VITA

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PERSONAL:

Date of Birth: May 16, 1946 Spouse: Mary Ritschard Fiorina

EDUCATION:

B.A., Political Science, Allegheny College, Meadville, PA, 1968M.A., Political Science, University of Rochester, Rochester, NY, 1971Ph.D., Political Science, University of Rochester, Rochester NY, 1972

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS:

California Institute of Technology:

Assistant Professor, 1972-75 Associate Professor, 1975-76 Professor, 1976-82

Harvard University:

Professor, 1982-96 (Frank Thompson Professor, 1996-98)

Stanford University:

Professor, 1998-2002 (Wendt Family Professor, 2002-) Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, 1998-

VISITING APPOINTMENTS:

Guest Scholar, Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University, St. Louis, 1979-1980. John M. Olin Visiting Research Professor, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University, 1987-1988.

SELECTED AWARDS AND HONORS:

Washington Monthly Political Book Award for Congress: Keystone of the Washington Establishment, 1977 (co-recipient) Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 1982-1983 Guggenheim Fellow, 1982-1983 Elected to American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1984 APSA Organized Section Richard F. Fenno Book Prize for The Personal Vote, 1988 (co-recipient) Allegheny College Distinguished Alumni Award, 1992 Elected to National Academy of Sciences, 1998 University of Rochester Distinguished Alumni Award, 1999 APSA Organized Section Philip E. Converse Book Award for Retrospective Voting, 2002 Miller-Converse Lecturer, University of Michigan, 2005 Julian Rothbaum Distinguished Lecturer, University of Oklahoma, 2005 Harry Eckstein Lecturer, University of California, Irvine 2006 APSA Organized Section Warren E. Miller Career Achievement Award, 2006 Phi Beta Kappa Visiting Scholar, 2007-08 Elected as Harold Lasswell Fellow, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 2008 Honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters, Allegheny College, Meadville, PA, 2013. APSA Organized Section Samuel J. Eldersfeld Career Achievement Award, 2018

RESEARCH AND TEACHING INTERESTS:

Public Opinion and Elections Representation and Political Parties—Theory and Practice

EDITORIAL BOARDS:

American Journal of Political Science, 1975-1985 Journal of Politics, 1978-1984, 1993-1999 Congress and the Presidency, 1984-Journal of Law, Economics and Organization, 1985-2014 Studies in American Political Development, 1986-1989 Regulation Magazine, 1986-1989 British Journal of Political Science, 1986-Economics and Politics, 1988-1998 Public Choice, 1991-2000 Legislative Studies Quarterly, 1995-1997 Press/Politics, 1996-2003 American Politics Research, 1997-2005

MAJOR PROFESSIONAL SERVICE:

Member, 1978 NES/CPS Standing Committee on Congressional Elections Research

Member, Political Science Panel, Division of Social and Economic Sciences, National Science Foundation, 1982-1984

Council, American Political Science Association, 1983-1985

Board of Overseers, National Election Studies, Member: 1984-1992; Chair: 1986-1990; member: 2006-2016

Selection Committee, Frank Seidman Distinguished Award in Political Economy: 1995-1998

Chair, Selection Committee, APSA 2000 Woodrow Wilson Award

Chair, Selection Committee, APSA Organized Section on Public Opinion, Elections, and Representation Philip E. Converse Book Award, 2003

Board of Trustees, APSA Trust and Development Fund, 2003-2005

Vice-President, American Political Science Association, 2011-2012

Member, National Academy of Sciences Panel on Measuring Civic Engagement and Social cohesion to Inform Policy, 2012-13.

Member, National Academy of Sciences Standing Committee on the Future of Major NSF-Funded Social Science Surveys, 2015-2017.

RESEARCH GRANTS:

NSF Soc 74-08685	Experimental Studies of Collective Decision-Making (with Charles Plott)
NSF Soc 76-02083	Retrospective Voting in American National Elections
NSF Soc 78-15413	A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis of Voting in Legislative Elections
	in Two Nations (with Bruce Cain and John Ferejohn)
NSF SES 80-10662	A Comparative Study of Legislator-Constituency Relations
	(with Bruce Cain and John Ferejohn)
NSF SES 82-04040	Studies in the Politics of Regulatory Origin
NSF SES 85-10293	Studies in the Legislative Politics of Regulatory Origin
NSF SES 91-12648	Divided Government in the American States

PUBLICATIONS (BOOKS):

Representatives, Roll Calls, and Constituencies (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1974).

Congress--Keystone of the Washington Establishment (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977). Co-recipient of the 1977 *Washington Monthly* Political Book Award. Expanded second edition, 1989.

Retrospective Voting in American National Elections (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981). Recipient of the 2002 Philip E. Converse Book Award).

The Personal Vote: Constituency Service and Electoral Independence (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987) (with Bruce Cain and John Ferejohn). Recipient of the 1988 Richard F. Fenno Prize.

Home Style and Washington Work (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1989) (edited with David Rohde).

Divided Government (New York: Macmillan, 1992). (2nd ed. Allyn & Bacon, 1996). Longman Classics edition, 2003).

The New American Democracy (New York: Longman, 7th ed. 2011 (with Paul Peterson, Bertram Johnson and William G. Mayer).

Civic Engagement in American Democracy (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1999) (edited with Theda Skocpol).

Continuity and Change in House Elections (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000) (edited with David Brady and John Cogan).

Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America (New York: Longman, 2005, 2nd edition 2006, 3rd edition 2010) (with Samuel Abrams and Jeremy Pope).

Disconnect: The Breakdown of Representation in American Politics (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 2009) (with Samuel Abrams).

Can We Talk? The Rise of Rude, Nasty, Stubborn Politics (New York: Pearson, 2013) (edited with Daniel M. Shea).

Unstable Majorities: Polarization, Party Sorting, and Political Stalemate (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2017).

Who Governs? Emergency Powers in the Time of Covid: Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2023., (edited).

PUBLICATIONS (PROFESSIONAL JOURNAL ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS):

"A Note on Probability Matching and Rational Choice," <u>Behavioral Science</u> 16 (1971): 158-166.

"Electoral Margins, Constituency Influence and Policy Moderation: A Critical Assessment," <u>American</u> <u>Politics Quarterly</u> 1 (1973): 479-498.

"The Paradox of Not Voting: A Decision Theoretic Analysis," <u>American Political Science Review</u> 68 (1974): 525-536 (with John Ferejohn).

"Historical Change in House Turnover," in <u>Change in Congress</u>, Norman Ornstein, ed. (New York: Praeger, 1975) (with David Rohde and Peter Wissel).

"Formal Models in Political Science," <u>American Journal of Political Science</u> 19 (1975): 133-159. Reprinted in <u>Lecturas de Teoria Politica Positiva</u>, Josep M. Colomer, ed. (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1991): 37-78.

"Constituency Influence: A Generalized Model and Its Implications for Statistical Studies of Roll Call Behavior," <u>Political Methodology</u> 2 (1975): 249-266.

"Purposive Models of Legislative Behavior," <u>American Economic Review Proceedings and Papers</u> 65 (1975): 407-414 (with John Ferejohn).

"Closeness Counts Only in Horseshoes and Dancing," <u>American Political Science Review</u> 69 (1975): 920-925 (with John Ferejohn).

"Partisan Loyalty and the Six Component Model," <u>Political Methodology</u> 3 (1976): 7-18.

"The Voting Decision: Instrumental and Expressive Aspects," Journal of Politics 38 (1976): 390-413.

"The Case of the Vanishing Marginals: The Bureaucracy Did It," <u>American Political Science Review</u> 71 (1977): 177-18 1.

"An Outline for a Model of Party Choice," <u>American Journal of Political Science</u> 21 (1977): 601-625. Reprinted in <u>Lecturas de Teoria Politica Positiva:</u> 339-376.

"Committee Decisions Under Majority Rule: An Experimental Study," <u>American Political Science Review</u> 72 (1978): 575-598 (with Charles Plott).

"Voters, Bureaucrats, and Legislators: A Rational Choice Perspective on the Growth of Bureaucracy," Journal of Public Economics 9 (1978): 239-254 (with Roger Noll).

"Economic Retrospective Voting in American National Elections: A Micro-Analysis," <u>American Journal of</u> <u>Political Science</u> 22 (1978): 426-443.

"Toward a Theory of Legislative Decision," in <u>Game Theory and Political Science</u>, Peter C. Ordeshook, ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1978): 165-190 (with John Ferejohn, and Herbert Weisberg).

"Voters, Legislators and Bureaucracy: Institutional Design in the Public Sector," <u>American Economic</u> <u>Review Proceedings and Papers</u> (1978): (with Roger Noll).

"Control of the Bureaucracy: A Mismatch of Incentives and Capabilities," in <u>The Presidency and the</u> <u>Congress: A Shifting Balance of Powers?</u> William Livingston, Lawrence Dodd and Richard Schott, eds. (Austin, Texas: Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, 1979): 124-142. Reprinted in <u>Congress Reconsidered</u>, Lawrence Dodd and Bruce Oppenheimer, eds., (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 2nd ed., 1981): 332-348.

"Candidate Preference Under Uncertainty," in *The Electorate Reconsidered*, John Pierce and John Sullivan, eds. (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1979): 237-256 (with Herbert Weisberg).

"Majority Rule Models and Legislative Elections," <u>Journal of Politics</u> 41 (1979): 1081-1104 (with Roger Noll).

"The House is Not a Home: British MPs and Their Constituencies," <u>Legislative Studies Quarterly</u> IV (1979): 501-524 (with Bruce Cain and John Ferejohn).

"A Nonequilibrium Approach to Legislative Decision Theory," <u>Behavioral Science</u> 25 (1980): 140-148 (with John Ferejohn and Edward Packel).

"The Decline of Collective Responsibility in American Politics," <u>Daedalus</u>, Summer 1980, 25-45.

"Short and Long Term Effects of Economic Conditions on Individual Voting Decisions," in <u>Contemporary</u> <u>Political Economy</u>, Douglas Hibbs and Heino Fassbender, eds. (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1981): 73-100.

"Universalism, Reciprocity, and Distributive Policy Making in Majority Rule Institutions," in <u>Research in</u> <u>Public Policy Analysis and Management</u>, vol. 1, John P. Crecine, ed., (JAI Press, 1981): 197-221.

"Some Problems in Studying the Effects of Resource Allocation in Congressional Elections," <u>American</u> Journal of Political Science 25 (1981): 543-567.

"Equilibrium, Disequilibrium and the General Possibility of a Science of Politics," in <u>Political Equilibrium</u>, Peter Ordeshook and Kenneth Shepsle eds., (Boston: Martinus-Nijhoff, 1982): 49-64 (with Kenneth Shepsle).

"Congressmen and Their Constituencies: 1958 and 1978," in <u>Proceedings of the Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.</u> <u>Symposium on the U.S. Congress</u>, Dennis Hale, ed., (Boston: Eusey Press, 1982): 33-64.

"Legislative Choice of Regulatory Forms: Legal Process or Administrative Process?" <u>Public Choice</u> 39 (1982): 33-61. [Winner of 1982 Duncan Black Prize of the Public Choice Society (best article)].

"Who is Held Responsible? Further Evidence on the Hibbing-Alford Thesis," <u>American Journal of Political</u> <u>Science</u> 27 (1983): 158-164. "The Constituency Component: A Comparison of Service in Great Britain and the United States," <u>Comparative Political Studies</u> 16 (1983): 67-91 (with Bruce Cain and John Ferejohn).

"The Presidency and the Contemporary Electoral System," in <u>The Presidency</u>, and the Political System Michael Nelson, ed. (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1983): 204-226. Revised versions in second edition, 1988: 411-434; and third edition, 1990: 443-469.

"The Constituency Service Basis of the Personal Vote for U.S. Representatives and British MPs," <u>American</u> <u>Political Science Review</u> 78 (1984): 110-125 (with Bruce Cain and John Ferejohn).

"Group Concentration and the Delegation of Legislative Authority," in <u>Regulatory Policy and the Social</u> <u>Sciences</u>, Roger Noll, ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985): 175-197.

"Constituency Service in the United States and Great Britain," in <u>Congress Reconsidered</u>, Lawrence Dodd and Bruce Oppenheimer, eds. (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 3rd ed., 1985): 109-130 (with Bruce Cain and John Ferejohn).

"Incumbency and Realignment in Congressional Elections," in <u>The New Direction in American Politics</u> John Chubb and Paul Peterson, eds., (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1985): 91-115 (with John Ferejohn).

"Legislator Uncertainty, Legislative Control, and the Delegation of Legislative Power," <u>Journal of Law,</u> <u>Economics and Organization</u> 2 (1986): 33-51.

"Sophisticated Voting and Agenda Independence in the Distributive Politics Setting," <u>American Journal of</u> <u>Political Science</u> 31 (1987): 169-193 (with John Ferejohn and Richard McKelvey).

"A Survey of the State of Party Government in the United States," in <u>Party Governments: European and</u> <u>American Experiences</u>, Richard Katz, ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987): 270-300.

"The Reagan Years: Turning to the Right or Groping for the Middle?" in <u>The Resurgence of Conservatism</u> <u>in Britain, Canada and the United States.</u> Barry Cooper and Allan Kornberg, eds., (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988): 430-460.

"Formal Theories of Leadership: Agents, Agenda-Setters, and Entrepreneurs," in <u>Leadership and Politics</u>, Bryan D. Jones, ed., (University of Kansas Press, 1989): 17-40 (with Kenneth Shepsle).

"Is Negative Voting an Artifact?" <u>American Journal of Political Science</u> 33 (1989): 423-439 (with Kenneth Shepsle).

"Constituency Service, Reputation, and the Incumbency Advantage," in <u>Home Style and Washington</u> <u>Work</u>, Morris Fiorina and David Rohde, eds., (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1989: 17-45) (with Douglas Rivers).

"A Positive Theory of Negative Voting," in <u>Information and Democratic Processes</u>, John Ferejohn and James Kuklinski, eds., (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990): 219-239 (with Kenneth Shepsle).

"Information and Rationality in Elections," in <u>Information and Democratic Processes</u>, John Ferejohn and James Kuklinski, eds., (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990): 329-342.

"The Ruptured Legacy: Presidential-Congressional Relations in Historical Perspective," in <u>Looking Back on</u> <u>the Reagan Presidency</u>, Larry Berman, ed., (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990: 268-287) (with David Brady).

"The Electorate in the Voting Booth," in <u>The Parties Respond</u>, L. Sandy Maisel, ed., (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990): 116-133. Revised for 2nd ed. 1993: 123-142.

"Elections and Economics in the 1980's, in <u>Politics and Economics in the Eighties</u>, Alberto Alesina and Geoffrey Carliner, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991): 17-38.

"Coalition Governments, Divided Governments, and Electoral Theory," Governance 4 (1991): 236-249.

"Divided Government in the States," in *The Politics of Divided Government*, Gary W. Cox and Samuel Kernell, eds., (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991): 179-202.

"The Marginals Never Vanished?" <u>British Journal of Political Science</u> 22(1992): 21-38, (with Steven Ansolabehere and David Brady).

"An Era of Divided Government," in <u>Developments in American Politics</u>, Bruce Cain and Gillian Peele, eds., (London: Macmillan, 1992): 324-54. Reprinted in <u>Political Science Quarterly</u> (1992): 3 87-410. Reprinted in <u>Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica</u> 22 (1992): 195-232.

"Legislative Incumbency and Insulation," <u>Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System</u>, Joel H. Silbey, ed., (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994): 513-527 (with Timothy Prinz).

"Political Change in the States: Another Example of Unintended Consequences?" in <u>The New American</u> <u>Politics</u>, Bryan Jones, ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994): 122-131.

"Divided Government in the American States: A Byproduct of Legislative Professionalism?" <u>American</u> <u>Political Science Review</u> 88 (1994): 304-316.

"The Causes and Consequences of Divided Government: Lessons of 1992-94," in <u>Divided Government:</u> <u>Change, Uncertainty, and the Constitutional Order</u>, Peter Galderisi, ed., with Roberta Q. Herzberg and Peter McNamara (Landham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996).

"Voting Behavior," in <u>Perspectives on Public Choice</u>, Dennis Mueller, ed. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 391-414.

"Professionalism, Realignment, and Representation," <u>American Political Science Review</u> 91 (1997): 156-162.

"Further Evidence of the Partisan Consequences of Legislative Professionalism," <u>American Journal of</u> <u>Political Science</u> 43 (1999): 974-977.

"A Dark Side of Civic Engagement," in *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*, Theda Skocpol and Morris Fiorina, eds. (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1999): 395-425.

"Congress in the Era of the Permanent Campaign," in *The Permanent Campaign*, Norman Ornstein and Thomas Mann, eds. (Washington, DC: AEI Press, 2000): 134-161. (with David Brady)

"The Nationalization of Electoral Forces Revisited," in *Continuity and Change in House Elections*, David Brady, John Cogan, and Morris Fiorina, eds. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000): 130-148. (with David Brady and Robert D'Onofrio).

"Keystone' Reconsidered," in *Congress Reconsidered*, Lawrence Dodd and Bruce Oppenheimer, eds. (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 7th ed., 2001): 141-162; updated in 8th ed., 2005: 159-79.

"Parties, Participation, and Representation in the United States: Old Theories Face New Realities," in *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner, eds. (New York: Norton: 2002): 511-541.

"Parties and Partisanship: A Forty Year Retrospective," *Political Behavior* 24(2002): 93-115.

"The 2000 U.S. Presidential Election: Can Retrospective Voting Be Saved?" *British Journal of Political Science*, 33(2003): 163-187 (with Samuel Abrams and Jeremy Pope).

"Disconnected: The Political Class versus the People," in *Red and Blue Nation*, Pietro S. Nivola and David W. Brady, eds. (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press and the Hoover Institution, 2006): 49-71 (with Matthew Levendusky).

"Rejoinder to Abramowitz and Jacobson," in *Red And Blue Nation*, Pietro S. Nivola and David W. Brady, eds. (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press and the Hoover Institution, 2006): 95-111 (with Matthew Levendusky).

"Parties as Problem Solvers," in *Promoting the General Welfare*, Alan S. Gerber and Eric M. Patashnik, eds. (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2006): 237-255.

"A Divider, Not a Uniter—Did It Have to Be?" in *The George W. Bush Legacy*, Colin Campbell, Bert A. Rockman and Andrew Rudalevige, eds. (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2007): 92-111.

"Political Polarization in the American Public," in *Annual Review of Political Science*, v. 11, Margaret Levi, Simon Jackman and Nancy Rosenblum, eds. (Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews, 2008): 563-588 (with Samuel Abrams).

"Polarization in the American Public: Misconceptions and Misreadings," *Journal of Politics* 70(2008):556-560 (with Samuel Abrams and Jeremy Pope).

"Is California Really a Blue State?" in *The New Political Geography of California*, ed. Frederick Douzet, Thad Kousser and Kenneth P. Miller, eds. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008): 291-308.

"Culture War? The Road to and From 2008." In Thomas R. Dye and George C. Edwards III, eds. *Obama: Year One* (New York: Longman, 2010: 1-26.

"Where's the Polarization?" in *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, Richard G. Niemi, Herbert F. Weisberg, and David C. Kimball, eds. Washington, DC: CQ Press. 5th ed., 2011): 309-318 (with Samuel Abrams).

"Party Homogeneity and Contentious Politics," in *Can We Talk? The Rise of Rude, Nasty, Stubborn Politics,* Daniel M. Shea and Morris P. Fiorina eds. (New York: Pearson, 2013): 142-153.

"Party Sorting: The Foundation of Polarized Politics," in *American Gridlock: Causes, Characteristics, and Consequences of Polarization.* James Thurber, ed. (New York: Cambridge, 2015: 113-129).

"Identities for Realists." Critical Review. 30 (2018): 49-56.

"The Future of the Republican Party: 2022, 2024, and Beyond." 2022. (with David Brady and R. Douglas Rivers). in *The Elephant in the Room: The Future of the Republican Party*. Andrew Busch and William Mayer, eds. Roman & Littlefield. 29-51.

"An Era of Unstable Majorities Continues." 2022. in *The State of the Parties*, 9th John C. Green, David B. Cohen, and Kenneth M. Miller, eds. (Lanham, Maryland, Roman & Littlefield: 17-31).

PUBLICATIONS (BRIEF NOTES, COMMENTS, GENERAL INTEREST):

"Big Government: A Congressman's Best Friend," <u>Washington Monthly</u> (March, 1977): reprinted in numerous collections of readings for undergraduates.

"The Incumbency Factor," Public Opinion (September/October, 1978): 42-44.

"Comments," in Clifford S. Russell, ed., <u>Collective Decision Making</u> (Washington, DC: Resources for the Future, 1979): 46-51.

"Flagellating the Federal Bureaucracy," <u>Society</u> 20 (March/April, 1983): 66-73. Reprinted in <u>The Political</u> <u>Economy</u>. Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers, eds. (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1984): 224-234.

"Reply to Comment on Cain, Ferejohn, and Fiorina," *American Political Science Review* 79(1985): 1175-76. (with Bruce Cain and John Ferejohn).

"Alternative Rationales for Restrictive Procedures," *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization* (Fall 1987): 337-343.

"The Macro Underpinnings of Micro Research," in <u>Extension of Remarks</u> (APSA Legislative Studies Section Newsletter, November 1988): 122-127.

"Elections and Representation," in John Hibbing, ed., <u>The Changing World of the U.S. Senate</u> (Berkeley, CA: IGS Press, 1990): 395-400.

"The Problems with PPT," Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization 6 (1990): 255-261.

"Retrospective Voting," in L. Sandy Maisel, ed. <u>Political Parties and Elections in the United States: An</u> <u>Encyclopedia</u> (New York: Garland, 1991): 959-963. "Divided Government: The Story in the States," <u>The Public Perspective</u> 3 (November/December, 1991): 21-24.

"Divided Government in the States," <u>PS: Political Science & Politics</u> 24 (December, 1991): 646-650.

"The Great Divide," <u>The Washington Monthly</u> 23 (December 1991): 53-55.

"Term Limits: Wrong Diagnosis, Wrong Treatment," Allegheny (Winter, 1992): 23-25.

"Response to Born," Legislative Studies Quarterly 19 (1994): 117-125.

"Afterword, But Undoubtedly Not the Last Word," in *Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions*, Kenneth Shepsle and Barry Weingast, eds. (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1995): 303-312.

"Rational Choice and the New (?) Institutionalism," Polity 9 (1995): 107-115.

"Rational Choice, Empirical Contributions, and the Scientific Enterprise," <u>Critical Review</u> 9 (1995): 85-94. Reprinted in *The Rational Choice Controversy*, Jeffrey Friedman, ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996): 85-94.

"Looking for Disagreement in All the Wrong Places," in *Nomos 37: Political Order*, Ian Shapiro and Russell Hardin, eds. (New York: New York University Press, 1996): 155-166.

"When Stakes Are High, Rationality Kicks In," New York Times, February 26, 2000: A15-17.

"Rational Choice in the Study of Politics," in Neil Smelser and Paul Bates, eds., *International Encyclopedia* of the Social and Behavioral Sciences (Oxford, England: Elsevier, 2002).

"Electoral Politics in the Wake of 9/11," in *American Government in a Changed World* (New York: Longman, 2003): 115-29.

"Integrating Approaches to the Study of Congress," in Edward Mansfield and Richard Sisson, eds., *The Evolution of Political Knowledge: Theory and Inquiry in American Politics* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 2004): 191-94.

"Comment: Further Reflections on the Culture War Thesis," in E.J. Dionne, Jr., and Michael Cromartie, eds., *Is There a Culture War*? (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution and Pew Research Center, 2006): 83-89.

"Beyond Red & Blue," *Stanford*, September/October 2006: 58-62.

"What Should Journalists and Politicians Know?" in Gary King, Kay Lehman Schlozman and Norman H. Nie, eds., *The Future of Political Science* (New York: Routledge, 2009: 86-87.

"Reflections on the Study of Congress," in Eric Schickler and Frances E. Lee, eds. Oxford Handbook of the American Congress (New York: Oxford, 2011): 861-74.

"The 2010 Elections: Why Did Political Science Forecasts Go Awry?" *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44(April 2011): 247-250 (with David Brady and Arjun Wilkins).

"The Big Sort that Wasn't." PS: Political Science & Politics 45(April 2012): 203-10 (with Samuel Abrams).

"You're Likable Enough, Mitt." New York Times, June 7, 2012.

"If I Could Hold a Seminar for Political Journalists ..." The Forum 10(4) 2012: 2-10.

"America's Missing Moderates," The American Interest (Spring 2013): 58-67.

"America's Polarized Politics: Causes and Solutions," *Perspectives on Politics*, 11(September 2013): 852-59.

"Americans Aren't Polarized, Just Better Sorted." <u>http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/01/21/americans-arent-polarized-just-better-sorted/</u> (with Samuel Abrams)

"Are Independents Truly "Closet Partisans'? Some Facts about Political Independents." The Centrist Project, January 23, 2014. <u>http://www.centristproject.org/fiorina_independents</u>

"Gridlock is Bad. The Alternative is Worse." <u>http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/02/25/gridlock-is-bad-the-alternative-is-worse/</u>

"Americans have not Become More Politically Polarized." <u>http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/06/23/americans-have-not-become-more-politically-polarized/</u>

"We Live in a Two-Party Duopoly; Here's How Bloomberg or Webb Might Break it." <u>https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/01/31/we-live-in-a-two-party-duopoly-heres-how-bloomberg-or-webb-might-break-it/</u>

"The Meaning of Trump's Election Has Been Exaggerated." "Polarization Is Not the Problem." *Stanford*. May 2018: 43.

https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2018/01/10/the meaning of trumps election has been ex aggerated 135968.html

Review of *Party Polarization in America*, by B. Dan Wood and Soren Jordan. 2018. *Congress & the Presidency* 45:346-348.

"Do Partisans Hate Each Other More Than Ever?" Review of *Uncivil Agreement,* by Lilliana Mason. University of Chicago Press. October 28, 2018. <u>https://reason.com/archives/2018/10/28/do-partisans-hate-each-other-m</u>

"The Democratic Distemper." 2019. In *Governance in an Emerging New World*. George Shultz and James Timbie eds. 719: 38-50.

"The Myth of a Majority-Minority Nation." 2020. Real Clear Politics.

"How to Cure the Ills of Contemporary American Democracy: A Review Essay." 2021. *Political Science Quarterly*. 136: 741-50.

Review of South of Somewhere: Wine, Food, and the Soul of Italy, by Robert Camuto. 2023. Journal of Wine Economics.

"Run Joe, or Kyrsten, or Larry, Run! 2023. *Real Clear Politics."* June 26, 2023. Jhttps://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2023/06/26/run_joe_or_kyrsten_or_larry_run_149401.html

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