	Citizens Commission January 31, 2019 7:45 pm
Name	Costas Panagopoulos
Address	
Phone	
Email	
Citizenship Affirmation	I am a U.S. Citizen
Residency Affirmation	I am a resident of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts
Statement of Intent	I intend to comply with and advance the policy established by this Act.
Statement of Interest	Public confidence in democracy erodes when citizens believe corporate and special interests exert greater influence over elected officials than ordinary citizens. Citizens United plays a central role in this debate. In the absence of other legal or legislative action, constitutional amendment may be the only remedy available to renew public trust in the democratic process.
	I am writing to express interest in serving on the Commission. I am currently Professor of Political Science at Northeastern University. I previously directed the Center for Electoral Politics and Democracy at Fordham University.
	My academic expertise is in areas related to electoral politics, with a focus on campaign finance. I have published widely on topics related to Citizens United, the impact of campaign spending in elections, public opinion and attitudes about campaign finance, special interest and corporate spending in elections and public financing. I also edited Public Financing in American Elections, a book published in 2011 by Temple University Press. For several years, I have served on the academic advisory board of the Campaign Finance Institute.
	As a Massachusetts native (I was born in Lowell and graduated from Dracut High School before graduating from Harvard College magna cum laude in Government in 1994), I am proud Massachusetts is taking a lead in this national initiative. I hope you will agree my expertise will be useful to the Commission and qualifies me to serve.
Résumé or Summary of Upload	Qualifications https://s3.amazonaws.com/files.formstack.com/uploads/3282862/71887710 /474281459/71887710_cv_061118.doc

# Political Party Affiliation, if any, over the Democratic previous five years

Clty or Town where you reside	WELLESLEY
Employment Status	Employed
Occupation	Professor
Employer	Northeastern University

# **COSTAS PANAGOPOULOS**





#### ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

#### Northeastern University

- Professor, Department of Political Science (2017-present)
- Director, Big Data, Quantitative Methods and Networks Initiatives (2017-present)

# Yale University

- Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science (2015-2016)
- Fellow, Center for the Study of American Politics, ISPS (2015-2016)
- Postdoctoral Fellow, Institution for Social and Policy Studies (2005-2006)
- Research Associate, Institution for Social and Policy Studies (2006-2008)

## Fordham University

- Professor, Department of Political Science (2014-2017)
- Associate Professor (with tenure), Department of Political Science (2011-2014)
- Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science (2007-2011)
- Director, Graduate Program in Elections and Campaign Management (2005-2017)
- Director and Founder, Center for Electoral Politics and Democracy (2008-2017)
- Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science (2005-2007)

## **Columbia University**

Professor (Adjunct), Quantitative Methods in the Social Sciences (2011-2017)

## New York University

- Instructor, Department of Politics (2004; PCM Program, 2001-2005)
- Executive Director, M.A. Program in Political Campaign Management (2000-2005)

## **APSA Congressional Fellow**

Office of Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-NY) (2004-2005)

# EDUCATION

- Ph.D., Department of Politics, New York University, 2005.
- M.A., Department of Politics, New York University, 2001.
- A.B., Magna Cum Laude, Department of Government, Harvard University, 1994.

# **OTHER EMPLOYMENT/POSITIONS**

2006-present	Elections Analyst and Decision Desk, NBC News
2010-2011	Editor-in-Chief, Campaigns & Elections
2002-2003	Consultant, Electoral Assistance Division, United Nations
2000-present	Principal, XVOTES, International Political Consulting Firm
1995-1996	Features Editor/Politics Editor, Adweek Magazine
1995	Associate, Public Affairs, Burson-Marsteller/New York
1993	Researcher, Ministry of Social Affairs, Paris, France
1993-1994	Research Assistant, Professor Stanley Hoffmann, Harvard University
1992	Candidate, House of Representatives, Massachusetts State Legislature

# **RESEARCH INTERESTS**

American Politics (Campaigns & Elections, Public Opinion, Voting Behavior, Campaign Finance, Congress) Methodology (Econometrics, Experiments) Applied Politics (Campaign Management and Strategy, Political Communications and Media)

## PUBLICATIONS

#### BOOKS

- Political Campaigns: Concepts, Context and Consequences. Oxford University Press (2017).
- A Citizen's Guide to Elections (with Aaron Weinschenk), Routledge (2016).
- Strategy, Money and Technology in the 2008 Elections (editor), Taylor & Francis (2012).
- Public Financing in American Elections (editor), Temple University Press (2011).
- Politicking Online: The Transformation of Election Campaign Communications (editor), Rutgers University Press (2009).
- All Roads Lead to Congress: The \$300 Billion Fight Over Highway Funding (with Joshua Schank), CQ Press (2007).
- Rewiring Politics: Presidential Nominating Conventions in the Media Age (editor), Louisiana State University Press (2007).

## JOURNAL ARTICLES

- Jost. J., S. van der Linden, C. Panagopoulos and C. Hardin. (2018). "Ideological asymmetries in conformity, desire for shared reality, and the spread of misinformation." *Current Opinion in Psychology* 23 (October): 77-83.
- Panagopoulos, C. (2018). "Evaluation Potential and Task Performance: Evidence From Two Randomized Field Experiments in Election Administration. *Political Psychology*, 39: 725-741. doi:10.1111/pops.12425.

- Weinschenk, A. & Panagopoulos, C. (2018). "The Dynamics of Voter Preferences in the 2016 Presidential Election." The Forum, 16 (1):123-135. doi:10.1515/for-2018-0008.
- C. Panagopoulos, K. Endres, and A.C. Weinschenk. (2018). "Preelection poll accuracy and bias in the 2016 U.S. general elections." Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties, 28 (2): 157-172.
- Endres, K. and C. Panagopoulos. (2017). "Boycotts, buycotts, and political consumerism in America." Research and Politics, October-December: 1–9.
- Weinschenk, A., C. Panagopoulos, K. Drabot, and S. van der Linden. (2018). "Gender and social conformity: Do men and women respond differently to social pressure to vote?" Social Influence.
- Panagopoulos, C., J. E. Leighley, and B. T. Hamel. (2017). "Are Voters Mobilized by a 'Friend-and-Neighbor'on the Ballot? Evidence from a Field Experiment." Political Behavior 39 (4): 865-882.
- Settle, J., C. T. Dawes, P. J. Loewen and C. Panagopoulos. (2017). "Negative Affectivity, Political Contention, and Turnout: A Genopolitics Field Experiment." *Political Psychology*, 38 (6): 1065-1082.
- Panagopoulos, C. and C. Prysby. (2017). "Polls and Elections: Socioemotional Selectivity Theory and Vote Choice." Presidential Studies Quarterly 47, 3: 552-560.
- Weinschenk, A. and C. Panagopoulos. (2016). "Convention effects: examining the impact of national presidential nominating conventions on information, preferences, and behavioral intentions." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties,* 26 (4): 511-531.
- Condon, M., C. Larimer and C. Panagopoulos. (2016). "Partisan Social Pressure and Voter Mobilization." American Politics Research, 44 (6): 982-1007.
- Panagopoulos, C. and B. Harrison. (2016). "Consensus Cues, Issue Salience and Policy Preferences: An Experimental Investigation." North American Journal of Psychology, 18 (2): 405-417.
- Panagopoulos, C., and S. van der Linden. (2016). "Conformity to implicit social pressure: The role of political identity." Social Influence, 11 (3): 177-184.
- Panagopoulos, C., and S. van der Linden. (2016). "The feeling of being watched: Do eye cues elicit negative affect?" North American Journal of Psychology, 19 (1): 113-121.
- Schwam-Baird, M., C. Panagopoulos, J. Krasno and D. P. Green. (2016). "Do Public Matching Funds and Tax Credits Encourage Political Contributions? Evidence from Three Field Experiments Using Nonpartisan Messages." *Election Law Journal* 15 (2): 129-142.
- "A Closer Look at Eyespot Effects on Voter Turnout: Reply to Matland and Murray." Political Psychology 37 (4): 551-557. (August 2016).
- "All About That Base: Changing Campaign Strategies in U.S. Presidential Elections." Party Politics 22 (2): 179-190. (March 2016).
- Panagopoulos, C. and J. Lehrfeld. (2015) "Big Five Personality Traits and Occupy Wall Street." Psychology, 6: 1597-1563.

- "Billboards and Turnout: A Randomized Field Experiment." (with Shang Ha). Journal of Political Marketing 14 (4): 391-404. (December 2015).
- "The Enduring Relevance of National Presidential Nominating Conventions." (with Kyle Endres). The Forum. 13 (4): 559-576. (December 2015).
- "Encouraging Small Donor Contributions: A Field Experiment Testing the Effects of Nonpartisan Messages." (with D. Green, J. Krasno, M. Schwam-Baird and B. Farrer). Journal of Experimental Political Science 2 (2): 183-191. (Winter 2015).
- "Be All That You Can Be: The Electoral Impact of Military Service as an Information Cue." (with Monika McDermott). Political Research Quarterly 68 (2): 293-305. (May 2015).
- "Preference Dynamics in the 2014 Congressional Midterm Elections." Forum 12 (4): 729-737. (December 2014).
- "Raising Hope: Hope Inducement and Voter Turnout." Basic and Applied Social Psychology 36 (6) 494-501. (October 2014).
- "Watchful Eyes: Implicit Observability Cues and Voting." Evolution and Human Behavior 35 (4): 279-284. (July 2014).
- "Personality, Negativity and Political Participation." (with Aaron Weinschenk). Journal of Social and Political Psychology 2 (1): 164-182. (July 2014).
- "Social Pressure, Descriptive Norms and Voter Mobilization." (with Christopher Larimer and Meghan Condon." Political Behavior 36 (2): 451-469 (June 2014).
- "Preelection Poll Accuracy and Bias in the 2012 Elections." (with Benjamin Farrer). Presidential Studies Quarterly 44 (2): 352-363 (June 2014).
- "I've Got My Eyes on You: Implicit Social Pressure Cues and Prosocial Motivation." Political Psychology. (Published September 30, 2013: DOI: 10.1111/pops.12074)
- "Deus ex Machina: Candidate Web Presence and the Presidential Nomination Campaign." (with Dino Christenson and Corwin Smidt). Political Research Quarterly. (Published July 15, 2013: DOI: 10.1177/1065912913494017).
- "Big Five Personality Traits and Responses to Persuasive Appeals: Results from Voter Turnout Experiments." (with Alan Gerber, Gregory Huber, Conor Dowling and David Doherty). Political Behavior 35 (4): 687-728.
- "Life-Cycle Effects and Social Pressure to Vote." (with Marisa Abrajano). Electoral Studies. (Published July 24, 2013: DOI: 10.1016/j.elecstud.2013.07.019).
- "Mobilizing Latino Voters: The Impact of Language and Co-Ethnic Policy Leadership." (with Thad Kousser, Michael Binder and Vladimir Kogan). American Politics Research. (Published September 13, 2013: DOI: 10.1177/1532673X13502848).

- "Who Participates in Exit Polls?" Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties 23 (4): 444-455 (July 2013).
- "Public Awareness and Attitudes about Redistricting Institutions." Journal of Politics and Law 6 (3): 45-54 (July 2013).
- "The Social Brain Paradigm and Social Norm Puzzles." (with Marcus Holmes). Journal of Theoretical Politics. (Published October 15, 2013: DOI: 10.1177/0951629813502710).
- "Extrinsic Rewards, Intrinsic Motivation, and Voting." 2013. Journal of Politics 75 (1): 266-280. (January 2013).
- "Campaign Duration and Election Outcomes." Politics and Governance 1 (1): 66-73. (May 2013).
- "Positive Social Pressure and Prosocial Motivation: Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment on Voter Mobilization." Political Psychology 34 (2): 265-275. (April 2013).
- "Reasoning about Interference between Units: A General Framework." (with Jake Bowers and Mark Fredrickson). Political Analysis 21 (1): 97-124. (Winter 2013).
- "Campaign Effects and Dynamics in the 2012 Election." Forum 10 (4): 36-39. (February 2013).
- "Does Public Financing Chill Political Speech? Exploiting a Court Injunction as a Natural Experiment." (with C. Dowling, R. Enos and A. Fowler). *Election Law Journal* 11(3): 302-315. (September 2012)
- "Ex-Presidential Approval: Retrospective Evaluations of Presidential Performance." Presidential Studies Quarterly 42 (4): 719-729. (December 2012).
- "Campaign Context and Preference Dynamics in U.S. Presidential Elections." Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties 22 (2): 123-127. (September 2012).
- "Thank You for Voting: Gratitude Expression and Voter Mobilization." Journal of Politics 73 (3): 707-717. (July 2011).
- "Social Pressure, Surveillance and Community Size: Evidence from Field Experiments on Voter Turnout." Electoral Studies 30 (2): 353-357. (June 2011).
- "Does Language Matter? The Impact of Spanish vs. English-language GOTV Efforts on Latino Turnout." (with Marisa Abrajano). American Politics Research 39 (July): 643-663. (July 2011).
- "Spanish-Language Radio Advertisements and Latino Voter Turnout in the 2006 Congressional Elections: Field Experimental Evidence." (with Donald P. Green). Political Research Quarterly 64 (3): 588-599. (September 2011).
- "Timing is Everything? Primacy and Recency Effects in Voter Mobilization Campaigns." Political Behavior 33: 79-93. (March 2011).
- "Polls and Elections: Firing Back: Out-Party Responses to the President's State of the Union Addresses, 1966-2006." Presidential Studies Quarterly 41 (3): 604-617 (September 2011).

- "Voter Turnout in the 2010 Congressional Midterm Elections." PS: Political Science & Politics 44 (2): 317-319. (April 2011).
- "Filled Coffers: Campaign Contributions and Contributors in the 2008 Electioons." (with Keena Lipsitz). Journal of Political Marketing 10 (1-2): 43-57. (June 2011).
- "Introduction: Money and Technology in the 2008 Elections." Journal of Political Marketing 10 (1-2): 1-3. (June 2011).
- "The Dynamics of Campaign Preferences in the 2010 Congressional Midterm Elections." The Forum 8 (4): Article 9. (December 2010).
- "Affect, Social Pressure and Prosocial Motivation: Experimental Evidence of the Mobilizing Effects of Pride, Shame and Publicizing Voting Behavior." *Political Behavior* 32 (3): 369-386. (September 2010)
- "The Enduring Effects of Social Pressure: Tracking Campaign Experiments over a Series of Elections." (with Tiffany Davenport, Alan Gerber, Donald Green, Christopher Larimer and Christopher Mann). Political Behavior 32 (3): 423-430. (September 2010).
- "Are Caucuses Bad for Democracy?" Political Science Quarterly 125 (3): 425-442. (September 2010)
- "The Crystallization of Voter Preferences during the 2008 Presidential Campaign." (with Robert Erikson and Christopher Wlezien). Presidential Studies Quarterly 40 (3): 482-496.
- "Polls and Elections—Preelection Poll Accuracy in the 2008 Election Cycle." Presidential Studies Quarterly 39 (4): 896-907. (December 2009).
- "Grassroots Mobilization in the 2008 Presidential Election." (with Peter Francia). Journal of Political Marketing 8 (4): 315-333. (December 2009).
- "Street Fight: The Impact of a Street Sign Campaign on Voter Turnout." Electoral Studies 28 (2): 309-313. (June 2009).
- "Campaign Dynamics in Battleground and Nonbattleground States." Public Opinion Quarterly 73 (1):119-130. (Spring 2009).
- "Partisan and Nonpartisan Message Content and Voter Mobilization: Field Experimental Evidence."Political Research Quarterly 62 (1): 70-77. (March 2009).
- "The Calculus of Voting in Compulsory Voting Systems." Political Behavior 30 (4): 455-467. (December 2008).
- "Polls and Elections—The Ground War 2000-2004: Strategic Mobilization in Presidential Campaigns." (with Peter Weilhouwer) Presidential Studies Quarterly 38 (3): 347-362 (June 2008).
- "Lady Luck? Female Political Consultants in American Campaigns." (with David Dulio and Sarah Brewer). Journal of Political Marketing (forthcoming).

- "Poll Trends—Labor Unions in the United States." (with Peter Francia). Public Opinion Quarterly 72 (1): 134-160. (March 2008).
- "Field Experiments Testing the Impact of Radio Advertisements on Electoral Competition." (with Donald Green). American Journal of Political Science 52(1): 156-168. (January 2008).
- "Presidential Nominating Conventions: Past, Present and Future." The Forum 5 (4): 1-12.
- "Online Fundraising and Contributors in the 2004 Presidential Election." (with Daniel Bergan). Social Science Computer Review 25 (4): (December 2007).
- "Size Doesn't Always Matter: White House Staff and Presidential Success in Congress." White House Studies 7 (1): 13-34. (June 2007). Reprinted in The Presidency of the United States: New Issues and Developments, Anthony J. Eksterowicz and Glenn P. Hastedt, eds. Nova Publishers (2009).
- "The Polls—Cabinet Member and Presidential Approval." Presidential Studies Quarterly 37 (1): 153-163. (March 2007).
- "The Polls—Trends: Arab and Muslim Americans and Islam in the Aftermath of 9/11." Public Opinion Quarterly 70 (4): 608-624. (Winter 2006).
- "Contributions and Contributors in the 2004 Presidential Election Cycle." (with Daniel Bergan) Presidential Studies Quarterly 36 (2): 155-172. (June 2006).
- "The Polls—Public Opinion and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld." Presidential Studies Quarterly 36 (1): 117-127. (March 2006).
- "The Polls—Trends: Obesity." Public Opinion Quarterly 70 (2): 249-268. (Summer 2006).
- "Vested Interests: Interest Group Resource Allocation in Presidential Campaigns." Journal of Political Marketing 5 (1/2): 59-78. (June 2006). Reprinted in Campaigns and Political Marketing, Wayne Steger, Sean Kelly and J. Mark Wrighton, eds., Binghamton, NY: Hayworth Press. (2006).
- "Political Consultants, Campaign Professionalization and Media Attention." PS: Political Science 39 (4): 867-870. (October 2006).
- "Grassroots Mobilization and Voter Turnout in 2004." (with Donald Green, Alan Gerber and Daniel Bergan) Public Opinion Quarterly 69 (5): 760-778. (2005).
- "The Parliamentary Election in Greece, March 2004." (with Nikos Maratzidis) Electoral Studies 25 (2): 404-409. (June 2006).
- "The Frontrunners 2008." PS: Political Science 38 (4): 803-808. (October 2005).
- "Follow the Money: Assessing the Allocation of E-Rate Funds." Social Science Computer Review 23 (4): 502. (Winter 2005).

- "Likely (and Unlikely) Voters and the Measurement of Campaign Dynamics." (with Robert S. Erikson and Christopher Wlezien) Public Opinion Quarterly 68 (4): 588-602. (Winter 2004).
- "The Polls—Trends: Electoral Reform." Public Opinion Quarterly 68 (4): 623-641. (Winter 2004).
- "Boy Talk/Girl Talk: Gender Differences in Political Campaign Communications." Women & Politics 26 (3/4): 131-. (2004).

# CONTRIBUTIONS: BOOK CHAPTERS, ENCYCLOPEDIAS

- "Fundraising for Social Change in the U.S.: Interest Group Advocacy in Contemporary U.S. Elections." In Public Opinion and Interest Group Politics: South Africa's Missing Links?, Heather Thuynsma, ed. Africa Institute of South Africa. (2012).
- "Big Government and Public Opinion." (with Robert Shapiro). In The Oxford Handbook of Public Opinion and the Media, Robert Y. Shapiro and Lawrence R. Jacobs, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (2011).
- "Flush with Cash: Individual Campaign Contributions in the 2008 Elections." (with John C. Green).
   In The State of the Parties, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., John C. Green and Daniel Coffey, eds., Rowman & Littlefield.
- "Presidential Leadership and Public Opinion in an Age of Polarization." (with Jeffrey Cohen). In The Obama Presidency: Change and Continuity, Andrew Dowdle, Dirk Van Raemdonck and Robert Maranto, eds. New York: Routledge. (2011).
- "The 2010 Elections in New York." In Key States, High Stakes: Sarah Palin, the Tea Party and the 2010 Elections, Charles Bullock, ed. Rowman & Littlefield. (2012).
- "Opinion and Election Polls." (with Kathy Frankovic and Robert Shapiro). In Handbook of Statistics: Sample Surveys: Inference and Analysis, Danny Pfeffermann and C.R. Rao, eds. Amsterdam: Elsevier. (September 2009).
- "The Politics of Economic Policy in a Polarized Era: The Case of George W. Bush." (with Jeffrey Cohen). In Judging Bush, Robert Maranto, Tom Lansford and Jeremy Johnson, eds. Stanford University Press. (September 2009).
- "Technology and the Modern Political Campaign." In Politicking Online: The Transformation of Election Campaign Communications, Costas Panagopoulos, ed., Rutgers University Press (2009).
- "Clicking for Cash: Campaigns, Donors, and the Emergence of Online Fund-Raising."In Politicking Online: The Transformation of Election Campaign Communications, Costas Panagopoulos, ed., Rutgers University Press (2009).
- "Special Interests and Political Campaigns," "Radio and Politics," "Talk Radio," "Presidential Radio Address," "Spin Doctors," "News Management," "Media Consultants," In Encyclopedia of Media and Politics, Todd Shaefer and Thomas Birkland, eds. Washington, DC: CQ Press. (October 2006).
- "Ballot Access," "Campaign Commercials," "Campaign Expenditures," "Hard Money," "Help America Vote Act," "Pre-primary Endorsement," "Run-off Primaries," "Targeting," "Swing Ratio," "Unit Rule," "Voter Registration," "Voting—Pocketbook Issues," In *Encyclopedia of American Parties* and Elections, Larry J. Sabato and Howard R. Ernst, eds. Facts on File Inc. (January 2005)
- "Consequences of the Cyberstate: The Political Implications of Digital Government in International Context." In Digital Government: Principles and Best Practices, G. David Garson, ed. Idea Group Publishers. (2003)
- "The Political Implications of Digital Government" (with Paul M.A. Baker). In Digital Government: Principles and Best Practices, G. David Garson, ed. Idea Group Publishers. (2003)

# **BOOK REVIEWS**

- Allan Lichtman. The Keys to the White House, 2008 edition. Political Science Quarterly (forthcoming)
- Michael Malbin, ed. The Election After Reform: Money, Politics, and the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act. Political Science Quarterly (Spring 2006)
- George C. Edwards, On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit and Douglas A. Lathrop, The Campaign Continues: How Political Consultants and Campaign Tactics Affect Public Policy. Public Opinion Quarterly (Spring 2005).
- William G. Mayer and Andrew E. Busch. The Front-Loading Problem in Presidential Nominations. Political Science Quarterly (Summer 2004).
- Walter Shapiro, One-Car Caravan: On the Road with the 2004 Democrats Before America Tunes In. Political Science Quarterly (Spring 2004).
- William G. Mayer. The Making of the Presidential Candidates 2004. Campaigns & Elections (May 2004).

# CONSUMER PUBLICATIONS, OPINION (SELECTED)

- Weinschenk, A. and C. Panagopoulos. (2017). "Did Comey Give Trump the Presidency? We Don't Think So." Washington Post. September 18.
- "Obama Supporter Oprah Takes a Big Dive." Politico. April 7, 2008.
- "Strategy Session: Could Bloomberg Enter in the Middle?" Politico. December 11, 2007.
- "Ford Won the Public's Affection." Baltimore Sun. December 29, 2006.
- "Polls: Democrats in Striking Distance for Senate." (with Sheldon Gawiser and Tiffany Turner." msnbc.com. October 2, 2006.
- "Polls: Democrats Run Strong in Senate Races." (with Sheldon Gawiser and Tiffany Turner." msnbc.com. October 1, 2006.
- "Calendar Games: Timing and Sequence in Presidential Selection." Campaigns & Elections. December 2005.
- "The Neglected Majority: Resource Allocation in Presidential Campaigns." Campaigns & Elections, August 2004.
- "Behind the Balloons: Political Consultants and the National Nominating Conventions." Campaigns & Elections, July 2004.
- "Politics after Pinochet: Chilean Election 2005." Campaigns & Elections, July 2004 (with Raquel Villapando)
- "South Africa Decides 2004." Campaigns & Elections, June 2004. (with Christopher Cullen).
- "Don't Believe the Hype." (Political Impact of "Fahrenheit 9/11") Adweek, July 19, 2004.
- "Part-E Politics: Investigating the Online Presence of American Political Parties." Campaigns & Elections. September, 2003.
- "Do Image-makers Need a Makeover? (Or, Why Do Americans Hate Political Consultants?) Assessing Public Perceptions about Political Consultants." (with James Thurber). Campaigns & Elections. October/November, 2003.
- "Primaries are Meaningless and Irrelevant for Many." Op-Ed, Los Angeles Times, February 15, 2004.
- "How Political Scientists Have Failed New Yorkers." Op-ed, New York Sun, October 28, 2003.
- "Voters in the Dark." Letters to the Editor. Newsday, October 21, 2003.
- "Buchanan: The No-Poll Pol." Brandweek. March 4, 1996.

# **CONFERENCE PAPERS (SELECTED)**

- "Friends-and-Neighbors Voting: Field Experimental Evidence." (with J. Leighley and B. Hamel). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2015.
- "Please Recuse Yourself: A Field Experiment on Campaign-Finance Related Conflicts of Interest and Judicial Behavior." (with Donald Green, Jonathan Krasno, Michael Schwam-Baird and Dane Thorley). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 2014, and at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 2015.
- "Partisan Social Pressure." (with Christopher Larimer and Meghan Condon). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2013.
- "Genes, Negative Affectivity and Turnout: A Field Experiment." (with Jamie Settle, Christopher Dawes and Peter Loewen). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2011.
- "A Game Changer? Understanding Candidate Web Presence in the 2008 Invisible Primary." (with Dino Christenson and Corwin Smidt) Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2011.
- "Turning Out, Cashing In: Extrinsic Rewards, Intrinsic Motivation and Voting." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2009.
- "Thank You for Voting" Gratitude Expression and Voter Mobilization." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2009.
- "Emotions, Motivation, and Prosocial Behavior: Field Experimental Tests of the Effects of Alternative Civic Duty Appeals on Voter Turnout." Paper presented at the ISPS 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference, Yale University. November 2008.
- "Name Recognition and Incumbency Advantage: Evidence from a Mass Media Field Experiment Targeting Latino Voters" (with Donald P. Green). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association. Boston, MA. September 2008.
- "Spanish-Language Radio Advertisements and Latino Voter Turnout: Field Experimental Evidence" (with Donald P. Green). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2008.
- "Billboard Advertisements and Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Field Experiment" (with Shang Ha).
   Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2008.
- "Street Signs: Experimental Evidence on the Impact of a Street Sign Campaign." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2007.
- "Leveling the Playing Field: A Field Experiment Testing the Impact of Radio Advertisements on Electoral Competition." (with Donald P. Green). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association. Philadelphia, PA, September 2006.
- "The Impact of Newspaper Advertising on Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Field Experiment." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association. Philadelphia, PA, September 2006.
- "The Impact of Radio Advertisements on Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Field Experiment." Paper Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, April 2006.
- "The Ground War 2000-2004: Strategic Targeting in Grassroots Campaigns." (with Peter Weilhouwer).
- Paper Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, April 2006.
- "Campaign Dynamics in Battleground and Non-battleground States." Paper Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, April 2006.

- "Talk Soft and Carry a Big Stick? Candidate Quality and Campaign Communication Strategies." Paper Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, April 2005.
- "The Calculus of Voting in Compulsory Voting Systems." Paper presented at the Public Choice Society Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA: April 10-12, 2005.
- "Lady Luck? Female Political Consultants in American Campaigns." (with David Dulio and Sarah Brewer). Paper presented at the Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA: January 2005.
- "Spotting the Running Men (and Women): Political Communication in the 2003 California Gubernatorial Recall Election." Paper presented at the "Faith, Fun and Futurama" APSA Political Communication Pre-conference, Chicago, IL. September 1, 2004.
- "States of Ambition: Challenger Quality in the American States." Poster presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL. September 1, 2004.
- "The Kingmakers: Assessing Americans' Attitudes Toward Political Consultants." Paper presented at the American Association of Public Opinion Researchers Annual Meeting, Phoenix, AZ. May 2004.
- "More Nobodies: Challenger Quality in U.S. Senate Elections, 1972-2000." Paper Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, April 2004.
- "Movin' On Up: Term Limits and Candidate Quality in U.S. House Elections, 1972-2000." Paper presented at the Joint Conference on Term Limits and State and Local Government, Akron, OH. April 2004.
- "Gender Differences in Challenger Quality in U.S. House Elections, 1972-2000." Paper presented at the Women and American Political Campaigns Research Symposium, New York University, March 3, 2004.
- "The 3/2's Rule at Thirty: Resource Allocation in Presidential Campaigns." Paper presented at the Northeast Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA. November 6-8, 2003.
- "Vested Interests: Interest Group Resource Allocation in Presidential Campaigns." Paper presented at the Northeast Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA. November 6-8, 2003.
- "Likely (and Unlikely) Voters and the Measurement of Campaign Dynamics" (with Robert S. Erikson and Christopher Wlezien). Paper presented at the World Association of Public Opinion Researchers Annual Meeting. Prague, Czech Republic. September 19, 2003.
- "Great Expectations: The Promise of Digital Government in the American States." Poster presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA. August, 2003.
- "Virtual Parties: Investigating the Online Presence of American Political Parties." Paper presented at the New York Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Wagner College: Staten Island, New York. April 11, 2003.
- "Not on the Run: Assessing Aggregate Challenger Quality in U.S. House Elections, 1972-2000." Paper presented at the Midwest Association of Political Science Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL. April, 2003.
- "Boy Talk/Girl Talk: Gender Differences in Political Campaign Communications." Paper presented at the Midwest Association of Political Science Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL. April, 2003.
- "Marching to the Beat of a Different Drum?: Examining the Political Behavior and Attitudes of Young Americans." Poster presented at the Midwest Association of Political Science Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL. April, 2003.

# **DISSERTATION:**

Quality Control: Candidate Quality in U.S. Congressional Elections, 1972-2000. Committee: Jonathan Nagler (Chair), Robert Erikson (Columbia), Anna Harvey, Richard Fleisher (Fordham)

# **Invited Presentations:**

- "Negative Affectivity, Political Contention and Turnout: A Genopolitics Field Experiment." Department of Political Science, Stony Brook University. September 2014.
- "Bases Loaded: The Causes and Consequences of Shifting Campaign Strategies in U.S. Elections." Workshop on Context and Voter Mobilization, University of Manchester (UK). November 2013.
- "I've Got My Eyes on You: Implicit Social Pressure Cues and Prosocial Motivation." Manhsip School of Communication and Department of Political Science, Louisiana State University. January 2013.
- "Negative Affectivity, Political Contention and Turnout: A Genopolitics Field Experiment." Department of Political Science, Columbia University. February 2012.
- "Big Five Personality Traits and Responses to Persuasive Appeals: Results from Voter Turnout Experiments." Department of Psychology, Fordham University, December 2011.
- "Turning Out, Cashing In: Extrinsic Rewards, Intrinsic Motivation and Voting." Department of Political Science, Temple University, October 2011.
- "The Psychology of Choice in Low-Salience Elections." Department of Political Science, University of California at San Diego, January 2009.
- "Denver Showdown? The 2008 National Nominating Conventions." Dole Institute. University of Kansas, April 2008.
- "Presidential Nominating Conventions." American University, April 2008.
- "U.S. Presidential Elections." China University of Political Science and Law. Beijing, China. May, 2007.
- "Women and U.S. Elections." Womens' Campaign Fund, New York, May 2004.
- "State Parties and the Internet: An Assessment" Democratic National Committee, Washington, DC, July, 2004.

# Grants

- "Field Experiments in Campaign Finance." (with Donald Green and Jonathan Krasno). Open Society Foundation and Democracy Fund/Omidyar Network. 2013-2015. \$900,000.
- "2012 New York Redistricting Project." Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. 2012. \$104,000.
- "Public Financing Project." Open Society Foundation. \$10,000.

# TEACHING

# Undergraduate:

# Fordham University (Department of Political Science)

- Municipal Elections
- Presidential Nominations
- Presidential Elections
- Parties and Elections
- Money and Politics
- Campaigns & Elections
- Introduction to Politics

# New York University (Department of Politics)

- American Public Opinion, Department of Politics
- Power and Politics in America, Department of Politics

# Other (Adjunct)

- U.S. Elections, Yeshiva University
- American Government and Political Institutions, Pace University
- Applied Research Methods for Political Science, Pace University
- Media and Politics, Hunter College
- State and Local Politics, Pace University
- Comparative Politics: Political Structures and Institutions, Yeshiva University
- Introduction to World Affairs; SUNY/FIT
- Introduction to Comparative Politics, SUNY/FIT
- Contemporary Western European Politics, SUNY/FIT

## Graduate:

- Theories and Methodologies in the Social Sciences, Columbia University (QMSS)
- Experimentation in the Social Sciences, Columbia University (QMSS)
- American Political Behavior, Fordham University
- Campaign Finance and Ethics, Fordham University
- Special Topics in Campaigns and Elections, Fordham University
- Political Campaigns in Emerging Democracies (co-taught with Richard Dresner), NYU
- New Media and Political Campaigns, NYU
- Fundamentals of Political Campaign Management, NYU
- Crisis and Issues Management, NYU

## Other:

- ICPSR Summer Program, "Field Experiments: Design, Analysis and Interpretation," (co-instructor with Donald Green). Summer 2013; Summer 2014.
- Visiting Lecturer, Program on Elections and Representation, Universite de la Sorbonne (Assas II), Paris, France, Summer 2002

## HONORS, ACTIVITIES, AND AWARDS

- 2015 "Best Paper published in Political Research Quarterly in 2014." (with Dino Christenson and Corwin Smidt).
- 2014 Robert H. Durr Award for "Best Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association that applies quantitative methods to a substantive problem." (with Donald Green, Jonathan Krasno, Michael Schwam-Baird and Benjamin Farrer).

Miller Prize for "Best Paper published in Political Analysis." (with J. Bowers, M. Friedrickson)

- 2013 Executive Council, APSA Elections, Public Opinion and Voting Behavior Section (2011-2013) Member, Doris Graber Book Prize selection committee
- 2012 Chair, Nominations Committee, APSA Experimental Politics Section
- 2011 Elected Secretary, APSA Experimental Politics Section

- 2009 Elected Associate Program Chair, NYAAPOR
- 2008 Elected At-Large Member of Executive Committee, APSA Political Communication Section
- 2004 APSA Congressional Fellow (2004-2005) Visiting Research Scholar, Institute for Politics and Democracy and the Internet, Graduate School of Political Management, George Washington University Selection Committee, "Pollie" Awards (Political Advertising) AAPC Research Fellow, Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, American University
- Visiting Scholar, Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy, Columbia University.
   Visiting Research Fellow (Summer), Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, American University, Washington, DC.
   Member, Academic Committee, American Association of Political Consultants
   Member, Board of Directors, SAFEOnline (Standards Association For Elections Online)
   President, American Association of Political Consultants, Mid-Atlantic Chapter
   Who's Who in America
- 2002 Dirksen Congresional Center Research Fellowship. Steering Committee, Academic Conference, AAPC, American University Selection Committee, "Pollie" Awards (Political Advertising) AAPC
- 2001 Nominated, Outstanding Teaching Award (TA), NYU Member, Curriculum Committee, Department of Politics, NYU
- 1994 Pforzheimer Scholar, Harvard University
- 1993 Undergraduate Research Fellow, Center for European Studies, Harvard University Research Grant, Ford Foundation for Undergraduate Research, Harvard University
- 1992 Research Grant, Ford Foundation for Undergraduate Research, Harvard University
- 1990- John Harvard Scholar, Harvard University; Representative, Harvard Foundation for
- 1994 Cultural and Race Relations; Representative, Undergraduate Council
- 1990 National Winner, NASSP Century III Leadership Program

## **CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION, SPECIAL PROJECTS**

- 2014 Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL. Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Washington, DC
- 2013 Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.
- 2012 Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.
- 2011 Guest Editor, "The 2010 Congressional Midterm Elections" Symposium, PS: Political Science & Politics. Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL. Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA.

- 2010 Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL. Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.
- 2009 Guest editor, "Strategy and Choice in the 2008 Elections" Special Issue, Journal of Political Marketing Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL. Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada. Annual Meeting, Political Methodology section, New Haven, CT.
- 2008 Invited participant, ISPS 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference, Yale University, November 14-15. Conference co-chair, "Citizen-Owned Elections" Public Financing Past, Present and Future," Fordham University. February. Northeast Political Methodology Conference, New York University Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL. Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL. Annual Meeting, Political Methodology section, Ann Arbor, MI.
- 2007 Guest editor, "Technology and Political Campaigns" Special Issue, Social Science Computer Review Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL. Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.
- 2006 Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA. Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.
- 2005 Panelist, "Voting in America." New School University. September 13, 2005. Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Washington, DC. Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL. Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, New Orleans, LA. April 10-12.

2004 Panelist, "Unprecendented: Why Voting Matters." New School University, October 1. Invited participant (presenter), Faith, Fun and Futurama: APSA Political Communication Pre-conference, Chicago, IL, Sept. 1 Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 1-4. Observer, Republican National Convention, New York, NY, August 29-September 1. Observer, Democratic National Convention, Boston, MA. July 26-29 Invited Participant, Political Consultants and American Campaigns Conference. Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, American University. June 1 Campaigns & Elections Training Seminar. (Speaker: International Campaigns) Washington, DC, June 1, 2004. Annual Meeting, American Association of Public Opinion Researchers, Phoenix, AZ, May Guest Lecturer, Women's Campaign Fund, New York, NY. May 11. Title: "Women and American Campaigns." Invited Participant, Joint Conference on Term Limits and State and Local Government, University of Akron, Akron, OH. April 29-May 1. Moderator, Technology and Politics Symposium, New York University. May. Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL. April 1. Politics Online Conference, George Washington University, Washington, DC. Invited Panelist: Constituent Mobilization. March 19. Chair, Women and American Political Campaigns Research Symposium, NYU, March 3. Campaigns & Elections Training Seminar. (Speaker: Crisis Communication in Campaigns)

Washington, DC, February 14.

Invited Participant, Campaign Finance Reform Conference, Hinkley Institute of Politics, University of Utah. January 18-19.

- 2003 Annual Meeting, Northeast Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, November 6-8.
   Academic Conference, American Association of Political Consultants. University of Akron,
   Akron, Ohio. Panelist: "Bush v. Mystery Democrat: Prospects for the 2004 Campaign." Oct. 2-4.
   Annual Conference, World Association of Public Opinion Researchers, Prague, Czech
   Republic. September 17-19.
   Annual Meeting, American Association of Political Consultants, Philadelphia, PA. August.
   Annual Meeting, Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago, IL. April.
- 2002 Conference Chair, "Back and Forth: Looking Back Elections 2002 and Ahead to 2004," Department of Politics, NYU, December 10.
  Annual Conference, International Association of Political Consultants, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, November 15-20.
  Invited Participant, Electoral Politics Conference, Columbia University, October 18-19.
  Political Methodology Conference, New York University.
  Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Boston, MA. August.
  Speaker, Campaigns & Elections seminar on political electioneering, Washington, DC. Panels: Earned Media, Crisis Management.
- 2001 Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, San Francisco. August. Seminar on Experimental Methods in the Social Sciences, Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences, Harvard University. June. Seminar Program, Campaigns & Elections, Washington, D.C. Academic Conference, American Association of Political Consultants, Institute of Politics, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
- 2000 Organizer/Chair: Millenials Rising: The Political Behavior of Young Americans, New School University Organizer/Chair: Gen X Voters and the 2000 Presidential Election, New School University

# COMMENTARY, POLITICAL ANALYSIS, MEDIA APPEARANCES (SELECTED)

- 2014 Election 2014 analysis/commentary: FOX News, CNN, NBC News, ABC News
- 2012 Election 2012 analysis/commentary: FOX News, CNN, NBC News, ABC News
- 2008 Election 2008 analysis/commentary: FOX News, CNN, New York Times, USA Today.
- 2006 CBS Nightly News ("In the Minute") (Topic: Iraq and Elections 2006). FOX News (Topic: Iraq and Elections).
- 2004 NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw (2004 Presidential TV Ad Strategy); CNN ("Inside Politics") (Topic: Minority Voters 2004 Election); New York One, Eyewitness News (WABC), Fox News (Reagan Legacy). Los Angeles Times, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, New York Sun, Guardian, Village Voice, Newsday, BBC Television, NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw, BusinessWeek TV. (Topic: 2004 Democratic Presidential Primary)

- 2003 CNN ("Inside Politics") (Topic: 2004 Democratic Presidential Primary) BBC Worldwide (Topic: Howard Dean and the 2004 Presidential Primary) Fox News (Topic: Nonpartisan Municipal Elections)
- 2000 New York Times (Topic: 2000 Presidential Election)

# **PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

Editor	American Politics Research (2016-present)
Associate Editor	Journal of Experimental Political Science (2011-2015)
Editor	"Polls and Elections" feature, Presidential Studies Quarterly (2007-present)
Senior Editor	Journal of Political Marketing
Editorial Board	American Journal of Political Science (2013-present), Journal of Experimental Political Science (2016-present), International Journal of Public Opinion Research (2013-2014), Social Science Computer Review, Open Political Science Journal, Politics and Governance.
Contributor	Campaigns & Elections Magazine (2001-2006); Politico (2008-present)
Referee	American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Political Research Quarterly, Public Opinion Quarterly, Political Behavior, Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties, Gender and Politics, Electoral Studies, Political Psychology, British Journal of Political Science, Comparative Political Studies, Party Politics, Political Communication, American Politics Research.
Editorial Assistant	Political Science Quarterly (2001-2005)
Discussant	American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, 2004, 2006-2014. Midwest Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, 2004-2006, 2010-2014 Southern Political Science Association, Annual Meeting. 2006. New York Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 2003.
Chair	Midwest Political Science Association, Annual Meetings: 2009, 2010. NPSA Annual Meeting 2003 (Panel: Off the Air and Back to Ground: Television Advertising versus Grassroots Mobilization in Political Campaigns).

# **MEMBERSHIPS AND PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS**

American Political Science Association (Sections: Elections, Public Opinion and Voting Behavior; Political Communication, Political Organizations/Parties; Political Methodology; Political Psychology, Experimental Politics) Midwest Political Science Association Southern Political Science Association International Society of Political Psychology American Association of Public Opinion Researchers World Association of Public Opinion Researchers American Association of Political Consultants -(President 2003-2004; Board of Directors Member, Mid-Atlantic Chapter 2002-2003) Academic Programs in Applied Politics Association (Board of Directors 2003-present) SAFEOnline (Standards for Election Activities Online) (Board of Directors 2003-present)