

# Paasha Mahdavi

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ACADEMIC POSITIONS	Vice Chair, Department of Political Science, UCSB, 2024– Associate Professor (with tenure), Political Science, UCSB, 2022– Assistant Professor, Political Science, UCSB, 2018–2022 Assistant Professor, McCourt School of Public Policy, Georgetown University, 2015–2018	
EDUCATION	UCLA: Ph.D. in Political Science (2015), M.S. in Statistics (2015) Stanford University: M.A. in International Policy, <i>concentration in Energy Policy</i> (2009). Columbia University: B.A. in Economics, <i>with Departmental Honors</i> (2006).	
AFFILIATIONS	Co-founder, The 2035 Initiative at UCSB, 2022– Director, Energy Governance and Political Economy (EGAPE) Lab, 2021– Affiliated faculty, Bren School of Environmental Science & Management, 2021– Visiting faculty, Johns Hopkins SAIS, Spring 2024 Campbell Visiting Fellow, Hoover Institution, 2021–2022 Term Member, Council on Foreign Relations, 2019–2024 Payne Institute Non-resident Fellow, Colorado School of Mines, 2018– Initiative for Sustainable Energy Policy (ISEP) Fellow, Johns Hopkins SAIS, 2017– GFC Fellow for the Council on the Future of Energy, World Economic Forum, 2016–2018	
BOOK	Paasha Mahdavi. 2020. <i>Power Grab: Political Survival Through Extractive Resource Nationalization</i> . Cambridge University Press (Series on Business and Public Policy). * Reviews: <i>Democratization</i> , <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> , <i>Texas National Security Review</i> , <i>China International Strategy Review</i> * Media coverage: <i>Huffington Post</i> , <i>Grist</i> , <i>Washington Examiner</i> , <i>New Books Network Podcast</i> , <i>The Elucidators Podcast</i> , <i>Eqtesād bā t'am siāsat (Economy with a Taste of Politics channel; in Persian)</i> , <i>The New Republic</i>	
PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES	16. Matto Mildemberger, Sara M. Constantino, Paasha Mahdavi, Parrish Bergquist, Gabriel De Roche, Emma Franzblau, Cesar Martinez-Alvarez, Ingmar Sturm. 2025. “How vulnerable publics in small-island states view climate change and international responses to it.” <i>Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences</i> . 122(30): e2415324122, 1-10. 15. Paasha Mahdavi, Eve Simoni, and Michael Ross. 2025. “Fossil fuel subsidy reforms have grown more fragile.” <i>Nature Climate Change</i> . 15: 569–574. [Cover article] 14. Parrish Bergquist and Paasha Mahdavi. 2023. “Examining the effect of cost information and framing on support for methane regulations in Europe.” <i>Environmental Research Letters</i> . 18(9): 094046.	

13. Cesar Martinez-Alvarez, Chad Hazlett, Paasha Mahdavi, and Michael Ross. 2022. “Political leadership has limited impact on fossil fuel taxes and subsidies.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. 119(47): e2208024119, 1-8.  
      $\hookrightarrow$  “Reply to van den Bergh and Savin: Fossil fuel taxes are politically hard to change.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. 120(14): e2302318120
12. Adam Crepelle, Paasha Mahdavi, and Dominic Parker. 2024. “Effects of per capita payments on governance: Evidence from tribal casinos.” *Public Choice*. 199: 319–340.
11. Paasha Mahdavi, Cesar Martinez-Alvarez, and Michael Ross. 2022. “Why do governments tax or subsidize fossil fuels?” *Journal of Politics*. 84(4): 2123-2139.
10. Jessica Green, Jennifer Hadden, Thomas Hale, Paasha Mahdavi. 2022. “Transition, hedge, or resist? Understanding political and economic behavior toward decarbonization in the oil and gas industry.” *Review of International Political Economy*. 29(6): 2036-2063.
9. Noel P. Johnston, Nicole Janz, and Paasha Mahdavi. 2022. “Expropriation and Human Rights: Does the seizure of FDI signal wider repression?” *Review of International Organizations*. 17: 847–875.
8. Paasha Mahdavi, Jessica Green, Jennifer Hadden, and Thomas Hale. 2021. “Using earnings calls to understand the political behavior of major polluters.” *Global Environmental Politics*. 22(1): 159–174.
7. Raphael Calel and Paasha Mahdavi. 2020. “Unintended consequences of anti-flaring policies and measures for mitigation.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. 117(23): 12503-12507.
6. Paasha Mahdavi. 2020. “Institutions and the ‘resource curse’: Evidence from cases of oil-related bribery.” *Comparative Political Studies*. 53(1): 3–40.
5. Paasha Mahdavi and John Ishiyama. 2020. “Dynamics of the inner elite in dictatorships: Evidence from North Korea.” *Comparative Politics*. 52(2): 221–249.
4. Paasha Mahdavi. 2019. “Scraping public co-occurrences for statistical network analysis of political elites.” *Political Science Research and Methods*. 7(2): 385–392.
3. Michael Ross, Chad Hazlett, and Paasha Mahdavi. 2017. “Global progress and backsliding on gasoline taxes and subsidies.” *Nature Energy*. 2(16201): 1-6.
2. Paasha Mahdavi. 2015. “Explaining the oil advantage: Effects of natural resource wealth on incumbent reelection in Iran.” *World Politics*. 67(2): 226–267.
1. Paasha Mahdavi. 2014. “Why do leaders nationalize the oil industry? The politics of resource expropriation.” *Energy Policy*. 75(C): 228–243.

BOOK  
CHAPTERS

3. Paasha Mahdavi and Noosha Uddin. 2021. “Governance amidst the transition to alternative energy in the Middle East and North Africa.” In Robin Mills and Li-Chen Sim (eds.) *Low Carbon Energy in the Middle East and North Africa*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan (International Political Economy Series).
2. Miriam Golden and Paasha Mahdavi. 2015. “The institutional components of political corruption.” 2015. In Ruben Ruiz-Rufino and Jennifer Gandhi (eds.), *Handbook of Comparative Political Institutions*. New York, NY: Routledge Press.

SELECTED  
WORKS IN  
PROGRESS

1. Paasha Mahdavi. 2012. “Oil, monarchy, revolution, and theocracy: A study on the National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC).” In David Victor, David Hults and Mark Thurber (eds.), *Oil and Governance: State-owned Enterprises and the World Energy Supply*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
5. Coordinated Financial Crisis Resolution (with Christina Schneider and Jennifer Tobin). Conditionally Accepted, *Review of International Political Economy*
4. Limited Impacts of Shareholder Pressure on Climate Strategy of Fossil Firms (with Denis Lomov). Revise and Resubmit, *Business & Politics*
3. Public Opinion on Economic Transition Challenges and Opportunities in Oil Communities (with Matto Mildemberger, Dustin Tingley, Ranjit Deshmukh, and Cesar Martinez-Alvarez)
2. Measuring firm climate strategy using transformer-based language models (with Denis Lomov)
1. Developing an Indigenous Governance and Political Representation Database (with Christopher Alcantara and Dominic Parker)

PUBLISHED  
DATA SETS

1. Michael Ross and Paasha Mahdavi. 2015 (September). [Oil and Gas Data, 1932–2014](#). Harvard Dataverse, V2.

REPORTS &  
OTHER  
WRITINGS

30. “Government efforts to reduce fossil fuel subsidies have failed at a very high rate.” 2025. *Nature Climate Change*: Policy Brief. (with Michael Ross and Evelyn Simoni).
29. “It’s Time to Phase Out Oil in our County.” 2025. *Santa Barbara Independent*. (with Leah Stokes).
28. “Restarting Sable’s Pipeline Would Harm Our Communities, Environment, and Economy.” 2025. *Santa Barbara Independent*.
27. “The Economic, Health, and Environmental Benefits of Phasing Out Onshore Oil Development in Santa Barbara County.” 2025. Report. (with Olivia Quinn, Eleanor Thomas, Carrie Fernandes, and Leah Stokes).
26. “Green Backlash and Fossil Societies.” 2025. [IGCC Essay](#).
25. “Economic analysis of market impacts of resuming oil and gas production from the Santa Ynez Unit.” Report submitted to Santa Barbara County Board of Supervisors in re: item 25-00144, Feb 25, 2025.
24. “National Oil Companies and the Global Methane Opportunity.” 2024. *Global Policy*. (with Andrew Howell).
23. “Collaborative Levers for Methane Abatement in National Oil Companies.” 2024. *Environmental Defense Fund*, Report.
22. “Strategies for Building Power to Shift Climate Politics and Policy.” 2024. *The 2035 Initiative*, Evidence Review. (with Leah Stokes, Matto Mildemberger, and Lucas Boyd).
21. “Assessing National Oil Companies transition plans: an essential tool for banks, investors and regulators.” 2023. *World Benchmarking Alliance*, Policy Brief. (with J. Roth, R. Poivet, N. Jones, and A. Picciariello)

20. “Opportunity NOCs: How investors can jumpstart energy transitions in national oil companies.” 2023. *The 2035 Initiative* and *IISD*, Policy Brief. (with A. Picciariello)
19. “Bold vs. BS in corporate climate pledges.” 2022. *A Matter of Degrees Podcast*. (Guest host with L. Stokes and K. Wilkinson)
18. “Paving a Credible Investment Pathway to Net Zero for Oil and Gas.” 2022. *OECD Consultation on Investment Treaties and Climate Change*.
17. “Inuit Language and Community Engagement.” 2022. Public report prepared for communities in Inuit-speaking parts of northern and northwest Alaska. (with U. Okleasik)
16. “Cultural programs and opportunities for engagement with CIRI.” 2021. Report prepared for the the Cook Inlet Region Inc (CIRI) Alaska Native Regional Corporation.
15. “National Oil Companies and Climate Change: Insights for Advocates.” 2021. *IISD and NRG Policy Brief*. (with A. Gillies, P.R.P. Heller, D. Manley, V. Marcel, L. Melgar, F. Monaldi, G. Muttitt, A. Picciariello, and J. Roth)
14. Book review of *Crude Intentions: How Oil Corruption Contaminates the World* by Alexandra Gillies. 2021. *Perspectives on Politics* 19(1): 323–24.
13. “Oil companies aren’t actually going green—but some are heading there faster than others.” 2020. *Washington Post / Monkey Cage*. (with Jessica Green, Jennifer Hadden, and Thomas Hale)
12. “Stop Oil Production in Santa Barbara Once and for All.” 2020. *Santa Barbara Independent*.
11. “Power Grabs and Crude Decisions.” 2020. *Invisible Histories* caption essay, Harvard Center for History and Economics.
10. “New Oil Finds Could Mean a Tripling of Guyana’s GDP.” 2019. *Foreign Policy*. (with Morgan Bazilian)
9. “Recommendations on the Draft Lebanese National Oil Company Bill.” 2018. Report prepared for the Lebanese Parliamentary Committee on Public Works, Transportation, Energy, and Water.
8. “Four things to know about nationalizations in the energy industry.” 2017. *Initiative for Sustainable Energy Policy (ISEP) Blog*.
7. “Oil Conflict and Kurdish Independence.” 2017. *Global Policy*. (with Morgan Bazilian, Peri-Khan Aqrabi-Whitcomb, and Cyril Widdershoven)
6. “How to get reelected if you are an Iranian MP.” 2015. *Washington Post/Monkey Cage*.
5. ‘Will Iran’s parliament block the nuclear deal?’ 2015. *Washington Post/Monkey Cage*.  
 - Reprinted in Marc Lynch (ed.), *Iran and the Nuclear Deal*. The Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS) Studies, Vol. 13.
4. “Oil and Politics in Iran’s *Majles-e Shurā-ye Eslāmi*.” 2014. *The International Society for Iranian Studies Newsletter*. 34(4): 10-13.
3. “Reforming National Oil Companies: Nine Recommendations.” 2014. *Natural Resource Governance Institute Briefing*. (with Patrick Heller and Johannes Schreuder)
2. “The Petroleum Industry Bill and the Future of NNPC.” 2012. *Revenue Watch Institute Briefing*. (with Aaron Sayne, Patrick Heller, and Johannes Schreuder)

1. “The Future Impact of Climate Change on the California Wine Industry.” 2009. Stanford IPS Report, prepared for California State Assembly Member Noreen Evans. (with Jonathan Gatto, Byung-oh Kim, Hirochika Namekawa, and Hung Tran)

## AWARDS, GRANTS, & FELLOWSHIPS

### External

- Grant, ECF, 2025–2026.
- Resilient Energy Economies Initiative grant, joint from Bezos Earth Fund, Columbia Center for Global Energy Policy, and Resources for the Future, 2025
- Grant, Quadrature Climate Foundation, 2024
- FINOC grant, Environmental Defense Fund, 2023–2024
- Campbell Visiting Fellowship, Hoover Institution, 2021–2022.
- Governance, Liberty, and Prosperity for American Indians, Hoover Institution, 2021
- Balzan Foundation grant (with Matto Mildenberger and Leah Stokes, co-PIs), via Princeton University, 2018–2020
- Balzan Foundation grant (with Jessica Green, Jennifer Hadden, and Thomas Hale, co-PIs), via Princeton University, 2018–2020
- Energy for Economic Growth Research Programme, U.K. Department for International Development (DfID) seed grant (with Michael Ross, PI), 2016–2020
- Data Collection Grant, Natural Resource Governance Institute, 2014–15
- Adam Smith Fellowship, Mercatus Center at George Mason University, 2013–14
- Research Grant, Revenue Watch Institute and DfID, 2012

### Internal

- Outstanding Service to Community Award, UCSB Political Science, 2025
- Cohen-Jennings Award for Excellence in Graduate Mentorship, UCSB PSGSA, 2021
- UCSB Academic Senate Research Grant, 2021
- UCSB Research Assistance Program, 2021
- UCSB ISBER Social Science Research Grants Program, 2019–2020
- Leslie Whittington Outstanding Faculty Member of the Year Award, McCourt School of Public Policy, 2017
- Seed grant (PI), Georgetown Environment Initiative, 2017–2018
- Seed grant (with Raphael Calel), Georgetown Environment Initiative, 2016–17
- Dissertation Year Fellowship, UCLA Graduate Division, 2014–15
- Graduate Research Mentorship, UCLA Graduate Division, 2012–13
- Graduate Summer Research Mentorship, UCLA Graduate Division, 2010 & 2011
- Graduate Research Opportunity Grant, Program on Energy and Sustainable Development, Stanford University, 2008–09
- Susan Ford Dorsey International Policy Fellowship, Stanford University, 2007–08
- Departmental Honors, Columbia University Department of Economics, 2006

## MEDIA

**For full list of media interviews and research coverage:** [www.egapelab.com/media](http://www.egapelab.com/media)

INVITED TALKS, 2025: Climate Change, Green Backlash, and Democracy workshop at IGCC; London School  
WORKSHOPS & of Economics and Political Science (online); Resilient Energy Economies; Environmental  
CONFERENCE Defense Fund; Union of Concerned Scientists (online); American Political Science Association  
PRESENTATIONS (APSA, scheduled).

2024: Environmental Politics & Governance Deep Climate Conversations; Occidental College  
Geopolitics of the Green Energy Transition; Georgetown University Political Economy  
Seminar; Johns Hopkins SAIS Political Economy Speaker Series; Environmental Defense

Fund; Columbia University International Politics Seminar; Resilient Energy Economies; International Institute for Sustainable Development.

- 2023: UC Berkeley MIRTH Seminar Series; Public Choice Society (Seattle); Preparing for a Changing Climate Conference (Stanford University); APSA; Markets vs. Mandates for the Environment and Energy Workshop (Hoover/West Creek); Workshop on Economic and Politics of Tribal Governance, Past and Present (Hoover Institution).
- 2022: Public Choice Workshop (Hoover Institution); Western Political Science Association (WPSA); UC Riverside Political Science Speaker Series; Climate Futures Initiative (Princeton University); Climate Pipeline Engaged Scholarship Workshop (Harvard University); UCSB Ground-breaking Research/Innovative Technology (GRIT) talks; First Alaskans Institute (virtual).
- 2021: Midwestern Political Science Association (MPSA); UC-National Lab Fees Research Program Workshop; Governance, Liberty, and Prosperity for American Indians (Hoover Institution, held in Bozeman, MT); Climate Futures Initiative (Princeton University); International Institute for Sustainable Development and Natural Resources Governance Institute (webinar); University of KwaZulu Natal (webinar); APSA (virtual); Renewing Indigenous Economies (Hoover Institution); New Producers Group (Chatham House).
- 2020: Global Comparative Politics of Climate Change Policy Workshop (Stanford University); University of California Conference on International Cooperation (UC Riverside); International Studies Association (ISA)\*; MPSA\*; Claremont Graduate University\*; UC Riverside\*; Colorado School of Mines (webinar); Charting the Future Political Economy of Oil Workshop (ANU Crawford School of Public Policy, virtual); APSA (virtual); Global Research in International Political Economy (webinar); Johns Hopkins SAIS (webinar); World Bank, Office of Chief Economist of Sustainable Development (webinar).
- 2019: Global Comparative Politics of Climate Change Policy Workshop (Stanford University); WPSA (San Diego); APSA (Washington, DC); Southern California Methods Workshop (UC Riverside); University of Toronto; Ostrom Symposium on Natural Resource Governance for Young Scholars (Indiana University); RAI Inequality and Representation Workshop (Oxford University).
- 2018: Global Comparative Politics of Climate Change Policy Workshop (Stanford University); Research Frontiers in the Political Economy of Energy Policy (Princeton University); Stanley Kaplan Program in American Foreign Policy Keynote Lecture (Williams College).
- 2017: DC Area Climate & Energy Research Workshop (GWU); MPSA; University of Alaska Anchorage; Environmental Politics & Governance (Indiana University); APSA (San Francisco); Johns Hopkins SAIS; Harvard University Growth Lab.
- 2016: Columbia University International Politics Seminar; MPSA; Oxford University Department of Politics & International Relations; APSA (Philadelphia); Energy and Economic Growth Research and Matchmaking Conference (Center for Strategic & International Studies); Harvard University Comparative Politics Speaker Series.
- 2015: Energy & Extractives Communities of Practice (World Bank); MPSA; University of California Board of Visitors for Political Science (UCLA); APSA (San Francisco); Extractive Resources & Global Governance Workshop in Memory of Natasha Chichilnisky-Heal (Yale University); International Political Economy Society (Palo Alto).

#### TEACHING

- PS 15: Introduction to Research in Political Science. Undergraduate lecture (methods requirement). Winter 2019, Spring 2020, Spring 2021, Spring 2022, Fall 2022, Winter 2025.
- PS 106ET: Comparative Political Economy of the Energy Transition. Undergraduate lecture. Fall 2023.

PS 196: Climate and Extractive Politics. Undergraduate seminar. Spring 2022.

PS 205: Political Research Methods I. Graduate seminar (part one of core methods sequence). Fall 2022.

PS 206: Political Research Methods II. Graduate seminar (part two of core methods sequence). Winter 2019, Winter 2020, Winter 2021, Winter 2025.

PS 211: Research Design in Political Science. Graduate seminar. Spring 2020, Spring 2021, Spring 2022.

PS 295 / ESM 526: Environmental Politics Workshop. Weekly graduate workshop and seminar. 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2023.

PS 594EE: Political Economy of Energy and Environment. Graduate seminar. Fall 2023.

PPOL 637: Comparative Politics & Policy of Energy. Graduate seminar (elective). Fall 2015, Fall 2016, Fall 2017.

PPOL 502: Regression Methods for Policy Analysis. Graduate seminar (part two of required three-semester statistics sequence). Spring 2016, Spring 2017, Spring 2018.

PH.D. ADVISING     \* *Chair*;    \*\* *Co-Chair*;    ‡ *outside member*

- Corah Walker\*
- So-Yeon Ellen Park (Postdoc, UC-IGCC)
- Navid Yousefian (Teaching Associate, Cambridge University)
- Jeff Feng (Postdoc, Northwestern University)
- Khobaib Osailan (Assistant Professor, King AbdulAziz University)
- Ariana Salas Castillo (Postdoc, Columbia University)
- Gabriela Alberola (Postdoc, University of Amsterdam)
- Noosha Uddin\*\*
- Daniel Gamarnik
- Mohammad Sulaimani‡ (Assistant Professor, King Fahd University)
- Saber Khani‡
- Renae Marshall
- Denis Lomov\* (pre-prospectus)
- Zhai Gen Tan\* (pre-prospectus)

ACADEMIC  
SERVICE

At UCSB:

- Department Vice Chair, 2024-.
- Department Undergraduate Committee, Chair, 2024-2025.
- Decarbonization Study Project Committee, faculty advisor, 2023–2024.
- Lancaster Chair search committee, 2022–2023; 2024-2025.
- Diversity, Equity & Inclusion officer, Environmental Justice search committee, 2021–2022.
- Council on Research and Instructional Resources, Committee on Research Policy and Procedures and Committee on Faculty Grants, 2020–2023.
- Coordinator, Comparative Politics & Political Economy Webinar Series, 2020–2022.
- Committee on Mentoring Expectations in Political Science, 2020–2021.
- Dept. Liaison, Planning Committee for an Undergraduate Major in Data Science, 2019–
- Data Science Undergraduate Education Committee, 2019–
- Faculty mentor for PS 15, Department of Political Science, 2019–
- Faculty Advisor for UCSB Pi Sigma Alpha Political Science Honors Society, 2019–2022.

- Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Political Science, 2019–2020.
- Chair, Comparative Politics Comprehensive Exam, Spring 2019.
- Awards Committee, Department of Political Science, 2018–2019.
- Subfield Coordinator, Political Methodology, 2018–

At Georgetown:

- Co-organizer, Energy & Climate Policy Research Seminar, 2015–18
- Advisory committee, Massive Data Institute, 2016–18
- Masters in Public Policy Thesis Prize committee, 2016.
- Steering committee, Georgetown Environment Initiative, 2016–18.
- Faculty search committee, Assistant Professor in Data Science, 2017.
- Judge, Georgetown University Energy Prize panel, 2017.
- Steering committee, Data Analytics Program, 2017–18.

Profession

- Discussant: APSA 2015–2016, 2019–2023; DC Area Climate & Energy Research Workshop 2016; Environmental Politics & Governance 2019; Virtual International Political Economy Society (V-IPES) 2020; MPSA 2014–2017, 2020; WPSA 2019; USC Political Economy of Native American Policy 2024; USC Political Economy of Energy 2024.
- Book workshops: Leah Stokes, UCSB, *Short-Circuiting Policy*, Feb 2018; Faisal Ahmed, Princeton University, *Conquest and Rents*, June 2020; Helen Milner and Alex Gazmararian, Princeton University (hosted at UCSB), *Climate Fault Lines*, Nov 2024.
- Committee member: APSA Public Policy Mentoring Award Committee; APSA Best Dissertation in Public Policy Award Committee; WPSA Climate Action Committee; WPSA Pi Sigma Alpha Award Committee; WPSA Climate Action Task Force.
- Reviewer/Advisor: Climate Pipeline Project; Political Economy of Climate and the Environment.
- Editorial Board: *Public Choice*

Referee

- *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, *Electoral Studies*, *Energy Research & Social Science*, *Governance*, *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *Journal of International Development*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Public Policy*, *Nature Energy*, *Political Analysis*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *Research & Politics*, *Resources Policy*, *Review of International Organizations*, *Review of Policy Research*, *Science*, *World Development*, *World Politics*, Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, Princeton University Press, National Science Foundation, Swiss National Science Foundation.

SPECIALIZED  
TRAINING

*Languages:* English (native), Persian (intermediate), Italian (intermediate)

*Field Work:* Iran (June-July 2009); United Arab Emirates (July 2012); Qatar (August 2012); British Petroleum Archives, Coventry UK (June 2016); Alaska (May 2017, July 2019)

PRIOR  
EMPLOYMENT

ICF International

- Wholesale Power (Electric Utilities) division, Analyst, 2006–07.

*Updated July 2025*