

# Jonathan P. Kastellec

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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE	Professor of Politics, Princeton University, September 2022-present Associate Professor of Politics, Princeton University, July 2017-August 2022 Assistant Professor of Politics, Princeton University, July 2009-2017
EDUCATION	Ph.D. (with distinction) in Political Science, 2009 Columbia University, New York, NY Dissertation: Three Essays on Hierarchical and Collegial Politics on the U.S. Courts of Appeals Committee: Jeffrey Lax, Charles Cameron, Gregory Wawro, David Epstein, and Gillian Metzger  M.Phil, Political Science, September 2006 Columbia University, New York, NY  M.A., Political Science, February 2004 Columbia University, New York, NY  B.A., <i>magna cum laude</i> , Government and English, May 2000 Georgetown University, Washington, DC
TEACHING AND RESEARCH INTERESTS	American Government: Judicial Politics, Congress, Public Opinion, Representation  Methodology: Quantitative Analysis, Formal Theory, Statistical Graphics
PUBLICATIONS	<b>Books</b>  <i>Making the Supreme Court The Politics of Appointments, 1930-2020</i> , with Charles M. Cameron. 2023. Oxford University Press.  This book examines the transformation of Supreme Court nominations over the past 90 years, showing how increased interest in the Court by interest groups, parties, and presidents has created the polarized politics of modern nominations.  Awarded the 2024 Neustadt Award from the Presidents and Executive Politics section of the American Political Science Association for the best book published that contributed to research and scholarship in the field of the

American presidency. Reviews: *Congress and the Presidency*, *Political Science Quarterly*

## Articles

“Mass versus Donor Attitudes on the Importance of Supreme Court Nominations,” with Brandice Canes-Wrone and Nicolas Studen. Forthcoming in the *American Political Science Review*.

“The Supreme Court: How Did We Get Here? And, What Comes Next,” with Charles M. Cameron. Forthcoming in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

“Is the U.S. Supreme Court Facing a Crisis of Democratic Legitimacy? A Review Essay.” *Political Science Quarterly*. 2024.

“The Politics of Accountability in Supreme Court Nominations: Voter Recall and Assessment of Senator Votes on Nominees.” with Leeann Bass and Charles M. Cameron. 2022. *Political Science Research Methods*. 10:677–702.

“A Theory of Policy Sabotage,” with Alexander Hirsch. 2022. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*. 34(2): 191-218

“The Revolving Door in Judicial Politics: Former Clerks and Agenda Setting on the U.S. Supreme Court,” with Huchen Liu. 2022. *American Politics Research*. 51:3-22

“Race, Context, and Judging on the Courts of Appeals: Race-Based Panel Effects in Death Penalty Cases.” 2021. *Justice System Journal*. 42(3-4): 394–415.

“From Textbook Pluralism to Modern Hyper-Pluralism: Interest Groups and Supreme Court Nominations, 1930-2017”, with Charles Cameron, Cody Gray, and Jee-Kwang Park. 2020. *Journal of Law & Courts*.

“Presidential Selection of Supreme Court Nominees: The Characteristics Approach,” 2019. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*. 14(4):439-474, with Charles Cameron and Lauren Mattioli.

“Judicial Federalism and Representation,” 2018. *Journal of Law & Courts*. 6(1):51-92. Winner of the Midwest Political Science Association’s 2016 Pi Sigma Alpha Award as the best paper presented at the MPSA’s annual conference, and 2019 Law & Courts Section of the American Political Science Association, Best Journal Article.

“How Courts Structure State-Level Representation,” 2018. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*. 18(1): 27-60

“The Judicial Hierarchy: A Review Essay,” 2017. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*: [politics.oxfordre.com](http://politics.oxfordre.com)

“Are Supreme Court Nominations a Move-the-Median Game?,” 2016. *American Political Science Review*, 110(4):778-97, with Charles Cameron.

“Signaling and Counter-Signaling in the Judicial Hierarchy: An Empirical Analysis of En Banc Review,” 2016. *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(2):490-508, with Deborah Beim and Alex Hirsch.

“Empirically Evaluating the Counter-Majoritarian Difficulty: Public Opinion, State Policy, and Judicial Decisions Before *Roe v. Wade*,” 2016. *Journal of Law & Courts*, 4(1):1-42. Winner of the American Political Science Association’s Law & Courts Section 2016 Best Conference Paper Award.

“The Politics of Opinion Assignment and Authorship on the U.S. Court of Appeals: Evidence from Sexual Harassment Cases,” 2015. *Journal of Legal Studies*, 44(S1):S59-S85, with Sean Farhang and Greg Wawro.

“Polarizing the Electoral Connection? Partisan Representation in Supreme Court Confirmation Politics,” 2015. *Journal of Politics*, 77(3):787-804, with Jeffrey Lax, Michael Malecki, & Justin Phillips.

“Source Cues and Public Support for the Supreme Court,” 2015. *American Politics Research*, 43(3):504-535, with Tom Clark. Winner of the 2013 Neal Tate Award for Outstanding Paper in Judicial Politics presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

“Whistleblowing and Compliance in the Judicial Hierarchy,” 2014. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(4):904-918, with Deborah Beim and Alex Hirsch. Winner of the American Political Science Association’s Law & Courts Section 2013 Best Conference Paper Award.

“The Interplay of Ideological Diversity, Dissents, and Discretionary Review in the Judicial Hierarchy: Evidence from Death Penalty Cases,” 2014. *Journal of Politics*, 2014, 76(4):1074-1088, with Deborah Beim.

“Racial Diversity and Judicial Influence on Appellate Courts,” 2013. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(1):167-83.

“The Supreme Court and Percolation in the Lower Courts: An Optimal Stopping Model,” 2013, *Journal of Politics*, 75(1):150-68, with Tom Clark.

“Voting for Justices: Change and Continuity in Confirmation Voting 1937-2010,” 2013. *Journal of Politics*, 72(2):283-99, with Jee Kwang Park and Charles Cameron.

“Hierarchical and Collegial Politics on the U.S. Courts of Appeals,” 2011.

*Journal of Politics*, 73(2):345-61. Winner of the American Political Science Association's Law & Courts Section 2009 CQ Award for Best Graduate Student Paper.

"Panel Composition and Voting on the United States Courts of Appeals Over Time," 2011, *Political Research Quarterly*, 64(2):377-91.

"Public Opinion and Senate Confirmation of Supreme Court Nominees," 2010. *Journal of Politics*, 72(3): 767-84, with Jeffrey Lax and Justin Phillips.

"The Statistical Analysis of Judicial Decisions and Legal Rules with Classification Trees," 2010. *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 7(2): 202-30.

"Case Selection and the Study of Judicial Politics," 2008. *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 5(3): 407-446, with Jeffrey Lax.

"The Playing Field Shifts: Predicting the Seats-Votes Curve in the 2008 U.S. House Elections," 2008. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 41(4): 729-32, with Andrew Gelman and Jamie Chandler.

"Predicting and Dissecting the Seats-Votes Curve in the 2006 U.S. House Election," 2008. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 41(1): 139-145, with Andrew Gelman and Jamie Chandler.

"Using Graphs Instead of Tables to Improve the Presentation of Empirical Results in Political Science," 2007. *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(4): 755-71, with Eduardo Leoni.

"Panel Composition and Judicial Compliance on the U.S. Courts of Appeals." 2007. *The Journal of Law, Economics & Organization*, 23(2): 421-41.

## **Book Chapters**

"The Role of Public Opinion in Supreme Court Confirmation Politics," with Jeffrey Lax and Justin Phillips, 2012 in *New Directions in Judicial Politics*, Kevin McGuire (ed.), New York: Routledge.

"Beautiful Political Data," with Andrew Gelman and Yair Ghitza, 2009, in *Beautiful Data: The Stories Behind Elegant Data Solutions*, Toby Segaran and Jeff Hammerbacher (eds.), Sebastopol, CA: O'Reilly Media, Inc.

RESEARCH  
IN PROGRESS

"Reviewing Fast or Slow: A Theory of Summary Reversal in the Judicial Hierarchy," with Alexander Hirsch and Anthony Taboni.

"Practical Advice for Producing Better Graphs."

"Interest Group Entry into a New Political Domain: Interest Group

Mobilization During Supreme Court Confirmations, 1930-2020,” with Charles Cameron.

“The Future of The Supreme Court: Evaluating its Ideological Composition and Possible Selection Reforms.” with Charles Cameron.

“Campaign Contributions and Judicial Decision Making: Evidence from the Texas Supreme Court.” with Michael Burnham and Isabel Schoeman.

OTHER WRITINGS, BOOK REVIEWS, AND MEDIA, Review of Boyd, Christina L., Paul M. Collins, Jr., and Lori A. Ringhand, *Supreme Bias: Gender and Race in U.S. Supreme Court Confirmation Hearings*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2023. Published in *Congress & the Presidency*. 2024. 51(2):225-226.

“[Conservatives may control the Supreme Court until the 2050s](#)”, with Charles Cameron. *Washington Post Monkey Cage blog*. December 14th, 2021. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/07343469.2024.2359347>

“[The Power of the Supreme Court,](#)” with Charles Cameron. *Before the Ballot Podcast, Princeton School of Public & International Affairs*, Sept. 27th, 2020.

Quoted in “[How Amy Coney Barrett Could Change The Supreme Court](#)”, *fivethirtyeight.com*, Sept. 25th, 2020.

“[Q&A: The Passing of Ruth Bader Ginsburg,](#)” with Charles Cameron. *Princeton School of Public and International Affairs*, Sept. 23rd, 2020.

“[The Litmus Test for a Supreme Court Nominee,](#)” with Charles Cameron. *Vox’s Mischiefs of Faction blog*, July 5th, 2018.

“[WWS Reacts: Neil M. Gorsuch Confirmed to Supreme Court.](#)” Woodrow Wilson School of Public & International Affairs. April 12th, 2007.

“[How American Voters Really Can Influence Merrick Garland’s Confirmation Battle,](#)” with Jeffrey Lax and Justin Phillips. *Washington Post Monkey Cage blog*. March 18th, 2016.

“[WWS Reacts: Obama Announces Nomination for Supreme Court.](#)” Woodrow Wilson School of Public & International Affairs. March 16th, 2016.

“[How Donald Trump’s Rise Complicates the Supreme Court Nomination Battle,](#)” with Charles Cameron. *Vox’s Mischiefs of Faction blog*, March 3rd, 2016.

“[How an Obama Supreme Court Nominee Could Win Confirmation in the Senate,](#)” with Charles Cameron. *Washington Post Monkey Cage blog*. February 17th, 2016.

“Partisan Cues Have a Significant Influence on the Public’s Support for the Supreme Court,” with Tom Clark. *The London School of Economics’ US Centre’s Daily Blog on American Politics and Policy*. June 16th, 2015.

“Judges Differ Substantially in their Likelihood of Granting Relief from a Death Sentence, but Several Features of the Federal Judicial Hierarchy Increase Legal Consistency,” with Deborah Beim. *The London School of Economics’ US Centre’s Daily Blog on American Politics and Policy*. August 7th, 2014.

COURSES TAUGHT **Undergraduate:** The Politics of Crime and Punishment, Judicial Politics, Research Methods in Political Science, The Separation of Powers in American Politics

**Graduate:** Judicial Politics, American Political Institutions

GRANTS, AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS 2019 Grant from Princeton’s 250th Fund for Innovation in Undergraduate Education to develop the course “The Politics of Crime and Punishment.”

Grant from the Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice, Princeton University, “The Politics of Supreme Court Nominations: America’s Separation-of-Powers System at Work from Hoover to Trump,” 2017-18, with Charles M. Cameron.

2017 Law & Courts Section of the American Political Science Association, Best Conference Paper: “Judicial Federalism and Representation.”

2017 Law & Courts Section of the American Political Science Association, Best Journal Article (*honorable mention*, with Charles M. Cameron): “Are Supreme Court Nominations a Move-the-Median Game?”

2017 Law & Courts Section of the American Political Science Association, Best Journal Article (*honorable mention*, with Deborah Beim and Alex Hirsch): “Signaling and Counter-Signaling in the Judicial Hierarchy: An Empirical Analysis of *En Banc* Review”

2016 Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the Best Paper Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association’s Annual Meeting: “Judicial Federalism and Representation.”

2016 Law & Courts Section of the American Political Science Association, Best Conference Paper: “Empirically Evaluating the Counter-Majoritarian Difficulty: Public Opinion, State Policy, and Judicial Review Before *Roe v. Wade*.”

Grant from Princeton University’s Committee on Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences. “Judicial Federalism, State Policy, and Representation.” 2014-16.

Samuel Davies Presidential University Preceptorship, three-year honorific fellowship for assistant professors, Princeton University, 2013-2016.

2013 Neal Tate Award for Outstanding Paper in Judicial Politics presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association (with Tom Clark). “External Politics and the Conditional Nature of Public Support for the U.S. Supreme Court.” (Note: The published version of this paper is called “Source Cues and Public Support for the Supreme Court.”)

2013 Law & Courts Section of the American Political Science Association, Best Conference Paper (with Deborah Beim and Alex Hirsch): “Whistleblowing and Compliance in the Judicial Hierarchy.”

2009 Law & Courts section of the American Political Science Association, CQ Award for Best Graduate Student Paper: “Hierarchical and Collegial Politics on the U.S. Courts of Appeals.”

Grant from the Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice, Princeton University, “The Role of Strategic Communication in the Judicial Hierarchy: Evidence from Death Penalty Cases” 2011-12.

Grant from the Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice, Princeton University, “Race, Judging and Deliberation on the U.S. Courts of Appeals.” 2009-10.

GSAS Fellowship, Columbia University Graduate Program in Political Science, 2002-2003, 2003-2004, 2004-2005, 2005-2006, 2006-2007, 2007-2008, 2008-2009

GSAS Summer Fellowship, Columbia University Graduate Program in Political Science, 2004, 2006

Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models (EITM) Institute, Washington University, 2005

PH.D.  
COMMITTEES

Julian Dean (Defended Winter 2021)

Lauren Mattioli (Defended Winter 2019; accepted tenure-track position at Boston University)

Sepehr Shahshahani (Defended Spring 2019, accepted tenure-track position at Fordham Law School)

Deborah Beim (Defended Spring 2013; accepted tenure-track position at Yale)

Phillip Wallach (defended Spring 2012; accepted position at the Brookings Institute)

PRINCETON  
UNIVERSITY

Member of the Judicial Committee, 2023-24.

Member of the Committee on Discipline, 2022-23.

Member of the Executive Committee for the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, 2017-2019.

Graduate Coordinator and Subfield Leader for American Politics and Public Law, 2018-19.

Faculty Reader for Dale Fellowship Applications, 2014

Academic Adviser, First College (formerly Wilson College), 2012-2013, 2013-2014, 2016-2017, 2019-20, 2020-21

Undergraduate Comprehensive Exam Committee, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2017

Senior Thesis Committee, 2012

Politics Department Advisory Committee, 2012-13, 2016-17