

# Vita

September 2012

Thomas M. Holbrook

Department Chair and Wilder Crane Professor of Government  
Department of Political Science  
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee  
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## Education

Ph.D., University of Iowa, 1988

B.A., University of Iowa, 1982

Dissertation: "Economic Conditions and American National Election Outcomes:  
Evidence from Space and Time

## Academic Positions

Wilder Crane Professor of Government, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee,  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211. (1/06 to present)

Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee,  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211. (7/99 to present)

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-  
Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211. (7/93 to 6/99)

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-  
Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211. (9/89 to 6/93).

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Union College,  
Schenectady, New York 12308. (9/87 to 8/89).

## Related Activities

Department Chair, August 2010-present

Director, Undergraduate Laboratory for the Empirical Analysis of Politics (ULEAP),  
2008-present.

Editor, *American Politics Research*, 1997-2003

Ad hoc Survey Consultant, Center for Urban Initiatives and Research, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

## **Grants and Funding**

Principal Investigator, National Science Foundation grant SES- 0921343, "Collaborative Research: a Multi-City Study of the Contextual Influences on Group Relations and Voting Behavior in Urban Mayoral Elections (09/01/2009 to 08/31/2012." Award amount: \$538,000. (Collaborator Karen Kaufmann received a separate award of \$219,000, bring the total project funding to \$757,000).

Co-author (with Michael Tofias) of a winning proposal to create the Undergraduate Laboratory for the Empirical Analysis of Politics (ULEAP). This proposal resulted in funding for one new faculty position and one new graduate assistant.

Principal Investigator. "Structure, Context, and Voting Behavior in Mayoral Elections." Research Growth Initiative grant program, UWM Graduate School. (7/07-6/08) Amount: \$228,588. This is a seed grant for a pilot study.

Project Advisor/Co-Principal Investigator (with Nicole Johnson). "Doctoral Research in Political Science: The effects of Strengthened Racial Cues in Candidate Evaluations." Award amount: \$4,610. (8/99-7/00)

## **Courses Taught**

(Most recent listed first)

### **Undergraduate**

Capstone Seminar  
Political Data Analysis (online and face-to-face)  
Public Opinion  
Elections and Voting Behavior  
Freshman Seminar: Politics by the Numbers  
Survey Research  
American Government and Politics  
State Politics

### **Graduate**

Voting Behavior Seminar  
Political Behavior Seminar  
Advanced Political Science Methodology  
Political Science Research Techniques

## Other Teaching

Chair or member of several Ph.D. preliminary exam committees, supervised several completed dissertations, Masters papers, and senior capstone papers.

## Publications

### Books:

*Do Campaigns Matter?* 1996. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

### Articles:

"Bringing the President Back in: The collapse of Lehman Brothers and Retrospective Voting in the 2008 Presidential Election". 2012. *Political Research Quarterly* 65:263-74 (With Clayton Clouse and Aaron Weinschenk).

"Does measurement Matter?: the Case of VAP and VEP in Models of Voter turnout in the United States." 2010. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 10: 157-179. (With Brianne Heidbreder)

"Living in a Battleground: Presidential Campaigns and Fundamental Predictors of Vote Choice." 2009. *Political Research Quarterly* 62 495-506 (with Scott McClurg).

"Economic Considerations and the 2008 Presidential Election." (2009) *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 42:473-78.

"Incumbency, National Conditions, and the 2008 Presidential Election." (2008) *PS: Political Science and Politics* 41:709-12\*

"Cognitive Style and Political Learning during the 2000 Presidential Campaign." (2006) *Political Research Quarterly* 59:343-52

"Presidential Campaigns and Political Mobilization" (2005) *American Journal of Political Science* 49:689-703 (With Scott McClurg).

"A Post-Mortem and Update of the Economic News and Personal Finances Forecasting Model" (2005) *PS: Political Science and Politics* 38:35-36\*

"Good news for Bush? Economic News, Personal Finances, and the 2004 Presidential Election" (2004) *PS: Political Science and Politics* 37:421-23.\*

"Sources of Error in Statewide Presidential Trial-Heat Polls" (2003) *Political Research Quarterly* 56:431-40 (With Jay DeSart).

- "State-wide Trial-Heat Polls and the 2000 Presidential Election: A Forecasting Model." (2003) *Social Science Quarterly* 84:561-73 (With Jay DeSart).
- "Presidential Campaigns and the Knowledge Gap"(2002) *Political Communication* 19:437-54.
- "Did the Whistle Stop Campaign Matter?" (2002) *PS: Political Science and Politics* 35:59-66.
- "Electoral Competition, Legislative Balance, and State Welfare Policy" (2002) *American Journal of Political Science* 46:415-27 (with Charles Barrilleaux and Laura Langer).
- "(Mis)Reading Political Tea Leaves" (2001) *American Politics Research* 39:297-301.\*
- "Forecasting with Mixed Economic Signals: A Cautionary Tale" (2001) *PS: Political Science and Politics* 34:39-45.\*
- "Knowing Versus Caring: the Role of Affect and Cognition in Political Perceptions" (2001) *Political Psychology* 22:27-44 (with Kathleen Dolan)
- "Using State Polls to Forecast Presidential Elections in the American States" (1999) *International Journal of Forecasting* 15:137-42 (with Jay DeSart).
- "Political Learning During Presidential Debates" (1999) *Political Behavior* 21:67-89.
- "Reading the Political Tea Leaves: a Forecasting Model of Contemporary Presidential Elections." (1996) *American Politics Quarterly* 24:506-519.
- "Homo Economist?: Economic Information and Economic Voting." (1996) *Political Research Quarterly* 49: 351-376 (with Jim Garand).
- "Campaigns, National Conditions, and American Presidential Elections." (1994) *American Journal of Political Science* 38:973-989.
- "The 1994 state Legislative Elections." *Extension of Remarks* December, 1994: 8-1 (with Emily Van Dunk).\*
- "The Behavioral Consequences of Vice-Presidential Debates: Does the Undercard Have any Punch?" (1994) *American Politics Quarterly* 22:469-82 .
- "Electoral Competition in the American States." (1993) *American Political Science Review* 87:955-62 (with Emily Van Dunk).

"The Effects of Leadership Positions on Votes for Incumbents in State Legislative Elections." (1993) *Political Research Quarterly* 46:897-909 (with Charley Tidmarch).

"Institutional Strength and Gubernatorial Elections: An Exploratory Analysis." (1993) *American Politics Quarterly* 21:261-271.

"Exploring Variations in State Laws providing Protection For Persons With Disabilities." (1992). *Western Political Quarterly* 45:291-220 (with Steve Percy).

"I Seen My Opportunities and I Took 'Em: Political Corruption in the American States." (1992). *Journal of Politics* 54:135-155 (with Ken Meier).

"No Longer Gaining Ground: An Update." (1991). *American Politics Quarterly* 19:377-384 (with Ken Meier).

"Presidential Elections in Space and Time." (1991) *American Journal of Political Science* 35:91-109.

"Sophomore Surge in State Legislative Elections, 1968-1986." (1991) *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 16:49-63 (with Charley Tidmarch).

"Measuring State Political Ideology." (1987). *American Politics Quarterly*, 15: 399-416 (with Steve Poe)

"National Factors in Gubernatorial Elections." (1987) *American Politics Quarterly*, 15: 471-483.

\*Denotes articles that did not go through the normal peer-review process.

### **Book Chapters:**

"Parties and Elections" 2013. In *Politics in the American States*, 10th edition, edited by Virginia Gray, Russell Hanson, and Thad Kouser Washington D.C.: CQ Press. (with Ray LaRaja)

"Do Campaigns Really Matter?" 2010. In *The Electoral Challenge: Theory Meets Practice*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, edited by Stephen Craig. Washington, DC: CQ press.

"Forecasting U.S. Presidential Elections." 2010 In *The Oxford handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*. (Oxford University Press), edited by Jan Leighley

"A Tale of Two Models: The DeSart and Holbrook State-Level Forecast Model in 2008." 2010 In ***Methods of Forecasting American Elections***. Mellen Press, edited by Chandra Putcha. (With Jay DeSart)

"Parties and Elections" 2008. In ***Politics in the American States***, 9th edition, edited by Virginia Gray and Russell Hanson. Washington D.C.: CQ Press. (with Ray LaRaja)

"Do Campaigns Really Matter?" 2006. In ***The Electoral Challenge: Theory Meets Practice***, edited by Stephen Craig. Washington, DC: CQ press.

"Parties and Elections" 2004. In ***Politics in the American States***, 8th edition, edited by Virginia Gray and Russell Hanson. Washington D.C.: CQ Press. (with John Bibby)

"Reading the Political Tea-Leaves: A Forecasting Model of Contemporary Presidential Elections." (2000) In ***Before the Vote***, edited by James Campbell and James Garand. Thousand Oaks, CA Sage Publications.

"Wisconsin Among the States." (2000) In ***Wisconsin Politics and Government***, edited by Ronald Weber (with Craig Svoboda) .

"Parties and Elections" 1999. In ***Politics in the American States***, 7th edition, edited by Virginia Gray and Russell Hanson. Washington D.C.: CQ Press. (with John Bibby)

"Parties and Elections" (1996) ***Politics in the American States***, 6th edition, edited by Herbert Jacob and Virginia Gray. Washington D.C.: CQ Press. (with John Bibby)

"Bureaucracy and Political Corruption: Patterns in the American States." (1993) ***Ethics and Public Administration***, edited by George Frederickson. Armonkn NY: M.E. Sharpe. (With Ken Meier).

"Wisconsin Among the States." (1991) In ***Wisconsin Politics and Government***, edited by Crane, Hagensick, and Colleagues. Milwaukee, WI: UWM.

### **Book Reviews:**

A review of ***Reelecting the Governor: The 1982 Elections***, by Thad Beyle, in ***American Political Science Review***, December, 1987.

A review of ***Coping With Mandates: What are the Alternatives?***, by Michael Fix and Daphne Kenyon, in ***American Review of Public Administration***, September, 1992.

### **Custom Publishing:**

*Crane and Hagensick's Wisconsin Government and Politics*, 9<sup>th</sup> edition. 2008.  
(Edited volume), McGraw-Hill Custom Publishing

## **Active Research Projects**

"Campaigns, Mobilization, and Turnout in Mayoral Elections" Under review (with Aaron Weinschenk)

"Candidates, Campaign Spending, and Urban Mayoral Elections." Under review (with Aaron Weinschenk)

"Racial Voting in American Cities: How and When Local Context Activates Racialized Vote Choices" Under review (with Karen Kaufmann and Dan Biggers)

"White Attitudes toward Black Political Empowerment: Contextual and Individual Influences on Perceived Group Threat." Under Review (with Karen Kaufmann)

"Partisan Context and Political Behavior in U.S. Cities." Preparing for journal submission (with Karen Kaufmann)

"Retrospective Voting in Local Elections." In progress.

## **Conference Presentations**

"Partisan Context and Political Behavior in U.S. Cities." Prepared for presentation at the 2012 meeting of the Elections, Public Opinion and Parties (EPOP) Conference, University of Oxford, 7-9th September 2012. (With Karen Kaufmann)

"Candidates, Campaigns, and Urban Mayoral Elections." (With Aaron Weinschenk). Presented at the 2011 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 1, 2011.

"Group-Based Politics in Urban Mayoral Election" (With Karen Kaufmann). Presented at the 2010 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 22, 2010.

"Local and National Conditions in Mayoral Elections" Presented at the 2009 meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2-5, 2009, Chicago, Illinois.

"Election Campaigns and "Enlightened" Voting" (With Jeffrey Karp) Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland, Jul 14, 2009.

"Group Interests and Voting Behavior in U.S. Urban Elections" Paper presented at

the annual meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, Paris, France, July 9-12, 2008.

"Voting Behavior in Urban Mayoral Elections" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association Palmer House Hotel, Hilton, Chicago, IL, April 2008

"Is This Heaven? No, It's Iowa: Simulating Outcomes in the Iowa Caucuses." Presentation at the Shambaugh Conference on "Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process" at the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, January 4th, 2008 (with Michael Tofias and Clayton Clouse).

"Cognitive Style and Political Learning in the 2004 U.S. Presidential Campaign" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, Portland, OR, July 4-6, 2007

"Does Measurement Matter?: The Case of VAP and VEP in Models of Voter Turnout in the States" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Aug 30-September 2, 2007

"Sources of Class Bias in the American States: (With Brianne Heidbreder) Presented at the 2007 State Politics and Policy Conference, February 22-23, Austin Texas.

"Campaign Effects and Correct Voting in the 2000 Presidential Election" (With Scott McClurg) Presented at the 2006 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 20-23, Chicago, IL.

"Presidential Campaigns, Mobilization, and the Activation of 'Fundamental' Considerations." (With Scott McClurg) Presented at the 2005 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 6-10, Chicago, IL.

"Do Campaigns Really Matter?" Presented at *Studying Politics: What we Know & Don't Know About Campaigns and Elections*, hosted by the Political Campaigning Program at the University of Florida, February 25, 2005.

"Forecasting the 2004 Presidential Vote" A roundtable presentation at the 2004 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2-5, Chicago, IL.

"Cognitive Style and Political Learning in the 2000 U.S. Presidential Campaign." Presented at the 2004 annual meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, July 15-18, Lund Sweden.

"Wishful Thinking in the 2000 Presidential Election" (with Kathleen Dolan). Presented at the 2004 annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 15-18.



"Presidential Campaigns and Political Mobilization" (With Scott McClurg). Presented at the 2003 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, Chicago, IL.

"The Great National Civics Lesson? The Impact of the 2000 Election on Civic Attitudes" Presented at the 2002 meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA.

"Economic News and Economic Voting in U.S. Presidential Elections" Presented at the 2002 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.

"A Cross-National Analysis of the Conditional Relationship between Economic Conditions and Election Outcomes." Presented at the 2000 meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.

"Forecasting the 2000 American National Elections." A Roundtable Discussion at the 2000 meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.

"Presidential Campaigns and the Knowledge Gap." Presented at the 1999 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, Chicago, IL.

"Knowing Versus Caring: The Role of Affect and Cognition in Political Perceptions" Presented at the 1998 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, Chicago, IL.

"Electoral Competition, Party Strength, and Changes in American States' AFDC Payments, 1972-1990." Presented at the 1997 meeting of the American Political Science Association, August, Washington, DC.

"State Polls and State Election Outcomes." Poster presentation at the 1997 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, Chicago, IL.

"Did the Campaign Matter?" Paper presented at the 1997 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, Chicago, IL.

"Political Learning During Presidential Campaigns." Presented at the 1996 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, Chicago, IL.

"Campaigns, National Conditions, and American Presidential Elections" Paper presented at the Conference on the Impact of Presidential Campaigns, hosted by the National Election Study and the Annenberg School of Communications, Philadelphia, PA, November 5-6, 1994.

"Sources of Electoral Competition" (Coauthor) Paper presented at the 1994 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, NY, September 1-4.

"What Do Citizens Know and How Do They Know It? Explaining Accuracy in Economic Perception During the 1992 Presidential Election." (Coauthor) Paper presented at the 1993 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-5, 1993.

"The role of leadership positions in state legislative elections." (Coauthor) Presented at the 1992 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 9-11, 1992.

"Institutional Strength and Gubernatorial Election: An exploratory Analysis." Presented at the 1991 meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Tampa, FL, November 10-14, 1991.

"Candidates, Economics, and Gubernatorial Elections." Presented at the 1991 meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 28-September 1, 1991.

"Variations in Hispanic Voter Turnout." Presented at the 1991 meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association, San Antonio, TX, March, 1991.

"Bureaucracy and Political Corruption: Patterns in the American States." Presented at the Conference on the Study of Government Ethics, Park City, Utah, June 12-15, 1991.

"Sources of Incumbency Success in State Legislative Elections" (Coauthor) Presented at the 1990 meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November, 6-9, 1991.

"I Seen My Opportunities and I Took 'em: Political Corruption in the American States." (Coauthor) Presented at the 1990 meeting of the American Political Science Association in San Francisco, CA, September 1-3, 1991.

"Sophomore Surge in State Legislative Elections." (Coauthor) Presented at the Conference on State Legislative Elections, March, 1990, in Lexington, KY.

"The Political Impact of Turnout in Gubernatorial Election." Presented at the 1987 meetings of the American Political Science Association, September, 1987.

"A Multi-level Explanation of Gubernatorial Elections." Presented at the 1986 meetings of the Southern Political Science Association, November, 1986

## **Invited Presentations**

"Economic considerations and the 2008 Presidential Election" Presented at the Shambaugh Conference on Understanding the 2008 Presidential Election, hosted by

the Department of Political Science, University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA, March 5-7, 2009.

“Retrospective Politics in U.S. Cities” Presented at the American Politics Workshop, The Harris School, University of Chicago, February 23, 2009.

“Predicting U.S. Presidential Elections: Econometric Models, Investors, and Average Citizens.” Presented at the European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Workshop: Electoral forecasting models: Experimentations, results and recent advances Florence, Italy, September 5, 2007

“Do Campaigns Really Matter?” Presented at *Studying Politics: What We Know & Don't Know About Campaigns and Elections*, hosted by the Political Campaigning Program at the University of Florida, February 25, 2005.

“The 2002 Midterm Elections: What Happened and Why” Presented at the Korean Association of American Politics/Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security joint seminar, November 20, 2002, Seoul, Korea

“Voting Behavior in U.S. Congressional Elections.” A lecture given at two different locations: Seoul National University (November 20, 2002) and Ewa Women's University (November 21, 2002).

Invited participant to the Conference on the Impact of Presidential Campaigns, hosted by the National Election Study and the Annenberg School of Communications, Philadelphia, PA, November 5-6, 1994.

Several presentations to community groups in the Milwaukee area.

## **Professional Service**

Editor, *American Politics Research*, 1997-2003

Editorial Board Membership

*American Politics Research*, 2003-2010

*American Politics Quarterly*, 1992-97

*American Journal of Political Science*, 1994-1997

*State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 2000-2003

Manuscript and Grant Referee

National Science Foundation, Russell Sage Foundation, *American Politics Research*, *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Harvard International Journal for Press/Politics*, *Journal of Politics*, *Legislative*

***Studies Quarterly, Political Behavior, Political Communication, Political Psychology, Political Research Quarterly, Presidential Studies Quarterly, Public Opinion Quarterly, Social Science Quarterly, State and Local Government Review, State Politics and Policy Quarterly***

### **Other Professional Service Activities**

Discussant, panel on Race in Elections, at the 2011 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Discussant, panel on Women and Politics, at the 2008 meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology

Discussant, panel on Public Opinion Formation, at the 2007 meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology

Section Chair, Voting Behavior and Elections, 2006 meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Executive Council, State Politics and Policy section of the American Political Science Association, 1995-97.

Panel Chair, "Campaign Effects" at the 2002 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago

Panel Chair and Discussant, "Do Campaigns Matter?" at the 2000 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, Chicago.

Panel Chair, "Do Campaigns Matter?" at the 1999 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago.

Section Chair, State Politics and Policy Section, at the 1996 meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Chair of the Best Paper Award Committee for the State Politics section of the American Political Science Association, 1997.

Chair of the Best Paper Award Committee for the State Politics section of the American Political Science Association, 1992.

Discussant, "Presidential Campaign Effects," at the 1997 meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Panel Chair, "The Impact of the Campaign," at the 1995 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Panel Chair, "New Directions in State Elections," at the 1994 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Panel Chair, "State and Local Party Organizations," at the 1993 meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 4-6, Savannah, GA.

Panel Chair, "Political Attitudes and Behavior in the American States," at the 1992 meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3-6, Chicago, IL.

Panel Chair, "Economics and Gubernatorial Elections," at the 1991 meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 29-September 1, Washington, D.C.

Discussant on a panel, "Economics and Executive Politics," at the 1991 meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Tampa, FL, November 10-14, 1991.

Discussant on a panel, "Aging and Political Values," at the 1989 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association meeting in Chicago, April, 1989.

## **University Service**

Social Sciences Divisional Committee, 2002-2005, 2008-2011 (Chair, 2010-11)

Ad hoc committee on undergraduate research, 2006

Academic Planning and Budget Committee, 2004-2006 (chair, 2006)

Review panel member for Chancellor's Strategic Research Development Program (2005)

Teachers for a New Era, Social Science Design Team, 2004-

Research Policy Committee, 1998-2002

Graduate Program Committee, 1998-99

Program Array Review Response Committee, 1998

Sabbatical Review Committee, 1998

Admissions Committee, 1997-98

Letters and Sciences Ad Hoc Committee on Research, Fall 1996

Official Representative to the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, 1990-2003

Graduate School Research Committee, 1992-1994

Advisory Board, Social Science Research Facility, 1992-94

## **Departmental Service**

Department Chair, August 2010-

Chair, Methodology Recruitment Committee, 2008

Ad hoc Committee on Strategic Planning, 2004, 2006

Undergraduate Committee, 2004-05  
Full Professors Committee, 2004, 2006  
Comparative Politics Search Committee 2004  
Director of Graduate Studies 1999-2002  
Public Administration Search Committee, 1996-97, 2003-2004  
Chair, Institutions Search Committee, 1999  
Graduate Committee, 1991-1996, 1998, 2005-  
Graduate Placement, 1993-1995  
Chair, Political Science Lab Committee, 1991-1995  
Chair, Graduate Student Recruitment Committee, 1990-1992  
Course and Curriculum, 1989-90  
Undergraduate Committee, 1989-90  
Wilder Crane Professorship recruitment committee, 1989