

# EXHIBIT 2

## **Expert Report of Dr. Maxwell Palmer**

*Pendergrass v. Raffensperger* (N.D. Ga.)

December 12, 2022

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## 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 am also a Civic Tech Fellow in the Faculty of Computing & Data Sciences and a Faculty Fellow at the Initiative on Cities. 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*, *Political Science Research and Methods*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, and *Urban Affairs Review*. 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, court hearing, 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); *Caster v. Merrill* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama (No. 2:21-cv-1536-AMM); *Pendergrass v. Raffensperger* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia (No. 1:21-CV-05339-SCJ); *Grant v. Raffensperger* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia (No. 1:22-CV-00122-SCJ); and *Galmon v. Ardoin* before the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Louisiana (3:22-cv-00214-SDD-SDJ). I also served as the independent racially polarized voting analyst for the Virginia Redistricting Commission in 2021, and I have worked as a consultant to the United State Department of Justice on several matters. My expert testimony has been accepted and relied upon by courts; in no case has my testimony been rejected or

found unreliable.

4. I am being compensated at a rate of \$350 per hour. No part of my compensation is dependent upon the conclusions that I reach or the opinions that I offer.
5. I testified in this matter in the preliminary injunction proceedings on February 10, 2022. I was accepted by the court as an expert in redistricting and data analysis.
6. I was retained by the plaintiffs in this litigation to offer an expert opinion on the extent to which voting is racially polarized in Northwest Georgia. I was also asked to evaluate the performance of the 6th Congressional District in the plaintiffs' illustrative map.
7. I find strong evidence of racially polarized voting across the focus area, which is comprised of the 3rd, 6th, 11th, 13th, and 14th Congressional Districts under the 2021 redistricting map.<sup>1</sup> Black and White voters consistently support different candidates. On average, I estimate that 98.4% of Black voters support the same candidate, while only 12.4% of White voters support the Black-preferred candidate. I also find strong evidence of racially polarized voting in each of the five individual congressional districts.
8. Black-preferred candidates are largely unable to win elections in the focus area. Across an analysis of 40 statewide elections from 2012 to 2022, the Black-preferred candidate lost every election in the focus area. When taken on a district-by-district basis, the Black-preferred candidate was defeated in every one of the 40 elections analyzed in the 3rd, 6th, 11th, and 14th Congressional Districts. The Black-preferred candidate won a majority of the vote in the 13th Congressional District in all 40 elections.
9. Under the plaintiffs' illustrative map, I find that Black-preferred candidates are able to win elections in the new 6th Congressional District. Across 31 statewide elections from 2012 to 2021, the Black-preferred candidate won an average of 66.1% of the vote in this illustrative district.<sup>2</sup>

## Data Sources and Elections Analyzed

10. For the purpose of my analysis, I examined elections in the 3rd, 6th, 11th, 13th, and 14th Congressional Districts, under the plan adopted by the state legislature in 2021. Collectively, I refer to this area as the "focus area." Figure 1 maps the focus area.
11. 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

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<sup>1</sup>In my expert report for the preliminary injunction hearing, I defined the focus area as the 3rd, 11th, 13th, and 14th Congressional Districts. I added the 6th District to the focus area in this report because the plaintiff's revised illustrative map now includes a portion of the 6th District in the new majority-minority district.

<sup>2</sup>As discussed below, I was not able to include the 2022 general elections in this analysis because 2022 precinct geography data was not available.

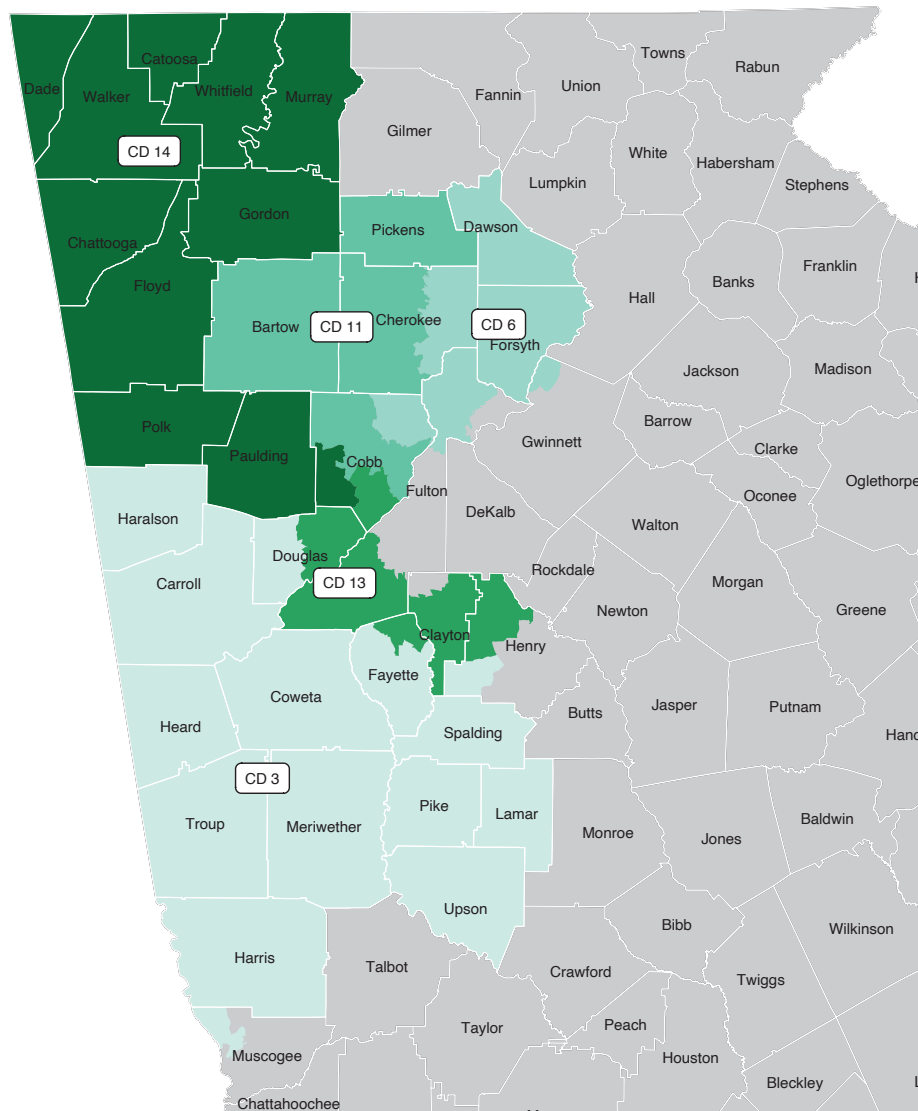


Figure 1: Map of the Focus Area

was provided to counsel by the Georgia Secretary of State in a prior case.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> Data on turnout by race for the 2022 general election was provided to counsel by the Georgia Secretary of State, and 2022 precinct-level election results were downloaded from the the website of the Georgia Secretary of State.<sup>5</sup> Precinct-level election results for the 2018<sup>6</sup>, 2020, and

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

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

<sup>5</sup><https://results.enr.clarityelections.com/GA/115465/web.307039/#/summary>.

<sup>6</sup>Voting and Election Science Team, 2019, “2018 Precinct-Level Election Results”, <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/UBKYRU>, Harvard Dataverse, V47; ga\_2018.zip.

2021<sup>7</sup> elections was assembled by the Voting and Election Science Team, an academic group that provides precinct-level data for U.S. Elections, based on data from the Secretary of State.<sup>8,9</sup> Precinct shape files for 2012 through 2020 were downloaded from the Georgia General Assembly’s Legislative and Congressional Reapportionment Office.<sup>10</sup>

12. 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.<sup>11</sup> I combined Hispanic/Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander and American Indian into the “Other” category.

## Racially Polarized Voting Analysis

13. 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.<sup>12</sup>
14. 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

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<sup>7</sup>Voting 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.

<sup>8</sup>The 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.

<sup>9</sup>As of December 12, 2022, precinct-level voter turnout data for the 2022 runoff election was not available.

<sup>10</sup><https://www.legis.ga.gov/joint-office/reapportionment>.

<sup>11</sup>[https://sos.ga.gov/admin/files/GA\\_VR\\_APP\\_2019.pdf](https://sos.ga.gov/admin/files/GA_VR_APP_2019.pdf).

<sup>12</sup>The 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.

racially polarized voting is found when Black voters and White voters support different candidates.

15. Figure 2 presents the estimates of support for the Black-preferred candidate for Black and White voters for all 40 electoral contests from 2012 to 2022. Here, I present only the estimates and confidence intervals, and exclude individual election labels. Full results for each election are presented in Figure 3 and Table 1. In each panel, the solid 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.<sup>13</sup>

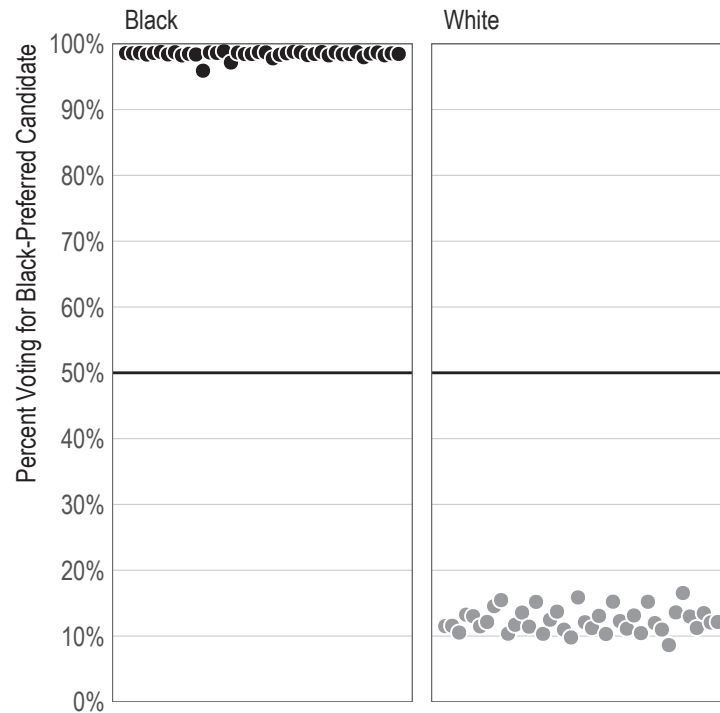


Figure 2: Racially Polarized Voting Estimates by Race — Focus Area

16. Examining Figure 2, the estimates for support for Black-preferred candidates by Black voters are all significantly above 50%. Black voters are extremely cohesive, with a clear candidate of choice in all 40 elections. On average, Black voters supported their candidates of choice with 98.4% of the vote.
17. 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. On average, White voters supported Black-preferred candidates with 12.4% of the vote, and in no election did this estimate exceed 17%.
18. Figure 3 presents the same results as Figure 2, separated by each electoral contest. The estimated levels of support for the Black-preferred candidate in each election for each

<sup>13</sup>In some cases the lines for the confidence intervals are not visible behind the dots because they are relatively small.

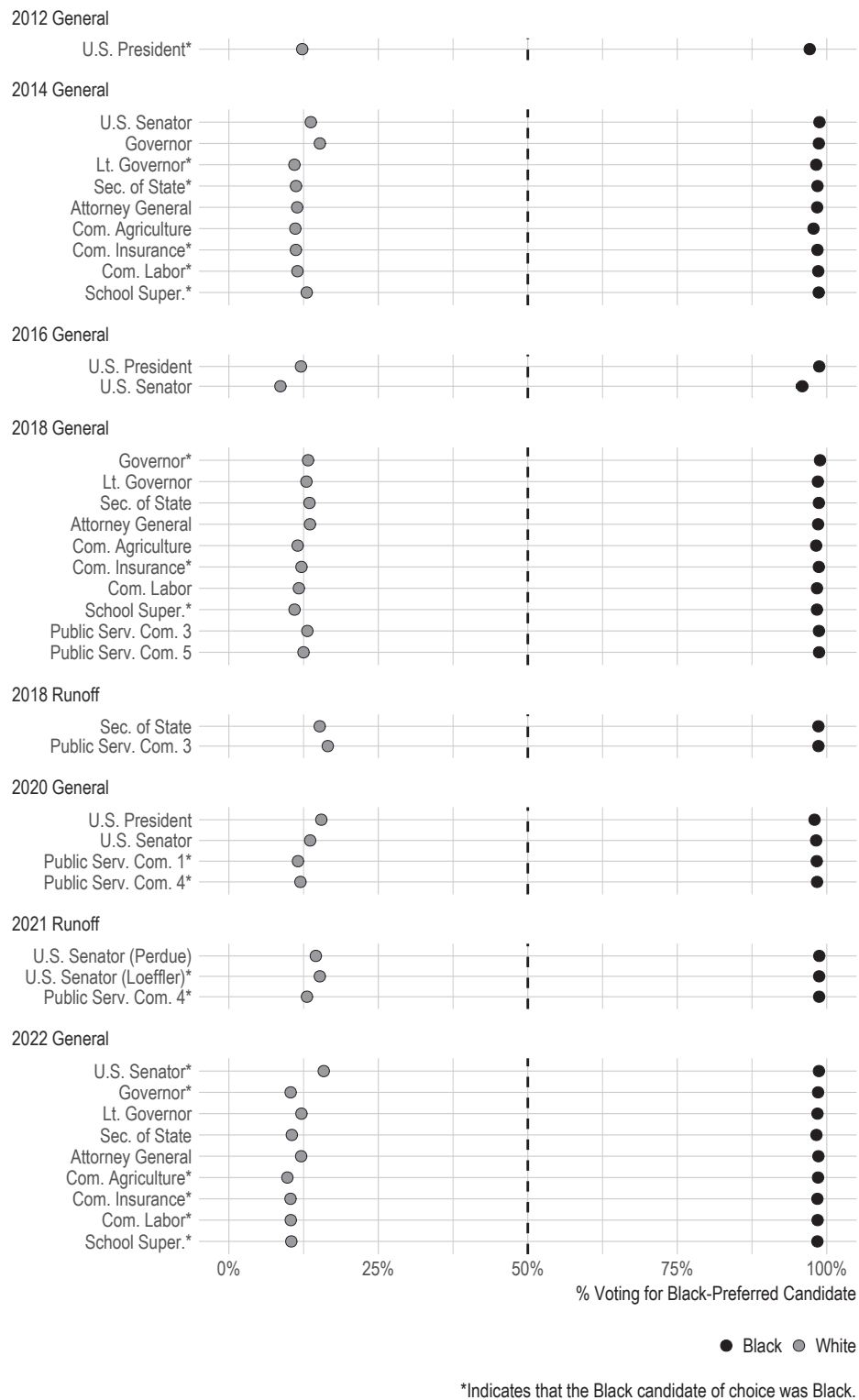


Figure 3: Racially Polarized Voting Estimates by Election — Focus Area



group are represented by the colored points, and the horizontal lines indicate the range of the 95% confidence intervals. In every election, Black voters have a clear candidate of choice, and White voters are strongly opposed to this candidate.

19. There is also strong evidence of racially polarized voting in each of the five congressional districts that comprise the focus area. Figure 4 plots the results, and Tables 2–6 present the full results. Black voters are extremely cohesive, with a clear candidate of choice in all 40 elections in each district. On average, Black voters supported their candidates of choice with 97.2% of the vote in CD 3, 93.3% in CD 6, 96.1% in CD 11, 99.0% in CD 13, and 95.8% in CD 14.
20. In contrast to Black voters, Figure 4 shows that White voters are highly cohesive in voting in opposition to the Black-preferred candidate in every election in each district. On average, White voters supported Black-preferred candidates with 6.7% of the vote in CD 3, 20.2% in CD 6, 16.1% in CD 11, 15.5% in CD 13, and 10.3% in CD 14.

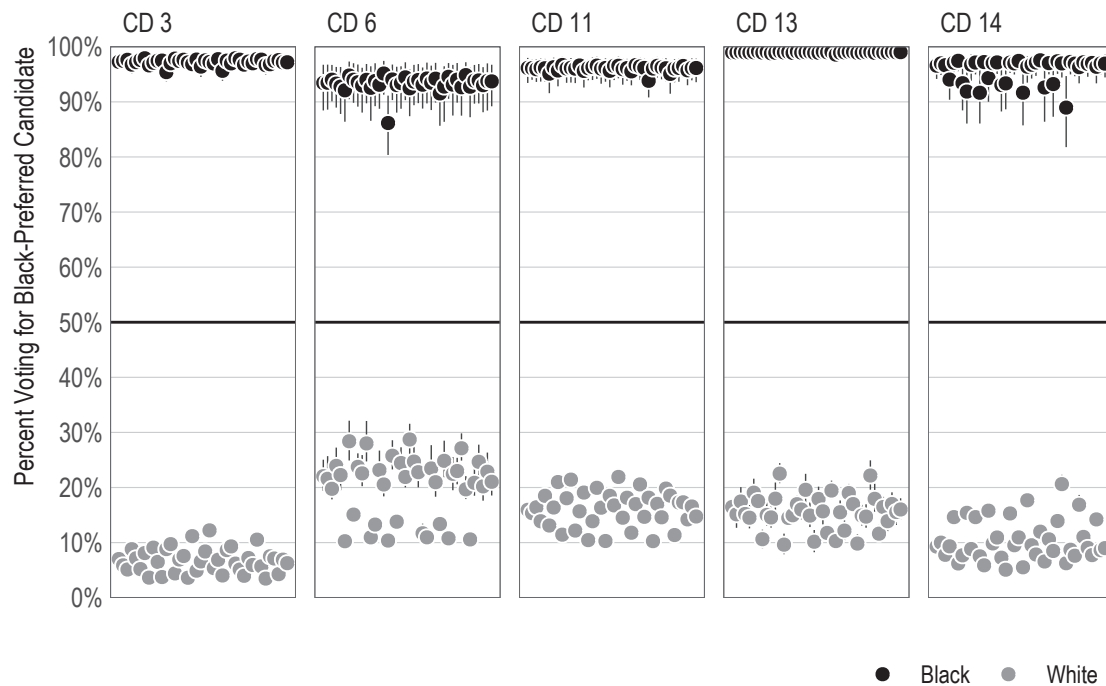


Figure 4: Racially Polarized Voting Estimates by Race — Congressional Districts

## Performance of Black-Preferred Candidates in the Focus Area

21. Having identified the Black-preferred candidate in each election, I now turn to their ability to win elections in these districts. Table 7 presents the results of each election in the focus area and each congressional district. For each election, I present the vote share obtained by the Black-preferred candidate.<sup>14</sup>
22. The White-preferred candidate won the majority of the vote in all 40 elections in the focus area. In the 3rd, 6th, 11th, and 14th Congressional Districts, the White-preferred candidate received a larger share of the vote than the Black-preferred candidate in all 40 elections. In the 13th Congressional District, the Black-preferred candidate won a larger share of the vote in all 40 elections.

## Performance of the the Sixth Congressional District in the Illustrative Map

23. I also analyzed the performance of Black-preferred candidates in the new 6th Congressional District proposed in the plaintiffs' illustrative map by calculating the percentage of the vote won by the Black-preferred candidates across the 31 statewide races from 2012 through 2021.
24. To perform this analysis, I used geographic data on the boundaries of the voting precincts in each year and the boundaries of the districts in the illustrative maps to determine which voting precincts would be located in each district. Then, I aggregated the election results for each contest for all of the precincts in each district to find the estimated vote shares of candidates in each contest. I was not able to include the 2022 elections in this analysis because, as of December 12, 2022, precinct boundary data for the 2022 voting precincts was not available.
25. Figure 5 presents the results of this analysis. In the plaintiffs' illustrative 6th Congressional District, the Black-preferred candidate won a larger share of the vote in all 31 statewide elections, with an average of 66.1%. Table 8 provide the full results.
26. Under the plaintiffs' illustrative map, the 13th Congressional District (the only district in the focus area to which the Black-preferred candidate won a majority of the vote in every election) continues to perform for Black-preferred candidates. I estimate that under this map Black-preferred candidates won a larger share of the vote in all 40 statewide elections, with an average of 62.3%.

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<sup>14</sup>Winning 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).

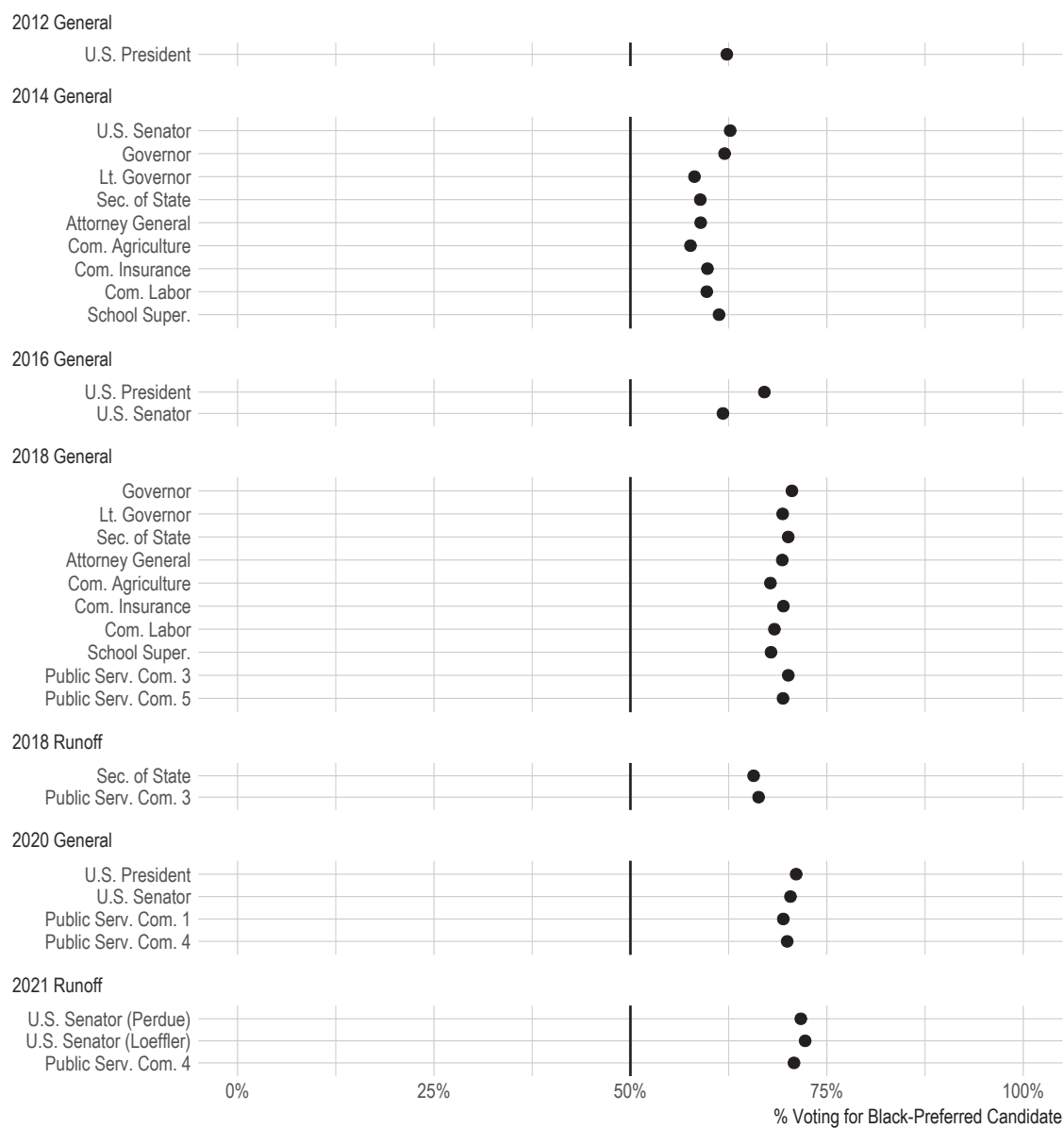


Figure 5: Vote Shares of Black-Preferred Candidates in CD 6 Under the Illustrative Map

Table 1: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates — Focus Area

		Black	White	Other
2012 General	U.S. President*	97.1% (96.6, 97.6)	12.3% (12.0, 12.5)	94.7% (92.9, 96.2)
2014 General	U.S. Senator	98.8% (98.4, 99.1)	13.7% (13.4, 14.0)	94.0% (91.4, 96.0)
	Governor	98.7% (98.3, 99.0)	15.2% (14.8, 15.6)	83.8% (80.2, 87.3)
	Lt. Governor*	98.2% (97.8, 98.6)	11.0% (10.5, 11.5)	70.0% (65.7, 73.8)
	Sec. of State*	98.5% (98.1, 98.8)	11.2% (10.8, 11.6)	75.1% (71.7, 78.7)
	Attorney General	98.4% (98.0, 98.7)	11.4% (11.0, 11.9)	79.2% (75.3, 83.0)
	Com. Agriculture	97.8% (97.2, 98.3)	11.1% (10.6, 11.6)	66.9% (62.7, 71.4)
	Com. Insurance*	98.4% (98.0, 98.8)	11.2% (10.8, 11.7)	79.2% (75.1, 83.0)
	Com. Labor*	98.6% (98.2, 98.9)	11.5% (11.0, 11.9)	78.7% (75.3, 82.5)
	School Super.*	98.7% (98.3, 99.0)	13.0% (12.6, 13.5)	86.9% (83.3, 90.1)
2016 General	U.S. President	98.7% (98.4, 99.0)	12.1% (11.8, 12.4)	94.7% (93.3, 95.8)
	U.S. Senator	95.9% (95.0, 96.7)	8.6% (8.1, 9.2)	85.6% (82.0, 89.3)
2018 General	Governor*	98.9% (98.6, 99.1)	13.2% (13.0, 13.5)	93.5% (92.2, 94.6)
	Lt. Governor	98.5% (98.2, 98.8)	13.0% (12.7, 13.3)	91.2% (89.6, 92.5)
	Sec. of State	98.7% (98.4, 99.0)	13.5% (13.2, 13.8)	92.2% (90.7, 93.6)
	Attorney General	98.6% (98.2, 98.9)	13.6% (13.1, 14.1)	90.0% (87.6, 92.2)
	Com. Agriculture	98.2% (97.7, 98.7)	11.5% (11.1, 11.9)	87.6% (85.3, 89.8)
	Com. Insurance*	98.7% (98.3, 98.9)	12.1% (11.8, 12.5)	91.7% (90.1, 93.1)
	Com. Labor	98.4% (97.9, 98.7)	11.7% (11.3, 12.2)	89.2% (86.7, 91.2)
	School Super.*	98.4% (98.0, 98.7)	11.0% (10.6, 11.4)	88.1% (86.0, 90.0)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	98.7% (98.4, 99.0)	13.1% (12.8, 13.5)	92.2% (90.6, 93.5)
	Public Serv. Com. 5	98.7% (98.4, 99.0)	12.5% (12.2, 12.9)	90.5% (88.7, 92.0)
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	98.6% (98.2, 98.9)	15.2% (14.9, 15.6)	90.0% (87.8, 91.8)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	98.6% (98.2, 98.9)	16.5% (16.2, 16.9)	90.2% (87.8, 92.2)
2020 General	U.S. President	98.0% (97.4, 98.4)	15.5% (15.0, 16.0)	90.4% (88.0, 92.3)
	U.S. Senator	98.2% (97.8, 98.7)	13.6% (13.2, 14.1)	90.8% (88.7, 92.7)
	Public Serv. Com. 1*	98.3% (97.9, 98.7)	11.6% (11.2, 12.0)	90.0% (88.1, 91.7)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.4% (98.0, 98.7)	12.0% (11.6, 12.4)	91.6% (89.6, 93.1)
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	98.7% (98.4, 99.0)	14.5% (14.3, 14.9)	94.4% (93.1, 95.5)
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)*	98.7% (98.4, 99.0)	15.2% (14.9, 15.5)	95.1% (93.9, 96.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	98.7% (98.4, 99.0)	13.1% (12.8, 13.4)	93.4% (91.9, 94.5)
2022 General	U.S. Senator*	98.7% (98.4, 99.0)	15.9% (15.6, 16.2)	95.7% (94.5, 96.6)
	Governor*	98.5% (98.2, 98.9)	10.3% (9.9, 10.8)	88.1% (86.2, 89.9)
	Lt. Governor	98.4% (98.0, 98.8)	12.1% (11.8, 12.6)	91.4% (89.6, 93.0)
	Sec. of State	98.3% (97.8, 98.6)	10.5% (10.0, 11.1)	81.6% (79.2, 84.2)
	Attorney General	98.6% (98.2, 98.9)	12.1% (11.7, 12.5)	89.7% (87.8, 91.4)
	Com. Agriculture*	98.5% (98.2, 98.9)	9.8% (9.4, 10.2)	88.7% (87.1, 90.3)
	Com. Insurance*	98.4% (98.0, 98.8)	10.3% (9.9, 10.8)	87.4% (85.4, 89.2)
	Com. Labor*	98.5% (98.1, 98.8)	10.4% (10.0, 10.8)	90.9% (89.2, 92.3)
	School Super.*	98.4% (98.0, 98.8)	10.4% (10.0, 10.9)	87.4% (85.5, 89.1)

\* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

Table 2: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates  
— CD 3

		Black	White	Other
2012 General	U.S. President*	95.4% (93.7, 96.7)	8.8% (8.2, 9.7)	92.2% (85.7, 95.9)
2014 General	U.S. Senator	97.2% (95.7, 98.3)	11.2% (10.4, 12.2)	88.1% (77.5, 94.8)
	Governor	96.8% (95.3, 98.0)	12.2% (11.3, 13.4)	83.1% (70.1, 92.5)
	Lt. Governor*	96.8% (95.3, 97.9)	6.3% (5.5, 7.2)	84.8% (74.0, 92.2)
	Sec. of State*	97.1% (95.7, 98.2)	6.9% (6.2, 8.0)	86.3% (74.2, 93.2)
	Attorney General	96.6% (95.2, 97.8)	8.1% (7.5, 9.1)	87.9% (77.1, 93.7)
	Com. Agriculture	96.4% (94.5, 97.7)	6.6% (5.7, 7.7)	80.6% (67.1, 90.9)
	Com. Insurance*	97.0% (95.6, 98.1)	7.2% (6.5, 8.1)	86.7% (77.1, 93.6)
	Com. Labor*	97.0% (95.5, 98.1)	7.5% (6.7, 8.5)	85.9% (74.6, 93.8)
	School Super.*	97.3% (96.0, 98.3)	9.7% (8.9, 10.7)	84.6% (74.4, 92.2)
2016 General	U.S. President	97.7% (96.4, 98.6)	7.0% (6.6, 7.5)	94.5% (91.1, 96.9)
	U.S. Senator	95.6% (93.8, 97.1)	4.0% (3.5, 4.8)	92.0% (87.6, 95.1)
2018 General	Governor*	97.8% (96.7, 98.6)	6.5% (6.1, 7.0)	95.3% (92.2, 97.3)
	Lt. Governor	97.4% (96.3, 98.3)	6.2% (5.7, 6.8)	94.5% (90.8, 97.1)
	Sec. of State	97.5% (96.3, 98.4)	7.2% (6.7, 7.8)	94.8% (91.6, 97.1)
	Attorney General	97.6% (96.4, 98.5)	7.6% (7.1, 8.2)	93.6% (89.6, 96.3)
	Com. Agriculture	97.2% (96.0, 98.1)	4.9% (4.4, 5.5)	93.7% (90.3, 96.2)
	Com. Insurance*	97.5% (96.3, 98.4)	5.7% (5.2, 6.2)	94.9% (91.8, 97.0)
	Com. Labor	97.6% (96.5, 98.5)	5.1% (4.7, 5.7)	94.4% (90.8, 97.0)
	School Super.*	97.5% (96.3, 98.3)	4.4% (4.0, 4.9)	94.8% (91.9, 96.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	97.6% (96.5, 98.5)	6.9% (6.4, 7.5)	94.0% (90.8, 96.7)
	Public Serv. Com. 5	97.7% (96.5, 98.5)	5.9% (5.5, 6.5)	94.5% (91.1, 96.8)
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	96.7% (95.0, 97.9)	8.8% (8.2, 9.4)	93.0% (89.0, 96.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	96.8% (95.2, 98.0)	10.5% (9.9, 11.4)	90.0% (82.2, 94.8)
2020 General	U.S. President	97.4% (96.2, 98.4)	8.4% (7.9, 9.0)	94.9% (91.4, 97.2)
	U.S. Senator	97.5% (96.1, 98.4)	6.9% (6.5, 7.4)	96.3% (94.0, 97.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 1*	97.9% (96.9, 98.7)	5.1% (4.7, 5.6)	95.6% (92.8, 97.4)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	97.7% (96.5, 98.6)	5.9% (5.4, 6.4)	95.6% (93.1, 97.4)
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	97.8% (96.5, 98.6)	8.6% (8.2, 9.2)	95.4% (92.5, 97.4)
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)*	97.5% (96.2, 98.5)	9.3% (8.8, 10.0)	95.2% (92.0, 97.2)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	97.9% (96.8, 98.7)	7.1% (6.7, 7.6)	95.3% (92.5, 97.2)
2022 General	U.S. Senator*	97.6% (96.3, 98.6)	9.1% (8.6, 9.7)	94.8% (91.6, 97.0)
	Governor*	97.2% (95.8, 98.2)	4.0% (3.5, 4.6)	92.2% (88.9, 94.6)
	Lt. Governor	97.0% (95.5, 98.1)	5.4% (4.9, 6.0)	94.0% (91.2, 96.2)
	Sec. of State	96.9% (95.3, 98.0)	3.5% (3.0, 4.0)	91.8% (88.6, 94.2)
	Attorney General	97.3% (95.9, 98.3)	5.2% (4.7, 5.8)	94.0% (90.7, 96.3)
	Com. Agriculture*	97.0% (95.7, 98.0)	3.6% (3.0, 4.3)	90.8% (86.8, 94.1)
	Com. Insurance*	97.8% (96.7, 98.6)	3.7% (3.3, 4.3)	92.2% (88.8, 94.8)
	Com. Labor*	97.2% (95.8, 98.2)	4.3% (3.8, 4.9)	92.3% (89.0, 94.9)
	School Super.*	97.2% (96.0, 98.2)	3.6% (3.2, 4.1)	93.0% (90.2, 95.4)

\* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

Table 3: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates  
— CD 6

		Black	White	Other
2012 General	U.S. President*	86.2% (80.4, 91.1)	13.4% (12.6, 14.4)	90.4% (83.0, 95.1)
2014 General	U.S. Senator	93.8% (89.7, 96.7)	15.1% (14.2, 16.5)	87.6% (77.7, 94.0)
	Governor	94.0% (90.1, 96.7)	13.8% (12.9, 15.0)	90.3% (82.5, 95.7)
	Lt. Governor*	93.4% (88.7, 96.5)	10.3% (9.2, 11.5)	82.8% (74.5, 89.8)
	Sec. of State*	94.0% (89.7, 96.9)	10.8% (9.7, 12.1)	83.1% (73.5, 91.0)
	Attorney General	94.5% (90.6, 97.0)	10.6% (9.7, 11.8)	86.2% (77.9, 92.2)
	Com. Agriculture	92.8% (87.2, 96.3)	10.4% (9.3, 11.8)	79.6% (70.1, 87.2)
	Com. Insurance*	95.1% (91.3, 97.4)	11.0% (10.0, 12.3)	84.2% (75.0, 90.9)
	Com. Labor*	94.9% (91.4, 97.2)	11.0% (9.8, 12.6)	84.0% (72.0, 92.3)
	School Super.*	94.0% (89.9, 97.1)	13.3% (12.3, 14.7)	86.1% (75.8, 93.0)
2016 General	U.S. President	94.0% (89.8, 97.0)	19.7% (17.9, 22.1)	80.9% (70.5, 88.2)
	U.S. Senator	93.8% (88.4, 97.0)	11.7% (10.3, 13.4)	75.7% (68.5, 81.2)
2018 General	Governor*	94.4% (90.3, 97.2)	24.7% (21.6, 27.7)	67.0% (56.1, 77.8)
	Lt. Governor	92.5% (87.4, 95.9)	23.9% (20.9, 27.2)	64.8% (53.2, 75.4)
	Sec. of State	93.4% (88.4, 96.7)	23.7% (21.4, 26.2)	67.6% (59.6, 75.9)
	Attorney General	93.9% (89.7, 96.9)	21.9% (20.0, 24.3)	71.6% (63.0, 78.3)
	Com. Agriculture	93.8% (89.2, 97.0)	20.6% (18.4, 23.0)	66.6% (58.0, 74.3)
	Com. Insurance*	93.5% (88.5, 96.6)	22.8% (20.0, 25.7)	65.2% (54.5, 74.9)
	Com. Labor	94.2% (89.7, 97.1)	20.9% (18.5, 23.6)	66.9% (57.3, 75.1)
	School Super.*	94.1% (90.3, 96.8)	19.8% (17.8, 22.2)	66.0% (57.5, 72.7)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	93.7% (89.2, 96.7)	23.0% (20.6, 25.4)	68.7% (60.4, 77.3)
	Public Serv. Com. 5	94.2% (89.9, 97.1)	23.2% (20.3, 26.7)	63.8% (51.3, 73.6)
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	92.1% (86.4, 95.9)	27.1% (24.9, 29.8)	56.6% (43.9, 67.2)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	91.5% (85.7, 95.5)	28.7% (26.1, 31.6)	55.8% (42.3, 68.0)
2020 General	U.S. President	94.8% (90.5, 97.3)	28.0% (24.7, 32.1)	69.7% (57.1, 79.9)
	U.S. Senator	93.0% (88.0, 96.4)	24.4% (21.8, 27.3)	70.9% (62.0, 78.8)
	Public Serv. Com. 1*	92.5% (86.6, 96.5)	22.1% (19.4, 25.0)	69.1% (59.9, 77.2)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	93.1% (87.5, 96.7)	22.9% (19.8, 26.3)	68.5% (58.0, 77.7)
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	93.6% (89.1, 96.8)	24.7% (21.9, 27.8)	73.9% (64.1, 82.6)
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)*	93.0% (88.1, 96.3)	25.8% (23.3, 28.6)	74.4% (65.0, 82.3)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	92.8% (87.8, 96.3)	22.6% (20.2, 25.9)	73.2% (62.9, 80.5)
2022 General	U.S. Senator*	92.8% (86.4, 96.5)	28.4% (24.9, 32.1)	73.3% (61.2, 84.4)
	Governor*	94.0% (89.8, 96.9)	22.3% (19.5, 25.2)	62.5% (53.0, 71.4)
	Lt. Governor	92.7% (87.5, 95.9)	24.8% (21.9, 28.5)	65.3% (53.3, 75.1)
	Sec. of State	93.7% (89.4, 96.7)	20.2% (17.6, 23.0)	62.3% (53.5, 70.8)
	Attorney General	93.3% (89.0, 96.3)	23.5% (20.6, 27.7)	67.2% (54.2, 76.3)
	Com. Agriculture*	93.5% (88.6, 96.8)	21.0% (18.3, 24.3)	64.4% (53.7, 72.7)
	Com. Insurance*	93.1% (88.8, 96.2)	21.0% (18.5, 23.9)	64.0% (54.7, 72.0)
	Com. Labor*	93.1% (88.7, 96.3)	22.5% (19.5, 25.5)	63.4% (53.4, 72.9)
	School Super.*	93.0% (88.1, 96.2)	21.6% (18.6, 25.7)	63.0% (49.8, 72.6)

\* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

Table 4: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates — CD 11

		Black	White	Other
2012 General	U.S. President*	93.8% (90.8, 95.9)	14.6% (13.9, 15.5)	91.1% (84.6, 95.5)
2014 General	U.S. Senator	95.5% (93.0, 97.3)	16.4% (15.7, 17.4)	89.1% (80.0, 94.7)
	Governor	96.1% (93.7, 97.8)	16.3% (15.6, 17.3)	89.7% (80.2, 95.7)
	Lt. Governor*	96.1% (93.8, 97.8)	10.5% (9.9, 11.3)	90.2% (83.7, 94.9)
	Sec. of State*	96.0% (93.6, 97.8)	11.4% (10.8, 12.1)	91.3% (84.7, 95.9)
	Attorney General	96.5% (94.4, 98.1)	11.4% (10.9, 12.3)	91.5% (83.3, 95.8)
	Com. Agriculture	96.3% (93.8, 98.0)	10.3% (9.6, 11.0)	91.8% (85.6, 95.9)
	Com. Insurance*	96.7% (94.6, 98.1)	11.8% (11.2, 12.6)	90.7% (83.3, 95.7)
	Com. Labor*	96.2% (93.7, 97.8)	12.2% (11.6, 13.0)	90.2% (82.6, 95.3)
	School Super.*	96.1% (93.9, 97.8)	14.7% (14.0, 15.7)	90.3% (80.0, 95.6)
2016 General	U.S. President	96.2% (93.5, 98.0)	16.8% (16.1, 17.7)	93.3% (88.6, 96.5)
	U.S. Senator	96.7% (94.5, 98.3)	10.3% (9.7, 11.0)	94.7% (90.8, 97.3)
2018 General	Governor*	96.0% (93.3, 97.9)	19.1% (18.3, 20.2)	93.2% (86.9, 96.7)
	Lt. Governor	96.0% (93.5, 97.9)	18.1% (17.4, 19.1)	93.7% (88.5, 97.0)
	Sec. of State	96.5% (94.3, 98.2)	18.5% (17.8, 19.4)	93.8% (89.0, 97.0)
	Attorney General	96.6% (94.6, 98.1)	18.1% (17.4, 18.9)	94.1% (89.5, 97.0)
	Com. Agriculture	96.2% (93.7, 97.9)	15.7% (14.9, 16.7)	93.4% (88.2, 96.7)
	Com. Insurance*	96.5% (94.4, 98.2)	17.3% (16.5, 18.3)	92.2% (86.9, 96.1)
	Com. Labor	96.1% (93.7, 97.9)	16.4% (15.5, 17.6)	92.5% (86.1, 96.3)
	School Super.*	96.3% (94.0, 98.1)	15.4% (14.6, 16.4)	92.7% (86.7, 96.3)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	96.5% (94.0, 98.1)	18.5% (17.8, 19.7)	92.2% (85.7, 95.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 5	96.1% (93.9, 97.9)	17.3% (16.6, 18.3)	93.3% (88.3, 96.5)
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	95.1% (91.5, 97.4)	19.8% (18.9, 20.9)	89.7% (81.4, 95.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	95.1% (91.6, 97.5)	21.4% (20.5, 22.7)	87.9% (78.5, 94.0)
2020 General	U.S. President	96.1% (93.7, 97.9)	20.6% (19.7, 21.9)	93.2% (87.7, 96.5)
	U.S. Senator	96.4% (94.0, 98.1)	18.5% (17.7, 19.6)	93.4% (88.8, 96.4)
	Public Serv. Com. 1*	96.2% (93.7, 97.9)	15.9% (15.2, 16.9)	94.6% (91.0, 97.0)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	95.7% (93.0, 97.6)	17.0% (16.2, 18.0)	93.6% (89.8, 96.5)
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	96.1% (93.6, 97.8)	19.9% (19.2, 20.9)	94.5% (90.1, 97.3)
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)*	96.2% (93.4, 98.0)	21.0% (20.2, 22.1)	94.2% (90.3, 97.0)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	96.2% (94.1, 97.9)	18.1% (17.5, 19.0)	94.9% (91.5, 97.2)
2022 General	U.S. Senator*	95.6% (92.6, 97.5)	21.9% (21.0, 23.3)	92.4% (86.3, 96.3)
	Governor*	95.9% (93.1, 97.9)	14.5% (13.6, 15.7)	91.6% (86.7, 95.1)
	Lt. Governor	95.6% (92.6, 97.6)	17.0% (16.1, 18.2)	92.5% (87.3, 96.0)
	Sec. of State	96.1% (94.0, 97.7)	13.1% (12.4, 14.0)	93.5% (89.8, 96.3)
	Attorney General	96.0% (93.4, 97.7)	16.6% (15.8, 17.6)	93.0% (88.2, 96.1)
	Com. Agriculture*	96.1% (93.5, 97.9)	13.9% (13.0, 15.1)	91.9% (86.7, 95.3)
	Com. Insurance*	96.6% (94.2, 98.2)	13.9% (13.0, 15.1)	92.5% (87.0, 96.0)
	Com. Labor*	95.9% (93.6, 97.8)	14.7% (13.9, 15.8)	93.3% (89.0, 96.3)
	School Super.*	95.7% (92.8, 97.6)	14.2% (13.4, 15.3)	93.3% (89.3, 96.1)

\* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.



Table 5: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates — CD 13

		Black	White	Other
2012 General	U.S. President*	99.2% (98.8, 99.4)	11.8% (10.8, 12.9)	96.7% (95.0, 98.0)
2014 General	U.S. Senator	99.2% (98.8, 99.4)	14.5% (13.3, 15.9)	94.8% (91.3, 96.8)
	Governor	99.1% (98.7, 99.4)	15.0% (13.3, 16.7)	84.7% (79.9, 89.2)
	Lt. Governor*	98.9% (98.5, 99.3)	9.6% (7.9, 11.6)	68.4% (62.5, 74.0)
	Sec. of State*	98.9% (98.5, 99.3)	9.8% (8.3, 11.5)	76.5% (71.4, 81.6)
	Attorney General	98.9% (98.5, 99.3)	12.2% (10.4, 14.0)	76.8% (71.5, 82.2)
	Com. Agriculture	98.9% (98.4, 99.3)	10.2% (8.3, 12.3)	61.0% (55.0, 66.8)
	Com. Insurance*	98.9% (98.5, 99.2)	10.6% (9.0, 12.3)	79.2% (74.1, 84.4)
	Com. Labor*	99.0% (98.6, 99.3)	10.3% (8.7, 11.9)	81.3% (76.7, 85.9)
	School Super.*	99.1% (98.7, 99.4)	11.6% (10.2, 13.2)	90.3% (85.9, 94.0)
2016 General	U.S. President	99.1% (98.7, 99.4)	15.2% (13.5, 17.1)	93.2% (89.6, 96.3)
	U.S. Senator	98.6% (98.0, 99.0)	15.1% (12.7, 17.7)	64.2% (58.6, 70.2)
2018 General	Governor*	99.1% (98.8, 99.4)	16.5% (15.2, 17.9)	96.2% (94.3, 97.6)
	Lt. Governor	99.1% (98.8, 99.5)	16.0% (14.2, 18.0)	91.2% (87.8, 94.2)
	Sec. of State	99.1% (98.7, 99.4)	16.5% (14.9, 18.3)	94.1% (91.1, 96.3)
	Attorney General	99.0% (98.5, 99.3)	17.0% (15.0, 19.1)	88.8% (85.0, 92.5)
	Com. Agriculture	99.0% (98.7, 99.3)	14.7% (12.7, 17.0)	83.8% (80.2, 87.2)
	Com. Insurance*	99.1% (98.7, 99.4)	14.9% (13.1, 16.9)	93.8% (91.0, 96.3)
	Com. Labor	99.1% (98.7, 99.4)	14.6% (12.7, 16.7)	87.2% (83.6, 90.4)
	School Super.*	99.1% (98.7, 99.4)	13.9% (12.1, 15.9)	86.0% (82.6, 89.2)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	99.1% (98.7, 99.4)	17.0% (15.4, 18.8)	93.3% (90.6, 96.0)
	Public Serv. Com. 5	99.1% (98.7, 99.4)	16.0% (14.2, 18.0)	91.4% (88.3, 94.2)
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	99.0% (98.6, 99.3)	17.0% (15.6, 18.5)	95.1% (92.5, 97.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	99.0% (98.5, 99.3)	19.0% (17.5, 20.7)	94.7% (91.8, 96.9)
2020 General	U.S. President	98.9% (98.5, 99.3)	22.2% (19.6, 24.9)	80.6% (77.1, 84.1)
	U.S. Senator	98.9% (98.5, 99.3)	19.1% (16.7, 21.6)	85.3% (82.0, 88.4)
	Public Serv. Com. 1*	99.0% (98.6, 99.3)	17.5% (15.0, 20.1)	84.6% (81.1, 87.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	99.0% (98.7, 99.3)	17.9% (15.6, 20.2)	86.7% (83.8, 89.6)
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	99.0% (98.7, 99.3)	17.5% (16.2, 19.2)	95.8% (94.1, 97.2)
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)*	99.1% (98.7, 99.4)	19.4% (17.9, 21.2)	95.0% (92.9, 96.8)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	99.0% (98.7, 99.3)	15.5% (14.0, 17.7)	95.2% (92.3, 97.0)
2022 General	U.S. Senator*	99.0% (98.6, 99.3)	22.5% (20.8, 24.4)	95.1% (92.8, 97.0)
	Governor*	99.0% (98.6, 99.3)	14.9% (12.8, 17.3)	86.9% (84.0, 89.7)
	Lt. Governor	98.8% (98.4, 99.2)	17.9% (15.6, 20.7)	90.0% (86.5, 93.2)
	Sec. of State	98.9% (98.5, 99.3)	19.6% (16.8, 22.5)	71.5% (68.0, 75.1)
	Attorney General	98.9% (98.5, 99.2)	18.0% (15.6, 20.9)	87.4% (83.8, 90.6)
	Com. Agriculture*	99.0% (98.5, 99.3)	14.5% (12.6, 16.8)	88.4% (85.7, 91.1)
	Com. Insurance*	99.0% (98.6, 99.3)	15.6% (13.2, 18.2)	84.8% (81.5, 87.9)
	Com. Labor*	98.9% (98.5, 99.2)	15.0% (13.1, 17.4)	91.0% (88.0, 93.7)
	School Super.*	98.9% (98.5, 99.3)	15.7% (13.3, 18.4)	85.3% (81.9, 88.5)

\* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.



Table 6: Ecological Inference Results — Estimated Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates — CD 14

		Black	White	Other
2012 General	U.S. President*	93.4% (88.5, 96.9)	15.8% (14.8, 17.1)	83.3% (69.3, 93.1)
2014 General	U.S. Senator	94.3% (90.0, 97.3)	16.9% (15.7, 18.7)	76.7% (52.3, 90.7)
	Governor	91.9% (86.1, 96.1)	20.6% (19.3, 22.3)	73.2% (48.1, 88.2)
	Lt. Governor*	89.0% (81.8, 94.7)	14.2% (13.1, 15.6)	77.9% (59.0, 92.4)
	Sec. of State*	93.4% (88.6, 96.8)	14.6% (13.4, 16.1)	71.7% (51.4, 87.4)
	Attorney General	91.7% (86.1, 96.0)	15.4% (14.1, 17.0)	70.8% (49.4, 88.3)
	Com. Agriculture	91.7% (85.7, 96.0)	13.9% (12.7, 15.4)	71.3% (48.9, 87.7)
	Com. Insurance*	93.1% (88.3, 96.7)	14.6% (13.6, 15.8)	76.6% (61.9, 89.4)
	Com. Labor*	92.6% (86.4, 96.3)	15.3% (14.1, 16.7)	74.2% (54.5, 89.5)
	School Super.*	93.2% (87.3, 96.9)	17.7% (16.5, 19.2)	72.2% (52.0, 88.3)
2016 General	U.S. President	96.4% (93.5, 98.3)	8.6% (8.0, 9.4)	92.8% (87.4, 96.2)
	U.S. Senator	94.0% (90.4, 97.0)	7.6% (6.9, 8.5)	89.3% (82.4, 94.0)
2018 General	Governor*	97.4% (95.1, 98.8)	9.0% (8.5, 9.7)	94.1% (89.9, 97.0)
	Lt. Governor	96.6% (94.2, 98.3)	9.3% (8.7, 10.0)	93.8% (89.4, 96.8)
	Sec. of State	96.7% (93.8, 98.6)	10.0% (9.4, 10.9)	94.1% (88.5, 97.1)
	Attorney General	96.7% (94.2, 98.5)	9.9% (9.3, 10.5)	93.8% (90.0, 96.5)
	Com. Agriculture	97.2% (95.0, 98.6)	7.7% (7.2, 8.4)	95.1% (91.7, 97.3)
	Com. Insurance*	96.9% (94.4, 98.6)	8.8% (8.3, 9.6)	95.0% (91.0, 97.5)
	Com. Labor	96.6% (94.1, 98.3)	8.5% (7.9, 9.2)	94.9% (90.9, 97.4)
	School Super.*	97.1% (94.7, 98.7)	7.8% (7.3, 8.5)	94.1% (89.7, 96.9)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	97.0% (94.4, 98.6)	9.5% (8.9, 10.3)	93.6% (88.7, 96.8)
	Public Serv. Com. 5	97.1% (94.9, 98.7)	9.0% (8.5, 9.8)	93.9% (89.4, 96.9)
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	96.4% (93.4, 98.3)	10.9% (10.1, 11.9)	88.0% (79.4, 94.4)
	Public Serv. Com. 3	96.3% (93.4, 98.3)	12.0% (11.2, 13.2)	88.5% (76.3, 95.4)
2020 General	U.S. President	96.9% (94.6, 98.4)	9.3% (8.8, 10.0)	94.3% (91.0, 96.6)
	U.S. Senator	97.0% (95.0, 98.5)	8.7% (8.2, 9.3)	95.1% (92.2, 97.1)
	Public Serv. Com. 1*	97.0% (94.9, 98.5)	7.3% (6.7, 7.9)	94.2% (90.9, 96.5)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	97.4% (95.7, 98.7)	7.8% (7.3, 8.4)	94.9% (92.0, 97.0)
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	96.9% (94.7, 98.5)	10.6% (10.0, 11.3)	95.0% (91.5, 97.3)
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)*	97.0% (95.0, 98.4)	10.9% (10.4, 11.7)	94.1% (90.2, 96.7)
	Public Serv. Com. 4*	97.0% (95.1, 98.5)	9.5% (9.0, 10.1)	94.8% (91.5, 97.2)
2022 General	U.S. Senator*	97.2% (95.0, 98.6)	11.0% (10.5, 11.7)	94.7% (91.1, 97.3)
	Governor*	97.5% (95.8, 98.7)	5.5% (5.1, 6.1)	95.0% (92.1, 97.2)
	Lt. Governor	97.1% (95.0, 98.5)	7.7% (7.2, 8.3)	94.5% (91.0, 96.9)
	Sec. of State	97.1% (95.2, 98.5)	5.1% (4.6, 5.6)	95.1% (92.2, 97.2)
	Attorney General	97.1% (95.0, 98.6)	7.5% (7.0, 8.1)	95.3% (91.8, 97.6)
	Com. Agriculture*	97.0% (95.0, 98.4)	5.9% (5.4, 6.5)	94.7% (91.2, 97.1)
	Com. Insurance*	97.4% (95.6, 98.7)	6.3% (5.8, 6.8)	94.8% (91.7, 97.0)
	Com. Labor*	97.2% (95.2, 98.5)	6.6% (6.1, 7.1)	94.8% (91.7, 97.0)
	School Super.*	97.2% (95.1, 98.6)	6.2% (5.7, 6.8)	95.3% (92.5, 97.3)

\* Indicates that the Black candidate of choice was Black.

Table 7: Election Results in the Focus Area — Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates

		Focus Area	CD 3	CD 6	CD 11	CD 13	CD 14
2012 General	U.S. President	39.5%	32.2%	28.0%	32.7%	74.8%	29.8%
2014 General	U.S. Senator	40.2%	32.2%	28.6%	32.6%	75.8%	30.7%
	Governor	40.4%	32.6%	27.9%	32.7%	75.0%	33.1%
	Lt. Governor	36.1%	28.1%	24.1%	28.1%	71.8%	27.8%
	Sec. of State	36.8%	28.8%	24.6%	28.9%	72.6%	28.4%
	Attorney General	37.3%	29.7%	24.8%	29.0%	73.3%	28.7%
	Com. Agriculture	35.9%	28.0%	23.8%	28.1%	71.3%	27.5%
	Com. Insurance	37.3%	29.1%	25.0%	29.3%	73.3%	28.7%
	Com. Labor	37.4%	29.2%	24.9%	29.5%	73.3%	29.0%
	School Super.	39.1%	30.9%	27.0%	31.5%	74.6%	30.9%
2016 General	U.S. President	41.8%	31.6%	35.8%	36.7%	77.7%	27.8%
	U.S. Senator	37.7%	28.7%	28.9%	32.2%	73.7%	26.4%
2018 General	Governor	44.7%	32.8%	38.6%	40.0%	80.9%	30.1%
	Lt. Governor	43.9%	32.3%	37.4%	39.3%	79.9%	30.1%
	Sec. of State	44.6%	33.1%	37.9%	39.7%	80.5%	30.7%
	Attorney General	44.3%	33.3%	37.5%	39.5%	79.8%	30.6%
	Com. Agriculture	42.6%	31.3%	35.5%	37.6%	78.7%	29.2%
	Com. Insurance	43.7%	32.1%	36.7%	38.6%	80.2%	30.0%
	Com. Labor	43.0%	31.6%	35.8%	38.0%	79.2%	29.7%
	School Super.	42.4%	31.1%	34.8%	37.3%	78.9%	29.1%
	Public Serv. Com. 3	44.5%	32.9%	37.6%	39.6%	80.6%	30.3%
	Public Serv. Com. 5	43.9%	32.3%	36.8%	38.8%	80.2%	30.1%
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	41.6%	30.4%	36.5%	35.8%	76.9%	28.3%
	Public Serv. Com. 3	42.6%	31.4%	37.5%	37.0%	77.4%	29.1%
2020 General	U.S. President	45.7%	34.7%	42.3%	42.3%	80.3%	31.2%
	U.S. Senator	44.7%	33.8%	39.9%	40.9%	80.4%	30.8%
	Public Serv. Com. 1	43.4%	32.6%	37.8%	39.2%	80.1%	29.6%
	Public Serv. Com. 4	44.0%	33.1%	38.3%	39.8%	80.5%	30.2%
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	46.1%	35.2%	40.5%	41.7%	82.2%	32.3%
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)	46.6%	35.6%	41.3%	42.4%	82.5%	32.4%
	Public Serv. Com. 4	45.1%	34.1%	38.8%	40.5%	81.7%	31.5%
2022 General	U.S. Senator	46.6%	35.3%	42.7%	42.4%	83.4%	31.9%
	Governor	41.8%	31.3%	36.0%	37.0%	80.6%	27.8%
	Lt. Governor	43.4%	32.4%	38.4%	38.8%	81.5%	29.2%
	Sec. of State	41.0%	30.8%	34.5%	36.3%	79.1%	27.5%
	Attorney General	43.1%	32.4%	37.9%	38.6%	81.2%	29.2%
	Com. Agriculture	41.6%	30.8%	35.5%	36.5%	80.8%	27.9%
	Com. Insurance	41.6%	31.2%	35.4%	36.7%	80.3%	28.3%
	Com. Labor	42.2%	31.5%	36.3%	37.3%	81.2%	28.4%
	School Super.	41.7%	31.1%	35.6%	37.0%	80.4%	28.3%

Table 8: Vote Share of Black-Preferred Candidates — Illustrative Map

		CD 6
2012 General	U.S. President	62.3%
2014 General	U.S. Senator	62.7%
	Governor	62.0%
	Lt. Governor	58.2%
	Sec. of State	58.9%
	Attorney General	58.9%
	Com. Agriculture	57.6%
	Com. Insurance	59.8%
	Com. Labor	59.7%
	School Super.	61.3%
2016 General	U.S. President	67.0%
	U.S. Senator	61.8%
2018 General	Governor	70.6%
	Lt. Governor	69.4%
	Sec. of State	70.1%
	Attorney General	69.3%
	Com. Agriculture	67.8%
	Com. Insurance	69.5%
	Com. Labor	68.3%
	School Super.	67.9%
	Public Serv. Com. 3	70.1%
	Public Serv. Com. 5	69.4%
2018 Runoff	Sec. of State	65.7%
	Public Serv. Com. 3	66.3%
2020 General	U.S. President	71.1%
	U.S. Senator	70.4%
	Public Serv. Com. 1	69.5%
	Public Serv. Com. 4	70.0%
2021 Runoff	U.S. Senator (Perdue)	71.7%
	U.S. Senator (Loeffler)	72.2%
	Public Serv. Com. 4	70.8%

Table 9: List of Candidates in Statewide Elections, 2012–2022

		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 Olens	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
2022 General	U.S. Senator	Raphael Warnock	Black	Herschel Junior Walker	Black
	Governor	Stacey Abrams	Black	Brian Kemp	White
	Lt. Governor	Charlie Bailey	White	Burt Jones	White
	Sec. of State	Bee Nguyen	Asian	Brad Raffensperger	White
	Attorney General	Jennifer "Jen" Jordan	White	Chris Carr	White
	Com. Agriculture	Nakita Hemingway	Black	Tyler Harper	White
	Com. Insurance	Janice Laws Robinson	Black	John King	White
	Com. Labor	William "Will" Boddie, Jr	Black	Bruce Thompson	White
	School Super.	Alisha Thomas Searcy	Black	Richard Woods	White

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

## Maxwell Palmer

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APPOINTMENTS	<p><b>Boston University</b>, Boston, Massachusetts</p> <p>Associate Professor, <b>Department of Political Science</b>, 2021–Present</p> <p>Director of Advanced Programs, <b>Dept. of Political Science</b>, 2020–Present</p> <p>Civic Tech Fellow, <b>Faculty of Computing &amp; Data Sciences</b>, 2021–Present</p> <p>Faculty Fellow, <b>Initiative on Cities</b>, 2019–Present</p> <p>Assistant Professor, <b>Department of Political Science</b>, 2014–2021</p> <p>Junior Faculty Fellow, <b>Hariri Institute for Computing</b>, 2017–2020</p>
EDUCATION	<p><b>Harvard University</b>, Cambridge, Massachusetts</p> <p>Ph.D., Political Science, May 2014.</p> <p>A.M., Political Science, May 2012.</p> <p><b>Bowdoin College</b>, Brunswick, Maine</p> <p>A.B., Mathematics &amp; 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"> <li>– Selected chapters republished in <i>Political Science Quarterly</i>.</li> <li>– 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>.</li> <li>– Covered in Vox's "The Weeds" podcast, CityLab, Slate's "Gabfest," Curbed, Brookings Institution Up Front.</li> </ul>
REFEREED ARTICLES	<p>Einstein, Katherine Levine, Joseph Ornstein, and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. "<b>Who Represents the Renters?</b>" <i>Housing Policy Debate</i>.</p> <p>Einstein, Katherine Levine, David Glick, and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. "<b>Developing a pro-housing movement? Public distrust of developers, fractured coalitions, and the challenges of measuring political power.</b>" <i>Interest Groups &amp; Advocacy</i> 11:189–208.</p>

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David Glick, Luisa Godinez Puig, and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. “Still Muted: The Limited Participatory Democracy of Zoom Public Meetings.” *Urban Affairs Review*.

Glick, David M. and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. “County Over Party: How Governors Prioritized Geography Not Particularism in the Distribution of Opportunity Zones.” *British Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 1902–1910.

de Benedictis-Kessner, Justin and Maxwell Palmer. 2021. “Driving Turnout: The Effect of Car Ownership on Electoral Participation.” *Political Science Research and Methods*.

Einstein, Katherine Levine and Maxwell Palmer. 2021. “Land of the Freeholder: How Property Rights Make Voting Rights.” *Journal of Historical Political Economy* 1(4): 499–530.

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 Pressel. 2018. “Do Mayors Run for Higher Office? New Evidence on Progressive Ambition.” *American Politics Research* 48(1) 197–221.

Ansolabehere, 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 Crespín, 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, and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. **Looking back on ARPA and America’s Cities: A Menino Survey Reflection.** Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Einstein, Katherine Levine and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. **Representation in the Housing Process: Best Practices for Improving Racial Equity.** Research Report. The Boston Foundation.

Glick, David M., Katherine Levine Einstein, and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. **2021 Menino Survey of Mayors: Closing the Racial Wealth Gap.** Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

Glick, David M., Katherine Levine Einstein, and 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).

*“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

The Boston Foundation Grant. “2022 Greater Boston Housing Report Card” (Co-principal investigator). 2022. \$70,000.

The Rockefeller Foundation, “Menino Survey of Mayors” (Co-principal investigator). 2021. \$355,000.

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)

*Caster v. Merrill* (No. 2:21-cv-1536-AMM), U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama. Prepared expert report and testified on racially polarized voting in selected districts of the 2021 Alabama congressional district map. (2022)

*Pendergrass v. Raffensperger* (1:21-CV-05339-SCJ), U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially polarized voting in selected districts of the 2021 Georgia congressional district map. (2022)

*Grant v. Raffensperger* (1:22-CV-00122-SCJ), U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially polarized voting in selected districts of the 2021 Georgia state legislative district maps.

(2022)

*Galmon, et al. v. Ardoin* (3:22-cv-00214-SDD-SDJ), U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Louisiana. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially polarized voting for the 2021 Louisiana congressional district map. (2022)

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, Fall 2022)
- *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* (PO 540; Fall 2015, Fall 2022)
- *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, 2020–2022.
- 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–.
  - Political Methodology Search Committee, 2021.

- Delegate, Chair Selection Advisory Process, 2021.
- Comprehensive Exam Committee, American Politics, 2019.
- Comprehensive Exam Committee, Political Methodology, 2016, 2017, 2021.
- Co-organizer, Research in American Politics Workshop, 2016–2018.
- 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*; *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–April 2022.

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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