

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

EVAN MILLIGAN, ET AL.,

Plaintiffs,

Civil Case No. 2:21-CV-01530-AMM

v.

WES ALLEN, SECRETARY OF STATE, ET AL.,

Defendants.

AND

MARCUS CASTER, ET AL.,

Plaintiffs,

Civil Case No. 2:21-CV-00751-WKW-JTA

v.

JOHN H. MERRILL, SECRETARY OF STATE, ET AL.,

Defendants.

AND

BOBBY SINGLETON, ET AL.,

Plaintiffs,

Civil Case No. 2:21-CV-01291-AMM

V.

JOHN H. MERRILL, SECRETARY OF STATE, ET AL.,  
Defendants.

## **EXPERT REPORT OF DR. CHRISTOPHER W. BONNEAU**

### I. Introduction and Qualifications

I was retained as an expert by the defendants to ascertain whether Black candidates in elections in Alabama perform worse than white candidates on account of their race. Additionally, I have responded to certain claims made by the plaintiffs' experts. My findings and conclusions are based on Alabama-specific voter registration and election data, research I have conducted in the writing of two books and multiple articles and chapters about judicial elections, and the findings of other scholars who have studied elections. I am compensated at a rate of \$350/hour; my compensation is not dependent on the contents of my report or the outcome of this case. I previously served as an expert for the defendants in *Alabama State Conference of the NAACP, et al. v. State of Alabama, et al.* (Case No: 2:16-CV-731-WKW, 2020), for the plaintiffs in *Greg Lopez, Rodney Pelton, and Steven House v. Jena Griswold, Colorado Secretary of State, and Judd Choate, Director of Elections* (Case No: 1:22-CV-00247-PAB), for the defendants in *Dyamone White, et al. v. Mississippi State Board of Election Commissioners, et al.* (Case No: 4:22-CV-62-SA-JMV), and for the defendants in *Stone, et al. v. Allen, et al.* (Case No: 2:21-CV-01531-AMM).

I am currently Professor of Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh, where I have taught since 2002. I also am serving as the Interim Chair of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese. I received my BA from Valparaiso University in Political Science, Theology, and Humanities, an MA in political science from Ball State University, an MA in political science from Michigan State University, and a PhD in political science from Michigan State University.

My scholarly research primarily focuses on the nature of judicial elections. My studies have focused on all aspects of these elections, from voter participation to voter knowledge to campaign fundraising to campaign spending to electoral contestation to electoral competition to the consequences of electing judges. I have spent most of my scholarly career seeking to answer questions about judicial elections and respond to critics of them using empirical data.

To date, I have coauthored 2 books on judicial elections (*In Defense of Judicial Elections* in 2009 and the award-winning *Voters' Verdicts: Citizens, Campaigns, and Institutions in State Supreme Court Elections* in 2015), and co-edited one other (*Judicial Elections in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* in 2017). Additionally, I have authored or coauthored 14 scholarly articles and 8 book chapters on the topic. I have received multiple grants for my research from the National Science Foundation, and four of my articles have been published in the most selective general journals in my discipline.

Finally, I have spoken at numerous academic conferences, universities, bar associations, and legislative committees on the topic of judicial elections. A current version of my CV is appended to this report.

## II. Statewide Judicial Elections in Alabama

1. Alabama is one of six states to currently elect at least some of their state supreme court judges in races with the partisan affiliation of the candidates provided on the ballot. The others are Louisiana, New Mexico, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Texas. Of these states, Texas is the only one besides Alabama to elect all their appellate judges in statewide races with the partisan affiliations of candidates on the ballot.
2. Prior to the realignment in Alabama politics from a Democratic majority to a Republican majority, African Americans not only served on Alabama's Supreme Court, but they also won reelection to that court. Oscar Adams won two statewide races (1982 and 1988) and Ralph Cook won one (1994). Since Cook lost his bid for reelection in 2000, only *one* Democrat has won election to Alabama's Supreme Court (Sue Bell Cobb), and she is also the only Democratic candidate to win an election to the intermediate appellate court in Alabama, suggesting something unique about her. Thus, when Alabama was a state dominated by the Democratic Party, African Americans had electoral success; since the switch to Republican Party dominance, they have not. But neither have white Democratic Party candidates.
3. Alabama does not register voters by political party; however, Alabama is one of 7 states that allows for straight ticket voting.<sup>1</sup> Table 1 shows the percentage of straight-ticket votes cast in the past 3 election cycles.

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<sup>1</sup> The other states are Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Nevada, Oklahoma, and South Carolina.

**Table 1: Straight-Ticket Voting in Alabama Elections**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Total Ballots Cast</b>	<b>Straight Rep</b>	<b>% Straight Rep</b>	<b>Straight Dem</b>	<b>% Straight Dem</b>
2018	1,725,877	663,269	38.4%	462,065	26.8%
2020	2,329,114	967,157	41.5%	596,786	25.6%
2022	1,423,409	648,953	45.6%	298,434	21.0%

In 2018, the percentage of people voting straight-ticket Democrat was 26.8%, and the percentage of voters voting straight-ticket Republican was 38.4%. By 2022, of the over 1.4 million votes cast, 21.0% were straight-ticket Democratic ballots, while a whopping 45.6% were straight-ticket Republican ballots; the Democratic percentage decreased while the Republican percentage increased. While it is true that many voters who do not utilize the straight-ticket option may vote entirely for candidates from one political party, they are at least making individual selections in each race, which increases the chances that they will vote for candidates from multiple parties. Clearly, based on their advantage with straight-ticket voting, Republican candidates have a significant advantage over their Democratic counterparts.

4. The prevalence of straight ticket voting means that most voters are voting for a *political party*, not a candidate (or candidates). Thus, the fact that 45.6% of the ballots cast in 2022 were straight-ticket Republican votes indicates that the race of the candidates for either party did not matter; voters were not voting for individual candidates. Add to that the 21.0% who voted straight-ticket Democrat, 66.6% of Alabama voters—2/3 (!)—cast ballots for a political party, not individual candidates.

5. Since 2000, there have been 36 elections to the Alabama Supreme Court. These elections are listed in the Appendix A to this report. Twenty (55.6%) of these have been contested in the general election by the two major political parties, and 1 election only had competition by a 3<sup>rd</sup> Party candidate.
6. Since 2000, only 1 Democrat (Sue Bell Cobb) has won an election to Alabama's Supreme Court. All incumbents have won except for three, two of those being Democratic incumbents in 2000 and one being the Republican who lost to Cobb in 2006. (The 2018 Republican primary election for chief justice—a separately elected seat—between two incumbent justices is not counted as an incumbent loss in this paragraph.)
7. From 2000-2022, looking at all 21 races where there was competition in the general election, the winner won with an average of 57.7% of the vote. The range over this time was 50.3% to 79.7% (in a race that involved a 3<sup>rd</sup> Party and no Democratic Party candidate); in races that involved Republicans and Democrats, the range was 50.3% to 67.5%.
8. Over this period, there were six African American candidates, all of whom were Democrats. In 2000, incumbents Ralph Cook and John England lost their bids for reelection; in 2006, challengers Gwendolyn Kennedy and John England lost their bids for the Supreme Court; in 2018, challenger Donna Wesson Smalley lost an open seat to Jay Mitchell; and in 2022, Anita Kelly lost an open seat election to Greg Cook.
9. Comparing the vote of African American Democratic candidates to the other Democratic candidates in those years shows no evidence of racial bias in

voting. In 2000, Cook received 46.4% of the vote and England received 45.8% of the vote. This is *higher* than the percentage of the vote received by the two losing Democratic candidates who were white (45.3% and 45.2%). While these differences are small, they suggest that the African American candidates were not disadvantaged because of their race; they were disadvantaged because they were Democrats. The same is true for 2006. In 2006, the closest race was between Sue Bell Cobb (the only Democrat to win during this period) and the incumbent Drayton Nabers. Cobb received 51.5% of the vote. England received 45.0% and Kennedy received 43.2%. These were higher than the percentage of the vote received by another white challenger, Al Johnson, who received 42.1%. Again, the African American candidates are performing on par with (or better than) the white candidates of their same political party.<sup>2</sup> This is not surprising given that Alabama both provides voters the political party affiliation of the candidates and allows voters to vote for all the party's candidates at once using the straight ticket voting option.

The African American candidates also spent significantly less money than their opponents in these state supreme court races, as shown in Table 2. However, Democratic candidates (including Sue Bell Cobb, who successfully won her election) all spent significantly less money than Republican candidates. While it is true that the candidate who spends the most money

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<sup>2</sup> In 2018 and 2022, the only contested races involved African American candidates, so it is not possible to compare the performance of African American Democratic candidates with white Democratic candidates.

does not always win the election, scholars have shown that campaign spending does provide important information to voters (Bonneau and Hall 2009; Hall and Bonneau 2013; Hall 2015) and in an election it is very difficult to win if there is a large campaign spending differential.

Table 2: Campaign Spending by Candidate in AL State Supreme Court Races,  
Two-Party Contested Races Only

<b>Year</b>	<b>Candidate Name</b>	<b>Candidate Race</b>	<b>Candidate Party</b>	<b>Amount Spent</b>
2000	Ralph Cook	Black	Democrat	\$437,482
	Lyn Stuart	White	Republican	\$1,254,450
2000	John England	Black	Democrat	\$500,681
	Tom Woodall	White	Republican	\$1,107,839
2000	Sharon Yates	White	Democrat	\$715,419
	Roy Moore	White	Republican	\$1,499,766
2000	Joel Laird	White	Democrat	\$1,090,243
	Robert Harwood	White	Republican	\$1,460,157
2006	Gwendolyn Kennedy	Black	Democrat	\$13,708
	Tom Woodall	White	Republican	\$454,247
2006	John England	Black	Democrat	\$966,550
	Glenn Murdock	White	Republican	\$1,473,985
2006	Sue Bell Cobb	White	Democrat	\$2,474,988



	Drayton Nabers	White	Republican	\$4,608,662
2006	Al Johnson	White	Democrat	\$265,193
	Lyn Stuart	White	Republican	\$1,756,131
2018	Donna Wesson Smalley	Black	Democrat	\$74,734
	Jay Mitchell	White	Republican	\$631,119
2018	Robert Vance	White	Democrat	\$86,376
	Tom Parker	White	Republican	\$869,643
2022	Anita Kelly	Black	Democrat	\$22,506
	Greg Cook	White	Republican	\$1,909,110

10. In the elections in Table 2, Republican candidates, on average, spent

\$1,547,737, while Democratic candidates spent, on average, \$604,353.

11. In state supreme court elections from 2010-2022, there is a strong,

statistically significant relationship between the percentage of the vote received by the Democratic candidate in a county and the percentage of the registered voters who are African American in that county in a bivariate regression. A one-unit increase in the percentage of registered voters who are African American leads to a 0.50 percentage point increase in the percentage of the vote received by the Democratic candidate. This means that, on average, if the percentage of African American registered voters increased by 1%, Democratic candidates would perform 0.50 percentage points better, other things being equal. This indicates that a statistically

significant important predictor of how well Democrats do in Alabama is a result solely of how many African American voters there are in the county.

12. This means that if, say, the percentage of registered voters who are African American moved from 35%-36%, the percentage of the vote received by Democratic candidates would increase from 45% to 45.5%.

13. In a multivariate regression model including both the percentage of the registered black population and whether the losing state supreme court candidate was black as independent variables, African American candidates perform 4.3 percentage points better than White candidates.

### III. Alabama State Legislative Elections

14. I examined the 2022 elections to the Alabama House of Representatives using the same methods and techniques as I did for state supreme court elections, and I find similar results. Black Democrats who lost contested seats for the State House averaged 29.1% of the vote in the counties in which they ran, while white Democrats averaged 23.7%. Once again, while all Democrats have a difficult time winning elections in Alabama, Black Democrats perform better when they challenge white Republicans than white Democrats do.

15. This is also true in the 2022 elections to the Alabama State Senate: Black Democrats who lost contested seats averaged 32.1% of the vote in the counties in which they ran, while white Democrats averaged 24.9%.

16. It is important to remember that in state legislative races, unlike statewide races, the electorate and candidates for each seat are unique. However, the

results above suggest that, in districts where a Black Democrat is challenging a white Republican, that candidate outperforms districts where a white Democrat is challenging a white Republican.

17. Another indication that race is not the driving force behind vote choice comes from the 2022 District 74 election to the Alabama House of Representatives. In 2018, that district was 67% white and elected a Republican; in 2022, after redistricting, it became 55% Black (Cason 2022). Perhaps not surprisingly, a Democrat was elected. However, in the Democratic primary, a white Democratic candidate defeated a Black Democratic candidate. In fact, the white candidate (Philip Ensler) received over 65% of the vote against the Black candidate (Malcolm Calhoun). If race was the driving force in this election, then why would a majority Black district select a white Democratic nominee over a Black nominee? While the data cannot tell us the reasons why voters in House District 74 selected the candidate they did, the data do indicate that the race of the candidate was not a factor in an African American candidate losing either the Democratic primary.

18. Additional evidence for the effect of party being the most important factor can be found looking at the Alabama House of Representatives. In 2021, Kenneth Paschal became the first Black Republican to win election to the State House since Reconstruction. In doing so, he defeated a white Republican in the primary and won 74.7% of the vote against a white Democrat in the general election. While only 1 case, this illustrates that

voters do make selections based on the candidate's positions as well as their political party affiliation.

19. Likewise, Bill Lewis (a Black attorney) was appointed to the Circuit 19 bench by Republican Governor Robert Bentley. Lewis subsequently won a full term on the bench in 2018, facing no opposition either in the Republican Primary or in the general election. Even though white votes make up the majority of the Republican Party, Lewis was unopposed for the nomination, suggesting that his race was not a factor in the election.

#### V. Alabama Congressional Elections

20. The 2024 Republican primary in the newly drawn Congressional District 2 is a good example African-Americans largely identifying as Democrats as opposed to Republicans. In this newly drawn district, every candidate running on the Democratic side was Black (Chapoco, Rocha, and Stephenson 2024). On the Republican side, there 3 African-American candidates, with the highest vote-getter of the three receiving only 1.9% (Gassiott 2024).
21. These results are not surprising because, as stated in the expert reports of both Drs. Liu and Palmer, in all the elections they analyzed, Black voters preferred Black candidates, and all these Black candidates in their analysis were Democrats. Thus, the number of Black voters who participated in the Republican primary is quite small, and thus we cannot learn much from their electoral performance.

22. Indeed, using 2020 census data<sup>3</sup> and looking at the 2022 elections, the bivariate correlation between the percentage of voting age African-Americans in a district and the percentage of the vote received by the Democratic candidate was 0.72.<sup>4</sup> If the two elections where Democrats did not contest the seat (thereby receiving 0% of the vote) are removed, this relationship jumps to 0.87.<sup>5</sup> The bivariate correlation measures the extent to which both variables occur together. It ranges from -1.0 to 1.0, and any correlation above 0.5 (or -0.5) is considered a moderate relationship and any correlation above 0.7 (or -0.7) is considered a strong relationship.
23. The results in congressional elections in Alabama are consistent with the story that political party is driving these election results, not race.

#### V. Response to Plaintiffs' Expert Reports

24. Dr. Liu relies on King's ecological inference (EI) technique to determine whether voting in Alabama races is racially polarized. While EI techniques are widely used by courts for this type of analysis, they have some significant limitations (e.g., Cho 1998; Elmendorf, Quinn, and Abrajano 2016).
25. In addition to the statistical limitations noted above, there is a significant inferential limitation: EI cannot tell us about the reasons behind the observed

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<sup>3</sup> The data used for this analysis is found in Table 5 of Cooper's expert report filed in the *Caster* case.

<sup>4</sup> This falls just outside the conventional 0.05 level of statistical significance ( $p = 0.68$ ). I suspect this is largely because there are only 7 cases being analyzed here.

<sup>5</sup> This falls just outside the conventional 0.05 level of statistical significance ( $p = 0.57$ ). I suspect this is largely because there are only 5 cases being analyzed here.

(inferred) data. Liu (p. 4) posits that Black candidates lose, writing, “[V]oting 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.” But his analysis must end there; he cannot provide an explanation for why BPCs lose. That is, even if we were to grant that EI is 100% accurate in recovering individual-level behavior from aggregate data, that data would still not tell us *why* we observe what we observe.

26. Professor Liu relies on elections where there were “both a Black candidate and a white candidate (i.e., biracial elections) during the last 15 years (p. 4).” He justifies this by saying these elections “satisfy the necessary conditions for Black and non-Black voters to have an opportunity to vote for the candidate of their choice, which is not available in uni-racial [sic] elections involving only white candidates (or involving only Black candidates)” (p. 4-5). Thus, in Dr. Liu’s expert opinion, Black voters do not have an opportunity to select a candidate of their choice if there is no Black candidate. This is both overly reductionist and false. There is no reason to assume, a priori, that a Black candidate is the only (or even the best) option for Black voters. By this logic, Liu would expect Black voters to, for example, vote for Clarence Thomas over Bernie Sanders. Justice Thomas’ concurring opinion in *Alexander v. South Carolina State Conference of the NAACP* (2024) notes that the plaintiffs in that

case, like Dr. Liu, “make no effort to explore whether the affinity of the district’s black population toward the Democratic Party ‘might be the product of similar socioeconomic interests rather than some other factor related to race.’”

27. As an example of why omitting these elections does not make sense, Dr. Liu determines that elections involving Representative Terri Sewell (a Black Democrat) are relevant in 2010, 2012, and 2022, but because she was challenged in the Democratic primary by another Black candidate in 2014, Dr. Liu does not analyze whether she was the preferred candidate of Black voters in that election.

28. Another example: since only biracial elections “satisfy the necessary conditions for Black and non-Black voters to have an opportunity to vote for the candidate of their choice, which is not available in uni-racial [sic] elections involving only white candidates (or involving only Black candidates)” (Liu report, p. 4-5), it follows that Black voters had no preference in the U.S. Senate election between Doug Jones and Roy Moore because both candidates were white.

29. Dr. Liu also omits at least three races which meet his criteria: the 2014 1<sup>st</sup> Congressional District race between Burton LeFlore (a Black candidate) and Bradley Byrne (a white candidate), the 2012 3<sup>rd</sup> Congressional District race between John Andrew Harris (a Black candidate) and Mike Rogers (a white candidate), and the 2012 5<sup>th</sup> Congressional District race between Charlie Holley (a Black candidate) and Mo Brooks (a white candidate).

30. Dr. Liu curiously includes the 2020 “Vice Presidential election” (p. 5) as a race between an African-American candidate and a white candidate. There was no “Vice Presidential election” in 2020; voters had to vote for either the ticket of Biden/Harris or Trump/Pence. Voters did *not* have the option of voting just for Vice President Harris any more than they had the option to vote for Vice President Pence. Moreover, there is scholarly literature demonstrating that the vice-presidential candidate has very little impact on voters’ choice of President (e.g., Romero 2001; Ulbig 2010). This is particularly true when looking at “targeted choice”: “vote choice among groups with whom they share a salient geographic (i.e., home state or region), demographic (i.e., gender or religious), or ideological (i.e., liberal, conservative) identity” (Devine and Kopko 2020, 15). In fact, with the interesting exception of the selection of Paul Ryan (who helped Mitt Romney attract conservative voters), “we see no such effects at any point during the campaign, or, at best, a temporary increase in support that fades away by Election Day” (Devine and Kopko 2020, 16).

31. Moreover, Dr. Liu’s analysis ignores the single biggest determinant of vote choice in American politics: political party (e.g., Sievert and Banda 2024; Stapleton and Langehennig 2024). This is important because we know that African Americans overwhelmingly identify with the Democratic Party (e.g., Watts 2024). In 2022, looking at Alabama State Senate races, the bivariate correlation at the county-level between the percentage of registered voters who are Black, and the percentage of the vote received by the Democratic



Party candidate was 0.78, an incredibly strong relationship; for the Alabama State House, it was even higher: 0.82. Thus, we need to find a way to separate out the effects of political party from the effects of race.

32. Indeed, in Table 1 of Dr. Liu's report, in all 9 elections he analyzes, the Black candidate represented the Democratic Party, and the white candidate represented the Republican Party. Thus, we cannot determine whether the candidates lost because they were Black or because they were Democrats.
33. This is contrary to Justice Alito's majority opinion in *Alexander*, where he writes, "a party challenging a map's constitutionality must disentangle race and politics if it wishes to prove that the legislature was motivated by race as opposed to partisanship." Liu's analysis fails to do that.
34. Indeed, Justice Alito's majority opinion goes on to state that an expert's "conspicuous failure to control for party preference is alone sufficient to discredit any reliance on his report."
35. In Table 1, Dr. Liu only analyzes the Democratic primary in Congressional District 1. Interestingly, he neglects to include or analyze the runoff election, where the Black candidate (James Averhart) won the nomination. Not including the runoff election paints a misleading picture of that election.
36. Dr. Liu focuses only on races that include African American candidates to determine if voting is racially polarized. However, only focusing on these cases leads to selection bias and potentially erroneous conclusions. Rather, we need to look at how people in Alabama vote in *all* races, not just those where there are African American candidates. If African Americans vote

similarly for white candidates as they do for African American candidates, then it *cannot* be the race of the candidate that is driving voting patterns. By excluding these races, the Liu report assumes that there are differences based on the race of the candidate rather than treating it as an empirical question. “For example, if white voters tend to be conservative and most potential minority candidates are very liberal, strong minority candidates may elect not to run because they are ideologically out of step” (Elmendorf, Quinn, and Abrajano 2016, 655).

37. Looking at contested statewide state supreme court elections from 2000-2022, the bivariate correlation between percentage of registered voters who are African American, and the percentage of the vote received by the Democratic candidate is 0.46; if I limit the analysis to 2010-2022, it is 0.48. This relationship is statistically significant: the higher the percentage of registered voters who are Black, the higher the percentage of vote for the Democratic candidate.

38. The same results hold for state legislative and U.S. congressional races, as I discuss above in paragraphs 22 and 31.

39. Dr. Liu also includes two mayoral runoff elections in the City of Montgomery. While he does not state why he included these races, one likely reason is because these races are nonpartisan, and thus appear to undermine the argument that party is not a relevant factor here. However, in both these elections, the Black candidate (and, according to Dr. Liu, the Black-preferred candidate) *won* the election. More importantly, Reed had previously won

three partisan elections as a Montgomery County Probate Judge. His party identification (Democrat) was likely known to voters.

40. Moreover, Bonneau and Cann (2015) found that there are high levels of partisan voting even in nonpartisan elections. That is, voters registered as Democrats vote for the Democratic candidate (and the same for Republicans) even if the partisan identification of the candidates is not on the ballot.

41. Thus, even though the party affiliation of candidates does not appear on the ballot, this does not mean that the partisan affiliation of candidates is irrelevant; this, rather than racial polarization, could be the reason for the observed voting patterns.

42. Dr. Palmer's analysis suffers from the same flaws as Dr. Liu's. In paragraph 7 of his report, he writes, "Across an analysis of 17 statewide elections, the Black-preferred candidate was able to win only once." However, all these Black-preferred candidates were Democrats. The same is true for his analysis of congressional districts as well.

43. Dr. Palmer writes in paragraph 23 that "The Black-preferred candidate, Doug Jones, won this election only because of his margin of victory in the 7<sup>th</sup> Congressional District; Moore won the majority of the vote in five of the seven congressional districts." A look at Dr. Palmer's Table 10 shows that this claim is misleading: Doug Jones outperformed other Democratic candidates *in every congressional district*. Jones won his race by outperforming the typical vote share received by Democratic candidates in every congressional district, not just the 7<sup>th</sup>.

44. It is worth pointing out that while Dr. Palmer claims that Doug Jones was the preferred candidate of Black voters, Dr. Liu's statement about the importance of biracial elections clearly leads to the implication that because the race was between two white candidates, Black voters did not have the opportunity to vote for the candidate of their choice (see p. 4-5 of his report and paragraph 26 above).

## V. Conclusion

45. My examination of the evidence in this case does not reveal evidence of voting based on race. Indeed, African American candidates either perform as well as or outperform White candidates of the same political party in judicial, state legislative, and congressional elections in Alabama.

46. African American candidates did have success running in statewide judicial elections before Alabama realigned and became a one-party Republican state.

47. The lack of success of African American candidates is not because of their race; rather, it is because they overwhelmingly run as members of the Democratic Party. Indeed, in the one case where a Black Republican ran against a white Democrat for a state legislative seat, the Black Republican won easily (and even defeated a white Republican in the primary). And in the one case where a Black Republican judge ran for election, he was uncontested in both the primary and the general election.

I reserve the right to update this report based on additional facts, testimony, and/or materials.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the foregoing is true and correct.

  
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Chris W. Bonneau

June 28, 2024

DATE

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**Appendix A: Alabama State Supreme Court General Elections, 2000-2022**

Year	Winner (Party)	Loser (Party)	Winner Pct. of Vote
2000	Moore (R)	Yates (D)	54.7%
2000	Stuart (R)	Cook (D)	52.6%
2000	Lyons (R)	Smith (L)	79.7%
2000	Woodall (R)	England (D)	54.2%
2000	Harwood (R)	Laird (D)	54.8%
2002	See (R)	Anderson (D)	52.6%
2004	Parker (R)	R. Smith (D)	55.8%
2004	P. Smith (R)	Monroe (D)	61.6%
2004	Bolin (R)	Rochester (D)	59.7%
2006	Cobb (D)	Nabers (R)	51.5%
2006	Lyons (R)	-----	100%
2006	Woodall (R)	Kennedy (D)	56.8%
2006	Stuart (R)	Johnson (D)	57.9%
2006	Murdock (R)	England (D)	55.0%
2008	Shaw (R)	Paseur (D)	50.3%
2010	Parker (R)	Parsons (D)	58.9%
2010	Bolin (R)	Edwards (D)	62.8%
2010	Wise (R)	Chambers (D)	62.9%
2012	Moore (R)	Vance (D)	51.8%
2012	Murdock (R)	-----	100%
2012	Bryan (R)	-----	100%
2012	Stuart (R)	-----	100%
2014	Shaw (R)	-----	100%
2014	Main (R)	-----	100%
2016	Bolin (R)	-----	100%
2016	Wise (R)	-----	100%
2016	Parker (R)	-----	100%
2018	Parker (R)	Vance (D)	57.4%
2018	Stewart (R)	-----	100%
2018	Bryan (R)	-----	100%
2018	Sellers (R)	-----	100%
2018	Mitchell (R)	Smalley (D)	60.5%
2020	Shaw (R)	-----	100%
2020	Mendheim (R)	-----	100%
2022	Cook (R)	Kelly (D)	67.4%
2022	Wise (R)	-----	100%

**CHRIS W. BONNEAU**  
Curriculum Vitae  
April 2024

Department of Political Science  
University of Pittsburgh  
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

Email: [REDACTED]@gmail.com  
Web: <http://www.pitt.edu/~cwb7>

**Academic Positions**

- Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, February 2019 - present
- Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, September 2008 - January 2019
- Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, August 2002 - August 2008

**Administrative Positions**

- Interim Chair, Department of Hispanic Languages and Literatures, July 2023 - present
- Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Political Science, 2022 - 2023
- Co-Chair, Institutional Conflict of Interest Committee, 2022 - 2023
- Co-Director, Center for American Politics and Society (CAPS), 2013 - 2014
- Interim Director of Undergraduate Studies, Department of Political Science, 2008 - 2009

**Education**

- Ph.D., Political Science (American Politics, Research Methods, Positive Political Theory), Michigan State University, 2002.
- M.A., Political Science, Michigan State University, 1999.
- ICPSR Summer Program, University of Michigan. 1999.
- M.A., Political Science, Ball State University. 1998.
- B.A., Political Science, Theology, and Humanities, Valparaiso University, 1997.

**Other Training**



- 2012. Provost’s Diversity Seminar.
- 2016. Inside-Out Instructor Training.
- 2022. Faculty Development Certificate Program: Inclusive Leadership.
- 2023. Cutting-Edge Leadership Development.

### Grants

- \$47,872. University of Pittsburgh Chancellor’s Seed Grant, “Pitt Prison Education Project” (Chris W. Bonneau, Nancy Glazener, Cory Holding, and Shalini Puri, co-Principal Investigators). September 1, 2018-August 31, 2020.
- \$26,578. National Science Foundation, “Collaborative Research: A Workshop on the Normative Implications of Empirical Research in Law and Courts” (SES 1228172, SES 1228306; Brandon L. Bartels and Chris W. Bonneau, co-Principal Investigators). September 1, 2012-August 31, 2013.
- \$990. University of Pittsburgh School of Arts and Sciences, Type II Research Expenses Grant. Summer, 2010.
- \$80,000. National Science Foundation, “Collaborative Research: An Individual-Level State Supreme Court Database” (SES 0518491, SES 0516409, SES 0516600; Chris W. Bonneau, Paul Brace, and Kevin Arceneaux, co-Principal Investigators). September 1, 2005-August 31, 2006.
- \$4,000. University of Pittsburgh School of Arts and Sciences, Type I Third Term Research Stipend. Summer 2005.
- \$7,950. National Science Foundation, “Doctoral Dissertation Research: Money and State Supreme Court Elections” (SES 0108906; Chris W. Bonneau and Melinda Gann Hall, co-Principal Investigators). July 1, 2001-June 30-2002.

### Awards

- 2021 Chancellor’s Distinguished Teaching Award.
- 2017 Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the Best Paper presented at the 2017 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association for “‘Stronger Together’: Political Ambition and the Presentation of Women Running for Office” (with Kristin Kanthak).
- 2016 Virginia Gray Best Book Award given by the State Politics and Policy Section of the American Political Science Association for the best political science book published on the subject of U.S. state politics or policy in the preceding three calendar years for *Voters’ Verdicts: Citizens, Campaigns, and Institutions in State Supreme Court Elections* (with Damon M. Cann).

## Publications

### Books:

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Damon M. Cann. 2015. *Voters' Verdicts: Citizens, Campaigns, and Institutions in State Supreme Court Elections*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press. *Winner of the 2016 Virginia Gray Best Book Award given by the State Politics and Policy Section of the American Political Science Association for the best political science book published on the subject of U.S. state politics or policy in the preceding three calendar years.*
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Melinda Gann Hall. 2009. *In Defense of Judicial Elections*. New York: Routledge.
- Hammond, Thomas H., Chris W. Bonneau, and Reginald S. Sheehan. 2005. *Strategic Behavior and Policy Choice on the U.S. Supreme Court*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

### Edited Books:

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Melinda Gann Hall. 2016. *Judicial Elections in the 21st Century*. New York: Routledge.
- Bartels, Brandon L. and Chris W. Bonneau. 2015. *Making Law and Courts Research Relevant: The Normative Implications of Empirical Research*. New York: Routledge.

### Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles:

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Kristin Kanthak. 2021. "Desk Rejecting 'Against Desk Rejects!'" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 54: 690-693.
- Bonneau, Chris W., Kristin Kanthak, Amanda Leifson, and Shane M. Redman. 2021. "The Review Process and the Citation Gap: The Role of the Editor's Nudge." *Journal of Politics* 83: 772-776.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Kristin Kanthak. 2020. "'Stronger Together': Political Ambition and the Presentation of Women Running for Office." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 8: 576-594.
- Bonneau, Chris W., Jarrod Kelly, Kira Pronin, Shane Redman, and Matthew Zarit. 2017. "Evaluating the Effects of Multiple Opinion Rationales on Supreme Court Legitimacy." *American Politics Research* 45: 335-365.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Damon Cann. 2015. "Party Identification and Vote Choice in Partisan and Nonpartisan Judicial Elections." *Political Behavior* 37: 43-66.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Eric Loepp. 2014. "Getting Things Straight: The Effects of Ballot Design and Electoral Structure on Voter Participation." *Electoral Studies* 34: 119-130.

- Hall, Melinda Gann and Chris W. Bonneau. 2013. “Attack Advertising, the *White* Decision, and Voter Participation in State Supreme Court Elections.” *Political Research Quarterly* 66: 115-126.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Damon M. Cann. 2011. “Campaign Spending, Diminishing Marginal Returns, and Campaign Finance Restrictions in Judicial Elections.” *Journal of Politics* 73: 1267-1280.
- Bonneau, Chris W., Melinda Gann Hall, and Matthew J. Streb. 2011. “*White* Noise: The Unrealized Effects of *Republican Party of Minnesota vs. White* on Judicial Elections.” *Justice System Journal* 32: 247-268.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Heather Marie Rice. 2009. “Impartial Judges? Race, Institutional Context, and U.S. State Supreme Courts.” *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 9: 381-403.
- Hall, Melinda Gann and Chris W. Bonneau. 2008. “Mobilizing Interest: The Effects of Money on Citizen Participation in State Supreme Court Elections.” *American Journal of Political Science* 52: 457-470.
- Bonneau, Chris W., Thomas H. Hammond, Forrest Maltzman, and Paul J. Wahlbeck 2007. “Agenda Control, the Median Justice, and the Majority Opinion on the U.S. Supreme Court.” *American Journal of Political Science* 51: 890-905.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2007. “The Effects of Campaign Spending in State Supreme Court Elections.” *Political Research Quarterly* 60: 489-499.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2007. “Campaign Fundraising in State Supreme Court Elections.” *Social Science Quarterly* 88: 68-85.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2006. “Vacancies on the Bench: Open Seat Elections for State Supreme Courts.” *Justice System Journal* 27: 143-159.
- Hall, Melinda Gann and Chris W. Bonneau. 2006. “Does Quality Matter? Challengers in State Supreme Court Elections.” *American Journal of Political Science* 50: 20-33.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2005. “Electoral Verdicts: Incumbent Defeats in State Supreme Court Elections.” *American Politics Research* 33: 818-841.
- Ames, Barry, David C. Barker, Chris W. Bonneau, and Christopher J. Carman. 2005. “Hide the Republicans, the Christians, and the Women: A Response to ‘Politics and Professional Advancement Among College Faculty.’ ” *The Forum* 3: Article 7.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2005. “What Price Justice(s)? Understanding Campaign Spending in State Supreme Court Elections.” *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 5: 107-125.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2004. “Patterns of Campaign Spending and Electoral Competition in State Supreme Court Elections.” *Justice System Journal* 25: 21-38.

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Melinda Gann Hall. 2003. "Predicting Challengers in State Supreme Court Elections: Context and the Politics of Institutional Design." *Political Research Quarterly* 56: 337-349.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2001. "The Composition of State Supreme Courts, 2000." *Judicature* 85: 26-33.

#### Book Chapters:

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Jordan M. Fields. 2024. "Tearing Down Walls: Teaching Political Science in Prison." In *Civic Pedagogies: Teaching Civic Engagement in an Era of Divisive Politics*, edited by Lauren Bell, Allison Rank, and Carah Ong Whaley. New York: Palgrave.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Kristin Kanthak. 2020. "Women's Political Ambition and the 2016 Election." In *Good Reasons to Run: Women and Political Candidacy*, edited by Shauna L. Shames, Rachel I. Bernhard, Mirya R. Holman, and Dawn Langan Teele. Philadelphia: Temple. Pages 167-174.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Heather Marie Rice. 2017. "Judicial Selection in the States: A Look Back, A Look Ahead." In *Routledge Handbook of Judicial Politics*, edited by Robert M. Howard and Kirk A. Randazzo. New York: Routledge. Pages 340-351.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2016. "Fundraising and Spending in State Supreme Court Elections." In *Judicial Elections in the 21st Century*, edited by Chris W. Bonneau and Melinda Gann Hall. New York: Routledge. Pages 79-92.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Melinda Gann Hall. 2016. "Judicial Elections in the 21st Century." In *Judicial Elections in the 21st Century*, edited by Chris W. Bonneau and Melinda Gann Hall. New York: Routledge. Pages 3-14.
- Hall, Melinda Gann and Chris W. Bonneau. 2016. "Toward a More Sophisticated Understanding of Contemporary Judicial Elections." In *Judicial Elections in the 21st Century*, edited by Chris W. Bonneau and Melinda Gann Hall. New York: Routledge. Pages 262-272.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Jenna Becker Kane. 2016. "Proposals for Reforms: Successes and Failures." In *Judicial Elections in the 21st Century*, edited by Chris W. Bonneau and Melinda Gann Hall. New York: Routledge. Pages 249-261.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Brandon L. Bartels. 2014. "The Normative Implications of Empirical Research: A Research Agenda." In *Making Law and Courts Research Relevant: The Normative Implications of Empirical Research*, edited by Brandon L. Bartels and Chris W. Bonneau. New York: Routledge. Pages 3-13.
- Bartels, Brandon L. and Chris W. Bonneau. 2014. "Can Empirical Research Be Relevant to the Policy Process? Understanding the Obstacles and Exploiting the Opportunities." In *Making Law and Courts Research Relevant: The Normative Implications of Empirical Research*, edited by Brandon L. Bartels and Chris W. Bonneau. New York: Routledge. Pages 221-228.

- Cann, Damon M., Chris W. Bonneau, and Brent D. Boyea. 2012. "Campaign Contributions and Judicial Decisions in Partisan and Nonpartisan Elections." In *New Directions in Judicial Politics*, edited by Kevin T. McGuire. New York: Routledge. Pages 38-52.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2009. "Judicial Elections: Facts vs. Myths." In *The Rule of Law: Perspectives on Legal and Judicial Reform in West Virginia*, edited by Russell S. Sobel. Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University. Pages 63-69.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2007. "The Dynamics of Campaign Spending in State Supreme Court Elections, 1990-2004." In *Running for Judge: The Rising Political, Financial, and Legal Stakes of Judicial Elections*, edited by Matthew J. Streb. New York: New York University Press. Pages 59-72.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Tara W. Stricko-Neubauer. 2006. "The United States Supreme Court: Continuity and Change." In *Developments in American Politics 5*, edited by Gillian Peele, Christopher J. Bailey, Bruce Cain, and B. Guy Peters. New York: Palgrave. Pages 107-123.
- Hammond, Thomas H., Chris W. Bonneau, and Reginald S. Sheehan. 2006. "A Court of Appeals in a Rational Choice Model of Supreme Court Decision-Making." In *Institutional Games and the U.S. Supreme Court*, edited by James R. Rogers, Roy B. Flemming, and Jon R. Bond. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press. Pages 127-172.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Melinda Gann Hall. 2004. "The Wisconsin Judiciary." In *Wisconsin Government and Politics*, 8th edition, edited by Ronald E. Weber. New York: McGraw-Hill. Pages 171-196.
- Hall, Melinda Gann and Chris W. Bonneau. 2000. "The Wisconsin Judiciary." In *Wisconsin Government and Politics*, 7th edition, edited by Ronald E. Weber. New York: McGraw-Hill. Pages 174-202.

#### **Law Reviews:**

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Shane M. Redman. 2015. "Much Ado About Nothing: The Irrelevance of *Williams-Yulee v. The Florida Bar* on the Conduct of Judicial Elections." *Vanderbilt Law Review En Banc* 68: 31-41.

#### **Book Reviews:**

- Bonneau, Chris W. 2019. Review of *Judicial Merit Selection: Institutional Design and Performance for State Courts*, by Greg Goelzhauser. *Law and Politics Book Review* 29: 134-135.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2017. Review of *Supreme Democracy: The End of Elitism in Supreme Court Nominations*, by Richard Davis. *Congress and the Presidency* 45: 112-114.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2016. Review of *Justices on the Ballot: Continuity and Change in State Supreme Court Elections*, by Herbert M. Kritzer. *Perspectives on Politics* 14: 235-236.

- Bonneau, Chris W. 2012. Review of *Electing Judges: The Surprising Effects of Campaigning on Judicial Legitimacy*, by James L. Gibson. *Law and Politics Book Review* 22: 469-472.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2007. Review of *Supreme Conflict: The Inside Story of the Struggle for Control of the United States Supreme Court*, by Jan Crawford Greenburg. *Law and Politics Book Review* 17: 499-501.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2006. Review of *The Politics of Precedent on the U.S. Supreme Court*, by Thomas G. Hansford and James F. Spriggs, II, and *Judging on a Collegial Court: Influences on Federal Appellate Decision Making*, by Virginia A. Hettinger, Stefanie A. Lindquist, and Wendy L. Martinek. *Perspectives on Politics* 4: 776-777.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2006. Review of *Reforming the Court: Term Limits for Supreme Court Justices*, edited by Roger C. Cramton and Paul D. Carrington. *Law and Politics Book Review* 16: 361-363.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2003. Review of *Judicial Review in State Supreme Courts: A Comparative Study*, by Laura Langer. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 33: 166-168.

#### Encyclopedia Entries:

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Heather Marie Rice. 2020. "The Judicial System of the USA." In *The USA and Canada 2020* 22nd edition, edited by Dominic Heaney. London: Routledge.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Heather Marie Rice. 2019. "The Judicial System of the USA." In *The USA and Canada 2019* 21st edition, edited by Dominic Heaney. London: Routledge.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Heather Marie Rice. 2018. "The Judicial System of the USA." In *The USA and Canada 2018* 20th edition, edited by Dominic Heaney. London: Routledge.
- Bonneau Chris W. and Shane M. Redman. 2017. "*Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* (2010)." In *Encyclopedia of American Civil Rights and Liberties: Revised and Expanded Edition*, 2nd edition, edited by Kara E. Stooksbury, John M. Scheb II, and Otis H. Stephens, Jr. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO. Pages 145-146.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Sean Craig. 2017. "*Caperton v. A.T. Massey Coal Co.* (2009)." In *Encyclopedia of American Civil Rights and Liberties: Revised and Expanded Edition*, 2nd edition, edited by Kara E. Stooksbury, John M. Scheb II, and Otis H. Stephens, Jr. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO. Pages 127-129.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Heather Marie Rice. 2017. "The Judicial System of the USA." In *The USA and Canada 2017* 19th edition, edited by Dominic Heaney. London: Routledge. Pages 110-115.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Heather Marie Rice. 2015. "The Judicial System of the USA." In *The USA and Canada 2016* 18th edition, edited by Neil Higgins. London: Routledge. Pages 117-125.

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Heather Marie Rice. 2014. “The Judicial System of the USA.” In *The USA and Canada 2015* 17th edition, edited by Neil Higgins. London: Routledge. Pages 111-118.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Heather Marie Rice. 2013. “The Judicial System of the USA.” In *The USA and Canada 2014* 16th edition, edited by Neil Higgins. London: Routledge. Pages 104-110.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Brent D. Boyea. 2013. “State Courts: Past, Present, and Future.” In *Oxford Handbook of State and Local Government*, edited by Donald P. Haider-Markel. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Mark S. Hurwitz. 2012. “The Judicial System of the USA.” In *The USA and Canada 2013* 15th edition, edited by Neil Higgins. London: Routledge. Pages 102-108.
- Stricko, Tara W. and Chris W. Bonneau. 2011. “Judicial Decision Making.” In *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*, edited by Bertrand Badie, Dirk Berg-Schlosser, and Leonardo Morlino. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Pages 1367-1370.
- Rice, Heather Marie and Chris W. Bonneau. 2009. “Judicial Branch.” In *Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*, edited by Donald P. Haider-Markel. Washington, DC: CQ Press. Pages 817-819.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Heather Marie Rice. 2009. “Judicial Selection.” In *Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*, edited by Donald P. Haider-Markel. Washington, DC: CQ Press. Pages 824-825.
- Rice, Heather Marie, Chris W. Bonneau, and Mark S. Hurwitz. 2009. “Judges.” In *Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*, edited by Donald P. Haider-Markel. Washington, DC: CQ Press. Pages 815-817.

#### Opinion:

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Kristin Kanthak. 2021. “Democracy Demands High Levels of Participation.” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, October 31, 2021.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Kristin Kanthak. 2019. “The Thriving Field of State Politics.” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, August 13, 2019.
- McCoy, Chris and Chris W. Bonneau. 2018. “Convoluting Judicial Amendment Subverts Voters.” *The Daily Reflector*, November 5, 2018.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2018. “NC Needs to Stop Messing with Its Judiciary.” *Raleigh News and Observer*, May 18, 2018.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2016. “2016: The Year We Knew Nothing.” *The Cresset*. 80 (Advent): 10-11.



- Bonneau, Chris W. and Sean Craig. 2015. “*King v. Burwell* and the Future of the PPACA.” *Retina Today* 10 (May/June): 16-21.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2013. “Political Science Professor: Many Good Reasons for Idea of Electing Judges.” *The Oklahoman*, September 8, 2013.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2013. “PA System of Electing Judges Works.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 15, 2013.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2012. “Are Judicial Elections A Real Problem In Michigan?” *Detroit News*, June 19, 2012.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2012. “True ‘Merit’ in Judicial Selection.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 8, 2012.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2011. “A Bum Rap on Elected Judges.” *Washington Post*, May 26, 2011.
- Lazos, Sylvia R. and Chris W. Bonneau. 2010. “Appoint Judges? No Thanks. Elections Ensure Certain Safeguards.” *Las Vegas Review Journal*, October 31, 2010.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2010. “Should Judges Be Elected? Yes.” *The Costco Connection* 25 (May): 17.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2008. “2008: A Transformative Election.” *The Cresset* 73 (Advent/Christmas): 24-25.

#### Other:

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Kristin Kanthak. 2018. “In Memoriam: Tom Carsey.” *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 18: 119-121.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2018. “The Case for Partisan Judicial Elections.” Federalist Society White Paper.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2017. “NSF Dissertation Improvement Grants.” *The Legislative Scholar* 2: 18-19.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2012. “A Survey of Empirical Evidence Concerning Judicial Elections.” Federalist Society White Paper.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Melinda Gann Hall. 2010. “‘The Battle Over Judicial Elections: Right Argument, Missed Audience’: A Response to Stephen Wasby.” *Justice System Journal* 31: 117-120.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2008. “Formal Theory and Judicial Politics: Contributions and Cautions.” *Law and Courts Newsletter* 18: 4-6.

#### Current Projects



- Transparency from Start to Finish: A How-to Guide for the Social Sciences with Kristin Kanthak and Lee D. Walker.
- “Measuring State Campaign Contribution Limit Stringency,” with Damon Cann.

### **Conference/Workshop Participation**

#### **2023**

- “Measuring State Campaign Contribution Limit Stringency” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, CA, August 31-September 3, 2023.
- “Measuring State Campaign Contribution Limit Stringency” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, Pittsburgh, PA, May 18-20, 2023.

#### **2022**

- Participant in “Desk Rejections in Political Science Journals.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 7-10, 2022.

#### **2020**

- Participant in “State of the Field: Judicial Politics Research in 2020.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, PR, January 9-11, 2020.
- “Candidate Over Party: Split Ticket Voting in Judicial Elections” (with Damon M. Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, PR, January 9-11, 2020.

#### **2019**

- “Candidate Over Party: Split Ticket Voting in Judicial Elections” (with Damon M. Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 29-September 1, 2019.
- “How You Like Me Now? Evolving Perceptions in the 2016 Presidential Election” (with Kristin Kanthak). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Austin, TX, January 17-19, 2019.

#### **2018**

- “The Review Process and the Citation Gap: The Role of an Editor’s Nudge” (with Kristin Kanthak, Amanda Leifson, and Shane Redman.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 30-September 2, 2018.
- Participant on “The Impact of Human Subjects Guidelines and Informed Consent Scripts on Data Access and Research Transparency.” New York City, May 21, 2018.

- Participant on “Teaching Introductory Courses in Political Science: Big Ideas.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 4-6, 2018.
- “Women’s Political Ambition and the 2016 Presidential Election” (with Kristin Kanthak). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 4-6, 2018.

## 2017

- “Women’s Political Ambition and the 2016 Election” (with Kristin Kanthak). Paper Presented at the Good Reasons to Run Conference, University of Pennsylvania, November 11, 2017.
- “Women’s Political Ambition and the 2016 Election” (with Kristin Kanthak). Paper Presented at the 2017 Conference on New Research on Gender and Political Psychology, Tulane University, October 22-24, 2017.
- “‘Stronger Together’: Political Ambition and Women Running for Office” (with Kristin Kanthak). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 31-September 3, 2017.
- Participant in “Evolving Practices for Data Management and Sharing: A Data-PASS Workshop.” Harvard University, June 14, 2017.
- “Criminal Sentencing and the Cost of Appeal” (with Sean Craig and Kira Pronin). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 6-9, 2017.
- “Judicial Selection in a Time of Uncertainty: Irrelevant or More Relevant Than Ever.” Conference on The U.S. Judicial System in a Trump Presidency. Center for American Political Responsiveness. Penn State University. March 17-18, 2017.
- “‘Stronger Together’: Political Ambition and the Presentation of Women Running for Office” (with Kristin Kanthak). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 12-14, 2017. *Winner of the 2017 Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the Best Paper presented at the 2017 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.*

## 2016

- Participant on “Meet the Editors: Publishing in Political Science.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Las Vegas, NV, March 23-26, 2016.
- “Judicial Selection in the States: A Look Back, A Look Ahead” (with Heather Marie Rice). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, PR, January 7-9, 2016.

## 2015

- “Evaluating the Effects of Multiple Opinion Rationales on Supreme Court Legitimacy” (with Jarrod Kelly, Kira Pronin, Shane Redman, and Matthew Zarit). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 3-6, 2015.
- Participant on “Evaluating the Latest Wave of State Judicial Elections Scholarship.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 16-19, 2015.
- “Evaluating the Effects of Multiple Opinion Rationales on Supreme Court Legitimacy” (with Jarrod Kelly, Kira Pronin, Shane Redman, and Matthew Zarit). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 15-17, 2015.

## 2014

- Participant on “The Politics of Electing Judges: Bonneau and Cann’s *Voters’ Verdicts*, Gann Hall’s *Attacking Judges*, and Kritzer’s *Justices on the Ballot*.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-31, 2014.
- “Judicial Elections and the Illusion of Pandering” (with Kira Pronin). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-31, 2014.
- “Institutions, War Chests, and Candidate Deterrence” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Fourteenth Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, Bloomington, IN, May 15-17, 2014.
- “Judicial Elections and the Illusion of Pandering” (with Kira Pronin). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 3-6, 2014.
- Participant in “Justice At Risk: Research Opportunities and Policy Alternatives Regarding Judicial Selection.” Invited Conference Sponsored by the American Judicature Society, American Constitution Society, and Vanderbilt University School of Law. Nashville, TN, March 20-21, 2014.

## 2013

- “Incumbency, Ballot Cues, and State Supreme Court Elections” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 29-September 1, 2013.
- “Individual-Level Factors and Voter Participation in Judicial Elections” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL, April 11-14, 2013.

- “Getting Things Straight: How Ballot Design Affects Participation in Judicial Elections” (with Eric Loepp). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL, April 11-14, 2013.
- Participant in “An Uncommon Dialogue: What Do We Want In Our Judges and How Do We Get There?” Invited Conference Sponsored by The Federalist Society, The Aspen Institute, and the Institute for the Advancement of Legal Studies, Colorado Springs, CO, March 28-29, 2013.

## 2012

- Participant on “Roundtable on the 2012 U.S. Elections: Expectations, Forecasts, and Divination.” Roundtable at the Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties Conference, Oxford, UK, September 7-9, 2012.
- “Individual-Level Factors and Voter Participation in Judicial Elections” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties Conference, Oxford, UK, September 7-9, 2012.
- “State Courts in the U.S: Past, Present, and Future” (with Brent D. Boyea). Paper Presented at the XXX International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, San Francisco, CA, May 23-26, 2012.
- “Party Identification and Vote Choice in Partisan and Nonpartisan Judicial Elections” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 12-14, 2012.

## 2011

- “Party Identification and Vote Choice in Partisan and Nonpartisan Judicial Elections” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, March 31-April 3, 2011.
- Participant on “Evaluating How Judges Are Selected in the U.S.: Exploring the Normative Implications of Empirical Research.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, March 31-April 3, 2011.

## 2010

- Participant on “Authors Meet Critics: *In Defense of Judicial Elections*.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2-5, 2010.
- “Campaign Contributions in Judicial Elections” (with Brent Boyea, Damon Cann, and Victoria Farrar-Myers). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 22-25, 2010.

## 2009

- Participant in “Workshop on the Identification and Integration of Law and Courts Data.” University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC, November 7, 2009.
- “Negativity and Television Advertising in State Supreme Court Elections” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, ON, September 3-6, 2009.
- “Contributions to Judicial Campaigns: Assessing Comprehension in an Environment without Partisan Signals” (with Brent Boyea, Damon Cann, and Victoria Farrar-Myers). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, ON, September 3-6, 2009.
- “Going Negative: Attack Advertising in State Supreme Court Elections” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Ninth Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, Chapel Hill, NC, May 22-23, 2009.
- “Contributor Decisions in Judicial Elections: Explaining the Impact of Partisan and Nonpartisan Election Formats” (with Brent Boyea, Damon Cann, and Victoria Farrar-Myers). Paper Presented at the Ninth Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, Chapel Hill, NC, May 22-23, 2009.
- “The Effect of Campaign Contributions on Judicial Decisionmaking” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 8-10, 2009.
- Participant on “Conducting Judicial Research.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 8-10, 2009.

## **2008**

- “Campaign Contributions, Judicial Decisionmaking, and Institutional Context” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28-31, 2008.
- Participant on “The State of Judicial Elections Research.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 3-6, 2008.
- “Campaign Contributions, Judicial Decisionmaking, and Institutional Context” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 3-6, 2008.
- “Judging Under Constraint: Institutions and State Supreme Court Decisionmaking” (with Kevin T. Arceneaux and Paul Brace). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 3-6, 2008.

## **2007**

- “On Consensus in State Supreme Courts” (with Kevin T. Arceneaux and Paul Brace). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 12-15, 2007.
- “Does Money Buy Voters? Campaign Spending and Citizen Participation in State Supreme Court Elections” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Seventh Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, Austin, TX, February 23-24, 2007.
- Participant on “Authors Meet Critics: *Strategic Behavior and Policy Choice on the U.S. Supreme Court* and *The Politics of Precedent on the U.S. Supreme Court.*” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 4-6, 2007.
- “Race and the Politics of Criminal Cases on State Supreme Courts” (with Heather Marie Rice). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 4-6, 2007.

## 2006

- “Judicial Independence and Minority Interests” (with Daniel Berkowitz and Karen Clay). Paper Presented at the Conference on Empirical Studies of Courts and Judges, Harvard Law School, November 10, 2006.
- “Educating the Public: The Effects of Judicial Independence on Minority Interests” (with Daniel Berkowitz and Karen Clay). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Society for New Institutional Economics, Boulder, CO, September 21-24, 2006.
- “Judicial Independence, Elections, and Minority Interests” (with Daniel Berkowitz and Karen Clay). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Law and Economics Association, Berkeley, CA, May 5-6, 2006.
- “Mobilizing Interest: The Effects of Money on Ballot Rolloff in State Supreme Court Elections” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 20-23, 2006.

## 2005

- “On the Nature of Ballot Rolloff in Contemporary State Supreme Court Elections” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4, 2005.
- “Do We Really Know It Because We See It? Reconceptualizing Strategic Behavior on the United States Supreme Court” (with Thomas H. Hammond). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4, 2005.
- “Voter Participation in State Supreme Court Elections: Can the Electorate Judge Quality?” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Fifth Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, East Lansing, MI, May 13-14, 2005.

- “Conceptualizing ‘Sincere’ and ‘Strategic’ Behavior on the U.S. Supreme Court: How Can We Empirically Tell the Difference?” (with Thomas H. Hammond). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 7-10, 2005.

## **2004**

- “Vacancies on the Bench: Open Seat Elections for State Supreme Courts.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 2-5, 2004.
- “Selecting the Majority Opinion on the Supreme Court” (with Forrest Maltzman, Paul J. Wahlbeck, Thomas H. Hammond, and Saul Brenner). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 15-18, 2004.
- “Dollars and Sense: Campaign Contributions and State Supreme Court Elections.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 15-18, 2004.

## **2003**

- “Challengers, Margins, and State Supreme Court Elections” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 28-31, 2003.
- Participant on “Teaching Methods to Undergraduates.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, San Antonio, TX, April 16-19, 2003.
- “Understanding the Dynamics of Campaign Spending in State Supreme Court Elections.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 3-6, 2003.
- “Predicting Campaign Spending in State Supreme Court Elections.” Paper Presented at the Third Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, Tucson, AZ, March 14-15, 2003.

## **2002**

- “Money, Judges, and Votes: The Effects of Campaign Spending in State Supreme Court Elections.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 29-September 1, 2002.
- “Campaign Spending in State Supreme Court Elections.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 25-28, 2002.
- Participant on “State of the Discipline: State Courts.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, March 27-30, 2002.

## **2001**

- “A Court of Appeals in a Rational-Choice Model of Supreme Court Decision-Making” (with Thomas H. Hammond and Reginald S. Sheehan). Paper Presented at the Conference on Institutional Games and the U.S. Supreme Court, College Station, TX, November 2-3, 2001.
- “Money and Votes in State Supreme Court Elections.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 30-September 2, 2001.
- “Incumbents, Challengers, and the Politics of Judicial Elections” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 19-22, 2001.
- “Procedural Justice, Fairness, and Local Courts in the United States.” Paper Presented at the Interim Meeting of the Research Committee on Comparative Judicial Studies, International Political Science Association, Cape Town, South Africa, January 7-9, 2001.

## **2000**

- “Fairness, Institutional Legitimacy, and the Courts.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 31-September 3, 2000.
- “Challengers in State Supreme Court Elections” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 27-30, 2000.

## **1999**

- “Toward a Rational Choice Spatial Model of Supreme Court Decision-Making: Making Sense of Certiorari, the Original Vote on the Merits, Opinion Assignment, Coalition Formation and Maintenance, and the Final Vote on the Choice of Legal Doctrine” (with Thomas H. Hammond and Reginald S. Sheehan). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, September 2-5, 1999.
- “Perspectives on the Feminist Critique of the Judiciary: A Q-Methodological Approach” (with Ralph E. Baker). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 15-17, 1999.
- “Public Perceptions of the Judiciary: Legitimacy and the Feminist Critique” (with Ralph E. Baker). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, March 25-27, 1999.

## **1998**

- “Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg and the ‘Feminine Voice’” (with Ralph E. Baker). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 23-25, 1998.



### Invited Talks

- Buckeye Justice Forum. “Judicial Elections in Ohio.” October 19, 2022.
- Ohio Association for Justice’s Advocates Circle. “Partisan Judicial Elections: Lessons for Ohio.” August 31, 2022.
- PaperClip Communications. “Strategies on Governing in Uncertain Times.” April 25, 2022.
- Allegheny College, Law and Policy Program. “Nonpartisan(?) Judicial Elections.” September 17, 2021.
- Pennsylvania Leadership Conference October Briefing. “Judicial Selection.” October 19, 2019.
- Federalist Society Texas Statewide Conference. “Proposed Reforms to Texas Judicial Selection.” September 14, 2019.
- University of South Alabama. Department of Political Science. “Nonpartisan (?) Judicial Elections.” March 13, 2019.
- University of Oklahoma. Department of Political Science. “Nonpartisan (?) Judicial Elections.” February 11, 2019.
- Federalist Society Counsels Summit. “Judicial Elections.” August 17, 2018.
- Federalist Society Justices Summit. “Judicial Elections.” August 16, 2018.
- American Legislative Exchange Council. “State Judicial Selection.” August 10, 2018.
- Institute for Humane Studies Policy Research Seminar. “Reforming Our Institutions: Judicial Reform.” July 21, 2018.
- John Locke Foundation. “Selecting Judges in North Carolina: Time For a Change?” May 7, 2018.
- St. Louis University Chapter of the Federalist Society. “The Case for Partisan Judicial Elections.” March 29, 2018.
- Triangle Lawyers Chapter of the Federalist Society. “Judicial Selection.” February 15, 2018.
- Federalist Society Pennsylvania Statewide Conference. “What Is the Right Method for Choosing Judges?” October 19, 2017.
- Florida Bar Convention. “The Constitution Revision Commission and Florida’s Judiciary.” June 22, 2017.
- Clemson University. Department of Political Science. “‘Stronger Together’: Political Ambition and the Presentation of Women Running for Office.” November 11, 2016.

- U.S. Government and Politics Advanced Placement Reading Professional Night. “The Supreme Court and the 2016 Presidential Election.” June 5, 2016.
- Princeton University. Department of Politics Public Law Colloquium. “Institutions, War Chests, and Candidate Deterrence.” November 12, 2015.
- Slippery Rock University. Department of Political Science. “Electing Judges: Partisan Influences in Judicial Elections.” October 26, 2015.
- Little Rock Lawyers Chapter of the Federalist Society. “Discussion on Judicial Selection.” June 23, 2015.
- Valparaiso University. Department of Political Science. “Electing Judges: Partisan Influences in Judicial Elections.” May 1, 2015.
- Grove City College. Department of Political Science. “Electing Judges: Partisan Influences in Judicial Elections.” April 9, 2015.
- Temple University. Department of Political Science. “War Chests as Entry Deterrence with Strategic Delay.” March 27, 2015.
- Tulsa Lawyers Chapter of the Federalist Society. “Oklahoma Supreme Court Judicial Selection Reform: Elections vs. Appointment vs. Nominating Committee.” November 21, 2013.
- The Ohio State University. Department of Political Science. “Getting Things Straight: The Effects of Ballot Design and Electoral Structure on Voter Participation.” October 16, 2013.
- Utah State University. Department of Political Science. “Negativity and Television Advertising in State Supreme Court Elections.” March 5, 2013.
- University of Texas-Arlington. Department of History. “What We Know (and Don’t Know) About Judicial Elections.” February 22, 2013.
- University of North Carolina. Department of Political Science. “Party Identification and Vote Choice in Partisan and Nonpartisan Judicial Elections.” January 11, 2013.
- Federalist Society National Lawyers Convention, State Courts Leadership Luncheon. “State Judicial Elections.” November 15, 2012.
- Tallahassee Lawyers Chapter of the Federalist Society. “Judicial Merit Retention in Florida.” October 15, 2012.
- University of California, Davis. Department of Political Science. “Party Identification and Vote Choice in Partisan and Nonpartisan Judicial Elections.” May 22, 2012.
- Indiana University. Maurer School of Law. University Center of Law, Society, and Culture Symposium on Judicial Selection. April 21, 2011.

- State Bar of Minnesota Appellate Practice Institute, Minneapolis, MN. “Law, Politics, and the Election of Judges.” March 4, 2011.
- Rutgers University. Department of Political Science. “Negativity and Television Advertising in State Supreme Court Elections.” February 25, 2011.
- Boise State University. Canadian Studies Program. “Why We Should Elect Judges.” February 15, 2011.
- University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Boyd School of Law, American Constitution Society. “Destroying the Myths of Judicial Reformers.” October 21, 2010.
- University of Nevada, Las Vegas. College of Liberal Arts, University Forum Lecture Series. “Judicial Selection in Nevada: The Consequences of Change.” October 20, 2010.
- University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Boyd School of Law. “Why We Should Elect Judges.” October, 20, 2010.
- Grove City College. “Why We Should Elect Judges.” February 19, 2009.
- Louisiana State University. Department of Political Science. “Mobilizing Interest: The Effects of Money on Citizen Participation in State Supreme Court Elections.” October 29, 2007.
- University of South Carolina. Department of Political Science. “Mobilizing Interest: The Effects of Money on Citizen Participation in State Supreme Court Elections.” October 22, 2007.
- Penn State University–Fayette. “Trends and Issues in Electing Judges.” December 1, 2005.
- Georgia State University. Department of Political Science. “Mobilizing Interest: Money, Quality, and Ballot Rolloff in State Supreme Court Elections.” October 27, 2005.
- University of Georgia. Department of Political Science. “Mobilizing Interest: Money, Quality, and Ballot Rolloff in State Supreme Court Elections.” October 24, 2005.
- West Virginia University. Department of Political Science. “Electoral Verdicts: Incumbent Defeats in State Supreme Court Elections.” April 30, 2004.

### **Expert Witness**

#### **For Plaintiffs**

- *Greg Lopez, Rodney Pelton, and Steven House v. Jena Griswold, Colorado Secretary of State, and Judd Choate, Director of Elections.* Civil Case No: 1:22:CV-00247-PAB). 2023.

#### **For Defendants**

- *Dyamone White, et al. v. State Board of Elections Commissioners, et al.* Civil Case No: 4:22-CV-62-MPM-JMV. 2023.

- *Alabama State Conference of the NAACP, et al. v. State of Alabama, et al.* Civil Case No: 2:16:CV-731-WKW). 2020.

## **Courses Taught**

### **Undergraduate**

- American Political Process
- Research Methods in Political Science
- Constitutional Law: Governmental Powers
- Constitutional Law: Civil Rights and Civil Liberties
- Judicial Process
- Seminar in American Politics: The Supreme Court
- Seminar in American Politics: Judicial Selection
- Seminar in American Politics: Politics, Science, and Sports
- Inside-Out: Race and the Criminal Justice System
- Inside-Out: Mass Incarceration
- Inside-Out: The Supreme Court
- Sports and American Politics
- American Politics Through Film

### **Graduate**

- Empirical Methods of Research (Research Design)
- Advanced Research Methods (Maximum Likelihood)
- Judicial Politics
- Dissertation Overview Seminar

## **Professional, University, and Department Service**

### **Profession**

- Co-Host, State Politics and Policy Conference, May 2023.
- Co-Editor, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, June 2014-May 2020.

- Panelist, Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant Panel, Political Science Program, National Science Foundation, 2015-2017.
- Panelist, Law and Social Science Program, National Science Foundation, 2009-2011.
- Review Editor, *Justice System Journal*, 2010-2013.
- Editorial Board Member, *American Politics Research*, 2016-present.
- Editorial Board Member, *Social Science Quarterly*, 2012-present.
- Editorial Board Member, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 2008-2011, 2020-2022.
- Editorial Board Member, *Justice System Journal*, 2006-2010, 2014-2015.
- Editorial Board Member, Routledge Law and Courts Series, 2012-present.
- Treasurer, Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association, 2012-2014.
- Member, Executive Committee, State Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, 2011-2013.
- Section Chair, Judicial Politics Section, 2024 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.
- Section Chair, Judicial Politics Section, 2012 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.
- Section Chair, State Politics Section, 2008 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Section Chair, Positive Political Theory Section, 2008 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.
- Section Chair, Political Methodology Section, 2003 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association.
- Chair, 2021 E. E. Schattschneider Award Committee, American Political Science Association.
- Chair, 2020 C. Neal Tate Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association.
- Member, Committee to Select New Publisher for *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 2019.
- Member, Committee to Select New Editor for the *Journal of Law and Courts*, 2020.
- Member, 2018 Nominations Committee, Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association.
- Member, 2016 C. Neal Tate Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association.

- Member, 2016 Lasting Contribution Award Committee, Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association.
- Member, 2015 Service Award Committee, Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association.
- Chair, 2011 Nominations Committee, Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association.
- Member, 2009 Nominations Committee, Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association.
- Member, 2005 Teaching and Mentoring Award Committee, Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association.
- Member, 2004 Pi Sigma Alpha Award Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association.
- Reviewer for *American Journal of Political Science*; *American Political Science Review*; *American Politics Research*; Atomic Dog Publishing; CQ Press; *Election Law Journal*; *Electoral Studies*; *Journal of Comparative Economics*; *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*; *Journal of Law and Courts*; *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*; *Journal of Legal Studies*; *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*; *Journal of Politics*; *Journal of Theoretical Politics*; *Judicature*; *Justice System Journal*; *Law and Society Review*; Longman Publishing; McGraw-Hill Publishers; National Science Foundation; NYU Press; Oxford University Press; *Party Politics*; *Pearson Publishing*; *Political Analysis*; *Political Behavior*; *Political Science Research and Methods*; *Political Research Quarterly*; *Politics, Groups, and Identities*; *Public Administration Review*; Routledge; Roxbury Publishing; *Social Science Quarterly*; Stanford University Press; *State and Local Government Review*; *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*; Temple University Press; Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (TESS); University of Chicago Press; University of Michigan Press; University of Virginia Press.
- Member, Executive Committee of the Indiana Political Science Association, 1999-2000.
- Reader, AP Government and Politics Exam, 2004-2006, 2008-2010.
- Table Leader, AP Government and Politics Exam, 2011-2012, 2014-2016.
- Question Leader, AP Government and Politics Exam, 2017-2018, 2023.
- Exam Leader, AP Government and Politics Exam, 2019-2021, 2023.
- Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association: Discussant 2004, 2006, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2017; Chair 2005, 2010, 2011, 2016, 2017.
- Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association: Discussant 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2010, 2011, 2013; Chair 2005, 2010, 2011, 2013.

- Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association: Discussant 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2012, 2016, 2017; Chair 2006, 2008, 2009, 2012.
- Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association: Discussant 2003; Chair 2003.
- Annual State Politics and Policy Conference: Discussant 2015, 2016; Chair 2014, 2015, 2016.
- Conference on Empirical Studies of Courts and Judges: Discussant 2006.

## University

- President, University Senate: 2018-2021.
- Immediate Past President, University Senate: 2021-present.
- Member, Board of Trustees Athletics Committee: 2022-2023.
- Member, Board of Trustees Budget Committee: 2018-2022, 2023-present.
- Member, Provost's Advisory Committee on Instructional Excellence, 2022-present.
- Member, Planning Committee for Pitt Diversity Forum 2020: Advancing Social Justice: A Call to Action.
- Member, Search Committee for Vice Provost for Faculty Affairs: 2020.
- Member, Search Committee for Vice Provost for Faculty Development and Diversity: 2020.
- Member, Search Committee for Vice Provost for Graduate Studies: 2020.
- Member, Executive Committee of Task Force for Reimagining Pitt Education: 2020.
- Member, Plan for Pitt 2025 Steering Committee: 2020-2021.
- Member, Arts and Sciences Tenure Council: 2015-2017, 2022-2023.
- Alternate member, Arts and Sciences Tenure Council: 2012-2013, 2021-2022.
- Co-Chair, Faculty Affairs Committee: 2017-2018.
- Member, Senate Tenure and Academic Freedom Committee: 2011-2018
- Member, Faculty Senate: 2011-2013, 2017-2018.
- Member, Faculty Assembly: 2010-2013, 2016-2018.
- Member, Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences Graduate Council: 2010-2012, 2020-2022, 2023-present.
- Member, Mellon Fellowship Selection Committee: 2008.

- Member, College of Social Science Screening Committee, Michigan State University: 2001.

## Department

- Member, Chair's Advisory, Planning, and Budgeting Committee: 2009-2011, 2020-2023.
- Member, Formal Theory Search Committee: 2006-2007.
- Member, American Politics Search Committee: 2005-2006, 2012-2013, 2017-2018 (Chair).
- Member, Political Behavior Search Committee: 2016-2017.
- Member, Computational Social Science Search Committee: 2019-2020.
- Chair, Structural Racism Search Committee: 2021-2022, 2022-2023.
- Member, Graduate Awards Committee: 2002-2007, 2011-2013; Chair 2022-2023.
- Member, Graduate Admissions Committee: 2005-2011 (Chair, 2007-2011), 2013-2014, 2016-2017, 2021-2022.
- Member, Graduate Education Committee: 2011-2014, 2016-2017, 2018-2021; Chair 2022-2023.
- Member, Undergraduate Education Committee: 2015-2018.
- Coordinator, Political Methodology Speaker Series: 2004-2008.
- American Politics Exam/Paper Committee (19): Zachary Auter, Ian Cook, Sean Craig, Derek Culp, Brent Dupay, Amanda Leifson, Eric Loepp, Nicole Loncaric, Morgan Marietta, Stephanie McLean, Brandon Myers, Traci Nelson, Heather Rice, Nathaniel Ropski, Tara Stricko, Matt Tarpey, James Tinnick, Eric Wagner, Matthew Weinstein, Michelle Wier.
- Methodology Exam Committee (17): Zachary Auter, Andrea Castagnola, Katharine Floros, Hakan Gunaydin, Jennifer Laks Hutnick, Leslie Marshall, Shawna Metzger, Marilia Mochel, Juan Negri, Lauren Perez, Dana Puia, Juan Carlos Rodriguez-Raga, Daniel Tirone, Sofia Vera, Yu Xiao, Qing Yang, Juan Antonio Rodriguez-Zepeda.
- Comparative Politics Exam/Paper Committee (3): Agustin Grijalva, Dan London, Dana Puia.
- Dissertation Committees Chaired (4):
  - Maria Andrea Castagnola (University of Pittsburgh; Visiting Professor, University of Torcuato Di Tella, Argentina)
  - Shane Redman (University of Pittsburgh; Executive Director of Analytics and Institutional Research, Washtenaw Community College)
  - Tara Stricko (University of Pittsburgh; Associate Professor of Political Science, Kennesaw State University)



- Lawrence (LJ) Zigerell (University of Pittsburgh; Associate Professor of Political Science, Illinois State University)
- Dissertation Committees Served (10):
  - Matthias Avina (University of Pittsburgh; postdoctoral researcher, University of Copenhagen)
  - Oliver Bateman (University of Pittsburgh; writer)
  - Todd Curry (Western Michigan University; Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Texas–El Paso)
  - Agustin Grijalva (University of Pittsburgh; Professor of Law, Universidad Andina, Ecuador)
  - Jonathan Hack (George Washington University; Director of Content and Strategy, Justice, Health, and Democracy Impact Initiative, Harvard University)
  - Jenna Becker Kane (Temple University; Associate Professor of Political Science, West Chester University)
  - Brandon Lenoir (University of Pittsburgh; Assistant Professor, College of Strategic Communication, High Point University)
  - Stephanie McLean (University of Pittsburgh; Senior Research Analyst, Royal Canadian Mounted Police)
  - Juan Carlos Rodriguez-Raga (University of Pittsburgh; Associate Professor of Political Science, Universidad de los Andes, Colombia)
  - Matt Tarpey (University of Pittsburgh; Assistant Professor, Pittsburg State University)

## References

Available Upon Request