

# SETH J. HILL

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## Appointments

### University of California San Diego

Professor, Department of Political Science, 2021 - .  
Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, 2017 - 2021.  
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 2012 - 2017.  
Affiliated Faculty, [Halicioğlu Data Science Institute \(HDSI\)](#), 2018 - .  
Affiliated Faculty, [Center for American Politics](#), 2018 - .  
Affiliated Faculty, [Computational Social Science](#), 2021 - .  
Research Affiliate, [UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation \(IGCC\)](#), 2023 - .

### Yale University

Postdoctoral Associate, Center for the Study of American Politics and Institution for Social and Policy Studies, 2010 - 2012.

## Education

Ph.D. Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles, 2010.  
(Committee chair Jeffrey Lewis)  
M.A. Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles, 2006.  
B.A. Government, Dartmouth College, 2002.

## Book

Hill, Seth J. 2022. [Frustrated Majorities: How Issue Intensity Enables Smaller Groups Of Voters To Get What They Want](#). Cambridge University Press. Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions series.

## Peer-reviewed articles

41. Ban, Pamela and Seth J. Hill. 2025. "Efficacy of Congressional Oversight." *American Political Science Review* Forthcoming.
40. Gaudette, Jennifer, Seth J. Hill, Thad Kousser, Mackenzie Lockhart, and Mindy Romero. 2025. "Can Official Messaging on Trust in Elections Break Through Partisan Polarization?" *British Journal of Political Science* Forthcoming.
39. Lockhart, Mackenzie, 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*

38. Biggers, Daniel R., Elizabeth Mitchell Elder, Seth J. Hill, Thad Kousser, Gabriel S. Lenz, Mac Lockhart. 2023. [“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* 10 (3): pp 413-25. Published online by Cambridge University Press: 24 November 2022.
37. Fowler, Anthony, Seth J. Hill, Jeffrey B. Lewis, Chris Tausanovitch, Lynn Vavreck, and Christopher Warshaw. 2023. [“Moderates.”](#) *American Political Science Review* 117 (2): pp 643-660.
36. Hill, Seth J. and Margaret E. Roberts. 2023. [“Acquiescence Bias Inflates Estimates of Conspiratorial Beliefs and Political Misperceptions.”](#) *Political Analysis* 31 (4): pp 575-590.
35. Lockhart, Mac and Seth J. Hill. 2023. [“How Do General Election Incentives Affect the Visible and Invisible Primary?”](#) *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 48 (4): pp 833-867.
34. Carlson, Taylor N. and Seth J. Hill. 2022. [“Experimental Measurement of Misperception in Political Beliefs”](#) *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 9 (2): pp 241–254.
33. Hill, Seth J. 2022. [“Sidestepping Primary Reform: Political Action in Response to Institutional Change.”](#) *Political Science Research and Methods* 10 (2): pp 391-407, Published online by Cambridge University Press: 27 October 2020.
32. Hill, Seth J. 2022. [“A Theory of Intensity, Electoral Competition, and Costly Political Action.”](#) *Journal of Politics* 84 (1): pp 291-303. **Best Paper Award 2023, APSA Formal Theory Section.**
31. Merolla, Jenn, Zoe Nemerever, Mac Lockhart, Seth J. Hill, Thad Kousser, and Mindy Romero. 2022. [“Emotional Reactions to COVID-19 Projections and Consequences for Protective Policies and Personal Behavior.”](#) *Political Psychology* 44 (5): pp 1053-1076.
30. Fowler, James H., Seth J. Hill, Remy Levin, and Nick Obradovich. 2021. [“Stay-at-Home Orders Associate with Subsequent Decreases in COVID-19 Cases and Fatalities in the United States.”](#) *PLOS One*.
29. Hill, Seth J., Daniel J. Hopkins, and Gregory A. Huber. 2021. [“Not by Turnout Alone: Measuring the Sources of Electoral Change, 2012 to 2016.”](#) *Science Advances* 7 (17): eabe3272.
28. Kousser, Thad, Seth J. Hill, Mac Lockhart, Jennifer Merolla, and Mindy Romero. 2021. [“How Do Americans Want Elections to be Run During the COVID-19 Crisis?”](#) *Research and Politics*.
27. Nemerever, Zoe, Kelly Piazza, and Seth J. Hill. 2021. [“Incorporating Gender Politics into Introduction to US Government Curriculum”](#) *College Teaching* Published online: 19 Jul 2021.
26. Coppock, Alexander, Seth J. Hill, and Lynn Vavreck. 2020. [“The Small Effects of Political Advertising are Small Regardless of Context, Message, Sender, or Receiver: Evidence from 59 Real-time Randomized Experiments.”](#) *Science Advances* 6 (36): eabc4046.
25. Hill, Seth J. 2020. [“Following Through on an Intention to Vote: Present Bias and Turnout”](#) *Political Science Research and Methods* 8 (4): pp 803-810, Published online by Cambridge University Press: 22 November 2018.
24. Hill, Seth J., Thad Kousser, Gabriel Lenz, Mackenzie Lockhart, and Elizabeth Mitchell. 2020. [“How Can We Increase Turnout among Low Propensity Voters?”](#) *The California Journal of Politics and Policy* 12 (1).

23. Lockhart, Mac, 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* 117 (40): pp 24640-24642.
22. Gerber, Alan S., Gregory A. Huber, David Doherty, Conor M. Dowling, and Seth J. Hill. 2019. "The Voting Experience and Beliefs about Ballot Secrecy." *PLOS One*.
21. Hill, Seth J. and Gregory A. Huber. 2019. "On The Meaning of Survey Reports of Roll Call 'Votes'." *American Journal of Political Science* 63 (3): pp 611-625.
20. Hill, Seth J., Daniel J. Hopkins, and Gregory A. Huber. 2019. "Demographic Change, Threat, and Presidential Voting: Evidence from U.S. Electoral Precincts, 2012 to 2016." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 116 (50): pp 25023-25028. **Co-winner APSA Migration and Citizenship Best Article Prize, 2020.**
19. Hill, Seth J. and Chris Tausanovitch. 2018. "Southern Realignment, Party Sorting, and the Polarization of American Primary Electorates, 1958-2012." *Public Choice (special issue in honor of Keith Poole)* 176 (1-2): pp 107-132.
18. Hill, Seth J. 2017. "Changing Votes or Changing Voters: How Candidates and Election Context Swing Voters and Mobilize the Base." *Electoral Studies* 48: pp 131-141.
17. Hill, Seth J. 2017. "Learning Together Slowly: Bayesian Learning About Political Facts." *Journal of Politics* 79 (4): pp 1403-1418.
16. Hill, Seth J. and Gregory A. Huber. 2017. "Representativeness and Motivations of the Contemporary Donorate: Results from Merged Survey and Administrative Records." *Political Behavior* 39 (1): pp 3-29.
15. Hughes, Alex D., Justin Levitt, Seth J. Hill, and Thad Kousser. 2017. "The Impact Of GOTV Depends Upon Campaign Context: A Field Experiment In The 2014 California Primary" *The California Journal of Politics and Policy* 9 (2).
14. Hill, Seth J. and Thad Kousser. 2016. "Turning Out Unlikely Voters? A Field Experiment In The Top-Two Primary." *Political Behavior* 38 (2): pp 413-432.
13. Bullock, John G., Alan S. Gerber, Seth J. Hill, and Gregory A. Huber. 2015. "Partisan Bias in Factual Beliefs About Politics." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 10 (4): pp 519-578.
12. Hill, Seth J. 2015. "Institution of Nomination and the Policy Ideology of Primary Electorates." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 10 (4): pp 461-487.
11. Hill, Seth J. and Chris Tausanovitch. 2015. "A Disconnect in Representation? Comparison of Trends in Congressional and Public Polarization." *Journal of Politics* 77 (4): pp 1058-1075.
10. Hill, Seth J. 2014. "A Behavioral Measure of the Enthusiasm Gap in American Elections." *Electoral Studies* 36: pp 28-38.
9. Gerber, Alan S., Gregory A. Huber, and Seth J. Hill. 2013. "Identifying the Effects of All-Mail Elections on Turnout: Staggered Reform in the Evergreen State." *Political Science Research and Methods* 1 (1): pp 91-116.

8. Gerber, Alan S., Gregory A. Huber, David Doherty, Conor M. Dowling, and Seth J. Hill. 2013. "Do Perceptions of Ballot Secrecy Influence Turnout? Results from a Field Experiment." *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (3): pp 537-551 (NBER Working Paper w17673).
7. Gerber, Alan S., Gregory A. Huber, David Doherty, Conor M. Dowling, and Seth J. Hill. 2013. "Who Wants to Discuss Vote Choices with Others? Polarization in Preferences for Deliberation." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 77 (2): pp 474-496.
6. Hill, Seth J., James Lo, Lynn Vavreck, and John Zaller. 2013. "How Quickly We Forget: The Duration Of Persuasion Effects From Mass Communication." *Political Communication* 30 (4): pp 521-547. Lazarsfeld award, best paper presented at the 2007 American Political Science Association meetings, Political Communication Section.
5. Bafumi, Joseph, Michael C. Herron, Seth J. Hill, and Jeffrey B. Lewis. 2012. "Alvin Greene? Who? How did he win the United States Senate Nomination in South Carolina?" *Election Law Journal* 11 (4): pp 358-379.
4. Huber, Gregory A., Seth J. Hill, and Gabriel S. Lenz. 2012. "Sources of Bias in Retrospective Decision Making: Experimental Evidence on Voters' Limitations in Controlling Incumbents." *American Political Science Review* 106 (4): pp 720-741.
3. Chang, Eric C. C., Miriam A. Golden, and Seth J. Hill. 2010. "Legislative Malfeasance and Political Accountability." *World Politics* 62 (2): pp 177-220.
2. Hill, Seth J., Michael C. Herron, and Jeffrey B. Lewis. 2010. "Economic Crisis, Iraq, and Race: A Study of the 2008 Presidential Election." *Election Law Journal* 9 (1): pp 41-62.
1. Atkinson, Matthew D., Ryan D. Enos, and Seth J. Hill. 2009. "Candidate Faces and Election Outcomes: Is the Face-Vote Correlation Caused by Candidate Selection?" *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 4 (3): pp 229-249.

## Work in progress

3. Caughey, Devin, Seth J. Hill, and Christopher Warshaw. "Party Control and Societal Outcomes in the American States." Working paper.
2. Gaudette, Jennifer, Seth J. Hill, Thad Kousser, Mackenzie Lockhart, Mindy Romero, and Laura Uribe. "How Federalism Plus Polarization Create Distrust in American Elections (and Experimental Evidence for a Potential Solution)" Working paper. **Best Paper Award 2023, APSA State Politics and Policy Quarterly.**
1. Hill, Seth J. "Minimum Wages and Homelessness." Working paper.

## Dormant

Hill, Seth J. "Representation of Primary Electorates in Congressional Roll Call Votes." Working paper.

Hill, Seth J., James Lo, Lynn Vavreck, and John Zaller. "The Opt-in Internet Panel: Survey Mode, Sampling Methodology and the Implications for Political Research." Working paper.

## Commentary

Hill, Seth J. “Opinion: I’m a political scientist and I’m putting myself on a politics diet for the 2024 election.” *Los Angeles Times*, 26 March 2024.

Hill, Seth J. “Book Review: *Democracy’s Meaning: How the Public Understands Democracy and Why It Matters*. By Nicholas T. Davis, Keith Gâddie, and Kirby Goidel. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 2022.” *Perspectives on Politics*, 21(3), Published online by Cambridge University Press: 01 September 2023.

Hill, Seth J. “Opinion: How can Congress reinvigorate representative democracy? Try TEFs” *The Hill*, 5 March 2023.

Hill, Seth J. and Daniel J. Hopkins. “What 2021’s Biggest Upset Elections Tell Us About The Losing Parties” *FiveThirtyEight*, 6 December 2021.

Hill, Seth J. “To Start a Non-Trumpist Third Party, Think Big by Going Small” *The Bulwark*, 5 March 2021.

Hill, Seth J. “Opinion: What Biden should do to get things done: Delegate to the states” *The Hill*, 29 January 2021.

Hill, Seth J. “Op-Ed: Can Biden beat Trump? Michigan’s swing districts offer good clues.” *Los Angeles Times*, 17 March 2020.

Hill, Seth J. “Op-Ed: The winning 2018 Democratic playbook: Avoid talking about ‘Medicare for all!’” *Los Angeles Times*, 6 February 2020.

## Teaching and Advising

Introduction to Political Science: American Politics (undergraduate).

Voting, Campaigns, and Elections (undergraduate).

Senior honors thesis seminar (undergraduate).

Introduction to Bayesian Statistics (graduate).

Political methodology workshop (graduate).

American politics workshop (graduate).

Voting and elections (graduate).

American politics field coordinator (graduate).

Methodology field coordinator (graduate).

Ph.D. chair: 3 political science, UCSD.

Ph.D. co-chair: 3 political science, UCSD.

Ph.D. committee member: 18 political science, 7 economics, 1 philosophy, UCSD.

M.A. committee member: 1 Latin American Studies, UCSD.

B.A. senior honors thesis adviser: 10 political science, UCSD.

## Awards, grants, and honors

Best paper award American Political Science Association Formal Theory Section for “A Theory of Intensity, Electoral Competition, and Costly Political Action,” 2023.

MIT Election Data and Science Lab, 2022-2023, \$198,884, co-principal investigator with Mindy Romero and Thad Kousser, "A Research Practice Partnership to Chart Voter Experiences and Test Best Practices for Building Trust in Elections."

Co-winner APSA Migration and Citizenship Best Article Prize, for "Demographic Change, Threat, and Presidential Voting: Evidence from U.S. Electoral Precincts, 2012 to 2016," 2020.

University of California Office of the President research Grant, 2017-2020, \$545,641, co-investigator with eleven other UC faculty, "Will California's New Electorate Reflect the New California?"

William and Flora Hewlett Foundation research Grant, 2014-15, \$102,000, co-principal investigator with Thad Kousser, "Mobilizing Citizens to Primary Elections."

UC San Diego Academic Senate Committee on Research Grant; 2012; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018.

**Lazarsfeld award** for the best paper presented at the 2007 American Political Science Association meetings, Political Communication Section for "The Duration of Advertising Effects in Political Campaigns," 2008.

## Invited presentations

University of California Riverside School of Public Policy (2024);  
Stanford University; University of California Berkeley; University of Michigan; Columbia University (2023).

Brigham Young University; Stanford University (2020).

University of Southern California; Yale University (2019).

New York University (2018).

Princeton University; U.C. Riverside Political Behavior Conference (2017).

Southern California Law and Social Sciences Forum; Harris School, University of Chicago; Stanford University (2016).

University of California, Berkeley (2015).

Nuffield College, Oxford University; Stanford University (2014).

Washington University; Princeton University; University of California, Los Angeles (2013).

Yale University (2012).

Harvard University (2011).

Stanford University (2010).

## Conference participation

American Political Science Association: 2006, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2023, 2024.

Midwest Political Science Association: 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2015, 2016, 2023.

Society of Political Methodology: 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017, 2019, 2021, 2023.

## Professional service

Reviewer for *American Economic Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *American Politics Research*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Econometrica*,

*Economics & Politics, Election Law Journal, Electoral Studies, International Journal of Forecasting, Journal of Experimental Political Science, Journal of Politics, Journal of Theoretical Politics, Legislative Studies Quarterly, National Science Foundation, Nature Climate Change, Nature Human Behaviour, Perspectives on Politics, PLOS ONE, Political Analysis, Political Behavior, Political Communication, Political Science Research and Methods, Presidential Studies Quarterly, Public Choice, Public Opinion Quarterly, Quarterly Journal of Political Science, Research and Politics, Review of Economics and Statistics, Science Advances, State Politics & Policy Quarterly, Time-sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences, and World Politics.*

Editorial Board, *American Political Science Review*, July 2024 to present.

Direct Submission Editor, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, November 2023.

Nominating Committee, Experimental Research Section, American Political Science Association, 2015.

Conference discussant: Midwest Political Science Association, multiple years; American Political Science Association, multiple years; Annual Conference of the Society for Political Methodology, multiple years; Conference on Ideal Point Models, MIT, 2015; Conference on Political Persuasion, 2016; Southern California Methods Workshop, 2016.

Co-organizer, Pacific Coast American Politics conference, 2017.

## Department and University service

American politics faculty search committee chair, UCSD, 2023-24.

American politics faculty search committee chair, UCSD, 2022-23.

Faculty Instructor, Summer Training Academy for Research Success (STARS) at UCSD, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022.

Faculty Instructor, U.S. Political Institutions and U.S.-Mexico Relations Summer Program at UCSD, 2019, 2020.

Methodology faculty search committee, UCSD, 2019-20.

American politics faculty search committee, UCSD, 2018-19.

Faculty Director, UCDC program, 2018-present.

Graduate curriculum reform committee, 2017-18.

Pat Ledden Memorial Faculty Luncheon speaker, 2016.

American politics faculty search committee, UCSD, 2016-17.

Research Mentor, Summer Training Academy for Research Success (STARS) at UCSD, Summer 2016.

Methodology faculty search committee, UCSD, 2014-15.

American politics faculty search committee, UCSD, 2014-15.

Organizer, Methodology Speaker Series, UCSD, 2014-15.

Co-organizer, American Politics Speaker Series, UCSD, 2012-13; 2013-14.