

## VLADIMIR KOGAN

The Ohio State University  
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### EDUCATION

Ph.D. in Political Science, University of California, San Diego, 2012

M.A. in Political Science, University of California, San Diego, 2009

B.A. in Political Science, *summa cum laude*, University of California, San Diego, 2006

### ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Department of Political Science, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH

Director of Undergraduate Studies: July 2019 – Present

Professor: May 2023 – Present

Associate Professor: June 2018 – May 2023

Director of Curricular Assessment: July 2018 – June 2019

Assistant Professor: August 2012 – June 2018

John Glenn College of Public Affairs, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH

Associate Professor (by courtesy): October 2018 – Present

### AFFILIATIONS

Faculty Affiliate, Institute for Democratic Engagement and Accountability, Ohio State University

Faculty Affiliate, Translational Data Analytics Institute, Ohio State University

### PUBLICATIONS

#### ***Books***

*Paradise Plundered: Fiscal Crisis and Governance Failures in San Diego*. 2011. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press. (With Steven P. Erie and Scott A. MacKenzie)

#### ***Journal Articles***

“The Politics of Welfare Retrenchment: Evidence from Mass Medicaid Disenrollment in Two States.” 2022. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* Vol. 22, No. 4: pp. 396-417.

“Locally Elected School Boards Are Failing.” 2022. *Education Next* Vol. 22, No. 3: pp. 8-13.

“Mitigating Implicit Bias in Student Evaluations: A Randomized Intervention.” 2022. *Applied Economic Perspectives and Policies* Vol. 44, No. 1: pp. 110-128. (With Brandon Genetin, Joyce Chen, and Alan Kalish)

“Who Votes: City Election Timing and Voter Composition.” 2022. *American Political Science Review* Vol. 116, No. 1: pp. 373-384. (With Zoltan L. Hajnal and G. Agustin Markaria)

“Do Nonpartisan Ballots Racialize Candidate Evaluations? Evidence from ‘Who Said What?’ Experiments.” 2022. *Party Politics* Vol. 28, No. 3: pp. 541-553. (With Craig M. Burnett)

“The Democratic Deficit in U.S. Education Governance.” 2021. *American Political Science Review* Vol. 115, No. 3: pp. 1082-1089. (With Stéphane Lavertu and Zachary Peskowitz)

“Jurisdictional Competition, Market Power, and the Compensation of Public Employees.” 2021. *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy* Vol. 2, No. 2: pp. 281-302.

“How Does Minority Political Representation Affect School District Administration and Student Outcomes?” 2021. *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 65, No. 3: pp. 699-716. (With Stéphane Lavertu and Zachary Peskowitz)

“Do Welfare Benefits Pay Electoral Dividends? Evidence from the Food Stamp Program Rollout.” 2021. *Journal of Politics* Vol. 83, No. 1: pp. 58-70.

“School District Operational Spending and Student Outcomes: Evidence from Tax Elections in Seven States.” 2020. *Journal of Public Economics* Vol. 183: Article #104142. (With Carolyn Abbott, Stéphane Lavertu and Zachary Peskowitz)

“Government Privatization and Political Participation: The Case of Charter Schools.” 2020. *Journal of Politics* Vol. 82, No. 1: pp. 300-314. (With Jason Cook, Stéphane Lavertu and Zachary Peskowitz)

“Election Timing, Electorate Composition, and Policy Outcomes: Evidence from School Districts.” 2018. *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 62, No. 3: pp. 637-651. (With Stéphane Lavertu and Zachary Peskowitz)

“Means, Motives, and Opportunities in the New Preemption Wars.” 2018. *PS: Political Science and Politics* Vol. 51, No. 1: pp. 28-29.

“Administrative Centralization and Bureaucratic Responsiveness: Evidence from the Food Stamp Program.” 2017. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* Vol. 27, No. 4: pp. 629-646.

“Direct Democracy and Administrative Disruption.” 2017. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* Vol. 27, No. 3: pp. 381-399. (With Stéphane Lavertu and Zachary Peskowitz)

“Parties Without Brands? Evidence from California’s 1878-79 Constitutional Convention.” 2017. *Studies in American Political Development* Vol. 31, No. 1: pp. 68-87. (With Michael Binder)

“Do Anti-Union Policies Increase Inequality? Evidence from State Adoption of Right-to-Work Laws.” 2017. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* Vol. 17, No. 2: pp. 180-200.

“The Politics of Potholes: Service Quality and Retrospective Voting in Local Elections.” 2017. *Journal of Politics* Vol. 79, No. 1: pp. 302-314. (With Craig M. Burnett)

“Do School Report Cards Produce Accountability Through the Ballot Box?” 2016. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* Vol. 35, No. 3: pp. 639-661. (With Stéphane Lavertu and Zachary Peskowitz)

“When Voters Pull the Trigger: Can Direct Democracy Restrain Legislative Excesses?” 2016. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* Vol. 60, No. 2: pp. 297-325.

“Performance Federalism and Local Democracy: Theory and Evidence from School Tax Referenda.” 2016. *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 60, No. 2: pp. 418-435. (With Stéphane Lavertu and Zachary Peskowitz)

- Featured in September 2017 Virtual Issue of most cited *AJPS* articles from 2015 and 2016.

“Pushing the City Limits: Policy Responsiveness in Municipal Government.” 2016. *Urban Affairs Review* Vol. 52, No. 1: pp. 3-32. (With Katherine Levine Einstein)

“Ballot (and Voter) ‘Exhaustion’ Under Instant Runoff Voting: An Examination of Four Ranked-Choice Elections.” 2015. *Electoral Studies* Vol. 37: pp. 41-49. (With Craig M. Burnett)

“When Does Ballot Language Influence Voter Choices? Evidence from a Survey Experiment.” 2015. *Political Communication* Vol. 32, No. 1: pp. 109-126. (With Craig M. Burnett)

“Local Logrolling? Assessing the Impact of Legislative Districting in Los Angeles.” 2014. *Urban Affairs Review* Vol. 50, No. 5: pp. 648-671. (With Craig M. Burnett)

“Mobilizing Latino Voters: The Impact of Language and Co-Ethnic Policy Leadership.” 2014. *American Politics Research* Vol. 42, No. 4: pp. 677-699. (With Mike Binder, Thad Kousser, and Costas Panagopoulos)

“Familiar Choices: Reconsidering the Institutional Effects of the Direct Initiative.” 2012. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* Vol. 12, No. 2: pp. 204-224. (With Craig M. Burnett)

“Redistricting California: An Evaluation of the Citizens Commission Final Plans,” 2012. *California Journal of Politics and Policy* Vol. 4, No. 1. (With Eric McGhee)

“The Irony of Comprehensive State Constitutional Reform.” 2010. *Rutgers Law Journal* Vol. 41, No. 4: pp. 881-906.

“Changing Tracks? The Prospect for California Pension Reform.” 2010. *California Journal of Politics and Policy* Vol. 2, No. 3. (With Mathew D. McCubbins)

“Redevelopment, San Diego Style: The Limits of Public-Private Partnerships.” 2010. *Urban Affairs Review* Vol. 45, No. 5: pp. 644-678. (With Steven P. Erie and Scott A. MacKenzie)

“Lessons from Recent State Constitutional Conventions.” 2010. *California Journal of Politics and Policy* Vol. 2, No. 2.

“The Problem with Being Special: Democratic Values and Special Assessments.” 2009. *Public Works Management & Policy* Vol. 14, No. 1: pp. 4-36. (With Mathew D. McCubbins)

### **Book Chapters**

“Redistricting and Representation: Searching for ‘Fairness’ Between the Lines.” 2017. In *Changing How America Votes*, edited by Todd Donovan. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. (With Eric McGhee)

“Machine Bosses, Reformers, and the Politics of Ethnic and Minority Incorporation.” 2016. In *Oxford Handbook of the History of American Immigration and Ethnicity*, edited by Ron Bayor. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. (With Steven P. Erie)

“Paradise Regained? Nonpartisan Appeals and Special Election Rules in San Diego’s 2013-14 Mayoral Race.” 2015. In *Local Politics and Mayoral Elections in 21st Century America: Keys to City Hall*, edited by Sean D. Foreman and Marcia L. Godwin. New York, NY: Routledge. (With Steven P. Erie, Nazita Lajevardi, and Scott A. MacKenzie)

“Causes of Fiscal Crises in State and Local Government.” 2015. In *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, edited by Robert Scott and Stephen Kosslyn. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

“From Machines to Service Centers: The Evolution of State and Local Political Parties.” 2014. In *CQ Guide to Political Parties*, edited by Marjorie Randon Hershey, Barry C. Burden, and Christina Wolbrecht. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

“Redistricting: Did Radical Reform Produce Different Results?” 2013. In *Governing California: Politics, Government, and Public Policy in the Golden State, 3rd Edition*, edited by Ethan Rarick. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Public Policy Press. (With Eric McGhee)

“Planning L.A.: The New Politics of Neighborhood Development and Downtown Revitalization.” 2013. In *New York and Los Angeles: The Uncertain Future*, edited by David Halle and Andrew Beveridge. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. (With Andrew Deener, Steven P. Erie, and Forrest Stuart)

“Great Expectations and the California Citizens Redistricting Commission.” 2011. In *Reapportionment and Redistricting in the West*, edited by Gary Moncrief. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. (With Thad Kousser)

“How G.A.V.E.L. Changed Party Politics in Colorado’s General Assembly.” 2011. In *State of Change: Colorado Politics in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by John Straayer, Robert Duffy, and Courtney Daum. Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado. (With Mike Binder and Thad Kousser)

### **Research Reports**

*Assessing the Academic Recovery of Ohio Students: An Analysis of Spring 2022 Ohio State Tests.* A report prepared for the Ohio Department of Education. September 2022.

*Academic Achievement and Pandemic Recovery in Ohio: An Update from Fall Third Grade English Language Arts Assessments.* A report prepared for the Ohio Department of Education. May 2022.

*How the COVID-19 Pandemic Affected Student Learning in Ohio: Analysis of Spring 2021 Ohio State Tests* (With Stéphane Lavertu). A report prepared for the Ohio Department of Education. August 2021.

*What’s Behind Racial Differences in Attitudes Toward School Reopening (And What to Do About Them).* American Enterprise Institute. April 2021.

*The COVID-19 Pandemic and Student Achievement on Ohio’s Third-Grade English Language Arts Assessment* (With Stéphane Lavertu). A report prepared for the Ohio Department of Education. January 2021.

### **Book Reviews**

Book review of David J. Karjanen, *The Servant Class City: Urban Revitalization Versus the Working Poor in San Diego* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2016). 2018. *Journal of Urban Affairs* Vol. 40, No. 4.

Book review of Parke Troutman, *Gone Awry: The Smart Growth Quest to Stop Urban Sprawl* (San Diego, CA: Three Acres Press, 2015). 2018. *Journal of Urban Affairs* Vol. 40, No. 4.

Book review of John J. Betancur and Janet L. Smith, *Claiming Neighborhood: New Ways of Understanding Urban Change* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2016); Susan J. Popkin, *No Simple Solutions: Transforming Public Housing in Chicago* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016); and Costas Spirou and Dennis R. Judd, *Building the City of Spectacle: Mayor Richard M. Daley*

*and the Remaking of Chicago* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016). 2017. *Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 15, No. 4.

Book review of Sean Nicholson-Crotty, *Governors, Grants, and Elections: Fiscal Federalism in the American States* (Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015). 2017. *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 132, No. 1: pp. 171-173.

### ***Other Publications and Commentaries***

“New NAEP Scores Reveal the Failure of Pandemic Academic Recovery Efforts.” *The 74*. June 26, 2023.

“Higher Education Bill Could Spark ‘Defensive Teaching’.” *Columbus Dispatch*. April 21, 2023.

“City’s Poorest Are Trapped Dodging Bullets and We Pay.” *Columbus Dispatch*. Jan. 18, 2023.

“The Choice in Education Governance Debates: Complacency or Reform?.” *Education Next*. Oct. 4, 2022.

“Annual Ohio Exams Paint Mixed Picture of Post-pandemic Academic Recovery.” *Ohio Gadfly Daily* (Fordham Institute). Sept. 16, 2022.

“The Toxic Education Politics of Covid.” *National Review*. August 29, 2022.

“‘Eyebrow-raising’ Proposed Charter Changes Could Chuck Objectivity in City Hiring.” *Columbus Dispatch*. August 2, 2022.

“Student Learning Recovering from Pandemic Losses, Ohio Data Show.” *Education Next*. June 13, 2022.

“Fall 2021 Tests Show Ohio Students are Making Up Lost Ground—But Big Gaps Remain.” *Ohio Gadfly Daily* (Fordham Institute). June 10, 2022.

“COVID Testing of Asymptomatic Students Doesn’t Make Kids Safer” (With Vinay Prasad). *Slate*. January 26, 2022.

“School Closures—and Other ‘Zero Covid’ Measures—are Obsolete” (With Vinay Prasad). *City Journal*. January 12, 2022.

“Adults to Blame for Teacher Shortage.” *Columbus Dispatch*. January 10, 2022.

“Ohio Data Show the Pandemic’s Heavy Toll on Student Achievement and the Importance of In-person Learning” (With Stéphane Lavertu). *Flypaper* (Fordham Institute). September 16, 2021.

“School Zone: Approach COVID Outbreak Narrative With Caution” (With Vinay Prasad). *Med Page Today*. August 31, 2021.

“Few People are Expected to Vote in This Year’s ‘Off-cycle’ Elections. That Can be Fixed.” (With Zoltan L. Hajnal and G. Agustin Markaria). *Monkey Cage* (*Washington Post*). August 30, 2021.

“Parents of Black and Hispanic Kids More Hesitant on In-person School. Show Them It’s Safe.” (With Nat Malkus). *USA Today*. April 19, 2021.

“What’s Behind the Racial Divide on School Reopening?” *The Lens* (Center on Reinventing Public Education). March 16, 2021.

“New CDC School Opening Guidelines Fail to ‘Follow the Science’” (With Vinay Prasad). *STAT*

*News*. February 20, 2021.

“Who Governs Our Public Schools?” (With Stéphane Lavertu and Zachary Peskowitz). *Brown Center Chalkboard Blog* (Brookings Institution). February 17, 2021.

“Covid and Student Achievement: Early Evidence from Ohio’s Fall Tests” (With Stéphane Lavertu). *Education Next*. February 10, 2021.

“Ohio’s Fall Tests Reveal How the Pandemic has Affected Student Learning” (With Stéphane Lavertu). *Ohio Gadfly Daily* (Fordham Institute). February 7, 2021.

“Public Schools Should (Almost Always) Stay Open” (With Vinay Prasad). *Med Page Today*. January 12, 2021.

“Columbus Audit Offers Sobering Lessons for Ohio Teacher Evaluations” *Ohio Gadfly Daily* (Fordham Institute). May 21, 2020.

“How Columbus Public Schools Revealed a New Way to Game the State Report Card” *Ohio Gadfly Daily* (Fordham Institute). October 18, 2019.

“Time to Bring the Value Back into Ohio’s ‘Value Added’ School Grades” (With Stéphane Lavertu). *Ohio Gadfly Daily* (Fordham Institute). August 5, 2019.

“Why ‘Local Control’ Won’t Fix Ohio’s Struggling School Districts” *Ohio Gadfly Daily* (Fordham Institute). July 11, 2019.

“Do Low-turnout Elections Make the Electorate More Conservative? Not That Much.” (With Stéphane Lavertu and Zachary Peskowitz). *Monkey Cage* (*Washington Post*). February 20, 2018.

“The Unintended Impact of Reports Cards on Levy Success” (With Stéphane Lavertu and Zachary Peskowitz). *Ohio School Boards Association Journal*. June 2015.

## GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

Marnette and Paul Perry Fellow, 2014-2016

Co-Principal Investigator (with Stéphane Lavertu and Zachary Peskowitz), “Educational Governance and Accountability Project,” Lyle Spencer Research Award, Spencer Foundation, August 2015 (\$632,778.90)

Principal Investigator, “The Consequences of Nonpartisan Elections,” Democracy Studies Program, The Ohio State University, December 2014 (\$5,484)

Research Grant, College of Arts and Sciences Small Grant Program, The Ohio State University, October 2014 (\$2,000)

Co-Principal Investigator (with Stéphane Lavertu and Zachary Peskowitz), “Ohio School District Democracy Project,” Democracy Studies Program, The Ohio State University, April 2013 (\$17,584.65)

Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences Research Grant, 2010

Pre-Doctoral Research Fellowship, Bill Lane Center for the American West, Stanford University, 2009-2010

## AWARDS

Distinguished Teaching Award, Department of Political Science, 2019

*Political Research Quarterly* Outstanding Reviewer Award, 2014

APSA Urban Politics Section Best Book Award for *Paradise Plundered: Fiscal Crisis and Governance Failures in San Diego* (with Steven P. Erie and Scott A. MacKenzie), 2012

APSA Urban Politics Section Best Paper Award for “Who Benefits from Jurisdictional Competition?”, 2011

APSA Urban Politics Section Stone Scholar Award, 2010

Urban Affairs Association Alma H. Young Emerging Scholar Award, 2010

## SERVICE

### *Department*

Director of Undergraduate Studies: 2019 – Present

Undergraduate Studies Committee: 2012 – Present

Director of Curricular Assessment: 2018 – 2019

Graduate Admissions Committee: 2018 – 2020

American Political Institutions Search Committee: 2014, 2019, 2022

Democracy Studies Director Search Committee: 2015-2016

Undergraduate Awards Committee: 2013, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023

### *University*

College of Arts and Sciences Honors Committee: 2019 – Present

Arts and Sciences Curriculum Committee Theme Panel: 2021 – Present

Council on Enrollment and Student Progress: 2019 – 2022

College of Arts and Sciences Faculty Senate: 2019 – 2021

Second Year Transformation Program Faculty Mentor: 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019

Proposal Reviewer, Translational Data Analytics Institute Seed Grant: Spring 2017

### *State of Ohio*

Ohio Humanities Council: 2021 – Present

Value-Added Advisory Committee (Ohio Department of Education): 2021 – Present

### *American Political Science Association*

Executive Council (Urban and Local Politics Section): 2019 – Present

Chair, Frank J. Goodnow Award Committee: 2023

Chair, Emerging Scholar Award Committee (State Politics and Policy Section): 2023

Chair, Public Policy Best Paper Award Committee (Public Policy Section): 2022

John Kincaid Best Article Award Committee (Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Section): 2018, 2022

Chair, Susan Clarke Young Scholar Award Committee (Urban and Local Politics Section): 2021

Best Dissertation Award Committee (Education Politics and Policy Section): 2021

Christopher Mooney Dissertation Award Committee (State Politics and Policy Section): 2018

Best Paper Award Committee (Urban Politics Section): 2016

*State Politics and Policy Quarterly* Best Paper Award Committee (State Politics and Policy Section): 2015

### ***Other Professional Societies and Associations***

Conference Program Committee (Urban Affairs Association): 2020, 2022

Ad Hoc Committee on Recognitions (Urban Affairs Association): 2018-2020

Conference Program Committee (Politics, Media, and the Policy Process Section, Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management): 2018

Section Co-Chair, Conference Program Committee (Impact of Politics on the Policy Process Section, Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management): 2016, 2017

Chair, Best *Journal of Urban Affairs* Article Award Committee (Urban Affairs Association): 2015

Alma H. Young Emerging Scholar Award Committee (Urban Affairs Association): 2011

### ***Journal Editorial Boards***

Editorial Board Member, *Urban Affairs Review*: 2015 – Present

Advisory Council, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*: 2021 – Present

Editorial Board Member, *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy*: 2020 – 2022

### ***Graduate Student Advising***

Dissertation Committees: William Massengill (2020, member), Jonathan Green (2020, member), Aditi Thapar (2022, member), Henry Flatt (2023, member), Ryan Dawe (current, member), Daniel Naftel (current, chair)

## **TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

### ***Instructor***

Political Science 7125 (OSU), Federalism (Graduate Seminar)

Political Science 7095 (OSU), Teaching Political Science (Graduate Seminar)

Political Science 2120 (OSU), “Follow the Science?” The Politics of Health

Political Science 3115 (OSU), Introduction to Policy Processes

Political Science 4125 (OSU), American State Politics

Political Science 4127 (OSU), Governing Urban America

Political Science 4130 (OSU), Law & Politics

Political Science 4920 (OSU), Politics in Film and Television

Arts and Sciences 1137 (OSU), Political Courage (First-Year Seminar)

Political Science 162 (UCSD), Environmental Policy