

Curriculum Vitae
BRUCE EDWARD CAIN

Personal:

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

Home Addresses 6000 Plainview Road
 Bethesda, Maryland 2087

 57 Peter Coutts Circle
 Stanford, California, 94305

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

Office Telephone 650 725 1320

Education:

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

Honors and Awards:

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

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
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, 9/1/05-6/30/12
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-
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

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)

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

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

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

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.**

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 Fabbrini, in *Democracy Transformed?: Expanding Political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, (op. cit.), 2003.
- “New Forms of Democracy? Reform and Transformation of Democratic Institutions,” with Russell J. Dalton and Susan E. Scarrow, in *Democracy Transformed?: Expanding Political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, pp 1-20, (op. cit.), 2003.
- “Cheap Talk Citizenship: The Democratic Implications of *Voting with Dollars*,” *University of Richmond Law Review*, May 2003, Volume 37, Number 4, pp 959-978.
- “Advanced Democracies and the New Politics,” with Russell J. Dalton and Susan Scarrow, *Journal of Democracy*, January, 2004, Volume 15, Number 1, pp 124-138.
- “La trasparenza, la advocacy democratica e l’amministrazione dello stato,” *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, Numero 1, Aprile, 2004, pp 5-22.
- “Reasoning to Desired Outcomes: *Making Sense of McConnell v. FEC*,” *Election Law Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Spring, 2004, pp 217-221.
- “Is the Democratic Deficit a Deficiency: The Case of Immigration Policy in the US and EU,” in *On Restructuring Territoriality: Europe and North America*, Chris Ansell and Giuseppe Di Palma, eds., Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp 188-204.
- “City Caesars? Institutional Structure and Mayoral Success in Three California Cities,” with Megan Mullin and Gillian Peele, *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol. 40, No. 1, September, 2004, pp 19-43.

- “California: Low-Tech Solutions Meet High-Tech Possibilities,” with Karin Mac Donald, in *Election Reform*, Daniel J. Palazzolo and James W. Ceaser, eds., Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005.
- “Citizens in American Federalism: Locating Accountability in a Dispersed System,” *Democracy and Federalism in the European Union and the United States*, Sergio Fabbrini, ed., New York: Routledge, 2005, pp 104-116.
- “An Ethical Path to Reform: *Just Elections* Considered,” *Election Law Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 2005, pp 134-138.
- “Constitutional Revision in California,” in *State Constitutions for the 21st Century*, v. 1, G. Alan Tarr, ed., State University of New York Press, 2006.
- “From Equality to Fairness: The Path of Political Reform since *Baker v. Carr*,” with Karin Mac Donald, Michael P. McDonald, in *Party Lines: Competition, Partisanship and Congressional Redistricting*, Bruce E. Cain, Thomas Mann, eds., Washington, DC, Brookings Institution, 2005.
- “America after the 2004 Elections: Bold Policies and Political Quicksand,” Sergio Fabbrini, ed., *The United States Contested. American Unilateralism and European Discontent*, London: Routledge, 2006.
- “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.

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)

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

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

