

Nicholas Carnes

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Academic Positions

Creed C. Black Associate Professor of Public Policy and Political Science, **Duke University**, 2018-

Assistant Professor of Public Policy and Political Science, **Duke University**, 2012-2018

Lecturer in Public Policy, **Duke University**, 2011

Education

Ph.D. in Politics and Social Policy, **Princeton University**, 2011

M.A. in Politics, **Princeton University**, 2008

B.A. in Political Science (*summa cum laude*), **University of Tulsa**, 2006

Research and Teaching Interests

U.S. politics, legislative politics, representation, social class, economic inequality, state and local politics, climate politics

Peer-reviewed Publications

Books

- [2] Nicholas Carnes. 2018. *The Cash Ceiling: Why Only the Rich Run for Office—And What We Can Do About It*. Princeton, NJ: **Princeton University Press**.
- [1] Nicholas Carnes. 2013. *White-Collar Government: The Hidden Role of Class in Economic Policy Making*. Chicago, IL: **The University of Chicago Press**.

Articles

- [14] David E. Broockman, Nicholas Carnes, Melody Crowder-Meyer, and Christopher Skovron. 2021. “Why Local Party Leaders Don’t Support Nominating Centrists.” *British Journal of Political Science* 51(2): 724-749.
- [13] Nicholas Carnes and Noam Lupu. 2021. “The White Working Class and the 2016 Election.” *Perspectives on Politics* 19(1): 55-72.
- [12] Eric Hansen, Nicholas Carnes, and Virginia Gray. 2019. “What Happens When Insurers Make the Insurance Laws? State Legislative Agendas and the Occupational Makeup of Government.” *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 19(2): 155-179.

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- [11] Nicholas Carnes and John Holbein. 2019. “Do Public Officials Exhibit Social Class Biases when they Handle Casework? Evidence from Multiple Correspondence Experiments.” *PLOS ONE* 14(3): e0214244.
 - [10] Nicholas Carnes and Noam Lupu. 2016. “Do Voters Dislike Working-Class Candidates? Voter Biases and the Descriptive Underrepresentation of the Working Class.” *American Political Science Review* 110(4): 832-844.
 - [9] Nicholas Carnes and Eric Hansen. 2016. “Does Paying Politicians More Promote Economic Diversity in Legislatures?” *American Political Science Review* 110(4): 699-716.
 - [8] Nicholas Carnes and Noam Lupu. 2016. “What Good is a College Degree? Education and Leader Quality Reconsidered.” *Journal of Politics* 78(1): 35-49.
 - [7] Nicholas Carnes. 2016. “Why Are There So Few Working-class People in Political Office? Evidence from State Legislatures.” *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4(1): 84-109.
 - [6] Marc F. Bellemare and Nicholas Carnes. 2015. “Why Do Members of Congress Support Agricultural Protection?” *Food Policy* 50: 20-34.
 - [5] Nicholas Carnes and Meredith L. Sadin. 2015. “The ‘Mill Worker’s Son’ Heuristic: How Voters Perceive Politicians from Working-class Families—And How They Really Behave in Office.” *Journal of Politics* 77(1): 285-298.
 - [4] Nicholas Carnes. 2015. “Does the Descriptive Representation of the Working Class ‘Crowd Out’ Women and Minorities (And Vice Versa)? Evidence from the Local Elections in America Project.” *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 3(2): 350-365.
 - [3] Nicholas Carnes and Noam Lupu. 2015. “Rethinking the Comparative Perspective on Class and Representation: Evidence from Latin America.” *American Journal of Political Science* 59(1): 1-18.
 - [2] R. Douglas Arnold and Nicholas Carnes. 2012. “Holding Mayors Accountable: New York’s Executives from Koch to Bloomberg.” *American Journal of Political Science* 56(4): 949-963.
 - [1] Nicholas Carnes. 2012. “Does the Numerical Underrepresentation of the Working Class in Congress Matter?” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 37(1): 5-34.

Contributions to Edited Collections

- [3] Nicholas Carnes. 2017. “Adam Smith Would Be Spinning in His Grave: Government by the Rich in the United States.” In “Myths and Realities of Social Class in American Politics,” eds. Daniel DiSalvo and Jeffrey Stonecash. *The Forum* 15(1): 151-165.
- [2] Nicholas Carnes. 2016. “Who Votes for Inequality?” In *Congress and Policymaking in the 21st Century*, eds. Jeffrey Jenkins and Eric Patashnik. New York: **Cambridge University Press**.
- [1] Nicholas Carnes. 2015. “White-Collar Government in the United States.” In “Debate: Does Descriptive Misrepresentation by Income and Class Matter?,” ed. Jonas Pontusson. *Swiss Political Science Review* 21(2): 213-221.

Working Papers

Under Review

- [4] Nicholas Carnes. “Government as the Bad Guy? Depictions of Government in Entertainment Media.”

- [3] Nicholas Carnes and Noam Lupu. “Are There Social Class Gaps in Nascent Political Ambition? Survey Evidence from the Americas.”
- [2] Nicholas Carnes. “Inequality, or Invisibility and Inaccuracy? How Local Newspapers Cover the Occupational Backgrounds of Members of Congress.”
- [1] Nicholas Carnes and Noam Lupu. “Blinded by Wealth? What Voters Think About the Descriptive Underrepresentation of the Working Class.”

In Preparation

- [2] Nicholas Carnes. “Has Research on Working-Class Politicians Excluded Women? A Response to Barnes, Beall, and Holman.”
- [1] Nicholas Carnes. “‘A Great Opportunity for America’s Wealthiest Undergrads’? Reform Narratives About Affluent Staffers and the 2017 Congressional Capacity Survey.”

Op-Eds, Memos, Reviews, and Other Short Pieces

Nicholas Carnes. 2019. “Here’s How to Help People Who Have Kids and aren’t Rich Run for Congress.” *The Washington Post*, March 7.

Nicholas Carnes. 2019. “The Historic ‘Help America Run Act’ is Evidence-based Policy.” Memo Prepared for **U.S. House of Representatives** Committee on House Administration, February 12.

Nicholas Carnes. 2018. “Working-class People are Underrepresented in Politics. The Problem isn’t Voters.” *Vox*, October 24.

Nicholas Carnes. 2018. “Why are So Few US Politicians from the Working Class?” *The Guardian*, October 4.

Nicholas Carnes. 2017. Review of *American Amnesia: How the War on Government Led Us to Forget What Made America Prosper* by Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson. *Journal of Politics* 79(4): e89-e90.

Nicholas Carnes. 2017. “What Would Adam Smith Think about this ‘Trump’ Tax Reform?” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, and *Albany Times Union*, September 29.

Nicholas Carnes and Noam Lupu. 2017. “It’s Time to Bust the Myth: Most Trump Voters Were Not Working Class,” *Monkey Cage*, June 5.

Nicholas Carnes and Noam Lupu. 2017. “The Rich Get Elected – But it’s Not because Voters Necessarily Prefer Them,” *Democratic Audit*, February 22.

Nicholas Carnes and Noam Lupu. 2016. “Voters Actually Don’t Prefer Wealthy Politicians,” *Monkey Cage*, December 6.

Nicholas Carnes. 2016. “Casting a Wider Net: The Untapped Potential of Programs to Increase the Economic Diversity of the Candidate Pool.” Report prepared for “Purchasing Power? The Next Generation of Research on Money and Politics,” **Ford Foundation**, June 16-17.

Nicholas Carnes and Noam Lupu. 2016. “Why Trump’s Appeal is Wider than You Might Think.” **MSNBC.com**, April 8.

Nicholas Carnes and Eric Hansen. 2016. “Why Paying Legislators Higher Salaries Will Not Draw More Blue-Collar Workers into Office.” *SSN Key Findings*, February.

- Nicholas Carnes and Noam Lupu. 2015. "Scott Walker Didn't Finish College. Would that Make Him a Bad President?" *Politico*, July 8.
- Nicholas Carnes. 2014. "Seeking More Working-Class Americans in Congress." *Federal Reserve Bank of Boston Communities and Banking Newsletter*, December 2.
- Nicholas Carnes. 2014. "The Class War in American Politics is Over. The Rich Won." *Vox*, September 3.
- Nicholas Carnes and Noam Lupu. 2014. "The Rich are Running Latin America." *The Monkey Cage*, April 8.
- Nicholas Carnes. 2014. "Congress Doesn't Have to Be a Millionaires' Club." *The Monkey Cage*, January 8.
- Nicholas Carnes. 2014. "Millionaires Run Our Government. Here's Why that Matters." *The Monkey Cage*, January 7.
- Nicholas Carnes. 2013. "We Need Blue-collar Candidates." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Raleigh News and Observer, Oakland Tribune, Newark Star-Ledger, and Detroit Free Press*, October 17.
- Nicholas Carnes. 2013. "How Poorer Politicians Can Shatter the Cash Ceiling." *Bangor Daily News*, October 1.
- Nicholas Carnes and Noam Lupu. 2013. "Como Afecta el Gobierno de los Privilegiados a la Democracia?" *Condistingtosacentos*, September 15.
- Nicholas Carnes and David Broockman. 2013. "The Promise of Union Programs that Recruit and Support Workers to Run for Public Office." *SSN Basic Facts*, August.
- Nicholas Carnes and Noam Lupu. 2013. "How Government by the Privileged Distorts Democracies." *SSN Key Findings*, July.
- Nicholas Carnes. 2013. "The Cash Ceiling." *SSN Forum on Money in Politics*, July.
- Nicholas Carnes. 2013. Review of *The Not-So-Special Interests: Interest Groups, Public Representation, and American Governance* by Matt Grossman. *American Review of Politics* 34: 129-132.
- Nicholas Carnes. 2013. "A Tax Reform Plan that Rewards the Wealthy and Stalls the State." *Raleigh News and Observer*, January 25.
- Nicholas Carnes and John Holbein. 2013. "Are Politicians Prejudiced Against the Poor?" *SSN Key Findings*, January.
- Nicholas Carnes. 2012. "Which Millionaire Are You Voting For?" *The New York Times*, October 13.
- Nicholas Carnes. 2012. "Economic Inequality and White-collar Government." *States, Power, and Societies* 17(2): 4-7.
- Nicholas Carnes. 2012. "How Government by the Privileged Distorts Economic Policy." *SSN Key Findings*, January.

External Grants

- Nicholas Carnes, Alan T. Waterman Award (\$1,000,000), National Science Foundation, 2021
- Nicholas Carnes, Grant to Support the National Candidate Training Organization Survey (\$9,651), Blue Haven Initiative, 2018
- Nicholas Carnes, Grant to Support a Candidate Training Landscape Analysis (\$9,000), Blue Haven Fund, 2017

Nicholas Carnes, Grant to Support the American Political Science Association Organized Section on Class and Inequality (\$4,500), Washington Center for Equitable Growth, 2015-2016

Nicholas Carnes, Grant to Support *The Cash Ceiling: Why Only the Rich Run for Office* (\$14,628), Russell Sage Foundation, 2015-2016

Nicholas Carnes, Seed Grant (\$19,000), Russell Sage Foundation, 2013-2014

Nicholas Carnes, Dissertation Improvement Grant (\$12,000), National Science Foundation (SES-0921163, “Doctoral Dissertation Research in Political Science: Social Class and Congressional Decisionmaking”), 2009-2011

Nicholas Carnes, Congressional Research Award (\$3,500), Dirksen Congressional Center, 2009-2011

Internal Grants

Nicholas Carnes, Grant to Support PubPol 155 Course Update (\$43,000), Duke University, 2020

Nicholas Carnes, Pilot Funding Award (\$13,500), Sanford School of Public Policy, 2016

Nicholas Carnes and Craig Roberts, Bass Connections Grant (\$19,000), Duke University, 2015-2016

Nicholas Carnes, Impact and Innovation Grant (\$39,200), Sanford School of Public Policy, 2014-2015

Nicholas Carnes and Craig Roberts, Bass Connections Grant (\$19,000), Duke University, 2014-2015

Nicholas Carnes, Impact and Innovation Grant (\$6,200), Sanford School of Public Policy, 2014-2015

Awards and Fellowships

Research

Alan T. Waterman Award (United States’s highest honorary scientific award for young researchers, given each year to one or two scientists under the age of 40 across all fields of science and engineering), National Science Foundation, 2021

Thomas Langford Lectureship Award, Duke University, 2018-2019

Gladys M. Kammerer Award for the Best Book Published in the Field of U.S. National Policy, American Political Science Association, 2014

Alan Rosenthal Prize for Best Book or Article Written by a Junior Scholar that has Potential Value to Legislative Practitioners, American Political Science Association Legislative Studies Section, 2014

The 30 Top Thinkers Under 30, *Pacific Standard*, 2014

Harold D. Lasswell Award for the Best Doctoral Dissertation in Public Policy, American Political Science Association, 2013

Carl Albert Award for the Best Doctoral Dissertation in Legislative Studies, American Political Science Association Legislative Studies Section, 2013

Sage Award (with Noam Lupu) for the Best Paper in Comparative Politics (“Rethinking the Comparative Perspective on Class and Representation: Evidence from Latin America”), American Political Science Association Comparative Politics Section, 2013

Nominated for the American Political Science Association's E. E. Schattschneider Award for the Best Doctoral Dissertation in American Politics, Princeton University Department of Politics, 2012

Distinguished Alumni Lecture in Law and Politics, University of Tulsa Department of Political Science, 2012

Wilson Scholars Fellowship (competitive university fellowship awarded to graduate students conducting policy-relevant research), Princeton University Fellowship of Woodrow Wilson Scholars, 2009-2010

Princeton University Fellowship, 2006-2009 and 2010-2011

Teaching

Celebrating Mentors Program, Duke University Annual Fund, 2019

Susan Tifft Undergraduate Teaching and Mentoring Award, Duke University, 2018

Bass Society of Fellows, Duke University, 2018-2023

Top 5% of Teaching Evaluations, Duke University, 2017

Top 5% of Teaching Evaluations, Duke University, 2015

Outstanding Teaching Award, Duke University Trident Society, 2015

Top 5% of Teaching Evaluations, Duke University, 2013

Team-Based Learning Course Design Faculty Fellowship, Duke Center for Instructional Technology, 2012

Teaching Research with Writing Faculty Fellowship, Duke Center for Instructional Technology, 2011-2012

Service

Super Reviewer, American Journal of Political Science, 2014

Outstanding Reviewer, Political Research Quarterly, 2014

Other Honors

Faculty Honor Medal (awarded to the graduating senior with the highest grade point average), University of Tulsa College of Arts and Sciences, 2006

Phi Beta Kappa, University of Tulsa, 2006

William Vernon and Pauline Holloway Scholarship (awarded annually to the top political science major in each undergraduate cohort), University of Tulsa Department of Political Science, 2004, 2005, and 2006

Pi Sigma Alpha Political Science Honor Society, University of Tulsa, 2005

Presidential Scholarship, University of Tulsa, 2002-2006

Invited Talks

2021 Unequal Democracies Seminar, Princeton University, University of Tulsa, University of California - San Diego, National Science Board

2019 Princeton University

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- 2018 Northwestern University, Cornell University, New America Foundation, Washington University in St. Louis, Harvard University
- 2017 University of Iowa, University of Tennessee, John Locke Foundation, Columbia University, University of Toronto, Oxford University, Stanford University, University of Southern California
- 2016 University of Utah, Columbia University, Ford Foundation, University of Virginia, Princeton University
- 2015 Russell Sage Foundation, Lone Star College (keynote), Washington Center for Equitable Growth, Virginia Local Government Management Association, Yale University, University of Toronto, University of Michigan, Yale University, University of North Carolina
- 2014 University of Wisconsin, Oklahoma Policy Institute (keynote), University of Oklahoma, University of Minnesota, University of Tulsa
- 2013 University of Virginia, Emory University, University of California - Berkeley, University of Maine, Yale University, Washington State University
- 2012 University of Tulsa, Northwestern University
- 2010 University of Tennessee, Allegheny College, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of Maryland, Cornell University, Duke University, Social Change: A Harvard-Manchester Initiative (Crewe, England)

Conference Presentations

- 2020 American Political Science Association, Online
Midwest Political Science Association (panels held despite conference cancellation), Online
- 2019 American Political Science Association, Washington, DC
- 2018 American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL
- 2017 American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA
Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL
- 2016 American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA
Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL
Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, PR
- 2015 American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA
Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL
- 2014 American Political Science Association, Washington, DC
International Studies Association/FLACSO, Buenos Aires, Argentina
- 2013 American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL
American Sociological Association, New York, NY
Eastern Economics Association, New York, NY
Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL
Southern Political Science Association, Orlando, FL
- 2012 Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL
Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA

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- 2011 Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL
 - 2010 Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA
 - 2009 Northeastern Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA
 - 2006 Northeastern Political Science Association, Boston, MA
Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL
American Association for the Advancement of Science Southwest Region, Tulsa, OK
 - 2005 Oklahoma Political Science Association, Claremore, OK

Statistical Software

“normal.survey,” “logit.survey,” “probit.survey,” “gamma.survey,” and “poisson.survey” (survey-weighted regression procedures), in Kosuke Imai, Gary King, and Olivia Lau, *Zelig: Everyone’s Statistical Software*, 2008

Courses Taught

- An Introduction to Public Policy (undergraduate)
- Servant Leadership in a Democracy (undergraduate)
- The Politics of Public Policy / Introduction to US Politics (undergraduate and graduate)
- Political Ambition (graduate)
- The Great Recession: Hard Times and American Politics (graduate)

Professional Service

Duke University

- Campus Institutional Review Board, 2020-
- Provost’s Advisory Committee on Online Education, 2019-
- Steering Committee, POLIS, 2015-2018
- Faculty Advisor, Duke Interdisciplinary Social Innovators, 2012-2018
- Review Committee for Vice Provost for Academic Affairs Keith Whitfield, 2016
- Chatauqua Lecture Speaker, 2016, 2017
- Faculty Advisor, YOUnite, 2015-2016
- Bass Connections Advisory Council Member, 2013-2018

Sanford School of Public Policy

- Hart Leadership Program Search Committee, 2020-2021
- Sanford School Executive Committee, 2019-2021
- Political Science Search Committee, 2019-2020
- PhD Program Executive Committee, 2016-2018, 2020-
- PhD Admissions Committee, 2016-2018, 2019-2021
- Exploratory Committee for a Joint MA Program in Political Science and Public Policy, 2016-2018
- Co-Chair, Big Problems in American Democracy Speaker Series, 2016-2018
- PubPol 155 Ad Hoc Review Committee, 2016
- Diversity Committee, 2014-2015
- Social Policy Search Committee, 2014-2015
- Working Group on Teaching and Politics, 2014
- Working Group on Research and Politics, 2014
- Working Group on Political Engagement, 2014
- Working Group on Curriculum, Teaching, and Learning, 2014
- James R. Shepley Professor of Public Policy Search Committee, 2013-2014

MPP Admissions Committee, 2012-2014

Princeton University

Department of Politics Graduate Committee, 2009-2010

Co-Founder and Chair, Princeton Conference on Psychology and Policymaking, 2008

Disciplinary Service

Editorial Board, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2020-

Class and Inequality Section/Program Chair, American Political Science Association, 2014-2020

Public Policy Program Chair, Southern Political Science Association, 2019

Editorial Board, *American Journal of Political Science*, 2018-2019

Class and Inequality Program Chair, Midwest Political Science Association, 2013, 2015, 2017

Co-Director, Scholars Strategy Network of North Carolina, 2012-2018

Member and Co-Chair, Russell Sage Working Group on the Political Influence of Economic Elites, 2012-2015

Co-Director, Scholars Strategy Network Working Group on the Future of Labor, 2013-2015

Co-Founder, American Political Science Association Section on Class and Inequality, 2013-2014

Co-Founder, Midwest Political Science Association Section on Class and Inequality, 2012-2013

Other Service

Academic Advisor to *Councilwoman Castillo* (documentary film), 2013