

CURRICULUM VITAE

Richard J. Ellis
Department of Politics
Willamette University
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Education

Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley
degree completed December 1989

M.A. University of California, Berkeley
Political Science, 1984

B.A. University of California, Santa Cruz
Politics, 1982

Theses

Ph.D. *Cabinet Members as Presidential Lightning Rods*

M.A. *George Washington and the Anti-Political Presidency*

Grants, Fellowships, Honors, and Awards

2008 Carnegie Foundation for Advancement of Teaching Oregon Professor of the Year

2008 History Book Club Selection for *Presidential Travel*

2007 Oregon Scientist of the Year, awarded by Oregon Academy of Science

2005 Langum Prize in Legal History for *To the Flag*

2003 Lawrence D. Cress Award for Excellence in Faculty Scholarship

2003 NEH Summer Stipend

2003 Oregon Council for the Humanities Research Grant

2003 Earhart Foundation Fellowship Research Grant

1998 Arnold L. Graves and Lois S. Graves Award in the Humanities for "outstanding accomplishment in teaching in the humanities by a younger faculty member"

1998 American Political Science Association Research Grant

1998 Earhart Foundation Fellowship Research Grant

1995 Donner Foundation (Canadian) Grant

1994 Oregon Council for the Humanities Research Grant

1993 George and Eliza Gardner Howard Fellowship

1993 Carthage Foundation Research Grant

1993 Earhart Foundation Fellowship Research Grant

1991 NEH Summer Stipend

1986-88 Lynde and Harry Bradley Fellowship

1986-88 I.G.S. Harris Fellowship

1983-85 U.C. Regents Fellowship

1982 Highest Honors in Department of Politics, UCSC

Teaching Experience

Mark O. Hatfield Professor of Politics, Willamette University (1999-)

Professor, Willamette University (1999)

Associate Professor, Willamette University (1995-99)

Assistant Professor, Willamette University (1990-95)

Publications

Books:

Judging Executive Power: Sixteen Supreme Court Cases That Have Shaped the American Presidency. Rowman and Littlefield, 2009.

Presidential Travel: The Journey from George Washington to George W. Bush. University Press of Kansas, 2008

Debating the Presidency: Conflicting Perspectives on the American Executive (editor, with Michael Nelson). Congressional Quarterly, 2006

To the Flag: The Unlikely History of the Pledge of Allegiance. University Press of Kansas, 2005

Democratic Delusions: The Initiative Process in America. University Press of Kansas, 2002. Translated into Korean in 2007.

Founding the American Presidency (editor). Rowman and Littlefield, 1999.

Speaking to the People: The Rhetorical Presidency in Historical Perspective (editor). University of Massachusetts Press, 1998.

The Dark Side of the Left: Illiberal Egalitarianism in America. University Press of Kansas, 1998.

Culture Matters: Essays in Honor of Aaron Wildavsky (editor, with Michael Thompson). Westview Press, 1997.

Presidential Lightning Rods: The Politics of Blame Avoidance. University Press of Kansas, 1994.

Politics, Policy, and Culture (editor, with Dennis J. Coyle). Westview Press, 1994.

American Political Cultures. Oxford University Press, 1993.

Cultural Theory (with Michael Thompson and Aaron Wildavsky). Westview Press, 1990.

Dilemmas of Presidential Leadership: From Washington Through Lincoln (with Aaron Wildavsky). Transaction Publishers, 1989.

Work in Progress

The Freedom to Discriminate: The Case of the Gay Boy Scout. Under contract with University Press of Kansas

Debating Reform: Conflicting Perspectives on American Government and Politics. Under contract with CQ Press

Articles, Book Chapters, and Encyclopedia Entries:

“The Liberal Tradition in an Age of Conservative Power and Party Polarization,” in *Revisiting The Liberal Tradition in America: What is Living and What is Dead in the Thought of Louis Hartz*, ed. Mark Hulliung (forthcoming 2009, University Press of Kansas)

“Policy Speech in the Nineteenth Century Rhetorical Presidency: The Case of Zachary

Taylor's 1849 Tour" (with Alexis Walker) *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (June 2007), 248-69

"Clumsy Solutions for a Complex World: The Case of Climate Change" (with Marco Verweij et al.) *Journal of Public Administration* 84(2006), 817-43.

Con position on the resolution "Resolved, the president is a more authentic representative of the American people than is Congress," in *Debating the Presidency: Conflicting Perspectives on the American Executive*, ed. Richard J. Ellis and Michael Nelson (Congressional Quarterly, 2006), 86-91

"Why and How Culture Matters" (with Michael Thompson and Marco Verweij) in *Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis*, ed. Robert E. Goodin and Charles Tilly (Oxford University Press, 2006), 319-40.

"Introduction" to Part 4 of Aaron Wildavsky, *Cultural Analysis: Politics, Public Law, and Administration*, ed. Brendon Swedlow (Transaction, 2006), 301-308.

"The Rise of the Rhetorical Presidency," *Insights on Law and Society* (Fall 2005), 7-9, 29.

"Direct Democracy" in *Oregon Politics and Government: Progressive versus Conservative Populism*, ed. Richard Clucas, Mark Henkels, and Brent Steel (University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 63-81.

"The Constitutional Convention," in Michael Genovese, ed., *Encyclopedia of the American Presidency* (Facts on File, 2004), 113-15.

"Under God': Francis Bellamy, the Origins of the Pledge of Allegiance, and the Conceit of American Exceptionalism," *Oregon Humanities* (Summer 2003), 22-26

"The Joy of Power: Changing Conceptions of the Presidential Office," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34(June 2003), 269-90.

"Signature Gathering in the Initiative Process: How Democratic Is It?" *University of Montana Law Review* (Spring 2003), 35-97

"Pluralism," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, ed. Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes (Pergamon, 2001), 17:11516-20.

"Pluralism," in *Election Law: Cases and Materials*, ed. Daniel H. Lowenstein and Rick Hasen (Carolina Academic Press, 2001, 2nd ed), 12-18. Also included in 3rd edition published in 2004 and 4th edition published in 2008.

"Liberalism" (with Robert E. Hawkinson), in *Encyclopedia of American Cultural and*

Intellectual History, ed. Mary Kupiec Cayton and Peter W. Williams (Scribner's, 2001), 2:753-61.

"The States: Direct Democracy" in *The Elections of 2000*, ed. Michael Nelson (Congressional Quarterly Press, 2001), 133-60.

"The Culture Wars by Other Means: Environmental Attitudes and Cultural Biases in the Pacific Northwest" (with Fred Thompson). Vancouver, Canada: SFU-UBC Centre for the Study of Government and Business, 2000.

"The Rise of the Rhetorical Candidate" (with Mark Dedrick) in *The Presidency Then and Now*, ed. Philip G. Henderson (Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), 185-200

"Abraham Lincoln," in *The American Presidents*, ed. Melvin Urofsky, (Garland, 2000), 165-84.

"Polarization and Presidentialism," *Society* 36(March/April 1999), 8-11.

"Accepting the Nomination: From Martin Van Buren to Franklin Delano Roosevelt," in *Speaking to the People: The Rhetorical Presidency in Historical Perspective*, ed. Richard J. Ellis (University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

"Jefferson, Jackson, and the Origins of the Presidential Mandate" (with Stephen Kirk), in *Speaking to the People: The Rhetorical Presidency in Historical Perspective*, ed. Richard J. Ellis (University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 35-65.

"Culture and the Environment in the Pacific Northwest" (with Fred Thompson), *American Political Science Review* 91(December 1997), 885-97.

"The Presidential Candidate, Then and Now" (with Mark Dedrick), *Perspectives in Political Science* 26(Fall 1997), 208-16.

"Seeing Green: Cultural Biases and Environmental Preferences" (with Fred Thompson), in *Culture Matters: Essays in Honor of Aaron Wildavsky*, ed. Richard J. Ellis and Michael Thompson, (Westview Press, 1997), 169-88.

"Kfivor kulturteori?" ("Why Cultural Theory?") in *Kultur som levemate (Culture as a Way of Life)*, ed., Gunnar Grendstad and Per Selle (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 1996), 47-54.

"Romancing the Oppressed: The New Left and the Left Out," *Review of Politics* 58(Winter 1996), 109-54.

"Presidential Mandates in the Nineteenth Century: Conceptual Change and Institutional Development" (with Stephen Kirk), in *Studies in American Political Development*

9(Spring 1995), 117-186.

"The Social Construction of Slavery," in *Politics, Policy, and Culture*, ed. Dennis Coyle and Richard J. Ellis (Westview Press, 1994), 117-136.

"Presidential Greatness and Cultural Dilemmas" (with Aaron Wildavsky), in *Encyclopedia of the American Presidency*, ed. Leonard W. Levy and Louis Fischer (Simon and Schuster, 1994), 3:1209-13.

"The Case for Cultural Theory: Reply to Friedman," *Critical Review* 7(Winter 1993), 541-588.

"Radical Lockeanism in American Political Culture," *Western Political Quarterly* 45(December 1992), 825-850.

"Pluralist Political Science and 'The State': Distinguishing Between Autonomy and Coherence," *Polity* 24(Summer 1992), 569-590.

"Rival Visions of Equality in American Political Culture," *Review of Politics* 54(Spring 1992), 253-280.

"Political Cultures" (with Michael Thompson and Aaron Wildavsky), in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Government and Politics*, ed. Mary Hawkesworth and Maurice Kogan (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1992), 507-519.

"Legitimizing Slavery in the Old South: The Effect of Political Institutions on Ideology," *Studies in American Political Development* 5(Fall 1991), 340-351.

"Explaining the Occurrence of Charismatic Leadership in Organizations," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 3(July 1991), 305-319.

"Franklin Pierce" and "John Tyler," in *Political Parties and Elections in the United States: An Encyclopedia*, ed. L. Sandy Maisel (Garland Publishing, 1991), 2:810-11, 1140-41.

"'Greatness' Revisited: Evaluating the Performance of Early American Presidents in Terms of Cultural Dilemmas" (with Aaron Wildavsky), *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (1991), 15-34.

"Making Ends Meet: The Social Malleability of Needs and Resources" (with Michael Thompson and Aaron Wildavsky), *Journal of Behavioral Economics* 19(Summer 1990), 209-219.

"A Cultural Analysis of the Role of Abolitionists in the Coming of the Civil War" (with Aaron Wildavsky), *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32(January 1990), 89-

Articles and chapters reprinted:

"Direct Democracy," originally published in *Oregon Politics and Government: Progressive versus Conservative Populism*, ed. Richard Clucas, Mark Henkels, and Brent Steel (University of Nebraska Press, 2004). Excerpted in *Oregon's Future* 5(Spring 2004), 6-7.

Chapter two from *Democratic Delusions: The Initiative Process in America*, orig. pub. in 2002. Excerpted and reprinted in *Election Law: Cases and Materials*, ed. Daniel H. Lowenstein and Rick Hasen (Carolina Academic Press, 2004, 3rd ed). Also reprinted in 4th edition, published in 2008.

"Liberalism" originally published in *Encyclopedia of American Cultural and Intellectual History*, ed. Mary Kupiec Cayton and Peter W. Williams (Scribner's, 2001). Reprinted in Tomasz Pludowski, ed. *American Politics, Media, and Elections: Contemporary International Perspectives on US Presidency, Foreign Policy, and Political Communication* (Warsaw and Torun: Collegium Civitas Press and Adam Marszalek, 2006).

"Polarization and Presidentialism," originally published in *Society* 36(March/April 1999). Reprinted in David T. Canon, Anne Khademian, and Kenneth R. Mayer, *The Enduring Debate: Classic and Contemporary Readings in American Politics* 2nd edition (Norton, 2000), 310-15.

"Culture and the Environment in the Pacific Northwest" (with Fred Thompson), originally published in *American Political Science Review* 91(December 1997). Reprinted in *The Environment and Society Reader*, ed. R. Scott Frey (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2001), 180-201; and in *The Institutional Dynamics of Culture*, volume 1, ed. Perri 6 and Gerald Mars (Ashgate, 2008).

Selections from *Presidential Lightning Rods: The Politics of Blame Avoidance*, originally published in 1994. Reprinted in Peter Woll, ed., *American Government: Reading and Cases* 13th edition (Addison Wesley Longman, 1999), 310-16.

"Radical Lockeanism in American Political Culture," originally published in *Western Political Quarterly* 45(December 1992). Reprinted in Bruce Kuklick, ed., *Thomas Paine* (Ashgate, 2006).

"A Cultural Analysis of the Role of Abolitionists in the Coming of the Civil War" (with Aaron Wildavsky), *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32(January 1990), 89-116. Reprinted in *The Institutional Dynamics of Culture*, volume 2, ed. Perri 6 and Gerald Mars (Ashgate, 2008).

Book Reviews:

San Francisco Chronicle, January 18, 2009, "Citizen-in-Chief," review of Leonard Benardo and Jennifer Weiss, *Citizen-in-Chief: The Second Lives of the American Presidents*, William Morrow, 2009

Journal of American History (September 2008), 492-93: review of Morton Keller, *America's Three Regimes: A New Political History*, Oxford University Press, 2007.

Perspectives on Politics (June 2008), 388-90: review of Ian Macmullen, *Faith in Schools? Autonomy, Citizenship, and Religious Education in the Liberal State*, Princeton University Press, 2007; and Joseph P. Viteritti, *The Last Freedom: Religion from the Public School to the Public Square*, Princeton University Press, 2007.

American Historical Review (February 2007), 209-210: review of Noah Pickus, *True Faith and Allegiance: Immigration and American Civic Nationalism*. Princeton University Press, 2005

Washington Post Book World, June 12-18, 2005, p. 2: review of Marc Leepson, *Flag: An American Biography*, Thomas Dunne/St.Martin's, 2005; and Neil Baldwin, *The American Revelation: Ten Ideals That Shaped Our Country From the Puritans to the Cold War*, St. Martin's, 2005.

Presidential Studies Quarterly (September 2004), 700-702: review of Raymond Tatalovich and Thomas S. Engeman, *The Presidency and Political Science: Two Hundred Years of Constitutional Debate*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003

Pacific Historical Review (May 2003), 280-82: review of Thomas Goebel, *A Government by the People: Direct Democracy in America, 1890-1940*, University of North Carolina Press, 2002

Journal of Policy Analysis and Management 21(Spring 2002), 306-308: review of Amitai Etzioni, *The Limits of Privacy*, Basic Books, 1999

Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice 3(November 2001), 342-46: review of Michael Thompson, Gunnar Grendstad, and Per Selle, *Cultural Theory as Political Science*, Routledge, 1999

Journal of Politics 61(November 1999), 1182-83: review of John Gerring, *Political Ideologies in America, 1828-1996*, Cambridge University Press, 1998

Society 36(July/August 1999), 87-90: review of Alan Brinkley, *Liberalism and Its Discontents*, Harvard University Press, 1998

Political Theory 27(June 1999), 446-53: review of Leslie Vaughan, *Randolph Bourne*

and the Politics of Cultural Radicalism, University Press of Kansas, 1997

TLS (Times Literary Supplement), March 19, 1999, 5-6: "The Forgotten Friedan," review of Daniel Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique: The American Left, the Cold War, and Modern Feminism*, University of Massachusetts Press, 1998.

Journal of Politics 61(February 1999), 244-46: review of Judith N. Shklar, *Redeeming American Political Thought and Political Thought and Political Thinkers*, University of Chicago Press, 1998

National Review, June 22, 1998, 60-61: review of Richard Rorty, *Achieving Our Country: Leftist Thought in Twentieth Century America*, Harvard University Press, 1998

American Political Science Review 91(September 1997), 736-37: review of Philip Abbott, *Strong Presidents: A Theory of Leadership*, University of Tennessee Press, 1996

Journal of American History 82(June 1995), 360-61: review of David Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams: America in the 1960s*, Hill & Wang, 1994.

Journal of the Early Republic 15(Spring 1995), 128-130: review of Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to George Bush*, Harvard University Press, 1994.

William and Mary Quarterly 51(October 1994), 826-29: review of David Ericson, *The Shaping of American Liberalism*, University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Professional Activities (Selected conference participation and invited lectures):

Invited lecture, "Getting Beyond the White House: What the History of Presidential Travel Reveals about the Rise of the Regal Presidency," Chicago History Museum, Chicago, IL, March 18, 2008.

Paper delivered, 2006 Annual Meeting of the Pacific Northwest Political Science Association, Bend, OR, October 19-21. Title: "Policy Speech in the Nineteenth Century Rhetorical Presidency: The Case of Zachary Taylor's 1849 Tour"

Paper delivered, 2005 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Oakland, CA, March 19-21. Title: "Your Truly American Tour: James Monroe and the Emergence of a Popular (and Rhetorical) Presidency"

Invited lecture on the history of the initiative process in Oregon, at the national meeting of State Elections Directors, Portland, Oregon, August 7, 2004.

Invited participant in workshop on "Clumsy Solutions in a Complex World," Said

Business School, Oxford, April 4-6, 2003

Invited lecture on "The Dark Side of Patriotism: A History of the Pledge of Allegiance," Sacramento State University, March 26, 2003

Invited lecture on "Signature Gathering in the Initiative Process: How Democratic Is It?" for Conference on The 1972 Montana Constitution: Thirty Years Later. University of Montana at Missoula, September 12-14, 2002

Prepared remarks delivered at the Conference on The Reagan Presidency. Santa Barbara, California, March 27-30, 2002. Panel: Ideas and Rhetoric.

Prepared remarks, "10 Lessons about the Initiative Process That We Should Learn from the 2000 Elections," at the 2001 Annual Conference of the Society of Environmental Journalists, Portland, Oregon, October 17-21, 2001. Panel: The Initiative Process.

Prepared remarks, "Direct Democracy in the 2000 Elections" at the 2000 Pacific Northwest Political Science Association, Portland, Oregon, November 9-11. Roundtable Panel: November's Continuing Election Issues

Prepared remarks, "The Initiative Process in Oregon" at the 2000 Pacific Northwest Political Science Association, Portland, Oregon, November 9-11. Roundtable Panel: Oregon Politics in the New Millennium

Paper delivered, 1999 Pacific Northwest Political Science Association, Eugene, Oregon, October 14-16. Title: "The Myth of the Golden Age of the Initiative."

Discussant, 1999 American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, September 2-5. Panel: The Roots of the Presidency: The 19th Century Presidency and Contemporary Ramifications

Chair, 1998 Western Political Science Association, Los Angeles, CA, March 19-21. Panel: Teaching Political Culture

Chair, 1996 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September. Panel: Party Realignment in the 1990s

Chair, 1996 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September. Panel: A Cultural Theory of Rational Choices

Paper delivered, 1996 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, March. Title: "The Culture Wars by Other Means: Environmental Attitudes and Cultural Biases in the Northwest"

Chair, 1996 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Francisco,

CA, March. Panel: American Political Culture and Political Development

Discussant, 1995 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL: September. Panel: American Liberalism at Century's End

Chair, 1995 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Portland, OR, March. Panel: Rethinking the Rhetorical Presidency

Paper delivered, 1995 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Portland, OR, March. Title: "Presidential Mandates in the 19th Century: Conceptual Change and Political Development"

Chair, 1994 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, NY, September. Panel: Roundtable in Honor of Aaron Wildavsky: Where Does Cultural Theory Fit?

Paper delivered, 1994 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Albuquerque, NM, March. Title: "The Illiberal Turn: Tom Hayden, SDS, and the New Left."

Participant in conference on "Global Governability," sponsored by the Centre for the Study of Global Governance, London School of Economics. London, England, May 1993.

Chair, 1992 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September. Panel: What Can Contemporary Presidents Learn from Presidencies of the Distant Past?

Paper delivered, 1992 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September. Title: "Rival Visions of Authority in American Political Culture."

Paper delivered, 1992 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA., March. Title: "Comparing Rival Theories of American Political Culture."

Paper delivered, 1991 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Seattle, WA., March. Title: "The Radical Locke in American Political Thought."

Other Professional Activities

Editorial Advisory Board, *Political Research Quarterly*, 2006-

Editorial Advisory Board, *Studies in American Political Development*, 2003-

Two year term on the Executive Council of the Politics and History section of the American Political Science Association, 1998-2000

Member of committee charged with selecting best book (the Richard E. Neustadt award) published on the Presidency during 1996

Chair of committee charged with selecting best article (the Mary Parker Follett prize) published by a political scientist in *Politics and History* published during 1995

Section Head, Politics and History, 1994 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Albuquerque, NM, March 1994.

Professional Memberships: American Political Science Association; Organization of American Historians