RAYMOND J. LA RAJA

Department of Political Science
200 Hicks Way
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts 01003
Email: laraja@umass.edu

EDUCATION

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

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Academic Appointments

Professor, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 2016-present.
Associate Professor, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 2008-2016.
Assistant Professor, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 2002-2008.

Research and Administrative Positions

Nonresident Senior Fellow, Governance Studies at the Center for Effective Public Management, The Brookings Institution, 2024-present.
Associate Dean, Program Innovation, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. 2019-2023.
Director, Program Innovation, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. 2011-2018.
Co-Founder and Co-Director, UMass Poll. Public opinion surveys on Massachusetts and the United States. University of Massachusetts, Amherst. 2011-present.
Governance Board and Faculty, Data Analytics and Computational Social Science Program, University of Massachusetts, 2019-2023.
President, Political Organizations and Parties Section, American Political Science Association. 2015-2017.
Co-Founder and Editor, *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, a quarterly electronic journal for scholarly analysis and commentary on public issues. 2003-2013.
Academic Advisory Board, *Campaign Finance Institute* (Washington DC), a non-partisan think tank for evaluating and recommending policies in the field of campaign finance, 2003-2018.
Visiting Scholar, United States Studies Centre, University of Sydney, Feb-May 2024.
Visiting Scholar, Sciences Po-Paris, Observatory of Market Society Polarization (AxPo), Nov-Dec 2023.
Visiting Scholar, Université Paris Cité, Laboratoire de Recherche sure les Cultures Anglophones, Sept-Oct 2023.

Fellow, Institute for Advanced Studies, Collegium de Lyon at the University of Lyon. Lyon, France. January-June 2016.
Visiting Scholar, Trento School of International Studies, University of Trento. Trento, Italy. January-April 2009.
Visiting Scholar, Centre for the Study of Political Change (CIRCaP), University of Siena. Siena, Italy. April-May 2009.

BOOKS

Albert, Zachary and Raymond J. La Raja. 2026. *Small Donors in U.S. Politics: Myth and Reality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Herbert, Jon, Raymond La Raja, Gillian Peele, and Andrew Wroe. Editors. Forthcoming 2026. *Developments in American Politics, 10th Edition*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Boatright, Robert G., Lane Cuthbert, Adam Eichen, Raymond J. La Raja and Meredith Rolfe. 2025. *Money, Partisanship and Power in Local Politics*. Elements in American Politics Series. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Schaffner, Brian F., Jesse H. Rhodes, and Raymond J. La Raja. 2020. *Hometown Inequality: Race, Class, and Representation in American Local Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. *Choice Outstanding Academic Title, 2021, Choice Reviews*

La Raja, Raymond J., and Brian Schaffner. 2015. *Campaign Finance and Political Polarization: When Purists Prevail*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
Winner of the 2016 Virginia Gray Best Book Award for the best political science book published on the subject of U.S. state politics or policy in the preceding three calendar years.

La Raja, Raymond J. 2013. *New Directions in American Politics*. Editor. New York: Routledge.

La Raja, Raymond J. 2008. *Small Change: Money, Political Parties and Campaign Finance Reform.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

MONOGRAPH

La Raja, Raymond J. and Sergio Fabbrini. 2010. *The Democrats in the Era of Barack Obama (translated: I Democratici Americani nell' Epoca di Barack Obama).* (Roma: Italianieuropei), monograph, 75pp.

ARTICLES IN REFEREED JOURNALS

Brian F. Schaffner, Jesse H. Rhodes, and Raymond J. La Raja, "Are Local Policy Attitudes Distinct?," *Political Science Research and Methods*, Published online, October 2024, 1–18, https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2024.58.

Kirshbaum, Sara M., Sydney Brake, Lane Cuthbert, Adam Eichen, Raymond La Raja, Julia Mohanty, Tatishe Nteta, et al. 2024. "The 2024 U.S. Presidential Election: Public Opinion on the Economy and Immigration Helped Return Trump to the White House, but with No Clear Policy Mandate." *The Forum* 22(2–3): 343–68. doi:10.1515/for-2025-2012.

Albert, Zachary, Robert Boatright, Lane Cuthbert, Adam Eichen, Raymond La Raja, Meredith Rolfe and Wouter Van Erve. Forthcoming. "Election Reform and Campaign Finance:

Did Alaska's Top-Four Nonpartisan Primaries and Ranked Choice General Elections Affect Political Spending?" *Social Science Quarterly*. July 23, 2024, https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.13422.

Nteta, Tatishe M. , Jesse H. Rhodes, Gregory Wall, Katherine L. Dixon-Gordon, Raymond J. LaRaja, Brian Lickel, Andrea Mah, Matthew MacWilliams, Ezra M. Markowitz, Allecia Reid, and Alexander Theodoridis. 2023. **"**Rooted in Racism? Race, Partisanship, Status Threat, and Public Opinion Toward Statehood for Washington, D.C." *Political Research Quarterly*, *0*(0). https://doi.org/10.1177/10659129231151413

La Raja, Raymond J., and Brian F. Schaffner. 2022. "A Cash Lottery Increases Voter Turnout." *PLOS ONE* 17(6): e0268640. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0268640.

Schaffner, Brian F., Jesse H. Rhodes and Raymond J. La Raja. 2022. "The Conservative Bias in America's Local Governments." *Political Science Quarterly*. Volume 137(1): 125–154.

Albert, Zachary, and Raymond J. La Raja. 2021. "Who Should Decide the Party's Nominee? Understanding Public Attitudes toward Primary Elections." *Party Politics* 27(5):928-941.

Albert, Zachary, and Raymond La Raja. 2020. "Small Donors in US Elections." *Politique Américaine* 35: 15-46.

Wiltse J., David, Raymond La Raja and Dorie E. Apollonio. 2019. "Typologies of Party Finance Systems: A Comparative Study of How Countries Regulate Party Finance and Their Institutional Foundations." *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy.* 18(3): 243-261.

Rhodes, Jesse. H., Brian F. Schaffner and Raymond J La Raja. 2018. "Detecting and Understanding Donor Strategies in Midterm Elections." *Political Research Quarterly 71*(3): 503–516.

La Raja, Raymond J. and David L. Wiltse. 2015. "Money that Draws No Interest: Public Financing of Legislative Elections and Candidate Emergence." *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 14(4): 392-410.

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, 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. 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., 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.

La Raja, Raymond J. 2004. "Breaking Up the Party: How *McConnell* Downsizes Partisan Campaigns," *Election Law Journal* 3(2): 271-76.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDITED VOLUMES

Raymond La Raja. 2026. "The 2024 Elections" in Developments in American Politics, 10 Edition, edited by Gillian Peele, Jon Herbert, Raymond La Raja & Andrew Wroe (London: Palgrave MacMillian)

Albert, Zachary and Raymond J. La Raja. 2026. Who Votes in Primaries and What Are Their Attitudes Toward Compromise? in Reforming Primary Elections, edited by Robert G. Boatright and Richard Barton (Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter), pp. 45-72.

Raymond La Raja. 2025. "Campaign Finance" in Electoral Reform in the United States, edited by Larry Diamond, Edward B. Foley, and Richard H. Pildes (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner), pp. 251-296.

Albert, Zachary and Raymond J. La Raja. Forthcoming. "Insurgency in Republican Primaries" in *The Changing Character of the American Right*, edited by Joel D. Aberbach, Bruce E. Cain, Desmond King and Gillian Peele (London: Springer).

La Raja, Raymond J. 2018. "Interest Groups and Political Money: How Super PACs Push Partisan Polarization" in *Developments in American Politics*, 8th edition, eds. Gillian Peele, Christopher J. Bailey, Jon Herbert, Bruce E. Cain, B. Guy Peters (London: Palgrave).

Holbrook, Thomas M. and Raymond J. La Raja. 2018. "Parties and Elections" in *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis, 11th edition*, eds. Virginia Gray, Russell L. Hansen, and Thad Kousser (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage), pp. 57-98.

Herrnson, Paul S. and Raymond J. La Raja. 2017. "The Races for Congress in 2016: A Tale of Two Elections" in *Winning the Presidency 2016*, ed. William Crotty (New York: Routledge).

Albert, Zachary and Raymond J. La Raja. 2017. "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, DC: 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*, 6th edition, eds. John C. Green and Daniel J. Coffey (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 and Sergio Fabbrini. 2009. The Politics of a Semi-Sovereign Prince (translated Italian version "Il Principe Semisoverano") in *Aspenia*: *An Aspen Institute Italia Review*, n.47-48, pp. 68-81 (Rome: Aspenia).

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, DC: 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*, eds. 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*, ed. 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.

AWARDS AND HONORS

External

Co-Winner (with Jesse Rhodes and Brian Schaffner) of the 2017 Best Paper Award, from the Class and Inequality Section of the American Political Science Association. "Understanding Inequality and Representation in Local Politics."

Co-Winner (with Brian Schaffner) of the 2016 Virginia Gray Best Book Award for the best political science book published on the subject of U.S. state politics or policy in the preceding three calendar years. *Campaign Finance and Political Polarization: When Purists Prevail* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press: 2015).

Co-Winner (with Bruce Desmarais and Michael Kowal) 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. "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.

Fellow, Institute for Advanced Studies, Collegium de Lyon at the University of Lyon. Lyon, France. January-June 2016.

Finalist (with Dorie Apollonio) of the Pi Sigma Alpha Award for Best Paper at the 2002 Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting. "Who Gave Soft Money? The Effect of Interest Group Resources on Political Contributions."

Internal

Institute for Social Science Research (ISSR) Scholar, University of Massachusetts, 2014-2015.

Nominated for Distinguished Teaching Award, University of Massachusetts, 2003-2004, 2004-2005, 2005-2006, 2015-1016, 2016-2017, 2017-2018.

College Outstanding Teaching Award, Social and Behavioral Sciences, 2005-2006.

Distinguished Teacher of the Year, Delta Lambda Chapter of Pi Sigma Alpha, University of Massachusetts, 2003-2004.

EXTRAMURAL FUNDING

2023 Investing the Impact of Ranked Choice Voting on Campaign Finance in Alaska. Unite America grant, $28,000.

2016 Money in US Congressional Primaries. Hewlett Foundation and Democracy Fund. $60,000.

2013 The Effect of Party-Centered Campaign Finance Laws on American Politics. Co-Principal Investigator (with Brian Schaffner); Hewlett Foundation. January 1, 2014-December 31, 2014. $88,000.

2009 Candidate Emergence After Implementation of Clean Elections in Connecticut Principal Investigator. National Science Foundation. March 16, 2009 – March 16, 2010. $60,000.

2006 Candidate Emergence Before Implementation of Clean Elections in Connecticut Principal Investigator. JEHT Foundation. October 1, 2006-September 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. October 1, 2006-September 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 Sciences, 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.

WORKS IN PROGRESS (SELECTED)

Albert, Zachary and Raymond La Raja. *Feeble Gatekeepers*: *Factional Insurgency and the Toppling of the Grand Old Party.* Book manuscript.

La Raja, Raymond, Jessica Trounstine, François de Chantal, *Revisiting Tocqueville: Local Civic and Political Life in Contemporary America*. Edited volume.

Rhodes, Jesse and Raymond La Raja. "Social Class and Leadership on Major Progressive Laws in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1945-2004." Paper submitted to refereed journal.

La Raja, Raymond, Nathaniel Reynolds and Meredith Rolfe. "Public Funding of Elections: Why Vouchers Fail to Equalize the Financing of Campaigns." Working paper in preparation for refereed journal.

POLICY PAPERS AND ESSAYS

De Chantal, François Vergniolle, and Raymond La Raja. "Comment expliquer le match retour entre Biden et Trump ?" AOC media (France) - Analyse Opinion Critique, April 22, 2024. https://aoc.media/analyse/2024/04/22/comment-expliquer-le-match-retour-entre-biden-et-trump/.

La Raja, Raymond. "Beyond Biden vs Trump: The Other US Elections That Matter" Lowy Institute (Australia), April 8, 2024. https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/beyond-biden-vs-trump-other-us-elections-matter.

La Raja, Raymond. 2020. "Money is the Gatekeeper of Politics." *La Vie des Idées/Books & Ideas* (Collège de France) and *Public Books* (NYU & Columbia University). A special issue on the topic of money and politics in contemporary democracies, edited by Ivan Ascher. https://www.publicbooks.org/author/raymond-la-raja/

Rauch, Jonathan and Raymond La Raja. 2019. "Too Much Democracy is Bad for Democracy." *The Atlantic* (December issue).

La Raja, Raymond J. and Jonathan Rauch. 2019. *Voters Need Help: How Party Insiders and Career Politicians Can Make Presidential Primaries Safer, Fairer and More Democratic.* Report issued by Governance Studies Program (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution).

La Raja, Raymond J. 2018. "Trump, governing in chaos?" ("Trump, la gourvernance du chaos?"). Published interview by Vincent Michelot in *Politique Américaine* 31: 25-44.

La Raja, Raymond. 2018. "Democratic Party's Pluralism is Both a Strength and a Weakness." *The Conversation*, April 20. https://theconversation.com/democratic-partys-pluralism-is-both-a-strength-and-weakness-92649.

Rauch, Jonathan and Raymond J. La Raja. 2017. *Re-engineering Politicians: How Activist Groups Choose Our Candidates-Long Before We Vote*. Report issued by Governance Studies Program (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution). https://www.brookings.edu/research/re-engineering-politicians-how-activist-groups-choose-our-politicians-long-before-we-vote/.

La Raja, Raymond J. 2017. "Gerrymandering and Fair Congressional Districts: In Defense of Bargaining and Muddling Through," in *Cato Unbound*, November Issue (Washington DC, Cato Institute), https://www.cato-unbound.org/contributors/raymond-j-la-raja.

La Raja, Raymond J. and Jonathan Rauch. 2016. *The State of State Parties -- and how strengthening them can improve our politics*. Report issued by the Center for Effective Public Management (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution). https://www.brookings.edu/research/the-state-of-state-parties-and-how-strengthening-them-can-improve-our-politics/.

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. "How Political Institutions Constrain the Power of Corporate Money in Politics," in *Cato Unbound*, April Issue (Washington DC: Cato Institute).

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.

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 (Washington, DC: Cato Institute) http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa-426es.html.

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).

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.

SELECTED COMMENTARY

La Raja, Raymond and François Vergniolle de Chantal, "'The Continued Denunciation of the "Rigged Election" in 2020 Has Proved to Be a Masterstroke, a Mobilizing Myth of Trumpism,'" *Le Monde*, November 4, 2024, https://www.lemonde.fr/en/opinion/article/2024/11/04/the-continued-denunciation-of-the-rigged-election-in-2020-has-proved-to-be-a-masterstroke-a-mobilizing-myth-of-trumpism_6731457_23.html.

La Raja, Raymond, and Brian Schaffner, "Elon Musk's $1 Million Hunch Is Right," *Washington Post*, October 24, 2024, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2024/10/24/elon-musk-million-dollar-lottery-voting/.

La Raja, Raymond J. 2024. "The Perils of Choosing a Nominee at the Democratic Convention." *The Boston Globe*, July 2. https://www.bostonglobe.com/2024/07/02/opinion/biden-democrats-convention-new-candidate/

La Raja, Raymond J. and Alexander Theodoridis. 2021. "How ranked-choice voting saved the Virginia GOP from Itself." The Washington Post, (Outlook), Nov. 5. https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/how-ranked-choice-voting-saved-the-virginia-gop-from-itself/2021/11/05/6d1aa738-3dc2-11ec-8ee9-4f14a26749d1_story.html

La Raja, Raymond J. 2021. "The New York Mayoral Primary Is a Reminder that Black and Latino Voters are Pragmatic." The Washington Post, (Outlook), July 10. https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/07/10/new-york-mayor-primary-adams-pragmatic/

Jesse H. Rhodes, Brian F. Schaffner, and Raymond J. La Raja. 2020. "Research Shows Just How Much More Power White Voters Wield in Local Politics." *The Washington Post,* (Monkey Cage), September 3, 2020. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/09/03/research-shows-just-how-much-more-power-white-voters-wield-local-politics/

La Raja, Raymond J. 2020. "Democrats Hate the GOP So Much They're Hurting Themselves in Congressional Races." *The Washington Post*, (Outlook), March 9. https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/03/09/small-donors-democrats-flip-senate/

Schaffner, Brian F., Jesse H .Rhodes and Raymond J. La Raja. 2020. "Why Trump Never Stops Talking About 'Our Suburbs.'" *The New York Times*, August 23. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/23/opinion/trump-racism-suburbs.html

Rauch, Jonathan and Raymond J. La Raja. 2018. "Politics Shouldn't Be Like Open Mic Night." *The New York Times*, January 25. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/25/opinion/politics-amateur-politicians.html

La Raja, Ray and Brian F. Schaffner. 2015. "Unlimited Party Fundraising and Spending Gives You Less Polarized Legislatures? Discuss." *The Washington Post*, (Monkey Cage), July 8. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/07/08/unlimited-party-fundraising-and-spending-gives-you-less-polarized-legislatures-discuss/

Schaffner, Brian F., Wouter Van Erve, and Ray La Raja. 2014. "How Ferguson Exposes the Racial Bias in Local Elections." *The Washington Post*, (Monkey Cage), August 15. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/08/15/how-ferguson-exposes-the-racial-bias-in-local-elections/

La Raja, Ray and Brian Schaffner. 2014. Want to Reduce Polarization? Give Parties More Money, *The Washington Post*, (Monkey Cage), July 21. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/07/21/want-to-reduce-polarization-give-parties-more-money/

Kelner, Robert, and Raymond La Raja. 2014. "McCain-Feingold's Devastating Legacy." *The Washington Post*, April 11. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/mccain-feingolds-devastating-legacy/2014/04/11/14a528e2-c18f-11e3-bcec-b71ee10e9bc3_story.html

La Raja, Ray. 2014. "The McCutcheon Decision Could Be Good News After All." *The Washington Post*, (Monkey Cage), April 3. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/04/03/the-mccutcheon-decision-could-be-good-news-after-all/

La Raja, Ray. 2013. "The Supreme Court Might Strike Down Overall Contribution Limits. And That's Okay." *The Washington Post*, (Monkey Cage), October 9. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2013/10/09/the-supreme-court-might-strike-down-overall-contribution-limits-and-thats-okay/

KEYNOTES, PLENARIES, INVITED LECTURES, AND SPECIAL EVENTS

International

- 2024. Small Donors in American Elections. United States Studies Centre, University of Sydney, May 1.
- 2023. Small Donors in American Elections. AXPO Observatory of Market Society Polarization, and CEVIPOF (Centre for Political Research at Sciences Po) at Sciences Politiques-Paris, Nov 21.
- 2023. Small Donors in American Elections. Le Laboratoire de recherche sur les cultures anglophones (LARCA), Université Paris-Cité, Oct 24.
- 2020. Keynote Speaker. "Le rêve américain à l'épreuve de la présidence Trump." University of Chicago Center in Paris. October 16.
- 2020. Keynote Speaker. "Roundtable on Interest Groups and Civil Society in Policy." JK Lakshmipat University. New Delhi, India, Feb 12.
- 2019. Plenary Speaker. "Money, Politics, and Political Parties in Comparative Perspective." Congrès, Institut Des Amériques. Paris, France, October 9-11.
- 2019. Invited Speaker. "Money and Politics in the United States. " Centre d'études et de recherches internationales de l'Université de Montréal, Montreal, Canada, June 14.
- 2018. Keynote Speaker. "Political Parties and the Polarization of Interest Groups." International Colloqium: The United States: A Power in Transition? Institut de Recherche Stratégique de l'École Militaire (IRSEM). Paris, France, October 17-18.
- 2018. Invited Speaker. "The US Midterm Elections." Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Lyon (Science Po-Lyon). Lyon, France, October 16.
- 2016. Keynote Speaker. "Is the French system of campaign financing doomed? A comparative exploration from the other side of the Atlantic." Convening of seven schools of Science Politiques. Lyon, France, June 6.
- 2016. Invited Lecturer. "Primaries in the United States" (Les Primaires Aux Etat-Unis). Institut d'Etudes Politiques. Lyon, France, February 4.
- 2009. Invited Lecturer. "The Presidency of Barack Obama." Scuola di Studi Internazionali, Università degli Studi di Trento. Trento, Italy, March 15.
- 2009. Invited Lecturer. "Political Parties in Comparative Perspective." Università degli Studi di Siena, Center for the Study of Political Change (CIRCaP). Siena, Italy, April-May.

- 2006. Conference Panelist. "All Eyes on the Hill: The 2006 U.S. Elections and the Road Ahead for American Politics and Canada-U.S. Relations." Center for United States Studies**,** L'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM). Montreal, Canada, October 5.

National

- 2019. Invited Speaker. "Donors as First Movers." 2nd Annual Conference on Effective Lawmaking: "The Pipeline of Potentially Effective Lawmakers: Who Runs and Who Gets Elected?" Hosted by the Center for Effective Lawmaking at the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy, University of Virginia, and Vanderbilt University. Charlottesville, Virginia, June 10.
- 2019. Invited Speaker. "Sources of Polarization in the United States." Political Studies Program, Hertog Foundation. Washington DC, August 1.
- 2018. Invited Speaker. "Changing Party Organization in the United States." Conference on Parties, Representation, and Governance in the 21st Century. Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, Stanford University. Palo Alto, California, Nov 2-3.
- 2018. Invited Panelist. "Reforming the Campaign Finance System." Conference on Inequality, Democracy, and America's Future. Ash Institute, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. Cambridge, Massachusetts, August 29.
- 2017. Invited Speaker. "Why Campaign Finance Laws Should Be Party-Centered." The City College of New York, Madison Initiative. New York, New York, October 26.
- 2017. Keynote Speaker. Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, April 9.
- 2017. Invited Speaker. "Ethics of Money and Politics." Center for Ethics in Public Life, University of Missouri-St. Louis. St. Louis, Missouri, March 24.
- 2017. Invited Panelist. "Which functions should political parties perform today?" co-sponsored by the Bipartisan Policy Center, Brookings Institution, and Hudson Institute. Washington DC, February 16.
- 2014. Invited Speaker. "Conference on Lobbying and Campaign Finance." The Program on American Democracy in Comparative Perspective. Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA, November 14.
- 2014. Invited Speaker. "Show Me the Money: How Transparency in Political Donations Could Change American Elections?" Institution for Social and Policy Studies (ISPS), Yale University. New Haven, Connecticut, November 10.
- 2014. Invited Speaker. "The Future of Campaign Finance Reform." Center on Law, Race, and Politics, Duke University. Durham, North Carolina, February 7.
- 2014. Keynote Speaker. "Can Campaign Finance Be Reformed?" The Center for the Constitution at Montpelier. Montpelier Station, Virginia, May 5.
- 2013. Invited Speaker. "Campaign Finance and Party Polarization." LeRoy Keller Center for the Study of the First Amendment." University of Colorado-Boulder, March 15.
- 2103. Symposium Panelist. "Beyond the Vote: Scholars Explore the 2012 Election." Colby College. Waterville, Maine, March 6.
- 2013. Symposium Panelist. "Campaign Finance after Citizens United: What Happened? What Now? Cato Institute. Washington, D.C., January 23, 2013,
- 2012. Invited Panelist. "Political Parties and Campaign Finance Laws: How the Rules

Influence Partisan Polarization." Conference on American Political Parties: Past, Present, and Future. Miller Center, University of Virginia. Charlottesville, Virginia, October 8-9.

- 2007. Invited Speaker. "Practicing Democracy: How Political Arrangements Promote Equal Citizenship...or Not." Ash Institute, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. Cambridge, Massachusetts, April 27.
- 2006. Invited Panelist. "Campaigns, Elections, and the Voting Experience." Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy. Brigham Young University. Sundance, Utah. June 22-23.
- 2006. Invited Speaker. "Influencing Congress: Scandals, Rules, Ethics, Politics." University of California in Washington. Washington, DC, April 28.
- 2006. Invited Panelist. "Does Public Election Funding Change Public Policy? Evaluating the State of Knowledge." University of Wisconsin. Madison, Wisconsin, January 28-29.
- 2005. Invited Panelist. "The State of the Parties: 2004 and Beyond." Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, University of Akron. Akron, Ohio, October 5-7.
- 2004. Invited Panelist. "Life with Term Limits." Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, University of Akron. Akron, Ohio, April 29-30.
- 2003. Invited Panelist. "Campaign Finance Law: *McConnell v. Federal Election Commission*, Understanding the Decision and Its Implications." University of Pennsylvania School of Law. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 15.
- 2003. Invited Panelist. "Reconsidering Campaign Finance Reform." Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia. Charlottesville, Virginia, September 30.
- 2001. Invited Speaker. "How Party Soft money was Spent in 2000." Campaign Finance Institute, National Press Club. Washington DC, January 11.

BOOK REVIEWS

La Raja, Raymond J. 2020. A Review of *Financing the 2016 Election*, Edited by David B. Magleby (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2019) in *Congress & the Presidency*.

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) in *Election Law Journal* 4(3): 223-229.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Expert witness, *National Republican Senatorial Committee v. Federal Election Commission* (2025), Supreme Court case challenging the constitutionality of laws regulating political parties under the Federal Elections Campaign Act

Steering Committee Member of Election Task Force on mitigating political extremism in the United States, and chair of its working group on campaign finance (assemblage of 50 scholars and experts on US elections), summer 2021-present, with report scheduled for Fall 2023.

Member of the National Task Force on Campaign Finance 2017-2018, organized by the Bipartisan Policy Center and led by Nathaniel Persily, Benjamin Ginsberg and Robert F. Bauer. Contributor to the report "Campaign Finance in the United States: Assessing an Era of Fundamental Change" (January 2018).

President, Political Organizations and Parties Section of the American Political Science Association, 2014-2016.

Member of Scholars Strategy Network, organization of scholars to help explain policy implications of research for broad audience, 2016-present.

Founding Co-Editor (with Nelson Polsby), *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, a quarterly electronic journal for scholarly analysis and commentary on public issues. https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/for. 2003-2013.

Expert witness, *McConnell v. Federal Election Commission* (2003), Supreme Court case challenging the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002.

Reviewer for *Journal of Politics*, *Election Law Journal*, *Polity, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Political Behavior, American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, British Journal of Political Science, Party Politics, Congress & the Presidency, Electoral Studies.*

CURRENT AND RECENT ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE

Member, Advisory Board, Community, Democracy and Dialogue, UMass 2024
Member, Academic Advisory Board, University Without Walls, UMass, 2018-2022
Member, Campus Advisory Committee, School of Public Policy, 2017-present.
Member, Chancellor's Task Force on Campus Climate, University of Massachusetts, 2017-2018.
Member, Dean's Leadership Committee, College of Social & Behavioral Sciences, 2016-present.
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, 2014-15.
Director, Program Innovation, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, UMass, 2011-2018.
Undergraduate Program Director, Political Science Department, UMass, 2008-2009.
Dean's Research Council, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, UMass, 2004-2008.
Chair, Political Science Search Committee, Faculty Hiring Initiative, 2008-2009.
Best Practices Fellow to review and recommend use of technology in the classroom, 2007-2008.

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.