

# KEVIN MICHAEL ESTERLING

Professor, Public Policy and Political Science

University of California Riverside

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Riverside, CA 92521

[Website + Contact](#)

(Last revised: May 13, 2026)

## Education

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**Ph.D., M.A., Department of Political Science, University of Chicago** 1999

Dissertation Committee: Mark Hansen (Chair), John Padgett, Cass Sunstein

**B.A., Department of Government and Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia** 1989

## Academic Employment

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### University of California Riverside (current)

- Chair, Department of Political Science, July 2024 to June 2027
- Professor, School of Public Policy, July 2014 to present
- Professor, Department of Political Science, July 2012 to present
- Director, Laboratory for Technology, Communication and Democracy (TeCD-Lab), <https://tecd-lab.ucr.edu/>
- Faculty Director, UCR Graduate Quantitative Methods Training Center (GradQuant), December 2013 to August 2015, July 2017 to present <http://gradquant.ucr.edu>
- Affiliate, UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, March 2023 to present, <https://ucigcc.org/>

### University of California Riverside (past)

- Director of Graduate Studies, School of Public Policy, July 2022 to June 2024
- Interim Dean, Graduate Division, September 2016 to July 2017
- Associate Dean for Academic Affairs, Graduate Division, July 2012 to August 2016
- Associate Professor, Political Science, July 2008 to June 2012
- Assistant Professor, Political Science, July 2003 to June 2008

**Brown University** A. Alfred Taubman Center for Public Policy and American Institutions, Postdoctoral Fellowship in Health Policy, August 2002 to July 2003

**University of California – Berkeley** Post Doctoral Appointment in Health Policy, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Scholar in Health Policy Research, August 2000 to July 2002

**Dartmouth College** Visiting Assistant Professor, Government, January-August 2000

**Beloit College** Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Fall 1999

## Awards

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- 2024 **National Science Foundation**, co-PI, “MacREU REU Site: Material Science Connection,” \$430,000, 3 years (third renewal), DMR 2349087
- 2023 **UCR OASIS**, PI, “Prytaneum: Collaborative Public Meetings on Implementing K-12 Mental Health Spending,” (large award category), \$199,734, one year
- 2023 **AllSides**, PI, “Auto-Stances for Healthy Democratic Deliberation” (contract), \$17,175, 3 months
- 2022 **National Science Foundation**, co-PI, NRT Research Traineeship Program, “Science to Policy Education: Activating Knowledge for Sustainable Transportation (SPEAKS),” \$3,000,000, 5 years, DGE 2152258
- 2021 **Institute of Education Sciences**, co-PI, “Connecting Classrooms to Congress: Fostering Civic Engagement via Online Deliberative Town Halls,” \$2,000,000, 4 years, IES R305A210359
- 2020 **Democracy Fund**, PI, “The Prytanea Project,” \$94,600, 1.5 years
- 2020 **National Science Foundation**, co-PI, “MacREU REU Site: Material Science Connection,” \$390,000, 3 years (second renewal, NCE to 2/2024 due to Covid19), DMR 1950619
- 2019 **Democracy Fund**, co-PI, “UC Democracy Tracker,” \$10,000 (UCR portion), 1 year to fund pilot project for Prytaneum
- 2017 **Sloan Foundation**, PI, “West Coast Experiments Conference 2017: Graphical and Econometric Methods for Causal Analysis in the Social Sciences,” \$19,900, 1 year
- 2017 **National Science Foundation**, co-PI, “MacREU REU Site: Material Science Connection,” \$390,000, 3 years (renewal), DMR 1659450
- 2017 **University of Connecticut Humanities Institute Intellectual Humility in Public Discourse**, co-PI, “Intellectual Humility and Discursive Participation in Politics: A Field Experiment with Members of Congress and their Constituents”
- 2016 **National Institutes of Health**, co-I, “Research Transparency and Reproducibility Training (RT2)”
- 2015 **National Science Foundation**, PI, “Institutional Transformation: Institutional Re-engineering Ethical Discourse in STEM (iREDS)” (co-PIs: Dena Plemmons, Juliet McMullin, David Lo, and Brian Nosek) \$399,984 for 3 years, SES-1540440.
- 2015 **UCR Faculty Cluster Hiring Competition**, PI, “Design-Based Statistical Inference for Social Science and Policy Evaluation,” four faculty lines.
- 2014 **UCR Student Technology Fee Fund**, PI, Funding to establish the Graduate Quantitative Methods Training Center ([GradQuant](#)), \$500,000.
- 2014 **National Science Foundation**, co-PI, “MacREU REU Site: Material Science Connection,” \$360,018, 3 years, DMR 1359136
- 2013 **UCR Research and Economic Development**, PI, “The Role of Online Social Media in Diabetes Care.” \$60,000 (with Vagelis Hristidis)
- 2010 **MacArthur Foundation**, co-PI, “What Difference Does Deliberation Make?” A Study of the AmericaSpeaks ‘Our Budget, Our Economy’ Public Deliberation, \$300,000 (with Archon Fung and Taeku Lee)
- 2008 **Ash Institute Faculty Research Grant**, co-PI, Harvard University, Grant for AY 2008-2009 to conduct deliberation field experiments involving a current US Senator, \$47,400 (with David Lazer and Michael Neblo, all to Harvard)

- 2007 **University of California, Riverside**, PI, Academic Senate Faculty Development Award, \$3000 for one year
- 2006 **National Science Foundation**, PI, Research Experience for Undergraduates, \$12,000 (all to UCR) for one year to fund software development for the Connecting to Congress project (NSF Award Number IIS-0429452)
- 2005 **National Science Foundation**, PI, supplement to “Connecting to Congress,” 2 years, \$185,000 total for project divided among Harvard University, Ohio State University and UCR (\$2,500 to UCR), to fund online deliberation field experiments (with Michael Neblo and David Lazer), NSF Award Number IIS-0429452
- 2005 **National Science Foundation**, PI, Research Experience for Undergraduates, \$12,078 (all to UCR) for one year to fund web search data collection software development (NSF Award Number IIS-0429452)
- 2004 **National Science Foundation**, PI, “Collaborative Research– Connecting to Congress: The Adoption and Use of Web Technologies among Members of Congress.” 3 years, \$1,000,000 total for project divided among Harvard University, Ohio State University and UCR; \$149,522 to UCR (with David Lazer and Michael Neblo), NSF Award Number IIS-0429452
- 2002 **National Center for Digital Government**, Harvard University, Visiting Fellow
- 2002 **A. Alfred Taubman Center for Public Policy and American Institutions**, Brown University, one year postdoctoral fellowship
- 2000 **Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Scholars in Health Policy Research Program**, two year postdoctoral fellowship, University of California, Berkeley
- 1993 **University of Chicago**, Mellon Foundation Predissertation Research Grant
- 1990 **University of Chicago**, Century Scholarship, 4 years

**University of California, Riverside**, Academic Senate Omnibus Research, each year 2004 to present

## Books

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- Neblo, Michael A., **Kevin M. Esterling** and David M.J. Lazer. 2018. *Politics With the People: Building a Directly Representative Democracy*, New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.
  - Cited by the Commission on the Practice of Democratic Citizenship of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (AAAS) as a best-practice model (Recommendation 3.2).
  - Testimony before the House Select Committee on the Modernization of Congress, March 25, 2021. [Webpage](#), [Esterling testimony](#)
  - Featured in a hearing before the House Select Committee on the Modernization of Congress, June 5, 2019
  - Honorable Mention, Best Book Award, APSA Organized Section on Experimental Research, 2019
  - [Brookings Institution](#) “Congress Must Stay Connected Even in a Time of Social Distancing.”

- *Perspectives on Politics*, “Critical Dialogue,” 2019, by James Fishkin, with authors’ reply.
- *Kirkus Review*, [Link](#).
- “Directly Representative Democracy,” *Kettering Review* 36(1): 46-52.
- [Ezra Klein podcast](#)
- **Esterling, Kevin M.** 2004. *The Political Economy of Expertise: Information and Efficiency in American National Politics*, Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press.
  - Reviews:
    - \* *Public Choice* 127: 241-243 (2006), by James T. Hamilton
    - \* *Perspectives on Politics* 2(4): 899-900 (2005), by Stuart Hill
    - \* *Perspectives on Political Science* 34(3): 173 (2005), by Burdett Loomis
    - \* *Journal of Politics* 50(August): 959-961 (2005), by Frederick Boehmke

## Articles

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- Plemmons, Dena, **Kevin M. Esterling**, and CK Gunsalus. 2026. “Deliberative Lab Communication and the Practice of Ethical Science.” *Science and Engineering Ethics*, forthcoming.
- Kabir, Shariar, **Kevin M. Esterling** and Yue Dong. 2026. “PRESS: An Automated Black-Box Framework for Evaluating Political Stance Stability in LLMs.” *Proceedings of the Third Workshop on Natural Language Processing for Political Sciences @ LREC-COLING 2026 (PoliticalNLP 2026)*, pages xx-xx, Palma de Mallorca (Spain), ELRA and ICCL.
- Chowdhury, Md Taukir Azam, Vagelis Hristidis, **Kevin Esterling**, Jannat Ara Meem, and Zabir Al Nazi. 2026. “Comparing the Subjective Opinions and Justifications of LLMs and Web Search Engines.” *18th ACM Web Science Conference 2026 (WebSci’26)*, May 26-29, 2026, Braunschweig, Germany.
- Miske, O., Abatayo, A. L., [...35 authors ...] **Esterling, K. M.**, [...88 authors ...] Nosek, B. A., and Errington, T. M. (in press). Investigating the Reproducibility of the Social and Behavioural Sciences. *Nature*.
- Tyner, A. H., Abatayo, A. L., [...73 authors ...] **Esterling, K. M.**, [...213 authors ...] Zwaan, R. A., Nosek, B. A., and Errington, T. M. (in press). Investigating the Replicability of the Social and Behavioural Sciences. *Nature*.
- **Esterling, Kevin M.**, David Brady and Eric Schwitzgebel. 2025. “The Necessity of Construct and External Validity for Deductive Causal Inference.” *Journal of Causal Inference*, 13 (1), pp. 20240002. [Open Access DOI](#)
  - Esterling’s presentation at Metascience 2023, National Academy of Sciences [Video](#)
  - Andrew Gelman blog commentary and discussion [here](#)
- Irani, Arman, Ju Yeon Park, Michalis Faloutsos and **Kevin M. Esterling**. 2025. “A Discourse Analysis Framework for Legislative and Social Media Debates.” *WebSci ’25 – 17th ACM Web Science Conference 2025*, May 20–24, 2025, New Brunswick, NJ, USA

- Irani, Arman, Ju Yeon Park, **Kevin M. Esterling** and Michalis Faloutsos. 2024. “WIBA: What Is Being Argued? A Comprehensive Approach to Argument Mining.” *IEEE/ACM International Conference on Social Networks Analysis and Mining* (ASONAM 2024).
- McCabe, Stefan D., Diogo Ferrari, Jon Green, David M.J. Lazer. and **Esterling, Kevin M.** (2024) “Post-January 6th deplatforming reduced the reach of misinformation on Twitter.” *Nature*, 630, 132–140 (Esterling is senior/last author, Lazer is corresponding author) [DOI](#) + [Data and Code](#)
  - [Brookings Institution Lawfare Podcast](#), July 25, 2024
  - Will Oremus, “After Jan. 6, Twitter banned 70,000 right-wing accounts. Lies plummeted. A new study finds deplatforming “supersharers” of misinformation can limit its overall spread.” *Washington Post*, June 6, 2024 [Link to article](#)
  - [Nature podcast with David Lazer](#)
  - [Press release on AAAS](#)
- **Esterling, Kevin M.** and Ju Yeon Park. (2024). “Flexible Estimation of Policy Preferences for Witnesses in Committee Hearings.” *Political Analysis*, 32(4):476-492 [Open Access](#) [DOI](#) + [Data and Code](#)
- Brodeur, Abel, **Kevin M. Esterling** + 13 more authors. 2024. “Promoting Reproducibility and Replicability in Political Science,” *Research & Politics*, 11(1): 1-8. [Open Access](#) [DOI](#).
- Irani, Arman, Michalis Faloutsos and **Kevin M. Esterling**. 2024. “ArguSense: Argument-centric Analysis of Online Discourse.” *Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media* (ICWSM 2024), 663-675, [DOI](#).
- William Minozzi, Ryan Kennedy, **Kevin M. Esterling**, Michael A. Neblo and Ryan Jewell. (2024). “Testing the Benefits of Public Deliberation.” *American Journal of Political Science*, 68(1):319-334.
- **Esterling, Kevin M.**, William Minozzi and Michael A. Neblo. 2022. “Does Familiarity Breed Esteem? A Field Experiment on Emergent Attitudes Toward Members of Congress.” *Political Research Quarterly*, 76 (1): 173-185.
- Tachaiya, Jakapun, Arman Irani, **Kevin M. Esterling**, Michalis Faloutsos. 2021. “SentiStance: Quantifying the Intertwined Changes of Sentiment and Stance in Response to an Event in Online Forums.” *IEEE/ACM International Conference on Advances in Social Network Analysis and Mining* (ASONAM 2021).
- Soderberg, C. K., Errington, T. M., Schiavone, S. R., Bottesini, J., Singleton Thorn, F., Vazire, S., **Esterling, K. M.**, and Nosek, B. A. 2021. “Initial evidence of research quality of Registered Reports compared to the standard publishing model.” *Nature Human Behaviour*, 5: 990–997. [DOI](#)
  - Commentary and Response: Higgs, Megan and Andrew Gelman. 2021. “Research on Registered Reports Research.” *Nature Human Behaviour*, 5: 978–979. [DOI](#)
  - Press Coverage in [Science](#).

- J. Tachaiya, J. Gharibshah, **K. Esterling** and M. Faloutsos. 2021. “RAFFMAN: Measuring and analyzing sentiment in online political forum discussions, with an application to the Trump impeachment.” *International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media (ICWSM 2021)*.
- Soojin Park and **Kevin M. Esterling**. 2021. “Sensitivity Analysis for Pretreatment Confounding With Multiple Mediators.” *Journal of Educational and Behavioral Statistics*, 46(1): 85-108. [DOI](#)
- Dena K. Plemmons, Erica N. Baranski, Kyle Harp, David Lo, Courtney K. Soderberg, Timothy M. Errington, Brian A. Nosek, **Kevin M. Esterling** (Esterling is senior/last author; Esterling and Plemmons are corresponding authors). 2020. “A Randomized Trial of a Lab-Embedded Discourse Intervention to Improve Research Ethics.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 117(3), 1389-1394, open access. [Open Access DOI](#)
- R. Kennedy, A. Sokehy, C. Abernathy, **K.M. Esterling**, D.M.J. Lazer, A. Lee, W. Minozzi, and M.A. Neblo. 2021. “Demographics and (Equal?) Voice: Assessing Participation in Online Deliberative Sessions.” *Political Studies*, 69(1): 66-88. [DOI](#).
- **Esterling, Kevin M.**, Archon Fung and Taeku Lee. 2021. “When Deliberation Produces Persuasion Rather Than Polarization: Measuring and Modeling Small Group Dynamics in a Field Experiment.” *British Journal of Political Science*, 51: 666-684. open access [Open Access DOI](#)
- Abernathy, Claire, **Kevin M. Esterling**, Justin Freeborn, Ryan Kennedy, William Minozzi, Michael A. Neblo, and Jonathan A. Solis. 2019. “Constituent Communication through Telephone Town Halls: A Field Experiment Involving Members of Congress.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 44(4): 617-646. [DOI](#)
- **Esterling, Kevin M.** 2019. “Citizen Reasoning within Counterfactual Institutions.” *P.S.: Political Science and Politics*, 52(4): 650-653. [DOI](#)
- Neblo, Michael A., William Minozzi, **Kevin M. Esterling**, Jonathan Green, Jonathan Kingzette, David MJ Lazer. 2017. “The Need for a Translational Science of Democracy.” *Science* 355 (6328), 914-915. [DOI](#)
- Minozzi, William, Michael A. Neblo, **Kevin M. Esterling** and David M.J. Lazer. 2015. “Field Experiment Evidence of Substantive, Attributional, and Behavioral Persuasion by Members of Congress in Online Town Halls” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 112(13): 3937-3942 (March 31, 2015), open access [DOI](#).
  - News Coverage:
    - \* [Roll Call](#)
    - \* [Boston Globe](#)
    - \* [Politico](#)
    - \* [The Monkey Cage](#)
    - \* [Smithsonian Magazine](#)
- Lazer, David M.J., Anand E. Sokhey, Michael A. Neblo, **Kevin M. Esterling** and Ryan Kennedy. 2015. “Expanding the Conversation: Multiplier Effects from a Deliberative Field Experiment” *Political Communication*, 32(4):552-573.

- **Esterling, Kevin M.**, Archon Fung and Taeku Lee. 2015. “How Much Disagreement is Good for Democratic Deliberation?” *Political Communication* 32(4): 529-551.
- Wiley, Matthew T., Canghon Jin, Vagelis Hristidis, **Kevin M. Esterling**. “Analysis of Pharmaceutical Drugs Chatter on Online Social Networks.” *Journal of Biomedical Informatics*, 49 (June): 245-54, 2014, doi: 10.1016/j.jbi.2014.03.006. Epub 2014 Mar 15.
  - News Coverage (clickable on PDF version):
    - \* [About.com](#)
    - \* [Medical Xpress](#)
    - \* [Red Orbit](#)
- Miguel, E., C. Camerer, K. Casey, J. Cohen, **K.M. Esterling**, A. Gerber, R. Glennerster, D.P. Green, M. Humphreys, G. Imbens, D. Laitin, T. Madon, L. Nelson, B.A. Nosek, M. Peterson, R. Sedlmayr, J.P. Simmons, U. Simonsohn, M. Van der Laan. 2014. “Promoting Transparency in Social Science Research.” *Science*. 3 January 2014: 30-31.
- Bowler, Shaun, **Kevin M. Esterling**, and Dallas Holmes. 2013. “GOTJ: Get Out the Juror.” *Political Behavior* 36(3): 515-533, DOI 10.1007/s11109-013-9244-2.
- **Esterling, Kevin M.**, David M.J. Lazer and Michael A. Neblo. 2013. “Connecting to Constituents: The Diffusion of Representation Practices among Congressional Websites.” *Political Research Quarterly*, 66(1): 102-114.
- Lazer, David, Ines Mergel, Curtis Ziniel, **Kevin M. Esterling**, and Michael A. Neblo. 2011. “The Multiple Institutional Logics of Innovation,” *International Public Management Journal*, 14 (3), 311-340.
- **Esterling, Kevin M.**, David M.J. Lazer, and Michael A. Neblo. 2011. “Representative Communication: Website Interactivity & ‘Distributional Path Dependence’ in the U.S. Congress.” *Political Communication*, 28 (4): 409-439, 2011.
- **Esterling, Kevin M.**, Michael A. Neblo, and David M.J. Lazer. 2011. “Estimating Treatment Effects in the Presence of Selection on Unobservables: The Generalized Endogenous Treatment Model.” *Political Analysis* 19 (Spring): 205-226.
- **Esterling, Kevin M.**, Michael A. Neblo, and David M.J. Lazer. 2011. “Means, Motive, and Opportunity in Becoming Informed about Politics: A Deliberative Field Experiment Involving Members of Congress and their Constituents.” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 75 (Fall), 483-503.
- **Esterling, Kevin M.**. 2010. “Identifying Conditions for Falsifiable Discourse: ‘Deliberative Disagreement’ in U.S. Health Policy Committee Hearings.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 35 (May): 169-198.
- Neblo, Michael A., **Kevin M. Esterling**, David M.J. Lazer, Ryan Kennedy, and Anand Sokhey. 2010. “Who Wants to Deliberate – and Why?” *American Political Science Review*, 104 (Aug.): 566-583.
  - Winner of the Heinz Eulau Award for the best article published in the *American Political Science Review* for 2010.

- **Esterling, Kevin M.**. 2009. “Does the Federal Government Learn from the States? Medicaid and the Limits of Expertise in the Intergovernmental Lobby,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 39 (January): 1-21.
  - Reprinted in *State and Local Government, 2009-2010 Edition*, Kevin B. Smith editor, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2009.
- **Esterling, Kevin M.**. 2007. “Buying Expertise: Campaign Contributions and Attention to Policy Analysis in Congressional Committees.” *American Political Science Review* 101 (Feb.): 93-109. [DOI](#) + [Data and Code](#)
  - News Coverage:
    - \* Shankar Vedantam, “Big Political Donors Just Looking for Favors? Apparently Not,” *The Washington Post*, Monday, November 10, 2008; Page A08
    - \* Brian Friel, “Nerd Bonus?” *National Journal*, March 3, 2007; Page 2
    - \* *Capital (Sacramento) Morning Report* (3/27/2007)
    - \* University of California Office of the President *President’s Report* (May 2007)
    - \* APSA Press Release, “How Campaign Contributions Improve Policy Analysis in Congressional Committees,” February 22, 2007
  - Featured article for the electronic edition of the *APSR*
  - Reprinted in *Health, Politics and Policy*, Sue Tolleson-Rinehart and Mark A. Peterson, eds., SAGE Publications, November 2010.
- **Esterling, Kevin M.**, David M.J. Lazer, and Michael A. Neblo. 2005. “Home (Page) Style: Determinants of the Quality of House Members’ Websites.” *International Journal of Electronic Government Research* 1 (2):50-63.
- Carpenter, Daniel P., **Kevin M. Esterling**, and David M.J. Lazer. 2004. “Friends, Brokers, and Transitivity: Who Informs Whom in Washington Politics?” *Journal of Politics* 66(1 February): 224-246.
- Carpenter, Daniel P., **Kevin M. Esterling**, and David M.J. Lazer. 2004. “The Strength of Strong Ties: A Model of Contact Making in Policy Networks with Evidence from U.S. Health Politics.” *Rationality and Society* 15(4 November): 411-440.
- **Esterling, Kevin M.**. 1999. “Judicial Accountability the Right Way: Official Performance Evaluations Help the Electorate as Well as the Bench,” *Judicature*, 82(5): 206-215.
- Carpenter, Daniel P., **Kevin M. Esterling**, and David M.J. Lazer. 1998. “The Strength of Weak Ties in Lobbying Networks: Evidence from Health Care Politics.” *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 10(4 October): 417-444, 1998.
- **Esterling, Kevin M.**. 1998. “Public Outreach: The Cornerstone of Judicial Independence,” *Judicature* 82(3): 112-117.
  - Reprinted in:
    - \* *Judicial Politics: Readings from Judicature*. 3rd edition. Elliot E. Slotnick, ed. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2005
    - \* *Judicial Politics: Readings from Judicature*. 2nd edition. Elliot E. Slotnick, ed. Chicago, Ill.: American Judicature Society, 1999

## Other Academic Publications

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- Kevin Esterling and Cesunica Ivey. 2023. “Clearing the Air: Using Collaboration Technology to Build Local Engagement Panels on Air Quality.” in *Technology vs. Government: The Irresistible Force Meets the Immovable Object*. Bingley (U.K.): Emerald House Publishing.
- Irani, Arman, Kevin Esterling, Michalis Faloutsos and Deborah Pagliaccia. “Wheats the Deal? Understanding the GMO debate in online forums.” ACM/IEEE Advances in Social Network Analysis and Mining (ASONAM) 2022 -PhD Track
- Esterling, Kevin M. 2022. “Review of *Congress Overwhelmed: The Decline in Congressional Capacity and Prospects for Reform*.” Edited by Timothy M. LaPira, Lee Drutman and Kevin R. Kosar. *Perspectives on Politics*, forthcoming.
- Kevin Esterling, Marci Harris and Claire Abernathy. 2020. “Modernizing congressional tech will require old fashioned collaboration.” *Techtank*. Brookings Institution. [Webpage](#).
- Kevin Esterling, Marci Harris and Claire Abernathy. 2020. “Congressional modernization jump-started by COVID-19.” *Techtank*. Brookings Institution. [Webpage](#).
- Neblo, Michael A., Kevin M. Esterling and David M.J. Lazer. 2019, Critical Dialogue, review of *Democracy When the People Are Thinking: Revitalizing Our Politics Through Public Deliberation* by James S. Fishkin. *Perspectives on Politics*, 17(2): 529-531, with author’s reply.
- Esterling, Kevin M. 2018. “Deliberation and Experimental Design.” Andre Bachtiger, John Dryzek, Jenny Mansbridge and Mark Warren, eds. *Oxford Handbook of Deliberative Democracy*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Esterling, Kevin M. 2014. “Review Essay: Interest Groups and Health Care Reform.” Review of Virginia Gray, David Lowery and Jennifer Benz, *Interest Groups and Health Care Reform across the United States* and Shanna Rose, *Financing Medicaid: Federalism and the Growth of America’s Health Care Safety Net, Interest Groups & Advocacy*, 3, 326-330 (October 2014). doi:10.1057/iga.2014.16
- Esterling, Kevin M. 2016. “Review of *The Death of Deliberation: Partisanship and Polarization in the United States Senate*,” by James Wallner. *Party Politics*, 22(2): 260-261.
- Esterling, Kevin M. and Ludwig Bartels. 2013. “Atoms-First Curriculum: A Comparison of Student Success in General Chemistry.” *Journal of Chemical Education*, forthcoming.
- “The Internet and the Madisonian Cycle: Possibilities and Prospects for Consultative Representation,” Chapter in *Connecting Democracy: Online Consultation and the Flow of Political Communication*, Peter Shane, editor. MIT Press, (with David Lazer and Michael Neblo), 2011.
- *The Difference that Deliberation Makes: Evaluating the “Our Budget, Our Economy” Public Deliberation*. Evaluation report funded by the MacArthur Foundation, December 1, 2010 (with Archon Fung and Taeku Lee). Available at <https://ashinstitute.sharepointsite.net/ROW/FiscalFutureResearch/default.aspx>.

- Review of *Medical Governance: Values, Expertise, and Interests in Organ Transplantation* by David Weimer. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2010. review for *Political Science Quarterly*, 126(2): 343-344, 2013.
- “Improving Congressional Websites.” Brookings Institution *Issues in Technology Innovation*, Number 2, August 2010 (with David Lazer and Michael Neblo).
- *Online Town Hall Meetings: Exploring Democracy in the 21st Century*. (with Kathy Goldschmidt, David Lazer, and Michael Neblo). Washington, D.C.: The Congressional Management Foundation, 2009.
- *2007 Gold Mouse Report: Lessons from the Best Web sites on Capitol Hill*. (with Collin Burden, Tim Hysom, David Lazer and Michael Neblo). Washington, D.C.: The Congressional Management Foundation, 2007.
  - News coverage: “Judging of House, Senate Web Sites to Start in June,” Emily Yehle, *Roll Call*, May 18, 2009
- “Lobbyists’ Arguments as Differentiated Informational Subsidies, with Evidence from Recent Medicare Hearings.” Chapter in *Interest Groups & Lobbying: Volume One – The United States and Comparative Studies*, Conor McGrath, Ed. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2009, pp. 45-74
- “When is Policy Analysis Used in Congress? The Case of Medicare Policy.” *Policy Matters*, 1(2 Winter), 2007 (single-blind reviewed quarterly policy report)
- “Measuring and Explaining the Quality of Websites in the (Virtual) House of Representatives.” Chapter in *Current Issues and Trends in E-Government Research*, Donald F. Norris, Editor. Hershey Park, PA: Idea Group Publishers. (with David M. J. Lazer and Michael A. Neblo), 2007
- *Implementing Sentencing Policy Reform: Gaining Political Support Through Research, Analysis, and Outreach*. Chicago, Ill.: American Judicature Society, 2000
- “Diversity in the Judicial Merit Selection Process: A Statistical Report,” (with Seth Andersen). Chapter in *Research on Judicial Selection, 1999*. Chicago, Ill.: American Judicature Society, 1999
- “Methodological Issues in the Study of Judicial Selection: A Critique of the Empirical Research and Suggestions for Future Directions” (with Robert G. Boatright). Chapter in *Research on Judicial Selection, 1999*. Chicago, Ill.: American Judicature Society, 1999
- *Judicial Performance Evaluation Commissions in Four States: An Assessment with Recommendations*. (With Kate Sampson). Chicago, Ill.: American Judicature Society, 1998
- *Judicial Independence, Public Confidence in the Courts, and State-Federal Cooperation in the Midwest*. Chicago, Ill.: American Judicature Society, 1998

## Software

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- My lab is the Laboratory for Technology, Communication and Democracy, ([TeCD-Lab](#)).

- The TeCD-Lab is building [Prytaneum](#), which is an online town hall meeting platform designed to ensure that public meetings that are hosted on it tend to advance the ideal of constructive and collaborative communication in democratic representation. Funded by grants from the Institute of Education Sciences, the Democracy Fund, and the UCR Information Technology Services.

## Recent Conference Presentations

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- “Improving Focus Group Methodology Using Large-N Algorithmic Curation,” Western Political Science Association, April 2026; American Political Science Association, September 2025, and [LOGOS Open Day](#), UCR Department of Computer Science and Engineering, Feb. 27, 2026.
- “From Reddit to Congressional Hearings: A Study of Representation Using an Argument Extraction Method,” Society for Political Methodology (Polmeth), July 2025.
- “DALiSM: A Discourse Analysis framework for Legislative and Social Media texts,” American Political Science Association, September 2024; Society for Political Methodology (Polmeth), July 2024.
- “The Connecting Classrooms to Congress Project: Evaluation of Impact on Student Beliefs and Attitudes,” American Political Science Association, September 2024.
- “The Necessity of Construct and External Validity for Generalized Causal Claims,” American Political Science Association, September 2021; Society for Political Methodology, July 2021.
- “Familiarity and the Emergence of Constituent Attitudes,” American Political Science Association, September 2019.
- “Statistical Considerations When Placing Agents into Legislative Preference Space,” Society for Political Methodology, July 2018 and American Political Science Association, September 2018.
- “The Democratic Dilemma: Reflections Two Decades Later,” American Political Science Association, September 2018.
- “Telephone Town Halls as Discursive Representation,” American Political Science Association, September 2017.
- “Placing Lobbyists and Legislators in Common Ideological Space,” American Political Science Association, September 2016.
- “Diversity and the creation of bonding and bridging capital within a large scale deliberative event,” (with Archon Fung and Taeku Lee), American Political Science Association, September 2016.
- “Persuasion within Small Deliberative Groups: A Randomized Field Experiment on Fiscal Policy Discussion,” (with Archon Fung and Taeku Lee), Midwest Political Science Association, April 2015.

- “Silent Participants? Gender and Online Deliberative Town-Halls,” (with Ryan Kennedy, Anand Sokhey, David Lazer and Michael Neblo), Midwest Political Science Association, April 2015.
- “The Relationship between a ‘Don’t Know’ Response and Constituent Attitudes toward Members of Congress: A Randomized Experiment,” Southern Political Science Association, January 2015

## Invited Talks

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- [UC Open Summit 2026](#), Keynote talk, “Open Source AI and the Public Sphere: Two Paradoxes,” UC Berkeley, April 23, 2026.
- Stanford University, Guest Lecture, Data Science of Disinformation, “Post-January 6 Deplatforming Reduced the Reach of Misinformation on Twitter,” October 30, 2024.
- University of Oregon, Wayne Morse Center for Law and Policy, “[The New Town Hall: Building a Communications Platform for Democracy](#),” April 11, 2024.
- National Academy of Sciences, Metascience Conference, “The Necessity of Construct and External Validity for Causal Generalization,” May 9, 2023.
- WZB (Berlin) Talk Series, “The Necessity of Construct and External Validity for Causal Generalization,” July 2020.
- Brookings Institution, “Strengthening and reinvigorating Congress: Findings from the APSA Task Force on Congressional Reform,” January, 2020.
- University of Southern California, Political Institutions and Political Economy (PIPE), “Report of the APSA Congressional Reform Task Force Subcommittee on Technology and Innovation.”
- Center for Open Science, Charlottesville, Va., “iREDS: Institutional Re-engineering Ethical Discourse in STEM,” March, 2016 (research design) and June 2019 (results).
- University of Southern California, Department of Political Science Visiting Speaker Series, “Modeling Persuasion in Small Groups – A Deliberative Field Experiment,” September, 2016.
- UC Berkeley, Berkeley Initiative on Transparency in the Social Sciences, BITSS Annual Meeting, “iREDS: Institutional Re-engineering Ethical Discourse in STEM,” December, 2015.
- UC Berkeley, Berkeley Initiative on Transparency in the Social Sciences, BITSS Institute ICPSR Summer Training Program, “Disclosure Best Practices,” June, 2014.
- University of California Center, Sacramento, “Deliberation and Persuasion in Small Groups.” January 31, 2013.
- Tohoku University, Sendai, Japan. “Ideology and Persuasion in Small Deliberative Groups.” January 25, 2013.

- University of Michigan, School of Public Health, “How Much Disagreement is Good for Democracy?” February 16, 2012.
- Arizona State University, School of Politics and Global Studies, “How Much Disagreement is Good for Deliberation?” Feb. 4, 2011.
- Tohoku University, Sendai, Japan. “Knowledge Inequality and Empowerment in Small Deliberative Groups: Results from a Randomized Experiment.” November 19, 2010
- Claremont Graduate University, presentation on “How Much Disagreement is Good for Deliberation?” March 2, 2010.
- Northwestern University, Conference on Experimental Political Science, presentation on “Design and Analytic Challenges,” May 28-29, 2009.
- Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government, Program on Network Governance, May 2007, “Knowledge Gains in a Deliberative Field Experiment” (with Michael Neblo and David Lazer).
- University of Washington, Seattle, Center for American Politics and Public Policy, “Do Campaign Contributions Improve the Analytical Capacity of Congress?” February 17, 2006
- University of California, Berkeley, Institute for Governmental Studies, “Does Policy Research Matter for Lobbying Debates?” April 12, 2001
- Northwestern University Law School, lunchtime talk, “Modeling Lobbyist Access: Ideology, Political Participation, and Specialized Policy Knowledge,” December 18, 2001
- University of Pennsylvania Law School and the Brennan Center for Justice, “Judicial Independence at the Crossroads: Developing and Interdisciplinary Research Agenda.” Paper: “Who Says Judicial Independence and Judicial Accountability are at Odds?” March 30-31, 2001
- American Judicature Society Midyear Meeting, “The Politics of Judicial Selection,” Washington, D.C., March 3, 2000, presentation on judicial performance evaluations
- Oklahoma Bar Association Conference, Tulsa, Oklahoma, October 30, 1999, presentation of ongoing research on judicial performance evaluation commissions and judicial accountability
- ABA Judicial Division Appellate Judges’ Conference, “The Virtually Compleat Appellate Judge,” Washington, D.C., March 4-6, 1999, panel on judicial performance evaluations
- South Dakota Annual Judicial Conference, Pierre, South Dakota, November 5, 1998, presentation of ongoing research on judicial retention elections and judicial performance evaluation programs
- Conference on Computational Political Economy, University of Michigan, Department of Political Science, October 1998. Conference participant (by invitation).
- American Judicature Society Midwest Conference on State-Federal Judicial Relationships, Oak Brook Hills, Illinois, October 13-14, 1997, presentation of ongoing research on judicial independence and public outreach.

- Nebraska Bar Association Annual Meeting, Lincoln, Nebraska, October 12, 1997, presentation of ongoing research on judicial independence and public outreach

## Teaching

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Policy Evaluation	MPP methods lecture	PBPL 220
Advanced Regression MLE	PhD methods lecture	POSC 205
Causal Inference	PhD methods seminar	UCR-POSC.207
American Political Institutions	Graduate seminar	UCR-POSC.261
Mathematical Modeling in Political Science	PhD vector calculus lecture	UCR-POSC.204
Political Theory and Policy Analysis	Graduate game theory lecture	UCR-POSC.282
American Politics Core	Graduate seminar	UCR-POSC.249
Introduction to Statistical Methods	Graduate lecture	UCR-POSC.202a
Public Policy	Graduate seminar	UCR-POSC.252
Politics of Public Health	Upper division lecture	UCR-POSC.180
Digital Government	Upper division lecture	UCR-POSC.184
Health Policy and the Social Sciences	Upper division seminar	Brown PP.170
Public Health and the Political Process	Upper division seminar	Brown PP.170
Interest Group Politics	Upper division seminar	Dartmouth GOV.30
Quantitative Political Analysis	Undergraduate lecture	Dartmouth GOV.10
American Political Institutions	Undergraduate lecture	Dartmouth GOV.3

## Service to the Profession

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**Host/Organizer** 41st Annual Meeting of the Society for Political Methodology (Polmeth).  
Riverside, CA, July 18-20,2024. <https://polmeth.ucr.edu/>

**Co-Editor, Research & Politics** March 2018 to January 2023. Co-editor of the Special Issue on Replication, January 2023 to present.

**Chair, Subcommittee on Technology and Innovation** APSA Presidential Task Force on Congressional Reform, March 2019 to January 2020.

**Berkeley Initiative on Transparency in the Social Sciences** see <http://cega.berkeley.edu/programs/BITSS/>

- Co-organizer, 2012
- Executive Committee, 2012 to present

**Exploring Study Registries in Political Science and Economics, Conference Co-Organizer**  
UC Berkeley, Berkeley, CA, December 7, 2012 (with Edward Miguel)

**West Coast Experiments Conference Co-Organizer** See <http://ps-experiments.ucr.edu/conference>

- The Tenth Annual Conference, UCLA Department of Computer Science, Los Angeles, CA, April 23-23, 2017 (with Judea Pearl)

- The Ninth Annual Conference, Stanford Graduate School of Business, Palo Alto, CA, May 21, 2016 (with Neil Malhotra)
- The Eighth Annual Conference, UC Davis, Davis, CA, May 1, 2015 (with Cheryl Boudreau)
- The Seventh Annual Conference, Claremont Graduate University, Claremont, CA, May 9, 2014 (with Jennifer Merolla)
- The Sixth Annual Conference, Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA, May 10, 2103 (with Mike Tomz)
- The Fifth Annual Conference, UC Berkeley, Berkeley, CA, May 11, 2012 (with Jas Sekhon, Taeku Lee and Laura Stoker)
- The Fourth Annual Conference, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, CA, May 6, 2011 (with Nicholas Weller, Jonathan Katz and Mat McCubbins)
- The Third Annual Conference, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, May 21, 2010 (with Lynn Vavreck and Mat McCubbins)
- The Second Annual Conference, UCSD, Del Mar, CA, May 15, 2009 (with Mat McCubbins)
- The First Annual Conference, UCR, Riverside, CA, May 2, 2008 (with Shaun Bowler and Martin Johnson)

### **Experimental Research Organized Section of the APSA**

- At-Large Council Member, 2012-2014, 2014-2015
- Webmaster, 2010-2012
- Treasurer, 2010-2012
- Co-Founder (with Eric Dickson, Rose McDermott, Rebecca Morton, Don Green, and Costas Panagopolous), Winter 2010, see *PS-Political Science & Politics*, 43 (3): 607, 2010.

### **Editorial Board Member**

- *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, May 2013 to July 2017.
- *Journal of Information Technology and Politics*, October 2007 to present.

**Jack Walker Outstanding Article Award Committee** Member of the APSA committee to select the 2009 award honoring an article or published paper of unusual significance and importance to the field of political organizations and parties.

**Conference Co-Organizer** UCLA/UCR Conference for the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES), Lake Arrowhead Conference Center, March 9-11, 2007 (with Lynn Vavreck).

**Best Book Award Committee** Member of the APSA Second on Experimental Research committee to select the best book published on experiments in 2019.

**POP/Eldersveld Award Committee** Member of the APSA committee to select the 2008 award given to a scholar who made a significant lifetime contribution to the study of interest groups and political parties.

**Party Politics Award Committee (Chair)** Chair of committee to select the 2006 award for best paper presented in the previous year in the Political Organizations and Parties section of the American Political Science Association.

**Herbert Simon Award Committee** Member of the committee to award the 2006 Simon award by the Public Administration Caucus of the Midwest Political Science Association. The award recognizes a mid-career scholar making significant contributions to the scientific study of public administration.

**Section Organizer** For the section on Political Organizations and Parties at the 2005 Meetings of the American Political Science Association. Related newsletter articles:

- “A Second Note from the POP Section Organizer: The Poster Session Experiments,” *Vox Pop: Newsletter of Political Organizations and Parties*, 24(1 Summer): 3
- “A Message from the 2005 Section Organizer,” *Vox Pop: Newsletter of Political Organizations and Parties*, 23(2 Fall): 4

**Referee** for (selected list):

*American Journal of Political Science; American Journal of Sociology; American Political Science Review; American Politics Research; British Journal of Political Science; Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law; Journal of Information Technology and Politics; Journal of Politics; Judicature; Law and Social Inquiry; Legislative Studies Quarterly; National Science Foundation; Policy Matters; Political Analysis; Political Research Quarterly; Political Studies; Public Opinion Quarterly; Publius: The Journal of Federalism; W.W. Norton*

## University Service

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- UCR, Chair, Department of Political Science, 2024 to 2027.
- UCR, School of Public Policy, Director of Graduate Studies, 2022 to 2024.
- UCR, Secretary-Parliamentarian, Academic Senate, 2018 to 2020.
- UCR, Interim Dean, Graduate Division, AY2016-17.
- UCR, Associate Dean for Graduate Academic Affairs, Graduate Division, 2012 to 2016
- UCR, Dept. of Political Science, Graduate Committee, Spring 2008 to present
- UCR, School of Public Policy, Graduate Committee, Fall 2014 to present
- UCR, numerous faculty search committees, member or chair, in political science, public policy, and multidepartmental, including current chair of the cluster faculty search on “Design-Based Inference for Social Science and Public Policy” (three junior and one senior)
- UCR, Chair of the College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences (CHASS) Executive Committee and Chair of the Faculty, 2011-2012
- UCR, Dept. of Political Science, Director of Graduate Admissions, 2009-2012

- UCR Strategic Planning, member, Committee on Climate and Community, 2009
- UCR, Ad Hoc tenure committee member, Spring 2009
- CHASS Award for Teaching Excellence Committee (chair), May 2009
- UCR, College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, Executive Committee, July 2008 to present (Secretary Parliamentarian 2009-2010; lead author of the “Esterling Report” on the Interdisciplinary Studies Major, February 2010.)
- Editorial Board, *Policy Matters*, A Quarterly Publication of the University of California, Riverside, Spring 2006 to present
- UCR, College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, representative to the Business Administration Program Committee, 2006 to 2008
- UCR, planning committee for the UC Global Health Initiative, Spring 2007 to Winter 2008
- UCR, Health Sciences Initiative, Chancellor’s “Blue Ribbon Commission” planning committee, Winter 2004

Erdős Number = 4 via [Guido Imbens](#) (weak tie); or = 5 via [David Lazer](#) (strong tie)