

JOSHUA D. CLINTON

Campus Address

Department of Political Science
342 Commons
Vanderbilt University
Office Ph: (615) 936-7984
josh.clinton@vanderbilt.edu

Mailing Address

PMB 505
230 Appleton Place
Nashville, TN 37203-5721
www.joshclinton.com

Academic Positions:

Abby and Jon Winkelried Chair, Vanderbilt University, 2015 -
Professor, Dept. of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, 2014 -
Associate Professor, Dept. of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, 2009 - 2014
Associate Professor (with tenure), Dept. of Politics, Princeton University, 2008 - 2009
William G. Bowen Presidential University Preceptorship, 2007 - 2009.
Assistant Professor, Dept. of Politics, Princeton University, Jan 2003 - 2008.
Instructor, Dept. of Politics, Princeton University, 2002 - Jan 2003.

Academic Affiliations:

Co-Director, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vanderbilt, 2009 -
Co-Director, Vanderbilt Poll, Vanderbilt, 2011 -
Advisory Board Member, Center for Panel Survey Sciences at NORC, 2023 -
Advisory Board Member, Latin American Public Opinion Project, Vanderbilt, 2020 -
Executive Board Member, Data Science Institute, Vanderbilt, 2017 -
Executive Committee Member, Data Science Minor, Vanderbilt, 2020 - 2021
Faculty Affiliate, Program on Opinion Research and Election Studies, U of Penn, 2016 -
Faculty Affiliate, Center for Effective Lawmaking, Vanderbilt, 2018 -

Non-Academic Positions:

Decision Desk Senior Analyst, *NBC News*, New York, NY, 2013 -
Decision Desk Analyst, *NBC News*, New York, NY, 2010-2012
Statistical Research Scientist, *Knowledge Networks*, Menlo Park, CA, 1999-2002
Intern, *Knowledge Networks*, Menlo Park, CA, 1998-1999

Formal Education:

Ph.D. Political Science, Stanford University 2003
M.S. Statistics, Stanford University 2001
M.A. Economics, Stanford University 2000
B.A. Political Science with High Honors, Economics with Distinction
Magna Cum Laude, University of Rochester 1996
Holland Patent High School, Holland Patent, NY 1992

Refereed Publications:

- [45] Forthcoming. “Donations and Dollars: Characterizing the Political Views of Donors and the Affluent.” *Journal of Politics*. With Michael Barber, Brandice Canes-Wrone, and Greg Huber.
- [44] Forthcoming. “Which Republican Constituencies Support Restrictive Abortion Laws? Comparisons among donors, wealthy, and mass publics.” *Political Opinion Quarterly*. With Michael Barber, Brandice Canes-Wrone, and Greg Huber.
- [43] 2024. “Synthetic Replacements for Human Survey Data? The Perils of Large Language Models.” *Political Analysis*, 32(4): 401-416. With Jim Bisbee, Cassy Dorff, Brenton Kenkel, and Jennifer Larson.
- [42] 2024. “Giving to the Extreme? Experimental Evidence on Donor Response to Candidate and District Characteristics.” *British Journal of Political Science*. 54(3): 851-873. With Mellissa Meisels and Greg Huber.
- [41] 2023. “Protecting the Integrity of Survey Research.” *PNAS Nexus*. 2(3): 1-10. With Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Arthur Lupia, Ashley Amaya, Henry E. Brady, Rene Bautista, Jill A. Deverg, David Dutwin, Daniel L. Goroff, D. Sunshine Hillygus, Courtney Kennedy, Gary Langer, John S. Lapinski, Michael Link, Tasha Philpot, Ken Prewitt, Doug Rivers, Lynn Vavreck, David C. Wilson, and Marcia K. McNutt.
- [40] 2022. “Reluctant Republicans? Partisan Non-Response and the Accuracy of 2020 Presidential Pre-Election Polling.” *Political Opinion Quarterly*. 86(2): 247-269. With John S. Lapinski and Marc J. Trussler.
- [39] 2022. “Trumped by Trump? Public Support for Vote By Mail Voting in Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic.” *Election Law Journal*. March: 19-33. With John Lapinski, Sarah Lentz, and Stephen Pettigrew. <http://doi.org/10.1089/elj.2020.0671>
- [38] 2020. “Partisan Pandemic: How Partisanship and Public Health Concerns Affect Individuals’ Social Mobility During COVID-19.” *AAAS/Science Advances*. With Jon Cohen, John S. Lapinski, Marc Trussler. <https://advances.sciencemag.org/lookup/doi/10.1126/sciadv.abd7204>.
- [37] 2020. “Market Matters: The Effect of Big-City News on Rural America During the COVID-19 Pandemic.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. With Eunji Kim and Michael E. Shepard. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2009384117>.
- [36] 2020. “The Politics of Locating Polling Places: Race and Partisanship in North Carolina Election Administration, 2008-2016.” *Election Law Journal*. With Adriane Fresh, Nick Eubank, and Michael E. Shepard. 20 (2): 155-177. <https://doi.org/10.1089/elj.2019.0602>.
- [35] 2020. “Polling Place Changes and Political Participation: Evidence from North Carolina Presidential Elections, 2008-2016.” *Political Science Research & Methods*. 9(4): 800-817. With Adriane Fresh, Nick Eubank, and Michael E. Shepard. doi:10.1017/psrm.2020.43
- [34] 2020. “Policy Effects, Partisanship, and Elections: How Medicaid Expansion Affected Opinions of the Affordable Care Act.” *Journal of Politics*. 83(2): 498-514. With Michael W. Sances. <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/710085>
- [33] 2020. “The Effect of Majority Party Agenda Setting on Roll Calls.” *Public Choice*. 185: 459-483.

- [32] 2019. "Who Participated in the ACA? Gains in Insurance Coverage by Political Partisanship." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*. 44 (3): 349-379. With Mike Sances.
- [31] 2019. "Knock out Blows or the Status Quo? Momentum in the 2016 Primaries." *Journal of Politics*. 81 (3): 997-1013 With Andrew M. Engelhardt and Marc J. Trussler.
- [30] 2019. "Lawmaking in the U.S: American Legislatures and Lawmaking, 1997 - 2011." *Journal of Public Policy* 39 (1): 143-75. With Mark D. Richardson.
- [29] 2018. "The Politics of Policy: The Initial Mass Political Effects of Medicaid Expansion in the States." *American Political Science Review* 112(1): 167-85. With Michael W. Sances.
- [28] 2018. "An Evaluation of the 2016 Election Polls in the United States: AAPOR Task Force Report." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 82 (1):1-33. With Courtney Kennedy, Mark Blumenthal, Scott Clement, Claire Durand, Charles Franklin, Kyley McGeeney, Lee Miringoff, Kristen Olson, Doug Rivers, Lydia Saad, G. Evans Witt, and Christopher Wlezien.
- [27] 2018. "Elite Perceptions of Agency Ideology and Workforce Skill." *Journal of Politics* 80 (1): 303-308. With David E. Lewis and Mark D. Richardson.
- [26] 2018. "Does Who Owns the News Matter for the News?" *Political Communication* 35 (3): 353-370. With Allison Archer.
- [25] 2017. "Coding and Scaling the Ideological Direction and Content of Policies." *Annual Review of Political Science*. Vol. 20: 433-450.
- [24] 2017. "A House Divided? Political Conflict and Polarization in the U.S. Congress, 1877-2011." *American Journal of Political Science*. 61 (3): 698-714. With David A. Bateman and John S. Lapinski.
- [23] 2016. "Assessing the Variation of Formal Military Alliances in the International System, 1816-2000." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 60 (5): 866-898. With Brett Benson.
- [22] 2015. "Public Information, Public Learning, and Public Opinion: The Prospect for Bottom-Up Accountability in Education Policy." *Journal of Public Policy*. 35 (3): 355-385. With Jason Grissom.
- [21] 2014. "The National News Media's Effect on Congress: How *Fox News* Affected Representatives in Congress." *Journal of Politics*. 76 (4): 928-943. With Ted Enamorado.
- [20] 2014. "Political Influence in the Bureaucracy: The Irony of Congressional Oversight." *American Journal of Political Science*. With David Lewis and Jen Selin. 58 (2): 387-401.
- [19] 2013. "Robo-Polls: Taking Cues from Traditional Sources?" *PS: Political Science & Politics*. With Steve Rogers. 46 (2): 333-337.
- [18] 2012. "Congress, Lawmaking and the Fair Labor Standards Act, 1971-2000." *American Journal of Political Science*. 56 (2): 355-372.
- [17] 2012. "Separated Powers in the United States: The Ideology of Agencies, Presidents and Congress." *American Journal of Political Science*. 56(2): 341-354. With Anthony Bertelli, Christian Grose, David Lewis, and David Nixon.
- [16] 2102. "Using Roll Call Estimates to Test Models of Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science*. Vol. 15: 79-99.

[15] 2011. "More A Molehill than a Mountain: the Effects of the Blanket Primary on Elected Officials' Behavior From California." *Journal of Politics*. 73(3): 915-930. With Will Bullock.

[Winner of the 2011 *Journal of Politics* Best Paper Award.]

[14] 2009. "To Simulate or NOMINATE?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. XXXIV (4): 593-622. With Simon Jackman.

[13] 2008. "Laws and Roll Calls in the U.S. Congress, 1889-1994." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. XXXIII (4): 511-542. With John Lapinski.

[12] 2008. "Design, Inference, and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review*. 102 (2): 269-74. With Scott Ashworth, Adam Meirowitz and Kristopher W. Ramsay.

[11] 2008. "Expert Opinion, Agency Characteristics and Agency Preferences." *Political Analysis*. 16 (1): 3-20. With David E. Lewis.

[10] 2007. "Lawmaking and Roll Calls." *Journal of Politics* 69 (2):455-67.

[9] 2007. "Does Advertising Exposure Affect Turnout?" *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*. 2 (2): 27-41. With Scott Ashworth.

[8] 2006. "Representation in Congress: Constituents and Roll Calls in the 106th House." *Journal of Politics* 68 (2):397-409.

[7] 2006. "Measuring Legislative Accomplishment, 1877-1994." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (1):232-49. With John Lapinski.

[6] 2004. "The Statistical Analysis of Roll Call Voting: A Unified Approach." *American Political Science Review* 98 (2) 355-70. With Simon Jackman and Doug Rivers.

[5] 2004. "Testing Accounts of Legislative Strategic Voting: The Compromise of 1790." *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (4):675-89. With Adam Meirowitz.

[Winner of the 2002 *Robert H. Durr Award*.]

[4] 2004. "An Experimental Study of Political Advertising Effects in the 2000 Presidential Election." *Journal of Politics* 66 (1): 67-96. With John Lapinski.

[3] 2004. "The Most Liberal Senator"?: Analyzing and Interpreting Congressional Roll Calls." *PS: Political Science & Politics* XXXVII (4): 805-12. With Simon Jackman and Doug Rivers.

[Reprinted in 2005. *Quantitative Methods in Practice: Readings from PS*. David Rochefort ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press. pp. 105-115]

[2] 2003. "Integrating Voting Theory and Roll Call Analysis: A Framework." *Political Analysis* 11 (4): 381-396. With Adam Meirowitz.

[1] 2001. "Agenda Constrained Legislator Ideal Points and the Spatial Voting Model." *Political Analysis* 9 (3):242-260. With Adam Meirowitz.

Book Chapters:

[7] 2024. "Roll Calls, Voting Coalitions, and Possible Agenda Control in the U.S. House of Representatives: 1869-2024," in *Causal Inference and American Political Development* edited by Jeffrey A. Jenkins. NY, NY: Springer. pp. 239-272.

- [6] 2022. “The Importance of Issue Representation in a Polarized Congress,” in *Accountability Reconsidered: Voters, Interests, and Information in US Policymaking* edited by Charles Cameron, Brandice Canes-Wrone, Sanford Gordon and Greg. Huber. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 15-41. With Michael W. Sances and Mary Catherine Sullivan.
- [5] 2016. “Measuring Political and Policy Preferences: Using Item Response Scaling,” in *Analytics, Policy and Governance* edited by Jennifer Bachner, Kathryn Wagner Hill, and Benjamin Ginsberg. Yale University Press, New Haven: CT. pp. 15-40.
- [4] 2016. “Where Measures Meet History: Party Polarization During the New Deal and Fair Deal,” in *Governing in a Polarized Age: Elections, Parties, and Representation in America* edited by Alan Gerber and Eric Schickler. Cambridge University Press, NY:NY. pp. 191-219. With Ira Katznelson, and John S. Lapinski.
- [3] 2016. “Representation,” for *Oxford Handbook of American Political Development*, edited by Robert Lieberman, Suzanne Mettler, and Richard Valelly. Oxford University Press, NY:NY. pp. 399-424. With Larry Bartels and John Geer.
- [2] 2007. “Measuring Significant Legislation, 1877-1948,” in *Process, Party and Policymaking Vol. 2: Further New Perspectives on the History of Congress*, David Brady and Matthew McCubbins eds. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press. pp.361-378. With John Lapinski.
- [1] 2002. “Testing Television Advertising Using Interactive Television: The Effectiveness of Political Advertisements” in *Excellence 2002 in International Research*, Deborah S. Fellows ed. Amsterdam, Netherlands: World Association of Research Professionals. pp. 273-90. With John Lapinski.

Selected Working and Conference Papers:

- [1] “Calibrating Small-Area Estimates to Known Population Quantities.” APSA 2022. With Will Marble.
- [2] “Public Health or Partisan Health? How Politicized Policies Unite and Divide Us.” With Cindy Kam.
- [3] “Congressional Reactions to a Changing Nation: Immigration and Congressional Responsiveness in the House of Representatives, 1877-1953”

Book Reviews & Other:

2021. “American Association of Public Opinion Research Task Force Report on 2020 Pre-Election Polling.” <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/2020-Pre-Election-Polling-An-Evaluation-of-the-202.aspx>
2006. “Review of *Spatial Models of Parliamentary Voting* by Keith T. Poole.” *The Political Methodologist* 14(1):21-24.
2005. “Afterword for ‘The Most Liberal Senator’,” in *Quantitative Methods in Practice: Readings from PS*. David Rochefort ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press. pp. 116-117.
2004. “Reflections on Methods Training at Stanford,” in *The Political Methodologist* 12(2):11-13.
2003. “Review of *Bayesian Data Analysis* by Andrew Gelman, John B. Carlin, Hal S. Stern, and Donald B. Rubin,” *The Political Methodologist* 11(2):6-7.

2003. "Chebyshev's Inequality," "Proxy Variable," "Regression Plane," "Regression On," "Sphericity Assumption" in *Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*, Michael Lewis-Beck, Alan Bryman and Tim Futing Liao eds. NY, NY:Sage.

Awards, Honors & Grants:

2024-2025 Carnegie Foundation Fellow

2022-2023 News & Documentary Emmy Awards Nominee, National Academy of Television Arts & Science. For "NBC News Specials: Decision 2022 - The Balance of Power."

2023 (February), Distinguished Visiting Professor, Stanford Graduate School of Business, Stanford University

2020-2021 News & Documentary Emmy Awards Nominee, National Academy of Television Arts & Science. For "MSNBC Live: Steve Kornacki Reports - Election 2020."

2020, Robert H. Birksby Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching, Dept. of Political Science, Vanderbilt University

2018, Russell Sage Foundation Grant: Effects of the Affordable Care Act
\$34,284 for "The Medicaid Expansion's Impact on Partisanship, Repeal Support, and Dyadic Representation." With Michael W. Sances.

2015, Russell Sage Foundation Grant: The Affordable Care Act
\$28,095 for "The Politics of Policy: The Initial Mass Political Effects of Medicaid Expansion in the States." With Michael W. Sances.

2014, Patrick J. Fett Award for "the best paper on the scientific study of Congress and the Presidency" at 2013 MPSA
For "Characterizing Chief Executives: Presidential and Congressional Ideal Points, 1877-2010." With Molly Jackman and Saul Jackman.

2011, *Journal of Politics* Best Paper Award
For "More A Molehill than a Mountain: the Effects of the Blanket Primary on Elected Officials' Behavior From California." With Will Bullock.

2009, Stanley E. Kelley Teaching Award, Dept. of Politics, Princeton University

2007-10, William G. Bowen Presidential University Preceptorship, Princeton University

2007, Dirksen Congressional Center
\$3,475 for "Lawmaking and the U.S. Congress, 1935-2006."

2007, Princeton University Committee on Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences
\$6,000 for "Lawmaking and the U.S. Congress, 1935-2006."

2007 (May), Visiting Fellow, Wallis Institute, University of Rochester

2005 (May), Visiting Fellow, Hoover Institute, Stanford University

2002 Robert H. Durr Award
Best paper applying quantitative methods to a substantive problem for "The First Congress, The Compromise of 1790, and Roll-call Voting: Estimating Legislator Preferences and Testing for Log Rolls." With Adam Meirowitz.

2001 Political Methodology Student Poster Award

Best graduate student poster of the Political Methodology Summer Meeting for “Representation and the 106th Congress: Legislators’ Voting Behavior and their Geographic and Party Constituencies.”

2001 AAPOR Graduate Student Paper Award

Best graduate paper in the American Association for Public Opinion Research for “Panel Bias from Attrition and Conditioning: A Case Study of the Knowledge Networks Panel.”

2001 John and Mary Goodyear Award Nominee

One of three papers from Net Effects⁴ conference nominated for World Association of Opinion and Marketing Research Professional’s paper of the year for “Testing Television Advertising Using Interactive Television: The Effectiveness of Political Advertisements.” With John Lapinski.

1999 Congressional Quarterly Press Award

Best graduate paper in Law and Court section for “An Independent Judiciary?: The Effect of Congressional and Presidential Preferences on the Supreme Court’s Interpretation of Federal Statutory Interpretation: 1952-1996.”

1996-2001 National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship

Editorial Boards:

Editor-In-Chief, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2015-2022

Associate Editor, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2023 -

Co-Editor, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2009-2014

Editorial Board Member, *Journal of Public Policy*, 2013-

Editorial Board Member, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2010-2012

Editorial Board Member, *Journal of Politics*, 2005-2007

Selected List of Public Presence:

Chair, AAPOR Task Force on 2020 Election Polls
2019-2020 Washington, DC

Co-Director, Vanderbilt Poll
Biannually state polls since 2011 – annual Nashville Polls since 2015 Nashville, TN

Member, AAPOR Task Force on 2016 Election Polls
2016-2017 Washington, DC

Senior Election Analyst
2013 General, 2014 General, 2016 Primaries, 2016 General, 2018 General, 2020 Primaries, 2020 General, 2022 Primaries, 2022 General, 2024 Primaries, 2024 General NBC News: NY,NY

Election Analyst
2010 General, 2012 Primaries, 2012 General NBC News: NY,NY