THOMAS E. MANN

Present Position

W. Averell Harriman Chair and Senior Fellow, 1991 to present
The Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C., 20036
202-797-6050 Office
302-908-6043 Cell
202-797-6144 Fax
tmann@brookings.edu

Employment History

Director, Governmental Studies Program, The Brookings Institution, 1987-1999

Executive Director, American Political Science Association, 1981 to 1987.

Visiting Fellow and Co-Director, Congress Project (1979 to 1981) and Adjunct Scholar(1981 to 1985), American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Assistant Director (1977 to 1981), Staff Associate (1970 to 1976), and Director, Congressional Fellowship Program (1970 to 1980), American Political Science Association.

APSA Congressional Fellow, 1969 to 1970. Served as legislative assistant to Representative James G. O'Hara and Senator Philip A. Hart.

Assistant Study Director, Survey Research Center, and Instructor, ICPSR Summer Program, University of Michigan, 1968 to 1969.

Professional Activities and Awards

Best Book of 2012 Wonky Award for *It's Even Worse Than It Looks* (with Norman Ornstein). Washington Post Wonkblog Team, December 2012.

"100 Top Global Thinkers in 2012" (with Norman Ornstein) for "diagnosing America's political dysfunction." Foreign Policy Magazine, December 2012,

Co-Director, World Forum on Governance, Prague, Czech Republic, 2011, 2012.

Athenaeum Lecturer, Claremont McKenna College, March 29, 2011.

Keynote Speaker, Symposium on "The Impact of Citizens United: Corporate Speech in

The 2010 Elections," The John Marshall Law Review, March 4, 2011.

Lead Affirmative, "Does the Infusion of Corporate Money into Political Campaigns Threaten the Integrity of the American Political System? The Great Debate, Boston University, November 10, 2010.

Inaugural Lecturer, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vanderbilt University, October 28, 2010.

Member, Council, American Political Science Association, 2009-2011.

Member, Selection Board, Canada Excellence Research Chairs (CERC) Program, 2008-2010.

Miegunyah Distinguished Visiting Fellow, University of Melbourne, Australia, April-May 2009.

The American Experience Distinguished Lecturer, Honors College, University of Pittsburgh, December 3, 2008.

Miller-Converse Lecturer, University of Michigan, April 19, 2007.

Hunter B. Andrews Distinguished Fellow in American Politics, College of William and Mary, March 26-27, 2007.

State of Democracy Lecturer, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, February 9, 2007.

Lewitt Lecturer, 50th Anniversary, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, February 5, 2007.

Pi Sigma Alpha Lecturer, Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January 4, 2007.

James E. Webb Lecturer, National Academy of Public Administration, November 16, 2006.

Hartigan Lecturer, Loyola University Chicago, November 15, 2006.

Excellence in Public Service Award, School of Public Policy and Management, Ohio State University, May 12, 2005.

James C. Kautz Lecturer, University of Cincinnati, October 28, 2004.

William G. and Mary A. Nyce Lecturer, Juniata College, September 13, 2004.

Philip Lind Chair Lecturer, University of British Columbia, March 18, 2004.

Harry Lee Waterfield Distinguished Lecturer in Public Affairs, Murray State University, April 10, 2003.

Monroe-Paine Distinguished Lecturer in Public Affairs, Truman School of Public Affairs, University of Missouri-Columbia, September 27, 2002.

Expert Witness, U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Election Commission and Defendant Intervenors, *McConnell v. FEC*, concerning the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002.

Distinguished Speaker, Political Science Department Banquet, University of Florida, April 4, 2002.

Pi Sigma Alpha Lecturer, Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, November 8, 2001

Charles E. Merriam Award, American Political Science Association, August 30, 2001 for "a significant contribution to the art of government through the application of social science research" (shared with Robert A. Katzmann).

Visiting Professor, Princeton University, 2001.

John C. Donovan Lecturer, Bowdoin College, April 11, 2001.

Civic Education Recognition Award, The Washington Center for Internships and Academic Seminars, March 5, 2001 (shared with Sheilah Mann)

James C. Kautz Lecturer, University of Cincinnati, October 19, 2000.

Robert T. Miller Distinguished Lecturer, Baylor University, October 17, 2000.

Pi Sigma Alpha Lecturer, New England Political Science Association, May 5, 2000.

International Media Visitor, Government of Australia, April 1-12, 2000.

Frank J. Goodnow Award for Distinguished Service, American Political Science Association, September 1, 1999.

Pi Sigma Alpha Award, National Capital Area Political Science Association, March 6, 1999.

John C. Donovan Lecturer, Bowdoin College, February 15, 1999.

Resident Scholar, Bellagio Study and Conference Center, The Rockefeller Foundation,

February 1998.

Hubert Humphrey Award (shared with Norman Ornstein), Policy Studies Organization, Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 29, 1997.

Co-chair (with David Broder), The Presidential Election Process, Salzburg Seminar, May 1996.

Commencement Speaker, Sangamon State University, May 13, 1995.

Bone Lecturer, Illinois State University, October 24, 1995.

Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Elected in 1993. Class III Membership Committee: Member, 2001-2003, Chair, 2003-2007.

Member, Phi Beta Kappa. Elected in 1993.

J. Douglas Gibson Lecturer, Queen's University, Canada, November 16, 1992.

Program Chair, 1992 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Member, Council on Foreign Relations. Elected in 1991.

Fellow, National Academy of Public Administration. Elected in 1989.

Chairman, Board of Overseers, National Election Studies, 1990 to 1994; member, 1987 to 1994.

Lecturer, Congressional Quarterly Elections Seminars, 1980 to present.

Chairman, Congressional Fellowship Program Advisory Committee, American Political Science Association, 1987 to 1995.

Member, Editorial Board, *American Political Science Review*, 1989 to 1991, and *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 1988 to 1993.

Member, Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellowships Board, Institute of Medicine, 1985 to 1989.

Visiting Professor, Johns Hopkins University (1987), Georgetown University (1984), University of Virginia (1980), Catholic University (1978), American University (1977), University of Massachusetts (1973 to 1974).

Hyneman Lecturer, Indiana University, October 5, 1988.

Cutler Lecturer, University of Rochester, March 18, 1987.

Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 1987 to 1988 (postponed).

Elections consultant, IBM, 1986.

Consultant on redistricting cases for the New Jersey Assembly and the State of Alaska, 1984 to 1985.

Chairman, Executive Committee, Consortium of Social Science Associations, 1982 to 1984.

Lecturer, U.S. Information Agency/Department of State: Yugoslavia and Israel, May 1980; Britain, January 1981; France, Switzerland and Italy, May 1984; Italy, 2008; Australia, 2009; London, 2010.

William Bennett Munro Memorial Lecturer, Stanford University, May 12, 1983.

Member, Technical Advisory Committee, Democratic National Committee's Commission on Presidential Nominations (Hunt Commission), 1981 to 1982, and Fairness Commission, 1985 to 1986.

Marketing Research Consultant, Public Broadcasting Service, 1978 to 1981.

Political Polling Consultant, Democratic Study Group Campaign Fund, 1974 to 1978.

Member, Standing Committee on Congressional Elections Research, National Elections Studies, 1977 to 1978 and 1985 to 1987, and 1986 Study Planning Committee.

Member, Democratic National Committee's Commission on Presidential Nomination and Party Structure (Winograd Commission), 1975 to 1978.

Education

B.A., 1966, University of Florida (Phi Eta Sigma, Phi Kappa Phi, political science honors program, cum laude).

M.A., 1968, and Ph.D., 1977, University of Michigan.

Selected Publications

"Mobilization of Liberal Strength in the House, 1955-1970: The Democratic Study Group," *American Political Science Review*, Volume 68 (June 1974), pp. 667-681 (with A. Miller and A. Stevens). Reprinted in Robert L. Peabody and Nelson W. Polsby

(eds.), *New Perspectives on the House of Representatives* (3rd edition, Rand McNally, 1977).

Unsafe at Any Margin: Interpreting Congressional Elections (American Enterprise Institute, 1978). Chapter 3 is reprinted in Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg (eds.), *Controversies in Voting Behavior* (2nd edition, CQ Press, 1984).

"Candidates and Parties in Congressional Elections," *American Political Science Review*, September 1980 (with R. Wolfinger). Reprinted in Louis Sandy Maisel and Joseph Cooper, *Congressional Elections*, Sage Electoral Studies Yearbook, Volume 6 (Sage, 1981), and in *Controversies in Voting Behavior* (2nd edition).

Vital Statistics on Congress 1980 (American Enterprise Institute, 1980) with J. Bibby and N. Ornstein.

"1980: A Republican Revival in Congress?" *Public Opinion* (Oct/Nov 1980) with N. Ornstein.

"Congress and the President: A Response to Lloyd Cutler," *Foreign Affairs* (Winter 1980-81) with N. Ornstein. Reprinted in Thomas E. Cronin (ed.), *Rethinking the Presidency* (Little, Brown, 1982).

The New Congress (American Enterprise Institute, 1981) co-editor with N. Ornstein and author of "Elections and Change in Congress".

"The Republican Surge in Congress" in Austin Ranney (ed.), *The American Elections of 1980* (American Enterprise Institute, 1981) with N. Ornstein.

"The 1982 Election: What Will It Mean?" *Public Opinion* (June/July 1981) with N. Ornstein.

"United States Congressmen in Comparative Perspective," in Ezra N. Suleiman, ed., *Parliaments and Parliamentarians in Democratic Politics* (Holmes & Meier, 1986).

"Changes in the External Political Environment of Congress: Implications of Presidential Leadership," in James Sterling Young (ed.), *Problems and Prospects of Presidential Leadership in the Nineteen-Eighties*, Volume II (University Press of America, 1982).

Vital Statistics on Congress 1982 (American Enterprise Institute, 1982) with N. Ornstein, M. Malbin and J. Bibby.

"Election '82: The Voters Send a Message," *Public Opinion* (December/January 1983) with N. Ornstein.

The American Elections of 1982 (American Enterprise Institute, 1983) co-editor with N. Ornstein.

"Congressional Elections: What's Ahead," *Public Opinion* (June/July 1984) with N. Ornstein.

Vital Statistics on Congress, 1984-85 Edition (American Enterprise Institute, 1984) with N. Ornstein, M. Malbin, J. Bibby, A. Schick.

"Elected Officials and the Politics of Presidential Selection," in Austin Ranney (ed.), *The American Elections of 1984* (Duke University Press, 1985).

"Should the Presidential Nominating System be Changed (Again)?" Paper presented to the Conference on Presidential Primaries at the Gerald R. Ford Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, April 24-26, 1985, and published in George Grassmuck (ed.), *Before Nomination: Our Primary Problems* (American Enterprise Institute, 1985).

"Is the House of Representatives Unresponsive to Political Change?" in A. James Reichley (ed.), *Elections American Style* (Brookings, 1987).

Vital Statistics on Congress (Congressional Quarterly, 1987-88, 1989-90, 1991-92, 1993-94, 1995-96, 1997-98) with N. Ornstein and M. Malbin.

"Getting Rid of the Budget Deficit: Why We Should and How We Can," *The Brookings Review* (Winter 1988-1989) with Charles L. Schultze. Reprinted in *Critical Choices* (Brookings 1988).

"Thinking About the Reagan Years," in Larry Berman (ed.), *Looking Back at the Reagan Presidency* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

A Question of Balance: The President, the Congress and Foreign Policy, editor, (Brookings, 1990).

"Breaking the Political Impasse," in Henry J. Aaron (ed.), *Setting National Priorities* (Brookings, 1990).

"Lifting Spirits in Washington," *The Brookings Review* (Summer 1990).

"The Democratic Opposition," *The Brookings Review* (Fall 1991).

"The Wrong Medicine: Term Limits Won't Cure What Ails Congressional Elections," *The Brookings Review* (Spring 1992).

Media Polls in American Politics (Brookings, 1992) co-editor with G. Orren.

"Forecasting the 1992 Presidential Election," *The Brookings Review* (Fall 1992) with J. Campbell.

Renewing Congress: A First Report (American Enterprise Institute and The Brookings Institution, 1992) with N. Ornstein.

"From Campaigning to Governing," *The Brookings Review* (Winter 1992).

Renewing Congress: A Second Report (American Enterprise Institute and The Brookings Institution, 1993) with N. Ornstein.

Values and Public Policy (Brookings, 1994) co-editor with H. Aaron and T. Taylor).

"Shipshape? A Progress Report on Congressional Reform," *The Brookings Review* (Spring 1994), with N. Ornstein.

Elections At Home and Abroad: Essays in Honor of Warren E. Miller (University of Michigan Press, 1994) co-editor with M. K. Jennings.

"Congressional Term Limits: A Bad Idea Whose Time Should Never Come," in Edward Crane and Roger Pilon (eds.), *The Politics and Law of Term Limits* (Cato Institute, 1994).

Congress, the Press, and the Public (Brookings and AEI, 1994) co-editor with N. Ornstein.

"After the Electoral Earthquake," *The Brookings Review* (Winter 1995).

"Slaying the Dinosaur: The Case for Reforming the Senate Filibuster," *The Brookings Review* (Summer 1995) with S. Binder.

Intensive Care: How Congress Shapes Health Policy (Brookings and AEI, 1995) co-editor with N. Ornstein.

"Renewing Congress: A Report From the Front Lines," in James A. Thurber and Roger H. Davidson (eds.), *Remaking Congress* (CQ Press, 1995).

“Campaign Finance Blues,” *The Brookings Review* (Summer 1996).

“Forecasting the Presidential Election: What Can we Learn From the Models?” *The Brookings Review* (Fall 1996), with James Campbell.

“Campaign Finance Reform: Dead on Arrival?” *The Brookings Review* (Spring 1997).

“How to Clean Elections, Continued,” *The American Prospect* (May/June 1997)

"A Plea for Realism," Symposium on New Directions for Campaign Finance Reform, *Boston Review* (April/May 1997).

"Reforming Campaign Finance," Working Paper distributed widely and posted on the Brookings web page, December 17, 1996, and distributed as "5 Ideas For Practical Campaign Reform" by the League of Women Voters Education Fund, with Anthony Corrado, Michael Malbin, Norman Ornstein, and Paul Taylor.

"Political Communication in an Apolitical Nation" in *Political Communication in the Information Society: The Findings of a German-American Workshop* (Bertelsmann Foundation Publishers, 1997) with E.J. Dionne, Jr. and Stephen Hess.

Campaign Finance Reform: A Sourcebook (Brookings, 1997) co-editor with A. Corrado, D. Ortiz, T. Potter, and F. Sorauf.

"Deregulating Campaign Finance: Solution or Chimera?" *The Brookings Review* (Winter 1998).

"Is the Era of Big Government Over?" *The Public Perspective* (February/March 1998).

"Citizens to the Rescue," *The Brookings Review* (Winter 1999).

"The U.S. Campaign Finance System Under Strain" in *Setting National Priorities*, edited by Henry Aaron and Robert Reischauer (Brookings, 1999).

"Big Money, Bad Politics," *The World in 2000* (The Economist Group, 1999).

Vital Statistics on Congress, 1999-2000 (American Enterprise Institute, 2000) With N. Ornstein and M. Malbin.

The State of Governance in America 2000, The Brookings Review (Winter 2000), guest editor and co-author.

The Permanent Campaign and Its Future (AEI and Brookings, 2000), Co-editor with N. Ornstein.

"Why a Presidential Dead Heat in 2000? *The Brookings Review* (Winter 2001)

"Reflections on the 2000 U.S. Presidential Election" *Politique Etrangère* (January 2001)

"Political Money and Party Finance" *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Volume 3.11 (2001).

"An Agenda for Election Reform" *Brookings Policy Brief* (June 2001).

"I $ New York: Bloomberg Batters Campaign Finance Reform" *The American Prospect*, December 17, 2001, pp. 17-18, with N. Ornstein.

"Lessons for Reformers" in *Financing the 2000 Elections*, edited by David B. Magleby (Brookings, 2002).

"A Foot in Both Camps: Building a Career in Washington and Academe" in *Policy Passages: Career Choices for Policy Wonks*, edited by Howard J. Wiarda (Praeger, 2002).

Vital Statistics on Congress, 2001-2002 (American Enterprise Institute, 2002) *with N. Ornstein and M. Malbin.*

Governance For a New Century: Japanese Problems, American Experiences (JCIE and Brookings, 2002), Co-editor with T. Sasaki.

"Linking Knowledge and Action: Political Science and Campaign Finance Reform" *Perspectives on Politics* (March 2003).

Inside the Campaign Finance Battle: Court Testimony on the New Reforms (Brookings, 2003) edited with A. Corrado and T. Potter.

Polling and Public Opinion: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly, Brookings Review (Summer 2003) co-edited with E. J. Dionne, Jr.

"The United States of America: Democratic Exemplar?" *National Civic Review* (Fall 2003).

"The Battle Over Campaign Finance: Prospects for the New Reform Law" *Brookings Review* (Fall 2003).

"Separating Myth From Reality in *McConnell v. FEC*" *Election Law Journal*, Volume 3, Number 2 (March 2004) with Norman Ornstein.

"*McConnell v. FEC*: A New World of Campaign Finance in the United States?" *Electoral Insight* (March 2004) with Anthony Corrado.

"Juice Worth the Squeeze" *Trust*, Volume VII, Number 1 (Spring 2004).

"L'impossible reforme du financement des campagnes electorales" in Guillaume Parmentier, *Les Etats-Unis Aujourd'hui, Choc et Changement* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2004).

"In the Wake of BCRA: An Early Report on Campaign Finance in the 2004 Elections" *The Forum:* Vol. 2: No. 2, Article 3, http://www.bepress.com/forum/vol2/iss2/art3 with Anthony Corrado.

"Democracy Undone" *Reader's Digest* (October 2004).

"Campaigning and Governing: The 2004 Elections and Their Aftermath" *Juniata Voices*, Vol. 5, 2005.

"Redistricting Reform" *The National Voter* (June 2005).

"Is Reform of America's Electoral System Possible? In *Uniting America: Restoring the Vital Center in American Politics*, edited by Norton Garfinkle and Daniel Yankelovich (Yale University Press, 2005).

*The New Campaign Finance Sourcebook (*Brookings, 2005) with A.Corrado, D. Ortiz and T. Potter.

Party Lines: Competition, Partisanship and Congressional Redistricting (Brookings, 2005) Edited with B. Cain.

"Lessons for Reformers" in *Financing the 2004 Elections*, edited by David Magleby, Anthony Corrado, and Kelly Patterson (Brookings, 2006).

The Broken Branch: How Congress is Failing America and How to Get It Back on Track (Oxford University Press, 2006) with N. Ornstein.

"How to Think About the November 2006 Elections" *Issues in Governance Studies* (Brookings, July 2006).

"Polarizing the House of Representatives: How Much Does Gerrymandering Matter?" in *Red and Blue Nation? Characteristics and Causes of America's Polarized Politics*, edited by Pietro S. Nivola and David W. Brady (Brookings, 2006).

"You've Got The Power" *Reader's Digest*, (November 2006) with N. Ornstein.

"When Congress Checks Out" *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2006) with N. Ornstein.

"Don't Do Unto Others" *Washington Monthly* (December 2006) with N. Ornstein.

"A Collapse of the Campaign Finance Regime?" *The Forum* (April 2008).

Vital Statistics on Congress 2008, (Brookings Press, 2008), with N. Ornstein and M. Malbin.

The Broken Branch: How Congress is Failing America and How to Get it Back on Track, 2nd ed. (Oxford University Press, 2008), with N. Ornstein.

"Is Congress Still A Broken Branch?" in *Congress Reconsidered*, 9th ed., eds. L. Dodd and B. Oppenheimer (CQ Press, 2008), with N. Ornstein.

"From Campaigning to Governing: Politics and Policymaking in the New Obama

Administration," Miegunyah Lecture, University of Melbourne, April 2009.

"Is This Any Way to Pick a President?," in *Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process*, eds. S. Smith and M. Springer (Brookings Press, 2009).

"Money in the 2008 Presidential Election: A Collapse of the Campaign Finance Regime?" in *Evolution and Revolution in the Nominations Process*, eds. J. Citrin and D. Carol (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2009).

"Reform in an Age of Networked Campaigns: How to foster citizen participation through small donors and volunteers," (Campaign Finance Institute, American Enterprise Institute and Brookings, 2010) with A. Corrado, M. Malbin and N. Ornstein.

"American Politics on the Eve of the Mid-Term Elections" in *The World Today* (Chatham House, November 2010).

"Lessons for Reformers" in *Financing the 2008 Elections*, eds. Anthony Corrado and David Magleby (Brookings, 2011).

"Congress" in *Developments in American Politics*, eds. G. Peele, C.J. Bailey, B. Cain and B.G. Peters (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

"G-20 Summitry: Domestic Leadership in a Polarized and Globalized World" in *Global Leadership In Transition: Making the G20 More Effective and Responsive*, eds. Colin Bradford and Wonhyuk Lim (Brookings, 2011).

"Commentary: Campaign Finance in the Wake of *Citizens United*, *The John Marshall Law Review* (Spring 2011).

"Constraints on Leadership in Congress," Issues in Governance Studies (No. 41, July 2011, The Brookings Institution) with Sarah A. Binder

"Congress: The Good News is No More Gridlock …" *Washington Monthly* (January/February 2012) with N. Ornstein.

It's Even Worse Than It Looks: How the American Constitutional System Collided With the New Politics of Extremism (Basic Books, 2012) with N. Ornstein.

"The Ugly Truth About the Ugly Politics of Health Care," in *Campaign 2012*, edited by Benjamin Wittes (Brookings, 2012).

"Five Delusions About Our Broken Politics" in The American Interest (June 2012) with N. Ornstein.

"Does Journalistic Balance Hurt American Journalism?: A Q&A with Thomas Mann, Columbia Journalism Review website, July 31, 2012.

"The Election and the Future" in Democracy Journal (Fall 2012) with N. Ornstein.

"Making Voting Mandatory and Filibusters Extinct" in The American Prospect (Nov/Dec 2012).

"Yes, Congress Is That Bad" in Foreign Policy (December 2012) with N. Ornstein.

Personal Data

Born September 10, 1944 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Married to Sheilah Mann.
Two children: Ted (born May 18, 1977) and Stephanie (born March 10, 1979).
Home: 6508 Goldleaf Drive
Bethesda, Maryland 20817
301-229-8928 Home

Revised January 14, 2013