

## MICHAEL A. BAILEY

Department of Government  
Georgetown University  
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### **Academic Appointments**

#### **Georgetown University**

Colonel William J. Walsh Professor, Department of Government and McCourt School of Public Policy, 2010 – present  
Visiting Professor, médialab, Sciences Po University, September 2022 – April 2023  
Founding Director, Data Science for Public Policy Program, July 2017 – present  
Director, Massive Data Institute, July 2019 – June 2022  
Interim Dean, McCourt School of Public Policy, July 2017 – February 2019  
Chair, Department of Government, 2008-09, 2012 – 2015  
Hepburn-Shibusawa Distinguished Senior Lecturer, University of Tokyo, Summer 2014  
John G. Winant Visiting Professor of American Government, Rothermere American Institute and Visiting Fellowship, Balliol College, Oxford University 2011-12  
Colonel William J. Walsh Associate Professor, Department of Government and Public Policy Institute, 2005 - 2010  
Maag Program Fellow, University of Basel, Switzerland, June – July, 2006  
Robert Eckles Swain National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2002-03  
Associate Professor, Department of Government, 2003 - 2005  
Assistant Professor, Department of Government, 1997 – 2003

### **Education**

#### **Stanford University**

Ph.D. Political Science, September 1997  
MA in Economics, June 1996  
MA in Political Science, June 1994

#### **Saitama University (Japan), Graduate School of Policy Science**

Education Ministry (Monbusho) Research Fellow, 1991-92

#### **University of Notre Dame**

Bachelor of Arts in Government and Japanese (*Summa Cum Laude*), May 1991

### **Research and Teaching Interests**

#### **American Politics**

Congress, public opinion polling, Supreme Court, trade policy, inter-state policy competition, elections, campaign finance

#### **Methodology**

Preference measurement, econometrics, positive political theory

#### **Japanese Politics**

### **Books**

*Polling at a Crossroads: Rethinking Modern Survey Research.* Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2024.

[\*The Constrained Court: Law, Politics and the Decisions Justices Make.\*](#) with Forrest Maltzman. Princeton University Press, 2011.

[\*Real Stats: Using Econometrics for Political Science and Public Policy.\*](#) Oxford University Press, 2015; revised 2019.

[\*Real Econometrics: The Right Tools to Answer Important Questions.\*](#) Oxford University Press, 2016; revised 2020.

**Journal  
Articles**

The Supreme Court and Separation of Powers

“[Dimensionality on the Supreme Court](#)” *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 179 (1) (Spring 2023): 200-213.

“Appointing Extremists” with Matthew Spitzer. *American Law and Economics Review*. 20, 1 (April 2018): 105-137.

- Winner, 2019 [Distinguished Article Prize](#) for the *American Law and Economics Review*

“Is Today's Court the Most Conservative in Sixty Years? Challenges and Opportunities in Measuring Judicial Preferences” *Journal of Politics*, 75, 3 (July 2013): 821 – 834.

“While There's a Breath in My Body: The Systemic Effects of Politically Motivated Retirement from the Supreme Court” with Albert Yoon. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 23, 3 (July 2011): 293-316.

“Does Legal Doctrine Matter? Unpacking Law and Policy Preferences on the U.S. Supreme Court” with Forrest Maltzman. *American Political Science Review* 102, 3 (August 2008): 369- 384.

- Winner, APSA Law and Courts Section Award for Best Article, 2009

“Comparable Preference Estimates across Time and Institutions for the Court, Congress and Presidency” *American Journal of Political Science* 51, 3 (July 2007): 433-448.

“Signals from the Tenth Justice: The Role of the Solicitor General at the Merits Stage” with Brian Kamoie and Forrest Maltzman. *American Journal of Political Science* 49, 1 (January 2005): 72-85.

“Comparing Presidents, Senators, and Justices: Inter-institutional Preference Estimation” with Kelly Chang. *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization* 17, 2 (October 2001): 477-506.

Polling

“[A New Paradigm for Polling](#)” *Harvard Data Science Review* 5, 3 (July 2023).

- Plus [Rejoinder: Building a Paradigm That Allows for the Possibility of Non-Ignorable Nonresponse](#) *Harvard Data Science Review* 5, 3 (Nov 2023).

United Nations

“[A Two-Dimensional Analysis of Seventy Years of United Nations Voting](#)” with Erik Voeten. *Public Choice* 176, 1 (July 2018): 33-55. DOI 10.1007/s11127-018-0550-4

“Estimating Dynamic State Preferences from United Nations Voting Data” with Anton Strezhnev and Erik Voeten. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, 2 (February 2017): 430 - 456.

- "United Nations General Assembly Voting Data" with Erik Voeten and Anton Strezhnev. <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/LEJUQZ>, Harvard Dataverse, V29 [downloaded 106,796 times as of December 13, 2022]

Campaign Finance

“The (Sometimes Surprising) Consequences of Societally Unrepresentative Contributors on Legislative Responsiveness” *Business and Politics* 6, 3 (2004).

“The Two Sides of Money in Politics: A Synthesis and Framework” *Election Law Journal* 3, 4 (Fall 2004): 653-669.

#### Trade Politics

“The Politics of the Difficult: The Role of Public Opinion in Early Cold War Aid and Trade Policies” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 28, 2 (May 2003): 147-178.

“Quiet Influence: The Representation of Diffuse Interests on Postwar Trade Policy” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 26, 1 (February 2001): 45-80.

“Heterogeneity and Representation: The Senate and Free Trade” with David Brady. *American Journal of Political Science* 42, 2 (April 1998): 524-544.

“The Institutional Roots of American Trade Policy: The Origin and Effects of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act” with Judith Goldstein and Barry Weingast. *World Politics* 49, 3 (April 1997): 309-338.

#### Ideal Points

“Ideal Point Estimation with a Small Number of Votes: A Random Effects Approach” *Political Analysis* 9, 3 (Summer 2001): 192-210.

#### Interstate Competition

“Constraining Federalism: Formalizing Expectations about Redistributive Policies in Decentralized Systems” *Publius* 37, 2 (Spring 2007): 135-159.

“Welfare Migration and the Multifaceted Decision to Move” *American Political Science Review* 99, 1 (February 2005): 125- 135.

“A Wider Race? Interstate Competition Across Health and Welfare Programs” with Mark Rom. *Journal of Politics* 66, 2 (May 2004): 326 – 347.

#### Presidential Persuasion

“A Two-Way Street on Iraq: On the Interaction of Citizen Policy Preferences and Presidential Approval” with Clyde Wilcox. *American Politics Research*, 44, 1 (2016): 3–27.

“Presidential Persuasion on Social Issues: A Two Way Street?” with Lee Sigelman and Clyde Wilcox. *Political Research Quarterly* 56, 1 (March 2003): 49-59.

#### Electoral Balancing

“Balancing in the States, 1978-2009” with Elliott Fullmer. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 11, 2 (June 2011): 149 – 167.

#### Tea Party

“Tea Party Influence: A Story of Activists and Elites” with Jon Mummolo and Hans Noel. *American Politics Research* 40, 5 (September 2012): 769 – 804.

#### Campaign effects

“[Unresponsive and Unpersuaded: The Unintended Consequences of a Voter Persuasion Effort](#)” with Daniel J. Hopkins and Todd Rogers. *Political Behavior* 38, 3 (September 2016): 713-746.

#### Education

“[Grades and Incentives: Assessing Competing Grade Point Average Measures and Postgraduate Outcomes](#)” with Jeffrey S. Rosenthal and Albert H. Yoon. *Studies in*

*Higher Education* 41, 9 (December 2014): 1548-1562.

“State Competition and Higher Education: A Race to the Top?” with Mark Rom and Matt Taylor. *Economics of Governance*. 5, 1 (April 2004): 53-75.

**Edited  
Book**

*Campaigns and Elections: Contemporary Case Studies*. with Ron Faucheux, Paul Herrnson and Clyde Wilcox. Congressional Quarterly Press, 1999.

**Book  
Chapters**

“Measuring Ideology on the Courts” in *The Routledge Handbook of Judicial Behavior*, Robert M. Howard and Kirk A. Randazzo, ed. Routledge Press, 2017.

- Winner, C. Neal Tate Award for Best Paper on Judicial Politics, Southern Political Science Association, 2017.

“The Amorphous Relationship between Congress and the Courts” with Forrest Maltzman and Charles Shipan in *The Oxford Handbook of the American Congress*, Francis Lee and Eric Schickler, ed. Oxford University Press, 2011.

“Goldilocks and the Supreme Court: Understanding the Relationship between the Supreme Court, the President, and the Congress” with Forrest Maltzman in *New Directions in Judicial Politics*, Kevin McGuire, ed. Routledge Press, 2012.

“Money and the Possibility of Democratic Governance” in Stephen Wayne, ed. *Is This Any Way to Run a Democratic Government?* Georgetown University Press, 2004.

“The Other Side of the Coin: The Hidden Benefits of Campaign Finance” in Kollman, Miller and Page, ed. *Computational Political Economy*, MIT Press. 2003.

“Standoff in the House: Democrats Come up Short in the Trenches” with Keiko Ono in Stephen Wayne and Clyde Wilcox, ed. *The Election of the Century*. 2001.

“Going After the Ins: How Two Beatable Senate Incumbents Met Challenger Threats – with Different Outcomes” *Campaigns and Elections* 20, 5 (June 1999): 46 – 53. (Reprinted with additional material in *Campaigns and Elections: Contemporary Case Studies*.)

“Contemporary American Elections: An Overview” with Ronald Faucheux, Paul Herrnson and Clyde Wilcox. In *Campaigns and Elections: Contemporary Case Studies*, 1999: 1-28.

**Other  
Publications**

“Engaged Statistics: Building Statistical Skills by Focusing on Answering Interesting and Important Questions.” In *Teaching Research Methods in Political Science*, Jeffrey L. Bernstein, ed. Edward Elgar Publishing.

“Comments on “Statistical inference with non-probability survey samples – Non-probability samples: An assessment and way forward.” *Survey Methodology*, 48(2): 313-318 (December 2022).

“[Teaching Statistics](#): Going from Scary, Boring, and Useless to, Well, Something Better” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 52(2): 367-70 (November 2018).

“[Student-Run Exit Polls 101](#)” with Sarah Croco, Elizabeth Suhay, Rachel Blum, Lilliana Mason, Hans Noel and Jonathan Ladd. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 52(2): 361-366 (March 2019).

[The Data Science Corps: Making a Difference by Connecting Experts to Projects.](#)

Technical Report, National Science Foundation. With Christian Conroy and Vandana Janeja (2018).

“Book Review: *Ideology on the Supreme Court*. By Lawrence Baum.” *Perspectives on Politics* 16, 1 (March 2018): 240-242.

“Book Review: *U.S. Supreme Court Opinions and their Audiences* by Ryan C. Black, Ryan J. Owens, Justin Wedeking and Patrick C. Wohlfarth” *Law and Politics Book Review* 27, 3 (April 2017): 47-48.

“Campaign Finance Reform: What Next?” Hoover Institution commentary, published as ad in *The New Republic* (March 17, 2003), *The Weekly Standard* (March 10, 2003), *Reason*, *Commentary*, *National Review*.

“Book Review: *Sizing Up the Senate: The Unequal Consequences of Equal Representation*. By Frances E. Lee and Bruce I. Oppenheimer” *American Political Science Review* 96, 2 (June 2002): 427-428.

“Book Review: Laura D’Andrea Tyson. Who’s Bashing Whom? Trade Conflict in High Technology Industries” *Stanford Journal of International Affairs* 2:2 (Summer 1993): 185 - 188.

**Citation Indices** <http://www.researcherid.com/rid/B-1282-2009>  
<https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=IRX79V4AAAAJ>

**Grants** Bezos Earth Fund, “Environmental Justice Data Collaborative” 2020 (\$3.2 million)  
National Science Foundation, “Data Science Corps” 2017 (\$49,900)  
National Science Foundation, “Creating Cross-institutional preference measures: Methodological improvements for studying constraints on the Supreme Court” with Forrest Maltzman, 2004-2006. (\$138,000; SES 0351736)  
National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship, 1993-96

**Awards** Winner, 2019 [Distinguished Article Prize](#) for the *American Law and Economics Review*  
Winner of the C. Neal Tate Award for the Best Paper in Judicial Politics for the 2016 Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting.  
APSA Law and Courts Section Award for Best Article, 2009  
Nominated for CQ Prize for Best Legislative Paper at 1998 APSA Meetings  
Best Poster in American Politics, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, 1996  
Japanese Education Ministry (Monbusho) Fellowship, 1991-92  
Notre Dame Honors Program Outstanding Thesis Award, 1991  
Paul Bartholomew Prize for Best Essay in US Politics, Notre Dame Dept of Govt 1991  
Phi Beta Kappa, University of Notre Dame, 1991

**Other Appointments** Visiting Professor, Akita International University, Summer 2015  
American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow, 2002-03 (declined)

**Invited Presentations** “Selection Sensitive Survey Design: Moving Beyond Weighting to Deal with Survey Non-Response” University of Pennsylvania (November 2016); University of Maryland (March 2017); Midwest Political Science Association (April 2017); American Association of Public Opinion Research (May 2017); Conference for the Society of Political Methodology (University of Wisconsin – Madison; July 2017); American Political Science Association (August 2017); [International Methods Colloquium Series](#) (April 2018); International Total Survey Error Workshop (June 2108).

“Measuring Candidate Ideology from Congressional Tweets and Websites” NYU Social Media and Political Participation (SMaPP) Lab (September 2021), American Political Science Association (September 2021), Fondation Maison des Sciences de l’homme (Maison Suger Paris ; March 2023)

“Big Data and Public Policy” Forum (virtual) at Renmin University, August 25, 2021

“Is Today's Court the Most Conservative in Sixty Years? Challenges and Opportunities in Measuring Judicial Preferences” Princeton University (November 2013)

“Unresponsive and Unpersuaded: The Unintended Consequences of Voter Persuasion Efforts” Vanderbilt University (October 2013)

“The Tea Party and Congressional Representation: Tracking the influence of Activists, Groups and Elites” DC-Area American Politics Workshop, American University (June 2011)

“A Constrained Court? Using Interaction and Regression-Discontinuity Preference Estimation Models to Test Separation of Powers Theories Supreme Court” Harris School, University of Chicago (April 2009)

“Law versus Ideology” Emory University (February 2009); Harris School, University of Chicago (June 2008); Columbia University (January 2008); University of Minnesota (December 2007); Cornell University (September 2007); Ohio State University (November 2006)

“Economy and Elections: Outlook for the U.S. in 2008” Waseda University (Tokyo) (June 2008)

“Bridging Institutions and Time” University of Pittsburgh (April 2006); Dartmouth College (February 2004); William and Mary (February 2004); NYU Law School Colloquium on Law, Economics and Politics (September 2003); Ideal Point Estimation Conference, Washington University (September 2002)

“Constraining Federalism” University of Basel, Switzerland (July 2006)

“Welfare Migration and the Multifaceted Decision to Move” Dartmouth College (October 2004)

“Buying Democracy: Indirect Competition and the Two Sides of Money in American Politics” Yale University (November 2003)

“Relationship Polling: Ideas about Using Ideal Point Estimation in Survey Research” Ideal Point Estimation Conference, Washington University (September 2002)

“Depressing Federalism: Re-Assessing Theory and Evidence on the ‘Race to the Bottom’” University of Maryland, Baltimore County (February 2002)

“Do Campaign Contributions Lead to Policies That Favor the Wealthy? An Examination of Taxing and Spending in the American States” George Mason University, Buchanan Center (January 2002)

“Campaign Contributions and Responsive Democracy: A Neo-Pluralist Approach” The

Harris School of Public Policy, University of Chicago (November 2001); Aoyama University, Tokyo, Japan (July 2001); University of California at Berkeley, Department of Political Science (February 2000)

“State Competition and Higher Education: A Race to the Top?” with Mark Rom and Matt Taylor. Research Conference on It's Better to Rely on Well-designed Institutions Than on Well- Behaved People, University of California at Los Angeles (May 2001)

“Fund-raising, Mobilization and Electoral Campaigns in the United States: An Overview” The Japan Center for Global Partnership and The Asia Foundation Joint Workshop/Public Symposium on *Money and Politics in Modern Democracy: Comparative Studies on the U.S., Korea and Japan*, Tokyo, Japan (July, 2001)

“The Other Side of the Coin: The Hidden Benefits of Campaign Finance” Computational Political Economy Conference, University of Michigan (October 1998)

“Quiet Influence: The Representation of Exporters and Consumers on Postwar Trade Policy” Northwestern University Department of Political Science (May 1999); George Washington University Department of Political Science (December 1997); Georgetown University Graduate Public Policy Institute (September 1997)

***Selected  
Conferences***

2017 Political Methodology Meetings, University of Wisconsin  
“Selection Sensitive Survey Design: Moving Beyond Weighting to Deal with Survey Non-Response”

2017 American Association of Public Opinion Research, New Orleans  
“Selection Sensitive Survey Design: Moving Beyond Weighting to Deal with Survey Non-Response”

2017 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago  
“Selection Sensitive Survey Design: Moving Beyond Weighting to Deal with Survey Non-Response”

2012 American Politics Group Meeting, Manchester, United Kingdom  
“Tea Party Influence: Activists and Elites” with Jon Mummolo and Hans Noel.

2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association  
“Competing Values on the Court” with Forrest Maltzman

2006 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago  
“Separation of Powers Revisited” with Forrest Maltzman

2004 Conference on Management Strategy and the Business Environment, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania  
“Do Campaign Contributions Lead to Policies That Favor the Wealthy?”

2004 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago  
“Welfare Migration and the Multifaceted Decision to Move”

2003 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia  
“Institutions, Context and Uncertainty in Supreme Court Nominations”

2002 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago  
“Social Capital and Welfare Migration”

***Media and***

Interviewed and quoted on National Public Radio, *National Journal*, *Washington Post*,

- Lectures** *CQ Daily Monitor* and other outlets  
Lectures for foreign diplomats and government employees through Government Affairs Institute, Delphi International and the Woods Institute
- Dissertation** “Congressional Representation and U.S. Trade Politics: Understanding the Role of Diffuse and Particular Interests”  
Committee: Barry Weingast (Chair), Doug Rivers and Judith Goldstein
- Teaching**  
GOVT 008 U.S. Political Systems, Spring 1998, Fall 2016  
GOVT 229 Intro to Political Science Methods (Honors Program), Spring 1999, 2004  
GOVT 235 Legislative Processes, Fall 1997, Spring 1999, Spring 2001, Fall 2001  
GOVT 307 U.S. Political Economy, Spring 2011  
GOVT 507 Scope and Methods of Political Science, Fall 1999, Fall 2000  
GOVT 508 Introduction to Statistics, Fall 2003  
GOVT 509 Advanced Statistics, Fall 1997, 1998, Spring 2002, 2004  
GOVT 521 Legislative Processes, Spring 2001, Spring 2002, Spring 2006  
GOVT 700 Scope and Methods of Political Science, Fall 2009, 2010  
GOVT 701 Analysis of Political Data, Fall 2017  
GOVT 702 Analysis of Political Data II, Spring 2020, Spring 2021, Spring 2022  
GOVT 2241 Introduction to Political Surveys, Fall 2023  
GOVT 8001 Analysis of Political Data II Spring 2024  
PECO 201 Analytical Tools for Political Economy, Fall 2000- 04, 2006-07, 2009-10  
PPOL 502 (PPOL 509) Regression Methods for Policy Analysis, Spring 2006, 2014, 2016, 2017  
PPOL 503 (PPOL 512) Advanced Regression, Fall 2006 – 2010  
PPOL 560 Accelerated Statistics for Public Policy, Fall 2018, Fall 2019, Fall 2020, Fall 2021  
PPOL 5200 Accelerated Statistics for Public Policy, Fall 2023  
Scope & Methods, Univ. Nacional de San Martin, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 2000  
Graduate Topics in American Politics, Tokyo University, 2014  
Introduction to American Politics, Akita International University, 2015
- Advisees**  
Ph.D. mentor: Keiko Ono (2005), Elliott Fulmer (2013), Karin Kitchens (2017), Fouad Pervez (2017), Alex Podkul (2019), Chris Schorr (2020), Ikuma Ogura (2022), Kelly Rolfes-Haase (2022)  
Ph.D. committee member: JJ Naddeo (Econ, 2022), Elena Derby (Econ, 2020), Manual Mera (2017), Jeremy Horowitz (UCSD 2015), Adela Yomara Guerra Aguijosa (2011), Carl Brenner (2005), Sarah Kropf (2002)
- Service and Activities**  
Co-organizer of Politics and Computational Social Science at Georgetown University, August 2019 (48 papers, 18 posters, 160 attendees)  
Director of the Massive Data Institute, McCourt School of Public Policy, 2019-  
Founding Director of the Data Science for Public Policy Program, McCourt School of Public Policy, 2017-  
Chair, Search Committee for Associate Professor Data Science and Analytics (Graduate School), 2021-22  
Chair, Search Committee for Assistant Professor Computational Social Science (McCourt School), 2021-22  
Director of the M.A. in American Government, 2010-2011  
Chair, Department of Government, 2008-09, 2012 – 2015  
Interim Department Chair, Department of Government, 2008- 2009  
Associate Chair & Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Government, 2006- 2008  
Planning and Budget Comm. Chair, Department of Government, 2006  
Curriculum Committee Chair, GPPI, 2006-2008  
American Politics Speaker Series Coordinator, 2004 – 2007, 2009-2010  
Editorial Board, *American Politics Research*, 2010 - ; *Journal of Public Policy* 2013 -



Reviewer, *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*,  
*The Journal of Politics*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Law, Economics and  
Organization*, *Policy Studies Journal*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Analysis*,  
*Southern Economic Journal*, National Science Foundation and others

Field Chair, American Politics, 2004

Chair, Search Committee for senior position in American Government, 2004

Chair, Search Committee for junior position in American Government, 2004, 2007

Member, faculty hiring committees, Georgetown, various years

Director, Georgetown Political Economy Working Group, various years

Government Dept. Merit Review Reform Committee, Georgetown, Fall 1998 - 1999

Admissions and Fellowships Committee, Georgetown University, 1997-98; 1999-2000

Local School Restructuring Team (LSRT), Key Elementary School (public), Washington,  
D.C., 2007 – 2009

Coach, Northwest Washington Little League, 2006 – 2016

Assistant Coach, Stoddert Youth Soccer League, 2006 - 2010

Volunteer, Congressional Baseball Game for Charity, 1990, 1993, 2001

Graduate Senator, Associated Students of Stanford University, 1994-95

Co-President, Stanford Political Science Graduate Students Association, 1993-94

Campaign Volunteer

Presidential caucuses in Iowa and primary in Michigan 1988

Congressional campaigns: Indiana 1990; California 1992, 1994

### ***Experience***

Intern, United States Trade Representative - Japan Section, Summer 1993

Intern, Minnesota Democratic Party (DFL), St. Paul, MN, Summer 1991

Intern, Representative Martin Olav Sabo, Washington DC, Summer 1990

Research Assistant, Bouce Research Institute, Tokyo, Japan, Spring/Summer 1989

### ***Skills***

Advanced statistical analysis

Experienced user of R, Matlab and Stata

Japanese Language: Able to speak conversationally and read academic material