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Education

Ph.D., Economics, California Institute of Technology, 1985.

B.A., Economics, Duke University, 1981.

Academic Positions

Leroy B. Williams Professor of History and Political Science, Harvard University, 2013-present.

Professor of Government, Harvard University, 2010-present.

Visiting Research Scholar, Bocconi University, spring 2023.

Visiting Research Professor, University of Bologna, fall 2019.

Visiting Research Scholar at STICERD, London School of Economics and Political Science, summer 2017.

Visiting Research Scholar, Bocconi University, spring 2016.

Arthur and Ruth Sloan Professor of Political Science and Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2001-2010.

STICERD Distinguished Visitor at the London School of Economics and Political Science, February-March 2003, April-May 2004, and April-May 2006.

Professor, Department of Political Science and Department of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1998-2001.

Professor, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1997-1998.

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1992-1997.

Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, University of Chicago, 1985-1992.

Honors, Awards and Fellowships

Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the best paper presented at the Southern Political Science Association annual meetings (for “Primary Elections and Candidate-Centered Campaigns”), 2018.

Hicks-Tinbergen Award for the best article published in *Journal of the European Economics Association* for 2015-16 (for “The Balanced U.S. Press”), 2016.

Jewell-Loewenberg Award for the best article published in *Legislative Studies Quarterly* for 2007 (for “Do Multimember Districts Lead to Free Riding?”), 2008.

Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2007-present.

Research Associate, National Bureau of Economic Research, 2006-present.

Visiting Research Associate, STICERD, London School of Economics, 2006.

Heinz Eulau Award for the best paper in the American Political Science Review in 2002 (for “Equal Votes, Equal Money: Court Ordered Redistricting and the Distribution of Public Expenditures in the American States”), 2003.

Jack Walker Award, for the outstanding paper on political parties published in the last two calendar years, awarded by the American Political Science Association (for “The Effects of Party and Preferences on Congressional Roll Call Voting”), 2002.

Jewell-Loehenberg Award for the best article published in *Legislative Studies Quarterly* in 2001 (for “The Effects of Party and Preferences on Congressional Roll Call Voting”), 2002.

Weaver Award for the best paper on political representation at the American Political Association annual meetings (for “Why Did a Majority of Californians Vote to Limit Their Own Power?”), 1999.

Carnegie Mellon GSIA Postdoctoral Fellowship in Political Economy, 1990-91

Alfred P. Sloan Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship, 1984-85.

The John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Fellowship, 1984.

Hagen-Smit/Tyler Fellowship, 1982-83.

Phi Beta Kappa, 1980.

Books

Primary Elections in the United States (with Shigeo Hirano), Cambridge University Press, 2019.

The End of Inequality: One Person, One Vote and the Reshaping of American Politics (with Stephen Ansolabehere), W.W. Norton and Company, 2008.

Articles in Refereed Journals

“How Partisan are U.S. Local Elections? Evidence from 2020 Cast Vote Records (with Aleksandra Conevska, Shigeo Hirano, Shiro Kuriwaki, Jeffrey B. Lewis, and Can Mutlu), 2024, *American Political Science Review*, 2025, forthcoming.

“The Revealed Demand for Hard vs. Soft News: Evidence from Italian TV News Viewership” (with Marco Gambaro, Valentino Larcinese, and Riccardo Puglisi), *The Journal of Politics*, 2025, forthcoming (published online June 2025).

“Unpacking Social Capital” (with Ruben Durante, Nicola Mastroiocco, and Luigi Minale), *The Economic Journal*, 2025, vol 135, Issue 667, pages 773-807.

“Cast Vote Records: A Database of Ballots from the 2020 U.S. Election” (with Shiro Kuriwaki, Mason Reece, Samuel Baltz, Aleksandra Conevska, Joseph R. Loffredo, Can E. Mutlu, Taran Samarth, Kevin E. Acevedo, Zachary Djanogly Garai, Kate Murray, Shigeo Hirano, Jeffrey B. Lewis, and Charles H. Stewart, III), *Scientific Data*, 2024, vol. 11, 1304.

“Parsing Party Polarization in Congress” (with Dan Moskowitz and Jon Rogowski), *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2024, vol. 19, no. 4, pages 357-385.

“Who Runs for Congress? A Study of State Legislators and Congressional Polarization” (with Andrew Hall and Connor Phillips), *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2024, vol. 19, pages 1-25.

“Measuring the Partisan Behavior of U.S. Newspapers, 1880 to 1980” (with Shigeo Hirano), *Journal of Economic History*, 2024, vol. 84, pages 554-592.

“The Growth of Campaign Advertising in the U.S., 1880 to 1930” (with Shigeo Hirano, Jaclyn Kaslovsky, and Michael P. Olson), *The Journal of Politics*, 2022, vol. 84, pages 1482-1496.

“What Shapes the Quality and Behavior of Government Officials? Institutional Variation in Selection and Retention Methods” (with Claire Lim), *Annual Review of Economics*, 2021, vol. 13, pages 87-109.

“Dyadic Representation in the South and Non-South: The Case of Prohibition” (with Michael P. Olson), *The Journal of Politics*, 2021, vol. 83, pages 1030-1045.

“Publicizing Malfeasance: How Local Media Facilitates Electoral Sanctioning of Mayors in Mexico” (with Horacio Larreguy and John Marshall), *Economic Journal*, 2020, vol. 130, pages 2291-2327.

“The Arsenal of Democracy: Production and Politics During WWII” (with Paul Rhode and Koleman Strumpf), *Journal of Public Economics*, 2018, vol. 166, pages 145-161.

“Leveling the Playing Field: How Campaign Advertising Can Help Non-Dominant Parties” (with Horacio Larreguy and John Marshall), *Journal of European Economic Association*, 2018, vol. 16, no. 6, pages 1812-1849.

“Primary Elections and the Provision of Public Goods” (with Shigeo Hirano and Michael Ting), *The Journal of Politics*, 2018, vol. 80, no. 2, pages 647-661.

“Party Polarization in Legislatures with Office-Motivated Candidates” (with Mattias Polborn), *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 2017, vol. 132, no. 3, pages 1509-1550.

“How Newspapers Reveal Political Power” (with Pamela Ban, Alexander Fourinaies and Andrew Hall), *Political Science Research and Methods*, 2019, forthcoming.

“Do Judges’ Characteristics Matter? Ethnicity, Gender, and Partisanship in Texas State Trial Courts” (with Claire Lim and Bernardo Silveira), *American Law and Economics Review*, 2017, vol. 18, no. 2, pages 302-357.

“Newspaper Market Structure and Behavior: Partisan Coverage of Political Scandals in the U.S. from 1870 to 1910” (with Ángela Fonseca Galvis and B.K. Song), *The Journal of Politics*, 2016, vol. 78, no. 2, pages 368-381.

“Challenger Quality and the Incumbency Advantage” (with Pamela Ban and Elena Llaudet), *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2016, vol. 41, no. 1, pages 153-179.

“Information and Wasted Votes: A Study of U.S. Primary Elections” (with Andrew Hall), *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2015, vol. 10, no. 4, pages 433-459.

“Assessing the External Validity of Election RD Estimates: An Investigation of the Incumbency Advantage” (with Jens Hainmueller and Andrew Hall), *The Journal of Politics*, 2015, vol. 77, no. 3, pages 707-720.

“The Judge, the Politician, and the Press: Newspaper Coverage and Criminal Sentencing.” (with Claire Lim and David Stromberg), *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 2015, vol. 7, no. 4, pages 103-155.

“A Gubernatorial Helping Hand? How Governors Affect Presidential Elections” (with Robert Erikson and Olle Folke), *The Journal of Politics*, 2015, vol. 77, no. 2, pages 491-504.

“Is More Information Always Better? Party Cues and Candidate Quality in U.S. Judicial Elections” (with Claire Lim), *Journal of Public Economics*, 2015, vol. 128, issue C, pages 107-123.

“How Much of the Incumbency Advantage Is Due to Scare-Off” (with Andrew Hall), *Political Science Research and Methods*, 2015, vol. 3, no. 3, pages 493-514.

“Partisan Imbalance in Regression Discontinuity Studies Based on Electoral Thresholds” (with Olle Folke and Shigeo Hirano), *Political Science Research and Methods*, 2015, vol. 3, no. 2, pages 169-186.

“The Balanced U.S. Press” (with Riccardo Puglisi), *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 2015, vol. 13, no. 2, pages 240-264.

“Voter Learning in State Primary Elections” (with Gabe Lenz, Maksim Pinkovskiy, Shigeo Hirano), *American Journal of Political Science*, 2015, vol. 59, no. 1, pages 91-108.

“On the Validity of the Regression Discontinuity Design for Estimating Electoral Effects: New Evidence from Over 40,000 Close Races” (with Andy Eggers, Anthony Fowler, Jens Hainmueller and Andrew Hall), *American Journal of Political Science*, 2015, vol. 59, no. 1, pages 259-274.

“Primary Elections and the Quality of Elected Officials” (with Shigeo Hirano), *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2014, vol. 9, no. 4, pages 473-500.

“The Control of Politicians in Normal Times and Times of Crisis: Wealth Accumulation by U.S. Congressmen, 1850-1880” (with Pablo Querubin), *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2013, vol. 8, no. 4, pages 409-450.

“Testing the Swing Voter Hypothesis Using Federal Spending in the U.S. States” (with Valentino Larcinese and Cecilia Testa), *British Journal of Political Science*, 2013, vol. 43, no. 4, pages 845-875.

“Elections and Reform: the Adoption of Civil Service Systems in the U.S. States” (with Olle Folke, Shigeo Hirano, and Michael Ting), *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 2013, vol. 25, no. 3, pages 363-387.

“The Effects of Redistricting on Incumbents” (with Stephen Ansolabehere), *Election Law Journal*, 2012, vol. 11, no. 4, pages 490-502.

“What Happens to Incumbents in Scandals?” (with Shigeo Hirano), *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2012, vol. 7, no. 4, pages 447-456.

“Gubernatorial Midterm Slumps” (with Olle Folke), *American Journal of Political Science*, 2012, vol. 56, no. 4, pages 931-948.

“When Parties Are Not Teams: Platform Choice in Single Member District and Proportional Representation Systems” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and William Leblanc), *Economic Theory*, 2012, vol. 49, no. 3, pages 521-547.

“Partisan Bias in Economic News: Evidence on the Agenda-Setting Behaviour of U.S. Newspapers” (with Valentino Larcinese and Riccardo Puglisi), *Journal of Public Economics*, 2011, vol. 95, no. 9-10, pages 1178-1189.

“Newspaper Coverage of Political Scandals” (with Riccardo Puglisi), *The Journal of Politics*, 2011, vol. 73, no. 3, pages 931-950.

“Electoral Selection with Parties and Primaries” (with Michael Ting), *American Journal of Political Science*, 2011, vol. 55, no. 4, pages 782-796.

“Patronage and Elections” (with Olle Folke and Shigeo Hirano), *American Political Science Review*, 2011, vol. 105, no. 3, pages 567-585.

“Is Private Campaign Finance a Good Thing? Estimates of the Potential Information Benefits” (with Andrea Prat and Riccardo Puglisi), *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2011, vol. 5, no. 3, pages 291-318.

“More Democracy: The Direct Primary and Competition in U.S. Elections” (with Stephen Ansolabehere, John Mark Hansen, and Shigeo Hirano), *Studies in American Political Development*, 2010, vol. 24, pages 190-205.

“Press Coverage and Political Accountability” (with David Strömberg), *Journal of Political Economy*, 2010, vol. 118, no. 2, pages 355-408.

“Party Strength and State Government Spending” (with David Primo), *American Journal of Political Science*, 2010, vol. 54, no. 2, pages 354-370.

“Primary Competition and Partisan Polarization in the U.S. Congress” (with Stephen Ansolabehere, John Mark Hansen, and Shigeo Hirano), *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2010, vol. 5, no. 2, pages 169-191.

“Distributive Politics with Primaries” (with Shigeo Hirano and Michael Ting), *The Journal of Politics*, 2009, vol. 71, no. 4, pages 1467-1480.

“Two’s Company, Three’s an Equilibrium: Strategic Voting and Multicandidate Elections” (with John W. Patty and Michael Ting), *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2009, vol. 4, no. 3, pages 251-278.

“Using Multi-Member Districts to Decompose the Incumbency Advantage” (with Shigeo Hirano), *American Journal of Political Science*, 2009, vol. 53, no. 2, pages 292-306.

“Interest Groups and the Electoral Control of Politicians” (with Michael Ting), *Journal of Public Economics*, 2008, vol. 92, no. 3-4, pages 482-500.

“The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Jonathan Rodden), *American Political Science Review*, 2008, vol. 102, no. 2, pages 215-232.

“State Legislative Elections, 1967-2003: Announcing the Completion of Cleaned and Newly Extended Data Sets” with Thomas M. Carsey, Richard G. Niemi, William D. Berry, and Lynda W. Powell), *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, Winter 2008, vol. 8, no. 4, pages 430-443.

“Distributive Politics and the Law of 1/n” (with David Primo), *The Journal of Politics*, 2008, vol. 70, no. 2, pages 477-486.

“Do Multi-Member Districts Lead to Free-Riding?” (with Michiko Ueda), *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2007, vol. 32, no. 4, pages 649-679.

“The Incumbency Advantages in U.S. Primary Elections” (with Stephen Ansolabehere, John Mark Hansen, and Shigeo Hirano), *Electoral Studies*, 2007, vol. 26, no. 3, pages 660-668.

“The Decline of Third Party Voting in the United States” (with Shigeo Hirano), *The Journal of Politics*, 2007, vol. 69, no. 1, pages 1-16.

“Party Control of State Government and the Distribution of Public Expenditures” (with Stephen Ansolabehere), *Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, 2006, vol. 108, no. 4, pages 547-569.

“Television and the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. Elections” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Erik Snowberg), *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2006, vol. 31, no. 4, pages 469-490.

“The Orientation of Newspaper Endorsements in U.S. Elections, 1940-2002” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Rebecca Lessem), *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, Fall 2006, vol. 1, no. 4, pages 393-404.

“Legislative Effectiveness and Legislative Careers” (with Gerard Padro i Miquel), *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2006, vol. 31, no. 3, pages 347-381.

“Purple America” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Jonathan Rodden), *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Spring 2006, vol. 20, no. 2, pages 97-118.

“Party and Incumbency Cues in Voting: Are They Substitutes?” (with Stephen Ansolabehere, Shigeo Hirano, and Michiko Ueda), *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, Spring 2006, vol. 1, no. 2, pages 119-137.

“Unrepresentative Information: The Case of Newspaper Reporting on Campaign Finance” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Erik Snowberg), *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Summer 2005, vol. 69, no. 2, pages 213-231.

“Legislative Bargaining Under Weighted Voting” (with Michael Ting and Stephen Ansolabehere), *American Economic Review*, 2005, vol. 95, no. 4, pages 981-1004.

“Voting Weights and Formateur Advantages in the Formation of Coalition Governments” (with Stephen Ansolabehere, Aaron Strauss, and Michael Ting), *American Journal of Political Science*, 2005, vol. 49, no. 3, pages 550-563.

“Why Roll Calls? A Model of Position Taking in Legislatures” (with Michael Ting), *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*, 2005, vol. 21, no. 1, pages 153-178.

“Reapportionment and Party Realignment in the American States.” (with Stephen Ansolabehere), *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 2004, vol. 153, no. 1, pages 433-457.

“Using Term Limits to Estimate Incumbency Advantages When Officeholders Retire Strategically” (with Stephen Ansolabehere), *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2004, vol. 39, no. 4, pages 487-515.

“Did Firms Profit from Soft Money?” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Michiko Ueda), *Election Law Journal*, 2004, vol. 3, no. 2, pages 193-198.

“Roll Calls, Party Labels, and Elections” (with Michael Ting), *Political Analysis*, Autumn 2003, vol. 11, no. 4, pages 419-444.

“Bargaining in Bicameral Legislatures: When and Why Does Malapportionment Matter?” (with Michael Ting and Stephen Ansolabehere), *American Political Science Review*, 2003, vol. 97, no. 3, pages 471-481.

“Why Is There So Little Money in U.S. Politics?” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and John de Figueiredo), *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Winter 2003, vol. 17, no. 1, pages 105-130.

“Equal Votes, Equal Money: Court Ordered Redistricting and the Distribution of Public Expenditures in the American States” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Alan Gerber), *American Political Science Review*, 2002, vol. 96, no. 4, pages 767-777.

“Are PAC Contributions and Lobbying Linked? New Evidence from the 1995 Lobby Disclosure Act” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Micky Tripathi), *Business and Politics*, 2002, vol. 4, no. 2, pages 131-155.

“The Incumbency Advantage in U.S. Elections: An Analysis of State and Federal Offices, 1942-2000” (with Stephen Ansolabehere), *Election Law Journal*, 2002, vol. 1, no. 3, pages 315-338.

“An Informational Rationale for Political Parties” (with Michael Ting), *American Journal of Political Science*, 2002, vol. 46, no. 1, pages 90-110.

“The Effects of Party and Preferences on Congressional Roll Call Voting” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Charles Stewart), *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2001, vol. 26, no. 4, pages 533-572.

“Estimating Party Influence on Congressional Roll Call Voting: Regression Coefficients vs. Classification Success” (with Tim Groseclose), *American Political Science Review*, 2001, vol. 95, no. 3, pages 689-698.

“Candidate Positioning in U.S. House Elections” (with Charles Stewart and Stephen Ansolabehere), *American Journal of Political Science*, 2001, vol. 45, no. 1, pages 136-159.

“Valence Politics and Equilibrium in Spatial Election Models” (with Stephen Ansolabehere), *Public Choice*, 2000, vol. 103, pages 327-336.

“Campaign Warchests in Congressional Elections” (with Stephen Ansolabehere), *Business and Politics*, 2000, vol. 2, no. 1, pages 9-33.

“Estimating Party Influence on Congressional Roll-Call Voting” (with Tim Groseclose) *American Journal of Political Science*, 2000, vol. 44, no. 2, pages 187-205.

“Soft Money, Hard Money, and Strong Parties” (with Stephen Ansolabehere), *Columbia Law Review*, 2000, vol. 100, no. 3, pages 598-619.

“Majority-rule Bargaining and the Under Provision of Public Investment Goods” (with William Leblanc and Micky Tripathi), *Journal of Public Economics*, 2000, vol. 75, pages 21-47.

“Old Voters, New Voters, and the Personal Vote: Using Redistricting to Estimate the Incumbency Advantage” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Charles Stewart), *American Journal of Political Science*, 2000, vol. 44, no. 1, pages 17-34.

“Money and Institutional Power” (with Stephen Ansolabehere), *Texas Law Review*, 1999, vol. 77, no. 7, pages 1673-1704.

“Comparing Interest Group Scores across Time and Chambers: Adjusted ADA Scores for the U.S. Congress” (with Tim Groseclose and Steven Levitt), *American Political Science Review*, 1999, vol. 93, no. 1, pages 33-50.

“Linear Probability Models of the Demand for Attributes with an Empirical Application to Estimating the Preferences of Legislators” (with James Heckman), *Rand Journal of Economics*, 1997, vol. 28, no. 0, pages S142-S189.

“The Impact of Federal Spending on House Election Outcomes” (with Steven Levitt), *Journal of Political Economy*, 1997, vol. 105, no. 1, pages 30-53.f Nover

“Constituency Preferences: California Ballot Propositions, 1974-1990,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 1996, vol. 21, no. 4, pages 463-488.

“Interest Group Politics Under Majority Rule” (with William Dougan), *Journal of Public Economics*, 1996, vol. 61, pages 49-71.

“Buying Supermajorities” (with Tim Groseclose), *American Political Science Review*, 1996, vol. 90, no. 2, pages 303-315.

“Equilibrium and Efficiency in an Organized Vote Market” (with Tomas Philipson), *Public Choice*, 1996, vol. 89, pages 245-265.

“Political Parties and the Distribution of Federal Outlays” (with Steven Levitt), *American Journal of Political Science*, 1995, vol. 39, no. 4, pages 958-980.

“Safe Seats, Marginal Seats, and Party Platforms: The Logic of Platform Differentiation,” *Economics and Politics*, 1994, vol. 6, no. 3, pages 201-213.

“An Empirical Investigation of the Dynamics of PAC Contributions” (with Thomas Romer), *American Journal of Political Science*, 1994, vol. 38, no. 3, pages 745-769.

“Comparing Committee and Floor Preferences” (with John Londregan), *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 1994. Reprinted in *Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions*, K.A. Shepsle and B.R. Weingast (eds.), University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1995, vol. 19, no. 2, pages 233-267.

“The Market for Campaign Contributions: Evidence for the U.S. Senate 1980-1986,” *Economics and Politics*, 1993, vol. 5, no. 3, pages 219-240.

“Are Rents Fully Dissipated?” (with William Dougan), *Public Choice*, 1993. Reprinted in *The Economic Analysis of Rent-Seeking*, R.D. Tollison and R.D. Congleton (eds.), Edward Elgar Publishing, London, 1994, vol. 77, pages 793-813.

“Political Payoffs and the Electoral Advantages of Incumbency” (with Youngjae Lim), *Mathematical and Computer Modelling*, 1992, vol. 16, no. 8/9, pages 171-183.

“Artificial Extremism in Interest Group Ratings,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 1992, vol. 17, no. 3, pages 319-345.

“Long-Term Investing in Politicians, or Give Early, Give Often,” *Journal of Law and Economics*, 1992, vol. 35, pages 15-43.

“Committee Power, Structure-Induced Equilibria, and Roll Call Voting,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 1992, vol. 36, no. 1, pages 1-30.

“On Buying Legislators,” *Economics and Politics*, 1991, vol. 3, no. 2, pages 93-109.

“Campaign Contributions as Investments: The U.S. House of Representatives 1980-1986,” *Journal of Political Economy*, 1990, vol. 98, no. 6, pages 1195-1227.

“Resource Allocation in Multiparty Elections,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 1990, vol. 34, no. 1, pages 59-73.

“Election Goals and the Allocation of Campaign Resources,” *Econometrica*, 1989, vol. 57, no. 3, pages 637-660.

“Political Geography and Interest Group Power,” *Social Choice and Welfare*, 1989, vol. 6, pages 103-125.

“Fairness, Self-Interest, and the Politics of the Progressive Income Tax” (with Gerald Kramer), *Journal of Public Economics*, 1988, vol. 36, pages 197-230.

Other Articles, Book Chapters, Etc.

“Top-Two Election System: A Practical Research Guide” (with Shigeo Hirano), Democracy Reform Primer Series, published online by the Center for Effective Government, University of Chicago, 2024.

“The Direct Primary and Voting Behavior in U.S. Elections” (with Shigeo Hirano), in *Routledge Handbook of Primary Elections*, Robert G. Boatright (ed), Routledge, 2018, Ch. 9, pages 161-174.

“Parties Within Parties: Parties, Factions, and Coordinated Politics, 1900-1980” (with Mark Hansen and Shigeo Hirano), in *Governing in a Polarized Age*, Alan S. Gerber and Eric Schickler (eds), Cambridge University Press, 2017, Ch. 7, pages 143-190.

“Empirical Studies of Media Bias” (with Riccardo Puglisi), in *Handbook of Media Economics*, Volume 1B, Simon Anderson, Joel Waldfogel, and David Strömberg (eds), Elsevier, 2016, Ch. 15, pages 648-667.

“The Political Economy of Public Spending: Evidence from the U.S. States” (with Valentino Larcinese and Cecilia Testa), in *Public Choice and Political Economy*, Fabio Padovano and Alessandro Petretto (eds.), Franco Angeli, 2010, pages 143-163.

“Returns to U.S. Congressional Seats in the Mid-19th Century” (with Pablo Querubin), in *The Political Economy of Democracy*, Enriqueta Aragones, Carmen Bevia, Humberto Llavador, and Norman Schofield (eds.), BBVA Foundation, 2009, Ch. 13, pages 225-240.

“The Media’s Influence on Public Policy Decisions” (with David Strömberg), in *Information and Public Choice: From Media Markets to Policy Making*, Roumeen Islam (ed.), World Bank Publications, 2008, Ch. 2, pages 17-31.

“I’m News, Are You? Newspaper Coverage of Elected vs. Appointed Officials” (with Riccardo Puglisi), in *Information and Public Choice: From Media Markets to Policy Making*, Roumeen Islam (ed.), World Bank Publications, 2008, Ch. 5, pages 59-77.

“The Decline of Competition in U.S. Primary Elections, 1908-2004” (with Stephen Ansolabehere, Mark Hansen, and Shigeo Hirano), in *The Marketplace of Democracy*, Michael McDonald and John Samples (eds.), Brookings Institution Press, 2006, Ch. 4, pages 74-101.

“Competition in State Legislative Elections, 1992-2002” (with Richard Niemi, William Berry, and Thomas Carsey), in *The Marketplace of Democracy*, Michael McDonald and John Samples (eds.), Brookings Institution Press, 2006, Ch. 3, pages 53-73.

“What Did the Direct Primary Do to Party Loyalty in Congress?” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Shigeo Hirano), in *Process, Party and Policy Making: Further New Perspectives on the History of Congress, Volume 2*, David Brady and Mathew D. McCubbins (eds.), Stanford University Press, 2007, Ch. 2, pages 21-36.

“Corruption and the Growth of Campaign Spending” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Alan Gerber), in *User’s Guide to Campaign Finance Reform*, Gerald C. Lubenow (ed.), Berkeley Public Policy Press and Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001, Ch. 2, pages 25-46.

“Money and Office: The Sources of the Incumbency Advantage in Congressional Campaign Finance” (with Stephen Ansolabehere), in *House Elections, Continuity and Change in House Elections*, D.W. Brady, J.F. Cogan and M.P. Fiorina (eds.), Stanford University Press, Stanford CA, 2000, Ch. 4, pages 65-86.

“What We Know About Agricultural Prices: Policies, Politics, and Supply” (with John Nash, Vinod Thomas and George Tolley), in *Essays on Agricultural Policy in Honor of D. Gale Johnson*, J.M. Antle and D.A. Sumner (eds.), University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1995, Ch. 9, pages 121-155.

Published Notes and Comments

“Fair and Balanced After All? The Bias of the U.S. Press” (with Riccardo Puglisi), *VoxEU*, September, 2011.

“Weak Tea” (with Stephen Ansolabehere), *Boston Review*, March/April, 2011.

“Estimating the Distribution of Voter Preferences Using Partially Aggregated Voting Data,” *Political Methodologist*, 2005, vol 13, no. 3, pages 2-5.

“Interpreting the Coefficient of Party Influence: Comment on Krehbiel” (with Tim Groseclose), *Political Analysis*, 2002.

“Vote Buying, Supermajorities, and Flooded Coalitions” (with Tim Groseclose), *American Political Science Review*, 2000, vol. 94, no. 3, pages 683-684.

Commentary on “Earnings Inequality and Central City Development” by Edwin Mills and “From John Lindsay to Rudy Giuliani: The Decline of the Local Safety Net?” by Edward Glaeser and Matt Kahn, *Federal Reserve Bank of New York Economic Policy Review*, 1999.

“Reply” to “Comment” by Gordon Tullock, *Public Choice*, 1995.

Comment on “The Political Economy of TRA 86: Local Interests and Washington Politics,” by Robert Inman, *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Winter 1993.

“Gatekeeping or Not, Sample Selection in the Roll Call Agenda Matters,” reply to a comment by Howard Rosenthal, *American Journal of Political Science*, 1992.

Comment on “Politics and Procedures in Environmental Law,” by Daniel Farber, *Journal of Law and Economic Organization*, 1992.

Papers Submitted for Publication

“Leadership Power in Congress, 1890-2014: Evidence from PAC Contributions and Newspaper Coverage” (with Pamela Ban and Daniel Moskowitz), revised 2022.

Working Papers and Work in Progress

“Ideology and Split-Ticket Voting in the 2020 Election (with Aleksandra Conevska, Shigeo Hirano, and Can Mutlu), 2024.

“The Space of Newspaper Policy Preferences, Or Newspapers, Like Voters, Are Not Very Ideological” (with David Beavers), in progress.

“Newspapers, News Deserts and Political Behavior in Local Elections” (with Michael Auslen and Shigeo Hirano), in progress.

“Filling in the Gaps: Racial Attitudes in the South, 1890 to 1965” (with Max Goplerud and Michael P. Olson), in progress.

“The Effect of Local Newspaper Bias on Elections: Evidence from the Decline of Evening Newspapers” (with Kevin DeLuca, Tyler Simko, and B.K. Song), in progress.

“Media Consumption and Social Capital” (with Ruben Durante, Nicola Mastroiocco, and Luigi Minale), in progress.

“Making Rallies Great Again: The Effects of Presidential Campaign Rallies on Voter Behavior, 2008-2016” (with Hasin Yousaf), 2020.

“The Effects of *Citizens United* on U.S. State and Federal Elections” (with Maria Petrova and Andrei Simonov), 2018.

“The Decline of American Party Organizations” (with Pamela Ban, Alexander Fourinaies and Andrew Hall), 2017.

“Candidate Ideology and Electoral Success” (with Andrew Hall), 2014.

“The Value of Majority Status in the 1930’s U.S. House” (with Shigeo Hirano and David Mayhew), 2008.

“Campaign Finance Regulations and the Return on Investment from Campaign Contributions” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Michiko Ueda), 2004.

“Evidence of Virtual Representation: Reapportionment in California” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Ruimin He), 2003.

“How Campaigns Respond to Media Prices: A Study of Campaign Spending and Broadcast Advertising Prices in U.S. House Elections, 1970-1972 and 1990-1992” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Alan Gerber), 2003.

“Political and Economic Determinants of Government Spending on Social Protection Programs” (with Irene Yackovlev), 2000.

“Why Did a Majority of Californians Vote to Limit Their Own Power?” (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Jonathan Woon), 1999.

“Money, Elections, and Candidate Quality” (with Stephen Ansolabehere), 1996.

“Referendums, Initiatives, and Legislative Partisanship” (with Jeffrey Lewis), 1996.

“Optimal Market Restrictions in Sports Leagues” (with William Dougan), 1991.

“Wartime Effects on Investment and the Stock Market,” 1989.

“Equilibrium Campaign Contributions and Electoral Outcomes,” 1988.

“Estimating the Effect of Campaign Spending on Electoral Outcomes,” 1988.

“A Dynamic Bargaining Model of Majority-Coalition Formation,” 1987.

Selected Research Grants

National Science Foundation Grant, 2010-2012, “Transformations in Political Party Organizations and the Rise of Candidate-Centered Elections in the U.S., 1878-2008” (with Shigeo Hirano).

Marion and Jasper Whiting Foundation, 2008, “Media Bias and the Supply of Economic News: A Comparative Study of the Press in the United States and United Kingdom.”

National Science Foundation Grant, 2006-2008, “Primary Elections for U.S. State and Federal Offices: A Comprehensive Database and Analysis” (with Stephen Ansolabehere, Mark Hansen, and Shigeo Hirano).

MIT Provost’s Fund for Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, 2005, “Newspaper Advertising and Endorsements in U.S. Primary and General Elections, 1900-2000.”

National Science Foundation Grant, 2003-2005, “Parties, Factions, and Incumbency in State and Federal Elections, 1870-2000” (with Stephen Ansolabehere).

MIT Provost’s Fund for Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, 2001, “Elections to Statewide Offices and State Legislatures, 1860-2000.”

National Science Foundation Grant, 2000-2002, “Informational Rationales for Political Parties” (with Michael Ting).

MIT Provost’s Fund for Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, 2000, “Equal Votes, Equal Money.”

MIT Provost’s Fund for Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, 1997, “Campaign Finance and Relative Power in U.S. States and Cities.”

National Science Foundation Grant, 1997-1999, “The Legislative Connection in Congressional Campaign Finance” (with Stephen Ansolabehere).

National Science Foundation Grant, 1997-1998, “Formal Models of Spatial Electoral Competition” (with Stephen Ansolabehere).

National Science Foundation Grant, 1996-1997, “Campaign Finance and Political Representation” (with Stephen Ansolabehere).

MIT Provost’s Fund for Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, 1996, “Candidate Quality, Campaign Spending, and Legislative Elections.”

National Science Foundation Grant, 1995-1996, “Measuring Political Party Influence in the U.S. Congress and State Legislatures.”

National Science Foundation Grant, 1993-1995, “Constituency Preferences and Representation: Evidence from Voting on Ballot Propositions.”

National Science Foundation Grant, 1990-1992, “Campaign Contributions as Investments, Theory and Evidence.”

National Science Foundation Grant, “The Political Economy of Resource Allocation Decisions in Campaigns.”

Participation in Recent Professional Meetings and Conferences

Collegio Carlo Alberto Conference on Political Economy, Torino Italy, December 2023
Washington Political Economy Conference (PECO), May 2023
Conference on Media Economics, Basel Switzerland, March 2023
Spring Meeting of Young Economists, Bologna Italy, June 2021
Workshop on Elections, Democracy, and Populism, Bologna Italy, January 2020
NICEP Political Economy Conference, Nottingham UK, June 2019
European Political Science Association, annual meeting, Belfast UK, June 2019
Summer School in Political Economy at University of Genoa, Genoa Italy, June 2019
Conference on Clientelism, Cambridge MA, April 2019
NBER Political Economy Conference, Cambridge MA, October 2018
Conference in Honor of Tom Romer, Princeton NJ, October 2018
Applied Economics Workshop, Petralia, Italy, July 2018
Institutions, Behavior and Economic Outcomes Conference, Alghero, Italy, June 2018
Political Economy of Development and Conflict Workshop, Barcelona, May 2018
Warwick-Princeton-Utah Political Economy Conference, Venice, May 2018
NBER Political Economy Conference, Cambridge MA, April 2018
Political Economics Conference on Influence and the Media, Baltimore MD, April 2018
Economics of Media Bias Workshop, Cologne Germany, February 2018
Micro and Macro Foundations of Conflict, Bath UK, January 2018
MIPP Political Economy Conference, Santiago, December 2017
Berkeley Conference on Political Economy and Governance, Berkeley CA, September 2017
European Political Science Association, annual meeting, Milan, June 2017
NICEP Political Economy Conference, Nottingham UK, June 2017
Barcelona GSE Summer Forum, Barcelona, June 2017
LSE Political Economy Conference, London, May 2017
Warwick-Princeton Political Economy Conference, Venice, March 2017
LSE Historical Political Economy Conference, London, February 2017
Workshop on Responsible Party Model in Times of Dealignment, Leuven, December 2016
Conference in Honor of Kenneth Shepsle, London, December 2016
NBER Political Economy Conference, Cambridge MA, November 2016
Symposium in Honor of the Scholarship of Robert S. Erikson, New York, October 2016
European Economics Association, annual meeting, Geneva, August 2016
European Political Science Association, annual meeting, Brussels, June 2016
NICEP Political Economy Conference, Nottingham UK, June 2016
Warwick-Princeton Political Economy Conference, Venice, March 2016
Becker Friedman Institute Media and Communications Conference, Chicago, November 2015
Wallis Institute of Political Economy Conference, Rochester NY, September 2015
Berkeley Conference on Political Economy and Governance, Berkeley CA, September, 2015
NBER Summer Institute on Political Economy, Cambridge MA, July 2015
IEB Workshop on Political Economy and Public Finance, Barcelona, June 2015

Conference on Elections: Behavior, Institutions and Reforms, Toulouse, March 2015
Warwick-Princeton Political Economy Conference, Venice, March 2015
Arne Ryde Symposium on Economic Theory and Application, Malaga, January 2015
Contest Theory and Political Competition Conference, Munich, September 2014
NBER Summer Institute on Political Economy, Cambridge MA, July 2014
European Political Science Association, annual meeting, Edinburgh, June 2014
Trento Festival of Economics, Trento, Italy, May 2014
Columbia University Political Economy Conference, Columbia, December 2013
Berkeley Conference on Political Economy and Governance, Berkeley CA, September 2013
NBER Summer Institute on Political Economy, Cambridge MA, July 2013
European Political Science Association, annual meeting, Barcelona, June 2013
Barcelona GSE Summer Forum, Barcelona, June 2013
Conference on the Political Impact of Media, Princeton NJ, April 2013
Warwick Political Economy Conference, Venice, March 2013

Professional Association Memberships (past and current)

American Academy of Arts and Sciences, National Bureau of Economic Research, American Economic Association, American Political Science Association, European Political Science Association

Editorial Board Memberships (past and current)

American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Journal of Historical Political Economy, Business and Politics, Economics and Politics

Other Professional Positions (past and current)

Organizing committee for Rome Media Economics conference, 2023

Organizing committee of NBER Political Economy meeting, 2022

Organizing committee for Rome Media Economics conference, 2022

Scientific Committee of the Institute of Political Economy and Governance (IPEG), Barcelona