

PAUL G. LEWIS

School of Politics and Global Studies
Arizona State University
P.O. Box 873902
Tempe, AZ 85287-3902
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Experience:

Arizona State University, School of Politics and Global Studies, 2005-present

- Associate Director for Undergraduate Studies, July 2020-August 2023
- Associate Professor (with tenure), August 2010-present
- Assistant Professor (Department of Political Science), August 2005-July 2010
- Affiliate faculty, School of Public Affairs, August 2011-present
- Honors Faculty, Barrett Honors College, 2007-present

Public Policy Institute of California (San Francisco, CA), 1996-2005

- Program Director for Governance and Public Finance, 2002-2005
- Research Fellow, 1996-2005
- Adjunct Fellow, 2005-present

Assistant Professor of Political Science, Florida International University, 1994-1996

Lecturer in Politics (50% time), Princeton University, 1993-1994

Education:

Ph.D. in Politics, Princeton University

M.A. in Politics, Princeton University

A.B. (with high honors), Indiana University, Bloomington

Publications:

[See also [Google Scholar citations page](#)]

Books:

4. P.G. Lewis & N.J. Marantz, [Regional Governance and the Politics of Housing in the San Francisco Bay Area](#). Philadelphia: Temple University Press (2023), in the series *Political Lessons from American Cities*.
3. D.M. Provine, M.W. Varsanyi, P.G. Lewis, & S.H. Decker, [Policing Immigrants: Local Law Enforcement on the Front Lines](#). Chicago: University of Chicago Press (2016), in the *Chicago Series in Law and Society*.
 - Outstanding Book in Policing Award, American Society of Criminology, Division of Policing (2018)
 - Chosen as an Outstanding Academic Title, *Choice* (2017)

2. P.G. Lewis & M. Neiman, [*Custodians of Place: Governing the Growth and Development of Cities*](#). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press (2009), in the series *American Governance and Public Policy*.
1. P.G. Lewis, [*Shaping Suburbia: How Political Institutions Organize Urban Development*](#). Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press (1996), in the *Pitt Series in Policy and Institutional Studies*.
 - Chosen as an Outstanding Academic Title, *Choice* (1997)

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles:

19. N.J. Marantz & P.G. Lewis, "[Jurisdictional Size and Residential Development: Are Large-Scale Local Governments More Receptive to Multifamily Housing?](#)" *Urban Affairs Review* 58:3 (2022), pp. 732-766.
18. P.G. Lewis & N.J. Marantz, "[What Planners Know: Using Surveys about Local Land-Use Regulation to Understand Housing Development](#)," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 85:4 (2019), pp. 445-462.
17. P.G. Lewis, "[Moral Foundations in the 2015-16 U.S. Presidential Primary Debates: The Positive and Negative Moral Vocabulary of Partisan Elites](#)," *Social Sciences* 8:8 (2019), pp. 1-25.
16. M.D. Ramirez & P.G. Lewis, "[Beliefs about Corporate America and the Structure of Opinions toward Privatization](#)," *Political Behavior* 40:4 (2018), pp. 1011-1034.
15. P.G. Lewis, "[Moral Intuitions and Smart Growth: Why Do Liberals and Conservatives View Compact Development So Differently?](#)" *Journal of Urban Affairs* 37:2 (2015), pp. 87-108.
14. P.G. Lewis, D.M. Provine, M.W. Varsanyi, & S.H. Decker, "[Why Do \(Some\) City Police Departments Enforce Federal Immigration Law? Political, Demographic, and Organizational Influences on Local Choices](#)," *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 23:1 (2013), pp. 1-25.
13. M.W. Varsanyi, P.G. Lewis, D.M. Provine, & S.H. Decker, "[A Multilayered Jurisdictional Patchwork: Immigration Federalism in the United States](#)," *Law & Policy* 34:2 (2012), pp. 138-158.
12. G. Glasgow, P.G. Lewis, & M. Neiman, "[Local Development Policies and the Foreclosure Crisis in California: Can Local Policies Hold Back National Tides?](#)" *Urban Affairs Review* 48:1 (2012), pp. 64-85.
11. P.G. Lewis & M. Baldassare, "[The Complexity of Public Attitudes toward Compact Development: Survey Evidence from Five States](#)," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 76:2 (2010), pp. 219-237.

10. P.G. Lewis & S.K. Ramakrishnan, "[Police Practices in Immigrant-Destination Cities: Political Control or Bureaucratic Professionalism?](#)" *Urban Affairs Review* 42:6 (2007), pp. 874-900.
9. P.G. Lewis, "[Can State Review of Local Planning Increase Housing Production?](#)" *Housing Policy Debate* 16:2 (2005), pp. 173-200.
8. Z.L. Hajnal & P.G. Lewis, "[Municipal Institutions and Voter Turnout in Local Elections,](#)" *Urban Affairs Review* 38:5 (2003), pp. 645-668.
7. P.G. Lewis, "[Offering Incentives for New Development: The Role of City Social Status, Politics, and Local Growth Experiences,](#)" *Journal of Urban Affairs* 24:2 (2002), pp. 143-157.
6. P.G. Lewis & E. McGhee, "[The Local Roots of Federal Policy Change: Transportation in the 1990s,](#)" *Polity* 34:2 (2001), pp. 205-229.
5. P.G. Lewis, "[Looking Outward or Turning Inward? Motivations for Development Decisions in California Central Cities and Suburbs,](#)" *Urban Affairs Review* 36:5 (2001), pp. 696-720.
4. P.G. Lewis, "[Retail Politics: Local Sales Taxes and the Fiscalization of Land Use,](#)" *Economic Development Quarterly* 15:1 (2001), pp. 21-35.
3. P.G. Lewis, "[The Durability of Local Government Structure: Evidence from California,](#)" *State and Local Government Review* 32:1 (2000), pp. 34-48.
2. P.G. Lewis, "[Regionalism and Representation: Measuring and Assessing Representation in Metropolitan Planning Organizations,](#)" *Urban Affairs Review* 33:6 (1998), pp. 839-853.
1. M.N. Danielson & P.G. Lewis, "[City Bound: Political Science and the American Metropolis,](#)" *Political Research Quarterly* 49:1 (1996), pp. 203-220.

Peer-Reviewed Commentary:

- P.G. Lewis, "[Public Authorities and Other Kludges: A Commentary on Savitch and Adhikari,](#)" *Urban Affairs Review* 53:2 (2017), pp. 410-416.

Editor-Refereed Journal Articles:

3. P.G. Lewis & N.J. Marantz, "A Response to Comments on 'What Planners Know: Using Surveys About Local Land Use Regulation to Understand Housing Development,'" *Journal of the American Planning Association* 86:2 (2020), pp. 270-271.
2. P.G. Lewis, "Size and Local Democracy: Scale Effects in City Politics," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44:1 (2011), pp. 107-109. Part of a symposium on "The Study of Local Elections: A Looking Glass into the Future."
1. P.G. Lewis, "Housing and American Privatism: The Origins and Evolution of Subsidized Home Ownership Policy," *Journal of Policy History* 5:1 (1993), pp. 28-51. Article for

journal special issue; issue was also reprinted as M.V. Melosi, ed., *Urban Public Policy: Historical Modes and Methods* (Penn State Press, 1993).

Chapters in Edited Volumes:

9. M.W. Varsanyi, P.G. Lewis, D.M. Provine, & S. Decker, "Immigration and Policing Practices in New Destinations," in S. Chambers, D. Evans, A. Messina, & A.F. Williamson, eds., *The Politics of New Immigrant Destinations: Transatlantic Perspectives* (Temple University Press, 2017), pp. 225-247.
8. D.M. Provine and P.G. Lewis, "Chill Winds in the Valley of the Sun: Immigrant Integration in the Phoenix Region," in J. Mollenkopf and M. Pastor, eds., *Unsettled Americans: Metropolitan Context and Civic Leadership for Immigrant Integration* (Cornell University Press, 2016), pp. 189-222.
7. M.A. Taylor, S.H. Decker, D.M. Provine, P.G. Lewis, & M.W. Varsanyi, "Illegal Immigration and Local Policing," in M.D. Reisig & R.J. Kane, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Police and Policing* (Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 409-429.
6. D.M. Provine & P.G. Lewis, "Shades of Blue: Local Policing, Legality, and Federal Immigration Law," in C. Menjivar and D. Kanstroom, eds., *Constructing Illegality in America: Immigrant Experiences, Critiques, and Resistance* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 298-324.
5. D.M. Provine, M.W. Varsanyi, P.G. Lewis, & S.H. Decker, "Growing Tensions between Civic Membership and Enforcement in the Devolution of Immigration Control," in C.E. Kubrin, M.S. Zatz, and R. Martinez, eds., *Punishing Immigrants: Policy, Politics and Injustice* (New York University Press, 2012), pp. 42-61.
4. S.H. Decker, P.G. Lewis, D.M. Provine, & M.W. Varsanyi, "On the Frontier of Local Law Enforcement: Local Police and Federal Immigration Law," in W.F. McDonald, ed., *Immigration, Crime and Justice* (Sociology of Crime, Law, and Deviance, Vol. 13, Emerald/JAI Press, 2009), pp. 261-276.
3. S.H. Decker, P.G. Lewis, D.M. Provine, & M.W. Varsanyi, "Immigration and Local Policing: Results from a National Survey of Law Enforcement Executives," in A. Khashu, ed., *The Role of Local Police: Striking a Balance between Immigration Enforcement and Civil Liberties* (The Police Foundation, 2009), pp. 169-179.
2. P.G. Lewis, "Land Use and Planning in Local Government," in E.M. Berman, ed., *Encyclopedia of Public Administration and Public Policy*, 2nd ed. (Taylor & Francis, 2008).
1. P.G. Lewis, "An Old Debate Confronts New Realities: Large Suburbs and Economic Development in the Metropolis," in R.C. Feiock, ed., *Metropolitan Governance: Conflict, Competition, and Cooperation* (Georgetown University Press, 2004), pp. 95-123.

Refereed Policy Reports/Monographs:

7. S.K. Ramakrishnan & P.G. Lewis, [*Immigrants and Local Governance: The View from City Hall*](#) (Public Policy Institute of California, 2005).
6. P.G. Lewis, [*California's Housing Element Law: The Issue of Local Noncompliance*](#) (Public Policy Institute of California, 2003).
5. Z.L. Hajnal, P.G. Lewis, & H. Louch, [*Municipal Elections in California: Turnout, Timing, and Competition*](#) (Public Policy Institute of California, 2002).
4. P.G. Lewis & M. Neiman, [*Cities under Pressure: Local Growth Controls and Residential Development Policy*](#) (Public Policy Institute of California, 2002).
3. P.G. Lewis & E. Barbour, [*California Cities and the Local Sales Tax*](#) (Public Policy Institute of California, 1999).
2. P.G. Lewis, [*Deep Roots: Local Government Structure in California*](#) (Public Policy Institute of California, 1998).
1. P.G. Lewis & M. Sprague, [*Federal Transportation Policy and the Role of Metropolitan Planning Organizations in California*](#) (Public Policy Institute of California, 1997).

Book Reviews:

5. P.G. Lewis, review of Z. Taylor, *Shaping the Metropolis: Institutions and Urbanization in the United States and Canada*, in *Perspectives on Politics* 18:2 (2020), pp. 659-661.
4. P.G. Lewis, review of N. Pindus, H. Wial, & H. Wolman, *Urban and Regional Policy and Its Effects*, vol. 3, in *Journal of Planning Literature* 27:3 (2012).
3. P.G. Lewis, review of B. Hanlon, *Once the American Dream: Inner-Ring Suburbs of the Metropolitan United States*, in *Urban Affairs Review* 47:1 (2011).
2. P.G. Lewis, review essay on C. Haar, *Suburbs under Siege: Race, Space, and Audacious Judges* and J. Yinger, *Closed Doors, Opportunities Lost: The Continuing Costs of Housing Discrimination*, in *Journal of the American Planning Association* 63:3 (1997).
1. P.G. Lewis, review of E. McKenzie, *Privatopia: Homeowner Associations and the Rise of Residential Private Government*, in *Urban Geography* 18:1 (1997).

Shorter Publications and Other Papers:

11. D.M. Provine, S.H. Decker, P.G. Lewis, & M.W. Varsanyi, "Going Local: Cities Confront Immigration Enforcement in the Trump Era," *Migration and Citizenship* 5:2 (2017), pp. 24-30. Newsletter of the APSA Organized Section in Migration and Citizenship.
10. P.G. Lewis & P. Lohse, "An Exploration of the Political Dimensions of Cities' Fiscal Policy Space," prepared for the project on "The Fiscal Policy Space of Cities" (M. Pagano & C. Hoene, co-PIs). Working paper (available at SSRN) and dataset delivered to project sponsors in 2014. Our research was incorporated into the PIs' report, "City Budgets in an

- Era of Increased Uncertainty: Understanding the Fiscal Policy Space of Cities” (Brookings Institution, 2018).
9. S.H. Decker, P.G. Lewis, D.M. Provine, & M.W. Varsanyi, “Local Policing, Local Communities, and Immigration: Results from Three Nationwide Surveys of Law Enforcement Executives,” *Law Enforcement Executive Forum* 12:2 (2012), pp. 25-30.
 8. E. Barbour & P.G. Lewis, “California Comes of Age: Governing Institutions, Planning, and Public Investment,” in E. Hanak and M. Baldassare, eds., *California 2025: Taking on the Future* (Public Policy Institute of California, 2005). Extended version of this chapter also published separately as a PPIC Occasional Paper.
 7. M. Baldassare, P.G. Lewis, & M. Yaroslavsky, “The State Budget and Local Health Services in California: Surveys of County Officials,” PPIC Occasional Paper (2004).
 6. P.G. Lewis, S.K. Ramakrishnan, and N. Patel, “Governance and Policy in High-Immigration Cities: Results from Surveys of Elected Officials, Planners, and Police,” PPIC Occasional Paper (2004).
 5. P.G. Lewis, “Considerations Regarding the Possible Merger of the Association of Bay Area Governments and the Metropolitan Transportation Commission,” PPIC Occasional Paper (2001).
 4. P.G. Lewis & J.F. Silva, “Growth Challenges and Local Government Finance: A Primer for the Sacramento Valley,” PPIC Occasional Paper (2001).
 3. P.G. Lewis & M. Neiman, “Residential Development and Growth Control Policies: Survey Results from Cities in Three California Regions,” PPIC Occasional Paper (2000).
 2. J.F. Silva & P.G. Lewis, “Changing the Order of Things: Six Proposals for Local Fiscal Reform,” PPIC Occasional Paper (2000).
 1. P.G. Lewis & E. Barbour, “Development Priorities in California Cities: Results from a PPIC Survey,” PPIC Occasional Paper (1998).

Republication of Previous Academic Material:

- M.W. Varsanyi, P.G. Lewis, D.M. Provine, & S.H. Decker, “Immigration Federalism: Which Policy Prevails?” *Migration Information Source* (online), Migration Policy Institute (2012). Abridged version of 2012 article in *Law & Policy*.
- P.G. Lewis & S.K. Ramakrishnan, “Police Practices in Immigrant-Destination Communities,” in P.P. Kantor & D.R. Judd, eds., *American Urban Politics in a Global Age: The Reader*, 6th edition (Longman, 2010). Anthologized version of 2007 article in *Urban Affairs Review*.
- P.G. Lewis, “Portland: A Regionalized Politics Shapes Growth,” in R.A. Clucas, ed., *Readings and Cases in State and Local Politics* (Houghton Mifflin, 2006), pp. 313-322. Anthologized excerpt from *Shaping Suburbia*.

Op-Eds and Articles for Popular Audiences:

13. P.G. Lewis & N.J. Marantz, "[How small wealthy suburbs contribute to regional housing problems.](#)" *The Conversation* (July 10, 2023).
12. N.J. Marantz & P.G. Lewis, "[Jurisdictional Size and Residential Development: Are Large-Scale Local Governments More Receptive to Multifamily Housing?](#)" *Urban Affairs Forum* (Feb. 16, 2022).
11. M.D. Ramirez & P.G. Lewis, "[For-profit policing is really unpopular.](#)" *3Streams blog* (at medium.com), Oct. 12, 2020.
10. P.G. Lewis, S.H. Decker, D.M. Provine, & M.W. Varsanyi, "[Empowering local police to enforce U.S. immigration policy has led to a patchwork of inconsistent measures.](#)" *USApp* (American Politics & Policy) blog, London School of Economics (Oct. 31, 2013).
9. P.G. Lewis, "[Timing Is Everything: Instant Runoffs, Election Timing, and Voter Turnout.](#)" *SPUR Urbanist* (Nov. 2002).
8. P.G. Lewis, "Creating a 'Home' for Good Housing Policy," *Western City*, League of California Cities (Aug. 2002).
7. P.G. Lewis, "California's car culture at the heart of the struggle," *San Jose Mercury News* (Nov. 5, 2000).
6. P.G. Lewis & E. Barbour, "The Quest for Retail Development," *California County* (May/June 2000).
5. P.G. Lewis, "There is definitely a bright side to lousy service," *Contra Costa Times* (May 28, 2000).
4. P.G. Lewis & E. Barbour, "City Competition for Sales Tax: Symptom of a Larger Problem?" *Western City* (Nov. 1999—reprint of PPIC Research Brief).
3. P.G. Lewis, "Winning isn't everything in cities' sales-tax chase," *Orange County Register* (Aug. 1, 1999).
2. P.G. Lewis, "Citizen leaders must chart future on regional basis," *San Jose Mercury News* (Feb. 15, 1998).
1. P.G. Lewis, "The basic question: What are streets for?" *San Francisco Examiner* (Aug. 1, 1997).

Grants and Research Contracts:

P.G. Lewis and N.J. Marantz, PIs. *The Emmett Shear Charitable Trust*, to the ASU Foundation, for "Regional Governance and the Supply of Housing: The Bay Area Case" (2020).

P.G. Lewis. ASU School of Politics and Global Studies Small Grant (2018).

P.G. Lewis (PI). *MacArthur Foundation*, contract to University of Illinois at Chicago, subcontract to ASU, for “The Fiscal Policy Space of Cities: An Exploration of Local Political Influences” (2013).

D.M. Provine (PI), S.H. Decker, P.G. Lewis, & M.W. Varsanyi (co-PIs). *National Science Foundation* (Law and Social Science Program), two grants for a multi-stage project:

- “Local Policing in the Context of Immigration” (# SES-0819082), 2008
- “Local Policing in the Context of Immigration: Further Explorations Using a Mixed Methods Approach” (# SES-0921202), 2009.

P.G. Lewis (PI) & D.M. Provine (co-PI). *MacArthur Foundation*, contract to CUNY Graduate Center, subcontract to ASU, for “Building Resilient Regions: Case Study of Immigration in the Phoenix Region” (2009).

M. Baldassare & P.G. Lewis (co-PIs). *The California Endowment*, to the Public Policy Institute of California for “The State Budget and Local Health Services in California: Surveys of County Officials” (2003).

A.W. Mellon Dissertation Fellowship at Princeton University, funded by the *Mellon Foundation* (1992-93).

Conference Participation (since 2005):

Research Presentations:

American Political Science Association (2007, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2018); International Society for Political Psychology (poster, 2018); Kopf Conference on Diverse Perspectives toward Immigration and Racial/Ethnic Minorities, ASU (2017); Midwest Political Science Association (2007, 2008, 2022); Southern Political Science Association (2019); Western Political Science Association (2005, 2006, 2010, 2011, 2018, 2020); Urban Affairs Association (2005, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2013, 2016, 2019)

Panel Discussant:

American Political Science Association (2018, 2015, 2014, 2013, 2011, 2010), Midwest Political Science Association (2022, 2007), Southern Political Science Association (2019), Western Political Science Association (2018, 2008)

Panel Chair or Moderator:

American Political Science Association (2014, 2013), Midwest Political Science Association (2007), Western Political Science Association (2018, 2008), Urban Affairs Association (2013)

Invited Academic Presentations and Seminars:

University of Illinois-Chicago and Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, workshop on “The Fiscal Policy Space of Cities” (2014)

University of Southern California, Center for the Study of Immigrant Integration, symposium on “Immigrant Integration and Resilient Regions” (2013)

Arizona State University, School of Public Affairs colloquium series (2007)

Cornell University, Committee for the Study of Race, Ethnicity and Immigration in the U.S., conference on “Ethno-Spatial Diffusion and Local Governance” (2006)

Stanford University, Program for the Study of the North American West and Center for the Comparative Study of Race and Ethnicity (2004)

University of California–Berkeley Program on Housing and Urban Policy, conference on “Where Will the Poor Live? Housing Policy and the Location of Low-Income Households” (2003)

Stanford University, Public Policy Program, guest speaker in classes (2002, 2003)

Florida State University, DeVoe Moore Policy Center, conference on “Decentralized Governance in Metropolitan Areas” (2002)

University of California–Davis, Center for State and Local Taxation (2000)

California State University, Sacramento, Graduate Program in Public Policy and Administration (1999)

University of Southern California, Urban Transportation Workshop (1997)

University of Colorado–Denver, Program in Urban and Regional Planning (1992)

Invited Presentations or Testimony before Government Officials:

National League of Cities, breakout session on immigration policing at national conference (2011)

Police Executive Research Forum and the Carnegie Corporation of New York, National Summit on Local Immigration Policies (2009)

Ramsey Executive Education Program (ASU), conference on “Immigration and the Public Sector: Your World Is Changing” (2007)

Local Government Working Group, organized by the California Senate Committee on Local Government (2004)

County of San Joaquin (CA), Department Head Planning Retreat (2003)

California Association of Local Agency Formation Commissions (CALAFCO) (2003)

California Research Bureau (presentation on housing element research to legislative and executive staff, 2003)

California Senate Select Committee on Bay Area Infrastructure (2001)

Economic Advisory Panel, City of Oakland, Office of the City Manager, panelist (2001, 2002)

San Mateo County City Managers Association (2000)

Municipal Management Association of Northern California (2000)

Association of Bay Area Governments (2000)

California Association of Councils of Governments (CALCOG) (2000)

California Municipal Treasurers Association / Society of Municipal Finance Officials (1999)

League of California Cities, Board of Directors meeting (1999)

Speaker’s Commission on State/Local Government Finance (State of California) (1999)

Federal Highway Administration, Northwest Civil Rights Conference (1999)

Commission on Local Governance for the 21st Century (State of California) (1998)

California Special Districts Association (1998)

Council of State Governments West, Trade and Transportation Committee (1997)

Invited Presentations before Civic or Professional Groups:

The Police Foundation, conference on The Role of Local Police: Striking a Balance between Immigration Enforcement and Civil Liberties (2008)
 National Academy of Public Administration, conference on Social Equity and Urban Governance (2008)
 Rio Verde (AZ) Community Association (2007)
 The Communications Institute, National Symposium on Immigration (2006)
 Orange County (CA) Business Council (2003)
 Regional Housing Summit, Pleasanton, CA, roundtable participant (2003)
 Bay Area Economic Forum (2003)
Contra Costa Times, participant in a roundtable on “Is There a Housing Crisis in the Bay Area?” Walnut Creek, CA (2002)
 Foundation for American Communications (journalist training on land-use policy) (2002)
 Valley Vision (Sacramento, CA), Board of Directors meeting (2001)
 Great Valley Center conference (2001)
 Fromm Institute for Lifelong Learning (2000, 2001)
 American Planning Association, California chapter (1999)
 Municipal Officials for Redevelopment Reform (1999)
 San Francisco Planning and Urban Research Association (1999)
 Kiwanis Club of San Francisco (1999)

Other Awards/Honors:

- Charles Redd Award for Best Paper on Western Politics presented at the 2010 meeting of the Western Political Science Association (with Garrett Glasgow and Max Neiman)
- Support for dissertation research from: Princeton Society of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation (1992-93), Center of Domestic and Comparative Policy Studies at Princeton (1991-94)
- Honorable Mention, National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship Program (1988)
- Ford P. Hall Award for outstanding graduating senior in political science, Indiana University (1988)
- Phi Beta Kappa (1988)

Editorial Boards:

Urban Affairs Review, 2010-2013
Journal of Urban Affairs, 2007-2010
State and Local Government Review, 2004-2006

July 13, 2023