

Justin H. Phillips

Columbia University
Department of Political Science
7th Floor, International Affairs Bldg.
420 W. 118th Street
New York, NY 10027
Mail Code 3320

Phone: (646) 924-5647
Fax: (212) 854-0598
Email: jhp2121@columbia.edu
Homepage: <http://www.columbia.edu/~jhp2121/>

Education

Ph.D. Political Science, University of California, San Diego, 2005
B.A., Economics (with Honors), Lewis and Clark College, 1998

Academic Appointments

Associate Professor (with tenure), Columbia University, July 2013–present
Associate Professor (untenued), Columbia University, July 2011–July 2013
Visiting Scholar, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, NY, 2009–2010
Assistant Professor, Columbia University, January 2006–June 2011
Instructor, Columbia University, July, 2005–December, 2005

Publications

Books

The Power of American Governors: Winning on Budgets and Losing on Policy with Thad Kousser. 2012. Cambridge University Press.

Journal Articles

“Reform and Representation: A New Method Applied to Recent Electoral Changes” with Thad Kousser and Boris Shor. Forthcoming. *Political Science Research and Methods*.

“Gay Rights in Congress: Public Opinion and (Mis)Representation” with Jeffrey Lax and Kate Krimmel. 2016. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80(4): 888-913.

“Are Survey Respondents Lying About their Support for Same-Sex Marriage? Lessons from A List Experiment” with Jeffrey Lax and Alissa Stollwerk. 2016. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80(2): 510-33.

“Spending within Limits: Evidence from Municipal Fiscal Restraints” with Leah Brooks and Yosh Halberstam. 2016. *National Tax Journal* 69(2): 315-52.

“Polarizing the Electoral Connection: Partisan Representation in Supreme Court Confirmation Politics” with Jonathan P. Kstellec, Jeffrey Lax, and Michael Malecki. 2015. *The Journal of Politics* 77(3): 787-804.

“Overcoming Fiscal Gridlock: Institutions and Budget Bargaining” with Carl Klarner and Matt Muckler. 2012. *The Journal of Politics* 74(4): 992-1009.

“The Democratic Deficit in the States,” with Jeffrey Lax. 2012. *American Journal of Political Science* 56(1), 148-166.

“The Cabals of a Few or the Confusion of a Multitude: The Institutional Trade-off Between Representation and Governance,” with Leah Brooks and Maxim Sinitsyn. 2011. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 3(1), 1-24.

“Public Opinion and Senate Confirmation of Supreme Court Nominees,” with Jonathan Kstellec and Jeffrey Lax. 2010. *The Journal of Politics* 72(3), 767-784.

“An Institutional Explanation for the Stickiness of Federal Grants,” with Leah Brooks. 2010. *The Journal of Law Economics and Organization* 26(2), 243-264.

“Public Opinion and Policy Responsiveness: Gay Rights in the States,” with Jeffrey Lax. 2009. *American Political Science Review* 103(3), 367-385.

“How Should We Estimate Public Opinion in the States?” with Jeffrey Lax. 2009. *American Journal of Political Science* 53(1), 107-121.

“Dividing the Spoils of Power: How Are the Benefits of Majority Party Status Distributed in State Legislatures?” with Henry Kim. 2009. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 9(2), 125-150.

“Who Blinks First? Legislative Patience and Bargaining with Governors,” with Thad Kousser. 2009. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 34(1), 55-86.

“Does the Citizen Initiative Weaken Party Government in the American States?” 2008. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 8(2), 127-149.

“Evaluating the Effects of Direct Democracy on Public Policy: California’s Urban Growth Boundaries,” with Elisabeth R. Gerber. 2005. *American Politics Research* 33(2), 310-330.

“Direct Democracy and Land Use Policy: Exchanging Public Goods for Development Rights,” with Elisabeth R. Gerber. 2004. *Urban Studies* 41(2), 463-479.

“Development Ballot Measures, Interest Group Endorsements, and the Political Geography of Growth Preferences,” with Elisabeth R. Gerber. 2003. *American Journal of Political Science* 47(4), 625-639.

“Growth Management and Housing Prices: The Case of Portland, Oregon,” with Eban Goodstein. 2000. *Contemporary Economic Policy* 18(3), 334-44.

Chapters in Edited Volumes

“State Governors and the Executive Branch.” Forthcoming 2016. In *American Governance*, ed. Stephen L. Schechter. 5 vols. Detroit: Macmillan.

“Democratic Responsiveness.” 2014. In *Guide to State Politics and Policy*, eds. Richard Niemi and Joshua Dyck. Washington D.C: CQ Press.

“Public Opinion and Morality.” 2012. In *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis, 10th Edition*, eds. Virginia Gray, Russell Hanson and Thad Kousser. Washington D.C: CQ Press.

“On the Determinants of Supreme Court Confirmation Votes in the U.S. Senate” with Jeffrey Lax and Jonathan Kstellec. 2012. In *New Directions in Judicial Politics*, ed. Kevin T. McGuire. Routledge Press.

Working Papers

“Is Divided Government A Cause of Legislative Gridlock?” with Patricia Kirkland

“Who Listens to Whom? Assessing Inequalities in Representation” with Jeffrey Lax and Adam Zelizer

“Using Multilevel Regression and Poststratification to Estimate Dynamic Public Opinion” with Andrew Gelman, Jeffrey Lax, Jonah Gabry, and Robert Trangucci

Grants

“Using Party Platforms to Study State Party Competition,” Institute for Social and Economic Research, Columbia University, 2016-17.

“Using Multilevel Regression and Poststratification to Measure and Study Dynamic Public Opinion,” with Andrew Gelman and Jeffrey Lax, Nation Science Foundation, 2014-2016

Curriculum development grant, Institute for Research on Women, Gender, and Sexuality, Columbia University, 2014-2015

“Who Listens to Whom? Assessing Inequalities in Representation,” with Jeffrey Lax, Russell Sage Foundation, 2012-2014

“Understanding Public Opinion and Policymaking Using Multilevel Regression and Poststratification,” with Andrew Gelman and Jeffrey Lax, Nation Science Foundation, 2010-2012

“Are Campaign Finance Regulations ‘Protection Shields’ for Incumbents? The January 2010 Supreme Court Ruling as a Natural Experiment,” with Jeffrey Lax and Yotam Margalit, Institute for Social and Economic Research, Columbia University, 2010-2011

“Reevaluating the Line-Item Veto,” Junior Faculty Summer Research Grant, Columbia University, 2009

“The Politics of Inequality,” with Leah Brooks, Russell Sage Foundation, 2007-2008

“Unearthing Property Tax Restrictions: Finding and Explaining Locally-Imposed Tax and Expenditure Limits,” with Leah Brooks, Lincoln Institute for Land Policy Grant, 2007

“The Legislator-in-Chief? Explaining Gubernatorial Success and Failure in the Budgetary Arena,” Junior Faculty Summer Research Grant, Columbia University, 2007

“The Devolution Revolution: Can Cities Be Trusted with Redistributive Policy?” Institute for Social and Economic Research, Columbia University, 2007

Honors, Awards, & Fellowships

Faculty Fellow, Center for Applied Statistics, Columbia University, 2007-present

Faculty Fellow, Institute for Social and Economic Research, Columbia University, 2005-present

Bailey Award (2015) for the best paper on LGBTQ issues presented at any political science conference during the prior calendar year (“Are Survey Respondents Lying About their Support for Same-Sex Marriage? Lessons from A List Experiment” with Jeffrey Lax and Alissa Stollwerk)

Virginia Gray Award (2014) for the best book on state politics or policy (*The Power of American Governors: Winning on Budgets and Losing on Policy* with Thad Kousser)

Award for the best paper presented at the 2010 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (“The Roots of Executive Power” with Thad Kousser), State Politics & Policy Section

Pi Sigma Alpha award for best paper presented at the 2010 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (“The Democratic Deficit in the States” with Jeffrey Lax)

State Politics and Policy Quarterly award for the best paper on state politics or policy presented at any conference during 2009 (“The Democratic Deficit in the States” with Jeffrey Lax)

Professional & Departmental Service

Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, Fall 2014–present

Coordinator, American Politics Workshop (speaker series), Department of Political Science, Columbia University, Fall 2014–present

Faculty Advisor, Graduate Student Speaker Series, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, Fall 2015–present

Editorial board, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 2011–present

Editorial board, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2011–present

Committee Member, Bailey Award for the best paper on LGBTQ issues presented at any political science conference, 2016

Member, executive committee of the Institute for Research on Women, Gender, and Sexuality, Columbia University, Fall 2014–Spring 2016

Academic Advisory Board, LGBT Public Opinion Project, The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law, Fall 2013–Spring 2015

Section Chair, Public Opinion, 2016 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association

Chair of the prize committee for the Cynthia Weber Best Conference Paper Award, Sexuality and Politics section, American Political Science Association, Spring 2015

Member, executive committee of the State Politics Section, American Political Science Association, Fall 2012–Fall 2014

Chair, LGBT Caucus, American Political Science Association, Fall 2013–Fall 2014

Program Chair, LGBT Caucus, American Political Science Association, Fall 2012–Fall 2013

Member, executive committee of the Sexuality & Politics section, American Political Science Association, Fall 2011–Fall 2013

Co-coordinator, American Politics Workshop (speaker series), Department of Political Science, Columbia University, Fall 2009–Spring 2013

Section Chair, State & Intergovernmental Politics, 2013 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association

Section Chair, Urban Politics, 2012 meeting of the American Political Science Association

Section Chair, Inter-Institutional Interactions, 2012 meeting of the Southern Political Science Association

Member, Career Achievement Award Committee, State Politics & Policy Section, American Political Science Association, 2011

Section Chair, Economic Policy, 2008 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association

Reviewer: *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *American Politics Research*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Contemporary Economic Policy*, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, *Journal of Homosexuality*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, *Land Economics*, *Land Use Policy*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *National Science Foundation*, *National Tax Journal*, *Policy Studies Journal*, *Political Analysis*, *Political Behavior*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Science Research and Methods*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Russell Sage Foundation*, *Social Forces*, *State and Local Government Review*, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, *Swiss National Science Foundation*, *Urban Affairs Review*, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, *Women, Politics, and Policy*

Courses Taught

Undergraduate

Introduction to American Politics (lecture)

State Politics (lecture)

Sexuality & Citizenship in American Politics (seminar)

Direct Democracy (seminar)

Graduate

American Politics Field Survey (seminar)

State Politics (colloquium)

Urban Politics (colloquium)

Direct Democracy (colloquium)

Invited Talks/Lectures

"Does Divided Government Cause Legislative Gridlock?" Martin School of Public Policy and Administration, University of Kentucky, 2017.

"Who Listens to Whom? Assessing Inequalities in Representation," University of Copenhagen, 2016

"Does Divided Government Cause Legislative Gridlock?" Rochester University, 2015.

"The 2016 American Presidential Election," New York Foreign Press Center, 2015.

"The Democratic Deficit in American Politics," Mailman School of Public Health, Columbia University, 2015.

"Gay Rights in Congress: Public Opinion and (Mis)Representation," Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, 2015.

"Gay Rights in Congress: Public Opinion and (Mis)Representation," Institute for Research on Women, Gender, and Sexuality, Columbia University, 2015.

"Gay Rights in Congress: Public Opinion and (Mis)Representation," Department of Political Science, The Ohio State University, 2012.

"The Causes of Fiscal Stalemate," Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, 2011.

"Explaining Democratic Performance in the States," Department of Political Science, Temple University, 2010.

"The Confirmation Process for Candidates to the Supreme Court: Do Senators Listen to Their Constituents When Voting on Supreme Court Nominees?" New York Foreign Press Center, 2009.

"Entrusting Cities with Redistributive Policy," Center for Urban Research and Policy, Columbia University, 2009.

"Estimating State Public Opinion: Gay Rights and Policy Responsiveness," Department of Political Science (Bose Lecture), University of Iowa, 2008.

"The Roots of Executive Power: Explaining Gubernatorial Success and Failure in the Legislative Arena," Eagleton Institute, Rutgers University, 2008.

"Does the Citizen Initiative Weaken Party Government in the American States?" Political Economy Seminar, McGill University, 2005.

Conference Presentations

2016

"Origins of the Culture War: Social Issues in State Party Platforms, 1960-2014" with Gerald Gamm and Matthew Carr. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

Roundtable: "Quantitative Queers." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"Is Divided Government A Cause of Legislative Gridlock?" with Patricia Kirkland. State Politics and Policy Conference (Dallas), May

"Who Listens to Whom? Assessing Inequalities in Representation" with Jeffrey Lax and Adam Zelizer. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Philadelphia), September

"Origins of the Culture War: Social Issues in State Party Platforms, 1960-2014" with Gerald Gamm and Matthew Carr. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Philadelphia), September

"Using Multilevel Regression and Poststratification to Estimate Dynamic Public Opinion" with Andrew Gelman, Jeffrey Lax, Jonah Gabry, and Robert Trangucci. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Philadelphia), September

2015

"Is Divided Government A Cause of Legislative Gridlock?" with Patricia Kirkland. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"Who Listens to Whom? Assessing Inequalities in Representation" with Jeffrey Lax and Adam Zelizer. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"Is Divided Government A Cause of Legislative Gridlock?" with Patricia Kirkland. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (San Francisco), September

"Who Listens to Whom? Assessing Inequalities in Representation" with Jeffrey Lax and Adam Zelizer. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (San Francisco), September

2014

"Are Survey Respondents Lying About their Support for Same-Sex Marriage? Lessons from A Recent List Experiment" with Jeffrey Lax and Alissa Stollwerk. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"Are Survey Respondents Lying About their Support for Same-Sex Marriage? Lessons from A Recent List Experiment" with Jeffrey Lax and Alissa Stollwerk. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Washington D.C.), September

2013

"How Should We Estimate Sub-National Opinion Using MRP? Preliminary Findings and Recommendations" with Jeffrey Lax. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"Reform and Representation: Assessing California's Top-Two Primary and Redistricting Commission" with Thad Kousser and Boris Shor. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"How Should We Estimate Sub-National Opinion Using MRP? Preliminary Findings and Recommendations" with Jeffrey Lax. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Chicago), September

2012

"Overcoming Fiscal Gridlock: Institutions and Budget Bargaining," with Carl Klarner and Matt Muckler, State Politics and Policy Conference (Houston), February

"The Governors' Game: Winning on Budgets and Losing on Policy" with Thad Kousser, State Politics and Policy Conference (Houston), February

"Gay Rights in Congress: Public Opinion and (Mis)Representation" with Jeffrey Lax and Kate Krimmel, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

2011

"Public Opinion and Gay Rights: Do Members of Congress Follow Their Constituents' Preferences?" with Kate Krimmell and Jeffrey Lax, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), March

"Representational Inequality in the U.S. States" with Martin Gilens and Jeffrey Lax, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), March

"Representational Inequality in the U.S. States" with Martin Gilens and Jeffrey Lax, State Politics and Policy Conference (Dartmouth), June

"Public Opinion and Policy Change: A Multilevel Interactive Relationship," with Jeffrey Lax and Michael Malecki, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Seattle), September

"Public Opinion and Gay Rights: Do Members of Congress Follow Their Constituents' Preferences?" with Kate Krimmell and Jeffrey Lax, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Seattle), September

"Representational Inequality in the U.S. States" with Martin Gilens and Jeffrey Lax, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Seattle), September

2010

"Democratic Performance in the States" with Jeffrey Lax, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"The Causes of Fiscal Stalemate" with Carl Klarner and Matt Muckler, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"How Do Governors Get What They Want?" with Thad Kousser, State Politics and Policy Conference (Springfield, IL), June

"How Do Governors Get What They Want?" with Thad Kousser, annual meeting of the American Political Science Association (Washington D.C.), September

2009

"Public Opinion and Senate Confirmation of Supreme Court Nominees," with Jonathan Kstellec and Jeffrey Lax, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"Does Federal Block Grant Money Reach the Poor: A Neighborhood-Level Analysis of CDBG Implementation" with Leah Brooks, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April.

"Explaining Democratic Performance in the States" with Jeffrey Lax, State Politics and Policy Conference (Chapel Hill, NC), May

"Institutions and Representation: Policy Responsiveness in the U.S. States" with Jeffrey Lax, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Toronto), September

"Separate Constituencies in Senatorial Representation: Public Opinion and Supreme Court Confirmation Politics," with Jonathan Kstellec and Jeffrey Lax, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Toronto), September

2008

"Can Municipal Governments Be Trusted with Policy Implementation?" with Thomas Ogorzalek and Leah Brooks, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"Institutional Design and the Responsiveness of Representative Government" with Elisabeth Gerber, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"Public Opinion and Policy Responsiveness: Gay Rights in the States?" State Politics and Policy Conference (Philadelphia, PA), June

"Reevaluating the Line-Item Veto," with Thad Kousser, State Politics and Policy Conference (Philadelphia, PA), June

"Public Opinion and Senate Confirmation of Supreme Court Nominees," with Jonathan Kesteleck and Jeffrey Lax, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Boston), September

"Can Cities Be Trusted with Redistributive Policy?" with Leah Brooks, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Boston), September

2007

"When Is Majority Status Valuable in State Legislatures?" with Henry Kim, State Politics and Policy Conference (Austin), February

"The Roots of Executive Power: Explaining Gubernatorial Success and Failure in the Legislative Arena" with Thad Kousser State Politics and Policy Conference (Austin), February

"Public Opinion and Policy Responsiveness: Gay Rights in the States?" with Jeffrey Lax, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"The Roots of Executive Power: Explaining Gubernatorial Success and Failure in the Legislative Arena" with Thad Kousser, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"Inside the Gift Horse's Mouth: City Spending, Political Institutions, and the Community Development Block Grant Program" with Leah Brooks, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Chicago), September

"How Should We Estimate Public Opinion in the States?" with Jeffrey Lax, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Chicago), September

2006

"Examining the Flypaper Effect: An Analysis of the Community Development Block Grant Program," with Leah Brooks, Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association (Boston), February

"Institutional Design and the Responsiveness of Representative Government," with Elisabeth R. Gerber and Caroline Tolbert, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"What Gives Governors Power? Comparing Alternative Explanations," with Thad Kousser, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"How Much Is Majority Status Worth in State Legislatures?" with Henry Kim, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Philadelphia), September

2005

"Hiram Johnson vs. Willie Brown: Does the Citizen Initiative Undermine Party Government in the American States?" Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"Who Sets the Size of State Government? Comparing Models of Interbranch Conflict" with Thad Kousser, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April.

2004

"Does Market Competition or Political Competition Drive State Tax Policy?" Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"Evaluating the Effects of Direct Democracy on Public Policy: California's Urban Growth Boundaries" with Elisabeth R. Gerber Paper, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April

"Does Market Competition or Political Competition Drive State Tax Policy?" Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Chicago), September

"Evaluating the Effects of Direct Democracy on Public Policy: California's Urban Growth Boundaries" with Elisabeth R. Gerber Paper, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Chicago), September.

2003

"Development Initiatives, Interest Group Endorsements, and the Political Geography of Land Use Policy" with Elisabeth R. Gerber, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April.

"Development Initiatives, Interest Group Endorsements, and the Political Geography of Land Use Policy" with Elisabeth R. Gerber, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Philadelphia), September.

2002

"Development Initiatives, Interest Group Endorsements, and the Political Geography of Land Use Policy" with Elisabeth R. Gerber, Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society (San Diego), March.

"Development Initiatives, Interest Group Endorsements, and the Political Geography of Land Use Policy" with Elisabeth R. Gerber, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April.

"Direct Democracy, Endogenous Institutions, and the Responsiveness of Representative Government" with Elisabeth R. Gerber, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago), April.

2001

"Direct Democracy, Endogenous Institutions, and the Responsiveness of Representative Government" with Elisabeth R. Gerber, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (San Francisco), September

"Voter Requirements and Land Use Policy: Exchanging Public Goods for Development Rights in San Diego" with Elisabeth R. Gerber, Florida State University Critical Issues Symposium: The Causes and Consequences of Exclusionary Zoning (Tallahassee, FL), November

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