Political Context" (with Henry E. Brady). *American Economic Review* 93:2 (Papers and Proceedings, May 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.

"Redrawing the Lines." *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 22, 2001, page A17.

"Presidential Vote Models: A Recount" (with John Zaller). *PS: Political Science & Politics* 34:1 (March 2001), 9-20.

*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 (Spring 1998), 17-19.

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

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

“Donald Stokes and the Study of Electoral Politics.” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 30:2 (June 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 (Fall 1996), 456-461.

“The 1996 National Election Study.” *Votes & Opinions* 2:2 (July/August 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 (Spring 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.

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

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

Review of *Watching Politicians: Essays on Participant Observation*, by Richard F. Fenno, Jr. *The Political Methodologist* 3:2 (Fall 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 (December 1989), 1400-1402.

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

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

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

### **Work in Progress**

(Most of these papers are available at <http://www.princeton.edu/~bartels/papers.htm>.)

“The Study of Electoral Behavior.” Forthcoming in Jan E. Leighley, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*.

“Tumbling Down into a Democratical Republic” (with Christopher H. Achen). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2007.

“It Feels Like We’re Thinking: The Rationalizing Voter and Electoral Democracy” (with Christopher H. Achen). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August 2006.

“Partisan Hearts and Gall Bladders: Retrospection and Realignment in the Wake of the Great Depression” (with Christopher H. Achen). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2005.

“Musical Chairs: Pocketbook Voting and the Limits of Democratic Accountability” (with Christopher H. Achen). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 2004.

“Ross Perot as a Flash Party: Catch-All Grievance Coalitions and Democratic Stability” (with Christopher H. Achen). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2003.

“Blind Retrospection: Electoral Responses to Droughts, Flu, and Shark Attacks” (with Christopher H. Achen). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, September 2002.

“Ignorance and Bliss in Democratic Politics: Party Competition with Uninformed Voters” (with Christopher H. Achen). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2002.

“A Generational Model of Political Learning.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 2001.

“Political Attitudes in the Post-Network Era” (with Wendy M. Rahn). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, August 2000.

“Politicians and the Press: Who Leads, Who Follows?” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 1996.

“Public Opinion and Political Interests.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 1990. Revised August 1996.

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

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

Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy, 2003-2004.

Executive Council, Political Organizations and Parties Section, 2003-2005.

Chair, Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award Committee, 1998.

President, Political Methodology Section, 1993-1995.

Vice President, Political Methodology Section, 1991-1993.

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

### **American National Election Studies Project (NES)**

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

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

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

Co-organizer (with John Zaller), Annenberg Conference on the Impact of Presidential Campaigns, Philadelphia, 1994.

### **Princeton University**

Founding director, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, 1999-present.

Co-organizer (with Thomas Mann), Brookings/Princeton Election Series, 2008.

Organizer, Conference on the American Electoral Process, 2008.

Co-organizer (with Christopher Achen, Christopher Karpowitz, Steven Macedo, Adam Meirowitz, and Tali Mendelberg), Conference on Democratic Deliberation, 2006.

Co-organizer (with Mickey Edwards, Robert George, and Keith Whittington), Conference on The American Conservative Movement, 2005.

Co-organizer (with Fred Greenstein and Mickey Edwards), Conference on Political Polarization, 2004.

Co-organizer (with Thomas Mann), Brookings/Princeton Election Series, 2004.

Organizer, Conference on Inequality and American Democracy, 2003.

Co-organizer (with Nolan McCarty), Conference on Political Accountability, 2002.

Co-organizer (with Wendy Rahn), Conference on Trust in Government, 2001.

Co-organizer (with Virginia Sapiro), Conference on Political Participation: Building a Research Agenda, 2000.

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

Committee on Conference and Faculty Appeal, 2007-2008.

Institutional Review Panel for Human Subjects, 2007-2008.

University Committee on Public Lectures, 1993-1995 (chair).

University Committee on Diversity and Liberal Education, 1993-1994.

Advisory Committee to the Chair of the Politics Department, various years.

Search committees in American Politics, various years.

Search committee in Comparative Politics, 2007-2008.

Search committees in Formal Theory and Quantitative Methods, various years.

Search committee in Political Theory, 1995-1996.

Target of Opportunity search committee, Politics Department, 2005-2006.

Omnibus search committee, Politics Department, 2007-2008 (chair).

Dean search committee, Woodrow Wilson School, 2001-2002 (chair), 1994-1995.

### **Other**

Editorial Boards, *American Political Science Review* (2007-present), *The Forum* (2007-present), *Political Analysis* (1988-present), *American Journal of Political Science* (2002-2006), *Political Communication* (2001-2005), *Public Opinion Quarterly* (1990-1994), *The Political Methodologist* (1990-1993), *Political Methodology* (1985-1986).

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

Scientific Advisory Board, Polimetrix, 2004-present.

Advisory Board, National Business Ethics Survey, 2005.

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, 1997-1998.

Senior search committee in American Political Behavior, Department of Political Science and Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan, 1997-1998.

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, 1986-1987 and 1989-1991.

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

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

Plenary speaker, Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties Specialist Group, annual meeting of the Political Studies Association (London), 2000.

Lectured at Arizona State University; Brookings Institution; California Institute of Technology; University of California, Berkeley; University of California, Davis; University of California, Los Angeles; University of California, San Diego; Carnegie Mellon University; University of Chicago; Columbia University; Duke University; Florida State University; Fordham University; Georgetown University; Harvard University; University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; Indiana University; University of Iowa; Juan March Institute, Madrid; Massachusetts Institute of Technology; University of Michigan; University of Minnesota; University of North Carolina; Northwestern University; University of Notre Dame; Ohio State University; Oxford University; Pennsylvania State University; Public Policy Institute of California; University of Rochester; Rutgers University; University of Pennsylvania; Princeton University; Stanford University; Syracuse University; Texas A&M University; University of Washington; Yale University; Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research summer program in quantitative methods.