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ACADEMIC POSITIONS

UB Distinguished Professor of Political Science (tenured), University at Buffalo, SUNY, 2011-present. Department Chair, 2006-2012.
Professor of Political Science (tenured), University at Buffalo, SUNY, 1998-2011.
Professor of Political Science (tenured), Louisiana State University, 1992-98.
Program Officer, Political Science Program, National Science Foundation, 1992-94.
Associate Professor of Political Science (tenured), Louisiana State University, 1988-92.
Associate Professor of Political Science (tenured), University of Georgia, 1985-88.
Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Georgia, 1980-85.

EDUCATION

Ph.D., Syracuse University, 1980. Major field: American Politics, Second field: Methodology.
M.A., Syracuse University, 1980.
A.B., Bowdoin College, 1974, summa cum laude.

RESEARCH & TEACHING INTERESTS

American Macropolitics	Campaigns and Elections	American Political Parties
Voting Behavior	Public Opinion & Polarization	Political Participation
Election Forecasting	Empirical Democratic Theory	The American Presidency
American Political Economy	Political Methodology	Electoral Systems

BOOKS (RESEARCH MONOGRAPHS)

Polarized: Making Sense of a Divided America, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016.
Selected as one of *Choice's* Outstanding Academic Titles for 2016.
Paperback edition with an Afterword, 2018. <https://press.princeton.edu/titles/10846.html>

The American Campaign: U.S. Presidential Campaigns and the National Vote, College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2000. Second edition, 2008.

Cheap Seats: The Democratic Party's Advantage in U.S. House Elections, Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1996.

The Presidential Pulse of Congressional Elections, Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1993. Second edition, 1997.

EDITED BOOK

Before the Vote: Forecasting American National Elections, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2000. Co-edited with James C. Garand.

ARTICLES

“The Trust is Gone: What Ideological Orthodoxy Costs Political Science,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.52, n.4 (October 2019), pp. 715-19.

“Explaining Electoral Change in the 2018 U.S. Midterm Elections: The Three Components of Electoral Mandates,” *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, v.16, n.4 (December 2018), pp.477-93.

“The Seats-in-Trouble Forecasts of the 2018 Midterm Congressional Elections,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.51, n.S1 (October 2018), pp.12-16.

“The Trial-Heat and Seats-in-Trouble Forecasts of the 2016 Presidential and Congressional Elections,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.49, n.4 (October 2016), pp.664-68.

Post-Election Note: “The 2016 Trial-Heat and Seats-in-Trouble Forecasts,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.50, n.2 (April 2017), p.334.

“The Republican Wave of 2014: The Continuity of the 2012 and 2014 Elections,” *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, v.12, n.4 (December 2014), pp.609-26.

“The Seats-in-Trouble Forecast of the 2014 Midterm Congressional Elections,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.47, n.4 (October 2014), pp.779-81.

Post-Election Note: “Catching the Republican Wave,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.48, n.2 (April 2015), p.297.

“Issues in Presidential Election Forecasting: Election Margins, Incumbency, and Model Credibility,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.47, n.2 (April 2014), pp.301-3.

“Has Growing Income Inequality Polarized the American Electorate? Class, Party, and Ideological Polarization,” *Social Science Quarterly*, v.94, n.4 (December 2013) pp.1062-83. With Bryan J. Dettrey.

“The Miserable Presidential Election of 2012: A First Party-Term Incumbent Survives,” *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, v.10, n.4 (February 2013) pp.20-28.

“Forecasting the Presidential and Congressional Elections of 2012: The Trial-Heat and the Seats-in-Trouble Models,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.45, n.4 (October 2012), pp.630-34.

Post-Election Note: “Closeness Counts in Horse Shoes, Dancing, and Forecasting,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.46, n.1 (January 2013), pp.40-1.

“The President’s Economy: Parity in Presidential Party Performance,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, v.42, n.4 (December 2012), pp.811-18.

“The Economic Records of the Presidents: Party Differences and Inherited Economic Conditions,” *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, v.9, n.1, article 7 (April 2011), pp.1-29.

“The Midterm Landslide of 2010: A Triple Wave Election,” *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, v.8, n. 4, article 3 (December 2010), pp.1-19.

“The Seats in Trouble Forecast of the 2010 Elections to the U.S. House,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.43, n.4 (October 2010), pp.627-30.

Post-Election Note: “The Predicted Midterm Landslide,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.44, n.1 (January 2011), p.1.

“The Theory of Conditional Retrospective Voting: Does the Presidential Record Matter Less in Open Seat Elections?” *The Journal of Politics*, v.72, n.4 (October 2010), pp.1083-95. With Bryan J. Dettrey and Hongxing Yin.

“Explaining Politics, Not Polls: Examining Macropartisanship with Recalibrated NES Data,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, v.74, n.4 (October 2010), pp.616-42.

“The Exceptional Election of 2008: Performance, Values, and Crisis,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, v.40, n.2 (June 2010), pp.225-46. Special Issue: *The 2008 Presidential Election*.

“Context and Strategy in Presidential Campaigns: Incumbency and the Political Climate,” *Journal of Political Marketing*, v.8, n.4 (October-December 2009), pp.292-314. With Bryan J. Dettrey.

“An Exceptional Election: Performance, Values, and Crisis in the 2008 Presidential Election,” *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, v.6, n.4, article 7 (December 2008), pp.1-20.

“The Trial-Heat Forecast of the 2008 Presidential Vote: Performance and Values Considerations in an Open Seat Election,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.41, n.4 (October 2008), pp.697-701.

Post-Election Note: “The 2008 Campaign and the Forecasts Derailed,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.42, n.1 (January 2009), pp.19-20.

“Evaluating U.S. Presidential Election Forecasts and Forecasting Equations,” *International Journal of Forecasting*, v.24, n.2 (April-June 2008), pp.259-71.

“Forecasting the 2006 National Elections to the U.S. House of Representatives,” *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, v.4, n.1, article 2 (September 2006), pp.1-12.

“Party Systems and Realignment in the United States, 1868-2004,” *Social Science History*, v.30, issue 3 (Fall 2006), pp.359-86.

“Forecasting the Presidential Vote in the States, 1948-2004: An Update, Revision, and Extension of a State-Level Presidential Forecasting Model,” *Journal of Political Marketing*, v.5, n.1&2 (April 2006), pp.33-57. With Syed Ali and Farida Jalalzai.

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“Why Bush Won the Presidential Election of 2004: Incumbency, Ideology, Terrorism, and Turnout,” *Political Science Quarterly*, v.120, n.2, (Summer 2005), pp.219-41.

Reprinted in *The Meaning of American Democracy*, edited by Robert Y. Shapiro, (New York: The Academy of Political Science, 2005), pp.205-27.

“The Fundamentals in U.S. Presidential Elections: Public Opinion, the Economy, and Incumbency in the 2004 Presidential Election,” *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, v.15, n.1. (2005), pp.73-83.

“The Presidential Election of 2004: The Fundamentals and the Campaign,” *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, v.2, n.4, article 1 (December 2004), pp.1-16.

“Forecasting the Presidential Vote in 2004: Placing Preference Polls in Context,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.37, n.4 (October 2004), pp.763-67.

Post-Election Note: “Evaluating the Trial-Heat and Economy Forecast of the 2004 Presidential Vote: All’s Well that Ends Well,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.38, n.1 (January 2005), pp.33-34.

“The 2002 Midterm Election: A Typical or an Atypical Midterm?” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.36, n.2 (April 2003), pp.203-7.

Reprinted in part in *The Challenge of Democracy: Government in America, 8th edition*. Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey Berry, and Jerry Goldman, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2005.

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“The Presidential Pulse and the 1994 Midterm Congressional Election,” *The Journal of Politics*, v.59, n.3 (August 1997) pp.830-57.

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“Polls and Votes: The Trial-Heat Presidential Election Forecasting Model, Certainty, and Political Campaigns,” *American Politics Quarterly*, v.24, n.4 (October 1996) pp.408-33.

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“Presidential Coattails in Senate Elections,” *American Political Science Review*, v.84, n.2 (June 1990) pp.513-24. With Joe A. Summers.

“The Revised Theory of Surge and Decline,” *American Journal of Political Science*, v.31, n.4 (November 1987) pp.965-79.

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“Voter Mobilization and the New Deal Realignment: A Rejoinder to Erikson and Tedin,” *Western Political Quarterly*, v.39, n.4 (December 1986) pp.733-35.

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“Forecasting the 1986 Midterm Elections to the House of Representatives,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.19, n.1 (Winter 1986), pp.83-87.

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“Predicting Seat Gains from Presidential Coattails,” *American Journal of Political Science*, v.30, n.1 (February 1986), pp.165-83.

“Explaining Presidential Losses in Midterm Congressional Elections,” *The Journal of Politics*, v.47, n.1 (November 1985), pp.1140-57.

“Sources of the New Deal Realignment: The Contributions of Conversion and Mobilization to Partisan Change,” *Western Political Quarterly*, v.38, n.3 (September 1985), pp.357-76.

“Television Markets and Congressional Elections,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, v.9, n.4 (November 1984), pp.665-78. With John R. Alford and Keith Henry.

“Intra-Party Democracy and Inter-Party Competition,” *Southeastern Political Review*, v.12, n.1 (Spring 1984), pp.33-55.

“The Electoral Consequences of Issue Ambiguity: An Examination of the Presidential Candidates' Issue Positions from 1968 to 1980,” *Political Behavior*, v.5, n.3 (1983), pp.277-91.

“The Return of the Incumbents: The Nature of the Incumbency Advantage,” *Western Political Quarterly*, v.36, n.3 (September 1983), pp.434-44.

“Candidate Image Evaluations: Influence and Rationalization in Presidential Primaries,” *American Politics Quarterly*, v.11, n.3 (July 1983), pp.292-313.

“Ambiguity in the Issue Positions of Presidential Candidates: A Causal Analysis,” *American Journal of Political Science*, v.27, n.2 (May 1983), pp.284-93.

“Cosponsoring Legislation in the U.S. Congress,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, v.7, n.3 (August 1982), pp.415-22.

“Electoral Competition and the Congressional Connection: The Marginality Hypothesis Reconsidered,” *Political Methodology*, v.7, n.2 (1981), pp.55-70.

“Style Issues and Vote Choice,” *Political Behavior*, v.1, n.3 (Fall 1979) pp.203-15. With Kenneth J. Meier.

“Issue Voting: An Empirical Examination of Individually Necessary and Jointly Sufficient Conditions,” *American Politics Quarterly*, v.7, n.1 (January 1979), pp.21-50. With Kenneth J. Meier.

SYMPOSIUM INTRODUCTIONS

- “Introduction: The 2018 Midterm Election Forecasts,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.51, n.S1 (October 2018), pp.1-3.
- “Introduction: A Re-cap of the 2016 Election Forecasts,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.50, n.2 (April 2017), pp.331-32.
- “Introduction: Forecasting the 2016 American National Elections,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.49, n.4 (October 2016), pp.649-53.
- “Evaluations of the 2014 Midterm Election Forecasts,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.48, n.2 (April 2015), p.295-6.
- “Introduction: The 2014 Midterm Election Forecasts,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.45, n.4 (October 2014), pp.769-71.
- “Forecasting the 2012 American National Elections: Editor’s Introduction,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.45, n.4 (October 2012), pp.610-12.
- “Introduction: Forecasts of the 2010 Midterm Elections,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.43, n.4 (October 2010), pp.625-26.
- “Editor’s Introduction: Forecasting the 2008 National Elections,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.41, n.4 (October 2008), pp.679-81.
- “U.S. Presidential Election Forecasting: An Introduction,” *International Journal of Forecasting*, v.24, n.2 (April-June 2008), pp.189-92. With Michael S. Lewis-Beck.
- “Introduction: Assessments of the 2004 Presidential Vote Forecasts,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.38, n.1 (January 2005), p.23.
- “Introduction: The 2004 Presidential Election Forecasts,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.37, n.4 (October 2004), pp.733-35.
- “Taking Stock of the Forecasts of the 2000 Presidential Election,” *American Politics Research*, v.29, n.3, (May 2001) pp.275-78.
- “A Special Issue on Forecasting the 1996 Elections,” *American Politics Quarterly*, v.24, n.4 (October 1996) pp.403-7. With James C. Garand.

BOOK CHAPTERS

- “A First Party-Term Incumbent Survives: The Fundamentals of 2012,” In *Barack Obama and the New America: The 2012 Election and the Changing Face of Politics*, edited by Larry J. Sabato (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2013) chapter 3, pp.59-73.
- “Political Forces on the Obama Presidency: From Elections to Governing,” In *The Obama Presidency: Appraisals and Prospects*, edited by Bert A. Rockman, Andrew Rudalevige, and Colin Campbell (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2012) chapter 4, pp.67-93.
- “Do Swing Voters Swing Elections?” *The Swing Voter in American Politics*, edited by William G. Mayer (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2008) chapter 7, pp.118-32.
- “Presidential Politics in a Polarized Nation: The Re-election of George W. Bush,” In *The George W. Bush Legacy*, edited by Colin Campbell, Bert A. Rockman, and Andrew Rudalevige (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2008), chapter 2, pp.21-44.
- “Polarization Runs Deep, Even by Yesterday’s Standards,” In *Red and Blue Nation? Characteristics and Causes of America’s Polarized Politics*, edited by Pietro S. Nivola and David W. Brady, (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 2007), pp.106-16.
- “Nomination Politics, Party Unity, and Presidential Elections,” In *Understanding the Presidency: 2004 Election Season Update, Third Edition*, edited by James P. Pfiffner and Roger H. Davidson, (New York: Pearson Longman, 2005), chapter 13, pp.71-84.
Revised and updated for the fourth edition (2007), chapter 12, pp.74-90. Reprinted in the fifth edition (2008), chapter 11, pp.67-82. Reprinted in the sixth edition (2011), chapter 11, pp.67-82. Reprinted in the seventh edition (2013), chapter 11, pp.66-82.

“The 2000 Presidential Election of George W. Bush: The Difficult Birth of a Presidency,” In *Transformed by Crisis: The Presidency of George W. Bush and American Politics*, edited by Jon Kraus, Kevin J. McMahon, and David M. Rankin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), chapter 2, pp.9-28.

“The Decline of Competition and Change in Congressional Elections,” In *Congress Responds to the Twentieth Century*, edited by Sunil Ahuja and Robert Dewhirst, (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2003), pp.43-72. With Steve J. Jurek.

“The Stagnation of Congressional Elections,” In *Life After Reform: When the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act Meets Politics*, A Campaign Finance Institute Book, edited by Michael J. Malbin, (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), chapter 8, pp.141-58.

An abridged version was reprinted in *American Politics: Classic and Contemporary Readings, 6th edition*, edited by Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2005.

“The Electoral College and Campaign Strategy,” In *Choosing a President: The Electoral College and Beyond*, edited by Paul D. Schumaker and Burdett A. Loomis, (New York, NY: Chatham House Publishers, 2002), chapter 7, pp.102-12. With William G. Mayer, Emmett H. Buell, Jr., and Mark Joslyn.

“The Curious and Close Presidential Campaign of 2000,” In *America's Choice 2000*, edited by William Crotty, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2001), chapter 5, pp.115-37.

“Presidential Election Campaigns and Partisanship,” In *American Political Parties: Decline or Resurgence?*, edited by Jeffrey E. Cohen, Richard Fleisher, and Paul Kantor, (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2001), chapter 1, pp.11-29.

“The Science of Forecasting Presidential Elections,” In *Before the Vote: Forecasting American National Elections*, co-edited with James C. Garand, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2000), chapter 10, pp.169-87.

“Forecasting U.S. National Elections,” In *Before the Vote: Forecasting American National Elections*, co-edited with James C. Garand, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2000), pp.3-14. With James C. Garand.

“Surge and Decline: The National Evidence,” In *Controversies in Voting Behavior, 3rd edition*, edited by Richard Niemi and Herbert Weisberg, (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1992), chapter 14, pp.222-40. Adapted from chapter 6 of *The Presidential Pulse of Congressional Elections*.

“The Presidential Pulse of Congressional Elections, 1868–1988,” In *The Atomistic Congress: An Interpretation of Congressional Change*, edited by Allen D. Hertzke and Ronald M. Peters, Jr., (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1992), chapter 1, pp.49-72.

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OTHER PROFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS

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- “This is the closing pitch GOP candidates should be making in the midterm elections,” *MarketWatch* website (11/2/18). <https://www.marketwatch.com/story/this-is-the-closing-pitch-gop-candidates-should-be-making-in-the-midterm-elections-2018-11-02>
- “The Seats-in-Trouble Forecasts of the 2018 Midterm Congressional Elections,” *Sabato’s Crystal Ball* website (9/13/18). <http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/>
- “Introduction: The 2018 Midterm Election Forecasts,” *Sabato’s Crystal Ball* website (9/13/18). <http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/>
- “A New Analysis in *Polarized* Dispels Election Controversy,” *Princeton University Press Blog*, (9/27/17). <http://blog.press.princeton.edu/2017/09/27/a-new-analysis-in-polarized-dispels-election-controversy/>
- “Democrats Risk Overreaching in their Attacks on Trump, Confederate Memorials,” *MarketWatch* website (8/22/17). <http://www.marketwatch.com/story/democrats-risk-overreaching-in-their-attacks-on-trump-confederate-memorials-2017-08-22>.
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- “How Accurate Were the Political Science Forecasts of the 2016 Presidential Election?” *Sabato’s Crystal Ball* website (11/17/16).
- “So, Where Does This Race Stand? Underlying Dynamics Suggest the Climate Is Tough For a Status Quo Candidate,” *New York Daily News*, November 3, 2016. <http://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/james-campbell-race-stand-article-1.2857045>
- “Seeing the Forest for the Trees: Presidential Election Forecasts and the Fundamentals,” *Sabato’s Crystal Ball* website (9/22/16). Also reprinted in Pi Sigma Alpha Newsletter (9/23/16).
- “The Trial-Heat Presidential Election Forecasting Models: The Labor Day Trial-Heat and Economy Model,” *Sabato’s Crystal Ball* website (9/15/16).
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- “Can President Obama Survive His Economic Record?” *Sabato’s Crystal Ball* website (8/9/12).
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- “The 2008 Election in Perspective: The Unexpected Wall Street Meltdown Election,” *Sabato’s Crystal Ball* website (1/29/09).
- “Getting More Out of the Polls,” *Sabato’s Crystal Ball* website (8/14/08).
- “Anybody’s Ball Game,” *Sabato’s Crystal Ball* website (7/24/08).
- “Campaign Finance Reform: Taxing and Redistributing Campaign Contributions” (6/10/10), “The Presidential Candidates’ Issues Quiz” (7/8/08), “The Super Delegate Dilemma: The Electoral Vote Perspective” 5/16/08, “Is 2008 a ‘Done Deal’ for the Democrats? Not Necessarily” (4/29/08), “The ‘Let’s Give Obama a New Middle Name’ Contest” (3/3/08), “McCain’s Imprudent Apology: A Big Mistake” (2/28/08), “John McCain Is a Conservative—Deal With It!” (2/8/08), “Why So Hard on McCain, So Easy on Romney?” (2/4/08), “The Arrest of Sidney Blumenthal, Advisor to Hillary: Yet Another Twist in an Odd Election Year” (1/17/08), “Who is the Most Electable Democrat? The Case for Hillary” (1/2/08),

- “Electability: Why Fred Thompson’s the Man for Republicans” (12/31/07), “Blah and Blaher (To the Political Parties: ‘Snap Out of It!’)” (12/18/07) in the *Britannica Blog* website.
- “The Geography of U.S. Elections,” in “My Seven: The World By Numbers,” *National Geographic*, November 2004.
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- “Setting the Record Straight about Surge and Decline,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.37, n.1 (January 2004) p.1.
- “NSF Funding Unbiased, Necessary for Political Science,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.36, n.2 (April 2003) pp.147-8. With William Mishler.
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- “Stuck in the Middle,” *The Maine Sunday Telegram*, June 17, 2001, p.1C, 6C.
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- “Charting the Course of Campaign 2000,” *PRG Report* (Newsletter of the Presidency Research Section of the APSA), Spring 2000, pp.1-5.
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- “Reforming the Reforms,” *The Maine Sunday Telegram*, January 2, 2000, p.1C.
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- “To truly reform campaigns, tax donations,” *The Maine Sunday Telegram*, October 5, 1997, p.1C, 3C.
- “Going Nowhere Fast,” *The Maine Sunday Telegram*, May 11, 1997, p.1C, 3C.
- “The Winner? Telling Signs Point To...,” *The Maine Sunday Telegram*, October 20, 1996, p.1C, 6C.
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- “Weather Forecasters Should Be So Accurate: A Response to ‘Forewarned Before Forecast’,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, (June 1993) pp.165-6.
- “So Goes Maine?” *The Maine Sunday Telegram*, September 20, 1992, p.1C, 6C.
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- “The Consequences of Ranked Choice Voting: Electoral System Incentives for Parties, Candidates, and Voters.” Under review at a journal (co-authored with Shawn J. Donahue).
- “Real Democracy: The Civic Competence of the Imperfect American Public,” (monograph project in progress).
- “Polar Political Predispositions: Response Wording Effects at the Endpoints of Ideology and Partisanship Scales,” (in progress).
- “Which Economy Matters? The Economy as We Thought It Was or as It Really Was?” (in progress).
- “Do More Choices Attract More Voters?: The Field of Candidates and Turnout,” (in progress)
- “Appreciating Politics: What It Means to Be a Good Citizen and Why You Should Want to Be One” (planned monograph project).

BOOK REVIEWS

Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America, John Sides, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck. Reviewed for *Party Politics*, v.26 n.5 (September 2020), forthcoming.

The Gamble: Choice and Chance in the 2012 Presidential Election, John Sides and Lynn Vavreck. “Featured Review” in *Congress and the Presidency*, v.42 n.1 (January-April 2015), pp. 95-7.

The Fallacy of Campaign Finance Reform, John Samples. Reviewed in *Political Science Quarterly*, v.122 n.3, (Fall 2007), pp. 504-5.

The 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundations of Party Politics, Richard Johnston, Michael G. Hagen, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. Reviewed in *Party Politics*, v.13 n.1 (January 2007), pp.129-131.

Why Americans Split Their Tickets: Campaigns, Competition, and Divided Government, Barry C. Burden and David C. Kimball. Reviewed in *The Journal of Politics*, (November 2004), pp. 1308-10.

Elections to Open Seats in the U.S. House: Where the Action Is, Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III. Reviewed in *American Review of Politics*, v.21 (Fall and Winter 2001), pp.322-4.

Midterm: The Elections of 1994 in Context, edited by Philip A. Klinkner. Reviewed in *Political Science Quarterly*, v.112 n.4, (Winter 1997-98), pp.698-700.

Forecasting Elections, Michael S. Lewis-Beck and Tom W. Rice. Reviewed in *The Journal of Politics*, v.55 n.4 (November 1993), pp.1152-4.

EDITORIAL AND EDITORIAL BOARD SERVICE

Guest Editor, Symposium *Forecasting the 2018 American National Elections*, in *PS: Political Science & Politics*, Special Issue v.51, n.S1 (October 2018).

Guest Editor, Symposium *Evaluations of the 2016 American National Election Forecasts*, in *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.51, n.2 (April 2017).

Guest Editor, Symposium *Forecasting the 2016 American National Elections*, in *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.50, n.2 (October 2016).

Guest Editor, Symposium *Evaluations of the 2014 Midterm Election Forecasts*, in *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.48, n.2 (April 2015).

Guest Editor, Symposium on *The 2014 Midterm Election Forecasts* in *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.47, n.4 (October 2014).

Guest Editor, Symposium *Recap: Forecasting the 2012 Election* in *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.46, n.1 (January 2013).

Guest Editor, Symposium on *Forecasting the 2012 American National Elections* in *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.45, n.4 (October 2012).

Editor, Symposium on *Forecasting the 2010 Midterm Elections*, in *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.43, n.4 (October 2010).

Editor, Symposium on *Forecasting the 2008 National Elections* in *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.41, n.4 (October 2008).

Co-editor with Michael S. Lewis-Beck, Special Issue on *US Presidential Election Forecasting* in the *International Journal of Forecasting* v.24, n.2 (April-June 2008).

Editor, Symposium on *Assessments of the 2004 Presidential Vote Forecasts* in *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.38, n.1 (January 2005).

Editor, Symposium on *The 2004 Presidential Election Forecasts* in *PS: Political Science & Politics*, v.37, n.4 (October 2004).

Co-editor with James C. Garand, Special Issue on *Election Forecasting in American Politics Quarterly*, v.24, n.4 (October 1996).
Editorial Board, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 2015 to 2018.
Editorial Board, *Conversations in Politics and Practice Series*, Bloomsbury Press, 2014.
Editorial Board, *Political Science Quarterly*, 2004 to 2008.
Editorial Board, *American Politics Quarterly* (now *American Politics Research*), 1987 to 2003.
Editorial Board, *The Journal of Politics*, 1998 to 2001.
Editorial Board, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 1995 to 1997.
Editorial Board, *Political Research Quarterly*, 1994 to 1996.
Editorial Board, *American Journal of Political Science*, 1994 to 1997.

AWARDS AND HONORS

An Outstanding Academic Title of 2016, *Choice Magazine* (for *Polarized: Making Sense of a Divided America*).
Visiting Scholar, Oklahoma's Scholar-Leadership Enrichment Program, November 2010.
Lisa Hertel Teaching Award in the Department of Political Science, University at Buffalo, SUNY, 2004.
Sustained Achievement Award, University at Buffalo, SUNY, 2002.
Pi Sigma Alpha Award, Best Paper at the 1996 Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
Research Fellow, Institute for Behavioral Research, University of Georgia, 1981-86.
Congressional Fellowship, American Political Science Association, 1979-80.
Syracuse University Graduate Fellowship, 1976-78.
Phi Beta Kappa, Bowdoin College, 1974.
William Pitt Fessenden Prize in Government at Bowdoin College, 1974.
James Bowdoin Scholar, Bowdoin College, 1972-74.

SERVICE TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

Heterodox Academy
Member, 3/21/17 to present.
Pi Sigma Alpha, The National Honor Society of Political Science
President (2008-10), President-Elect (2006-08), First Past President (2010-12), Second Past President (2013-15), Third Past President (2015-17),
Member of the Executive Council (2002-2015),
Chair of Nominating Committee (2012),
Member of Nominating Committee (2006, 2014, 2016),
Member, Best Undergraduate Class Paper Selection Committee, (2005, 2007),
Member of Graduate Scholarship Committee (2015).
Political Forecasting Group, Related Group of the APSA
Chair (2011-13), Vice-Chair and Program Chair (2009-11),
Member of the Executive Board (2007-09),
Member of the Organizing Committee (2006-07),
Member of the Nominating Committee (2006, 2007, 2009).
The Campaign Finance Institute, Washington, D.C., Member of the Board of Academic Advisors (2000-14).
Midwest Political Science Association,
Member of the Executive Council (1998-2001),
Member, Ad Hoc Advisory Committee to the President (on budget and establishing awards).
Southern Political Science Association,
Member of the Executive Council (1990-93),
Member, Award Committee, The Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the Best Paper at the 1994 SPSA Meeting (1994-95),

Chair, Award Committee, “The Malcolm Jewell Award” for the Best Graduate Student Paper at the 1996 SPSA Meeting (1996-97).
Southwestern Political Science Association,
Member of the Executive Council (1993-96).
Presidency Research Group, Section of the APSA,
Member of the Executive Board (2001-07),
Member, George C. Edwards III Dissertation Award Committee (2012-13).
Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Section, Section of the APSA,
Member of the Executive Board (2004-06),
Chair, Award Committee, “Emerging Scholar Award,” (1995-96).
Georgia State University
External Reviewer, Department of Political Science, May 1998.
National Science Foundation
Member, Dissertation Improvement Grant Panel, Political Science Program, Spring 1995.
Manuscript Reviewer: Allyn and Bacon Publishers; Brooks/Cole; Chatham House Press; CQ Press; The Dorsey Press; F.E. Peacock; Holt, Rinehart and Winston; League of Women Voters of the United States; Longman Publishers; Lynne Rienner Publishers; Oxford University Press; Texas A&M University Press; University of Chicago Press; University of Oklahoma Press; University of Pittsburgh Press; St. Martin's Press; West.
Journal Referee: *American Political Science Review*; *American Journal of Political Science*; *The Journal of Politics*; *Political Research Quarterly*; *Public Opinion Quarterly*; *Political Science Quarterly*; *American Politics Research*; *Social Science Quarterly*; *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*; *Legislative Studies Quarterly*; *Social Science History*, *Electoral Studies*; *Polity*; *PS: Political Science & Politics*; *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*; *International Journal of Forecasting*; *Congress & the Presidency*; *Perspectives on Politics*; *Presidential Studies Quarterly*; *Party Politics*; *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*; *The American Review of Politics*; *Politics & Gender*; *Politics, Groups, and Identities*; *State and Local Government Review*; *Women and Politics*; *Southeastern Political Review*; and *Political Methodology* [now defunct].
Proposal Reviewer: National Science Foundation, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE

Chair, Department of Political Science, University at Buffalo, SUNY, 8/06-8/12.
Director of Undergraduate Studies, Political Science, University at Buffalo, SUNY, 9/99-8/01.
Director of Graduate Admissions, Political Science, University at Buffalo, SUNY, 9/98-99.
Program Director, Political Science Program, National Science Foundation, 10/92-8/94.
Co-administered (with Frank Scioli) the \$4+ million program and the panel and peer-review process of several hundred research grant proposals submitted annually to the program.
Associate Program Director, Political Science Program, National Science Foundation, 1/92-9/92.
Acting Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Political Science, Louisiana State University, Fall 1991.

UNIVERSITY SERVICE (SELECTED)

Panel Member and Organizer, “Elections in India: A Discussion with Om Prakash Rawat, retired Chief Election Commissioner of India,” University at Buffalo, SUNY, March 11, 2019.
Presentation, “The 2018 Midterm Congressional Elections,” University at Buffalo, SUNY, October 10, 2018.
Organized and Participated in a roundtable on “Dealing with Polarization,” University at Buffalo, SUNY, April 13, 2017.
Chair, Policy Committee (legislative body of the College), College of Arts & Sciences, University at Buffalo, SUNY, 2011-12.

Member, Policy Committee (legislative body of the College), College of Arts & Sciences, University at Buffalo, SUNY, 2010-13.

Member, UB Awards Committee, Provost's Committee, University at Buffalo, SUNY, 2015-17.

Author, "A Self-Study in Preparation for a Review of the Graduate and Undergraduate Programs of the Department of Political Science, University at Buffalo, SUNY," and "Department Response to the Comprehensive Review of the Department of Political Science, University at Buffalo, SUNY, October 2007."

Member, Appointment, Promotion & Tenure Committee, College of Arts & Sciences, University at Buffalo, SUNY, 2001-02.

Faculty Advisor, Pi Sigma Alpha, Rho Tau Chapter, University at Buffalo, SUNY, 2000-04, 2015-present.

Member, University Faculty Senate, University at Buffalo, SUNY, 1999-2009.

Member, University Faculty Senate, Louisiana State University, 1992.

Member, Office of the Vice-Chancellor for Research and Graduate Studies, Social Science Research Development Group, Louisiana State University, 1994-98.

Member, College of Arts & Sciences Faculty Senate, Louisiana State University, 1996-98.

Co-Chair, Arts & Sciences Planning Document Drafting Committee, Louisiana State University, 1998.

Member, Graduate School Committee to review the Department of Philosophy, University of Georgia, 1986.

Faculty Advisor, UB Young Americans for Freedom, 2016-present.

INVITED PRESENTATIONS

"Electoral Change in the 2018 Midterm Election: The Three Components of Electoral Mandates," The Emeritus Faculty Club of the University at Buffalo, SUNY, October 8, 2019.

"The Economy in Presidential Elections: The Complexity of a Simple Effect," presentation on the panel "Will it still be the Economy, Stupid, in 2020?" sponsored by The Jack Citrin Center for Public Opinion Research, The Charles and Louise Travers Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, September 24, 2019.

"Our Damaged Democracy: Can We Fix It?" presentation in a panel co-sponsored by the League of Women Voters of Buffalo/Niagara, The Association for a Buffalo Presidential Center, and the Theodore Roosevelt Inaugural Site, October 1, 2018.

"Implications of 'Truth Decay' for the Practice of Public Relations," participated on a panel co-sponsored by The Museum of Public Relations, The Institute for Public Relations, the Wallace Foundation and several others, 55 Broad Street in New York City, May 22, 2018.

"Political Polarization in America: Why Does Everyone Want to Pick a Fight about Everything?" The Harry Lee Waterfield Distinguished Lecture in Public Affairs, Murray State University, Murray, KY, April 12, 2018.

"Polarized: Making Sense of a Divided America," Co-sponsored by the Center for American Political Studies and the Program on Constitutional Government, Harvard University, April 27, 2017.

"Polarized: Making Sense of a Divided America," Authors' Roundtable at the 71st Annual Conference of the New York State Political Science Association, Nazareth College, Rochester, NY, April 21, 2017.

“Polarized: Making Sense of a Divided America and the 2016 Presidential Election,” 15th Annual American Studies Lecture, Centre for American Studies, University of Leicester, Leicester, Great Britain, October 24, 2016. The event was supported by the British Association for American Studies and the U. S. Embassy in London.

“Fairness in the Evaluation of Presidents,” Keynote Address to The People’s Forum on the American Presidency, Daemen College, Buffalo, NY, October 1, 2016.

“Polarized: Making Sense of a Divided America,” The Princeton Public Library, Princeton, NJ, September 13, 2016.

“Forecasts of the 2016 American National Election,” Trefethen-Evergreen Improvement Association, Peaks Island, ME, August 23, 2016.

“The Roots of Party Polarization: Strategic Non-Centrism to Win the Median Voter,” Pi Sigma Alpha Speaker, Oklahoma State University, April 19, 2016. (Also delivered at UB on May 2, 2016 in lieu of a Pi Sigma Alpha speaker prevented from traveling because of weather.)

“The Foundations of Party Polarization: The Median Voter and Non-Centrist Parties,” at UB on the Road event, Washington, DC, March 8, 2016 and Buffalo, NY, October 6, 2016.

“The Seats-in-Trouble Forecast of the 2014 Congressional Elections,” at the American Political Science Association’s panel on “The Midterm Forecasts Are In: The Science of Election Forecasting, Part 2” at The Capitol Visitor Center, Washington, DC, October 22, 2014.

“The Fundamentals and the Campaign in the U.S. Presidential Election of 2012,” The John D. Lees Memorial Lecture to the American Politics Group (APG) of the Political Studies Association, University of Leicester, Great Britain, January 3, 2013.

“The 2012 American Elections,” University of Georgia, November 29-30, 2012.

“Explaining the Elections of 2012: The Effects of the Fundamentals and the Campaign.” University of Oklahoma, November 12-14, 2012.

“Forecasting the 2012 U.S. Elections,” University of Toronto, Canada, October 29, 2012. Presented in absentia. Travel prevented because of Hurricane Sandy.

“Is It Time for a Change? The Fundamentals in the 2012 Presidential Election,” Iowa State University, October 24, 2012.

“Forecasting the Presidential Election of 2012: The Trial-Heat and Convention Bump Models,” at the “American Political Science Association’s Panel on Presidential Election Forecasting,” National Press Club, Washington, D.C., October 16, 2012.

“The Fundamentals and a Forecast of the 2012 Presidential Election,” Bowdoin College, October 12, 2012.

“The Economic Records of the Presidents: Party Differences and Inherited Economic Conditions,” Department of Political Science, University of Georgia, February, 2011.

“The Economic Records of the Presidents: Party Differences and Inherited Economic Conditions,” Department of Economics, University at Buffalo, SUNY, December, 2010.

“The People Rate the Presidents,” Karpeles Manuscript Library Museum, The Association for a Buffalo Presidential Center, Buffalo, NY, November 17, 2010.

“2010: A Political Odyssey,” University of Central Oklahoma, November 11, 2010.

“Presidential Mandates and Interpreting Elections,” University of Central Oklahoma, November 11, 2010.

“A Forecast of the 2010 Midterm Election: A Restoration, Not a Revolution,” UB Alumni Talk, October 27, 2010.

“The 2010 Midterm Congressional Elections,” The U.S. Consulate, Toronto, Canada, October 22, 2010.

“The 2010 Midterm Congressional Elections,” and “The Economic Records of the Presidents: Party Differences and Inherited Economic Conditions,” F. Ross Johnson/Connaught Distinguished Speaker Series in American Studies, Centre for the Study of the United States, Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto, October 21-22, 2010.

“Election Forecasting,” at the national meeting of the American Political Items Collectors Association, Buffalo, NY, August 6, 2010.

“Seat Change Requires Competition: Re-evaluating Surge and Decline in National House Elections,” at Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, May 7, 2009. Also, “Observations about Politics, Political Science, Public Policy, and Good Citizenship,” to Pi Sigma Alpha induction ceremony at Temple University, May 6, 2009.

“The Trial-Heat Forecast of the 2008 Presidential Election,” at the “American Political Science Association’s Panel on Presidential Election Forecasting” at the National Press Club, Washington, D.C., October 27, 2008. Covered live by C-SPAN.

“The 2008 Presidential Election,” at “Election '08: A College Forum on the Candidates and the Issues,” Iowa State University, Des Moines, IA, October 9, 2008.

“The 2008 Presidential Election: The Context and a Forecast,” UB Alumni Talk, September 24, 2008.

“A Pre-election Perspective on and Forecast of the 2008 Presidential Election,” The Emeritus Faculty Club of the University at Buffalo, SUNY, September 9, 2008.

“The Presidential Campaign of 2008 in Context,” Pi Sigma Alpha Speaker, SUNY Geneseo, April 23, 2008.

“Explaining Politics, Not Polls: Examining Macropartisanship from Recalibrated ANES Data” and “The Presidential Campaign of 2008 in Context: Open Seat Presidential Elections, Party Unity, and Retrospective Voting,” Keynote Speaker at Annual Spring Banquet, University of Florida, April 11, 2008.

“Red and Blue Nation? Polarization in American Politics,” University at Buffalo, SUNY, April 17, 2007. Co-sponsored by The Brookings Institution Press.

“Realignments in American Politics,” Cephus L. Stephens speaker at Denison University, April 3-5, 2007.

“The Swing Voter in American Politics,” at “The Swing Voter Conference” at Northeastern University, Boston, MA, June 2006.

“Revealed Polarization,” *Red and Blue Nation? Characteristics, Causes, and Chronology of America's Polarized Politics*, a Conference Jointly Sponsored by The Brookings Institution and the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, March 13-14, 2006.

“The 2004 Presidential Election,” at “Election '04: A College Forum on the Candidates and the Issues,” Iowa State University, Des Moines, IA, October 21, 2004.

“The 2004 Presidential Election: The Fundamentals and the Campaign,” Georgia State University and “Seat Change Requires Electoral Competition: The Era of the Dead Ball in U.S. House Elections,” Department of Political Science, Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA, October 14, 2004.

“The 2004 U.S. Elections,” Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties (EPOP) conference at Oxford University, September 11, 2004.

“The Past, Present, and Future of Forecasting American National Election, 2000 to 2004” on the “Forecasting Elections” Roundtable at the Conference on Electoral Politics at Columbia University, October 18-19, 2002.

“The 2000 Presidential Election of George W. Bush: The Difficult Birth of a Presidency,” SUNY conference on “A Presidency Transformed by Crises: The Administration of George W. Bush: An Early Appraisal” at SUNY Fredonia, October 17-18, 2002.

“Predicting the Election: Crystal Ball or Ground Glass?” American Democracy Conference, The Center for Governmental Studies at the University of Virginia and *The National Journal's Hotline*, The Watergate Hotel, Washington, D.C., December 4, 2000 (Shown on C-SPAN2 on December 5, 2000). Invited Presentation and Panelist.

“The 2000 Presidential Campaign,” University at Buffalo Senior Alumni Program, October 2000.

“Presidential Election Campaigns and Partisanship,” for the Symposium “Political Parties and the Future of American Politics: An Assessment at the Millennium,” *Fordham University Forum on American Politics*, New York, November 5, 1999. Invited Presentation and Paper.

“Forecast: The 1998 Midterm Elections and the Implications for Legislative-Executive Relations,” The Dirksen Congressional Center’s Program of Congress in the Classroom, Bradley University, August 5, 1998.

“The Implications of Presidential Election Forecasting for Theories of Campaigns and Elections,” Department of Political Science, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX, November 1, 1996.

“Alternative Models for Estimating the Presidential Vote,” American Association of Public Opinion Researchers, 1993. Plenary Session Speaker.

“Forecasts of the 1992 Presidential Elections,” to the Division of Social and Economic Sciences, National Science Foundation, October 1992.

PAPERS PRESENTED AT PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS

“The Consequences of Ranked Choice Voting: Electoral System Incentives for Parties, Candidates, and Voters,” Northeastern Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, 2019. Co-authored with Shawn J. Donahue.

“The Median Voter and Non-Centrist Parties: The Foundations of Party Polarization,” American Political Science Association, San Francisco, 2015.

“The Seats in Trouble Forecast of the 2014 Midterm Elections,” American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, 2014.

“Issues in Presidential Election Forecasting: Election Margins, Incumbency, and Model Credibility,” American Political Science Association, Chicago, 2013.

“When the Fundamentals are Trumped: The 2008 Wall Street Meltdown Election and Election Forecasting,” American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA 2011.

“The Seats in Trouble Forecast of the 2010 Elections to the U.S. House,” American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, 2010.

“A Refutation of *Unequal Democracy*: The Myth that Democratic Presidents Improve Economic Growth and Equality,” Northeastern Political Science Association Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, 2009.

“The Exceptional Election: Performance, Values, and Crisis in the 2008 Presidential Election,” New England Political Science Association Meeting, Portland, ME, 2009.

“The Theory of Conditional Retrospective Voting: Does the Presidential Record Matter Less in Open Seat Elections?” Northeastern Political Science Association, Boston, MA, 2008. Co-authored with Bryan Dettrey and Hongxing Yin.

“An Open-Seat Presidential Election in an Era of Polarized Partisan Parity: A Pre-Election Perspective on the 2008 Presidential Election,” American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, 2008.

“Is the American Electorate Increasingly Polarized Because of Growing Income Inequality?” Northeastern Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, 2007.

“Evaluating U.S. Presidential Election Forecasts and Forecasting Equations,” International Symposium in Forecasting, New York, NY, 2007.

“Explaining Politics, Not Polls: Macropartisanship from Recalibrated ANES Data,” New England Political Science Association, Portsmouth, NH, 2006.

“The Trial-Heat and Economy Forecasting Equation of the Presidential Vote: Interpreting Preference Polls in Context,” International Symposium in Forecasting, San Antonio, TX, 2005.

“Notes on a Critique of Ray Fair’s Presidential Vote Forecasting Model,” International Symposium in Forecasting, San Antonio, TX, 2005.

“Re-evaluating the Theory of Surge and Decline: Seat Change Requires Competition,” New England Political Science Association, Portland, ME, 2005. Co-authored with Chad Hankinson and Walter Koch.

“Compressed Politics and Explanations of Seat Change in U.S. House Elections,” New England Political Science Association, Portsmouth, NH, 2004. Co-authored with Chad Hankinson and Walter Koch.

“Party Systems and Realignment, 1868-2002,” Northeastern Political Science Association Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, 2003.

“How Does Trust in the Government Affect Voter Turnout? The Non-Linearity Hypothesis,” Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL, 2003. Co-authored with Diane Costlow Oyler and Franco Mattei.

“The Stagnation of Congressional Elections,” Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, 2003.

“The 2002 Midterm Election: A Typical or an Atypical Midterm?” The Public Choice Society, Nashville, TN, 2003.

“Campaign Financing and the Stagnation of Congressional Elections” Campaign Finance Institute conference at the National Press Club, Washington, DC, 2003.

“Forecasting the Presidential Vote in the States, 1948-2000: An Update and Revision of a State-Level Presidential Forecasting Model,” Southern Political Science Association, Savannah, GA, 2002. Co-authored with Syed Ali and Farida Jalalzai.

“Is the House Incumbency Advantage Mostly a Campaign Finance Advantage?” New England Political Science Association, Portland, ME, 2002.

“The Decline of Competition and Change in Congressional Elections,” New York State Political Science Association, Lewiston, NY, 2002.

“An Alternative Approach to Campaign Finance Reform,” Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, 2001.

“Explaining the 2000 Presidential Election,” New England Political Science Association, Portsmouth, NH, 2001.

“When Have Presidential Campaigns Decided Election Outcomes?” American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, 1999.

“The Competitive Effect of Presidential Campaigns,” Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL, 1999.

“The Presidential Pulse and the 1994 Midterm Congressional Elections,” Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL, 1996. Won the Pi Sigma Alpha Award for Best Paper.

“Electoral System Bias in the House of Representatives: Democratic Cheap Seats in the 1990s,” Southern Political Science Association, Tampa, FL, 1995.

“Partisan Bias and Turnout in Congressional Elections,” Southern Political Science Association, Savannah, GA, 1993.

“Uncontested Congressional Elections and the Rise of Split-Ticket Voting, 1952-1988,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1992. With Mark Baldwin.

“Divided Government, Partisan Bias and Turnout in Congressional Elections: Do Democrats Sit in the ‘Cheap Seats’?” American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 1991.

“Forecasting the Presidential Vote in the States,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1991.

“The Convention Bump,” Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, 1990. With Lynna L. Cherry and Kenneth A. Wink.

“The Presidential Pulse of Congressional Elections: National Evidence from 1868 to 1988,” The Carl Albert Center’s Conference on the United States Congress in the 21st Century, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK, 1990.

“Trial-Heat Forecasts of the Presidential Vote,” Southern Political Science Association, Memphis, TN, 1989. With Ken Wink, Thomas Teague, and Sharon Schierling.

“The Cross-Pressured Partisan,” American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, 1989.

“The Presidential Component of Senate Elections,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1989. With Joe Sumners.

“A District Level Examination of Surge and Decline,” American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1987.

“Public Support for Comparable Worth,” Southeastern Conference of Public Administration, Charleston, SC, 1985. With Gregory B. Lewis.

“A Comparison of Presidential and Midterm Electorates,” American Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, 1985.

“State Legislative Elections: Presidential Coattails and Midterm Losses by the President’s Party,” Southern Political Science Association, Savannah, GA, 1984.

“The Intervals of Party Identification: Rescaling the Partisan Categories,” American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 1984.

“Explaining Presidential Losses in Midterm Congressional Elections: A Test of Competing Theories,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1984.

“Sources of the New Deal Realignment: The Contributions of Conversion and Mobilization to Partisan Change,” Southern Political Science Association, Birmingham, AL, 1983.

“Television Markets and Congressional Elections: The Impact of Market/District Congruence,” Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, 1982. With John R. Alford and Keith Henry.

“Ambiguity in the Issue Positions of Presidential Candidates: Causes and Consequences,” American Political Science Association, Denver, CO, 1982.

“Issue Positions of Presidential Candidates: Congruence with Public Opinion and Political Parties from 1968 to 1980,” Midwest Political Science Association, Milwaukee, WI, 1982.

“Cosponsoring Legislation in the U.S. Congress,” American Political Science Association, New York, NY, 1981.

“The Influence and Rationalization of Candidate Image-Evaluations in Presidential Primaries,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1981.

“Electoral Competition and the Congressional Connection,” Northeast Political Science Association, Tarrytown, New York, NY, 1978.

“Style Issue Voting,” Western Political Science Association, Phoenix, AZ, 1977. With Kenneth Meier.

“Sincere and Sophisticated Voting: The Wallace Vote,” American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1976.

“Issue Voting: Nine Individually Necessary and Jointly Sufficient Conditions,” Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, 1976. With Kenneth Meier.

PROFESSIONAL MEETING PARTICIPATION IN OTHER CAPACITIES

SECTION ORGANIZER

“Political Forecasting,” Political Forecasting Group, American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, 2010 and Seattle, WA, 2011.

“Elections and Voting,” Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, 2001.

“American Elections,” Southern Political Science Association, Charlotte, NC, 1987.

PANEL CHAIR

“The Presidential Election of 2012,” Northeastern Political Science Association, Boston, MA, 2012 (and Panelist).

“Outlooks on the U.S. Presidential Election of 2012,” New England Political Science Association, Portsmouth, NH, 2012 (and Panelist).

“Forecasting the 2010 Midterm Elections,” American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, 2010.

“Political Opinions: Construction and Effects,” New England Political Science Association, Portland, ME, 2009 (and Discussant).

Roundtable, “Forecasting the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election,” American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, 2008 (and Panelist).

“Measuring Political Continuity and Change,” Northeastern Political Science Association, Boston, 2006 (and Discussant).

Roundtable, “Forecasting the 2004 Presidential Election,” American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 2004 (and Panelist).

“Congressional Elections in Time,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 2003 (and Discussant).

“Federalism, Interest Groups, and the Separation of Powers,” New York State Political Science Association, Niagara Falls, NY, 2002 (and Discussant).

“Perspectives on Political Participation in the South,” Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, 2000.

“Representation and Responsiveness in Congressional Elections,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1997.

“Congressional Elections,” Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, 1996 (and Discussant).

“The Aggregate Results of Elections,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1995.

“Congressional Elections,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1989 (and Discussant).

“Careers: The House, Senate and the House and Senate,” Southwestern Social Science Association, Little Rock, AK, 1989 (and Discussant).

Roundtable, “Partisan Realignment in the 1980’s,” Southern Political Science Association, Charlotte, NC, 1987.

“Voting Decisions,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1985.

Roundtable, “The American National Elections of 1984,” Georgia Political Science Association, Athens, GA, 1985.

“Political Behavior,” Northeast Political Science Association, Newark, NJ, 1979.

ROUNDTABLE PANELIST

“Roundtable on The Future of Forecasting U.S. National Elections,” American Political Science Association Meeting, San Francisco, CA, 2017.

“Roundtable on Conceptualizing and Measuring Polarization,” Workshop on Extreme Political Polarization and Legitimacy, American Political Science Association Meeting, San Francisco, CA, 2017.

“Forecasts of the 2016 American National Elections,” American Political Science Association Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, 2016.

“The 2016 Presidential Nomination Campaigns,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 2016.

“Obama’s Second Term: Prospects and Possibilities,” *Fragmented Democracy: Politics, Policy & Governance in a Divided Age*, A Conference organized by the British Politics Group of the APSA, the American Politics Group of the Political Studies Association, and the Eccles Center of the British Library, Chicago, 2013.

“The Party System in the Obama Era: An Eye Toward 2010 and 2012,” Northeastern Political Science Association Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, 2009.

“The U.S. Congressional Elections in 2008,” American Political Science Association Meeting, Boston, MA, 2008.

“The 2006 Congressional Elections,” American Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL, 2007.

“Hindsight is 20/20: Assessing the 2006 Congressional Election Forecasts,” Northeastern Political Science Association, Boston, MA 2006

“The Outlook for the 2006 Midterm Elections,” American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, 2006.

“Roundtable on Ray Fair’s Presidential Vote Equation,” International Symposium on Forecasting, San Antonio, TX, 2005.

“Hindsight is 20/20: Deconstructing the 2004 Presidential Election Forecasts,” Northeastern Political Science Association, Boston, MA, 2004.

“The 2004 Congressional Elections: What Happened and Why?” Northeastern Political Science Association, Boston, MA, 2004.

“The 2002 Congressional Elections and Their Political and Policy Consequences,” Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL, 2003.

“The 2002 Midterm Elections,” Public Choice Society Meeting, Nashville, TN, 2003.

“Likely Effects of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act on Political Competition,” American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, 2002.

Participant in “Electoral College and Beyond” Project, Campaign Strategies Group, Coordinated by Burdett Loomis and Paul D. Schumaker, University of Kansas. Conducted via e-mail, February and March 2001.

“Roundtable on the Presidential Election” and “Roundtable on the 2000 Elections,” Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, 2000.

“Forecasting the 2000 American National Elections,” American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 2000.

“*Choices and Echoes in Presidential Elections 20 Years Later*,” Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, 1998.

“A Roundtable on James E. Campbell’s *Cheap Seats: The Democratic Party’s Advantage in U.S. House Elections*,” Southwestern Political Science Association, Corpus Christi, TX, 1998.

“What to Expect from the 105th Congress,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1997.

“Assessing the 1996 U.S. National Elections,” Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, 1996.

- “Forecasting the 1996 Presidential Election,” American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, 1996.
- “The Future of the Democratic Party in the South,” Southern Political Science Association, Tampa, FL, 1995.
- “Roundtable on the 1994 Elections,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1995.
- “Roundtable on the 1994 Elections,” Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, 1994.
- “Forecasting the 1992 Elections,” American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 1993.
- “Forecasting the 1992 Elections,” American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1992.
- “Federal Funding for Political Science,” American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1992.
- “Forecasts of the 1986 Congressional Elections,” Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, 1986.

DISCUSSANT

- “Economic Conditions and Electoral Choice,” American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, 1999.
- “The Presidency and Political Parties,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1999.
- “Political Stock Markets,” American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 1993.
- “Influences on the Vote,” Southern Political Science Association, Charlotte, NC, 1987.
- “Subnational Politics: Elections and Ambition,” American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1987.
- “Power and Elections,” American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 1986.
- “Graduate Student Papers,” Georgia Political Science Association, Savannah, GA, 1984.
- “Elections, Linkages and Legislative Behavior,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1978.
- “American Politics,” Northeast Political Science Association, South Egremont, MA, 1976.

FUNDED RESEARCH AND EXTERNAL GRANTS

- Project Administrator/Awardee, 2017, Grant from the Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University and the John Templeton Foundation, (\$2,800) to support a panel on “Dealing with Political Polarization,” held April 13, 2017 at the University at Buffalo, SUNY.
- Co-Principal Investigator, 1991, Louisiana State University, Grant from the Louisiana Education Quality Support Fund, (\$23,000) “Enhancement of Political Behavior Research,” With Eugene R. Wittkopf.
- Principal Investigator, 1985, University of Georgia grant (\$4,319) for “An Examination of the Theory of Surge and Decline.”
- Principal Investigator, 1983, University of Georgia grant (\$2,700) for “Television Markets and Congressional Elections,” With John R. Alford.
- Principal Investigator, 1981, University of Georgia grant (\$1,400) for “Co-sponsorship Activity in the U.S. Congress.”
- Research Associate, Markle Foundation Grant through the SSRC to study the media's impact on voters during the 1976 election from the pre-primary period through the general election. Thomas E. Patterson, principal investigator.
- Research Associate, NSF grant GS-35408 to study television's impact during the 1972 general election. Robert D. McClure and Thomas E. Patterson, principal investigators.

COURSES AND INSTRUCTIONAL ACTIVITIES

Undergraduate Courses:

Introduction to Political Science
Presidential Campaigns
Public Opinion
American Political Parties

American Government
Empirical Democratic Theory
Elections and Voting Behavior
Political Participation

The American Presidency
Predicting Politics
Interest Group Politics

Congress and the Legislative Process
Money in Politics

Honors Seminar: *Conservatism as a Political Movement in America* (with Eugene Miller)
Honors Seminar: *Political Polarization in America*
Senior Seminar: *American Macropolitics*

Graduate Courses:

Pro-Seminar in American Politics
American Political Parties

American Macropolitics
The American Presidency
Financing American Political Campaigns
Public Opinion and Voting Behavior

Empirical Democratic Theory
Introduction to Political Behavior
Separation of Powers (Party Government, Divided Government & Political Gridlock)
Quantitative Methods in the Social Sciences (introductory and intermediate-levels)

Lecture, "Predicting Presidential Elections," Banneker High School, Washington, D.C., NSF's "Partners in Education" program (4/93).
Seminar Instructor, Taft Seminar for Teachers, Carl Vinson Institute of Government, University of Georgia (7/86, 7/87, and 6/88).
Instructional Improvement Grant (1986), Office of Instructional Development, University of Georgia, "Quantitative Applications in Political Science," With Paul F. Diehl.
Lecture, "The Congressional Budget Process," Congressional Briefing Conference for the G.A.O., Government Affairs Institute, U.S. Office of Personnel Management, Atlanta (4/83).
Teaching Assistant, Syracuse University (9/75-12/79).

RELATED EXPERIENCE

Letter-writer, "Trump was seeking truth in Ukraine phone call," *The Buffalo News*, December 24, 2019, p.A9.
Talk Back Panelist, University at Buffalo Department of Theater and Dance's Production of *Julius Caesar*, March 1, 2019.
Podcast with Joe Marich, Literary Round Table. May 2017.
Designer, bumper sticker "My Candidate Is An Idiot, Your Candidate Is Worse," for the Cover of the October 2016 issue of *PS: Political Science and Politics*.
Author, "A Plea to Never Trump Conservatives to Think Twice, Maybe More," *Real Clear Politics*, Morning September 7, 2016. http://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2016/09/07/a_plea_to_never_trump_conservatives_to_think_twice_maybe_more_131718.html
Podcast with Heath Brown, "Polarized: Making Sense of a Divided America," New Books Network. <http://newbooksnetwork.com/james-e-campbell-polarized-making-sense-of-a-divided-america-princeton-up-2016/>. September 26, 2016.
Author, "Polarized: Making Sense of a Divided America," *The Page 99 Test Blog*, <http://page99test.blogspot.com/2016/08/polarized-making-sense-of-divided.html>. August 26, 2016.
Author, "A Vote for Trump is a Vote for Clinton," *The Buffalo News*, March 13, 2016.
Presenter, "Political Polarization and the 2016 Presidential Election," for the Amherst (NY) Republican Women's Club, November 16, 2015.
Presenter, "Polarization in American Politics," for the Brighton Place Library, Tonawanda, NY, April 22, 2014.
Presenter, "The Republican Party in an Age of Polarization: Looking Forward," for the Amherst (NY) Republican Women's Club, November 25, 2013.
Panelist, "The Decline of Civility in American Politics?" for The Association for a Buffalo Presidential Center, February 19, 2013.
Presenter, "An Outlook on the 2012 Presidential Election," for the Amherst (NY) Republican Women's Club, November 14, 2011.
Letter-writer, "Lincoln's Choice," *Down East*, v.56, n.3 (October 2009), p.12.

Author, "The Story Behind the CIA Leak Scandal," *The Buffalo News*, November 6, 2005, H2.
Member, Republican National Committee's Academic Advisory Council, 2001-present.
Presentation of Research to White House and RNC staff at the Advisory Group's Meeting, November 2001, August 2002, December 2002, September 2005.
Presenter, "Seeking Grants in the Social Sciences," for the Center for Faculty Development and the Office of Sponsored Research, Louisiana State University, April 1995.
Correspondent, *The Claremont Review*, to the Democratic National Convention, Atlanta, July 1988.
State Chairman (Georgia), National Committee of Scholars for Reagan-Bush '84, July to November 1984.
Consultant, State of Georgia, Attorney General's Office, On the Racial Impact of Voter Registration Law, July 1984.
Researcher and Consultant, "Midterm Congressional Elections in Periods of Partisan Realignment: The Case of the 1934 Midterm," for the Republican National Committee, July-October 1981.
Legislative Assistant to Sen. Bob Packwood (R-OR) on the Senate Budget Committee, April 1980-September 1980.
Legislative Assistant to Rep. Bill Frenzel (R-MN) on the House Budget Committee, October 1979-April 1980.

DISSERTATION

A Causal Analysis of Voting Behavior in Presidential Primary Elections (Syracuse University, 1980). A study of voting behavior in the 1976 presidential primaries examining panel survey data in a cross-lagged causal model. Dissertation Advisor: Thomas E. Patterson.

PRESS COVERAGE OF RESEARCH AND COMMENTARY

DOMESTIC NEWS OUTLETS: ABC News, ABCNews.com, *The Advocate* (Baton Rouge, LA), *The American Spectator*, *The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*, The Associated Press (various bureaus) and The Associated Press-Radio, *The Atlantic*, *The Baltimore Sun*, *The Bloomberg Report*, *The Boston Globe*, *Buffalo Beat*, *The Buffalo News* (Buffalo, New York), CBS News Radio, CBS Online, *The Charlotte Observer*, *The Chicago Tribune*, *Chicago Sun-Times*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, *The Cincinnati Post*, *The Cleveland Plain-Dealer*, CNBC, CNN, *Concord Monitor* (New Hampshire) *Congress Daily*, *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, Copley News Service, C-SPAN, *Current Conversations* (University of Oklahoma campus television), *Daily Kos*, *Daily Record* (Omaha, NE) *The Daily Texan* (Univ. of Texas), *The Dearborn Times*, *The Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, NY), *The Detroit News*, *The Drudge Report*, *Federal News Radio*, *Fortune*, *Fox News Online*, Fox Morning News (television, Washington, DC), The Gannett News Service, *The Hartford Courant*, *The Houston Chronicle*, *The Huffington Post*, *Idaho Statesman, Inc. (magazine)*, *The Ithaca Journal* (Ithaca, NY), *Investor's Business Daily*, *The Iowa State Daily* (Ames, IA), *The Journal Gazette* (Ft. Wayne, IN), *The Journal News* (Putnam, Rockland, & Westchester counties, NY), KCRW-FM radio (Los Angeles), KNX radio (Los Angeles), KGAB (Cheyenne, WY), *The Kansas City Star*, Knight-Ridder News Service, *The Los Angeles Times*, The Louisiana Radio Network, *The Maine Sunday Telegram* (Portland, ME), Market News Service, *MarketWatch*, *Mecklenberg Times* (NC) *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, The Monkey Cage (website), MSNBC, *National Journal*, National Public Radio's *All Things Considered*, *The National Review*, *The New Republic*, *The New York Daily News*, *The New York Post*, *The New York Times*, *Newsday* (Long Island, NY), *The News & Observer* (Raleigh, NC), Newsmax Media (West Palm Beach, FL), *Newsweek* and *Newsweek.com*, *The Niagra Gazette*, *Raleigh Times* (Raleigh, NC), *Rasmussen Reports*, *Riverside Press Enterprise* (Riverside, CA), Roll Call, *The Sacramento Bee*, *The Saint Louis Dispatch*, *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*, *Salon*, *Sam Donaldson's Live in America*—ABC Radio, *San Antonio Express-News*, *The San Francisco Chronicle*, *Savannah Morning News*, *Scholastic Update*, *Science Daily*, *The Seattle Times*, *Slate.com*, *Sirius/XM* (satellite radio, POTUS), *Star-Telegram* (Fort Worth, TX), *The Tampa Tribune*, *The Tampa Bay Times*, *The Times-*

Picayune (New Orleans, Louisiana), *The Times Record News* (Wichita Falls, TX), UB Today (cable TV), Vermont Public Radio, WAFB television (Baton Rouge, LA), WATR radio (Waterbury, CT), WBEN radio (Buffalo, NY), WBFO radio (Buffalo, NY), WBRZ television (Baton Rouge, LA), WBT radio (Charlotte, NC), WGRZ television (Buffalo, NY), WIOD radio (Miami), WJR radio (Detroit), WHAM radio (Rochester, NY), WKBW television (Buffalo, NY), WMAC (Macon, GA), WOSU radio (Columbus, OH), WRC radio (Washington, DC), WSYL radio (Rochester, NY), WSYR radio (Syracuse, NY), WTOP radio (Washington, DC), *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Examiner*, *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Times*, *The Westchester County Weekly* (Westchester, NY), Wisconsin Public Radio, *USA Today*, *U.S. Catholic* (magazine), *U.S. News & World Report*, and Voice of America. Also, listed in the reporter's source book published by Project Vote Smart.

FOREIGN NEWS OUTLETS (BY NATION): *Infobae* (Argentina, newspaper), *Die Presse* (Austria), *The Australian*, BBC (radio), The Australian Broadcasting System (radio), *Correio Braziliense* (Brazilia, Brazil), *O Financista* (Brazil), *Veja Magazine* (Brazil), *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Canada), *National Post* (Toronto, Canada), *La Segunda* (Chile), *Sanlian Life Weekly Magazine* (Beijing, China), *Semana* (Columbia magazine), *Aktuelt* (Denmark), *Berlingske Tidende* (Copenhagen, Denmark), *The Helsinki News* (Helsinki, Finland), *Le Figaro* (Paris, France), *Le Monde* (Paris, France), *Le Nouvel Observateur* (France), *Libération* (Paris, France), The Daily Mail (England, Great Britain), *The Economist*, *The Financial Times*, *The Guardian* (Manchester, England, GB), *Reuters English News Service*, *The Times* (London, England, GB), *Andhra News* (India), *Newstrack India*, *Sindh News Today* (India), *Kyodo News Service* (Japan), *The Mainichi* (Japan), NHK Japan Broadcasting Corporation, *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Japanese newspaper), G4Media.ro (Romania), *Sputnik News* (Russia), *Efe News* (Spanish global newswire), *Dagens Nyheter* (Sweden), *FOKUS* (Sweden), *Thaindian News*, *Diario El Nacional* (Venezuela), and *The National Daily* (Venezuela).

GOOGLE SCHOLAR

<https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=rQLV2oAAAAJ&hl=en&oi=ao>

As of May 6, 2020: 4683 citations, h-index of 35, i10-index of 74.

PROFESSIONAL REFERENCES UPON REQUEST