

July, 2003

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

**Personal:**

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

Home Address: 155 Andersen Drive  
San Rafael, CA 94901

**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:**

Dean's List, James Bowdoin Scholar, Bowdoin College, 1967-1970  
Phi Beta Kappa, Bowdoin College, 1969  
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, 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

**Academic Experience:**

Director, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, California, July, 1999-  
Acting Director, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, California, 1997-99  
Robson Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, California, 1995-  
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

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**Government, Media and Consulting Experience:**

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; KQED, 1992  
Consultant, *Los Angeles Times*, 1986-1988  
Redistricting Consultant, Los Angeles City Council, 1986; Attorney General of the State of Massachusetts, 1987-88; 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  
Polling Consultant, Fairbank, Canapary and Maullin, 1985-86  
Member, Contra Costa Charter Commission, 1997-98  
Political Analyst, Mornings on Two, KTVU, 1998-

**Courses Taught:**

Introduction to American Politics (undergraduate)  
Congress (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 (graduate)

**Professional Activities/Memberships:**

American Political Science Association, 1976-  
Midwest Political Science Association, 1976-1984  
California Arms Control Seminar Group, 1976-1982  
Council on Foreign Relations, 1976-1978  
Editorial Board, American Journal of Political Science, 1985  
Editorial Board, Legislative Studies Quarterly, 1989-1991  
Western Political Science Association, 1985-

**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

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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

**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.

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## 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, eds., Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002.
- Democracy Transformed?: Expanding Political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, co-edited with Russ Dalton and Susan Scarrow, Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

### 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.

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- "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.

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- "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.

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- "Voting Rights and Democratic Theory: Toward a Color-Blind Society?," in *Controversies in Minority Voting*, Bernard Grofman and Chandler Davidson, eds., Washington: Brookings, 1992. Reprinted in *The Brookings Review*, Winter, 1991-92.
- "The American Electoral System," in *Developments in American Politics*, Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey and Bruce Cain, eds., Houndmills: Macmillan, 1992.
- "Coalitional Prospects in a Multi-Racial Society: African-American Attitudes Towards Other Minority Groups," (with Elisabeth Gerber and Byran Jackson), *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 2, June, 1994, pp. 277-294.
- "Developments in Racial and Ethnic Politics," in *Developments in American Politics II*, co-edited with Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey, and B. Guy Peters, eds., Houndmills: Macmillan, 1994.
- "Legislative Redistricting," in *Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System*, Joel H. Silbey et al., eds., New York: Scribner, 1994.
- "Congressional Redistricting," in *The Encyclopedia of the United States Congress*, Donald C. Bacon, Roger H. Davidson and Morton Keller, eds., New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995.
- "Constitutional Change: Is It Too Easy To Amend Our State Constitution?," (with Sara Ferejohn, Margarita Najjar, and Mary Walther) in *Constitutional Reform in California: Making State Government More Effective and Responsive*, Berkeley: IGS Press, 1995.
- "Creating an Accountable Legislature: The Parliamentary Option for California Government," (with Nathaniel Persily) in *Constitutional Reform in California: Making State Government More Effective and Responsive*, Berkeley, IGS Press, 1995.
- "Introduction," *Constitutional Reform in California: Making State Government More Effective and Responsive*, Berkeley: IGS Press, 1995.
- "Principles of State Constitutional Design," (with Roger Noll) in *Constitutional Reform in California: Making State Government More Effective and Responsive*, Berkeley: IGS Press, 1995. Reprinted in part in *Madison Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Fall, 1997, pp. 7-11.
- "Moralism and Realism in Campaign Finance Reform," *The Legal Forum*, Vol. 1995, Spring, 1996, pp. 111-140.
- "The Varying Impact of Legislative Term Limits," in *Legislative Term Limits: Public Choice Perspectives*, Bernard Grofman, ed., Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1996.
- "Term Limits and Local Governments in California," in *Legislative Term Limits: Public Choice Perspectives*, Bernard Grofman, ed. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1996.
- "Foreword," in *Ethnic Ironies: Latino Politics in the 1992 Elections*, Rodolfo de la Garza and Luis DeSipio, eds., Boulder: Westview Press, 1996.

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"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.

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- “Asian-Americans as the Median Voters: An Exploration of Attitudes and Initiative Vote Patterns,” with Wendy Tam Cho, in Gordon Chang, ed., *Asian-Americans and Politics: An Exploration*, Stanford University Press, 2001.
- “The Populist Legacy,” with Ken Miller in *Dangerous Democracy?: The Battle Over Ballot Initiatives in America*, Larry J. Sabato, Howard R. Ernst, and Bruce A. Larson, eds., Lanham: Roman & Littlefield, 2001.
- “Introduction: Exploring the Last Taboo of US Politics,” in *Fair and Effective Representation: Debating Electoral Reform and Minority Rights*, ed., Mark Rush, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.
- “Party Autonomy and Two Party Electoral Competition,” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, Vol. 149, No. 3, January, 2001.
- “The Internet in the (Dis)Service of Democracy,” *Loyola Law Review*, Volume 34, Issue 3, June, 2001.
- “Beyond the Recounts,” (Special Issue: “Elections 2000: La Constitution Dans Les Urnes”), *Revue Francaise D'Etudes Americaines* #80, October, 2001.
- “Citizens in the Federal System: Locating Accountability in a Dispersed System,” *Nation, Federalism and Democracy: the EU, Italy and the American Federal Experience*, ed. Sergio Fabbrini, Bologna: Editrice Compositori, 2001.
- “Explorations at the Fault Line: California’s Blanket Primary Experiment,” in *Voting at the Political Fault Line: California’s Experiment With the Blanket Primary*, Bruce E. Cain and Elisabeth R. Gerber, eds., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- “Conclusion,” (with Elisabeth R. Gerber), in *Voting at the Political Fault Line: California’s Experiment With the Blanket Primary*, Bruce E. Cain and Elisabeth R. Gerber, eds., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- “Strategies and Rules: Lessons from the 2000 Presidential Primary,” with Megan Mullin, *Voting at the Political Fault Line: California’s Experiment With the Blanket Primary*, Bruce E. Cain and Elisabeth R. Gerber, eds., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- “The U. S. in Evolution,” *Developments in American Politics, IV*, co-edited with Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey, and B. Guy Peters, eds., Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002.
- “Political Reform,” *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Oxford: Elsevier Science Limited, 2002.
- “Competing for Attention and Votes: The Role of State Parties in Setting Presidential Nomination Rules,” (with Megan Mullin) in *The Parties Respond: Changes in American Parties and Campaigns*, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition, L. Sandy Maisel, ed., Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002.
- “Mapmaking at the Grassroots: The Legal and Political Issues of Local Redistricting,” with David A. Hopkins, *Election Law Journal*, vol.1, no. 4 (2002), pp. 515-530.

Bruce E. Cain, *Vitae*

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

"Toward More Open Democracies: The Expansion of Freedom of Information Laws," co-authored with Patrick Egan and Sergio Fabbrini, in *Democracy Transformed?: Expanding Political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, (op. cit.).

"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, forthcoming.

"Democracy Transformed?, Expanding Political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies," *Journal of Democracy*, forthcoming.

#### Miscellaneous Works:

"Eurocommunism and the Communist Party in Great Britain," prepared for the California Conference on Eurocommunism 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.

"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.

"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.

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“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.

“Constitutional Revision in California,” paper delivered at the American Political Science Association, September, 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*, forthcoming.