

**Curriculum Vitae**  
**BRUCE EDWARD CAIN**

**Personal:**

Date and Place of Birth      November 28, 1948  
   Boston, Massachusetts

Home Addresses                      6000 Plainview Road  
   Bethesda, Maryland 2087

   57 Peter Coutts Circle  
   Stanford, California, 94305

Work Address                              Bill Lane Center for the American West  
   Jerry Yang & Akiko Yamazaki  
   Environment & Energy Building  
   473 Via Ortega, First Floor  
   Stanford University  
   Stanford, CA 94305-4225

Office Telephone                      650 725 1320

**Education:**

B.A.                                      Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, 1970  
B.Phil.                                      Oxford University, Oxford, England, 1972  
Ph.D.                                      Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1976

**Honors and Awards:**

Summa Cum Laude with High Honors in History, Bowdoin College, 1970  
Rhodes Scholar, Trinity College, Oxford, England, 1970-1972  
Richard F. Fenno Prize, 1988 (co-winner with J.A. Ferejohn and M. Fiorina)  
ASCIT Award for Excellence in Teaching, Caltech 1988  
Elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2000  
Zale Award for Outstanding Achievement in Policy Research and Public Service,  
Stanford University, 2000  
Distinguished Research Mentoring of Undergraduates Award, College of Letters and  
Science, University of California, Berkeley, 2003  
The American Political Science Association and Pi Sigma Alpha (The National  
Political Science Honor Society), award for outstanding teaching in Political  
Science, 200

Public Policy Section, APSA—Excellence in Mentoring Award Citation (Graduate Students), 2018

Roland Volunteer Service Prize, Stanford University, 2019

Dean's Award for Distinguished Teaching in the Humanities and Social Sciences, Stanford, 2018-19

Julian J. Rothbaum Distinguished Lecturer in Representative Government, University of Oklahoma, October, 2019

**Academic Experience:**

The Spencer F. and Cleone P. Eccles Family Director, Bill Lane Center for the American West, Stanford University, 2013-present

Charles Louis Ducommun Professor in the Humanities and Sciences, Stanford University, 2012-present

Senior Fellow, Stanford Woods Institute for the Environment, 2014-

Senior Fellow, Stanford Precourt Institute for Energy, 2018-

Senior Fellow, Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research, 2018-

Fellow, Straus Institute for the Advanced Study of Law and Justice, 2012-13

Heller Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, 2006-2012

Executive Director, UC, Washington Center, 2005-2012

Director, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, California, July, 1999-2007

Acting Director, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, California, 1997-98

Robson Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, California, 1995-2006

Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, California, 1989-2012

Associate Director, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, California, 1989-99

Visiting Professor, University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California, Fall, 1987

Professor of Political Science, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, California, 1986-1989

Associate Professor of Political Science, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, California, 1983-1986

Assistant Professor of Political Science, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, California, 1976-1982

**Government, Media and Consulting Experience:**

Expert Witness, *Pasadena at-large election case*, 1980; *Badham v. Eu*, 1984; *Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, CLC et al. v. FPCC*, 1990; *City of New York et al. v. U.S. Department of Commerce*, 1992; *Smith v. Regents of the University of California et al.*, 1995; *California Democratic Party v. Bill Jones*, 1997; *California Pro-Life Council, Inc. v. Karen Getman et al. and Bill Lockyer*, 2004; *New York State Board of Elections: Neil W. Kelleher, Carol Berman*,

*Helena Moses Donohue, and Evelyn J. Aquila, 2004; Fletcher v Lamone 2012; In the Matter of the 2012 Legislative Redistricting of the State 2012; Harris v Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission, 2012, Peter Lee et al v the City of LA, 2014*

Special Consultant, California Assembly Special Committee on Reapportionment, January-December, 1981 (while on leave); Consultant, part time, 1982

Member, Academic Task Force for Southwest Voter Registration Drive, 1983

Election Commentator, KFWB, 1984; KCBS, 1989, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000; KTVU, 1990, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006; KQED, 1992, KGO-TV 2008, 2010

Consultant, *Los Angeles Times*, 1986-1988

Redistricting Consultant, Los Angeles City Council, 1986; Attorney General of the State of Massachusetts, 1987-88; U.S. Justice Department, 1989; Los Angeles County, 1991; Oakland City Council, 1993; San Diego Citizens Commission on Redistricting, 2001; City and County of San Francisco, 2002; Special Master for three judge panel, Arizona State Legislative Redistricting, 2002; Maryland Attorney General's Office, 2011

Polling Consultant, Fairbank, Canapary and Maullin, 1985-86

Member, Contra Costa Charter Commission, 1997-98

Political Analyst, Mornings on Two, KTVU, 1998-2006, KGO-TV 2007-2013

Advisor, American Law Institute (ALI) Project on Resolution of Election Disputes 2011-12

Monthly Columnist, *The American Interest*, 2017-2020

### **Courses Taught:**

Introduction to American Politics (undergraduate)

Congress (undergraduate and graduate)

American Electoral process (undergraduate and graduate)

Justice and Obligation (undergraduate)

Democratic Theory (undergraduate)

California Politics (undergraduate)

Campaign and Elections (undergraduate)

Ethics and Politics (undergraduate)

Political Regulation (undergraduate and graduate)

Energy and Water/Land Management Sophomore College Classes

Political Analysis for Public Policy (undergraduate and graduate)

Environmental Governance (graduate)

The American West (undergraduate)

### **Professional Activities/Memberships:**

Member, APSA 1976-present

Member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences 2000-present

Member, AFTRA 1996-2013

Editorial Board, American Journal of Political Science, 1985

Editorial Board, Legislative Studies Quarterly, 1989-1991

Editorial Board, Election Law Journal 2005-present

Editorial Board, American Politics Research, 2006-2012  
SSRC Climate Change Working Group, 2017-2019

**University Service:**

• **Caltech**

Upperclass Admissions Committee, 1977-78  
Undergraduate Academic Standards and Honors Committee, 1979-1983  
Health Committee, 1979-1985; Chairman, 1980-1985  
Athletics Committee, 1982-1989; Chairman, 1985-1989  
Faculty Board, 1983-1986  
Steering Committee, 1984-1986  
Nominating Committee, 1984; Chairman, 1985  
Accreditation Committee, 1984  
Advisory Committee on SURF Fellowships, 1984-1989  
Freshman Admissions, 1985; Vice Chairman, 1986-87  
Ad Hoc Committee on Admissions Procedures, Chairman, 1985  
Faculty Advisory Committee for Selection of Caltech President, 1986-87  
Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee, 1986-87  
Vice Chairman of the Faculty Board, 1987-1989  
Administrative Committee on Affirmative Action, Chairman, 1988-89  
Freshman Advisor, 1978-1989  
SURF Advisor, 1980, 1984, 1986-1988

• **University of California at Berkeley**

Academic Freedom Committee, 1990; Chairman, 1991  
Committee on Academic Planning and Resource Allocation, 1992; Chairman, 1993-1995  
Resource Generation Working Group, 1992-93  
Academic Planning Board, 1993-1995  
Business and Administration Services Working Group, Co-Chairman, 1993-1995  
Economics Review Panel, Chairman, 1993  
U.C. Press Editorial Board, 1996-1998  
U.C.T.V., 2007-2011

• **Stanford University**

Executive Committee, Public Policy Program 2013-  
Faculty Steering Committee Member, Haas Center for Public Service 2013-  
Faculty Advisory Committee, American Studies 2016-  
Faculty Senate 2019-  
Chair, Rhodes-Marshall Selection Committee, 2019-  
Committee on Committees--2020

**General Areas Of Interest:**

Fields: American Politics; Democratic Theory; State and Local Government

Topics: Representation in Anglo-American systems; electoral institutions, legislatures, and parties; normative issues related to representation, political reform and regulation

**Grants Awarded:**

National Science Foundation, *Voting Behavior in Contemporary Legislative Elections* (with John A. Ferejohn and Morris P. Fiorina), July, 1978, to July, 1980.

National Science Foundation, *Voting Behavior in Contemporary Legislative Elections* (with John A. Ferejohn and Morris P. Fiorina), August, 1980, to August, 1982.

Seaver Foundation, *Ethnic Minorities in California: The New Coalitional Politics* (with D. Roderick Kiewiet), January, 1984, to December, 1985.

California Policy Seminar (Technical Services Grant), *Improving Data Collection on City Expenditures*, January-August, 1990.

Research Services Grant from Assembly Committee on Elections, *Reapportionment and Constitutional Amendments*, May 1, 1991, to January 31, 1992.

California Policy Seminar, *California Constitutional Reform*, 1993-1995.

State Assembly, *Statewide Database*, 1993-present.

Bay Area Library and Information Systems, *Determinants of Library Referendums*, 1995.

Public Policy Institute of California, *Race Relations and Neighborhood Context in California*, 1997.

Bipartisan Commission, *A Review of the Political Reform Act*, 1999-2000.

California Policy Seminar (Technical Services Grant)-Term Limits, 2001.

Pew Charitable Trusts, Center for Campaign Leadership, 2001-2003.

Public Policy Institute of California, *Adaption to Term Limits: Recent Experiences & New Directions*, 2002-2003.

James Irvine Foundation, "Redistricting Reform in California," 2005.

JEHT Foundation, "State Legislative Redistricting Reforms," 2005

Russell Sage Foundation, "Learning, Civic Engagement: Political Socialization in Mexican-Origin Families with Mixed Citizenship Status," 2006.

California Secretary of State, "Statewide Survey of Poll Workers on Training Needs," 2006.

Woods Institute for the Environment, "Improving Integrated Water Management in California" planning grant, 2015.

Precourt Institute for Energy, Water-energy-food nexus in the face of Climate Change: The Case for California –Baja California Region, 2015

Anonymous Research Gift, Technology and Democracy, 2016

UPS Grant, Transportation Governance, 2016

USAID Mexico Clean Economy 2050, 2017

National Science Foundation (with Wendy Tam Cho), High Performance Computational Standards for Redistricting, 2017

Sustainable Initiative Seed Grant Award, Wildfire Management Policy, 2020

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **Books and Monographs:**

*The Reapportionment Puzzle*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

*The Personal Vote* (with John A. Ferejohn and Morris P. Fiorina) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.

*Congressional Redistricting* (with David Butler), New York: Macmillan, 1992.

*Developments in American Politics*, co-edited with Gillian Peele and Christopher Bailey. Houndmills: Macmillan, June, 1992.

*Developments in American Politics II*, co-edited with Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey, and B. Guy Peters. Houndmills: Macmillan, 1994.

*Constitutional Reform in California: Making State Government More Effective and Responsive*, co-edited with Roger Noll. Berkeley: IGS Press, 1995.

*Governing California: Politics, Government and Public Policy in the Golden State*, co-edited with Gerald Lubenow. Berkeley: IGS Press, 1997.

*Developments in American Politics III*, co-edited with Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey and B. Guy Peters. Houndmills: Macmillan, 1998.

*Racial and Ethnic Politics in California*, Vol. II, co-edited with Michael Preston and Sandra Bass. Berkeley: IGS Press, 1998.

*Ethnic Context, Race Relations and California Politics*, with Jack Citrin, and Cara Wong, San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California, 2000.

*Voting at the Political Fault Line: California's Experiment with the Blanket Primary*, co-edited with Elisabeth R. Gerber, The University of California Press, 2002.

*Developments in American Politics IV*, co-edited with Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey, and B. Guy Peters, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

*Democracy Transformed?: Expanding Political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, co-edited with Russ Dalton and Susan Scarrow, Oxford University Press, 2003.

*The Season of Our Discontent: Voters' Views on Improving California Elections*, Mark Baldassare, Bruce E. Cain, D. E. Apollonio, and Jonathan Cohen, Public Policy Institute of California, monograph, 2004.

*Adapting to Term Limits*, Bruce E. Cain, Thad Kousser, Public Policy Institute of California Monograph, 2004.

*Party Lines: Competition, Partisanship and Congressional Redistricting*, Thomas Mann, Bruce E. Cain, eds., Washington, DC, Brookings Institution, 2005.

*Developments in American Politics V*, co-edited with Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey, B. Guy Peters, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

*Clicker Politics: Essays on the California Recall*, Shaun Bowler and Bruce E. Cain, eds., New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006.

*Institutional Change in American Politics: The Case for Term Limits*, Karl T. Kurtz, Bruce E. Cain, Richard G. Niemi, eds., Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007.

*Democracy in the States: Experiments in Election Reform*, co-edited with Todd Donovan and Caroline Tolbert, Washington D.C: Brookings Press, 2008.

*Racial and Ethnic Politics in California: Continuity and Change*, Volume 3, co-edited with Sandra Bass, Berkeley: Berkeley Public Policy Press, 2008.

*Developments in American Politics VI*, co-edited with Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey, B. Guy Peters, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

*Developments in American Politics VII*, co-edited with Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey, B. Guy Peters, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

*Democracy More or Less: America's Political Reform Quandary*, Cambridge University Press, 2015.

*Developments in American Politics VIII*, co-edited with Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey, B. Guy Peters, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

#### **Articles and Chapters:**

"Dynamic and Static Components of Political Support in Great Britain," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 22, No. 4, November, 1978.

"Strategic Voting in Great Britain," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 22, No. 3, August, 1978.

"Modes of Rationality and Irrationality," (with W. T. Jones), *Philosophical Studies*, November, 1979.

"The House is Not a Home: MPs and Their Constituencies," (with John A. Ferejohn and Morris P. Fiorina), *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, November, 1979.

- “Challenges and Responses in British Party Politics,” *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 3, April, 1980.
- “A Comparison of Party Identification in Great Britain and the United States,” (with John A. Ferejohn), *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 1, April, 1981.
- “Assessing Constituency Involvement: The Hemel Hempstead Experience,” (with David B. Ritchie), *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Winter, 1982.
- “Blessed Be the Tie that Unbinds: Constituency Pressures and National Party Forces in Great Britain,” *Political Studies*, Vol. 31, 1983.
- “The Constituency Component: A Comparison of Service in Great Britain and the United States,” (with John A. Ferejohn and Morris P. Fiorina), *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1, April, 1983.
- “The Constituency Service Basis of the Personal Vote for U.S. Representatives and British MPs,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 78, 1984, pp. 110-125; reprinted in *Controversies in American Voting Behavior*, Rev. Edition (with John A. Ferejohn and Morris P. Fiorina), Richard Niemi and Herbert Weisberg, eds. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1984.
- “Ethnicity and Electoral Choice: Mexican-American Voting Behavior in the California 30th Congressional District,” *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 65, No. 2, June, 1984; reprinted in *The Mexican-American Experience: An Interdisciplinary Anthology* (with D. Roderick Kiewiet), de la Garza et al., eds., Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1985.
- “Assessing the Partisan Effects of Redistricting,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 79, No. 2, June, 1985, pp. 320-333.
- “The Efficacy of Registration Drives,” (with Ken McCue), *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 47, No. 4, November, 1985.
- “Simple Versus Complex Criteria for Partisan Gerrymandering,” *UCLA Law Review*, Vol. 33, October, 1985.
- “A Comparison of British and American Redistricting,” (with David Butler), *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1985, pp. 197-213.
- “Constituency Service in the United States and Great Britain,” (with John Ferejohn and Morris Fiorina) in *Congress Reconsidered*, 3rd Edition, Dodd and Oppenheimer, eds., Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1985.
- “Implementing Representation: A Framework and Comparison,” (with W. T. Jones) in *Readings in Social and Political Philosophy*, Robert Stewart, ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.



- “California's Rainbow Coalition,” (with D. Roderick Kiewiet), *Public Opinion*, February/March, 1986, pp. 50-52.
- “Predicting Partisan Congressional Redistricting Plans: The 'Jupiter' Effect,” (with Janet Campagna), *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 2, May, 1987, pp. 265-274.
- “Redistribution,” in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Institutions*, Vernon Bogdanor, ed., Oxford: Blackwell, 1987.
- “Latinos and the 1984 Election: A Comparative Perspective,” (with D. Roderick Kiewiet) in *Ignored Voices*, Rudy O. de la Garza, ed., Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press and CMAS, 1987.
- “Constituency Service and Electoral Independence: An Anglo-American Comparison,” in *International Yearbook for Studies of Leaders and Leadership*, Vol. 3, Harold Clarke and Moshe Czudnowski, eds., DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1987.
- “Political Participation, Race and Ethnicity,” (with Carole Uhlaner and D. Roderick Kiewiet), *Political Behavior*, Vol. II, August, 1989, pp. 195-231.
- “Strategy and Choice in the 1988 Presidential Primaries,” (with Douglas Rivers), *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1989, pp. 23-48.
- “Madison's Theory of Representation,” (with W. T. Jones) in *The Federalist Papers and The New Institutionalism*, B. Grofman and D. Wittman, eds., New York: Agathon Press, 1989.
- “British MPs in Their Constituencies,” (with J. Vincent Buck), *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Vol. XV, February, 1990, pp. 127-144.
- “Perspectives on *Davis v. Bandemer*: Views of the Practitioner, Theorist and Reformer,” in *Toward Fair and Effective Representation: Political Gerrymandering and the Courts*, B. Grofman, ed., New York: Agathon Press, 1990.
- “Redistricting: Public Policy or Just Politics” in *California Policy Choices*, John Kirlin, ed., Los Angeles: University of Southern California School of Public Administration, 1990.
- “The Evolution of Partisanship Among Immigrants,” (with Carole Uhlaner and D. Roderick Kiewiet), *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 35, No. 2, May, 1991, pp. 390-422.

- “The Contemporary Context of Racial and Ethnic Politics in California,” in *Racial and Ethnic Politics in California*, Byran O. Jackson and Michael B. Preston, eds., Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies Press, 1991.
- “Lessons from the Inside,” in *California Votes: The 1990 Governor's Race*, G. Lubenow, ed. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies Press, 1991.
- “Voting Rights and Democratic Theory: Toward a Color-Blind Society?,” in *Controversies in Minority Voting*, Bernard Grofman and Chandler Davidson, eds., Washington: Brookings, 1992. Reprinted in *The Brookings Review*, Winter, 1991-92.
- “The American Electoral System,” in *Developments in American Politics*, Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey and Bruce Cain, eds., Houndmills: Macmillan, 1992.
- “Coalitional Prospects in a Multi-Racial Society: African-American Attitudes Towards Other Minority Groups,” (with Elisabeth Gerber and Byran Jackson), *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 2, June, 1994, pp. 277-294.
- “Developments in Racial and Ethnic Politics,” in *Developments in American Politics II*, co-edited with Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey, and B. Guy Peters, eds., Houndmills: Macmillan, 1994.
- “Legislative Redistricting,” in *Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System*, Joel H. Silbey et al., eds., New York: Scribner, 1994.
- “Congressional Redistricting,” in *The Encyclopedia of the United States Congress*, Donald C. Bacon, Roger H. Davidson and Morton Keller, eds., New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995.
- “Constitutional Change: Is It Too Easy To Amend Our State Constitution?,” (with Sara Ferejohn, Margarita Najjar, and Mary Walther) in *Constitutional Reform in California: Making State Government More Effective and Responsive*, Berkeley: IGS Press, 1995.
- “Creating an Accountable Legislature: The Parliamentary Option for California Government,” (with Nathaniel Persily) in *Constitutional Reform in California: Making State Government More Effective and Responsive*, Berkeley, IGS Press, 1995.
- “Introduction,” *Constitutional Reform in California: Making State Government More Effective and Responsive*, Berkeley: IGS Press, 1995.
- “Principles of State Constitutional Design,” (with Roger Noll) in *Constitutional Reform in California: Making State Government More Effective and Responsive*, Berkeley: IGS Press, 1995. Reprinted in part in *Madison Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Fall, 1997, pp. 7-11.

- “Moralism and Realism in Campaign Finance Reform,” *The Legal Forum*, Vol. 1995, Spring, 1996, pp. 111-140.
- “The Varying Impact of Legislative Term Limits,” in *Legislative Term Limits: Public Choice Perspectives*, Bernard Grofman, ed., Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1996.
- “Term Limits and Local Governments in California,” in *Legislative Term Limits: Public Choice Perspectives*, Bernard Grofman, ed. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1996.
- “Foreword,” in *Ethnic Ironies: Latino Politics in the 1992 Elections*, Rodolfo de la Garza and Luis DeSipio, eds., Boulder: Westview Press, 1996.
- “Epilogue: Seeking Consensus Among Conflicting Electorates,” in *Governing California: Politics, Government and Public Policy in the Golden State*, Gerald Lubenow and Bruce Cain, eds., Berkeley: IGS Press, 1997.
- “La Question Raciale et al Politique des Portis Aux Élections Présidentielles de 1996,” *Hérodote*, (with Karin Mac Donald) No. 85, 2 Trimestre, 1997, pp. 93-108.
- “The Politicization of Race and Ethnicity in California,” in *Racial and Ethnic Politics in California*, Vol. II, Michael Preston, Bruce Cain, and Sandra Bass, eds., Berkeley: IGS Press, 1998.
- “Voting Rights Mismatch: The Challenge of Applying the Voting Rights Act to Other Minorities,” (with Ken Miller), in *Voting Rights and Redistricting in the United States*, Mark E. Rush, ed., Westport: Greenwood Publishing, Inc. 1998.
- “Nativism, Partisanship and Immigration: An Analysis of Prop 187,” □(with Karin Mac Donald), in *Racial and Ethnic Politics in California II*, Michael Preston, Bruce E. Cain and Sandra Bass, eds., Berkeley: IGS Press, 1998.
- “Developments in Electoral Politics,” (with Allison Wegner), in *Developments in American Politics III*, Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey, Bruce Cain, eds., Houndmills: Macmillan, 1998.
- “Race and Party Politics in the 1996 Presidential Election,” (with Karin Mac Donald) in *Racial and Ethnic Politics in California II*, Michael Preston, Bruce E. Cain, and Sandra Bass, eds., Berkeley: IGS Press, 1998.
- “Term Limits,” (with Marc A. Levin), *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1999, 2, pp.163-188.
- “Equity and Efficacy in the Enforcement of Campaign Finance Law,” (with Todd Lochner), *Texas Law Review*, June 1999, Vol 77:7, pp. 1891-1942.

- “Election Law as a Field: A Political Scientist’s Perspective,” *Loyola Law Review*, June, 1999, Vol. 32, No. 4.
- “Garrett’s Temptation,” *University of Virginia Law Review*, November, 1999, Vol. 85, No. 8, pp 1589-1603.
- “Positive Discrimination,” in *The International Encyclopedia of Elections*, Washington: CQ Press, 2000.
- “Legislative Redistricting and African-American Interests: New Facts and Conventional Strategies,” in *Immigration and Race*, Gerald Jaynes, ed., New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- “The Enforcement Blues: Formal and Informal Sanctions for Campaign Finance Violations,” with Todd Lochner, *Administrative Law Review*, Vol. 52, No. 2, Spring, 2000.
- “The Legal Status of Political Parties: A Reassessment of Competing Paradigms,” with Nate Persily, *Columbia Law Review*, April, 2000.
- “Asian-Americans as the Median Voters: An Exploration of Attitudes and Initiative Vote Patterns,” with Wendy Tam Cho, in Gordon Chang, ed., *Asian-Americans and Politics: An Exploration*, Stanford University Press, 2001.
- “The Populist Legacy,” with Ken Miller in *Dangerous Democracy?: The Battle Over Ballot Initiatives in America*, Larry J. Sabato, Howard R. Ernst, and Bruce A. Larson, eds., Lanham: Roman & Littlefield, 2001.
- “Introduction: Exploring the Last Taboo of US Politics,” in *Fair and Effective Representation: Debating Electoral Reform and Minority Rights*, ed., Mark Rush, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.
- “Party Autonomy and Two Party Electoral Competition,” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, Vol. 149, No. 3, January, 2001.
- “The Internet in the (Dis)Service of Democracy,” *Loyola Law Review*, Volume 34, Issue 3, June, 2001.
- “Beyond the Recounts,” (Special Issue: “Elections 2000: La Constitution Dans Les Urnes”), *Revue Francaise D’Etudes Americaines* #80, October, 2001.
- “Citizens in the Federal System: Locating Accountability in a Dispersed System,” *Nation, Federalism and Democracy: the EU, Italy and the American Federal Experience*, ed. Sergio Fabbrini, Bologna: Editrice Compositori, 2001.
- “Explorations at the Fault Line: California’s Blanket Primary Experiment,” in *Voting at the Political Fault Line: California’s Experiment With the Blanket Primary*,

Bruce E. Cain and Elisabeth R. Gerber, eds., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

“Conclusion,” (with Elisabeth R. Gerber), in *Voting at the Political Fault Line: California’s Experiment With the Blanket Primary*, Bruce E. Cain and Elisabeth R. Gerber, eds., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

“Strategies and Rules: Lessons from the 2000 Presidential Primary,” with Megan Mullin, *Voting at the Political Fault Line: California’s Experiment With the Blanket Primary*, Bruce E. Cain and Elisabeth R. Gerber, eds., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

“The U. S. in Evolution,” *Developments in American Politics, IV*, co-edited with Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey, and B. Guy Peters, eds., Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002.

“Political Reform,” *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Oxford: Elsevier Science Limited, 2002.

“Competing for Attention and Votes: The Role of State Parties in Setting Presidential Nomination Rules,” (with Megan Mullin) in *The Parties Respond: Changes in American Parties and Campaigns*, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition, L. Sandy Maisel, ed., Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002.

“Mapmaking at the Grassroots: The Legal and Political Issues of Local Redistricting,” with David A. Hopkins, *Election Law Journal*, vol.1, no. 4 (2002), pp. 515-530.

“Toward More Open Democracies: The Expansion of Freedom of Information Laws,” with Patrick Egan and Sergio Fabrinni, in *Democracy Transformed?: Expanding Political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, (op. cit.), 2003.

“New Forms of Democracy? Reform and Transformation of Democratic Institutions,” with Russell J. Dalton and Susan E. Scarrow, in *Democracy Transformed?: Expanding Political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, pp 1-20, (op. cit.), 2003.

“Cheap Talk Citizenship: The Democratic Implications of *Voting with Dollars*,” *University of Richmond Law Review*, May 2003, Volume 37, Number 4, pp 959-978.

“Advanced Democracies and the New Politics,”with Russell J. Dalton and Susan Scarrow, *Journal of Democracy*, January, 2004, Volume 15, Number 1, pp 124-138.

“La trasparenza, la advocacy democratica e l’amministrazione dello stato,” *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, Numero 1, Aprile, 2004, pp 5-22.

- “Reasoning to Desired Outcomes: *Making Sense of McConnell v. FEC*,” *Election Law Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Spring, 2004, pp 217-221.
- “Is the Democratic Deficit a Deficiency: The Case of Immigration Policy in the US and EU,” in *On Restructuring Territoriality: Europe and North America*, Chris Ansell and Giuseppe Di Palma, eds., Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp 188-204.
- “City Caesars? Institutional Structure and Mayoral Success in Three California Cities,” with Megan Mullin and Gillian Peele, *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol. 40, No. 1, September, 2004, pp 19-43.
- “California: Low-Tech Solutions Meet High-Tech Possibilities,” with Karin Mac Donald, in *Election Reform*, Daniel J. Palazzolo and James W. Ceaser, eds., Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005.
- “Citizens in American Federalism: Locating Accountability in a Dispersed System,” *Democracy and Federalism in the European Union and the United States*, Sergio Fabbrini, ed., New York: Routledge, 2005, pp 104-116.
- “An Ethical Path to Reform: *Just Elections Considered*,” *Election Law Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 2005, pp 134-138.
- “Constitutional Revision in California,” in *State Constitutions for the 21st Century*, v. 1, G. Alan Tarr, ed., State University of New York Press, 2006.
- “From Equality to Fairness: The Path of Political Reform since *Baker v. Carr*,” with Karin Mac Donald, Michael P. McDonald, in *Party Lines: Competition, Partisanship and Congressional Redistricting*, Bruce E. Cain, Thomas Mann, eds., Washington, DC, Brookings Institution, 2005.
- “America after the 2004 Elections: Bold Policies and Political Quicksand,” Sergio Fabbrini, ed., *The United States Contested. American Unilateralism and European Discontent*, London: Routledge, 2006.
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