Exhibit A

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF NEW YORK

----------X

Michael Williams, José Ramírez-Garofalo, Aixa Torres, and Melissa Carty,

Petitioners,

-against-

Board of Elections of the State of New York; Kristen Zebrowski Stavisky, in her official capacity as Co-Executive Director of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Raymond J. Riley, III, in his official capacity as Co-Executive Director of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Peter S. Kosinski, in his official capacity as Co-Chair and Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Henry T. Berger, in his official capacity as Co-Chair and Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Anthony J. Casale, in his official capacity as Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Essma Bagnuola, in her official capacity as Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York; Kathy Hochul, in her official capacity as Governor of New York; Andrea Stewart-Cousins, in her official capacity as Senate Majority Leader and President *Pro Tempore* of the New York State Senate; Carl E. Heastie, in his official capacity as Speaker of the New York State Assembly; and Letitia James, in her official capacity as Attorney General of New York,

Respondents,

-and-

Representative Nicole Malliotakis, Edward L. Lai, Joel Medina, Solomon B. Reeves, Angela Sisto, and Faith Togba

Intervenor-Respondents,

----------X

Index No. 164002/2025

Expert Report of Dr. Maxwell Palmer

EXPERT REPORT OF MAXWELL PALMER, PH.D.

I, Dr. Maxwell Palmer, declare as follows:

1. My name is Maxwell Palmer. I am currently an Associate Professor of Political Science at Boston University. I joined the faculty at Boston University in 2014, after completing my Ph.D. in Political Science at Harvard University. I was promoted to Associate Professor, with tenure, in 2021. I am also a Civic Tech Fellow in the Faculty of Computing & Data Sciences and a Faculty Fellow at the Initiative on Cities. I teach and conduct research on American politics and political methodology.

2. I have published academic work in leading peer-reviewed academic journals, including the *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Analysis*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, *Political Science Research and Methods*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, and *Urban Affairs Review*. My book, *Neighborhood Defenders: Participatory Politics and America's Housing Crisis*, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2019. I have also published academic work in the *Ohio State University Law Review*. My published research uses a variety of analytical approaches, including statistics, geographic analysis, and simulations, and data sources including academic surveys, precinct-level election results, voter registration and vote history files, and census data. My curriculum vitae is attached to this report.

3. I have served as an expert witness or litigation consultant on numerous cases involving redistricting or voting restrictions. I testified at trial, court hearing, or by deposition in *Bethune Hill v. Virginia* before the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia (No. 3:14-cv-00852-REP-AWA-BMK); *Thomas v. Bryant* before the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi (No. 3:18-CV-00441-CWR-FKB); *Chestnut v. Merrill* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama (No. 2:18-cv-00907-KOB); *Dwight v. Raffensperger* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia (No. 1:18-cv-2869-RWS); *Bruni v. Hughs* before the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas (No. 5:20-cv-35); *Caster v. Merrill* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama (No. 2:21-cv-1536-AMM); *Pendergrass v. Raffensperger* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia (No. 1:21-CV-05339-SCJ); *Grant v. Raffensperger* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia (No. 1:22-CV-00122-SCJ); *Galmon v. Ardoin* before the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Louisiana (3:22-cv-00214-SDD-SDJ); *In Re: Georgia Senate Bill 202* (1:12-MI-55555-JPB) before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia; *Vet Voice Foundation, et al., v. Hobbs, et al.* (No. 22-2-19384-1 SEA) before the King County Superior Court of Washington; *Vet Voice Foundation, et al., v. Griswold* (No. 2022CV033456) before the District Court of the City and County of Denver, Colorado; *Agee v. Benson* before the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Michigan (No. 1:22-CV-00272-PLM-RMK-JTN); and *Williams, et. al., v. Hall* before the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina (1:23-CV-01057-TDS-JLW). I also served as the independent racially polarized voting analyst

for the Virginia Redistricting Commission in 2021, and I have worked as a consultant to the United States Department of Justice on several matters. My expert testimony has been accepted and relied upon by courts; in no case has my testimony been rejected or found unreliable.

4. I was retained by the petitioners in this litigation to offer an expert opinion on the extent to which voting is racially polarized in the 11th Congressional District and to evaluate the ability of Black and Hispanic preferred candidates to win elections in this district. I was also asked to analyze the extent to which voting is racially polarized in the illustrative district, and to evaluate the ability of Black and Hispanic preferred candidates to win elections in the illustrative district.

5. I find strong evidence of racially polarized voting in the 11th Congressional District. Across 20 elections from 2017 to 2024, I find that Black and Hispanic voters share the same candidates of choice, and that Black and Hispanic voters consistently support different candidates than White voters.

6. Black and Hispanic voters are generally unable to elect their preferred candidates in the 11th Congressional District. The Black and Hispanic preferred candidate won only 4 of the 20 elections that I examined, and averaged 40.9% of the vote.

7. I find that there is substantially less racially polarized voting in the illustrative district. On average, White voters support Black and Hispanic preferred candidates with an average of 41.8% of the vote.

8. Black and Hispanic voters are generally able to elect their preferred candidates in the illustrative district. Overall, Black and Hispanic preferred candidates won 14 of the 18 elections that I examined, and averaged 54.0% of the vote.

Racially Polarized Voting in the 11th Congressional District

9. To analyze racially polarized voting, I examined general election results in the 11th Congressional District from 2017 to 2024. I included all offices where both major parties contested the election across the entire district. This includes federal offices (U.S. President, U.S. Senate), statewide offices (Governor, Attorney General, and State Comptroller), and New York City offices (Mayor, Public Advocate, and City Comptroller). I also included the 2022 and 2024 elections for U.S. Representative in the 11th District. In all, I analyzed 20 different contests.

10. I analyzed racially polarized voting using precinct-level election results and precinct-level data on citizen voting age population by race.[1] I downloaded the precinct-level election data from the website of the New York City Board of Elections[2], and precinct boundaries for each year from the New York City Department of City Planning.[3]

[1] In New York City, voting precincts are called "election districts." To avoid confusion with congressional districts, I refer to them by precincts in this report.

[2] https://vote.nyc/page/election-results-summary

[3] https://www.nyc.gov/content/planning/pages/resources/datasets/election-districts

11. In analyzing racially polarized voting in each election, I used a statistical procedure, ecological inference (EI), that estimates group-level preferences based on aggregate data. I analyzed the results for five groups: Non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, Non-Hispanic White, Non-Hispanic Asian American and Pacific Islander, and Other, based on citizen voting age population (CVAP) data from the 2023 American Community Survey. This data is reported by the U.S. Census Bureau at the block group level. To calculate CVAP for each group at the precinct level I disaggregated block group data to census blocks using 2020 census populations, and then aggregated to precincts using the precinct shape files for each year.

12. In New York, candidates may run under multiple different parties in the same election. For each unique candidate, I aggregated all of the votes they received under different party labels in each precinct. When more than three different candidates ran in the same contest, I aggregated the additional candidates with the lowest numbers of votes into a single "Other" candidate. For example, in the 2017 election for New York City Mayor, there were seven different candidates. I combined the four candidates receiving the lowest numbers of votes into a single "Other" candidate.

13. For each of the 20 contests, I estimated a separate ecological inference model. The results of each model are estimates of the percentage of each group that voted for each candidate in each election. The results include both a mean estimate (the most likely vote share), and a 95% confidence interval.[4]

14. Interpreting the results of the ecological inference models proceeds in two general stages. First, I examined the support for each candidate by each demographic group to determine if members of the group vote cohesively in support of a single candidate in each election. When a significant majority of the group supports a single candidate, I can then identify that candidate as the group's preferred candidate. If the group's support is roughly evenly divided between the two candidates, then the group does not cohesively support a single candidate and does not have a clear preference. Second, after identifying the preferred candidate for each group (or the lack of such a candidate), I then compared the preferences of voters of each group to the voters of the other groups. Evidence of racially polarized voting is found when voters of different groups support different candidates, and evidence of cohesion is found when voters of different groups support that same candidate.

15. Figure 1 shows the ecological inference estimates for the 2022 and 2024 elections for U.S. House in the 11th Congressional District. The estimated levels of support for each candidate for each group are represented by the colored points, and the vertical lines indicate the range of the 95% confidence intervals. Black voters are extremely cohesive, with a clear preferred candidate in both elections. Similarly, Hispanic voters are extremely cohesive in both elections, and share the same candidate of choice as Black voters. However, only a minority of

[4]The 95% confidence interval is a measure of uncertainty in the estimates from the model. For example, the model might estimate that 94% of the members of a group voted for a particular candidate, with a 95% confidence interval of 91-96%. This means that based on the data and the model assumptions, 95% of the simulated estimates for this group fall in the range of 91-96%, with 94% being the average value. Larger confidence intervals reflect a higher degree of uncertainty in the estimates, while smaller confidence intervals reflect less uncertainty.

White voters in both elections support the Black and Hispanic preferred candidate, and large majorities of White voters supported the opposing candidate in each election.

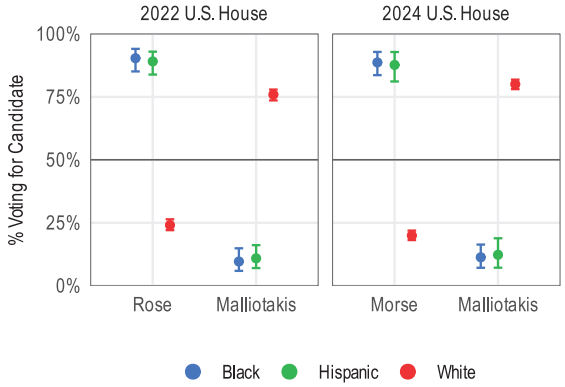

Figure 1: Racially Polarized Voting Estimates for U.S. House Races, CD 11

16. Figure 2 presents the results for all 20 elections. For each election, I first identified the Black and Hispanic preferred candidate in each contest, and include only the results for that candidate.[5]

17. Figure 2 shows that Black voters are extremely cohesive, with a clear preferred candidate in all 20 elections. On average, Black voters supported their preferred candidates with 90.5% of the vote.

18. Figure 2 shows that Hispanic voters also vote cohesively, and support the same candidates as Black voters. Hispanic voters have a clear preferred candidate in all 20 elections. On average, Hispanic voters supported their preferred candidates with 87.7% of the vote.

19. Figure 2 also shows that White voters are highly cohesive in voting in opposition to the Black and Hispanic-preferred candidates in every election. On average, White voters supported Black and Hispanic-preferred candidates with 26.3% of the vote. Figure 2 thus demonstrates a consistent pattern of racially polarized voting in the 11th Congressional District.

[5]Full results for each election are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black and Hispanic Preferred Candidates — CD 11

		Black	White	Hispanic	Asian	Other
2017	City Comptroller	91.1% (88.9, 93.1)	34.8% (33.6, 36.1)	87.1% (83.8, 89.9)	50.9% (39.8, 62.8)	67.5% (46.3, 81.1)
2017	Mayor	89.1% (86.4, 91.3)	13.5% (12.2, 14.8)	79.8% (74.7, 84.2)	51.0% (40.4, 61.1)	61.0% (45.1, 73.8)
2017	Public Advocate	88.8% (86.3, 91.0)	26.9% (25.4, 28.3)	83.0% (79.1, 86.2)	47.5% (36.6, 57.9)	67.0% (51.5, 78.1)
2018	Attorney General	94.1% (92.7, 95.3)	35.9% (34.7, 37.2)	92.6% (90.4, 94.2)	79.2% (72.2, 84.3)	75.3% (63.7, 85.0)
2018	Governor	93.5% (91.9, 94.7)	36.9% (35.5, 38.2)	92.0% (89.9, 93.6)	77.5% (70.0, 82.5)	73.3% (61.0, 82.0)
2018	State Comptroller	94.7% (93.4, 95.9)	39.7% (38.5, 41.0)	93.6% (91.4, 95.0)	80.6% (73.3, 85.7)	77.4% (61.6, 89.2)
2018	U.S. Senate	94.5% (92.4, 96.2)	39.7% (37.6, 41.5)	92.2% (89.0, 94.6)	74.8% (64.9, 82.9)	83.0% (70.3, 91.4)
2019	Public Advocate	90.2% (87.2, 92.8)	18.7% (16.2, 21.0)	86.9% (82.2, 90.4)	65.1% (49.1, 76.8)	70.8% (56.9, 82.1)
2020	President	93.1% (90.6, 94.9)	27.0% (25.7, 28.4)	90.0% (86.5, 93.4)	73.5% (65.9, 80.9)	73.4% (59.4, 84.6)
2021	City Comptroller	86.5% (83.0, 89.5)	23.7% (22.4, 24.9)	77.8% (72.2, 82.5)	34.0% (25.6, 45.5)	49.2% (25.8, 68.0)
2021	Mayor	87.3% (83.8, 90.2)	20.5% (19.3, 21.6)	82.1% (77.3, 86.4)	43.5% (33.1, 53.9)	54.6% (36.3, 72.1)
2021	Public Advocate	88.2% (85.2, 90.7)	21.0% (19.8, 22.2)	81.9% (77.9, 85.3)	40.7% (30.5, 53.0)	48.2% (29.3, 62.8)
2022	Attorney General	90.5% (85.7, 94.1)	22.8% (21.0, 25.1)	89.9% (85.3, 93.4)	60.4% (43.8, 73.3)	75.7% (55.1, 90.3)
2022	Governor	89.8% (85.0, 93.6)	22.0% (20.1, 23.9)	89.3% (84.7, 92.9)	53.2% (37.5, 69.2)	77.5% (60.6, 89.4)
2022	State Comptroller	89.5% (84.5, 93.6)	25.6% (23.7, 27.8)	90.4% (85.9, 93.8)	65.5% (54.2, 76.4)	73.6% (51.0, 88.6)
2022	U.S. House	90.4% (85.1, 94.1)	24.1% (22.1, 26.4)	89.1% (83.9, 93.0)	57.5% (44.8, 71.5)	78.8% (61.4, 89.5)
2022	U.S. Senate	91.0% (87.1, 93.9)	26.4% (24.7, 28.0)	92.9% (89.0, 95.2)	64.3% (46.2, 78.2)	75.3% (56.3, 89.0)
2024	President	88.7% (83.1, 93.4)	22.2% (20.4, 23.9)	88.1% (81.1, 92.4)	49.0% (38.4, 59.2)	65.3% (47.0, 85.8)
2024	U.S. House	88.7% (83.6, 92.9)	20.0% (18.1, 21.9)	87.7% (81.1, 92.8)	51.6% (41.0, 62.0)	60.0% (34.8, 79.3)
2024	U.S. Senate	89.8% (85.0, 93.4)	25.4% (23.8, 27.0)	88.4% (82.4, 93.1)	58.8% (47.1, 71.4)	66.3% (43.4, 83.6)

Table 2: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black and Hispanic Preferred Candidates — Illustrative District

		Black	White	Hispanic	Asian	Other
2017	City Comptroller	89.5% (86.4, 91.9)	44.3% (43.0, 45.4)	87.1% (83.8, 89.7)	80.8% (75.0, 85.0)	65.0% (46.0, 77.2)
2017	Mayor	87.8% (84.7, 90.5)	24.5% (23.3, 25.7)	79.3% (75.0, 83.2)	68.5% (60.6, 75.1)	54.8% (41.7, 64.8)
2017	Public Advocate	86.9% (83.3, 90.0)	37.9% (36.4, 39.4)	80.1% (75.0, 84.3)	74.2% (66.6, 79.9)	66.7% (52.1, 77.8)
2018	Attorney General	93.5% (92.0, 94.8)	51.2% (50.1, 52.3)	90.5% (88.2, 92.4)	88.3% (84.5, 91.0)	77.5% (66.9, 85.5)
2018	Governor	92.1% (90.4, 93.8)	51.2% (50.1, 52.3)	90.4% (88.3, 92.3)	87.0% (83.0, 90.0)	70.9% (59.3, 81.2)
2018	State Comptroller	93.4% (91.4, 94.9)	53.6% (52.6, 54.6)	92.0% (89.7, 93.7)	88.2% (84.0, 91.5)	77.9% (68.0, 86.7)
2018	U.S. Senate	93.5% (90.9, 95.5)	55.3% (53.8, 56.9)	88.8% (84.5, 92.1)	89.1% (84.5, 92.6)	83.9% (69.8, 91.3)
2019	Public Advocate	89.5% (85.8, 92.3)	37.7% (35.8, 39.5)	83.5% (78.0, 88.1)	78.4% (70.8, 84.6)	77.1% (64.6, 85.2)
2020	President	90.3% (85.9, 94.0)	43.5% (42.5, 44.4)	83.3% (78.7, 87.5)	86.2% (81.2, 91.0)	80.0% (67.6, 88.5)
2021	City Comptroller	83.7% (79.4, 87.2)	35.5% (34.2, 36.9)	71.7% (65.1, 77.6)	69.4% (60.9, 75.8)	73.7% (62.9, 82.0)
2021	Mayor	79.7% (73.4, 85.0)	32.4% (31.2, 33.6)	80.4% (75.2, 84.6)	72.1% (63.2, 78.9)	68.2% (45.9, 78.9)
2021	Public Advocate	85.9% (80.8, 89.6)	32.8% (31.4, 34.1)	77.1% (71.2, 81.8)	71.3% (64.3, 77.5)	64.9% (47.0, 78.1)
2022	Attorney General	86.3% (79.4, 91.4)	41.1% (39.2, 43.0)	83.1% (75.5, 89.1)	77.3% (65.5, 86.1)	77.4% (56.0, 89.8)
2022	Governor	84.5% (76.3, 90.3)	39.6% (37.7, 41.6)	82.5% (74.6, 89.3)	81.1% (70.1, 87.8)	77.2% (53.3, 88.5)
2022	State Comptroller	85.9% (78.7, 91.3)	43.1% (41.3, 44.7)	82.5% (74.4, 88.8)	80.4% (70.4, 88.1)	75.5% (48.0, 88.3)
2022	U.S. Senate	87.3% (81.0, 91.9)	44.3% (42.8, 45.8)	87.3% (81.6, 91.5)	80.2% (69.8, 88.1)	77.3% (54.7, 88.7)
2024	President	84.6% (74.1, 92.1)	41.2% (39.4, 43.4)	77.7% (69.4, 86.5)	73.8% (62.5, 82.9)	74.0% (53.2, 88.1)
2024	U.S. Senate	88.3% (80.6, 94.0)	42.8% (41.6, 44.2)	78.6% (70.0, 87.2)	79.8% (71.5, 87.4)	75.2% (58.3, 87.5)

Table 3: Estimated Performance of Black and Hispanic Preferred Candidates

		11th District	Illustrative District
2017	City Comptroller	45.7%	55.8%
2017	Mayor	28.1%	39.8%
2017	Public Advocate	39.5%	50.4%
2018	Attorney General	52.5%	64.5%
2018	Governor	52.8%	64.2%
2018	State Comptroller	55.0%	66.0%
2018	U.S. Senate	55.4%	67.6%
2019	Public Advocate	38.5%	52.7%
2020	President	46.1%	58.6%
2021	City Comptroller	34.1%	46.1%
2021	Mayor	31.5%	44.0%
2021	Public Advocate	32.5%	44.4%
2022	Attorney General	37.5%	51.9%
2022	Congress	38.2%	—
2022	Governor	36.3%	51.2%
2022	State Comptroller	39.5%	53.3%
2022	U.S. Senate	39.9%	54.4%
2024	Congress	36.0%	—
2024	President	37.6%	52.7%
2024	U.S. Senate	40.9%	54.4%

Dated: November 17, 2025

Maxwell Palmer