

# MICHAEL J. MALBIN

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## Current Appointment:

**Professor Emeritus and O’Leary Professor of Political Science, Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy, University at Albany, SUNY; 2021ff. Professor, 1990-2021.**

- Citizen of the University Award (2015)
- Distinguished Service to the College Award (2015)

Teaching has included:

- American Legislatures (Graduate and Undergraduate)
- Campaigns and Elections in the U.S. (Graduate and Undergraduate)
- Money in Politics (Graduate and Undergraduate)
- Political Parties and Groups (Undergraduate)
- Congress and the Presidency (Graduate and Undergraduate)
- Founding the American National Government (Graduate and Undergraduate)
- Field seminar on U.S. Government and Politics. (Graduate)
- Theory and Practice of Democracy (Undergraduate Honors Seminar)
- Developed and taught the University’s Semester in Washington, 1998-2015

## Concurrent Appointments:

**Co-Founder and Director, The Campaign Finance Institute, 1999-2020**

CFI was an independent 501(c)(3) research institute from 1999-2018. In 2018 CFI became a division of the National Institute on Money in Politics (NIMP). I retired from this position in December 2020.

**Visiting Professor, Graduate School of Political Management, The George Washington University, Fall 1999.**

**Director, Center for Legislative Studies, Rockefeller Institute, SUNY; 1990-99**

**Guest Scholar in Governmental Studies, The Brookings Institution, 1997-98**

**Visiting Professor of Political Science, Yale University, Spring 1996.**

**Member, National Council on the Humanities, 1991-94.**

Presidential appointment, confirmed by the Senate.

Part-time, advisory committee of the National Endowment for the Humanities

## **Previous Appointments:**

### **Speechwriter to the Secretary of Defense, 1989-90**

- Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service, June 1990.

### **Associate Director, Offices of Republican Whip and Conference, U.S. House of Representatives, 1987-89**

### **Staff Member, Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran, U.S. House of Representatives, 1987.**

### **Visiting Research Fellow, University of Maryland, 1986-87**

- Visiting appointment in the Department of Government and Politics to do research and teach a seminar on legislative-executive relations.

### **Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute, 1977-86**

- Wrote, co-authored or edited five books and numerous articles on Congress, elections, campaign finance, legislative-executive relations and constitutional history.

### **Concurrent Adjunct Teaching, 1976-84**

- Adjunct Associate Professor, Catholic University, 1980-84
- Lecturer, Catholic University, 1976-80
- Associate Professorial Lecturer, George Washington University, 1976

### **Political and Congressional reporter, *National Journal*, 1973-77**

- Wrote more than 100 articles with an emphasis on congressional change, national politics and elections, interest groups and political parties.

### **Instructor of Political Science, Brooklyn College, 1972-73.**

### **Visiting Instructor of Political Science, New York University, 1971-72.**

## **Education:**

1966-71 Cornell University, Ph.D. in Government (1973).

1964-66 University of Chicago

1960-64 Cornell University, B.A.

## Books and Monographs:

### ***Vital Statistics on Congress***

- Co-author with Norman Ornstein and Thomas E. Mann
- Revised and reissued as a Brookings Institution web publication, 2013ff.
- Print editions 1980-2008.
- Choice, Outstanding Academic Books, 1994.

### ***The Election after Reform: Money, Politics and the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act***

- Editor and co-author
- Sole author of two chapters; co-author of a third.
- Published in 2006 by Rowman & Littlefield.

### ***Life after Reform:***

#### ***When the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act Meets Politics***

- Editor and co-author
- Sole author of one chapter, co-author of three others
- Published September 2003 by Rowman & Littlefield.

### ***The Day after Reform:***

#### ***Sobering Campaign Finance Lessons from the American States***

- Co-author with Thomas L. Gais
- Published in 1998 by the Rockefeller Institute Press (Albany NY) and distributed by the Brookings Institution Press (Washington DC).

### ***Limiting Legislative Terms***

- Co-editor and co-author with G. Benjamin (Congressional Quarterly Press, 1992.)

### ***Money and Politics in the United States: Financing Elections in the 1980s***

Editor and co-author (Chatham House, 1984). Collection of original essays.

### ***Unelected Representatives: Congressional Staff and the Future of Representative Government*** (Basic Books, 1980). Paperback with new preface, 1982.

### ***Parties, Interest Groups and Campaign Finance Laws***

Editor and co-author (AEI, 1980).

### ***Religion and Politics: The Intentions of the Authors of the First Amendment***

(AEI, 1978). Reprinted in U.S. Senate, Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution, *Hearings on Voluntary School Prayer*, S.Hrg. 98-1127 (1983)

## Professional Articles and Chapters:

- "A Neo-Madisonian Perspective on Campaign Finance Reform, Institutions, Pluralism, and Small Donors."** *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Constitutional Law*. Vol. 23, No. 5 (Dec. 2021), 907-959. <https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/jcl/vol23/iss5/2/>
- "Assessing Group Incentives, Independent Spending, and Campaign Finance Law by Comparing the States"** (with Charles R. Hunt, Jaclyn Kettler, Brendan Glavin, and Keith Hamm). *Election Law Journal*, 19:3: 374-391 (Sept. 2020). Available online: <https://doi.org/10.1089/elj.2019.0570> (peer reviewed)
- "Small Donor Empowerment Depends on the Details: Comparing Matching Fund Programs in New York and Los Angeles"** (with Michael Parrott). *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, (15(2): 219-250 (July 2017) (peer reviewed).
- "Three Policy Paths after *Citizens United*: A Critical Review Essay."** *Tulsa Law Review* 52(3): 537-552 (Spring 2017).
- "Independent Expenditures in Congressional Primaries after *Citizens United*: Implications for Interest Groups, Incumbents, and Political Parties"** (with Robert G. Boatright and Brendan Glavin). *Interest Groups & Advocacy*, Vol. 5, Issue 1, pp. 1-22 (peer reviewed) (March 2016).
- "McCutcheon Could Lead to No Limits for Political Parties – With What Implications for Parties and Interest Groups?"** *New York University Law Review Online*, 89:92-104 (2014).
- "Independent Spending in State Elections, 2006-2010: Vertically Networked Political Parties Were the Real Story, Not Business,"** (with Keith E. Hamm, Jaclyn J. Kettler and Brendan Glavin). *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 305-328 (peer reviewed). (2014)
- "An Agenda for Future Research on Money in Politics in the United States."** (with John C. Fortier) *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 455-479 (October 2013) (peer reviewed).
- "Small Donors: Incentives, Economies of Scale, and Effects."** *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 384-411 (October 2013) (peer reviewed).
- "Campaign Finance Policy in the State and City of New York"** (with Peter W. Brusoe). In Gerald Benjamin, ed., *Oxford Handbook of New York State Government and Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 79-109.
- "Small Donors, Big Democracy: New York City's Matching Funds as a Model for the Nation and States."** (With Peter W. Brusoe and Brendan Glavin). *Election Law Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 3-20. March 2012. (Peer reviewed).

- "Small Donors, Large Donors and the Internet: The Case for Public Financing after Obama."** In C. Panagopoulos, ed. *Public Financing in American Elections* (Temple University Press, 2011), pp. 36-61.
- "The Need for an Integrated Vision of Parties and Candidates: National Political Party Finances, 1999-2008."** (With A. Dusso, G. Fortelny and B. Glavin.) In John Green, ed. *The State of the Parties*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Rowman and Littlefield, 2010).
- "Rethinking the Campaign Finance Agenda."** *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*. Vol. 6, No. 1 (2008): *Has the U.S. Campaign Finance System Collapsed?* Article 3, 19 pp. <http://www.bepress.com/forum/vol6/iss1/art3> (peer reviewed).
- "The Political Parties and Campaign Finance"** In Andrew E. Busch, ed., *The Future of America's Political Parties* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007), pp. 83-98.
- "Does Publicizing A Tax Credit for Political Contributions Increase Its Use? Results from a Randomized Field Experiment,"** Robert G. Boatright and Donald P. Green, co-authors. *American Politics Research* Vol. 34, No. 5, pp. 563-582 (2006). (Peer reviewed.)
- "A Public Funding System in Jeopardy: Lessons from the Presidential Nomination Contest of 2004,"** *Election Law Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2006), pp. 2-22. (Peer reviewed.)
- "Political Contribution Tax Credits and Citizen Participation,"** Robert G. Boatright, co-author. *American Politics Research*, Vol. 33, No. 6 (2005), pp. 787-817. (Peer reviewed.)
- "Political Parties under the Post-McConnell Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act".** *Election Law Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (2004), pp. 177-191. (Peer reviewed.)
- "New Interest Group Strategies – A Preview of Post McCain-Feingold Politics?"** co-authored with Clyde Wilcox, Mark Rozell and Richard Skinner, *Election Law Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (2002), pp. 541-56. (Peer reviewed.)
- "Campaign Finance Legislation in the States."** *The American Review of Politics* 19:323-329 (Winter 1998) (Peer reviewed.)
- "The Day After Reform: Sobering Campaign Finance Lessons from the American States",** Co-authored with Thomas L. Gais, *Rockefeller Institute Bulletin*, 1998:87-102.
- "Administering Campaign Finance Reform: What Happens After the Law is Signed?"** Co-authored with Thomas L. Gais, *Society*, Vol. 34, No.4, May-June 1997; earlier version in *Rockefeller Institute Bulletin*, 1996:57-69.
- "1994 Vote: The Money Story."** In Everett Carl Ladd, ed., *America at the Polls: 1994* (Storrs, CT: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, 1995), pp.127-38.

**"Was Divided Government Really Such A Big Problem?"** In Bradford Wilson and Peter Schramm, eds., *Separation of Powers and Good Government* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994), pp. 219-40.

**"Legislative Ethics."** In Joel Silbey, ed., *Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System: Studies of the Principal Structures, Processes, and Policies of Congress and the State Legislatures Since the Colonial Era* (Scribner's, 1994), II:1155-70.

**"Campaign Finance Reform: Some Lessons from the Data"** *Rockefeller Institute Bulletin*, 1993:47-53. Reprinted in A. Cigler and B. Loomis, eds., *American Politics: Classical and Contemporary Readings*, 4th ed., (NY, 1994)

**"Political Parties across the Separation of Powers."** In B. Wilson and P. Schramm, eds., *American Political Parties and Constitutional Politics* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1993), pp. 75-90.

**"Curbing the Abuse and Seduction of Power: Are Term Limits the Answer?"**  
*Cumberland Law Review*, 23:172-79 (1992-93).

**"Legislative-Executive Lessons from the Iran-Contra Affair."** In L. Dodd and B. Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered* (Congressional Quarterly Press, 4th ed., 1989), pp. 375-92.

**"Some Bicentennial Thoughts about Congress: Then, Now and in the Future"**  
In Barbara Knight, ed., *Separation of Powers in the American Political System*, (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University Press, 1989), pp. 41-62.

**"Congress during the Convention and Ratification"** In Leonard W. Levy and Dennis J. Mahoney, eds., *The Framing and Ratification of the Constitution* (Macmillan, 1987), pp.185-208.

**"Factions and Incentives in Congress"** *The Public Interest*, 86:91-108 (Winter 1987, bicentennial issue).

**"You Get What You Pay For, But Is That What You Want?"** In George Grassmuck, ed., *Before Nomination: Our Primary Problems* (AEI, 1985).

**"Framing a Congress to Channel Ambition."** In *this Constitution*, a periodical published by Project '87, jointly administered by the American Political Science and American Historical Associations, No. 5, Winter 1984, pp. 4-12. Reprinted in the book, *this Constitution* (CQ Press, 1986).

**"Rhetoric and Leadership: A Look Backward at President Carter's Energy Plan"**  
In Anthony King, ed., *Both Ends of the Avenue: The Presidency, The Executive Branch and Congress in the 1980s* (AEI, 1983), pp. 212-245.

- "**The Conventions, Platforms and Issue Activists**" In A. Ranney, ed., *The American Elections of 1980* (AEI, 1981), pp. 99-141.
- "**Religion, Liberty and Law in the American Founding**" Speech published as AEI Reprint No. 123 (June 1981), 14 pp.
- "**Delegation, Deliberation and the New Role of Congressional Staff.**" In T. Mann and N. Ornstein, eds., *The New Congress* (AEI, 1981), pp. 134-77.
- "**Congress, Policy Analysis and Natural Gas Deregulation: A Parable about Fig Leaves.**" In Robert A. Goldwin, ed., *Bureaucrats, Policy Analysts, Statesmen: Who Leads?* (AEI, 1980), pp. 62-87.
- "**Campaign Financing and the 'Special Interests'.**" *The Public Interest*, Summer, 1979:21-42.
- "**Congressional Committee Staffs: Who's In Charge Here?**" *The Public Interest*, Spring 1977:16-40.
- "**Conscription, the Constitution and the Framers.**" *Fordham Law Review*, Vol. 40, pp. 805-26 (May 1972).

## Databases:

***Historical Database of State and Federal Campaign Finance Laws.*** 2018. This database summarizes the campaign finance laws in each state every two years since 1996. Because not everyone will want to use the tool in the same way, the material comes in two formats. One is a compact and attractive visualization that lets users look up the answers to the most common questions. However, the full database has literally hundreds of pieces of information for each state and year (the visualization tool only covers about 10% of these). The full set can be downloaded in whole, or part, to be manipulated on its own or merged with other data sets for deeper research. Creating the database was a team project, taking more than four years and 10,000 hours to complete. The database may be accessed here:  
<http://cfinst.org/State/LawsDatabase.aspx>. The codebook is here:  
[https://cfinst.github.io/downloads/CFI\\_StateLaws\\_Codebook\\_web.pdf](https://cfinst.github.io/downloads/CFI_StateLaws_Codebook_web.pdf)

***Database of Congressional Historical Statistics, 1789-1988*** [Computer file]. Elaine K. Swift, Robert G. Brookshire, David T. Canon, Evelyn C. Fink, John R. Hibbing, Brian D. Humes, Michael J. Malbin and Kenneth C. Martis. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [producer and distributor], 2000. National Science Foundation Grant No. SBR-9308686. Data available at  
<https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/web/ICPSR/studies/3371>  
<https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR03371.v2>

I was the Principal Investigator for Presidential-Congressional Relations. The presidential-relations data were the source of the presidential support scores made available on [voteview.com](http://voteview.com) with the widely used NOMINATE scores developed by Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal. See Jeff Lewis, "Calculating Presidential Support Scores from [voteview.com](http://voteview.com)", [https://voteview.com/articles/presidential\\_support\\_scores](https://voteview.com/articles/presidential_support_scores) (accessed Feb. 2020).

## Major Reports of the Campaign Finance Institute (Author or co-Author):

***Small Donor Public Financing in New York State – Major Innovations with a Catch.*** By Michael J. Malbin and Brendan Glavin. Jan. 2020. 39 pp. Campaign Finance Institute. Available: [http://cfinst.org/pdf/state/ny/Small-Donor-Public-Finance-in-NY\\_Jan2020.pdf](http://cfinst.org/pdf/state/ny/Small-Donor-Public-Finance-in-NY_Jan2020.pdf)

***CFI's Guide to Money in Federal Elections – Essays and Tables Covering the Elections of 1974-2018.*** By Michael J. Malbin and Brendan Glavin. Jan. 2020. 83pp. Campaign Finance Institute. Available at: [http://cfinst.org/pdf/federal/2018Report/CFIGuide\\_MoneyinFederalElections\\_2018upd.pdf](http://cfinst.org/pdf/federal/2018Report/CFIGuide_MoneyinFederalElections_2018upd.pdf)

***Small-Donor Matching Funds for New York State Elections: A Policy Analysis of the Potential Impact and Cost.*** By Michael J. Malbin and Brendan Glavin. February 2019. Available at: [http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/State/NY/Policy-Analysis\\_Public-Financing-in-NY-State\\_Feb2019\\_wAppendix.pdf](http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/State/NY/Policy-Analysis_Public-Financing-in-NY-State_Feb2019_wAppendix.pdf)

***Working Paper: Independent Spending in State Elections, 2006-2016.*** Michael J. Malbin, Jaclyn J. Kettler, Boise State; Brendan Glavin, CFI; Keith E. Hamm, Rice University; and Charles Hunt, University of Maryland. September 2018. 30pp. Available at: [http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/state/Malbin-et-al\\_APSA2018\\_Paper\\_IE-State-2006-2016\\_working-paper.pdf](http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/state/Malbin-et-al_APSA2018_Paper_IE-State-2006-2016_working-paper.pdf)

***CFI's Guide to Money in Federal Elections – 1974-2016.*** By Michael J. Malbin and Brendan Glavin. 83pp. Campaign Finance Institute. Available at: [http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/federal/2016Report/CFIGuide\\_MoneyinFederalElections.pdf](http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/federal/2016Report/CFIGuide_MoneyinFederalElections.pdf)

***Party Contribution Limits and Polarization: The Level of Toxicity is Serious but Contribution Limits are not the Cause.*** By Michael J. Malbin and Charles R. Hunt. June 27, 2017. 42pp. Campaign Finance Institute. Available at: [http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/papers/PartyContributionLimits\\_Polarization.pdf](http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/papers/PartyContributionLimits_Polarization.pdf)

***Predicting the Impact of Democracy Vouchers: Analysis and Questions in Light of South Dakota's Successful Initiative.*** By Michael J. Malbin. Dec. 2016. 19 pp. Campaign Finance Institute. Available at:  
[http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/books-reports/CFI\\_SD\\_DemocracyVouchers.pdf](http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/books-reports/CFI_SD_DemocracyVouchers.pdf).

***Democracy Credits: An Analysis of Washington's Proposed Voucher Initiative.*** By Michael J. Malbin. October 2016. 14 pp. Campaign Finance Institute. Available at:  
[http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/books-reports/CFI\\_WA\\_Democracy%20Credits\\_10-27-16.pdf](http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/books-reports/CFI_WA_Democracy%20Credits_10-27-16.pdf).

***Would Revising Los Angeles' Campaign Matching Funds Make a Difference? Analyzing the Impact of the City's Matching Fund Changes of 2013-15 and the Ethics Commission's Proposals for Further Change.*** By Michael J. Malbin and Michael Parrott. September 2016. 17 pp. Campaign Finance Institute. [http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/books-reports/LosAngeles\\_PublicFundingReport\\_2016.pdf](http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/books-reports/LosAngeles_PublicFundingReport_2016.pdf).

***Poor Usability is Undermining Disclosure: A Report on the Fifty States' Campaign Finance Websites.*** By Michael J. Malbin and Justin Koch. Campaign Finance Institute. May 2016. 40 pp. [http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/books-reports/StateDisclosure\\_Usability\\_2016.pdf](http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/books-reports/StateDisclosure_Usability_2016.pdf)

***Citizen Funding for Elections: What do we know? What are the effects? What are the options?*** By Michael J. Malbin. Campaign Finance Institute. November 2015. 40pp. [http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/books-reports/CFI\\_CitizenFundingforElections.pdf](http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/books-reports/CFI_CitizenFundingforElections.pdf)

***Donor Diversity through Public Matching Funds.*** By Elisabeth Genn, Sundeep Iyer, Michael J. Malbin and Brendan Glavin. Co-published by the Campaign Finance Institute and Brennan Center for Justice. May 2012. 27 pp.  
<http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/state/NY/DonorDiversity.pdf>

***What Is and What Could Be: The Potential Impact of Small-Donor Matching Funds in New York State Elections*** by Michael J. Malbin and Peter W. Brusoe. April 2012. 6pp.  
[http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/state/NY/CFI\\_Impact-Matching-on-NYS.pdf](http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/state/NY/CFI_Impact-Matching-on-NYS.pdf)

***Public Financing of Elections after Citizens United and Arizona Free Republic: An Analysis of Six Midwestern States Based on the Elections of 2006-2010.*** By Michael J. Malbin , Peter W. Brusoe, and Brendan Glavin. July 2011. 22pp.  
[http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/state/CFI\\_Report\\_Small-Donors-in-Six-Midwestern-States-2July2011.pdf](http://www.cfinst.org/pdf/state/CFI_Report_Small-Donors-in-Six-Midwestern-States-2July2011.pdf)

***Review of Connecticut's Campaign Donors in 2006 and 2008 Finds Strengths in Citizens Election Program but Recommends Changes*** (Co authors: Wesley Y. Joe, Peter W. Brusoe.) March 2010. Campaign Finance Institute. Available at:

[http://cfinst.org/Press/PReleases/10-03-02/Analysis\\_of\\_Connecticut\\_Citizen\\_Election\\_Program.aspx](http://cfinst.org/Press/PReleases/10-03-02/Analysis_of_Connecticut_Citizen_Election_Program.aspx)

***Reform in an Age of Networked Campaigns: How to Foster Citizen Participation through Small Donors and Volunteers.*** (Co-authors: Anthony J. Corrado, Michael J. Malbin, Thomas E. Mann, Norman J. Ornstein.) A Joint Project of The Campaign Finance Institute, American Enterprise Institute, and Brookings Institution. 64 pp. Washington DC: The Campaign Finance Institute. January 2010.

[http://www.cfinst.org/books\\_reports/Reform-in-an-Age-of-Networked-Campaigns.pdf](http://www.cfinst.org/books_reports/Reform-in-an-Age-of-Networked-Campaigns.pdf)

***The Ups and Downs of Small and Large Donors: An Analysis of pre- and post-BCRA Contributions to Federal Parties and Candidates*** (co-author: Sean A. Cain), 24 pp., June 2007. [http://www.cfinst.org/books\\_reports/SmallDonors/Small-Large-Donors\\_June2007.pdf](http://www.cfinst.org/books_reports/SmallDonors/Small-Large-Donors_June2007.pdf)

***Small Donors and Online Giving: A Study of Donors to the 2004 Presidential Campaigns.*** (Co-authors, Joseph A. Graf, Grant Reeher, Costas Panagopoulos. A CFI collaboration with the Institute for Politics, Democracy and the Internet, George Washington University), 52 pp. March 2006.

[http://www.cfinst.org/president/pdf/IPDI\\_SmallDonors.pdf](http://www.cfinst.org/president/pdf/IPDI_SmallDonors.pdf)

***So the Voters May Choose: Reviving the Presidential Matching Fund System.*** Washington DC: Campaign Finance Institute, 26 pp. + compact disc., April 2005.

<http://www.cfinst.org/presidential/report2/index.html>

***Participation, Competition, Engagement: Reviving and Improving Public Funding For Presidential Nomination Politics.*** Report of the CFI Task Force On Presidential Nomination Financing. 121 pp. September 2003.

<http://www.cfinst.org/presidential/index.html>

***Issue Ad Disclosure: Recommendations for a New Approach,*** 45pp. Washington, DC: The Campaign Finance Institute, February 2001. [www.cfinst.org/disclosure/report.htm](http://www.cfinst.org/disclosure/report.htm)

## Other Articles (Selected)

“What the Latest Campaign Finance Findings Can—and Cannot—Tell Us about the Coming Election.” *Brookings Institution FixGov Blog*, October 24, 2018.

<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2018/10/24/what-fec-filings-can-and-cant-tell-us-about-the-election/>

“Is a Wave Rolling in for House Democrats? Potentially Competitive Districts and Candidates Build Strength.” *Brookings Institution FixGov Blog*, February 26, 2018.

<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2018/02/26/is-a-wave-rolling-in-for-house-democrats/>

- "Inning Two: Will 2018 Be a Wave Election." *Brookings Institution FixGov Blog*, Oct. 25, 2017. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2017/10/25/inning-two-will-2018-be-a-wave-election/>
- "Does the Opening Predict a Wave?" *Brookings Institution FixGov Blog*, July 24, 2017. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2017/07/24/does-the-opening-predict-a-wave/>
- "Campaign Finance after *Citizens United*: Expand Democracy," *The American Interest*, July/August 2010, pp. 54-57.
- "Political Parties Can Aid Response to Court Ruling" *Roll Call*, February 16, 2010.
- "The *Colorado* Supreme Court Decision: What Difference Will It Make?" *Campaigns and Elections*, August 2001. Also at [www.cfinst.org/studies/colorado\\_decision.html](http://www.cfinst.org/studies/colorado_decision.html)
- "The Hard Facts about Hard Money May Surprise You," op-ed, *Roll Call*, Mar. 26, 2001
- "Conservatives [Ought To] Know: Contribution and Soft Money Limits Check Government Power," *Roll Call*, October 6, 1997, pp. 10, 32.
- "Clinton-Gingrich Commission May Not Be a Good Idea" *Roll Call*, July 10, 1995, pp. 5, 34.
- "Senate Reform Bill Ignores Crucial Issue: Funding Challengers," *Roll Call*, July 22, 1993, p.5.
- "The Case of the Missing Term Limits." Co-author with G. Benjamin, *Empire State Report*, November 1992, pp. 39-44.
- "Fixing the Race: Dollars and Sense in Campaigns," *The American Enterprise*, Vol.2, No.6, Nov./Dec.,1991, pp.62-69.
- "A Neo-Traditional President Meets the Post-Reform Congress," *Legislative Studies Newsletter*, Vol 13, No. 1 (Nov.- Dec. 1989), Part Two, Extension of Remarks, pp. 66-69.
- "Leading a Filibustered Senate," *Extensions* (published by the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center), Spring 1985, pp. 3-5.
- "The Problem of PAC-Journalism," *Public Opinion*, Dec/Jan 1983, pp.15,16,59.
- "Teledemocracy and Its Discontents," *Public Opinion*, June/July 1982, pp.58-59.
- "What Should Be Done About Independent Campaign Expenditures?" *Regulation*, Jan/Feb 1982, pp. 41-46.
- "The Republican Revival," *Fortune*, August 25, 1980, pp. 85-88.
- "The Business PAC Phenomenon: Neither A Mountain Nor A Molehill," *Regulation*, May/June 1979, pp. 41-43.
- National Journal*  
About 100 articles between 1973 and 1984, with an emphasis on Congressional change; national elections; interest groups; political parties.

## Reviews and Comments:

Review of David B. Magleby, ed. *Financing the 2016 Election*. In *American Review of Politics* Vol. 37, Issue No. 1, pp. 180-82 (2020).

Review of Kurt Hohenstein, *Coining Corruption: The Making of the American Campaign Finance System* in *Journal of American History*, June 2008, pp. 219-220.

Guest Editor, "Point/Counterpoint: Will the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 Strengthen the Political System?" *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*. Vol. 24, No. 3 pp. 599-610 (2005).

Review of Robin Kolodny, *Pursuing Majorities: Congressional Campaign Committees in American Politics* in *Party Politics* 7(6):761-63 (2001).

Review of Herbert E. Alexander and Anthony Corrado, *Financing The 1992 Election*, in *Journal of Politics* 58:881-82 (August 1996).

Review of Stephen Hess, *The Ultimate Insiders: U.S. Senators in the National Media*, in *American Political Science Review*, 81:995-97 (Sept. 1987).

"Comments on Interest Groups During the Reagan Presidency," in L. Salamon and M. Lund, eds., *The Reagan Presidency and the Governing of America* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, 1984), pp.330-33.

"Financing Congressional Elections", in D. Hale, ed., *The United States Congress: Proceedings of the Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. Symposium* (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: Boston College, 1982); reissued (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1983), pp.341-46.

Review of Elizabeth Drew's *Senator* and Bernard Asbell's *The Senate Nobody Knows*, in *Political Science Quarterly*, Spring 1980, pp. 150-52.

"Election Financing: A Review of *Political Money* by David Adamany and George Agree," *Commentary*, Dec.1975, pp.87-89.

"Party Realignment? A Review of Kevin Phillips' *Mediocracy*," in *Commentary*, July 1975, pp. 88-90.

"Robert Shogan's *A Question of Judgment*," in *American Political Science Review*, Vol. LXIX, No. 1, pp. 285-86 (March 1975).

## Professional Conferences and Papers (Selected)

- Paper (subject of an Authors Meets Critics panel): “An Amended but Still Madisonian Perspective on Campaign Finance Reform, Institutions, Pluralism, and Small Donors.” By Michael J. Malbin. Prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2020 (meeting online). Available as an APSA Preprint at DOI: [10.33774/apsa-2020h80jj](https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2020h80jj). Also at: [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3692543](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3692543)
- Paper: “Independent Spending in State Elections, 2006-2016”. By Michael J. Malbin, Jaclyn Kettler, Charles R. Hunt, Brendan Glavin and Keith Hamm. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. August 2018 and released as a Working Paper September 2018.
- APSA Short Course: Organized and chaired a half-day short course at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association entitled “Using CFI, NIMSP, and CRP Campaign Finance Data for Teaching and Research.”
- Paper: “Independent Spending in State Elections after *Citizens United* – Part 2: Ideological and Issue Groups. By Michael J. Malbin, Jaclyn Kettler, Charles R. Hunt, Brendan Glavin and Keith Hamm. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. April 2018.
- Paper: “Independent Spending in State Elections after *Citizens United* – Part 1: Party and Party-Affiliated Spending.” By Michael J. Malbin, Jaclyn Kettler, Charles R. Hunt, Brendan Glavin and Keith Hamm. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Sept. 2017.
- Roundtable Participant: “Money and Politics 2016” at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, in Philadelphia, PA. September 2016. Additional participants were Robert Boatright, Erika Franklin Fowler, Robin Kolodny, and Travis Ridout.
- Paper: “Are All Public Matching Funds Programs Created Equal? Comparing Donor Participation in New York City and Los Angeles,” by Michael J. Malbin, Michael Parrott and Brendan Glavin. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Northeast Political Science Association, Philadelphia PA, Nov. 12-15, 2015.
- Paper: “Independent Expenditures in Congressional Primaries after *Citizens United*”, by Robert C. Boatright, Michael J. Malbin and Brendan Glavin. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association in Chicago, IL, April 17, 2015.
- Paper: “The Impact of *Citizens United* in the States: Independent Spending in State Elections, 2006-2010,” by Keith E. Hamm, Michael J. Malbin, Jaclyn J. Kettler and Brendan Glavin. Paper prepared for presentation at the (cancelled) Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans LA, Aug. 30-Sept. 3, 2012.

Revised version presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 11, 2013.

- Paper: "Should the Evolving Role of the Internet in Political Fundraising and Organizing Alter Our Views About Citizens' Participation in Elections? -- Results of a Survey of 2008 Presidential Campaign Donors," a paper by Wesley Y. Joe, Michael J. Malbin and Clyde Wilcox, presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Sept. 2010.
- Roundtable: "Elections and Campaign Finance Policy after the Supreme Court's Decision in *Citizens United*." Chair and participant in a round table at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Also on the panel were Bruce Cain, Diana Dwyre and Paul Herrnson. Sept. 2010.
- Paper: "Strong Parties and Healthy Democracies: Different Concepts That May or May Not Coincide." Paper presented at a conference on The Future of Political Parties, Center for the Study of American Democracy, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, April 8-10, 2010.
- Paper: "The Need for an Integrated Vision of Parties and Candidates: National Political Party Finances, 1999-2008." (With Aaron Dusso, Gregory Fortelny, Brendan Glavin), Paper presented at: Conference on the State of the Parties: 2008 and Beyond, Raymond C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, University of Akron, October 15-16, 2009.
- Paper: "Small and Large Donors in Federal Elections, 1999-2008." (With Aaron Dusso and Gregory Fortelny). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, September 3-6, 2009.
- Paper: "Individual Donors in Connecticut's Public Financing Program: A Look at the First Election under the New System." (With Wesley Y. Joe, Clyde Wilcox, Peter W. Brusoe and Henrik Schatzinger.) Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, September 3-6, 2009.
- Paper: "Do Small Donors Improve Representation? Some Answers from Recent Gubernatorial and State Legislative Elections" by Wesley Y. Joe, Michael J. Malbin, Clyde Wilcox, Peter W. Brusoe and Jamie P. Pimlott. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 30, 2008.
- Paper: "Who Are the Individual Donors to Gubernatorial and State Legislative Elections," by Wesley Y. Joe, Michael J. Malbin, Clyde Wilcox, Peter W. Brusoe and Jamie P. Pimlott. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 3-6, 2008. Revised version presented May 30, 2008 at the State Politics and Policy Conference at Temple University, Philadelphia, PA.
- Roundtable Participant: "Future Directions in Campaign Finance Reform." Other participants: Craig Holman, John Samples and Bradley Smith. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 3-6, 2008.

- Presenter ("Small Donors and Democracy") and panel chair ("Public Financing in Presidential Elections") at a conference entitled, "Citizen-Owned Elections: Public Financing Past, Present, & Future," co-sponsored by the New York City Campaign Finance Board and the Center for Electoral Politics and Democracy at Fordham University, February 21, 2008.
- Presenter and participant at a conference entitled, "Election-Based Problems Affecting Civic Political Disengagement," co-sponsored by The McCormick Tribune Freedom Museum and The American University's Center for the Study of American Electorate, Sept. 28, 2007.
- Panel chair and presenter: "The Current and Future Agenda for Campaign Finance in the United States," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Sept. 1, 2007
- Paper: "The CFI Small Donor Project: A Preliminary Report on State Donors and Volunteers," by Michael J. Malbin, Peter W. Brusoe, Wesley Joe, Jamie Pimlott, and Clyde Wilcox at a panel entitled, "The Impact of Campaign Finance Laws in the U.S. States" at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 30, 2007.
- Presenter and participant: "How Political Arrangements Promote Equal Citizenship...Or Not", at the Ash Institute for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, April 27, 2007.
- Presenter and participant: "Public Finance, Small Donors and Political Parties: The States as Laboratories for Campaign Finance Research," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Sept. 2, 2006.
- Chair and Participant: *The Elections after Reform: A Roundtable on Money and Politics after McCain-Feingold*, Southern Political Science Association, January 7, 2006.
- Chair and discussant: *Major Issues in Campaign Finance Reform*, Southern Political Science Association, January 7, 2006.
- Chair and discussant: *The Election after Reform: Money, Politics and the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act*. American Political Science Association Convention, September 3, 2005.
- Participant: *Parties and Groups after the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act*. Panel at APSA. Chair: Allan Cigler, Univ of Kansas; Ray La Raja, Univ of MA; Robin Kolodny, Temple U; Diana Dwyer, CA State; Michael Malbin, CFI & U of Albany; Robert Boatright, CFI. American Political Science Association Convention, September 2, 2004
- Paper: "Are Matching Funds Only 'For Losers'? A Post-2004 Vision for a Renewed Public Funding System." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2004.

- Chair and participant, *Roundtable on Political Scientists as Expert Witnesses Testifying on the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act*, at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association August 2003.
- Participant, *Life after Reform: Perspectives on the Presidential Election of 2004*, a panel at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. August 2003.
- Paper: "An Experimental Study of the Effects of Tax Credits on Political Contributions," (co-author: Robert G. Boatright). Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2003.
- Participant, Symposium on *McConnell v. Federal Election Commission*, University of Pennsylvania Law School, May 15, 2003.
- Paper: "The Effects of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act on Interest Groups and Advocacy Organizations," Paper, International Political Science Association, May 2003.
- Chair and participant, "The Political Effects of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act," 2003 Midwest Political Science Association Convention, April 2003.
- Participant, "The Political Effects of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act," 2003 Association of American Law Schools.
- Paper: "Members of Congress as Contributors, When Every Vote Counts" (co-author: Anne H. Bedlington). Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association Convention, August 2002. Revision subsequently published in *Life after Reform*.
- Chair and participant, "The Potential Impact of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2002.
- Paper: "Interest Group Adaptations in the Elections of 2000," A paper co-authored with Clyde Wilcox, Mark Rozell and Richard Skinner, presented at the Southern Political Science Association Convention, November 2001, Atlanta, Ga.
- Chair and participant, Roundtable on Campaign Finance Reform, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association Convention, November 2001, Atlanta, Ga. .
- Chair and Discussant, Panel on Campaign Finance Reform, Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, November 3, 2001, Washington, DC.
- Chair and Discussant, "Money and Elections," 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Discussant, "Political Parties and Campaign Finance Reform," 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Paper: "The 'Two Presidencies' Thesis? Assessing the First Two Hundred Years." A paper co-authored with Robert Brookshire, presented at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- "Empirical Approaches to Congressional History," Roundtable, 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

- "Campaign Finance Legislation in the States," Presentation at a short course on campaign finance reform at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

## **Additional Appearances and Testimony (Selected, Recent)**

- February 21, 2019: Featured speaker (invited) at a public forum sponsored by the Federal Election Commission on money in the federal elections of 2018.
- February 20, 2019: Testified (invited) on campaign finance before the New York City Council's Charter Revision Commission of 2019.
- February 11, 2019: Testified on public campaign financing before the Joint New York State Assembly-Senate Committee hearing on the Governor's Executive Budget.
- June 14, 2018: Testified (invited) before the New York City Mayor's Charter Revision Commission.
- January 29, 2018: Testified (invited) before the New York City Campaign Finance Board, "Testimony on Public Financing in the Election of 2017".
- September 25, 2017: Submitted written testimony (invited) to the Committee on Law and Government, City Council of Philadelphia, "Estimating the Impact of a Public Matching Fund System in Philadelphia" for a hearing scheduled for October 24, 2017.
- June 3, 2017: Presented "Using Data to Stimulate Deep-Diving Research," on a panel at a conference entitled *Finding Traction in a New Landscape*, National Institute on Money in State Politics, Bigfork, MT.
- April 27, 2017: Presented testimony (invited) to the New York City Council's Committee on Government Operations, "Statement on a Proposal to Amend New York City's Matching Fund System for Elections."
- March 3, 2017: Delivered "What Have We learned from 2016?", the keynote address at the Annual Meeting Arkansas Political Science Association, Russellville, Arkansas.
- September 19, 2016: Participated on a panel, "Restoring Legitimacy and Confidence in Institutions: Campaign Finance and Electoral Reform," at the Blouin Creative Leadership Summit in New York City.
- June 17, 2016: Presented "How Policy Details Can affect Major Outcomes: Comparing Small Donor Matching Fund in New York and Los Angeles" at the conference, "Evidence-Based Political Reform" sponsored by the Scholars Strategy Network in New York, NY.
- May 19-22, 2016: Chaired and presented remarks on a panel entitled "Dispelling Assumptions with Empirical Evidence" at a conference sponsored by the National Institute on Money in State Politics in Bigfork, MT.

- February 9, 2016: Delivered the keynote address, entitled “Big Dollars, Small Dollars: What; Going On? What Could be Done?” to Grinnell College’s Campaign Finance Symposium held February 9-11, 2016, Grinnell, IA.
- December 9, 2015: Presented, “State Disclosure Websites: A Randomly Assigned 50-State User Survey” to the Annual Meeting of the Council on Governmental Ethics Laws (COGEL), Boston MA.
- May 30, 2015: Chaired a panel on "The Fruits of Transparency" at a conference on “The Next Generation of Transparency”, sponsored by the National Institute on Money in State Politics, Bigfork, MT.
- February 11, 2015: Testified at the U.S. Federal Election Commission’s Public Hearing on the *McCutcheon v. FEC* Advance Notice of Proposed Rulemaking.
- December 8, 2014: Presented remarks on “A Third Approach to Coordination by Candidates, Political Parties and Interest Groups” to the Annual Meeting of the Council on Governmental Ethics Laws (COGEL).
- September 30, 2014: CFI and the Brookings Institution co-hosted a public event at Brookings on the 2012 congressional primaries. A panel on “The Primaries and Campaign Finance” featured the work of Robert Boatright (Clark University) and Michael J. Malbin.
- May 29-31, 2014: Delivered remarks at a conference on “Creating A New Ecology of Democracy”, sponsored by the National Institute on Money in State Politics, Bigfork, MT.
- May 1-2, 2014: Delivered remarks on political parties at “Money in Politics, 2030: Toward a New Jurisprudence,” a conference sponsored by the Brennan Center for Justice, NYU School of Law.
- April 10, 2014: Participated on a panel, “A Conversation on Campaign Finance Reform: The World after *Citizens United*,” sponsored by the Georgetown University Public Policy Review.
- February 13, 2014: Testified before the New York City Campaign Finance Board on “New York City’s Small-Donor Matching Program: Strengths and Challenges.”
- January 13, 2014: Spoke on “Subsiding Democracy” on a panel at the New America Foundation, Washington DC.
- December 9, 2013: Spoke on “Bans, Limits, Disclosure and Small Donors – What s the Right Choice?” on a panel at the annual meeting of the Council on Governmental Ethics Laws in Quebec City, Quebec, Canada.

- November 1, 2013: Participated on a Panel at the Bipartisan Policy Center, on “An Agenda for Future Research on Money in Politics.”
- June 18, 2013: Spoke on “Big Dollars, Dark Money, and Small Donors in the 2012 Election.” Panel sponsored by the Brennan Center for Justice at the National Press Club, Washington DC.
- May 31, 2013: Spoke on “Campaign Finance Research: Present and Future” at a conference, “Transparency 2013,” held by the National Institute on Money in State Politics, Bigfork MT.
- May 20, 2013: Testified on campaign finance reform before a hearing held by the New York State Senate’s Independent Democratic Conference, Albany NY.
- May 6, 2013: Spoke at a conference, “Purchasing Power: Money, Politics and Inequality,” convened by the Institute for Social and Policy Studies, Yale University, New Haven, CT.
- March 6, 2013: Spoke in a general session on “PACs in the Age of Super PACs” at the National Public Affairs Council Conference in Miami Beach, FL.
- February 7, 2013. Spoke on “Small Donors, Big Democracy: New Model for a New Day” at the House Democratic Issues Conference in Leesburg, VA.
- January 23, 2013: Moderated a panel discussion on “Campaign Finance after *Citizens United*. What Happened? What Now?” hosted by the Cato Institute in Washington DC. Panelists were John Samples, Don McGahn and Lawrence Lessig.
- December 12, 2012: Spoke at “Democracy for Sale: A Case for Fair Elections in New York State,” co-sponsored by the League of Women Voters of New York, Demos and the Brennan Center for Justice.
- December 3, 2012: Spoke on “Campaign Finance Reform in New York State: Regulating the Impact and Role of Money in Elections” co-sponsored by the Rockefeller Institute and the League of Women Voters of New York State.
- August 22, 2012: “New Ideas, New NY Policy Conference” co-sponsored by the New York State Democratic Committee, Center for American Progress and Third Way. Speaker on a panel entitled “Campaign Finance Reform.”
- July 31, 2012: “The Capital behind Capitol Hill: Developments in the 2012 Election.” Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington DC.
- May 14, 2012: “Small Donor Diversity and Public Matching Funds in New York” at the annual conference of the National Institute on Money in State Politics in Bigfork MT.

- April 24, 2012: "Citizen Engagement vs. Citizens United" at the conference "Money, Media and the Battle for Democracy's Soul" cosponsored by Fordham University's Center for Ethics Education and the Center for Electoral Politics and Democracy. Other panelists were Former Sen. Russell Feingold and Costas Panagopoulos.
- March 29, 2012: "The Benefits of Public Financing in New York State." Brennan Center for Justice. Other panelists were Elisabeth Genn, Hazel Dukes, Michael Petro and Zephyr Teachout.
- December 2, 2011: "The Opportunity for "Voter-Owned" Public Financing in New York State" at the Center for Working Families Annual New York State Policy Conference.
- September 9, 2011: "Policy Solutions after *Arizona Free Enterprise*" at "Public Financing after *Citizens United* and *Arizona Free Republic*", a State Advocates Conference convened by Common Cause and Public Campaign in Arlington, VA.
- May 4, 2011: Testimony on Transparency of Party Funding before the Council of Europe's Group of States against Corruption.
- April 14, 2011: Testimony: "Policy Options for Political Party Financing in the United Kingdom," Committee on Standards in Public Life (United Kingdom), London via teleconference from Washington DC.
- June 3, 2010: "See You, Citizens United," Annual Conference of the Personal Democracy Forum, New York, NY. Plenary Session.
- Dec. 6, 2010: "Public Financing in the American States," Annual Meeting of the Council on Government Ethics Laws, Washington DC.
- Dec. 1, 2010: "New York City's Matching Funds as a Model for the Nation and States," Rockefeller Institute of Government, Albany NY.
- July 20, 2010: "The Future of Campaign Finance Policy after Citizens United," Midwest Democracy Network, Madison, WI.
- June 11, 2010: "Large and Small Donors in State Elections," National Institute of Money in State Politics, Bigfork, MT.
- October 29, 2010: "The Future of Political Finance Policy in the United States," International Foundation for Electoral Systems and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Washington DC.
- October 18, 2010: "How Is History Likely to Judge the Impact of Citizens United?: The Likely Impact of Citizens United and Possible Policy Responses," Miller Center of Public Affairs (University of Virginia) and the Campaign Finance Institute, Washington DC.
- September 28, 2010: "Small Donors, Big Democracy: The Impact of Campaign Finance Regulation on Citizen Participation," Baruch College School of Public Affairs and the Campaign Finance Institute, New York, NY.

- March 1, 2010: "Citizens United: The Downfall of Democracy or Restoration of Free Speech," sponsored by the American University's Washington College of Law.
- February 9-11, 2010: "Reform in an Age of Networked Campaigns" at a meeting entitled "New Thinking about Campaign Finance Reform," sponsored by Pocantico Conference Center of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund in Tarrytown, NY.
- December 6-9, 2009: "Success is Defined by Goals." Presented on a panel, "Public Financing: What Makes it Successful" at the annual meeting of the Council on Governmental Ethics Laws in Scottsdale, AZ.
- July 29, 2009: Testimony at the U.S. Federal Election Commission's Hearing on the Commission's Website and Internet Communications Improvement Initiative.
- June 26, 2009: "Findings from the CFI Participation Project: Strengthening Democracy through Small Donors and Volunteers." Comparative Midwestern state findings presented at the Midwest Democracy Network Summer Workshop in Columbus, OH.
- June 12, 2009: "Findings from the CFI Participation Project: Strengthening Democracy through Small Donors and Volunteers." Comparative fifty-state findings presented at the annual convening of the National Institute on Money in State Politics Institute's Board of Directors and National Advisors.
- June 4, 2009: "Small Donors, Large Donors and the Internet: Campaign Finance Reform in New York after Obama", Presentation at the Rockefeller Institute of Government, Albany NY, June 4, 2009. Additional participant: Blair Horner, NYPIRG.
- May 8, 2009: Speaker on the opening panel of "Money in Politics in 2009: New Horizons for Reform," a policy forum sponsored by the Brennan Center for Justice. Other panelists: Norm Eisen (White House Chief Ethics Adviser), Dr. Thomas Stratmann (George Mason University), Rev. Lennox Yearwood (Hip Hop Caucus), and Andrew Hoppin (Chief Information Officer, New York State Senate).
- March 17, 2009: Testimony before the Joint Committee on Government Reform of the Illinois General Assembly on contribution limits and small donor participation.
- February 23, 2009: Testimony to the Illinois Reform Commission on campaign finance laws in the 50 states and possible policy scenarios for Illinois.
- December 4, 2008: "Making Elections Work: The Law and the Process after November," speaker at a policy forum sponsored by The Election Law Journal, the UCDC Center, and the AEI-Brookings Election Reform Project.
- November 18, 2008: Colgate University's Institute for Philosophy, Politics and Economics. Public Lecture: "Money in the 2008 Elections: What Should Be the Goals for Campaign Finance Policy in a Liberal Democracy?"
- November 3, 2008: Pre-election discussion session for international election officials at the International Foundation on Electoral Systems' "US Election Day Program."

- October 6, 2008: "The Growth of State Funding of Party Politics in the UK," participant in a forum sponsored by the International Foundation on Electoral Systems' Political Finance and Public Ethics Program.
- September 25, 2008: "Civic Conversation: Campaign Finance Reform in New York State," speaker at a policy forum sponsored by Citizens Union and the League of Women Voters of New York City in partnership with Baruch College, School of Public Affairs.
- March 5, 2008: "Freeing SpeechNow: Free Speech and Association vs. Campaign Finance Regulation," a policy forum sponsored by the Cato Institute. Other participants: Steve Simpson, Senior Attorney for the Institute for Justice and David Keating, president of SpeechNow.org.
- February 21, 2008: Presentation on "Small Donors and Democracy" and panel chair for "Public Financing in Presidential Elections" at a conference entitled, "Citizen-Owned Elections: Public Financing Past, Present, & Future," co-sponsored by the New York City Campaign Finance Board and the Center for Electoral Politics and Democracy at Fordham University.
- November 13, 2007: Columbia Political Union, Panel on Campaign Finance Reform. The other panelists were Prof. Richard Briffault, Columbia Law School, and Deborah Goldberg, Director of the Democracy Program of the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU Law School.
- September 28, 2007: Speaker at a Conference entitled, "Election-Based Problems Affecting Civic Political Disengagement," Co-sponsored by The McCormick Tribune Freedom Museum and The American University's Center for the Study of American Electorate.
- "Campaign Finance Reform Issues in New York and the Nation", Common Cause (NY), New York. Presentation, September 27, 2007.
- June 12, 2007: Testimony – Hearing on Campaign Finance Reform - New York State Senate Committee on Elections.
- April 25, 2007: "Public Campaign Finance Funding: Goals and Effects," lecture presentation at the Rockefeller Institute of Government, Albany, NY.
- April 18, 2007: Testimony – *U.S. Senate Committee on Rules and Administration*, Hearing on Political Party Campaign Expenditures.
- July 16, 2005: Testimony: *Democratic National Committee Commission on Presidential Nomination Timing and Scheduling*.
- March 8, 2005: Testimony: *U.S. Senate Committee on Rules and Administration*. On the role of independent spending by political committees in federal elections.

## **Selected Professional Activities and Honors:**

Board of Trustees, OpenSecrets, Washington DC. Executive Committee, 2021-

Board of Directors, National Institute on Money in Politics, Helena MT. 2012-18, 2020-21

Member of the Executive Council, American Political Science Association Organized Section on Political Organizations and Parties. 2018 –2020.

Founder and Co-Chair of the Campaign Finance Research Group, an organization formed to present panels and hold other meetings at the 2002 and subsequent conventions of the American Political Science Association. 2002-2020.

Section co-chair for Money and Politics, Southern Political Science Association, 2006.

Listed in *Who's Who of American Teachers*, 2002, 2005.

Member, Legislative Studies Section, Richard Fenno Prize Committee, for the Best Book on Legislative Studies, 2002.

Editorial boards: *Election Law Journal*, *Political Science Reviewer*.

Executive Committee, APSA Section on Political Organizations and Parties, 1989-91.

President, National Capital Area Political Science Association, 1984-85; First Vice President, 1983-84; Second VP, 1982-83; Council member, 1981-82, 1985-86.

Chairperson, APSA's Carey McWilliams Award Committee, 1985.

U.S. Information Agency Lecture Tours to Yugoslavia and Israel (1982); Belgium and France (1984). U.S. State Department Lecture Tour to Brazil (1996).

## **University Service:**

Co-chair, American Politics Search Committee, UAlbany, SUNY, Fall 2007.

Developed and directed the University at Albany's Washington Semester Program. Development began in 1995. First students enrolled Spring 1998.

Chair of the Ad Hoc Committee to Review the Ph.D. Program, Department of Political Science, SUNY/Albany, 1994-95. Recommended many program changes. After perfecting amendments, the report was adopted by consensus.

Member, Second Level Review Committee (for reviewing departmental tenure and promotion), Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy, 1993-94

Editor, *Rockefeller Institute Bulletin*, 1993-99.

Chair of the Faculty, Graduate School of Public Affairs, University at Albany, 1992-93; Vice-Chair, 1991-92.

## **Grants Awarded**

1991-92: M. Malbin, PI, Conference and book on Limiting Legislative Terms  
Bradley Foundation, \$50,000; Smith Richardson Foundation, \$50,000

1991: Planning Grant for a Database of Historical Congressional Statistics  
National Science Foundation: \$10,000

1993: M. Malbin, PI on Legislative-Executive Relations, Congressional History Database.  
National Science Foundation, \$50,000

1994-96: M. Malbin PI, Evaluation of State Campaign Finance Laws.  
Joyce Foundation, \$138,287; Smith Richardson Foundation, \$115,000

1998: Planning Document for what later became the Campaign Finance Institute  
Joyce Foundation, \$25,000 to the Brookings Institution

The following grants were all made to the Campaign Finance Institute with me as PI:

1999: Joyce Foundation, \$150,000; Open Society Institute, \$75,000

2000: Joyce Foundation, \$225,000; Pew Charitable Trusts, \$1,522,000; Smith Richardson  
Foundation, \$200,000

2001: Joyce Foundation, \$300,000; Smith Richardson Foundation, \$200,000

2002: Pew Charitable Trusts, \$300,000; Smith Richardson Foundation, \$200,000

2003: Joyce Foundation, \$225,000; Open Society Institute, \$50,000; Pew Charitable Trusts,  
\$600,000; Smith Richardson Foundation, \$200,000

2004: Carnegie Corporation, \$200,000; Joyce Foundation, \$550,000

2005: Stuart Family Foundation, \$45,000

2006: JEHT Foundation \$121,500; Joyce Foundation, \$412,500; Smith Richardson Foundation,  
\$300,000

2007: Carnegie Corporation, \$200,000; JEHT Foundation, \$400,000; Joyce Foundation,  
\$275,000

Pew Charitable Trusts, \$1,600,000; Rockefeller Brothers Fund, \$100,000;  
Stuart Family Foundation, \$75,000

2008: JEHT Foundation \$239,000; Rockefeller Brothers Fund \$200,000

2009: Carnegie Corporation, \$50,000; Joyce Foundation, \$125,000; Open Society Institute,  
\$200,000

Smith Richardson Foundation, \$400,000

2011: Rockefeller Brothers Fund, \$150,000; Smith Richardson Foundation, \$500,000

2012: Carnegie Corporation, \$25,000; Democracy Fund (Omidyar Network), \$200,000;  
MacArthur Foundation, \$150,000; Soros Foundation, \$50,000

2013: Rockefeller Brothers Fund, \$140,000; Stuart Family Foundation, 15,000

2014: Democracy Fund (Omidyar Network), \$200,000; Hewlett Foundation, \$200,000;  
MacArthur Foundation, \$150,000; Mertz-Gilmore Foundation, \$75,000;  
Smith Richardson Foundation, \$500,000

2015: Irvine Foundation, \$50,000; Mertz-Gilmore Foundation, \$75,000.

2016: Rockefeller Brothers Fund, \$200,000; Mertz-Gilmore Foundation, \$150,000; MacArthur  
Foundation, \$150,000; Democracy Fund, \$200,000; Hewlett Foundation, \$250,000.

Since 2018, grants to the Campaign Finance Institute have been wrapped into grants awarded to  
the National Institute on Money in Politics.

2019: Hewlett Foundation, \$25,000 to the Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy, SUNY  
for a project entitled "A Madisonian Perspective on Campaign Finance Reform, Parties,  
and Institutions."