April 15, 2022

***Robinson, et al. v. Ardoin*, No. 3:22-cv-00211-SDD-SDJ**
***Galmon, et al. v. Ardoin*, No. 3:22-cv-00214-SDD-SDJ**

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE
MIDDLE DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA

EXPERT REPORT
OF
MAXWELL PALMER, Ph.D.

Maxwell Palmer

EXHIBIT
GX-2

EXPERT REPORT OF MAXWELL PALMER, PH.D.

I, Dr. Maxwell Palmer, declare as follows:

1. My name is Maxwell Palmer. I am currently an Associate Professor of Political Science at Boston University. I joined the faculty at Boston University in 2014, after completing my Ph.D. in Political Science at Harvard University. I was promoted to Associate Professor, with tenure, in 2021. I teach and conduct research on American politics and political methodology.

2. I have published academic work in leading peer-reviewed academic journals, including the *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, *Political Science Research and Methods*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, and *Urban Affairs Review*. My book, *Neighborhood Defenders: Participatory Politics and America's Housing Crisis*, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2019. I have also published academic work in the *Ohio State University Law Review*. My published research uses a variety of analytical approaches, including statistics, geographic analysis, and simulations, and data sources including academic surveys, precinct-level election results, voter registration and vote history files, and census data. My curriculum vitae is attached to this report.

3. I have served as an expert witness or litigation consultant on numerous cases involving voting restrictions. I testified at trial, court hearing, or by deposition in *Bethune Hill v. Virginia* before the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia (No. 3:14-cv-00852-REP-AWA-BMK); *Thomas v. Bryant* before the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi (No. 3:18-CV-00441-CWR-FKB); *Chestnut v. Merrill* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama (No. 2:18-cv-00907-KOB); *Dwight v. Raffensperger* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia (No. 1:18-cv-2869-RWS); *Bruni v. Hughs* before the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas (No. 5:20-cv-35); *Caster v. Merrill* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama (No. 2:21-cv-1536-AMM); *Pendergrass v. Raffensperger* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia (No. 1:21-CV-05339-SCJ); and *Grant v. Raffensperger* before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia (No. 1:22-CV-00122-SCJ). I also served as the independent racially polarized voting analyst for the Virginia Redistricting Commission in 2021, and I have worked as a consultant to the United State Department of Justice on several matters. My expert testimony has been accepted and relied upon by courts; in no case has my testimony been rejected or found unreliable.

4. I am being compensated at a rate of $450/hour for my work in this case. No part of my compensation is dependent upon the conclusions that I reach or the opinions that I offer.

5. I was retained by the plaintiffs in this litigation to offer an expert opinion on the extent to which voting is racially polarized in Louisiana. I was also asked to evaluate the performance of Black-preferred candidates in the new majority-minority districts in the plaintiffs' illustrative plans (the Second and Fifth Congressional Districts).

6. I find strong evidence of racially polarized voting across Louisiana. Black and White voters consistently support different candidates. I also find strong evidence of racially polarized voting in each of the six individual congressional districts.

7. Black-preferred candidates are largely unable to win elections in Louisiana. Across an analysis of statewide elections from 2012 to 2020, the Black-preferred candidate lost every election statewide except for two. When taken on a district-by-district basis, Black-preferred candidates are only regularly successful in the 2nd Congressional District, which is a majority-Black district.

8. Under the plaintiffs' illustrative maps, I find that Black-preferred candidates are generally able to win elections in the Second and Fifth Congressional Districts.

Data Sources and Elections Analyzed

9. For the purpose of my analysis, I examined statewide and congressional elections in Louisiana from 2012 to 2020. I analyzed elections statewide, as well as for each of the six Congressional Districts as defined by the 2022 Congressional District map.

10. To analyze racially polarized voting, I relied on precinct-level election results and voter turnout by race, compiled by the state of Louisiana The data includes the racial breakdown of registrants and voters in each precinct, based on registrants' self-identified race when registering to vote. For each election, I downloaded precinct-level election results[1] and voter turnout[2] data from the Louisiana Secretary of State. I merged this data with precinct-level shape files from the Louisiana Redistricting website.[3] The state of Louisiana provides six options for race and ethnicity on the voter registration form: Black, White, Hispanic, Asian, American Indian, and Other.[4]. However, the voter registration and turnout data provided by the Secretary of State reports three groups, Black, White, and Other. Consequently, my analysis uses these three groups.

[1] https://voterportal.sos.la.gov/static/
[2] https://www.sos.la.gov/ElectionsAndVoting/Pages/PostElectionStatisticsParish.aspx
[3] https://redist.legis.la.gov/default_ShapeFiles2020
[4] https://www.sos.la.gov/ElectionsAndVoting/PublishedDocuments/ApplicationToRegisterToVote.pdf

Racially Polarized Voting Analysis

11. In analyzing racially polarized voting in each election, I used a statistical procedure, ecological inference (EI), that estimates group-level preferences based on aggregate data. Ecological inference is widely used by experts to analyze racially polarized voting and has been preferred by courts over other methods to estimate RPV. The results include both a mean estimate (the most likely vote share), and a 95% confidence interval.[5]

12. Louisiana elections differ from those in other states because of its jungle primary and majority-rule system. With the exception of presidential elections, elections for each office do not include separate party primaries, but instead begin with an election where all candidates are listed on the ballot. For federal offices, this election is held in November, and for state offices this election is held in October. If one candidate wins a majority of the vote in this election, then that candidate is elected. If no candidate wins a majority of the vote, then the two candidates with the highest vote totals proceed to a runoff election to determine the winner. For federal offices this election is held in December, and for state offices this election is held in November.

13. For my racially polarized voting analysis, I analyze the *final round of voting for each office*. For elections where a candidate wins a majority of the vote in the first/primary round of voting, I include all candidates who receive at least 10% of the vote in the ecological inference models and combine all candidates receiving less than 10% of the vote into a single group. For elections that proceed to a runoff I include both candidates in the ecological inference models.

14. I estimate ecological inference models for 22 statewide elections in Louisiana from 2012 to 2020. Table 1 lists the elections included from each year, and indicates if the election analyzed was the first/primary election or the runoff election.

15. Interpreting the results of the ecological inference models proceeds in two general stages. First, I examined the support for each candidate by each demographic group to determine if members of the group vote cohesively in support of a single candidate in each election. When a significant majority of the group supports a single candidate, I can then identify that candidate as the group's candidate of choice. If the group's support is divided between two or more candidates, then the group does not cohesively support a single candidate and does not have a clear preference. Second, after identifying the preferred candidate for each group (or the lack of such a candidate), I compared the preferences of White voters to the preferences of Black voters. Evidence of racially polarized voting is found when Black voters and White voters support different candidates.

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

Table 1: Elections for Racially Polarized Voting Analysis

Office	2012	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
U.S. President	Gen.			Gen.				Gen.
U.S. Senator		Run.		Run.				Gen.
Comm. Agriculture			Gen.				Gen.	
Comm. Insurance			Gen.				Gen.	
Sec. State			Gen.			Run.	Run.	
Treasurer			Gen.		Run.		Gen.	
Attorney General			Run.				Gen.	
Governor			Run.				Run.	
Lt. Governor			Run.				Gen.	

16. For example, consider the 2020 presidential election. I estimate that 89.3% of Black voters statewide supported Joe Biden and 9.3% of Black voters supported Donald Trump. Black voters cohesively supported Joe Biden in this election and had a clear candidate of choice. Similarly, I estimate that 17.1% of White voters supported Joe Biden and 82.2% of White voters supported Donald Trump, making Donald Trump the candidate of choice for White voters. This is evidence of racially polarized voting in this election. Both groups had an identifiable candidate of choice, and cohesively supported different candidates.

17. Figure 1 displays the results of the statewide analysis.[6] The left-hand column identifies the name of the candidate who received the highest share of the vote from Black voters, and displays the estimated percentage of the vote received by that candidate from Black voters (black circles) and White voters (white circles). The plot shows that in 18 of the 22 elections, a single candidate received a clear majority of the vote from Black voters, such that there is an identifiable Black-preferred candidate. The right-hand column identifies the name of the candidate who received the highest share of the vote from White voters and displays the estimated percentage of the vote received by that candidate from Black voters (black circles) and White voters (white circles). In 21 of the 22 elections, a single candidate received a clear majority of the vote from White voters, such that there is an identifiable White-preferred candidate.

18. Across the 18 Black candidates of choice, the average candidate received an estimated 91.4% of the vote from Black voters, and 20.8% of the vote from White voters. Among the 21 White candidates of choice, the average candidate received an estimated 10.3% of the vote from Black voters and 81.2% of the vote from White voters.

19. In 17 of the 18 cases where there is a Black-preferred candidate White voters had a different candidate of choice and strongly opposed the Black candidate of choice. The only exception to this pattern was the 2015 election for Treasurer, where Black and White voters had the same candidate of choice. Across these 17 elections, the average

[6] Table 2 presents the numerical results.

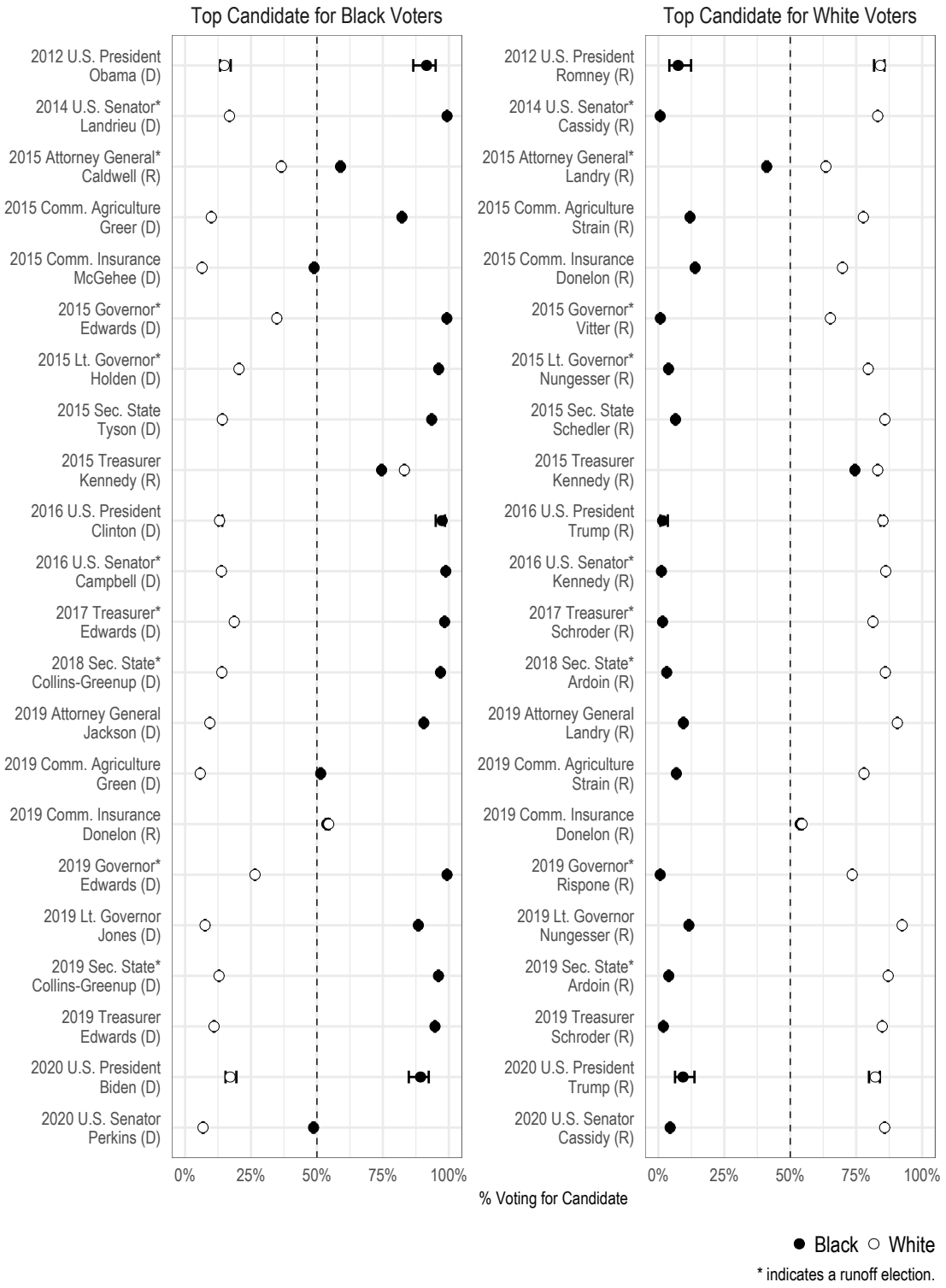

Figure 1: Top Candidates for Black and White Voters

candidate received an estimated 92.4% of the vote from Black voters, and 17.1% of the vote from White voters.

20. In four elections, there is not a clear Black candidate of choice. In three of these elections (the 2015 election for Commissioner of Insurance, 2019 election for Commissioner of Agriculture, and 2020 election for U.S. Senate), the election was won in the primary and Black voters were divided among two or more candidates. For example, in the 2020 U.S. Senate election, Black voters were divided between Adrian Perkins (49%) and Derrick Edwards (29%), while White voters cohesively supported Bill Cassidy.

21. Overall, the statewide ecological inference analysis shows a clear pattern of racially polarized voting. Black voters have a clear candidate of choice in most statewide elections, and White voters are generally opposed to these candidates.

22. This pattern of racially polarized voting is also evident within each of the six congressional districts (as defined by the 2022 map). Black and White votes have clear candidates of choice in most elections, and support opposing candidates. Tables 3–8 present the full results of this analysis.

Performance of Black-Preferred Candidates

23. Having identified the Black-preferred candidate in each election, I now turn to their ability to win elections. Figure 2 presents the statewide results of each election analyzed above.[7] Excluding the two elections where Black and White voters shared the same top candidate, the top candidate for White voters won 18 of the 20 elections, and the top candidate for Black voters won only two, the 2015 and 2019 elections for Governor. Of the 17 racially polarized elections, the Black-preferred candidate was defeated in 15 of the 17 elections.

24. Similarly, the top candidate for Black voters was defeated in every election within the 1st Congressional District, and in every election except for one in the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th Congressional Districts. In the 2nd Congressional District, which is the only majority-Black district, the top Black candidate won every election in which there was a clear Black-preferred candidate, and all but one election overall. Tables 10–15 present the numerical results.

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

25. I also analyzed the performance of Black-preferred candidates in the new Black-majority districts in the plaintiffs' illustrative maps by calculating the percentage of

[7] Table 9 presents the numerical results.

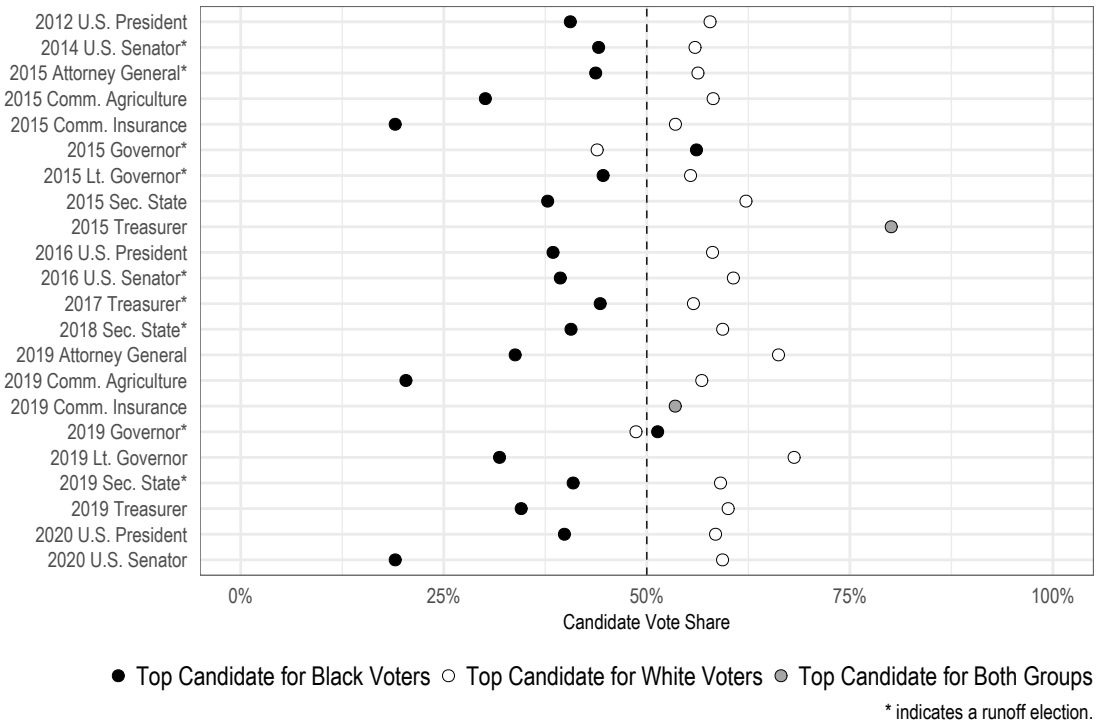

Figure 2: Performance of Top Candidates for Black and White Voters

the vote won by the Black-preferred candidates in the 18 elections where Black voters had a preferred candidate between 2012 and 2020 for each district.

26. Figure 3 presents the results of this analysis. Under all three maps, Black candidates of choice are generally able to win elections in both of the majority-Black districts. In CD 2, Black-preferred candidates won 17 of the 18 elections and averaged 69% of the vote under all three illustrative maps. In CD 5, Black-preferred candidates won 15 of 18 elections under Maps 1 and 3, and 14 of 18 elections under Map 2, and averaged 56% of the vote under Map 1, 55% under Map 2, and 57% under Map 3. Table 16 provides the full results.

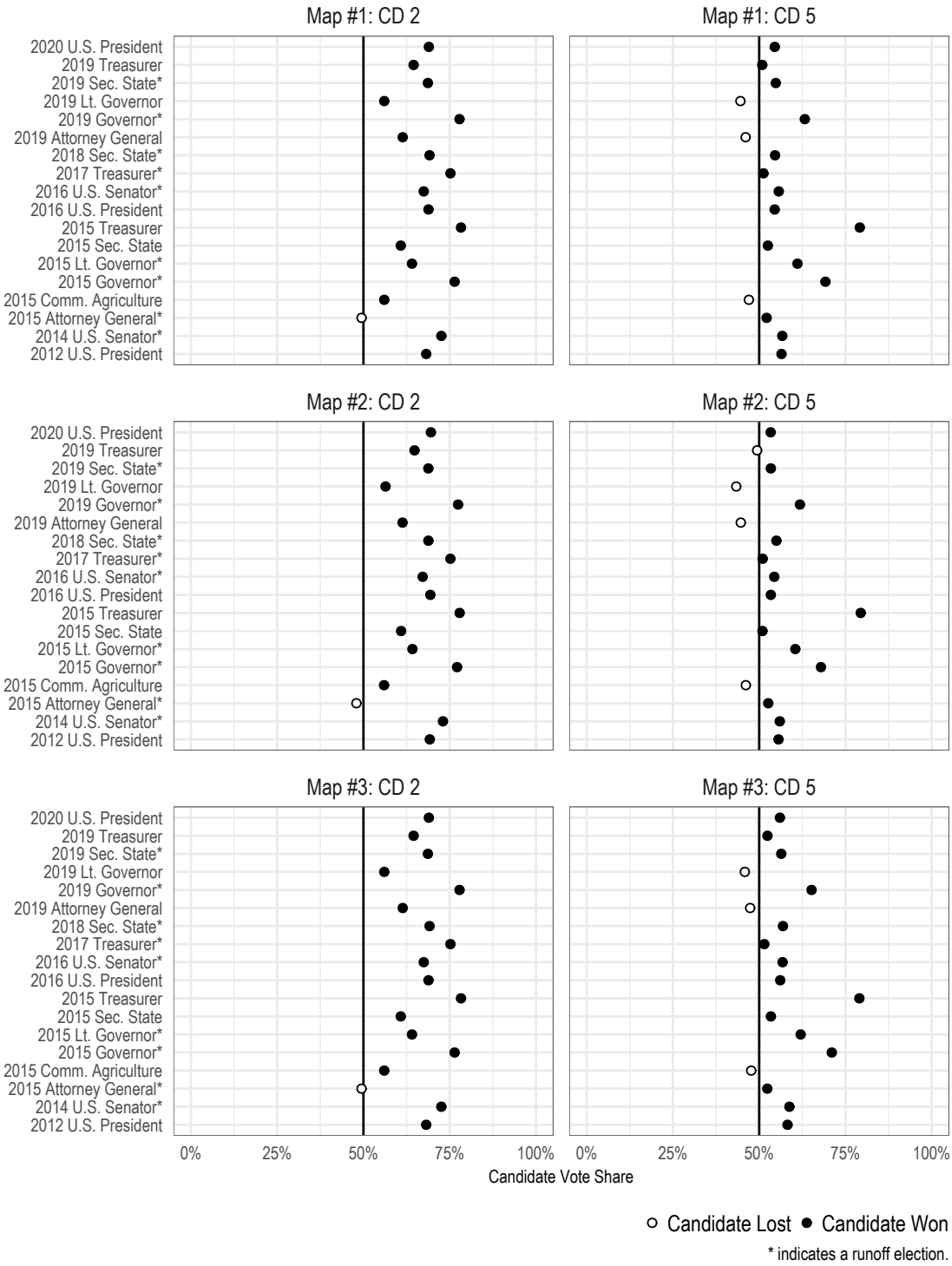

Figure 3: Vote Shares of Black-Preferred Candidates Under the Illustrative Maps

Table 2: Ecological Inference Results, Statewide Elections

		Candidate	Black	White
2012	U.S. President	Obama (D)	91.6% (86.5, 95.0)	14.9% (13.3, 17.3)
		Romney (R)	7.5% (4.2, 12.4)	84.2% (81.8, 85.7)
2014	U.S. Senator*	Cassidy (R)	0.7% (0.6, 0.8)	83.2% (83.0, 83.3)
		Landrieu (D)	99.3% (99.2, 99.4)	16.8% (16.7, 17.0)
2015	Attorney General*	Caldwell (R)	58.9% (58.5, 59.4)	36.5% (36.2, 36.8)
		Landry (R)	41.1% (40.6, 41.5)	63.5% (63.2, 63.8)
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Greer (D)	82.2% (81.9, 82.5)	10.0% (9.8, 10.2)
		Strain (R)	12.0% (11.7, 12.3)	77.7% (77.6, 77.8)
2015	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	13.9% (13.6, 14.2)	69.8% (69.6, 70.0)
		Hodge (D)	34.9% (34.5, 35.2)	4.8% (4.6, 5.0)
		McGehee (D)	48.9% (48.6, 49.3)	6.5% (6.3, 6.6)
		Parker (R)	2.3% (2.2, 2.4)	18.9% (18.8, 19.0)
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	99.2% (99.1, 99.3)	34.8% (34.7, 34.9)
		Vitter (R)	0.8% (0.7, 0.9)	65.2% (65.1, 65.3)
2015	Lt. Governor*	Holden (D)	96.1% (95.9, 96.4)	20.4% (20.2, 20.7)
		Nungesser (R)	3.9% (3.6, 4.1)	79.6% (79.3, 79.8)
2015	Sec. State	Schedler (R)	6.5% (6.2, 6.8)	85.9% (85.7, 86.0)
		Tyson (D)	93.5% (93.2, 93.8)	14.1% (14.0, 14.3)
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	74.5% (74.2, 74.8)	83.2% (82.9, 83.4)
		Treadway (R)	25.5% (25.2, 25.8)	16.8% (16.6, 17.1)
2016	U.S. President	Clinton (D)	97.5% (95.0, 98.5)	13.1% (12.7, 14.1)
		Trump (R)	1.6% (0.8, 3.6)	85.1% (84.2, 85.5)
2016	U.S. Senator*	Campbell (D)	98.8% (98.7, 99.0)	13.8% (13.7, 13.9)
		Kennedy (R)	1.2% (1.0, 1.3)	86.2% (86.1, 86.3)
2017	Treasurer*	Edwards (D)	98.4% (98.2, 98.6)	18.7% (18.5, 18.8)
		Schroder (R)	1.6% (1.4, 1.8)	81.3% (81.2, 81.5)
2018	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	3.2% (3.0, 3.4)	86.0% (85.9, 86.2)
		Collins-Greenup (D)	96.8% (96.6, 97.0)	14.0% (13.8, 14.1)
2019	Attorney General	Jackson (D)	90.5% (90.2, 90.8)	9.4% (9.3, 9.5)
		Landry (R)	9.5% (9.2, 9.8)	90.6% (90.5, 90.7)
2019	Comm. Agriculture	Green (D)	51.4% (51.1, 51.8)	5.8% (5.6, 5.9)
		Strain (R)	6.8% (6.5, 7.1)	78.0% (77.8, 78.1)
2019	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	53.7% (53.3, 54.2)	54.5% (54.2, 54.8)
		Temple (R)	46.3% (45.8, 46.7)	45.5% (45.2, 45.8)
2019	Governor*	Edwards (D)	99.3% (99.2, 99.4)	26.5% (26.4, 26.7)
		Rispone (R)	0.7% (0.6, 0.8)	73.5% (73.3, 73.6)
2019	Lt. Governor	Jones (D)	88.4% (88.1, 88.7)	7.6% (7.5, 7.7)
		Nungesser (R)	11.6% (11.3, 11.9)	92.4% (92.3, 92.5)
2019	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	3.9% (3.7, 4.2)	87.1% (87.0, 87.3)
		Collins-Greenup (D)	96.1% (95.8, 96.3)	12.9% (12.7, 13.0)
2019	Treasurer	Edwards (D)	94.7% (94.5, 95.0)	11.0% (10.8, 11.2)
		Schroder (R)	1.9% (1.7, 2.1)	84.9% (84.8, 85.0)
2020	U.S. President	Biden (D)	89.3% (84.8, 92.4)	17.1% (15.4, 19.5)
		Trump (R)	9.3% (6.3, 13.7)	82.2% (79.8, 84.0)
2020	U.S. Senator	Cassidy (R)	4.4% (4.2, 4.7)	85.8% (85.7, 85.9)
		Edwards (D)	29.4% (29.1, 29.7)	1.9% (1.8, 2.0)
		Perkins (D)	48.7% (48.4, 49.1)	6.8% (6.6, 7.1)

* indicates a runoff election.

Table 3: Ecological Inference Results, CD 1

		Candidate	Black	White
2012	U.S. President	Obama (D)	90.9% (82.7, 95.1)	16.2% (15.1, 18.0)
		Romney (R)	7.2% (3.5, 15.1)	82.9% (81.1, 84.1)
2014	U.S. Senator*	Cassidy (R)	3.7% (2.4, 5.2)	76.6% (76.1, 76.9)
		Landrieu (D)	96.3% (94.8, 97.6)	23.4% (23.1, 23.9)
2015	Attorney General*	Caldwell (R)	50.9% (47.1, 54.9)	37.0% (36.2, 37.8)
		Landry (R)	49.1% (45.1, 52.9)	63.0% (62.2, 63.8)
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Greer (D)	82.8% (80.4, 85.4)	8.2% (7.8, 8.7)
		Strain (R)	10.3% (8.3, 12.6)	78.0% (77.5, 78.4)
2015	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	12.4% (10.1, 14.9)	77.0% (76.4, 77.5)
		Hodge (D)	35.6% (33.6, 37.6)	3.4% (3.0, 3.9)
		McGehee (D)	47.4% (45.1, 49.4)	6.5% (6.1, 6.9)
		Parker (R)	4.6% (3.0, 6.2)	13.1% (12.6, 13.4)
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	95.7% (93.5, 97.3)	34.0% (33.6, 34.5)
		Vitter (R)	4.3% (2.7, 6.5)	66.0% (65.5, 66.4)
2015	Lt. Governor*	Holden (D)	93.5% (90.8, 95.6)	15.0% (14.3, 16.0)
		Nungesser (R)	6.5% (4.4, 9.2)	85.0% (84.0, 85.7)
2015	Sec. State	Schedler (R)	6.5% (4.6, 8.9)	86.8% (86.3, 87.3)
		Tyson (D)	93.5% (91.1, 95.4)	13.2% (12.7, 13.7)
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	68.5% (65.4, 71.3)	84.4% (83.8, 85.0)
		Treadway (R)	31.5% (28.7, 34.6)	15.6% (15.0, 16.2)
2016	U.S. President	Clinton (D)	93.9% (92.3, 95.5)	16.5% (16.1, 17.0)
		Trump (R)	4.1% (2.7, 5.8)	81.7% (81.2, 82.1)
2016	U.S. Senator*	Campbell (D)	94.4% (92.4, 96.1)	15.1% (14.7, 15.6)
		Kennedy (R)	5.6% (3.9, 7.6)	84.9% (84.4, 85.3)
2017	Treasurer*	Edwards (D)	94.5% (91.4, 96.8)	19.6% (19.0, 20.2)
		Schroder (R)	5.5% (3.2, 8.6)	80.4% (79.8, 81.0)
2018	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	6.4% (4.4, 8.9)	83.5% (83.0, 84.0)
		Collins-Greenup (D)	93.6% (91.1, 95.6)	16.5% (16.0, 17.0)
2019	Attorney General	Jackson (D)	89.0% (85.7, 91.6)	12.3% (11.9, 12.8)
		Landry (R)	11.0% (8.4, 14.3)	87.7% (87.2, 88.1)
2019	Comm. Agriculture	Green (D)	49.8% (46.8, 52.8)	9.3% (8.8, 10.0)
		Strain (R)	7.6% (5.1, 10.0)	78.4% (77.9, 78.7)
2019	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	42.4% (39.1, 45.9)	52.2% (51.6, 53.0)
		Temple (R)	57.6% (54.1, 60.9)	47.8% (47.0, 48.4)
2019	Governor*	Edwards (D)	95.1% (93.0, 97.0)	34.8% (34.3, 35.4)
		Rispone (R)	4.9% (3.0, 7.0)	65.2% (64.6, 65.7)
2019	Lt. Governor	Jones (D)	86.7% (83.9, 89.2)	9.0% (8.5, 9.4)
		Nungesser (R)	13.3% (10.8, 16.1)	91.0% (90.6, 91.5)
2019	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	6.9% (4.9, 9.1)	83.0% (82.5, 83.5)
		Collins-Greenup (D)	93.1% (90.9, 95.1)	17.0% (16.5, 17.5)
2019	Treasurer	Edwards (D)	90.1% (87.8, 92.3)	13.0% (12.4, 13.5)
		Schroder (R)	4.5% (3.0, 6.4)	82.6% (82.2, 83.0)
2020	U.S. President	Biden (D)	80.8% (73.1, 85.6)	22.5% (21.1, 24.1)
		Trump (R)	17.0% (12.3, 24.5)	76.9% (75.3, 78.2)
2020	U.S. Senator	Cassidy (R)	7.5% (5.7, 9.7)	82.8% (82.3, 83.3)
		Edwards (D)	34.8% (33.0, 36.5)	1.5% (1.2, 1.8)
		Perkins (D)	36.2% (33.6, 38.8)	10.1% (9.6, 10.6)

* indicates a runoff election.

Table 4: Ecological Inference Results, CD 2

		Candidate	Black	White
2012	U.S. President	Obama (D)	96.5% (94.6, 97.6)	32.7% (30.4, 36.8)
		Romney (R)	3.0% (1.9, 4.9)	65.4% (61.4, 67.6)
2014	U.S. Senator*	Cassidy (R)	0.9% (0.7, 1.1)	59.3% (58.6, 60.1)
		Landrieu (D)	99.1% (98.9, 99.3)	40.7% (39.9, 41.4)
2015	Attorney General*	Caldwell (R)	57.7% (57.0, 58.3)	43.0% (41.8, 44.2)
		Landry (R)	42.3% (41.7, 43.0)	57.0% (55.8, 58.2)
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Greer (D)	80.5% (80.0, 81.0)	16.9% (15.8, 18.0)
		Strain (R)	13.6% (13.2, 14.0)	65.7% (64.9, 66.5)
2015	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	19.1% (18.6, 19.7)	70.2% (69.4, 71.1)
		Hodge (D)	31.7% (31.1, 32.2)	6.9% (5.9, 7.9)
		McGehee (D)	48.1% (47.5, 48.6)	12.7% (11.8, 13.7)
		Parker (R)	1.1% (0.9, 1.3)	10.1% (9.6, 10.6)
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	99.1% (98.9, 99.3)	52.3% (51.6, 52.9)
		Vitter (R)	0.9% (0.7, 1.1)	47.7% (47.1, 48.4)
2015	Lt. Governor*	Holden (D)	94.5% (94.1, 95.0)	34.0% (32.9, 35.0)
		Nungesser (R)	5.5% (5.0, 5.9)	66.0% (65.0, 67.1)
2015	Sec. State	Schedler (R)	5.5% (5.1, 6.0)	73.5% (72.4, 74.4)
		Tyson (D)	94.5% (94.0, 94.9)	26.5% (25.6, 27.6)
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	73.6% (73.1, 74.1)	85.7% (84.8, 86.6)
		Treadway (R)	26.4% (25.9, 26.9)	14.3% (13.4, 15.2)
2016	U.S. President	Clinton (D)	98.1% (97.3, 98.5)	37.3% (36.3, 38.6)
		Trump (R)	1.2% (0.9, 1.9)	60.2% (58.9, 61.1)
2016	U.S. Senator*	Campbell (D)	98.5% (98.2, 98.8)	41.0% (40.0, 42.0)
		Kennedy (R)	1.5% (1.2, 1.8)	59.0% (58.0, 60.0)
2017	Treasurer*	Edwards (D)	98.1% (97.7, 98.4)	48.7% (47.3, 50.2)
		Schroder (R)	1.9% (1.6, 2.3)	51.3% (49.8, 52.7)
2018	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	3.0% (2.6, 3.5)	57.0% (55.7, 58.1)
		Collins-Greenup (D)	97.0% (96.5, 97.4)	43.0% (41.9, 44.3)
2019	Attorney General	Jackson (D)	91.5% (91.0, 92.1)	32.7% (31.5, 33.8)
		Landry (R)	8.5% (7.9, 9.0)	67.3% (66.2, 68.5)
2019	Comm. Agriculture	Green (D)	56.4% (55.7, 57.1)	28.4% (27.1, 29.6)
		Strain (R)	7.3% (6.9, 7.8)	62.0% (61.1, 62.9)
2019	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	52.5% (51.9, 53.2)	51.9% (50.7, 53.2)
		Temple (R)	47.5% (46.8, 48.1)	48.1% (46.8, 49.3)
2019	Governor*	Edwards (D)	99.0% (98.8, 99.2)	55.7% (54.8, 56.5)
		Rispone (R)	1.0% (0.8, 1.2)	44.3% (43.5, 45.2)
2019	Lt. Governor	Jones (D)	86.1% (85.5, 86.8)	25.8% (24.6, 27.2)
		Nungesser (R)	13.9% (13.2, 14.5)	74.2% (72.8, 75.4)
2019	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	3.3% (2.8, 3.8)	59.3% (57.9, 60.8)
		Collins-Greenup (D)	96.7% (96.2, 97.2)	40.7% (39.2, 42.1)
2019	Treasurer	Edwards (D)	95.3% (94.9, 95.7)	32.3% (31.3, 33.2)
		Schroder (R)	2.1% (1.8, 2.4)	63.2% (62.5, 64.0)
2020	U.S. President	Biden (D)	93.8% (92.3, 95.2)	47.8% (46.0, 50.2)
		Trump (R)	5.4% (4.0, 6.9)	51.1% (48.6, 52.8)
2020	U.S. Senator	Cassidy (R)	4.3% (3.9, 4.6)	60.2% (59.2, 61.1)
		Edwards (D)	31.4% (31.0, 31.9)	3.9% (3.4, 4.6)
		Perkins (D)	47.9% (47.4, 48.4)	28.6% (27.5, 29.6)

* indicates a runoff election.

Table 5: Ecological Inference Results, CD 3

		Candidate	Black	White
2012	U.S. President	Obama (D)	88.4% (79.7, 94.0)	13.3% (11.3, 16.8)
		Romney (R)	10.4% (4.9, 18.9)	85.8% (82.5, 87.7)
2014	U.S. Senator*	Cassidy (R)	1.5% (1.1, 1.9)	86.9% (86.6, 87.3)
		Landrieu (D)	98.5% (98.1, 98.9)	13.1% (12.7, 13.4)
2015	Attorney General*	Caldwell (R)	53.8% (52.3, 55.3)	26.8% (26.0, 27.6)
		Landry (R)	46.2% (44.7, 47.7)	73.2% (72.4, 74.0)
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Greer (D)	84.1% (83.1, 85.1)	9.5% (9.1, 10.0)
		Strain (R)	8.6% (7.8, 9.6)	78.6% (78.3, 79.0)
2015	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	9.5% (8.6, 10.3)	67.2% (66.8, 67.6)
		Hodge (D)	37.1% (36.2, 37.9)	5.6% (5.3, 5.9)
		McGehee (D)	51.4% (50.5, 52.4)	7.6% (7.2, 8.1)
		Parker (R)	2.0% (1.6, 2.5)	19.5% (19.2, 19.9)
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	98.2% (97.6, 98.7)	34.5% (34.1, 34.9)
		Vitter (R)	1.8% (1.3, 2.4)	65.5% (65.1, 65.9)
2015	Lt. Governor*	Holden (D)	96.8% (96.1, 97.5)	19.2% (18.5, 19.9)
		Nungesser (R)	3.2% (2.5, 3.9)	80.8% (80.1, 81.5)
2015	Sec. State	Schedler (R)	5.7% (4.8, 6.9)	84.0% (83.6, 84.6)
		Tyson (D)	94.3% (93.1, 95.2)	16.0% (15.4, 16.4)
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	72.0% (70.9, 73.1)	81.2% (80.7, 81.7)
		Treadway (R)	28.0% (26.9, 29.1)	18.8% (18.3, 19.3)
2016	U.S. President	Clinton (D)	97.3% (94.9, 97.9)	9.5% (9.1, 10.2)
		Trump (R)	1.6% (1.1, 3.7)	88.6% (88.0, 88.9)
2016	U.S. Senator*	Campbell (D)	97.5% (96.7, 98.1)	12.3% (12.0, 12.7)
		Kennedy (R)	2.5% (1.9, 3.3)	87.7% (87.3, 88.0)
2017	Treasurer*	Edwards (D)	97.3% (96.4, 98.0)	14.7% (14.2, 15.3)
		Schroder (R)	2.7% (2.0, 3.6)	85.3% (84.7, 85.8)
2018	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	3.5% (2.8, 4.3)	88.5% (88.1, 88.9)
		Collins-Greenup (D)	96.5% (95.7, 97.2)	11.5% (11.1, 11.9)
2019	Attorney General	Jackson (D)	90.0% (89.0, 90.9)	7.4% (7.1, 7.8)
		Landry (R)	10.0% (9.1, 11.0)	92.6% (92.2, 92.9)
2019	Comm. Agriculture	Green (D)	48.8% (47.7, 49.8)	4.4% (4.1, 4.8)
		Strain (R)	5.0% (4.3, 5.9)	72.1% (71.7, 72.4)
2019	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	55.8% (54.4, 57.2)	60.0% (59.4, 60.7)
		Temple (R)	44.2% (42.8, 45.6)	40.0% (39.3, 40.6)
2019	Governor*	Edwards (D)	98.5% (98.0, 98.9)	19.7% (19.4, 20.0)
		Rispone (R)	1.5% (1.1, 2.0)	80.3% (80.0, 80.6)
2019	Lt. Governor	Jones (D)	91.0% (90.1, 91.8)	6.1% (5.8, 6.5)
		Nungesser (R)	9.0% (8.2, 9.9)	93.9% (93.5, 94.2)
2019	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	5.5% (4.8, 6.3)	90.2% (89.8, 90.6)
		Collins-Greenup (D)	94.5% (93.7, 95.2)	9.8% (9.4, 10.2)
2019	Treasurer	Edwards (D)	94.2% (93.5, 94.8)	9.4% (9.1, 9.7)
		Schroder (R)	2.1% (1.7, 2.7)	86.5% (86.2, 86.8)
2020	U.S. President	Biden (D)	89.4% (82.5, 92.5)	14.2% (12.7, 16.5)
		Trump (R)	9.0% (5.9, 15.7)	85.3% (83.0, 86.8)
2020	U.S. Senator	Cassidy (R)	4.6% (3.8, 5.4)	87.4% (87.0, 87.7)
		Edwards (D)	33.6% (32.5, 34.5)	2.7% (2.3, 3.1)
		Perkins (D)	40.0% (39.1, 41.0)	4.0% (3.7, 4.3)

* indicates a runoff election.

Table 6: Ecological Inference Results, CD 4

		Candidate	Black	White
2012	U.S. President	Obama (D)	89.4% (83.2, 93.2)	13.7% (11.7, 17.1)
		Romney (R)	9.7% (6.0, 15.9)	85.5% (82.1, 87.5)
2014	U.S. Senator*	Cassidy (R)	0.9% (0.7, 1.1)	88.2% (87.8, 88.5)
		Landrieu (D)	99.1% (98.9, 99.3)	11.8% (11.5, 12.2)
2015	Attorney General*	Caldwell (R)	59.9% (59.0, 60.9)	35.0% (34.4, 35.7)
		Landry (R)	40.1% (39.1, 41.0)	65.0% (64.3, 65.6)
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Greer (D)	81.5% (80.8, 82.3)	13.1% (12.6, 13.6)
		Strain (R)	13.0% (12.2, 13.8)	72.6% (72.1, 73.0)
2015	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	9.6% (8.9, 10.2)	65.4% (64.9, 65.9)
		Hodge (D)	36.6% (36.0, 37.3)	5.5% (5.1, 5.9)
		McGehee (D)	48.5% (47.7, 49.2)	6.5% (6.1, 6.8)
		Parker (R)	5.3% (4.8, 5.8)	22.7% (22.3, 23.0)
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	98.8% (98.5, 99.0)	28.8% (28.4, 29.2)
		Vitter (R)	1.2% (1.0, 1.5)	71.2% (70.8, 71.6)
2015	Lt. Governor*	Holden (D)	98.1% (97.7, 98.4)	17.3% (16.8, 17.8)
		Nungesser (R)	1.9% (1.6, 2.3)	82.7% (82.2, 83.2)
2015	Sec. State	Schedler (R)	9.9% (9.2, 10.8)	85.6% (85.0, 86.2)
		Tyson (D)	90.1% (89.2, 90.8)	14.4% (13.8, 15.0)
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	76.5% (75.8, 77.3)	81.0% (80.5, 81.5)
		Treadway (R)	23.5% (22.7, 24.2)	19.0% (18.5, 19.5)
2016	U.S. President	Clinton (D)	97.3% (94.5, 98.3)	9.0% (8.2, 10.7)
		Trump (R)	1.7% (0.8, 4.2)	89.6% (88.0, 90.3)
2016	U.S. Senator*	Campbell (D)	98.8% (98.5, 99.0)	11.0% (10.6, 11.5)
		Kennedy (R)	1.2% (1.0, 1.5)	89.0% (88.5, 89.4)
2017	Treasurer*	Edwards (D)	97.9% (97.4, 98.4)	11.4% (10.9, 12.0)
		Schroder (R)	2.1% (1.6, 2.6)	88.6% (88.0, 89.1)
2018	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	3.8% (3.3, 4.3)	89.5% (88.9, 90.0)
		Collins-Greenup (D)	96.2% (95.7, 96.7)	10.5% (10.0, 11.1)
2019	Attorney General	Jackson (D)	87.9% (87.1, 88.6)	6.5% (5.9, 6.9)
		Landry (R)	12.1% (11.4, 12.9)	93.5% (93.1, 94.1)
2019	Comm. Agriculture	Green (D)	48.0% (47.3, 48.7)	3.6% (3.2, 3.9)
		Strain (R)	7.1% (6.5, 7.8)	78.2% (77.8, 78.6)
2019	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	54.6% (53.5, 55.6)	54.1% (53.5, 54.7)
		Temple (R)	45.4% (44.4, 46.5)	45.9% (45.3, 46.5)
2019	Governor*	Edwards (D)	98.9% (98.6, 99.2)	16.8% (16.4, 17.2)
		Rispone (R)	1.1% (0.8, 1.4)	83.2% (82.8, 83.6)
2019	Lt. Governor	Jones (D)	90.9% (90.2, 91.6)	6.1% (5.6, 6.6)
		Nungesser (R)	9.1% (8.4, 9.8)	93.9% (93.4, 94.4)
2019	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	4.0% (3.6, 4.6)	91.4% (90.8, 92.0)
		Collins-Greenup (D)	96.0% (95.4, 96.4)	8.6% (8.0, 9.2)
2019	Treasurer	Edwards (D)	94.7% (94.2, 95.1)	7.9% (7.6, 8.2)
		Schroder (R)	1.9% (1.6, 2.3)	88.4% (88.0, 88.8)
2020	U.S. President	Biden (D)	90.6% (84.6, 94.3)	13.8% (11.5, 17.4)
		Trump (R)	7.9% (4.3, 13.9)	85.6% (82.0, 87.9)
2020	U.S. Senator	Cassidy (R)	3.1% (2.7, 3.6)	89.3% (88.8, 89.7)
		Edwards (D)	20.3% (19.7, 20.9)	1.5% (1.2, 1.7)
		Perkins (D)	62.6% (62.0, 63.3)	3.9% (3.6, 4.3)

* indicates a runoff election.

Table 7: Ecological Inference Results, CD 5

		Candidate	Black	White
2012	U.S. President	Obama (D)	93.7% (88.6, 96.3)	10.5% (9.1, 13.0)
		Romney (R)	5.5% (2.9, 10.4)	88.6% (86.1, 89.9)
2014	U.S. Senator*	Cassidy (R)	0.9% (0.8, 1.2)	88.2% (87.9, 88.4)
		Landrieu (D)	99.1% (98.8, 99.2)	11.8% (11.6, 12.1)
2015	Attorney General*	Caldwell (R)	61.4% (60.3, 62.5)	42.8% (42.1, 43.4)
		Landry (R)	38.6% (37.5, 39.7)	57.2% (56.6, 57.9)
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Greer (D)	83.0% (82.2, 83.7)	8.8% (8.5, 9.2)
		Strain (R)	10.9% (10.2, 11.5)	79.1% (78.7, 79.5)
2015	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	10.4% (9.8, 11.1)	64.4% (64.1, 64.8)
		Hodge (D)	39.6% (38.9, 40.3)	4.4% (4.1, 4.8)
		McGehee (D)	47.0% (46.3, 47.6)	5.0% (4.8, 5.3)
		Parker (R)	3.0% (2.6, 3.4)	26.1% (25.8, 26.4)
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	98.8% (98.5, 99.1)	33.2% (32.9, 33.5)
		Vitter (R)	1.2% (0.9, 1.5)	66.8% (66.5, 67.1)
2015	Lt. Governor*	Holden (D)	97.5% (97.1, 97.9)	16.5% (16.1, 16.8)
		Nungesser (R)	2.5% (2.1, 2.9)	83.5% (83.2, 83.9)
2015	Sec. State	Schedler (R)	6.8% (6.1, 7.4)	86.5% (86.1, 86.9)
		Tyson (D)	93.2% (92.6, 93.9)	13.5% (13.1, 13.9)
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	75.8% (75.0, 76.5)	81.9% (81.5, 82.3)
		Treadway (R)	24.2% (23.5, 25.0)	18.1% (17.7, 18.5)
2016	U.S. President	Clinton (D)	96.9% (93.8, 98.3)	7.6% (6.8, 9.2)
		Trump (R)	2.1% (0.9, 4.9)	90.9% (89.6, 91.6)
2016	U.S. Senator*	Campbell (D)	98.5% (98.2, 98.8)	7.9% (7.6, 8.1)
		Kennedy (R)	1.5% (1.2, 1.8)	92.1% (91.9, 92.4)
2017	Treasurer*	Edwards (D)	98.1% (97.7, 98.5)	11.3% (10.8, 11.7)
		Schroder (R)	1.9% (1.5, 2.3)	88.7% (88.3, 89.2)
2018	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	3.8% (3.3, 4.3)	91.3% (90.9, 91.8)
		Collins-Greenup (D)	96.2% (95.7, 96.7)	8.7% (8.2, 9.1)
2019	Attorney General	Jackson (D)	89.0% (88.4, 89.6)	5.0% (4.7, 5.3)
		Landry (R)	11.0% (10.4, 11.6)	95.0% (94.7, 95.3)
2019	Comm. Agriculture	Green (D)	46.2% (45.6, 46.9)	2.7% (2.4, 2.9)
		Strain (R)	7.2% (6.5, 7.8)	82.7% (82.4, 83.0)
2019	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	56.2% (55.0, 57.4)	57.5% (56.9, 58.1)
		Temple (R)	43.8% (42.6, 45.0)	42.5% (41.9, 43.1)
2019	Governor*	Edwards (D)	99.0% (98.7, 99.2)	21.2% (20.9, 21.4)
		Rispone (R)	1.0% (0.8, 1.3)	78.8% (78.6, 79.1)
2019	Lt. Governor	Jones (D)	90.2% (89.6, 90.8)	4.8% (4.5, 5.1)
		Nungesser (R)	9.8% (9.2, 10.4)	95.2% (94.9, 95.5)
2019	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	3.9% (3.5, 4.4)	92.0% (91.7, 92.3)
		Collins-Greenup (D)	96.1% (95.6, 96.5)	8.0% (7.7, 8.3)
2019	Treasurer	Edwards (D)	93.7% (93.2, 94.1)	6.8% (6.5, 7.2)
		Schroder (R)	2.1% (1.7, 2.4)	88.5% (88.2, 88.7)
2020	U.S. President	Biden (D)	90.0% (85.9, 92.7)	10.5% (8.9, 13.3)
		Trump (R)	8.6% (6.0, 12.7)	88.9% (86.1, 90.5)
2020	U.S. Senator	Cassidy (R)	6.0% (5.5, 6.5)	90.4% (90.1, 90.7)
		Edwards (D)	33.1% (32.6, 33.7)	1.4% (1.2, 1.7)
		Perkins (D)	41.5% (40.9, 42.0)	2.1% (1.9, 2.4)

* indicates a runoff election.

Table 8: Ecological Inference Results, CD 6

		Candidate	Black	White
2012	U.S. President	Obama (D)	80.3% (69.5, 88.3)	16.5% (14.3, 19.7)
		Romney (R)	18.3% (10.5, 29.0)	82.7% (79.5, 84.9)
2014	U.S. Senator*	Cassidy (R)	2.4% (1.7, 3.2)	84.3% (83.9, 84.7)
		Landrieu (D)	97.6% (96.8, 98.3)	15.7% (15.3, 16.1)
2015	Attorney General*	Caldwell (R)	64.3% (62.3, 66.1)	40.0% (39.4, 40.7)
		Landry (R)	35.7% (33.9, 37.7)	60.0% (59.3, 60.6)
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Greer (D)	78.3% (77.0, 79.6)	9.3% (8.8, 9.7)
		Strain (R)	18.2% (16.9, 19.6)	81.0% (80.5, 81.6)
2015	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	16.1% (14.9, 17.3)	73.6% (73.2, 74.1)
		Hodge (D)	28.5% (27.4, 29.6)	4.9% (4.5, 5.3)
		McGehee (D)	54.0% (52.8, 55.3)	6.3% (6.0, 6.7)
		Parker (R)	1.4% (1.0, 1.8)	15.2% (14.8, 15.5)
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	97.7% (96.9, 98.4)	37.9% (37.5, 38.3)
		Vitter (R)	2.3% (1.6, 3.1)	62.1% (61.7, 62.5)
2015	Lt. Governor*	Holden (D)	95.8% (94.6, 96.9)	30.9% (30.3, 31.6)
		Nungesser (R)	4.2% (3.1, 5.4)	69.1% (68.4, 69.7)
2015	Sec. State	Schedler (R)	7.4% (6.0, 8.8)	86.7% (86.1, 87.1)
		Tyson (D)	92.6% (91.2, 94.0)	13.3% (12.9, 13.9)
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	77.6% (76.2, 78.9)	87.0% (86.5, 87.5)
		Treadway (R)	22.4% (21.1, 23.8)	13.0% (12.5, 13.5)
2016	U.S. President	Clinton (D)	96.3% (94.4, 97.2)	12.8% (12.4, 13.5)
		Trump (R)	2.2% (1.5, 3.9)	85.0% (84.4, 85.3)
2016	U.S. Senator*	Campbell (D)	97.6% (96.9, 98.2)	12.5% (12.1, 12.9)
		Kennedy (R)	2.4% (1.8, 3.1)	87.5% (87.1, 87.9)
2017	Treasurer*	Edwards (D)	96.9% (95.7, 97.7)	15.9% (15.4, 16.5)
		Schroder (R)	3.1% (2.3, 4.3)	84.1% (83.5, 84.6)
2018	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	3.1% (2.4, 3.9)	85.3% (84.8, 85.8)
		Collins-Greenup (D)	96.9% (96.1, 97.6)	14.7% (14.2, 15.2)
2019	Attorney General	Jackson (D)	90.5% (89.3, 91.6)	9.3% (8.9, 9.7)
		Landry (R)	9.5% (8.4, 10.7)	90.7% (90.3, 91.1)
2019	Comm. Agriculture	Green (D)	51.0% (49.7, 52.3)	5.9% (5.3, 6.5)
		Strain (R)	10.1% (9.0, 11.3)	83.4% (83.0, 83.8)
2019	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	49.6% (47.7, 51.2)	45.1% (44.0, 45.9)
		Temple (R)	50.4% (48.8, 52.3)	54.9% (54.1, 56.0)
2019	Governor*	Edwards (D)	97.6% (96.8, 98.2)	28.9% (28.6, 29.4)
		Rispone (R)	2.4% (1.8, 3.2)	71.1% (70.6, 71.4)
2019	Lt. Governor	Jones (D)	84.1% (82.9, 85.3)	7.6% (7.2, 8.0)
		Nungesser (R)	15.9% (14.7, 17.1)	92.4% (92.0, 92.8)
2019	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	4.9% (4.0, 5.9)	87.6% (87.1, 88.0)
		Collins-Greenup (D)	95.1% (94.1, 96.0)	12.4% (12.0, 12.9)
2019	Treasurer	Edwards (D)	92.8% (91.9, 93.6)	11.0% (10.6, 11.4)
		Schroder (R)	4.7% (3.9, 5.7)	85.1% (84.7, 85.4)
2020	U.S. President	Biden (D)	84.7% (77.9, 88.5)	17.7% (15.8, 20.4)
		Trump (R)	13.9% (10.2, 20.5)	81.6% (79.0, 83.6)
2020	U.S. Senator	Cassidy (R)	5.9% (5.1, 6.8)	87.6% (87.2, 87.9)
		Edwards (D)	29.5% (28.6, 30.5)	1.5% (1.2, 1.8)
		Perkins (D)	49.1% (47.9, 50.2)	5.6% (5.2, 6.0)

* indicates a runoff election.

Table 9: Performance of Top Candidates for Black and White Voters, Statewide

Year	Office	Candidate	Vote %	Top Candidate for
2012	U.S. President	Romney (R)	57.8%	White Voters
		Obama (D)	40.6%	Black Voters
2014	U.S. Senator*	Cassidy (R)	55.9%	White Voters
		Landrieu (D)	44.1%	Black Voters
2015	Attorney General*	Landry (R)	56.3%	White Voters
		Caldwell (R)	43.7%	Black Voters
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Strain (R)	58.2%	White Voters
		Greer (D)	30.1%	Black Voters
2015	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	53.5%	White Voters
		McGehee (D)	19.0%	Black Voters
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	56.1%	Black Voters
		Vitter (R)	43.9%	White Voters
2015	Lt. Governor*	Nungesser (R)	55.4%	White Voters
		Holden (D)	44.6%	Black Voters
2015	Sec. State	Schedler (R)	62.2%	White Voters
		Tyson (D)	37.8%	Black Voters
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	80.1%	Both Groups
2016	U.S. President	Trump (R)	58.1%	White Voters
		Clinton (D)	38.4%	Black Voters
2016	U.S. Senator*	Kennedy (R)	60.7%	White Voters
		Campbell (D)	39.3%	Black Voters
2017	Treasurer*	Schroder (R)	55.7%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	44.3%	Black Voters
2018	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	59.3%	White Voters
		Collins-Greenup (D)	40.7%	Black Voters
2019	Attorney General	Landry (R)	66.2%	White Voters
		Jackson (D)	33.8%	Black Voters
2019	Comm. Agriculture	Strain (R)	56.8%	White Voters
		Green (D)	20.3%	Black Voters
2019	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	53.5%	Both Groups
2019	Governor*	Edwards (D)	51.3%	Black Voters
		Rispone (R)	48.7%	White Voters
2019	Lt. Governor	Nungesser (R)	68.1%	White Voters
		Jones (D)	31.9%	Black Voters
2019	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	59.1%	White Voters
		Collins-Greenup (D)	40.9%	Black Voters
2019	Treasurer	Schroder (R)	60.0%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	34.5%	Black Voters
2020	U.S. President	Trump (R)	58.5%	White Voters
		Biden (D)	39.9%	Black Voters
2020	U.S. Senator	Cassidy (R)	59.3%	White Voters
		Perkins (D)	19.0%	Black Voters

* indicates a runoff election.

Table 10: Performance of Top Candidates for Black and White Voters, CD 1

Year	Office	Candidate	Vote %	Top Candidate for
2012	U.S. President	Romney (R)	71.5%	White Voters
		Obama (D)	26.2%	Black Voters
2014	U.S. Senator*	Cassidy (R)	66.1%	White Voters
		Landrieu (D)	33.9%	Black Voters
2015	Attorney General*	Landry (R)	60.2%	White Voters
		Caldwell (R)	39.8%	Black Voters
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Strain (R)	69.6%	White Voters
		Greer (D)	15.6%	Black Voters
2015	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	69.7%	White Voters
		McGehee (D)	10.9%	Black Voters
2015	Governor*	Vitter (R)	57.7%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	42.3%	Black Voters
2015	Lt. Governor*	Nungesser (R)	75.3%	White Voters
		Holden (D)	24.7%	Black Voters
2015	Sec. State	Schedler (R)	77.1%	White Voters
		Tyson (D)	22.9%	Black Voters
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	81.2%	Both Groups
2016	U.S. President	Trump (R)	69.3%	White Voters
		Clinton (D)	26.1%	Black Voters
2016	U.S. Senator*	Kennedy (R)	75.1%	White Voters
		Campbell (D)	24.9%	Black Voters
2017	Treasurer*	Schroder (R)	72.9%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	27.1%	Black Voters
2018	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	73.5%	White Voters
		Collins-Greenup (D)	26.5%	Black Voters
2019	Attorney General	Landry (R)	76.8%	White Voters
		Jackson (D)	23.2%	Black Voters
2019	Comm. Agriculture	Strain (R)	68.3%	White Voters
		Green (D)	15.3%	Black Voters
2019	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	53.0%	White Voters
		Temple (R)	47.0%	Black Voters
2019	Governor*	Rispone (R)	55.7%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	44.3%	Black Voters
2019	Lt. Governor	Nungesser (R)	80.2%	White Voters
		Jones (D)	19.8%	Black Voters
2019	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	71.0%	White Voters
		Collins-Greenup (D)	29.0%	Black Voters
2019	Treasurer	Schroder (R)	71.6%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	22.1%	Black Voters
2020	U.S. President	Trump (R)	68.8%	White Voters
		Biden (D)	29.3%	Black Voters
2020	U.S. Senator	Cassidy (R)	69.7%	White Voters
		Perkins (D)	13.0%	Black Voters

* indicates a runoff election.

Table 11: Performance of Top Candidates for Black and White Voters, CD 2

Year	Office	Candidate	Vote %	Top Candidate for
2012	U.S. President	Obama (D)	76.4%	Black Voters
		Romney (R)	22.3%	White Voters
2014	U.S. Senator*	Landrieu (D)	80.9%	Black Voters
		Cassidy (R)	19.1%	White Voters
2015	Attorney General*	Caldwell (R)	52.1%	Black Voters
		Landry (R)	47.9%	White Voters
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Greer (D)	56.6%	Black Voters
		Strain (R)	32.0%	White Voters
2015	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	37.4%	White Voters
		McGehee (D)	35.2%	Black Voters
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	83.0%	Both Groups
2015	Lt. Governor*	Holden (D)	71.7%	Black Voters
		Nungesser (R)	28.3%	White Voters
2015	Sec. State	Tyson (D)	70.1%	Black Voters
		Schedler (R)	29.9%	White Voters
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	76.3%	Both Groups
2016	U.S. President	Clinton (D)	75.1%	Black Voters
		Trump (R)	21.7%	White Voters
2016	U.S. Senator*	Campbell (D)	76.8%	Black Voters
		Kennedy (R)	23.2%	White Voters
2017	Treasurer*	Edwards (D)	79.5%	Black Voters
		Schroder (R)	20.5%	White Voters
2018	Sec. State*	Collins-Greenup (D)	78.6%	Black Voters
		Ardoin (R)	21.4%	White Voters
2019	Attorney General	Jackson (D)	70.3%	Black Voters
		Landry (R)	29.7%	White Voters
2019	Comm. Agriculture	Green (D)	46.2%	Black Voters
		Strain (R)	26.7%	White Voters
2019	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	52.2%	Both Groups
2019	Governor*	Edwards (D)	84.7%	Both Groups
2019	Lt. Governor	Jones (D)	64.4%	Black Voters
		Nungesser (R)	35.6%	White Voters
2019	Sec. State*	Collins-Greenup (D)	77.2%	Black Voters
		Ardoin (R)	22.8%	White Voters
2019	Treasurer	Edwards (D)	69.9%	Black Voters
		Schroder (R)	24.1%	White Voters
2020	U.S. President	Biden (D)	76.3%	Black Voters
		Trump (R)	22.1%	White Voters
2020	U.S. Senator	Perkins (D)	39.0%	Black Voters
		Cassidy (R)	23.9%	White Voters

* indicates a runoff election.

Table 12: Performance of Top Candidates for Black and White Voters, CD 3

Year	Office	Candidate	Vote %	Top Candidate for
2012	U.S. President	Romney (R)	66.0%	White Voters
		Obama (D)	32.4%	Black Voters
2014	U.S. Senator*	Cassidy (R)	66.1%	White Voters
		Landrieu (D)	33.9%	Black Voters
2015	Attorney General*	Landry (R)	66.7%	White Voters
		Caldwell (R)	33.3%	Black Voters
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Strain (R)	63.6%	White Voters
		Greer (D)	24.8%	Black Voters
2015	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	55.0%	White Voters
		McGehee (D)	16.8%	Black Voters
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	50.2%	Black Voters
		Vitter (R)	49.8%	White Voters
2015	Lt. Governor*	Nungesser (R)	62.5%	White Voters
		Holden (D)	37.5%	Black Voters
2015	Sec. State	Schedler (R)	67.9%	White Voters
		Tyson (D)	32.1%	Black Voters
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	78.8%	Both Groups
2016	U.S. President	Trump (R)	67.2%	White Voters
		Clinton (D)	29.3%	Black Voters
2016	U.S. Senator*	Kennedy (R)	71.9%	White Voters
		Campbell (D)	28.1%	Black Voters
2017	Treasurer*	Schroder (R)	70.6%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	29.4%	Black Voters
2018	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	70.1%	White Voters
		Collins-Greenup (D)	29.9%	Black Voters
2019	Attorney General	Landry (R)	74.4%	White Voters
		Jackson (D)	25.6%	Black Voters
2019	Comm. Agriculture	Strain (R)	57.5%	White Voters
		Green (D)	14.8%	Black Voters
2019	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	59.4%	Both Groups
2019	Governor*	Rispone (R)	60.3%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	39.7%	Black Voters
2019	Lt. Governor	Nungesser (R)	75.5%	White Voters
		Jones (D)	24.5%	Black Voters
2019	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	69.0%	White Voters
		Collins-Greenup (D)	31.0%	Black Voters
2019	Treasurer	Schroder (R)	68.1%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	26.4%	Black Voters
2020	U.S. President	Trump (R)	67.9%	White Voters
		Biden (D)	30.3%	Black Voters
2020	U.S. Senator	Cassidy (R)	67.8%	White Voters
		Perkins (D)	11.7%	Black Voters

* indicates a runoff election.

Table 13: Performance of Top Candidates for Black and White Voters, CD 4

Year	Office	Candidate	Vote %	Top Candidate for
2012	U.S. President	Romney (R)	58.6%	White Voters
		Obama (D)	40.1%	Black Voters
2014	U.S. Senator*	Cassidy (R)	57.7%	White Voters
		Landrieu (D)	42.3%	Black Voters
2015	Attorney General*	Landry (R)	56.9%	White Voters
		Caldwell (R)	43.1%	Black Voters
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Strain (R)	54.0%	White Voters
		Greer (D)	33.8%	Black Voters
2015	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	48.0%	White Voters
		McGehee (D)	19.3%	Black Voters
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	53.6%	Black Voters
		Vitter (R)	46.4%	White Voters
2015	Lt. Governor*	Nungesser (R)	54.9%	White Voters
		Holden (D)	45.1%	Black Voters
2015	Sec. State	Schedler (R)	62.3%	White Voters
		Tyson (D)	37.7%	Black Voters
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	79.5%	Both Groups
2016	U.S. President	Trump (R)	60.3%	White Voters
		Clinton (D)	37.0%	Black Voters
2016	U.S. Senator*	Kennedy (R)	61.7%	White Voters
		Campbell (D)	38.3%	Black Voters
2017	Treasurer*	Schroder (R)	63.4%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	36.6%	Black Voters
2018	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	56.2%	White Voters
		Collins-Greenup (D)	43.8%	Black Voters
2019	Attorney General	Landry (R)	69.6%	White Voters
		Jackson (D)	30.4%	Black Voters
2019	Comm. Agriculture	Strain (R)	56.8%	White Voters
		Green (D)	16.9%	Black Voters
2019	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	53.5%	Both Groups
2019	Governor*	Rispone (R)	54.8%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	45.2%	Black Voters
2019	Lt. Governor	Nungesser (R)	68.8%	White Voters
		Jones (D)	31.2%	Black Voters
2019	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	62.1%	White Voters
		Collins-Greenup (D)	37.9%	Black Voters
2019	Treasurer	Schroder (R)	62.5%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	33.0%	Black Voters
2020	U.S. President	Trump (R)	61.3%	White Voters
		Biden (D)	37.2%	Black Voters
2020	U.S. Senator	Cassidy (R)	61.2%	White Voters
		Perkins (D)	22.1%	Black Voters

* indicates a runoff election.

Table 14: Performance of Top Candidates for Black and White Voters, CD 5

Year	Office	Candidate	Vote %	Top Candidate for
2012	U.S. President	Romney (R)	60.9%	White Voters
		Obama (D)	37.8%	Black Voters
2014	U.S. Senator*	Cassidy (R)	60.7%	White Voters
		Landrieu (D)	39.3%	Black Voters
2015	Attorney General*	Landry (R)	51.8%	White Voters
		Caldwell (R)	48.2%	Black Voters
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Strain (R)	59.7%	White Voters
		Greer (D)	29.6%	Black Voters
2015	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	48.7%	White Voters
		McGehee (D)	17.2%	Black Voters
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	54.8%	Black Voters
		Vitter (R)	45.2%	White Voters
2015	Lt. Governor*	Nungesser (R)	57.3%	White Voters
		Holden (D)	42.7%	Black Voters
2015	Sec. State	Schedler (R)	63.4%	White Voters
		Tyson (D)	36.6%	Black Voters
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	80.4%	Both Groups
2016	U.S. President	Trump (R)	63.2%	White Voters
		Clinton (D)	34.4%	Black Voters
2016	U.S. Senator*	Kennedy (R)	64.8%	White Voters
		Campbell (D)	35.2%	Black Voters
2017	Treasurer*	Schroder (R)	64.8%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	35.2%	Black Voters
2018	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	63.9%	White Voters
		Collins-Greenup (D)	36.1%	Black Voters
2019	Attorney General	Landry (R)	71.3%	White Voters
		Jackson (D)	28.7%	Black Voters
2019	Comm. Agriculture	Strain (R)	61.6%	White Voters
		NA	0.0%	Black Voters
2019	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	56.7%	Both Groups
2019	Governor*	Rispone (R)	53.3%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	46.7%	Black Voters
2019	Lt. Governor	Nungesser (R)	71.3%	White Voters
		Jones (D)	28.7%	Black Voters
2019	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	63.6%	White Voters
		Collins-Greenup (D)	36.4%	Black Voters
2019	Treasurer	Schroder (R)	64.3%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	30.8%	Black Voters
2020	U.S. President	Trump (R)	64.1%	White Voters
		Biden (D)	34.4%	Black Voters
2020	U.S. Senator	Cassidy (R)	64.7%	White Voters
		Perkins (D)	13.7%	Black Voters

* indicates a runoff election.

Table 15: Performance of Top Candidates for Black and White Voters, CD 6

Year	Office	Candidate	Vote %	Top Candidate for
2012	U.S. President	Romney (R)	67.1%	White Voters
		Obama (D)	31.0%	Black Voters
2014	U.S. Senator*	Cassidy (R)	65.1%	White Voters
		Landrieu (D)	34.9%	Black Voters
2015	Attorney General*	Landry (R)	53.7%	White Voters
		Caldwell (R)	46.3%	Black Voters
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Strain (R)	66.8%	White Voters
		Greer (D)	23.6%	Black Voters
2015	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	60.8%	White Voters
		McGehee (D)	16.8%	Black Voters
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	52.5%	Black Voters
		Vitter (R)	47.5%	White Voters
2015	Lt. Governor*	Nungesser (R)	53.6%	White Voters
		Holden (D)	46.4%	Black Voters
2015	Sec. State	Schedler (R)	69.1%	White Voters
		Tyson (D)	30.9%	Black Voters
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	83.5%	Both Groups
2016	U.S. President	Trump (R)	65.3%	White Voters
		Clinton (D)	30.4%	Black Voters
2016	U.S. Senator*	Kennedy (R)	66.7%	White Voters
		Campbell (D)	33.3%	Black Voters
2017	Treasurer*	Schroder (R)	68.1%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	31.9%	Black Voters
2018	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	65.6%	White Voters
		Collins-Greenup (D)	34.4%	Black Voters
2019	Attorney General	Landry (R)	70.9%	White Voters
		Jackson (D)	29.1%	Black Voters
2019	Comm. Agriculture	Strain (R)	65.5%	White Voters
		Green (D)	17.2%	Black Voters
2019	Comm. Insurance	Temple (R)	53.9%	Both Groups
2019	Governor*	Rispone (R)	52.3%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	47.7%	Black Voters
2019	Lt. Governor	Nungesser (R)	73.6%	White Voters
		Jones (D)	26.4%	Black Voters
2019	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	65.0%	White Voters
		Collins-Greenup (D)	35.0%	Black Voters
2019	Treasurer	Schroder (R)	65.5%	White Voters
		Edwards (D)	29.0%	Black Voters
2020	U.S. President	Trump (R)	65.7%	White Voters
		Biden (D)	32.4%	Black Voters
2020	U.S. Senator	Cassidy (R)	66.6%	White Voters
		Perkins (D)	15.9%	Black Voters

* indicates a runoff election.

Table 16: Vote Shares of Black-Preferred Candidates Under the Illustrative Maps

			Map #1		Map #2		Map #3	
Year	Office	Candidate	CD 2	CD 5	CD 2	CD 5	CD 2	CD 5
2012	U.S. President	Obama (D)	68.2%	56.5%	69.2%	55.6%	68.2%	58.2%
2014	U.S. Senator*	Landrieu (D)	72.6%	56.7%	73.0%	56.0%	72.6%	58.8%
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Greer (D)	56.0%	47.0%	56.0%	46.1%	56.0%	47.7%
2015	Sec. State	Tyson (D)	60.8%	52.5%	60.9%	51.0%	60.8%	53.4%
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	78.3%	79.1%	77.9%	79.4%	78.3%	79.0%
2015	Attorney General*	Caldwell (R)	49.5%	52.1%	48.0%	52.6%	49.5%	52.3%
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	76.4%	69.2%	77.1%	67.9%	76.4%	71.0%
2015	Lt. Governor*	Holden (D)	64.1%	61.1%	64.2%	60.5%	64.1%	62.0%
2016	U.S. President	Clinton (D)	68.9%	54.5%	69.4%	53.4%	68.9%	56.1%
2016	U.S. Senator*	Campbell (D)	67.5%	55.7%	67.2%	54.4%	67.5%	56.8%
2017	Treasurer*	Edwards (D)	75.2%	51.2%	75.2%	51.0%	75.2%	51.5%
2018	Sec. State*	Collins-Greenup (D)	69.2%	54.6%	68.8%	55.0%	69.2%	56.9%
2019	Attorney General	Jackson (D)	61.4%	46.1%	61.3%	44.7%	61.4%	47.4%
2019	Lt. Governor	Jones (D)	56.0%	44.6%	56.4%	43.4%	56.0%	45.8%
2019	Treasurer	Edwards (D)	64.5%	50.9%	64.8%	49.4%	64.5%	52.4%
2019	Governor*	Edwards (D)	77.8%	63.2%	77.4%	61.8%	77.8%	65.2%
2019	Sec. State*	Collins-Greenup (D)	68.7%	54.8%	68.8%	53.4%	68.7%	56.4%
2020	U.S. President	Biden (D)	69.0%	54.5%	69.5%	53.3%	69.0%	56.0%

* indicates a runoff election.

Table 17: List of Candidates in Statewide Elections

Year	Office	Candidate	Race
2012	U.S. President	Obama (D)	Black
		Romney (R)	White
2014	U.S. Senator*	Cassidy (R)	White
		Landrieu (D)	White
2015	Attorney General*	Caldwell (R)	White
		Landry (R)	White
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Greer (D)	White
		Strain (R)	White
2015	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	White
		Hodge (D)	White
		McGehee (D)	White
		Parker (R)	White
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	White
		Vitter (R)	White
2015	Lt. Governor*	Holden (D)	Black
		Nungesser (R)	White
2015	Sec. State	Schedler (R)	White
		Tyson (D)	Black
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	White
		Treadway (R)	White
2016	U.S. President	Clinton (D)	White
		Trump (R)	White
2016	U.S. Senator*	Campbell (D)	White
		Kennedy (R)	White
2017	Treasurer*	Edwards (D)	Black
		Schroder (R)	White
2018	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	White
		Collins-Greenup (D)	Black
2019	Attorney General	Jackson (D)	Black
		Landry (R)	White
2019	Comm. Agriculture	Green (D)	White
		Strain (R)	White
2019	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	White
		Temple (R)	White
2019	Governor*	Edwards (D)	White
		Rispone (R)	White
2019	Lt. Governor	Jones (D)	Black
		Nungesser (R)	White
2019	Sec. State*	Ardoin (R)	White
		Collins-Greenup (D)	Black
2019	Treasurer	Edwards (D)	Black
		Schroder (R)	White
2020	U.S. President	Biden (D)	White
		Trump (R)	White
2020	U.S. Senator	Cassidy (R)	White
		Edwards (D)	Black
		Perkins (D)	Black

* indicates a runoff election.

Maxwell Palmer

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Appointments

Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, 2021–Present

Director of Advanced Programs, Dept. of Political Science, 2020–Present

Civic Tech Fellow, Faculty of Computing & Data Sciences, 2021–Present

Faculty Fellow, Initiative on Cities, 2019–Present

Affiliations: Hariri Institute for Computing; Center for Antiracist Research

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 2014–2021

Education

Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Ph.D., Political Science, May 2014.

A.M., Political Science, May 2012.

Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine

A.B., Mathematics & Government and Legal Studies, May 2008.

Book

Neighborhood Defenders: Participatory Politics and America's Housing Crisis (with Katherine Levine Einstein and David M. Glick). 2019. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

- Selected chapters republished in *Political Science Quarterly*.
- Reviewed in *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Economics 21*, *Public Books*, and *City Journal*.
- Covered in Vox's "The Weeds" podcast, CityLab, Slate's "Gabfest," Curbed, Brookings Institution Up Front.

Refereed Articles

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David Glick, and Maxwell Palmer. 2022. "Developing a pro-housing movement? Public distrust of developers, fractured coalitions, and the challenges of measuring political power." *Interest Groups & Advocacy*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Other Publications

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

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

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

Policy Reports

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

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

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

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

Palmer, Maxwell, Katherine Levine Einstein, and David Glick. 2020. Counting

the City: Mayoral Views on the 2020 Census. Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Einstein, Katherine Levine, David Glick, and Maxwell Palmer. 2018. "2017 Menino

Survey of Mayors." Research Report. Boston University Initiative on Cities.

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

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

Current Projects

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

- Covered in *Fast Company*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Grants and Awards

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

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

The Rockefeller Foundation, "Menino Survey of Mayors" (Co-principal investi-

gator). 2017. $325,000.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Dirksen Congressional Center, Congressional Research Award, 2013.

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

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

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

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

Selected Presentations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Expert Testimony and Consulting

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

ginia House of Delegates map. (2017)

Thomas v. Bryant (3:18-CV-441-CWR-FKB), U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially polarized voting in a district of the 2012 Mississippi State Senate map. (2018–2019)

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

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

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

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

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

Grant v. Raffensperger (1:22-CV-00122-SCJ), U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia. Prepared expert reports and testified on racially polarized voting in selected districts of the 2021 Georgia state legislative district maps. (2022)

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

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

Teaching

Boston University

- *Introduction to American Politics* (PO 111; Fall 2014, Fall 2015, Fall 2016, Fall 2017, Spring 2019, Fall 2019, Fall 2020)
- *Congress and Its Critics* (PO 302; Fall 2014, Spring 2015, Spring 2017, Spring 2019)

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

Service

Boston University

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

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

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

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

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

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

Arlington Election Reform Committee Member, August 2019–April 2022.

Coordinator, Harvard Election Data Archive, 2011–2014.

Other Experience

Charles River Associates, Boston, Massachusetts 2008–2010

Associate, Energy & Environment Practice
Economic consulting in the energy sector for electric and gas utilities, private equity, and electric generation owners. Specialized in Financial Modeling, Resource Planning, Regulatory Support, Price Forecasting, and Policy Analysis.

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