

**Zachary C. Courser, Ph.D.**  
**Curriculum Vitae**

Claremont McKenna College  
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EDUCATION

University of Virginia, Ph.D. in Government, May 2008.  
University of Virginia, M.A. in Government, January 2003.  
Claremont McKenna College, B.A. in Government, 1999.

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS & EMPLOYMENT

Affiliated Faculty, Henry Salvatori Center, Claremont McKenna College, 2023 -  
Institutional Representative, Association for Public Policy Analysis & Management, 2022 -  
Fellow, Bipartisan Policy Center, 2022 -  
Co-Director, Policy Lab, 2019 -  
Research Director, Dreier Roundtable, 2014 - 2019  
Visiting Assistant Professor, Claremont McKenna College, 2014 -  
Enseigner, Sciences Po Lyon (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Lyon), 2013 - 2014.  
Executive Director, Commission on Wellbeing Policy, Legatum Institute, 2012 - 2013.  
Senior Programme Director and Fellow, Legatum Institute, 2012 - 2013.  
Interim Director, Washington Program, Claremont McKenna College, 2010 - 2011.  
Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Claremont McKenna College, 2010 - 2011.  
Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Boston College, 2009 - 2010.  
Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Politics, Washington & Lee University, 2008 - 2009.  
Visiting Instructor, Claremont McKenna College, Department of Government., 2006 - 2008.

PUBLICATIONS

Zachary Courser, Michael Thorning, Franz Wuerfmannsdobler, "Power Restored: Congressionally Directed Spending in the 117th Congress and Recommendations for Improvement," Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington, DC (February 2023).

Zachary Courser, "Understanding Access and Turnout in the 2020 Election," Policy Lab Research Brief (June 2022).

Zachary Courser and Kevin Kosar, "Restoring the Power of the Purse: Earmarks and Re-empowering legislators to deliver local benefits," American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC (February 2021).

*Parchment Barriers: Political Polarization and the Limits of Constitutional Order* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2018), co-editor, "Introduction" and "Parties Against the Constitution."

"Losing Faith in Elites: The Roots of Protest in the Occupy and the Tea Party movements," in *Get in the Booth*, Larry Sabato, ed. (New York: Pearson / Longman, 2012).

"Protest Without a Party: The Tea Party as a Conservative Social Movement," *Society*: vol. 49, iss. 1, p. 43-53 (New York: Springer, 2012).

"The Tea Party at the Election," *The Forum*: vol. 8, iss. 4 (Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Electronic Press, January 2011).

"Political Parties," "Ballot Initiatives," "Term Limits," "Independent Expenditure," "Precinct Committee Person," and "Soft Money" in *The Encyclopedia of American Parties and Elections*, Larry Sabato and Howard Ernst, eds. (New York: Facts on File, 2006).

"Wal-Mart and the Politics of American Retail," Competitive Enterprise Institute (November 2005).

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

Zachary Courser, "Empowering the Purse: How Earmarks Help Congress Do its Job." Manuscript in progress; book proposal under review at Oxford University Press.

Zachary Courser, "Congress Deepens Engagement with Earmarking in FY24," Policy Brief, Bipartisan Policy Center, forthcoming.

Zachary Courser and Eric Helland, "The Impact of Statewide Vote-by-Mail on Partisan and Minority Participation in Elections," working paper.

[https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=4697323](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4697323)

Zachary Courser, "State Election Emergencies Modifications During the 2020 General Election," working paper.

#### POLICY RESEARCH PROJECTS

"Evaluating Reforms to Debt Collection Practices in Court Administration and State Law," CMC Policy Lab, Rand Corporation, Spring 2023 – Spring 2024.

"Evaluating FY23 Congressionally Directed Spending," CMC Policy Lab, Bipartisan Policy Center, Fall 2022.

"Examining the Effects of Changing Vote Access on Turnout in the 2020 Election," CMC Policy Lab, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, Fall 2021 and Spring 2022.

"A Federal Policy on Disrupted Elections," CMC Policy Lab, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, Fall 2020 and Spring 2021.

"Reinstituting Congressional Earmarking," CMC Policy Lab, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, Fall 2019 and Spring 2020.

"50-State Medicaid Scorecard of Primary Care Coverage," CMC Policy Lab, Bipartisan Policy Institute, Spring and Fall 2019.

"Review of Global City Migration and Refugee Initiatives," CMC Policy Lab, Office of Los Angeles Mayor Eric Garcetti, Fall 2018.

"The Role of Global Cities in the UN Global Compact on Refugees," CMC Policy Lab, Brookings Institution, Spring 2018.

“Improving Care for High-Need, High-Cost Medicare Patients,” CMC Policy Lab, Bipartisan Policy Center, Fall 2017.

#### CONFERENCE PAPERS PRESENTED

“The Impact of Statewide Vote-by-Mail on Partisan and Minority Participation in Elections,” Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management fall conference, Washington, DC, November 18, 2022.

“Parties Against the Constitution,” Political Polarization and the Administrative State, C. Boyden Gray Center for the Study of the Administrative State,” George Mason University Law School, March 29, 2019.

“Nature and Origins of Populism in the US and France: Fears and Hopes for Liberal Democracy,” Democratic Discontent: How Populism and Nationalism are Reshaping Politics in Europe and America, Dreier Roundtable, Claremont McKenna College, January 4 - 7, 2018.

“Political Parties Against the Constitution,” Montpelier Conference: Examining the Roots of Polarization in Our Constitutional Order, Orange, Virginia, April 2, 2016.

“America’s Political Religion: The Role of the Constitution in Conservative Campaign Politics” L’Association Française d’Etudes Américaines annual conference, La Rochelle, France, May 30, 2015.

“The Tea ‘Party’ as a Conservative Social Movement,” Workshop on the Future of Social Conservatism, Henry Salvatori Center, Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, CA, May 20 - 21, 2011.

“Mugwumps and Goo-Goos: American Democracy and 19<sup>th</sup> Century Anti-Partisanship,” Midwestern Political Science Association annual conference, Chicago, IL, 2007.

“Do Parties Make for a Better Democracy? A Comparative Analysis of Party Organization in the States,” Midwestern Political Science Association annual conference, Chicago, IL, 2005.

“Partisanship and Participation: A Theory of Political Parties in a Democracy,” Midwestern Political Science Association annual conference, Chicago, IL, 2004.

“Soft in the Center: Party Politics in the Era of the Independent Voter,” Western Political Science Association annual conference, Portland, OR, 2004.

#### INVITED TALKS AND PRESENTATIONS

“Analyzing fiscal year 2023 directed spending,” at “Power of the Purse: Restoring Congress’s Directed Spending Authority,” Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington, DC, December 12, 2022.

“Race and Election Law,” moderator, Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, November 1, 2022.

“Evaluating the 2022 Midterm Election,” Claremont McKenna College Alumni Association, October 21, 2022.

“The Evolution of Earmarking in the US Congress,” Agora Institute, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD, September 13, 2022.

“Reforming Congress,” Sunwater Institute, Bethesda, MD, June 21, 2022.

“Access & Voting in the 2020 General Election,” Claremont McKenna College 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Alumni Weekend, May 27, 2022.

“Analyzing fiscal year 2022 earmarking,” at “Reforming and restructuring earmarks: What is the path forward?” CMC Policy Lab, American Enterprise Institute, Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington, DC, December 13, 2021

“Does Congress Still Control the Power of the Purse?” Center for Social, Cultural, and Constitutional Studies, American Enterprise Institute, March 25, 2021

“The Future Modernization of Congress,” Center for Social, Cultural, and Constitutional Studies, American Enterprise Institute, January 29, 2021.

“Preview: Election Night 2020,” Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, November 2, 2020.

“Congress and Constitutional Reform,” Center for Social, Cultural, and Constitutional Studies, American Enterprise Institute, October 16, 2020.

“Elections and the Constitution,” Claremont Discourse: Constitution Day 2020, Claremont Colleges Library, September 16, 2020.

“Veepstakes! How Candidates Choose their Running Mates,” Claremont McKenna College Alumni Association, August 13, 2020.

“Democracy in a Time of Crisis: Understanding how COVID will Impact the 2020 Election,” Claremont McKenna College Alumni Association, May 7, 2020.

“Understanding the 2020 Democratic Primary,” Claremont McKenna College Alumni Association San Diego Chapter, January 9, 2020.

“Polarization and the Madisonian System,” at “Political Polarization and the Administrative State: Government Institutions in Turbulent Political Times,” Claremont McKenna College & George Mason University Center for the Study of the Administrative State, Washington, DC, March 29, 2019.

“Political Polarization’s Challenge to the Constitution,” Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, November 13, 2018.

“The Post-Election Politics of Identity,” invited presentation for Gender and Sexuality Studies, Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, October 23, 2017.

“Sufficient Virtue for Self-Government: The Constitution and the Limits of Democracy,” Center for Liberal Arts and Free Institutions, University of California, Los Angeles, October 12, 2017.

“Election Night 2016: Analyzing the Results,” moderator of panel discussion of the elections returns, Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, November 8, 2016.

“2016 and the Politics of Discontent,” moderated discussion on how populism is reshaping democratic politics in the US and Europe, Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, October 28, 2016.

“The Race for the White House 2016: Third Presidential Debate,” moderator of a faculty/student panel analyzing the third presidential debate, Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, October 20, 2016.

“Religion, Race and Politics,” panelist for discussion on 2016 election’s impact on race and religion in the United States. Chicano Latino Student Affairs and the Office of Black Student Affairs, Claremont, CA, October 19, 2016.

“The Trump Phenomenon,” panelist for discussion of the origins of the Trump candidacy, Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, October 12, 2016.

“Populism, Protest, and the Unpopularity of Politics,” presentation on the 2016 election. Claremont McKenna College Alumni Association, Sacramento Chapter, October 13, 2016.

“The Trump Phenomenon” panelist for discussion of the nomination of Donald Trump. Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, October 12, 2016.

“The Oval Office and The Fourth Estate: A Conversation on Politics and Journalism in the Nation’s Capital,” moderator of discussion between White House deputy press secretary Brandi Hoffine and New York Times White House correspondent Michael Shear, Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, October 10, 2016.

“How Populism is Reshaping Campaign 2016 and the Future of American Politics,” presentation for Claremont McKenna Trustee Meeting, September 30, 2016.

“The Race for the White House 2016: First Presidential Debate,” moderator and organizer of a student focus group analyzing the first presidential debate, Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, September 26, 2016.

“The Parties vs. the People? The Strange Case of Election 2016,” presentation to Orange County Chapter, Claremont McKenna Alumni Association, April 7, 2016.

“After Scalia: The Politics of Supreme Court Nominations in an Age of Polarization,” moderator of faculty discussion of the impact of the death of Justice Antonin Scalia on the judicial selection process, March 3, 2016.

“Trump, Populism, and Discontent,” panel presentation for the colloquium “Les Primaires aux Etats-Unis: En un combat (politique) douteux,” Sciences Po Lyon, Lyon, France, February 4, 2016.

“Decision '16: Decoding the Iowa Caucus & New Hampshire Primary,” panel presentation, Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, February 9, 2016.

“Presaging the Presidential Election” presentation on the 2015 off-year election, and its effects on the 2016 presidential election. Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, November 3, 2015.

“Midterm Elections in the Crossfire,” presentation and panel discussion on the 2014 midterm election, Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, November 4, 2014.

“The Use Of Subjective Wellbeing As A Tool For Public Policy,” Subjective Wellbeing: its measurement and use in public policy and decision-making in Mexico and Latin American; Latin American Social Science Institute (FLACSO) Mexico; Mexico City, Mexico, April 17 – 18, 2013.

Roundtable on the 2012 Republican Presidential Nomination, Science Po Lyon (Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Lyon); Lyon, France, December 8, 2011.

“Democracy and The Politics of Prosperity: The Tea Party's Revolt against Inequality of Opportunity,” Legatum Institute; London, UK, October 14, 2011.

“Parties, What Are They Good For?” Bridging the Partisan Divide: Rediscovering Deliberation, Arsalyn Foundation annual conference; Washington, DC, July 26, 2008.

“Last Lap to the White House, 2008” George Marshall Foundation, Lexington, VA, October 29, 2008.

#### CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION

“Divisions in the Western Liberal Consensus,” CMC Policy Lab & Henry Salvatori Center, St-Paul de Vence, France, June 26-29, 2023.

“Power of the Purse: Restoring Congress's Directed Spending Authority,” Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington, DC, December 12, 2022.

“Reforming and restructuring earmarks: What is the path forward?” CMC Policy Lab, American Enterprise Institute, Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington, DC, December 13, 2021

“Democratic Discontent: How Populism and Nationalism are Reshaping Politics in Europe and America,” Dreier Roundtable, Claremont McKenna College, January 4 - 7. 2018.

“NAFTA Endangered: Mexico-U.S. Prosperity in the Trump Era,” Dreier Roundtable, November 7, 2017. Organizer and panel moderator.

“Law & Legitimacy,” Fifth Annual Southern California Law and Social Science (SoCLASS), Claremont McKenna College, Friday, April 28, 2017. Co-organizer, panel chair.

“Democratic Discontent: How Populism and Nationalism are Reshaping Politics in Europe and America,” Dreier Roundtable, Saint Paul de Vence, France, June 12 - 15, 2017.

“Unpopular Government: How Populism is Reshaping Politics & Trade,” Dreier Roundtable, Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, CA, October 28, 2016.

“Montpelier Conference: Examining the Roots of Polarization in Our Constitutional Order,” Orange, Virginia, April 1-3, 2016.

“Examining the Roots of Polarization in our Constitutional Order,” Dreier Roundtable, Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, CA, October 9 - 11, 2015.

“Bridging the Immigration Divide: Forging a Bi-Partisan Policy on Visas for STEM Graduates,” Dreier Roundtable & Brookings Institute, Washington, DC, March 26, 2015.

“Immigration Policy for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” Dreier Roundtable & Brookings Institution, Claremont, CA, November 7, 2014.

“Weimar Exiles in Los Angeles: Innovation, Entrepreneurship, and Opportunity in a New Cultural Frontier,” Legatum Institute & University of Southern California Sidney Harman Academy for Polymathic Studies, Los Angeles, CA, August 28 – 30, 2013.

“Symposium on Ethics for a More Prosperous World,” with H.H. the Dalai Lama, Legatum Institute, London, UK, October 23, 2012.

### TEACHING EXPERIENCE

American Conservatism (Sciences Po Lyon [Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Lyon], Spring 2014).

American Legal History (Johns Hopkins University, Center for Talented Youth, Summer 2004, Summer 2005).

American Political Parties & Interest Groups (Claremont McKenna College, Spring 2007, Spring 2011; Boston College, Fall 2009; Washington & Lee University, Winter 2009; University of Virginia, Summer 2003, Fall 2005).

Campaigns and Elections (Claremont McKenna College, Spring 2007, Fall 2010; Boston College, Spring 2010; Washington & Lee University, Spring 2009; University of Virginia, Summer 2005, Summer 2006).

Introduction to American Politics (Washington & Lee University, Fall 2008, Winter 2009; Claremont McKenna College, Fall 2006, Spring 2007, Fall 2007, Spring 2008, 2014-2017).

Policy Lab: Public Policy Analysis (Claremont McKenna College, Fall 2016 – Spring 2024).

U.S. Congress (Sciences Po Lyon [Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Lyon], Fall 2013; Boston College, Spring 2010).

### GRANTS & FELLOWSHIPS

Hewlett Foundation, Policy Lab, 2018 – 2025.

Hewlett Foundation, Madison Project, 2015 - 2018.

Jack Miller Center, Post-Doctoral Fellowship, 2009 – 2010.

Henry Salvatori Center, Dissertation Fellowship, 2007 – 2008.

University of Virginia, Departmental Fellowship, 2004 – 2006; Bradley Fellowship, 2003 – 2006; DuPont Fellowship, 2002 – 2004; Olin Fellowship, 2002 – 2003.

### PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Washington Semester Program faculty advisor, Claremont McKenna College.

Institutional Representative, Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management.

Politics Contributor, NPR Affiliate KPCC, Pasadena, CA.

Advisor, CMC DC Networking Trip.

Athenaeum Committee, Claremont McKenna College, 2018 - 2019.

Manuscript reviewer, *Politique Américaine*, 2016 – 2018.  
Manuscript reviewer, *Political Science Quarterly*, 2009 - 2016.

#### ADDITIONAL TRAINING

Université Lumière Lyon 2, Centre International d'Études Françaises, Lyon, France. Diplôme universitaire d'études française (DUEF A2), March 2012.

#### LANGUAGES

French and German.

#### COMMUNITY SERVICE

President, Housing Claremont, 2019 – 2021.  
Board Member, Housing Claremont, 2022 –.  
Board Member, Pilgrim Place, 2019 – 2023.  
Board Member, Claremont Heritage, 2017 – 2020.  
Chair, Traffic & Transportation Commission, City of Claremont, 2018-19; Commissioner 2015-2019.