

Gary W. Cox

2023

CURRICULUM VITAE

Education

- B.S. California Institute of Technology, 1978 (History — with honors).
Ph.D. California Institute of Technology, 1982 (Social Science).

Dissertation

Title: Party and Constituency in Victorian Britain
Primary Advisors: Bruce E. Cain and J. Morgan Kousser

Employment

- 1982-84 Assistant Professor, Department of Government, University of Texas at Austin
1984-85 Visiting Assistant Professor, Dept of Political Science, Washington U. in St. Louis
1985-86 Visiting Associate Professor of Political Economy, School of Business, Washington
U. in St. Louis
1986-87 Associate Professor, Department of Government, University of Texas at Austin
1987-90 Associate Professor, Dept of Political Science, UCSD
1990-98 Professor, Dept of Political Science, UCSD
1998-2010 Distinguished Professor, Dept of Political Science, UCSD
2004-08 Chair, Dept of Political Science, UCSD
2010-12 Professor, Dept of Political Science, Stanford University
2012- William Bennett Munro Professor of Political Science, Stanford University

Honors and awards

- 1983 Samuel H. Beer Dissertation Prize.
1993 Richard F. Fenno Prize (from Section on Legislative Studies, APSA).
Fellow, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, 1995-96.
Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1996-.
1997 CQ Press Award (from Section on Legislative Studies, APSA).
1998 Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award (APSA).
1998 Riker Book Award (from Political Economy Section, APSA).
1998 Gregory M. Luebbert Book Prize (from Section on Comparative Politics, APSA).
2003 George H. Hallett Award (from Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, APSA).
Runner-up for Gregory M. Luebbert Prize for best paper published 2001-2 in comparative
politics (from Section on Comparative Politics, APSA), 2003.
2004 William H. Riker Prize (from University of Rochester).
2004 UCSD Chancellor's Associates Faculty Excellence Award for Research.
Fellow, National Academy of Sciences, 2005-.
Vice President, American Political Science Association, 2005-07.
2005 *SPPQ* Award, given for the best paper on state politics given at any professional
conference (by State Politics and Policy Section, APSA).
2006 Leon D. Epstein Outstanding Book Award (from Political Organizations and Parties
Section, APSA).
2007 George H. Hallett Award (from Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, APSA).

2013 Samuel Eldersveld Career Achievement Award (from Section on Political Organizations and Parties, APSA).
 2017 Riker Book Award (from Political Economy Section, APSA).
 2021 Inaugural McKelvey-Banks lecture at Caltech.
 2022 Jack Walker Best Article Award for "Seniority-based Nominations and Political Careers".

Research grants

University of Texas University Research Institute Grants, 1982, 1983.

National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (SES-8306032, \$17,955, "Electoral Behavior in Double-Member Districts") 1983-4.

National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (SES-8811022, \$201,602, "Formal Models of Committee Behavior"), 1988-90, with Mathew D. McCubbins.

National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (SES-9022882, \$69,993, "Formal Models of Parties and Committees"), 1990-92, with Mathew D. McCubbins. Plus an REU supplement of \$5,000.

University of California, San Diego, COR Grants: 1988, 1990, 1995, 1996, 1999.

National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (SES-9208753, \$60,000, "Refining Duverger's Law Using District Level Theory and Data"), 1992-93, with Matthew Soberg Shugart.

National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (SBR-9422874, \$20,000, "Lijphart Elections Archive"), 1995-6, with Matthew Soberg Shugart.

National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (SBER-9631784, \$8,000), 1996-97. David Samuels' dissertation training grant.

National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (SBR-9730547, \$77,678, "Strategic Redistricting and its Political Consequences"), 1998-99.

National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (SES-9905224, \$175,855, "Agenda Power in Democratic Legislatures"), 1999-2001, with Mathew D. McCubbins.

National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (SES-0418519, \$13,404), 2004-05. Emily Beaulieu's dissertation training grant.

National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (SES-0418483, \$12,000), 2004-05. Henry Kim's dissertation training grant.

National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (SES-0518192, \$218,128, "The Logic of Gamson's Law: Pre-election Coalitions and Portfolio Distributions."), 2005-2007.

National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (SES-0749645, \$126,200, "Collaborative Research on How Nominators Affect Government Formation."), 2008-2009.

National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (SES-0819491, \$12,000), 2008-09. William Terry's dissertation training grant.

Norwegian Research Council ("*The dynamics of political selection*", \$1,380,000), August 2021 - July 2026.

Danish Research Council ("Anatomy of Empire", 6.2 million DKK), September 2022 – September 2027.

Articles

1981. "Turnout and Rural Corruption: New York as a Test Case." *American Journal of Political Science* 25:646-63. [Co-author: J. Morgan Kousser]
1982. "Log-Linear Analysis of Contingency Tables: An Introduction for Historians With an Application to Thernstrom on the 'Floating Proletariat.'" *Historical Methods* 15(Fall):152-169. [Co-authors: J. Morgan Kousser and David W. Galenson]
1984. "A Ham Sandwich Theorem for General Measures." *Social Choice and Welfare* 1(May):75-83. [Co-author: Richard D. McKelvey]
1984. "The Development of Party Voting in England, 1832-1918." *Historical Social Research* 41(July):2-37. [8306032]
1984. "An Expected Utility Model of Electoral Competition." *Quality and Quantity* 18(August):337-349.
1984. "Non-Collegial Simple Games and the Nowhere Denseness of the Set of Preference Profiles Having a Core." *Social Choice and Welfare* 1(September):159-164.
1984. "Strategic Electoral Choice in Multi-Member Districts: Approval Voting in Practice?" *American Journal of Political Science* 28(November):722-738. [8306032]
1984. "Policy Choice as an Electoral Investment." *Social Choice and Welfare* 1:231-242. [Co-authors: Mathew D. McCubbins and Terry Sullivan]
1984. "Electoral Equilibrium in Double-Member Districts." *Public Choice* 44:443-451.
1985. "Electoral Equilibrium Under Approval Voting." *American Journal of Political Science* 29(February):112-118.
1986. "The Development of a Party-Oriented Electorate in England, 1832-1918." *British Journal of Political Science* 16(April):187-216. [8306032]
1986. "Electoral Politics as a Redistributive Game." *Journal of Politics* 48(May):370-389. [Co-author: Mathew D. McCubbins]
1987. "Electoral Equilibria Under Alternative Voting Institutions." *American Journal of Political Science* 31(February):82-108.
1987. "The Uncovered Set and the Core." *American Journal of Political Science* 31(May):408-422.

1989. "Undominated Candidate Strategies Under Alternative Voting Rules." *Mathematical Modelling* 12:451-60.
1990. "Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems." *American Journal of Political Science* 34:903-935. [8811022]
1991. "SNTV and d'Hondt are 'Equivalent'." *Electoral Studies* 10:118-32. [8811022]
1991. "On the Decline of Party Voting in Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 16:547-70. [8811022]
1992. "Suffrage Expansion and Legislative Behavior in Nineteenth Century Britain." *Social Science History* 16:539-60. [Co-author: James Ingram] [8811022]
1993. "The Electoral Fortunes of Legislative Factions in Japan." *American Political Science Review* 87:577-89. [Co-author: Frances Rosenbluth] [9022882]
1993. "The Development of Collective Responsibility in the U.K." *Parliamentary History* 13: 32-47. Reprinted in *Computing Parliamentary History: George III to Victoria*, ed. John A. Phillips. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994.
1993. "The Increasing Advantage of Incumbency in the American States." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 18:495-514. [Co-author: Scott Morgenstern] [9208753]
1994. "A Note on Crime and Punishment." *Public Choice* 78:115-124. [9022882]
1994. "Reducing Nomination Errors: Factional Competition and Party Strategy in Japan." *Electoral Studies* 13:4-16. [Co-author: Frances Rosenbluth] [9208753]
1994. "Bonding, Structure and the Stability of Political Parties: Party Government in the House." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 19(May):215-231. [Co-author: Mathew D. McCubbins] [9022882]
Reprinted in Shepsle, Kenneth and Weingast, eds., *Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995.
1994. "Strategic Voting Equilibria Under the Single Non-Transferable Vote." *American Political Science Review* 88:608-621. [9208753]
1995. "The Incumbency Advantage in Multi-Member Districts: Evidence from the U.S. States," with Scott Morgenstern, *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 20:329-350. [9208753]
1995. "Anatomy of a Split: The Liberal Democrats of Japan." *Electoral Studies* 14:355-76. [Co-author: Frances Rosenbluth] [9208753]
1995. "In the Absence of Vote Pooling: Nomination and Vote Allocation Errors in Colombia." *Electoral Studies* 14:441-460. [Co-author: Matthew S. Shugart] [9208753]

1996. "Why Did the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections Grow?" *American Journal of Political Science* 40:478-97. [Co-author: Jonathan Katz]
1996. "Is the Single Non-Transferable Vote Superproportional? Evidence from Japan and Taiwan." *American Journal of Political Science* 40:740-755.
1996. "Strategic Voting Under Proportional Representation." *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization* 12(October):299-324. [Co-author: Matthew S. Shugart]
1997. "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 41:149-174. [Co-author: Octavio Amorim Neto]. Reprinted 2005. "Instituciones electorales, estructura de cleavages y numero de partidos." In J. R. Montero and I. Lago, eds. *Sistemas Electorales*. Zona Abierta.
1997. "Toward a Theory of Legislative Rules Changes: Assessing Schickler and Rich's Evidence." *American Journal of Political Science* 41:1340-1375. [Co-author: Mathew D. McCubbins]
1998. "The Cost of Intraparty Competition: The Single, Nontransferable Vote and Money Politics in Japan." *Comparative Political Studies* 31:267-91. [Co-author: Michael F. Thies]
1998. "Mobilization, Social Networks and Turnout: Evidence From Japan." *World Politics* 50:447-474. [Co-authors: Frances Rosenbluth and Michael F. Thies]
1999. "The Empirical Content of Rational Choice Theory: A Reply to Green and Shapiro." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 11(April):147-169.
1999. "Electoral Reform and the Fate of Factions: The Case of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party." *British Journal of Political Science* 29(1):33-56. [Co-authors: Frances M. Rosenbluth and Michael F. Thies]
1999. "How Much is Majority Status in the U.S. Congress Worth?" *American Political Science Review* 93(June):299-310. [Co-author: Eric Magar]
1999. "The Reapportionment Revolution and Bias in U.S. Congressional Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 43(July):812-41. [Co-author: Jonathan N. Katz] [9730547]
1999. "Electoral Rules and Electoral Coordination." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2:145-161.
1999. "Electoral Rules and the Calculus of Mobilization." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 24:387-420.
2000. "Electoral Rules, Career Ambitions, and Party Structure: Conservative Factions in Japan's Upper and Lower Houses." *American Journal of Political Science* 44:115-122. [Co-authors: Frances Rosenbluth and Michael F. Thies]

2000. "How Much Does Money Matter? 'Buying' Votes in Japan, 1967-1990." *Comparative Political Studies* 33:37-57. [Co-author: Michael F. Thies]
2000. "On the Effects of Legislative Rules." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25:169-192.
2000. "Agenda Power in the Japanese House of Representatives." *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 1:1-22. [Co-authors: Mikitaka Masuyama and Mathew D. McCubbins] Reprinted in 2008. *Politics of Modern Japan: Critical Concepts in the Modern Politics of Asia*, ed. Christopher Hood. London: Routledge.
2001. "Latin America's Reactive Assemblies and Proactive Presidents." *Comparative Politics* 33(2):171-190. [Co-author: Scott Morgenstern] [Also appeared as 2001. "Legislaturas reactivas y presidentes proactivos en América Latina." *Desarrollo Económico* 41 (163):373-94.] [Also appeared as 2002. "Epilogue: Latin America's Reactive Assemblies and Proactive Presidents." In Scott Morgenstern and Benito Nacif, eds. *Legislative Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 446-68.] [Runner-up for Gregory M. Luebbert Prize for best paper published 2001-2 in comparative politics (from Section on Comparative Politics, APSA), 2003]
2001. "Agenda Setting in the U.S. House: A Majority-Party Monopoly?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 26(2):185-210.
2002. "On Measuring Partisanship in Roll Call Voting: The U.S. House of Representatives, 1877-1999." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(3):477-89. [Co-author: Keith Poole.]
2003. "Agenda Power in Brazil's Câmara dos Deputados, 1989 to 1998." *World Politics* 55 (July) 550-78. [Co-authors: Octavio Amorim Neto and Mathew D. McCubbins]
2006. "How parties create electoral democracy, chapter 2." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31:153-174. [Co-authors: Royce Carroll and Mónica Pachón]
2006. "Agenda Control in the Bundestag, 1980-2002." *German Politics* 15(1):27-48. [Co-authors: William Chandler and Mathew McCubbins]
2006. "How electoral reform might affect the number of political parties in The Netherlands." *Acta Politica* 41(2):133-46.
2007. "Gerrymandering roll calls in Congress, 1879-2000." *American Journal of Political Science* 51:108-119. [Co-author: Jonathan N. Katz]
2007. "The Logic of Gamson's Law." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(2):300-313. [Co-author: Royce Carroll]
2008. "Agenda power in the Italian parliament, 1988-2000." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 33(2):171-198. [Co-authors: Will Heller and Mat McCubbins]

2008. "Legislative productivity in the 93rd-105th Congresses." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 33(4): 603-618. [co-author: William Terry]
2010. "Party Power or Preferences? Quasi-Experimental Evidence from American State Legislatures." *Journal of Politics* 72: 799-811. [co-authors: Thad Kousser and Mat McCubbins].
2010. "Agenda Control in the Israeli Knesset during Ariel Sharon's Second Government." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 16(2):251-67. [co-authors: Osnat Akirav and Mat McCubbins].
2011. "War, Moral Hazard and Ministerial Responsibility: England after the Glorious Revolution." *Journal of Economic History* 71(1):133-161.
2012. "Was the Glorious Revolution a Constitutional Watershed?" *Journal of Economic History*. 72(3):567-600.
2012. "Sovereign debt and regime type: Re-considering the democratic advantage." *International Organization* 66(4):709-738 [co-authors: Emily Beaulieu and Sebastian Saiegh]
2012. "Shadowing Ministers: Monitoring Partners in Coalition Governments." *Comparative Political Studies* 45(2):220-236. [co-author: Royce Carroll]
2015. "Electoral rules, mobilization and turnout." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18:49-68.
2015. "Marketing sovereign promises: The English model." *Journal of Economic History* 75(1):190-218.
2016. "The Contraction Effect: How Proportional Representation Affects Mobilization and Turnout." *Journal of Politics* 74(4):1249-1263. [co-authors: Jon Fiva and Dan Smith]
2017. "Political institutions, economic liberty and the great divergence." *Journal of Economic History* 77(3):724-755.
2018. "Executive constraint, political stability and economic growth." *Comparative Political Studies* 51(3):279 – 303. [co-author = Barry R. Weingast]
2018. "Ideological extremists in the U.S. Congress: Out of step but still in office." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 13(2):207-236. [co-author = Adam Bonica]
2018. "Executive constraint and sovereign debt: Quasi-experimental evidence from Argentina during the Baring crisis." *Comparative Political Studies* 51(11):1504–1525. [co-author = Sebastian Saiegh]
2018. "The formateur's bonus in European constitutional monarchies, 1901-1999." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 43(4):681-703. [co-author = Osnat Akirav]

2019. "Parties, legislators and the origins of proportional representation." *Comparative Political Studies* 52(1):102–133. [co-authors = Jon H. Fiva and Daniel M. Smith]
2019. "The violence trap: A political-economic approach to the problems of development." *Journal of Public Finance and Public Choice* 34(1):3-19. [co-authors Douglass C. North and Barry R. Weingast]
2019. "Measuring the competitiveness of elections." *Political Analysis* [co-authors Jon Fiva and Dan Smith] doi:10.1017/pan.2019.28
2020. "Patent disclosure and England's early Industrial Revolution." *European Review of Economic History* 24(3): 447–467.
2020. "British state development after the Glorious Revolution." *European Review of Economic History* 24(1):24–45.
2020. "Seniority-based Nominations and Political Careers." *American Political Science Review* 115(1):231-251. [co-authors = Ali Cirone and Jon Fiva].
2020. "The Budgetary Origins of Fiscal-Military Prowess." *Journal of Politics* 83(3):851-866. <https://doi.org/10.1086/711130> [co-author = Mark Dincecco].
2020. "Political Fragmentation, Rural-to-Urban Migration and Urban Growth Patterns in Western Eurasia, 800-1800." *European Review of Economic History* 25:203-222. [co-author = Valentín Figueroa].
2021. "Non-unitary parties, government formation and Gamson's Law." *American Political Science Review* 115(3):917-930.
2021. "Moral Hazard in Electoral Teams: List Rank and Campaign Effort" *Journal of Public Economics* <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2021.104457> [co-authors = Jon Fiva, Dan Smith and Rune Sorensen].
2022. "Suffrage Reform and Financial Volatility: Reconsidering the Great Reform Act." *Journal of Historical Political Economy* 2(3):415-447. [co-author = Sebastian Saiegh].
2023. "The emergence of party-based political careers in the UK, 1801-1918." *Journal of Politics* 85(1):178-191 [co-author = Tobias Nowacki].
2023. "The Political Economy of Suffrage Reform: The Great Reform Act of 1832", *Journal of Historical Political Economy* 3(1):65-93. [co-authors = Adriane Fresh and Sebastian Saiegh]
2023. "Window of Opportunity: War and the Origins of Parliament." *British Journal of Political Science*. 2023:1-17. doi:10.1017/S0007123423000212 [co-authors = Mark Dincecco and Max Onorato]

2024. "Party and Policy in Lineland: A Theory of Conditional Party Cartels." *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy* 4(4):479-495. (with John Aldrich, Mat McCubbins, and David Rohde)
2024. "Comparing responsible party government in the US and UK." *Journal of Politics* 86(1):67-78.
- Forthcoming. "Warfare, Fiscal Gridlock, and State Formation during Europe's Military Revolution" with Mark Dincecco and Max Onorato. *Journal of Politics*.
- Forthcoming. "Bound by Borders: Voter Mobilization through Social Networks." With Jon Fiva and Max King. *British Journal of Political Science*.

Notes

1984. "Universalism and Allocative Decision-Making in the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors." *Journal of Politics*, 46(May):546-555. [Co-author: Tim Tutt]
1988. "Closeness and Turnout: A Methodological Note." *Journal of Politics* 50(August):768-775.
1989. "Closeness, Expenditure, Turnout: The 1982 U.S. House Elections." *American Political Science Review* 83 (March):217-32. [Co-author: Michael C. Munger]
1991. "Comment on Gallagher's 'Proportionality, Disproportionality and Electoral Systems'." *Electoral Studies* 10:348-52. [Co-author: Matthew Soberg Shugart] [9022882]
1992. "The Origin of Whip Votes in the House of Commons." *Parliamentary History* 11, pt. 2:278-85. [8811022]
1994. "Seat Bonuses Under the Single Non-Transferable Vote System: Evidence from Japan and Taiwan." *Comparative Politics* 26:221-236. [Co-author: Emerson Niou] [9208753]
Reprinted in Bernard Grofman, Sung-Chull Lee, Edwin Winckler, and Brian Woodal, eds., *Elections in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan Under the Single Non-Transferable Vote: The Comparative Study of An Embedded Institution* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.)
1996. "Factional Competition for the Party Endorsement: The Case of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party." *British Journal of Political Science* 26:259-297. [Co-author: Frances Rosenbluth]. Reprinted in *Critical Readings on The Liberal Democratic Party*, ed. Robert Pekkanen. Leiden: Brill.
1997. "The Identification of Government Whips in the House of Commons, 1830-1905." *Parliamentary History* 16:339-58. [First author = Sir John Sainty]

1999. "A Comment on Browne and Patterson's 'An Empirical Theory of Rational Nominating Behaviour Applied to Japanese District Elections'." *British Journal of Political Science* 29:565-575.
2001. "Comment on 'Japan's Multimember SNTV System and Strategic Voting: The 'M+1' Rule and Beyond.'" *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 2(2):237-40.
2001. "Introduction to special issue on estimating legislators' preferences with roll call data." *Political Analysis* 9(3):189-91.
2004. "A comparative approach to democratic representation." In E. Mansfield and R. Sisson, eds. *The Evolution of Political Knowledge*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
2006. "Evaluating electoral systems." *Revista de Ciencia Política* 26(1):212-215.
2012. "Constitutional bargaining and the emergence of western democracy." *Historical Methods* 45(4):165-169.

Chapters in edited volumes

1990. "Multicandidate Spatial Competition," in James Enelow and Melvin Hinich, eds., *Advances in the Spatial Theory of Voting*. (New York: Cambridge University Press). [8811022]
1991. "Fiscal Policy and Divided Government," in Gary W. Cox and Samuel Kernell, eds., *The Politics of Divided Government* (Boulder: Westview Press). [Co-author: Mathew D. McCubbins]
1994. "Party Coherence on Roll Call Votes in the U.S. House of Representatives," in Joel Silbey, ed., *Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System, Vol. II* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994). [Co-author: Mathew D. McCubbins]
1995. "The Structural Determinants of Electoral Coherence," in Peter Cowhey and Mathew McCubbins, eds., *Structure and Policy in Japan and the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press), pp. 19-34. [Co-author: Frances Rosenbluth] [9208753]
1999. "Measuring the Ties That Bind: Electoral Cohesiveness in Four Democracies," in Bernard Grofman, Sung-Chull Lee, Edwin Winckler, and Brian Woodall, eds., *Elections in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan Under the Single Non-Transferable Vote: The Comparative Study of An Embedded Institution* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press). [Co-authors: Kathy Bawn and Frances Rosenbluth]
2001. "The institutional determinants of economic policy outcomes." In Mathew D. McCubbins and Stephan Haggard, eds., *Presidents, Parliaments and Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press), pp. 21-63. [Co-author: Mathew D. McCubbins]
2002. "Agenda power in the House of Representatives." In David W. Brady and Mathew D. McCubbins, eds., *Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress: New Perspectives*

- on the History of Congress*. Pages 107-45. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. [Co-author: Mathew D. McCubbins]
2002. "Agenda power in the Senate, 1877 to 1986." In David W. Brady and Mathew D. McCubbins, eds., *Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress: New Perspectives on the History of Congress*. Pages 146-65. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. [Co-authors: Andrea Campbell and Mathew D. McCubbins]
2004. "Lies, damned lies and rational choice analyses." In I. Shapiro, R. Smith and T. Masoud, eds. *Problems and Methods in the Study of Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2005. "On the systemic consequences of redistricting in the 1960s." In Peter Galderisi, ed. *Redistricting in the New Millennium*. Lexington Books.
2005. "Electoral institutions and political competition: coordination, persuasion and mobilization." In Claude Menard and Mary M. Shirley, eds., *Handbook of New Institutional Economics*. Dordrecht: Springer.
2006. "The organization of democratic legislatures." In Barry Weingast and Donald Wittman, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2007. "The motion to recommit in the US House of Representatives." In D.W. Brady and M.D. McCubbins, eds., *Party, Process and Political Change in Congress*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. [with Chris Den Hartog and Mathew D. McCubbins]
2007. "Majority Cycling and Agenda Manipulation: Richard McKelvey's Contributions and Legacy." In J. Aldrich, J. Alt and A. Lupia, eds., *Positive Changes in Political Science*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. [with Kenneth Shepsle]
2009. "Swing voters, core voters and distributive politics." In *Political Representation*, ed. Ian Shapiro, Susan Stokes, Elisabeth Wood, and Alexander S. Kirshner. Cambridge University Press.
2011. "Managing Plenary Time: The U.S. Congress in Comparative Context." In *The Oxford Handbook of the American Congress*, ed. Eric Schickler and Frances E. Lee. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2014. "Reluctant Democrats and Their Legislatures." In *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*, ed. Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld and Kaare Strøm. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2016. "Introduction: Legislature-Centric and Executive-Centric Theories of Party Systems and Faction Systems." In *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems in Constitutional Context: Taiwan, Japan and Beyond*, ed. Nathan F. Batto, Chi Huang, Alexander C. Tan, and Gary W. Cox. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. [with Nathan F. Batto]

2018. "Portfolio-maximizing strategic voting in parliamentary elections." In *Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*, edited by Erik S. Herron, Robert J. Pekkanen and Matthew S. Shugart. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2022. "Historical Political Economy of Legislative Power." In *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Political Economy*, edited by Jeffrey Jenkins and Jared Rubin. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2024. "Electoral institutions and political competition revisited." In Claude Menard and Mary M. Shirley, eds., *Handbook of New Institutional Economics*, 2d edition. Dordrecht: Springer.

Books

The Efficient Secret: The Cabinet and the Development of Political Parties in Victorian England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). [8306032] [Samuel H. Beer Dissertation Prize, 1983; George H. Hallett Award, 2003]

Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). [Co-author: Mathew D. McCubbins] [8811022; 9022882] [Richard F. Fenno Prize, 1993]

Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). [9208753; 9422874] [Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award, 1998; Best Book in Political Economy Award, 1998; Gregory M. Luebbert Book Award, 1998; George H. Hallett Award, 2007]

Elbridge Gerry's Salamander: The Electoral Consequences of the Reapportionment Revolution (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). [Co-author: Jonathan N. Katz] [9730547]

Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the U.S. House of Representatives. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). [Co-author: Mathew D. McCubbins] [9905224] [Leon D. Epstein Award Outstanding Book Award, 2006]

Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House. Second edition. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007). [Co-author: Mathew D. McCubbins]

Marketing Sovereign Promises: Monopoly Brokerage and the Growth of the English State. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Edited Books

The Politics of Divided Government (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991). [Co-editor: Samuel Kernell]

Mixed-Member Electoral Systems in Constitutional Context: Taiwan, Japan and Beyond, ed. (University of Michigan Press, 2016). [Co-editors: Nathan F. Batto, Chi Huang, Alexander C. Tan, and Gary W. Cox].

Other Publications

1985. "On the Use of Party Labels in Victorian England." *British Politics Group Newsletter I* (Spring):5-6.
1988. "Recent Developments in Statistical Inference: Quasi-Experiments and Perquimans County." *Historical Methods* 21(Summer):140-42.
1988. "Appendix 1: Analysis of Voting in Multi-Member Seats, 1874-1880." In F.W.S. Craig, ed., *British Parliamentary Election Results, 1832-1885* (Dartmouth: Parliamentary Research Services). [Co-compiler: F.W.S. Craig]
1995. "A Comment on 'The Great Reform Act of 1832 and the Political Modernization of England'." Letter to the Editor. *American Historical Review* 100(October):1371-1373.
1999. "Instability?" *Boston Review* XXIII, Number 1, pp. 16-7. Reprinted as "Instability?" In Robert Richie and Steven Hill, eds., *Reflecting All of Us: The Case for Proportional Representation*. Boston: Beacon Press.
2000. Eight entries in the *International Encyclopedia of Elections*, ed. Richard Rose. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
2001. REVIEW of Caramani, Daniele. 2000. *Elections in Western Europe Since 1815: Electoral Results by Constituencies*. Oxford: Macmillan Reference Ltd. In *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica* 31(2):331-333, 2001.
2003. "A précis on legislative leadership." *Extensions* Fall:6-10. Norman, Oklahoma: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center.
2004. "Theories of legislative organization." *APSA-CP Newsletter* 15(1):9-12.
2017. "Poole on the hobgoblins of congressional minds." *Legislative Studies Section newsletter*

Research interests

Comparative Study of Legislative and Electoral Politics
 Formal Theories of Politics
 Nineteenth-Century American and British Political History
 American Politics

Professional activities

Co-Editor, *American Political Science Review*, 6/2009-10/2012.
 Chair, External Review Committee for Caltech Division of the Humanities and Social Sciences, 2016.
 Member, External Review Committee for Canadian Institute for Advanced Research, 2018.

Editorial Boards:

American Political Science Review, 1992-1995, 2006-2009.
American Journal of Political Science, 1985-1991, 2006-2009.
Journal of Politics, 2006-2008.
Political Analysis, 1998-2000.
British Journal of Political Science, 2000-2020.
Annual Review of Politics, 2002-2003
Electoral Studies, 1996-2008.
Journal of Law, Economics and Organization, 1997-2000.
Legislative Studies Quarterly, 1997-2000.
Japanese Journal of Political Science, 1999-
Journal of Theoretical Politics, 2002-

Referee:

American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, Journal of Politics, National Science Foundation, Guggenheim Foundation, and many others.

Prize Committees:

Member, Samuel H. Beer Prize Committee for 1986.
 Chair, Richard F. Fenno Prize Committee, 1995.
 Chair, Gregory Luebbert Prize Committee, 1996-7.
 Chair, CQ Prize Committee, 1997-98.
 Chair, Best Book in Political Economy Committee, 1999-2000.
 Member, Richard F. Fenno Prize Committee, 2000, 2004.
 Member, Gregory Luebbert Prize Committee, 2002.
 Chair, Longley Prize Committee, 2005.
 Member, Wilson Prize Committee, 2006.
 Member, Mancur Olson Prize Committee, 2007.
 Chair, William H. Riker Prize Committee, 2017.

Organizational positions:

Section Chair, Western Political Science Association, 1993.
 Section Chair, American Political Science Association, 1995.
 Member, Council of the American Political Science Association, 1997-1999.
 Member, Advisory Council of the F. Clifton White Resource Center, IFES, 1998-2000.
 Executive Committee, Legislative Studies Section, APSA, 2003-2005.
 Executive Committee, Representation and Electoral Systems Section, APSA, 2005-2007.
 Political Economy Section's Executive Council Selection Committee, 2011

Research consultancies:

Member, Board of Overseers, National Election Studies, 1995-1999.
 Consultant, Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Project, ICORE, 1995-2000.
 Member, Political Science Advisory Panel, National Science Foundation, 2000-2002.
 Member, Advisory Panel, *VoteView* International Rollcall Database Project, 2003-
 Member, NRC Committee on a plan for interstate interoperability of state voter registration databases, under Computer Science and Telecommunications Board, June 2007-November 2009.

Review committees:

Overseers' Committee to Visit the Department of Government, Harvard University, 2010
 Visiting Committee, Dartmouth, January 2012
 External Review Committee Chair, Caltech Division of Humanities and Social Sciences, 2016
 External Review Committee member, Canadian Institute for Advanced Research, 2018

Partial list of papers deliveredConventions

American Political Science Association, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2017, 2018.
 Conference on Theories of Democratic Institutions, Taipei, Taiwan, 1992.
 Conference on the role of legislatures in Latin America, Mexico City, Mexico, 1998.
 Midwest Political Science Association, 1984, 1990, 1997, 1998.
 National Election Studies Research Conference (on the study of congressional elections), 1996.
 Operations Research Society of America, 1986.
 Public Choice Society 1983, 1984, 1989.
 Social Science History Association, 1983.

Universities

California Institute of Technology, 1984, 1985, 1988, 1992, 2009, 2011.
 University of California, Berkeley, 1999, 2013.
 University of California, Los Angeles, 1986, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2001.
 University of Chicago, 1985, 1994, 2005, 2018 (Harris), 2024 (Harris).
 University of Copenhagen, 2016.
 Duke University, 1992, 1993, 1996.
 Harvard University, 1989, 1998, 1999, 2012.
 University of Houston, 2001.
 University of Georgia Parthenos Scholar, 2013.
 University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, 1991.
 ITAM, 1999.
 Juan March Institute, 2003.
 King's College, London, 2019.
 London School of Economics, 2012.
 University of Manchester, 2024
 Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2004.
 University of Minnesota, 1997.
 University of Michigan, 1998, 2006.
 Michigan State University, 2002.
 Speaker in the International Seminars Series, Federal University of Minas Gerais 2014
 New York University, 2004.
 Norwegian Business School, 2016.
 Northwestern University, 1995.
 Nuffield College, Oxford University, 2019.
 University of Notre Dame, 1998.
 Ohio State University, 2000, 2011.
 University of Pennsylvania, 1988.
 Princeton University, 1990, 1997, 2003.

Rice University, 2004.
University of Rochester, 1999, 2009, 2011.
Sciences Po, Paris, 2019.
Stanford University, 1985, 1986, 1989, 1999, 2001 (twice), 2009, 2011.
Keynote speaker at University of Toulouse 2014
Utah State University, 2002.
University of Warwick, 2012.
Washington University in St. Louis, 1984, 2001.
Yale University, 1993, 1994, 2002 (twice), 2003, 2004, 2011, 2013.