

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR
THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA
NORFOLK DIVISION**

Latasha Holloway, *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

City of Virginia Beach, *et al.*,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 2:18-cv-0069

**PLAINTIFFS' PROPOSED REMEDIAL PLAN
AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR COURT-APPOINTED EXPERTS**

On May 11, 2021, this Court signed an Order directing the parties to “submit proposed remedial plans by July 1, 2021 to redress the at-large system of election for the Virginia Beach City Council.” ECF No. 252 at 1. That Order also stated that each party “may provide the Court with recommendation of an independent expert to evaluate the proposed plan(s). *Id.* Pursuant to that Order, Plaintiffs respectfully submit the following remedial plan and their recommendations of possible independent experts.

I. Plaintiffs' Proposed Remedial Plan

Plaintiffs respectfully submit the 10 single-member district (“SMD”) plan attached as Exhibit A and illustrated in Figure 1 below for consideration as a remedy in this case.¹

¹ Plaintiffs intend to submit to the Court (and copy counsel for Defendants) the shape files for their proposed remedial plan so that the independent expert appointed by the Court may more easily evaluate Plaintiffs' submission. The shape files are too large to file in the Court's ECF system.

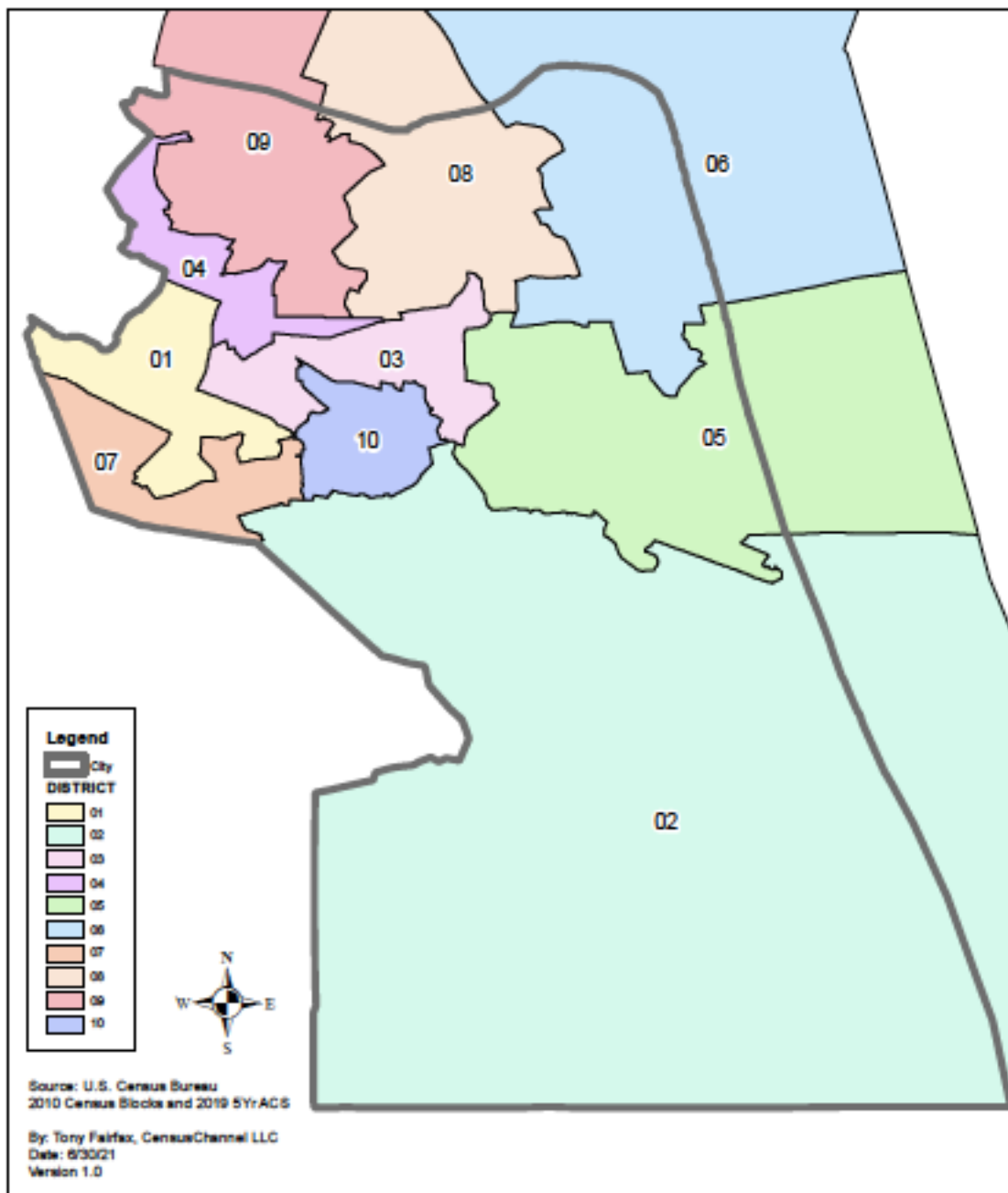


Figure 1

Plaintiffs' proposed 10 SMD remedial plan will remedy the Section 2 violation the Court found here. To determine whether a party's proposed plan will sufficiently remedy the violation, the Court must find that the proposed plan "meet[s] the same standards applicable to an original challenge of a legislative plan in place." *McGhee v. Granville Cty., N.C.*, 860 F.2d 110, 115 (4th

Cir. 1988). Thus, while the “maximum extent to which a particular dilution violation may be remedied by restructuring the districting system is constrained by the size, compactness, and cohesion elements of the dilution concept,” a remedy that provides representation “to the maximum extent permitted by these constraints is a ‘complete’ and legally adequate remedy for such a dilution violation.” *Id.* at 118.

As all parties have acknowledged, here, a complete remedy requires the creation of no fewer than three districts with majority-minority populations.² Consistent with that requirement, Plaintiffs’ proposed remedial plan includes three districts—districts 4, 7, and 10—that contain a Hispanic, Black, and Asian (HBA) Citizen Voting Age Population (CVAP) above 50%. Ex. A at 12 (Plaintiffs’ Remedial Maps). District 4 has an HBACVAP of 51.13%, district 7 has an HBACVAP of 52.78%, and district 10 has an HBACVAP of 52.25%. *Id.* With an overall population deviation of 6.36%, *id.*, Plaintiffs’ 10 SMD plan also complies with the constitutional one-person, one-vote requirement, *see, e.g., Reynolds v. Sims*, 377 U.S. 533 (1964); *Brown v. Thomson*, 462 U.S. 835 (1983).

Plaintiffs’ 10 SMD plan will provide minority voters in Virginia Beach a meaningful and effective opportunity to elect their candidates of choice. After subjecting Plaintiffs’ proposed plan to a performance analysis using both endogenous and exogenous elections, Plaintiffs’ expert Dr. Douglas Spencer—who the Court has credited as an expert in political science and quantitative analysis, ECF No. 242 at 14—found that minority voters (*i.e.*, the HBA populations) in districts 4, 7, and 10 would have an effective opportunity to elect their communities’ preferred candidates. Ex. B (Spencer Declaration). For endogenous (or City Council) elections, Dr. Spencer considered

² *See* June 1, 2021 Informal Council Mt’g at 21:37-23:24; *see also* City of Virginia Beach, <https://www.vbgov.com/government/departments/communications-office/hot-topics/Pages/Holloway-vs-VaBeach.aspx> (last visited June 16, 2021).

how HBA candidates of choice would have performed in the proposed remedial districts in seven past elections for nine available seats (two elections had two seats up) and determined that election outcomes for HBA-preferred candidates improved in all three proposed remedial districts. In district 4, the HBA candidate of choice would have won 8 of 9 seats up for election. In districts 7 and 10, the HBA candidate of choice would have won 5 of 9 seats. *Id.* at 4; *see also* ECF 242 at 62 (finding that Plaintiffs' Illustrative Plans enhanced the HBA community's ability to elect candidates of choice relying on a similar performance analysis).

Because only one candidate can win in a single member district (as opposed to the previous at-large seat elections in which more than one candidate is selected), it makes sense to consider the number of elections in which the HBA-preferred candidate placed first. *Id.* at 2. City-wide, of the 7 elections analyzed, an HBA-preferred candidate placed first in only 2 of 7 elections (Rouse in 2018 and Bellitto in 2010). *Id.* at 5. Under Plaintiffs' proposed remedial plan, the HBA-preferred candidate would have placed first in 6 of 7 elections (85%) in district 4, and 5 of 7 elections (71%) in districts 7 and 10. *Id.* This improved performance for minority voters holds true when the 2 elections in which the HBA-preferred candidate placed first city-wide are excluded from the analysis as well. In the 5 elections in which the HBA-preferred candidate *did not* place first city-wide, the HBA-preferred candidate would have placed first in 4 of 5 elections (80%) in district 4, and in 3 of 5 elections (60%) in districts 7 and 10. *Id.*

The HBA-preferred candidate also carried the vote in all three remedial districts in all nine of the exogenous elections Dr. Spencer tested. *Id.* at 5. Notably, in the 2017 citywide sheriff's race, the HBA candidate of choice, a Black candidate, lost the citywide vote by twenty percentage points, but would have carried all three of Plaintiffs' proposed remedial districts. With respect to existing city council members, Plaintiffs' proposed remedial plan creates one district (district 4)

in which no incumbent currently resides and would thus need to be elected in November 2022, and minimizes incumbent pairings to only one district; incumbent council members Jones and Moss live mere houses away from one another and thus both reside in Plaintiffs' proposed district 9. Both council members Moss and Jones would otherwise be up for election in November 2022 because they were last elected in 2018. Incumbent Black council member Wooten resides in Plaintiffs' remedial district 7, and incumbent Black council member Rouse resides in Plaintiffs' remedial district 10.

II. Plaintiffs' Proposed Independent Evaluators

In its May 11, 2021 and July 1, 2021 Orders, the Court noted its intention to appoint an independent expert to provide assistance in assessing the parties' proposed plans to ensure that they comply with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act and fashioning a final remedial plan. ECF No. 252 at 1 and ECF No. 259. To aid the Court in selecting its expert, Plaintiffs have identified four qualified independent experts, two of whom have previously served in such roles and two others who have served as expert witnesses in other voting rights and redistricting cases: Dr. Bernard Grofman, Dr. Jonathan Rodden, Mr. David Ely, and Dr. Maxwell Palmer.

a. Dr. Bernard Grofman, Department of Political Science, University of California, Irvine

Dr. Grofman is a leading expert on voting rights and redistricting in the United States. As his Curriculum Vita shows, Ex. C (Grofman CV), Dr. Grofman has extensive experience in this space, publishing numerous leading books on voting rights and redistricting, *id.* at 3-6, authoring 174 professional articles many of which discuss voting rights and redistricting issues, *id.* at 10-42, and participating as an expert or court-appointed consultant for the U.S. Department of Justice, federal courts, and various parties in dozens of major voting rights and redistricting cases, including the landmark cases *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 (1986). He also was appointed a

Special Master by the federal court in *Wright v. Sumter Cty. Bd. of Elections & Registration*, 979 F.3d 1282 (11th Cir. 2020), *id.* at 41-46, 85-88. His research or expert witness testimony on redistricting has been cited in nearly a dozen U.S. Supreme Court cases. While serving as a Special Master, Dr. Grofman drew the court-ordered congressional districts for the State of Virginia that were used in the 2016 elections.

b. Dr. Jonathan Rodden, Department of Political Science, Stanford University

Dr. Rodden is a Professor of Political Science and the Director of the Spatial Social Science Lab—a center for research and teaching focusing on geospatial analysis in the social sciences—at Stanford University and an expert in geo-spatial data analysis as it relates to voting and redistricting matters. Ex. D (Rodden CV). He has served as an expert witness in more than ten voting rights cases, including two from Virginia: *Bethune-Hill v. Virginia Board of Elections*, No. 3:14-CV-00852, (ED VA), and *Lee v. Virginia Board of Elections*, 3:15-cv-357, (ED VA). *Id.* at 7-8. Dr. Rodden has also published numerous articles, with several discussing topics related to voter behavior and political geography. *Id.* at 2-3. Dr. Rodden is experienced in using computerized modeling and map sampling as well as developing analytical approaches to examine voter distributions across geography.

c. Mr. David Ely, Compass Demographics

Mr. David Ely is the President and Founder of Compass Demographics, a consulting and database management firm that specializes in election data, redistricting, demographic analysis, and voter behavior. Ex. E (Ely CV). Mr. Ely's CV notes that he was appointed in 2019 by a federal court in Louisiana (*Terrebonne Parish NAACP et al vs. Governor of Louisiana*) to serve as a Special Master. Ex. D at 3. Mr. Ely has served as an expert and testified on behalf of not just plaintiffs and defendant jurisdictions in voting-rights litigation, but also for the United States. He

has more than three decades of experience researching and consulting on redistricting and elections matters, including serving as a consultant or expert witness in nearly 40 voting rights and redistricting cases. *Id.* at 3-5. Mr. Ely has also assisted more than 40 state and local jurisdictions as a consultant during their redistricting processes on matters ranging from database construction and demographic and voter analysis to the development of districting plans and analysis of alternative redistricting plans. *Id.* at 1-3. He has extensive experience managing redistricting projects, analyzing voting behavior, and working with demographic data.

d. Dr. Maxwell Palmer, Department of Political Science, Boston University

Dr. Palmer is a Professor of Political Science at Boston University. Ex. F (Palmer CV). Dr. Palmer's teaching and publishing applies statistical and quantitative methods in the sphere of political science, and his work has discussed topics related to political representation, racial disparities, redistricting, and voter behavior, including a 2015 article entitled *Demography and Democracy: A Global, District-level Analysis of Electoral Contestation* and a 2016 article entitled *A Two Hundred-Year Statistical History of the Gerrymander*. *Id.* 1-5. He is also currently working on a study of racial disparities in local elections. *Id.* at 5. Dr. Palmer has presented expert testimony on racially polarized voting in five voting rights or redistricting cases, including one in Virginia. *Id.* 7-8.

Plaintiffs believe that each of these experts has the qualifications, skills and experience to serve as an independent expert for the Court. Plaintiffs have reached out to each of these individuals only to confirm their availability and obtain consent to propose their names to the Court. Plaintiffs have not otherwise conferred or consulted with these experts on any issues relating to the present case.

Dated: July 1, 2021

Respectfully submitted,

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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on July 1, 2021, I will electronically file the foregoing with the Clerk of the Court using the CM/ECF system, which will then send a notification of such filing to the following:

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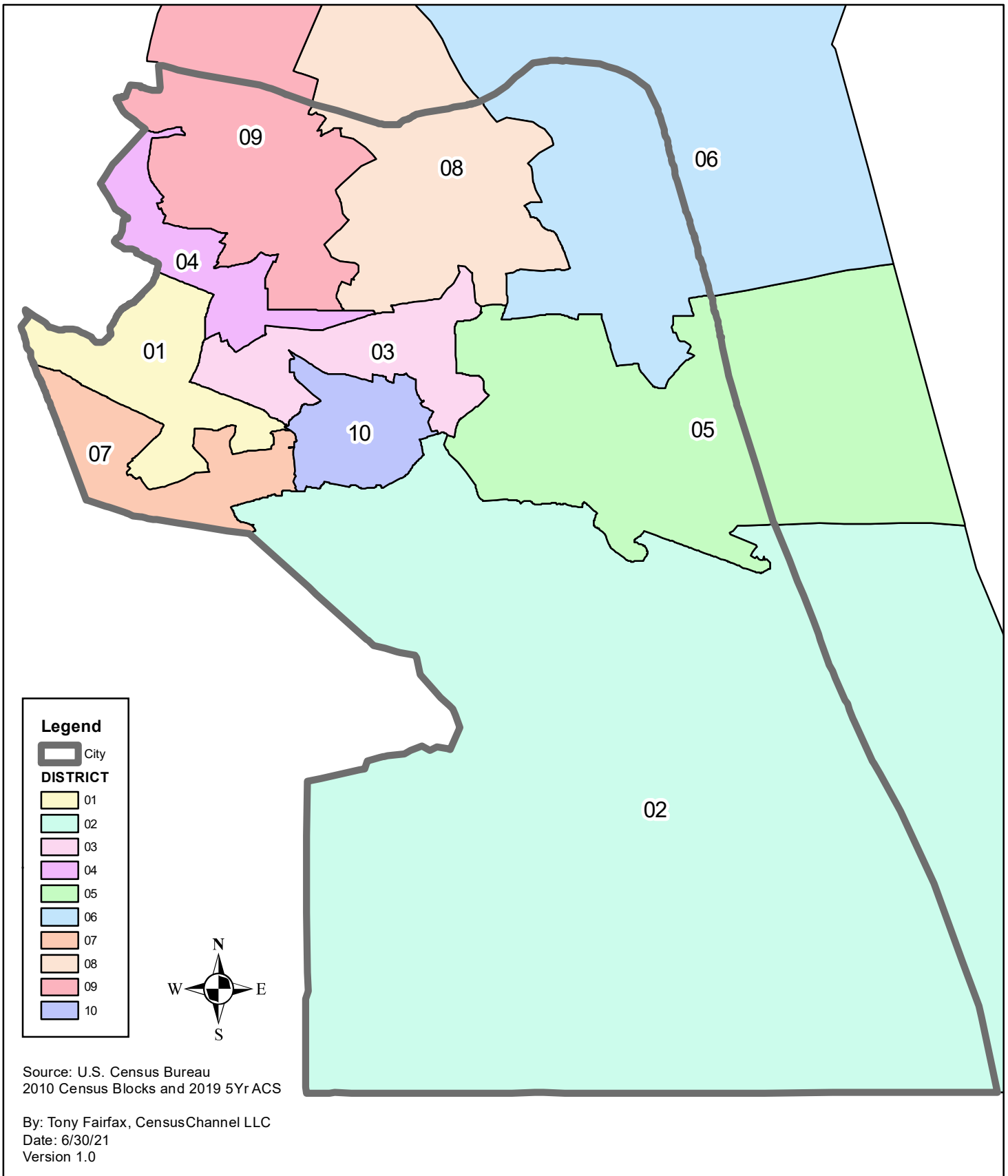
/s/ J. Gerald Hebert
Counsel for Plaintiffs

EXHIBIT A

Virginia Beach, VA

City Council 10 Districts

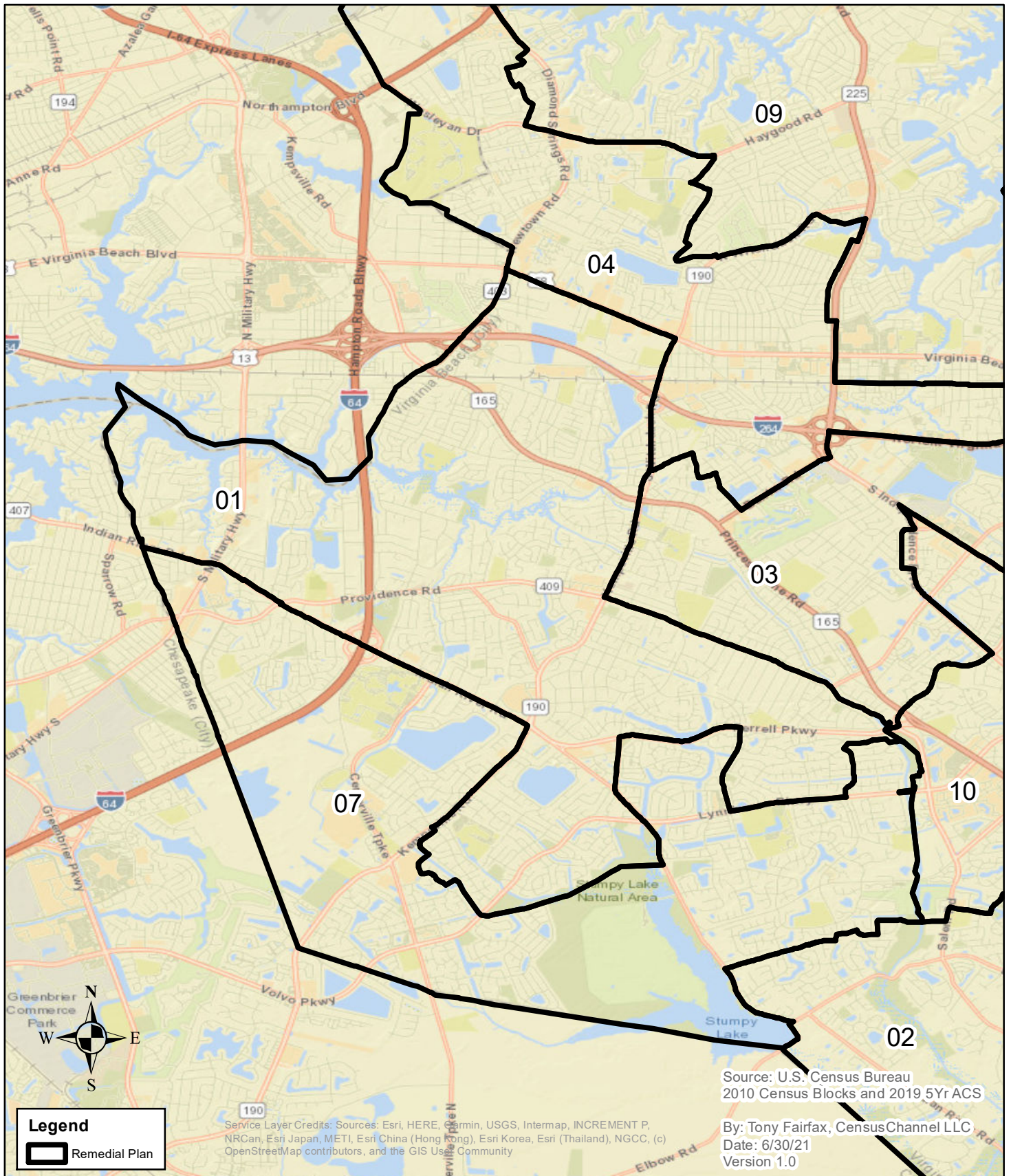
Plaintiff's Remedial Plan



Virginia Beach, VA

City Council 10 Districts

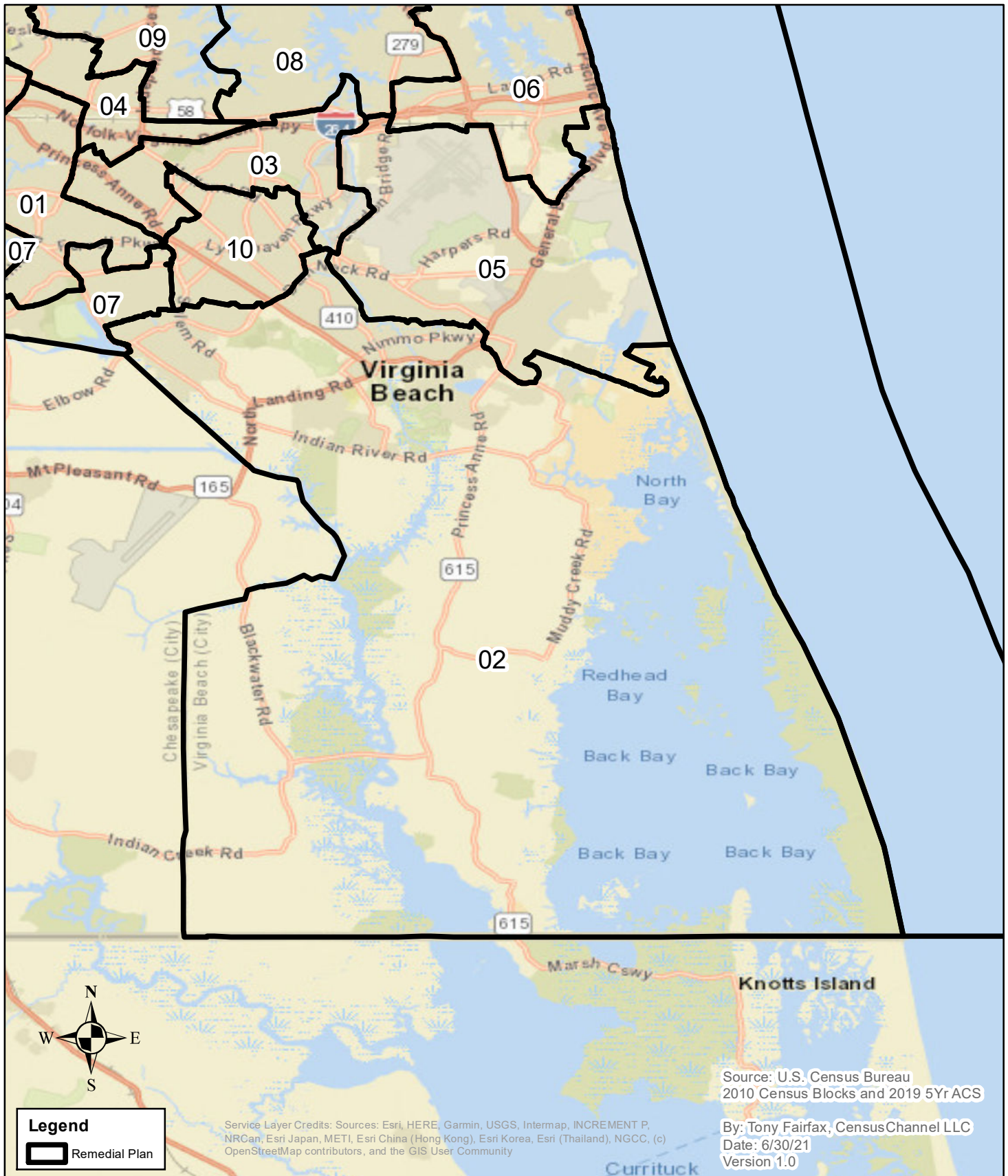
Remedial Plan - District 01



Virginia Beach, VA

City Council 10 Districts

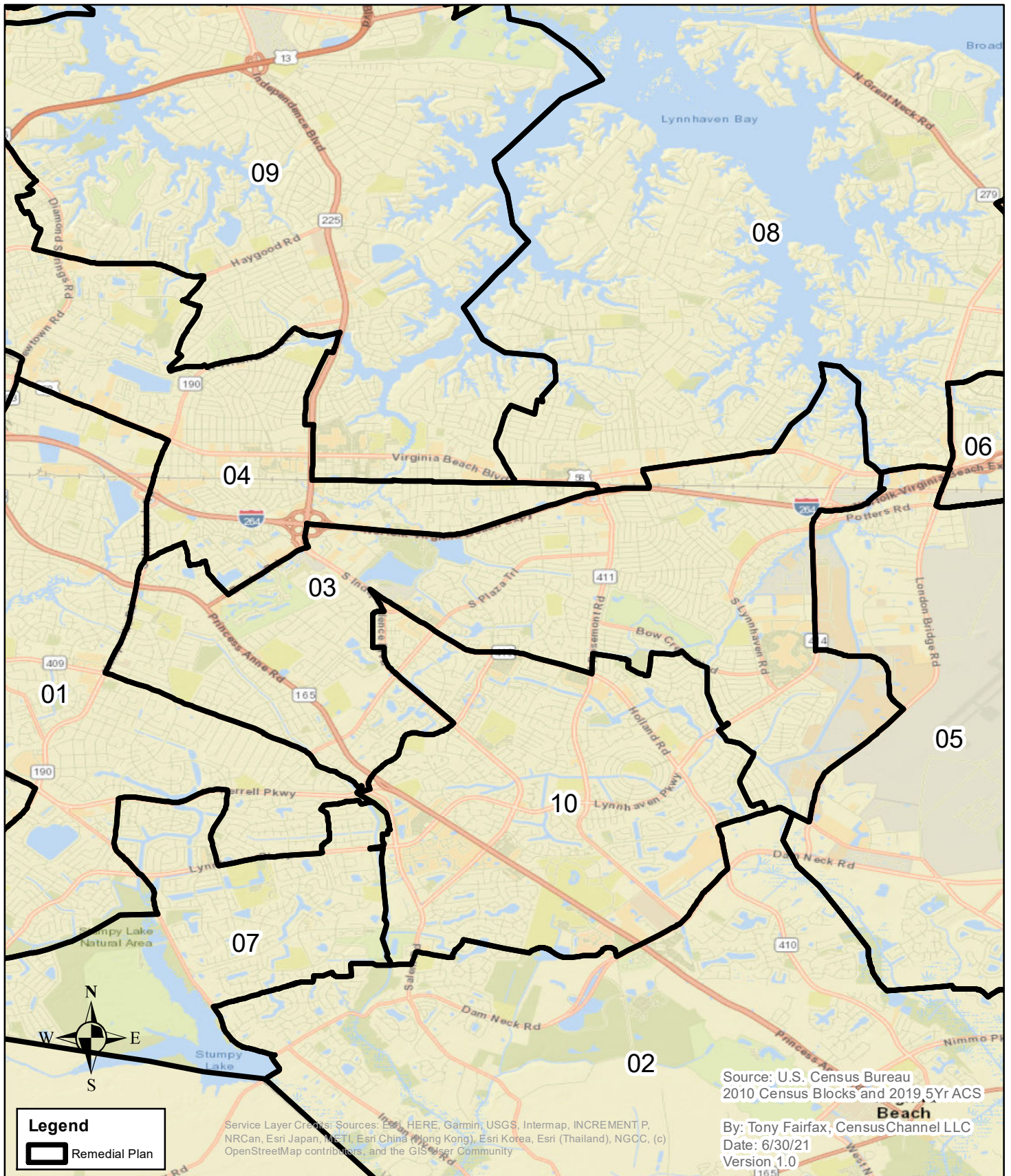
Remedial Plan - District 02



Virginia Beach, VA

City Council 10 Districts

Remedial Plan - District 03

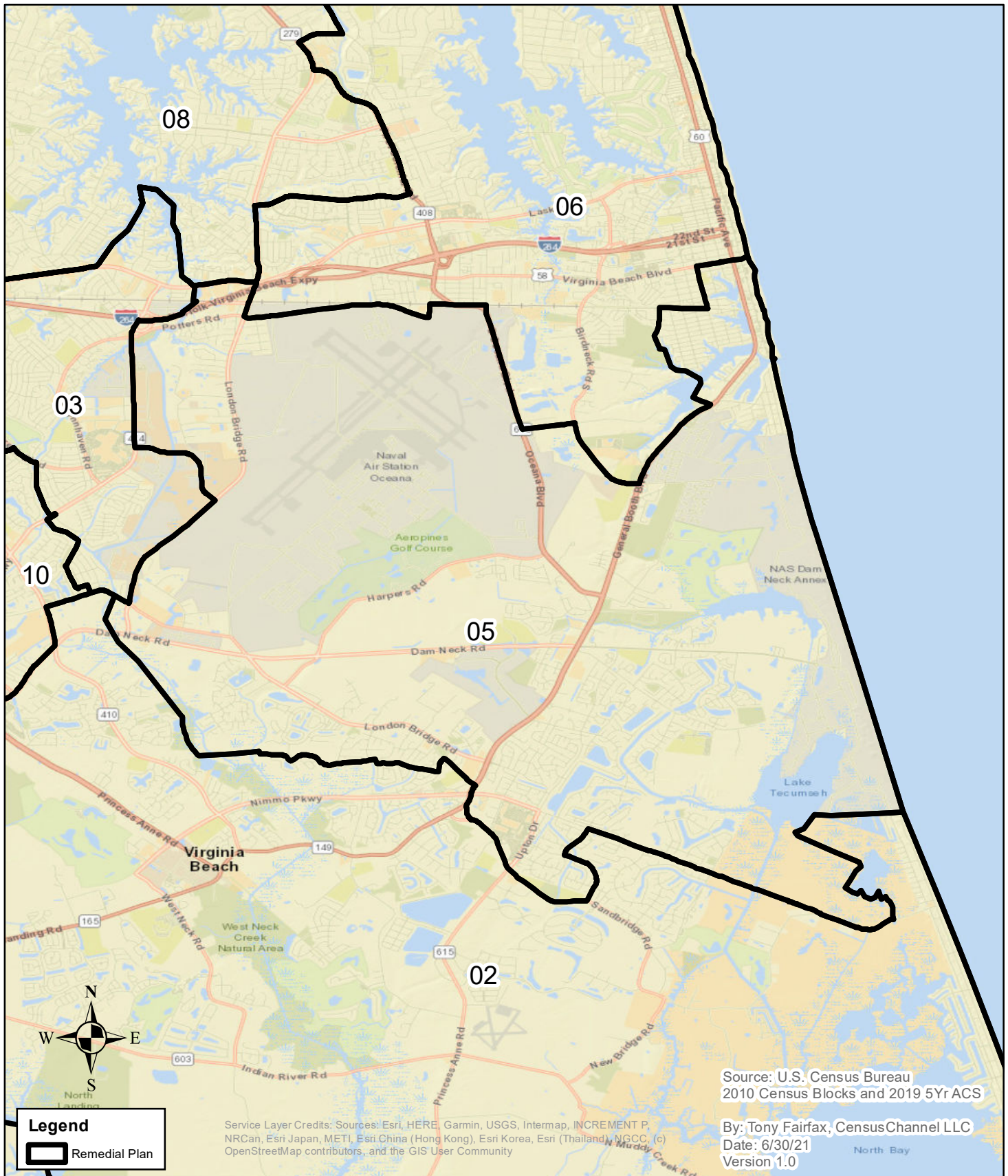




Virginia Beach, VA

City Council 10 Districts

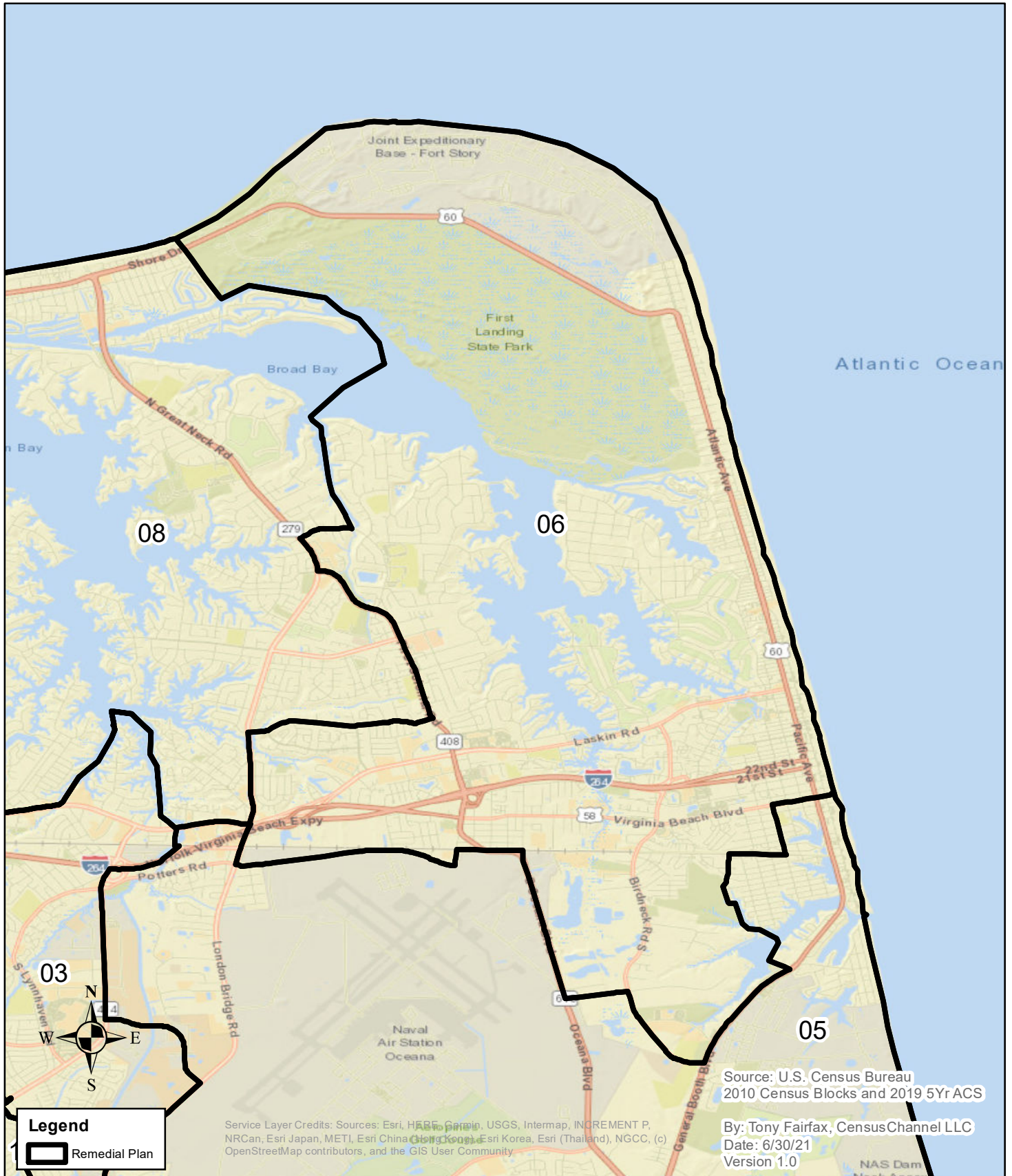
Remedial Plan - District 05



Virginia Beach, VA

City Council 10 Districts

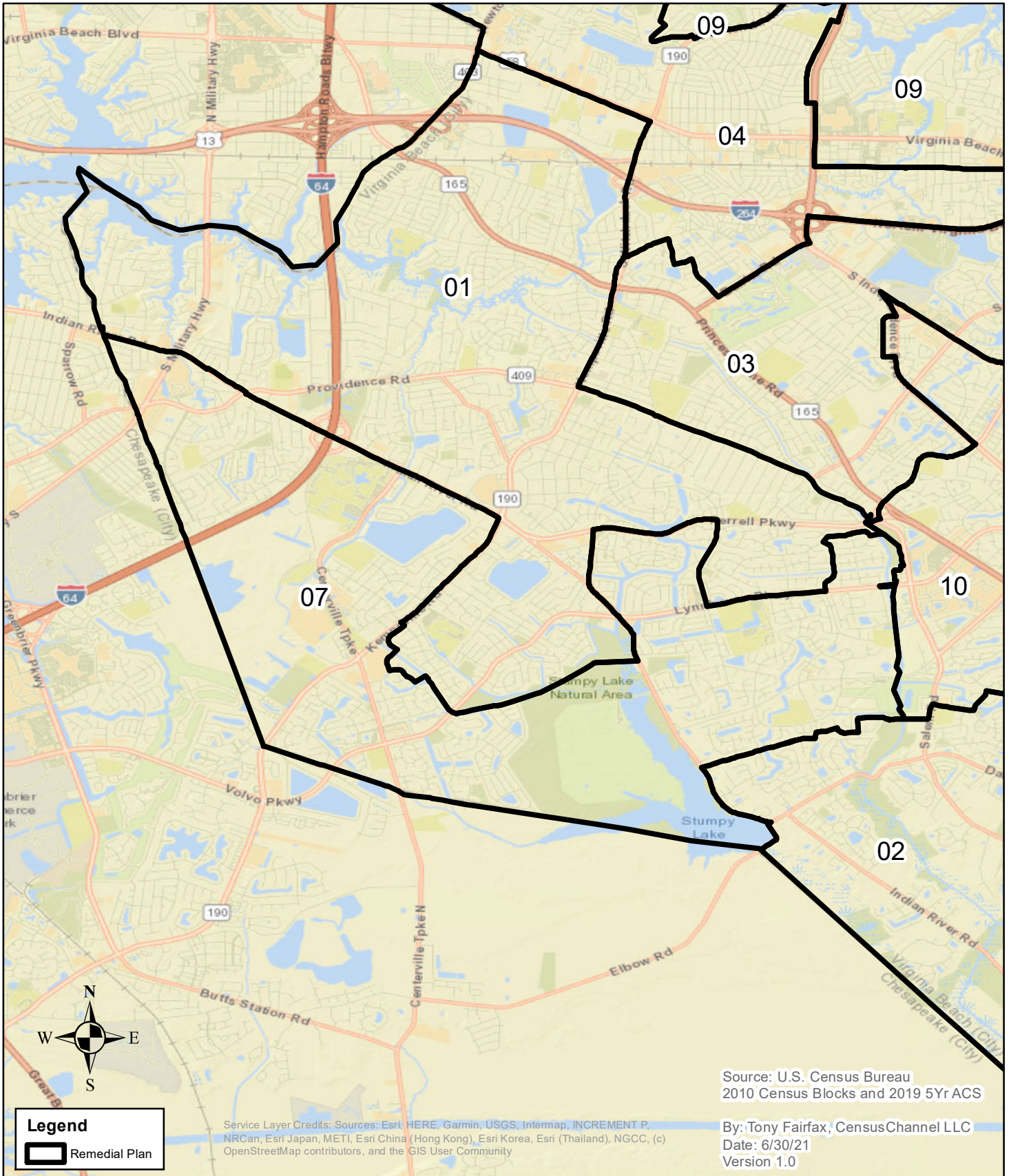
Remedial Plan - District 06



Virginia Beach, VA

City Council 10 Districts

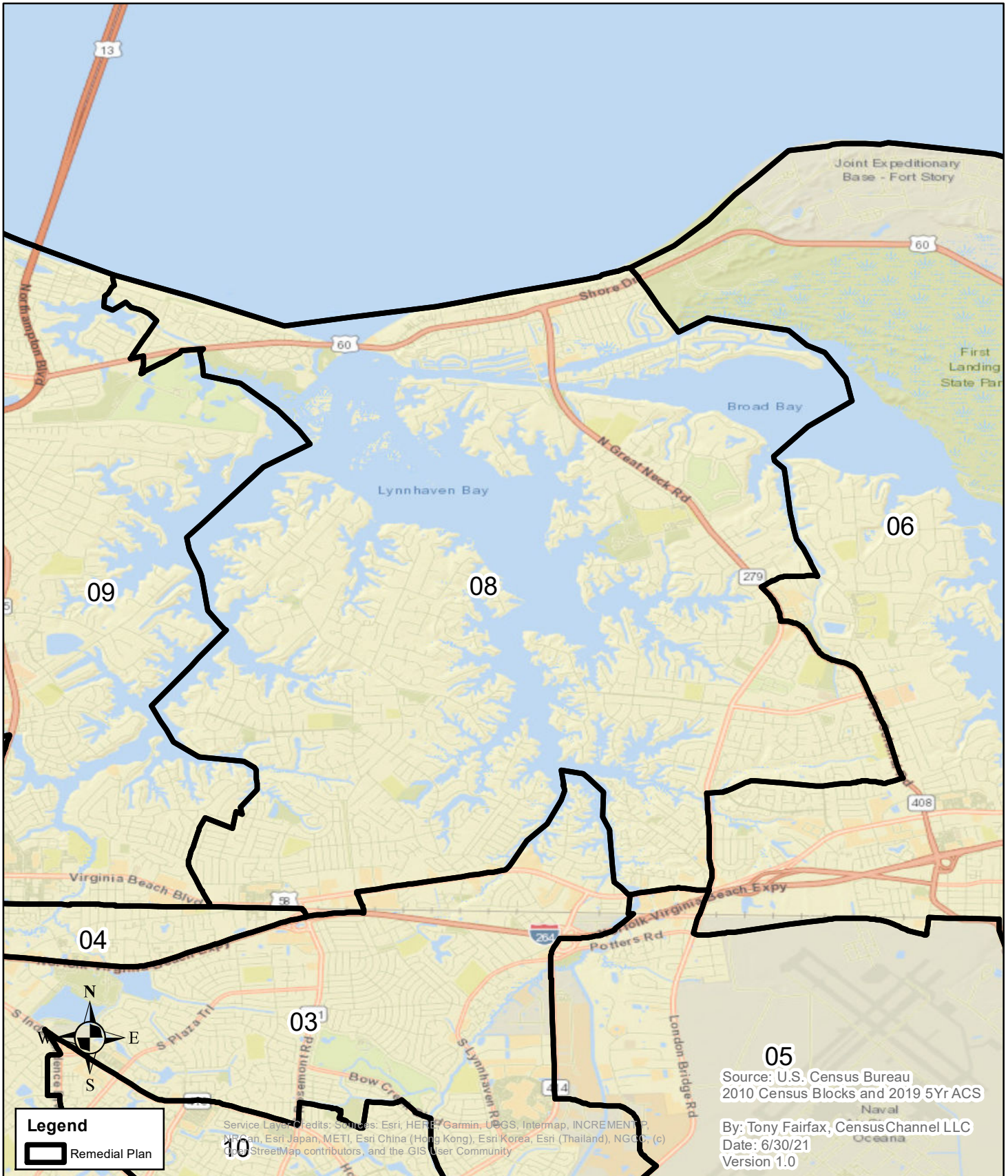
Remedial Plan - District 07



Virginia Beach, VA

City Council 10 Districts

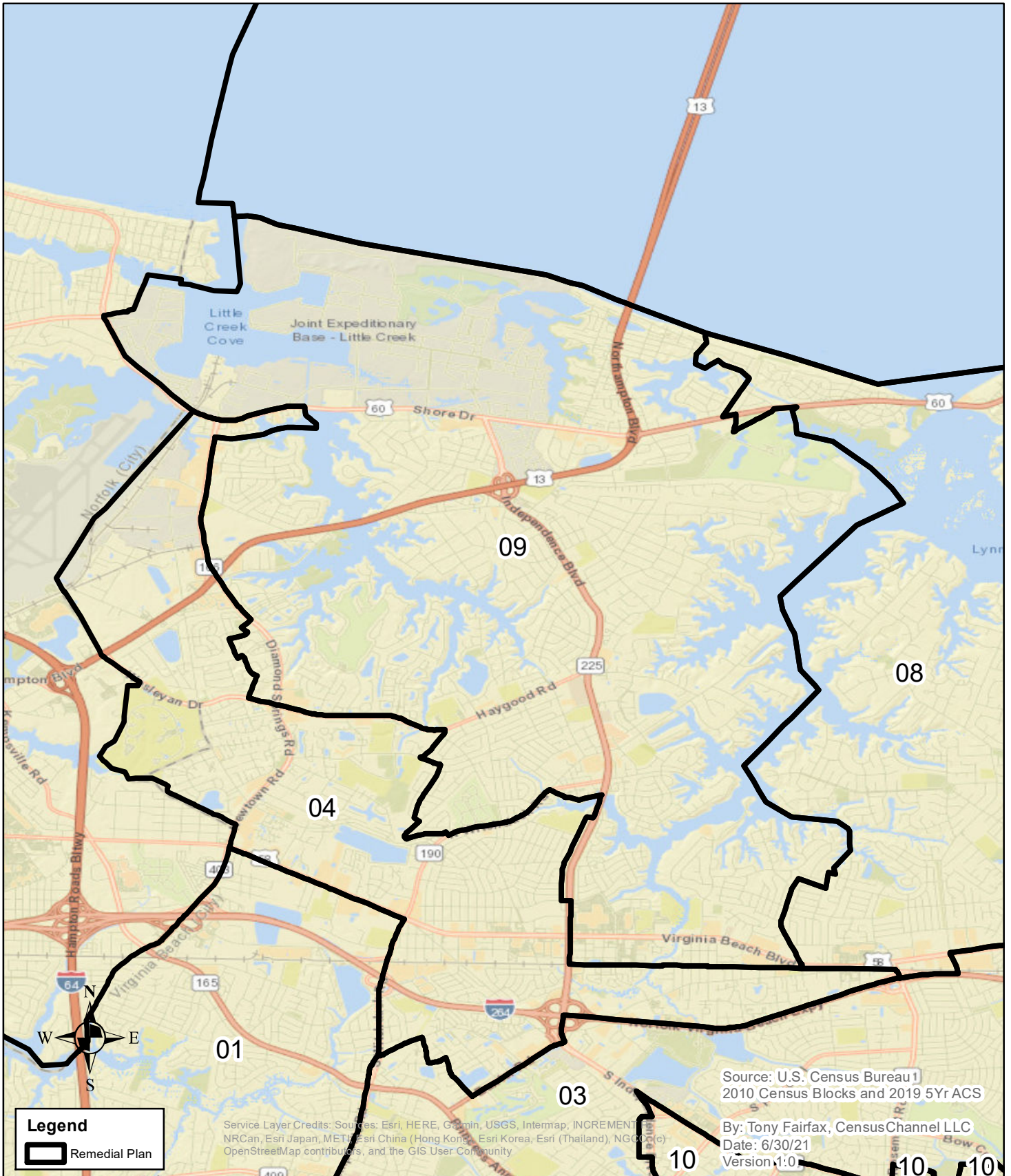
Remedial Plan - District 08



Virginia Beach, VA

City Council 10 Districts

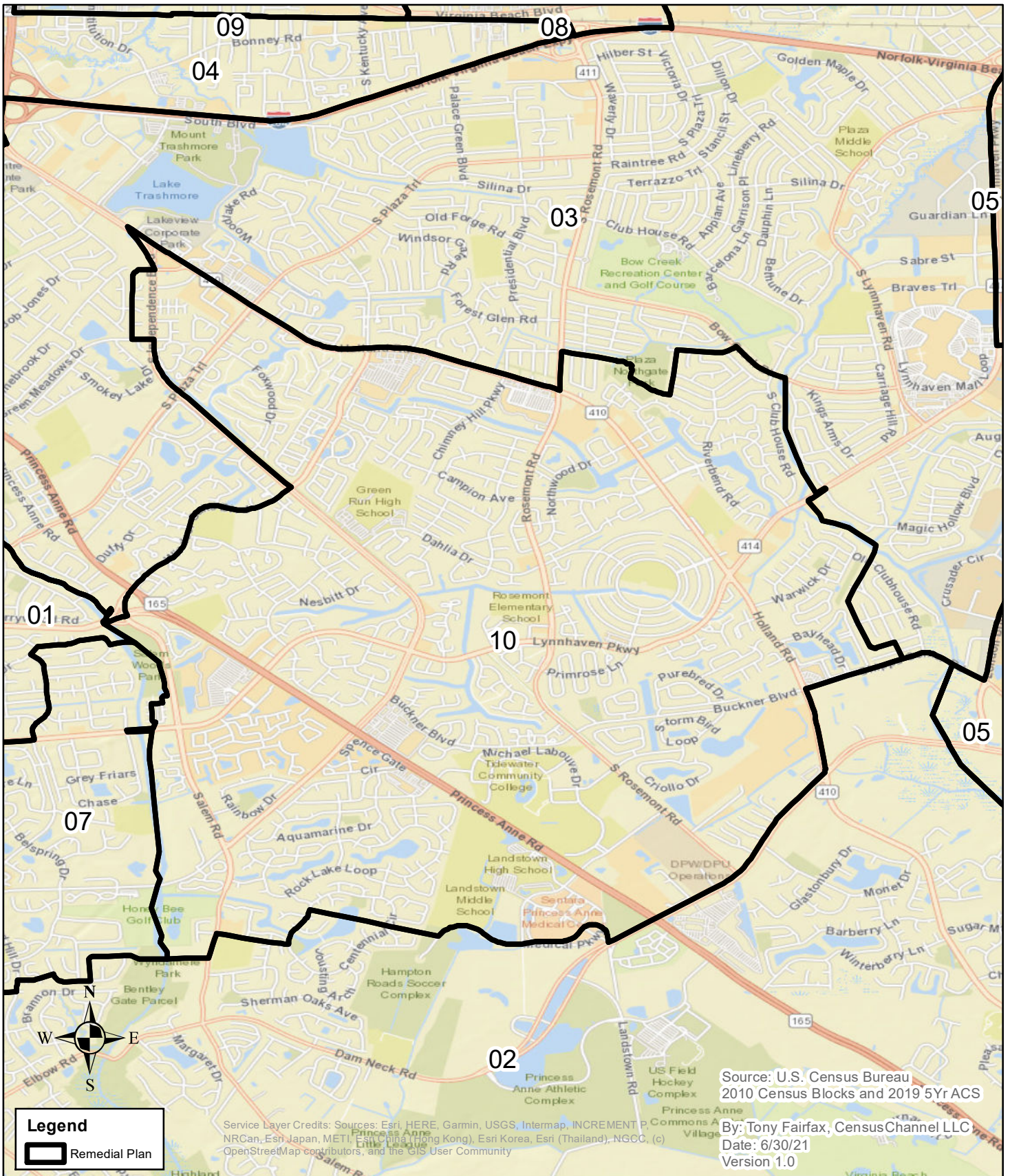
Remedial Plan - District 09



Virginia Beach, VA

City Council 10 Districts

Remedial Plan - District 10



User: Tony Fairfax

Plan Name: Plaintiffs VAB CC 10 Dist Remedial Plan

Plan Type: VAB City Council

Population Summary

Wednesday, June 30, 2021

7:53 PM

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	CVAP19	[% LatCVAP19]	[% BlkCVAP19]	[% AsnCVAP19]	[% HBACVAP19]	[% HBA+BW CVP19]
01	44,644	-376	-0.84	33,567	4.67%	16.6%	8.1%	29.32%	30.28%
02	46,098	1,078	2.39	33,556	4.62%	13.51%	6.06%	24.19%	24.52%
03	45,695	675	1.50	34,811	7.62%	18.84%	4.89%	31.33%	31.92%
04	45,462	442	0.98	32,590	8.86%	35.61%	5.95%	50.46%	51.13%
05	43,564	-1,456	-3.23	32,807	7.17%	9.26%	2.98%	19.43%	20.34%
06	43,235	-1,785	-3.96	33,304	4.38%	15.35%	1.6%	21.36%	22.28%
07	45,529	509	1.13	32,839	8.75%	32.51%	10.56%	51.81%	52.78%
08	44,856	-164	-0.36	34,324	3.44%	5.87%	3.14%	12.42%	12.75%
09	46,053	1,033	2.29	35,548	5.65%	10.56%	4.81%	21%	21.42%
10	45,065	45	0.10	31,919	8.8%	31.52%	10.56%	50.93%	52.25%

Total PopACS19: 450,201

Ideal District PopACS19: 45,020

Summary Statistics:

Population Range:	43,235 to 46,098
Ratio Range:	0.07
Absolute Range:	-1,785 to 1,078
Absolute Overall Range:	2,863
Relative Range:	-3.00% to 2.39%
Relative Overall Range:	6.36%
Absolute Mean Deviation:	756.30
Relative Mean Deviation:	1.68%
Standard Deviation:	928.21

User: Tony Fairfax

Plan Name: Plaintiffs VAB CC 10 Dist Remedial Plan

Plan Type: VAB City Council

Population Summary

Wednesday, June 30, 2021

7:58 PM

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[% WhtCVAP19]	WhtCVAP19	LatCVAP19	BlkCVAP19	AsnCVAP19	BWCVAP19
01	44,644	-376	-0.84	67.27%	22,579	1,567	5,573	2,720	327
02	46,098	1,078	2.39	72.85%	24,446	1,549	4,532	2,035	115
03	45,695	675	1.50	65.61%	22,841	2,652	6,557	1,702	209
04	45,462	442	0.98	46.26%	15,075	2,887	11,604	1,940	215
05	43,564	-1,456	-3.23	77.46%	25,412	2,353	3,038	977	297
06	43,235	-1,785	-3.96	75.35%	25,096	1,458	5,112	534	305
07	45,529	509	1.13	44.57%	14,637	2,875	10,676	3,468	318
08	44,856	-164	-0.36	84.76%	29,092	1,180	2,014	1,079	114
09	46,053	1,033	2.29	76.44%	27,174	2,008	3,755	1,711	149
10	45,065	45	0.10	44.5%	14,203	2,810	10,060	3,370	416

Total PopACS19: 450,201

Ideal District PopACS19: 45,020

Summary Statistics:

Population Range:	43,235 to 46,098
Ratio Range:	0.07
Absolute Range:	-1,785 to 1,078
Absolute Overall Range:	2,863
Relative Range:	-3.00% to 2.39%
Relative Overall Range:	6.36%
Absolute Mean Deviation:	756.30
Relative Mean Deviation:	1.68%
Standard Deviation:	928.21

User:

Plan Name: Plaintiffs VAB CC Remedial no Water

Plan Type:

Measures of Compactness Report

Wednesday, June 30, 2021

7:21 PM

	Reock	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.22	0.17	0.45
Max	0.55	0.46	0.86
Mean	0.41	0.32	0.71
Std. Dev.	0.10	0.10	0.13

District	Reock	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
01	0.38	0.27	0.60
02	0.47	0.46	0.86
03	0.33	0.22	0.58
04	0.22	0.17	0.45
05	0.46	0.33	0.78
06	0.36	0.38	0.76
07	0.31	0.23	0.68
08	0.53	0.37	0.77
09	0.44	0.35	0.82
10	0.55	0.45	0.82

User: Tony Fairfax

Plan Name: Plaintiffs VAB CC 10 Dist Remedial Plan

Plan Type: VAB City Council

Measures of Compactness Report

Wednesday, June 30, 2021

8:00 PM

	Reock	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
Sum	N/A	N/A	N/A
Min	0.22	0.17	0.45
Max	0.55	0.50	0.87
Mean	0.39	0.34	0.72
Std. Dev.	0.11	0.12	0.14

District	Reock	Polsby-Popper	Area/Convex Hull
01	0.38	0.27	0.60
02	0.48	0.50	0.87
03	0.33	0.22	0.58
04	0.22	0.17	0.45
05	0.51	0.38	0.82
06	0.48	0.50	0.82
07	0.31	0.23	0.68
08	0.34	0.34	0.79
09	0.28	0.30	0.76
10	0.55	0.45	0.82

User: Tony Fairfax

Plan Name: Plaintiffs VAB CC 10 Dist Remedial Plan

Plan Type: VAB City Council

VTD by District and by County

Wednesday, June 30, 2021

7:59 PM

	PopACS19	% of District
District 01		
Arrowhead	4,887	100.00%
Avalon	4,248	68.29%
Bellamy	0	0.00%
Bonney	739	13.92%
Centerville	2,930	70.44%
Colonial	152	2.55%
Edwin	13	0.33%
Fairfield	3,530	99.88%
Homestead	6,224	100.00%
Indian Lakes	4,048	100.00%
Lake Christopher	4,237	99.86%
Manor	3,498	99.88%
Point O' View	3,788	99.98%
Round Hill	0	0.00%
Salem Woods	9	0.44%
Sherry Park	2,260	73.02%
Stratford Chase	4,080	100.00%
Total District 01	44,643	
District 02		
Blackwater	1,180	100.00%
Capps Shop	1,975	100.00%
Colonial	0	0.00%
Courthouse	3,906	100.00%
Creeds	1,758	100.00%
Cromwell	3,237	100.00%
Culve	12	0.16%
Foxfire	4,528	100.00%
Glenwood	2,743	63.25%
Green Run	0	0.00%
Hillcrest	3,920	100.00%
Hunt	3,604	99.99%
Landstown	4,411	100.00%
North Landing	4,663	100.00%
Sandbridge	1,466	100.00%
Shelburne	4,045	96.65%
Sigma	4,648	100.00%
Strawbridge	2	0.04%
Upton	1	0.01%
Total District 02	46,099	

VTD by District and by County

Plaintiffs VAB CC 10 Dist Rem

	PopACS19	% of District
District 03		
Bonney	1	0.02%
Brookwood	5,957	99.16%
Edwin	3,819	99.67%
Fairfield	4	0.12%
Holland	1,799	30.24%
Indian Lakes	0	0.00%
Kings Grant	0	0.00%
Larkspur	1,321	41.01%
Lexington	4,365	82.56%
London Bridge	0	0.00%
Magic Hollow	3,723	54.85%
Manor	4	0.12%
Mt. Trashmore	6,322	100.00%
Pinewood	2,843	99.71%
Plaza	4,676	100.00%
Pleasant Hall	1,525	32.70%
Point O' View	0	0.01%
Salem Woods	0	0.00%
Shannon	3,031	100.00%
Windsor Oaks	6,304	100.00%
Total District 03	45,694	
District 04		
Aragona	5,194	81.76%
Baker	6,759	100.00%
Bayside	921	20.69%
Bonney	4,567	86.06%
Davis Corner	6,002	99.99%
Newtown	6,464	100.00%
Pembroke	1,881	27.27%
Pleasant Hall	3,138	67.30%
Point O' View	0	0.01%
Shannon	0	0.00%
Shell	4,301	100.00%
Shelton Park	1,667	47.27%
Village	4,568	86.66%
Total District 04	45,462	
District 05		
Corporate Landing	6,196	100.00%
Culve	7,352	99.84%
Dam Neck	3,087	100.00%
Foxfire	0	0.00%
Hunt	0	0.01%
London Bridge	1,725	28.58%

VTD by District and by County

Plaintiffs VAB CC 10 Dist Rem

	PopACS19	% of District
Ocean Lakes	3,189	100.00%
Oceana	1	0.01%
Pinewood	0	0.00%
Red Wing	7,814	100.00%
Rudee	3,980	99.89%
Sandbridge	0	0.00%
Seatack	2	0.03%
Shelburne	140	3.35%
South Beach	0	0.00%
Strawbridge	4,814	99.96%
Upton	5,263	99.99%
Total District 05	43,563	
District 06		
Alanton	4,195	100.00%
Cape Henry	5,506	99.99%
Colony	0	0.00%
Eastern Shore	3,614	100.00%
Great Neck	23	0.55%
Hilltop	3,678	100.00%
Linkhorn	4,683	100.00%
London Bridge	0	0.00%
North Beach	4,735	100.00%
Oceana	4,716	99.99%
Red Wing	0	0.00%
Rudee	5	0.11%
Seatack	6,497	99.97%
South Beach	5,582	100.00%
Trantwood	0	0.00%
Total District 06	43,234	
District 07		
Avalon	1,973	31.71%
Bellamy	5,171	100.00%
Brandon	5,788	100.00%
Centerville	1,229	29.56%
College Park	6,669	100.00%
Colonial	5,822	97.45%
Glenwood	1,594	36.75%
Hillcrest	0	0.00%
Homestead	0	0.00%
Indian River	4,602	100.00%
Lake Christopher	6	0.14%
Rosemont Forest	4,114	99.73%
Round Hill	2,662	100.00%
Salem Woods	222	10.91%

VTD by District and by County

Plaintiffs VAB CC 10 Dist Rem

	PopACS19	% of District
Sherry Park	835	26.98%
Tallwood	4,842	100.00%
Total District 07	45,529	
District 08		
Alanton	0	0.00%
Cape Henry	0	0.01%
Chesapeake Beach	0	0.00%
Colony	4,029	100.00%
Edinburgh	1,948	100.00%
Great Neck	4,132	99.45%
Kings Grant	4,303	100.00%
Kingston	2,615	100.00%
Lake Joyce	13	0.61%
Little Neck	2,651	100.00%
London Bridge	4,310	71.41%
Lynnhaven	4,550	100.00%
Malibu	4,615	99.94%
Ocean Park	3,011	99.91%
Pinewood	8	0.29%
Thalia	15	0.48%
Thoroughgood	0	0.00%
Trantwood	3,522	100.00%
Village	0	0.00%
Wolfsnare	5,133	100.00%
Total District 08	44,855	
District 09		
Aragona	1,158	18.24%
Bayside	3,531	79.31%
Cape Henry	0	0.00%
Chesapeake Beach	7,920	100.00%
Davis Corner	1	0.01%
Haygood	3,918	100.00%
Kingston	0	0.00%
Lake Joyce	2,161	99.39%
Lake Smith	2,784	100.00%
Malibu	3	0.06%
Ocean Park	3	0.09%
Old Donation	4,258	100.00%
Pembroke	5,018	72.73%
Shelton Park	1,860	52.73%
Thalia	3,077	99.52%
Thoroughgood	4,799	100.00%
Village	703	13.34%
Witchduck	4,859	100.00%

VTD by District and by County

Plaintiffs VAB CC 10 Dist Rem

	PopACS19	% of District
Total District 09	46,053	
District 10		
Brookwood	51	0.84%
Buckner	4,505	100.00%
Chimney Hill	4,661	100.00%
Dahlia	4,320	100.00%
Green Run	4,879	100.00%
Holland	4,150	69.76%
Independence	3,005	100.00%
Indian Lakes	0	0.00%
Larkspur	1,900	58.99%
Lexington	922	17.44%
Magic Hollow	3,065	45.15%
Rock Lake	5,933	100.00%
Rosemont Forest	11	0.27%
Salem Woods	1,806	88.64%
Timberlake	5,857	100.00%
Total District 10	45,065	

EXHIBIT B

July 1, 2021

Performance Analysis of Plaintiff's Proposed Remedial Plan

Holloway, et al. v. City of Virginia Beach, et al., Civil Action 2:18-cv-69-RAJ-DEM

Douglas M. Spencer, Ph.D.

Professor of Law & Public Policy
University of Connecticut

Distinguished Faculty Fellow, 2020-2021

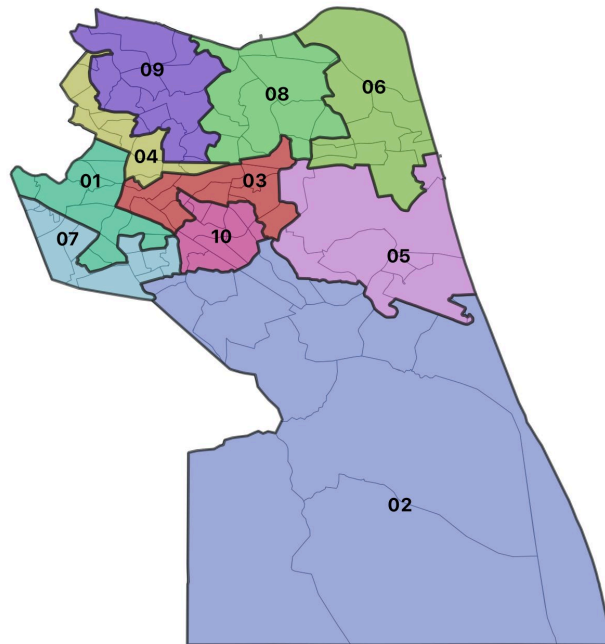
Byron R. White Center for the Study of Constitutional Law
University of Colorado

SUMMARY

I have been asked to evaluate the performance for minority voters of a proposed 10-district remedial plan for City Council elections in Virginia Beach.

- I evaluate the election for nine seats on the City Council between 2008–2018.
 - Of the seven minority-preferred candidates for City Council who lost their election, six (86%) would have won in at least one of the remedial districts and three candidates (50%) would have won in all three remedial districts.
 - In the 2018 and 2010 at-large elections, two candidates were elected in a single election. In future by-district elections, only one candidate will be elected at a time. Of the five minority candidates that did not place first in their election, four (80%) would have won in at least one remedial district and three (60%) would have won in all three remedial districts.
- I evaluate eight non City-Council races (“exogenous elections”) between 2012–2018.
 - Of the five minority-preferred candidates who lost their election, every single one would have won in all three remedial districts.
 - In the 2017 Sheriff’s race—a citywide election—the minority preferred candidate lost his election, but would have won in all three remedial districts.
- Of the six minority-preferred candidates who won their election across all races, every single one would have also won in all three remedial districts.

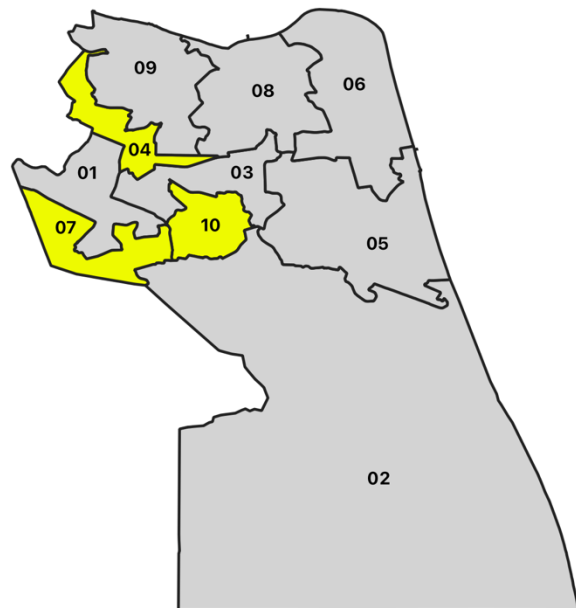
In short, the plan that I evaluate below would provide an effective opportunity for minority voters in Virginia Beach to elect candidates of choice in the remedial majority-minority districts.



The remedial districts are pictured above in color blocks. The districts are overlaid on Virginia Beach's voting precincts, which are delineated by thin blue lines.

In three of the remedial districts—Districts 4, 7, and 10—the minority citizen voting age population (CVAP) exceeds 50% as illustrated below. CVAP estimates are based on the most recent available Census data: the five-year average (2015-2019) of the American Community Survey (ACS).

<u>District</u>	<u>Minority CVAP</u>
4	51.1%
7	52.8%
10	52.3%

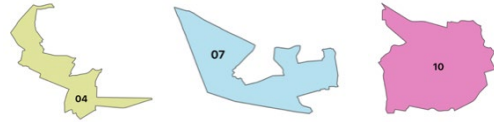


To determine whether these majority-minority districts perform for minority voters, I follow the standard procedure of evaluating reconstituted elections featuring minority candidates of choice. In each of the races that I analyze, I estimate the vote total for each candidate by aggregating across precincts within each district. In the event that a precinct appears in more than one district, I split the vote totals between districts, weighted by the underlying total population. I report the estimated support for all candidates in each race and compare these reconstituted election results in the three majority-minority districts with the actual citywide at-large results.

The shaded rows in each table designate the minority candidate(s) of choice for that election. Note that for the 2018 and 2010 at-large City Council races, two candidates were selected and so two candidates of choice are shaded. I use an asterisk (*) to highlight election results where a minority candidate of choice won more citywide votes in their election and is predicted to have won an election in the reconstituted districts. I use a double asterisk (**) to highlight results where a minority candidate of choice lost their election (or in the case of exogenous elections earned fewer citywide votes regardless of the statewide vote) yet would have won the reconstituted election in one of the majority-minority districts.

One final note: I evaluate a mix of “endogenous” elections (i.e., City Council elections) as well as a mix of “exogenous” elections (i.e., non-City Council elections). Although the remedial plan does not affect voting for exogenous races, I evaluate the performance of candidates for these non-city council elections as a test of the strength of the proposed remedial districts to represent minority communities that have shared interests, even in the face of partisan cues, high-volume political advertisements, and inter-regional politics that may not impact City Council races.

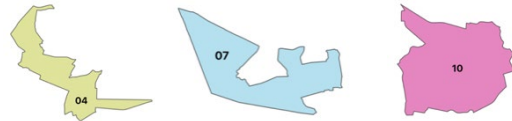
CITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS



	Candidate	At-Large	Remedial District 4	Remedial District 7	Remedial District 10
2018 AL	Rouse	54.5	59.8*	59.2*	53.4*
	Moss	45.3	30.8	37.0	34.8
	Oliver	45.2	38.0	42.8	36.0
	White	27.4	38.4**	31.0	34.8
	Bright*	17.7	23.2	20.0	19.0
	Hubbard	10.1	9.8	10.0	22.2
2016 KE	Abbott	59.4	44.6	54.6	52.8
	Ross-Hammond	40.6	55.4**	45.3	47.3
2014 RH	Kane	48.3	35.8	42.0	40.2
	Johnston	17.5	14.2	15.6	14.7
	Browder	17.3	16.8	17.4	19.1
	Cabiness	16.8	33.2	25.0	26.0
2011 AL	Moss	37.0	31.9	32.2	29.9
	Free	33.2	22.8	26.7	28.1
	Sherrod	25.9	43.5**	37.6**	39.2**
2010 AL	Bellitto	49.4	38.2*	47.8*	48.6*
	DeSteph	44.8	32.4	39.0	39.2
	Moss	30.1	24.0	29.8	23.4
	Erb	22.5	17.2	18.0	17.8
	Redmond	21.4	14.0	17.0	14.8
	Jackson	20.3	48.4**	34.0	35.2
2010 PA	Cabiness	11.3	26.2	14.2	20.8
	Henley	54.4	44.5	42.1	43.2
2008 AL	Bullock	45.6	55.5**	57.9**	56.8**
	Wilson	44.1	29.4	36.4	33.9
	Allen	34.6	51.4**	40.8**	44.3**

Notes:

1. Actual election returns are reported as "At-large" elections.
2. Remedial district election results do not include absentee or provisional ballots which are tabulated at the city level and not the precinct level.
3. Two candidates were elected in the 2018 and 2010 at-large (AL) election. Thus, the vote totals for these two races sum to 200%.
4. Shaded rows indicate minority candidates of choice.
5. * Minority candidate of choice WON their election and is predicted to win reconstituted election in remedial district.
6. ** Minority candidate of choice LOST their election and is predicted to win reconstituted election in remedial district


EXOGENOUS ELECTIONS

	Candidate	Citywide election total	Remedial District 4	Remedial District 7	Remedial District 10
2018 Senate	Kaine	53.8	71.4*	61.9*	67.7*
	Stewart	43.7	26.8	35.7	30.4
2018 House	Luria	50.8	69.8*	59.9*	65.6*
	Taylor	49.1	30.2	41.1	34.4
2017 Sheriff	Stolle	59.8	40.9	49.2	46.3
	Bell	39.8	59.1**	50.9**	53.7 **
2017 Governor	Northam	52.0	70.3*	61.6*	65.8*
	Gillespie	46.7	28.7	37.3	33.1
2017 Lt. Gov.	Vogel	51.0	31.4	40.5	35.9
	Fairfax	48.9	68.6**	59.5**	64.1**
2017 Att'y Gen.	Herring	50.2	69.0*	60.0*	64.6*
	Adams	49.7	31.0	40.0	35.4
2016 President	Trump	44.1	31.1	41.0	35.8
	Clinton	34.6	63.7**	52.8**	58.1**
2014 Senate	Gillespie	51.1	33.0	42.5	36.8
	Warner	46.1	64.3**	55.3**	60.5**
2012 President	Romney	50.6	30.3	42.4	32.3
	Obama	47.8	69.0**	56.5**	63.7**

Notes:

1. Actual election returns are reported as “At-large” elections.
2. District election results do not include absentee or provisional ballots which are tabulated at the city level and not the precinct level.
3. Shaded rows indicate minority candidates of choice.
4. * Minority candidate of choice earned the most votes across the entire city AND would have earned the most votes from voters in the remedial district.
5. ** Minority candidate of choice was not favored by Virginia Beach voters as a whole but would have earned the most votes from voters in the remedial district.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Douglas Spencer", is written over a horizontal line.

Douglas M. Spencer, Ph.D.

July 1, 2021

EXHIBIT C

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
UC Irvine www.socsci.uci.edu/~bgrofman

BERNARD NORMAN GROFMAN
bgrofman@uci.edu

May 2021

VITA

BERNARD N. GROFMAN, Professor

EDUCATION

B.S. University of Chicago, Mathematics (1966)
M.A. University of Chicago, Political Science (1968)
Ph.D. University of Chicago, Political Science (1972)

HONORARY DEGREES

2010 Honorary Doctorate in Political Science (*Doctor scientiarum politicarum honoris causa*), University of Copenhagen

CURRENT ACADEMIC POSITIONS HELD

2015- Distinguished Professor of Political Science, University of
 California, Irvine
2008- Jack W. Peltason (Bren Foundation) Endowed Chair, University of
 California, Irvine
2001- Adjunct Professor of Economics, University of California, Irvine.

FORMER ACADEMIC POSITIONS

1970-71 Instructor, Political Science, SUNY at Stony Brook.
1971-76 Assistant Professor, Political Science, SUNY at Stony Brook
1976-80 Associate Professor of Political Science and Social Psychology, University of
 California, Irvine
1980- Professor of Political Science and Social Psychology, University of California,
 Irvine.
2008-12 Director, Center for the Study of Democracy, UCI Interdisciplinary
 Organized Research Unit

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Political Science Association
Public Choice Society
Law and Society Association
American Institute of Parliamentarians

VISITING POSITIONS AND FELLOWSHIPS

1973	Visiting Lecturer (Gastdozent), Department of Political Science (Lehrstuhl für Politische Wissenschaft), University of Mannheim (Summer Semester).
1975	Adjunct Assistant Professor, Applied Mathematics, SUNY at Stony Brook (Spring Semester).
1975-76	Visiting Assistant Professor, School of Social Sciences, University of California, Irvine (Winter and Spring Quarters).
1984	Guest Scholar (Sabbatical), Governmental Studies Program, Brookings Institution (Winter Quarter).
1985	College Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Washington, Seattle (Spring Quarter).
1985-86	Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford
1989	Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan (Fall Semester).
1990	Scholar-in-Residence, Institute for Legal Studies, Kansai University, Osaka, Japan (June-July)
1992	Landsdowne Visiting Scholar, Department of Political Science, University of Victoria, Canada (one week)
2001	Fellow, University Institute of Advanced Study and Scholar-in-Residence, University of Bologna, Italy (May-June)
2002	Scholar-in-Residence, Berlin Science Center (Wissenschaft Zentrum) Germany (July)
2003	Gaspar de Portola Scholar-in-Residence, Department of Economics, Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona (May-June)
2006	Scholar-in-Residence, New York University School of Law (Sept.-Dec.)
2007	Scholar-in-Residence, Institute for Research on Government and Economic Institutions (IRGEI), University of Paris II (Pantheon), France (April-June)
2008	Scholar-in-Residence, Institute for Research on Government and Economic Institutions (IRGEI), University of Paris II (Pantheon), France (April-May)
2008	Official Politics Visitor, Scholar-in Residence, Nuffield College, Oxford University (June)
2009	Scholar-in-Residence, Institute for Research on Government and Economic Institutions (IRGEI), University of Paris II (Pantheon), France (June-July)
2010	Scholar-in-Residence, New York University School of Law (Sept.-Dec.)
2012-13	Straus Research Fellow, Straus Institute for the Advanced Study of Law and Justice, New York University School of Law (academic year 2012-13)
2013	Official Politics Visitor, Scholar in Residence, Nuffield College, Oxford University (September)
2014	Visiting Collaborative Scholar, Dept. of Economics, Complutense University, Madrid (one week, April)

- 2014 Visiting Professor, Dept. of Economics, University of Caen, France (May)
- 2015 Visiting Scholar, Dept. of Political Science, Institute for Advanced Study,
Vienna (two weeks, April)

VISITING POSITIONS AND FELLOWSHIPS (cont.)

- 2015 Visiting Scholar, Dept. of Political Science, University of Konstanz,
Germany (two weeks, June)
- 2016 Visiting Scholar, Dept. of Political Science, Central European University,
Budapest, Hungary (two weeks, April)
- 2016 Official Politics Visitor, Scholar-in-Residence, Nuffield College, Oxford
University (June -September)
- 2017 Visiting Scholar, Juan March Institute, University of Carlos III,
Madrid (one week, March)
- 2018 Visiting Scholar-in-Residence, Nuffield College, Oxford
University (two weeks, September)
- 2019 Official Politics Visitor, Scholar-in-Residence, Nuffield College, Oxford
University (two weeks, September)

BOOKS AND EDITED BOOKS

BOOKS (published and forthcoming)

- (P1) Grofman, Bernard, Lisa Handley and Richard Niemi. Minority Representation and the Quest for Voting Equality. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- (P2) Merrill, Samuel III and Bernard Grofman. A Unified Theory of Voting: Directional and Proximity Spatial Models. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- (P3) Adams, James, Samuel Merrill and Bernard Grofman. 2005. A Unified Theory of Party Competition: A Cross-National Analysis Integrating Spatial and Behavioral Factors. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- (P4) Regenwetter, Michael, Bernard Grofman, A. A. J. Marley and Ilia Tsetlin. 2006. Behavioral Social Choice: Probabilistic Models, Statistical Inference, and Applications. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- (P5) Taylor, Steven, Matthew Shugart, Arend Lijphart and Bernard Grofman. 2014. A Different Democracy: American Government in Thirty-One Country Perspective New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

EDITED BOOKS (published)

- (E1) Grofman, Bernard N., Arend Lijphart, Robert McKay and Howard Scarrow (Eds.), Representation and Redistricting Issues. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1982. (initially published as a 1981 special issue of Policy Studies Journal, 9(3))
- (E2) Lijphart, Arend and Bernard Grofman (Eds.), Choosing an Electoral System. New York: Praeger, 1984. (2001 co-recipient of the George Hallett Prize of the Representation and Electoral Systems Section of the American Political Science Association for books with a lasting contribution to the study of electoral systems.)
- (E3) Grofman, Bernard N. and Arend Lijphart (Eds.), Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences. New York: Agathon Press, 1986. (2001 co-recipient of the George Hallett Prize of the Representation and Electoral Systems Section of the American Political Science Association for books with a lasting contribution to the study of electoral systems.)
- (E4) Grofman, Bernard N. and Guillermo Owen (Eds.), Information Pooling and Group Decision Making. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1986.
- (E5) Grofman, Bernard N. and Donald Wittman (Eds.), The "Federalist Papers" and the New Institutionalism. New York: Agathon Press, 1989.
- (E6) Grofman, Bernard N. (Ed.), Political Gerrymandering and the Courts. New York: Agathon Press, 1990.
- (E7) Grofman, Bernard and Chandler Davidson (Eds.), Controversies in Minority Voting: The Voting Rights Act in Perspective. Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1992. (Designated by the Gustavus Myers Center for the Study of Human Rights in North America as one of the outstanding books published in 1992 on intolerance.)
- (E8) Grofman, Bernard N. (Ed.), Information, Participation and Choice: An 'Economic Theory of Democracy' in Perspective. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1993.
- (E9) Davidson, Chandler and Bernard Grofman (Eds.), Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-1990. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994. (Richard Fenno Prize of the Legislative Studies Section of the American Political Science Association for the best book published in 1994 in the field of legislative studies.)
- (E10) Grofman, Bernard (Ed.) Legislative Term Limits: Public Choice Perspectives. Boston,

MA: Kluwer, 1996.

(E11) Grofman, Bernard (Ed.) Race and Redistricting in the 1990s. New York: Agathon Press, 1998.

(E12) Grofman, Bernard, Sung-Chull Lee, Edwin Winckler, and Brian Woodall (Eds.) Elections in Japan, Korea and Taiwan under the Single Non-Transferable Vote: The Comparative Study of an Embedded Institution. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
EDITED BOOKS (published) (cont.)

(E13) Grofman, Bernard (Ed.) Legacies of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

(E14) Bowler, Shaun and Bernard Grofman (Eds.) Elections in Australia, Ireland and Malta under the Single Transferable Vote. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000

(E15) Grofman, Bernard (Ed.). Political Science as Puzzle Solving. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001.

(E16) Grofman, Bernard and Arend Lijphart (Eds.) The Evolution of Electoral and Party Systems in the Nordic Countries. New York: Agathon Press, 2002.

(E17) Handley, Lisa and Bernard Grofman (Eds.). Redistricting in Comparative Perspective. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

(E18) Grofman, Bernard, Shaun Bowler, and Andre Blais (Eds.) Duverger's Law in Canada, India, the U.S. and the U.K. New York: Springer, 2008.

(E19) Sigelman, Lee, Kenneth Newton, Kenneth J. Meier, and Bernard Grofman (Eds.) The Wit and Humor of Political Science. American Political Science Association and European Consortium for Political Research, 2010.

(E20) Giannetti, Daniela and Bernard Grofman (Eds.) A Natural Experiment on Electoral Law Reform: Evaluating the Long Run Consequences of 1990s Electoral Reform in Italy and Japan. New York: Springer, 2011.

(E21) Dolez, Bernard, Bernard Grofman and Annie Laurent (Eds.) In Situ and Laboratory Experiments on Electoral Law Reform: French Presidential Elections. New York: Springer, 2011.

(E22) Bernard Grofman, Alex Trechsel and Mark Franklin (Eds.) The Internet and Democracy: Voters, Parties, Interest Groups, and Social Movements. New York: Springer, 2013.

(E23) Alvarez, Michael and Bernard Grofman (Eds.) Election Administration in the United States: The State of Reform after *Bush v. Gore*. New York: Cambridge

University Press, 2014.

(E24) Congleton, Roger, Bernard Grofman, and Stefan Voigt (Eds.) Oxford Handbook of Public Choice, Volume I. Oxford University Press, 2018.

(E25) Congleton, Roger, Bernard Grofman, and Stefan Voigt (Eds.) Oxford Handbook of Public Choice, Volume II. Oxford University Press, 2018.

(E26) Suhay, Elizabeth, Bernard Grofman, and Alex Trechsel (Eds.) Oxford Handbook of Electoral Persuasion. Oxford University Press, 2020 forthcoming.

EDITED JOURNAL SYMPOSIA and MINISYMPOSIA

(J1) 1981. Minisymposium on Voter Turnout. American Politics Quarterly, 9(2).

(J2) 1993. Minisymposium on the 2500th Anniversary of Democracy. PS: Political Science, (September).

(J3) 2005. Symposium on Elections under the French Double Ballot System, co-edited with Michael Lewis-Beck. French Politics 3

(J4) 2005. Symposium on Political Culture, Representation and Electoral Systems in the Pacific Islands, co-edited with Jon Fraenkel, Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Studies 43.

(J5) 2008. Minisymposium on Runoff Methods, co-edited with Andre Blais and Shaun Bowler. Electoral Studies 27.

(J6) 2012. Minisymposium (in French) on The Legacy of Maurice Duverger, co-edited with Bernard Dolez and Annie Laurent. Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée,

MAJOR RESEARCH GRANTS

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 2011-12 | Monitoring the Nature and Impact of Public Input into the Legislative and Congressional Redistricting Process (Sloan Foundation, \$119,756, PI). |
| 2007-09 | Political Competition. Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, (SSHRCC #410-2007-2153, \$87,290: Associate Investigator: co-PIs, Stanley Winer and J. Stephen Ferris). |
| 1998-01 | Collaborative Research on Probabilistic Models of Social Choice. National Science Foundation Program in Methodology Measurement and Statistics, (NSF# SBR-97-30578, \$213,000 with Anthony Marley, Co-PI). |
| 1994-95 | Electoral Laws, Electoral Lists and Campaigning in the First Non-Racial South African General Election, National Science Foundation, National Science Foundation (NSF# SBR-93- 21864, \$39,512, co-PI with Arend Lijphart). |
| 1991-93 | The Impact of Redistricting on the Representation of Racial and Ethnic |

- Minorities, The Ford Foundation (#446740-47007, \$166,000).
- 1988-92 Collaborative Research on the Voting Rights Act: Implementation, Effects, and Implications for Law and Society. National Science Foundation Law and Social Sciences Program (NSF SES #88-09392, \$231,000, co-PI with Chandler Davidson); Supplementary Grant for Collaborative Research on the Voting Rights Act: The Effects of Changing Electoral Systems on the Election of Women. National Science Foundation Law and Social Sciences Program (NSF SES 88-09392, \$8,500, with Chandler Davidson and Susan Welch).
- 1987 Ethnic Voting Patterns in Metropolitan Toronto (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, \$14,480, with Janet Landa and Michael Copeland.

MAJOR RESEARCH GRANTS (cont.)

- 1985-87 The Dynamics of Spatial Voting Games and Games on Graphs, National Science Foundation, Decision and Management Sciences Program (NSF SES #85-06376, \$99,300, with Guillermo Owen).
- 1985-86 The Impact of Laws Relating to Elections and Representation, National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (NSF SES #85-15468, \$23,200).
- 1983-84 Analysis of the Multnomah Jury Archive, National Science Foundation, Law and Social Sciences Program (NSF SES #82-18588, \$35,000).
- 1981-83 Reapportionment and Representation. National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (NSF #SES 81-07554, \$49,970 with Guillermo Owen)
- 1980-82 Applications of Game Theory to the Study of Political Institutions. National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (NSF #SES 80-07915, \$31,300 with Guillermo Owen)
- 1978-79 Modeling Jury Decision Processes: The Multnomah Jury Archive, National Science Foundation, Law and Social Sciences Program (NSF SOC 77-24702, \$73,800). \$8,000 funding provided by the American Bar Association).
- 1978-79 Electoral System: What Difference Does it Make? National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (NSF SOC 77-24474, \$35,800, with Howard Scarrow).
- 1976-77 Modeling Jury Decision Processes, National Science Foundation, Law and Social Sciences Program (NSF SOC 75-14091, \$68,200).

PROFESSIONAL HONORS AND AWARDS

- 2017 Recipient, Charles Merriam Award of the American Political Science Association for lifetime achievement in the field of applied public Policy (awarded biennially)
- 2001- Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences
- 2000-02 President, Public Choice Society
- 1991-93 Chair, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association.
- 1982-85 Co-Chair, Conference Group on Representation and Electoral Systems,

American Political Science Association.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA RESEARCH AND TEACHING HONORS AND AWARDS

- 2005 University of California, Irvine Academic Senate Distinguished Faculty Award for Research
- 2001 Lauds and Laurels Award for Faculty Achievement, UCI Alumni Association.
- 1997 The campus-wide winner, Award for Teaching Innovation and Excellence: UCI Dean for Undergraduate Education.
- 1996 The School of Social Sciences winner, Award for Teaching Innovation and Excellence: UCI Dean for Undergraduate Education.
- 1995 Lauds and Laurels Award for Professional Achievement, UCI Alumni Association.

PAPER AWARDS

- 2003 Co-recipient (with Timothy Brazill) of the Duncan Black Prize of the Public Choice Society for best paper published in Public Choice in 2002, ("Identifying the Median Justice on the Supreme Court through Multi-Dimensional Scaling: Analysis of the 'Natural Courts' 1953-1991")
- 1985 Co-recipient (with Philip Straffin) of the Carl B. Allendoerfer Award, Mathematical Association of America, for exposition in mathematical Writing for undergraduates (Best paper, Mathematics Magazine).
- 1979 Pi Sigma Alpha Award, Best Paper, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

LISTINGS

Who's Who in the World. Providence, NJ: Marquis, various yearly editions beginning in 1998.

American Political Scientists: A Dictionary. Glenn H. Utter and Charles Lockhart (Eds.) Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002, pp. 138-140.

Directory of American Scholars, 10th ed. Gale Group, 2002.

Rowley, Charles K. and Friedrich Schneider. Encyclopedia of Public Choice. Vol. 1. 2004. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht/Boston/London. Grofman Biography, pp. 355-356

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- (T1) Mathematics and politics: Mathematical reasoning and optimal jury decision processes. Plus, Reply. In Max Black (Ed.), *Problems of Choice and Decision: Proceedings of a Colloquium Held in Aspen, Colorado, June 24-July 6, 1974*. Cornell University Program on Science, Technology, and Society and Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies: Photo-offset, 1975, 331-337; 544-547.
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- (T5) Report on the constitutionality of Hawaii Reapportionment Commission's proposed state legislative redistricting. Prepared testimony in *Travis v. King*, U.S. District Court for the State of Hawaii, March 23-24, 1982, photo-offset.
- (T6) Report to the Special Master on methodology used to insure compliance with standards of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, *Flateau v. Anderson*. U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, June 7, 1982, photo-offset.
- (T7) The disadvantageous effects of at-large elections on the success of minority candidates for

the Charlotte and Raleigh City Councils. Prepared testimony in *Gingles v. Edmisten*. U.S. District Court for the State of North Carolina, August 1983, photo-offset.

- (T8) Effects of multimember districts in state legislative elections in eight North Carolina counties, 1978-1982. Prepared testimony in *Gingles v. Edmisten*, U.S. District Court for the State of North Carolina, August 1983, photo-offset. (Also see R22.)
- (T9) Report on prima facie evidence of political gerrymandering in the 1983 California Congressional redistricting plan, plus Rejoinder. Prepared testimony in *Badham v. Eu*, U.S. District Court for the State of California, December 1983, photo-offset.
- (T10) Report on the effects of the proposed redistricting plan for the South Carolina Senate. Prepared testimony in *South Carolina v. U.S.*, U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia, photo-offset, July 1984.

PREPARED TESTIMONY AND PHOTO-OFFSET CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS (cont.)

- (T11) Affidavits in *Haskins v. Wilson County*, U.S. District Court for the State of North Carolina, photo-offset, 1985-86.
- (T12) Affidavit in *Jackson v. Nash County*, U.S. District Court for the State of North Carolina, April 1986.
- (T13) Affidavits in *U.S. v. City Council of Los Angeles*, U.S. District Court for the State of California, July 1986.
- (T14) Declarations in *Gomez v. City of Watsonville*, U.S. District Court for the State of California, August and October 1986.
- (T15) Declarations in *McGhee et al. v. Granville County of North Carolina*, U.S. District Court for the State of North Carolina, 1987.
- (T16) Declarations in *Badillo et al. v. City of Stockton*, U.S. District Court for the State of California, December 1987 and February 1988.
- (T17) Affidavits in *Republican National Committee of North Carolina v. James G. Martin*, U.S. District Court for the State of North Carolina, July, August 1988.
- (T18) Report in *Chisom v. Roemer*, Civil Action No. 86-4075 in the Eastern District of Louisiana, October 1988, revised March 1989.
- (T19) Affidavits regarding minority representation in the 1988 Republican National Convention, August 5, 1988, and August 8, 1988.
- (T20) Report in *Garza v. Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors*. U.S. District Court for the State of California, April 1989; Declaration, October 26, 1989.
- (T21) Report for the Alaska Districting Commission on racially polarized voting in elections to the Alaska legislature, May 1991.
- (T22) Report in *Republican State Party of Massachusetts v. Connolly*, U.S. District Court for the State of Massachusetts, December 1991.
- (T23) Declaration in *Pope et al. v. Blue et al.*, U.S. District Court, Western District, Charlotte, North Carolina Division, March 5, 1992.
- (T24) Declaration in *Prosser v. State of Wisconsin Board of Elections*, U.S. District Court for the State of Wisconsin, April 1992.
- (T25) Reports for State of Alaska on the 1992 legislative districts, November 1993, January 1994.

PREPARED TESTIMONY AND PHOTO-OFFSET CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS (cont.)

- (T26) Declaration in *Republican Party of North Carolina v. James B. Hunt, Governor of North Carolina*, April 1994.
- (T27) Expert witness declaration in *Bush. v Vera*, U.S. District Court, Texas, July 18, 1996.
- (T28) Expert witness declaration in *Shaw v. Hunt*, U.S. District Court, North Carolina, July 24, 1996.
- (T29) Expert witness declaration in *Garcia v. City of Los Angeles*, U.S. District Court, California, November 20, 1996.
- (T30) Expert witness reports in *Arrington et al. v. Elections Bd.* 173 F. Supp. 2d 856 U.S. District Court, Eastern Division, Wisconsin, January, February and March, 2002.
- (T31) Expert witness affidavit in *Rodriguez et al. v. Pataki, et al.*, Case No. 02 Civ. 618, 01 Civ. 3843, U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, May 11, 2002.
- (T32) Report on Election Rules for Determining Representation on New York City Community District Education Councils. Prepared for NYC Dept of Education, October, 2003.
- (T33) Grofman, Bernard and Gary Jacobson. Amicus Brief in the U.S. Supreme Court on Behalf of Neither Party in *Vieth v. Jubelirer*, 541 U.S. 267 (2004).
- (T34) King, Gary, Bernard Grofman, Jonathan Katz and Andrew Gelman. Amicus Brief, in the U.S. Supreme Court on Behalf of Neither Party in *LULAC v. Perry* 548 U.S. 399, 126 S. Ct. 2549 (2006).
- (T35) Persily, Nathaniel, Bernard Grofman, Bruce Cain, Theodore Arrington and Lisa Handley. Amicus Brief in the U.S. Supreme Court on Behalf of Neither Party in *Bartlett v. Strickland* No. 07-689. (2008).
- (T36) Grofman, Bernard. Declaration *in Baldus et al. v. Government Accountability Board of Wisconsin*, Federal District Court, January 13, 2012.
- (T37) Persily, Nathan, Bruce Cain, and Bernard Grofman. Amicus Brief in the Supreme Court in *Arizona State Legislature v. Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission et al.*, No. 12-314, decided June 29, 2015.
- (T38) Persily, Nathan, Bernard Grofman, Stephen Ansolabehere, Charles Stewart, II, and Bruce Cain. Amicus Brief in the Supreme Court in *Evenwel v. Abbott*, No. 14-940, filed September 24, 2015.

(T39A) Grofman, Report of the Special Master in *Personhuballah v. Alcorn*. U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, November 15, 2015 (Civ No. 3:13:cv678) .

PREPARED TESTIMONY AND PHOTO-OFFSET CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS (cont.)

(T39B) Grofman, Supplement I to the Report of the Special Master in *Personhuballah v. Alcorn*. U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, December 9, 2015 _ (Civ No. 3:13:cv678).

(T39C) Grofman, Supplement II to the Report of the Special Master in *Personhuballah v. Alcorn*. U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, December 15, 2015 (Civ No. 3:13:cv678).

(T40) Grofman, Bernard and Keith Gaddie. Amicus Brief in the Supreme Court on Behalf of Neither Party in *Gill v. Whitford*, No. 16-1161 (U.S. 2017), filed August 19, 2017.

(T41A) Grofman, Bernard. Preliminary Report of the Special Master in *Navajo Nation v. San Juan County, Utah*. October 2017.

(T41B) Grofman, Bernard. Report of the Special Master in *Navajo Nation v. San Juan County, Utah*. November 28, 2017.

(T41C) Grofman, Bernard. Addendum to Special Master Report in *Navajo Nation v. San Juan County, Utah*: Technical Corrections. December 8, 2017.

(T42) Grofman, Bernard and Keith Gaddie. Amicus on Behalf of Neither Party in League of Women Voters v. Pennsylvania, (on Appeal from the Order of the Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania, No. 261 MD 2017 filed January 4, 2018.

(T43) Aziz, Haris, Piotr Faliszewski, Bernard Grofman, Arkadii Slinko, Nimrod Talmon “Egalitarian Committee Voting Rules.” IJCAI-ECAI-18, 27th International Joint Conference on Artificial Intelligence and the 23rd European Conference on Artificial Intelligence Stockholm, Sweden, July 13-19, 2018. (Published as Conference Proceedings).

(T44a) Grofman, Bernard. Report of the Special Master in *Golden Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Board of Elections* U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, December 7, 2018 (Civil Action No. 3:14cv852).

(T44b) Supplement 1 to the Report of the Special Master in *Golden Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Board of Elections* U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, December 9, 2018 (Civil Action No. 3:14cv852)-corrections.

(T44c) Supplement 2 to the Report of the Special Master in *Golden Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Board of Elections* U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, December 28, 2018 (Civil Action No. 3:14cv852)-response to comments.

PREPARED TESTIMONY AND PHOTO-OFFSET CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS (cont.)

(T44d) Supplement 3 to the Report of the Special Master in *Golden Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Board of Elections* U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, January 4, 2018 (Civil Action No. 3:14cv852)- further response to comments.

(T44e) Supplement 4 to the Report of the Special Master in *Golden Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Board of Elections* U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, January 8, 2018 (Civil Action No. 3:14cv852)- further corrections.

(T44f) Second (Revised) Report of the Special Master in *Golden Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Board of Elections* U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, January 17, 2018 (Civil Action No. 3:14cv852)- combined document updating December 7, 2018 Report to include corrections and responses to comments.

(T45) Grofman, Bernard and Keith Gaddie. Amicus Brief on Behalf of Neither Party in *Rucho v. Common Cause* and *Lamone v. Benisek*, Nos. 18-422, 18-726 , U.S. Supreme Court, filed February 12, 2019.

(T46) Report of the Special Master in *Wright v. Sumter County Board of Education* s U.S. District Court, Middle District of Georgia, Albany Division, November 23, 2019 (1:14-CV-42 (WLS)).

(T47) Comments to the California Redistricting Commission on Voting Rights Act Considerations (requested by the Subcommittee on Voting Rights), February 17, 2021.

BOOK NOTES, REVIEWS AND COMMUNICATIONS (in print)

- (B1) Book note: Robert's Rules of Order (New, Revised). 1970. American Political Science Review, 64:1288-1290.
- (B2) The 1970 APSA election." 1972. PS, (Summer):278-289.
- (B3) A note on some generalizations of the paradox of cyclical majorities. 1972. Public Choice, 12:113-114.
- (B4) Book note: John Sohnquist, Multivariate Model Building. 1974. American Political Science Review, 69:1749.
- (B5) Rational choice models and self-fulfilling and self-defeating prophecies. In W. Leinfellner and E. Kohler (Eds.), Developments in the Methodology of Social Science, Boston: Reidel, 1974, 381-383.
- (B6) A comment on "Democratic theory: A preliminary mathematical model." 1975. Public Choice, 21:100-103.
- (B7) Book note: William H. Riker and Peter C. Ordeshook. An Introduction to Positive Political Theory. 1976. Theory and Decision, 231-234.
- (B8) A comment on "Single-peakedness and Guttman scales: Concept and measurement." 1976. Public Choice, 28:107-111.
- (B9) Communication: Sloppy sampling - a comment on "six-member juries in the Federal Courts." 1977. Social Action and the Law Newsletter, 4(2):4-5.
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- (B14) Book note: Oliver Thomson, Mass Persuasion in History. 1978. Journal of Communication, (Autumn):204-205.

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- (B15) A comment on Dye and McManus' use of discriminant function analysis. 1978. Political Methodology, 5:241-248.
- (B16) Book note: Michael Saks, Jury Verdicts. 1979. Social Action and the Law Newsletter, 5(1):9-11.
- (B17) Book note: Michael Tracey, The Production of Political Television. 1979. Journal of Communication, 29(4):211-212.
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- (B20) Book review: Michael Taylor, Anarchy and Cooperation. 1980. Theory and Decision, 12:107-114.
- (B21) Book note: Susan Hensley, Body Politics: Power, Sex, and Nonverbal Communication. American Political Science Review, Vol. 74 (March 1980), 166-167.
- (B22) Book note: Howard D. Hamilton, Electing the Cincinnati City Council: An Examination of Alternative Electoral-Representation Systems. 1981. American Political Science Review, 75:771-772.
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- (B24) Book note: Bruce J. West (Ed.), Mathematical Models as a Tool for the Social Sciences. 1982. Social Sciences Quarterly, 63:610-611.
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- (B27) Comment: Models of voter turnout: A brief idiosyncratic review. 1983. Public Choice, 41: 55-61.
- (B28) Advice to the expert witness in court. 1984. PS (Winter): 60-61.
- (B29) Should you brush your teeth on November 6, 1984? 1984. PS (Summer): 577-580. (Reprinted in Sigelman et al. (Eds.), The Wit and Humor of Political Science. APSA,

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BOOK NOTES, REVIEWS AND COMMUNICATIONS (in print) (cont.)

- (B30) Introduction to minisymposium: Political gerrymandering: Badham v. Eu, Political science goes to court. 1985. PS (Summer): 538-543
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- (S2) Grofman, Bernard and Howard Scarrow. 1977. Who knows the score on the board of supervisors? 1977. Opinion-Editorial Page, Newsday, March 6, 1977.
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- (O1) Chicago. In David Glazier (Ed.), Student Travel in America. New York: Pyramid Publication, 1968. (Under pseudonym.)
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SOCIAL SCIENCES WORKING PAPERS AND RESEARCH REPORTS

(WP1) Note: Confessions of a mad modeler, Research Report R6, School of Social Sciences, University of California, June 1978.

(WP2) Note: The paradox of voting in a faculty appointment decision (with Steven Brown). Research Report R6, School of Social Sciences, University of California, Irvine, June 1978.

CURRENT WEBSITE POSTINGS

(W4) Communication: Omitted Candidate Bias. Annals of In-Comparable Studies (on-line journal), April 1, 2016. <http://www.incomparablestudies.com>

(W5) Communication: A Brief Comment on the U.S. Supreme Court Decision in Evenwel v. Abbott . April 4, 2016. <https://casetext.com/posts/a-brief-comment-on-evenwel-v-abbott>

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(W8) Communication: How Likely is Trump to Lose the Popular Vote but Win the Electoral College? August 2020 3streamsblog@gmail.com

(W9) Communication: Does Donald Trump Really Believe He Won the 2020 Election? Election Law Blog, November 27, 2020. <https://electionlawblog.org/?p=119100>

(W10) Communication: Traffic Fatalities as an Objective Indicator of Level of Democracy. April 1, 2021. <http://www.incomparablestudies.com>

CURRENT RESEARCH

My two main (but very much overlapping) research areas could be characterized as (1) behavioral social choice, linking mathematical models of group and individual decision making and information processing to empirical evidence; and (2) comparative politics, with a focus on electoral rules and constitutional design, elections; voter choice and political party competition; and the structure of governing coalitions. Here, I am very interested in viewing the U.S. in comparative perspective as one case among many. I also have strong interests in law and social science in the domain of election law and voting rights, especially in issues connected with representation and redistricting. And I have interests in political persuasion and political propaganda, including political cartooning and satire; as well as an interest in citizen statistical literacy to make sense of the increasing use of numbers and graphs in the media and in political communications and to understand statistical fallacies. Since the range of my interests spans most political science subfields, these days I tend to describe myself as a methodologist, though I also see myself as a student of empirical democratic theory.

CONFERENCE RELATED FUNDING

- 2018 CSD Conference on Money and Politics, Part II (co-organized with Desmond King, with \$5,000 funding from the Peltason Center for the Study of Democracy and supplemental funding from the Peltason Chair of Democracy Studies) Newport Beach, March 3-4.
- 2017 Conference on Money and Politics, Part I (co-organized with Desmond King, with approximately \$8,000 funding from Nuffield College, Oxford University, and supplemental funding from the Peltason Chair, and with \$1,000 additional funding from the Peltason Center for the Study of Democracy; held at Oxford University, September 15-16.
- 2016 CSD Conference on Duverger's Law in Historical Perspective (Peltason Chair, with \$1,000 supplemental funding from the Peltason Center for the Study of Democracy; co-organized with Annie Laurent, University of Lille, II and Bernard Dolez, University of Paris, I; held in Frejus, France, May 26-28).
- 2016 CSD Conference on New Developments in the Study of Cabinet Coalition Formation Processes. (Peltason Chair, with \$1,000 supplemental funding From the Peltason Center for the Study of Democracy, and supplemental support from the Belgian Academy of Sciences in the form of conference facilities April 28-30 at their Rome Center in the Borghese Gardens; co-organized with Patrick Dumont, University of Luxembourg).
- 2016 CSD Conference on New Developments in the Study of Political Persuasion (Peltason Chair, with \$10,000 supplemental funding from the Peltason Center for the Study of Democracy; held in Laguna Beach, January 8-10).
- 2011-12 Collaborative Workshop on Ethnic Politics and Electoral Democracy (held in Zurich in June, 2012, with principal support from NCCR Democracy, University of Zurich, \$30,000, and supplemental funding from the Peltason Chair And the UCI Center for the Study of Democracy; with Daniel Bochsler, ETH Zurich)
- 2008 CSD Conference on Long Term Consequences of Electoral Rules Change: Comparing Italy and Japan. Bologna Italy, November 28-29, 2008. (Peltason Chair, with supplemental funding of \$7,500 from the UCI Center for the Study of Democracy).
- 2006 CSD Conference on Plurality and Runoff Methods in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom (Canadian Embassy, \$5,000, UCI Center for the Study of Democracy, \$5,000; with Shaun Bowler), February 17-20.

CONFERENCE RELATED FUNDING (cont.)

- 2005 IMBS Conference on Spatial Social Choice, December 9-11 (UCI Institute for Mathematical Behavioral Sciences and the UCI Center for the Study of Democracy; with Donald Saari.)
- 2004 CSD Conference on Pluralitarian/Majoritarian Electoral Systems (Borchard Foundation, \$25,000, with \$2,500 supplemental funding from the UCI Center for the Study of Democracy, held in Missillac, France, June; with James Adams and Shaun Bowler).
- 2000-01 CSD Conference on Comparative Redistricting (NSF Program in Political Science, \$22,000, with \$5,000 supplemental funding from CSD, the UCI Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research, and the School of Social Sciences; with Lisa Handley).
- 1998 CSD Conference on Mixed Electoral Systems that Emulate the German Model (UC Center for the German and European Studies, \$10,000, and \$5,000 supplemental funding from the UCI Center for the Study of Democracy, with Matthew Shugart and Martin Wattenberg)
- 1997 CSD Conference on Electoral and Party Systems in Scandinavia: Origins and Evolution (UCI Center for the Study of Democracy, \$11,000, with Arend Lijphart).
- 1996 CSD Conference on Elections in Australia, Ireland and Malta under the Single Transferable Vote (UCI Center for the Study of Democracy, \$11,000, with Shaun Bowler).
- 1994-95 Conference on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in Thirty Year Perspective. (Joyce Foundation #446740-49317, \$18,500, with additional funding by the Federal Judicial Center).
- 1991-92 CSD Conference on Japanese, Korean and U.S. Election Practices in Comparative Perspective (UC Pacific Rim Research Program, \$14,700, with additional funding from the UCI Center for the Study of Democracy; with Sung Chull Lee, Rein Taagepera and Brian Woodall).
- 1991-92 Workshops on Politics and the Democratization Process, (National Science Foundation, Political Science Program SES# 91-13984 (\$42,000, with Russell Dalton and Harry Eckstein).
- 1989-90 A Conference on the Voting Rights Act: A Twenty-five Year Perspective (Rockefeller Foundation, \$50,000, with Thomas Mann and Chandler Davidson, under the auspices of The Brookings Institution).
- 1988 A Conference on 'The Calculus of Consent': A Twenty-five Year Perspective (Liberty Fund; with Donald Wittman).

- 1982 A Conference on Information Pooling. National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (NSF #SES 82-09109, \$26,300, with Guillermo Owen and Scott L. Feld).
- 1980 A Conference on Representation and Apportionment Issues in the 1980s. National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (NSF #SES 79-26813, \$20,200, with Arend Lijphart, Robert McKay, and Howard Scarrow; additional \$8,000 funding provided by the American Bar Association)
- 1979 A Conference on Voter Turnout. National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (NSF SOC 78-19433, \$14,400, with Richard Brody and Herbert Weisberg)

CONFERENCE PAPERS 1999-2019 (unpublished)

- (C59) Commisso, Ellen and Bernard Grofman. Liberty, equality, fraternity: Tripolarity, cycles and the dynamics of party competition in post-socialist Eastern Europe. Presented at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia.
- (C67) Gray, Mark and Bernard Grofman. "Several (likely to be contentious) claims about the nature and prerequisites of democracy." Prepared for delivery at the Second London School of Economics Workshop on "Freedom and Democracy," London, June 15, 2001.
- (C72) Grofman, Bernard and Samuel Merrill. "What does it mean to offer a "solution" to the problem of ecological inference?" Paper presented at the Conference on New Advances in Ecological Inference, June 17-18, 2002, Cambridge MA.
- (C82) Grofman, Bernard. "Statistics and Social Choice: Connections Between Sports and Politics." Paper presented at the University of California, Irvine Institute for Mathematical Sciences Conference on Decisions, Sports, and Statistics" December 4, 2004.
- (C88) Wayman, Frank, Bernard Grofman and Matt Barreto. "Party ID in the US in Longitudinal Perspective." Presented at the European Consortium for Political Research Conference, Nicosia Cyprus, April 27, 2006.
- (C94) Gray, Mark, Paul Perl and Bernard Grofman. "More Than an Ocean Apart: The Americas and the College of Cardinals 1903-2005." Prepared for delivery at the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion conference, Portland, Oregon. October 19-22, 2006.
- (C96) Grofman, Bernard, James Fowler, Natalie Masuoka and Scott Feld. "Social Choice Approaches to Social Exchange Networks." Presented at a Colloquium of the Netherlands Group in Social Choice, Tilburg University, April 5, 2007. Also presented as a colloquium at the University of Paris, I, June 5, 2007.
- (C98) Schneider, Carsten Q. and Bernard Grofman. "Visual Presentation of Fuzzy QCA Data." Paper presented at panel on "Political Methodology," European Consortium for Political Research, Pisa, Italy, September 6-8, 2007. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the International Conference on Comparative Social Sciences, Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan, July 15-16, 2006, under the title "It Might Look Like a Regression Equation...but It Is Not! An Intuitive Approach to the Presentation of QCA and fs/QCA Results."
- (C104) Grofman, Bernard. "Voting as Habit." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Monterey, California, March, 2010.
- (C105) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard Grofman. "Creating and Maintaining a Scale-Free Core-Periphery Fractal Network" Annual Meeting of the International Society for Social Networks. Riva del Garda, Italy, June 30-July 4, 2010.

CONFERENCE PAPERS (unpublished) (cont.)

- (C107) Grofman, Bernard. "Voting Rights and Minority Representation in the United States and England in Comparative Perspective." Presented at a Conference on the Impact of Electoral Institutions and Political Parties, University of Manchester, Manchester England, September 20, 2010.
- (C114) Garcia, Jennifer, Sierra Powell, and Bernard Grofman. "Making It Easier or Harder for Ex-Felons to Vote: Political and Rhetorical Perspectives." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Los Angeles, March, 2013.
- (C116) Grofman, Bernard, Yogesh Uppal and Malte Pehl. "Duverger's Law in India." Prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Charleston, S.C., March 7-9, 2014.
- (C117) Grofman, Bernard and Joseph Godfrey "Aspiration Models of Committee Voting." Prepared for delivery at the conference on "Public Choice and Social Choice," Condorcet Center, University of Rennes, May 22-23, 2014.
- (C118) Grofman, Bernard and Stanley Winer. "Comparing Economic and Political Competition." Prepared for delivery at the Conference on the Free Market, University of Tampere, Tampere, Finland, June 9-15, 2014.
- (C119) Grofman, Bernard. "Reflections on Electoral Competition." Presented at the International Conference on Electoral Competition, Laguna Beach, California, December 14-15, 2014.
- (C121) Tan, Netina and Bernard Grofman. "Multiseat Plurality Bloc Voting in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes: Comparing Singapore, Cameroon, Djibouti, and Chad." Prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Asian Studies Association, Singapore, July 17-19, 2014; also presented, under the title "Electoral Rules that Dictators Love," at the Conference on Comparative Elections, Belgian Academy of Sciences, Rome, September 16-18, 2015; also presented, under the title "Electoral Engineering and Electoral Manipulation," at the 7th Annual Conference on Mathematics and the Social Sciences, University of Auckland, New Zealand, February 18, 2016.
- (C122) Lublin, David, Thomas Brunell, Bernard Grofman and Lisa Handley. "The Election of African-Americans and Latinos to State Legislatures and the U.S. Congress in 2015." Presented at the Workshop on the Representation of Women and Minorities, McGill University and Université de Montréal, August 23-24, 2015.
- (C123) Dumont, Patrick and Bernard Grofman. "Predicting the Structure of Cabinets." Presented at the Conference on "New Developments in Cabinet Coalition Theory." Belgian Academy in Rome, April 28-30, 2016.

RECENT CONFERENCE PAPERS (unpublished) (cont.)

- (C124) Bernard Grofman. "Duverger's Law and Beyond." Paper presented at the Conference on the 65th Anniversary of Duverger's Law." Frejus, France, May 26-27, 2016.
- (C126) Brunell, Thomas, Bernard Grofman and Samuel Merrill III. "Puzzles and Paradoxes in Understanding Models of Legislative Voting: Comparing Party and Chamber Medians." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August, 2016.
- (C128) Grofman, Bernard. "Steering between Scylla and Charybdis: *Thornburg v. Gingles* and *Shaw v. Reno*." Presented at the Conference on Legislatures, Courts and Voting Rights: Developments since the 2013 *Shelby County v. Holder* Decision. University of Pittsburgh Law School, April 10, 2017.
- (C129) Grofman, Bernard. "Electoral Rules and Ethnic and Gender Representation in Global Perspective." Prepared for delivery at the Conference on Democracy and Inclusion, University of Zurich, June 14-16, 2017.
- (C130) Bochsler, Daniel and Bernard Grofman. "The Effects of Ethnic Fragmentation on Party Proliferation Revisited: The Intermediating Role of Ethnic Parties" Prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the European Political Science Association, Milan, June 22-24, 2017.
- (C131) Grofman, Bernard and Scott L. Feld. "Graph Theory Perspectives on Collective Representation and the Potential for Computational Social Choice." Prepared for delivery at the Conference on Voting Rules to Select Multiple Winners, Schloss Dagstuhl, Germany, June 25-29, 2017.
- (C132) Saari, Donald and Bernard Grofman. "A Problem for Computational Social Choice: Reconciling Quota and House Monotonicity in Proportional Methods for Apportionment." Prepared for delivery at the Conference on Voting Rules to Select Multiple Winners, Schloss Dagstuhl, Germany, June 25-29, 2017.
- (C133). Grofman, Bernard. "Laws of Redistricting." Presented at the National Conference of State Legislatures Legislative Forum, Panel on Redistricting and Elections, Coronado, California, December 10-13, 2017.
- (C134) Grofman, Bernard. "Democratic Systems and Political Representation: Nature and Effects of Electoral Rules." Keynote Address at the Conference on Mathematics and Politics: Democratic Decision Making. Royal Palace of Herrenhausen, Hannover, Germany. May 28-30, 2018. A revised version prepared as an invited special session address at the 20th Annual International Academic

Conference on Economic and Social Development, Moscow, April 8-12, 2019.

RECENT CONFERENCE PAPERS (unpublished) (cont.)

- (C135) Grofman, Bernard. "A Public Choice Perspective on Redistricting." Prepared for the Academy Forums Workshop, University of California, Irvine, February 27, 2019; a revised version presented as a Plenary Address at the Annual Conference Of the Public Choice Society, Louisville, Kentucky. March 14-16, 2019.
- (C136) Grofman Bernard, Samuel Merrill and Lucy Barnes. "Lump Sum Dispersals and the Gini Index." Prepared for Delivery at the Annual Meeting of the European Public Choice Society, Jerusalem, Israel. April 1-4, 2019.
- (C137) Grofman, Bernard. "Paradoxes of Representation in Spatial Voting Models." Prepared for delivery at the Conference on "Spatial Models of Party Competition: Recent Developments." Mannheim, Germany, Mannheim Center for European Social Research (MZES), University of Mannheim, July 26-27, 2019.
- (C138) Bochsler, Daniel, Miriam Hänni, and Bernard Grofman. "Effective District Magnitude." Prepared for delivery at the Annual Fall Meeting of the European Political Science Association, Wroclaw, Poland September 4-7. 2019.
- (C139) Grofman, Bernard. A Public Choice Perspective on the Voting Rights Act.. Prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Newport Beach, California, March 12-14, 2020 (conference cancelled).

OTHER CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION 2008-2019

Chair, Panel on “Formal and Empirical Models of Voting and Elections.” Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, San Antonio, March 7-8, 2008.

Invited roundtable participant, The Voting Rights Act and the Deconstruction of the Republic.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 27-31, 2008.

Chair, Panel on Re-Examining Strategic Voting. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 27-31, 2008.

Discussant, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Panel on “Electoral Engineering and Political Representation in Ethnically Divided Societies” Washington, D.C., August, 2008.

Discussant, Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Las Vegas, March 10-12, 2009.

Discussant, Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Monterey, California, March 12-14, 2010.

Invited discussant, Conference on “The World Values Survey,” Center for the Study of Democracy, UCI, March 11, 2011.

Co-organizer (with Michael Alvarez), Conference on “Election Administration in the U.S.: Ten Years After *Bush v. Gore*.” Laguna Beach, CA, April 16-17, 2011.

Co-organizer (with Mark Franklin and Alex Trechsel), Conference on “Internet, Voting and Democracy in Global Perspective.” Laguna Beach, CA, May 14-15, 2011.

Invited discussant, “Franco-Italian Workshop on “Two Bloc Politics in France and Italy.” Department of Political Science, University of Bologna, September 16-17, 2011.

Invited discussant, Conference on New Perspectives on Public Debt, European Center for the Study of Public Choice. Sapienza University of Rome, September 26-28, 2011. Panel on “Legislative Voting on Budgetary Issues.”

Invited discussant, Conference on “Revisiting Party Identification: American and European Perspectives.” CISE (Center for Italian Electoral Studies), Department of Government, LUISS University, Rome, October 4-5, 2011.

Invited discussant, Final Overview Panel, Conference on “Constitutional Design and Conflict Management in Africa,” Climate Change and African Political Stability Program, Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law, University of Texas, Austin, November 14-15, 2011

OTHER CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION (cont.)

Discussant, Panel on “Bio-Economics,” World Congress of the Public Choice Societies, Miami, March 8-12, 2012.

Co-organizer (with Andre Blais, Nina Wiesehomeier, Ignacio Lago and Pedro Magalhaes), Conference on “Effects of District Magnitude.” University of Lisbon. Lisbon, Portugal, May 28-30, 2012.

Co-organizer (with Daniel Bochsler), Conference on “Ethnic Parties and Ethnic Conflict.” University of Zurich, Zurich, Switzerland, June 14-16, 2012.

Co-organizer (with Bernhard Wessels), Conference on “New Developments in Spatial Modeling of Political Party Competition.” Wissenschaft Zentrum, Berlin, Germany, July 14-15, 2012.

Invited discussant at a theme panel discussing the draft report of Bingham Powell's Presidential Task Force on Electoral Rules and Democratic Governance, cancelled Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, August 28-September 2, 2012.

Co-organizer (with Samuel Issacharoff, Richard Pildes, and Daniel Bochsler), Conference on “Constitutional Design and Ethnic Conflict.” New York University Law School, November 17, 2012.

Panel Chair, “Social Choice Theory.” Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, New Orleans, March 6-9, 2013.

Invited discussant. International Conference on “Gender Quotas.” McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada, October 3-5, 2013.

Participant, “Roundtable on Andranik Tangian’s *Mathematical Theory of Democracy*.” Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Charleston, South Carolina, March 6-9, 2014.

Invited discussant, Conference on “Electoral Reform in the United States.” Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL), Stanford University, March 14-15, 2014.

Invited discussant, Conference on “Public Choice and Democracy.” Department of Economics, University of Rennes, France, May 23, 2014.

Rapporteur and Discussant, UCI Institute for Mathematical and Behavioral Sciences ORU Conference on “Validation. What Is It?” February 13-14, 2015.

Introductory Remarks, UCI Institute for Mathematical and Behavioral Sciences ORU Conference on “Behavioral Social Choice: Bernie Grofman 70th Birthday Tribute.” March 6-7, 2015.

Participant, “Roundtable on McLean and Urken (eds.) *Classics of Social Choice*.” Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, San Antonio, Texas, March 12-15, 2015.

OTHER CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION (cont.)

Chair, “Roundtable on the Voting Rights Act.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 3-6, 2015.

Chair, “Roundtable on Party Nomination Processes.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 3-6, 2015.

Organizer, Center for the Study of Democracy Conference on “New Developments in Political Persuasion.” Laguna Beach California, April 9-10, 2016

Co-organizer (with Patrick Dumont), and discussant, Conference on “New Developments in Coalition Theory.” Belgian Academy in Rome, April 28-30, 2016.

Co-organizer (with Annie Laurent and Bernard Dolez), and discussant, Conference on “Duverger’s Law in Sixty Five Year Perspective.” Frejus, France, May 26-27, 2016.

Invited discussant, Conference on Democracy and Inclusion, University of Zurich, June 14-16, 2017.

Co-organizer (with Susumu Shikano), and discussant, Conference on “New Developments in Spatial Models of Party Competition, II.” Konstanz, Germany, July 15-16, 2017.

Plenary speaker, European Consortium for Political Research, “Graduate Workshop on Models and Methods.” Budapest, Hungary, August 6, 2017.

Co-organizer (with Desmond King), and discussant, Conference on “Money and Politics.” Oxford, UK, Nuffield College, September 15-16, 2017.

Chair and discussant, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, panel on “Redistricting” Chicago, March 5-7, 2018.

Chair, Panel on Donald Trump and the Past (and Future) of the Republican Party. Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Newport Beach, California, March 10-12, 2020 (conference cancelled).

INVITED COLLOQUIA (2006-2020)

- May 29, 2019 Colloquium, "Aspiration Models to Explain Experimental Spatial Voting Game Outcomes." Department of Economics University of Bayreuth, Germany.
- May 16, 2019 Colloquium, "Explaining the Success of Ethnic Political Parties." Department of Political Science, University of Siena, Italy.
- April 13, 2019 Colloquium, "Explaining the Success of Ethnic Political Parties." Department of Economics Nizhny Novgorod School of Higher Economics, Nizhny Novgorod, Russia.
- June 20, 2018 Colloquium, "A Reasonable Choice Approach to Turnout." V-DEM Institute, University of Gothenburg.
- March 22, 2018 Colloquium, "A Reasonable Choice Approach to Turnout." Department of Economics, University of Malaga
- March 27-31, 2017 Seminar Presentations "Formal Models of Politics." Juan March Institute, Carlos III University, Madrid.
- May 19, 2016 Colloquium "Aspiration Models of Committee Voting," Department of Economics, St. Etienne University, France.
- April 18-22, 2016 Seminar Presentations "Spatial Models of Politics." Department of Political Science, Central European University, Budapest.
- June 14-26, 2015 Seminar Presentations, "Empirical Public Choice." Program in Decision Sciences, University of Konstanz.
- May 11, 2015 Colloquium, "Experimental Committee Games." Center for Mathematics and Philosophy, University of Munich, Germany.
- April 23, 2015 Colloquium, "Electoral Rules that Dictators Love." Department of Economics, University of Linz, Austria.
- April 20-24, 2015 Seminar Presentations, "Spatial Models of Voting." Department of Political Science, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, Austria.
- April 23, 2015 Colloquium, "Electoral Rules that Dictators Love." Department of Political Science, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna.
- May 12-20, 2014 Seminar Presentations, "Behavioral Social Choice." Department of Economics, University of Caen, France.

INVITED COLLOQUIA (cont.)

- April 29, 2014 Colloquium, "Evaluating the Effects of Electoral Rules on Party Competition." Juan March Institute, Juan Carlos III University, Madrid.
- April 7, 2014 Colloquium, "Electoral Engineering." Department of Economics, University of Malaga, Spain.
- April 10, 2013 Seminar Presentation, "The Nature and Impact of Public Comment on Congressional Redistricting in 2011-12." Straus Institute for Advanced Study in the Law, New York University Law School.
- March 5, 2013 Seminar Presentation, "Voting Rights," Brennan Center for Social Justice, New York University Law School.
- October 17, 2012 Bernard Grofman and Jennifer Garcia. Using Spanish Surname to Estimate Hispanic Voting Population in Voting Rights Litigation: A Bayesian Model of Context Effects. Seminar on Law, Economics and Politics, New York University Law School.
- October 10, 2012 Colloquium, "Electoral Engineering." Departments of Economics and Political Science, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada.
- July 4, 2012 Colloquium, "Is Turnout the Paradox that Killed Rational Choice Theory?" Center for the Study of Democracy. Leuphana University, Lüneburg, Germany.
- July 3, 2012 Annual Hans-Dieter Klingemann Invited Lecture, "Electoral Engineering." Center for the Study of Democracy, Leuphana University, Lüneburg, Germany.
- June 18, 2012 Colloquium, "Is Turnout the Paradox that Killed Rational Choice Theory?" Department of Political Science, University of Zurich, Switzerland.
- June 28, 2011 Colloquium. "French Two Round Electoral Politics: Is There a Model with Bite." CERAPS, University of Lille, II.
- November 19, 2010 Colloquium. "Confessions of an Eclectic, Puzzle Loving, Reasonable Choice Modeler and Occasional Popcorn Machine." Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, Denmark.
- November 28, 2009 Colloquium, "Models of Turnout" Institute for Governance and Economic Institutions (IRGEI), University of Paris, II
- May, 2008. Series of talks on electoral systems and models of party competition for Economics Ph.D students associated with the Institute for Globalization

and Economic Institutions (IRGEI), University of Paris, II.

INVITED COLLOQUIA (cont.)

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| Feb. 5, 2008 | Colloquium, “Electoral Systems and the Promotion of Effective Power-Sharing.” Sawyer Seminar Series: Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places, Solomon Asch Center for the Study of Ethnic Conflict, University of Pennsylvania. |
| May-June 2007 | Series of talks on electoral systems and models of party competition for Economics Ph.D. students associated with the Institute for Globalization and Economic Research (IREGEI), University of Paris, II. |
| June 4, 2007 | Colloquium, “Models of Committee Voting.” Center for Analysis Group in Economic Theory (GATE), University of Lyon, II. |
| April 6, 2006 | Joint colloquium, CSDP (Center for the Study of Democratic Politics) and LAPA (Law and Public Affairs), Princeton University |

GRANTS FOR INSTRUCTIONAL DEVELOPMENT, COMPUTER LABS, AND GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP SUPPORT

1992-93	Grant from UCI Committee on Instructional Development to develop a new course: "Introduction to Computer Use in the Social Sciences" (\$15,500)
1992	Small grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to attend the NEH Summer Institute on "Athenian Democracy." (\$3,250)
1992-94	Grant for graduate student support in Public Choice (Sarah Scaife Foundation, \$50,000, with Amihai Glazer)
1993	Grant from the UC Center for German and European Studies, University of California, to develop a new course to be co-taught with Professor Pertti Pesonen (Finnish Academy) on comparative political participation (\$10,000)
1994	Grant from the National Science Foundation to develop a computer lab for the technology enhanced teaching of under-graduate statistics (\$55,497, with Judith Treas).
1995-99	Grant from the UC President's Office (IAPIF) to develop a long-distance learning course "The United States in Comparative Perspective." (\$17,174, with Arend Lijphart.
1997	Grant from Instructional Improvement Fund (UCI Division of Undergraduate Education) to develop "Computer-Based Tutorials, and Self-Grading Homework Assignments for SS10A, Introduction to Statistics" (\$5,000)
1999-00	Seed grant from UC Center for German and European Studies for graduate research support (\$3,000)
2000	Grant from UCI Division of Undergraduate Education (Hewlett Foundation) for Problem-Based Learning materials for Economics 10C statistics course (\$4,500)
2000-01	Seed grant from the UC Center for German and European Studies, University of California, for graduate research support (\$3,000)
2004-5	Grant from Institute of European Studies to co-teach a graduate seminar with Prof. Giorgio Freddi (University of Bologna) (\$12,000)
2004-5	Grant from University of California, MEXUS Program to supervise doctoral research (\$12,000 to Matthew Barreto)
2014-15	Grant from Koch Foundation (\$5,000) to fund a one week visit to UCI by the senior Public Choice scholar, Professor Geoffrey Brennan, Australian National University.
2015-15	Grant from Koch Foundation (\$5,000) to fund a one week visit to UCI by the senior Public Choice scholar, Professor Roger Congleton, West Virginia University.
2016-17	Grant from Koch Foundation (\$5,000) to fund a one week visit to UCI by the senior Public Choice scholar, Professor Mark Crain
2019-20	Grant from Koch Foundation (\$5,000) to fund a one week visit to UCI by the senior Public Choice scholar, Professor Iain Mclean, Oxford University.

CURRICULAR MATERIALS (in print and forthcoming)

- (CM1) Grofman, Bernard N. 1979. Note: Mo Fiorina's advice to children and other subordinates. Mathematics Magazine 52(5): 292-297.
- (CM2) Grofman, Bernard N. 1982. Modeling jury verdicts. University Modules in Applied Mathematics.
- (CM3) Grofman, Bernard N. 1982. The pure theory of elevators. Mathematics Magazine, 55(1): 30-37.
- (CM4) Straffin, Philip and Bernard Grofman. 1984. Parliamentary coalitions: A tour of models. Mathematics Magazine 57(5): 259-274.
- (CM5) Grofman, Bernard. 1990. Pig and proletariat: Animal Farm as history, San Jose Studies, 16: 5-39.
- (CM6) Grofman, Bernard and Craig Brians. 1998. Class notes and exercises: computer-based research methods for the social sciences. New York: Longmans.
- (CM7) Grofman, Bernard. 2000. A primer on racial bloc voting analysis. In Nathaniel Persily (ed.) The Real Y2K Problem: Census 2000 Data and Redistricting Technology. New York: The Brennan Center for Justice, New York University School of Law.
- (CM8) Adams, James, Bernard Grofman, and Samuel Merrill, III. Spatial Models of Politics, I: Basic Introduction. Forthcoming. In Maurice Salles, Dan Felsenthal, Rudy Fara, and Nick Miller (eds.) *VoteDemocracy Project*. New York: Springer.

COURSES TAUGHT

Elections and Voter Choice
 Computer-Based Research Methods in the Social Sciences (SS3A)
 Introduction to Public Choice, I and II
 The United States in Comparative Perspective
 Representation and Redistricting
 Law and Social Science
 Models of Collective Decision Making
 Introduction to Decision Analysis
 Introduction to Research Design
 Game Theory Applications in the Social Sciences
 Small Group Behavior
 Introduction to Mathematical Models in the Social Sciences
 Coalition Theory
 Political Propaganda and Satire
 Elementary Statistics (PS10A)
 Statistics for Public Policy Analysis (PS10B)
 Statistics for Citizen Literacy (PS10C)
 The Federalist Papers and the Art of Constitutional Design
 Comparative Public Policy
 Advanced Quantitative Methods in Political Science I
 Introductory Graduate Statistics for Political Science, I and II
 Spatial Models of Politics

EDITORIAL BOARDS

1972-82 Manuscript Review Board: Behavioral Science.
 1980-83 American Journal of Political Science
 1983-85 Law and Society Review
 1986-88 Society for Orwellian Studies
 1987-89 American Politics Quarterly
 1989-91 Political Analysis
 1991- Public Choice
 1996-06 Electoral Studies
 1997-01 Journal of Politics
 1999-01 Advisory Board, Encyclopedia of Public Choice
 2001- Election Law Journal
 2001-12 Advisory Board, Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche (University of Bologna)
 2006-09 Canadian Journal of Political Science
 2008-10 Political Analysis
 2015-17 Annals of In-Comparable Studies (on-line annual review)
 2016-19 Homo Oeconomicus

OTHER REFEREEING

- 1975- Occasional referee: American Journal of Political Science; Theory and Decision; Public Choice.
- 1976- Occasional referee: Political Methodology; National Science Foundation, Political Science Program.
- 1977- Occasional referee; Journal of the American Statistical Association; Social Science Research.
- 1978- Occasional referee: Psychological Review; National Science Foundation, Law and Social Sciences Program; Journal of Personality and Social Psychology; European Journal of Social Psychology; Journal of Mathematical Sociology.
- 1979- Occasional referee: Social Networks; National Science Foundation, Applied Mathematics Program.
- 1980- Occasional referee: Law and Policy Quarterly; National Institute of Mental Health; American Political Science Review, National Science Foundation, Sociology Program; National Science Foundation, Economics Program; Journal of Conflict Resolution; Legislative Studies Quarterly.
- 1981- Occasional referee: American Mathematical Monthly, Decision Sciences, Economic Inquiry.
- 1982- Occasional referee: Social Science Quarterly; Sociological Methods and Research; Western Political Quarterly (now Political Research Quarterly), Guggenheim Foundation; U.S. National Science Foundation, Developmental and Social Psychology Program; U.S. National Science Foundation, Decision, Risk and Management Science Program
- 1983- Occasional referee: Journal of Politics, Political Geography Quarterly (now Political Geography).
- 1984- Occasional referee: U.S. National Science Foundation, Information Systems Program; National Science Foundation, Program in Social Measurement and Analysis.
- 1986- Occasional referee: Review of Economic Studies.
- 1987- Occasional referee: British Journal of Political Science, Journal of Political Economy, Comparative Political Studies.
- 1988- Occasional referee: Social Choice and Welfare, Political Analysis, Polity.
- 1989- Occasional referee: National Science Foundation, Program in History and Philosophy of Science; Program in Political Science
- 1991- Occasional referee: Demography.
- 1992- Occasional referee: European Journal of Political Research.
- 1993- Occasional referee: Electoral Studies
- 1994- Occasional referee: Comparative Politics; Cambridge University Press
- 1994- Occasional referee: Urban Affairs Quarterly
- 1996- Occasional referee: Canadian Journal of Political Science
- 1997- Occasional referee: U.S. National Science Foundation, Program in Geography
- 1998- Occasional referee: Southeastern Political Review, Social Science History
- 1999- Occasional referee: European Journal of Political Economy

2003- Occasional referee, Society for Industrial and Applied Mathematics (SIAM)
 2004- Occasional referee, Law and Society
 2005- Occasional referee, European Union Politics, Scandinavian Political Studies
Journal of Law, Economics & Organization

OTHER REFEREEING (cont.)

2008- Occasional referee, Austrian National Science Foundation
 2009- Occasional referee, Econometrica
 2013- Occasional referee, Political Science (New Zealand)
 2016- Occasional referee, Swiss National Science Foundation
 2017- Occasional referee, University of Pennsylvania Press
 2019 Occasional Referee, Complexity
 2021 Occasional Referee, Proceedings of the National Academy of Science

OTHER PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Chair, 1982-83, Lippincott Prize Committee for book-length work in political theory, American Political Science Association.
 Section Program Organizer, Panels on "Positive Theory," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 1984.
 Member, 1985-86, Working Group on Collective Choice Institutions, appointed by the Committee on Basic Research in the Behavioral and Social Sciences, National Research Council.
 Member, Executive Committee, 1986-89, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association.
 Chair, 1988-92, George Hallett Book Prize Award Committee, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association.
 Section Program Co-organizer, Panels on "Political Organizations," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Sept. 1990.
 Member, 1990-91, Lasswell Prize Committee, International Society of Political Psychology.
 Member, 1995-96, Carey McWilliam Award for Journalists Committee, American Political Science Association.
 Chair, 1995-96, Richard Fenno Prize Committee, Legislative Studies Section, American Political Science Association.
 Member, 1998, Luebbert Book Award Committee, Comparative Politics Section, American Political Science Association.
 Member, 2000-2001, Advisory Board, UCLA Center for Governance.
 Member, 2001-2002, Comparative Politics Prize Committee, Sage Award for best paper in comparative politics at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting.
 Member, 2002, International Political Science Association Longley Prize Committee, Longley Award for best article published on Representation and Electoral Systems.
 External Reviewer, Ten-year review, Department of Political Science, University of Bologna, November 27-29, 2003.

Member, 2007 Program Committee, First World Congress of Public Choice, Amsterdam, March 29-April 1.

Member, 2007 APSA Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, Weaver Award Committee for best paper in Representation and Electoral Systems section.

OTHER PROFESSIONAL SERVICE (cont.)

Member, 2007 APSA Heinz Eulau Award Committee for best paper in Perspectives on Politics

External Reviewer, Ph.D. Thesis of Annelise de Ridder, School of Business, University of

Nijmegen, Netherland, May 2007.

External Reviewer, Ph.D. Thesis of Honorine Lescieux-Katir, Department of Economics,

University of Paris, II, May 2010.

Member, 2008-11, International Advisory Committee, Centre for Voting and Parties,

University of Copenhagen

Member, 2010-11 George Hallett Book Prize Award Committee, Section on Representation and

Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association.

Member, 2012 Award Committee, Burdette Prize for Best Paper at the APSA Annual Meeting,

American Political Science Association.

External Reviewer, Ph.D. Thesis of Michele Khouri-Hagot, Department of Economics,

University of Paris, II, June 2012.

Member, International Advisory Board for the European Parliament 2014 Election Voting Advice

Application (VAA) Project, European Union Democracy Observatory, European

University Institute (Directed by Alex Trechsel).

Member, 2013-15, International Advisory Board, Internet Voting in Canada Project,

University of Toronto, Canada (Directed by Nicole Goodman)

Member, 2014-15 Philip Converse Book Prize Award Committee, Section on Elections, Public

Opinion & Voting Behavior, American Political Science Association.

Consultant, 2020-21 Princeton Gerrymandering Project

UNIVERSITY SERVICE, SYSTEMWIDE

2010-15 Member, Administrative Advisory Board, University of California Center, Sacramento

UNIVERSITY SERVICE, UCI

1977-79 Member, University Committee on Lectures

1977-79 Faculty Advisor, UCI Chapter, Student Model United Nations

1983-84 Member, University Library Committee

1987-89 Member, University Privilege and Tenure Committee Hearing Panel

1988-89 Member, Tierney Chair Search Committee

1988-91 Member, University Committee on Rules and Jurisdictions

1991-92 Acting Chair, Focused Research Program in Public Choice

1994-96	Member, University Committee on Rules and Jurisdictions
1995-96	Member, Chancellor's Taskforce on Use of Educational Technology
2000-01	Reviewer, UC System-wide Multi-campus Research Incentive Fund (MRIF)
2001-02	Member, UCI Search Committee for new Dean of Social Sciences

SERVICE TO THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, UCI

1980-81	Special Schoolwide Selection Committee: Distinguished Student Scholars Program.
1981-82	Chair, School of Social Sciences Faculty.
1991-92	Chair, Committee for the Interdisciplinary Graduate Concentration in Public Choice.
1992-	Member, Committee for the Interdisciplinary Ph.D Concentration in Public Choice
1996-02	Member, Executive Committee, UCI Center for the Study of Democracy
1999-01	Member, School of Social Sciences Executive Committee
1999-00	Co-Coordinator, Institute of Mathematical Behavioral Sciences, Colloquia
1999-05	Member, Executive Committee, Institute of Mathematical Behavioral Sciences ORU
2001-06	Member, Executive Committee, Center for the Study of Democracy
2001-06	Member, UCI Center for the Study of Democracy Leadership Council
2008-12	Director, Center for the Study of Democracy
2011-12	Member, Steering Committee, Experimental Social Sciences Laboratory
2014	Member, School External Search Committee for Chair of the Department of Political Science

SERVICE TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UCI

1978-79	Chair, Program in Politics and Society.
1979-89	Organizer, Program in Politics and Society Colloquium Series (one quarter per year).
1997-98	Coordinator, Political Science Graduate Admissions
1982-83	Acting Co-Chair, Program in Politics and Society (Spring Quarter).
1983-84	Political Science Graduate Student Adviser.
1988-89	Political Science Graduate Student Advise
1988-89	Chair, Recruitment Committee in Mathematical Political Science.
1988-91	Member, Recruitment Committee in Public Law.
1991-93	Member, Joint Recruitment Committee in African-American Studies and Political Science
1992-98	Member, Political Science Graduate Committee
1996-97	Chair, Recruitment Committee for Pacific Rim FTE in Political Science
1998-99	Member, Easton Prize Committee, Department of Political Science
1998-00	Member, Colloquium Committee, Institute for Mathematical Behavioral Science
1998-00	Member, Interdisciplinary Search Committee for positions in Mathematical Behavioral Sciences
1999-01	Member, Interdisciplinary Search Committee for joint position in Chicano/Latino Studies and Political Science
1999-00	Coordinator, Political Science Graduate Admissions
2001-02	Member, Interdisciplinary Search Committee for positions in Democratization and Democratic Transitions

SERVICE TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UCI (cont.)

2001-02	Member, Interdisciplinary Search Committee for positions in Mathematical Behavioral Science
2002-03	Coordinator, Political Science Graduate Admissions
2002-04	Chair, Interdisciplinary Search Committee for position in Democratization and Democratic Transitions
2005-07	Graduate Director, Fellows Program, Center for the Study of Democracy
2005-06	Chair, Search Committee for position in Public Law/Judicial Behavior
2015-16	Chair, Search Committee for position in Political Methodology,
2017-18	Chair, M&P review committee for Department Chair
2020-21	Member, Merit review committee for Professor Marek Kaminski
2020-21	Member, Merit review committee for Professor Jeffrey Kopstein

RECENT GRADUATE STUDENT SUPERVISIONCompleted Ph.D.s

2010	Chair, Reuben Kline (now Associate Professor of Political Science, State University of New York, Stony Brook, formerly Max Weber Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, European University Institute)
2011	Member, Honorine Lescieux-Katir, Department of Economics, University of Paris, II
2012	Chair, Fatima Rahman (now Assistant Professor of Political Science, Lake Forest College, Illinois)
2012	External Member, Ph. D. Prospectus Defense, Lorien Jasny (now Lecturer, University of Exeter, formerly Post-Doctoral Fellow, University of California, Davis, Department of Environmental Policy and Behavior).
2012	Member, Michele Khoury-Agot, Department of Economics, University of Paris, II
2013	Chair, Peter Miller (formerly Fulbright Fellow, University of Tampere, Finland; formerly Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Program in Philosophy, Politics and Economics, University of Pennsylvania, policy analyst, Brennan Center for Law and Justice)
2013	Member, Neilan Chaturvedi, (now Assistant Professor of Political Science Seattle University)
2014	Member, Ryan Shirah (now Research Analyst, University of Tennessee)
2014	Member, Moon-Young Choi
2015	Chair, John Cuffe (now Research Analyst, U.S. Bureau of the Census)
2016	Member, Jenny Garcia (now Asst. Professor, Oberlin College)
2016	Member, Heather (Cox) Wickramachi (now International Economist analyst at the

U.S. International Trade Commission)
 2017 Co-Chair, Eric Mosinger (Asst. Professor, Santa Clara University; formerly
 Post-Doctoral Fellow, Carleton University; formerly
 visiting Assistant Professor at Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota)
 2019 Member, Ph.D committee and research supervision, Hannah Kim
 2019 Member, Ph.D committee, Maneesh Arora²
 2020 Chair, Ph.D. committee and research supervision, Jonathan Cervas

Other Recent Graduate Supervision

2015 Member, Qualifying Paper review committee, Cristopher Stoughton
 2017-18 Faculty Advisor, Nathan Chan
 2017-18 Research advice, Shauna Gillooly
 2018 research supervision, Nathan Cisneros
 2018-19 Ph.D. supervision, Matteo Caruso, visiting CSD Fellow, University of Lucca,
 Italy
 2019 member, Ph.D. committee, Brian Kaiser
 2019 member, Ph.D. advancement committee, Mark Bloxsom (Dept. of Economics)
 2020 member, Ph.D. advancement committee, Sargis Karavardanyan

Recent Post-doctoral supervision

2017-18 Peter Miller (Peltason Chair Post-Doctoral Fellow)

Major Redistricting Cases in which Bernard Grofman Has
Participated as an Expert Witness or Court-Appointed Consultant

Consultant to	Case Name	Type
Republican Party of Colorado	<u>Carstens v. Lamm</u> , 543 F. Supp. 68 (D. Colorado, 1982)	Congress: failure of the legislature to act
Special Master, U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York	<u>Flateau v. Anderson</u> , 537 F. Supp. 257 (S.D. New York, 1982)	Congress and both houses of state legislatures: failure of legislature to act; minority voting rights.
Republican Party of Hawaii	<u>Travis v. King</u> , 552 F. Supp. 554; 552 F. Supp. 1200 (D. Hawaii, 1982)	State legislature: equal population
Democratic Party of Rhode Island and subsequently State of Rhode Island	<u>Holmes v. Burns</u> (Super. Ct., R.I. 1982) aff'd, No. 83-149 (R.I. S. Ct, April 10, 1984)	State house: minority vote dilution, compactness, communities of interest
Republican National Committee	<u>Badham v. Eu</u> , 721 F. 2d 1170 (D. Calif. 1983), dismissed for want of a federal claim, <i>cert. denied</i>	Congress: partisan gerrymandering
NAACP Legal Defense Fund	<u>Gingles v. Edmisten</u> , consol. with <u>Pugh v. Brock</u> , 590 F. Supp. 345 (E.D. North Carolina, 1984) heard <i>sub nom. Thornburg v. Gingles</i> , 106 S. Ct. 2752, 478 U.S. 30 (1986)	Multimember districts in the state legislature; Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
U.S. Department of Justice	<u>South Carolina v. U.S.</u> (D.D.C.), 1984) settled out of court by preclearance of a new plan for South Carolina Senate	State Senate: Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act preclearance denial

Consultant to	Case Name	Type
State of Indiana	<u>Bandemer v. Davis</u> 603 F. Supp. 1479 (1984), (S.D. Indiana, 1983), reversed <i>sub nom</i> <u>Davis v. Bandemer</u> , 106 S. Ct. 2797, 106 U.S. 2797 (1986); initially consol. with <u>Indiana Branches of the NAACP v. Orr</u> 603 F. Supp. 1479 (1984) (S.D. Indiana, 1983)	State legislature: partisan gerrymandering, minority vote dilution
City of Boston	<u>Latino Political Action Committee v. City of Boston</u> , 609 F. Supp. 739 (D. Mass. 1985)	Boston City council: minority vote dilution
U.S. Department of Justice	<u>Ketchum v. Byrne II</u> (D. Illinois 1985), settled by consent decree	Chicago City Council: minority vote dilution
Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund	<u>Gomez v. City of Watsonville</u> (D. Calif., 1986), 863 F. 2d 1407 (9th cir. 1988) <i>cert. denied</i> , 109 Sct. 1534 (1989)	Watsonville City Council: Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
U.S. Department of Justice	<u>U.S. v. City of Los Angeles</u> (D. Calif., 1986), settled out of court by adoption of a new plan for L.A. City Council with an additional majority Hispanic seat	Los Angeles City Council: Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
NAACP Legal Defense Fund	<u>McGhee v. Granville County</u> , No. 87-29-CIV-5) (E.D. North Carolina 2/5/88); 860 F. 2d 110 (4th circuit 1988)	Granville County Board of Supervisors: Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
U.S. Department of Justice	<u>Garza v. County of Los Angeles Board of Supervisors</u> 918 F. 2d 763 (9th cir. 1990); new plan adopted by the court	County Board: Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act

Consultant to	Case Name	Type
Republican National Committee	<u>Pope et al. v. Blue et al.</u> 809 F. Supp. 392 (D. N.C, Western District, Charlotte Division, 1992)	Congressional redistricting in North Carolina: 14th Amendment
Republican Party of Wisconsin	<u>Prosser et al. v. Election Board of State of Wisconsin</u> 793 F. Supp. 859 (D.Wisc., 1992)	Wisconsin state legislative redistricting: Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
State of North Carolina	<u>Republican Party v. Martin</u> 980 F2d 943 (4 th Cir. 1992)	State-wide judicial elections in the State of North Carolina; partisan gerrymandering
Minority plaintiffs	<u>Garcia v. City of Los Angeles</u> , (D. Los Angeles, 1996)	City of Los Angeles Charter Commission: Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
Republican Party of Wisconsin	<u>Arrington et al. v. Elections Bd. of State of Wisconsin</u> 173 F. Supp. 2d 856 U.S. (D. Wisconsin, 2002)	Wisconsin State legislative districting, Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act
Special Master, U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York	<u>Rodriguez et al. v. Pataki et al.</u> , (S.D. N. Y., 2002) ; legislature chooses to draw new plan	Congress; failure of legislature to act; minority voting rights.
Special Master, US District Court, Georgia	<u>Larios v. Cox</u> 305 F Supp. 2d 1355 (N.D. GA 2004)	Georgia legislative districts; one person, one vote.
<u>Government Accountability Board of Wisconsin</u>	<u>Baldus et al. v. Members of the Government Accountability Board of Wisconsin</u> , Federal District Court, Case No. 11-CV-562 JPS-DPW-RMD. March 22, 2012	Wisconsin legislative districts
<u>Three judge federal panel, 4th Circuit</u>	<u>Perhsonhuballah v. Alcorn</u> , Case 3:13-cv-00678, District Court, Eastern District of Virginia 2015; 155 F. Supp. 3d 552 (2016)	Service to the Court as Special Master to redraw Virginia's 3rd congressional district after a previous finding that it was racially motivated
<u>single judge Federal District Court</u>	<u>Navajo Nation v. San Juan County</u> , Utah, 2017 No. 18-4005 (10th Cir. 2019)	Service to the Court as Special Master to redraw County Commission and School Board districts after a previous

		finding that these were racially motivated
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Consultant to	Case Name	Type
<u>Three judge federal panel, 4th Circuit</u>	<u>Golden-Bethune Hill v. VA Board of Elections, Case 3:14cv-852, District Court, Eastern District of Virginia, opinion filed February 13, 2019; 139 S. Ct. 481 (2018)</u>	Service to the Court as Special Master to redraw 11 House of Delegate districts in Virginia after a previous finding that they were racially motivated
<u>Single judge federal district court</u>	<u>Wright v. Sumter County Gorgia, Case No.: 1:14-CV-42 (WLS), 2020</u>	Service to the Court as Special Master to redraw 7 School Board districts after a previous finding that they violated Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act

COMMUNITY SERVICE: 2009-2021

Filmed and Interviewed by Jeffrey Reichert for a documentary film covering the 2008 Prop 11 referendum and redistricting methods, February 2009. The film appeared as Gerrymandering: The Movie, a documentary briefly playing in movie houses in New York City and elsewhere in Fall 2010. Approximately two minutes of my remarks were incorporated into the movie, including my short on-screen appearance.

Interviewed by e-mail by Amrit Chang, Once Magazine, for story on voter turnout and election administration, December 2011-January 2012.

Discussed voting rights issues in Los Angeles County with attorney for Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund, March, 2014.

Discussed voting rights issues with attorneys for the Brennan Center for Justice under Law, New York University, January 2017.

Discussed 1967 women's dorm curfew protests at the University of Chicago, for 50 year "news in perspective" article with a reporter for the University of Chicago student newspaper the *Maroon*, February 15, 2017.

Quoted in *Quanta Magazine* story on measuring partisan gerrymandering, March, 2017 (story reprinted in *Wired*)

Discussed (via e-mail) effects of same day registration with Matthew Rocheleau of the *Boston Globe*, July 30, 2017.

Discussed (via e-mail) issues about methods for redistricting with reporter for *Texas Tribune*, October, 15, 2017.

Discussed issues about the 2020 Census and the selection of a new Director with a columnist for *Science Magazine*, October, 17, 2017.

Responded to a question about voting rights by a member of the Menlo Park California City Council, November 2, 2017

Interviewed on the phone by Michael Scherer, National Political Reporter *Washington Post* for a story about possible partisan implications of the recent Justice Department proposal to add a citizenship question to the U.S. Census, January 10, 2018.

Interviewed on the phone by Hansi Lo Wang National Correspondent, National Public Radio, for story on possible appointment of Tom Brunell, my former Ph.D. student and frequent co-author, as Deputy Director of the U.S. Census, January 13, 2018.

Quoted in *US News and World Report* in story on Pennsylvania congressional redistricting authored by Joseph P. Williams, February 2018.

Shared by e-mail evaluations of possible Pennsylvania congressional plans with reporter for *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 2018 (analyses developed in conjunction with Jonathan Cervas)

Interviewed on the phone by Michael Wines, *New York Times* for story on Pennsylvania Districting in which I was subsequently quoted. February 2018.

Discussed by phone assistance in the compilation of a voting rights data base with attorneys Mark Young and Matthew Zisk, (Skaden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom), February 26, 2018.

Discussed issues of the use of a citizenship question on the U.S. Census with Davin Rosborough, ACLU, April 12, 2018.

Discussed issues of partisan gerrymandering in an in-person meeting with members of the Princeton University Gerrymandering Project, who had come to UCI to meet with me and other interested faculty, 2018

Discussed via e-mail my possible service as Special Master in *Terrebonne Parish Branch NAACP v. Jindal*, a judicial elections case in Louisiana, December 20, 2018.

Discussed over the phone issues related to alternative remedies for racial gerrymandering violation with attorney for plaintiffs, Matthew Mazzotta, Ropes & Gray (Boston), re a Lowell, Massachusetts case, 2019.

Gave an hour and a half podcast interview on redistricting to the Princeton Gerrymandering Project, August 21, 2020.

Quoted by Thomas Edsall, *New York Times*, re changes in group partisan polarization , (interview October 11, 2020; story November 18, 2020).

Gave an interview to Nicholas Casey, *New York Times*, re redistricting in Sumter County Georgia, October 15, 2020

Gave an hour long phone interview to Tomoyo Shimura, *Jiji News Service*, Japan, for quotes to be used in a background story on the 2020 election and what will happen in U.S. politics after the election, October 17, 2020 (the story --in Japanese --was published on-line in Japan in Apple News, Japan).

Gave an hour long zoom interview to Sara Sadwani and Russell Yee , members, California Redistricting Commission, on issues that affect California Redistricting, December 11, 2020.

Gave an interview to Nick Coraniti, *New York Times*, re story on the likely effects of 2020s round redistricting on the prospects for Democrats holding on to control of the U.S. House of Representatives in 2022. March 2021

Gave a phone interview to Reed Epstein, *New York Times*, re story on the likely implications of census reapportionment for the chances of Democrats retaining control of the U.S. House of Representatives, March 2021.

Gave a phone interview to the outreach coordinator of the NGO, Redistricting Data Hub, on data issues in 2021 redistricting, June 15, 2021.

EXHIBIT D

Jonathan Rodden

Stanford University
Department of Political Science
Encina Hall Central
616 Serra Street
Stanford, CA 94305

Phone: (650) 723-5219
Fax: (650) 723-1808
Email: jrodden@stanford.edu

Personal

Born on August 18, 1971, St. Louis, MO.

United States Citizen.

Education

Ph.D. Political Science, Yale University, 2000.

Fulbright Scholar, University of Leipzig, Germany, 1993–1994.

B.A., Political Science, University of Michigan, 1993.

Academic Positions

Professor, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, 2012–present.

Senior Fellow, Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research, 2020–present.

Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2012–present.

Director, Spatial Social Science Lab, Stanford University, 2012–present.

W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2010–2012.

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, 2007–2012.

Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, CA, 2006–2007.

Ford Career Development Associate Professor of Political Science, MIT, 2003–2006.

Visiting Scholar, Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences, Harvard University, 2004.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, MIT, 1999–2003.

Instructor, Department of Political Science and School of Management, Yale University, 1997–1999.

Publications

Books

Why Cities Lose: The Deep Roots of the Urban-Rural Divide. Basic Books, 2019.

Decentralized Governance and Accountability: Academic Research and the Future of Donor Programming. Co-edited with Erik Wibbels, Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Hamilton's Paradox: The Promise and Peril of Fiscal Federalism, Cambridge University Press, 2006. Winner, Gregory Luebbert Award for Best Book in Comparative Politics, 2007.

Fiscal Decentralization and the Challenge of Hard Budget Constraints, MIT Press, 2003. Co-edited with Gunnar Eskeland and Jennie Litvack.

Peer Reviewed Journal Articles

Who Registers? Village Networks, Household Dynamics, and Voter Registration in Rural Uganda, 2021, *Comparative Political Studies* forthcoming (with Romain Ferrali, Guy Grossman, and Melina Platas).

Partisan Dislocation: A Precinct-Level Measure of Representation and Gerrymandering, 2021, *Political Analysis* forthcoming (with Daryl DeFord Nick Eubank).

Who is my Neighbor? The Spatial Efficiency of Partisanship, 2020, *Statistics and Public Policy* 7(1):87-100 (with Nick Eubank).

Handgun Ownership and Suicide in California, 2020, *New England Journal of Medicine* 382:2220-2229 (with David M. Studdert, Yifan Zhang, Sonja A. Swanson, Lea Prince, Erin E. Holsinger, Matthew J. Spittal, Garen J. Wintemute, and Matthew Miller).

Viral Voting: Social Networks and Political Participation, 2020, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* (with Nick Eubank, Guy Grossman, and Melina Platas).

It Takes a Village: Peer Effects and Externalities in Technology Adoption, 2020, *American Journal of Political Science* (with Romain Ferrali, Guy Grossman, and Melina Platas). Winner, 2020 Best Conference Paper Award, American Political Science Association Network Section.

Assembly of the LongSHOT Cohort: Public Record Linkage on a Grand Scale, 2019, *Injury Prevention* (with Yifan Zhang, Erin Holsinger, Lea Prince, Sonja Swanson, Matthew Miller, Garen Wintemute, and David Studdert).

Crowdsourcing Accountability: ICT for Service Delivery, 2018, *World Development* 112: 74-87 (with Guy Grossman and Melina Platas).

Geography, Uncertainty, and Polarization, 2018, *Political Science Research and Methods* doi:10.1017/psrm.2018.12 (with Nolan McCarty, Boris Shor, Chris Tausanovitch, and Chris Warshaw).

Handgun Acquisitions in California after Two Mass Shootings, 2017, *Annals of Internal Medicine* 166(10):698-706. (with David Studdert, Yifan Zhang, Rob Hyndman, and Garen Wintemute).

Cutting Through the Thicket: Redistricting Simulations and the Detection of Partisan Gerrymanders, 2015, *Election Law Journal* 14,4:1-15 (with Jowei Chen).

The Achilles Heel of Plurality Systems: Geography and Representation in Multi-Party Democracies, 2015, *American Journal of Political Science* 59,4: 789-805 (with Ernesto Calvo). Winner, Michael Wallerstein Award for best paper in political economy, American Political Science Association.

Why has U.S. Policy Uncertainty Risen Since 1960?, 2014, *American Economic Review: Papers and Proceedings* May 2014 (with Nicholas Bloom, Brandice Canes-Wrone, Scott Baker, and Steven Davis).

Unintentional Gerrymandering: Political Geography and Electoral Bias in Legislatures, 2013, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 8: 239-269 (with Jowei Chen).

How Should We Measure District-Level Public Opinion on Individual Issues?, 2012, *Journal of Politics* 74, 1: 203-219 (with Chris Warshaw).

Representation and Redistribution in Federations, 2011, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 108, 21:8601-8604 (with Tiberiu Dragu).

Dual Accountability and the Nationalization of Party Competition: Evidence from Four Federations, 2011, *Party Politics* 17, 5: 629-653 (with Erik Wibbels).

The Geographic Distribution of Political Preferences, 2010, *Annual Review of Political Science* 13: 297-340.

Fiscal Decentralization and the Business Cycle: An Empirical Study of Seven Federations, 2009, *Economics and Politics* 22,1: 37-67 (with Erik Wibbels).

Getting into the Game: Legislative Bargaining, Distributive Politics, and EU Enlargement, 2009, *Public Finance and Management* 9, 4 (with Deniz Aksoy).

The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting, 2008. *American Political Science Review* 102, 2: 215-232 (with Stephen Ansolabehere and James Snyder).

Does Religion Distract the Poor? Income and Issue Voting Around the World, 2008, *Comparative Political Studies* 41, 4: 437-476 (with Ana Lorena De La O).

Purple America, 2006, *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 20,2 (Spring): 97-118 (with Stephen Ansolabehere and James Snyder).

Economic Geography and Economic Voting: Evidence from the U.S. States, 2006, *British Journal of Political Science* 36, 3: 527-47 (with Michael Ebeid).

Distributive Politics in a Federation: Electoral Strategies, Legislative Bargaining, and Government Coalitions, 2004, *Dados* 47, 3 (with Marta Arretche, in Portuguese).

Comparative Federalism and Decentralization: On Meaning and Measurement, 2004, *Comparative Politics* 36, 4: 481-500. (Portuguese version, 2005, in *Revista de Sociologia e Politica* 25).

Reviving Leviathan: Fiscal Federalism and the Growth of Government, 2003, *International Organization* 57 (Fall), 695-729.

Beyond the Fiction of Federalism: Macroeconomic Management in Multi-tiered Systems, 2003, *World Politics* 54, 4 (July): 494-531 (with Erik Wibbels).

The Dilemma of Fiscal Federalism: Grants and Fiscal Performance around the World, 2002, *American Journal of Political Science* 46(3): 670-687.

Strength in Numbers: Representation and Redistribution in the European Union, 2002, *European Union Politics* 3, 2: 151-175.

Does Federalism Preserve Markets? *Virginia Law Review* 83, 7 (with Susan Rose-Ackerman). Spanish version, 1999, in *Quorum* 68.

Working Papers

Federalism and Inter-regional Redistribution, Working Paper 2009/3, Institut d'Economia de Barcelona.

Representation and Regional Redistribution in Federations, Working Paper 2010/16, Institut d'Economia de Barcelona (with Tiberiu Dragu).

Chapters in Books

Political Geography and Representation: A Case Study of Districting in Pennsylvania (with Thomas Weighill), in *Political Geometry*, edited by Moon Duchin and Olivia Walch, forthcoming 2021, Springer.

Keeping Your Enemies Close: Electoral Rules and Partisan Polarization, in *The New Politics of Insecurity*, edited by Frances Rosenbluth and Margaret Weir, forthcoming 2021, Cambridge University Press.

Decentralized Rule and Revenue, 2019, in Jonathan Rodden and Erik Wibbels, eds., *Decentralized Governance and Accountability*, Cambridge University Press.

Geography and Gridlock in the United States, 2014, in Nathaniel Persily, ed. *Solutions to Political Polarization in America*, Cambridge University Press.

Can Market Discipline Survive in the U.S. Federation?, 2013, in Daniel Nadler and Paul Peterson, eds, *The Global Debt Crisis: Haunting U.S. and European Federalism*, Brookings Press.

Market Discipline and U.S. Federalism, 2012, in Peter Conti-Brown and David A. Skeel, Jr., eds, *When States Go Broke: The Origins, Context, and Solutions for the American States in Fiscal Crisis*, Cambridge University Press.

Federalism and Inter-Regional Redistribution, 2010, in Nuria Bosch, Marta Espasa, and Albert Sole Olle, eds., *The Political Economy of Inter-Regional Fiscal Flows*, Edward Elgar.

Back to the Future: Endogenous Institutions and Comparative Politics, 2009, in Mark Lichbach and Alan Zuckerman, eds., *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure* (Second Edition), Cambridge University Press.

The Political Economy of Federalism, 2006, in Barry Weingast and Donald Wittman, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*, Oxford University Press.

Fiscal Discipline in Federations: Germany and the EMU, 2006, in Peter Wierds, Servaas Deroose, Elena Flores and Alessandro Turrini, eds., *Fiscal Policy Surveillance in Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan.

The Political Economy of Pro-cyclical Decentralised Finance (with Erik Wibbels), 2006, in Peter Wierds, Servaas Deroose, Elena Flores and Alessandro Turrini, eds., *Fiscal Policy Surveillance in Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan.

Globalization and Fiscal Decentralization, (with Geoffrey Garrett), 2003, in Miles Kahler and David Lake, eds., *Governance in a Global Economy: Political Authority in Transition*, Princeton University Press: 87-109. (Updated version, 2007, in David Cameron, Gustav Ranis, and Annalisa Zinn, eds., *Globalization and Self-Determination: Is the Nation-State under Siege?* Routledge.)

Introduction and Overview (Chapter 1), 2003, in Rodden et al., *Fiscal Decentralization and the Challenge of Hard Budget Constraints* (see above).

Soft Budget Constraints and German Federalism (Chapter 5), 2003, in Rodden, et al, *Fiscal Decentralization and the Challenge of Hard Budget Constraints* (see above).

Federalism and Bailouts in Brazil (Chapter 7), 2003, in Rodden, et al., *Fiscal Decentralization and the Challenge of Hard Budget Constraints* (see above).

Lessons and Conclusions (Chapter 13), 2003, in Rodden, et al., *Fiscal Decentralization and the Challenge of Hard Budget Constraints* (see above).

Online Interactive Visualization

Stanford Election Atlas, 2012 (collaboration with Stephen Ansolabehere at Harvard and Jim Herries at ESRI)

Other Publications

How America's Urban-Rural Divide has Shaped the Pandemic, 2020, *Foreign Affairs*, April 20, 2020.

An Evolutionary Path for the European Monetary Fund? A Comparative Perspective, 2017, Briefing paper for the Economic and Financial Affairs Committee of the European Parliament.

Representation and Regional Redistribution in Federations: A Research Report, 2009, in *World Report on Fiscal Federalism*, Institut d'Economia de Barcelona.

On the Migration of Fiscal Sovereignty, 2004, *PS: Political Science and Politics* July, 2004: 427-431.

Decentralization and the Challenge of Hard Budget Constraints, *PREM Note* 41, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit, World Bank, Washington, D.C. (July).

Decentralization and Hard Budget Constraints, *APSA-CP* (Newsletter of the Organized Section in Comparative Politics, American Political Science Association) 11:1 (with Jennie Litvack).

Book Review of *The Government of Money* by Peter Johnson, *Comparative Political Studies* 32,7: 897-900.

Fellowships and Honors

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship, 2021.

National Collaborative on Gun Violence Research, funding for "Cohort Study Of Firearm-Related Mortality Among Cohabitants Of Handgun Owners."

Fund for a Safer Future, Longitudinal Study of Handgun Ownership and Transfer (LongSHOT), GA004696, 2017-2018.

Stanford Institute for Innovation in Developing Economies, Innovation and Entrepreneurship research grant, 2015.

Michael Wallerstein Award for best paper in political economy, American Political Science Association, 2016.

Common Cause Gerrymandering Standard Writing Competition, 2015.

General support grant from the Hewlett Foundation for Spatial Social Science Lab, 2014.

Fellow, Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, Stanford University, 2012.

Sloan Foundation, grant for assembly of geo-referenced precinct-level electoral data set (with Stephen Ansolabehere and James Snyder), 2009-2011.

Hoagland Award Fund for Innovations in Undergraduate Teaching, Stanford University, 2009.

W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, beginning Fall 2010.

Research Grant on Fiscal Federalism, Institut d'Economia de Barcelona, 2009.

Fellow, Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, Stanford University, 2008.

United Postal Service Foundation grant for study of the spatial distribution of income in cities, 2008.

Gregory Luebbert Award for Best Book in Comparative Politics, 2007.

Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 2006-2007.

National Science Foundation grant for assembly of cross-national provincial-level dataset on elections, public finance, and government composition, 2003-2004 (with Erik Wibbels).

MIT Dean's Fund and School of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences Research Funds.

Funding from DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service), MIT, and Harvard EU Center to organize the conference, "European Fiscal Federalism in Comparative Perspective," held at Harvard University, November 4, 2000.

Canadian Studies Fellowship (Canadian Federal Government), 1996-1997.

Prize Teaching Fellowship, Yale University, 1998-1999.

Fulbright Grant, University of Leipzig, Germany, 1993-1994.

Michigan Association of Governing Boards Award, one of two top graduating students at the University of Michigan, 1993.

W. J. Bryan Prize, top graduating senior in political science department at the University of Michigan, 1993.

Other Professional Activities

Selection committee, best paper award, American Journal of Political Science.

International Advisory Committee, Center for Metropolitan Studies, Sao Paulo, Brazil, 2006-2010.

Selection committee, Mancur Olson Prize awarded by the American Political Science Association Political Economy Section for the best dissertation in the field of political economy.

Selection committee, Gregory Luebbert Best Book Award.

Selection committee, William Anderson Prize, awarded by the American Political Science Association for the best dissertation in the field of federalism and intergovernmental relations.

Courses

Undergraduate

Politics, Economics, and Democracy
Introduction to Comparative Politics
Introduction to Political Science
Political Science Scope and Methods
Institutional Economics
Spatial Approaches to Social Science

Graduate

Political Economy
Political Economy of Institutions
Federalism and Fiscal Decentralization
Politics and Geography

Consulting

2017. Economic and Financial Affairs Committee of the European Parliament.

2016. Briefing paper for the World Bank on fiscal federalism in Brazil.

2013-2018: Principal Investigator, SMS for Better Governance (a collaborative project involving USAID, Social Impact, and UNICEF in Arua, Uganda).

2019: Written expert testimony in *McLemore, Holmes, Robinson, and Woullard v. Hosemann*, United States District Court, Mississippi.

2019: Expert witness in *Nancy Corola Jacobson v. Detzner*, United States District Court, Florida.

2018: Written expert testimony in *League of Women Voters of Florida v. Detzner* No. 4:18-cv-002510, United States District Court, Florida.

2018: Written expert testimony in *College Democrats of the University of Michigan, et al. v. Johnson, et al.*, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan.

2017: Expert witness in *Bethune-Hill v. Virginia Board of Elections*, No. 3:14-CV-00852, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia.

2017: Expert witness in *Arizona Democratic Party, et al. v. Reagan, et al.*, No. 2:16-CV-01065, United States District Court for Arizona.

2016: Expert witness in *Lee v. Virginia Board of Elections*, 3:15-cv-357, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, Richmond Division.

2016: Expert witness in *Missouri NAACP v. Ferguson-Florissant School District*, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri, Eastern Division.

2014-2015: Written expert testimony in *League of Women Voters of Florida et al. v. Detzner, et al.*, 2012-CA-002842 in Florida Circuit Court, Leon County (Florida Senate redistricting case).

2013-2014: Expert witness in *Romo v Detzner*, 2012-CA-000412 in Florida Circuit Court, Leon County (Florida Congressional redistricting case).

2011-2014: Consultation with investment groups and hedge funds on European debt crisis.

2011-2014: Lead Outcome Expert, Democracy and Governance, USAID and Social Impact.

2010: USAID, Review of USAID analysis of decentralization in Africa.

2006-2009: World Bank, Independent Evaluations Group. Undertook evaluations of World Bank decentralization and safety net programs.

2008-2011: International Monetary Fund Institute. Designed and taught course on fiscal federalism.

1998-2003: World Bank, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit. Consultant for *World Development Report*, lecturer for training courses, participant in working group for assembly of decentralization data, director of multi-country study of fiscal discipline in decentralized countries, collaborator on review of subnational adjustment lending.

Last updated: June 2, 2021

EXHIBIT E

VITA

DAVID R. ELY

Compass Demographics, Inc.
6575 N. Vista Street
San Gabriel, CA 91775
(626) 807-0719
E-mail: ely@compass-demographics.com

Employment:

2007 to present

David Ely is the president and founder of Compass Demographics, a consulting and database management firm specializing in projects involving census and election data, redistricting projects, demographic analysis, and analysis of voting behavior.

1986 to 2007

Director of Research for the Redistricting and Reapportionment practice of Pactech Data and Research, Pasadena, California. As Director of Research, Mr. Ely testified or consulted to counsel in a variety of litigation involving the configuration of election districts as well as providing database construction and redistricting consulting for numerous jurisdictions.

Education:

California Institute of Technology in Pasadena, CA with a B.S. in Social Sciences and Mechanical Engineering in 1987.

Redistricting Consulting

Activities include database construction, demographic and voter analysis, development of districting plans, public hearings and presentation of plans, technical assistance, and analysis of alternative redistricting plans.

2020 Malibu City Council District Analysis

2020 Mission Springs Water District Board District Formation

2020 Richmond City Council District Formation

2019 Compton Unified School District Trustee District Formation

2019 Carson City Council District Formation

2018 Coalinga City Council District Formation

2018 Coalinga-Huron Recreation & Parks Board Member District Formation

2017 San Marcos Unified School District Trustee Area Formation

2016 Upland City Council District Formation

2016 Costa Mesa City Council District Formation

David R. Ely, Vita, page 2

(Redistricting Consulting, cont.)

2015 Garden Grove City Council District Formation

2015 Fullerton City Council District Formation

2014 Saugus Union School District Trustee Area Formation

2014 Whittier City Council District Formation

2014 Sulphur Springs School District Trustee Area Formation

2014 Lancaster Elementary School District Trustee Area Formation

2012 Los Angeles Unified School District Redistricting

2012 Los Angeles City Council Redistricting

2012 Pasadena Unified School Board Districting

2012 Pasadena City Council Redistricting

2011 Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) Board Redistricting

2011 California Legislative Redistricting

2011 Los Angeles County Redistricting

2008 Ceres Unified School District Redistricting

2008 Madera Unified School District Redistricting

2008 Merced Elementary School District Redistricting

2008 Merced High School District Redistricting

2005 Hanford Joint Union High School District Redistricting

2003 Oakland City Council and Oakland Unified School Board Redistricting

2002 Los Angeles City Council Redistricting

2002 Los Angeles Unified School District Board Member Redistricting

2002 Pasadena, California, City Council Redistricting

2001 California Legislative Redistricting (Senate, Assembly, and Congressional)

2001 Los Angeles County Supervisorial Redistricting

2001 Bay Area Rapid Transit Board Member Districts Redistricting

1992 Rancho Mirage, California, City Council Redistricting

David R. Ely, Vita, page 3

(Redistricting Consulting, cont.)

1992 Three Valleys Municipal Water District Redistricting

1992 Los Angeles Unified School Board Member Redistricting

1992 Los Angeles City Council Redistricting

1992 Pasadena, California, City Council Redistricting

1991 California Congressional Redistricting

1991 California State Assembly Redistricting

1991 Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors Redistricting

1987 City of Boston, Massachusetts Redistricting

1986 Los Angeles City Council Redistricting

1987 to 2012, California State Legislature, Redistricting Database construction

Litigation Analysis

Activities include database construction, demographic analysis, expert witness testimony, surname matching, geocoding of registered and actual voter lists, and construction of illustrative districting plans.

2000-Present Provided analysis on numerous voting rights investigations not listed.

Vaughan v. Lewisville Independent School District (2020), expert witness (Texas)

Kumar v. Frisco Independent School District (2020), expert witness (Texas)

Terrebonne Parish NAACP et al vs. Governor of Louisiana et al (2019), Special Master

Tyson v. Richardson Independent School District (2018), expert witness (Texas)

Yumori-Kaku v. City of Santa Clara (2018), expert witness (California)

Loya v. City of Santa Monica (2018), expert witness (California)

Luna v. Kern County (2017), expert witness (California)

Patino v. City of Pasadena (2015), expert witness (Texas)

Garrett v. City of Highland (2015), expert witness (California)

Ramos v. Carrollton-Farmers Branch Independent School District (2015), expert witness (Texas)

Rodriguez v. City of Grand Prairie (2015), expert witness (Texas)

Rodriguez v. Grand Prairie Independent School District (2014), expert witness (Texas)

Navajo Nation v. San Juan County (2014), expert witness (Utah)

David R. Ely, Vita, page 4

(Litigation Analysis, cont.)

Solis v. City of Santa Clarita (2014), expert witness (California)

Jauregui v. City of Palmdale (2013), expert witness (California)

Gonzalez v. City of Compton (2012), expert witness (California)

Fabela v. City of Farmers Branch (2011), expert witness (Texas)

Benavidez v. Irving Independent School District (2008, 2013), expert witness (Texas)

Benavidez v. City of Irving (2008), expert witness (Texas)

Avitia v. Tulare Local Health Care District (2008), expert witness (California)

U.S. v. City of Euclid (2007), election data consultant (Ohio)

Bexar Metropolitan Water District (2007), election data consultant (Texas)

U.S. v. City of Springfield, Massachusetts (2006)

U.S. v. State of Missouri (2006), election data consultant

U.S. v. City of Philadelphia and Philadelphia City Commission (2006), Pennsylvania

State of Georgia v. Ashcroft, (2004) election data consultant

Gomez v. Hanford Joint Union High School District, (2004) California

Sanchez v. City of Modesto, (2004), California

Governor Gray Davis v. Kevin Shelley, (2003) data analysis and declaration (California)

U.S. v. Alamosa County, (2002), expert witness (Colorado)

Cano v. Davis, (2002), election data consultant, (California)

U.S. v. City of Lawrence, (2000), expert witness (Massachusetts)

U.S. v. City of Santa Paula, (2000) voting rights litigation (California)

U.S. v. Upper San Gabriel Valley Municipal Water District, (2000) voting rights litigation (California)

U.S. v. Passaic (2000) voting rights litigation (New Jersey)

U.S. v. City of Lawrence, (1999) voting rights litigation (Massachusetts)

Bonilla v. Chicago City Council (1992-1998), expert witness (Illinois)

David R. Ely, Vita, page 5

(Litigation Analysis, cont.)

Ruiz v. City of Santa Maria, (1992-1998), expert witness (California)

Garza v. County of Los Angeles, (1988-90), Constructed databases and designed remedial plans for Los Angeles County Supervisorial Districts

EXHIBIT F

Maxwell Palmer

CONTACT	<p>Department of Political Science Boston University 232 Bay State Road Boston, MA 02215</p> <p><i>E-mail:</i> mbpalmer@bu.edu <i>Website:</i> www.maxwellpalmer.com <i>Phone:</i> (617) 358-2654</p>
APPOINTMENTS	<p>Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts</p> <p>Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, 2021–Present</p> <p>Director of Advanced Programs, Dept. of Political Science, 2020–Present</p> <p>Faculty Fellow, Initiative on Cities, 2019–Present</p> <p>Faculty Affiliate, Center for Antiracist Research, 2021–Present</p> <p>Faculty Affiliate, Hariri Institute for Computing, 2017–Present</p> <p>Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 2014–2021</p>
EDUCATION	<p>Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts</p> <p>Ph.D., Political Science, May 2014. A.M., Political Science, May 2012.</p> <p>Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine</p> <p>A.B., Mathematics & Government and Legal Studies, May 2008.</p>
BOOK	<p><i>Neighborhood Defenders: Participatory Politics and America’s Housing Crisis</i> (with Katherine Levine Einstein and David M. Glick). 2019. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Selected chapters republished in <i>Political Science Quarterly</i>. – Reviewed in <i>Perspectives on Politics</i>, <i>Political Science Quarterly</i>, <i>Economics 21</i>, <i>Public Books</i>, and <i>City Journal</i>. – Covered in Vox’s “The Weeds” podcast, CityLab, Slate’s “Gabfest,” Curbed, Brookings Institution Up Front.
REFEREED ARTICLES	<p>Glick, David M. and Maxwell Palmer. Forthcoming. “County Over Party: How Governors Prioritized Geography Not Particularism in the Distribution of Opportunity Zones.” <i>British Journal of Political Science</i>.</p> <p>Godinez Puig, Luisa, Katharine Lusk, David Glick, Katherine L. Einstein, Maxwell Palmer, Stacy Fox, and Monica L. Wang. 2020. “Perceptions of Public Health Priorities and Accountability Among US Mayors.” <i>Public Health Reports</i> (October 2020).</p>

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David M. Glick, and Maxwell Palmer. 2020. "Can Mayors Lead on Climate Change? Evidence from Six Years of Surveys." *The Forum* 18(1).

Ban, Pamela, Maxwell Palmer, and Benjamin Schneer. 2019. "From the Halls of Congress to K Street: Government Experience and its Value for Lobbying." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 44(4): 713–752.

Palmer, Maxwell and Benjamin Schneer. 2019. "Postpolitical Careers: How Politicians Capitalize on Public Office." *Journal of Politics* 81(2): 670–675.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, Maxwell Palmer, and David M. Glick. 2019. "Who Participates in Local Government? Evidence from Meeting Minutes." *Perspectives on Politics* 17(1): 28–46.

– Winner of the **Heinz Eulau Award**, American Political Science Association, 2020.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David M. Glick, and Maxwell Palmer. 2019. "City Learning: Evidence of Policy Information Diffusion From a Survey of U.S. Mayors." *Political Research Quarterly* 72(1): 243–258.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David M. Glick, Maxwell Palmer, and Robert Presel. 2018. "Do Mayors Run for Higher Office? New Evidence on Progressive Ambition." *American Politics Research* 48(1) 197–221.

Ansolahehere, Stephen, Maxwell Palmer and Benjamin Schneer. 2018. "Divided Government and Significant Legislation, A History of Congress from 1789-2010." *Social Science History* 42(1): 81–108.

Edwards, Barry, Michael Crespin, Ryan D. Williamson, and Maxwell Palmer. 2017. "Institutional Control of Redistricting and the Geography of Representation." *Journal of Politics* 79(2): 722–726.

Palmer, Maxwell. 2016. "Does the Chief Justice Make Partisan Appointments to Special Courts and Panels?" *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 13(1): 153–177.

Palmer, Maxwell and Benjamin Schneer. 2016. "Capitol Gains: The Returns to Elected Office from Corporate Board Directorships." *Journal of Politics* 78(1): 181–196.

Gerring, John, Maxwell Palmer, Jan Teorell, and Dominic Zarecki. 2015. "Demography and Democracy: A Global, District-level Analysis of Electoral Contestation." *American Political Science Review* 109(3): 574–591.

OTHER
PUBLICATIONS

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David M. Glick and Maxwell Palmer. 2020. “**Neighborhood Defenders: Participatory Politics and America’s Housing Crisis.**” *Political Science Quarterly* 135(2): 281–312.

Ansolabehere, Stephen and Maxwell Palmer. 2016. “**A Two Hundred-Year Statistical History of the Gerrymander.**” *Ohio State Law Journal* 77(4): 741–762.

Ansolabehere, Stephen, Maxwell Palmer, and Benjamin Schneer. 2016. “**What Has Congress Done?**” in *Governing in a Polarized Age: Elections, Parties, and Political Representation in America*, eds. Alan Gerber and Eric Schickler. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

POLICY
REPORTS

Glick, David M., Katherine Levine Einstein, Maxwell Palmer, Stacy Fox, Katharine Lusk, Nicholas Henninger, and Songhyun Park. 2021. **2020 Menino Survey of Mayors: Policing and Protests.** Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Glick, David M., Katherine Levine Einstein, Maxwell Palmer, and Stacy Fox. 2020. **2020 Menino Survey of Mayors: COVID-19 Recovery and the Future of Cities.** Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

de Benedictis-Kessner, Justin and Maxwell Palmer. 2020. **Got Wheels? How Having Access to a Car Impacts Voting.** *Democracy Docket*.

Palmer, Maxwell, Katherine Levine Einstein, and David Glick. 2020. **Counting the City: Mayoral Views on the 2020 Census.** Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, Maxwell Palmer, Stacy Fox, Marina Berardino, Noah Fischer, Jackson Moore-Otto, Aislinn O’Brien, Marilyn Rutecki and Benjamin Wuesthoff. 2020. **COVID-19 Housing Policy.** Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, Maxwell Palmer, David Glick, and Stacy Fox. 2020. **Mayoral Views on Cities’ Legislators: How Representative are City Councils?** Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Einstein, Katherine Levine and Maxwell Palmer. 2020. “**Newton and other communities must reform housing approval process.**” *The Boston Globe*.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David Glick, Maxwell Palmer and Stacy Fox. 2020. “**2019 Menino Survey of Mayors.**” Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Palmer, Maxwell, Katherine Levine Einstein, David Glick, and Stacy Fox. 2019. *Mayoral Views on Housing Production: Do Planning Goals Match Reality?* Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Wilson, Graham, David Glick, Katherine Levine Einstein, Maxwell Palmer, and Stacy Fox. 2019. *Mayoral Views on Economic Incentives: Valuable Tools or a Bad Use of Resources?*. Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David Glick, Maxwell Palmer and Stacy Fox. 2019. *“2018 Menino Survey of Mayors.”* Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, Katharine Lusk, David Glick, Maxwell Palmer, Christiana McFarland, Leon Andrews, Aliza Wasserman, and Chelsea Jones. 2018. *“Mayoral Views on Racism and Discrimination.”* National League of Cities and Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David Glick, and Maxwell Palmer. 2018. *“As the Trump administration retreats on climate change, US cities are moving forward.”* The Conversation.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David M. Glick, Maxwell Palmer, and Robert Presel. 2018. *“Few big-city mayors see running for higher office as appealing.”* LSE United States Politics and Policy Blog.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David Glick, and Maxwell Palmer. 2018. *“2017 Menino Survey of Mayors.”* Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Williamson, Ryan D., Michael Crespin, Maxwell Palmer, and Barry C. Edwards. 2017. *“This is how to get rid of gerrymandered districts.”* *The Washington Post*, Monkey Cage Blog.

Palmer, Maxwell and Benjamin Schneer. 2015. *“How and why retired politicians get lucrative appointments on corporate boards.”* *The Washington Post*, Monkey Cage Blog.

CURRENT
PROJECTS

“A Partisan Solution to Partisan Gerrymandering: The Define-Combine Procedure” (with Benjamin Schneer and Kevin DeLuca).

– Covered in *Fast Company*

“Driving Turnout: The Effect of Car Ownership on Electoral Participation” (with Justin de Benedictis-Kessner).

“Descended from Immigrants and Revolutionists: How Family Immigration History Shapes Legislative Behavior in Congress” (with James Feigenbaum and Benjamin Schneer).

“Land of the Freeholder: How Property Rights Make Voting Right” (with Katherine Levine Einstein).

“Who Represents the Renters?” (with Katherine Levine Einstein and Joseph Ornstein).

“Developing a Pro-Housing Movement? How Public Distrust of Developers Stops New Housing and Fractures Coalitions” (with Katherine Levine Einstein and David Glick).

“Zoom Does Not Reduce Unequal Participation: Evidence from Meeting Minutes” (with Katherine Levin Einstein, David Glick, and Luisa Godinez Puig).

“The Gender Pay Gap in Congressional Offices” (with Joshua McCrain).

“Racial Disparities in Local Elections” (with Katherine Levine Einstein).

“Renters in an Ownership Society: Property Rights, Voting Rights, and the Making of American Citizenship.” Book Project. With Katherine Levine Einstein.

“Menino Survey of Mayors 2021.” Co-principal investigator with David M. Glick and Katherine Levine Einstein.

GRANTS AND AWARDS

American Political Science Association, **Heinz Eulau Award**, for the best article published in *Perspectives on Politics* during the previous calendar year, for “Who Participates in Local Government? Evidence from Meeting Minutes.” (with Katherine Levine Einstein and David M. Glick). 2020.

Boston University Initiative on Cities, COVID-19 Research to Action Seed Grant. “How Are Cities Responding to the COVID-19 Housing Crisis?” 2020. \$8,000.

The Rockefeller Foundation, “Menino Survey of Mayors” (Co-principal investigator). 2017. \$325,000.

Hariri Institute for Computing, Boston University. Junior Faculty Fellow. 2017. \$10,000.

The Rockefeller Foundation, “2017 Menino Survey of Mayors” (Co-principal investigator). 2017. \$100,000.

The Center for Finance, Law, and Policy, Boston University, Research Grant for “From the Capitol to the Boardroom: The Returns to Office from Corporate Board Directorships,” 2015.

Senator Charles Sumner Prize, Dept. of Government, Harvard University. 2014.
Awarded to the best dissertation “from the legal, political, historical, economic, social or ethnic approach, dealing with means or measures tending toward the prevention of war and the establishment of universal peace.”

The Center for American Political Studies, Dissertation Research Fellowship on the Study of the American Republic, 2013–2014.

The Tobin Project, Democracy and Markets Graduate Student Fellowship, 2013–2014.

The Dirksen Congressional Center, Congressional Research Award, 2013.

The Institute for Quantitative Social Science, Conference Travel Grant, 2014.

The Center for American Political Studies, Graduate Seed Grant for “Capitol Gains: The Returns to Elected Office from Corporate Board Directorships,” 2014.

The Institute for Quantitative Social Science, Research Grant, 2013.

Bowdoin College: High Honors in Government and Legal Studies; Philo Sherman Bennett Prize for Best Honors Thesis in the Department of Government, 2008.

SELECTED
PRESENTATIONS

“A Partisan Solution to Partisan Gerrymandering: The Define-Combine Procedure.” MIT Election Data and Science Lab, 2020.

“Who Represents the Renters?” Local Political Economy Conference, Washington, D.C., 2019.

“Housing and Climate Politics,” Sustainable Urban Systems Conference, Boston University 2019.

“Redistricting and Gerrymandering,” American Studies Summer Institute, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, 2019.

“The Participatory Politics of Housing,” Government Accountability Office Seminar, 2018.

“Descended from Immigrants and Revolutionists: How Immigrant Experience Shapes Immigration Votes in Congress,” Congress and History Conference, Princeton University, 2018.

“Identifying Gerrymanders at the Micro- and Macro-Level.” Hariri Institute for Computing, Boston University, 2018.

“How Institutions Enable NIMBYism and Obstruct Development,” Boston Area Research Initiative Spring Conference, Northeastern University, 2017.

“Congressional Gridlock,” American Studies Summer Institute, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, 2016.

“Capitol Gains: The Returns to Elected Office from Corporate Board Directorships,” Microeconomics Seminar, Department of Economics, Boston University, 2015.

“A Two Hundred-Year Statistical History of the Gerrymander,” Congress and History Conference, Vanderbilt University, 2015.

“A New (Old) Standard for Geographic Gerrymandering,” Harvard Ash Center Workshop: How Data is Helping Us Understand Voting Rights After Shelby County, 2015.

“Capitol Gains: The Returns to Elected Office from Corporate Board Directorships,” Boston University Center for Finance, Law, and Policy, 2015.

“Capitol Gains: The Returns to Elected Office from Corporate Board Directorships,” Bowdoin College, 2014.

American Political Science Association: 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2019, 2020

Midwestern Political Science Association: 2012, 2013, 2014, 2017, 2019

Southern Political Science Association: 2015, 2018

European Political Science Association: 2015

EXPERT
TESTIMONY

Bethune-Hill v. Virginia (3:14-cv-00852-REP-AWA-BMK), U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia. Prepared expert reports and testified on racial predominance and racially polarized voting in selected districts of the 2011 Virginia House of Delegates map. (2017)

Thomas v. Bryant (3:18-CV-441-CWR-FKB), U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially polarized voting in a district of the 2012 Mississippi State Senate map. (2018–2019)

Chestnut v. Merrill (2:18-cv-00907-KOB), U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially polarized voting in selected districts of the 2011 Alabama congressional district map. (2019)

Dwight v. Raffensperger (No. 1:18-cv-2869-RWS), U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially polarized voting in selected districts of the 2011 Georgia congressional district map. (2019)

Bruni, et al. v. Hughs (No. 5:20-cv-35), U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas. Prepared expert reports and testified on the use of straight-ticket voting by race and racially polarized voting in Texas. (2020)

The General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Joint Committee on Housing, Hearing on Housing Production Legislation. May 14, 2019. Testified on the role of public meetings in housing production.

TEACHING

Boston University

- *Introduction to American Politics* (PO 111; Fall 2014, Fall 2015, Fall 2016, Fall 2017, Spring 2019, Fall 2019, Fall 2020)
- *Congress and Its Critics* (PO 302; Fall 2014, Spring 2015, Spring 2017, Spring 2019)
- *Data Science for Politics* (PO 399; Spring 2020, Spring 2021)
- *Formal Political Theory* (PO 501; Spring 2015, Spring 2017, Fall 2019, Fall 2020)
- *American Political Institutions in Transition* (PO 505; Spring 2021)
- *Prohibition, Regulation, and Bureaucracy* (PO 540; Fall 2015)
- *Political Analysis (Graduate Seminar)* (PO 840; Fall 2016, Fall 2017)
- *Graduate Research Workshop* (PO 903/4; Fall 2019, Spring 2020)

SERVICE

Boston University

- Undergraduate Assessment Working Group, 2020–.
- Initiative on Cities Faculty Advisory Board, 2020–.
- College of Arts and Sciences
 - Search Committee for the Faculty Director of the Initiative on Cities, 2020–2021.
 - General Education Curriculum Committee, 2017–2018.
- Department of Political Science
 - Director of Advanced Programs (Honors & B.A./M.A.). 2020–.

- Comprehensive Exam Committee, American Politics, 2019.
- Comprehensive Exam Committee, Political Methodology, 2016, 2017.
- Co-organizer, Research in American Politics Workshop, 2016–2018.
- American Politics Search Committee, 2017.
- American Politics Search Committee, 2016.
- Graduate Program Committee, 2014–2015, 2018–2019, 2020–2021.

Co-organizer, *Boston University Local Political Economy Conference*, August 29, 2018.

Editorial Board Member, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2020–Present

Malcolm Jewell Best Graduate Student Paper Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 2019.

Reviewer: *American Journal of Political Science*; *American Political Science Review*; *Journal of Politics*; *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*; *Political Analysis*; *Legislative Studies Quarterly*; *Public Choice*; *Political Science Research and Methods*; *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*; *Election Law Journal*; *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*; *Urban Affairs Review*; *Applied Geography*; *PS: Political Science & Politics*; Cambridge University Press; Oxford University Press.

Elected Town Meeting Member, Town of Arlington, Mass., Precinct 2. April 2021–Present.

Arlington Election Reform Committee Member, August 2019–Present.

Coordinator, **Harvard Election Data Archive**, 2011–2014.

OTHER EXPERIENCE

Charles River Associates, Boston, Massachusetts 2008–2010

Associate, Energy & Environment Practice

Economic consulting in the energy sector for electric and gas utilities, private equity, and electric generation owners. Specialized in Financial Modeling, Resource Planning, Regulatory Support, Price Forecasting, and Policy Analysis.

Updated June 28, 2021