Exhibit 15

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

HILLSBOROUGH, SS.
SOUTHERN DISTRICT

SUPERIOR COURT

Docket No. 226-2022-CV-00181

MILES BROWN,
ELIZABETH CROOKER,
CHRISTINE FAJARDO,
KENT HACKMANN,
BILL HAY,
PRESCOTT HERZOG,
PALANA HUNT-HAWKINS,
MATT MOOSHIAN,
THERESA NORELLI,
NATALIE QUEVEDO, and
JAMES WARD,

v.

DAVID M. SCANLAN,
in his official capacity as the New Hampshire Secretary of State

AFFIDAVIT OF DR. DANTE SCALA

I, Dante Scala, being duly sworn, state as follows:

1. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this affidavit, and can competently testify to their truth.

2. Attached to this affidavit is an analysis of the recently enacted redistricting plans for the New Hampshire State Senate and New Hampshire Executive Council, as well as a current version of my curriculum vitae. I reserve the right to supplement the attached analysis in light of additional facts, testimony, and/or materials that may come to light.

Dated: 05/09/2022

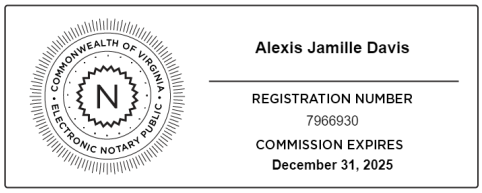
Dante Scala

Dante Scala

State of Virginia

County of Prince William

This instrument was acknowledged before me this 9th day of May, 2022, by Dante Scala.



Alexis Jamille Davis

Notary Public

Registration Number: 7966930

My commission expires: 12/31/2025

Notarized online using audio-video communication

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

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EXPERT DECLARATION OF DR. DANTE SCALA

I. QUALIFICATIONS

1. I began my career as a scholar of New Hampshire politics in 1999, when I joined Saint Anselm College in Manchester, New Hampshire as an assistant professor. I received my Ph.D. from The University of Chicago in 2000.

2. During my career, I have written two dozen publications on New Hampshire politics, including a book, articles in peer-reviewed publications, and chapters in edited volumes. I am widely recognized nationally and internationally as an expert on New Hampshire politics. My book focused on the political geography of New Hampshire, as does much of my academic work.

3. During presidential primary season, I am often called upon to explain the unique

political geography of New Hampshire. For example, I led a discussion on "New Hampshire's Political Geography 101" for CNN during the 2016 presidential primary season.[1] In 2020, I was interviewed by C-SPAN on similar subjects.[2]

4. During my career, I have done hundreds of interviews with media outlets, including the three major television networks, the PBS News Hour, National Public Radio, all major cable news networks (Fox, CNN, and MSNBC), *The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal, USA Today,* and The Associated Press. Internationally, I have been interviewed by the British Broadcasting Company, the Canadian Broadcasting Company, World ABC News (Australia), *The Economist*, France 24, NHK Japan Broadcasting, Reuters, and Voice of America.

5. My full curriculum vitae is included in this Report as Appendix I.

II. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

6. I have been retained by counsel for Plaintiffs in the above-captioned matter. I am being paid $350.00 per hour for my work in this case. My payment is not contingent on my conclusions or testimony in this case.

7. Plaintiffs' counsel has asked me to analyze Senate Bills 240 and 241, which respectively redistrict the New Hampshire State Senate and Executive Council. Specifically, Plaintiffs' counsel asked me to examine whether the districts as constituted under Senate Bills 240 and 241 keep communities of interest together.

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[1] CNN, "Breaking down New Hampshire's political geography," https://www.cnn.com/videos/politics/2015/12/23/new-hampshire-state-profile-scala-origwx-js.cnn/video/playlists/the-new-hampshire-primary/. Accessed April 15, 2022.

[2] C-SPAN, "Dante Scala on the 2020 New Hampshire Primary," February 7, 2020. https://www.c-span.org/video/?469096-1/dante-scala-2020-hampshire-primary. Accessed April 15, 2022.

8. I conclude that, in general, the New Hampshire General Court did not keep communities of interest together when drawing the State Senate and Executive Council districts.

9. In my experience as a political scientist of more than 22 years, while not dispositive, splitting communities of interest can be an indication of a partisan gerrymander. This is particularly the case when disparate communities are "tacked onto" districts in a manner that can seemingly only be explained by partisan politics. I find that is the case here. Moreover, map-drawers sometimes justify their maps on the basis that they keep communities of interest whole. To the extent that the State asserts this as a justification for drawing the State Senate and Executive Council districts in the manner they did, I find that it is not borne out by the political science evidence.

III. METHODS AND SOURCES

10. "Communities of interest" is a frequently used term in the modern parlance of redistricting. The rationale for considering communities of interest as a factor in drawing district lines is as follows: individuals in any given area tend to share common concerns with other citizens. These groups of citizens wish to have those concerns represented in the government. When districts divide or dilute a community group of common interest, the individuals comprising that group are denied the full rights of representation.

11. Two dozen states, not including New Hampshire, explicitly state (via statute, constitution, or guidelines accepted by redistricting bodies) that communities of interest should be taken into account in redistricting plans.[3] A number of these states simply mention the need to respect communities of interest, without attempting to define these communities. Others go into

[3] Brennan Center for Justice, "Communities of Interest," https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/analysis/6%20Communities%20of%20Interest.pdf. Accessed April 14, 2022.

some detail about what factors might form the basis of such a community. Most commonly, they include: creating districts that are contiguous and compact, which do not violate geographic boundaries of counties, cities, and neighborhoods; economic interests, including trade and occupation; ethnic and racial groups; demographic divisions, such as urban and rural; cultural and historic interests; common media usage; common transportation systems; and avoidance of the "submergence" of a particular area within a district, i.e. not allowing one community and its interests to be dominated by another whose interests are significantly different.

12. Unlike partisanship, which is easily measured quantitatively, defining communities of interest is a largely qualitative exercise that requires comprehensive local knowledge. In the following report, I draw on my more than 22 years of experience as a close observer of New Hampshire's politics.

13. Again, while New Hampshire does not explicitly require considerations of communities of interest, when communities of interest are split or communities with little in common are combined for no apparent reason other than to make a district more favorable to one party or the other, this can often be an indication of a partisan gerrymander.

14. In this report, I focused in particular on demographic (e.g., urban, rural) communities of interest and economic communities of interest. In particular, I assessed how well the 2022 map kept together communities of interest based on public health and education.[4] Public health is an important community interest, and so I examined how district lines

[4] It should be noted that the Coalition for Open Democracy, a campaign finance reform group, used these proxies before I did during their own work on New Hampshire's redistricting, "NH Map-a-Thon Citizen Redistricting Map Project." (See https://www.opendemocracynh.org/nh_map_a_thon.) For my work here, I used primary sources and compared the State Senate and Executive Council district lines with those of the public health networks and regional high school districts (including public academies and Joint Maintenance Agreement schools). All information on New Hampshire's public health networks was derived from the networks' website: https://nhphn.org/. For information on regional high schools, I used the New Hampshire Department of Education website: https://my.doe.nh.gov/Profiles/PublicReports/PublicReports.aspx?ReportName=HighSchoolTowns.

intersected with the state's regional public health networks. New Hampshire contains 13 Regional Public Health Networks (RPHNs) "involving broad public health interests, including local health departments and health officers, health care providers, social service agencies, schools, fire, police, emergency medical services, media and advocacy groups, behavioral health, and leaders in the business, government, and faith communities, working together to address complex public health issues."[5] Another important community interest is public education, and so I also examined how district lines intersected with the state's high schools and public academies that contain multiple towns.

15. To contextualize each district in my report, I examined the partisan lean of each city and town contained within each district. To do this, I compared 2020 electoral data from these municipalities to results at the state and national level, using the "major party vote," the votes cast for either the Democratic or Republican candidate, as my base of comparison. My source for New Hampshire electoral data was the online database maintained by New Hampshire Public Radio; my source for national electoral data was Dave Leip's Atlas of U. S. Presidential Elections. I have used both of these sources in my own academic research.

16. All of the sources upon which I relied in developing this report are listed in Appendix II.

IV. ANALYSIS OF SENATE BILL 240 (SENATE PLAN)

17. To organize my comments, I have grouped the state's 24 senate districts into four groups: (1) northern New Hampshire (Districts 1, 2, 3, 5); (2) western New Hampshire (Districts

[5] New Hampshire Regional Public Health Networks, https://nhphn.org/. These networks were created as the result of a partnership established by the New Hampshire Department of Health and Human Services in 2013, "to align multiple public health priorities into a single integrated system… to expand regional infrastructure and coordination around public health services." https://nhphn.org/who-we-are/. Accessed April 14, 2022.

7, 8, 9, 10); (3) central New Hampshire (Districts 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20), and (4) eastern New Hampshire (Districts 4, 6, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24).

Northern New Hampshire (Districts 1, 2, 3, 5)

18. District 1 encompasses Coös County and northern Grafton County. District 2 is situated in the northern central part of the state, including much of Belknap County. District 3 includes most of Carroll County on the northeastern edge of the state.

19. District 5 does a thorough job of consolidating strongly Democratic municipalities throughout the upper Connecticut River Valley. It not only contains Hanover, home of Dartmouth College, but Plymouth (site of Plymouth State University) and New London (home of Colby-Sawyer College) as well.[6]

20. In creating a district that adheres so closely to partisan lines, the mapmakers have neglected communities-of-interest concerns. The district divides three separate counties (Grafton, Merrimack, and Sullivan), as well as three different public health networks (Central New Hampshire, Greater Sullivan, and Upper Valley). District boundary lines also divide two different regional high school districts, Kearsarge and Mascoma.

21. Much of the 5th is centered around the Hanover-Lebanon area in southwestern Grafton County, which forms a central community of interest for the district. But as seen elsewhere in the 2022 State Senate map, the "tails" of the district create community-of-interest issues. For instance, in the southeastern corner of the district, in order to enclose the town of New London within its boundaries, the district crosses county lines. And in the northeastern tip

[6] In 2020, Joe Biden won 88 percent of the major-party vote in Hanover, 36 percentage points better than his 52 percent share of the major-party vote nationwide. Biden won 66 percent in New London (14 percentage points better than nationwide), and 66 percent in Plymouth as well.

of the district, the mapmakers extended boundaries far into northeastern Grafton County in order to encompass the college town of Plymouth.

Western New Hampshire (Districts 7, 8, 9, 10)

22. The 7th district sprawls across half of New Hampshire's ten counties. Most of the district lies in Merrimack County, but it also encompasses Republican-leaning municipalities in southern Grafton County,[7] Sullivan County,[8] Belknap County,[9] and Hillsborough County.[10]

23. Besides crossing several county lines, the 7th also displays other community-of-interest problems. For example, the district also divides no fewer than five public health networks (Capital Area, Central New Hampshire, Greater Sullivan, Upper Valley, and Winnipesaukee). It even separates citizens in five regional high school districts (Hillsboro-Deering, John Stark, Kearsarge, Mascoma, and Newport).

24. While one can make the case that the Merrimack County portion of the district represents a community of interest, problems arise when municipalities from outside Merrimack are grafted onto the district. These municipalities (from four other counties altogether) have no apparent commonalities except their history of favoring Republican candidates.

25. District 8 traverses four separate counties in the Granite State. Its base is in Sullivan County, although a few strongly Democratic towns in the northern part of that county are excluded.[11] But the district also has a significant "tail," which encompasses a few towns in

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[7] Donald Trump lost Grafton County by almost 25 percentage points in 2020, but he did win the Grafton County towns of Alexandria, Bridgewater, Bristol, Grafton, Hebron, and Orange. Biden ranged from 42 to 47 percent of the major-party vote in these towns.

[8] Biden won Sullivan County, but lost the town of Goshen, winning just 40 percent of the major-party vote,12 percentage points worse than his nationwide vote share.

[9] In the town of Tilton, Biden won 47 percent of the major-party vote, 5 percentage points worse than his national performance.

[10] In the town of Hillsborough, Biden won 46 percent of the major-party vote, 6 percentage points worse than his nationwide vote share.

[11] Biden won 62 percent of the major-party vote in Cornish (10 percentage points better than his national vote share), 69 percent in Grantham (17 percentage points better than nationwide), and 68 percent in Plainfield (16 percentage points better than nationwide).

neighboring Cheshire County, several municipalities in northern Hillsborough County, and even one town (Dunbarton) in Merrimack County that adjoins Concord. This "tail" is mostly comprised of Republican-leaning towns,[12] which would likely favor the incumbent Republican senator, Ruth Ward.

26. The 8th is quite problematic from a community-of-interest perspective, as it causes multiple divisions and separations of those communities in the western half of the state. As mentioned above, the district includes parts of four different counties. It also includes parts of three public health networks (Greater Monadnock, Greater Sullivan, and the Capital Area). The district even manages to divide *five* regional high school districts (Conval, Fall Mountain, Hillsboro-Deering, John Stark, and Newport). To take one example, consider the Merrimack County town of Dunbarton, which sits at the very end of the tail that extends east from Sullivan County, across the top of Hillsborough County. Dunbarton is an 18-minute ride[13] from the state capital of Concord – yet rather than remaining part of the Greater Concord area on the 2022 map, it is instead severed from its obvious community of interest. Instead, residents of Dunbarton are placed in the same district as citizens of the city of Claremont, more than an hour away. Conversely, residents of Claremont live much closer to the state of Vermont than they do the citizens of Dunbarton. Similarly, the Hillsborough County town of Weare is within half an hour of Concord and Manchester, yet is separated from both and placed in this far-flung district.

27. In sum, the 8th is drawn meticulously to create a Republican-friendly district in the Democratic-leaning western part of the state. But the collateral effect of the 2022 boundary

[12] Trump lost Cheshire County to Biden, but won the towns of Gilsum and Stoddard. Biden won 48 percent of the major-party vote in Gilsum (4 percentage points worse than his national vote share), and 49 percent in Stoddard (3 percentage points worse than nationwide). In Hillsborough County, Biden won less than 50 percent of the major-party vote in Antrim (49 percent), Bennington (48 percent), Weare (41 percent), and Windsor (27 percent). Biden also lost Dunbarton, winning just 44 percent of the major-party vote.

[13] I used Google Maps to calculate driving distances, for example: https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-1-d&q=dunbarton+nh+to+concord+nh+. Accessed May 9, 2022.

lines is that the district largely ignores communities of interest and aggregates citizens from different parts of the state.

28. District 9 is also highly problematic from a community-of-interest perspective. It twists and turns across two counties, from the eastern part of Hillsborough County to the southwestern corner of Cheshire County bordering Vermont. The trip from one end of the district to the other is a 90-minute drive of almost 70 miles,[14] while the district is just one town wide in most places.

29. The district, currently held by Republican Denise Ricciardi, strings together a number of Republican-tilting municipalities[15] in otherwise Democratic-leaning western Hillsborough County and Cheshire County.

30. For instance, the district contains parts of three separate public health districts (Greater Manchester, Greater Monadnock, and Greater Nashua). It also splits four public high school districts (Conval Regional High School, Keene High School, and Monadnock Regional High School in western Hillsborough and Goffstown High School in eastern Hillsborough).

31. The 9th also creates potential disparities of representation in terms of wealth and social class. Ricciardi's hometown of Bedford is exceptionally prosperous in the state of New Hampshire. The median income of a Bedford household is approximately $135,021, significantly

[14] For a Google map of the drive from Bedford to Hinsdale, see https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Bedford,+New+Hampshire+03110/Hinsdale,+New+Hampshire/data=!4m8!4m7!1m2!1m1!1s0x89e24a2f190cac59:0x391e2094523066d2!1m2!1m1!1s0x89e1176ec0824231:0x3e6bb4c0dcfdcf5b!3e0?sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjLj_mFhf32AhUihIkEHcirDFYQox16BAgSEBI.

[15] For example, Biden won 47 percent of the major-party vote in New Boston (5 percentage points worse than his national performance), 49 percent in Fitzwilliam (3 points worse), 41 percent in Richmond (11 points worse), and 47 percent in Troy (5 points worse). In addition, the town of Bedford historically has been a bedrock of Republican support, although Biden did carry it in 2020.

higher than the state median household income of $77,923. Almost two-thirds of adults have a college degree, compared to 38 percent statewide.[16]

32. Furthermore, although Bedford is not a large town (population 22,628 as of 2019), it is a behemoth in the 9th district. Bedford voters cast almost four times as many votes for president as Goffstown, the next-largest town in the district. Together, Bedford alone comprised more than 40 percent of the votes in the district in the 2020 elections. Bedford's voting power in the 9th gives candidates from that town a formidable "home base" from which to draw support.

33. Compare Bedford to the other end of the district, an hour's drive away. This area is comprised of small rural towns of the Monadnock region with average or below-average household incomes, such as Fitzwilliam, Hinsdale, Troy, and Winchester.[17] Residents of the western end of the district, separated from their geographic community by district lines, might wonder with justification how well their interests will be represented by a senator whose power center is far from their homes.

34. District 10 does contain a community of interest in Cheshire County, including the city of Keene. But the boundaries of the 8th and 9th districts, described above, have detrimental effects, inasmuch as the county winds up divided into three parts. Instead of encompassing more of Cheshire, the 10th district instead includes two strongly Democratic towns in Hillsborough County, Hancock and Peterborough.[18] The 10th district splits four public

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[16] For statistics on New Hampshire towns, I accessed information from the Economic and Labor Market Information Bureau of New Hampshire Employment Security, e.g. https://www.nhes.nh.gov/elmi/products/cp/profiles-htm/bedford.htm. For statistics on the state of New Hampshire, I accessed information from the U. S. Census Bureau, https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/NH.

[17] Fitzwilliam's median household income is $61,316; Hinsdale's is $63,669; Troy's is $58,021; and Winchester's is $50,087.

[18] Biden won 68 percent of the major-party vote in Hancock (16 percentage points better than his nationwide share), and 71 percent in Peterborough (19 percentage points better).

high school districts (Conval, Fall Mountain, Keene, and Monadnock) with the 8th, the 9th or both the 8th and the 9th.

Central New Hampshire (Districts 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20)

35. District 11 encompasses four towns in eastern Hillsborough County. District 12 includes parts of the city of Nashua, as well as an adjoining string of towns along the state's border with Massachusetts. District 13 is centered in the city of Nashua. District 14 extends north from the Massachusetts border to the town of Auburn. District 15 encompasses most of the Greater Concord area. District 18 covers the southern and eastern wards of the city of Manchester. District 20 extends over most of the remainder of Manchester, including the city's west side.

36. District 16 is centered in the North End (Ward 1) of the city of Manchester, and then fans out to the east and west, encompassing four towns (Goffstown, Hooksett, Candia and Raymond). While Manchester's Ward 1 tilts Democratic,[19] these towns tend to support Republican candidates.[20]

37. Despite District 16's small geographic area, it nonetheless manages to violate the boundaries of communities of interest. For one, residents of three separate counties (Hillsborough, Merrimack, and Rockingham) are contained in the district. The district also crosses boundaries of public health districts (Greater Manchester and Seacoast Regional), as well as a regional high school district (Goffstown).

[19] Biden won 61 percent of the major-party vote in Manchester's First Ward, 9 percentage points better than his national performance.

[20] Biden won 50 percent of the major-party vote in Goffstown (2 percentage points worse than his nationwide share), 48 percent in Hooksett (4 points worse), 40 percent in Raymond (12 points worse), and just 38 percent in Candia (14 points worse).

38. In addition, two communities are especially disadvantaged by the boundaries of the 16th. For one, Manchester's First Ward is the only urban area in the district and is separated from the rest of the city. All other Manchester wards are grouped together with other wards within Manchester to form cohesive districts (the 18th and the 20th). In addition, First Ward residents are outnumbered nearly five-to-one by residents of towns in the district. All of this raises questions as to how well their interests will be represented in the 16th.

39. On the eastern end of the district, the town of Raymond presents another problem from a community-of-interest perspective. Like the adjoining town of Candia, it sits in Rockingham County, and thus is separated by county lines from other parts of the district. Unlike Candia, it is outside the orbit of Greater Manchester altogether; for example, it is the only part of the district that belongs to a separate public health network (Seacoast Regional). Both Candia and Raymond not only sit on the outskirts of the district, outside the core of Hooksett, Goffstown, and Manchester's First Ward, but they are also more rural and lightly populated than the other parts of the district.

Eastern New Hampshire (Districts 4, 6, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24)

40. District 4 includes the cities of Dover and Somersworth in Strafford County. District 17 encompasses eastern Merrimack County and northeast Rockingham County. District 19 features the large towns of Derry and Windham, close to the Massachusetts border. District 21 covers Durham, home of the state university, and the coastal city of Portsmouth. District 22 runs along the Massachusetts border in the southeastern portion of the state. District 23 encompasses central Rockingham County, including the town of Epping. District 24 is centered in the southeastern corner of the state.

41. District 6 includes the northern portion of Strafford County, including Rochester, and then runs northwest to pick up eastern portions of Belknap County. Northern Strafford County, including Rochester, does comprise a community of interest separate from the southern portion that includes the University of New Hampshire and its environs. But rather than include northern Strafford in its entirety in District 6, the 2022 Senate Plan places the other northern Strafford towns of Middleton and Milton in District 3, which is otherwise dominated by Carroll County and the northern portion of the state. Furthermore, the district's tail includes two towns (Alton and Gilmanton) that belong to a different county (Belknap) and public health network (Winnipesaukee).

Conclusions Regarding Senate Bill 240

42. To reiterate, I conclude that, generally speaking, the New Hampshire General Court did not keep communities of interest together when drawing the State Senate districts. As one can discern from this analysis, communities in western New Hampshire are especially ill-served by the 2022 map, where district boundaries repeatedly divide communities of interest in Grafton, Sullivan and Cheshire counties. And districts 6 and 16 are also problematic from a community-of-interest perspective.

43. Based on my experience as a political scientist of more than 22 years, including my extensive experience studying politics in New Hampshire during that time, I conclude that keeping communities of interest together cannot justify the State Senate map. Moreover, I find abundant evidence for the idea that partisan considerations displaced concerns about communities of interest in the drawing of the State Senate map, and that disparate communities were pieced together in an effort to achieve partisan gain. All of this strongly indicates that the State Senate map is a partisan gerrymander.

V. ANALYSIS OF SENATE BILL 241 (EXECUTIVE COUNCIL)

Executive Council District 1

44. The 1st contains pockets of very strong Democratic support, e.g., the city of Dover and the college town of Durham in Strafford County,[21] but those enclaves are balanced by the Republican tilt of many small rural towns.

45. Although the previous incarnation of the 1st district sprawled across more than half the state, it nonetheless arguably had the most coherent identity of the five council districts. In terms of communities of interest, the old 1st district was predominantly rural. The district did encompass a couple of cities (Berlin in Coos County, and Lebanon in Grafton County), but each of these municipalities contains fewer than 15,000 people. The 1st formerly encompassed rural northern New Hampshire in all its diversity.

46. After all, for decades, Coos County depended economically on the pulp and papermaking industry, and it has struggled for decades to transition after that industry declined. To its southeast, Carroll County has grown its economy around recreation and tourism. And to its southwest, Grafton County has centered much of its economic growth around education (Dartmouth College) and health care (Dartmouth-Hitchcock Medical Center).

47. In contrast, under the 2022 Executive Council map, District 1 bisects northern rural New Hampshire. While Coos and Carroll remain in the 1st, almost all of Grafton County is allocated to the 2nd district (see below). To replace Grafton, mapmakers extended the 1st district to the southeast, encompassing most of Strafford County.

48. Generally speaking, the southeastern portion of New Hampshire—which includes Strafford County—is recognized as one of the fastest-growing, most prosperous regions of the

[21] In 2020, Joe Biden won 66 percent of the major-party vote in Dover, 14 percentage points better than nationwide. He won 78 percent of the major-party vote in Durham, 26 percentage points better than nationwide.

state. Southern Strafford County is dominated by the University of New Hampshire, the state's largest public institution of higher education. Not coincidentally, the socioeconomic status of the area is very high: 75 percent of the adult population (25 and over) of Durham have attained at least a bachelor's degree, double the proportion statewide; in neighboring Madbury, 55 percent have at least a bachelor's degree.[22] The nearby city of Dover, once a working-class manufacturing city, has also become increasingly elite of late: almost half of its residents possess a bachelor's degree, and the median listing home price was $390,000 at the beginning of 2022, according to realtor.com.[23] The largest categories of employment in the Dover-Durham labor market are government; trade, transportation, and utilities; and education and health services.[24]

49. The community-of-interest problems in the 1st district become even clearer when one examines public health networks and regional high school districts. The district encompasses one public health network in its entirety (Carroll County), but its boundaries divide four others (Central New Hampshire, North Country, Strafford, and Winnipesaukee). In addition, five high school districts (Belmont, Dover, Oyster River, Prospect Mountain, and White Mountains) are divided by its boundary lines.

50. In short, the changes to the 1st District have made it somewhat friendlier to the Republican incumbent, Joseph Kenney. That partisan gain has come at the expense of communities of interest in two ways: the loss of a district centered on the state's northern rural region, with its unique set of concerns; and the addition of most of a southeastern county with a distinctly different set of characteristics and interests.

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[22] For statistics on New Hampshire towns, I accessed information from the Economic and Labor Market Information Bureau of New Hampshire Employment Security. For example: https://www.nhes.nh.gov/elmi/products/cp/profiles-htm/durham.htm and https://www.nhes.nh.gov/elmi/products/cp/profiles-htm/madbury.htm. For statistics on the state of New Hampshire, I accessed information from the U. S. Census Bureau, https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/NH.

[23] https://www.realtor.com/realestateandhomes-search/Dover_NH/overview.

[24] See U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, https://www.bls.gov/regions/new-england/nh_rochester_mn.htm.

Executive Council District 2

51. Under the 2022 version of the Executive Council map, the 2nd district leans the most Democratic of the five Executive Council districts. Even though the 2nd now runs north to south (instead of infamously west to east across the state, from Keene to Dover), it still plays a similar role: by packing so many Democrats into a single jurisdiction, mapmakers cleared the way to draw the 1st, 4th, and 5th districts in a manner friendlier to Republican incumbents.

52. In terms of communities of interest, the 2nd does unite most of the Connecticut River Valley counties of Grafton, Sullivan, and Cheshire. The valley has long been viewed as a coherent geographic unit within the state. This unity is marred, however, by several "carve outs" of groups of Republican-leaning municipalities that are allocated to other districts. For example, southeastern Grafton County is placed within the 1st district,[25] and southeastern portions of Sullivan and Cheshire are placed within the 5th.[26]

53. In addition, the 2nd district contains most of Merrimack County, including the state capital of Concord, as well as the college town of Henniker, home of New England College. As is often the case with state capitals, government (both city and state) is the primary employer.

54. In contrast, Cheshire and Sullivan counties belong to an entirely different part of the state: largely rural, slow-growing, and more working-class. In both counties, a lower percentage of adults possess bachelor's degrees than the percentage of the statewide population (28 percent in Sullivan and 33 percent in Cheshire, as compared to 37 percent statewide).[27] Per capita income in both counties is also below the statewide level. Both Cheshire and Sullivan sit

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[25] For example, the Grafton County towns of Alexandria, Bridgewater, Bristol, and Hebron all were won by Donald Trump in the 2020 presidential election. Biden only carried 42 percent of the major-party vote in Alexandria, 44 percent in Bridgewater, 46 percent in Bristol, and 47 percent in Hebron.

[26] For example, Trump won the Sullivan County towns of Goshen and Lempster in the 2020 presidential election. Biden only carried 40 percent of the major-party vote in Goshen, and 38 percent in Lempster.

[27] For county-level data, see https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/cheshirecountynewhampshire and https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/sullivancountynewhampshire/PST045221.

in the Connecticut River Valley, often regarded as peripheral to the dynamic and fast-growing southern tier counties of Hillsborough and Rockingham, which comprise an outer ring of the Boston metropolitan area. Sullivan County, for example, has lagged behind statewide population growth since the middle of the twentieth century; only far northern Coos County has experienced slower growth.[28]

55. As with the 1st district, the community-of-interest problems of the 2nd district become apparent when looking at public health networks and regional high school districts. The 2nd encompasses one public health network in its entirety (Upper Valley), and divides five others (Capital Area, Central New Hampshire, Greater Monadnock, Greater Sullivan, and North Country). In addition, the boundary lines of the 2nd divide eight regional high school districts (Belmont, Bow, Concord, Conval, John Stark, Merrimack Valley, Newport, and White Mountains), the most of any of the Executive Council districts.

Executive Council District 3

56. The 3rd district sits in the southeastern corner of the state. Portions of the eastern half of the district (the town of Exeter, for example, and the city of Portsmouth) lean quite Democratic.[29] But these sources of Democratic strength are more than offset by large towns such as Derry, Pelham, Salem, and Windham in the western half of the district.[30]

57. In terms of communities of interest, the geographical boundaries of the 3rd form a coherent whole. It is the most compact of the five districts, and it lies almost entirely within just

[28] See New Hampshire Employment Security report, https://www.nhes.nh.gov/elmi/products/cp/documents/sullivan-cp.pdf.

[29] In 2020, Biden won 67 percent of the major-party vote in Exeter, 15 percentage points more than his share of the national vote. He won 74 percent of the vote in Portsmouth, 22 percentage points better than his national performance.

[30] In 2020, Trump won the towns of Derry, Pelham, Salem and Windham. Biden won 47 percent of the major-party vote in Derry, 5 percentage points less than his share of the major-party vote nationwide. He won just 40 percent in Pelham (12 points worse than nationwide), 43 percent in Salem (9 points worse than nationwide), and 47 percent in Windham (5 points worse than nationwide).

one county, Rockingham (the town of Pelham sits in Hillsborough County). Rockingham, along with Hillsborough, sits in the outer ring of the Boston metropolitan area, adjoining the Massachusetts border. The county has enjoyed significant growth and prosperity over the past half-century. With the exception of Portsmouth (a city, though one with a population of fewer than 25,000), the 3rd is a mix of suburban and exurban towns. Given that Rockingham contains more than one out of five New Hampshire residents, it makes sense as a matter of proportion (as well as a matter of geography) that the council map of five districts would include a "Rockingham seat."

58. The 3rd neatly encompasses nearly the entirety of two public health networks, Seacoast Regional and South Central. Its boundaries do divide one high school area, Pinkerton—but this is the smallest number of high school district divisions of any of the five districts.

Executive Council District 4

59. The 4th district, which adjoins the 3rd in the southeastern portion of the state, contains Manchester, the state's largest city (population 112,000), which possesses a moderate Democratic tilt.[31] But its collar towns tend to be friendly to Republicans.[32] To the northeast of Manchester, a handful of rural towns provide a clear advantage to Republican candidates in the 4th District.[33] The district was represented by Democrat Chris Pappas for the first part of the past

[31] In the 2020 presidential election, Biden won 57 percent of the major-party vote in Manchester, 5 percentage points more than his share of the national major-party vote.
[32] For instance, Trump won the towns of Auburn, Candia, Goffstown, and Hooksett in 2020. Biden won just 42 percent of the vote in Auburn, 10 points worse than his share of the vote nationwide. Biden won 38 percent in Candia (14 percentage points worse than nationwide), 50 percent in Goffstown (2 percentage points worse than nationwide), and 48 percent in Hooksett (4 percentage points worse than nationwide). Biden did win the town of Bedford, where he carried 52 percent of the major-party vote (approximately equal to his nationwide performance).
[33] For example, Trump won the towns of Allenstown, Chichester, Epsom, Northwood, and Pittsfield. In Allenstown, Biden won 46 percent of the major-party vote, 6 points worse than his share of the vote nationwide, 45 percent in Chichester (7 points worse than nationwide), 41 percent in Epsom (11 points worse than nationwide), 47 percent in Northwood (5 points worse than nationwide), and 40 percent in Pittsfield (12 points worse than nationwide).

decade; the councilor now is Republican Ted Gatsas, the former mayor of Manchester, who won the seat after Pappas left it to run successfully for Congress.

60. In terms of representing a clear community of interest, the 4th presents significant problems. On the one hand, "Greater Manchester" (the city plus its collar towns) is a quite coherent community of interest, encompassing a classic urban/suburban setting. This region shares not just geography, but an intertwined economic future. It even belongs to a common regional planning commission (Southern NH). And the economic growth of the town of Londonderry is intertwined with the fortunes of Manchester-Boston Regional Airport.

61. The community-of-interest problems become apparent, though, when one looks beyond the "Greater Manchester" end of the district. Outside of Greater Manchester, the district loses coherence as a community. From Manchester, the 4th jogs northeast, spreading over four other counties (Merrimack, Rockingham, and even parts of Belknap and Strafford). Towns that are part of the Greater Concord area (Pembroke, Chichester and Loudon) are shorn off from their geographic community and placed in the 4th. Further east, towns such as Barrington, Northwood, Nottingham, and Lee are orphaned from their home counties of Rockingham and Strafford. I am tempted to say that the northeastern part of the district was grafted onto the Greater Manchester portion. But that would imply that the towns in the northeastern portion actually form a common branch of their own. In fact, these towns have little in common with each other, let alone with the city of Manchester.

62. These community-of-interest problems in the 4th district are also apparent when measured in terms of the proxies I use for communities of interest, public health networks and regional high school districts. Even though the district is fairly small in area (especially compared to the 1st, 2nd, or even the 5th districts), it crosses the boundaries of six of New

Hampshire's thirteen public health networks (Capital Area, Greater Manchester, Seacoast Regional, South Central, Strafford, and Winnipesaukee) – as many as the 2nd district, which is far larger in area. The boundary lines of the 4th also divide seven regional high school districts (Concord, Dover, Goffstown, Merrimack Valley, Oyster River, Pinkerton, and Prospect Mountain), the second-most of the five Executive Council districts.

63. This representation problem for the rural periphery of the district is especially clear when one looks at past elections. In every election for the past decade, the winner has been a resident of the city of Manchester, whether he be a Democrat (Pappas, 2012-2016) or a Republican (Gatsas, 2018-present). Candidates from the state's largest city obviously begin with a much larger base of voters who recognize their names. Rural voters and their political leaders find themselves at a disadvantage. Their community of interest has been so diluted that they find themselves and their interests at risk of being "submerged" to the interests held by residents of Greater Manchester.

Executive Council District 5

64. The 5th District occupies much of the southwestern portion of the state. The city of Nashua, the second largest in the Granite State, is a Democratic stronghold.[34] But Nashua's Democratic strength is offset by Republican towns such as Hudson, Litchfield, New Ipswich, and Weare.[35]

65. Given that Hillsborough County's population is more than 30 percent of the statewide total, a district that encompasses the county is impossible. For the most part, the 5th represents a plausible substitute for this ideal. The 5th does include most of the county, minus

[34] In 2020, Biden won 60 percent of the major-party vote in Nashua, 8 points more than his nationwide vote share.
[35] In 2020, Trump won all four of these towns. Biden won 46 percent of the major-party vote in Hudson (6 points less than his nationwide vote share), 47 percent in Litchfield (5 points worse than nationwide), 31 percent in New Ipswich (21 points worse than nationwide), and 41 percent in Weare (11 points worse than nationwide).

parts of Greater Manchester (the city of Manchester itself, and neighboring Bedford and Goffstown), which gives the district some legitimacy as representing a true community of interest.

66. Around the edges of the 5th, though, there are a couple of exceptions that detract from the whole. The heavily Republican town of Pelham,[36] despite belonging to Hillsborough County, was placed in the neighboring 3rd district with most of Rockingham County. On the western edge of the district, the strongly Democratic towns of Hancock, Peterborough, and Sharon[37] are severed from their home county of Hillsborough and packed into the Democratic "vote sink" in the 2nd district (see above). Also on the western edge, the 5th displays two "tails." In the southwestern corner of the district, several Republican or moderately Democratic towns from otherwise strongly Democratic Cheshire County were carefully excised from their home county and placed in the 5th.[38] The same maneuver occurs in southeastern Sullivan County.[39]

67. In terms of the proxies I use for communities of interest, the 5th district contains parts of five public health networks (Capital Area, Greater Manchester, Greater Monadnock, Greater Nashua, and Greater Sullivan) – as many as the 1st district, which is far larger in area. The district's boundary lines also divide five regional high school districts (Bow, Conval, Goffstown, John Stark, and Newport).

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[36] Trump won the town of Pelham in 2020. Biden won just 40 percent of the major-party vote there, 12 points worse than his nationwide vote share.

[37] Biden carried the town of Hancock with 68 percent of the major-party vote, 16 points better than his vote share nationwide. He won 71 percent of the major-party vote in Peterborough (19 percentage points better than his national vote share), and 57 percent in Sharon (5 percentage points better than nationwide).

[38] Biden won the county of Cheshire, but in the town of Fitzwilliam, he only won 49 percent of the major-party vote (3 points worse than his national vote share). In Richmond, he won 41 percent (11 points worse than nationwide); in Rindge, he won 40 percent (12 points worse than nationwide); and in Troy, he won 47 percent (5 points worse than nationwide).

[39] For instance, Trump won the towns of Goshen and Lempster in the 2020 presidential election. Biden won just 40 percent of the major-party vote in Goshen (12 points worse than nationwide), and 38 percent in Lempster (14 points worse than nationwide).

Conclusions Regarding Senate Bill 241

68. To reiterate, I conclude that, generally speaking, the New Hampshire General Court did not keep communities of interest together when drawing the Executive Council districts. As one can discern from this analysis, the First, Second, and Fourth districts divide communities of interest and combine communities with few shared interests. Moreover, while District Five seems, on first glance, to keep communities of interest together, the edges of the district—including its two "tails"—reveal a different story, including disparate communities in a manner consistent with a classic partisan gerrymander.

69. Based on my experience as a political scientist of more than 22 years, including my extensive experience studying politics in New Hampshire during that time, I conclude that keeping communities of interest together cannot justify the Executive Council map. Moreover, I find abundant evidence for the idea that partisan considerations displaced concerns about communities of interest in the drawing of the Executive Council map, and that disparate communities were pieced together in an effort to achieve partisan gain. All of this strongly indicates that the Executive Council map is a partisan gerrymander.

APPENDIX I: CURRICULUM VITAE

DANTE J. SCALA

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EDUCATION

Ph. D., The University of Chicago, March 2000

M. A., The University of Chicago, June 1993

B. A., Villanova University, May 1990

EMPLOYMENT

Professor, Department of Political Science, University of New Hampshire, September 2018 - present

Chair, Department of Political Science, UNH, 2008-11

Fellow, Carsey Institute/School of Public Policy, 2010 - present

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of New Hampshire, 2007-2018

Associate Professor with tenure, Department of Politics, Saint Anselm College, 2005-2007

Associate Professor, Department of Politics, Saint Anselm College, 2003-2005

Research Fellow, Center for the Study of New Hampshire Politics and Civic Life,

New Hampshire Institute of Politics, 2001-2007

Assistant Professor, Department of Politics, Saint Anselm College, 1999-2003

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

The Four Faces of the Republican Party and the Fight for the 2016 Presidential Nomination
with Henry Olsen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, December 2015).

Stormy Weather: The New Hampshire Primary and Presidential Politics
(New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

Peer-reviewed journal articles

K. M. Johnson and Scala, D. "The Rural-Urban Continuum of Polarization: Understanding the Geography of the 2018 Midterms," *The Forum,* January 2021.

"New Hampshire's 2018 Midterms," *New England Journal of Political Science*, Volume XI, No. 2, Fall 2019.

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Chapters in peer-reviewed books

"The Fuzzy Frontrunner," chapter for Handbook on Primary Elections. Routledge, 2018.

"You've Got Mail: Direct-Mail Strategies in the New Hampshire U. S. Senate Race," with Tegan O'Neill, . Political Communication & Strategy, Consequences of the 2014 Midterm Elections: University of Akron Press, 2017.

"Are Super PACs Arms of Political Parties?" The American Election 2012. Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

"Shifting Granite: New Hampshire's Change from Largely Republican to Largely Democratic Over Two Election Cycles," The Change Election. Ed. David B. Magleby. Temple University Press, 2011. p. 140-171.

Other book chapters

"New Hampshire," for Presidential Swing States, third edition. Expected publication date, 2022.

"New Hampshire," for Presidential Swing States, second edition. Rowman & Littlefield, 2018.

"The 2012 Presidential Election." American Presidential Campaigns and Elections, 1788-2012. Eds. William G. Shade and Ballard C. Campbell. Sharpe Online Reference, 2013.

"Mama Grizzly Nearly Trapped: New Hampshire's Republican Senate Primary," Key States, High Stakes: Sarah Palin, the Tea Party, and the 2010 Elections. Ed. Charles S. Bullock, III. Rowman & Littlefield, 2012. p. 13-24.

"Bass vs. Kuster in New Hampshire's Second Congressional District: Riding the Wave to a Comeback," with Andrew E. Smith, Cases in Congressional Campaigns: Riding the Wave. Eds. Randall E. Adkins and David A. Dulio. Routledge, 2012. p. 139-159.

"New Hampshire: The Swing State Swings Right," Pendulum Swing. Ed. Larry J. Sabato. Longman Publishing, 2011. p. 329-334.

"Campaigning Against the Uncontrollable: Sununu vs. Shaheen in New Hampshire's Senate Race," with Andrew E. Smith, Cases in Congressional Campaigns: Incumbents Playing Defense in 2008. Eds. Randall E. Adkins and David A. Dulio. Routledge, 2009.

"The Election of 2008," American Presidential Campaigns and Elections: A History and Guide, updated version. M. E. Sharpe, electronic Online Reference Database, fall 2009.

"The Election of 1984," American Presidential Campaigns and Elections: A History and Guide, Volume Three, p. 959-977. M. E. Sharpe, 2003.

"Evolution of Nominating Conventions and Primary Elections," American Presidential Campaigns and Elections: A History and Guide, Volume Three, p. 32-39. M. E. Sharpe, 2003.

Additional publications

"Trump and Evangelicals: Cult of Personality or Marriage of Convenience?", 3Streams blog, March 11, 2021.

"Biden's Victory Due to Increased Support Along the Entire Rural-Urban Continuum," with Kenneth M. Johnson. Carsey School of Public Policy, National Issue Brief # 153, November 2020.

"Voting and Attitudes Along the Red Rural–Blue Urban Continuum," with Kenneth M. Johnson, Carsey School of Public Policy, National Issue Brief # 152, October 2020.

"Can Bernie Sanders break out beyond his base in New Hampshire?" Monkey Cage, *The Washington Post*, February 10, 2020.

"New Hampshire's Changing Electorate," with Kenneth M. Johnson and Andrew E. Smith. Carsey School of Public Policy, Regional Issue Brief # 60, December 2019. A "data snapshot" based on this brief was published in February 2020.

"Data Snapshot: 'Trump Towns' Swung Democratic in New Hampshire Midterms," Carsey School of Public Policy, January 2019.

"Beyond Urban Versus Rural: Understanding American Political Geography in 2016," with Kenneth M. Johnson. Carsey School of Public Policy, National Issue Brief #124, Summer 2017. (This was adapted from our 2017 article for *ANNALS*, see above.)

"Race for the Senate 2016: Key issues in New Hampshire," Brookings Institution, November 2, 2016. "FixGov" blog.

https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2016/11/02/race-for-the-senate-2016-new-hampshire/

"First in the Nation: New Hampshire's Changing Electorate," with Kenneth Johnson and Andrew Smith, Carsey Institute, National Issue Brief # 96, Winter 2016.

"Red Rural, Blue Rural," with Kenneth Johnson, Carsey Institute, National Fact Sheet # 30, Summer 2015. (This was adapted from our 2015 *Political Geography* article, see above.)

Research note on New Hampshire's 2010 redistricting, for "Redistricting New England," The Mosakowski Institute, Clark University, 2013.

"Toward a Typology of Super PACs," Proceedings of Ethics and Reform Symposium, Paul Simon Public Policy Institute, Southern Illinois University, 2012.

"Changes in New Hampshire's Republican Party," Carsey Institute, New England Issue Brief No. 30, Fall 2011.

"Many New Voters Make the Granite State One to Watch in November," with Kenneth Johnson and Andrew Smith, Carsey Institute, Issue Brief No. 9, Fall 2008.

"The 2000 Presidential Election Crisis," The Encyclopedia of Disasters, Accidents, and Crises in American History. Facts on File, 2007.

"The 1995-96 Federal Government Shutdown," Disasters, Accidents, and Crises in American History: A Reference Guide to the Nation's Most Catastrophic Events. Facts on File, 2007.

"Henry Sumner Maine," Encyclopedia of Law and Society: American and Global Perspectives. Sage Publications, 2007.

Book reviews

"The Politics of Resentment," by Katherine J. Cramer, for *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 79, No. 2, April 2017.

"The Presidential Expectations Gap," by Waterman, Silva & Jenkins-Smith, for *Party Politics,* Vol. 23, No. 4, July 2016.

"The Virtue of Civility," by Edward Shils, for the *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies,* Volume XIII, 2001.

"Taxing America," by Julian Zelizer, for the *Journal of Policy History*, Vol. 13, No. 4, 2001.

Grants

UNH Faculty Development Grant, 2015

UNH Faculty Development Grant, 2008

Recent presentations at academic conferences and invited talks

State of the Parties: 2020 and Beyond Virtual Conference, November 2021

Academy of Political Science, New York City, February 2020

Northeastern Political Science Association, November 2019

Southern Political Science Association, January 2019

American Political Science Association, August 2018

The 2018 Midterm Elections, University of Montreal, June 2018.

Midwest Political Science Association, April 2018

"The Fuzzy Frontrunner, " Midwest Political Science Association, April 2017.

"Is Rural Red and Urban Blue? Voting and Political Attitudes along the Urban-Rural Continuum," with Kenneth M. Johnson, at "The New Rural-Urban Interface" conference, University of Pennsylvania, September 2016.

Invited talk on presidential primaries, The Ohio State University, April 2016.

"The Four Faces of the Republican Party and the 2016 Primaries," Midwest Political Science Association, April 2016.

Invited talk on presidential primaries, Clark University, February 2016.

Invited talk on presidential primaries, Brigham Young University, February 2016.

"Everything in Moderation: Moderates and Liberals in the Republican Presidential Primary Electorate," Midwest Political Science Association, April 2015.

"You've Got Mail: Direct-Mail Strategies in the New Hampshire U. S. Senate Race," with Tegan O'Neill, The American Election 2014 conference, New Hampshire Institute of Politics, Saint Anselm College, March 2015.

"Party-Allied Groups in the 2014 U. S. Senate Primaries: A First Cut," Northeast Political Science Association, November 2014.

"With Friends Like These: Independent Expenditures in Congressional Primaries," Midwest Political Science Association, April 2014.

"The Changing Role of Hill Committees in the Age of Super PACs," State of the Parties: 2012 and Beyond Conference, University of Akron, November 2013.

"Are Super PACs Arms of Political Parties? A Study of Coordination." Midwest Political Science Association, April 2013. (N. B. This is a revised version of my presentation at the New Hampshire Institute of Politics, below.)

"Are Super PACs Arms of Political Parties? A Study of Coordination." The American Election 2012 conference, New Hampshire Institute of Politics, Saint Anselm College, March 2013.

"Toward a Typology of Super PACs." Northeast Political Science Association, November 2012.

"New Hampshire's Redistricting," New England Political Science Association, April 2012.

"Toward a Typology of Super PACs," Midwest Political Science Association, April 2012.

"Brothers in Moderation: What 2008 Told Us About 2012." International Conference of the Raoul-Dandurand Chair of Strategic and Diplomatic Studies, University of Quebec, "Election Day in the U.S.: Setting the Scene for November," March 2012.

"Surfing at High Tide: How National Congressional Campaign Committees Respond to Possible Wave Elections," Midwest Political Science Association, April 2011.

"When Factions Decide: What 2008 Tells Us about 2012," Midwest Political Science Association, April 2011.

"Case Studies in the 2010 Congressional Elections," Midwest Political Science Association, April 2011.

"Last-Minute Bets: How National Congressional Campaign Committees Respond to Possible Wave Elections," Midwest Political Science Association, April 2010.

"Momentum, Halt!", Midwest Political Science Association, April 2010.

Roundtable on "The Change Election," Midwest Political Science Association, April 2009.

"Bet or Get Out: A Study of Campaign Ad-buy Strategies in the New Hampshire Primary," with Andrew Smith, American Political Science Association, August 2008.

"The Virtual Campaign: How Presidential Candidates Use E-mail to Attract and Retain Supporters," Midwest Political Science Association, April 2008.

"Does the Tail Wag the Dog? Early Presidential Nomination Polling in New Hampshire and the U. S.," American Political Science Association, September 2007.

Media outreach (selected)

- *New York Times*
- *Washington Post*
- *Wall Street Journal*
- National Public Radio
- New Hampshire, Boston public radio stations
- *USA Today*
- CBS News
- NBC News
- ABC News
- CNN
- MSNBC
- Fox News

- PBS News Hour
- Associated Press
- Reuters
- *Boston Globe*
- *New York Post*
- *Los Angeles Times*
- KCBS radio, San Francisco
- *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*
- *Dallas Morning News*
- *Houston Chronicle*
- *Columbus Dispatch*
- *Christian Science Monitor*
- *The Hill*
- *Time*
- Slate.com
- *Deseret News*
- *Politico*
- *National Journal*
- *Philadelphia Inquirer*
- *New York Observer*
- *New Hampshire Union Leader*
- *Concord Monitor*
- WMUR-TV, New Hampshire
- New England Cable News
- Sirius XM satellite radio
- BBC
- CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Company) television
- *Toronto Star*
- *The Guardian*
- Bloomberg
- World ABC News (Australia)
- *The Economist*
- France 24
- *Irish Times*
- Swedish National Public Radio
- *Reforma* (Mexico)
- *O Globo* (Brazil)

- Voice of America
- NHK Japan Broadcasting

On my primary social media platform, Twitter, I have approximately 4,800 followers.

Service

University

UNH alumni webinar on COVID-19 and the 2020 elections, June 2020.

Chair of COLA ad hoc committee on undergraduate research, 2019.

Past chair and Agenda Committee member, Faculty Senate, 2017-18
Chair, Faculty Senate, 2016-17
Vice chair, Faculty Senate, 2015-16

President, Phi Beta Kappa honor society, Beta of New Hampshire Chapter, 2013-present
Vice President, Phi Beta Kappa honor society, Beta of New Hampshire Chapter, 2009-13

Member, UNH ADVANCE Internal Steering Committee, 2016-2018
Member, STARS Task Force, spring semester 2017
Chair, UNH Professional Standards Committee, 2015-16
Member, Rutman Distinguished Lecture Series committee, 2013-present
Member, Responsible Conduct of Research and Scholarly Activity Committee, 2015-16
Grant Proposal Reviewer, Hamel Center for Undergraduate Research, 2012-present
Member, search committee for director of the Carsey School of Public Policy, 2013-14
Member, American Studies faculty, 2015-present

UNH search committee, undergraduate fellowships office, 2011
UNH Pre-Law Advisement Committee, 2010-2018
University Senate committee on promotion and tenure, 2011-13
University Curriculum and Academic Policies Committee, 2012-15

Preparing Future Faculty presentation, spring 2010
Advisory Board, UNH Center for Humanities, 2008-11
Discovery Program, capstone working group, fall 2008

UNH presidential primary working group, 2007-08
Conducted two university events funded by UNH Parents' Association grant, 2008:
"America and the World" panel, April 2008; "Presidential debate watch" panel, October 2008

Department

Chair, Undergraduate Committee, 2019-2020; fall 2020
Department chair, 2008-11
Faculty Senate representative, 2014-2018
Undergraduate advisor, 2008-present
Tenure-track search committee chair, 2017-18
Served on following committees at various times in department: Undergraduate, Graduate, Promotion and Tenure, Scheduling

Organizer of committee that chose undergraduate major to represent the department at the NEW Leadership conference for young women at the New Hampshire Institute of Politics, 2013-16.

Profession

I have worked with the following journals and publishers as a peer reviewer of manuscripts: *American Political Science Review, American Politics Research, The International Journal of Press/Politics, Journal of Politics, Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties, Journal of Women, Politics & Policy, New England Journal of Political Science, Perspectives on Politics, Political Behavior, Political Geography, Polity*, *Representation, Journal of Rural Studies, Urban Studies,* University of Michigan Press, NYU Press, W. W. Norton.

Senior editor, *Social Science and Modern Society*, 2017-2020, including stint as guest editor from September 2020 to December 2020. Previously served on journal's advisory editorial board for several years.

Advisor, University Press of New England / University of New Hampshire Press

Conference section chair, Northeast Political Science Association, 2014-2019
Conference section chair, New England Political Science Association, 2011-12 & 2013-14

Outside reader of senior thesis, Bates College, spring 2013

Guest speaker on the presidential primary for students from various colleges and universities visiting New Hampshire, including University of South Florida, Randolph-Macon College, Siena College.

Outreach

Vice chairman, State of New Hampshire's Presidential Primary Centennial Anniversary Commission, 2015-16.

Longtime advisor to Vote Smart, a non-profit, non-partisan research organization that provides the public with information on candidates running for office in the United States.

Participant in New Hampshire's Speakers' Bureau. Have delivered talks to a number of community groups, including Association of Public and Land-grant Universities (July 2018); Active Retirement Association; RiverWoods retirement community (multiple, latest fall 2020); UNH retired faculty society; Josiah Bartlett Society; Durham Newcomers' Society; Durham Community Breakfast; Temple Israel.

APPENDIX II: SOURCES CONSULTED

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