

**RICHARD L. HASEN**

*Chancellor's Professor of Law and Political Science  
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**EDUCATION**

**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY**

B.A. (Middle Eastern Studies), 1986

President's Undergraduate Fellowship, 1985 (support for international research)  
Highest Distinction in General Scholarship, 1986  
Highest Departmental Honors, 1986  
Phi Beta Kappa, 1986

**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES**

M.A. (Political Science), 1988

University of California Chancellor's Fellow, 1988  
Qualified with Distinction, International Relations, 1988

J.D., 1991

Rank: 5/337

Order of the Coif, 1991

*UCLA Law Review*

Chief Article Editor, 1990-91

Member, 1989-90

Ph.D. (Political Science), 1992

Dissertation: *Beyond the Pursuit of Efficiency: An Enriched Economic Analysis for  
Constructing Legal Rules*

## **LAW TEACHING**

### **UC IRVINE SCHOOL OF LAW**

Chancellor's Professor of Law and Political Science, December 2011-present

Professor of Law and Political Science, July 2011-December 2011

Visiting Professor, spring 2011

*Courses:* Election Law, Common Law Analysis—Torts, Remedies;

Campaign Finance: Law, Politics and Policy (Undergraduate)

Academic Affairs Committee, 2012-13, Spring 2015, Spring 2017

Ad hoc Committee on Promotion and Tenure Election Rules, 2011

Budget Policy Committee, 2018-present

Dean Search Committee (law school), Fall 2017

Faculty Advisory Committee, 2018-present

Promotion and Tenure Committee, 2011-12, 2013-14 (chair), 2015-16 (chair), 2017- present

Member, UCI Center for the Study of Democracy, 2011-present

Organizer, Annual Supreme Court Term-in-Review Event, 2011 - present

Self-Study Committee, 2012

Speaker's Committee 2017-present

SSRN Co-coordinator, 2011 – present

University: "Polling" (Search) Committee, Center for the Study of Democracy Directorship, Fall 2013

### **LOYOLA LAW SCHOOL, LOS ANGELES**

William H. Hannon Distinguished Professor of Law, March 2005-2011

Professor of Law and William M. Rains Fellow, July 2000-2005

Associate Professor of Law, 1998-2000

Visiting Associate Professor, fall 1997

*Courses:* Contracts, Election Law, Legislation, Remedies, Torts

Appointments Committee, 2002-04; Lateral Appointments Committee, 2005-2010 (Chair 2005-09)

Computer Committee, 1998-99, 1999-2000

Dean Search Committee, 1999-2000, 2008-2000

Moot Court Programs Committee, 1998-99 (chair), 1999-2000

Rains and Dean's Fellowship Committee, 2006-2010 (Chair 2009-2010)

Sayre Macneil Scholars Program coordinator, 1998-99

SSRN Faculty Editor, 2000-2010 (co-editor, 2000-2001)

Workshop Committee 1999-2007 (co-chair 2002-03)

Co-coach, National Moot Court Team, 1997, 1998, 1999

### **AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON COLLEGE OF LAW**

Visiting Professor, Summer 2010

*Course:* The Roberts Court and the Law of Campaign Finance and Elections (1 credit summer course)

## **UCLA SCHOOL OF LAW**

Visiting Professor, spring 2005

*Course:* Election Law

Visiting Professor, spring 1998

*Course:* Torts

## **CHICAGO-KENT COLLEGE OF LAW ILLINOIS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY**

Assistant Professor of Law, 1994-98

*Courses:* Contracts, Election Law (seminar), Law and Economics, Torts

Recipient, Dean's Prize for Excellence in Teaching, spring 1995

(Highest evaluations among teachers of required courses)

Admissions Committee, 1994-95

Advocacy, Ethics, and ADR Self-Study Committee, 1996-97

Appointments Committee, 1995-96

Curriculum and Academic Standards Committee,

Chair, Subcommittee on the First-Year Curriculum, 1996

Library Review Committee, 1994-95

Moot Court Advisor, 1995-96

Undergraduate Education Committee, 1994-95

## **ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS**

### **BOOKS**

MODERN AMERICAN REMEDIES (Wolters Kluwer, forthcoming 2018) (co-authored with Professor Douglas Laycock)

A JUSTICE OF CONTRADICTIONS: ANTONIN SCALIA AND THE POLITICS OF DISRUPTION (Yale University Press 2018)

ELECTION LAW—CASES AND MATERIALS (6th edition, Carolina Academic Press, 2017) (co-authored with Professor Daniel Hays Lowenstein, Professor Daniel P. Tokaji, and Professor Nicholas O. Stephanopoulos) (plus teacher's manual and annual supplements)

REMEDIES—EXAMPLES AND EXPLANATIONS (4th ed., Wolters Kluwer, 2017)

PLUTOCRATS UNITED: CAMPAIGN MONEY, THE SUPREME COURT AND THE DISTORTION OF AMERICAN ELECTIONS (Yale University Press 2016)

THE GLANNON GUIDE TO TORTS: LEARNING TORTS THROUGH MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS AND ANALYSIS (3d ed. Aspen 2016)

LEGISLATION, STATUTORY INTERPRETATION, AND ELECTION LAW—EXAMPLES AND EXPLANATIONS (Aspen 2014)

REMEDIES—EXAMPLES AND EXPLANATIONS (3d ed. Aspen 2013)

THE VOTING WARS: FROM FLORIDA 2000 TO THE NEXT ELECTION MELTDOWN (Yale University Press 2012)

ELECTION LAW—CASES AND MATERIALS (5th edition, Carolina Academic Press 2012) (co-authored with Professor Daniel Hays Lowenstein and Professor Daniel P. Tokaji) (plus teacher's manual and annual supplements)

THE GLANNON GUIDE TO TORTS: LEARNING TORTS THROUGH MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS AND ANALYSIS (2d ed. Aspen 2011)

REMEDIES—EXAMPLES AND EXPLANATIONS (2d ed. Aspen 2010)

THE GLANNON GUIDE TO TORTS: LEARNING TORTS THROUGH MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS AND ANALYSIS (2009)

ELECTION LAW—CASES AND MATERIALS (4th edition 2008) (co-authored with Professor Daniel Hays Lowenstein and Professor Daniel P. Tokaji) (plus teacher's manual and annual supplements)

REMEDIES—EXAMPLES AND EXPLANATIONS (Aspen 2007)

ELECTION LAW—CASES AND MATERIALS (3d edition 2004) (co-authored with Professor Daniel Hays Lowenstein) (plus teacher's manual) (plus annual supplements 2005, 2006, and 2007 [which adds co-author Daniel P. Tokaji])

THE SUPREME COURT AND ELECTION LAW: JUDGING EQUALITY FROM *BAKER V. CARR* TO *BUSH V. GORE* (NYU Press 2003)

ELECTION LAW—CASES AND MATERIALS (2d edition 2001) (co-authored with Professor Daniel Hays Lowenstein) (plus annual supplements beginning 1998 and teacher's manual)

## **ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS**

*Polarization and the Judiciary*, 22 ANNUAL REVIEW OF POLITICAL SCIENCE (forthcoming 2019) (draft available)

'Civil Right No. 1: Dr. King's Unfinished Voting Rights Revolution', UNIVERSITY OF MEMPHIS LAW REVIEW (forthcoming 2018) ([draft available](#))

[Cheap Speech and What It Has Done \(to American Democracy\)](#), 16 FIRST AMENDMENT LAW REVIEW 200 (2018)

[The 2016 U.S. Voting Wars: From Bad to Worse](#), 26 WILLIAM AND MARY BILL OF RIGHTS JOURNAL 529 (2018)

[Race or Party, Race as Party, or Party All the Time: Three Uneasy Approaches to Conjoined Polarization in Redistricting and Voting Cases](#), 59 WILLIAM AND MARY LAW REVIEW 1837 (2018)

[Resurrection: Cooper v. Harris and the Transformation of Racial Gerrymandering into a Voting Rights Tool](#), 1 ACS SUPREME COURT REVIEW 105 (2017)

[Softening Voter ID Laws Through Litigation: Is it Enough?](#), 2016 WISCONSIN LAW REVIEW FORWARD 100 (2016)

*After Scalia: The Future of United States Election Law*, AMERICA-HO (in Japanese, forthcoming 2016)

[Election Law's Path in the Roberts Court's First Decade: A Sharp Right Turn But with Speed Bumps and Surprising Twists](#), 68 STANFORD LAW REVIEW 1597 (2016)

[Reining in the Purcell Principle](#), 43 FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 427 (2016) (symposium)

[Campaign Finance Law, The State of Nature, and the "Nirvana Fallacy,"](#) LIBRARY OF LAW AND LIBERTY, June 7, 2016

[Celebrity Justice: Supreme Court Edition](#), 19 GREEN BAG 2D 157 (2016)

[Racial Gerrymandering's Questionable Revival](#), 67 ALABAMA LAW REVIEW 365 (2015)

[Democracy for Grownups](#), NEW RAMBLER, Nov. 9, 2015

[Why Isn't Congress More Corrupt? A Preliminary Inquiry](#), 84 FORDHAM LAW REVIEW 429 (2015)

[Response: Conscious Congressional Overriding of the Supreme Court, Gridlock, and Partisan Politics](#), 93 TEXAS LAW REVIEW SEE ALSO 263 (2015) (with Jim Buatti)

[When is Uniformity of People, Not Counties, Appropriate in Election Administration? The Cases of Early and Sunday Voting](#), 2015 UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LEGAL FORUM 193

[Response: "Electoral Integrity," "Dependence Corruption," and What's New Under the Sun](#), 89 NEW YORK UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW ONLINE 87 (2014)

[Super PAC Contributions, Corruption, and the Proxy War over Coordination](#), 9 DUKE JOURNAL OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW & PUBLIC POLICY 1 (2014)

[\*Race or Party? How Courts Should Think About Republican Efforts to Make it Harder to Vote in North Carolina and Elsewhere\*](#), 127 HARVARD LAW REVIEW FORUM 58 (2014)

[\*Shelby County and the Illusion of Minimalism\*](#), 22 WILLIAM AND MARY BILL OF RIGHTS JOURNAL 713 (2014)

[\*Three Wrong Progressive Approaches \(and One Right One\) to Campaign Finance Reform\*](#), 8 HARVARD LAW & POLICY REVIEW 21 (2014)

[\*Keynote Address of Prof. Richard L. Hasen Given to the Voting Wars Symposium, March 23, 2013\*](#), 28 JOURNAL OF LAW AND POLITICS 417 (2013)

[\*Political Dysfunction and Constitutional Change\*](#), 61 DRAKE LAW REVIEW 989 (2013) (symposium)

[\*Is “Dependence Corruption” Distinct from a Political Equality Argument for Campaign Finance Reform? A Reply to Professor Lessig\*](#), 12 ELECTION LAW JOURNAL 315 (2013)

[\*The 2012 Voting Wars, Judicial Backstops, and the Resurrection of Bush v. Gore\*](#), 81 GEORGE WASHINGTON LAW REVIEW 1865 (2013)

[\*A Constitutional Right to Lie in Campaigns and Elections?\*](#), 74 MONTANA LAW REVIEW 53 (2013)

[\*End of the Dialogue? Political Polarization, the Supreme Court, and Congress\*](#), 86 SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW 205 (2013)

[\*Fixing Washington\*](#), 126 HARVARD LAW REVIEW 550 (2012)

[\*What to Expect When You’re Electing: Federal Courts and the Political Thicket in 2012\*](#), FEDERAL LAWYER 34 (June 2012)

[\*Chill Out: A Qualified Defense of Campaign Finance Disclosure Laws in the Internet Age\*](#), 27 JOURNAL OF LAW AND POLITICS 557 (2012)

[\*Anticipatory Overrulings, Invitations, Time Bombs, and Inadvertence: How Supreme Court Justices Move the Law\*](#), 61 EMORY LAW JOURNAL 779 (2012)

[\*Lobbying, Rent Seeking, and the Constitution\*](#), 64 STANFORD LAW REVIEW 191 (2012)

[\*Teaching Bush v. Gore as History\*](#), ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 665 (2012) (symposium on teaching election law)

[\*The Supreme Court’s Shrinking Election Law Docket: A Legacy of Bush v. Gore or Fear of the Roberts Court?\*](#), 10 ELECTION LAW JOURNAL 325 (2011)

*The Nine Lives of Buckley v. Valeo*, (in FIRST AMENDMENT STORIES, Richard Garnett and Andrew Koppelman, eds., 2011) (reprinted in revised form in ELECTION LAW STORIES, Joshua Douglas and Eugene Mazo, eds., 2016)

*The Transformation of the Campaign Financing Regime for U.S. Presidential Elections* (in *The Funding of Political Parties*, Keith Ewing, Jacob Rowbottom, and Joo-Cheong Tham, eds., Routledge, 2011)

[\*Citizens United and the Orphaned Antidistortion Rationale\*](#), 27 *GEORGIA STATE LAW REVIEW* 989 (2011)

[\*Citizens United and the Illusion of Coherence\*](#), 109 *MICHIGAN LAW REVIEW* 581 (2011)

[\*Aggressive Enforcement of the Single Subject Rule\*](#), 9 *ELECTION LAW JOURNAL* 399 (2010) (with Professor John Matsusaka)

[\*The Benefits of the Democracy Canon and the Virtues of Simplicity: A Reply to Professor Elmendorf\*](#), 95 *CORNELL LAW REVIEW* 1173 (2010)

[\*Election Administration Reform and the New Institutionalism\*](#), 98 *CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW* 1075 (2010) (book review)

[\*Judges as Political Regulators: Evidence and Options for Institutional Change\*](#) (in *RACE, REFORM, AND REGULATORY INSTITUTIONS: RECURRING PUZZLES IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY*, Gerken, Charles, and Kang eds., 2010)

[\*Constitutional Avoidance and Anti-Avoidance at the Roberts Court\*](#), 2009 *SUPREME COURT REVIEW* 181 (2010)

[\*You Don't Have to Be a Structuralist to Hate the Supreme Court's Dignitary Harm Election Law Cases\*](#), 64 *U MIAMI L. REV.* 465 (2010)

[\*The Democracy Canon\*](#), 62 *STANFORD LAW REVIEW* 62 (2009)

[\*Assessing California's Hybrid Democracy\*](#), *CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW* 1501 (2009)

[\*Bush v. Gore and the Lawlessness Principle: A Comment on Professor Amar\*](#), 61 *FLORIDA L. REV.* 979 (2009)

[\*Introduction: Developments in Election Law\*](#), 42 *LOYOLA L.A. LAW REV.* 565 (2009)

[\*The Changing Nature of Campaign Financing for Presidential Primary Candidates\*](#), in *Evolution and Revolution in the Nominations Process* (Jack Citrin and David Karol eds., 2009))

Book Review (reviewing Christopher P. Manfredi and Mark Rush, [\*Judging Democracy\*](#) (2008)), 124 *POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY* 213 (2009).

“*Regulation of Campaign Finance*,” in Vikram Amar and Mark Tushnet, [\*Global Perspectives on Constitutional Law\*](#) (Oxford University Press (2009))

*When “Legislature” May Mean More than “Legislature”: Initiated Electoral College Reform and the Ghost of Bush v. Gore*, 35 HASTINGS CONSTITUTIONAL LAW QUARTERLY 599 (2008)

*“Too Plain for Argument?” The Uncertain Congressional Power to Require Parties to Choose Presidential Nominees Through Direct and Equal Primaries*, 102 NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 2009 (2008)

*Beyond Incoherence: The Roberts Court’s Deregulatory Turn in FEC v. Wisconsin Right to Life*, 92 MINNESOTA LAW REVIEW 1064 (2008)

*Political Equality, the Internet, and Campaign Finance Regulation*, THE FORUM, Vol. 6, Issue 1, Art. 7 (2008) (symposium submission).

*Justice Souter: Campaign Finance Law’s Emerging Egalitarian*, 1 ALBANY GOVERNMENT LAW REVIEW 169 (2008) (symposium submission)

*The Untimely Death of Bush v. Gore*, 60 STANFORD LAW REVIEW 1 (2007)

*The Newer Incoherence: Competition, Social Science, and Balancing in Campaign Finance Law After Randall v. Sorrell*, 68 OHIO STATE LAW JOURNAL 849 (2007) (symposium submission)

*Leaving the Empty Vessel of “Republicanism” Unfilled: An Argument for the Continued Nonjusticiability of Guarantee Clause Cases*, in THE POLITICAL QUESTION DOCTRINE AND THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES (Mortada-Sabbah and Cain eds., Rowman and Littlefield, 2007)

*First Amendment Limits on Regulating Judicial Campaigns*, in RUNNING FOR JUDGE (Matthew Streb, ed., NYU Press, 2007)

*Congressional Power to Renew the Preclearance Provisions*, in THE FUTURE OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT 81-106 (Epstein, de la Garza, O’Halloran and Pildes, eds., Russell Sage 2006)

*Bad Legislative Intent*, 2006 WISCONSIN LAW REVIEW 843

*How Much is Enough? The “Ballot Order Effect” and the Use of Social Science Evidence in Election Law Disputes*, 5 ELECTION LAW JOURNAL 40 (2006) (co-authored with R. Michael Alvarez and Betsy Sinclair)

*Beyond the Margin of Litigation: Reforming U.S. Election Administration to Avoid Electoral Meltdown*, 62 WASHINGTON AND LEE LAW REVIEW 937 (2005)

*No Exit? The Roberts Court and the Future of Election Law*, 57 SOUTH CAROLINA LAW REVIEW 669 (2006) (symposium on voting rights)



*The Uncertain Congressional Power to Ban State Felon Disenfranchisement Laws*, 49 HOWARD LAW JOURNAL 767 (2006) (symposium on voting rights)

*Lessons from the Clash Between Campaign Finance Laws and the Blogosphere*, 11 NEXUS LAW JOURNAL 23 (2006) (symposium on blogging and the law)

*The California Recall Punch Card Litigation: Why Bush v. Gore Does Not “Suck,”* in CLICKER POLITICS: ESSAYS ON THE CALIFORNIA RECALL 170-81 (Shaun Bowler and Bruce E. Cain, eds. 2006)

*Rethinking the Unconstitutionality of Contribution and Expenditure Limits in Ballot Measure Campaigns*, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW 885 (2005) (symposium submission)

*The Supreme Court and Election Law: A Reply to Three Commentators*, 31 JOURNAL OF LEGISLATION 1 (2005) (symposium on Hasen, *The Supreme Court and Election Law*)

*Congressional Power to Renew the Preclearance Provisions of the Voting Rights Act after Tennessee v. Lane*, 66 OHIO STATE LAW JOURNAL 177 (2005)

*Buckley is Dead, Long Live Buckley: The New Campaign Finance Incoherence of McConnell v. Federal Election Commission*, 152 UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LAW REVIEW 31 (2004)

*Looking for Standards (in All the Wrong Places): Partisan Gerrymandering Cases after Vieth*, 3 ELECTION LAW JOURNAL 626 (2004)

*The Surprisingly Easy Case for Disclosure of Contributions and Expenditures Funding Sham Issue Advocacy*, 3 ELECTION LAW JOURNAL 251 (2004)

*A Critical Guide to Bush v. Gore Scholarship*, 7 ANNUAL REVIEW OF POLITICAL SCIENCE 297 (2004)

*Comments on Baker, Clark, and Direct Democracy*, 13 JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY LEGAL ISSUES 563 (2004) (symposium submission)

*The Uses, Normative Implications, and Unintended Consequences Of Voting Reform Research in Post-Bush v. Gore Equal Protection Challenges*, in RETHINKING THE VOTE (Oxford University Press, Ann Crigler, Marion Just, and Edward McCaffery eds., 2004)

*The Untold Drafting History of Buckley v. Valeo*, 2 ELECTION LAW JOURNAL 241 (2003)

*Vouchers and Buckley: The Need for “Regime Change,”* 37 UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND LAW REVIEW 1049 (2003) (symposium issue on Ackerman & Ayres, *Voting with Dollars*)

*The Constitutionality of a Soft Money Ban after Colorado Republican II*, 1 ELECTION LAW JOURNAL 195 (2002)

*The Benefits of “Judicially Unmanageable” Standards in Election Law Cases under the Equal Protection Clause*, 80 NORTH CAROLINA LAW REVIEW 1469 (2002)

- A “Tincture of Justice”*: Judge Posner’s Failed Rehabilitation of Bush v. Gore, 80 TEXAS LAW REVIEW 137 (2001) (book review)
- Bush v. Gore and the Future of Equal Protection Law in Elections, 29 FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 377 (2001) (symposium submission)
- Measuring Overbreadth: Using Empirical Evidence to Determine the Constitutionality of Campaign Finance Laws Targeting Sham Issue Advocacy*, 85 MINNESOTA LAW REVIEW 1773 (2001) (symposium submission)
- Introduction, Internet Voting and Democracy Symposium*, 34 LOYOLA OF LOS ANGELES LAW REVIEW 979 (2001)
- Do the Parties or the People Own the Electoral Process?*, 149 UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LAW REVIEW 815 (2001)
- Shrink Missouri, Campaign Finance, and “The Thing That Wouldn’t Leave,” 17 CONSTITUTIONAL COMMENTARY 483 (2000)
- The Surprisingly Complex Case for Disclosure of Contributions and Expenditures Funding Sham Issue Advocacy*, 48 UCLA L. REV. 265 (2000)
- Vote Buying*, 88 CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW 1323 (2000)
- “*Timmons v. Twin Cities Area New Party*,” and “*Political Patronage*” in ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION, (revised ed. 2000, Levy, Karst & Winkler, eds.)
- Parties Take the Initiative (and Vice Versa)*, 100 COLUMBIA LAW REVIEW 731 (2000) (symposium submission)
- Mancur Olson Meets the Beltway*, 3 GREEN BAG 2D 333 (2000) (book review)
- Pluralism with a Corporate Face: A Comment on Issacharoff and Ortiz*, 85 VIRGINIA. LAW REVIEW 1671 (1999) (symposium submission)
- Campaign Finance Laws and the Rupert Murdoch Problem*, 77 TEXAS LAW REVIEW 1627 (1999) (symposium submission)
- Introduction: Money, Politics, and Equality*, 77 TEXAS LAW REVIEW 1603 (1999) (co-authored with E. Joshua Rosenkranz)
- Introduction: Election Law At Puberty: Optimism and Words of Caution*, 32 LOYOLA OF LOS ANGELES LAW REVIEW 1095 (1999)
- The “Political Market” Metaphor and Election Law*, 50 STANFORD LAW REVIEW 719 (1998)

(symposium submission)

*Judging the Judges of Initiatives: A Comment on Holman & Stern*, 31 LOYOLA OF LOS ANGELES LAW REVIEW. 1267 (1998)

*Entrenching the Duopoly: Why the Supreme Court Should Not Allow the States to Protect the Democrats and Republicans from Political Competition*, 1997 SUPREME COURT REVIEW 331

*Rescue*, in THE NEW PALGRAVE DICTIONARY OF ECONOMICS AND THE LAW (Peter Newman, ed., 1998)

*The Surprisingly Complex Case Against Theft*, 17 INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF LAW & ECONOMICS 367 (1997) (co-authored with Richard McAdams)

*“High Court Wrongly Elected:” A Public Choice Model of Judging and Its Implications for the Voting Rights Act*, 75 NORTH CAROLINA LAW REVIEW 1305 (1997)

*Voting Without Law?* 144 UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LAW REVIEW 2135 (1996) (symposium submission)

*Book Review - Election Law, Cases and Materials*, 46 JOURNAL OF LEGAL EDUCATION 140 (1996)

*Clipping Coupons for Democracy: An Egalitarian/Public Choice Defense of Campaign Finance Vouchers*, 84 CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW 1 (1996)

*The Efficient Duty to Rescue*, 15 INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF LAW & ECONOMICS 141 (1995)

*An Enriched Economic Model of Political Patronage and Campaign Contributions: Reformulating Supreme Court Jurisprudence*, 14 CARDOZO LAW REVIEW 1311 (1993)

Comment, *Efficiency Under Informational Asymmetry: The Effect of Framing on Legal Rules*, 38 UCLA L. REV. 391 (1990)

#### **ADDITIONAL ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES, HONORS, AND AWARDS**

[Named one of the Top 100 Lawyers in California](#) by the *Los Angeles Daily Journal*, 2016

Election Law Blog named to *ABA Journal* “[Blawg 100](#)” Hall of Fame, December 2015

Recognized as one of the [100 Most Influential Lawyers in America](#) by the *National Law Journal*, March 25, 2013 (ranking top lawyers since the 2006 ranking)

Named as Chancellor's Chair in Law and Political Science, University of California, Irvine, December 2011

Faculty Member, UC Irvine Center for the Study of Democracy (2011-present)

Elected Member, American Law Institute (2009-present); Advisor, ALI Project on Election Law (2010-present)

Named as William H. Hannon Distinguished Professor of Law, Loyola Law School, 2005

Co-Editor, *Election Law Journal* (quarterly peer-reviewed publication), 2001-2010 (board member, 2010 – present)

Recognized as one of the Top 100 Lawyers in California by the *Los Angeles Daily Journal*, 2005

Chair, American Association of Law Schools Section on Legislation and the Law of the Political Process, 2006-07

Committee Member, American Association of Law Schools Scholarly Paper Competition Committee, 2009

Recognized as one of the Top 40 Lawyers in California under the Age of 40 by the *Los Angeles Daily Journal*, 2002

Dean's Prize for Excellence in Teaching, Chicago-Kent College of Law, 1995

Co-Founder and owner (with Professor Dan Lowenstein), Election Law Internet Discussion Group, 1995-present, <http://department-lists.uci.edu/mailman/listinfo/law-election>

Founder and owner, Legislation Listserv Internet Discussion Group, 2005 –present, <http://department-lists.uci.edu/mailman/listinfo/law-legislation>

Faculty Member, USC and Caltech Center for the Study of Law and Politics

Blogger, Election Law Blog <http://electionlawblog.org>; Blog recognized as "Top 100" Law Blawg by ABA Journal for numerous years

Member, American Bar Association Task Force on Lobbying Regulation

## **CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY**

Testimony before United States Senate Rules and Administration Committee on DISCLOSE Act, March 29, 2012 ([testimony](#))

Testimony before United States Senate Rules and Administration Committee on S. 1905, the Regional Presidential Primary and Caucus Act of 2007, Sept. 19, 2007

[\(testimony, transcript\)](#)

Testimony before United States Senate Judiciary Committee on An Introduction to the Expiring Provisions of the Voting Rights Act and Legal Issues Related to Reauthorization, May 9, 2006 ([testimony](#))

## **OTHER TESTIMONY**

Testimony before the California Senate Committee on Elections and Constitutional Amendments and the California Assembly Committee on Elections and Redistricting on the “Status of the Federal Voting Rights Act,” December 12, 2013

Testimony before the San Diego City Council on Campaign Finance Legislation, May 15, 2013

## **NON-ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS**

[Rudy Giuliani May Have Just Implicated President Trump In Serious Campaign Finance Violations](#), *Slate*, May 2, 2018

[Scalia’s Goal Of Unwinding Voter Protections Is Becoming A Reality](#), *Talking Points Memo*, April 2, 2018

[Justice Scalia's Legacy is Stronger than Ever](#), *Slate*, March 28, 2018

[The Supreme Court Case That Could Transform Politics](#), *Politico*, March 26, 2018

[Supreme Court Avoids Bush v. Gore II in Ducking Pennsylvania Redistricting Controversy](#), *Harvard Law Review Blog*, March 22, 2018

[Free Speech vs. Freedom from Intimidation](#), *Slate*, Feb. 28, 2017

[In Pair of Opinions, Fight Over Textualism Lives On](#), *National Law Journal*, Feb. 22, 2018

[Mueller’s Indictment Shows the Way for Russians to Legally Try to Influence Our Elections Next Time](#), *Slate*, Feb. 17, 2018

[Stop treating Ruth Bader Ginsburg — a.k.a. ‘Notorious R.B.G.’ — like a celebrity](#), *L.A. Times*, Feb. 15, 2017

[Antonin Scalia’s disruption of the Supreme Court’s ways is here to stay](#), *Washington Post*, Feb. 13, 2017

[Trump will still yell about voter fraud, but at least his clownish election commission can’t do any lasting damage](#), *L.A. Times*, Jan. 4, 2017

[Is the Supreme Court finally ready to tackle partisan gerrymandering? Signs suggest yes](#), *Los Angeles Times*, December 11, 2017

[Vote Suppressors Unleashed](#), *Slate*, November 27, 2017

[Why Banning Russian Facebook Ads Might Be Impossible](#), *Politico*, September 26, 2017

[Speech in America is Fast, Cheap, and Out of Control](#), *Los Angeles Times*, August 18, 2017

[Don't Let Our Democracy Collapse](#), *New York Times* (Sunday Review), July 15, 2017

[Donald Trump Jr.'s Free Speech Defense: It's As Bogus As It Sounds](#), *Slate*, July 12, 2017

[Trump's Voter Fraud Endgame](#), *Slate*, June 30, 2017

[The Supreme Court is in No Hurry to Protect Voters from Gerrymandering](#), *Washington Post* (Post Everything), June 28, 2017

[Gorsuch is the New Scalia, Just Like Trump Promised](#), *Los Angeles Times*, June 27, 2017

[Justice Kennedy's Beauty Pageant](#), *The Atlantic*, June 19, 2017

[Commentary: Dunlap badly mistaken in agreeing to serve on Trump voter fraud panel](#), *Portland Press-Herald*, May 24, 2017

[The Supreme Court may just have given voting rights activists a powerful new tool](#), *Washington Post*, May 22, 2017

[In the future, John Roberts could be the Supreme Court's swing vote](#), *Los Angeles Times*, April 10, 2017

[How States Could Force Trump to Release His Tax Returns](#), *Politico Magazine*, March 30, 2017

[Does the First Amendment Protect Trump's Travel Ban?](#), *Slate*, March 20, 2017

[Why Gorsuch Could Lead Court in Wrong Direction](#), *CNN*, March 1, 2017

[There's a Simple Step North Carolina's New Governor Could Take to Strengthen Voting Rights](#), *Slate*, February 2, 2017

[Trump's Voting Investigation Is a Great Idea; As long as it looks like this](#), *Slate*, January 22, 2017

[Donald's Trumped Up Nevada Lawsuit Is a Fitting End to a Hateful Campaign](#), *Slate*, November 8, 2016

[What an Election Expert Worries About on Election Day](#), *Los Angeles Times*, November 8, 2016

[A supremely important choice: The court hangs in the balance, for Democrats, too](#), *New York Daily News*, November 7, 2016

[Not Intimidated: A court has gotten the Trump campaign on the record promising not to intimidate voters on Election Day. That is huge](#), *Slate*, November 3, 2016

[Trumped-Up Fears of ‘Rigged’ Elections—and How Responses Could Disenfranchise Voters](#), *Wall Street Journal Washington Wire*, October 18, 2016

[Hurricane Matthew Could Have Devastating Consequences for the Election](#), *Slate*, October 6, 2016

[Voting for Change: The Supreme Court’s Election Law Cases After Scalia](#), *OC Lawyer*, October 2016

[Kids, Be Careful Who You Vote For](#), *USA Today*, Sept. 20, 2016

[Even Trump and Clinton Need Big-Money Donors](#), *USA Today*, August 24, 2016

[If You’re Worried About Rigged Elections, Look at Trump’s Tactics First](#), *Los Angeles Times*, August 16, 2016

[Republicans Are Not Attacking Democracy](#), *The Atlantic*, August 8, 2016

[What If Trump Drops Out?](#), *Los Angeles Times*, August 4, 2016

[Turning the Tide on Voting Rights](#), *New York Times*, August 2, 2016

[The Voting Rights Act May Get Some Teeth Back](#), *Slate*, July 21, 2016

[The Real Reason Why Judges Should Keep Quiet About Elections](#), *Slate*, July 19, 2016 (with Dahlia Lithwick)

[Ruth Bader Ginsburg’s Slam of Trump Does the Nation No Favors](#), Reuters Opinion, July 13, 2016

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## **CONFERENCES & PRESENTATIONS**

Panelist, Gerrymandering, The Constitution and Political Parties, Stanford Law School, Stanford, CA, May 2018

Dinner Speaker, Cheap Speech and What It Has Done (to American Democracy), UC Irvine School of Law Public Service Awards Dinner, Newport Beach, CA, May 2018

Speaker, The Justice of Contradictions, Cal State Fullerton Library Foundation, Fullerton, CA, April 2018

Speaker, Cheap Speech and What It Has Done (to American Democracy), Appellate Judicial Attorneys Institute, City of Industry, CA, April 2018

Panelist, Dr. King's Legacy on Voting Rights, MLK 50 Symposium, University of Memphis Law School, Memphis, TN, April 2018

Speaker, The Justice of Contradictions, UC Irvine School of Law, Irvine CA, April 2018 (with Henry Weinstein)

Speaker, The Justice of Contradictions, ALOUD/Los Angeles Public Library Foundation, Los Angeles, CA, March 2018 (with Erwin Chemerinsky)

Speaker, New Books on the Supreme Court (featuring Adam Winkler and me), UC Irvine School of Law, Irvine, CA, March 2018

Panelist, Reforming the Vote, SXSW Conference, Austin, TX, March 2018

Speaker, The Justice of Contradictions, Georgetown Law School, Washington, DC, March 2018 (with Adam Liptak, Sue Bloch, and Marty Lederman)

Speaker, The Justice of Contradictions, Brennan Center for Justice at NYU Law, New York, NY, March 2018 (with Joan Biskupic)

Speaker, The Justice of Contradictions, Cardozo School of Law, New York, NY, March 2018 (with Kate Shaw)

Panelist, Justice Antonin Scalia: Life and Legacy, National Constitution Center, Philadelphia, PA, February 2018 (with Jeff Rosen, Kannon Shanmugam, and Elizabeth Wydra)

Panelist, Campaign Disclosure and the First Amendment, Federalist Society Western Meeting, Reagan Library, Simi Valley, CA January 2018 (with Judge Carlos Bea and Brad Smith)

Panelist, Campaign Finance, Reviving American Democracy Conference, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, January 2018

Panelist, Courts in the Age of New Media, Appellate Judges Education Institute annual conference, Long Beach, CA, November 2017

Keynote Speaker, “Judging the Political and Political Judging: Justice Scalia as a Case Study,” Chicago Kent Law Review Symposium on the Supreme Court and American Politics, Chicago, IL, October 2017

Panelist, Voting Rights, University of the South Symposium on the Fifteenth Amendment, Sewanee, TN, October 2017

Panelist, “Cheap Speech and What It Has Done (to American Democracy), First Amendment Law Review Symposium on “Fake News”, Chapel Hill, NC, October 2017

Panelist, Voting Rights, University of California/CEB Symposium on Civil Rights, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, September 2017

Panelist, Law and Political Process Study Group APSA Panel on Gerrymandering, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA, September 2017

Panelist, “The 2016 U.S. Voting Wars: From Bad to Worse,” Pre-APSA Mini-Symposium, Electoral Integrity Project, San Francisco, CA, September 2017,

Panelist, “Public Confidence in the Election Process,” 2017 Judicial Conference, United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, San Francisco, CA, July 2017

Moderator, Seventh Annual Supreme Court Term in Review Event, UC Irvine, July 2017

Keynote Address, “Race or Party, Party as Race, or Party All The Time: Three Uneasy Approaches to Conjoined Polarization in Redistricting and Voting Cases,” Northwestern University Annual Law in Motion Conference, Chicago, May 2017

Faculty Workshop, “Race or Party, Party as Race, or Party All The Time: Three Uneasy Approaches to Conjoined Polarization in Redistricting and Voting Cases,” University of San Diego School of Law, San Diego, March 2017

Panelist, “Ethics, Money, & Politics Conference,” University of Missouri at St. Louis, March 2017

Faculty Workshop, “Race or Party, Party as Race, or Party All The Time: Three Uneasy Approaches to Conjoined Polarization in Redistricting and Voting Cases,” University of Texas School of Law, Austin, March 2017

Faculty Workshop, “Race or Party, Party as Race, or Party All The Time: Three Uneasy Approaches to Conjoined Polarization in Redistricting and Voting Cases,” Peltason Study for the Jack W. Peltason Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California at Irvine, Irvine, March 2017

Panelist, “Race or Party, Party as Race, or Party All The Time: Three Uneasy Approaches to Conjoined Polarization in Redistricting and Voting Cases,” Conference on Redistricting, William & Mary School of Law, Williamsburg, Virginia, February 2017

Panelist, “A New American Political System,” New York University Washington Campus, Washington, D.C., December 2016

Panelist, “Voting Rights,” Texas Tribune Festival, Austin, Texas, October 2016

Panelist, Roundtable on Campaign Finance, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 2016

Speaker, Litigating Election Cases, Federal Judicial Center Annual Conference for District Court Judges, San Diego, California, July 2016

Keynote Address, “After Scalia: The Future of United States Election Law,” Japanese American Society for Legal Studies, annual meeting, Tokyo Japan, June 2016

Lecturer, “Plutocrats United,” University of California Washington Center, Washington D.C., May 2016

Panelist, “Plutocrats United,” Keller Center on the First Amendment Conference, University of Colorado, Boulder, April 2016

Panelist, “Casting Votes, Counting Votes for Election 2016: Democracy and Law in Action,” University of Wisconsin, Madison, School of Law, April 2016

Lecturer, “Plutocrats United,” Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, March 2016

Panelist, “Plutocrats United,” University of California, Berkeley School of Law, March 2016

Lecturer, “Plutocrats United,” University of Miami School of Law, February 2016

Lecturer, “Plutocrats United,” Georgia Center for the Book, Decatur, Georgia, February 2016

Lecturer, “Plutocrats United,” Georgia State University faculty workshop, Atlanta, Georgia, 2016

Panelist, “First Amendment Under Fire,” Brooklyn Law School, February 2016

Panelist, “After Scalia: The Future of the Supreme Court,” UC Irvine School of Law, February 2016

Lecturer, “Plutocrats United,” Scholars Strategy Network, Cambridge, Massachusetts, February 2016

Lecturer, “Plutocrats United,” Harvard Law School, February 2016

Panelist, “Campaign Finance,” University of Pennsylvania Law School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, February 2016

Panelist, “Voting in America: How Campaign Finance and Election Laws Threaten Our Democracy,” National Constitution Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, February 2016

Lecturer, “Plutocrats United,” Southwestern Law School, Los Angeles, California, February 2016

Lecturer, “Plutocrats United,” UC Irvine School of Law, February 2016

Panelist, Stanford Law Review Symposium: Law and Democracy, Stanford, California, February 2016

Lecturer and Panelist (two events), “Plutocrats United,” Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law, New York, New York, January 2016

Lecturer, “Plutocrats United,” Zocalo Public Square, Los Angeles, California, January 2016

Lecturer, “Plutocrats United,” UCI Retirees Forum, UC Irvine School of Law, December 2015

Panelist, Campaign Finance, Conference on Corporate Political Speech, Loyola Law School, Los Angeles, November 2015

Lecturer, “Plutocrats United,” Osher Lifelong Learning Institute, University of California, San Diego, October 2015

Lecturer, “Plutocrats United,” Democracy Studies Lecture, Ohio State University, October 2015

Lecturer, “Plutocrats United,” Constitution Day, California State University at Chico, September 2015

Panelist, Bruce Cain, Democracy More or Less: Author Meets Critics, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, September 2015

Panelist, Constitutional Dysfunction and Constitutional Change, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, September 2015

Plenary Panel Presenter, “Money, Politics, and Decline of American Democracy,” (Third Annual) Freedom of Expression Scholars Conference, Yale Law School, April 2015

Presenter, “Money, Politics, and the Decline of American Democracy,” UCLA School of Law faculty workshop, April 2015

Panelist, “Reining in the *Purcell* Principle,” Conference on the Law of Democracy at the Crossroads, Florida State University College of Law, March 2015

Panelist, “Why Isn’t Congress More Corrupt? A Preliminary Inquiry,” Conference on Corruption in America and Abroad, Fordham School of Law, March 2015 (remote presentation because of weather)

Presenter, “Racial Gerrymandering,” Conference on the 50th Anniversary of the Voting Rights Act, University of Alabama School of Law, February 2015

Presenter, “Update on the Voting Wars,” Osher Lifelong Learning, Irvine, CA, February 2015

Presenter, “Update on the Voting Wars,” Anti-Defamation League CLE Breakfast, Los Angeles, January 2015

Presenter, “Money, Politics, and the Decline of American Democracy,” Conference on Lobbying and Campaign Finance, Stanford University and Hewlett Foundation, November 2014

Presenter, “When is Uniformity of People, Not Counties, Appropriate in Election Administration? The Case of Early and Sunday Voting,” University of Chicago Legal Forum, November 2014

Speaker, “Money, Politics and the Decline of American Democracy,” Cal Poly San Luis Obispo seminar, November 2014

Presenter, “Election Issues in 2014 Election,” Webinar, National Conference of State Governments, October 2014

Presenter, “Money, Politics, and the Decline of American Democracy,” Campaign Finance Event, Kings College London, October 2014

Speaker, “Money, Politics, and the Decline of American Democracy,” Legal Studies Seminar, Oxford University, October 2014

Keynote Speaker, “Money, Politics and the Decline of American Democracy,” Constitution Day, Bucknell University, September 2014



Speaker, Developments in Voting Rights, Annual Meeting of the California Political Attorneys Association, Squaw Valley, CA, September 2014

Presenter, Roundtable on the Presidential Commission on Election Administration, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington D.C., August, 2014

Moderator, "Fourth Annual UCI Law Supreme Court Term in Review," UCI Law, July 2014

Presenter, "The State of Voting Rights in America," University of Chicago Institute of Politics, May 2014

Speaker, "Campaign Finance Law after *McCutcheon v. FEC*," UC Irvine Center for the Study of Democracy, Irvine, CA, April 2014

Keynote Speaker, "Abuse of Discretion? The U.S. Supreme Court's Troubling Use of Evidence in Election Law Cases," Los Angeles County Bar Association Annual Luncheon Honoring California Supreme Court, Los Angeles, CA, April 2014

Keynote Speaker, "Abuse of Discretion: The U.S. Supreme Court's Indefensible Use of Evidence in Election Law Cases," SOCLASS: Southern California Law and Social Science Forum, Costa Mesa, CA, March 2014

Speaker, "Race or Party: New Battles in the Voting Wars," Arizona State University School of Law faculty workshop, February 2014

Speaker, "Super PACs, Corruption, and the Proxy War Over Coordination," Duke University School of Law, Symposium on Campaign Finance, February 2014

Panelist, "Direct Democracy after *Perry v. Hollingsworth*," Federalist Society Western Conference, January 2014

Speaker, "After *Shelby County*," UC Irvine Osher Institute for Lifelong Learning, Irvine, CA, December 2013

Keynote Speaker, "Race or Party?: North Carolina After *Shelby County*," North Carolina State University American Values Lecture, Raleigh, NC, November 2013

Keynote Speaker, "Race or Party?: North Carolina After *Shelby County*," Conference on Election Law Issues, Raleigh, NC, November 2013

Speaker, "After *Shelby County*," Orange Coast College Honors Program, Costa Mesa, CA, November 2013

Speaker, "The Voting Wars Revisited," Laguna Woods Democratic Club, Laguna Woods, CA, November 2013

Moderator, "Q&A with Trevor Potter," UC Irvine School of Law, Irvine, CA, October 2013

Panelist, "Voting Rights After *Shelby County*," California State University, Northridge, Northridge, CA October 2013

Panelist, *Shelby County* and the Illusion of Minimalism,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, August 2013

Moderator, “Third Annual UCI Law Supreme Court Term in Review,” UCI Law, July 2013

Speaker, “The Voting Wars Revisited,” Thomas Jefferson College of Law, San Diego, CA, April 2013

Discussant (and fill-in chair), “Race, Voting Procedures, and New Developments in Voting Rights,” Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, April 2013

Panelist, “Political Dysfunction and Constitutional Change,” Drake Law School, Des Moines, Iowa, April 2013

Keynote Speaker, “The Voting Wars Revisited, Journal of Law and Politics symposium, University of Virginia School of Law, March 2013

Speaker, “The Voting Wars Revisited,” UC Davis School of Law, Davis, CA, March 2013

Panelist, “Mapping the Ballot Box: Voting Rights and the Propensity for Electoral Success in ‘Post-Racial America,’” UC Berkeley, Berkeley, CA, March 2013

Panelist, “Judicial Elections: Who Wins and Who Loses?,” Inns of Court, Indian Wells, CA, Feb. 2013 (with California Supreme Court Justice Ming Chin and Court of Appeal Justice Douglas Miller), Indian Wells, CA, February 2013

Discussant, “Author Meets Critic: The Voting Wars,” (Panel on my book featuring commentary from Mark Alexander, Richard Briffault and Janai Nelson), Cardozo Law School, New York, NY, February 2013

Panelist, “Is America Governable?,” University of Texas School of Law, Austin, TX, January 2013

Panelist, “Hot Topic Workshop on Democracy and the Public Trust: Equality, Integrity, and Suppression in the 2012 Election,” American Association of Law Schools Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, January 2013

Panelist, “Law and Democracy: A Symposium on the Law Governing Our Democratic Process,” *George Washington Law Review*, Washington, DC, November 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” Reed College, Portland, OR, November 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” UC Irvine Osher Institute for Lifelong Learning, Irvine, CA, October, 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” UC Irvine School of Law, Irvine, CA, October 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” American Constitution Society, UCLA School of Law, Los Angeles, CA, October 2012

Panelist, “How Much Does It Cost to Become President?,” Zocalo Public Square, Bakersfield, CA, October 2012

Commentator, “Politics to the Extreme” conference, CSU Channel Islands, October 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” University of Kentucky School of Law, Lexington, KY, October 2012

Scholar in Residence, William and Mary School of Law, Williamsburg, VA October 2012 (four presentations: The Voting Wars, A Constitutional Right to Lie in Campaigns and Elections, Campaign Finance after *Citizens United*, End of the Dialogue: Congress, the Supreme Court and Party Polarization)

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” American Constitution Society Sacramento Chapter, Sacramento, October 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” American Constitution Society, UC Berkeley School of Law, Berkeley, CA, October 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” American Constitution Society, Stanford Law School, Stanford, CA, October 2012

Panelist, “A Constitutional Right to Lie in Campaigns and Elections?,” Montana Law Review Election Law Symposium, Missoula, MT, October 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” Montana Law School, Missoula, MT, October 2012

Panelist, “Emergency Election Litigation Issues,” Webinar, Federal Judicial Center, October 2012

Panelist, “The Voting Wars: How Do We Move Beyond Partisanship and Polarization—Or Should We?,” Los Angeles Library Foundation ALOUD Program, Los Angeles, September 2012

Moderator and Organizer, “Symposium: Foxes, Henhouses and Commissions: Assessing the Nonpartisan Model in Election Administration, Redistricting, and Campaign Finance, UC Irvine School of Law, Irvine, September 2012

Debater, “Campaign Finance Reform after *Citizens United*,” Northern Illinois University (with Bradley Smith and Matthew Streb), September 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” American Constitution Society, John Marshall Law School, Chicago, September 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” American Constitution Society, Boston College Law School, Boston, September 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” University of California DC Center, Washington, D.C., September 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” Brennan Center for Justice, New York, September 2012

Moderator, “Second Annual UCI Law Supreme Court Term in Review,” UCI Law, July 2012

Speaker, “Campaign Finance and the Supreme Court After *Citizens United*,” UCI Law Summer Workshop, July 2012

Speaker, “Campaign Finance and the Supreme Court After *Citizens United*,” UK Electoral Commission, London (U.K.), July 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” H.S. Chapman Society, House of Lords, London (UK), July 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” University of Siena (Italy), Department of Political Science, June 2012

Speaker, “HAVA at 10,” Ohio State University Moritz College of Law, Election Law Program, “Hava at 10,” May 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” Orange County Business Council, Government Affairs Committee, May 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” Los Angeles *Daily Journal*, May 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” UCI CEO Roundtable, April 2012

Panelist, “*Citizens United*, Campaign Finance, and Nonprofits,” Stanford PACS Salon, “Are Nonprofits People Too?,” March 2012

Panelist, “*Citizens United*,” University of Michigan Law School Debate with Floyd Abrams (moderated by Ellen Katz), March 2012

Speaker, “The Voting Wars,” University of California Irvine Chair Investiture Lecture, February 2012

Speaker, “Judicial Elections after *Citizens United*,” UC Irvine School of Law (with Erwin Chemerinsky and James Sample), February 2012

Panelist, “Blogs and Social Media,” American Association of Law Schools Annual Meeting, January 2012

Panelist, “Crosscutting Program – The Law and Science of Trustworthy Elections: Facing the Challenges of Internet Voting and Other E-Voting Technologies,” American Association of Law Schools Annual Meeting, January 2012

Speaker, “After *Citizens United*,” UCI Center for the Study of Democracy, Lunch Program, November 2011

Speaker, “After *Citizens United*,” UCI Osher Center for Lifelong Learning, Lunch Program, November 2011

Panelist, “Chill Out: A Qualified Defense of Campaign Finance Disclosure Laws in the Internet Age,” Conference on “Disclosure, Anonymity, and the First Amendment,” Thomas Jefferson Center, University of Virginia Law School, October 2011

Moderator and Organizer, First Annual UCI Law Supreme Court Term in Review, July 2011

Presenter, “Are Judicial Elections Different?,” Justice at Stake annual meeting, Washington, D.C., June 2011

Presenter, “Lobbying, Rent Seeking and the Constitution,” Roundtable on Legislation and Statutory Interpretation, Columbia Law School, April 2011

Presenter, “Campaign Finance Law and the Roberts Court,” Claremont McKenna College, March 2011

Presenter, “Lobbying, Rent Seeking and the Constitution,” Faculty Workshop, Fordham Law School, March 2011

Presenter, “Campaign Finance Law and the Roberts Court,” Series on Supreme Court Issues, Pasadena Senior Center, February 2011

Presenter, “Anticipatory Overrulings, Invitations, Time Bombs, and Inadvertence,” Thrower Symposium, Emory Law School, February 2011

Presenter, “Lobbying, Rent Seeking and the Constitution,” Faculty Workshop, Northwestern Law School, January 2011

Presenter, “Lobbying, Rent Seeking and the Constitution,” Faculty Workshop, University of Southern California Law School, January 2011

Presenter, “Lobbying, Rent Seeking and the Constitution,” Faculty Workshop, UC Irvine Law School, January 2011

Presenter, “*Citizens United* and the Abandoned Antidistortion Rationale, Georgia State Law Review Symposium on Citizens United, November 2010

Presenter, “Beyond *Citizens United*: Campaign Finance Law and the Roberts Court,” J. Reuben Clark Law Society, Los Angeles Chapter, November 2010

Presenter, “Lobbying, Rent Seeking, and the Constitution,” Loyola Law School Los Angeles Faculty Workshop, October 2010

Presenter, “Election Administration Issues in the 2010 Election,” American Constitution Society Los Angeles Chapter, October, 2010

Presenter, “*Citizens United* and the Illusion of Coherence,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington D.C., September 2010

Presenter, “Money and Direct Democracy in California,” 2010 Global Forum on Modern Direct Democracy, San Francisco, California, August 2010

Presenter, "Campaign Finance after *Citizens United*," Meeting of State Solicitors General, National Association of Attorneys General, Seattle, Washington, June 2010

Debater, "Campaign Finance After *Citizens United*," Federalist Society, Los Angeles Chapter, April 2010

Presenter, Fair Political Practices Commission Hearing on Campaign Finance Regulation and the Internet, March 2010

Presenter, "The Democracy Canon," Stanford Law Review, February 2010

Chair and Co-Presenter, The Past, Present and Future of Election Law: A Symposium Honoring the Work of Daniel Hays Lowenstein, January 2010

Presenter, "The Aftermath of *Caperton v. Massey*," Seattle University School of Law Conference on State Judicial Elections, Seattle, September 2009

Discussant, "Election Law in the 2008 Election," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, September 2009

Presenter, "The Democracy Canon," University of Miami Law Review Symposium on the 2008 Election, Miami, FL, January 2009

Presenter, "More Supply More Demand: Campaign Financing in the 2008 Presidential Election," COGEL Conference, Chicago, IL, December 2008

Presenter, "More Supply More Demand: Campaign Financing in the 2008 Presidential Election," UCDC/AEI-Brookings/*Election Law Journal* Conference on the 2008 Presidential Election, Washington D.C., December 2008

Presenter, "More Supply, More Demand: Campaign Financing in the 2008 Presidential Election," Faculty Workshop, U.C. Davis School of Law, October 2008

Presenter, "Political Equality, the Internet, and Campaign Financing," Faculty Workshop, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, July 2008

Presenter, "Political Equality, the Internet, and Campaign Financing," American Constitution Society, Los Angeles Lawyers Chapter, June 2008

Presenter, "Political Equality, the Internet, and Campaign Financing," University of London Conference on Comparative Political Financing, May 2008

Presenter, "*Too Plain for Argument?*" *The Uncertain Congressional Power to Require Parties to Choose Presidential Nominees Through Direct and Equal Primaries*, Harvard University, Kennedy School Institute of Politics Roundtable on the Presidential Nominations Process, April 2008

Presenter, “Political Equality, the Internet, and Campaign Financing,” UC Berkeley, Institute for Governmental Studies, Symposium on the 2008 Presidential Nominations Process, April 2008

Presenter, “When Legislature May Mean More than Legislature,” Hastings Constitutional Law Quarterly Symposium on Election Law, March 2008

Speaker, American Constitution Society, Protecting the Right to Vote, San Diego, California, March 2008 (with Sec of State Debra Bowen)

Speaker, Voting Rights symposium for students, USC Law School, February 2008

Speaker, “The Untimely Death of Bush v. Gore,” St. Thomas More Honor Society, Loyola Law School, February 2008

Speaker, “The Untimely Death of Bush v. Gore,” UCLA Law School Lunch Colloquium, January 2008

Lecturer, “Election Law Issues in the 2008 Election,” Mid-Year Conference of State Supreme Court Chief Justices, January 2008

Instructor, Pre-Election Challenges, National Center for State Courts, Williamsburg, VA, April 2007 (prepared videotaped course to assist state judges in handling election litigation)

Panelist, Comments on Supreme Court Oral Argument in WRTL Case, CATO Institute, Washington, D.C., April 2007

Speaker, Election Administration Issues in the 2006 Election, William and Mary Law School Election Law Society, Williamsburg, VA, April 2007

Speaker, Election Administration Issues in the 2006 Election, AEI-Brookings Election Law Project Event, Washington D.C, March 2007

Speaker, Election Administration Issues in the 2006 Election, USF Law School American Constitution Society Chapter, San Francisco, March 2007

Moderator and Discussant, The Roberts Court and the Future of The Supreme Court’s Regulation of Politics, American Association of Law Schools annual Meeting, January 2007

Speaker, The Newer Incoherence: The Supreme Court’s New Opinion in Randall v. Sorrell, University of Illinois law school faculty workshop, October 2006

Speaker, Voting Rights Issues in the 2006 Election, PILF, Loyola Democrats, and Federalist Society, Loyola Law School, October 2006

Presenter, The Newer Incoherence: The Supreme Court's New Opinion in *Randall v. Sorrell*, Ohio State University Symposium on the Roberts Court and Election Law, September 2006

Presenter, The Roberts Court and the Constitutionality of the Voting Rights Act, California Political Association Annual Meeting, September 2006

Testimony on Constitutional Issues Related to Renewal of the Voting Rights Act, Senate Judiciary Committee, May 2006

Presenter, First Amendment Issues in Lobbying Reform, University of California DC Center Conference on Lobbying, April, 2006

Presenter, Beyond the Margin of Litigation, AEI-Brookings Election Law Project Kickoff Event, Washington D.C, January 2005

Presenter, The Future of the Voting Rights Act, South Carolina Law School, November 2005

Presenter, The Future of the Voting Rights Act, Howard Law School, November 2005

Presenter, Beyond the Margin of Litigation, Ohio State Law School Symposium on Nonpartisan Election Administration, September 2005

Presenter, Beyond the Margin of Litigation, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington D.C. September 2005

Respondent, Symposium on Richard L. Hasen, *The Supreme Court and Election Law*, Notre Dame Law School, 2004

Presenter, *Buckley* is Dead, Long Live *Buckley*, Symposium on the Law of Democracy, University of Pennsylvania Law School, 2004

Presenter, Congressional Power to Reenact the Preclearance Provisions of the Voting Rights Act, Columbia University/NYU Symposium on the Future of the Voting Rights Act, September 2003

Presenter, Post-*Bush v. Gore* Litigation and Social Science, USC Conference on Election Reform, 2003

Presenter, The Benefits of Unmanageable Standards in Election Law Cases, University of North Carolina Law School Symposium on *Bush v. Carr*: 40 Years Later, 2002



Presenter, Roundtable on *Baker v. Carr*, 40 Years Later, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 29, 2002

Discussant, Panel on Legislation, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 1, 2001

Presenter, Legal Implications, Normative Implications, and Unintended Consequences of Voting Reform Research in Light of *Bush v. Gore*, Election Reform 2000 and Beyond, University of Southern California Center for Law and Politics Conference, April 28, 2001

Presenter, “*Bush v. Gore* and the Future of Equal Protection Law in Elections,” at Florida State University Conference on the Law of Presidential Elections (March 2001), McGeorge Retrospective on the 2000 Election (March 2001), and University of San Diego Law School/UCSD Political Science Department Law, Economics, and Politics Workshop Series, March 2001

Presenter, Absentee Voting, Caltech-MIT Voting Project Meeting March 2001

Debater, Federalist Society Debate on Campaign Finance Reform, October 2000 (debating Prof. Volokh)

Presenter, Campaign Finance Laws and Tax Laws, ABA Section for Tax Meeting, Los Angeles, October 2000

Symposium Organizer, Internet Voting and Democracy, Loyola Law School, October 2000

Presenter, Vote Buying, Stanford/Yale Junior Faculty Forum, May 1999 (invited to present paper after it was chosen in blind competition)

Presenter, Parties Take the Initiative (and Vice Versa), Columbia University School of Law Symposium on Law and Political Parties, November 1999

Panel Chair, Empirical Considerations in Campaign Finance, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, September 1999

(Written) Symposium Organizer, “Election Law as Its Own Field of Study,” *LOYOLA OF LOS ANGELES LAW REVIEW*, June 1999

Symposium Organizer, Money, Politics and Equality, University of Texas at Austin School of Law, November 1998

Presenter, Campaign Finance Laws and the Rupert Murdoch Problem, American Political Science Association annual meeting, September 1998

Panelist, Twentieth Century Fund/Brennan Center *Buckley* Conference, NYU School of Law, November 1997

Presenter, Entrenching the Duopoly, STANFORD LAW REVIEW Symposium on Law and the Political Process, October 1997

Presenter, “Voting Without Law,” University of California at Berkeley, Boalt School of Law, Lecture Series on Rationality and Society, December 1996

Discussant, Panel on Campaign Finance Reform, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, September 1996

Presenter, “Voting Without Law,” University of Pennsylvania Symposium on Law, Economics, & Norms, February 1996

Presenter, “Clipping Coupons for Democracy,” Summit on Campaign Finance Reform, Concord, New Hampshire, January 1996

### **PRO BONO WORK/AMICUS BRIEFS (REPRESENTATIVE CASES)**

*Brar v. Heritage Oak Private Education* (California Superior Court) (2017)

*Crawford v. Marion County Election Board* (2007) (United States Supreme Court)

*Wisconsin Right to Life v. FEC* (2006) (United States Supreme Court)

*Padilla v. Lever* (2006) (United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit)

*McConnell v. FEC* (2003) (United States Supreme Court)

*Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project v. Shelley* (2003) (United States District Court for the Central District of California and United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit)

### **OTHER EMPLOYMENT**

Associate, Horvitz & Levy, Los Angeles, 1992-94 (Academic consultant 1994-present)

Law Clerk, Hon. David R. Thompson, United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, 1991-92

Summer Associate, Munger, Tolles, & Olson, Los Angeles, 1990

Summer Associate, Irell & Manella, Los Angeles, 1990

Summer Associate, Horvitz & Levy, Los Angeles, 1989

### **PROFESSIONAL & SCHOLARLY ASSOCIATIONS/PEER REVIEWS**

California Bar, 1992

American Political Science Association  
Referee, *American Journal of Political Science*  
Referee, *American Political Science Review*  
Referee, *American Politics Research*  
Referee, *International Review of Law and Economics*  
Referee, *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*  
Referee, *New Labor Forum*  
Referee, Oxford University Press  
Referee, *Public Affairs Quarterly*  
Referee, Routledge Press  
Referee, *Social Science Quarterly*  
Referee, Yale University Press  
Reviewer, National Academies of Sciences, October 2009 Report on Voter Registration  
Databases  
Board of Referees, *Encyclopedia of Law and Economics*  
Board of Advisors, Campaign Legal Center  
Advisory Board, Election Law Program at College of William and Mary Law School  
Numerous tenure and promotion reviews