

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF FLORIDA

CASE NO. SC14-1905

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN
VOTERS OF FLORIDA, *et al.*,

Appellants,

L.T. Case No. 1D14-3953

vs.

KEN DETZNER, *et al.*,

Appellees.

ON DISCRETIONARY REVIEW OF AN ORDER OF THE CIRCUIT COURT
OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY,
FLORIDA, CERTIFIED BY THE FIRST DISTRICT COURT OF APPEAL AS
PASSING UPON A QUESTION OF GREAT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

THE FLORIDA SENATE'S SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX

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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I certify that on October 16, 2015, a copy of this appendix was served by e-mail to all counsel on the attached service list.

By: /s/ Raoul G. Cantero
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ANDY GARDINER
President of the Senate

THE FLORIDA LEGISLATURE



STEVE CRISAFULLI
*Speaker of the House of
Representatives*

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of the Florida Legislature
From: Senate President Andy Gardiner
House Speaker Steve Crisafulli
Subject: Tentative Procedure for Special Session on Congressional Reapportionment
Date: July 20, 2015

In preparation for the Legislature's important work during an expedited special session, we are instructing professional staff of the House Select Committee on Redistricting and the Senate Committee on Reapportionment to work collaboratively with House and Senate legal counsel to develop a base map that complies with the Florida Supreme Court's recent ruling and all of the relevant legal standards. This map proposal will be drafted solely by staff in collaboration with counsel, without our participation or the participation of any other member, and will be provided simultaneously to all members and the public prior to the convening of the Special Session. Our specific direction to staff is to begin their work by redrawing Congressional Districts 5, 13, 14, 21, 22, 25, 26, and 27 in compliance with the recent ruling of the Florida Supreme Court and to make any necessary conforming changes consistent with Article III, Section 20, of the Florida Constitution.

We believe that presenting a base map that follows the Supreme Court order to you and the public will make it easier to discuss all legislative actions in an open and transparent manner.

On Tuesday, August 11, the House Select Committee on Redistricting and the Senate Committee on Reapportionment will meet jointly to receive a briefing from legal counsel regarding the recent judicial determination that eight of Florida's 27 congressional districts must be revised. At the same meeting, committee staff will present and explain the base map developed to comply with the Supreme Court's ruling and all relevant legal standards.

We are specifically instructing staff of the House Select Committee on Redistricting and the Senate Committee on Reapportionment to avoid any assessment of the political implications of any map either before or during the Special Session, except where consideration of political data is legally required to assess compliance with state and federal minority voting-rights provisions. Consistent with Section 11.26(1), Florida Statutes, we are instructing redistricting staff to have no interactions with any member of the Legislature, a member's staff or aide, political consultants or others concerning their work on the base map prior to its public release.

Furthermore, staff will be instructed to have no interactions with any member of Congress, any Congressional staffer or aide, any political consultant, or any state or national political party personnel at any time before or during the Special Session. If any member of the House or Senate suggests to staff that a plan be changed with the intent to favor or disfavor any incumbent or political party, staff should disregard the suggestion entirely and report in writing the conversation directly to the Speaker or the President, respectively.

After the base map is introduced, every member will have a full opportunity to review, discuss, debate, and offer amendments to the base map. Any member wishing to offer a redistricting bill or amendment should recall the technical specifications used during the 2014 Special Session.

Given the Court's directive to justify district configurations, please note the following process for the submission of redistricting bills and amendments:

1. Any bill or amendment must be a contiguous and complete redistricting plan, such that the entirety of the State is assigned to Congressional districts consisting of population as nearly equal as practicable.
2. **Members of the Senate** wishing to file a bill or amendment should coordinate with staff of the Reapportionment Committee when submitting a block assignment file through the Senate's District Builder application for publication to the web and generation of language for submission to Senate Bill Drafting.
3. **Members of the House** should submit plan files for any bill or amendment on a CD or DVD to staff of the House Select Committee on Redistricting, who will review proposed bills or amendments to ensure that each plan satisfies the constitutional standards of contiguity and equal population and will communicate with House Bill Drafting to place compliant proposals in the proper legislative format.
4. Given the Court's concerns about external partisan influence, and its conclusion that the legislative privilege yields to the constitutional prohibition against partisan intent and that the Legislature bears the burden to justify its decision to draw the districts in a certain way, any member wishing to offer a bill or amendment should be prepared to explain in committee or on the floor of their respective chamber the identity of every person

involved in drawing, reviewing, directing, or approving the proposal; the criteria used by the map drawers; and the sources of any data used in the creation of the map other than the data contained in MyDistrictBuilder or District Builder. The member should also be able to provide a non-partisan and incumbent-neutral justification for the proposed configuration of each district, to explain in detail the results of any functional analysis performed to ensure that the ability of minorities to elect the candidates of their choice is not diminished, and to explain how the proposal satisfies all of the constitutional and statutory criteria applicable to a Congressional redistricting plan.

5. In order to have sufficient time to review and ensure amendments are in the appropriate technical form, both chambers will set amendment filing deadlines. Follow-up memos will be sent by the respective chambers to inform members and the public of the deadlines.

Again, both House and Senate staff will be available to all members to assist in drafting of congressional redistricting bills or amendments for consideration by the committee and on the floor.

In its recent decision, the Florida Supreme Court made procedural recommendations to conduct all meetings in which the Legislature makes decisions on the new map in public and to record any non-public meetings for preservation. While every citizen of Florida has a guaranteed constitutional right to petition their government, we encourage members to be circumspect and to avoid all communications that reflect or might be construed to reflect an intent to favor or disfavor a political party or an incumbent.

Finally, the Court has also asked that members retain all e-mails and other documents related to redrawing the Congressional map, including all draft maps. Due to the pending court case and because time is of the essence, we respectfully request that all members proactively compile all communications related to redistricting as they are received or made, including written correspondence and memoranda, emails, texts, or other forms of electronic communication.

Beginning today, please send all documents that you have compiled and transmit them in electronic format to your respective chamber's email address: redistrictingrecords@myfloridahouse.gov or redistrictingrecords@flsenate.gov. Going forward, please send all documents to the above email address every day. Members need not include mass communications from the Speaker or the President in their compilations.

Thank you for your attention to these important details.

From: FERRIN.JAY
Sent: Monday, August 10, 2015 9:48 PM
To: mherron@lawfla.com; DKing@kbzwlaw.com
Cc: Redistricting Records; GALVANO.BILL
Subject: Invitation to Present or Discuss Maps

As the Legislature convenes to address a remedial plan, we invite you and your clients to come and discuss any of the proposed congressional plans submitted to the Legislature or filed in the courts to date, as well as any new maps they may wish to submit. The Florida Senate will be meeting on Thursday, August 13, 2015 at 9:00 am. We invite you to come and discuss your proposals with the committee at that time.

If you are able to come and present your submission, we would respectfully request you be prepared to discuss:

1. the identity of every person involved in drawing, reviewing, directing, or approving the proposal;
2. the criteria used by the map drawers;
3. the source of any data used in the creation of the map other than the data contained in MyDistrictBuilder or District Builder;
4. a non-partisan and incumbent-neutral justification for the proposed configuration of each district;
5. the results of any functional analysis performed to ensure that the ability of minorities to elect the candidates of their choice is not diminished; and
6. how the proposal satisfies all of the constitutional and statutory criteria applicable to a Congressional redistricting plan.

As a reminder, only Senators may formally introduce bills and amendments to the Senate for consideration. If you wish to have your proposal considered as an amendment, you will need to have a Senator file the proposal.

Thank you for your interest in the process.

Jay D. Ferrin
Staff Director
Florida Senate Committee on Reapportionment
Office: (850) 487-5855
Direct: (850) 487-5205

From: Lisa Hall [<mailto:lisa@hallmediastrategies.com>]

Sent: Friday, August 14, 2015 3:00 PM

To: Lisa Hall

Subject: Fair Districts - Letter from Common Cause and League of Women Voters Florida

FYI - Letter delivered to Legislative leadership this afternoon



August 14, 2015

Honorable Steve Crisafulli
The Florida House of Representatives
420 The Capitol
402 South Monroe Street
Tallahassee, Florida 32399-1300
steve.crisafulli@myfloridahouse.gov

Honorable Andy Gardiner
The Florida Senate
409 The Capitol
404 South Monroe Street
Tallahassee, Florida 32399-1110
gardiner.andrew@flsenate.gov

Re: Congressional Plan H000C9065

Dear Speaker Crisafulli and President Gardiner:

On behalf of our members statewide and for all the people of Florida, we applaud you and your staff for your efforts to follow the suggestions of the Florida Supreme Court in drawing most of Congressional Plan H000C9065 (the "Base Map"). We understand the tight time constraints under which you have been working and it is obvious that staff has put great time and effort into the production of the Base Map. For the most part, the base map appears to comply with the Court's July 9, 2015 Opinion in *League of Women Voters of Florida v. Detzner*, ___ So. 3d ___, 2015 WL 4130852 (Fla. July 9, 2015) ("Apportionment VII").

However, we write to call your attention to the fact that we have questions about some choices made with regard to the proposed configuration of Congressional District ("CD") 26

and CD 27. We ask you to examine those districts closely as they appear to have been drawn with partisan intent.

Specifically, the Base Map's configurations of CD 26 and CD 27 perpetuate the same violation of tier-one principles that caused the Court in Apportionment VII to order that the districts be redrawn. That is, in both the enacted map, H000C9057, and the Base Map, there appears to have been a targeted effort to shift Democratic, African American population into CD 27 in order to maintain a lower Democratic performance index in CD 26. In 9057, this was done by splitting Homestead and shifting a predominantly Democratic-voting minority population into CD 27. In the Base Map the Legislature did follow the Court's suggestion to keep Homestead whole, thus moving all of Homestead's Democratic, African American population into CD 26. However, when the Legislature chose to replace that population, it selected other predominantly Democratic, African American population from CD 26 and moved it into CD 27. While complying with the letter of the Court's Opinion by keeping Homestead whole, this move accomplished the same partisan result. By its decisions, the Legislature increased the chances that a Republican could win in CD 26. This appears to have been done to favor the Republican Party and incumbent Carlos Curbelo.

More specifically, this maneuver shifted from CD 26 to CD 27 a predominantly Democratic-voting community of about 60,000 people, with a Black Voting Age Population ("VAP") of 29.6%. That move again seems to have been made to address the concern of partisan political operatives that the Senate's early version of the district, was "pretty weak" and the House "need[ed] to fix" it. *Apportionment VII*, 2015 WL 4130852 at *41. As a result, CD 26 was Republican-performing in H000C9057 according to the 2008 presidential and 2010 gubernatorial elections, instead of being Democratic-performing as in the Senate configuration that was disapproved by the political operatives. And with this latest change, CD 26 in the Base Map becomes even **more** Republican performing.

In the same way as H000C9057 shifted an African-American, Homestead-area community into CD 27, the Base Map instead shifts predominantly African American communities in Richmond Heights, Palmetto Estates, and West Perrine into CD 27. That move has the effect of trading about 35,000 people with a Black VAP of 52.3% for the population shed from Homestead. The partisan effect is to create a "wash" or an alternative means to perpetuate and, in fact, increase the Republican advantage of the Homestead split. This maneuver in the Base Map decreases the Democratic performance of CD 26 even more than the Homestead split.

This move obviously undermines both the letter and spirit of the FairDistricts Amendments, violates the prohibition of intentional partisanship and incumbent protection and constitutes a failure to follow the Florida Supreme Court's holding in *Apportionment VII*.

We are confident you can find an alternative means of equalizing the population of CDs 26 and 27 that would not achieve the partisan goal that the Florida Supreme Court found existed in 9057. Indeed, at committee meetings this week, Staff merely indicated that the predominantly Black areas of Richmond Heights, Palmetto Estates, and West Perrine were "the logical place" from which to take the population necessary to make up for the population lost in CD 27 by elimination of the Homestead split. We submit that, in fact, the population removed from CD 26 was chosen because that particular population, if left to

remain in CD 26, would have made the district more Democratic and improved tier-two compliance in the region as a whole.


For the reasons stated above, the Base Map perpetuates a partisan-tainted strategy to make CD 26 a more favorable seat for Republicans. We continue to urge the Legislature to comply with the letter and spirit of the FairDistricts Amendments. We hope you, your staff or other members of the legislature will find a non-partisan way to draw CD's 26 and 27 and will offer amendments to the base map to accomplish this goal.

Thank you for your efforts in this matter,

Sincerely,



Pamela S. Goodman
*League of Women Voters of Florida
Common Cause*



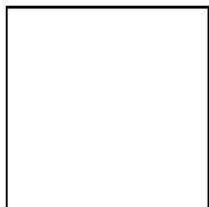
Peter Butzin

cc: Florida Legislature

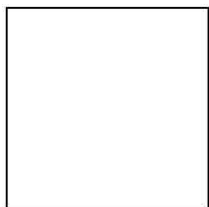
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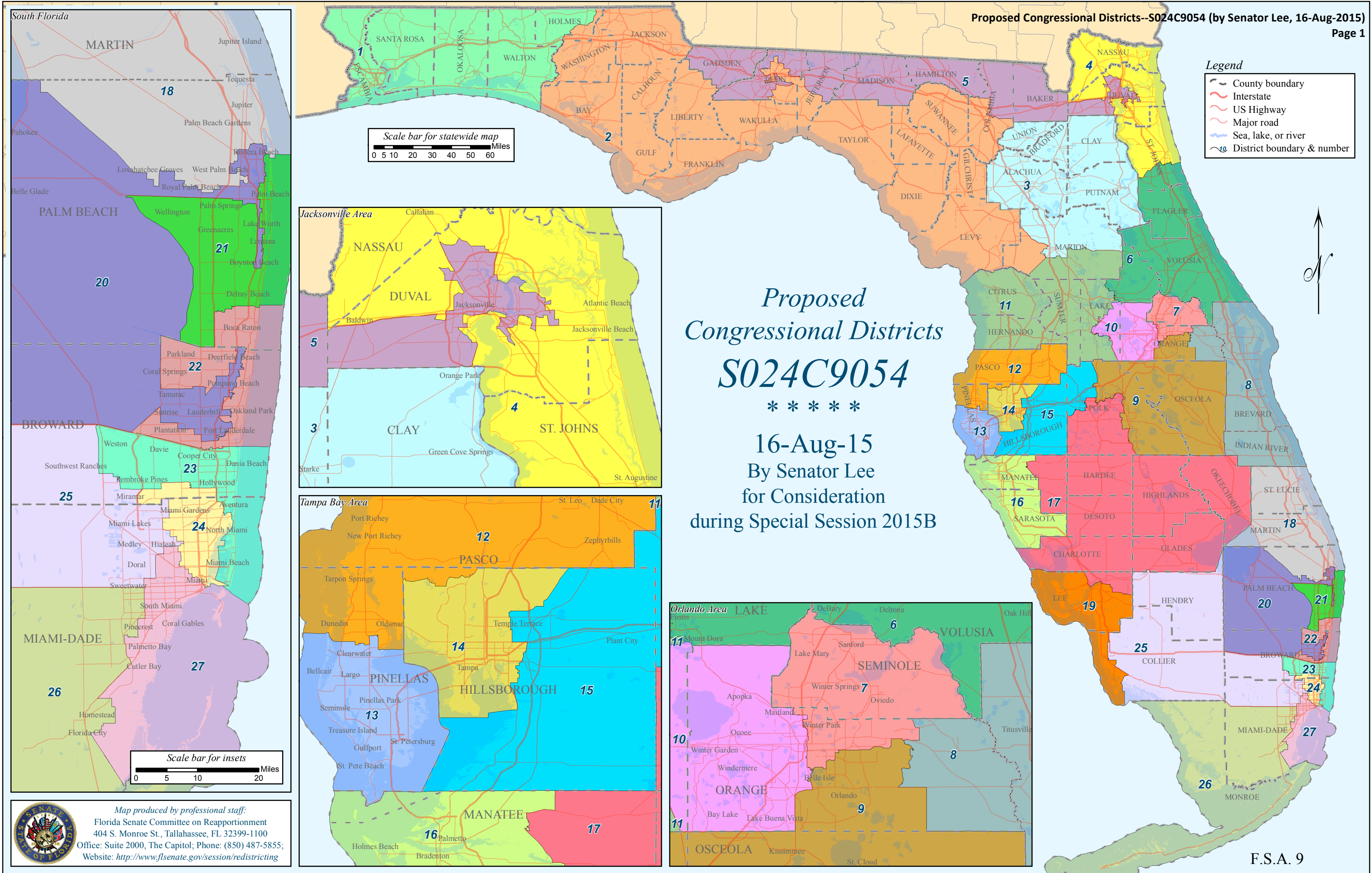


League of Women Voters of Florida | 540 Beverly Court | Tallahassee | FL | 32301-7530

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Dist.	Deviation		Voting Age Population:			Polygon Rings	Length (miles)	Perim (miles)	Area (sq.mi)	Reock Ratio	Convex Hull	Polsby- Popper	Counties:		Cities:		Follow political and geographic boundaries:					
	Total	%	Black	Hisp.	Hisp.Blk								Whole	Parts	Whole	Parts	County	City	Pol.	Roads	Water	Pol/Geo
	1	0.0%	15.1%	21.1%	0.9%	28	81.3	289.7	2,435.5	0.43	0.76	0.34	49	51	388	51	57%	21%	71%	14%	40%	86%
1	0	0.0%	13.2%	4.5%	0.3%	1	127	397	4,759	0.37	0.82	0.38	4	1	21	0	94%	3%	94%	0%	59%	94%
2	0	0.0%	12.6%	4.8%	0.2%	1	245	961	12,871	0.27	0.62	0.18	14	5	51	2	76%	8%	80%	12%	49%	91%
3	0	0.0%	15.5%	7.4%	0.4%	1	83	303	3,844	0.71	0.89	0.53	5	1	28	0	75%	19%	80%	19%	25%	95%
4	0	0.0%	9.1%	6.1%	0.3%	1	82	380	1,962	0.37	0.72	0.17	1	2	9	1	59%	9%	60%	19%	50%	85%
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14	0	0.0%	18.6%	25.8%	1.5%	1	31	101	366	0.48	0.82	0.45	0	1	1	0	38%	43%	56%	10%	34%	71%
15	0	0.0%	13.5%	17.1%	0.8%	1	66	206	1,145	0.34	0.78	0.34	0	2	3	0	50%	27%	70%	12%	19%	82%
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18	-1	0.0%	11.1%	12.1%	0.4%	1	69	224	1,891	0.50	0.82	0.47	2	1	14	3	66%	12%	78%	4%	46%	82%
19	0	0.0%	6.5%	14.8%	0.5%	1	83	238	1,367	0.25	0.70	0.30	0	2	7	0	64%	5%	66%	12%	60%	87%
20	0	0.0%	50.0%	18.2%	1.2%	1	74	346	2,051	0.48	0.76	0.21	0	2	13	13	23%	24%	46%	22%	13%	64%
21	0	0.0%	11.3%	19.3%	0.6%	1	35	139	355	0.37	0.64	0.23	0	1	14	6	22%	26%	44%	13%	32%	61%
22	0	0.0%	10.0%	16.8%	0.6%	1	30	156	271	0.38	0.67	0.14	0	2	11	7	22%	37%	55%	21%	24%	74%
23	0	0.0%	11.0%	37.0%	1.2%	1	37	115	282	0.27	0.64	0.27	0	2	16	3	23%	52%	75%	16%	47%	90%
24	0	0.0%	54.9%	33.2%	3.2%	1	20	73	120	0.38	0.73	0.28	0	2	9	3	8%	55%	55%	33%	37%	83%
25	-1	0.0%	7.9%	70.6%	1.7%	1	103	363	4,025	0.48	0.73	0.38	1	3	8	3	56%	10%	63%	23%	26%	91%
26	0	0.0%	8.2%	70.6%	1.5%	2	184	550	4,908	0.18	0.46	0.20	1	1	7	0	85%	3%	87%	8%	85%	98%
27	0	0.0%	9.5%	73.4%	2.2%	1	40	131	573	0.46	0.82	0.42	0	1	9	2	40%	14%	51%	17%	58%	83%

Overall numbers of county and city splits, relative to benchmark:

District lines and City and County Boundaries	Benchmark Plan (2002)	New/proposed plan and % change from 2002	
Number of Counties	67	67	-
Counties with only one district	37	49	32%
Counties split into more than one district	30	18	-40%
Aggregate number of county splits	83	51	-39%
Aggregate number of splits with population	83	50	-40%
Number of Cities	410	410	-
Cities with only one district	300	388	29%
Cities split into more than one district	110	22	-80%
Aggregate number of city splits	254	51	-80%
Aggregate number of splits with population	244	51	-79%

2012 Voter Registration and Turnout Attributes for Functional Analysis of Districts with highest shares of Black or Hispanic VAP

	2010 Census			2012 General Election Registered Voters												2012 General Election Voter Turnout												
Dist.	VAP who are:			RV who are:			RV who are:		Dems who are:		Reps who are:		Blks who	Hisp. who are:		Voters who are:			Voters who are:		Dems who are:		Reps who are:		Blks who	Hisp. who are:		
	≡ Black ↓	Hisp.	BlkHisp	Dems	Reps	NPA-Oth	Black	Hisp.	Black	Hisp.	Black	Hisp.	are Dems	Dems	Reps	Dems	Reps	NPA-Oth	Black	Hisp.	Black	Hisp.	Black	Hisp.	are Dems	Dems	Reps	
24	54.9%	33.2%	3.2%	68.6%	10.4%	20.9%	55.2%	22.9%	68.8%	15.5%	13.9%	47.7%	85.5%	46.3%	21.7%	72.4%	9.8%	17.8%	59.1%	20.7%	71.6%	13.7%	12.6%	48.3%	87.8%	47.8%	22.8%	
20	50.0%	18.2%	1.2%	65.6%	13.1%	21.3%	47.7%	10.7%	61.4%	8.2%	10.5%	13.6%	84.4%	50.5%	16.7%	69.6%	12.6%	17.8%	51.9%	9.5%	64.9%	7.2%	9.1%	13.2%	87.0%	52.5%	17.5%	
5	45.1%	6.1%	0.7%	61.1%	23.0%	15.9%	46.1%	3.1%	66.1%	2.2%	5.3%	3.1%	87.7%	44.4%	23.4%	63.3%	24.2%	12.5%	47.6%	2.6%	67.7%	1.9%	4.2%	2.7%	90.1%	46.0%	25.7%	
10	27.1%	19.8%	1.3%	44.9%	29.6%	25.5%	24.3%	14.3%	44.8%	15.6%	2.9%	8.3%	82.6%	48.7%	17.1%	45.4%	33.0%	21.6%	25.1%	12.2%	47.2%	13.5%	2.3%	7.0%	85.3%	50.3%	19.0%	
≡ Hisp. ↓																												
27	9.5%	73.4%	2.2%	37.3%	35.0%	27.7%	9.7%	58.4%	21.3%	44.5%	1.0%	70.8%	82.4%	28.4%	42.4%	37.8%	37.5%	24.7%	9.8%	57.6%	22.1%	41.9%	0.8%	70.9%	85.2%	27.5%	46.2%	
25	7.9%	70.6%	1.7%	32.6%	38.5%	28.9%	6.5%	58.1%	16.1%	53.2%	0.8%	58.3%	80.4%	29.8%	38.6%	32.4%	42.1%	25.5%	7.1%	55.3%	18.2%	49.7%	0.7%	55.8%	83.1%	29.1%	42.5%	
26	8.2%	70.6%	1.5%	34.1%	36.0%	29.9%	6.9%	59.2%	15.9%	49.1%	0.9%	66.4%	78.3%	28.3%	40.3%	34.5%	39.4%	26.1%	7.1%	58.1%	16.8%	46.0%	0.7%	66.0%	81.3%	27.3%	44.9%	

2010 Voter Registration and Turnout Attributes for Functional Analysis of Districts with highest shares of Black or Hispanic VAP

	2010 Primary Turnout			2010 General Election Registered Voters												2010 General Election Voter Turnout												
Dist.	Dems who are:		Reps who	RV who are:			RV who are:		Dems who are:		Reps who are:		Blks who	Hisp. who are:		Voters who are:			Voters who are:		Dems who are:		Reps who are:		Blks who	Hisp. who are:		
	Black	Hisp	are Hisp.	Dems	Reps	NPA-Oth	Black	Hisp.	Black	Hisp.	Black	Hisp.	are Dems	Dems	Reps	Dems	Reps	NPA-Oth	Black	Hisp.	Black	Hisp.	Black	Hisp.	are Dems	Dems	Reps	
24	78.9%	5.4%	43.7%	69.3%	11.1%	19.6%	55.9%	21.5%	69.1%	14.3%	15.1%	46.7%	85.7%	46.1%	24.1%	75.7%	11.3%	13.0%	62.8%	15.7%	74.8%	9.2%	11.8%	45.4%	90.3%	44.2%	32.7%	
20	61.3%	2.7%	7.8%	65.1%	14.2%	20.6%	45.4%	9.8%	58.8%	7.6%	10.4%	12.4%	84.3%	50.5%	18.0%	70.0%	16.2%	13.8%	48.3%	6.1%	61.9%	4.4%	7.1%	9.5%	89.7%	50.5%	25.3%	
5	57.2%	0.6%	1.4%	62.1%	23.3%	14.6%	44.2%	2.7%	63.1%	2.0%	5.2%	2.8%	88.6%	45.5%	24.1%	63.5%	27.5%	8.9%	41.6%	1.6%	60.9%	1.1%	3.1%	1.9%	93.0%	44.8%	32.8%	
10	44.2%	6.4%	3.8%	45.4%	30.8%	23.9%	23.6%	13.2%	43.4%	14.3%	3.0%	8.0%	83.4%	49.0%	18.7%	42.5%	41.2%	16.3%	21.9%	8.1%	45.4%	9.2%	1.9%	5.3%	87.9%	48.0%	27.0%	
27	23.4%	26.2%	74.2%	37.3%	37.3%	25.5%	9.7%	57.3%	21.5%	41.7%	1.0%	70.8%	83.0%	27.2%	46.1%	36.1%	46.0%	18.0%	9.3%	54.6%	22.8%	32.1%	0.6%	70.9%	88.3%	21.2%	59.7%	
25	23.0%	31.6%	51.9%	32.7%	40.1%	27.2%	6.6%	55.3%	16.2%	49.0%	0.8%	57.3%	80.7%	29.0%	41.6%	29.2%	51.8%	19.0%	7.0%	48.9%	20.5%	38.2%	0.5%	53.5%	85.8%	22.8%	56.6%	
26	17.4%	25.5%	63.7%	34.4%	37.7%	28.0%	7.0%	57.3%	16.1%	46.2%	1.0%	65.7%	78.9%	27.7%	43.1%	33.3%	47.5%	19.2%	6.9%	53.3%	17.4%	36.2%	0.6%	64.2%	84.4%	22.6%	57.2%	

Election Attributes for Functional Analysis of Districts with highest shares of Black or Hispanic VAP

Dist.	2012 US Pres		2012 US Sen		2010 Gov		2010 CFO		2010 Att.Gen		2010 Cm.Ag		2010 US Sen			2008 US Pres		2006 Gov		2006 CFO		2006 Att.Gen		2006 Cm.Ag		2006 US Sen	
Total	D_Oba	R_Rom	D_Nel	R_Mac	D_Sin	R_Sco	D_Aus	R_Atw	D_Gel	R_Bon	D_Mad	R_Put	D_Mee	R_Rub	I_Cri	D_Oba	R_McC	D_Dav	R_Cri	D_Sin	R_Lee	D_Cam	R_McC	D_Cop	R_Bro	D_Nel	R_Har
24	87.8%	12.2%	88.2%	11.8%	86.1%	13.9%	83.8%	16.2%	85.7%	14.3%	85.3%	14.7%	64.1%	13.3%	22.6%	86.5%	13.5%	81.3%	18.7%	84.6%	15.4%	80.8%	19.2%	80.4%	19.6%	85.1%	14.9%
20	83.3%	16.7%	85.1%	14.9%	80.2%	19.8%	75.3%	24.7%	78.5%	21.5%	77.0%	23.0%	51.3%	18.5%	30.3%	81.7%	18.3%	76.0%	24.0%	80.2%	19.8%	76.9%	23.1%	74.7%	25.3%	83.0%	17.0%
5	64.2%	35.8%	69.1%	30.9%	64.1%	35.9%	61.6%	38.4%	59.4%	40.6%	61.0%	39.0%	40.5%	36.0%	23.5%	63.8%	36.2%	56.3%	43.7%	65.6%	34.4%	58.2%	41.8%	51.6%	48.4%	69.5%	30.5%
10	58.9%	41.1%	64.2%	35.8%	55.0%	45.0%	46.2%	53.8%	48.8%	51.2%	47.4%	52.6%	31.3%	47.8%	20.9%	59.4%	40.6%	45.7%	54.3%	55.4%	44.6%	45.1%	54.9%	42.7%	57.3%	62.8%	37.2%
27	54.7%	45.3%	57.4%	42.6%	50.3%	49.7%	41.7%	58.3%	47.6%	52.4%	43.7%	56.3%	20.0%	53.2%	26.8%	50.4%	49.6%	46.6%	53.4%	53.4%	46.6%	49.5%	50.5%	46.7%	53.3%	57.5%	42.5%
25	48.7%	51.3%	51.6%	48.4%	41.1%	58.9%	34.4%	65.6%	36.4%	63.6%	35.1%	64.9%	16.1%	60.9%	22.9%	45.1%	54.9%	37.4%	62.6%	45.1%	54.9%	39.7%	60.3%	38.0%	62.0%	50.2%	49.8%
26	52.0%	48.0%	54.4%	45.6%	48.0%	52.0%	40.2%	59.8%	43.5%	56.5%	41.6%	58.4%	18.7%	53.3%	28.0%	48.3%	51.7%	45.0%	55.0%	51.7%	48.3%	46.7%	53.3%	44.7%	55.3%	55.5%	44.5%

Split Counties and Cities

Counties included in more than one district					
County	Dist.	Total Pop	Pop%	Total Area	Area%
Broward	20	467,230	26.7%	538.4	40.7%
Broward	22	573,908	32.8%	205.1	15.5%
Broward	23	526,114	30.1%	191.1	14.4%
Broward	24	129,757	7.4%	25.3	1.9%
Broward	25	51,057	2.9%	363.0	27.4%
Collier	19	155,389	48.3%	333.7	14.5%
Collier	25	166,131	51.7%	1,971.3	85.5%
Columbia	2	54,709	81.0%	431.0	53.8%
Columbia	5	12,822	19.0%	370.3	46.2%
Duval	4	461,197	53.4%	647.3	70.5%
Duval	5	403,066	46.6%	271.1	29.5%
Hillsborough	12	11,451	0.9%	21.4	1.7%
Hillsborough	14	696,345	56.7%	366.3	28.9%
Hillsborough	15	521,430	42.4%	829.7	65.6%
Hillsborough	16	0	0.0%	48.4	3.8%
Holmes	1	11,489	57.7%	388.6	79.5%
Holmes	2	8,438	42.3%	100.4	20.5%
Jefferson	2	1,153	7.8%	209.8	33.0%
Jefferson	5	13,608	92.2%	426.7	67.0%
Lake	6	77,851	26.2%	446.3	38.6%
Lake	10	77,809	26.2%	187.7	16.2%
Lake	11	141,392	47.6%	523.0	45.2%
Lee	17	77,798	12.6%	179.0	14.8%
Lee	19	540,956	87.4%	1,033.4	85.2%
Leon	2	116,165	42.2%	211.5	30.1%
Leon	5	159,322	57.8%	490.3	69.9%
Manatee	16	316,897	98.2%	468.1	52.4%
Manatee	17	5,936	1.8%	424.6	47.6%
Marion	2	44,055	13.3%	275.8	16.6%
Marion	3	139,725	42.2%	854.1	51.4%
Marion	11	147,518	44.5%	532.7	32.0%
Miami-Dade	23	170,231	6.8%	90.6	3.7%
Miami-Dade	24	566,588	22.7%	95.1	3.9%
Miami-Dade	25	440,016	17.6%	500.9	20.6%
Miami-Dade	26	623,255	25.0%	1,171.2	48.2%
Miami-Dade	27	696,345	27.9%	573.4	23.6%
Orange	7	273,627	23.9%	90.3	9.0%
Orange	8	14,940	1.3%	238.0	23.7%
Orange	9	238,853	20.8%	211.9	21.1%
Orange	10	618,536	54.0%	463.0	46.2%
Palm Beach	18	272,237	20.6%	449.8	18.9%
Palm Beach	20	229,115	17.4%	1,512.1	63.5%
Palm Beach	21	696,345	52.8%	355.0	14.9%
Palm Beach	22	122,437	9.3%	66.1	2.8%
Pinellas	12	220,197	24.0%	179.4	29.5%
Pinellas	13	696,345	76.0%	428.8	70.5%
Polk	9	188,807	31.4%	964.0	48.0%
Polk	15	174,915	29.1%	314.9	15.7%
Polk	17	238,373	39.6%	731.7	36.4%
St. Johns	4	161,834	85.2%	589.2	71.7%
St. Johns	6	28,205	14.8%	232.3	28.3%

Counties included in more than one district					
County	Dist.	Total Pop	Pop%	Total Area	Area%

Cities included in more than one district					
City	Dist.	Total Pop	Pop%	Total Area	Area%
Boynton Beach	20	19,978	29.3%	3.2	19.1%
Boynton Beach	21	48,239	70.7%	13.4	80.9%
Clearwater	12	18,567	17.2%	5.2	13.3%
Clearwater	13	89,118	82.8%	34.0	86.7%
Deerfield Beach	20	26,411	35.2%	4.2	25.9%
Deerfield Beach	22	48,607	64.8%	12.0	74.1%
Fort Lauderdale	20	65,991	39.9%	14.3	37.2%
Fort Lauderdale	22	97,179	58.7%	22.8	59.2%
Fort Lauderdale	23	2,351	1.4%	1.4	3.6%
Hialeah	25	162,856	72.5%	16.5	72.4%
Hialeah	27	61,813	27.5%	6.3	27.6%
Jacksonville	4	418,718	51.0%	603.5	69.0%
Jacksonville	5	403,066	49.1%	271.1	31.0%
Lake City	2	7,439	61.8%	7.7	62.1%
Lake City	5	4,607	38.3%	4.7	37.9%
Lake Worth	20	10,654	30.5%	1.7	26.1%
Lake Worth	21	24,256	69.5%	4.9	73.9%
Lantana	20	4,656	44.7%	1.1	38.9%
Lantana	21	5,767	55.3%	1.8	61.1%
Margate	20	14,727	27.6%	2.3	25.2%
Margate	22	38,557	72.4%	6.8	74.8%
Miami	24	148,279	37.1%	22.3	39.7%
Miami	27	251,178	62.9%	33.8	60.3%
Miramar	24	88,380	72.4%	17.1	54.5%
Miramar	25	33,661	27.6%	14.2	45.5%
Oakland Park	20	24,126	58.3%	5.0	61.5%
Oakland Park	22	17,237	41.7%	3.1	38.6%
Orlando	7	60,680	25.5%	16.3	14.7%
Orlando	9	55,552	23.3%	56.5	51.1%
Orlando	10	122,068	51.2%	37.9	34.2%
Pembroke Pines	23	116,255	75.1%	23.5	67.4%
Pembroke Pines	24	21,119	13.7%	4.3	12.4%
Pembroke Pines	25	17,376	11.2%	7.1	20.2%
Plantation	20	13,355	15.7%	2.7	12.3%
Plantation	22	71,600	84.3%	19.2	87.7%
Pompano Beach	20	52,268	52.4%	13.1	51.6%
Pompano Beach	22	47,577	47.7%	12.3	48.4%
Riviera Beach	18	4,202	12.9%	2.4	23.8%
Riviera Beach	20	28,182	86.8%	7.3	71.5%
Riviera Beach	21	104	0.3%	0.5	4.8%
Royal Palm Beach	18	14,868	43.6%	5.5	48.7%
Royal Palm Beach	20	16,165	47.4%	5.2	45.5%
Royal Palm Beach	21	3,107	9.1%	0.7	5.8%
Sunrise	20	62,665	74.2%	9.4	51.6%
Sunrise	22	16,839	19.9%	7.3	39.9%
Sunrise	23	4,935	5.8%	1.6	8.5%
Tallahassee	2	68,681	37.9%	54.2	52.4%
Tallahassee	5	112,695	62.1%	49.3	47.7%
West Palm Beach	18	20,572	20.6%	35.2	60.7%
West Palm Beach	20	49,610	49.7%	16.0	27.5%
West Palm Beach	21	29,737	29.8%	6.9	11.8%

Cities included in more than one district					
City	Dist.	Total Pop	Pop%	Total Area	Area%

**IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA**

RENE ROMO, an individual, *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

Case No. 2012-CA-000412

KEN DETZNER, in his official capacity
as Florida Secretary of State, and PAMELA
JO BONDI, in her official capacity as
Attorney General,

Defendants.

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF
FLORIDA, INC., *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

Case No. 2012-CA-000490

KEN DETZNER, in his official capacity as
Florida Secretary of State, *et al.*,

Defendants.

ROMO PLAINTIFFS' NOTICE OF SERVICE
OF PROPOSED REMEDIAL PLAN

The Romo Plaintiffs hereby give notice of the service (in native .doj format) of their Proposed Remedial Plan, and disclose the persons who were involved in drawing, reviewing, directing, or approving the Romo Plaintiffs' Proposed Remedial Plan, as follows:

The Romo Plaintiffs' Proposed Remedial Plan is based on the last version of the congressional map passed by the Florida House of Representatives during the August 2015 special session (9071), except that the Romo Plaintiffs' Proposed Remedial Plan offers alternative configurations of districts 21, 22, 26, and 27 that are consistent with the Florida Constitution and the Florida Supreme Court's interpretation of the Florida Constitution.

Harvard University Professor Stephen Ansolabehere drew the Romo Plaintiffs' Proposed Remedial Plan with data-analysis assistance from Boston University Assistant Professor Maxwell Palmer. Perkins Coie attorneys John Devaney, Marc Elias, Ryan Spear, and Elisabeth Frost were involved in reviewing, directing, or approving the Romo Plaintiffs' Proposed Remedial Plan. In addition, Perkins Coie attorneys discussed aspects of the Romo Plaintiffs' Proposed Remedial Plan with staff members of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and NCEC Services.

Dated: September 14, 2015

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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I HEREBY CERTIFY that a true and correct copy of the foregoing has been furnished by Electronic Mail this 14 September 2015 to each of the following parties on the attached service list:

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Expert Report

Romo, et al v. Detzner, et al, 2012-CA-000412

League of Women Voters of Florida, et al v. Detzner, et al, 2012-CA-000490

By

Baodong (Paul) Liu, Ph.D.

I. Introduction

I have been retained as an expert by counsel to the Florida Senate in the above litigation.

I have been asked to express opinions regarding the likelihood of an electoral coalition between African American voters and Latino voters in South Florida.

I am being compensated at a rate of \$300 an hour for my work in this case.

II. Professional Qualifications

I am a professor of political science in the Department of Political Science at the University of Utah. I have done extensive research regarding the relationship between election systems and the ability of minority voters to participate fully in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice.

My research on race and voting has won the 1999 Byran Jackson Award from the Urban Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, the 1999 Ted Robinson Award from the Southwest Political Science Association, and the 2004 Artinian Award from Southern Political Science Association. I have also served as the 2001 Jessie Ball duPont Summer Fellow at the National Humanities Center, and the 2007 Triss Endowed Professorship at the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh. The results of my research have been published in Social Science Quarterly, American Politics Research, Sociological Methods and Research, PS: Political Science and Politics, Urban Affairs Review, Political Behavior, Journal of Urban Affairs, Southeastern Political Review, American Review of Politics, and other journals. My most recent scholarly books include The Election of Barack Obama: How He Won, and Race Rules: Electoral Politics in New Orleans, 1965-2006.

My applied research/grants have included analyses of racial voting patterns, economic development, public school science education, school districts' economic impact, and various citizen surveys. I have provided my expertise to NAACP, the US Department of Justice, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law in Washington D.C., the National Science Foundation, Wisconsin Security Research Consortium, Fond du Lac School District, Johnson Controls, Inc, City of Waupaca (WI), American Democracy Project, Wisconsin Public Service, and many media outlets. A former member of editorial board for Urban Affairs Review, I also served as the editor of Urban News for the American Political Science Association's Urban Politics Section, and I was elected as a co-chair of the Asian Pacific American Caucus of the American Political Science Association. I have served as a judge or peer reviewer for American Political Science Review; The National Science Foundation; W. W. Norton & Company, Inc; McGraw Hill Publishing; Journal of Politics; Political Analysis; Social Science Quarterly; Urban Affairs Review; Political Research Quarterly; Politics and Policy; Journal of Urban Affairs; American Politics Research; Public Opinion Quarterly; and Political Behavior.

I have provided my Expert Witness Opinions on federal voting rights cases such as Anne Pope et. al. v. County of Albany and the Albany County Board of Elections (N.D., NY 2011); NAACP v. St. Landry Parish et. al. (W.D. LA 2003), Arbor Hill Concerned Citizens Neighborhood Association et. al. v. County of Albany (N.D. NY 2003), and Hardeman County Branch of NAACP v. Frost (2003). Because of my expertise on racial voting estimation and districting, I was invited to be an instructor of Racially Polarized Voting and Political Participation: EI and EZI in the Expert Preparation Program of Community Census and Districting Institute, supported by Ford Foundation and Southern Coalition for Social Justice. This workshop was conducted at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina in the Summer of 2010. I was also invited to be a panel discussant on “Significance of Voting Rights Act” organized by Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights under Law, National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund in Washington DC in the June of 2004. Finally, I participated in the expert panel of “Protecting Democracy: Defining the Research Agenda for Voting Rights Reauthorization” sponsored by the Civil Rights Project of Harvard University, Cambridge, MA on May 10, 2004.

Attached as Appendix is a curriculum vita setting forth my professional background, which includes a list of all publications authored or co-authored by me, including forthcoming publications.

III. Opinions

I have reached the following opinions:

1. African American voters are cohesive in voting for African-American candidates in South Florida.
2. Hispanic voters are more likely to vote for Hispanic Republican candidates in South Florida.
3. There is very limited chance for a black or Latino candidate, if any, to build a racial coalition between African American voters and Hispanic voters in South Florida to win a biracial or multiracial election.

IV. Methodology

One of the most important analyses one can conduct in voting-rights research is the so-called racially polarized voting (RPV) analysis. For this report, my operational definition of “racially polarized voting” is based on the following three-step analysis: 1) I first estimate the white and Hispanic support for a minority candidate in a biracial or multiracial election (i.e., an election involving candidates of different races);¹ 2) If in this election the majority of white voters, based on the estimates of the statistical procedures

¹ It is important to note that my definition of RPV is based on the fact that all three racial groups, Whites, African Americans, and Hispanics, are important electoral groups. The traditional RPV, however, is typically based on a white-black dichotomy.

explained below, cast their vote for a candidate who received less than a majority support from Hispanic voters, then this election produces racial polarization between Whites and Hispanics;² 3) I will then analyze whether Hispanic voters and black voters preferred different candidates. If so, there is racial polarization between Hispanic voters and black voters. This three-step analysis will help us establish whether a minority candidate wins a biracial or multiracial election due to the existence of racial coalition between Hispanic and black voters. Obviously, if one finds racial polarization between Hispanic and black voters, it is then not possible to attribute the electoral success to the building of such a racial coalition between Hispanic and black voters.

I analyzed the biracial or multiracial elections in South Florida based on the estimates of racial voting.³ In particular, I used the Ecological Inference (EI) method and software.⁴ Unlike ecological regression (also called Goodman Regression), EI does not make such unrealistic assumptions as voters from the same racial group voted exactly the same way across precincts. Another major reason to use EI method, rather than Goodman or double regression methods, is due to the limitation of these regression procedures, which sometimes produce impossible estimates (e.g., white support for a black candidate is less than 0%), and EI may be used to offer realistic estimates because of its method of bounds feature.⁵ My article published by *Sociological Methods and Research* compared all statistical methods to estimate racial voting, and provided detailed reasons for using EI method.⁶

V. The Biracial and Multiracial Elections Analyzed

I analyzed a total of 10 elections that took place between 2008 and 2014. All of these elections are biracial and/or multiracial elections that reveal how different racial groups form their preferences when there is a choice to vote for a candidate of different race.⁷

² When multiple minority candidates come from the same racial group, the leading minority candidate of that racial group is estimated.

³ To make the ecological inference as close to individual-level as possible, this report relies on the racial composition and election return data at the precinct level.

⁴ See Gary King, A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem: Reconstructing Individual Behavior from Aggregate Data (Princeton University Press, 1997). EI is the winner of the American Political Science Association (APSA) *Research Software Award*.

⁵ I also conducted Goodman Regression for the racial group estimates in all biracial or multiracial elections analyzed in this report. The results, which are consistent with the EI estimates, are not provided in this report, but available.

⁶ See Liu, Baodong. (2007). "EI Extended Model and the Fear of Ecological Fallacy," *Sociological Methods and Research* 36 (1): 3-25.

⁷ Biracial or multiracial elections were identified through the assistance of the counsel for the legislative parties. The report analyzed all the identified multiracial elections for which the necessary data could be assembled within the time allowed for the disclosure of the expert report.

Among the 10 elections analyzed, five are statewide elections. The results provided in this report were based on the EI estimates for those voters who are located in South Florida only, rather than the estimates of votes in the whole state, as our focus is on the voting patterns in South Florida. Four of the statewide elections analyzed here are general elections—the 2010 US Senate election, the 2008 and 2012 Presidential elections, and the 2014 Agriculture Commissioner election. In addition, I also analyzed one primary election—the 2014 State Attorney General Democratic Primary.

Furthermore, regional biracial and/or multiracial elections that took place in South Florida are also very important for us to see how Hispanic and African American groups voted in this area. Four of these elections are general elections, as follows:

- the 2012 State Senate District 35 election,
- the 2012 Broward County Judge Group 10 election,
- the 2012 Circuit Judge 17, Group 45 election,
- the 2014 Dade County Judge 19 election,

Finally, I analyzed a primary election in South Florida--- the 2014 US Congressional District 26 Republican Primary.

VI. Findings on racially polarized voting and the opportunity to elect black and Hispanic candidates in South Florida

Findings Concerning South Florida Elections

The first election I analyzed is the 2012 Broward County Judge Group 10 election in which the black candidate, Roshawn Banks, lost to the Hispanic opponent, Robert Diaz. Table 1 shows that Banks received 78.16% of the black votes and only 32.88% of the Hispanic votes. Thus, there was racial polarization between Hispanics and African Americans (see Column 7 of Table 1) in this election. It is clear, therefore, the racial polarization between Hispanics and Blacks in South Florida was a major reason for Banks' defeat.

Table 2 further shows more details about how Banks' Hispanic opponent, Robert Diaz, won the 2012 Broward County Judge election. His success was not due to the biracial coalition between Hispanics and Blacks, but because of a coalition between Hispanics and Whites (see Column 6 of Table 2).

Table 2 also shows the other four South Florida regional elections which involved at least a Hispanic candidate. In the 2010 State Senate District 35 election, the Hispanic Republican candidate, John Daniel Couriel, was defeated by his white Democratic opponent, Gwen Margolis. This was a non-traditional election in that white voters cast the majority votes for the Hispanic candidate who, however, failed to win the majority votes of Hispanics.

For the other three South Florida elections reported in Table 2, no racial coalition between Hispanics and Blacks was built by any of the Hispanic candidates in the respective elections (again see Column 7). In fact, racial polarization between Hispanics and Blacks was the norm, which directly led to the defeat of Bocanegra in the 2014 Dade County Judge 19 election despite 64.06% of Hispanic votes. In the 2012 Circuit Judge 17, Group 45 election, Gonzalez, Jr., won the race because of the white support and strong backing of Hispanic voters. In comparison, Carlos Curbelo won the 2014 Congressional District 26 Republican primary as a result of his appeal to the Hispanic constituency. The white voters provided only 21.01% of their vote for Curbelo while the Black vote was as low as around 1.5%.

In sum, all the South Florida elections analyzed here showed that the racial polarization between Hispanic and Black voters was the norm in South Florida (5/6 times in Tables 1 and 2, see Column 7). No black nor Hispanic candidate won an election due to a successful coalition between black and Hispanic voters. To reach this success, the minority candidate has to obtain “No” in both columns 7 and 8 of Table 1 and 2. As shown in the two tables, none of the minority candidates were able to do so.

Findings Concerning Florida’s Statewide Elections

The 2012 US Senate Election in Florida involved one white candidate, one black candidate, and one Hispanic candidate. Charlie Crist, the white and then Governor of Florida, ran as an independent. The Democratic Party nominated Kendrick Meek, the black candidate, against the Republican nominee, Marco Rubio, a Cuban American candidate who won the race.

Table 3 shows that there was a very high level of racially polarized voting for Meek’s candidacy. He won 92% of the votes from African American voters, and yet only 10.45% of support from Hispanic voters. Table 3 also reveals that Rubio was able to win 71.7% Hispanic votes in South Florida.

Table 3 also shows the results of racial estimates for the 2008 and 2012 Presidential Elections, in which Barack Obama, a black candidate, ran against John McCain and Mitt Romney, respectively. A very high level of racial polarization occurred in these two presidential elections in South Florida. The white voters voted as a bloc against Obama. So did the Hispanic voters, whereas his black vote was almost universal in both presidential elections.

The 2014 State Attorney General Democratic Primary election provided a unique opportunity to examine whether a successful biracial coalition between black and Hispanic voters can be established. The finding further provides evidence that Blacks and Hispanics inside the Democratic Party do not vote the same way. Perry Thurston, an African-American candidate, was able to assemble only 20% of the Hispanic votes while his black support was more than 71%. Again the racial divide between Hispanic and black voters was shown very deep here inside the Democratic Party in South Florida.

The 2014 Agriculture Commissioner election featured Thad Hamilton, an African-American Democratic candidate, against Adam Putnam, a white Republican. As shown in Table 3, the Hispanic and white voters were much more “similar” for a candidate with low name-recognition in this low-profile race (the Agricultural Commissioner race). Hamilton was the only minority candidate who successfully built a biracial coalition between Hispanics and Blacks in South Florida. However, when the final result was announced in the whole State of Florida, Hamilton still lost to his white opponent with only 41.3% of the total state votes.

VII. In sum, the above analysis shows that the racial polarization between Hispanic and black voters in South Florida has been the norm, which further leads to the following conclusions:

- 1) Blacks as a group are cohesive in voting for the candidates of their own racial group in South Florida.
- 2) Hispanics also favor Hispanic candidates, though their cohesion level is not as high as African Americans; Hispanic voters show especially strong support for viable Hispanic and Republican candidates.
- 3) The racial polarization between Hispanic and black voters has taken place in both primaries and general elections, partisan and non-partisan elections, regional or statewide elections, legislative and judicial elections.
- 4) There is very limited, if any, opportunity in the future to take advantage of the racial coalition between Hispanic and black voters in South Florida to win competitive biracial and/or multiracial elections.

Date: September 17, 2015

Respectfully submitted,



Baodong (Paul) Liu, Ph.D.

Table 1

Black Candidates' Racial Group Support in South Florida Elections

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Election	Black Candidate	% of White Votes	% of Black Votes	% of Hisp Votes	Racial Polarization between Whites and Hispanics	Racial Polarization between Blacks and Hispanics	Black Candidate Defeated in South Florida
2012 Broward County Judge Group 10	Banks** (non-partisan)	22.52	78.16	32.88	No	Yes	Yes

** denotes an election where the Hispanic candidate(s) ran against a black candidate.

Table 2

Hispanic Candidates' Racial Group Support in South Florida Elections

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Election	Hispanic Candidate	% of White Votes	% of Black Votes	% of Hisp Votes	Racial Polarization between Whites and Hispanics	Racial Polarization between Blacks and Hispanics	Hispanic Candidate Defeated in South Florida
2012 Broward County Judge Group 10	Diaz** (non-partisan)	77.55	21.84	67.27	No	Yes	No
2012 State Senate Dist 35	Couriel (Republican)	56.50	.57	41.3	Yes*	No	Yes
2012 Circuit Judge 17, Group 45	Gonzalez, Jr (non-partisan)	50.70	42.35	64.64	No	Yes	No
2014 Dade County Judge 19	Bocanegra (non-partisan)	32.92	15.14	64.06	Yes	Yes	Yes
2014 US Congr Dist 26 Republica Primary	Curbelo (Republican)	21.01	1.48	60.73	Yes	Yes	No

* denotes “non-traditional RPV” where the white voters cast the majority votes for the minority candidate who failed to receive the majority votes of his/her own racial group.

** denotes an election where the Hispanic candidate(s) ran against a black candidate.

Table 3

Minority Candidates' Racial Support in Florida Statewide Elections

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Election	Minority Candidate	% of White Votes	% of Black Votes	% of Hispanic Votes	Racial Polarization between Whites and Hispanics	Racial Polarization between Blacks and Hispanics	Minority candidate defeated in South Florida
2010 US Senate	Rubio** (Hispanic Republican)	46.33	.54	71.7	Yes	Yes	No
2010 US Senate	Meek** (Black Democrat)	10.19	92.0	10.45	No	Yes	Yes
2008 US President	Obama (Black Democrat)	49.11	99.58	37.8	No	Yes	No
2012 US President	Obama (Black Democrat)	42.92	99.51	48.17	No	Yes	No
2014 State Attorney General Demo Primary	Thurston (Black Democrat)	34.04	71.01	20.01	No	Yes	Yes
2014 Comm of Agriculture	Hamilton*** (Black Democrat)	17.55	98.32	88.45	Yes	No	No

** denotes an election where the Hispanic candidate(s) ran against a black candidate.

*** denotes an electoral success due to the coalition between Hispanic and Black voters.

Appendix
Curriculum Vitae

Baodong Liu, Ph.D.
Professor (with Tenure) in Political Science and Ethnic Studies
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Updated July 2015

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Professor of Political Science and Ethnic Studies (2015-), affiliated with Asian Studies Program;
Associate Professor of Political Science and Ethnic Studies (2008-2015)
Special Assistant to Associate Vice President for Equity and Diversity, 2012-2013
Interim Director, Ethnic Studies Program, 2011-2013
University of Utah, 2008-present

Courses taught or in preparation: Advanced Quantitative Methods (graduate), American Political Behavior (graduate), Racial and Ethnic Politics, Political Analysis, Asian American Contemporary Issues, Social Justice and Inequality, Asian Pacific American Experiences.

Distinguished Overseas Professor of Political Science
(Chinese National 985-Plan Supported Scholar)
School of Government, Nanjing University
Nanjing, China

Taught graduate course in advanced quantitative methodology in the summer of 2012

TRISS Endowed Professor in Political Science, 2007-8
Associate Professor, (early promotion to associate professor 2005, early tenure 2006)
Assistant Professor, 2002-2005
Department of Political Science
University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh

Courses taught: Race and Ethnicity in American Politics, Politics of Urban Growth, Political Method, State and Local Government, Political Analysis, American Government, National, state and Local Government.

Assistant Professor of Political Science
Department of Political Science
Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri, 1999 - 2002

Courses taught: Urban and Minority Politics, Legislative Process, American Presidency, Campaigning and Lobbying, Macroeconomics, American Government, and Introduction to Statistics.

Consultant, Expert Witness, Principal Investigator, 2000-present
Provided research services to NAACP, the US Department of Justice, Navajo Nation, Southern Coalition for Social Justice, National Science Foundation, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Illinois State Legislature, Wisconsin Security Research Consortium, Fond du Lac School District, Johnson Controls, Inc, City of Waupaca (WI), and Wisconsin Public Service, among others.

EDUCATION

Ph.D. in Political Science (1999), University of New Orleans, Louisiana

Dissertation: *Black Candidates, White Voters and Racial Context*

Winner of Byran Jackson Award, Urban Politics Section, American Political Science Association, and Winner of Ted Robinson Award for the best research in race and ethnicity, Southwestern Political Science Association

Master of Arts in Political Science (1995), Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Bachelor of Laws (1987), The East China University of Political Science and Law, Shanghai, China

Post-Doctoral Educational Program Participant

National Science Foundation's "Local Elections in America Project Workshop," Macalester College, Saint Paul, MN (2009)

Methodological Issues in Quantitative Research on Race and Ethnicity, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), University of Michigan (2006)

Mapping Your City with GIS Workshop, New Urban Research, Madison, Wisconsin (2005)

Jessie Ball duPont Summer Seminars for Liberal Arts College Faculty, the National Humanities Center, Research Triangle, North Carolina (2001)

PROFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS (contribution is in the order of authors for publications with multiple authors).

A) Books

Liu, Baodong. *The Politics of Multiple Threats*. (in final stage of completion).

Liu, Baodong. *Race: The Election Taboo*. Under contract with Lexington Books.

Liu, Baodong. (2015). *Social Research: Integrating Mathematical Foundations and Modern Statistical Computing*. Cognella Academic Publishing. (peer-reviewed)

Liu, Baodong. (2013). *Understanding the Scientific Method: A Social Science Approach*. University Readers. (textbook used for Political Analysis class; non-peer-reviewed)

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Liu, Baodong. (2002). *Making American Democracy Work: Reforms and Debates*. The McGraw-Hill, Inc. (a text used for the undergraduate American Government class teaching; non-peer-reviewed)

B) Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

Liu, Baodong. (2014). "Post-Racial Politics? Counterevidence from the Presidential Elections, 2004-2012." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 11(2): 443-463.

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C) Other Peer-reviewed Articles (book chapters and/or encyclopedia entries)

Liu, Baodong. (2014). "Racial Context and the 2008 and 2012 US Presidential Elections" in Yannis A. Stivachtis and Stefanie Georgakis Abbott, ed. *Addressing the Politics of Integration and Exclusion: Democracy, Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention*. Athens: Atiner publications. (Also published in *Athens Journal of Social Sciences*.)

Liu, Baodong. (2011). "Mayor" in *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press.

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D) Book Reviews

Liu, Baodong. (2010). Review of Zoltan L. Hajnal, *America's Uneven Democracy: Race, Turnout, and Representation in City Politics* in *American Review of Politics* 31 (summer): 157-160.

Liu, Baodong. (2008). Review of Rodney E. Hero, *Racial Diversity and Social Capital*, in *Urban Affairs Review* 44 (1):146-149.

Liu, Baodong. (2006). Review of Peter Burns, *Electoral Politics Is Not Enough*, in *American Review of Politics* 27 (Spring): 186-189.

Liu, Baodong. (1999). Review of Terry Nichols Clark and Vincent Hoffmann-Martinot (ed), *The New Political Culture*, in *American Review of Politics* 20: 99-102.

E). Other Publications/Editorials

Liu, Baodong. (2015). "Will Christianity Bring about Democracy?" *Overseas Campus* 130 (June): 40-43. (in Chinese)

Liu, Baodong. (2011). "New Ethnic Studies Major at the U: Education for the 21st Century" *Diversity News* 2011 (Fall). <http://diversity.utah.edu/newsletter/fall-2011/ethnic-studies-degree.php>.

Liu, Baodong (2008). "The Urban Politics Field as We Know It." *Urban News* 22 (1): 1-2.

Liu, Baodong. (2008). "Negative Campaigning a Desperate Strategy," *The Daily Utah Chronicle*. Guest Column. October 20, 2008.

Liu, Baodong. (2007). "The 2006 Midterm Election: Angry Voters? Yes! Clear Vision? No!" *Wisconsin Political Scientist* XIII (2): 9-10.

Liu, Baodong. (2006). "Midterm Election Results Show No Clear Future Vision." Guest Column, *Advance-Titan*. Nov. 9, 2006: A5.

Liu, Baodong and James Vanderleeuw. (2003). "Local Policymakers and Their Perceptions of Economic Development: Suburbs, Central Cities and Rural Areas Compared" *Wisconsin Political Scientist* IX (1): 4-7.

APPLIED RESEARCH/GRANTS

Co-PI, with Annie Isabel Fukushima (PI). "Victimization, Human Trafficking and Immigrants: Mixed Methods analysis of the Perceptions of Victimhood in U.S. Courts (2000 – 2015)", submitted to National Institute of Justice, 2015. \$997,407.

Co-PI, with Dennis Wei (PI) and Chris Simon. "Amenity, Neighborhood and Spatial Inequality: A Study of Salt Lake County," Interdisciplinary Research Pilot Program (IRPP), College of Social and Behavioral Science, the University of Utah, 2015. \$10,000.

Co-PI, with Daniel McCool. "The Efficacy of American Indian Voting: A Pilot Project"

Research Incentive Grant, College of Social and Behavioral Science, the University of Utah. (2014-). \$7500.

I have provided my Expert Witness Opinions on federal voting rights cases such as *Navajo Nation, et al. vs. San Juan County, et al.* (Utah District, 2012); *League of Women Voters of Florida, et al. v. Detzner, et al.* (Florida, 2012); *Anne Pope et. al. v. County of Albany and the Albany County Board of Elections* (N.D., NY 2011); *Radogno, et al. v. State Board of Elections, et al.* (N.D., IL, 2011); *NAACP v. St. Landry Parish et. al.* (W.D. LA 2003); *Arbor Hill Concerned Citizens Neighborhood Association et. al. v. County of Albany* (N.D. NY 2003); and *Hardeman County Branch of NAACP v. Frost* (2003).

Expert Instructor, Racially Polarized Voting and Political Participation: EI and EZI. Expert Preparation Program, Community Census and Districting Institute. A grant supported by Ford Foundation and Southern Coalition for Social Justice, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. 2010.

Principal Investigator, 2010-2012. A Multi-level Analysis of Obama Racial Coalition in 2008 and 2012. A project funded by the PIG grant of College of Social and Behavior Sciences, the University of Utah.

Co-PI. Educational Succession Movements in U.S. Metropolitan Areas, proposal submitted to Seed Grants, the University of Utah. 2009. Rejected.

Recipient, Faculty Sabbatical Grant, 2008. University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, grant offered, but finally declined the offer due to job change.

Grant Director/Faculty Advisor, 2008. The WiscAMP program, National Science Foundation.

Principal Investigator, 2007. Wisconsin Research and Development Capacity Study. A project funded by Wisconsin Security Research Consortium.

Principal Investigator, 2007. The Impact of Industrial Involvement on Science Education in Wisconsin. A project funded by Johnson Control, Inc.

Principal Investigator, 2007. The Impact of Fond du Lac School District on Local Economic Development. A project funded by Fond du Lac School District.

EI Methodologist, 2007. Retrogressive Effects of H.B. No. 1565 on Latino Voters in the Bexar County Metropolitan Water District, TX.

Principal Investigator, 2006. The Impact of Economic Development on Citizen Opinions. A project funded by City of Waupaca, Wisconsin Public Services.

Principal Investigator, 2006. Leading the Big Easy: Will the Biracial Coalition Sustain Katrina? Institute on Race and Ethnicity, University of Wisconsin System. 2006.

Methodological Issues in Quantitative Research on Race and Ethnicity, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan, 2006.

Off-Campus Program Grant, Faculty Development, the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2006.

GIS and Social Research, Small Research Grant, Faculty Development Program, the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2005.

Principal Investigator, Getting the White Votes, American Political Science Association Research Grant, Washington D.C., 2003.

Principal Investigator, A Comparative Study of Urban Elections, Faculty Research Development Grant, the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, Oshkosh, Wisconsin, 2004.

Principal Investigator, Getting the White Votes, Faculty Research Development Grant, the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, Oshkosh, Wisconsin, 2003.

Advanced Graduate Student Travel Grant, the American Political Science Association, 1999

AWARDS AND HONORS

Nominee for the Social and Behavior Science College Superior Research Award (senior scholar category), nominated by the political science department in both 2011 and 2012.

Distinguished Professor of Political Science (National 985-Plan Supported Foreign Scholar), School of Government, Nanjing University, Nanjing, China.

TRISS Endowed Professorship for Excellence, University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, 2007-8

Artinian Award for Professional Development, Southern Political Science Association, 2004

Byran Jackson Award for the best research/dissertation in racial and ethnic politics in an urban setting, Urban Politics Section, the American Political Science Association, 1999

Ted Robinson Award for the best research in race and ethnicity, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1999

Who's Who in America, 2001-2006, Marquis, USA.

Davis Summer Research Grant, Stephens College, 2001

Firestone Baars Grant for Faculty Development, Stephens College, 1999-2001

Vice President Discretion Grant for Research, Stephens College, 2001, 2000

Advanced Graduate Student Travel Grant, the American Political Science Association, 1999

Graduate Student Travel Grant, University of New Orleans, 1997

The Best Graduate Student Paper Award, Department of Political Science, Oklahoma State University, 1993

Pi Sigma Alpha, National Political Science Honor Society, 1994

PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS

Member, Board of Directors, National Association for Ethnic Studies, 2013-2015

Editorial Board, Urban Affairs Review, 2008-2011

Editorial Advisor, International Encyclopedia of Political Science, CQ Press, 2005-2011

Editor, Urban News, Urban Politics Section, American Political Science Association, 2004-2010

Chair, Urban Politics Program, Southern Political Science Association Annual Convention, 2008

Co-Chair, Asian Pacific American Caucus, American Political Science Association, 2004-2006

Member, American Political Science Association Small Research Grant Committee, 2005

AS A JUDGE OR REVIEWER OF WORKS OF OTHER SCHOLARS FOR ACADEMIC JOURNALS OR PRESSES

2001-present

American Political Science Review; The National Science Foundation; Sage Publications, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc; McGraw Hill Publishing; Journal of Politics; Political Analysis; Social Science Quarterly; Urban Affairs Review; Political Research Quarterly; Politics and Policy; Journal of Urban Affairs; American Politics Research; Public Opinion Quarterly; Political Behavior; Sociological Methods and Research

PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICES

Faculty Senator, the University of Utah, 2015-

Chair, American Politics Field, political science department, the University of Utah, 2014-

Member, Graduate Committee, political science department, the University of Utah, 2014-

Member, Executive Committee, political science department, the University of Utah, 2014-

Chair, Faculty Joint Appointment Search Committee, ethnic studies program and theatre department, the University of Utah, 2014-

Betty Glad Foundation Committee, political science department, the University of Utah, 2014-

Chair, Awards Committee, National Association for Ethnic Studies, 2014

Faculty Mentor to Junior Faculty, Department of Political Science, 2013-

Chair, University of Utah MLK Committee. 2012-2013.

Member, Graduate School Dean Search Committee, 2013.

Member, University Diversity Leadership Team, the University of Utah. 2010-2013.

Member, University Teaching Program Committee, the University of Utah, 2011-2013.

Member, University Diversity Curriculum Committee, Undergraduate Studies, the University of Utah, 2011-2013.

Judge, The Research Day of College of Social and Behavioral Science, 2011-2013.

Member, Organizing Committee, International Conference on Urbanization and Development in China, University of Utah, August 2010.

Member, Retention, Promotion, and Tenure Committee, Department of Political Science, the University of Utah. 2011-2013.

Assistant Director, Ethnic Studies Program, the University of Utah. 2010-2011.

Committee Member, Undergraduate Studies, Department of Political Science, the University of Utah. 2009-2011.

Committee Member, Utah Opportunity Scholarship, the University of Utah, reviewing and making decisions on more than 200 applications. 2009-2010.

Member, Ethnic Studies Positions Exploration Committee, the University of Utah. 2009-2010.

Member, Marketing Committee, Department of Political Science, the University of Utah. 2009-2010.

Guest Speaker, “Obama and the 2008 Presidential Election: A Spatial Analysis” at the Graduate Seminar titled Introduction of Survey Research in Higher Education. College of Education. The University of Utah. Feb. 3, 2009.

Special Speaker, “Obama and the Minimum Winning Coalition” Ethnic Studies Works in Progress Presentation. The University of Utah. Dec., 5, 2008.

Special Speaker, “Election 2008: A Symposium,” Hinckley Institute of Politics, University of Utah. October 6, 2008.

Special Speaker, “Predicting the 2008 Presidential Election Outcomes” Discussion on the 2008 Presidential Election. Political Science Department, the University of Utah. Sept. 25, 2008.

Political Commentator for reporting from Salt Lake Tribune, AP, EFE Hispanic News Services, Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, WHBY, KFRU radio stations, the Post-Crescent, Oshkosh Northwestern, Columbia Missourian, and the Daily Utah Chronicle (December 1999 to present)

Faculty Representative for University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, ICPSR, University of Michigan, 2007-8

Member, Board of Trustees, Wisconsin International School, 2007-8

Member, UWO Office of Institutional Research Advisory Board, 2007-8

President, Northeast Wisconsin Chinese Association, 2007 (executive vice president, 2006)

Member, Program Evaluation Committee. College of Letters and Science, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2007-8

Member, Political Science Curriculum, Center for New Learning, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2007-8

Moderator, Oshkosh City Forum, Mayoral Candidates' Debates, March 23, 2005

Grant Reviewer, Faculty Development Program. University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2004-8

Member, African American Minor Counsel. University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2006-.

Member, Search Committee for University Foundation President. University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2005-2006.

Member, Faculty Senate Libraries & Information Services Committee. University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2005-2008.

Chair/Member, Curriculum Committee, Dept. of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, September 2002-8

Chair, Budget Committee, Dept. of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, September 2007-8

Member, Personal Committee, Dept. of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, September 2007-8

Member, Search Committee, Dept. of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, September 2002-8

Faculty Director, the Stephens College Model UN Team, National Model United Nations Conference, New York , New York, (3/2002)

Chair, Political Science Search Committee, Stephens College (August 2001 to May 2002)

Member, Editorial Advisory Board, Collegiate Press, San Diego, California (2000 to 2001)

Chair, Harry Truman Scholarship Committee, Stephens College (2000 to 2002)

Member, Strategic Planning and Budgeting Committee, Stephens College (2000 to 2002).

CONFERENCE PAPER/PROCEEDINGS

Baodong Liu. "Statistical Inference and Visualization of Big Data in Urban Research", paper presented at the 3rd International Conference on China Urban Development, Shanghai, China. 6/2015.

Baodong Liu. "Race, Religion, and U.S. Presidential Elections," paper presented at the Annual Convention of National Association for Ethnic Studies, Oakland, California. 4/2014.

Baodong Liu. "Racial Context and the 2008 and 2012 US Presidential Elections," paper presented at the 11th Annual International Conference on Politics & International Affairs, Athens, Greece. 6/2013.

Baodong Liu. "Deracialization in the Post-Obama Era," presented at the National Black Political Scientist Association Annual Meeting. Las Vegas, Nevada. 3/2012.

Baodong Liu. "Obama's Racial Coalition," paper presented at the Southwestern Social Science Association Annual Meeting. Las Vegas, Nevada. 3/2011.

Geoffrey M. Draper, Baodong Liu, and Richard F. Riesenfeld. "Integrating Statistical Visualization Research into the Political Science Classroom" Information Systems Educators Conference. 2010. Nashville, Tennessee. 10/2010.

Baodong Liu. "Space and Time: An Empirical Analysis of 2008 Presidential Election," paper delivered at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference, Toronto, Canada, 9/2009.

Baodong Liu. "Sequential and Spatial Voting: An Analysis of the 2008 Democratic Primaries," paper presented at the 2009 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, Illinois, 4/2009.

Baodong Liu. "Social Capital, Race, and Turnout," paper presented at the 2008 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, Illinois, 4/2008.

Baodong Liu and Lori Weber. "Social Capital and Voting Participation," paper presented at the 2008 Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1/2008.

Baodong Liu. "The 2006 New Orleans Mayoral Election," paper presented at the 2007 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, Illinois, 4/2007.

James Vanderleeuw, Baodong Liu, and Erica Williams. "The Political Ramifications of a Large-Scale Natural Disaster," paper presented at the 2006 annual conference, the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, 9/2006.

Baodong Liu. "EI Extended Model and the Fear of Ecological Fallacy," paper presented at the 2006 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, 4/2006.

Baodong Liu. "The Fear of Ecological Fallacy and the Methods to Conquer It" paper presented at the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Oakland, CA, 4/2005.

Baodong Liu. "The Whites Who Stayed in the City," paper presented at the 2004 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, 4/2004.

Baodong Liu. "Whites as a Minority and the New Biracial Coalition," paper presented at the 2004 Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1/2004.

Baodong Liu and James Vanderleeuw. "Economic Development Priorities and Central City/Suburb Differences," presented at the 2003 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, 4/2003.

James Vanderleeuw, Baodong Liu, and Greg Marsh, "Divided Leadership and Racial Reflexivity in Memphis: An Analysis of the 1991, 1995 and 1999 Mayoral Elections," presented at the 2003 Southwestern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Antonio, Texas, 4/2003.

Baodong Liu. "White Votes Count: The Effect of Black Candidates' Qualifications on White Crossover Voting," paper presented at *the 98th American Political Science Association Conference*, Boston, Massachusetts, 9/2002.

Baodong Liu. "Searching for a 'Qualified' Black Candidate," *Proceedings of the 97th American Political Science Association Conference*, San Francisco California, 9/2001.

Baodong Liu. "In Defense of an Ethical Rational Choice Theory," paper delivered at the 2001 Jessie Ball duPont Fund Summer Seminars for Liberal Arts College Faculty, the National Humanities Center, Research Triangle, North Carolina, 6/2001.

Baodong Liu. "Reconsidering Social Interaction Theory," presented at the 2001 Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Las Vegas Nevada, 3/2001.

James Vanderleeuw, Baodong Liu, and John Johnson. "Economic Development Priorities of City Administrators: A Report on a Survey of City Administrators in Texas," presented at the 2001 Louisiana Political Science Association Convention, Lamar Texas, 3/2001.

Baodong Liu. "Racial Transition: Explaining the Curvilinear Relationship between Black Density and White Crossover Voting," *Proceedings of the 96th American Political Science Association Conference*, Washington DC, 9/2000.

Baodong Liu and James Vanderleeuw. "Racial Transition: Explaining the Curvilinear Relationship between Black Density and White Crossover Voting," presented at *the 96th American Political Science Association Conference*, Washington DC, 9/2000.

Baodong Liu. "Electoral Law and the Russian Party System: A Comparative Study," presented at *the 58th Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago Illinois, 4/2000.

James Vanderleeuw and Baodong Liu. "Rolling Off in the Context of Context," presented at *the 30th Southwestern Political Science Association Conference*, Galveston Texas, 3/2000.

Baodong Liu. "The Changing Nature of Electoral Competition in Japan." Roundtable Discussant, *the 52nd Association of Asian Studies Annual Meeting*, San Diego California, 3/2000.

Baodong Liu. "Racial Context and White Voting Strategies," presented at *the 95th American Political Science Association Conference*, Atlanta Georgia, 9/1999.

Baodong Liu. "The President's Support in Congress: A Test of U.S. China Policy, 1980-1994," *The 1997 Southern Political Science Association Convention*, Norfolk Virginia, 11/1997.

Baodong Liu. "Examining the Race Line: White Voting Behavior in New Orleans, 1980-1994," *The 27th Southwestern Political Science Association Conference*. New Orleans Louisiana, 3/1997.

Baodong Liu. "Intrapartisan Defeats and the Nomination Strategies of the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party in the 1993 Election," *The Sixth Annual Graduate Student Research Symposium*. Oklahoma State University. Stillwater Oklahoma, 2/1995.

INVITED SPEAKER, ROUNDTABLE/PANEL DISCUSSANT

Baodong Liu. "Big Data in the Social Sciences," The Consortium for Research on China and Asia (CROCA) and Policy at the Podium. The University of Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah. 11/2014.

Baodong Liu. "Deracialization in the Historial Perspective," the National Black Political Scientist Association Annual Meeting. Las Vegas, Nevada. 3/2012.

"Educating the Best Students in the 21st century: the New Ethnic Studies Major at the University of Utah," a presentation provided to the University Diversity Division Fall Retreat (8/12/2011), the Ethnic Studies Program (8/17/2011), and the Community Council (9/13/2011), at the University of Utah.

"Quantitative Analysis: Ecological Inferences and the Voting Rights Law," a Ford Foundation Project, Duke University. July 24-28, 2010.

"Election 2008: A Symposium," Hinckley Institute of Politics, University of Utah. October 6, 2008.

"IMMIGRATION TODAY: What are the Issues?" League of Women Voters of the Oshkosh Area Public Forum, November 12, 2007.

Theme Panel: "Bleaching" New Orleans? Power, Race, and Place After Katrina, the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, September 2, 2006.

"2006 Midterm Election Preview," American Democracy Project, the University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh, November 2, 2006.

"Analysis on the 2006 Midterm Election Results," American Democracy Project, the University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh, November 9, 2006.

"The Politics of New Americans: Studying Asian American Political Engagement," the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C. September 3, 2005.

"Significance of Voting Rights Act," Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law, National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Washington DC: June 17-18, 2004.

"Protecting Democracy: Defining the Research Agenda for Voting Rights Reauthorization," the Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. May 10, 2004.

Chair, the Politics of Ethnicity and Self-Determination Panel, International Studies Association-Midwest Conference, St. Louis, Missouri, November 2, 2001.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP

Pi Sigma Alpha, National Political Science Honor Society
American Political Science Association
Association for Asian American Studies

Association of Chinese Political Studies
Southwestern Political Science Association

Serve as an Advisor/Committee Member for the following Graduate Students

Jake Peterson (Ph.D Dissertation Chair)
Matt Haydon (Ph.D Dissertation Chair)
Alex Lovell (Ph.D Committee)
Samantha Eldrudge (Ph.D Committee)
Leslie Haligan-Park (Ph.D Committee)
Oakley Gordon (Master Committee)
Michael McPhie (Master Committee)