

# Russell Muirhead

Dartmouth College  
Department of Government  
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## Professional

**Robert Clements Professor of Democracy and Politics and Professor of Government**, Dartmouth College, 2009- present

Co-Director, Political Economy Project, 2014-present  
Chair, Government Department, 2019-2021  
Interim Director, Rockefeller Center for Public Policy, 2019-20  
Committee on Priorities, 2019-20, Chair, 2019-21  
Council on Benefits, 2017-2021; Chair 2018-20;  
Budget Committee, 2019-21  
Retirement Plan Governance Committee, 2019-21  
Strategic Budget Team (all-university) 2020-21  
Social Sciences Divisional Council, 2018-21  
Chair, Committee on Student Life, 2012-14

**State Representative**, New Hampshire House of Representatives, 2020-present

Grafton County District 12, Hanover, Etna, and Lyme. Committee on Election Law

**Associate Professor**, Department of Government, University of Texas at Austin, 2006-2009

Executive Committee of Department of Government (elective membership; responsible for hiring, promotions, and compensation for department of 50+ faculty)

**Associate Professor**, Department of Government, Harvard University, 2002-2006; Assistant Professor, 1998-2002

Head Tutor in Government, 2000-2003 (administered undergraduate program for 50 faculty, 550 majors)  
Faculty Council, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, 2000-2003 (elective membership)

**Assistant Professor**, Political Science, Williams College, 1996-1998

## Education

*Ph.D, Government*, 1996  
Department of Government  
Harvard University

*BA, Philosophy, Politics, and Economics*, “1st,” 1990  
Balliol College, Oxford University

*AB, Government*, 1988  
Harvard University

## Publications

### **Books**

*A Lot of People Are Saying: The New Conspiracism and the Assault on Democracy.*  
Coauthored with Nancy L. Rosenblum  
Princeton University Press, 2019; paperback edition with new Foreword by authors, 2020

*The Promise of Party in a Polarized Age.*  
Harvard University Press, 2014

*Just Work*  
Harvard University Press, 2004

### **Shorter Writings**

“The Path from Conspiracy to Ungoverning,” with Nancy L. Rosenblum, *Social Research*, Vol. 89, No. 3 (Fall 2022)

“Conspiracy in America,” with Nancy L. Rosenblum, *American Educator*, Vol. 86 No. 3 (Fall 2022) 32-37

“The Ethics of Partisanship,” with Nancy L. Rosenblum, *Political Ethics*, Edward Hall & Andrew Sabl, eds., Princeton University Press, 2022

“Conspiracy and Democracy, Same as Always? We Don’t Think So,” with Nancy L. Rosenblum, review of Joseph E. Uscinski and Joseph M. Parent, *American Conspiracy Theories*, in *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. 134, No. 4, 507-510 (Winter 2021)

“[Conspiracy and the Undoing of Democracy 2021.](#)” with Nancy L. Rosenblum, *The Constitutionalist*, April 14, 2021

“Will Reality Bite Back: Conspiratorial Fictions and the Assault on Democracy,” *The Forum*, Vol 18, No. 3, pp. 415-433 (2020).

“Anthony Downs: *An Economic Theory of Democracy*,” in Jacob T. Levy ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Contemporary Political Theory*, (Online publication: Sept 2020), at [DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198717133.013.32](https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198717133.013.32)

“The Political Theory of Parties and Partisanship: Catching Up,” with Nancy L. Rosenblum, *The American Review of Political Science*, 2020. Vol 23, 95-110.

- “Will the Election of 2020 Prove To Be the End or a New Beginning,” with Jeffrey K. Tulis, *Polity*, Vol. 52, No 3 (July 2020), 339-54, at <https://doi.org/10.1086/708945>
- “Resisting Abusive Legalism: Electoral Fairness and the Partisan Commitment to Political Pluralism,” with Lise Esther Herman, first author; *Representation: A Journal of Representative Democracy*, published online 8 April 2020 at <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344893.2020.1744701>
- “Conspiracism and Delegation,” with Nancy L. Rosenblum, Matthew Landauer, Jeffrey Tulis, and Nadia Urbinati, *Contemporary Political Theory*, vol. 19 no. 1 (March 2020): 142-174.
- “Partisan Justification,” *Political Theory*, 2019 vol. 47 no. 1: 82-89
- “The Logic of Politics,” *Contemporary Political Theory*, vol. 17 no. 3 (August 2018): 331-62
- “The New Conspiracists,” with Nancy L. Rosenblum, *Dissent*, Democracy in Crisis issue, Winter 2018, 51-60
- Foreword to the 2017 edition of Jeffrey K. Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency*, Princeton University Press, 2017
- “The Epistemic Basis for Political Opposition: Rejoinder to Min,” *Critical Review*, 28:3-4 (2016) 412-419
- Review, Daniel Schlozman, *When Movements Anchor Parties: Electoral Alignments in American History*, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Volume 47, Number 2, Autumn 2016, 239-41.
- Critical Dialogue with Prof. Hans Noel including review *Political Ideologies and Political Parties in America*, and my response to his review of *The Promise of Party*, in *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 4, No. 3, (September 2016) 847-51.
- “Speaking Truth to Conspiracy: Partisanship and Trust,” with Nancy L. Rosenblum, *Critical Review* Vol 28, No. 1, (2016) 23-88.
- “The Uneasy Place of Parties in the Constitutional Order,” with Nancy L. Rosenblum, in Mark Graber, Sanford Levinson, and Mark Tushnet eds., *The Oxford Handbook on the U. S. Constitution*, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 217-240.
- “The Prudential Path of Natural Rights,” *Law and Liberty Forum*, October 15, 2015, available at <http://www.libertylawsite.org/liberty-forum/the-prudential-path-of-natural-rights/>
- “Assessment, Proportionality, and Justice in War,” with B.J. Strawser, in Leo J. Blanken, Hy Rothstein and Jason J. Lepore, eds., *Assessing War: The Challenge of Measuring Success and Failure*, Georgetown University Press, 2015, pp. 255-265.
- “Finding the Center,” in *Solutions to Political Polarization in America*, Nathaniel Persily, ed., Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 230-239.
- “Work,” entry in *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, Michael Gibbons, Diana Coole, Elisabeth Ellis, and Kennan Ferguson, eds., (Wiley-Blackwell, 2014).
- “The Politics of Getting It Right,” *Critical Review* 26, nos. 1-2 (2014): 115-28; for symposium on Helene Landemore’s *Democratic Reason*
- “The Political Virtue,” review essay, *Tulsa Law Review* 49, no. 2 (Winter 2013): 251-265.

- “The Case for Partisan Loyalty,” in *Nomos III: Loyalty* edited by Sanford Levinson, Joel Parker, and Paul Woodruff, NYU Press, 2013.
- “Communitarianism,” in Hugh LaFollette, ed., *International Encyclopedia of Ethics*, Blackwell, 2013, pp. 926-932.
- “Meaningful Work and Politics,” *The Hedgehog Review*, fall 2012, pp. 21-29.
- “The Partisan Connection,” with Nancy L. Rosenblum, *California Law Review Circuit*, Vol 3 (March 2012), 99-112.
- “Achieving Justice by Democratic Means,” review of Ian Shapiro, *The Real World of Democratic Theory*, *The Review of Politics* 74 (2012).
- “The Ethics of Exit: Moral Obligation in the Afghan Endgame,” in Hy Rothstein and John Arquilla, eds., *Afghan Endgames*, Georgetown University Press, 2012.
- “The Work Ethic,” in *Endangered Virtues*, (2011), an online volume edited by Peter Berkowitz, <http://www.endangeredvirtuesessays.com>; Stanford University Press.
- “Civic Knowledge,” in *Endangered Virtues*, (2011), an online volume edited by Peter Berkowitz, <http://www.endangeredvirtuesessays.com>; Stanford University Press
- “The Ancients Among Us,” review essay, *The University of Texas Law Review*, Vol. 89, No. 3 (February 2011), 671-686.
- “Counterinsurgency Ethics,” in Heather S. Gregg, Hy S. Rothstein, and John Arquilla eds., *The Three Circles of War: Understanding the Dynamics of Conflict in Iraq*, (Potomac Books, 2010).
- “Can Deliberative Democracy Be Partisan?” *Critical Review* 22:2 (2010).
- “Respectable Partisanship,” in Mary Ann McGrail and Sharon R. Krause, eds., *The Arts of Rule: Essays in Honor of Harvey C. Mansfield*, (Lexington Books, 2008).
- “A Defense of Party Spirit,” *Perspectives on Politics*, December 2006.
- “Political Liberalism vs. the Great Game of Politics,” *Perspectives on Politics*, May 2006; with Nancy Rosenblum.
- “Religion in the 2004 Presidential Election,” in Larry Sabato ed., *Divided States of America*, with Nancy Rosenblum, Daniel Schlozman, and Francis X. Shen, 2006.
- Review of *The New Imperial Presidency: Renewing Presidential Power after Watergate* by Andrew Rudalevige, by Andrew Rudalevige; *Review of Politics*, December 2006.
- “Accounting for Order,” in Edward Lehman, ed., *Autonomy and Order: A Communitarian Anthology*, 2000.
- Review of *Culture Wars in American Politics* by Rhys H. Williams; for *Journal of Religion*, 1999.

## Presentations

- “From Conspiracy to Ungoverning,” Global Institute for Advanced Study, NYU, October 8, 2022
- “Ungoverning,” with Nancy L. Rosenblum, Political Theory Workshop, The University of Chicago, May 2, 2022
- “What Can We Expect from Elections,” APSA (discussant) September 30, 2021
- “Can Partisan Representatives Make A Non-Partisan Constitution Work?” University of Nevada Las Vegas, September 15, 2021
- “Conspiracy without the Theory and the Assault on Democracy,” *Workshop In Political Philosophy And Philosophical Methodology* April 19-20, 2021, online.
- “Conspiracy and Democracy,” Symposium Webinar on Muirhead and Rosenblum, *A Lot of People Are Saying: The New Conspiracism and the Assault on Democracy*, Monash University, Melbourne Australia; Panelists include Matteo Bonnotti, Monash, Katharine Gelber, Queensland, Lise Herman, Exeter, Lisa Hill, Adelaide, Benjamin Moffitt, Australian Catholic University, Zim Nwokora, Seakins Univ, Mark Warren, Univ of British Columbia, Michael Mintrom, Monash. February 9, 2021.
- “Conspiracy and Democracy: Misinformation and Our Constitutional Future,” SUNY Geneseo University, October 23, 2020
- “Conspiracism and the Assault on Democracy,” Political Theory Colloquium, University of East Anglia, October 21, 2020
- “A Virtual Event: Nancy Rosenblum and Russell Muirhead, *A Lot of People Are Saying*,” The Aspen Institute, September 8, 2020
- “Conspiracy Without the Theory,” with Nancy Rosenblum, Yale University, political theory colloquium, November 4, 2019
- “Electoral Fairness and Pluralist Commitments,” with Lise Herman, “Truth, Power, and the Foundations of Democracy,” Dartmouth College, Hanover NH August 6-7, 2019
- “Electoral Fairness and Pluralist Commitments,” with Lise Herman, “Parties, Partisans, and Constitutions,” Bonavero Institute of Human Rights, Oxford UK June 26-27, 2019
- “Addressing Threats to Democratic Institutions,” at CyberEndeavour 2019, ‘Advancing US and NATO Interests Against Russian Aggression,’ Menlo Park, CA June 19-20 2019
- “Parties, Partisans, Movements” Yale University, Conference for the Study of Political Thought, May 5, 2019
- “Electoral Fairness and Pluralist Commitments,” with Lise Herman, Political Theory Workshop, University of Exeter, November 28, 2018
- “The New Conspiracists,” Public lecture, London School of Economics, November 14, 2018

- “Losing and Legitimacy,” Roundtable on Jeffrey Tulis and Nicole Mellow, *Legacies of Loss in American Politics*, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 2018
- “What the Constitution Whispers in Our Ears,” Constitution Day Public Lecture, Boston College, October 2017
- “Political Ethics and Political Action in the Age of Trump,” Roundtable. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 2017
- “The Epistemic Basis for Political Opposition,” Harvard Political Theory Colloquium, April 2017; and Duke Political Theory Colloquium, April 2017.
- “Democracy and Demagoguery,” Harvard Program on Constitutional Government, April 2017
- “Speaking Truth to Conspiracy,” Columbia University Political Theory Colloquium, December 8, 2016
- Book panel honoring Stephen Smith’s *Modernity and Its Discontents*, Yale Center for the Study of Representative Institutions, October 7, 2016
- Research Workshop on the Meaning of Partisanship, Group de Recherche Interuniversitaire en Philosophie Politique, August 26, 2015, McGill University
- “The Apolitical People: From Machiavelli to Morris Fiorina,” Safra Center for Ethics, Harvard University, March 12, 2015 (revised version presented at the European Consortium for Political Research, Montreal Canada, August 26-29, 2015)
- “The Fate of Party Government,” Program on Constitutional Government at the Department of Government, Harvard University, September 19, 2014
- “How To Think Like An Economist—and Act Like a Human Being,” Skidmore College, September 18, 2014
- “The Political Virtues,” paper presentation at conference on Political Compromise: History, Theory, and Practice,” at the Center for the Study of Representative Institutions, Yale University, January 31, 2014
- “Finding the Center,” paper for workshop on “Solutions to Polarization,” at the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, October 17-18, 2013
- “The Untidiness of Public Reason,” paper presentation at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 31-September 1, 2013, Chicago Illinois.
- “Dignified Partisanship,” paper presented at conference on “Crisis Politics: Partisanship, Democratic Agency, and Representation in Hard Times,” London School of Economics, June 13-14, 2013
- “Time To Deal: Reawakening the Spirit of Compromise in American Politics,” with William A. Galston, Dennis Thompson, Amy Gutmann, University of Pennsylvania, November 2012
- “The Choice in Election 2012,” Williams College, November 2012
- “What Is Democracy? Does It Work?” with Sandy Levinson, David Kennedy, and David Gergen, Aspen Ideas Festival, Aspen CO, July 2012

- “Meaningful Work and Politics,” Conference on Work and Worth, Philosophy Department, The University of Virginia, March 2012
- “Is Partisanship Bad,” Tufts University, September 2011
- “Is Partisanship A Bad Thing?” Boston College, March 2011; with Nancy L. Rosenblum.
- “What Citizens Should Know: Civic Education for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” Rockefeller Center, Dartmouth College, April 2010
- “Democratic Theory and Primary Elections,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting,” September 2009, Toronto; with Bryan Garsten.
- “Partisan Loyalties,” University of Texas at Austin Law School, Program in Law and Philosophy, October 2008.
- “Work and Moral Responsibility,” 7<sup>th</sup> Annual Texas A & M Political Theory Conference, March 2008
- “The Ethics of Counterinsurgency,” at Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey California, February 2008
- “Partisan Loyalties,” American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy,” American Philosophical Association Eastern Meeting, December 2007.
- “Post-Modernism and the Problem of Work,” Villanova Conference on Human Work, September 2006.
- “Mill’s Salutary Antagonisms and the Toleration of Political Opponents,” APSA, September 2005.
- “The Promise of Fulfillment in the New World of Work,” The Chautauqua Institute, July 2005.
- “Why Partisans Hate Partisanship,” New England Political Science Association, May 2005
- “Locke’s Essay,” Respondent, Bradley Lectures, Boston College, September 24, 2004
- “The Moral Standing of Partisanship,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, August 28-31, 2003
- “Left and Right and Liberalism,” Conference of the Society for Sociology and Economics, Aix-en-Provence, France, June 26-28, 2003
- “Pluralism and Patriotism,” Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey California, October 2002
- “A Defense of Partisanship,” Dartmouth College, October 2002
- “The Justice of Fit,” Political Theory Colloquium, College of the Holy Cross, October 2001
- “New Ideals in the New World of Work,” Conference of the Society for Sociology and Economics, University of Amsterdam, June 2001
- “Callings and the Moral Meaning of Work,” Faculty Seminar of the Program on Ethics and the Professions, Harvard University, March 2000

“Jobs, Careers, and Callings,” Conference on The Role of the Corporation in Modern Society, at the Sloan Program in the Study of Business in Society, George Washington School of Law, October 1999

“Sharing Roles and the Division of Labor: Gender and Work,” Midwest Political Science Association, April 1998

### **Affiliations, Awards, and Fellowships**

President, American Political Thought section of the American Political Science Association, 2021-  
Editorial Board, *American Political Thought*  
Vice-president, American Political Thought section of the American Political Science Association 2019-20;  
Editorial Board, *Critical Review*  
Apgar Award for Excellence & Innovation in Teaching, Dartmouth College, Jan 2017  
Visiting Professor in the Program on Constitutional Government, Department of Government, Harvard University, January-June 2014; and January- June 2017  
Profiles in Excellence Teaching Award, Dartmouth Student Assembly 2013  
Faculty Scholar in Residence, Institute for Ethics, Dartmouth College, 2011-12  
Member, The Afghanistan Endgames Project, Naval Postgraduate School, Department of Defense Analysis, Monterey California, 2010-12  
Research Fellow, The Hoover Institution, Task Force on the Virtues of a Free Society, 2007-2012  
Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Fellow, 2005-06  
Roslyn Abramson Award for excellence in teaching, Harvard University, 2002 Mellon Foundation Dissertation Grant, 1995-96.

National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship, 1992-95.  
Jenkins Prize in "Philosophy, Politics, and Economics," Balliol College, Oxford, 1990.  
Phi Beta Kappa, Harvard University, 1988.  
Rhodes Scholar, Harvard and New Hampshire, 1988.

### **Service**

St Paul's School Advanced Study Program, Board Member, 2015-present  
Dresden Baseball, Board of Directors, 2018-present  
Reaching Higher New Hampshire, Director, 2021  
Hanover Conservancy, Board of Directors, 2022-  
Hanover-Lyme Democratic Committee, 2020-  
New Hampshire House of Representatives, 2020-