

Jeffrey J. Harden

Curriculum Vitæ

Contact Information

Department of Political Science
University of Notre Dame
2055 Jenkins Nanovic Halls
Notre Dame, IN 46556

Phone: 574.631.7280
E-mail: jeff.harden@nd.edu
Web: jharden.nd.edu

Education

- Ph.D., Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (2012)
- M.A., Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (2009)
- B.A., Political Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (2007)

Academic Appointments

University of Notre Dame

- Andrew J. McKenna Family Professor, Department of Political Science (2024–present)
- Concurrent Professor, Department of Applied and Computational Mathematics and Statistics (2024–present)
- Faculty Affiliate, Lucy Family Institute for Data & Society (2021–present)
- Andrew J. McKenna Family Associate Professor, Department of Political Science (2020–2024)
- Concurrent Associate Professor, Department of Applied and Computational Mathematics and Statistics (2018–2024)
- Associate Professor, Department of Political Science (2018–2020)
- Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science (2016–2018)
- Concurrent Assistant Professor, Department of Applied and Computational Mathematics and Statistics (2016–2018)

University of Colorado Boulder

- Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science (2013–2016)

Publications

Books

- Kirkland, Justin H. and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2022. *The Illusion of Accountability: Transparency and Representation in American Legislatures*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
 - Reviewed in *Perspectives on Politics* (21 [2]: 725–727) and *Choice* (60 [9]: 942).
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.** and Justin H. Kirkland. 2018. *Indecision in American Legislatures*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. Legislative Politics & Policy Making Series.
 - Reviewed in *Political Science Quarterly* (134 [3]: 573–574), *Congress & the Presidency* (46 [3]: 508–509), and *American Review of Politics* (37 [1]: 183–185).
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.** 2016. *Multidimensional Democracy: A Supply and Demand Theory of Representation in American Legislatures*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
 - Reviewed in *Journal of Politics* (79 [4]: 76–77) and *Perspectives on Politics* (15 [3]: 891–893).
 - Recipient of the 2017 Virginia Gray Book Award, American Political Science Association, State Politics and Policy Section.
- Carsey, Thomas M. and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2014. *Monte Carlo Simulation and Resampling Methods for Social Science*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Journal Articles

- Birkhead, Nathaniel A., **Jeffrey J. Harden**, and Jason H. Windett. 2025. "Executive-Legislative Policy-making Under Crisis." Conditionally accepted (pending replication), *Journal of Politics*.
- Gopal, Ishita, Taegyoon Kim, Nitheesha Nakka, Bruce A. Desmarais, Frederick J. Boehmke, and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2024. "The National Network of U.S. State Legislators on Twitter." Conditionally accepted (pending replication), *Political Science Research and Methods*.
- Campos, Alejandra, **Jeffrey J. Harden**, and Austin Bussing. 2024. "The Legislative Legacy of Voter Identification Laws." Forthcoming, *Journal of Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1086/729970>.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.** and Alejandra Campos. 2023. "Who Benefits from Voter Identification Laws?" *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 120 (7): 1–3.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.**, Bruce A. Desmarais, Mark Brockway, Frederick J. Boehmke, Scott LaCombe, Fridolin Linder, and Hanna Wallach. 2023. "A Diffusion Network Event History Estimator." *Journal of Politics* 85 (2): 436–452.
- Kim, Taegyoon, Nitheesha Nakka, Ishita Gopal, Bruce A. Desmarais, Abigail Mancinelli, **Jeffrey J. Harden**, Hyein Ko, and Frederick J. Boehmke. 2022. "Attention to the COVID-19 Pandemic on Twitter: Partisan Differences Among U.S. State Legislators." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 47 (4): 1023–1041.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.** and Justin H. Kirkland. 2021. "Does Transparency Inhibit Political Compromise?" *American Journal of Political Science* 65 (2): 493–509.
 - 2021 Best Published Paper Award, APSA State Politics and Policy Section.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.**, Justin H. Kirkland, and Patrick E. Shea. 2021. "Legislative Transparency and Credit Risk." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 46 (1): 189–218.
- Boehmke, Frederick J., Mark Brockway, Bruce A. Desmarais, **Jeffrey J. Harden**, Scott LaCombe, Fridolin Linder, and Hanna Wallach. 2020. "SPID: A New Database for Inferring Public Policy Innovativeness and Diffusion Networks." *Policy Studies Journal* 48 (2): 517–545.
- Kropko, Jonathan and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2020. "Beyond the Hazard Ratio: Generating Expected Durations from the Cox Proportional Hazards Model." *British Journal of Political Science* 50 (1): 303–320.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.**, Anand E. Sokhey, and Katherine L. Runge. 2019. "Accounting for Noncompliance in Survey Experiments." *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 6 (3): 199–202.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.**, Anand E. Sokhey, and Hannah Wilson. 2019. "Replications in Context: A Framework for Evaluating New Methods in Quantitative Political Science." *Political Analysis* 27 (1): 119–125.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.** and Jonathan Kropko. 2019. "Simulating Duration Data for the Cox Model." *Political Science Research and Methods* 7 (4): 921–928.
- Ladam, Christina, **Jeffrey J. Harden**, and Jason H. Windett. 2018. "Prominent Role Models: High-Profile Female Politicians and the Emergence of Women as Candidates for Public Office." *American Journal of Political Science* 62 (2): 369–381.
 - 2017 Best Conference Paper Award, APSA State Politics and Policy Section.
 - 2015 Carrie Chapman Catt Prize for Research on Women and Politics.
- Boehmke, Frederick J., Abigail Matthews Rury, Bruce A. Desmarais, and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2017. "The Seeds of Policy Change: Leveraging Diffusion to Disseminate Policy Innovations." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 42 (2): 285–307.
- Kirkland, Justin H. and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2016. "Representation, Competing Principals, and Waffling on Bills in U.S. Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 41 (3): 657–686.
 - 2015 Pi Sigma Alpha Award (Best Paper), SPSA Annual Meeting.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.** and Christopher J. Clark. 2016. "A Legislature or a Legislator Like Me? Citizen Demand for Collective and Dyadic Political Representation." *American Politics Research* 44 (2): 247–271.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.** and Justin H. Kirkland. 2016. "Do Campaign Donors Influence Polarization? Evidence from Public Financing in the American States." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 41 (1): 119–152.
- Desmarais, Bruce A., **Jeffrey J. Harden**, and Frederick J. Boehmke. 2015. "Persistent Policy Pathways: Inferring Diffusion Networks in the American States." *American Political Science Review* 109 (2): 392–406.
 - 2013 Best Conference Paper Award, APSA Political Networks Section.

- Windett, Jason H., **Jeffrey J. Harden**, and Matthew E.K. Hall. 2015. "Estimating Dynamic Ideal Points for State Supreme Courts." *Political Analysis* 23 (3): 461–469.
- Gray, Virginia, John Cluverius, **Jeffrey J. Harden**, Boris Shor, and David Lowery. 2015. "Party Competition, Party Polarization, and the Changing Demand for Lobbying in the American States." *American Politics Research* 43 (2): 175–204.
- Desmarais, Bruce A. and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2014. "An Unbiased Model Comparison Test Using Cross-Validation." *Quality & Quantity* 48 (4): 2155–2173.
- Bollen, Kenneth A., **Jeffrey J. Harden**, Surajit Ray, and Jane Zavisca. 2014. "BIC and Alternative Bayesian Information Criteria in the Selection of Structural Equation Models." *Structural Equation Modeling* 21 (1): 1–19.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.** 2013. "Multidimensional Responsiveness: The Determinants of Legislators' Representational Priorities." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 38 (2): 155–184.
- Desmarais, Bruce A. and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2013. "Testing for Zero-Inflation in Count Models: Bias Correction for the Vuong Test." *The Stata Journal* 13 (4): 810–835.
- Lowery, David, Virginia Gray, John Cluverius, and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2013. "Explaining the Anomalous Growth of Public Sector Lobbying in the American States, 1997–2007." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 43 (4): 580–599.
- Bollen, Kenneth A., Surajit Ray, Jane Zavisca, and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2012. "A Comparison of Bayes Factor Approximation Methods Including Two New Methods." *Sociological Methods & Research* 41 (2): 294–324.
- Desmarais, Bruce A. and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2012. "Comparing Partial Likelihood and Robust Estimation Methods for the Cox Regression Model." *Political Analysis* 20 (1): 113–135.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.** 2012. "Improving Statistical Inference with Clustered Data." *Statistics, Politics, and Policy* 3 (1): 1–27.
- Lowery, David, Virginia Gray, Justin H. Kirkland, and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2012. "Generalist Interest Organizations and Interest System Density: A Test of the Competitive Exclusion Hypothesis." *Social Science Quarterly* 93 (1): 21–41.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.** and Thomas M. Carsey. 2012. "Balancing Constituency Representation and Party Responsiveness in the U.S. Senate: The Conditioning Effect of State Ideological Heterogeneity." *Public Choice* 150 (1-2): 137–154.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.** and Bruce A. Desmarais. 2011. "Linear Models with Outliers: Choosing Between Conditional-Mean and Conditional-Median Methods." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 11 (4): 371–389.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.** 2011. "A Bootstrap Method for Conducting Statistical Inference with Clustered Data." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 11 (2): 223–246.
- Carsey, Thomas M. and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2010. "New Measures of Partisanship, Ideology, and Policy Mood in the American States." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*. 10 (2): 136–156.

Other Writing

Peer-Reviewed

- Harden, Melissa and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2020. "Embedding the New Information Literacy Framework in Undergraduate Political Science Courses." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 53 (2): 344–348.
- Carsey, Thomas M. and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2015. "Can You Repeat that Please? Using Monte Carlo Simulation in Graduate Quantitative Research Methods Classes." *Journal of Political Science Education* 11 (1): 94–107.
- Freeman, Allison and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2015. "Affordable Homeownership: The Incidence and Effect of Down Payment Assistance." *Housing Policy Debate* 25 (2): 308–319.

Editor-Reviewed

- Butler, Daniel M. and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2023. "Can Institutional Reform Protect Election Certification?" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 708 (1): 257–270.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.**, Julianna Pacheco, and Gerald C. Wright. 2023. "Evaluating Policy Mood Measures in the American States." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 23 (4): 341–346.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.** and Justin E. Esarey. 2022. "Introduction to the Symposium on Teaching Political Methodology." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 55 (1): 203–205.
- Kirkland, Justin H. and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2018. "Gridlock, Compromise, and Representation." *The Legislative Scholar* 3 (1): 16–17.
- **Harden, Jeffrey J.** 2015. Review of *The Impression of Influence: Legislator Communication, Representation, and Democratic Accountability*, by Justin Grimmer, Sean J. Westwood, and Solomon Messing. *Journal of Politics* 77 (3): 1–2.

Software and Data

- Boehmke, Frederick J., Bruce A. Desmarais, Abbie Eastman, Isabelle Grassel, **Jeffrey J. Harden**, Samuel Harper, Liam Kaboli, Hyein Ko, Elisabeth Oster, and Tracee M. Saunders. 2023. "SPRC19: A Database of State Policy Responses to COVID-19 in the United States." *Scientific Data* 10 (526): 1–6.
- Kropko, Jonathan and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. 2019. "coxed: An R Package for Computing Duration-Based Quantities of Interest from the Cox Proportional Hazards Model." *The R Journal* 11 (2): 38–45.
- Scogin, Shana, Sarah Petersen, **Jeffrey J. Harden**, and Bruce A. Desmarais. 2019. "modelLtest: An R Package for Unbiased Model Comparison using Cross Validation." *Journal of Open Source Software* 4 (41), 1542. DOI: 10.21105/joss.01542.
- Boehmke, Frederick J., Mark Brockway, Bruce A. Desmarais, **Jeffrey J. Harden**, Scott LaCombe, Fridolin Linder, and Hanna Wallach. 2018. "SPID: State Policy Innovation and Diffusion Database." <https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/spid>.

Current Research

- Kim, Taegyoon, Xinyu Wang, Sarah Rajtmajer, **Jeffrey J. Harden**, Frederick J. Boehmke, and Bruce A. Desmarais. "State Lawmakers' Online Anti-Vaccination Statements Respond to Online Engagement." Revise and resubmit.
- Pollert, Isaac, Bruce A. Desmarais, Johabed Olvera, Frederick J. Boehmke, and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. "Collaborative Diffusion: The Dynamics of Policy Output in COVID-19 Interstate Compacts." Under review.
- Boehmke, Frederick J., Desmond D. Wallace, Scott LaCombe, **Jeffrey J. Harden**, Mark Brockway, and Bruce A. Desmarais. "Policy Innovation Across Latent Policy Classes." In preparation.
- Dobson, Mackenzie, Jacob Lollis, **Jeffrey J. Harden**, and Justin H. Kirkland. "Cashing in on Capacity? Social Class and Attitudes Toward Professionalized Legislatures." In preparation.
- Hemmen, Abigail, Emma Schroeder, Emily Anderson, Géssica de Freitas, Rachel Porter, and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. "The Consequences of Elite Action Against Elections." In preparation.
- LaCombe, Scott, Frederick J. Boehmke, Mark Brockway, Bruce A. Desmarais, and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. "Seeing the (Diffusion) Forest for the Trees." In preparation.
- Rossiter, Erin L. and **Jeffrey J. Harden**. "The Development of an Issue Public: Evidence from The Eras Tour." In preparation (preregistration: <https://osf.io/y9m6b>; preprint: <https://osf.io/qy7m3>).

Funding

- Collaborative Research Grant, U.S. National Science Foundation (SES #2148217). "Patterns, Context, and Secondary Impacts of State Policy Responses to the Pandemic." \$574,037 total; \$76,027 to Notre Dame (2022–2024, with Frederick J. Boehmke, Bruce A. Desmarais, and Johabed G. Olvera).
- Collaborative Research Grant, National Institutes of Health (1R21AI164391-01). "Assessing the Impact of COVID-19 Interventions on Human Mobility and SARS-CoV-2 Transmission Dynamics in the United States." \$234,750 to Notre Dame (2021–2023, with Sean Moore, Alex Perkins, and Christopher Cronin).

- RAPID Collaborative Research Grant, U.S. National Science Foundation (SES #2028674). “The Diffusion of State Policy Responses to the 2019 Novel Coronavirus.” \$62,676 total; \$8,730 to Notre Dame (2020–2021, with Frederick J. Boehmke and Bruce A. Desmarais).
- Convergence Accelerator Grant, U.S. National Science Foundation (C-Accel #1937033). “Open Knowledge Network: Building the Federalism Data and Advanced Statistics Hub (F-DASH).” \$1,000,000 total; \$83,686 to Notre Dame (2019–2020, with Nathaniel Birkhead, Isaac Cho, Gordon Hull, Audrey Joslin, Justin H. Kirkland, Mary Kroeger, Stephanie Moller, Samira Shaikh, and Jason H. Windett).
- Collaborative Research Grant, U.S. National Science Foundation (SES #1637082). “DAPPR: Diffusion Analytics for Public Policy Research.” \$808,128 total; \$89,686 to Notre Dame (2016–2020, with Frederick J. Boehmke, Bruce A. Desmarais, William W. Franko, Robert J. McGrath, Yu-Ru Lin, and Jason H. Windett).
- Collaborative Research Grant, U.S. National Science Foundation (SES #1558561). “An Expanded Framework for Inferring Public Policy Diffusion Networks.” \$415,937 total; \$63,226 to Notre Dame (2016–2018, with Frederick J. Boehmke, Bruce A. Desmarais, and Hanna Wallach).
- Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant, U.S. National Science Foundation (SES #1119697). “Multidimensional Democracy: The Supply and Demand of Political Representation,” \$12,000 (2011–2012, with Thomas M. Carsey).

Awards

- Emerging Scholar Award, APSA State Politics and Policy Section (2022).
- Best Published Paper Award, APSA State Politics and Policy Section (2021, with Justin H. Kirkland).
- Virginia Gray Book Award, APSA State Politics and Policy Section (2017).
- Best Conference Paper Award, APSA State Politics and Policy Section (2017, with Christina Ladam and Jason H. Windett).
- Carrie Chapman Catt Prize for Research on Women and Politics (2015, with Christina Ladam and Jason H. Windett).
- Pi Sigma Alpha Award (Best Paper), SPSA Annual Meeting (2015, with Justin H. Kirkland).
- Best Conference Paper Award, APSA Political Networks Section (2013, with Bruce A. Desmarais and Frederick J. Boehmke).
- Christopher Z. Mooney Dissertation Award, APSA State Politics and Policy Section (2013).

Teaching

Notre Dame

- Advanced Quantitative Methods (graduate)
- Causal Inference in Social Science (graduate)
- How to (Not) Lie with Statistics (undergraduate)
- Introduction to Quantitative Methods (graduate)
- Regression I (graduate)
- Representation in American Politics (undergraduate)
- State Government & Politics (undergraduate)

CU-Boulder

- Bayesian Statistics (graduate)
- Causal Inference in Social Science (graduate)
- Linear Regression Models (graduate)
- Maximum Likelihood Estimation and Generalized Linear Models (graduate)
- Representation in American Politics (undergraduate)
- State Government & Politics (graduate, undergraduate)

UNC-Chapel Hill

- Maximum Likelihood Estimation and Generalized Linear Models (graduate)
- Introduction to L^AT_EX (H.W. Odum Institute for Research in Social Science)
- Introduction to R (H.W. Odum Institute for Research in Social Science)

ICPSR

- Advanced Bayesian Models for the Social Sciences (Co-instructor, 2014 and 2015 Summer Programs, Ann Arbor, MI)
- Monte Carlo Simulation and Resampling Methods for Social Scientists (Teaching Assistant, 2011 Summer Program Short Course, Chapel Hill, NC)

University and Departmental Service

Notre Dame

- 2022–present: Faculty Advisory Committee, Center for Research Computing
- 2020–2023: Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Political Science
- 2018–2022: Faculty Advisory Committee, Center for Social Science Research

CU-Boulder

- 2013–2016: Political Science Library Liaison

Professional Service

Editor

- 2023–present: Associate Editor, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*
- 2022: Guest Editor, Symposium on Teaching Political Methodology, *PS: Political Science & Politics*

Reviewer

- *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Politics Research*, *American Political Science Review*, *Behavior Research Methods*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Business and Politics*, *Congress & the Presidency*, *Electoral Studies*, *Housing Policy Debate*, *Journal of Open Source Software*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Political Science Education*, *Journal of Public Policy*, *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Nature Human Behaviour*, *Nicotine & Tobacco Research*, *Party Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Policy Studies Journal*, *Political Analysis*, *Political Behavior*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Science Research and Methods*, *Public Choice*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Sage*, *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, *The Stata Journal*, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, University of Michigan Press, U.S. National Science Foundation.

Other

- 2022–2024: Executive Council, APSA State Politics and Policy Section
- 2022–2023: Editorial Board, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*
- 2019–2022: Editorial Board, *Political Behavior*
- 2018–present: Editorial Board, *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*
- 2014–2022: Advisory Board, International Methods Colloquium