ROBERT GRAFSTEIN

PERSONAL DATA

Georgia Athletic Association Professor of Political Science and Associate Dean School of Public and International Affairs 206 Candler Hall University of Georgia Athens, Georgia 30602 706.542.2941 Home Address: 6454 Chestnut Hill Rd. Flowery Branch, GA 30542 770.570.8756 bobgraf@uga.edu

EDUCATION

University of Chicago 1974-1976 Ph.D. (1977)

University of Chicago 1971-1974 M.A. (1974)

University of Pennsylvania 1965-1969 A.B. (1969)

POSITIONS

Associate Dean, School of Public and International Affairs, University of Georgia, 2012 –

Georgia Athletic Association Professor of Political Science, 2012 -

Director of the Maymester in China Study Abroad Program, 2005 -

Department Head, University of Georgia, 2002 - 2008

Professor, University of Georgia, 1992 -

Associate Professor, University of Georgia, 1982 - 1992

Assistant Professor, University of Georgia, 1976 - 1982

PUBLICATIONS

Books

A Bridge Too Far? Commonalities and Differences Between China and the U.S., coedited with Fan Wen. (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009).

- Choice-Free Rationality: A Positive Theory of Political Behavior (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).
- Institutional Realism: Social and Political Constraints on Rational Actors (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

Articles

- "Public Pensions and the Intergenerational Politics of Aging Societies." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 27 (2015): 457-84.
- "Governance and the U.S. Social Security System: Problems and Lessons." *Administration Reform* 5 (2013): 56-62. Chinese version with Wei Ying.
- "Antisocial Security: The Puzzle of Beggar-Thy-Children Policies." *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (2009): 710-25.
- "The Puzzle of Weak Pocketbook Voting." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 21 (2009): 451-82.
- "Surprise Party: Estimating the Consequences of Unexpected Election Results." *Public Choice* 137 (2008): 315-28. With Kiki Caruson.
- "The Impact of Employment Status on Voting Behavior." *Journal of Politics* 67 (2005): 804-24.
- "Strategic Voting in Presidential Primaries: Problems of Explanation and Interpretation. *Political Research Quarterly* 56 (2003): 513-20.
- "The Political Economy of Postmaterialism: Material Explanations of Changing Values." *Economics and Politics* 14 (2002): 163-90.
- "What Rational Political Actors Can Expect." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 14 (2002): 139-65.
- "Confronting Political Economic Theories of Voting with Evidence." *Political Analysis* 9 (2001): 362-78. With Ann Moser
- "Employment, Party Economic Performance, and the Formation of Partisan Preferences." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 12 (2000): 325-51.
- "Comment." Journal of Politics 59 (1997): 1040-47.

- "Rationality in a Political-Economic Environment." *Economics and Politics* 9 (1997): 151-72.
- "Rationality as Conditional Expected Utility Maximization." *Political Psychology* 16 (1995): 63-80.
- "Group Identity, Rationality, and Electoral Mobilization." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 7 (1995): 181-200.
- "Rational Choice Inside and Out." *Journal of Politics* [Review Essay] 54 (1992): 259-268.
- "An Evidential Decision Theory of Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 35 (1991): 989-1010.
- "Missing the Archimedean Point: Liberalism's Institutional Presuppositions."

 American Political Science Review 84 (1990): 177-193. Reprinted in John C. Wood, ed. 2007. Amartya Sen: Critical Assessments of Contemporary Economists. London: Routledge
- "The Theory of Freedom." Social Science Quarterly 70 (1989): 851-54.
- "Getting the Whole to Play Its Part." *Social Choice and Welfare* [Review Essay] 6 (1989): 77-83.
- "The Problem of Institutional Constraint." *Journal of Politics* 50 (1988): 577-99.
- "Rationalism or Revelation?" *American Political Science Review* [Controversy] 82 (1988): 879-82.
- "A Realist Foundation for Essentially Contested Political Concepts." Western Political Quarterly 41 (1988): 9-28.
- "The Significance of Modern State of Nature Theory." *Polity* 19 (1987): 529-50.
- "Rational Choice and Social Theory." Social Science Quarterly 68 (1987): 358-63.
- "Political Freedom and Political Action." Western Political Quarterly 39 (1986): 464-79.
- "Ontology and the Theory of Justice." *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 46 (1985): 115-37.
- "Philosophical Issues in the Study of Historical Materialism." *Social Science Quarterly* 65 (1984): 955-60.

- "The Social Scientific Interpretation of Game Theory." *Erkenntnis* 20 (1983): 27-47.
- "The Ontological Foundation of Nozick's View of Politics: Robert's Rules of Order." *Philosophical Studies* 44 (1983): 401-24.
- "Taking Dworkin to Hart: A Positivist Conception of Institutional Rules." *Political Theory* 11 (1983): 244-65.
- "Structure and Structuralism." Social Science Quarterly 63 (1982): 617-33.
- "The Search for Social Structure." Social Science Quarterly 63 (1982): 640-42;
- "Behavioralism and the Operationalization of Psychological Variables." *Political Methodology* 8 (1982): 91-108.
- "The Failure of Weber's Conception of Legitimacy: Its Causes and Implications." *Journal of Politics* 43 (1981): 456-72.
- "The Legitimacy of Political Institutions." *Polity* 14 (1981): 51-69.
- "The Institutional Resolution of the Fact-Value Dilemma." *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 11 (1981): 1-14.
- "The Problem of Choosing Your Alternatives: A Revision of the Public Choice Theory of Constitutions." *Social Science Quarterly* 62 (1981): 201-12.
- "Sociologists, Economists and Legitimacy," *Social Science Quarterly* 62 (1981): 218-20; includes a response to Walter Firey, "Variations on a Theme by Grafstein," *Social Science Quarterly* (same issue): 213-17.

Book Chapters

- "Newcomb's Problem Is Everyone's Problem: Making Political and Economic Decisions When Behavior Is Interdependent." In *Newcomb's Problem*, ed. Arif Ahmed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).
- "Democracy in China? Go Figure." In *A Bridge Too Far? Commonalities and Differences Between China and the U.S.*, co-edited with Fan Wen. (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009).
- "Introduction." In A Bridge Too Far? Commonalities and Differences Between China and the U.S., co-edited with Fan Wen. (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009).
- "Rational Choice: Theory and Institutions." in *The Economic Approach to Politics*, Kristen R. Monroe, ed. (New York: HarperCollins, 1991).

"Philosophical Issues in the Study of Historical Materialism." In *Karl Marx's Economics: Critical Assessments*, ed. John C. Wood (London: Croom Helm, 1988). Reprinted from *Social Science Quarterly* (1984).

Book Reviews and Notes

- "Elective Inequality." 2008. Review of Larry M. Bartels, *Unequal Democracy* (Princeton, 2008), *Science* 322, 681.
- Review of David Austen-Smith and Jeffrey S. Banks, *Positive Political Theory I* (University of Michigan Press, 1999), *Public Choice* 102 (2000): 386-90.
- Review of Jon Elster, Local Justice (Russell Sage, 1992), The Annals 533 (1994), 215.
- Review of Frank Louis Rusciano, *Isolation and Paradox* (Greenwood, 1989), *Journal of Politics* 52 (1990): 984-86.
- Review of Wojciech Sadurski, Giving Desert Its Due: Social Justice and Legal Theory (D. Reidel, 1985), American Political Science Review 80 (1986): 1333.
- Review of Ernst Bloch, *Natural Law and Human Dignity*, (MIT, 1986), *The Christian Century* 103 (1986): 922-23.
- Review of Gary S. Becker, *Human Capital* (University of Chicago, 1980), *Journal of Business Ethics* 3 (1984): 111-12.
- Review of Hans Jonas, *The Imperative of Responsibility* (University of Chicago, 1984), *The Christian Century* 101 (1984): 991-92.
- Note on Wolfgang Schluchter, *The Rise of Western Rationalism: Max Weber's Developmental History* (University of California, 1981), *Journal of Politics* 45 (1983): 276.
- Review of Ralph L. Rosnow, *Paradigms in Transition*. The Methodology of Social Inquiry (Oxford University, 1981), Social Science Quarterly 63 (1982): 810-11.
- Review of George Friedman, *The Political Philosophy of the Frankfurt School* (Cornell University, 1981), *The Christian Century* 98 (1981): 674-76.
- Note on Kaushik Basu, *Revealed Preference of Government* (Cambridge University, 1980), *Journal of Politics* (1981):130.

PAPERS

- "Corruption, Anticorruption, and the Composition of Ruling Coalitions: The Case of China," Annual Meeting of the European Political Science Association, 2016 (with Rongbin Han).
- "Dimensions of Political Extremism: Income, Risk Aversion, and Fear of Ruin," Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 2016.
- "Party, Faction, and the Anticorruption Campaign in China," Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2016 (with Rongbin Han and Luyan Xie).
- "The Economics of Political Extremism and Moderation," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2014
- "Corruption as Protection: Investment and Political Risk in China," European Consortium for Political Research, 2014
- "The Insurance Value of Corruption: Investment and Political Risk in China," Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, 2014.
- China-U.S. Relations in Response to China's Economic Growth," Conference on Building a New Type of Major Nation Relations between the U.S. and China: Implications and Approaches," Beijing 2014 (invited)
- "The Political Economy of Extremism and Moderation," 7th European Consortium for Political Research General Congress, 2013.
- "After-Tax Income and Social Insurance: Voting Based on Risk and Return," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2013.
- "Parties as Assets: A New Investment Theory of Voting," Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 2013.
- "The Political Economy of Extremism and Moderation," Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, 2013.
- "Voters as People: The Relation Between Economic Interests and Political Ideology." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 2012.
- "Parties as Assets." Annual Meeting of the European Consortium for Political Research, 2011.
- "Parties as Assets." Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, 2011.

- "The Political Economy of Economic Risk." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2010.
- "The Political Economy of Economic Risk." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 2010.
- "Public Pensions and the Intergenerational Politics of Aging Societies." Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2010.
- "Conflict Between Altruistic Generations: Social Security and the Politics of Aging Societies." World Congress of the International Political Science Association, 2009
- "The Politics of Social Security in China." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 2008.
- "AntiSocial Security: The Political Economy of Intergenerational Transfers." World Congress of the International Political Science Association, 2006.
- "From Partisan Policy to Income to Consumption to Utility to Votes." Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, 2005.
- "The Electoral Impact of Partisan Economic Policy: Auditing the Pocketbooks of Self-Interested Voters." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2004.
- "The Impact of Employment Status on Voting Behavior." Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2004.
- "Kramer Versus Kramer: The Impact of Aggregate Economic Conditions on Individual Votes." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2003.
- "Sociotropic Influences on Pocketbook Voting: The Case of Unemployment." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 2003.
- "The Electoral Consequences of Unemployment." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2002.
- "The Economic Consequences of Presidential Forecast Errors." Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2001. With Kiki Cauruson.
- "Elections and Redistribution." Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2001.
- "The Political Economy of the Economics of Voting." Annual Meeting of the American

- Political Science Association, 2001.
- "Class Voting in a General Equilibrium Model." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 2001.
- "The Analysis of Class Voting." Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 2000.
- "Do American Voters Have Class?" Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2000.
- "Foundations of Class Politics." Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, 2000.
- "Work, Welfare, and the Formation of Partisan Preferences." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 1999
- "Electoral Uncertainty and Democratic Legitimacy." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1998
- "Uncertainty and Legitimacy." Annual Meeting of the Southwest Social Science Association, 1998
- "Political and Economic Consequences of Electoral Uncertainty." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1997
- "Political and Economic Consequences of Electoral Uncertainty." Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, 1997.
- "Macroeconomic Policy When Election Timing Is Certain But Outcomes Are Not."
 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 1996.
- "Fitting Elections into General Economic Equilibria." Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 1996.
- "Pluralism, Rationality, and the Possibility of Difference." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1996.
- "Macroeconomic Fluctuations Through Electoral Surprises and Ambiguity." Southern Political Science Association Meeting, 1995.
- "A Rational Choice Defense of Sims-VAR Economic Policy Analysis." American Political Science Association Meeting, 1995.
- "Political Behavior and Revealed Rationality." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1994.

- "The Concept of Rationality." XVI World Congress of the International Political Science Association, 1994.
- "Rationality in a Political Environment." Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 1993.
- "In Defense of the Rationality Assumption." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1993.
- "The Manipulation of Voter Preferences and Issue Spaces." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1993.
- "Political Identity and Political Behavior." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1992.
- "Ideology and Heresthetics." Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 1992.
- "A Conceptual Analysis of Ideology." Annual Meeting of the International Political Science Association, 1991.
- "The Reproduction of an Electoral Institution Through Rational Role Expectations."
 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, 1991
- "Rational Ideology." Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 1990.
- "The Place of Ideology in Rational Choice." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1990.
- "Rational Choice and Ideology." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 1990.
- "An Evidential Decision Theory of Turnout." Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, 1990.
- "Missing the Archimedean Point: Conservative Liberalism Versus Liberalism." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 1989.
- "Reconciling Rational Choice and Ideology," Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 1987.
- "Justice Between Institutions." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 1987.

- "The Nature of the Institutional Status Quo in Political Theory." Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 1986.
- "The Three R's of Political Theory: Realism, Relativism, and Reconciliation." Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 1985.
- "Institutional Necessities and Possibilities." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1985.
- "The Politics of Description." Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 1984.
- "A Foundation for Essentially Contested Political Concepts." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association," 1984.
- "Political Action and Political Freedom." Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 1983.
- "The Institutional Basis of Normative Political Theory." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1982.
- "Historical and Philosophical Materialism." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1981.
- "The Prospects for a Materialist Theory of Society." Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 1981.
- "Does Structuralism Have Any Redeeming Social Scientific Value?" Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, 1981.
- "The Shape of Utility Functions in the Political Arena." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1979.
- "Institutionalizing Consensus in the Social Sciences." Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, 1979.
- "Toward a Theory of Legitimacy." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1978.
- "The Institutional Resolution of the Fact-Value Dilemma." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1978.

LECTURES AND INVITED TALKS

- "Political Extremism," invited talk at School of Government, Nanjing University, 2016.
- "Why Do Voters Become Extremists? Electoral Extremism from the Left and the Right," invited talk at the Universidad Francisco Marroquin, Guatemala City, Guatemala, 2015.
- "China U.S. Relations," invited talk at the Harbin Engineering University, 2015.
- "The Dynamics of U.S. China Relations." Invited talk at Shanghai International Studies University, 2015.
- "U.S. Administrative Reform," invited talk at the Chinese Academy of Governance, 2015.
- "China & the U.S: Differences, Similarities, and China-U.S. Relations," invited talk at China Foreign Affairs University, 2014.
- "U.S. Governance," Executive Management Group, NORINCO Corporation, at UGA 2013, 2014, and 2015.
- "Political Extremism." China Foreign Affairs University, 2013.
- "Natural Disasters and Human Risk: The Role of Government." Northwestern Polytechnical Institute, Xi'an, China, 2011.
- "Natural Disasters and Human Risk: The Role of Government." International Symposium on "5-12" Massive Wenchuan Earthquake Reconstruction and Catastrophic Disaster Control, Chengdu, China, 2010.
- "Problems for Aging Societies." Northwestern Polytechnical Institute, Xi'an, China, 2010.
- "Elections." Beijing Administrative College, 2010.
- "Markets and the World-Wide Economic Crisis." Northwestern Polytechnical University, Xi'an, China, 2009.
- "Conflict Between Altruistic Generations: Social Security and the Politics of Aging Societies." States and Markets Speaker Series, SUNY at Buffalo, 2009.
- "China and the Politics of Aging Societies." Sichuan Administration Institute, 2006.
- "Issues of Economic Policy." Sichuan Administration Institute, 2006.

- "Liberal Liberalism and Conservative Liberalism." Beijing Administrative College, 2004.
- "Liberalism and Conservatism." Fudan University, 2004.
- "Game Theory in Political Science." Fudan University, 2004.
- "The Impact of Democracy on Policy Outcomes." Fudan University, 2004.
- "The Economics of Voting." Kyoto University, 2003.
- "Ideology for the People." University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1995.
- "In Defense of a Rationality Assumption." Vanderbilt University, 1993.
- "The Place of Politics in Collective Choice Theory: Liberals vs. Conservatives." UGA Humanities Center, 1987.
- "The Representation of Political Choice in Political Economy." Institute for Behavioral Research, University of Georgia, 1987.
- "Institutional Legitimacy." Institute for Behavioral Research, University of Georgia, 1980.
- "Systems Analysis and Multi-Valued Logics," Systems Analysis Workshop, University of Chicago, 1976.

EDITORIAL BOARD SERVICE

Journal of Theoretical Politics (1999 -)

Journal of Politics (1991-1997)

Social Science Quarterly (1987-1994)

OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

- Chair, Panel on the Economy and the Electorate, Annual Meeting of the European Political Science Association, 2016.
- Executive Council, Southern Political Science Association, 2010 2013
- Chair, Panel on Regime Type and Economic Performance, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 2012.

- Discussant, Panel on Regime Type and Economic Performance, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 2012.
- Chair, Panel on Economic Voting: The Impact of Recession Politics, Annual Meeting of the European Consortium for Political Research, 2011.
- Best Paper in Political Theory Award Committee, Midwest Political Science Association, 2010-11.
- Chair and Discussant, Panel on Electoral Competition and Candidate Behavior, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2006.
- Chair, Panel on Voter Mobilization, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2006.
- Chair, Panel on Elections and the Economy, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2005.
- Discussant, Panel on Voting Behavior: Adaptive Behavior and Experiments, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2005.
- Workshop on NSF's EITM Initiative, Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, 2005.
- Chair, Panel on the Economics of Voting, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2004.
- Discussant, Panel on Empirical Applications of Formal Theory, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2004.
- Roundtable on the Fiftieth Anniversary of David Easton's The Political System. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 2003.
- Chair, Panel on Federalism and Inter-Branch Bargaining, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1999
- Chair, Panel on Uncertainty and Stability, Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, 1997
- Discussant, Panel on Institutional Analysis of Constitutional Choice, Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, 1997
- Chair, Panel on Empirical Tests of Formal Theories, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 1996.

- Chair, Panel on Competing Conceptions of Liberalism, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 1994.
- Chair, Panel on Competing Conceptions of Liberalism, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 1994.
- Participant, "Causality in Crisis?" Notre Dame University, 1993.
- Political Theory Section Program Chair, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 1991
- 1989 Pi Sigma Alpha Best Paper Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association
- Program Organizer, Foundations of Political Theory APA Organized Section, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1990.
- Participant, Roundtable on Conceptual Analysis and the Critical Clarification of Theories, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1990
- Member of the Executive Council, Foundations of Political Theory APA Organized Section, 1989-1990
- Discussant, panel on Can Rational Choice Theory Explain Political Reality? Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 1990.
- Discussant, panel on Normative and Empirical Foundations, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1988.
- Co-organizer, Foundations of Political Theory Group Panels, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1987.
- Chair, panel on Skepticism, Ideology, and Faith by Way of Marx, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 1987.
- Co-organizer, Foundations of Political Theory Group Panels, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1986.
- Chair, Roundtable on Rationality and Political Theory, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1986.
- Discussant, panel on Ethics and Political Justification, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1984.

- Discussant, panel on Moral Objectivity, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1983.
- Discussant, panel on Max Weber and Political Theory, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1980.
- Conference on the Problems and Principles of a Free Society, Claremont, California, June 10-18, 1981 (participation supported by the Liberty Fund).
- Chair, panel on Empirical Theory, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 1981.
- Panel organizer, Presuppositions of Historical Materialism," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1981.

Reviewer: American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, American Politics Research, American Sociological Review, Chatham House, Cornell University Press, Dorsey Press, Economic Inquiry, Electoral Studies, European Journal of Political Research, Harvard University Press, Intelligence and National Security, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, Journal of Politics, Journal of Public Economics, Journal of Public Policy, Journal of Theoretical Politics, McGraw-Hill, National Science Foundation, Party Politics, Political Psychology, Political Research Quarterly, Polity, Public Choice, Random House, Social Choice and Welfare, Social Science Quarterly, Southeastern Political Science Review, Thomson Learning, University of California Press, Western Political Quarterly.

GRADUATE COURSES TAUGHT

POLS 7010: Research Design POLS 8020: Formal Analysis POLS 8040: Political Economy

POLGO 2050 E ... 1 P. 1:: 1 Fl

POLS 8050: Empirical Political Theory

POLS 8060: Systems of Political Philosophy