

Expert Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood

Pendergrass v. Raffensperger, No. 1:21-CV-05339-SCJ (N.D. Ga.)

December 12, 2022

Loren Collingwood

Background and Qualifications

I am an associate professor of political science at the University of New Mexico. Previously, I was an associate professor of political science and co-director of civic engagement at the Center for Social Innovation at the University of California, Riverside. I have published two books with *Oxford University Press*, 39 peer-reviewed journal articles, and nearly a dozen book chapters focusing on sanctuary cities, race/ethnic politics, election administration, and racially polarized voting. I received a Ph.D. in political science with a concentration in political methodology and applied statistics from the University of Washington in 2012 and a B.A. in psychology from the California State University, Chico, in 2002. I have attached my curriculum vitae, which includes an up-to-date list of publications.

In between my B.A. and Ph.D., I spent 3-4 years working in private consulting for the survey research firm Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research in Washington, D.C. I also founded the research firm Collingwood Research, which focuses primarily on the statistical and demographic analysis of political data for a wide array of clients, and lead redistricting and map-drawing and demographic analysis for the Inland Empire Funding Alliance in Southern California. I am the redistricting consultant for the West Contra Costa Unified School District, California, independent redistricting commission, in which I am charged with drawing court-ordered single-member districts.

I have served as an expert witness in a number of cases related to redistricting. I testified for the plaintiff in the Voting Rights Act (VRA) Section 2 case *NAACP v. East Ramapo Central School District*, No. 17 Civ. 8943 (S.D.N.Y.), on which I worked from 2018 to 2020. In that case, I used the statistical software eiCompare and WRU to implement Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding (BISG) to identify the racial/ethnic demographics of voters and estimate candidate preference by race using ecological data. I was also the racially polarized voting (RPV) expert in several cases during this redistricting cycle: *East St. Louis Branch NAACP v. Illinois State Board of Elections*, No. 1:21-cv-05512 (N.D. Ill.), having filed two reports and sat for a deposition; *Johnson v. Wisconsin Elections Commission*, No. 2021AP1450-OA (Wis.), having filed three reports; *Rivera v. Schwab*, No. 2022-CV-000089 (Kan. Dist. Ct.), having filed a report, sat for a deposition, and testified at trial; *LULAC v. Abbott*, No. 3:21-CV-00259-DCG-JES-JVB (W.D. Tex.), having filed three reports and sat for a deposition; *Walen v. Burgum*, No. 1:22-cv-00031-PDW-CRH (D.N.D.), having filed a report and testified at trial; and *Soto Palmer v. Hobbs*, No. 3:22-cv-05035-RSL (W.D. Wash.), having filed a report.

I have also served as an expert witness in other cases related to voting rights more generally. I am the quantitative expert in *LULAC of Iowa v. Pate*, No. CVCV061476 (Iowa Dist. Ct.), and have filed an expert report in that case. I am the BISG expert in *LULAC Texas v. Scott*, No. 1:21-cv-00786-XR (W.D. Tex.), and have filed two reports and been deposed in that case. I am also the RPV expert in *Lower Brule Sioux Tribe v. Lyman County*, No. 3:22-CV-03008-RAL (D.S.D.), where I filed a report and testified at trial.

I am being compensated at a rate of \$400/hour. No part of my compensation is dependent upon the conclusions that I reach or the opinions that I offer.

Executive Summary

- On every metric, Black Georgians are disadvantaged socioeconomically relative to non-Hispanic white Georgians. Blacks are worse off than whites on the following measures: income, unemployment, poverty, health, and educational attainment.
- These socioeconomic disparities have an adverse effect on the ability of Black Georgians to participate in the political process, as measured by voter turnout and other forms of political participation.
- This means that the political system does not respond to Black Georgians in the same way it responds to white Georgians. If the system did respond, we would expect to see fewer gaps in both health and economic indicators and a reduction in voter turnout gaps.
- Instead, Black Georgians vote at significantly lower rates than white Georgians. That is true at the statewide, county, and precinct levels—including in the Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta Metropolitan area. This is also true in the Black Belt region of Georgia.
- The data show a significant relationship between turnout and disparities in health, employment, and education: as health, education, and employment outcomes increase, so does voter turnout in a material way.
- Black Georgians also lag behind white Georgians in other forms of political participation, like making campaign contributions, engaging local officials, and running for office.
- The academic literature overwhelmingly shows that these low levels of political participation are attributable to the socioeconomic disparities discussed above.

My opinions are based on the following data sources: the American Community Survey (ACS) across time; 2020 and 2022 statewide-, county-, and precinct-level voter registration and aggregate turnout data from the Georgia Secretary of State; 2010-2022 statewide voter turnout from the Georgia Secretary of State; 2014-2022 county-level voter turnout data from the Georgia Secretary of State; and the 2020 Cooperative Election Study.

Analysis

A. Senate Factor 5

I have been asked to examine item 5 of what has come to be known as the Senate Factors. During the 1982 Voting Rights Act extension, the Senate Judiciary Committee listed out factors that could be considered in evaluating a Section 2 VRA claim. These factors allow experts to inform the court as to the extent that minorities “are denied equal access to the political process.”

Senate Factor 5 examines the extent that minority group members (here, Black individuals) in a political jurisdiction (in this case the state of Georgia) bear the effects of discrimination in education, employment, and health that hinder said group’s political participation. Without a doubt, my analysis demonstrates that Black Georgians face clear and significant disadvantages in the above areas that reduce their ability to participate in the political process.

This analysis also speaks to Senator Factor 8: whether elected officials are less responsive to the particularized needs of the members of the minority group. My findings show that clear disparities across health and socioeconomic indicators impede Black Georgians' political participation. It follows that the political system is relatively unresponsive to Black Georgians; otherwise, we would not observe such clear disadvantages in healthcare, economics, and education.

B. Socioeconomic Disparities

Starting with the 2015-2019 ACS, I constructed the following metrics for both the Black and white populations in Georgia: household median income; total households reporting income above \$100,000; total households reporting income above \$125,000; households receiving Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP, or food stamps) benefits in the past 12 months; percent of the population living below the poverty line in the last 12 months; percent of children living below the poverty line; percent of adults living below the poverty line; percent of the population over the age of 25 with a high school diploma; percent of the population over the age of 25 with a college degree; unemployment rate; percent of the population reporting a disability; and percent of the population reporting health insurance. These metrics reflect broad racial disparities in education, employment, and health.

As shown in Table 1, there are clear racial disparities in employment. The unemployment rate among Black Georgians (8.7%) is nearly double that of white Georgians (4.4%). And disparities persist among those *with* employment: white households are twice as likely as Black households to report an annual income above \$100,000. Black Georgians, meanwhile, were more than twice as likely—and Black children in particular more than three times as likely—to live below the poverty line over the past year. Black Georgians were nearly three times more likely than white Georgians to receive SNAP benefits.

On education, Black adults over the age of 25 are more likely than their white peers to lack a high school diploma (13.3% compared to 9.4%). These disparities fare no better in higher education: 35% of white adults over the age of 25 have obtained a bachelor's degree or higher compared to 24% of their Black counterparts.

Finally, on health, the Black population in Georgia is more likely to report a disability (11.8% compared to 10.9% for whites) and is more likely to lack health insurance (18.9% compared to 14.2% among 19-64 year-olds). All told, the numbers convey consistent racial disparities across economics, health, employment, and education.

I also reproduced the same analyses using the 2016-2020 ACS. As shown in Table 2, the racial disparities reported above hold across the different economic, health, employment, and education metrics.

	Black	White	White - Black
Median Household Income	\$44670	\$67955	\$23285
Pct. HH Income > \$100K	0.165	0.322	0.157
Pct. HH Income > \$125K	0.096	0.224	0.128
Pct. HH receiving SNAP	0.227	0.077	-0.15
Pct. below poverty line	0.215	0.101	-0.114
Pct. below poverty line, children	0.313	0.115	-0.198
Pct. below poverty line, VAP	0.18	0.098	-0.082
Pct. w/ Less than HS Diploma	0.133	0.094	-0.039
Pct. w/ Bachelor's Degree or higher	0.24	0.351	0.111
Pct. Unemployed	0.087	0.044	-0.043
Pct Disabled, ages 19-64	0.118	0.109	-0.009
Pct. Uninsured, ages 19-64	0.189	0.142	-0.047

Table 1. Socioeconomic indicators across Black and white Georgians, 2015-2019 ACS.

	Black	White	White - Black
Median Household Income	\$46964	\$70784	\$23820
Pct. HH Income > \$100K	0.18	0.34	0.16
Pct. HH Income > \$125K	0.108	0.24	0.132
Pct. HH receiving SNAP	0.222	0.071	-0.151
Pct. below poverty line	0.201	0.098	-0.103
Pct. below poverty line, children	0.293	0.108	-0.185
Pct. below poverty line, VAP	0.169	0.095	-0.074
Pct. w/ Less than HS Diploma	0.124	0.088	-0.036
Pct. w/ Bachelor's Degree or higher	0.251	0.358	0.107
Pct. Unemployed	0.085	0.043	-0.042
Pct Disabled, ages 19-64	0.121	0.109	-0.012
Pct. Uninsured, ages 19-64	0.187	0.141	-0.046

Table 2. Socioeconomic indicators across Black and white Georgians, 2016-2020 ACS.

These patterns hold across nearly every county in the state. Using the 2015-2019 ACS, I gathered the same metrics at the county level and considered only counties with at least 1,000 white and 1,000 Black residents. Georgia has 159 counties; of these, 141 meet this threshold. Whites have a higher median household income than Blacks in 136 of 141 of these counties.¹ Just two counties—Habersham and Paulding—feature a higher Black median household income (Habersham: \$64,286 vs. \$50,418; Paulding: \$50,418 vs. \$68,843). Among households making more than \$100,000, whites have an advantage over Blacks in 140 of the 141 counties.

Turning to SNAP, a higher percentage of Blacks have relied on SNAP in the past 12 months than whites in 140 of the 141 counties. In 136 of the 141 counties, Blacks are more likely to live below the poverty line than are whites. And in 130 of the 141 counties, whites are more likely than Blacks to have a 4-year college degree or higher.

¹ The ACS does not provide median income for Black households in three counties so these counties are treated as missing for this median household income comparison.

While the county distribution is not as pronounced with respect to unemployment and uninsured status, these disparities are still heavily weighted towards Black disadvantage. Blacks have a higher unemployment rate than whites in 118 of the 141 counties (84%), and the share of the population that is uninsured is higher for Blacks than for whites in 92 of the 141 counties (65%).²

C. Effect on Political Participation

1. Academic Literature

Socioeconomic disparities like these unquestionably affect political participation. There is a vast literature in political science that demonstrates a strong and consistent link between socioeconomic status (SES) and voter turnout. In general, voters with higher income and education are disproportionately likely to vote and participate in American politics (Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980; Leighley and Nagler 2013; Nie et al. 1996; Mayer 2011). Brady, Verba, and Schlozman (1995) argue that resources—conceptualized as time, money, and civic skills (all related to education and income)—drive donation behavior, campaign volunteering, and voting. These broad SES findings hold using a variety of research designs. For example, Henderson (2018) uses a hookworm eradication program haphazardly (i.e., at random) applied to counties in the early 20th century South (the program exogenously covaries with educational attainment) to show a causal relationship between education and political participation.

Other research is in accord. Avery (2015) indicates that states with higher income inequality have greater income bias in turnout. Shah and Wichowsky (2019) show a link between home foreclosures and participation: Neighborhoods with a higher share of home foreclosures during the 2008 financial crisis subsequently experienced a drop in voter turnout, and affected individuals were less likely to vote in future elections. And findings in Pacheco and Fletcher (2015) indicate an association between self-reported health and voter turnout.

This overwhelming academic literature shows that the socioeconomic disadvantages suffered by Black Georgians affect their ability to participate in the political process.

This means that the political system does not respond to Black Georgians in the same way it responds to white Georgians. If the system did respond, we would expect to see fewer gaps in both health and economic indicators and a reduction in voter turnout gaps. A clear and consistent finding in political science research demonstrates that elected officials do not respond to constituent inquiry from minorities as readily as they do to white constituents (Barreto et al. 2004; Costa, 2017; White et al., 2015).

2. Voter Turnout

When Georgians register to vote, they indicate their race. The Georgia Secretary of State maintains yearly statewide-, county-, and precinct-level voter registration and turnout by race. I gathered

² My conclusions about the reported racial disparities do not change when relying on the 2016-2020 ACS.

these data for the 2020 and 2022 general elections.³ To calculate voter turnout, for both Black and white Georgians, I divided the total number of Black and white people who voted by the total number of the respective registered voter counts.

a. Statewide Analysis

For the years 2010-2022, I gathered statewide turnout data by race. The 2010-2012 turnout data is only available on the Secretary of State's website at the statewide level. Table 3 displays even-year statewide general election voter turnout by race across the 2010-2022 time period. This is a comprehensive list of elections as it covers both midterm and presidential election cycles.

For each election cycle, registered white voters turned out at higher rates than did registered Black voters. For instance, during the 2022 midterm election, whites turned out at 58.3%, whereas Blacks turned out at 45.0%, which translates into a gap of 13.3 percentage points in turnout. A similar gap (12.6%) is visible in the 2020 presidential election cycle. This Black-white gap is most narrow during President Obama's 2012 re-election – at 3.1% -- but in every single case whites vote at a noticeably higher rate than do Blacks.

Year	Black TO	White TO	Gap	Total Turnout
2022	45	58.3	-13.3	50.5
2020	60	72.6	-12.6	65.7
2018	53.9	62.2	-8.3	56.4
2016	56.2	67.9	-11.6	62
2014	40.6	47.5	-6.9	42.9
2012	72.6	75.7	-3.1	72.9
2010	50.4	55.9	-5.5	52.1

Table 3. Statewide voter turnout by race, 2010-2022.

b. Countywide Analysis

Next, I compared the share of a county's white registrants who voted in 2022 against the share of a county's Black registrants who voted in 2022. Figure 1 visually compares turnout (denominator is registration) between whites and Blacks across the state's counties. In almost every single county, white registrants voted at higher rates than did Black registrants. This is visually demonstrated by the fact that almost all of the dots (counties) fall below the blue identity line, as opposed to above. Only in Chattahoochee and Liberty Counties did Black registrants cast ballots

³ This data was previously available at: https://sos.ga.gov/index.php/elections/general_election_turnout_by_demographics_november_2020.

at (slightly) higher rates than did white registrants. Using 2020 data, I find nearly identical results, as illustrated in Figure 2.

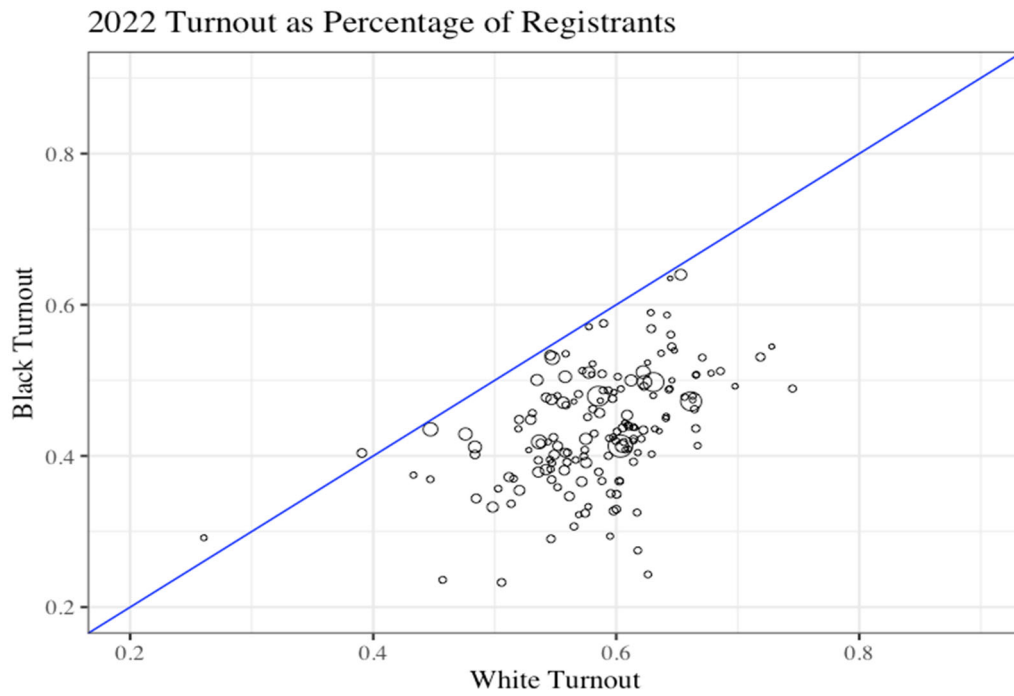


Figure 1. 2022 turnout by county; white-Black differential based on voter registration.

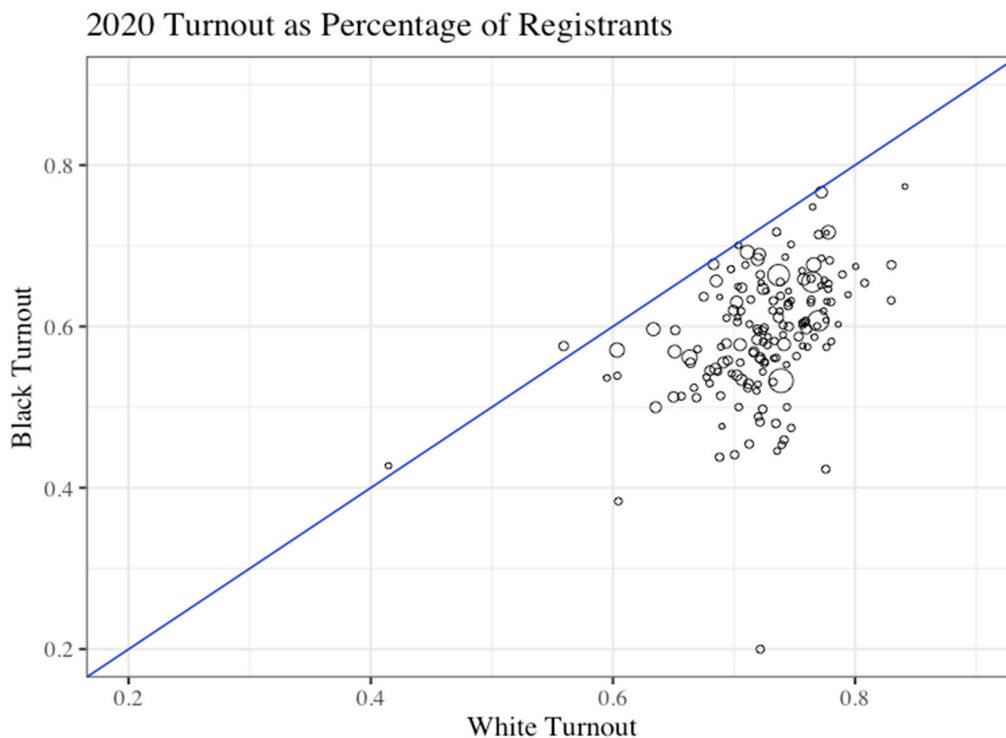


Figure 2. 2020 turnout by county; white-Black differential based on voter registration.

Below, Figures 3 and 4 plot out the same relationship but swap out registration for voting age population (VAP) as the denominator. The relationship is very similar using both 2022 and 2020 turnout data. Stated differently, the substantive findings do not change regarding which denominator is selected: white Georgians clearly vote at higher rates than Black Georgians.

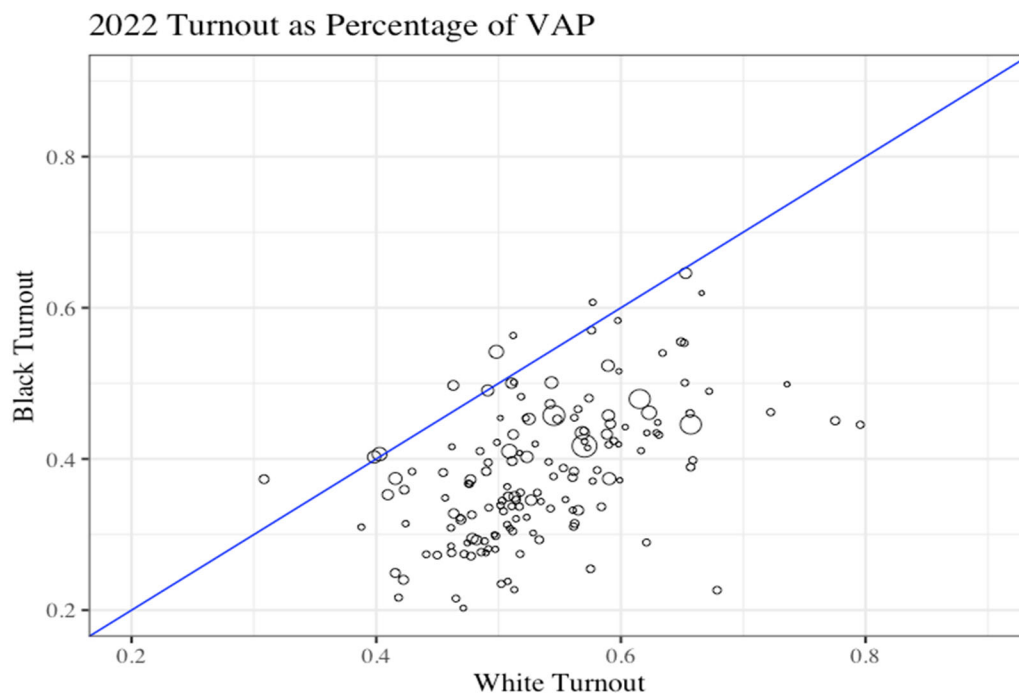


Figure 3. 2020 turnout by county; white-Black differential based on VAP.

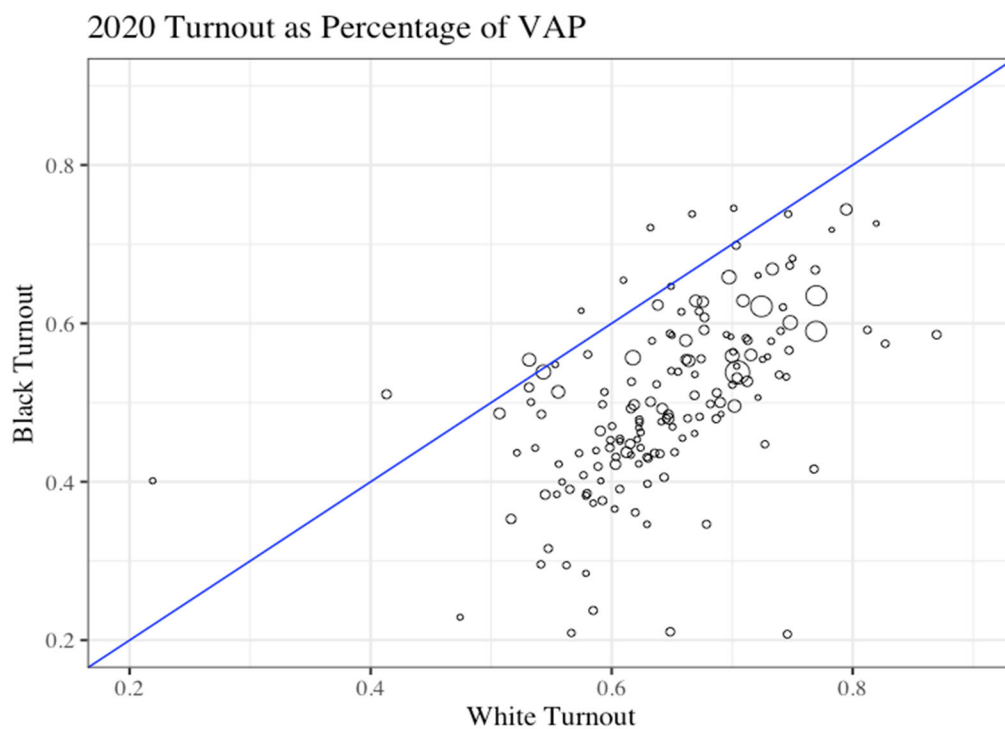


Figure 4. 2020 turnout by county; white-Black differential based on VAP.

I also replicated the white-Black turnout differential analysis for the 2014-2018 elections because such data are readily available from the Georgia Secretary of State. Figure 5 plots out the 2018 white vs. Black turnout gap and demonstrates substantively the same trends discussed above. Figures 6 and 7 present the same analyses for the 2016 and 2014 elections, respectively.

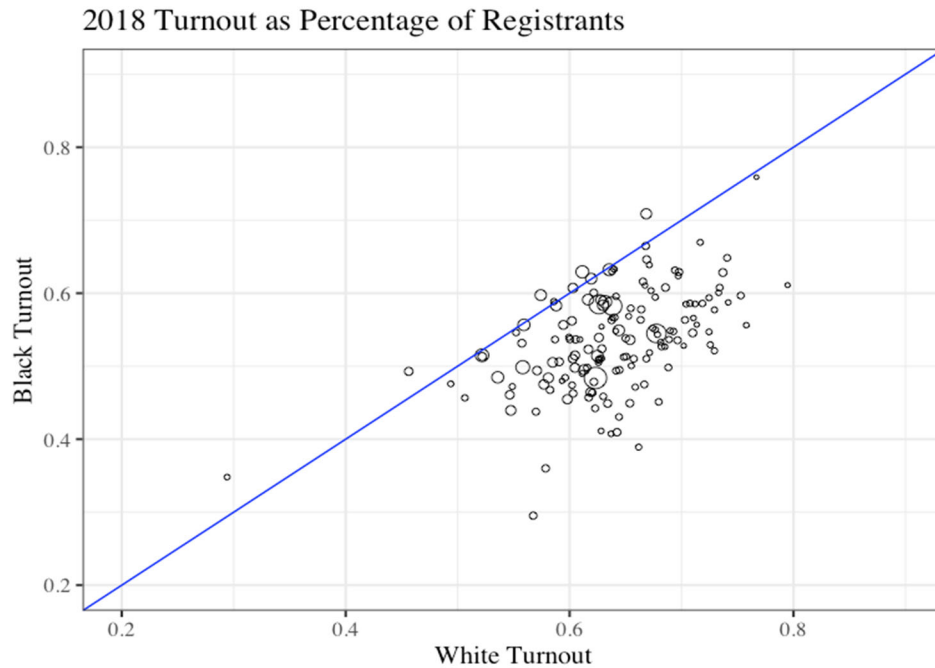


Figure 5. 2018 turnout by county; white-Black differential based on voter registration.

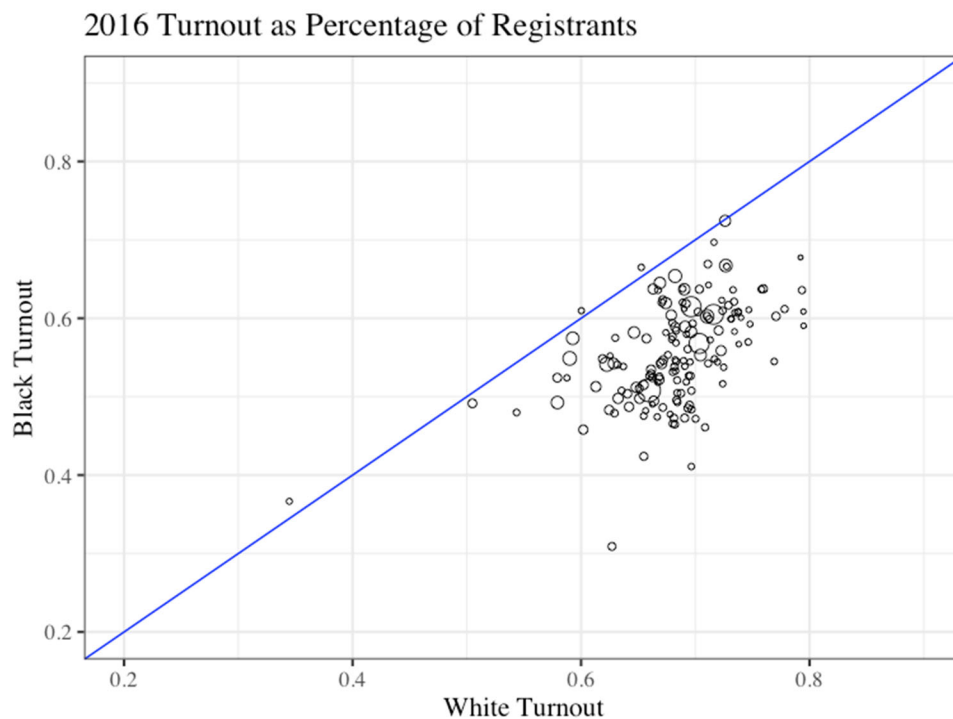


Figure 6. 2016 turnout by county; white-Black differential based on voter registration.

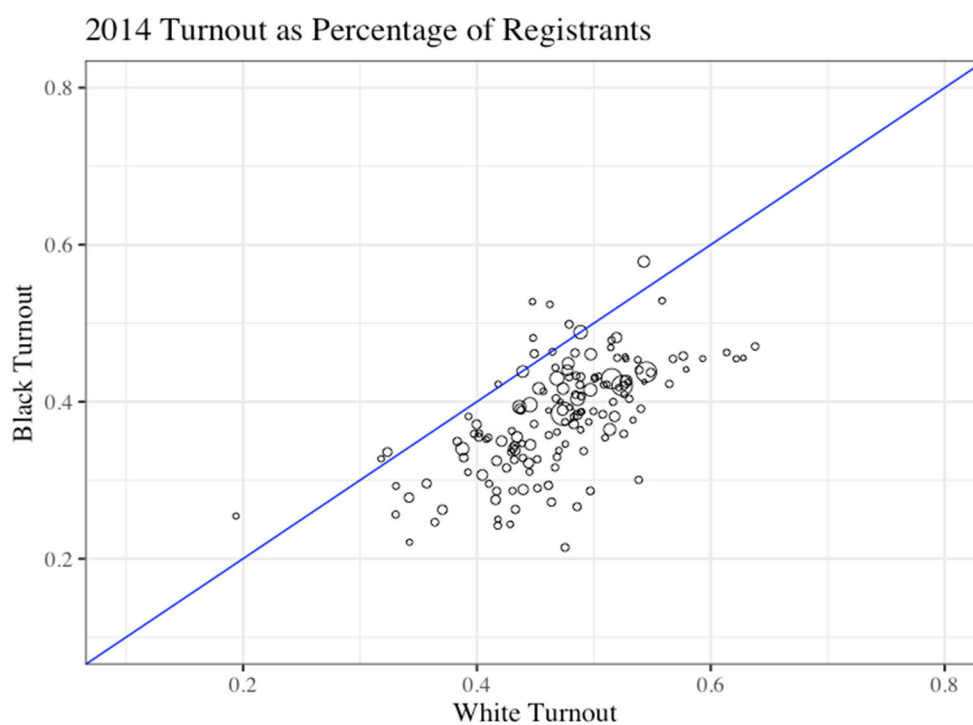


Figure 7. 2014 turnout by county; white-Black differential based on voter registration.

c. Precinct-Level Analysis

I replicated the 2020 and 2022 county analysis with Georgia precincts gathered from the Secretary of State's website.⁴ The 2020 precinct file contains 2,784 precincts across the state and the 2022 precinct file contains 2,852 precincts. Both files include both registration and votes cast for whites and Blacks. I then subset the datasets to precincts with more than 100 Blacks and 100 whites to reduce the influence of outliers—namely, extremely small precincts. This resulted in a total of 1,957 precincts in the 2020 data and 2,010 precincts in the 2022 data.

The analysis of precinct-level turnout does not change the core substance of the reported findings. Of the 1,957 precincts in 2020, whites have a higher turnout in 1,549 (79.2%) precincts and Blacks in only 408 (20.8%) precincts. In 2022, whites have a higher turnout in 1,629 (81.0%) of the precincts, while Blacks have a turnout advantage in only 381 (19.0%) of the precincts. Figures 8 and 9 visually display the results, which are consistent with both the statewide and county analyses. The clear majority of precinct dots fall below the blue identity line.

⁴ This data was previously available at: https://sos.ga.gov/index.php/elections/general_election_turnout_by_demographics_november_2020.

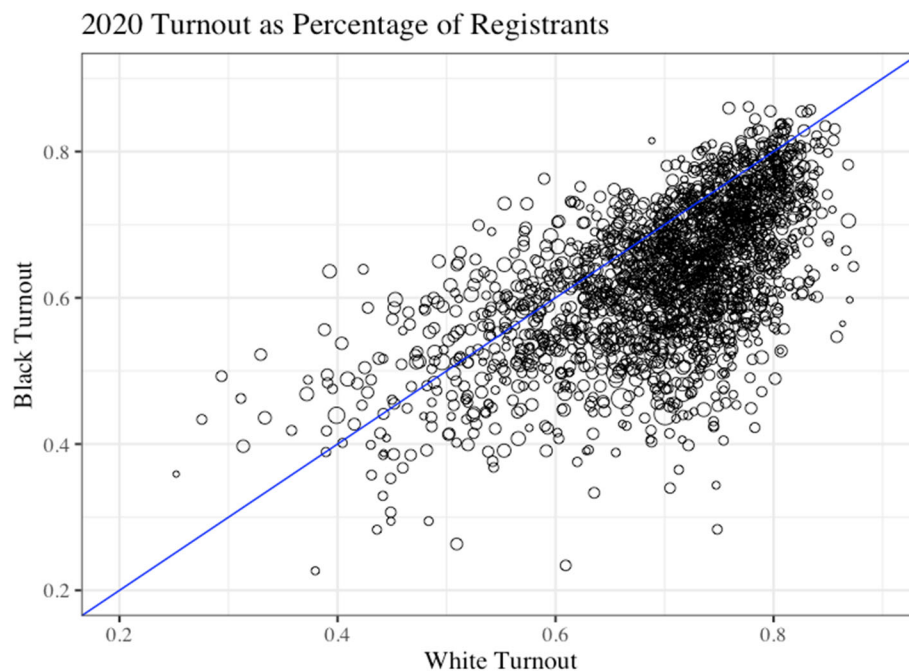


Figure 8. 2020 turnout by precinct; white-Black differential based on voter registration.

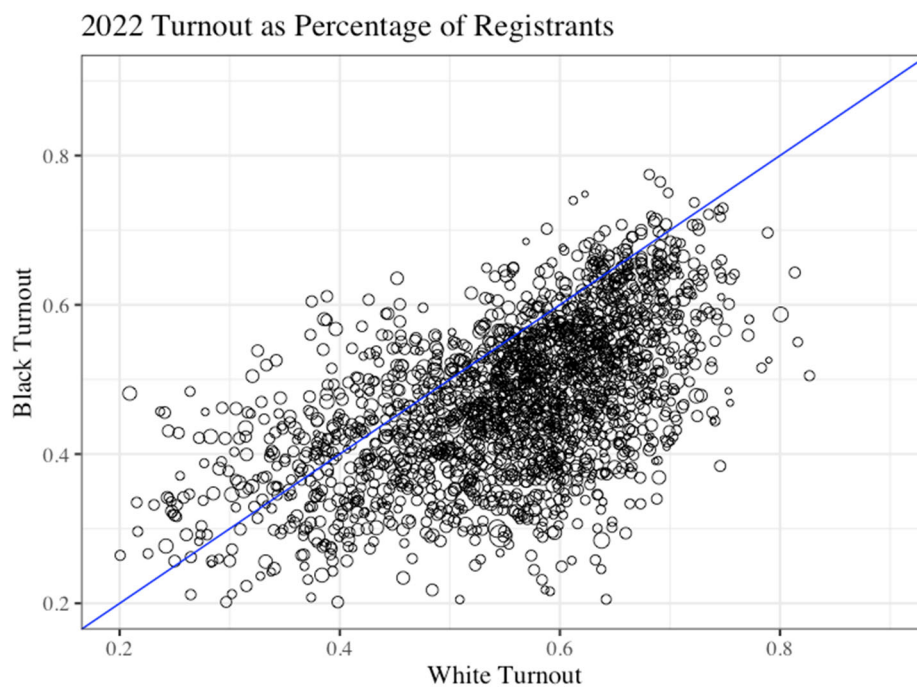


Figure 9. 2020 turnout by precinct; white-Black differential based on voter registration.

d. Analysis of Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta Metropolitan Area

I also examined Black vs. white voter turnout rates in the Atlanta metropolitan area and Black Belt. For the former, I analyzed a subset Georgia counties: those in the Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta Metropolitan Statistical Area.⁵ Figures 10 through 13 plot out the white vs. Black turnout gap in the 2020 and 2022 general elections based on both registration and voting age population as the denominators. The trend is very similar to the overall statewide trend. In the 2020 election, Black turnout was not higher than white turnout in any of the counties. This result is consistent with the 2022 election, except that Black turnout very slightly exceeded white turnout in only three counties (Clayton, Henry, and Rockdale) when using voting age population, rather than registration, as the denominator.

⁵ The counties include: Barrow, Bartow, Butts, Carroll, Cherokee, Clayton, Cobb, Coweta, Dawson, DeKalb, Douglas, Fayette, Forsyth, Fulton, Gwinnett, Haralson, Heard, Henry, Jasper, Lamar, Meriwether, Morgan, Newton, Paulding, Pickens, Pike, Rockdale, Spalding, and Walton.

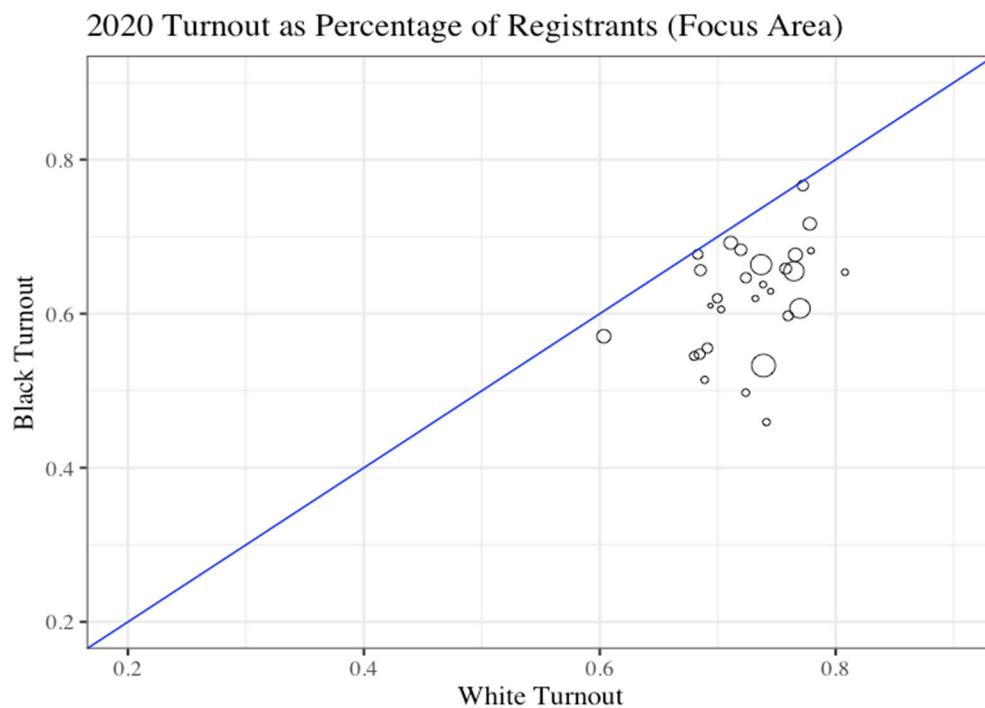


Figure 10. 2020 turnout by county in Atlanta metropolitan area; white-Black differential based on voter registration.

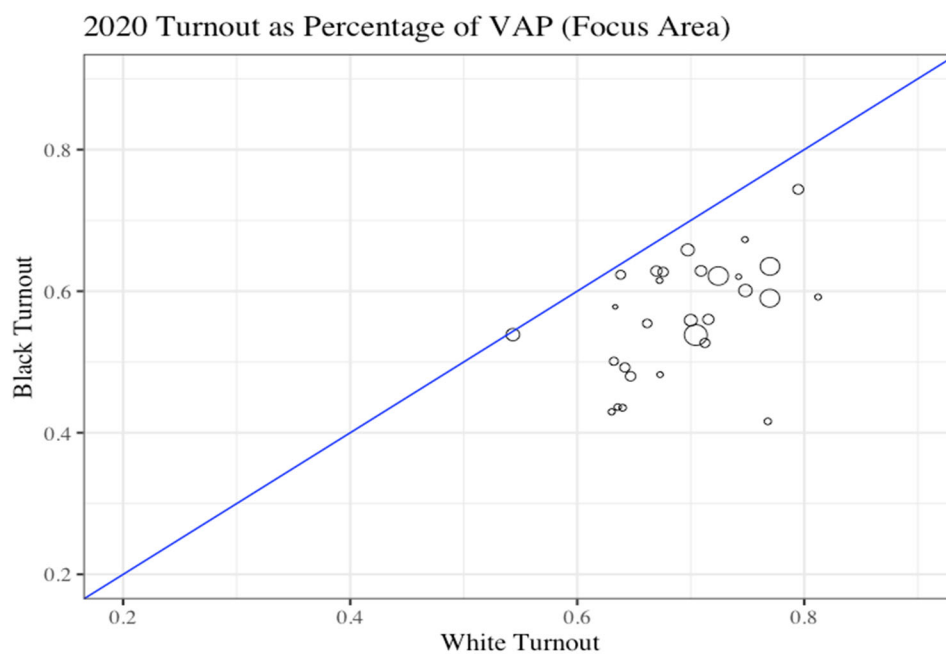


Figure 11. 2020 turnout by county in Atlanta metropolitan area; white-Black differential based on VAP.

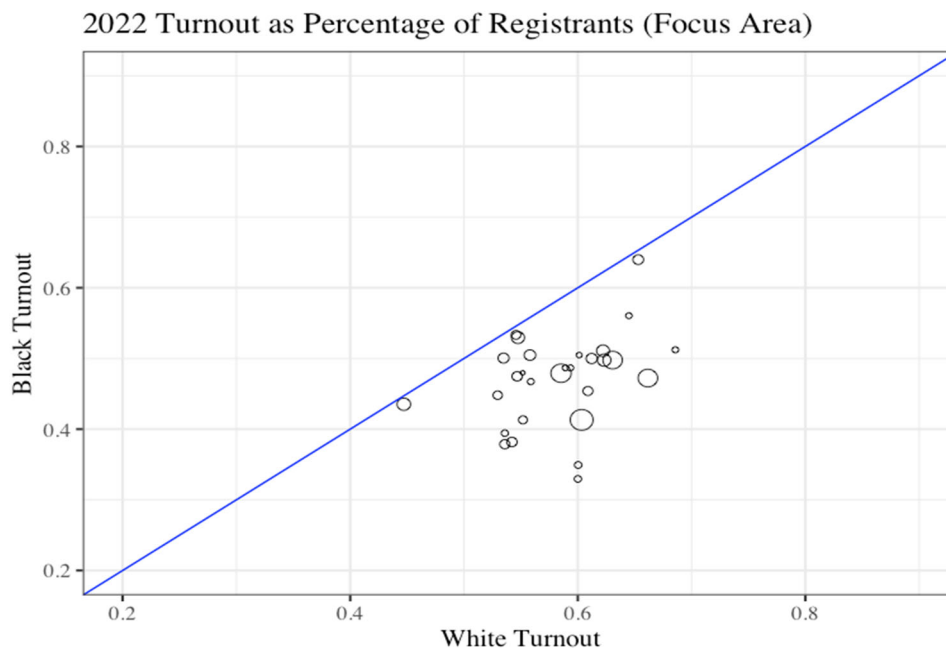


Figure 12. 2022 turnout by county in Atlanta metropolitan area; white-Black differential based on voter registration.

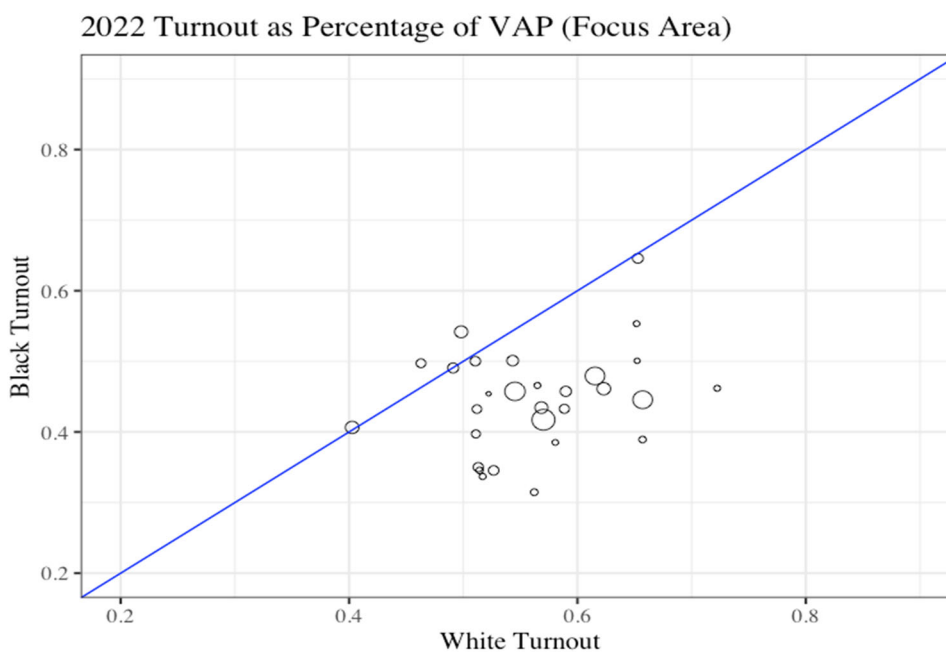


Figure 13. 2020 turnout by county in Atlanta metropolitan area; white-Black differential based on VAP.

Finally, I conducted the same analysis among precincts falling in the same set of counties. Again, as shown in Figures 14 and 15, whites vote at higher rates than do Blacks in the overwhelming majority of precincts.

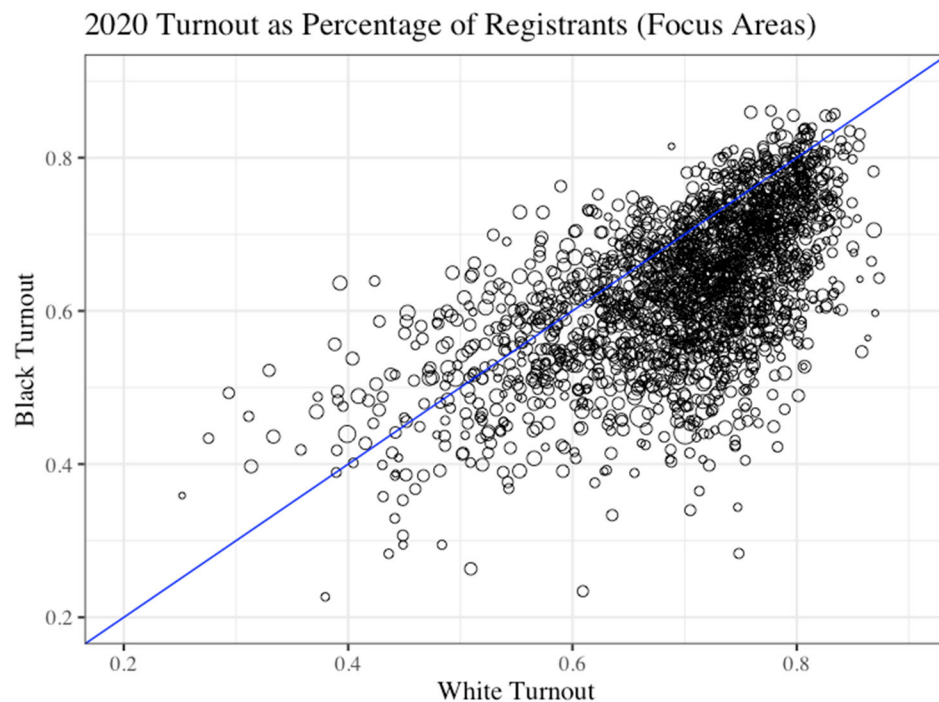


Figure 14. 2020 turnout by precinct in Atlanta metropolitan area; white-Black differential based on voter registration.

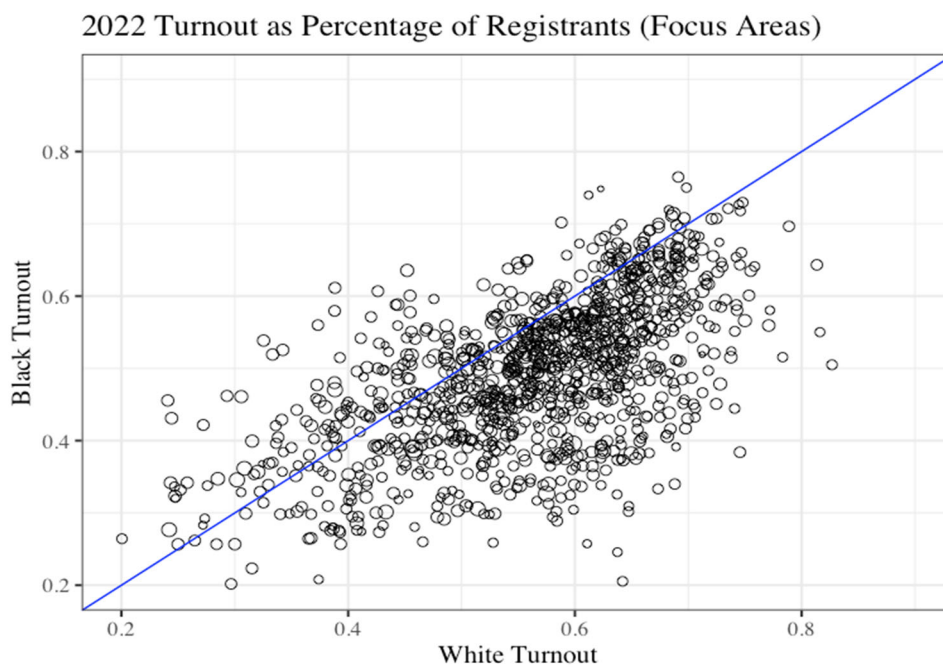


Figure 15. 2022 turnout by precinct in Atlanta metropolitan area; white-Black differential based on voter registration.

e. Analysis of the Black Belt Area

As an additional set of analyses, I examined 2020 and 2022 Black vs. white voter turnout rates in the traditional “Black Belt” area of the state. The geographic area includes the following counties, which I subset the data to: Baker, Bibb, Burke, Calhoun, Chattahoochee, Clay, Dooly, Dougherty, Early, Glascock, Hancock, Houston, Jefferson, Lee, Macon, Marion, McDuffie, Miller, Mitchell, Muscogee, Peach, Quitman, Randolph, Richmond, Schley, Stewart, Sumter, Talbot, Taliaferro, Taylor, Terrell, Twiggs, Warren, Washington, Webster, and Wilkinson.

Figures 16 through 19 plot out the Black vs. white turnout gap based on both registration and VAP in this area. The trend is very similar to the overall statewide trend for both the 2020 and 2022 general elections.

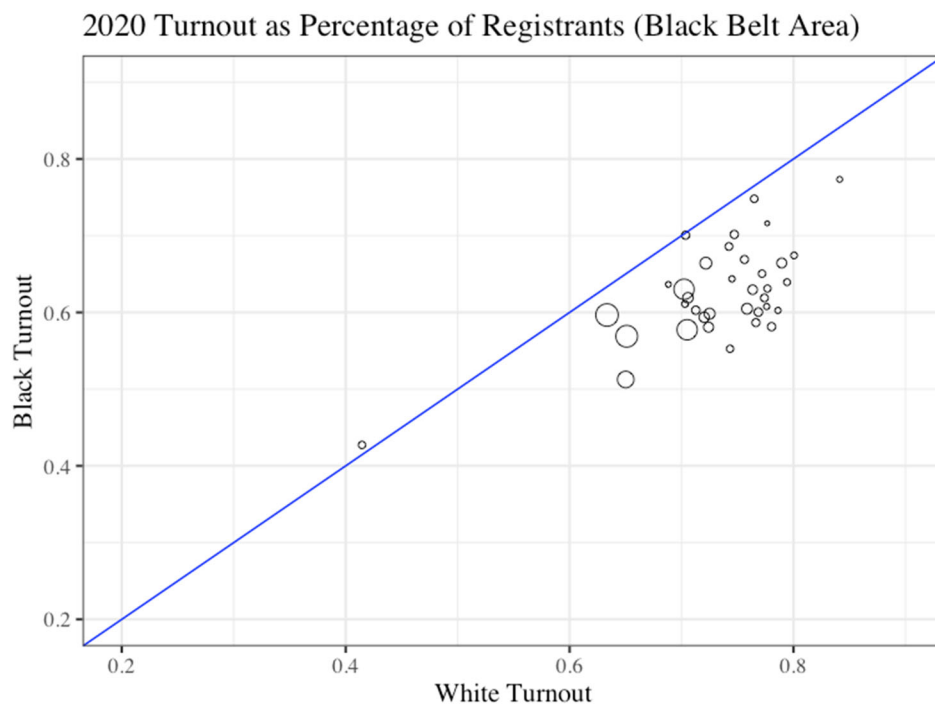


Figure 16. 2020 turnout by county in Black Belt; white-Black differential based on voter registration.

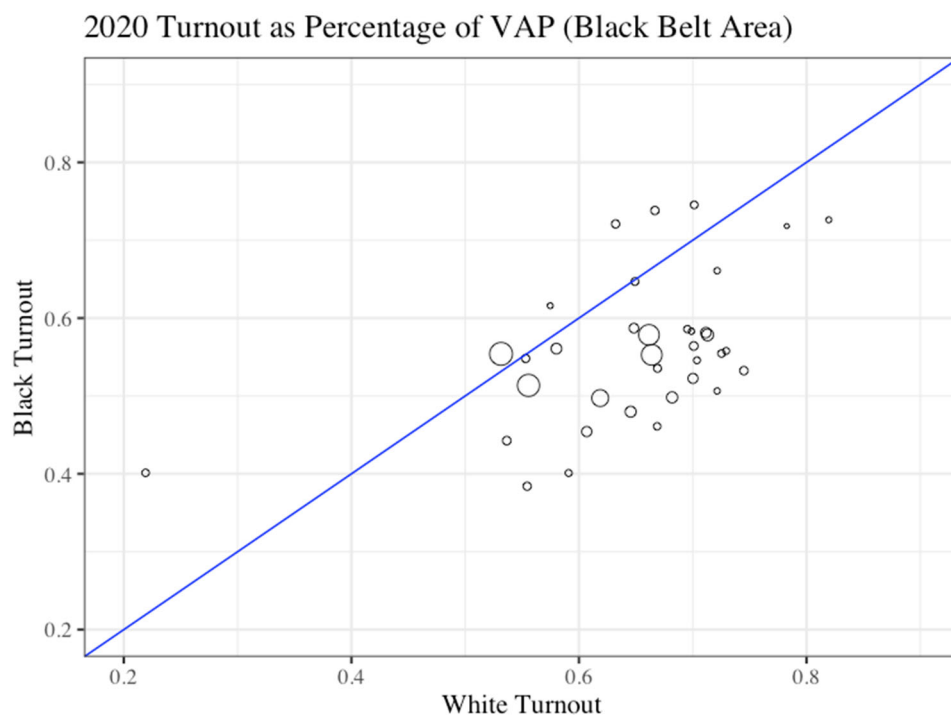


Figure 17. 2020 turnout by county in Black Belt; white-Black differential based on VAP.

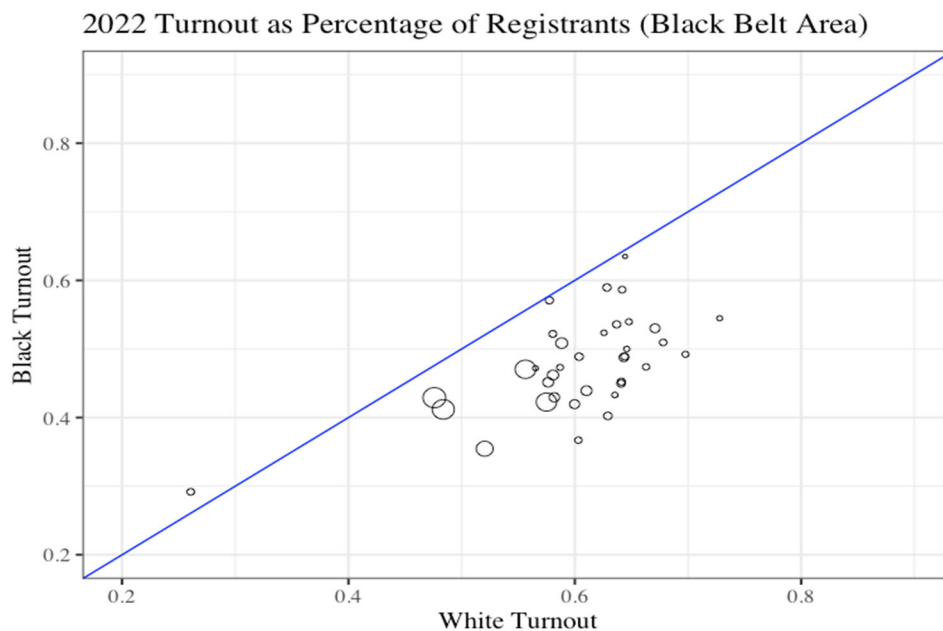


Figure 18. 2022 turnout by county in Black Belt; white-Black differential based on voter registration.

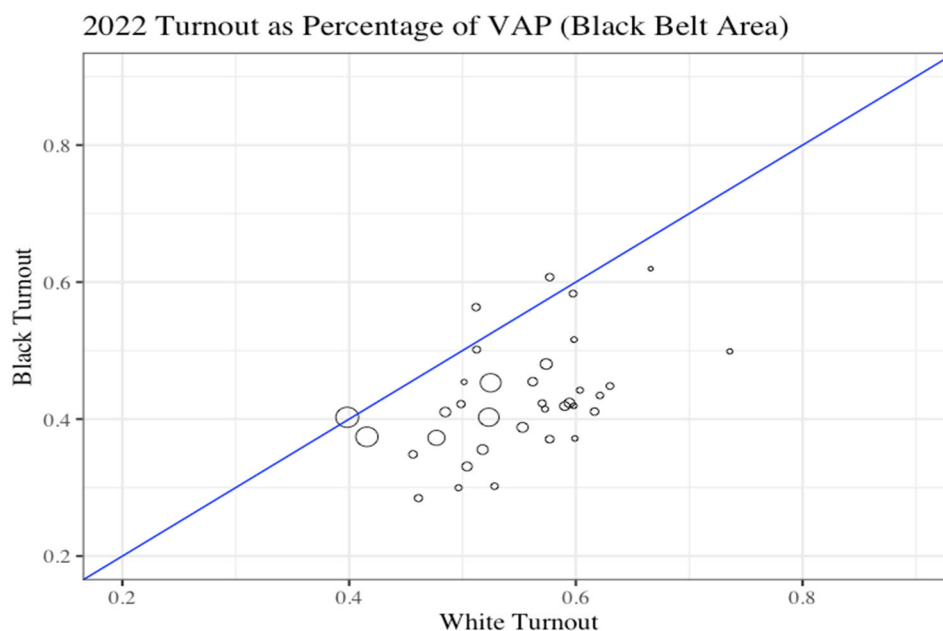


Figure 19. 2020 turnout by county in Black Belt; white-Black differential based on VAP.

Similar to the analysis in the Atlanta metropolitan area, I examined the white-Black turnout differential among precincts falling into the set of Black Belt counties. As depicted in Figures 20 and 21, once again, I find that whites vote at higher rates than do Blacks in the clear majority of the precincts.

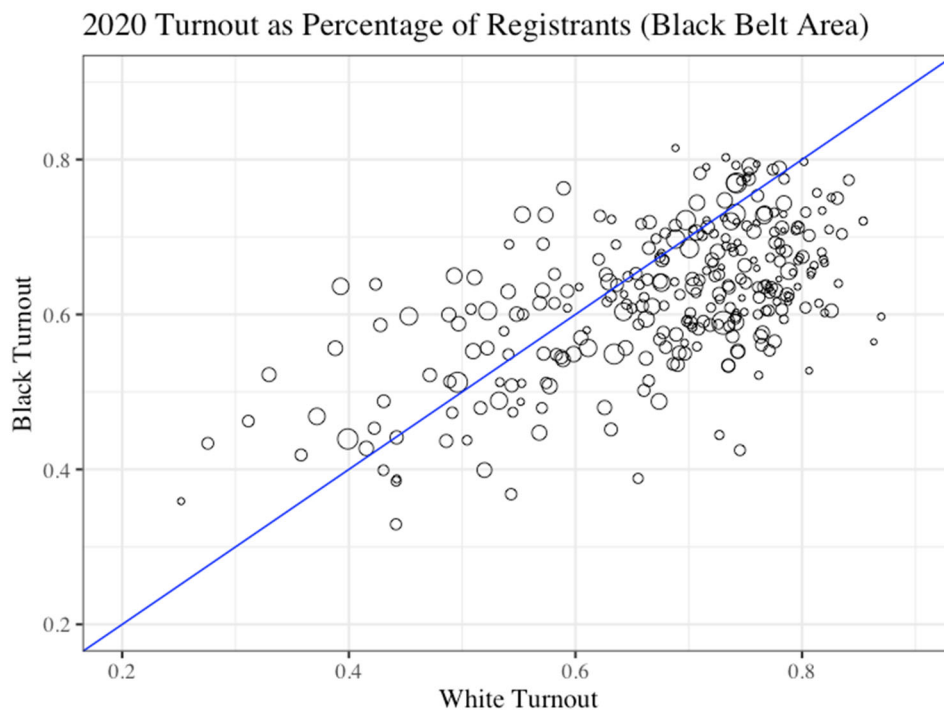


Figure 20. 2020 turnout by precinct in Black Belt; white-Black differential based on voter registration.

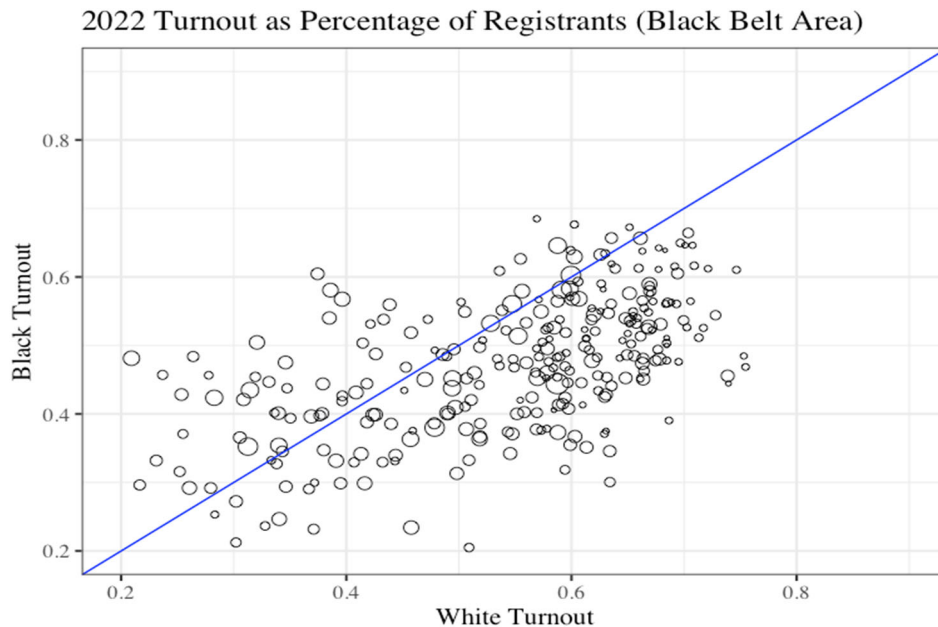


Figure 21. 2022 turnout by precinct in Black Belt; white-Black differential based on voter registration.

f. Relationship Between Turnout in 2020 and Socioeconomic Disparities

This section examines how the documented turnout differences are related to the socioeconomic disparities discussed at the outset of this report, like education and income, using both the 2015-2019 and 2016-2020 ACS datasets. Specifically, I examined the county-level relationship between different measures of Black educational attainment and Black voter turnout using the 2020 general election data.⁶ Figure 22 plots out the relationship between percent Black with less than a high school education and Black voter turnout using the 2015-2019 ACS.⁷ The blue line is the bivariate regression line ($\beta = -0.35$, $p < 0.001$), which shows that each 10-percentage-point increase in the size of the Black population without a high school degree decreases Black turnout by 3.5 percentage points. The difference between counties with the highest percentage of Black population with less than a high school education compared to counties with the lowest percentage of Black population with less than a high school degree (referred to as “min-max effects”)⁸ surmounts to a decline of 11.8 [7.0, 16.5] percentage points in the Black turnout.

Figure 23 shows that these relationships hold when relying on the 2016-2020 ACS estimates for educational attainment. Specifically, a 10-percentage-point increase in the size of the Black population without a high school degree corresponds to a statistically significant 3.8 percentage point ($p < 0.001$) decline in the Black turnout. The corresponding min-max decline in turnout is 12.4 [7.5, 17.3] percentage points.

⁶ I replicated this analysis using 2022 turnout data, as shown in subsection (g).

⁷ For each analysis I subset the data to counties with more than 1,000 registered Black voters. I do this to avoid outlier issues that can emerge with smaller counties. However, this subset does not change in any substantive way the results compared to a full data analysis. All regression analyses are weighted by total Black registration in the county.

⁸ Min-max effect is the discrete change of moving from minimum to maximum value of the independent variable (for example, percent black population without high school education). Ninety-five percent (95%) confidence intervals for each estimate are reported in brackets.

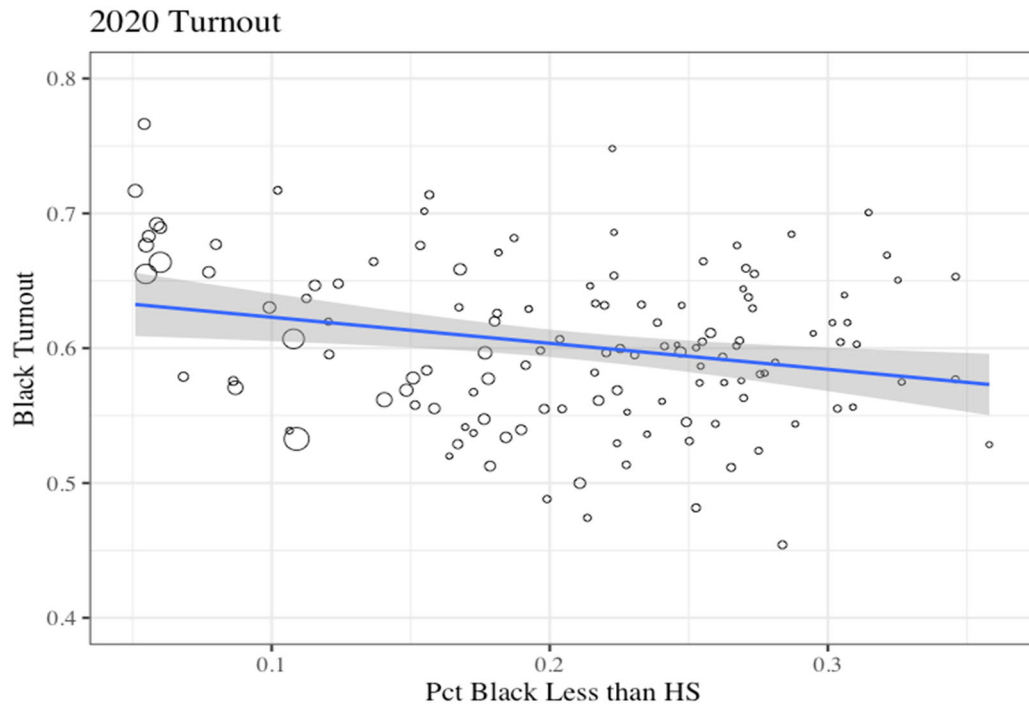


Figure 22. Association between Black less than high school education and 2020 Black turnout (2015-2019 ACS).

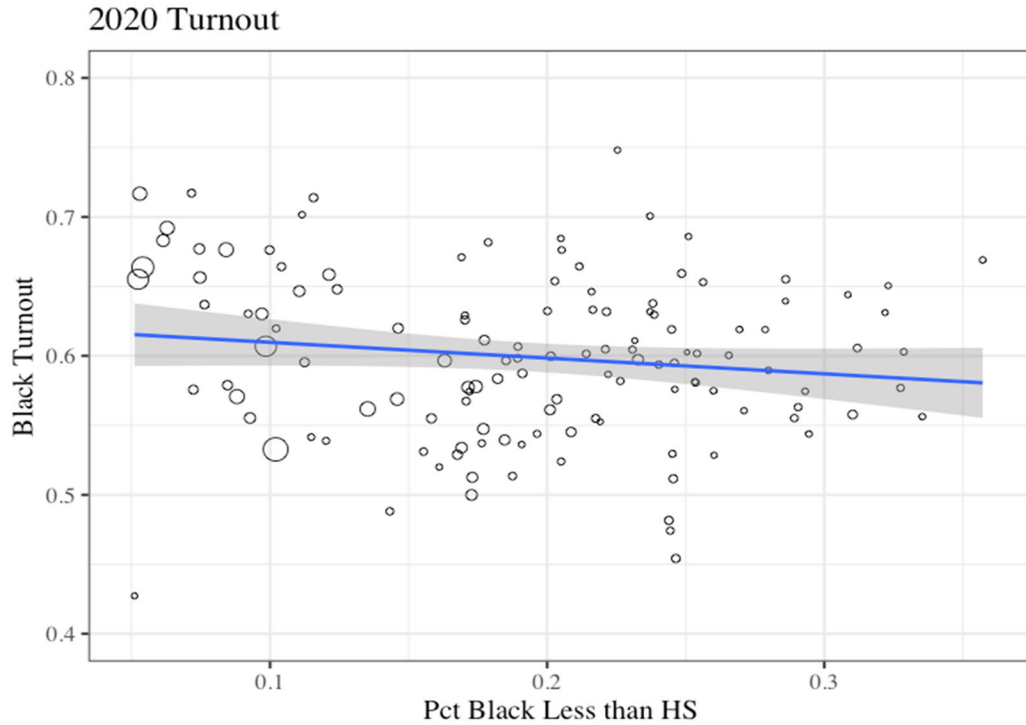


Figure 23. Association between Black less than high school education and 2020 Black turnout (2016-2020 ACS).

Figure 24 plots the relationship between the share of Blacks with a 4-year college degree and the share of Black registrants who voted by county. The relationship paints an inverse picture to the previous plot. As a county's Black education rises, so does the turnout rate. A bivariate regression reveals a statistically significant relationship ($\beta = 0.23$, $p < 0.001$), indicating that Black turnout rises 2.3 percentage points for each 10-percentage-point increase in percent Black 4-year degree, with a min-max effect size of 11.2 [6.9, 15.5] percentage points.

Figure 25 represents the same analysis using the 2016-2020 ACS. As shown, Black turnout increases by 2.1 percentage points for each 10-percentage-point increase in percent Black 4-year degree, with a min-max effect size of 11.8 [7.1, 16.6] percentage points. In both cases, I find statistically and substantively significant relationships between educational attainment and turnout, indicating that counties with lower levels of Black education are less likely than counties with higher levels of education to turnout.

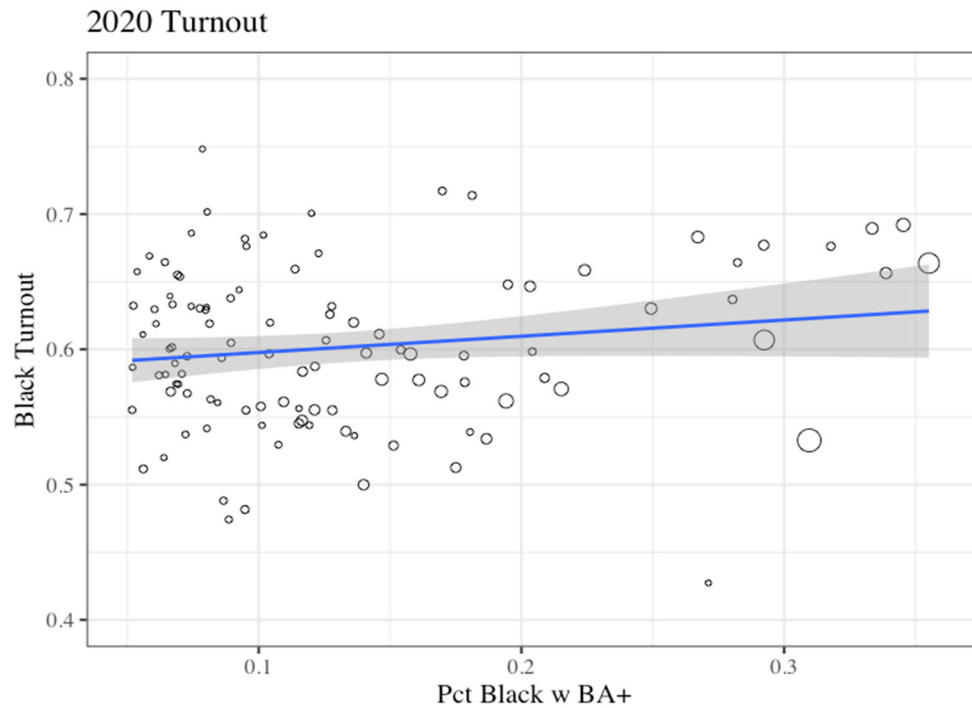


Figure 24. Association between Black 4-year degree and 2020 Black turnout (2015-2019 ACS).

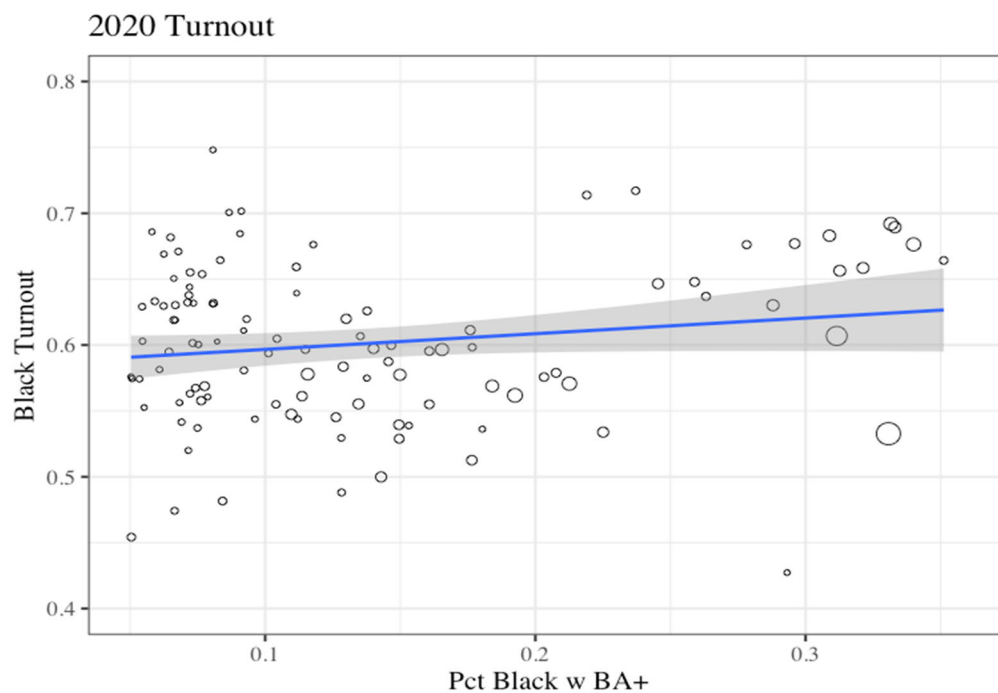


Figure 25. Association between Black 4-year degree and 2020 Black turnout (2016-2020 ACS).

Turning to income-related measures, Figure 26 plots out the relationship between the share of Blacks below the poverty line and the share of Black registrants who voted by county. As a county's Black poverty rises, the turnout rate declines. A bivariate regression reveals a statistically significant relationship ($\beta = -0.49$, $p < 0.001$), indicating that Black turnout falls 4.9 percentage points for each 10-percentage-point increase in percent Black below the poverty line. The min-max effect size is a decline of 25.7 [20.4, 31.1] percentage points in turnout, which is a substantively large gap between counties with the lowest Black poverty levels and those with the highest Black poverty levels.

Figure 27 visually depicts the same associations using the 2016-2020 ACS data. A 10-percentage-point increase in percent Black below the poverty line corresponds to a statistically significant 5.0 percentage point ($p < 0.001$) decline in turnout. The difference in turnout levels between counties with the highest and lowest poverty levels amounts to a 21.1 [16.6, 25.6] percentage point gap.

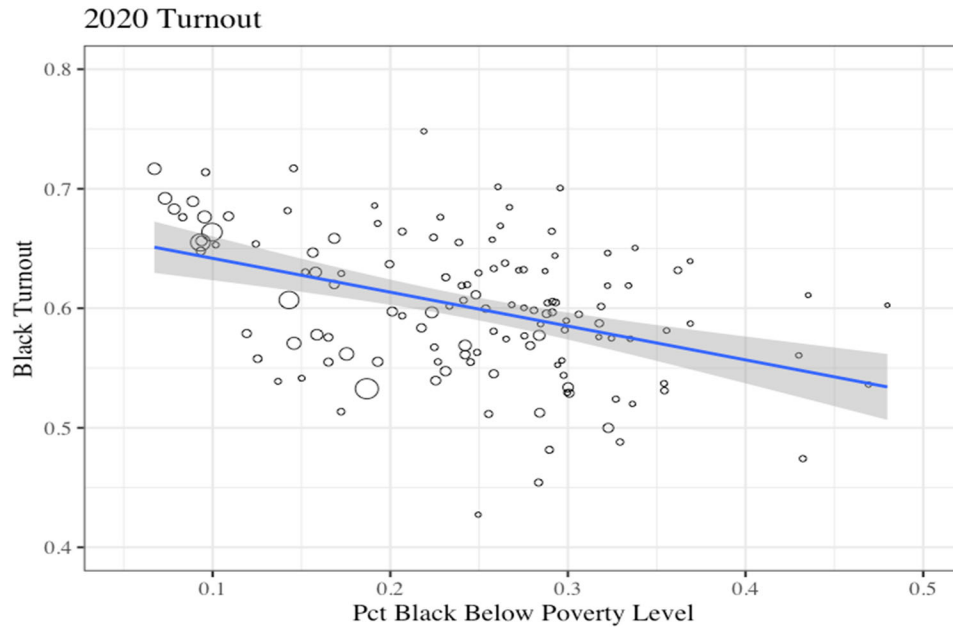


Figure 26. Association between Black poverty rates and 2020 Black turnout (2015-2019 ACS).

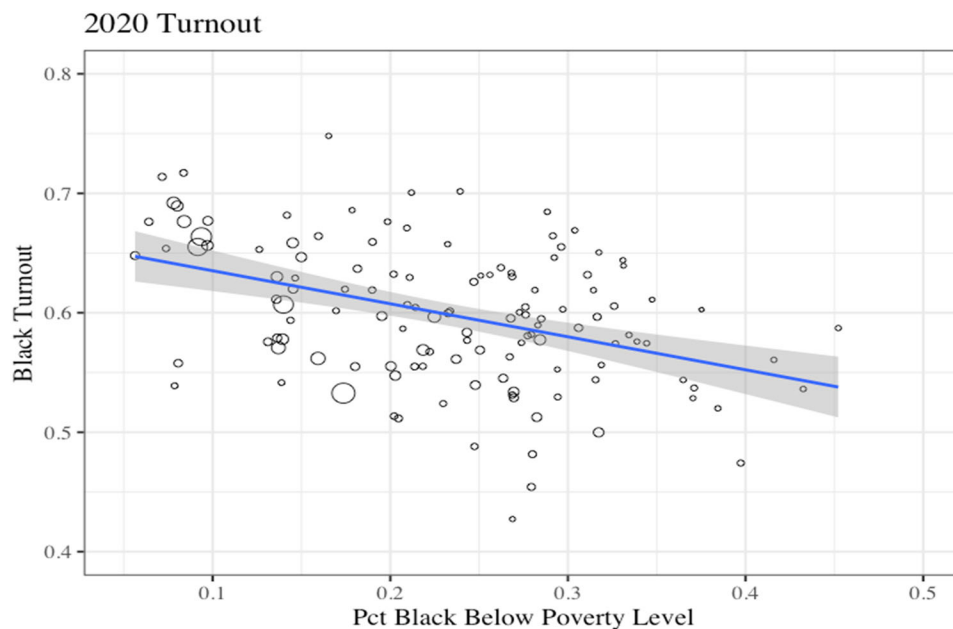


Figure 27. Association between Black poverty rates and 2020 Black turnout (2016-2020 ACS).

Lastly, Figures 28 and 29 plot the relationship between Black median household income and the share of Black registrants who voted by county. As a county's Black household income rises, the turnout rate rises. A bivariate regression with the 2015-2019 ACS data reveals a statistically significant relationship ($\beta = 0.117$, $p < 0.001$), and a min-max effect of 22.1 [17.5, 26.7] percentage points. The results are statistically and substantively similar using the 2016-2020 ACS: Counties with higher levels of Black median household income have a higher black turnout ($\beta = 0.120$,

$p < 0.001$). The discrete difference between such counties amounts to a min-max effect size of 20.5 [16.4, 24.7] percentage points in turnout.

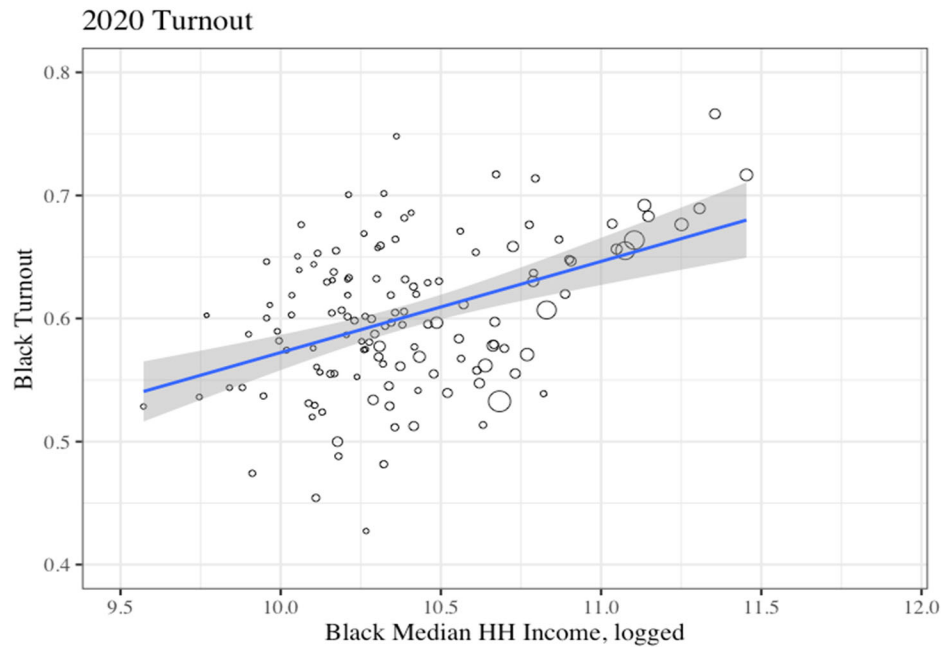


Figure 28. Association between Black median household income and 2020 Black turnout (2015-2019 ACS).

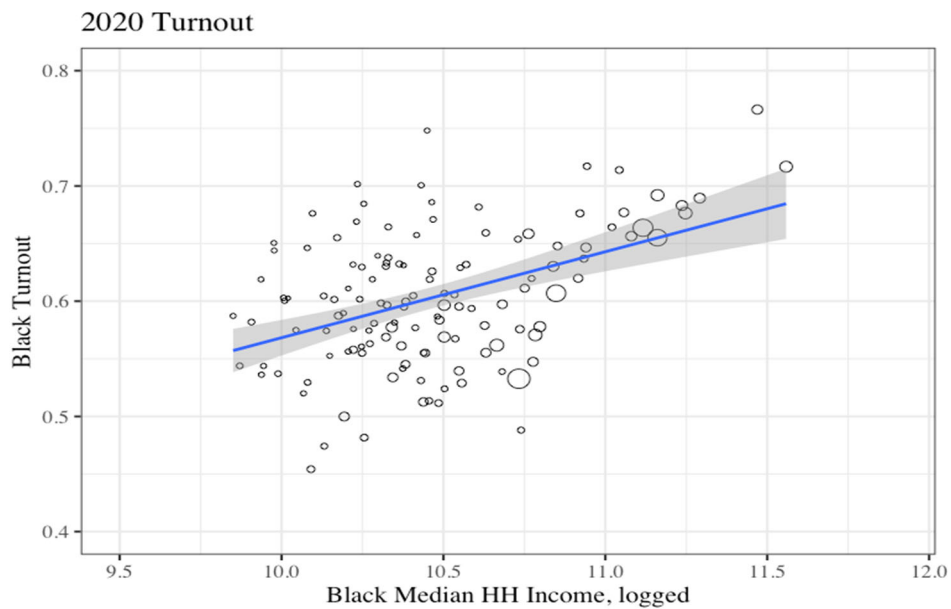


Figure 29. Association between Black median household income and 2020 Black turnout (2016-2020 ACS).

g. Replication of the Relationship Between Turnout and Socioeconomic Disparities Using 2022 General Election Data

This section replicates the analysis of Black turnout and socioeconomic disparities, as measured with the 2016-2020 ACS, using the 2022 general election data. This analysis shows that all the four socioeconomic indicators are once again statistically associated with Black turnout levels.

Starting with education, Figures 30 and 31 show that both measures of educational attainments are associated with Black turnout (at $p < 0.001$). The discrete difference between counties with the highest percentage of Black population with less than a high school degree compared to counties with the lowest percentage of Black population with less than a high school degree amount to a 12.5 [8.2, 16.7] percentage point decline in Black turnout. When comparing counties with the highest share of bachelor's degrees to those with the lowest share of a bachelor's degrees, I find a discrete difference of 13.3 [9.3, 17.3] percentage points in turnout. This means that counties with lower levels of Black education attainment have significantly lower levels of Black turnout.

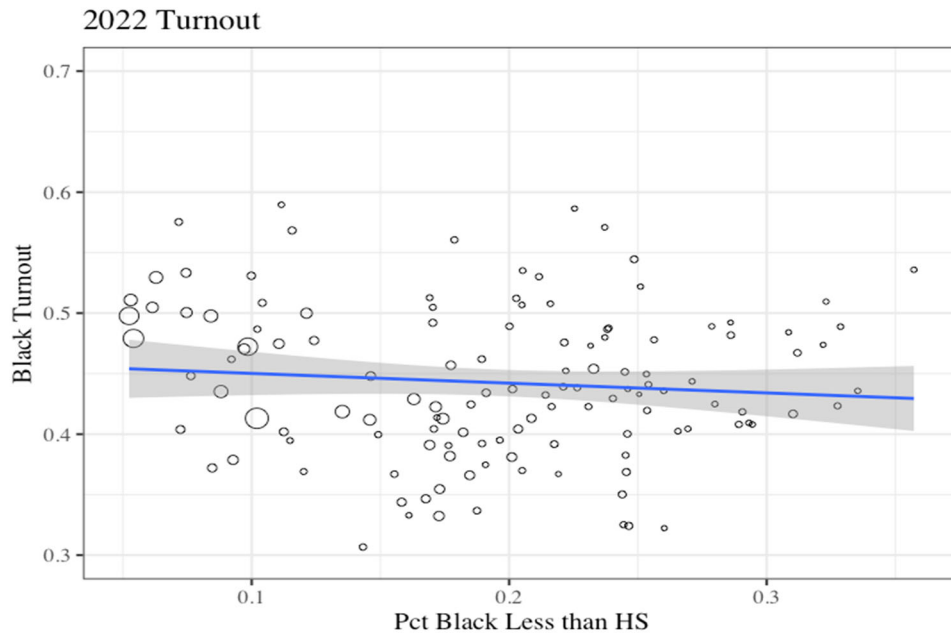


Figure 30. Association between Black less than high school education and 2022 Black turnout (2016-2020 ACS).

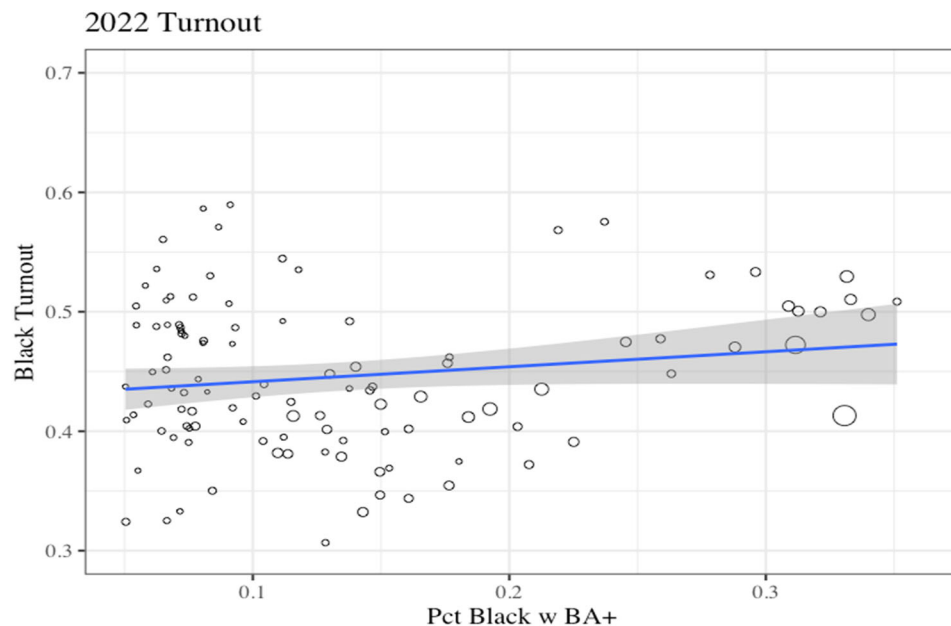


Figure 31. Association between Black 4-year degree and 2022 Black turnout (2016-2020 ACS).

Moving on to indicators of economic disparities, I find that as the percentage of counties with Blacks below the poverty line rises, Black turnout declines (see Figure 32). This relationship is statistically significant (at $p < 0.001$). Substantively, counties with the highest levels of Black poverty have a 20.4 [16.5, 24.2] percentage point *lower* Black turnout than counties with the lowest levels of Black poverty. Replacing poverty levels with median household income leads to the same

conclusion. As Figure 33 shows, logged household income is statistically associated with Black turnout. Specifically, counties with the highest Black median household income report 19.0 [15.4, 22.6] percentage point higher Black turnout than counties with the lowest median household income. In sum, this replication analysis using the 2022 general election data further underscores how socioeconomic disparities are linked to turnout levels.

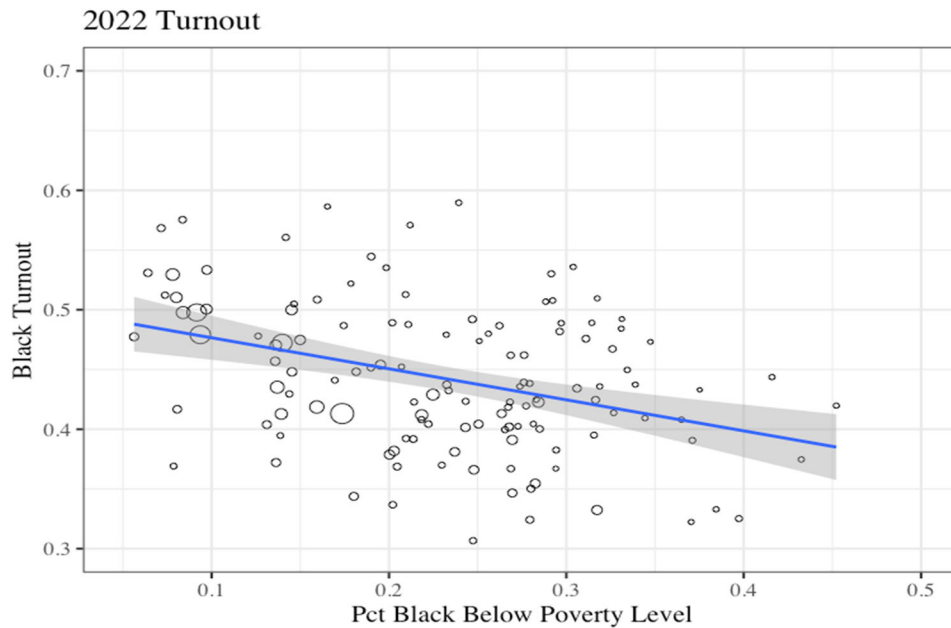


Figure 32. Association between Black poverty rates and 2022 Black turnout (2016-2020 ACS).

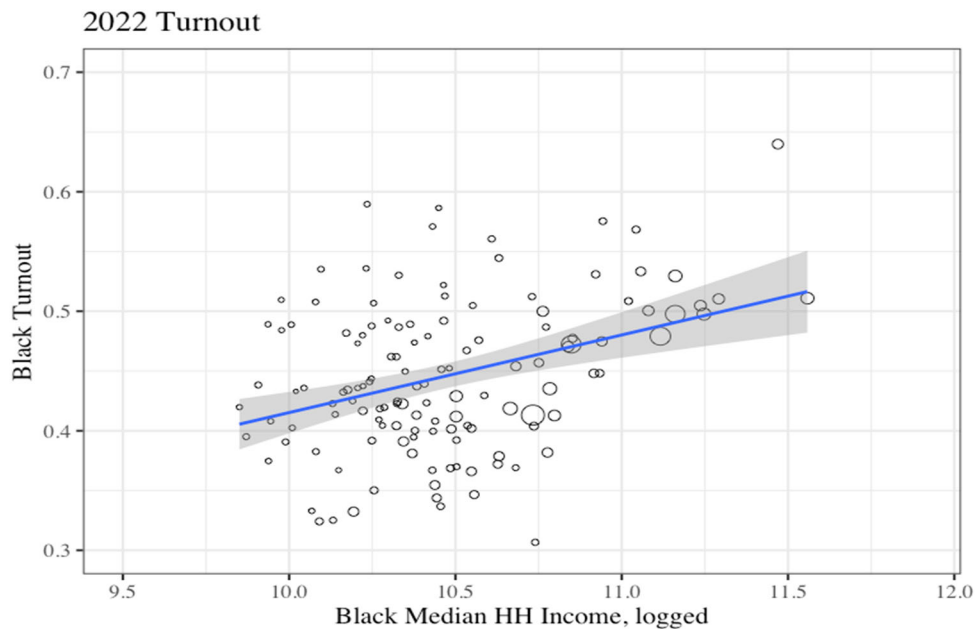


Figure 33. Association between Black median household income and 2022 Black turnout (2016-2020 ACS).

3. Other Forms of Voter Participation

This next section examines disparities between Blacks and whites among other modes of voter participation. I downloaded the 2020 Cooperative Election Study (CES) common form post-election survey.⁹ The CES is a widely used publicly available survey dataset political scientists use to write academic papers and inform our scientific knowledge of the American voter. The full dataset contains 61,000 interviews. I subset the data to Georgia respondents, of which there are 2,002. To compare white vs. Black political participation, I further subset the data to only non-Hispanic white and Black respondents. This yields a dataset of $n=1,753$. Finally, 339 individuals whom CES initially interviewed in the pre-election survey did not take the post-election survey; thus, the final dataset is $n=1,414$. All tabulations presented below include survey weights to ensure that the analysis is representative of the target audience.¹⁰

The survey asks a battery of political participation questions where respondents indicate they have (1) or have not (0) participated in such an act.

1. Attend local political meetings (such as school board or city council)
2. Put up a political sign (such as a lawn sign or bumper sticker)
3. Work for a candidate or campaign
4. Attend a political protest, march or demonstration
5. Contact a public official
6. Donate money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization

I also analyze two other yes (1) / no (0) questions related to political participation:

1. Did a candidate or political campaign organization contact you during the 2020 election?
2. Have you ever run for elective office at any level of government (local, state or federal)?

Below I present cross-tabulations between each item and race (white/Black), along with a chi-square statistical test. The cross-tabulation shows, for instance, the share of whites that participate in a particular activity vs. the share of whites that do not participate in such activity. The analysis is designed to assess whether Blacks and whites engage in political participation at different rates. If the chi-square p-value is .10, then we can say that we have 90% confidence that this relationship has not occurred by chance. In short, the lower the p-value, the more statistical confidence we have that whites and Blacks behave differently politically.

Overall, the results strongly point to relative Black disparity in political participation. In five of the eight survey items, a statistically significant relationship exists between race and political

⁹ Available at: <https://cces.gov.harvard.edu>.

¹⁰ Weighting data here has the effect of growing the sample size of the dataset to $n=1,557$ respondents.

participation (at either $p < .10$ or $p < .05$). That is, whites are more likely to say they engaged in the political activity than are Blacks.

For instance, 5.9% of whites say they attended a political meeting, whereas 3.5% of Blacks said they did ($p < 0.05$). On political signs, 17.9% of whites put one up vs. 6.5% of Blacks ($p < 0.001$). Whites are also more likely to report having worked for a candidate or campaign (3.6% vs. 1.8%, $p < 0.05$). One of the larger differences emerges on the question regarding contacting a public official. Twenty-one percent (21%) of whites say they contacted an official, whereas 8.8% of Blacks report doing so ($p < 0.001$). Differences emerge across donation behavior too: 24.4% vs. 13.6% ($p < 0.001$).

There are three questions where significant statistical differences do not emerge, although whites nonetheless engage in the political activity to a greater degree than do Blacks: political protest (whites at 6.2% vs. Blacks at 4.4%, $p = 0.142$); being contacted by a political campaign organization (61.3% vs. 61.3%, $p = 0.995$), and running for office (1.7% vs. 0.7%, $p = 0.12$).

Attend local political meetings (such as school board or city council)?

<i>Race</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Pct. No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Pct. Yes</i>
White	954	94.08%	60	5.92%
Black	523	96.49%	19	3.51%
<i>Chi-2 = 4.262 DF = 1 P-Value = 0.039</i>				

*Table 4. Political attendance.***Put up a political sign (such as a lawn sign or bumper sticker)?**

<i>Race</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Pct. No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Pct. Yes</i>
White	832	82.05%	182	17.95%
Black	507	93.54%	35	6.46%
<i>Chi-2 = 38.863 DF = 1 P-Value = 0</i>				

*Table 5. Political signs.***Work for a candidate or campaign?**

<i>Race</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Pct. No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Pct. Yes</i>
White	978	96.35%	37	3.65%
Black	533	98.16%	10	1.84%
<i>Chi-2 = 3.934 DF = 1 P-Value = 0.0473</i>				

*Table 6. Campaign work.***Attend a political protest, march, or demonstration?**

<i>Race</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Pct. No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Pct. Yes</i>
White	951	93.79%	63	6.21%
Black	519	95.58%	24	4.42%
<i>Chi-2 = 2.155 DF = 1 P-Value = 0.1421</i>				

Table 7. Political protest.

Contact a public official?

<i>Race</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Pct. No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Pct. Yes</i>
White	801	78.99%	213	21.01%
Black	495	91.16%	48	8.84%
<i>Chi-2 = 37.513 DF = 1 P-Value = 0</i>				

*Table 8. Contacting officials.***Donate money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization?**

<i>Race</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Pct. No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Pct. Yes</i>
White	767	75.64%	247	24.36%
Black	469	86.37%	74	13.63%
<i>Chi-2 = 24.882 DF = 1 P-Value = 0</i>				

*Table 9. Political donations.***Did a candidate or political campaign organization contact you during the 2020 election?**

<i>Race</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Pct. No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Pct. Yes</i>
White	392	38.66%	622	61.34%
Black	210	38.67%	333	61.33%
<i>Chi-2 = 0 DF = 1 P-Value = 0.9953</i>				

Table 10. Campaign contacts.

Have you ever run for elective office at any level of government (local, state or federal)?

<i>Race</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Pct. No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Pct. Yes</i>
White	986	98.31%	17	1.69%
Black	539	99.26%	4	0.74%
<i>Chi-2 = 2.414 DF = 1 P-Value = 0.1202</i>				

Table 11. Running for office.

All told, the results are compelling: White Georgians engage in a wide range of political activity at higher rates than Black Georgians, including activities like donating to campaigns, contacting public officials, and posting political signs. And as the academic literature discussed earlier in this report shows, these differences are directly attributable to socioeconomic disparities in health, education, and income.

Conclusion

The picture these data paint is straightforward: Black Georgians experience significant disparities in income, education, and health compared to non-Hispanic white Georgians. And these disparities cause Black Georgians to be less likely to participate effectively in the political process as measured by voter turnout and other forms of voter participation like making political donations, engaging elected officials, and even running for office. These trends are in accord with overwhelming academic literature showing that Blacks suffer socioeconomic disparities and so are therefore less likely than whites to participate in the political process. These findings therefore provide strong evidence for the presence of Senate Factor 5 in the state of Georgia.

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Book Chapters

11. **Collingwood, Loren**, Stephanie DeMora, and Sean Long. "Demographic Change, White Decline, and the Changing Nature of Racial Politics in Election Campaigns." In *Cambridge Handbook in Political Psychology*. Edited by Danny Osborne and Chris Sibley. [Forthcoming].
10. Morín, Jason L. and **Loren Collingwood**. "Contractor Politics: How Political Events Influence Private Prison Company Stock Shares in the Pre and Post Trump Era." In *Anti-immigrant Rhetoric, Actions, and Policies during the Trump Era (2017-2019)*. [Forthcoming]
9. Parker, Christopher S., Christopher C. Towler, **Loren Collingwood**, and Kassra Oskooii. 2020. "Race and Racism in Campaigns." In *Oxford Encyclopedia of Persuasion in Political Campaigns*. Edited by Elizabeth Suhay, Bernard Grofman, and Alexander H. Trechsel. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190860806.013.38
8. **Collingwood, Loren**, and DeMora, Stephanie. 2019. "Latinos and Obama." In Jessica Lavariega Monforti (ed.) *Latinos in the American Political System: An Encyclopedia of Latinos as Voters, Candidates, and Office Holders*.
7. DeMora, Stephanie, and **Collingwood, Loren**. 2019. "George P. Bush." In Jessica Lavariega Monforti (ed.) *Latinos in the American Political System: An Encyclopedia of Latinos as Voters, Candidates, and Office Holders*.

6. El-Khatib, Stephen Omar, and **Collingwood, Loren**. 2019. "Ted Cruz." In Jessica Lavariega Monforti (ed.) *Latinos in the American Political System: An Encyclopedia of Latinos as Voters, Candidates, and Office Holders*.
 5. **Collingwood, Loren**, Sylvia Manzano and Ali Valenzuela. 2014. "November 2008: The Latino vote in Obama's general election landslide." In *Latino America: How America's Most Dynamic Population Is Poised to Transform the Politics of the Nation*. By Matt Barreto and Gary Segura. New York: Public Affairs Press. (co-authored chapter with Matt Barreto and Gary Segura)
 4. **Collingwood, Loren**, Justin Gross and Francisco Pedraza. 2014. "A 'decisive voting bloc' in 2012." In *Latino America: How America's Most Dynamic Population Is Poised to Transform the Politics of the Nation*. By Matt Barreto and Gary Segura. New York: Public Affairs Press. (co-authored chapter with Matt Barreto and Gary Segura)
 3. Barreto, Matt, **Loren Collingwood**, Ben Gonzalez, and Chris Parker. 2011. "Tea Party Politics in a Blue State: Dino Rossi and the 2010 Washington Senate Election." In William Miller and Jeremy Walling (eds.) *Stuck in the Middle to Lose: Tea Party Effects on 2010 U.S. Senate Elections*. Rowan and Littlefield Publishing Group.
 2. **Collingwood, Loren** and Justin Reedy. "Criticisms of Deliberative Democracy." In Nabatchi, Tina, Michael Weiksner, John Gastil, and Matt Leighninger, eds., *Democracy in motion: Evaluating the practice and impact of deliberative civic engagement*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
 1. **Collingwood, Loren**. "Initiatives." In Haider-Markel, Donald P., and Michael A. Card. *Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2009.
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Software

R package: **RTextTools**. This package uses supervised learning methods to automate text classification. Coauthors include Jurka, Boydston, Grossman, and van Atteveldt. Available on CRAN.

R package: **eiCompare**. This package compares outcomes between ecological inference (EI) estimates and EI:Rows by Columns (RxC) estimates. Primary purpose is employed in racially polarized voting analysis. Development Version available here: [eiCompare](#) or on CRAN. Coauthors include Barreto, Oskooii, Garcia-Rios, Burke, Decter-Frain, Murayama, Sachdeva, Henderson, Wood, and Gross.

R package: **Rvoterdistance**. Calculates distance between voters and multiple polling locations and/or ballot drop boxes. Ports C++ code for high speed efficiency. Available on CRAN.

R package: **Rweights**. Creates survey weights via iterative variable raking. Survey design object and weights vector are produced for use with R, Stata, and other programs. Currently in alpha form with unix tarball available here: [Rweights](#).

R package: **Rmturkcheck**. Functions for cleaning and analyzing two-wave MTurk (or other) panel studies. Available: [Rmturkcheck](#)

R package: **RCopyFind**. Functions for extracting data frames then plotting results from WCopyFind plagiarism text program. Co-authored with and Maintained by Steph DeMora. Available: [RCopyFind](#)

Under Review / Working Papers

Barreto, Matt, Michael Cohen, **Loren Collingwood**, Chad Dunn, and Sonni Waknin. “Using Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding (BISG) to Assess Racially Polarized Voting in Voting Rights Act Challenges.” [Revise & Resubmit]

Decter-Frain, Ari, Pratik Sachdeva, **Loren Collingwood**, Juandalyn Burke, Hikari Murayama, Matt Barreto, Scott Henderson, Spencer Wood, and Joshua Zingher. “Comparing BISG to CVAP Estimates in Racially Polarized Voting Analyses.” [Revise & Resubmit]

Hickel Jr., Flavio R., Kassra A.R. Oskooii, and **Loren Collingwood**. “Social Mobility Through Immigrant Resentment: Explaining Latinx Support for Restrictive Immigration Policies and Anti-Immigrant Candidates.” [Revise & Resubmit]

Collingwood, Loren, Jason Morín, and Edward Vargas. “Protesting Detention: How Protests Activated Group Empathy and Party ID to Shift Attitudes on Child Detention.” [Working Paper]

Paarlberg, Michael A. and **Loren Collingwood**. “Fact or Fiction: Testing the link between local immigration policy and the MS-13 ‘Threat’.” [Working Paper]

Awards, Grants, and Fellowships

Matt Barreto and Loren Collingwood. Detection of Vote Dilution: New tools and methods for protecting voting rights. Data Science for Social Good project selection, University of Washington. 2020

Loren Collingwood. Measuring Cross-Racial Voter Preferences. UCR Faculty Senate. \$3,500. 2019.

Francisco Pedraza and Loren Collingwood. Evaluating AltaMed’s 2018 GOTV Efforts in Los Angeles. \$12,000. 2018-2019.

Allan Colbern, Loren Collingwood, Marcel Roman. A Mess in Texas: The Deleterious Effects of SB4 on Public Trust in Law Enforcement. Center for American Progress. \$7,100. 2018.

Karthick Ramakrishnan, Mindy Romero, Loren Collingwood, Francisco Pedraza, Evaluating California’s Voter’s Choice Act. Irvine Foundation. \$150,000, 2018-2019.

William McGuire, Loren Collingwood, Ben Gonzalez O’Brien, and Katie Baird, “Evaluating the Impact of Drop Boxes and Get-Out-The-Vote Advertising on Voter Turnout in Pierce County, WA.” MIT Election Data and Science Lab, \$16,365, 2017

Justin Freebourn and Loren Collingwood, Blum Initiative \$4,000, 2017

Hellman Fellowship Grant, UC Riverside, \$30,000, 2014-2015

Best Dissertation Award, 2013 Western Political Science Association

UC Riverside Harrison & Ethel Silver Fund, \$2,000, 2013

Best Graduate Student Paper Award State Politics section, 2012 American Political Science Association

Texas A&M Experimental Methods Winter Institute, \$800, January, 2011

UseR! 2011 Conference travel grant, \$1000, August, 2011

Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences travel grant, \$870, January, 2011

David J. Olson Research Grant, University of Washington Political Science, \$2,000, January, 2011

Warren Miller Scholarship Award, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, Summer 2009

Matthews Fellowship, University of Washington, Winter 2008 - Spring 2009

Brennan Center for Justice, New York University [with Matt Barreto]

Indiana Voter Identification Study, \$40,000 – Oct. 2007, 6 months

Teaching Experience

POSC 10 (American Politics); POSC 146 (Mass Media & Public Opinion); POSC 171 (State Politics); POSC 104S (Race and Ethnic Politics Special Topics); POSC 108 (Race and Ethnic Politics)

POLS 300: Immigration Politics with Focus on Latino Politics

POLS 300: The Voting Rights Act: Causes and Effects

POSC 202A: Introduction to Quantitative Methods (Graduate)

POSC 207: Statistical Programming and Data Science for the Social Sciences (Graduate)

POSC 207: Quantitative Text Analysis (Graduate)

POSC 220: Graduate Seminar in Race and Ethnic Politics in the U.S.

POSC 256: Graduate Seminar in Public Opinion

POSC 253: Graduate Seminar in Electoral Politics

Text Classification with R using the `RTextTools` package, UNC-Chapel Hill Workshop

Text Analysis with Political Data, Claremont Graduate School, 2019

CSSS Intermediate R Workshop 2011, Instructor (Summer)

POLS 501: Advanced Research Design and Analysis, Teaching Assistant (2 quarters)

ICPSR Summer Course: Methodological Issues in Quantitative Research on Race and Ethnicity, Teaching Assistant

POLS 202: Introduction to American Politics, Teaching Assistant

CSSS Math Camp 2011, Teaching Assistant

POLS 499D: Center for American Politics and Public Policy Undergraduate Honors Seminar (2 quarters)

Professional Service

Co-editor, *Politics of Groups and Identities*, 2020-2021

Reviewer, Political Behavior, Journal of Information Technology and Politics, American Politics Research, Social Sciences Quarterly, Journal of Politics, Politics of Groups and Identities, American Journal of Political Science, Political Research Quarterly, State Politics and Public Policy, American Political Science Review, British Journal of Political Science, Journal of Race and Ethnic Politics, Urban Studies, Urban Affairs Review; many other journals

Conference Papers and Presentations

Collingwood, Loren and Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk California Lutheran University. (October 2020).

Collingwood, Loren. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk California State University, Chico. (March 2020).

Collingwood, Loren. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk Humboldt State University. (March 2020).

Collingwood, Loren. "Campaigning in a Racially Diversifying America: Whether and How Cross-Racial Electoral Mobilization Works." Invited Talk Oregon State University. (February 2020).

Collingwood, Loren and Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk University of San Diego. (November 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "Campaigning in a Racially Diversifying America: Whether and How Cross-Racial Electoral Mobilization Works." Invited Talk University of Massachusetts. (January 2020).

Collingwood, Loren. "Campaigning in a Racially Diversifying America: Whether and How Cross-Racial Electoral Mobilization Works." Invited Talk University of New Mexico. (December 2019).

Collingwood, Loren and Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk California State University, Northridge, Los Angeles. (November 2019).

Collingwood, Loren and Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk Occidental College, Los Angeles. (November 2019).

Collingwood, Loren (with Sean Long). "Can States Promote Minority Representation? Assessing the Effects of the California Voting Rights Act." UC Irvine Critical Observations on Race and Ethnicity Conference. (November 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk University of Geneva, Switzerland. (November 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk University of Bern, Switzerland. (October 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk ETH Zurich, Switzerland. (October 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk London School of Economics, U.K. (October 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge." Invited Talk University of Leeds, U.K. (October 2019).

Valenzuela, Ali, Kassra Oskooi, and Loren Collingwood. "Threat or Reassurance? Framing Midterms Results among Latinos and Whites." American Political Science Association, Washington, DC. (August 2019).

Paarlberg, Michael A. and Loren Collingwood. "Much Ado about Nothing: Local Immigration Policy and the MS-13 'Threat' ." American Political Science Association, Washington, DC. (August 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "A Mess in Texas: The Deleterious Effects of SB4 on Public Trust in Law Enforcement." International Center for Local Democracy (ICLD) Conference on Local Democracy. Umea, Sweden (June 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "The #FamiliesBelongTogether Outcry: How Protests Shifted Attitudes on Immigrant Family Separation and Child Detention." Invited Talk University of California, Irvine (May 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "Text Analysis with R." Invited talk and presentation. Claremont Graduate University (May 2019)

Collingwood, Loren. "The #FamiliesBelongTogether Outcry: How Protests Shifted Attitudes on Immigrant Family Separation and Child Detention." PRIEC. UC Davis (May 2019).

Collingwood, Loren. "Data Analysis with R." Invited presentation and training Cal Poly Pomona (May 2019)

Collingwood, Loren. "The #FamiliesBelongTogether Outcry: How Protests Shifted Attitudes on Immigrant Family Separation and Child Detention." Invited Talk Northern Arizona University (May 2019)

Collingwood, Loren (with Jason Morín). "Contractor Politics: How Political Events Influence Private Prison Company Stock Shares in the Pre and Post Trump Era." Invited Talk Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, Distrito Federal, Mexico (February 2019).

Roman, Marcel, Allan Colbern, and Loren Collingwood. "A Mess in Texas: The Deleterious Effects of SB4 on Public Trust in Law Enforcement." PRIEC Consortium. University of Houston (December 2018)

Collingwood, Loren. "The #FamiliesBelongTogether Outcry: How Protests Shifted Attitudes on Immigrant Family Separation and Child Detention." Invited Talk University of Illinois Chicago (November 2018)

Collingwood, Loren. "Ongoing Research in Sanctuary Cities and Immigration Politics." Invited Talk University of Pennsylvania Perry World House (November 2018)

Collingwood, Loren. "Unfair Detention: How Protests Activated Racial Group Empathy to Shift Attitudes on Child Detention." Invited Talk Rutgers University (October 2018)

Collingwood, Loren. "Unfair Detention: How Protests Activated Racial Group Empathy to Shift Attitudes on Child Detention." UCR Alumni Research Presentation Washington and Philadelphia (October 2018)

Collingwood, Loren, Jason Morin. "Expanding Carceral Markets: Detention Facilities, ICE Contracts, and the Financial Interests of Punitive Immigration Policy." Invited Talk UCLA (October 2018).

Collingwood, Loren, Nazita Lajevardi, and Kassra Oskooii. "Opinion Shift and Stability: Enduring Opposition to Trump's "Muslim Ban". APSA (September 2018).

Collingwood, Loren, Jason Morin, and Stephen Omar El-Khatib. "Expanding Carceral Markets: Detention Facilities, ICE Contracts, and the Financial Interests of Punitive Immigration Policy." American Political Science Association Conference (August 2018).

Collingwood, Loren, Sergio Garcia-Rios, and Hannah Walker. "The Impact of Exposure to Police Brutality on Political Attitudes Among Black and White Americans." Cooperative Comparative Post-Election Survey (CMPS) Conference. (August, 2018).

Collingwood, Loren, Nazita Lajevardi, and Kassra Oskooii. "Opinion Shift and Stability: Enduring Opposition to Trump's "Muslim Ban". Politics of Race Immigration and Ethnicity Consortium (August 2018).

Collingwood, Loren, Jason Morin, and Stephen Omar El-Khatib. "Expanding Carceral Markets: Detention Facilities, ICE Contracts, and the Financial Interests of Punitive Immigration Policy." Politics of Race Immigration and Ethnicity Consortium, Michigan State University (April 2018)

Collingwood, Loren, Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien, and Joe Tafoya. "Partisan Learning or Racial Learning: Opinion Change on Sanctuary City Policy Preferences in California and Texas." Midwest Political Science Association Conference (April 2018).

El-Khatib, Stephen Omar and Loren Collingwood. "State Policy Responses to Sanctuary Cities: Explaining the Rise of Sanctuary City Legislative Proposals." Midwest Political Science Association Conference (April 2018).

Hannah Walker, Loren Collingwood, and Tehama Lopez Bunyasi. "Under the Gun: Black Responsiveness and White Ambivalence to Racialized Black Death." Midwest Political Science Association Conference (April 2018).

Hannah Walker, Loren Collingwood, and Tehama Lopez Bunyasi. "Under the Gun: Black Responsiveness and White Ambivalence to Racialized Black Death." Western Political Science Association Conference (April 2018).

DeMora, Stephanie, Adriana Ninci, and Loren Collingwood. "Shoot First in ALEC's Castle: The Diffusion of Stand Your Ground Laws." Politics of Race Immigration and Ethnicity Consortium, ASU (February 2018).

El-Khatib, Stephen Omar and Loren Collingwood. "State Policy Responses to Sanctuary Cities: Explaining the Rise of Sanctuary City Legislative Proposals." Politics of Race Immigration and Ethnicity Consortium, UCR (September 2017).

Collingwood, Loren, Nazita Lajevardi, and Kassra Oskooii. "A Change of Heart? How Protests Shifted Individual-Level Public Opinion on Trump's Muslim Ban." APSA (September 2017).

Collingwood, Loren, McGuire, Will, Gonzalez O'Brien Ben, Hampson, Sarah, and Baird, Katie. "Do Dropboxes Improve Voter Turnout? Evidence from King County, Washington." APSA (September 2017).

Collingwood, Loren, Reny, Tyler, Valenzuela, Ali. "Flipping for Trump: In 2016, Immigration and Not Economic Anxiety Explains White Working Class Vote Switching." UCLA (May 2017).

Collingwood, Loren, Nazita Lajevardi, and Kassra Oskooii. "A Change of Heart? How Protests Shifted Individual-Level Public Opinion on Trump's Muslim Ban." UCLA (May 2017).

Collingwood, Loren, Nazita Lajevardi, and Kassra Oskooii. "A Change of Heart? How Protests Shifted Individual-Level Public Opinion on Trump's Muslim Ban." Politics of Race Immigration and Ethnicity Consortium, UCSB (May 2017).

Reny, Tyler, Ali Valenzuela, and Loren Collingwood. "Public Reactions to Anti-Latino Appeals in the Age of Obama: Race, Illegality and Changing Norms." Vancouver, Western Political Science Association Conference (April. 2017).

Collingwood, Loren, McGuire, Will, Gonzalez-O'Brien Ben, Hampson, Sarah, and Baird, Katie. "Do Dropboxes Improve Voter Turnout? Evidence from King County, Washington." WPSA (April 2017).

Gonzalez-O'Brien, Benjamin, Loren Collingwood, and Stephen El-Khatib. "Gimme Shelter: The Myth and Reality of the American Sanctuary City". Vancouver, Western Political Science Association Conference WPSA (April 2017).

Rush, Tye, Pedraza, Francisco, Collingwood, Loren. "Relieving the Conscience: White Guilt and Candidate Evaluation." Politics of Race Immigration and Ethnicity Consortium, UCI (March 2017).

Reny, Tyler, Ali Valenzuela, and Loren Collingwood. "Public Reactions to Anti-Latino Appeals in the Age of Obama: Race, Illegality and Changing Norms." Philadelphia, American Political Science Association Conference (Sept. 2016)

Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, Sergio Garcia-Rios, and Kassra Oskooii. "Estimating Candidate Support: Comparing EI & EI-RxC." Chicago, Midwest Political Science Association Conference (April 2016)

Bishin, Benjamin, Loren Collingwood, and Erinn Lauterbach. "Cross-Racial Mobilization in a Rapidly Diversifying Polity: Latino Candidates and Anglo Voters" Chicago, Midwest Political Science Association Conference (April 2016)

Gonzalez-O'Brien, Benjamin, Loren Collingwood, and Stephen El-Khatib. "Gimme Shelter: The Myth and Reality of the American Sanctuary City". San Diego, Western Political Science Association Conference (April 2016)

Collingwood, Loren and Antoine Yoshinaka. The new carpetbaggers? Analyzing the effects of migration on Southern politics. The Citadel Conference on Southern Politics, Charleston, SC (Mar 2016)

Alamillo, Rudy and Loren Collingwood. Chameleon Politics: Social Identity and Racial Cross-Over Appeals. American Political Science Association Conference, San Francisco (Sept 2015)

Reny, Tyler, Ali Valenzuela, and Loren Collingwood. "Public Reactions to Anti-Latino Appeals in the Age of Obama: Race, Illegality and Changing Norms." San Francisco, American Political Science Association Conference (Sept 2015)

Alamillo, Rudy and Loren Collingwood. Chameleon Politics: Social Identity and Racial Cross-Over Appeals. Western Political Science Association Conference, Las Vegas (April 2015)

Barreto, Matt and Loren Collingwood. Confirming Electoral Change: The 2012 U.S. Presidential Election OSU Conference (October, 2013). "Earning and Learning the Latino Vote in 2008 and 2012: How the Obama Campaign Tried, Refined, Learned, and Made Big Steps in Cross-Racial Mobilization to Latinos.

Collingwood, Loren and Ashley Jochim. 2012 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference (April) Chicago, IL. "Electoral Competition and Latino Representation: The Partisan Politics of Immigration Policy in the 104th Congress."

Collingwood, Loren. 2012 Western Political Science Association Annual Conference (March) Portland, OR. "The Development and Use of Cross-Racial Mobilization as Campaign Strategy in U.S. Elections: The Case of Texas 1948-2010."

Collingwood, Loren. 2012 Institute for Pragmatic Practice Annual Conference (March) Seattle, WA. "Changing Demographics, Rural Electorates, and the Future of American Politics."

Collingwood, Loren. 2012 Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (January) Riverside, CA. "The Development of Cross-Racial Mobilization: The Case of Texas 1948-2010."

Collingwood, Loren. 2011 American Political Science Association Annual Conference (September) Seattle, WA. "The Pursuit of Victory and Incorporation: Elite Strategy, Group Pressure, and Cross Racial Mobilization."

Forman, Adam and Loren Collingwood. 2011 American Political Science Association Annual Conference (September) Seattle, WA. "Measuring Power via Presidential Phone Records." (Poster)

Collingwood, Loren with (Tim Jurka, Wouter Van Atteveldt, Amber Boydstun, and Emiliano Grossman). UseR! 2011 Conference. (August) Coventry, United Kingdom. "RTextTools: A Supervised Learning Package for Text Classification in R."

Jurka, Tim, Loren Collingwood, Wouter Van Atteveldt, Amber Boydstun, and Emiliano Grossman. 2011 Comparative Agendas Project Conference. (June) Catania, Italy. "RTextTools: A Supervised Learning Package for Text Classification in R."

Collingwood, Loren and John Wilkerson. 2011 Journal of Information Technology & Politics Conference. (May) Seattle, WA. "Tradeoffs in Accuracy and Efficiency in Supervised Learning Methods."

Collingwood, Loren. 2011 Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (May) Davis, CA. "The Pursuit of Victory and Incorporation: Elite Strategy, Group Pressure, and Cross Racial Mobilization"

Collingwood, Loren. 2011 Western Political Science Conference (April) San Antonio, TX. "Race-Matching as Targeted Mobilization."

Collingwood, Loren. 2011 Western Political Science Conference (April) San Antonio, TX. "The Pursuit of Victory and Incorporation: Elite Strategy, Group Pressure, and Cross Racial Mobilization"

Collingwood, Loren (with John Wilkerson). Invited Talk: Texas A&M University. (April, 2011) "Tradeoffs in Accuracy and Efficiency in Supervised Learning Methods."

Collingwood, Loren (with John Wilkerson). Invited Talk: Rice University. (April, 2011) "Tradeoffs in Accuracy and Efficiency in Supervised Learning Methods."

Collingwood, Loren. 2011 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference (April) Chicago, IL. "Race-Matching as Targeted Mobilization."

Collingwood, Loren and John Wilkerson. 2011 Text as Data Conference. (March) Evanston, IL. "Tradeoffs in Accuracy and Efficiency in Supervised Learning Methods."

Collingwood, Loren and John Wilkerson. 2011 Southern Political Science Conference. (January) New Orleans, LA. "Tradeoffs in Accuracy and Efficiency in Supervised Learning Methods."

Collingwood, Loren (with Ben Gonzalez). 2010 American Political Science Association Annual Conference. (September) Washington, DC. "The Political Process in Florida: Modeling African American Registration Rates Post *Smith v. Allwright*, 1944-1964."

Wilkerson, John, Steve Purpura, and Loren Collingwood. 2010 NSF Funded Tools for Text Workshop. (June) Seattle, WA. "Rtexttools: A Supervised Machine Learning Package in an R-Wrapper."

Collingwood, Loren and Marcela Garcia-Castanon. 2010 Western Political Science Association Annual Conference. (April) San Francisco, CA. "Negativity as a Tool: candidate poll standing and attack politics."

Collingwood, Loren. 2010 Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium. (January) Riverside, CA. "White Outreach: A spatial approach to modeling black incorporation in Florida post *Smith v. Allwright*, 1944-1965."

Collingwood, Loren. 2009 Western Political Science Association Annual Conference. (March) Vancouver, BC. "Levels of Education, Political Knowledge and Support for Direct Democracy."

Collingwood, Loren. 2009 Western Political Science Association Annual Conference. (March) Vancouver, BC. "The Negativity Effect: Psychological underpinnings of advertising recall in modern political campaigns."

Collingwood, Loren and Marcela Garcia-Castanon. 2009 Western Political Science Association Annual Conference. (March) Vancouver, BC. "Negativity as a Tool: predicting negative responses and their effectiveness in the 2008 campaign season."

Collingwood, Loren and Marcela Garcia-Castanon. 2009 Western Political Science Association Annual Conference. (March) Vancouver, BC. "Switching codes: analyzing Obama's strategy for addressing Latinos in the 2008 presidential campaign."

Collingwood, Loren, (with Matt Barreto and Sylvia Manzano) 2009 Shambaugh Conference. (March) University of Iowa, IA. "More than one way to shuck a tamale: Latino influence in the 2008 general election."

Collingwood, Loren and Marcela Garcia-Castanon. 2009 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference. (April) Chicago, IL. "Switching codes: analyzing Obama's strategy for addressing Latinos in the 2008 presidential campaign."

Collingwood, Loren and Marcela Garcia-Castanon. 2009 Pacific Northwest Political Science Conference. (October) Victoria, BC. "Negativity as a Tool: predicting negative responses and their effectiveness in the 2008 campaign season."

Collingwood, Loren and Francisco Pedraza (with Matt Barreto and Chris Parker). 2009 Center for Statistics and the Social Sciences 10th Anniversary Conference. (May) Seattle, WA. "Race of interviewer effects: perceived versus actual."

Collingwood, Loren (with Matt Barreto, Chris Parker, and Francisco Pedraza). 2009 Pacific Northwest Political Science Conference. (October) Victoria, BC. "Race of interviewer effects: perceived versus actual."

Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood and Todd Donovan. 2008 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference. (April) Chicago, IL. "Early Presidential Primaries, Viability, and Vote Switching in 2008."

Collingwood, Loren. 2008 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference. (April) Chicago, IL. "Levels of Education and Support for Direct Democracy: A Survey Experiment."

Collingwood, Loren. 2008 American Political Science Association Annual Conference. (September) Boston, MA. "Levels of Education and Support for Direct Democracy: A Survey Experiment." (Poster)

Collingwood, Loren. 2008 American Political Science Association Annual Conference. (September) Boston, MA. "Response Effects in Multi-Candidate Primary Vote Questions." (Poster)

Computer Skills

R, Stata, Python, WinBugs/JAGS, L^AT_EX, SPSS, MySQL, Access, ArcGIS, Some C++ when interacting with R.

Reports

Collingwood, Loren. (2008). *The Washington Poll: pre-election analysis*. www.washingtonpoll.org.

Collingwood, Loren. (2008). *Democratic underperformance in the 2004 gubernatorial election: explaining 2004 voting patterns with an eye towards 2008*. www.washingtonpoll.org.

Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, Francisco Pedraza, and Barry Pump. (2009). *Online voter registration in Washington State and Arizona*. Commissioned by Pew Research Center.

Collingwood, Loren, Todd Donovan, and Matt Barreto. (2009). *An assessment of ranked choice voting in Pierce County, WA*.

Collingwood, Loren. (2009). *An assessment of the fiscal impact of ranked choice voting in Pierce County, WA*. Commissioned by the League of Women Voters.

Barreto, Matt, and Loren Collingwood. (2009). *Latino candidates and racial block voting in primary and judicial elections: An analysis of voting in Los Angeles County board districts*. Commissioned by the Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association.

Barreto, Matt, and Loren Collingwood. (2011). *A Review of Racially Polarized Voting For and Against Latino Candidates in Los Angeles County 1994-2010*. Commissioned by Los Angeles County Supervisor Gloria Molina. August 4.

Collingwood, Loren. (2012). *Recent Political History of Washington State: A Political Map*. Commissioned by the Korean Consulate.

Collingwood, Loren. (2012). *Analysis of Polling on Marijuana Initiatives*. Commissioned by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner.

Collingwood, Loren, Sean Long, and Francisco Pedraza. (2019). *Evaluating AltaMed Voter Mobilization in Southern California, November 2018*. Commissioned by AltaMed.

Relevant Work Experience

Collingwood Research, LLC

Statistical Consulting and Analysis

January 2008 - Present

Conducted over 200 projects involving political research, polling, statistical modeling, redistricting analysis and mapping, data analysis, micro-targeting, and R software development for political and non-profit clients. Clients include: Greenberg Quinlan Rosner, Latino Decisions, Pacific Market Research, Beck Research, Squier Knapp Dunn Communications, Anzalone-Lizst Research, League of Women Voters, Shelia Smoot for Congress, pollster.com, Comparative Agendas Project, Amplified Strategies, Gerstein Bocian & Agne, Strategies 360, the Korean Consulate, the California Redistricting Commission, Monterey County Redistricting Commission, ClearPath Strategies, Los Angeles County Council, Demchak & Baller Legal, Arnold & Porter LLP, JPM Strategic Solutions, National Democratic Institute (NDI) – on site in Iraq, Latham & Watkins, New York ACLU, United States Department of Justice (Demography), Inland Empire Funder's Alliance (Demography), Perkins & Coie, Elias Law Group; Campaign Legal Center; Santa Clara County (RPV Analysis); Native American Rights Fund (NARF); West Contra Costa Unified School District (Demography); Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; LatinoJustice PRLDEF, Voces de Frontera; Roswell, NM Independent School District

Expert Witness Work

Expert Witness: *LOWER BRULE SIOUX TRIBE v. LYMAN COUNTY*, 2022

Expert Witness: *Walen and Henderson v. Burgum and Jaeger No 1:22-cv-00031-PDW-CRH*, 2022

Expert Witness: *Faith Rivera, et al. v. Scott Schwab and Michael Abbott No. 2022-CV-000089*, 2022

Expert Witness: *LULAC Texas et al. v. John Scott et al (1:21-cv-0786-XR)*, 2022

Expert Witness: *Pendergrass v. Raffensperger (N.D. Ga. 2021)*,

Expert Witness: *Johnson, et al., v. WEC, et al., No. 2021AP1450-OA*, 2021

Expert Witness: *East St. Louis Branch NAACP vs. Illinois State Board of Elections*, 2021

Expert Witness: *LULAC of Iowa vs. Pate*, 2021-2022

Expert Witness: *United States Department of Justice vs. City of Hesperia*, 2021-2022

Expert Witness: *NAACP vs. East Ramapo Central School District*, New York, 2018-2019

Riverside County, Corona and Eastvale, 2015

Los Angeles County Redistricting Commission, 2011

Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino and Asian candidates in San Mateo County and alternative map creation, 2010-2011

State of California, Citizens Redistricting Commission, including Blythe, CA, in Riverside County, 2011

Monterey County, CA Redistricting, alternative map creation, 2011

Loren Collingwood

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Greenberg Quinlan Rosner

Assistant Analyst, Anna Greenberg

June 2005 - May 2007

Assisted in the development of questionnaires, focus group guidelines, memos, and survey reports for political, non-profit, and corporate clients. Moderated in-depth interviews and focus groups.

Greenberg Quinlan Rosner

Field Associate

December 2003 - June 2005

Managed qualitative and quantitative data collection process in the U.S. and internationally. Provided methodological advice, including sample stratification, sampling Latino populations, and modal sampling strategies.

Congressman Adam Schiff

Database Manager

March 2003 - June 2003

Managed constituent mail and survey databases; updated and maintained Member's Congressional voting record.

Strategic Consulting Group

Field Organizer, Carol Roberts for Congress

July 2002 - November 2002

Recruited and coordinated over 100 volunteers for mailings, canvassing, phone banking, and GOTV operations. Developed internship program and managed 15 interns from local colleges and high schools.

Institute for Policy Studies

Intern, John Cavanagh

May 2001 - August 2001

Provided research assistance for projects advocating reform of the WTO, World Bank, and IMF. Worked on reports and op-ed pieces on global economic issues advocating fair trade.