

Exhibit C

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF SOUTH CAROLINA
COLUMBIA DIVISION**

THE SOUTH CAROLINA STATE
CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP, and

TAIWAN SCOTT, on behalf of himself and
all other similarly situated persons,

Plaintiffs,

v.

HENRY D. MCMASTER, in his official
capacity as Governor of South Carolina;
THOMAS C. ALEXANDER, in his official
capacity as President of the Senate; LUKE
A. RANKIN, in his official capacity as
Chairman of the Senate Judiciary
Committee; JAMES H. LUCAS, in his
official capacity as Speaker of the House of
Representatives; CHRIS MURPHY, in his
official capacity as Chairman of the House
of Representatives Judiciary Committee;
WALLACE H. JORDAN, in his official
capacity as Chairman of the House of
Representatives Elections Law
Subcommittee; HOWARD KNAPP, in his
official capacity as interim Executive
Director of the South Carolina State Election
Commission; JOHN WELLS, Chair,
JOANNE DAY, CLIFFORD J. EDLER,
LINDA MCCALL, and SCOTT MOSELEY,
in their official capacities as members of the
South Carolina Election Commission,

Defendants.

**Case No. 3-21-cv-03302-JMC-
TJH-RMG**

THREE-JUDGE PANEL

Expert Report of Baodong Liu, Ph.D.

January 24, 2022

I. Introduction

I have been retained as an expert by counsel for the Plaintiffs in the above captioned litigation. I have prepared this report pursuant to Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 26(1)(2)(B).

I have been asked to express opinions on whether racially polarized voting (RPV) exists in South Carolina, and whether or not RPV has resulted in the defeat of Black-preferred candidates in South Carolina House of Representative elections. In addition, I have also been asked to express my opinions on the effectiveness of the Enacted Plan in protecting the opportunity of Black voters to elect candidates of their choice, vis-à-vis that of the Plan proposed by the Plaintiffs.

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 tenured professor of political science 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 has 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 eight 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 the cutting-edge techniques used by academic professionals and supported by courts concerning voting rights cases and the electoral history in the South. I have

served as an expert witness for minority plaintiffs in vote dilution cases in states such as Arkansas, New York, Louisiana, Utah, and Tennessee. My opinions have been accepted by multiple federal courts (e.g., in New York, Louisiana, and Alabama). Furthermore, I have provided my expertise to Native American Rights Fund, Navajo Nation, and 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 convening programs, organized by such organizations as Native American Rights Fund, Ford Foundation and 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.

I have served as a commentator or opinion writer for the Salt Lake Tribune, ABC4News, Hinkley Forum, NPR, AP, Daily Utah Chronicle, Milwaukee Sentinel Journal, Daily Caller, and KSL, among other media outlets.

At my university, I served as Associate Chair of the Department of Political Science and the Interim Director of the Ethnic Studies Program, the MLK Committee Chair and a faculty senator.

Attached as **Appendix 1** is a curriculum vitae setting forth my professional background, which includes a list of cases in which I have testified as an expert by deposition or at trial and all publications I have authored or co-authored, including forthcoming publications.

III. Racially Polarized Voting: Definition and Measurement

In *Thornburg v. Gingles* (1986), the Supreme Court identified three conditions that are necessary to show racial vote dilution under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act (VRA). The *Gingles* test asks whether: 1) the racial 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* indicate the presence of RPV.

Empirically, 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 support¹ 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.

Since voting in the United States takes place in privacy, the only way to determine whether or not RPV existed in a given election is through statistical procedures. I analyzed the biracial elections based on the widely accepted Ecological Inference (EI) method developed by Professor Gary King of Harvard University.² EI is a statistical procedure for estimating voting results of voter groups (in this case grouped by race), and it has been widely used as 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.³ To run an EI operation for South Carolina elections, the specific election return data at the precinct level need to be matched with the racial turnout data provided by South Carolina Election Commission.⁴

IV. Opinions

I have formed the following opinions:

Based on the data available at the time of writing this report, voting in South Carolina during the last three election cycles where there is a choice between or among Black and white candidates is “racially polarized” in that Black voters in 20 of the 25 South Carolina House of Representatives elections analyzed have expressed a clear preference for the same candidate, and in the elections analyzed the preferred

¹ Support is defined as over 50% of votes for a particular candidate.

² See Gary King, A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem: Reconstructing Individual Behavior from Aggregate Data (Princeton University Press, 1997).

³ There are other statistical procedures that have been used but are inadequate for the analysis necessary for the RPV analysis I conduct here. For example, a major limitation of Regression analyses is that it may provide unrealistic, even misleading, estimates (e.g., the Black voting group provided a Black candidate with 105.7% of their votes while the non-Black group voted for him/her at the -9.5% level). Regression analyses also unrealistically assume that all Black voters, regardless of which precinct they are assigned, voted at the same rate for the Black candidate in a given election. The EI method *always* generates realistic estimates, and it also provides the point estimates for racial voting patterns and the standard errors (or 95% confidence interval) associated with these point estimates, which is to be understood as the uncertainty boundaries beyond the point estimates. The point estimates are to be considered as the most likely vote percentages cast for the Black candidate by different racial groups in a given election.

⁴ The election return data at the precinct level are available from South Carolina Election Commission (at <https://www.scvotes.gov/election-results>). See **Appendix 3** for the details regarding data acquisition, matching and aggregation.

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 South Carolina.

In addition to the 25 House of Representative Elections, I analyzed six recent state-wide elections. In five of those elections, voters were given a choice between or among Black and white candidates. The sixth election featured a white candidate competing against another white candidate at the top of the ticket. All of those elections have also been racially polarized.

Moreover, based on the empirical data from the most recent four state-wide elections, it is clear that the redistricting map for South Carolina's House of Representatives that the South Carolina NAACP proposed (Plaintiffs' Plan), but was not enacted, outperforms the plan enacted by South Carolina (Enacted Plan) in providing an opportunity for Black voters to elect candidates of choice in House of Representative elections in the presence of demonstrated RPV patterns.

V. Racially Polarized Voting in South Carolina

In a case challenging a redistricting plan of House of Representative districts, such as this one, the empirical evidence of the extent to which racially polarized voting (or lack of) has taken place is essential. This is because of the Plaintiffs' Amended Complaint alleging that the Enacted Plan "packed" and "cracked" Black voters, though they have not brought a Section 2 claim. The effect of packing and/or cracking, if any, must be considered with the existence of racially polarized voting. In other words, without RPV, the packing and cracking of Black voters (if proved to be the case) would not have an effect on the opportunity of Black voters to elect candidate of their own choice. If Black and white voters in a disputed jurisdiction usually share the same preference for a particular candidate, or put another way, a sufficient number of white voters cross over usually to support the candidate preferred by Black voters (i.e., no RPV), then regardless how a district is packed and cracked, the election outcomes should be consistent before and after the redistricting process.

To examine the extent of RPV (or lack of) in South Carolina for this case brought by the Plaintiffs, the State House elections providing a choice between voting for a white candidate and voting for a minority (in this case, Black) candidate (i.e., biracial elections) are generally considered the most probative for assessing RPV.⁵ These State House District elections concerning the electoral offices at issue in this matter are called endogenous elections. With the assistance of the Counsel for the Plaintiffs,

⁵ See, e.g., *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 80.

I was able to identify 25 endogenous elections in which there was both a Black candidate and a white candidate during the last three election cycles.⁶

Since the redistricting process involves voters from the whole State of South Carolina, I also examined six elections for statewide elected offices over four recent election cycles. The elections that did not concern the electoral offices at issue in this matter are called exogenous elections. The six statewide exogenous elections in South Carolina were for the 1) U.S. President in 2020, (2) U.S. Senate in 2020, (3) 2018 Secretary of State, (4) 2018 State Treasurer, (5) 2016 U.S. Senate election, and (6) 2014 special U.S. Senate election. Three of these exogenous elections were biracial involving both white and Black candidates. The 2020 U.S. President election, however, involved white candidates as the nominee for both major political parties on the top of the ticket.⁷ Two of these exogenous elections, the 2014 and 2016 Senate elections, featured two Black candidates at the top of the ticket and white candidates as minor-party nominees.

A) Endogenous Elections

Table 1 shows the results of EI operations on the 25 endogenous elections between 2016 and 2020. Using the empirical definition of RPV explained above, I examined the levels of racial support for the Black candidates in these 25 State House elections. The most important finding is that Black voters have provided majority support for the Black candidates in 20 biracial elections, and their preference was not shared by a majority of white voters in those 20 elections.⁸ Thus, racially polarized voting existed in these 20 elections.

Only in one of the 25 elections did the majority of Black voters choose a white candidate who was not the majority winner among the white voters. Thus, it is also a racially polarized election, but the Black-preferred candidate, unlike all other racially polarized elections, was a white candidate. It is important to note that this election was unique in that it was a Republican primary election for the seat from State House District 11 in which the Black candidate, Dale Phillips, received only 11.08% of Black voter support and 60.48% of white voter support. Phillips, however, lost the primary contest with only 21.9% of the total votes cast.

⁶ Recent, biracial endogenous elections generally are the most probative elections. *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 80; *Bone Shirt v. Hazeltine*, 461 F.3d 1011, 1020-21 (8th Cir. 2006); *U.S. v. Charleston Cnty.*, 318 F. Supp. 2d 302, 313 (D.S.C. 2002).

⁷ The 2020 election did include a Democratic Vice-President nominee, Kamala Harris, who is Black and an Asian American person.

⁸ I used ei R package to perform RPV analysis through which white and non-white racial group support for the Black candidates were derived based on the merged racial turnout and election return data at the precinct-level (see **Appendix 3** for data source and matching information). The standard errors for racial group support for Black candidates are in the parentheses of **Table 1**.

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

Year	District	General/ Primary	Black Candidate	%White for Black Candidate (s.e.)	%Black for Black Candidate (s.e.)	Black Candidate Won?	RPV?
2020	8	G	Todd	7.92 (.35)	73.47 (1.49)	No	Yes
2020	60	G	Cain	16.32 (2.12)	79.37 (3.73)	No	Yes
2020	63	G	Wilson	17.41 (1.88)	71.93 (3.13)	No	Yes
2020	28	G	Washington	17.84 (1.56)	63.89 (3.68)	No	Yes
2020	71	G	Seawright	20.15 (.00)	98.91 (.33)	No	Yes
2020	41	G	McDaniel	22.3 (.48)	98.81 (.4)	Yes	Yes
2020	54	G	Henegan	17.93 (2.24)	89.94 (2.61)	Yes	Yes
2020	77	G	Garvin	58.5 (2.25)	95.83 (1.09)	Yes	No
2020	79	G	Thigpen	57.05 (.88)	99.19 (.4)	Yes	No
2020	90	G	Bamberg	21.75 (1.35)	78.43 (2.04)	Yes	Yes
2020	57	P (Dem)	Pickett	1.92 (1.63)	59.79 (.92)	No	Yes
2018	60	G	Long	27.37 (.26)	76.28 (.37)	No	Yes
2018	45	G	Buskey	25.18 (.63)	97.44 (3.75)	No	Yes
2018	46	G	Dicks	38.35 (4.53)	58.23 (12.96)	No	Yes
2018	96	G	Vanlue	16.4 (1.19)	68.77 (5.94)	No	Yes
2018	73	G	Hart	24.06 (3.0)	93.84 (1.37)	Yes	Yes
2018	11	P (Rep)	Phillips	60.48 (.85)	11.08 (.15)	No	Yes
2018	55	P (Dem)	Scott	6.2 (1.33)	40.82 (.87)	No	No
2018	64	P (Dem)	Ellerby	1.78 (1.56)	51.62 (.5)	No	Yes
2016	13	G	Gaskin	16.43 (.96)	65.17 (2.92)	No	Yes
2016	89	G	Butler	20.54 (.64)	96.78 (2.23)	No	Yes
2016	96	G	Vanlue	12.07 (.82)	79.02 (4.28)	No	Yes
2016	100	G	Aiken- Taylor	18.95 (1.46)	71.74 (3.89)	No	Yes
2016	57	P (Dem)	Jenkins	12.64 (4.95)	32.72 (3.57)	No	No
2016	64	P (Dem)	Conyers	16.68 (2.22)	64.49 (2.23)	No	Yes

In the four non-racially polarized elections, two elections (HD 77 and HD 79) were held in districts comprised of a majority of Black voters (Black-majority districts) in which the Black candidates received a combination of Black and white voter support. The other two of four non-racially polarized elections took

place in Democratic primaries (HD 55 and HD 57) in which the Black candidate lost the primary contests.⁹

In sum, there has been a consistent pattern of RPV in the endogenous elections in South Carolina during the last three election cycles, and in the 25 elections analyzed, Black candidates won only 6 times.

B) Exogeneous Elections

All six exogeneous state-wide elections analyzed in this report showed a high level of racial polarized voting, as shown in **Table 2**.

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

Year	Election	General/ Primary	Black- preferred Candidate	%White for Black- preferred Candidate (s.e.)	%Black for Black- preferred Candidate (s.e.)	Black- preferred Candidate Won?	RPV?
2020	US President	G	Biden	23.43 (.00)	97.37 (.1)	No	Yes
2020	US Senate	G	Harrison	23.49 (.00)	98.91 (.12)	No	Yes
2018	Secretary of State	G	Whittenburg	22.53 (.00)	97.10 (.14)	No	Yes
2018	State Treasurer	G	Glenn	21.80 (.00)	97.33 (.00)	No	Yes
2016	US Senate	G	Dixon	14.42 (.00)	93.07 (.18)	No	Yes
2014	US Senate	Special	Dickerson	13.16 (.00)	95.42 (.17)	No	Yes

Specifically, Joseph Biden in the 2020 Presidential election received 97.37% of Black voter support and only 24.43% of white voter support in South Carolina. In the 2020 U.S. Senate election, Jamie Harrison, a Black candidate, ran against the white incumbent Republican candidate, Lindsay Graham. Harrison received 98.91% of Black voter support and 23.49% of white voter support, and was defeated with 44.2% of the total votes cast.

⁹ It is important to note that of the five Democratic primary elections I examined, three of them (or 60%) exhibited a pattern of racially polarized voting (see **Table 1** for the RPV results of primary elections).

In the 2018 Secretary of State election, Melvin Whittenburg received 97.1% of Black voter support and only 22.53% of white voter support. In the same year, Rosalyn Glenn, a Black candidate competed in the State Treasurer election against a white Republican opponent, Curtis Loftis. Glenn received 97.33% of Black voter support and only 21.8% of white voter support, and was defeated with 42.5% of the total votes cast.

The final two exogenous elections involved U.S. Senator Tim Scott, a Black Republican candidate, who was elected in the 2014 special election and reelected in the 2016 general election. The RPV analysis shows, however, that he was not the preferred candidate of Black voters in South Carolina. Instead, his opponents, Joyce Dickerson in 2014 and Thomas Dixon in 2016, both Black and Democratic candidates, each received more than 90% of Black voter support. Scott was elected primarily because of the white support for him at more than 70% in both elections. Thus, these two exogenous elections were also highly racially polarized.¹⁰

VI. Effectiveness Analyses

1. Background

I have also conducted a comparative study of two South Carolina House of Representatives redistricting plans based on the data from the four most recent exogenous statewide elections in South Carolina and the racial demographic data from the 2020 census. These two plans are the Enacted Plan that has been passed by the South Carolina Legislature and signed into law by the Governor, and the other plan was proposed by the Plaintiff South Carolina NAACP during the legislative process.

a. What is an Effectiveness Analysis?

A comparative study of two redistricting plans is commonly referred to as an “effectiveness analysis.” This comparative study reports the different opportunities for racial minority voters (in this case, Black voters) to elect the candidates of their choice, given how the different redistricting plans have determined the racial configuration of a certain jurisdiction under legal dispute, and the extent to which racially polarized voting has affected the election outcomes in the given jurisdiction.

b. State-Wide Elections Used to Conduct an Effective Analysis

To compare the Enacted Plan with the Plaintiffs’ Plan, I used four state-wide exogenous elections about which I have reported the RPV findings above—the 2020 Presidential election, the 2020 U.S. Senate election, the 2018 Secretary of

¹⁰ Both the 2014 and the 2016 U.S. Senate elections analyzed here involved white candidates running as minor-party nominees who received collectively less than 5% of the total votes cast.

State election and the 2018 State Treasurer election. These four elections were state-wide elections which involved all voters in South Carolina, and they were from the most recent statewide election cycles, and thus can help project how voters will vote in near future elections in South Carolina.

2. County-Level Analysis

Seven clusters of State House districts in the Enacted Plan were challenged in the Plaintiffs' Amended Complaint. I therefore present the findings of my effectiveness analyses in the order of those clusters identified in Plaintiffs' Amended Complaint.

Anderson County

Table 3 provides the results of the effectiveness analysis (EA thereafter) for the first cluster of HDs which are located in Anderson County. The table first shows the racial configurations, specifically the Black voting age population (BVAP) and white voting age population (WVAP) of the four House Districts (HDs thereafter).¹¹ It lists the current racial configurations based on the 2011 pre-redistricted HDs, followed by the racial configurations of the Enacted Plan with respect to the specific HDs as well as the racial configurations of the Plaintiffs' Plan.

The reconfigurations of the racial makeups of the four HDs (7, 8, 9 and 11) are critical to the extent voting was racially polarized in the four state-wide elections and the opportunity of Black-preferred candidates to be elected. **Table 3** shows, for example, that the Plaintiffs' Plan increased the BVAP in HD 7 to 37% from the original BVAP of 16% in HD 7. This change in BVAP % (as well as WVAP %) in HD 7 is significant. The EA result shows that in the 2020 U.S. Senate election, Jamie Harrison, who is Black and, as shown by the RPV analysis, the candidate preferred by Black voters, would have won HD 7 if that district's racial configuration changed to what the Plaintiffs' Plan proposed, though the other three state-wide elections would still lead to the same outcome (i.e., the defeat of Black-preferred candidates).

¹¹ The Black racial group measure reported in **Tables 3 through 9** is based on any-part BVAP according to the 2020 census data. Using non-Hispanic Black VAP from the 2020 census, however, did not change any conclusions of this report concerning the effectiveness analyses.

Table 3: Effective Analysis for HDs in Anderson County

District	HD 7	HD 8	HD 9	HD 11
BVAP (original)	16%	17%	18%	23%
Enacted Plan	18%	20%	16%	21%
Plaintiff Plan	37%	10%	10%	17%
WVAP (original)	78%	76%	72%	71%
Enacted Plan	76%	72%	75%	73%
Plaintiff Plan	54%	83%	81%	78%
RPV (original)	100%	100%	100%	100%
Enacted Plan	100%	25%	75%	100%
Plaintiff Plan	100%	0%	0%	75%
Average % vote for BPC (original)	26%	30%	33%	32%
Enacted Plan	27%	32%	30%	30%
Plaintiff Plan	48%	26%	26%	26%

A major factor to evaluate whether a redistricting plan may provide a greater opportunity for Black voters to elect their candidate of choice is the extent to which RPV has taken place in the jurisdiction. I used the EI method to derive the estimates for the extent to which voting may or may not be racially polarized based on the two redistricting plans.¹² The level of RPV is important for redistricting plans especially concerning HDs that have a share of minority voters who have the potential to affect election outcomes. In HD 7, for example, due to the high level of RPV (100%, see **Table 3**), the Plaintiffs' Plan provides a greater opportunity for Black voters to elect the candidate of their choice because of the increase of the Black voter share in the electorate, compared to the Enacted Plan.

The final three rows of **Table 3** also provide the average percent of votes cast for the Black-preferred candidates (BPC) in HDs based on the three racial

¹² The redistricting process in the United States typically takes consideration of census Voting-Age-Population (VAP) data (rather than racial turnout data such as those recorded by the South Carolina Election Commission) to compare the relative presences of racial groups in a given jurisdiction. Certainly, the racial configuration of a given jurisdiction involves more than white and Black groups, such as Hispanic/Latino voters and other racial minority groups. Therefore, I used the racial configuration data (non-Hispanic white VAP, any-part Black VAP, Hispanic VAP, and all-other VAP based on the 2020 census) matched with the four state-wide election data at the census Voting-Tabulation-District (VTD) units to perform the effectiveness analyses. The EI procedure for the EAs was performed based on ei-Pack R package since it provides racial estimates for multiple groups.

configurations. As shown in **Table 3**, the Black-preferred candidates would have received, on average, 48%, of the total votes cast in the four state-wide elections in HD 7 according to the Plaintiffs' Plan whereas their average of percent votes received would have been only 27% based on the Enacted Plan, which leads to a gap of 21% between the two Plans. In short, the Plaintiffs' Plan outperforms the Enacted Plan.

Chester County

I used the same EA operations discussed above to compare the Enacted Plan and the Plaintiffs' Plan for HDs in Chester County—the second cluster of HDs, and the EA results are displayed in **Table 4**.

Only two HDs are in this cluster. The results in **Table 4** shows that the Plaintiffs' Plan outperforms the Enacted Plan because the average percentage of votes received for the Black-preferred candidate is much higher according to the Plaintiffs' Plan (47%), compared to the Enacted Plan (only 35%).

Table 4: Effective Analysis for HDs in Chester County

District	HD 41	HD 43#¹³
BVAP (original)	51%	21%
Enacted Plan	50%	18%
Plaintiff_Plan	50%	39%
WVAP (original)	41%	71%
Enacted Plan	43%	72%
Plaintiff_Plan	43%	53%
RPV (original)	100%	100%
Enacted Plan	100%	50%
Plaintiff_Plan	100%	100%
Average % vote for BPC (original)	62%	36%
Enacted Plan	61%	35%
Plaintiff Plan	62%	47%

HD 43 in the Plaintiffs' Plan is numbered as HD 44

¹³ Six House District numbers in the Enacted Plan or the Plaintiffs' Plan are not exactly matched with the House District numbers that were adopted in the post-2010 redistricting round (i.e., 2011 enacted plan). These unmatched numbers, based on the largest overlapping VAP% of the two compared districts, are indicated below the EA tables in this report.

Sumter County

The third cluster of HDs involves those in Sumter County. Again, only two HDs (51 and 67) are included in this EA. No major racial configuration difference is found between the Enacted Plan and the Plaintiffs' Plan in HD 51 which results in similar EA results. The Black-preferred candidates have a much greater chance to win HD 51, which is a Black-majority district according to both the Enacted Plan and the Plaintiffs' Plan. But a slight difference does occur for HD 67 which sees the one percentage difference in the BVAP and the average percentage of votes received according to the Plaintiffs' Plan, compared to the Enacted Plan.

Table 5: Effective Analysis for HDs in Sumter County

District	HD 51	HD 67
BVAP (original)	61%	28%
Enacted Plan	57%	28%
Plaintiff Plan	57%	29%
WVAP (original)	32%	62%
Enacted Plan	36%	62%
Plaintiff Plan	37%	62%
RPV (original)	25%	50%
Enacted Plan	100%	25%
Plaintiff Plan	100%	75%
Average % vote for BPC (original)	67%	40%
Enacted Plan	64%	39%
Plaintiff Plan	62%	40%

Dillon County and Horry Counties

The next cluster of HDs comes from two counties: Dillon and Horry Counties. There are four HDs (54, 55, 57, and 105) in this cluster. The major difference in racial configurations of the Enacted Plan and the Plaintiffs' Plan is about how BVAP was distributed in the four HDs.

The Enacted Plan reduced BVAP in HD 55 whereas the Plaintiffs' Plan increases it to 45%. In doing so, the Plaintiffs' Plan makes the BVAP fairly evenly

distributed with three of the four HDs in the two counties with those three HDs having more than 40% BVAP.

Table 6 shows the results of EA with respect to all four HDs in Dillon and Horry Counties.

Table 6: Effective Analysis for HDs in Dillon and Horry Counties

District	HD 54	HD 55	HD 57	HD 105
BVAP (original)	46%	43%	53%	18%
Enacted Plan	51%	39%	50%	15%
Plaintiff Plan	47%	45%	43%	11%
WVAP% (original)	46%	50%	43%	73%
Enacted Plan	42%	53%	45%	76%
Plaintiff Plan	46%	48%	52%	78%
RPV (original)	100%	100%	75%	50%
Enacted Plan	50%	100%	100%	50%
Plaintiff Plan	75%	100%	100%	0%
Average % vote for BPC (original)	53%	48%	58%	29%
Enacted Plan	58%	44%	56%	30%
Plaintiff Plan	53%	50%	49%	30%

The overall comparison between the Enacted Plan and the Plaintiffs' Plan shows that Plaintiffs' Plan outperforms the Enacted Plan. While the BVAP percentage was reduced in the majority-Black district in HD 57 according to the Plaintiffs' Plan, the net increase in the Black-preferred candidates' opportunity to be elected is only present in the Plaintiffs' Plan, which manifests in HD 55. In fact, all four statewide elections would lead to the win of Black-preferred candidate in HD 55 if the Plaintiffs' Plan were adopted whereas the Enacted Plan scores no win for Black-preferred candidate in HD 55. Moreover, no change in the opportunity of electing Black-preferred candidates is discovered in the Enacted Plan, compared to the HDs in the 2011 enacted plan in Dillon and Horry Counties.

Florence County and Williamsburg County

Florence and Williamsburg Counties are where the fifth cluster of HDs challenged by the Plaintiffs' (HDs 59, 60, 63, and 101) are located. The most significant change in the racial configuration of the Plaintiffs' Plan is the

reduction of BVAP from 60% to 53% in HD 59, whereas the Enacted Plan reduced it by only 2% (from 60 to 58%). **Table 7** shows the effects of the racial configuration differences on EA results.

Table 7: Effective Analysis for HDs in Florence and Williamsburg Counties

District	HD 59	HD 60#	HD 63	HD 101##
BVAP (original)	60%	31%	26%	55%
Enacted Plan	58%	30%	25%	56%
Plaintiff Plan	53%	47%	23%	49%
WVAP (original)	35%	63%	65%	41%
Enacted Plan	37%	64%	65%	39%
Plaintiff Plan	41%	48%	67%	46%
RPV (original)	100%	75%	25%	100%
Enacted Plan	100%	100%	0%	100%
Plaintiff Plan	100%	100%	25%	100%
Average % vote for BPC (original)	67%	38%	39%	60%
Enacted Plan	64%	37%	37%	61%
Plaintiff Plan	60%	50%	37%	56%

HD 60 in the Plaintiffs' Plan is numbered HD 61

HD 101 in the Plaintiffs' Plan is numbered as HD 64

The EA analysis shows that the Plaintiffs' Plan outperforms the Enacted Plan. The Plaintiffs' Plan significantly increased the opportunity for Black voters to elect their candidates of choice in HD 60 (average 50% of votes received) as compared to the worse outcome under the Enacted Plan (an average 37% of votes received for Black-preferred candidates). The Plaintiffs' Plan also maintains the same opportunity for Black-preferred candidates in all other three HDs.

Richland County

Richland County is the place with the largest number of HDs challenged by the Plaintiffs. One clear difference in the racial configuration of the Plaintiffs' Plan is that it reduced the high-level of BVAP concentrations in the Enacted Plan in HDs 70 and 77 to no more than 55% BVAP in the Plaintiffs' Plan. By comparison, the Enacted Plan increased the BVAP in HD 70 (from 60% in the 2011 plan) to 66% BVAP.

Table 8: Effective Analysis for HDs in Richland County

District	HD 70	HD 72	HD 73	HD 74	HD 75	HD 76	HD 77	HD 78	HD 79	HD 80#
BVAP (original)	60%	26%	58%	51%	16%	63%	59%	32%	60%	44%
Enacted Plan	66%	26%	57%	55%	18%	63%	56%	33%	57%	25%
Plaintiff_Plan	55%	30%	59%	52%	19%	55%	54%	35%	59%	45%
WVAP (original)	32%	62%	35%	42%	72%	24%	32%	51%	29%	47%
Enacted Plan	27%	61%	34%	38%	70%	24%	34%	50%	32%	67%
Plaintiff_Plan	37%	58%	34%	41%	69%	33%	36%	46%	30%	46%
RPV (original)	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	25%	0%	100%
Enacted Plan	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	25%	0%	0%	100%
Plaintiff_Plan	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%	100%
Average % vote for BPC (original)	73%	71%	75%	79%	47%	77%	70%	54%	77%	60%
Enacted Plan	79%	71%	74%	81%	48%	78%	69%	55%	74%	39%
Plaintiff_Plan	69%	71%	76%	75%	55%	72%	68%	57%	76%	60%

HD 80 in the Enacted Plan is numbered as HD 52

The reduction of the BVAP in Plaintiffs' Plan in HDs 70 and 77 did not lead to the loss of an opportunity to elect Black-preferred candidates as shown in **Table 8**. Rather, in comparison, the Plaintiffs' Plan outperforms the Enacted Plan in Richland County area. In HD 80, all Black-preferred candidates won according to the Plaintiffs' Plan, but lost based on the Enacted Plan. In HD 75, the average percent of the vote for Black-preferred candidates was increased to 55% according to the Plaintiffs' Plan, but remained below 50% in the Enacted Plan.

Orangeburg County

The final cluster of HDs challenged by the Plaintiffs is located in Orangeburg County. **Table 9** compares the EA results given the racial configurations of the different plans.

Table 9: Effective Analysis for HDs in Orangeburg County

District	HD66#	HD 91	HD 93	HD 95##
BVAP (original)	60%	52%	44%	64%
Enacted_Plan	57%	50%	50%	56%
Plaintiff_Plan	50%	51%	44%	60%
WVAP (original)	35%	43%	48%	30%
Enacted_Plan	38%	44%	43%	38%
Plaintiff_Plan	44%	44%	47%	34%
RPV (original)	100%	100%	100%	100%
Enacted_Plan	100%	100%	100%	100%
Plaintiff_Plan	100%	100%	100%	100%
Average % vote for BPC (original)	69%	58%	54%	69%
Enacted_Plan	63%	57%	59%	62%
Plaintiff_Plan	58%	56%	55%	67%

HD 66 in the Enacted Plan is numbered as HD 95

HD 95 in the Enacted Plan is numbered as HD 90

No major racial configuration difference is found between the Enacted Plan and the Plaintiffs' Plan in this final cluster of HDs, which results in the similar EA results. Due to the high BVAPs in these areas and high-level of RPV patterns, Orangeburg County offers Black-preferred candidates a chance to be elected, regardless whether it is the Enacted Plan or Plaintiffs' Plan.

Overall Findings Based on the Effectiveness Analyses

Due to the impact of RPV, as my effective analyses demonstrate, minor changes to racial configurations lead to the significant changes in vote share for Black-preferred candidates and whether Black voters can elect candidates of choice. Plaintiffs' Plan as compared to the Enacted Plan provided more clusters of districts that could perform with the proposed BVAP configurations than those same clusters in the Enacted Plan.

More specifically, my effectiveness analyses show that the Plaintiffs' Plan outperforms the Enacted Plan in five out of the seven clusters of HDs, and performs equally in the other two. Thus, the Plaintiffs' Plan is an overall better plan to provide opportunities for Black voters to elect their own candidates of choice.

VII. Conclusion

The empirical analyses clearly revealed that in 26 out of the 31 elections (83.87%) in which Black voters expressed a preference for Black candidates, that preference was not shared by a majority of white voters. This RPV pattern is confirmed not only by the 20 of 25 endogenous biracial elections, but also by the six statewide elections during the last three election cycles. Despite the highly cohesive bloc voting by Black voters for the Black preferred candidates, the white majority voters typically voted as bloc to defeat the candidates preferred by Black voters in these elections.

Thus, 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), has been met by South Carolina’s recent elections.

To address the effect of RPV on the opportunity of Black voters in South Carolina to elect the candidate of their choice, the Plaintiffs’ Plan is clearly more effective than the Enacted Redistricting Plan in providing Black voters the opportunity to elect their preferred candidates.

VIII. Appendix

Appendix 1: Curriculum Vita.

Appendix 2: Past Voting Rights Expert Work

Appendix 3: Data Acquisition, Processing and Aggregation Process

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

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury of the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct according to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief.

Executed on: Date: January 24, 2022

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Baodong Liu', with a horizontal line extending to the right.

Baodong Liu, Ph.D.

Appendix I

Curriculum Vitae

Baodong Liu, Ph.D.

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

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. *Political Volatility in the United States: How Racial and Religious Groups Win and Lose*. (forthcoming, Lexington Books)

Liu, Baodong. Ed. (2018). *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. (forthcoming) "Immigration, Nation-State Contexts and Value Changes of Ethnic Chinese" *Athens Journal of Social Sciences*.

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 19th 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

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. III. 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

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. "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 19th 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 3rd 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 11th 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 98th American Political Science Association Conference*, Boston, Massachusetts, September 2002.

Baodong Liu. "Searching for a 'Qualified' Black Candidate," *Proceedings of the 97th 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 96th 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 96th American Political Science Association Conference*, Washington DC, September 2000.

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

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

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

Baodong Liu. "Racial Context and White Voting Strategies," presented at *the 95th 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 27th 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 Historical Perspective,” the National Black Political Scientist Association Annual Meeting. Las Vegas, Nevada. March 2012.

“Educating the Best Students in the 21st 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 II

Voting Rights Cases in which I Served as an Expert Witness

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 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. III. 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).

Appendix III

Data Acquisition

1. We acquired 2016, 2018, and 2020 precinct-level shapefiles from the Voting and Election Science Team at the University of Florida. We joined those shapefiles to 2014, 2016, 2018, and 2020 precinct-level election returns from the South Carolina Election Commission, which were processed and cleaned by OpenElections.
 - a. For the 2014 precinct-level election returns, we harmonized and joined those to the 2016 precinct-level shapefile acquired from the Voting and Election Science Team.
 - b. Since absentee and provisional vote was reported at the county level prior to the 2020 general election, we distributed the county-level absentee and provisional vote for each candidate to the precincts in the county, proportional to the share of the candidate's vote total in the county that was reported from each precinct.
2. We acquired 2014, 2016, 2018, and 2020 precinct-level reports of turnout by race and ethnicity from a third party who received them from the South Carolina Election Commission. Since these were not available for the 2014 general election, we downloaded precinct-level reports of turnout broken down by white and nonwhite voters from the South Carolina Election Commission's website.
3. We acquired 2020 Census Block shapefiles, total population by race and ethnicity, and voting age population by race and ethnicity directly from the Census FTP portal.
4. We acquired VTD block assignment files and State House district block assignment files for the current plan from the Census website.
5. We acquired incumbent addresses from the Redistricting Data Hub. We then supplemented those with edits to incumbent addresses based on public information and records (e.g., information posted on the South Carolina State House website, South Carolina State Election Commission filings, and South Carolina property records) and input from Plaintiffs' counsel team, which were then geocoded to census blocks.
6. We acquired the passed State House plan from the South Carolina House of Representatives Redistricting 2021 website.
7. We acquired the Plaintiffs' State House plan from Plaintiffs' counsel team, which also was available from the South Carolina House of Representatives Redistricting 2021 website.

Data Processing

1. For datasets that were on the 2020 census block level (total population, voting age population, VTD assignment, current/passed/plaintiff State House district assignment), we joined these datasets to the 2020 Census block shapefile.
2. For datasets that were not on the level of the census block (2014, 2016, 2018, and 2020 election returns - precinct; 2014, 2016, 2018, and 2020 turnout reports – precinct), we disaggregated them down to the 2020 census block level. We then joined them to the 2020 Census block shapefile.

Data Aggregation

1. We aggregated the full block-level dataset up to the level of the 2020 voting districts, taking into account splits of voting districts by the current, passed, and Plaintiffs' State House plans.