

Gary W. Cox

2005

CURRICULUM VITAE

Education

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

Dissertation

Title: Party and Constituency in Victorian Britain
Date of Completion: September 1982
Primary Advisors: Bruce E. Cain and J. Morgan Kousser

Honors and awards

Samuel H. Beer Dissertation Prize, 1983.
Richard F. Fenno Prize (from Section on Legislative Studies, APSA), 1993.
Fellow, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, 1995–96.
Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1996–.
The CQ Press Award (from Section on Legislative Studies, APSA), 1997.
Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award (APSA), 1998.
Best Book Award (from Section on Political Economy, APSA), 1998.
Gregory M. Luebbert Book Prize (from Section on Comparative Politics, APSA), 1998.
George H. Hallett Award (from Section on Representation and Electoral Systems), 2003.
Runner-up for Gregory M. Luebbert Prize for best paper published 2001–2 in comparative politics (from Section on Comparative Politics, APSA), 2003.
William H. Riker Prize, 2004.
UCSD Chancellor's Associates Faculty Excellence Award for Research, 2004.
Fellow, National Academy of Sciences, 2005-.

Employment

1982-84 Assistant Professor, Department of Government, University of Texas at Austin
1984-85 Visiting Assistant Professor, Dept of Political Science, Washington University in St. Louis
1985-86 Visiting Associate Professor of Political Economy, School of Business, Washington University in St. Louis
1986-87 Associate Professor, Department of Government, University of Texas at Austin
1987-90 Associate Professor, Dept of Political Science, University of California, San Diego
1990–98 Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, San Diego

1998– Distinguished Professor, Dept of Political Science, UCSD
2004– Chair, Department of Political Science, University of California, San Diego

Research grants

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Articles

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

1987. "The Core and the Uncovered Set." *American Journal of Political Science* 31(May):408–422.
1989. "Undominated Candidate Strategies Under Alternative Voting Rules." *Mathematical Modelling* 12:451–60.
1990. "Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems." *American Journal of Political Science* 34:903–935. [8811022]
1991. "SNTV and d'Hondt are `Equivalent'." *Electoral Studies* 10:118–32. [8811022]
1991. "On the Decline of Party Voting in Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 16:547–70. [8811022]
1992. "Suffrage Expansion and Legislative Behavior in Nineteenth Century Britain." *Social Science History* 16:539–60. [Co-author: James Ingram] [8811022]
1993. "The Electoral Fortunes of Legislative Factions in Japan." *American Political Science Review* 87:577–89. [Co-author: Frances Rosenbluth] [9022882]
1993. "The Development of Collective Responsibility in the U.K." *Parliamentary History* 13: 32–47. Reprinted in *Computing Parliamentary History: George III to Victoria*, ed. John A. Phillips. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994.
1993. "The Increasing Advantage of Incumbency in the American States." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 18:495–514. [Co-author: Scott Morgenstern] [9208753]
1994. "A Note on Crime and Punishment." *Public Choice* 78:115–124. [9022882]
1994. "Reducing Nomination Errors: Factional Competition and Party Strategy in Japan." *Electoral Studies* 13:4–16. [Co-author: Frances Rosenbluth] [9208753]
1994. "Bonding, Structure and the Stability of Political Parties: Party Government in the House." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 19(May):215–231. [Co-author: Mathew D. McCubbins] [9022882]

Reprinted in Shepsle, Kenneth and Weingast, eds., *Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995.

1994. "Strategic Voting Equilibria Under the Single Non-Transferable Vote." *American Political Science Review* 88:608-621. [9208753]
1995. "The Incumbency Advantage in Multi-Member Districts: Evidence from the U.S. States," with Scott Morgenstern, *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 20:329-350. [9208753]
1995. "Anatomy of a Split: The Liberal Democrats of Japan." *Electoral Studies* 14:355-76. [Co-author: Frances Rosenbluth] [9208753]
1995. "In the Absence of Vote Pooling: Nomination and Vote Allocation Errors in Colombia." *Electoral Studies* 14:441-460. [Co-author: Matthew S. Shugart] [9208753]
1996. "Why Did the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections Grow?" *American Journal of Political Science* 40:478-97. [Co-author: Jonathan Katz]
1996. "Is the Single Non-Transferable Vote Superproportional? Evidence from Japan and Taiwan." *American Journal of Political Science* 40:740-755.
1996. "Strategic Voting Under Proportional Representation." *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization* 12(October):299-324. [Co-author: Matthew S. Shugart]
1997. "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 41:149-174. [Co-author: Octavio Amorim Neto]. Reprinted 2005. "Instituciones electorales, estructura de cleavages y numero de partidos." In J. R. Montero and I. Lago, eds. *Sistemas Electorales*. Zona Abierta.
1997. "Toward a Theory of Legislative Rules Changes: Assessing Schickler and Rich's Evidence." *American Journal of Political Science* 41:1340-1375. [Co-author: Mathew D. McCubbins]
1998. "The Cost of Intraparty Competition: The Single, Nontransferable Vote and Money Politics in Japan." *Comparative Political Studies* 31:267-91. [Co-author: Michael F. Thies]

1998. "Mobilization, Social Networks and Turnout: Evidence From Japan." *World Politics* 50:447-474. [Co-authors: Frances Rosenbluth and Michael F. Thies]
1999. "The Empirical Content of Rational Choice Theory: A Reply to Green and Shapiro." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 11(April):147-169.
1999. "Electoral Reform and the Fate of Factions: The Case of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party." *British Journal of Political Science* 29(1):33-56. [Co-authors: Frances M. Rosenbluth and Michael F. Thies]
1999. "How Much is Majority Status in the U.S. Congress Worth?" *American Political Science Review* 93(June):299-310. [Co-author: Eric Magar]
1999. "The Reapportionment Revolution and Bias in U.S. Congressional Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 43(July):812-41. [Co-author: Jonathan N. Katz] [9730547]
1999. "Electoral Rules and Electoral Coordination." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2:145-161.
1999. "Electoral Rules and the Calculus of Mobilization." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 24:387-420.
2000. "Electoral Rules, Career Ambitions, and Party Structure: Conservative Factions in Japan's Upper and Lower Houses." *American Journal of Political Science* 44:115-122. [Co-authors: Frances Rosenbluth and Michael F. Thies]
2000. "How Much Does Money Matter? 'Buying' Votes in Japan, 1967-1990." *Comparative Political Studies* 33:37-57. [Co-author: Michael F. Thies]
2000. "On the Effects of Legislative Rules." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25:169-192.
2000. "Agenda Power in the Japanese House of Representatives." *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 1:1-22. [Co-authors: Mikitaka Masuyama and Mathew D. McCubbins]
2001. "Latin America's Reactive Assemblies and Proactive Presidents." *Comparative Politics* 33(2):171-190. [Co-author: Scott Morgenstern] [Also appeared as 2001. "Legislaturas reactivas y presidentes proactivos en América Latina." *Desarrollo Económico* 41 (163):373-94.] [Also appeared as 2002. "Epilogue: Latin America's Reactive Assemblies and Proactive

Presidents.” In Scott Morgenstern and Benito Nacif, eds. *Legislative Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 446–68.] [Runner–up for Gregory M. Luebbert Prize for best paper published 2001–2 in comparative politics (from Section on Comparative Politics, APSA), 2003]

2001. “Agenda Setting in the U.S. House: A Majority-Party Monopoly?” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 26(2):185-210.
2002. “On Measuring Partisanship in Roll Call Voting: The U.S. House of Representatives, 1877-1999.” *American Journal of Political Science* 46(3):477-89. [Co-author: Keith Poole.]
2003. “Agenda Power in Brazil’s Câmara dos Deputados, 1989 to 1998.” *World Politics* 55 (July) 550-78. [Co-authors: Octavio Amorim Neto and Mathew D. McCubbins]
- Forthcoming. “How parties create electoral democracy, chapter 2.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* *:*-*

Notes

1984. "Universalism and Allocative Decision–Making in the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors." *Journal of Politics*, 46(May):546–555. [Co–author: Tim Tutt]
1988. "Closeness and Turnout: A Methodological Note." *Journal of Politics* 50 (August):768–775.
1989. "Closeness, Expenditure, Turnout: The 1982 U.S. House Elections." *American Political Science Review* 83 (March):217–32. [Co–author: Michael C. Munger]
1991. "Comment on Gallagher's 'Proportionality, Disproportionality and Electoral Systems'." *Electoral Studies* 10:348–52. [Co–author: Matthew Soberg Shugart] [9022882]
1992. "The Origin of Whip Votes in the House of Commons." *Parliamentary History* 11, pt. 2:278–85. [8811022]
1994. "Seat Bonuses Under the Single Non–Transferable Vote System: Evidence from Japan and Taiwan." *Comparative Politics* 26:221–236. [Co–author: Emerson Niou] [9208753] Reprinted in Bernard Grofman, Sung–Chull Lee, Edwin Winckler, and Brian Woodal, eds., *Elections in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan Under the Single Non–Transferable Vote: The Comparative Study of An Embedded Institution* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.)

1996. "Factional Competition for the Party Endorsement: The Case of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party." *British Journal of Political Science* 26:259–297. [Co-author: Frances Rosenbluth]
1997. "The Identification of Government Whips in the House of Commons, 1830–1905." *Parliamentary History* 16:339–58. [First author = Sir John Sainty]
1999. "A Comment on Browne and Patterson's 'An Empirical Theory of Rational Nominating Behaviour Applied to Japanese District Elections'." *British Journal of Political Science* 29:565–575.
2001. "Comment on 'Japan's Multimember SNTV System and Strategic Voting: The 'M+1' Rule and Beyond.'" *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 2(2): 237–40.
2001. "Introduction to special issue on estimating legislators' preferences with roll call data." *Political Analysis* 9(3):189–91.
2004. "A comparative approach to democratic representation." In E. Mansfield and R. Sisson, eds. *The Evolution of Political Knowledge*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Chapters in edited volumes

1990. "Multicandidate Spatial Competition," in James Enelow and Melvin Hinich, eds., *Advances in the Spatial Theory of Voting*. (New York: Cambridge University Press). [8811022]
1991. "Fiscal Policy and Divided Government," in Gary W. Cox and Samuel Kernell, eds., *The Politics of Divided Government* (Boulder: Westview Press). [Co-author: Mathew D. McCubbins]
1994. "Party Coherence on Roll Call Votes in the U.S. House of Representatives," in Joel Silbey, ed., *Encyclopedia of the American Legislative System, Vol. II* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994). [Co-author: Mathew D. McCubbins]
1995. "The Structural Determinants of Electoral Coherence," in Peter Cowhey and Mathew McCubbins, eds., *Structure and Policy in Japan and the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press), pp. 19–34. [Co-author: Frances Rosenbluth] [9208753]

1999. "Measuring the Ties That Bind: Electoral Cohesiveness in Four Democracies," in Bernard Grofman, Sung-Chull Lee, Edwin Winckler, and Brian Woodall, eds., *Elections in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan Under the Single Non-Transferable Vote: The Comparative Study of An Embedded Institution* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press). [Co-authors: Kathy Bawn and Frances Rosenbluth]
2001. "The institutional determinants of economic policy outcomes." In Mathew D. McCubbins and Stephan Haggard, eds., *Presidents, Parliaments and Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press), pp. 21-63. [Co-author: Mathew D. McCubbins]
2002. "Agenda power in the House of Representatives." In David W. Brady and Mathew D. McCubbins, eds., *Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress: New Perspectives on the History of Congress*. Pages 107-45. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. [Co-author: Mathew D. McCubbins]
2002. "Agenda power in the Senate, 1877 to 1986." In David W. Brady and Mathew D. McCubbins, eds., *Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress: New Perspectives on the History of Congress*. Pages 146-65. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. [Co-authors: Andrea Campbell and Mathew D. McCubbins]
2004. "Lies, damned lies and rational choice analyses." In I. Shapiro, R. Smith and T. Masoud, eds. *Problems and Methods in the Study of Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2005. "On the systemic consequences of redistricting in the 1960s." In Peter Galderisi, ed. *Redistricting in the New Millennium*. Lexington Books.
2005. "Electoral institutions and political competition: coordination, persuasion and mobilization." In Claude Menard and Mary M. Shirley, eds., *Handbook of New Institutional Economics*. Dordrecht: Springer.
2005. "The organization of democratic legislatures." In Barry Weingast and Donald Wittman, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Books

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

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

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

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

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

Edited Books

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

Other Publications

1985. "On the Use of Party Labels in Victorian England." British Politics Group Newsletter I (Spring):5-6.

1988. "Recent Developments in Statistical Inference: Quasi-Experiments and Perquimans County." Historical Methods 21(Summer):140-42.

1988. "Appendix 1: Analysis of Voting in Multi-Member Seats, 1874-1880." In F.W.S. Craig, ed., British Parliamentary Election Results, 1832-1885 (Dartmouth: Parliamentary Research Services). [Co-compiler: F.W.S. Craig]

1995. "A Comment on 'The Great Reform Act of 1832 and the Political Modernization of England'." Letter to the Editor. American Historical Review 100(October):1371-1373.

1999. "Instability?" Boston Review XXIII, Number 1, pp. 16-7. Reprinted as "Instability?" In Robert Richie and Steven Hill, eds., Reflecting All of Us: The Case for Proportional Representation. Boston: Beacon Press.

2000. Eight entries in the International Encyclopedia of Elections, ed. Richard Rose. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

2003. "A précis on legislative leadership." *Extensions* Fall:6–10. Norman, Oklahoma: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center.

2004. "Theories of legislative organization." *APSA-CP Newsletter* 15(1):9–12.

Research interests

Comparative Study of Legislative and Electoral Politics

Formal Theories of Politics

Nineteenth-Century American and British Political History

American Politics

Professional activities

Referee:

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

Editorial Board:

American Journal of Political Science, 1985–1991.

American Political Science Review, 1992–1995.

Electoral Studies, 1996–.

Journal of Law, Economics and Organization, 1997–.

Legislative Studies Quarterly, 1997–2000.

Political Analysis, 1998–.

Japanese Journal of Political Science, 1999–.

British Journal of Political Science, 2000–.

Journal of Theoretical Politics, 2002–

Annual Review of Politics, 2002–2003

Prize Committees:

Member, Samuel H. Beer Prize Committee for 1986.

Chair, Richard F. Fenno Prize Committee, 1995.

Chair, Gregory Luebbert Prize Committee, 1996–7.

Chair, CQ Prize Committee, 1997–98.

Chair, Best Book in Political Economy Committee, 1999–2000.

Member, Richard F. Fenno Prize Committee, 2000, 2004.

Member, Gregory Luebbert Prize Committee, 2002.

Conferences:

Section Chair, Western Political Science Association, 1993.

Section Chair, American Political Science Association, 1995.

Other:

Member, Board of Overseers, National Election Studies, 1995–1999.

Consultant, Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Project, ICORE, 1995–2000.

Member, Council of the American Political Science Association, 1997-1999.
Member, Advisory Council of the F. Clifton White Resource Center, IFES, 1998-.
Member, Political Science Advisory Panel, National Science Foundation, 2000-2002.
Executive Committee, Legislative Studies Section, APSA, 2003-2005.
Member, Advisory Panel, VoteView International Rollcall Database Project, 2003-.
Executive Committee, Representation and Electoral Systems Section, APSA, 2005-2007.

Papers delivered

Conventions

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

Universities

California Institute of Technology, 1984, 1985, 1988, 1992.
University of California, Berkeley, 1999.
University of California, Los Angeles, 1986, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2001.
University of Chicago, 1985, 1994, 2005.
Duke University, 1992, 1993, 1996.
Harvard University, 1989, 1998, 1999.
University of Houston, 2001.
University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, 1991.
ITAM, 1999.
Juan March Institute, 2003.
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2004.
University of Minnesota, 1997.
University of Michigan, 1998.
Michigan State University, 2002.
New York University, 2004.
Northwestern University, 1995.
University of Notre Dame, 1998.
Ohio State University, 2000.
University of Pennsylvania, 1988.
Princeton University, 1990, 1997, 2003.

Rice University, 2004.

University of Rochester, 1999.

Stanford University, 1985, 1986, 1989, 1999, 2001 (twice).

Utah State University, 2002.

Washington University in St. Louis, 1984, 2001.

Yale University, 1993, 1994, 2002 (twice), 2003, 2004.