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EDUCATION

Ph.D., Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2007
B.A., Government and Economics, University of Notre Dame, 1991

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Associate Professor, Keough School of Global Affairs, University of Notre Dame, Fall 2018-
Fellow, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, Fall 2018-
Fellow, Nanovic Institute for European Studies, Spring 2024-
Fellow and Steering Committee, Lucy Family Institute for Data & Society, Fall 2021- 2025.
Director, Governance & Policy Major, Master of Global Affairs, 2020-2024, 2025
Director, University Minor in Data Science, Fall 2018-2024
Associate Editor, Democratization, 2021-2024
Co-Editor, European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook, 2017-
Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Purdue University, Fall 2017-Spring 2018.
Fellow, Purdue Systems Collaboratory, 2015-2018
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Purdue University, Fall 2011-Spring 2017.
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, IU-Indianapolis, Fall 2007-Spring 2011.

PEER REVIEWED ARTICLES

- Mustillo, Thomas. 2026. "Party Competition with Costly Voting." *The Journal of Artificial Societies and Social Simulation*. 29:3. <https://doi.org/10.18564/jasss.6117>
- Mustillo, Thomas. 2025. "Building a FAIR, Linked, and Open Data Ecosystem: Innovation Cascades in Political Science." *European Political Science*. 24: 810-825. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41304-025-00520-0>
- Mustillo, Thomas, John Polga-Hecimovich, and Francisco Sánchez. 2025. "The Logic of Ambitious Legislators in Fluid Party Systems." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 50:2. <http://doi.org/10.1111/lsg.12465>
- Mustillo, Thomas and John Polga-Hecimovich. 2020. "Party, candidate, and voter incentives under free list proportional representation." *Journal of Theoretical Politics*. 32:1. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0951629819893023>
- Mustillo, Thomas and John Polga-Hecimovich. 2018. "Measures and Votes: Party Performance under Free List Proportional Representation with an Application to Ecuador." *Electoral Studies*. 56: 124-135. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2018.09.011>
- Mustillo, Thomas. 2018. "Floating Voters and the Rise of New Left Parties: Electoral Volatility During Party System Transformation." *Latin American Politics and Society*, 60(3), 1-26. <https://doi.org/10.1017/lap.2018.22>

- Mustillo, Thomas. 2017. "Party Nationalization Following Democratization: Modeling Change in Turbulent Times." *Democratization*. 24(6): 929-950.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2016.1253556>
 *winner of the Frank Cass Prize for Best Article published in *Democratization* in 2017.
- Mustillo, Thomas and Yoo-Sun Jung. 2016. "Distinguishing Territorial Structure from Electoral Adventurism: The Sources of Static and Dynamic Nationalization." *Electoral Studies*. 44: 341-350. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2016.09.003>
- Mustillo, Thomas. 2016. "Party-Voter Linkages Derived From the Calculus of Voting Model: Electoral Mobilization in Ecuador." *Rationality and Society*. 28(1): 24-51.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1043463115621516>
- Mustillo, Thomas and John A. Springer. 2015. "Seeing Beyond the Datasets: The Unexploited Structure in Electoral and Institutional Data." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*. 18(4): 349-365. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2014.895288>
- Bot, Romina L., Maria del Rosario Uribe, Alejandra J. Magana, Thomas Mustillo and John A. Springer. 2014. "A Study of Perceptions, Usability, and Future Adoption of a Web-based Learning Tool." *International Journal of Technology Diffusion*. 5(3): 69-90.
<https://doi.org/10.4018/ijtd.2014070105>
- Mustillo, Thomas and Sarah Mustillo. 2012. "Party Nationalization in a Multilevel Context: Where's the Variance?" *Electoral Studies*. 31(2): 422-422.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2011.12.003>
- Mustillo, Thomas. 2009. "Modeling New Party Performance: A Conceptual and Methodological Approach for Volatile Party Systems." *Political Analysis*. 17(3): 311-332.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/pan/mpp007>
- Hartlyn, Jonathan, Jennifer McCoy and Thomas Mustillo. 2008. "Electoral Governance Matters: Explaining the 'Quality of Elections' in Contemporary Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies*. 41(1): 73-98. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414007301701>
- In Spanish: Hartlyn, Jonathan, Jennifer McCoy, and Thomas Mustillo. 2009. "La Importancia de la Gobernanza Electoral y la Calidad de las Elecciones en La América Latina Contemporánea." *América Latina Hoy*. 51:15-40. <https://doi.org/10.14201/alh.1330>
- Huber, Evelyne, Thomas Mustillo, and John D. Stephens. 2008. "Politics and Social Spending in Latin America." *The Journal of Politics*. 70(2): 420-436.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022381608080407>

WORK IN PROGRESS

Party System Development and Democratic Performance

(Under Review, with Wooseok Kim, Allen Hicken, and Ken Kollman)

Alienated Abstainers and Polarized Parties: How High Voting Costs Shape Policy Divergence

A Theory of Voter Turnout and Party Polarization with Costly Voting: The Case of Mandatory Photo Identification in the UK (with Paul McLeod)

Ecological Regression for Electoral Volatility (with James A. McCann and Joseph Osborn)

Seeing with Models: Methodological Promiscuity and the Case of Democracy Research

A Latent Network of Democracy Influence: Cascades of Democratizing Policy Reforms (with Eduardo Pages)

OTHER WRITING

Mustillo, Thomas. 2023. "International Influence: Finding Cases and Mechanisms." A comment on "Why Democracies Develop and Decline." *Democracy and Autocracy*. 21(1): 27.

Wood, Danielle, Thomas Mustillo, Eduardo Pages Jimenez, Mikaela Bona, Brian Wanbaugh, Mohammad Farrae. 2022. "Identifying Constructs and Metrics for Adaptive Capacity: Lessons from the Literature, and Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Colombia, and Haiti." A report commissioned by the United States Government.

Gomez, Raul, Thomas Mustillo, and Michelangelo Vercesi. 2024. "Political Developments and Data in 2023: Introducing the 2024 Political Data Yearbook." *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook*. 63: 3-13.

Gomez, Raul, Thomas Mustillo, and Michelangelo Vercesi. 2023. "Political Developments and Data in 2022: Introducing the 2023 Political Data Yearbook." *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook*. 62: 3-15.

Gomez, Raul, Thomas Mustillo, and Michelangelo Vercesi. 2022. "Political Data in 2021: Introducing the 2022 Political Data Yearbook." *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook*. 61: 3-11.

Clark, Alistair, Maurits J. Meijers, and Thomas Mustillo. 2021. "Political Data in 2020: Politics During a Global Pandemic." *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook*. 60: 3-12.

Clark, Alistair, Maurits J. Meijers, and Thomas Mustillo. 2020. "Political Data in 2019: Introducing the 2020 Political Data Yearbook." *European Journal of Political Research Political Data Yearbook*. 59:3-10.

Mustillo, Thomas. 2020. "Seeing Clearly During a Pandemic." *Dignity & Development Blog*. The Keough School of Global Affairs.

Mustillo, Thomas. 2019. "[Modeling Electoral Volatility and Party Nationalization Using Linear Mixed Models](#)." *Sage Research Methods Cases*.

Mustillo, Thomas. 2013. "Introduction" to the 'On the Profession' Symposium, "Analytic Resources for Emerging Methodological Repertoires." *LASA Forum*. 44:1.

Mustillo, Thomas. 2006. Review of "Decentralizing the State: Elections, Parties, and Local Power in the Andes" by Kathleen O'Neill. 2006. *Comparative Political Studies*. 39:4

AWARDS, GRANTS, AND FELLOWSHIPS

EXTERNAL:

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) (in partnership with the Electoral Integrity Project), Charles and Kathleen Manatt Fellowship. "Costly Voting: How Obstacles to Voting Lead to Political Polarization." 2024.

National Science Foundation, Harnessing the Data Revolution: Data Science Corps (HDR: DSC #1924279). “Interdisciplinary Traineeship for Socially Responsible and Engaged Data Scientists.” Role: Co-PI. (with PI: Nitesh Chawla). Fall 2019-Fall 2025.

Sisters First Productions. “The Notre Dame-Sisters First Partnership at the Intersection of Data Science and Film, Television, and Theater.” (with Jim Collins). Fall 2019-Spring 2024.

The Frank Cass Prize for Best Article published in *Democratization* in 2017.

Organization of American States, Graduate Scholarship, for dissertation research in Ecuador, Spring 2006

INTERNAL (Partial list):

Notre Dame Democracy Initiative, Democracy Catalyst Fund (with Natalie Meyers). “Building Scholarship to Enable the Future of Computational Democracy Research.” Fall 2024-2025.

Kellogg Institute, Faculty Research Grant. “Networks of Democratizing Policy Reforms.” Role: PI. August 2022-2025.

Lucy Family Institute for Data & Society, Regional Collaboration Award. September, 2023

Kellogg Institute Faculty Research Grant to support Mexican public opinion panel pilot study entitled “The Volatility of Political Attachments.” 2020.

Notre Dame International, Luksic Family Collaboration Grant to support participation in “Political Parties, Welfare States, and Organized Interests” at Catholic University in Chile. April 2019.

Notre Dame Research, Research Initiation Grant to support a Mexican public opinion panel pilot study entitled “The Volatility of Political Attachments.” 2018-2019.

Notre Dame International, Mexico Research Collaboration Grant to support an exchange with CIDE. April 2019.

Purdue College of Liberal Arts Exploratory Research in the Social Science Grant for .5 FTE RA support of “The Dynamics of Party Competition with Non-Policy Strategies.” 2017-18.

Purdue Research Foundation Summer Faculty Grant for “Electoral Performance in a Multilevel Context.” Summer 2012.

IU Office for the Vice President for International Affairs, Short Term Faculty Exchange, 2010-2011, for field research and collaboration at the University of Costa Rica, Summer 2011.

IU-Indianapolis School of Liberal Arts, Summer Research and Creative Activity Grant, for “Electoral Performance in a Multilevel Context: A Test of Regime Type and Electoral System on Nationalization.” Summer 2009

IU Center for the Study of Global Change, The Innovative Technology Pilot Project Grant, to develop a demonstration version of the Global Database of Democracy and Governance.

IU-Indianapolis Center for Research and Learning, Multidisciplinary Undergraduate Research Institute Grant, for work on the spatial analysis of party-voter linkages, 2008

UNC at Chapel Hill, Tanner Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching by a Graduate Student, the university’s highest teaching award for graduate students, 2006

UNC at Chapel Hill, The Center for Teaching and Learning, Future Faculty Fellowship, for prospective faculty professional development, Fall 2006.

UNC at Chapel Hill, The Institute of Latin American Studies, Mellon Foundation Summer Dissertation Fellowship, for dissertation research in Ecuador, Summer 2005

INVITED TALKS

- “A Theory of Voter Turnout and Party Polarization with Costly Voting: The Case of Mandatory Photo Identification in the UK.” (with Paul McLeod). Presented to the Electoral Behavior Research Cluster, Leiden University. June 17, 2025.
- “Building a FAIR, Linked, and Open Data Ecosystem: Innovation Cascades in Political Science.” Presented at the Survey Data Curation Research Colloquium, GESIS Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences, Cologne. June 24, 2025.
- Commentator for Author Meets Critics: “Party People: Electoral Candidates and Party Evolution” by Allan Sikk and Philipp Köker. The 119th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Philadelphia, PA. September 5, 2024.
- “Party Switching and Alliance Building: The Logic of Ambitious Legislators in Fluid Party Systems.” Presented at a workshop organized by the Observatory of Parliamentary Elites in Latin America, University of Salamanca. June 23, 2023.
- “Data Science in and across the Disciplines.” International Conference on Data Mining for The Society for Industrial and Applied Mathematics (SIAM), (virtual) April 28, 2022.
- “An Electorate in Flux? Tracking Partisanship and Presidential Approval Ratings in Mexico.” (with Jay McCann). Presented at Vanderbilt University (virtual), December 10, 2020.
- “Party Polarization with Costly Voting.” Presented at the “Voting Systems” Workshop in the “Mathematics of Decision Making” series hosted by the Centre de Recherches Mathématiques, Université de Montréal, February 18-19, 2020.
- Catholic University in Santiago, Chile for a workshop entitled: “Political Parties, Welfare States, and Organized Interests.” April 29-May 1, 2019.
- “Floating Voters and the Rise of New Left Parties: Electoral Volatility During Party System Transformation.” University of Bremen, Department of Political Science, March 13, 2018.
- “The Constraints of Free List Proportional Representation on Vote Aggregation and Electoral Choice in Ecuador.” (with John Polga-Hecimovich). Workshop: “Revisiting Electoral Personalism.” Texas A&M University, December 8-9, 2017.
- “The Multiple Dimensions of Electoral Volatility: A Qualified Account of Instability During Party System Transformation.” Southeastern Latin American Behavior Consortium, George State University, October 13, 2017.
- “Floating Voters and the Rise of Dominant Parties: The Multiple Dimensions of Electoral Instability.” The University of Illinois at Chicago, Department of Political Science Comparative Politics Speaker Series, April 6, 2016.
- “A Mobilization Signature: Using Aggregate Electoral Data to Detect Particularistic Party Strategies.” The Comparative Politics Workshop at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, April 22, 2013.

"Clientelistic and Programmatic Party Strategies Using Social Policy: Ecuador and Costa Rica in Comparative Perspective." Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad de Costa Rica, June 22, 2011.

CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS

"Inferring Global Networks of Democratic Policy Diffusion." (with Eduardo Pagés and Jeffrey J. Harden). The 83rd Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago, IL. April 23-26, 2026.

"[FAIR Data and Democracy](#): Investments to Accelerate Computational Democracy Research." Workshop organizer (with Natalie Meyers). Hosted at GESIS-Leibniz Institute for the Social Science. Cologne, Germany. October 1-2, 2025.

Data Network Representative. MEDem Conference 2025: [From Data to Impact](#). Cologne, Germany. September 29-30, 2025

"A Comparative Study of Party System Trajectories and Democratic Performance." (with Wooseok Kim, Allen Hicken, and Ken Kollman). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the European Political Science Association. Madrid. June 28, 2025.

"Party Polarization with Costly Voting." Presented at the 4th Annual Virtual Electoral Integrity Conference. July 9, 2024.

Data Network Representative. [The Future of Democracy Research](#): MEDem Conference 2024. Vienna, February 29-March 1, 2024.

"Party Switching and Alliance Building: The Logic of Ambitious Legislators in Fluid Party Systems." The 118th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Los Angeles, CA. August, 31, 2023.

"[Developing an Ecosystem of FAIR, Linked, and Open Data in and beyond Political Science](#)." Panel Organizer. The General Conference of the European Consortium of Political Research. Innsbruck, Austria, August 22-26, 2022.

"A Multi-level Theory of Electoral Stability: Reapproaching Volatility and Nationalization." The 117th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Virtual. September 29, 2021.

"Using Models to Develop a Theoretical Imagination: In Defense of Methodological Promiscuity." 8th Annual ASA Sociology of Development Conference, University of Notre Dame, October 17, 2019.

"Using Free List Proportional Representation to Examine Political Behavior." The 115th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC. August 25, 2019.

"Party Performance in Ecuador: A Multilevel Model of Volatility and Nationalization." (with John Polga-Hecimovich). 10th Congress of La Asociación Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política, Monterrey, México, July 31, 2019.

"Party Polarization with Costly Voting." The 77th Annual Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL. April 7, 2019.

"The Constraints of Free List Proportional Representation on Vote Aggregation and Electoral Choice in Ecuador." (with John Polga-Hecimovich). The 113th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA. August 31, 2017.

"Party Competition with Costly Voting: An Agent-Based Model." (with Yuvaraj Pazhamalei and Abhijit Deshmukh). The 74th Annual Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL. April 7-10, 2016.

- "Electoral Reform in Ecuador: The Constraints of 'Free List' PR on Party Competition and Electoral Choice." (with John Polga-Hecimovich). The 8th Congress of the Latin American Political Science Association, Lima, Peru. July 22-24 2015.
- "Distinguishing Territorial Structure from Electoral Adventurism: The Sources of Low Party Nationalization." (with Yoo-Sun Jung). The 73rd Annual Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL. April 16-19, 2015.
- "The Sources of District Variation in Electoral Data: It's Not Always About Territory." The 72nd Annual Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL. April 3-6, 2014.
- "Roundtable: Coordinating Electoral and Institutional Data Assets for Data-Intensive Research: Developing a Vision for the Future." The 72nd Annual Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL. April 3-6, 2014.
- "Modeling Change in Turbulent Times: Party Adaptation Following Systemic Disruption." Paper presented at the 31st International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, DC, May 29-June 1, 2013.
- "The Diffusion of a Party's Electoral Support to Detect Linkage Strategy." (with Aniruddha Banerjee). Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 11-13, 2013.
- "A Model of Party Stabilization Following Transitions to Democracy." Joint Sessions of Workshops, European Consortium of Political Research, Mainz, Germany, March 10-16, 2013
- "Seeing Beyond the Spreadsheets: The Unexploited Structure in Electoral and Institutional Data." (with John A. Springer). 6th Congress of the Latin American Association of Political Science, Quito, Ecuador, June 12-14, 2012.
- "Getting Out the Vote: Political Party Strategies Derived From the Calculus of Voting Model." Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 12-15, 2012.
- "The Influence of Indigenous Party Entry on Party System Stability in the Andes." International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Toronto, October 6-9, 2010.
- "The Influence of Indigenous Party Entry on Party System Stability in the Andes." Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-5, 2010.
- "Populist Party Electoral Trajectories in Central and Eastern Europe and Latin America." Joint Sessions of Workshops, European Consortium of Political Research, Münster, Germany, March 22-27, 2010
- "Electoral Performance in a Multilevel Context: A Test of Regime Type and Electoral System on Nationalization." (with Sarah Mustillo). Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, September 3-6, 2009.
- "Political Disincentives to Broad-based Social Policy Regimes." International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, June 11-14, 2009.
- "Clientelistic and Programmatic Patterns in the Diffusion of New Party Support in Post-War Italy." (with Aniruddha Banerjee and Emily Kinney). IUPUI Undergraduate Research Symposium, April 2009.
- "Using Stata as a Computation/Estimation Companion in a Relational Database Environment." (with Sarah Mustillo). Summer North America Stata User's Group Meetings, Chicago, IL, July 2008.

- “Entrants in the Political Arena: New Party Trajectories in Latin America.” American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, September 2006.
- “Party Formation and Success: The Case of Pachakutik.” International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Las Vegas, NV, October 2004.
- “Determinants of Social Spending in Latin America and the Caribbean.” (with Evelyne Huber and John D. Stephens). Latin American Studies Association, Las Vegas, NV, October 2004.
- Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics, Washington, DC, July 2004.
- “The ‘Quality of Elections’ in Contemporary Latin America: Issues in Measurement and Explanation” (with Jonathan Hartlyn and Jennifer McCoy). Latin American Studies Association, Dallas, Texas, March 2003.
- “The Partisan Effects on Social Policy Reform in Latin America, 1981-1996.” Southeastern Council of Latin American Studies, Chapel Hill, NC, March 2003

DATASETS

- Longitudinal Electoral Datasets, The Latin American Electronic Data Archive (LAEDA), University of Texas Libraries. <https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/handle/2152/16310>.
- Social Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean Dataset, 1960-2006. (with Evelyne Huber, John D. Stephens, and Jennifer Pribble).
- Latin America and Caribbean Political Dataset, 1945-2001. (with Evelyne Huber, John D. Stephens, and Jennifer Pribble).

ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS

- American Political Science Association, 2001-present
- European Consortium of Political Research, 2017-present
- Midwest Political Science Association, 2010-present

SERVICE TO THE DISCIPLINE

- Core Member of Networks Forum, Monitoring Electoral Democracy (MEDem), Spring 2022-
- Scientific Advisory Board, Constituency-Level Election Archive (U of Michigan), 2017-
- Journal Reviewer: *The American Political Science Review*, *The American Journal of Political Science*, *The Journal of Politics*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *American Sociological Review*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *Electoral Studies*, *Party Politics*, *Democratization*, *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, *Latin American Research Review*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Democracy and Security Review*, *Rationality & Society*, *Political Studies*, *World Development*, *Latin American Politics & Society*, *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, *The Latin Americanist*, *Government and Opposition*, *Revista Latinoamericana de Opinión Pública*, *World Politics*, *New Media & Society*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, *Nature: Scientific Data*