

RAYMOND J. LA RAJA

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ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Associate Professor, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 2008 to present
Assistant Professor, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 2002 - 2008

EDUCATION

Ph.D. in Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, 2001
Master in Public Policy, Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government, 1992
A.B. Harvard University, History and Literature, 1987

CURRENT AFFILIATIONS

Associate Director, UMass Poll. Public opinion in Massachusetts and the United States to inform policymaking.
Section Chair, Political Organizations and Parties Section of the American Political Science Association, 2015-2018.
Academic Advisory Board, *Campaign Finance Institute* (Washington DC), a non-partisan think tank for evaluating and recommending policies in the field of campaign finance, 2003 to present.
Founder and Editorial Board Member, *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, a quarterly electronic journal for scholarly analysis and commentary on public issues.

BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS

- La Raja, Raymond J., and Brian Schaffner. 2015. *Campaign Finance and Political Polarization: When Purists Prevail*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- La Raja, Raymond J., Editor. 2013. *New Directions in American Politics*. New York: Routledge.
- La Raja, Raymond J. (with Sergio Fabbrini). 2010. *I Democratici Americani nell' Epoca di Barack Obama (The Democrats in the Era of Barack Obama)*. Roma: Italianieuropei, monograph, 75pp.
- La Raja, Raymond J. 2008. *Small Change: Money, Political Parties and Campaign Finance Reform*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

La Raja, Raymond J. and David L. Wiltse. Forthcoming. "Money that Draws No Interest: Public Financing of Legislative Elections and Candidate Emergence." *Election Law Review*

Desmarais, Bruce, Raymond J. La Raja and Michael Kowal. 2014. "The Fates of Challengers in US House Elections: The Role of Extended Party Networks in Supporting Candidates and Shaping Electoral Outcomes." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(1): 194-211.

Winner of the 2015 Jack Walker Award from the Political Organizations and Parties Section of the American Political Science Association for article that makes an outstanding contribution to research and scholarship on political organizations and parties.

La Raja, Raymond J. 2014. "Money in the 2014 Congressional Elections: Institutionalizing a Broken Regulatory System". *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics* 12(4): 713–727.

La Raja, Raymond J. 2014. "Political Participation and Civic Courage: The Negative Effect of Transparency on Making Small Campaign Contributions." *Political Behavior* 36(4): 753-776.

La Raja, Raymond J. and Brian Schaffner. 2014. "The Effects of Campaign Finance Spending Bans on Electoral Outcomes: Evidence From the States about the Potential Impact of *Citizens United v. FEC*." *Electoral Studies* 33:102-14.

La Raja, Raymond J. 2014. "Campaign Finance and Partisan Polarization in the United States Congress." *Duke Journal of Constitutional Law & Public Policy* 9(2): 223-258.

La Raja, Raymond J. 2013. Richer Parties, Better Politics? Party-Centered Campaign Finance Laws and American Democracy. *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics* 11(3): 313-338.

La Raja, Raymond J. 2013. "Why Super PACs: How the American Party System Outgrew the Campaign Finance System." *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics* 10(4): 91-104.

La Raja, Raymond J. 2013. "How Political Institutions Constrain the Power of Corporate Money in Politics." *Cato Unbound*, April Issue.

La Raja, Raymond J., and David Wiltse. 2012. "Don't Blame Donors for Ideological Polarization of Political Parties: Ideological Change and Stability Among Political Contributors, 1972-2008." *American Politics Research*, 40: 501-530.

- La Raja, Raymond J., and Brian Schaffner. 2011. "Explaining the Unpopularity of Public Funding for Congressional Elections." *Electoral Studies* 30: 525-533.
- La Raja, Raymond J. 2009. "Redistricting: Reading Between the Lines." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12 (1): 203-23.
- La Raja, Raymond J. 2008. "From Bad to Worse: The Unraveling of the Campaign Finance System," *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics* 6 (1): Article 2.
- La Raja, Raymond J. 2007. "Sunshine Laws and the Press: The Effect of Campaign Disclosure on News Reporting in the American States," *Election Law Journal* 6(3): 236-250.
- Apollonio, D. E. and Raymond J. La Raja. 2006. "Term Limits, Campaign Contributions, and the Distribution of Power in State Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31(2): 259-281.
- La Raja, Raymond J. 2005. "Will the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act Strengthen the Political System? Negative: BCRA is Not Improving the Political System," (Point/Counterpoint), *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 24 (3): 604-610.
- Apollonio, D. E. and Raymond J. La Raja. 2004. "Who Gave Soft Money? The Effect of Interest Group Resources on Political Contributions." *The Journal of Politics* 66(4): 1159-1179. Finalist for the Pi Sigma Alpha Award for Best Paper at the 2002 Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting.
- La Raja, Raymond J. 2004. "Breaking Up the Party: How *McConnell* Downsizes Partisan Campaigns," *Election Law Journal* 3(2): 271-76.
- La Raja, Raymond J. and Sidney M. Milkis. 2004. "For the Plaintiffs: The Honor and Humility of Defending Political Parties in Court." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 37: 771-776.
- Doherty, Joseph, Diana Dwyre, Bruce Cain and Raymond J. La Raja. 2002. "Outside Money in the California 2000 Presidential Primary." *PS: Political Science and Politics*, (E-symposium).

CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDITED VOLUMES

- Albert, Zachary and Raymond J. La Raja. Forthcoming. "Campaign Spending" in *Sage Handbook of Electoral Behavior*, eds. Kai Arzheimer, Jocelyn Evans and Michael Lewis-Beck (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage)
- Holbrook, Thomas M. and Raymond J. La Raja. 2012. "Parties and Elections" in *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis*, 10th edition, eds. Virginia Gray, Russell L. Hanson and Thad Kousser (Washington: CQ Press).

- La Raja, Raymond J. 2011. "Back to the Future? Campaign-Finance Reform and the Declining Importance of the National Party Organization" in *State of the Parties* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield).
- La Raja, Raymond J. 2010. "Party Nominating Procedures and Recruitment—State and Local Level" in *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups*, eds. Sandy Maisel and Jeffrey M. Berry (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- La Raja, Raymond J. (with Sergio Fabbrini). 2009. "Il Principe Semisoverano" (The Politics of a Semi-Sovereign Prince) in *Aspenia*, n. 47-48 (Roma: Aspenia), pp.68-81.
- Holbrook, Thomas M. and Raymond J. La Raja. 2008. "Parties and Elections" in *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis*, 9th edition, eds. Virginia Gray and Russell L. Hanson (Washington: CQ Press).
- La Raja, Raymond J. 2006. "State and Local Political Parties" in *One Election Later: Money & Politics after BCRA*, ed. Michael Malbin (New York: Rowman and Littlefield), pp.57-78.
- La Raja, Raymond J., Susan E. Orr and Daniel A. Smith. 2006. "Surviving BCRA: State Party Finance in 2004" in *The State of the Parties: The Changing Role of Contemporary American Parties*, ed. John C. Green and Daniel Coffey (New York: Rowman and Littlefield), pp.113-134.
- La Raja, Raymond J. 2005. "Political Parties," in *Guide to Political Campaigns in America*, edited by Paul S. Herrnson (Washington, DC: CQ Press), pp. 176-198.
- La Raja, Raymond J. 2003. "State Political Parties after BCRA" in *Life After Reform: When the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act Meets Politics*, ed. Michael J. Malbin (New York: Rowman and Littlefield), pp. 101-120.
- La Raja, Raymond J. 2003. "Why Soft Money Has Strengthened Parties" in *Inside the Campaign Finance Battle: Court Testimony on the New Reforms*, eds. Anthony Corrado, Thomas Mann, and Trevor Potter (Washington, DC: Brookings), pp. 69-96.
- La Raja, Raymond J. 2003. "State Parties and Soft Money: How Much Party Building?" in *The State of the Parties: 2000 and Beyond*, ed. John C. Green (New York: Rowman and Littlefield), pp. 132-150.
- La Raja, Raymond J. 2002. "Political Parties and Campaign Finance" in *The Parties Respond*, ed. L. Sandy Maisel (Boulder, CO: Westview Press), pp. 163-188.
- La Raja, Raymond J. 2001. "Sources and Uses of Soft Money: What Do We Know? In *Campaign Finance Reform: A User Guide*, ed. Gerald C. Lubenow (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield), pp. 83-108.

Polsby, Nelson W. and Raymond J. La Raja. 2001. "Foreword" in *Financing the 2000 Elections*, ed. David Magleby (New York: Rowman and Littlefield), pp. ix-xiii.

BOOK REVIEWS

La Raja, Raymond J. 2011. Explaining the Ideological Divide in California: A Review of *No Middle Ground: How Informal Party Organizations Control Nominations and Polarize Legislatures*, by Seth Masket. *The California Journal of Politics & Policy* 3(1).

La Raja, Raymond J. 2011. "Political Conjurers: How Groups Change to Evade Campaign Finance Laws", review of *Campaign Finance Reform: The Political Shell Game*, by Melissa M. Smith, Glenda C. Williams, Larry Powell, and Gary A. Copeland. *Election Law Journal* 10(2).

La Raja, Raymond J. 2010. Review of *Better Parties, Better Government: A Realistic Program for Campaign Finance Reform*, Peter J. Wallison and Joel M. Gora (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 2009) in *Election Law Journal*.

La Raja, Raymond J. 2009. Review of *The Power of Money in Congressional Campaigns, 1880-2006*, David C.W. Parker (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008) in *Congress & the Presidency*.

La Raja, Raymond J. 2005. "Running for Office? Get a Lawyer," review of *Law and Election Politics: The Rules of the Game*, edited by Matthew J Streb (Boulder: Lynne Reinner, 2005). *Election Law Journal* 4(3): 223-229.

REPORTS AND POLICY BRIEFS

La Raja, Raymond J. 2004. *Clean Elections: An Evaluation of Public Funding for Maine Legislative Election Contests*, report sponsored by the Center for Public Policy and Administration, University of Massachusetts. See http://www.masspolicy.org/pdf/WP2004_2.pdf.

Kousser, Thad and Raymond J. La Raja. 2002. "Will a Soft Money Ban Stifle Political Competition?" *Cato Policy Analysis* No. 426, Cato Institute, Washington, D.C. See <http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa-426es.html>.

La Raja, Raymond J. and Alana Hoffman. 2000. "Who Benefits from Soft Money Contributions?" Citizens' Research Foundation, University of California, Berkeley.

La Raja, Raymond J. and Karen Pogoda. 2000. "Soft Money Spending by State Parties: Where does it really go?" Citizens' Research Foundation, University of California, Berkeley.

La Raja, Raymond J. and Dorie Apollonio. 1999. "How do Term Limits Affect Legislators' Fund Raising Efforts?" *Public Affairs Report* 40(5), Institute of Governmental Studies, Berkeley, CA.

La Raja, Raymond J. and Renée Dall. 1998. "Enforcing California's Campaign Finance Laws: How Much Bark, How Much Bite for the Political Watchdog?" report sponsored by the Institute of Governmental Studies, Travers Series on Ethics and Government, University of California, Berkeley.

La Raja, Raymond J. Jonathan Koppell and Christine Trost. 1997. "Cashing in on the Campaign: Personal Use of Campaign Funds in California," report sponsored by the Institute of Governmental Studies, Travers Series on Ethics and Government, University of California, Berkeley.

EXTRAMURAL FUNDING

- 2015 Financing Politics in Two Republics: the contrasting approaches and consequences in France and the United States. Fellowship at the Institute of Advanced Studies, Collegium de Lyon at the École Normale Supérieure de Lyon; dates: February 2016 - July 2016.
- 2013 The Effect of Party-Centered Campaign Finance Laws on American Politics. Co-Principal Investigator (with Brian Schaffner); Hewlett Foundation. Jan 1, 2014-Dec 31, 2014; \$88,000.
- 2009 Candidate Emergence After Implementation of Clean Elections in Connecticut Principal Investigator. National Science Foundation. Mar 16, 2009 – Mar 16, 2010; \$60,000
- 2006 Candidate Emergence Before Implementation of Clean Elections in Connecticut Principal Investigator. JEHT Foundation: Oct 1, 2006-Sept 30, 2007; \$154,168.
- 2006 Elections, Policy and Influence in Connecticut Before and After Clean Elections Co-Principal Investigator (with Vincent G. Moscardelli). JEHT Foundation: Oct 1, 2006-Sept 30, 2007; \$57,185.

INTERNAL FUNDING

- 2011 Microsoft IMPACT Grant to integrate new technology for teaching (with Jesse Rhodes): \$10,000
- 2005 College of Social & Behavioral Science, Travel Grant, 2005: \$600
- 2003 Healey Endowment Grant, University of Massachusetts, Amherst: \$10,000
- 2000 Continuing Student Dissertation Fellowship, UC Berkeley
- 1999 Vice Chancellor for Research Fund Grant Award, UC Berkeley

AWARDS AND HONORS

- Fellow, Institute of Advanced Studies, Collegium de Lyon at the École Normale Supérieure de Lyon, 2016
- Institute for Social Science Research (ISSR) Scholar, University of Massachusetts, 2014-2015
- College Outstanding Teaching Award, Social and Behavioral Sciences, 2005-2006
- Nominated for Distinguished Teaching Award, University of Massachusetts, 2003-2004, 2004-2005, 2005-2006
- Distinguished Teacher of the Year, Delta Lambda Chapter of Pi Sigma Alpha, University of Massachusetts, 2003-2004

Finalist, *Pi Sigma Alpha* award for the best paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (one of three finalists), 2002.
Outstanding Graduate Student Instructor Award, UC Berkeley, 1998

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Member of Scholars Strategy Network, organization of scholars to help explain policy implications of research for broad audience.
Founder and Co-Editor, *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, a quarterly electronic journal for scholarly analysis and commentary on public issues, co-edited with Byron Shafer and published by the Berkeley Electronic Press, 2003 to 2013
Reviewer for *Journal of Politics*, *Election Law Journal*, *Polity*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Political Behavior*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *British Journal of Political Science*.
Expert witness, *McConnell v. Federal Election Commission* (2003), Supreme Court case challenging the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002.

CURRENT AND RECENT ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

Chair, Search Committee for inaugural Director of UMass School of Public Policy (2015-2016)
Chair, Provost's Advisory Committee for School of Public Policy, UMass (2014-present)
Director, Program Innovation, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, UMass (2009-present)
Undergraduate Program Director, Political Science Department, UMass (2008-2009)
Dean's Research Council, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, UMass (2004-2008)
Chair, Search Committee Faculty Hiring Initiative (2008-2009)
Best Practices Fellow to review and recommend use of technology in the classroom (2007-2008)

INVITED LECTURES AND SEMINARS

International

Invited Lecturer, "The Presidency of Barack Obama," March 2009, Scuola di Studi Internazionali, Università degli Studi di Trento
Invited Lecturer, "Political Parties in Comparative Perspective" April-May 2009, Università degli Studi di Siena, Center for the Study of Political Change (CIRCaP)
Conference Panelist, "All Eyes on the Hill: The 2006 U.S. Elections and the Road Ahead for American Politics and Canada-U.S. Relations," October 5, 2006, Center for United States Studies, L'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM)

National

Invited Speaker, "Conference on Lobbying and Campaign Finance", The Program on American Democracy in Comparative Perspective, Nov, 14-15, 2014, Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA.
Invited Speaker, "Show Me the Money: How Transparency in Political Donations Could Change American Elections?" Nov 10, 2014, Institution for Social and Policy Studies (ISPS), Yale University, New Haven, CT.

Invited Speaker, “The Future of Campaign Finance Reform”, Duke Journal of Constitutional Law and Public Policy and the Center on Law, Race, and Politics, Feb. 7, 2014, Duke University, Durham, NC.

Invited Speaker, “Can Campaign Finance Be Reformed?” May 5-6, 2014, The Center for the Constitution at Montpelier, Virginia.

Invited Speaker, “Campaign Finance and Party Polarization”, March 15, 2013, LeRoy Keller Center for the Study of the First Amendment and the Department of Political Science at the University of Colorado-Boulder

Symposium Panelist, “Beyond the Vote: Scholars Explore the 2012 Election”, March 6, Colby College, Waterville, MA

Symposium Panelist, “Campaign Finance after Citizens United: What Happened? What Now?” January 23, 2013, Cato Institute, Washington, DC.

Conference Panelist, “Political Parties and Campaign Finance Laws: How the Rules Influence Partisan Polarization,” October 8-9, 2012, American Political Parties: Past, Present, and Future” Miller Center, University of Virginia.

Workshop Panelist, “Practicing Democracy: How Political Arrangements Promote Equal Citizenship...or Not,” April 27, 2007, Ash Institute, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

Conference Panelist, “Campaigns, Elections, and the Voting Experience,” June 22-23, 2006, Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy, Brigham Young University, Sundance, Utah.

Symposium Panelist, “Influencing Congress: Scandals, Rules, Ethics, Politics,” April 28, 2006, University of California, Washington DC.

Conference Panelist, “Does Public Election Funding Change Public Policy? Evaluating the State of Knowledge,” January 28-29, 2006, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Conference Panelist, “The State of the Parties: 2004 and Beyond,” October 5-7, 2005, University of Akron.

Conference Panelist, “Life with Term Limits,” April 29-30, 2004, University of Akron.

Symposium Panelist, “Campaign Finance Law: *McConnell v. Federal Election Commission*, Understanding the Decision and Its Implications,” May 15, 2003, University of Pennsylvania School of Law.

Symposium Panelist, “Reconsidering Campaign Finance Reform,” September 30, 2003, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia.

Lecturer, “How Party Soft money was Spent in 2000,” January 11, 2001, National Press Club, Washington DC, sponsored by the Campaign Finance Institute.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Director of Training for Public Affairs, *Coro Foundation*, New York, NY, 1993-1995

Supervisor of Leadership Program, *Prep for Prep*, New York, NY, 1994-1995

Policy Analyst, *Progressive Policy Institute*, Washington, D.C., 1992-1993

Resident Tutor and Student Advisor, *Harvard University*, 1990-1992

Chief of Budget Office, *Department of Transportation*, Bureau of Bridges, City of New York, 1989-1990

Management Analyst, *Office of the Mayor*, City of New York, 1988-1989

Coro Foundation Fellowship in Public Affairs, 1987-88