

Thad Kousser

Professor, Department of Political Science
University of California, San Diego
9500 Gilman Drive, San Diego, CA 92093-0521
(858) 534-3239, tkousser@ucsd.edu

Academic Appointments and Affiliations

University of California, San Diego, Department of Political Science

Professor, 2014-present

Associate Professor, 2007-2014

Assistant Professor, 2003-2007

Chair, Committee on Admissions, 2013-2014

Director, Marshall College Public Service Minor, 2012-2015

Field Director, American Politics, 2010-2014

Flinders University, Adelaide, Australia

Fulbright Flinders University Distinguished Chair in American Political Science, 2015

Stanford University

Visiting Associate Professor, Bill Lane Center for the American West and

W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow and Robert Eckles

Swain National Fellow at the Hoover Institution, 2009-2010

Director, California Constitutional Reform Project, Lane Center, 2009-2012

American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow, 2002-2003

Co-editor, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2016-

Co-editor, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 2008-2011

Education

University of California, Berkeley, 1998-2002

M.A. in Political Science 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. National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Harvard University, 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.

Books

Sam Kernell, Gary Jacobson, Thad Kousser, and Lynn Vavreck. 2015. *The Logic of American Politics*, 7th Edition. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.

6th Edition, 2014. (Sam Kernell, Gary Jacobson, Thad Kousser, and Lynn Vavreck)

5th Edition, 2012. (Sam Kernell, Gary Jacobson, and Thad Kousser)

4th Edition, 2009. (Sam Kernell, Gary Jacobson, and Thad Kousser)

Thad Kousser and Justin H. Phillips. 2012. *The Power of American Governors: Winning on Budgets and Losing on Policy*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Virginia Gray, Russell L. Hanson, and Thad Kousser, editors. 2012. *Politics in the American States*, 10th Edition. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.

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

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

Articles

Hill, Seth and Thad Kousser. Forthcoming. "Turning Out Unlikely Voters? A Field Experiment in the Top-Two Primary." *Political Behavior*.

Kousser, Thad Justin H. Phillips, and Boris Shor. Conditionally Accepted. "Reform and Representation: A New Method Applied to Recent Electoral Changes." *Political Science Research and Methods*.

Kousser, Thad, Scott Lucas, Seth Masket, and Eric McGhee. 2015. "Kingmakers or Cheerleaders? Party Power and the Causal Effects of Endorsements" *Political Research Quarterly*. 68(3):443-456.

Butler, Daniel M. and Thad Kousser. 2015. "How do Public Goods Providers Play Public Goods Games?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 40(2): 211-240.

Fishkin, James, Thad Kousser, Robert C. Luskin and Alice Siu. 2015. "Deliberative Agenda Setting: Piloting Reform of Direct Democracy in California." *Perspectives on Politics*. 13(4):1030-1042.

Kousser, Thad. 2015. "The Top-Two, Take Two: Did Changing the Rules Change the Game in Statewide Contests?" *California Journal of Politics and Policy*. 9(1).

Kousser, Thad. 2014. "How America's 'Devolution Revolution' Reshaped its Federalism." *Revue Francaise de Science Politique*. 64(2):265-287.

Gamm, Gerald and Thad Kousser. 2013. "No Strength in Numbers: The Failure of Big-City Bills in American State Legislatures, 1880-2000," *American Political Science Review*. 107(4):663-678.

Binder, Mike, Vlad Kogan, Thad Kousser, and Costas Panagopolous. 2013. "Mobilizing Latino Voters: The Impact of Language and Co-Ethnic Policy Leadership." *American Politics Research*.

Arceneaux, Kevin, Megan Mullin, and Thad Kousser. 2012. "Get Out the Vote By Mail: A Randomized Experiment Testing the Effects of Mobilization in Traditional and Vote-by-Mail Precincts." *Political Research Quarterly*. 65(4):882-894.

John M. de Figueiredo, Chang Ho Ji, and Thad Kousser. 2011. "Financing Direct Democracy: Revisiting the Research on Campaign Spending on Citizen Initiatives." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*. 27(3):485-513.

Amy Bridges and Thad Kousser. 2011. "Where Politicians Gave Power to the People: Adoption of the Citizen Initiative in American States." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*. 11(2):167-197.

Thad Kousser. 2011. "The Blessings and Curses of Piecemeal Reform." *Loyola of Los Angeles Law Review* 44:568-602.

Michael Binder, Cheryl Boudreau, and Thad Kousser. 2011. "Shortcuts to Deliberation? How Cues Reshape the Role of Information in Direct Democracy Voting." *California Western Law Review* 48(1)97-128

Gamm, Gerald and Thad Kousser. 2010. "Broad Bills or Particularistic Policy? Historical Patterns in American State Legislatures." *American Political Science Review*. 104(1):151-170.

Cox, Gary W., Thad Kousser, and Mathew McCubbins. 2010. "Party Power or Preferences? Quasi-Experimental Evidence from the American States." *Journal of Politics*. 72:799-811.

Mike Binder, Tammy Frisby, and Thad Kousser. 2010. "Constitutional Reform in California: The Surprising Divides." *California Journal of Politics and Policy*. Volume 2, Issue 2, Article 5.

Thad Kousser. 2010. "Does Partisan Polarization Lead to Policy Gridlock in California?" *California Journal of Politics and Policy*. Volume 2, Issue 2, Article 4.

Thad Kousser and Justin Phillips. 2009. "Who Blinks First? Legislative Patience and Bargaining with Governors," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 34(1):55-86.

Thad Kousser. 2009. "How Geopolitics Cleaved California's Republicans and United its Democrats." *California Journal of Politics and Policy*. Volume 1, Issue 1.

Thad Kousser, Mathew D. McCubbins, and Ellen Moule. 2008. "For Whom the TEL Tolls: Can State Tax and Expenditure Limits Effectively Reduce Spending?" *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 8:331-361.

Thad Kousser and Megan Mullin, 2007. "Does Voting by Mail Increase Participation? Using Matching to Analyze a Natural Experiment." *Political Analysis*, 15(4):428-445.

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.

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

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

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.

Book Chapters

Thad Kousser. 2015. "How America's 'Devolution Revolution' Reshaped Its Federalism," in Samuel Kernell and Steven S. Smith, editors, *Principles and Practice of American Politics: Classic and Contemporary Readings, Sixth Edition*. Washington, DC: Sage/CQ Press.

Thad Kousser and Austin Ranney. 2014. "Politics in the United States," in G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Russell J. Dalton, and Kaare Strom, editors, *Comparative Politics Today: A World View, Eleventh Edition*. New York: Pearson Longman.

Tenth Edition, 2010

Ninth Edition, 2008.

Scott MacKenzie and Thad Kousser. 2014. "Legislative Careers" in Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld, and Kaare Strom, editors, *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford University Press.

Thad Kousser. 2013. "Partisan Polarization and Policy Gridlock: Does One Lead to the Other?" in Ethan Rarick, editor, *Governing California: Politics, Government, and Public Policy in the Golden State, Third Edition*. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Public Policy Press.

Bruce Cain, Thad Kousser, and Karl Kurtz. 2013. "The Legislature: Life under Term Limits," in Ethan Rarick, editor, *Governing California: Politics, Government, and Public Policy in the Golden State, Third Edition*. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Public Policy Press.

Thad Kousser. 2012. "Initiative and Referendum," in Donald T. Critchlow and Philip R. VanderMeer, editors, *Oxford Encyclopedia of American Political, Policy, and Legal History* 1:480–81. New York: Oxford University Press.

Vladimir Kogan and Thad Kousser. 2011. "Great Expectations and the California Citizens Redistricting Commission," in Gary F. Moncrief, editor, *Reapportionment and Redistricting in the West*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Michael Binder, Vladimir Kogan, and Thad Kousser. 2011. "How G.A.V.E.L. Changed Party Politics in Colorado's General Assembly," in *State of Change: Colorado Politics in the Twenty-first Century*, Courtenay W. Daum, Robert J. Duffy, John A. Straayer eds. Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado.

Thad Kousser. 2010. "What Democrats Must Give Up to Restore True Majority Rule to California's Legislature." *California Journal of Politics and Policy*. Volume 2, Issue 3, Article 8.

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.

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.

Cain, Bruce E, Thad Kousser, and Karl T. Kurt. 2007. "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.

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. "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. 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. 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 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.

Think Tank Reports and Policy Impact

Thad Kousser. 2013. Research Brief Series for the Ballot Initiative Reform Group. *A legislative package containing many of the group's proposals was adopted in California's 2014 Senate Bill 1253.*

Thad Kousser. 2013. "Party-to-Candidate Contribution Limits in San Diego City Elections." Report Commissioned by the City Attorney on behalf of the San Diego City Council. *Recommended contribution limits adopted by the City Council in June, 2013.*

Thad Kousser, editor. 2011. "What's Next California? Participant Guide." Guide for the June, 2011 Deliberative Poll on California Constitutional Reform, <http://www.nextca.org/pages/participant-guide>. *Several of the reforms endorsed by poll participant became part of the 2012 Proposition 31.*

Kousser, Thad and Megan Mullin, 2006. "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>. *The finding that mail ballot elections would increase turnout in special elections was part of the justification for the passage of California's 2014 Assembly Bill 1873.*

Cain, Bruce E. and Thad Kousser, 2004. *Adapting to Term Limits: Recent Experiences and New Directions*. San Francisco, CA: Public Policy Institute of California. *Primary policy recommendation adopted by California voters in 2012 Proposition 28.*

Awards

2014 Virginia Gray Best Book Award, APSA State Politics and Policy Section for *The Power of American Governors* (with Justin H. Phillips)

2014 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 "Contingent Partisanship: When Party Labels Matter- and When They Don't- in the Distribution of Pork in American State Legislators" (with Gerald Gamm)

2011 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 "The Roots of Executive Power" (with Justin H. Phillips).

2011 UC San Diego Panhellenic Association Outstanding Professor Award

2009 Faculty Mentor of the Year, UC San Diego Faculty Mentorship Program.

2008 Academic Senate Distinguished Teaching Award, UC San Diego.

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.

Teaching

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 251 American Political Institutions (graduate seminar)
Political Science 253 Research in State Politics (graduate seminar)
Political Science 271B Quantitative Methods (graduate seminar)

Research Grants

Hewlett Foundation Grant, 2014. Support for a voter mobilization field experiment in the June, 2014 primary election (with Seth J. Hill). Total Grant: \$102,000.

Irvine Foundation Grant. Research support for the California Ballot Initiative Reform Task Force. Total Grant: \$18,000.

Hewlett Foundation Grant, 2011. Chair of Academic Advisory Board to “What’s Next California?” deliberative poll on constitutional reform. Facilitated process of setting agenda for the poll and supervised production of 100-page background document. Total grant: \$100,000.

Hewlett Foundation Grant, 2009. Led collaboration between Stanford, Berkeley, and Sacramento State institutes for “Getting to Reform: Avenues to Constitutional Change in California.” Total grant: \$55,836

UC California Studies Initiative and UC Berkeley Institute of Governmental Studies, 2009. Co-organizer of “Governing a Multi-Ethnic California” conference, Berkeley, CA, March 10-12, 2009. Total grant: \$7500.

JEHT Foundation Grant, 2008. Co-Principal Investigator for “Making Vote-by-Mail Elections Work: The Impact of Mobilization.” Total grant: \$54,306.

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-convenor 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.

Professional Service

Editor, Political Science Network ejournal, Political Institutions: Federalism and Subnational Politics.

Editorial Board: *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *California Journal of Politics and Policy*.

USC-Caltech Center for the Study of Law and Politics Faculty Member.

Member, Board of Scholars at the Center for the Study of Law and Politics' Initiative and Referendum Institute at the University of Southern California.

Section chair at professional meetings: 2010 APSA (legislatures), 2010 WPSA (state and local government), 2009 SWPSA (state and local government), 2008 MPSA (legislative institutions), and 2007 APSA (state politics and policy).

Chair of 2012 Kammerer Book Award Committee, American Political Science Association.

Manuscript Reviews: *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *Political Behavior*, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, *Political Analysis*, *Public Choice*, *American Politics Review*, *Studies in American Political Development*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Election Law Journal*, *Publius*, *Political Science Quarterly*, and *State and Local Government Review*.

Book Reviews: *Political Science Quarterly*, *Perspectives on Political Science*, and *Congress and the Presidency*.

Political Experience

Expert declarations in cases involving Arizona campaign finance laws, San Diego city campaign finance laws, the ballot order of California state initiatives, the California Citizens Redistricting Commission, term limits, and increased executive authority over the state budget.

Orientation Director, California Council on Science and Technology S&T Policy Fellows. Organized three-week training for science PhDs selected to work as legislative aides in the California Assembly and Senate, 2009-2015.

California Common Cause. Board member 2005-2013.

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.