

EXHIBIT 2

Expert Report of Dr. Maxwell Palmer

Grant v. Raffensperger (N.D. Ga.)

January 12, 2022

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Maxwell Palmer". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long horizontal line extending to the right. It is positioned above a solid horizontal line.

EXPERT REPORT OF MAXWELL PALMER, PH.D.

I, Dr. Maxwell Palmer, declare as follows:

1. My name is Maxwell Palmer. I am currently an Associate Professor of Political Science at Boston University. I joined the faculty at Boston University in 2014, after completing my Ph.D. in Political Science at Harvard University. I was promoted to Associate Professor, with tenure, in 2021. I teach and conduct research on American politics and political methodology.
2. I have published academic work in leading peer-reviewed academic journals, including the *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, and *Political Science Research and Methods*. My book, *Neighborhood Defenders: Participatory Politics and America's Housing Crisis*, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2019. I have also published academic work in the *Ohio State University Law Review*. My published research uses a variety of analytical approaches, including statistics, geographic analysis, and simulations, and data sources including academic surveys, precinct-level election results, voter registration and vote history files, and census data. My curriculum vitae is attached to this report.
3. I have served as an expert witness or litigation consultant on numerous cases involving voting restrictions. I testified at trial or by deposition in *Bethune Hill v. Virginia* before the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia (No. 3:14-cv-00852-REP-AWA-BMK); *Thomas v. Bryant* before the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi (No. 3:18-CV-00441-CWR-FKB); *Chestnut v. Merrill* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama (No. 2:18-cv-00907-KOB); *Dwight v. Raffensperger* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia (No. 1:18-cv-2869-RWS); *Bruni v. Hughs* before the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas (No. 5:20-cv-35); *Texas Alliance for Retired Americans v. Hughs* before the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas (No. 5:20-cv-128); and *Caster v. Merrill* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama (No. 2:21-cv-1536-AMM). I also served as the independent racially polarized voting analyst for the Virginia Redistricting Commission in 2021. I worked as a data analyst assisting testifying experts in *Perez v. Perry* before the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas (No. 5:11-cv-00360-OLG); *LULAC v. Edwards Aquifer Authority* before the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas (No. 5:12-cv-00620-OLG); *Harris v. McCrory* before the U. S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina (No. 1:13-cv-00949-WO-JEP); *Guy v. Miller* before the U.S. District Court for the District of Nevada (No. 11-OC-00042-1B); *In re Senate Joint Resolution of Legislative Apportionment* before the Florida Supreme Court (Nos. 2012-CA-412,

2012-CA-490); and *Romo v. Detzner* before the Circuit Court of the Second Judicial Circuit in Florida (No. 2012 CA 412).

4. I am being compensated at a rate of \$350/hour for my work in this case. No part of my compensation is dependent upon the conclusions that I reach or the opinions that I offer.
5. I was retained by the plaintiffs in this litigation to offer an expert opinion on the extent to which voting is racially polarized in parts of Georgia. I was also asked to evaluate the performance of the new majority-minority districts in the plaintiffs' illustrative maps.
6. I find strong evidence of racially polarized voting across all five focus areas. Black and White voters consistently support different candidates.
7. Black-preferred candidates are largely unable to win elections in the non-Black-majority districts in the focus areas.
8. Under the plaintiffs' illustrative map, I find that Black-preferred candidates are generally able to win elections in all of the new majority-Black districts.

Data Sources and Elections Analyzed

9. For the purpose of my analysis, I examined elections across five different focus areas, based on the House and Senate maps adopted by the Georgia General Assembly in 2021.¹ Collectively, I refer to these areas as the "focus areas." Figure 1 maps the focus areas, and Figures 7–11 provide more detailed maps. These focus areas are defined as the areas from which the new majority-minority districts in the plaintiffs' illustrative maps are drawn.
10. There are three focus areas for the House plan:
 - *Black Belt*: House Districts 133, 142, 143, 145, 147, and 149. These districts include Bleckley, Crawford, Dodge, Twiggs, and Wilkinson Counties and parts of Baldwin, Bibb, Houston, Jones, Monroe, Peach, and Telfair Counties.
 - *Southern Atlanta*: House Districts 69, 74, 75, 78, 115, and 117. These districts include parts of Clayton, Fayette, Fulton, Henry, and Spalding Counties.
 - *Western Atlanta*: House Districts 61 and 64. These districts include parts of Douglas, Fulton, and Paulding Counties.
11. There are two focus areas for the Senate plan:
 - *Black Belt*: Senate Districts 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26. These districts include Baldwin, Burke, Butts, Columbia, Elbert, Emanuel, Glascock, Greene, Hancock, Hart, Jasper, Jefferson, Jenkins, Johnson, Jones, Lincoln, McDuffie, Oglethorpe, Putnam, Richmond,

¹Shape files and demographic data on each plan were downloaded from the website of the Georgia General Assembly' Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office (House Bill 1EX and Senate Bill 1EX).

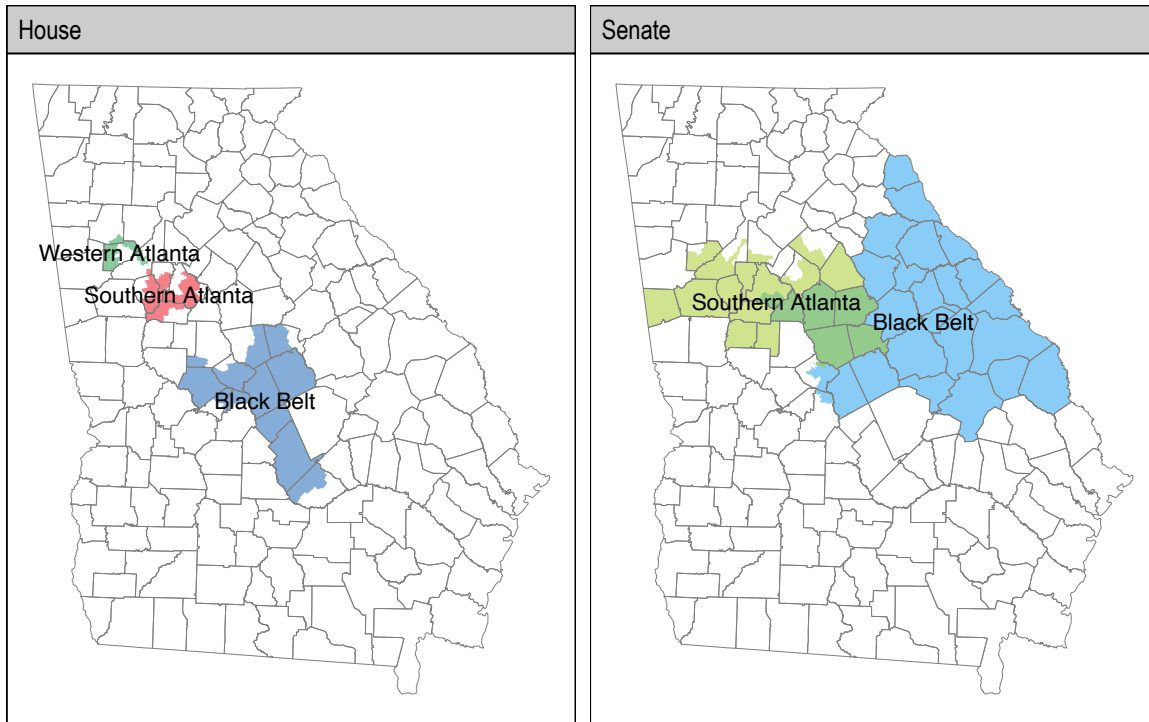


Figure 1: Maps of the Focus Areas

Screven, Taliaferro, Twiggs, Warren, Washington, Wilkes, and Wilkinson Counties and parts of Bibb, Henry, and Houston Counties.

- *Southern Atlanta*: Senate Districts 10, 16, 17, 25, 28, 34, 35, 39, and 44.² These districts include Baldwin, Butts, Clayton, Coweta, Fayette, Heard, Jasper, Jones, Lamar, Morgan, Pike, Putnam, and Spalding Counties and parts of Bibb, Dekalb, Douglas, Fulton, Henry, Newton, and Walton Counties.
12. To analyze racially polarized voting, I relied on precinct-level election results and voter turnout by race, compiled by the state of Georgia. The data includes the racial breakdown of registrants and voters in each precinct, based on registrants' self-identified race when registering to vote. Data for the 2012, 2014, 2016, and 2018 general elections was provided to counsel by the Georgia Secretary of State in a prior case.³ Data on turnout by race for the 2020 general election and the 2018 and 2021 runoff elections was retrieved from the website of the Georgia Secretary of State.⁴ Precinct-level election results for the 2018,⁵ 2020, and 2021⁶ elections was assembled by the Voting and

²Senate District 25 is included in both Senate focus areas.

³*Dwight v. Raffensperger* (No. 1:18-cv-2869-RWS).

⁴<https://sos.ga.gov/index.php/Elections>.

⁵Voting and Election Science Team, 2019, "2018 Precinct-Level Election Results", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/UBKYRU>, Harvard Dataverse, V47; ga_2018.zip.

⁶Voting and Election Science Team, 2020, "2020 Precinct-Level Election Results", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/K7760H>, Harvard Dataverse, V21; ga_2020.zip. Note that the 2020 election results file includes the 2021 runoff election results as well.

Election Science Team, an academic group that provides precinct-level data for U.S. Elections, based on data from the Secretary of State.⁷ Precinct shape files for each election year were downloaded from the Georgia General Assembly’s Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office.⁸

13. The state of Georgia provides six options for race and ethnicity on the voter registration form: Black, White, Hispanic/Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian, and Other.⁹ I combined Hispanic/Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander and American Indian into the “Other” category.

Racially Polarized Voting Analysis

14. In analyzing racially polarized voting in each election, I used a statistical procedure, ecological inference (EI), that estimates group-level preferences based on aggregate data. I analyzed the results for three racial demographic groups: Non-Hispanic Black, Non-Hispanic White, and Other, based on the voters’ self-identified race in the voter registration database. I excluded third-party and write-in candidates, and analyzed votes for the two major-party candidates in each election. The results of this analysis are estimates of the percentage of each group that voted for the candidate from each party in each election. The results include both a mean estimate (the most likely vote share) and a 95% confidence interval.¹⁰
15. Interpreting the results of the ecological inference models proceeds in two general stages. First, I examined the support for each candidate by each demographic group to determine if members of the group vote cohesively in support of a single candidate in each election. When a significant majority of the group supports a single candidate, I can then identify that candidate as the group’s candidate of choice. If the group’s support is roughly evenly divided between the two candidates, then the group does not cohesively support a single candidate and does not have a clear preference. Second, after identifying the preferred candidate for each group (or the lack of such a candidate), I compared the preferences of White voters to the preferences of Black voters. Evidence of racially polarized voting is found when Black voters and White voters support different candidates.
16. Figure 2 presents the estimates of support for the Black-preferred candidate for Black and White voters for all 31 electoral contests from 2012 to 2020 across the five focus areas. Here, I present only the estimates and confidence intervals, and exclude individual

⁷The election results provided by VEST are the same as the precinct-level data available on the website of the Georgia Secretary of State. However, VEST provides the data in a more convenient format.

⁸<https://www.legis.ga.gov/joint-office/reapportionment>.

⁹https://sos.ga.gov/admin/files/GA_VR_APP_2019.pdf.

¹⁰The 95% confidence interval is a measure of uncertainty in the estimates from the model. For example, the model might estimate that 94% of the members of a group voted for a particular candidate, with a 95% confidence interval of 91-96%. This means that based on the data and the model assumptions, 95% of the simulated estimates for this group fall in the range of 91-96%, with 94% being the average value. Larger confidence intervals reflect a higher degree of uncertainty in the estimates, while smaller confidence intervals reflect less uncertainty.

election labels. Full results for each election are presented in Tables 2-6. In each panel, the dots correspond to an estimate in a particular election, and the gray vertical lines behind each dot are the 95% confidence intervals for the estimate.¹¹

17. Examining Figure 2, the estimates for support for Black-preferred candidates by Black voters across are all significantly above 50% across the five focus areas. Black voters are extremely cohesive, with a clear candidate of choice in all 31 elections. In contrast to Black voters, Figure 2 shows that White voters are highly cohesive in voting in *opposition* to the Black-preferred candidate in every election across the five focus areas. Table 1 lists the average level of support for the Black-preferred candidate for Black and White voters in each focus area. Across all five focus areas, Black voters support their preferred candidate with at least 95.2% of the vote, and White voters support Black-preferred candidates with a maximum of 17.7% of the vote. This is strong evidence of racially polarized voting across all five focus areas.
18. There is also strong evidence of racially polarized voting within the districts comprising the five focus areas. I estimated ecological inference models for each election for every district in the focus areas with fifteen or more precincts.¹² Figure 3 plots the average

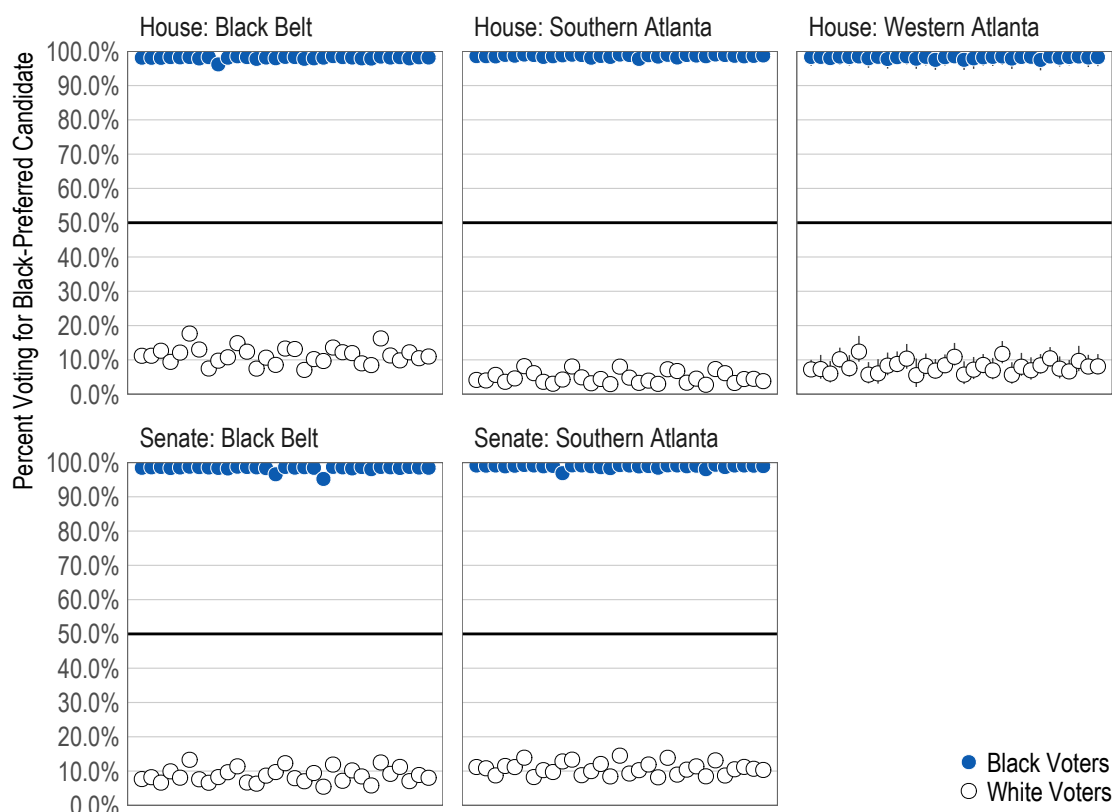


Figure 2: Racially Polarized Voting Estimates by Race — Focus Area

¹¹In some cases the lines for the confidence intervals are not visible behind the dots because they are relatively small.

¹²House Districts 64, 75, 78, 115, 117, 142, 143, and 147 do not have at least fifteen precincts for every

Table 1: Average Support for Black-Preferred Candidates by Voters' Race

	Focus Area	Black Voters	White Voters
House	Black Belt	98.1%	11.3%
	Southern Atlanta	98.7%	4.8%
	Western Atlanta	98.2%	8.0%
Senate	Black Belt	98.4%	8.7%
	Southern Atlanta	98.9%	10.7%

ecological inference across the 31 statewide elections analyzed.¹³ There is consistent evidence of racially polarized voting in every House district analyzed, and in 12 of the 14 Senate districts. Voting is generally not polarized in Senate District 39. In Senate District 44, White voters do not have a clear candidate of choice in 18 of the 31 elections, and majorities of White voters opposed the Black-preferred candidate in 13 elections.

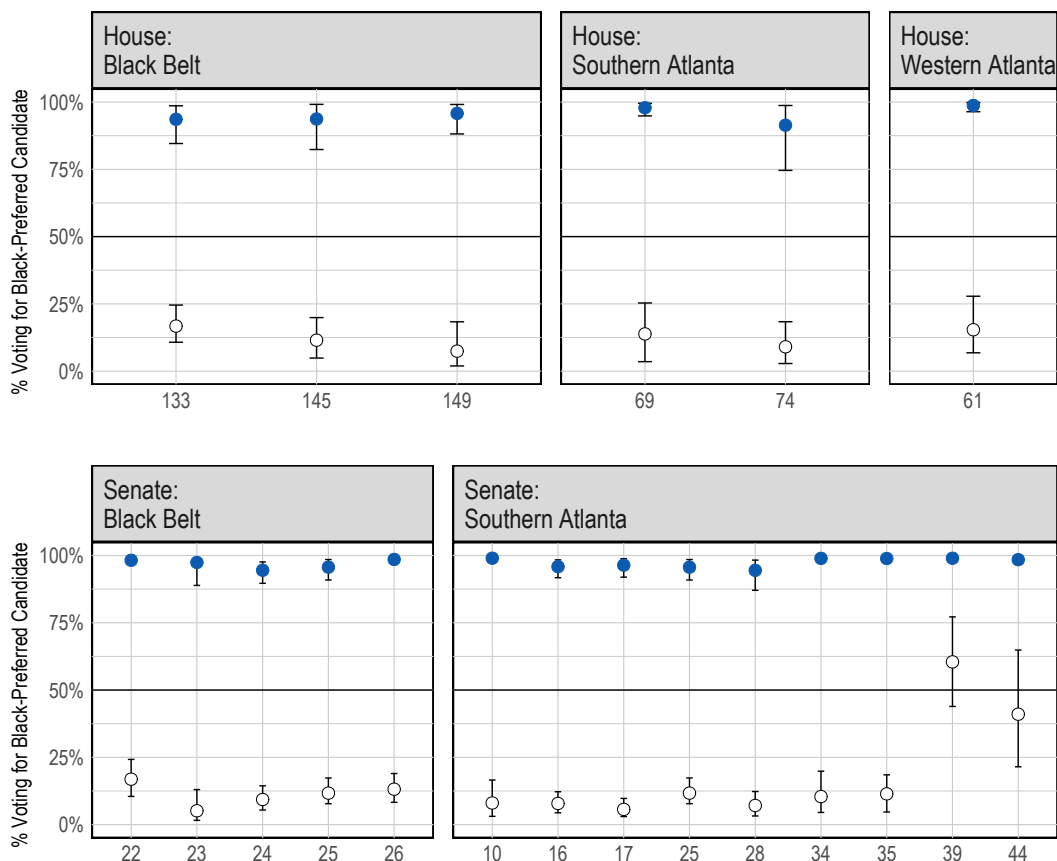


Figure 3: Average Racially Polarized Voting Estimates by District

election, and are excluded from the analysis.

¹³Table 7 presents the numerical results for Figure 3. Due to the large number of ecological inference models estimates (20 districts \times 31 elections = 620 models), I do not provide results for each separate election here. In Figure 3 and Table 7 I present results averaging across the 31 elections.

Performance of Black-Preferred Candidates in the Focus Area

19. Having identified the Black-preferred candidate in each election, I now turn to their ability to win elections in these districts. Table 8 presents the results for each election in the focus areas and districts. For each election, I calculate the vote share obtained by the Black-preferred candidate.¹⁴ Black-preferred candidates are able to win elections in the Southern Atlanta and Western Atlanta focus areas for the House districts. However, they are only able to do so due to the high support for Black-preferred candidates in the Black-majority districts.
20. Figure 4 plots the average share of the vote received by the Black-preferred candidate across each district. The solid blue circles indicate Black-majority districts, and the white circles indicate non-Black-majority districts. Black-preferred candidates win almost every election in the Black-majority districts, but lose almost every election in the non-Black-majority districts.

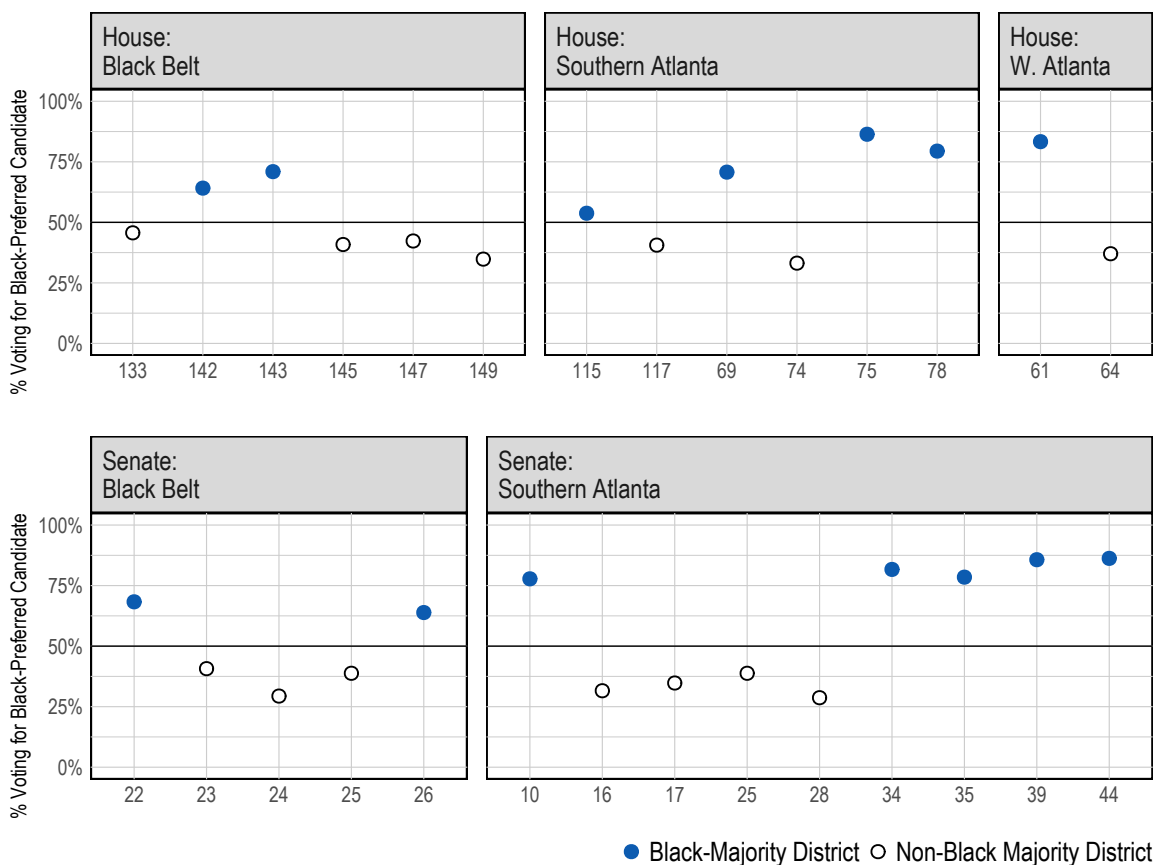


Figure 4: Average Performance of Black-Preferred Candidates by District

¹⁴Winning elections in Georgia requires a majority of the vote rather than a plurality of the vote (the threshold in most of the states). In this table and following sections analyzing election results I present vote shares as percentages of the two-party vote (excluding third party and independent candidates).

Performance of the New Black-Majority Districts in the Illustrative Maps

21. I also analyzed the performance of Black-preferred candidates in the new Black-majority districts in the plaintiffs' illustrative maps by calculating the percentage of the vote won by the Black-preferred candidates across the 31 statewide races from 2012 through 2021 for each district.
22. Figure 5 presents the results of this analysis. In House Districts 64, 74, and 149, and Senate Districts 23, 25, and 28, the Black-preferred candidate won a larger share of the vote in all 31 statewide elections. In House District 117, the Black-preferred candidate won all 19 elections since 2018. In House District 145, the Black-preferred candidate won all 19 elections since 2018, and 27 of the 31 elections overall. Table 10 provides the full results.

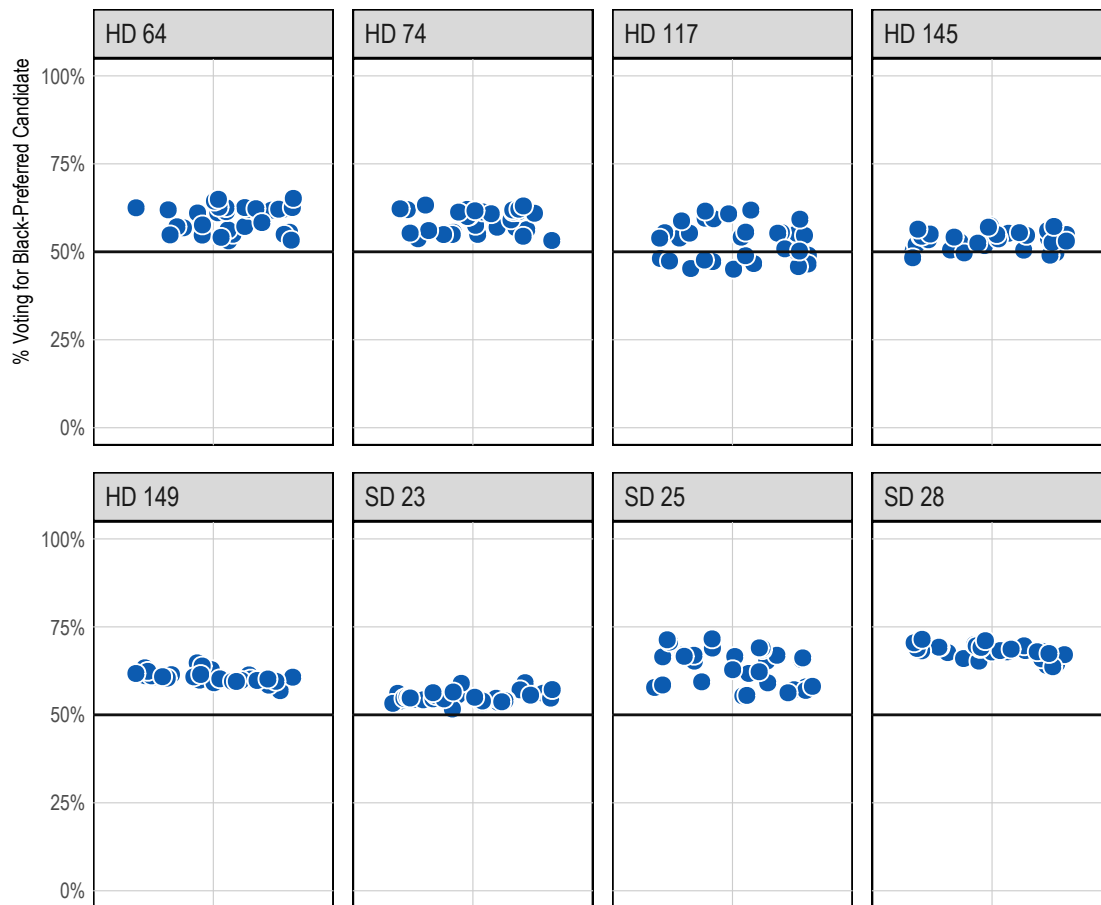


Figure 5: Vote Shares of Black-Preferred Candidates in Under the Illustrative Maps

Minority Candidate Performance in the Focus Area

23. I was asked to analyze the extent to which minority candidates have won elections in the focus areas. To do so, I calculated the vote share of each minority candidate for statewide office from 2012 to 2021 in the focus areas and in each district within the focus areas.
24. Table 11 lists the candidates for statewide office. Of the 31 contests analyzed, 13 included a Black candidate running against a White candidate.¹⁵ Figure 6 plots the average vote shares for the Black candidates in each district.¹⁶ Black candidates receive a majority of the vote in almost every election in Black-majority districts, but are defeated in almost every election in the non-Black-majority districts.

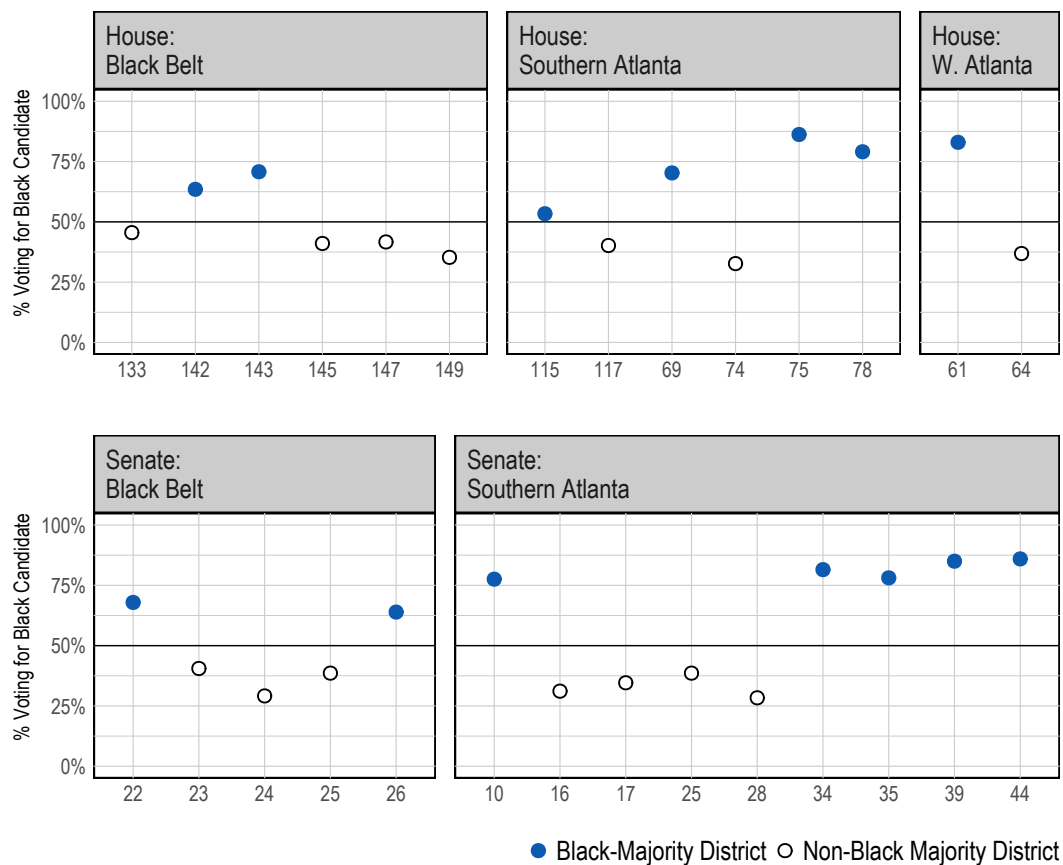


Figure 6: Average Vote Shares of Black Candidates in the Focus Area

¹⁵All of the minority candidates running for statewide office were Black, and there were no elections (other than the 2020 Special Election for U.S. Senate) with two Black candidates on the ballots for the major parties.

¹⁶Table 9 presents the results for each election in the focus areas and districts.

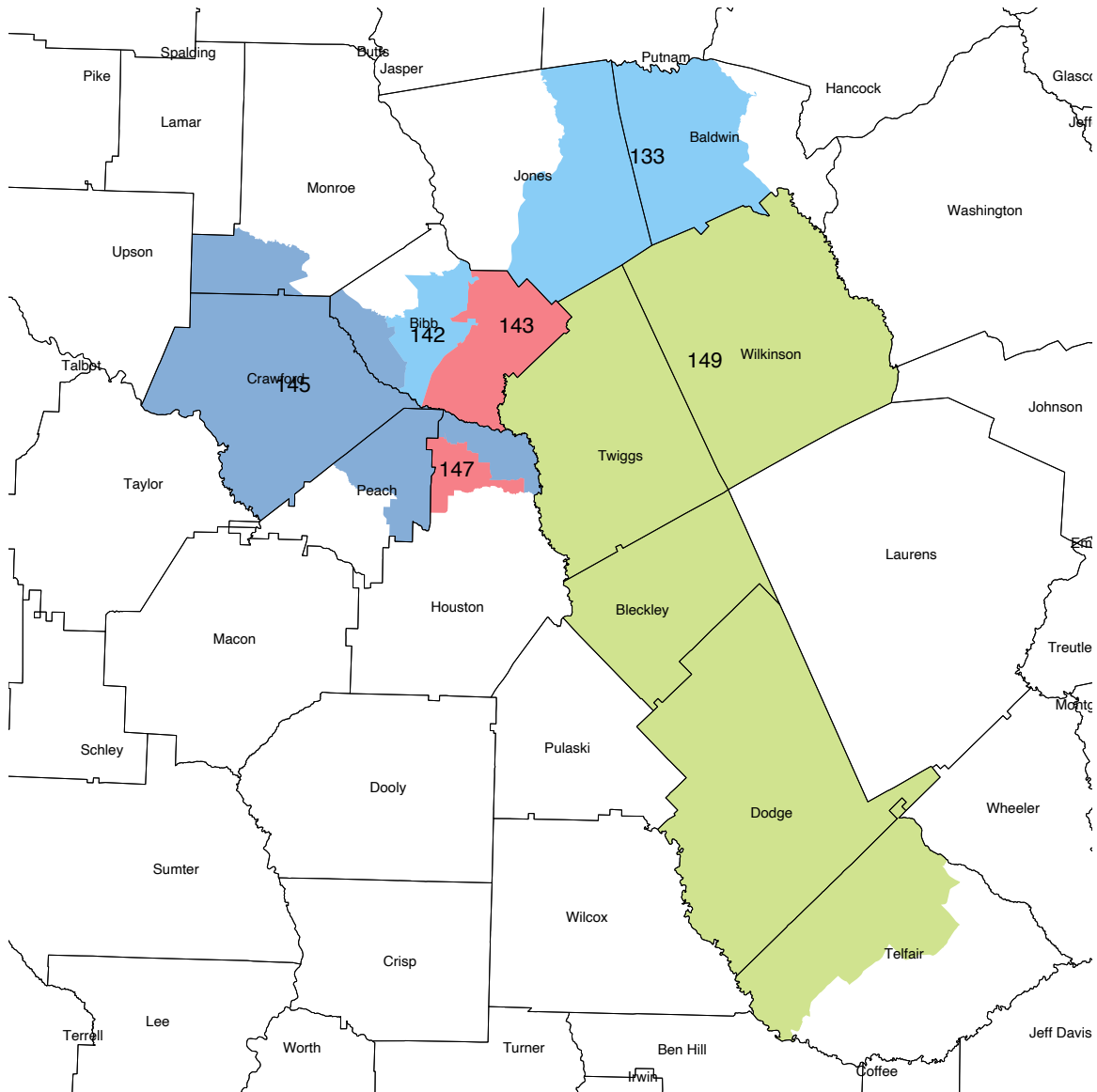


Figure 7: House Black Belt Focus Area

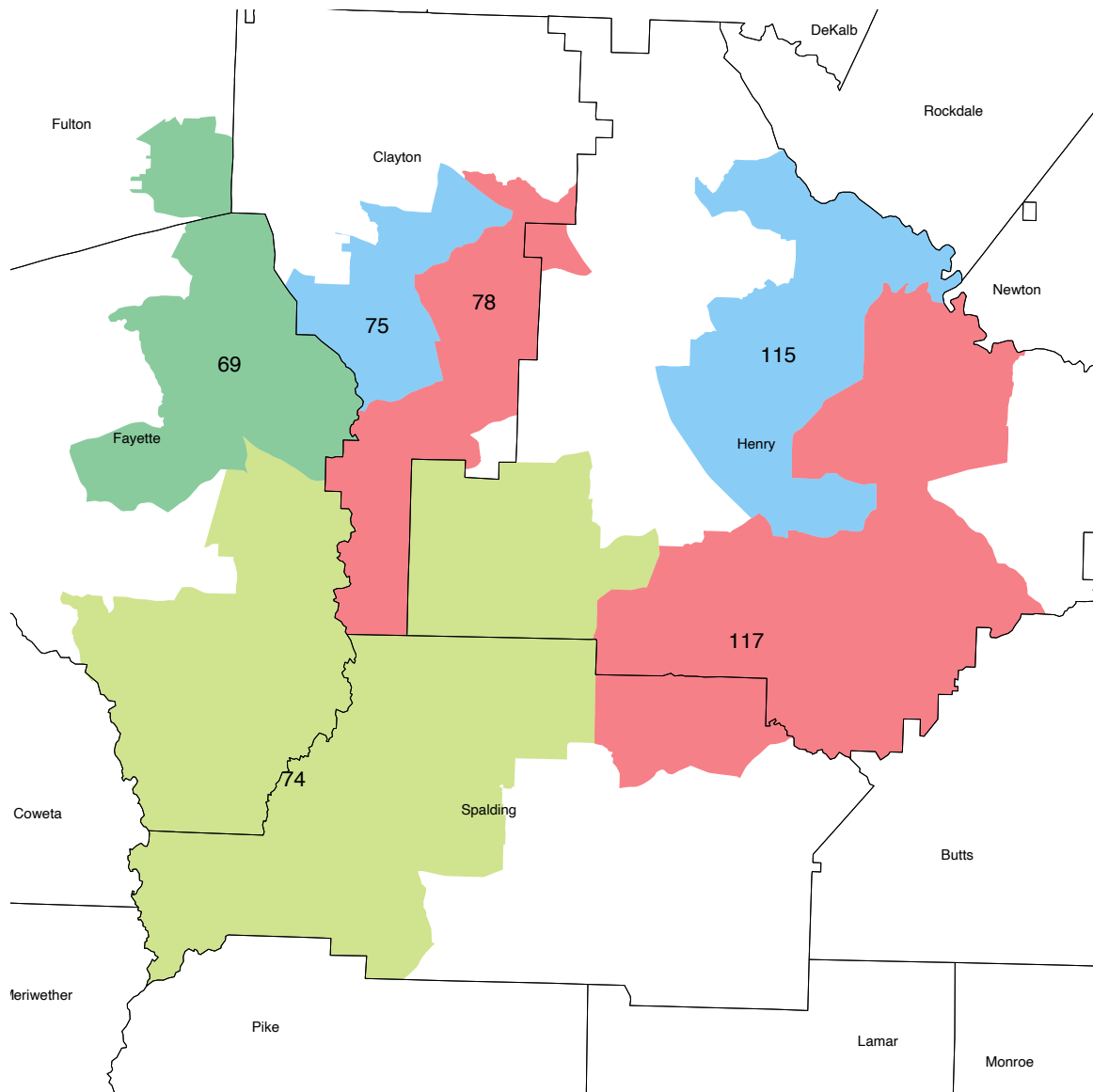


Figure 8: House Southern Atlanta Focus Area

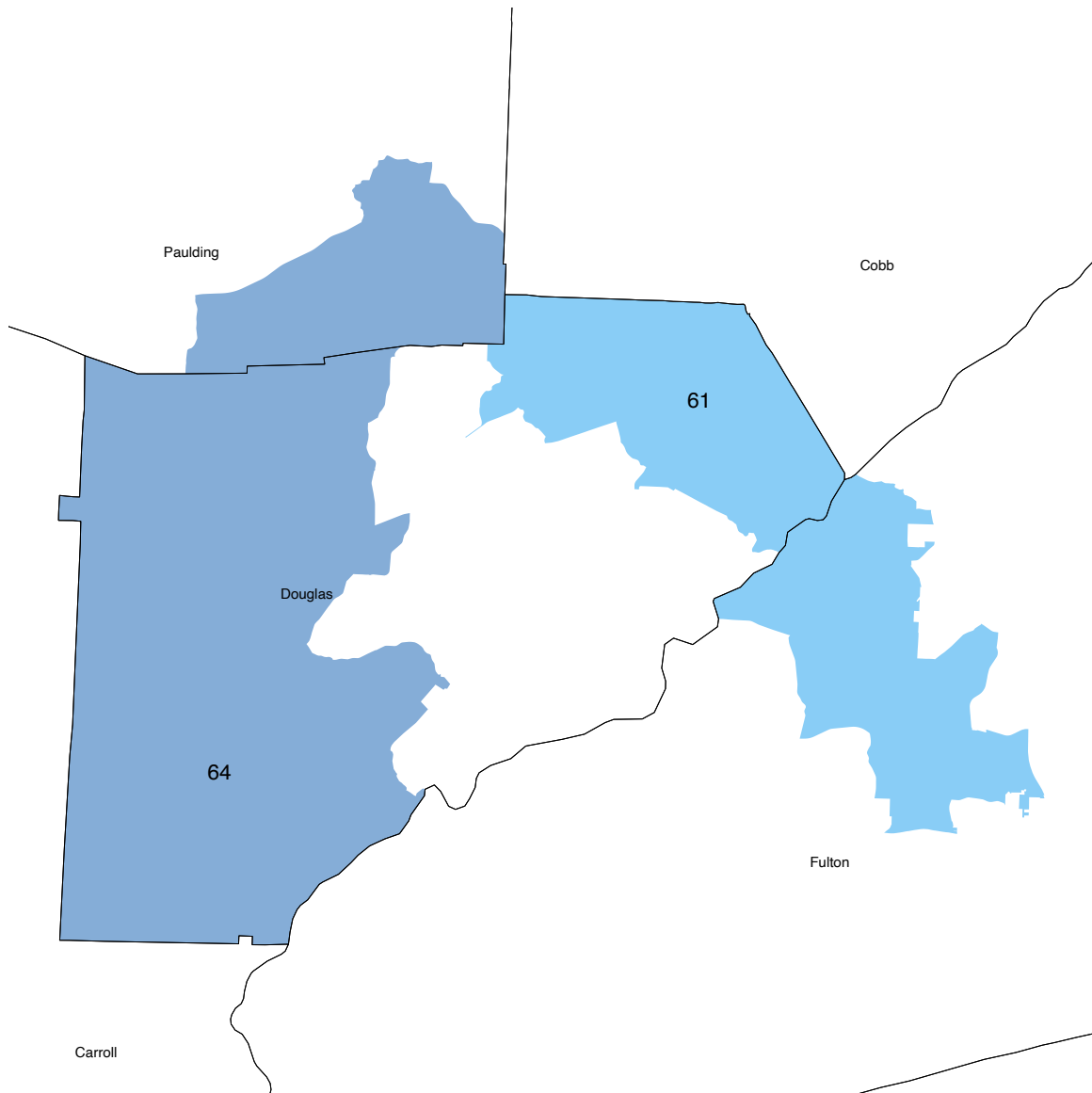


Figure 9: House Western Atlanta Focus Area

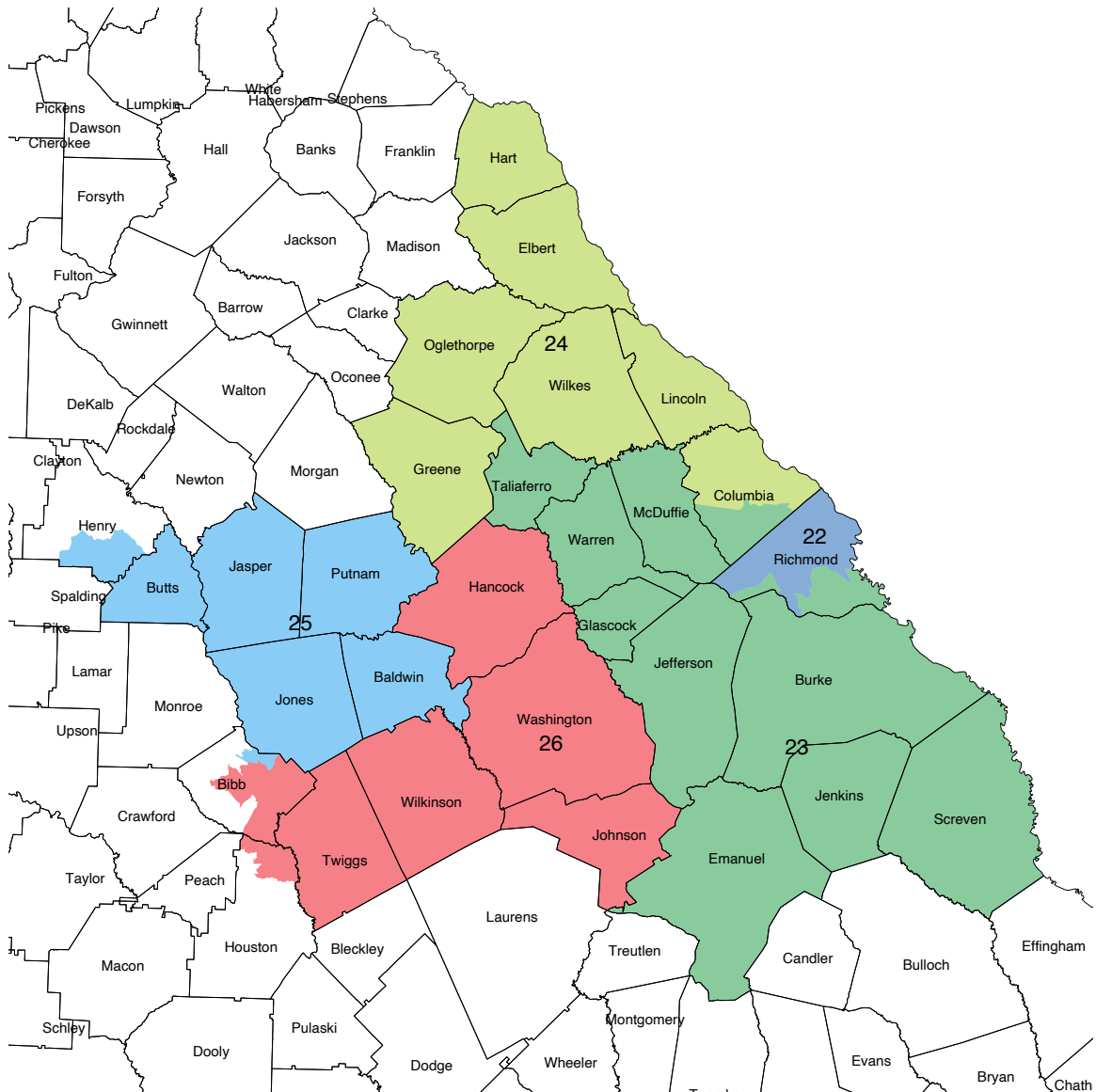


Figure 10: Senate Black Belt Focus Area

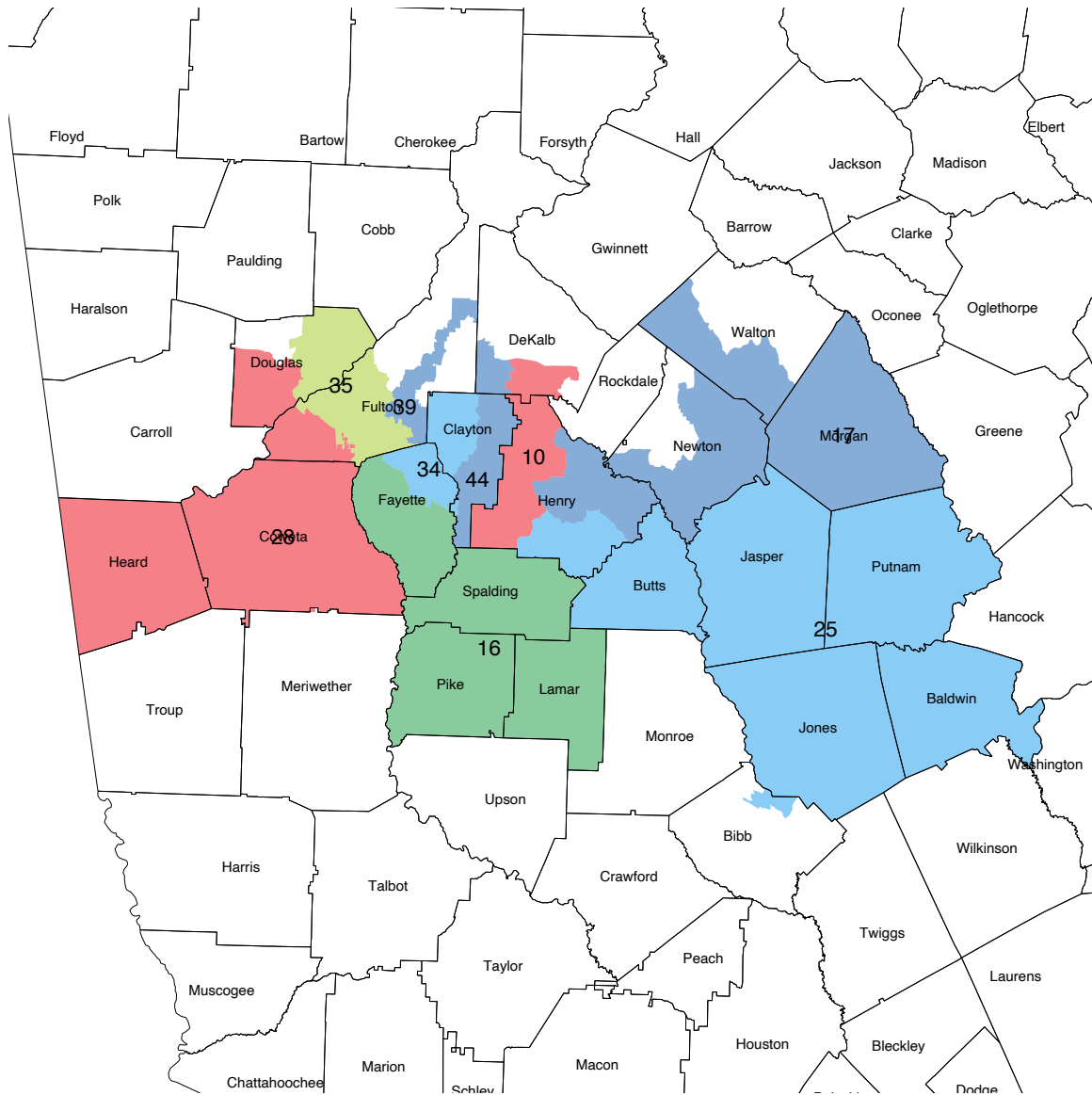


Figure 11: Senate Southern Atlanta Focus Area

Table 2: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates
— House: Black Belt

		Black	White	Other
2012 General	U.S. President*	98.4% (97.2, 99.1)	13.0% (12.1, 14.2)	90.0% (79.7, 95.8)
2014 General	U.S. Senator	98.2% (96.9, 99.1)	16.3% (15.1, 17.6)	79.0% (62.5, 91.1)
	Governor	97.9% (96.7, 98.9)	17.7% (16.5, 19.2)	74.5% (50.3, 90.7)
	Lt. Governor*	97.8% (96.4, 98.8)	11.2% (9.7, 12.7)	61.5% (32.6, 85.8)
	Sec. of State*	98.1% (97.1, 98.9)	11.3% (10.2, 12.7)	75.1% (52.4, 90.1)
	Attorney General	97.9% (96.6, 98.8)	13.2% (11.9, 14.7)	67.5% (41.6, 85.0)
	Com. Agriculture	97.8% (96.5, 98.8)	12.1% (10.8, 13.7)	63.0% (37.6, 84.2)
	Com. Insurance*	97.9% (96.6, 98.9)	12.2% (11.1, 13.6)	79.5% (61.3, 92.7)
	Com. Labor*	98.3% (97.2, 99.1)	12.2% (11.1, 13.7)	75.4% (53.8, 89.2)
	School Super.*	98.1% (96.7, 99.0)	14.9% (13.8, 16.2)	82.9% (62.5, 93.8)
2016 General	U.S. President	98.2% (96.9, 99.0)	11.2% (10.3, 12.3)	92.7% (85.1, 96.8)
	U.S. Senator	96.2% (94.6, 97.4)	7.1% (5.8, 8.6)	78.4% (62.2, 90.9)
2018 General	Governor*	98.6% (97.5, 99.3)	9.7% (8.7, 10.8)	91.4% (83.9, 96.3)
	Lt. Governor	98.3% (97.2, 99.1)	9.8% (8.8, 11.0)	90.5% (82.6, 95.9)
	Sec. of State	98.3% (97.0, 99.2)	13.3% (12.3, 14.6)	89.1% (79.5, 95.5)
	Attorney General	98.1% (96.8, 99.0)	10.5% (9.4, 11.9)	89.6% (79.4, 95.6)
	Com. Agriculture	98.1% (97.0, 99.0)	7.5% (6.4, 9.0)	86.2% (72.1, 94.8)
	Com. Insurance*	98.2% (97.0, 99.1)	9.0% (7.9, 10.3)	89.9% (80.5, 96.2)
	Com. Labor	98.3% (97.1, 99.1)	8.5% (7.4, 10.0)	88.0% (77.1, 95.1)
	School Super.*	98.4% (97.3, 99.2)	7.5% (6.5, 8.7)	89.7% (80.1, 95.7)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	98.3% (97.1, 99.2)	11.0% (9.9, 12.3)	89.3% (80.7, 95.7)
	Public Serv. Com. 5	98.2% (97.1, 99.0)	9.8% (8.7, 11.0)	89.5% (79.8, 95.2)
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	97.9% (96.5, 98.9)	13.6% (12.3, 15.2)	84.0% (66.5, 93.8)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	97.9% (96.6, 98.9)	12.4% (11.2, 13.9)	89.6% (74.3, 96.7)
2020 General	U.S. President	98.2% (97.0, 99.0)	10.8% (9.8, 12.0)	93.1% (86.2, 97.1)
	U.S. Senator	98.0% (96.7, 98.9)	10.2% (9.1, 11.8)	88.8% (78.4, 95.3)
	Public Serv. Com. 1*	98.3% (97.1, 99.1)	8.5% (7.5, 9.8)	91.1% (83.7, 96.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.2% (96.9, 99.0)	9.4% (8.4, 10.7)	91.1% (83.9, 96.0)
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	98.5% (97.4, 99.3)	12.0% (11.0, 13.2)	92.6% (86.1, 96.6)
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)*	98.1% (96.8, 99.0)	12.7% (11.7, 13.9)	93.0% (86.8, 97.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.3% (97.0, 99.1)	10.6% (9.6, 12.0)	91.9% (85.1, 96.4)

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

Table 3: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates
— House: Southern Atlanta

		Black	White	Other
2012 General	U.S. President*	99.0% (98.3, 99.5)	3.8% (3.0, 4.8)	96.0% (93.4, 97.9)
2014 General	U.S. Senator	99.0% (98.2, 99.5)	6.7% (5.7, 8.0)	94.5% (90.5, 97.2)
	Governor	98.5% (97.6, 99.2)	7.3% (6.1, 8.8)	91.2% (84.9, 95.6)
	Lt. Governor*	98.2% (97.2, 98.9)	3.0% (2.0, 4.4)	78.2% (70.2, 84.7)
	Sec. of State*	98.4% (97.4, 99.1)	3.3% (2.3, 4.6)	83.5% (76.2, 90.0)
	Attorney General	98.5% (97.7, 99.1)	5.6% (4.2, 7.7)	87.1% (77.5, 93.7)
	Com. Agriculture	98.1% (96.9, 98.9)	3.6% (2.4, 5.3)	73.7% (64.5, 82.2)
	Com. Insurance*	98.4% (97.4, 99.1)	3.2% (2.2, 4.6)	88.0% (80.5, 93.8)
	Com. Labor*	98.6% (97.8, 99.1)	2.7% (2.0, 3.8)	90.2% (84.4, 94.5)
	School Super.*	98.7% (98.0, 99.2)	4.4% (3.5, 5.6)	93.9% (89.1, 97.0)
2016 General	U.S. President	98.9% (98.3, 99.4)	4.5% (3.6, 5.7)	94.7% (91.2, 97.0)
	U.S. Senator	97.8% (96.5, 98.7)	2.9% (1.9, 4.4)	77.5% (70.5, 84.0)
2018 General	Governor*	99.1% (98.4, 99.5)	4.5% (3.5, 5.7)	96.2% (93.6, 97.9)
	Lt. Governor	99.0% (98.4, 99.4)	4.0% (3.0, 5.2)	93.8% (90.4, 96.4)
	Sec. of State	98.9% (98.3, 99.4)	4.8% (3.7, 6.1)	95.2% (92.5, 97.4)
	Attorney General	98.9% (98.3, 99.4)	4.3% (3.2, 5.8)	94.7% (90.5, 97.2)
	Com. Agriculture	98.6% (97.9, 99.2)	3.3% (2.3, 4.7)	88.7% (84.3, 92.4)
	Com. Insurance*	98.8% (98.1, 99.3)	3.6% (2.7, 4.7)	96.0% (93.7, 97.6)
	Com. Labor	98.7% (98.0, 99.3)	3.3% (2.4, 4.5)	91.5% (87.4, 94.9)
	School Super.*	98.6% (97.9, 99.2)	3.0% (2.1, 4.3)	89.0% (84.9, 92.6)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	98.9% (98.2, 99.4)	4.9% (3.9, 6.2)	95.2% (92.3, 97.3)
	Public Serv. Com. 5	98.9% (98.3, 99.4)	3.9% (3.0, 5.1)	94.5% (91.2, 97.0)
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	98.7% (97.8, 99.3)	6.1% (4.8, 7.7)	93.7% (88.9, 97.3)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	98.5% (97.7, 99.2)	8.1% (6.7, 9.7)	93.3% (88.1, 96.8)
2020 General	U.S. President	98.5% (97.7, 99.2)	8.2% (6.2, 10.5)	87.4% (81.5, 92.3)
	U.S. Senator	98.6% (97.8, 99.2)	6.1% (4.7, 8.0)	91.1% (86.4, 94.7)
	Public Serv. Com. 1*	98.4% (97.6, 99.1)	4.1% (3.1, 5.7)	91.5% (87.5, 94.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.8% (98.2, 99.3)	4.4% (3.3, 5.9)	92.6% (88.9, 95.5)
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	98.8% (98.1, 99.3)	7.3% (6.2, 8.6)	96.5% (94.3, 98.2)
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)*	98.9% (98.2, 99.4)	8.0% (6.9, 9.4)	96.2% (94.0, 97.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	99.0% (98.4, 99.5)	4.6% (3.7, 5.7)	97.2% (95.4, 98.5)

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

Table 4: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates
— House: Western Atlanta

		Black	White	Other
2012 General	U.S. President*	98.5% (96.4, 99.7)	7.2% (5.3, 10.0)	92.6% (84.0, 97.6)
2014 General	U.S. Senator	98.1% (95.5, 99.6)	10.5% (8.0, 13.7)	89.2% (79.1, 96.1)
	Governor	97.5% (94.6, 99.2)	11.7% (9.0, 15.5)	83.0% (70.9, 93.6)
	Lt. Governor*	97.7% (95.0, 99.4)	5.7% (2.9, 9.6)	74.6% (60.1, 87.5)
	Sec. of State*	97.8% (94.9, 99.5)	5.7% (3.1, 9.3)	80.2% (66.2, 94.8)
	Attorney General	98.0% (95.2, 99.4)	7.4% (4.6, 11.0)	78.9% (65.2, 91.4)
	Com. Agriculture	97.5% (94.6, 99.2)	6.1% (3.1, 10.2)	70.4% (52.9, 87.4)
	Com. Insurance*	98.3% (95.8, 99.6)	7.1% (4.4, 10.8)	75.5% (63.2, 86.6)
	Com. Labor*	97.9% (94.8, 99.4)	7.0% (4.2, 10.7)	81.6% (68.7, 92.1)
	School Super.*	98.4% (96.1, 99.6)	8.4% (6.1, 11.6)	87.4% (76.2, 95.1)
2016 General	U.S. President	98.5% (96.1, 99.7)	6.6% (4.4, 10.0)	92.1% (83.5, 97.4)
	U.S. Senator	97.5% (94.4, 99.3)	5.5% (2.1, 10.4)	76.1% (57.4, 92.7)
2018 General	Governor*	98.5% (96.3, 99.6)	8.1% (5.9, 11.5)	94.6% (87.5, 98.3)
	Lt. Governor	98.2% (95.4, 99.5)	8.0% (5.4, 12.0)	91.2% (82.7, 96.8)
	Sec. of State	98.4% (95.7, 99.5)	8.1% (5.8, 11.7)	92.7% (85.3, 97.5)
	Attorney General	98.3% (95.8, 99.5)	8.3% (5.8, 11.9)	90.4% (81.5, 96.5)
	Com. Agriculture	98.4% (96.3, 99.4)	5.6% (3.0, 9.3)	89.2% (80.1, 95.7)
	Com. Insurance*	98.3% (96.1, 99.5)	6.9% (4.5, 10.2)	93.8% (86.4, 98.0)
	Com. Labor	98.3% (96.1, 99.4)	6.9% (4.4, 10.6)	88.8% (80.2, 95.1)
	School Super.*	98.4% (96.1, 99.5)	6.0% (3.4, 9.7)	88.4% (79.4, 94.8)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	98.5% (96.1, 99.6)	8.8% (6.4, 12.5)	91.5% (82.9, 96.8)
	Public Serv. Com. 5	98.3% (95.7, 99.5)	7.6% (5.1, 11.4)	91.6% (84.2, 97.0)
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	98.4% (96.0, 99.6)	8.4% (6.0, 11.7)	91.8% (84.0, 96.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	98.2% (95.8, 99.5)	10.2% (7.7, 13.6)	92.4% (83.2, 97.9)
2020 General	U.S. President	98.0% (95.7, 99.4)	10.4% (7.4, 14.6)	89.0% (79.6, 95.6)
	U.S. Senator	98.3% (95.9, 99.5)	9.7% (6.7, 14.1)	89.9% (80.2, 96.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 1*	98.3% (95.9, 99.5)	7.3% (4.5, 11.4)	90.6% (81.5, 97.0)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.5% (96.4, 99.5)	8.3% (5.5, 12.1)	90.8% (81.4, 96.6)
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	98.4% (95.9, 99.6)	10.9% (8.4, 14.9)	94.1% (85.7, 98.5)
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)*	97.9% (94.9, 99.4)	12.4% (9.5, 17.0)	93.7% (87.3, 97.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.5% (96.5, 99.6)	8.5% (6.1, 11.7)	94.5% (87.8, 98.5)

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

Table 5: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates — Senate: Black Belt

		Black	White	Other
2012 General	U.S. President*	96.6% (95.9, 97.1)	11.4% (10.9, 12.0)	94.6% (91.5, 96.9)
2014 General	U.S. Senator	98.7% (98.2, 99.1)	12.5% (11.9, 13.2)	83.7% (76.0, 89.7)
	Governor	98.4% (97.8, 98.8)	13.3% (12.4, 14.2)	71.0% (59.4, 82.2)
	Lt. Governor*	98.3% (97.8, 98.8)	8.1% (7.4, 8.9)	71.8% (62.8, 80.5)
	Sec. of State*	98.6% (98.0, 99.0)	8.2% (7.5, 9.0)	73.7% (65.2, 81.5)
	Attorney General	98.5% (97.9, 98.9)	9.7% (8.8, 10.6)	65.8% (55.4, 75.8)
	Com. Agriculture	98.4% (97.9, 98.9)	8.7% (7.9, 9.5)	68.3% (58.9, 78.0)
	Com. Insurance*	98.7% (98.3, 99.1)	8.9% (8.2, 9.5)	77.4% (71.0, 84.3)
	Com. Labor*	98.5% (98.0, 98.9)	9.2% (8.4, 9.9)	72.0% (63.6, 81.4)
	School Super.*	98.7% (98.2, 99.1)	11.2% (10.6, 12.0)	82.0% (73.1, 89.0)
2016 General	U.S. President	98.8% (98.3, 99.1)	8.4% (8.0, 8.9)	92.5% (89.4, 94.9)
	U.S. Senator	95.2% (94.2, 96.4)	5.4% (4.8, 6.3)	85.2% (75.3, 92.1)
2018 General	Governor*	98.8% (98.3, 99.1)	7.7% (7.3, 8.1)	94.4% (92.0, 96.3)
	Lt. Governor	98.4% (97.9, 98.9)	7.1% (6.7, 7.5)	94.4% (92.0, 96.4)
	Sec. of State	98.6% (98.1, 99.1)	12.3% (11.8, 12.9)	92.9% (89.8, 95.4)
	Attorney General	98.4% (97.9, 98.9)	7.9% (7.4, 8.6)	93.5% (89.4, 96.1)
	Com. Agriculture	98.0% (97.4, 98.6)	5.8% (5.3, 6.4)	90.2% (85.9, 93.6)
	Com. Insurance*	98.6% (98.1, 99.0)	6.6% (6.2, 7.1)	92.7% (89.3, 95.5)
	Com. Labor	98.4% (97.8, 98.8)	6.6% (6.1, 7.2)	90.4% (86.0, 93.9)
	School Super.*	98.3% (97.7, 98.8)	6.3% (5.8, 6.9)	90.4% (85.6, 93.8)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	98.7% (98.2, 99.1)	7.6% (7.1, 8.1)	93.3% (90.2, 95.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 5	98.6% (98.1, 99.0)	7.2% (6.7, 7.7)	93.4% (89.5, 96.0)
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	98.6% (98.0, 99.0)	11.9% (11.4, 12.5)	93.3% (89.7, 96.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	98.5% (98.0, 98.9)	9.7% (9.2, 10.3)	92.6% (87.9, 95.8)
2020 General	U.S. President	98.6% (98.0, 99.0)	9.4% (9.0, 10.0)	94.4% (91.7, 96.5)
	U.S. Senator	98.3% (97.7, 98.7)	8.0% (7.6, 8.6)	94.1% (90.7, 96.5)
	Public Serv. Com. 1*	98.5% (98.0, 99.0)	6.7% (6.2, 7.2)	93.4% (90.6, 95.8)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.5% (98.0, 98.9)	7.0% (6.6, 7.5)	94.7% (92.2, 96.6)
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	98.7% (98.2, 99.1)	9.9% (9.5, 10.4)	95.6% (93.4, 97.2)
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)*	98.7% (98.2, 99.1)	10.2% (9.8, 10.7)	95.8% (93.9, 97.3)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.7% (98.2, 99.1)	8.2% (7.8, 8.7)	95.5% (93.2, 97.1)

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

Table 6: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates — Senate: Southern Atlanta

		Black	White	Other
2012 General	U.S. President*	99.3% (99.1, 99.5)	8.7% (8.4, 9.1)	95.5% (94.4, 96.5)
2014 General	U.S. Senator	99.1% (98.9, 99.4)	12.1% (11.7, 12.5)	95.4% (93.8, 96.9)
	Governor	98.9% (98.6, 99.1)	12.8% (12.2, 13.5)	88.1% (84.3, 91.3)
	Lt. Governor*	98.5% (98.0, 98.9)	8.3% (7.6, 8.9)	74.6% (70.3, 79.5)
	Sec. of State*	98.9% (98.5, 99.1)	8.5% (7.9, 9.1)	78.6% (75.1, 82.0)
	Attorney General	98.3% (97.7, 98.8)	10.4% (9.6, 11.2)	81.3% (75.4, 88.0)
	Com. Agriculture	98.0% (97.2, 98.6)	8.4% (7.7, 9.3)	70.3% (63.3, 78.2)
	Com. Insurance*	98.7% (98.3, 99.0)	8.7% (8.1, 9.3)	81.9% (77.9, 86.0)
	Com. Labor*	98.9% (98.6, 99.1)	8.8% (8.2, 9.4)	83.0% (79.5, 86.6)
	School Super.*	99.1% (98.8, 99.3)	10.3% (9.8, 10.8)	89.9% (87.0, 92.7)
2016 General	U.S. President	99.1% (98.9, 99.3)	10.8% (10.4, 11.3)	93.6% (92.0, 95.0)
	U.S. Senator	96.9% (96.0, 97.8)	8.2% (7.5, 9.1)	79.6% (73.4, 85.2)
2018 General	Governor*	99.3% (99.0, 99.4)	11.2% (10.9, 11.6)	96.3% (95.2, 97.2)
	Lt. Governor	99.1% (98.9, 99.3)	10.7% (10.3, 11.1)	93.7% (91.9, 95.3)
	Sec. of State	99.1% (98.9, 99.3)	11.5% (11.1, 11.9)	95.7% (94.5, 96.8)
	Attorney General	99.0% (98.7, 99.2)	11.2% (10.7, 11.7)	92.3% (90.2, 94.3)
	Com. Agriculture	98.9% (98.6, 99.1)	9.3% (8.8, 9.8)	87.1% (84.9, 89.3)
	Com. Insurance*	99.2% (99.0, 99.4)	10.0% (9.6, 10.4)	94.2% (92.7, 95.4)
	Com. Labor	99.1% (98.8, 99.3)	9.7% (9.3, 10.2)	89.6% (87.7, 91.5)
	School Super.*	99.1% (98.8, 99.3)	9.0% (8.6, 9.4)	88.3% (86.5, 90.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	99.1% (98.9, 99.3)	11.2% (10.8, 11.6)	94.9% (93.6, 96.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 5	99.1% (98.9, 99.3)	10.3% (9.9, 10.8)	93.5% (91.8, 95.0)
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	99.1% (98.8, 99.3)	13.3% (12.9, 13.8)	95.9% (94.4, 97.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	99.1% (98.8, 99.3)	14.5% (14.1, 14.9)	96.7% (95.3, 97.8)
2020 General	U.S. President	98.6% (98.1, 99.0)	13.9% (13.2, 14.6)	89.2% (86.3, 92.1)
	U.S. Senator	98.8% (98.5, 99.1)	11.9% (11.4, 12.5)	91.7% (89.6, 93.6)
	Public Serv. Com. 1*	98.9% (98.6, 99.2)	10.3% (9.8, 10.8)	90.6% (88.7, 92.5)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.9% (98.6, 99.2)	10.5% (10.1, 11.1)	92.7% (90.8, 94.4)
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	99.0% (98.8, 99.3)	13.1% (12.8, 13.5)	97.1% (96.1, 98.0)
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)*	99.1% (98.9, 99.4)	13.9% (13.5, 14.3)	97.1% (96.0, 98.0)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	99.1% (98.9, 99.3)	11.4% (11.0, 11.8)	96.4% (95.3, 97.4)

* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

Table 7: Ecological Inference Results — Average Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates by District

	District	Black	White	Other
House: Black Belt	133	93.6% (84.6, 98.6)	16.7% (10.7, 24.6)	59.9% (24.5, 88.8)
	145	93.7% (82.4, 99.1)	11.5% (4.9, 19.9)	68.2% (29.0, 94.0)
	149	95.8% (88.2, 99.1)	7.4% (1.9, 18.3)	69.2% (28.4, 93.8)
House: Southern Atlanta	69	97.9% (94.8, 99.5)	13.8% (3.5, 25.3)	81.1% (52.0, 95.9)
	74	91.4% (74.6, 98.7)	9.0% (2.8, 18.4)	77.7% (42.1, 96.5)
House: Western Atlanta	61	98.7% (96.4, 99.8)	15.4% (6.8, 27.8)	85.1% (58.0, 96.6)
Senate: Black Belt	22	98.2% (96.7, 99.2)	16.9% (10.5, 24.2)	78.7% (48.7, 93.9)
	23	97.4% (88.9, 99.0)	5.1% (1.6, 13.0)	88.5% (66.7, 96.8)
	24	94.5% (89.7, 97.6)	9.3% (5.4, 14.4)	81.1% (40.5, 96.0)
	25	95.7% (90.9, 98.5)	11.7% (7.8, 17.3)	65.3% (31.7, 91.9)
	26	98.5% (96.7, 99.5)	13.2% (8.3, 19.0)	81.2% (47.1, 95.7)
Senate: Southern Atlanta	10	99.0% (97.8, 99.6)	8.0% (3.1, 16.6)	82.0% (39.0, 97.1)
	16	95.9% (91.7, 98.4)	7.9% (4.4, 12.2)	89.6% (74.5, 96.8)
	17	96.4% (91.9, 98.8)	5.7% (3.0, 9.7)	80.4% (58.8, 96.5)
	25	95.7% (90.9, 98.5)	11.7% (7.8, 17.3)	65.3% (31.7, 91.9)
	28	94.5% (87.1, 98.3)	7.1% (3.2, 12.3)	88.5% (68.7, 97.1)
	34	98.9% (97.9, 99.6)	10.4% (4.5, 19.8)	84.8% (53.1, 97.0)
	35	98.9% (97.7, 99.6)	11.4% (4.7, 18.5)	90.3% (71.6, 97.8)
	39	99.0% (98.2, 99.5)	60.5% (43.9, 77.2)	80.0% (48.0, 95.3)
	44	98.4% (96.7, 99.4)	41.0% (21.5, 64.9)	77.6% (28.9, 95.9)

Table 8: Average Performance of Black-Preferred Candidates in Focus Areas and Districts, 2012–2021

Focus Area	District	% Black	% Avg Vote for Black-Preferred Cand.	% Elections Won by Black-Preferred Cand.
House: Black Belt	Focus Area	42.6%	49.8%	45.2%
	133	37.0%	45.7%	0.0%
	142	60.5%	64.1%	100.0%
	143	61.7%	70.9%	100.0%
	145	35.7%	40.8%	0.0%
	147	29.5%	42.3%	0.0%
	149	31.1%	34.8%	0.0%
House: Southern Atlanta	Focus Area	52.5%	59.2%	100.0%
	69	61.9%	70.7%	100.0%
	74	25.2%	33.2%	0.0%
	75	71.3%	86.4%	100.0%
	78	69.4%	79.4%	100.0%
	115	51.3%	53.8%	64.5%
	117	35.9%	40.6%	6.5%
House: Western Atlanta	Focus Area	50.5%	60.0%	100.0%
	61	71.5%	83.3%	100.0%
	64	29.3%	37.0%	0.0%
Senate: Black Belt	Focus Area	40.2%	47.1%	3.2%
	22	56.6%	68.3%	100.0%
	23	34.7%	40.7%	0.0%
	24	19.0%	29.4%	0.0%
	25	33.4%	38.8%	0.0%
	26	57.4%	63.9%	100.0%
Senate: Southern Atlanta	Focus Area	49.0%	59.1%	100.0%
	10	69.0%	77.8%	100.0%
	16	22.3%	31.6%	0.0%
	17	31.2%	34.8%	0.0%
	25	33.4%	38.8%	0.0%
	28	18.8%	28.7%	0.0%
	34	66.6%	81.7%	100.0%
	35	69.8%	78.5%	100.0%
	39	60.3%	85.7%	100.0%
	44	69.1%	86.2%	100.0%

Table 9: Average Performance of Black Candidates in Focus Areas and Districts, 2012–2021

Focus Area	District	% Black	% Avg Vote for Black Cand.	% Elections Won by Black Cand.
House: Black Belt	Focus Area	42.6%	49.7%	38.5%
	133	37.0%	45.5%	0.0%
	142	60.5%	63.5%	100.0%
	143	61.7%	70.8%	100.0%
	145	35.7%	41.0%	0.0%
	147	29.5%	41.7%	0.0%
	149	31.1%	35.3%	0.0%
House: Southern Atlanta	Focus Area	52.5%	59.0%	100.0%
	69	61.9%	70.3%	100.0%
	74	25.2%	32.7%	0.0%
	75	71.3%	86.2%	100.0%
	78	69.4%	79.1%	100.0%
	115	51.3%	53.4%	53.8%
	117	35.9%	40.2%	7.7%
House: Western Atlanta	Focus Area	50.5%	59.6%	100.0%
	61	71.5%	83.0%	100.0%
	64	29.3%	36.9%	0.0%
Senate: Black Belt	Focus Area	40.2%	46.9%	0.0%
	22	56.6%	67.9%	100.0%
	23	34.7%	40.5%	0.0%
	24	19.0%	29.1%	0.0%
	25	33.4%	38.6%	0.0%
	26	57.4%	63.9%	100.0%
Senate: Southern Atlanta	Focus Area	49.0%	58.9%	100.0%
	10	69.0%	77.6%	100.0%
	16	22.3%	31.1%	0.0%
	17	31.2%	34.6%	0.0%
	25	33.4%	38.6%	0.0%
	28	18.8%	28.4%	0.0%
	34	66.6%	81.5%	100.0%
	35	69.8%	78.1%	100.0%
	39	60.3%	85.0%	100.0%
	44	69.1%	86.0%	100.0%

Table 10: Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates — Illustrative Maps

		HD 64	HD 74	HD 117	HD 145	HD 149	SD 23	SD 25	SD 28
2012 General	U.S. President	55.6%	56.9%	48.1%	57.4%	64.8%	59.1%	57.9%	67.4%
2014 General	U.S. Senator	57.2%	57.5%	48.9%	52.0%	63.9%	57.1%	59.4%	68.3%
	Governor	56.8%	57.0%	49.0%	52.8%	63.4%	56.1%	59.1%	67.7%
	Lt. Governor	53.3%	53.7%	45.1%	49.0%	59.4%	53.5%	55.5%	64.6%
	Sec. of State	54.1%	54.4%	45.8%	49.7%	60.8%	53.9%	56.3%	65.3%
	Attorney General	54.7%	55.5%	47.2%	50.3%	61.1%	53.9%	57.8%	65.9%
	Com. Agriculture	53.1%	53.2%	45.2%	49.7%	60.0%	53.5%	55.4%	64.0%
	Com. Insurance	55.0%	54.9%	46.7%	50.5%	61.3%	54.7%	57.1%	65.9%
	Com. Labor	55.0%	54.9%	46.5%	50.5%	61.2%	54.4%	56.9%	66.0%
	School Super.	56.2%	56.3%	47.4%	51.8%	62.8%	56.1%	58.1%	67.1%
2016 General	U.S. President	57.1%	59.1%	50.4%	52.5%	61.4%	55.7%	61.8%	67.9%
	U.S. Senator	54.8%	54.9%	47.7%	48.3%	56.9%	51.7%	58.5%	63.7%
2018 General	Governor	62.6%	62.1%	55.4%	54.9%	60.7%	55.0%	67.0%	70.0%
	Lt. Governor	61.8%	61.0%	54.7%	54.4%	59.9%	54.0%	66.2%	68.9%
	Sec. of State	62.3%	61.9%	55.6%	56.0%	62.4%	59.0%	66.9%	69.6%
	Attorney General	62.1%	61.4%	55.3%	54.9%	60.2%	54.7%	66.5%	69.0%
	Com. Agriculture	61.1%	60.2%	53.9%	53.4%	58.4%	53.3%	65.3%	67.9%
	Com. Insurance	61.9%	61.3%	55.2%	54.2%	59.8%	54.3%	66.6%	69.3%
	Com. Labor	61.4%	60.7%	54.2%	53.8%	59.5%	54.0%	65.7%	68.3%
	School Super.	61.0%	60.0%	53.9%	53.7%	59.1%	53.7%	65.3%	68.0%
	Public Serv. Com. 3	62.5%	62.0%	55.5%	55.3%	61.1%	55.1%	66.9%	69.6%
	Public Serv. Com. 5	62.2%	61.4%	55.3%	54.7%	60.4%	54.7%	66.6%	69.2%
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	57.6%	55.3%	50.2%	53.0%	60.8%	57.2%	62.2%	67.4%
	Public Serv. Com. 3	58.3%	56.0%	50.8%	52.6%	60.2%	54.9%	62.8%	67.9%
2020 General	U.S. President	62.6%	62.2%	59.6%	55.4%	60.2%	55.5%	69.0%	69.2%
	U.S. Senator	62.7%	61.7%	59.4%	54.9%	59.5%	54.5%	69.0%	68.9%
	Public Serv. Com. 1	62.1%	60.8%	58.8%	54.4%	59.5%	54.6%	68.5%	68.2%
	Public Serv. Com. 4	62.6%	61.3%	59.3%	55.0%	59.8%	54.8%	69.0%	68.7%
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	64.9%	63.0%	61.6%	57.0%	61.5%	56.3%	71.3%	71.1%
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)	65.2%	63.3%	61.9%	57.2%	61.8%	56.5%	71.6%	71.5%
	Public Serv. Com. 4	64.4%	62.1%	60.8%	56.4%	60.8%	55.6%	70.7%	70.5%

Table 11: List of Candidates in Statewide Elections, 2012–2021

		Democratic Candidate	Dem. Cand. Race	Republican Candidate	Rep. Cand. Race
2012 General	U.S. President	Barack Obama	Black	Mitt Romney	White
2014 General	U.S. Senator	Michelle Nunn	White	David Perdue	White
	Governor	Jason Carter	White	John Nathan Deal	White
	Lt. Governor	Connie Stokes	Black	L. S. 'Casey' Cagle	White
	Sec. of State	Doreen Carter	Black	Brian Kemp	White
	Attorney General	Gregory Hecht	White	Samuel Olen	White
	Com. Agriculture	Christopher Irvin	White	Gary Black	White
	Com. Insurance	Elizabeth Johnson	Black	Ralph Hudgens	White
	Com. Labor	Robbin Shipp	Black	J. Mark Butler	White
	School Super.	Valarie Wilson	Black	Richard Woods	White
2016 General	U.S. President	Hillary Clinton	White	Donald Trump	White
	U.S. Senator	Jim Barksdale	White	Johnny Isakson	White
2018 General	Governor	Stacey Abrams	Black	Brian Kemp	White
	Lt. Governor	Sarah Riggs Amico	White	Geoff Duncan	White
	Sec. of State	John Barrow	White	Brad Raffensperger	White
	Attorney General	Charlie Bailey	White	Chris Carr	White
	Com. Agriculture	Fred Swann	White	Gary Black	White
	Com. Insurance	Janice Laws	Black	Jim Beck	White
	Com. Labor	Richard Keatley	White	Mark Butler	White
	School Super.	Otha Thornton	Black	Richard Woods	White
	Public Serv. Com. 3	Lindy Miller	White	Chuck Eaton	White
	Public Serv. Com. 5	Dawn Randolph	White	Tricia Pridemore	White
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	John Barrow	White	Brad Raffensperger	White
	Public Serv. Com. 3	Lindy Miller	White	Chuck Eaton	White
2020 General	U.S. President	Joe Biden	White	Donald Trump	White
	U.S. Senator	Jon Ossoff	White	David Perdue	White
	Public Serv. Com. 1	Robert Bryant	Black	Jason Shaw	White
	Public Serv. Com. 4	Daniel Blackman	Black	Lauren McDonald	White
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	Jon Ossoff	White	David Perdue	White
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)	Raphael Warnock	Black	Kelly Loeffler	White
	Public Serv. Com. 4	Daniel Blackman	Black	Lauren McDonald	White

* Excludes candidates in the 2020 Special Election for U.S. Senate

Maxwell Palmer

CONTACT	<p>Department of Political Science Boston University 232 Bay State Road Boston, MA 02215</p> <p><i>E-mail:</i> mbpalmer@bu.edu <i>Website:</i> www.maxwellpalmer.com <i>Phone:</i> (617) 358-2654</p>
APPOINTMENTS	<p>Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts</p> <p>Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, 2021–Present</p> <p>Director of Advanced Programs, Dept. of Political Science, 2020–Present</p> <p>Civic Tech Fellow, Faculty of Computing & Data Sciences, 2021–Present</p> <p>Faculty Fellow, Initiative on Cities, 2019–Present</p> <p>Affiliations: Hariri Institute for Computing; Center for Antiracist Research</p> <p>Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 2014–2021</p>
EDUCATION	<p>Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts</p> <p>Ph.D., Political Science, May 2014. A.M., Political Science, May 2012.</p> <p>Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine</p> <p>A.B., Mathematics & Government and Legal Studies, May 2008.</p>
BOOK	<p><i>Neighborhood Defenders: Participatory Politics and America’s Housing Crisis</i> (with Katherine Levine Einstein and David M. Glick). 2019. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Selected chapters republished in <i>Political Science Quarterly</i>. – Reviewed in <i>Perspectives on Politics</i>, <i>Political Science Quarterly</i>, <i>Economics 21</i>, <i>Public Books</i>, and <i>City Journal</i>. – Covered in Vox’s “The Weeds” podcast, CityLab, Slate’s “Gabfest,” Curbed, Brookings Institution Up Front.
REFEREED ARTICLES	<p>de Benedictis-Kessner, Justin and Maxwell Palmer. 2021. “Driving Turnout: The Effect of Car Ownership on Electoral Participation.” <i>Political Science Research and Methods</i>.</p> <p>Einstein, Katherine Levine and Maxwell Palmer. 2021. “Land of the Freeholder: How Property Rights Make Voting Rights.” <i>Journal of Historical Political Economy</i> 1(4): 499–530.</p>

Glick, David M. and Maxwell Palmer. 2021. "County Over Party: How Governors Prioritized Geography Not Particularism in the Distribution of Opportunity Zones." *British Journal of Political Science*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OTHER
PUBLICATIONS

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

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

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

POLICY
REPORTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Einstein, Katherine Levine and Maxwell Palmer. 2020. *"Newton and other communities must reform housing approval process."* *The Boston Globe*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cage Blog.

CURRENT
PROJECTS

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

– Covered in *Fast Company*

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

“Still Muted: The Limited Participatory Democracy of Zoom Public Meetings” (with Katherine Levine Einstein, David Glick, and Luisa Godinez Puig). Conditionally Accepted, *Urban Affairs Review*.

“Who Represents the Renters?” (with Katherine Levine Einstein and Joseph Ornstein).

“Developing a Pro-Housing Movement? How Public Distrust of Developers Stops New Housing and Fractures Coalitions” (with Katherine Levine Einstein and David Glick).

“The Gender Pay Gap in Congressional Offices” (with Joshua McCrain).

“Racial Disparities in Local Elections” (with Katherine Levine Einstein).

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

“Menino Survey of Mayors 2021.” Co-principal investigator with David M. Glick and Katherine Levine Einstein.

GRANTS
AND AWARDS

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

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

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

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

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

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

Senator Charles Sumner Prize, Dept. of Government, Harvard University. 2014.
Awarded to the best dissertation “from the legal, political, historical, economic, social or ethnic approach, dealing with means or measures tending toward the prevention of war and the establishment of universal peace.”

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

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

The Dirksen Congressional Center, Congressional Research Award, 2013.

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

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

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

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

SELECTED
PRESENTATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

American Political Science Association: 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2019, 2020
 Midwestern Political Science Association: 2012, 2013, 2014, 2017, 2019
 Southern Political Science Association: 2015, 2018
 European Political Science Association: 2015

EXPERT
 TESTIMONY
 AND CONSULTING

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

Thomas v. Bryant (3:18-CV-441-CWR-FKB), U.S. District Court for the Southern

District of Mississippi. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially polarized voting in a district of the 2012 Mississippi State Senate map. (2018–2019)

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

Dwight v. Raffensperger (No. 1:18-cv-2869-RWS), U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially polarized voting in selected districts of the 2011 Georgia congressional district map. (2019)

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

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

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

TEACHING

Boston University

- *Introduction to American Politics* (PO 111; Fall 2014, Fall 2015, Fall 2016, Fall 2017, Spring 2019, Fall 2019, Fall 2020)
- *Congress and Its Critics* (PO 302; Fall 2014, Spring 2015, Spring 2017, Spring 2019)
- *Data Science for Politics* (PO 399; Spring 2020, Spring 2021, Fall 2021)
- *Formal Political Theory* (PO 501; Spring 2015, Spring 2017, Fall 2019, Fall 2020)
- *American Political Institutions in Transition* (PO 505; Spring 2021, Fall 2021)
- *Prohibition, Regulation, and Bureaucracy* (PO 540; Fall 2015)
- *Political Analysis (Graduate Seminar)* (PO 840; Fall 2016, Fall 2017)
- *Graduate Research Workshop* (PO 903/4; Fall 2019, Spring 2020)

SERVICE

Boston University

- Research Computing Governance Committee, 2021–.
- Initiative on Cities Faculty Advisory Board, 2020–.
- Undergraduate Assessment Working Group, 2020–2021.

- College of Arts and Sciences
 - Search Committee for the Faculty Director of the Initiative on Cities, 2020–2021.
 - General Education Curriculum Committee, 2017–2018.
- Department of Political Science
 - Director of Advanced Programs (Honors & B.A./M.A.). 2020–.
 - Comprehensive Exam Committee, American Politics, 2019.
 - Comprehensive Exam Committee, Political Methodology, 2016, 2017, 2021.
 - Co-organizer, Research in American Politics Workshop, 2016–2018.
 - Political Methodology Search Committee, 2021.
 - American Politics Search Committee, 2017.
 - American Politics Search Committee, 2016.
 - Graduate Program Committee, 2014–2015, 2018–2019, 2020–2021.

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

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

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

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

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

Arlington Election Reform Committee Member, August 2019–Present.

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

OTHER EXPERIENCE

Charles River Associates, Boston, Massachusetts 2008–2010
Associate, Energy & Environment Practice
 Economic consulting in the energy sector for electric and gas utilities, private equity,

and electric generation owners. Specialized in Financial Modeling, Resource Planning, Regulatory Support, Price Forecasting, and Policy Analysis.

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