

**James F. Adams**

Department of Political Science  
University of California at Davis  
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**Employment**

Distinguished Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, Davis, August 2023-present.

Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, Davis, July 2006-July 2023.

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, Davis, July 2005 to June 2006.

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara, July 2000 to June 2005.

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara, July 1994 to June 2000.

Postdoctoral Fellow, Laval University, Quebec, October 1993-June 1994.

**Education**

PhD, University of Michigan, Department of Political Science, 1994.

Dissertation: *Explaining Stability in Democratic Political Systems: A Dialogue Between Behavioral Research and Social Choice Theory*.

Committee: Roy Pierce, Chair; Ronald Inglehart; John Jackson; Eugene Burnstein

B.A., Princeton University, economics.

**Books**

Adams, James. *Party Competition and Responsible Party Government: A Theory of Spatial Competition Based upon Insights from Behavioral Voting Research*. University of Michigan Press, 2001.

Adams, James, Samuel Merrill, III, and Bernard Grofman. *A Unified Theory of Party Competition: A Cross-National Analysis Integrating Spatial and Behavioral Factors*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Gidron, Noam, James Adams, and Will Horne. *American Affective Polarization in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

## Articles in Peer-Reviewed Journals

1. Adams, James, Samuel Merrill, III, and Roi Zur. Forthcoming. "How much does issue salience matter? A model with applications to UK elections." *European Journal of Political Science*.
2. Tichelbaecker, Thomas, Noam Gidron, Will Horne, and James Adams. Forthcoming. "What do we measure when we measure affective polarization across countries?" *Public Opinion Quarterly*.
3. Adams, James, Luca Bernardi, Lawrence Ezrow, and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. Forthcoming. "Party policies, issue ownership, and their electoral consequences: The advantages of shifting to the right." *Political Studies*.
4. Gidron, Noam, James Adams, and Will Horne. 2023. "Who dislikes whom? The drivers of affective polarization between pairs of parties in western democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 53(3): 997-1015.
5. Horne, Will, James Adams, and Noam Gidron. 2023. "The way we were: How histories of co-governance alleviate partisan hostility." *Comparative Political Studies* 56(3): 299-325.
6. Adams, James, Dave Bracken, Noam Gidron, Will Horne, Diana O'Brien, Kaitlin Senk. 2023. "Can't we all just get along? How women MPs can ameliorate affective polarization in western publics." *American Political Science Review* 117(2): 318-24.
7. Jensen, Camilla, James Adams, and Amber Boydston. 2023. "Our issue positions are strong, and our opponents' valence is weak: An analysis of parties' campaign strategies in ten west European democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 53(1): 65-84.
8. Adams, James, Tobias Bohmelt, Lawrence Ezrow, and Petra Schleiter. 2022. 'Backlash policy diffusion to populists in power.' *PLOS ONE* 17(9): e0273951.
9. Fuller, Sam, Will Horne, James Adams, and Noam Gidron. 2022. "Populism and the affective partisan space in eight European publics: Evidence from a cross-national survey." *Frontiers of Political Science* 4.
10. Feddersen, Alexandra, and James Adams. 2022. "Public opinion backlash in response to party press releases: Evidence from the (unlikely) Swiss case." *Electoral Studies* 80(2) article 102532.
11. Adams, James, Luca Bernardi, and Christy Phillips. 2021. "The simplest government heuristic of all: Citizens infer that governing parties are pro-European Union." *Comparative Political Studies* 54(7): 1227-55.
12. Adams, James, Simon Weschle, and Christopher Wlezien. 2021. "How voters infer parties' policy positions based on elite interactions." *American Journal of Political Science* 65(1): 101-114.
13. Adams, James, Luca Bernardi, and Christopher Wlezien. 2020. "Social welfare policy outputs and governing parties' Left-Right images: Do voters respond?" *Journal of Politics* 82(3): 1161-65.
14. Adams, James, Luca Bernardi, Lawrence Ezrow, Oakley Gordon, Tzu-Ping Liu, and Christy Phillips. 2019. "A problem with empirical studies of party policy shifts: Alternative

- measures of party shifts are uncorrelated.” *European Journal of Political Research* 58(4): 1234-44.
15. Bernardi, Luca, and James Adams. 2019. “Governing coalition partners’ images shift in parallel, but they do not converge.” *Journal of Politics* 81(4): 1500-1511.
  16. Bernardi, Luca, and James Adams. 2019. “Does government support respond to governments’ social welfare rhetoric or their spending? An analysis of government support in Britain, Spain, and the United States.” *British Journal of Political Science* 49(4): 1407-1429.
  17. Neundorf, Anja, and James Adams. 2018. “The micro-foundations of party competition and issue ownership: The reciprocal effects of citizens’ issue salience and partisan attachments.” *British Journal of Political Science* 48(2): 385-406.
  18. Adams, James, Erik Engstrom, Danielle Joeston, Jon Rogowski, Boris Shor, and Walt Stone. 2017. “Do moderate voters weigh candidates’ ideologies? Voters’ decision rules in the 2010 congressional elections.” *Political Behavior* 39(1): 205-27.
  19. Adams, James, Lawrence Ezrow, and Christopher Wlezien. 2016. “The company you keep: How citizens infer party positions on European integration from governing coalition arrangements.” *American Journal of Political Science* 60(4): 811-23.
  20. Adams, James, Ethan Scheiner, and Jed Kawasumi. 2016. “Running on character? Running on policy?” An analysis of Japanese candidates’ campaign platforms.” *Electoral Studies* 44(12): 275-284.
  21. Fortunato, David, and James Adams. 2015. “How Prime Ministers influence perceptions of their junior partners.” *European Journal of Political Research* 54(3): 601-21
  22. Adams, James, Lawrence Ezrow, and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. 2014. “Do voters respond to party manifestos or to the wider information environment? An analysis of mass-elite linkages on European integration.” *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4): 967-78.
  23. Adams, James, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2014. “Candidates’ policy strategies in primary elections: Does strategic voting by the primary electorate matter?” *Public Choice* 160(1): 7-24.
  24. Adams, James, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2013. “Policy-seeking candidates who value the valence attributes of the winner.” *Public Choice* 55(1): 139-161.
  25. Adams, James, Lawrence Ezrow, Samuel Merrill III, and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. 2013. “Policy-seeking parties in proportional systems with valence-related uncertainty: Does collective responsibility for performance alter party strategies?” *British Journal of Political Science* 43(1): 1-23.
  26. Abney, Ronni, James Adams, Michael Clark, Malcolm Easton, Lawrence Ezrow, Anja Neundorf, and Spyros Kosmidis. 2013. “When does valence matter? On heightened valence effects for governing parties during election campaigns.” *Party Politics* 19(1): 61-82.
  27. Adams, James. 2012. “The causes and the electoral consequences of party policy shifts in multiparty elections: Theoretical results and empirical evidence.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 15: 401-419.
  28. Adams, James, Lawrence Ezrow, and Debra Leiter. 2012. “Partisan sorting and niche parties in Europe.” *West European Politics* 35(6): 1272-94.
  29. Adams, James, Jane Green, and Caitlin Milazzo. 2012. “Who moves? An analysis of subconstituency reactions to elite depolarization in Britain.” *Electoral Studies* 31(4): 643-55.

30. Adams, James, Jane Green, and Caitlin Milazzo. 2012. "Has the British public depolarized along with political elites? An American perspective on British public opinion." *Comparative Political Studies* 45(4): 507-530.
31. Milazzo, Caitlin, James Adams, and Jane Green. 2012. "Are voter decision rules endogenous to parties' policy strategies? A model with applications to elite depolarization in post-Thatcher Britain." *Journal of Politics* 74(2): 262-276.
32. Adams, James, Catherine de Vries, and Debra Leiter. 2012. "Which voting constituencies reacted to elite depolarization in the Netherlands? An Analysis of the Dutch public's policy beliefs and partisan loyalties, 1986-1998." *British Journal of Political Science* 42(1): 81-105.
33. Adams, James, Lawrence Ezrow, and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. 2011. "Is anybody listening? Evidence that voters do not respond to European parties' policy programmes." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2): 370-382.
34. Adams, James, Samuel Merrill, III, Beth Simas, and Walt Stone. 2011. "When candidates value good government: A spatial model with applications to congressional elections." *Journal of Politics* 73(1): 17-30.
35. Adams, James, Thomas Brunell, Bernard Grofman, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2010. "Why candidate divergence should be expected to be just as great (or even greater) in competitive districts as in noncompetitive ones." *Public Choice* 145(3-4): 417-433.
36. Adams, James, and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. 2009. "Do parties adjust their policies in response to rival parties' policy shifts? Spatial theory and the dynamics of party competition in twenty-five democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 39(4): 825-846.
37. Adams, James, Andrea Haupt, and Heather Stoll. 2009. "What moves parties? The role of public opinion and global economic conditions in Western Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 42(5): 611-639.
38. Adams, James, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2009. "Policy-seeking parties in a parliamentary democracy with Proportional Representation: A valence-uncertainty model." *British Journal of Political Science* 39(3): 539-558.
39. Adams, James, and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. 2009. "Promise now, win votes later? The electoral effects of parties' policy shifts in 25 postwar democracies." *Journal of Politics* 71(2): 678-692.
40. Adams, James, and Lawrence Ezrow. 2009. "Who do European parties represent? How Western European parties represent the policy preferences of opinion leaders." *Journal of Politics* 71(1): 206-223.
41. Adams, James, and Alex Mayer. 2008. "Condorcet efficiency and adaptive parties in a spatial model." *Mathematical and Computer Modeling* 48: 1298-1307.
42. Adams, James, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2008. "Candidate and party strategies in two-stage elections beginning with a primary." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 344-59.
43. Merrill, Samuel III, and James Adams. 2007. "The effects of alternative power-sharing arrangements: Do 'moderating' institutions moderate party strategies and government policy outputs?" *Public Choice* 131(3-4): 413-434.
44. Adams, James, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2006. "Why small, centrist, third parties motivate policy divergence by major parties." *American Political Science Review* 50(3): 403-417.

45. Adams, James, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2006. "Are niche parties fundamentally different from mainstream parties? The causes and the electoral consequences of Western European parties' policy shifts, 1976-1998." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 513-529.
46. Bishin, Benjamin, Jay K. Dow, and James Adams. 2006. "Issue representation and diversity in senate elections." *Public Choice* 129(2): 201-215.
47. Adams, James, Jay Dow, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2006. "The political consequences of abstention from alienation and abstention from indifference: Applications to presidential elections." *Political Behavior* 28: 65-86.
48. Adams, James, Bernard Grofman, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2005. "Does France's two-ballot presidential election system alter candidates' policy strategies? A spatial analysis of candidate strategies in the 1988 presidential election." *French Politics* 3(2): 98-123.
49. Adams, James, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2005. "Candidate policy positioning and election outcomes: The three faces of policy representation." *European Journal of Political Research* 44: 899-918.
50. Adams, James, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2004. "Understanding change and stability in party ideologies: Do parties respond to public opinion or to past election results?" *British Journal of Political Science* 34(4): 589-610.
51. Adams, James, Benjamin Bishin, and Jay Dow. 2004. "Representation in congressional campaigns: Evidence for directional/discounting effects in U.S. Senate elections." *Journal of Politics* 66(2): 348-373
52. Adams, James, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2003. "Voter turnout and candidate strategies in American elections." *Journal of Politics* 65(1): 121-149.
53. Merrill, Samuel, III, and James Adams. 2002. "Centrifugal incentives in multicandidate elections." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 14: 275-300.
54. Merrill, Samuel, III, Bernard Grofman, and James Adams. 2002. "Projection and persuasion effects in national elections." *European Journal of Political Research* 40: 199-223.
55. Regenwetter, Michael, James Adams, and Bernard Grofman. 2002. "On the Condorcet efficiency of majority rule: An alternative view of majority cycles and social homogeneity." *Theory and Decision* 53: 153-186.
56. Adams, James. 2001. "A theory of spatial competition with biased voters: Party policies viewed temporally and comparatively." *British Journal of Political Science* 31: 121-158.
57. Merrill, Samuel, III, and James Adams. 2001. "Computing Nash equilibria in probabilistic, multiparty spatial models with nonpolicy components." *Political Analysis* 9: 347-61.
58. Adams, James. 2000. "Multicandidate equilibrium in American elections." *Public Choice* 103: 297-325.
59. Adams, James, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2000. "Spatial models of candidate competition and the 1988 French presidential election: Are presidential candidates vote-maximizers?" *Journal of Politics* 62: 729-756.
60. Adams, James, and Ernest Adams. 2000. "The geometry of voting cycles." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 12: 131-53.

61. Adams, James. 1999. "Policy divergence in multicandidate probabilistic spatial voting." *Public Choice* 103: 103-22.
62. Adams, James. 1999. "An assessment of voting systems under the proximity and directional models of the vote." *Public Choice* 98: 131-151.
63. Adams, James. 1999. "Multicandidate spatial competition with probabilistic voting." *Public Choice* 99: 259-74.
64. Adams, James, and Samuel Merrill, III. 1999. "Modeling party strategies and policy representation in multiparty elections: Why are strategies so extreme?" *American Journal of Political Science* 43: 765-91.
65. Adams, James, and Samuel Merrill, III. 1999. "Party policy equilibrium for alternative spatial voting models: An application to the Norwegian Storting." *European Journal of Political Research* 36: 235-55.
66. Adams, James. 1998. "Partisan voting and multiparty spatial competition: The pressure for responsible parties." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 10: 5-31.
67. Adams, James. 1997. "Condorcet efficiency and the behavioral model of the vote." *Journal of Politics* 59: 1252-63.

### **Other Publications**

Adams, James, Samuel Merrill, III, and Roi Zur. 2021. "The spatial voting model." *Sage Handbook of Research Methods in Political Science & International Relations*. Luigi Curini and Rob Franzese, editors. London: Sage.

Gidron, Noam, James Adams, and Will Horne. 2020. "Toward a comparative research agenda on affective polarization in mass publics." *Comparative Politics Newsletter* 29: 30-36.

Adams, James. 2019. "Spatial models of party competition in two dimensions." *Oxford Handbook of Public Choice, Volume 1*. Roger Congleton, editor. Oxford University Press.

Rexford, Nathan, and James Adams. 2018. "Electoral laws and parties' programmatic incentives." *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*. Erik Herron, Robert Pekkanen, and Matthew Shugart, editors. Oxford University Press.

Adams, James. 2016. "On the relationship between (parties' and voters') issue attention and issue positions: Response to Dowding, Hindmoor, and Martin." *Journal of Public Policy* 36(1): 25-31.

Adams, James. 2015. "Competing for votes," pages 201-217 in the *Elgar Handbook of Social Choice and Voting*, Jac C. Heckelman and Nicholas R. Miller, editors. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Adams, James, Thomas L. Brunell, Bernard Grofman, and Samuel Merrill III. 2013. "Do Competitive Districts Produce Centrist Politicians?" In *Advances in Political Economy*. Norman Schofield, Gonzalo Caballero, and Daniel Kselman, eds. New York: Springer, pp 331-350.

## **Manuscripts Currently under Review**

Seeberg, Henrik, and James Adams. “Parties’ issue emphases lead citizens’ priorities, but less than national conditions do: Evidence from thirteen western democracies.”

Hudde, Ansgar, Will Horne, James Adams, and Noam Gidron. “How warm are partisan political interactions? A frequency-based measure of affective fractionalization.”

Adams, James David Bracken, Noam Gidron, Will Horne, Seonghui Lee, Diana O’Brien, Philip Santoso, Kaitlin Senk, and Randy Stevenson. Gender inclusivity shifts parties’ images leftward: Observational and experimental Evidence.”

## **Awards**

### **Research Awards**

The GESIS Klingemann Prize for the best Comparative Study of Electoral Systems scholarship. Awarded for the 2023 article “Can’t we all just get along? How women MPs can ameliorate affective polarization in western publics” (with David Bracken, Noam Gidron, Will Horne, Diana O’Brien, and Kaitlin Senk).

Kellogg/Notre Dame Award for the best paper in Comparative Politics presented at the 2018 Midwest Political Science Association annual conference. Awarded for the paper “The causes of mass-level affective polarization in advanced democracies” (with Noam Gidron and Will Horne).

Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the best paper presented at the 2015 Midwest Political Science Association annual conference. Awarded for the paper “The company you keep: How citizens infer party positions on European integration from governing coalition arrangements” (with Lawrence Ezrow and Christopher Wlezien).

AJPS Best Article Award. Awarded for the best article appearing in the volume of the *American Journal of Political Science* published in the year preceding the 2012 annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Awarded for the article “Is anybody listening? Evidence that voters do not respond to European parties’ policy programmes” (with Lawrence Ezrow and Zeynep Somer-Topcu).

The American Political Science Association, Political Organizations and Parties Division, 2008. The Jack L. Walker Outstanding Article Award for an article published in the last two calendar years that makes an outstanding contribution to research and scholarship on political organizations and parties. Awarded for “Why small, centrist third parties motivate policy divergence by major parties.” *American Political Science Review* 50(3): 513-529 (with Samuel Merrill, III).

The American Political Science Association, Representation and Electoral Systems Division, 2008. The Leon Weaver Award for the best paper presented at a panel sponsored by the Representation and Electoral Systems Division in 2007. Awarded for “Promise now, win votes later? The electoral effects of parties’ policy shifts in 25 postwar democracies” (with Zeynep Somer-Topcu).

## Teaching Awards

Distinguished Teaching Award for Graduate and Professional Training. 2020. UC Davis Division of Social Sciences.

Outstanding Mentor Award from the Consortium for Women and Research, University of California at Davis, 2012. These awards are designed to honor faculty who have engaged in sustained and successful mentoring of women at UC Davis.

Voted Outstanding Faculty Member by the Residence Halls Association and Office of Residential Life, UC Santa Barbara (2003-2004 academic year).

Voted “Professor of the Year” by the UCSB students and Mortar Board (1996, 1998).

## **Professional Activities, University Service, and Teaching**

Editorial Board, *American Political Science Review*, October 2004 – July 2007.

Editorial Board, *Journal of Politics*, October 2004 – October 2006, and January 2011-June 2018.

Editorial Board, *American Journal of Political Science*, January 2014-June 2018.

Editorial Board, *British Journal of Political Science*, January 2013-present.

Division Chair for the American Political Science Association Section on Political Organizations and Parties, for the 2015 Annual Meeting, held in San Francisco, September 2015.

Reviewer: *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *Economics and Politics*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, *Political Behavior*, *Theory and Decision*, *Electoral Studies*, *Public Choice*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, The University of Michigan Press, Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, and the National Science Foundation.

Vice Chair, Department of Political Science, UC Santa Barbara, April 2004 – June 2005.

Director of Graduate Studies, UC Davis, January 2009 – April 2012 and Fall 2014.

### Undergraduate courses taught

British Politics

French Politics

German Politics

Introduction to Comparative Politics

The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws

Introduction to Research Methods

### Graduate courses taught

The Comparative Politics of Western Europe

Political Polarization Across Western Democracies

Political Representation in Advanced Industrial Societies

Games and Models in Political Science



Theoretical Approaches to Spatial Modeling  
Empirical Applications of Spatial Modeling

Dissertation Committees:

- David Bracken, PhD from UC Davis, June 2023. Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Penn State University.
- Sara Kazmian (Chair), PhD from UC Davis, June 2023.
- Jordan Hamzawi, PhD from UC Davis June 2021. Postdoctoral Fellow, Program on US-Japan Relations, Harvard University.
- Isaac Hale, (Co-chair). PhD from UC Davis, June 2020. Assistant Professor, Department of Politics, Occidental College.
- Tzu-Ping Liu (Chair), PhD from UC Davis June 2020. Assistant Professor, Department of Social and Public Affairs, University of Taipei.
- Roi Zur (Chair), PhD from UC Davis June 2019. Lecturer in the Department of Government, Essex University, Colchester, UK.
- Christy Cahill (Chair), PhD from UC Davis, June 2017.
- Nathan Rexford (Co-chair), PhD from UC Davis, June 2017.
- Jordan Kujala, PhD from UC Davis, June 2017.
- Christopher Donnelly, PhD from UC Davis, June 2017.
- Huey Li, PhD from UC Davis, June 2017.
- Matthew Bergman, PhD from UC San Diego, September 2016. Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Mannheim.
- Debra Leiter (Chair), PhD from UC Davis, June 2013. Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Missouri at Kansas City.
- Florence So, PhD from UCLA, June 2012. Assistant professor, Aarhus University, Denmark.
- Caitlin Milazzo (Co-chair), PhD from UC Davis, June 2011. Professor in the School of Politics and International Relations, University of Nottingham, UK.
- Elizabeth Simas, PhD from UC Davis, June 2011. Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Houston, Houston TX.
- Kris Inman, PhD from UC Davis, June 2011.
- Andrea Duwel, PhD from UC Davis, June 2010.
- Zeynep Somer-Topcu (Chair), PhD from UC Davis, June 2009. Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Texas at Austin.
- Gary Stradiotto, PhD from UC Davis, June 2009.
- Andrea Haupt (Chair), PhD from UC Santa Barbara, June 2007. Associate Professor of Political Science at Santa Barbara Community College, Santa Barbara, CA.
- Michael Clark (Chair), PhD from UC Santa Barbara, June 2006. Associate Professor of Political Science at Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL.
- Lawrence Ezrow (Chair), PhD from UC Santa Barbara, June 2005. Professor in European Politics, Essex University, Colchester, UK.
- Gigi Gokcek, PhD from UC Santa Barbara, June 2003. Associate Professor of Political Science at Dominican University, San Rafael, CA.
- Bonnie Field, PhD from UC Santa Barbara, June 2002. Associate Professor of Global Studies at Bentley College, Waltham, MA.

Political methodology search committee, UC Davis Political Science Department, 2005-2006, 2006-2007.

Chair, comparative politics search committee, UC Davis Political Science Department, 2011-2012.

Graduate Affairs Committee, UC Davis Political Science Department, 2006-2009, 2012-2014.