

Thomas R. Gray

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Positions

Associate Professor of Political Science; University of Texas at Dallas, School of Economic, Political and Policy Sciences (September 2023 - Present).

Assistant Professor of Political Science; University of Texas at Dallas, School of Economic, Political and Policy Sciences (August 2017 - August 2023).

Congressional Fellow; American Political Science Association (November 2021 - August 2022).

Education

Ph.D., Government, University of Virginia (August 2017).

M.A., Government, University of Virginia (May 2013).

J.D., Western New England College (now University) School of Law (May 2010, *Magna Cum Laude*).

B.A., Government and Politics, University of Maryland - College Park (May 2007).

Research

Peer-Reviewed Publications

Thomas R. Gray and Adam G. Hughes. 2025. "Spillover Effects in Political Advertising: Evidence from Judicial Elections." *The Journal of Political Marketing* 24(1): 2-16.

Thomas R. Gray and Jeffery A. Jenkins. 2025. "Estimating Disenfranchisement in U.S. Elections, 1870-1970." *Perspectives on Politics* 23(1): 55-75.

Thomas R. Gray and Carlos Gutierrez-Mannix. 2024. "The Twitter Blackout: Do Congressional Rules Influence the Cyberworld?" *Social Science Quarterly* 105(5): 1835-47.

Thomas R. Gray and Daniel S. Smith. 2023. "Lineage or Legions?: On the Determinants of Rule Duration of Roman Emperors." *International Studies Quarterly* 67:1. DOI: 10.1093/isq/sqado04

Thomas R. Gray and Jeffery A. Jenkins. 2022. "Messaging and Policy: Do Members Vote Differently When Policy is on the Line?" *The Journal of Public Policy* 42(4): 637-55.

Thomas R. Gray and Daniel S. Smith. 2022. "Retrospective Voting in the Pre-Modern World: The Case of Natural Disasters in the Roman Republic." *Journal of Historical Political Economy* 2(3): 477-97.

Thomas R. Gray and Jonas Bunte. 2022. "The Effect of Grades on Student Performance: Evidence from a Quasi-Experiment." *College Teaching* 70(1): 15-28.

Thomas R. Gray and Carlos Gutierrez Mannix. 2022. "Twitter and the Electoral Connection." *Social Science Quarterly* 102(6): 2881-93.

Thomas R. Gray, Jeffery A. Jenkins, and Philip B. K. Potter. 2022. "The Direct Election of Senators and the Emergence of the Modern Presidency." *Political Science Research and Methods* 10(1): 188-97.

Thomas R. Gray and Jeffery A. Jenkins. 2021. "The Political Economy of the National Endowment for the Arts." *Social Science Quarterly* 102(4): 1553-68.

Andrew J. Clarke, Thomas R. Gray, and Adam G. Hughes. 2021. "Advertising Ideology: Using Crowd-sourced Measurement to Understand Campaigns." *The Journal of Political Marketing* 20(2): 198-218.

Thomas R. Gray and Banks Miller. 2021. "Swineherds and Hogs on Ice: Leadership Effects for State Chief Judges." *American Politics Research* 49(3): 319-27.

Thomas R. Gray and Jeffery A. Jenkins. 2020. "A Bridge Too Far? Examining Bridging Assumptions in Common-Space Estimation." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 45(4): 531-54.

Thomas R. Gray. 2019. "Executive Influence on State Supreme Court Justices: Strategic Deference in Executive Reappointment States." *The Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization* 35(2): 394-421. (Winner of the 2016 APSA Law & Courts Section Best Graduate Student Paper Award.)

Thomas R. Gray and Jeffery A. Jenkins. 2019. "Congress and The Political Economy of Daylight Saving Time, 1918-1985." *Social Science Quarterly* 100(5): 1664-84.

Thomas R. Gray and Jeffery A. Jenkins. 2019. "Pivotal Politics and the Ideological Content of Significant Laws." *The Journal of Public Policy* 39(1): 115-42.

Thomas R. Gray. 2017. "The Influence of Legislative Reappointment on State Supreme Court Decision-Making." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 17(3): 275-98.

Thomas R. Gray and Jeffery A. Jenkins. 2017. "Unpacking Pivotal Politics: Exploring the Differential Effects of the Filibuster and Veto Pivots." *Public Choice* 172(3-4): 359-76.

Editor-Reviewed Articles and Book Chapters

Daniel S. Smith and Thomas R. Gray. 2025. "Enemy Through the Gates: Warfare, Mobility, and the Political Economy of Conquest in Premodern Eurasia, 1-1799 CE." *The Journal of Historical Political Economy* 5(2): 189-214.

Jeffery A. Jenkins and Thomas R. Gray. 2023. "Congress and the Political Economy of the Indian Removal Act." *The Journal of Historical Political Economy* 3(2): 237-76.

Daniel S. Smith and Thomas R. Gray. 2021. "Looking for Leadership in Historical Context: An Extension of the RIFLE Method of Randomization Inference." *The Journal of Historical Political Economy* 1(2): 215-34.

Thomas R. Gray and Jeffery A. Jenkins. 2021. "Yellow Fever and Institutional Development: The Rise and Fall of the National Board of Health." *The Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy* 2(1): 143-67.

Andrew J. Clarke, Thomas R. Gray, and Kenneth Lowande. 2018. "Causal Inference from Pivotal Politics Theories." *The Journal of Politics* 80(3): 1082-87.

Kenneth Lowande and Thomas R. Gray. 2017. "Public Perception of the Presidential Toolkit." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 47(3): 432-47.

Lawrence Baum, Thomas R. Gray, and David E. Klein. 2017. "Measuring the Impact of Election Outcomes on Voting in State Supreme Courts." In *Judicial Elections in the 21st Century*, edited by Chris W. Bonneau and Melinda Gann Hall. New York: Routledge, pgs. 195-216.

Textbooks & Textbook Chapters

Brunell, Tom, Robert Lowry, Banks Miller, and Thomas R. Gray. 2022. *An Introduction to American State Politics*.

Brunell, Tom, Robert Lowry, Banks Miller, and Thomas R. Gray. 2022. *An Introduction to American Politics*. Top Hat.

Law Reviews

An Empirical Assessment of Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Decision-Making on Criminal Law from 1995 to 2014, 38 W. NEW ENG. L. REV. 285 (2016).

Student Note: *I'm Just Following Orders: A Fair Standard of Immunity for Military Service Contractors*, 32 W. NEW ENG. L. REV. 373 (2010).

Book Reviews

Thomas R. Gray. 2021. Book Review. "*The Jeffords Switch: Changing Majority Status and Causal Processes in the U.S. Senate*, by Chris Den Hartog and Nathan Monroe." *Congress & the Presidency* 48(1):109-10.

Thomas R. Gray and Daniel S. Smith. 2020. Review Essay. "Vox Populi: Popular Politics before Liberal Democracy." *The Journal of Politics* 82(2): e21-e26.

Thomas R. Gray. 2016. Book Review. "*Justices on the Ballot: Continuity and Change in State Supreme Court Elections*, by Herbert Kritzer, Book Review." *The Journal of Politics* 78(2): e15-e16.

Other Writings

Daniel S. Smith and Thomas R. Gray. "What Does 'Historical' Mean in Historical Political Economy?" Broadstreet Blog (June 4, 2021).

Thomas R. Gray and Jeffery A. Jenkins. "The Filibuster as a Majoritarian Check on Minority Tyranny," Niskanen Center Blog (September 23, 2020).

Philip B. K. Potter, Jeffery A. Jenkins, and Thomas R. Gray. "Direct Election and the Foreign Policy President," LegBranch.org (July 23, 2020).

Thomas R. Gray and Jeffery A. Jenkins. "Is the Clock Ticking on Daylight Saving Time? Here's What it Would Take to Change It," *The Washington Post - The Monkey Cage* (November 3, 2019).

Thomas R. Gray and Jeffery A. Jenkins. "Honest Messengers: How Symbolic Messaging Votes in Congress Match Vote Choices on 'Real' Votes," LegBranch.org (May 20, 2019).

Articles Under Peer Review

"Popular Referendums on Disenfranchisement." (with Jeffery A. Jenkins, revised and resubmitted at *The American Journal of Political Science*)

"Minority Chairs in State Legislatures: Evidence from Texas." (with Carlos Gutierrez-Mannix).

Book Projects Under Contract

"Untitled Project on the History of Voter Disenfranchisement in the United States" (with Jeffery A. Jenkins, under contract with Oxford University Press).

Working Papers

"Deposal Decisions and Available Alternatives." (with Daniel S. Smith).

"State Attorneys General as Ideological Partisans and Chief Prosecutors."

Work Presented At (by Myself or a Co-Author)

Annual Conferences

Southern Political Science Association 2015-20, 2023-26

Historical Political Economy Conference 2024

Midwest Political Science Association 2016-17, 2019, 2022-23

American Political Science Association 2015-19

European Political Science Association 2017-18

Conference on Empirical Legal Studies 2015

PolMeth 2013

Invited Talks, Workshops, and Small Conferences (Presented by Myself or a Co-Author)

National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) Summer Institute 2025 - Development of the American Economy, "Popular Support for Disenfranchisement in the United States: Voting on Constitutional Referendums." (with [and presented by] Jeffery A. Jenkins; Cambridge, MA; July 10, 2025).

United States Department of State International Visitor Program (Fiji 2025), on American federalism and civil liberties. (Dallas, TX; April 7, 2025).

Panel on Free Speech co-hosted by the Federalist Society and the American Constitution Society at the University of Oklahoma Law School. (Norman, OK; October 13, 2024).

National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) Working Group on Race and Stratification, "Measuring Voter Disenfranchisement in the United States, 1870-1970." (with [and presented by] Jeffery A. Jenkins; Cambridge, MA; March 31, 2023).

University of Southern California, Antebellum Political Economy Conference - "The Political Economy of the Indian Removal Act." (with Jeffery A. Jenkins; Los Angeles, CA; scheduled February 21, 2023)

Political Institutions and Political Economy Collaborative Webinar Series (University of Southern California, Price School of Public Policy) - "State Attorneys General as Ideological Partisans and Chief Prosecutors." (Online webinar due to COVID-19; March 26, 2021).

Université Paris II - Panthéon Assas, Law and Humanities Research Center - "How State Attorneys General Are Shaping National Policy in the United States." (Paris, France; March 12, 2020).

University of Southern California, Bedrosian Center, Political Institutions and Political Economy Workshop - "Lineage or Legions? Rule Duration in the Roman Empire." (Los Angeles, CA; March 15, 2019).

University of Texas at Dallas, Center for Teaching and Learning - "The Effect of Grades on Student Performance." (with Jonas Bunte; Richardson, TX; November 6, 2018).

Université Paris II - Panthéon Assas, Law and Humanities Research Center - "*Tribunaux Américains, Amis ou Ennemis?* [American Courts, Friends or Foes?]" (Paris, France; March 15, 2018).

University of Southern California, Bedrosian Center, Pivotal Politics Symposium - "Causal Inference with Pivotal Politics Theories" (with Andrew Clarke and Kenneth Lowande; Los Angeles, CA; November 7, 2017).

Teaching

Courses as Instructor of Record

Civil Liberties, American National Government, Law and Terrorism, Proseminar in American Political Institutions and Politics (Graduate), Congress, Congress (Graduate), Civil Liberties (American and French comparative), Freedom of Speech, The American Presidency, Comparative Civil Rights.

Service

Departmental

Department/Program/Area Tenure and Promotion Committee, Political Science, Public Policy, and Political Economy

Director of Graduate Studies, Public Policy and Political Economy (2022 - present).

Director, Political Science Working Paper Series (2022 - present).

Political Science Program Committee (2017 - 2021, 2022-present).

Political Science Faculty Search Committee (2017 - 2018, Comparative Courts; 2020 - 2021, Comparative Courts; 2024 - 2025, Global Health; 2025 - 2026, Domestic Technology Policy [Chair]).

Tenure Review ad-hoc committee (2024).

Mid-Probationary Review ad-hoc committees (2023, 2024, 2025 [Chair]).

University

Provost's Office Faculty Mentoring Program (2025 - 2026).

Committee on Educational Programs (2024 - 2026).

Library Committee (2023 - 2025).

Provost's Academic Continuity Committee's Faculty Retention and Morale Subgroup (2020).

Discipline

Reviewer for the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *Journal of Politics*, *Political Analysis*, the *British Journal of Political Science*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *American Politics Research*, *Political Research Quarterly*, the *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy*, the *Journal of Historical Political Economy*, the *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, *Congress & the Presidency*, *Research & Politics*, the *Journal of Public Policy*, the *Journal of Law and Courts*, *Politics & Religion*, *Cogent Humanities*, the *Northwestern University Law Review*, Cambridge University Press, and De Gruyter Books.

Academic Journals

The Journal of Historical Political Economy (2024 - present).
Editorial Board Member

The Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy (2019 - 2022).
Editorial Board Member

The Journal of Politics (August 2016 - August 2017).
Editorial Assistant

The Journal of Law and Courts (November 2011 - August 2017).
Editorial Assistant

Western New England Law Review (August 2008 - July 2010).
Associate Member (2008 - 2009)
Articles Editor and Editorial Board Member (2009 - 2010)

Media Appearances

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, on America 250 (June 30, 2026).

Quoted in "Who's the MAGA candidate for Texas AG? Mayes Middleton makes his case to CPAC audience in Grapevine," by Caroline Love, KERA News, on the Texas 2026 Attorney General race (March 26, 2026).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, on the 2026 Texas primary elections (March 4, 2026).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, on the government "shutdown" (September 30, 2025).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, on Daylight Saving Time (March 7, 2025).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), on the second presidential inauguration of Donald Trump (January 17, 2025).

KERA Radio (Dallas, TX), on the 2024 elections in Texas (November 26, 2024).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, on the Special Counsel's request to drop federal charges against Donald Trump (November 25, 2024).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), on the 2024 presidential election (November 4, 2024).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, on Daylight Saving Time (November 1, 2024).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), on the 2024 presidential election (October 14, 2024).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), live commentary after the second presidential debate (September 10, 2024).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, previewing the second presidential debate (September 10, 2024).

Quoted in “Trump-Biden debate launched 30 days of dizzying, rapid-fire events that changed history: From an assassination attempt to the shakeup atop the Democratic ticket, the past month upended presidential politics,” by Gromer Jeffers, Jr., *The Dallas Morning News*, on the political events of late June and July 2024 (July 26, 2024).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, on President Biden’s decision to not run for re-election (July 22, 2024).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, on the first presidential debate (June 26, 2024).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, on the election of Rep. Mike Johnson as Speaker of the House of Representatives (October 25, 2023).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, on the first 2024 Republican Primary debate (August 22, 2023).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, on the notable end-of-term decisions by the Supreme Court (June 30, 2023).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, on the (second) indictment of former President Donald Trump (June 9, 2023).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, on the (first) indictment of former President Donald Trump (March 31, 2023).

Quoted in “Is time running out on changing clocks twice a year? U.S. Sunshine Protection Act may hold key,” by Mark Gollom, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, on Daylight Saving Time (March 11, 2023).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, on the Speaker election in the U.S. House of Representatives (January 6, 2023).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Election Analyst for Live Election Night Coverage (November 8, 2022).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, on Daylight Saving Time (November 3, 2022).

Quoted in “Why It’s Harder than Ever to Reliably Poll Texas Voters Before Elections.” Jeremy Wallace, *San Antonio Express-News*, on the 2022 Election (October 29, 2022).

Spectrum News 1 Texas, *Capital Tonight*, on polling in the 2022 election (October 24, 2022).

CBS DFW *Eye on Politics*, on polling in the 2022 election (October 24, 2022).

Quoted in “Senate Plan for Permanent Daylight Saving Time Faces Doubts in the House,” Dan Diamond, *The Washington Post*, on Daylight Saving Time (March 19, 2022).

Partners Podcast, by the Illinois Farm Bureau, on Daylight Saving Time (March 11, 2022).

Quoted in “Texas’ New Political Maps Create Safer Districts for Incumbents - and Put an End to Some Challengers’ Runs,” by James Barragán, *The Texas Tribune*, on 2021 redistricting in Texas (October 22, 2021).

Quoted in “After Republicans keep the House in political dogfight, where does Texas politics go?,” by James Barragán, *The Dallas Morning News*, on the 2020 Election in Texas (November 19, 2020).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), on Daylight Saving Time (October 31, 2020).

NBC 5 (Dallas, TX), on Daylight Saving Time (October 30, 2020).

Quoted in “The Battle Over Daylight Saving Time; ‘The Change Is Deeply Unpopular’,” by Aparna Zalani, and interviewed for television, on CBS 11 - DFW, on Daylight Saving Time (October 30, 2020).

Quoted in “Texas College Student Flies Home from California to Cast his Ballot as Voter Turnout Surges,” by James Barragán, *The Dallas Morning News*, on the 2020 Election in Texas (October 20, 2020).

Fox 4 (Dallas, TX) *Good Day*, on the 2020 Presidential Election (October 2, 2020).

KRLD Radio (Dallas, TX), Ask the Expert, on the 2020 Supreme Court Nomination (September 23, 2020).

Fellowships and Awards

American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship (2021 - 2022).

University of Texas at Dallas Special Faculty Development Assignment (2021 - 2022).

University of Virginia Quantitative Collaborative Fellow (2012 - 2013, 2016 - 2017).

Bankard Pre-Doctoral Fellowship, University of Virginia (2016 - 2017).

APSA Law & Courts Section Best Graduate Student Paper Award (2016).

University of Virginia Graduate Teaching Award - A Department of Politics Nominee (2015).

Huskey Graduate Research Conference (University of Virginia), 1st Place for best paper presentation on politics and economics panel (2015).

University of Virginia Political Psychology Working Group 2014 Elections Grant - \$800 (2014).

Oliver W. Holmes Scholar, Western New England College (now University) School of Law - full tuition, merit scholarship (2007 - 2010).

Non-Academic Professional Experience

Legislative Fellow; United States House of Representatives, Rep. David Joyce (February 2022 - July 2022).

Fitzgerald Attorneys at Law; East Longmeadow, MA; Legal Intern (September 2009 - July 2010).

Proskauer Rose, LLP; New York, NY; Summer Associate (Summer 2009).

Massachusetts District Court; Springfield, MA; Legal Extern (Spring 2009).

Miscellaneous

Technical Skills

STATA, R, Claude Code, L^AT_EX

Additional Training

UT-Dallas Junior Faculty Reflective Teaching Seminar (2018-2019).

EITM Summer Institute (2016, Duke University).

Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) Summer Program (2013 - Introduction to Bayesian Modeling).