

SENATE OF VIRGINIA

RICHARD L. SASLAW
Majority Leader
35th Senatorial District
Post Office Box 1856
Springfield, Virginia 22151



Committee Assignments:
Chair, Commerce and Labor
Education and Health
Judiciary
Finance & Appropriations
Rules

November 1, 2021

Ms. Muriel-Theresa Pitney
Clerk of Court
Supreme Court of Virginia
100 N. 9th St, 5th Floor
Richmond, VA 23219

Dear Ms. Pitney:

Pursuant to Va. Code § 30-399(F) and this Court's Redistricting Rule 2(a), as the Majority Leader of the Virginia Senate, I hereby submit the following nominees to serve as a special master to assist the Court in the establishment of districts for the Virginia Senate, the Virginia House of Delegates, and the U.S. House of Representatives:

1. Bernard N. Grofman, Ph.D. — Dr. Grofman is the Jack W. Peltason Endowed Chair, Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Adjunct Professor of Economics at University of California, Irvine. He has extensive experience serving as a court-appointed special master for drawing both state legislative and congressional maps, including in Virginia, having served as special master to courts in drawing Virginia congressional districts in 2015 and House of Delegates districts in 2018. He has a degree in mathematics and a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Chicago.
2. Nathaniel Persily, Ph.D. — Dr. Persily is the James B. McClatchy Professor of Law at Stanford Law School. He has extensive experience serving as a court-appointed special master for drawing both state legislative and congressional maps in numerous states across the country. He is most recently the author of *Solutions to Polarization* (Cambridge, 2015), a scholarly book addressing the problem of political polarization.
3. Bruce E. Cain, Ph.D. — Dr. Cain is the Charles Louis Ducommun Professor in the School of Humanities and Sciences at Stanford University, and Senior Fellow at the Woods Institute for the Environment and at the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research. He served as a court-appointed special master to draw state legislative districts in Arizona in 2002 and has served as a redistricting consultant to a number of government agencies, including the Attorney General of Maryland.

The nominees' CVs are attached as Exhibits 1-3.

Additionally, I appreciate the Court's openness to receiving written comments from the public at large, as provided by the Court's Redistricting Rule 4(a). One of the policies underlying Article II, Section 6-A of the Constitution is a commitment to greater transparency in the development of Virginia's legislative and congressional districts. Although the Commission failed to reach agreement on maps, many commentators have lauded the increased visibility into the map-drawing process. Importantly, the Commission appears to have failed in part due to its inability to reach a consensus as to the requirements of both federal and Virginia law governing the composition of districts. I believe that further formal input on these issues is critical to determining the legal principles governing the districts both now and into the future.

Therefore, I take this opportunity to request, on behalf of the Senate Democratic Caucus, that the Court set a formal briefing schedule for the parties specifically mentioned in Section 30-399(F), *i.e.*, the majority and minority leadership in both chambers of the General Assembly. Such a formal schedule would vindicate the purposes of Article II, Section 6-A, which reflects the framers' clear intent to ensure that the majority and minority caucuses in both chambers play a significant and distinctive role in the drawing of districts. *See* Va. Const. Art. II § 6-A(b)(1) (providing that eight of the Commission's sixteen members be drawn from majority and minority members of the House of Delegates and Senate); *id.* § 6-A(b)(2)(A) (legislative leaders select members of the Redistricting Commission Selection Committee); *id.* § 6-A(f) (General Assembly has responsibility for adoption of Commission-drawn maps); Va. Code § 30-399(F) (majority and minority leaders from both chambers of the General Assembly submit special master nominees). Because the Commission deadlocked without sending any proposed maps to the General Assembly and is no longer active, there is no record of the General Assembly's perspective and analysis sufficient for consideration by the Court and the special masters.

Accordingly, the Senate Democratic Caucus respectfully requests that the Court adopt a formal briefing schedule that will allow the majority and minority leadership in the General Assembly, and other individuals or organizations, to lay their concerns before the Court and respond to each other's arguments in a timely and orderly fashion. Specifically, we request that:

- Opening briefs and any proposed maps from the majority and minority leadership in each chamber, and other interested parties, be due 14 days after the Court's order appointing special masters. Those opening briefs may address any interpretive questions relating to the criteria for districts set out in Va. Code § 24.2-304.04, as well as other matters that the majority and minority leadership wish to bring to the attention of the Court and the special masters.
- Response briefs from the same parties be due seven days after submission of the opening briefs.
- Briefs from the same parties concerning the special masters' proposed maps be due 14 days after those maps are filed with the Court (*see* Redistricting Rule 2(d)).
- A live hearing be scheduled at the request of the special masters at a reasonable time after the submission of the final briefs, pursuant to Redistricting Rule 4(b), at

which the majority and minority leadership, and other interested parties as authorized by the Court, will be permitted to present their positions before the Court.


Under this schedule, we believe that the Court will have the benefit of a fully developed legal and factual record on which to make an informed decision about the district lines that will shape legislative and congressional elections in the Commonwealth for the next ten years.

In addition, upon the filing of the special masters' proposed maps with the Court, the Senate Democratic Caucus proposes that the special masters request public hearings in at least four regions of the Commonwealth to afford an opportunity for public comment on those proposed maps, including their consistency with federal and state law, such as the maintenance of cohesive communities of interest. Given the holidays during this period, we would ask that the Court set a schedule that will allow maximum public participation while balancing the need for expedited proceedings.

Finally, in order to maintain maximum transparency and public access, the Senate Democratic Caucus proposes that the Court create a public docket and commenting system so that all submissions to the Court are visible to the public without a physical trip to the Clerk's Office. There is enormous public interest in this critically important, once-a-decade process, which affects every Virginian, and an online-accessible filing system and electronic docketing system would maximize the ability of the public to view all comments filed with the Court while preserving the safety of the Clerk's staff during the pandemic and allowing them to focus on their regular duties instead of repeatedly making documents available for in-person viewing at the Clerk's Office on a daily, or perhaps even hourly, basis.

We appreciate the Court's consideration of these respectful suggestions. Please do not hesitate to let me know if there is any more information we can provide that will aid the Court's deliberations. *See, e.g.*, Redistricting Rule 3 (authorizing the Court to request records from, among others, the General Assembly).

Sincerely,



Senate Majority Leader Richard L. Saslaw

CC: Speaker of the House of Delegates Eileen R. Filler-Corn
Senate Minority Leader Thomas K. Norment
House of Delegates Minority Leader C. Todd Gilbert

Enclosures: Exhibit 1 (Persily CV); Exhibit 2 (Grofman CV); Exhibit 3 (Cain CV)

CURRICULUM VITA

BERNARD N. GROFMAN, Professor

EDUCATION

B.S. University of Chicago, Mathematics (1966)
M.A. University of Chicago, Political Science (1968)
Ph.D. University of Chicago, Political Science (1972)

HONORARY DEGREES

2010 Honorary Doctorate in Political Science (Doctor scientiarum politicarum honoris causa), University of Copenhagen

CURRENT ACADEMIC POSITIONS HELD

2008- Jack W. Peltason (Bren Foundation) Endowed Chair, University of California, Irvine
1980- Professor of Political Science and Social Psychology, University of California, Irvine.
2001- Adjunct Professor of Economics, University of California, Irvine.
2008- Director, Center for the Study of Democracy, UCI Interdisciplinary Organized Research Unit

FORMER ACADEMIC POSITIONS

1970-71 Instructor, Political Science, SUNY at Stony Brook.
1971-76 Assistant Professor, Political Science, SUNY at Stony Brook
1976-80 Associate Professor of Political Science and Social Psychology, University of California, Irvine

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Political Science Association
Public Choice Society
Law and Society Association
American Institute of Parliamentarians

VISITING POSITIONS AND FELLOWSHIPS

1973 Visiting Lecturer (Gastdozent), Department of Political Science (Lehrstuhl für Politische Wissenschaft), University of Mannheim (Summer Semester).
1975 Adjunct Assistant Professor, Applied Mathematics, SUNY at Stony Brook (Spring Semester).
1975-76 Visiting Assistant Professor, School of Social Sciences, University of

- California, Irvine (Winter and Spring Quarters).
- 1984 Guest Scholar (Sabbatical), Governmental Studies Program, Brookings Institution (Winter Quarter).
- 1985 College Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Washington, Seattle (Spring Quarter).
- 1985-86 Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford
- 1989 Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan (Fall Semester).
- 1990 Scholar-in-Residence, Institute for Legal Studies, Kansai University, Osaka, Japan (June-July)
- 2001 Fellow, University Institute of Advanced Study and Scholar-in-Residence, University of Bologna, Italy (May-June)
- 2002 Scholar-in-Residence, Berlin Science Center (Wissenschaft Zentrum) Germany (July)
- 2003 Gaspar de Portola Scholar-in-Residence, Department of Economics, Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona (May-June)
- 2006 Scholar-in-Residence, New York University School of Law (Sept.-Dec.)
- 2007 Scholar-in-Residence, Institute for Research on Government and Economic Institutions (IRGEI), University of Paris II (Pantheon), France (April-June)
- 2008 Scholar-in-Residence, Institute for Research on Government and Economic Institutions (IRGEI), University of Paris II (Pantheon), France (April-May)
- 2008 Scholar-in-Residence, Nuffield College, Oxford University (June)
- 2009 Scholar-in-Residence, Institute for Research on Government and Economic Institutions (IRGEI), University of Paris II (Pantheon), France (June-July)
- 2010 Scholar-in-Residence, New York University School of Law (Sept.-Dec.)

BOOKS AND EDITED BOOKS

Books (published)

- (P1) Grofman, Bernard, Lisa Handley and Richard Niemi. Minority Representation and the Quest for Voting Equality. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- (P2) Merrill, Samuel III and Bernard Grofman. A Unified Theory of Voting: Directional and Proximity Spatial Models. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- (P3) Adams, James, Samuel Merrill and Bernard Grofman. 2005. A Unified Theory of Party Competition: A Cross-National Analysis Integrating Spatial and Behavioral Factors. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- (P4) Regenwetter, Michael, Bernard Grofman, A. A. J. Marley and Ilia Tsetlin. 2006. Behavioral Social Choice: Probabilistic Models, Statistical Inference, and Applications. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Edited Books (published)

- (E1) Grofman, Bernard N., Arend Lijphart, Robert McKay and Howard Scarrow (Eds.), Representation and Redistricting Issues. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1982.
- (E2) Lijphart, Arend and Bernard Grofman (Eds.), Choosing an Electoral System. New York: Praeger, 1984. (2001 co-recipient of the George Hallett Prize of the Representation and Electoral Systems Section of the American Political Science Association for books with a lasting contribution to the study of electoral systems.)
- (E3) Grofman, Bernard N. and Arend Lijphart (Eds.), Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences. New York: Agathon Press, 1986. (2001 co-recipient of the George Hallett Prize of the Representation and Electoral Systems Section of the American Political Science Association for books with a lasting contribution to the study of electoral systems.)
- (E4) Grofman, Bernard N. and Guillermo Owen (Eds.), Information Pooling and Group Decision Making. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1986.
- (E5) Grofman, Bernard N. and Donald Wittman (Eds.), The "Federalist Papers" and the New Institutionalism. New York: Agathon Press, 1989.
- (E6) Grofman, Bernard N. (Ed.), Political Gerrymandering and the Courts. New York: Agathon Press, 1990.
- (E7) Grofman, Bernard and Chandler Davidson (Eds.), Controversies in Minority Voting: The Voting Rights Act in Perspective. Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1992. (Designated by the Gustavus Myers Center for the Study of Human Rights in North America as one of the outstanding books published in 1992 on intolerance.)

Edited Books (published) (cont.)

- (E8) Grofman, Bernard N. (Ed.), Information, Participation and Choice: An 'Economic Theory of Democracy' in Perspective. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1993.
- (E9) Davidson, Chandler and Bernard Grofman (Eds.), Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-1990. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994. (Richard Fenno Prize of the Legislative Studies Section of the American Political Science Association for the best book published in 1994 in the field of legislative studies.)
- (E10) Grofman, Bernard (Ed.) Legislative Term Limits: Public Choice Perspectives. Boston, MA: Kluwer, 1996.
- (E11) Grofman, Bernard (Ed.) Race and Redistricting in the 1990s. New York: Agathon Press, 1998.
- (E12) Grofman, Bernard, 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, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- (E13) Grofman, Bernard (Ed.) Legacies of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.
- (E14) Bowler, Shaun and Bernard Grofman (Eds.) Elections in Australia, Ireland and Malta under the Single Transferable Vote. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- (E15) Grofman, Bernard (Ed.). Political Science as Puzzle Solving. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001.
- (E16) Grofman, Bernard and Arend Lijphart (Eds.) The Evolution of Electoral and Party Systems in the Nordic Countries. New York: Agathon Press, 2002.
- (E17) Handley, Lisa and Bernard Grofman (Eds.). Redistricting in Comparative Perspective. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- (E18) Grofman, Bernard, Shaun Bowler, and Andre Blais (Eds.) Duverger's Law in Canada, India, the U.S. and the U.K. Berlin: Springer Verlag, 2008.
- (E19) Sigelman, Lee, Kenneth Newton, Kenneth J. Meier, and Bernard Grofman (Eds.) The Wit and Humor of Political Science. American Political Science Association and European Consortium for Political Research, 2010
- (E20) Giannetti, Daniela and Bernard Grofman (Eds.) A Natural Experiment on Electoral Law Reform: Evaluating the Long Run Consequences of 1990s Electoral Reform in Italy and Japan. Springer, 2011.

Edited Books (published) (cont.)

- (E21) Dolez, Bernard, Bernard Grofman and Annie Laurent (Eds.) *In Situ and Laboratory Experiments on Electoral Law Reform: French Presidential Elections*. Springer, 2011.

MAJOR RESEARCH GRANTS

- 2011-12 Monitoring the Nature and Impact of Public Input into the Legislative and Congressional Redistricting Process (Sloan Foundation, \$119,756)
- 2007-09 Political Competition. Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, (SSHRCC #410-2007-2153, \$87,290: Associate Investigator: co-Pls, Stanley Winer and J. Stephen Ferris).
- 1998-01 Collaborative Research on Probabilistic Models of Social Choice. National Science Foundation Program in Methodology Measurement and Statistics, (NSF# SBR-97-30578, \$213,000 with Anthony Marley, Co-PI)
- 1994-95 Electoral Laws, Electoral Lists and Campaigning in the First Non-Racial South African General Election, National Science Foundation, National Science Foundation (NSF# SBR-93- 21864, \$39,512, with Arend Lijphart).
- 1991-93 The Impact of Redistricting on the Representation of Racial and Ethnic Minorities, The Ford Foundation (#446740-47007, \$166,000).
- 1988-92 Collaborative Research on the Voting Rights Act: Implementation, Effects, and Implications for Law and Society. National Science Foundation Law and Social Sciences Program (NSF SES #88-09392, \$231,000, with Chandler Davidson); Supplementary Grant for Collaborative Research on the Voting Rights Act: The Effects of Changing Electoral Systems on the Election of Women. National Science Foundation Law and Social Sciences Program (NSF SES 88-09392, \$8,500, with Chandler Davidson and Susan Welch).
- 1987-89 Ethnic Voting Patterns in Metropolitan Toronto (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, \$14,480, with Janet Landa and Michael Copeland).
- 1985-87 The Dynamics of Spatial Voting Games and Games on Graphs, National Science Foundation, Decision and Management Sciences Program (NSF SES #85-06376, \$99,300, with Guillermo Owen).
- 1985-86 The Impact of Laws Relating to Elections and Representation, National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (NSF SES #85-15468, \$23,200).
- 1983-84 Analysis of the Multnomah Jury Archive, National Science Foundation, Law and Social Sciences Program (NSF SES #82-18588, \$35,000).
- 1981-83 Reapportionment and Representation. National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (NSF #SES 81-07554, \$49,970 with Guillermo Owen)
- 1980-82 Applications of Game Theory to the Study of Political Institutions. National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (NSF #SES 80-07915, \$31,300 with Guillermo Owen)
- 1978-79 Modeling Jury Decision Processes: The Multnomah Jury Archive, National Science Foundation, Law and Social Sciences Program (NSF SOC 77-24702, \$73,800). \$8,000 funding provided by the American Bar Association).
- 1978-79 Electoral System: What Difference Does it Make? National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (NSF SOC 77-24474, \$35,800, with Howard Scarrow).
- 1976-77 Modeling Jury Decision Processes, National Science Foundation, Law and Social Sciences Program (NSF SOC 75-14091, \$68,200).

- 2000-02 President, Public Choice Society
1991-93 Chair, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association.
1982-85 Co-Chair, Conference Group on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA RESEARCH AND TEACHING HONORS AND AWARDS

- 2005 University of California, Irvine Academic Senate Distinguished Faculty Award for Research
2001 Lauds and Laurels Award for Faculty Achievement, UCI Alumni Association.
1997 The campus-wide winner, Award for Teaching Innovation and Excellence: UCI Dean for Undergraduate Education.
1996 The School of Social Sciences winner, Award for Teaching Innovation and Excellence: UCI Dean for Undergraduate Education.
1995 Lauds and Laurels Award for Professional Achievement, UCI Alumni Association.

PAPER AWARDS

- 2003 Co-recipient (with Timothy Brazill) of the Duncan Black Prize of the Public Choice Society for best paper published in Public Choice in 2002, ("Identifying the Median Justice on the Supreme Court through Multi-Dimensional Scaling: Analysis of the 'Natural Courts' 1953-1991")
1985 Co-recipient (with Philip Straffin) of the Carl B. Allendoerfer Award, Mathematical Association of America, for exposition in mathematical writing for undergraduates.
1979 Pi Sigma Alpha Award, Best Paper, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

LISTINGS

Who's Who in the World, Providence, NJ: Marquis, yearly editions beginning in 1998.

American Political Scientists: A Dictionary. Glenn H. Utter and Charles Lockhart (Eds.) Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002, pp. 138-140.

Directory of American Scholars, 10th ed. Gale Group, 2002.

Rowley, Charles K. and Friedrich Schneider. *Encyclopedia of Public Choice*. Vol. 1. 2004. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht/Boston/London. Grofman Biography, pp. 355-356

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print)

- (1) Grofman, Bernard N., and Edward Muller. 1973. The strange case of relative gratification and potential for political violence: The V-curve. American Political Science Review, 67:514-539.
- (2) Grofman, Bernard N., and Gerald Hyman. 1973. Probability and logic in belief systems. Theory and Decision, 4:179-195.
- (3) Grofman, Bernard N. 1974. Helping behavior and group size, some exploratory stochastic models. Behavioral Science, 19:219-224.
- (4) Grofman, Bernard N., and Gerald Hyman. 1974. The logical foundations of ideology. Behavioral Science, 19:225-237.
- (5) Grofman, Bernard N. 1975. The prisoner's dilemma game: Paradox reconsidered. In Gordon Tullock (Ed.), Frontiers of Economics, 1:101-119.
- (6) Mackelprang, A. J., Bernard N. Grofman, and N. Keith Thomas. Electoral change and stability: Some new perspectives. 1975. American Politics Quarterly, 3(3):315-339.
- (7) Grofman, Bernard N. 1975. A review of macro-election systems. In Rudolph Wildenmann (Ed.), German Political Yearbook (Sozialwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch fur Politik), Vol. 4, Munich Germany: Gunter Olzog Verlag, 303-352.
- (8) Grofman, Bernard N., and Jonathan Pool. 1975. Bayesian models for iterated prisoner's dilemma games. General Systems, 20:185-194.
- (9) Grofman, Bernard N. 1976. Not necessarily twelve and not necessarily unanimous: Evaluating the impact of Williams v. Florida and Johnson v. Louisiana. In Gordon Bermant, Charlan Nemeth and Neil Vidmar (Eds.), Psychology and the Law: Research Frontiers. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 149-168.
- (10) Grofman, Bernard N. 1977. Jury decision-making models. In Stuart Nagel (Ed.), Modeling the Criminal Justice System, Sage Criminal Justice Systems Annuals, Vol. 7, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 191-203.
- (11) Grofman, Bernard N., and Jonathan Pool. 1977. How to make cooperation the optimizing strategy in a two-person game. Journal of Mathematical Sociology, 5(2):173-186.
- (12) Grofman, Bernard N. 1978. Judgmental competence of individuals and groups in a dichotomous choice situation. Journal of Mathematical Sociology, 6(1):47-60.
- (13) Grofman, Bernard N., and Howard Scarrow. 1979. Iannucci and its aftermath: The application of the Banzhaf Criterion to weighted voting in the State of New York. In Steven Brams, Andrew Schotter and Gerhard Schwodiauer (Eds.), Applied Game Theory. Vienna: Physica-Verlag, 168-183.

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (14) Grofman, Bernard N. 1980. A preliminary model of jury decision making. In Gordon Tullock (Ed.), Frontiers of Economics, Vol. 3, 98-110.
- (15) Grofman, Bernard N. 1980. Jury decision-making models and the Supreme Court: The jury cases from Williams v. Florida to Ballew v. Georgia. Policy Studies Journal, 8(5):749-772.
- (16) Grofman, Bernard N. 1980. The slippery slope: Jury size and jury verdict requirements--legal and social science approaches. Law and Politics Quarterly, 2(3):285-304.
- (17) Grofman, Bernard N., and Howard Scarrow. 1980. Mathematics, social science and the law. In Michael J. Saks and Charles H. Baron (Eds.), The Use/Nonuse/Misuse of Applied Social Research in the Courts. Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates, 117-127.
- (18) Grofman, Bernard N. 1981. Mathematical models of juror and jury decision making: the state of the art. In Bruce D. Sales (Ed.), Perspectives in Law and Psychology, Volume II: The Trial Processes. NY: Plenum, 305-351.
- (19) Grofman, Bernard N. 1981. The theory of committees and elections: The legacy of Duncan Black. In Gordon Tullock (Ed.), Toward a Science of Politics: Essays in Honor of Duncan Black. Blacksburg, VA: Public Choice Center, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 11-57.
- (20) Weisberg, Herbert and Bernard N. Grofman. 1981. Candidate evaluations and turnout. American Politics Quarterly, 9(2):197-219.
- (21) Grofman, Bernard N. and Howard Scarrow. 1981. Weighted voting in New York. Legislative Studies Quarterly, 6(2):287-304.
- (22) Grofman, Bernard N. 1981. Alternatives to single-member plurality districts: Legal and empirical issues. Policy Studies Journal, 9(3): 875-898. (Reprinted in Bernard Grofman, Arend Lijphart, Robert McKay and Howard Scarrow (Eds.), Representation and Redistricting Issues. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1982, 107-128.
- (23) Taagepera, Rein and Bernard N. Grofman. 1981. Effective size and number of components. Sociological Methods and Research, 10:63-81.
- (24) Landa, Janet, and Bernard N. Grofman. 1981. Games of breach and the role of contract law in protecting the expectation interest. Research in Law and Economics Annual, 3:67-90.

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (25) Grofman, Bernard N. 1982. A dynamic model of proto-coalition formation in ideological n-space. Behavioral Science, 27:77-90.
- (26) Grofman, Bernard N., Scott L. Feld, and Guillermo Owen. 1982. Evaluating the competence of experts, pooling individual judgements into a collective choice, and delegating decision responsibility to subgroups. In Felix Geyer and Hans van der Zouwen (Eds.), Dependence and Inequality. NY: Pergamon Press, 221-238.
- (27) Grofman, Bernard N. 1982. Reformers, politicians and the courts: A preliminary look at U.S. redistricting in the 1980s. Political Geography Quarterly, 1(4):303-316.
- (28) Grofman, Bernard N. and Howard Scarrow. 1982. Current issues in reapportionment. Law and Policy Quarterly, 4(4): 435-474.
- (29) Grofman, Bernard N. and Guillermo Owen. 1982. A game theoretic approach to measuring degree of centrality in social networks. Social Networks, 4:213-224.
- (30) Grofman, Bernard N., Guillermo Owen and Scott L. Feld. 1983. Thirteen theorems in search of the truth. Theory and Decision, 15:261-278.
- (31) Grofman, Bernard N. 1983. Measures of bias and proportionality in seats-votes relationships. Political Methodology, 9:295-327.
- (32) Grofman, Bernard N. and Janet Landa. 1983. The development of trading networks among spatially separated traders as a process of proto-coalition formation: the Kula trade. Social Networks, 5:347-365.
- (33) Owen, Guillermo and Bernard N. Grofman. 1984. Coalitions and power in political situations. In Manfred Holler (Ed.), Coalitions and Collective Action. Wuerzburg: Physica-Verlag, 137-143.
- (34) Grofman, Bernard N. 1984. The general irrelevance of the zero sum assumption in the legislative context. In Manfred Holler (Ed.), Coalitions and Collective Action. Wuerzburg: Physica-Verlag, 100-112.
- (35) Glazer, Amihai, Deborah Glazer, and Bernard N. Grofman. 1984. Cumulative voting in corporate elections: Introducing strategy into the equations. South Carolina Law Review, 35(2):295-309.
- (36) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard N. Grofman. 1984. The accuracy of group majority decisions in groups with added members. Public Choice, 42: 273-285.

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (37) Owen, Guillermo and Bernard N. Grofman. 1984. To vote or not to vote: The paradox of nonvoting. Public Choice, 42:311-325.
- (38) Shapley, Lloyd S. and Bernard N. Grofman. 1984. Optimizing group judgmental accuracy in the presence of interdependencies. Public Choice, 43(3):329-343.
- (39) Grofman, Bernard N., Michael Migalski, and Nicholas Noviello. 1985. The 'totality of circumstances' test in Section 2 of the 1982 extension of the Voting Rights Act: A social science perspective. Law and Policy, 7(2):209-223.
- (40) Grofman, Bernard N. Criteria for districting: A social science perspective. 1985. UCLA Law Review, 33(1):77-184.
- (41) Grofman, Bernard and Carole Uhlaner. 1985. Metapreferences and reasons for stability in social choice: Thoughts on broadening and clarifying the debate. Theory and Decision, 19:31-50.
- (42) Taagepera, Rein and Bernard Grofman. 1985. Rethinking Duverger's Law: Predicting the effective number of parties in plurality and PR systems--parties minus issues equals one. European Journal of Political Research, 13:341-352. (Reprinted in J. Paul Johnston and Harvey E. Pasis (Eds.). Representation and Electoral Systems: Canadian Perspectives. Englewood City, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988.)
- (43) Niemi, Richard, Jeffrey Hill and Bernard Grofman. 1985. The impact of multimember districts on party representation in U.S. state legislatures. Legislative Studies Quarterly, 10(4):441-455.
- (44) Uhlaner, Carole and Bernard Grofman. 1986. The race may be close but my horse is going to win: Wish fulfillment in the 1980 Presidential election. Political Behavior, 8(2):101-129.
- (45) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. 1986. On the possibility of faithfully representative committees. American Political Science Review, 80(3):863-879.
- (46) Brace, Kimball, Bernard Grofman and Lisa Handley. 1987. Does redistricting aimed to help blacks necessarily help Republicans? Journal of Politics, 49:143-156. (Reprinted in Ann M. Bowman and R.C. Kearney, State and Local Government. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1990.)
- (47) Grofman, Bernard, Guillermo Owen, Nicholas Noviello and Amihai Glazer. 1987. Stability and centrality of legislative choice in the spatial context. American Political Science Review, 81(2):539-553.

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (48) Grofman, Bernard N. Models of voting. 1987. In Samuel Long (Ed.), Micropolitics Annual, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 31-61.
- (49) Glazer, Amihai, Bernard Grofman and Marc Robbins. 1987. Partisan and incumbency effects of 1970s congressional redistricting. American Journal of Political Science, 30(3):680-701. (Reprinted in Susan A. McManus (Ed.), Reapportionment and Representation in Florida, Lake Geneva, Wisconsin: Paladin House, 1991.)
- (50) Feld, Scott L., Bernard Grofman, Richard Hartley, Mark O. Kilgour and Nicholas Miller. 1987. The uncovered set in spatial voting games. Theory and Decision, 23:129-156.
- (51) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. 1987. Necessary and sufficient conditions for a majority winner in n-dimensional spatial voting games: An intuitive geometric approach. American Journal of Political Science, 32(4):709-728.
- (52) Owen, Guillermo and Bernard N. Grofman. 1988. Optimal partisan gerrymandering. Political Geography Quarterly, 7(1):5-22.
- (53) Schofield, Norman, Bernard Grofman and Scott L. Feld. 1988. The core and the stability of group choice in spatial voting games. American Political Science Review, 82(1):195-211.
- (54) Grofman, Bernard and Scott L. Feld. 1988. Rousseau's general will: A Condorcetian perspective. American Political Science Review, 82(2):567-576. (Reprinted in J. Paul Johnston and Harvey Pasis (Eds.), Representation and Electoral Systems: Canadian Perspectives, NJ: Prentice Hall of Canada, 1990. Translated and reprinted in abridged form as *La volonté generale de Rousseau: perspective Condorcéenne*. In P. Crepel and C. Gilain (Eds.), des Actes du Colloque International Condorcet. Paris: Editions Minerve, 1989.) (Reprinted in Literature Criticism, Vol. 104, Warren, MI: Gale Group; also reprinted in John T. Scott (ed) Jean Jacques Rousseau: Critical Assessments of Leading Political Philosophers, Routledge, 2006).
- (55) Brace, Kimball, Bernard Grofman, Lisa Handley, and Richard Niemi. 1988. Minority voting equality: The 65 percent rule in theory and practice. Law and Policy, 10(1):43-62.
- (56) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. 1988. Ideological consistency as a collective phenomenon. American Political Science Review, 82(3):64-75.
- (57) Grofman, Bernard and Michael Migalski. 1988. Estimating the extent of racially polarized voting in multicandidate elections. Sociological Methods and Research, 16(4):427-454.
- (58) Grofman, Bernard, Scott L. Feld and Guillermo Owen. 1989. Finagle's law and the Finagle point, a new solution concept for two-candidate competition in spatial voting games. American Journal of Political Science, 33(2):348-375.

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (59) Grofman, Bernard and Lisa Handley. 1989. Black representation: Making sense of electoral geography at different levels of government. Legislative Studies Quarterly, 14(2):265-279.
- (60) Feld, Scott L., Bernard Grofman and Nicholas Miller. 1989. Limits on agenda control in spatial voting games. Mathematical and Computer Modelling, 12(4/5):405-416. (Reprinted in Paul E. Johnson (Ed.), Mathematical Modelling in Political Science. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1989.)
- (61) Erfle, Stephen, Henry McMillan and Bernard Grofman. 1989. Testing the regulatory threat hypothesis: Media coverage of the energy crisis and petroleum pricing in the late 1970s. American Politics Quarterly, 17(2):132-152.
- (62) Miller, Nicholas, Bernard Grofman and Scott L. Feld. 1989. The geometry of majority rule. Journal of Theoretical Politics, 1(4):379-406.
- (63) Grofman, Bernard and Barbara Norrander. 1990. Efficient use of reference group cues in a single dimension. Public Choice, 64:213-227.
- (64) Grofman, Bernard N. 1990. Toward a coherent theory of gerrymandering: Bandemer and Thornburg. In Bernard Grofman (Ed.), Political Gerrymandering and the Courts. New York: Agathon Press, 29-63.
- (65) Erfle, Stephen, Henry McMillan and Bernard Grofman. 1990. Regulation via threats: politics, media coverage and oil pricing decisions. Public Opinion Quarterly, 54(1):48-63.
- (66) Niemi, Richard G., Bernard Grofman, Carl Carlucci and Thomas Hofeller. 1990. Measuring compactness and the role of a competent standard in a test for partisan and racial gerrymandering. Journal of Politics, 52(4):1155-1181.
- (67) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. 1990. Collectivities as actors, Rationality and Society, 2(4):429-448.
- (68) Hall, Richard L. and Bernard Grofman. 1990. The committee assignment process and the conditional nature of committee bias. American Political Science Review, 84(4):1149-1166.
- (69) Grofman, Bernard, and Lisa Handley. 1991. The impact of the Voting Rights Act on black representation in southern state legislatures. Legislative Studies Quarterly, 16(1):111-127.
- (70) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. 1991. Incumbency advantage, voter loyalty and the benefit of the doubt. Journal of Theoretical Politics, 3(2):115-137.

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (71) Grofman, Bernard. 1991. Statistics without substance: A critique of Freedman et al. and Clark and Morrison. Evaluation Review, 15(6): 746-769.
- (72) Grofman, Bernard and Lisa Handley. 1992. Identifying and remedying racial gerrymandering. Journal of Law and Politics, 8(2):345-404.
- (73) Grofman, Bernard and Scott L. Feld. 1992. Group decision making over multidimensional objects of choice, Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 52:39-63.
- (74) Grofman, Bernard. 1992. Expert witness testimony and the evolution of voting right case law. In Bernard Grofman and Chandler Davidson (Eds.), Controversies in Minority Voting: The Voting Rights Act in Perspective. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 197-229.
- (75) Grofman, Bernard. 1992. What happens after one person-one vote: Implications of the U.S. experience for Canada" in John Courtney and David Smith (Eds.), Drawing Boundaries, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Fifth House Publishers, 156-178; translated into French, Que se passe-t-il après "une personne, une voix"? L'expérience Américaine, for Chief Electoral Officer of Canada, Elections Canada.). An earlier and shorter version appeared as "An expert witness perspective on continuing and emerging voting rights controversies: From one person, one vote to political gerrymandering." Stetson University Law Review, 1992, 21(3):783-818
- (76) Grofman, Bernard. 1993. Would Vince Lombardi have been right if he had said, 'When it comes to redistricting, race isn't everything, it's the only thing'? Cardozo Law Review, 14(5):1237-1276.
- (77) Grofman, Bernard. 1993. Toward an institution rich theory of political competition, with a supply-side component. In Bernard Grofman (Ed.), Information, Participation, and Choice: An Economic Theory of Democracy' in Perspective. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 179-193.
- (78) Grofman, Bernard. 1993. The use of ecological regression to estimate racial bloc voting. University of San Francisco Law Review, 27(3): 593-625.
- (79) Grofman, Bernard. 1993. Public choice, civic republicanism, and American politics: Perspectives of a 'reasonable choice' modeler. Texas Law Review, 71(7):1541-1587. (A portion of this [pp. 1541, 1553-66] is reprinted in Tushnet, Mark and Lisa Heinzerling, The Regulatory and Administrative State. Oxford University Press, 2006.

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (80) Brischetto, Robert, David R. Richards, Chandler Davidson, and Bernard Grofman. 1994. Texas. In Davidson, Chandler and Bernard Grofman (Eds.), Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-1990. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 233-257.
- (81) Grofman, Bernard and Chandler Davidson. 1994. The effect of municipal election structure on black representation in eight Southern states. In Davidson, Chandler and Bernard Grofman (Eds.), Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-1990. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 301-334.
- (82) Handley, Lisa and Bernard Grofman. 1994. The Impact of the Voting Rights Act on Minority Representation: Black Officeholding in Southern State Legislatures and Congressional Delegations. In Davidson, Chandler and Bernard Grofman (Eds.), Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-1990. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 335-350.
- (83) Glazer, Amihai, Robert Griffin, Bernard Grofman and Martin Wattenberg. 1995. Strategic vote delay in the U.S. House of Representatives. Legislative Studies Quarterly, 20(1):37-45.
- (84) Skaperdas, Stergios and Bernard Grofman. 1995. Modeling negative campaigning. American Political Science Review, 89(1):49-61.
- (85) Grofman, Bernard. 1995. New methods for valid ecological inference. In Monroe Eagles (Ed.), Spatial and Contextual Models in Political Research. London: Taylor and Francis, 127-149.
- (86) Grofman, Bernard and Peter van Roozendaal. 1995. Toward a theoretical explanation of premature cabinet termination: With application to post-war cabinets in the Netherlands. European Journal of Political Research, 26:155-170.
- (87) Landa, Janet, Michael Copeland and Bernard Grofman. 1995. Ethnic voting patterns: a case study of metropolitan Toronto. Political Geography, 14(5):435-449.
- (88) Grofman, Bernard and Lisa Handley. 1995. 1990s Issues in voting rights. University of Mississippi Law Journal, 65(2):205-270.
- (89) Grofman, Bernard. 1996. Extending a dynamic model of proto-coalition formation. In Norman Schofield (Ed.), Collective Decision Making: Social Choice and Political Economy. Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 265-280.

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (90) Grofman, Bernard, Phillip Straffin and Nicholas Noviello. 1996. The sequential dynamics of cabinet formation, stochastic error, and a test of competing models. In

Norman Schofield (Ed.) Collective Decision Making: Choice and Political Economy. Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 281-293.

- (91) Grofman, Bernard. 1996. Political Economy: Downsian Perspectives. In Robert Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (Eds.) New Handbook of Political Science. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 691-701.
- (92) Grofman, Bernard. 1997. The Supreme Court, the Voting Rights Act, and minority representation. In Anthony Peacock (Ed.), Affirmative Action and Representation: Shaw v. Reno and the Future of Voting Rights. Durham NC: Carolina Academic Press, 173-199.
- (93) Merrill, Samuel and Bernard Grofman. 1997. Directional and proximity models of voter utility and choice: a new synthesis and an illustrative test of competing models. Journal of Theoretical Politics, 9(1):25-48
- (94) Grofman, Bernard and Peter van Roozendaal. 1997. Modeling cabinet durability/cabinet termination: A synthetic literature review and critique. British Journal of Political Science, 27:419-451.
- (95) Anderson, Richard and Bernard Grofman. 1997. Rhetoric and rationality: A study of democratization in the Soviet Union. Public Choice, 93:287-314
- (96) Merrill III, Samuel and Bernard Grofman. 1997. Modeling large electorates with Fourier series: With applications to Nash equilibria in proximity and directional models of spatial competition. Social Choice and Welfare. 14(4):545-562.
- (97) Falmagne, Jean-Claude, Michel Regenwetter and Bernard Grofman. 1997. A stochastic model for the evolution of preferences. In Anthony J. Marley (ed.) Decision and Measurement: Essays in Honor of R. Duncan Luce. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 111-129.
- (98) Owen, Guillermo and Bernard Grofman. 1997. Estimating the likelihood of fallacious ecological inference: Linear ecological regression in the presence of context effects. Political Geography. 16(8):657-690.
- (99) Grofman, Bernard, Thomas Brunell, Janet Campagna. 1997. Distinguishing between the effects of swing ratio and bias on outcomes in the U.S. electoral college, 1900-1992. Electoral Studies, 16(4):471-487.

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (100) Grofman, Bernard, William Koetzle, Thomas Brunell. 1997. An integrated perspective on the three potential sources of partisan bias: Malapportionment, turnout differences, and the geographic distribution of party vote shares. Electoral Studies, 16(4):457-470
- (101) Regenwetter, Michel and Bernard Grofman. 1998. Choosing subsets: A size-independent probabilistic model and the quest for a social welfare ordering, Social Choice and Welfare, 15(3):423-443.
- (102) Regenwetter, Michel and Bernard Grofman. 1998. Approval voting, Borda winners and Condorcet winners: Evidence from seven elections. Management Science, 44(4):520-533.
- (103) Handley, Lisa, Bernard Grofman, and Wayne Arden. 1998. Electing minority-preferred candidates to legislative office: The relationship between minority percentages in districts and the election of minority-preferred candidates. In Bernard Grofman (Ed.) Race and Redistricting in the 1990s. New York: Agathon Press, 13-39. (An earlier and shorter version of this appeared as Wayne Arden, Bernard Grofman and Lisa Handley. The impact of redistricting on African-American representation in the U.S. Congress and State Legislatures in the 1990s. In Georgia Persons (ed.) Race and Representation. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.)
- (104) Grofman, Bernard, and Lisa Handley. 1998. Estimating the impact of voting-rights-act-related districting on Democratic strength in the U.S. House of Representatives. In Bernard Grofman (Ed.) Race and Redistricting in the 1990s. New York: Agathon Press, 51-67.
- (105) Glazer, Amihai, Bernard Grofman, and Guillermo Owen. 1998. A neo-Downsian model of group-oriented voting and racial backlash. Public Choice, 97:23-34.
- (106) Grofman, Bernard. 1999. SNTV, STV, and single-member district systems: theoretical comparisons and contrasts. 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, MI: University of Michigan Press, 317-333.
- (107) Grofman, Bernard. 1999. SNTV: An inventory of theoretically derived propositions and a brief review of the evidence from Japan, Korea, Taiwan and Alabama. 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, MI: University of Michigan Press, 375-416.
- (108) Merrill, Sam, Bernard Grofman, and Scott L. Feld. 1999. Nash equilibrium strategies in directional models of two-candidate spatial competition. Public Choice, 98:369-383.

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (109) Brians, Craig L. and Bernard Grofman. 1999. When registration barriers fall, who votes? An empirical test of a rational choice model. Public Choice, 99:161-176.
- (110) Grofman, Bernard, Guillermo Owen and Christian Collet. 1999. Rethinking the Partisan Effects of Higher Turnout: So What's the Question? Public Choice, 99:357-376.
- (111) Merrill, Samuel, Bernard Grofman, Thomas Brunell and William Koetzle. 1999. The power of ideologically concentrated minorities. Journal of Theoretical Politics, 11(1):57-74.
- (112) Regenwetter, Michel, Jean-Claude Falmagne, Bernard Grofman. 1999. A Stochastic Model of Preference Change and its Application to 1992 Presidential Election Panel Data. Psychological Review, 106(2):362-384.
- (113) Grofman, Bernard and Heathcote W. Wales. 1999. Modeling Juror Bias. Legal Theory, 5:221-234.
- (114) Grofman, Bernard. 2000. Lijphart and the new institutionalism. In Markus L. Crepaz, Thomas Koelble and David Wilsford (eds.) Democracy and Institutions: The Life Work of Arend Lijphart, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 43-73.
- (115) Grofman, Bernard, William Koetzle, Michael McDonald, and Thomas Brunell. 2000. A new look at split ticket voting for House and President: The comparative midpoints model, Journal of Politics, 62(1):34-50.
- (116) Grofman, Bernard and Andrew Reynolds. 2001. Electoral Systems and the art of Constitutional Engineering: An Inventory of the Main Findings. In Ram Mudambi, Pietro Navarra and Giuseppe Sobbrío (eds.) Rules and Reason: Perspectives on Constitutional Political Economy, New York and London: Cambridge University Press, 125-163. (Translated into Ukrainian and reprinted in Journal of Comparative Research of Political Institutions, Socio-Economic Systems and Civilizations (Volodimir Bilotkach). Kharkov, Ukraine: Regional Branch of the National Institute of Strategic Developments, 2005, pp. 29-70).
- (117) Brians, Craig and Bernard Grofman. 2001. Election day registration's effect on US voter turnout. Social Science Quarterly, 82:170-183.
- (118) Grofman, Bernard and Thomas Brunell. 2001. Explaining the ideological differences between the two U.S. senators elected from the same state: An institutional effects model. In Peter Galderisi (ed.) Congressional Primaries in the Politics of Representation. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 132-142.

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (119) Grofman, Bernard, Lisa Handley and David Lublin. 2001. Drawing effective minority districts: A conceptual framework and some empirical evidence. North Carolina Law Review, 79:1383-1430.
- (120) Merrill, Samuel, Bernard Grofman, and James Adams. 2001. Assimilation and contrast effects in voter projections of party locations: Evidence from Norway, France, and the U.S. European Journal of Political Research, 40:199-221.
- (121) Grofman, Bernard, William Koetzle, A. J. McGann. 2002. Congressional leadership 1965-1996: A new look at the extremism versus centrality debate." Legislative Studies Quarterly, 27(1):87-100.
- (122) McGann, Anthony, William Koetzle and Bernard Grofman. 2002. How an ideologically concentrated minority can trump a dispersed majority: Non-median voter results plurality, run-off and sequential elimination elections" American Journal of Political Science, 46(1):134-148.
- (123) Grofman, Bernard and Timothy Brazill. 2002. Identifying the median justice on the Supreme Court through multidimensional scaling: Analysis of 'natural courts' 1953-1991. Public Choice, 112:55-79.
- (124) Brazill, Timothy and Bernard Grofman. 2002. Factor analysis versus multidimensional scaling: Binary choice roll-call voting and the U.S. Supreme Court. Social Networks, 24:201-229.
- (125) McGann, Anthony, Bernard Grofman and William Koetzle. 2002. Why party leaders are more extreme than their members: Modeling sequential elimination elections in the US House of Representatives" Public Choice, 113:337-356.
- (126) Regenwetter, Michel, James Adams, and Bernard Grofman. 2002. On the Condorcet efficiency of majority rule: An alternative view of majority cycles and social homogeneity. Theory and Decision, 53:153-186.
- (127) Regenwetter, Michel, Anthony Marley and Bernard Grofman. 2002. The general concept of majority rule," Mathematical Social Sciences 43(3):405-428.
- (128) Grofman, Bernard and Robert Stockwell. 2003. Institutional design in plural societies: Mitigating ethnic conflict and fostering stable democracy." In Ram Mudambi, Pietro Navarra and Guiseppe Sobbrío (eds.), Economic Welfare, International Business and Global Institutional Change. New York: Edward Elgar, Publishers, 102-137.
- (129) Tsetlin, Ilia, Michel Regenwetter, Bernard Grofman. 2003. The impartial culture maximizes the probability of majority cycles." Social Choice and Welfare, 21:387-398.

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print) (cont)

- (130) Regenwetter, Michel, A. A. Marley, and Bernard Grofman. 2003. General concepts of value restriction and preference majority." Social Choice and Welfare, 21(1):149-173.
- (131) Taagepera, Rein and Bernard Grofman. 2003. Mapping the indices of seats-votes disproportionality and inter-election volatility." Party Politics, 9(6):659-677.
- (132) Grofman, Bernard, Alessandro Chiaramonte, Roberto D'Alimonte and Scott L. Feld. 2004. Comparing and contrasting the uses of two graphical tools for displaying patterns of multi-party competition: Nagayama diagrams and simplex representations. Party Politics, 10(3):273-299.
- (133) Grofman, Bernard. Reflections on Public Choice. 2004. Public Choice 118:31-51.
- (134) Grofman, Bernard and Samuel Merrill III. 2004. Ecological regression and ecological inference. In Gary King, Ori Rosen and Martin Tanner (eds.) Ecological Inference: New Methodological Strategies. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 123-143.
- (135) Grofman, Bernard and Samuel Merrill III. 2004. Anticipating Likely Consequences of Lottery-Based Affirmative Action. Social Science Quarterly, 85(5): 1447-1468.
- (136) Grofman, Bernard. 2004. Downs and two-party convergence. In Polsby, N. (ed.) Annual Review of Political Science, 7:25-46.
- (137) Fraenkel, Jon and Bernard Grofman. 2004. A Neo-Downsian model of the alternate vote as a mechanism for mitigating ethnic conflict in plural societies. Public Choice, 121:487-506.
- (138) O'Leary, Brendan, Bernard Grofman and Jorgen Elklit. 2005. "Divisor methods for sequential portfolio allocation in multi-party executive bodies: evidence from Northern Ireland and Denmark." American Journal of Political Science 49(1), 198-211.
- (139) Grofman, Bernard. Race and redistricting in the 21st century. 2005. In Gary M. Segura, and Shaun Bowler (eds) Diversity in Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, pp 253-277.
- (140) Grofman, Bernard and Tom Brunell. 2005. "The art of the Dummymander: The Impact of Recent Redistrictings on the Partisan Makeup of Southern House Seats." In Galderisi, Peter (Ed.) Redistricting in the New Millennium, New York: Lexington Books, pp. 183-199.
- (141) Adams, James, Samuel Merrill and Bernard Grofman. 2005. "Does France's Two-Ballot Presidential Election System Alter Candidates' Policy Strategies? A Spatial Analysis of Office-Seeking Candidates in the 1988 Presidential Election." French Politics, 3(2):98-123.

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (142) Fraenkel, Jon and Bernard Grofman. 2006. Does the Alternative Vote Foster Moderation in Ethnically Divided Societies? The Case of Fiji. Comparative Political Studies, 39(5): 623-651.
- (143) Grofman, Bernard. 2006. Operationalizing the Section 5 Retrogression Standard of the Voting Rights Act in the Light of *Georgia v. Ashcroft*: Social Science Perspectives on Minority Influence, Opportunity and Control. Election Law Journal 5(3): 250-282.
- (144) Grofman, Bernard and Thomas Brunell. 2006. Extending Section 5: Law and Politics. In David L. Epstein Rodolfo O. de la Garza, Sharyn O'Halloran and Richard H. Pildes (Eds). The Future of the Voting Rights Act. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 311-339.
- (145) Owen, Guillermo and Bernard Grofman. 2006. Two-Stage Electoral Competition in Two-Party Contests: Persistent Divergence of Party Positions. Social Choice and Welfare, 26:547-569.
- (146) Owen, Guillermo, Ines Lindner, Scott L. Feld, Bernard Grofman and Leonard Ray. 2006. A Simple 'Market Value' Bargaining Model for Weighted Voting Games: Characterization and Limit Theorems. International Journal of Game Theory, 35:111-126.
- (147) Grofman, Bernard and Gary King. 2007. Partisan Symmetry and the Test for Gerrymandering Claims after *LULAC v. Perry*. Election Law Journal, 6 (1):2-35.
- (148) Godfrey, Joseph and Bernard Grofman. 2008. Pivotal Voting Theory: The 1993 Clinton Health Care Reform Proposal in the U.S. Congress. In Braham, Matthew and Frank Steffen (Eds.) Power, Freedom, and Voting. Berlin: SpringerVerlag, 139-158.
- (149) Owen, Guillermo, Ines Lindner and Bernard Grofman. 2008. Modified Power Indices for Indirect Voting. In Braham, Matthew and Frank Steffen (Eds.) Power, Freedom, and Voting. Berlin: SpringerVerlag, 119-138.
- (150) Winer, Stanley, Michael Tofias, Bernard Grofman, and John Aldrich. 2008. Trending Economic Factors and the Structure of Congress in the Growth of Government, 1930-2002. Public Choice, 135 (3-4): 415-449.
- (151) Samuel Merrill, III, Bernard Grofman, and Thomas L. Brunell. Cycles in American National Electoral Politics, 1854-2004. 2008. American Political Science Review, 102: (1)1-17.
- (152) Grofman, Bernard and Jon Fraenkel. 2008. Electoral Engineering, Social Cleavages and Democracy. In Nardulli, Peter (Ed.) Democracy in The Twenty-First Century II: Domestic Perspectives. Urbana-Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 71-101.

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print and forthcoming)

- (153) Brunell, Thomas and Bernard Grofman. 2008. Evaluating the Impact of Redistricting on District Homogeneity, Political Competition and Political Extremism in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1962-2006. In Margaret Levi, James Johnson, Jack Knight, and Susan Stokes (Eds.), Designing Democratic Government. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 117-140.
- (154) Grofman, Bernard, Frank Wayman and Matthew Barreto. 2008. Rethinking Partisanship: Some Thoughts on a Unified Theory, in John Bartle and Paolo Bellucci (Eds.) Political Parties and Partisanship: Social Identity and Individual Attitudes. Routledge/ECPR Studies in European Political Science, 60-74.
- (155) Regenwetter, Michael, Bernard Grofman, Anna Popova, William Messner, Clinton P. Davis-Stober, and Daniel R. Cavagnaro. 2009. Behavioural Social Choice: A Status Report. Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B – Biological Sciences. 364 (Issue 1518): 833-843.
- (156) Brunell, Thomas and Bernard Grofman. 2009 “Testing Sincere versus Strategic SplitTicket Voting: Evidence from Split House-President Outcomes, 1900-1996.” Electoral Studies, 28: 62-69.
- (157) Grofman, Bernard and Peter Selb. 2009. A Fully General Index of Political Competition. Electoral Studies 28(2): 291-296.
- (158) Bowler, Shaun, Bernard Grofman and Andre Blais. 2009. Duverger’s Law in the United States. In Grofman, Bernard, Shaun Bowler, and Andre Blais (Eds.) Duverger’s Law in Canada, India, the U.S. and the U.K. Berlin: Springer Verlag, 135-146.
- (159) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. 2009. Interpersonally Consistent Social Action. In P. Bearman and P. Hedstrom (Eds.). Oxford Handbook of Analytical Sociology. London and Oxford: Oxford University Press, XXX-XXX
- (160) Thomas Brunell and Bernard Grofman. Redistricting. 2009. In Jan E. Leighley, (Ed.) Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior. London and Oxford: Oxford University Press, XXX-XXX
- (161) Grofman, Bernard. 2011 forthcoming. Electoral Rules and Ethnic Representation and Accommodation: Combining Social Choice and Electoral System Perspectives. In Joanne McEvoy and Brendan O’Leary (Eds.) Power Sharing in Deeply Divided Places. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, XXX-XXX
- (162) Lemennicier, Bertrand, Honorine Lescieux- Katir and Bernard Grofman. 2010, The 2007 French Presidential Election. Canadian Journal of Political Science. 43(1):137-161,

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print and forthcoming)

- (163) Grofman, Bernard and Carsten Schneider. 2009. An Introduction to Crisp-Set QCA, With a Comparison to Binary Logistic Regression. Political Research Quarterly, 62 (4): 662-672.
- (164) Grofman, Bernard and Peter Selb. 2011. Turnout and the (Effective) Number of Parties at the National and At the District Level: A Puzzle Solving Approach. Party Politics 17 (1): 93-117.
- (165) Lublin, David, Tom Brunell, Bernard Grofman and Lisa Handley. 2010. Has the Voting Rights Act Outlived its Usefulness? In a Word, No. Legislative Studies Quarterly. 34(4): 525-553.
- (166) Bernard Grofman and Scott L. Feld. 2010. Puzzles and Paradoxes Involving Averages: An Intuitive Approach. In Ad van Deemen and Agnieszka Rusinowska (eds.) Collective Decision Making: Views from Social Choice and Game Theory, Berlin: Springer Verlag, XXX-XXX
- (167) Nikolenyi, Csaba and Bernard Grofman. 2010 . The Puzzle of Minority Government in the Lok Sabha. In Csaba Nikolenyi. Minority Governments in India. London: Routledge, 87-120.
- (168) Adams, James, Thomas Brunell, Bernard Grofman and Samuel Merrill. 2010 Why Candidate Divergence Should be Expected to be Just as Great (or even Greater) in Competitive Seats as in Non-Competitive Ones. Public Choice, 145 (3-4): 417-433
- (169) Söderlund, Peter, Hanna Wass and Bernard Grofman. 2011 forthcoming. The effect of institutional and party system factors on turnout in Finnish parliamentary elections, 1962–2007: A district-level analysis. In Manfred Holler and Mike Wildgren (Eds.). “Essays in Honor of Hannu Nurmi.” Special Issue of Homo Oeconomicus . XXX-XXX
- (170) Merrill, Samuel III, Bernard Grofman and Thomas Brunell. 2011. Do Party Politics in Britain Exhibit Cycles? British Journal of Political Science, 41: 33-55.
- (171) Grofman, Bernard. 2010. Thinking about Minority Political Influence: Did *Georgia v. Ashcroft* Get it Right and, if Not, why Not? Election Law Journal 9(4): 349-379
- (172) Grofman, Bernard and Reuben Kline. forthcoming. How Many Political Parties are There, Really? A New Measure of the Ideologically Cognizable Number of Parties/Party Groupings. Party Politics,

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print and forthcoming) (cont.)

- (173) Grofman, Bernard, Thomas Brunell and Scott Feld. forthcoming. Bicameralism: The Neglected Contributions of the Calculus of Consent. Public Choice.
- (174) Godfrey, Joseph, Bernard Grofman, and Scott L. Feld. 2011 .Applications of Shapley-Owen Values and the Spatial Copeland Winner. Political Analysis

RESEARCH NOTES AND MINOR ARTICLES (in print)

- (R1) Grofman, Bernard N. 1969. Some notes on voting schemes and the will of the majority. Public Choice, 7:65-80.
- (R2) Grofman, Bernard N. 1972. The 1971 American Political Science Association election. PS (commissioned for Summer 1972), 278-289.
- (R3) Pool, Jonathan and Bernard N. Grofman. 1975. Computer programs as a means of efficiency and control in cross-cultural experimental games. Experimental Study of Politics, 4(2):27-57.
- (R4) Grofman, Bernard N. and Scott L. Feld. 1976. A note on clique avoidance in repeated jury selection from among a fixed pool of jurors: Comparisons of manpower savings in six- and twelve-member juries. Public Choice, 26:145-150.
- (R5) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard N. Grofman. 1977. Variation in class size, the class size paradox, and some consequences for students. Research in Higher Education, 6(3):215-222.
- (R6) Grofman, Bernard N. 1979. A pilot study of individual behavior as mediated by the group context: three- and five-member mock juries. Experimental Study of Politics, 7:41-54.
- (R7) Grofman, Bernard N. 1979. Abstention in two-candidate and three-candidate elections when voters use mixed strategies. Public Choice, 34(2):189-200.
- (R8) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard N. Grofman. 1980. Conflict of interest between faculty, students and administrators: Consequences of the class size paradox. In Gordon Tullock (Ed.), Frontiers of Economics, 3:111-116.
- (R9) Grofman, Bernard N. 1981. Fair apportionment and the Banzhaf index. American Mathematical Monthly, 88(1):1-5.
- (R10) Grofman, Bernard N. and Howard Scarrow. 1980/1981. Introduction to 'Special Issue on Reapportionment.' Policy Studies Journal, Special Issue 3(9) and 9(6):817-825.
- (R11) Grofman, Bernard N. 1981. Fair and equal representation. Ethics, 91:477-485.
- (R12) Grofman, Bernard N. 1982. For single-member districts, random is not equal. In Bernard Grofman, Arend Lijphart, Robert McKay and Howard Scarrow (Eds.), Representation and Redistricting Issues, Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 55-58.
- (R13) Brody, Richard and Bernard N. Grofman. 1982. Stimulus differentiation vs. stimulus complexity as factors affecting turnout in two-candidate and multi-candidate races. Political Behavior, 4(1):83-92.

RESEARCH NOTES AND MINOR ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (R14) Grofman, Bernard N., Guillermo Owen and Scott L. Feld. 1982. Average competence, variability in individual competence, and the accuracy of statistically pooled group decisions. Psychological Reports, 50:683-688.
- (R15) Grofman, Bernard N. and Scott L. Feld. 1984. Group size and the performance of a composite group majority: Statistical truths and empirical results. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 33:350-359.
- (R16) Lijphart, Arend and Bernard Grofman. 1984. Introduction. In Arend Lijphart and Bernard Grofman (Eds.), Choosing an Electoral System. NY: Praeger, 3-12.
- (R17) Grofman, Bernard N. 1985. The neglected role of the status quo in models of issue voting. Journal of Politics, 47:231-237. Reprinted in Kai Arzheimer and Jocelyn Evans (Eds.) Electoral Behaviour. SAGE Publications. June 2008.
- (R18) Grofman, Bernard N. and Nicholas Noviello. 1985. Jai-Alai outcomes as a function of player position and player skill level. Simulation and Games, 16(2):211-223.
- (R19) Grofman, Bernard N. 1985. The accuracy of group majorities for disjunctive and conjunctive decision tasks. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 35:119-123.
- (R20) Grofman, Bernard N. 1985. The effect of restricted and unrestricted verdict options on juror choice. Social Science Research, 14:195-204.
- (R21) Grofman, Bernard N. and Arend Lijphart. 1986. Introduction. In Bernard Grofman and Arend Lijphart (Eds.), Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences. NY: Agathon, 1-15.
- (R22) Grofman, Bernard, Michael Migalski and Nicholas Noviello. 1986. Effects of multimember districts on black representation in state legislatures. Review of Black Political Economy, 14(4):65-78.
- (R23) Grofman, Bernard N. and Guillermo Owen. 1986. Condorcet models: Avenues for future research. In Bernard Grofman and Guillermo Owen (Eds.), Information Pooling and Group Decision Making. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 93-102.
- (R24) Grofman, Bernard N. and Scott L. Feld. 1986. Determining optimal weights for expert judgment. In Bernard Grofman and Guillermo Owen (Eds.), Information Pooling and Group Decision Making. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 67-172.
- (R25) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. 1986. Partial single-peakedness: an extension and clarification. Public Choice, 51:71-80.

RESEARCH NOTES AND MINOR ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (R26) Glazer, Amihai and Bernard Grofman. 1987. Two plus two plus two equals six: Term lengths of representatives and senators. Legislative Studies Quarterly, 12(4):555-563.
- (R27) Owen, Guillermo and Bernard Grofman. 1987. A theorem on the optimal allocation of effort. Revista Colombiana de Matematicas, Vol. 21 (1987) 201-212.
- (R28) Glazer, Amihai and Bernard Grofman. 1988. Limitations of the spatial model. Public Choice, 58:161-167.
- (R29) Feld, Scott L., Bernard Grofman and Nicholas Miller. 1988. Centripetal forces in spatial voting: On the size of the yolk. Public Choice, 59:37-50.
- (R30) Norrander, Barbara and Bernard Grofman. 1988. A rational choice model of citizen participation in high and low commitment electoral activities. Public Choice, 57:187-192.
- (R31) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. 1988. Majority rule outcomes and the structure of debate in one-issue-at-a-time decision making. Public Choice, 59:239-252.
- (R32) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. 1988. The Borda count in n-dimensional issue space. Public Choice, 59:167-176.
- (R33) Grofman, Bernard. 1989. Richard Nixon as Pinocchio, Richard II, and Santa Claus. Journal of Politics, 51(1):165-173.
- (R34) Glazer, Amihai and Bernard Grofman. 1989. Why representatives are ideologists though voters are not. Public Choice, 61:29-39.
- (R35) Grofman, Bernard and Scott L. Feld. Toward a sociometric theory of representation. In Manfred Kochen (Ed.), The Small World. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1988, 100-107.
- (R36) Owen, Guillermo, Bernard Grofman and Scott L. Feld. 1989. Proving a distribution-free generalization of the Condorcet jury theorem. Mathematical Social Sciences, 17:1-6.
- (R37) Grofman, Bernard. 1989. The comparative analysis of coalition formation and duration: Distinguishing between-country and within-country effects. British Journal of Political Science, 19:291-302.
- (R38) Grofman, Bernard. 1989. Introduction. In Bernard Grofman and Donald Wittman (Eds.), The 'Federalist Papers' and the New Institutionalism. NY: Agathon Press, 7-9.
- (R39) Glazer, Amihai, Bernard Grofman and Guillermo Owen. 1989. A model of candidate convergence under uncertainty about voter preferences. Mathematical and Computer Modelling, 12(4/5):437-450, reprinted in Paul E. Johnson (Ed.), Mathematical Modelling in Political Science. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1989.

RESEARCH NOTES AND MINOR ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (R40) Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, Bernard Grofman and Janet Campagna. 1989. The Political Science 400: Citations by Ph.D. Cohort and by Ph.D.- Granting Institution. PS:258-270.
- (R41) Glazer, Amihai and Bernard Grofman. 1989. Must liberals always vote for liberals, and need the more competent candidate always be preferred? British Journal of Political Science, 19:154-159.
- (R42) Grofman, Bernard and Lisa Handley. 1989. Minority population proportion and Black and Hispanic congressional success in the 1970s and 1980s. American Politics Quarterly, 17(4):436-445; reprinted in revised and updated form under the title "Preconditions for Black and Hispanic congressional success," in Wilma Rule and Joseph Zimmerman (Eds.) United States Electoral Systems: Their Impact on Women and Minorities. New York. Greenwood Press, 1992.
- (R43) Bernard Grofman and Scott L. Feld. 1989. Democratic theory and the public interest: Condorcet and Rousseau revisited. American Political Science Review, 83(4): 1328-1340.
- (R44) Grofman, Bernard, Robert Griffin and Amihai Glazer. 1990. Identical geography, different party: A natural experiment on the magnitude of party differences in the U.S. Senate, 1960-84. In Johnston, R.J., F.M. Shelley and P.J. Taylor (Eds.), Developments in Electoral Geography. London: Routledge, 207-217.
- (R45) Miller, Nicholas, Bernard Grofman and Scott L. Feld. 1990. Cycle avoiding trajectories, strategic agendas, and the duality of memory and foresight: An informal exposition. Public Choice, 64:265-277.
- (R46) Grofman, Bernard N. 1990. Introduction. In Bernard Grofman (ed.), Political Gerrymandering and the Courts. NY: Agathon Press, 3-9.
- (R47) Grofman, Bernard. 1990. Investing in knowledge production: Should political scientists be paid to think? Journal of Theoretical Politics, 2(2):231-236.
- (R48) Campagna, Janet and Bernard Grofman. 1990. Party control and partisan bias in 1980s congressional redistricting. Journal of Politics, 52(4):1242-1257.
- (R49) Miller, Nicholas, Bernard Grofman and Scott L. Feld. 1990. The structure of the Banks set. Public Choice, 66:243-251.
- (R50) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. 1991. The half-win set and the geometry of spatial voting. Public Choice, 70:245-250.
- (R51) Grofman, Bernard, Robert Griffin and Amihai Glazer. 1991. Is the Senate more liberal than the House?: Another look. Legislative Studies Quarterly, 16(2):281-295.

RESEARCH NOTES AND MINOR ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (R52) Brady, David and Bernard Grofman. 1991. Sectional differences in partisan bias and

- electoral responsiveness in U.S. House elections, 1850-1980. British Journal of Political Science, 21(Part 2):247-256.
- (R53) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. 1991. Voting in one's head as a source of nearly transitive preferences over multi-dimensional issues. Annals of Operations Research, 23:257-263.
- (R54) Grofman, Bernard. 1991. Multivariate methods and the analysis of racially polarized voting: Pitfalls in the use of social science by the courts. Social Science Quarterly, 72(4):826-833.
- (R55) Brady, David W. and Bernard Grofman. 1991. Modeling the determinants of swing ratio and bias in U.S. House elections, 1850-1980. Political Geography Quarterly, 10(3):254-262.
- (R56) Glazer, Amihai and Bernard Grofman. 1992. A positive correlation between turnout and plurality does not refute the rational voter model. Quality and Quantity, 26: 85-93.
- (R57) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. 1992. Who's afraid of the big bad cycle? Journal of Theoretical Politics, 4(2):231-237.
- (R58) Thomas, Scott J. and Bernard Grofman. 1992. Determinants of legislative success in House committees, Public Choice, 74:233-243.
- (R59) Grofman, Bernard and Chandler Davidson. 1992. Postscript: What is the best route to a color-blind society? In Bernard Grofman and Chandler Davidson (Eds.), Controversies in Minority Voting: The Voting Rights Act in Perspective. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 300-317.
- (R60) Grofman, Bernard, Robert Griffin and Amihai Glazer. 1992. The effect of black population on electing Democrats and liberals to The House of Representatives. Legislative Studies Quarterly, 17(3):365-379.
- (R61) Thomas, Scott J. and Bernard Grofman. 1992. The effects of congressional rules about bill co-sponsorship on duplicate bills: Changing incentives for credit claiming. Public Choice, 75:93-98.
- (R62) Grofman, Bernard. 1992. Meeting Dynamics. In Gregory Phifer (ed.), Readings in Parliamentary Law. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 53-58; reprinted from 1977 Parliamentary Journal, 18.
- (R63) Grofman, Bernard. 1993. Editor's Introduction. In Bernard Grofman (ed.) Information, Participation and Choice: "An Economic Theory of Democracy" in Perspective. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1-13.

RESEARCH NOTES AND MINOR ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (R64) Grofman, Bernard and Julie Withers. 1993. Information pooling models of electoral

- competition. In Bernard Grofman (ed.), Information, Participation and Choice: "An Economic Theory of Democracy" in Perspective. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 55-64.
- (R65) Wattenberg, Martin P. and Bernard Grofman. 1993. A rational choice model of the President and Vice-President as a package deal. In Bernard Grofman (ed.), Information, Participation and Choice: "An Economic Theory of Democracy" in Perspective. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 173-177.
- (R66) Grofman, Bernard. 1993. Voting rights in a multi-ethnic world. Chicano-Latino Law Review, 13(15):15-37.
- (R67) Davidson, Chandler and Bernard Grofman. 1994. Editors' Introduction. In Chandler Davidson, and Bernard Grofman (eds.), Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-1990. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 3-17.
- (R68) Davidson, Chandler and Bernard Grofman. 1994. The Voting Rights Act and the Second Reconstruction. In Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman (eds.), Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-1990. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 378-387.
- (R69) Grofman, Bernard and Lisa Handley. 1995. Racial context, the 1968 Wallace vote, and Southern presidential dealignment: Evidence from North Carolina and elsewhere. In Munroe Eagles (Ed.), Spatial and Contextual Models in Political Research. London: Taylor and Francis, 151-162.
- (R70) Grofman, Bernard, Robert Griffin and Gregory Berry. 1995. House members who become senators: Learning from a "natural experiment" in representation. Legislative Studies Quarterly, 20(4):513-529.
- (R71) Grofman, Bernard and Neil Sutherland. 1996. The effect of term limits when competition is endogenized: A preliminary model. In Bernard Grofman (ed.), Legislative Term Limits: Public Choice Perspectives. Boston: Kluwer, 175-182.
- (R72) Grofman, Bernard and Neil Sutherland. 1996. Gubernatorial term limits and term lengths in historical perspective, 1790-1990. In B. Grofman (Ed.) Legislative Term Limits: Public Choice Perspectives. Boston: Kluwer, 279-287.
- (R73) Grofman, Bernard and Andrew Reynolds. 1996. Modeling the dropoff between minority population share and the size of the minority electorate in situations of differential voter eligibility across groups. Electoral Studies, 15(2):255-261.

RESEARCH NOTES AND MINOR ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (R74) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. 1996. Stability induced by no quibbling. Group Decision and Negotiation, 5:283-294.

- (R75) Grofman, Bernard. 1997. Seven durable axes of cleavage in political science. In Kristen Monroe (Ed.), Contemporary Empirical Political Theory. Berkeley: University of California Press, 73-86.
 - (R76) Hanks, Christopher and Bernard Grofman. 1998. Turnout in gubernatorial and senatorial primary and general elections in the South, 1922-90: A rational choice model of the effects of short-run and long-run electoral competition on turnout. Public Choice, 94:407-421.
 - (R77) Grofman, Bernard, Thomas L. Brunell, and William Koetzle. 1998. Why is there sometimes midterm gain in the Senate but (almost) always midterm loss in the house? Legislative Studies Quarterly 23(1):79-89.
 - (R78) Brunell, Thomas, and Bernard Grofman. 1998. Explaining Divided U.S. Senate Delegations, 1788-1994. American Political Science Review 92(2):1-9.
 - (R79) Grofman, Bernard and Lisa Handley. Voting Rights in the 1990s: An Overview. 1998. In Bernard Grofman (Ed.) Race and Redistricting in the 1990s. New York: Agathon Press, 69-79. (An earlier and shorter version of this appeared as Bernard Grofman, The 1990s round of redistricting: A schematic outline of some key features. In Georgia Persons (ed.) Race and Representation. New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers).
 - (R80) Merrill, Samuel and Bernard Grofman. 1998. Conceptualizing voter choice for directional and discounting models of two-candidate spatial competition in terms of shadow candidates. Public Choice, 95: 219-231.
 - (R81) Grofman, Bernard, Robert Griffin and Christian Collet. 1998. Analyzing the turnout-competition link with aggregate cross-sectional data. Public Choice, 95: 233-246.
 - (R82) Grofman, Bernard. 1999. Preface: Methodological steps toward the study of embedded institutions. 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, MI: University of Michigan Press, ix-xvii.
 - (R83) Grofman, Bernard, Samuel Merrill, Thomas L. Brunell, and William Koetzle. 1999. The Potential Electoral Disadvantages of a Catch-All Party: Ideological Variance Among Republicans and Democrats in the 50 U. S. States. Party Politics 5(2): 199-210.
 - (R84) Arrington, Theodore S. and Bernard Grofman. 1999. Party registration choices as a function of the geographic distribution of partisanship: A model of "hidden partisanship" and an illustrative test. Political Geography, 18(2):173-185.
- RESEARCH NOTES AND MINOR ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)
- (R85) Brunell, Thomas, William Koetzle, John DiNardo, Bernard Grofman, and Scott L. Feld. 1999. The $R^2 = .93$: Where Then Do They Differ? Comparing liberal and conservative interest group ratings. Legislative Studies Quarterly, 14:87-101.

- (R86) Grofman, Bernard, Evald Mikkel, and Rein Taagepera. 1999. Electoral systems change in Estonia, 1989-1993. The Journal of Baltic Studies, 30(3):227-249.
- (R87) Grofman, Bernard, Evald Mikkel, and Rein Taagepera. 2000. Fission and fusion of parties in Estonia, 1987-1999. Journal of Baltic Studies, 31(4): 329-357.
- (R88) Grofman, Bernard. 2000. Civil rights, the Constitution, common decency and common sense. In Bernard Grofman (ed.), Legacies of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 219-230.
- (R89) Grofman, Bernard, William Koetzle, Samuel Merrill, and Thomas Brunell. 2001. Changes in the Location of the Median Voter in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1963-1996. Public Choice, 106(3-4):221-232.
- (R90) Regenwetter, Michel, Bernard Grofman and Anthony Marley. 2002. "On the model dependence of majority preference relations reconstructed from ballot or survey data." Mathematical Social Sciences 43(3):451-466.
- (R91) Ray, Leonard, Scott L. Feld and Bernard Grofman. 2003. Implications of Expansion of the European Union for Decisions Within the EU Council. Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche, vols. 2-3:37-58. (Published in Italian)
- (R92) Grofman, Bernard and Scott L. Feld. 2004. If you like the alternative vote (a.k.a. the instant runoff) then you ought to know about the Coombs Rule. Electoral Studies 23:641-659.
- (R93) Grofman, Bernard. 2004. Rein Taagepera's approach to the study of electoral systems. Journal of Baltic Studies 35(2): 167-185.
- (R94) Johnston, Gregory, Leonard Ray, Scott Feld, and Bernard Grofman. 2004. The Impacts of Voting Rules on Acceding EU Member States. Rivista di Politica Economica, #VII-VIII (year XCIV, 3rd series, pp. 105-120; Reprinted in Geoffrey Brennan (ed.) Coercive Power and its Allocation in the Emergent Europe. Palgrave-Macmillan, 2005, pp. 103-117.
- (R95) Grofman, Bernard and Scott Feld. 2005. Thinking About the Political Impacts of the Electoral College. Public Choice, 123:1-18.

RESEARCH NOTES AND MINOR ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (R96) Fraenkel, Jonathan and Bernard Grofman. 2005. Editor's Introduction – Special Issue: Political Culture, Representation and Electoral Systems in the Pacific Islands. Commonwealth and Comparative Politics (Fraenkel, Jon and Bernard Grofman, eds.) 43(3):261-275.

- (R97) Grofman, Bernard. 2006. "The Impacts of Electoral Laws on Political Parties. In Weingast, Barry R. and Donald Wittman (eds) The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 102-118.
- (R98) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. 2007. The Laakso-Taagepera Index in a Means and Variance Framework. Journal of Theoretical Politics 19 (1): 101-106.
- (R99) Grofman, Bernard. 2007. Toward a science of politics? European Political Science. 6: 143-155.
- (R100) Masuoka, Natalie, Bernard Grofman and Scott Feld. 2007. The Political Science 400: A 20-Year Update." PS: Political Science & Politics 40(1):133-145.
- (R101) Masuoka, Natalie, Bernard Grofman and Scott L. Feld. 2007. "Production and Placement of Ph.D's: 1902-2000." PS: Political Science & Politics 40: (4) 361-366.
- (R102) Masuoka, Natalie, Bernard Grofman and Scott L. Feld. 2007. Ranking Departments: A Comparison of Alternative Approaches. PS: Political Science & Politics 40: 531-537.
- (R103) Frankel, Jon and Bernard Grofman. 2007. The Merits of New-Downsian Modeling of the Alternative Vote: A Reply to Horowitz. Public Choice 133:1-11.
- (R104) Fowler, James H., Grofman, Bernard and Natalie Masuoka. 2007. Social Networks in Political Science: Hiring and Placement of Ph.D.s, 1960-2002. PS: Political Science & Politics 40:(4) 729-739.
- (R105) Grofman, Bernard. 2008. A Taxonomy of Runoff Methods. Electoral Studies 27: 395-399.

RESEARCH NOTES AND MINOR ARTICLES (in print and forthcoming)

- (R106) Brunell, Thomas and Bernard Grofman. 2008. The Partisan Consequences of *Baker v. Carr* and the 'One Person, One Vote' Revolution. In Handley, Lisa and Bernard Grofman (Eds.) Redistricting in Comparative Perspective. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 225-236.
- (R107) Lemennicier, B., Lescieux-Katir H., and Bernard Grofman. 2008. When Does the Candidate Supported by the Median Voter Win? French Presidential Elections, 1965-2007. French Politics, (6) 388-394.
- (R108) Grofman, Bernard and Matt A. Barreto. 2009. A Reply to Zax's (2002) Critique of Grofman and Migalski (1988): 'Double Equation Approaches to Ecological Inference When the Independent Variable is Misspecified.' Sociological Methods & Research, 37(4): 599-617.
- (R109) Grofman, Bernard. 2009. Determinants of Political Science Faculty Salaries at the University of California. PS: Political Science & Politics, 43(4) 719-727.
- (R110) Grofman, Bernard and Reuben Kline. 2010. Evaluating the Impact of Vice-Presidential Selection on Voter Choice. Presidential Studies Quarterly, 40 (2): 303-309.
- (R111) Grofman, Bernard and Reuben Kline. 2010. A New Measure for Understanding the Tenure of U.S. Supreme Court Justices, 1789-2009. Judicature, 93(6): 247-252.
- (R112) Grofman, Bernard. 2010. Constraints on the Turnout Gap Between High and Low Knowledge (or Income) Voters: Combining the Duncan-Davis Method of Bounds with the Taagepera Method of Bounds. Electoral Studies 29 (4): 673-677.
- (R113) Grofman, Bernard. F. Electoral Systems. 2011. In Bertrand Badie, Dirk Berg-Schlosser and Leonardo Morlino (Eds.) International Handbook of Political Science. Sage Publications, XXX

PREPARED TESTIMONY AND PHOTO-OFFSET CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

- (T1) Mathematics and politics: Mathematical reasoning and optimal jury decision processes. Plus, Reply. In Max Black (Ed.), Problems of Choice and Decision: Proceedings of a Colloquium Held in Aspen, Colorado, June 24-July 6, 1974. Cornell University Program on Science, Technology, and Society and Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies: Photo-offset, 1975, 331-337; 544-547.
- (T2) A comment on Black's 'rationality and cultural relativism.' In Max Black (Ed.), Problems of Choice and Decision: Proceedings of a Colloquium Held in Aspen, Colorado, June 24-July 6, 1974. Cornell University Program on Science, Technology, and Society and Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies: Photo-offset, 1975, 161-190.
- (T3) Grofman, Bernard, Scott L. Feld and Guillermo Owen. Synopsis: A Bayesian approach to optimal decision making. In J. L. Elohim (Ed.), Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Systems and Cybernetics, Mexico City, August 13-17, 1981, photo-offset, 1981.
- (T4) Comment on H.R. 2349, a bill on standards for congressional redistricting. Prepared for the staff of the Wednesday Study Group, U.S. House of Representatives, April 1981.
- (T5) Report on the constitutionality of Hawaii Reapportionment Commission's proposed state legislative redistricting. Prepared testimony in Travis v. King, U.S. District Court for the State of Hawaii, March 23-24, 1982, photo-offset.
- (T6) Report to the Special Master on methodology used to insure compliance with standards of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Flateau v. Anderson. U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, June 7, 1982, photo-offset.
- (T7) The disadvantageous effects of at-large elections on the success of minority candidates for the Charlotte and Raleigh City Councils. Prepared testimony in Gingles v. Edmisten. U.S. District Court for the State of North Carolina, August 1983, photo-offset.
- (T8) Effects of multimember districts in state legislative elections in eight North Carolina counties, 1978-1982. Prepared testimony in Gingles v. Edmisten, U.S. District Court for the State of North Carolina, August 1983, photo-offset. (Also see R22.)
- (T9) Report on prima facie evidence of political gerrymandering in the 1983 California Congressional redistricting plan, plus Rejoinder. Prepared testimony in Badham v. Eu, U.S. District Court for the State of California, December 1983, photo-offset.
- (T10) Report on the effects of the proposed redistricting plan for the South Carolina Senate. Prepared testimony in South Carolina v. U.S., U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia, photo-offset, July 1984.

PREPARED TESTIMONY AND PHOTO-OFFSET CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS (cont.)

- (T11) Affidavits in Haskins v. Wilson County, U.S. District Court for the State of North Carolina, photo-offset, 1985-86.
- (T12) Affidavit in Jackson v. Nash County, U.S. District Court for the State of North Carolina, April 1986.
- (T13) Affidavits in U.S. v. City Council of Los Angeles, U.S. District Court for the State of California, July 1986.
- (T14) Declarations in Gomez v. City of Watsonville, U.S. District Court for the State of California, August and October 1986.
- (T15) Declarations in McGhee et al. v. Granville County of North Carolina, U.S. District Court for the State of North Carolina, 1987.
- (T16) Declarations in Badillo et al. v. City of Stockton, U.S. District Court for the State of California, December 1987 and February 1988.
- (T17) Affidavits in Republican National Committee of North Carolina v. James G. Martin, U.S. District Court for the State of North Carolina, July, August 1988.
- (T18) Report in Chisom v. Roemer, Civil Action No. 86-4075 in the Eastern District of Louisiana, October 1988, revised March 1989.
- (T19) Affidavits regarding minority representation in the 1988 Republican National Convention, August 5, 1988, and August 8, 1988.
- (T20) Report in Garza v. Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors. U.S. District Court for the State of California, April 1989; Declaration, October 26, 1989.
- (T21) Report for the Alaska Districting Commission on racially polarized voting in elections to the Alaska legislature, May 1991.
- (T22) Report in Republican State Party of Massachusetts v. Connolly, U.S. District Court for the State of Massachusetts, December 1991.
- (T23) Declaration in Pope et al. v. Blue et al., U.S. District Court, Western District, Charlotte, North Carolina Division, March 5, 1992.
- (T24) Declaration in Prosser v. State of Wisconsin Board of Elections, U.S. District Court for the State of Wisconsin, April 1992.
- (T25) Reports for State of Alaska on the 1992 legislative districts, November 1993, January 1994.

PREPARED TESTIMONY AND PHOTO-OFFSET CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS (cont.)

- (T26) Declaration in Republican Party of North Carolina v. James B. Hunt, Governor of North Carolina, April 1994.
- (T27) Expert witness declaration in Bush. v Vera, U.S. District Court, Texas, July 18, 1996.
- (T28) Expert witness declaration in Shaw v. Hunt, U.S. District Court, North Carolina, July 24, 1996.
- (T29) Expert witness declaration in Garcia v. City of Los Angeles, U.S. District Court, California, November 20, 1996.
- (T30) Expert witness reports in Arrington et al. v. Elections Bd. 173 F. Supp. 2d 856 U.S. District Court, Eastern Division, Wisconsin, January, February and March, 2002.
- (T31) Expert witness affidavit in Rodriguez et al. v. Pataki, et al., Case No. 02 Civ. 618, 01 Civ. 3843, U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, May 11, 2002.
- (T32) Report on Election Rules for Determining Representation on New York City Community District Education Councils. Prepared for NYC Dept of Education, October, 2003.
- (T33) Grofman, Bernard and Gary Jacobson. Amicus Brief in the U.S. Supreme Court on Behalf of Neither Party in Vieth v. Jubelirer 541 U.S. 267 (2004)
- (T34) King, Gary, Bernard Grofman, Jonathan Katz and Andrew Gelman. Amicus Brief, in the U.S. Supreme Court on Behalf of Neither Party in LULAC v. Perry 126 S. Ct. 2549 (2006)
- (T35) Persily, Nathaniel, Bernard Grofman, Bruce Cain, Theodore Arrington and Lisa Handley. Amicus Brief in the U.S. Supreme Court on Behalf of Neither Party in Bartlett v. Strickland No. 07-689. (2008)

BOOK NOTES, REVIEWS AND COMMUNICATIONS (in print)

- (B1) Book note: Robert's Rules of Order (New, Revised). 1970. American Political Science Review, 64:1288-1290.
- (B2) The 1970 APSA election." 1972. PS, (Summer):278-289.
- (B3) A note on some generalizations of the paradox of cyclical majorities. 1972. Public Choice, 12:113-114.
- (B4) Book note: John Sohnquist, Multivariate Model Building. 1974. American Political Science Review, 69:1749.
- (B5) Rational choice models and self-fulfilling and self-defeating prophecies. In W. Leinfellner and E. Kohler (Eds.), Developments in the Methodology of Social Science, Boston: Reidel, 1974, 381-383.
- (B6) A comment on "Democratic theory: A preliminary mathematical model." 1975. Public Choice, 21:100-103.
- (B7) Book note: William H. Riker and Peter C. Ordeshook, An Introduction to Positive Political Theory. 1976. Theory and Decision, 231-234.
- (B8) A comment on "Single-peakedness and Guttman scales: Concept and measurement." 1976. Public Choice, 28:107-111.
- (B9) Communication: Sloppy sampling - a comment on "six-member juries in the Federal Courts." 1977. Social Action and the Law Newsletter, 4(2):4-5.
- (B10) Communication: 'Differential effects of jury size. . .' revisited. 1977. Social Action and the Law Newsletter, 4(2):7-11.
- (B11) Monopoly, the state of the art: A review of The Monopoly Book and 1000 Ways to Win Monopoly Games. 1978. Simulation and Games, 9:245-251. (Reprinted in Sigelman et al. (Eds.), The Wit and Humor of Political Science. APSA.)
- (B12) Monopoly is a capitalist plot. 1978. Simulation and Games, 9(2): 252-254. (Reprinted in 1979, Puzzles and Games, 70).
- (B13) Book note: Keith M. Baker, Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics. 1978. American Political Science Review, 72(1): 212-213.
- (B14) Book note: Oliver Thomson, Mass Persuasion in History. 1978. Journal of Communication, (Autumn):204-205.

BOOK NOTES, REVIEWS AND COMMUNICATIONS (in print) (cont.)

- (B15) A comment on Dye and McManus' use of discriminant function analysis. 1978. Political Methodology, 5:241-248.
- (B16) Book note: Michael Saks, Jury Verdicts. 1979. Social Action and the Law Newsletter, 5(1):9-11.
- (B17) Book note: Michael Tracey, The Production of Political Television. 1979. Journal of Communication, 29(4):211-212.
- (B18) A note on Abraham Lincoln in probabilityland. 1979. Theory and Decision, 11:453-455.
- (B19) The case for majority jury verdicts. 1979. Trial Magazine, 18(12): 23-25, 29, 47-48.
- (B20) Book review: Michael Taylor, Anarchy and Cooperation. 1980. Theory and Decision, 12:107-114.
- (B21) Book note: Susan Hensley, Body Politics: Power, Sex, and Nonverbal Communication. American Political Science Review, Vol. 74 (March 1980), 166-167.
- (B22) Book note: Howard D. Hamilton, Electing the Cincinnati City Council: An Examination of Alternative Electoral-Representation Systems. 1981. American Political Science Review, 75:771-772.
- (B23) Comment: Should representatives be 'typical' of their constituents? In B. Grofman, A. Lijphart, R. McKay, and H. Scarrow (Eds.), Representation and Redistricting Issues. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1982, 97-99.
- (B24) Book note: Bruce J. West (Ed.), Mathematical Models as a Tool for the Social Sciences. 1982. Social Sciences Quarterly, 63:610-611.
- (B25) Book review: Political geography. 1982. American Political Science Review, 76(4):883-885.
- (B26) Abstract: Measuring the political consequences of electoral laws. 1983. Mathematical Social Sciences, 4(2):184-186.
- (B27) Comment: Models of voter turnout: A brief idiosyncratic review. 1983. Public Choice, 41: 55-61.
- (B28) Advice to the expert witness in court. 1984. PS (Winter): 60-61.
- (B29) Should you brush your on November 6, 1984? 1984. PS (Summer): 577-580. (Reprinted in Sigelman et al. (Eds.), The Wit and Humor of Political Science. APSA, 2010.)

BOOK NOTES, REVIEWS AND COMMUNICATIONS (in print)

- (B30) Introduction to minisymposium: Political gerrymandering: Badham v. Eu, Political

science goes to court. 1985. PS (Summer): 538-543.

- (B31) Grofman Declarations in Badham v. Eu (excerpts). 1985. PS (Summer 544-549, 573-574.
- (B32) Expert vs. expert: Lessons from Badham v. Eu. 1985. PS (Summer): 576-581.
- (B33) Book review: Reasonable methods for aggregating preferences, a review of Steven J. Brams and Peter C. Fishburn Approval Voting. 1985. Journal of Mathematical Psychology, 29: 128-132.
- (B34) Reflections on academia. 1986. PS (Winter): 57-61.(Reprinted in Sigelman et al. (Eds.), The Wit and Humor of Political Science. APSA, 2010.)
- (B35) Everything you always wanted to know about parliamentary procedure in an academic senate and were afraid to ask. 1986. PS (1986): 661-668.
- (B36) Book note: Gunnar Boalt, The Political Process. 1986. Contemporary Sociology, 15(3):469.
- (B37) Book review: Michael Dummett, Voting Procedures. 1986. Contemporary Sociology, 15(4):637-638.
- (B38) Biographical entry: Duncan Black. The New Palgrave: A Dictionary of Economics. 1987. New York: Stockton Press, 250-251. (Reprinted in the 2nd edition: Steven Durlauf and Lawrence Blume, Eds., 2007.)
- (B39) Biographical entry: Lewis Carroll. The New Palgrave: A Dictionary of Economics. 1987. New York: Stockton Press, 371-372.
- (B40) Book review: Schmucl Nitzan and Jacob Parousch, Collective Decision-Making: An Economic Outlook. 1987. Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization, 168-170.
- (B41) Grofman, Bernard and Michael Migalski. 1988. The return of the native: The supply elasticity of the American Indian population, 1950-1980. Public Choice, 57: 85-88.
- (B42) The minimax blame rule for voter choice: Help for the undecided voter on November 8, 1988. 1988. PS (Summer):639-640. .(Reprinted in Sigelman et al. (Eds.), The Wit and Humor of Political Science. APSA, 2010.)
- (B43) Book note: Manfred Holler (Ed.), The logic of multi-party systems. 1988. Political Geography Quarterly, 7(3):300-301.
- (B44) Book note: Michael Hechter, Principles of Group Solidarity. 1989. American Political Science Review 83(2):323-324.

BOOK NOTES, REVIEWS AND COMMUNICATIONS (in print)

- (B45) Pool, Jonathan and Bernard Grofman. 1989. Linguistic artificiality and cognitive

competence. In Klaus Schubert (ed.), Interlinguistics: Aspects of the Science of Planned Languages. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 145-156.

- (B46) Uncle Wuffle's advice to the advanced graduate student. 1989. PS (December): 838-839.
- (B47) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. 1990. A theorem connecting Shapley-Owen power scores and the radius of the yolk in two dimensions. Social Choice and Welfare, 7:71-74.
- (B48) Hofeller, Thomas and Bernard Grofman. 1990. Comparing the compactness of California congressional districts under three different plans, 1980, 1982 and 1984. In Bernard Grofman (ed.), Political Gerrymandering and the Courts. NY: Agathon Press, 281-288.
- (B49) Kernell, Samuel and Bernard Grofman. 1990. Determining the predictability of partisan voting patterns in California elections, 1978-1984. In Bernard Grofman (ed.), Political Gerrymandering and the Courts. NY: Agathon Press, 289-295.
- (B50) Book review: Edward Carmines and James Stimson, Issue Evolution. 1990. International Journal of Public Opinion Research, 2(2):185-190.
- (B51) Rejoinder: Straw men and stray bullets, a reply to Bullock. 1991. Social Science Quarterly, 72(4):840-843.
- (B52) Grofman, Bernard. 1991. Questions of Electoral Fairness (translated into Japanese by Kyoji Wakata) in Nomp No. 2, Kansai University Institute of Legal Studies, Osaka, Japan, 19-24.
- (B53) Grofman, Bernard and Chandler Davidson. 1992. Editors' Introduction: Issues and controversies in voting rights. In Bernard Grofman and Chandler Davidson (eds.), Controversies in Minority Voting: A 25 Year Perspective on the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Washington, D.C. The Brookings Institution, 1-3.
- (B54) Grofman, Bernard and Davidson, Chandler. Comment on "The study of race, history, and politics." CLIO (Newsletter, American Political Science Association Section on Politics & History), Fall/Winter, 1992/1993, 4-5.
- (B55) Zimmerman, Joseph F. and Bernard Grofman. 1992. In Memoriam: Leon Weaver. PS, 25(1):97.
- (B56) Grofman, Bernard. 1992. A corollary to the third axiom of general semantics. Journal of Theoretical Politics, 4(2):238-240.
- (B57) Grofman, Bernard. 1992. Book note: Laver and Schofield, Coalitions, Social Choice and Welfare, 265-266

BOOK NOTES, REVIEWS AND COMMUNICATIONS (in print) (cont.)

- (B58) Grofman, Bernard. 1993. Is turnout the paradox that ate rational choice theory? In Bernard Grofman (ed.), Information, Participation and Choice: 'An Economic Theory of Democracy' in Perspective. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 93-103.
- (B59) Grofman, Bernard. 1993. On the gentle art of rational choice bashing. In Bernard Grofman (ed.) Information, Participation and Choice: 'An Economic Theory of Democracy' in Perspective. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 239-242.
- (B60) Grofman, Bernard. 1993. Advice to the Assistant Professor, PS (March):89-90.
- (B61) Grofman, Bernard. The political economy of the automobile - Four approaches. Journal of Theoretical Politics, Vol. 5, No 3, (July, 1993): 409-412. (Reprinted in Sigelman et al. (Eds.), The Wit and Humor of Political Science. APSA, 2010.)
- (B62) Grofman, Bernard. 1993. Throwing darts at double regression and missing the target. Social Science Quarterly, 74(3):478-487.
- (B63) Grofman, Bernard. 1993. Lessons of Athenian democracy: Editor's Introduction, The 2500th Anniversary of Democracy. PS, (September): 471-474.
- (B64) Grofman, Bernard. 1994. Book review. John Craven, Social Choice: A Framework for Collective Decisions and Individual Judgements. Ethics, 104(2):430-431.
- (B65) Grofman, Bernard. 1994. Book note: Geoffrey Brennan and Loren Lomansky, Democracy and Decision: The Pure Theory of Electoral Preference. American Political Science Review, 88(2):439-440.
- (B66) Grofman, Bernard. 1995. Anthony Downs. In S.M. Lipset et al. (eds.), Encyclopedia of Democracy, Washington D. C.: Congressional Quarterly Books, 378-380.
- (B67) Grofman, Bernard. 1995. Districting. In S.M. Lipset et al. (eds.), Encyclopedia of Democracy, Washington D. C.: Congressional Quarterly Books, 367-372.
- (B68) Grofman, Bernard. 1995. Shaw v. Reno and the Future of Voting Rights PS (March): 27-36.
- (B69) Davidson, Chandler and Bernard Grofman. 1996. Letter to the Editor in rebuttal to Carol Swain. Chronicle of Higher Education, (November):10.
- (B70) Grofman, Bernard. 1996. Introduction to the Term Limits Debate: Hypotheses in Search of Data. In Bernard Grofman (Ed.) Legislative Term Limits: Public Choice Perspectives. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1-18.

BOOK NOTES, REVIEWS AND COMMUNICATIONS (in print)

- (B71) Grofman, Bernard and Christian Collet. 1997. Why Democrats shouldn't vote (with acknowledgments to Robert Erikson). Journal of Theoretical Politics, 9(1):137-140. (Reprinted in Sigelman et al. (Eds.), The Wit and Humor of Political Science. APSA, 2010.)
- (B72) Brunell, Thomas, Bernard Grofman. 1997. The 1992 and 1996 presidential elections: Whatever happened to the Republican electoral college lock? Presidential Studies Quarterly. 27(1):134-138.
- (B73) Merrill, Samuel and Bernard Grofman. 1997. Response to Macdonald and Rabinowitz. Journal of Theoretical Politics, 9(1):57-60.
- (B74) Grofman, Bernard, Thomas Brunell and William Koetzle. 1997. Death, where is thy sting? The Senate as a Ponce (de Leon) scheme. PS, 1:58-59. (Reprinted in Journal of Irreproducible Results, 1999, 44(5): 25-26. (Reprinted in Sigelman et al. (Eds.), The Wit and Humor of Political Science. APSA.)
- (B75) Grofman, Bernard and Shaun Bowler. 1997. STV in the family of electoral systems. Representation, 34(1):43-47.
- (B76) Grofman, Bernard. 1997. Book Note: Duncan Black. "Formal contributions to the theory of public choice." Public Choice, 7:1-3.
- (B77) Grofman, Bernard. 1998. Rebuttal to Wuffle and Collet's supposedly irrefutable evidence that higher turnout benefits Republicans. Journal of Theoretical Politics 10(2):251-255
- (B78) Grofman, Bernard Sung-Chull Lee, Edwin Winckler, and Brian Woodall. 1999. Introduction. 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, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- (B79) Grofman, Bernard. 1999. Credo of a "reasonable choice" modeler. Journal of Theoretical Politics, 11(2): 203-206.
- (B80) Grofman, Bernard. 2000. Editor's Introduction. In Bernard Grofman (ed.) Legacies of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1-6.
- (B81) Grofman, Bernard. 2000. Electoral districting. In Leonard W. Levy, Kenneth L. Karst and Adam Winkler (eds.) Encyclopedia of the American Constitution, New York: Macmillan Publishing Co.

BOOK NOTES, REVIEWS AND COMMUNICATIONS (in print)

- (B82) Grofman, Bernard. 2000. Miller v. Johnson. In Leonard W. Levy, Kenneth L. Karst and Adam Winkler (eds.) Encyclopedia of the American Constitution, New York: Macmillan Publishing Co.
- (B83) Grofman, Bernard. 2000. Shaw v. Reno and its progeny. In Leonard W. Levy, Kenneth L. Karst and Adam Winkler (eds.) Encyclopedia of the American Constitution, New York: Macmillan Publishing Co.
- (B84) Grofman, Bernard. The Downsian model of elections. 2000. In Richard Rose (ed.) International Encyclopedia of Elections. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 70-72.
- (B85) Bowler, Shaun and Bernard Grofman. 2000. Introduction: STV in an Embedded Institution. In Bowler, Shaun and Bernard Grofman (Eds.) Elections in Australia, Ireland and Malta Under the Single Transferable Vote. Ann Arbor MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1-14.
- (B86) Bowler, Shaun and Bernard Grofman. 2000. Conclusion: STV's Place in the Family of Electoral Systems. In Bowler, Shaun and Bernard Grofman (Eds.) Elections in Australia, Ireland and Malta Under the Single Transferable Vote. Ann Arbor MI: The University of Michigan Press, 265-270.
- (B87) Grofman, Bernard. 2000. Book Review: David T. Canon. Race, Redistricting and Representation. The Unintended Consequences of Black Majority Districts. Public Choice, 105:201-205.
- (B88) Grofman, Bernard. 2001. Apportionment, political; gerrymander; reapportionment. In Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes (Eds.) International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, 1: 598-601.
- (B89) Grofman, Bernard. 2001. A note of caution in interpreting the threshold of exclusion. Electoral Studies, 20:299-303.
- (B90) Grofman, Bernard. 2003. Electoral laws, parties, and public policy (published in Japanese). In Yukio Adachi and Tosimasa Moriwaki (Eds.) Public Policy: A Festschrift for Katsumi Yamakawa. Kyoto, Japan: Shobo, Ltd. 299-311.
- (B91) Grofman, Bernard. 2004. Alternative voting methods. In Charles Rowley and Friedrich Schneider (eds.), Encyclopedia of Public Choice, 9-12.
- (B92) Grofman, Bernard. 2004. Arrow's impossibility theorem. In Charles Rowley and Friedrich Schneider (eds.), Encyclopedia of Public Choice, 25-27.

BOOK NOTES, REVIEWS AND COMMUNICATIONS (in print)

- (B93) Grofman, Bernard. 2004. Black's single-peakedness condition. In Charles Rowley and Friedrich Schneider (eds.), Encyclopedia of Public Choice, 43-45.
- (B94) Grofman, Bernard. 2004. Comment on Gordon Tullock's 'A curmudgeon's view of the EMU.' In Guiseppe Eusepi and Friedrich Schneider (eds.) Changing Institutions in the European Union: A Public Choice Perspective. New York: Edward Elgar.
- (B95) Grofman, Bernard. 2004. The prospects of electoral reform (foreword). In Josep Colomer (ed.), Handbook of Electoral System Choice. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, pp. xi-xx.
- (B96) Grofman, Bernard. 2005. Ph.D.s Without Borders? Drawing Subdisciplinary Boundaries in Political Science. APSA Comparative Politics Section Newsletter, 16(1): 8-11.
- (B97) Grofman, Bernard. 2005. Comparisons among electoral systems: Distinguishing between localism and candidate-centered politics. Electoral Studies, 24(4): 735-740.
- (B98) Grofman, Bernard. 2005. Contribution and Spending Limits for Initiatives or Other Ballot Propositions: What Evidence is Needed to Justify a Particular Regulatory Regime? Southern California Law Review, 78: 927-937.
- (B99) Gray, Mark M. and Bernard Grofman. 2005. Vindicating Anthony Downs. PS, 38(4): 737-740. (Reprinted in Sigelman et al. (Eds.), The Wit and Humor of Political Science. APSA, 2010.)
- (B100) Grofman, Bernard and Michael Lewis-Beck. 2005. "Elections Under the French Double-Ballot System: Guest Editors' Introduction to the Minisymposium." French Politics, 3(2):93-97
- (B101) Fraenkel, Jonathan and Bernard Grofman. 2006. "The Failure of the Alternative Vote as a Tool for Promoting Ethnic Moderation in Fiji." Comparative Political Studies, 39(5):663-666.
- (B102) Uncle Wuffle's Advice on Job Talks. 2006. PS: Political Science and Politics (2006), 39: 883-886.
- (B103) Grofman, Bernard and Lisa Handley. 2009. Editors' Introduction. In Handley, Lisa and Bernard Grofman (Eds). Redistricting in Comparative Perspective. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3-8.

BOOK NOTES, REVIEWS AND COMMUNICATIONS (in print)

- (B104) Anthony Downs. 2008. In Charles Rowley and Friedrich Schneider (Eds.) Readings in Public Choice and Constitutional Political Economy. Springer Verlag. 91-96.
- (B104) Kenneth Arrow. 2008. In Charles Rowley and Friedrich Schneider (Eds.) Readings in Public Choice and Constitutional Political Economy. Springer Verlag. 85-90.
- (B105) Fraenkel, Jon and Bernard Grofman. Electoral Engineering, Social Cleavages and Democracy. Public Choice, forthcoming
- (B106) Grofman, Bernard, Shaun Bowler and Andre Blais. 2008. Editors' Introduction. In Grofman, Bernard, Shaun Bowler, and Andre Blais (Eds.) Duverger's Law in Canada, India, the U.S. and the U.K. Berlin: Springer Verlag. XXX-XXX.
- (B107) Grofman, Bernard, Shaun Bowler and Andre Blais. 2008. Guest Editors' Introduction to the Minisymposium on Runoff Elections. Electoral Studies, XXX-XXX.
- (B108) Grofman, Bernard. 2010. Reflections on Prediction. In Sigelman et al. (Eds.), The Wit and Humor of Political Science. American Political Science Association, XXX-XXX
- (B109) Grofman, Bernard. 2010. Voter Advice in the Presidential Election of 2008: A Guide for the Perplexed. In Sigelman et al. (Eds.) The Wit and Humor of Political Science, APSA, XXX-XXX
- (B110) Editors' Introduction. 2011. In Giannetti, Daniela and Bernard Grofman (Eds.) A Natural Experiment on Electoral Law Reform: Evaluating the Long Run Consequences of 1990s Electoral Reform in Italy and Japan. Springer, XXX-XXX
- (B111) Editors' Introduction. 2011. In Dolez, Bernard, Bernard Grofman and Annie Laurent Eds.) In Situ and Laboratory Experiments on Electoral Law Reform: French Presidential Elections. Springer, XXX-XXX
- (B112) Editors' Introduction. 2011. In Sigelman, Lee, Kenneth Newton, Kenneth J. Meier, and Bernard Grofman (Eds.) The Wit and Humor of Political Science. American Political Science Association, XXX-XXX.
- (B113) Editors' Introduction. 2011. In Dolez, Bernard, Bernard Grofman and Annie Laurent (Eds.) Mini-symposium "The Legacy of Maurice Duverger" (translated into French). Revue Internationale Politiques Comparées, XXX-XXX.
- (B114) Grofman, Bernard, Craig L. Brians and Christine Coulter. Forthcoming. The Neglected Importance of Temperature: Implications for State Level Voter Turnout and for Life Expectancy. PS, XXX-XXX

SEMIPROFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS (in print)

- (S1) Grofman, Bernard. 1971. Voting tactics: A neglected study, parts I, II. Parliamentary Journal, 12(3):3-15; 12(4):19-26.
- (S2) Grofman, Bernard and Howard Scarrow. 1977. Who knows the score on the board of supervisors? 1977. Opinion-Editorial Page, Newsday, March 6, 1977.
- (S3) Grofman, Bernard. 1979. My years as parliamentarian to the United States National Student Association. Parliamentary Journal, 20:18-21.
- (S4) Grofman, Bernard and Howard Scarrow. 1981. The riddle of apportionment: Equality of what? National Civic Review, 70(5):242-254.
- (S5) Grofman, Bernard. 1984. The Democratic party is alive and well. Society, 18-21.
- (S6) Baker, Gordon E. and Bernard Grofman. 1986. Court should plunge deeper into gerrymandering thicket. Opinion-Editorial Page, Los Angeles Times, July 15.
- (S7) Baker, Gordon E. and Bernard Grofman. 1986. California's gerrymander and the U.S. Supreme Court. Opinion-Editorial Page, The Sacramento Bee, July 30.
- (S8) Grofman, Bernard. 1987. Should city councils be elected by district? PRO. Western Cities Magazine, 4:30-31.
- (S9) Baker, Gordon E. and Bernard Grofman. 1988. What now for gerrymandering? Opinion-Editorial Page, The San Diego Union, November 18.
- (S10) Loewen, James W. and Bernard Grofman. 1989. Comment: Recent developments in methods used in voting rights litigation. Urban Lawyer 21(3):589-604.
- (S11) Grofman, Bernard. 1991. Voting rights, voting wrongs: The legacy of Baker v. Carr. A report of the Twentieth Century Fund. New York: Priority Press (distributed through the Brookings Institution), 1991.
- (S12) Grofman, Bernard. 1991. Voting rights may be an issue in Santa Ana. Opinion-Editorial Page, Los Angeles Times (Orange County Edition), August 5.
- (S13) Grofman, Bernard. 1991. Race and redistricting: No one is using the Voting Rights Act to "whiten" majority districts. Opinion-Editorial Page, Washington Post, October 21.
- (S14) Grofman, Bernard. 1993. High court ruling won't doom racial gerrymandering. Opinion-Editorial Page, Chicago Tribune, July 9.

SEMIPROFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS (in print) (cont.)

- (S15) Grofman, Bernard. 1993. The Denny beating trial: justice in the balance. Opinion-Editorial Page, Chicago Tribune, November 3.
- (S16) Reynolds, Andrew S. and Bernard N. Grofman. 1994. Everyone loses in South Africa boycott. Opinion-Editorial Page, Chicago Tribune, March 28.
- (S17) Grofman, Bernard. 1994. An introduction to racial bloc voting analysis. With an annotated select bibliography on racial bloc voting and related topics. Atlanta, GA: Southern Regional Council.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- (O1) Chicago. In David Glazier (Ed.), Student Travel in America. New York: Pyramid Publication, 1968. (Under pseudonym.)
- (O2) Chicago: Hyde Park and the University of Chicago, the Loop and Near-North. In Where the Fun is: East of the Mississippi. NY: Simon and Schuster, 1969. (Under pseudonym.)

SOCIAL SCIENCES WORKING PAPERS AND RESEARCH REPORTS

- (W1) Note: Confessions of a mad modeler, Research Report R6, School of Social Sciences, University of California, June 1978.
- (W2) Note: The paradox of voting in a faculty appointment decision (with Steven Brown). Research Report R6, School of Social Sciences, University of California, Irvine, June 1978.

WEBSITE POSTINGS

- (W1) A Comment on Lowi and Calise. Posted in June, 1999, on the website of the IPSA Research Committee on Conceptual and Terminological Analysis:
<http://www2.hawaii.edu/%7Efredr/grofman.htm>
- (W2) "Questions and Answers about Motor Voter: An Important Reform That Is Not Just for Democrats" Posted in 1995, on the website of the Center for Voting and Democracy
<http://www.fairvote.org/reports/1995/chp6/grofman.html>
- (W3) Grofman, Bernard. 2006. "This Way to the Egress and Other Reflections on Partisan Gerrymandering Claims in Light of LULAC v. Perry." Michigan Law Review on line:
<http://students.law.umich.edu/mlr/firstimpressions/vol105/grofman.pdf>

CURRENT RESEARCH

Much of my current research is in behavioral social choice, linking mathematical models of group and individual decision making to empirical evidence, with a focus on electoral behavior and voter choice and issues connected with representation and redistricting, political parties and coalitions. I also have strong side interests in individual and group information processing; political propaganda, particularly political cartooning and satire; and in law and social science, particularly in the domain of civil rights; as well as in using computers as a teaching aid; and in statistical training for citizen literacy.

CONFERENCE GRANTS

- 2011-12 Collaborative Workshops on Ethnic Politics and Electoral Democracy (NCCR Democracy, University of Zurich, \$27,00, with Daniel Bochsler)
- 2008 Conference on Long Term Consequences of Electoral Rules Change: Comparing Italy and Japan. Bologna Italy, November 28-29, 2008. (UCI Center for the Study of Democracy supplemental funding \$7,500).
- 2006 Conference on Plurality and Runoff Methods in Canada, United States and United Kingdom (Canadian Embassy, \$5,000, UCI Center for the Study of Democracy supplemental funding, \$5,000; with Shaun Bowler), February 17-20.
- 2005 Conference on Spatial Social Choice, December 9-11 (UCI Institute for Mathematical Behavioral Sciences, and the UCI Center for the Study of Democracy; with Donald Saari.)
- 2004 2004 Conference on Pluralitarian/Majoritarian Electoral Systems (Borchard Foundation, \$25,000, with \$2,500 supplemental funding from the UCI Center for the Study of Democracy; with James Adams and Shaun Bowler).
- 2000-01 Conference on Comparative Redistricting (National Science Foundation Program in Political Science, \$22,000, with \$5,000 supplemental funding from the UCI Center for the Study of Democracy, the UCI Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research, and the School of Social Sciences; with Lisa Handley).
- 1998 Conference on Mixed Electoral Systems that Emulate the German Model (UC Center for the German and European Studies, \$10,000, and \$5000 supplemental funding from the UCI Center for the Study of Democracy, with Matthew Shugart and Martin Wattenberg)
- 1997 Conference on Electoral and Party Systems in Scandinavia: Origins and Evolution (UCI Center for the Study of Democracy, \$11,000, with Arend Lijphart).

CONFERENCE GRANTS (cont.)

- 1996 Conference on Elections in Australia, Ireland and Malta under the Single Transferable Vote (UCI Center for the Study of Democracy, \$11,000, with Shaun Bowler).
- 1994-95 Conference on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in Thirty Year Perspective. Joyce Foundation (#446740-49317, \$18,500 with additional funding by the Federal Judicial Center).
- 1991-92 Conference on Japanese, Korean and U.S. Election Practices in Comparative Perspective (UC Pacific Rim Research Program, \$14,700, with Sung Chull Lee, Rein Taagepera and Brian Woodall,).
- 1991-92 Workshops on Politics and the Democratization Process, (National Science Foundation, Political Science Program SES# 91-13984 (\$42,000, with Russell Dalton and Harry Eckstein).
- 1989-90 A Conference on the Voting Rights Act: A Twenty-five Year Perspective (Rockefeller Foundation, \$50,000, with Thomas Mann and Chandler Davidson, under the auspices of The Brookings Institution).
- 1988 A Conference on "The Calculus of Consent": A Twenty-five Year Perspective (Liberty Fund, with Donald Wittman).
- 1982 A Conference on Information Pooling. National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (NSF #SES 82-09109, \$26,300, with Guillermo Owen and Scott L. Feld).
- 1980 A Conference on Representation and Apportionment Issues in the 1980s. National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (NSF #SES 79-26813, \$20,200, with Arend Lijphart, Robert McKay, and Howard Scarrow; additional \$8,000 funding provided by the American Bar Association)
- 1979 A Conference on Voter Turnout. National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (NSF SOC 78-19433, \$14,400, with Richard Brody and Herbert Weisberg).

CONFERENCE PAPERS (unpublished)

- (C34) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. Distinguishing between ideological and judgmental bases of transitive majority choice. Prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, August 1992; presented in revised form at the Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Long Beach, California, March 24-26, 1995.
- (C37) Grofman, Bernard. What is a constitution? Presented at U.C. Irvine conference on "Constitutional Design," June 1993.
- (C38) Reynolds, Andrew S. and Bernard Grofman. Choosing an electoral system for the new South Africa: the main proposals. Presented at the Conference on Electoral Reform and Democratization, Columbia Institute for Western European Studies, Columbia University, April 18-19, 1994.
- (C42) Grofman, Bernard. Are voting rights special? Presented at the Conference on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in Perspective, Washington D.C. Federal Judicial Center, November 11-12, 1994.
- (C43) Grofman, Bernard, Christian Collet and Robert Griffin. Does a rising tide lift all challengers? Rethinking the partisan implications of higher turnout. Prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Long Beach, California, March 24-26, 1995.
- (C49) Grofman, Bernard and H. W. Wales. Ideal of the impartial jury. Prepared for delivery at the Conference of the Role of the Jury in a Democratic society. Georgetown University Law Center, October 29, 1995.
- (C51) Grofman, Bernard, Michael McDonald, William Koetzle, and Thomas Brunell. Strategic policy balancing. Presented at the Conference on Strategy and Politics, Center for the Study of Collective Choice, University of Maryland, College Park, MD, April 12, 1996.
- (C54) Grofman, Bernard, William Koetzle and Thomas Brunell. Rethinking the link between district diversity and electoral competitiveness. Prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., August 29-September 1, 1997.
- (C55) Caul, Miki, Rein Taagepera, Bernard Grofman. Determining the number of parties in stable democracies: Social heterogeneity and electoral institutions. Prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Los Angeles, CA, March 9-21, 1998.

CONFERENCE PAPERS (unpublished) (cont.)

- (C58) McDonald, Michael and Bernard Grofman. Redistricting and the polarization of the House of Representatives. Prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, April 15-16. (A previous version of this paper was presented at the 1999 Western Political Science Association Conference, Seattle, March 25-27, 1999.)
- (C59) Commisso, Ellen and Bernard Grofman. Liberty, equality, fraternity: Tripolarity, cycles and the dynamics of party competition in post-socialist Eastern Europe. Presented at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia.
- (C65) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. "Issue and electoral success: The paradox of nonmonotonicity." Paper presented at the Public Choice Society Annual Meeting, March 9-11, 2001, San Antonio, TX; presented in revised form as "Theoretical and empirical findings concerning candidates' optimal choices of issue dimensions: Implications for U.S. presidential elections." Paper presented at the Public Choice Society Annual Meeting, March 22-24, 2002, San Diego, CA; presented in revised form as "Stuck in space: The neglected importance of issue salience for political competition." Paper presented at the European Public Choice Society Annual Meeting, April 25-28, 2003, Aarhus, Denmark; presented in revised form at the UCI Institute for Behavioral Mathematical Sciences "Conference on Spatial Voting," December 10-11, 2005; presented in revised form as "Putting a Spin on It: Geometric Insights into How Candidates with Seemingly Losing Positions Can Still Win." Paper presented in further revised form at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, August, 2007, New York, New York.
- (C67) Gray, Mark and Bernard Grofman. Several (likely to be contentious) claims about the nature and prerequisites of democracy." Prepared for delivery at the Second London School of Economics Workshop on "Freedom and Democracy," London, June 15, 2001.
- (C72) Grofman, Bernard and Samuel Merrill. What does it mean to offer a "solution" to the problem of ecological inference? Paper presented at the Conference on New Advances in Ecological Inference, June 17-18, 2002, Cambridge MA.
- (C82) Grofman, Bernard. Statistics and Social Choice: Connections Between Sports and Politics." Paper presented at the University of California, Irvine Institute for Mathematical Sciences Conference on Decisions, Sports, and Statistics" December 4, 2004.
- (C88) Wayman, Frank, Bernard Grofman and Matt Barreto. "Party ID in the US in Longitudinal Perspective." Presented at the European Consortium for Political Research Conference, Nicosia Cyprus, April 27, 2006.

CONFERENCE PAPERS (unpublished) (cont.)

- (C94) Gray, Mark, Paul Perl and Bernard Grofman. "More Than an Ocean Apart: The Americas and the College of Cardinals 1903-2005." Prepared for delivery at the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion conference, Portland, Oregon. October 19- 22, 2006.
- (C96) Grofman, Bernard, James Fowler, Natalie Masuoka and Scott Feld. "Social Choice Approaches to Social Exchange Networks." Presented at a Colloquium of the Netherlands Group in Social Choice, Tilburg University, April 5, 2007. Also presented as a colloquium at the University of Paris, I, June 5, 2007.
- (C97) Grofman, Bernard. "French Runoff Elections in Comparative Perspective." Presented at a conference on French Legislative Elections organized by the Election Analysis Group of the French Political Science Association (in conjunction with CEVIPOF, Sciences-Po), June 10, 2007.
- (C98) Schneider, Carsten Q. and Bernard Grofman. "Visual Presentation of Fuzzy QCA Data." Paper presented at panel on "Political Methodology," European Consortium for Political Research, Pisa, Italy, September 6-8, 2007. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the International Conference on Comparative Social Sciences, Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan, July 15-16, 2006, under the title "It Might Look Like a Regression Equation...but It Is Not! An Intuitive Approach to the Presentation of QCA and fs/QCA Results."
- (C101) Brunell, Thomas, Grofman, Bernard and Samuel Merrill, III. "Putting Critical Elections in the U.S. House of Representative in Historical Context, 1954-2006." Prepared for delivery at the Annual Public Choice Meeting in Las Vegas, Nevada March 6 through March 8, 2009. Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting, April 2-5, 2009, to be held in Chicago, IL.
- (C102) Winer, Stanley, Larry Kenny and Bernard Grofman. "Explaining Variation in the Degree of Electoral Competition in a Mature Democracy: U.S. Senate Elections 1922-2004. American Political Science Annual Meeting, San Francisco, August, 2009; an earlier version was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, San Antonio, March, 2007.
- (C104) Grofman, Bernard. "Voting as Habit." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Monterey, California, March, 2010.
- (C105) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. "Creating and Maintaining a Scale-Free Core-Periphery Fractal Network" Annual Meeting of the International Society for Social Networks. Riva del Garda, Italy, June 30-July 4, 2010.
- (C106) Samuel Merrill, Bernard Grofman and Thomas Brunell. "Dynamics of Party Differentiation." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C. August, 2010.

CONFERENCE PAPERS (unpublished) (cont.)

- (C107) Bernard Grofman. "Voting Rights and Minority Representation in the United States in Comparative Perspective." Presented at a conference on The impact of Electoral Institutions and Political Parties, University of Manchester, Manchester England, September 20, 2010.
- (C108) Daniela Giannetti and Bernard Grofman. "Studying Electoral Engineering via a Double-Barrelled Natural Experiment: Comparing the Long Run Consequences of 1990s Electoral Reform in Italy and Japan." Presented at the Biennial Fall Meeting of the European Consortium for Political Research, Reykjavik, Iceland, August 24-27, 2011.
- (C109) Steven Ferris, Stanley Winer and Bernard Grofman. "The Impact of Keynesianism and Central Banking Practices on Canadian Budget Deficits." Presented at the Conference on New Perspectives on Public Debt, European Center for the Study of Public Choice. Sapienza University of Rome, September 26-28, 2011. Presented in slightly revised form at the World Congress of the Public Choice Societies, Miami, March 8-12, 2012.

OTHER CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION

Invited speaker, Federal Judicial Center Conference for Federal Judges of the 6th and 8th Circuits, Orlando, Florida, January 13, 1992.

Chair, panel on "Issues and Controversies in Legislative and Congressional Redistricting." Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, March 19-21, 1992.

Participant, National Endowment for Humanities Workshop on Athenian Democracy, UC Santa Cruz, June 21-July 30, 1992.

Chair, "Roundtable on Ethnic and Linguistic Conflict and the Art of Constitutional Design." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 3-6, 1992.

Invited speaker, Southern Regional Council "Conference on Voting Rights." Atlanta, October 1-3, 1992.

Invited panelist, "Roundtable on Uses of Operations Research in the Social Sciences." Annual Meeting of ORSA-TIMS, San Francisco, November 2-4, 1992.

Chair, panel on "Social Contract Theory," Conference on Democracy, Rationality and the Social Contract. Focused Research Project in Public Choice, University of California, Irvine, December 11-12, 1992.

Organizer, Conference on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in Perspective, Washington D.C. Federal Judicial Center, November 11-12, 1994.

Discussant, panel on "Jury Decision-making." Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Long Beach, California, March 24-26, 1995.

Invited participant, IGCC Conferences on "Ethnic Conflict," University of California, San Diego, May 11-12, 1994; Palm Springs, California, December 12, 1995.

Invited panelist. National Conference of State Legislatures Annual Meeting, Panel on "Redistricting Decisions of the Supreme Court." St Louis, Missouri, July 29-31, 1996.

Invited speaker. National Conference of State Legislatures. Special session on "Redistricting Issues." Seattle, Washington, April 3-5, 1998.

Invited panelist. National Conference of State Legislatures Annual Meeting, Panel on "Redistricting Issues," Chicago, July 14-17, 2000.

Roundtable participant. "The Changing Role of the Department of Justice in Redistricting" at the University of Houston Lanier Center for Public Policy Conference on "Census 200," December 8, 2000.

OTHER CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION (cont.)

Invited participant, University of Rome (La Sapienza) Conference on the Political Economy of the European Union, May 15-17, 2001.

Invited speaker, National Conference of State Legislatures Annual Meeting, Special Session on Redistricting, San Antonio, August 13, 2001.

Invited speaker, National Conference of State Legislatures Annual Meeting, Special Session on Redistricting, Denver, Colorado, July 24, 2002.

Invited participant and presenter, Conference on Political Culture, Representation and Electoral Systems in The Pacific sponsored by the University of the South Pacific, Port Vila, Vanuatu, July 10-12, 2004.

Invited speaker, Conference on Game Theory and Its Applications, Institute for Mathematical Behavioral Sciences and Center for Decision Analysis, University of California, Irvine, September 18, 2004 (paper entitled "Models of political coalition building")

Invited discussant, "Judging Transitional Justice" Conference, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine, October 30-31, 2004.

Invited discussant, "Conference on Direct Democracy," Co-sponsored by the UCI Center for the Study of Democracy, January 14-15, 2005.

Invited discussant, Graduate Student Conference on "Democracy and its Development: 1990-2005." UCI Center for the Study of Democracy, February 26, 2005.

Invited speaker, Marschak Conference at University of California, Los Angeles, June 10, 2005.

Panel Chair, "Party Formation Barriers and their Effect on Ethnic Party Building and Success in New Democracies." Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2, 2005

Invited Discussant, "Party Formation Barriers and their Effect on Ethnic Party Building and Success in New Democracies." Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2, 2005.

Invited Discussant, "Changing the Rules of the Game in New Democracies: Political Participation and Electoral Regime Change in Eastern Europe and Latin America." Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 4, 2005.

Invited Discussant, symposium on "Protecting Democracy: Using Research to Inform the Voting Rights Reauthorization Debate." Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Race, Ethnicity and Diversity, sponsored by UC Berkeley and the Institute for Government Studies, UCB, Washington D.C., February 9, 2006.

Invited panellist, Voting Rights Conference "Voting Rights: Haven't they Already Overcome?" Duke University, Durham NC, April 7, 2006.

Invited discussant, “Workshop on Danish Local Elections.” Department of Government, University of Aarhus, Sandberg, Denmark, August 10-12, 2006.

Invited discussant, “Modeling Law Locally.” New York University School of Law, Center for Law Economics and Organization, October 21, 2006.

Invited discussant, Conference on “Predicting French Presidential Elections,” Institute for Globalization and Economic Research (IRGEI) at the University of Paris, II, May 2, 2007.

Invited discussant, Conference on “French Presidential Elections” organized by the Election Analysis Group of the French Political Science Association (in conjunction with CEVIPOF, Sciences-Po), May 3, 2007.

Chair, panel on “Formal and Empirical Models of Voting and Elections.” Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, San Antonio, March 7-8. 2008.

Invited roundtable participant, The Voting Rights Act and the Deconstruction of the Republic.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 27-31, 2008.

Chair, Panel on Re-Examining Strategic Voting. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 27-31, 2008.

Discussant, Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Las Vegas, March 10-12. 2009.

Discussant, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Panel on “Electoral Engineering and Political Representation in Ethnically Divided Societies” Washington, D.C., August, 2008.

Discussant, Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Monterey, California, March 12-14, 2010.

Discussant, “Franco-Italian Seminar on “Two Bloc Politics in France and Italy.” Department of Political Science, University of Bologna, September 16-17, 2011.

Invited Discussant, Conference on “Revisiting Party Identification: American and European Perspectives.” CISE (Center for Italian Electoral Studies), Department of Government, LUISS University, Rome, September 26-28, 2011.

INVITED COLLOQUIA

- June 28, 2010 Colloquium. "French Two Round Electoral Politics: Is There a Model with Bite." CERAPS, University of Lille, II.
- November 19 2010 Colloquium. "Confessions of an Eclectic, Puzzle Loving, Reasonable Choice Modeler, and Occasional Popcorn Machine." Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, Denmark
- November 28, 2009 Colloquium, "Models of Turnout" Institute for Governance and Economic Institutions (IRGEI), University of Paris, II
- May, 2008. Series of talks on electoral systems and models of party competition for Economics Ph.D students associated with the Institute for Globalization and Economic Research (IRGEI), University of Paris, II.
- Feb. 5, 2008 Colloquium, "Electoral Systems and the Promotion of Effective Power-Sharing." Sawyer Seminar Series: Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places, Solomon Asch Center for the Study of Ethnic Conflict, University of Pennsylvania.
- May-June 2007 Series of talks on electoral systems and models of party competition for Economics Ph.D. students associated with the Institute for Globalization and Economic Research (IREGEI), University of Paris, II.
- June 4, 2007 Center for Analysis Group in Economic Theory (GATE), University of Lyon, II, June 4, 2007.
- April 6, 2006 Joint colloquium, CSDP (Center for the Study of Democratic Politics) and LAPA (Law and Public Affairs), Princeton University
- March 30, 2006 Political Science Department, Rice University, Houston, Texas.
- July 29, 2004 Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University Program in Economics & Social Ethics, Canberra, Australia
- May 28, 2003 Department of Political Science, Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona
- May 26-27, 2003 Department of Economics, Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona
- May 22, 2003 Department of Economics, Autonomous University of Barcelona
- May 2, 2003 Department of Political Science, University of Southern Denmark
- April 15, 2003 Program in Decision Sciences, Carnegie-Mellon University

INVITED COLLOQUIA (cont.)

Nov. 10, 2002	Guest Professor, Course on Voting Rights at the New York University Law School
Sept. 20, 2002	Department of Economics, University of Tilburg, Netherlands
Sept.18, 2002	Department of Philosophy, University of Tilburg, Netherlands
Sept. 17-20, 2002	Series of lectures on Public Choice at the University of Tilburg under the auspices of the Dutch National Research Group on Social Science Theory
Sept. 13, 2002	Royal Military College of the Netherlands, Breda
July 9, 2002	Berlin Science Center (Wissenschaft Zentrum)
July 2, 2002	University of Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany
Oct. 15, 2001	Department of Government, Harvard University
June 14, 2001	Department of Political Science, Nuffield College, Oxford University
June 2, 2001	Department of Political Science, European University Institute, Fiesole, Italy
Dec. 6, 2000	Department of Political Science, University of Houston
Nov. 29, 2000	Department of Political Science, Duke University
May 3, 2000	Department of Political Science, University of California, San Diego
October, 1995	Department of Political Science, University of Houston
October, 1995	Department of Government, Georgetown University
July 27, 1994	Department of Economics, Fern Universität Hagen, Germany
Sept 12-17, 1992	Landsdowne Guest Speaker, Department of Political Science, University of Victoria, Victoria, Canada
April 17, 1992	Department of Government, Harvard University
Nov 13, 1991	Department of Political Science, University of Calgary, Canada
Nov 7, 1991	Department of Political Science, University of Alberta, Canada
June 25, 1990	Department of Social Psychology, Tokyo University, Japan.

INVITED COLLOQUIA (cont.)

- June 16, 1990 Institute of Legal Studies, Kansai University, Osaka, Japan
- June 13, 1990 Department of Political Science, Kwansei Gakuin University, Nishinomiya, Japan.
- May 6, 1990 Program in Ethics and Public Policy, University of Chicago.
- May 4, 1990 Program in Law and Economics, Columbia University Law School

GRANTS FOR INSTRUCTIONAL DEVELOPMENT, COMPUTER LABS, AND GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP SUPPORT

- 1992-93 Grant from UCI Committee on Instructional Development to develop a new course: "Introduction to Computer Use in the Social Sciences" (\$15,500)
- 1992 Small grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to attend the NEH Summer Institute on "Athenian Democracy." (\$3,250)
- 1992-94 Grant for graduate student support in Public Choice (Sarah Scaife Foundation, \$50,000, with Amihai Glazer)
- 1993 Grant from the UC Center for German and European Studies, University of California, to develop a new course to be co-taught with Professor Pertti Pesonen (Finnish Academy) on comparative political participation (\$10,000)
- 1994 Grant from the National Science Foundation to develop a computer lab for the technology enhanced teaching of under-graduate statistics (\$55,497, with Judith Treas).
- 1995-99 Grant from the UC President's Office (IAPIF) to develop a long-distance learning course "The United States in Comparative Perspective." (\$17,174, with Arend Lijphart.
- 1997 Grant from Instructional Improvement Fund (UCI Division of Undergraduate Education) to develop "Computer-Based Tutorials, and Self-Grading Homework Assignments for SS10A, Introduction to Statistics" (\$5,000)
- 1999-00 Seed grant from UC Center for German and European Studies for graduate research support (\$3,000)
- 2000 Grant from UCI Division of Undergraduate Education (Hewlett Foundation) for Problem-Based Learning materials for Economics 10C statistics course (\$4,500)
- 2000-01 Seed grant from the UC Center for German and European Studies, University of California, for graduate research support (\$3,000)
- 2004-5 Grant from Institute of European Studies to co-teach a graduate seminar with Prof. Giorgio Freddi (University of Bologna) (\$12,000)
- 2004-5 Grant from University of California, MEXUS Program to supervise doctoral research (\$12,000 to Matthew Barreto)

CURRICULAR MATERIALS (in print)

- (CM1) Grofman, Bernard N. 1979. Note: Mo Fiorina's advice to children and other subordinates. Mathematics Magazine 52(5): 292-297.
- (CM2) Grofman, Bernard N. 1982. Modeling jury verdicts. University Modules in Applied Mathematics.
- (CM3) Grofman, Bernard N. 1982. The pure theory of elevators. Mathematics Magazine, 55(1): 30-37.
- (CM4) Straffin, Philip and Bernard Grofman. 1984. Parliamentary coalitions: A tour of models. Mathematics Magazine 57(5): 259-274.
- (CM5) Grofman, Bernard. 1990. Pig and proletariat: Animal Farm as history, San Jose Studies, 16: 5-39.
- (CM6) Grofman, Bernard and Craig Brians. 1998. Class notes and exercises: computer-based research methods for the social sciences. New York: Longmans.
- (CM7) Grofman, Bernard. 2000. A primer on racial bloc voting analysis. In Nathaniel Persily (ed.) The Real Y2K Problem: Census 2000 Data and Redistricting Technology. New York: The Brennan Center for Justice, New York University School of Law, 2000.

COURSES TAUGHT

Elections and Voter Choice
Computer-Based Research Methods in the Social Sciences (SS3A)
Introduction to Public Choice, I and II
The United States in Comparative Perspective
Representation and Redistricting
Elementary Statistics (S10A)
Statistics for Citizen Literacy (SS10B)
Statistics for Public Policy Analysis (SS10C)
The Federalist Papers and the Art of Constitutional Design
Law and Social Science
Models of Collective Decision Making
Introduction to Decision Analysis
Introduction to Research Design
Game Theory Applications in the Social Sciences
Small Group Behavior
Introduction to Mathematical Models in the Social Sciences
Coalition Theory
Political Propaganda and Satire
Comparative Public Policy
Advanced Quantitative Methods in Political Science I
Introductory Statistics for Political Science, I and II

EDITORIAL BOARDS

- 1980-83 Editorial Board, American Journal of Political Science
- 1983-85 Editorial Board, Law and Society Review
- 1986-88 Advisory Board, ,Society for Orwellian Studies
- 1987-89 Editorial Board, American Politics Quarterly
- 1989-91 Editorial Board, Political Analysis
- 1991- Editorial Board, Public Choice
- 1996- Editorial Board, Electoral Studies
- 1997-01 Editorial Board, Journal of Politics
- 1999-01 Member, Advisory Board, Encyclopedia of Public Choice
- 2001- Editorial Board, Election Law Journal
- 2001- Advisory Board, Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche (University of Bologna)
- 2006-09 Editorial Board, Canadian Journal of Political Science
- 2008-10 Editorial Board, Political Analysis
- 2008-11 International Advisory Committee, Centre for Voting and Parties, University of Copenhagen
- 2010-12 International Advisory Board, Homo Oeconomicus

OTHER REFEREEING

- 1972-82 Manuscript Review Board: Behavioral Science.
- 1975- Occasional referee: American Journal of Political Science; Theory and Decision; Public Choice.
- 1976- Occasional referee: Political Methodology; National Science Foundation, Political Science Program.
- 1977- Occasional referee; Journal of the American Statistical Association; Social Science Research).
- 1978- Occasional referee: Psychological Review; National Science Foundation, Law and Social Sciences Program; Journal of Personality and Social Psychology; European Journal of Social Psychology; Journal of Mathematical Sociology.
- 1979- Occasional referee: Social Networks; National Science Foundation, Applied Mathematics Program.
- 1980- Occasional referee: Law and Policy Quarterly; National Institute of Mental Health; American Political Science Review, National Science Foundation, Sociology Program; National Science Foundation, Economics Program; Journal of Conflict Resolution; Legislative Studies Quarterly.
- 1981- Occasional referee: American Mathematical Monthly, Decision Sciences, Economic Inquiry.
- 1982- Occasional referee: Social Science Quarterly; Sociological Methods and Research; Western Political Quarterly (now Political Research Quarterly), Guggenheim Foundation; National Science Foundation, Developmental and Social Psychology Program; National Science Foundation, Decision, Risk and Management Science Program.
- 1983- Occasional referee: Journal of Politics, Political Geography Quarterly (now Political Geography).

OTHER REFEREEING (cont.)

- 1984- Occasional referee: National Science Foundation, Information Systems Program; National Science Foundation, Program in Social Measurement and Analysis.
- 1986- Occasional referee: Review of Economic Studies.
- 1987- Occasional referee: British Journal of Political Science, Journal of Political Economy, Comparative Political Studies.
- 1988- Occasional referee: Social Choice and Welfare, Political Analysis, Polity.
- 1989- Occasional referee: National Science Foundation, Program in History and Philosophy of Science; Program in Political Science
- 1991- Occasional referee: Demography.
- 1992- Occasional referee: European Journal of Political Research.
- 1993- Occasional referee: Electoral Studies
- 1994- Occasional referee: Comparative Politics; Cambridge University Press
- 1994- Occasional referee: Urban Affairs Quarterly
- 1996- Occasional referee: Canadian Journal of Political Science
- 1997- Occasional referee: National Science Foundation, Program in Geography
- 1998- Occasional referee: Southeastern Political Review, Social Science History
- 1999- Occasional referee: European Journal of Political Economy
- 2003- Occasional referee, Society for Industrial and Applied Mathematics (SIAM)
- 2004- Occasional referee, Law and Society
- 2005- Occasional referee, European Union Politics, Scandinavian Political Studies Journal of Law, Economics & Organization
- 2008- Occasional referee, Austrian National Science Foundation
- 2009- Occasional referee, Econometrica

OTHER PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

- Chair, 1982-83, Lippincott Prize Committee for book-length work in political theory, American Political Science Association.
- Section Program Organizer, Panels on "Positive Theory," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 1984.
- Member, 1985-86, Working Group on Collective Choice Institutions, appointed by the Committee on Basic Research in the Behavioral and Social Sciences, National Research Council.
- Member, Executive Committee, 1986-89, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association.
- Chair, 1988-92, George Hallett Book Prize Award Committee, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association.
- Section Program Co-organizer, Panels on "Political Organizations," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Sept. 1990.
- Member, 1990-91, Lasswell Prize Committee, International Society of Political Psychology.
- Member, 1995-96, Carey McWilliam Award for Journalists Committee, American Political Science Association.
- Chair, 1995-96, Richard Fenno Prize Committee, Legislative Studies Section, American Political Science Association.
- Member, 1998, Luebbert Book Award Committee, Comparative Politics Section, American Political Science Association.

OTHER PROFESSIONAL SERVICE (cont.)

Member, 2000-2001, Advisory Board, UCLA Center for Governance.
 Member, 2001-2002, Comparative Politics Prize Committee, Sage Award for best paper in comparative politics at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting.
 Member, 2002, International Political Science Association Longley Prize Committee, Longley Award for best article published on Representation and Electoral Systems.
 External Reviewer, Ten-year review, Department of Political Science, University of Bologna, November 27-29, 2003.
 Member, 2007 Program Committee, First World Congress of Public Choice, Amsterdam, March 29-April 1.
 Member, 2007 APSA Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, Weaver Award Committee for best paper in Representation and Electoral Systems section.
 Member, 2007 APSA Heinz Eulau Award Committee for best paper in Perspectives on Politics
 External Reviewer, Ph.D. Thesis of Annelise de Ridder, School of Business, University of Nijmegen, Netherland, May 2007.
 External Reviewer, Ph.D. Thesis of Honorine Lescieux-Katir, Department of Economics, University of Paris, II, May 2010.
 Member, 2010-11, George Hallett Book Prize Award Committee, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association

UNIVERSITY SERVICE, SYSTEMWIDE

2010- Member, Administrative Advisory Board, University of California Center, Sacramento

UNIVERSITY SERVICE, UCI

1977-79 Member, University Committee on Lectures
 1977-79 Faculty Advisor, UCI Chapter, Student Model United Nations
 1983-84 Member, University Library Committee
 1987-89 Member, University Privilege and Tenure Committee Hearing Panel
 1988-89 Member, Tierney Chair Search Committee
 1988-91 Member, University Committee on Rules and Jurisdictions
 1991-92 Acting Chair, Focused Research Program in Public Choice
 1994-96 Member, University Committee on Rules and Jurisdictions
 1995-96 Member, Chancellor's Taskforce on Use of Educational Technology
 1999-00 Co-Coordinator, Institute of Mathematical Behavioral Sciences, Colloquia
 1999-05 Member, Executive Committee, Irvine Institute of Mathematical Behavioral Sciences
 2000-01 Reviewer, UC Systemwide Multicampus Research Incentive Fund (MRIF)
 2001-02 Member, UCI Search Committee for new Dean of Social Sciences
 2002-05 Member, Executive Committee, Center for Decision Analysis

SERVICE TO THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, UCI

1978-79	Chair, Program in Politics and Society.
1979-89	Organizer, Program in Politics and Society Colloquium Series (one quarter per year).
1980-81	Special Schoolwide Selection Committee: Distinguished Student Scholars Program.
1981-82	Chair, School of Social Sciences Faculty.
1982-83	Acting Co-Chair, Program in Politics and Society (Spring Quarter).
1983-84	Political Science Graduate Student Adviser.
1988-89	Political Science Graduate Student Advise
1988-89	Chair, Recruitment Committee in Mathematical Political Science.
1988-91	Member, Recruitment Committee in Public Law.
1991-92	Chair, Committee for the Interdisciplinary Graduate Concentration in Public Choice.
1991-93	Member, Joint Recruitment Committee in African-American Studies and Political Science
1992-98	Member, Political Science Graduate Committee
1992-	Member, Committee for the Interdisciplinary Ph.D Concentration in Public Choice
1996-02	Member, Executive Committee, UCI Center for the Study of Democracy
1996-97	Chair, Recruitment Committee for Pacific Rim FTE in Political Science
1997-98	Coordinator, Political Science Graduate Admissions
1998-99	Member, Easton Prize Committee, Department of Political Science
1998-00	Member, Colloquium Committee, Institute for Mathematical Behavioral Science
1998-00	Member, Interdisciplinary Search Committee for positions in Mathematical Behavioral Sciences
1999-01	Member, Search Committee for position in Chicano/Latino Studies
1999-00	Coordinator, Political Science Graduate Admissions
1999-01	Member, School of Social Sciences Executive Committee
2001-02	Member, Interdisciplinary Search Committee for positions in Democratization and Democratic Transitions
2001-02	Member, Interdisciplinary Search Committee for positions in Mathematical Behavioral Science
2001-06	Member, UCI Center for the Study of Democracy Leadership Council
2001-06	Member, Executive Committee, Center for the Study of Democracy
2002-03	Coordinator, Political Science Graduate Admissions
2002-04	Chair, Interdisciplinary Search Committee for position in Democratization and Democratic Transitions
2005-06	Chair, Search Committee for Position in Public Law/Judicial Behavior
2005-07	Graduate Director, Fellows Program, Center for the Study of Democracy
2008-	Director, Center for the Study of Democracy
2011-	Member, Steering Committee, Experimental Social Science Laboratory, School of Social Sciences

Major Redistricting Cases in which Bernard Grofman Has
Participated as an Expert Witness or Court-Appointed Consultant

Consultant to	Case Name	Type
Republican Party of Colorado	<u>Carstens v. Lamm</u> , 543 F. Supp. 68 (D. Colorado, 1982)	Congress: failure of the legislature to act
Special Master, U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York	<u>Flateau v. Anderson</u> , 537 F. Supp. 257 (S.D. New York, 1982)	Congress and both houses of state legislatures: failure of legislature to act; minority voting rights.
Republican Party of Hawaii	<u>Travis v. King</u> , 552 F. Supp. 554; 552 F. Supp. 1200 (D. Hawaii, 1982)	State legislature: equal population
Democratic Party of Rhode Island and subsequently State of Rhode Island	<u>Holmes v. Burns</u> (Super. Ct., R.I. 1982) aff'd, No. 83-149 (R.I. S. Ct, April 10, 1984)	State house: minority vote dilution, compactness, communities of interest
Republican National Committee	<u>Badham v. Eu</u> , 721 F. 2d 1170 (D. Calif. 1983), dismissed for want of a federal claim, cert. denied	Congress: partisan gerrymandering
NAACP Legal Defense Fund	<u>Gingles v. Edmisten</u> , consol. with <u>Pugh v. Brock</u> , 590 F. Supp. 345 (E.D. North Carolina, 1984) heard sub nom. <u>Thornburg v. Gingles</u> , 106 S. Ct. 2752, 478 U.S. 30 (1986)	Multimember districts in the state legislature; Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
U.S. Department of Justice	<u>South Carolina v. U.S.</u> (D.D.C.), 1984) settled out of court by preclearance of a new plan for South Carolina Senate	State Senate: Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act preclearance denial
Consultant to	Case Name	Type

State of Indiana	<u>Bandemer v. Davis</u> 603 F. Supp. 1479 (1984), (S.D. Indiana, 1983), reversed sub nom <u>Davis v. Bandemer</u> , 106 S. Ct. 2797, 106 U.S. 2797 (1986); initially consol. with <u>Indiana Branches of the NAACP v. Orr</u> 603 F. Supp. 1479 (1984) (S.D. Indiana, 1983)	State legislature: partisan gerrymandering, minority vote dilution
City of Boston	<u>Latino Political Action Committee v. City of Boston</u> , 609 F. Supp. 739 (D. Mass. 1985)	Boston City council: minority vote dilution
U.S. Department of Justice	<u>Ketchum v. Byrne II</u> (D. Illinois 1985), settled by consent decree	Chicago City Council: minority vote dilution
Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund	<u>Gomez v. City of Watsonville</u> (D. Calif., 1986), 863 F. 2nd 1407 (9th cir. 1988) cert. denied, 109 Sct. 1534 (1989)	Watsonville City Council: Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
U.S. Department of Justice	<u>U.S. v. City of Los Angeles</u> (D. Calif., 1986), settled out of court by adoption of a new plan for L.A. City Council with an additional majority Hispanic seat	Los Angeles City Council: Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
NAACP Legal Defense Fund	<u>McGhee v. Granville County</u> , No. 87-29-CIV-5) (E.D. North Carolina 2/5/88); 860 F. 2nd 110 (4th circuit 1988)	Granville County Board of Supervisors: Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
U.S. Department of Justice	<u>Garza v. County of Los Angeles Board of Supervisors</u> 918 F. 2d 763 (9th cir. 1990)	County Board: Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
Consultant to	Case Name	Type
Republican National	<u>Pope et al. v. Blue et al.</u> 809 F.	Congressional redistricting in

Committee	Supp. 392 (D. N.C., Western District, Charlotte Division, 1992)	North Carolina: 14th Amendment
Republican Party of Wisconsin	<u>Prosser et al. v. Election Board of State of Wisconsin</u> 793 F. Supp. 859 (D.Wisc., 1992)	Wisconsin state legislative redistricting: Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
State of North Carolina	<u>Republican Party v. Martin</u> 980 F2d 943 (4 th Cir. 1992)	State-wide judicial elections in the State of North Carolina; partisan gerrymandering
Minority plaintiffs	<u>Garcia v. City of Los Angeles</u> , (D. Los Angeles, 1996)	City of Los Angeles Charter Commission: Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
Republican Party of Wisconsin	<u>Arrington et al. v. Elections Bd. of State of Wisconsin</u> 173 F. Supp. 2d 856 U.S. (D. Wisconsin, 2002)	Wisconsin State legislative districting, Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
Special Master, U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York	<u>Rodriguez et al. v. Pataki et al.</u> , (S.D. N. Y., 2002)	Congress; failure of legislature to act; minority voting rights.
Special Master, US District Court, Georgia	<u>Larios v. Cox</u> 305 F Supp. 2d 1355 (N.D. GA 2004)	Georgia legislative districts; one person, one vote.

COMMUNITY SERVICE: 2000-

Interviewed by Dieter Osterman of the Frankfurter Rundschau, March, 2000 for a story on U.S. presidential elections.

Interviewed by Francine Keefer, Wall Street Journal for story on likely partisan effects of the decennial reapportionment, April 12, 2000.

Interviewed by Ron Orol, Fortune Magazine re redistricting and legislative races, October 4, 2000.

Interviewed by Robert Benincasa, Gannett News Service re redistricting related issues, October, 2000.

Interviewed by Jeremy Linert, Times Leader, Wilkes-Baare, Pennsylvania, re redistricting, October, 2000.

Interviewed by David Brown, Washington Post re statistical issues in Florida Presidential recount, November 14, 2000.

Interviewed by Dan Borenstein re redistricting, February 13, 2001.

Interviewed by Rick Pearson, Chicago Tribune for a story of Chicago City Council redistricting, March 29, 2001.

Interviewed by Greg Geroux, Congressional Quarterly, for story on voting rights and redistricting, July 20, 2001.

Informally consulted with the office of a member of Congress from New York regarding congressional redistricting in that state, July 23, 2001.

Participant on panel on "Talk of the City," a live daily talk show on National Public Radio (KPCC FM), July 16, 2001.

Interviewed by reporter for the Los Angeles Times about at-large elections and racial vote dilution, October 12, 2001.

COMMUNITY SERVICE: (cont.)

Presented a short talk on (and display of) African and Native American masks to a troop of Cub Scouts, December 24, 2001.

150

Interviewed by Alison Mitchell, New York Times, for story on redistricting, January, 2002.

Interviewed by Dieter Osterman, Frankfurter Rundschau, for a story on U.S. Presidential elections, March, 2002.

Interviewed by Jerry Zrenski, Buffalo News, for a story on New York reapportionment, June 10, 2002.

Interviewed by J. R. Ross, reporter for Associated Press, on Wisconsin legislative redistricting, September 30, 2002

Interviewed by Peter Dieter Osteman, Frankfurter Rundschau, for a story on the Governor Davis recall referendum, June, 2003.

Informally consulted by Adriene Fernandes, Staff Member, US Department of Justice, August, 2003.

Informally consulted with Ethan Kurzweil, New York City Board of Education, on plans for revamping New York City Community School Boards, September 26, 2003.

Interviewed by Edward Walsh, Washington Post regarding Texas and Colorado redistricting cases, October 20, 2003.

Informally discussed voting rights litigation issues with Jeremy Karlan, Brennan Center, New York University Law School, October 23, 2003.

Communicated with Caitlin Casey, reporter for the Atlantic Monthly for a story on congressional districting, October 29, 2003.

COMMUNITY SERVICE: (cont.)

Interviewed by David Herszenhosen, New York Times for a study of changes in New York City Community School Boards, November 11, 2003.

Interviewed by Janet Klein for a potential story on redistricting for CBS "60 Minutes," January 15, 2004.

Consulted by staff, Voting Rights Section, U.S., Department of Justice re Section 5 of the VRA remand of Georgia V. Ashcroft to the U.S. District Court, January 2004.

COMMUNITY SERVICE: (cont.)

Interviewed by Kenneth Jost, Congressional Quarterly for a story on partisan gerrymandering, January 26, 2004.

Discussed redistricting issues with Becky Vlamis, Associate Producer of a radio program on Chicago Public Broadcasting, February 29, 2004.

Participated in CSD-sponsored mini conference at UCI with staff, Netherlands Ministry of the Interior, to discuss proposed reform of the method for electing members of the National Parliament in The Netherlands, May 13, 2004.

Interviewed by Jennifer Dixon, Detroit Free Press, August 29, 2004 for story about term limits.

Discussed issues of redistricting with Director and staff for Democratic Governance (Los Angeles), December 17-18, 2004, August, 2005.

Interviewed by Erik Skindrud for story in Orange County Weekly on the firing of Michael Ramirez and Robert Scheer, November 17, 2005.

Discussed voting rights issues with Anna Pomykala, a consultant to the Ford Foundation, March 7, 2006.

Interviewed by Carolee Walker for article in Washington File on *LULAC v. Perry*, a Texas congressional redistricting case, July 7, 2006.

Informally consulted with a staff member, Robert Charney, of the Ontario Ministry of the Attorney General, on an election law issue involving candidate filing fees, June 15, 2007.

Informally consulted with staff at the Attorney General's office in Alaska regarding bilingual ballot provisions of the VRA, December 13, 2007.

Interviewed by Allen Breed, a national writer with The Associated Press, for a story about the evolution of minority voting patterns and how various groups came to be aligned with a given party, January 3, 2008.

Interviewed by Marvin Lee, a reporter with New University, for a story on Prop 11, the California, redistricting initiative, October 16, 2008.

Filmed and Interviewed by Jeffrey Reichert for a documentary film covering the 2008 Prop 11 referendum and redistricting methods, February 2009. The film appeared as Gerrymandering the Movie, a documentary briefly playing in movie houses in New York City and elsewhere in Fall 2010. Approximately two minutes of my remarks were incorporated into the movie.

NATHANIEL PERSILY

*Stanford Law School
559 Nathan Abbott Way
Stanford, CA 94305-8610*

Phone: [REDACTED]

Fax: [REDACTED]

Email: [REDACTED]

Web: <http://www.persily.com/>

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

STANFORD LAW SCHOOL

JAMES B. MCCLATCHY PROFESSOR OF LAW

STANFORD, CA

2013 – present

- *Courtesy Appointments:* Departments of Communication, Political Science, and Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies.
- *Courses:* The Law of Democracy; Regulation of the Political Process; Constitutional Law, First Amendment; Free Speech, Democracy and the Internet; Political Campaigning in the Internet Age; Contemporary Issues in Law and Politics; Policy Practicum on Campaign Finance.
- *Service:* Appointments Committee (Chair 2017-18); Careers in Teaching Committee; Workshops Chair; Co-PI for Stanford Project on Democracy and the Internet.
- *Significant Grants, Awards, and Fellowships:* Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (2017-2019); Andrew Carnegie Fellowship (2016-17); Stanford Cyber Initiative Grant (2016-17); Hewlett Foundation and Democracy Fund Grants for Campaign Finance Task Force (2016-17).

COLUMBIA LAW SCHOOL

CHARLES KELLER BEEKMAN PROFESSOR OF

LAW AND PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

PROFESSOR OF LAW

NEW YORK, NY

2008 – 2013

2007 – 2008

- *Courtesy Appointment:* Department of Political Science (2007– 2013).
- *Courses:* Constitutional Law; Advanced Constitutional Law: The Political Process; Freedom of Expression; Contemporary Issues in Law and Politics; Redistricting and Gerrymandering.
- *Service:* Lateral Appointments Committee Chair (2010-2012), Curriculum Committee Chair (2009-2010), Advisory Committee Chair (2008-2009), Intellectual Life Committee; Resources and Development Committee, Committee on Professional Development.
- *Center for Law and Politics:* Founding Director.
- *DrawCongress.org:* Founder.
- Instructor in University of Amsterdam Summer Program, July 2011.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LAW SCHOOL
PROFESSOR OF LAW
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF LAW

PHILADELPHIA, PA
2005 – 2007
2001 – 2005

- *Secondary Appointment:* Department of Political Science (2003-2007).
- *Courses:* Law and the Political Process; Contemporary Issues in Law and Politics; Constitutional Law, First Amendment.
- *Service:* Tenure and Promotion Committee, Judicial Clerkship Committee, Nominations Committee, Committee on Academic Standing; Coordinator of Faculty Retreat and Legal Studies Workshop.
- *Teaching Award:* Winner of the Robert A. Gorman Award for Excellence in Teaching.

VISITING PROFESSORSHIPS

UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE LAW SCHOOL

August 2014

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Law and Public Affairs Fellow
Woodrow Wilson School

2012-2013

UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM (COLUMBIA LAW PROGRAM)

Summer 2010

HARVARD LAW SCHOOL

SIDLEY AUSTIN VISITING PROFESSOR

Fall 2007

STANFORD LAW SCHOOL

Spring 2006

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL

Fall 2004

OTHER WORK EXPERIENCE

SOCIAL SCIENCE ONE
Co-Chair

April 2018 – Present

Established commission to facilitate access to Facebook data for worldwide coalition of social scientists – www.socialscience.one .

PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION ON ELECTION ADMINISTRATION June 2013 - Jan. 2014
Senior Research Director

Conducted research and wrote report on “The American Voting Experience,” available at <http://web.mit.edu/supportthevoter/www/>.

SPECIAL MASTER OR COURT-APPOINTED EXPERT

Redistricting of Pennsylvania Congressional Districts	Feb. 2018 Pittsburgh, PA
--	-----------------------------

Appointed by Supreme Court of Pennsylvania as advisor to assist the Court in drawing Congressional district map pursuant to *League of Women Voters v. Commonwealth*, 178 A.3d 737 (S. Ct. Pa. 2018).

Special Master for Redistricting of North Carolina State Legislative Districts	Nov.-Dec. 2017 Greensboro, NC
---	----------------------------------

Appointed Special Master by U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina to draw remedial state legislative redistricting plan pursuant to *Covington v. North Carolina*, 283 F. Supp.3d 410 (MDNC 2018).

Redistricting of New York Congressional Districts	Feb.-Mar. 2012 New York, NY
--	--------------------------------

Appointed by U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York to assist Magistrate Judge in drawing state's Congressional districts pursuant to *Favors v. Cuomo*, 2012 WL 928223 (EDNY 2012). Plan adopted on March 19, 2012,

Special Master for Redistricting of Connecticut Congressional Districts	Jan.-Feb. 2012 Hartford, CT
--	--------------------------------

Appointed by Supreme Court of Connecticut to draw state's Congressional districts, pursuant to *In Re Petition of Reapportionment Commission, Ex. Rel.*, 36 A.3d 661 (Ct. Sup. Ct. 2012). Plan adopted Feb. 12, 2012.

Redistricting of Georgia General Assembly	Feb.-March 2004 Atlanta, GA
--	--------------------------------

Appointed by U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia to draw districts for Georgia House of Representatives and Senate. Plan adopted in *Larios v. Cox*, 314 F.Supp.2d 1357 (N.D. Ga., 2004).

Redistricting of Maryland State Legislative Districts	June 2002 Annapolis, MD
--	----------------------------

Appointed by Maryland Court of Appeals to draw Court plan, currently in effect, for 2002 state legislative districts. Plan adopted in *In re Legislative Redistricting of State*, 805 A.2d 292 (Md. 2002).

Redistricting of New York Congressional Districts	May-June 2002 New York, NY
--	-------------------------------

Pursuant to *Rodriguez v. Pataki*, 2002 WL 1058054 (S.D.N.Y. 2002), appointed by Special Master, Judge Frederick B. Lacey, to draw plan for New York State's congressional districts, later superseded by state legislature's plan.

REDISTRICTING CONSULTANT

Consultant to Redistricting Commission of Prince George's County 2011
Upper Marlboro, MD
Consultant to redistricting commission of Prince George's County, Maryland, concerning County Council Districts.

Consultant to the Chief Justice of Puerto Rico 2011
San Juan, PR
Consultant to Chief Justice Federico Hernández Denton during the process of redistricting of districts for the Senate and house of Representatives of Puerto Rico.

EXPERT WITNESS

California State Senate 2002-2003
Redistricting Litigation Sacramento, CA
Served as an expert to evaluate the 2002 California Senate and Congressional redistricting plans concerning those plans' compliance with state constitutional provisions requiring respect for political subdivisions and geographic regions.

OUTSIDE COUNSEL

Bethlehem Area Unified School District 2008
Bethlehem, PA
Consultant to school district in settlement concerning lawsuit alleging vote dilution in school district boundaries.

Miami-Dade County Attorneys Office 2002
Miami, Florida
Consultant to Miami-Dade County in litigation involving the 2000 redistricting process and challenges to the structure of local government.

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL

Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law 1999-2001
New York, NY

LAW CLERK

The Honorable David S. Tatel 1998-1999
U.S. Court of Appeals, D.C. Circuit Washington, DC

LEGAL EXTERN

The Honorable John T. Noonan June-August 1996
San Francisco, CA

U.S. Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit

GRADUATE STUDENT INSTRUCTOR &
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

Professor Nelson Polsby
Institute of Governmental Studies, U.C. Berkeley

1994-1995
Berkeley, CA

EDUCATION

STANFORD LAW SCHOOL, J.D. with Distinction, 1998

- President, Volume 50, *Stanford Law Review*.

U.C. BERKELEY, M.A., 1994; Ph.D. in Political Science, 2002

- Recipient of the Edith Pence and Jacob Javits Scholarships.
- Thesis Title: *When Political Parties Go to Court*.
- Thesis Committee: Nelson Polsby, Bruce Cain, Raymond Wolfinger, Robert Post.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM, 1992-1993

Raoul Wallenberg & Rotary Foundation Scholar.

YALE UNIVERSITY, B.A. & M.A. in Political Science, 1992

Phi Beta Kappa, *Magna Cum Laude*, Distinction in the Major, Recipient of the Haas Prize, Richard Sewall Cup, and Frank M. Patterson Prize for the finest senior project in American Politics.

PUBLICATIONS

CAMPAIGN FINANCE IN THE UNITED STATES: ASSESSING AN ERA OF FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE (Bipartisan Policy Center, 2018)

Can Democracy Survive the Internet?, 28 JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY 63 (2017).

Who Counts for One Person, One Vote?, 50 U.C. DAVIS LAW REVIEW 1395 (2017)

THE LAW OF DEMOCRACY: LEGAL STRUCTURE OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS (5th ed., Foundation Press, 2016) (with Samuel Issacharoff, Pamela Karlan & Richard Pildes).

Revisiting Public Opinion on Voter Identification and Voter Fraud in an Era of Increasing Partisan Polarization, 68 STANFORD LAW REVIEW 1455 (2016) (with Charles Stewart III and Stephen Ansolabehere).

When is a Legislature Not a Legislature? When Voters Regulate Elections Through Direct Democracy?, 77 OHIO STATE LAW JOURNAL 689 (2016) (with Samuel Byker, William Evans, and Alon Sachar).

The Campaign Revolution Will Not Be Televised, 11 AMERICAN INTEREST 33 (2015).

Testing Shaw v. Reno: Do Majority-Minority Districts Cause Expressive Harms, 90 NYU LAW REVIEW 1041 (2015) (with Stephen Ansolabehere).

SOLUTIONS TO POLITICAL POLARIZATION IN AMERICA (Nathaniel Persily ed., Cambridge University Press, 2015).

The Meaning of Equal Protection, 31 GPSOLO 13 (Nov/Dec 2014).

Bush v. Gore in the American Mind: Reflections and Survey Results on the Tenth Anniversary of the Decision Ending the 2000 Election Controversy (with Amy Semet and Stephen Ansolabehere) in Michael Alvarez and Bernard Grofman eds., ELECTION ADMINISTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES: THE STATE OF REFORM AFTER BUSH V. GORE (2014).

Shelby County v. Holder and the Future of the Voting Rights Act, GOVERNANCE STUDIES AT BROOKINGS, Aug. 2013 (with Thomas Mann).

THE HEALTH CARE CASE: THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS (Oxford University Press, 2013) (edited with Gillian Metzger & Trevor Morrison).

Regional Differences in Racial Polarization in the 2012 Presidential Election: Implications for the Constitutionality of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, 126 HARVARD LAW REVIEW FORUM 205 (2013) (with Stephen Ansolabehere & Charles Stewart III).

Drawing Lines in Shifting Sands: The DOJ, the VRA, and the 2011 Redistricting Process, 23 STANFORD LAW AND POLICY REVIEW 345 (2012).

Profiling Originalism, 111 COLUMBIA LAW REVIEW 356 (2011) (with Jamal Greene and Stephen Ansolabehere).

Foreword: The Legacy of Bush v. Gore in Public Opinion and American Law, 23 SAINT THOMAS LAW REVIEW 325 (2011).

The Law of the Census: How to Count, What to Count, Whom to Count, and Where to Count Them, 32 CARDOZO LAW REVIEW 755 (2011).

Foreword: The Legacy of Bush v. Gore in Public Opinion and American Law, 23 ST. THOMAS LAW REVIEW 325 (2011).

"Celebrating" the Tenth Anniversary of the 2000 Election Controversy: What the World Can Learn from the Recent History of Election Dysfunction in the United States, 44 INDIANA LAW REVIEW 85 (2010).

Measuring Election System Performance, 13 NYU JOURNAL OF LAW AND POLITICS 445 (2010) (with Stephen Ansolabehere).

Partisanship, Public Opinion, and Redistricting, in 9 ELECTION LAW JOURNAL 325 (2010); reprinted in RACE, REFORM, AND REGULATION OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS: RECURRING PUZZLES IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY (Heather Gerken, et al. eds.) (2011) (with Joshua Fougere and Stephen Ansolabehere).

Race, Region, and Vote Choice in the 2008 Election: Implications for the Future of the Voting Rights Act, 123 HARVARD LAW REVIEW 1385 (2010) (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Charles Stewart).

Court Decisions and Trends in Support for Same-Sex Marriage (with Patrick J. Egan), POLLING REPORT, Aug. 17, 2009.

Fig Leaves and Tea Leaves in the Supreme Court's Recent Election Law Decisions, 2008 SUPREME COURT REVIEW 89 (2009).

Defacing Democracy?: The Changing Nature and Rising Importance of As-Applied Challenges in the Supreme Court's Recent Election Law Decisions, 93 MINNESOTA LAW REVIEW 1644 (2009) (with Jennifer Rosenberg).

The Constitutional Relevance of Alleged Legislative Dysfunction, 117 YALE LAW JOURNAL POCKET PART 256 (2008).

Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder: The Role of Public Opinion in the Challenge to Voter Identification Requirements, 121 HARVARD LAW REVIEW 1737 (2008) (with Stephen Ansolabehere).

PUBLIC OPINION AND CONSTITUTIONAL CONTROVERSY (Oxford University Press, 2008) (edited with Jack Citrin & Patrick Egan).

Eat Dessert First, 5 THE FORUM (2007)

The Promise and Pitfalls of the New Voting Rights Act, 117 YALE LAW JOURNAL 174 (2007).

Political Questions and Political Cases: The Evolving Justifications for Judicial Involvement in Politics, in Nada Mourtada-Sabbah & Bruce E. Cain, THE POLITICAL QUESTION DOCTRINE AND THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES (Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).

Strict in Theory, Loopy in Fact, 105 MICHIGAN LAW REVIEW FIRST IMPRESSIONS 43 (2006).

The Place of Competition in American Election Law, in MICHAEL McDONALD & JOHN SAMPLES EDS., THE MARKETPLACE OF DEMOCRACY (Brookings Inst. Press 2006).

Options and Strategies for Renewal of the Section Five of the Voting Rights Act, in THE FUTURE OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT 255, 257 (David L. Epstein, et al. eds., 2006); reprinted and revised in, 49 HOWARD LAW JOURNAL 717 (2006).

Forty Years in the Political Thicket: Evaluating Judicial Oversight of Redistricting Since Reynolds v. Sims, in Thomas Mann & Bruce E. Cain eds., PARTY LINES: COMPETITION, PARTISANSHIP, AND CONGRESSIONAL REDISTRICTING (Brookings Inst. Press, 2005).

The Law of American Party Finance, in Keith Ewing & Samuel Issacharoff, PARTY FUNDING AND CAMPAIGN FINANCING IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE (Hart, 2005).

When Judges Carve Democracies: A Primer on Court-Drawn Redistricting Plans, 73 GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 1131 (2005).

Regulating Democracy through Democracy: The Use of Direct Legislation in Election Law Reform, 78 SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW 997 (2005) (with Melissa Cully Anderson).

Perceptions of Corruption and Campaign Finance: When Public Opinion Determines Constitutional Law, 153 UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LAW REVIEW 119 (2004) (with Kelli Lammie).

Soft Parties and Strong Money, 3 ELECTION LAW JOURNAL 315 (2004).

Contested Concepts in Campaign Finance, 6 UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW 118 (2003).

The Search for Comprehensive Descriptions and Prescriptions in Election Law, 35 CONNECTICUT LAW REVIEW 1511 (2003).

Suing the Government in Hopes of Controlling It: The Evolving Justifications for Judicial Involvement in Politics, 5 UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW 607 (2003).

In Defense of Foxes Guarding Henhouses: The Case for Judicial Acquiescence to Incumbent-Protecting Gerrymanders, 115 HARVARD LAW REVIEW 593 (2002).

Soft Money and Slippery Slopes, 1 ELECTION LAW JOURNAL 401 (2002).

The Legal Implications of a Multiracial Census, in Joel Perlmann & Mary Waters, THE NEW RACE QUESTION (Russell Sage Press, 2002).

The Complicated Impact of One Person One Vote on Political Competition and Representation, 80 NORTH CAROLINA LAW REVIEW 1299 (2002) (with Thad Kousser & Patrick Egan).

The Blanket Primary in the Courts: The History and Precedent of California Democratic Party v. Jones, in VOTING AT THE POLITICAL FAULT LINE: CALIFORNIA'S EXPERIMENT WITH THE BLANKET PRIMARY (Bruce E. Cain & Elisabeth Gerber eds.) (University of California Press, 2002).

Candidates v. Parties: The Constitutional Constraints on Primary Ballot Access Laws, 88 GEORGETOWN LAW JOURNAL 2181 (2001).

Toward a Functional Defense of Political Party Autonomy, 76 N.Y.U. LAW REVIEW 750 (2001).

The Right to Be Counted, 53 STANFORD LAW REVIEW 1077 (2001) (reviewing PETER SKERRY, COUNTING ON THE CENSUS? (2000)).

Color by Numbers: Race, Redistricting, and the 2000 Census, 85 MINNESOTA LAW REVIEW 899 (2001).

THE REAL Y2K PROBLEM: CENSUS 2000 DATA AND REDISTRICTING TECHNOLOGY (Brennan Center 2000) (Editor and Contributor).

The Legal Status of Political Parties: A Reassessment of Competing Paradigms, 100 COLUMBIA LAW REVIEW 775 (2000) (with Bruce Cain).

The Right to Bail in International Extradition Proceedings, 34 STANFORD JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 407 (1998).

The Peculiar Geography of Direct Democracy: Why the Initiative, Referendum and Recall Developed in the American West, 2 MICHIGAN LAW & POLICY REVIEW 11 (1997).

The Parliamentary Option for California Government, in CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN CALIFORNIA: MAKING STATE GOVERNMENT MORE EFFECTIVE AND RESPONSIVE (Bruce E. Cain & Roger G. Noll eds.) (IGS Press 1995) (with Bruce Cain).

CONGRESSIONAL AND OTHER TESTIMONY

The Promise and Challenges of Evolving Technologies for American Democracy, Committee on Science, Technology, and Law, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, DC (Oct. 21, 2015).

New and Necessary Innovations to Improve Voter Participation and Registration, Hearing Before Senate Select Committee on Science, Innovation and Public Policy, California State Senate (March 11, 2014).

Redistricting and the 2010 Census: Enforcing Section 5 of the VRA, United States Commission on Civil Rights (Feb. 3, 2010).

United States v. Stevens: The Supreme Court's Decision Invalidating the Crush Video Statute, Hearing before the Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism, and Homeland Security of the U.S. House Committee on the Judiciary, 111th Cong. (May 26, 2010).

Voter Registration: Assessing Current Problems, Hearing before the United States Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, 111th Cong. (March 11, 2009).

Understanding the Benefits and Costs of Section 5 Preclearance, Hearing before the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 110th Cong. (May 17, 2006).

The States' Choice of Voting Systems Act: Hearing on H.R. 1173 before the Subcommittee on the Constitution of the House Committee on the Judiciary, 106th Cong. (Sept. 23, 1999).

U.S. SUPREME COURT AMICUS BRIEFS

Brief of Nathaniel Persily, et al., *Evenwel v. Abbott* (No. 14-940).

Brief of Nathaniel Persily, et al., *Arizona State Legislature v. Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission*, (No. 13-1314).

Brief for Nathaniel Persily, et al., *Northwest Austin Municipal Utility District Number One v. Holder*, 129 S.Ct. 2504 (2009) (No. 08-322).

Brief for Nathaniel Persily et al., *Bartlett v. Strickland*, 556 U.S. 1 (2009) (No. 07-689).

Brief Amicus Curiae of Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law in Support of Appellees, *Utah v. Evans*, 536 U.S. 452 (2002) (No. 01-714).

Brief Amicus Curiae of Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law in Support of Respondents, *Bush v. Gore*, 531 U.S. 98 (2000) (No. 00-949).

BAR, EDITORIAL BOARD, AND PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS

- Member of the New York and United States Supreme Court Bars.
- Member, National Academy of Sciences Committee on *The Future of Voting*

- Editorial Board, *Election Law Journal* and *The Forum*.
- Social Science Research Council, Advisor to Anxieties of Democracy Project.
- American Law Institute, Member and Advisor, Principles of Election Law Project.
- American Political Science Association, Advisory Committee to Law and Political Process Study Group.
- Hewlett Foundation, Consultant and Academic Advisor.
- Advisory Committee, Electoral Institute, Veracruz, Mexico.

RECENT SPEECHES AND PAPER PRESENTATIONS

- *Does Disinformation Threaten Democracy?* National Constitution Center, Stanford, CA May 3, 2018.
- *Can Democracy Survive the Internet?*, 2 *Sigma*, New York, NY, May 1, 2018, Aspen Ideas Festival, Aspen, CO, June 27, 2017; Stanford in the Wild, Lake Tahoe, CA, Apr. 28, 2017; Wisconsin Law School Faculty Workshop, Madison Wisconsin, Apr. 26, 2017; Stanford Center, Florence, Italy, Apr. 18, 2017.
- *Report on Research of Campaign Finance Task Force*, National Institute on Money in State Politics, Bigfork, MT, June 3, 2017.
- *Redistricting and Representation in American Law*, Conference on “The Law and Lives of Democracies,” O.P. Jindal Global University, Delhi, India, Mar. 30, 2017.
- *Coming to Grips with the 2016 Election*
Indian Law Institute, Delhi, India, Oct. 26, 2016; Dean’s Advisory Council, Stanford Law School, Stanford, CA, Oct. 20, 2016; Stanford Los Angeles Alumni Event, Los Angeles, Oct. 13, 2016; Stanford Directors College, Stanford, CA, June 19, 2016; Stanford Alumni Event, Washington, DC, June 9, 2016.
- *The Costs and Benefits of the Right to Information*, Conference on Deliberative Democracy, O.P. Jindal Global University, Delhi, India, Oct. 24, 2016.
- *Voting Rights, Election Law, and the 2016 Campaign*
Public Interest Law Lunch, Stanford, CA, Oct. 20, 2016; Stanford Alumni Weekend, Stanford, CA, Oct. 21, 2016; San Francisco Legal Aid Society, San Francisco, CA, July 12, 2016.
- *The Campaign Revolution Will Not Be Televised*
UCLA Law School Faculty Workshop, Oct. 14, 2016; Public Policy Lecture, Reed College, Sept. 26, 2016; Board of Overseers, Stanford Law School, Stanford, CA, April 15, 2016; Ohio State Law School, Nov. 20, 2015; The Central Valley Foundation/James B. McClatchy Lecture on the First Amendment, U.C. Davis Law School, Oct. 29, 2015; Constitutional Conversation, Stanford Law School, Oct. 27, 2015; Berkeley Law School Public Law Workshop & Institute of Governmental Studies Harris Seminar, Berkeley, CA, Sept. 29, 2015; Conference on Online Political Advertising, Bipartisan Policy Center, Stanford Law School, Sept. 18, 2015; Stanford Law School Faculty Workshop, August 12, 2015.
- *Roundtable of Campaign Finance*, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, Sept. 3, 2016.
- *Anxieties of Democracy*, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, Sept. 1, 2016.
- *Redistricting Law After Evenwel v. Abbott*, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, Sept. 3, 2016.

- *Does Democracy Need to Be Fixed?*, Penn Law School Symposium on “Is Government Broken?”, Phil., PA, March 24, 2016.
- *Solutions to Political Polarization*
Southern California Law and Social Sciences Forum Keynote, San Diego, CA, Mar. 18, 2016; Democracy Studies Event, Ohio State University, Moritz College of Law, Columbus, OH, March 12, 2015; Columbia Law School Faculty Workshop, New York, NY, Nov. 6, 2014; University of Melbourne Law School Legal Studies Workshop, Melbourne, Australia, Aug. 7, 2014; University of New South Wales Law School Faculty Workshop, Sydney, Australia, August 4, 2014; Stanford Law School Faculty Workshop, Stanford, CA, July 16, 2014; SSRC Presents – Anxieties of Democracy: Why Is America So Polarized?, Roosevelt House, New York, NY, Feb. 18, 2014.
- *Contemporary Controversies in the American Law of Democracy*, Conference on Democracy and Its Discontents, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, Oct. 9, 2015.
- *The Law of the 2012 Election*, Stanford Alumni Dean’s Circle Event, Newseum, Washington, DC, Nov. 13, 2014.
- *Caught Between the Rock of the Constitution and the Hard Place of the Voting Rights Act*, University of Chicago Legal Forum Symposium, Chicago, IL, Nov. 7, 2014.
- *Testing Shaw v. Reno: Do Majority-Minority Districts Cause Expressive Harms?*, Symposium on Empirical Studies of Constitutional Law, University of Chicago Law School, Oct. 23, 2014.
- *Political Parties and Campaign Finance*, Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington, DC, Oct. 16, 2014.
- *Redistricting Reform: People, Principles and Processes*, Ohio State University, Apr. 18, 2014.
- *The American Voting Experience: Report of the Presidential Commission on Election Administration*
Australian Election Network, University of Melbourne, Aug. 6, 2014.
Stanford Law School Faculty Workshop, Feb. 19, 2014
National Association of State Election Directors, San Francisco, CA, Aug. 22, 2014.
George Washington Law School, Jan. 22, 2014.
- *Evaluating Redistricting Reforms*, Bauman Foundation, Washington, DC, Dec. 9, 2013.
- *The Law of the 2012 Election*, Columbia Alumni Clubs of Sarasota and Tampa, Apr. 4-5, 2012.
- *The Law of Democracy in American Constitutional Law*, Dean Alfange Jr. Distinguished Lecture, U. Mass Amherst, Amherst, MA, Mar. 26, 2012
- *Politics as Bloodsport: Redistricting Controversies Past and Present*, Columbia Law Washington Program and Alumni Presentation, Washington, DC, Feb. 29, 2012.
- *The Law of Redistricting*, CSPAN: American History TV, Columbia Law School, Feb. 27, 2012.
- *Citizens United, the Media, and the Medium*, Stanford Department of Communications, Stanford, CA, Feb. 23, 2012.
- *Drawing Lines in Shifting Sands*, Stanford Law and Policy Review Symposium, Stanford, CA, Jan. 28, 2012.
- *Judges and Redistricting*, Yale Law and Policy Review Symposium, Yale Law School, New Haven, CT, Oct. 22, 2011.
- *Redistricting New York 2012: Issues and Controversies*, The Center for Electoral Politics and Democracy at Fordham University, New York, NY, Oct. 5, 2011.
- *Bush v Gore, 10 Years Later: Election Administration in the United States*, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine, Cal Tech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Laguna Beach, CA, April 16-17, 2011.

- *Race, Party and Community Representation in the Redistricting Process*, Yale Law School, New Haven, CT, Feb. 25, 2011.
- *The Causes of Party Polarization in Congress*, HARVARD JOURNAL OF LEGISLATION Symposium, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, Feb. 24, 2011.
- *Politics and the Roberts Court*, EMORY LAW JOURNAL Thrower Symposium, Emory Law School, Atlanta, GA, Feb. 10, 2011.
- *The 2010 Census and Election*, Columbia Law School Federalist Society, Feb 9, 2011.
- *The Shifting Sands of Redistricting Law: Unanswered Questions for the 2010 Cycle*, National Conference of State Legislatures, National Harbor, MD, Jan 23, 2011.
- *The Constitutional Politics of the Tea Party Movement*, Association of American Law Schools Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA, Jan. 6, 2011.
- *Profiling Originalism*, Law, Economics, and Organization Workshop, Yale Law School, New Haven, CT, Dec. 9, 2010; University of Chicago Law School Faculty Workshop, Chicago, IL, Nov. 11, 2010; George Washington University Law School Faculty Workshop, Washington, DC, Sept. 21, 2010.
- *The Tenth Anniversary of Bush v. Gore*, Columbia Law School Alumni Breakfast Series, Greenberg Traurig, New York, NY, Dec. 2, 2010.
- *Bush v. Gore: A Decade Later*, ST. THOMAS LAW REVIEW Symposium, Miami, FL, Nov. 12-13, 2010.
- *Redistricting 2011: Decisions of a Decade*, Council of State Governments Intergovernmental Affairs Committee, Providence, RI, Dec. 5, 2010.
- *Expert Witnesses in Redistricting*, NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Airline Conference Center, Warrenton, VA Oct. 9, 2010.
- *Citizens United*, UNC First Amendment Law Review, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC, Oct. 8, 2010.
- *Redistricting Cases Since the Last Census*, National Conference of State Legislatures, Redistricting Task Force, Providence, RI, Sept. 26, 2010.
- *American Law Institute Conference on Election Law*, Philadelphia, PA, June 10, 2010.
- *“United We Stand, United We Fall?”*, Panel Discussion on Citizens’ United v. FEC, Stanford Law School Alumni Event, Waldorf Astoria, May 4, 2010.
- *Voting and Democratic Participation*, Conference on “Acknowledging Race in a ‘Post-Racial’ Era,” Cardozo Law School, New York, NY. Apr. 30, 2010.
- *The Law of Democracy in the Age of Obama and Roberts*, Columbia Law Alumni Association, Ropes and Gray, LLP, Boston, MA, April 13, 2010.
- *The Law of the Census*, Indiana Law Review Conference on the Law of Democracy, Indiana Law School, Indianapolis, IN, April 9, 2010.
- *A Closer Look at Key Decisions Since 2000*, National Conference of State Legislatures Redistricting Task Force, Austin, TX, Mar. 26, 2010.
- *Race and the Law in the Age of Obama and Roberts*, 2010 Edward Brodsky Legal Conference, Anti Defamation League, New York Times Building, March 4, 2010 (moderator).
- *Taking Politics as Markets (Too) Seriously, The Past Present and Future of Election Law: A Symposium Honoring the Work of Daniel Lowenstein*, UCLA Law School, Los Angeles, CA, Jan. 29, 2010.
- *The Redistricting Experience – Tales from the Field*, Redistricting Reform & Voting Rights - Identifying Common Ground and Challenges, Warren Institute, UCDC, Washington, DC, Nov. 10, 2010.
- *“Democracia Electoral, Hacia Una Nueva Agenda,”* Electoral Institute of Veracruz, Veracruz, Mexico, October 15-16, 2009.

- *Election Law in the Age of Obama and Roberts*, Stone Agers Luncheon, St. Regis Hotel, New York, NY, Sept. 30, 2009.
- *Race, Region and Vote Choice in the 2008 Election*, The Ohio State Moritz College of Law Faculty Workshop, Columbus, OH, Sept. 23, 2009.
- *Originalism in the American Mind*, James Goold Cutler Lecture, William and Mary Law School, Williamsburg, VA, Sept. 17, 2009.
- *Gay Marriage, the Courts and Direct Democracy*, Roundtable at American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, Canada, Sept. 4, 2009.
- *Reflections on the Supreme Court's Recent Voting Rights Cases*, New America Foundation, Washington, DC, June 30, 2009
- *New Developments in the Meaning of the Voting Rights Act*, National Conference of State Legislatures Redistricting Task Force, San Francisco, CA, June 14, 2009.
- *Voter Registration Reform*, AEI-Brookings Election Reform Project, Washington, DC, June 2, 2009.
- *The Meaning of the Voting Rights Act in the Age of Obama*, Stanford Law School Faculty Workshop, Stanford, CA, Mar. 18, 2009.
- *Election 2008: Looking Back and Moving Forward*, American Friends of the Hebrew University, New York, NY, Mar. 17, 2009; Columbia Law Alumni and Admittee Event, Washington, DC Mar. 17, 2009.
- *Election Administration Issues in the 2008 Election*, Tobin Project/ALI Elections Scholarship Conference, Duke Law School, Durham, NC, Feb. 27, 2009.
- *The Associational Rights of Political Parties: Recent Cases and Reform Efforts*, New York Bar Association, Election Law Committee, New York, NY, March 26, 2009.
- *Fig Leaves and Tea Leaves in the Supreme Court's Recent Election Law Decisions*, University of Miami Law Review Symposium, Miami, FL, Jan. 4, 2009; University of Minnesota Law School Public Law Workshop, Minneapolis, MN, Jan. 6, 2009.
- *Redistricting War Stories*, American Mathematics Society, Washington, DC, Jan. 8, 2009.
- *Everything You Ever Wanted to Know About Election Law*, Ezra Stiles College Master's Tea and Fellows Dinner, Yale University, New Haven CT, Oct. 30, 2008.
- *Litigation in the 2008 Election*, New York State Bar Association Committee on Minorities in the Profession, New York, NY, Oct. 28, 2008.
- *The Crawford Decision and the Future of Voter Identification*, University of Maryland, Baltimore, MD, Oct. 16, 2008.
- *Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process*, Stanford Law School, Stanford, CA, Oct. 3, 2008.
- *Defacing Democracy: The Rising Importance and Salience of As-Applied Challenges in the Roberts Court*, Rutgers-Camden Law School, Camden, NJ, Sept., 22, 2008; Minnesota Law School, Minneapolis, MN, Oct. 17, 2008.
- *The Law and Politics of the 2008 Election*, Columbia Alumni Association of the District of Columbia, Washington, DC, Oct. 15, 2008; New York Alumni Event, New York, NY, Oct. 7, 2008.
- *Litigating the 2008 Election*, Connecticut Bar Association, District of Connecticut Bench-Bar Conference, Sept. 19, 2009.
- *Improving our Elections: Future Research and Reform*, Carnegie Foundation, New York, NY, Sept. 18, 2008.
- *Legal Issues in the 2008 Election*, Cardozo Law School, Mar. 26, 2008.
- *Voting Rights, Voter Fraud and Election Administration*, Harvard Journal on Legislation conference on "Voices on Voting: Election Law in 2008," Cambridge, MA, Mar. 6, 2008.

- *Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder*, Columbia Law School, Feb. 26, 2008; University of Chicago Law School, Mar. 4, 2008.
- *The New Voting Rights Act*, Journal of Law and Politics, University of Virginia Law School, Charlottesville, VA, Feb. 23, 2008.
- *Redistricting in Democratic Theory*, Byron White Center Symposium on Reapportioning Colorado, Old Supreme Court Chambers, Colorado State Capitol, Denver, CO, Jan. 25, 2008.
- Preview of the 2008 Election Campaign, Election Law Society, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, Oct. 10, 2007; Columbia Law School Alumni Association, Nov. 8, 2007.
- Preliminary Results from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Survey (with Stephen Ansolabehere), Stanford Law School, Stanford, CA Apr. 6, 2007.
- *The Implications of the 2003 Texas Redistricting Controversy*, Symposium on *Lines in the Sand*, University of Texas Law School, Austin, TX, March 2, 2007.
- *Public Opinion and Constitutional Controversy*, Symposium on Positive Approaches to Constitutional Law and Theory, University of Pennsylvania Law School, Philadelphia, PA, Feb. 24, 2007.
- *The Implications of the 2006 Elections for Legal Debates over Partisan Gerrymandering*, NYU Annals of American Law Conference, New York University Law School, New York, NY, Feb. 23, 2007.
- *The Promises and Pitfalls of the New Voting Rights Act*, Faculty Workshop, Columbia Law School, New York, NY, Jan. 11, 2007; USC Center on Law and Politics, Los Angeles, CA, Apr. 10, 2007; Northwestern Law School, Chicago, IL, Apr. 17, 2007; Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, Oct. 4, 2007.
- *Nonpartisanship, Competition and Minority Voting Rights*, UNC Center for Civil Rights, Chapel Hill, NC, Feb. 3, 2006; Humphrey Inst., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, Apr. 25, 2006.
- *The Constitutionality of the Voting Rights Act*, Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Washington, DC, Mar. 9, 2006.
- *The Place of Competition in American Election Law*, Cato Institute, Washington, DC, Mar. 9, 2006.
- *Public Funding of Election Campaigns: Options for Reform and Questions for Research*, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI, Jan. 28, 2006.
- *Gay Marriage, Public Opinion and the Courts*, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Sept. 1, 2005; Emory Law School Faculty Workshop, Sept. 21, 2005; University of Michigan Law School Faculty Workshop, Nov. 16, 2005; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jan. 2, 2006; Bar Ilan Law School, Jan. 3, 2006; Tel Aviv Law School, Jan. 5, 2006; Williams Institute at UCLA Law School, Feb. 24, 2006; Stanford Law School Faculty Workshop, March 22, 2006; Columbia Law School Faculty Workshop, June 13, 2006; Northwestern Law School, April 17, 2007.
- *Options and Strategies for Renewal of Section Five of the Voting Rights Act*, Conference on "Lessons From the Past, Prospects for the Future: Honoring the 40th Anniversary of the Voting Rights Act of 1965," Yale University, April 23, 2005; Russell Sage Foundation, New York, NY, June 24, 2006; Howard Law School, Branton Symposium, Oct. 28, 2005.
- *New Politics*, Conference on "The Constitution in 2020," American Constitution Society, Yale Law School, Apr. 9, 2005.
- *Constitutional Issues in the Terry Schiavo Case*, Penn Law School, Mar. 29, 2005.
- *Regulating Democracy Through Democracy*, Conference on "The Impact of Direct Democracy," Initiative and Referendum Institute, U.C. Irvine, Irvine, CA, Jan. 15, 2005.
- *Conflicts of Interest in Comparative Perspective*, University of Trento, Trento, Italy, Sept. 17, 2004.

- *Partisan Gerrymandering after Vieth v. Jubelirer and The Constitutionality of Counting the Overseas Population*, National Conference of State Legislatures, Salt Lake City, UT, July 20-21, 2004.
- *Money, Elections and Political Equality: Campaign Finance After McConnell*, American Constitution Society, Washington, DC, June 19, 2004.
- *Homeland Security and Civil Liberties*, Joint Conference Sponsored by U.S. Army War College and Penn Law School, June 18, 2004 (conference organizer).
- *Understanding McConnell v. FEC*, Program in Law and Public Affairs, Princeton University, May 27, 2004.
- *Redistricting Georgia*, Ad Hoc Workshop, Penn Law School, April 22, 2004.
- *Forty Years in the Political Thicket: Evaluating Judicial Oversight of Redistricting Since Baker v. Carr*, The Brookings Institution, Apr. 16, 2004.
- *American Election Law*, The Moscow School for Political Studies, National Constitution Center, March 26, 2004.
- *The Constitutional Law of American Elections*, Fels School of Government, University of Pennsylvania, March 11, 2004.
- *American Election Law*, Penn Law Board of Overseers, Penn Club of New York, March 12, 2004.
- *The Law of the Census: How to Count, What to Count, Whom to Count, and Where to Count Them*, U.S. Census Bureau, March 4, 2004.
- *Perceptions of Corruption and Campaign Finance*, Southwestern Law School, Feb. 23, 2004; American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, Sept. 3, 2004, Boalt Hall School of Law, Berkeley, CA, Sept. 7, 2004, Seton Hall Law School, Oct. 29, 2004, NYU Law School, Nov. 15, 2004.
- *The Law of Democracy*, Conference Organizer and Panelist, Penn Law Review, Feb. 6-7, 2004.
- *Redistricting Controversies*, Dianne Rehm Show, National Public Radio, Dec. 4, 2003.
- *Judging in the Current Era*, American Constitution Society, Penn Law School, Nov. 18, 2003 (moderated panel of four federal judges).
- *Panel on Appointment of Federal Judges*, Penn Law Public Interest Program, Oct. 29, 2003.
- *Recent Supreme Court Decisions*, Chestnut Hill Academy, Sept. 2003.
- *McConnell v. FEC: Understanding the Decision and Its Implications*, Penn Law, May 15, 2003 (conference organizer and speaker).
- *The Law and Technology of the Redistricting Process*, Columbia Law School, Feb. 6, 2003; NYU School of Law, Sept. 30, 2002.
- *The Effect of the BCRA on State Political Parties*, National Conference of State Legislatures, Washington, DC, Dec. 12, 2002.
- *American Election Law*, Speech to visiting election officials from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Sponsored by the Carter Center, National Committee on U.S. Chinese Relations, Women's Campaign International. Fels School of Government, Nov. 3, 2002.
- *In Defense of Foxes Guarding Henhouses: The Case for Judicial Acquiescence to Incumbent-Protecting Gerrymanders*, National Conference of State Legislatures (Washington, DC, Dec. 12, 2002); University of Miami Law School, (Oct. 25, 2002); University of Pennsylvania Department of Political Science (Oct. 10, 2002); Rutgers-Camden Law School (Sept. 9, 2002); University of Pennsylvania Law School (Aug. 15, 2002).
- *Parties, Money and Corruption*, "The Funding of Political Parties Workshop," Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, University of London, July 5-6, 2002.
- *Redistricting New York*, University of Pennsylvania Law School Ad Hoc workshop, Summer 2002.

- *The Law and Technology of the 2000 Redistricting Process*, Harvard Law School, Apr. 22, 2002.
- *Strategies for Election Reform and their Legal Consequences*, Georgetown Journal on Poverty Law and Policy, Georgetown University Law Center, Feb. 25, 2002.
- *The Political Impact of One Person, One Vote*, Symposium on Baker v. Carr, University of North Carolina Law School, Chapel Hill, NC, Nov. 2-4, 2001.
- *Understanding and Complying with Bush v. Gore*, Election Law Task Force of the National Conference of State Legislatures, National Press Club, May 9, 2001.
- *Multiraciality and the 2000 Census*, Brennan Center at NYU Law School, May 4, 2001.
- *Latino Representation and the 2000 Redistricting Process*, National Meeting of the Latino Law Students Association, Columbia Law School, Mar. 2, 2001.
- *The Law, Politics, and Technology of the 2000 Redistricting Process*, Eagleton Institute of Public Affairs, Rutgers University, Dec. 18, 2000.
- *The Legal Regulation of Party Primaries*, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, Sept. 1, 2000.

Selected Media Appearances and Interviews

- *Television*: NBC, ABC, CBS, CNN, MSNBC, FoxNews, Bloomberg, CNNfn.
- *Radio*: NPR, CBS Radio, ABC Radio, BBC Radio, Voice of America.
- *Newspapers and Wire Services*: New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Los Angeles Times, San Francisco Chronicle, Philadelphia Inquirer, Washington Times, Houston Chronicle, Christian Science Monitor, Dallas Morning News, Miami Herald, Atlanta Journal Constitution, Detroit Free Press, Baltimore Sun, the Guardian, McClatchy, Knight Ridder, Gannett, Associated Press, United Press International.
- *Other periodicals*: The New Yorker, The New Republic, Congressional Quarterly, Roll Call.

**Curriculum Vitae
BRUCE EDWARD CAIN**

Personal:

Date and Place of Birth

[REDACTED]

Home Addresses

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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

[REDACTED]

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 Najar, 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*, 4th 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 Fabrinini, 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 Fabbrinni, 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 Fabbrinni, ed., *The United States Contested. American Unilateralism and European Discontent*, London: Routledge, 2006.
- “The Impact of Dual Nationality on Political Participation,” with Brendan Doherty, in *Transforming Politics, Transforming America: The Political and Civic Incorporation of Immigrants in the United States*, Taeku Lee, Karthick Ramakrishnan, and Ricardo Ramírez, eds., University of Virginia Press, 2006.
- “Barriers to Recalling Elected Officials: A Cross-State Analysis of the Incidence and Success of Recall Petitions,” with Melissa Cully Anderson and Annette K. Eaton in *Clicker Politics: Essays on The California Recall*, Shaun Bowler and Bruce E. Cain, eds., New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006.
- “Term Limits: A Recipe For More Competition?” with John Hanley and Thad Kousser, in *The Marketplace of Democracy: Electoral Competition and American Politics*. Michael McDonald and John Samples editors, Washington: Brookings

University Press, 2006

- "Parties in an Era of Renewed Partisanship," with Darshan Goux, in *Developments in American Politics V*, co-edited with Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey, B. Guy Peters, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- "Voting Rights Act Reinforcement: Navigating Between High and Low Expectations," with Karin Mac Donald, in *The Future of the Voting Rights Act*, David Epstein et al, editors, New York: Russell Sage, 2006.
- "Introduction," with Shaun Bowler in *Clicker Politics: Essays on the California Recall*, Shaun Bowler and Bruce E. Cain, eds., New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006.
- "Committees and Term Limits," with Gerald Wright, in *Institutional Change in American Politics: The Case of Term Limits*, Karl Kurtz, Bruce E. Cain and Richard Niemi, eds., Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007.
- "Conclusion and Implications" with Karl Kurtz and Richard G. Niemi, in *Institutional Change in American Politics: The Case for Term Limits*, Karl Kurtz, Bruce E. Cain and Richard G. Niemi, eds, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007.
- "Institutional Imbalance: The Effects of Six-Year Limits in California, with Thad J Kousser and Karl T. Kurtz, *Legislating Without Experience: Case Studies in State Legislative Term Limits*, Rick Farmer, Christopher Z. Mooney, Richard J Powell and John C. Green eds, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007.
- "Venturing onto the Path of Equal Representation: The Warren Court and Redistricting," with Melissa Cully Anderson, *Earl Warren and the Warren Court: The Legacy in American and Foreign Law - A Half-Century Retrospect*, Harry Scheiber, ed., Berkeley: Public Policy Press, 2007.
- "Le Paradoxe Multiculturel de la California" with Frederick Douzet in *Politique Americaine* No 9, Hiver, 2007-8, pp13-32.
- "The Governor's Comeback Victory in California," *The Sixth Year Itch*, Larry Sabato ed., London: Longman, 2008.
- "Conflict of Interest Legislation in the United States: Origins, Evolutions and Inter-Branch Differences," with Alison Gash and Mark J. Oleszek, *Conflict of Interest and Public Life: Cross-National Perspectives*, Christine Trost and Alison Gash, eds, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- "Sorting or Self-Sorting: Competition and Redistricting in California?" with Iris Hui and Karin Mac Donald, *The New Political Geography of California*, Frederick Douzet, Thad Kousser and Kenneth Miller, eds., Berkeley: Public Policy Press, 2008.

- "The Promise of Election Reform," with Caroline Tolbert and Todd Donovan, *Democracy in the States: Experiments in Election Reform*, Bruce E. Cain, Todd Donovan and Caroline Tolbert eds., Washington, Brookings Press, 2008.
- "From the Last Generation of Reform to the Next," with Caroline Tolbert and Todd Donovan in *Democracy in the States: Experiments in Election Reform*. Bruce E. Cain, Todd Donovan and Caroline Tolbert eds., Washington: Brookings Press, 2008.
- "Lobbying Regulation," with Dorie Apollonio and Lee Drutman, *Hastings Law Review*, Volume 36, number 1, Fall 2008.
- "Administering the Overseas Vote," with Karin Mac Donald and Mike Murakami, *Public Administration Review*, Volume 68, number 5, Sept/Oct 2008.
- "Introduction: Toward Greater Pluralism," in Sandra Bass and Bruce E. Cain, eds, *Racial and Ethnic Politics in California*, volume 3, Berkeley: Berkeley Public Policy Pres, 2008.
- "The Skeptical Pluralist: Nelson Polsby's Contributions to the Study of Political Reform," with Jim Desveaux, *Election Law Journal*, 7(4), December 2008, 287-300.
- "La Nouvelle Carte Politique des Etats-Unis," with Frederick Douzet and Hugo Lefebvre, *Herodote*, 1er trimestre 2009, no 132, 2009.
- "Malleable Constitutions: Reflections on State Constitutional Reform," with Roger G. Noll, *University of Texas Law Review*, Vol 87, no 7, June 2009.
- "The Electoral System and the Lessons of 2008," in *Developments in American Politics VI*, in Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey, Bruce Cain, B. Guy Peters, editors, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- "The Institutional Causes of California's Budget Problems, with Roger G. Noll, in the *California Journal of Politics and Policy*, vol2, no 3, 2010.
- "More or Less: Searching for Regulatory Balance," in *Race, Reform and Regulation of the Political Process*, edited Heather Gerken, Guy Charles and Michael Kang, Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- "Transatlantic Environmental Regulation: Strengthening Cooperation Between California and the EU," in David Vogel and Johan F.W. Swinnen, *Transatlantic Regulatory Cooperation: the Shifting Roles of the EU, the US and California*, Northampton: Edward Elgar, 2011.

"Redistricting Commissions: A Better Political Buffer?" 121 *The Yale Law Journal* 1808, 2012.

"Community of Interest Methodology and Public Testimony, with Karin MacDonald, 3 *U.C. IRVINE L. REV.* 609 (2013).

"Congressional Staff and the Revolving Door: The Impact of Regulatory Change," with Lee Drutman, *Election Law Journal*, 13:1, March 2014.

"Political Parties," with Peter Ryan, in *Developments in American Politics* 7, in Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey, Bruce Cain, B. Guy Peters, editors, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014

"Is Dependence Corruption the Solution to America's Campaign Finance Problems?" 102 *California Law Review* 37, 2014.

"The Merits of Reform Pluralism," *Election Law Journal*, 13:4, December 2014.

"Two Approaches to Lessening the Effects of Partisanship," in Nate Persily, editor, *Solutions to Polarization in America*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

"Blurred Lines: Conjoined Polarization and Voting Rights." with Emily Zhang, *Ohio St. LJ* 77 (2016): 867.

"A Framework for Building Efficient Environmental Permitting Processes," with Nicola Ulibarri and Newsha Ajami, *Sustainability* 9.2 (2017): 180.

"Overcoming Psychological Resistance toward Using Recycled Water in California," with Iris Hui, *Water and Environment Journal*, (August, 2017).

"Reforming American Democracy: Paving the Path for Trump?" in *Developments in American Politics VIII*, co-edited with Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey, B. Guy Peters, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

"A Reasonable Bias Approach to Gerrymandering: Using Automated Plan Generation to Evaluate Redistricting Proposals," with Wendy K Tam Cho, Yan Liu and Emily Zhang, *William and Mary Law Review* 59.5 (2018): 1521.

"Public receptiveness of vertical axis wind turbines." With Iris Hui and John Dabiri *Energy Policy* 112 (2018): 258-271.

"Parties by Design: Pluralist Party Reform in a Polarized Era," with Cody Gray, *New York University Law Review*, volume 93:4 (2018), 621.

"Patterns of Participation and Representation in a Regional Water Collaboration," with Iris Hui and Nicola Ulibarri, *Policy Studies Journal* (2018).

"Reducing Local Capacity Bias in Government Grantsmanship." with Mary Sprague and Kate Wilson, *The American Review of Public Administration* 49.2 (2019): 174-188.

"Public receptivity in China towards wind energy generators: A survey experimental approach." with Shiran Victoria Shen and Iris Hui, *Energy Policy* 129 (2019): 619-627.

"Environmental activism and vertical-axis wind turbine preferences in California." With Iris Hui and John Dabiri, *Wind Energy* 22 (2019): 1733-1745.

"The Uncertain Future of Felon Disenfranchisement," with Brett Parker, *University of Missouri Law Review*, 84, (2019): 935.

"The Challenge of Externally Generated Collaborative Governance: California's Attempt at Regional Water Management," with Elisabeth R. Gerber and Iris Hui, *The American Review of Public Administration* 50 (2020): 428-437.

"Public Perceptions of Collaborative Governance in Transportation Policy, " with Elisabeth R. Gerber, and Iris Hui, *Political Research Quarterly* (2020): 1065912920943954.

"Getting Bipartisan Support for Sea Level Rise Adaptation Policies," with Iris Hui and Elisabeth R. Gerber, and Iris Hui. "Getting bipartisan support for sea level rise adaptation policies." *Ocean & Coastal Management* 197 (2020): 105298.

"Human-centered redistricting automation in the age of AI." With Cho, Wendy K. Tam *Science* 369, no. 6508 (2020): 1179-1181.

The Impact of Sexual Harassment and Gender Discrimination on the Evaluation of Political Figures," with Iris Hui, under review.

Miscellaneous Works (Essays, Reviews, Columns):

"Euro-communism and the Communist Party in Great Britain," prepared for the California Conference on Euro-communism and United States Foreign Policy, April 15-16, 1977.

Review of "New Trends in British Politics: Issues for Research," in *American Political Science Review*, Dennis Kavanagh and Richard Rose, eds, Vol. 73, No. 2, 1979, pp 640-641.

"Why Should Our Republic Have Democratic Elections," (with Daniel J. Kevles), *Los Angeles Times*, April 3, 1979.

Review of "Doctrine and Ethos in the Labour Party," in *American Political Science Review*, H. M. Drucker, ed., Vol. 74, No. 3, 1980, pp 840-841.

"The Reapportionment Puzzle," *Engineering and Science*, March, 1982.

Report on "Nuclear Proliferation," to the United National Association, March, 1984.

"Excerpts from Declaration of Bruce Cain in *Badham v. Eu*," *PS*, Vol. 18, No. 3, Summer, 1985, pp. 561-567.

Minorities in California, report funded by the Seaver Institute, March, 1986.

"Asian-American Electoral Power: Imminent or Illusory?," *Election Politics*, Spring, 1988, pp. 27-30.

"Can Campaign Finance Reports Create a More Ethical Political Process," (with Dan Lowenstein) in *Public Affairs Report*, Vol. 31, No. 1, January, 1990.

"Redrawing District Lines: What's Going On and What's at Stake," (with David Butler), *The American Enterprise*, Vol. 2, No. 4, July/August, 1991, pp. 28-40.

"Reading the Returns: How the 1994 Elections Will Affect the University," *California Monthly*, Vol. 105, No. 4, February, 1995.

"Stepping Forward and Stepping Backwards: Twenty-five Years of Political Reform," *California Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 11, November, 1995, pp. 28-30.

"California Library Referenda: The Determinants of Success and Failure," (with Ellyce Cooper, Sara Ferejohn and Corrie Potter), IGS Working Paper 96-7, 1996; reprinted in *The Bottom Line: Managing Library Finances*, Vol. 10, Issue 2, 1997.

"Party Rights and Public Wrongs: The Court's Stand Against Proposition 198," *Sacramento Bee*, Op-Ed piece, June, 2000.

"Ethnic Ironies: Chronic Underinvestment in Minority Politics," *California Politics and Policy*, September, 2000.

Term Limits-Lessons from California, NCSL Report, 2001.

"Searching for the Next Pat Brown: California Infrastructure in the Balance," *California's Future in the Balance: Transportation, Housing/Land Use, Public Higher Education, and Water, Four Decades Beyond the Pat Brown Era*, The Pat Brown Institute of Public Affairs and the Institute of Governmental Studies, 2002.

"Flaws Everywhere: A Review of a Badly Flawed Election," review of Ronald Dworkin (ed.), *A Badly Flawed Election: Debating Bush v. Gore, the Supreme*

- Court, and American Democracy*, in *Election Law Journal*, 2003, Volume 2, Number 4, pp. 525-530.
- "Introduction-Recalling the Recall: Reflections on California's Recent Political Adventure," with Shaun Bowler, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, January, 2004, pp 7-9.
- "An Ethical Path to Reform: *Just Elections* Considered," *Election Law Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 2005, pp 134-138.
- "Nelson Polsby," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, volume 40, no 3, July 2007, pp 597-99.
- "Reform Studies: Political Science on the Firing Line," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, volume 40, no 4, October 2007, pp635-638.
- "Election Administration: Still Broken After all these Years," a book review of M Felcher et al, *Voting in America*, *Election Law Journal*, vol.3, no 8, 219-222.
- "Reform Perhaps: Two Studies of the Presidential Nomination Process," *Election Law Review*, vol 9 no 2, 2010.
- "Introduction: To Con-Con or Not: California's Constitutional Decision," *California Journal of Politics and Policy*, vol 2, 2010.
- "Foundational Wisdom: the Scholarship of Daniel Lowenstein," *Election Law Journal*, volume 9, number 4, 2010.
- "Five Myths about California Politics," *Washington Post*, June 6, 2010.
- "Califormula for Dysfunction," *The American Interest*, vol.6, no. 6, July 2011.
- "Shade from the Glare: The Case of Semi-disclosure," *Cato Unbound* (Lead Essay), November 2010.
- "Teaching Election Law to Political Scientists," *Saint Louis University Law Journal*, 56, no 3, 2012.
- "Moving Past Section 5: More Fingers or a New Dike?" *Election Law Journal* 12: 3, 2013.
- "Populist Illusions and Pluralist Realities," *The American Interest* 10:2, October 2014
- "All over the Map: The Diversity of Western Water Plans," with Coral Abbott, Kaley Dodson, Vanessa Casado-Perez, Iris Hui, and Shane Lebow (*California Journal of Politics and Policy*, volume 7:2, 2015)

“Our Peculiar Reform Challenge,” with Francis Fukuyama *American Interest*, Vol. XL, no 2, Nov/Dec 2015

“The Transparency Paradox,” *American Interest*, Vol. XL, no.2, Nov/Dec 2015

Regular Columnist for *American Interest*, <https://www.the-american-interest.com/v/bruce-e-cain/> 2017-2020