

EXHIBIT NO. DX-3 evid.  
CAUSE NO. 3:22-cv-00734-DPJ-HSO-LHS  
WITNESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CLERK: SHONE POWELL

FEB 26 2024

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF MISSISSIPPI  
Cardie Crane, REPORTER

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF MISSISSIPPI  
NORTHERN DIVISION

MISSISSIPPI STATE CONFERENCE OF THE  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE; DR.  
ANDREA WESLEY; DR. JOSEPH WESLEY;  
ROBERT EVANS; GARY FREDERICKS; PAMELA  
HAMNER; BARBARA FINN; OTHO BARNES;  
SHIRLINDA ROBERTSON; SANDRA SMITH;  
DEBORAH HULITT; RODESTA TUMBLIN; DR.  
KIA JONES; ANGELA GRAYSON; MARCELEAN  
ARRINGTON; VICTORIA ROBERTSON,

*Plaintiffs,*

vs.

STATE BOARD OF ELECTION  
COMMISSIONERS; TATE REEVES, *in his official  
capacity as Governor of Mississippi*; LYNN FITCH, *in  
her official capacity as Attorney General of  
Mississippi*; MICHAEL WATSON, *in his official  
capacity as Secretary of State of Mississippi*,

*Defendants,*

AND

MISSISSIPPI REPUBLICAN EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE,

*Intervenor-Defendant.*

Case No. 3:22-cv-734-DJP-HSL-LHS-  
FKB

AMENDED EXPERT REPORT OF THOMAS L. BRUNELL, Ph.D.

November 17, 2023

EXHIBIT  
DX-3

## Report on Mississippi State Legislative Redistricting

Thomas L. Brunell, Ph.D.

### **I. Professional Background and Experience**

I am a tenured Professor of Political Science at the University of Texas at Dallas. I received a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Irvine in 1997. Currently I serve as the program head for the Public Policy, Political Economy and Political Science program. Previously I served as Senior Associate Dean of Graduate Education for the School of Economic, Political, and Policy Sciences here at the University of Texas at Dallas. In 2020, I was appointed by the Director of the U.S. Census Bureau to serve a three-year term on the Census Scientific Advisory Committee. My teaching and research interests revolve around American elections. I study redistricting, representation, political parties, and the U.S. Congress. I teach classes on Election Law, Redistricting and Racial politics, Campaigns and Elections, and Congress. I have published a book on redistricting and dozens of peer-reviewed articles in the top journals in our field on redistricting, the Voting Rights Act, elections, and representation. I am lead author on two textbooks on American government – the first one is *An Introduction to American Government* (Brunell et al 2021), and the second is *An Introduction to State and Local Government* (Brunell et al 2022). I have testified in state and federal courts around the country over the last 20 years in lawsuits involving voting, redistricting, the Voting Rights Act, ballot integrity, absentee ballots, election administration, and signature matching. My most recent work is a book with two co-authors forthcoming with Oxford University Press entitled

*How Polarization Begets Polarization: Ideological Extremism in the US*

Congress. For a full listing of publications I have authored or co-authored and for those cases that I have testified in either as an expert at trial or by deposition, please see my cv attached hereto as Appx. 1.

I am being paid \$500 per hour for my work in this matter. My fees are not contingent on my opinions or on the outcome of the case.

**II. Scope of Report**

I was asked by counsel for the Defendants to review the expert reports submitted by Dr. Jordan Ragusa and Mr. William S. Cooper in the Mississippi state legislative redistricting case styled MS State Conference of the NAACP et al. vs. State Board of Election Commissioners et al. , Civil Action No. 3:22-cv-734-DPJ-HSO-LHS, USDC S. D. Miss. and offer my opinions regarding the issues addressed therein.

**III. Summary of Conclusions**

Based on my reading of Prof. Ragusa's report for this case, my conclusion is that his statistical modeling strategy is fatally flawed, and it does not provide any evidence of racial predominance in the drawing of the five Mississippi legislative districts that he examines. Based on my reading of Mr. Cooper's report, my conclusion is that he attempts to maximize the number of majority-minority districts in both the House and Senate plans and applies traditional redistricting criteria in a manner no more favorable than the enacted legislative plans.

#### IV. Ragusa Report

Professor Ragusa looks at three House districts and two State Senate districts and attempts to model the extent to which race played a role in the decision-making process on the part of the map-makers. Prof. Ragusa was asked by counsel to examine three Mississippi House Districts (22, 34, and 64) as well as two Mississippi Senate Districts (2 and 48) (Ragusa report page 4). It is not at all clear why these five districts were chosen, but it is interesting to note that none of the five districts is a majority black district nor anywhere near approaching one in the newly drawn map. Racial gerrymandering could potentially be found in any district, but we would usually expect to find such behavior in those districts that are majority-minority or nearly so. Although one of the five districts was majority-minority in the benchmark plan, (HD# 34), there are legitimate reasons other than race for its reconfiguration such as attempts to accommodate the severe population loss in the Mississippi Delta, protection of incumbency, and partisan politics. The chart below demonstrates the differences in any part Black voting age population (APBVAP) in the examined districts from the benchmark to the enacted plans.

	<b>Benchmark APBVAP</b>	<b>Enacted APBVAP</b>	<b>Difference</b>
<b>SD2</b>	39.64%	32.88%	6.76%
<b>SD48</b>	36.33%	29.40%	6.93%
<b>HD22</b>	37.04%	29.86%	7.18%

<b>HD34</b>	60.49%	31.55%	28.94%
<b>HD64</b>	37.93%	30.99%	6.94%

In a race-blind redistricting situation, we would not expect every single legislative district in the state to be well balanced in terms of the races or population moved in or out. Just by chance we are likely to see that some of the 174 legislative districts undergo changes in terms of the racial composition of a given district that is statistically significantly different from what it looked like in the benchmark map.

In order for Prof. Ragusa's analysis on racial predominance to be legitimate his statistical model needs to include all precincts that the map-makers considered to put in each district and exclude all precincts that the map-makers did not consider including in each and every district. This is, of course, impossible to do. While his approach may constitute some decent guesses by including all precincts in the county or counties that each new district encompassed, it is clearly wrong for the reasons discussed below.

Significantly, the districts drawn by the legislature were drawn based on precincts and not Census blocks, which is the level of geography that Prof. Ragusa uses in his analysis. The impact from this analytic decision is as follows – when the map-makers were deciding how to change the boundaries of the districts they were looking to include or exclude precincts, which contain many blocks. When they choose to include a precinct, all of the blocks in that precinct were included.

This logic is not built-in to Prof. Ragusa's model. Rather, his model assumes that all blocks in the county envelope were equally likely to be included or excluded, but this is not how the districts were built. While the state did split some precincts in their drawing of the map, in which case, a block-level analysis would be appropriate, the bias was towards keeping precincts whole.

To explain his analysis in simple terms, he wants to know if race was a statistically significant factor in the movement of precincts from one district to another – either by keeping precincts in the district, moving them out, or moving them in. To do this correctly, Prof. Ragusa must know with certainty which precincts (or even partial precincts) were considered for each district. If he includes any precincts that were not actually considered to be put in a district, or if he excludes any precincts that were considered for inclusion in the district, then all his results are invalid. What his model is testing is whether, among all the precincts considered for inclusion in a district, there is a relationship between race/ethnicity and the precincts that were picked versus the precincts that were not picked for inclusion in any one district. A famous statistician named George E. P. Box once said that “all [statistical] models are wrong, but some are useful” (Box and Draper 1987, p. 424). In this case, the extent of the “wrongness” of Prof. Ragusa's model makes it neither correct nor useful to this inquiry.

Table 1 lists all the House legislative districts that changed composition in terms of which counties were included in each district in the newly enacted map relative to the benchmark map. Over 30 districts changed county composition in the remapping for Mississippi, which is to say this happens quite frequently. We

do not know in how many other districts the map-makers considered changing the county composition. Without this information, Prof. Ragusa, along with the rest of us, can only guess about these considerations. Guessing which precincts the map-makers considered for each legislative district is a fundamental flaw in Prof. Ragusa's modeling approach.

Prof. Ragusa claims on page 5 of his report that: "my analysis takes into consideration traditional redistricting principles and accounts for several explanations for the composition of the challenged districts." This is not true as his method does not account for compactness or contiguity. Since he considers all blocks in a "county envelope" to be the likely (and only) prospects for inclusion in a new district, his model considers each block in the county envelope to be equally likely to be included in the new district. While he says that he controls for this issue by marking those precincts that are contiguous to the benchmark map, this is not sufficient. This has to be an iterative process in which a precinct that is four precincts away becomes increasingly more likely to be included in a district as the blocks between the district and the distant block are chosen to be included in the district. This violates the traditional principle of contiguity because any blocks that are not adjacent to the district, but in the same county, cannot be included in the new district unless and until blocks between the current district and the prospective block are included in the new district. Which is to say if a district takes up the southeast corner of a county, then we cannot think about the blocks in the far northwest corner of the county until the blocks in the middle of the county are included.



To better exemplify this point I have attached a map of DeSoto County and the House districts as they existed from 2012-2021 (the benchmark map). In the upper right corner of the county is District 52 (it extends into neighboring Marshall County as well). If the map-makers considered changes to HD 52, they would not start with blocks from HD 25, which is on the other side of the county, and there are four other districts between HD 52 and HD 25. In Prof. Ragusa's modeling strategy, a block way out in HD 25 has an equal probability of being considered relative to a block contiguous to HD 52 in HD 6.

Relatedly, there are no controls for the compactness of a district in his method either – which is to say, the final shape of each district does not affect Prof. Ragusa's modeling strategy.

Further, there are many realities of redistricting that may not be considered traditional redistricting principles but that nonetheless play significant and important roles in the redrawing of electoral boundaries across the country. Incumbents very often have preferences for what is included in their district and what is not included in their district. First and foremost, they want a district that favors their re-election, so they are going to be keen to see and evaluate the political performance statistics of possible new district lines. Second, incumbents often have personal preferences for including certain areas, houses, or landmarks in their district. I have seen incumbents ask to include their mother's house, their lake house, their grandchildren's preschool, a sports arena, and an automobile factory in their redrawn district. Prof. Ragusa does not, and cannot, account for these unique requests, and we do not know how these varied requests affected the final district lines in Mississippi.

With respect to Prof. Ragusa's specific models and results, the multivariate logistical regression is one in which the dependent variable in the model takes on just two values – a zero or a one. In this case, for the model these values are determined by whether each block was included in the newly drawn district (takes on a value of one) or not included in the newly drawn district (takes on a value of zero). Prof. Ragusa includes several control variables in his models like the number of votes for Trump in the 2020 election, the total voting age population in the block, and whether each block was contiguous to the benchmark district or not. Ultimately what the “moved in” model boils down to is comparing the average number of African Americans in the blocks that were included in the new district to the average number of African Americans in the blocks that were in the “county envelope” but not included in the newly drawn district.

If these statistical models were indeed useful, and, as explained, they are not, what should we expect to see? If the map-makers were trying to increase the Black voting age population (BVAP) in a particular district, then we should see in Prof. Ragusa's model 1 a positive coefficient and a statistically significant result. For the same district, if the map-makers were trying to increase the BVAP, we should see a negative coefficient for BVAP that is statistically significant for the “moved out” model – which is to say the map-makers should be clearly biased in favor of moving out non-Blacks and keeping as much of the existing Black population in the district. In that scenario, the third model (moved in, kept in) for each district should have the same results as the first model – a positive and statistically significant coefficient for the BVAP variable. The logic of the third

model is the same as the first. If the map-makers were trying to reduce the BVAP in a district, we would expect the BVAP coefficient in the three models to have the opposite signs (moved-in should be negative, moved-out should be positive, and moved in/kept in should be negative) and all of the coefficients should be statistically significant. Of the five districts that Prof. Ragusa analyzes in the matter, how many follow this pattern? Zero.

This can be confirmed on pages 30-31 of Prof. Ragusa's report. I have summarized his results below. None of the five districts matches what we would expect from purposeful racial gerrymandering.

District	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
HD 22	+, not significant	+, significant	-, not significant
HD 34	-, significant	+, not significant	-, significant
HD 64	-, significant	-, not significant	-, significant
SD 2	-, significant	+, significant	-, not significant
SD 48	-, significant	+, significant	+, not significant

In conclusion, there are enough flaws in Prof. Ragusa's analysis that render the results unreliable. Even if we were to decide that this approach was reasonable, this method of analysis is hardly a racial gerrymandering talisman. A statistically significant effect just means the average proportion of Blacks moved in or out of a district was higher (lower) than the average number of non-Hispanic Whites. A statistically significant result does not always imply that the result is also substantively interesting. Consequently, Prof. Ragusa's modeling strategy is fatally flawed and does not provide any evidence of racial predominance in the drawing of the five Mississippi legislative districts that he examines.

## V. Cooper report

### Black-elected Officials

Mr. Cooper's report draws new maps for both chambers of the Mississippi State Legislature in which he tries to maximize the number of majority Black districts in the state. Mr. Cooper notes that Mississippi has the highest percentage of African American population among the 50 United States. It is also the case that Mississippi has a very high percentage of state legislators who are Black among all the states as well. Below is a breakdown of the black composition of the Mississippi Legislature by term:

### **Mississippi Legislature**

#### Black Members

<b>Election</b>	<b>House</b>	<b>Senate</b>
2019	32.7% [40]	26.9% [14]
2015	31.1% [38]	25.0% [13]
2011	30.3% [37]	23.1% [12]
2007	30.3% [37]	25.0% [13]
Seats	122	52

Sources: Mississippi's Official and Statistical Register, 2008-2012; 2012-2016; 2016-2020; and 2020-2024.

While it is difficult to determine the current number of black-elected officials in other states, an examination of available sources indicates that Mississippi is among the highest. See <https://www.governing.com/now/blacks-in-state-legislatures-a-state-by-state-map.html>, accessed Sept. 27, 2023. At an even more general level, Mississippi elects more African American politicians at

all levels of government than any other state. *See* page 56, Bullock and Gaddie 2009; *see also* <https://www.governing.com/now/black-elected-officials-and-the-nuanced-issue-of-expectations>, accessed Oct. 16, 2023.

#### Planning and Development Districts

Mr. Cooper uses the Mississippi Planning and Development Districts (PDDs) as “a useful reference point for constructing electoral districts in the state” (Cooper, pg. 15). I question the relevancy of these districts for redistricting. While “communities of interest” are often slippery to define in redistricting, there is no evidence that the Mississippi legislature used the PDDs in any way for their drawing of the state legislative districts. Typically, the starting point of any remapping is the benchmark map. From that baseline, then areas of major population growth or loss have to be addressed by shifting lines away from regions that lost population, like the Mississippi Delta region of the state that sustained significant population loss, and towards those more densely populated regions. Drawing a reference map that has more majority Black districts but does not follow the same procedures that the State Legislature took when drawing the map makes the alternatives less useful.

#### Compactness

Compactness of districts is a common criterion used for redistricting. Electoral districts take on many different shapes. While it is possible for a partisan gerrymander to have nice compact looking districts, we more often see oddly shaped districts when a party is trying to extract as many seats as they can from a given distribution of votes across the state. While there are many metrics

used to measure the compactness of districts, three that are most commonly used, and which I find to be most helpful, are the Reock, Polsby-Popper, and Convex Hull.

The Reock metric (Reock 1961) is calculated by drawing the smallest circumscribing circle around an electoral district and then taking the ratio of the area of the district to the area of the circle. The ratio will be between zero and one, with one being the most compact. This metric is generally useful and is particularly sensitive to districts that are elongated.

The Polsby-Popper metric (Polsby and Popper 1991) is calculated by creating a circle with the same circumference of the district and then taking the ratio of the area of the district and the area of the circle. Again, this ranges from zero to one, with scores closer to one being more compact. This metric is generally useful, is sensitive to when a district is elongated, and is particularly sensitive to indentations and protrusions in a district's shape.

The Convex Hull metric measures the ratio between the area of the district and the area of the minimum convex bounding polygon that can enclose the district. The measure ranges from zero to one, with a score of one representing the highest level of compactness. A circle, square, or any other shape with only convex angles has a score of one.

Mr. Cooper notes that his districts are more compact for both the House and the Senate maps than the enacted maps. The differences are small and in five of the six instances there is no statistically significant difference between his plans and the enacted plans. Only the Polsby-Popper compactness measure

indicates a statistically significant difference for the House maps. Thus, the difference in compactness between Mr. Cooper's maps and the enacted maps is marginal. I report the average measure for each map and all three compactness scores below.

House	Reock	Polsby-Popper	Convex Hull
Enacted Map	0.384	0.265*	0.714
Cooper Map	0.376	0.273	0.720

Senate	Reock	Polsby-Popper	Convex Hull
Enacted Map	0.395	0.263	0.721
Cooper Map	0.407	0.280	0.734

#### Pairing Incumbents

Mr. Cooper, on page 7 of his report, writes “under the illustrative plans, at least two Senate districts and at least four House districts paired incumbents.” He mentions that he lacked complete data on where all of the sitting incumbents lived, so there could be even more pairings than this. Mr. Cooper pairs at least four sitting Senators and eight sitting House members. The state paired fewer incumbents with pairings in only three House districts (HD 34, 16 and 79) and one Senate district (SD 37).

Political Subdivision Splits

Mr. Cooper writes on pages 47 and 71 of his report about how his illustrative maps for the Mississippi House and Senate split fewer political subdivisions than the enacted maps. While this is true, the differences are marginal and 80 split precincts in the enacted maps contain zero population. When counties or cities are too large to fit into a single district, they must be split among multiple districts, so this problem is unavoidable at some level. Preserving communities of interest is the other reason that we often look at such data – assuming that counties and municipalities are in fact communities of interest. I have recreated the data from Mr. Cooper’s report below (I combine Table 15 and Table 28 from his report). The differences are modest between the respective maps. The Cooper map for the House has the same number of split counties as the enacted map and then modestly fewer split cities and VTDs. His Senate map splits fewer counties, but almost has the same number of total county splits or segments.

	Split Counties	Total County Splits	2020 VTD Splits	Municipalities not Split	Total Municipal Splits
2022 House	67	179	255	216	225
Cooper House	67	167	228	218	221
2022 Senate	43	58	41	244	128
Cooper Senate	34	52	38	253	110



Ultimately, Mr. Cooper's approach to drawing these alternative maps has a goal based on the race of voters.<sup>1</sup> He is trying to draw more majority Black districts than the State did in the enacted maps. It would follow logically then, that race was the predominant factor in his drawing of these districts. His maps for the Mississippi districts on more traditional criteria (compactness and county/precinct splits) demonstrate only modest differences to the enacted maps.

## **VI. Conclusion**

Dr. Ragusa's statistical modeling strategy is fatally flawed and offers no evidence of racial predominance in the drawing of the five legislative districts he examines in his report. Mr. Cooper attempts to maximize the number of majority-minority districts in both the House and Senate plans and applies traditional redistricting criteria in a manner no more favorable than the enacted legislative plans.

---

<sup>1</sup> Attached as Appendix 2 are district-level maps produced from the same Maptitude software used by Mr. Cooper. At my request via the lawyers for the Defendants, these maps were prepared in Maptitude by Ken Holland, who is proficient in the software. I have reviewed these maps as they reflect precinct data by race for composition of the Illustrative Senate and House districts as drawn by Mr. Cooper. These maps suggest that Mr. Cooper's proposed lines were drawn with an intent to optimize minority racial demographics.

I declare under the penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge. I reserve the right to amend or supplement my report if additional facts, testimony, or materials come to light.



---

Thomas L. Brunell

November 17, 2023

Date

### **Cited Works**

Box, G. E. P.; Draper, N. R. 1987. *Empirical Model-Building and Response Surfaces*, John Wiley & Sons.

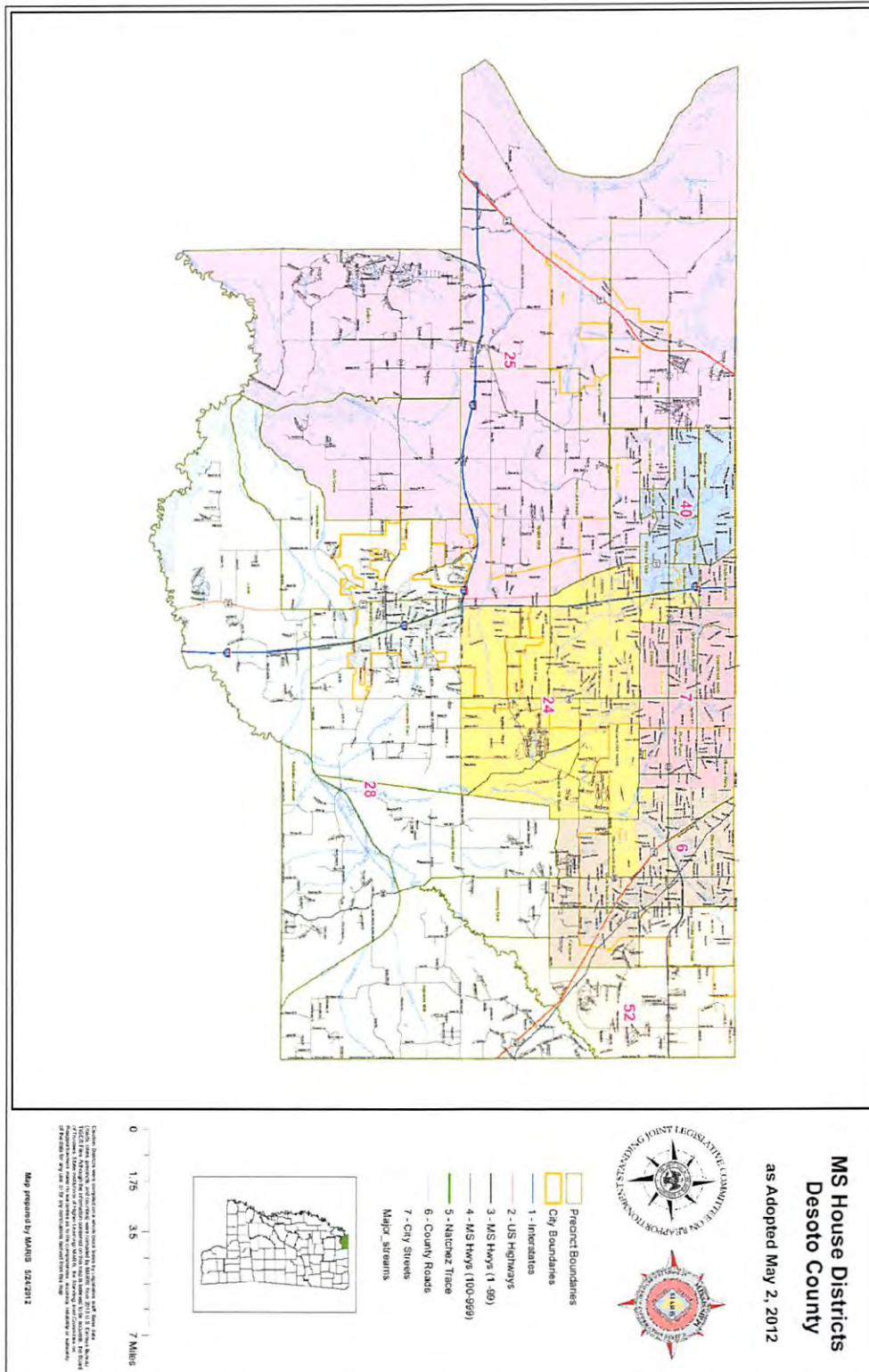
Brunell, Thomas, Robert Lowry, Banks Miller, and Thomas Gray. 2021. *An Introduction to American Government*. Toronto: TopHat.

Brunell, Thomas, Robert Lowry, Banks Miller, and Thomas Gray. 2022. *An Introduction to State and Local Government*. Toronto: TopHat.

C. S. Bullock III and R. K. Gaddie. 2009. *The Triumph of Voting Rights in the South*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009.

Polsby, Daniel D.; Popper, Robert D. (1991). "The Third Criterion: Compactness as a procedural safeguard against partisan gerrymandering". *Yale Law & Policy Review*. 9 (2): 301–353.

Reock, Ernest (1961). "A Note: Measuring Compactness as a Requirement of Legislative Apportionment". *Midwest Journal of Political Science*. 5 (1): 70–74.



**Table 1. List of House Districts that Changed in Terms of County Composition in the New Map Relative to the Benchmark Map**

House District	Counties in New Map	Counties in Benchmark Map
3	Alcorn, Prentiss, Tishomingo	Alcorn, Prentiss
4	Alcorn	Alcorn, Tippah
5	Benton, Lafayette, Marshall	Benton, Lafayette, Marshall, Tate
9	Coahoma, DeSoto, Quitman, Tate, Tunica	Coahoma, Quitman, Tate, Tunica
10	Lafayette, Panola	Lafayette, Panola, Tallahatchie
13	Benton, Lafayette, Marshall, Pontotoc, Union	Benton, Lafayette, Marshall, Union
16	Chickasaw, Lee, Monroe	Lee, Monroe
18	Lee, Prentiss	Lee, Prentiss, Union
20	DeSoto	Itawamba, Lee, Monroe
21	Itawamba, Monroe	Itawamba, Tishomingo
22	Chickasaw, Monroe, Pontotoc	Chickasaw, Pontotoc
23	Calhoun, Lafayette, Pontotoc, Webster	Calhoun, Lafayette, Grenada, Webster
26	Bolivar, Coahoma, Sunflower	Bolivar, Coahoma
27	Attala, Leake, Madison, Scott	Attala, Leake, Madison, Yazoo
30	Grenada, Sunflower, Tallahatchie	Bolivar, Quitman, Sunflower, Tallahatchie
31	Bolivar, Sunflower	Bolivar, Humphreys, Sunflower, Washington
33	Harrison	Grenada, Tallahatchie, Yalobusha
34	Carroll, Grenada, Lafayette	Carroll, Grenada, Holmes, Tallahatchie
35	Choctaw, Oktibbeha, Webster, Winston	Attala, Choctaw, Webster, Winston
36	Chickasaw, Clay, Monroe, Oktibbeha	Clay, Monroe
37	Clay, Lowndes, Monroe	Clay, Lowndes, Oktibbeha
42	Kemper, Lowndes	Lowndes, Noxubee, Winston
43	Oktibbeha	Oktibbeha, Winston
51	Holmes, Humphreys, Leflore, Sharkey, Yazoo	Humphreys, Sharkey, Yazoo
53	Franklin, Lawrence, Lincoln, Pike	Franklin, Jefferson Davis, Lawrence, Lincoln, Pike
57	Madison, Yazoo	Madison
63	Hinds	Hinds, Warren, Yazoo
75	Madison, Rankin, Scott	Rankin, Scott
76	Copiah, Hinds	Claiborne, Copiah, Hinds
79	Jasper, Rankin, Scott, Smith	Jasper, Smith
81	Clarke, Lauderdale, Newton	Clarke, Lauderdale
83	Kemper, Lauderdale, Newton	Lauderdale
88	Jones	Jasper, Jones

90	Covington, Forrest, Jefferson Davis, Jones, Simpson	Covington, Jefferson Davis, Simpson
91	Covington, Jefferson Davis, Lawrence, Simpson	Copiah, Covington, Jefferson Davis, Lawrence
99	Lamar, Lawrence, Marion, Walthall	Lamar, Marion, Walthall

### **Appx. 1. Curriculum Vitae**

Thomas L. Brunell  
Professor of Political Science  
School of Economic, Political and Policy Sciences  
The University of Texas at Dallas  
800 W. Campbell Road  
Richardson, TX 75080  
972-883-4963  
tbrunell@utdallas.edu

#### **Education**

Ph.D., 1997 Political Science, University of California, Irvine  
M.A., 1993 Political Science, University of California, Irvine  
B.A., 1991 Political Science, University of California, Irvine

#### **Employment History**

The University of Texas at Dallas, Program Head for Political Science and Public Policy  
Political Economy, 2019-present.

The University of Texas at Dallas. Professor, 2009-present.

The University of Texas at Dallas, Senior Associate Dean, 2010-2012.

The University of Texas at Dallas, Director of Graduate Studies, Political Science  
Program 2007-2010.

The University of Texas at Dallas. Associate Professor, 2005-2009.

Northern Arizona University. Assistant Professor of Political Science, 2003-2005.

Binghamton University, SUNY. Assistant Professor of Political Science, Fall 1999–2003.

American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow, 1998–1999.

#### **Grants and Awards**

“Nursing in the Field: Vector-borne Illness Prevention and Detection Among Migrant  
and Seasonal Farmworkers.” Co-PIs: Sarah Maxwell and Thomas Brunell. \$50,000 from  
the Rita & Alex Hillman Foundation.

Visiting Fellowship, Australian National University, \$10,000, Summer 2014

Visiting Fellowship, University of Sydney, United States Studies Centre and The  
Election Integrity Project, \$10,000, Winter 2013.

EPPS Advisory Board Grant, \$5,000 for research on Redistricting. 2014.

Intramural Grants Program, Northern Arizona University. \$5,000 for a study on the impact of redistricting on House elections. Summer 2004.

Deans Workshop Grant, "Methods and Politics," \$3000, 2002-2003, with David Clark, David Rueda and Wendy Martinek.

Deans Workshop Grant, "Democratic Institutions, Preference Aggregation and World Politics," \$4000, 2001-2002, with David Clark and Patrick Regan.

Dean's Research Semester Award. Binghamton University, 2001-2002.

American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship, 1998-99

Order of Merit. Outstanding Graduate Scholarship. School of Social Sciences, University of California, Irvine, 1996-1997

University of California Regents Dissertation Fellowship, Spring 1997.

Scaife Foundation Fellowship to attend ICSPR summer statistical program, 1993.

#### **Books**

Merrill, Samuel III, Bernard Grofman, and Thomas L Brunell. 2023. *How Polarization Begets Polarization: Ideological Extremism in the US Congress*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brunell, Thomas, Robert Lowry, Banks Miller, and Thomas Gray. 2021. *Introduction to American Government*. Toronto: TopHat.

Brunell, Thomas, Robert Lowry, Banks Miller, and Thomas Gray. 2021. *Introduction to State and Local Government*. Toronto: TopHat.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2008. *Redistricting and Representation: Why Competitive Elections are Bad for America*. New York: Routledge.

#### **Journal Articles**

Lublin, David, Lisa Handley, Thomas L. Brunell, and Bernard Grofman. 2020. "Minority Success in Non-Majority Minority Districts: Finding the 'Sweet Spot'". *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*. 5: 275-298.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Brett Cease. 2019. "How Do State-Level Environmental Policies Impact the Voting Behavior of National Legislators?" *Social Science Quarterly* 100(1): 289-306.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Bernard Grofman. 2018. "Using US Senate Delegations from the Same State as Paired Comparisons: Evidence for a Reagan Realignment." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 51(3): 512-516.



Brunell, Thomas L., Bernard Grofman, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2016. "Components of Party Polarization in the U.S. House of Representatives." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 28(4): 598-624.

Brunell, Thomas L., Bernard Grofman, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2016. "Replacement in U.S. House: An Outlier-Chasing Model." *Party Politics* 22(4): 427-439.

Brunell, Thomas L., Bernard Grofman, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2016. "The Volatility of Median and Supermajoritarian Pivots in the U.S. Congress and The Effects of Party Polarization", *Public Choice*, 166: 183-204.

Bowler, Shaun, Thomas Brunell, Todd Donovan, and Paul Gronke. 2015. "Election Administration and perception of Fair Elections." *Electoral Studies* 38(June): 1-9.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Whitney Ross Manzo. 2014. "The Impact of Cox v. Larios on State Legislative Population Deviations." *Election Law Journal* 13(3): 351-361.

Merrill, Samuel, III, Thomas L. Brunell, and Bernard Grofman. 2014. "Modeling the Electoral Dynamics of Party Polarization in Two-Party Legislatures." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 26(4): 548-572.

Stone Sweet, Alec and Thomas L. Brunell. 2013. "Trustee Courts and the Judicialization of International Regimes: The Politics of Majoritarian Activism in the European Convention on Human Rights, the European Union, and the World Trade Organization." *Journal of Law and Courts* 1(1): 61- 88.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2012. "The One Person, One Vote Standard in Redistricting: The Uses and Abuses of Population Deviations in Legislative Redistricting." *Case Western Reserve Law Review* 62(4): 1057- 1077.

Grofman, Bernard, Thomas L. Brunell, and Scott L. Feld. 2012. "Towards a Theory of Bicameralism: The Neglected Contributions of the Calculus of Consent." *Public Choice* 152(1-2): 147-161.

Brunell, Thomas L., Bernard Grofman, Samuel Merrill III. 2012. "Magnitude and Durability of Electoral Change: Identifying Critical Elections in the U.S. Congress, 1854-2010." *Electoral Studies* 31(4): 816-828.

Stone Sweet, Alec and Thomas L. Brunell. 2012. "The European Court of Justice, State Non-Compliance, and the Politics of Override." *American Political Science Review* 106(1): 204-213.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Harold Clarke. 2012. "Who Wants Electoral Competition and Who Wants to Win?" *Political Research Quarterly* 65(1): 124-137.

Merrill, Samuel, Bernard Grofman, and Thomas L. Brunell. 2011. "Do British Politics Exhibit Electoral Cycles?" *British Journal of Political Science* 41(1): 33-55.

Smith, David and Thomas L. Brunell. 2010. "Are Special Elections to the U.S. House a General Election Barometer?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 35(2): 283-297.

Lublin, David, Thomas L. Brunell, Bernard Grofman, and Lisa Handley. 2009. "Has the Voting Rights Act Outlived Its Usefulness? In a Word 'No'." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 34(4): 525-554.

Adams, James, Thomas Brunell, Bernard Grofman, and Samuel Merrill, III. 2010. "Why Candidate Divergence Should be Expected to be Just as Great (or even Greater) in Competitive Seats as in Non-Competitive Ones." *Public Choice* 145: 417-433.

Brunell, Thomas L., Chetan Dave, and Nicholas C. Morgan. 2009. "Factors Affecting the Length of Time a Jury Deliberates: Case Characteristics and Jury Composition." *Review of Law & Economics*, 5(1): article 23.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Justin Buchler. 2009. "Ideological Representation and Competitive Congressional Elections." *Electoral Studies* 28(3): 448-457.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Bernard Grofman. 2009. "Testing Since Versus Strategic Split-ticket Voting at the Aggregate Level: Evidence from Split House-President Outcomes, 1900-2004." *Electoral Studies*, 28(1): 62-69.

Brunell, Thomas L., Christopher J. Anderson, and Rachel Cremona. 2008 "Descriptive Representation, District Demography, and Attitudes Toward Congress Among African Americans." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 33(2): 223-244.

Merrill, Samuel, Bernard Grofman, and Thomas L. Brunell. 2008. "Cycles in American National Electoral Politics, 1854-2006: Statistical Evidence and an Explanatory Model." *American Political Science Review*, 102(1) 1-17.

Thomas L. Brunell. 2006. What to Do about Turnout Bias in American Elections? *The American Review of Politics*, 27(Fall): 255-260.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2006. "Rethinking Redistricting: How Drawing Uncompetitive Districts Eliminates Gerrymanders, Enhances Representation, and Improves Attitudes Toward Congress." *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 39(1) 77-86.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2005. "The Relationship Between Political Parties and Interest Groups: Explaining Patterns of PAC Contributions to Candidates for the U.S. Congress." *Political Research Quarterly*, 58: 681-688.

Solowiej, Lisa, and Wendy Martinek, and Thomas L. Brunell. 2005. "Partisan Politics: The Impact of Party in the Confirmation of Minority and Female Federal Court

Nominees.” *Party Politics*, 11: 557-577.

Brunell, Thomas L. and John DiNardo. 2004. “A Propensity Score Reweighting Approach to Estimating the Partisan Effects of Full Turnout in American Presidential Elections.” *Political Analysis* 12(1): 28-45.

Solowiej, Lisa and Thomas L. Brunell. 2003. “The Entrance of Women to the U.S. Congress: The Widow Effect.” *Political Research Quarterly* 56(3): 283-292.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2001. “Why There is Still a Controversy About Adjusting the Census.” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 35(1, March): 85.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2001. “Census 2000 – Epilogue.” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 34(4, December): 813-814.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2001. “Science and Politics in the Census.” *SOCIETY* 39(1): 11-16.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Amihai Glazer. 2001. “Rational Response to Irrational Attitudes: The Level of the Gasoline Tax in the U.S. States.” *The Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 20(4): 761-764.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2000. “Redistricting in the 'Aughts': The Impact of Census 2000.” *The American Review of Politics* 21(Winter): 347-366.

Grofman, Bernard, William Koetzle, Samuel Merrill, and Thomas L. Brunell. 2001. “Changes in the Location of the Median Voter in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1963-1996.” *Public Choice* 106:221-232.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2000. “Using Statistical Sampling to Estimate the U.S. Population: The Methodological and Political Debate Over Census 2000.” *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 33(4, December): 775-782.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2000. "Rejoinder to Anderson and Fienberg." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 33(4, December): 793-794.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2000. "Making Sense of the Census: It's Political." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 33(4, December): 801-802.

Stone Sweet, Alec and Thomas L. Brunell. 2000. "The European Court, National Judges, and Legal Integration: A Researcher's Guide to the Data Set on Preliminary References in EC Law, 1958-98." *European Law Journal* 6(2): 117 - 127.

Stone Sweet, Alec and Thomas L. Brunell. 2000. "The European Court, National Judges, and Legal Integration." *Swedish Journal of European Law* 3(2):179-192.

Grofman, Bernard, William Koetzle, Michael McDonald, and Thomas L. Brunell. 2000. "A New Look at Split Ticket Outcomes for House and President: The Comparative Midpoints Model." *Journal of Politics* 62(1, February): 35-50.

Brunell, Thomas L. and William Koetzle. 1999. "A Divided Government Based Explanation for the Decline in Resignations from the U.S. Senate, 1834-1996." *Party Politics* 5(October, 4): 497-505.

Brunell, Thomas L. 1999. "Partisan Bias in U.S. Congressional Elections. Why the Senate is Usually More Republican than the House of Representatives." *American Politics Quarterly* 27(July,3): 316-37.

Grofman, Bernard, Samuel Merrill, Thomas L. Brunell, and William Koetzle. 1999. "The potential electoral disadvantages of a catch-all party - Ideological variance among Republicans and Democrats in the 50 U.S. States." *Party Politics* 5(April,2):199-210.

Brunell, Thomas L., William Koetzle, John DiNardo, Bernard Grofman, and Scott L. Feld. 1999. "The  $R^2 = .93$ . Where Then Do They Differ? Comparing Liberal and Conservative Interest Group Ratings." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 24(February,1): 87-99.

Merrill, Samuel, Bernard Grofman, Thomas L. Brunell, and William Koetzle. 1999. "The power of ideologically concentrated minorities." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 11(January,1):57-74.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Bernard Grofman. 1998. "Explaining Divided Senate Delegations 1788-1996: A Realignment Approach." *American Political Science Review* 92(June,2): 391-99.

Stone Sweet, Alec and Thomas L. Brunell. 1998. "Constructing a Supra-National Constitution: Dispute Resolution and Governance in the European Community." *American Political Science Review* 92(March,1): 63-81.

Stone Sweet, Alec and Thomas L. Brunell. 1998. "The European Court and the National Courts: A Statistical Analysis of Preliminary References, 1961-95." *The Journal of European Public Policy* 5(March): 66-97.

Grofman, Bernard, Thomas L. Brunell, and William Koetzle. 1998. "Why Gain in the Senate. But Midterm Loss in the House? Evidence from a Natural Experiment." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 23(February): 79-89.

Grofman, Bernard, Thomas L. Brunell, and Janet Campagna. 1997. "Distinguishing the Difference Between Swing Ratio and Bias: the U.S. Electoral College." *Electoral Studies* 16(December,4):471-487

Grofman, Bernard, William Koetzle, and Thomas L. Brunell. 1997. "An Integrated Perspective on the Three Potential Source of Partisan Bias: Malapportionment, Turnout Differences, and the Geographic Distribution of Party Vote Shares." *Electoral Studies* 16(December, 4):457-470.

Brunell, Thomas and Bernard Grofman. 1997. "The 1992 and 1996 Presidential Elections: Whatever Happened to the Republican Electoral College Lock?" *Presidential Studies Quarterly* Winter: 134-38.

Wuffle, A, Thomas Brunell, and William Koetzle. 1997. "Death Where is Thy Sting: The U.S. Senate as a Ponce (de Leon) Scheme." *PS:Political Science and Politics* 30 (1): 58-59. Reprinted in the *Journal of Irreproducible Results* 1999. 44(5-6): 25-26.

Koetzle, William, and Thomas L. Brunell. 1996. "Lip-Reading, Draft-Dodging, and Perot-noia: The 1992 Presidential Campaign in Editorial Cartoons." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 1(4): 94-115.

#### **Book Chapters and Other Articles**

Brunell, Thomas L. 2020. "Congress," In *An Introduction to American Government*, Toronto: TopHat.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2020. "Elections," In *An Introduction to American Government*, Toronto: TopHat.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2020. "Legislatures," In *State and Local Government*, Toronto: TopHat.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2020. "Congressional Reapportionment". In *Voting and Political Representation in America*, Mark P. Jones, Editor. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, pp 110-112.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2020. "Gerrymandering". In *Voting and Political Representation in America*, Mark P. Jones, Editor. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, pp 249-251.

Adams, James, Thomas L. Brunell, Bernard Grofman, and Samuel Merrill III. 2013. "Do Competitive Districts Necessarily Produce Centrist Politicians." In *Advances in Political Economy*. Norman Schofield, Gonzalo Caballero, and Daniel Kselman, eds. New York: Springer, pp 331-350.

Wuffle, A, Thomas Brunell, and William Koetzle. 2010. "Death Where is Thy Sting? The Senate as a Ponce (de Leon) Scheme." Eds. Lee Sigelman, Kenneth Newton, Kenneth J. Meier, and Bernard Grofman. Washington D.C.: APSA and ECPR.

Grofman, Bernard and Thomas L. Brunell. 2010. "Redistricting," in *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*, ed. Jan E. Leighly. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2009. "The presidential and congressional election in the USA, November 2008." *Electoral Studies*, 28(4): 322-325.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Bernard Grofman. 2008. "The Partisan Consequences of Baker v. Carr and the One Person, One Vote Revolution," in *Redistricting in Comparative Perspective*, Lisa Handley and Bernard Grofman, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Bernard Grofman. 2008. "Evaluating the Impact of Redistricting on District Homogeneity, Political Competition, and Political Extremism in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1962-2006." In *Designing Democratic Governments*, Margaret Levi, James Johnson, Jack Knight, and Susan Stokes, eds. New York: Russell Sage Publications.

Grofman, Bernard and Thomas Brunell. 2006. "Extending Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act: The Complex Interaction Between Law and Politics." In *The Future of the Voting Rights Act*, David Epstein, Rodolfo O. de la Garza, Sharyn O'Halloran, and Richard H. Pildes, eds. New York, NY: Russell Sage Publications.

Grofman, Bernard and Thomas Brunell. 2005. "The Art of the Dummymander: The Impact of Recent Redistrictings on the Partisan Makeup of Southern House Seats." In Galderisi, Peter (Ed.) *Redistricting in the New Millennium*. New York: Lexington Books, pp. 183-199.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2004. "Seeking to Institutionalize a Partisan Electoral Advantage: The Battle Over the Census." *War Stories from Capitol Hill*. Edited by Paul S. Hermson and Colton C. Campbell. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Brunell, Thomas L. 2001. "Congress and the Courts: The Strange Case of Census 2000." In *Congress Confronts the Court*, edited by Colton C. Campbell and John F. Stack, Jr.. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Press.

Grofman, Bernard and Thomas L. Brunell. 2001. "Explaining the Ideological Differences Between the Two U.S. Senators Elected from the Same State: An Institutional Effects Model." Galderisi, Peter F., Mami Ezra, and Michael Lyons, eds. *Congressional Primaries and the Politics of Representation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Press.

#### **Other Publications and Community Involvement**

Op-ed "Democrats should focus on state races this year and save their chips for 2020." Dallas Morning News, July 7, 2018. Co-authored with Paul Diehl.



Quoted in DMN "At 85, Rep. Sam Johnson has rivals' respect — but still has rivals" by Elizabeth Koh, Feb 15, 2016.

Quoted in:

<http://www.foxbusiness.com/politics/2016/02/25/last-stand-in-texas-for-cruz-before-super-tuesday.html>

Interview for WRDL on Feb 27, March 1, March 2 and throughout march and april

Interview KRLD on Oct 18 about vote rigging and presidential election

KRLD Oct 25 interview early turnout

Oct 26 Interviewed on Channel 8 news about future of GOP

Appeared on McQuisition television show. May 20, 2012. "Redistricting: Do you Know Who Your Congressman is?"

Newsweek story on special elections

<http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2011/09/12/david-weprin-vs-bob-turner-the-race-to-replace-anthony-weiner.html>

Nate Silver story on special elections, NY Times

<http://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/09/13/a-guide-to-cutting-through-special-election-spin/>

Appeared on McQuisition TV Show; local PBS talk show. Two episodes, one on the Tea Party and one on the 2010 Election.

Quoted in an Associate Press article "Vulnerable House Dems declare their independence," by Cristina Silva, September 25, 2010.

Appeared on *Think* with Krys Boyd on KERA Channel 13 (Dallas) talking about my book.

I wrote the feature op-ed for the Dallas Morning News on June 3, 2008.

[http://www.dallasnews.com/sharedcontent/dws/dn/opinion/viewpoints/stories/DN-brunell\\_03edi.ART.State.Edition1.45fe223.html](http://www.dallasnews.com/sharedcontent/dws/dn/opinion/viewpoints/stories/DN-brunell_03edi.ART.State.Edition1.45fe223.html)

Quoted extensively in a Huffington Post story by Tom Edsall on political cycles.

[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/06/24/obama-rides-the-wave\\_n\\_108848.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/06/24/obama-rides-the-wave_n_108848.html)

Appeared on local radio station (KRLD 1080 am) as a guest political commentator for a 3 hour election wrap up program for the Texas presidential primary election, March 4, 2008.

Was one of four invited speakers, including one member of Congress, at North Central Texas College's 2nd Annual Conference on American Leadership, April 12, 2008, where I spoke about redistricting and representation.

My research on cycles in American electoral politics was featured on Discovery's website <http://dsc.discovery.com/news/2008/03/13/political-cycles.html>

Quoted in Pittsburgh Tribune Review on Thursday March 27 about jury deliberations. [http://www.pittsburghlive.com/x/pittsburghtrib/news/cityregion/s\\_559258.html](http://www.pittsburghlive.com/x/pittsburghtrib/news/cityregion/s_559258.html)

Quoted in Philadelphia Inquirer on Wednesday April 2 about jury deliberations. <http://www.philly.com/philly/news/local/17215627.html>

My research with Patrick Brandt involving predicting the 2006 Congressional elections was quoted extensively in an article U.S. News and World Report.

Wrote an op-ed for Newsday (New York) on the impact of timing of events for presidential elections. Published 1/4/04. This was reprinted in the Dodge City Daily Globe (Kansas) on 1/8/04 and in the Chattanooga Times Free Press (Tennessee) on 1/25/04.

Spoke to Pi Sigma Alpha meeting on the Presidential Primary Process, February 2004.

Delivered a speech to the League of Women Voters of Broome and Tioga Counties entitled "Redistricting after Census 2000: Playing Political Hardball." September 25, 2001

Appeared as an hour long guest on NPR's "Talk of the Nation" to discuss the decennial census. March 7, 2001.

Stone Sweet, Alec and Thomas L. Brunell. 2000. "The European Court, National Judges, and Legal Integration: A Researcher's Guide to the Data Set on Preliminary References in EC Law, 1958-98." Working paper. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. European University Institute.

Brunell, Thomas L. and Amihai Glazer. 1999. "Evidence for the Irrationality of Governmental Policy." Working paper, Center for the Study of Democracy, U.C. Irvine.

Stone Sweet, Alec and Thomas L. Brunell. 1997. "The European Court and the National Courts: A Statistical Analysis of Preliminary References, 1961-95." Working paper 14/97, Jean Monnet Center, Harvard Law School.

Appeared on News Channel 34 (ABC) on 11/12/00 discussing the process by which we amend the constitution.

Appeared on Fox 40 on election night 11/7/00 as an analyst discussing the election.



Appeared on WBNG TV (CBS) on 11/2/00 discussing voter fatigue.

Appeared on News Channel 34 (ABC) on 11/2/00 discussing the Electoral College.

Quoted in Press and Sun-Bulletin on 10/14/00 in an article about the 26th district Congressional election in New York.

Appeared on WBNG TV (CBS) with students in my class discussing the second Clinton/Lazio debate, 10/8/00.

Appeared on News Channel 34 (ABC) discussing Presidential debate, 10/4/00

Appeared on News Channel 34 (ABC) discussing Presidential debate, 10/3/00

Appeared on News Channel 34 (ABC) discussing the 2000 NY Senatorial primary, 9/12/00.

Appeared on WBNG TV (CBS) News discussing the 2000 presidential primaries. March 7, 2000.

Appeared on WBNG TV (CBS) News discussing Census 2000 and its likely impact on New York. January 20, 2000.

Appeared on WBNG TV (CBS) and News Channel 34 (FOX) talking about turnout in local elections. October 2, 1999.

Brunell, Thomas L. "Accurate Census Count Vital for New York." The Press & Sun-Bulletin. July 25, 1999. Page 6E.

#### **Invited Talks**

Census 2020

Triple Play: Election 2018, Census 2020, and Redistricting 2021. Conference at University of Houston, Dec. 7 2018

Census 2020 and Redistricting

Common Cause Democracy Works Summit

Philadelphia, May 21, 2018

Keynote on Redistricting

North Carolina State Political Science Associate Meeting. Raleigh, NC Feb 23, 2018

Reforming Redistricting

Political Discourse Conference, University of Iowa, December 4, 2015

"The Impact of Competitiveness on Attitudes Towards Government, a Comparative Perspective." Australian National University, August 21, 2015.

"Asymmetrical Polarization in the U.S. Congress" Australian National University, July 14<sup>th</sup>,

2015.

“Population Deviations: A Subtle Form of Gerrymandering in the U.S. States” March 2014, The University of Sydney, Electoral Integrity Project.

“The Uses and Abuses of Population Deviations in State Legislative Redistricting.” Case Western Law School, November 4, 2011.

Why Electoral Competition is Bad for America  
Political Science Department at Duke University. February 10, 2009.

“Why We Need Fewer Competitive Elections in the U.S. House of Representatives.” Department of Government, University of Texas, Austin, January 27, 2006.

“Why Fewer Competitive Elections are Better in Single Member District Electoral Systems.” May 27, 2005, Nuffield College, Oxford University.

”Parsing Sincere Versus Strategic Interest Group Behavior: Explaining Patterns of Hard Money Contributions to Candidates for the U.S. Congress.” January 9, 2003, Dept. of Political Science UC Riverside.

“Party Polarization and Divided Government.” American Politics Research Group, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. December 1, 2000.

“The Politics of Census Taking in the United States. Nuffield College, Oxford University, September 28, 1999.

“The Statistical Adjustment of the 2000 U.S. Census. The George Washington University, June, 1999.

#### **Conference Activity**

“Assessing Proportionality as a Standard for Redistricting” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Diego, CA, April 2019.

“Assessing Proportionality as a Standard for Redistricting” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Austin, TX, January 2019.

“Do Environmental State Policies Impact National Legislators’ Voting Behavior?”  
T. Brunell and B. Cease. Presented at American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 3-September 3, 2017

“Democratic Renewal: The Positive Effects of Elections on Voters Attitudes Towards Government.” T. Brunell, S. Bowler, T. Donovan, J. Karp  
Presented at Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, January 7-10, 2016.

“State Election Administration and Voters’ Perceptions of Electoral Integrity.”

T. Brunell, S. Bowler, T. Donovan, P. Gronke  
Presented at State Politics and Policy Conference, Sacramento, CA

“Electoral Engineering and the Representation of Underrepresented Groups”  
Elin Bjarnegard, Thomas L. Brunell, and Par Zetterberg  
Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 2015

“Median and Supermajoritarian Pivots in Congress and Conditional Party Government”  
Thomas L. Brunell and Samuel Merrill, III  
Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 2015

“Election Reforms and Perceptions of Fair Elections.”  
Shaun Bowler, Thomas Brunell, Todd Donovan, and Paul Gronke  
State Politics and Policy Conference, Sacramento CA, May 2015.

“Replacement Effects and the Slow Cycle of Ideological Polarization in the U.S. House.”  
Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington  
D.C., September 2010.

“Putting Critical Elections in Historical Perspective”  
Thomas L. Brunell, Samuel Merrill III, and Bernard Grofman  
Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL April 2-5, 2009.

“Do Special Elections Foretell the Results of General Election Outcomes in the U.S. House of  
Representative.” Thomas L. Brunell and David Smith  
Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL April 2-5, 2009.

“Who Wants Electoral Competition and Who Wants to Win?” With Harold Clarke. Presented at  
the Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association,  
Chicago, April, 2008.

“The Impact of Electoral Competitiveness on Voters’s Attitudes Toward Government: Evidence  
from the U.S., Great Britain, and Canada.” With Elizabeth Clausen.  
Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Las Vegas, NV,  
March 2007.

“The Impact of Electoral Competitiveness on Voters’s Attitudes Toward Government: Evidence  
from the U.S., Great Britain, and Canada.” With Elizabeth Clausen  
Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago IL,  
April 2007.

“Time to Deliberate: Factors Affecting the Length of Jury Deliberations” With Chetan Dave and  
Nicolas Morgan. Presented at the Annual Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, New York  
Law School, November 2007.

“Move to the Center or Mobilize the Base? Effects of Political Competition, Voter Turnout, and Partisan Loyalties on the Ideological Convergence of Vote-Maximizing Candidates in Two-Party Competition.” With Bernard Grofman, Sam Merrill, and Jim Adams. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA August 30 - September 3, 2006.

“Rethinking Redistricting: How Drawing Districts Packed with Partisans Improves Representation and Attitudes Towards Congress.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4, 2005.

“Evaluating the Political Effects of Partisan Gerrymandering.” With Bernard Grofman. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4, 2005.

“The Impact of Primary Type on Competitiveness of U.S. Congressional Primary Elections.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 1-5, 2004.

“The Relationship Between Descriptive Representation of African Americans in Congress and Attitudes Toward Government.” With Rachel Cremona and Chris Anderson, presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 14-17, 2004.

“Do National Tides Affect Governors?: Midterm Loss in Gubernatorial Elections .” With Robin Best, presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 14-17, 2004.

“The Relationship Between Parties and Interest Groups: Explaining Interest Group Donations.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA August 26-September 1, 2002.

“The Entrance of Women into the U.S. Congress: The Widow Effect.” with Lisa Solowiej. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta, GA November 7-10, 2001.

“Before Election Day: The Effect of Timing of Elections in U.S. Presidential and Congressional Elections.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA August 30-September 2, 2001.

“Ideological Swing Districts in the U.S. House of Representatives,” with A.J. Quackenbush. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA August 30-September 2, 2001.

“The Effect of District Diversity on Party Loyalty Voting in the U.S. Congress.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Las Vegas, March 15-17, 2001.

“Explaining the Proportion of Split House-President Outcomes, 1900-1996,” with Bernard Grofman and Samuel Merrill. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, San Antonio, Texas, March 9-11, 2001.

“Congress and the Courts: The Strange Case of the Census.” Florida International University, Miami, Florida. April 7-9, 2000. Conference on Congress and the Courts.

“The Link Between Primary Type and Representation in the U.S. Senate.” Presented at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta GA.

“The Power of Ideologically Concentrated Electorates.” Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C, August 28-31.

“Rethinking the Link Between District Diversity and Electoral Competitiveness.” Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C, August 28-31.

“Comparing Electoral Competition, Responsiveness, and Change in the House and Senate: The Senate Really is Different.” Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association, New Orleans, March 26-30.

“Explaining the Ideological Differences Between the Two U.S. Senators Elected from the Same State: An Institutional Effects Model,” with Bernard Grofman. Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, San Francisco, March 21-23.

“The Power of Concentrated Ideological Minorities,” with Bernard Grofman and William Koetzle. Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, San Francisco, March 21-23.

“Why Do Voters Split Their Tickets? A Comparative Midpoints Approach,” with Bernard Grofman, Michael McDonald, and William Koetzle. Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, San Francisco, March 21-23.

“Explaining Divided Senate Delegations 1788-1994, A Realignment Approach.” Presented at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 28 - September 1, 1996.

“Toward a Realignment-Based Theory of Divided Senate Delegations” presented at 1995 Western Political Science Association Meeting, San Francisco, March 1996. And at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Houston, Texas, April 1996.

“Split-ticket Voting and Divided Government” with Bernard Grofman, Michael McDonald, and William Koetzle. Presented at the Conference on Strategy & Politics, Center for the Study of Collective Choice, University of Maryland, April 14, 1996.

“Comparing Midterm Elections in the U.S. House and Senate,” with William Koetzle and

Bernard Grofman. Presented at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Houston, Texas, April, 1996.

“Explaining Seat Change in the United States Senate, 1922-1994,” with William Koetzle. Presented at the 1995 Midwestern Political Science Association Annual Meeting in Chicago, Illinois, April 1995.

“Lip-Reading, Draft-Dodging, and Perot-noia: The 1992 Presidential Campaign in Editorial Cartoons,” with William Koetzle. Presented at the 1994 Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting in Albuquerque, New Mexico, March 1994.

### **Teaching Experience**

Introduction to U.S. and Texas Government  
Political Parties and Interest Groups  
American Political Institutions  
Race and Redistricting  
Congress  
Campaigns and Elections  
Statistics  
Computer Based Research in Social Science  
Graduate seminar in American Politics  
Graduate seminar in Electoral Systems  
Graduate seminar in American Political Institutions  
Graduate seminar in Comparative Institutions  
Graduate seminar in Election Law and Electoral Systems

### **Service & Professional Activities**

2013-14 Executive Committee, Political Science, UT Dallas

2010-2012 Senior Associate Dean, in charge of graduate studies for the School of Economic, Political, and Policy Sciences.

2007-2010 Associate Program Head and Director of Graduate Studies, Political Science, UT Dallas.

2005-2007 Executive Committee, Political Science, UT Dallas.

2006 American Politics search committee, UT Dallas.

2003-2005 Faculty Senate, Northern Arizona University.

2000-2001 Faculty Senate, Binghamton University.

2000-2001 Graduate Committee, Department of Political Science, Binghamton University.

2000-2001 American Politics Search Committee, Binghamton University.

1999-2000 American Politics Search Committee, Binghamton University.

1999-2000 Graduate Committee, Department of Political Science, Binghamton University.

Reviewer, National Science Foundation, American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Journal of Theoretical Politics, American Politics Review, National Science Foundation, Public Choice, Political Research Quarterly, Electoral Studies, British Journal of Political Science, Journal of European Public Policy, European Journal of Political Research, and Party Politics.

#### **Ph.D Students**

Patrick Muenks, faculty at UT Dallas  
Misty Parker, faculty at Del Mar College  
Paul Collins, faculty at University of North Texas  
Billy Monroe, faculty at Stephen F. Austin State College  
Walt Borges, faculty at UNT Dallas  
David Smith  
Whitney Manzo, faculty at Meredith College  
Adrianna Smith

#### **Redistricting and Litigation Experience**

Texas Congressional, 2001, testified in state court  
Pennsylvania Congressional, 2002, testified in state and federal court  
Alabama Congressional, 2002, testified in federal court  
Alaska State Legislative, 2002 testified in state court  
Virginia State Legislative (wrote a report but did not testify), 2001  
Nevada State Legislative (Guy v. Miller), 2011 testified in state court  
New Mexico State Legislative (Egolf v. Duran), 2011 testified in state court  
Colorado Congressional (Moreno v. Gessler), 2011  
South Carolina Congressional (Backus v. South Carolina), 2012 testified in federal court  
North Carolina Congressional and Legislative (Dickson v. Rucho), 2012  
Florida Congressional (Romo v. Detzner)  
Alabama Legislative (ALBC v. Alabama), 2013 testified in federal court  
South Dakota Voting Rights Act case (Brooks et al. v. Gant et al.), 2014  
Galveston County Texas (Petteway et al. v. Galveston County), 2016  
Kern County Districting (Luna v. County of Kern), 2017  
Ohio Congressional (Ohio A. Philip Randolph Institute v. Smith), 2018  
Michigan Congressional (League of Women Voters Michigan v. Johnson), 2018  
Florida Signature Matching (DNC Servs. Corp., v. Lee), 2019  
North Carolina Congressional (Common Cause v. Lewis), 2019  
Oregon Congressional (Clarno et al v. Fagan), 2021  
Maryland Congressional (Parrot v. Lamone), 2022  
Arkansas Absentee Ballot (League of Women Voters of Arkansas v. Thurston), 2023



**References**

Bernard Grofman  
Jack W. Peltason Endowed Chair  
University of California, Irvine  
Department of Political Science  
3151 Social Science Plaza  
Irvine CA 92697-5100  
949-824-6394  
[bgrofman@uci.edu](mailto:bgrofman@uci.edu)

Michael McDonald  
Professor of Political Science  
Department of Political Science  
Binghamton University  
Binghamton, NY 13902-6000  
Voice: (607) 777-4563 & (607) 625-4167  
[mdmcd@binghamton.edu](mailto:mdmcd@binghamton.edu)

Keith Gaddie  
Professor of Political Science  
University of Oklahoma  
Norman, OK 73019  
[rkgaddie@ou.edu](mailto:rkgaddie@ou.edu)  
(405) 314-7742



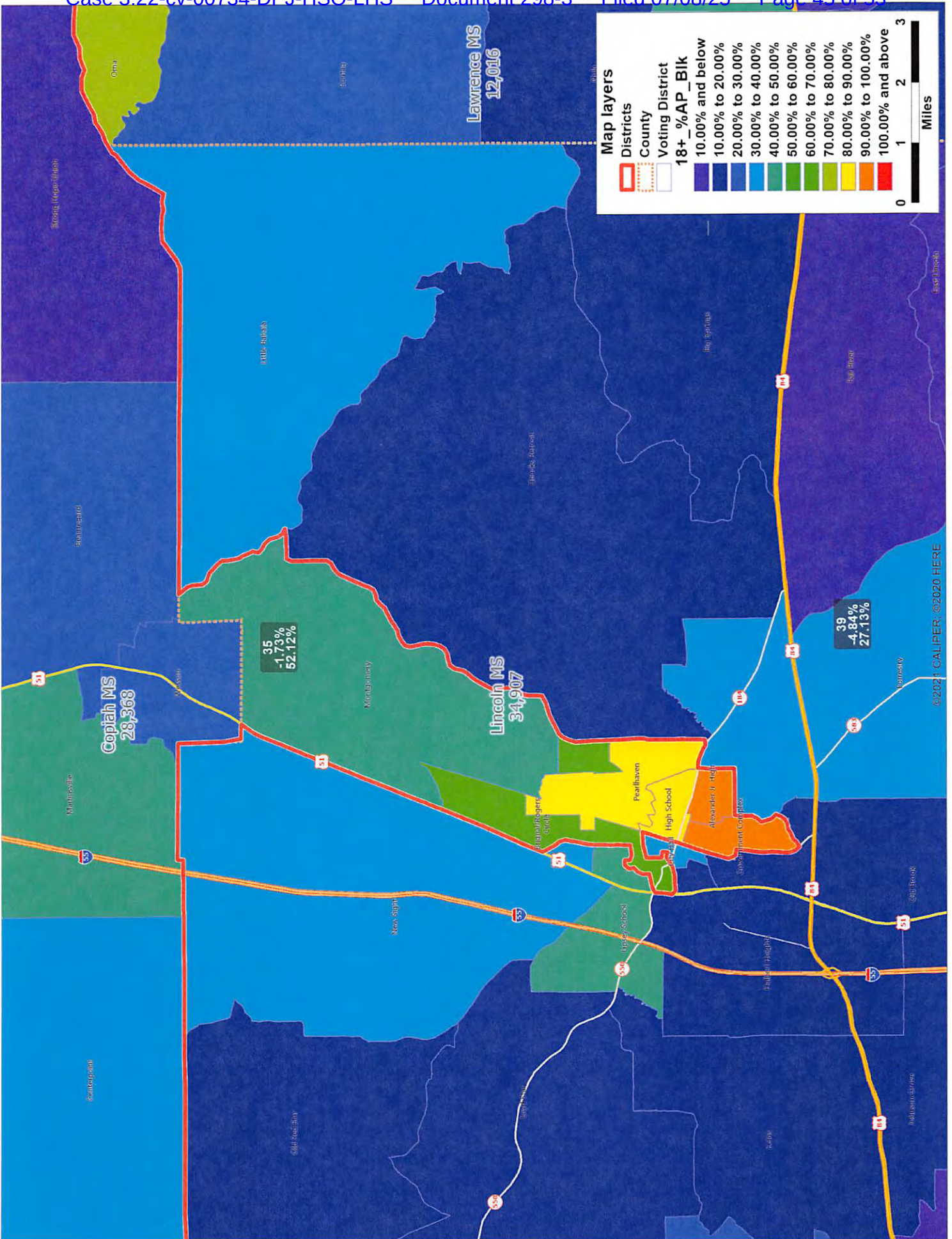
## **APPENDIX 2**

## **ILLUSTRATIVE SD17**



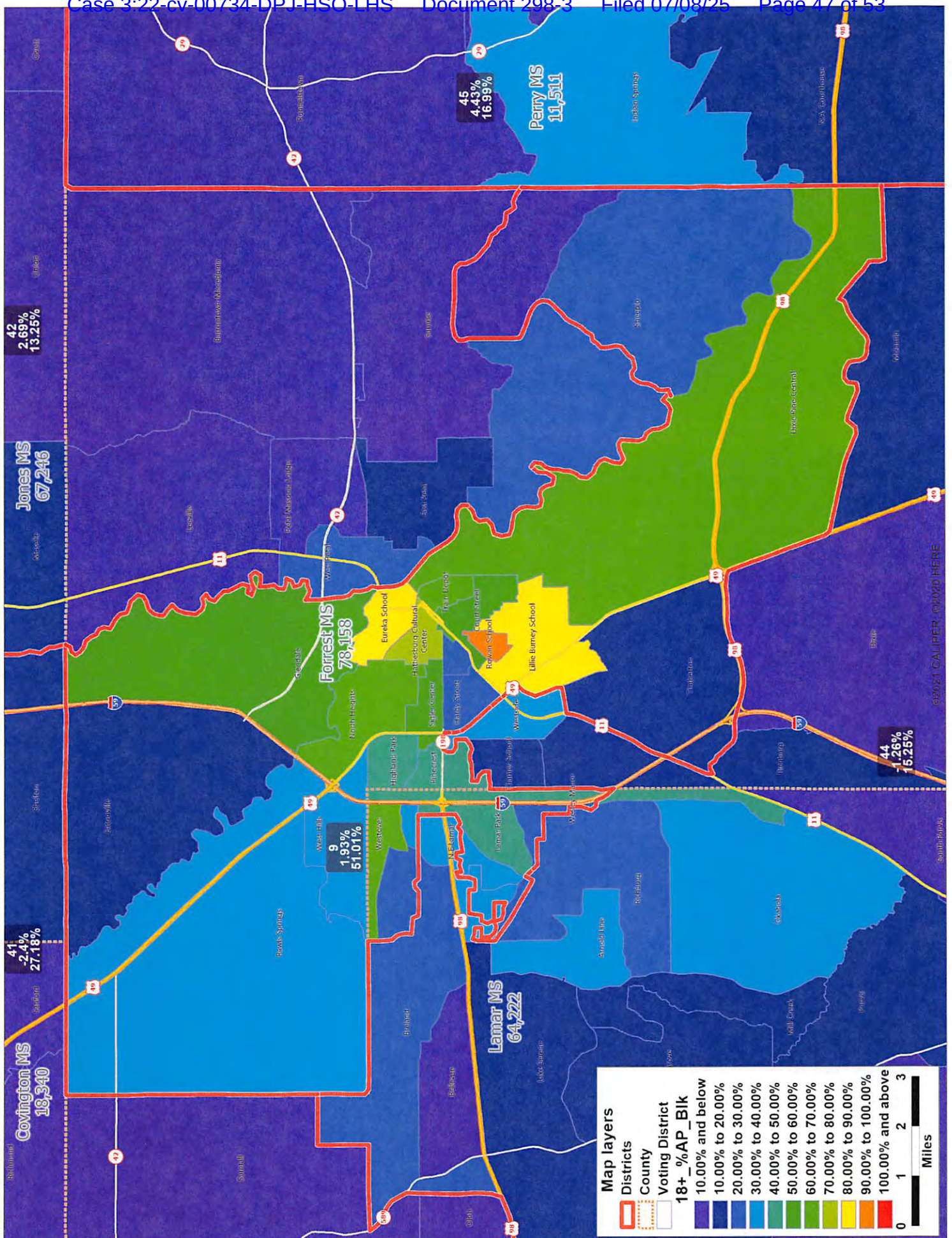
## **ILLUSTRATIVE SD35**





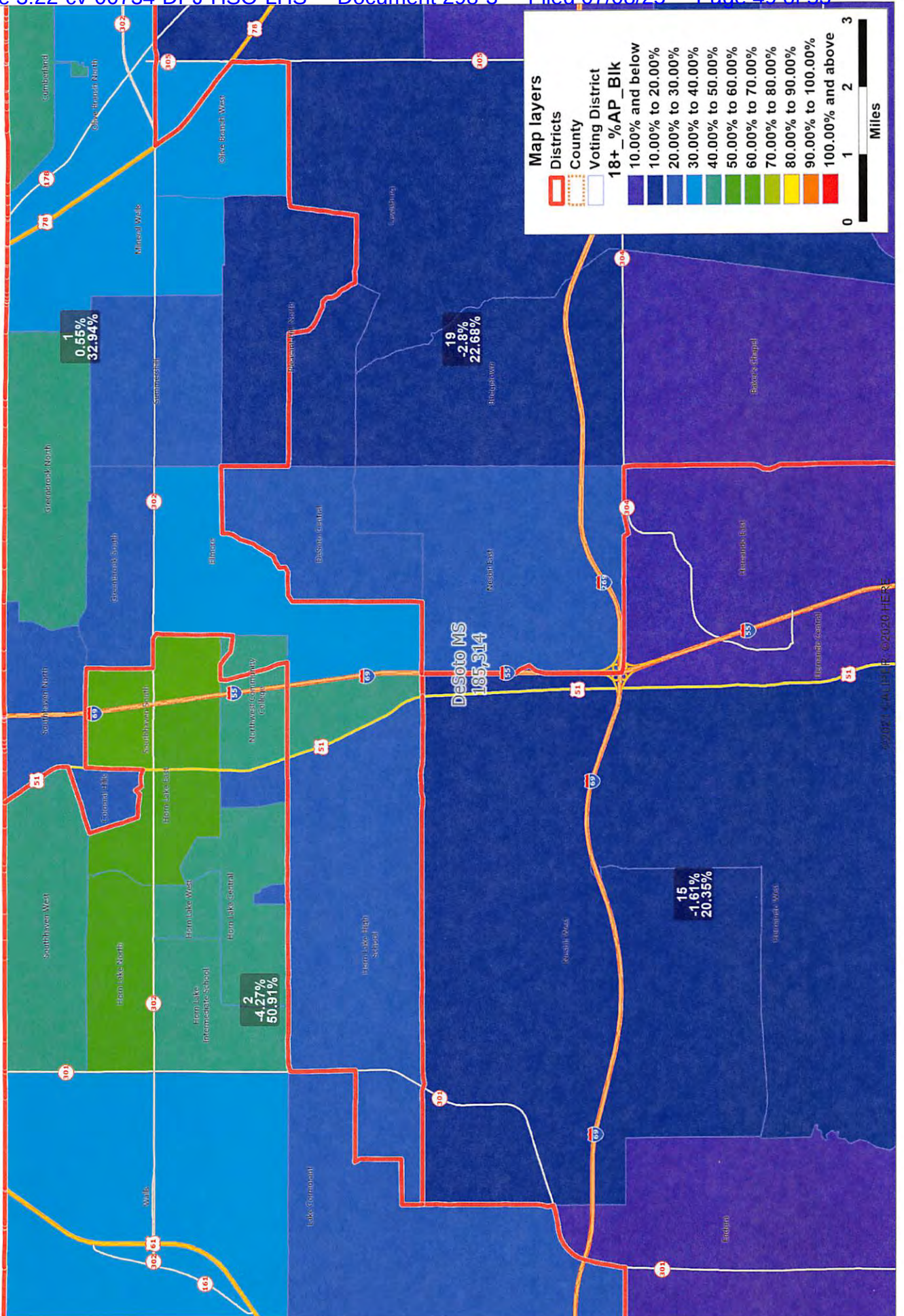
## **ILLUSTRATIVE SD9**





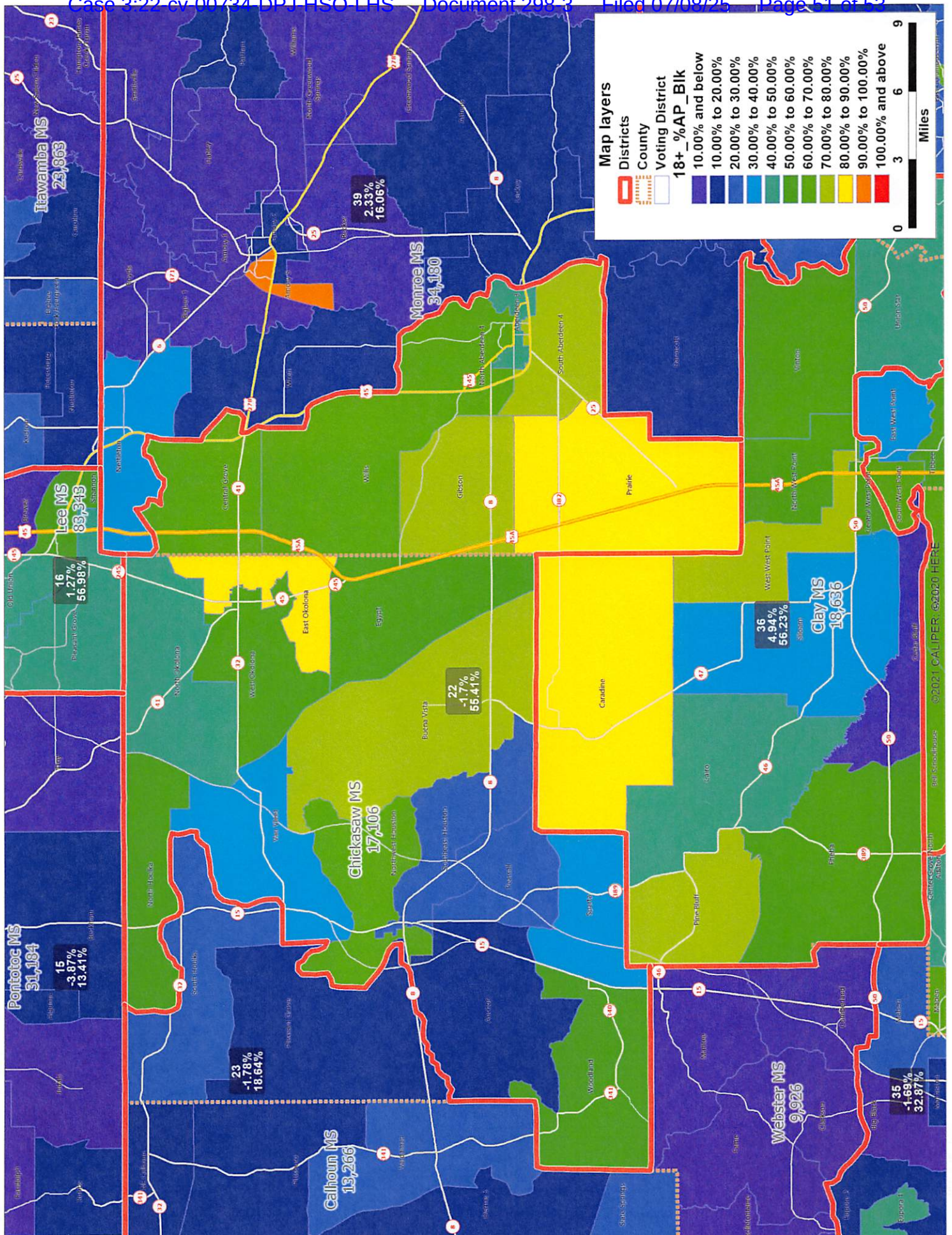


## **ILLUSTRATIVE SD2**



## **ILLUSTRATIVE HD22**





## **ILLUSTRATIVE HD84**



