

Douglas Rivers

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RESEARCH INTERESTS	Elections and voting, survey sampling, applied statistics, econometrics, policy analysis, market research.	
EDUCATION	Harvard University , Cambridge, MA Ph.D., Political Science, June 1981 Columbia University , New York, NY B.A., Political Science, May 1977	
AWARDS	American Association of Arts & Sciences Fellow, 2015. American Political Science Association Charles E. Merriam Prize, 2015. The Society for Political Methodology Career Achievement Award, 2015. American Association for Public Opinion Research Innovator’s Award, 2001. <i>Research Business Report</i> Market Research Executive of the Year, 2000. Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences Fellow, 1992–93.	
ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE	Stanford University , Stanford, CA <i>Professor of Political Science</i> <i>Senior Fellow, The Hoover Institution</i>	1989 to present 2009 to present

	University of California , Los Angeles, CA	
	<i>Associate Professor of Political Science and Statistics</i>	1987–1989
	California Institute of Technology , Pasadena, CA	
	<i>Assistant Professor of Political Science</i>	1983–1987
	Harvard University , Cambridge, MA	
	<i>Assistant Professor of Government</i>	1980–1983
OTHER EMPLOYMENT	YouGov Polimetrix , Palo Alto, CA	
	<i>Founder, President and CEO</i>	2004–2012
	<i>Chief Scientist</i>	2012–present
	Knowledge Networks , Palo Alto, CA	
	<i>Co-Founder, President and CEO</i>	1998–2002
BOARD MEMBERSHIPS	YouGov PLC , London, United Kingdom	
	<i>Director</i>	2012–
	Preview Systems , Cupertino, CA	
	<i>Director and Member of the Audit Committee</i>	1996–2002
	Roper Center , Storrs, CT	
	<i>Member, Board of Directors</i>	2009 to present
	American National Election Studies , Ann Arbor, MI	
	<i>Member, Board of Overseers</i>	1987–95, 2009–13
OTHER	CBS News , New York, NY	
	<i>Consultant and Member of the Decision Desk</i>	2002 to present

RECENT

UNPUBLISHED RESEARCH PAPERS

“Policy Knowledge and the Public,” Hoover Institution (2024, with Michael J. Boskin).

“The People and the Experts,” NBER Working Paper 31217 (May 2023, with William D. Nordhaus).

“Measuring the U.S. Employment Situation Using Online Panels: The Yale Labor Survey,” in *Current Policy Perspectives* (Federal Reserve Bank of Boston (December, 2021), with Christopher Foote, Tyler Hounshell, William D. Nordhaus, and Pamela Tortola).

“Partisan Polarization and Retrospective Voting,” presented at the 2021 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (with Stephanie Nail).

“Volatility in U.S. Voting Behavior, 1972-2020,” presented at the 2021 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (with Stephanie Nail).

“Work in the Time of COVID: Results from the Yale Labor Survey,” Cowles Foundation Discussion Paper 2240, revised June 2021 (with Christopher Foote and William D. Nordhaus).

“Estimating the Mean Square Error of a Survey with Unknown Selection Bias,” keynote address, Asian Political Methodology Meetings, Sydney, 2017.

“The Angry Voter,” presented at the American Academy in Berlin, 2016.

“Hierarchical Models for Calibrating Selection Bias,” presented at 2016 Ross-Royall Symposium on Population Inference, Department of Biostatistics, Bloomberg School of Public Health, Johns Hopkins.

“Variance Estimation for Web Panels,” presented at the 2015 Joint Statistical Meetings, Seattle.

PUBLICATIONS

“The US Employment Situation Using the Yale Labor Survey,” *Journal of Economic and Social Measurement* (Forthcoming, with Christopher Foote, Tyler Hounshell, William Nordhaus, and Pamela Tortola).

“COVID Federalism,” in Michael Boskin, ed., *American Federalism Today: Perspectives on Political and Economic Governance* (Hoover Institution Press, 2024).

“The Future of the Republican Party: 2022, 2024 and Beyond,” in Andrew Busch and William Mayer, eds., *The Elephant in the Room* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2022).

“Model-based pre-election polling for national and sub-national outcomes in the US and UK,” *International Journal of Forecasting*, vol. 36, no. 2, pp. 399–413 (with Benjamin Lauderdale, Delia Bailey, and Jack Blumenau).

“The Mythical Swing Voter,” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2016, with Andrew Gelman, Sharad Goel, and David Rothschild).

- “The Margin of Error Controversy,” *International Journal of Market Research*, vol. 57, no. 2 (2015).
- “Comment on Non-probability Samples,” *Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2013), pp. 111–117.
- “Cooperative Survey Research,” *Annual Reviews of Political Science*, vol. 17 (2013, with Stephen Ansolabehere).
- “The Road to (and from) the 2010 Elections,” *Policy Review* (February, 2011, with David W. Brady and Morris P. Fiorina).
- “Inference from Matched Samples in the 2008 U.S. National Elections,” *Proceedings of the American Statistical Association* (2009, with Delia Bailey).
- “The 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study,” *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion, and Policy* (November, 2008, with Lynn Vavreck).
- “Do We Really Know That the WTO Increases Trade?” *American Economic Review* (December 2007, with Judith Goldstein and Michael Tomz).
- “Institutions in International Relations: Understanding the Impact of GATT and the WTO on World Trade,” *International Organization* (Winter 2007, with Judith Goldstein and Michael Tomz).
- “Sampling for Web Surveys,” *Proceedings of the American Statistical Association* (2007).
- “The Most Liberal Senator?” *PS: Political Science and Politics* (October, 2004, with Joshua Clinton and Simon Jackman). Reprinted in David Rochefort, ed., *Quantitative Methods in Practice* (Washington: CQ Press, 2006).
- “Combining Random And Non-Random Samples,” *Proceedings of the American Statistical Association* (2003, with Vicki Pineau and Daniel Slotwiner).
- “The Statistical Analysis of Roll Calls,” *American Political Science Review* (2004, with Joshua Clinton and Simon Jackman).
- “Model Selection test Dynamic for Nonlinear Dynamic Econometric Models,” *Econometrics Journal* (2002) (with Quang H. Vuong).
- “The Roots of Careerism in the House of Representatives,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (1999) (with David W. Brady and Kara Buckley).
- The 1996 House Elections: Reaffirming the Conservative Trend* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1997) (with David W. Brady and John F. Cogan).
- “Party Identification, Retrospective Voting and Moderating Elections in a Federal System: West Germany 1961-1989,” *Comparative Political Studies* (1997) (with Susanne Lohmann and David Brady).
- How Republicans Captured the House: An Assessment of the 1994 Midterm Elections* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1995) (with David W. Brady and John F. Cogan).

- “Experimental Estimates of the Impact of Wage Subsidies,” *Journal of Econometrics*, March 1993. pp. 219–242 (with Jeffrey A. Dubin).
- “Selection Bias in Linear Regression, Logit and Probit Models,” *Sociological Methods and Research*, vol. 18, no. 2 & 3 (November 1989/February 1990) pp. 360–390 (with Jeffrey A. Dublin). Reprinted in John Fox and J. Scott Long, eds., *Modern Methods of Data Analysis*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1990.
- “Inconsistency of Least Squares Unfolding,” *Political Analysis*, forthcoming.
- “Limited Information Estimators and Exogeneity Tests for Simultaneous Probit Models,” *Journal of Econometrics*, vol. 39, no. 4 (November 1988) pp. 347–366 (with Quang H. Vuong).
- “Microeconomics and Macropolitics: A Solution to the Aggregation Problem,” *American Political Science Review*, Forthcoming.
- “Sophisticated Voting in Congress: A Reconsideration,” *Journal of Politics*, 1989. (with Keith Krehbiel).
- “Strategy and Choice in the 1988 Presidential Primaries,” *Electoral Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (April 1989) pp. 23-48 (with Bruce E. Cain and I.A. Lewis).
- “Constituency Service, Reputation, and the incumbency Advantage,” in Morris P. Fiorina and David W. Rohde, eds., *Home Style and Washington Work: Studies of Congressional Politics*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989 (with Morris P. Fiorina).
- “The Analysis of Committee Power: And Application to Senate Voting on the Minimum Wage,” *American journal of Political Science*, vol. 32. no. 4 (November 1988) pp. 1151-1174 (with Keith Krehbiel).
- “Heterogeneity in Models of Electoral Choice,” *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 32, no. 3 (August 1988) pp. 737–757.
- “The Economic Basis of Reagan’s Appeal,” in John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson, eds., *The New Direction in American Politics*, Washington: The Brookings Institution (1985) pp. 69–90 (with D. Roderick Kiewiet).
- “Passing the President’s Program: Opinion and Presidential Influence in Congress,” *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 29, no. 2 (May 1985) pp. 183–196 (with Nancy L. Rose).
- “A Retrospective on Retrospective Voting,” *Political Behavior*, vol. 6, no. 4 (Winter 1984) pp. 369–393 (with D. Roderick Kiewiet). Reprinted in Heinz Eulau and Michael Lewis-Beck, eds. *Economic Conditions and Electoral Outcomes*, New York: Agathon Press, 1985.
- “Comment on Goodin,” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 78, no. 2 (June 1984) pp. 502–504.

“On the Demand for Economic Outcomes: Macroeconomic Performance and Mass Political Support in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany,” *Journal of Politics*, vol. 43, no. 2 (May 1982) pp. 426–442 (With Douglas A. Hibbs, Jr. and Nicholas Vassilatos).

“The Dynamics of Political support for American Presidents Among Occupational and Partisan Groups,” *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 26, no. 2 (May 1982) pp. 312–332 (With Douglas A. Hibbs and Nicholas Vassilatos).

Contemporary Political Economy: Studies on the Interdependence Between Politics and Economics, Amsterdam: North Holland 1981 (co-editor with Douglas A. Hibbs, Jr., and Heino Fassbender).

REFEREE

American Economic Review, *Econometrica*, *Journal of Econometrics*, *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Journal of Politics*, *Western Political Quarterly*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *National Science Foundation*, *Cambridge University Press*, *University of Chicago Press*, *University of Michigan Press*, *Sage Publications*.