

Department of Political Science, Binghamton University, P.O. Box 6000, Binghamton, NY 13902-6000

◆ Bartle Library Building, LNG 84 ◆ fax: 607.777.2675 ◆ wheller@binghamton.edu ◆

Academic Employment (since 1995)

2008-present: Associate Professor of Political Science, Binghamton University (State University of New York.)

Spring 2016: Visiting Fellow, Department of Political Science, Northeastern University.

Spring 2016: Visiting Scholar, Institute for Quantitative Social Science, Harvard University.

2002-2008: Assistant Professor of Political Science, Binghamton University (State University of New York).

1997-2002: Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

1995-1997: Fellow in Public Policy and Visiting Professor in Political Science, Stanford University.

Education

PhD: University of California, San Diego. Political Science, June 1995.

AB: Harvard University, June 1983.

Publications

Articles

“Institutional Checks and Corruption: The Effect of Formal Agenda Access on Governance” (with Andreas Kyriacou and Oriol Roca-Sagalés). *European Journal of Political Research* 55(4, November 2016):681–701.

“Bicameralism and the Logic of Party Organization” (with Julie VanDusky-Allen). *Comparative Political Studies* 47(5, April 2014):715–742.

“Honor among Thieves: Cooperation as a Strategic Response to Functional Unpleasantness” (with Katri K. Sieberg). *European Journal of Political Economy* 26(3, September 2010):351–362.

“Dealing in Discipline: Party Switching and Legislative Voting in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, 1988–2000” (with Carol Mershon). *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4, October 2008):910–925.

“Functional Unpleasantness: The Evolutionary Logic of Righteous Resentment” (with Katri K. Sieberg). *Public Choice* 135(3-4, June 2008):399–413.

“Agenda Power in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, 1988-2000” (with Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins). *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 33(2, May 2008):171–198.

“Divided Politics: Bicameralism, Parties, and Policy in Democratic Legislatures.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 10(June 2007):245–269.

“Party Switching in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, 1996-2001” (with Carol Mershon). *Journal of Politics* 67(2, May 2005):536–559.

“Regional Parties and National Politics in Europe: Spain’s *estado de las autonomías*, 1993-2000.” *Comparative Political Studies* 35(6, August 2002):657–685.

“Making Policy Stick: Why The Government Gets What It Wants in Multiparty Parliaments.” *American Journal of Political Science* 45(4, October 2001):780–798.

“Political Denials: The Policy Effect of Intercameral Partisan Differences in Bicameral Parliamentary Systems.” *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 17(2001):34–61.

“Bicameralism and Budget Deficits: The Effect of Parliamentary Structure on Government Spending.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 22:485–516, November 1997.

“Politics, Institutions, and Outcomes: Electricity Regulation in Argentina and Chile” (with Mathew D. McCubbins). *Journal of Policy Reform* 1(1996):357–387.

Books

Political Parties and Legislative Party Switching (co-edited with Carol Mershon). Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Book chapters

“The Politics of Bicameralism” (with Diana Branduse). In *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*, ed. Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld, and Kaare Strøm. Oxford University Press (2014).

“Conclusions” (with Carol Mershon). In *Political Parties and Legislative Party Switching*, ed. William B. Heller and Carol Mershon. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

“Introduction: Legislative Party Switching, Parties, and Party Systems” (with Carol Mershon). In *Political Parties and Legislative Party Switching*, ed. William B. Heller and Carol Mershon. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

“Integrating Theoretical and Empirical Models of Party Switching” (with Carol Mershon). In *Political Parties and Legislative Party Switching*, ed. William B. Heller and Carol Mershon. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

“Legislator Preferences, Party Desires: The Impact of Party Switching on Legislative Party Positions” (with Carol Mershon). In *Political Parties and Legislative Party Switching*, ed. William B. Heller and Carol Mershon. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

“Cómo entender a las legislaturas: el análisis institucional y la política de intercambio.” In *Para qué sirve el Poder Legislativo*, ed. Ricardo Espinoza T. and Jeffrey A. Weldon. Mexico: AMEP, UAM, Universidad de Colima, and M.A. Porrúa, 2007.

“Reglas de votación y estabilidad en la Cámara de Diputados” (with Jeffrey A. Weldon). In *El Congreso Mexicano después de la alternancia*. Mexico City: AMEP/Instituto de Investigaciones Legislativas de la Cámara de Senadores, 2003.

“Political Institutions and Economic Development: The Case of Electric Utility Regulation in Argentina and Chile” (with Philip Keefer and Mathew D. McCubbins). In *Presidents, Parliaments, and Policy*, ed. Stephan Haggard and Mathew D. McCubbins. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

“Political Structure and Economic Liberalization: Cases from the Developing World” (with Philip Keefer and Mathew D. McCubbins). In *The Origins of Liberty*, ed. Paul Drake and Mathew D. McCubbins. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Book reviews

Review of *Maggioritario finalmente? La transizione elettorale 1994-2001*, ed. Roberto D'Alimonte and Stefano Bartolini. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 8(3, fall 2003):466–468.

Working Papers/Work in Progress

“The Ouroboros of Political Institutions: Party Rules in Institutional Context” (with Olga Shvetsova). Citizenship, Rights, and Cultural Belonging Working Paper No. 101, Binghamton University, October 2016.

“Playing the Rules: Legislative Institutions, Political Parties, and Individual Preferences in Advanced Democracies” (Book-length project).

“Resource Flows as a (Proxy) Measure of the Allocation of Authority in Intraparty Decision Making” (with Olga Shvetsova).

“Do Polls Affect Turnout? An Uncertainty Principal for Election Surveys” (with Marc Davignon and Ekrem Karakoç).

“Individual Preferences and Collective Desires: A Mechanism for Sincere Revelation of Policy Preferences.”

“Measuring Institutions: Independence, Authority, and Accountability, with an Application to Legislative Process” (with Diana Branduse).

“Who’s in Charge? The Party Leader, Legislative Institutions, and Party Preferences” (With Greg Robinson).

“Joining the Mainstream: How Niche Parties Adapt to the Possibility of Power” (with Alena Gericke).

“An Institutional Theory of Public Bads Regulation: Political Parties, Electoral Rules, and Environmental Policy” (with Robert Holahan).

“Parties, Preference Aggregation, and Policy: An Institutional Perspective on Redistribution.”

“Seat Shares and Legislative Party Unity: Vying for Policies or Position Taking?” (With Robin Best.)

Conference Papers and Invited Presentations (since 2006)

“Parties, Partners, Principals, and Agents: Coalition Politics and Individual Preferences in Institutional Context.” Paper prepared for presentation at the 4th Conference of the ECPR Standing Group on Parliaments, Basel, Switzerland, 29 June–1 July 2017.

“Safety in Numbers? Seat Shares and Discipline in Legislative Parties” (with Robin Best). Paper prepared for presentation at 7th Annual General Conference of the European Political Science Association, Milan, Italy, 22-24 June 2017.

”Joining the Mainstream: How Niche Parties Adapt to the Possibility of Power“ (with Alena Gericke). Paper prepared for presentation at the 2017 Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, 6–9 April.

“Bicameralism, Parties, and Policy Outcomes: A Unified Perspective.” Presentation at the AWEPA (European Parliamentarians with Africa) meeting on The Role of SADC Upper Houses in the Budget Cycle, Vineyard Hotel, Cape Town, South Africa, 2–4 December 2016.

“Bicameralism: A Conceptual Primer.” Presentation at the AWEPA (European Parliamentarians with Africa) meeting on The Role of SADC Upper Houses in the Budget Cycle, Vineyard Hotel, Cape Town, South Africa, 2–4 December 2016.

“Parties, Partners, Principals, and Agents: Coalition Politics and Individual Preferences in Institutional Context.” Paper prepared for presentation at the 2016 ECPR Joint Sessions, Workshop 01, “Analyzing Organization in Parliaments: Causes and Consequences” (Directors: Tim Mickler and Shane Martin), Pisa, Italy, 24–28 April 2016.

“Leaders and Labels: A Principal-Agent Perspective on Party Position Taking.” Paper presented at the Department of Political Science, University of California, Merced, 28 October 2015.

“Leaders and Labels: A Principal-Agent Perspective on Party Position Taking.” Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Hilton San Francisco, San Francisco, CA, 3–6 September 2015.

“Do Polls Affect Turnout? An Uncertainty Principle for Election Surveys” (with Marc Davignon and Ekrem Karacoç). Paper presented at the 2015 General Conference of the ECPR, Université de Montréal, Montreal, Quebec, 26–29 August.

“Parties, Preference Aggregation, and Policy: An Institutional Perspective on Redistribution.” Paper presented at the 2015 General Conference of the ECPR, Université de Montréal, Montreal, Quebec, 26–29 August.

“Leaders and Labels: A Principal-Agent Perspective on Party Position Taking.” Paper presented at the 5th Annual General Conference of the European Political Science Association, Vienna, Austria, 25–27 June 2015.

“Do Polls Affect Turnout? An Uncertainty Principle for Election Surveys” (with Marc Davignon and Ekrem Karacoç). Paper presented at the 5th Annual General Conference of the European Political Science Association, Vienna, Austria, 25–27 June 2015.

“Who’s in Charge? The Party Leader, Legislative Institutions, and Party Preferences.” Paper presented at the 2015 Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, 16–19 April.

“Take Me to Your Leader: Assessing Agency Dynamics in Congressional Parties” (with Greg Robinson). Paper presented at the 2015 Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, 16–19 April.

“Who’s in Charge? The Party Leader, Legislative Institutions, and Party Preferences.” Paper presented at the 2014 Annual Meetings of the European Political Science Association, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK, 19–21 June.

“Take Me to Your Leader: Assessing Agency Dynamics in Congressional Parties” (with Greg Robinson). Paper presented at the 2014 Annual Meetings of the European Political Science Association, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK, 19–21 June.

“Resource Flows as a (Proxy) Measure of the Allocation of Authority in Intraparty Decision Making” (with Olga Shvetsova). Paper presented at the 2014 Annual Meetings of the European Political Science Association, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK, 19–21 June.

“Who’s in Charge? The Party Leader, Legislative Institutions, and Party Preferences.” Paper presented at the 2014 University of Tampere Summer Workshop “Institutions in Context: The Free Market,” 9–15 June.

“Who’s in Charge? The Party Leader, Legislative Institutions, and Party Preferences.” Paper presented at the 42nd ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops Universidad de Salamanca, Salamanca, Spain, 10–15 April 2014.

“Leaders and Labels: A Principal-Agent Perspective on Party Position Taking.” Paper presented at the Research Programme on Democracy at the University of Oslo–Uppsala University Workshop on The Importance of Constitutions: Parliamentarism, Representation and Voting Rights, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 23–25 October 2013.

“Parties, Preference Aggregation, and Policy: An Institutional Perspective on Redistribution.” Paper presented at the 2013 ECPR General Conference, Sciences Po Bordeaux, Domaine Universitaire, Bordeaux, France, 4–7 September.

“An Institutional Theory of Public Bads Regulation: Political Parties, Electoral Rules, and Environmental Policy” (with Robert Holahan). Paper presented at the 2013 Annual Meetings of the European Political Science Association, Barcelona, Spain, 20–22 June.

“Measuring Institutions: Independence, Authority, and Accountability, with an Application to Legislative Process” (with Diana Branduse). Paper presented at the 2013 Annual Meetings of the European Political Science Association, Barcelona, Spain, 20–22 June.

“Political Parties and the Politics of Regions: Constitutional Structure and Party Policy Positions” (with Amutz Garmendia Madariaga and Sonia Alonso). Paper presented at the 2013 Annual Meetings of the European Political Science Association, Barcelona, Spain, 20–22 June.

“Political Parties and the Politics of Regions: Constitutional Structure and Party Policy Positions” (with Amutz Garmendia Madariaga and Sonia Alonso). Paper presented at the 2013 Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, 11–14 April.

“Shared Executive Power and the Logic of Party Organization” (with Julie Ann VanDusky-Allen). Paper presented at the 2013 Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, 11–14 April.

“Intraparty Institutions: Collective Rules Designed for Personal Benefit” (with Olga Shvetsova). Paper presented at the 2012 Annual Meetings of the European Political Science Association, Berlin, Germany, 21–23 June.

“Leaders, Rank and File, and Decision Making: Parties as Vehicles for Collective Action.” Summer School Program on Institutions in Context: Dictatorship and Democracy, University of Tampere, Tampere, Finland, 4–10 June 2012.

“Parties, Preference Aggregation, and Policy: An Institutional Perspective on the Welfare State.” Paper presented at the Dr. Han-Jyun Hou Conference on The Political Economy of Parties and Competition, Binghamton University, 31 May 2012.

“Party Organization in Context: Political Institutions and Intraparty Structure and Process.” Invited presentation, Political Economy of Reforms Seminar Series, University of Mannheim, 7 May 2012.

“Party Organization in Context: Political Institutions and Intraparty Structure and Process.” Invited presentation, Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Geneva, 3 May 2012.

“Party Organization in Context: Political Institutions and Intraparty Structure and Process.” Paper presented at the 2012 Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, 12–15 April.

“Politicians make parties to win offices, and design party rules to be the ones in those offices” (with Olga Shvetsova). Paper presented at the 2012 Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, 12–15 April.

“A Ticket to (Free) Ride: Institutions and Social Welfare Provision.” Summer School Program on Institutions in Context: The Welfare State, University of Tampere, Tampere, Finland, 6–12 June 2011.

“Investing in Agreement: Party Organization, Leadership Change, and Policy Positions” (with Weiwei Hu). Paper presented at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Ill., 31 March–3 April.

“Party Competition and Government Quality: The Politics of Turning a Blind Eye to Poor Governance” (with Andreas Kyriacou and Oriol Roca-Sagalés). Paper presented at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Ill., 31 March–3 April.

“Investing in Agreement: Party Organization, Leadership Change, and Policy Positions” (with Weiwei Hu). Paper presented at the 2010 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington Hilton, Washington, DC, 2–5 September.

“Institutions and Policy Outcomes.” Summer School Program on Institutions in Context: The Design and Impact of Political Institutions during and after the Cold War, University of Tampere, Tampere, Finland, 31 May–6 June 2010.

“Bicameralism and Policy Stability: (Bi)Partisan Games in the US Congress” (with Adriana Buliga-Stoian). Paper presented at the 2010 Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Ill., 22–25 April.

“Bicameralism and Policy Stability: (Bi)Partisan Games in the US Congress” (with Adriana Buliga-Stoian). Paper presented at the conference on Legislative Elections, Process, and Policy: The Influence of Bicameralism, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, 23–24 October 2009.

“Too Many Chiefs: Bicameralism and the Centralization of Candidate Selection Procedures” (with Julie VanDusky). Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark, 4 June 2009.

“Violence by Other Means: Institutional Design for Democratic Politics after Civil Conflict” (with Weiwei Hu). Paper presented at the 2009 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Ill., 2–5 April.

“Too Many Chiefs: Bicameralism and the Centralization of Candidate Selection Procedures” (with Julie VanDusky). Paper presented at the Political Institutions and Public Choice Conference on Bicameralism, Duke University, 27–28 March 2009.

“Too Many Chiefs: Bicameralism and the Centralization of Candidate Selection Procedures” (with Julie VanDusky). Faculty of Social Sciences, Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands, 20 February 2009.

“Divided We Stand: Bicameral Politics in Institutional Perspective.” Honors Class, Faculty of Social Sciences, Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands, 20 February 2009.

“Too Many Chiefs: Bicameralism and the Centralization of Candidate Selection Procedures” (with Julie VanDusky). Presented at the II Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Mexicana de Estudios Parlamentarios, Puebla, Mexico, 24–27 September 2008.

“Legislative Organization, Party Factions, and Party Policy Position: Endogenous Adaptation to Exogenous Institutions.” Paper presented at the University of Turku Public Choice Research Center workshop on Power, Games and Institutions, Åland, Finland 18–21 August 2008.

“Too Many Chiefs: Bicameralism and the Centralization of Candidate Selection Procedures” (with Julie VanDusky). Paper presented at the 2008 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Ill., 3–6 April.

“Rules of the Game and Political Equity: Voter Perceptions of Fairness and the Benefits of Electoral Reform” (with Adriana Buliga-Stoian). Paper presented at the 2008 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Ill., 3–6 April.

“Honor among Thieves: Cooperation as a Strategic Response to Functional Unpleasantness” (with Katri Sieberg). Paper presented at the 2008 CESifo Conference on Ethics and Economics, CESifo Conference Center, Munich, Germany, 7–9 February.

“Bicameralism, Representation, and Parliamentary Decision Making.” Conference on Transforming Canadian Governance through Senate Reform, Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada, 19–20 April 2007.

“Divided We Stand: Preferences, Parties, and Policy in Bicameral Legislatures.” Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM), Mexico City, 20 October 2006.

“Frontiers of Legislative Studies: Rethinking Legislative Institutions.” Keynote Address [*conferencia magistral*], Asociación Mexicana de Estudios Parlamentarios (AMEP), Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), Mexico City, 18 October 2006.

“Institutional Analysis.” Paper presented at the University of Turku Public Choice Research Center Models of Political Institutions project, Game Theory in the Service of Public Policy and Conflict Resolution, Turku, Finland, 12–16 June 2006.

“Divided We Stand: Preferences, Parties, and Policy in Bicameral Legislatures.” Paper presented at the 2006 Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Ill., 20–23 April.

“Functional Unpleasantness: The Evolutionary Logic of Righteous Resentment” (with Katri Sieberg). Paper presented at the 2006 Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, Ill., 20–23 April.

Grants (since 2002)

Harpur College Research Grant, spring/summer 2009.

National Science Foundation Grant #SES-0339920 (\$100,000). 2004-2006. "EITM: Collaborative Research on Legislative Party Switching: Integrating Formal and Comparative Empirical Analyses" (in collaboration with a parallel grant to Carol Mershon).

Languages

Spanish (fluent); Italian; French (reading); Portuguese and Catalan (basic reading).

Professional Service

Conferences

Panel chair and discussant

- American Political Science Association
- International Studies Association
- Midwest Political Science Association
- Southern Political Science Association

Section Head

- Midwest Political Science Association

Article referee

- *American Journal of Political Science*
- *American Political Science Review*
- *British Journal of Political Science*
- *Comparative Political Studies*
- *Economics of Governance*
- *European Journal of Political Research*
- *Foresight*
- *Legislative Studies Quarterly*
- *Homo Oeconomicus*
- *Japanese Journal of Political Science*
- *Journal of East Asian Studies*
- *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*
- *Journal of Legislative Studies*
- *Journal of Politics*
- *Journal of Theoretical Politics*
- *Parliamentary Affairs*
- *Party Politics*
- *Political Behavior*
- *Political Communication*
- *Political Science Research and Methods*
- *Political Studies*
- *Public Choice*
- *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*
- *Socio-Economic Planning and Policy Review*
- *South European Society and Politics*

Book manuscript review

- Norton Press
- Oxford University Press
- Palgrave Macmillan

Proposal review

- Agencia Nacional de Evaluación y Prospectiva (ANEP, Spanish Research Foundation)
- Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation), review panel member
- National Science Foundation

-
- Research Grants Council, Hong Kong
 - Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

Prize committees

- Eldersveld Award (APSA organized section on Political Organizations and Parties)

Binghamton University

- Faculty Senate Bylaws Review Committee, 2008–Present
- Director of Undergraduate Studies, Department of Political Science, 2009–2013
- Undergraduate Internship Director, Department of Political Science, 2008–2013
- Binghamton Foundation Graduate Travel Grants Award Committee, 2010–2011
- Academic Standards Committee, Graduate Council, 2009–2010
- Graduate Council, 2008–2010
- Curriculum Committee, Graduate Council, 2008–2009
- Fullbright Review Committee, 2006–2008
- Faculty Senate, 2006–2008

Teaching

Graduate

- Comparative Legislatures
- Comparative Political Institutions
- Comparative Political Parties
- Comparative Politics
- Constitutional Design
- Core Seminar in Comparative Politics
- Game Theory
- Institutional Analysis

Undergraduate

- Advanced Honors Research Seminar for Students in the Social Sciences
- Comparative Political Institutions
- Congress
- Contemporary Foreign Government
- Criminal Politics
- Democratic Transitions
- Institutional Analysis
- Introduction to Comparative Politics
- Introduction to Political Science
- Parliamentary Politics and Elections in European and Asian Democracies
- Organizational Politics
- Organization and Power
- Politics and Bureaucracy
- Politics and Policy in the European Union
- Politics of Disagreement
- Politics of Industrial Democracies
- Politics of Latin America
- Power and Politics in America
- Senior Seminar in Public Policy
- The Politics of Disagreement
- The Politics of Environmental Policy
- The Politics of Public Policy
- Western European Politics