

Jonathan Nagler

Personal Information

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Education

Ph.D., California Institute of Technology, Social Science, 1989.

Dissertation: "Strategic Opportunities Provided by the Conference Committee Procedure in the U.S. Congress." **Committee Chair:** Rod Kiewiet.

M.S., California Institute of Technology, 1985.

A.B., Harvard University, Government, 1982.

Positions Held

Spring, 2005 — Visiting Associate, California Institute of Technology.

Fall, 2004 — Professor, Department of Politics, New York University.

Fall, 2003 — Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Politics, New York University.

Fall, 2002 - Summer 2003.... — Associate Chair, Department of Politics, New York University.

Fall, 2001 - Summer 2002.... — Acting Chair, Department of Politics, New York University.

Fall, 2000 — Associate Professor, Department of Politics, New York University.

Spring, 2000 — Visiting Associate Professor, Division of Humanities and Social Sciences, California Institute of Technology.

1998-1999 — Visiting Associate Professor of Government, Harvard University.

1997-1999 — Lecturer, Summer Program, Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, University of Michigan.

1996 — Lecturer, Summer Program, European Consortium for Political Research, Essex University, England.

1994... — Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, Riverside.

Fall, 1995 — Visiting Associate Professor, Division of Humanities and Social Sciences, California Institute of Technology.

1992-1994 — Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, Riverside.

1988-1992 — Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Texas A&M University.

1987-1988 — Instructor, Department of Political Science, Texas A&M University.

1984-1986 — Teaching Assistant, Department of Social Sciences, California Institute of Technology.

Research Fields

- Campaigns and Elections
- Political Behavior
- Econometrics

Courses Taught

- Campaigns and Elections: graduate course, New York University.
- Quantitative Political Analysis: graduate course, New York University, University of California, Riverside, Harvard University, and Texas A&M.
- Seminar: Elections and Campaign Spending, undergraduate course, New York University.
- Economic and Issue Voting: graduate course, University of California, Riverside, Harvard University.
- Advanced Regression Analysis: graduate course, University of California, Riverside.
- Models of Discrete Choice: graduate course, Essex Summer School.
- Advanced Topics in Maximum Likelihood Estimation for Generalized Linear Models, ICPSR Summer Program. (one of four instructors)
- American Political Institutions: graduate course, University of California, Riverside.
- Parties, PACs, and Campaigns: upper division undergraduate course, University of California, Riverside.
- Congressional Elections: upper division undergraduate course, California Insititute of Technology.
- Congressional Politics: upper division undergraduate course, Texas A&M.
- Introduction to American Government, University of California, Riverside, and Texas A&M.
- Politics and Economic Policy: upper division undergraduate course, University of California, Riverside.

Grants

National Science Foundation Grant for “Support for Conferences in Political Methodology.” (Co-PI) Award from NSF: \$99,960. June, 2003.

National Science Foundation Grant for “The Effect of Changes in Wages on Economic Perceptions and Voting: An Improved Micro-Level Foundation for Economic Voting.” Award from NSF: \$69,600. May, 2000.

National Science Foundation grant for “Issues and Economics in MultiParty Democracies.” Award from NSF: \$90,000. April, 1997.

National Science Foundation grant for Computing Infrastructure (Co-PI) . Award from NSF: \$138,000. Approximately \$425,000 matching funds over five years from UCR. 1995-1999.

“Estimating the Heterogeneity of Individuals and Candidates in Elections: Sensitivity to Campaign Effects,” University of California Faculty Fellowship, \$1600, April, 1993.

“Testing the Symmetry Assumptions of Non-Linear Models: Alternative Specifications to Logit and Probit for Dichotomous Dependent Variables,” Texas A&M University Supercomputing Center, \$31,000, September, 1991.

“Turnout in American National Elections,” Texas A&M University Supercomputer Center, \$100,000, September, 1990. (with Jan E. Leighley)

Publications

Journal Articles

“The Hispanic Vote in the 2004 Presidential Elections: Insecurity and Moral Concerns”, *Journal of Politics*, forthcoming (with Marisa A. Abrajano and R. Michael Alvarez).

“Protected from Politics: Diminishing Margins of Electoral Competition in U.S. Congressional Elections”, *Ohio State Law Journal*, forthcoming (with Samuel Issacharoff).

“Unions and Class Bias in the U.S. Electorate, 1964-2004,”, *Journal of Politics*, 2007, 69:430–441 (with Jan E. Leighley).

“Strategic Voting in British Elections,” *Electoral Studies*, 2006, 25:1–19. (with R. Michael Alvarez and Frederick J. Boehmke)

“A Natural Experiment of Race-Based and Issue Voting: The 2001 City of Los Angeles Elections,” *Political Research Quarterly*, 2005, 58:203–218. (with Marisa A. Abrajano and R. Michael Alvarez)

“Latinos, Anglos, Voters, Candidates, and Voting Rights”, *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 2004, 153:393–432. (with R. Michael Alvarez)

“Party System Compactness: Measurement and Consequences,” *Political Analysis*, (2004), 12: 46–62. (with R. Michael Alvarez)

“The Likely Consequences of Internet Voting for Political Representation,” *Loyola Law Review*, (2001) 34:1115–1153. (with R. Michael Alvarez)

“Issues, Economics and the Dynamics of Multi-Party Elections: The British 1987 General Election,” *American Political Science Review*, (2000) 94:131–149. (with R. Michael Alvarez and Shaun Bowler)

“A New Approach for Modeling Strategic Voting in Multiparty Elections,” *British Journal of Political Science*, (2000) 30:57–75. (with R. Michael Alvarez)

“Measuring the Relative Impact of Issues and the Economy in Democratic Elections,” *Electoral Studies*, (2000) 19:237–253. (with R. Michael Alvarez and Jennifer Willette)

- “Economics, Entitlements and Social Issues: Voter Choice in the 1996 Presidential Election,” *American Journal of Political Science*, (1998) 42:1349–1363. (with R. Michael Alvarez)
- “Explaining the Gender Gap in U.S. Presidential Elections, 1980-1992,” *Political Research Quarterly*, (1998) 51:311–339. (with Carole Kennedy and R. Michael Alvarez)
- “When Politics and Models Collide: Estimating Models of Multi-Party Elections,” *American Journal of Political Science*, (1998) 42:55–96. (with R. Michael Alvarez)
- “Economics, Issues, and the Perot Candidacy: Voter Choice in the 1992 Election,” *American Journal of Political Science*, (1995) 39:714–744. (with R. Michael Alvarez)
- “Scobit: An Alternative Estimator to Logit and Probit,” *American Journal of Political Science*, (1994) 38:230–255.
- “Socioeconomic Class Bias in Turnout, 1964-88: The Voters Remain the Same,” *American Political Science Review*, (1992) 86:725–736. (with Jan Leighley)
- “Individual and Systemic Influences on Turnout: Who Votes? 1984,” *Journal of Politics*, (1992) 54:718–740. (with Jan Leighley)
- “Presidential Campaign Expenditures: Evidence on Allocations and Effect,” *Public Choice*, (1992) 73:319–333. (with Jan Leighley)
- “The Effect of Registration Laws and Education on U.S. Voter Turnout,” *American Political Science Review*, (1991) 85:1393–1405.
- “Information and Elite Opinions on the Strategic Defense Initiative,” *Social Science Quarterly*, (1990) 71:531–542.
- “Strategic Implications of Conferee Selection in the House of Representatives: ‘It Ain’t Over Till it’s Over,’” *American Politics Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 1, January, 1989.

Book Reviews, Chapters and other Publications and Reports

- “Mobilizing Institutions and Class Bias in U.S. Electoral Politics, 1964-2004” (with Jan E. Leighley), forthcoming in *Mobilizing Democracy: A Comparative Perspective on Institutional Barriers and Political Obstacles*, Margaret Levi, James Johnson, Jack Knight and Susan Stokes, eds., Russell Sage Foundation, forthcoming.
- “Likely Effects of Adoption of Election Day Registration in Connecticut”, expert witness report prepared for *ACORN, et al., v. Bysiewicz*, November, 2004.
- “Making Voting Easier: Election Day Registration in New York”, report prepared for Demos, April, 2004. (with R. Michael Alvarez and Catherine H. Wilson).

“Root Mean Square Error,” in *Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*, Sage Press, 2003.

“Specification,” in *Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*, Sage Press, 2003.

“Should I Stay Or Should I Go? Sincere and Strategic Crossover Voting in California Assembly Races,” in *California’s Open/Blanket Primary: A Natural Experiment in Election Dynamics*, Cain, Bruce E. and Elisabeth R. Gerber, eds. University of California Press, 2002. (with R. Michael Alvarez)

“California and the Blanket Primary”, monograph prepared for the Secretary of State of California, May, 1999. 193 pages. (with R. Michael Alvarez)

“Economic Conditions and Presidential Elections” (with Jennifer R. Willette), Institut de Ciències Politiques i Socials, Working Paper Number 171, Barcelona, Spain, 1999.

Review of *Statistical Computing Environments for Social Research*, Stine, Robert and John Fox (editors), Sage Press, 1997, *The American Statistician*, Vol 52, No 2, May, 1998. Pages 198-199.

“Analysis of Crossover and Strategic Voting”, expert witness report prepared for *California Party v. Bill Jones*, June, 1997. 64 pages. (with R. Michael Alvarez)

“Coding Style and Good Computing Practices”, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, September, 1995 - Volume 28, No 3. Pages 488-492.

“Coding Style and Good Computing Practices”, *The Political Methodologist*, Spring, 1995 - Volume 6, No 2. Pages 2-9.

Review of *Bicameral Politics*, Longley, Lawrence D. and Walter J. Oleszek, Yale University Press, 1989, *Journal of Politics*, Vol 52, No. 4, November, 1990.

“Knowledge and Opinion: Caltech Poll on Defense Issues,” *Pugwatch*, Spring, 1987.

Recent Conference Papers and Manuscripts

“Who Votes Now? And Does It Matter?,” (with Jan E. Leighley), presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, March, 2007.

“Class Bias in the U.S. Electorate, 1972-2004,” (with Jan E. Leighley), presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August, 2006.

“A Good Model of Turnout and a Cross-National Empirical Analysis” (with Melanie Goodrich), presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 2006.

“Anglo and Hispanic Vote Choice in the 2004 Election” (with R. Michael Alvarez and Lisa Garcia Bedolla), manuscript, March, 2006.

- “Do Voters Really Care Who Gets What?: Economic Growth, Economic Distribution, and Elections” (with Suzanna De Boef), presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 2005.
- “A Method for Weighting Survey Samples of Low-Incidence Voters” (with R. Michael Alvarez), presented at the Annual Summer Meeting of the Political Methodology Society, Tallahassee, Florida, July, 2005.
- “Latinos, Anglos, Voters, Candidates, and Voting Rights” (with R. Michael Alvarez), presented at The University of Pennsylvania Law Review 2003-04 Symposium: The Law of Democracy Since Bush v. Gore, Philadelphia, PA, February, 2004.
- “A Comparative Evaluation of Economic and Issue Voting” (with Catherine Wilson and R. Michael Alvarez), manuscript, November, 2002.
- “Group Economic Performance, Economic Voting and Electoral Accountability” (with Suzanna De Boef), presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April, 2002.
- “Economic Voting in the United States: Methodological Issues and Research Agendas” (with R. Michael Alvarez), prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September, 2001.
- “Socioeconomic Class Bias in Turnout : Evidence from Aggregate Data” (with Jan E. Leighley), presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September, 2000.
- “The Varying Self-Interest of Voters and Economic Reference Groups - Two Analyses to Explain Al Gore’s 2000 Campaign Strategy” (with Suzanna De Boef), presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., September, 2000.
- “Is the Sleeping Giant Awakening?: Latinos and California Politics in the 1990’s” (with R. Michael Alvarez), presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April, 1999.
- “The Relative Impact of Issues and the Economy in Canada: (with Comparisons to the Netherlands, the United States, and Great Britain)” (with Jennifer R. Willette and R. Michael Alvarez), presented at the Conference on: Economics and Elections, Sandjerg Slot, Denmark, August, 1998.
- “Estimating Models of Multiparty Electoral Competition, and Measuring the Compactness of a Multiparty Issue Space” (with Jennifer Niemann and R. Michael Alvarez), presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Los Angeles, California, March, 1998.
- “Analysis of Crossover and Strategic Voting” (with R. Michael Alvarez), California Institute of Technology Social Science Working Paper Number 1019, September, 1997.

Other Conference Participation and Seminars

Paper presented at the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM), Mexico City, Mexico, February, 2000.

Paper presented at University of Montreal, Montreal, Canada, November, 1998.

Invited participant at the Barcelona Conference on Popularity Functions, Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials, Barcelona, Spain, November, 1998.

Invited participant at the Conference on: Economics and Elections, Sandjerg Slot, Denmark, August, 1998.

Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association: 1999, 1998, 1997, 1996, 1995, 1993, 1992, 1991, 1989, 1988.

Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association: 1999, 1998, 1997, 1996, 1994, 1992, 1990, 1989.

Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Political Methodology Society: 2005, 1995, 1993, 1992.

Paper presented at the quarterly meeting of the Southern California Political Methodology Program: Spring, 1998; Spring 1997.

Discussant and/or Panel Chair, Annual Political Methodology Summer Conference: 1999, 1998, 1997, 1996, 1993, 1991.

Invited Participant, presented 2 papers and served as discussant at the Elections Mini-Conference, Washington University, St. Louis, March, 1996.

Other Grant Activity

“Future Policy Directions for California: Forecasting Demands from Latino Voters”, submitted to the Public Policy Institute of California, November, 1999. (with R. Michael Alvarez)

“Effects of Presidential Campaign Spending on Election Outcomes.” College of Liberal Arts Mini-grant program, (\$350). April, 1989. (with Jan Leighley)

Awards

1998 Robert H. Durr Award for the best paper presented at the 1997 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association applying quantitative methods to a substantive problem in political science. For “A New Approach for Modeling Strategic Voting in Multiparty Systems,” (with R. Michael Alvarez).

Professional Associations

- American Political Science Association (Political Methodology, Elections and Electoral Behavior, and Comparative Politics Sections)
- Midwest Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association, Western Political Science Association

Other Professional Activities

Expert witness testimony on the likely impact of Election Day Registration in Connecticut, *ACORN, et al., v. Bysiewicz*, April, 2005.

Special Advisor to Greenberg, Quinlan, Rosner, *Democracy Corps*, Surveys of Hispanic Voters, 2004 to present.

Consultant to The Mellman Group, survey of Hispanic Voters for John Kerry campaign, Summer, 2004.

Consultant to Greenberg, Quinlan, Rosner, NARAL Pro-Choice American survey, Summer, 2004.

President, Political Methodology section of the American Political Science Association, 2001-2003.

Vice-President, Political Methodology section of the American Political Science Association, 1999-2001.

Consultant to Knight Ridder, Survey of Hispanic Voters, 2000.

Member, California Internet Voting Task Force, 1999.

Section Organizer, Methodology, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, Massachusetts, September, 1998.

Expert witness for the state of California, *California Party v. Bill Jones*. Testified on the likely impact of a blanket primary on crossover voting and strategic voting. Summer, 1997.

Editor, *The Political Methodologist*, Spring 1996 to Summer, 1998

Web Master, Political Methodology Section of the American Political Science Association, Spring 1995 to Fall 1998. Designed and Supervise Electronic Paper Archive, Political Methodology Section of the American Political Science Association, Spring 1995 to Fall 1998.

Section Organizer, Elections, Voting, and Participation, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April, 1997.

Editorial Board Member, *Political Analysis*.