

Brandon L. Bartels, Ph.D.

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Education

Ph.D. The Ohio State University, Political Science, June 2006.

M.A. University of Missouri-Columbia, Political Science, August 2001.

B.A. Augustana College, Sioux Falls, SD; Government & International Affairs, May 1998.

Academic Appointments

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

- Professor of Political Science, 2021-present.
 - Courtesy appointment, GW Law School
- Associate Professor of Political Science, 2013-2021.
- Assistant Professor of Political Science, 2009-2013.

STONY BROOK UNIVERSITY

- Assistant Professor of Political Science, 2006-2009.

Administrative Appointments

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

- Director of Graduate Studies, Ph.D. Program, Department of Political Science, 2014-2017.
- Director of Graduate Studies, M.A. Program in Legal Institutions and Theory, Department of Political Science, 2013-2019.

Research and Teaching Interests

American politics, judicial politics, law and courts, the U.S. Supreme Court, public perceptions of law and courts, institutional legitimacy, judicial power and court-curbing in comparative context, public opinion and political behavior, political methodology.

Books

- Bartels, Brandon L., and Christopher D. Johnston. 2020. *Curbing the Court: Why the Public Constrains Judicial Independence*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Bartels, Brandon L., and Chris W. Bonneau, Eds. 2014. *Making Law and Courts Research Relevant: The Normative Implications of Empirical Research*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Peer-Reviewed Publications

- Bartels, Brandon L., Jeremy Horowitz, and Eric Kramon. 2023. “Can Democratic Principles Protect High Courts from Partisan Backlash? Public Reactions to the Kenyan Supreme Court’s Role in the 2017 Election Crisis.” *American Journal of Political Science* 67(3): 790-807. [Published online October 10, 2021]
- Bartels, Brandon L., and Eric Kramon. 2022. “All the President’s Justices? The Impact of Presidential Copartisanship on Supreme Court Job Approval.” *American Journal of Political Science* 66(1): 171-186. [Published online, August 22, 2021]
- Bartels, Brandon L., and Eric Kramon. 2020. “Does Public Support for Judicial Power Depend on Who is in Political Power? Testing a Theory of Partisan Alignment in Africa.” *American Political Science Review* 114(1): 144-163. [Published online, November 2019]
- Bartels, Brandon L., and Andrew J. O’Geen. 2015. “The Nature of Legal Change on the U.S. Supreme Court: Jurisprudential Regimes Theory and Its Alternatives.” *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4): 880-895.
- Haselswerdt, Jake, and Brandon L. Bartels. 2015. “Public Opinion, Policy Tools, and the Status Quo: Evidence from a Survey Experiment.” *Political Research Quarterly* 68(3):607-21.
- Bartels, Brandon L., Christopher D. Johnston, and Alyx Mark. 2015. “Lawyers’ Perceptions of the U.S. Supreme Court: Is the Court a ‘Political’ Institution?” *Law & Society Review* 49(3):761-94.
- Johnston, Christopher D., D. Sunshine Hillygus, and Brandon L. Bartels. 2014. “Ideology, the Affordable Care Act Ruling, and Supreme Court Legitimacy.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 78(4):963-73.
- Bartels, Brandon L., and Christopher D. Johnston. 2013. “On the Ideological Foundations of Supreme Court Legitimacy in the American Public.” *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1):184-99.
- Bartels, Brandon L., and Christopher D. Johnston. 2012. “Political Justice? Perceptions of Politicization and Public Preferences Toward the Supreme Court Appointment Process.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76(1):105-16.

- Newman, Benjamin J., and Brandon L. Bartels. 2011. "Politics at the Checkout Line: Explaining Political Consumerism in the U.S." *Political Research Quarterly* 64(4):803-17.
- Bartels, Brandon L., Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, Corwin D. Smidt, and Renee M. Smith. 2011. "The Dynamic Properties of Individual-Level Party Identification in the United States." *Electoral Studies* 30:210-22.
- Bartels, Brandon L. 2011. "Choices in Context: How Case-Level Factors Shape the Magnitude of Ideological Voting on the U.S. Supreme Court." *American Politics Research* 39(1):142-75.
- Johnston, Christopher D., and Brandon L. Bartels. 2010. "Sensationalism and Sobriety: Differential Media Exposure and Attitudes Toward American Courts." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 74(2):260-85.
- Bartels, Brandon L. 2009. "The Constraining Capacity of Legal Doctrine on the U.S. Supreme Court." *American Political Science Review* 103(3):474-95.
- Bartels, Brandon L., and Diana C. Mutz. 2009. "Explaining Processes of Institutional Opinion Leadership." *Journal of Politics* 71(1):249-61.
- Scherer, Nancy, Brandon L. Bartels, and Amy Steigerwalt. 2008. "Sounding the Fire Alarm: The Role of Interest Groups in the Lower Court Confirmation Process." *Journal of Politics* 70(4):1026-39.
- Box-Steffensmeier, Janet M., Peter M. Radcliffe, and Brandon L. Bartels. 2005. "The Incidence and Timing of PAC Contributions to Incumbent U.S. House Members, 1993-94." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 30(November):549-79.
- Granberg, Donald, and Brandon Bartels. 2005. "On Being a Lone Dissenter." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 35:1849-58.

Book Chapters

- Bartels, Brandon L. 2024. "Toward a Theory of the 'The Public' in Research on the Relationship Between Public Opinion and Supreme Court Outcomes." In *Research Handbook of Judicial Politics*, eds. Michael Fix and Matthew Montgomery. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing (Forthcoming).
- Bartels, Brandon L. 2022. "Courts and Public Opinion: A Critical Review." In *Handbook on Politics and Public Opinion*, Ed. Thomas J. Rudolph. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Bartels, Brandon L. 2018. "Supreme Court and Public Opinion." In *Oxford Bibliographies in Political Science*, Ed. Sandy Maisel. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

- Bartels, Brandon L., and Phillip Wininger. 2016. "Genuine Leader or Merely 'First Among Equals?'" Probing the Leadership Capacity of the Chief Justice." In *The Chief Justice: Appointment and Influence*, David J. Danelski and Artemus Ward, eds. University of Michigan Press.
- Bartels, Brandon L. 2015. "Beyond 'Fixed versus Random Effects': A Framework for Improving Substantive and Statistical Analysis of Panel, TSCS, and Multilevel Data." In *Quantitative Research in Political Science*, ed. Robert J. Franzese. Sage.
- Bartels, Brandon L. 2015. "The Sources and Consequences of Polarization in the U.S. Supreme Court." In *American Gridlock*, James Thurber and Antoine Yoshinaka, eds. Cambridge University Press.
- Bartels, Brandon L. 2010. "Top-Down and Bottom-Up Models of Judicial Reasoning." In *The Psychology of Judicial Decision Making*, David Klein and Gregory Mitchell, eds. Oxford University Press.
- McGraw, Kathleen M., and Brandon Bartels. 2005. "Ambivalence Toward American Political Institutions: Sources and Consequences." In *Ambivalence and the Structure of Political Opinion*, eds. Stephen C. Craig and Michael D. Martinez. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Additional Publications

- Bartels, Brandon L. 2022. Book review, *The Politics of Federal Prosecution*. By Christina L. Boyd, Michael J. Nelson, Ian Ostrander, and Ethan D. Boldt. New York: Oxford University Press. *Perspectives on Politics* 20(2): 733-34.
- Bartels, Brandon L., and Christopher D. Johnston. 2020. "Why Americans are perfectly willing to undermine the integrity and independence of the Supreme Court." *The Washington Post, The Monkey Cage*. Oct. 23, 2020.
- Bartels, Brandon L., and Christopher D. Johnston. 2020. "Why is this polarized Supreme Court showing moderation?" *Fifteen Eight Four: Academic Perspectives from Cambridge University Press*. Oct. 14, 2020.
- Bartels, Brandon L. 2018. "It took conservatives 50 years to get a reliable majority on the Supreme Court. Here are 3 reasons why." *The Washington Post, The Monkey Cage*. June 29, 2018.
- Bartels, Brandon L., Jeremy Horowitz, and Eric Kramon. 2017. "Kenyans Vote Again Today. Here's What They Think About the Current Election Crisis," *The Washington Post, The Monkey Cage*. Oct. 26, 2017.

- Bartels, Brandon L. 2016. Book review of *Ideas with Consequences: The Federalist Society and the Conservative Counterrevolution*, by Amanda Hollis-Brusky. *Law and Politics Book Review* 26(8): 160-164. <http://www.lpbr.net/>.
- Bartels, Brandon L. 2016. “When Was the Last Supreme Court Nomination in Which Stakes Were This High? Maybe Never.” *The Washington Post, The Monkey Cage*. Feb. 25, 2016.
- Bartels, Brandon L. 2014. “Experiments in Law and Courts Research: Opportunities, Issues, and Suggestions.” *Law and Courts Newsletter*, Spring 2014.
- Bartels, Brandon L. 2013. Book review of *Electing Judges: The Surprising Effects of Campaigning on Judicial Legitimacy*, by James L. Gibson. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 77(3):822-24.
- Bartels, Brandon L. 2012. “Psychological Approaches to Judicial Behavior: Opportunities and Challenges.” *Law and Courts Newsletter*, Fall 2012.
- Bartels, Brandon L. 2012. “What Did We Learn From the Kagan Appointment Process?” *Extension of Remarks* (Newsletter of the APSA’s Legislative Studies Section; <http://www.apsanet.org/lss>). July 2012.
- Bartels, Brandon L. 2010. Book review of *Public Opinion and Constitutional Controversy* (Edited by Nathaniel Persily, Jack Citrin, and Patrick J. Egan). *Perspectives on Politics* 8:960-61.
- Bartels, Brandon L. 2008. Book review of *Trial Courts as Organizations* (by Brian J. Ostrom, Charles W. Ostrom, Roger A. Hanson, and Matthew Kleiman). *Perspectives on Politics* 6:391-92.
- Bartels, Brandon L. 2004. “*Chevron, U.S.A. v. Natural Resources Defense Council*” and “*Citizens to Preserve Overton Park v. Volpe*.” In *Encyclopedia of Public Administration and Public Policy*, ed. David Schultz. New York: Facts on File, Inc.

External Research Grants

- Kramon, Eric, Brandon L. Bartels, and Jeremy Horowitz. National Science Foundation Grant (SES #1801207), “RAPID: Building Judicial Legitimacy or Inviting Institutional Backlash? Kenya’s Supreme Court and the Invalidity of the 2017 Presidential Election.” March 15, 2018 - February 28, 2019. \$163,929.
- Bartels, Brandon L. National Science Foundation Grant (SES #1654882), “Supreme Court Polarization and Its Effects on Judicial Policymaking, Media Discourse, and Institutional Legitimacy.” June 2017 – May 2019. \$218,954.

Bartels, Brandon L., and Chris W. Bonneau. National Science Foundation Grant (SES #1228306), “Collaborative Research: A Workshop on the Normative Implications of Empirical Research in Law and Courts.” September 2012 – August 2013. GW portion: \$24,518.

Bartels, Brandon L. National Science Foundation Grant (SES #1123701), “The Constraining Capacity of Law on the U.S. Supreme Court.” September 2011 – August 2014 (\$110,713).

Bartels, Brandon L. National Science Foundation Dissertation Improvement Grant (SES #0519773, with Lawrence Baum). August 2005 – June 2006 (\$9,688).

Internal Research Grants

Bartels, Brandon L. Policy Research Scholar, George Washington Institute of Public Policy (GWIPP), George Washington University, 2010-2011, 2014-2015, and 2020-2021.

Bartels, Brandon L. University Facilitating Fund Award Recipient, George Washington University, 2010-2011 (\$11,242).

Awards and Fellowships

Dean’s Research Chair, Columbian College of Arts and Science, GW. Fall 2017-Spring 2020.

Henry R. Spencer Award for Best Dissertation in the past year, Department of Political Science, Ohio State University, 2006.

Presidential Fellowship (recognizing outstanding scholarly accomplishment for students entering the final phase of their dissertation research), Ohio State University, July 2005 – June 2006.

Methods Fellow, Program in Statistics and Methodology (PRISM), Ohio State University; Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, Director; June 2003 – June 2004.

Works in Progress

Bartels, Brandon L. *Supreme Court Polarization and Its Consequences*. Book project in progress.

Bartels, Brandon L., and Eric Kramon. “Is the Supreme Court Capable of Legitimizing Elections? Elite Rhetoric, Norm Violation, and the 2020 Election.” *Under review*.

Bartels, Brandon L., Eric Kramon, and Caleb Schmotter. “Does Public Support Insulate High Courts from Court-Curbing? A Comparative Examination.” *Under review*.

Bartels, Brandon L., and Eric Kramon. “The Supreme Court’s Electoral Connection: Why Public Support for Judicial Power Depends on Who Wins Political Power.” *Work in progress*.

Bartels, Brandon L. “The Dynamic Properties of Public Support for the Supreme Court, From Specific to Diffuse.” *Work in progress*.

Bartels, Brandon L., and Jasmine Carrera Smith. “Do Voters Punish Their Preferred Candidates for Attacking the Supreme Court?” *Work in progress*.

Conference Presentations (Last 5 Years)

Bartels, Brandon L., Eric Kramon, and Jeremy Horowitz. 2019. “Do Election Crises Undermine Support for Democracy? Evidence from Kenya.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Bartels, Brandon L. 2019. “The Impact of Supreme Court Polarization on Public Judgments of Judicial Power.” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Bartels, Brandon L., and Valerie Hoekstra. 2019. “Putting Qualifications to the Test: Public Reaction to Increasingly Politicized Supreme Court Confirmation Battles.” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Bartels, Brandon L. 2019. “The Impact of Supreme Court Polarization on Public Judgments of Judicial Power.” Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

Bartels, Brandon L., and Kerry Synan. 2019. “The Evolution of Supreme Court Media Coverage: An Automated Text Analysis of Salient Decision Coverage, 1946-2017.” Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

Occasionally a chair and discussant at APSA and MPSA.

Invited Presentations

“Can the Supreme Court Legitimize Disputed Elections? The Case of 2020.” 2022. BYU American Politics Workshop.

“Can the Supreme Court Legitimize Disputed Elections? The Case of 2020.” 2021. University of Minnesota American Politics Workshop.

“A Presidential Alignment Theory of Public Support for Judicial Power.” 2021. University of Houston American Politics Workshop.

“The Impact of Supreme Court Polarization on Public Judgments of Judicial Power.” 2020. University of Minnesota (postponed due to Coronavirus outbreak).

“The Impact of Supreme Court Polarization on Public Judgments of Judicial Power.” 2019. University of Kentucky.

“Is the Supreme Court Irredeemably Politicized?” 2015. University of Maryland.

“Legal Dynamics, Legal Constraint, and the Existence of Jurisprudential Regimes on the U.S. Supreme Court.” 2012. Washington University in St. Louis.

“On the Ideological Foundations of Supreme Court Legitimacy in the American Public.” 2012. University of Virginia.

“On the Impact of the Solicitor General in the U.S. Supreme Court: Distinguishing Influence, Constraint, and Polarization.” 2012. University of Pittsburgh. March 30.

“Multilevel Modeling Workshop.” 2011. Quantitative Initiative for Policy and Social Research (Mark Peffley, Director), University of Kentucky. May 23-25.

“On the Ideological Foundations of Supreme Court Legitimacy in the American Public.” 2010. MIT American Politics Conference.

“Awareness, Ideology, and Public Perceptions of the U.S. Supreme Court.” 2010. Temple University Law School, Seminar in Law and Human Behavior.

“Top-Down and Bottom-Up Models of Judicial Reasoning, With a Theoretical Application to the U.S. Supreme Court.” 2010. Binghamton University, Department of Political Science.

“Issues Accompanying Time-Varying Data in Duration Modeling, With An Empirical Application to the Overruling of Supreme Court Precedent.” 2007. Columbia University, Seminar in Quantitative Political Science.

Teaching Experience

<i>Undergraduate</i>	<i>Graduate</i>
Introduction to American Government	Theories of Judicial Review
Con Law: Civil Liberties and Rights	Judicial Politics
Judicial Politics	American Political Institutions
Scope and Methods	Dissertation Development Workshop
Theories of Judicial Review	Empirical Political Analysis, Regression
Supreme Court Simulation	Longitudinal Data Analysis
Constitutional Interpretation	Multilevel Modeling

Professional Service and Affiliations

Editorial Board Member:

- *American Journal of Political Science*, 2019-present.
- *Journal of Law and Courts*, 2011-present.

Member of Nominations Committee, Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association. 2021-2022.

Member of Executive Council, Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association. 2016-2018.

Chair of the Law and Courts Division, Program Committee for the 2012 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Committee Member, 2011 “Best Article in the American Journal of Political Science Award,” Midwest Political Science Association.

Committee Member, 2011 “Best Conference Paper Award,” Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association.

Chair of the Judicial Politics Division, Program Committee for the 2011 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Committee Member, 2008 “Robert H. Durr Award” for best paper applying quantitative methods to a substantive problem. Midwest Political Science Association.

Committee Member, 2007 CQ Press Award for best paper on law and courts by a graduate student.

Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association.

Referee/reviewer for *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *American Politics Research*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Electoral Studies*, *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, *Judicature*, *Law & Society Review*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Analysis*, *Political Behavior*, *Political Communication*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Politics & Policy*, *PS*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, McGraw-Hill, Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, Cengage, Sage, the National Science Foundation.

Member of Review Panel, National Science Foundation, 2016-2018.

Member, American Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association, Law and Courts Section of the APSA, Political Methodology Section of the APSA.

University and Departmental Service

American Politics Ph.D. Comprehensive Exams Committee, May 2018-present.

Member of American politics search committee, 2011, 2016, 2018, 2019, 2021; methods search committee, 2011 and 2012. GWU Department of Political Science.

CCAS Budget Committee, 2020-2021.

Graduate Committee, Department of Political Science, 2020-2021.

American Politics Field Coordinator, Department of Political Science, 2018-2019, 2020-present.

Strategic Planning Committee, Distinguished and Distinctive Graduate Education, 2019-2020.

Resource Allocation Working Group Committee, 2019-2020.

Internal Review Committee for Department of Psychology, GW College of Arts and Sciences, Spring 2019.

Chair Nomination Committee, Department of Political Science, Spring 2019.

Member of Undergraduate Program Review Committee, 2016-2017.

Member, Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Political Science, George Washington University, 2013 and 2014.

Member, Methods Comprehensive Exams Committee, George Washington University, 2009-2014.

Member, Graduate Studies Committee, Department of Political Science, Stony Brook University, 2006-2009.

Dissertation Committee member. Stony Brook: Maxwell Mak, Naser Javaid, Andrew O'Geen, Christopher Parker; GW: Maeve Carey, Jake Haselswerdt, Alyx Mark, Phillip Wininger, Jon Hack, David Richardson, Cory Maks-Solomon, Kerry Synan, Shannon McQueen.