

# Christopher S. Warshaw

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## Academic Employment

**George Washington University**, Washington, DC

Professor, 2023-

Associate Professor, 2020-2023

Assistant Professor, 2017 - 2020

**Massachusetts Institute of Technology**, Cambridge, MA

Associate Professor of Political Science (without tenure), 2016 - 2017

Assistant Professor of Political Science, 2012 - 2016

## Education

**Stanford University**, Ph.D., Political Science, 2012

Fields: American Politics, Comparative Politics, and Political Methodology (Statistics)

**Stanford Law School**, Juris Doctorate, 2011

**Williams College**, B.A., *magna cum laude*, 2002

## Research Interests

American Politics, Public Opinion & Representation, Elections, State & Local Politics, Environmental Policy, Methodology.

## Research

### *Publications*

#### **Book**

"Dynamic Democracy: Public Opinion, Elections, and Policy Making in the American States." 2022. University of Chicago Press. (with Devin Caughey)

#### **Peer Reviewed Articles**

31. "The Partisanship of Mayors has no Detectable Effect on Police Spending, Police Employment, Crime, or Arrests." 2025. *Science Advances*. 11(3). (with Justin de Benedictis-Kessner, Matt Harvey, and Dan Jones).

30. "How Partisanship in Cities Influences Housing Policy". 2025. *American Journal of Political Science*. 69(1). (with Justin de Benedictis-Kessner and Dan Jones)
29. "Tracing Fox News' impact on American democracy." 2024. *Journal of Public Economics*. (with Elliott Ash, Sergio Galletta, and Matteo Pinna)
28. "American Local Government Elections Database" 2023. *Scientific Data*. (with Justin de Benedictis-Kessner, Diana Da In Lee, and Yamil Velez)
27. "How climate policy commitments influence energy systems and the economy of US States." 2023. *Nature Communications*. (with Parrish Bergquist)
26. "Moderates." 2023. *American Political Science Review*. 117(2): 643 - 660. (with Anthony Fowler, Seth Hill, Jeff Lewis, Chris Tausanovitch, Lynn Vavreck)
25. "Districts for a New Decade: Partisan Outcomes and Racial Representation in the 2021-22 Redistricting Cycle." 2022. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*. (with Eric McGhee & Michal Migurski)
24. "The Effect of Television Advertising in United States Elections." 2022. *American Political Science Review*. 116(2): 702-718. (with John Sides and Lynn Vavreck).
23. "Using Screeners to Measure Respondent Attention on Self-Administered Surveys: Which Items and How Many?" 2021. *Political Science Research and Methods*. 9(2): 430-437. (with Adam Berinsky, Michele Margolis, and Mike Sances)
22. "The Impact of Partisan Gerrymandering on Political Parties." 2020. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 45(4): 609-643. (with Nicholas Stephanopoulos)
21. "Fatalities from COVID-19 are reducing Americans' support for Republicans at every level of federal office." 2020. *Science Advances*. (with Lynn Vavreck and Ryan Baxter-King)
20. "Accountability for the Local Economy at All Levels of Government in United States Elections." 2020. *American Political Science Review*. 114(3): 660-676. (with Justin de Benedictis-Kessner)
19. "Politics in Forgotten Governments: The Partisan Composition of County Legislatures and County Fiscal Policies." 2020. *Journal of Politics*. 82(2): 460-475. (with Justin de Benedictis-Kessner)
18. "On the Representativeness of Primary Electorates." 2020. *British Journal of Political Science*. 50(2): 677-685. (with John Sides, Chris Tausanovitch, and Lynn Vavreck)
17. "Geography, Uncertainty, and Polarization." 2019. *Political Science Research and Methods*. 7(4): 775-794. (with Nolan McCarty, Jonathan Rodden, Boris Shor, and Chris Tausanovitch)
16. "Policy Ideology in European Mass Publics, 1981-2016." 2019. *American Political Science Review*. 113(3): 674-693. (with Devin Caughey and Tom O'Grady).
15. "Does Global Warming Increase Public Concern About Climate Change?" 2019. *Journal of Politics*. 81(2): 686-691. (with Parrish Bergquist)
14. "Local Elections and Representation in the United States." 2019. *Annual Review of Political Science*. 22(1): 461-479.
13. "The Ideological Nationalization of Party Constituencies in the American States". 2018. *Public Choice*. Keith Poole Symposium. 176(1-2): 133-151. (with James Dunham and Devin Caughey)
12. "Policy Preferences and Policy Change: Dynamic Responsiveness in the American States, 1936-2014." 2018. *American Political Science Review*. 112(2): 249-266. (with Devin Caughey)
11. "Does the Ideological Proximity Between Candidates and Voters Affect Voting in U.S. House Elections?" 2018. *Political Behavior*. 40(1): 223-245. (with Chris Tausanovitch)

10. "Partisan Gerrymandering and the Political Process: Effects on Roll-Call Voting and State Policies." *Election Law Journal*. December, 2017. 16(4): 453-469. Symposium on Partisan Gerrymandering and the Efficiency Gap. (with Devin Caughey and Chris Tausanovitch)
9. "Incremental Democracy: The Policy Effects of Partisan Control of State Government." 2017. *Journal of Politics*. 79(4): 1342-1358. (with Devin Caughey and Yiqing Xu)
8. "Renewable energy policy design and framing influences public support in the United States." 2017. *Nature Energy*. 2(17107). (with Leah Stokes)
7. "Estimating Candidates' Political Orientation in a Polarized Congress." 2017. *Political Analysis*. 25(2): 167-187. (with Chris Tausanovitch)
6. "The Dynamics of State Policy Liberalism, 1936-2014." 2016. *American Journal of Political Science*. 60(4): 899-913. (with Devin Caughey)
5. "Mayoral Partisanship and Municipal Fiscal Policy." 2016. *Journal of Politics*. 78(4): 1124-1138. (with Justin de Benedictis-Kessner)
4. "Dynamic Estimation of Latent Opinion Using a Hierarchical Group-Level IRT Model." 2015. *Political Analysis*. 23(2): 197-211. (with Devin Caughey)
3. "Representation in Municipal Government." 2014. *American Political Science Review*. 108(3): 605-641. (with Chris Tausanovitch)
2. "Measuring Constituent Policy Preferences in Congress, State Legislatures and Cities." 2013. *Journal of Politics*. 75(2): 330-342. (with Chris Tausanovitch)
1. "How Should We Measure District-Level Public Opinion on Individual Issues?" 2012. *Journal of Politics*. 74(1): 203-219. (with Jonathan Rodden)

#### Editor Reviewed Articles in Journals and Law Reviews

5. "Non-Retrogression Without Law." 2024. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*. (with Nicholas Stephanopoulos and Eric McGhee).
4. "A preference for constant costs." 2020. *Nature Climate Change*. News & Views. 10: 978-979
3. "Public Opinion in Subnational Politics." 2019. *Journal of Politics*. 81(1): 352-363. Editor reviewed for Symposium on Subnational Policymaking. (with Devin Caughey)
2. "Spatial variation in messaging effects." 2018. *Nature Climate Change*. News & Views. April, 2018.
1. "Business as Usual? Analyzing the Doctrinal Development of Environmental Standing Doctrine since 1976." 2011. *Harvard Law and Policy Review*. Volume 5.2. (with Gregory Wannier).

#### Book Chapters

5. "Elections and Parties in Environmental Politics." 2020. *Handbook on U.S. Environmental Policy*. David Konisky, ed. (with Parrish Bergquist)
4. "Latent Constructs in Public Opinion." 2018. *Oxford Handbook on Polling and Polling Methods*. R. Michael Alvarez and Lonna Atkeson, ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
3. "The Application of Big Data in Surveys to the Study of Elections, Public Opinion, and Representation." 2016. *Data Analytics in Social Science, Government, and Industry*. R. Michael Alvarez, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2. "The Political Economy of Expropriation and Privatization in the Oil Sector." 2012. *Oil and Governance: State-Owned Enterprises and the World Energy Supply*. David G. Victor, David Hults, and Mark Thurber, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1. "Democratization and Countermajoritarian Institutions: The Role of Power and Constitutional Design In Self-Enforcing Democracy." 2012. *Comparative Constitutional Design*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (with Susan Alberts and Barry R. Weingast).

### Policy Reports

1. "Reforming Baltimore's Mayoral Elections." 2020. Abell Foundation Report.  
<https://www.abell.org/publications/reforming-baltimores-mayoral-elections>

### Articles Under Review

None right now.

### Works in Progress

"The Electoral and Policy Effects of Election Timing in City and County Governments" (with Justin de Benedictis-Kessner)

"When Mass Opinion Goes to the Ballot Box: A National Assessment of State Level Issue Opinion and Ballot Initiative Results" (with Jonathan Robinson and John Sides)

"Inequalities in Participation, Voting, and Representation in Local Governments" (with Justin de Benedictis-Kessner and John Sides)

"Electoral Accountability for Ideological Extremism in American Elections" (with Devin Caughey)

### Non-Academic Writing

"How Black and Latino people did in this last round of redistricting" *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage. October 7, 2022. (with Eric McGhee and Michal Migurski)

"Redistricting commissions draw fairer districts than politicians do" *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage. September 27, 2022. (with Eric McGhee and Michal Migurski)

"In many states with antiabortion laws, majorities favor abortion rights" *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage. June 25, 2022. (with Jake Grumbach)

"Here are six big takeaways from the 2020 elections." *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage. November 7, 2020. (with Emily Thorson)

"TV ads still win elections. And Democrats are buying a lot more of them." *Washington Post*. October 28, 2020. (with John Sides and Lynn Vavreck)

"How Local Covid Deaths Are Affecting Vote Choice." *New York Times*, Upshot. July 28, 2020. (with Lynn Vavreck)

"Allowing Only Older Americans to Vote by Mail Leads to Severe Racial Disparities." *Election Law Blog*. July 1, 2020.

"A coronavirus recession would hurt all kinds of Republican candidates – not just Trump." *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage. March 18, 2020. (with Justin de Benedictis-Kessner).

"The Supreme Court is deciding a gerrymandering case. Here's the social science that the Justices need to know." *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage. June 1, 2019.

"New research shows just how badly a citizenship question would hurt the 2020 Census." *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage. April 22, 2019. (with Matt Barreto, Matthew A. Baum, Bryce J. Dietrich, Rebecca Goldstein, and Maya Sen)

"G.O.P. Senators Might Not Realize It, but Not One State Supports the Health Bill." *New York Times*, Upshot. June 14, 2017. (with David Broockman)

## Invited Talks

2024-2025: Washington University in St. Louis

2023-2024: UC Berkeley; Penn State; University of Chicago

2022-2023: University of Colorado

2021-2022: American University

2020-2021: University of Maryland; Stony Brook University

2019-2020: Princeton; UC Berkeley

2018-2019: Stanford; Northeast Political Methodology Meeting at NYU; University of Maryland

2017-2018: USC PIPE Symposium on Studying Subnational Policy Making; BYU; University of Chicago Conference on Political Polarization

2016-2017: University of Virginia; UCLA

2015-2016: Washington University in St. Louis; Texas A&M; Arizona State University Conference on Campaigns, Elections and Representation

2014-2015: Yale; Columbia; Duke

2013-2014: Princeton; Boston University; Rochester University

2012-2013: MIT American Politics Conference; Columbia Representation Conference; Princeton Media & Politics Conference; Annual Meeting of the Society for Political Methodology

## Grants

Democracy Fund, 2024 (\$74,000)

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2022 (\$70,000)

Russell Sage Foundation, 2019-2022 (\$119,475)

GW UFF, 2019-2020 (\$14,433)

MIT Elections Lab, 2019-2020 (\$14,000)

Jeptha H. and Emily V. Wade Award, 2014-2016 (\$59,686)

MIT Energy Institute (MITEI) Seed Grant, 2014-2016 (\$137,147)

MIT SHASS Research Fund, 2012-2014 (\$8,734)

## Software

dgo: Dynamic Estimation of Group-Level Opinion. 2017. R package. <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=dgo>. (with James Dunham and Devin Caughey)

## Awards, Honors, and Fellowships

Virginia Gray Book Award for best book on State Politics & Policy in 2023.

Shapiro Policy Research Scholar, George Washington Institute of Public Policy, 2019-2020; 2023-2024

OVPR Early Career Scholar at George Washington University, 2019.

APSA award for best journal article on State Politics & Policy in 2016.

Award for best paper on State Politics & Policy at the 2014 American Political Science Conference.

Graduate Fellowship, Dept. of Political Science, Stanford University, 2006-2012

David A. Wells Prize in Political Economy for Best Undergraduate Economics Thesis, Williams College, 2002

Phi Beta Kappa, Williams College, 2002

## Teaching Experience

### **Instructor:**

Democracy in America (GW), 2022, 2023

Elections (GW), 2018-2019, 2021-2024

State and Local Politics (GW), 2023

Measurement Models (Graduate-level) (GW), 2020, 2024

Political Representation (Graduate-level) (GW), 2019

Multi-level and Panel Models (Graduate-level) (GW), 2017-2019, 2021, 2023-2024

Public Opinion (GW), 2017

American Political Institutions (Graduate-level) (MIT), 2014, 2016

Public Opinion and Elections (MIT), 2016

Energy Policy (MIT), 2013

Democracy in America (MIT), 2013, 2014

Constitutional Law & Judicial Politics (MIT), 2013, 2015

Making Public Policy (MIT), 2012, 2014

### **Teaching Assistant:**

Introduction to American Law (Stanford University), 2010

Judicial Politics and Constitutional Law (Stanford University), 2009

Political Economy of Energy Policy (Stanford University), 2008

Introduction to International Relations (Stanford University), 2008

Introduction to Public Policy (Stanford University), 2007

Introduction to Econometrics (Williams College), 2002

## Graduate Advising

### **George Washington University:**

Sara Bornstein (Dissertation committee chair)

Dickson Su (Dissertation committee chair)

Kerry Synan (Dissertation committee co-chair)

Jared Heern (Graduated in 2022, Dissertation committee member)

Alex Beck (Graduated in 2021, Dissertation committee chair)

Colin Emrich (Graduated in 2021, Dissertation committee member)

### **Massachusetts Institute of Technology:**

Leah Stokes (Graduated in 2015, Dissertation committee member)

Krista Loose (2016, Dissertation committee member)

Tom O'Grady (2017, Dissertation committee member)

Justin de Benedictis-Kessner (2017, Dissertation committee member)

Alex Copulsky (2017, Masters thesis committee member)

James Dunham (2018, Dissertation committee member)

Parrish Bergquist (2018, Dissertation committee member)

Meg Goldberg (2019, Dissertation committee member)

## University Service

### **George Washington University:**

Member, Faculty Senate, 2024-

Coordinator, Methods subfield, 2024-

Member, CCAS Research Advisory Committee, 2023-

Member, Academic Program Review Committee, Sociology Dept., 2021

Coordinator, Graduate Political Science Admissions Committee, 2019-2024

Coordinator, American Politics Workshop, 2018-2020

Member, Methods Exam Committee, 2017-2020

Member, Graduate Political Science Admissions Committee, 2018-2019

**Massachusetts Institute of Technology:**

Member, Energy Education Task Force, 2012-2017

Parking and Transit Committee, 2013-2017

Member, Graduate Political Science Admissions Committee, 2013-2015

Faculty Fellow, Burchard Scholars, 2013-2015

**Stanford University (as graduate student):**

President, Stanford Environmental Law Society, 2009-2010

Executive Board Member, Stanford Environmental Law Society 2008-2010

Member, University Committee on Graduate Studies, 2007-2009

Member, University Library Committee, 2007-2008

President, Political Science Graduate Students Association, 2007-2008

## Professional Service

**Member**, APSA Dissertation Grants Panel, 2024

**Section Chair**, Campaigns and Elections, Midwest Political Science Association Conference, 2023

**Member**, National Science Foundation, Accountable Institutions and Behavior Advisory Panel, 2022-2024

**Member**, Best Dissertation Committee, Urban Politics Section of the American Political Science Assoc., 2021

**Section Chair**, American Public Opinion, Midwest Political Science Association Conference, 2020

**Lead Organizer**, Local Political Economy APSA Pre-Conference at George Washington University, 2019

**Member**, Planning Committee, Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES), 2018

**Member**, Best Paper Committee, State Politics Section of the American Political Science Assoc., 2018

**Editorial Board**, Journal of Politics, 2017-18

**Executive Committee**, Urban Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, 2015-2017

**Organizing Committee**, Conference on Ideal Point Models at MIT, <http://idealpoint.tahk.us>, 2015

**Member**, Best Paper Committee, Urban Politics Section of the American Political Science Assoc., 2015

**Reviewer:** American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Political Analysis, Political Behavior, Econometrica, Quarterly Journal of Political Science, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Political Research Quarterly, American Politics Research, British Journal of Political Science, Journal of Law and Courts, Public Opinion Quarterly, Political Science Research and Methods, State Politics and Policy Quarterly, Journal of Experimental Political Science, Nature Climate Change, Urban Affairs Review, Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law, Perspectives on Politics, Review of Economics and Statistics, Cambridge University Press



## Consulting

### Partisan Gerrymandering:

Expert, *Clarke v. Wis. Elections Comm'n*, 2023 WI 79, State Legislative districts

Expert, *Republican Party of New Mexico v. Oliver*, NO. S-1-SC-40146., Congressional districts

Expert, *Bvm (Black Voters Matter) Capacity Building Institute, Inc., et. al. v. Cord Byrd, in his official capacity as Florida Secretary of State, et. al.*, Case No. 2022-ca-000666 (2023), Congressional districts

Expert, *Alonzo et al. v. Schwab et al.*, 2022CV90 (consolidated into 2022CV89) (Wyandotte County Dist. Ct. Feb. 14, 2022), Congressional districts

Expert, *Benninghoff vs. Pennsylvania Legislative Reapportionment Commission*; and invited expert for the Pennsylvania Legislative Reapportionment Commission as it considered potential plans (2021-2022)

Expert, *League of Women Voters of Michigan vs Michigan Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission* (2022), State House Districts

Expert, *League of Women Voters of Ohio v. Ohio Redistricting Commission* (2021), Congressional districts

Expert, *League of Women Voters of Ohio v. Ohio Redistricting Commission* (2021), State Legislative Districts

Expert, *League of Women Voters vs. Kent County Apportionment Commission* (2021), County districting plan

Expert, *APRI et al. v. v. Smith et al.* (2018-2019), Congressional districts

Expert, *League of Women Voters of Michigan v. Johnson* (2018-2019), Congressional and state legislative districts

Expert, *League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania v. the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (2017-18), Congressional districts

### Census:

Expert, *La Union del Pueblo Entero , et al. v. Trump*, Effect of Excluding Undocumented Immigrants from Census on Apportionment (2020)

Expert, *Common Cause et al. v. Trump*, Effect of Excluding Undocumented Immigrants from Census on Apportionment (2020)

Expert, *State of New York v. Trump*, Effect of Excluding Undocumented Immigrants from Census on Apportionment (2020)

Expert, *New York Immigration Coalition v. US Dept of Commerce & State of NY v. US Dept of Commerce*, Effects of Undercount on Census due to Citizenship Question (2018)

### Policy Reports:

Consultant, *Abell Foundation*, Report on Potential Institutional Reforms for Baltimore's City Elections

## Community Service

PlanScore: Social Science Advisory Team (2020-2024)

Sierra Club: National Board of Directors (2009-2015)

## References

Jonathan Rodden, Stanford University, jrodden@stanford.edu  
Daniel Hopkins, University of Pennsylvania, danhop@sas.upenn.edu  
Lynn Vavreck, UCLA, lvavreck@ucla.edu

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