



COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
HOUSE OF DELEGATES
RICHMOND

EILEEN FILLER-CORN
SPEAKER

VIRGINIA HOUSE OF DELEGATES
POST OFFICE BOX 523082
SPRINGFIELD, VIRGINIA 22152

FORTY-FIRST DISTRICT

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS:
RULES (CHAIR)

November 1, 2021

Ms. Muriel-Theresa Pitney
Clerk of Court
Supreme Court of Virginia
100 N. 9th St, 5th Floor
Richmond, VA 23219

Ms. Pitney:

Pursuant to subsection F of Virginia Code § 30-399, I am submitting a list of three nominees to serve as the Court's Special Master to draw new lines for the House of Delegates and State Senate.

The names of my submissions are listed below and a brief biography and resume for each of the nominees, which includes their particular expertise or relevant experience, is provided as an attachment. The recommendations are:

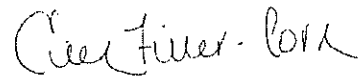
- Dr. Bernard Grofman, Ph.D. – Professor at the University of California, Irvine
- Dr. Nathaniel Persily, Ph.D. – Professor at Stanford Law School
- Dr. Bruce Cain, Ph.D. – Professor at Stanford University

All three candidates have extensive experience in redistricting and the creation of legislative maps that have been either created by or upheld by state and federal courts. They have served courts as special masters and as experts. Dr. Grofman in particular has a wealth of experience drawing legislative maps in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

These names are provided in the hope that a methodical and public process will proceed in the creation of new legislative lines. All three individuals are experts in the field and among the most highly qualified individuals in the country in this area. They are not partisan operatives advocating an agenda. I believe all three would serve in a manner that the citizens of Virginia expected when adopting the Constitutional Amendment in 2020. I am confident all three will ensure the maps meet the

requirements of the Voting Rights Act and the enabling statutes passed by the General Assembly to ensure our communities of interest are protected and that lines are created fairly.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Eileen Filler-Corn". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Eileen Filler-Corn
Speaker of the House of Delegates

Enclosures

Bernard Grofman is Jack W. Peltason Chair of Democracy Studies and Distinguished Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Irvine. His research deals primarily with issues of representation, including minority voting rights, the comparative study of electoral rules, constitutional design, and party competition; and he is a specialist in behavioral social choice. He is co-author of five books with major university presses, and co-editor of 26 other books, with over 300 research articles and book chapters, including ten in the *American Political Science Review*, the leading political science journal. Since 2015, he has been five times been a Special Master for U.S. federal courts charged with the redrawing of congressional, state legislative, county commissioner, city council, or school board maps found to be unconstitutional. Three of these cases are from Virginia, one from Georgia and one from Utah. In addition he has worked as a consultant or expert witness to both political parties, the U.S. Department of Justice, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, and the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund. Over the course of his career, his research has been cited by U.S. Supreme Court Justices in more than a dozen different opinions.

Nathaniel Persily is the James B. McClatchy Professor of Law at Stanford Law School, with appointments in the departments of Political Science, Communication, and FSI. Prior to joining Stanford, Professor Persily taught at Columbia and the University of Pennsylvania Law School, and as a visiting professor at Harvard, NYU, Princeton, the University of Amsterdam, and the University of Melbourne. Professor Persily's scholarship and legal practice focus on American election law or what is sometimes called the "law of democracy," which addresses issues such as voting rights, political parties, campaign finance, redistricting, and election administration. He has served as a special master or court-appointed expert to craft congressional or legislative districting plans for Georgia, Maryland, Connecticut, New York, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania. He also served as the Senior Research Director for the Presidential Commission on Election Administration. In addition to dozens of articles (many of which have been cited by the Supreme Court) on the legal regulation of political parties, issues surrounding the census and redistricting process, voting rights, and campaign finance reform, Professor Persily is coauthor of the leading election law casebook, *The Law of Democracy* (Foundation Press, 5th ed., 2016), with Samuel Issacharoff, Pamela Karlan, and Richard Pildes. His current work, for which he has been honored as a Guggenheim Fellow, Andrew Carnegie Fellow, and a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, examines the impact of changing technology on political communication, campaigns, and election administration. He is codirector of the Stanford Cyber Policy Center, Stanford Program on Democracy and the Internet, and the Stanford-MIT Healthy Elections Project, which supported local election officials in taking the necessary steps during the COVID-19 pandemic to provide safe voting options for the 2020 election. He is also a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a commissioner on the Kofi Annan Commission on Elections and Democracy in the Digital Age. He received a B.A. and M.A. in political science from Yale (1992); a J.D. from Stanford (1998) where he was President of the Stanford Law Review, and a Ph.D. in political science from U.C. Berkeley in 2002.

Bruce E. Cain is a Professor of Political Science at Stanford University and Director of the Bill Lane Center for the American West. He received a BA from Bowdoin College (1970), a B Phil. from Oxford University (1972) as a Rhodes Scholar, and a Ph D from Harvard University (1976). He taught at Caltech (1976-89) and UC Berkeley (1989-2012) before coming to Stanford. Professor Cain was Director of the Institute of Governmental Studies at UC Berkeley from 1990-2007 and Executive Director of the UC Washington Center from 2005-2012. He was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2000 and has won awards for his research (Richard F. Fenno Prize, 1988), teaching (Caltech 1988 and UC Berkeley 2003) and public service (Zale Award for Outstanding Achievement in Policy Research and Public Service, 2000). His areas of expertise include political regulation, applied democratic theory, representation and state politics. Some of Professor Cain's most recent publications include "Malleable Constitutions: Reflections on State Constitutional Design," coauthored with Roger Noll in *University of Texas Law Review*, volume 2, 2009; "More or Less: Searching for Regulatory Balance," in *Race, Reform and the Political Process*, edited by Heather Gerken, Guy Charles and Michael Kang, CUP, 2011; "Redistricting Commissions: A Better Political Buffer?" in *The Yale Law Journal*, volume 121, 2012; and *Democracy More or Less* (CUP, 2015). He is currently working on problems of environmental governance.

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

BERNARD NORMAN GROFMAN

September 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.

EDITED BOOKS (published) (cont.)

- (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.
- (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.

EDITED BOOKS (published) (cont.)

- (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).

MAJOR RESEARCH GRANTS (cont.)

- 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).
- 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

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print)

- (1) Grofman, Bernard N., and Edward Muller. 1973. The strange case of relative gratification and potential for political violence: The V-curve. American Political Science Review, 67:514-539.
- (2) Grofman, Bernard N., and Gerald Hyman. 1973. Probability and logic in belief systems. Theory and Decision, 4:179-195.
- (3) Grofman, Bernard N. 1974. Helping behavior and group size, some exploratory stochastic models. Behavioral Science, 19:219-224.
- (4) Grofman, Bernard N., and Gerald Hyman. 1974. The logical foundations of ideology. Behavioral Science, 19:225-237.
- (5) Grofman, Bernard N. 1975. The prisoner's dilemma game: Paradox reconsidered. In Gordon Tullock (Ed.), Frontiers of Economics, 1:101-119.
- (6) Mackelprang, A. J., Bernard N. Grofman, and N. Keith Thomas. Electoral change and stability: Some new perspectives. 1975. American Politics Quarterly, 3(3):315-339.
- (7) Grofman, Bernard N. 1975. A review of macro-election systems. In Rudolph Wildenmann (Ed.), German Political Yearbook (Sozialwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch fur Politik), Vol. 4, Munich Germany: Gunter Olzog Verlag, 303-352.
- (8) Grofman, Bernard N., and Jonathan Pool. 1975. Bayesian models for iterated prisoner's dilemma games. General Systems, 20:185-194.
- (9) Grofman, Bernard N. 1976. Not necessarily twelve and not necessarily unanimous: Evaluating the impact of Williams v. Florida and Johnson v. Louisiana. In Gordon Bermant, Charlan Nemeth and Neil Vidmar (Eds.), Psychology and the Law: Research Frontiers. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 149-168.
- (10) Grofman, Bernard N. 1977. Jury decision-making models. In Stuart Nagel (Ed.), Modeling the Criminal Justice System, Sage Criminal Justice Systems Annuals, Vol. 7, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 191-203.
- (11) Grofman, Bernard N., and Jonathan Pool. 1977. How to make cooperation the optimizing strategy in a two-person game. Journal of Mathematical Sociology, 5(2):173-186.
- (12) Grofman, Bernard N. 1978. Judgmental competence of individuals and groups in a dichotomous choice situation. Journal of Mathematical Sociology, 6(1):47-60.
- (13) Grofman, Bernard N., and Howard Scarrow. 1979. Iannucci and its aftermath: The

application of the Banzhaf Criterion to weighted voting in the State of New York. In Steven Brams, Andrew Schotter and Gerhard Schwodiauer (Eds.), Applied Game Theory. Vienna: Physica-Verlag, 168-183.

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (14) Grofman, Bernard N. 1980. A preliminary model of jury decision making. In Gordon Tullock (Ed.), Frontiers of Economics, Vol. 3, 98-110.
- (15) Grofman, Bernard N. 1980. Jury decision-making models and the Supreme Court: The jury cases from Williams v. Florida to Ballew v. Georgia. Policy Studies Journal, 8(5):749-772.
- (16) Grofman, Bernard N. 1980. The slippery slope: Jury size and jury verdict requirements--legal and social science approaches. Law and Politics Quarterly, 2(3):285-304.
- (17) Grofman, Bernard N., and Howard Scarrow. 1980. Mathematics, social science and the law. In Michael J. Saks and Charles H. Baron (Eds.), The Use/Nonuse/Misuse of Applied Social Research in the Courts. Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates, 117-127.
- (18) Grofman, Bernard N. 1981. Mathematical models of juror and jury decision making: the state of the art. In Bruce D. Sales (Ed.), Perspectives in Law and Psychology, Volume II: The Trial Processes. NY: Plenum, 305-351.
- (19) Grofman, Bernard N. 1981. The theory of committees and elections: The legacy of Duncan Black. In Gordon Tullock (Ed.), Toward a Science of Politics: Essays in Honor of Duncan Black. Blacksburg, VA: Public Choice Center, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 11-57.
- (20) Weisberg, Herbert and Bernard N. Grofman. 1981. Candidate evaluations and turnout. American Politics Quarterly, 9(2):197-219.
- (21) Grofman, Bernard N. and Howard Scarrow. 1981. Weighted voting in New York. Legislative Studies Quarterly, 6(2):287-304.
- (22) Grofman, Bernard N. 1981. Alternatives to single-member plurality districts: Legal and empirical issues. Policy Studies Journal, 9(3): 875-898. (Reprinted in Bernard Grofman, Arend Lijphart, Robert McKay and Howard Scarrow (Eds.), Representation and Redistricting Issues. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1982, 107-128.
- (23) Taagepera, Rein and Bernard N. Grofman. 1981. Effective size and number of components. Sociological Methods and Research, 10:63-81.
- (24) Landa, Janet, and Bernard N. Grofman. 1981. Games of breach and the role of contract law in protecting the expectation interest. Research in Law and Economics Annual,

3:67-90.

- (25) Grofman, Bernard N. 1982. A dynamic model of proto-coalition formation in ideological n-space. Behavioral Science, 27:77-90.

PROFESSIONAL ARTICLES (in print) (cont.)

- (26) Grofman, Bernard N., Scott L. Feld, and Guillermo Owen. 1982. Evaluating the competence of experts, pooling individual judgements into a collective choice, and delegating decision responsibility to subgroups. In Felix Geyer and Hans van der Zouwen (Eds.), Dependence and Inequality. NY: Pergamon Press, 221-238.
- (27) Grofman, Bernard N. 1982. Reformers, politicians and the courts: A preliminary look at U.S. redistricting in the 1980s. Political Geography Quarterly, 1(4):303-316.
- (28) Grofman, Bernard N. and Howard Scarrow. 1982. Current issues in reapportionment. Law and Policy Quarterly, 4(4): 435-474.
- (29) Grofman, Bernard N. and Guillermo Owen. 1982. A game theoretic approach to measuring degree of centrality in social networks. Social Networks, 4:213-224.
- (30) Grofman, Bernard N., Guillermo Owen and Scott L. Feld. 1983. Thirteen theorems in search of the truth. Theory and Decision, 15:261-278.
- (31) Grofman, Bernard N. 1983. Measures of bias and proportionality in seats-votes relationships. Political Methodology, 9:295-327.
- (32) Grofman, Bernard N. and Janet Landa. 1983. The development of trading networks among spatially separated traders as a process of proto-coalition formation: the Kula trade. Social Networks, 5:347-365.
- (33) Owen, Guillermo and Bernard N. Grofman. 1984. Coalitions and power in political situations. In Manfred Holler (Ed.), Coalitions and Collective Action. Wuerzburg: Physica-Verlag, 137-143.
- (34) Grofman, Bernard N. 1984. The general irrelevance of the zero sum assumption in the legislative context. In Manfred Holler (Ed.), Coalitions and Collective Action. Wuerzburg: Physica-Verlag, 100-112.
- (35) Glazer, Amihai, Deborah Glazer, and Bernard N. Grofman. 1984. Voting in corporate elections: Introducing strategy into the equations. South Carolina Law Review, 35(2):295-309.
- (36) Feld, Scott L. and Bernard N. Grofman. 1984. The accuracy of group majority decisions in groups with added members. Public Choice, 42: 273-285.

- (37) Owen, Guillermo and Bernard N. Grofman. 1984. To vote or not to vote: The paradox of nonvoting. Public Choice, 42:311-325.
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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.
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- (T23) Declaration in *Pope et al. v. Blue et al.*, U.S. District Court, Western District, Charlotte, North Carolina Division, March 5, 1992.
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- (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.
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- (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.
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- (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) .

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- (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.
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- (B74) Grofman, Bernard, Thomas Brunell and William Koetzle. 1997. Death, where is thy sting? The Senate as a Ponce (de Leon) scheme. PS, 1:58-59. (Reprinted in Journal of Irreproducible Results, 1999, 44(5): 25-26
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- (B77) Grofman, Bernard. 1998. Rebuttal to Wuffle and Collet's supposedly irrefutable evidence that higher turnout benefits Republicans. Journal of Theoretical Politics 10(2):251-255
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- (B101) Fraenkel, Jonathan and Bernard Grofman. 2006. "The Failure of the Alternative Vote as a Tool for Promoting Ethnic Moderation in Fiji." Comparative Political Studies, 39(5): 663-666.
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- (B107) Grofman, Bernard, Shaun Bowler and Andre Blais. 2008. Guest Editors' Introduction to the Minisymposium on Runoff Elections. Electoral Studies, XXX-XXX.

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- (B108) Grofman, Bernard. 2010. Reflections on Prediction. In Sigelman et al. (Eds.), The Wit and Humor of Political Science. American Political Science Association, XXX-XXX
- (B109) Grofman, Bernard. 2010. Voter Advice in the Presidential Election of 2008: A Guide for the Perplexed. In Sigelman et al. (Eds.) The Wit and Humor of Political Science, APSA, XXX-XXX
- (B110) Editors' Introduction. 2011. In 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. Springer, XXX-XXX
- (B111) Editors' Introduction. 2011. In Dolez, Bernard, Bernard Grofman and Annie Laurent Eds.) In Situ and Laboratory Experiments on Electoral Law Reform: French Presidential Elections. Springer, XXX-XXX
- (B112) Editors' Introduction. 2011. In Sigelman, Lee, Kenneth Newton, Kenneth J. Meier, and Bernard Grofman (Eds.) The Wit and Humor of Political Science. American Political Science Association, XXX-XXX.
- (B113) Editors' Introduction. 2011. In Dolez, Bernard, Bernard Grofman and Annie Laurent (Eds.) Mini-symposium "The Legacy of Maurice Duverger" (translated into French). Revue internationale de politique comparée, 17(1): XXX-XXX.
- (B114) Grofman, Bernard, Craig Leonard Briens, and Kristine Coulter. 2012. Taking The Temperature: Implications for Adoption of Election Day Registration, State-

Level Voter Turnout, and Life Expectancy. PS: Political Science & Politics 45 (January): 78-82.

- (B115) Grofman, Bernard, Alex Trechsel and Mark Franklin. 2012. Editors' Introduction. In The Internet and Democracy: Voters, Parties, Interest Groups, and Social Movements. New York: Springer, XX-XX
- (B116) Grofman, Bernard. Forthcoming. Comment on Fiscal Coercion and Social Welfare in Federal Systems of Government. In Jorge Martinez-Vazquez and Stanley L. Winer (eds.) Coercion and Social Welfare in Contemporary Public Finance. New York: Springer, XXX-XXX.
- (B117) Grofman, Bernard, and Kristine Coulter. 2013. Is Political Science Meant for Every Tom, Dick or Harriet? First Names and Middle Initials as Predictors of Academic Success. PS: Political Science & Politics, XXX-XXX

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- (B118) Grofman, Bernard. 2014. Elections: Apportionment. In James Wright (Ed.), International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, 2nd Edition. New York: Elsevier. (An earlier version of this appeared in Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes (Eds.) 2001. International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, 598-601.)
- (B119) Grofman, Bernard. 2016. Gordon Tullock: My Memories of an Altruist who Denied Altruism. Bioeconomics. Xx-xx
- (B120) Grofman, Bernard. Book Review: Renwick and Pilet, 'Faces on the Ballot: The Personalization of Electoral Systems in Europe.' Party Politics. Xx-xx
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- (S1) Grofman, Bernard. 1971. Voting tactics: A neglected study, parts I, II. Parliamentary Journal, 12(3):3-15; 12(4):19-26.
- (S2) Grofman, Bernard and Howard Scarrow. 1977. Who knows the score on the board of supervisors? 1977. Opinion-Editorial Page, Newsday, March 6, 1977.
- (S3) Grofman, Bernard. 1979. My years as parliamentarian to the United States National Student Association. Parliamentary Journal, 20:18-21.
- (S4) Grofman, Bernard and Howard Scarrow. 1981. The riddle of apportionment: Equality of what? National Civic Review, 70(5):242-254.
- (S5) Grofman, Bernard. 1984. The Democratic Party is alive and well. Society, 18-21.
- (S6) Baker, Gordon E. and Bernard Grofman. 1986. Court should plunge deeper into gerrymandering thicket. Opinion-Editorial Page, Los Angeles Times, July 15.
- (S7) Baker, Gordon E. and Bernard Grofman. 1986. California's gerrymander and the U.S. Supreme Court. Opinion-Editorial Page, The Sacramento Bee, July 30.
- (S8) Grofman, Bernard. 1987. Should city councils be elected by district? PRO. Western Cities Magazine, 4:30-31.
- (S9) Baker, Gordon E. and Bernard Grofman. 1988. What now for gerrymandering? Opinion-Editorial Page, The San Diego Union, November 18.
- (S10) Loewen, James W. and Bernard Grofman. 1989. Comment: Recent developments in methods used in voting rights litigation. Urban Lawyer 21(3):589-604.
- (S11) Grofman, Bernard. 1991. Voting rights, voting wrongs: The legacy of Baker v. Carr. A report of the Twentieth Century Fund. New York: Priority Press (distributed through the Brookings Institution), 1991.
- (S12) Grofman, Bernard. 1991. Voting rights may be an issue in Santa Ana. Opinion-Editorial Page, Los Angeles Times (Orange County Edition), August 5.
- (S13) Grofman, Bernard. 1991. Race and redistricting: No one is using the Voting Rights Act to "whiten" majority districts. Opinion-Editorial Page, Washington Post, October 21.
- (S14) Grofman, Bernard. 1993. High court ruling won't doom racial gerrymandering. Opinion-Editorial Page, Chicago Tribune, July 9.

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- (S15) Grofman, Bernard. 1993. The Denny beating trial: justice in the balance. Opinion-Editorial Page, Chicago Tribune, November 3.
- (S16) Reynolds, Andrew S. and Bernard N. Grofman. 1994. Everyone loses in South Africa boycott. Opinion-Editorial Page, Chicago Tribune, March 28.
- (S17) Grofman, Bernard. 1994. An introduction to racial bloc voting analysis. With an annotated select bibliography on racial bloc voting and related topics. Atlanta, GA: Southern Regional Council.
- (S18) Grofman, Bernard. Supreme Court will examine partisan gerrymandering in 2017. *Monkey Cage*, Washington Post, January 30, 2017 (on-line)
- (S19) Bernard Grofman and German Feierherd. The U.S. could be free of gerrymandering. Here's how other countries do redistricting *Monkey Cage*, Washington Post, August 7, 2017 (on-line) https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/08/07/the-supreme-court-will-soon-consider-gerrymandering-heres-how-changes-in-redistricting-could-reduce-it/?utm_term=.bf54690edf73
- (S20) Bernard Grofman and Jonathan Cervas. Pennsylvania has to draw new congressional districts, but getting rid of gerrymandering will be harder than you think. *Monkey Cage*, Washington Post, February 9, 2018 (on-line) https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/02/09/now-pennsylvania-has-to-draw-new-house-districts-but-getting-rid-of-gerrymandering-is-harder-than-you-think/?utm_term=.2b64e8d8d1ad
- (S21) Bernard Grofman. This Might be the Way to Prove Partisan Gerrymandering according to the New Supreme Court Standard. *Monkey Cage*, Washington Post, July 9, 2018 (on-line) https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/07/09/this-might-be-the-way-to-prove-partisan-gerrymandering-according-to-the-new-supreme-court-standard/?utm_term=.4a1d509a5732

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- (O1) Chicago. In David Glazier (Ed.), Student Travel in America. New York: Pyramid Publication, 1968. (Under pseudonym.)
- (O2) Chicago: Hyde Park and the University of Chicago, the Loop and Near-North. In Where the Fun is: East of the Mississippi. NY: Simon and Schuster, 1969. (Under pseudonym.)

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>

(W6) Communication: Two Modest Proposals for the Wall with Mexico. Annals of In-Comparable Studies (annual on-line satirical journal), April 1, 2017. <http://www.incomparablestudies.com>

(W7) Communication: Great White Whale Milk Company. Annals of In-Comparable Studies (annual on-line satirical journal), April 1, 2018. <http://www.incomparablestudies.com>

(W7) Communication: Good Fences Make Good Neighbors (with Fritz Tailor). Annals of In-Comparable Studies (annual on-line satirical journal), April 1, 2019. <http://www.incomparablestudies.com>

(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 Missilac, 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.

OTHER CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION (cont.)

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.

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.)

- 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

OTHER REFEREEING (cont.)

- 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
 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.

OTHER PROFESSIONAL SERVICE (cont.)

- 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.
- 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 SUPERVISION

Completed 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 Arora
- 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.</i> denied | 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.</i> <u>Thornburg v. Gingles</u> , 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 | 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 |
| Senior consultant to the 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 | New York Congress; failure of legislature to act; minority voting rights. |
| Consultant to the Special 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 |

| Consultant to | Case Name | Type |
|---|---|---|
| <u>Three judge federal panel, 4th Circuit</u> | <u>Golden-Bethune Hill v. VA Board of Elections</u> , Case 3:14cv-852, District Court, Eastern District of Virginia, opinion filed February 13, 2019; 139 S. Ct. 481 (2018) | 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</u> , Case No.: 1:14-CV-42 (WLS), 2020 | 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 |
| <u>Single judge federal district court</u> | <i>Holloway v. City of Virginia Beach</i> CIV 2:18-cv-0069 (E.D. Virginia, Norfolk Division) | Service to the Court as Special Master to redraw 10 city council districts in the City of Virginia Beach 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.

NATHANIEL PERSILY

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559 Nathan Abbott Way
Stanford, CA 94305-8610*

Phone: [REDACTED]
Fax: [REDACTED]

Email: [REDACTED]
Web: <http://www.persily.com/>

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| STANFORD LAW SCHOOL | STANFORD, CA |
| JAMES B. MCCLATCHY PROFESSOR OF LAW | 2013 – present |

- *Courtesy Appointments:* Departments of Communication, Political Science, and Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies.
- *Courses:* The Law of Democracy; Regulation of the Political Process; Constitutional Law, First Amendment; Free Speech, Democracy and the Internet; Political Campaigning in the Internet Age; Contemporary Issues in Law and Politics; Policy Practicum on Campaign Finance.
- *Service:* Appointments Committee (Chair 2017-18); Careers in Teaching Committee; Workshops Chair; Co-PI for Stanford Project on Democracy and the Internet.
- *Significant Grants, Awards, and Fellowships:* Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (2017-2019); Andrew Carnegie Fellowship (2016-17); Stanford Cyber Initiative Grant (2016-17); Hewlett Foundation and Democracy Fund Grants for Campaign Finance Task Force (2016-17).

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

- *Courtesy Appointment:* Department of Political Science (2007– 2013).
- *Courses:* Constitutional Law; Advanced Constitutional Law: The Political Process; Freedom of Expression; Contemporary Issues in Law and Politics; Redistricting and Gerrymandering.
- *Service:* Lateral Appointments Committee Chair (2010-2012), Curriculum Committee Chair (2009-2010), Advisory Committee Chair (2008-2009), Intellectual Life Committee; Resources and Development Committee, Committee on Professional Development.
- *Center for Law and Politics:* Founding Director.
- *DrawCongress.org:* Founder.
- Instructor in University of Amsterdam Summer Program, July 2011.

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

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

VISITING PROFESSORSHIPS

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

OTHER WORK EXPERIENCE

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| SOCIAL SCIENCE ONE Co-Chair | April 2018 – Present |
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Established commission to facilitate access to Facebook data for worldwide coalition of social scientists – www.socialscience.one .

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

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

SPECIAL MASTER OR COURT-APPOINTED EXPERT

Redistricting of Pennsylvania
Congressional Districts Feb. 2018
Pittsburgh, PA

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

Special Master for Redistricting of North Carolina
State Legislative Districts Nov.-Dec. 2017
Greensboro, NC

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Redistricting of Maryland State
Legislative Districts June 2002
Annapolis, MD

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

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

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

REDISTRICTING CONSULTANT

Consultant to Redistricting Commission of Prince George's County 2011
Upper Marlboro, MD
Consultant to redistricting commission of Prince George's County, Maryland, concerning County Council Districts.

Consultant to the Chief Justice of Puerto Rico 2011
San Juan, PR
Consultant to Chief Justice Federico Hernández Denton during the process of redistricting of districts for the Senate and house of Representatives of Puerto Rico.

EXPERT WITNESS

California State Senate 2002-2003
Redistricting Litigation Sacramento, CA
Served as an expert to evaluate the 2002 California Senate and Congressional redistricting plans concerning those plans' compliance with state constitutional provisions requiring respect for political subdivisions and geographic regions.

OUTSIDE COUNSEL

Bethlehem Area Unified School District 2008
Bethlehem, PA
Consultant to school district in settlement concerning lawsuit alleging vote dilution in school district boundaries.

Miami-Dade County Attorneys Office 2002
Miami, Florida
Consultant to Miami-Dade County in litigation involving the 2000 redistricting process and challenges to the structure of local government.

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL

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

LAW CLERK

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

LEGAL EXTERN

The Honorable John T. Noonan June-August 1996
San Francisco, CA

U.S. Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit

GRADUATE STUDENT INSTRUCTOR &
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

Professor Nelson Polsby
Institute of Governmental Studies, U.C. Berkeley

1994-1995
Berkeley, CA

EDUCATION

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

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

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

- Recipient of the Edith Pence and Jacob Javits Scholarships.
- Thesis Title: *When Political Parties Go to Court*.
- Thesis Committee: Nelson Polsby, Bruce Cain, Raymond Wolfinger, Robert Post.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM, 1992-1993

Raoul Wallenberg & Rotary Foundation Scholar.

YALE UNIVERSITY, B.A. & M.A. in Political Science, 1992

Phi Beta Kappa, Magna Cum Laude, Distinction in the Major, Recipient of the Haas Prize, Richard Sewall Cup, and Frank M. Patterson Prize for the finest senior project in American Politics.

PUBLICATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Celebrating" the Tenth Anniversary of the 2000 Election Controversy: What the World Can Learn from the Recent History of Election Dysfunction in the United States, 44 INDIANA LAW REVIEW 85 (2010).

Measuring Election System Performance, 13 NYU JOURNAL OF LAW AND POLITICS 445 (2010) (with Stephen Ansolabehere).

Partisanship, Public Opinion, and Redistricting, in 9 ELECTION LAW JOURNAL 325 (2010); reprinted in RACE, REFORM, AND REGULATION OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS: RECURRING PUZZLES IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY (Heather Gerken, et al. eds.) (2011) (with Joshua Fougere and Stephen Ansolabehere).

Race, Region, and Vote Choice in the 2008 Election: Implications for the Future of the Voting Rights Act, 123 HARVARD LAW REVIEW 1385 (2010) (with Stephen Ansolabehere and Charles Stewart).

Court Decisions and Trends in Support for Same-Sex Marriage (with Patrick J. Egan), POLLING REPORT, Aug. 17, 2009.

Fig Leaves and Tea Leaves in the Supreme Court's Recent Election Law Decisions, 2008 SUPREME COURT REVIEW 89 (2009).

Defacing Democracy?: The Changing Nature and Rising Importance of As-Applied Challenges in the Supreme Court's Recent Election Law Decisions, 93 MINNESOTA LAW REVIEW 1644 (2009) (with Jennifer Rosenberg).

The Constitutional Relevance of Alleged Legislative Dysfunction, 117 YALE LAW JOURNAL POCKET PART 256 (2008).

Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder: The Role of Public Opinion in the Challenge to Voter Identification Requirements, 121 HARVARD LAW REVIEW 1737 (2008) (with Stephen Ansolabehere).

PUBLIC OPINION AND CONSTITUTIONAL CONTROVERSY (Oxford University Press, 2008) (edited with Jack Citrin & Patrick Egan).

Eat Dessert First, 5 THE FORUM (2007)

The Promise and Pitfalls of the New Voting Rights Act, 117 YALE LAW JOURNAL 174 (2007).

Political Questions and Political Cases: The Evolving Justifications for Judicial Involvement in Politics, in Nada Mourtada-Sabbah & Bruce E. Cain, THE POLITICAL QUESTION DOCTRINE AND THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES (Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).

Strict in Theory, Loopy in Fact, 105 MICHIGAN LAW REVIEW FIRST IMPRESSIONS 43 (2006).

The Place of Competition in American Election Law, in MICHAEL McDONALD & JOHN SAMPLES EDS., THE MARKETPLACE OF DEMOCRACY (Brookings Inst. Press 2006).

Options and Strategies for Renewal of the Section Five of the Voting Rights Act, in THE FUTURE OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT 255, 257 (David L. Epstein, et al. eds., 2006); reprinted and revised in, 49 HOWARD LAW JOURNAL 717 (2006).

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

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

When Judges Carve Democracies: A Primer on Court-Drawn Redistricting Plans, 73 GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 1131 (2005).

Regulating Democracy through Democracy: The Use of Direct Legislation in Election Law Reform, 78 SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW 997 (2005) (with Melissa Cully Anderson).

Perceptions of Corruption and Campaign Finance: When Public Opinion Determines Constitutional Law, 153 UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LAW REVIEW 119 (2004) (with Kelli Lammie).

Soft Parties and Strong Money, 3 ELECTION LAW JOURNAL 315 (2004).

Contested Concepts in Campaign Finance, 6 UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW 118 (2003).

The Search for Comprehensive Descriptions and Prescriptions in Election Law, 35 CONNECTICUT LAW REVIEW 1511 (2003).

Suing the Government in Hopes of Controlling It: The Evolving Justifications for Judicial Involvement in Politics, 5 UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW 607 (2003).

In Defense of Foxes Guarding Henhouses: The Case for Judicial Acquiescence to Incumbent-Protecting Gerrymanders, 115 HARVARD LAW REVIEW 593 (2002).

Soft Money and Slippery Slopes, 1 ELECTION LAW JOURNAL 401 (2002).

The Legal Implications of a Multiracial Census, in Joel Perlmann & Mary Waters, THE NEW RACE QUESTION (Russell Sage Press, 2002).

The Complicated Impact of One Person One Vote on Political Competition and Representation, 80 NORTH CAROLINA LAW REVIEW 1299 (2002) (with Thad Kousser & Patrick Egan).

The Blanket Primary in the Courts: The History and Precedent of California Democratic Party v. Jones, in VOTING AT THE POLITICAL FAULT LINE: CALIFORNIA'S EXPERIMENT WITH THE BLANKET PRIMARY (Bruce E. Cain & Elisabeth Gerber eds.) (University of California Press, 2002).

Candidates v. Parties: The Constitutional Constraints on Primary Ballot Access Laws, 88 GEORGETOWN LAW JOURNAL 2181 (2001).

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

The Right to Be Counted, 53 STANFORD LAW REVIEW 1077 (2001) (reviewing PETER SKERRY, COUNTING ON THE CENSUS? (2000)).

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONGRESSIONAL AND OTHER TESTIMONY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

U.S. SUPREME COURT AMICUS BRIEFS

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

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

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

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

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

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

BAR, EDITORIAL BOARD, AND PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS

- Member of the New York and United States Supreme Court Bars.
- Member, National Academy of Sciences Committee on *The Future of Voting*

- Editorial Board, *Election Law Journal* and *The Forum*.
- Social Science Research Council, Advisor to Anxieties of Democracy Project.
- American Law Institute, Member and Advisor, Principles of Election Law Project.
- American Political Science Association, Advisory Committee to Law and Political Process Study Group.
- Hewlett Foundation, Consultant and Academic Advisor.
- Advisory Committee, Electoral Institute, Veracruz, Mexico.

RECENT SPEECHES AND PAPER PRESENTATIONS

- *Does Disinformation Threaten Democracy?* National Constitution Center, Stanford, CA May 3, 2018.
- *Can Democracy Survive the Internet?*, 2 *Sigma*, New York, NY, May 1, 2018, Aspen Ideas Festival, Aspen, CO, June 27, 2017; Stanford in the Wild, Lake Tahoe, CA, Apr. 28, 2017; Wisconsin Law School Faculty Workshop, Madison Wisconsin, Apr. 26, 2017; Stanford Center, Florence, Italy, Apr. 18, 2017.
- *Report on Research of Campaign Finance Task Force*, National Institute on Money in State Politics, Bigfork, MT, June 3, 2017.
- *Redistricting and Representation in American Law*, Conference on “The Law and Lives of Democracies,” O.P. Jindal Global University, Delhi, India, Mar. 30, 2017.
- *Coming to Grips with the 2016 Election*
Indian Law Institute, Delhi, India, Oct. 26, 2016; Dean’s Advisory Council, Stanford Law School, Stanford, CA, Oct. 20, 2016; Stanford Los Angeles Alumni Event, Los Angeles, Oct. 13, 2016; Stanford Directors College, Stanford, CA, June 19, 2016; Stanford Alumni Event, Washington, DC, June 9, 2016.
- *The Costs and Benefits of the Right to Information*, Conference on Deliberative Democracy, O.P. Jindal Global University, Delhi, India, Oct. 24, 2016.
- *Voting Rights, Election Law, and the 2016 Campaign*
Public Interest Law Lunch, Stanford, CA, Oct. 20, 2016; Stanford Alumni Weekend, Stanford, CA, Oct. 21, 2016; San Francisco Legal Aid Society, San Francisco, CA, July 12, 2016.
- *The Campaign Revolution Will Not Be Televised*
UCLA Law School Faculty Workshop, Oct. 14, 2016; Public Policy Lecture, Reed College, Sept. 26, 2016; Board of Overseers, Stanford Law School, Stanford, CA, April 15, 2016; Ohio State Law School, Nov. 20, 2015; The Central Valley Foundation/James B. McClatchy Lecture on the First Amendment, U.C. Davis Law School, Oct. 29, 2015; Constitutional Conversation, Stanford Law School, Oct. 27, 2015; Berkeley Law School Public Law Workshop & Institute of Governmental Studies Harris Seminar, Berkeley, CA, Sept. 29, 2015; Conference on Online Political Advertising, Bipartisan Policy Center, Stanford Law School, Sept. 18, 2015; Stanford Law School Faculty Workshop, August 12, 2015.
- *Roundtable of Campaign Finance*, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, Sept. 3, 2016.
- *Anxieties of Democracy*, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, Sept. 1, 2016.
- *Redistricting Law After Evenwel v. Abbott*, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, Sept. 3, 2016.

- *Does Democracy Need to Be Fixed?*, Penn Law School Symposium on “Is Government Broken?”, Phil., PA, March 24, 2016.
- *Solutions to Political Polarization*
Southern California Law and Social Sciences Forum Keynote, San Diego, CA, Mar. 18, 2016; Democracy Studies Event, Ohio State University, Moritz College of Law, Columbus, OH, March 12, 2015; Columbia Law School Faculty Workshop, New York, NY, Nov. 6, 2014; University of Melbourne Law School Legal Studies Workshop, Melbourne, Australia, Aug. 7, 2014; University of New South Wales Law School Faculty Workshop, Sydney, Australia, August 4, 2014; Stanford Law School Faculty Workshop, Stanford, CA, July 16, 2014; SSRC Presents – Anxieties of Democracy: Why Is America So Polarized?, Roosevelt House, New York, NY, Feb. 18, 2014.
- *Contemporary Controversies in the American Law of Democracy*, Conference on Democracy and Its Discontents, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, Oct. 9, 2015.
- *The Law of the 2012 Election*, Stanford Alumni Dean’s Circle Event, Newseum, Washington, DC, Nov. 13, 2014.
- *Caught Between the Rock of the Constitution and the Hard Place of the Voting Rights Act*, University of Chicago Legal Forum Symposium, Chicago, IL, Nov. 7, 2014.
- *Testing Shaw v. Reno: Do Majority-Minority Districts Cause Expressive Harms?*, Symposium on Empirical Studies of Constitutional Law, University of Chicago Law School, Oct. 23, 2014.
- *Political Parties and Campaign Finance*, Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington, DC, Oct. 16, 2014.
- *Redistricting Reform: People, Principles and Processes*, Ohio State University, Apr. 18, 2014.
- *The American Voting Experience: Report of the Presidential Commission on Election Administration*
Australian Election Network, University of Melbourne, Aug. 6, 2014.
Stanford Law School Faculty Workshop, Feb. 19, 2014
National Association of State Election Directors, San Francisco, CA, Aug. 22, 2014.
George Washington Law School, Jan. 22, 2014.
- *Evaluating Redistricting Reforms*, Bauman Foundation, Washington, DC, Dec. 9, 2013.
- *The Law of the 2012 Election*, Columbia Alumni Clubs of Sarasota and Tampa, Apr. 4-5, 2012.
- *The Law of Democracy in American Constitutional Law*, Dean Alfange Jr. Distinguished Lecture, U. Mass Amherst, Amherst, MA, Mar. 26, 2012
- *Politics as Bloodsport: Redistricting Controversies Past and Present*, Columbia Law Washington Program and Alumni Presentation, Washington, DC, Feb. 29, 2012.
- *The Law of Redistricting*, CSPAN: American History TV, Columbia Law School, Feb. 27, 2012.
- *Citizens United, the Media, and the Medium*, Stanford Department of Communications, Stanford, CA, Feb. 23, 2012.
- *Drawing Lines in Shifting Sands*, *Stanford Law and Policy Review* Symposium, Stanford, CA, Jan. 28, 2012.
- *Judges and Redistricting*, *Yale Law and Policy Review* Symposium, Yale Law School, New Haven, CT, Oct. 22, 2011.
- *Redistricting New York 2012: Issues and Controversies*, The Center for Electoral Politics and Democracy at Fordham University, New York, NY, Oct. 5, 2011.
- *Bush v Gore, 10 Years Later: Election Administration in the United States*, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine, Cal Tech/MIT Voting Technology Project, Laguna Beach, CA, April 16-17, 2011.

- *Race, Party and Community Representation in the Redistricting Process*, Yale Law School, New Haven, CT, Feb. 25, 2011.
- *The Causes of Party Polarization in Congress*, HARVARD JOURNAL OF LEGISLATION Symposium, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, Feb. 24, 2011.
- *Politics and the Roberts Court*, EMORY LAW JOURNAL Thrower Symposium, Emory Law School, Atlanta, GA, Feb. 10, 2011.
- *The 2010 Census and Election*, Columbia Law School Federalist Society, Feb 9, 2011.
- *The Shifting Sands of Redistricting Law: Unanswered Questions for the 2010 Cycle*, National Conference of State Legislatures, National Harbor, MD, Jan 23, 2011.
- *The Constitutional Politics of the Tea Party Movement*, Association of American Law Schools Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA, Jan. 6, 2011.
- *Profiling Originalism*, Law, Economics, and Organization Workshop, Yale Law School, New Haven, CT, Dec. 9, 2010; University of Chicago Law School Faculty Workshop, Chicago, IL, Nov. 11, 2010; George Washington University Law School Faculty Workshop, Washington, DC, Sept. 21, 2010.
- *The Tenth Anniversary of Bush v. Gore*, Columbia Law School Alumni Breakfast Series, Greenberg Traurig, New York, NY, Dec. 2, 2010.
- *Bush v. Gore: A Decade Later*, ST. THOMAS LAW REVIEW Symposium, Miami, FL, Nov. 12-13, 2010.
- *Redistricting 2011: Decisions of a Decade*, Council of State Governments Intergovernmental Affairs Committee, Providence, RI, Dec. 5, 2010.
- *Expert Witnesses in Redistricting*, NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Airlie Conference Center, Warrenton, VA Oct. 9, 2010.
- *Citizens United*, UNC First Amendment Law Review, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC, Oct. 8, 2010.
- *Redistricting Cases Since the Last Census*, National Conference of State Legislatures, Redistricting Task Force, Providence, RI, Sept. 26, 2010.
- *American Law Institute Conference on Election Law*, Philadelphia, PA, June 10, 2010.
- *“United We Stand, United We Fall?”*, Panel Discussion on Citizens’ United v. FEC, Stanford Law School Alumni Event, Waldorf Astoria, May 4, 2010.
- *Voting and Democratic Participation*, Conference on “Acknowledging Race in a ‘Post-Racial’ Era,” Cardozo Law School, New York, NY. Apr. 30, 2010.
- *The Law of Democracy in the Age of Obama and Roberts*, Columbia Law Alumni Association, Ropes and Gray, LLP, Boston, MA, April 13, 2010.
- *The Law of the Census*, Indiana Law Review Conference on the Law of Democracy, Indiana Law School, Indianapolis, IN, April 9, 2010.
- *A Closer Look at Key Decisions Since 2000*, National Conference of State Legislatures Redistricting Task Force, Austin, TX, Mar. 26, 2010.
- *Race and the Law in the Age of Obama and Roberts*, 2010 Edward Brodsky Legal Conference, Anti Defamation League, New York Times Building, March 4, 2010 (moderator).
- *Taking Politics as Markets (Too) Seriously, The Past Present and Future of Election Law: A Symposium Honoring the Work of Daniel Lowenstein*, UCLA Law School, Los Angeles, CA, Jan. 29, 2010.
- *The Redistricting Experience – Tales from the Field*, Redistricting Reform & Voting Rights - Identifying Common Ground and Challenges, Warren Institute, UCDC, Washington, DC, Nov. 10, 2010.
- *“Democracia Electoral, Hacia Una Nueva Agenda,”* Electoral Institute of Veracruz, Veracruz, Mexico, October 15-16, 2009.

- *Election Law in the Age of Obama and Roberts*, Stone Agers Luncheon, St. Regis Hotel, New York, NY, Sept. 30, 2009.
- *Race, Region and Vote Choice in the 2008 Election*, The Ohio State Moritz College of Law Faculty Workshop, Columbus, OH, Sept. 23, 2009.
- *Originalism in the American Mind*, James Goold Cutler Lecture, William and Mary Law School, Williamsburg, VA, Sept. 17, 2009.
- *Gay Marriage, the Courts and Direct Democracy*, Roundtable at American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, Canada, Sept. 4, 2009.
- *Reflections on the Supreme Court's Recent Voting Rights Cases*, New America Foundation, Washington, DC, June 30, 2009
- *New Developments in the Meaning of the Voting Rights Act*, National Conference of State Legislatures Redistricting Task Force, San Francisco, CA, June 14, 2009.
- *Voter Registration Reform*, AEI-Brookings Election Reform Project, Washington, DC, June 2, 2009.
- *The Meaning of the Voting Rights Act in the Age of Obama*, Stanford Law School Faculty Workshop, Stanford, CA, Mar. 18, 2009.
- *Election 2008: Looking Back and Moving Forward*, American Friends of the Hebrew University, New York, NY, Mar. 17, 2009; Columbia Law Alumni and Admittee Event, Washington, DC Mar. 17, 2009.
- *Election Administration Issues in the 2008 Election*, Tobin Project/ALI Elections Scholarship Conference, Duke Law School, Durham, NC, Feb. 27, 2009.
- *The Associational Rights of Political Parties: Recent Cases and Reform Efforts*, New York Bar Association, Election Law Committee, New York, NY, March 26, 2009.
- *Fig Leaves and Tea Leaves in the Supreme Court's Recent Election Law Decisions*, University of Miami Law Review Symposium, Miami, FL, Jan. 4, 2009; University of Minnesota Law School Public Law Workshop, Minneapolis, MN, Jan. 6, 2009.
- *Redistricting War Stories*, American Mathematics Society, Washington, DC, Jan. 8, 2009.
- *Everything You Ever Wanted to Know About Election Law*, Ezra Stiles College Master's Tea and Fellows Dinner, Yale University, New Haven CT, Oct. 30, 2008.
- *Litigation in the 2008 Election*, New York State Bar Association Committee on Minorities in the Profession, New York, NY, Oct. 28, 2008.
- *The Crawford Decision and the Future of Voter Identification*, University of Maryland, Baltimore, MD, Oct. 16, 2008.
- *Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process*, Stanford Law School, Stanford, CA, Oct. 3, 2008.
- *Defacing Democracy: The Rising Importance and Salience of As-Applied Challenges in the Roberts Court*, Rutgers-Camden Law School, Camden, NJ, Sept., 22, 2008; Minnesota Law School, Minneapolis, MN, Oct. 17, 2008.
- *The Law and Politics of the 2008 Election*, Columbia Alumni Association of the District of Columbia, Washington, DC, Oct. 15, 2008; New York Alumni Event, New York, NY, Oct. 7, 2008.
- *Litigating the 2008 Election*, Connecticut Bar Association, District of Connecticut Bench-Bar Conference, Sept. 19, 2009.
- *Improving our Elections: Future Research and Reform*, Carnegie Foundation, New York, NY, Sept. 18, 2008.
- *Legal Issues in the 2008 Election*, Cardozo Law School, Mar. 26, 2008.
- *Voting Rights, Voter Fraud and Election Administration*, Harvard Journal on Legislation conference on "Voices on Voting: Election Law in 2008," Cambridge, MA, Mar. 6, 2008.

- *Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder*, Columbia Law School, Feb. 26, 2008; University of Chicago Law School, Mar. 4, 2008.
- *The New Voting Rights Act*, Journal of Law and Politics, University of Virginia Law School, Charlottesville, VA, Feb. 23, 2008.
- *Redistricting in Democratic Theory*, Byron White Center Symposium on Reapportioning Colorado, Old Supreme Court Chambers, Colorado State Capitol, Denver, CO, Jan. 25, 2008.
- Preview of the 2008 Election Campaign, Election Law Society, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, Oct. 10, 2007; Columbia Law School Alumni Association, Nov. 8, 2007.
- Preliminary Results from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Survey (with Stephen Ansolabehere), Stanford Law School, Stanford, CA Apr. 6, 2007.
- *The Implications of the 2003 Texas Redistricting Controversy*, Symposium on *Lines in the Sand*, University of Texas Law School, Austin, TX, March 2, 2007.
- *Public Opinion and Constitutional Controversy*, Symposium on Positive Approaches to Constitutional Law and Theory, University of Pennsylvania Law School, Philadelphia, PA, Feb. 24, 2007.
- *The Implications of the 2006 Elections for Legal Debates over Partisan Gerrymandering*, NYU Annals of American Law Conference, New York University Law School, New York, NY, Feb. 23, 2007.
- *The Promises and Pitfalls of the New Voting Rights Act*, Faculty Workshop, Columbia Law School, New York, NY, Jan. 11, 2007; USC Center on Law and Politics, Los Angeles, CA, Apr. 10, 2007; Northwestern Law School, Chicago, IL, Apr. 17, 2007; Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, Oct. 4, 2007.
- *Nonpartisanship, Competition and Minority Voting Rights*, UNC Center for Civil Rights, Chapel Hill, NC, Feb. 3, 2006; Humphrey Inst., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, Apr. 25, 2006.
- *The Constitutionality of the Voting Rights Act*, Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Washington, DC, Mar. 9, 2006.
- *The Place of Competition in American Election Law*, Cato Institute, Washington, DC, Mar. 9, 2006.
- *Public Funding of Election Campaigns: Options for Reform and Questions for Research*, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI, Jan. 28, 2006.
- *Gay Marriage, Public Opinion and the Courts*, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Sept. 1, 2005; Emory Law School Faculty Workshop, Sept. 21, 2005; University of Michigan Law School Faculty Workshop, Nov. 16, 2005; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jan. 2, 2006; Bar Ilan Law School, Jan. 3, 2006; Tel Aviv Law School, Jan. 5, 2006; Williams Institute at UCLA Law School, Feb. 24, 2006, Stanford Law School Faculty Workshop, March 22, 2006; Columbia Law School Faculty Workshop, June 13, 2006; Northwestern Law School, April 17, 2007.
- *Options and Strategies for Renewal of Section Five of the Voting Rights Act*, Conference on “Lessons From the Past, Prospects for the Future: Honoring the 40th Anniversary of the Voting Rights Act of 1965,” Yale University, April 23, 2005; Russell Sage Foundation, New York, NY, June 24, 2006; Howard Law School, Branton Symposium, Oct. 28, 2005.
- *New Politics*, Conference on “The Constitution in 2020,” American Constitution Society, Yale Law School, Apr. 9, 2005.
- *Constitutional Issues in the Terry Schiavo Case*, Penn Law School, Mar. 29, 2005.
- *Regulating Democracy Through Democracy*, Conference on “The Impact of Direct Democracy,” Initiative and Referendum Institute, U.C. Irvine, Irvine, CA, Jan. 15, 2005.
- *Conflicts of Interest in Comparative Perspective*, University of Trento, Trento, Italy, Sept. 17, 2004.

- *Partisan Gerrymandering after Vieth v. Jubelirer and The Constitutionality of Counting the Overseas Population*, National Conference of State Legislatures, Salt Lake City, UT, July 20-21, 2004.
- *Money, Elections and Political Equality: Campaign Finance After McConnell*, American Constitution Society, Washington, DC, June 19, 2004.
- *Homeland Security and Civil Liberties*, Joint Conference Sponsored by U.S. Army War College and Penn Law School, June 18, 2004 (conference organizer).
- *Understanding McConnell v. FEC*, Program in Law and Public Affairs, Princeton University, May 27, 2004.
- *Redistricting Georgia*, Ad Hoc Workshop, Penn Law School, April 22, 2004.
- *Forty Years in the Political Thicket: Evaluating Judicial Oversight of Redistricting Since Baker v. Carr*, The Brookings Institution, Apr. 16, 2004.
- *American Election Law*, The Moscow School for Political Studies, National Constitution Center, March 26, 2004.
- *The Constitutional Law of American Elections*, Fels School of Government, University of Pennsylvania, March 11, 2004.
- *American Election Law*, Penn Law Board of Overseers, Penn Club of New York, March 12, 2004.
- *The Law of the Census: How to Count, What to Count, Whom to Count, and Where to Count Them*, U.S. Census Bureau, March 4, 2004.
- *Perceptions of Corruption and Campaign Finance*, Southwestern Law School, Feb. 23, 2004; American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, Sept. 3, 2004, Boalt Hall School of Law, Berkeley, CA, Sept. 7, 2004, Seton Hall Law School, Oct. 29, 2004, NYU Law School, Nov. 15, 2004.
- *The Law of Democracy*, Conference Organizer and Panelist, Penn Law Review, Feb. 6-7, 2004.
- *Redistricting Controversies*, Dianne Rehm Show, National Public Radio, Dec. 4, 2003.
- *Judging in the Current Era*, American Constitution Society, Penn Law School, Nov. 18, 2003 (moderated panel of four federal judges).
- *Panel on Appointment of Federal Judges*, Penn Law Public Interest Program, Oct. 29, 2003.
- *Recent Supreme Court Decisions*, Chestnut Hill Academy, Sept. 2003.
- *McConnell v. FEC: Understanding the Decision and Its Implications*, Penn Law, May 15, 2003 (conference organizer and speaker).
- *The Law and Technology of the Redistricting Process*, Columbia Law School, Feb. 6, 2003; NYU School of Law, Sept. 30, 2002.
- *The Effect of the BCRA on State Political Parties*, National Conference of State Legislatures, Washington, DC, Dec. 12, 2002.
- *American Election Law*, Speech to visiting election officials from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Sponsored by the Carter Center, National Committee on U.S. Chinese Relations, Women's Campaign International. Fels School of Government, Nov. 3, 2002.
- *In Defense of Foxes Guarding Henhouses: The Case for Judicial Acquiescence to Incumbent-Protecting Gerrymanders*, National Conference of State Legislatures (Washington, DC, Dec. 12, 2002); University of Miami Law School, (Oct. 25, 2002); University of Pennsylvania Department of Political Science (Oct. 10, 2002); Rutgers-Camden Law School (Sept. 9, 2002); University of Pennsylvania Law School (Aug. 15, 2002).
- *Parties, Money and Corruption*, "The Funding of Political Parties Workshop," Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, University of London, July 5-6, 2002.
- *Redistricting New York*, University of Pennsylvania Law School Ad Hoc workshop, Summer 2002.

- *The Law and Technology of the 2000 Redistricting Process*, Harvard Law School, Apr. 22, 2002.
- *Strategies for Election Reform and their Legal Consequences*, Georgetown Journal on Poverty Law and Policy, Georgetown University Law Center, Feb. 25, 2002.
- *The Political Impact of One Person, One Vote*, Symposium on Baker v. Carr, University of North Carolina Law School, Chapel Hill, NC, Nov. 2-4, 2001.
- *Understanding and Complying with Bush v. Gore*, Election Law Task Force of the National Conference of State Legislatures, National Press Club, May 9, 2001.
- *Multiraciality and the 2000 Census*, Brennan Center at NYU Law School, May 4, 2001.
- *Latino Representation and the 2000 Redistricting Process*, National Meeting of the Latino Law Students Association, Columbia Law School, Mar. 2, 2001.
- *The Law, Politics, and Technology of the 2000 Redistricting Process*, Eagleton Institute of Public Affairs, Rutgers University, Dec. 18, 2000.
- *The Legal Regulation of Party Primaries*, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, Sept. 1, 2000.

Selected Media Appearances and Interviews

- *Television*: NBC, ABC, CBS, CNN, MSNBC, FoxNews, Bloomberg, CNNfn.
- *Radio*: NPR, CBS Radio, ABC Radio, BBC Radio, Voice of America.
- *Newspapers and Wire Services*: New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Los Angeles Times, San Francisco Chronicle, Philadelphia Inquirer, Washington Times, Houston Chronicle, Christian Science Monitor, Dallas Morning News, Miami Herald, Atlanta Journal Constitution, Detroit Free Press, Baltimore Sun, the Guardian, McClatchy, Knight Ridder, Gannett, Associated Press, United Press International.
- *Other periodicals*: The New Yorker, The New Republic, Congressional Quarterly, Roll Call.

Curriculum Vitae
BRUCE EDWARD CAIN

Personal:

Date and Place of Birth

[REDACTED]

Home Addresses

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Work Address

Bill Lane Center for the American West
Jerry Yang & Akiko Yamazaki
Environment & Energy Building
473 Via Ortega, First Floor
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305-4225

Office Telephone

[REDACTED]

Education:

B.A.

Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, 1970

B.Phil.

Oxford University, Oxford, England, 1972

Ph.D.

Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1976

Honors and Awards:

Summa Cum Laude with High Honors in History, Bowdoin College, 1970

Rhodes Scholar, Trinity College, Oxford, England, 1970-1972

Richard F. Fenno Prize, 1988 (co-winner with J.A. Ferejohn and M. Fiorina)

ASCIT Award for Excellence in Teaching, Caltech 1988

Elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2000

Zale Award for Outstanding Achievement in Policy Research and Public Service,
Stanford University, 2000

Distinguished Research Mentoring of Undergraduates Award, College of Letters and
Science, University of California, Berkeley, 2003

The American Political Science Association and Pi Sigma Alpha (The National
Political Science Honor Society), award for outstanding teaching in Political
Science, 2000

Public Policy Section, APSA—Excellence in Mentoring Award Citation (Graduate Students), 2018

Roland Volunteer Service Prize, Stanford University, 2019

Dean's Award for Distinguished Teaching in the Humanities and Social Sciences, Stanford, 2018-19

Julian J. Rothbaum Distinguished Lecturer in Representative Government, University of Oklahoma, October, 2019

Academic Experience:

The Spencer F. and Cleone P. Eccles Family Director, Bill Lane Center for the American West, Stanford University, 2013-present

Charles Louis Ducommun Professor in the Humanities and Sciences, Stanford University, 2012-present

Senior Fellow, Stanford Woods Institute for the Environment, 2014-

Senior Fellow, Stanford Precourt Institute for Energy, 2018-

Senior Fellow, Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research, 2018-

Fellow, Straus Institute for the Advanced Study of Law and Justice, 2012-13

Heller Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, 2006-2012

Executive Director, UC, Washington Center, 2005-2012

Director, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, California, July, 1999-2007

Acting Director, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, California, 1997-98

Robson Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, California, 1995-2006

Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, California, 1989-2012

Associate Director, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, California, 1989-99

Visiting Professor, University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California, Fall, 1987

Professor of Political Science, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, California, 1986-1989

Associate Professor of Political Science, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, California, 1983-1986

Assistant Professor of Political Science, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, California, 1976-1982

Government, Media and Consulting Experience:

Expert Witness, *Pasadena at-large election case*, 1980; *Badham v. Eu*, 1984; *Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, CLC et al. v. FPCC*, 1990; *City of New York et al. v. U.S. Department of Commerce*, 1992; *Smith v. Regents of the University of California et al.*, 1995; *California Democratic Party v. Bill Jones*, 1997; *California Pro-Life Council, Inc. v. Karen Getman et al. and Bill Lockyer*, 2004; *New York State Board of Elections: Neil W. Kelleher, Carol Berman*,

Helena Moses Donohue, and Evelyn J. Aquila, 2004; Fletcher v Lamone 2012; In the Matter of the 2012 Legislative Redistricting of the State 2012; Harris v Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission, 2012, Peter Lee et al v the City of LA, 2014

Special Consultant, California Assembly Special Committee on Reapportionment, January-December, 1981 (while on leave); Consultant, part time, 1982
Member, Academic Task Force for Southwest Voter Registration Drive, 1983
Election Commentator, KFWB, 1984; KCBS, 1989, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000; KTVU, 1990, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006; KQED, 1992, KGO-TV 2008, 2010
Consultant, *Los Angeles Times*, 1986-1988
Redistricting Consultant, Los Angeles City Council, 1986; Attorney General of the State of Massachusetts, 1987-88; U.S. Justice Department, 1989; Los Angeles County, 1991; Oakland City Council, 1993; San Diego Citizens Commission on Redistricting, 2001; City and County of San Francisco, 2002; Special Master for three judge panel, Arizona State Legislative Redistricting, 2002; Maryland Attorney General's Office, 2011
Polling Consultant, Fairbank, Canapary and Maullin, 1985-86
Member, Contra Costa Charter Commission, 1997-98
Political Analyst, Mornings on Two, KTVU, 1998-2006, KGO-TV 2007-2013
Advisor, American Law Institute (ALI) Project on Resolution of Election Disputes 2011-12
Monthly Columnist, *The American Interest*, 2017-2020

Courses Taught:

Introduction to American Politics (undergraduate)
Congress (undergraduate and graduate)
American Electoral process (undergraduate and graduate)
Justice and Obligation (undergraduate)
Democratic Theory (undergraduate)
California Politics (undergraduate)
Campaign and Elections (undergraduate)
Ethics and Politics (undergraduate)
Political Regulation (undergraduate and graduate)
Energy and Water/Land Management Sophomore College Classes
Political Analysis for Public Policy (undergraduate and graduate)
Environmental Governance (graduate)
The American West (undergraduate)

Professional Activities/Memberships:

Member, APSA 1976-present
Member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences 2000-present
Member, AFTRA 1996-2013
Editorial Board, American Journal of Political Science, 1985
Editorial Board, Legislative Studies Quarterly, 1989-1991
Editorial Board, Election Law Journal 2005-present

Editorial Board, American Politics Research, 2006-2012
SSRC Climate Change Working Group, 2017-2019

University Service:

• **Caltech**

Upperclass Admissions Committee, 1977-78
Undergraduate Academic Standards and Honors Committee, 1979-1983
Health Committee, 1979-1985; Chairman, 1980-1985
Athletics Committee, 1982-1989; Chairman, 1985-1989
Faculty Board, 1983-1986
Steering Committee, 1984-1986
Nominating Committee, 1984; Chairman, 1985
Accreditation Committee, 1984
Advisory Committee on SURF Fellowships, 1984-1989
Freshman Admissions, 1985; Vice Chairman, 1986-87
Ad Hoc Committee on Admissions Procedures, Chairman, 1985
Faculty Advisory Committee for Selection of Caltech President, 1986-87
Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee, 1986-87
Vice Chairman of the Faculty Board, 1987-1989
Administrative Committee on Affirmative Action, Chairman, 1988-89
Freshman Advisor, 1978-1989
SURF Advisor, 1980, 1984, 1986-1988

• **University of California at Berkeley**

Academic Freedom Committee, 1990; Chairman, 1991
Committee on Academic Planning and Resource Allocation, 1992; Chairman, 1993-1995
Resource Generation Working Group, 1992-93
Academic Planning Board, 1993-1995
Business and Administration Services Working Group, Co-Chairman, 1993-1995
Economics Review Panel, Chairman, 1993
U.C. Press Editorial Board, 1996-1998
U.C.T.V., 2007-2011

• **Stanford University**

Executive Committee, Public Policy Program 2013-
Faculty Steering Committee Member, Haas Center for Public Service 2013-
Faculty Advisory Committee, American Studies 2016-
Faculty Senate 2019-
Chair, Rhodes-Marshall Selection Committee, 2019-
Committee on Committees--2020

General Areas Of Interest:

Fields: American Politics; Democratic Theory; State and Local Government

Topics: Representation in Anglo-American systems; electoral institutions, legislatures, and parties; normative issues related to representation, political reform and regulation

Grants Awarded:

National Science Foundation, *Voting Behavior in Contemporary Legislative Elections* (with John A. Ferejohn and Morris P. Fiorina), July, 1978, to July, 1980.

National Science Foundation, *Voting Behavior in Contemporary Legislative Elections* (with John A. Ferejohn and Morris P. Fiorina), August, 1980, to August, 1982.

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