IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA
SOUTHERN DIVISION

MARCUS CASTER, LAKEISHA CHESTNUT, BOBBY LEE DUBOSE, BENJAMIN JONES, RODNEY ALLEN LOVE, MANASSEH POWELL, RONALD SMITH, and WENDELL THOMAS,
 	
     Plaintiffs,
 	
    v.
 	
WES ALLEN, in his official capacity as Alabama Secretary of State,
 	
     Defendant,
 	
  and
 	
CHRIS PRINGLE and JIM McCLENDON,
 	
     Intervenor-Defendants.
	Case No. 2:21-CV-1536-AMM

PLAINTIFFS' OBJECTIONS TO ALABAMA LEGISLATURE'S REMEDIAL CONGRESSIONAL PLAN

I.   Introduction

Alabama is in open defiance of the federal courts. More than 18 months ago, this Court enjoined Alabama's 2021 congressional plan as a violation of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act ("VRA") and ordered the State to provide Plaintiffs relief in the form of a new congressional plan that allows Black Alabamians the opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice in two districts. Alabama resisted— seeking a stay and ultimately review of the Court's injunctive order from the U.S. Supreme Court. But the Supreme Court affirmed this Court's ruling, finding as this Court did that Alabama's 2021 congressional plan violated the VRA.

Alabama, however, remains undeterred. In the wake of the Supreme Court's order, the State passed Senate Bill 5 ("SB5"), a "remedial plan" in name only. Rather than include two districts in which Black voters have an opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice, as this Court ordered, Alabama's new plan contains only one, the same number as the 2021 plan rejected by this Court and the Supreme Court. The plan does not even come close to giving Black voters an additional opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice: Black voters in the purported remedial district comprise less than 40% of the voting age population, and Black-preferred candidates would have lost over 94% of statewide elections since 2016.

Plaintiffs have waited the better part of two years for relief. They now respectfully request that the Court enjoin Alabama's proposed plan as a plainly insufficient remedy and proceed to a Court-driven remedial process to ensure Plaintiffs obtain relief in time for the 2024 election.

II.   Factual Background

A. The Court struck down Alabama's congressional plan and provided the State with clear guidance on a proper remedy.

On January 24, 2022, after a seven-day hearing involving extensive fact and expert witness testimony, the Court found that Alabama's 2021 congressional plan ("HB1") likely violated Section 2 of the VRA. *Caster v. Merrill*, No. 2:21-cv-1536-AMM, 2022 WL 264819 (N.D. Ala. Jan. 24, 2022). Critical to the Court's holding was *Caster* and *Milligan* Plaintiffs' extensive evidence of racially polarized voting in Alabama. The Court determined that there was "no serious dispute that Black voters are 'politically cohesive,'" and "that the challenged districts' white majority votes 'sufficiently as a block to usually defeat [Black voters'] preferred candidate.'" *Id.* at 68. There was no doubt, the Court concluded, that "voting in Alabama is clearly and intensely racially polarized." *Id.* at 69.

The Court came to this conclusion after considering, and finding reliable, extensive expert evidence. This included the testimony of *Caster* Plaintiffs' expert Dr. Maxwell Palmer, who the Court credited as an expert in redistricting and data analysis. *Id.* at 38. Dr. Palmer testified that "the evidence of racially polarized voting

across the five districts he studied [was] very strong." *Id.* And, across the congressional districts he analyzed, "the Black-preferred candidate won only those elections that occurred in District 7, the majority-Black congressional district." *Id.* at 39. Accordingly, Dr. Palmer concluded that "Black-preferred candidates are largely unable to win elections" outside of District 7, the one majority-Black district in HB1. *Id.* The Court also credited the testimony of *Milligan* Plaintiffs' expert Dr. Baodong Liu, whose analysis echoed Dr. Palmer's and exposed "the clarity and starkness of the pattern of racially polarized voting" in Alabama. *Id.* at 28.

The Court also found important the testimony of Alabama's own expert Dr. M.V. Hood, whose expert report "found evidence of racially polarized voting in Districts 6 and 7 in the Whole County Plan and District 7 in the [Challenged] Plan." *Id.* at 69. Dr. Hood testified during the hearing on the motion for a preliminary injunction "that he either agrees with or does not dispute the critical findings of Drs. Liu and Palmer on the question whether voting in Alabama, and specifically in the districts at issue in this litigation, is racially polarized." *Id.* at 70. In sum, the Court explained, the evidence adduced during the preliminary injunction hearing "support[ed] only one finding: that voting in Alabama, and in the districts at issue in this litigation, is racially polarized for purposes of the second and third *Gingles* requirements." *Id.*

As a result of this finding, the Court was exceedingly clear that any remedy for Alabama's Section 2 violation must account for Alabama's "clear[] and intense[] racially polarized" voting. *Id.* at 69. While the Court acknowledged that "the appropriate remedy" for Alabama's Section 2 violation did not necessarily require a second majority-Black district, "as a practical reality, the evidence of racially polarized voting adduced during the preliminary injunction proceedings suggests that any remedial plan will need to include two districts in which Black voters either comprise a voting-age majority or something quite close to it." *Id.* at 83.

During the preliminary injunction hearing, Plaintiffs offered no fewer than eleven illustrative plans, each of which, this Court found, illustrated different configurations Alabama could use to draw a congressional plan that not only remedied the Section 2 violation by providing Black voters with the opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice in two districts, but also complied with the State's traditional redistricting criteria, including the communities of interest criterion. *Id.* at 68 ("Accordingly, we find that the remedial plans developed by [Plaintiffs'] experts satisfy the reasonable compactness requirement of *Gingles I*.").

B. The U.S. Supreme Court affirmed.

Last month, the Supreme Court affirmed the Court's preliminary injunction order. In doing so, the Supreme Court emphasized that it found "no reason to disturb the District Court's careful factual findings" which had "gone unchallenged by

Alabama in any event." *Allen v. Milligan*, 143 S. Ct. 1487, 1506 (2023). The

Supreme Court reiterated this Court's finding that there was "no serious dispute"

that voting in Alabama is racially polarized and specifically underscored Dr. Hood's

testimony "that the candidates preferred by white voters in the areas that he looked

at regularly defeat the candidates preferred by Black voters." *Id.* at 1505. The

Supreme Court also agreed with the Court's finding that Plaintiffs' eleven

illustrative plans "'strongly suggest[ed] that Black voters in Alabama' could

constitute a majority in a second, reasonably configured, district," *id.* at 1504, and

expressly rejected Alabama's argument that Plaintiffs' failure to keep together the

Gulf Coast region in the southwest of the state was fatal, describing the "State's

argument [as] unpersuasive," *id.* at 1504-05.

C. Following remand, Alabama adopted a remedial plan that defies the rulings of this Court and the Supreme Court.

On July 21, 2023, Alabama enacted proposed remedial plan SB5. Alabama's

proposal directly defies the prior rulings of this Court and the Supreme Court.

According to the Legislature's own analysis copied below (attached as Exhibit 1),

SB5 contains just one district, CD 7, with an AP BVAP above 50%; the district with

the next highest AP BVAP is CD 2, with an AP BVAP of just 39.93%, which, as

discussed further below, will almost never enable Black voters to elect the

candidates of their choice; *see also* Expert Report of Dr. Maxwell Palmer ("Palmer

Rep."), Exhibit 2, at 1 ¶¶ 6-7 (confirming AP BVAPs for CD 2 and CD 7); *infra* Part III.B.

Alabama's Population Summary of SB5

Population Summary

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District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[% White]	[% Black]	[% AP_Wht]	[% AP_Blk]	[% 18+_Blk]	[% 18+_AP_Blk]
1	717,754	0	0.00%	65.36%	25.07%	70.31%	26.46%	23.8%	24.63%
2	717,755	1	0.00%	50.86%	39.93%	54.97%	41.63%	38.83%	39.93%
3	717,754	0	0.00%	70.79%	20.39%	75.16%	21.76%	19.93%	20.7%
4	717,754	0	0.00%	81.53%	6.93%	86.55%	7.9%	6.74%	7.22%
5	717,754	0	0.00%	69.02%	17.59%	75.72%	19.29%	17.33%	18.33%
6	717,754	0	0.00%	70.23%	19.36%	75.03%	20.51%	18.58%	19.26%
7	717,754	0	0.00%	40.89%	51.32%	44.15%	52.59%	49.68%	50.65%

Pursuant to the Court's June 20 Scheduling Order, Plaintiffs now object to SB5 as an insufficient remedy for Alabama's Section 2 violation.

III.   Argument

A. Legal Standard

To remedy a Section 2 violation, a state must fashion a remedial district that "*completely* remedies the prior dilution of minority voting strength and *fully* provides equal opportunity for minority citizens to participate and to elect candidates of their choice." *United States v. Dallas Cnty. Com'n, Dallas Cnty., Ala.*, 850 F.2d 1433, 1442 (11th Cir. 1988) (citing S. Rep. No. 417, 97th Cong. 2d Sess. 26, *reprinted in* 1982 U.S. Code Cong. & Adm. News 177, 208); *White v. Alabama*, 74 F.3d 1058, 1069 n.36 (11th Cir. 1996) (same); *see also Wright v. Sumter Cnty. Bd. of Elections & Reg.*, 979 F.3d 1282, 1309 (11th Cir. 2020) (finding Section 2 remedy available where special master showed the ability to draw additional minority

opportunity districts); *Caster*, 2022 WL 264819, at *3 ("[T]he appropriate remedy is a congressional redistricting plan that includes either an additional majority-Black congressional district, or an additional district in which Black voters otherwise have an opportunity to elect a representative of their choice.").

Whether a remedial district performs for a minority group is a fact-based analysis turning on the likelihood that the injured minority group will be able to elect their candidate of choice. *See, e.g.*, *Martinez v. Bush*, 234 F. Supp. 2d 1275, 1302-10 (S.D. Fla. 2002) (evaluating whether a district is an opportunity district by considering past election performance and minority voting age population). While there is no universal numerical threshold that separates a performing district from a non-performing district, Plaintiffs are not aware of any case in which a court has approved a Section 2 remedial district with less than a majority-minority voting-age population. In this case, however, the Legislature's proposed remedial district fails under any conceivable measure.

B. SB5 does not remedy Alabama's Section 2 violation.

SB5 does not remedy Alabama's Section 2 violation for a very simple reason: it fails to create a remedial district in which Black voters have an opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice. The demographic statistics of SB5 speak for themselves. Like its predecessor, SB5 contains just *one* majority-Black district: CD 7, which has an AP BVAP of 50.65%. The next highest AP BVAP is 39.93% in CD 2—in blatant

disregard for this Court's guidance that "any remedial plan will need to include two districts in which Black voters either comprise a voting-age majority or something quite close to it." *Caster*, 2022 WL 264819, at *3.

Expert analysis of SB5 confirms what the numbers suggest—SB5 fails to provide an opportunity for Black voters to elect their preferred candidates in a second congressional district. Dr. Maxwell Palmer, the same expert whose analysis this Court credited and relied on in entering its preliminary injunction order, analyzed 17 statewide elections between 2016 and 2022 to determine how Black-preferred candidates would perform in SB5's CD 2. *See* Palmer Rep. at 5 ¶¶ 15-17. The average vote share for Black-preferred candidates in CD 2 across all 17 elections is 44.5%, well below what would be needed to win a two-party election. *Id.* at 5 ¶ 18. In fact, under SB5, Black voters in CD 2 would have elected their candidate of choice in *just one* out of 17 races. *Id.* at 5 ¶ 18 & Figure 3 (copied below). Put another way, Black-preferred candidates in CD 2 would have been defeated by white-preferred candidates 94% of the time. *Id.* at 5 ¶ 20. As such, the State's proposed remedial district indisputably fails to give Black voters an opportunity "to elect representatives of their choice." 52 U.S.C. § 10301(a)-(b).
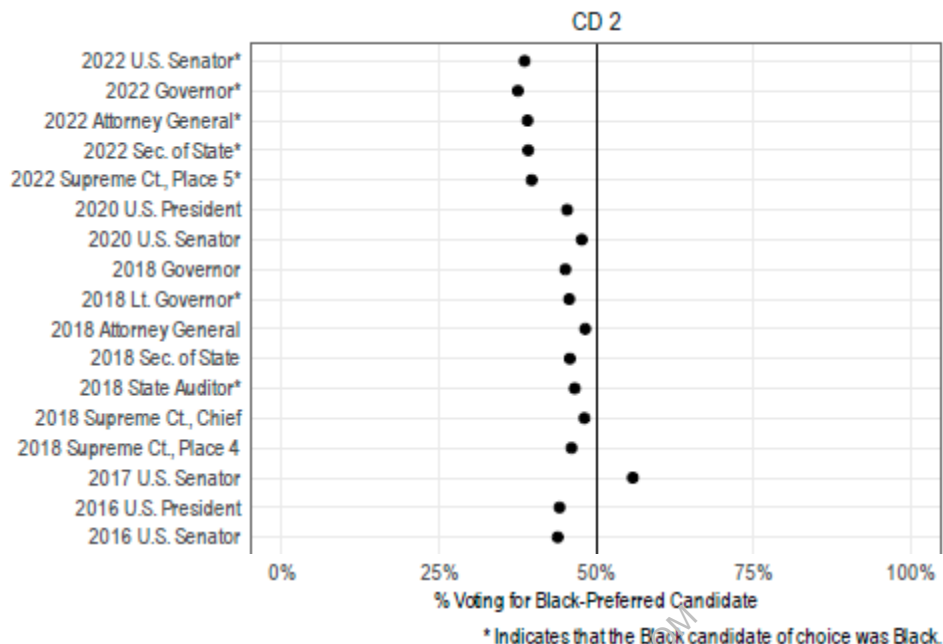
Figure 3: Vote Shares of Black-Preferred Candidates Under the SB 5 Plan

The Legislature's justifications for SB5 do nothing to blunt the unavoidable conclusion that SB5 is an insufficient remedy. SB5 was accompanied by a statement of legislative intent in which the Legislature enumerated several redistricting criteria that allegedly guided their map drawing process, emphasizing the same two communities of interest—one in the Gulf Coast region and another in the Wiregrass region—that both this Court and the Supreme Court found "insufficient to sustain" Alabama's failure to provide an additional minority opportunity district. *Milligan*, 143 S. Ct. at 1504-05; *see also Caster*, 2022 WL 264819, at *67. Those criteria and communities of interest have no bearing on the only relevant question regarding the plan: whether it remedies Alabama's Section 2 violation by creating two districts in

which the state's Black voters have an opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice.

Indeed, glaringly absent from the Legislature's statement is *any* discussion of the extent to which SB5 provides Black voters an opportunity to elect in a second congressional district. While the Legislature states its general intent "to comply with federal law, including the U.S. Constitution and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended," S.B. 5, 2023 Leg., 2d Spec. Sess. (Ala. 2023), at no point does it explain how SB5 *actually complies* with Section 2, let alone with the specific instructions and guidance provided by this Court. This is not surprising: Plaintiffs' expert analysis shows that it decidedly does not.

IV.   Conclusion

The Legislature's task was clear: it must provide Black voters in Alabama the opportunity to elect their preferred candidates in two congressional districts. It has failed. Plaintiffs respectfully ask the Court to enjoin SB5 for failing to remedy the Section 2 violation and proceed to a judicial remedial process to ensure Plaintiffs obtain relief in time for the 2024 election.

Dated: July 28, 2023

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Respectfully submitted,

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**Admitted Pro Hac Vice*

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on July 28, 2023, a copy of the foregoing was filed electronically. Notice of this filing will be sent to all parties for whom counsel has entered an appearance by operation of the Court's electronic filing system. Parties may access this filing through the Court's system.

/s/ Richard P. Rouco
Richard P. Rouco
Counsel for Plaintiffs

EXHIBIT 1

User:
Plan Name: **Livingston Congressional PLan 3**
Plan Type:

Population Summary

Thursday, July 20, 2023									7:14 PM

District	Population	Deviation	% Devn.	[% White]	[% Black]	[% AP_Wht]	[% AP_Blk]	[% 18+_Blk]	[% 18+ _AP_Blk]
1	717,754	0	0.00%	65.36%	25.07%	70.31%	26.46%	23.8%	24.63%
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4	717,754	0	0.00%	81.53%	6.93%	86.55%	7.9%	6.74%	7.22%
5	717,754	0	0.00%	69.02%	17.59%	75.72%	19.29%	17.33%	18.33%
6	717,754	0	0.00%	70.23%	19.36%	75.03%	20.51%	18.58%	19.26%
7	717,754	0	0.00%	40.89%	51.32%	44.15%	52.59%	49.68%	50.65%

Total Population: 5,024,279
Ideal District Population: 717,754

Summary Statistics:

Population Range:	717,754 to 717,755
Ratio Range:	0.00
Absolute Range:	0 to 1
Absolute Overall Range:	1
Relative Range:	0.00% to 0.00%
Relative Overall Range:	0.00%
Absolute Mean Deviation:	0.14
Relative Mean Deviation:	0.00%
Standard Deviation:	0.35

EXHIBIT 2

EXPERT REPORT OF MAXWELL PALMER, PH.D. IN SUPPORT OF CASTER PLAINTIFFS' OBJECTIONS

1. My name is Maxwell Palmer. I am currently an Associate Professor of Political Science at Boston University. I previously submitted a report in this case on December 12, 2021, and that report sets forth my qualifications in detail. A copy of my most recent curriculum vitae is attached as Exhibit A.

2. I testified in this matter in the January 2022 preliminary injunction proceedings. I was accepted by the Court as an expert in redistricting and data analysis. The Court found me to be a credible expert witness and credited my testimony on racially polarized voting and performance.

3. In my original report in this matter, I found strong evidence of racially polarized voting across the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 6th, and 7th Congressional Districts under the 2021 redistricting map. I found that Black and White voters consistently support different candidates and that Black-preferred candidates were largely unable to win elections except in the 7th District. I also found that across six illustrative maps drawn with two majority-minority districts, Black-preferred candidates would be able to win elections in both majority-minority districts.

4. I was asked by the Caster Plaintiffs in this litigation to update my 2021 analysis with the results of the 2022 general election and to evaluate the performance of the remedial map passed by the Alabama State Legislature on July 21, 2023. I will refer to this map as the Senate Bill 5 Plan or SB 5 Plan. Unless otherwise specified, all references to particular districts refer to the SB 5 Plan.

5. For the purpose of my analysis, I examined elections in the 2nd and 7th Congressional Districts under the SB 5 Plan.

6. The 2nd District consists of Barbour, Bullock, Butler, Coffee, Crenshaw, Dale, Geneva, Henry, Houston, Lowndes, Macon, Montgomery, Pike, and Russell Counties and parts of Covington and Elmore Counties. The district is 39.93% Black by population, and 39.93% Black using any-part Black VAP.

7. The 7th District consists of Choctaw, Clarke, Conecuh, Dallas, Greene, Hale, Marengo, Monroe, Perry, Pickens, Sumter, Washington, and Wilcox Counties and parts of Jefferson and Tuscaloosa Counties. The district is 51.32% Black by population, and 50.65% Black using any-part Black VAP.

8. I find strong evidence of racially polarized voting in the 2nd and 7th Congressional Districts of the SB 5 Plan. Black voters have a clear candidate of choice in each contest, and White voters are strongly opposed to this candidate. I also find that Black-preferred candidates are almost never able to win elections in the 2nd Congressional District. The Black-preferred candidate was defeated in 16 of the 17 elections analyzed.

Racially Polarized Voting Analysis

9. In my original report I analyzed racially polarized voting using precinct-level election results and population data for the 2016, 2018, and 2020 general elections, and the 2017 special election for U.S. Senate. I used a statistical procedure, ecological inference (EI), to estimate the preferences of Black, White, and Other voters for each candidate. Below, I replicate this analysis using the SB 5 Plan boundaries for the 2nd and 7th Districts.[1]

10. Figure 1 and Tables 1–2 present the ecological inference results. The estimated levels of support for the Black-preferred candidate in each election for each group are represented by the points, and the horizontal lines indicate the range of the 95% confidence intervals.

11. Examining Figure 1, the estimates for support for Black-preferred candidates by Black voters in both districts are all significantly above 50%. Black voters in both districts are extremely cohesive, with a clear candidate of choice in all 12 elections. On average, Black voters supported their candidates of choice with 93.0% of the vote in the 2nd District, and 93.0% in the 7th District.

12. Figure 1 also shows that White voters are highly cohesive in voting in opposition to the Black candidate of choice in every election in both districts. On average, White voters supported Black-preferred candidates with 9.7% of the vote in the 2nd District, and 23.2% in the 7th District.

13. Precinct-level election and population data is not available for the 2022 general elections.[2] Consequently, I used county-level data to analyze racially polarized voting in this election.[3] I followed the same methodology as I used for the county-level analysis in my original report.

14. Figure 2 and Table 3 present the results of this analysis for all of the counties in the state and then the counties that are part of the 2nd District or the 7th District under

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[1]My original report in this matter describes the data and methodology used for this analysis.

[2]While the Secretary of State published precinct-level election results, the geographic boundaries of the precincts used for the 2022 elections are not available. These boundaries are necessary to combine population data with election data. As a result, I am unable to create a precinct-level data set for the ecological inference analysis.

[3]When a county is split between the 2nd District or the 7th District and another district, I include the full county in this analysis.

the SB 5 Plan.[4] These results confirm the precinct-level findings above: Black voters have a clear candidate of choice in each contest and White voters are strongly opposed to these candidates.
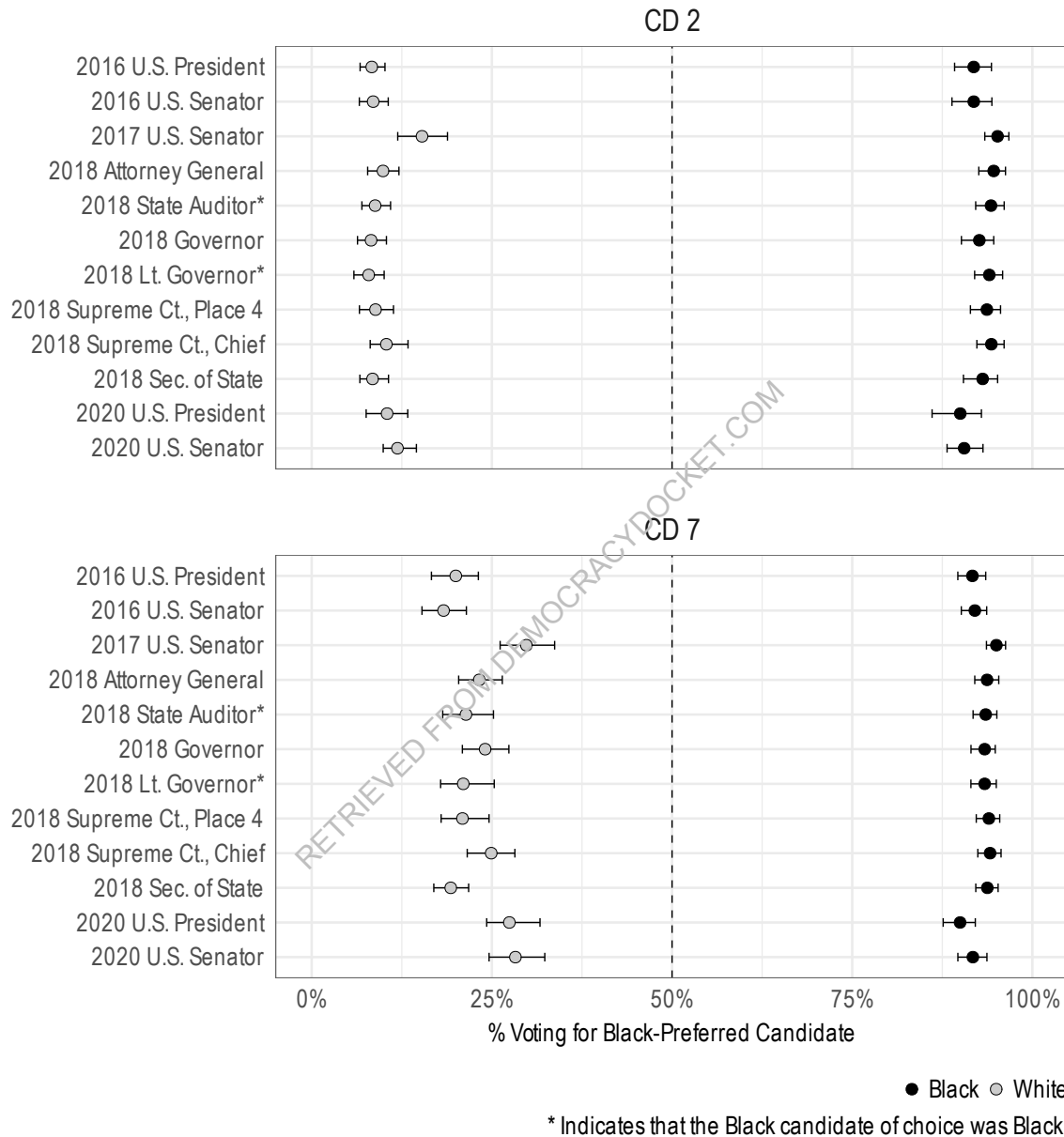

Figure 1: Racially Polarized Voting Estimates for 2016–2020 — Precinct-Level Analysis

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[4]The confidence intervals in this analysis are substantially wider than those calculated in the previous analysis. This is due to the use of counties rather than precincts. There are only 67 counties statewide, 16 counties in the 2nd District, and 15 counties in the 7th District. Due to the smaller number of observations, the estimates are less precise.
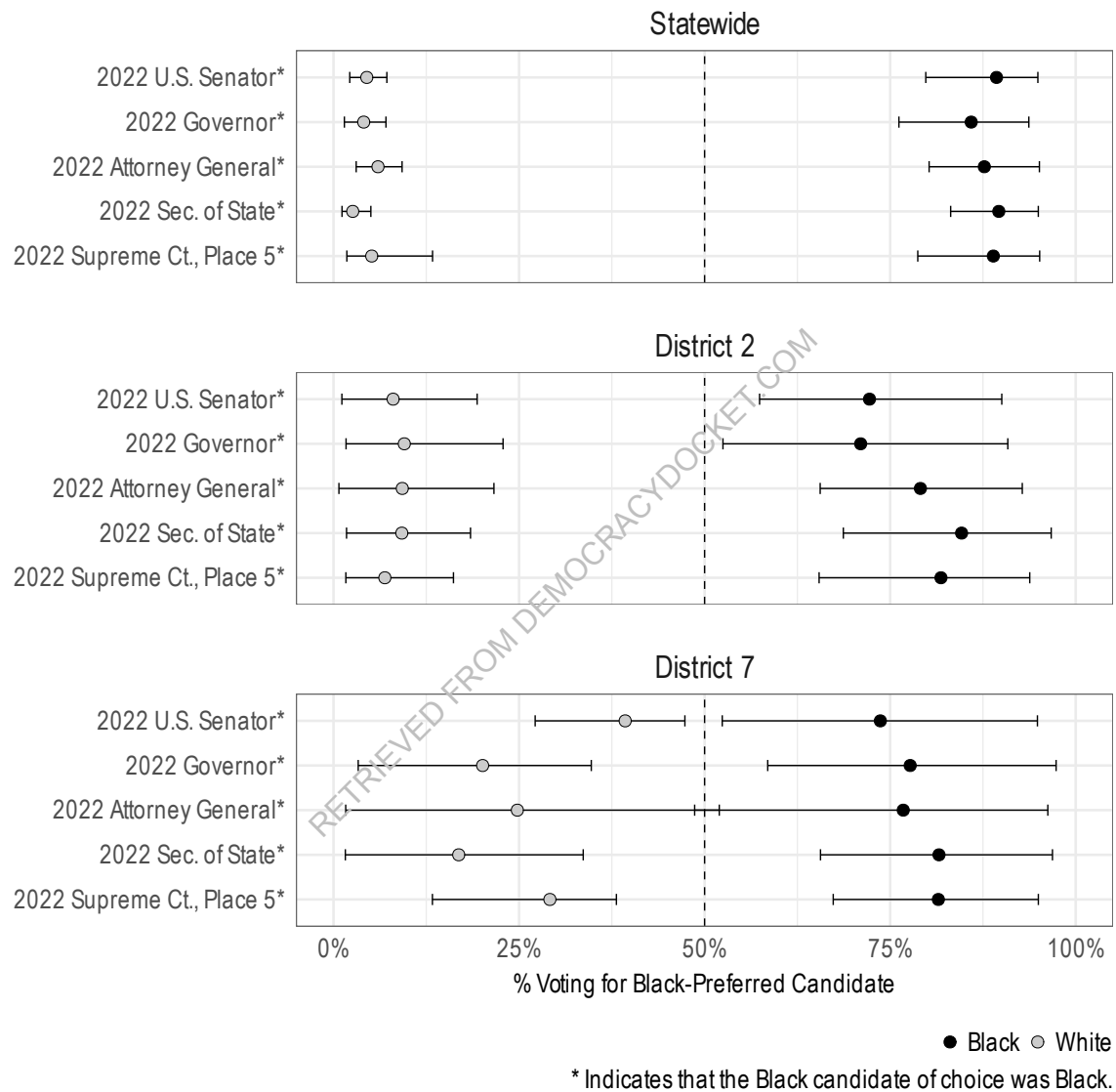
Figure 2: Racially Polarized Voting Estimates for 2022 — County-Level Analysis

Performance of the 2nd and 7th Districts in the SB 5 Plan

15. To analyze the performance of districts under the SB 5 Plan, I relied on precinct-level election results from the 2016, 2018, and 2020 general elections, and the 2017 special election for U.S. Senate. My original report in this matter describes this dataset.

16. I supplemented this dataset with additional election results from the 2022 general elections for the 2nd District. I relied on county and precinct-level data and matched this data to the boundaries of the 2nd District. When counties were split across districts, I matched precincts by name from the election results to my precinct-level data (which uses 2020 voting tabulation districts) to determine which precincts were assigned to each district. Due to data limitations, I did not analyze the 2022 general elections for the 7th District.[5]

17. I analyzed performance by calculating the share of the vote that the Black-preferred candidate would have won under the boundaries of the SB 5 Plan. Figure 3 and Table 4 present the results.

18. Across 17 elections from 2016 to 2022, the average vote share for Black-preferred candidates in the 2nd District is 44.5%. The Black-preferred candidate only won one election, the 2017 Special Election for U.S. Senate.

19. Across 12 elections from 2016 to 2020, the average vote share for Black-preferred candidates in the 7th District is 63.4%. The Black-preferred candidate won all 12 elections.

20. These results demonstrate that while the 7th District continues to perform for Black voters and allow them to elect their candidates of choice, the 2nd District does not perform. In 16 of the 17 elections examined (94%) the Black-preferred candidate is defeated by the White-preferred candidate in the 2nd District.

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[5]There are a large number of precincts in Jefferson (172) and Tuscaloosa (54) Counties. These counties also make up a relatively large share of the population of the 7th District. Without updated precinct boundary files I am not able to confidently match election results from each precinct to the proper district.
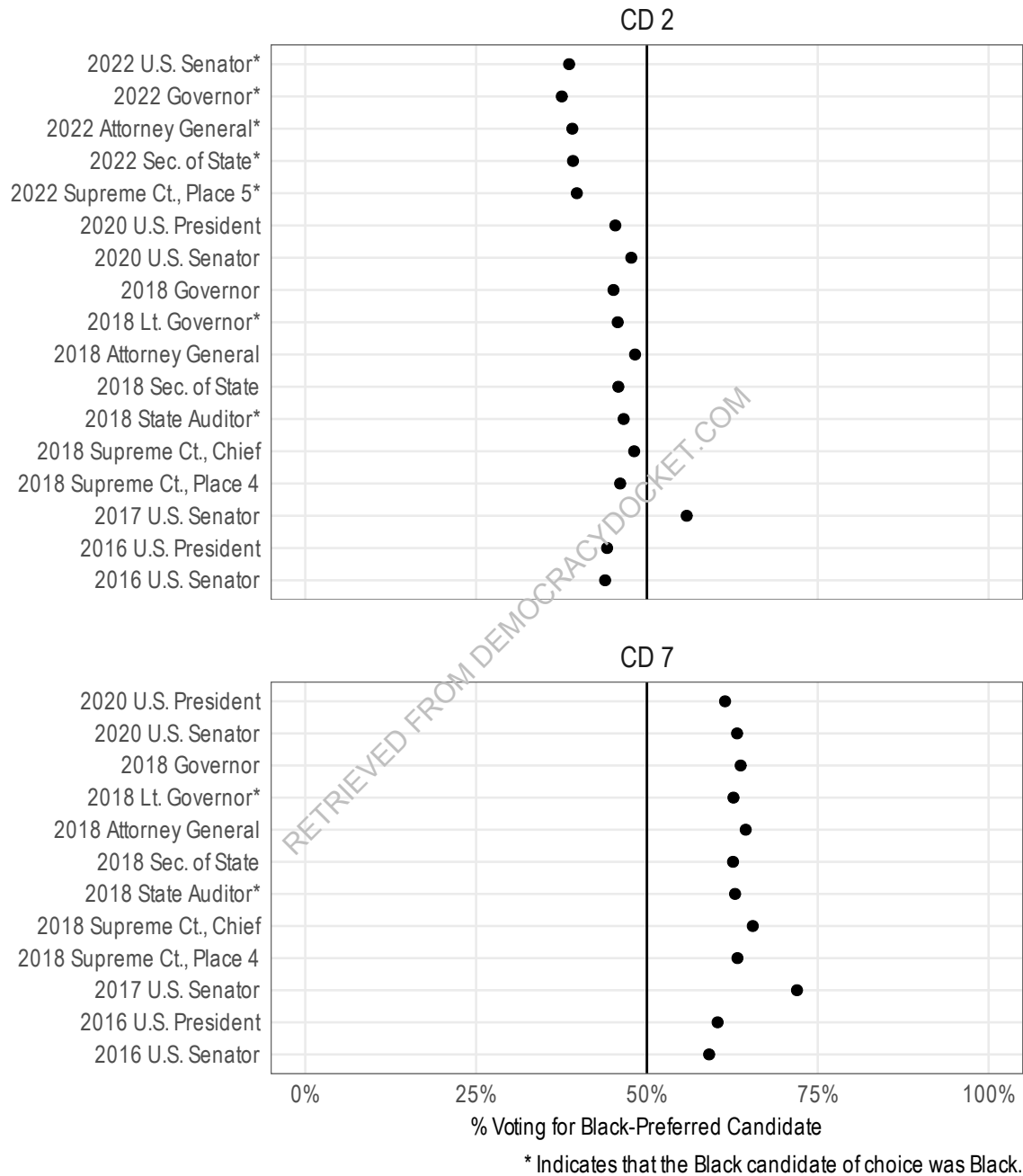
Figure 3: Vote Shares of Black-Preferred Candidates Under the SB 5 Plan

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I reserve the right to continue to supplement my reports in light of additional facts, testimony and/or materials that may come to light.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Maxwell Pal

Executed on: July 28, 2023

Table 1: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates — CD 2

		Black	White	Other
2016	U.S. President	91.9% (89.2, 94.3)	8.3% (6.7, 10.2)	51.1% (32.6, 67.4)
	U.S. Senator	91.9% (88.8, 94.4)	8.5% (6.6, 10.6)	60.2% (44.3, 74.4)
2017	U.S. Senator	95.2% (93.4, 96.7)	15.3% (11.9, 18.8)	75.1% (60.9, 86.5)
2018	Governor	92.6% (90.2, 94.6)	8.2% (6.4, 10.4)	65.2% (47.6, 79.2)
	Lt. Governor*	94.0% (92.0, 95.9)	7.9% (5.9, 10.0)	69.4% (52.1, 83.5)
	Attorney General	94.6% (92.6, 96.3)	9.9% (7.8, 12.1)	73.0% (55.4, 86.0)
	Sec. of State	93.1% (90.4, 95.2)	8.4% (6.7, 10.7)	70.7% (46.4, 85.2)
	State Auditor*	94.3% (92.1, 96.1)	8.8% (7.0, 10.9)	70.7% (51.4, 83.3)
	Supreme Ct., Chief	94.3% (92.3, 96.1)	10.4% (8.1, 13.4)	71.1% (54.7, 85.0)
	Supreme Ct., Place 4	93.7% (91.4, 95.6)	8.9% (6.6, 11.3)	75.3% (56.7, 87.8)
2020	U.S. President	90.0% (86.1, 92.9)	10.5% (7.6, 13.3)	68.5% (50.6, 81.0)
	U.S. Senator	90.5% (88.2, 93.1)	11.9% (9.9, 14.5)	77.1% (67.4, 85.5)

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

Table 2: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates — CD 7

		Black	White	Other
2016	U.S. President	91.7% (89.7, 93.5)	20.0% (16.6, 23.1)	75.9% (62.2, 88.1)
	U.S. Senator	92.0% (90.1, 93.7)	18.3% (15.3, 21.5)	65.4% (51.3, 78.2)
2017	U.S. Senator	95.0% (93.6, 96.3)	29.8% (26.1, 33.7)	88.6% (80.9, 94.0)
2018	Governor	93.4% (91.5, 94.8)	24.1% (20.9, 27.4)	82.4% (72.6, 90.2)
	Lt. Governor*	93.4% (91.5, 95.0)	21.0% (17.9, 25.3)	85.8% (73.9, 93.7)
	Attorney General	93.7% (92.0, 95.3)	23.3% (20.4, 26.4)	87.2% (78.0, 93.7)
	Sec. of State	93.7% (92.1, 95.2)	19.3% (16.9, 21.8)	82.6% (69.8, 90.4)
	State Auditor*	93.5% (91.8, 95.1)	21.4% (18.2, 25.2)	84.3% (72.1, 92.3)
	Supreme Ct., Chief	94.1% (92.4, 95.7)	24.9% (21.6, 28.2)	87.7% (78.8, 94.1)
	Supreme Ct., Place 4	94.0% (92.2, 95.5)	20.9% (18.0, 24.6)	85.6% (75.1, 92.8)
2020	U.S. President	90.0% (87.6, 92.1)	27.4% (24.3, 31.7)	75.2% (62.3, 84.1)
	U.S. Senator	91.7% (89.7, 93.7)	28.3% (24.6, 32.3)	82.2% (65.8, 91.8)

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

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Table 3: Ecological Inference Results for the 2022 General Election Using County-Level Data — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates

		Black	White	Other
Statewide	U.S. Senator*	89.3% (79.8, 94.9)	4.5% (2.2, 7.2)	66.0% (43.0, 88.8)
	Governor*	85.9% (76.2, 93.7)	4.1% (1.5, 7.1)	66.2% (45.7, 89.6)
	Attorney General*	87.7% (80.2, 95.1)	6.0% (3.1, 9.2)	65.3% (44.6, 87.7)
	Sec. of State*	89.6% (83.2, 95.0)	2.6% (1.1, 5.0)	71.5% (49.4, 89.1)
	Supreme Ct., Place 5*	88.9% (78.7, 95.1)	5.2% (1.8, 13.3)	73.6% (47.6, 90.0)
District 2	U.S. Senator*	72.2% (57.4, 90.0)	8.0% (1.1, 19.4)	49.1% (16.8, 82.5)
	Governor*	71.0% (52.5, 90.9)	9.5% (1.7, 22.8)	48.4% (12.8, 83.7)
	Attorney General*	79.1% (65.6, 92.8)	9.3% (0.7, 21.6)	48.4% (12.7, 83.1)
	Sec. of State*	84.6% (68.7, 96.7)	9.2% (1.8, 18.5)	48.8% (14.6, 83.3)
	Supreme Ct., Place 5*	81.8% (65.4, 93.8)	6.9% (1.7, 16.2)	47.3% (14.9, 80.2)
District 7	U.S. Senator*	73.7% (52.4, 94.8)	39.3% (27.2, 47.3)	48.6% (7.0, 91.9)
	Governor*	77.7% (58.5, 97.4)	20.1% (3.3, 34.7)	48.5% (6.0, 91.3)
	Attorney General*	76.8% (48.7, 96.2)	24.8% (1.6, 52.0)	50.3% (7.3, 90.8)
	Sec. of State*	81.6% (65.6, 96.9)	16.9% (1.6, 33.6)	50.2% (8.7, 87.4)
	Supreme Ct., Place 5*	81.5% (67.3, 95.0)	29.2% (13.3, 38.1)	50.2% (7.0, 93.2)

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

Table 4: Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates — SB 5 Plan

		CD 2	CD 7
2022	U.S. Senator*	38.6%	
	Governor*	37.5%	
	Attorney General*	39.1%	
	Sec. of State*	39.2%	
	Supreme Ct., Place 5*	39.7%	
2020	U.S. President	45.4%	61.4%
	U.S. Senator	47.7%	63.2%
2018	Governor	45.1%	63.7%
	Lt. Governor*	45.7%	62.7%
	Attorney General	48.3%	64.5%
	Sec. of State	45.8%	62.6%
	State Auditor*	46.6%	62.9%
	Supreme Ct., Chief	48.1%	65.5%
	Supreme Ct., Place 4	46.1%	63.2%
2017	U.S. Senator	55.8%	72.0%
2016	U.S. President	44.2%	60.3%
	U.S. Senator	43.9%	59.1%

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

EXHIBIT A

Maxwell Palmer

Contact	Department of Political Science *E-mail:* mbpalmer@bu.edu
	Boston University *Website:* www.maxwellpalmer.com
	232 Bay State Road *Phone:* (617) 358-2654
	Boston, MA 02215

Appointments   Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, 2021–Present

Associate Chair, Dept. of Political Science, July 2023–Present

Civic Tech Fellow, Faculty of Computing & Data Sciences, 2021–Present

Faculty Fellow, Initiative on Cities, 2019–Present

Director of Advanced Programs, Dept. of Political Science, July 2020–June 2023

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 2014–2021

Junior Faculty Fellow, Hariri Institute for Computing, 2017–2020

Education   Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Ph.D., Political Science, May 2014.

A.M., Political Science, May 2012.

Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine

A.B., Mathematics & Government and Legal Studies, May 2008.

Book   *Neighborhood Defenders: Participatory Politics and America's Housing Crisis* (with Katherine Levine Einstein and David M. Glick). 2019. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

– Selected chapters republished in *Political Science Quarterly*.

– Reviewed in *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Economics 21*, *Public Books*, *City Journal*, and *Urban Studies*.

– Covered in Vox's "The Weeds" podcast, CityLab, Slate's "Gabfest," Curbed, Brookings Institution Up Front.

Refereed
Articles
Einstein, Katherine Levine, Joseph Ornstein, and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. "Who Represents the Renters?" *Housing Policy Debate*.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David Glick, and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. "Developing a pro-housing movement? Public distrust of developers, fractured coalitions, and

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the challenges of measuring political power." *Interest Groups & Advocacy* 11:189–-208.

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David Glick, Luisa Godinez Puig, and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. "Still Muted: The Limited Participatory Democracy of Zoom Public Meetings." *Urban Affairs Review*.

Glick, David M. and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. "County Over Party: How Governors Prioritized Geography Not Particularism in the Distribution of Opportunity Zones." *British Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 1902–1910.

de Benedictis-Kessner, Justin and Maxwell Palmer. 2021. "Driving Turnout: The Effect of Car Ownership on Electoral Participation." *Political Science Research and Methods*.

Einstein, Katherine Levine and Maxwell Palmer. 2021. "Land of the Freeholder: How Property Rights Make Voting Rights." *Journal of Historical Political Economy* 1(4): 499–530.

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." *Public Health Reports* (October 2020).

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 Pressel. 2018. "Do Mayors Run for Higher Office? New Evidence on Progressive Ambition." *American Politics Research* 48(1) 197–221.

Ansolabehere, 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, and Maxwell Palmer. 2023. 2022 Menino Survey of Mayors: Economic Opportunity, Poverty, and Well-Being. Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Glick, David M., Katherine Levine Einstein, and Maxwell Palmer. 2023. 2022 Menino Survey of Mayors: Mayors and the Climate Crisis. Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Einstein, Katherine Levine and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. Greater Boston Housing

Report Card 2022, Special Topic: Who Can Win the Lottery? Moving Toward Equity in Subsidized Housing. Research Report. The Boston Foundation.

Glick, David M., Katherine Levine Einstein, and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. Looking back on ARPA and America's Cities: A Menino Survey Reflection. Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Einstein, Katherine Levine and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. Representation in the Housing Process: Best Practices for Improving Racial Equity. Research Report. The Boston Foundation.

Glick, David M., Katherine Levine Einstein, and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. 2021 Menino Survey of Mayors: Closing the Racial Wealth Gap. Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Glick, David M., Katherine Levine Einstein, and Maxwell Palmer. 2021. 2021 Menino Survey of Mayors: Building Back Better. Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

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 com-

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munities 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 Pressel. 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).

5

– Covered in *Fast Company*

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

"Who Should Make Decisions? Public Perceptions of Democratic Inclusion in Housing Policy." (With Justin de Benedictis-Kessner and 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 2023." Co-principal investigator with David M. Glick and Katherine Levine Einstein.

GRANTS
AND AWARDS

The Boston Foundation Grant. "2022 Greater Boston Housing Report Card" (Co-principal investigator). 2022. $70,000.

The Rockefeller Foundation, "Menino Survey of Mayors" (Co-principal investigator). 2021. $355,000.

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. 2017–2020. $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.

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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 Director-ships," 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 Director-ships," Boston University Center for Finance, Law, and Policy, 2015.

"Capitol Gains: The Returns to Elected Office from Corporate Board Director-ships," Bowdoin College, 2014.

American Political Science Association: 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2022
Midwestern Political Science Association: 2012, 2013, 2014, 2017, 2019, 2023
Southern Political Science Association: 2015, 2018
European Political Science Association: 2015

EXPERT
TESTIMONY
AND CONSULTING

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)

Caster v. Merrill (No. 2:21-cv-1536-AMM), U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama. Prepared expert report and testified on racially polarized voting in selected districts of the 2021 Alabama congressional district map. (2022)

Pendergrass v. Raffensperger (1:21-CV-05339-SCJ), U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially polarized voting in selected districts of the 2021 Georgia congressional district map. (2022)

Grant v. Raffensperger (1:22-CV-00122-SCJ), U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially polarized voting in selected districts of the 2021 Georgia state legislative district maps. (2022)

Galmon, et al. v. Ardoin (3:22-cv-00214-SDD-SDJ), U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Louisiana. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially polarized voting for the 2021 Louisiana congressional district map. (2022)

United States v. Robert Bowers (2:18-cr-00292-DWA), U.S. District Court for the Western District of Pennsylvania. Prepared expert reports on the demographics of the voter registriation list and composition of the master jury wheel. (2020–2023)

Agee, et al. v. Benson, et al. (1:22-CV-00272-PLM-RMK-JTN), U.S. District Court for the Western District of Michigan. Prepared expert report on racially polarized voting and racial predominance in the Michigan House and Senate maps adopted by the Michigan Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission. (2023)

In Re: Georgia Senate Bill 202 (1:12-MI-55555-JPB), U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia. Prepared expert report and testified on demographics and racially polarized vboting in Georgia. (2023)

Vet Voice Foundation, et al., v. Hobbs, et al. (No. 22-2-19384-1 SEA), King County Superior Court, Washington. Prepared expert reports and testified on ballots rejected for non-matching signatures in Washington. (2023)

Racially Polarized Voting Consultant, Virginia Redistricting Commission, August 2021.

9

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, Fall 2021, Fall 2022, Fall 2023)
- *Formal Political Theory* (PO 501; Spring 2015, Spring 2017, Fall 2019, Fall 2020)
- *American Political Institutions in Transition* (PO 505; Spring 2021, Fall 2021)
- *Prohibition* (PO 540; Fall 2015, Fall 2022)
- *Political Analysis (Graduate Seminar)* (PO 840; Fall 2016, Fall 2017)
- *Graduate Research Workshop* (PO 903/4; Fall 2019, Spring 2020)
- *Spark! Civic Tech Research Design Workshop* (CDS DS 290; Spring 2023)
- *Spark! Civic Tech Toolkit Workshop* (CDS DS 292; Spring 2023)

SERVICE   Boston University

- Research Computing Governance Committee, 2021–.
- Initiative on Cities Faculty Advisory Board, 2020–2022.
- Undergraduate Assessment Working Group, 2020-2021.
- College of Arts and Sciences
    - CAS BA Curriculum Committee, 2023–.
    - 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–.
    - Political Methodology Search Committee, 2021.
    - Delegate, Chair Selection Advisory Process, 2021.
    - Comprehensive Exam Committee, American Politics, 2019.
    - Comprehensive Exam Committee, Political Methodology, 2016, 2017, 2021.

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- 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*, 2020–2023

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*; *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–April 2022.

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 July 27, 2023