

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA  
MIAMI DIVISION

Case No. 1:22-cv-24066-KMM

GRACE, INC., *et al.*,

*Plaintiffs,*

v.

CITY OF MIAMI,

*Defendant.*

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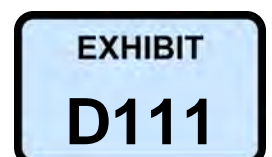
**EXPERT REPORT OF DR. CAROLYN ABBOTT**

**January 31, 2023**

**Introduction and Summary**

The Enacted Miami City Commission Districting Plan is the byproduct of many decades of racialized Commission maps. Changes made from the 2013 enacted plan were also racially motivated, though these changes are minimal compared to the inherited racialization from previous plans.

I was asked by Plaintiff's counsel in this case to use data on voting-age population (VAP), citizen voting-age population (CVAP), and voting patterns within individual city precincts in order to determine whether and to what extent race can explain the overall shapes of the 2022 Enacted Plan districts as well as the changes between the 2013 Plan and the 2022 Plan. In particular, I will examine the Black, White, and Hispanic voting-age populations in the precincts that border all five Commission Districts and draw conclusions about the way race was used to determine the district boundaries. I will also consider alternative explanations for the boundary



changes, and show that these alternatives cannot explain the patterns I observe. Finally, Plaintiff's counsel asked me to draw a majority White-CVAP district but was unable to do so due to the geographic distribution of racial groups.

Based on my examination, I reach the conclusion that areas moved from one district to another were done so on the basis of race and that other areas could have been moved without further segregating the districts by race but were rejected by the Commission or not considered at all. I also have observed the Commission's practice of splitting precincts along racial lines. Finally, I note that there are several alternative precincts that could have been moved out of District 2 for population equality reasons that would not have enhanced the racial divisions of districts to the same extent as the Enacted Plan. Most changes to Districts 1, 3, 4 and 5 that did not involve District 2 were unnecessary and can only be understood on the basis of race.

### **Qualifications**

I am an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Baruch College, City University of New York, where I teach courses in American Government, State and Local Politics, Political Economy, Public Policy, and Public Administration. Prior to joining the faculty at Baruch, I taught at St. John's University in Queens, New York and completed a postdoctoral fellowship at The Ohio State University. I received a Ph.D. in political science and social policy from Princeton University in 2016. Both my research and teaching focuses on various aspects of American politics and public policy, particularly at the state and local level. This work includes research on American elections, including publications in top peer-reviewed journals on local elections, minority representation, voting rights, and voting behavior. Further details about my

professional qualifications and experience are listed in the copy of my curriculum vitae attached. I am being compensated for my work on this report at an hourly rate of \$450/hour. No part of my compensation depends on the outcome of this case or on the nature of the opinions that I provide.

### **Sources and Methodology**

In preparing this report, I have relied on my personal knowledge gathered through my years of researching, studying, and publishing. I also utilize the standard methodology that political scientists use when investigating precinct and census data. The 2020 Census provided data on voting-age populations (VAP) by race at the block level that could then be aggregated up to the precinct and split-precinct level. Data on 2019 citizen voting-age population (CVAP) by race provided in the Appendix comes from the 2019 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates (ACS).

City Commission district maps and incumbent addresses were provided to me by Counsel. Precinct shapefiles and statewide election results were downloaded from the Voting and Election Science Team on Harvard's Dataverse (<https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/electionscience>). Dr. Moy provided me with election results for the 2020 County Mayor race.

### **Overview of District Maps Prior to 2022 Enacted Plan**

When embarking upon the current round of redistricting, the City of Miami had inherited district maps from 2013 and beyond that exhibited clear patterns of racial segregation. *Table 1*

depicts the VAP by race in all five districts under the 2013 Plan. Majorities tend to be exaggerated in districts (Districts 1, 3, and 4 for Hispanic voters; District 5 for Black voters) while voters of those races tend to be spread out across districts in which they do not hold a majority. This is particularly true of Black voters. The Black VAP is 14.8% in the City of Miami. Only one district (District 5) had equal or greater Black VAP under the 2013 Plan. Under the previous map, District 1 contained 10% Black VAP, District 2 contained 7.7% Black VAP, District 3 contained 5.6% Black VAP, and District 4 contained 2.9% Black VAP. District 5, however, had 53% Black VAP, and is the only district in which Black voters could conceivably have any “voice” in a Commission election.

*Table 1: District Racial Compositions Under the 2013 Plan*

District	Black VAP	White VAP	Hispanic VAP
1	10.1%	3.0%	91.0%
2	7.7%	34.5%	51.9%
3	5.6%	7.4%	88.5%
4	2.9%	6.0%	91.6%
5	52.9%	7.8%	41.6%

Districts 2 and 5 are the most racially diverse districts in the sense that there is no clear racial supermajority of voters. Unlike District 5, however, District 2 needed to be redrawn substantially in order to satisfy population equality concerns (District 5 needed to grow only somewhat). *Table 2* shows the size of the VAP in districts before and after the most recent round of redistricting. Under the 2013 Plan, District 2 contained 34,540 more residents than the

next largest district. This is equivalent to being more than 40% larger than any of the other districts. As a result, District 2 shrunk considerably under the 2022 Enacted Plan while the other four districts all grew. As we will see, however, District 2 was not the only donor of precincts; all districts except District 3 (the smallest under the 2013 plan) donated precincts or portions of precincts, often receiving different precincts from the very districts they were donating to.

Table 2: Population Before and After Redistricting

District	2013 Plan	2022 Enacted Plan
1	81,449	88,108
2	117,281	93,300
3	80,169	87,658
4	80,601	86,597
5	82,741	86,578

Table 3 depicts the racial VAP composition after redistricting. Overall, Black VAP in District 2 decreased slightly as a percentage of total VAP (from 7.7% to 7.2%), as did Hispanic VAP (from 52% to 49%) after redistricting. This was due to the fact that White VAP increased from 34% to 37% after redistricting. White VAP also increased in District 5 while both Black and Hispanic VAP decreased. On the whole, however, there was no statistical difference between VAP by race before and after redistricting at the district level. There were, however, significant patterns of change at a more granular level, which I will discuss in the next section.

Table 3: District Racial Compositions Under the 2022 Enacted Plan

District	Black VAP	White VAP	Hispanic VAP

1	11.0%	3.5%	89.5%
2	7.2%	37.4%	48.6%
3	5.4%	7.7%	88.3%
4	3.1%	7.6%	89.5%
5	50.3%	10.5%	40.6%

**Changes Made Between 2013 and 2022 Plan**

District 1

District 1 is a super-majority Hispanic district with a small Black and even smaller White population. The district was third largest by population under the 2013 Plan so, in theory, needed to gain only a few residents. The changes under the 2022 Enacted Plan resulted in District 1 growing both in absolute and relative terms (it is now second largest, after District 2).

Changes made to District 1 occurred in tandem with changes only to District 5. Areas 6 and 8 were moved from District 5 into District 1 while Area 7 was moved out of District 1 and into District 5 (please see *Figure 1*). These swaps appear to be entirely motivated by race. Areas 6 and 8 are less Black than the nearby areas surrounding it that remained in District 5, while the reverse is true of Area 7.

At the precinct level, the portions of precincts that were split during the redistricting and remained in their original district looked significantly different from the portions that were moved. In Area 6, the portion of Precinct 531 that was moved from District 5 to District 1 had lower Black VAP and greater Hispanic VAP compared to the portion that remained in District 5.

In Area 8, Precinct 522 also had a split with lower Black VAP and greater Hispanic VAP that was moved into District 1 in addition to a portion of Precinct 512 that had comparatively lower White VAP. And in Area 7, the portion of Precinct 523 that was moved from District 1 to 5 had greater Black VAP and lower Hispanic VAP compared to the portion that remained in District 1.

*Table 4* lists these disparities in greater detail.

*Table 4: Black, White, and Hispanic Voting-age Population in Precinct Splits that Were Located in Different Districts Under the 2022 Enacted Plan, Areas 6, 7, and 8*

Precinct	District 1 Split	District 5 Split
<i>Area 6</i>		
531	27.2%, 44.9%, 71.1%	62.5%, 2.7%, 38.7%
<i>Area 7</i>		
523	27.4%, 1.8%, 82.0%	40.5%, 0.5%, 65.7%
529	18.7%, 2.7%, 86.6%	13.3%, 13.3%, 73.3%
<i>Area 8</i>		
512	50.0%, 37.5%, 37.5%	61.2%, 1.3%, 41.6%
522	32.8%, 1.1%, 77.0%	60.1%, 2.5%, 41.1%

Because District 5 took on additional precincts from District 2 as was necessary for population equalization purposes, District 5 needed to give precincts to either District 1 or District 3. In this regard, it is understandable why District 5 would have been a net donor to District 1. But the areas that were chosen were deliberately done so on the basis of race. That District 5 also received precincts from District 1 (which were also racially distinct from the

surrounding areas) when this should not have been necessary for equalizing, further bolsters the argument that changes made to District 1 were done so on a racialized basis.

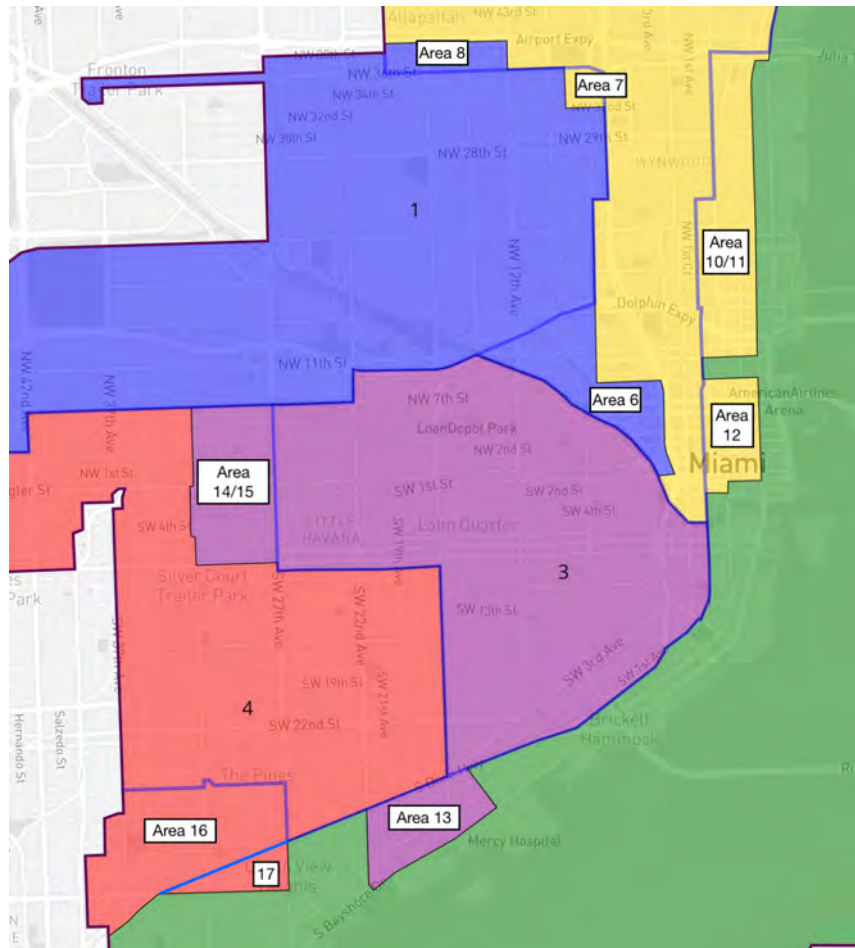


Figure 1: Areas moved between 2013 Plan and 2022 Enacted Plan

District 2

As previously discussed, District 2 is one of the two ethnically and racially diverse Commission districts in the City (District 5 being the other). It was also the largest in terms of population going into the redistricting process and needed to shrink in order to be in compliance with the law. This was accomplished by donating precincts and portions of precincts to Districts 3, 4, and 5. Three areas that were moved from District 2 stand out. The first is Area



10/11 that was given to District 5. This section of donated precincts had a lower White VAP and a greater Hispanic and Black VAP compared to areas that were not moved. This is particularly pronounced among some precincts that were split across District 2 and 5 during the redistricting. Precinct 534A, for instance, was split in such a way that the portion donated to District 5 had nearly 10 percentage points greater Black VAP than the portion that remained in District 2. Precinct 536A saw a split given to District 5 that contained Black VAP that was 45 percentage points higher than the split that stayed in District 2. *Table 5* lists the VAP by race for each of these split precincts.

Area 17, a former section of the southwest part of District 2 directly below US 1, did not substantially differ from the other portions of District 2 surrounding it. It did, however, differ markedly from the racial composition of the receiving District 4, which undercuts the argument that Commissioners were seeking to maintain the core of the Districts' racial compositions. Looking at the split precincts in this area also raises concerns about race-based motivations. *Table 6* lists the areas' two precinct splits and the VAP by race in each district. These precincts were split into sections with very different racial compositions: Precinct 583 gave District 4 a section with a greater percentage of Black and Hispanic voters, while Precinct 584 gave District 4 a much lower percentage of Black voters.

It should be noted, however, that the District 4 split of Precinct 584 contains about 10% of the VAP that the District 2 split contains (235 individuals versus 2,108). This pattern is generally true across all districts and precincts: on average, portions of splits precincts that were moved were one-third the size of the portions that remained in their original 2013 districts.

Table 5: Black, White, and Hispanic Voting-age Population in Precinct Splits that Were Located in Different Districts Under the 2022 Enacted Plan, Areas 10/11

Precinct	District 2 Split	District 5 Split
<i>Area 10/11</i>		
538	8.3%, 31.1%, 54.8%	8.3%, 31.1%, 56.7%
534	6.6%, 24.7%, 60.0%	9.8%, 20.4%, 65.8%
534A	8.3%, 47.3%, 34.2%	17.5%, 28.2%, 42.5%
536A	13.0%, 16.6%, 67.0%	54.8%, 0.0%, 74.2%
984A	7.8%, 23.6%, 61.3%	20.0%, 20.0%, 65.0%
984	7.3%, 35.6%, 48.8%	16.7%, 22.8%, 57.4%

Table 6: Black, White, and Hispanic Voting-age Population in Precinct Splits that Were Located in Different Districts Under the 2022 Enacted Plan, Area 17

Precinct	District 2 Split	District 4 Split
<i>Area 17</i>		
583	5.3%, 50.3%, 41.6%	8.3%, 35.6%, 53.9%
584	34.2%, 21.8%, 42.1%	1.3%, 14.0%, 83.4%

Area 13 is also notable for a number of reasons. The first is the odd and unintuitive shape that this carve-out of District 2 creates. For compactness reasons, it would have made more sense to give District 3 portions of District 2 that were further north and closer to District 5. These portions further north along US 1 could have even been donated to District 3 in addition to Area 13. Instead, however, District 3 took on portions of District 4 (discussed below) that did not make sense strictly for purposes of population equalization. Secondly, while Area

13 does not differ markedly from the surrounding areas in terms of Black VAP, it has considerably lower Hispanic VAP than both the surrounding areas of District 2 and – by quite a bit – of the receiving District 3. Though the split precincts in Area 13 do not markedly differ from one another across districts in terms of VAP by race, the movement of Area 13 had ripple effects in the drawing of other districts that was largely adjudicated by racial concerns. *Table 7* lists these split precincts and how the portions between Districts 2 and 3 differ by racial VAP.

*Table 7: Black, White, and Hispanic Voting-age Population in Precinct Splits that Were Located in Different Districts Under the 2022 Enacted Plan, Area 13*

Precinct	District 2 Split	District 3 Split
<i>Area 13</i>		
546	3.1%, 51.3%, 40.5%	2.8%, 52.4%, 37.6%
582	1.6%, 49.9%, 43.5%	2.5%, 51.7%, 37.7%

### District 3

District 3 is the second smallest district by population. As discussed in the previous section, District 3 needed to add portions of other districts in order to address population equalization issues, and did so by taking on areas from District 2 – the largest district in the City – and from District 4.

As discussed above, Area 13 was moved from District 2 to 3 for reasons that appear to be unmotivated by race as the precinct splits are not substantively distinct across district lines. Area 13, however, contains only 1,396 people. This is a relatively small (18.6) percent of the total 7,493 people that were moved into District 3. These 1,396 residents in Area 13 make up

only 1.6% of District 3's overall population of 87,658 under the 2022 Enacted Plan. The bulk of the population that was moved came instead from Area 14/15 that originated in District 4.

Area 14/15 did not strongly differ from the areas immediately surrounding it, either in District 3 or District 4. The two split precincts in this area also did not look different from the split portions that remained in District 4. Area 14/15, however, has a very high Hispanic VAP of 96.2%. This very high proportion of potential Hispanic voters helped to offset the lower proportion of Hispanic voters that were gained by District 3 in Area 13 (37.6% Hispanic VAP). Adding additional portions of District 2 – rather than unnecessarily adopting Area 14/15 from District 4 – would have lowered the overall percentage of Hispanic VAP. It is likely that Area 14/15 was adopted by District 3 in order to balance the addition of Area 13.

Changes to Districts 4 and 5 were discussed in the sections on Districts 1-3.

### **Alternative explanations**

#### Partisan gerrymander

Partisan gerrymanders are loosely defined as an attempt by a single party in charge of redistricting to maximize the number of seats held by the party. Partisan gerrymanders often occur when the majority party is tasked with drawing the maps and has full control over the district lines. This allows the majority party to draw districts in such a way as to narrowly guarantee the most number of majority-held seats in the legislative body, i.e., create competitive districts that give the majority party a narrow victory while splitting the minority party's voters into as few districts as possible that could grant them a victory.

This is not a viable explanation for what happened during the most recent round of redistricting of the Miami City Commission for a number of reasons. First, City Commission elections are nonpartisan. While it is quite easy to figure out the partisan affiliation of a candidate, there are no partisan primaries nor general elections that are guaranteed to pit candidates of different parties against one another. Second, the redistricting process was under the purview of the entire Commission, not just the “majority party” (in quotations as the Commission is nonpartisan and as such cannot have explicit partisan control), which meant that all Commissioners had at least nominal input on the map. Finally, the 2022 Enacted Plan was approved by a margin of 3-2 with one Democratic Commissioner joining two Republican Commissioners in the majority. Approval of traditional partisan gerrymanders cannot cross party lines as no minority party member would agree to the final product.

#### Maintaining the partisanship of the district cores

A similar but unrelated alternative explanation to partisan gerrymandering is the idea that the 2022 Enacted Plan was designed to maintain the current partisan makeup of the cores of the districts, i.e., in order to guarantee that a Democrat would always represent District 5 and that a Republican would always represent District 3.

This alternative explanation does not hold water. For moved precincts that were not split and still had geographically contiguous neighboring precincts that remained and could be used for comparison, either partisan voting patterns in both the 2018 gubernatorial election and the 2020 county mayor election looked remarkably similar or the comparison precinct was too small (i.e., only one person voting) to make reasonable inferences.

Additionally, moved precincts – generally speaking – did not look like the cores of the receiving districts. There were other precincts that could have been moved, even if they were not directly nearby to the precincts that were moved (but were geographically contiguous to the receiving district), that would have been preferable for maintaining partisan voting patterns of the adopting or donating district. For example, part of Precinct 548 was moved into District 3 from District 4. Precinct 548 looked nothing like the core of District 3. 59.4% of voters voted for DeSantis (the Republican candidate) in Precinct 548 that was moved, while 41.2% of District 3 voted for DeSantis using the 2013 map. Conversely, 53.4% of District 4 - the giving District - went for DeSantis. A more reasonable precinct to have been moved, had the plan been truly concerned about maintaining core partisanship patterns, would have been Precinct 572, 49.2% of which voted for DeSantis.

As another example, part of Precinct 583 was moved from District 2 to 4. 22% of this precinct voted for DeSantis compared to the overall 53.4% of District 4 and the 29.4% of District 2. A better portion of District 2 to move (which, again, was necessary for population equalization reasons) would have been 546 which went 29.9% for DeSantis. This precinct was split in the 2022 map, with one portion remaining in District 2 and one portion moved to District 3. If the map had truly aimed to preserve core partisanship, it would have made more sense to keep 546 in District 2 (or cede it to District 4) rather than give it to District 3 and instead move 582, 993, and/or 569 to District 3 where partisan voting patterns were far more similar. District 2 could have also donated its north end, which is heavily Democratic (i.e., Precincts 516, 544, 534B or the remaining portions of 999, 538, 534, 534A, 536A, 984A, 984

which each went 25.6%, 24.2%, 24.1% 26.5%, 18.1%, 23.2%, 24%, 14%, 23%, and 23% for DeSantis), and given them to District 5 which is also heavily Democratic.

#### Keeping incumbents in their districts

I have reviewed the locations of the five incumbents' addresses as given to me by Counsel and as reported on their voting registration, and I have come to the conclusion that no incumbent lives near one another, nor do they live near district boundaries that needed to change for population-equalization reasons, and that this consideration could not have affected the drawing of the district lines.

#### Maintaining the cores of existing districts

Cores of existing districts were not changed; only boundary areas were affected. That said, there were a number of other boundary precincts and areas that could have made equal or greater sense to have been moved. These have been discussed in previous sections of the report.

#### Compactness

Visual inspection reveals that the 2022 Enacted Plan is less compact than the 2013 Plan and as such compactness concerns cannot be used as an explanation for redistricting decisions.

Notable features of the 2022 Enacted Plan that stand out as being strangely drawn include splits of Precincts 536A and 534A (District 2) that act as a finger that juts into District 5.

Similarly, splits of Precincts 546 and 582 belonging to District 3 extend past US-1 into District 2

when the rest of District 2's border is contiguous with US-1. The exception to this are splits of Precincts 583 and 584 belonging to District 4, and also appear to be drawn without regard to natural geographic boundaries.

### **Alternative Map Proposals**

A number of alternative maps were proposed but not enacted. All maps tended to shore up existing racial compositions within individual Commission districts, particularly those of Districts 1, 2, and 5. The alternative maps did differ from one another in a number of ways, however, as described below.

#### A February 7, 2022 draft map

This alternative map (please refer to *Figure 2*) proposed to move Area B from District 2 to 5 and has 32.1% Black VAP, 22% White VAP, and 46.4% Hispanic VAP. This area was proposed to be moved to District 5 in exchange for keeping a small carve out of Area A in District 2. Area A has 14.2% Black VAP, 20.9% White VAP, and 61% Hispanic VAP.

The February 7 draft map also proposed to keep Area D in its 2013 district (District 5) but was instead moved to District 1 under the 2022 Enacted Plan. Area D has 29.9% Black VAP, 3.5% White VAP, and 72.1% Hispanic VAP. In exchange, Area C stayed in District 5. This area is very small with only 647 residents (580 of whom are of voting age) and has 7.6% Black VAP, 27.9% White VAP, and 58.8% Hispanic VAP.



Commissioner Russell's rejected proposal

This map (please see *Figure 3*) would have moved a less Hispanic area into District 3, lowering the District's overall Hispanic share. Areas 13 and 17 from *Figure 1* were not planned to be moved out of District 2 in this proposal, though they eventually were in the 2022 Enacted Plan. These areas are 5.1% Black VAP, 40.8% White VAP, and 49.5% Hispanic VAP. Under this proposal, there was also an area that would be moved from District 2 to District 3 that did not come to pass. This area has 5.6% Black VAP, 40.8% White VAP, and 42.9% Hispanic VAP.

Commissioner Russell's rejected revised proposal

This proposal (*Figure 4*) differed from the original Russell proposal in that the area proposed to be moved from District 2 to District 3 was cut in half. The area that was proposed to remain in District 2 has 4.9% Black VAP, 46.8% White VAP, and 37.6% Hispanic VAP. In comparison, the area that was proposed to continue to move to District 3 has 5.8% Black VAP, 38.9% White VAP, and 44.6% Hispanic VAP.



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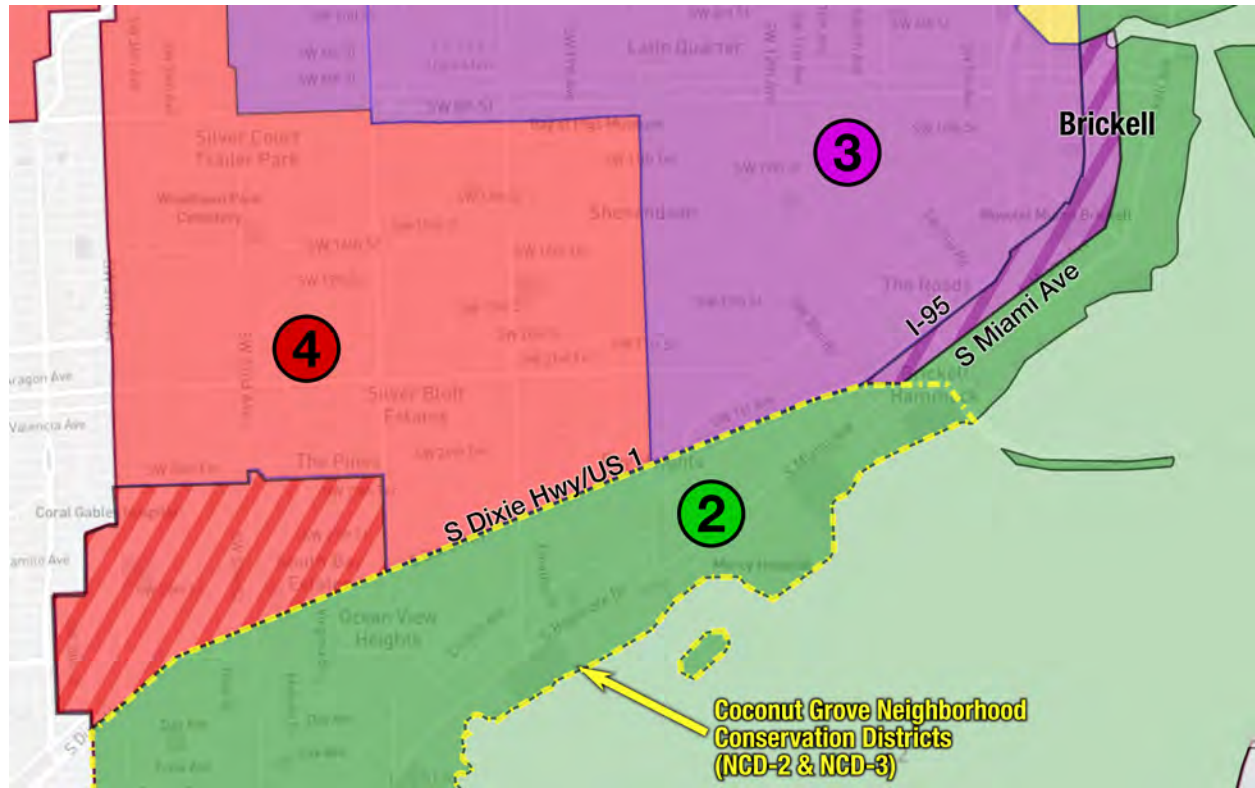


Figure 3: Commissioner Russell's initial proposal

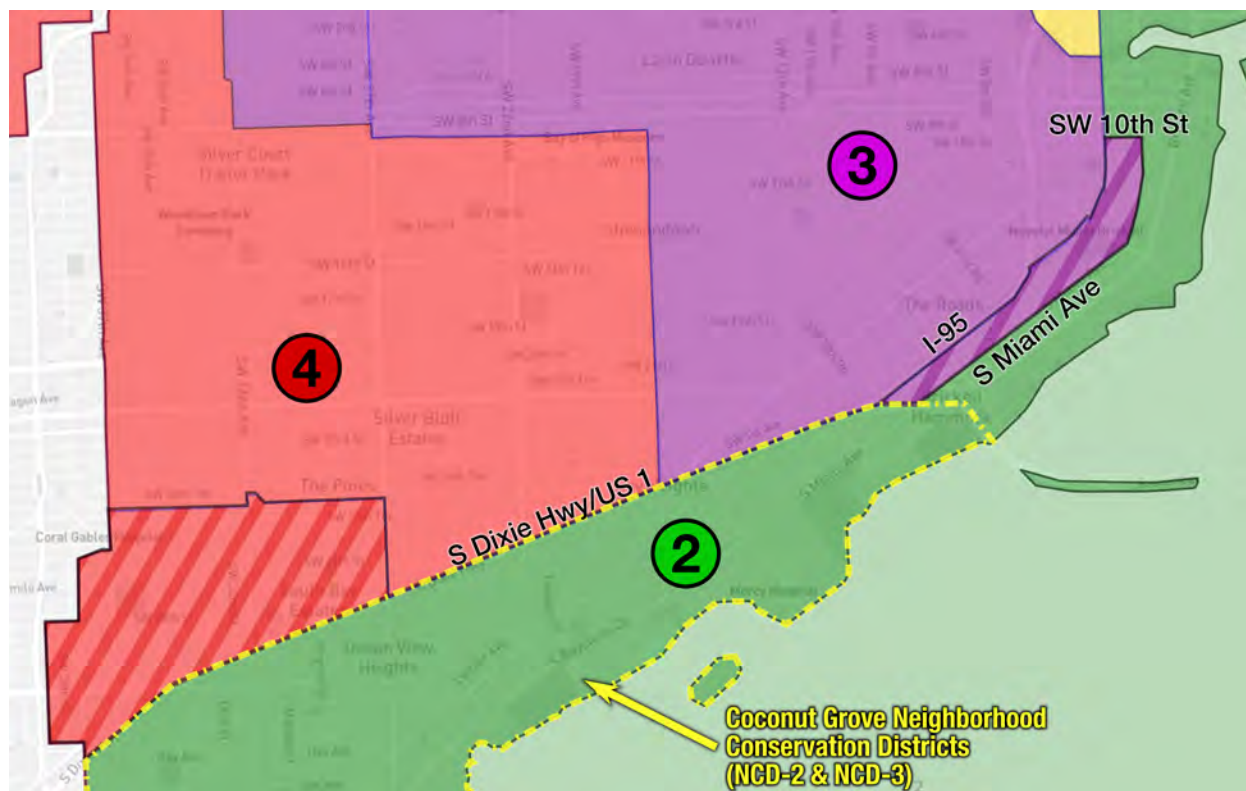


Figure 4: Commissioner Russell's revised proposal

#### Commissioner Reyes's rejected proposal

This map (*Figure 5*) proposed to move an area that would have been less Hispanic than the one that was eventually moved. This proposal is similar to the Russell proposals except that it adds in a portion of District 2 to be moved to District 3 that encompasses both Area 13 in *Figure 1* and the area that connects Area 13 to the Russell area. This strip has 0.9% Black VAP, 31.4% White VAP, and 61.6% Hispanic VAP. These numbers do not include Area 13.

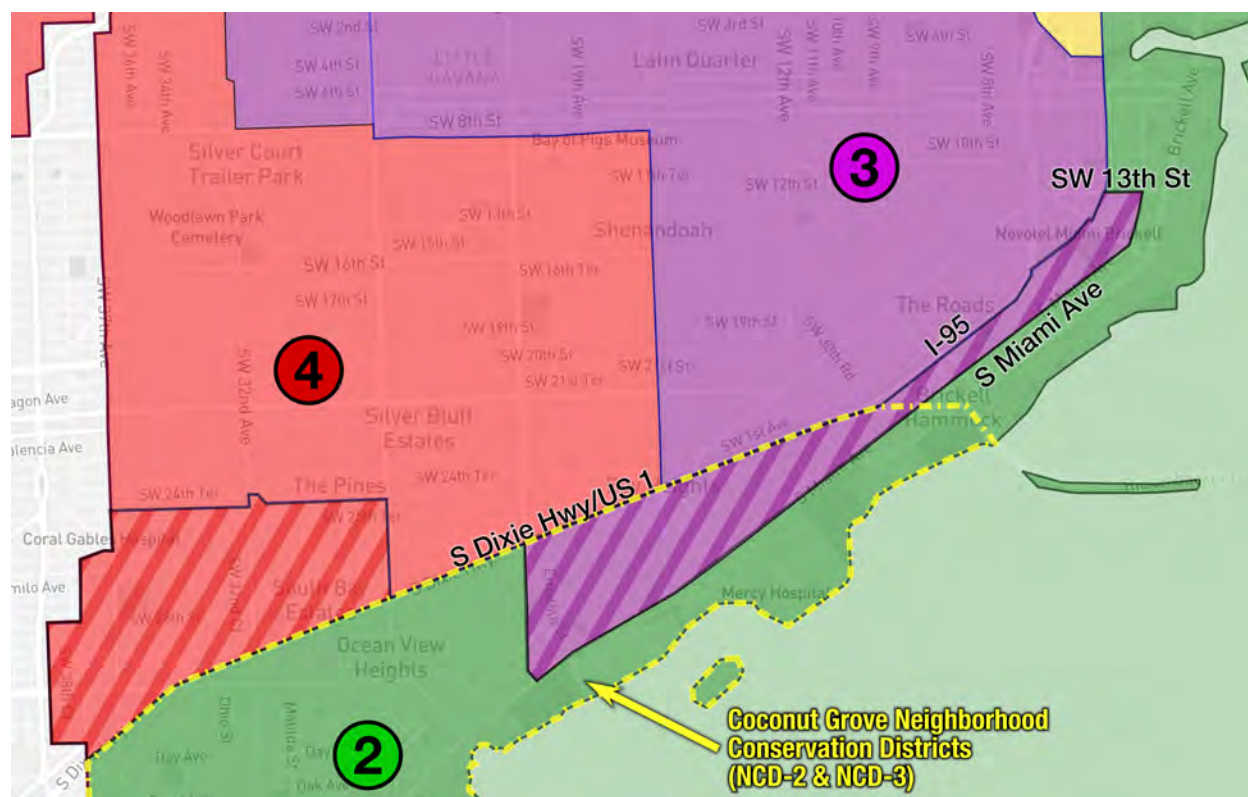


Figure 5: Commissioner Reyes's proposal

### Map with a majority White CVAP district

Counsel asked me to attempt to draw a district that contained 50% or more White CVAP but I found it impossible to do so due to the distribution of racial groups across the city.

### **Conclusion**

The 2022 Enacted Plan for the Miami City Commission has been designed around racial and ethnic considerations. While the Commission inherited a 2013 Plan that was already highly segregated by race, many of the changes made during the most recent round of redistricting were also motivated by race. Apart from a small portion of District 2 that was moved into

District 3 that objective demographic data does not demonstrate to be race-based, I found no evidence that any factors other than race and ethnicity affected the drawing of district lines in pursuit of equalizing population across districts.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Carolyn Abott". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Dr. Carolyn Abott, Ph.D.

January 31, 2023, in New York City, NY



Appendix

Demographics of the 2013 Plan									
	Total Population and Deviations			2020 Census Voting-Age Population (VAP)			2019 American Community Survey Citizen VAP (CVAP)		
Dist.	Total Pop.	Pop. Dev.	% Dev.	Hisp. VAP	Black VAP	White VAP	Hisp. CVAP	Black CVAP	White CVAP
1	81,449	-6,999	-7.9%	91.0%	10.1%	3.0%	86.6%	8.0%	4.8%
2	117,281	+28,833	+32.6%	51.9%	7.7%	34.5%	49.4%	9.5%	38.1%
3	80,169	-8,279	-9.4%	88.5%	5.6%	7.4%	86.8%	3.5%	8.8%
4	80,601	-7,847	-8.9%	91.6%	2.9%	6.0%	90.1%	1.1%	7.5%
5	82,741	-5,707	-6.5%	41.6%	52.9%	7.8%	30.9%	59.4%	8.2%
City	442,241	—	—	71.1%	14.8%	13.9%	66.4%	17.6%	14.5%

Demographics of the February 7 Draft									
	Total Population and Deviations			2020 Census Voting-Age Population (VAP)			2019 American Community Survey Citizen VAP (CVAP)		
Dist.	Total Pop.	Pop. Dev.	% Dev.	Hisp. VAP	Black VAP	White VAP	Hisp. CVAP	Black CVAP	White CVAP
1	88,775	+327	+0.4%	88.7%	10.5%	4.3%	84.8%	8.7%	5.9%
2	88,363	-85	-0.1%	47.8%	7.8%	37.6%	44.7%	10.4%	41.5%
3	87,600	-848	-1.0%	88.4%	5.5%	7.6%	86.6%	3.2%	9.3%
4	90,437	+1,989	+2.3%	88.1%	3.4%	8.7%	86.7%	1.7%	10.2%
5	87,066	-1,382	-1.6%	41.6%	49.8%	10.1%	30.9%	58.7%	8.9%
City	442,241	—	—	71.1%	14.8%	13.9%	66.4%	17.6%	14.5%

Demographics of the Feb. 22 Draft/Base Plan/Enacted Plan									
	Total Population and Deviations			2020 Census Voting-Age Population (VAP)			2019 American Community Survey Citizen VAP (CVAP)		
Dist.	Total Pop.	Pop. Dev.	% Dev.	Hisp. VAP	Black VAP	White VAP	Hisp. CVAP	Black CVAP	White CVAP
1	88,108	-340	-0.4%	89.5%	11.0%	3.5%	86.1%	8.2%	5.0%
2	93,300	+4,852	+5.5%	48.6%	7.3%	37.4%	44.4%	8.7%	40.5%
3	87,658	-790	-0.9%	88.3%	5.4%	7.7%	85.6%	3.9%	9.9%
4	86,597	-1,851	-2.1%	89.5%	3.1%	7.6%	89.6%	1.3%	8.2%
5	86,578	-1,870	-2.1%	40.6%	50.3%	10.5%	30.8%	58.2%	9.5%
City	442,241	—	—	71.1%	14.8%	13.9%	66.4%	17.6%	14.5%

Demographics of the Initial Russell Plan									
	Total Population and Deviations			2020 Census Voting-Age Population (VAP)			2019 American Community Survey Citizen VAP (CVAP)		
Dist.	Total Pop.	Pop. Dev.	% Dev.	Hisp. VAP	Black VAP	White VAP	Hisp. CVAP	Black CVAP	White CVAP
1	88,108	-340	-0.4%	89.5%	11.0%	3.5%	84.8%	9.3%	5.4%
2	89,309	+861	+1.0%	49.1%	7.3%	37.1%	46.0%	9.4%	41.1%
3	93,246	+4,798	+5.4%	85.2%	5.4%	9.9%	84.8%	3.2%	11.1%
4	85,000	-3,448	-3.9%	90.1%	3.0%	7.2%	89.1%	1.4%	8.2%
5	86,578	-1,870	-2.1%	40.6%	50.3%	10.5%	30.1%	59.0%	9.2%
City	442,241	—	—	71.1%	14.8%	13.9%	66.4%	17.6%	14.5%

Demographics of the Revised Russell Plan									
	Total Population and Deviations			2020 Census Voting-Age Population (VAP)			2019 American Community Survey Citizen VAP (CVAP)		
Dist.	Total Pop.	Pop. Dev.	% Dev.	Hisp. VAP	Black VAP	White VAP	Hisp. CVAP	Black CVAP	White CVAP
1	88,108	-340	-0.4%	89.5%	11.0%	3.5%	84.8%	9.3%	5.4%
2	91,619	+3,171	+3.6%	48.8%	7.3%	37.4%	46.0%	9.4%	41.1%
3	90,936	+2,488	+2.8%	86.6%	5.4%	8.9%	84.8%	3.2%	11.1%
4	85,000	-3,448	-3.9%	90.1%	3.0%	7.2%	89.1%	1.4%	8.2%
5	86,578	-1,870	-2.1%	40.6%	50.3%	10.5%	30.1%	59.0%	9.2%
City	442,241	—	—	71.1%	14.8%	13.9%	66.4%	17.6%	14.5%

Demographics of the Reyes Plan									
	Total Population and Deviations			2020 Census Voting-Age Population (VAP)			2019 American Community Survey Citizen VAP (CVAP)		
Dist.	Total Pop.	Pop. Dev.	% Dev.	Hisp. VAP	Black VAP	White VAP	Hisp. CVAP	Black CVAP	White CVAP
1	88,108	-340	-0.4%	89.5%	11.0%	3.5%	84.8%	9.3%	5.4%
2	92,617	+4,169	+4.7%	48.7%	7.3%	37.2%	45.5%	9.2%	41.7%
3	89,938	+1,490	+1.7%	87.3%	5.3%	8.6%	86.0%	3.3%	9.9%
4	85,000	-3,448	-3.9%	90.1%	3.0%	7.2%	89.1%	1.4%	8.2%
5	86,578	-1,870	-2.1%	40.6%	50.3%	10.5%	30.1%	59.0%	9.2%
City	442,241	—	—	71.1%	14.8%	13.9%	66.4%	17.6%	14.5%



Comparison of 2013 Plan and Feb. 7 Draft									
Area Description	Boundaries	Precincts	Total Population	2020 Census Voting-Age Population (VAP)			2019 American Community Survey Citizen VAP (CVAP)		
				Hisp. VAP	Black VAP	White VAP	Hisp. CVAP	Black CVAP	White CVAP
Coconut Grove area moved from D2 to D4	US 1, SW 27th Ave, Day Ave, city limits	Parts of 532, 583, 584, 585, 587	5,071	49.1%	10.1%	37.4%	43.5%	6.5%	46.3%
Golden Pines area moved from D2 to D4	SW 25th St, SW 27th Ave, US 1, city limits	577, 578	10,496	81.8%	3.6%	13.6%	83.9%	3.8%	11.8%
Area moved from D2 to D3	SW 17th Ave, S Miami Ave, SW 15th Rd, SW 1st Ave, I-95, US 1	993, part of 582	1,313	56.2%	2.3%	36.9%	60.3%	0.8%	34.8%
Little Havana area moved from D4 to D3	SW 27th Ave, SW 9th St, SW 17th Ave, SW 12th St	Parts of 572, 574	3,221	91.1%	4.1%	5.6%	85.4%	0.9%	13.0%
Little Havana area moved from D4 to D1	NW 37th Ave, NW 7th St, NW 27th Ave, NW 4th St	Parts of 510, 548	2,510	96.1%	2.2%	2.5%	99.1%	0.0%	0.1%
Little Havana area moved from D1 to D3	Dolphin Expy, NW 22nd Ave, NW 7th St, NW 27th Ave	Part of 545	2,897	96.1%	4.2%	1.8%	98.2%	0.6%	0.8%
Riverside area moved from D5 to D1	Miami River, Dolphin Expy, NW 7th Ave, NW 6th Ave, I-95, SW 2nd St, Metrorail	530, 540, 656, 656A, 985, 990, parts of 531, 655	5,230	70.4%	20.0%	10.6%	62.5%	21.2%	15.3%
Riverside area moved from D2 to D1	Miami River, Metrorail, SW 2nd St, S Miami Ave	Part of 984	2,483	56.7%	6.0%	30.2%	60.0%	7.5%	29.0%
Downtown/Omni/Wynwood/Edge water area moved from D2 to D5		536, 536A, 599, parts of 534, 538, 658A, 984, 984A, 999	9,555	56.9%	10.8%	27.9%	60.5%	11.9%	26.4%
Portion of D1 remaining in D1			78,552	90.8%	10.3%	3.1%	86.3%	8.3%	4.9%
Portion of D2 remaining in D2			88,363	47.8%	7.8%	37.6%	44.7%	10.4%	41.5%
Portion of D3 remaining in D3			80,169	88.5%	5.6%	7.4%	86.8%	3.5%	8.8%
Portion of D4 remaining in D4			74,870	91.5%	2.9%	6.1%	89.9%	1.2%	7.5%
Portion of D5 remaining in D5			77,511	39.4%	55.4%	7.6%	29.1%	61.6%	7.8%

Comparison of Feb. 7 Draft and Base/Enacted Plan									
Area Description	Boundaries	Precincts	Total Population	2020 Census Voting-Age Population (VAP)			2019 American Community Survey Citizen VAP (CVAP)		
				Hisp. VAP	Black VAP	White VAP	Hisp. CVAP	Black CVAP	White CVAP
Allapattah area moved from D5 to D1	SR 112, NW 12th Ave, NW 36th St, NW 19th Ave	Parts of 512, 522	995	76.6%	33.0%	1.5%	62.8%	34.9%	2.3%
Allapattah area moved from D1 to D5	I-95, NW 32nd St, NW 8th Ave, NW 36th St	Parts of 523, 529	329	66.7%	37.1%	2.1%	50.0%	50.0%	1.4%
Downtown area moved from D5 to D1	I-95, NW 6th St, NW 7th Ave, NW 8th St	Part of 531	794	72.1%	29.9%	3.5%	64.8%	32.6%	0.7%
Riverside area moved from D1 back to D5 (including the Wharf)	Miami River, SW 1st St, I-95, SW 2nd St, S Miami Ave, SW 3rd St, Metrorail	Parts of 655, 656, 984	81	52.6%	40.4%	7.0%	61.5%	15.4%	15.4%
Downtown areas moved from D2 to D5	N/S Miami Ave, SW 2nd St, SE/NE 2nd Ave, NE 8th St; and N Miami Ave, NE 10th St, NE 2nd Ave, Dolphin Expy	982A, parts of 534A, 658A, 984, 984A	2,521	46.4%	32.1%	22.0%	46.1%	33.0%	19.1%
Downtown area moved from D5 back to D2	N Miami Ave, NW 8th St, Metrorail, NE 10th St	Part of 536A	1,638	67.0%	13.0%	16.6%	72.6%	10.7%	15.6%
Riverside area moved from D1 back to D2	Miami River, Metrorail, SW 3rd St, S Miami Ave	Part of 984	2,433	56.7%	5.5%	30.5%	60.0%	5.5%	30.3%
Area moved from D3 back to D2	Alatka St, S Miami Ave, SW 15th Rd, SW 1st Ave, I-95, US 1	993, part of 582	918	62.9%	1.6%	31.3%	57.7%	0.9%	37.1%
Coconut Grove area moved from D2 to D3	US 1, SW 17th Ave, S Bayshore Dr, SW 22nd Ave	Parts of 546, 582	997	36.7%	2.2%	52.8%	36.2%	0.0%	61.7%
Coconut Grove area moved from D4 back to D2	US 1, Bird Ave, SW 27th Ave, Day Ave	Parts of 532, 583, 584, 585, 587	3,474	44.5%	11.5%	40.0%	43.6%	8.0%	44.7%
Little Havana area moved from D3 back to D4	SW 27th Ave, SW 9th St, SW 17th Ave, SW 12th St	Parts of 572, 574	3,221	91.1%	4.1%	5.6%	85.4%	0.9%	13.0%
Little Havana area moved from D4 to D3	SW 8th St, SW/NW 32nd Ave, NW 4th St, NW/SW 27th Ave	Parts of 548, 670	5,026	96.2%	3.0%	2.5%	96.8%	0.4%	2.3%
Little Havana area moved from D1 to D3	NW 4th St, NW 32nd Ave, NW 7th St, NW 27th Ave	Part of 548	1,071	96.1%	3.7%	2.5%	98.2%	0.0%	1.8%
Little Havana area moved from D1 back to D4	NW 4th St, NW 37th Ave, NW 7th St, NW 32nd Ave	Parts of 510, 548	1,439	96.1%	1.1%	2.5%	99.7%	0.0%	0.1%
Little Havana area moved from D3 back to D1	Dolphin Expy, NW 22nd Ave, NW 7th St, NW 27th Ave	Part of 545	2,897	96.1%	4.2%	1.8%	98.2%	0.6%	0.8%
West Grove Triangle moved from D2 to D4 in Feb. 7 Draft and remaining in D4	US 1, SW 27th Ave, Bird Ave	Parts of 583, 584	1,597	59.2%	7.1%	31.7%	43.1%	3.5%	49.6%

Comparison of 2013 Plan and Base/Enacted Plan									
Area Description	Boundaries	Precincts	Total Population	2020 Census Voting-Age Population (VAP)			2019 American Community Survey Citizen VAP (CVAP)		
				Hisp. VAP	Black VAP	White VAP	Hisp. CVAP	Black CVAP	White CVAP
Allapattah area moved from D5 to D1	SR 112, NW 12th Ave, NW 36th St, NW 19th Ave	Parts of 512, 522	995	76.6%	33.0%	1.5%	62.8%	34.9%	2.3%
Allapattah area moved from D1 to D5	I-95, NW 32nd St, NW 8th Ave, NW 36th St	Parts of 523, 529	329	66.7%	37.1%	2.1%	50.0%	50.0%	1.4%
Downtown area moved from D5 to D1	Miami River, Dolphin Expy, NW 7th Ave, NW 8th St, I-95, SW 1st St	530, 540, 656A, 985, 990, and parts of 531, 656	5,993	70.8%	21.1%	9.7%	62.7%	22.2%	14.1%
Downtown/Omni/Wynwood/Edgewater area moved from D2 to D5	Metrorail, NW/NE 8th St, NE 2nd Ave, SW/SE 2nd St, S Miami Ave, SW 3rd St, and FEC Railway, NW 14th St, NW 1st Ave, NW 22nd St, N Miami Ave, SR 112, Biscayne Blvd, NE 36th St, NE 2nd Ave, NE 10th St	536, 599, 658A, 982A, and parts of 534, 534A, 536A, 538, 984, 984A, 999	10,496	52.8%	15.9%	28.0%	51.5%	21.4%	25.6%
Coconut Grove area moved from D2 to D3	US 1, Alarka St, S Bayshore Dr, Kirk St, SW 22nd Ave	Parts of 546, 582	1,392	37.6%	2.6%	52.1%	47.1%	0.3%	49.9%
Entire Golden Pines/Coconut Grove area moved from D2 to D4	SW 25th, SW 27th Ave, Bird Ave, US 1, city limits	577, 578, and parts of 583, 584	12,093	78.9%	4.0%	15.9%	76.7%	3.8%	18.5%
Little Havana area moved from D4 to D3	SW 8th St, SW/NW 32nd Ave, NW 7th Ave, NW 27th Ave	Parts of 548, 670	6,097	96.2%	3.1%	2.5%	97.1%	0.3%	2.1%
Portion of D1 remaining in D1			81,120	91.1%	10.0%	3.0%	86.7%	7.9%	4.8%
Portion of D2 remaining in D2			93,300	48.6%	7.3%	37.4%	45.6%	9.3%	41.5%
Portion of D3 remaining in D3			80,169	88.5%	5.6%	7.4%	86.8%	3.5%	8.8%
Portion of D4 remaining in D4			74,504	91.3%	2.9%	6.3%	89.6%	1.2%	7.8%
Portion of D5 remaining in D5			75,753	38.5%	56.0%	7.7%	28.3%	62.2%	7.9%

2022 Enacted Plan's Division of the Southeast Overtown/Park West CRA									
			Total Population	2020 Census Voting-Age Population (VAP)			2019 American Community Survey Citizen VAP (CVAP)		
Area Description	Boundaries	Precincts	Total Pop.	Hisp. VAP	Black VAP	White VAP	Hisp. CVAP	Black CVAP	White CVAP
Portion in D1			1,760	74.4%	27.9%	2.4%	67.1%	30.4%	1.6%
Portion in D2 (6-block appendage off NE 2nd Ave)			1,972	61.0%	14.2%	21.0%	70.9%	11.8%	16.1%
Portion in D5			8,072	38.2%	61.0%	4.7%	23.6%	71.2%	4.4%

Miscellaneous Areas									
			Total Population	2020 Census Voting-Age Population (VAP)			2019 American Community Survey Citizen VAP (CVAP)		
Area Description	Boundaries	Precincts	Total Pop.	Hisp. VAP	Black VAP	White VAP	Hisp. CVAP	Black CVAP	White CVAP
Portion of Allapattah in D1	NW 27th Ave, Miami River, Dolphin Expy, NW 7th Ave, NW 22nd St, I-95, NW 32nd St, NW 8th Ave, NW 36th St, NW 12 Ave, SR 112		40,669	86.8%	17.0%	2.9%	78.6%	15.3%	5.3%
Portion of Allapattah in D5	SR 112, I-95, NW 23rd St, NW 8th Ave, NW 36th St, NW 12 Ave		774	54.7%	47.4%	3.1%	49.2%	49.2%	1.6%
Portion of D5 protruding west of I-95	I-95, NW 8th St, NW 7th Ave, NW 22nd St		1,634	39.6%	60.5%	5.1%	38.6%	58.5%	2.5%
Portion of D2 west of SE 2nd Ave by Miami River	SE 2nd Ave, Miami River, Metrorail, SW 3rd St, S Miami Ave, SW 2nd St		2,433	56.7%	5.5%	30.5%	60.0%	7.5%	29.0%
Portion of the North Grove	US 1, SW 22nd Ave, Kirk St, S Bayshore Dr, SW 27th Ave		2,832	36.7%	2.4%	55.0%	29.9%	1.4%	67.7%

Comparison of Initial Russell Plan to Base Plan									
Area Description	Boundaries	Precincts	Total Population	2020 Census Voting-Age Population (VAP)			2019 American Community Survey Citizen VAP (CVAP)		
				Hisp. VAP	Black VAP	White VAP	Hisp. CVAP	Black CVAP	White CVAP
Area moved from D2 to D3	I-95, US 1, S Miami Ave, Miami River, Metrorail, SW 1st Ave	568, 668, 993, 996, and part of 541	6,980	42.2%	5.5%	41.5%	37.4%	2.8%	56.2%

Comparison of Revised Russell Plan to Base Plan										
			Total Population	2020 Census Voting-Age Population (VAP)			2019 American Community Survey Citizen VAP (CVAP)			
Area Description	Boundaries		Precincts	Total Pop.	Hisp. VAP	Black VAP	White VAP	Hisp. CVAP	Black CVAP	White CVAP
Area moved from D2 to D3	I-95, US 1, S Miami Ave, SW 10th St, Metrorail, SW 1st Ave		993 and parts of 668, 996	4,670	44.6%	5.8%	38.9%	37.4%	2.8%	56.2%

Comparison of Reyes Plan to Base Plan									
		Total Population	2020 Census Voting-Age Population (VAP)				2019 American Community Survey Citizen VAP (CVAP)		
Area Description	Boundaries	Precincts	Total Pop.	Hisp. VAP	Black VAP	White VAP	Hisp. CVAP	Black CVAP	White CVAP
Area moved from D2 to D3	Alatka St, S Miami Ave, SW 13 St, Metrorail, SW 1st Ave, I-95, US 1	993 and parts of 582, 668, 996	2,280	50.8%	3.0%	39.0%	48.0%	6.0%	43.6%

# Carolyn B. Abbott

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## Academic Positions

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Baruch College - CUNY, 2021 —  
Assistant Professor, Department of Government and Politics, St. John's University, 2018 –21  
Postdoctoral Research Fellow, John Glenn College of Public Affairs and Department of Political Science, The Ohio State University, 2016 – 18

## Education

Ph.D., Politics and Social Policy, Princeton University, 2016  
Dissertation: *The Politics of Public Sector Pensions*  
Committee: Nolan McCarty, Brandice Canes-Wrone, and Charles Cameron  
M.A., Politics, Princeton University, 2013  
Fields: American Politics, Formal and Quantitative Methods,  
Inequality and Public Policy  
B.A. Economics and Political Science, with High Honors, Swarthmore College, 2008

## Research and teaching interests

American politics, representation and accountability, state and local politics, public budgeting and finance, interest groups and political parties, federalism, inequality, macro political economy.

## Publications

**Abbott, Carolyn** and Akheil Singla. (2021). Helping or Hurting? The Financial Costs and Benefits of Municipal Bankruptcy, *Public Administration Review*, 81(3), pp. 428-445.  
**Abbott, Carolyn** and Akheil Singla. (2021). Service Solvency and Quality of Life After Municipal Bankruptcy, *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy*, 2(2), pp. 249-280.  
**Abbott, Carolyn** and Asya Magazinnik. (2020). At-Large Elections and Minority Representation in Local Government, *American Journal of Political Science*, 64(3), pp. 717-733.

**Abbott, Carolyn,** Vladimir Kogan, Stéphane Lavertu, and Zachary Peskowitz. (2020). School district operational spending and student outcomes: Evidence from tax elections in seven states. *Journal of Public Economics*, 183, 104142.

**Abbott, Carolyn.** (2018). Book review of Michael A. McCarthy, *Dismantling Solidarity: Capitalist Politics and American Pensions since the New Deal* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017). *Political Science Quarterly*, 133(2), pp. 371-372.

**Abbott, Carolyn.** (2010). Federal Reserve System. *Encyclopedia of United States Political History, Vol. 7: 1976-present*. Ed. Rick Valelly. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

## Under Review

Book project: *The Politics of Public Pensions: How Strong Parties and Cooperative Politics Can Save State Government* **Revisions submitted.**

## Available working papers

“Voter Responsiveness to Measures of Local Fiscal Performance” (with Matthew Incantalupo and Akheil Singla)

“A Distaste for Deficits: Voter Opinion and Balanced Budget Laws in the U.S. States”

## Research in progress

“Local Electoral Institutions and Fiscal Outcomes in the United States” (with Pengju Zhang)

“The Fiscal Federalism Dimension of the SALT Cap and Its Potential Repeal” (with Rahul Pathak)

“Special District Bankruptcies” (with Pengju Zhang)

## Invited talks, presentations, and workshops

“A Distaste for Deficits: Voter Opinion and Balanced Budget Laws in the U.S. States”

*Research in Progress Faculty Seminar, Marxe School of Public and International Affairs, Baruch College - CUNY, 2021.*

Roundtable on Capital Assets Reporting Standards

*Governmental Accounting Standards Board (GASB), 2021.*

“Service Solvency and Quality of Life After Municipal Bankruptcy”

*Local Political Economy Symposium, Bedrosian Center at Sol Price School of Public Policy, University of Southern California, 2021.*

“Municipal Bankruptcy as Policy: Local Fiscal Stress and the Decision to File”<sup>‡</sup>



*Public Financial Management Northeastern Workshop, School of Public Affairs and Administration, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey-Newark, 2020.*

"Municipal Bankruptcy as Policy: Local Fiscal Stress and the Decision to File"

*Fiscal Policy Series, Federal Reserve Bank of New York, 2019.*

"At-Large Elections and Minority Representation in Local Government"

*Department of Government and Politics Fall Graduate Colloquium, St. John's University, 2018.*

"The Differential Impact of Single-Member and At-Large Voting Districts on Local Democracy: New Tests and Evidence"

*Yale Center for the Study of American Politics Annual Conference, Yale University, 2017.*

‡Canceled due to COVID-19 pandemic.

## Conference presentations

Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association: 2016, 2017, 2022.

Annual Conference of the Association for Budgeting and Financial Management: 2016, 2018,<sup>†</sup> 2022.<sup>†</sup>

Annual Public Finance Consortium: 2021.

Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association: 2015, 2016, 2019, 2020,\* 2021.

Brookings Municipal Finance Conference: 2020.

Annual State Politics and Policy Conference: 2015, 2020.<sup>‡</sup>

Urban Affairs Association Conference: 2019.<sup>†</sup>

Annual Conference of the Association for Education Finance and Policy: 2019.<sup>†</sup>

Annual Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis & Management: 2018, 2019.<sup>†</sup>

Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association: 2015, 2017.

Public Management Research Conference: 2017.<sup>†</sup>

‡Canceled due to COVID-19 pandemic;\*Canceled due to earthquake;†Paper presented by coauthor.

## Grants, awards, & fellowships

Faculty Innovation Seed Grant (with Rahul Pathak), Provost's Office, Baruch College, 2022 (\$12,000)

Cycle 53 PSC-CUNY Traditional B Research Award, City University of New York, 2022 (\$6,000)

Travel Grant, APSA Annual Meeting, 2017



Prestage-Cook Travel Award, SPSA Annual Meeting, 2016

Grant, Graduate Student Travel, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton, 2015

Grant, Dean's Fund for Scholarly Travel, Princeton, 2015

Grant (with Nolan McCarty), The Social and Economic Effects of the Great Recession, Russell Sage Foundation, 2012 (\$114,921)

Graduate School Centennial Fellowship in the Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of Politics, Princeton, 2010 - 2015

Honorable Mention, National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowships Program, 2010

## Teaching experience

### *Graduate level*

Research Methodology and Quantitative Analysis

State and Local Government and Administration

Public Budgeting and Finance

### *Undergraduate level*

Introduction to Public Policy

The Politics of Inequality in the U.S.

Introduction to Public Administration

Research Methods for Political Science and Public Administration

Introduction to American Government

## Professional service

Member, Committee to Design the Baruch Public Service Capstone Seminar - 2023-present

Co-chair, Baruch Political Science Department Research Seminar - 2022-present

Member, Baruch Political Science Student Awards Committee - 2022

Member, Baruch Political Science Search Committee in Comparative Politics - 2021

Co-chair, SJU Government & Politics Committee to Redesign the Public Administration Major - 2019-2021

Member, SJU Government & Politics Graduate Education Policy Committee - 2018-2021

Member, SJU Government & Politics Undergraduate Education Policy Committee - 2018-2021

Carolyn B. Abott

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Referee, *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *Economics & Politics*, *Economics Letters*, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *National Tax Journal*, *Political Analysis*, *Public Budgeting & Finance*, *Public Finance & Management*

## Professional memberships

Association for Public Policy Analysis & Management, American Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association, American Society for Public Administration, Association for Budgeting and Financial Management

## Computer skills

R, Stata, L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X, Bloomberg API, SAS, Matlab, EViews

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