

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS
EASTERN DIVISION**

EAST ST. LOUIS BRANCH NAACP, *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

ILLINOIS STATE
BOARD OF ELECTIONS, *et al.*,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 1:21-cv-05512

**Circuit Judge Michael B. Brennan
Chief District Judge Jon E. DeGuilio
District Judge Robert M. Dow, Jr.**

**Three-Judge Court
Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 2284(a)**

Expert Report of Dr. Loren Collingwood

**Associate Professor
Department of Political Science
University of New Mexico
MSC 05-3070
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Albuquerque, NM 87131**

On behalf of Plaintiffs East St. Louis Branch NAACP, Illinois State Conference of the NAACP,
and United Congress of Community and Religious Organizations

I. 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 and 39 peer-reviewed journal articles, focusing on sanctuary cities, racial/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 and a B.A. in psychology from the California State University, Chico. 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 County, CA, independent redistricting commission in which I am charged with drawing court-ordered single member districts.

I served as a testifying expert for the plaintiff in the Voting Rights Act 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 am the quantitative expert in *LULAC vs. Pate* (Iowa), 2021, and have filed an expert report in that case. I am compensated at a rate of \$400/hour.

II. Executive Summary

I have been asked by plaintiffs representing East St. Louis NAACP, Illinois State Conference of the NAACP, and UCCRO to: 1) Assess whether voting in Illinois House of Representative District 114 (HD 114) and the surrounding area is racially polarized; 2) Assess whether there are differences in voter participation between white voters and Black voters; 3) assess the likely performance of HD 114 under SB927, which was enacted in September 2021; 4) Assess the likely performance of HD 114 under the remedial plan proposed by Plaintiffs. After reviewing data and conducting a variety of analyses, I conclude that:

- racially polarized voting is present in the electoral jurisdiction under examination,
- white voters vote at higher rates than do Black voters,
- the Black population has dropped in HD 114,
- that HD 114 goes from being a relatively safe seat for the candidate of choice of Black voters in the 2011 plan to a tossup district under the SB927 House District 114 plan,

- and that the HD 114 remedial district is a strong performance seat for the candidate of choice of Black voters.

My opinions are based on the following data sources, which are delineated in depth throughout the report: 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020 voting district shape files (issued by the Democratic Party); precinct election returns from either St. Clair County, Illinois Secretary of State, or the redistricting data hub; Citizen Voting Age Population block group data ranging from 2008-2014 - 2015-2019; 2010 and 2020 Census population data; 2011-2019 American Community (ACS) 5-year population data; 2011 House District 114 shape file, the SB927 House districts file, an HD 114 remedial shape file provided to me by plaintiff's lawyers; expert testimony, and relevant depositions.

This report contains four primary sections: 1) Racially Polarized Voting (RPV) analysis; 2) Voter Turnout analysis; 3) RPV and performance analysis of SB927 HD114; and 4) Remedial plan performance analysis.

1) Racially Polarized Voting

Racially polarized voting (RPV) is said to occur when one racial group (i.e., Black voters) consistently votes for one candidate or set of candidates, and the other racial group (i.e., white voters) regularly votes for another candidate or set of candidates. Analysts examine multiple elections across years to determine whether a pattern of RPV is present in a given geography and/or political jurisdiction. In a two-candidate election contest, RPV is present when a majority of voters belonging to one racial/ethnic group vote for one candidate and a majority of voters who belong to another racial/ethnic group prefer the other candidate. The favored candidate is called a "candidate of choice." However, if a majority of voters of one racial group back a particular candidate and so do a majority of voters from another racial group, then RPV is not present in that contest.

Racially polarized voting does not mean voters are racist or intend to discriminate. Rather, Section two of the Voting Rights Act helps guard against vote dilution of minority voters, such that when it is realistically feasible the redistricting process should ensure minority voters the ability to elect candidates of choice. In situations where RPV is clearly present, majority voters may be able to block minority voters from electing candidates of choice. At issue

in this report is whether the SB927 version of Illinois House District 114 potentially dilutes Black voters' *ability to elect* candidates of choice. That is, do Black voters have the ability to elect their candidates of choice or has their ability to elect a candidate diminished under the SB927 version of HD 114?

To determine if RPV exists, experts must generally infer individual level voting behavior from aggregate data -- called ecological inference. We want to know how groups of voters (i.e., Blacks or whites) voted in a particular election when all we have to analyze are precinct vote returns and demographic composition. Experts have at their disposal several methods to analyze RPV: ecological inference (EI), ecological regression (ER), and homogeneous precinct analysis. **Homogenous precinct analysis** is useful because of its natural intuition: If a precinct is 100% Black for instance, we will by definition correctly estimate the Black vote in that precinct. Further, if we assume that Black voters in high vs. low density precincts vote cohesively, we can rely on homogenous precincts to distill Black voter preference. However, the latter assumption is not always true, therefore, **ecological regression** has an advantage of using all available data. That said, ecological regression -- which is a simple linear equation -- can produce illogical estimates above 100%, in other words the method is not bounded. **Ecological inference** improves upon ecological regression because it incorporates variation in racial voting behavior by precinct as well as the method of bounds which constrains the plausible vote share by race based on available data (Duncan and Davis 1953; King 1997). Finally, in cases with multiple candidates and racial groups, experts have also developed what has come to be known as the Rows by Columns (RxC) approach (Lau et al. 2020).

In jurisdictions with homogenous precincts, each method is likely to produce very similar results (Grofman et al. 1992). The R software package, eiCompare (Collingwood et al., 2020), builds upon packages eiPack (Lau et al, 2020) and ei (King and Roberts 2016) to streamline RPV analysis, and includes all of these aforementioned statistical methods. In this report, I rely on ecological inference and homogenous precinct analysis as implemented in the R software package eiCompare.

To examine RPV, experts gather precinct statement of vote returns that include precinct tallies of candidate vote, total ballots cast, and registered voters. Experts then convert each

candidate's vote into a percent, and weigh each precinct's contribution to the vote by total vote. Experts then gather data from the U.S. Census, American Community Survey, or voter files to generate a measure of racial distribution in the precinct. However, because blocks and block groups have different boundaries than precincts, experts must rely on a spatial join between one geography (precinct) and the other (block group) that estimates each racial group's share of each precinct. This process entails overlaying geographically coded files, commonly known as shape files in a software system with Geographic Information Systems (GIS) capacity. Ultimately, whichever technical method an expert chooses, they rely on two sets of data at the precinct level: 1) the racial composition of the precinct and 2) the number of votes each candidate received.

I rely on bi-yearly precinct shape files generated by the Illinois Democratic Party. Each file includes polygon boundaries for each precinct for that year's election. I then downloaded relevant block group shape files that also contained citizen voting age population (CVAP) data from the Redistricting Datahub website for the state of Illinois.¹ For instance, if I am looking at a 2014 contest, I rely on CVAP data from the 2009-2014 ACS; if I am examining a 2020 contest, I rely on CVAP data from the 2015-2019. The ACS is an annual survey of about 1.8% of U.S. households conducted by the Census Bureau, and includes questions about race/ethnicity, age, and citizenship status. The 5-year ACS compiles data across five years of surveys and contains enough granular information to produce estimates at the block group level. I conducted a spatial aerial interpolation between the two units (precinct and block group) -- which is a common procedure for placing populations from one set of polygons into another (Pebesma, 2018). Finally, I convert the racial estimates to a percent prior to conducting the RPV analysis.

Racially Polarized Voting Results

In this report, I analyze RPV in highly probative general election contests between Black and white candidates in and around the area of the current (i.e., 2011) Illinois House District 114, State Senate District 57, and St. Clair County, IL, between 2014 - 2020. I look at these contests because they feature the scenario where RPV is most likely and are the best simulation of what will most likely occur in the new HD-114. Table 1 lists the following contests:

¹ Redistricting Data Hub, Illinois available at <https://redistrictingdatahub.org/state/illinois/>

Table 1. Contests analyzed, candidate race, winner status, and racially polarized voting summary.

Year	Seat	Black Candidate	White Candidate	Winner	RPV
2014g	StC Board of Review	Moore	Wilson	Wilson	Yes
2016g	StC Circuit Clerk	Clay	Cook	Clay	Yes
2020g	StC Board of Review	Williams	Wilson	Wilson	Yes
2020g	Illinois 114 House	Greenwood	Barnes	Greenwood	Yes
2016g	Illinois 114 House	Greenwood	Romanik	Greenwood	Yes
2018g	Illinois 57 Senate	Belt	Hildenbrand	Belt	Yes
2014g	Illinois 57 Senate	Clayborne	Ruocco	Clayborne	Yes

Figure 1 presents the results of the ecological inference racially polarized voting analysis of seven contests between a Black and white candidate from 2014-2020. The top panel reveals vote preference by race for the Black candidate by year; whereas the bottom panel reveals vote preference by race for the white candidate by year. Overall, Black voters back Black candidates between 85-99% of the time, whereas white voters back white candidates between 61-73% of the time. White cross-over voting for Black candidates exists, but the number is typically in the higher 20s to 30s. These results provide strong evidence of racially polarized voting within the 2011 House District 114, 2011 Senate District 57, and indeed the county at large. The pattern is consistent and endemic to the political jurisdictions within St. Clair County.

Beginning in 2020, in the race for House District 114, Greenwood (Black) received an estimated 95% of the Black vote, whereas Barnes (white) received an estimated 67% of the white vote. The 2020 St. Clair County Board of Review shows similar findings: Williams (Black) notches nearly 99% of the Black vote, whereas Wilson (white) receives 62% of the white vote.²

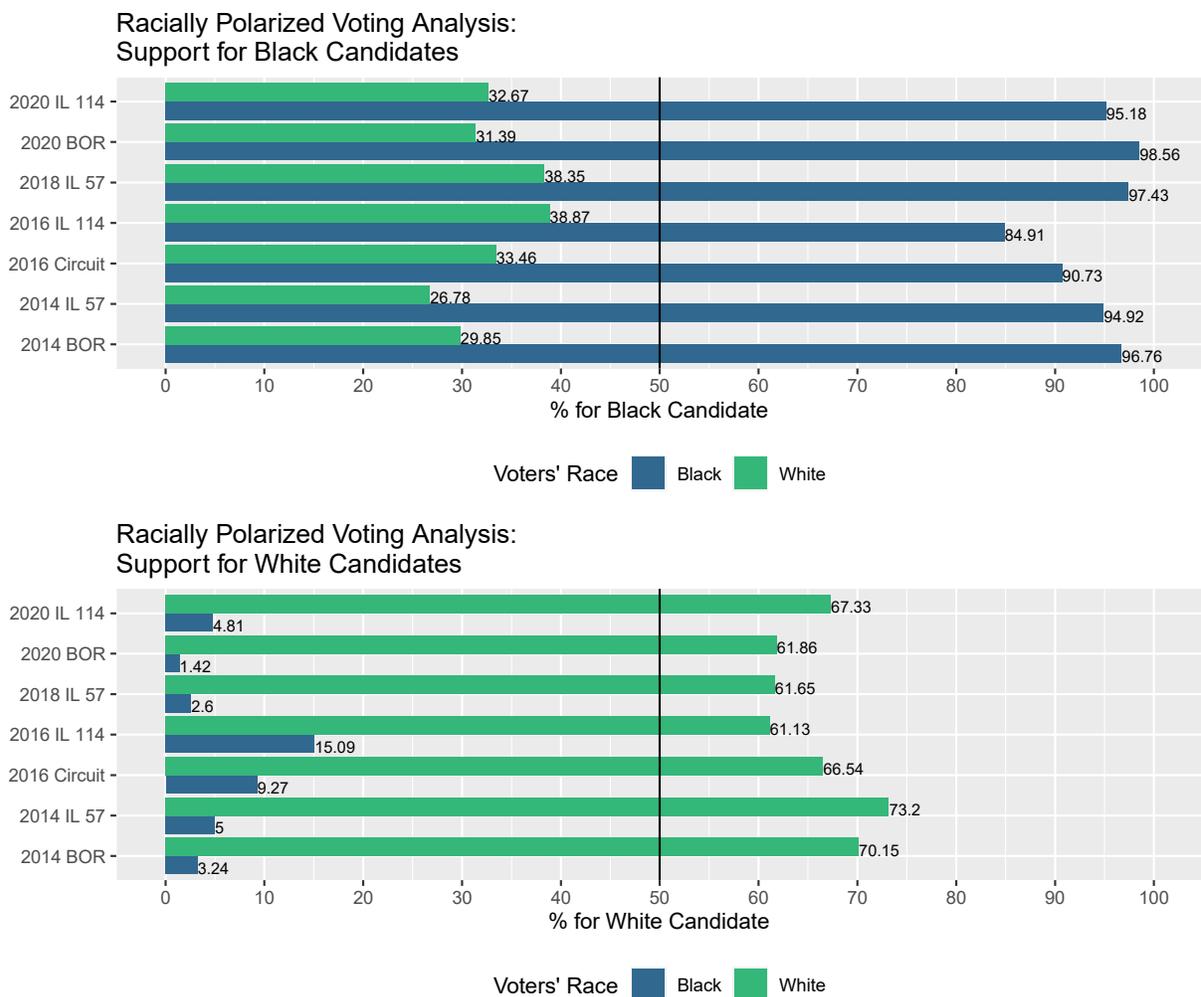
² These analyses incorporate all precincts within the county that were part of the election, including those outside of the Illinois House District 114. I also ran the contests in precincts just within the then 114th. The results were virtually the same. For example, in the 2020 St. Clair County Board of Review contest, Blacks favor Williams 99%-1%; whites back Wilson 71% - 29%. In the 2016 St. Clair County Circuit contest, Blacks favor Clay 91% - 9%; whites back Cook 69% - 31%. To verify that the county election findings hold in just the precincts within the SB

The year 2018 featured one contest between a Black candidate, Belt, and white candidate, Hildenbrand, for Illinois State Senate 57. Belt scored 97% of the Black vote, whereas Hildenbrand obtained 62% of the white vote. The year 2016 produced a similar trend. In the race for House District 114, Greenwood (Black) won the Black vote with an estimated 85%, whereas whites gave Romanik (white) an estimated 61% of their vote. The 2016 St. Clair County Circuit contest featured Clay (Black) vs. Cook (white). Blacks gave Clay an estimated 91% of their vote, and Cook just 9% of their vote. Meanwhile, whites preferred Cook to Clay 67% - 33%.

Two Black vs. white candidate contests emerged in 2014: State Senate 57 and St. Clair County Board of Review. The St. Clair Board of Review featured Moore (Black) vs. Wilson (white). Blacks backed Moore with 97% of the vote, whereas whites backed Wilson at 70%. Finally, in the IL State Senate 57 race, Blacks gave Clay 95% of their vote, and whites backed Ruocco at 73%. These results reveal a consistent pattern of racially polarized voting.

927 version House District 114, I also ran an ecological inference analysis of the 2020, 2016, and 2014 county contests that were limited to the precincts contained within the SB927 version of District 114. I present those findings a bit later on in the report.

Figure 1. Ecological Inference results featuring Black and white candidates between 2014-2020.

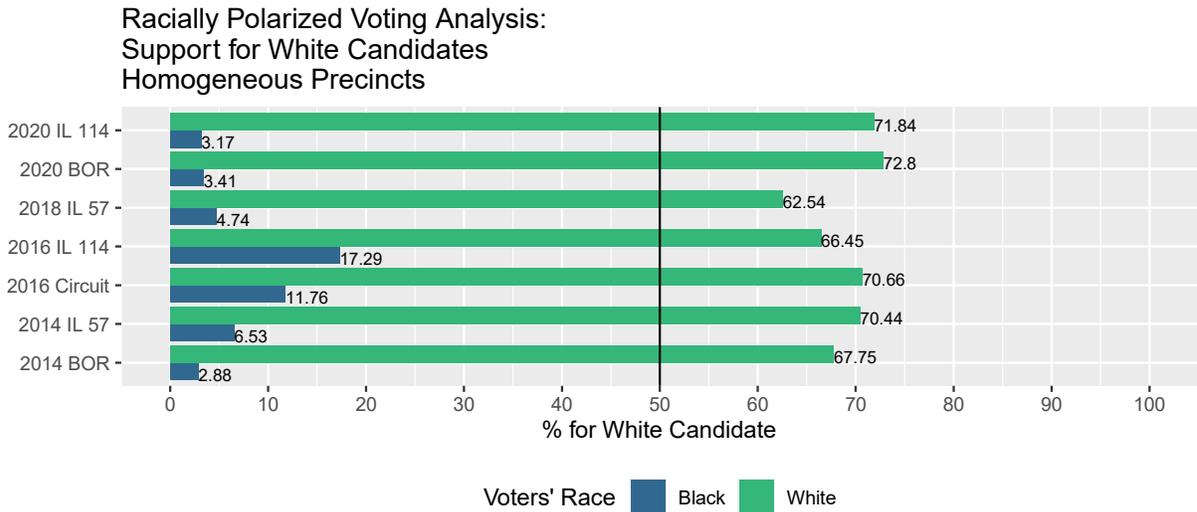
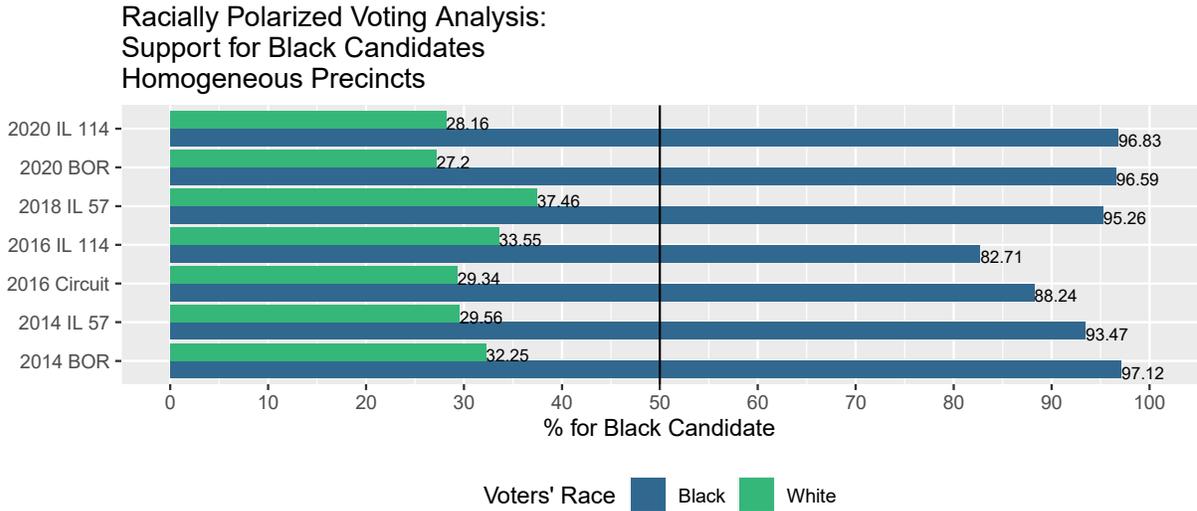


I examined the exact same contests using the homogeneous precincts analysis approach, setting the precinct selection at 90% white/Black cutoff, respectively. That is, the homogeneous precinct analysis protocol subsets all precincts that are 90% white (Black) or higher then takes the average of each candidate’s vote. This average then proxies the “white vote share” and “Black vote share”, respectively.

Figure 2 presents the results. The findings are similar to the ecological inference findings, and tend to show even stronger evidence of racially polarized voting. Overall, Black voters consistently back Black candidates at a rate above 80% and more often, greater than 90%. White voters meanwhile never give majority support to a Black candidate. Instead, white voters

consistently support the white candidate at a rate of 63-73%. As with the ecological inference findings, these results present very clear evidence of racially polarized voting.

Figure 2. Homogenous precinct analysis results featuring Black and white candidates between 2014-2020.



2) Voter Turnout by Race

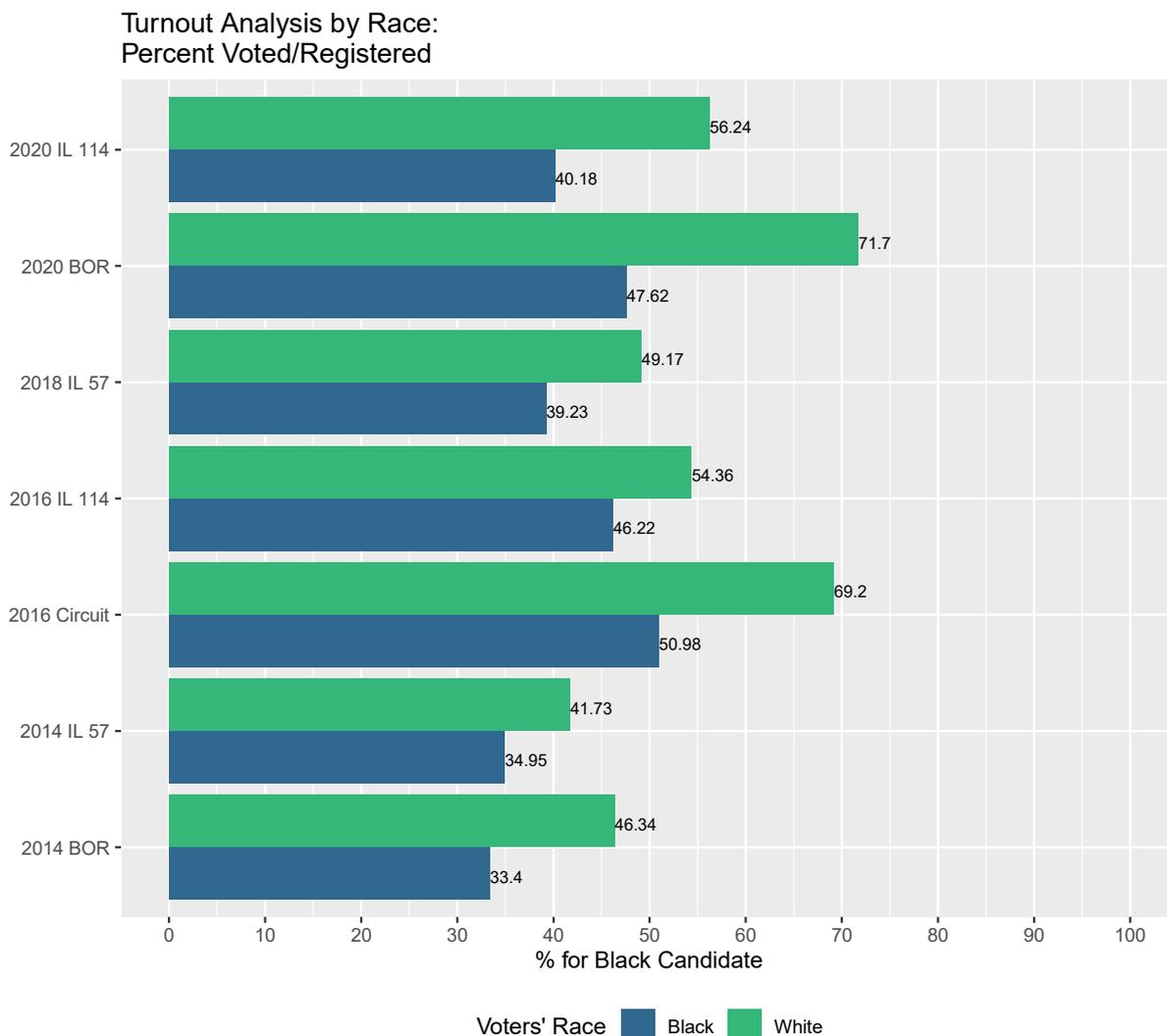
The next step in my analysis examines voter turnout by race. If Black voters consistently turn out at lower rates than do white voters, then changing the share of Black voters in the House District 114 might put a Black candidate at risk of election loss in the jurisdiction. This is

important because in order to comply with the Voting Rights Acts, demographers develop maps based on racial characteristics taken from voting age or citizen voting age population, not on actual voters. Thus, even though Blacks may make up a plurality of racial groups in a district, if Black turnout is lower than that of whites, and given that we know there is racially polarized voting in the district, the Black share of the new district's voters might put Black elected officials at risk of losing elections.

I use the same ecological inference method as above to estimate voter turnout. However, instead of placing candidate share on the left side of the EI equation, I place percent vote. This is calculated by taking the total number of votes in the contested election divided by the total number of registered voters. For example, in a hypothetical two-candidate contest, if Candidate Smith received 100 votes in Precinct XY2 and Candidate Collingwood received 99 votes in the same precinct, a total of 199 votes have been cast. If there are 800 registered voters in the precinct, turnout is calculated at 24.88%.

Figure 3 presents the results. The results show a very consistent pattern of turnout differential by race. The pattern holds across election year and office. The smallest gap between Black and white turnout is 10 percentage points in the 2018 Illinois State Senate 57 contest where 49% of whites and 39% of Blacks voted. This gap grows to 24 percentage points in the 2020 Board of Review election. There, nearly 72% of registered whites cast a ballot but just 48% of registered Blacks did so.

Figure 3. Turnout analysis by race, using ecological inference to estimate percent voted/registered.



Demographic Trends: White and Black Population Movements

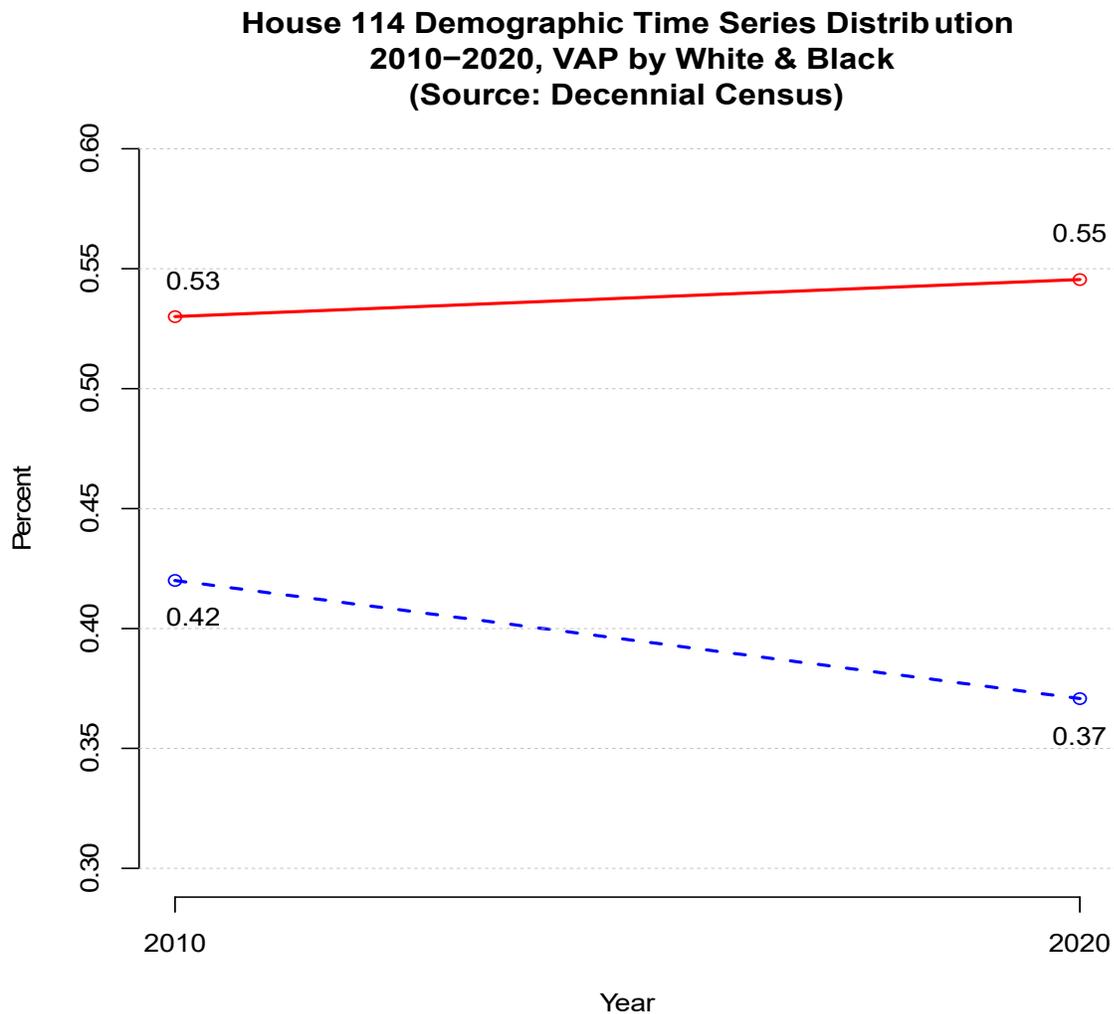
The plaintiffs have asked me to examine demographic change in the area that comprises the 114th District. I therefore examined racial population change in the 2011-114th House District. To do so, for 2010, I located voting age population by race from Illinois House Dems website.³ For 2020, I downloaded the Illinois lower chamber legislative boundary file containing Census population data for 2020, subsetting to the 114th lower. I then select P4 population

³ http://ilhousedems.com/redistricting/2011-maps/Legislative_Districts_Public_Act/HouseChart.pdf

variables, which are voting age population (18+): Population 18 = P0040001, White 18+ = P0040005, and Black 18+ = P0040006.

Figure 4 provides a visual depiction of the voting age population trends. Beginning on the left side of the x-axis, in 2010, 42% of residents in the lower chamber HD-114th were Black compared to 53% who were white. However, by 2020, the new Census estimates that just 37% of the HD-114 voting age population is Black with 55% being white.

Figure 4. Demographic trends in House District 114 between 2010 - 2020. 2010 and 2020 data are taken from the Decennial Census



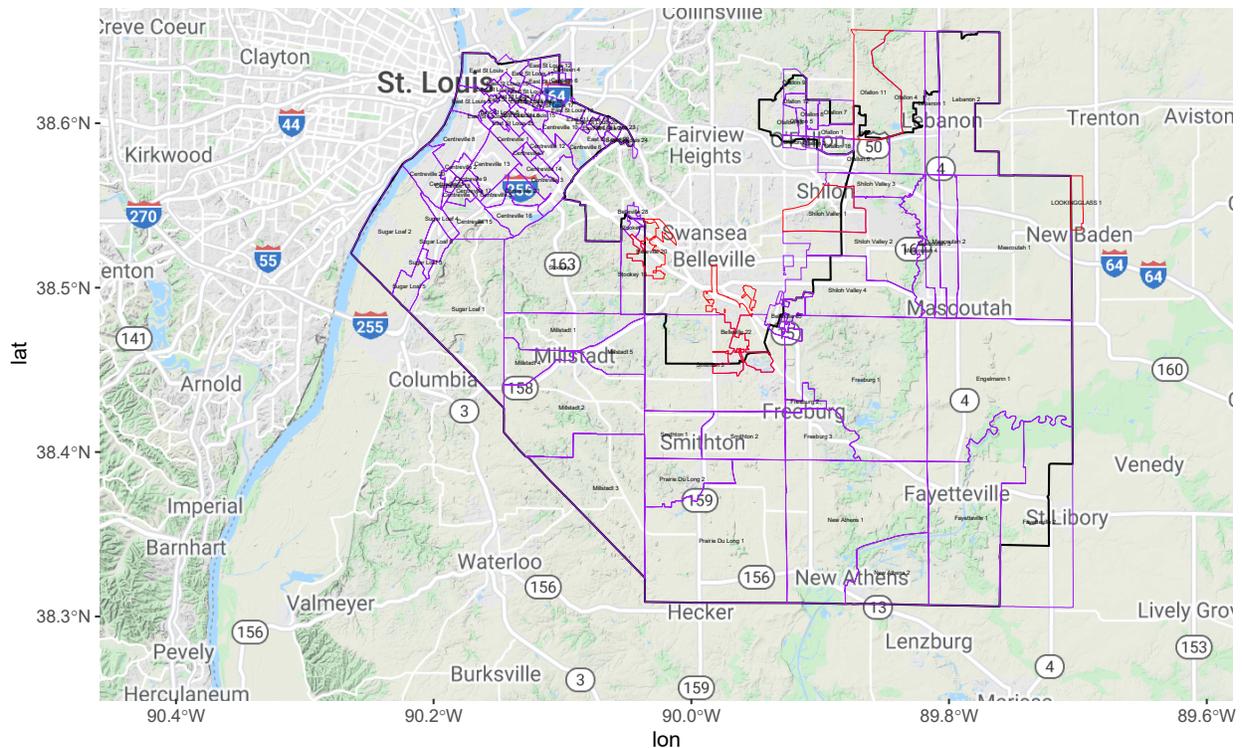
3) SB-927 House District 114 Racially Polarized Voting and Performance

Next, I assess racially polarized voting and electoral performance in the new SB-927 HD-114 using data from the three St. Clair County contests from 2014-2020 featuring Black and white candidates. I focus on these contests, as noted in testimony from Jonathan Maxson of the House Redistricting Office, because results in SB927 HD-114 tend to be much more competitive in local contests than in statewide elections. Further, these contests were not included in the Redistricting Office's Autbound Democratic Performance index, which may have indicated a higher performing district than what is realistically plausible in a more localized contest like state house.⁴ In 2014, this includes County Board of Review (Moore-D vs. Wilson-R); in 2016 the Circuit Clerk (Clay-D vs. Cook-R); and in 2020 the Board of Review (Williams-D vs. Wilson-R). I choose countywide contests because I can fully reconstruct previous elections in the new SB-927 HD-114, whereas that is not possible if I say select previous HD-114 contests or State senate 57 contests. I also choose to analyze contests between white and Black contests because these are most probative.

Before I proceed with a presentation of results, I note one challenge that emerges with reconstructing previous election results to newly drawn districts. Figure 5 presents the scope of the problem, which is that some boundary precincts are split across the 114th and an adjacent district. This occurs because demographers draw districts based on Census block boundaries, and precincts and boundaries do not perfectly overlap.

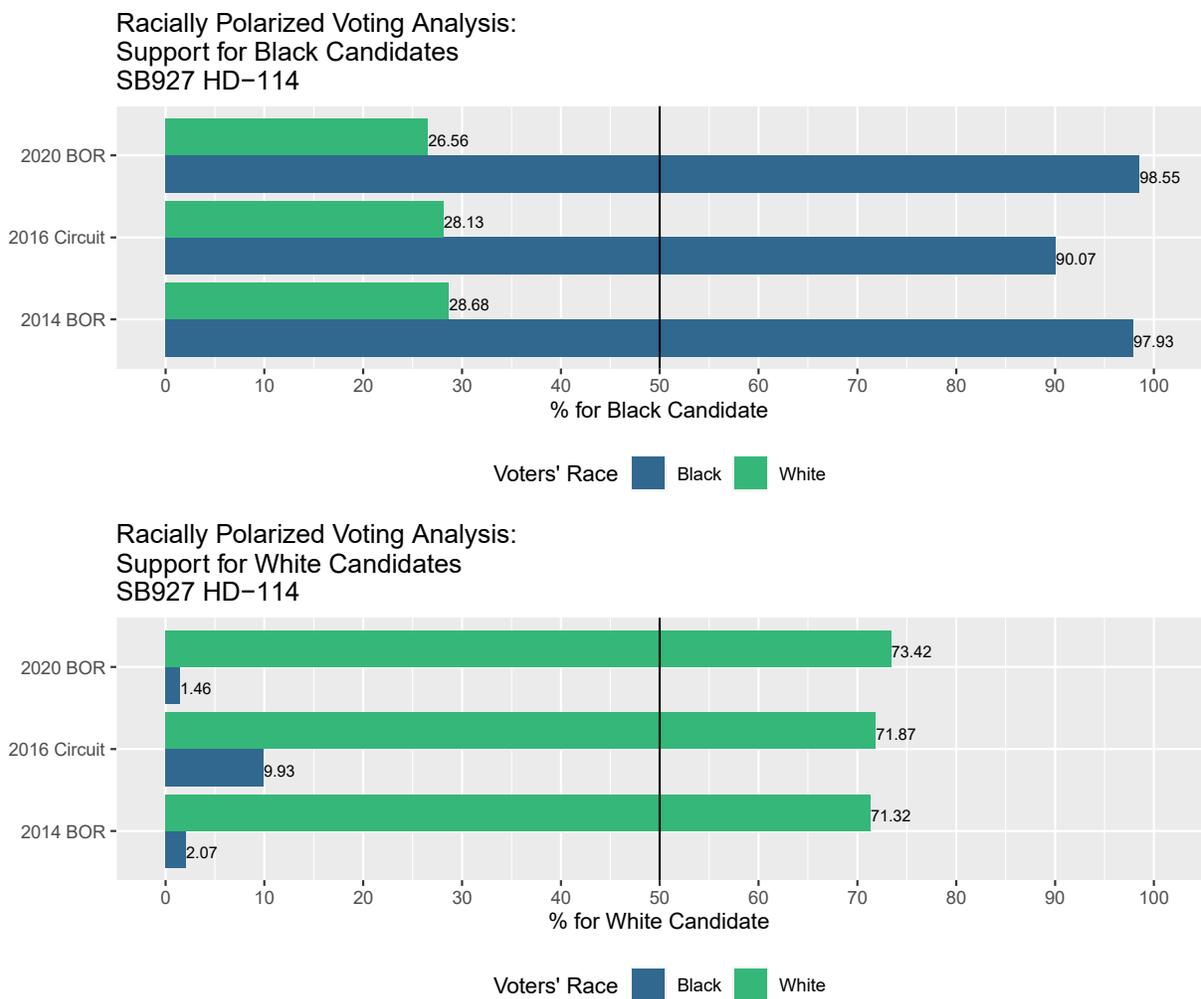
Precincts shaded in red are captured by my boundary buffer but are clearly split between HD114 and the neighboring district. In the case of red precincts like O'Fallon 11, I have chosen to drop them from HD114 because visually they appear to be less inside the district than inside the district. Conversely, I keep precincts like Smithton 3 and O'Fallon 4 inside HD114. To be sure, there are multiple ways to handle split precincts, but an analyst can never perfectly replicate the new boundary with old precincts.

⁴ Deposition testimony from Jonathan Maxson, page 206.

Figure 5. Reconstructing 2020 VTDs with SB927 HD-114.

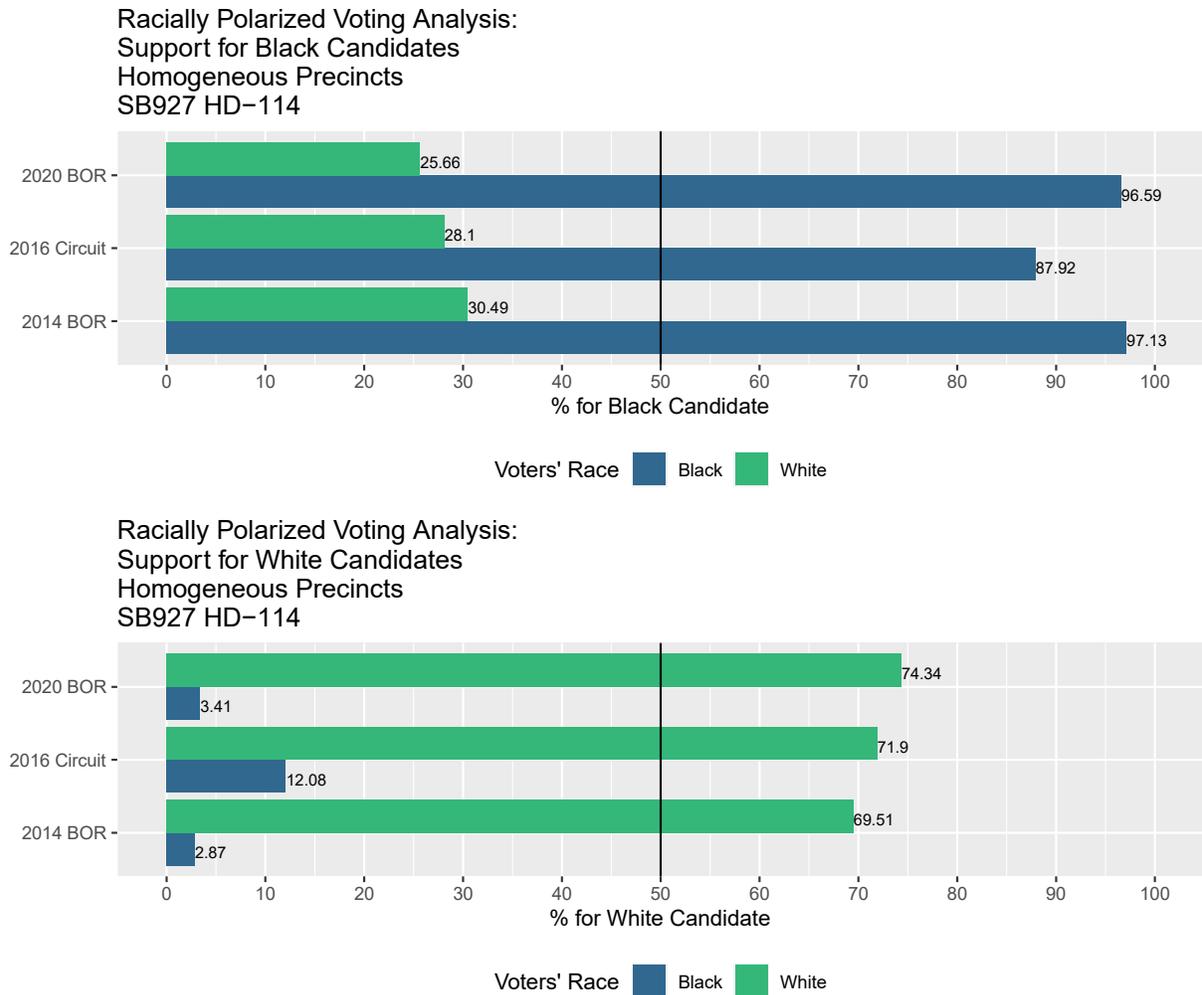
As with the initial analysis, I find strong and consistent evidence of racially polarized voting in SB927 HD-114 that is slightly stronger than in the countywide analysis of these elections. Figure 6 presents findings based on the ecological inference formula. Black voters back the Black candidate at rates between 90-99%, whereas white voters support the White candidate between 72% - 74% of the time. Again, this is strong and consistent evidence of racially polarized voting. Moreover, this gives some indication that fewer white voters in the portion of the county included in the SB 927 version of HB 114 will support Black candidates than in the county as a whole.

Figure 6. Ecological Inference results featuring Black and white candidates in countywide contests in reconstructed SB927 HD-114 precincts between 2014-2020.



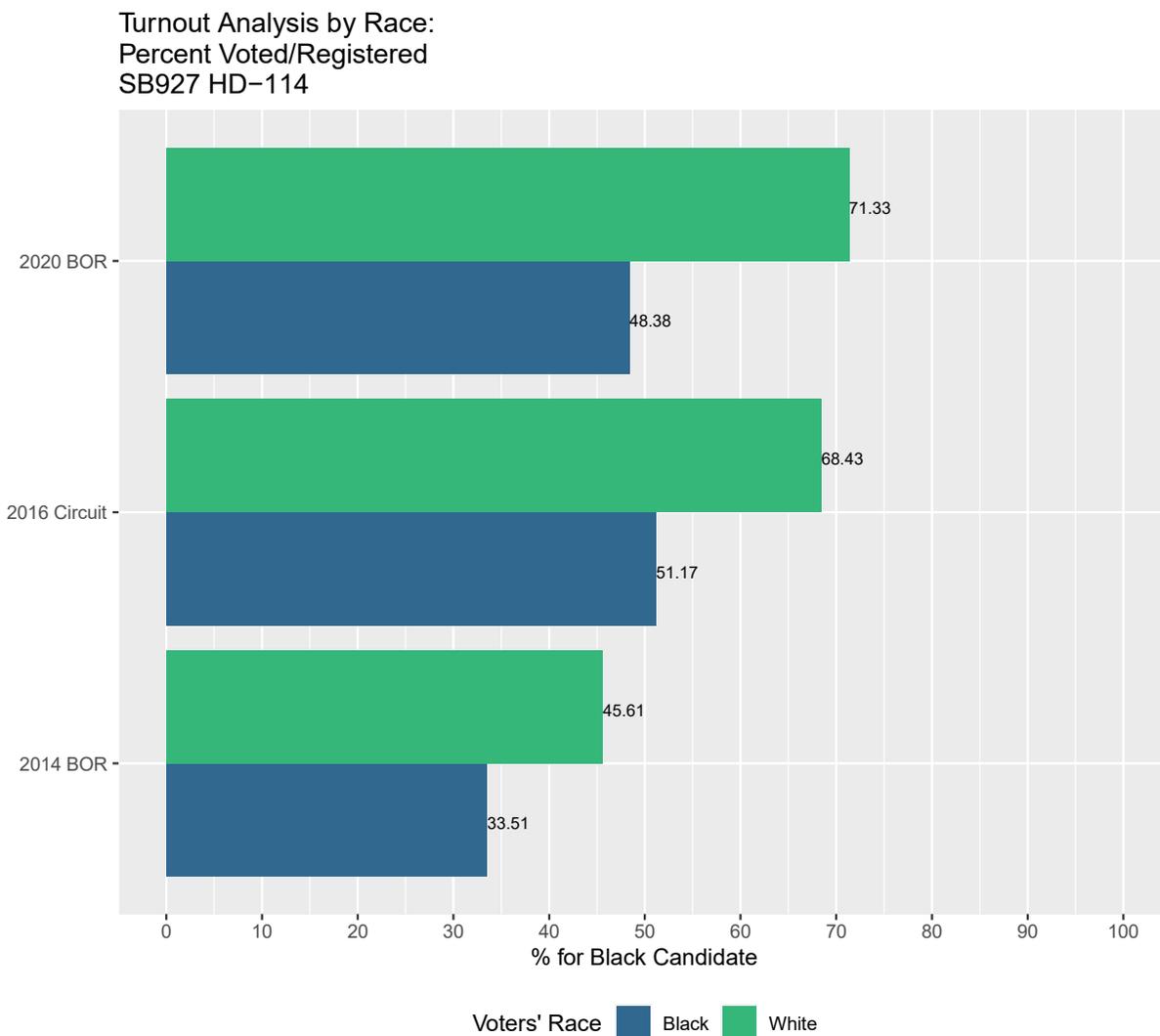
As with above, I also examine RPV based on homogeneous precincts. The findings, presented in Figure 7, are consistent with the ecological inference analysis and with the homogeneous precinct analysis based off the 2011 HD-114 district.

Figure 7. Homogenous precinct analysis results featuring Black and white candidates in countywide contests in reconstructed SB927 HD-114 precincts between 2014-2020.



Next, I examine voter turnout across these three contests in the SB927 HD-114 seat. Consistent with my earlier voter turnout analysis, white voters have a higher turnout rate than do Black voters, as shown in Figure 8.

Figure 8. Turnout analysis by race, using ecological inference to estimate percent voted/registered. Countywide contests involving Black and white candidates in reconstructed SB927 HD-114 precincts between 2014-2020.



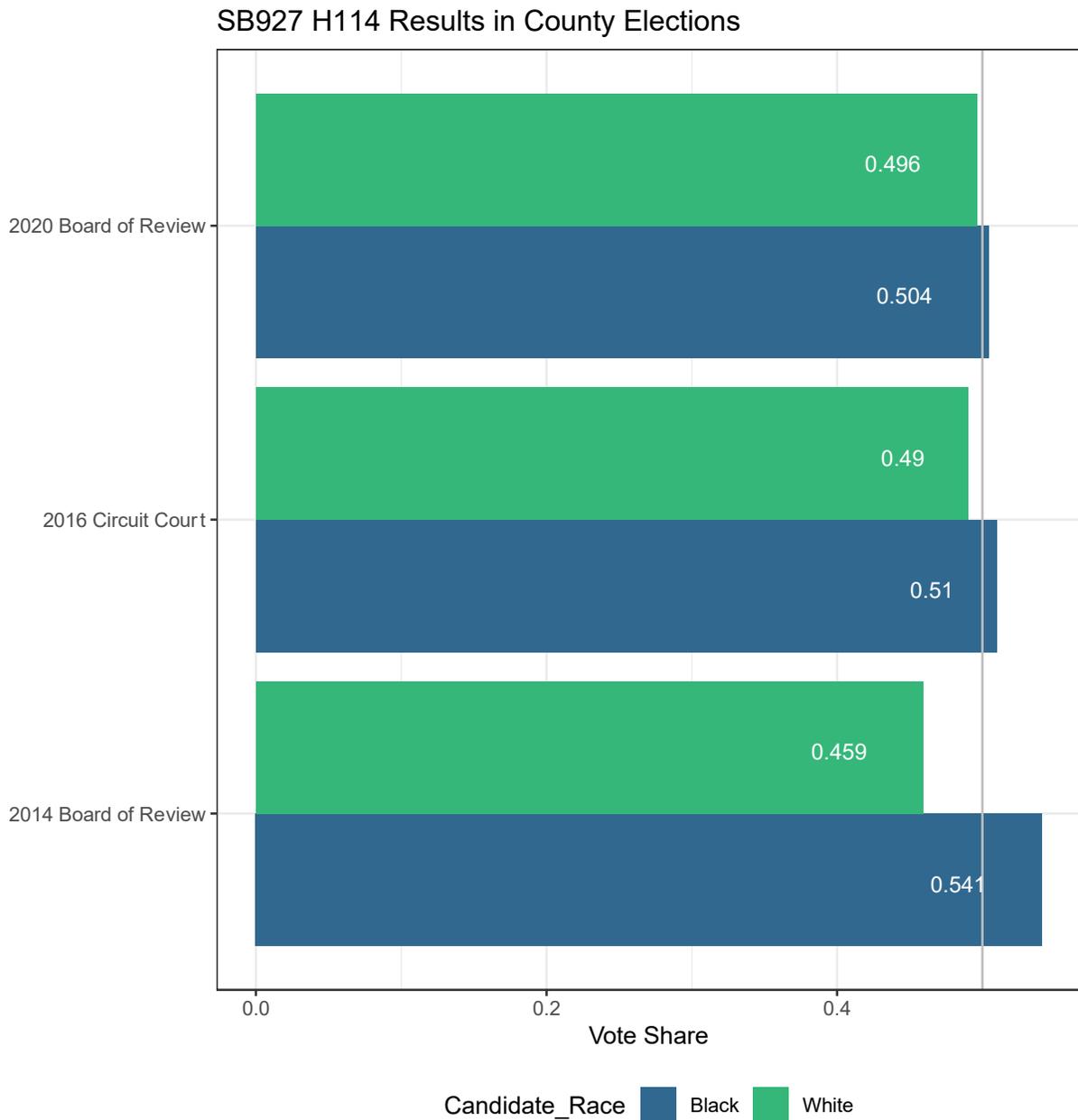
Finally, I conduct a performance analysis based on the appropriate precincts falling within SB927 HD-114. Using the spatial method demonstrated above in Figure 5, I collected the precinct election results for the appropriate precincts. For instance, this includes 97 precincts for the 2020 Board of Review contest. I then sum Williams' and Wilson's respective votes in these 97 precincts and divide by the total votes cast.

Figure 9 presents the reconstructed election results for the three countywide elections. In the 2020 Board of Review election, the Black candidate (Williams) received 27,048 votes and the white candidate (Wilson) received 26,596 votes, for a narrow victory 50.4% - 49.6% for the

Black candidate. The 2016 Circuit Court contest is also very close (51% for Clay - 49% for Cook). However, the 2014 contest reveals a more convincing victory for the Black candidate: 54% - 46% for the Board of Review contest.

While the Black Democratic candidate -- who is preferred by Black voters in the reconstructed district -- won the three elections, the over-time patterns suggest this district has trended from favoring Black Democratic candidates towards a toss-up. Indeed, the 2020 Board of Review election is essentially a coin flip. Given that Blacks have recently declined as a share of the population in the area, it seems reasonable that as Blacks move out, and/or turn out at even lower rates than they do now relative to whites, the likelihood that Blacks' candidate of choice will win will further reduce over time. Given that under the 2011 Plan, the Black candidate preferred by Black voters received between at least 57.1% of the total vote, the SB 927 version of HB 114 significantly reduces the opportunity for Black voters to elect their candidates of choice as the HB 114 has gone from a relatively safe seat to a toss-up.

Figure 9. Electoral performance analysis of countywide contests between Black and white candidates in reconstructed VTDs with SB927 HD-114 precincts.



4) Remedial Plan Performance Analysis

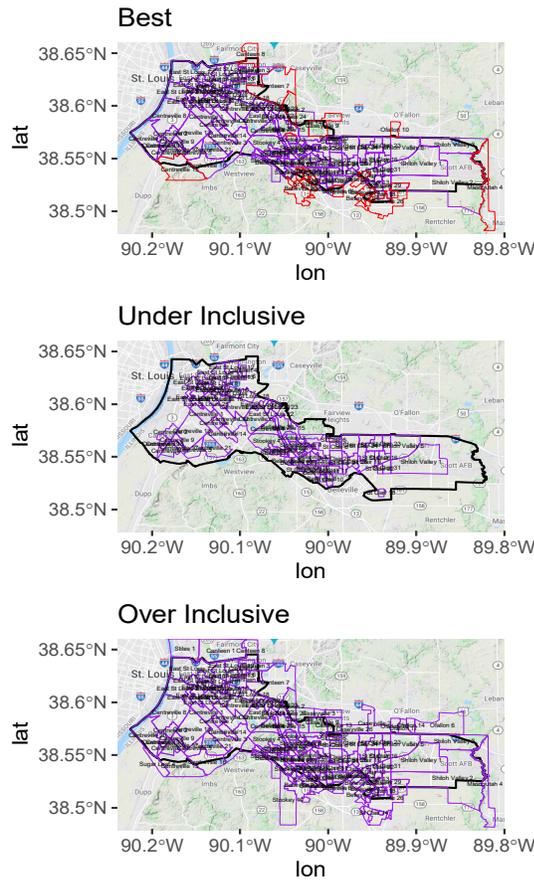
Thus far, I have demonstrated a pattern of clear racially polarized voting in St. Clair County, IL, and that whites consistently vote at higher rates than do Blacks. The plaintiff has proposed a map that would rectify concerns that the new HD-114 will fail to reliably elect Black

voters' candidates of choice. In this section, I present an analysis analyzing precincts falling within the boundaries of the remedial map plan. The clear overall pattern is that the remedial plan provides safe victories for Black candidates.

Plaintiffs' lawyers provided me with the remedial plan shape files. I overlaid these shape files with precinct shape files followed the identical method I reviewed above but with the remedial map. One methodological issue with performance analysis that should be noted is the fact that precincts at the proposed district boundaries can be split between the proposed district and another hypothetical district. This occurs because demographers draw districts based on blocks and not layers.

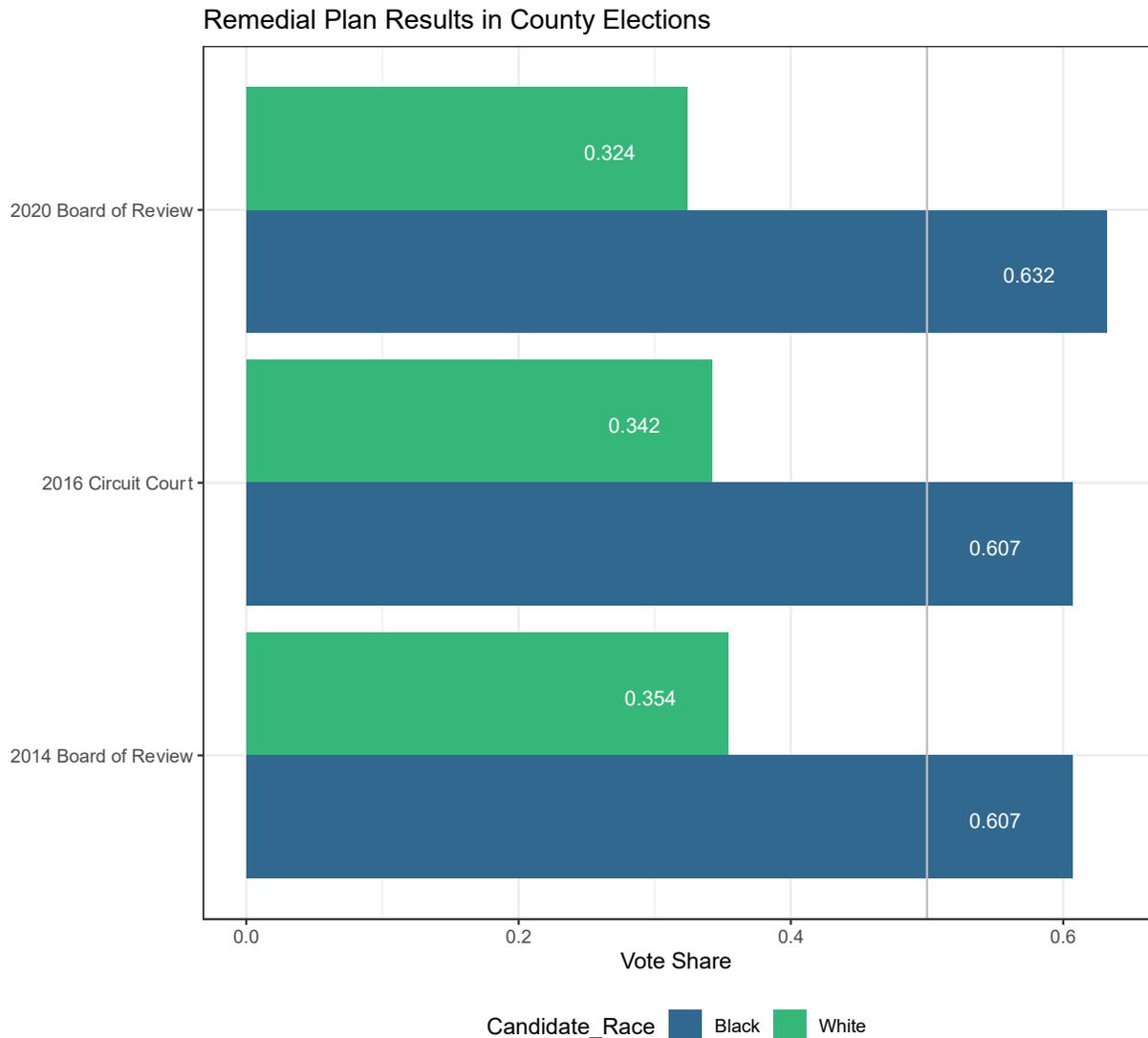
Figure 10 presents the scope of the problem in the remedial plan. The figure presents three possible precinct aggregations, and further shows that the issue of split precincts is an extremely small problem. Just a handful of precincts are split across district lines. The top panel highlights in red split precincts that I include in the remedial plan performance analysis. The middle panel includes precincts wholly falling inside the remedial district, and the bottom panel includes precincts that are either fully inside or partly inside. The top panel essentially cuts the difference and is the approach I take. Importantly, the substantive conclusions do not change from map to map.

Figure 10. Remedial plan and precinct overlay, 2020.



With the selected remedial plan precincts, I summed Candidate A and B precinct vote totals for a variety of county and statewide offices. Figure 11 presents results of the three countywide Black-white contests from years ranging between 2014-2020. In all cases, the Black candidate receives at least 60 percent of the vote. This proposed district therefore ensures that Black voters in the region will have the *ability to elect* candidates of choice.

Figure 11. Electoral performance analysis of countywide contests between Black and white candidates in reconstructed VTDs within the remedial plan precincts.

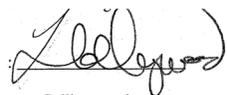


III. Comment Upon State’s Expert Testimony

Finally, I evaluated Dr. Allan Lichtman’s testimony (the state voting rights expert consultant) concerning racially polarized voting in the state of Illinois. Lichtman provides a variety of polling evidence to show that RPV is not extreme in the state of Illinois, focusing particularly on Obama’s presidential election results, and Chicago mayoral elections. However, as far as I can tell, the expert did not evaluate racially polarized voting in St. Clair County, neither in the old HD-114, nor in SB927 HD-114. Had he done so, he would have almost surely

discovered that RPV exists in the jurisdiction, and that SB927 HD-114 puts Blacks' ability to elect candidates of choice at risk -- especially when we consider population changes within St. Clair County.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct. Executed on November 9, 2021

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Loren Collingwood", written over a horizontal line.

Dr. Loren Collingwood

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Appendix A

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Employment

Associate Professor, University of New Mexico, 2020 - Present
Associate Professor, University of California, Riverside 2019 - 2020
Assistant Professor, University of California, Riverside 2012 - 2019
Assistant Analyst, Greenberg Quinlan Rosner, Washington DC 2005-2007
Field Associate, Greenberg Quinlan Rosner, Washington DC 2003-2005

Education

Ph.D., Political Science, University of Washington 2007 - 2012
Committee: Matt Barreto (chair), Chris Parker, Luis Fraga, Chris Adolph, Peter Hoff
M.A., Political Science, University of Washington, 2009
B.A., Psychology, California State University, Chico, 1998 - 2002
Minor: Political Science
Honors: *Cum Laude*, NCAA Scholar-Athlete in soccer

Research Fields

American Politics, Political Behavior, Methods, Race and Ethnic Politics, Immigration

Books

2. **Collingwood, Loren.** *Campaigning in a Racially Diversifying America: When and How Cross-Racial Electoral Mobilization Works.* 2020. Oxford University Press.

Featured in *Veja*, Brazil

1. **Collingwood, Loren** and Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien. *Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge.* 2019. Oxford University Press.

Featured in *Teen Vogue*, *Seattle Times*; *Phoenix New Times*

Articles

39. **Collingwood, Loren**, Gabriel Martinez, and Kassra Oskooii. “Undermining Sanctuary? When Local and National Partisan Cues Diverge.” *Urban Affairs Review*. (Forthcoming).
38. **Collingwood, Loren** and Benjamin Gonzalez O’Brien. “Is Distance to Drop Box an Appropriate Proxy for Drop Box Treatment? A Case Study of Washington State.” *American Politics Research*. (Forthcoming)
37. Morín, Jason L., Rachel Torres, and **Loren Collingwood**. “Cosponsoring and Cashing in: U.S. House Members’ support for punitive immigration policy and financial payoffs from the private prison industry.” *Business and Politics*. (Forthcoming).

Featured in KOAT-ABQ news

36. Barreto, Matt, Michael Cohen, **Loren Collingwood**, Chad Dunn, and Sonni Waknin. “A Novel Method for Showing Racially Polarized Voting: The Promise of Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding.” *New York University Review of Law and Social Change*. 46(1). (Forthcoming)
35. Hickel, Flavio, Rudy Alamillo, Kassra Oskooii, and **Loren Collingwood**. “When American Identity Trumps Latinx Identity: Explaining Support for Restrictive Immigration Policies.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Forthcoming)

Featured in Academic Times

34. Walker, Hannah, **Loren Collingwood**, and Tehama Lopez Bunyasi. “White Response to Black Death: A Racialized Theory of White Attitudes About Gun Control.” *DuBois Review*. (Forthcoming).
33. Barreto, Matt, **Loren Collingwood**, Sergio Garcia-Rios, and Kassra Oskooii. “Estimating Candidate Support: Comparing Iterative EI & EI-RxC Methods.” *Sociological Methods & Research*. (Forthcoming).
32. Newman, Benjamin; Merolla, Jennifer; Shah, Sono; Lemi, Danielle; **Collingwood, Loren**; Ramakrishnan, Karthick. “The Trump Effect: An Experimental Investigation of the Emboldening Effect of Racially Inflammatory Elite Communication.” *British Journal of Political Science*. (Forthcoming).

Featured in New York Times; Washington Post; The Times of India; Washington Post; NBC News; New York Times; Forbes; NBC News

31. **Collingwood, Loren** and Sean Long. 2021. “Can States Promote Minority Representation? Assessing the Effects of the California Voting Rights Act.” *Urban Affairs Review*. 57(3): 731-762.

Featured in NPR; Modesto Bee, IVN News San Diego; Woodland Daily Democrat; Silicon Valley Voice; Spectrum 1

30. Oskooii, Kassra, Nazita Lajevardi, and **Loren Collingwood**. 2021. “Opinion Shift and Stability: Enduring Individual-Level Opposition to Trump’s ‘Muslim Ban’.” *Political Behavior*. 43: 301-337.

Featured in Washington Post

29. Filindra, Alexandra, **Loren Collingwood**, and Noah Kaplan. 2020. "Anxiety and Social Violence: The Emotional Underpinnings of Support for Gun Control." *Social Science Quarterly*. 101: 2101-2120.
28. McGuire, William, Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien, Katherine Baird, Benjamin Corbett, and **Loren Collingwood**. 2020. "Does Distance Matter? Evaluating the Impact of Drop Boxes on Voter Turnout." *Social Science Quarterly*. 101: 1789-1809.
27. Reny, Tyler, Ali Valenzuela, and **Loren Collingwood**. 2020. "'No, You're Playing the Race Card': Testing the Effects of Anti-Black, Anti-Latino, and Anti-Immigrant Appeals in the Post-Obama Era." *Political Psychology*. 41(2): 283-302.

Featured in VOX The Weeds Podcast

26. **Collingwood, Loren**, Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien, and Joe Tafoya. 2020. "Partisan Learning or Racial Learning: Opinion Change on Sanctuary City Policy Preferences in California and Texas." *Journal of Race and Ethnic Politics*. 5(1): 92-129.
25. **Collingwood, Loren** and Benjamin Gonzalez. 2019. "Covert Cross-Racial Mobilization, Black Activism, and Political Participation Pre-Voting Rights Act." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 97(4) Spring.
24. Gonzalez O'Brien, Ben, Elizabeth Hurst, Justin Reedy, and **Loren Collingwood**. 2019. "Framing Refuge: Media, Framing, and Sanctuary Cities." *Mass Communication and Society*. 22(6), 756-778.
23. DeMora, Stephanie, **Loren Collingwood**, and Adriana Ninci. 2019. "The Role of Super Interest Groups in Public Policy Diffusion." *Policy and Politics*. 47(4): 513-541.
22. **Collingwood, Loren**, Stephen Omar El-Khatib, Ben Gonzalez O'Brien. 2019. "Sustained Organizational Influence: American Legislative Exchange Council and the Diffusion of Anti-Sanctuary Policy." *Policy Studies Journal*. 47(3): 735-773.
21. **Collingwood, Loren** and Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien. 2019. "Public Opposition to Sanctuary Cities in Texas: Criminal Threat or Immigration Threat?" *Social Science Quarterly*. 100(4): 1182-1196.
20. Reny, Tyler, **Loren Collingwood**, and Ali Valenzuela. 2019. "Vote Switching in the 2016 Election: Racial and Immigration Attitudes, Not Economics, Explains Shifts in White Voting." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 83(1): 91-113.

Featured in VOX; The Week; The Economist; New York Times; The Economist

19. Gonzalez-O'Brien, Benjamin, **Loren Collingwood**, and Stephen Omar El-Khatib. 2019. "The Politics of Refuge: Sanctuary Cities, Crime, and Undocumented Immigration." *Urban Affairs Review*. 55(1): 3-40.

Featured in WaPo Monkey Cage I; and Monkey Cage II; WaPo Fact Check; InsideHigherEd; PolitiFact; The Hill; Christian Science Monitor; Pacific Standard; NBC News; Huffington Post; Seattle Times; The Denver Post; San Jose Mercury News; Chicago Tribune; San Diego Union Tribune; VOX

18. Oskooii, Kassra, Sarah Dreier, and **Loren Collingwood**. 2018. "Partisan Attitudes Toward Sanctuary Cities: The Asymmetrical Effects of Political Knowledge." *Politics and Policy* 46(6): 951-984.

17. **Collingwood, Loren**, Jason Morín, and Stephen Omar El-Khatib. 2018. “Expanding Carceral Markets: Detention Facilities, ICE Contracts, and the Financial Interests of Punitive Immigration Policy.” *Race and Social Problems*. 10(4): 275-292.

Featured in CityLab; The Guardian; Mother Jones; NPR
16. **Collingwood, Loren**, Benjamin Gonzalez O’Brien, and Sarah K. Dreier. 2018. “Evaluating Public Support for Legalized Marijuana: The Case of Washington.” *International Journal of Drug Policy*. 56: 6-20.
15. **Collingwood, Loren**, McGuire, Will, Gonzalez O’Brien, Ben, Baird, Katie, and Hampson, Sarah. 2018. “Do Dropboxes Improve Voter Turnout? Evidence from King County, Washington.” *Election Law Journal*. 17:1.

Featured in Seattle Times; CBS News
14. **Collingwood, Loren**, Nazita Lajevardi, and Kassra Oskooii. 2018. “A Change of Heart? How Demonstrations Shifted Individual-Level Public Opinion on Trump’s Muslim Ban.” *Political Behavior*. 40(4): 1035-1072.

Featured in VOX; ThinkProgress; LSE Blog; Al Jazeera; San Francisco Chronicle; NPR; Business Insider; Washington Post
13. **Collingwood, Loren**, Ashley Jochim, and Kassra Oskooii. 2018. “The Politics of Choice Reconsidered: Partisanship and Minority Politics in Washington’s Charter School Initiative.” *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 18(1): 61-92.
12. Newman, Ben, Sono Shah, and **Loren Collingwood**. 2018. “Race, Place, and Building a Base: Ethnic Change, Perceived Threat, and the Nascent Trump Campaign for President.” *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 82(1): 122-134.

Featured in Pacific Standard; LSE Blog; Newsweek
11. Skulley, Carrie, Andrea Silva, Marcus J. Long, **Loren Collingwood**, and Ben Bishin, “Majority Rule vs. Minority Rights: Immigrant Representation Despite Public Opposition on the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act.” 2018. *Politics of Groups and Identities*. 6(4): 593-611.
10. Alamillo, Rudy and **Loren Collingwood**. 2017. “Chameleon Politics: Social Identity and Racial Cross-Over Appeals.” *Politics of Groups and Identities*. 5(4): 533-650.

Featured in WaPo’s Monkey Cage; NBC News; Los Angeles Times
9. **Collingwood, Loren**, Kassra Oskooii, Sergio Garcia-Rios, and Matt Barreto. 2016. “eiCompare: Comparing ecological inference estimates across EI and EI:RxC.” *The R Journal*. 8(2): 92-101.

Featured in Investigate West
8. Barreto, Matt, **Loren Collingwood**, Christopher Parker, and Francisco Pedraza. 2015. “Racial Attitudes and Race of Interviewer Item Non-Response.” *Survey Practice*. 8:5.
7. Barreto, Matt and **Loren Collingwood**. 2015. “Group-based Appeals and the Latino Vote in 2012: How Immigration Became a Mobilizing Issue.” *Electoral Studies*. 40:490-499.

Featured in Latino Decisions blog

6. **Collingwood, Loren**, Matt Barreto, and Sergio Garcia-Rios. 2014. “Revisiting Latino Voting: Cross-Racial Mobilization in the 2012 Election.” *Political Research Quarterly*. 67(3): 632-645.

Featured in LSE Blog

5. Jurka, Tim, **Loren Collingwood**, Amber Boydston, Emiliano Grossman, and Wouter van Atteveldt. 2013. “RTextTools: A Supervised Learning Package for Text Classification in R” *The R Journal*. 5(1).
4. **Collingwood, Loren**. 2012. “Education Levels and Support for Direct Democracy.” *American Politics Research*, 40(4): 571-602.
3. **Collingwood, Loren** and John Wilkerson. 2012. “Tradeoffs in Accuracy and Efficiency in Supervised Learning Methods.” *Journal of Information Technology and Politics*, 9(3).
2. **Collingwood, Loren**, Matt Barreto and Todd Donovan. 2012. “Early Primaries, Viability, and Changing Preferences for Presidential Candidates.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 42(2).
1. Barreto, Matt, **Loren Collingwood**, and Sylvia Manzano. 2010. “A New Measure of Group Influence in Presidential Elections: Assessing Latino Influence in 2008.” *Political Research Quarterly*. 63(4).

Featured in Latino Decisions blog

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]

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

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 Boydston, 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 Boydston, 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, Inland Empire Funder’s Alliance (redistricting work), Perkins & Coie, Elias Law Group; Santa Clara County (RPV Analysis); Native American Rights Fund (NARF); West Contra Costa County School District

Expert Witness Work

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

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

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

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.

Loren Collingwood

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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.

Last updated: November 8, 2021

Materials Considered by Loren Collingwood

- Documents Produced by Defendants
- Joint Committee Redistricting Hearing Transcript, dated May 25, 2021
- Deposition Transcript of Jonathan Maxson, dated November 3, 2021
- Redistricting Data Hub (<https://redistrictingdatahub.org/state/illinois/>)
- St. Clair County Previous Election Results (<https://www.co.st-clair.il.us/departments/county-clerk/elections/previous-election-results>)
- 2014 St. Clair County Board of Review Precincts
- 2016 St. Clair County Circuit Board Precincts
- 2020 St. Clair County Board of Review Precincts
- September 2021 Illinois State Legislative Districts (<https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1L7I2r4gat9nRWx9wfaizpn7XkA7i1qL4&ll=39.79510521942542%2C-89.50414500000001&z=6>)
- HB 2777 House Plan
- Liability Plan
- Remedial Plan
- StClairCnty_2014_CountyTreasurer.xlsx
- StClairCnty_2016_CountyBoard.xlsx
- Dems_VTDs_2012.zip
- Dems_VTDs_2014.zip
- Dems_VTDs_2016.zip
- Dems_VTDs_2018.zip
- Dems_VTDs_2020.zip
- http://ilhousedems.com/redistricting/2011-maps/Legislative_Districts_Public_Act/HouseChart.pdf
- <https://ilhousedems.com/redistricting/>
- <https://ilhousedems.com/redistricting/2011-adopted-maps/>
- 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020 voting district shape files (issued by the Democratic Party)
- Precinct election returns from either St. Clair County, Illinois Secretary of State, or the redistricting data hub
- Citizen Voting Age Population block group data ranging from 2008-2014 - 2015-2019
- 2010 and 2020 Census population data
- 2011-2019 American Community (ACS) 5-year population data
- 2011 House District 114 shape file
- The SB927 House districts file
- An HD 114 remedial shape file provided to me by plaintiff's lawyers
- expert testimony
- relevant depositions
- http://ilhousedems.com/redistricting/2011-maps/Legislative_Districts_Public_Act/HouseChart.pdf