### Christopher S. Elmendorf

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### Academic and Related Appointments

**University of California, Davis, School of Law**. Martin Luther King, Jr. Professor of Law (July 2016-present) & Faculty Affiliate, UC Davis Center for Regional Change (July 2021-present); Professor of Law (July 2007 – June 2016); Acting Professor of Law (Jan. 2004 - June 2007).

**UCLA Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies**. Affiliated Scholar (July 2021-present).

**University of California, Berkeley**. Faculty Affiliate, Center for Study of Law and Society & Institute for Governmental Studies, June 2013-July 2014.

**UC Hastings College of the Law**,Visiting Professor, Fall 2011 (lateral offer declined).

**Judge Guido Calabresi, United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit**. Law Clerk, 2002-03.

**Political Economy Research Center & National Wildlife Federation**. Joint Research Fellow, 2001-02.

### Education

**Postgraduate Training in Empirical Methods.** During my 2013-14 sabbatical, I audited and completed all problem sets for the following graduate courses at UC Berkeley.

◦ Stat. 239A/Pol.Sci. 236A: Statistics of Causal Inference (Sekhon)

◦ Pol.Sci. 236B: Quantitative Methodology in Social Sciences Seminar (Sekhon)

◦ Pol.Sci. 231A: Quantitative Analysis in Political Research (Gailmard)

◦ Law 209.32: Intermediate Statistics (Quinn)

**Yale Law School**. JD, 2001.

◦ Yale Law Journal

◦ Coker Teaching Fellow

◦ Olin Fellow in Law and Economics

**Oberlin College**. BA with Highest Honors in Economics, 1994.

◦ Majors: Economics and Environmental Studies

◦ Distinctions: Joel Deal Award (for the top graduating student in economics); Phi Beta Kappa (junior-year inductee); Wilkens Scholarship (for the top social science student in the junior class); Jesse Phillips Prize (for the top economics student in the junior class); Harry S. Truman Scholarship.

# Academic Publications [available online at [http://ssrn.com/author=345940](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/cf_dev/AbsByAuth.cfm?per_id=345940) and at hyperlinks below]

Christopher S. Elmendorf, Clayton Nall & Stan Oklobdjiza, *What State Housing Policies Do Voters Want? Evidence from a Platform-Choice Experiment*, [5 J. Pol. Institutions & Pol. Econ.](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4811534) (forthcoming 2024).

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Clayton Nall, *Plain Bagel Streamlining? Notes from the California Housing Wars*, [75 Case Western Res. L. Rev](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4811580). (forthcoming 2024) (symposium on “Permitting the Future”).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, *Lawyering Cities into Housing Shortages: The Curious Case of Discretionary Review Under the San Francisco City Charter*, [32 NYU Envtl L. J.](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4396188) (forthcoming 2024).

Eric Biber, Christopher S. Elmendorf, Nicholas J. Marantz, & Moira O’Neill, *Just Look at the Map: Bounding Environmental Review of Housing Development in California*, [54 Envt’L Law 221](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4831370) (2024).

Paavo Monkkonen, Michael Lens, Moira O’Neill, Christopher Elmendorf, Gregory Preston & Raine Robichaud, *Do Land Use Plans Affirmatively Further Fair Housing? Measuring Progress*, J. Am. Planning Ass’n, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2023.2213214>

Nicholas J. Marantz, Christopher S. Elmendorf & Youjin Kim, *Where Will Accessory Dwelling Units Sprout Up When a State Lets Them Grow? Evidence From California*, [25 Cityscape 107](https://www.huduser.gov/portal/periodicals/cityscape/vol25num2/article5.html) (2023) (symposium on recent reforms in zoning).

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Timothy G. Duncheon, *When Super-Statutes Collide: CEQA, the Housing Accountability Act, and Tectonic Change in Land Use Law*, [49 Ecology L.Q. 655 (2023)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3980396).

Marisa Abrajano, Kevin M. Quinn & Christopher S. Elmendorf, *Measuring Perceived Skin Color: Spillover Effects and Likert-type Scales*, [85 J. Pol. 320 (2023)](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/720941)

Christopher S. Elmendorf, Eric Biber, Paavo Monkkonen & Moira O’Neill, *“I Would, If Only I Could” How Cities Can Use California’s Housing Element Law to Overcome Neighborhood Resistance to New Housing*, [57 Willamette L. Rev. 221](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3889771) (2022) (symposium edition).

Abby K. Wood, Christopher S. Elmendorf, Douglas M. Spencer & Nicolas Napolio, *Mind the Participation Gap: Vouchers, Voting, and Visibility*, [50 Am. Pol. Res. 623 (2022)](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1532673X211067256).

Cheryl Boudreau, Christopher S. Elmendorf & Scott A. MacKenzie, *The Civic Option: Using Experiments to Estimate the Effects of Consuming Information in Local Elections*, [J. of Experimental Pol. Sci. (2022)](https://doi.org/10.1017/XPS.2022.19) <https://doi.org/10.1017/XPS.2022.19>.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, Eric Biber, Paavo Monkkonen & Moira O’Neill*, State Administrative Review of Local Constraints on Housing Development: Improving the California Model*, [64 Arizona L. Rev. 609 (2021)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3614085).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, Eric Biber, Paavo Monkkonen & Moira O’Neill, *Making It Work: Legal Foundations for Administrative Reform of California's Housing Framework*, [46 Ecology L.Q. 973 (2020)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3500139) (with Eric Biber, Paavo Monkkonen & Moira O’Neill).

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Darien Shanske, *Auctioning the Upzone*, [70 Case Western Res. L. Rev. 513 (2020)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3448750). Selected for republication in *Land Use and Environment Law Review* (2023-24) as one of the year’s best articles about land use.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, *Beyond the Double Veto: Housing Plans as Preemptive Intergovernmental Compacts*, [71 Hastings L.J. 79 (2019)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3256857). Reviewed by Shelby D. Greene, *Controlling the Locals from the Top Down and the Bottom Up for Housing*, [Jotwell](https://property.jotwell.com/controlling-the-locals-from-the-top-down-and-the-bottom-up-for-housing/) (Dec. 1, 2020).

Cheryl Boudreau, Christopher S. Elmendorf & Scott A. MacKenzie, *Racial or Spatial Voting? The Effects of Candidate Ethnicity and Ethnic Group Endorsements in Local Elections*, [63 Am. J. Pol. Sci. 5 (2019)](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/ajps.12401).

Cheryl Boudreau, Christopher S. Elmendorf & Scott A. MacKenzie, *Roadmaps to Representation: An Experimental Study of How Voter Education Tools Affect Citizen Decision Making*, [41 Pol. Behavior 1001 (2019)](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11109-018-9480-6).

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Abby K. Wood, *Elite Political Ignorance: Law, Data, and the Representation of (Mis)Perceived Electorates*, [52 UC Davis L. Rev. 571 (2018)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3034685).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, *From Educational Adequacy to Representational Adequacy: A New Template for Legal Attacks on Partisan Gerrymanders*, [59 Wm. & Mary L. Rev. 1601 (2018)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2916294).

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Darien Shanske,*“Solving Problems No One Has Solved”: Courts, Causal Inference, and the Right to Education*, [2018 U. Ill. L. Rev. 693](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2886754).

Marisa Abrajano, Kevin M. Quinn & Christopher S. Elmendorf, *Labels vs. Pictures: Treatment Mode Effects in Experiments About Discrimination*, [26 Pol. Analysis 20 (2018)](https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/political-analysis/article/labels-vs-pictures-treatmentmode-effects-in-experiments-about-discrimination/1810CC8BEEA22DB651DA9EAC8B86493F).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, Marisa Abrajano & Kevin M. Quinn, *Racially Polarized Voting*, [83 U. Chi. L. Rev. 587 (2016)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2668889).

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Douglas M. Spencer, *Administering Section 2 of the VRA After* Shelby County, [115 Colum. L. Rev. 2143 (2015)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2414652).

Cheryl Boudreau, Christopher S. Elmendorf & Scott A. MacKenzie, *Lost in Space? Information Shortcuts, Spatial Voting, and Local Government Representation*. [68 Pol. Res. Q 843 (2015)](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1065912915609437?casa_token=i8AFuFvgWLcAAAAA:tf86XbA_zsBHnQI2TPlZ90pGQT-0Y4_qfIq4vxAN9XxhmXF2N3bxvX3AnGa7pgXNYvikAzg7iO-sbA).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, *Advisory Rulemaking and the Future of the Voting Rights Act*, [14 Election L.J. 260](https://www.liebertpub.com/doi/pdf/10.1089/elj.2015.0315?casa_token=UVoYVlJ9UPAAAAAA%3AfzsrCFpt8tLr0gi77glRjXCvtX1h45T8j8lky3V50SsglAPI9UJgkMWcAkGT_ZcmfYVhAON3RKEEgds&) (2015).

Cheryl Boudreau, Christopher S. Elmendorf & Scott A. MacKenzie, *Informing Electorates Via Election Law: An Experimental Study of Partisan Endorsements and Nonpartisan Voter Guides in Local Elections*, [14 Election L.J. 2 (2014)](https://www.liebertpub.com/doi/full/10.1089/elj.2013.0238) (with Cheryl Boudreau & Scott MacKenzie)

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Douglas M. Spencer, *The Geography of Racial Stereotyping: Evidence and Implications for VRA Preclearance After* Shelby County, [102 Cal. L. Rev. 1123 (2014)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2262954).

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Douglas M. Spencer, *Are Ballot Titles Biased? Partisanship in California’s Supervision of Direct Democracy*, [3 U.C. Irvine L. Rev. 511 (2013)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2213460).

Christopher S. Elmendorf & David Schleicher, *Informing Consent: Voter Ignorance, Political Parties, and Election Law*, [2013 U. Ill. L. Rev. 363](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2010115).

Christopher S. Elmendorf & David Schleicher, *Districting for a Low-Information Electorate*, [121 Yale L. J. 1846 (2012)](https://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5963&context=fss_papers).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, *What Kind of Discrimination Does the Voting Rights Act Target?*, [160 U. Pa. L. Rev. PENNumbra 357 (2012).](https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/penn_law_review_online/vol160/iss1/26/)

Christopher S. Elmendorf, *Making Sense of Section 2: Of Biased Votes, Unconstitutional Elections, and Common Law Statutes*, [160 U. Pa. L. Rev. 377](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1822642) (2012).

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Ethan J. Leib, *Why Party Democrats Need Popular Democracy and Popular Democrats Need Parties*, [100 Cal. L. Rev. 69 (2012)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1905245).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, *Empirical Legitimacy and Election Law*, *in* Race, Reform, and Regulatory Institutions: Recurring Puzzles in American Democracy (Heather K. Gerken, Guy-Uriel E. Charles, & Michael S. Kang eds. 2011)

Christopher S. Elmendorf, *Refining the Democracy Canon*, [95 Cornell L. Rev. 1051 (2010)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1484886).

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Edward B. Foley, *Gatekeeping vs. Balancing in the Constitutional Law of Elections: Methodological Uncertainty on the High Court*, [17 William & Mary Bill Rts. J. 507 (2008)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1288189) (symposium on “How We Vote”).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, *Undue Burdens on Voter Participation: New Pressures for a Structural Theory of the Right to Vote?*, [35 Hastings Const. L. Q. 643 (2008)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1080256.) (symposium on “Frontiers of Democracy”).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, *Structuring Judicial Review of Electoral Mechanics: Explanations and Opportunities*, [156 U. Pa. L. Rev. 313 (2007)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=980079).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, N.Y. State Bd. of Elections v. Torres*: Is the Right to Vote a Constitutional Constraint on Party Nominating Conventions?*, [6 Election L. J. 399 (2007)](https://www.liebertpub.com/doi/pdf/10.1089/elj.2007.6405?casa_token=9dAAzDEd00QAAAAA:GdCI7hE5t5hSWUoHiCZfjG7CaavMZsQX63JEMhp5Zar9T6rkh17ZJq6YiMvq-4glR5yp9-HPeFc0).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, *Advisory Counterparts to Constitutional Courts*, [56 Duke L. J. 953 (2007)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=931467). Selected for the 2006 Stanford-Yale Junior Faculty Forum.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, *Election Commissions and Electoral Reform: An Overview*, [5 Election L. J. 425 (2006)](https://www.liebertpub.com/doi/pdf/10.1089/elj.2006.5.425?casa_token=eijJy4tGDC8AAAAA:BSIZBe6d3UTo7MAuQrRDYgspjLytsZjV46h0durNzJXe9JGKlPZueL30TIhEdhm4QS5T4-aPWemj).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, *Representation Reinforcement Through Advisory Commissions: The Case of Election Law*, [80 N.Y.U. L. Rev. 1366 (2005)](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=721741).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, *Securing Ecological Investments on Other People’s Land: A Transaction-Costs Perspective*, [44 Nat. Resources J. 529 (2004)](https://heinonline.org/hol-cgi-bin/get_pdf.cgi?handle=hein.journals/narj44&section=32&casa_token=YMcqVRzY2X8AAAAA:BRqlem2vDFjCBLWLlHKUFb-Tu-Lr_uFAxg1uvAL0EIdpwCNXPl9Vq89v38bcngNDHwohnVKMIw) (symposium on “Private Lands Conservation: Institutions and Instruments”).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, *Ideas, Incentives, Gifts, and Governance: Toward Conservation Stewardship of Private Land, In Cultural and Psychological Perspective*, [2003 U. Ill. L. Rev. 423](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=512462).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, *State Courts, Citizen Suits, and the Enforcement of Federal Environmental Law by Non-Article III Plaintiffs*, [110 Yale L. J. 1003 (2001)](https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/797562.pdf?casa_token=X2fvNUhAh2cAAAAA:xMG6KDN0lHix2Ahx1Wg4ecYof-8Qnvnd5Aii5CRtrAOSD0fmz8bcPRb7KlSM9bcayg_FE-D8DVCyV6gjEByin2KuU_Xj1Ytclbicum_stNLud42RXr_d).

# Working Papers

Clayton Nall, Christopher S. Elmendorf & Stan Oklobdjiza, [*Folk Economics and the Persistence of Political Opposition to New Housing*](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4266459) (April 2024)

# Amicus Briefs

Amici Curiae Brief of Law Professors Christopher S. Elmendorf, Michelle Wilde Anderson, Anika Singh Lemar, Dave Owen, Darien Shanske, and Kenneth Stahl, *California Renters Legal Advocacy and Education Fund v. City of San Mateo* (Cal. Court of Appeal, First Appellate Dist., Nos. A159320 & 159658). I was the primary author of this brief on behalf of the named law professors. The brief explains the function and defends the constitutionality of California’s Housing Accountability Act.

Brief of Amici Curiae Professors Christopher Elmendorf, Joseph Fishkin, Bertrall Ross, Douglass Spencer, and Franita Tolson in Support of Appellees, *Rucho v. Common Cause*, 139 Sup. Ct. 782 (2019). I authored this brief on behalf of named law professors to lay out the relationship between partisan vote-dilution claims and the theories of vote dilution previously recognized by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Brief of Amicus Curiae Eric McGhee in Support of Neither Party, *Gill v. Whitford*, 138 S.Ct. 1916 (2018). This brief was authored for the political scientist who developed a measure of partisan advantaged that the district court relied upon in deeming Wisconsin’s state legislative map an unconstitutional partisan gerrymander.

Brief of Amicus Curiae Professors Christopher S. Elmendorf and Daniel P. Tokaji in Support of Petitioners, *Crawford v. Marion County Election Board*, 553 U.S. 181 (2008).

# Policy Briefs and White Papers

Christopher S. Elmendorf, [*Testimony for Little Hoover Commission Hearing on the California Environmental Quality Act*](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4389930) (Mar. 16, 2023).

Sidharth Kapur, Salim Damerdji, Christopher Elmendorf & Paavo Monkkonen, [*What Gets Built on Sites that Cities “Make Available” for Housing?*](https://www.lewis.ucla.edu/research/what-gets-built-on-sites-that-cities-make-available-for-housing/), UCLA Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, Aug. 2022.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, [*A Primer on California's "Builder's Remedy" for Housing-Element Noncompliance*](https://escholarship.org/uc/item/38x5760j), UCLA Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, April 2022.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, Nicholas J. Marantz & Paavo Monkkonen, [*A Review of California’s Process for Determining, and Accommodating, Regional Housing Needs*](https://www.lewis.ucla.edu/research/a-review-of-californias-process-for-determining-and-accommodating-regional-housing-needs/), UCLA Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, Jan. 2022. (Background paper prepared for the California State Auditor in relation to audit ordered by the Joint Legislative Audit Committee on Oct. 11, 2021.)

Christopher S. Elmendorf, Eric Biber, Moira O’Neill & Paavo Monkkonen, [*“I Would, If Only I Could” How Cities Can Use California’s Housing Element to Overcome Neighborhood Resistance to New Housing*](https://www.lewis.ucla.edu/research/overcoming-neighborhood-resistance/)*,* UCLA Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, Jan. 2021.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, Ethan Elkind, Michael Lens, Michael Manville, Nicholas Marantz, Paavo Monkkonen, Moira O’Neill & Jessica Trounstine, [*Regional Housing Need in California: The San Francisco Bay Area*](https://escholarship.org/uc/item/69j2b63r), UCLA Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, July 2020.

Paavo Monkkonen, Eric Biber, Christopher S. Elmendorf & Moira O’Neill, [*A New Approach to the Housing Element Update*](http://www.lewis.ucla.edu/2020/01/15/housing-element-update/), UCLA Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, Jan. 2020.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, Eric Biber, Moira O’Neill & Paavo Monkkonen, [*Making It Work: Legal Foundations for Administrative Reform of California’s Housing Framework*](https://law.ucdavis.edu/centers/environmental/files/Elmendorf-et-al.,-ISSUE-BRIEF-Administering-Californias-Housing-Framework-1.pdf), UC Davis California Environmental Law & Policy Center, Dec. 2019..

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Darien Shanske, [*Auctioning the Upzone: A New Strategy for Inducing Local-Government Compliance with State Housing Policies*](https://law.ucdavis.edu/centers/environmental/files/Doremus%20Writing%20Winners/Auctioning-the-Upzone---White-Paper-updated-312018.pdf), UC Davis California Environmental Law & Policy Center, Dec. 2018.

# Other Writings

Christopher S. Elmendorf, [*Don’t San Francisco-ize Clean Energy*](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2024/01/clean-energy-san-francisco-environmentalism/677276/), The Atlantic, Jan. 28, 2024.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, [*How Major Environmental Groups Ended up on the Wrong Side of California’s Housing Crisis*](https://www.motherjones.com/environment/2023/11/green-groups-housing-crisis-ceqa-environmental-density-nimby/), Mother Jones, Nov. 2023.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, [*Newsom Says California’s Anti-Housing Environmental Law Is ‘Broken.’ So Why Won’t He Fix It?*](https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2023-07-17/gavin-newsom-california-environment-housing-law-ceqa), L.A. Times, July 17, 2023.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, [*The Green Movement’s Best Weapon Has Become a Problem*](https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2023/04/ceqa-green-movement-building-housing-crisis-environmental-laws/), Mother Jones, May-June 2023.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, [*The Housing Treadmill*](https://www.city-journal.org/article/the-housing-treadmill), City Journal (Special Issue 2023: Can California Be Golden Again?).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, Rick Frank & Michael D. Lane, [*Fake Environmental Reviews Are Killing Good Housing Projects. Here’s What California Can Do About It*](https://www.sfchronicle.com/opinion/openforum/article/ceqa-california-housing-environmental-review-ting-17758035.php), S.F. Chronicle, Feb. 6, 2023.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, [*California Legislators Refuse to Fix CEQA. Here’s How Newsom and the Courts Can Take Charge*](https://www.sfchronicle.com/opinion/openforum/article/california-ceqa-environment-law-17713699.php), S.F. Chronicle, Jan. 14, 2023.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, Clayton Nall & Stan Oklobdjiza, [*Folk Economics and the Politics of Housing*](https://www.city-journal.org/majorities-are-skeptical-of-zoning-reform), City Journal, Nov. 28, 2022.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, [*How San Francisco’s Infamous 469 Stevenson Project Just Helped Gut California’s Housing Laws*](https://www.sfchronicle.com/opinion/openforum/article/california-469-stevenson-court-ceqa-housing-17550982.php), S.F. Chronicle, Nov. 2, 2022.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, [*Chesa Boudin’s Recall Won’t Change a Thing. Fixing San Francisco’s Charter Would*](https://www.sfchronicle.com/opinion/openforum/article/chesa-boudin-recall-17226712.php), S.F. Chronicle, June 8, 2022.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, [*How Mayor Breed Can Finally Disarm San Francisco NIMBYs’ Most Formidable Weapon*](https://www.sfchronicle.com/opinion/openforum/article/How-Mayor-Breed-can-finally-disarm-San-Francisco-16819805.php), S.F. Chronicle, Feb. 1, 2022.

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Timothy Duncheon, [*How an Outdated Environmental Law is Sabotaging California’s New Housing Rules*](https://www.sfchronicle.com/opinion/openforum/article/How-an-outdated-environmental-law-is-sabotaging-16672131.php), S.F. Chronicle, Dec. 4, 2021 (with Timothy Duncheon).

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Timothy Duncheon, [*A Seismic Shift in Land Use Law?*](https://www.sloglaw.org/post/a-seismic-shift-in-land-use-law), State & Local Gov’t Law Blog, Nov. 28, 2021. (part 1 of a 4-part series)

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Timothy Duncheon, [*How CEQA and the HAA Became “Super”*](https://www.sloglaw.org/post/how-ceqa-and-the-haa-became-super)*,* State & Local Gov’t Law Blog, Nov. 30, 2021. (part 2 of a 4-part series)

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Timothy Duncheon, [*Does the HAA (or anything else) Provide a Remedy CEQA-Laundered Project Denials?*](https://www.sloglaw.org/post/does-the-haa-or-anything-else-provide-a-remedy-ceqa-laundered-project-denials), State & Local Gov’t Law Blog, Dec. 1, 2021. (part 3 of a 4-part series)

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Timothy Duncheon, [*Calibrating Environmental Review to the Scope of Municipal Discretion Under the HAA*](https://www.sloglaw.org/post/calibrating-environmental-review-to-the-scope-of-municipal-discretion-under-the-haa), State & Local Gov’t Law Blog, Dec. 2, 2021. (part 4 of a 4-part series)

Christopher S. Elmendorf, Ricardo Flores & Jon Wizard, [*Officials Should Force San Diego to Follow California Housing Law. Inaction Has Consequences*](https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/opinion/commentary/story/2021-06-02/opinion-california-housing-law-san-diego-multifamily), San Diego Union Tribune, June 2, 2021.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, [*Allowing Elected Officials to Increase Housing Supply Is Democratic*](https://calmatters.org/commentary/2021/07/allowing-elected-officials-to-increase-housing-supply-is-democratic/), CalMatters, July 21, 2021.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, [*Who Decides Whether California Misjudged the Bay Area's Housing Needs? (And Why It Matters)*](https://www.cp-dr.com/articles/who-decides-whether-california-misjudged-the-bay-areas), Cal. Planning & Development Report, Feb. 7, 2021.

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Darien Shanske, [*How to Solve the Transit Budget Crunch: Price the Private Use of Public Streets*](https://www.spur.org/news/2020-12-18/how-solve-transit-budget-crunch-price-private-use-public-streets), SPUR, Dec. 2020.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, [*Growing Cities Up: California’s SB 50 Is a Model for Addressing the Urban Housing Crisis*](https://www.city-journal.org/sb50-local-flexibility-plan), City Journal, Jan. 14, 2020.

Christopher S. Elmendorf, [*Recalibrating Local Politics to Increase the Supply of Housing*](https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/serials/files/regulation/2019/6/reg-v42n2-3_0.pdf#page=7), Regulation 38-45 (Summer 2019) (with a reply from Dartmouth University economist Bill Fischel).

Christopher S. Elmendorf, Rick Frank & Darien Shanske, [*Auctioning the Upzone: A New Strategy for Inducing Local-Government Compliance with State Housing Policies*](http://legal-planet.org/2018/12/05/auctioning-the-upzone-a-new-strategy-for-inducing-local-government-compliance-with-state-housing-policies/), Legal Planet, Dec. 5, 2018.

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Christopher S. Elmendorf, Ann Ravel and Abby Wood,[*Open Up the Black Box of Political Advertising*](http://www.sfchronicle.com/opinion/openforum/article/Open-up-the-black-box-of-political-advertising-12221372.php), S.F. Chronicle, Sept. 22, 2017.

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Christopher S. Elmendorf, [*Googling the Future of the Voting Rights Act*](http://jurist.org/forum/2012/06/christopher-elmendorf-voting-future.php), JURIST - Forum, June 29, 2012.

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Christopher S. Elmendorf, *Voter Confusion and the Single-Subject Rule: Proposition 26 as a Test Case*, Daily Journal (San Francisco and Los Angeles), Dec. 29, 2010.

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Christopher S. Elmendorf & David Schleicher, [*Making Democracy Work in San Francisco*](https://www.sfgate.com/politics/article/Making-democracy-work-in-San-Francisco-3197619.php), S.F. Chronicle, Feb. 28, 2010.

Christopher S. Elmendorf & Ethan J. Leib, [*Budgets by the People, for the People*](https://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/28/opinion/28leib.html), N.Y. Times, July 27, 2009.

# Invited Talks and Scholarly Presentations (last 5 years)

“The California Builder’s Remedy.” CLE California Land Use Law Conference, San Francisco, CA. June 2024.

“Price Controls, Demand Subsidies or More Supply? Public Opinion About Housing Policy.” UC Berkeley Terner Center, Berkeley, CA. Apr. 2024.

“Price Controls, Demand Subsidies or More Supply? Public Opinion About Housing Policy.” Tulane University / Federal Reserve Bank Housing Conference. New Orleans, LA. Apr. 2024.

“Price Controls, Demand Subsidies or More Supply? Public Opinion About Housing Policy.” University of Virginia Law School, Land, Climate and Justice Conference, Charlottsville, VA. Apr. 2024.

“When Super-Statutes Collide: CEQA, the HAA, and Tectonic Change in Land Use Law.” San Francisco Planning Department. San Francisco, CA. Aug. 2023.

“Housing Accountability vs. CEQA Accountability: The Next Battle in California’s Housing War.” American College of Real Estate Lawyers. Frederick, MD. June 2023.

“Finding a Way to Pay for Infrastructure Without Taxing New Housing.” SPUR. San Francisco, CA. June 2023.

“The Builder’s Remedy for Housing-Element Noncompliance.” Cox, Castle & Nicholson, LLP. San Francisco. Feb. 2023.

“San Francisco’s Housing Element.” Leadership San Francisco Training. San Francisco. Dec. 2022.

“Housing Accountability vs. CEQA Accountability: The Next Battle in California’s Housing War.” SPUR. San Francisco, CA. Dec. 2022.

“California’s Housing Accountability Act.” Cal. Appellate Judicial Attorney Institute. San Francisco. Sept. 2022.

“The Builder’s Remedy for Housing-Element Noncompliance.” Abundant Housing Los Angeles Workshop. Los Angeles. Sept. 2022.

“When Superstatutes Collide: CEQA, the HAA, and Tectonic Change in Land Use Law.” Pepperdine Law School. Law Review Symposium. Malibu, CA. Mar. 2022.

“The Housing Element Opportunity,” Southern California Association of Non-Profit Housing Developers. March, 2021.

“‘I Would, If Only I Could’ How Cities Can Use California’s Housing Element to Overcome Neighborhood Resistance to New Housing,” Willamette Law School. Law Review Symposium. March, 2021.

“‘I Would, If Only I Could’ How Cities Can Use California’s Housing Element to Overcome Neighborhood Resistance to New Housing.” SPUR. San Francisco. Jan. 2021.

“Superintending Local Constraints on Housing Development: How California Can Do It Better.” UC Davis School of Law, Summer Faculty Workshop. June 2020.

“Making It Work: Legal Foundations for Administrative Reform of California's Housing Framework.” *Ecology Law Quarterly* Symposium. Berkeley. Feb. 2020.

“Land Use, Home Rule, and the Political Structure of Local Governments.” *Hastings Law Journal* Symposium. San Francisco. Jan. 2020.

“Is California’s Assault on Exclusionary Zoning at War with Itself?” American Ass’n of Law Schools Annual Meeting. Washington. Jan. 2020.

“Evaluating Zoning Reform: Lessons from California’s Efforts to Monitor Housing Elements.” Roundtable on Recent Zoning Reform Efforts and State Land Use Interventions, Suffolk University Law School. Boston. Nov. 2019.

“Statutory Interpretation and the Administrative State: A Perspective from the United States.” China University of Political Science and Law. Beijing. June 2019.

“Beyond the Double Veto: Land Use Plans as Preemptive Intergovernmental Compacts.” Housing Land Advocates 2019 Annual Conference. Portland. Mar. 2019.

“Beyond the Double Veto: Land Use Plans as Preemptive Intergovernmental Compacts.” Binational Workshop on Intergovernmental Relations in Planning Practice. UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs. Los Angeles. Feb. 2019.

“Auctioning the Upzone: A New Strategy to Induce Local Government Compliance with State Housing Policies.” UC Davis School of Law (faculty workshop). Jan. 2019.

“Beyond the Double Veto: Land Use Plans as Preemptive Intergovernmental Contracts.” 7th Annual State and Local Government Law Works-in-Progress Conference. Fordham University. New York. Sept. 2018.

# Teaching

Property, Land Use & Housing Law, Election Law, Administrative Law, Statutory Interpretation.

# Service

University Service

Member, Educational Policy Committee, UC Davis School of Law (2022-23)

Member, Intellectual Enrichment Committee, UC Davis School of Law (2021-22)

Member, Tenure Committee of Karrigan Bork, UC Davis School of Law (2019-21)

Member, Educational Policy Committee, UC Davis School of Law (2019-20)

Member, Admissions Committee, UC Davis School of Law (2018-19)

Chair, University Committee on Academic Freedom, Univ. of California (2017 - 2018)

Vice Chair, University Committee on Academic Freedom, Univ. of California (2016-2017)

Member, University Committee on Academic Freedom, Univ. of California (2015-2018)

Chair, Intellectual Enrichment Committee, UC Davis School of Law (2015-2017).

Member, Intellectual Enrichment Committee, UC Davis School of Law (2014-2017).

Chair, Committee on Academic Freedom and Responsibility, UC Davis (2014-2016)

Member, Committee on Academic Freedom and Responsibility, UC Davis (2012-2016)

Member, Faculty Appointments Committee, UC Davis School of Law (2012-13)

Member, King Hall Alums in Teaching Committee, UC Davis School of Law (2011-12)

Member, Search Committee for Director of Academic Support, UC Davis School of Law (fall 2010).

Member, Judicial Clerkships Committee, UC Davis School of Law (2009-12)

Member, Educational Policy Committee, UC Davis School of Law (2009-10)

Member, Admissions Committee, UC Davis School of Law (2008-09).

Member, Faculty Appointments Committee, UC Davis School of Law (2006-07).

Member, Affirmative Action and Diversity Committee, UC Davis (2005-07).

Faculty Advisor, *U.C. Davis Law Review* (2005-08).

Faculty Advisory, Environmental Law Society, UC Davis School of Law (2004-present).

Member, Libraries Committee, UC Davis School of Law (2004-05).

External Service

Founding Advisory Board Member, Abundance Academic Network.

Member, California’s Housing Future 2040 Sounding Board, Cal. Dept. of Hous. & Cmty. Development.

Member, Housing Data Working Group, Cal. Dept. of Hous. & Cmty. Development.

Volunteer advisor to: California Yimby, SPUR, YIMBY Law, California Renters Legal Advocacy and Education Fund, Abundant Housing Los Angeles, and, some years ago, Repair California (a coalition advocating for a constitutional convention to revise California’s constitution).

Peer reviews conducted for *American Law and Economics Review*, *Election Law Journal, Harvard Law Review*, *Yale Law Journal*, *Stanford Law Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *Political Behavior*, *Political Analysis*, University of Chicago Press, and Routledge Press.

External member of dissertation committees for Slande Erole (UC Davis, political science) Matt Lesenye (UC Davis, political science), Justin Levitt (UC San Diego, political science) and Samrat Sinha (University of Delaware, political science).

# Bar Admission

California