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Education:

1974 Ph.D. University of Rochester (Political Science) Dissertation Advisor Richard McKelvey
1972 M.A. University of Rochester (Political Science)
1969 B.A. University of Chicago (Political Science with Special Honors)

Appointments:

University of Rochester:

Professor Emeritus 2021-, Professor, 1996-2021, Associate Professor, 1983-1996 Visiting Assistant Professor, 1978-1979

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Associate Professor, 1982-1983 Graduate School of Public Affairs, SUNY Albany:

Associate Professor, 1981-1982, Asst Professor, 1974-1978, 1979-1981 Lecturer, 1972-1974

Awards and Honors:

2022 Barbara Sinclair Legacy Award, American Political Science Assn, Legislative Studies Section, honors a lifetime of significant scholarship.

2022 Patrick J. Fett Award, Midwest Political Science Association, Best paper on the scientific study of Congress and the presidency.

2021 Career Achievement Award, American Political Science Assn., State Politics and Policy Section

2019 Testified as expert witness before the US Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on the Constitution in regard to the effects of term limits.

2014 Virginia Gray Prize. Inaugural winner of the award for the best book published in the last three years from the State Politics Section of the American Political Science Assn.

2013 Richard F. Fenno Prize winner. Best book award of the Legislative Studies Section of American Political Science Assn.

Editorial Boards:

American Political Science Review, 2016-2020. American Journal of Political Science, 1991-93 Legislative Studies Quarterly, 2006-2008 Journal of Politics, 1982-84 **Research Interests**: Campaign finance; Representation and legislative polarization; Legislative elections and institutions; Congress and state legislatures

Work in Progress: I am working on a book project: Representation in the American Legislatures: Congress and the State Legislatures. I have conducted two national surveys of state legislators and one of Congressional staff and interviewed members of Congress and state legislatures. I have collected data on their districts, such as, census and religion data, their fundraising, their election contests and details of their legislative service, leadership and committee roles and bill sponsorship and votes. I have presented preliminary work at conferences on the following topics: measuring the power of legislative leaders, measuring the district liberalism-conservatism of constituents, general election voters and primary voters (2022 best paper award), soft money donations, legislative bipartisanship, and a paper applying the measures of ideology of district general election and primary voters to examine the extent to which legislator ideology represents primary voters rather than general election voters. The book will include other forms of representation such as casework and pork. I hope to write a second book using the same material with a different focus: Legislative Institutions: Leaders and Committees in Congress and the State Legislatures.

Publications Books:

The Influence of Campaign Contributions in State Legislatures: The Effects of Institutions and Politics. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2012.

2013 Fenno and 2014 Gray Prize winner.

The Financiers of Congressional Elections: Investors, Ideologues, and Intimates.

Co-authors Peter Francia, John Green, Paul Herrnson and Clyde Wilcox. New York:
Columbia University Press. 2003.

Term Limits in the State Legislatures. Co-authors: John Carey and Richard Niemi. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.

Serious Money: Fundraising and Contributing in Presidential Nomination Campaigns.
Co-authors, Clifford W. Brown, Jr. and Clyde Wilcox. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Academic Articles:

"Gender Bias in Legislative Studies?" PS: Political Science & Politics, 2020: 53(2): 302-304.

"The Influence of Campaign Contributions on the Legislative Process" *Duke Journal of Constitutional Law & Public Policy*, 2015:75-102.

"The Influence of Campaign Contributions on Legislative Policy" *The Forum*, 2013, 3:339-355.

"State Legislative Elections, 1967—2003: Announcing the Completion of a Cleaned and Updated Dataset" (Co-authors Thomas M. Carsey, Richard G. Niemi, William D. Berry, and James M. Snyder, Jr.) State Politics and Policy Quarterly, Winter 2008.

"Full-Time, Part-Time, and Real Time: State Legislators' Perceptions of Time on the Job" (Co-authors Gary Moncrief, Richard Niemi, and Karl Kurtz), *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, Fall 2006.

"The Effects of Term Limits on State Legislatures," (Co-authors John Carey, Richard Niemi, and Gary Moncrief), *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, February, 2006 pp 105134.

"Limousine Liberals and Corporate Conservatives: The Financial Constituencies of the Democratic and Republican Parties" (Co-authors Peter L. Francia, John C. Green, Paul S Herrnson and Clyde Wilcox) *Social Science Quarterly*, December, 2005 pp 761-778.

"Time, Term Limits, and Turnover: Trends in Membership Turnover in U.S. State Legislatures" (Co-authors Gary Moncrief and Richard Niemi), *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2004, 3:357-381.

"Competition In Gubernatorial Nonincumbent-Party Primaries" (with Insun Kang and Richard Niemi), *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 2003, 3:353-366.

"Incumbency and the Probability of Reelection in State Legislative Elections," Co-authors John Carey and Richard Niemi. *Journal of Politics*, 2000.

"The Effects of Term Limits on State Legislatures." Co-authors John Carey and Richard Niemi. Legislative Studies Quarterly, (May, 1998), pp 271-300.

"Sex and the Political Contributor: The Gender Gap among Contributors to Presidential Candidates in 1988." Co-authors: Clifford W. Brown, Jr. and Clyde Wilcox. *Political Research Quarterly*, (June, 1993), pp. 355-370.

"Republican Voting among Democratic Presidential Contributors: A Test of Rival Hypotheses." Co-authors: Clifford W. Brown, Jr. and Clyde Wilcox. *Polity*, (Fall, 1993), pp. 127-140.

"Analyzing Misinformation: Perceptions of Congressional Candidates' Ideologies." American Journal of Political Science, (February, 1989), pp. 272-293.

"Multiple Party Identifiers and the Measurement of Party Identification." Coauthors: Richard Niemi and Steve Wright. *Journal of Politics*, (November, 1987), pp. 1093-1103.

"The Effect of Community-Congressional District Congruity on Knowledge of Congressional Candidates." Co-authors: Richard Niemi and Patty Bicknell. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, (February, 1986).

"Issue Representation in Congress." Journal of Politics, (August, 1982) pp. 658-678.

"Alienation in a Political Elite: Contributors to the 1972 Presidential Candidates." *Micropolitics*, 2 (January, 1981), pp. 145-176.

"Male and Female Differences in Elite Political Participation: An Examination of the Effects of Socioeconomic and Familial Variables." Primary author with Clifford W. Brown and Roman Hedges. Western Political Quarterly, (March, 1981), pp. 31-45.

"Modes of Elite Political Participation: Contributors to the 1972 Presidential Candidates." Co-authors: Clifford W. Brown and Roman Hedges. *American Journal of Political Science*, (May, 1980), pp. 259-290.

"Belief Structure in a Political Elite: Contributors to the 1972 Presidential Candidates." Coauthors: Clifford W. Brown and Roman Hedges. *Polity*, (Fall, 1980), pp. 134-146.

"A Bayesian Approach to a Sequential Three-Decision Problem: Voting and the Uses of Information in Electoral Choice." *Journal of Mathematical Sociology*, (1979), 177-198.

Book Chapters:

"Money in American Politics" (Co-author Clyde Wilcox) in Jan Leighley and George C. Edwards III, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*, Oxford University Press, 2010.

"Term Limits and the Composition of Legislatures" (Co-authors Gary Moncrief and Tim Storey) in Bruce Cain, Karl Kurtz and Richard Niemi, eds. *Institutional Change in American Politics: The Case of Term Limits,* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

"Constituent Attention and Interest Representation" (Co-authors Richard Niemi and Michael Smith) Chapter 3 in Bruce Cain, Karl Kurtz and Richard Niemi, eds. *Institutional Change in American Politics: The Case of Term Limits*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

"Competition in State Legislative Elections, 1992—2002" (Co-authors Richard G. Niemi, William D. Berry, Thomas M. Carsey, and James M. Snyder Jr.) in Michael P. McDonald and John Samples, eds. *Electoral Competition and American Politics*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 2006.

"Do Women and Men State Legislators Differ?" (Co-authors Mike Epstein and Richard Niemi), in Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox, eds. *Women and Elective Office: Past, Present, and Future*, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

"Campaign Contributions and Democracy," (Co-authors John C. Green, Wesley Joe, Paul S. Herrnson, Clyde Wilcox, Benjamin Webster) in Stephen J. Wayne, ed., Is This Any Way to Run a Democratic Election? (Washington, DC: *Georgetown University Press*, 2004) pp. 35-50.

"Limited Citizenship? Knowing and Contacting State Legislators After Term Limits," (Coauthor Richard Niemi) in *The Test of Time*, edited by Farmer, Rausch and Green, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003.

"With the Limits Raised, Who Will Give More? The Impact of BCRA on Individual Donors." (With Alexandra Cooper, Peter Francia, John Green, Paul Herrnson, Jason Reiffler, Mark Rozell, Clyde Wilcox and Benjamin Webster.) In Michael J. Malbin (ed.) *Life After Reform: When the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act Meets Politics*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

"Campaign Contributions and Democracy." With Peter Francia, John C. Green, Paul S. Herrnson, Wesley Joe, Clyde Wilcox, and Benjamin Webster). In Stephen J. Wayne (ed). *Is This Any Way to Run a Democratic Election?* Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. 2003.

"Competing for Cash: Individual Financiers of Congressional Elections." Co-authors: Benjamin Webster, Peter Francia, John C. Green, Paul S. Herrnson, and Clyde Wilcox. In Paul S. Herrnson (ed.) *Playing Hardball: Campaigning for the U.S. Congress.* New York: Prentice-Hall Publishers. 2001.

"Are Women State Legislators Different?" Co-authors John Carey and Richard Niemi. In Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox, eds. *Women and Elective Office: Past, Present, and Future*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

"Serious Money: Presidential Campaign Contributors and Patterns of Contribution in 1988." Co-authors: Clifford W. Brown, Jr. and Clyde Wilcox. In *The Quest for Office: National Electoral Politics*, Stephen Wayne and Clyde Wilcox, eds. New York, NY: St. Martins, 1992.

"Money and Elections." Co-author: Anne Bedlington. In *Research in Micropolitics*, Edited by Sam Long. (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press Inc, 1986).

"The Analysis of Citizen Elite Linkages: Degree, Structure and Process of Opinion Representation." With G. Bingham Powell, Jr. In Sidney Verba and Lucien W. Pye, eds., *The Citizen and Politics* (Stamford: Greylock Publications, 1978).

Other Publications:

State Legislative Policy Making in an Age of Polarization. (Report to the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, available online. Along with staff from the National Conference of Legislators, I was one of three academics who helped design and conduct the research. Feb. 2018.

"Gender Bias in Legislative Studies?" The Legislative Scholar, Fall 2018, 6-7.

"The Current State of US State Legislative Research." The Legislative Scholar, 2016, 15-17.

"Raising the Limits: Campaign Finance Reform May Hold Some Surprises," (Co-authors Herrnson, Francia, Green and Wilcox and Webster), in *Public Perspective*, May-June, 2002, 11-14.

"Trends in Term Limits: The Effects of Term Limits in State Legislatures" (with John M. Carey, and Richard Niemi) in Spectrum: *The Journal of State Government*. Lexington, KY. Fall 2001. 16-18.

"Donor Dissent: Congressional Contributors Rethink Giving," Co-authors Peter Francia, John C. Green, Paul S. Herrnson, Wesley Joe and Clyde Wilcox. *Public Perspective*, July/August 2000, pp 29-32.

"Women Big Donors Mobilized in Congressional Elections," Co-authors Robert Biersack, John C. Green, Paul Herrnson and Clyde Wilcox," a study supported by the Joyce Foundation, 1999.

"Contribution Strategies of Large Congressional Donors," Co-authors John C. Green, Paul Herrnson and Clyde Wilcox, Citizen's Research Foundation Occasional Papers Series, 1998.

"Individual Congressional Contributors: Wealthy, Conservative, and Reform Minded" Coauthors John C. Green, Paul Herrnson and Clyde Wilcox," a study supported by the Joyce Foundation, 1998.

"Serious Money: Fundraising and Contributing in Presidential Nomination Campaigns." Coauthors Clifford Brown and Clyde Wilcox. In Trends in Political financing and Campaign Reform, Occasional Paper 6. Citizens' Research Foundation, USC, February, 1997.

Grants (since 2010):

Social Science Research Council 2018-19 Edmund J. Safra Foundation Fellowship, Harvard University 2014-15. The Dirksen Congressional Center, 2014-15. William and Flora Hewlett Foundation 2014-18. The Grant was made to the National Conference of State Legislatures. One of three academics collaborating with them on the grant.

In earlier years I have received funding from NSF and from private foundations.

Discipline Service (since 2010):

State Politics and Policy Career Achievement Award Committee, Member (2020) Goodnow Award Committee Chair 2019 (APSA Award)

Sinclair Legacy Award Committee Member: 2018 (Legislative Studies Section APSA)

Virginia Gray Prize Committee Chair 2015 (State Politics and Policy Section of APSA)

Richard Fenno Prize Committee Chair: 2014 (Legislative Studies Section of APSA)

Leon Epstein Prize Committee Chair: 2013 (Political Organizations and Parties Section of APSA)

Richard Fenno Prize Committee Member: 2011 (Legislative Studies Section of APSA)

Political Consulting:

From 1986 to 2006, I served as a statistical survey consultant to Harrison & Goldberg Inc., a political survey research firm located in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Candidates: Presidential: Dukakis 1988; Tsongas 1992; Kerry 2004; The Democratic National Committee; the Massachusetts Legislature; Senators Bumpers (AK), Gore (TN), Burdick (ND), Pell (RI), Reigel (MI), and Schumer (NY); Congressmen Yates (IL), Downey (NY), Hodes (NH), Kennedy (RI), Delahunt (MA), Markey (MA), and Olver (MA); Governors Dukakis (MA), King (ME), Shaheen (NH), Blanchard (MI), and Musgrove (MS); Mayor Menino of Boston, and other candidates for federal, state-wide and local office.