

EXHIBIT I

Expert Report Submitted on Behalf of Plaintiffs

in *Plaintiffs* v. Town of Newburgh

Matt A. Barreto, Ph.D.

University of California, Los Angeles

June 28, 2024

1. My name is Dr. Matt Barreto, and I am currently Professor of Political Science and Chicana/o Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. I was appointed Full Professor with tenure at UCLA in 2015. Prior to that I was a tenured professor of Political Science at the University of Washington from 2005 to 2014. I earned my Ph.D. in Political Science at the University of California, Irvine.
2. At UCLA I am the faculty director of the Voting Rights Project in the Luskin School of Public Affairs and I teach a year-long course on the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (VRA), focusing specifically on social science statistical analysis, demographics and voting patterns, and mapping analysis that are relevant in political science expert reports in VRA cases. I have written expert reports and been qualified as an expert witness more than four dozen times in federal and state voting rights and civil rights cases, including in the state of New York. I have published peer-reviewed social science articles specifically about minority voting patterns and racially polarized voting, and have co-authored a software package (eiCompare) specifically for use in understanding racial voting patterns in VRA cases. I have been retained as an expert consultant by cities and counties across the country to advise them on racial voting patterns as they relate to VRA compliance during redistricting. As an expert witness in VRA lawsuits, I have testified dozens of times and my testimony has been relied on by courts to find in favor of both plaintiffs and defendants.
3. I have published books and articles specifically about the intersection of politics, ideology, and racially polarized voting. My 2013 book, *Change They Can't Believe In*, was published by Princeton University Press and was about the inherent connectedness between politics and racial attitudes in America today. The book won the American Political Science Association award for best book on the topic of racial and ethnic politics.
4. I have submitted dozens of expert reports in federal and state courts, and numerous courts have relied on my testimony as credible. I have been hired by the Office of the New York State Attorney General (OAG) to consult and advise on the New York Voting Rights Act (NYVRA).
5. My full professional qualifications and activities are set forth in my curriculum vitae. A true and correct copy has been attached hereto as Appendix C. I am being compensated by Plaintiffs at a rate of \$500 per hour for my report and \$600 an hour for any oral testimony in this case. My compensation is strictly for work performed and is not dependent on my opinions or conclusions.
6. I was retained in this case to assess voting patterns in the Town of Newburgh, New York to determine if Hispanic/Latino¹ and Black voters exhibit racially polarized voting in comparison with white voters. Mr. Michael Rios assisted me with data collection and analysis.

¹ I use the terms "Latino" and "Hispanic" interchangeably throughout this report to refer to individuals who self-identify as Latino or Hispanic. Additionally, the terms "Latino" and "Hispanic" mean persons of Hispanic Origin as defined by the United States Census Bureau and U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB).

7. I also reviewed population demographics in the Town of Newburgh, New York from the 2010 and 2020 decennial Census and the 2023 American Community Survey (ACS), for purposes of understanding population characteristics by racial/ethnic group.
8. We obtained data from Orange County, New York for federal, statewide, and local election results by town and obtained the registered voter files from the Plaintiffs' counsel. We obtained race and ethnicity data for voting precincts from the U.S. Census and from the U.S. Census Surname list, using both sources in a process called Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding (BISG) to identify the racial/ethnic composition of each voting precinct. Race and population data were obtained from the U.S. Census 2010 and 2020 PL-94 Redistricting files, U.S. Census and ACS datasets.

I. Summary Conclusions

9. The Town of Newburgh racial and ethnic population demographics have changed significantly over the last decade. The population of non-Hispanic whites has declined over this time, from constituting 68.2% of the Town's population in 2010 to 57.6% in 2020. In contrast, the Latino population has increased from 15.7% in 2010 to 22.1% in 2020, and the Black population increased from 11.9% in 2010 to 14.3% in 2020.
10. In 34 elections analyzed across nine election cycles from 2011 to 2022, a strong and consistent pattern of racially polarized voting is found in the Town of Newburgh, New York. My analysis was conducted across more than two dozen elections for local, state, and federal office, using court-approved ecological inference techniques and relying on BISG race estimates of registered voters. The result was more than 200 ecological inference models. In these elections, Latino and Black voters are cohesive in their support for minority-preferred candidates. In contrast, the analysis finds that non-Hispanic whites consistently bloc vote against Latino and Black candidates of choice in the Town of Newburgh. Thus, strong evidence of racially polarized voting is present in Newburgh whereby the minority group votes cohesively, and whites vote as a bloc to typically defeat the minority group's candidate of choice.

II. Town of Newburgh Population Growth Characteristics

11. To provide context about voting patterns and minority representation, I begin with a broader view of the Town of Newburgh, New York, and how its population has changed over the past decade. Overall, the Town of Newburgh's total population has decreased by 419 since 2010. However, this decrease in total population was not experienced across all racial/ethnic groups. The white population experienced a decline of 2,051 in population from 2010 to 2020, dropping their percentage of the town's population from 68.2% in 2010 to 57.6%. In contrast, the Latino population grew during this same period of ten years. The population of Latinos increased by over 51% in those 10 years, growing from 4,664 to 7,066. From 2010 to 2020, the Black population increased by over 28% in those 10 years, growing from 3,555 to 4,582.
12. Although the Town of Newburgh's population continues to become increasingly non-white, the Town Council still regularly elects white-preferred candidates of choice. Today, Latino and Black residents make up over 30% of the Town's population.

Table 1: Town of Newburgh, NY Population Change from 2010 to 2020 by Race/Ethnicity

	2010	2020	10-20 Change	10-20 % Change
Newburgh Town Total	29,801	31,985	2,184	7.3%
White (non- Hispanic)	20,330 68.2%	18,410 57.6%	-1,920	-9.4%
Latino	4,664 15.7%	7,066 22.1%	2,402	51.5%
Black	3,555 11.9%	4,582 14.3%	1,027	28.9%
AAPI	872 2.9%	932 2.9%	60	6.9%
All Other	380 1.3%	995 3.1%	615	161.8%

13. ACS 2022 5-year estimates show that the town of Newburgh continues to become more racially and ethnically diverse with the white population declining from 57.6% in 2020 to 54.1% in 2022², more than a 3-percentage point decline in just two years, and yearly population trends suggest a linear decline in the white population which may be only about 50% of the overall town population today in 2024.
14. Despite the non-white population today making up close to half of the entire population of Newburgh town, they have not had the opportunity to have their candidates of choice elected to the town council.

III. Racially Polarized Voting Analysis

15. I next examine whether voters of different racial/ethnic backgrounds tend to prefer different or similar candidates in a wide range of electoral settings. The phenomenon called *racially polarized voting* (RPV) is defined as voters of different racial or ethnic groups exhibiting different candidate preferences in an election. It means simply that voters of different groups are voting in polar opposite directions, rather than in a multi-racial or multi-ethnic coalition. If some groups of voters are voting in coalition, RPV analysis will identify such a trend. Voters may vote for their candidates of choice for a variety of reasons, and RPV analysis is agnostic as to why voters make decisions. RPV simply reports *how* voters are voting. It measures the outcomes of voting patterns and determines whether patterns track with the race/ethnicity demographics of neighborhoods, cities, and voting precincts.

² U.S. Census American Community Survey 2022 5-year data:

<https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDT5Y2022.B03002?q=B03002:%20Hispanic%20or%20Latino%20Origin%20by%20Race&g=060XX00US3607150045>

16. Issues related to minority vote dilution are especially consequential in the face of racially polarized voting. In 1986, the Supreme Court issued a ruling in *Thornburg v. Gingles* that redistricting plans cannot dilute minority voting strength by cracking their population into multiple districts, nor can they pack the population into too few districts. This logic applies equally to at-large voting systems in which minority voters are too small in number, jurisdiction-wide, for their preferred candidate to win. While this was a federal case, the standard of racially polarized voting and vote dilution applies equally well to state voting rights lawsuits. In this decision, the Court established specific tests to determine if an electoral system violated the VRA, in particular drawing on a statistical analysis of voting patterns by race and ethnicity. The concept of racially polarized voting concerns how minorities and whites vote, and whether they prefer the same, or different, candidates. Specifically, voting rights lawsuits have asked if minority voters are cohesive; that is, if they generally tend to vote for a “candidate of choice.” And next, whether the larger majority (or white) voters prefer their own candidate, and, if that candidate is different than the minority candidate of choice, whether they regularly vote as a bloc to defeat the minority candidate of choice. Courts refer to evidence of this phenomenon—voters of one racial group are voting in one direction, while voters of the other racial group are voting in the opposite direction—as “racially polarized voting.”
17. Several methods are available to assess racially polarized voting with respect to minority cohesion and white bloc voting.³ Ecological Inference (EI) “has been the benchmark method courts use in evaluating racial polarization in voting rights lawsuits and has been used widely in comparative politics research on group and ethnic voting patterns.”⁴ Two variations of EI that have emerged are referred to as King’s EI and EI: RxC. The two methods are closely related, and Professor Gary King, the creator of King’s EI,⁵ was a co-author and collaborator on the RxC method.⁶ Generally speaking, both methods take ecological data in the aggregate—such as precinct vote totals and racial demographics—and use Bayesian statistical methods to find voting patterns by regressing candidate choice against racial demographics within the aggregate precinct. King’s EI is sometimes referred to as the iterative approach, in that it runs an analysis

³ For an approachable overview of this material, see Bruce M. Clarke and Robert Timothy Reagan, “Redistricting Litigation: An Overview Of Legal, Statistical, and Case-Management Issues,” *Federal Judicial Center* (2002).

⁴ Loren Collingwood, Kassra Oskooii, Sergio Garcia-Rios, and Matt Barreto, “eiCompare Comparing Ecological Inference Estimates across EI and EI:R x C,” *The R Journal* 8, no. 2 (2016): 92–101 at 93; see also Marisa A. Abrajano, Christopher S. Elmendorf, and Kevin M. Quinn, “Using Experiments to Estimate Racially Polarized Voting,” *UC Davis Legal Studies Research Paper Series* no. 419 (February 2015) at 1 (“ecological inference (EI) [is] the standard statistical tool of vote-dilution litigation). Despite the method’s prominence, researchers have identified certain limitations on EI’s ability to reveal race-correlated voting patterns in jurisdictions with more than two racial groups and non-trivial residential integration. See D. James Greiner, “Re-Solidifying Racial Bloc Voting: Empirics and Legal Doctrine in the Melting Pot,” *Indiana Law Journal* 86, no. 2 (Spring 2011): 447–498; D. James Greiner and Kevin M Quinn, “Exit Polling and Racial Bloc Voting: Combining Individual Level and R x C Ecological Data,” *The Annals of Applied Statistics* 4, no. 4 (2010): 1774–1796. Strategic calculations by potential candidates as well as interest groups and donors also skew EI data. Christopher S. Elmendorf, Kevin M. Quinn, and Marisa A. Abrajano, “Racially Polarized Voting,” *The University of Chicago Law Review* 83, no. 2 (Spring 2016): 587–692; D. James Greiner, “Causal Inference in Civil Rights Litigation,” *Harvard Law Review* 122, no. 2 (December 2008): 533–598 at 533.

⁵ See Gary King, *A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem: Reconstructing Individual Behavior from Aggregate Data*. (Princeton University Press, 1997).

⁶ See Ori Rosen, Wenxin Jiang, Gary King, and Martin A. Tanner, “Bayesian and Frequentist Inference for Ecological Inference: The R x C Case,” *Statistica Neerlandica* 55, no. 2 (2001): 134–156 at 134-146.

of each candidate and each racial group in iterations, whereas the RxC method allows multiple rows (candidates) and multiple columns (racial groups) to be estimated simultaneously in one model. In essence, both versions of EI operate as described above: by compiling data on the percentage of each racial group in a precinct and merging that with precinct-level vote choice from relevant election results.

18. One popular software program that has been relied on by federal courts⁷ is *eiCompare*, which imports data, runs both King's EI and RxC models, and offers comparison diagnostics.⁸ Collingwood, et al. have concluded that both EI and RxC produce similarly reliable regression estimates of vote choice. The EI models are agnostic on what type of input data political scientists use for racial demographics. It can be Voting Age Population (VAP) or CVAP data from the U.S. Census, it can be a Spanish surname analysis of registered voters, or it can be a BISG estimate of race of the voter file.⁹ If the analyst is well-trained and uses the software properly, the models will perform the same statistical analysis and produce reliable estimates about voter preference by race.
19. To conduct our analysis, we relied on official election results and voter file data provided by the Orange County Board of Elections, New York. For each election, we used the voter file of registered voters at the time of the election to estimate the race and ethnicity of voters consolidated to each voting precinct in the Town of Newburgh using BISG. This information was merged with precinct level election results, to be used in an ecological inference (EI) analysis.
20. BISG has been developed by demographic experts¹⁰ and has been widely published and applied in the domain of political science to understand voting trends by race and ethnicity. It has been used by experts in Section 2 voting rights trials and found reliable by a federal district court¹¹ and the Second Circuit Court of Appeals.¹² It has been published in peer-reviewed political science, social science methodology, and law review journals as an appropriate technique for understanding voter race or ethnicity.¹³ The method relies on a combination of Census surname

⁷ Decision and Order, ECF No. 568 at ¶ 22, *NAACP v. E. Ramapo Cent. Sch. Dist.*, No. 17-CV-8943-CS-JCM (S.D.N.Y. May 25, 2020); *see also* Memorandum and Opinion, ECF No. 80 at 8–9, *Baltimore County NAACP v. Baltimore County, MD et al.*, No. 1:21-cv-03232-LKG (D. Md. March 25, 2022).

⁸ Collingwood et al., “eiCompare,” 94.

⁹ The full R script (code) with examples is available at the public repository: <https://github.com/RPVote/eiCompare> and includes instructions on how to run EI compare with BISG/WRU.

¹⁰ *See* Kevin Fiscella and Allen M. Fremont, “Use of Geocoding and Surname Analysis to Estimate Race and Ethnicity,” *Health Services Research* 41, no. 4 (August 2006): 1482–1500.

¹¹ ECF No. 568, *NAACP v. E. Ramapo Cent. Sch. Dist.*

¹² *Clerveaux v. E. Ramapo Cent. Sch. Dist.*, 984 F.3d 213 (2d Cir. 2021).

¹³ Jesse T. Clark, John A. Curiel and Tyler S. Steelman, “Minmaxing of Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding and Geography Level Ups in Predicting Race,” *Political Analysis* 30 (November 2021): 456–462; Kevin DeLuca and John A. Curiel, “Validating the Applicability of Bayesian Inference with Surname and Geocoding to Congressional Redistricting,” *Political Analysis* (2022); Matthew Barreto, Michael Cohen, Loren Collingwood, Chad W. Dunn, and Sonni Waknin, “A Novel Method for Showing Racially Polarized Voting: Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding,” *New York University Review of Law & Social Change* 46, no. 1 (2022): 1–42.

analysis and Census block-level racial demographics to provide an overall probability assessment of the voter's race or ethnicity.¹⁴ Demographers and social scientists already utilize both of these methods separately; matching Census data to geographic units is widely used for understanding racial demographics and density of an area,¹⁵ and surname analysis is regularly used against the voter file to understand race and ethnicity.¹⁶ Using both data sources makes it possible to gain a more precise understanding of voter demographics—two pieces of evidence, instead of just one, provides far more reliable estimates.¹⁷

21. The first step of BISG relies on the address of the voter from the voter file.¹⁸ Using a procedure known as geocoding,¹⁹ this address information can be cross-referenced with the data from the decennial Census at the block level using portals such as Geocodio.²⁰ The Census data contains the self-reported race of residents, aggregated to the Census block level. Using Census statistics for the racial and ethnic composition for the block in which a voter resides, the block's racial demographic percentages can be used in combination with the surname estimate to refine the overall estimate of voter race.²¹ By using a smaller level of aggregation (*e.g.* Census block), researchers have more precision in their racial estimates.
22. BISG analysis then draws on surname analysis, a method that federal courts have found reliable. Surname analysis in BISG starts by taking each last name in the voter file and checking it against the published directories created by the Census Bureau.²² This list, assembled based on research by demographers at the Census Bureau, has created a racial/ethnic probability for each last name in the United States based on the official Census records.²³ When a person fills out the Census form, they record their last name and their self-reported race and ethnicity. The resulting probability estimate for each name can then be cross-referenced with

¹⁴ Kosuke Imai and Kabir Khanna, "Improving Ecological inference by Predicting Individual Ethnicity from Voter Registration Records," *Political Analysis* 24, no. 2 (2016): 263–272.

¹⁵ Jorge Chapa, Ana Henderson, Aggie Jooyoon Noah, Werner Schink, and Robert Kengle, "Redistricting: Estimating Citizen Voting Age Population," *The Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy* (July 2011).

¹⁶ Bernard Grofman and Jennifer R. Garcia, "Using Spanish Surname to Estimate Hispanic Voting Population in Voting Rights Litigation: A Model of Context Effects Using Bayes' Theorem," *Election Law Journal* 13, no. 3 (September 2014): 375–393.

¹⁷ Barreto et al., "A Novel Method for Showing Racially Polarized Voting."

¹⁸ Brian Amos and Michael P. McDonald, "A Method to Audit the Assignment of Registered Voters to Districts and Precincts," *Political Analysis* 28 (2020): 356–371.

¹⁹ Geocoding is possible using the tidycensus R package, with full replication scripts available at their public repository: <https://github.com/cran/tidycensus>.

²⁰ Users can upload a voter file to be geocoded at their website: <https://www.geocod.io/>

²¹ Barreto et al., "A Novel Method for Showing Racially Polarized Voting."

²² Marc N. Elliott, Allen Fremont, Peter A. Morrison, Philip Pantoja, and Nicole Lurie, "A New Method for Estimating Race/Ethnicity and Associated Disparities Where Administrative Records Lack Self-Reported Race/Ethnicity," *Health Services Research* 43, no. 5 (October 2008): 17242–1736.

²³ "Decennial Census Surname Files (2010, 2000)." Perma.cc. <https://perma.cc/9JLV-7NQJ>.

the voter file. So, a surname database can assign a probability for nearly every last name found on a voter file.

23. BISG uses the two proxy sources of voter race information—a voter’s name and where they live—to generate an estimate of their race. By employing the Who Are You (WRU) package in R²⁴ to estimate the probability that a voter is of a certain race, a more detailed analysis can be inferred from the combination of surname and geolocation data—as opposed to using just one or the other.
24. Using the voter file provided by Orange County, we used the software package WRU to perform BISG to estimate voters by race across each precinct and then feed this information into eiCompare to run racially polarized voting analysis.²⁵ Full replication instructions are publicly available at tidycensus, WRU, and eiCompare portals, which explain the procedure in-depth with tutorials and sample R script.

A. RPV Results

25. Across all elections analyzed, there is a clear, consistent, and statistically significant finding of racially polarized voting in the Town of Newburgh, New York. Time and again, white and non-white voters are lining up to support opposite candidates. Specifically, Latino and Black voters are cohesive and exhibit a clear and unified candidate preference. In contrast, white voters regularly vote as a bloc against Latino and Black candidates of choice.
26. The summary results of the ecological inference analysis can be found in Tables 2-4 below, which reports both types of regression analysis, King’s EI and EI RxC. Table 2 shows both types of ecological inference using White and non-White registered voters as the racial input. Tables 3-4 disaggregates the non-White category to show Latino and Black cohesion with King’s iterative EI in Table 3 and EI RxC in Table 4. Looking at nearly every one of the 34 elections reported in the tables below reveals clear evidence of racially polarized voting. Full results can be found in Appendix B, and plots that graphically display results can be found in Appendix C.
27. In particular, the analysis reveals that Latino and Black voters are cohesive in local elections for Town Council. In addition, local elections for Town and county offices further reveal Latino and Black cohesive voting behavior.
28. In contrast, whites in the Town of Newburgh, who make up the majority of voters, demonstrate bloc-voting against Latino and Black candidates of choice in local elections for Town Council.

²⁴ “wru: Who Are You? Bayesian Prediction of Racial Category Using Surname and Geolocation.” Github. 2019. <https://github.com/kosukeimai/wru> (“This R package implements the methods proposed in Imai, K. and Khanna, K. (2016). “Improving Ecological Inference by Predicting Individual Ethnicity from Voter Registration Record.” Political Analysis, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Spring), pp. 263–272.”).

²⁵ RPVote. “RPVOTE/eiCompare: Comparing Ecological Inference Techniques.” GitHub. <https://github.com/RPVote/eiCompare>.

When Latino and Black preferred candidates emerge, they typically receive very low rates of support from white voters, who effectively block these candidates from winning office.

29. In Town Council elections, Latino and Black voters typically demonstrate distinct candidate preference as compared to white voters. To illustrate this we, can examine the columns “White – EI,” “Latino – EI”, and “Black – EI” in Table 3. Looking at the 2021 Town Council election, Latino and Black voters rank Blancato Horton and Smith as the top two candidates who they would elect to the Town Council. In contrast, white voters give their highest preference to Greene and Ruggiero, whom ultimately were elected to the Town Council. To properly assess how polarized or different the voting patterns of whites and Latinos are, it is important to look at the difference—or gap—in support between the two groups. For example, white voters demonstrate very low levels of support for minority-preferred candidates Blancato Horton and Smith, with just over 9% each. The differential between how whites and non-White voters supported these two candidates in 2021 was stark. Blancato Horton demonstrated a gap of 49.5 between Latinos and whites, and a gap of 87.4 between Black and white voters. Similarly, Smith demonstrated a gap of 50.3 between Latinos and whites, and a gap of 88.2 between Black and white voters.
30. In the 2020 Town Council special election, only two candidates ran for one seat. This election demonstrated the most dramatic patterns of differential vote preference between minority and white voters. Latino and Black voters showed overwhelming support for Steger over LoBiondo by margins of three to one in the RxC models and over 90% in the EI models. In contrast, white voters largely preferred LoBiondo, who ultimately won the election.
31. The 2019 Town Council election also demonstrates patterns of racial polarization with the top preferred candidate among Latino and Black voters, Steger, being the least preferred candidate by white voters. In contrast, the two candidates who received high support among white voters, Manly and Presutti, received noticeably lower support from Latino and Black voters.
32. In the 2013 Town Council election, four candidates ran for two spots. Patterns of racial polarization emerge once again as Latino and Black voters show a clear preference for two candidates, McCormick and Tirado, and white voters showed clear support for the opposing two candidates, Greene and Ruggiero. Ultimately, the white preferred candidates Greene and Ruggiero were elected over the minority preferred McCormick and Tirado.
33. Beyond the Town Council elections—which, as discussed above, show clear patterns of racial bloc voting—the additional elections analyzed provide further evidence of how divergent white and minority voter preferences are in the Town of Newburgh.²⁶ In more traditional two-person

²⁶ The point estimates in the EI models represent the most likely outcome, called the center point of the estimate. Statistically, the central point estimate has the highest probability of being correct. Each point estimate contains a confidence interval surrounding it that contains precise probabilities of other percent estimates being returned. In some instances, lower and upper bounds of confidence intervals can overlap, and it is possible to consider the exact probability of overlap, rather than simply rejecting a point estimate altogether. In instances where there are a very small number of datapoints, confidence intervals can appear larger; however, this does not mean that point estimates are invalid, but rather simply that there is less data to rely on in creating the average. Probability analysis of confidence intervals provides one way to further examine the degree to which some confidence intervals might overlap, if that question arises. In addition, looking to homogenous precincts also adds confidence to the point estimates because they provide actual election results

contests where only one candidate can get elected, there are consistent patterns of Latino and Black cohesion and white bloc voting. These high rates of political cohesion are consistent with political science and legal scholarship on racially polarized voting.

34. Among white voters, we see the polar opposite. White voters demonstrate bloc-voting against Latino-preferred candidates across every single exogenous election analyzed for state legislature, Orange County offices, and statewide elections for U.S. Senate, Governor, President and more. These high rates of white bloc voting—which have been effective in defeating Latino and Black voters candidates of choice—are consistent with political science and legal scholarship on racially polarized voting.

Table 2: Town of Newburgh Ecological Inference (EI) Candidate Choice Estimates Comparing White and Non-White Voters

Year	Office	Candidate	White - EI	Non-White - EI		White - RxC	Non-White - RxC
2022	Attorney General	James	26.8	91.8		30.2	83.8
		Henry	73.6	7.1		69.8	16.2
	State Comptroller	DiNapoli	29.0	92.9		33.0	83.3
		Rodriguez	71.3	6.9		67.0	16.7
	Governor / Lt. Governor	Hochul / Delgado	25.6	89.6		28.2	83.4
		Zeldin / Esposito	74.8	8.8		71.8	16.6
	U.S. Representative #18	Ryan	27.7	90.2		30.4	84.3
		Schmitt	72.2	8.6		69.6	15.7
	Orange County Sheriff	Rivers	11.9	70.7		6.4	83.1
		Arteta*	87.9	28.7		93.6	16.9
2021	Newburgh Town Council	Schumer	27.3	94.0		31.1	84.7
		Pinion	73.0	5.9		68.9	15.3
		Smith	9.2	40.4		11.3	35.1
		Blancato Horton	9.5	42.0		11.8	35.9
	Orange County Clerk	Greene*	41.0	10.1		39.0	15.0
		Ruggiero*	40.2	7.3		37.9	14.0
2020	State Assembly #104	Grice	19.3	87.2		21.3	82.0
		Eskew*	80.5	11.8		78.7	18.0
	Newburgh Town Council	Jacobson	17.6	80.8		13.4	88.9
		Gauzza	82.4	19.2		86.6	11.1
		Steger	26.4	93.4		29.6	87.3
		LoBiondo*	73.6	6.7		70.4	12.7
		Trachte	26.7	85.0		26.9	84.2

that are quite consistent with the point estimates. In this specific jurisdiction, we have a clear and consistent pattern of racially polarized voting across multiple elections across election cycles, which provides strong evidence that our point estimates are consistent and stable.

	Orange County Court Judge	Kim*	73.4	15.4	73.1	15.8
	President	Biden	31.9	95.0	36.0	87.7
		Trump	67.7	3.9	64.0	12.3
	U.S. Representative #18	Maloney	36.1	96.7	41.6	86.3
		Farley	63.8	3.4	58.4	13.7
2019	Newburgh Town Clerk	Campos	26.6	94.2	30.3	85.0
		Pedi*	73.4	4.8	69.7	15.0
	Newburgh Town Council	Steger	11.3	64.1	12.2	62.4
		Manly*	44.1	20.0	44.7	18.9
		Presutti*	44.6	14.8	43.2	18.8
2018	Attorney General	James	29.4	98.3	35.0	86.7
		Wofford	70.4	1.2	65.0	13.3
	State Assembly #104	Jacobson	22.3	95.1	26.0	86.8
		Manly	78.1	4.5	74.0	13.2
	State Comptroller	DiNapoli	33.9	99.6	36.1	94.8
		Trichter	66.1	0.5	63.9	5.2
	Governor / Lt. Governor	Cuomo / Hochul	24.4	95.4	28.5	87.0
		Molinaro / Killian	75.4	4.4	71.5	13.0
	U.S. Representative #18	Maloney	34.1	96.4	38.7	86.6
		ODonnell	66.0	3.0	61.3	13.4
U.S. Senate	Gillibrand	34.3	97.6	39.9	85.8	
	Farley	65.5	2.8	60.1	14.2	
2017	Orange County Clerk	Mulqueen	26.2	88.1	28.1	82.8
		Rabbitt*	73.8	12.3	71.9	17.2
	Orange County District Attorney	Isgur	20.0	88.5	21.9	83.4
		Hoovler*	80.0	11.4	78.1	16.6
	Orange County Executive	Davis	23.2	84.3	24.5	80.8
Neuhaus*		76.6	16.4	75.5	19.2	
2016	State Assembly #104	Banuchi	34.7	4.6	28.3	17.8
		Skatardos	65.2	95.4	71.7	82.2
	Orange County Court Judge	Brockett	23.5	87.8	25.3	85.0
		Freehill*	75.9	11.9	74.7	15.0
	President	Clinton	27.0	92.5	30.5	84.9
		Trump	72.8	7.8	69.5	15.1
	U.S. Representative #18	Maloney	40.0	92.6	45.4	81.1
		Oliva	60.1	7.0	54.6	18.9
U.S. Senate	Schumer	45.2	95.9	51.4	81.7	
	Long	55.3	6.2	48.6	18.3	
2013	Newburgh Town Supervisor	Maniscalchi	25.2	92.7	29.5	70.4
		Booth*	74.9	7.3	70.5	29.6
	Newburgh Town Tax Receiver and Assessor	Giltard	15.9	99.4	19.8	79.2
		Smith*	83.8	0.4	80.2	20.8

2011	Newburgh Town Council	McCormick	11.8	49.5	14.8	34.1
		Greene*	39.6	0.2	37.6	13.5
		Tirado	9.0	60.2	13.3	38.1
		Ruggiero*	36.5	0.0	34.2	14.3
	Newburgh Town Supervisor	Krasner	32.5	89.3	37.1	63.1
		Booth*	67.6	10.8	62.9	36.9
	Newburgh Town Council	Corbin	15.0	41.8	18.0	25.6
		Tirado	6.4	66.9	12.7	31.5
		Woolsey*	32.5	0.1	30.2	13.8
		MacEntee	11.1	5.6	9.6	14.5
		Piaquidio*	32.0	0.4	29.5	14.6

Table 3: Town of Newburgh Ecological Inference (EI) Candidate Choice Estimates Comparing White, Black, and Latino Voters – Iterative EI

Year	Office	Candidate	White - EI	Latino - EI	Black - EI
2022	Attorney General	James	26.5	92.9	99.2
		Henry	73.5	7.1	0.8
	Comptroller	DiNapoli	28.9	98.5	99.5
		Rodriguez	71.1	1.5	0.5
	Congressional Rep #18	Ryan	27.5	99.5	99.4
		Schmitt	72.5	0.5	0.6
	Governor / Lt. Governor	Hochul / Delgado	25.5	99.9	99.0
		Zeldin / Esposito	74.5	0.1	1.0
	OC Sheriff	Rivers	11.7	99.5	99.3
		Arteta*	88.3	0.5	0.7
2021	U.S. Senate	Schumer	27.4	99.8	98.5
		Pinion	72.6	0.2	1.5
	Newburgh Town Council	Smith	9.2	48.7	49.2
		Blancato-Horton	9.6	48.8	49.1
		Greene*	40.9	0.0	1.5
		Ruggiero*	40.3	2.4	0.2
	OC Clerk	Grice	19.3	94.4	97.6
		Eskew*	80.7	5.6	2.4
2020	Congressional Rep #18	Maloney	36.2	99.9	99.6
		Farley	63.8	0.1	0.4
	Newburgh Town Council	Steger	26.5	98.7	99.6
		LoBiondo*	73.5	1.3	0.4
	OC Court Judge	Trachte	26.7	96.1	100.0
		Kim*	73.3	3.9	0.0
	President	Biden	32.1	97.6	99.6
		Trump	67.9	2.4	0.4

	State Assembly #104	Jacobson	17.5	98.7	99.4
		Gauzza	82.5	1.3	0.6
2019	Newburgh Town Clerk	Campos	26.8	97.9	99.3
		Pedi*	73.2	2.1	0.7
	Newburgh Town Council	Steger	11.5	94.3	87.1
		Manly*	44.0	5.2	10.2
		Presutti*	44.5	0.5	2.6
2018	Attorney General	James	29.3	99.9	99.6
		Wofford	70.7	0.1	0.4
	Comptroller	DiNapoli	33.9	99.8	100.0
		Trichter	66.1	0.2	0.0
	Congressional Rep #18	Maloney	34.0	99.2	98.5
		ODonnell	66.0	0.8	1.5
	State Assembly #104	Jacobson	22.0	100.0	99.4
		Manly	78.0	0.0	0.6
	U.S. Senate	Gillibrand	34.4	98.1	99.9
		Farley	65.6	1.9	0.1
2017	OC Clerk	Mulqueen	26.2	99.1	99.5
		Rabbitt*	73.8	0.9	0.5
	OC District Attorney	Isgur	20.1	99.5	98.3
		Hoovler*	79.9	0.5	1.7
	OC Town Executive	Davis	23.4	95.3	98.9
		Neuhaus*	76.6	4.7	1.1
2016	Congressional Rep #18	Maloney	40.0	96.5	99.5
		Oliva	60.0	3.5	0.5
	OC Court Judge	Brockett	23.9	99.3	99.4
		Freehill*	76.1	0.7	0.6
	President	Clinton	27.0	96.0	99.4
		Trump	73.0	4.0	0.6
	U.S. Senate	Schumer	44.9	95.7	99.5
		Long	55.1	4.3	0.5
2013	Supervisor	Maniscalchi	25.2	94.2	95.3
		Booth*	74.8	11.5	3.1
	Tax Receiver and Assessor	Giltard	15.9	99.5	98.3
		Smith*	83.8	0.9	0.7
	Town Council	McCormick	11.8	95.5	99.8
		Tirado	9.0	99.7	99.6
		Greene*	39.7	0.3	0.2
		Ruggiero*	36.6	0.7	0.0
2011	Supervisor	Krasner	32.5	97.0	96.0
		Booth*	67.5	3.3	0.0
	Town Council	Corbin	15.1	97.7	58.5
		Tirado	6.4	98.4	98.9

	Woolsey*	32.5	0.0	0.4
	Piaquidio*	32.0	0.5	1.7
	MacEntee	11.1	0.6	0.1

Table 4: Town of Newburgh Ecological Inference (EI) Candidate Choice Estimates Comparing White, Black, and Latino Voters –EI Rows by Columns (RxC)

Year	Office	Candidate	White - RxC	Latino - RxC	Black - RxC
2022	Attorney General	James	36.4	67.7	78.1
		Henry	63.6	32.3	21.9
	Comptroller	DiNapoli	39.3	66.1	77.0
		Rodriguez	60.7	33.9	23.0
	Congressional Rep #18	Ryan	37.2	67.0	77.5
		Schmitt	62.8	33.0	22.5
	Governor / Lt. Governor	Hochul / Delgado	35.2	65.0	76.2
		Zeldin / Esposito	64.8	35.0	23.8
	OC Sheriff	Rivers	10.1	77.3	77.5
		Arteta*	89.9	22.7	22.5
U.S. Senate	Schumer	38.0	65.8	79.1	
	Pinion	62.0	34.2	20.9	
2021	Newburgh Town Council	Smith	12.1	32.7	35.8
		Blancato-Horton	13.3	30.0	35.6
		Greene*	38.0	18.4	14.9
		Ruggiero*	36.7	18.9	13.7
	OC Clerk	Grice	26.1	65.9	76.6
		Eskew*	73.9	34.1	23.4
2020	Congressional Rep #18	Maloney	49.6	68.3	79.3
		Farley	50.4	31.7	20.7
	Newburgh Town Council	Steger	37.3	72.1	79.5
		LoBiondo*	62.7	27.9	20.5
	OC Court Judge	Trachte	33.7	72.2	76.3
		Kim*	66.3	27.8	23.7
	President	Biden	44.4	69.9	79.4
		Trump	55.6	30.1	20.6
	State Assembly #104	Jacobson	20.6	76.5	79.9
Gauzza		79.4	23.5	20.1	
2019	Newburgh Town Clerk	Campos	36.2	65.2	80.3
		Pedi*	63.8	34.8	19.7
	Newburgh Town Council	Steger	17.1	43.3	61.3
		Manly*	41.8	28.8	20.6
		Presutti*	41.1	27.9	18.1
2018	Attorney General	James	40.4	75.9	81.7
		Wofford	59.6	24.1	18.3

	Comptroller	DiNapoli	46.6	69.7	82.4
		Trichter	53.4	30.3	17.6
	Congressional Rep #18	Maloney	45.9	69.1	80.4
		ODonnell	54.1	30.9	19.6
	State Assembly #104	Jacobson	33.0	68.9	81.0
		Manly	67.0	31.1	19.0
	U.S. Senate	Gillibrand	45.9	70.5	81.9
		Farley	54.1	29.5	18.1
2017	OC Clerk	Mulqueen	34.0	65.7	76.1
		Rabbitt*	66.0	34.3	23.9
	OC District Attorney	Isgur	27.7	67.9	76.1
		Hoovler*	72.4	32.1	23.9
	OC Town Executive	Davis	29.8	65.1	76.3
		Neuhaus*	70.2	34.9	23.7
2016	Congressional Rep #18	Maloney	51.2	66.6	77.3
		Oliva	48.8	33.4	22.7
	OC Court Judge	Brockett	32.0	70.6	77.8
		Freehill*	68.0	29.4	22.2
	President	Clinton	37.1	69.7	77.7
		Trump	62.9	30.3	22.3
	U.S. Senate	Schumer	57.0	67.9	77.3
		Long	43.0	32.1	22.7
2013	Supervisor	Maniscalchi	31.5	58.4	65.6
		Booth*	68.5	41.6	34.4
	Tax Receiver and Assessor	Giltard	22.7	62.8	69.6
		Smith*	77.3	37.2	30.4
	Town Council	McCormick	15.4	29.3	33.1
		Tirado	14.4	32.6	34.7
		Greene*	36.8	18.3	15.2
		Ruggiero*	33.3	19.8	17.0
2011	Supervisor	Krasner	38.4	55.2	58.1
		Booth*	61.6	44.8	41.9
	Town Council	Corbin	18.4	21.5	25.4
		Tirado	13.7	24.8	28.3
		Woolsey*	29.7	17.4	15.8
		Piaquidio*	29.1	17.3	16.0
		MacEntee	9.2	19.0	14.6

35. In the more than 200 ecological inference statistical models performed for this report, based on well-established social science published methodology, I conclude that, across the 34 elections and 9 election cycles, elections in the Town of Newburgh are defined by racially polarized voting (as shown in Tables 2-4 above).

36. In elections across the Town of Newburgh and Orange County, ecological inference models point to a clear pattern of racially polarized voting with minority cohesion and white bloc voting. In elections analyzed, Latino and Black voters demonstrate unified and cohesive voting, siding for the same candidates of choice with clear support. In contrast, white voters strongly bloc vote against Latino and Black candidates of choice. White bloc voting appears to be consistent across elections from 2011 to 2022, with rates as high as 80% opposition to minority-preferred candidates in some instances. White voters demonstrate considerable bloc voting against Latino and Black candidates of choice, regularly voting in the exact opposite pattern of Latino and Black voters in the Town of Newburgh. Taken as a whole, the full set of elections analyzed easily clear the political science threshold for the existence of racially polarized voting that is consistent with what I have observed in the more than 50 jurisdictions I have analyzed in my career.

IV. Different Electoral Systems as a Means to Elect Minority Preferred Candidates

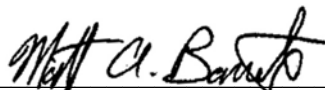
37. Under the NYVRA many options are available as remedies to cure minority vote dilution. The analysis above reports clearly that whites and non-whites vote for different candidates of choice, and that in the at-large electoral system white voters can effectively out-vote minorities. Here, I review four different systems as compared to at-large elections, looking to published research studies that have documented how each of the different approaches can increase minority representation. Further, I have carefully considered the racial and ethnic demographics of Newburgh town, New York and conclude that each of the four approaches below has merit and could be effective in this specific jurisdiction to allow Black and Latino voters the opportunity to elect candidates of their choice.

38. **Single-Member Districts.** Single-member district systems elect one representative to a governing body per voting district (examples of these types of districts are state legislative districts, congressional districts, and school board districts). Single-member districts are an alternative to at-large election systems, where voters within a jurisdiction use the same ballot to elect representatives for their entire jurisdiction. In at-large systems, the majority voting bloc can prevent minority voting blocs from electing their candidates of choice. However, in single-member districts, the majority voting block *within a district* elects their candidate of choice. If a district is drawn so that a group that would be a minority voting bloc within the entire jurisdiction constitutes a majority within that district, that group can elect their preferred candidate.

39. Single-member districts can increase the rates at which jurisdictions elect Black Americans (for example, see Arrington and Watts 1991; Bullock and MacManus 1993; Davidson and Grofman 1994) and Latinos (i.e., Davidson and Korbel 1981; Polinard, et al 1991; Leal, et al 2004; Abott and Magazinnik 2020). This is especially true when those jurisdictions include a large volume of minority residents and have high levels of residential segregation (Trounstone and Valdini 2008; Abott and Magazinnik 2020). Political science research has also found that single-member districts also increase minorities' substantive representation (Handley 2020; McBrayer 2020). In my review of Newburgh, it is possible to implement a single-member district plan to allow Black and Latino voters to elect their candidates of choice.

40. **Ranked-Choice Voting.** Ranked-choice voting allows voters to rank all of the candidates on a ballot in order of preference, which allows voters to express their entire set of preferences, rather than only asking them to disclose their first choice candidate, at the ballot box. Ranked choice voting typically occurs in instant runoff elections. These elections happen in rounds. If, in the first round of voting, one candidate receives a majority of votes, they win the election. If no candidates receive the majority of votes, the jurisdiction will eliminate the candidate who received the fewest number of first-choice votes and run subsequent rounds of elections until one candidate receives more than 50% of first-choice votes cast.
41. Ranked-choice voting has increased the number of female (Terrell, et al 2021), racial and ethnic minority (John, et al 2018), and third-party candidates (Simmons, et al 2022) who win elected office, by allowing candidates who represent less than a majority of first-round ballot choices to ultimately increase their support through coalitions in which they may represent a second-choice to diverse subgroups in the electorate. In my review of Newburgh, it is possible to implement a ranked-choice voting plan to allow Black and Latino voters to elect their candidates of choice.
42. **Cumulative Voting.** In cumulative voting systems, voters get a certain number of votes that they can allocate however they want across candidates; they can give one candidate all of their votes, they can split their votes between their favorite candidates, or they can choose to cast fewer than the maximum number of votes that they were allocated. If a cumulative voting system gives voters fewer votes to cast than seats that need to be filled, that system is called a *limited voting* system.
43. Research experiments suggest that cumulative voting increases minorities' turnout and the number of minority elected officials in government (Brockington, et al 1998; Gerber, et al 1998; Casella, et al 2023). A case study of one location that uses an at-large cumulative voting system, Chilton County, Alabama, supports these results: the county elected its first Black County Commissioner in 1988, the same year that the county instituted cumulative voting for its County Commission, because members of the Black community strategically allocated all of their votes to their preferred candidate (who was also Black) (Pildes and Donoghue 1995). Chilton County also saw an increase in two other underrepresented groups - Republicans and women - on its County Commission after instituting cumulative voting (Pildes and Donoghue 1995). These effects persisted in subsequent elections (Pildes and Donoghue 1995). Other research finds that cumulative voting can produce electoral outcomes that resemble the electoral outcomes that arise in instances of race-conscious districting (Bowler, et al 2003).
44. Most relevant to this specific case, cumulative voting appears to have a strong effect on changing election outcomes even when voting is racially polarized. In Chilton County, Plides and Donoghue (1995) observed little crossover voting. For example, 1.5% of White voters in Chilton County cast a vote for the Black candidate who won office in 1988. Altogether, this suggests that cumulative voting has the potential to increase descriptive representation in areas where it is impossible to draw majority-minority districts, but where minority voters' candidate preferences diverge from majority voters'. In my review of Newburgh, it is possible to implement a cumulative voting plan to allow Black and Latino voters to elect their candidates of choice.

45. **Proportional Representation System.** In proportional representation systems, political seats in government are distributed proportionate to their total vote share. One form of a proportional representation system is single-transferable voting, which allows voters to rank candidates in order of preference. If a candidate meets a pre-specified threshold of first-choice votes, they gain a seat in office. If a voter's first-choice candidate does not meet that threshold, the jurisdiction allocates their vote toward their second choice. When the number of seats up for election is sufficiently large, single transferable voting produces sets of elected officials that resemble those who would be elected in a true proportional representation system.
46. Extant research finds that proportional voting increases minority candidates' ability to win office (Cho 2014) and that single-transferable vote systems can significantly help minority representation relative to their proportion of the population (Benade, et al 2021). One study on proportional representation in the United States, *Proportional Representation and Electoral Reform in Ohio*, also finds that proportional representation decreased the inequality between the demographics of a jurisdiction and the constituencies that they represent (Barber 1995). Notably, after the jurisdictions in Ohio that had previously implemented proportional representation elections switched back to first-past-the-post elections, minority representation decreased. In my review of Newburgh, it is possible to implement a proportional representation plan to allow Black and Latino voters to elect their candidates of choice.
47. As new data or information becomes available, or if the court finds additional analyses relevant to its fact-finding, I reserve the right to update my report and opinions. I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true to the best of my personal knowledge.



Dr. Matt A. Barreto
Agoura Hills, California
June 28, 2024

Scholarly Publications Cited

- Abott, Carolyn, and Asya Magazinnik. "At-Large Elections and Minority Representation in Local Government." *American Journal of Political Science* 64, no. 3 (2020): 717–33.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/45295343>.
- Arrington, Theodore S, and Thomas Gill Watts. 1991. "The Election of Blacks to School Boards in North Carolina." *The Western Political Quarterly* 44 (4): 1099-.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/448809>.
- Barber, Kathleen L. 1995. *Proportional Representation and Election Reform in Ohio ; with a Foreword by John B. Anderson*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Benade, Gerdus and Buck, Ruth and Duchin, Moon and Gold, Dara and Weighill, Thomas, Ranked Choice Voting and Proportional Representation (February 2, 2021). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3778021> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3778021>
- Bowler, Shaun, Todd Donovan, and David Brockington. 2003. *Electoral Reform and Minority Representation : Local Experiments with Alternative Elections / Shaun Bowler, Todd Donovan, and David Brockington*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Brams, Steven J, D. Marc Kilgour, and Richard F Potthoff. 2019. "Multiwinner Approval Voting: An Apportionment Approach." *Public Choice* 178 (1/2): 67–93. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s1127-018-0609-2>.
- Brockington, David, Todd Donovan, Shaun Bowler, and Robert Brischetto. 1998. "Minority Representation under Cumulative and Limited Voting." *The Journal of Politics* 60 (4): 1108–25. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2647733>.
- Bullock, Charles S, and Susan A MacManus. 1993. "Testing Assumptions of the Totality-of-the-Circumstances Test: An Analysis of the Impact of Structures on Black Descriptive Representation." *American Politics Quarterly* 21 (3): 290–306.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X9302100304>.
- Casella, Alessandra, Jeffrey Da-Ren Guo, and Michelle Jiang. 2023. "Minority Turnout and Representation under Cumulative Voting. An Experiment." *Games and Economic Behavior* 141: 133–55. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geb.2023.05.012>.
- Cho, Seok-Ju. "Voting Equilibria Under Proportional Representation." *American Political Science Review* 108, no. 2 (2014): 281–96. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055414000136>.
- Davidson, Chandler, and Bernard Grofman. 1994. *Quiet Revolution in the South : The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-1990 / Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman, Editors*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Davidson, Chandler, and George Korbel. 1981. "At-Large Elections and Minority-Group Representation: A Re-Examination of Historical and Contemporary Evidence." *The Journal of Politics* 43 (4): 982–1005. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2130184>.
- Gerber, Elisabeth R, Rebecca B Morton, and Thomas A Rietz. 1998. "Minority Representation in Multimember Districts." *American Political Science Review* 92 (1): 127–44.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2585933>.
- Handley, Lisa. 2022. "Drawing Electoral Districts to Promote Minority Representation." *Representation (McDougall Trust)* 58 (3): 373–89.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00344893.2020.1815076>.
- John, Sarah, Haley Smith, and Elizabeth Zack. 2018. "The Alternative Vote: Do Changes in Single-Member Voting Systems Affect Descriptive Representation of Women and Minorities?" *Electoral Studies* 54: 90–102. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2018.05.009>.

- Leal, David L, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and Kenneth J Meier. 2004. "The Politics of Latino Education: The Biases of At-Large Elections." *The Journal of Politics* 66 (4): 1224–44. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-3816.2004.00297.x>.
- McBrayer, Markie. 2020. "Translating Descriptive Representation into Substantive Representation: The Role of Electoral Institutions in Urban School Districts in Texas." *Urban Affairs Review (Thousand Oaks, Calif.)* 56 (6): 1687–1714. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087419844028>.
- Richard H. Pildes; Kristen A. Donoghue, "Cumulative Voting in the United States," University of Chicago Legal Forum 1995 (1995): 241-314
- Santucci, Jack. 2018. "Maine Ranked-Choice Voting as a Case of Electoral-System Change." *Representation (McDougall Trust)* 54 (3): 297–311. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344893.2018.1502208>.
- Polinard, Jerry L, Robert D Wrinkle, and Tomás Longoria. 1991. "The Impact of District Elections on the Mexican American Community: The Electoral Perspective." *Social Science Quarterly* 72 (3): 608–14.
- Simmons, Alan James, Manuel Gutierrez, and John E Transue. 2022. "Ranked-Choice Voting and the Potential for Improved Electoral Performance of Third-Party Candidates in America." *American Politics Research* 50 (3): 366–78. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X211072388>.
- Terrell, Cynthia Richie, Courtney Lamendola, and Maura Reilly. 2021. "Election Reform and Women's Representation: Ranked Choice Voting in the U.S." *Politics and Governance* 9 (2 S2): 332–43. <https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v9i2.3924>.
- Trounstone, Jessica, and Melody E Valdini. 2008. "The Context Matters: The Effects of Single-Member versus At-Large Districts on City Council Diversity." *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (3): 554–69. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00329.x>.

Appendix A: Confidence Intervals for Ecological Inference Tables

Table 1: Town of Newburgh Confidence Intervals for Kings Iterative Ecological Inference and Row by Column (RxC) Models Using White and Non-White as Inputs

Year	Office	Candidate	White – EI [Lower]	White – EI [Upper]	Non-White – EI [Lower]	Non-White – EI [Upper]	White – RxC [Lower]	White – RxC [Upper]	Non-White – RxC [Lower]	Non-White – RxC [Upper]
2022	Attorney General	James	25.4	27.9	89.3	94.8	24.8	39.4	63.6	95.4
		Henry	71.3	74.8	3.4	9.8	60.6	75.2	4.6	36.4
	State Comptroller	DiNapoli	27.5	30.7	89.8	95.7	27.2	43.8	59.5	95.5
		Rodriguez	70.1	72.6	3.4	9.6	56.2	72.8	4.5	40.5
	Governor / Lt. Governor	Hochul / Delgado	23.6	27.3	86.4	93	22.9	37.7	62.7	94.8
		Zeldin / Esposito	72.9	76.8	0.3	12.6	62.3	77.1	5.2	37.3
	U.S. Representative #18	Ryan	25.4	30.3	86	94.4	25.3	38.9	65.5	95.1
		Schmitt	69.9	74.9	3.7	12.1	61.1	74.7	4.9	34.5
	Orange County Sheriff	Rivers	8	16.5	64	78.7	3.3	11.9	71	90.3
		Arteta*	84.2	92	18.6	35.6	88.1	96.7	9.7	29
2021	Newburgh Town Council	Schumer	26.1	29.2	90.8	99.9	25.8	40.5	63.9	95.9
		Pinion	72.1	74.3	2.9	8.7	59.5	74.2	4.1	36.1
		Smith	6.4	11.2	33.7	46.7	5.7	16.1	22.2	50.2
		Blancato Horton	7.1	11.7	36.9	47.6	6.1	17.6	20.4	51.5
	Orange County Clerk	Greene*	39.3	42.5	6.5	15	34.3	42.6	5.6	27.4
		Ruggiero*	39.6	40.9	4.9	9.6	33.4	41.5	5	25.8
		Grice	16.9	22.1	78.9	93.2	16.2	29.2	60.8	94.5
		Eskew*	77.9	82.9	6.1	18.9	70.8	83.8	5.5	39.2
2020	State Assembly #104	Jacobson	14.4	21.1	73.8	86.6	9.7	19.9	76.3	95.6
		Gauzza	79.5	85.6	13.1	27.7	80.1	90.3	4.4	23.7
	Newburgh Town Council	Steger	25	27.7	90	96.6	24.7	40.4	66.9	96.1
		LoBiondo*	72.1	74.9	4.7	9.2	59.6	75.3	3.9	33.1
	Orange County Court Judge	Trachte	24.9	28.4	81.2	89	20.5	41.2	56.4	96.1
		Kim*	71.9	75.3	11.7	19.1	58.8	79.5	3.9	43.6
	President	Biden	30.6	33.2	94.8	95.1	30.9	45.2	70	96.9
		Trump	67.7	67.8	1.7	6.1	54.8	69.1	3.1	30
	U.S. Representative #18	Maloney	35.7	36.4	96.2	97.5	36.2	51.3	68.1	96.3
		Farley	63.5	64	2.9	4.2	48.7	63.8	3.7	31.9
2019	Newburgh Town Clerk	Campos	25.6	27.9	90.5	98.4	25.5	38.4	64.9	95.9
		Pedi*	72.6	74.3	1.3	8.2	61.6	74.5	4.1	35
	Newburgh Town Council	Steger	8.4	14	57.9	69.9	6.5	18.5	45.9	76.9
		Manly*	42.4	45.8	14.8	24.2	38.9	49.4	6.8	33.5

Year	Office	Candidate	White – EI [Lower]	White – EI [Upper]	Non-White – EI [Lower]	Non-White – EI [Upper]	White – Rx [Lower]	White – Rx [Upper]	Non-White – Rx [Lower]	Non-White – Rx [Upper]
		Presutti*	43	46.1	10	19.5	36.9	47.9	7.1	34.9
2018	Attorney General	James	28.9	30.6	95.4	99.6	30	43.5	69	96.4
		Wofford	68.3	71.2	0.8	2.3	56.5	70	3.6	31
	State Assembly #104	Jacobson	21.2	23.9	93.4	96.2	21.3	34	70	96.2
		Manly	77	78.8	0.2	6.7	66	78.7	3.8	30
	State Comptroller	DiNapoli	33.8	33.9	99.5	99.8	33.7	39.4	88.4	98.5
		Trichter	66	66.1	0.3	0.6	60.6	66.3	1.5	11.6
	Governor / Lt. Governor	Cuomo / Hochul	23	26.4	92.7	98.7	23.8	36.8	69.6	96.1
		Molinaro / Killian	74	76.6	0.9	8.6	63.2	76.2	3.9	30.4
	U.S. Representative #18	Maloney	32.7	35.2	94	98.5	33.9	47	69.5	96.2
		ODonnell	64.7	67.1	0.8	5.3	53	66.1	3.8	30.5
	U.S. Senate	Gillibrand	33.2	35.5	94.5	99.9	35	48.1	69.1	95.6
		Farley	64.1	66.8	0.2	5.1	51.9	65	4.4	30.9
2017	Orange County Clerk	Mulqueen	24.7	28.2	81.7	91.6	22.3	36.6	61.9	96.4
		Rabbitt*	71.9	75.9	8.1	17.3	63.4	77.7	3.6	38.1
	Orange County District Attorney	Isgur	18.1	21.7	83.1	93	16.9	31.3	60.5	95
		Hoovler*	78.3	81.9	7.4	15.8	68.7	83.1	5	39.5
	Orange County Executive	Davis	20.4	26.8	75.7	93.1	18.7	34.2	57.2	94.6
		Neuhaus*	72.9	79.4	8.7	27.2	65.8	81.3	5.4	42.8
2016	State Assembly #104	Banuchi	33.8	35.4	3.4	6.1	18.2	34.5	5.6	38
		Skatardos	64.6	66.1	93.5	96.9	65.5	81.8	62	94.4
	Orange County Court Judge	Brockett	20.9	26.4	81.2	94.3	19.8	34.5	65.7	95.9
		Freehill*	73	78.9	6.8	16.7	65.5	80.2	4.1	34.3
	President	Clinton	25.1	28.5	88.7	96	25.1	40.5	64.2	95.8
		Trump	71.3	74.3	4	11.1	59.5	74.9	4.2	35.8
	U.S. Representative #18	Maloney	38.5	42.9	88.9	96.3	38.7	57.1	56.9	94.7
		Oliva	57.6	62.1	3	10.7	42.9	61.3	5.3	43.1
	U.S. Senate	Schumer	44.8	45.3	95.7	96	44.9	60.3	63.2	95.1
		Long	55.1	55.4	5.1	8.1	39.7	55.1	4.9	36.8
2013	Newburgh Town Supervisor	Maniscalchi	66.9	68.1	7.2	16.4	56.6	68.0	10.6	71.0
		Booth*	31.9	33.5	85.2	92.9	32.0	43.4	29.0	89.4
	Newburgh Town Tax Receiver and Assessor	Giltard	74.8	75.1	7.2	7.4	64.4	74.9	8.4	59.3
		Smith*	25.1	25.2	92.6	92.8	25.1	35.6	40.7	91.6
	Newburgh Town Council	McCormick	15.8	15.9	98.0	99.9	16.2	25.0	53.6	94.9
		Greene*	82.9	84.2	0.1	1.0	75.0	83.8	5.1	46.4

Year	Office	Candidate	White – EI [Lower]	White – EI [Upper]	Non- White – EI [Lower]	Non- White – EI [Upper]	White – RxC [Lower]	White – RxC [Upper]	Non- White – RxC [Lower]	Non- White – RxC [Upper]
2011		Tirado	13.4	16.7	30.4	50.2	14.4	21.2	8.4	44.5
		Ruggiero*	6.4	6.5	66.5	67.2	8.9	16.0	13.1	52.6
	Newburgh Town Supervisor	Krasner	32.1	32.7	0.1	0.2	27.5	32.5	3.6	28.0
		Booth*	10.8	11.4	0.5	7.3	7.3	11.6	4.5	27.4
	Newburgh Town Council	Corbin	31.9	32.0	0.2	0.5	26.6	31.8	4.1	29.8
		Tirado	10.5	12.9	44.9	55.0	10.8	18.7	14.2	54.0
		Woolsey*	37.8	40.2	0.0	0.8	34.6	39.9	3.5	28.6
		MacEntee	8.9	9.1	59.5	60.7	9.1	17.5	17.0	59.4
		Piaquidio*	35.4	37.0	0.0	0.1	31.0	36.6	3.9	30.1

Table 2: Town of Newburgh Confidence Intervals for Kings Iterative Ecological Inference and Row by Column (RxC) Models Using White, Black, and Latino as Inputs

Year	Office	Candidate	White – EI [Lower]	White – EI [Upper]	Black – EI [Lower]	Black – EI [Upper]	Latino – EI [Lower]	Latino – EI [Upper]	White – RxC [Lower]	White – RxC [Upper]	Black – RxC [Lower]	Black – RxC [Upper]	Latino – RxC [Lower]	Latino – RxC [Upper]
2022	Attorney General	James	25.5	28.2	86.6	99.6	75.3	99.9	28.9	43.4	55.6	93.7	37.2	95.5
		Henry	72.4	74.7	0.3	0.9	0.0	6.4	56.6	71.1	6.3	44.4	4.5	62.8
	State Comptroller	DiNapoli	27.5	30.6	98.4	99.7	82.4	99.9	32.7	48.5	52.6	94.0	27.7	90.6
		Rodriguez	70.3	72.9	0.2	1.2	0.0	0.6	51.5	67.3	6.0	47.4	9.4	72.3
	Governor / Lt. Governor	Hochul / Delgado	24.2	27.4	94.2	99.7	83.9	100.0	27.6	44.0	52.3	92.6	24.6	94.3
		Zeldin / Esposito	73.3	76.8	0.3	1.1	0.0	6.1	56.0	72.4	7.4	47.7	5.7	75.4
	U.S. Representative #18	Ryan	25.5	29.8	95.7	99.7	75.4	99.8	29.9	44.8	54.2	93.1	36.1	92.7
		Schmitt	70.8	74.6	0.2	9.0	0.1	0.2	55.2	70.1	6.9	45.8	7.3	63.9
	Orange County Sheriff	Rivers	8.3	16.2	96.3	100.0	96.5	99.8	5.6	18.8	49.8	91.8	39.6	93.3
		Arteta	84.0	92.1	0.2	0.9	0.1	0.4	81.2	94.4	8.2	50.2	6.7	60.4
2021	Newburgh Town Council	Schumer	26.0	29.0	94.4	99.7	73.3	100.0	31.8	46.1	54.7	93.7	30.1	90.6
		Pinion	72.0	74.2	0.2	1.1	0.0	3.8	53.9	68.2	6.3	45.3	9.4	69.9
		Blancato Horton	7.4	11.9	53.8	64.1	87.9	98.6	8.9	17.4	18.0	58.7	7.2	56.4
		Smith	7.1	12.5	52.2	66.7	97.7	97.8	7.3	16.5	13.9	52.1	10.3	68.0
	Orange County Clerk	Greene	39.3	42.5	1.6	3.0	0.3	0.8	34.0	40.9	4.5	28.8	6.0	43.5
		Ruggiero	39.6	41.0	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.2	33.2	39.9	4.2	27.5	5.4	37.7
		Grice	16.8	22.0	99.2	99.7	78.1	99.9	20.3	33.0	52.9	92.6	30.9	91.4
		Eskew	77.0	83.5	0.2	1.1	0.0	1.6	67.0	79.7	7.4	47.1	8.6	69.1
	State Assembly #104	Jacobson	14.4	20.9	91.6	99.7	96.3	99.8	14.3	29.6	55.6	94.0	47.1	92.9
		Gauzza	78.9	85.8	0.3	1.7	0.2	3.2	70.4	85.7	6.0	44.4	7.1	52.9
2020	Newburgh Town Council	Steger	24.6	27.9	92.7	99.7	98.4	99.2	30.0	46.4	57.4	95.0	39.2	93.1
		LoBiondo	72.0	74.7	0.1	0.4	0.1	5.6	53.6	70.0	5.0	42.6	6.9	60.8
	Orange County Court Judge	Trachte	25.2	28.2	91.1	98.9	82.2	99.9	26.8	44.1	50.9	92.7	33.2	94.0
		Kim	71.6	75.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	7.4	55.9	73.2	7.3	49.1	6.0	66.8
	President	Biden	30.7	33.0	97.0	99.7	82.3	99.8	37.4	54.5	55.9	95.1	34.5	92.0
		Trump	67.7	67.8	0.3	5.5	0.1	2.1	45.5	62.6	4.9	44.1	8.0	65.5
		Maloney	35.9	36.5	99.2	99.9	78.6	99.7	42.0	58.9	54.4	93.7	34.3	92.2

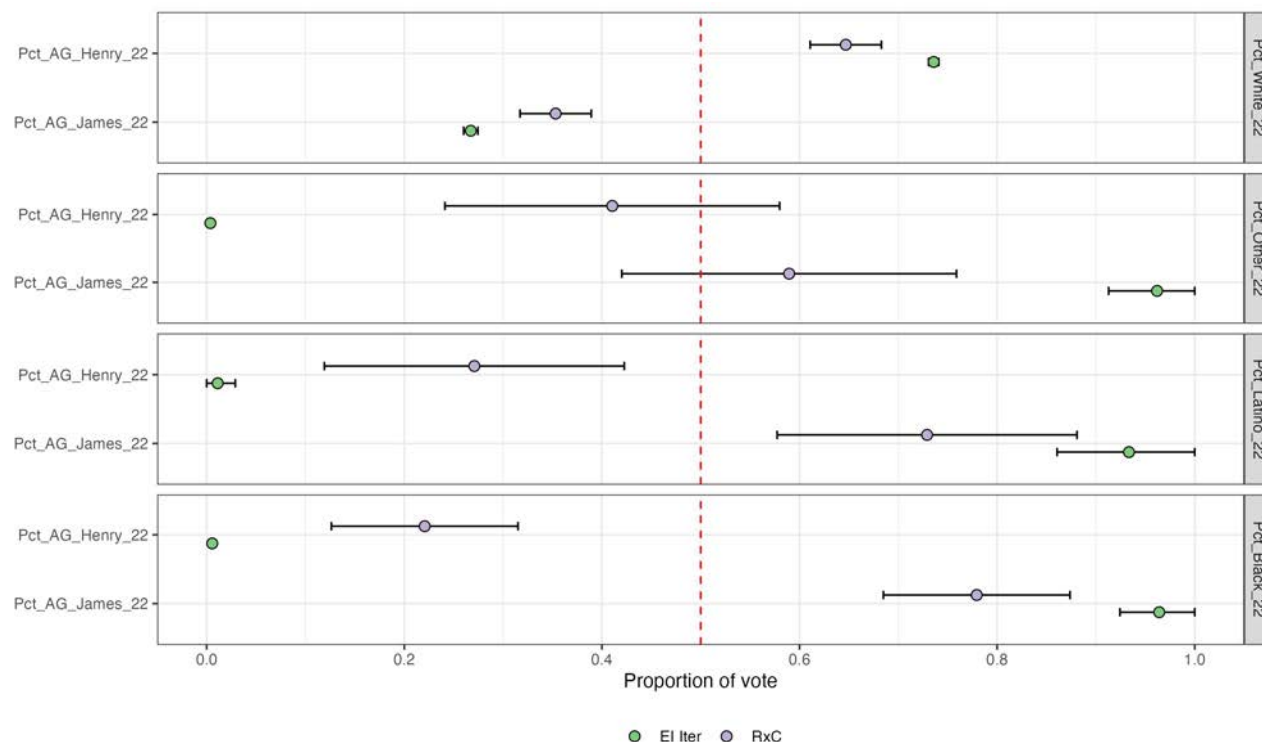
Year	Office	Candidate	White – EI [Lower]	White – EI [Upper]	Black – EI [Lower]	Black – EI [Upper]	Latino – EI [Lower]	Latino – EI [Upper]	White – RxC [Lower]	White – RxC [Upper]	Black – RxC [Lower]	Black – RxC [Upper]	Latino – RxC [Lower]	Latino – RxC [Upper]
	U.S. Representative #18	Farley	63.5	64.0	0.1	0.4	0.0	1.4	41.1	58.0	6.3	45.6	7.8	65.7
2019	Newburgh Town Clerk	Campos	25.4	27.8	99.0	99.7	83.9	99.9	30.6	42.9	57.3	93.8	30.3	89.7
		Pedi	72.5	74.4	0.3	0.8	0.1	30.1	57.1	69.4	6.2	42.7	10.3	69.7
	Newburgh Town Council	Steger	8.9	13.5	82.5	92.8	98.5	100.0	12.1	22.8	41.4	80.9	15.6	69.6
		Manly	42.6	45.5	5.4	15.6	0.5	12.6	36.5	46.2	6.1	37.5	9.6	57.2
		Presutti	43.4	46.1	2.5	2.7	0.1	3.6	35.9	45.3	5.8	36.5	8.2	55.4
2018	Attorney General	James	28.8	31.3	97.1	99.8	87.8	99.6	35.5	50.6	57.7	94.1	37.4	91.1
		Wofford	68.9	71.2	0.3	0.7	0.0	5.3	49.4	64.5	5.9	42.3	8.9	62.6
	State Assembly #104	Jacobson	21.3	23.9	97.5	99.7	99.5	99.8	25.8	41.6	58.6	94.0	39.4	92.6
		Manly	77.1	78.6	0.2	0.6	0.0	7.6	58.4	74.2	6.0	41.4	7.4	60.6
	State Comptroller	DiNapoli	33.8	34.0	100.0	100.0	84.4	99.9	38.2	53.9	55.2	93.9	42.6	97.4
		Trichter	66.0	66.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3	46.1	61.8	6.1	44.8	2.6	57.4
	Governor / Lt. Governor	Cuomo / Hochul	23.1	27.1	99.3	99.8	64.0	100.0	28.8	43.8	59.5	93.8	40.6	91.4
		Molinaro / Killian	73.9	77.1	0.3	1.0	0.0	10.4	56.2	71.2	6.2	40.5	8.6	59.4
	U.S. Representative #18	Maloney	32.9	35.3	92.5	99.7	87.2	99.9	39.3	53.6	60.4	94.6	35.8	91.0
		ODonnell	64.8	66.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	46.4	60.7	5.4	39.6	9.0	64.2
	U.S. Senate	Gillibrand	33.2	35.6	98.4	99.8	82.4	99.9	39.8	54.0	61.3	94.9	37.4	90.3
		Farley	64.1	66.6	0.0	2.5	0.1	3.4	46.0	60.2	5.1	38.7	9.7	62.6
2017	Orange County Clerk	Mulqueen	24.4	27.9	94.6	99.6	99.3	99.9	27.8	40.4	52.8	94.8	31.3	91.6
		Rabbitt	72.1	75.6	0.4	6.0	0.0	0.3	59.6	72.2	5.2	47.2	8.4	68.7
	Orange County District Attorney	Isgur	18.4	21.1	93.0	99.6	80.4	99.7	21.7	34.3	53.2	92.0	37.3	90.7
		Hoovler	78.3	81.9	0.3	1.1	0.3	16.9	65.7	78.3	8.0	46.8	9.3	62.7
	Orange County Executive	Davis	20.2	26.2	95.2	99.6	86.5	99.7	23.6	36.3	48.5	92.9	34.2	91.2
		Neuhaus	74.1	79.9	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.0	63.7	76.4	7.1	51.5	8.8	65.8
2016	State Assembly #104	Banuchi	33.7	35.4	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.4	16.4	29.6	6.2	39.4	7.9	58.2
		Skatardos	64.6	66.3	93.9	99.8	89.9	99.8	70.4	83.6	60.6	93.8	41.8	92.1
	Orange County Court Judge	Brockett	21.2	25.7	94.5	99.6	96.0	99.8	25.2	40.0	51.9	92.5	38.3	94.0
		Freehill	73.9	79.0	0.3	0.9	0.1	0.3	60.0	74.8	7.5	48.1	6.0	61.6

Year	Office	Candidate	White – EI [Lower]	White – EI [Upper]	Black – EI [Lower]	Black – EI [Upper]	Latino – EI [Lower]	Latino – EI [Upper]	White – RxC [Lower]	White – RxC [Upper]	Black – RxC [Lower]	Black – RxC [Upper]	Latino – RxC [Lower]	Latino – RxC [Upper]
	President	Clinton	25.3	28.3	92.9	99.8	70.4	99.6	30.8	45.3	55.1	93.3	37.2	93.2
		Trump	71.2	74.0	0.2	0.6	0.0	0.0	54.7	69.2	6.7	44.9	6.8	62.8
	U.S. Representative #18	Maloney	38.0	41.8	99.3	99.7	81.6	99.8	44.6	59.9	52.0	92.7	33.5	90.5
		Oliva	57.8	62.2	0.4	0.9	0.2	0.9	40.1	55.4	7.3	48.0	9.4	66.5
2013	Newburgh Town Supervisor	Maniscalchi	66.6	68.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	16.7	57.3	65.4	12.1	76.5	15.5	80.6
		Booth	31.9	33.5	88.7	99.8	88.2	100.0	34.6	42.7	23.5	87.9	19.4	84.5
	Newburgh Town Tax Receiver and Assessor	Giltard	74.7	75.1	0.0	11.2	0.0	23.4	64.1	72.3	10.3	69.3	12.7	74.5
		Smith	25.1	25.2	85.8	99.7	80.3	99.9	27.7	35.9	30.7	89.7	25.5	87.3
	Newburgh Town Council	McCormick	15.8	15.9	92.8	99.9	99.0	99.8	18.9	26.6	37.3	90.6	30.3	92.3
		Tirado	82.4	84.2	0.2	1.9	0.1	5.2	73.4	81.1	9.4	62.7	7.7	69.7
		Greene	13.4	16.3	47.8	70.9	91.5	99.4	16.1	20.7	4.8	43.2	6.3	44.9
		Ruggiero	6.4	6.4	96.1	99.9	92.4	99.9	11.3	15.8	11.0	50.1	7.0	48.2
2011	Newburgh Town Supervisor	Krasner	31.9	32.7	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	27.4	31.6	4.4	36.9	5.2	34.6
		Booth	31.9	32.0	1.3	2.0	0.3	0.7	26.9	30.9	3.4	34.4	4.3	39.6
	Newburgh Town Council	MacEntee	35.1	37.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.9	31.1	35.4	4.4	34.3	5.8	39.9
		Corbin	10.8	11.3	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.7	7.3	10.9	3.7	30.1	4.9	38.1
		Tirado	10.8	13.0	99.4	100.0	90.2	99.3	12.7	18.1	11.1	56.1	9.7	54.1
		Woolsey	8.9	9.2	99.1	99.9	99.0	100.0	11.7	17.3	13.1	57.9	11.1	58.6
		Piaquidio	38.1	40.2	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.4	34.6	38.8	4.2	33.4	5.0	38.7

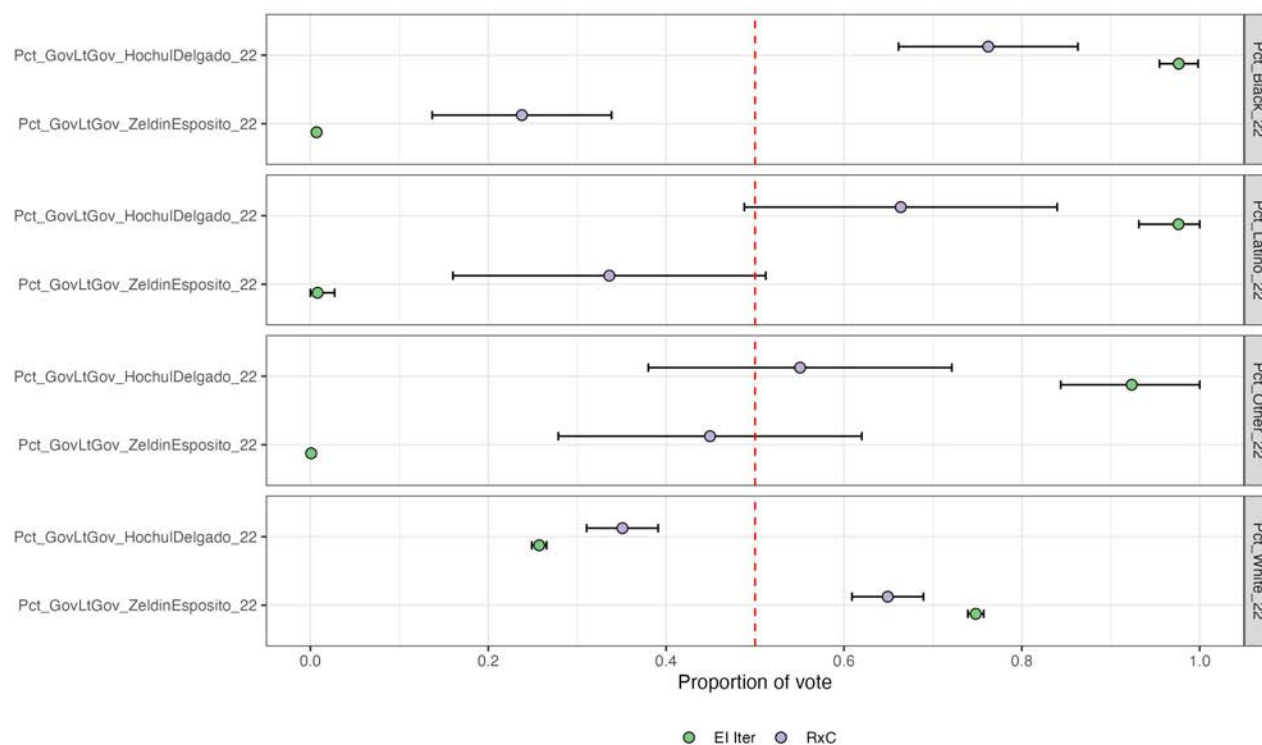
Appendix B: Plots Comparing Mean Estimates and Confidence Intervals for King's Iterative Ecological Inference (EI Iter) and Row by Column (RxC) Models

I. White, Black, Latino, And All Other Used as Inputs

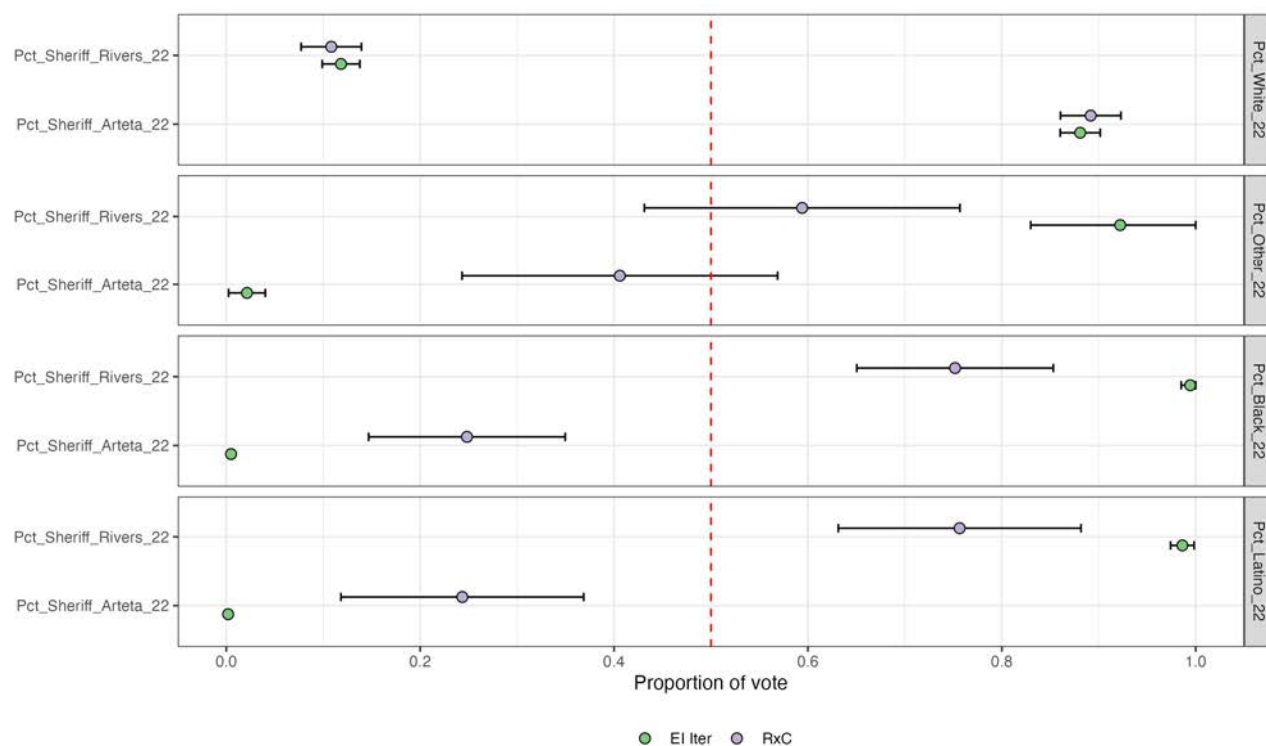
2022 Attorney General



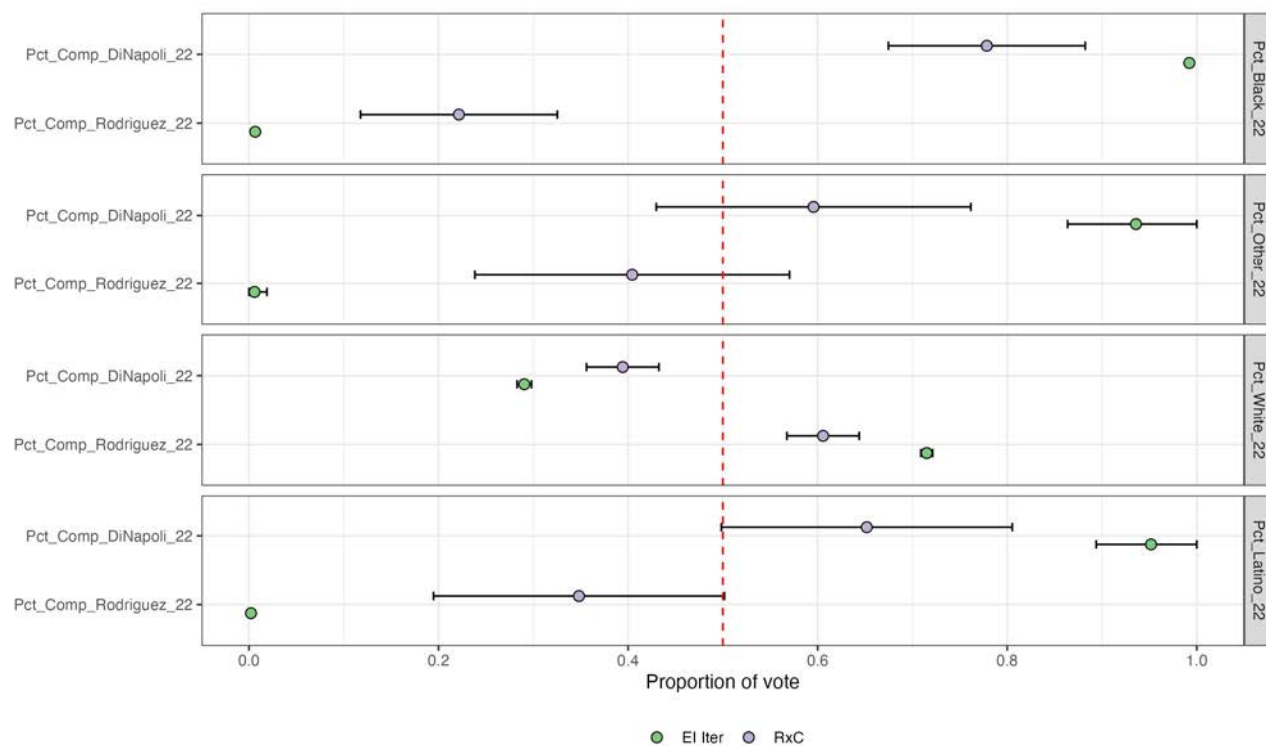
2022 Governor / Lt. Governor

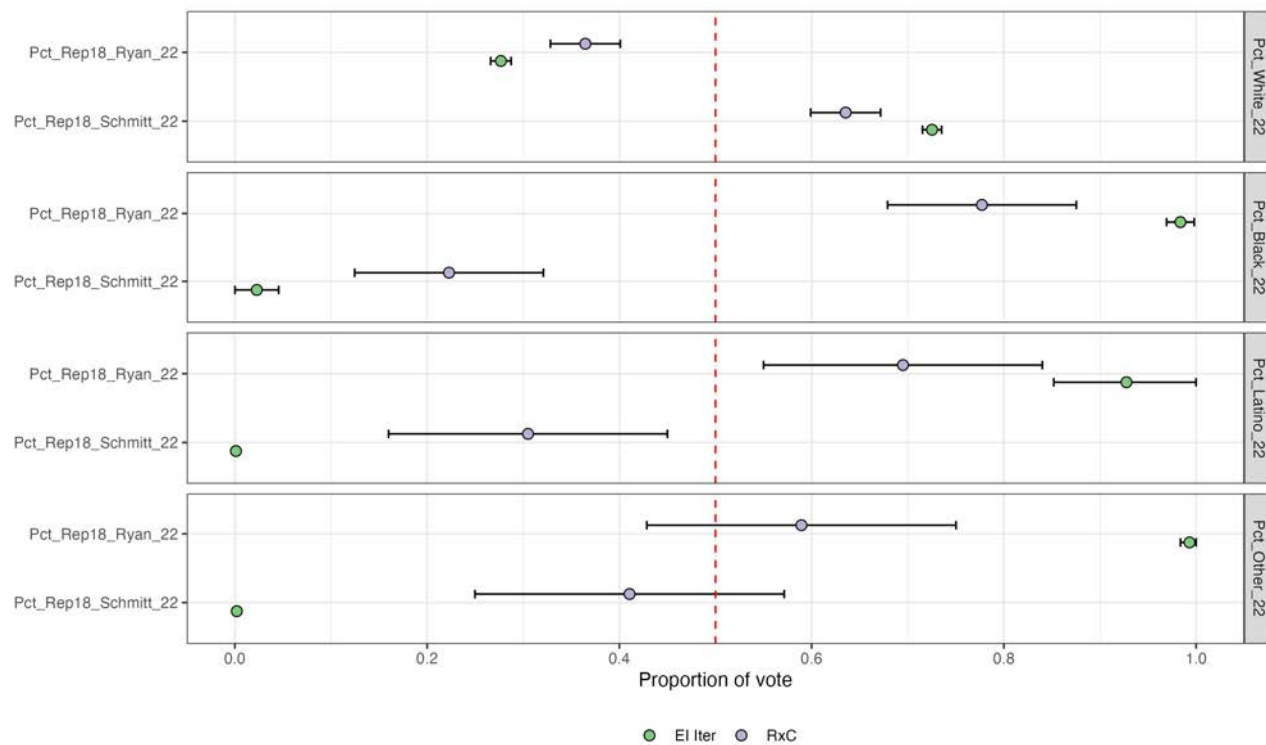
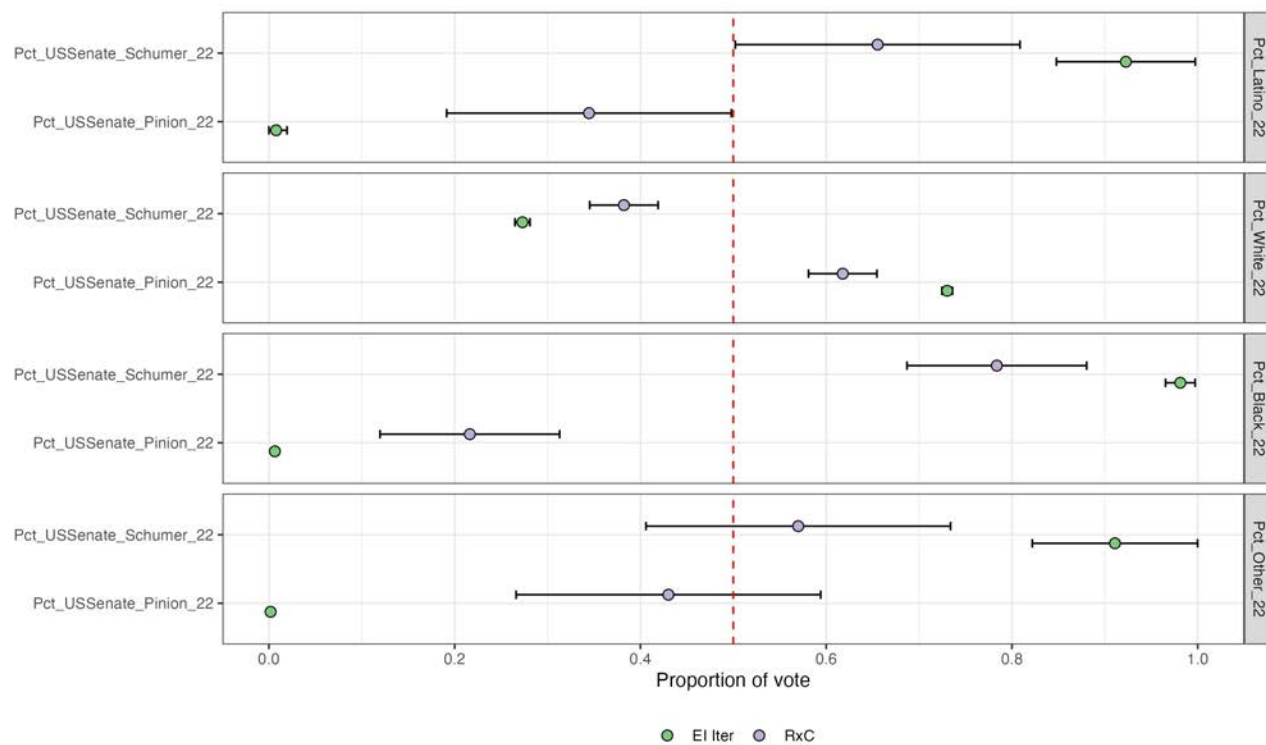


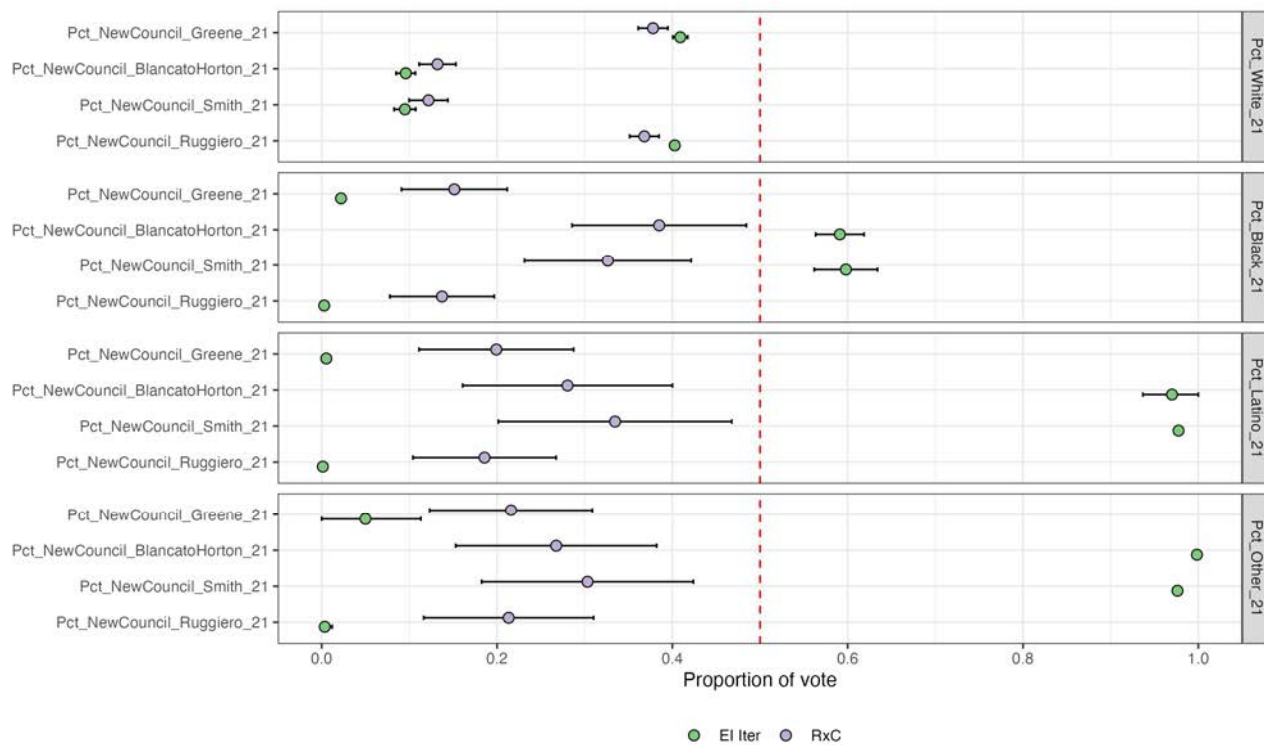
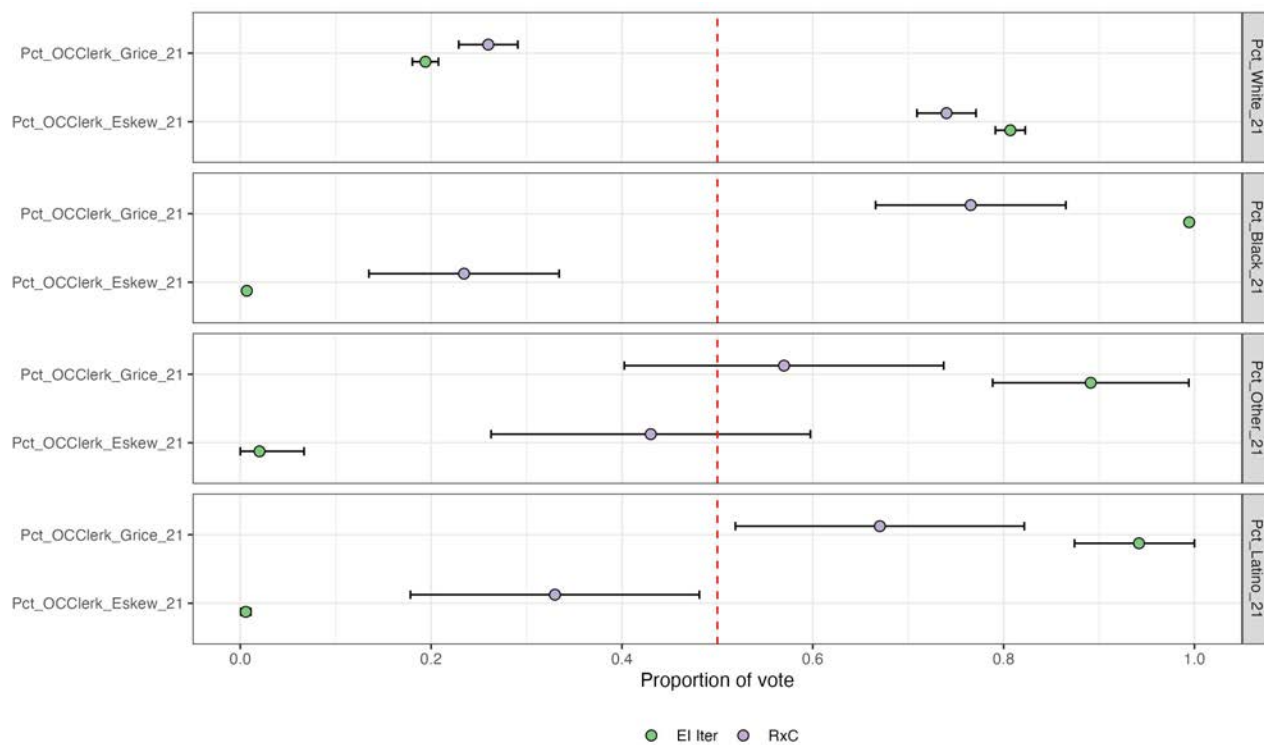
2022 Orange County Sheriff

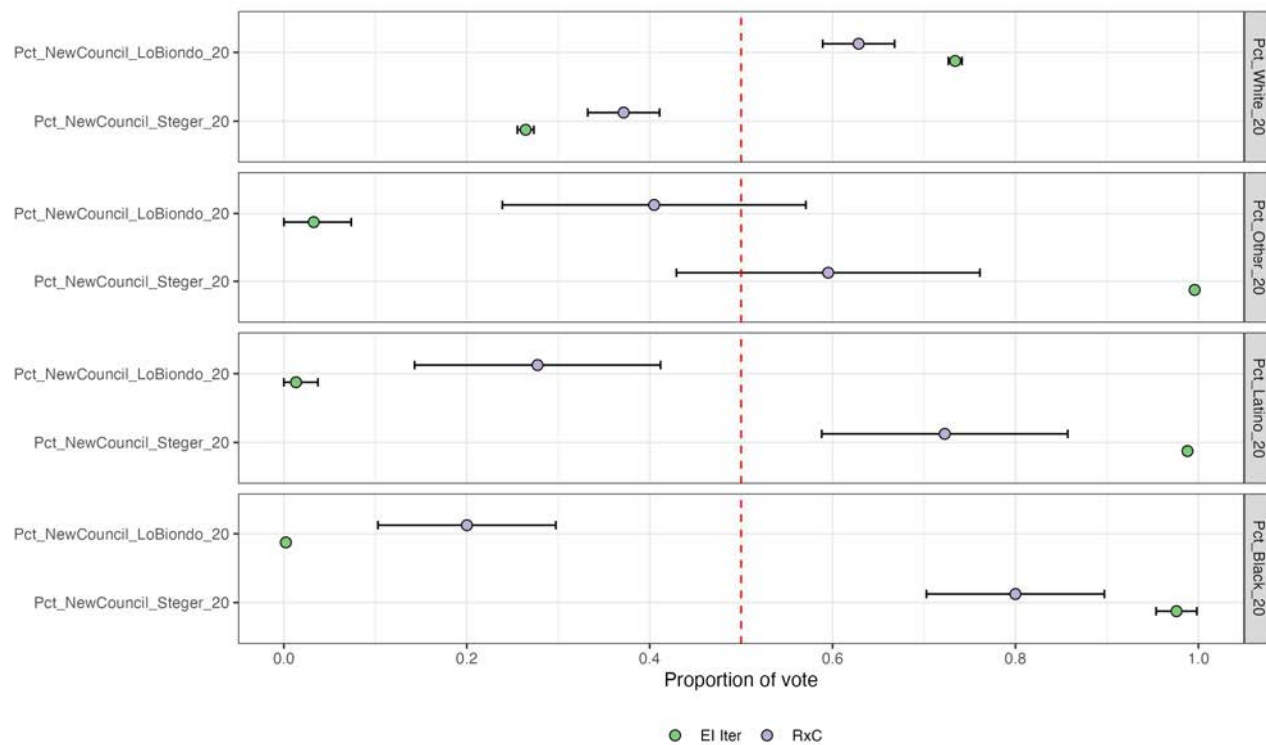
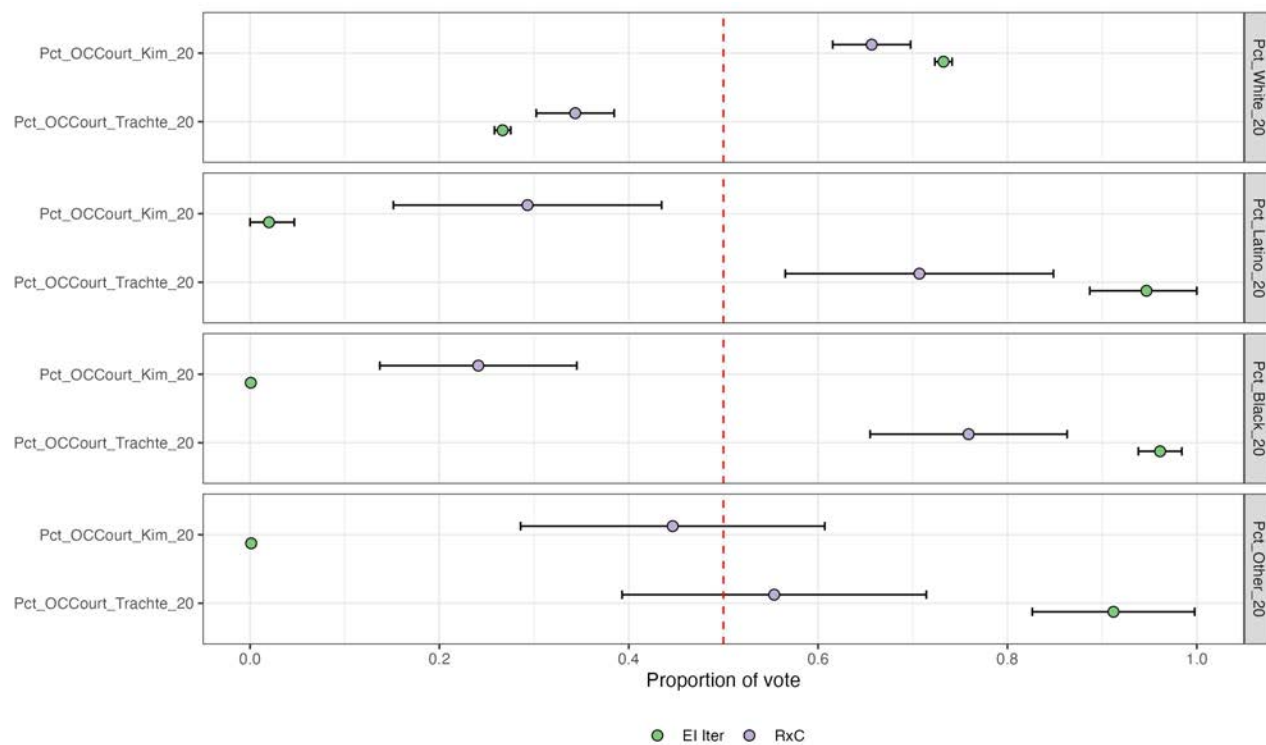


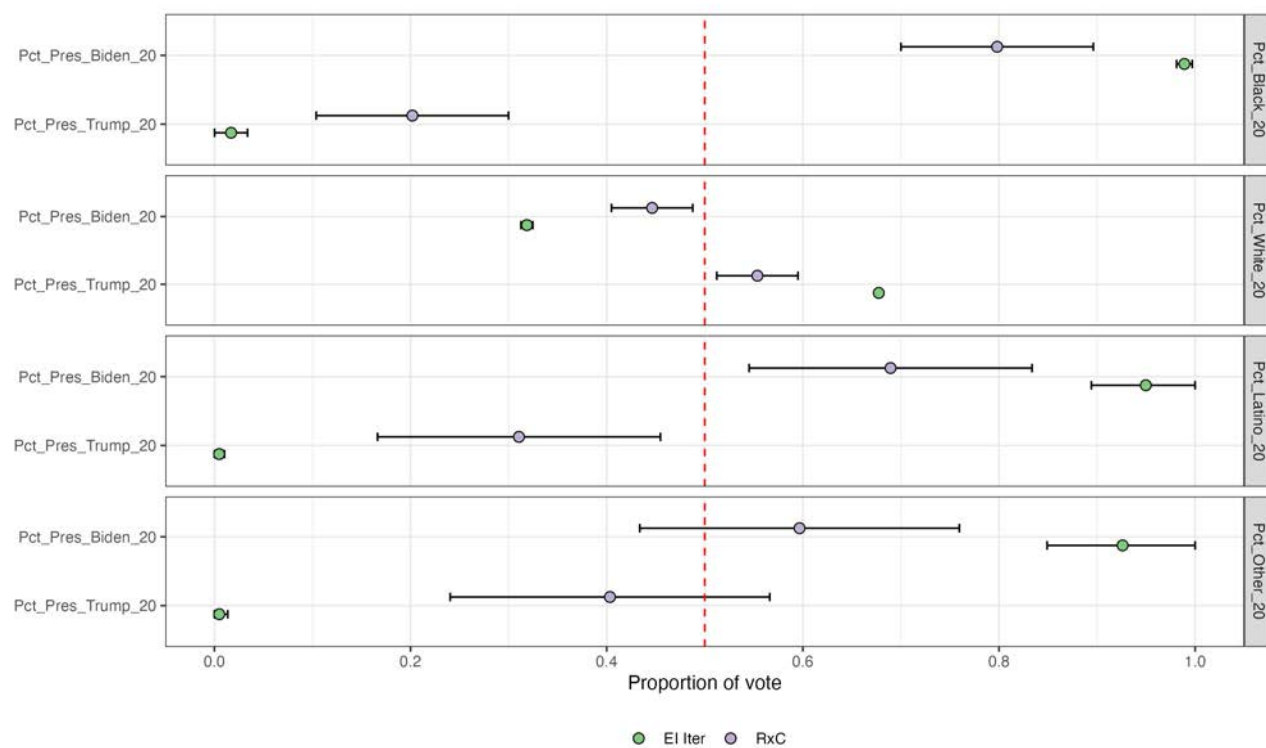
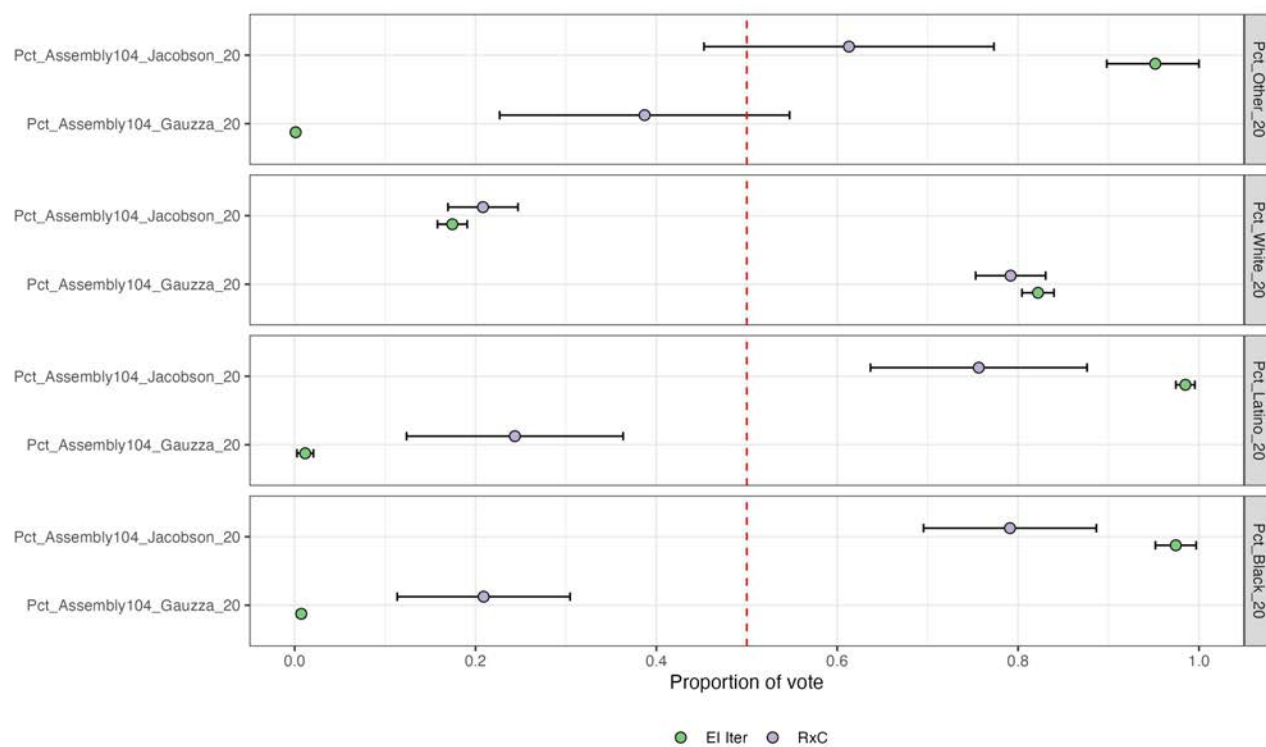
2022 State Comptroller

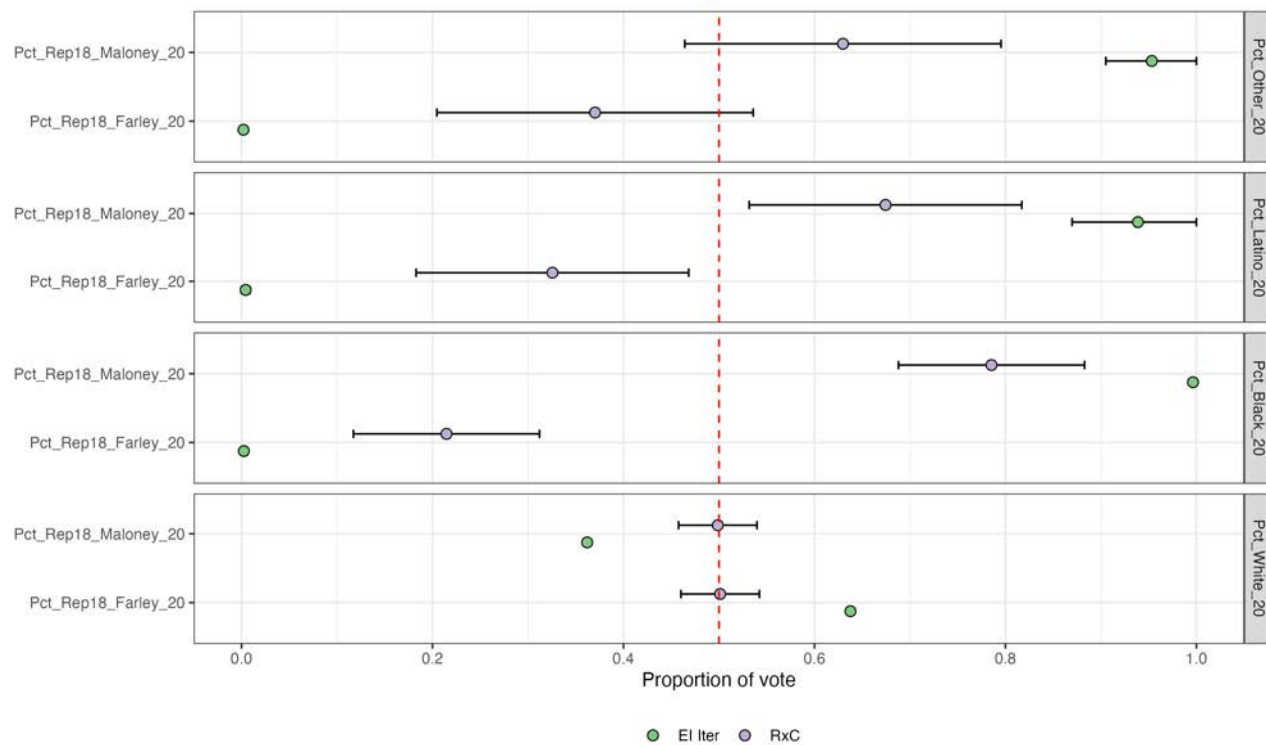
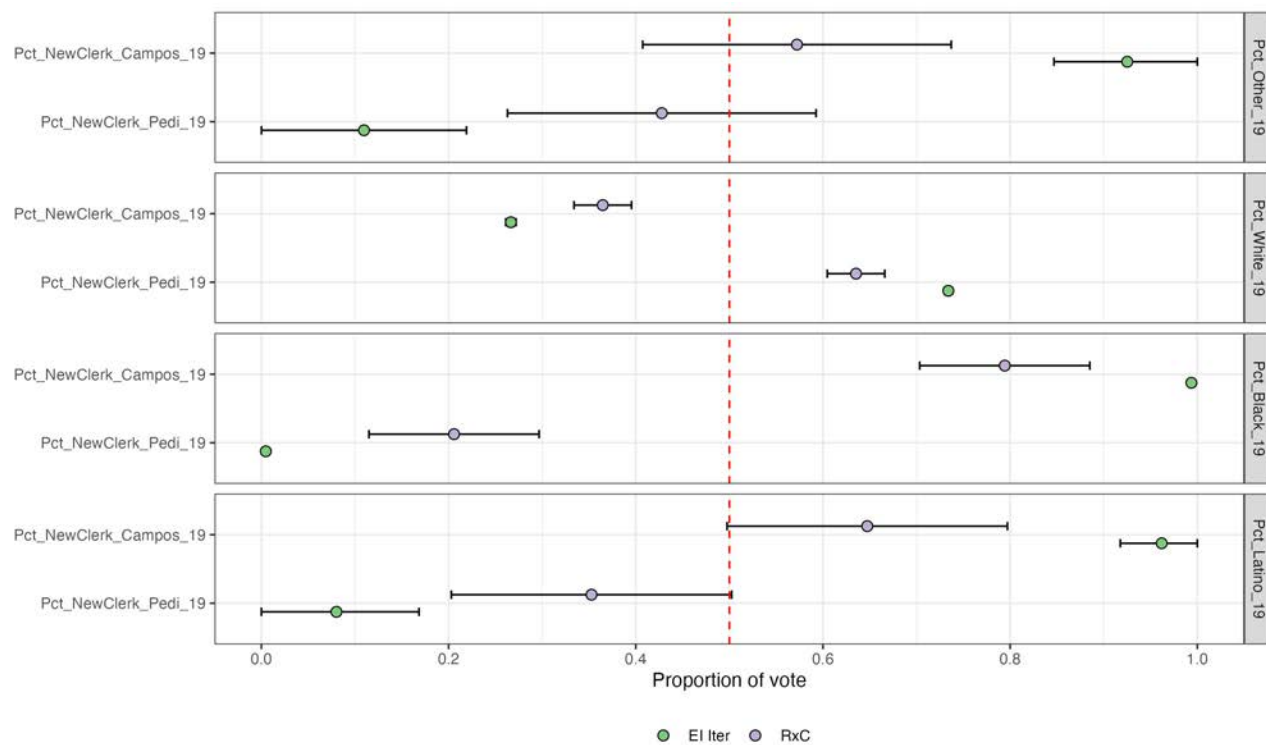


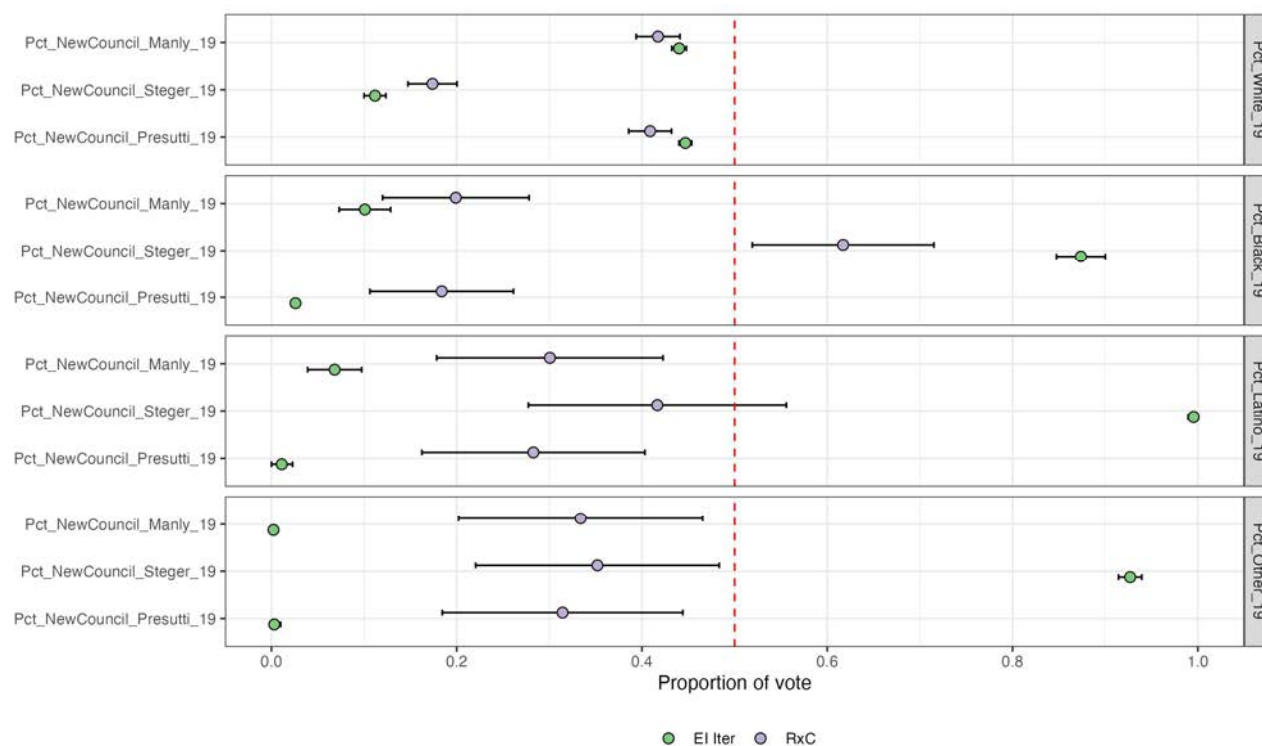
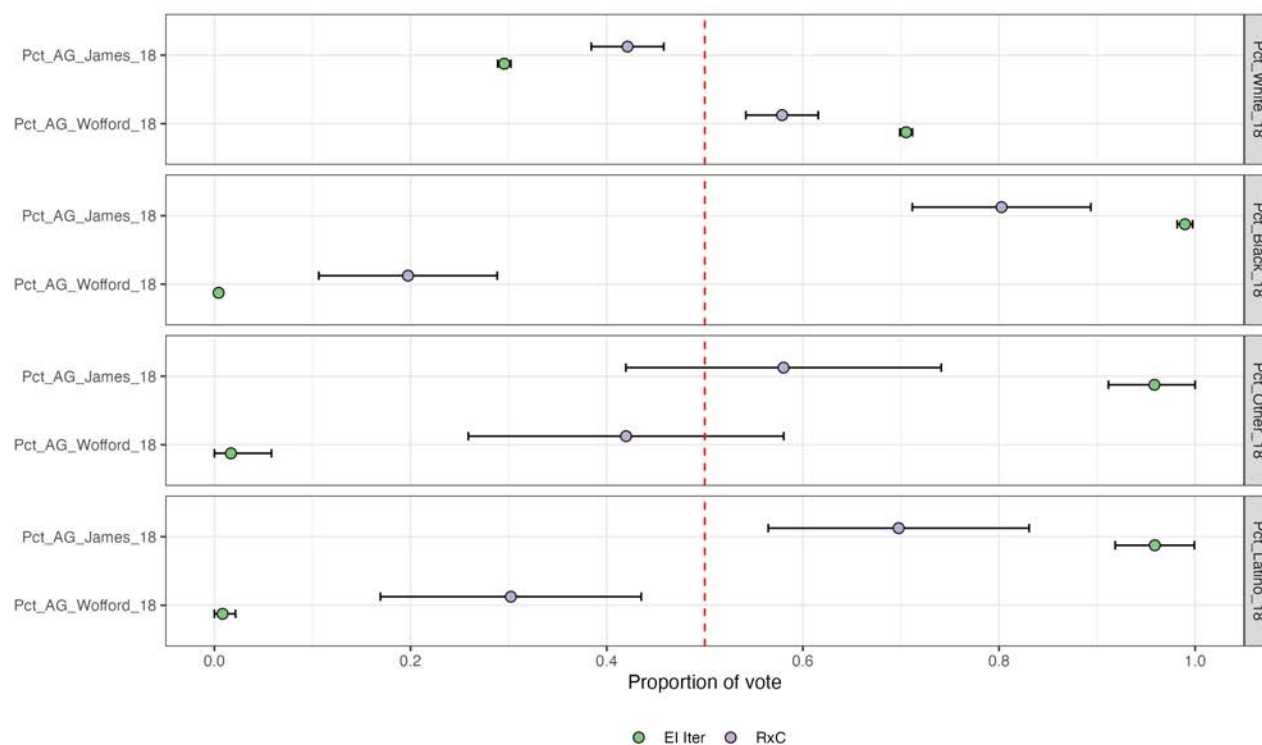
2022 U.S. Representative #18**2022 U.S. Senate**

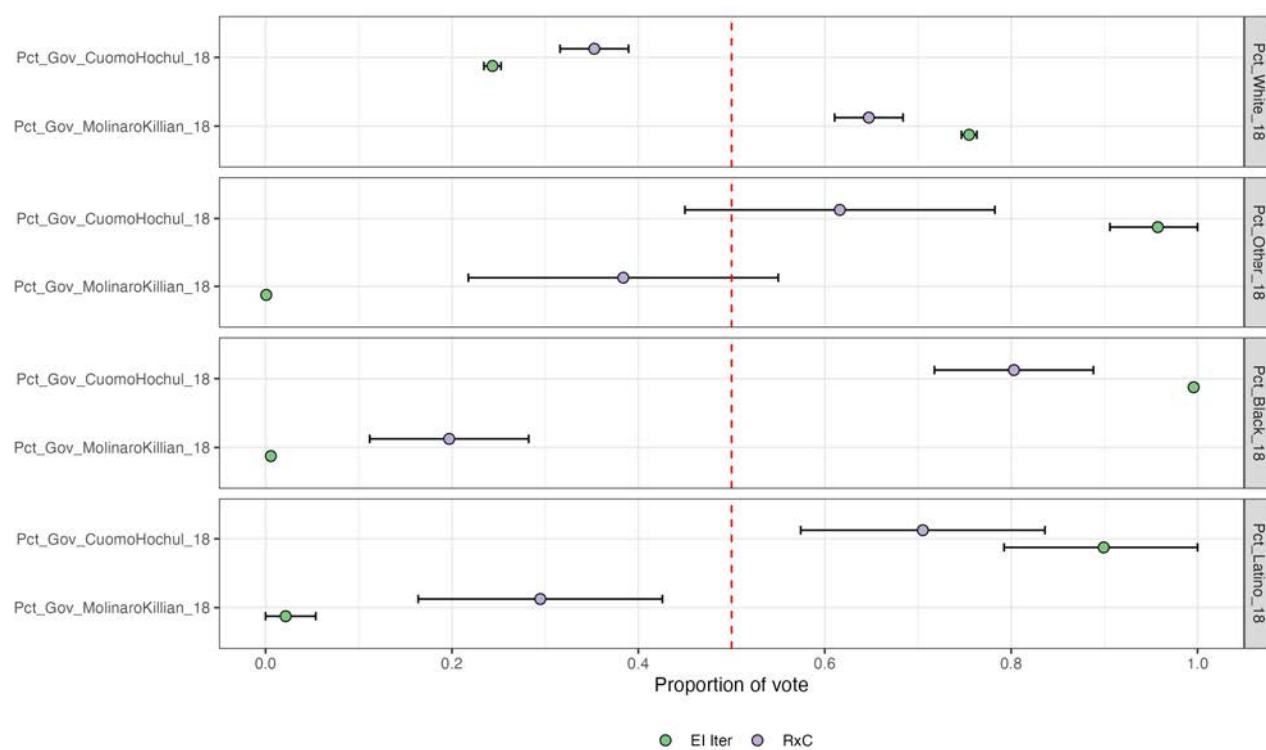
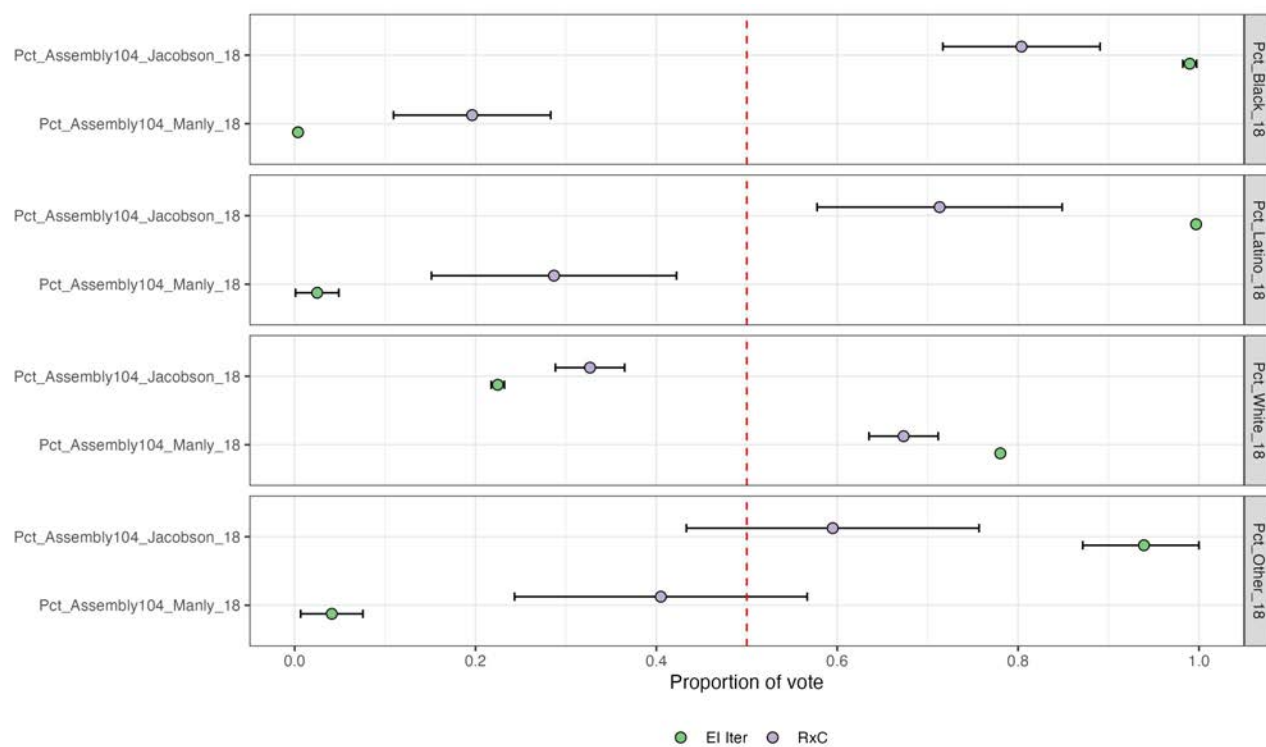
2021 Newburgh Town Council**2021 Orange County Clerk**

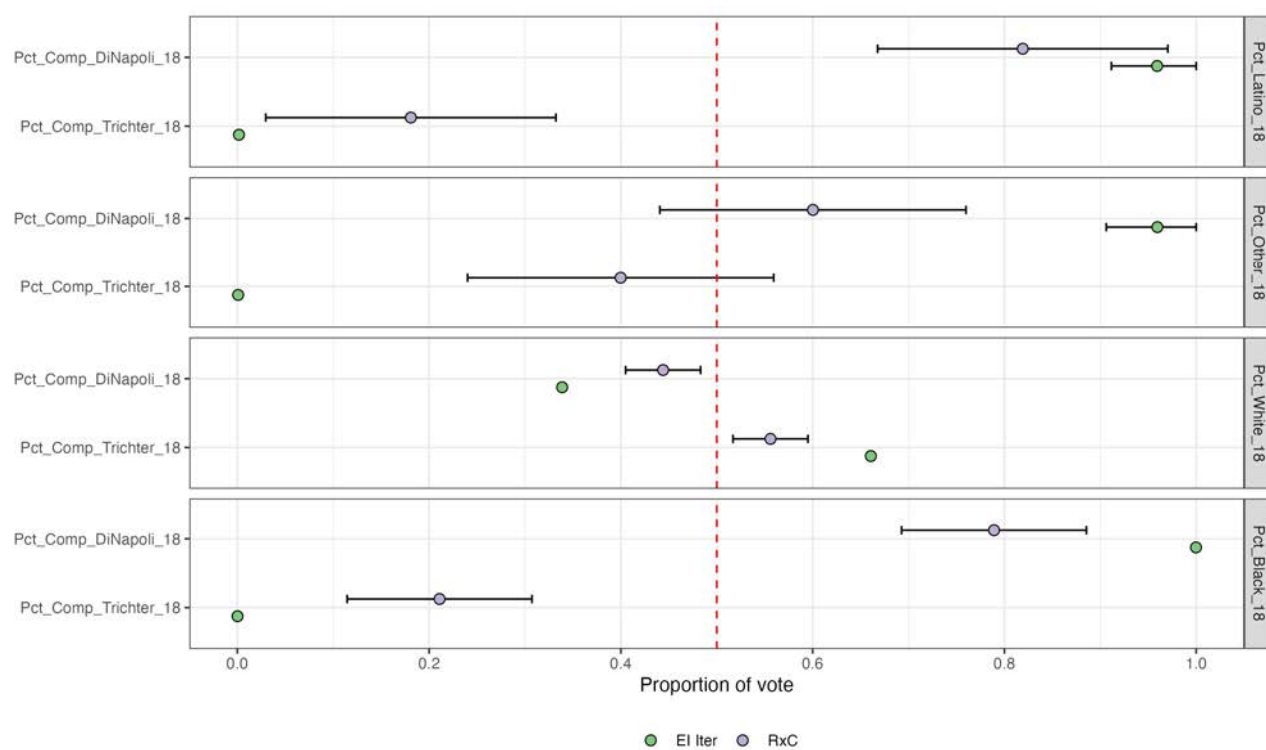
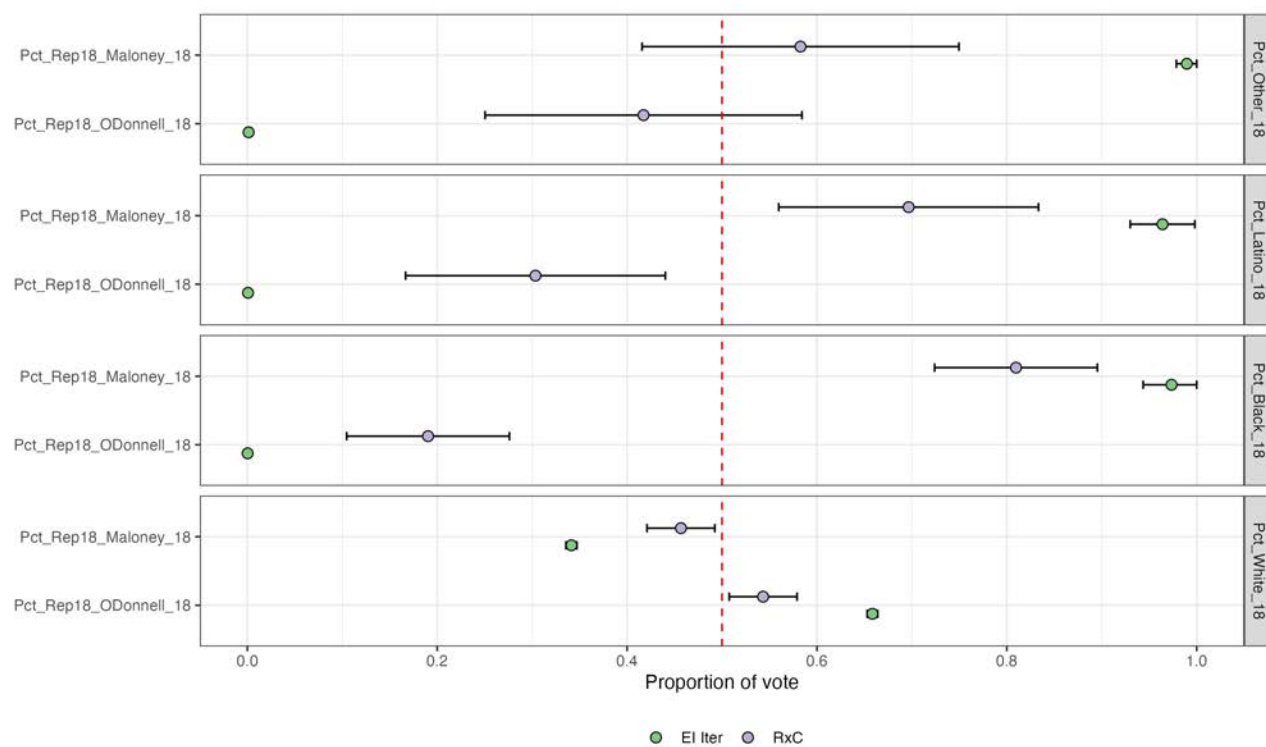
2020 Newburgh Town Council**2020 Orange County Court Judge**

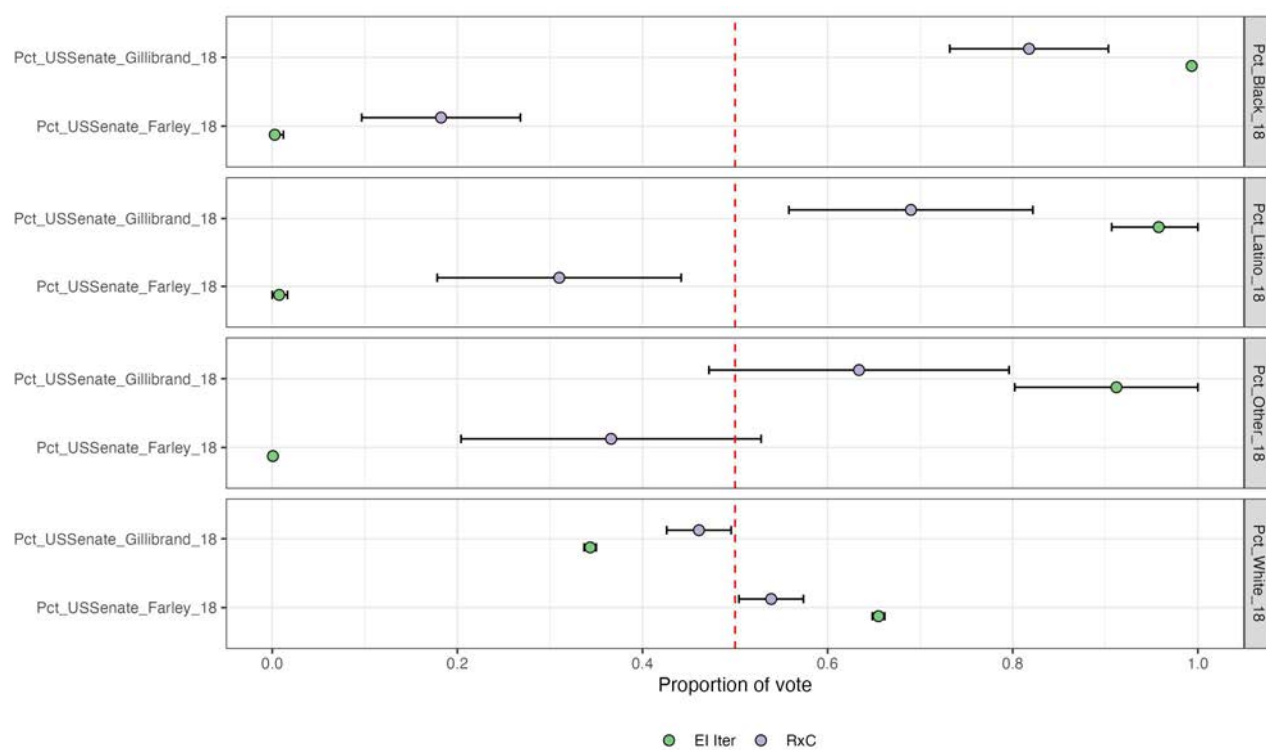
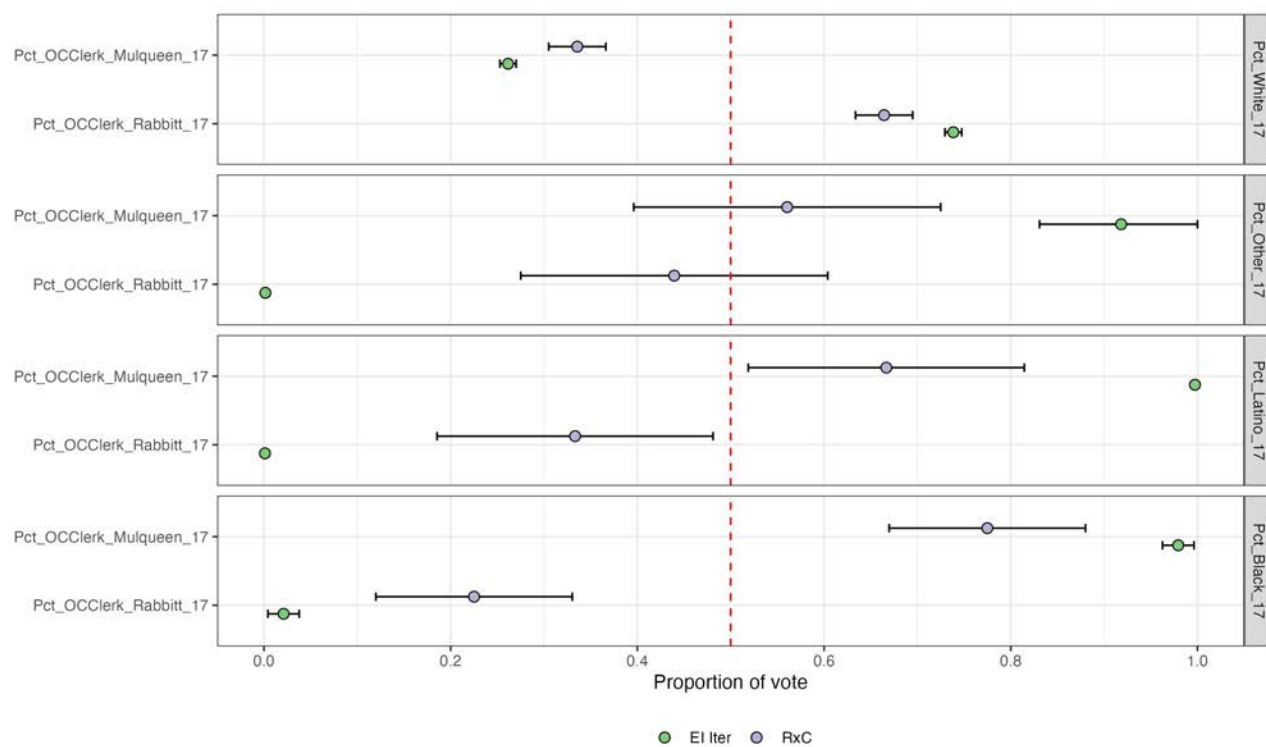
2020 President**2020 State Assembly #104**

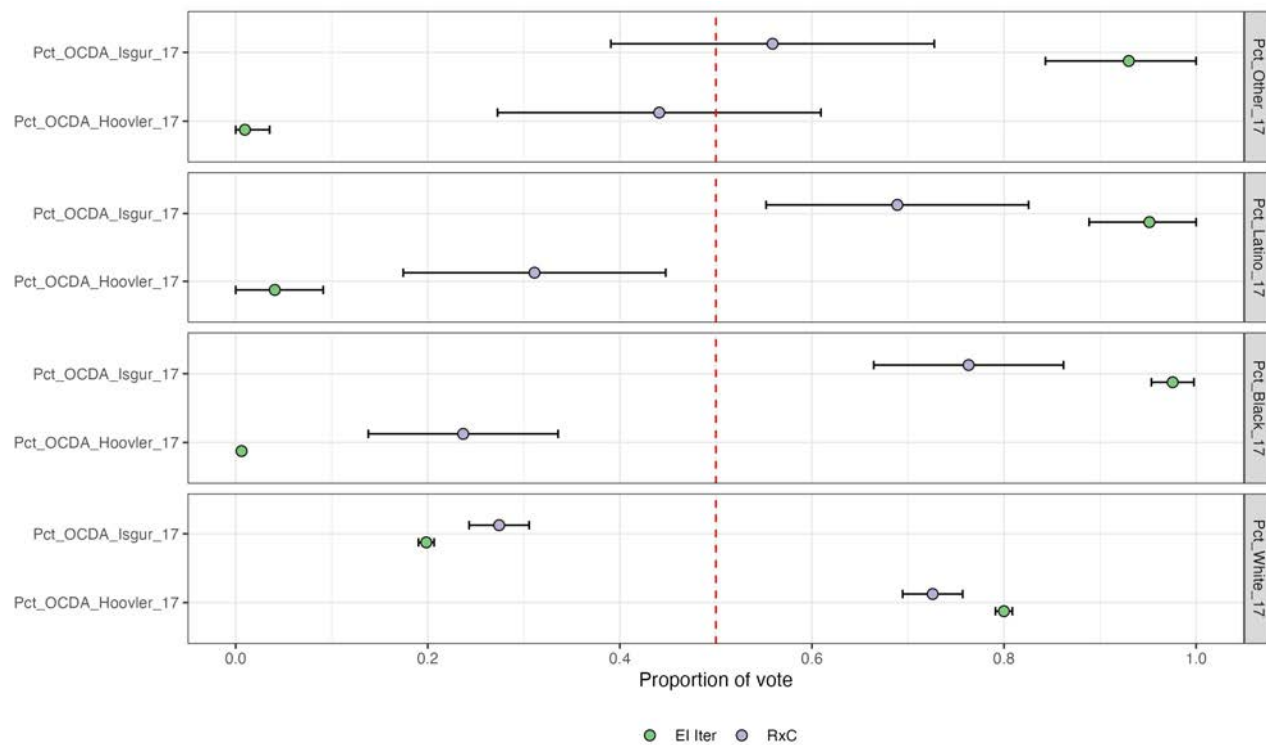
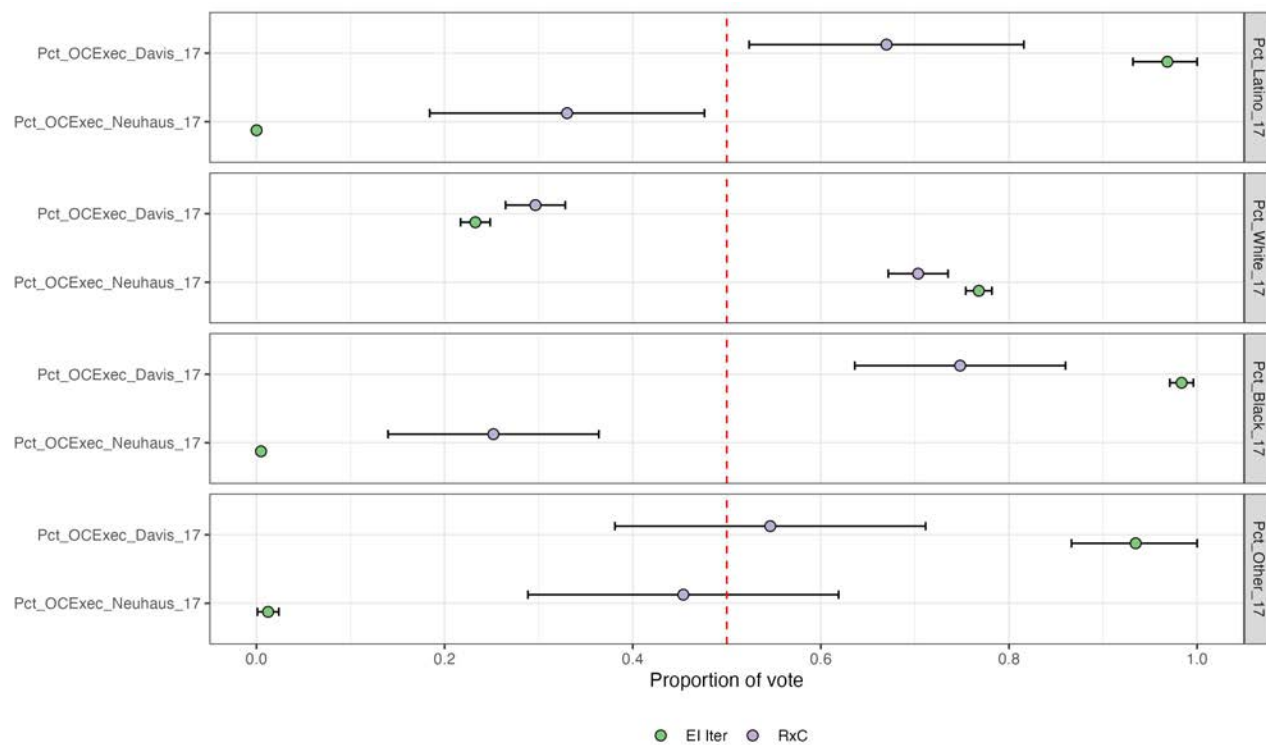
2020 U.S. Representative #18**2019 Newburgh Town Clerk**

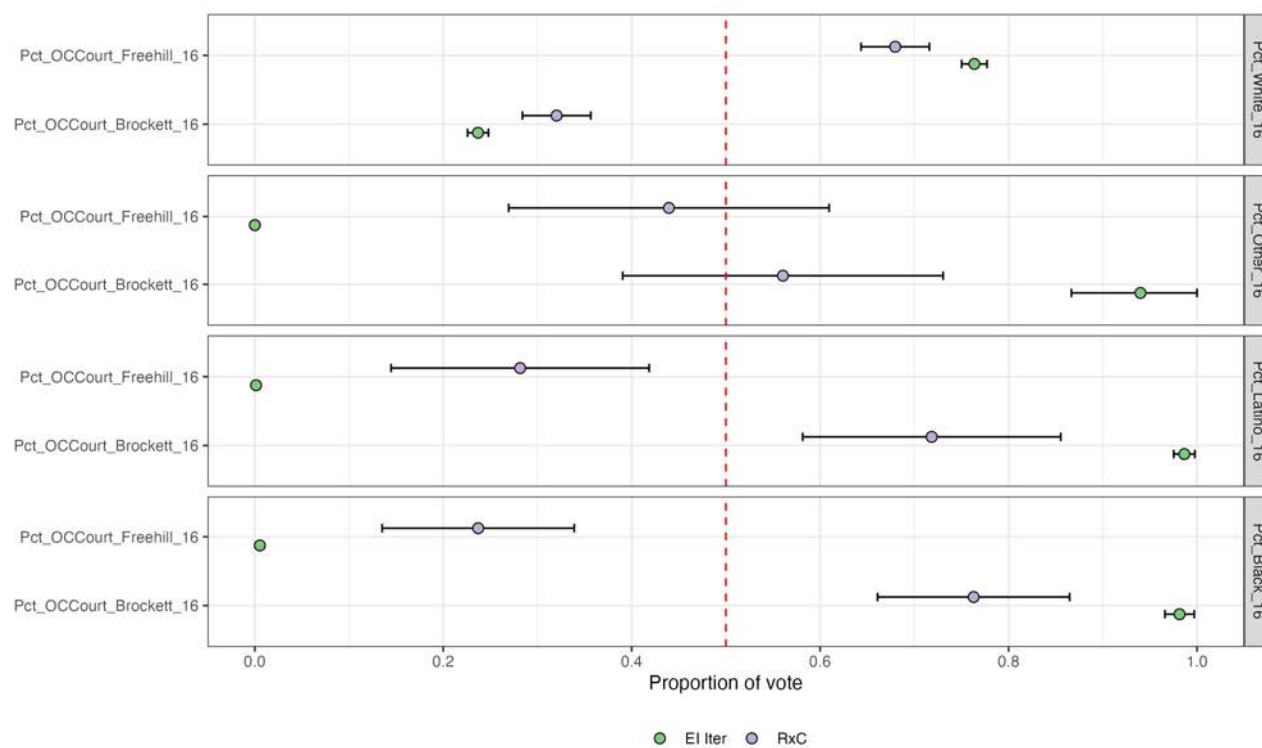
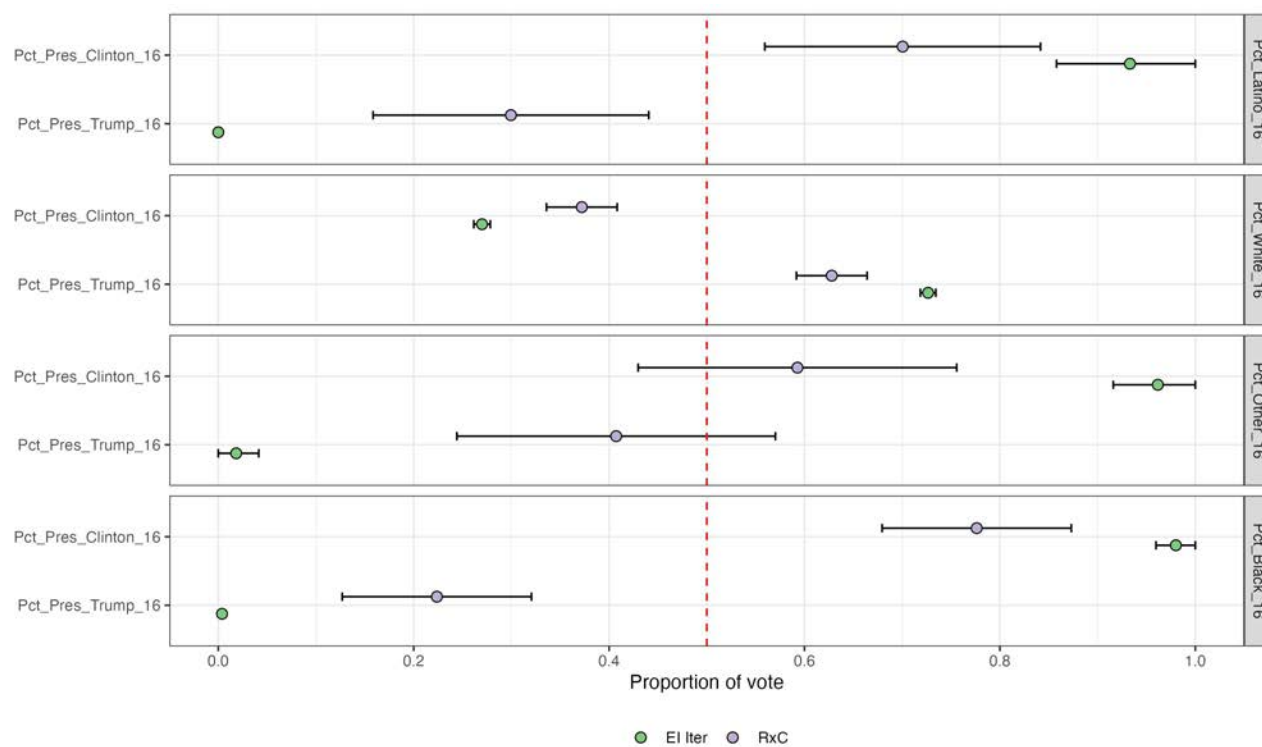
2019 Newburgh Town Council**2018 Attorney General**

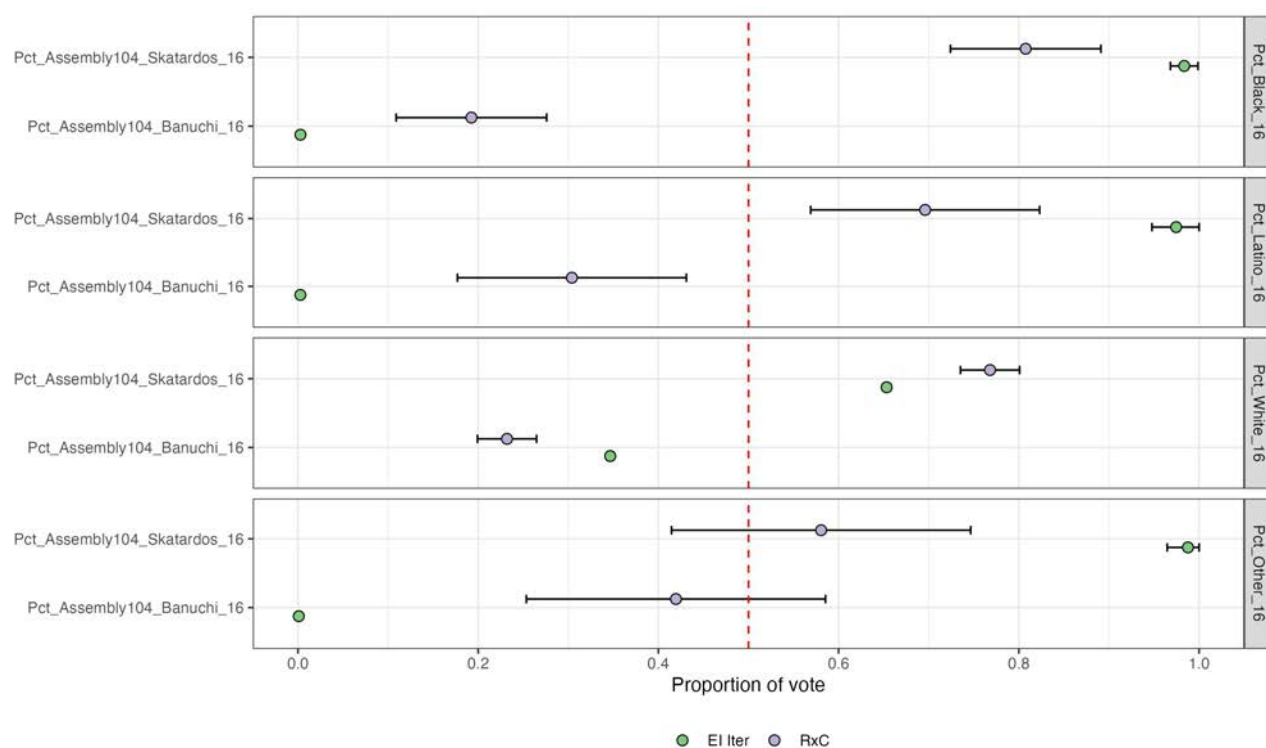
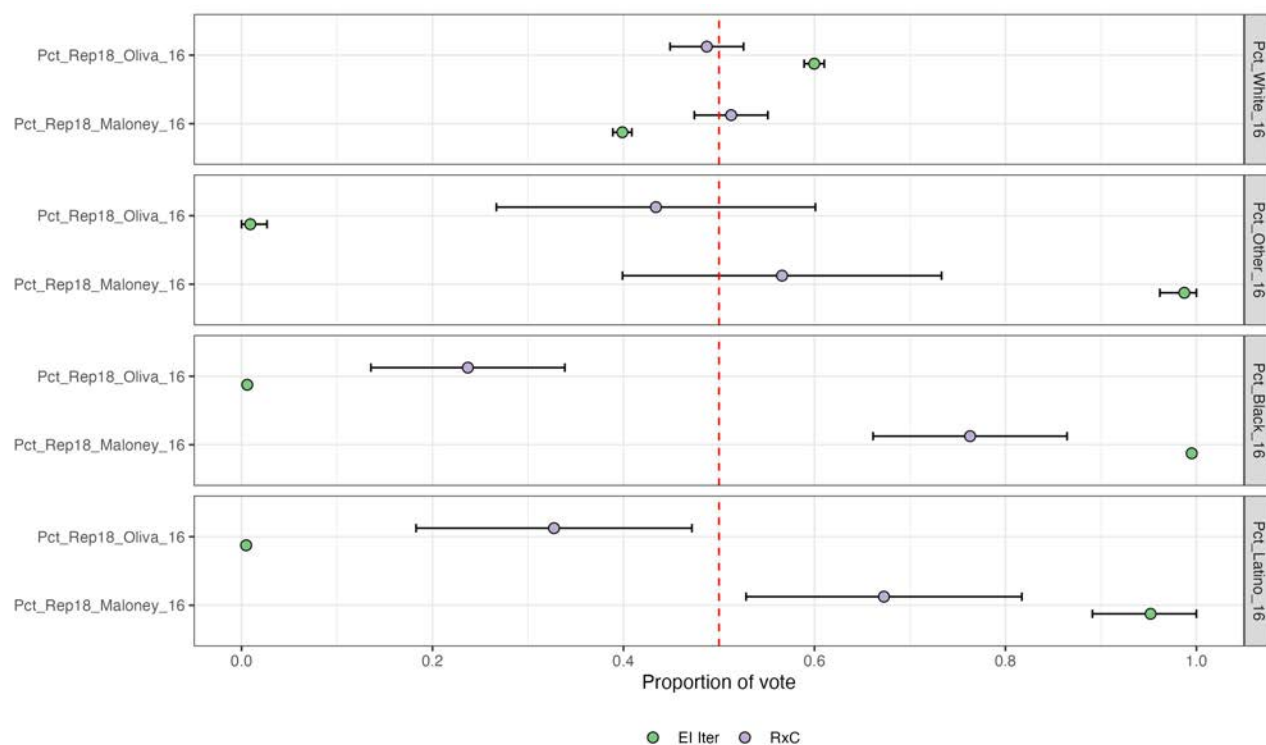
2018 Governor / Lt. Governor**2018 State Assembly #104**

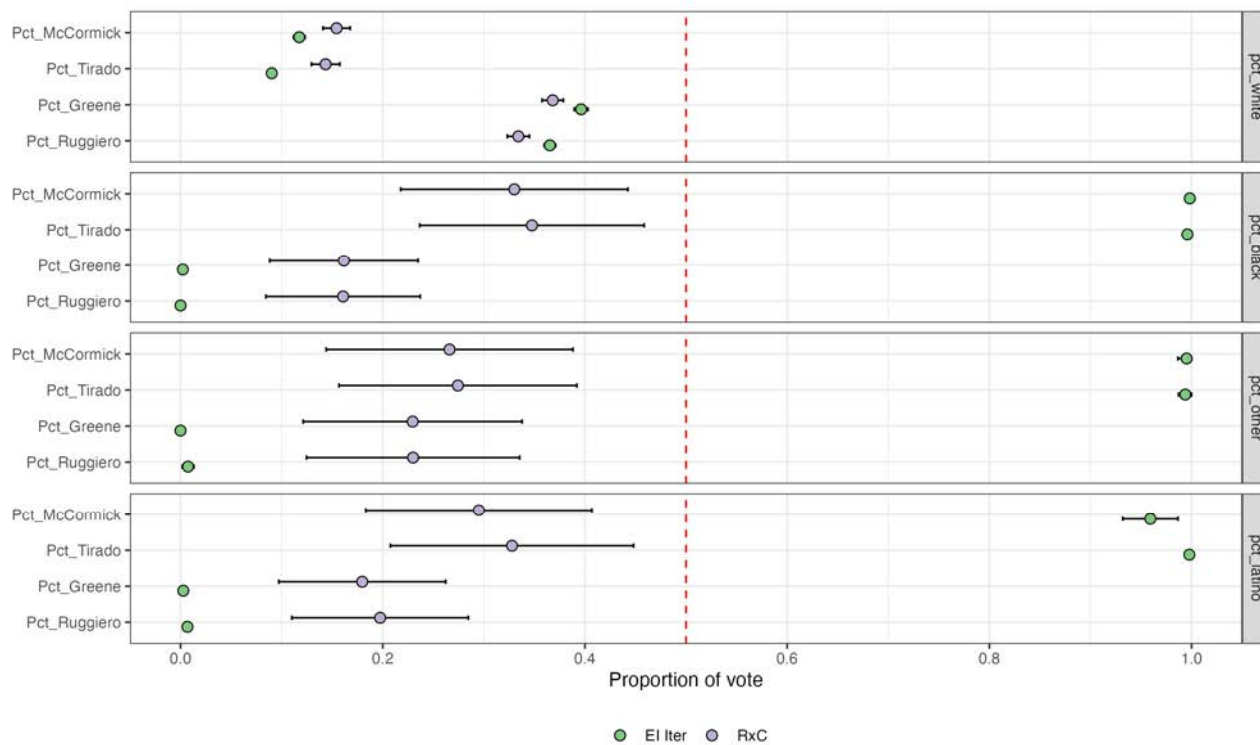
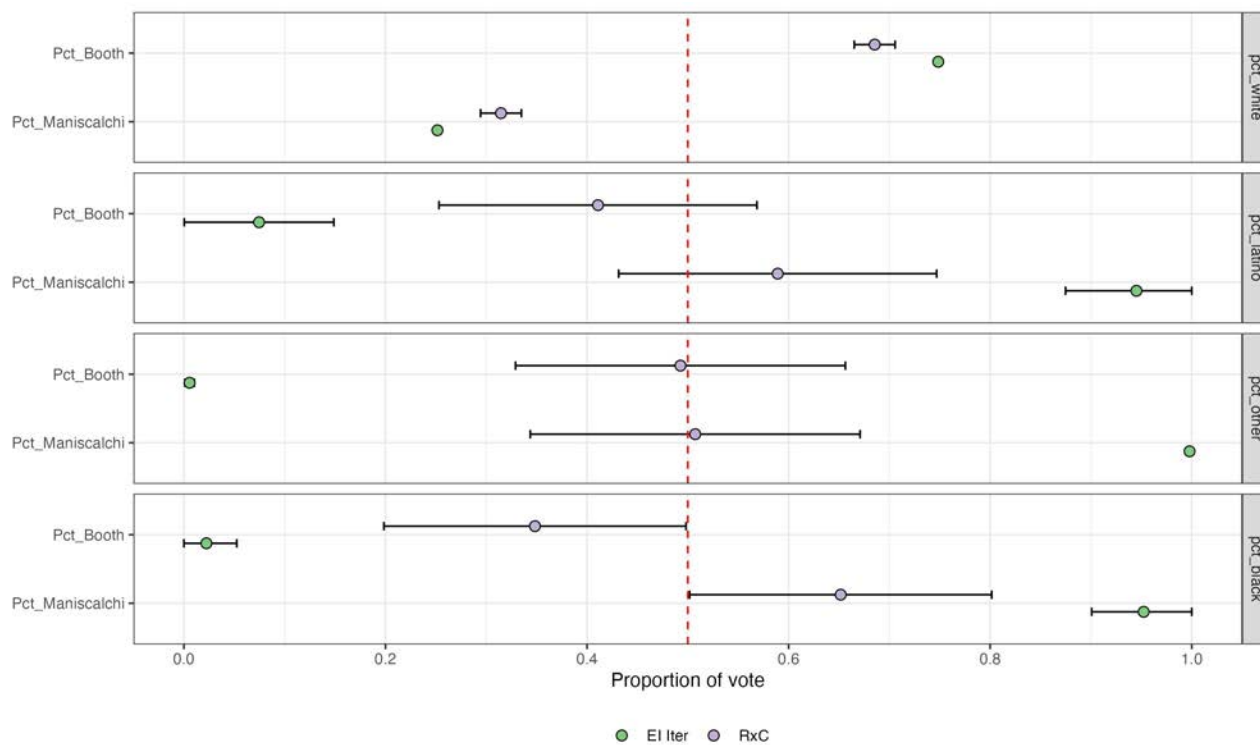
2018 State Comptroller**2018 U.S. Representative #18**

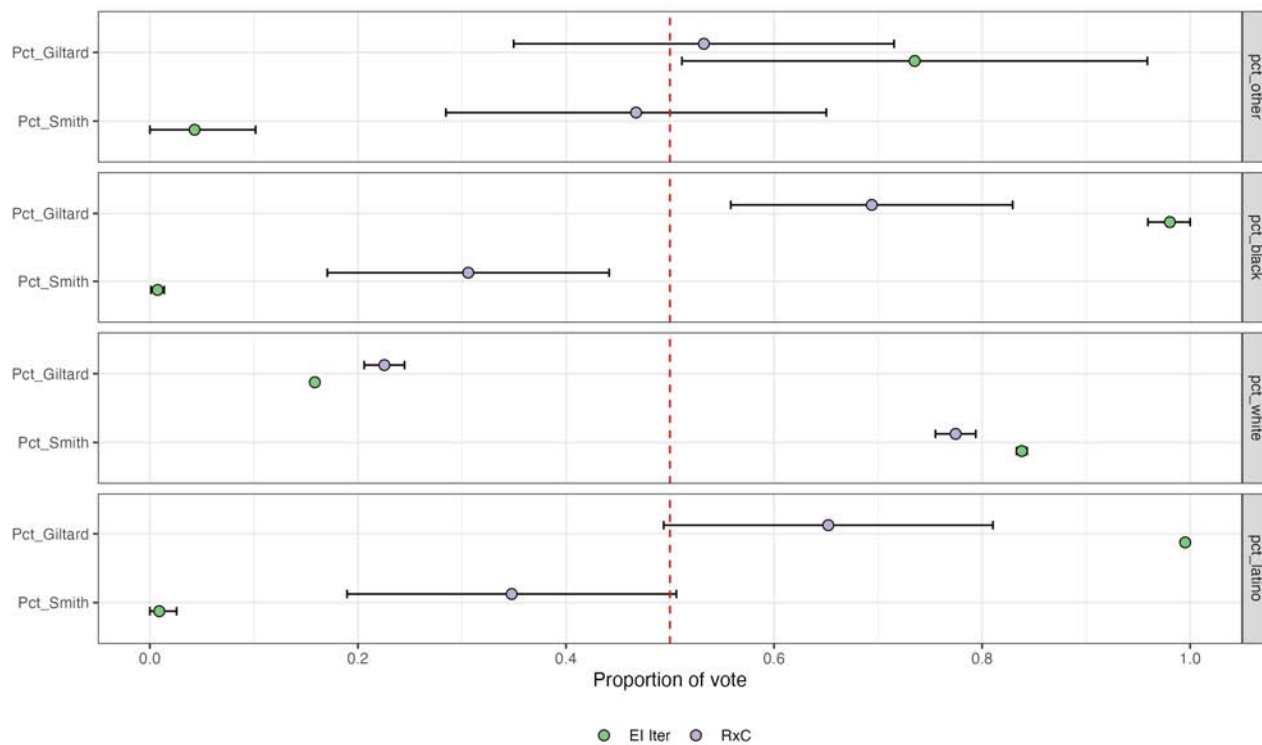
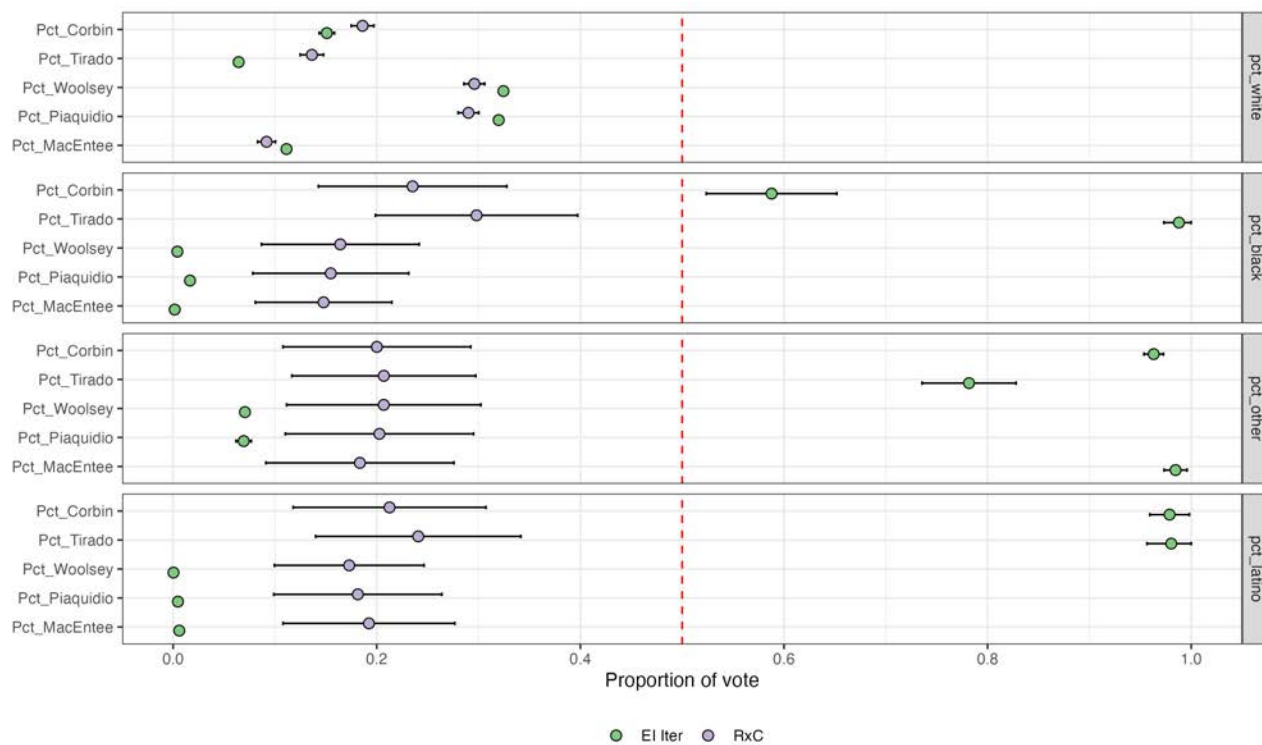
2018 U.S. Senate**2017 Orange County Clerk**

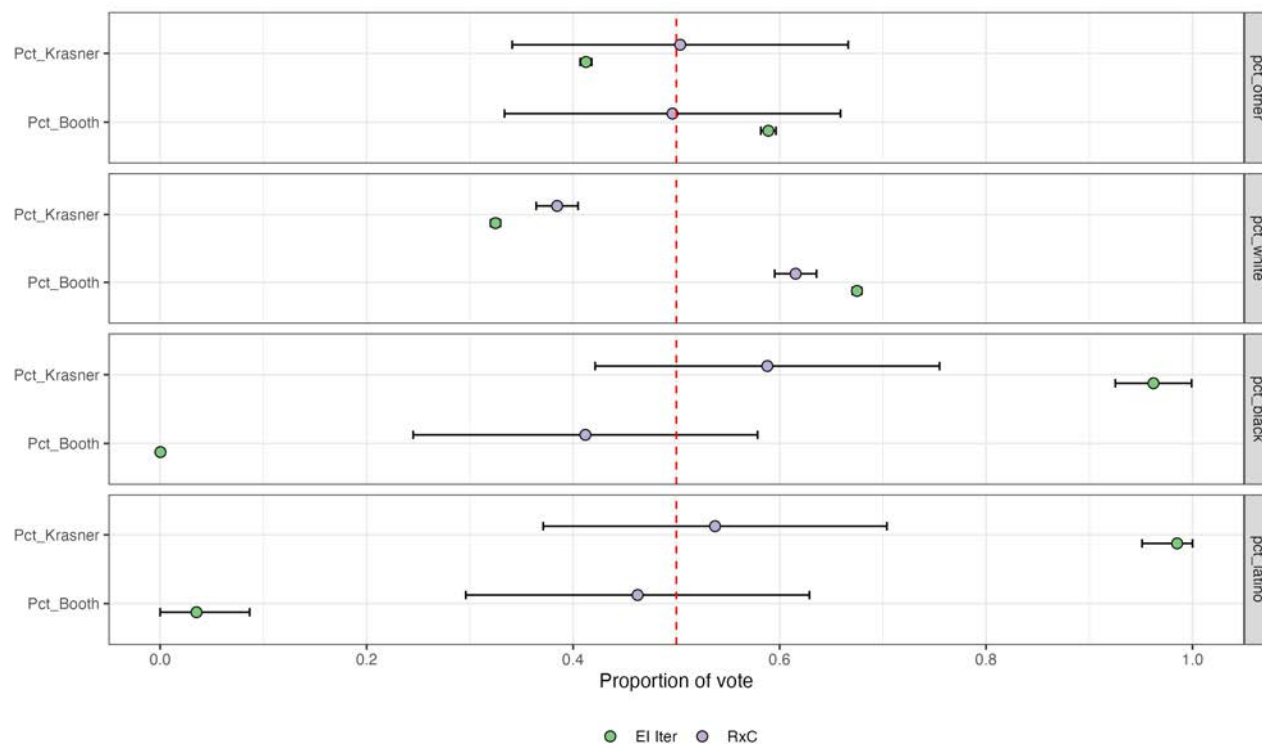
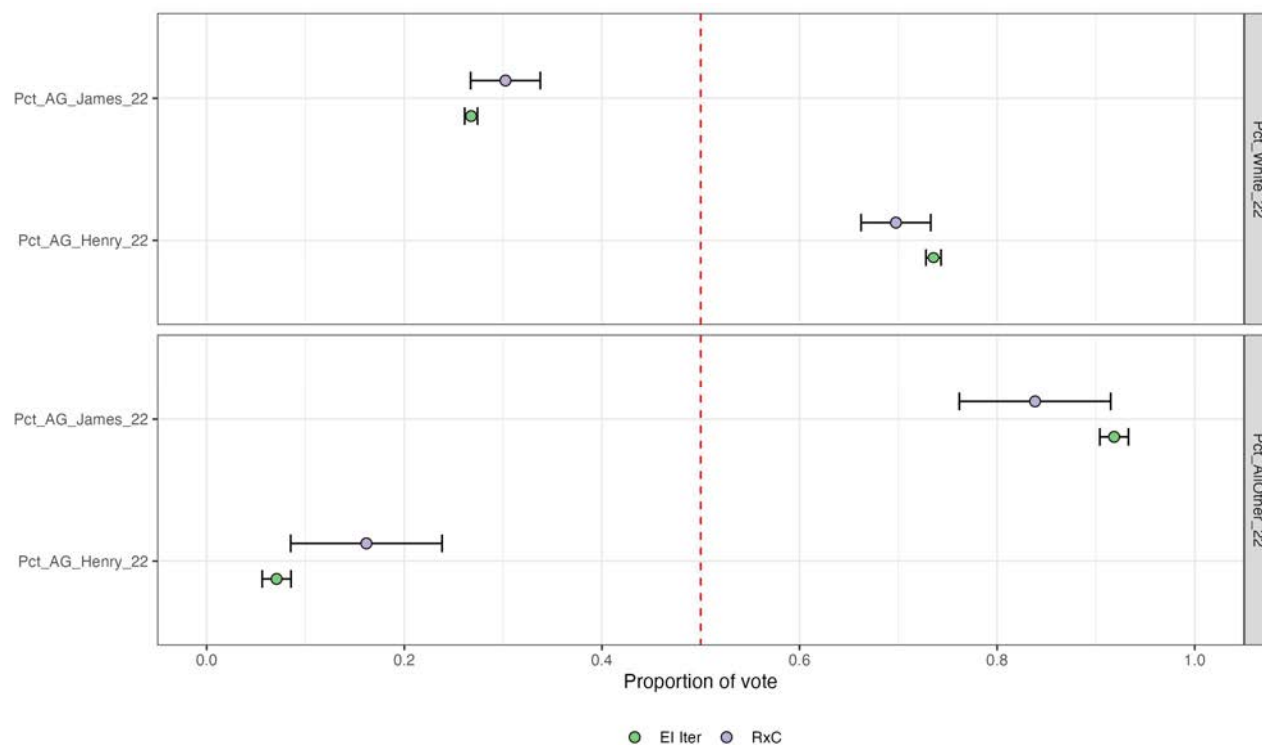
2017 Orange County District Attorney**2017 Orange County Executive**

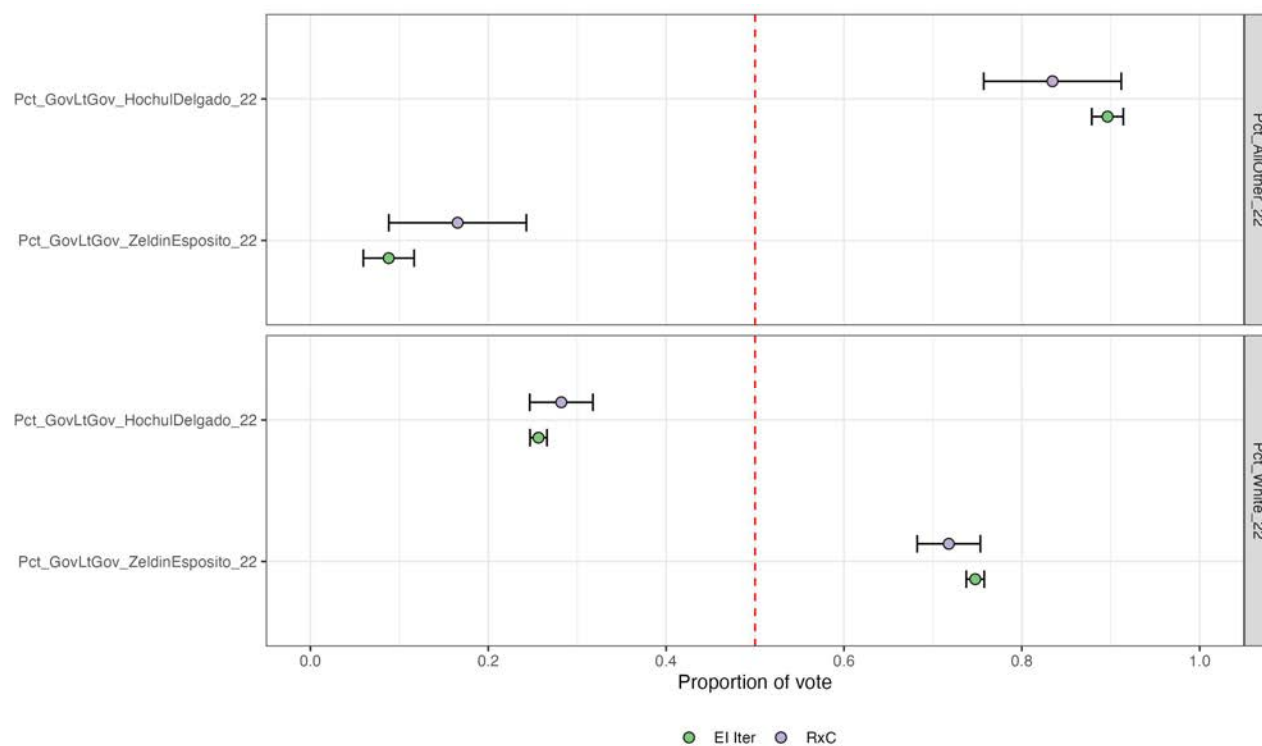
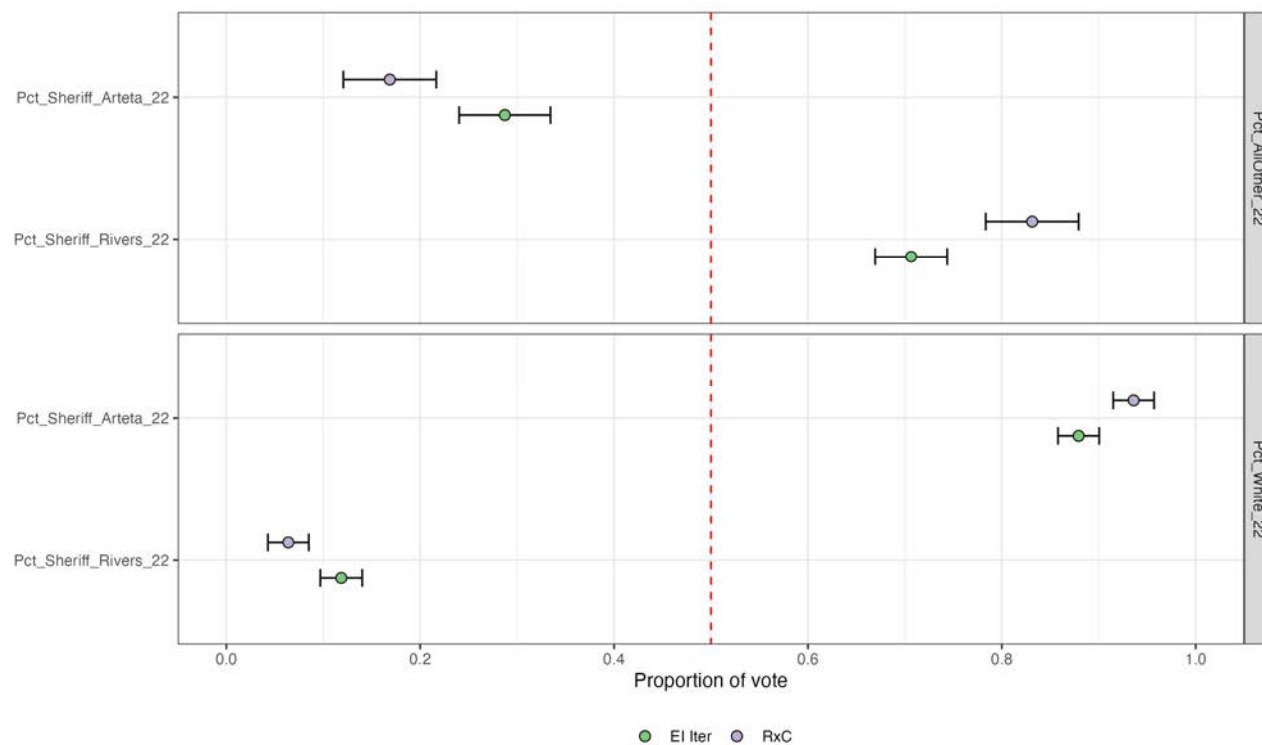
2016 Orange County Court Judge**2016 President**

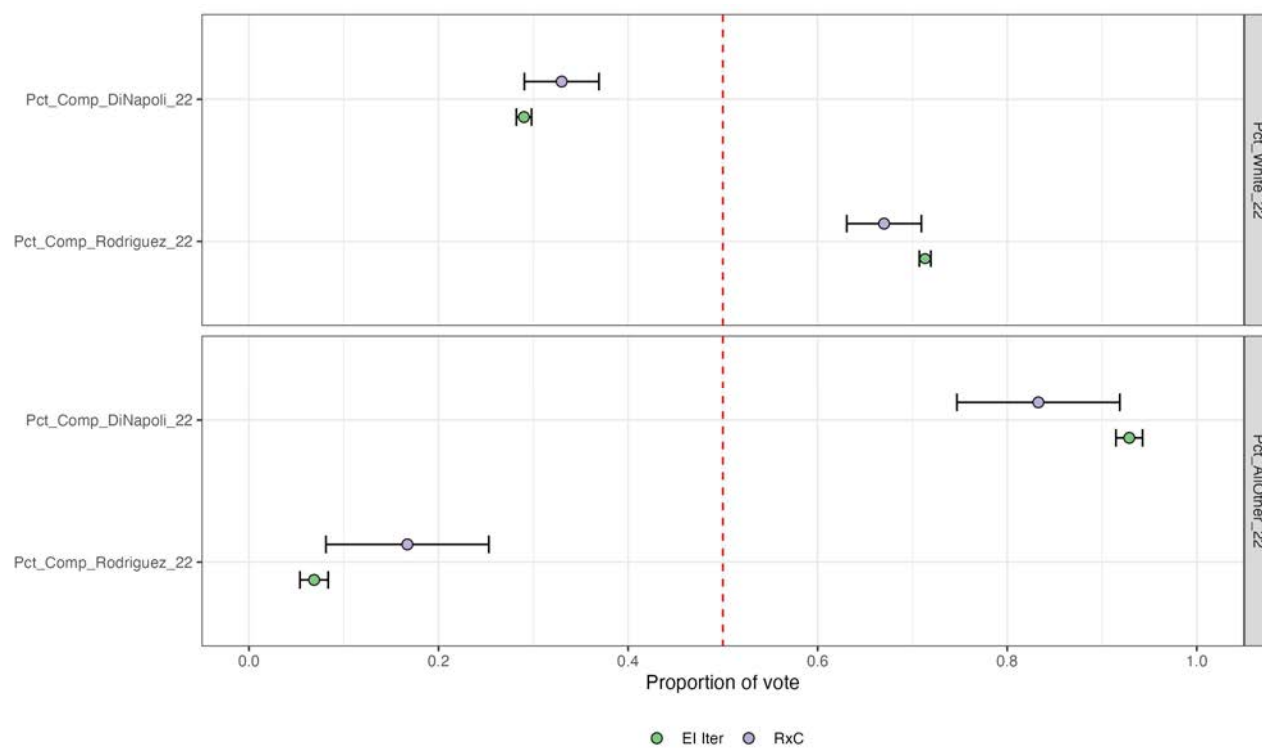
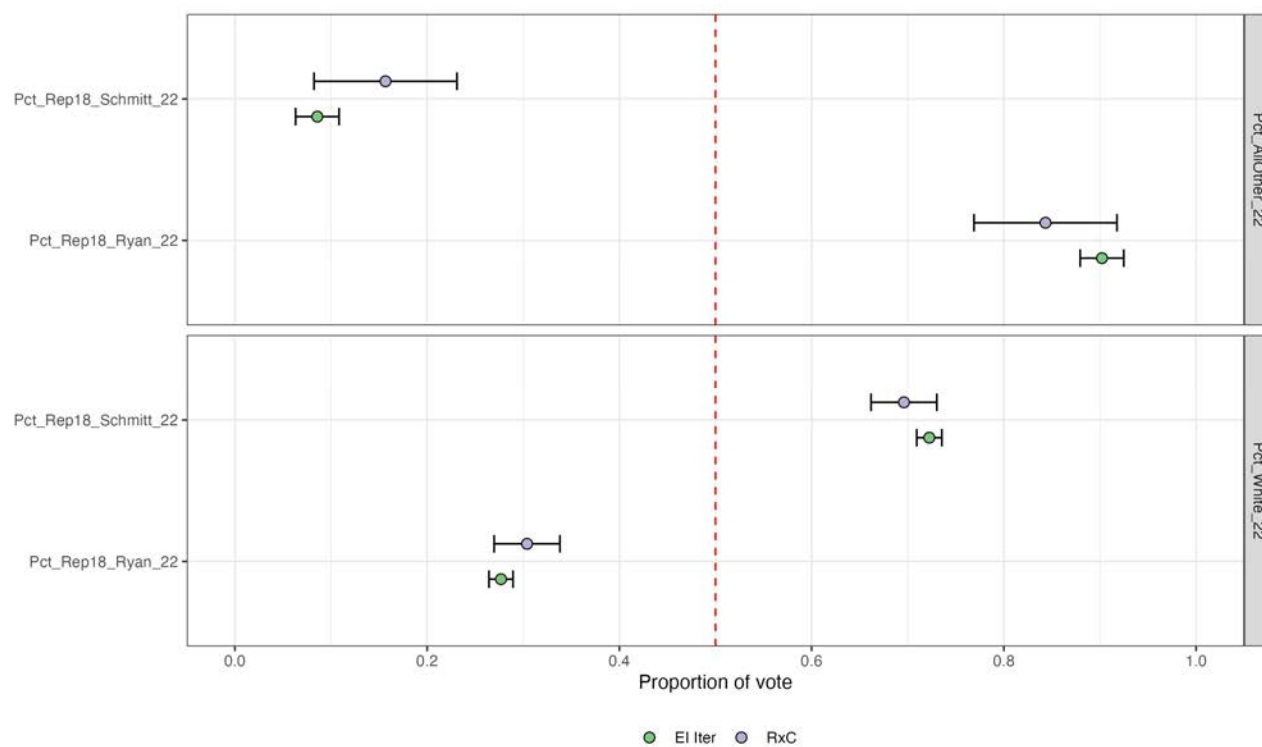
2016 State Assembly #104**2016 U.S. Representative #18**

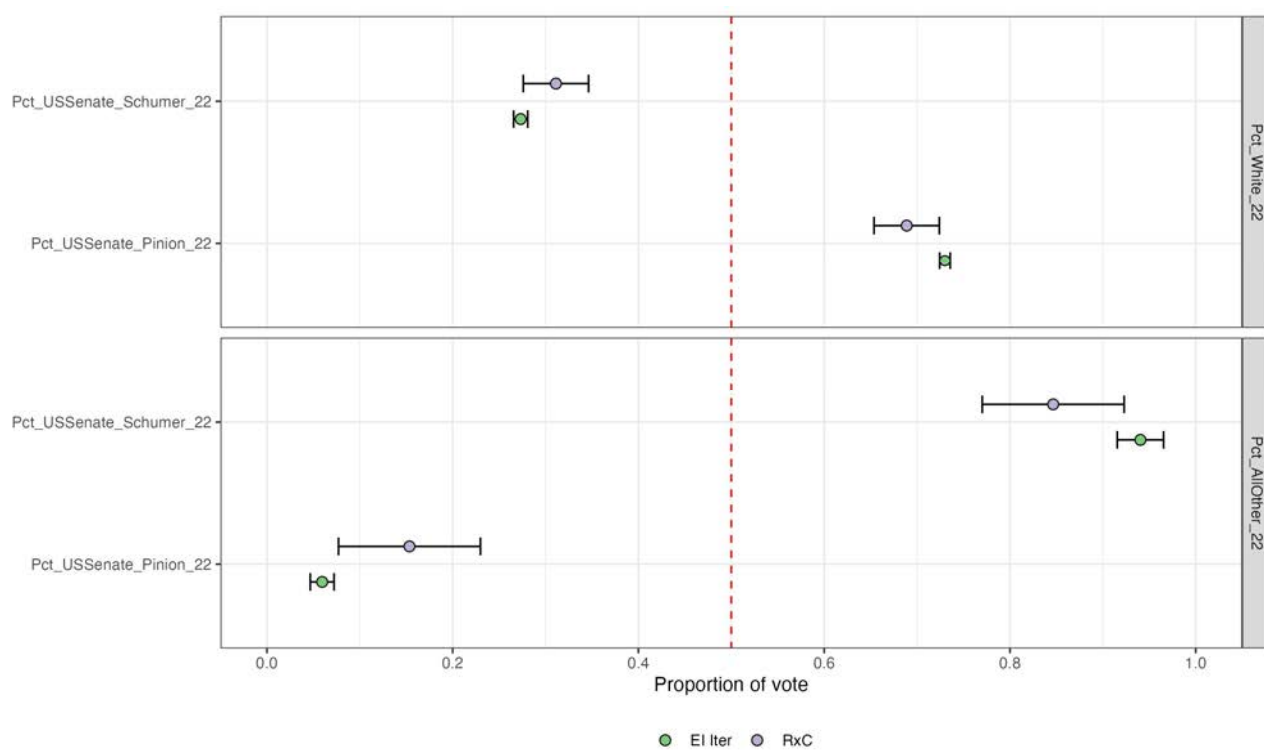
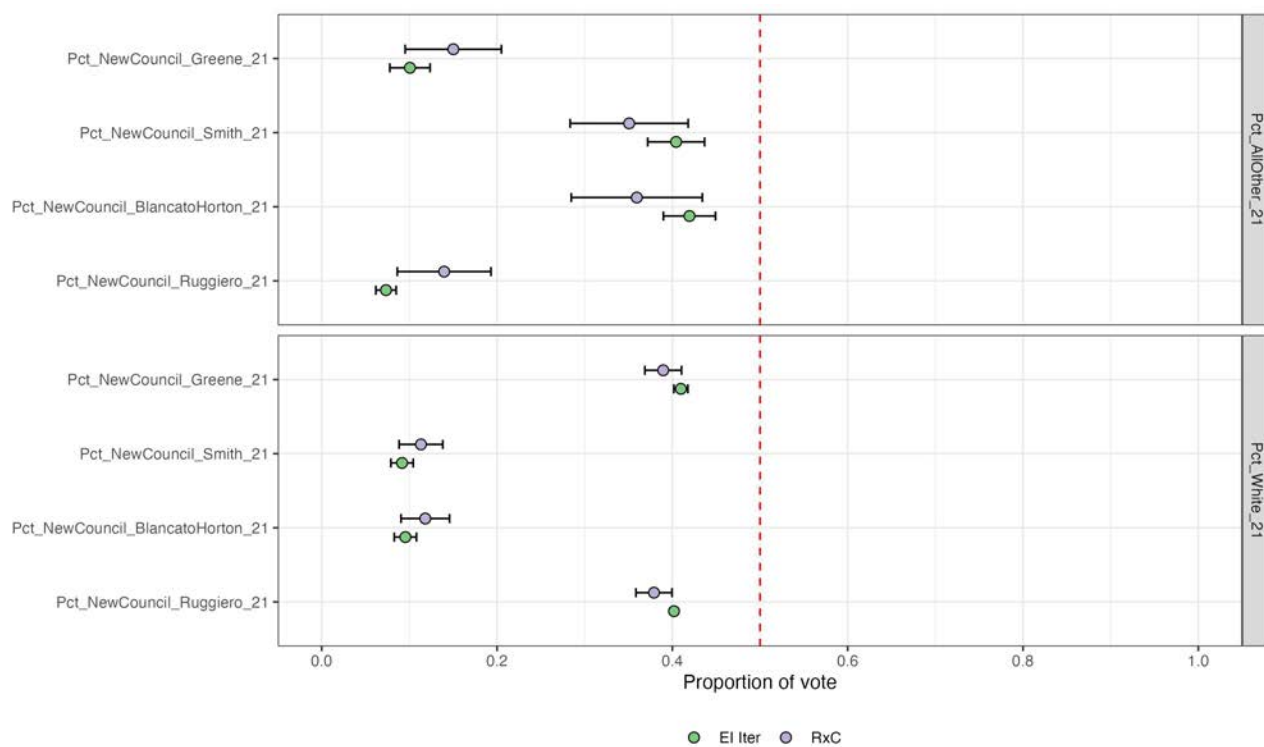
2013 Newburgh Town Council**2013 Newburgh Town Supervisor**

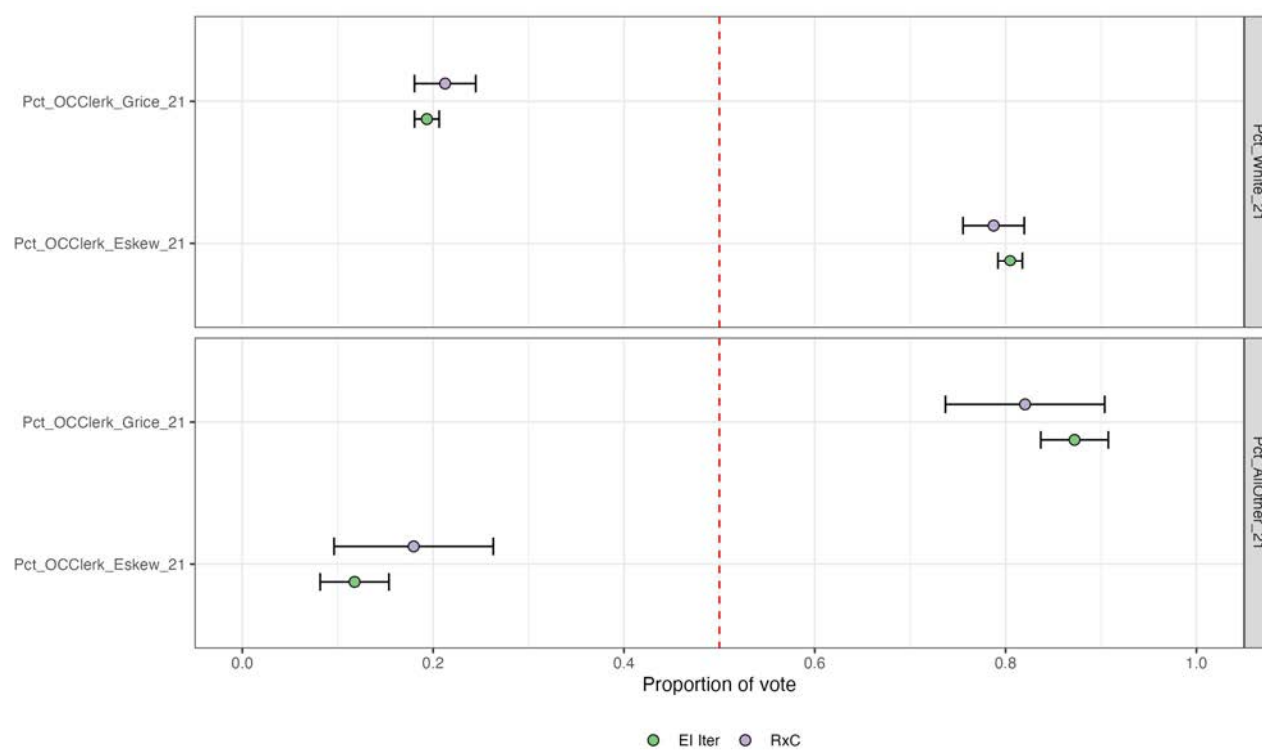
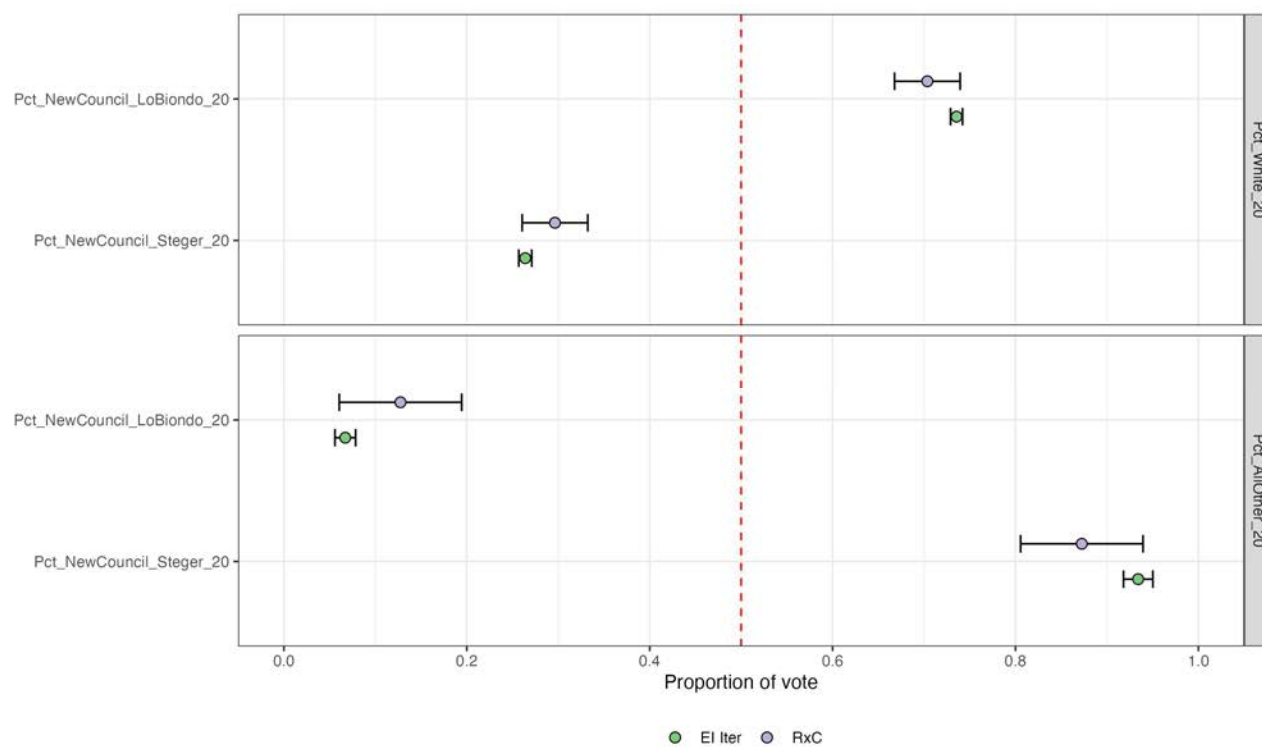
2013 Newburgh Town Tax Receiver and Assessor**2011 Newburgh Town Council**

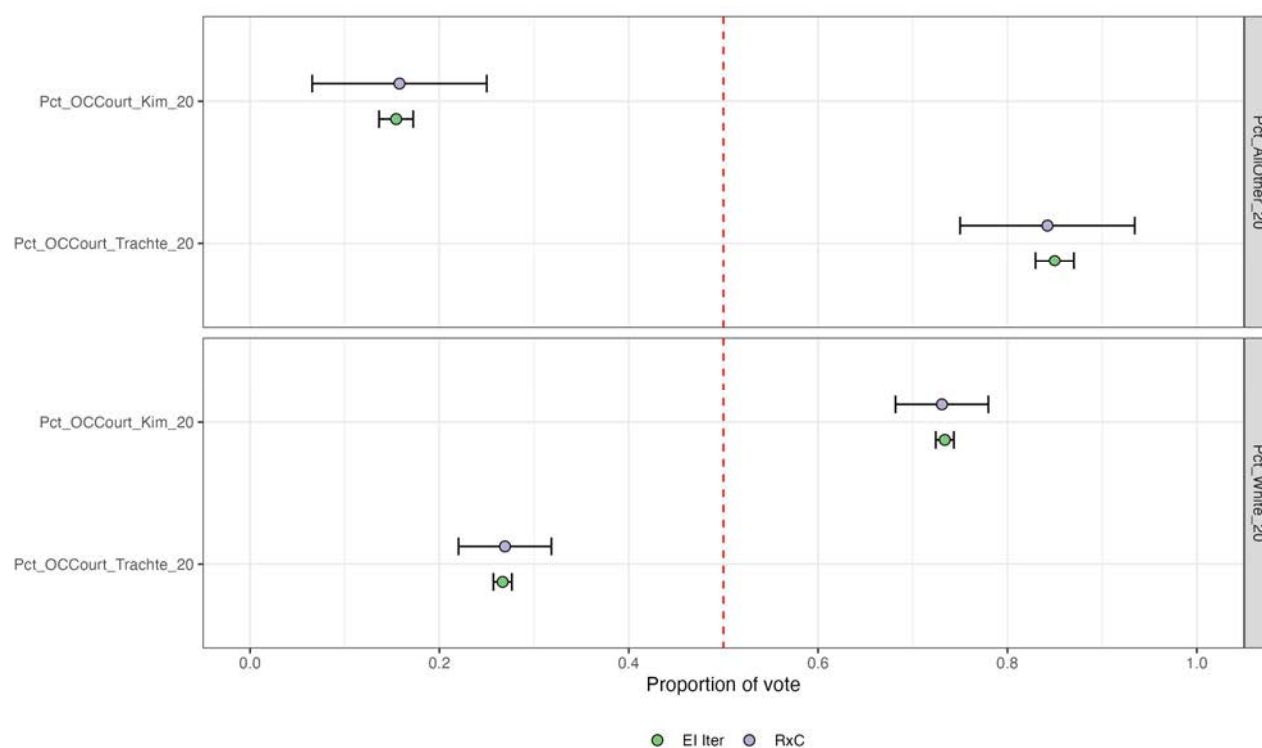
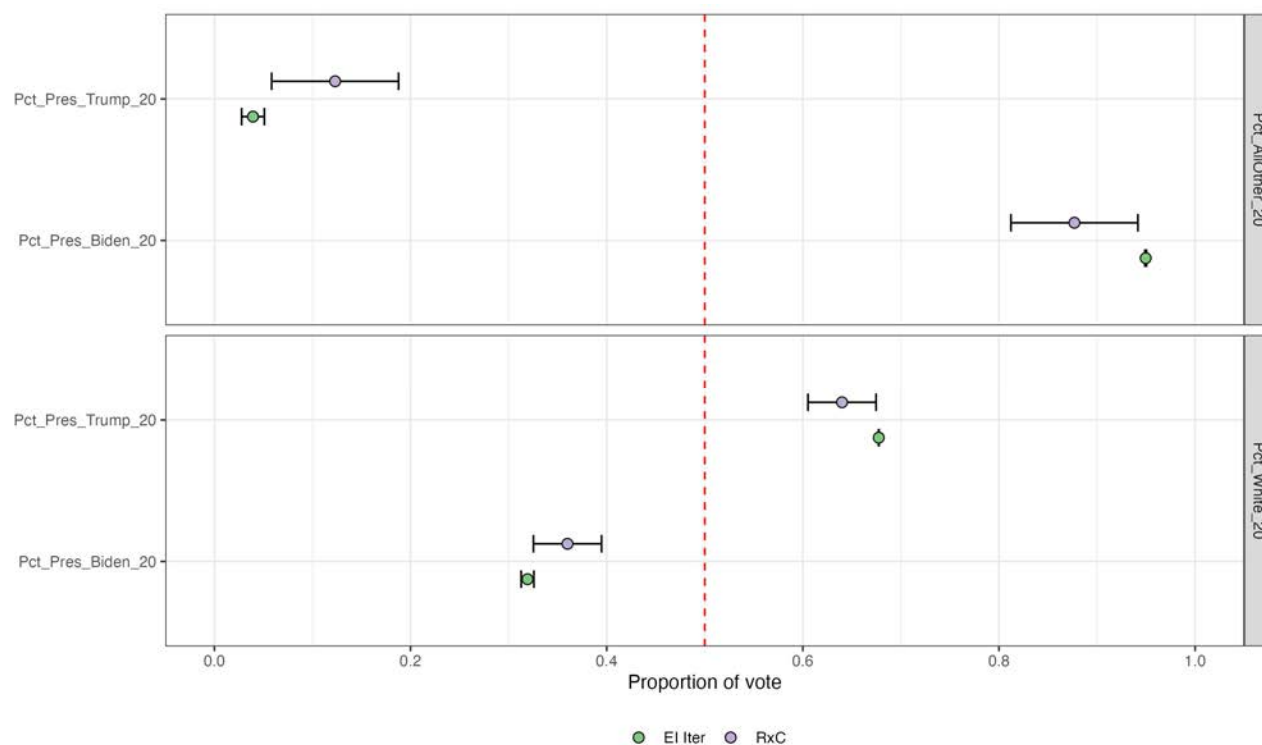
2011 Newburgh Town Supervisor**II. White and Non-White Used as Inputes****2022 Attorney General**

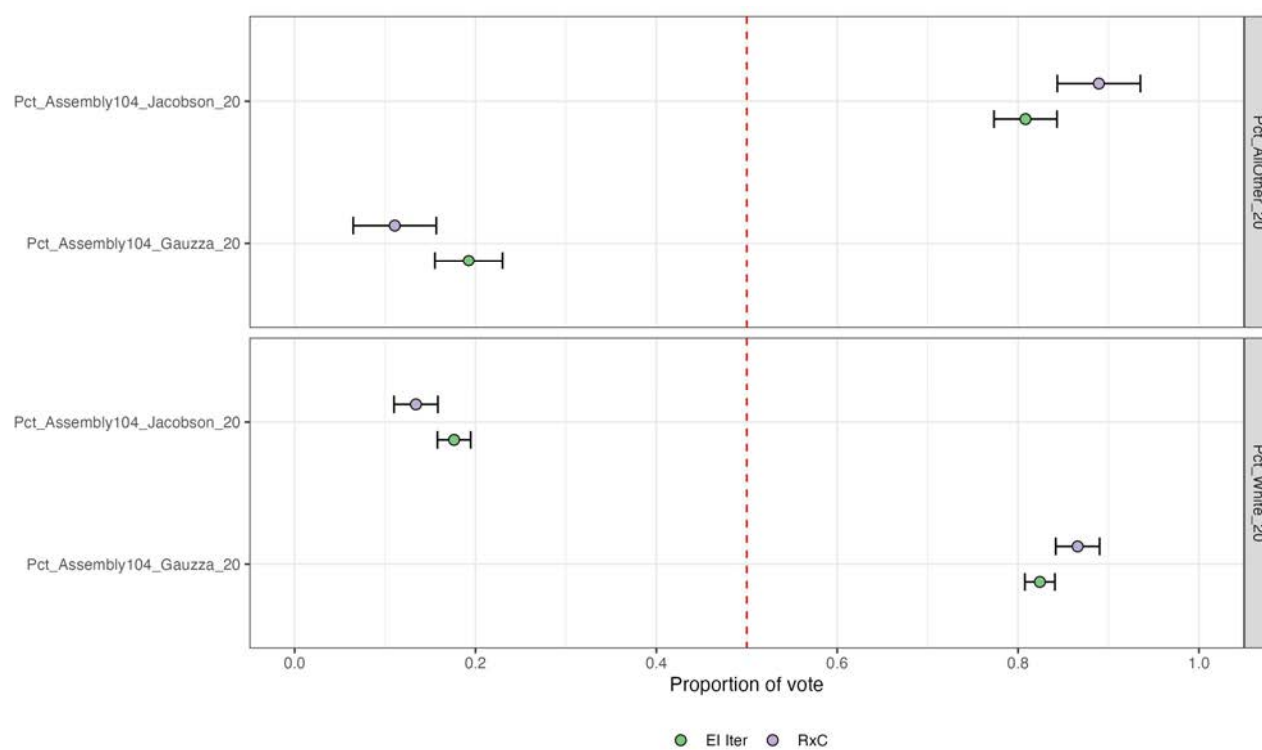
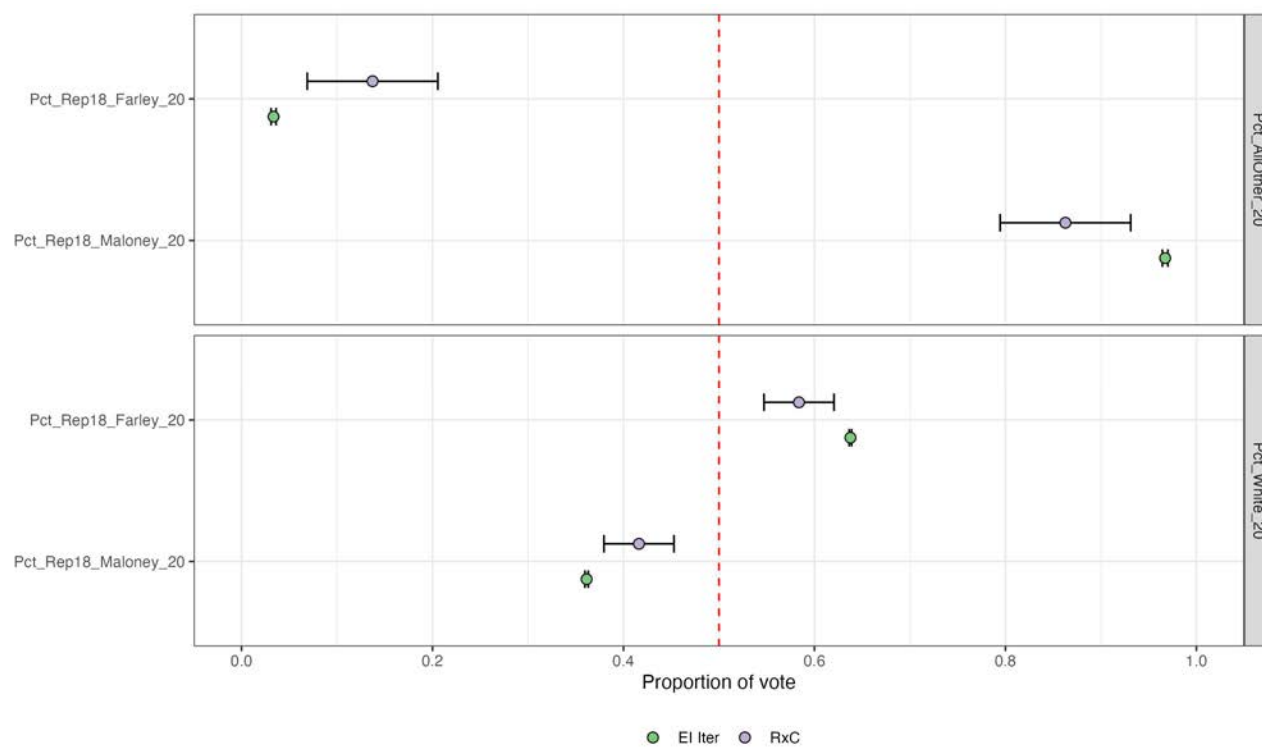
2022 Governor / Lt. Governor**2022 Orange County Sheriff**

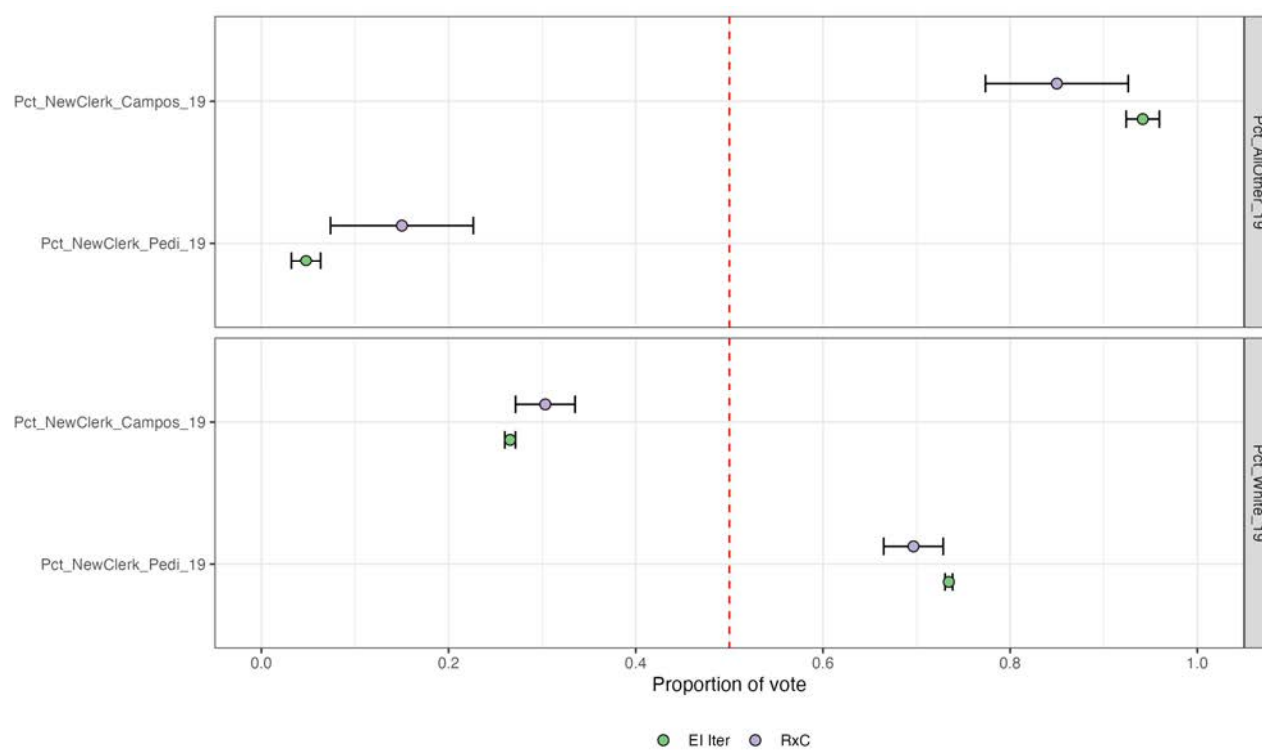
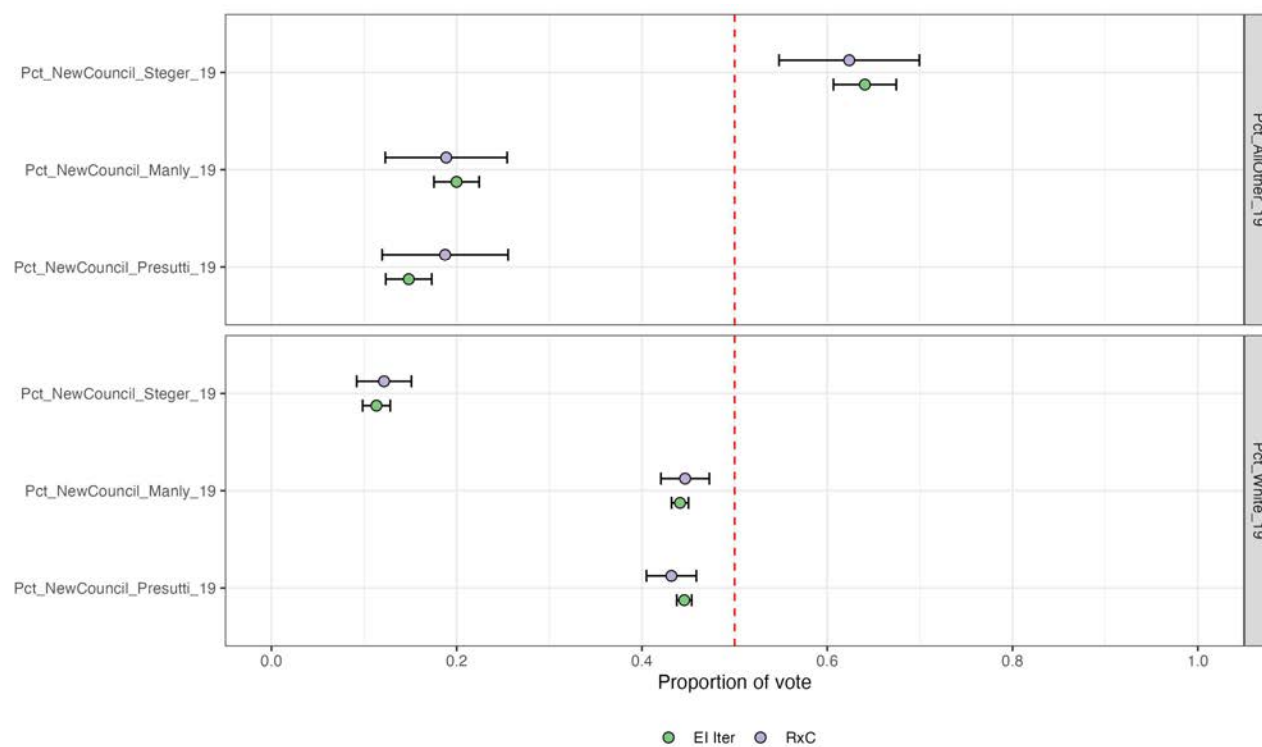
2022 State Comptroller**2022 U.S. Representative #18**

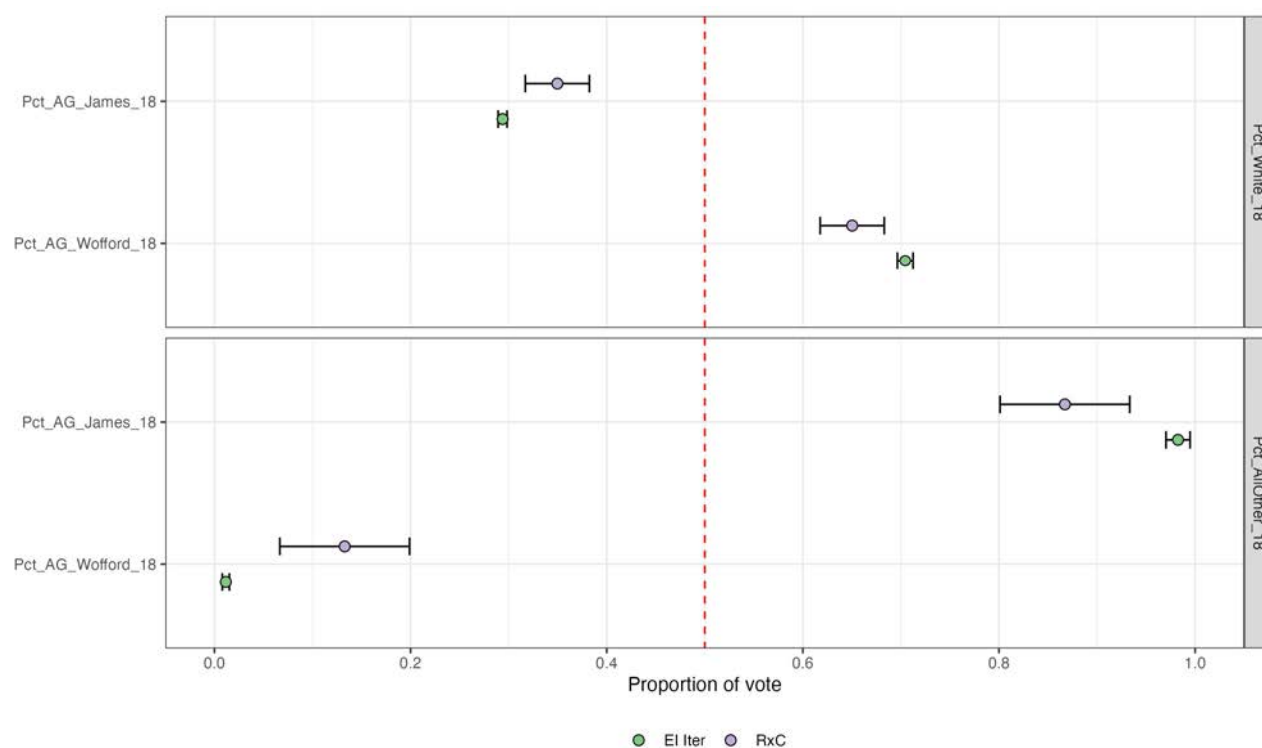
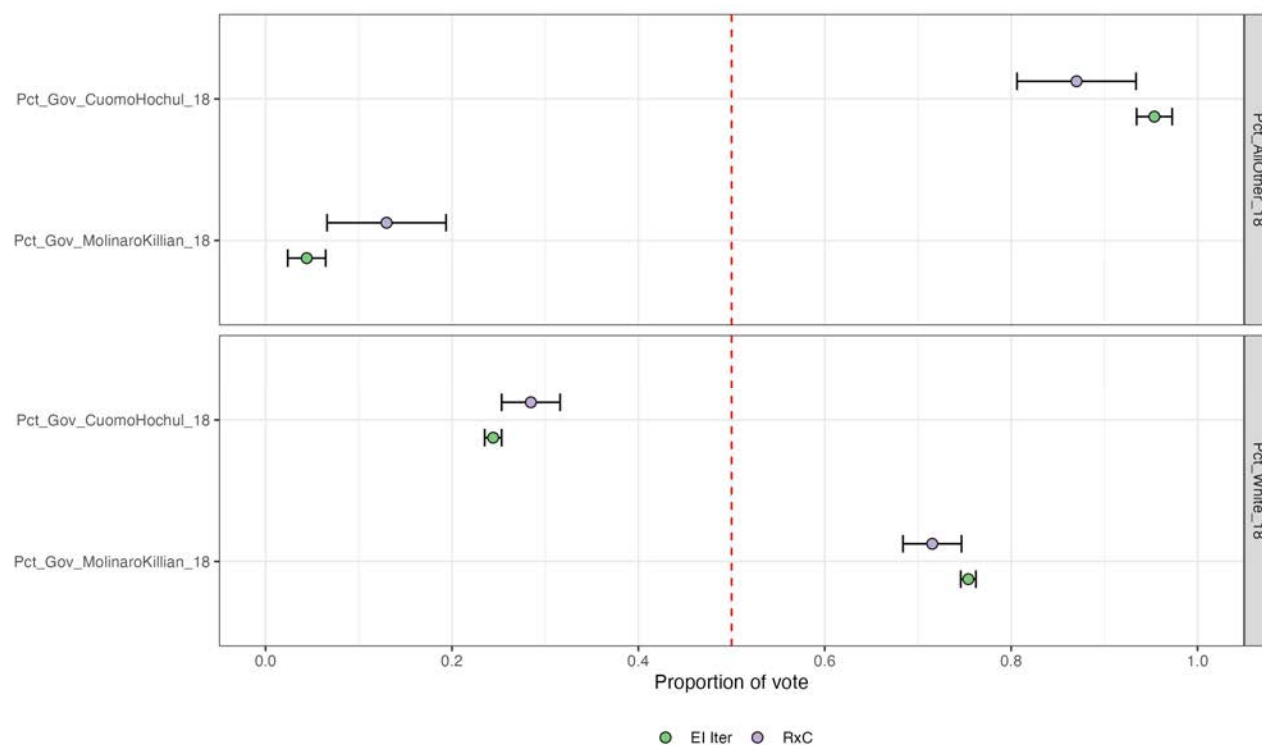
2022 U.S. Senate**2021 Newburgh Town Council**

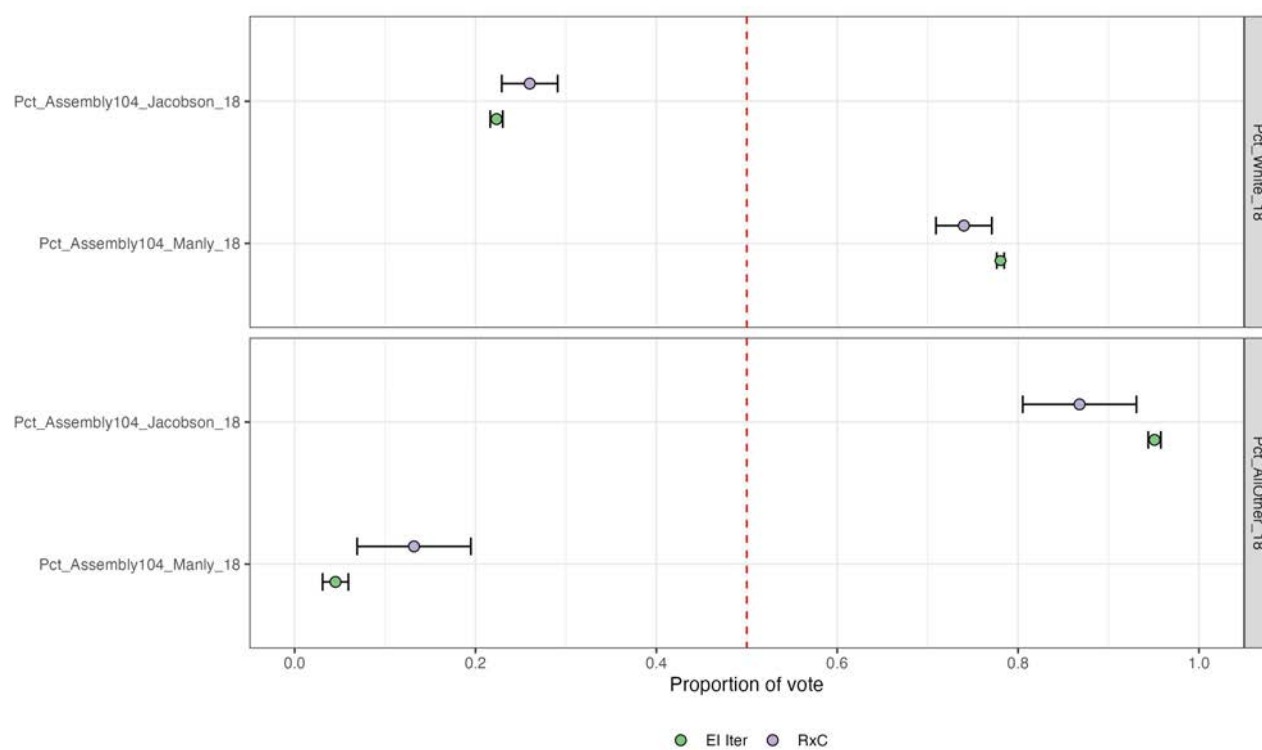
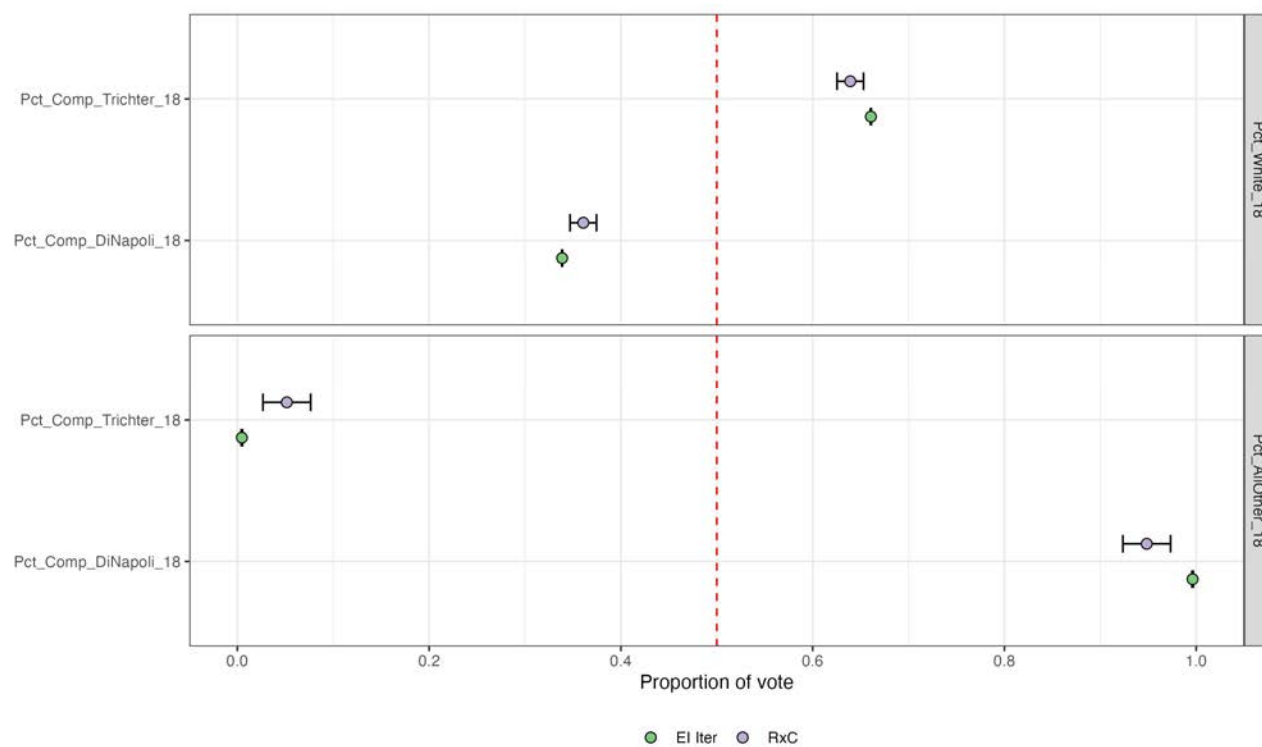
2021 Orange County Clerk**2020 Newburgh Town Council**

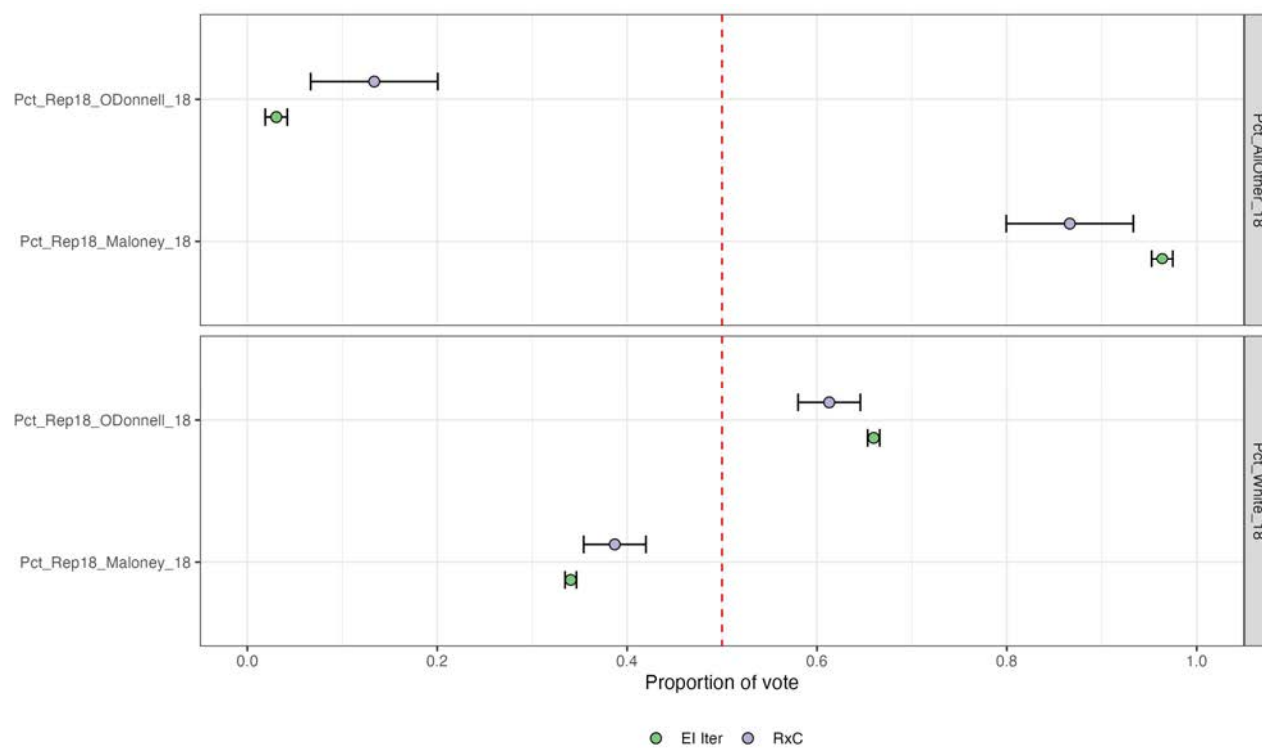
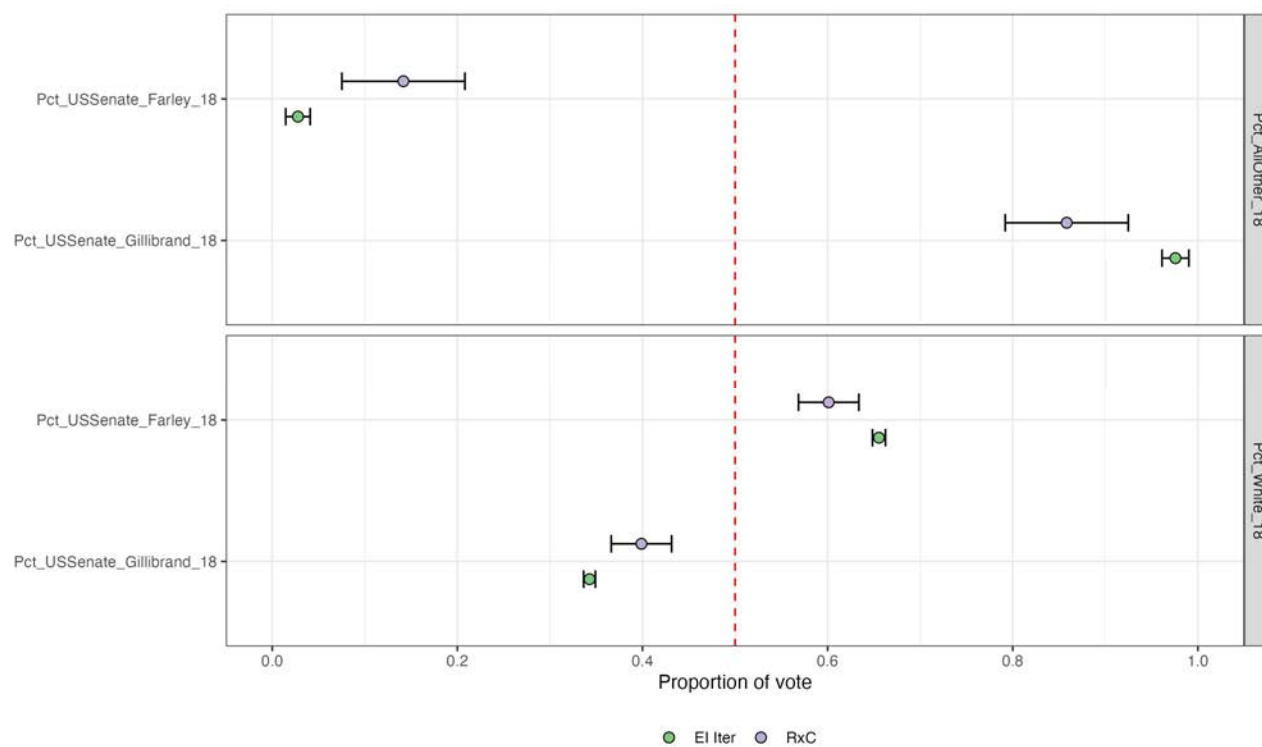
2020 Orange County Court Judge**2020 President**

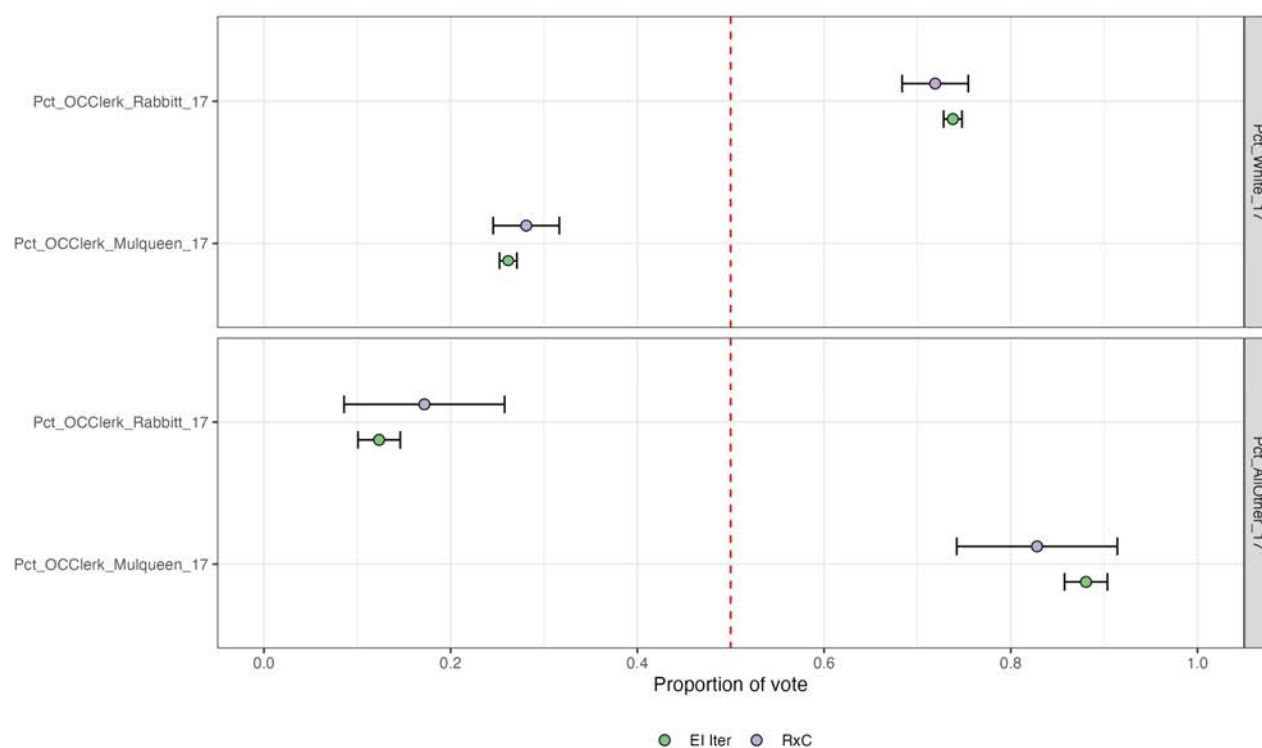
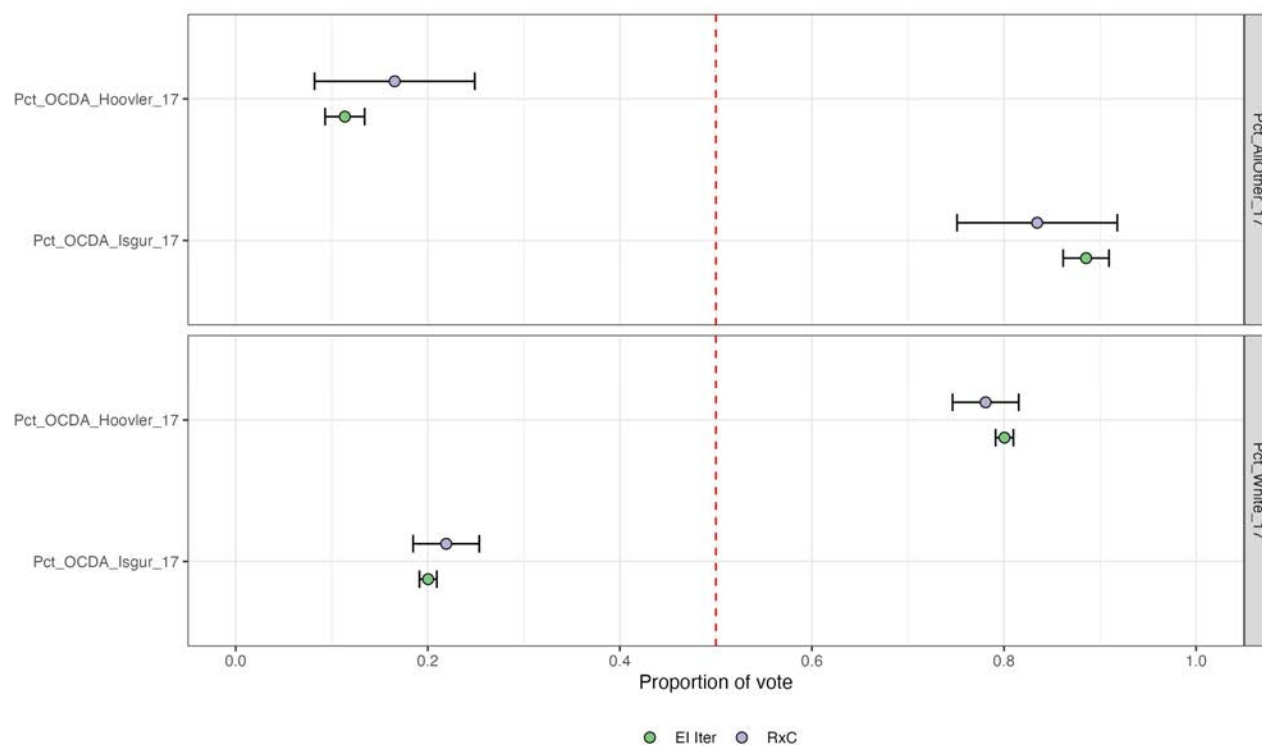
2020 State Assembly #104**2020 U.S. Representative #18**

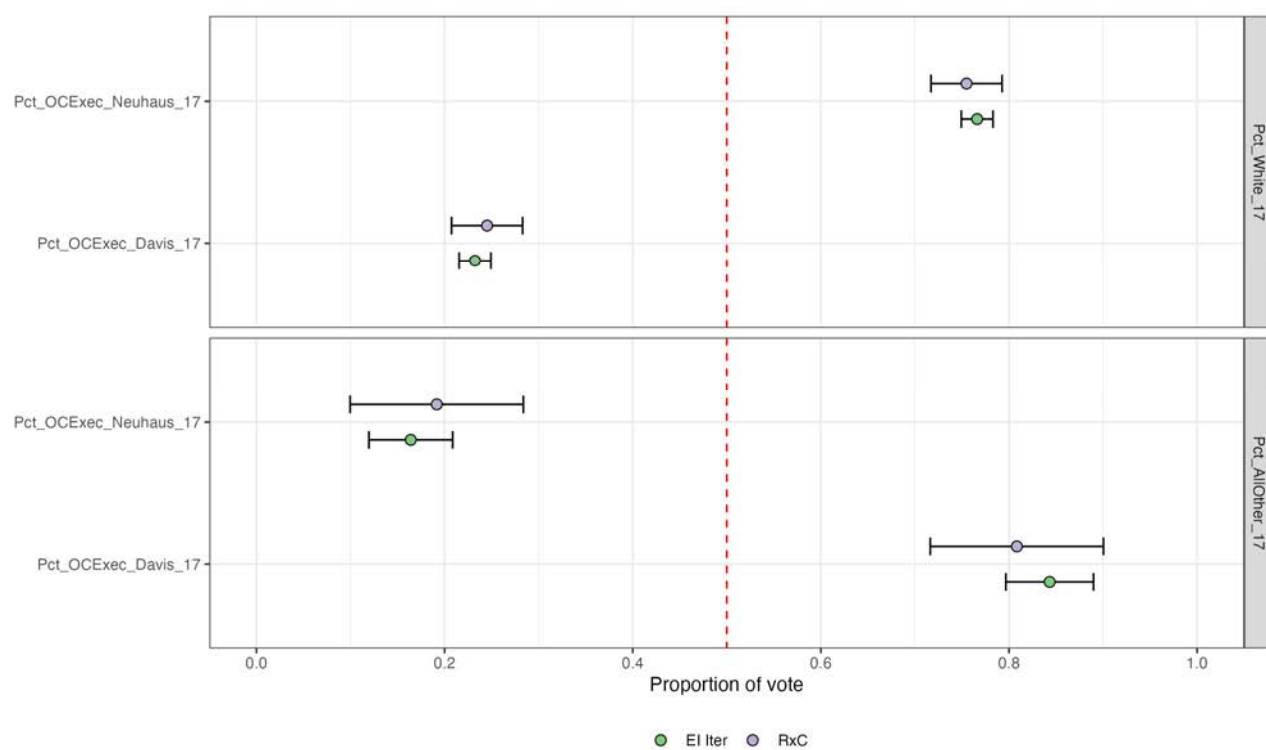
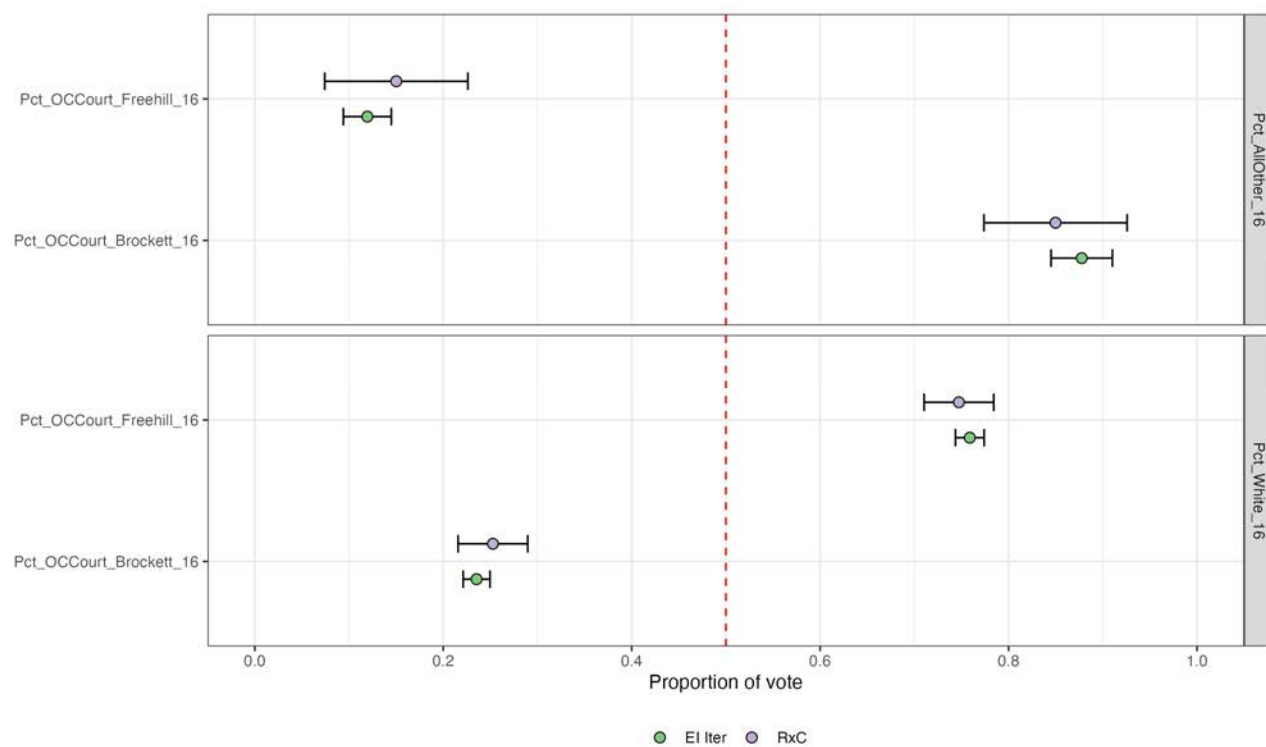
2019 Newburgh Town Clerk**2019 Newburgh Town Council**

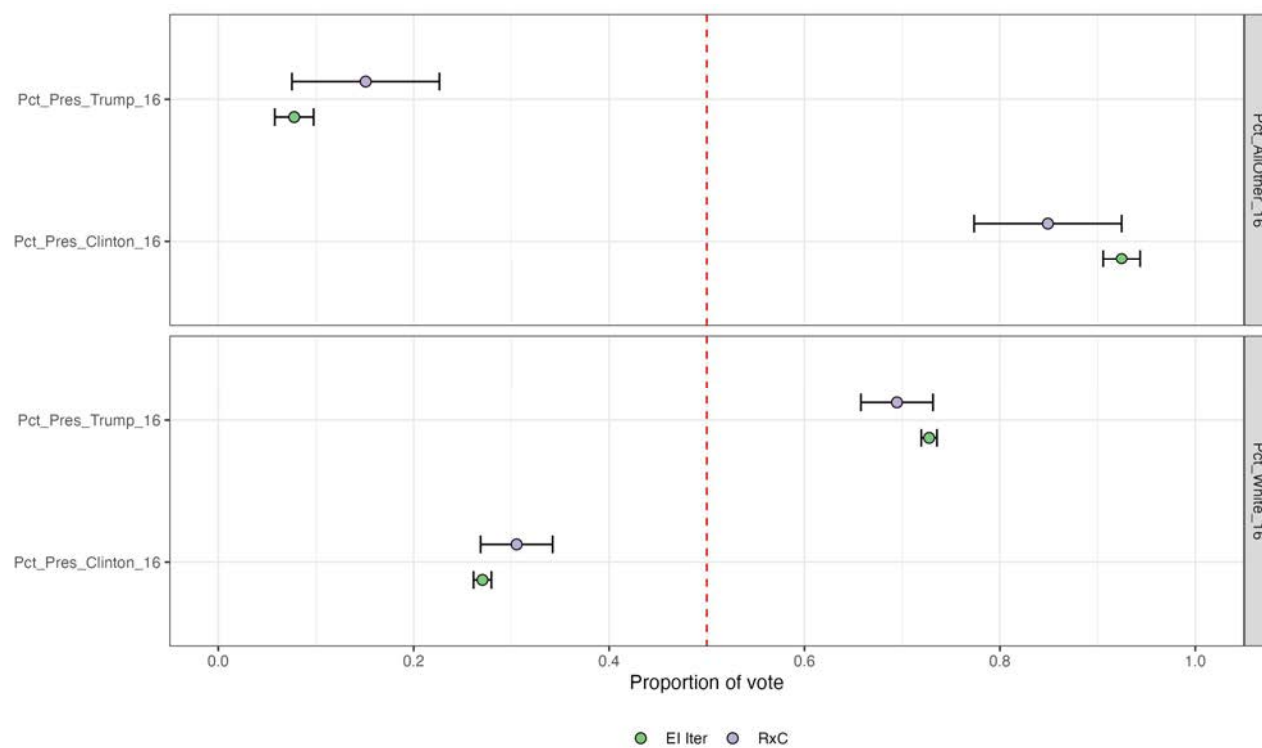
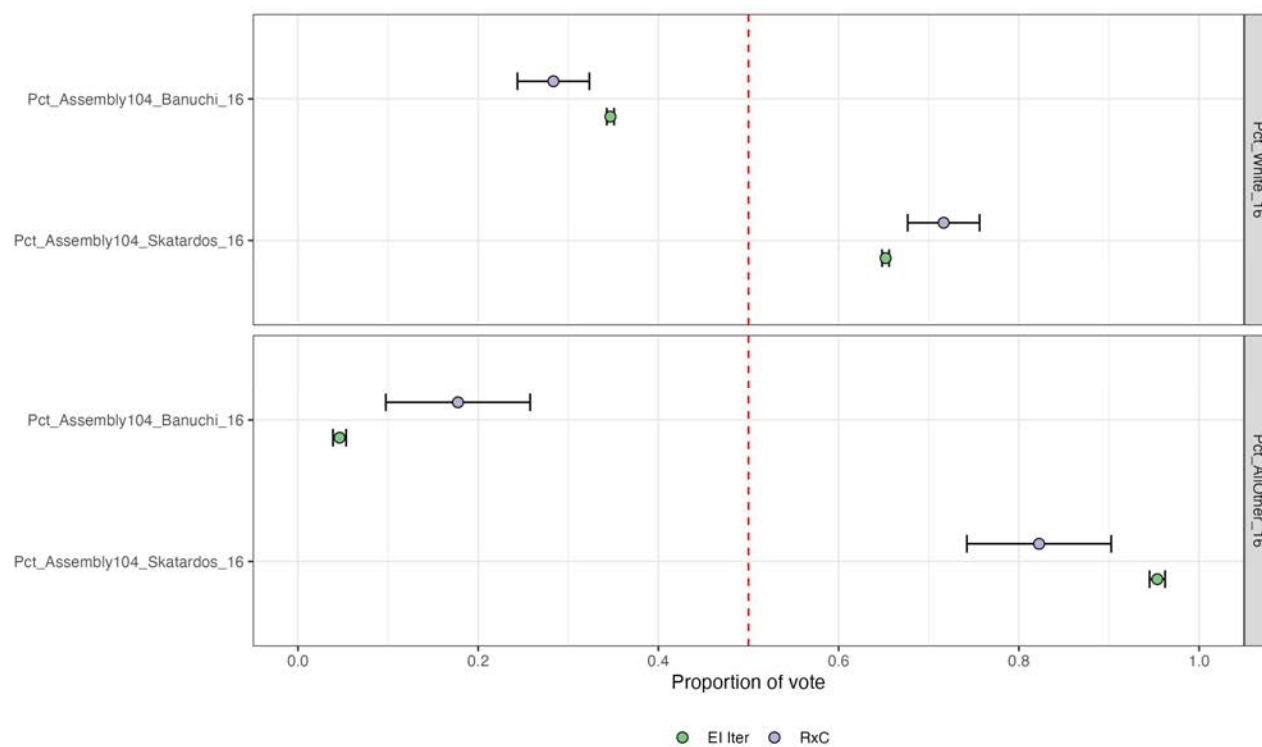
2018 Attorney General**2018 Governor / Lt. Governor**

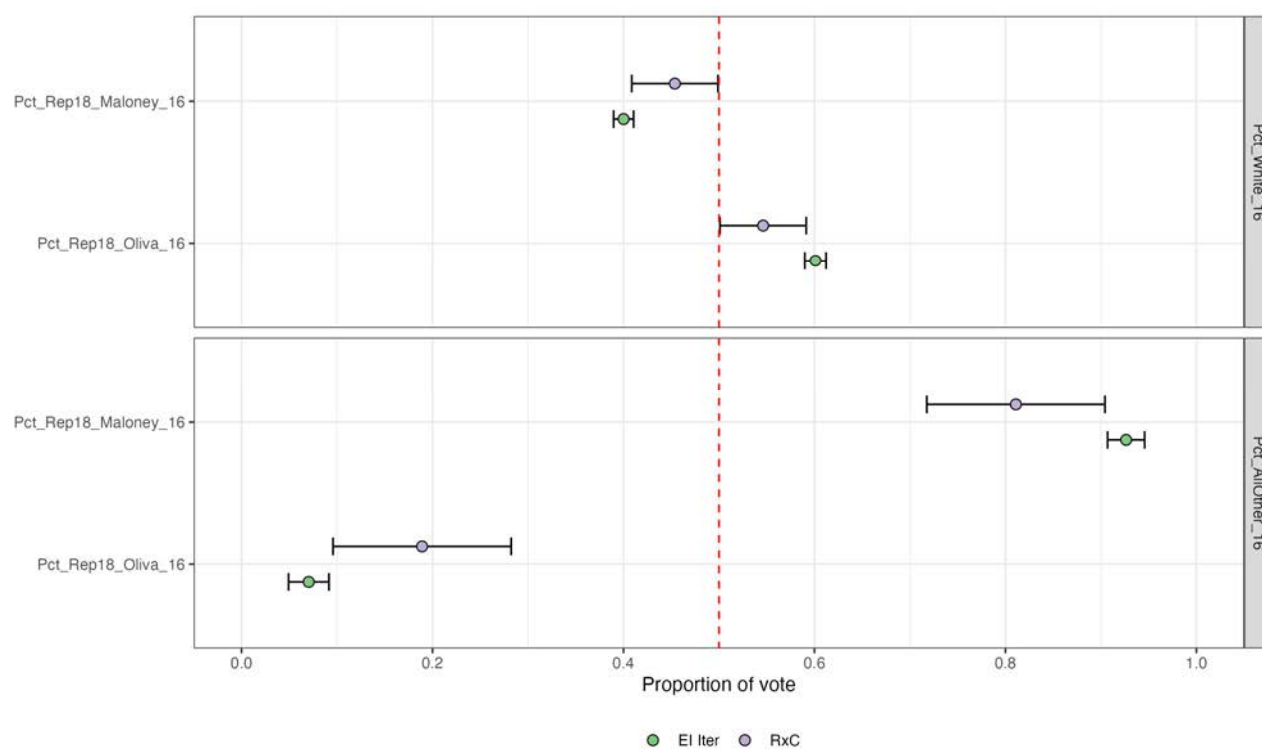
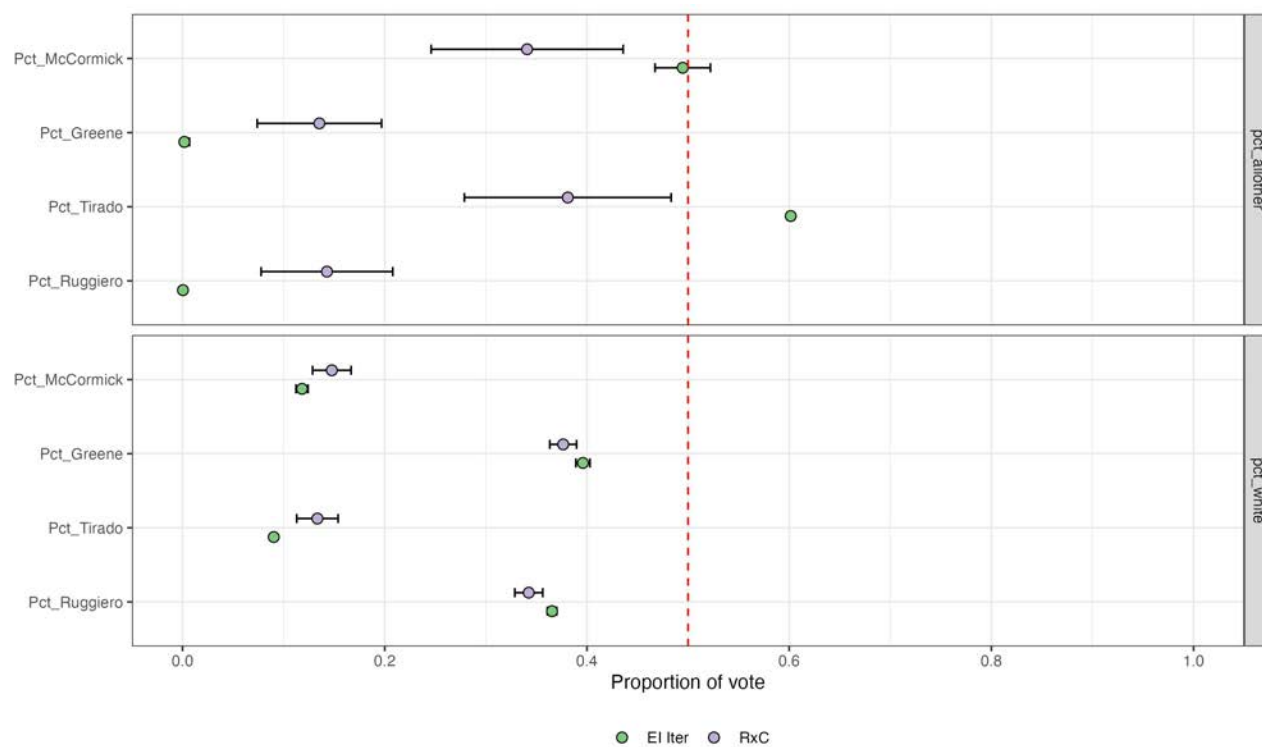
2018 State Assembly #104**2018 State Comptroller**

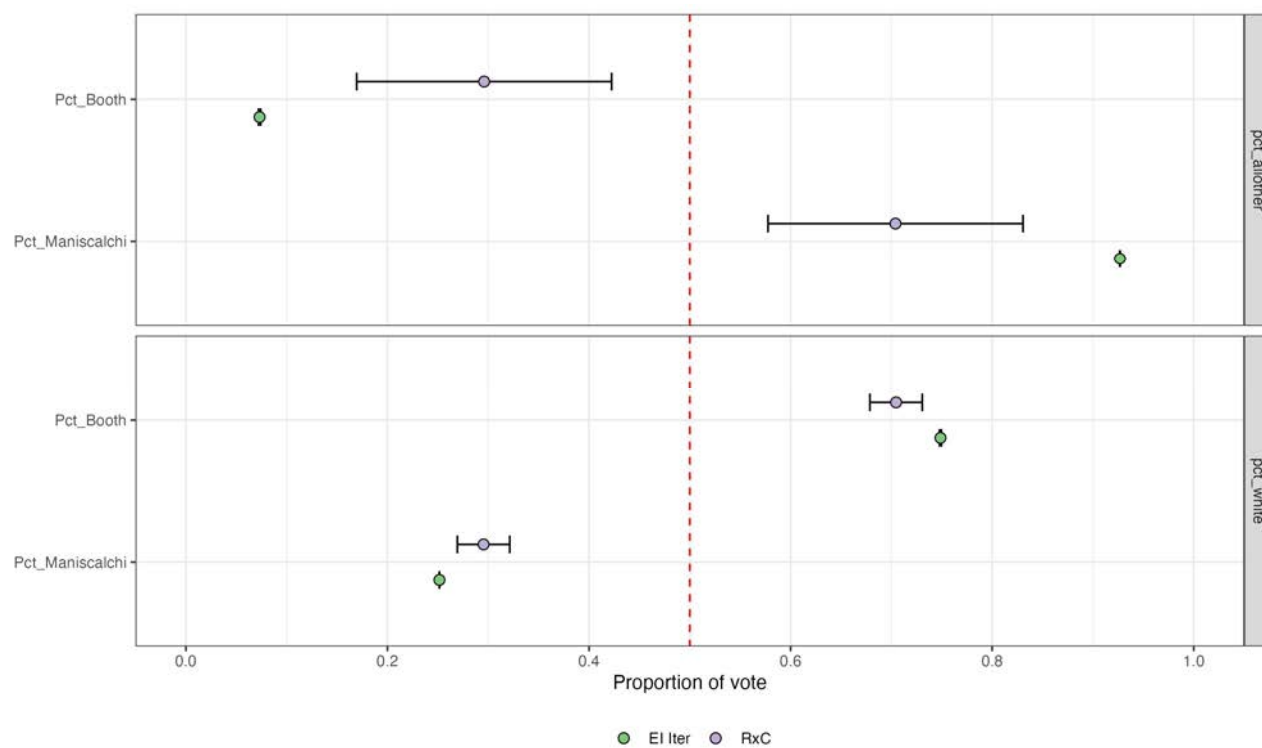
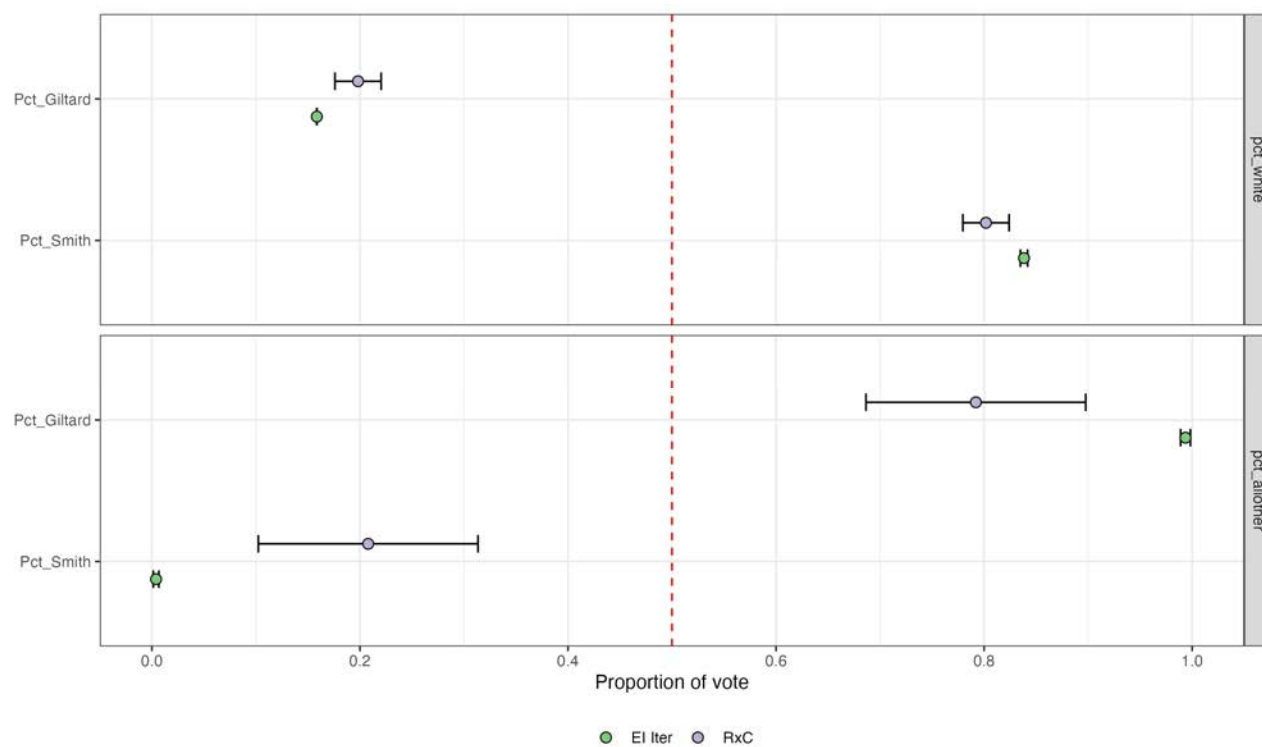
2018 U.S. Representative #18**2018 U.S. Senate**

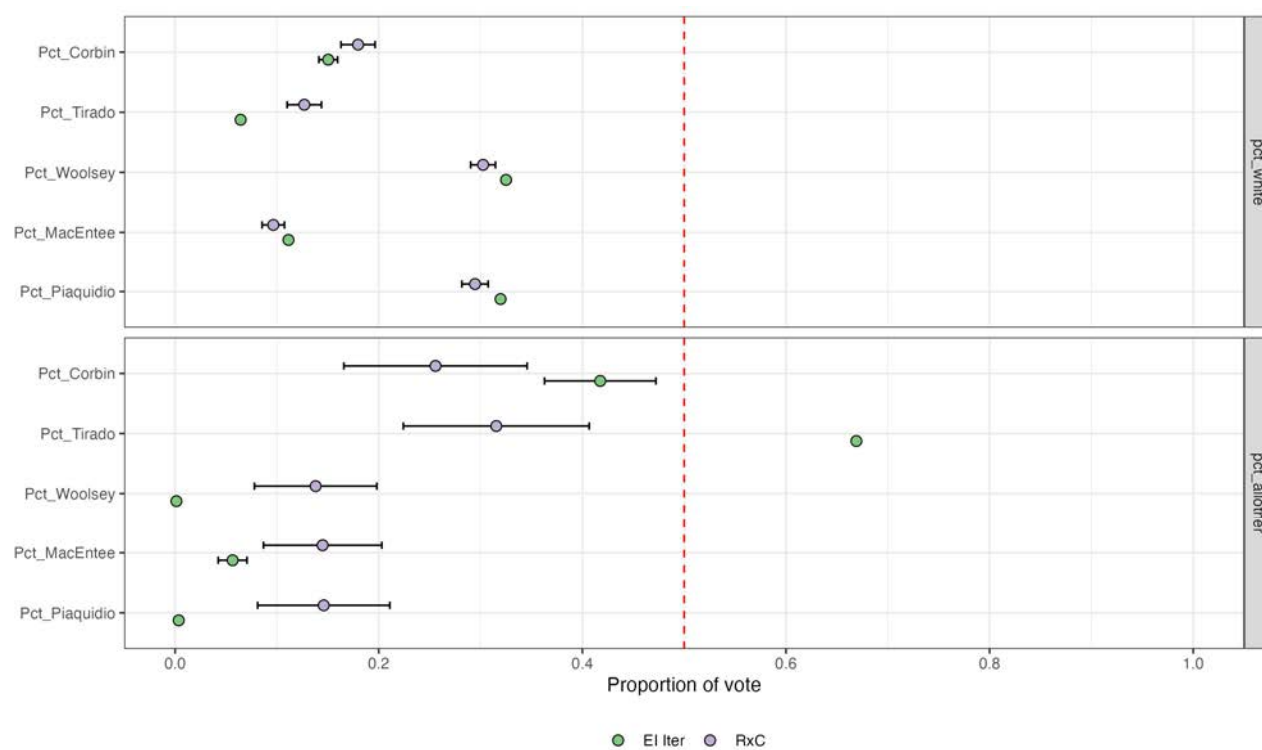
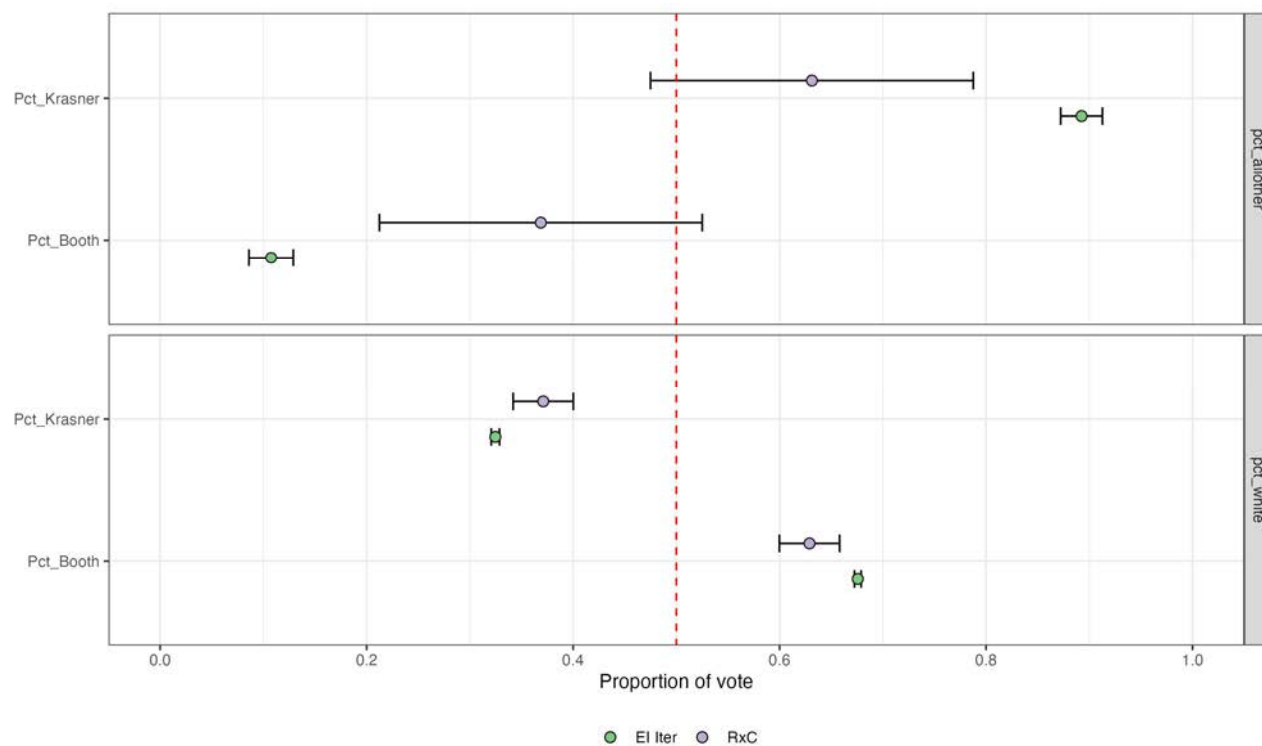
2017 Orange County Clerk**2017 Orange County District Attorney**

2017 Orange County Executive**2016 Orange County Court Judge**

2016 President**2016 State Assembly #104**

2016 U.S. Representative #18**2013 Newburgh Town Council**

2013 Newburgh Town Supervisor**2013 Newburgh Town Tax Receiver and Assessor**

2011 Newburgh Town Council**2011 Newburgh Town Supervisor**

Appendix C: Barreto CV



MATT A. BARRETO – BARRETOM@UCLA.EDU

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES, 3345 BUNCHE HALL, LOS ANGELES CA 90095 / 909.489.2955

EMPLOYMENT:

Professor, Political Science, University of California Los Angeles (2015 – present)
Professor, Chicana/o Studies, University of California Los Angeles (2015 – present)
Co-Founder & Faculty Director, Latino Policy & Politics Institute (LPPI)
Co-Founder & Faculty Director, UCLA Voting Rights Project (VRP)

Dept. Political Science, University of Washington

Professor (2014 – 2015)

Associate Professor (2009 – 2014)

Assistant Professor (2005 – 2009)

Co-Founder & Director, Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race

Founding Director, Center for Democracy and Voting Rights, UW School of Law

Affiliated Research Centers

Latino Policy & Politics Institute (LPPI), University of California, Los Angeles

Chicano Studies Research Center (CSRC), University of California, Los Angeles

Center for the Study of Los Angeles (CSLA), Loyola Marymount University

PERSONAL:

Born: June 6, 1976

San Juan, Puerto Rico

High School: 1994, Washburn Rural HS, Topeka, KS

EDUCATION:

Ph.D., Political Science, June 2005

University of California – Irvine

Sub Fields: American Politics / Race, Ethnicity and Politics / Methodology

Thesis: Ethnic Cues: The Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Participation

Thesis Committee: Bernard Grofman (chair), Louis DeSipio, Katherine Tate, Carole Uhlaner

Thesis Awards: *Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities, 04-05*

University of California President's Dissertation Fellowship, 04-05

University of California Institute for Mexico & the U.S. Dissertation Grant, 04-05

Master of Science, Social Science, March 2003

University of California – Irvine

Bachelor of Science, Political Science, May 1998

Eastern New Mexico University, Portales, NM

Minor: English. Cumulative GPA: 3.9, *Summa Cum Laude*

M.A. BARRETO / UCLA / CURRICULUM VITAE / APR 2024

PUBLICATION RECORD

Google Scholar citation indices: Cites: 5,998 h-index: 38 i10-index: 68 i100-index: 15 Cites/year: 333

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS:

Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. nd. The Great White Hope: Donald Trump, Race, and the Crisis of American Politics. Under Contract, University of Chicago Press. *expected Fall 2024*

Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura. 2014. Latino America: How America's Most Dynamic Population is Poised to Transform the Politics of the Nation. Public Affairs Books. (Sept)

Barreto, Matt and David Leal, editors. 2018. Race, Class, and Precinct Quality in American Cities. Springer Press.

Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto. 2013. Change They Can't Believe In: The Tea Party and Reactionary Politics in America. Princeton University Press. *Winner: APSA Best Book Award for Race, Ethnicity, Politics, 2014*

Barreto, Matt. 2010. Ethnic Cues: The Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Participation. University of Michigan Press

PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES

83. Barreto, Matt, Claudia Alegre, Isaiah Bailey, Alexandria Davis, Joshua Ferrer, Joyce Nguy, Christopher Palmisano, and Crystal Robertson. 2024. "Black Lives Matter and the Racialized Support for the January 6 Insurrection" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

82. Decter-Frain, A, P Sachdeva, L Collingwood, H Murayama, J Burke, MA Barreto, S Henderson, S Wood, J Zingher. 2023. "Comparing Methods for Estimating Demographics in Racially Polarized Voting Analyses" *Sociological Methods & Research*.

81. Leslie, GJ, T Rush, J Collins, MA Barreto. 2023. "Perceived racial efficacy and voter engagement among African Americans." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*.

80. MA Barreto, M Cohen, L Collingwood, CW Dunn, S Waknin. 2022. "A Novel Method for Showing Racially Polarized Voting: Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding" *New York University Review of Law & Social Change*.

79. MA Barreto, GR Sanchez, HL Walker. 2022. "Battling the Hydra: the disparate impact of voter ID requirements in North Dakota." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, 1-22

78. M Roman, H Walker, M Barreto. 2021. "How Social Ties with Undocumented Immigrants Motivate Latinx Political Participation." *Political Research Quarterly*, 10659129211019473

77. Gomez-Aguinaga, Barbara, Ana Oaxaca, Matt Barreto, and Gabriel Sanchez. 2021. "Spanish-Language News Consumption and Latino Reactions to COVID-19" *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*.

76. B Gomez-Aguinaga, GR Sanchez, MA Barreto. 2021. "Importance of State and Local Variation in Black-Brown Attitudes: How Latinos View Blacks and How Blacks Affect Their Views" *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 6 (1), 214-252

75. H Walker, M Roman, MA Barreto. 2020. "The Ripple Effect: The Political Consequences of Proximal Contact with Immigration Enforcement" *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics* 5 (3), 537-572.

74. CW Dunn, MA Barreto, M Acevedo, M Cohen, S Waknin. Legal Theories to Compel Vote-by-Mail in Federal Court" *Calif. L. Rev.* 11, 166

73. Reny, Tyler and Matt A. Barreto. 2020. "Xenophobia in the time of pandemic: othering, anti-Asian attitudes, and COVID-19 " *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. 8(2).

M.A. BARRETO / UCLA / CURRICULUM VITAE / APR 2024

72. Flores, Lucy and Matt A. Barreto. 2020. "Latina Voters: The key electoral force" *Journal of Cultural Marketing Strategy*. 4(2).
71. Frasure-Yokley, Lorrie, Janelle Wong, Edward Vargas and Matt A. Barreto 2020. "THE COLLABORATIVE MULTIRACIAL POST-ELECTION SURVEY (CMPS): BUILDING THE ACADEMIC PIPELINE THROUGH DATA ACCESS, PUBLICATION, AND NETWORKING OPPORTUNITIES" *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 53(1)
70. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, Sergio Garcia-Rios and Kassra Oskooii. 2019. "Estimating Candidate Support: Comparing Iterative EI and EI-RxC Methods" *Sociological Methods and Research*. 48(4).
69. Gonzalez-O'Brien, Benjamin, Matt Barreto and Gabriel Sanchez. 2019. "They're All Out to Get Me! Assessing Inter-Group Competition Among Multiple Populations." *Politics, Groups and Identities*. 7(4).
68. Oskooii, Kassra, Karam Dana and Matt Barreto. 2019. "Beyond generalized ethnocentrism: Islam-specific beliefs and prejudice toward Muslim Americans." *Politics, Groups and Identities* 7(3)
67. Vargas, Edward, Gabriel Sanchez, Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga, and Matt Barreto. 2019. "How Latinos' Perceptions of Environmental Health Threats Impact Policy Preferences." *Social Science Quarterly*. 101(1).
66. Walker, Hannah, Marcel Roman and Matt Barreto. 2019. "The Direct and Indirect Effects of Immigration Enforcement on Latino Political Engagement." *UCLA Law Review*. 67.
65. Gutierrez, Angela, Angela Ocampo, Matt Barreto, and Gary Segura. 2019. "Somos Más : How Racial Threat and Anger Mobilized Latino Voters in the Trump Era" *Political Research Quarterly*. 72(4)
64. Chouhoud, Youssef, Karam Dana, and Matt Barreto. 2019. "American Muslim Political Participation: Between Diversity and Cohesion." *Politics and Religion*. 12(S3).
63. Barreto, Matt, Stephen Nuño, Gabriel Sanchez, and Hannah Walker. 2019. "Race, Class and Barriers to Voting in the 21st Century: The Unequal Impact of Voter ID Laws." *American Politics Research*
62. Barreto, Matt. 2018. "The cycle of under-mobilization of minority voters: A comment on 'Selective recruitment of voter neglect?'" *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*. 3(1).
61. Ocampo, Angela, Karam Dana and Matt Barreto. 2018. "The American Muslim Voter: Community Belonging and Political Participation." *Social Science Research*. 69(4).
60. Barreto, Matt, Lorrie Frasure-Yokley, Edward Vargas, Janelle Wong. 2018. "Best practices in collecting online data with Asian, Black, Latino, and White respondents: evidence from the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey." *Politics, Groups & Identities*. 6(1).
59. Barreto, Matt, Tyler Reny and Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta. 2017. "A debate about survey research methodology and the Latina/o vote: why a bilingual, bicultural, Latino-centered approach matters to accurate data." *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies*. 42(2).
58. Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura. 2017. "Understanding Latino Voting Strength in 2016 and Beyond: Why Culturally Competent Research Matters." *Journal of Cultural Marketing Strategy*. 2:2
57. Dana, Karam, Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta and Matt Barreto. 2017. "The Political Incorporation of Muslims in America: The Mobilizing Role of Religiosity in Islam." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity & Politics*.
56. Collingwood, Loren, Kassra Oskooii, Sergio Garcia-Rios, and Matt Barreto. 2016. "eiCompare: Comparing Ecological Inference Estimates across EI and EI: RxC." *The R Journal*. 8:2 (Dec).
55. Garcia-Rios, Sergio I. and Matt A. Barreto. 2016. "Politicized Immigrant Identity, Spanish-Language Media, and Political Mobilization in 2012" *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, 2(3): 78-96.
54. Barreto, Matt, Collingwood, Loren, Christopher Parker, and Francisco Pedraza. 2015. "Racial Attitudes and Race of

M.A. BARRETO / UCLA / CURRICULUM VITAE / APR 2024

Interviewer Item Non-Response.” *Survey Practice*. 8:3.

53. Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura 2015. “Obama y la seducción del voto Latino.” *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica*. 15:2 (Jul).
52. Barreto, Matt and Loren Collingwood 2015. “Group-based appeals and the Latino vote in 2012: How immigration became a mobilizing issue.” *Electoral Studies*. 37 (Mar).
51. Collingwood, Loren, Matt Barreto and Sergio García-Rios. 2014. “Revisiting Latino Voting: Cross-Racial Mobilization in the 2012 Election” *Political Research Quarterly*. 67:4 (Sep).
50. Bergman, Elizabeth, Gary Segura and Matt Barreto. 2014. “Immigration Politics and Electoral Consequences: Anticipating the Dynamics of Latino Vote in the 2014 Election” *California Journal of Politics and Policy*. (Feb)
49. Barreto, Matt and Sergio García-Rios. 2012. “El poder del voto latino en Estados Unidos en 2012” *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica*. 12:4 (Nov).
48. Collingwood, Loren, Matt Barreto and Todd Donovan. 2012. “Early Primaries, Viability and Changing Preferences for Presidential Candidates.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. 42:1(Mar).
47. Barreto, Matt, Betsy Cooper, Ben Gonzalez, Chris Towler, and Christopher Parker. 2012. “The Tea Party in the Age of Obama: Mainstream Conservatism or Out-Group Anxiety?.” *Political Power and Social Theory*. 22:1(Jan).
46. Dana, Karam, Matt Barreto and Kassra Oskoi. 2011. “Mosques as American Institutions: Mosque Attendance, Religiosity and Integration into the American Political System.” *Religions*. 2:2 (Sept).
45. Barreto, Matt, Christian Grose and Ana Henderson. 2011. “Redistricting: Coalition Districts and the Voting Rights Act.” *Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy*. (May)
44. Barreto, Matt and Stephen Nuño. 2011. “The Effectiveness of Co-Ethnic Contact on Latino Political Recruitment.” *Political Research Quarterly*. 64 (June). 448-459.
43. Garcia-Castañon, Marcela, Allison Rank and Matt Barreto. 2011 “Plugged in or tuned out? Youth, Race, and Internet Usage in the 2008 Election.” *Journal of Political Marketing*. 10:2 115-138.
42. Barreto, Matt, Victoria DeFrancesco, and Jennifer Merolla. 2011 “Multiple Dimensions of Mobilization: The Impact of Direct Contact and Political Ads on Latino Turnout in the 2000 Presidential Election.” *Journal of Political Marketing*. 10:1
41. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, and Sylvia Manzano. 2010. “Measuring Latino Political Influence in National Elections” *Political Research Quarterly*. 63:4 (Dec)
40. Barreto, Matt, and Francisco Pedraza. 2009. “The Renewal and Persistence of Group Identification in American Politics.” *Electoral Studies*. 28 (Dec) 595-605
39. Barreto, Matt and Dino Bozonelos. 2009. “Democrat, Republican, or None of the Above? Religiosity and the Partisan Identification of Muslim Americans” *Politics & Religion* 2 (Aug). 1-31
38. Barreto, Matt, Sylvia Manzano, Ricardo Ramírez and Kathy Rim. 2009. “Immigrant Social Movement Participation: Understanding Involvement in the 2006 Immigration Protest Rallies.” *Urban Affairs Review*. 44: (5) 736-764
37. Grofman, Bernard and Matt Barreto. 2009. “A Reply to Zax’s (2002) Critique of Grofman and Migalski (1988): Double Equation Approaches to Ecological Inferences.” *Sociological Methods and Research*. 37 (May)
36. Barreto, Matt, Stephen Nuño and Gabriel Sanchez. 2009. “The Disproportionate Impact of Voter-ID Requirements on the Electorate – New Evidence from Indiana.” *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 42 (Jan)
35. Barreto, Matt, Luis Fraga, Sylvia Manzano, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and Gary Segura. 2008. “Should they dance with the one who brung ‘em? Latinos and the 2008 Presidential election” *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 41 (Oct).

M.A. BARRETO / UCLA / CURRICULUM VITAE / APR 2024

34. Barreto, Matt, Mara Marks and Nathan Woods. 2008. "Are All Precincts Created Equal? The Prevalence of Low- Quality Precincts in Low-Income and Minority Communities." *Political Research Quarterly*. 62
33. Barreto, Matt. 2007. "¿Si Se Puede! Latino Candidates and the Mobilization of Latino Voters." *American Political Science Review*. 101 (August): 425-441.
32. Barreto, Matt and David Leal. 2007. "Latinos, Military Service, and Support for Bush and Kerry in 2004." *American Politics Research*. 35 (March): 224-251.
31. Barreto, Matt, Mara Marks and Nathan Woods. 2007. "Homeownership: Southern California's New Political Fault Line?" *Urban Affairs Review*. 42 (January). 315-341.
30. Barreto, Matt, Matt Streb, Fernando Guerra, and Mara Marks. 2006. "Do Absentee Voters Differ From Polling Place Voters? New Evidence From California." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 70 (Summer): 224-34.
29. Barreto, Matt, Fernando Guerra, Mara Marks, Stephen Nuño, and Nathan Woods. 2006. "Controversies in Exit Polling: Implementing a racially stratified homogenous precinct approach." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 39 (July) 477-83.
28. Barreto, Matt, Ricardo Ramírez, and Nathan Woods. 2005. "Are Naturalized Voters Driving the California Latino Electorate? Measuring the Impact of IRCA Citizens on Latino Voting." *Social Science Quarterly*. 86 (December): 792-811.
27. Barreto, Matt. 2005. "Latino Immigrants at the Polls: Foreign-born Voter Turnout in the 2002 Election." *Political Research Quarterly*. 58 (March): 79-86.
26. Barreto, Matt, Mario Villarreal and Nathan Woods. 2005. "Metropolitan Latino Political Behavior: Turnout and Candidate Preference in Los Angeles." *Journal of Urban Affairs*. 27(February): 71-91.
25. Leal, David, Matt Barreto, Jongho Lee and Rodolfo de la Garza. 2005. "The Latino Vote in the 2004 Election." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 38 (January): 41-49.
24. Marks, Mara, Matt Barreto and Nathan Woods. 2004. "Harmony and Bliss in LA? Race and Racial Attitudes a Decade After the 1992 Riots." *Urban Affairs Review*. 40 (September): 3-18.
23. Barreto, Matt, Gary Segura and Nathan Woods. 2004. "The Effects of Overlapping Majority-Minority Districts on Latino Turnout." *American Political Science Review*. 98 (February): 65-75.
22. Barreto, Matt and Ricardo Ramírez. 2004. "Minority Participation and the California Recall: Latino, Black, and Asian Voting Trends 1990 – 2003." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 37 (January): 11-14.
21. Barreto, Matt and José Muñoz. 2003. "Reexamining the 'politics of in-between': political participation among Mexican immigrants in the United States." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*. 25 (November): 427-447.
20. Barreto, Matt. 2003. "National Origin (Mis)Identification Among Latinos in the 2000 Census: The Growth of the "Other Hispanic or Latino" Category." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy*. 15 (June): 39-63.

Edited Volume Book Chapters

19. Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura. 2020. "Latino Reaction and Resistance to Trump: Lessons learned from Pete Wilson and 1994." In Raul Hinojosa and Edward Telles (eds.) Equitable Globalization: Expanding Bridges, Overcoming Walls. Oakland: University of California Press.
18. Barreto, Matt, Albert Morales and Gary Segura. 2019. "The Brown Tide and the Blue Wave in 2018" In Larry Sabato, Kyle Kondik, Geoffrey Skelley (eds.) The Blue Wave. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
17. Gutierrez, Angela, Angela Ocampo and Matt Barreto. 2018. "Obama's Latino Legacy: From Unknown to Never Forgotten" In Andrew Rudalevige and Bert Rockman (eds.) The Obama Legacy. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press.
16. Barreto, Matt, Thomas Schaller and Gary Segura. 2017. "Latinos and the 2016 Election: How Trump Lost Latinos on Day 1"

M.A. BARRETO / UCLA / CURRICULUM VITAE / APR 2024

- In Larry Sabato, Kyle Kondik, Geoffrey Skelley (eds.) Trumped: The 2016 Election that Broke All the Rules. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
15. Walker, Hannah, Gabriel Sanchez, Stephen Nuño, Matt Barreto 2017. "Race and the Right to Vote: The Modern Barrier of Voter ID Laws" In Todd Donovan (ed.) Election Rules and Reforms. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
 14. Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. 2015. "Public Opinion and Reactionary Movements: From the Klan to the Tea Party" In Adam Berinsky (ed.) New Directions in Public Opinion. 2nd edition. New York: Routledge Press.
 13. Barreto, Matt and Gabriel Sanchez. 2014. "A 'Southern Exception' in Black-Latino Attitudes?." In Anthony Affigne, Evelyn Hu-Dehart, Marion Orr (eds.) Latino Politics en Ciencia Política. New York: New York University Press.
 12. Barreto, Matt, Ben Gonzalez, and Gabriel Sanchez. 2014. "Rainbow Coalition in the Golden State? Exposing Myths, Uncovering New Realities in Latino Attitudes Towards Blacks." In Josh Kun and Laura Pulido (eds.) Black and Brown in Los Angeles: Beyond Conflict and Coalition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
 11. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, Ben Gonzalez, and Christopher Parker. 2011. "Tea Party Politics in a Blue State: Dino Rossi and the 2010 Washington Senate Election" In William Miller and Jeremy Walling (eds.) Stuck in the Middle to Lose: Tea Party Effects on 2010 U.S. Senate Elections. Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group.
 10. Jason Morin, Gabriel Sanchez and Matt Barreto. 2011. "Perceptions of Competition Between Latinos and Blacks: The Development of a Relative Measure of Inter-Group Competition." In Edward Telles, Gaspar Rivera-Salgado and Mark Sawyer (eds.) Just Neighbors? Research on African American and Latino Relations in the US. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
 9. Grofman, Bernard, Frank Wayman and Matt Barreto. 2009. "Rethinking partisanship: Some thoughts on a unified theory." In John Bartle and Paolo Bellucci (eds.) Political Parties and Partisanship: Social identity and individual attitudes. New York: Routledge Press.
 8. Barreto, Matt, Ricardo Ramírez, Luis Fraga and Fernando Guerra. 2009. "Why California Matters: How California Latinos Influence the Presidential Election." In Rodolfo de la Garza, Louis DeSipio and David Leal (eds.) Beyond the Barrio: Latinos in the 2004 Elections. South Bend, ID: University of Notre Dame Press.
 7. Francisco Pedraza and Matt Barreto. 2008. "Exit Polls and Ethnic Diversity: How to Improve Estimates and Reduce Bias Among Minority Voters." In Wendy Alvey and Fritz Scheuren (eds.) Elections and Exit Polling. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley and Sons.
 6. Adrian Pantoja, Matt Barreto and Richard Anderson. 2008. "Politics y la Iglesia: Attitudes Toward the Role of Religion in Politics Among Latino Catholics" In Michael Genovese, Kristin Hayer and Mark J. Rozell (eds.) Catholics and Politics. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press..
 5. Barreto, Matt. 2007. "The Role of Latino Candidates in Mobilizing Latino Voters: Revisiting Latino Vote Choice." In Rodolfo Espino, David Leal and Kenneth Meier (eds.) Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization, and Representation. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
 4. Abosch, Yishaiya, Matt Barreto and Nathan Woods. 2007. "An Assessment of Racially Polarized Voting For and Against Latinos Candidates in California." In Ana Henderson (ed.) Voting Rights Act Reauthorization of 2006: Perspectives on Democracy, Participation, and Power. Berkeley, CA: UC Berkeley Public Policy Press.
 3. Barreto, Matt and Ricardo Ramírez. 2005. "The Race Card and California Politics: Minority Voters and Racial Cues in the 2003 Recall Election." In Shaun Bowler and Bruce Cain (eds.) Clicker Politics: Essays on the California Recall. Englewood-Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
 2. Barreto, Matt and Nathan Woods. 2005. "The Anti-Latino Political Context and its Impact on GOP Detachment and Increasing Latino Voter Turnout in Los Angeles County." In Gary Segura and Shawn Bowler (eds.) Diversity in Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
 1. Pachon, Harry, Matt Barreto and Frances Marquez. 2004. "Latino Politics Comes of Age in the Golden State." In Rodolfo de la Garza and Louis DeSipio (eds.) Muted Voices: Latino Politics in the 2000 Election. New York: Rowman & Littlefield

M.A. BARRETO / UCLA / CURRICULUM VITAE / APR 2024

RESEARCH AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

June 2020	WK Kellogg Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	\$2,500,000 – 24 months
June 2020	Casey Family Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	\$900,000 – 18 months
Aug 2018	Provost Initiative for Voting Rights Research UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Chad Dunn]	\$90,000 – 24 months
April 2018	Democracy Fund & Wellspring Philanthropic UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	\$200,000 – 18 months
March 2018	AltaMed California UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	\$250,000 – 12 months
Dec 2017	California Community Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	\$100,000 – 12 months
July 2013	Ford Foundation UW Center for Democracy and Voting Rights	\$200,000 – 12 months
April 2012	American Values Institute [With Ben Gonzalez] Racial Narratives and Public Response to Racialized Moments	\$40,000 – 3 months
Jan 2012	American Civil Liberties Union Foundation [With Gabriel Sanchez] Voter Identification Laws in Wisconsin	\$60,000 – 6 months
June 2011	State of California Citizens Redistricting Commission An Analysis of Racial Bloc Voting in California Elections	\$60,000 – 3 months
Apr 2011	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) [With Karam Dana] Muslim and American? A national conference on the political and social incorporation of American Muslims	\$50,000 – 18 months
Jan 2011	impreMedia [With Gary Segura] Latino public opinion tracking poll of voter attitudes in 2011	\$30,000 – 6 months
Oct 2010	National Council of La Raza (NCLR) [With Gary Segura] Measuring Latino Influence in the 2010 Elections	\$128,000 – 6 months
Oct 2010	We Are America Alliance (WAAA) [With Gary Segura] Latino and Asian American Immigrant Community Voter Study	\$79,000 – 3 months
May 2010	National Council of La Raza (NCLR) [With Gary Segura] A Study of Latino Views Towards Arizona SB1070	\$25,000 – 3 months
Apr 2010	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) [With Karam Dana] Muslim and American? The influence of religiosity in Muslim political incorporation	\$50,000 – 18 months
Oct 2009	American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) [With Gary Segura] Health care reform and Latino public opinion	\$25,000 – 3 months
Nov 2008	impreMedia & National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) [With Gary Segura] 2008 National Latino Post-Election Survey, Presidential Election	\$46,000 – 3 months

M.A. BARRETO / UCLA / CURRICULUM VITAE / APR 2024

RESEARCH GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS CONTINUED...

July 2008	National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) [With Gary Segura] Latino voter outreach survey – an evaluation of Obama and McCain	\$72,000 – 3 months
June 2008	The Pew Charitable Trusts, Make Voting Work Project [with Karin MacDonald and Bonnie Glaser] Evaluating Online Voter Registration (OVR) Systems in Arizona and Washington	\$220,000 – 10 months
April 2008	National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) & National Council of La Raza (NCLR), 2008 Latino voter messaging survey	\$95,000 – 6 months
Dec. 2007	Research Royalty Fund, University of Washington 2008 Latino national post-election survey	\$39,000 – 12 months
Oct. 2007	Brenan Center for Justice, New York University [with Stephen Nuño and Gabriel Sanchez] Indiana Voter Identification Study	\$40,000 – 6 months
June 2007	National Science Foundation, Political Science Division [with Gary Segura] American National Election Study – Spanish translation and Latino oversample	\$750,000 – 24 months
Oct. 2006	University of Washington, Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education Absentee voter study during the November 2006 election in King County, WA	\$12,000 – 6 months
Mar. 2006	Latino Policy Coalition Public Opinion Research Grant [with Gary Segura] Awarded to the Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race	\$40,000 – 18 months
2005 – 2006	University of Washington, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Research Grant	\$8,000 – 12 months
Mar. 2005	Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation Grant [with Fernando Guerra] Conduct Exit Poll during Los Angeles Mayoral Election, Mar. 8 & May 17, 2005 Awarded to the Center for the Study of Los Angeles	\$30,000 – 6 months
2004 – 2005	Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities	\$21,000 – 12 months
2004 – 2005	University of California President's Dissertation Fellowship	\$14,700 – 9 months
2004 – 2005	University of California Mexico-US (UC MEXUS) Dissertation Grant	\$12,000 – 9 months
Apr – 2004	UC Regents pre-dissertation fellowship, University of California, Irvine,	\$4,700 – 3 months
2003 – 2004	Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation Grant [with Fernando Guerra] Awarded to the Center for the Study of Los Angeles	\$20,000 – 12 months
2002 – 2003	Ford Foundation Grant on Institutional Inequality [with Harry Pachon] Conducted longitudinal study of Prop 209 on Latino and Black college admittance Awarded to Tomás Rivera Policy Institute	\$150,000 – 12 months
2002 – 2003	Haynes Foundation Grant on Economic Development [with Louis Tornatzky] Knowledge Economy in the Inland Empire region of Southern California Awarded to Tomás Rivera Policy Institute	\$150,000 – 18 months
2001 – 2002	William F Podlich Graduate Fellowship, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine	\$24,000 – 9 months

M.A. BARRETO / UCLA / CURRICULUM VITAE / APR 2024

RESEARCH UNDER REVIEW/WORKING PAPERS:

Barreto, Matt, and Christopher Parker. The Great White Hope: Donald Trump, Race, and the Crisis of American Politics.
Under Contract, University of Chicago Press, *expected 2020*

Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. “The Great White Hope: Existential Threat and Demographic Anxiety in the Age of Trump.” Revise and Resubmit.

Barreto, Matt, Natalie Masuoka, Gabe Sanchez and Stephen El-Khatib. “Religiosity, Discrimination and Group Identity Among Muslim Americans” Revise and Resubmit

Barreto, Matt, Gabe Sanchez and Barbara Gomez. “Latinos, Blacks, and Black Latinos: Competition, Cooperation, or Indifference?” Revise and Resubmit

Walker, Hannah, Matt Barreto, Stephen Nuño, and Gabriel Sanchez. “A comprehensive review of access to valid photo ID and the right to vote in America” [Under review]

Gutierrez, Angela, Angela Ocampo, Matt Barreto and Gary Segura. “From Proposition 187 to Donald Trump: New Evidence that Anti-Immigrant Threat Mobilizes Latino Voters.” [Under Review]

Oskooii, Kassra, Matt Barreto, and Karam Dana. “No Sharia, No Mosque: Orientalist Notions of Islam and Intolerance Toward Muslims in the United States” [Under Review]

M.A. BARRETO / UCLA / CURRICULUM VITAE / APR 2024

EXPERT REPORTS:

- North Carolina 2024, *North Carolina NAACP v. Hirsch*, SB 824 Voter ID law
- North Carolina 2023, State Senate redistricting, *Democracy Project II*.
- Dodge City, Kansas 2022-23, city redistricting, *Coca et al. vs. Dodge City, KS*.
- Florida 2022-23, Statewide redistricting, *Common Cause et al. vs. Byrd*
- Galveston County, Texas 2022-23, county redistricting, *Petteway et al. v. Galveston County, TX*.
- Benton, Chelan, Yakima counties signature rejection, 2022-23, *Reyes et al. v. Chilton et al.*
- San Juan County, New Mexico 2022-23, county redistricting, *Navajo Nation v. San Juan County, NM*
- Texas Statewide redistricting, 2022, *LULAC v. Abbott* (on behalf of Mexican American Legislative Caucus)
- Franklin County, WA, 2021-22, county redistricting, rebuttal expert for Plaintiffs, *Portugal et al. vs. Franklin County*
- Texas Statewide redistricting, 2021-22, *Brooks v. Abbott* Senate District 10 (Tarrant County)
- Baltimore County Council, 2021-22, *NAACP v. Baltimore County*, (on behalf of NAACP and ACLU-MD)
- Maryland Office of Attorney General, 2021-22, racially polarized voting analysis as part of statewide redistricting
- Pennsylvania House Democrats, 2021-22, racially polarized voting analysis as part of statewide redistricting
- Washington State Senate Democrats, 2021-22, racially polarized voting analysis as part of statewide redistricting
- City of San Jose, 2021, racially polarized voting analysis as part of city redistricting
- Santa Clara County, 2021, racially polarized voting analysis as part of county redistricting
- Pennsylvania, 2020, *Boockvar v. Trump*, Expert for Intervenors, (Perkins Coie) related to voter intimidation
- Missouri, 2020, *Missouri NAACP vs. State of Missouri*, Expert for plaintiffs related to vote by mail
- Georgia, 2020, *Black Voters Matter vs. Raffesnsperger*, Expert for plaintiffs related to vote by mail
- New York, 2019, Expert for NYAG New York v. U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement 1:19-cv-08876
- North Carolina, 2019, Expert for Plaintiffs in North Carolina voter ID lawsuit, *NAACP v. Cooper*
- East Ramapo CSD, 2019, Expert for Plaintiffs in Section 2 VRA lawsuit, assessed polarized voting
- New York, 2018, Expert for Plaintiffs in Census Citizenship Lawsuit, New York v. U.S. Dept of Commerce (also an expert related cases: *California v. Ross* and *Kravitz v. Dept of Commerce*)
- Dallas County, TX, 2017, Expert for Defense in Section 2 VRA lawsuit, *Harding v. Dallas County*
- Kansas, 2016, Expert for Plaintiffs in Kansas voter registration lawsuit, *Fish v. Kobach* 2:16-cv-02105-JAR
- North Dakota, 2015, Expert for Plaintiffs in North Dakota voter ID lawsuit, *Brakebill v. Jaeger* 1:16-cv-00008-CSM
- Alabama, 2015, Expert for Plaintiffs in Alabama voter ID lawsuit, *Birmingham Ministries v. State of Alabama* 2:15-cv-02193-LSC
- Texas, 2014, Testifying Expert for Plaintiffs in Texas voter ID lawsuit, *Veasey v. Perry* 2:13-cv-00193
- Galveston County, TX Redistricting, 2013, Expert report for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, vote dilution analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit Galveston County JP/Constable districting
- Pasadena, TX Redistricting, 2013, Expert report for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit within Pasadena School District
- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Testifying Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit within Harris County

M.A. BARRETO / UCLA / CURRICULUM VITAE / APR 2024

- Pennsylvania, 2012, Testifying Expert for ACLU Foundation of Pennsylvania in voter ID lawsuit, Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania No. 330 MD 2012
- Milwaukee County, WI, 2012, Testifying Expert for ACLU Foundation of Wisconsin in voter ID lawsuit, Frank v. Walker 2:11-cv-01128(LA)
- Orange County, FL, 2012, Consulting Expert for Latino Justice/PRLDEF, Racially polarized voting analysis in Orange County, Florida
- Anaheim, CA, 2012, Consulting Expert for Goldstein, Demchak & Baller Legal, Racially polarized voting analysis for CVRA redistricting case Anaheim, CA
- Los Angeles County, CA, 2011, Consulting Expert for Goldstein, Demchak & Baller Legal, Racially polarized voting analysis for three redistricting cases in L.A.: Cerritos Community College Board; ABC Unified Schools; City of West Covina
- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, for Section 5 objection within Harris County
- Monterey County, CA Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for City of Salinas, Demographic analysis, creation of alternative maps, and racially polarized Voting analysis within Monterey County
- Los Angeles County Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert for Supervisor Gloria Molina, Racially Polarized voting analysis within L.A. County
- State of California, Citizens Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert, Racially Polarized Voting analysis throughout state of California
- Asian Pacific American Legal Center, 2011, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Asian American candidates in Los Angeles for APALC redistricting brief
- Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and Arnold & Porter, LLP, 2010-12, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino and Asian candidates in San Mateo County, concerning San Mateo County Board of Supervisors
- ACLU of Washington, 2010-11, preliminary analysis of Latino population patterns in Yakima, Washington, to assess ability to draw majority Latino council districts
- State of Washington, 2010-11, provided expert analysis and research for *State of Washington v. MacLean* in case regarding election misconduct and voting patterns
- Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association, 2008-10, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino candidates in L.A. County for VRA case, concerning L.A. County Board of Supervisors redistricting (6 reports issued 08-10)
- Brennan Center for Justice and Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson LLP, 2009-10 Amicus Brief submitted to Indiana Supreme Court, *League of Women Voters v. Rokita*, regarding access to voter identification among minority and lower resource citizens
- State of New Mexico, consulting expert for state in *AAPD v. New Mexico*, 2008,
- District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS), statistical consultant for survey methodology of opinion survey of parents in DCPS district (for pending suit), 2008,
- Brennan Center for Justice, 2007-08, Amicus Brief submitted to U.S. Supreme Court, and cited in Supreme Court decision, *Crawford v. Marion County*, regarding access to voter identification among minority and lower-resource citizens
- Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association, 2002-07, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino candidates in L.A. County for VRA case, concerning L.A. County Board of Supervisors redistricting (12 + reports issued during 5 years)
- Monterrey County School Board, 2007, demographic and population analysis for VRA case
- Sweetwater Union School District, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis, and demographic and population analysis for VRA case
- Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis for Latino candidates, for City of Whittier city council races, for VRA case

M.A. BARRETO / UCLA / CURRICULUM VITAE / APR 2024

- ACLU of Washington, 2008, preliminary analysis of voting patterns in Eastern Washington, related to electability of Latino candidates
- Nielsen Media Research, 2005-08, with Willie C. Velasquez Institute, assessed the methodology of Latino household recruitment in Nielsen sample

M.A. BARRETO / UCLA / CURRICULUM VITAE / APR 2024

**TEACHING
EXPERIENCE:**

UCLA & UW

2005 – Present

- Minority Political Behavior (Grad Seminar)
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S. (Grad Seminar)
- Introduction to Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Advanced Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Qualitative Research Methods (Grad Seminar)
- Political Participation & Elections (Grad Seminar)
- The Voting Rights Act (Law School seminar)
- Research methodology II (Law School Ph.D. program seminar)
- U.S. Latino Politics
- Racial and Ethnic Politics in the U.S.
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S.
- Introduction to American Government
- Public Opinion Research
- Campaigns and Elections in the U.S.
- Presidential Primary Elections

Teaching Assistant

University of California, Irvine

2002 – 2005

- Intro to American Politics (K. Tate)
- Intro to Minority Politics (L. DeSipio)
- **Recognized as Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Winter 2002**
- Statistics and Research Methods (B. Grofman)
- **Recognized as Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Winter 2003**

**BOARD &
RESEARCH
APPOINTMENTS****Founding Partner**

Barreto Segura Partners (BSP) Research, LLC

2021 - Present**Founding Partner**

Latino Decisions

2007 – 2020**Board of Advisors**

American National Election Study, University of Michigan

2010 – 2017**Advisory Board**States of Change: Demographics & Democracy Project
*CAP, AEI, Brookings Collaborative Project*2014 – Present**Research Advisor**

American Values Institute / Perception Institute

2009 – 2014**Expert Consultant**

State of California, Citizens Redistricting Committee

2011 – 2012**Senior Scholar & Advisory Council**

Latino Policy Coalition, San Francisco, CA

2006 – 2008**Board of Directors**

CASA Latina, Seattle, WA

2006 – 2009**Faculty Research Scholar**

Tomás Rivera Policy Institute, University of Southern California

1999 – 2009

M.A. BARRETO / UCLA / CURRICULUM VITAE / APR 2024

PHD STUDENTS

UCLA & UW

Committee Chair or Co-Chair

- Francisco I. Pedraza – University of California, Riverside (UW Ph.D. 2009)
- Loren Collingwood – University of California, Riverside (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Betsy Cooper – Public Religion Research Institute, Washington DC (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Sergio I. Garcia-Rios – Cornell University (UW Ph.D. 2015)
- Hannah Walker – Rutgers University (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Kassra Oskooii – University of Delaware (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Angela Ocampo – Arizona State University (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Ayobami Laniyonu – University of Toronto (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta – Facebook Analytics (UCLA 2019)
- Tyler Reny – Claremont Graduate University (UCLA 2020)
- Adria Tinin – Environmental Policy Analyst (UCLA Ph.D. 2020)
- Angie Gutierrez – University of Texas (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Vivien Leung – Bucknell University (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Marcel Roman – Harvard University (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Ana Oaxaca – University of Texas (UCLA Ph.D. 2022)
- Estefania Castañeda-Perez – University of Pennsylvania (UCLA Ph.D. 2022)
- Tye Rush - University of California, Davis (UCLA Ph.D. 2023)
- Shakari Byerly-Nelson – *in progress* (UCLA)

Committee Member

- Erik Hanson – University of Southern California (UCLA 2022)
- Joy Wilke – Director of Polling, Blue Labs (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Christine Slaughter – Boston University (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga – University of Nebraska (UNM Ph.D. 2020)
- Bang Quan Zheng – Florida International University (UCLA Ph.D. 2020)
- Jessica Stewart – Emory University (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Jonathan Collins – Brown University (UCLA Ph.D., 2017)
- Lisa Sanchez – University of Arizona (UNM Ph.D., 2016)
- Nazita Lajevardi – Michigan State University (UC San Diego Ph.D., 2016)
- Kiku Huckle – Pace University (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Patrick Rock (Social Psychology) – (UCLA Ph.D. 2016)
- Raynee Gutting – Loyola Marymount University (Stony Brook Ph.D. 2015)
- Christopher Towler – Sacramento State University (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Benjamin F. Gonzalez – San Diego State University (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Marcela Garcia-Castañon – San Francisco State University (UW Ph.D. 2013)
- Justin Reedy (Communications) – University of Oklahoma (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Dino Bozonelos – Cal State San Marcos (UC Riverside Ph.D. 2012)
- Brandon Bosch – University of Nebraska (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Karam Dana (Middle East Studies) – UW Bothell (UW Ph.D. 2010)
- Lauren Goldstein (Social Psychology) – *in progress* (UCLA)