

# Caroline J. Tolbert

Associate Professor

Department of Political Science

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## Education

Ph.D.	1996	Political Science	University of Colorado, Boulder
M.A.	1991	Public Policy	University of Colorado, Boulder
B.A.	1989	Political Science	University of California, Santa Barbara

## Honorary Appointments

*Board of Scholars*, [Initiative and Referendum Institute](#), University of Southern California, 2004-

*Research Fellow*, [Initiative and Referendum Institute](#), Washington DC, 2002-2004

## Publications

### Books

Mossberger, K., C. Tolbert and R. McNeal. Under Contract. *Digital Citizenship: The Internet, Society and Participation*. Cambridge: MIT Press. Equal authors.

D. Smith and C. Tolbert. 2004. [Educated by Initiative: The Effects of Direct Democracy on Citizens and Political Organizations in the American States](#). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Equal authors.

Review in the American Political Science Association's  
*Perspectives on Politics* and *Political Science Quarterly*  
September 2005.

Mossberger, K., **C. Tolbert** and M. Stansbury. 2003. [\*Virtual Inequality: Beyond the Digital Divide\*](#). Washington D.C.:  
Georgetown University Press. Mossberger and Tolbert, equal  
authors.

Review in the American Political Science Association's  
*Perspective on Politics* December 2004.

Research supported by a Smith Richardson Foundation Grant  
and an Ohio Board of Regents Challenge Grant.

Selected book of the month (August 2005) and reviewed by the  
Resource Center for Cyberculture Studies, Department of  
Communications, University of Washington.

Bowler, S., T. Donovan and **C. Tolbert**. 1998. [\*Citizens as Legislators: Direct Democracy in the United States\*](#). Columbus: Ohio  
State University Press. Reprinted in 2000.

Review in *American Political Science Review*, June 1999.

Received "outstanding" rating from the American Association of  
University Presses' University Press Books Committee, 1999.  
Just over 100 books are designated as outstanding each year  
across all disciplines.

### **Peer Reviewed Journal Articles <full text available>**

Tolbert, C., K. Mossberger and R. McNeal. Forthcoming.  
Institutions, Policy Innovation and E-Governance in the American  
States. *Public Administration Review*.

Tolbert, C., K. Mossberger, B. King and G. Miller. Forthcoming. Are  
All American Women Making Progress Online? African-American

Women and Latinas. *Information Technologies and International Development Journal*, MIT Press.

Tolbert, C. and D. Smith. 2006. [Representation and Direct Democracy in the United States](#). *Representation: Journal of Representative Democracy* 42 (1): 25-44.

Tolbert, C. and K. Mossberger. 2006. The Effects of E-Government on Trust and Confidence in Government. *Public Administration Review* 66 (3): in press.

Mossberger, K., C. Tolbert and M. Gilbert. 2006. [Race, Place and Information Technology](#). *Urban Affairs Review* 41 (4): 1-38.

Awarded Best Paper presented at the 2004 APSA Annual Meeting on public policy.

Tolbert, C. and D. Smith. 2005. [The Educative Effects of Ballot Initiatives on Voter Turnout](#). *American Political Research* 33 (2): 283-309.

Hero, R. and C. Tolbert. 2004. [Minority Voices and Citizen Attitudes about Government Responsiveness in the American States: Do Social and Institutional Context Matter?](#) *British Journal of Political Science* 34 (1): 109-121.

Tolbert, C. and R. McNeal. 2003. [Unraveling the Effects of the Internet on Political Participation](#). *Political Research Quarterly* 56 (2): 175-185.

Tolbert, C. 2003. [Direct Democracy and Institutional Realignment in the American States](#). *Political Science Quarterly* 118 (3): 467-489.

Tolbert, C. and J. Grummel. 2003. [White Voter Support for California's Proposition 209: Revisiting the Racial Threat Hypothesis](#). *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 3 (2): 183-202.

Tolbert, C., R. McNeal and D. Smith. 2003. [Enhancing Civic Engagement: The Effects of Direct Democracy on Political](#)

[Participation and Knowledge](#). *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 3 (1): 23-41.

McNeal, R., C. Tolbert, K. Mossberger and L. Dotterweich. 2003. Innovating in Digital Government in the American States. *Social Science Quarterly* 84 (1): 52-70.

Tolbert, C., G. Steuernagel and R. Bowman. 2003. Direct Democracy, Race/Ethnicity and Health Care Policy. *Race, Gender and Class* 10 (2):147-170.

Tolbert, C. 2002. Rethinking Lowi's Constituent Policy: Governance Policy and Direct Democracy. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*. 20 (1): 75-93.

Tolbert, C. and R. Hero. 2001. [Dealing with Diversity: Racial/Ethnic Context and Social Policy Change](#). *Political Research Quarterly* 54: (3) 571-604.

Awarded Best Paper presented at the 1999 Western Political Science Association on Latino/a Politics.

Tolbert, C. and G. Steuernagel. 2001. Women Lawmakers, State Mandates and Women's Health. *Women and Politics* 22 (2): 1-39.

Tolbert, C., J. Grummel and D. Smith. 2001. [The Effects of Ballot Initiatives on Voter Turnout in the American States](#). *American Politics Research* 29 (6): 625-648.

Smith, D. and C. Tolbert. 2001. [The Initiative to Party: Partisanship and Ballot Initiatives in California](#). *Party Politics* 7(6): 739-757.

Steinmo, S. and C. Tolbert. 1998. [Do Institutions Matter? Taxation in Industrialized Democracies](#). *Comparative Political Studies* 31: (2) 165-187.

Tolbert, C. and R. Hero. 1996. [Race/Ethnicity and Direct Democracy: An Analysis of California's Illegal Immigration Initiative](#). *Journal of Politics* 58: 806-818.

Hero, R. and C. Tolbert. 1996. [A Racial/Ethnic Interpretation of Politics and Policy in the States of the U.S.](#) *American Journal of Political Science* 40: 851-71.

Hero, R. and C. Tolbert. 1995. [Latinos and Substantive Representative in the US House of Representatives: Direct, Indirect, or Non-existent?](#) *American Journal of Political Science* 39: 640-652.

### **Book Chapters in Edited Volumes**

Hero, R. and C. Tolbert. Forthcoming. Voter Turnout and Other Forms of Participation in Context. In R. Hero *Racially Contingent Community: Racial Diversity, Social Capital and American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Hero, R. and C. Tolbert. 2005. Exploring Minority Political Efficacy: Considering the Impact of Social and Institutional Context. In G. M. Segura and Shaun Bowler (eds) *Diversity In Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

McNeal, R. and C. Tolbert. 2004. Support for Internet Voting in the United States. In N. Kersting and H. Baldersheim (eds.) *Electronic Voting and Democracy: A Comparative Analysis*. Palgrave.

Tolbert, C. and G. Steuernagel. 2003. Race/Ethnicity and Referenda on Redistributive Health Care. In R. Fording, J. Soss, and S. Schram (eds.) *Race, Welfare, and the Politics of Reform*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Tolbert, C. 2001. Direct Democracy and Public Policy in the Twentieth Century: The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same. In M. Dane Waters (ed.) *The Battle over Citizen Lawmaking*. North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.

Tolbert, C. 1998. Changing the Rules for State Legislatures: Direct Democracy and Governance Policy. In *Citizens as Legislators: Direct Democracy in the United States*. Columbus: Ohio State

University Press.

Tolbert, C. and R. Hero. 1998. Race/Ethnicity and Direct Democracy: The Contextual Basis of Support for Anti-Immigrant and Official English Measures. In *Citizens as Legislators: Direct Democracy in the United States*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Tolbert, C., D. Lowenstein and T. Donovan. 1998. Election Law and Rules for Using Initiatives. In *Citizens as Legislators: Direct Democracy in the United States*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Hero, R. and C. Tolbert. 1997. Latinos and Substantive Representative in the US House of Representatives: Direct, Indirect, or Non-existent? In F. Chris Garcia (ed.) *Pursuing Power: Latinos and the Political System*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press. Pg. 265-278.

### **Published Book Reviews**

Tolbert, C. 2006. Invited review of Stephen Nicholson's *Voting the Agenda: Candidates, Elections and Ballot Propositions*. *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (1): in press.

Tolbert, C. 2006. Invited review of John Matsusakais *For the Many or the Few: The Initiative, Public Policy, and American Democracy*. *Journal of Politics* 68 (1): 218-220.

Tolbert, C. 2002. Invited review of John Allswang's *The Initiative and Referendum in California, 1898-1998*. *Journal of Politics* 64 (1): 283-285.

Tolbert, C. 1998. Invited review of Lydia Chavez's *The Color Bind: California's Battle to End Affirmative Action*. *American Political Science Review* 93(4): 969-970.

### **Other Periodicals and Monographs**

Tolbert, C. and K. Mossberger. 2005. Inequality in Broadband Internet Access. Economic Policy Institute. Available Online [<http://www.epinet.org/>] (peer reviewed)

Smith, D. and C. Tolbert. 2003. Educated by Initiative. *Campaigns and Elections* magazine, August.

State Tax and Expenditure Limitations on the 1994 Ballot: Changing the Rules of the Tax Game. 1994. *The Fiscal Newsletter*. Denver: National Conference of State Legislatures.

### **Research Grants**

2005. Graduate Research Council, Kent State University. *Ballot Propositions and the 2004 Presidential Election*. \$2500.

2005. [Ballot Initiative Strategy Center \(BISC\)](#), Washington, DC. *Ballot Propositions and the 2004 Presidential Election*. \$32,500 (with D. Smith).

2004. US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) H-21439RG. *Race, Place and Information Technology*. \$39,995 (with K. Mossberger).

2004. Economic Policy Institute (EPI), Washington, DC. *Inequality in Broadband Internet Access*. \$5000 (with K. Mossberger).

2003. Summer Research and Creativity Grant, Kent State University. *The Effects of E-Government on Political Trust*. \$13,000 (with K. Mossberger).

2002. Democracy Foundation. *Minority Rights, Representative Government and a National Initiative Process in the United States*. \$1000.

2001-2002. Research Challenge Grant, Ohio Board of Regents. *Defining the Digital Divide*. \$43,000 (with K. Mossberger and M. Stansbury).

2001-2002. Smith Richardson Foundation, Public Policy Junior Faculty

Research Grant. *Defining the Digital Divide*. \$60,000 (with K. Mossberger and M. Stansbury).

## **Awards**

2006. Best Paper on State Politics and Policy presented at the 2005 American Political Science Association Meeting. *Do State-Level Ballot Measures affect Presidential Elections? Gay Marriage and the 2004 Elections* (with T. Donovan and D. Smith).

2005. Best Paper on Public Policy presented at the 2004 American Political Science Association Meeting. *Race, Place and Information Technology* (with K. Mossberger and M. Gilbert).

2000. Best Paper on Latino/a Politics presented at the 1999 Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting. *Dealing with Diversity: Racial/Ethnic Context and Policy Change* (with R. Hero).

2000. Teaching Development Award, Kent State University (one of six awards given annually across university). *Evaluating Web-Based Distance Education, Teaching Strategies, and Student Learning*. \$6500.

1999. Faculty Teaching Development Award, Kent State University, *Distance Learning and the Web: A New Approach to Teaching American Politics*. \$4200.

1998. Teaching Development Award, Kent State University. *A Multi-Course Website: Hands on Quantitative and Qualitative Data Analysis in the Social Sciences*. \$6500

Editorial Service

Editorial Board, [\*State Politics and Policy Quarterly\*](#) (2001-present)  
Founding Member

Manuscript Referee (activity since January 2000)

*National Science Foundation (NSF), American Political Science Review (APSR), American Journal of Political Science (AJPS),*

*Journal of Politics (JOP), Political Research Quarterly (PRQ), American Political Research (APR), Social Science Quarterly (SSQ), Party Politics, State Politics and Policy Quarterly (SPPQ), Political Behavior, Public Opinion Quarterly, State and Local Government Review, Journal of Public Administration and Management (JPAM), Women and Politics, European Journal of Communication Research (EJCR), Social Problems, Policy Studies Journal.*

## **Professional Service**

General Program Chair, 2008 [Midwest Political Science Association Meeting](#) (with Taeku Lee, UC Berkeley)

Executive Council/Director of Communications, [Elections, Public Opinion and Voting Behavior Section](#), American Political Science Association, 2006-2009.

Executive Council, [State Politics and Policy Section](#), American Political Science Association, 2004-2006

Conference Organizer, [Fourth Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy](#). The official conference of the State Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, Akron, Ohio, 2004 (with K. Mossberger).

### **Section Organizer**

*Public Policy, Midwest Political Science Association Program Committee 2006*

*State and Intergovernmental Politics, Midwest Political Science Association Program Committee 2004*

*Public Policy, Western Political Science Association Program Committee 2001*

### **Committee Member**

Chair, Political Methodology Diversity Committee, 2005-2007.

Methodology Section of the American Political Science Association.

Chair, *Best Paper Awards Committee*, 2005. Voting, Elections and Public Opinion Section, American Political Science Association.

*Best Paper Awards Committee*, 2005. State Politics Section, American Political Science Association,  
Kevin Smith Chair.

*Committee on Short Courses and Workshops*, 2004. Midwest Political Science Association, Charles Franklin Chair.

*State Politics and Policy Quarterly Best Paper Committee*, 2003. State politics paper presented at a national conference in 2002, Paul Brace Chair.

Chair, *Dissertation Awards Committee*, 2002. Western Political Science Association.

*Dissertation Awards Committee*, 2000. Western Political Science Association, Daniel Smith Chair.

### **Panel Discussant**

2006 American Political Science Association  
2005 State Politics and Policy Conference  
2005 Midwest Political Science Association (two panels)  
2004 American Political Science Association  
2003 American Political Science Association  
2003 Midwest Political Science Association (two panels)  
2001 Midwest Political Science Association  
2000 Midwest Political Science Association  
1998 American Political Science Association

### **Panel Chair**

2006 American Political Science Association  
2004 Midwest Political Science Association  
2003 American Political Science Association  
1999 American Political Science Association

**Invited Participant:** Annual Meeting of the Society for Political Methodology, 1998-2000, 2006