

December 12, 2014

Federal Election Commission  
999 E Street NW  
Washington, DC 20463

Re: Petition for Rulemaking from Level the Playing Field to Revise and Amend 11  
C.F.R. § 110.13(c)

To the members of the Federal Election Commission,

This comment is submitted by Professors Larry Diamond and David King. Professor Diamond is Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, and founding co-editor of the *Journal of Democracy*. Professor Diamond teaches political science and sociology at Stanford and is Director of the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL), within the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies. A copy of Professor Diamond's curriculum vitae is attached as Exhibit A. Professor King is Senior Lecturer in Public Policy and Faculty Chair of the Masters in Public Administration programs at The Harvard Kennedy School. Professor King chairs Harvard's Bi-Partisan Program for Newly Elected Members of the U.S. Congress, and he directs the Executive Program for Senior Executives in State and Local Government. A copy of Professor King's curriculum vitae is attached as Exhibit B.

We write in support of Level the Playing Field's petition for rulemaking ("Petition") seeking to preclude sponsors of general election presidential and vice presidential debates from requiring that a candidate meet a polling threshold in order to be included in the debate. The use of polling to determine debate access ensures that third-party and independent candidates will almost always be excluded from the debates. Not even Ross Perot, the most successful third-party presidential candidate in the last century, would have qualified for the debates in 1992 under the polling threshold currently in place.<sup>1</sup> Given the significance of the presidential debates to our democracy, and to the outcome of our presidential elections, this exclusionary use of polling thresholds is untenable. Debate sponsoring organizations should not be permitted to determine access to the debates using a polling criterion because such polls are not appropriate measures of viability and these polls systematically discriminate against non-major-party candidates.

The debates are the most watched campaign events, and the only campaign events in which the candidates appear on the same stage and must present their message in a neutral forum in an actual dialogue. They are vital for the candidates and for our democracy. First, the debates are an essential source of voter knowledge about the candidates. Although the campaign season is long, many voters do not pay much attention until the debates. The debates provide a direct format and unsurpassed audience for candidates to present their message to the public. Second, the debates provide a unique opportunity for the voters to compare the choices for President head-to-head. The debaters are vying for the most important office in the country, and the

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<sup>1</sup> See Petition at 16 & n.50.

debates give voters the opportunity to see the contenders side-by-side and measure whether they have the gravitas to be president and which is the better choice. Third, the debates play an instrumental role in setting the political agenda. Candidates can call attention to important issues and, even if they do not win, they can galvanize public demand for action. Ross Perot's candidacy in 1992 is a prime example: he was able to make deficit reduction a central issue in the campaign, and it in turn became a central issue for the Clinton administration.

The debates should also be about presenting American voters with the voices they want to hear. Unfortunately, that is not happening. The evidence is clear that the American people want an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties: Sixty-two percent of Americans do not think the federal government has the consent of the governed,<sup>2</sup> 86% feel the political system is broken and does not serve the interests of the American people, and 65% want the option to vote for an independent candidate in a U.S. presidential election.<sup>3</sup> The Commission on Presidential Debates ("CPD") is preventing the American people from hearing from that independent choice. A serious competitor for the presidency must be in the general election debates. The CPD determines who gets in. By law, the CPD must make that determination with an objective, nonpartisan rule. The CPD's existing rule fails to meet that standard. Its rule is designed to exclude anyone other than the Republican and Democratic nominees from the debates. Knowing that they have no chance to get into the debates because of the CPD's skewed and partisan rule, men and women with extraordinary records of service to this country choose not to run for President. And, as a result, our country is denied the opportunity for new, qualified, and independent leadership.

The CPD achieves this exclusion by only inviting a candidate to participate in the presidential debates if he or she is at 15% or higher in mid-September opinion polls. That requirement may appear reasonable at first glance, but since World War II, only candidates who have participated in major party primaries would have surpassed the CPD's mid-September 15% threshold; no unaffiliated candidate would have qualified.<sup>4</sup> It is clear that the rule is an insuperable barrier for a candidate without a D or R next to his or her name.

One might expect candidates to have 15% support by mid-September because the primaries and conventions are over by then. One problem with that thinking is that the pre-September events of the presidential campaign focus only on the major party nominees. The media lavish attention on the Democratic and Republican nominees as it covers months of primaries, the manufactured suspense of the vice presidential selection process, and the party infomercials known as conventions. When all is said and done, the Republican and Democratic nominees have garnered an incalculable amount of free media to build popular support.

The landscape is very different for an independent candidate. Participation in the general election debates is essential for any candidate to compete. But there is no realistic way for a candidate who is not affiliated with the two major parties to reach 15% in the polls by mid-September: the candidate will not have the same access as a Democrat or Republican to an

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<sup>2</sup> 68% *Think Election Rules Rigged for Incumbents*, Rasmussen (July 13, 2014), [http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public\\_content/politics/general\\_politics/july\\_2014/68\\_think\\_election\\_rules\\_rigged\\_for\\_incumbents](http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/politics/general_politics/july_2014/68_think_election_rules_rigged_for_incumbents).

<sup>3</sup> Douglas E. Schoen, *Independents and the Presidential Debate System* at 9, 53 (Aug. 29, 2014), attached as Exhibit 2 to Petition.

<sup>4</sup> *See* Petition at 15-16.

abundance of free media to boost his or her standing. Without a high profile primary process or a guaranteed spot in the debates, the candidate can expect little press coverage. That means the candidate has to rely on paid media to garner name recognition and get his or her message to the voters. Any credible campaign consultant will advise the candidate that the cost of running a campaign that could achieve that name recognition through paid media would be in the ballpark of \$250 million.<sup>5</sup>

To put that amount in perspective: No third-party or independent candidate has ever come close to raising that kind of money. Even major party candidates, like John McCain and Barack Obama, did not raise that level of money before they became household names with the free media built into the primary process. Simply put, the amount of money required to obtain the name recognition necessary to poll at the 15% level is an insurmountable barrier for non-major party candidates. It is effectively an onerous tax on third-party and independent contenders that is designed to prevent them from competing.

Even if it were possible for anyone other than a self-funded billionaire to amass these vast resources, it could be for nothing. The error-prone and arbitrary 15% threshold could still shut a qualified and otherwise viable candidate out of the debates. Polls are simply not reliable indicators of a candidate's potential support among voters; polls are often wildly inaccurate. The recent midterm elections highlight this point. Polling firms failed to predict low Election Day turnout by typical Democratic voters.<sup>6</sup> As a result, in state after state, polls were abysmal predictors of the final results. In Kansas, for instance, pre-election polls on average showed Greg Orman with a 7.2% lead two months before the election, and a 0.8% lead going into Election Day; he lost by 10.8%.<sup>7</sup> In Virginia, pre-election polls showed Mark Warner with a lead of 15% two months out, and a lead of 10.2% in the final polls. Yet Warner won by a mere 0.8% margin.<sup>8</sup> This kind of inaccuracy is nothing new. It is a recurring problem. Polls have been badly skewed in one direction or the other in the 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, and 2012 elections.<sup>9</sup>

Polling in three-way races is particularly inaccurate. In three-way races, polls taken two months before the election are, on average, 8% off. This inaccuracy systematically disfavors third-party and independent challengers. As explained in the Petition, in the case of the 15% polling threshold that the CPD employs, a candidate with support at or just above the threshold can be up to 1000 times more likely to face exclusion from the debates as a result of polling inaccuracy than a candidate polling at or above 40%. Because a third-party or independent candidate is much more likely to be closer to the 15% threshold, the risks of polling inaccuracy fall overwhelmingly on them, and not on major-party candidates.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See *id.* at 9-15.

<sup>6</sup> See Sam Wang, *The Polls Failed To Predict A Republican Landslide. Here's Why.*, The New Republic (Nov. 5, 2014), <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/120147/2014-midterm-predictions-poll-aggregators-hit-midterm-curse>; Barnini Chakraborty, *Election results looked nothing like the polls -- what gives?*, FoxNews.com (Nov. 7, 2014), <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2014/11/07/pollsters-miss-predictions-in-key-races/>.

<sup>7</sup> See Level the Playing Field's Comment in Support of Petition, submitted Dec. 2, 2014.

<sup>8</sup> See *id.*

<sup>9</sup> See Nate Silver, *The Polls Were Skewed Toward Democrats*, FiveThirtyEight.com (Nov. 5, 2014, 9:08 a.m.), <http://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-polls-were-skewed-toward-democrats/>.

<sup>10</sup> See Petition at 17-20; Expert Report of Dr. Clifford Young, dated Sept. 5, 2014, at ¶¶ 52-71, attached as Exhibit 3 to Petition.

Finally, the timing of polling used by the CPD also favors major party candidates at the expense of independent and third-party candidates. The CPD determines whether candidates meet its 15% threshold in mid-September of the election year. Republican and Democratic candidates can rely on hardcore partisan support to be sure that they will never fall below that threshold, and thus they are sure of their participation in the debates from the moment they win their parties' respective nominations. In contrast, a third-party or independent candidate must campaign for months under uncertainty as to whether he or she will have access to the debates. This uncertainty creates a vicious circle that prevents independent candidates from fairly competing for the right to participate in the debates, not to mention mounting a viable campaign for the presidency: without guaranteed access to the debates, the media is much less likely to cover the candidate, which inhibits the candidate's ability to raise money and build support...which makes it impossible to qualify for the debates. Moreover, given that participation in the debates is a prerequisite to victory, many prospective donors will not contribute to a candidate who has not yet qualified for the debates. Thus, the uncertainty resulting from the timing of the polling determination creates another harm that befalls only third-party and independent candidates.<sup>11</sup>

In short, the CPD's rule requires a third-party or independent candidate to commit to raising and spending an unprecedented and unreasonable sum just for the chance to satisfy an error-prone and arbitrary test. Credible unaffiliated candidates will not run for President if they do not have a realistic shot of being in the debates. In the face of the CPD's unfair rule, credible unaffiliated candidates will not run.

The FEC can help solve this problem by eliminating the reliance on polling thresholds like the one the CPD uses. This simple rule change will insure the level playing field that the FEC's debate regulations were meant to foster. We therefore respectfully urge the FEC to grant the petition for rulemaking and help fix the broken debate system.

Respectfully submitted,

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<sup>11</sup> See Petition at 14; Expert Report of Douglas Schoen at 4-5, 24-25, dated Sept. 5, 2014, attached as Exhibit 11 to Petition.

# **Exhibit A**

October 2011

## Curriculum Vitae

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**PRESENT POSITIONS**

Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution  
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Peter E. Haas Faculty Co-Director, Haas Center for Public Service  
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Senior Consultant, International Forum for Democratic Studies,  
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**PREVIOUS POSITIONS and FELLOWSHIPS**

Assistant Professor of Sociology, Vanderbilt University, 1980-85.  
Public Policy Fellow, Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1979-80.  
Founding co-director, International Forum for Democratic Studies (1994-2009)

**EDUCATION**

Ph.D., Sociology, Stanford University, 1980  
M.A., Food Research Institute, Stanford University, 1978  
B.A., Political Organization and Behavior, Stanford, 1974

**RESEARCH INTERESTS**

Comparative problems of democratic development and consolidation  
U.S. and international policies to support democracy and economic development  
Challenges of post-war state-building, in Iraq and comparatively  
Public attitudes and values toward democracy in new democracies  
Democratic transitions and prospects in Africa  
Liberation Technology

**BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS**

*The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World* (New York, Times Books, 2008).

*Squandered Victory: The American Occupation and the Bungled Effort to Bring Democracy to Iraq* (New York, Times Books 2005; paperback, 2006)

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"Democracy and Economic Reform: Tensions, Compatibilities, and Strategies for Reconciliation," in Edward Lazear, ed., *Economic Transition in Eastern Europe and Russia: Realities of Reform* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1995).

"Promoting Democracy in Africa," in John W. Harbeson and Donald Rothchild, eds., *Africa in World Politics*, 2nd edition (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995).

"Civil Society and Democratic Consolidation: Building a Culture of Democracy in a New South Africa," in Hermann Giliomee and Lawrence Schlemmer, eds., *The Bold Experiment: South Africa's New Democracy* (Midrand, South Africa: Southern Book Publishers, 1994).

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"Introduction: Persistence, Erosion, Breakdown and Renewal," in Diamond, Linz and Lipset, eds., *Democracy in Developing Countries: Asia* (1989).

"Beyond Authoritarianism and Totalitarianism: Strategies for Democratization," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 12, no. 2, Winter 1989. Translated and published in *Revista del Pensamiento Centro Americano*, Vol. 43, no. 201, October-December 1988.

"Introduction: Roots of Failure, Seeds of Hope," in Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, eds., *Democracy in Developing Countries: Africa* (1988).

"Class Formation in the Swollen African State," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 26, no. 1, March 1988.

"Issues in the Constitutional Design of a Third Nigerian Republic," *African Affairs*, Vol. 86, no. 343, April 1987.

"Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict" (Review essay), *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 25, no. 1, March 1987.

"Nigeria in Search of Democracy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 62, no. 4, Spring 1984.

"Class, Ethnicity and the Democratic State: Nigeria, 1950-66," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 25, no. 3, July 1983.

"Cleavage, Conflict and Anxiety in the Second Nigerian Republic," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 20, no. 4, December 1982.

"Personal Development and National Development: A Cross-national Perspective" (with Alex Inkeles). In *Comparative Studies on the Quality of Life*, Alexander Szalai and Frank Andrews, eds. London: SAGE, 1980.

## WORKING PAPERS

"Democratic Governance and the Performance of Democracy," Paper presented at "Democracy that Delivers: Improving the Quality of Democratic Governance and Economic Growth" conference at the Center for International Private Enterprise. Washington, DC, October 27, 2009. [http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/22710/No\\_117\\_Diamond\\_CIPE\\_Democ\\_\\_Governance\\_10-09.pdf](http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/22710/No_117_Diamond_CIPE_Democ__Governance_10-09.pdf)

"Supporting Democracy: Refashioning U.S. Global Strategy to Advance Freedom," Prepared for the CSIS Project on "Democracy Promotion in U.S. Grand Strategy," December 1, 2008

"Promoting Democracy in Post-Conflict and Failed States: Lessons and Challenges" (Prepared for the National Policy Forum on Terrorism, Security, and America's Purpose, Sept 6-7, 2005, Washington, DC)

"Can the Whole World Become Democratic? Democracy, Development, and International Policies," Working Paper 03-05, Center for the Study of Democracy, U.C. Irvine. (This paper was presented as the annual Harry Eckstein Lecture at UC Irvine, April 17, 2003).

"Fostering Institutions to Contain Corruption," *Prem Notes*, The World Bank, June 1999, no. 24.

"Political Culture and Democratic Consolidation," *Estudio/Working Paper* 1998/118, Center for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences, Juan March Institute, Madrid, Spain, June 1998.

"The End of the Third Wave and the Global Future of Democracy," Working Paper, Political Science Series, no.45, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, 1998.

"Prospects for Democratic Development in Africa," Hoover Institution, *Essays in Public Policy*, 1997.

"Civil Society and the Development of Democracy," *Estudio/Working Paper* 1997/101, Center for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences, Juan March Institute, Madrid, Spain, June 1997.

“Is the Third Wave of Democracy Over? The Imperative of Consolidation,” *Working Paper* no. 237, the Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, March 1997.

“Is the Third Wave of Democracy Over? An Empirical Assessment,” *Working Paper* no. 236, the Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, March 1997.

### OP-Eds and OTHER RECENT ARTICLES

“Obama’s Moment of Truth,” *The New Republic*, March 15, 2011,  
<http://www.tnr.com/article/world/85215/obama-qaddafi-libya-us-foreign-policy>.

“Transition Traps: How Egypt Can Avoid the Most Dangerous Pitfalls on the Way to Becoming a Democracy,” *The New Republic*, February 16, 2011,  
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“How Egypt Can Build Lasting Democracy in a post-Mubarak World,” *The Washington Post*, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/02/04/AR2011020403021.html>.

“Let’s Hear from the Democracies on Iran,” *New York Times*, July 6, 2009, with Abbas Milani.

“Instead of Imposing Policies, Reward States that Invest in Well-Being and Institutions,” *Boston Review* (July/August 2009), pp. 12-13.

“Pursue a New Freedom Agenda,” *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*, no. 6 (Fall 2007), <http://www.democracyjournal.org/article.php?ID=6557>.

“India: Take the Lead,” *Times of India*, 13 December 2007,  
[http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/India\\_Take\\_The\\_Lead/articleshow/2617945.cms](http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/India_Take_The_Lead/articleshow/2617945.cms)

“IN MEMORIAM: SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET, 1922–2006: A Giant among Teachers,” *Hoover Digest* 2007, no. 1,  
<http://www.hoover.org/publications/digest/6731576.html>.

“Democracy Remains the People’s Choice,” *Straits Times*, September 11, 2006

“Pivotal Moment in Iraq” *San Jose Mercury News*, December 11, 2005.

“Consensus and Iraq’s Constitution” *Los Angeles Times*, October 15, 2005.

“It’s Only Looks Dead: Don’t write the obituary for Iraq’s Constitution just yet”

*The New Republic Online*, August 17, 2005.

“Has America Failed in Iraq?” (online debate), *Slate*, July 20, 2005,  
<http://www.slate.com/id/2123079/entry/2123087/>.

“Beat the Insurgents by Talking to Them,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 3, 2005.

“Iraq’s Cabinet Needs More Than A Few Tame Sunnis,” *Wall Street Journal*, April 14, 2005, page 18.

“Between Democracy and Stability: The Middle East,” *Hoover Digest* 2005, no. 1: 109-115.

“Report from Baghdad,” *Hoover Digest* 2004, no. 4.

“How a Vote Could Derail Democracy,” *New York Times*, (January 9, 2005) p. 13.

“The New War for Iraq,” *Hoover Digest* 2004, no 3: 42-51.

“Eyewitness to the Iraq Botch,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 10, 2004

“Iraq: The Long Haul,” *Hoover Digest*, 2004, no. 2: 26-33.

“No Other Option” *Wall Street Journal*, April 8, 2004.

“Iraq’s Democratic Revolution,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 19, 2004.

“Foreign Aid and the National Interest,” *Hoover Digest*, 2004, no.1: 53-57.

“Endgame: Why the United States Should not Go It Alone,” *Hoover Digest* 2003,  
no. 1: 82-85.

“Preparing for the Worst,” *Hoover Digest*, 2002, no. 2: 26-30.

“How to Win the War,” *Hoover Digest*, 2002, no. 1: 9-16.

“Debt for Democracy,” *Hoover Digest*, 2001, no. 1: 127-132.

“What the Democratization of Mexican Means for All the World,” *Hoover Digest*,  
2000, no. 4, 166-171.

“Compassionate Conditionality for Africa,” *The Weekly Standard*, July 31, 2000, p.  
41; *The American Spectator*, September 2000, p. 83.

“A Report Card on Democracy,” *Hoover Digest*, 2000, no. 3: 91-100.

“Cross-strait Balancing Act Chen’s First Priority,” *Taipei Times*, March 21, 2000

“A Message to the KMT: Now is the Time to Reform or Die,” *Taipei Times*, March 20, 2000

“What the Election Signifies for Democracy,” *Taipei Times*, March 15, 2000

“Democracy: The Global Prospect,” *Hoover Digest* 1999, no. 4: 64-76.

“Institutions of Accountability,” *Hoover Digest*, 1999, no. 3: 87-91.

“Electoral System Reform in Taiwan,” *Taipei Times*, June 29, 1999, p 9.

“Inside the Gulag,” *Hoover Digest* 1998, no. 4: 99-106.

“Building a Democratic Africa,” *Hoover Digest* 1998, no. 3: 116-121.

“Ten Tests for Latin Democracy” *Hoover Digest* 1997, no. 4: 94-103.

“Is There Hope for Africa?” *Hoover Digest* 1997, no. 2: 119-125.

## **RECENT CONFERENCE PAPERS, SPEECHES, AND PRESENTATIONS**

“Indonesia’s Place in Global Democracy,” presented to the “Indonesia Update” conference, Australian National University, Canberra, October 9-10, 2009.

“The Future of Democracy and U.S. Foreign Policy,” presented to the Hudson Institute-Pew Charitable Trusts “Briefings on Democracy,” December 10, 2008.

“Teaching Outside the Classroom: Making a Difference in Students’ Lives,” Lecture to the Center for Teaching and Learning, Stanford University, October 31, 2007

“Promoting Democracy to Undermine Radical Islamist Terrorism,” prepared for the Solarium II Project” of the Center for a New American Security, Meeting 1, October 23, 2007

“Prospects for Democratization in Hong Kong: A Comparative Perspective.” Prepared for the Conference “Hong Kong on the Move: American and Hong Kong Perspectives on the First Ten Years of the HKSAR,” Center for Strategic and International Studies and Hong Kong Washington Economic and Trade Office, October 22, 2007, Washington, D.C.

“Building Trust in Government by Improving Governance,” Presented to the 7<sup>th</sup>

Global Forum on Reinventing Government: “Building Trust in Government” Sponsored by the United Nations, Vienna, June 27, 2007.

Remarks To the National Endowment for Democracy Panel, “The Legacy of Westminster: Democracy Assistance since the Founding of NED and the Challenges Ahead,” Library of Congress, June 7, 2007.

“Why Taiwan’s Democracy Matters, For Taiwan and for All of Asia,” Keynote Address to 2007 West Coast Conference of the Intercollegiate Taiwanese American Students Association, April 14, 2007.

“Institutional Options for Democratic Development in Hong Kong,” Lecture to the Savantas Institute, Hong Kong, September 19, 2006.

“Can Iraq Become a Democracy? Can Iraq Avoid Civil War?” Paper for the International Studies Association Meeting. San Diego, March 23, 2006.

“What went Wrong in Iraq, and Prospects for Democracy and Stability” presented to the UCLA International Institute, February 3, 2006, Los Angeles, California.

“Promoting Democracy in Post-Conflict and Failed States: Lessons and Challenges,” Prepared for the National Policy Forum on Terrorism, Security, and America’s Purpose, September 6-7, 2005, Washington, DC, co-sponsored by the New America Foundation the Democracy Coalition Project.

“Democracy, Development and Good Governance: The Inseparable Links” Annual Democracy and Governance Lecture. Presented at the Center for Democratic Development, British Council Hall, Accra, Ghana, March 1, 2005.

“Moving Up Out of Poverty: What Does Democracy Have to Do with It?” presented to the World Bank Workshop, “Moving Out of Poverty: Growth and Freedom from the Bottom Up” July 15-17, 2003, Washington, D.C.

“Building a System of Comprehensive Accountability to Control Corruption.” Presented to the Seminar on Democratic Consolidation: The International Context and the Mexican Experience, Federal Electoral Institute of Mexico, Mexico City, Feb. 18-20, 2003.

“What Civil Society Can Do To Reform, Deepen, and Improve Democracy.” Presented to the Workshop on “Civil Society, Social Capital, and Civic Engagement in Japan and the United States,” Sponsored by the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership, The Asia Foundation, and the program on U.S. Japan Relations at Harvard University, June 12-13, 2001, Tokyo.

“Civic Communities and Predatory Societies,” Delivered to the conference  
“Culture Matters: A Forum for Business, Education and Training Professionals,”  
Intercultural Management Institute, American University, Washington, D.C. May  
10, 2001

“How Democratic is Taiwan? Five Key Challenges for Democratic Development  
and Consolidation.” Paper for the Symposium on “The Transition from One-Party  
Rule: Taiwan’s New Government and Cross-Strait Relations,” Columbia University,  
April 6-7, 2001.

“How People View Democracy: Findings from Public Opinion Surveys in Four  
Regions,” presentation to the IIS Democratization Seminar, Stanford University,  
January 11, 2001.

“Democracy Promotion for the Long Haul,” Remarks by Larry Diamond to the AID  
Partners Conference, November 30, 2000

“Growth and Equivocation in Democratic Values: Taiwan and Korea in Comparative  
Perspective,” with Yun-han Chu and Doh Chull Shin. Paper presented to the 2000  
annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.,  
August 31-September 3.

“Anatomy of a Political Earthquake: How the KMT Lost—and the DPP Won—the  
2000 Presidential Election in Taiwan.” Paper presented to the conference on  
“Taiwan’s Presidential Election: Outcome and Implications,” August 21-22, 2000,  
East-West Center, Honolulu.

“Politics, Society and Democracy in Latin America,” presented to the 1998 Annual  
Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, September 3-6.

“Cross-Strait Relations in the Wake of the Summit,” presented to the Hoover  
Institution “U.S. and World Affairs Seminar,” January 8, 1998.

“The End of the Third Wave and the Beginning of the Fourth,” presented to lecture  
series on “The Democratic Invention” of the Mario Soares Foundation, Lisbon,  
Portugal, June 18, 1997.

“Cultivating Democratic Citizenship: Education for a New Century of Democracy in  
the Americas,” presented to the Civitas Panamericano Conference, “Education for  
Democracy,” Buenos Aires, Spetember 29-October 2, 1996.

"Some Democratic Lessons in the 'Asian Values' Debate." Paper presented to the  
Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Honolulu, Hawaii, April 12,  
1996.

"Taiwan's Future Role in the World," remarks to the US-Taiwan Policy Consultation, sponsored by the Carnegie Council for International Peace and the Institute for National Policy Research, New York, December 10, 1994

"Controlling Violent Conflict in the Post-Cold War World," presented to the International Press Institute Conference, Cape Town, South Africa, February 16, 1994.

### **AWARDS, GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS**

Dinkelspiel Award for Distinctive Contributions to Undergraduate Education, Stanford University, June 2007.

"Teacher of the Year Award," Associated Students of Stanford University, May 2007.

Research Grant, Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation, "Consolidating Democracy in Taiwan," 1999-2000.

POSCO Visiting Fellow, East-West Center, Honolulu (August 1999)

Study on democratic consolidation in Taiwan, from the National Science Council of Taiwan, while in residence at the Sun Yat-sen Institute of Social Sciences and Philosophy, Academia Sinica, 1997-98

"Economy, Society, and Democracy," grant from the Agency for International Development, September 14, 1990 - March 13, 1993 (Principal Investigator).

"Project on Democracy in Developing Countries," grant from the Agency for International Development, September 1, 1987 - March 1, 1989 (Principal Investigator).

"Democracy in Developing Countries," grant from the MacArthur Foundation to the Hoover Institution, 1987-90 (with Alex Inkeles, Seymour Martin Lipset, Ramon Myers, Alvin Rabushka and Robert Wesson).

Research Grant (for 1984-1987), National Endowment for Democracy, to finance a comparative study of democratic experiences in the Third World. (With Seymour Martin Lipset and Juan Linz).

Fulbright Teaching Fellowship, 1982-83: Visiting Lecturer in Sociology at Bayero University, Kano.



**RECENT COURSES TAUGHT**

Comparative Democratic Development  
Democracy Promotion in American Foreign Policy (Seminar)  
Building Democracy after Conflict (Seminar)  
Seminar on Democratic Consolidation (seminar)

**PROFESSIONAL and PUBLIC SERVICE**

Coordinator, Democracy Program, Center for Democracy, Development,  
& the Rule of Law, Stanford Institute for International Studies, 2002-  
Member, Board of Directors, Voices of a Democratic Egypt, 2008-  
Member, Board of Directors, Council for a Community of Democracies, 2006-  
Member, Advisory Commission on Voluntary Foreign Aid (U.S. Agency for  
International Development), 2004-2007  
Member, Stanford University Task Force on Student Mental Health and Well-Being,  
2006-2008  
Member, Faculty Advisory Board, Haas Center for Public Service, 2007-  
Member, Board of Directors, Hillel at Stanford, 2004-  
Member, Council on Foreign Relations Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy  
Toward Reform in the Arab World, 2004-2005  
Senior Advisor on Governance, Coalition Provisional Authority, Baghdad, 2004  
Member, Faculty Steering Committee, Haas Center for Public Service, Stanford  
University, 2003-06 (and advisor to the Stanford-in-Government International  
Fellowships Program)  
Consultant to U.S. Agency for International Development, 2001-2003  
Member, Advisory Board, *Freedom in the World Survey*, Freedom House  
Member, Executive Board, Society for Comparative Research, 1997-02  
Member of the Editorial Board, *Current History*, 2000-  
Member, Editorial Board, *India Review*, 2001-  
Member, International Advisory Board, International Human Rights  
Consortium, Center On Rights Development, Denver University, 2001-  
Co-coordinator, Democratization Seminar, Institute for International  
Studies, Stanford University, 1994-2002  
Co-coordinator, U.S. and World Affairs Seminar, Hoover Institution, 1990-2003  
Co-director, Center for African Studies, Stanford, 1994, 1999-2000

**MEMBERSHIPS**

American Political Science Association  
African Studies Association  
Conference Group on Taiwan Studies  
International Political Science Association

Pacific Council on International Policy

# **Exhibit B**

**Narrative Bio:** David C. King is Senior Lecturer in Public Policy at The Harvard Kennedy School and Faculty Chair of the Masters in Public Administration programs. Professor King is the primary faculty contact for students in the two-year [MPA](#) and the one-year [Mid-Career MPA](#) programs, for which he also chairs the Admissions Committees. Professor King chairs Harvard's Bi-Partisan Program for Newly Elected Members of the U.S. Congress, and he directs the Executive Program for Senior Executives in State and Local Government.

An award-winning instructor, King's work is highlighted in Bill Smoot's 2010 book, [Conversations with Great Teachers](#). Since joining the Harvard faculty in 1992, Professor King's courses have focused on Legislatures, Political Parties, and Interest Groups. He is also a member of the core faculty within the [Carr Center for Human Rights Policy](#) and a faculty affiliate of the [Taubman Center for State and Local Government](#).

In the wake of the 2000 presidential elections, Professor King directed the Task Force on Election Administration for the National Commission on Election Reform, chaired by former presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. That effort culminated in landmark voting rights legislation signed by President Bush in late 2002. He later oversaw an evaluation and new management structure for the Boston Election Department, and he served on the Advisory Board of [AmericansElect.org](#).

Professor King is the author, co-author, and co-editor of three books, and he has published in a range of journals, including *The American Political Science Review*, and *The Journal of Politics*.

## Education

Ph.D. 1992, A.M. 1990, (Political Science), [The University of Michigan](#)  
A.B. 1985, (Government; Philosophy), [Lawrence University](#)

## Books

David C. King & Zachary Karabell. [The Generation of Trust: How the U.S. Military has Regained the Public's Confidence since Vietnam](#). (The American Enterprise Institute, 2003)  
([Click here](#) for a review in *Foreign Affairs*)

Joseph S. Nye, Philip Zelikow & David C. King (eds.). [Why People Don't Trust Government](#). (Harvard University Press, 1997). Also published in Japanese (Tokyo: Eiji Shuppan, 2002)  
- *Current Outstanding Academic Book Award, 1998*

David C. King. [Turf Wars: How Congressional Committees Claim Jurisdiction](#). (University of Chicago Press, 1997)  
- [Richard F. Fenno Prize](#), "Best New Book on Legislatures," 1998  
- [E. E. Schattschneider Prize](#), "Best Dissertation in American Government," The American Political Science Association, 1993

## Articles and Book Chapters

- Alexander S. Belenky & David C. King. "A Mathematical Model for Estimating the Potential Margin of State Undecided Voters in a U.S. Federal Election." *Mathematical and Computer Modeling*. 45:585-93: March 2007.
- David C. King. "[The 2005 Presidential Election and Constitutional Reform in Bolivia](#)." *Revista*. Spring/Summer 2006: 11-15.
- David W. Nickerson, Ryan D. Friedrich, David C. King. "Partisan Mobilization Campaigns in the Field: Results from a Statewide Turnout Experiment in Michigan." *Political Research Quarterly*, March 2006, 59:85-98.
- David C. King & Miles Pomper. "Congress, Constituencies, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Caspian," in Brenda Shaffer, ed., *The Limits of Culture: Islam, Foreign Policy & the Caspian*. Cambridge: MIT University Press, 2005. And an earlier, longer, version published as, "[Congress and the Contingent Influence of Diaspora Lobbies: U.S. Foreign Policy toward Armenia](#)." *Journal of Armenian Studies*, December 2004.
- David C. King & David Morehouse. "Moving Voters in the 2000 Presidential Campaign: Local Visits and Local Media." In David Schultz, ed. *Lights, Camera, Campaign*. New York: Peter Lang, 2004.
- David C. King & Richard E. Matland. "Sex and the Grand Old Party: An Experimental Investigation of the Effect of Candidate Sex on Support for a Republican Candidate." *American Politics Research*, November 2003.
- David C. King & Richard L. Zeckhauser. "[Congressional Vote Options](#)," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, August 2003, 28:387-411.
- Jonathan C. Borck, David C. King, Richard J. Zeckhauser. "[Contribution Shares in Alliances](#)." *Proceedings of the IASTED International Conference on Alliances, Mergers, and Acquisitions*. Banff, Canada. July 3, 2003.
- Richard E. Matland & David C. King. "[Women as Candidates in Congressional Elections](#)," in Cindy Simon Rosenthal, ed., *Women Transforming Congress*. University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.
- David C. King. "[Catching Voters in the Web](#)," in Elaine C. Kamarck & Joseph S. Nye, Jr., eds., *Governance.com: Democracy in the Information Age*. Washington, DC: Brookings Press, 2002. Revised and updated from Kamarck & Nye, eds. *Democracy.com? Governance in a Networked World*. Hollis, New Hampshire: Hollis Publishing, 1999.
- Contributor, in chapters 5 and 7: *To Assure Pride and Confidence in the Electoral Process*. The National Commission on Federal Election Reform. July 31, 2001.
- Tim Groseclose & David C. King. "[Committee Theories Reconsidered](#)," in Lawrence C. Dodd & Bruce I. Oppenheimer (eds.), *Congress Reconsidered*, 7th edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2001.

- David C. King & Richard J. Zeckhauser. "Legislators as Negotiators," in Robert H. Mnookin & Lawrence E. Susskind (eds.), *Negotiating on Behalf of Others*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1999.
- Tim Groseclose & David C. King. "The Little Theatre: Committees in Congress," in Herbert Weisberg & Samuel Patterson (eds.), *Great Theatre: The American Congress in the 1990's*. Cambridge University Press, 1998. Reprinted in Kelly D. Patterson & Daniel Shea, ed., *Contemplating the People's Branch*, New York: Prentice Hall, 2000.
- David C. King. "The Polarization of Political Parties and Mistrust of Government," in Joseph S. Nye, Philip Zelikow & David C. King eds., *Why People Don't Trust Government*. Harvard University Press, 1997.
- David C. King. "Reform and Deliberation in the United States Congress." *Proceedings of the International Seminar on Governmental Reform Policy*. Seoul: Korean Association for Policy Studies, 1995.
- David C. King. "The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946," and "The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970," in Donald C. Bacon, Roger H. Davidson, and Morton Keller (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the United States Congress*, Simon & Schuster, 1995, pgs. 1279-81
- David C. King. "[The Nature of Congressional Committee Jurisdictions](#)," *The American Political Science Review*, March 1994, 88:48-62.
- Gregory B. Markus, Jeffrey P. Howard, & David C. King. "[Integrating Community Service and Classroom Instruction Enhances Learning: Results from an Experiment](#)," *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, Winter 1993, 15:410-19.
- David C. King & Jack L. Walker. "[The Provision of Benefits by Interest Groups in the United States](#)," *The Journal of Politics*, May 1992, 54:394-426.
- David C. King & Jack L. Walker. "An Ecology of Interest Groups" (Chapter 4) and "The Origins and Maintenance of Interest Groups" (Chapter 5) in Jack L. Walker, *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America*, University of Michigan Press, 1991.
- John E. Jackson & David C. King. "[Public Goods, Private Interests, and Representation](#)," *The American Political Science Review*, December 1989, 83:1143-64.

## Conference and Working Papers

- David C. King & Richard L. Zeckhauser. "Congressional Leaders as Negotiation Anchors." February 16, 2009.
- Richard G. Neimi, Kent Portney, David C. King. "Sampling Young Adults: The Effects of Survey Mode and Sampling Method on Inferences about the Political Behavior of College Students." Boston, MA: Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, August 28, 2008.
- David C. King. "[A Blueprint for Transforming the Boston Election Department](#)." April 7, 2007.
- David C. King, Richard L. Zeckhauser & Mark T. Kim. "The Management Performance of the U.S. States." July 8, 2004.
- [College and University Voter Mobilization Efforts](#). September 13, 2004, as published in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*.
- [Are You Taking To Me? A Guide to Reaching Young Voters](#). *The Institute of Politics*. August 2004.
- David C. King. "[Congress, Polarization, and Fidelity to the Median Voter](#)." March 10, 2003.

- David C. King & Richard L. Zeckhauser. "[Punching and Counter-Punching in the U.S. Congress: Why Party Leaders Tend to be Extremists](#)." December 9, 2002.
- David C. King. "[Selling International News](#)." December 9, 2002.
- David C. King. "[Party Competition and Fidelity to the Median Voter in the U.S. Congress](#)." February 15, 2001.
- David C. King & Rebecca Hardiman. "The Constitutionality of Congressional Involvement in Federal Elections." January 25, 2001.
- David C. King, Andrew Cooley, Julie Curtis. "Interesting News: The Attributes of Popular Stories in the Times Mirror Interest Index." January 11, 1999.
- David C. King. "The New Political Machine" and "Political & Demographic Characteristics of Web Users in Late 1997," *Visions of Governance in the 21st Century* conference on the Information Revolution. July 1998.
- David C. King. "Stability and Change in U.S. Politics." Aspen Strategy Group, U.S. - Russia Dialogue. Queenstown, Maryland. June 14, 1998.
- Tim Groseclose & David C. King, "Committee Theories and Committee Institutions." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Washington. August 29, 1997.
- David C. King, David Eddy-Spicer, Howard Husock, "Riding a Dark Horse: Exploring the Dynamics of a Presidential Campaign via Hyperspace." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Washington. August 29, 1997.
- David C. King, Richard L. Zeckhauser, Sven E. Feldmann. "Winning by a Little and Losing by a Lot on Congressional Roll Call Votes." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago. April 7, 1995.
- David C. King. "Public Goods, Private Interests, and Participation in Congressional Committee Hearings." John F. Kennedy School of Government Working Paper R9313. June 21, 1993.
- David C. King. "The 1981 White House Conference on Aging: Political Activities and Funding Sources of Included and Excluded Groups." May 5, 1992.
- David C. King. "Congressional Committee Jurisdictions and the Consequences of Reform," Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago. April 19, 1991.
- David C. King. "Congressional Committee Jurisdictions and Institutional Change: The 1946 Legislative Reorganization Act," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco. August 31, 1990.
- David C. King. "The Strategic Timing of Campaign Contributions in the Michigan Legislature." April 15, 1989.
- David C. King. "Representation through Participation in Committee Hearings: Ways and Means Committee Members and the 1978 Revenue Reform Act." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 13, 1989.
- David C. King. "Interest Groups and Pollution on the Rhine River: A Comparative Politics Approach. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 13, 1989.
- Institute of Politics Survey Reports: [April 2007](#), [November 2006](#), [April 2006](#), [November 2005](#), [April 2005](#), [October 2004](#).

### **Degree Program Teaching**

- The U.S. Congress and Lawmaking (HKS: DPI-120; GOV-1300; HLS-48225A), *since 1992*
- Interest Group Activism & Representation, *1997-2003, 2009-present*
- U.S. Political Parties in Theory & Practice, *1998-2003, 2010-present*
- **Also:** Culture, Politics, and Power, *2010*; Election Reform, *2007-11*; Elective and Advocacy Politics, *1993-99*; Doctoral Research Seminar, *1993-96*

### **Executive Program Teaching**

- Program for Newly-Elected Members of the U.S. Congress, *since 1992 (Faculty Director since 1996)*

- [Senior Executives in State and Local Government](#), since 1998 (Faculty Chair since 2010)
- Executive Program for Members of the Russian Duma and Federation Council, *Faculty Chair, 1994-2003*
- **Also:** Senior Managers in Government, 1995-97; U.S./Russia National Security Program, since 1998; Senior Executives in National Security, since 1996; Black Sea Security Program, 1999-2009; Chinese Leaders in Development, since 1999. Taiwan Leaders Program, 2001-09; Beijing Leadership and Development Program; 2004-08; Executive Program for Vietnamese Political Leaders, 2008; Meeting the Challenges of Mexico's Future, 2010-12; Leaders in Transition, 2012; Local Leaders in Indonesia, 2012.

## Service

- **Director**, Task Force on Election Administration, Carter-Ford National Commission on Federal Election Reform, *January 2001 to October 2002*
- **Overseer**, [Boston Election Department](#), *November 2006 to March 2007*
- **Faculty Coordinator**, U.S. State Department [I-VOTE program for Future Leaders of Emerging Nations](#), 2008
- **Boards**
  - [American's Elect](#) (2011-12), Unity08, Rules Committee (2007-09), '18 in '08 (2007-09), Take Your Kids 2 Vote (2008-10), aPebble (2008-09), Kids Voting USA (2006-07), Youth Voter Corps (2001-04), Common Cause (1988-96), Wisconsin Higher Educational Aids Board (1983-84)

## Talks

### Governments

- *Testimony*
  - o [Massachusetts Joint Committee on Election Laws](#), Boston, 2007
  - o [The Institute for Social Planning](#), Moscow, 2007
  - o U.S. House Select Committee on Homeland Security, Washington DC, 2003
  - o Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Panama, 2002
  - o [The Congressional Black Caucus](#), Washington DC, 2001
  - o Committee on Defense, State Duma of the Russian Federation, Moscow, 1997
- *Presentations*
  - o "[Attitudes and the Formation of Attitudes Toward the U.S. Military](#)," U.S. Marine Corps Recruiting Command, 2008
  - o "The 2004 U.S. Presidential Elections in Perspective," [U.S. Mission to the United Nations](#), 2004
  - o "Generational Trends in Support of the U.S. Military," U.S. Marine Corps Recruiting Command, 2004
  - o "The Constitutional Basis for Federal Regulation of Elections," House Democratic Caucus Issues Conference, 2001
  - o The General Accounting Office, 2000
  - o Defense Science Board Task Force on Human Resources Strategy, 1999

### Non-Profits

- o "Conducting Arts Advocacy," ArtSpeaks-Naperville, 2012
- o "The Power of Incredible Teachable Moments," David Bohnett Foundation, 2011
- o "Politics, Culture, and Power," [Mentes Independientes](#), Bogota, Colombia, 2011
- o [Boston International](#), 2009-11
- o "The Promise of Politics," [Public Conversations Project](#), 2009
- o **Also:** The American Red Cross (2006), Groupe d'étude et de recherche sur la sécurité internationale, Montreal (2004), "The Power of One: Youth Vote Summit," (2004), Break Away (2004), Young Presidents Organization of Guatemala, La Antigua (2002), Society for Social Studies of Science (2001), National Institute for



Government Innovation (2001), Political Institutions Seminar, Wexner-Israel Fellows (since 1993), Voting Rights Institute (2001), The Johnson Foundation, (2001), American Board of Internal Medicine Foundation (2000), John C. Stennis Congressional Staff Fellows (2000), Center for the Study of the American Presidency (2000), Northeast Fish & Wildlife Conference (1999), National Association of Schools of Public Administration, (1998), Laura B. Moore Memorial Lecture, League of Women Voters (1997), Korean Association for Policy Studies, Seoul (1995), Section Head: Political Parties and Interest Groups. Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meetings (1995)

### Communities

- [Conference on the Future of the Sudan Region](#), 2012
- Social Entrepreneurship and Leadership in Israel, 2011
- The Grand Old Party: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow, 2008
- “Youth Voting and Participation in the 2006 Elections,” The Columbia Political Union, 2007
- Symposium on the 125<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Birth of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Moscow, 2007
- **Also:** Voting, Vote Capture, and Vote Counting Symposium (2004), Moderator: Massachusetts Republican Lt. Governor's Debate (2002), Moderator: Massachusetts 9th Congressional District Democratic Debate (2001)

### Universities

- “Fiscal Cliff: Observations from Leaders Looking Over the Edge,” 2012
- “The Public Value of Art: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Who Picks up the Check?” 2012
- Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, 2010, 2012
- “Median Voters, Sequencing, and the 2012 Republican Primaries,” Ohio Wesleyan University, 2011
- **Also:** “U.S. Senate Rules & Procedures,” University of Michigan (2010), “Constitutional Design and Threats to Congressional Power,” Tufts University (2009), “The Future of the Electoral College,” Massachusetts Institute of Technology (2008), “The Internet and Politics,” Harvard Law School (2008), Harvard Real Estate Academic Initiative (2004, 2006, 2008), “Youth Movements in U.S. Elections: Past and Present,” Harvard Law School (2008), Harvard Latino Law, Business & Public Policy Conference (2008), The University of Rochester (2007); The Cal-Tech/MIT Voting Technologies Project (2007), [“Perspectives on Constitutional Reform in Bolivia,”](#) Catholic University of Bolivia (2005), Plekhanov Russian Academy of Economics (2005), West Point Military Academy (2005), Mojmir Povolny Lecture, Lawrence University (2005), Princeton University Conference on Trust in Government (2001), Harvard Law School, Electoral Reform Project (2001), Yale University Institution for Social and Policy Studies (2000), Harvard Conference on Internet and Politics (2000), Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1999), Duke University (1999), University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (1999), Columbia University, (1998), “Dimples, Chads, Butterflies,” Institute of Politics (2000), Faculty Sponsor: Youth Engagement Initiative, Harvard University, Institute of Politics (2001), Universidad Catolica de Nicaragua, Managua (1996), Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Chile, Santiago (1995, 1996); Buena Vista College, Storm Lake, Iowa (1995); University of Stockholm, Sweden (1995, 1996); Main Hall Forum Lecture Series, Lawrence University (1993, 1995, 1998); Phillips Lecture Series, The University of Michigan (1992)

## Opinion Pieces

[“What’s at Stake for Education in the Fall Elections?”](#) HighEdJobs.com; August 31, 2012.  
“[Preparing your College for the Fall Elections](#),” HigherEdJobs.com, July 17, 2012. “[Obama and Higher Education](#),” HigherEdJobs.com, April 2009. “New Orleans Vote Raises Fairness Issue,” *Boston Globe*, April 18, 2006. “[Bolivian Constitutional Reform](#),” *Pulso*, November 25, 2005; “Youth Came Through with Big Turnout,” *Boston Globe*, November 5, 2004 (reprinted in *Opposing Viewpoints: America’s Youth*, 2007), “Electoral Reform 2004,” November 1, 2004. “[Engage Children in Elections](#),” The Milwaukee Journal/Sentinel, October 17, 2004. “[The Politics of DisIntegration](#),” *Spectacle.org*, August 18, 2004. “The Boomers’ Babies,” *Wall Street Journal*, March 31, 2003; Book Review of Eric Schickler’s *Disjointed Pluralism in the American Political Science Review*, September 2002. [Election Reform as an Unfunded Mandate](#), *Boston Review*, October/November 2001; There is Hope for Election Reform, KSG Q&A July 31, 2001, Federal Government’s Role in Election Reform, KSG Q&A March 13, 2001, “Youth Doubt Government, Trust Military,” USA Today.com, August 25, 2000. “Who Votes?” USA Today.com, August 18, 2000. “Real Term Limits,” USA Today.com, August 11, 2000. “Who’s Partying?” USA Today.com, August 4, 2000. “Those Pesky Third Parties,” *DemocracyToday.com*, August 1, 2000. [E-Mobilizing Your Supporters](#),” *The Boston Globe*, May 21, 2000. “[The Trouble with \(Republican\) Women](#),” *JFK Bulletin*, Summer 1999. “Clinton Erred Using Line Item Veto,” *Newsday*, August 13, 1997. “Campaign Reform is the Public’s Duty,” *Newsday*, March 6, 1997. “A Concrete Example of Politics in Action,” in *Teaching and Learning at Harvard University*, 1997. “Primaries are a Noble Idea Gone Sour,” *Newsday*, March 21, 1996. “How Did Pundits Get it So Wrong? Ask a Statistician,” (with Richard Zeckhauser), *Roll Call*, November 14, 1994. “Sorry, Clinton, Congress is Number One,” *Newsday*, November 11, 1994; “Saving the Clinton Presidency,” *The Washington Times*, September 22, 1994. “Vote Against Term Limits,” *Boston Sunday Herald*, April 10, 1994. “The New Congress and Prospects for Reform,” *JFK Bulletin*, Fall/Winter 1993

## Faculty Sponsor, Harvard Kennedy School Teaching Cases

“Consolidating Police Departments” (2011), “Seeking Mental Health Policy” (2010), “Debt Relief for Poor Nations: The Battle in Congress” (2001), “Congressional Oversight and Presidential Prerogative: The 1991 Intelligence Authorization Act” (2001), “Third Party Time?” (1995), “Catastrophic Health Insurance for the Elderly” (1995), “Emily’s List and Campaign Finance Reform” (1994), “Public Conversations and Legislative Deliberations” (1994), “Epilogue: The Regulation of Mudflaps” (1994).

## Things that do not belong on an academic Vita

Senior Common Room Fellow, [Eliot House](#); [Airplanes and Little Kids](#), *The Boston Parents Paper*; December 1995; [Notes on the Uniform Distribution](#), *The National Pastime: A Review of Baseball History*, 1995; [Bye-Bye Bottle](#), *The Boston Parents Paper*, September, 1994; “John Kingdon as an Agenda Item,” *Policy Currents*, August 1994. Arthur Andersen & Company, 1985-86. Appleton East High School *Speech Team Coach*, 1983-85. Played “Civilian at Hospital Nurses’ Station” on ABC’s *All My Children*, October 20, 1997; Faculty Advisor: [Harvard Club of Wisconsin](#).

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