

EXHIBIT 2

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

1. My name is Maxwell Palmer. I am currently an Associate Professor of Political Science at Boston University. I previously submitted a report in this case on December 12, 2021, and that report sets forth my qualifications in detail. A copy of my most recent curriculum vitae is attached as Exhibit A.
2. I testified in this matter in the January 2022 preliminary injunction proceedings. I was accepted by the Court as an expert in redistricting and data analysis. The Court found me to be a credible expert witness and credited my testimony on racially polarized voting and performance.
3. In my original report in this matter, I found strong evidence of racially polarized voting across the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 6th, and 7th Congressional Districts under the 2021 redistricting map. I found that Black and White voters consistently support different candidates and that Black-preferred candidates were largely unable to win elections except in the 7th District. I also found that across six illustrative maps drawn with two majority-minority districts, Black-preferred candidates would be able to win elections in both majority-minority districts.
4. I was asked by the Caster Plaintiffs in this litigation to update my 2021 analysis with the results of the 2022 general election and to evaluate the performance of the remedial map passed by the Alabama State Legislature on July 21, 2023. I will refer to this map as the Senate Bill 5 Plan or SB 5 Plan. Unless otherwise specified, all references to particular districts refer to the SB 5 Plan.
5. For the purpose of my analysis, I examined elections in the 2nd and 7th Congressional Districts under the SB 5 Plan.
6. The 2nd District consists of Barbour, Bullock, Butler, Coffee, Crenshaw, Dale, Geneva, Henry, Houston, Lowndes, Macon, Montgomery, Pike, and Russell Counties and parts of Covington and Elmore Counties. The district is 39.93% Black by population, and 39.93% Black using any-part Black VAP.
7. The 7th District consists of Choctaw, Clarke, Conecuh, Dallas, Greene, Hale, Marengo, Monroe, Perry, Pickens, Sumter, Washington, and Wilcox Counties and parts of Jefferson and Tuscaloosa Counties. The district is 51.32% Black by population, and 50.65% Black using any-part Black VAP.

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

Racially Polarized Voting Analysis

9. In my original report I analyzed racially polarized voting using precinct-level election results and population data for the 2016, 2018, and 2020 general elections, and the 2017 special election for U.S. Senate. I used a statistical procedure, ecological inference (EI), to estimate the preferences of Black, White, and Other voters for each candidate. Below, I replicate this analysis using the SB 5 Plan boundaries for the 2nd and 7th Districts.¹
10. Figure 1 and Tables 1–2 present the ecological inference results. The estimated levels of support for the Black-preferred candidate in each election for each group are represented by the points, and the horizontal lines indicate the range of the 95% confidence intervals.
11. Examining Figure 1, the estimates for support for Black-preferred candidates by Black voters in both districts are all significantly above 50%. Black voters in both districts are extremely cohesive, with a clear candidate of choice in all 12 elections. On average, Black voters supported their candidates of choice with 93.0% of the vote in the 2nd District, and 93.0% in the 7th District.
12. Figure 1 also shows that White voters are highly cohesive in voting in opposition to the Black candidate of choice in every election in both districts. On average, White voters supported Black-preferred candidates with 9.7% of the vote in the 2nd District, and 23.2% in the 7th District.
13. Precinct-level election and population data is not available for the 2022 general elections.² Consequently, I used county-level data to analyze racially polarized voting in this election.³ I followed the same methodology as I used for the county-level analysis in my original report.
14. Figure 2 and Table 3 present the results of this analysis for all of the counties in the state and then the counties that are part of the 2nd District or the 7th District under

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

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

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

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

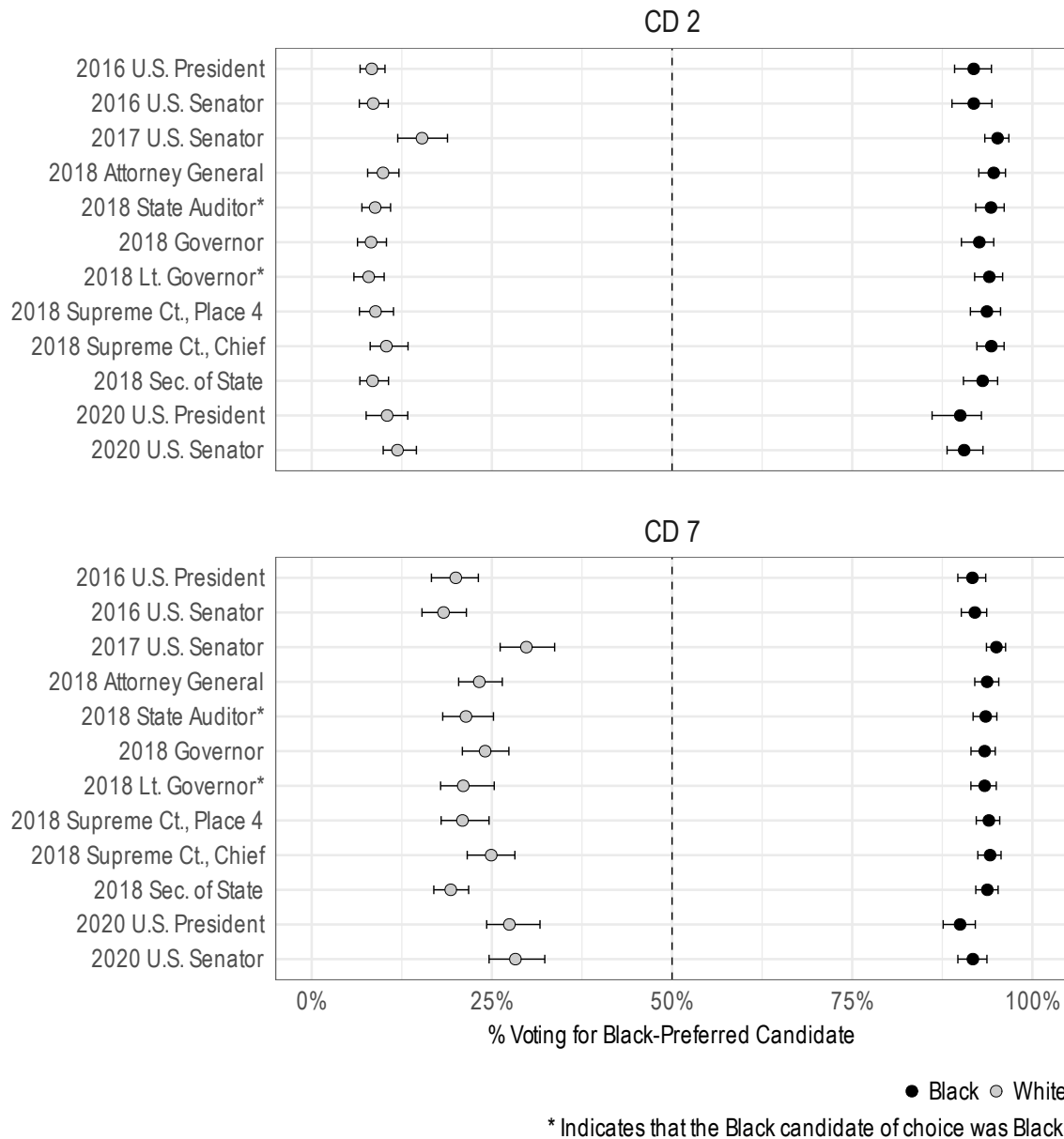


Figure 1: Racially Polarized Voting Estimates for 2016–2020 — Precinct-Level Analysis

⁴The confidence intervals in this analysis are substantially wider than those calculated in the previous analysis. This is due to the use of counties rather than precincts. There are only 67 counties statewide, 16 counties in the 2nd District, and 15 counties in the 7th District. Due to the smaller number of observations, the estimates are less precise.

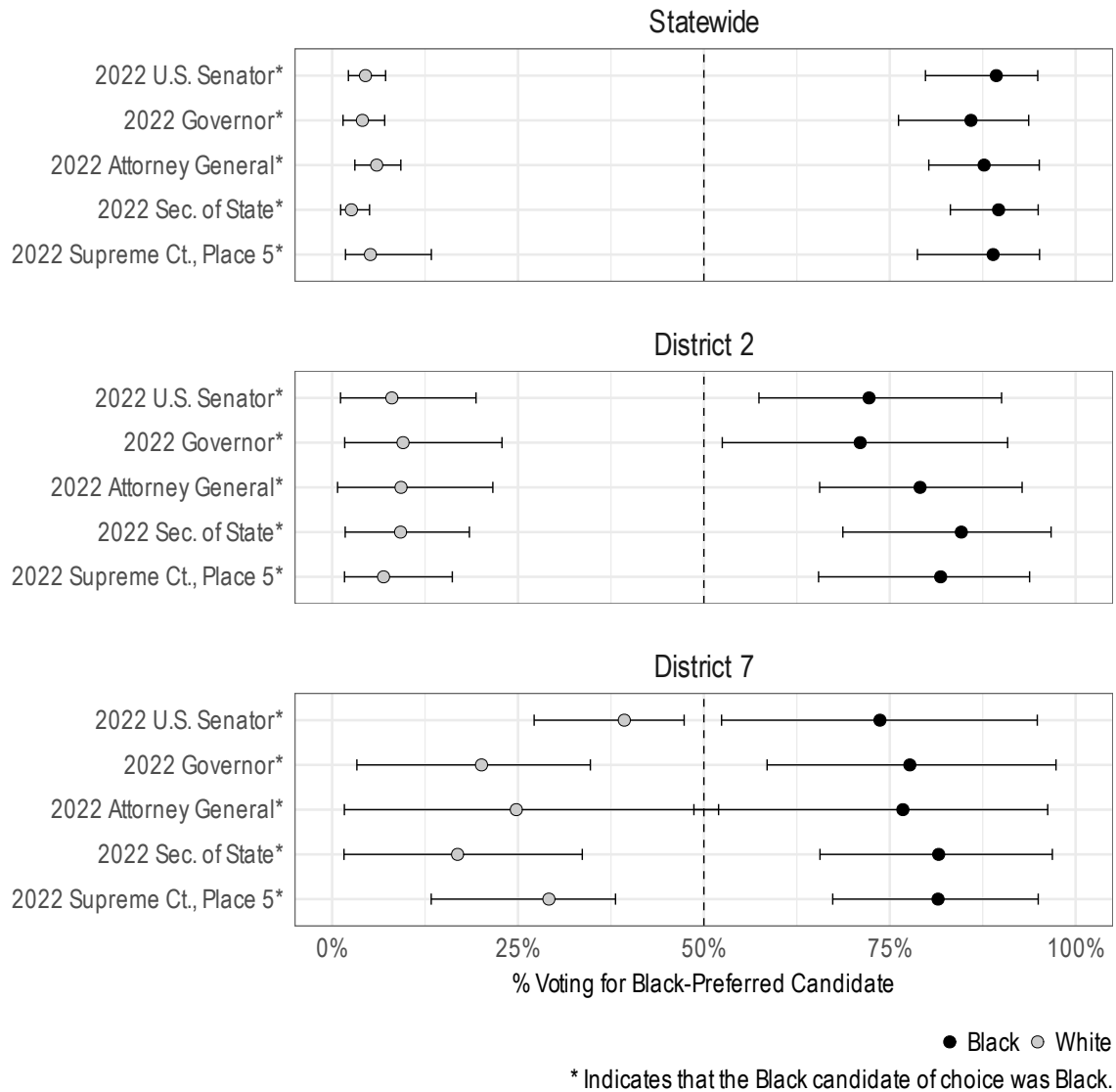


Figure 2: Racially Polarized Voting Estimates for 2022 — County-Level Analysis

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

15. To analyze the performance of districts under the SB 5 Plan, I relied on precinct-level election results from the 2016, 2018, and 2020 general elections, and the 2017 special election for U.S. Senate. My original report in this matter describes this dataset.
16. I supplemented this dataset with additional election results from the 2022 general elections for the 2nd District. I relied on county and precinct-level data and matched this data to the boundaries of the 2nd District. When counties were split across districts, I matched precincts by name from the election results to my precinct-level data (which uses 2020 voting tabulation districts) to determine which precincts were assigned to each district. Due to data limitations, I did not analyze the 2022 general elections for the 7th District.⁵
17. I analyzed performance by calculating the share of the vote that the Black-preferred candidate would have won under the boundaries of the SB 5 Plan. Figure 3 and Table 4 present the results.
18. Across 17 elections from 2016 to 2022, the average vote share for Black-preferred candidates in the 2nd District is 44.5%. The Black-preferred candidate only won one election, the 2017 Special Election for U.S. Senate.
19. Across 12 elections from 2016 to 2020, the average vote share for Black-preferred candidates in the 7th District is 63.4%. The Black-preferred candidate won all 12 elections.
20. These results demonstrate that while the 7th District continues to perform for Black voters and allow them to elect their candidates of choice, the 2nd District does not perform. In 16 of the 17 elections examined (94%) the Black-preferred candidate is defeated by the White-preferred candidate in the 2nd District.

⁵There are a large number of precincts in Jefferson (172) and Tuscaloosa (54) Counties. These counties also make up a relatively large share of the population of the 7th District. Without updated precinct boundary files I am not able to confidently match election results from each precinct to the proper district.

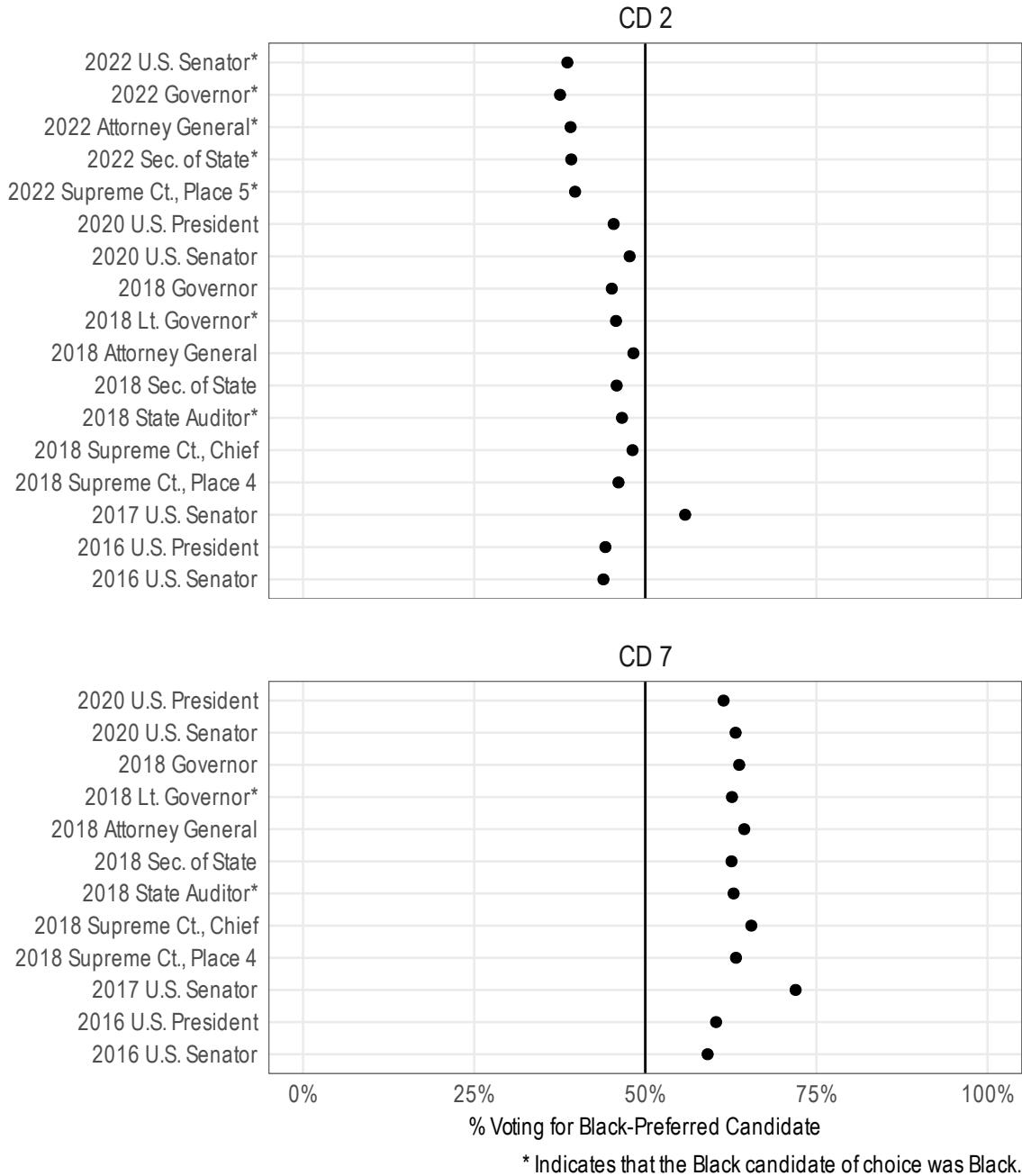


Figure 3: Vote Shares of Black-Preferred Candidates Under the SB 5 Plan

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

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

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Maxwell Pal", followed by a horizontal line.

Executed on: July 28, 2023

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

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

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

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

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

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

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

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

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

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

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

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

EXHIBIT A

Maxwell Palmer

CONTACT	<p>Department of Political Science Boston University 232 Bay State Road Boston, MA 02215</p> <p><i>E-mail:</i> mbpalmer@bu.edu <i>Website:</i> www.maxwellpalmer.com <i>Phone:</i> (617) 358-2654</p>
APPOINTMENTS	<p>Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts</p> <p>Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, 2021–Present</p> <p>Associate Chair, Dept. of Political Science, July 2023–Present</p> <p>Civic Tech Fellow, Faculty of Computing & Data Sciences, 2021–Present</p> <p>Faculty Fellow, Initiative on Cities, 2019–Present</p> <p>Director of Advanced Programs, Dept. of Political Science, July 2020–June 2023</p> <p>Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 2014–2021</p> <p>Junior Faculty Fellow, Hariri Institute for Computing, 2017–2020</p>
EDUCATION	<p>Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts</p> <p>Ph.D., Political Science, May 2014. A.M., Political Science, May 2012.</p> <p>Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine</p> <p>A.B., Mathematics & Government and Legal Studies, May 2008.</p>
BOOK	<p><i>Neighborhood Defenders: Participatory Politics and America's Housing Crisis</i> (with Katherine Levine Einstein and David M. Glick). 2019. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Selected chapters republished in <i>Political Science Quarterly</i>. – Reviewed in <i>Perspectives on Politics</i>, <i>Political Science Quarterly</i>, <i>Economics 21</i>, <i>Public Books</i>, <i>City Journal</i>, and <i>Urban Studies</i>. – Covered in Vox's "The Weeds" podcast, CityLab, Slate's "Gabfest," Curbed, Brookings Institution Up Front.
REFEREED ARTICLES	<p>Einstein, Katherine Levine, Joseph Ornstein, and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. "Who Represents the Renters?" <i>Housing Policy Debate</i>.</p> <p>Einstein, Katherine Levine, David Glick, and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. "Developing a pro-housing movement? Public distrust of developers, fractured coalitions, and</p>

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

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

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

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

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

Godinez Puig, Luisa, Katharine Lusk, David Glick, Katherine L. Einstein, Maxwell Palmer, Stacy Fox, and Monica L. Wang. 2020. “Perceptions of Public Health Priorities and Accountability Among US Mayors.” *Public Health Reports* (October 2020).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

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

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

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

POLICY REPORTS

Glick, David M., Katherine Levine Einstein, and Maxwell Palmer. 2023. *2022 Menino Survey of Mayors: Economic Opportunity, Poverty, and Well-Being*. Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Einstein, Katherine Levine and Maxwell Palmer. 2020. *"Newton and other com-*

munities must reform housing approval process.” *The Boston Globe*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CURRENT
PROJECTS

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

– Covered in *Fast Company*

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

“Who Should Make Decisions? Public Perceptions of Democratic Inclusion in Housing Policy.” (With Justin de Benedictis-Kessner and Katherine Levine Einstein).

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

“Menino Survey of Mayors 2023.” Co-principal investigator with David M. Glick and Katherine Levine Einstein.

GRANTS AND AWARDS

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

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

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

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

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

Hariri Institute for Computing, Boston University. Junior Faculty Fellow. 2017–2020. \$10,000.

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

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

Senator Charles Sumner Prize, Dept. of Government, Harvard University. 2014.

Awarded to the best dissertation “from the legal, political, historical, economic, social or ethnic approach, dealing with means or measures tending toward the prevention of war and the establishment of universal peace.”

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

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

The Dirksen Congressional Center, Congressional Research Award, 2013.

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

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

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

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

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

American Political Science Association: 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2022

Midwestern Political Science Association: 2012, 2013, 2014, 2017, 2019, 2023

Southern Political Science Association: 2015, 2018

European Political Science Association: 2015

EXPERT
TESTIMONY
AND CONSULTING

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

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

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

Dwight v. Raffensperger (No. 1:18-cv-2869-RWS), U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially

polarized voting in selected districts of the 2011 Georgia congressional district map. (2019)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TEACHING

Boston University

- *Introduction to American Politics* (PO 111; Fall 2014, Fall 2015, Fall 2016, Fall 2017, Spring 2019, Fall 2019, Fall 2020)
- *Congress and Its Critics* (PO 302; Fall 2014, Spring 2015, Spring 2017, Spring 2019)
- *Data Science for Politics* (PO 399; Spring 2020, Spring 2021, Fall 2021, Fall 2022, Fall 2023)
- *Formal Political Theory* (PO 501; Spring 2015, Spring 2017, Fall 2019, Fall 2020)
- *American Political Institutions in Transition* (PO 505; Spring 2021, Fall 2021)
- *Prohibition* (PO 540; Fall 2015, Fall 2022)
- *Political Analysis (Graduate Seminar)* (PO 840; Fall 2016, Fall 2017)
- *Graduate Research Workshop* (PO 903/4; Fall 2019, Spring 2020)
- *Spark! Civic Tech Research Design Workshop* (CDS DS 290; Spring 2023)
- *Spark! Civic Tech Toolkit Workshop* (CDS DS 292; Spring 2023)

SERVICE

Boston University

- Research Computing Governance Committee, 2021–.
- Initiative on Cities Faculty Advisory Board, 2020–2022.
- Undergraduate Assessment Working Group, 2020-2021.
- College of Arts and Sciences
 - CAS BA Curriculum Committee, 2023–.
 - Search Committee for the Faculty Director of the Initiative on Cities, 2020–2021.
 - General Education Curriculum Committee, 2017–2018.
- Department of Political Science
 - Director of Advanced Programs (Honors & B.A./M.A.). 2020–.
 - Political Methodology Search Committee, 2021.
 - Delegate, Chair Selection Advisory Process, 2021.
 - Comprehensive Exam Committee, American Politics, 2019.
 - Comprehensive Exam Committee, Political Methodology, 2016, 2017, 2021.

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

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

Editorial Board Member, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2020–2023

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

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

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

Arlington Election Reform Committee Member, August 2019–April 2022.

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

OTHER
EXPERIENCE

Charles River Associates, Boston, Massachusetts 2008–2010

Associate, Energy & Environment Practice

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

Updated July 27, 2023