

Thad Kousser

Professor, Department of Political Science
Interim Associate Dean, Division of Graduate Education and Postdoctoral Affairs
Co-Director, Yankelovich Center for Social Science Research
University of California, San Diego
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Academic Appointments and Affiliations

University of California, San Diego, Department of Political Science
Professor, 2014-present (currently Step VII)
Associate Professor, 2007-2014
Assistant Professor, 2003-2007
Chair, Department of Political Science, 2016-2022
Co-Director, Yankelovich Center for Social Science Research, 2021-
Interim Associate Dean, Div. of Graduate Education and Postdoctoral Affairs, 2024-

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
Campbell 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

University and Professional Service

Co-Chair, Senate-Admin Workgroup on the Future of Graduate Education, 2023-24
Co-Organizer, UC Network of Appointed Public Policy Leaders, 2023-
Academic Advisory Board, UC Center Sacramento, 2016-
Editor, *SSRN Federalism and Subnational Politics eJournal*, 2014-
Committee Member, Five-Year Review of Graduate Dean, 2024
Member, Economics Department External Review Committee, 2023
Ford Foundation Graduate Fellowships Selection Committee. 2016, 2021-2023
Council of Chairs Co-Convener, 2019-2021
Academic Advisory Committee, UC in DC, 2018-2021
Co-Editor, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2016-2020
Co-Chair, Student-Faculty Division I Athletics Transition Advisory Committee, 2015
Chair, Committee on Admissions, 2013-2014
Director, Marshall College Public Service Minor, 2012-2015
Field Director, American Politics, 2010-2014
Co-Editor, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 2008-2011

Education

University of California, Berkeley, 1998-2002

M.A. in Political Science, 1999

Ph.D. in Political Science, 2002

National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship

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

Harvard University, 1992-1996

Summa Cum Laude degree in Government, 1996.

Thomas T. Hoopes Prize and Eric J. Firth Prize for senior thesis

Books

Sam Kernell, Gary Jacobson, Timothy Johnson, Thad Kousser, and Lynn Vavreck. 2025. *The Logic of American Politics*, 12th Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: CQ Press/Sage. 11th Edition, 2023. 10th Edition, 2021. 9th Edition, 2019. 8th Edition, 2018. 7th Edition, 2015. 6th Edition, 2014. 5th Edition, 2012. 4th Edition, 2009.

Thad Kousser, Jamila Michener, and Caroline Tolbert, editors. 2024. *Politics in the American States*, 12th Edition. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 11th Edition, 2018, Virginia Gray, Russell L. Hanson, and Thad Kousser, editors. 10th Edition, 2012, Virginia Gray, Russell L. Hanson, and Thad Kousser, editors. Winner, 2017 Mac Jewell Enduring Contribution Book Award

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. Winner, 2014 Virginia Gray Best Book Award

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. Winner, 2005 APSA Legislative Studies Section's Alan Rosenthal Prize

Articles

Jennifer Gaudette, Seth J. Hill, Thad Kousser, Mackenzie Lockhart, Mindy Romero. 2025. "Can Official Messaging on Trust in Elections Break Through Partisan Polarization." *British Journal of Political Science*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123424000681>

Noemie Fevrat and Thad Kousser. 2025. "Term Limits in France and the United States: A Comparative History of Policy Debate and Adoption." *Journal of Policy History*. 37: 1, 5–21. doi:10.1017/S0898030624000101.

Agustin Markarian and Thad Kousser. 2025 (Conditionally Accepted). "Will Voters Consider Long-Term Trends When State Crime Rates Spike?" *State and Local Government Review*.

Olivier Bergeron-Boutin, Katherine Clayton, Thad Kousser, Brendan Nyhan, and Lauren Prather. 2025. "Communicating with Voters to Build Trust in the U.S. Election System." *Journal of Election Administration, Research and Practice*.

Jennifer Gaudette, Thad Kousser, and Laura Uribe. 2025 (Conditionally Accepted). "How Did Voters Facing Disabilities Experience the 2022 Midterm Elections?" *Journal of Election Administration, Research and Practice*.

Mackenzie Lockhart, Jennifer Gaudette, Seth J. Hill, Thad Kousser, Mindy Romero, and Laura Uribe. 2024. "Voters Distrust Delayed Election Results, But a Prebunking Message Inoculates Against Distrust." *PNAS Nexus*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pnasnexus/pgae414>

Gamm, Gerald, and Thad Kousser. 2023. "The Last Shall Be Last: Ethnic, Racial, and Nativist Bias in Distributive Politics." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lsq.12413>.

Butler, Dan, Thad Kousser, and Stan Oklobdzija. 2023. "Do Male and Female Legislators Have Different Twitter Communication Styles?" *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*. 23(2):117-139. <https://doi.org/10.1017/spq.2022.16>.

Reller, Cassidy, Anthony Anderson, and Thad Kousser. 2022. "Separating Mass Attitude Shifts from Elite Persuasion to Unpack the 'Winner Effect' on Trust in Elections." *Electoral Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2022.102541>.

Nemerever, Zoe, Seth Hill, Thad Kousser, Mackenzie Lockhart, Jennifer Merolla, and Mindy Romero. 2022. "Emotional Reactions to COVID-19 Projections and Consequences for Protective Policies and Personal Behavior." *Political Psychology*. [10.1111/pops.12876](https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12876).

Biggers, Daniel, Elizabeth Mitchell Elder, Seth Hill, Thad Kousser, Gabe Lenz, and Mackenzie Lockhart. 2022. "Can Addressing Integrity Concerns about Mail Balloting Increase Turnout? Results from a Large-Scale Field Experiment in the 2020 Presidential Election?" *Journal of Experimental Political Science*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/XPS.2022.31>.

Uribe, Laura, Micah Farver, Alex Zhao, and Thad Kousser. 2022. "The Political Geography of the United States During the 2020 Elections. (La géographie politique des États-Unis lors des élections de 2020)" *Hérodote* 184-185, 23 46.

Gamm, Gerald, and Thad Kousser. 2021. "Life, Literacy, and the Pursuit of Prosperity: Party Competition and Policy Outcomes in 50 States." *American Political Science Review* 115(4) 1442-1463.

Winner, 2022 APSA State Politics and Policy Section's Best Journal Article

Kousser, Thad, Seth J. Hill, Mackenzie Lockhart, Jennifer Merolla, and Mindy Romero. 2021. "How do Americans Want Elections to be Run During the COVID-19 Crisis?" *Research and Politics* April-June: 1-12.

Lockhart, Mackenzie, Seth J. Hill, Jennifer Merolla, Mindy Romero, and Thad Kousser. 2020. "America's Electorate is Increasingly Polarized Along Partisan Lines About Voting by Mail During the COVID-19 Crisis." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. <https://www.pnas.org/content/early/2020/09/21/2008023117>.

Hill, Seth J., Thad Kousser, Gabriel Lenz, Mackenzie Lockhart, and Elizabeth Mitchell. 2020. "How Can We Increase Turnout Among Low-Propensity Voters?" *California Journal of Politics and Policy* 12(1): <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9mq6n7qx>

Kousser, Thad, Mindy Romero, Mackenzie Lockhart, Seth J. Hill, and Jennifer Merolla. 2020. "How do Californians Want to Cast their Ballots During the COVID-19 Crisis?" *California Journal of Politics and Policy* 12(1): <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9ft457vc>

McGhee, Eric, Mindy Romero, Laura Daly, and Thad Kousser. 2020. "How Did the Voter's Choice Act Affect Turnout in 2018?" *California Journal of Politics and Policy* 12(1): <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8951w9td>

Kousser, Thad, Mindy Romero, Mackenzie Lockhart, Seth J. Hill, and Jennifer Merolla. 2020. "Early in the Pandemic, there was no Partisan Divide over Preferences for Voting by Mail in the 2020 Election." *California Journal of Politics and Policy* 12(1): <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3rq7p8fp>

Vakilifathi, Mona and Thad Kousser. 2020. "Does Judicial Selection Affect Judicial Performance." *The Forum* 18(1):25-50.

Kousser, Thad. 2019. "Tweet Style: Campaigning, Governing, and Social Media in Australia," *Australian Journal of Political Science*. 54(2):183-201.

Kousser, Thad and Bruce Tranter. 2018. "The Influence of Political Leaders on Climate Change Attitudes." *Global Environmental Change*. 50:100-109.

Hughes, D. Alex, Justin Levitt, Seth Hill and Thad Kousser. 2017. "The Impact of GOTV Depends Upon Campaign Context: A Field Experiment in the 2014 California Primary." *California Journal of Politics and Policy*. 9(2).

Hill, Seth and Thad Kousser. 2016. "Turning Out Unlikely Voters? A Field Experiment in the Top-Two Primary." *Political Behavior*. 38(2):413-432.

Kousser, Thad Justin H. Phillips, and Boris Shor. 2016. "Reform and Representation: A New Method Applied to Recent Electoral Changes." *Political Science Research and Methods*. 1-19.

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.

Winner, 2007 APSA State Politics and Policy Section's Best Paper Award

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.

Winner, 2006 APSA State Politics and Policy Section's Best Paper Award

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.

Winner, 2005 APSA State Politics and Policy Section's Award

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. 2020. "Federalism: Barack Obama's Accidental Devolution Revolution." In Francois de Chantal, editor, *Obama's Fractured Legacy: The Politics and Policies of an Embattled Presidency*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

Thad Kousser. 2018. "Polarization vs. Polarisation: Comparing Party Divergence in the US and Australia." Fulbright Flinders University Lecture Series 5.

Thad Kousser. 2018. "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, 7th Edition*. Washington, DC: Sage/CQ Press.

6th Edition, 2015.

Thad Kousser and Austin Ranney. 2017. "Politics in the United States," in G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Russell J. Dalton, and Kaare Strom, editors, *Comparative Politics Today: A World View, 12th Edition*. New York: Pearson Longman.

11th Edition, 2014.

10th Edition, 2010.

9th 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. Kurtz. 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

Olivier Bergeron-Boutin, Katherine Clayton, Thad Kousser, Brendan Nyhan, and Lauren Prather. 2025. “[Communicating with Voters to Build Trust in the U.S. Election System. Best Practices and New Areas for Research](#).” *Comprehensive summary of research on trust in elections that was presented to political leaders, election officials, and democracy groups and which helped shape the agenda for research-practice partnerships.*

Thad Kousser, Lauren Prather, Laura Uribe, and Alex Zhao. “[How Did Trust in Elections Change After the 2024 Presidential Contest](#).” *Yankelovich Survey Report receiving media coverage and used in post-election briefings to election officials.*

Jennifer Gaudette, Seth Hill, Thad Kousser, Mackenzie Lockhart, and Mindy Romero. 2022. "[After the 2022 Midterms, Do Americans Trust Elections?](#)" Yankelovich Survey Report. *Results showing the powerful impact of informational messages on trust presented by research partners at national conferences of election officials and used in internal deliberations over budgets for public information campaigns in 2024.*

G. Augustin Makarian, Cassidy Reller, and Thad Kousser. 2022. "[Looking Ahead to November: How Will Reproductive Rights, Crime Rates, and Top Two Dynamics Shape California's General Election?](#)" Yankelovich Survey Report receiving broad media coverage.

Thad Kousser and Cassidy Reller. 2021. "[Reforming the Recall? California Voters' Perspectives on the Process.](#)" Yankelovich Survey Report. *Invited to present results to the Little Hoover Commission and to the California State Senate Elections Committee.*

Thad Kousser and Cassidy Reller. 2021. "[Do Californians See Their State Moving in the Right Direction, or Do They See Themselves Moving Out of California?](#)" Survey Report, *invited to present to state legislative leaders and to governor's staff.*

Thad Kousser. 2020. [Written Submission Solicited by the Parliament of Victoria's Electoral Matters Committee](#), Inquiry into the Impact of Social Media on Elections and Electoral Administration.

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.*

Research Grants

Election Trust Initiative Grant, 2024. Co-PI partnering with MIT Elections Data and Science Lab on “Building Election Trust: Enhancing Election Official Capacities through Research-Practitioner Partnerships.” Total grant: \$750,000

Trust in Houston Elections Grant, 2024. I am the Principal Investigator for a \$175,000 subgrant in a \$1 million project supported by the Houston Endowment.

MIT Elections Data and Science Lab Grant, 2022. Principal Investigator for “A Research Practice Partnership to Chart Voter Experiences and Test Best Practices for Building Trust in Elections.” Total grant: \$198,000.

UC Office of the President Multicampus Research Project Award, 2016. Principal Investigator for award to five campuses with twelve researchers on “Will California’s New Electorate Reflect the New California?” Total grant: \$546,000.

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: \$7,500.

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-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. 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 the California legislature. Total grant: \$15,000.

Teaching

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

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)

Disciplinary Service

Editorial Board: *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *California Journal of Politics and Policy*.
Chair of Editor-in-Chief Search, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*.

Chair of the 2017 Career Achievement Award, APSA State Politics and Policy Section.
Chair of 2012 Kammerer Book Award Committee, APSA

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: 2018 SPSA (state politics), 2016 WPSA (state politics) 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).

Manuscript Reviews: Frequent reviewer for over 25 journals, including *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *Political Behavior*, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, *Political Analysis*, and *British Journal of Political Science*.

Book Reviews: *Political Science Quarterly*, *Perspectives on Political Science*, *Congress and the Presidency*, and *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law*.

Public Engagement Experience

Expert declarations in cases involving public information programs in California, Arizona campaign finance laws, San Diego, Oxnard and Simi Valley municipal campaign finance laws, the ballot order of California state initiatives, the California Citizens Redistricting Commission, term limits, and increased executive authority over budgets.

Member, Fair Political Practices Commission's Digital Transparency Task Force, 2020-21. California Common Cause board member 2005-2013.

Orientation Director, California Council on Science and Technology S&T Policy Fellows, (2009), Orientation Faculty (2010-current). Organized three-week training for science PhDs selected to work as legislative aides in the California Assembly, Senate, and Executive Branch. Annually teaches first week of orientation.

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, Medicare prescription drugs, and budget issues.

Consultant, New Mexico State Senate Rules Committee, 2000. Researched gubernatorial appointments and projects 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, and youth employment.

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.

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.