

## **EXHIBIT 4**

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

EVAN MILLIGAN, et al.,

*Plaintiffs,*

vs.

WES ALLEN, et al.,

*Defendants.*

No. 2:21-cv-01530-AMM

**Expert Report of Baodong Liu, Ph.D.**

**May 17, 2024**

**I. Introduction**

I have been retained as an expert by counsel for the Milligan Plaintiffs in the above captioned litigation since 2021. I provided my preliminary expert report in 2021, and later a rebuttal report. After the US Supreme Court affirmed the three-judge panel's decision that HB1 violated Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, I provided my first effectiveness analysis (EA) report on July 26, 2023 concerning SB5 (the Livingston Plan) passed by the Alabama Legislature. I also offered my supplemental Remedial Report on the effectiveness of the three plans provided by the Special Master on September 25, 2023. I am incorporating my prior reports, including their data and analysis, in this report by reference.

In this report I summarize my opinions on whether racially polarized voting (RPV) exists in Alabama, and particularly in the areas of the State covered by the congressional districts at issue, and whether or not RPV resulted in the defeat of Black-preferred candidates in Alabama Congressional elections.

I am being compensated at \$300 per hour for my work on this case. My compensation is not contingent on or affected by the substance of my opinions

or the outcome of this litigation. My work in this matter is ongoing, and I reserve the right to amend, modify, or supplement my analysis and opinions.

## II. Summary of Professional Qualifications

I am a Presidential Societal Impact Scholar, a tenured professor of political science and the Director of Graduate Studies in the Department of Political Science at the University of Utah. I have done extensive research regarding the relationship between election systems and the ability of minority voters to participate fully in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice.

My research won the Byran Jackson Award for the best study/dissertation about racial voting from the Urban Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, and the Ted Robinson Award from the Southwest Political Science Association. The results of my research have been published in Social Science Quarterly, American Politics Research, Sociological Methods and Research, PS: Political Science and Politics, Urban Affairs Review, Political Behavior, Journal of Urban Affairs, Southeastern Political Review, and American Review of Politics, among other journals. I am also an author or editor of nine scholarly books including Political Volatility in the United States: How Racial and Religious Groups Win and Lose; Solving the Mystery of the Model Minority; The Election of Barack Obama: How He Won, and Race Rules: Electoral Politics in New Orleans, 1965-2006. I have also served as a member of the Board of Directors/Advisors on many national and international organizations such as the National Association for Ethnic Studies, Urban Affairs Review, Journal of Behavioral and Social Sciences, and International Encyclopedia of Political Science (CQ Press).

As an expert on RPV analysis, I have published peer-reviewed journal articles and books on cutting-edge techniques used by academic professionals and supported by courts concerning voting rights cases and electoral history in the South. I have served as an expert witness for minority plaintiffs in dilution cases in Alabama, Arkansas, New York, Louisiana, Utah, South Carolina, and Tennessee. My opinions have been accepted by multiple federal courts (e.g., in New York, Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, and Tennessee) including in *Allen v. Milligan* that eventually was decided in favor of Black voters by the U.S. Supreme Court. Furthermore, I have provided my expertise to the Native American Rights Fund, Navajo Nation, the US Department of Justice, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law in Washington D.C., and NAACP LDF on census differential privacy policy and methodological issues concerning RPV. I have also been invited to be an instructor of RPV analysis in expert training programs, organized by such organizations as the Native American Rights Fund, Ford Foundation, Southern Coalition for Social Justice, and LDF concerning both the 2010 and 2020 rounds of redistricting.

My applied research and grants have included analyses of ranked choice voting, economic development, racial voting patterns, public school science education, school districts' economic impact on local economy, and various citizen surveys. My grants have come from New America, the National Science Foundation, American Political Science Association, the National Humanities Center, Wisconsin Security Research Consortium, Fond du Lac School District, Johnson Controls, Inc, City of Waupaca (WI), the League of Women Voters, American Democracy Project, and Wisconsin Public Service. I also served as the editor of Urban News for the American Political Science Association's Urban Politics Section, and I was elected as a co-chair of the Asian Pacific American Caucus of the American Political Science Association.

Attached as Appendix 1 is a curriculum vitae setting forth my professional background, which includes a list of all publications I have authored or co-authored, including forthcoming publications.

### III. Background on Racially Polarized Voting

Racially polarized voting has had a long history in the State of Alabama. The first minority vote-dilution lawsuit, *Smith v. Paris*, was launched in 1966 shortly after Alabama State Senator James S. Clark of Barbour County “pushed through the legislature a bill that required at-large elections for the county commission. The local paper quoted him as saying that one of the reasons for switching to countywide elections was ‘to lesson [sic] the impact of any block voting.’ Clark, a [George] Wallace floor leader in the legislature, used the term *bloc vote* as a code word for the black vote, as was customary in the 1960s.”<sup>1</sup> The widespread use of at-large elections in Alabama, which magnified the effect of white bloc voting, proved to be successful in diluting Black voting strength and to defeat Black candidates.

In *Allen v. State Board of Education* (1969), the Supreme Court held that vote dilution could occur as a result of electoral devices such as at-large electoral systems. The court expanded the notion of vote dilution beyond previous reapportionment cases (e.g., the 1964 *Reynolds v. Sims*) to include the dilution of a group’s voting strength.<sup>2</sup> In the landmark *Thornburg v. Gingles* (1986), the Court provided the precise three-prong test for dilution litigation under

<sup>1</sup> McCrary, Peyton, Jerome A. Gray, Edward Still, and Huey L. Perry. (1994). “Alabama” in Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman ed. *Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act 1965-1990*. Princeton University Press: pp. 38-66.

<sup>2</sup> Courts have recognized that majority-vote requirements have dilutive effects. *Major v. Treen*, 574 F. Supp. 325, 351 n.32 (E.D. La. 1983) showed the dilutive effect of majority-vote requirements; Also, *Lodge v. Buxton*, 639 F.2d 1358, 1380 (5th Cir. 1981) *aff’d sub nom. Rogers v. Lodge*, 458 U.S. 613, 627 (1982) (finding such factors to minimize minority voting strength as majority vote requirements, overly-large district sizes, numbered posts requirements); *City of Rome v. U.S.*, 446 U.S. 156, 183-84 (1980) (finding that changes from plurality-win to majority-win requirements, numbered posts, and staggered terms all have dilutive effects); *White v. Regester*, 412 U.S. 755, 766 (1973) (referring to majority-vote and designated places as dilutive).

Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act (VRA). To succeed in dilution cases, plaintiffs must demonstrate the existence of the three preconditions: 1) the racial or language minority group is “sufficiently large and geographically compact to constitute a majority in a single-member district”; 2) the minority group is “politically cohesive” (meaning its members tend to vote for the same candidate); and 3) the “majority votes sufficiently as a bloc to enable it ... usually to defeat the minority’s preferred candidate.” In particular, the second and the third preconditions under the Gingles test have become the legal definition of RPV.

#### IV. Opinions

I have formed the following opinions:

Based on the data available at the time of writing this report, voting in Alabama during the last 15 years where there is a choice between or among Black and white candidates is “racially polarized” in that Black voters in 25 of the 25 elections analyzed have expressed a clear preference for the same candidate, and in the elections analyzed the preferred candidate by Black voters was a Black candidate. Furthermore, this preference was not shared by the white voters who were the majority of the electorate. As a result, the Black preferred candidates were typically defeated in biracial elections in Alabama.

#### V. Elections Analyzed

In a case challenging a redistricting plan of Congressional districts under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, such as this one, Congressional elections that provide voters with a choice between voting for a white candidate and voting for a minority (in this case, Black) candidate are generally considered the most probative for assessing RPV.<sup>3</sup> These Congressional elections concerning the electoral offices at issue in this matter are called endogenous elections. I have reviewed the endogenous elections in which there were both a Black candidate and a white candidate (i.e., biracial elections) during the last 15 years.<sup>4</sup> The reason to select only biracial elections is because these elections satisfy the necessary conditions for Black and non-Black voters to

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<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., *Chisom v. Roemer*, No. 86-4057, 1989 WL 106485, at \*\*13-14 (E.D. La. Sept. 13, 1989), *aff’d*, 917 F.2d 187 (5th Cir. 1990) (*per curiam*), and *rev’d*, 111 S. Ct. 2354 (1991) (putting greater weight on the judicial elections inquiry in a Section 2 challenge to the at-large elections for Louisiana Supreme Court justices); *Clark v. Calhoun Cnty.*, Miss., 88 F.3d 1393, 1397 (5th Cir. 1996) (“[E]xogenous elections—those not involving the particular office at issue—are less probative than elections involving the specific office that is the subject of the litigation.”) (which cited *Clark v. Calhoun Cnty.*, 21 F.3d 92, 97 (5th Cir. 1994)); *Sanchez v. Colorado*, 97 F.3d 1303, 1324-25 (10th Cir. 1996).

<sup>4</sup> While more recent elections are more probative than distant past elections, my decision to include all biracial elections in the last 15 years also took consideration of the two census datasets (the 2010 and 2020 datasets) that provided a longitudinal analysis for a period long enough to allow the examination of RPV pattern over time (or lack of).

have an opportunity to vote for the candidate of their choice, which is not available in uni-racial elections involving only white candidates (or involving only Black candidates). Nine endogenous biracial elections were analyzed in this report.

Since there were only nine endogenous biracial elections during the period under study, I analyzed 16 other biracial elections for this lawsuit. The elections that did not concern the electoral offices at issue in this matter are called exogenous elections.<sup>5</sup> I analyzed two Montgomery mayoral runoffs in 2023 and 2019, as well as two presidential elections in 2008 and 2012 which involved a Black candidate, Barack Obama, as the nominee for a major political party. In the 2020 Presidential election both major political parties featured a white candidate on the top of the ticket, but Kamala Harris, the Vice-Presidential Candidate from the Democratic Party, was the first-ever Black female candidate on the ticket of the Party. Thus, the 2020 Vice Presidential election is also included in this report. In addition, I analyzed 11 statewide exogenous elections: the 2014 Secretary of State, the 2014 Lt. Governor, the 2014 State Auditor, the 2018 Lt. Governor, the 2018 State Auditor, the 2018 Public Service Commission (Place 1), the 2022 Gubernatorial, the 2022 US Senate, the 2022 Secretary of State, the 2022 Attorney General, and the 2022 Alabama Supreme Court Associate Justice (Place 5) elections.

## VI. Measurement of RPV

Based on the second and third preconditions of the Gingles test that collectively make up the legal definition of RPV, I used the following two-step operational rules to measure whether a particular election is racially polarized: 1) I first estimate the Black and white group support for the Black candidate in a biracial election; and 2) if in this biracial election the majority of Black voters cast their vote for the Black candidate, and only a minority of white voters cast their vote for the same Black candidate, then this election is racially polarized.

Also, as I explained in my prior reports, the Ecological Inference (EI) method developed by Professor Gary King of Harvard University is a statistical procedure for estimating voting results of voter groups (in this case grouped by race) and demonstrating the extent to which the race of the voters correlates with voter support for each candidate. EI has been widely used as

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<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that courts have frequently considered evidence from exogenous elections to supplement that from endogenous elections, particularly where there is little data from endogenous recent elections. See, e.g., *Citizens for a Better Gretna v. City of Gretna*, 834 F.2d 496, 502-03 (5th Cir. 1987) (which approved consideration of exogenous elections as additional evidence of bloc voting in case with "sparse relevant statistical data"); *Rodriguez v. Bexar Cnty.*, Tex., 385 F.3d 853, 860 n. 5 (5th Cir. 2004); *Rodriguez v. Harris Cnty.*, Tex., 964 F. Supp. 2d 686, 759 (S.D. Tx. 2013) ("Exogenous elections are meant to supplement, not replace, endogenous elections.").

the most-advanced and reliable statistical procedure for RPV estimates in not only academic research but also voting rights cases in the last two decades. I continued the EI operation for the biracial elections by using the specific election return data at the precinct level matched with the racial data at VTD level provided by US Census.

## VII. The Findings

As explained above, the selection of the elections for my RPV analysis is based on three criteria: 1) biracial elections involving at least one Black candidate and one white candidate; 2) endogenous biracial elections supplemented by exogenous biracial elections (i.e., non-Congressional biracial statewide elections); and 3) elections during the last 15 years, as more recent elections are most probative in identifying RPV.<sup>6</sup> In this report, I add the new RPV results of the two most recent biracial 2022 Congressional elections. In addition to the seven Congressional elections already analyzed in my previous reports, Table 1 now shows the results of EI operations on a total of nine endogenous elections during the last decade.

### A) Endogenous Elections

**Table 1: Estimated Racial Support for Black Candidate in Endogenous Elections**

Election	Black Candidate(s)	White Candidate(s)	% vote cast for Black Cand	Black Support for Black Cand (95% CI) <sup>7</sup>	White Support for Black Cand (95% CI)	Black-Cand Won?	RPV?
2022 CD2 general	Phyllis Harvey-Hall	Barry Moore and Jonathan Realz	29.2%	92.1% (90-94)	3.7% (3-5)	No	Yes
2022 CD7 general	Terri Sewell	Beatrice Nichols and Gavin Goodman	63.5%	96.9% (96-98)	10.6% (9-13)	Yes	Yes
2020 CD1, primary	James Averhart	Kiani Gardner <sup>8</sup> and Frederick Collins	40.2%	53.8% (52-56)	16.7% (13-20)	Into Runoff	Yes
2020 CD1, general	James Averhart	Jerry Carl	35.6%	93.3% (88-96)	12.6% (9-17)	No	Yes

<sup>6</sup> As a statistical rule, more recent elections help us understand what just happened and predict what will happen in the near future. Also see *Bone Shirt v. Hazeltine*, 461 F.3d 1011, 1020-21 (8th Cir. 2006) concerning interracial endogenous electoral competitions as the most probative elections to analyze.

<sup>7</sup> See footnote 8 for the explanation of uncertainty estimates (i.e., 95% confidence interval)

<sup>8</sup> Gardner is identified as Native Hawaiian. This primary election was therefore multiracial involving Black, white and Native Hawaiian candidates.

2020 CD2, General	Phyllis Harvey-Hall	Barry Moore	34.5%	93.4% (88-96)	5.2% (4-10)	No	Yes
2020 CD3, general	Adia Winfrey	Mike Rogers	32.4%	92.6% (88-95)	6.6% (3-12)	No	Yes
2018 CD1, General	Robert Kennedy, Jr.	Bradley Byrne	36.8%	94.6% (92-96)	8.1% (8-13)	No	Yes
2012 CD7, general	Terri Sewell	Don Chamberlain	75.8%	96.3% (94-98)	26.1% (20-36)	Yes	Yes
2010 CD7, general	Terri Sewell	Don Chamberlain	72.5%	95.5% (93-97)	19.3% (16-23)	Yes	Yes

To be more specific, the only Black candidate who was able to win any biracial Congressional election in Alabama was Terri Sewell who ran in District 7, a Black-majority district since 1992. Her three contested elections in 2010, 2012 and 2022 were all highly racially polarized. In 2010, Sewell won 95.5% of the Black vote but only 19.3% of the white vote. In 2012, as an incumbent running against the same white Republican candidate, Don Chamberlain, Sewell won 96.3% of the Black vote and 26.1% of the white vote. In the 2022 CD7 election, Sewell won 97% of the Black vote and only 10.6% of the white vote. It should be noted that the 2022 general elections in CDs 7 and 2 were both under the HB1 Plan, and SB5 has not been used in any of the Congressional elections. In the 2022 CD2 election, the Black candidate, Harvey-Hall won 92.1% of the Black vote and only 3.7% of the white vote, and lost the election with less than 30% of the total votes cast.

Also as shown in Table 1, James Averhart, a Black candidate, was involved in two of these endogenous elections. He received 53.8% of votes cast by Black voters and only 16.7% from white voters in the 2020 Democratic primary. He received 93.3% of votes cast by Black voters and 12.6% from white voters in the general election of Congressional District 1. In the 2020 Congressional District 2 general election, Phyllis Harvey-Hall, the Black candidate, received 93.4% of the votes from Black voters and 5.2% from white voters. In the 2020 Congressional District 3 general election, Adia Winfrey, the Black candidate, received 92.6% of the votes from Black voters and 6.6% from white voters. In the 2018 Congressional District 1 general election, Robert Kennedy Jr., the Black candidate, received 94.6% of the votes from Black voters and only 8.1% from white voters.

These analyses of endogenous election revealed the same pattern of RPV in non-Black-majority districts: that is, the defeat of the Black candidate by his/her white opponent in each election, despite Black voters' clear support for the Black candidate. And even though Averhart did make it past the Democratic Primary runoff in Congressional District 1 in 2020, he was later defeated in the general election.

#### B) Exogeneous Elections

Two more exogeneous biracial elections, both of which concerned the Mayoral Runoffs in the City of Montgomery, were analyzed after I submitted my last report. As shown in Table 2, Steven Reed, a Black candidate, ran in both runoffs. In the 2023 runoff, based on my RPV analysis, he received 91.1% of the Black vote and only 29.6% of the white vote. In the 2019 runoff, he received 87.2% of the Black vote and only 21.6% of the white vote.

All other exogeneous statewide elections analyzed in my previous reports also showed a high level of racially polarized voting, as shown in Table 2. All Black candidates who ran in the statewide races during the last 15 years received less than 40% of the total votes cast in the state. The Black vote shares were all in the 85% to 95% range, whereas white vote share was in the 5% to 15% range. For example, in the five 2022 statewide elections, Black candidates received more than 90% of the Black vote share and less than 9% of the white vote share. These Black candidates were all defeated in the general elections. In the 2018 elections, Will Boyd and Miranda Joseph, the Black candidates of choice in the Lt. Governor and State Auditor elections, received 93.8% and 94.0% of the votes cast by Black voters, whereas votes from white voters were as low as 11.4% and 12.8%, respectively.

In the 2014 general election, James Fields, a Black candidate, ran against the white incumbent Republican candidate, Kay Ivey, in the Lieutenant Governor's race. Fields received 88.2% of the Black vote share and 12.1% of the white vote share, and was defeated with 36.8% of total votes cast. In the same year, Lula Albert-Kaigler, a Black candidate, ran for Secretary of State, and received 35.7% of the total votes. She was defeated by her white Republican opponent, John Merrill. She received 88.6% of the Black vote share and only 10.2% of the white vote share in this highly racially polarized state-wide election.

Table 2. Estimated Racial Support for Black Candidate in Exogenous Statewide Elections

Election	Black Candidate	White Candidate(s)	% vote cast for Black Cand	Black Support for Black Cand (95% CI)	White Support for Black Cand (95% CI)	Black-Cand Won?	RPV?
2023 Montgomery Mayoral Runoff	Steven Reed	Barrett Gilbreath	56.9%	91.1% (88-95)	29.6% (22-36)	Yes	Yes
2019 Montgomery Mayoral Runoff	Steven Reed	David Woods	67.3%	87.2% (81-91)	21.6% (13-30)	Yes	Yes
2022 Governor	Yolanda Flowers	Kay Ivey	30.3%	93.2% (90-94)	6.6% (6-8)	No	Yes
2022 US Senate	Will Boyd	Katie Britt	31.6%	93.6% (90-95)	7.7% (6-10)	No	Yes
2022 Attorney General	Wendell Major	Steve Marshall	32.0%	93.4% (89-95)	7.6% (7-9)	No	Yes
2022 Secretary of State	Pamela Laffitte	Wes Allen	32.0%	94.1% (91-95)	7.8% (7-9)	No	Yes
2022 Supreme Court, Place 5	Anita Kelly	Bradley Byrne	32.5%	93.7% (90-95)	8.5% (8-11)	No	Yes
2020 VP	Kamala Harris	Mike Pence	37.0%	94.8% (88-97)	12.1% (10-16)	No	Yes
2018 Lt Governor	Will Boyd	Will Ainsworth	38.6%	93.8% (90-96)	11.4% (10-15)	No	Yes
2018 State Auditor	Miranda Joseph	Jim Zeigler	39.5%	94.0% (90-95)	12.8% (11-15)	No	Yes
2018 Public Service Commission, Place 1	Cara McClure	Jeremy Oden	39.5%	94.4% (92-96)	11.6% (11-14)	No	Yes
2014 Lt Governor	James Fields	Kay Ivey	36.8%	88.2% (84-91)	12.1% (11-13)	No	Yes
2014 Secretary of State	Lula Albert-Kaigler	John Merrill	35.7%	88.6% (85-90)	10.2% (9-11)	No	Yes
2014 State Auditor	Miranda Joseph	Jim Zigler	36.9%	91.2% (90-93)	13.1% (13-14)	No	Yes
2012 Presidential	Barack Obama	Mitt Romney	36.9%	93.9% (90-96)	13.9% (13-17)	No	Yes
2008 Presidential	Barack Obama	John McCain	36.8%	92.0% (88-94)	15.0% (14-17)	No	Yes

The 2008 and 2012 presidential elections in Alabama also revealed a consistent pattern of RPV. In 2008, Barack Obama received less than 40% of the total votes cast in Alabama, and thus failed to win Alabama. His defeat was clearly a result of RPV as his Black support was about 92%, while his white support was around 15%. The racial bloc voting by the white-majority voters led to his defeat. Despite running as an incumbent in 2012, Obama was not able to overcome the deep racial divide in Alabama in his reelection. His white vote share declined one percentage point from 2008, while his Black support increased by roughly the same margin.<sup>9</sup> This pattern of RPV persisted in the 2020 Vice-Presidential election where Kamala Harris received 94.8% of the Black vote share and only 12.1% of the white vote share.

#### VIII. CD2 and CD7 under SB5

One of the central legal disputes in this lawsuit is the configuration of a second majority-Black district as a remedy to a VRA Section 2 violation. Several alternative plans, including the plans provided by the Special Master, have been proposed to create such an opportunity district in CD2.

To examine the effect of SB5, which is the map passed by the Alabama legislature, on CD2 and CD7, the existing majority-Black district, I performed a RPV analysis by using the data from 11 biracial statewide elections during the last decade. These eleven elections are the: 2014 Secretary of State, 2014 Lt. Governor, 2014 State Auditor, 2018 Lt. Governor, 2018 State Auditor, 2018 Public Service Commission (Place 1), 2022 Gubernatorial, 2022 US Senate, 2022 Secretary of State, 2022 Attorney General, and the 2022 Alabama Supreme Court Associate Justice (Place 5) elections.

In both CD2 and CD7, RPV persisted in all 11 biracial statewide elections. Due to the different racial configurations of CD2 and CD7 in SB5, however, those biracial elections led to different outcomes. With respect to CD2, as shown in Table 3, SB5 would have led to the defeats of the Black-preferred-candidates (BPCs) in all 11 elections. With respect to CD7, as shown in Table 4, the BPCs would have won all 11 elections.

Furthermore, the BPCs in these 11 elections won around 60% of the total votes cast in CD7 under SB5. In comparison, CD2 under SB5 led to BPCs' vote shares around 40% range. CD7 is very likely the only district

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<sup>9</sup> It should be emphasized that the RPV results based on EI in this report regarding Obama's two elections are consistent with the exit poll results conducted by CNN and other major media networks. For example, according to the exit poll the white voters voted for Romney was 84% while their support for Obama was only 15% in Alabama's 2012 Presidential election. See <https://www.amren.com/features/2012/11/race-and-the-2012-election/>. Also see Table 7.1 of my book, *The Election of Barack Obama: How He Won*, for the comparison of RPV in Alabama in 2008, compared to other states (Liu, 2010, p. 117).

to elect a BPC under SB5. The high level of RPV in CD2 (i.e., a racial gap between Black and white voter support for the BPCs typically as large as more than 80% range), however, suggests that increasing the percent BVAP to a majority or near majority status will likely lead to the election a BPC in CD2.

**Table 3: RPV in the 11 Biracial Elections based on the SB5 CD2**

Election	Black Pref-Cand	White Pref-Cand	% vote cast for BPC in SB5 Plan	Black Support for Black Cand (95% CI) <sup>10</sup>	White Support for Black Cand (95% CI)	BPC Won in SB5 Plan?	RPV?
2022 Governor	Yolanda Flowers	Kay Ivey	37.8%	94.0% (90-96)	4.9% (4-6)	No	Yes
2022 US Senate	Will Boyd	Katie Britt	38.8%	93.5% (89-96)	6.0% (4-9)	No	Yes
2022 Attorney General	Wendell Major	Steve Marshall	39.3%	94.3% (91-97)	6.3% (5-8)	No	Yes
2022 Secretary of State	Pamela Laffitte	Wes Allen	39.4%	94.2% (90-97)	6.0% (4-9)	No	Yes
2022 Supreme Court, Place 5	Anita Kelly	Bradley Byrne	39.9%	94.2% (91-97)	6.6% (5-10)	No	Yes
2018 Lt Governor	Will Boyd	Will Ainsworth	46.0%	93.6% (91-96)	6.3% (5-10)	No	Yes
2018 State Auditor	Miranda Joseph	Jim Zigler	46.9%	94.2% (90-97)	8.2 (6-13)	No	Yes
2018 Public Service Commission, Place 1	Cara McClure	Jeremy Oden	46.9%	95.7% (93-97)	6.5% (5-10)	No	Yes
2014 Secretary of State	Lula Albert-Kaigler	John Merrill	43.6%	91.5% (88-94)	6.2% (5-8)	No	Yes
2014 Lt Governor	James Fields	Kay Ivey	43.4%	91.3% (88-93)	6.3% (4-9)	No	Yes
2014 State Auditor	Miranda Joseph	Jim Zigler	41.7%	88.0% (81-91)	9.1% (6-14)	No	Yes

<sup>10</sup> The 95% confidence interval is shown in parenthesis.

**Table 4: RPV in the 11 Biracial Elections based on the SB5 CD7**

Election	Black Pref-Cand	White Pref-Cand	% vote cast for BPC in SB5 Plan	Black Support for BPC (95% CI)	White Support for BPC (95% CI)	BPC Won in SB5 Plan?	RPV?
2022 Governor	Yolanda Flowers	Kay Ivey	56.7%	96.3% (95-97)	10.8% (9-14)	Yes	Yes
2022 US Senate	Will Boyd	Katie Britt	57.8%	96.4% (96-97)	13.2% (12-16)	Yes	Yes
2022 Attorney General	Wendell Major	Steve Marshall	57.9%	96.3% (95-97)	14.4% (12-17)	Yes	Yes
2022 Secretary of State	Pamela Laffitte	Wes Allen	58.4%	96.2% (94-97)	13.7% (12-15)	Yes	Yes
2022 Supreme Court, Place 5	Anita Kelly	Bradley Byrne	58.3%	96.1% (94-97)	14.9% (13-17)	Yes	Yes
2018 Lt Governor	Will Boyd	Will Ainsworth	62.9%	96.1% (94-97)	13.6% (12-17)	Yes	Yes
2018 State Auditor	Miranda Joseph	Jim Zigler	63.1%	96.2% (95-97)	15.6 (12-22)	Yes	Yes
2018 Public Service Commission, Place 1	Cara McClure	Jeremy Oden	63.7%	95.3% (93-97)	14.8% (12-20)	Yes	Yes
2014 Secretary of State	Lula Albert-Kaigler	John Merrill	59.3%	92.5% (90-94)	11.0% (9-15)	Yes	Yes
2014 Lt Governor	James Fields	Kay Ivey	59.1%	92.4% (90-95)	12.2% (10-15)	Yes	Yes
2014 State Auditor	Miranda Joseph	Jim Zigler	60.2%	92.9% (91-95)	12.8% (10-18)	Yes	Yes

IX. CD2 and CD7 under Duchin-E Plan

The counsel for the Plaintiffs also provided me with an alternative plan by Dr. Duchin (Duchin-E Plan). I examined the effect of Duchin-E Plan on CD2 and CD7 by using the same 11 biracial statewide elections. The results are shown in Tables 5 and 6.

Table 6: RPV in the 11 Biracial Elections based on the Duchin-E CD2

Election	Black Pref-Cand	White Pref-Cand	% vote cast for BPC in Duchin-E Plan	Black Support for Black Cand (95% CI) <sup>11</sup>	White Support for Black Cand (95% CI)	BPC Won in Duchin-E Plan?	RPV?
2022 Governor	Yolanda Flowers	Kay Ivey	49.4%	93.0% (88-96)	9.8% (7-14)	No	Yes
2022 US Senate	Will Boyd	Katie Britt	50.5%	94.0% (87-96)	9.1% (6-15)	Yes	Yes
2022 Attorney General	Wendell Major	Steve Marshall	50.9%	93.6% (91-96)	10.3% (8-15)	Yes	Yes
2022 Secretary of State	Pamela Laffitte	Wes Allen	51.6%	93.1% (91-95)	11.5% (10-15)	Yes	Yes
2022 Supreme Court, Place 5	Anita Kelly	Bradley Byrne	51.7%	94.4% (91-96)	11.5% (9-18)	Yes	Yes
2018 Lt Governor	Will Boyd	Will Ainsworth	57.2%	95.5% (92-97)	10.4% (7-16)	Yes	Yes
2018 State Auditor	Miranda Joseph	Jim Zigler	58.1%	95.7% (94-97)	9.6 (7-14)	Yes	Yes
2018 Public Service Commission, Place 1	Cara McClure	Jeremy Oden	58.2%	94.8% (93-96)	9.8% (8-15)	Yes	Yes
2014 Secretary of State	Lula Albert-Kaigler	John Merrill	54.4%	92.3% (90-94)	9.2% (7-12)	Yes	Yes
2014 Lt Governor	James Fields	Kay Ivey	54.0%	89.6% (88-92)	11.0% (8-15)	Yes	Yes
2014 State Auditor	Miranda Joseph	Jim Zigler	55.0%	94.7% (92-96)	9.8% (8-14)	yes	Yes

In spite of the persistent RPV discovered under Duchin-E Plan, BPCs won 10 out of the 11 biracial elections in CD2 and 11 out of 11 in CD7. The only defeat of BPC in CD2 was in the 2022 Governor election where Yolanda Flowers, the Black candidate, lost the election by receiving 49.4% of the total votes cast.

<sup>11</sup> The 95% confidence interval is shown in parenthesis.

Table 7: RPV in the 11 Biracial Elections based on the Duchin-E CD7

Election	Black Pref-Cand	White Pref-Cand	% vote cast for BPC in Duchin-E	Black Support for BPC (95% CI)	White Support for BPC (95% CI)	BPC Won in Duchin-E?	RPV?
2022 Governor	Yolanda Flowers	Kay Ivey	55.9%	96.8% (96-97)	7.3% (9-14)	Yes	Yes
2022 US Senate	Will Boyd	Katie Britt	56.4%	97.2% (96-98)	8.4% (7-10)	Yes	Yes
2022 Attorney General	Wendell Major	Steve Marshall	56.3%	97.0% (96-98)	7.4% (6-9)	Yes	Yes
2022 Secretary of State	Pamela Laffitte	Wes Allen	56.8%	97.0% (96-98)	7.5% (6-10)	Yes	Yes
2022 Supreme Court, Place 5	Anita Kelly	Bradley Byrne	56.8%	96.8% (96-98)	8.4% (7-11)	Yes	Yes
2018 Lt Governor	Will Boyd	Will Ainsworth	61.1%	96.6% (95-98)	8.9% (7-12)	Yes	Yes
2018 State Auditor	Miranda Joseph	Jim Zigler	61.2%	96.8% (95-98)	10.0 (8-16)	Yes	Yes
2018 Public Service Commission, Place 1	Cara McClure	Jeremy Oden	61.6%	96.2% (95-97)	9.3% (7-12)	Yes	Yes
2014 Secretary of State	Lula Albert-Kaigler	John Merrill	57.6%	94.4% (92-96)	6.8% (5-8)	Yes	Yes
2014 Lt Governor	James Fields	Kay Ivey	58.0%	93.7% (93-95)	8.1% (7-10)	Yes	Yes
2014 State Auditor	Miranda Joseph	Jim Zigler	58.9%	96.1% (95-97)	6.0% (5-7)	Yes	Yes

## X. Conclusion

The empirical analyses presented above clearly demonstrates that in biracial elections in which Black voters had the opportunity to express a preference for Black candidates, that preference was not shared by a majority of white voters in Alabama. This RPV pattern is confirmed not only by the nine endogenous biracial elections but also by the 16

exogenous biracial elections. Despite the high degree of electoral cohesion among Black voters, the majority of white voters form a voting bloc to typically defeat all the Black preferred candidates in these elections. In the last 15 years, the only Black voter success in a biracial Congressional election was Terri Sewell who ran in a Black-majority CD7. The SB5 Plan continues to dilute the Black voter strength in CD2 to ensure the defeat of Black-preferred candidates there. The Plaintiffs' Duchin-E Plan, however, increases the opportunity of Black voters to elect the candidates of their choice in 10 of the 11 biracial elections analyzed in CD2, and 11 out of 11 in CD7.

In short, my empirical analysis indicates that the characteristics of "racial polarization," as defined by the Supreme Court in Thornburg v. Gingles, (478 U.S. 30, at 53 n.21), exists in Alabama's recent Congressional elections as well as biracial statewide elections.

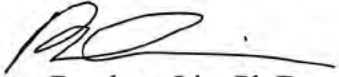
#### XI. Appendix

Appendix 1 is my curriculum vita.

Appendix 2 is the list of voting-rights cases for which I served as an expert witness.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct. Executed this 17th day of May, 2024.

Respectfully submitted,



Baodong Liu, Ph.D.

## Appendix 1

### *Curriculum Vitae* Baodong Liu, Ph.D.

**Presidential Societal Impact Scholar and Director of Graduate Studies**  
**Professor (with Tenure) in Political Science and Ethnic Studies**  
University of Utah  
260 S. Central Campus Drive, Room 3231, Salt Lake City, UT 84112  
Tel: Office (801) 585 7987; Fax: (801) 585 6492  
baodong.liu@utah.edu

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

*Director of Graduate Studies, Presidential Societal Impact Scholar*  
*Professor of Political Science and Ethnic Studies, affiliated with Asian Studies, 2008-present*  
*Associate Chair, Political Science Department, 2015-2017*  
*Interim Director, Ethnic Studies Program, 2011-2013*  
University of Utah

Courses taught: Advanced Quantitative Methods (graduate), American Political Behavior (graduate), Race and Political Volatility in the US (graduate/undergraduate), Voting, Election and Public Opinion, Racial and Ethnic Politics, Political Analysis, Asian American Contemporary Issues, Social Justice and Inequality, Asian Pacific American Experiences, Methodology in Ethnic Studies.

*TRISS Endowed Professor in Political Science, 2007-2008*  
*Associate Professor (early promotion to associate professor 2005, early tenure 2006)*  
*Assistant Professor, 2002-2005*  
Department of Political Science  
University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh

Courses taught: Race and Ethnicity in American Politics, Politics of Urban Growth, Political Method, State and Local Government, Political Analysis, American Government, National, state and Local Government.

*Assistant Professor of Political Science*  
Department of Political Science  
Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri, 1999 - 2002

Courses taught: Urban and Minority Politics, Legislative Process, American Presidency, Campaigning and Lobbying, Macroeconomics, American Government, and Introduction to Statistics.

*Consultant, Expert Witness, Principal Investigator, Opinion Writer/Commentator, 2000-present*  
Provided research services to NAACP LDF, the US Department of Justice, New America, Navajo Nation, Southern Coalition for Social Justice, National Science Foundation, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Florida State Legislature, Illinois State Legislature, Wisconsin Security Research Consortium, Fond du Lac School District, Johnson Controls, Inc, City of Waupaca (WI), and Wisconsin Public Service, among others.  
Served also as a commentator and/or opinion writer for Salt Lake Tribune, ABC4News, Hinkley Forum, NPR, AP, Daily Utah Chronicle, ETtoday, Chinese Americans, Milwaukee Sentinel Journal, Daily Caller, KSL, among other media outlets.

## EDUCATION

*Ph.D.* in Political Science (1999), University of New Orleans, Louisiana  
 Dissertation: *Black Candidates, White Voters and Racial Context*  
 Winner of Byran Jackson Award, Urban Politics Section, American Political Science Association,  
 and Winner of Ted Robinson Award for the best research in race and ethnicity, Southwestern  
 Political Science Association

*M.A.* in *Political Science* (1995), Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma

*LL. B* (1987), The East China University of Political Science and Law, Shanghai, China

### Post-Doctoral Educational Program Participant

*National Science Foundation's "Local Elections in America Project Workshop,"* Macalester  
 College, Saint Paul, MN (2009)

*Methodological Issues in Quantitative Research on Race and Ethnicity*, Inter-University  
 Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), University of Michigan (2006)

*Mapping Your City with GIS Workshop*, New Urban Research, Madison, Wisconsin (2005)

*Jessie Ball duPont Summer Seminars for Liberal Arts College Faculty*, the National Humanities  
 Center, Research Triangle, North Carolina (2001)

## PROFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS (contribution is in the order of authors for publications with multiple authors).

### A) Books

Liu, Baodong. Ed. (2023). Second Edition. *Solving the Mystery of the Model Minority: The  
 Journey of Asian Americans in America*. Cognella Academic Publishing.

Liu, Baodong. (2023). *Political Volatility in the United States: How Racial and Religious Groups  
 Win and Lose*. Lexington Books. Reviewed by Stefanie Chambers (2024) for *The Journal of  
 Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*. Also reviewed by *Choice*.

Liu, Baodong. Ed. (2018). First Edition. *Solving the Mystery of the Model Minority: The Journey  
 of Asian Americans in America*. Cognella Academic Publishing.

Liu, Baodong. (2016). *Race, Ethnicity and Religion in the American Political Arena*. University  
 Readers.

Liu, Baodong. (2015). *Social Research: Integrating Mathematical Foundations and Modern  
 Statistical Computing*. Cognella Academic Publishing.

Liu, Baodong. (2013). *Understanding the Scientific Method: A Social Science Approach*.  
 University Readers.

Liu, Baodong. (2010). *The Election of Barack Obama: How He Won*. Palgrave Macmillan.  
 Reviewed by Hanes Walton, Jr. (2012) for *The American Review of Politics*.

Liu, Baodong and James Vanderleeuw. (2007). *Race Rules: Electoral Politics in New Orleans, 1965-2006*. Lexington Books. Paperback and Hardback. Reviewed by Peter Burns (2008) for *Urban Affairs Review*; also reviewed by Robert Dupont (2008) for *H-Urban*.

Liu, Baodong. (2002). *Making American Democracy Work: Reforms and Debates*. The McGraw-Hill, Inc.

#### B) Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

Liu, Baodong, Porter Morgan and Dimitri Kokoromytis. (2022). "Immigration, Nation-State Contexts and Value Changes of Ethnic Chinese" *Athens Journal of Social Sciences* 9(1):31-54.

Liu, Baodong, Zachary Stickney, and Nicole Batt. (2020). "Authoritarianism for and against Trump," *Journal of Behavioral and Social Sciences* 7(3): 218-238.

Liu, Baodong. (2018). "The Haitian and Cuban American Electorates in South Florida: Evidence from Ten Federal, State and Local Elections, 2008-2014." *National Political Science Review* 19 (1): 51-60.

Wei, Dennis, Weiyi Xiao, Christopher Simon, Baodong Liu, Yongmei Ni. (2018). "Neighborhood, Race and Educational Inequality." *Cities* 73: 1-13.

Simon, Christopher A., Nicholas P. Lovrich, Baodong Liu, and Dennis Wei. (2017). "Citizen Support for Military Expenditure Post 9/11: Exploring the Role of Place of Birth and Location of Upbringing." *Arm Forces and Society* 44 (4): 688-706.

Liu, Baodong, Dennis Wei, and Christopher A. Simon. (2017). "Social Capital, Race, and Income Inequality in the United States." *Sustainability* 9 (2): 1-14.

Liu, Baodong. (2014). "Post-Racial Politics? Counterevidence from the Presidential Elections, 2004-2012." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 11(2): 443-463.

Liu, Baodong. (2014). "Racial Context and the 2008 and 2012 US Presidential Elections." *Athens Journal of Social Sciences* 1(1): 21-33.

Liu, Baodong. (2011). "Demystifying the 'Dark Side' of Social Capital: A Comparative Bayesian Analysis of White, Black, Latino, and Asian American Voting Behavior." *The American Review of Politics* 32 (Spring): 31-56.

Byron D'Andra Orey, L. Marvin Overby, Pete Hatemi and Baodong Liu. (2011). "White Support for Racial Referenda in the Deep-South." *Politics & Policy* 39 (4): 539-558.

Geoffrey M. Draper, Baodong Liu, and Richard F. Riesenfeld. (2011). "Integrating Statistical Visualization Research into the Political Science Classroom." *Information Systems Education Journal* 9 (3): 83-94.

Liu, Baodong. (2011). "Obama's Local Connection: Racial Conflict or Solidarity?" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44 (1): 103-105.

Liu, Baodong. (2011). "State Political Geography and the Obama White Vote." *World Regional Studies* 20 (4): 1-15. (in Chinese)

Liu, Baodong, Sharon D. Wright Austin, and Byron D'Andrá Orey. (2009). "Church Attendance, Social Capital, and Black Voting Participation" *Social Science Quarterly* 90 (3): 576-92.

Vanderleeuw, James, Baodong Liu, and Erica Nicole Williams. (2008). "The 2006 New Orleans Mayoral Election: The Political Ramifications of a Large-Scale Natural Disaster." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 41 (4): 795-801.

Liu, Baodong and Robert Darcy. (2008) "Race, Immigration, and Party Strategies in the US Elections," *Íslenska Leiðin*: 33-39.

Liu, Baodong. (2007). "EI Extended Model and the Fear of Ecological Fallacy", *Sociological Methods and Research* 36 (1): 3-25.

Liu, Baodong. (2006). "Whites as a Minority and the New Biracial Coalition in New Orleans and Memphis," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 40 (1): 69-76.

Vanderleeuw, James, and Baodong Liu. (2006). "Racial Polarization or Biracial Coalition? An Empirical Analysis of the Electoral Coalition of Winning Candidates in Urban Elections," *American Review of Politics* 27 (Winter): 319-344.

Liu, Baodong, and James Vanderleeuw. (2004). "Economic Development Priorities and Central City/Suburb Differences," *American Politics Research* 32 (6): 698-721.

Vanderleeuw, James, Baodong Liu, and Greg Marsh. (2004). "Applying Black Threat Theory, Urban Regime Theory, and Deracialization: The Memphis Mayoral Elections of 1991, 1995, and 1999," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 26 (4): 505-519

Liu, Baodong, and James Vanderleeuw. (2003). "Growth Imperative, Postmaterialism and Local Decision-Makers," *Journal of Political Science* 31: 173-96.

Liu, Baodong. (2003). "Deracialization and Urban Racial Context," *Urban Affairs Review* 38 (4): 572-591.

Vanderleeuw, James and Baodong Liu. (2002) "Political Empowerment, Mobilization, and Black-Voter Rolloff," *Urban Affairs Review* 37 (3): 380-96.

Liu, Baodong. (2001). "The Positive Effect of Black Density on White Crossover Voting: Reconsidering the Social Interaction Theory," *Social Science Quarterly* 82 (3): 602-615.

Liu, Baodong. (2001). "Racial Context and White Interests: Beyond Black Threat and Racial Tolerance," *Political Behavior* 23 (2): 157-80.

Liu, Baodong, and James Vanderleeuw. (2001). "Racial Transition and White-Voter Support for Black Candidates in Urban Elections," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 23 (3/4): 309-22.

Liu, Baodong. (2001). "Interests and Opinions among African-Americans: A Test of Three Theories," *the Texas Journal of Political Studies* 21 (2): 113-24.

Liu, Baodong, and James Vanderleeuw. (1999). "White Response to Black Political Power: the Case of New Orleans, 1980-1994." *Southeastern Political Review* 27 (1): 175-188.

C) Book Chapters, Encyclopedia Entries and other Peer-reviewed Articles

Liu, Baodong, Nadia Mahallati, and Charles Turner. (2021). "Ranked-Choice Voting Delivers Representation and Consensus in Presidential Primaries" *Available at SSRN*: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3822879> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3822879>

Liu, Baodong. "The Growth of Scientific Knowledge through Social Computing Networks" (2021). *The 19<sup>th</sup> International E-Society Conference Proceedings*.

Liu, Baodong. (2014). "Racial Context and the 2008 and 2012 US Presidential Elections" in Yannis A. Stivachtis and Stefanie Georgakis Abbott, ed. *Addressing the Politics of Integration and Exclusion: Democracy, Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention*. Athens: Atiner publications. (Also published in *Athens Journal of Social Sciences*.)

Liu, Baodong. (2011). "Mayor" in *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press.

Liu, Baodong. (2011). "Roll-off" in *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*. CQ Press.

Liu, Baodong and Carolyn Kirchhoff. (2009) "Mayor", *Encyclopedia of American Government and Civics*, eds. Michael A. Genovese and Lori Cox Han. New York: Facts on File.

Liu, Baodong and Robert Darcy. (2006). "The Rising Power of Minorities and the Deracialization of U.S. Politics" in Gillian Peele, Christopher J. Bailey, Bruce E. Cain, and B. Guy Peters, ed. *Developments in American Politics 5*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan/Macmillan Publishers.

D) Book Reviews

Liu, Baodong. (2010). Review of Zoltan L. Hajnal, "America's Uneven Democracy: Race, Turnout, and Representation in City Politics" in *American Review of Politics* 31 (summer): 157-160.

Liu, Baodong. (2008). Review of Rodney E. Hero, *Racial Diversity and Social Capital*, in *Urban Affairs Review* 44 (1):146-149.

Liu, Baodong. (2006). Review of Peter Burns, *Electoral Politics Is Not Enough*, in *American Review of Politics* 27 (Spring): 186-189.

Liu, Baodong. (1999). Review of Terry Nichols Clark and Vincent Hoffmann-Martinot (ed), "The New Political Culture," in *American Review of Politics* 20: 99-102.

E). Other Publications/Editorials

Liu, Baodong. (2021). "Asian Americans and Minority Voters: The New Destination of Partisan Competitions?" ETtoday. January 8, 2021. (in Chinese/Taiwanese)

Liu, Baodong. (2020). "Checks and Balances and the End of Trump Legal Battles". ETtoday. Dec. 29, 2020. (in Chinese/Taiwanese)

Liu, Baodong. (2020). “Trump’s Legal Battles and the New Beginning of the Electoral Laws?”. ETtoday. Nov. 10, 2020. (in Chinese/Taiwanese)

Liu, Baodong and Feng Ling. (2018). “Liberalism or Conservatism: Which One Contributes to America More?” *Chinese Americans*, No. 1565. (in Chinese).

Liu, Baodong. (2018). “The Lawsuit against Harvard and Asian-American Attitude toward Affirmative Action,” *Chinese Americans*, No. 1207. (in Chinese).

Liu, Baodong. (2016). “Lu Xun’s Attack on Old Chinese Regime and St. Augustine’s Self Examination,” *Overseas Campus* (in Chinese).

Liu, Baodong. (2015). “Will Christianity Bring about Democracy?” *Overseas Campus* 130 (June): 40-43. (in Chinese)

Liu, Baodong. (2011). “New Ethnic Studies Major at the U: Education for the 21st Century” *Diversity News* 2011 (Fall). <http://diversity.utah.edu/newsletter/fall-2011/ethnic-studies-degree.php>.

Liu, Baodong (2008). “The Urban Politics Field as We Know It.” *Urban News* 22 (1): 1-2.

Liu, Baodong. (2008). “Negative Campaigning a Desperate Strategy,” *The Daily Utah Chronicle*. Guest Column. October 20, 2008.

Liu, Baodong. (2007). “The 2006 Midterm Election: Angry Voters? Yes! Clear Vision? No!” *Wisconsin Political Scientist* XIII (2): 9-10.

Liu, Baodong. (2006). “Midterm Election Results Show No Clear Future Vision.” Guest Column, *Advance-Titan*. Nov. 9, 2006: A5.

Liu, Baodong and James Vanderleeuw. (2003). “Local Policymakers and Their Perceptions of Economic Development: Suburbs, Central Cities and Rural Areas Compared” *Wisconsin Political Scientist* IX (1): 4-7.

## SOFTWARE DEVELOPMENT/GRANTS

Founder, [www.easystates.com](http://www.easystates.com), a free web application and database of U.S. state politics with more than 1000 variables and back to 1790s that empowers students and public to visualize and statistically analyze data on US politics (written in Python), 2021-present

*diaglm*, the author of the R software statistical package for diagnosing and visualization of violations of linear and nonlinear statistical modeling, published at GitHub (bblpo/diaglm). 2019.

*diagglm*, the author of the R software statistical package for diagnosing and visualization of violations of nonlinear statistical modeling, published at github (bblpo/diagglm). 2019.

Principal Investigator, “Authoritarianism in the Global Ethnic Chinese Communities”, a grant proposal supported by University Sabbatical Leave and Asia Center Travel Award. 2020. \$1500

Principal Investigator, with Co-Pi, Mike Cobbs (North Carolina State University) and Richard

Engstrom (University of Houston). “Understanding the Support for Ranked-Choice Voting,” initial grant proposal supported by Political Reform Program, New America. Washington D.C. 2020. \$40,000

Co-PI, with Dennis Wei (PI) and Chris Simon. “Amenity, Neighborhood and Spatial Inequality: A Study of Salt Lake County,” Interdisciplinary Research Pilot Program (IRPP), College of Social and Behavioral Science, the University of Utah, 2015. \$10,000.

Co-PI, with Annie Isabel Fukushima (PI). “Victimization, Human Trafficking and Immigrants: Mixed Methods analysis of the Perceptions of Victimhood in U.S. Courts (2000 – 2015)”, submitted to National Institute of Justice, 2015. \$997,407. (rejected)

Co-PI, with Daniel McCool. “The Efficacy of American Indian Voting: A Pilot Project” Research Incentive Grant, College of Social and Behavioral Science, the University of Utah. (2014-). \$7500.

I have provided my Expert Witness Opinions on federal voting rights cases such as *Milligan, et al. v. Merrill, et al.*, Case No. 2:21-cv-01530-AMM and *Thomas, et al. v. Merrill, et al.*, Case No. 2:21-cv-01531-AMM (N.D. Ala. 2021), *Traci Jones et al vs. Jefferson County Board of Education et al*, (N.D. Ala. 2019); *CMA v. Arkansas* (E.D. Ark., 2019); *Alabama State Conference of the NAACP v. Pleasant Grove*, (N.D. Ala. 2018); *Navajo Nation, et al, vs. San Juan County, et al*, (D. Utah, 2012); *League of Women Voters of Florida, et al v. Detzner, et al*, (Fla., 2012); *Anne Pope et. al. v. County of Albany and the Albany County Board of Elections* (N.D.N.Y. 2011); *Radogno, et al v. State Board of Elections, et al*, (N.D. Ill. 2011); *NAACP v. St. Landry Parish et al*, (W.D. La. 2003); *Arbor Hill Concerned Citizens Neighborhood Association et al v. County of Albany* (N.D.N.Y. 2003); *Hardeman County Branch of NAACP v. Frost* (2003).

Expert Instructor, Racially Polarized Voting and Political Participation: EI and EZI. Expert Preparation Program, Community Census and Districting Institute. A grant supported by Ford Foundation and Southern Coalition for Social Justice, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. 2010.

Principal Investigator, 2010-2012. A Multi-level Analysis of Obama Racial Coalition in 2008 and 2012. A project funded by the PIG grant of College of Social and Behavior Sciences, the University of Utah.

Co-PI. Educational Succession Movements in U.S. Metropolitan Areas, proposal submitted to Seed Grants, the University of Utah. 2009. Rejected.

Recipient, Faculty Sabbatical Grant, 2008. University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, grant offered, but finally declined the offer due to job change.

Grant Director/Faculty Advisor, 2008. The WiscAMP program, National Science Foundation.

Principal Investigator, 2007. Wisconsin Research and Development Capacity Study. A project funded by Wisconsin Security Research Consortium.

Principal Investigator, 2007. The Impact of Industrial Involvement on Science Education in Wisconsin. A project funded by Johnson Control, Inc.

Principal Investigator, 2007. The Impact of Fond du Lac School District on Local Economic Development. A project funded by Fond du Lac School District.

EI Methodologist, 2007. Retrogressive Effects of H.B. No. 1565 on Latino Voters in the Bexar County Metropolitan Water District, TX.

Principal Investigator, 2006. The Impact of Economic Development on Citizen Opinions. A project funded by City of Waupaca, Wisconsin Public Services.

Principal Investigator, 2006. Leading the Big Easy: Will the Biracial Coalition Sustain Katrina? Institute on Race and Ethnicity, University of Wisconsin System. 2006.

Methodological Issues in Quantitative Research on Race and Ethnicity, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan, 2006.

Off-Campus Program Grant, Faculty Development, the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2006.

GIS and Social Research, Small Research Grant, Faculty Development Program, the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2005.

Principal Investigator, Getting the White Votes. American Political Science Association Research Grant, Washington D.C., 2003.

Principal Investigator, A Comparative Study of Urban Elections. Faculty Research Development Grant, the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, Oshkosh, Wisconsin, 2004.

Principal Investigator, Getting the White Votes. Faculty Research Development Grant, the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, Oshkosh, Wisconsin, 2003.

Advanced Graduate Student Travel Grant, the American Political Science Association, 1999

## AWARDS AND HONORS

“People’s Voice: Ranked-Choice Voting Manifests Voter Values”, *University of Utah Magazine*, Fall 2021 (a piece covering my research findings and grant on ranked-choice voting)

*Nominee for the Career & Professional Development Center, Faculty Recognition Program*, University of Utah. 2018.

*Winner of A Showcase of Extraordinary Faculty Achievements (for publication of my book, Social Research: Integrating Mathematical Foundations and Modern Statistical Computing. San Diego: Cognella Academic Publishing)*, With commendation from the J. Willard Marriott Library and the Office of the Vice President for Research. University of Utah. 2016

*Nominee for the Social and Behavior Science College Superior Research Award* (senior scholar category), nominated by the political science department in both 2011 and 2012.

*Professor of Political Science* (National 985-Plan Supported Foreign Scholar), Taught Summer Class at School of Government, Nanjing University, Nanjing, China. 2012.

*TRISS Endowed Professorship for Excellence*, University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, 2007-8

*Artinian Award for Professional Development*, Southern Political Science Association, 2004

*Byran Jackson Award* for the best research/dissertation in racial and ethnic politics in an urban setting, Urban Politics Section, the American Political Science Association, 1999

*Ted Robinson Award* for the best research in race and ethnicity, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1999

*Who's Who in America*, 2001-2006, Marquis, USA.

*Davis Summer Research Grant*, Stephens College, 2001

*Firestone Baars Grant* for Faculty Development, Stephens College, 1999-2001

*Vice President Discretion Grant* for Research, Stephens College, 2001, 2000

*Advanced Graduate Student Travel Grant*, the American Political Science Association, 1999

*Graduate Student Travel Grant*, University of New Orleans, 1997

*The Best Graduate Student Paper Award*, Department of Political Science, Oklahoma State University, 1993

*Pi Sigma Alpha*, National Political Science Honor Society, 1994

## **PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS**

*Member*, Review Board, Journal of Behavioral and Social Sciences. 2019-present

*Member*, Board of Directors, National Association for Ethnic Studies, 2013-2015

*Editorial Board*, Urban Affairs Review, 2008-2011

*Editorial Advisor*, International Encyclopedia of Political Science, CQ Press, 2005-2011

*Editor*, Urban News, Urban Politics Section, American Political Science Association, 2004-2010

*Chair*, Urban Politics Program, Southern Political Science Association Annual Convention, 2008

*Co-Chair*, Asian Pacific American Caucus, American Political Science Association, 2004-2006

*Member*, American Political Science Association Small Research Grant Committee, 2005

## **AS A JUDGE OR REVIEWER OF WORKS OF OTHER SCHOLARS FOR ACADEMIC JOURNALS OR PRESSES**

2001-present

Perspectives; Politics and Religion; American Political Science Review; Lexington Books; Journal of Behavioral and Social Sciences; The National Science Foundation; Sage Publications,

W. W. Norton & Company, Inc; McGraw Hill Publishing; Journal of Politics; National Political Science Review, Political Analysis; Social Science Quarterly; Urban Affairs Review; Political Research Quarterly; Politics and Policy; Journal of Urban Affairs; American Politics Research; Public Opinion Quarterly; Political Behavior; Sociological Methods and Research

## **PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICES**

*Reviewer, University URC Faculty Scholarly Grant Program, 2020*

*Chair, Faculty Tenure and Promotion Committee, Political Science, 2019-2020*

*Member, Curriculum Overhaul Committee, Ethnic Studies, 2018-2019*

*Member, Faculty Tenure and Promotion Committee, Political Science, 2018-2019*

*Chair, Faculty Tenure and Promotion Sub-Committee, Ethnic Studies, 2017-2018*

*Member, Graduate Committee, political science department, the University of Utah, 2014-2018*

*Member, Executive Committee, political science department, the University of Utah, 2014-2018*

*Faculty Senator, the University of Utah, 2015-2018*

*Chair, American Politics Field, political science department, the University of Utah, 2014-2018*

*Member, GC Building Committee, Social Science Lab, 2015-2018*

*Expert Volunteer for Utah Fair Redistricting Legal Team, 2017*

*Member, Assistant Vice President for Diversity Search Committee, 2015-2016*

*Member, Ad Hoc Graduate Committee for Writing, 2015-2016*

*Chair, Faculty Joint Appointment Search Committee, ethnic studies program and theatre department, the University of Utah, 2014-2015*

*Member, Betty Glad Foundation Committee, political science department, the University of Utah, 2014-2015*

*Chair, Awards Committee, National Association for Ethnic Studies, 2014*

*Faculty Mentor to Junior Faculty, Department of Political Science, 2013-2018*

*Chair, University of Utah MLK Committee. 2012-2013.*

*Member, Graduate School Dean Search Committee, 2013.*

*Member, University Diversity Leadership Team, the University of Utah. 2010-2013.*

*Member, University Teaching Program Committee, the University of Utah, 2011-2013.*

*Member*, University Diversity Curriculum Committee, Undergraduate Studies, the University of Utah, 2011-2013.

*Judge*, The Research Day of College of Social and Behavioral Science, 2011-2013.

*Member*, Organizing Committee, International Conference on Urbanization and Development in China, University of Utah, August 2010.

*Member*, Retention, Promotion, and Tenure Committee, Department of Political Science, the University of Utah. 2011-2013.

*Assistant Director*, Ethnic Studies Program, the University of Utah. 2010-2011.

*Committee Member*, Undergraduate Studies, Department of Political Science, the University of Utah. 2009-2011.

*Committee Member*, Utah Opportunity Scholarship, the University of Utah, reviewing and making decisions on more than 200 applications. 2009-2010.

*Member*, Ethnic Studies Positions Exploration Committee, the University of Utah. 2009-2010.

*Member*, Marketing Committee, Department of Political Science, the University of Utah. 2009-2010.

*Guest Speaker*, “Obama and the 2008 Presidential Election: A Spatial Analysis” at the Graduate Seminar titled Introduction of Survey Research in Higher Education. College of Education. The University of Utah. Feb. 3, 2009.

*Special Speaker*, “Obama and the Minimum Winning Coalition” Ethnic Studies Works in Progress Presentation. The University of Utah. Dec., 5, 2008.

*Special Speaker*, “Election 2008: A Symposium,” Hinckley Institute of Politics, University of Utah. October 6, 2008.

*Special Speaker*, “Predicting the 2008 Presidential Election Outcomes” Political Science Department, the University of Utah. Sept. 25, 2008.

*Political Commentator* for reporting from Salt Lake Tribune, AP, EFE Hispanic News Services, Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, WHBY, KFRU radio stations, the Post-Crescent, Oshkosh Northwestern, Columbia Missourian, and the Daily Utah Chronicle. December 1999 to present.

*Faculty Representative* for University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, ICPSR, University of Michigan, 2007-2008

*Member, Board of Trustees*, Wisconsin International School, 2007-2008

*Member*, UWO Office of Institutional Research Advisory Board, 2007-2008

*President*, Northeast Wisconsin Chinese Association, 2007 (executive vice president, 2006)

*Member*, Program Evaluation Committee. College of Letters and Science, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2007-2008

*Member*, Political Science Curriculum, Center for New Learning, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2007-2008

*Moderator*, Oshkosh City Forum, Mayoral Candidates' Debates, March 23, 2005

*Grant Reviewer*, Faculty Development Program. University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2004-2008

*Member*, African American Minor Counsel. University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2006-2008

*Member*, Search Committee for University Foundation President. University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2005-2006.

*Member*, Faculty Senate Libraries & Information Services Committee. University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2005-2008.

*Chair/Member*, Curriculum Committee, Dept. of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, September 2002-2008.

*Chair*, Budget Committee, Dept. of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, September 2007-2008.

*Member*, Personal Committee, Dept. of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, September 2007-2008.

*Member*, Search Committee, Dept. of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, September 2002-2008.

*Faculty Director*, the Stephens College Model UN Team, National Model United Nations Conference, New York, New York, March, 2002.

*Chair*, Political Science Search Committee, Stephens College. August 2001 to May 2002.

*Member*, Editorial Advisory Board, Collegiate Press, San Diego, California. 2000 to 2001.

*Chair*, Harry Truman Scholarship Committee, Stephens College. 2000 to 2002.

*Member*, Strategic Planning and Budgeting Committee, Stephens College. 2000 to 2002.

#### **CONFERENCE PAPER/PROCEEDINGS**

Liu, Baodong and Richard Engstrom. "Ranked Choice Voting and the Minority Voting Rights" paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Conference. Seattle. September, 2021.

Liu, Baodong. "The Growth of Scientific Knowledge through Social Computing Networks" paper presented at the 19<sup>th</sup> International E-Society Annual Conference, 2021. (through Zoom).

Liu, Baodong, Nadia Mahallati, and Charles Turner. “Ranked-Choice Voting Delivers Representation and Consensus in Presidential Primaries.” Paper presented at the Electoral Reform Research Group Conference organized by New America, American Enterprise Institute, Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University and Unite America Institute, 2021. (through Zoom).

Liu, Baodong. “Racial Prejudice behind the Anti-Affirmative Action Attitude of Asian Americans,” paper presented at the Western Political Science Association Annual Conference. San Diego. April 2019.

Liu, Baodong, Porter Morgan and Dimitri Kokoromytis. “Immigration, Nation-State Contexts and Value Changes of Ethnic Chinese” paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference. Chicago. April 2019.

Baodong Liu. “The Strategical Religious Voter”, paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Chicago, Illinois. April 2018.

Baodong Liu, Nicole Batt and Zackery Stickney. “Authoritarianism for and against Trump”, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of Behavioral and Social Sciences, Las Vegas, Nevada. February 2018.

Baodong Liu. “The Strategic Religious Voter”, paper presented at the Oxford Symposium on Religious Studies, Oxford, UK. March 2016.

Baodong Liu. “The Political Fate of Religious Minorities in the U.S. Presidential Elections.” paper presented at the 19<sup>th</sup> Annual American Association of Behavioral and Social Sciences. Las Vegas, Nevada. February 2016.

Baodong Liu. “The Political Fate of Religious Minorities in the U.S. Presidential Elections.” paper presented at the Hawaii University International Conferences on Arts, Humanities, Social Sciences and Education. Honolulu, Hawaii. January 2016.

Baodong Liu. “Statistical Inference and Visualization of Big Data in Urban Research”, paper presented at the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference on China Urban Development, Shanghai, China. June 2015.

Baodong Liu. “Race, Religion, and U.S. Presidential Elections,” paper presented at the Annual Convention of National Association for Ethnic Studies, Oakland, California. April 2014.

Baodong Liu. “Racial Context and the 2008 and 2012 US Presidential Elections,” paper presented at the 11<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference on Politics & International Affairs, Athens, Greece. June 2013.

Baodong Liu. “Deracialization in the Post-Obama Era,” presented at the National Black Political Scientist Association Annual Meeting. Las Vegas, Nevada. March 2012.

Baodong Liu. “Obama’s Racial Coalition,” paper presented at the Southwestern Social Science Association Annual Meeting. Las Vegas, Nevada. March 2011.

Geoffrey M. Draper, Baodong Liu, and Richard F. Riesenfeld. "Integrating Statistical Visualization Research into the Political Science Classroom" Information Systems Educators Conference. 2010. Nashville, Tennessee. October 2010.

Baodong Liu. "Space and Time: An Empirical Analysis of 2008 Presidential Election," paper delivered at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference, Toronto, Canada, September 2009.

Baodong Liu. "Sequential and Spatial Voting: An Analysis of the 2008 Democratic Primaries," paper presented at the 2009 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, Illinois, April 2009.

Baodong Liu. "Social Capital, Race, and Turnout," paper presented at the 2008 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, Illinois, April 2008.

Baodong Liu and Lori Weber. "Social Capital and Voting Participation," paper presented at the 2008 Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 2008.

Baodong Liu. "The 2006 New Orleans Mayoral Election," paper presented at the 2007 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, Illinois, April 2007.

James Vanderleeuw, Baodong Liu, and Erica Williams. "The Political Ramifications of a Large-Scale Natural Disaster," paper presented at the 2006 annual conference, the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, September 2006.

Baodong Liu. "EI Extended Model and the Fear of Ecological Fallacy," paper presented at the 2006 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, April 2006.

Baodong Liu. "The Fear of Ecological Fallacy and the Methods to Conquer It" paper presented at the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Oakland, CA, April 2005.

Baodong Liu. "The Whites Who Stayed in the City," paper presented at the 2004 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, April 2004.

Baodong Liu. "Whites as a Minority and the New Biracial Coalition," paper presented at the 2004 Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 2004.

Baodong Liu and James Vanderleeuw. "Economic Development Priorities and Central City/Suburb Differences," presented at the 2003 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, April 2003.

James Vanderleeuw, Baodong Liu, and Greg Marsh, "Divided Leadership and Racial Reflexivity in Memphis: An Analysis of the 1991, 1995 and 1999 Mayoral Elections," presented at the 2003 Southwestern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Antonio, Texas, April 2003.

Baodong Liu. "White Votes Count: The Effect of Black Candidates' Qualifications on White Crossover Voting," paper presented at the 98<sup>th</sup> American Political Science Association Conference, Boston, Massachusetts, September 2002.

Baodong Liu. "Searching for a 'Qualified' Black Candidate," *Proceedings of the 97<sup>th</sup> American Political Science Association Conference*, San Francisco California, September 2001.

Baodong Liu. "In Defense of an Ethical Rational Choice Theory," paper delivered at the 2001 Jessie Ball duPont Fund Summer Seminars for Liberal Arts College Faculty, the National Humanities Center, Research Triangle, North Carolina, June 2001.

Baodong Liu. "Reconsidering Social Interaction Theory," presented at the 2001 Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Las Vegas Nevada, March 2001.

James Vanderleeuw, Baodong Liu, and John Johnson. "Economic Development Priorities of City Administrators: A Report on a Survey of City Administrators in Texas," presented at the 2001 Louisiana Political Science Association Convention, Lamar Texas, March 2001.

Baodong Liu. "Racial Transition: Explaining the Curvilinear Relationship between Black Density and White Crossover Voting," *Proceedings of the 96<sup>th</sup> American Political Science Association Conference*, Washington DC, September 2000.

Baodong Liu and James Vanderleeuw. "Racial Transition: Explaining the Curvilinear Relationship between Black Density and White Crossover Voting," presented at *the 96<sup>th</sup> American Political Science Association Conference*, Washington DC, September 2000.

Baodong Liu. "Electoral Law and the Russian Party System: A Comparative Study," presented at *the 58<sup>th</sup> Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago Illinois, April 2000.

James Vanderleeuw and Baodong Liu. "Rolling Off in the Context of Context," presented at *the 30<sup>th</sup> Southwestern Political Science Association Conference*, Galveston Texas, March 2000.

Baodong Liu. "The Changing Nature of Electoral Competition in Japan." Roundtable Discussant, *the 52<sup>nd</sup> Association of Asian Studies Annual Meeting*, San Diego California, March 2000.

Baodong Liu. "Racial Context and White Voting Strategies," presented at *the 95<sup>th</sup> American Political Science Association Conference*, Atlanta Georgia, September 1999.

Baodong Liu. "The President's Support in Congress: A Test of U.S. China Policy, 1980-1994," *The 1997 Southern Political Science Association Convention*, Norfolk Virginia, November 1997.

Baodong Liu. "Examining the Race Line: White Voting Behavior in New Orleans, 1980-1994," *The 27<sup>th</sup> Southwestern Political Science Association Conference*. New Orleans Louisiana, March 1997.

Baodong Liu. "Intrapartisan Defeats and the Nomination Strategies of the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party in the 1993 Election," *The Sixth Annual Graduate Student Research Symposium*. Oklahoma State University. Stillwater Oklahoma, February 1995.

#### **INVITED SPEAKER, ROUNDTABLE/PANEL DISCUSSANT**

Baodong Liu. "The 2020 Presidential Election and the Future of American Democracy", invited lecture given to Chinese Americans on Zoom. September 2020.

Baodong Liu, Michael Cobb, and Richard Engstrom. “Understanding the Support for Ranked-Choice Voting in Two Southern Cities” talk given at the Electoral Reform Research Group, Research Development Conference. Washington D.C. February 2020.

Baodong Liu. ““Nation-State Context and Authoritarian Value Changes of Ethnic Chinese.” Talk given at the workshop of The Clash of Authoritarianisms: Secularism versus Islamism in Turkey, University of Utah. April 2019

Baodong Liu. “Trump’s Voters,” Panel Discussion on Presidential Primaries. Hinckley Institute of Politics. The University of Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah. March 2016

Baodong Liu. “Big Data in the Social Sciences,” The Consortium for Research on China and Asia (CROCA) and Policy at the Podium. The University of Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah. November 2014.

Baodong Liu. “Deracialization in the Historial Perspective,” the National Black Political Scientist Association Annual Meeting. Las Vegas, Nevada. March 2012.

“Educating the Best Students in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: the New Ethnic Studies Major at the University of Utah,” a presentation provided to the University Diversity Division Fall Retreat (March 12, 2011), the Ethnic Studies Program (August, 17, 2011), and the Community Council (September 13, 2011), at the University of Utah.

“Quantitative Analysis: Ecological Inferences and the Voting Rights Law,” a Ford Foundation Project, Duke University. July 24-28, 2010.

“Election 2008: A Symposium,” Hinckley Institute of Politics, University of Utah. October 6, 2008.

“IMMIGRATION TODAY: What are the Issues?” League of Women Voters of the Oshkosh Area Public Forum, November 12, 2007.

Theme Panel: “Bleaching” New Orleans? Power, Race, and Place After Katrina, the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, September 2, 2006.

“2006 Midterm Election Preview,” American Democracy Project, the University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh, November 2, 2006.

“Analysis on the 2006 Midterm Election Results,” American Democracy Project, the University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh, November 9, 2006.

“The Politics of New Americans: Studying Asian American Political Engagement,” the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C. September 3, 2005.

“Significance of Voting Rights Act,” Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights under Law, National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Washington DC: June 17-18, 2004.

“Protecting Democracy: Defining the Research Agenda for Voting Rights Reauthorization,” the Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. May 10, 2004.

*Chair*, the Politics of Ethnicity and Self-Determination Panel, International Studies Association-Midwest Conference, St. Louis, Missouri, November 2, 2001.

#### **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP**

Pi Sigma Alpha, National Political Science Honor Society  
American Political Science Association  
Western Political Science Association  
Midwest Political Science Association  
Association for Asian American Studies  
Association of Chinese Political Studies  
Southwestern Political Science Association

#### **Serve as an Advisor/Committee Member for the following Graduate Students**

Nicole Batt (Ph.D Dissertation Chair)  
Jake Peterson (Ph.D Dissertation Chair)  
Matt Haydon (Ph.D. Dissertation Chair)  
Porter Morgan (Ph.D. Committee)  
Charles Turner (Ph.D Committee)  
Geri Miller-Fox (Ph.D Committee)  
Alex Lovell (Ph.D Committee)  
Samantha Eldrudge (Ph.D Committee)  
Leslie Haligan-Park (Ph.D Committee)  
Nicole Cline (Master Committee Chair)  
Oakley Gordon (Master Committee)  
Michael McPhie (Master Committee)

## Appendix 2

### Voting Rights Cases in which I Served as an Expert Witness

*Cara McClure, et al., v. The Jefferson County Commission, et. Al.*, Case No. 2:23-cv-00443-MHH (S.D. Ala. 2023).

*The South Carolina State Conference of the NAACP, et al., v. McMaster et al.*, Case No. 3-21-cv-03302-JMC-TJH-RMG (Columbia Division, S.C. 2021)

*Milligan, et al. v. Merrill, et al.*, Case No. 2:21-cv-01530-AMM and *Thomas, et al. v. Merrill, et al.*, Case No. 2:21-cv-01531-AMM (N.D. Ala. 2021).

*Khadidah Stone et al., v. Allen et. Al.*, Case No. 2:21-cv-01531-AMM (N.D., Ala. 2021)

*Traci Jones et al v. Jefferson County Board of Education et al*, (N.D. Ala. 2019).

*CMA v. Arkansas*, (E.D. Ark. 2019).

*Alabama State Conference of NAACP v. Pleasant Grove*, (N.D. Ala. 2018).

*Navajo Nation, et al, v. San Juan County, et al*, (D. Utah 2012).

*League of Women Voters of Florida, et al v. Detzner, et al*, (Fla. 2012).

*Anne Pope et. al. v. County of Albany and the Albany County Board of Elections* (N.D.N.Y. 2011).

*Radogno, et al v. State Board of Elections, et al*, (N.D. Ill. 2011).

*NAACP v. St. Landry Parish et al*, (W.D. La. 2003).

*Arbor Hill Concerned Citizens Neighborhood Association et al v. County of Albany*, (N.D.N.Y. 2003).

*Hardeman County Branch of NAACP v. Frost*, (Tenn. 2003).