

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
WESTERN DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN
SOUTHERN DIVISION

DONALD AGEE, JR., an individual, *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

JOCELYN BENSON, in her official capacity as the Secretary of State of Michigan, *et al.*,

Defendants.

Case No. 1:22-cv-00272

Three-Judge Panel Appointed Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 2284(a)

PLAINTIFFS' AND THE COMMISSION DEFENDANTS' JOINT LIST OF PROPOSED SPECIAL MASTERS

Pursuant to this Court's January 3, 2023, Order Regarding Meet and Confer, ECF No. 139, Plaintiffs and the Commission Defendants met to confer on January 4 at 4:00 p.m., via Zoom. In accordance with that Order, and subject to a full reservation of rights and remedies, the parties jointly submit the following five special master candidates for the Court's consideration.

Plaintiffs propose the following special master candidates:

1. Mr. Matt Rexroad, Redistricting Insights, whose qualifications are described in the attached **Exhibit A**. Plaintiffs confirmed his availability.

2. Professor M.V. (Trey) Hood III, Department of Political Science, University of Georgia, whose curriculum vitae is attached hereto as **Exhibit B**. Plaintiffs have confirmed his availability.

3. Douglas Johnson, Ph.D., President, National Demographics Corporation, whose curriculum vitae is attached hereto as **Exhibit C**. Plaintiffs have

confirmed that Dr. Johnson is available, depending on the schedule and time commitment involved with working with the Commission.

The Commission proposes the following special master candidates:

4. Professor Nathaniel Persily of Stanford University, whose curriculum vitae is attached hereto as **Exhibit D**. The Commission has confirmed his availability.

5. Professor Michael Barber, Department of Political Science, Brigham Young University, whose curriculum vitae is attached hereto as **Exhibit E**. The Commission has confirmed his availability.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ John J. Bursch

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/s/ Patrick T. Lewis

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Dated: January 5, 2024

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*Counsel for Defendants,
Michigan Independent Citizens
Redistricting Commission, and
Elaine Andrade, Donna
Callaghan, Juanita Curry,
Anthony Eid, Rhonda Lange,
Steven Terry Lett, Brittni
Kellom, Marcus Muldon,
Cynthia Orton, Rebecca Szetela,
Janice Vallette, Erin Wagner,
and Richard Weiss, each in his
or her official capacity as a
Commissioner of the Michigan
Independent Citizens
Redistricting Commission*

EXHIBIT A

FAIR LINES PRODUCE GOOD GOVERNMENT

About Us

At the heart of Redistricting Insights is our belief that fair lines produce good government. Motivated by that belief, we work on client projects ranging from direct demography services for municipalities and state legislatures to advocacy services on behalf of parties with specific redistricting goals. Our staff has drawn legislative, supervisorial, city council, school board and special district seats across California. Redistricting Insights combines a data-driven approach that utilizes cutting-edge technology with an extensive knowledge base spanning the past two decades of redistricting cycles. The team at Redistricting Insights has worked in every county in the state of California, and in many states around the country, making us uniquely positioned to identify and communicate with stakeholders in a variety of communities.

Our Team



Matt Rexroad
CHIEF LEGAL COUNSEL

Since 2001, Matt has been an integral part of California's redistricting process. He understands firsthand the importance of the process and works to ensure every Californian has an equal stake in our election process.



Fabian Valdez, Jr.
CHIEF DEMOGRAPHER

Fabian is responsible for onboarding the 2020 Census data and ensuring that future models and redistricting projects accurately reflect the changing nature of California demographics.



Ryan Gardiner
DIR. OF COMMUNICATIONS

A seasoned communications professional, Ryan's work centers on developing messaging strategies to communicate with stakeholders and the public throughout the redistricting process.



Eddy Harrity
DATA SCIENTIST

Eddy received both his Bachelor's and Master's degree from Pepperdine University where he did research in incentivizing candidates to represent the median voter and the effects of the top two primary on the partisanship of California Legislators.

Our Services



Drawing Lines/Mapping – Our staff is equipped to draw district lines in any type of jurisdiction in any part of the country. Map drawing is about more than simple geography—it can be key to ensuring a jurisdiction is well governed and functioning in the decade to come. Redistricting Insights provides unparalleled mapping services that combine our expertise in state election law compliance with cutting edge technology to produce maps that work for everyone involved.



Demographics – Our data-driven approach and extensive knowledge in redistricting allows our team to draw lines that will more accurately and fairly represent all members of your community. We utilize a rich library of data that ranges from environmental considerations, to health statistics, to economic conditions, to political boundaries. Redistricting Insights doesn't just produce the minimum standard, our team will ensure that your jurisdiction has the best representation possible.



Racially Polarized Voting Analysis – We recognize the critical role the California Voting Rights Act and US Voting Rights Act play in the district mapping process. Our team works with your legal counsel to ensure you have the information and data necessary to draw compliant and fair boundaries that elevate the engagement of all segments of your community. Poorly drawn maps can result in costly and time consuming litigation. Redistricting Insights has a track record of upholding the law and ensuring our clients meet all legal standards in how their districts are drawn.



Coalition Building – We have worked in every county in California, and in many states around the country, making us uniquely positioned to identify and communicate with stakeholders in a variety of communities. Our team has proven history of working with diverse coalitions and mobilizing stakeholders in the redistricting process. Participation is key to positive redistricting outcomes and our team is primed to work with community members and achieve consensus.



Political Analysis – All politics is local and Redistricting Insights is able to identify political attitudes and trends at the very smallest units of geography. Doing so allows us to fully analyze how proposed district maps will affect policy outcomes. By understanding past trends and forecasting future trends, you will know the options available in preparing your district for the future.



Community Relations – Our team of highly qualified bi-lingual facilitators can help create a more equitable environment, drawing out more engagement from minority communities in the redistricting process.

Matt Rexroad

Chief Legal Counsel

As Chief Legal Counsel at Redistricting Insights, Matt leans on his extensive education and experience to ensure the firm provides equitable and just counsel in compliance with the state's redistricting process and the California Voting Rights Act.

Rexroad earned his undergraduate degree from the University of Southern California, a Juris Doctor degree from McGeorge School of Law, a Masters of Public Administration from the University of Southern California Sacramento Center, and a Masters in Business Administration from UC Davis. He is an active member of the California State Bar.

Matt has provided strategic political consulting and public affairs services to candidates and stakeholders for decades, currently as President of Strategy Insights, LLC. He also previously served as a senior staff person in the California state legislature.

Rexroad served four years on the Woodland City Council and also served as the city's Vice Mayor and Mayor. From 2004-2016 he served on the Yolo County Board of Supervisors representing Woodland and parts of West Sacramento.

Rexroad is no stranger to redistricting; since 2001 Matt has been an integral part of California's redistricting process. He understands firsthand the importance of the process and works to ensure every Californian has an equal stake in our election process.

EXHIBIT B

Curriculum Vitae
(September 2016)

M.V. (Trey) Hood III

Contact Information:

Department of Political Science School of Public and International Affairs 104 Baldwin Hall The University of Georgia Athens, GA 30602	Office Phone: (706) 583-0554 Dept. Phone: (706) 542-2057 FAX: (706) 542-4421 E-mail: th@uga.edu
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Academic Positions

University of Georgia
 Professor, 2013-present
 Director, SPIA Survey Research Center, 2016-present.
 Director of Graduate Studies, 2011-2016.
 Associate Professor, 2005-2013
 Assistant Professor, 1999-2005.

Texas Tech University
 Visiting Assistant Professor, 1997-1999.

Education

Ph.D.	Political Science	Texas Tech University	1997
M.A.	Political Science	Baylor University	1993
B.S.	Political Science	Texas A&M University	1991

Peer-Reviewed Books

The Rational Southerner: Black Mobilization, Republican Growth, and the Partisan Transformation of the American South. 2012. New York: Oxford University Press.
 (Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris, co-authors).
 [Softcover version in 2014 with new Epilogue]

Peer-Reviewed Publications

“From Legal Theory to Practical Application: A How-To for Performing Vote Dilution Analyses.” Forthcoming 2016. *Social Science Quarterly*. (Peter A. Morrison, coauthor).

“Race, Class, Religion and the Southern Party System: A Field Report from Dixie.” 2016. *The Forum* 14(1): 83-96.

- "*Black Votes Count: The 2014 Republican Senate Nomination in Mississippi.*" 2016. *Social Science Quarterly*. (Seth C. McKee, coauthor).
- "Sunshine State Dilemma: Voting for the 2014 Governor of Florida." 2015. *Electoral Studies* 40: 293-299. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- "Tea Leaves and Southern Politics: Explaining Tea Party Support Among Southern Republicans." 2015. *Social Science Quarterly* 96(4): 923-940. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris, co-authors).
- "True Colors: White Conservative Support for Minority Republican Candidates." 2015. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 79(1): 28-52. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- "Race and the Tea Party in the Old Dominion: Split-Ticket Voting in the 2013 Virginia Elections." 2015. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 48(1):107-114. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris, co-authors).
- "The Damnedest Mess: An Empirical Evaluation of the 1966 Georgia Gubernatorial Election." Forthcoming 2014. *Social Science Quarterly* 96(1):104-118. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- "Candidates, Competition, and the Partisan Press: Congressional Elections in the Early Antebellum Era." 2014. *American Politics Research* 42(5):670-783. (Jamie L. Carson, co-author).
[Winner of the 2014 Hahn-Sigelman Prize]
- "Strategic Voting in a U.S. Senate Election." 2013. *Political Behavior* 35(4):729-751. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- "Unwelcome Constituents: Redistricting and Countervailing Partisan Tides." 2013. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 13(2):203-224. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- "The Tea Party, Sarah Palin, and the 2010 Congressional Elections: The Aftermath of the Election of Barack Obama." 2012. *Social Science Quarterly* 93(5):1424-1435. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- "Much Ado About Nothing?: An Empirical Assessment of the Georgia Voter Identification Statute." 2012. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 12(4):394-314. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- "Achieving Validation: Barack Obama and Black Turnout in 2008." 2012. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 12:3-22. (Seth C. McKee and David Hill, co-authors).
- "They Just Don't Vote Like They Used To: A Methodology to Empirically Assess Election Fraud." 2012. *Social Science Quarterly* 93:76-94. (William Gillespie, co-author).

- “An Examination of Efforts to Encourage the Incidence of Early In-Person Voting in Georgia, 2008.” 2011. *Election Law Journal* 10:103-113. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- “What Made Carolina Blue? In-migration and the 2008 North Carolina Presidential Vote.” 2010. *American Politics Research* 38:266-302. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- “Stranger Danger: Redistricting, Incumbent Recognition, and Vote Choice.” 2010. *Social Science Quarterly* 91:344-358. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- “Trying to Thread the Needle: The Effects of Redistricting in a Georgia Congressional District.” 2009. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 42:679-687. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- “Citizen, Defend Thyself: An Individual-Level Analysis of Concealed-Weapon Permit Holders.” 2009. *Criminal Justice Studies* 22:73-89. (Grant W. Neeley, co-author).
- “Two Sides of the Same Coin?: Employing Granger Causality Tests in a Time Series Cross-Section Framework.” 2008. *Political Analysis* 16:324-344. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris, co-authors).
- “Worth a Thousand Words? : An Analysis of Georgia’s Voter Identification Statute.” 2008. *American Politics Research* 36:555-579. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- “Gerrymandering on Georgia’s Mind: The Effects of Redistricting on Vote Choice in the 2006 Midterm Election.” 2008. *Social Science Quarterly* 89:60-77 (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- “Examining Methods for Identifying Latino Voters.” 2007. *Election Law Journal* 6:202-208. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- “A Mile-Wide Gap: The Evolution of Hispanic Political Emergence in the Deep South.” 2006. *Social Science Quarterly* 87:1117-1135. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- “Punch Cards, Jim Crow, and Al Gore: Explaining Voter Trust in the Electoral System in Georgia, 2000.” 2005. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 5:283-294. (Charles S. Bullock, III and Richard Clark, co-authors).
- “When Southern Symbolism Meets the Pork Barrel: Opportunity for Executive Leadership.” 2005. *Social Science Quarterly* 86:69-86. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- “The Reintroduction of the *Elephas maximus* to the Southern United States: The Rise of Republican State Parties, 1960-2000.” 2004. *American Politics Research* 31:68-101. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris, co-authors).

- “One Person, [No Vote; One Vote; Two Votes...]: Voting Methods, Ballot Types, and Undervote Frequency in the 2000 Presidential Election.” 2002. *Social Science Quarterly* 83:981-993. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- “On the Prospect of Linking Religious Right Identification with Political Behavior: Panacea or Snipe Hunt?” 2002. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41:697-710. (Mark C. Smith, co-author).
- “The Key Issue: Constituency Effects and Southern Senators’ Roll-Call Voting on Civil Rights.” 2001. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 26: 599-621. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris, co-authors).
- “Packin’ in the Hood?: Examining Assumptions Underlying Concealed-Handgun Research.” 2000. *Social Science Quarterly* 81:523-537. (Grant Neeley, co-author).
- “Brother, Can You Spare a Dime? Racial/Ethnic Context and the Anglo Vote on Proposition 187.” 2000. *Social Science Quarterly* 81:194-206. (Irwin Morris, co-author).
- “Penny Pinching or Politics? The Line-Item Veto and Military Construction Appropriations.” 1999. *Political Research Quarterly* 52:753-766. (Irwin Morris and Grant Neeley, co-authors).
- “Of Byrds[s] and Bumpers: Using Democratic Senators to Analyze Political Change in the South, 1960-1995.” 1999. *American Journal of Political Science* 43:465-487. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris, co-authors).
- “Bugs in the NRC’s Doctoral Program Evaluation Data: From Mites to Hissing Cockroaches.” 1998. *PS* 31:829-835. (Nelson Dometrius, Quentin Kidd, and Kurt Shirkey, co-authors).
- “Boll Weevils and Roll-Call Voting: A Study in Time and Space.” 1998. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 23:245-269. (Irwin Morris, co-author).
- “Give Us Your Tired, Your Poor,...But Make Sure They Have a Green Card: The Effects of Documented and Undocumented Migrant Context on Anglo Opinion Towards Immigration.” 1998. *Political Behavior* 20:1-16. (Irwin Morris, co-author).
- “¡Quedate o Vente!: Uncovering the Determinants of Hispanic Public Opinion Towards Immigration.” 1997. *Political Research Quarterly* 50:627-647. (Irwin Morris and Kurt Shirkey, co-authors).
- “¿Amigo o Enemigo?: Context, Attitudes, and Anglo Public Opinion toward Immigration.” 1997. *Social Science Quarterly* 78: 309-323. (Irwin Morris, co-author).

Invited Publications

- “Race and the Ideological Transformation of the Democratic Party: Evidence from the Bayou State.” 2005. *American Review of Politics* 25:67-78.

Book Chapters

- “The Participatory Consequences of Florida Redistricting.” 2015. In *Jigsaw Puzzle Politics in the Sunshine State*, Seth C. McKee, editor. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press. (Danny Hayes and Seth C. McKee, co-authors).
- “Texas: Political Change by the Numbers.” 2014. In *The New Politics of the Old South*, 5th ed., Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark J. Rozell, editors. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- “The Republican Party in the South.” 2012. In *Oxford Handbook of Southern Politics*, Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark J. Rozell, editors. New York: Oxford University Press. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris, co-authors).
- “The Reintroduction of the *Elephas maximus* to the Southern United States: The Rise of Republican State Parties, 1960-2000.” 2010. In *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 5th ed., David Kimball, Richard G. Niemi, and Herbert F. Weisberg, editors. Washington, DC: CQ Press. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris, co-authors).
[Reprint of 2004 *APR* article with Epilogue containing updated analysis and other original material.]
- “The Texas Governors.” 1997. In *Texas Policy and Politics*, Mark Somma, editor. Needham Heights, MA: Simon & Schuster.

EXHIBIT C

Resume of Douglas Johnson, Ph.D.

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Employment

President, National Demographics Corporation, 2006 – present.
Senior Analyst, National Demographics Corporation, 2001 – 2006.
Research Affiliate, Rose Institute of State and Local Government, 2001 – 2023.
Project Manager and Senior Manager at three internet startup companies, 1999 - 2001.
U.S. Representative Stephen Horn, Legislative Director and System Manager. 1993 – 1997.
Coro Foundation, Fellowship in Public Affairs. 1992 – 1993.
Rose Institute for State and Local Government, Student Manager. 1989 – 1992.

Education

Claremont Graduate University, Ph.D. in Political Science, 2015. Dissertation: “Independent Redistricting Commissions: Hopes and Lessons Learned.”
UCLA Anderson Graduate School of Management, MBA, 1999.
Claremont McKenna College, BA in Government (Political Science), 1992.

Academic Honors

Graduated Cum Laude from Claremont McKenna College.
Phi Beta Kappa. Philip Roland Prize for Excellence in Public Policy.

Publications and Articles

The CVRA [California Voting Rights Act] Tsunami Rolls Across California, with Dr. Justin Levitt. Paper presented at the American Political Science Association 2018 conference as part of the August 31, 2018, panel entitled “California Election Reform: Has It Improved Representation and Participation?”
Quiet Revolution in California Local Government Gains Momentum, Rose Institute of State and Local Government White Paper on California Voting Rights Act, November 3, 2016.
Visalia Times, “How to draw new city council districts,” September 19, 2014.
Christian Science Monitor “Let the public help draw voting districts,” October 25, 2013.
New York Times, “The Case for Open Primaries,” February 19, 2009.
Los Angeles Times Opinion Articles:
“A neighbor’s help on redistricting” June 24, 2007.
“A Trojan horse primary for the GOP” February 25, 2007.
“Where a porn palace stood” (article on redevelopment), July 30, 2006.
Fresno Bee Opinion Article: “The Poison Handshake” June 15, 2004.
Redistricting in America. Rose Institute of State and Local Government, 2010.
Restoring the Competitive Edge: California's Need for Redistricting Reform and the Likely Impact of Proposition 77. Rose Institute of State and Local Government, 2005.
“Competitive Districts in California” Rose Institute of State and Local Government, 2005.
Latinos and Redistricting: “Californios For Fair Representation” and California Redistricting in the 1980s. Rose Institute of State and Local Government, 1991.

Independent and Advisory Commission Redistricting Projects

Ohio Redistricting Commission, “Independent Map-Drawer,” 2022
Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission, lead technical consultant, 2021
Santa Barbara County Independent Redistricting Commission, technical consultant, 2021
City of Menlo Park Advisory Districting Commission, lead technical consultant, 2018
Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission, lead technical consultant, 2001-2008
San Diego City Council Independent Redistricting Commission, lead technical consultant, 2011
City of Surprise Advisory Commission on Redistricting, 2011
Pasadena City Council Advisory Commission on Redistricting, co-lead technical consultant, 2011

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Douglas M. Johnson, Ph.D.

Pasadena Unified School Board Advisory Commission on Redistricting, co-lead technical consultant, 2011
City of Modesto Independent Redistricting Commission, lead technical consultant, 2011
City of Modesto Independent Districting Commission, lead technical consultant, 2008

Speaker or Panelist

California City Clerk Association New Law Conference, Presenter, "New Laws for District Elections: Santa Monica and FAIR MAPS Act Changes," December 15, 2023.
California Special Districts Association, Board Secretaries Conference, Presenter, "The California Voting Rights Act and the FAIR MAPS Act: All new rules in 2024," November 8, 2023.
California Association of School Business Officers Northern Section Professional Development Institute, Presenter, "20 Years Later: An Update on the California Voting Rights Act and By-Trustee Area Elections," February 3, 2023.
California Conference of School Attorneys, Presenter, "California Voting Rights Act and By-Trustee Area Elections," December 1, 2022.
California Special District Association, Board Secretaries and Clerks Conference, Presenter, "Into the Tsunami: The California Voting Rights Act, Redistricting and Board Elections, November 9, 2022.
California State University San Marcos Leadership North County fellowship, Presenter, "To District or Not To District," October 20, 2022.
South Bay Council of Governments Meeting, Presenter, "To District or Not To District," April 20, 2022.
California League of Cities Los Angeles County Chapter, Keynote Speaker, "Redistricting Wrap-Up", March 3, 2022.
Tri-County Chamber of Commerce, "Redistricting Update," December 3, 2021.
Gateway Cities Council of Governments Meeting, Presenter, "2021 Redistricting: Everything Has Changed . . . Again," January 14, 2021.
California League of Cities Mayors and Council Members Executive Forum, "Coping with the New Reality of By-District Elections," June, 2020.
San Gabriel Valley Economic Partnership, June 26, 2019
Community Roundtable, "What's at Stake in the 2020 Census?," Hosted by U.S. Representative Ted Lieu. June 19, 2019.
Community Roundtable, "The Importance of the Census," Hosted by U.S. Representative Judy Chu. May 30, 2019.
League of Women Voters of Burbank and Glendale, Keynote Speaker, "Town Hall meeting on SB415" (The California Voter Participation Rights Act), May 8, 2018.
California League of Cities, City Manager Department Annual Conference, Panelist, "CVRA and the Profound Impact on Local Governance," February 15, 2019.
California League of Cities, Mayors and Councilmembers Executive Forum, Moderator, "The California Voting Rights Act and the District-Drawing Process," June 29, 2018.
California League of Cities, City Attorney Department, panelist, "The California Voting Rights Act: Recent Legislation & Litigation Outcomes," May 3, 2018.
California League of Cities, City Clerk Department, Co-Presenter, "California Voting Rights Act – Transitioning From At-Large To By-District Elections: A Practical Guide For City Clerks," April 19, 2018.
California School Board Association Annual Education Conference panelist: "15 Years with the California Voting Rights Act: Lessons Learned and Challenges Ahead." December 1, 2017.
University of California's National Public Service Law Conference: Civil Rights in the 21st Century: Moderator, "Voting Rights 101." September 23, 2017.
City Clerks Association of California Annual Conference panelist: "California Voting Rights Act: Putting the 2016 Legislation into Practice." April 13, 2017.
California School Board Association Annual Education Conference panelist: "The California Voting Rights Act: What Board Members Must Know." December 4, 2015.
Associated Cities of California – Orange County, Keynote Speaker, Newly Elected Officials' Reception and Dinner, "The California Voting Rights Act," January 29, 2015.
California League of Cities, City Manager Department, 2015 Department Meeting: "Opportunity to Engage Residents: The California Voting Rights Act." January 29, 2015.

Douglas M. Johnson, Ph.D.

California League of Cities, City Clerk Department, 2014 Annual Meeting: "Whose Line Is It Anyway: Making the transition from at-large to by-district elections." September 3, 2014.

National Conference of State Legislatures, Redistricting and Elections Standing Committee: 2007 Spring Forum, "The Arizona Independent Redistricting Commissions' experiences with the first-ever independent redistricting."

National Conference of State Legislatures, Redistricting and Elections Standing Committee: 2008 Spring Forum, "Communities of Interest In Redistricting: A Practical Guide."

National Conference of State Legislatures, Redistricting and Elections Standing Committee: 2009 Fall Forum, "The Key to Successful Redistricting."

National Conference of State Legislatures, Redistricting and Elections Standing Committee: 2010 Spring Forum, "Communities of Interest in Redistricting: A key to drawing 2011 plans (and for their defense)."

National Conference of State Legislatures, Redistricting and Elections Standing Committee: 2011 Winter Forum, "Citizen Voting Age Data from a line-drawer's viewpoint."

Luncheon Keynote Speaker, Santa Barbara's Channel Cities Club, "California's next experiment: independent, public redistricting," January 18, 2011.

Annual Conference, Arizona League of Cities and Towns, Presenter at "Redistricting Law and the Voting Rights Act: What It Means for Your City or Town in 2011," August 25, 2010.

Redistricting, The 2010 Census, and Your Budget, Sponsored by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government, California League of Cities, October 15, 2009.

Arizona Election Law 2010 Continuing Legal Education Conference, "Communities of interest and technology in redistricting," sponsored by the Arizona State Bar Association, March 2010.

California's New Independent Redistricting Commission, sponsored by the Irvine Foundation and the California Redistricting Collaborative, December 15, 2009.

Tribal Association of Sovereign Indian Nations (TASIN) Legislative Day 2009, "The 2010 Census and 2011 Redistricting in California," December 2, 2009.

California School Board Association, "Litigation Issues and the California Voting Rights Act," December 4, 2009.

California Latino School Boards Association, "Introduction to the California Voting Rights Act," August 20, 2009.

Building a National Reform Movement, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2006, conference on redistricting .reform hosted by the League of Women Voters, Campaign Legal Center, and The Council for Excellence in Government.

Texas Tech University, "A Symposium on Redistricting," May, 2006.

California League of Cities, "Introduction to the California Voting Rights Act."

Voices of Reform, a project of the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco: multiple forums on redistricting and / or term limits, 2006 – 2007.

Classroom speaker at Bellflower High School, Pepperdine University, the University of La Verne, Pomona College and Claremont McKenna College.

Charter and/or Ballot Language Consultant

Castaic Lake Water Agency and Newhall County Water District consultant advising on process, rules and legislation language for merger of the two districts including changing from at-large to by-district election system. (2015-2016)

City of Corona: consultant for City Council on a potential city charter and a move to by-district elections. (2015-2016)

City of El Cajon: consulted on writing of charter revision and public education campaign for ballot measure changing from at-large to by-district City Council elections. (2016)

City of Goleta: consulted on development of ordinances and ballot language asking voters what election system they preferred. (2003 – 2004)

City of Menifee: advised commission considering language on by-district elections. (2009 – 2010)

City of Modesto: advised commission that successfully developed a city charter change moving Modesto from at-large to by-district elections and created an independent redistricting commission. (2006 – 2008)

City of Pasadena (on behalf of Pasadena Unified School District): advised commission that successfully developed a city charter change moving Pasadena Unified from at-large to by-district elections and created a redistricting commission. (2011 – 2012)

Douglas M. Johnson, Ph.D.

Litigation Experience

- Expert witness declaration, deposition and testimony in *Nairne v Ardoin*, United States District Court Middle District of Louisiana, Case No. 22-178-SDD-SDJ litigation under the Federal Voting Rights Act.
- Expert witness declaration, deposition and testimony in *Common Cause Florida v Byrd*, Second Judicial Circuit In and for Leon County, Florida, Case No.: 4:22-cv-109-AW-MAF litigation alleging violation of state constitutional redistricting rules.
- Expert witness declaration in *Jacksonville Branch of the NAACP et al v City of Jacksonville*, United States District Court Middle District of Florida Jacksonville Division, Case No.: 3:22-cv-493-MMH-LLL litigation under the Federal Voting Rights Act.
- Expert witness deposition for *Dr. Dorothy Naire et. al. v. R. Kyle Ardoin*, United States District Court for the Middle District of Louisiana, Civil Action No. 3:22-cv000178 SDD-SDJ litigation under the Federal Voting Rights Act.
- Expert witness declaration and deposition for the City of Redondo Beach, California, in *City of Redondo Beach vs State of California*, Los Angeles County Superior Court Case Case No. BS172218 litigation regarding the California Voter Participation Act.
- Expert witness declaration for West Contra Costa Unified School District in *Ruiz-Lozito vs West Contra Costa Unified School District*, Contra Costa Superior Court Case Number C18-00570, litigation under the California Voting Rights Act.
- Expert witness declaration, deposition and testimony for Kern County, California, in *Luna v County of Kern* litigation under the Federal Voting Rights Act.
- Expert witness declaration and testimony for North Carolina in *Covington v State of North Carolina* litigation under the Federal Voting Rights Act.
- Expert witness declaration for City of Fullerton in *Jamarillo v City of Fullerton* litigation under the California Voting Rights Act.
- Expert witness declaration for City of Whittier in *Diego v City of Whittier* litigation under the California Voting Rights Act.
- Expert witness declaration and deposition for plaintiff in *Harris vs Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission* litigation.
- Expert witness declaration and deposition for Santa Clarita Community College District in *Solis v Santa Clarita Community College District* litigation under the California Voting Rights Act.
- Expert witness declaration, deposition and testimony for City of Highland in *Garrett v City of Highland* litigation under the California Voting Rights Act.
- Expert witness declaration, deposition and testimony for City of Palmdale in *Jauregui et al vs City of Palmdale* and *Garrett v City of Highland* litigation under the California Voting Rights Act.
- Testified as 30(b)(6) "Most Knowledgeable" witness for Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission in *Arizona Minority Coalition v Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission*, including seven days of direct testimony and cross-examination in the state court case. Also testified in the related federal court case.
- Consulting expert for the following jurisdictions on their California Voting Rights Act-related cases, including preparing analysis and assisting with witness and attorney preparation: Cities of Anaheim; Compton, Modesto, Poway, Santa Clara, Santa Clarita, and Whittier; Santa Clarita Community College District; and Tulare Health Care District.

Voting Rights Act and Racial Bloc Voting Analysis

Attorney-client privilege bars the listing of most of NDC's specific clients, but NDC has performed racial bloc voting analysis for clients of the following law firms (and for other jurisdictions):

- Nielsen, Merksamer, Parrinello, Gross & Leoni: Compiled and analyzed data for hundreds of jurisdictions.
- Lozano, Smith: Performed analysis of racial bloc voting in 4 separate jurisdictions.
- Richards, Watson & Gerson: Compiled and analyzed potential liability under California Voting Rights Act and California Voter Participation Rights Act for about a dozen cities.
- Atkinson, Andelson, Loya, Ruud & Romo: Performed/performing on analysis of racial bloc voting in dozens of jurisdictions and California Voter Participation Rights Act liability analysis for school districts.
- Dooley, Herr & Peltzer: Performed racial bloc voting analysis of 7 elections in 4 different election years. Also advised attorneys on rebuttal of plaintiff's racial bloc voting analysis.

Douglas M. Johnson, Ph.D.

Districting / Redistricting Clients

(Jurisdictions in California unless otherwise noted. Jurisdictions are cities unless otherwise indicated. Many jurisdictions are repeat clients, so the current total of districting and redistricting projects is, at last count, 595 projects among these 475 jurisdictions.)

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| 1. Alpine Union Elementary | 46. Cardiff Elementary | 92. Dehesa Elementary |
| 2. Alta Irrigation | 47. Carlsbad | 93. Del Mar Union Elementary |
| 3. Alta Vista | 48. Carlsbad Unified | 94. Del Puerto Health Care |
| 4. Altadena Library District | 49. Carpinteria | 95. Desert Healthcare |
| 5. Anaheim | 50. Carpinteria USD | 96. Desert Water Agency |
| 6. Anderson Union High | 51. Carpinteria Sanitary | 97. DiGiorgio ESD |
| 7. Antelope Valley CCD | 52. Carpinteria-Summerland Fire District | 98. Dinuba Unified |
| 8. Apple Valley | 53. Caruthers | 99. Dixon |
| 9. Arcadia | 54. Castaic Elementary | 100. Downey |
| 10. Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission | 55. Castaic Lake Water Agency | 101. Duarte |
| 11. Arroyo Grande | 56. Cathedral City | 102. Dublin |
| 12. Arvin Union SD | 57. Cayucos ESD | 103. East Bay Regional Park District |
| 13. Atwater City | 58. Cayucos Sanitary District | 104. East Valley Tech (AZ) |
| 14. Bakersfield City Schools | 59. Centinela Valley | 105. Eastern Sierra Unified |
| 15. Ballard School District | 60. Central Fire of Santa Cruz | 106. Eastside Union Elementary |
| 16. Banning | 61. Central Sanitary District | 107. Eastvale |
| 17. Barstow | 62. Central Unified | 108. Edison Elem |
| 18. Barstow USD | 63. Central Union High | 109. El Cajon |
| 19. Bellflower | 64. Centralia Elementary | 110. El Monte |
| 20. Bellflower USD | 65. Ceres | 111. El Monte City Schools |
| 21. Big Bear Lake | 66. Chaffey CCD | 112. El Monte Union High |
| 22. Bonsall Union Elementary | 67. Chino | 113. Elk Grove City |
| 23. Borrego Springs Unified | 68. Chino Hills | 114. Elk Grove USD |
| 24. Brea | 69. Chino Valley Fire Dist. | 115. Elyria (OH) |
| 25. Buckeye AZ | 70. Chowchilla | 116. Encinitas |
| 26. Buellton | 71. Chula Vista | 117. Encinitas Union Elementary |
| 27. Buellton USD | 72. Chula Vista Elementary | 118. Enterprise ESD |
| 28. Buena Park | 73. Citrus Heights | 119. Escalon Unified |
| 29. Buena Park Elementary | 74. Claremont | 120. Escondido |
| 30. Buena Park Library | 75. Claremont Unified | 121. Escondido Union Elem |
| 31. Burbank | 76. Clay Elementary | 122. Escondido Union High |
| 32. Burbank USD | 77. Clovis City | 123. Exeter |
| 33. Burton Elementary | 78. Clovis Unified | 124. Exeter Elementary |
| 34. Butte Glenn CCD | 79. Coalinga-Huron | 125. Exeter High |
| 35. Cajon Valley SD | 80. Coast CCD | 126. Exeter Unified |
| 36. Cajon Valley Union | 81. Coast USD | 127. Fairfax Elem |
| 37. Calistoga Joint Unified | 82. College School District | 128. Fairfield |
| 38. Camarillo | 83. Colton | 129. Fallbrook Regional Health |
| 39. Camarillo Health Care District | 84. Compton | 130. Fallbrook Union Elementary |
| 40. Cambria Community Healthcare | 85. Conejo Rec & Parks | 131. Fallbrook Union High |
| 41. Cambria CSD | 86. Corona | 132. Fillmore |
| 42. Campbell | 87. Costa Mesa | 133. Fillmore Unified |
| 43. Campbell Union Elem | 88. Covina Valley | 134. Firebaugh |
| 44. Campbell Union High | 89. Cuesta | |
| 45. Capistrano Unified | 90. Cypress Elem | |
| | 91. Dana Point | |

Douglas M. Johnson, Ph.D.

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| 135. Firebaugh-Las Deltas | 185. Jacksonville (FL) | 235. Magnolia Elementary |
| 136. Florida State Senate | 186. Jamul-Dulzura Union | 236. Manteca |
| 137. Folsom | 187. Jefferson SD | 237. Marin County |
| 138. Fontana | 188. Joshua Basin Water | 238. Marina |
| 139. Foothill Municipal Water | 189. Julian Union Elementary | 239. Martinez City |
| 140. Fort Lauderdale (FL) | 190. Julian Union High | 240. McFarland City |
| 141. Fowler | 191. Jurupa Community
Service District | 241. McFarland USD |
| 142. Fremont | 192. Jurupa Valley | 242. Menifee |
| 143. Fresno | 193. Keppel Union | 243. Menlo Park |
| 144. Fresno County | 194. Kerman Unified | 244. Merced |
| 145. Fresno Irrigation | 195. Kern High | 245. Merced City Elementary |
| 146. Fresno Unified | 196. Keyes Union | 246. Merced County |
| 147. Fruitvale Elem | 197. King City | 247. Merced Union High |
| 148. Fullerton | 198. Kings Canyon Unified | 248. Mesa (AZ) |
| 149. Fullerton Elementary | 199. Kings County | 249. MiraCosta |
| 150. Fullerton Joint Union
High | 200. Kings River Conservation
District | 250. Modesto |
| 151. Glendale | 201. Kingsburg | 251. Modesto City Schools |
| 152. Glendale (AZ) | 202. Kingsburg Elementary | 252. Modoc Unified |
| 153. Glendale CCD | 203. Kingsburg High | 253. Mohave County (AZ) |
| 154. Glendale Unified | 204. La Cañada Unified | 254. Mojave Unified |
| 155. Glendora | 205. La Mesa Spring Valley | 255. Mojave Water Agency |
| 156. Glendora USD | 206. La Mirada | 256. Monrovia |
| 157. Golden Plains | 207. La Palma | 257. Monson Soltana |
| 158. Goleta | 208. La Verne | 258. Monterey Airport |
| 159. Goleta Unified | 209. Laguna Hills | 259. Monterey Park |
| 160. Gonzales | 210. Lake Arrowhead CSD | 260. Moorpark |
| 161. Graham County (AZ) | 211. Lake Elsinore | 261. Moreno Valley |
| 162. Greenfield | 212. Lake Forest | 262. Morgan Hill |
| 163. Greenfield Union | 213. Lakeside Union
Elementary | 263. Morgan Hill Unified |
| 164. Greenlee County (AZ) | 214. Lakewood | 264. Morongo Basin
Healthcare |
| 165. Grossmont Healthcare | 215. Lammerville USD | 265. Morongo Unified |
| 166. Grossmont Union High | 216. Lancaster Elementary | 266. Morongo Water |
| 167. Grossmont-Cuyamaca | 217. Lawndale Elementary | 267. Mountain Empire SD |
| 168. Grover Beach | 218. Lemon Grove Elementary | 268. Mountain View Sanitary |
| 169. Guadalupe Union School
District | 219. Lemoore | 269. Murietta |
| 170. Half Moon Bay | 220. Leucadia Wastewater | 270. Muroc USD |
| 171. Hawthorn Elementary | 221. Linda County Water | 271. Napa Valley Unified |
| 172. Hemet | 222. Lindsay Unified | 272. National Elementary |
| 173. Hesperia | 223. Lodi | 273. Navajo County (AZ) |
| 174. Highland | 224. Loma Linda | 274. Nevada County |
| 175. Hope School District | 225. Lompoc | 275. New Jerusalem |
| 176. Hughes Elizabeth Lake
USD | 226. Los Alamitos | 276. Newhall Elementary |
| 177. Hughson Unified | 227. Los Alamitos Unified | 277. Newman Crows Landing |
| 178. Imperial Beach | 228. Los Angeles County | 278. Newport Beach |
| 179. Imperial Irrigation District | 229. Los Banos | 279. Norwalk La Mirada USD |
| 180. Indio | 230. Lowell Joint Union | 280. Novato |
| 181. Inglewood | 231. Lucia Mar Unified | 281. Oak Grove Elementary |
| 182. Inglewood Unified | 232. Lucia Mar USD | 282. Oakland |
| 183. Irvine | 233. Madera | 283. Oceano CSD |
| 184. Irvine Unified | 234. Madera Unified | 284. Oceanside Unified |
| | | 285. Ohio Redistricting
Commission |

Douglas M. Johnson, Ph.D.

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| 286. Ohlone CCD | 335. Richmond | 384. Selma Unified |
| 287. Ojai | 336. Rio Bravo-Greeley SD | 385. Sequoia Union High |
| 288. Orange | 337. Riverbank | 386. Shasta Union HSD |
| 289. Orange County Board of Ed | 338. Riverdale Unified | 387. Sierra CCD |
| 290. Oxnard | 339. Rocklin | 388. Sierra Sands USD |
| 291. Pacific Grove USD | 340. Rosemead Unified | 389. Simi Valley |
| 292. Pacific Union | 341. Roseville Joint UHSD | 390. Simi Valley Unified |
| 293. Pacifica | 342. Rowland Water | 391. Solana Beach |
| 294. Parajo Water | 343. Sacramento County | 392. Solana Beach Elementary |
| 295. Palm Desert | 344. Salida Union | 393. Soledad |
| 296. Palm Springs | 345. San Benito County | 394. Soledad Unified |
| 297. Palmdale | 346. San Benito Health Care District | 395. Solvang |
| 298. Palmdale Water | 347. San Benito High | 396. Sonoma County |
| 299. Palo Verde | 348. San Bernardino County | 397. South Bay Union SD |
| 300. Palomar CCD | 349. San Bernardino Water | 398. South Coast Water District |
| 301. Palomar Healthcare | 350. San Bruno | 399. South Pasadena |
| 302. Panama-Buena Vista SD | 351. San Clemente | 400. South Pasadena Unified |
| 303. Parlier | 352. San Diego | 401. South San Francisco |
| 304. Pasadena | 353. San Dieguito Union High | 402. South SF Unified |
| 305. Pasadena Unified | 354. San Dimas | 403. Southwestern |
| 306. Paso Robles | 355. San Luis Coastal USD | 404. Spencer Valley Elementary |
| 307. Patterson | 356. San Marcos | 405. Standard School District |
| 308. Peoria (AZ) | 357. San Marcos Unified | 406. Stanton |
| 309. Perris Union High | 358. San Mateo | 407. Stockton |
| 310. Petaluma Healthcare | 359. San Mateo County | 408. Strathmore Elementary |
| 311. Phoenix (AZ) | 360. San Mateo Foster City Schools | 409. Sundale Union Elementary |
| 312. Pixley Union | 361. San Mateo Union High | 410. Sunnyvale |
| 313. Placentia | 362. San Pasqual Union Elementary | 411. Surprise |
| 314. Placentia Yorba Linda | 363. San Rafael | 412. Sweetwater Union High |
| 315. Pleasant Valley Parks & Rec | 364. San Ramon Valley USD | 413. Taft City SD |
| 316. Pomona | 365. San Ysidro Elementary | 414. Taft Union HSD |
| 317. Pomona Unified | 366. Sanger | 415. Tehachapi |
| 318. Porterville | 367. Santa Barbara | 416. Tehachapi USD |
| 319. Porterville Unified | 368. Santa Barbara County | 417. Temecula |
| 320. Poway City | 369. Santa Clara Valley Water | 418. Thousand Oaks |
| 321. Poway Unified | 370. Santa Clarita | 419. Torrance |
| 322. Ramona Unified | 371. Santa Clarita Valley Water | 420. Tracy USD |
| 323. Rancho Cordova | 372. Santa Cruz City | 421. Tri-City Healthcare |
| 324. Rancho Cucamonga | 373. Santa Cruz City Schools | 422. Tulare |
| 325. Rancho Santa Fe Elementary | 374. Santa Cruz Port District | 423. Tulare City Elementary |
| 326. Rancho Santiago | 375. Santa Maria | 424. Tulare City High |
| 327. Rancho Simi Recreation & Parks | 376. Santa Maria Airport | 425. Tulare Health Care District |
| 328. Redbud Healthcare | 377. Santa Maria Joint Union High | 426. Tulelake Basin |
| 329. Redlands | 378. Santa Monica Unified | 427. Tuolumne County Board of Ed |
| 330. Redlands Unified | 379. Santa Paula | 428. Turlock |
| 331. Redwood City | 380. Santa Rosa | 429. Turlock Unified |
| 332. Redwood City Schools | 381. Santee | 430. Tustin |
| 333. Reedley | 382. Santee Elementary | 431. Tustin Unified |
| 334. Richland School District | 383. Selma | |

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432. Twentynine Palms
433. Twin Rivers Unified
434. Union City
435. Upland
436. Upper San Gabriel Valley
Water
437. Vacaville Unified
438. Vallecitos Elementary
439. Vallejo
440. Valley Center Pauma
Unified
441. Valley-Wide
442. Ventura
443. Victor School District
444. Victorville
445. Visalia
446. Visalia Unified
447. Vista
448. Vista Unified
449. Walnut Valley Water
450. Warner Unified
451. Wasco
452. Washington Unified
453. Washington Union
454. Waterford Union
455. West Contra Costa USD
456. West Covina
457. West Fresno Elementary
458. West MEC (AZ)
459. Western Placer Unified
460. West Valley Water
461. Western Municipal Water
462. Westminster
463. Westminster Elem
464. Westside Community
Health Care
465. Whittier
466. Whittier City Schools
467. Whittier Union High
468. Wildomar
469. Winton Water
470. Woodlake Union
471. Woodside
472. Yuba City
473. Yucaipa
474. Yucca Valley
475. Yuma County (AZ)

EXHIBIT D

1/4/2024

NATHANIEL PERSILY

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559 Nathan Abbott Way
Stanford, CA 94305-8610*

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Web: <http://www.persily.com/>

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

STANFORD LAW SCHOOL	STANFORD, CA
JAMES B. MCCLATCHY PROFESSOR OF LAW	2013 – present
SENIOR FELLOW, FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES	2019 – present
CO-DIRECTOR, STANFORD-MIT HEALTHY ELECTIONS PROJECT	2020 – present
CO-DIRECTOR, STANFORD CYBER POLICY CENTER	2019 – present
CO-DIRECTOR, PROJECT ON DEMOCRACY AND THE INTERNET	2017 – present

- *Courtesy Appointments:* Departments of Communication and Political Science.
- *Courses:* The Law of Democracy; Regulation of the Political Process; Constitutional Law, First Amendment, Free Speech, Democracy and the Internet; Political Campaigning in the Internet Age, Contemporary Issues in Law and Politics; Policy Practicums on Campaign Finance, Absentee Voting, Election Administration, Healthy Elections, the Facebook Oversight Board, and Redistricting.
- *Service:* Appointments Committee (Chair 2017-18); Careers in Teaching Committee; Workshops Chair.
- *Selected Awards and Fellowships:* Member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Elected 2019); Fellow at Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (2017-2019); Guggenheim Fellowship (2020-2021), Andrew Carnegie Fellowship (2016-17).
- *Commissioner,* Kofi Annan Commission on Elections and Democracy in the Digital Age (2019).

COLUMBIA LAW SCHOOL	NEW YORK, NY
CHARLES KELLER BEEKMAN PROFESSOR OF LAW AND PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	2008 – 2013
PROFESSOR OF LAW	2007 – 2008

- *Courtesy Appointment:* Department of Political Science (2007– 2013).

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- *Courses:* Constitutional Law; Advanced Constitutional Law: The Political Process; Freedom of Expression; Contemporary Issues in Law and Politics; Redistricting and Gerrymandering.
- *Service:* Lateral Appointments Committee Chair (2010-2012), Curriculum Committee Chair (2009-2010), Advisory Committee Chair (2008-2009), Intellectual Life Committee; Resources and Development Committee, Committee on Professional Development.
- *Center for Law and Politics:* Founding Director.
- *DrawCongress.org:* Founder.
- Instructor in University of Amsterdam Summer Program, July 2011.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LAW SCHOOL	PHILADELPHIA, PA
PROFESSOR OF LAW	2005 – 2007
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF LAW	2001 – 2005

- *Secondary Appointment:* Department of Political Science (2003-2007).
- *Courses:* Law and the Political Process; Contemporary Issues in Law and Politics; Constitutional Law, First Amendment.
- *Service:* Tenure and Promotion Committee, Judicial Clerkship Committee, Nominations Committee, Committee on Academic Standing; Coordinator of Faculty Retreat and Legal Studies Workshop.
- *Teaching Award:* Winner of the Robert A. Gorman Award for Excellence in Teaching.

VISITING PROFESSORSHIPS

UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE LAW SCHOOL	August 2014
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY Law and Public Affairs Fellow Woodrow Wilson School	2012-2013
UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM (COLUMBIA LAW PROGRAM)	Summer 2010
HARVARD LAW SCHOOL SIDLEY AUSTIN VISITING PROFESSOR	Fall 2007
STANFORD LAW SCHOOL	Spring 2006
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL	Fall 2004

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OTHER WORK EXPERIENCE

SOCIAL SCIENCE ONE
Co-Chair

April 2018 – July 2020

With funding from nine different foundations, established a commission of 85 academics from around the world to facilitate access to Facebook data for social scientists studying the impact of social media on democracy – www.socialscience.one .

PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION ON ELECTION ADMINISTRATION June 2013 - Jan. 2014
Senior Research Director

Conducted research and wrote report on “The American Voting Experience,” available at <http://web.mit.edu/supportthevoter/www/>.

SPECIAL MASTER OR COURT-APPOINTED EXPERT

Special Master for Redistricting of
Connecticut Congressional Districts

Dec. 2021 - Jan. 2022
Hartford, CT

Appointed by Supreme Court of Connecticut to draw state’s Congressional districts, pursuant to *In Re Petition of Reapportionment Commission, Ex. Rel.*, SC 20661 (2022).

Redistricting of North Carolina
Legislative Districts

Sept. 2019
Wake County, NC

Appointed by Superior Court of North Carolina as referee to advise, and if necessary, redraw the state’s legislative districts, pursuant to *Common Cause v. Lewis*, 18-CVS-014001, (N.C. Super. Ct., Sept 13, 2019).

Redistricting of Pennsylvania
Congressional Districts

Feb. 2018
Pittsburgh, PA

Appointed by Supreme Court of Pennsylvania as advisor to assist the Court in drawing Congressional district map pursuant to *League of Women Voters v. Commonwealth*, 178 A.3d 737 (S. Ct. Pa. 2018).

Special Master for Redistricting of North Carolina
State Legislative Districts

Nov.-Dec. 2017
Greensboro, NC

Appointed Special Master by U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina to draw remedial state legislative redistricting plan pursuant to *Covington v. North Carolina*, 283 F. Supp.3d 410 (MDNC 2018).

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Redistricting of New York Congressional Districts Feb.-Mar. 2012 New York, NY

Appointed by U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York to assist Magistrate Judge in drawing state’s Congressional districts pursuant to *Favors v. Cuomo*, 2012 WL 928223 (EDNY 2012). Plan adopted on March 19, 2012,

Special Master for Redistricting of Connecticut Congressional Districts Jan.-Feb. 2012 Hartford, CT

Appointed by Supreme Court of Connecticut to draw state’s Congressional districts, pursuant to *In Re Petition of Reapportionment Commission, Ex. Rel.*, 36 A.3d 661 (Ct. Sup. Ct. 2012). Plan adopted Feb. 12, 2012.

Redistricting of Georgia General Assembly Feb.-March 2004 Atlanta, GA

Appointed by U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia to draw districts for Georgia House of Representatives and Senate. Plan adopted in *Larios v. Cox*, 314 F.Supp.2d 1357 (N.D. Ga., 2004).

Redistricting of Maryland State Legislative Districts June 2002 Annapolis, MD

Appointed by Maryland Court of Appeals to draw Court plan, currently in effect, for 2002 state legislative districts. Plan adopted in *In re Legislative Redistricting of State*, 805 A.2d 292 (Md. 2002).

Redistricting of New York Congressional Districts May-June 2002 New York, NY

Pursuant to *Rodriguez v. Pataki*, 2002 WL 1058054 (S.D.N.Y. 2002), appointed by Special Master, Judge Frederick B. Lacey, to draw plan for New York State’s congressional districts, later superseded by state legislature’s plan.

REDISTRICTING CONSULTANT

Consultant to Maryland Citizens Redistricting Commission 2021-22 Annapolis, MD Report available at <https://tinyurl.com/PersilyMarylandReport>

Consultant to Utah Independent Redistricting Commission 2011 San Juan, PR

Consultant to Redistricting Commission and Council of Prince George’s County 2011 & 2021 Upper Marlboro, MD

Consultant to the Chief Justice of Puerto Rico 2011 & 2022

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to evaluate House and Senate redistricting criteria San Juan, PR

EXPERT WITNESS

California State Senate 2002-2003
Redistricting Litigation Sacramento, CA

Served as an expert to evaluate the 2002 California Senate and Congressional redistricting plans concerning those plans' compliance with state constitutional provisions requiring respect for political subdivisions and geographic regions.

OUTSIDE COUNSEL

Bethlehem Area Unified School District 2008
Bethlehem, PA

Consultant to school district in settlement concerning lawsuit alleging vote dilution in school district boundaries.

Miami-Dade County Attorneys Office 2002
Miami, Florida

Consultant to Miami-Dade County in litigation involving the 2000 redistricting process and challenges to the structure of local government.

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL

Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law 1999-2001
New York, NY

LAW CLERK

The Honorable David S. Tatel 1998-1999
U.S. Court of Appeals, D.C. Circuit Washington, DC

LEGAL EXTERN

The Honorable John T. Noonan June-August 1996
U.S. Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit San Francisco, CA

GRADUATE STUDENT INSTRUCTOR &
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

Professor Nelson Polsby 1994-1995
Institute of Governmental Studies, U.C. Berkeley Berkeley, CA

EDUCATION

STANFORD LAW SCHOOL, J.D. with Distinction, 1998

- President, Volume 50, *Stanford Law Review*.

U.C. BERKELEY, M.A., 1994; Ph.D. in Political Science, 2002

- Recipient of the Edith Pence and Jacob Javits Scholarships.

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- Thesis Title: *When Political Parties Go to Court*.
- Thesis Committee: Nelson Polsby, Bruce Cain, Raymond Wolfinger, Robert Post.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM, 1992-1993
Raoul Wallenberg & Rotary Foundation Scholar.

YALE UNIVERSITY, B.A. & M.A. in Political Science, 1992
Phi Beta Kappa, Magna Cum Laude, Distinction in the Major, Recipient of the Haas Prize, Richard Sewall Cup, and Frank M. Patterson Prize for the finest senior project in American Politics.

PUBLICATIONS

A Proposal for Researcher Access to Platform Data: The Platform Transparency and Accountability Act, 1 JOURNAL OF ONLINE TRUST AND SAFETY (2021), <https://doi.org/10.54501/jots.v1i1.22>

Moderating with the Mob: Evaluating the Efficacy of Real-Time Crowdsourced Fact-Checking, 1 JOURNAL OF ONLINE TRUST AND SAFETY (2021) (with William Godel, Zeve Sanderson, Kevin Aslett, Jonathan Nagler, Richard Bonneau & Joshua A. Tucker), <https://doi.org/10.54501/jots.v1i1.15>

The Miracle and Tragedy of the 2020 U.S. Election, 32 JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY 159 (2021).

The Virus and the Vote: How to Prevent the Infection of Our Election, 16 OHIO STATE TECHNOLOGY LAW JOURNAL 473 (2020).

SOCIAL MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY: THE STATE OF THE FIELD AND PROSPECTS FOR REFORM, (eds. Nathaniel Persily & Joshua Tucker, Cambridge U. Press, 2020).

Math on trial, SCIENCE, Aug. 9, 2019.

A New Model for Industry-Academic Partnerships, PS: POLITICAL SCIENCE AND POLITICS, 1-7, Sept. 2019 (with Gary King).

THE INTERNET'S CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY: FRAMING THE PROBLEM AND ASSESSING REFORMS (Kofi Annan Foundation, 2019).

CAMPAIGN FINANCE IN THE UNITED STATES: ASSESSING AN ERA OF FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE (Bipartisan Policy Center, 2018)

Can Democracy Survive the Internet?, 28 JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY 63 (2017).

Who Counts for One Person, One Vote?, 50 U.C. DAVIS LAW REVIEW 1395 (2017)

THE LAW OF DEMOCRACY: LEGAL STRUCTURE OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS (5th ed., Foundation Press, 2016) (with Samuel Issacharoff, Pamela Karlan & Richard Pildes).

1/4/2024

Revisiting Public Opinion on Voter Identification and Voter Fraud in an Era of Increasing Partisan Polarization, 68 STANFORD LAW REVIEW 1455 (2016) (with Charles Stewart III and Stephen Ansolabehere).

When is a Legislature Not a Legislature? When Voters Regulate Elections Through Direct Democracy?, 77 OHIO STATE LAW JOURNAL 689 (2016) (with Samuel Byker, William Evans, and Alon Sachar).

The Campaign Revolution Will Not Be Televised, 11 AMERICAN INTEREST 33 (2015).

Testing Shaw v. Reno: Do Majority-Minority Districts Cause Expressive Harms, 90 NYU LAW REVIEW 1041 (2015) (with Stephen Ansolabehere).

SOLUTIONS TO POLITICAL POLARIZATION IN AMERICA (Nathaniel Persily ed., Cambridge University Press, 2015).

The Meaning of Equal Protection, 31 GPSOLO 13 (Nov/Dec 2014).

Bush v. Gore in the American Mind: Reflections and Survey Results on the Tenth Anniversary of the Decision Ending the 2000 Election Controversy (with Amy Semet and Stephen Ansolabehere) in Michael Alvarez and Bernard Grofman eds., ELECTION ADMINISTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES: THE STATE OF REFORM AFTER BUSH V. GORE (2014).

Shelby County v. Holder and the Future of the Voting Rights Act, GOVERNANCE STUDIES AT BROOKINGS, Aug. 2013 (with Thomas Mann).

THE HEALTH CARE CASE: THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS (Oxford University Press, 2013) (edited with Gillian Metzger & Trevor Morrison).

Regional Differences in Racial Polarization in the 2012 Presidential Election: Implications for the Constitutionality of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, 126 HARVARD. LAW REVIEW FORUM 205 (2013) (with Stephen Ansolabehere & Charles Stewart III).

Drawing Lines in Shifting Sands: The DOJ, the VRA, and the 2011 Redistricting Process, 23 STANFORD LAW AND POLICY REVIEW 345 (2012).

Profiling Originalism, 111 COLUMBIA LAW REVIEW 356 (2011) (with Jamal Greene and Stephen Ansolabehere).

Foreword: The Legacy of Bush v. Gore in Public Opinion and American Law, 23 SAINT THOMAS LAW REVIEW 325 (2011).

The Law of the Census: How to Count, What to Count, Whom to Count, and Where to Count Them, 32 CARDOZO LAW REVIEW 755 (2011).

Foreword: The Legacy of Bush v. Gore in Public Opinion and American Law, 23 ST. THOMAS LAW REVIEW 325 (2011).

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Forty Years in the Political Thicket: Evaluating Judicial Oversight of Redistricting Since Reynolds v. Sims, in Thomas Mann & Bruce E. Cain eds., PARTY LINES: COMPETITION, PARTISANSHIP, AND CONGRESSIONAL REDISTRICTING (Brookings Inst. Press, 2005).

The Law of American Party Finance, in Keith Ewing & Samuel Issacharoff, PARTY FUNDING AND CAMPAIGN FINANCING IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE (Hart, 2005).

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Toward a Functional Defense of Political Party Autonomy, 76 N.Y.U. LAW REVIEW 750 (2001).

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Color by Numbers: Race, Redistricting, and the 2000 Census, 85 MINNESOTA LAW REVIEW 899 (2001).

THE REAL Y2K PROBLEM: CENSUS 2000 DATA AND REDISTRICTING TECHNOLOGY (Brennan Center 2000) (Editor and Contributor).

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The Legal Status of Political Parties: A Reassessment of Competing Paradigms, 100 COLUMBIA LAW REVIEW 775 (2000) (with Bruce Cain).

The Right to Bail in International Extradition Proceedings, 34 STANFORD JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 407 (1998).

The Peculiar Geography of Direct Democracy: Why the Initiative, Referendum and Recall Developed in the American West, 2 MICHIGAN LAW & POLICY REVIEW 11 (1997).

The Parliamentary Option for California Government, in CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN CALIFORNIA: MAKING STATE GOVERNMENT MORE EFFECTIVE AND RESPONSIVE (Bruce E. Cain & Roger G. Noll eds.) (IGS Press 1995) (with Bruce Cain).

CONGRESSIONAL AND OTHER TESTIMONY

The Promise and Challenges of Evolving Technologies for American Democracy, Committee on Science, Technology, and Law, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, DC (Oct. 21, 2015).

New and Necessary Innovations to Improve Voter Participation and Registration, Hearing Before Senate Select Committee on Science, Innovation and Public Policy, California State Senate (March 11, 2014).

Redistricting and the 2010 Census: Enforcing Section 5 of the VRA, United States Commission on Civil Rights (Feb. 3, 2010).

United States v. Stevens: The Supreme Court's Decision Invalidating the Crush Video Statute, Hearing before the Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism, and Homeland Security of the U.S. House Committee on the Judiciary, 111th Cong. (May 26, 2010).

Voter Registration: Assessing Current Problems, Hearing before the United States Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, 111th Cong. (March 11, 2009).

Understanding the Benefits and Costs of Section 5 Preclearance, Hearing before the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 110th Cong. (May 17, 2006).

The States' Choice of Voting Systems Act: Hearing on H.R. 1173 before the Subcommittee on the Constitution of the House Committee on the Judiciary, 106th Cong. (Sept. 23, 1999).

U.S. SUPREME COURT AMICUS BRIEFS

Brief of Nathaniel Persily, et al., *Evenwel v. Abbott* (No. 14-940).

Brief of Nathaniel Persily, et al., *Arizona State Legislature v. Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission*, (No. 13-1314).

Brief for Nathaniel Persily, et al., *Northwest Austin Municipal Utility District Number One v. Holder*, 129 S.Ct. 2504 (2009) (No. 08-322).

Brief for Nathaniel Persily et al., *Bartlett v. Strickland*, 556 U.S. 1 (2009) (No. 07-689).

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Brief Amicus Curiae of Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law in Support of Appellees, *Utah v. Evans*, 536 U.S. 452 (2002) (No. 01-714).

Brief Amicus Curiae of Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law in Support of Respondents, *Bush v. Gore*, 531 U.S. 98 (2000) (No. 00-949).

BAR, EDITORIAL BOARD, AND PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS

- Co-Chair, Social Science One (the Facebook Election Research Commission).
- Member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
- Commissioner, Kofi Annan Commission on Elections and Democracy in the Digital Age.
- Member, National Academy of Sciences Committee on *The Future of Voting*.
- Advisory Board, Monkey Cage Blog at the *Washington Post*.
- Editorial Board, *Election Law Journal* and *The Forum*.
- Social Science Research Council, Advisor to Anxieties of Democracy Project.
- American Law Institute, Member and Advisor, Principles of Election Law Project.
- American Political Science Association, Advisory Committee to Law and Political Process Study Group.
- Hewlett Foundation, Consultant and Academic Advisor.
- Advisory Committee, Electoral Institute, Veracruz, Mexico.
- Member of the New York and United States Supreme Court Bars.

RECENT SPEECHES AND PAPER PRESENTATIONS

- *Can Democracy Survive the Internet?* American Academy of Arts and Sciences Chapter Meeting, Stanford, CA, Dec. 2, 2019; University of Zurich, Zurich, Switzerland, Sept. 25, 2019; NYU Law School, Sept. 17, 2019; Knowledge Future, Stanford, CA, Aug. 24, 2019; Davenport College, Yale, New Haven, CT, Oct. 4, 2018; American Bar Foundation, Chicago, IL, Oct. 3, 2018; National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan, Sept. 3, 2018; I CON conference, Hong Kong, June 25, 2018; 2 Sigma, New York, NY, May 1, 2018, Aspen Ideas Festival, Aspen, CO, June 27, 2017; Stanford in the Wild, Lake Tahoe, CA, Apr. 28, 2017; Wisconsin Law School Faculty Workshop, Madison Wisconsin, Apr. 26, 2017; Stanford Center, Florence, Italy, Apr. 18, 2017.
- *Democracy in the Digital Age*, Meeting of the Trilateral Commission, Stanford CA, Nov. 16, 2018.
- *Does Disinformation Threaten Democracy?* National Constitution Center, Stanford, CA May 3, 2018.
- *Report on Research of Campaign Finance Task Force*, National Institute on Money in State Politics, Bigfork, MT, June 3, 2017.
- *Redistricting and Representation in American Law*, Conference on “The Law and Lives of Democracies,” O.P. Jindal Global University, Delhi, India, Mar. 30, 2017.
- *Coming to Grips with the 2016 Election* Indian Law Institute, Delhi, India, Oct. 26, 2016; Dean’s Advisory Council, Stanford Law School, Stanford, CA, Oct. 20, 2016; Stanford Los Angeles Alumni Event, Los Angeles,

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- Oct. 13, 2016; Stanford Directors College, Stanford, CA, June 19, 2016; Stanford Alumni Event, Washington, DC, June 9, 2016.
- *The Costs and Benefits of the Right to Information*, Conference on Deliberative Democracy, O.P. Jindal Global University, Delhi, India, Oct. 24, 2016.
 - *Voting Rights, Election Law, and the 2016 Campaign* Public Interest Law Lunch, Stanford, CA, Oct. 20, 2016; Stanford Alumni Weekend, Stanford, CA, Oct. 21, 2016; San Francisco Legal Aid Society, San Francisco, CA, July 12, 2016.
 - *The Campaign Revolution Will Not Be Televised* UCLA Law School Faculty Workshop, Oct. 14, 2016; Public Policy Lecture, Reed College, Sept. 26, 2016; Board of Overseers, Stanford Law School, Stanford, CA, April 15, 2016; Ohio State Law School, Nov. 20, 2015; The Central Valley Foundation/James B. McClatchy Lecture on the First Amendment, U.C. Davis Law School, Oct. 29, 2015; Constitutional Conversation, Stanford Law School, Oct. 27, 2015; Berkeley Law School Public Law Workshop & Institute of Governmental Studies Harris Seminar, Berkeley, CA, Sept. 29, 2015; Conference on Online Political Advertising, Bipartisan Policy Center, Stanford Law School, Sept. 18, 2015; Stanford Law School Faculty Workshop, August 12, 2015.
 - *Roundtable of Campaign Finance*, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, Sept. 3, 2016.
 - *Anxieties of Democracy*, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, Sept. 1, 2016.
 - *Redistricting Law After Evenwel v. Abbott*, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, Sept. 3, 2016.
 - *Does Democracy Need to Be Fixed?*, Penn Law School Symposium on “Is Government Broken?”, Phil., PA, March 24, 2016.
 - *Solutions to Political Polarization* Southern California Law and Social Sciences Forum Keynote, San Diego, CA, Mar. 18, 2016; Democracy Studies Event, Ohio State University, Moritz College of Law, Columbus, OH, March 12, 2015; Columbia Law School Faculty Workshop, New York, NY, Nov. 6, 2014; University of Melbourne Law School Legal Studies Workshop, Melbourne, Australia, Aug. 7, 2014; University of New South Wales Law School Faculty Workshop, Sydney, Australia, August 4, 2014; Stanford Law School Faculty Workshop, Stanford, CA, July 16, 2014; SSRC Presents – *Anxieties of Democracy: Why Is America So Polarized?*, Roosevelt House, New York, NY, Feb. 18, 2014.
 - *Contemporary Controversies in the American Law of Democracy*, Conference on Democracy and Its Discontents, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, Oct. 9, 2015.
 - *The Law of the 2012 Election*, Stanford Alumni Dean’s Circle Event, Newseum, Washington, DC, Nov. 13, 2014.
 - *Caught Between the Rock of the Constitution and the Hard Place of the Voting Rights Act*, University of Chicago Legal Forum Symposium, Chicago, IL, Nov. 7, 2014.
 - *Testing Shaw v. Reno: Do Majority-Minority Districts Cause Expressive Harms?*, Symposium on Empirical Studies of Constitutional Law, University of Chicago Law School, Oct. 23, 2014.
 - *Political Parties and Campaign Finance*, Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington, DC, Oct. 16, 2014.
 - *Redistricting Reform: People, Principles and Processes*, Ohio State University, Apr. 18, 2014.
 - *The American Voting Experience: Report of the Presidential Commission on Election Administration*

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- Australian Election Network, University of Melbourne, Aug. 6, 2014.
Stanford Law School Faculty Workshop, Feb. 19, 2014
National Association of State Election Directors, San Francisco, CA, Aug. 22, 2014.
George Washington Law School, Jan. 22, 2014.
- *Evaluating Redistricting Reforms*, Bauman Foundation, Washington, DC, Dec. 9, 2013.
 - *The Law of the 2012 Election*, Columbia Alumni Clubs of Sarasota and Tampa, Apr. 4-5, 2012.
 - *The Law of Democracy in American Constitutional Law*, Dean Alfange Jr. Distinguished Lecture, U. Mass Amherst, Amherst, MA, Mar. 26, 2012
 - *Politics as Bloodsport: Redistricting Controversies Past and Present*, Columbia Law Washington Program and Alumni Presentation, Washington, DC, Feb. 29, 2012.
 - *The Law of Redistricting*, CSPAN: American History TV, Columbia Law School, Feb. 27, 2012.
 - *Citizens United, the Media, and the Medium*, Stanford Department of Communications, Stanford, CA, Feb. 23, 2012.
 - *Drawing Lines in Shifting Sands*, *Stanford Law and Policy Review Symposium*, Stanford, CA, Jan. 28, 2012.
 - *Judges and Redistricting*, *Yale Law and Policy Review Symposium*, Yale Law School, New Haven, CT, Oct. 22, 2011.
 - *Redistricting New York 2012: Issues and Controversies*, The Center for Electoral Politics and Democracy at Fordham University, New York, NY, Oct. 5, 2011.
 - *Bush v Gore, 10 Years Later: Election Administration in the United States*, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine, Cal Tech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Laguna Beach, CA, April 16-17, 2011.
 - *Race, Party and Community Representation in the Redistricting Process*, Yale Law School, New Haven, CT, Feb. 25, 2011.
 - *The Causes of Party Polarization in Congress*, HARVARD JOURNAL OF LEGISLATION Symposium, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, Feb. 24, 2011.
 - *Politics and the Roberts Court*, EMORY LAW JOURNAL Thrower Symposium, Emory Law School, Atlanta, GA, Feb. 10, 2011.
 - *The 2010 Census and Election*, Columbia Law School Federalist Society, Feb 9, 2011.
 - *The Shifting Sands of Redistricting Law: Unanswered Questions for the 2010 Cycle*, National Conference of State Legislatures, National Harbor, MD, Jan 23, 2011.
 - *The Constitutional Politics of the Tea Party Movement*, Association of American Law Schools Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA, Jan. 6, 2011.
 - *Profiling Originalism*, Law, Economics, and Organization Workshop, Yale Law School, New Haven, CT, Dec. 9, 2010; University of Chicago Law School Faculty Workshop, Chicago, IL, Nov. 11, 2010; George Washington University Law School Faculty Workshop, Washington, DC, Sept. 21, 2010.
 - *The Tenth Anniversary of Bush v. Gore*, Columbia Law School Alumni Breakfast Series, Greenberg Traurig, New York, NY, Dec. 2, 2010.
 - *Bush v. Gore: A Decade Later*, ST. THOMAS LAW REVIEW Symposium, Miami, FL, Nov. 12-13, 2010.
 - *Redistricting 2011: Decisions of a Decade*, Council of State Governments Intergovernmental Affairs Committee, Providence, RI, Dec. 5, 2010.
 - *Expert Witnesses in Redistricting*, NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Airlie Conference Center, Warrenton, VA Oct. 9, 2010.
 - *Citizens United*, UNC First Amendment Law Review, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC, Oct. 8, 2010.

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- *Redistricting Cases Since the Last Census*, National Conference of State Legislatures, Redistricting Task Force, Providence, RI, Sept. 26, 2010.
- *American Law Institute Conference on Election Law*, Philadelphia, PA, June 10, 2010.
- “*United We Stand, United We Fall?*”, Panel Discussion on Citizens’ United v. FEC, Stanford Law School Alumni Event, Waldorf Astoria, May 4, 2010.
- *Voting and Democratic Participation*, Conference on “Acknowledging Race in a ‘Post-Racial’ Era,” Cardozo Law School, New York, NY. Apr. 30, 2010.
- *The Law of Democracy in the Age of Obama and Roberts*, Columbia Law Alumni Association, Ropes and Gray, LLP, Boston, MA, April 13, 2010.
- *The Law of the Census*, Indiana Law Review Conference on the Law of Democracy, Indiana Law School, Indianapolis, IN, April 9, 2010.
- *A Closer Look at Key Decisions Since 2000*, National Conference of State Legislatures Redistricting Task Force, Austin, TX, Mar. 26, 2010.
- *Race and the Law in the Age of Obama and Roberts*, 2010 Edward Brodsky Legal Conference, Anti Defamation League, New York Times Building, March 4, 2010 (moderator).
- *Taking Politics as Markets (Too) Seriously, The Past Present and Future of Election Law: A Symposium Honoring the Work of Daniel Lowenstein*, UCLA Law School, Los Angeles, CA, Jan. 29, 2010.
- *The Redistricting Experience – Tales from the Field*, Redistricting Reform & Voting Rights - Identifying Common Ground and Challenges, Warren Institute, UCDC, Washington, DC, Nov. 10, 2010.
- “*Democracia Electoral, Hacia Una Nueva Agenda*,” Electoral Institute of Veracruz, Veracruz, Mexico, October 15-16, 2009.
- *Election Law in the Age of Obama and Roberts*, Stone Agers Luncheon, St. Regis Hotel, New York, NY, Sept. 30, 2009.
- *Race, Region and Vote Choice in the 2008 Election*, The Ohio State Moritz College of Law Faculty Workshop, Columbus, OH, Sept. 23, 2009.
- *Originalism in the American Mind*, James Goold Cutler Lecture, William and Mary Law School, Williamsburg, VA, Sept. 17, 2009.
- *Gay Marriage, the Courts and Direct Democracy*, Roundtable at American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, Canada, Sept. 4, 2009.
- *Reflections on the Supreme Court’s Recent Voting Rights Cases*, New America Foundation, Washington, DC, June 30, 2009
- *New Developments in the Meaning of the Voting Rights Act*, National Conference of State Legislatures Redistricting Task Force, San Francisco, CA, June 14, 2009.
- *Voter Registration Reform*, AEI-Brookings Election Reform Project, Washington, DC, June 2, 2009.
- *The Meaning of the Voting Rights Act in the Age of Obama*, Stanford Law School Faculty Workshop, Stanford, CA, Mar. 18, 2009.
- *Election 2008: Looking Back and Moving Forward*, American Friends of the Hebrew University, New York, NY, Mar. 17, 2009; Columbia Law Alumni and Admittee Event, Washington, DC Mar. 17, 2009.
- *Election Administration Issues in the 2008 Election*, Tobin Project/ALI Elections Scholarship Conference, Duke Law School, Durham, NC, Feb. 27, 2009.
- *The Associational Rights of Political Parties: Recent Cases and Reform Efforts*, New York Bar Association, Election Law Committee, New York, NY, March 26, 2009.

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- *Fig Leaves and Tea Leaves in the Supreme Court's Recent Election Law Decisions*, University of Miami Law Review Symposium, Miami, FL, Jan. 4, 2009; University of Minnesota Law School Public Law Workshop, Minneapolis, MN, Jan. 6, 2009.
- *Redistricting War Stories*, American Mathematics Society, Washington, DC, Jan. 8, 2009.
- *Everything You Ever Wanted to Know About Election Law*, Ezra Stiles College Master's Tea and Fellows Dinner, Yale University, New Haven CT, Oct. 30, 2008.
- *Litigation in the 2008 Election*, New York State Bar Association Committee on Minorities in the Profession, New York, NY, Oct. 28, 2008.
- *The Crawford Decision and the Future of Voter Identification*, University of Maryland, Baltimore, MD, Oct. 16, 2008.
- *Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process*, Stanford Law School, Stanford, CA, Oct. 3, 2008.
- *Defacing Democracy: The Rising Importance and Salience of As-Applied Challenges in the Roberts Court*, Rutgers-Camden Law School, Camden, NJ, Sept., 22, 2008; Minnesota Law School, Minneapolis, MN, Oct. 17, 2008.
- *The Law and Politics of the 2008 Election*, Columbia Alumni Association of the District of Columbia, Washington, DC, Oct. 15, 2008; New York Alumni Event, New York, NY, Oct. 7, 2008.
- *Litigating the 2008 Election*, Connecticut Bar Association, District of Connecticut Bench-Bar Conference, Sept. 19, 2009.
- *Improving our Elections: Future Research and Reform*, Carnegie Foundation, New York, NY, Sept. 18, 2008.
- *Legal Issues in the 2008 Election*, Cardozo Law School, Mar. 26, 2008.
- *Voting Rights, Voter Fraud and Election Administration*, Harvard Journal on Legislation conference on "Voices on Voting: Election Law in 2008," Cambridge, MA, Mar. 6, 2008.
- *Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder*, Columbia Law School, Feb. 26, 2008; University of Chicago Law School, Mar. 4, 2008.
- *The New Voting Rights Act*, Journal of Law and Politics, University of Virginia Law School, Charlottesville, VA, Feb. 23, 2008.
- *Redistricting in Democratic Theory*, Byron White Center Symposium on Reapportioning Colorado, Old Supreme Court Chambers, Colorado State Capitol, Denver, CO, Jan. 25, 2008.
- *Preview of the 2008 Election Campaign*, Election Law Society, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, Oct. 10, 2007; Columbia Law School Alumni Association, Nov. 8, 2007.
- *Preliminary Results from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Survey* (with Stephen Ansolabehere), Stanford Law School, Stanford, CA Apr. 6, 2007.
- *The Implications of the 2003 Texas Redistricting Controversy*, Symposium on *Lines in the Sand*, University of Texas Law School, Austin, TX, March 2, 2007.
- *Public Opinion and Constitutional Controversy*, Symposium on Positive Approaches to Constitutional Law and Theory, University of Pennsylvania Law School, Philadelphia, PA, Feb. 24, 2007.
- *The Implications of the 2006 Elections for Legal Debates over Partisan Gerrymandering*, NYU Annals of American Law Conference, New York University Law School, New York, NY, Feb. 23, 2007.
- *The Promises and Pitfalls of the New Voting Rights Act*, Faculty Workshop, Columbia Law School, New York, NY, Jan. 11, 2007; USC Center on Law and Politics, Los Angeles, CA, Apr. 10, 2007; Northwestern Law School, Chicago, IL, Apr. 17, 2007; Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, Oct. 4, 2007.

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- *Nonpartisanship, Competition and Minority Voting Rights*, UNC Center for Civil Rights, Chapel Hill, NC, Feb. 3, 2006; Humphrey Inst., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, Apr. 25, 2006.
- *The Constitutionality of the Voting Rights Act*, Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Washington, DC, Mar. 9, 2006.
- *The Place of Competition in American Election Law*, Cato Institute, Washington, DC, Mar. 9, 2006.
- *Public Funding of Election Campaigns: Options for Reform and Questions for Research*, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI, Jan. 28, 2006.
- *Gay Marriage, Public Opinion and the Courts*, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Sept. 1, 2005; Emory Law School Faculty Workshop, Sept. 21, 2005; University of Michigan Law School Faculty Workshop, Nov. 16, 2005; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jan. 2, 2006; Bar Ilan Law School, Jan. 3, 2006; Tel Aviv Law School, Jan. 5, 2006; Williams Institute at UCLA Law School, Feb. 24, 2006, Stanford Law School Faculty Workshop, March 22, 2006; Columbia Law School Faculty Workshop, June 13, 2006; Northwestern Law School, April 17, 2007.
- *Options and Strategies for Renewal of Section Five of the Voting Rights Act*, Conference on “Lessons From the Past, Prospects for the Future: Honoring the 40th Anniversary of the Voting Rights Act of 1965,” Yale University, April 23, 2005; Russell Sage Foundation, New York, NY, June 24, 2006; Howard Law School, Branton Symposium, Oct. 28, 2005.
- *New Politics*, Conference on “The Constitution in 2020,” American Constitution Society, Yale Law School, Apr. 9, 2005.
- *Constitutional Issues in the Terry Schiavo Case*, Penn Law School, Mar. 29, 2005.
- *Regulating Democracy Through Democracy*, Conference on “The Impact of Direct Democracy,” Initiative and Referendum Institute, U.C. Irvine, Irvine, CA, Jan. 15, 2005.
- *Conflicts of Interest in Comparative Perspective*, University of Trento, Trento, Italy, Sept. 17, 2004.
- *Partisan Gerrymandering after Vieth v. Jubelirer and The Constitutionality of Counting the Overseas Population*, National Conference of State Legislatures, Salt Lake City, UT, July 20-21, 2004.
- *Money, Elections and Political Equality: Campaign Finance After McConnell*, American Constitution Society, Washington, DC, June 19, 2004.
- *Homeland Security and Civil Liberties*, Joint Conference Sponsored by U.S. Army War College and Penn Law School, June 18, 2004 (conference organizer).
- *Understanding McConnell v. FEC*, Program in Law and Public Affairs, Princeton University, May 27, 2004.
- *Redistricting Georgia*, Ad Hoc Workshop, Penn Law School, April 22, 2004.
- *Forty Years in the Political Thicket: Evaluating Judicial Oversight of Redistricting Since Baker v. Carr*, The Brookings Institution, Apr. 16, 2004.
- *American Election Law*, The Moscow School for Political Studies, National Constitution Center, March 26, 2004.
- *The Constitutional Law of American Elections*, Fels School of Government, University of Pennsylvania, March 11, 2004.
- *American Election Law*, Penn Law Board of Overseers, Penn Club of New York, March 12, 2004.
- *The Law of the Census: How to Count, What to Count, Whom to Count, and Where to Count Them*, U.S. Census Bureau, March 4, 2004.
- *Perceptions of Corruption and Campaign Finance*, Southwestern Law School, Feb. 23, 2004; American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, Sept. 3, 2004, Boalt Hall School of

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- Law, Berkeley, CA, Sept. 7, 2004, Seton Hall Law School, Oct. 29, 2004, NYU Law School, Nov. 15, 2004.
- *The Law of Democracy*, Conference Organizer and Panelist, Penn Law Review, Feb. 6-7, 2004.
 - *Redistricting Controversies*, Dianne Rehm Show, National Public Radio, Dec. 4, 2003.
 - *Judging in the Current Era*, American Constitution Society, Penn Law School, Nov. 18, 2003 (moderated panel of four federal judges).
 - *Panel on Appointment of Federal Judges*, Penn Law Public Interest Program, Oct. 29, 2003.
 - *Recent Supreme Court Decisions*, Chestnut Hill Academy, Sept. 2003.
 - *McConnell v. FEC: Understanding the Decision and Its Implications*, Penn Law, May 15, 2003 (conference organizer and speaker).
 - *The Law and Technology of the Redistricting Process*, Columbia Law School, Feb. 6, 2003; NYU School of Law, Sept. 30, 2002.
 - *The Effect of the BCRA on State Political Parties*, National Conference of State Legislatures, Washington, DC, Dec. 12, 2002.
 - *American Election Law*, Speech to visiting election officials from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Sponsored by the Carter Center, National Committee on U.S. Chinese Relations, Women's Campaign International. Fels School of Government, Nov. 3, 2002.
 - *In Defense of Foxes Guarding Henhouses: The Case for Judicial Acquiescence to Incumbent-Protecting Gerrymanders*, National Conference of State Legislatures (Washington, DC, Dec. 12, 2002); University of Miami Law School, (Oct. 25, 2002); University of Pennsylvania Department of Political Science (Oct. 10, 2002); Rutgers-Camden Law School (Sept. 9, 2002); University of Pennsylvania Law School (Aug. 15, 2002).
 - *Parties, Money and Corruption*, "The Funding of Political Parties Workshop," Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, University of London, July 5-6, 2002.
 - *Redistricting New York*, University of Pennsylvania Law School Ad Hoc workshop, Summer 2002.
 - *The Law and Technology of the 2000 Redistricting Process*, Harvard Law School, Apr. 22, 2002.
 - *Strategies for Election Reform and their Legal Consequences*, Georgetown Journal on Poverty Law and Policy, Georgetown University Law Center, Feb. 25, 2002.
 - *The Political Impact of One Person, One Vote*, Symposium on Baker v. Carr, University of North Carolina Law School, Chapel Hill, NC, Nov. 2-4, 2001.
 - *Understanding and Complying with Bush v. Gore*, Election Law Task Force of the National Conference of State Legislatures, National Press Club, May 9, 2001.
 - *Multiraciality and the 2000 Census*, Brennan Center at NYU Law School, May 4, 2001.
 - *Latino Representation and the 2000 Redistricting Process*, National Meeting of the Latino Law Students Association, Columbia Law School, Mar. 2, 2001.
 - *The Law, Politics, and Technology of the 2000 Redistricting Process*, Eagleton Institute of Public Affairs, Rutgers University, Dec. 18, 2000.
 - *The Legal Regulation of Party Primaries*, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, Sept. 1, 2000.

Selected Media Appearances and Interviews

- *Television*: NBC, ABC, CBS, CNN, MSNBC, FoxNews, Bloomberg, CNNfn.
- *Radio*: NPR, CBS Radio, ABC Radio, BBC Radio, Voice of America.
- *Newspapers and Wire Services*: New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Los Angeles Times, San Francisco Chronicle, Philadelphia Inquirer, Washington Times, Houston Chronicle, Christian Science Monitor, Dallas Morning News, Miami Herald,

1/4/2024

Atlanta Journal Constitution, Detroit Free Press, Baltimore Sun, the Guardian, McClatchy, Knight Ridder, Gannett, Associated Press, United Press International.

- *Other periodicals:* The New Yorker, The New Republic, Congressional Quarterly, Roll Call.

EXHIBIT E

Michael Jay Barber

CONTACT INFORMATION

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Provo, UT 84602

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ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Brigham Young University, Provo, UT

2020 - present Associate Professor, Department of Political Science
2014 - 2020 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science

2014 - present Faculty Scholar, Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy

EDUCATION

Princeton University Department of Politics, Princeton, NJ

Ph.D., Politics, July 2014

- Advisors: Brandice Canes-Wrone, Nolan McCarty, and Kosuke Imai
- Dissertation: “Buying Representation: the Incentives, Ideology, and Influence of Campaign Contributions on American Politics”
- 2015 Carl Albert Award for Best Dissertation, Legislative Studies Section, American Political Science Association (APSA)

M.A., Politics, December 2011

Brigham Young University, Provo, UT

B.A., International Relations - Political Economy Focus, April, 2008

- *Cum Laude*

RESEARCH INTERESTS

American politics, congressional polarization, political ideology, campaign finance, survey research

PUBLICATIONS

22. **“Who’s the Partisan: Are Issues or Groups More Important to Partisanship?”**
with Jeremy Pope, Forthcoming at *American Political Research*
21. **“Does Issue Importance Attenuate Partisan Cue-Taking?”**
with Jeremy Pope, Forthcoming at *Political Science Research and Methods*
20. **“A Revolution of Rights in American Founding Documents”**
with Scott Abramson and Jeremy Pope, Forthcoming at *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy*
19. **“Ideological Disagreement and Pre-emption in Municipal Policymaking”**
with Adam Dynes, Forthcoming at *American Journal of Political Science*
18. **“Comparing Campaign Finance and Vote Based Measures of Ideology”**
Forthcoming at *Journal of Politics*

17. **“The Participatory and Partisan Impacts of Mandatory Vote-by-Mail”**, with John Holbein
Science Advances, 2020. Vol. 6, no. 35, DOI: 10.1126/sciadv.abc7685
16. **“Issue Politicization and Interest Group Campaign Contribution Strategies”**, with Mandi Eatough, *Journal of Politics*, 2020. Vol. 82: No. 3, pp. 1008-1025
15. **“Campaign Contributions and Donors’ Policy Agreement with Presidential Candidates”**, with Brandice Canes-Wrone and Sharece Thrower
Presidential Studies Quarterly, 2019, 49 (4) 770–797
14. **“Conservatism in the Era of Trump”**, with Jeremy Pope
Perspectives on Politics, 2019, 17 (3) 719–736
13. **“Legislative Constraints on Executive Unilateralism in Separation of Powers Systems”**, with Alex Bolton and Sharece Thrower
Legislative Studies Quarterly, 2019, 44 (3) 515–548
Awarded the Jewell-Loewenberg Award for best article in the area of subnational politics published in *Legislative Studies Quarterly* in 2019
12. **“Electoral Competitiveness and Legislative Productivity”**, with Soren Schmidt
American Politics Research, 2019, 47 (4) 683–708
11. **“Does Party Trump Ideology? Disentangling Party and Ideology in America”**, with Jeremy Pope
American Political Science Review, 2019, 113 (1) 38–54
10. **“The Evolution of National Constitutions”**, with Scott Abramson
Quarterly Journal of Political Science, 2019, 14 (1) 89–114
9. **“Who is Ideological? Measuring Ideological Responses to Policy Questions in the American Public”**, with Jeremy Pope
The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics, 2018, 16 (1) 97–122
8. **“Status Quo Bias in Ballot Wording”**, with David Gordon, Ryan Hill, and Joe Price
The Journal of Experimental Political Science, 2017, 4 (2) 151–160.
7. **“Ideologically Sophisticated Donors: Which Candidates Do Individual Contributors Finance?”**, with Brandice Canes-Wrone and Sharece Thrower
American Journal of Political Science, 2017, 61 (2) 271–288.
6. **“Gender Inequalities in Campaign Finance: A Regression Discontinuity Design”**, with Daniel Butler and Jessica Preece
Quarterly Journal of Political Science, 2016, Vol. 11, No. 2: 219–248.
5. **“Representing the Preferences of Donors, Partisans, and Voters in the U.S. Senate”**
Public Opinion Quarterly, 2016, 80: 225–249.
4. **“Donation Motivations: Testing Theories of Access and Ideology”**
Political Research Quarterly, 2016, 69 (1) 148–160.
3. **“Ideological Donors, Contribution Limits, and the Polarization of State Legislatures”**
Journal of Politics, 2016, 78 (1) 296–310.
2. **“Online Polls and Registration Based Sampling: A New Method for Pre-Election Polling”** with Quin Monson, Kelly Patterson and Chris Mann.
Political Analysis 2014, 22 (3) 321–335.
1. **“Causes and Consequences of Political Polarization”** In *Negotiating Agreement in Politics*. Jane Mansbridge and Cathie Jo Martin, eds., Washington, DC: American Political Science Association: 19–53. with Nolan McCarty. 2013.

- Reprinted in *Solutions to Political Polarization in America*, Cambridge University Press. Nate Persily, eds. 2015
- Reprinted in *Political Negotiation: A Handbook*, Brookings Institution Press. Jane Mansbridge and Cathie Jo Martin, eds. 2015

AVAILABLE
WORKING PAPERS

“410 Million Voting Records Show That Minority Citizens, Young People, and Democrats Are at a Profound Disadvantage at the Ballot Box”
with John Holbein, Revise and Resubmit at *PLOS One*

“Misclassification and Bias in Predictions of Individual Ethnicity from Administrative Records”
with Lisa Argyle, Revise and Resubmit at *American Political Science Review*

“Race and Realignments in Recent American Elections”
with Jeremy Pope (Under Review)

“Partisanship and Trolleyology”
with Ryan Davis (Under Review)

“The Policy Preferences of Donors and Voters”

“Estimating Neighborhood Effects on Turnout from Geocoded Voter Registration Records.”
with Kosuke Imai

“Super PAC Contributions in Congressional Elections”

WORKS IN
PROGRESS

“Collaborative Study of Democracy and Politics”
with Brandice Canes-Wrone, Gregory Huber, and Joshua Clinton

“Preferences for Representational Styles in the American Public”
with Ryan Davis and Adam Dynes

“Representation and Issue Congruence in Congress”
with Taylor Petersen

“Education, Income, and the Vote for Trump”
with Edie Ellison

INVITED
PRESENTATIONS

“Are Mormons Breaking Up with Republicanism? The Unique Political Behavior of Mormons in the 2016 Presidential Election”

- Ivy League LDS Student Association Conference - Princeton University, November 2018, Princeton, NJ

“Issue Politicization and Access-Oriented Giving: A Theory of PAC Contribution Behavior”

- Vanderbilt University, May 2017, Nashville, TN

“Lost in Issue Space? Measuring Levels of Ideology in the American Public”

- Yale University, April 2016, New Haven, CT

“The Incentives, Ideology, and Influence of Campaign Donors in American Politics”

- University of Oklahoma, April 2016, Norman, OK

“Lost in Issue Space? Measuring Levels of Ideology in the American Public”

- University of Wisconsin - Madison, February 2016, Madison, WI

“Polarization and Campaign Contributors: Motivations, Ideology, and Policy”

- Hewlett Foundation Conference on Lobbying and Campaign Finance, October 2014, Palo Alto, CA

“Ideological Donors, Contribution Limits, and the Polarization of State Legislatures”

- Bipartisan Policy Center Meeting on Party Polarization and Campaign Finance, September 2014, Washington, DC

“Representing the Preferences of Donors, Partisans, and Voters in the U.S. Senate”

- Yale Center for the Study of American Politics Conference, May 2014, New Haven, CT

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Washington D.C. Political Economy Conference (PECO):

- 2017 discussant

American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Meeting:

- 2014 participant and discussant, 2015 participant, 2016 participant, 2017 participant, 2018 participant, 2019 participant

Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA) Annual Meeting:

- 2015 participant and discussant, 2016 participant and discussant, 2018 participant, 2019 participant, 2020 (accepted, but not presented due to COVID-19)

Southern Political Science Association (SPSA) Annual Meeting:

- 2015 participant and discussant, 2016 participant and discussant, 2017 participant, 2020 (accepted, but not presented due to earthquake)

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Poli 315: Congress and the Legislative Process

- Fall 2014, Winter 2015, Fall 2015, Winter 2016, Summer 2017, Fall 2018, Spring 2019

Poli 328: Quantitative Analysis

- Winter 2017, Fall 2017, Fall 2019, Winter 2020, Fall 2020, Winter 2021

Poli 410: Undergraduate Research Seminar in American Politics

- Fall 2014, Winter 2015, Fall 2015, Winter 2016, Summer 2017, Fall 2018

AWARDS AND GRANTS

2021 BYU Social Science College Research Grant, \$6,500

2020 BYU Social Science College Young Scholar Award

2019 BYU Mentored Environment Grant (MEG), Ideology in America Project, \$35,000

2017 BYU Political Science Teacher of the Year Award

2017 BYU Mentored Environment Grant (MEG), Funding American Democracy Project, \$20,000

2016 BYU Political Science Department, Political Ideology and President Trump (with Jeremy Pope), \$7,500

2016 BYU Office of Research and Creative Activities (ORCA) Student Mentored Grant x 3

- Hayden Galloway, Jennica Peterson, Rebecca Shuel

2015 BYU Office of Research and Creative Activities (ORCA) Student Mentored Grant x 3

- Michael-Sean Covey, Hayden Galloway, Sean Stephenson

2015 BYU Student Experiential Learning Grant, American Founding Comparative Constitutions Project (with Jeremy Pope), \$9,000

2015 BYU Social Science College Research Grant, \$5,000

2014 BYU Political Science Department, 2014 Washington DC Mayoral Pre-Election Poll (with Quin Monson and Kelly Patterson), \$3,000

2014 BYU Social Science College Award, 2014 Washington DC Mayoral Pre-Election Poll (with Quin Monson and Kelly Patterson), \$3,000

2014 BYU Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy, 2014 Washington DC Mayoral Pre-Election Poll (with Quin Monson and Kelly Patterson), \$2,000

2012 Princeton Center for the Study of Democratic Politics Dissertation Improvement Grant, \$5,000

2011 Princeton Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice Dissertation Research Grant, \$5,000

2011 Princeton Political Economy Research Grant, \$1,500

ADDITIONAL TRAINING

EITM 2012 at Princeton University - Participant and Graduate Student Coordinator

COMPUTER SKILLS

Statistical Programs: R, Stata, SPSS, parallel computing

Updated February 1, 2022