

Thad Kousser

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Education

University of California, Berkeley Berkeley, CA, 1998-2002
M.A. in Political Science awarded in May, 1999, PhD. received in May, 2002.
Dissertation entitled “Redesigning Democracies: How Term Limits and Professionalism Shape American State Legislatures.” Committee: Bruce Cain (chair), Nelson Polsby, Henry Brady, Eric Schickler, and John Ellwood.

Harvard University Boston, MA, 1992-1996
Summa Cum Laude degree in Government awarded in June, 1996. Thomas T. Hoopes and Eric J. Firth Prizes for senior thesis entitled “‘Treating’ the Poor: Parties, Interest Groups and Generosity in State Medicaid Provision.” Advisor: Jim Alt.

Awards

2007 State Politics and Policy Quarterly Award for the best paper on the American states presented at any political science conference for “Diversity and the Breakdown of Deference: Evidence from District Bills in State Legislatures” (with Gerald Gamm).

2006 APSA State Politics and Policy Section’s Best Paper Award for the best paper on state politics and policy presented at the previous year’s APSA Annual Meeting for “Localism and Factionalism in American State Legislatures” (with Gerald Gamm).

2005 APSA Legislative Studies Section’s Alan Rosenthal Prize For the Best Book or Article in Legislative Studies Written by a Junior Scholar That Has Potential Value to Legislative Practitioners for *Term Limits and the Dismantling of State Legislative Professionalism*.

2005 State Politics and Policy Quarterly Award for the best paper on the American states presented at any political science conference for “What Polarizes Parties? Preferences and Agenda Control in American State Legislatures” (with Gary Cox and Mathew McCubbins).

2003 APSA William Anderson Award for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of state and local politics, federalism, or intergovernmental relations.

UC Berkeley University Fellowship and National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Publications

Thad Kousser, 2008. "Does Partisan Polarization Lead to Policy Gridlock in California?" Public Policy Institute of California Working Paper Series (San Francisco, CA: Public Policy Institute of California).

Frederick Douzet, Thad Kousser, and Ken Miller, editors, 2008. *The New Political Geography of California* (Berkeley, CA: Institute of Governmental Studies Press).

William Chandler and Thad Kousser, 2008. "Governors, Geography, and Direct Democracy: The Case of Arnold Schwarzenegger," in Frederick Douzet, Thad Kousser, and Ken Miller, editors, *The New Political Geography of California* (Berkeley, CA: Institute of Governmental Studies Press).

Cain, Bruce E, Thad Kousser, and Karl T. Kurtz, 2008. "Institutional Imbalance: The Effect of Six-year Limits in California," in Rick Farmer, Christopher Z. Mooney, Richard J. Powell, and John C. Green, editors, *Legislating Without Experience: Case Studies in State Legislative Term Limits* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books).

Thad Kousser, 2008. "Term Limits," in William A. Darity, Jr., editor, *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2nd Edition. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA).

Thad Kousser, Mathew D. McCubbins, and Kaj Rozga, 2008. "When Does the Ballot Box Limit the Budget? Politics and Spending Limits in California, Colorado, Utah and Washington," in Elizabeth Garret, Elizabeth A. Graddy, and Howell E. Jackson, editors, *Fiscal Challenges: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Budget Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

Thad Kousser, 2008. "Term Limits and State Legislatures," in Caroline Tolbert, Todd Donovan, and Bruce E. Cain, editors, *Democracy in the States: Experiments in Election Reform* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press).

Thad Kousser and Megan Mullin, 2007. "Does Voting by Mail Increase Participation? Using Matching to Analyze a Natural Experiment." *Political Analysis*, Autumn 2007.

Thad Kousser, Jeff Lewis, and Seth Masket, 2007. "Ideological Adaptation? The Survival Instinct of Threatened Legislators." *Journal of Politics* 69:828-843.

William Chandler and Thad Kousser, 2007. "L'ascension, la Chute et la Resurrection du Gouverneur Arnold Schwarzenegger," *Politique Americaine* No. 9, hiver 2007.

Austin Ranney and Thad Kousser, 2007. "Politics in the United States," in Gabriel A. Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Kaare Strom, and Russell J. Dalton, editors, *Comparative Politics Today: A World View, Ninth Edition* (New York: Pearson Longman).

Kousser, Thad, and John Straayer, 2007. "Budgets and the Policy Process," in Karl T. Kurtz, Bruce Cain, and Richard G. Niemi, editors, *Institutional Change in American Politics: The Case of Term Limits* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press).

Cain, Bruce E., John Hanley, and Thad Kousser, 2006. "Term Limits: A Recipe for More Competition?" in Michael P. McDonald and John Sample, editors, *The Marketplace of Democracy: Electoral Competition and American Politics* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press and the Cato Institute).

Kousser, Thad, 2006. "The Limited Impact of Term Limits: Contingent Patterns in the Complexity and Breadth of Laws," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 4:410-429.

Kousser, Thad, 2006. "Recalling the Realignment Literature: Did October 2003 Bring a Critical Election?" in Shaun Bowler and Bruce E. Cain, editors, *Clicker Politics: Essays on the California Recall* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall).

Cain, Bruce E., Thad Kousser, and Karl T. Kurtz, 2006. "A Professional Legislature After Term Limits," in Gerald Lubenow and Bruce Cain, editors, *Governing California, 2nd Edition* (Berkeley, CA: Institute of Governmental Studies Press).

Kousser, Thad, 2005. *Term Limits and the Dismantling of State Legislative Professionalism*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press).

Kousser, Thad and Mathew D. McCubbins, 2005. "Social Choice, Crypto-Initiatives and Policymaking by Direct Democracy," *Southern California Law Review* 78:949-984.

Cain, Bruce E. and Thad Kousser, 2004. *Adapting to Term Limits: Recent Experiences and New Directions*. (San Francisco, CA: Public Policy Institute of California). Available for free download at <http://www.ppic.org/main/publication.asp?i=347>.

Kousser, Thad, 2004. "The California Governor's Recall." In Keon Chi, editor, *The Book of the States, 2004 Edition, Vol. 36*. (Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments).

Kousser, Thad, 2004. "Retrospective and Strategic Voting in European Parliament Elections." *Electoral Studies* 23:1-21.

Kousser, Thad, 2003. "Term Limits and Legislator Performance." In Rick Farmer, John David Rausch Jr., and John C. Green, editors, *The Test of Time: Coping with Legislative Term Limits* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books).

Kousser, Thad, 2002. "Politics, Economics, and State Policy: Discretionary Medicaid Spending, 1980-1993." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*. 27:639-671.

Nathaniel Persily, Thad Kousser, and Pat Egan, 2002. "The Political Impact of One Person, One Vote: Intended Consequences, Perverse Effects, and Unrealistic Expectations." *University of North Carolina Law Review*. 80:1291-1352.

Kousser, Thad and Ray LaRaja. 2002. "The Effect of Campaign Finance Laws on Electoral Competition: Evidence from the States." The Cato Institute Policy Analysis No. 426.

Kousser, Thad, 2001. "Crossing Over When it Counts: How the Motives of Voters in Blanket Primaries are Revealed by their Actions in General Elections," and Thad Kousser and John Sides, 2001, "Chapter 8 Addendum: Crossover Behavior in the March, 2000 Primary." In Bruce Cain and Elisabeth Gerber, editors, *Voting at the Political Faultline: California's Experiment with the Blanket Primary* (Berkeley: UC Press).

Working Papers (all available upon request)

Gary W. Cox, Thad Kousser, and Mathew D. McCubbins, "Controlling the Agenda, Creating Polarization? Quasi-Experimental Evidence from the American States," under revision and resubmission to the *Journal of Politics*.

John M. de Figueiredo, Chang Ho Ji, and Thad Kousser, "Why Do Initiative Backers Waste Their Money? Revisiting the Research on Campaign Spending and Direct Democracy," under revision and resubmission for the *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*.

Thad Kousser, Mathew D. McCubbins, and Ellen Moule, "For Whom the TEL Tolls: Can State Tax and Expenditure Limits Effectively Reduce Spending?", under revision and resubmission to *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*.

Thad Kousser and Justin Phillips, "The Roots of Executive Power: Explaining Gubernatorial Success and Failure in the Legislative Arena," under submission to *Legislative Studies Quarterly*.

Amy Bridges and Thad Kousser, "When Do Politicians Give Power to the People? Adoption of the Citizen Initiative in American States."

Gerald Gamm and Thad Kousser, "Diversity and the Breakdown of Deference: Evidence from District Bills in State Legislatures," presented at the 2007 American Political Science Association Meetings.

Gerald Gamm and Thad Kousser, "Broad Bills or Particularistic Policy? Historical Patterns in American State Legislatures," presented at the 2007 Midwest Political Science Association Meetings.

Thad Kousser, "Is San Diego a Low Tax City?" Prepared for the 2005 mayoral debates.

Jonathan Cohen, Thad Kousser, and John Sides, "Sincere Voting, Hedging, and Raiding: Testing a Formal Model of Crossover Voting in Blanket Primaries," presented at the 1999 American Political Science Association Meetings.

Kousser, Thad and Megan Mullin, "Will Vote-by-Mail Elections Increase Participation? Evidence from California Counties." Report prepared for the Haynes Foundation, available at: <http://weber.ucsd.edu/~tkousser/votebymail.htm>.

Teaching Experience

Political Science 30, Political Inquiry (undergraduate lecture)
Political Science 103A California Politics (undergraduate lecture)
Political Science 102G The Laws of Politics (undergraduate seminar)
Political Science 109AB Honors Thesis Seminar (undergraduate seminar)
Political Science 191 Tracking the Congressional Elections (senior seminar)
Political Science 204A Research Design (graduate core seminar)
Political Science 253 Research in State Politics (graduate seminar)
Political Science 271B Quantitative Methods (graduate seminar)

Research Grants

Haynes Foundation Grant, 2006. Principal Investigator for “Evaluating an Election Reform by Isolating the Effects of Voting by Mail,” Total grant: \$35,687.

Borchard Foundation Grant, 2006. Co-convener of international colloquium, “California: A Franco-American Perspective,” Chateau de la Bretesche, June, 2007. Total grant: \$30,000

Public Policy Institute of California, 2003-2003. Co-investigator with Bruce Cain of “Adapting to Term Limits: Recent Experiences and New Directions,” a study on the effects of term limits on the California Legislature. Total grant: \$54,994.

Americans for Gun Safety, 2000-2001. I designed and managed a study by ten UC Berkeley graduate students of recent gun control legislation in 28 states. We analyzed state-level statistics linking political and demographic characteristics to policy outcomes, and gathered data on district characteristics, fundraising activity, and voting behavior for each legislator. Using print and interview sources, we compiled legislative histories of the firearms bills proposed over the last decade. Total project budget: \$21,000.

California Policy Research Center, 2001. For a grant received by the Institute of Governmental Studies in the summer of 2001, I designed the research proposal and helped to supervise six undergraduates researching the effects of term limits on committee activity, voting behavior, budget negotiations, campaign contributions, special elections, and legislative career paths. Total grant: \$15,000.

Political Experience

California Common Cause. Board member.

APSA Congressional Fellow, Senator Ron Wyden, 2002-2003. Drafted legislation to increase the adoption of electronic medical records; staffed Senator on medical malpractice, genetic research, reducing government waste, Medicare prescription drugs, and budget issues.

Consultant, New Mexico State Senate Rules Committee, 2000. Researched gubernatorial appointments and prepared memorandums for members of the Senate Rules Committee.

Consultant, California State Senate Natural Resources Committee, 1997-1998: Analyzed bills under the Committee's jurisdiction, including reauthorization of California's bottle recycling program; staffed legislation for the Chair, Senator Tom Hayden, in the areas of children's health care, prison security, youth employment, and state investments.

Legislative Assistant, Senator Tom Hayden, 1996-1997: lead staff member on welfare reform; staffed (researched, drafted, monitored, gathered support for, amended, and prepared statements for) bills in health, gun control, and urban violence prevention issue areas.

Campaign Experience: Appeared in advertisements endorsing Prop. 93 (term limits modification), 2008; Field organization, media work, and research for Tom Hayden for Mayor, 1997; Jack Scott for Assembly, 1996; Doug Kahn for Congress, 1994, Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, 1992.