

# **Exhibit 2**

# Michael Jay Barber

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## CONTACT INFORMATION

Brigham Young University  
Department of Political Science  
724 KMBL  
Provo, UT 84602

barber@byu.edu  
<http://michaeljaybarber.com>  
Ph: (801) 422-7492

## ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

### **Brigham Young University**, Provo, UT

August 2020 - present Associate Professor, Department of Political Science  
Jan 2023 - present Director, Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy  
2014 - July 2020 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science  
2014 - Jan 2023 Faculty Scholar, Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy

## EDUCATION

### **Princeton University Department of Politics**, Princeton, NJ

Ph.D., Politics, July 2014

- Advisors: Brandice Canes-Wrone, Nolan McCarty, and Kosuke Imai
- Dissertation: "Buying Representation: the Incentives, Ideology, and Influence of Campaign Contributions on American Politics"
- 2015 Carl Albert Award for Best Dissertation, Legislative Studies Section, American Political Science Association (APSA)

M.A., Politics, December 2011

### **Brigham Young University**, Provo, UT

B.A., International Relations - Political Economy Focus, April, 2008

- *Cum Laude*

## RESEARCH INTERESTS

American politics, congressional polarization, political ideology, campaign finance, survey research

## PUBLICATIONS

28. **"Illiberalism among American State Legislative Candidates"**  
with Hans Hassell and Michael Miller, Forthcoming at *Nature Humanities and Social Science Communications*
27. **"Which Republican Constituencies Support Restrictive Abortion Laws? Comparisons among donors, wealthy, and mass publics**, with Brandice Canes-Wrone, Joshua Clinton, and Greg Huber Forthcoming at *Public Opinion Quarterly*
26. **"The Crucial Role of Race in 21st Century U.S. Political Realignment**, with Jeremy Pope, *Public Opinion Quarterly* (2024): 1-10.
25. **"Misclassification and Bias in Predictions of Individual Ethnicity from Administrative Records"**, with Lisa Argyle, *American Political Science Review* (2023): 1-9.

24. **“Partisanship and Trolleyology”**, with Ryan Davis  
*Research & Politics*
23. **“Does Issue Importance Attenuate Partisan Cue-Taking”**, with Jeremy Pope,  
*Political Science Research and Methods* (2024): 1-9.
22. **“A Revolution of Rights in American Founding Documents”**, with Scott Abramson and Jeremy Pope  
*Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy*
21. **“Groups, Behaviors, and Issues as Cues of Partisan Attachments in the Public”**, with Jeremy Pope  
*American Politics Research*
20. **“Ideological Disagreement and Pre-emption in Municipal Policymaking”**, with Adam Dynes, *American Journal of Political Science*, no. 1 (2023): 119-136.
19. **“400 million voting records show profound racial and geographic disparities in voter turnout in the United States”**, with John Holbein  
*PloS One*, 2022, Vol. 17, no. 6: e0268134
18. **“Comparing Campaign Finance and Vote Based Measures of Ideology”**  
*Journal of Politics*, 2022. Vol. 84, no. 1 (2022): 613-619.
17. **“The Participatory and Partisan Impacts of Mandatory Vote-by-Mail”**, with John Holbein  
*Science Advances*, 2020. Vol. 6, no. 35, DOI: 10.1126/sciadv.abc7685
16. **“Issue Politicization and Interest Group Campaign Contribution Strategies”**, with Mandi Eatough  
*Journal of Politics*, 2020. Vol. 82: No. 3, pp. 1008-1025
15. **“Campaign Contributions and Donors’ Policy Agreement with Presidential Candidates”**, with Brandice Canes-Wrone and Sharece Thrower  
*Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 2019, 49 (4) 770–797
14. **“Conservatism in the Era of Trump”**, with Jeremy Pope  
*Perspectives on Politics*, 2019, 17 (3) 719–736
13. **“Legislative Constraints on Executive Unilateralism in Separation of Powers Systems”**, with Alex Bolton and Sharece Thrower  
*Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2019, 44 (3) 515–548  
Awarded the Jewell-Loewenberg Award for best article in the area of subnational politics published in *Legislative Studies Quarterly* in 2019
12. **“Electoral Competitiveness and Legislative Productivity”**, with Soren Schmidt  
*American Politics Research*, 2019, 47 (4) 683–708
11. **“Does Party Trump Ideology? Disentangling Party and Ideology in America”**, with Jeremy Pope  
*American Political Science Review*, 2019, 113 (1) 38–54
10. **“The Evolution of National Constitutions”**, with Scott Abramson  
*Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2019, 14 (1) 89–114
9. **“Who is Ideological? Measuring Ideological Responses to Policy Questions in the American Public”**, with Jeremy Pope  
*The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, 2018, 16 (1) 97–122
8. **“Status Quo Bias in Ballot Wording”**, with David Gordon, Ryan Hill, and Joe Price  
*The Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 2017, 4 (2) 151–160.
7. **“Ideologically Sophisticated Donors: Which Candidates Do Individual Contributors Finance?”**, with Brandice Canes-Wrone and Sharece Thrower  
*American Journal of Political Science*, 2017, 61 (2) 271–288.

6. **“Gender Inequalities in Campaign Finance: A Regression Discontinuity Design”**, with Daniel Butler and Jessica Preece  
*Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 2016, Vol. 11, No. 2: 219–248.
5. **“Representing the Preferences of Donors, Partisans, and Voters in the U.S. Senate”**  
*Public Opinion Quarterly*, 2016, 80: 225–249.
4. **“Donation Motivations: Testing Theories of Access and Ideology”**  
*Political Research Quarterly*, 2016, 69 (1) 148–160.
3. **“Ideological Donors, Contribution Limits, and the Polarization of State Legislatures”**  
*Journal of Politics*, 2016, 78 (1) 296–310.
2. **“Online Polls and Registration Based Sampling: A New Method for Pre-Election Polling”** with Quin Monson, Kelly Patterson and Chris Mann.  
*Political Analysis* 2014, 22 (3) 321–335.
1. **“Causes and Consequences of Political Polarization”** In *Negotiating Agreement in Politics*. Jane Mansbridge and Cathie Jo Martin, eds., Washington, DC: American Political Science Association: 19–53. with Nolan McCarty. 2013.
  - Reprinted in *Solutions to Political Polarization in America*, Cambridge University Press. Nate Persily, eds. 2015
  - Reprinted in *Political Negotiation: A Handbook*, Brookings Institution Press. Jane Mansbridge and Cathie Jo Martin, eds. 2015

AVAILABLE  
WORKING  
PAPERS/ONGOING  
PROJECTS

**“Donations and Dollars: Characterizing the Policy Views of Donors and the Affluent”**  
with Brandice Canes-Wrone, Gregory Huber, and Joshua Clinton (Revise and Resubmit at *Journal of Politics*)

**“Preferences for Representational Styles in the American Public”**  
with Ryan Davis and Adam Dynes (*under review*)

**“Illiberalism among American State Legislative Candidates”**  
with Hans Hassell and Michael Miller (*under review*)

INVITED  
PRESENTATIONS

**“Are Mormons Breaking Up with Republicanism? The Unique Political Behavior of Mormons in the 2016 Presidential Election”**

- Ivy League LDS Student Association Conference - Princeton University, November 2018, Princeton, NJ

**“Issue Politicization and Access-Oriented Giving: A Theory of PAC Contribution Behavior”**

- Vanderbilt University, May 2017, Nashville, TN

**“Lost in Issue Space? Measuring Levels of Ideology in the American Public”**

- Yale University, April 2016, New Haven, CT

**“The Incentives, Ideology, and Influence of Campaign Donors in American Politics”**

- University of Oklahoma, April 2016, Norman, OK

“Lost in Issue Space? Measuring Levels of Ideology in the American Public”

- University of Wisconsin - Madison, February 2016, Madison, WI

“Polarization and Campaign Contributors: Motivations, Ideology, and Policy”

- Hewlett Foundation Conference on Lobbying and Campaign Finance, October 2014, Palo Alto, CA

“Ideological Donors, Contribution Limits, and the Polarization of State Legislatures”

- Bipartisan Policy Center Meeting on Party Polarization and Campaign Finance, September 2014, Washington, DC

“Representing the Preferences of Donors, Partisans, and Voters in the U.S. Senate”

- Yale Center for the Study of American Politics Conference, May 2014, New Haven, CT

#### CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Money in Politics APSA Pre-Conference:

- Founder (2020) and organizing committee (2020, 2021, 2022, 2023)

Washington D.C. Political Economy Conference (PECO):

- 2017 discussant

American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Meeting:

- 2014 participant and discussant, 2015 participant, 2016 participant, 2017 participant, 2018 participant

Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA) Annual Meeting:

- 2015 participant and discussant, 2016 participant and discussant, 2018 participant

Southern Political Science Association (SPSA) Annual Meeting:

- 2015 participant and discussant, 2016 participant and discussant, 2017 participant

#### TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Poli 301: Data Visualization

- Summer 2022, Fall 2022, Winter 2023, Winter 2024

Poli 315: Congress and the Legislative Process

- Fall 2014, Winter 2015, Fall 2015, Winter 2016, Summer 2017, Fall 2018, Spring 2019, Fall 2022

Poli 328: Quantitative Analysis

- Winter 2017, Fall 2017, Fall 2019, Winter 2020, Fall 2020, Winter 2021, Fall 2023

Poli 410: Undergraduate Research Seminar in American Politics

- Fall 2014, Winter 2015, Fall 2015, Winter 2016, Summer 2017, Fall 2018, Winter 2024

#### AWARDS AND GRANTS

2024 BYU Early Career Scholarship Award

2021 BYU FHSS Research Grant, \$6,500

2020 BYU FHSS Young Scholar Award

2019 BYU Mentored Environment Grant (MEG), Ideology in America Project, \$35,000

2017 BYU Political Science Teacher of the Year Award

2017 BYU Mentored Environment Grant (MEG), Funding American Democracy Project, \$20,000

2016 BYU Political Science Department, Political Ideology and President Trump (with Jeremy Pope), \$7,500

2016 BYU Office of Research and Creative Activities (ORCA) Student Mentored Grant x 3

- Hayden Galloway, Jennica Peterson, Rebecca Shuel

2015 BYU Office of Research and Creative Activities (ORCA) Student Mentored Grant x 3

- Michael-Sean Covey, Hayden Galloway, Sean Stephenson

2015 BYU Student Experiential Learning Grant, American Founding Comparative Constitutions Project (with Jeremy Pope), \$9,000

2015 BYU FHSS Research Grant, \$5,000

2014 BYU Political Science Department, 2014 Washington DC Mayoral Pre-Election Poll (with Quin Monson and Kelly Patterson), \$3,000

2014 BYU FHSS Award, 2014 Washington DC Mayoral Pre-Election Poll (with Quin Monson and Kelly Patterson), \$3,000

2014 BYU Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy, 2014 Washington DC Mayoral Pre-Election Poll (with Quin Monson and Kelly Patterson), \$2,000

2012 Princeton Center for the Study of Democratic Politics Dissertation Improvement Grant, \$5,000

2011 Princeton Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice Dissertation Research Grant, \$5,000

2011 Princeton Political Economy Research Grant, \$1,500

#### OTHER SCHOLARLY ACTIVITIES

Expert Witness in Nancy Carola Jacobson, et al., Plaintiffs, vs. Laurel M. Lee, et al., Defendants. Case No. 4:18-cv-00262 MW-CAS (U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Florida)

Expert Witness in Common Cause, et al., Plaintiffs, vs. Lewis, et al., Defendants. Case No. 18-CVS-14001 (Wake County, North Carolina)

Expert Witness in Kelvin Jones, et al., Plaintiffs, v. Ron DeSantis, et al., Defendants, Consolidated Case No. 4:19-cv-300 (U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Florida)

Expert Witness in Community Success Initiative, et al., Plaintiffs, v. Timothy K. Moore, et al., Defendants, Case No. 19-cv-15941 (Wake County, North Carolina)

Expert Witness in Richard Rose et al., Plaintiffs, v. Brad Raffensperger, Defendant, Civil Action No. 1:20-cv-02921-SDG (U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia)

Expert Witness in Georgia Coalition for the People's Agenda, Inc., et. al., Plaintiffs, v. Brad Raffensperger, Defendant. Civil Action No. 1:18-cv-04727-ELR (U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia)

Expert Witness in Alabama, et al., Plaintiffs, v. United States Department of Commerce; Gina Raimondo, et al., Defendants. Case No. CASE No. 3:21-cv-00211-RAH-ECM-KCN (U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Alabama Eastern Division)

Expert Witness in League of Women Voters of Ohio, et al., Relators, v. Ohio Redistricting Commission, et al., Respondents. Case No. 2021-1193 (Supreme Court of Ohio)

Expert Witness in Regina Adams, et al., Relators, v. Governor Mike DeWine, et al., Respondents. Case No. 2021-1428 (Supreme Court of Ohio)

Expert Witness in Rebecca Harper, et al., Plaintiffs, v. Representative Destin Hall, et al., Defendants (Consolidated Case). Case No. 21 CVS 500085 (Wake County, North Carolina)

Expert Witness in Carter, et al., Petitioners, v. Degraffenreid et al., Respondents (Consolidated Case). Case No. 464 M.D. 2021 (Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania)

Expert Witness in Harkenrider, et al., Petitioners, v. Hochel et al., Respondents. Case No. E2022-0116CV (State of New York Supreme Court: County of Steuben)

Expert Witness in Our City Action Buffalo, Inc., et al., v. Common Council of the City of Buffalo (State of New York Supreme Court: County of Erie)

Expert Witness in Citizens Project, et al., v. City of Colorado Springs, et al. Case No. 22-cv-1365-CNS-MDB (U.S. District Court for the District of Colorado)

Expert report filed in League of Women Voters of Ohio v. Ohio Redistricting Comm., 172 Ohio St.3d 597, 2023-Ohio-4271 (Supreme Court of Ohio)

Expert Witness in Dr. Dorothy Nairne, et al., Plaintiffs, v. R. Yle Ardoin, Defendant, Case No. 3:22-cv-00178 (U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Louisiana)

Court Appointed Mapping Special Master in Donald Agee, et al., Plaintiffs, v. Jocelyn Benson, in her official capacity as the Secretary of State of Michigan, et al., Defendants., No. 1:22-cv-272 Three-Judge Court (U.S. District Court for the Western District of Michigan)

Expert report filed in remedial phase in Alpha Phi Alpha, et al., Plaintiffs, v. Brad Raffensperger, in his official capacity as the Secretary of State of Georgia, et al., Defendants., Case No. 1:21-cv-5337 (U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia)

Expert Witness in McClure, et al. and Addoh-Kondi, et al., Plaintiffs, v. Jefferson County Commission, et al., Defendant, Case No. Case No.: 2:23-cv-00503-MHH (U.S. District Court

for the Northern District of Alabama)

ADDITIONAL  
TRAINING

EITM 2012 at Princeton University - Participant and Graduate Student Coordinator

COMPUTER  
SKILLS

Statistical Programs: R, Stata, SPSS, parallel computing

Updated September 25, 2024