## JUSTIN LEVITT

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#### TEACHING

## LMU Loyola Law School, Los Angeles, CA

Associate Dean for Research (2017–2020), Gerald T. McLaughlin Fellow (2018–present). Associate Professor of Law (2010–2014), Professor of Law (2014–present).

Courses: Constitutional Law, Law of the Political Process, Legislation and Regulation, Criminal Procedure

Founder, <u>Practitioner Appellate Moot Program</u> Faculty Advisor, <u>Loyola Law Review</u>, 2014-15; <u>American Constitution Society</u> <u>Dean's Search Committee</u> (co-chair), Hiring Committee, <u>Faculty Workshops</u> (co-chair) Excellence in Teaching Award, 2013-14, 2019-20

#### UCLA School of Law, Los Angeles, CA

*Visiting Professor of Law* (spring 2024). *Course*: Constitutional Law

#### USC Gould School of Law, Los Angeles, CA

*Visiting Professor of Law* (spring 2015). *Course*: Constitutional Law

California Institute of Technology (Caltech), Pasadena, CA Visiting Associate Professor of Law (spring 2014). Courses: Introduction to Law and Law and Economics

### Yale Law School, New Haven, CT

*Visiting Associate Professor of Law* (spring 2013). *Courses*: Law of Democracy, Motives of Public Actors

# New York University School of Law, New York, NY

Assistant Adjunct Professor of Clinical Law (2006–07). Course: Public Policy Advocacy Clinic

#### **EDUCATION**

# Harvard Law School / Harvard Kennedy School

J.D./M.P.A., *magna cum laude* (June 2002). HARVARD LAW REVIEW, Articles Editor, vols. 114 and 115

**Fulbright Scholarship**, Universität zu Köln, Germany (1997–98). Research on organizational and employee loyalty.

### **Harvard College**

B.A. (Special Concentration), *magna cum laude* (June 1995). John Harvard Scholar, Harvard National Scholar

# **OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

# White House Domestic Policy Council, Washington, DC (2021–22).

# Senior Policy Advisor for Democracy and Voting Rights.

Within a team devoted to racial justice and equity, assisted the President in his efforts to make sure that every eligible American has secure, reliable access to a meaningful vote; to provide equitable representation in government; to restore trust in a democracy deserving of that trust; and to bolster avenues by which Americans build community and engage in civic participation.

# Facebook, Menlo Park, CA (2020–21).

Voting Rights Consultant.

Offered expertise on both outbound information and user content related to electoral process.

# U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC (2015–17).

Deputy Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division.

Reviewed strategic decisions, case filings, and administrative matters in supporting and managing hundreds of employees, including civil rights policy staff and sections enforcing federal voting rights statutes and protections against employment discrimination (including protections based on race, sex, religion, national origin, citizenship status, and military service).

## Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law, New York, NY (2005–08, 2009–10).

## Counsel, Democracy Program.

Provided legislative and administrative counsel and pursued litigation to promote equitable access to an effective vote and meaningful government representation.

## **Obama Campaign for Change/Democratic National Committee**, Washington, DC (2008).

# National Voter Protection Counsel.

Co-managed presidential campaign's national voter protection program, directed substantive approach to election administration concerns, edited pleadings and helped direct strategy in election-related litigation, and oversaw recruitment and deployment of volunteer attorneys.

### America Coming Together, Washington, DC (2004–05).

## In-House Counsel.

Delivered legal support for nation's largest independent voter mobilization operation, focusing on election administration, campaign finance compliance, and employment law.

## Clark for President, Inc., Little Rock, AR (2003–04).

# Director of Strategic Targeting.

Conducted intensive analysis of voter files and directed targeting for voter contact programs; drafted and edited policy and political materials for presidential campaign.

# U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, Los Angeles, CA (2002–03).

Law Clerk to the Honorable Stephen Reinhardt.

# McKinsey & Company, Chicago, IL (1995–97).

# Business Analyst.

Developed quantitative and qualitative assessments of corporate performance and opportunities, and strategies for driving measurable improvement.

# **PRIMARY ARTICLES**

Failed Elections and the Legislative Selection of Electors, 96 N.Y.U. L. REV. 1052 (2021).

Citizenship and the Census, 119 COLUM. L. REV. 1355 (2019).

Intent is Enough: Invidious Partisanship in Redistricting, 59 WM. & MARY L. REV. 1993 (2018).

Quick and Dirty: The New Misreading of the Voting Rights Act, 43 FL. ST. U. L. REV. 573 (2016).

*Electoral Integrity: The Confidence Game*, 89 N.Y.U. L. REV. ONLINE 70 (2014).

The Partisanship Spectrum, 55 WM. & MARY L. REV. 1787 (2014).

Section 5 As Simulacrum, 123 YALE L. J. ONLINE 151 (2013).

- <u>Democracy on the High Wire</u>: Citizen Commission Implementation of the Voting Rights Act, 46 U.C. DAVIS L. REV. 1041 (2013).
- <u>Resolving Election Error</u>: The Dynamic Assessment of Materiality, 54 WM. & MARY L. REV. 83 (2012) (also <u>edited for inclusion in LEGAL WORKSHOP</u>, OCT. 30, 2012).
- Election Deform: The Pursuit of Unwarranted Electoral Regulation, 11 ELECTION L.J. 97 (2012).

Confronting the Impact of Citizens United, 29 YALE L. & POL'Y REV. 217 (2010).

Long Lines at the Courthouse: Pre-Election Litigation of Election Day Burdens, 9 ELECTION L.J. 19 (2010).

*Taking the "Re" Out of Redistricting: State Constitutional Provisions on Redistricting Timing*, 95 GEO. L.J. 1247 (2007) (co-authored with Michael P. McDonald).

# SELECTED ESSAYS AND SHORTER SCHOLARSHIP

What Voting in Long-Term Care Can Teach the Rest of Us, 103 B.U. L. REV. 1083 (2023).

Nonsensus: Pretext and the Decennial Enumeration, 3 ACS SUP. CT. REV. 59 (2019).

Race, Redistricting, and the Manufactured Conundrum, 50 LOYOLA L.A. L. REV. 555 (2017).

<u>The Role of State Attorneys General in Federal and State Redistricting in 2020</u> (2017) (coauthored with James E. Tierney).

Voter Identification in the Courts, in THE BOOK OF THE STATES (Council of State Gov'ts 2015).

"Fixing That": Lines at the Polling Place, 28 J. L. POL. 465 (2013).

You're Gonna Need a Thicker Veil, 65 FLA. L. REV. F. (2013).

# ESSAYS AND SHORTER SCHOLARSHIP (continued)

*The New Wave of Election Regulation: Burden without Benefit*, 6 ADVANCE 39 (2012).

Fault and the Murkowski Voter: A Reply to Flanders, 28 ALASKA L. REV. 41 (2011).

Weighing the Potential of Citizen Redistricting, 44 LOYOLA L.A. L. REV. 513 (2011).

Guarantee Clause, in ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION (David Schultz ed., 2009).

<u>Seeing Double Voting</u>: An Extension of the Birthday Problem, 7 ELECTION L.J. 111 (2008) (co-authored with Michael P. McDonald).

Developments in the Law—International Criminal Law (pt. 2): <u>The Promises of International</u> <u>Prosecution</u>, 114 HARV. L. REV. 1957 (2001).

# SELECTED MONOGRAPHS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

The Census, OXFORD HANDBOOK OF ELECTION LAW (Oxford Univ. Press, forthcoming 2023).

- <u>LULAC v. Perry: *The Frumious Gerry-Mander, Rampant*</u>, *in* ELECTION LAW STORIES (Foundation Press, 2016).
- Novel (and Not-so-Novel) Alternatives to Legislative Redistricting, in <u>AMERICA VOTES! A GUIDE</u> <u>TO MODERN ELECTION LAW AND VOTING RIGHTS</u> (Benjamin E. Griffith ed., 2d ed. 2012).
- *Redistricting and the West: The Legal Context, in* <u>REDISTRICTING AND REAPPORTIONMENT IN THE</u> <u>WEST</u> (Gary F. Moncrief ed., 2011).
- <u>A CITIZEN'S GUIDE TO REDISTRICTING</u> (2d ed., Brennan Center for Justice 2010).
- *How Data is* [sic] *Used by Advocates, in* DATA FOR DEMOCRACY (Paul Gronke & Michael Caudell-Feagan eds., 2008).

<u>A CITIZEN'S GUIDE TO REDISTRICTING</u> (1st ed., Brennan Center for Justice 2008).

THE TRUTH ABOUT VOTER FRAUD (Brennan Center for Justice 2007).

*Introduction, in MAKING EVERY VOTE COUNT*: FEDERAL ELECTION LEGISLATION IN THE STATES (Andrew Rachlin ed., 2006).

MAKING THE LIST: DATABASE MATCHING AND VERIFICATION PROCESSES FOR VOTER REGISTRATION (Brennan Center for Justice 2006) (co-authored with Wendy R. Weiser and Ana Muñoz).

# **MULTIMEDIA RESEARCH**

<u>All About Redistricting</u>, a comprehensive website tracking the process of decennial redistricting.

### **TESTIMONY AND REGULATORY COMMENT**

- U.S. Senate: *From Selma to* Shelby County: *Hearing Before the S. Comm. on Judiciary*, 113th Cong. (July 17, 2013) (video, statement).
- U.S. Senate: New State Voting Laws: Barriers to the Ballot?: Hearing Before the S. Comm. on Judiciary, Subcomm. on Constitution, Civil Rights & Human Rights, 112th Cong. (Sept. 8, 2011) (video, statement).
- **U.S. Senate**: In Person Voter Fraud: Myth and Trigger for Disenfranchisement?: Hearing Before the S. Comm. on Rules & Admin., 110th Cong. (Mar. 12, 2008) (transcript, statement).
- U.S. Senate: Protecting Voters at Home and at the Polls: Hearing Before the S. Comm. on Rules & Admin., 110th Cong. (Feb. 27, 2008) (statement).
- U.S. House: Congressional Authority to Protect Voting Rights After Shelby County v. Holder: Hearing Before the H. Comm. on the Judiciary, Subcomm. on Constitution, Civil Rights & Civil Liberties, 116th Cong. (Sept. 24, 2019) (video, statement).
- U.S. House: Progress Report on the 2020 Census: H. Comm. on Oversight & Government Reform, 115<sup>th</sup> Cong. (May 9, 2018) (video, statement).
- **U.S. Comm'n on Civil Rights**: An Assessment of Minority Voting Rights Access in the US: An Update (July 8, 2020) (statement).
- **U.S. Comm'n on Civil Rights**: An Assessment of Minority Voting Rights Access in the US: Hearing Before the U.S. Comm'n on Civil Rights (Feb. 2, 2018) (video, statement, supp.).
- **U.S. Comm'n on Civil Rights**: *Redistricting and the 2010 Census: Enforcing Section 5 of the VRA: Hearing Before the U.S. Comm'n on Civil Rights* (Feb. 3, 2012) (statement).
- **U.S. Comm'n on Civil Rights** (Alaska): Alaska Native Voting Rights: Hearing Before the Alaska Advisory Comm. to the U.S. Comm'n on Civil Rights (Sept. 22, 2017) (statement).
- **U.S. Comm'n on Civil Rights** (Indiana): Voting Rights in Indiana: Hearing Before the Indiana Advisory Comm. to the U.S. Comm'n on Civil Rights (Apr. 30, 2018) (statement).
- U.S. Dep't of Commerce: <u>Comment</u> on Proposed Information Collection, 2020 Census, Aug. 7, 2018, response to 83 Fed. Reg. 26,643 (June 8, 2018).
- U.S. Census Bureau: <u>Comment</u> on Census Residence Rule and Residence Situations: People in Correctional Facilities, July 20, 2015, response to 80 Fed. Reg. 28,950 (May 20, 2015).
- Fed. Court: DNC v. RNC, No. 81-3876 (D.N.J. May 6, 2009) (opinion).
- State Court: Jauregui v. Palmdale, No. BC483039 (Cal. Super. Ct., L.A. Cnty. May 2013).
- State Court: *Pico Neighborhood Ass'n v. Santa Monica*, No. BC616804 (Cal. Super. Ct., L.A. Cnty. Aug. 2018).

#### **TESTIMONY** (continued)

- Alaska House: Hearing on H.J.R. 26 Before the H. State Affairs Comm., 30th Leg. (Alaska Feb. 20, 2018) (video)
- III. Senate: Proposals for Changing the Current Redistricting Process in Illinois: Hearing Before the S. Redistricting Comm., 96th Leg. (III. Oct. 13, 2009) (statement).
- Ind. Legislature: Hearing Before the Interim Study Comm. on Redistricting, 117th Gen. Assem. (Ind. Oct. 7, 2011); Hearing Before the Census Data Advisory Committee, 116th Leg. (Ind. Sept. 29, 2009) (statement).
- Mich. House: *Hearing on H.B. 5914 Before the H. Judiciary Comm.*, 95th Leg. (Mich. Apr. 13, 2010) (with Myrna Pérez) (statement).
- Nev. Legislature: National Overview of Reapportionment and Redistricting: J. Meeting Assemb. Comm. Legis. Operations & Elections & S. Comm. Legis. Operations & Elections, 76th Reg. Sess. (Nev. Mar. 10, 2011) (presentation).
- **N.Y. Assembly**: *Redistricting: Hearing on A.624, A.2056, and A.6287-a Before Assemb. Standing Comm. on Gov't Operations* (N.Y. Oct. 17, 2006) (with Kahlil Williams) (statement)
- Ore. Legislature: The Voting Rights Act and Redistricting, Hearing Before the S. Comm. on Redistricting (Ore. Feb. 1, 2021); The Voting Rights Act and Redistricting, Hearing Before the H. Comm. on Redistricting (Ore. Jan. 28, 2021); Communities of Interest: An Overview of the Law: Hearing Before the S. Comm. on Redistricting & the H. Comm. on Redistricting (Ore. Feb. 25, 2011) (audio); What is Redistricting? A Citizen's Guide to Redistricting: Hearing Before the S. Comm. on Redistricting & the H. Comm. on Redistricting (Ore. Feb. 4, 2011) (audio).
- Tex. House: Hearing on S.B. 14 Before the H. Select Comm. on Voter Identification and Voter Fraud, 82d Leg. (Tex. Mar. 1, 2011) (video @ 4:47:00); Hearing on S.B. 362 Before the H. Comm. on Elections, 81st Leg. (Tex. Apr. 6, 2009) (video @ 2:29:00, statement); Hearing Before the H. Comm. on Elections, 80th Leg. (Tex. Jan. 25, 2008) (video @ 3:26:40).
- Wash. Senate: Hearing on Voting Rights Issues Before the S. State Gov't, Tribal Relations & Elections Comm. (Wash. Jan. 10, 2018) (statement).
- Wash. Legislature: Hearing on Issues Involving Potential Litigation Over State Voting Rights Acts Before the S. Gov'tal Ops. Comm. & the L. & Justice Comm. (Wash. May 7, 2015).
- Wis. Legislature: Hearing on A.B. 895 and 892, and S.B. 640 and 645, Before the Ass. Comm. on *Elections & Campaign Reform & the S. Comm. on Labor, Elections & Urban Affairs* (Wis. Mar. 31, 2010) (statement).
- L.A. County: <u>Report on the Legal Standards Pertaining to the Los Angeles County Redistricting</u> <u>Process</u>: Hearing Before the L.A. Cnty. Bd. of Supervisors (L.A. Cnty. Aug. 9, 2011) (video).
- City of Dallas: <u>Hearing</u> Before the Dallas Charter Review Comm'n re Redistricting (Dallas, Mar. 25, 2014) (video).

### SELECTED PRESENTATIONS

- Panelist, History of Electoral Reform as a Remedial Tool in Voting Rights Litigation, <u>Race, Reform,</u> <u>and Multiracial Democracy</u>, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA (Sept. 2023).
- Moderator, *Entrenched: The Fight for Meaningful Representation in the Shadow of* Merrill *and* Moore, ACS National Convention, Washington, DC (May 2023).
- Panelist, *Lessons Learned from the 2020 and 2022 Elections*, Center for Election Innovation and Research, Washington, DC (May 2023).
- Moderator, *Election Law and Democracy*, AALS Conference on Defending Democracy (May 2023).
- Panelist, Shaping the Future: Societal Implications of Generative AI, CalTech (May 2023).
- Keynote Speaker, National Nonpartisan Conversation on Voter Rights, Houston, TX (Sept. 2022).
- Keynote Speaker, *Democracy for All*, Future of Cal. Elections Conf., Burbank, CA (July 2022).
- Keynote Speaker, *<u>The Work of Democracy</u>*, Enlund Scholar-in-Residence, DePaul Law School, Chicago, IL (Apr. 2022).
- Presenter, *The Voting Rights Act and Other Criteria*, L.A. County Citizens' Redistricting Comm'n (Mar. 2021).
- Presenter, Failed Elections and the Legislative Selection of Electors, Wash. U. School of Law (Feb. 2021).
- Panelist, Appellate Moot Court Programs, LACBA Appellate Courts Section (Feb. 2021).
- Panelist, *Redistricting: What Every Lawyer Should Know About the Decennial Process*, ABA Midyear Meeting (Feb. 2021).
- Presenter, The 2020 Election and the Rule of Law, Union Internationale des Avocats (Feb. 2021).
- Panelist, *Election Law*, Cal. Academy of Appellate Lawyers (Jan. 2021).
- Presenter, *Rules and Constraints of the Redistricting Process*, L.A. City Council Redistricting Comm'n (Jan. 2021).
- Presenter, Voting Rights Act Litigation, Cal. Citizens' Redistricting Comm'n (Nov. 2020).
- Panelist, <u>What Happens When America Votes? Legal Remedies for Election Litigation</u>, Nat'l Center for State Courts (Oct. 2020).
- Panelist, <u>Access to the Vote: The Ballot and the Mailbox</u>, ABA Civil Rights and Social Justice Section (Sept. 2020).
- Panelist, Redistricting 101, Mich. Ind. Citizens' Redistricting Comm'n (Sept. 2020).
- Presenter, *Election Law Update*, Conf. of the Nat'l Ass'n of Appellate Court Attorneys (July 2020).

- Roundtable Participant, *What If the 2020 Presidential Election is Disputed?*, Ohio State Moritz School of Law (May 2020).
- Panelist, Redistricting and Related Legal Uses, Workshop on 2020 Census Data Products: Data Needs and Privacy Considerations, Committee on National Statistics, Nat'l Academy of Sciences, Washington, DC (Dec. 2019).
- Panelist, Impeaching the President: The Ins and Outs of Ukraine, Obstruction of Justice, Emoluments, and More, UCLA School of Law, Los Angeles, CA (Nov. 2019).
- Presenter, Uses of 2020 Census Redistricting Data, Formal Privacy Methods for the 2020 Census, JASON Conf., La Jolla, CA (June 2019).
- Presenter, Citizenship and the Census, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA (Apr. 2019).
- Panelist, *Dollars and Sense: Campaign Finance Reform for the 21st Century*, Notre Dame Law School, South Bend, IN (Feb. 2019).
- Presenter, *<u>The Need for Redistricting Reform</u>*, U. Arizona Conf. on Redistricting, Tucson, AZ (Oct. 2018).
- Panelist, How Gerrymandering is Reshaping Politics, SxSW, Austin, TX (Mar. 2018).
- Panelist, Foreign Interference in U.S. Elections from an Election and Constitutional Law Perspective, McGeorge Global Center Annual Symposium, McGeorge School of Law, Univ. of the Pacific, Sacramento, CA (Mar. 2018).
- Moderator, At Our Whit(ford)'s End With Gerrymandering?, Unrig the System Summit, New Orleans, LA (Feb. 2018).
- Presenter, *A Republic, If You Can Keep It*, <u>In Defense of Voting Rights</u>, Colloquium on the Constitution and the Imagining of America, Amherst College, Amherst, MA (Nov. 2017).
- Panelist, *Race and Redistricting 2021*, <u>Redistricting Reform Conference at Harvard</u>, Harvard Kennedy School / Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA (Nov. 2017).

Panelist, Voting Rights Institute, ACS 2017 National Convention, Washington, DC (June 2017).

- Keynote Speaker, *Legislatures, Courts and Voting Rights: Developments since the 2013* Shelby County v. Holder *Decision*, U. Pittsburgh School of Law, Pittsburgh, PA (Apr. 2017).
- Keynote Speaker, *<u>The Future of National Election and Political Reform Efforts</u>, The Future of Democracy, Election Law@Boalt, Berkeley Law School, Berkeley, CA (Apr. 2017).*
- Participant, *Political Parties and Republican Government*, Liberty Fund Colloquium, Cato Institute, Washington, DC (Apr. 2017).

- Panelist, *The Supreme Court and 2020 Round*, William & Mary Law Review 2020 Redistricting Symposium, William & Mary Law School, Williamsburg, VA (Feb. 2017).
- Presenter, *Vote As If Your Life Depends on It*, <u>NDRN 2016 P&A/CAP Annual Conference</u>, Baltimore, MD (June 2016).
- Opening Remarks, *Summit on Language Access in Elections*, Election Assistance Comm'n, College Park, MD (June 2016).
- Panelist, *Government Plenary*, <u>ABA Section of Labor and Employment Law</u>, <u>National Conference</u> on Equal Employment Opportunity Law, Austin, TX (Mar. 2016).
- Opening Remarks, <u>Securing the Election in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century</u>, Election Verification Network Conf., Washington, DC (Mar. 2016).
- Panelist, *Protecting Voters and Best Practices for State, County, and Local Officials*, Roundtable, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, GW Law, Washington, DC (Dec. 2015).
- Panelist, Closing Plenary, *Looking Forward to an Expanded Electorate*, Future of California Elections 2015 Conference, Sacramento, CA (Feb. 2015).
- Panelist, <u>Got ID? Recent Trends in Voter Identification Requirements</u>, 2014 U.S. Election Program, International Foundation for Electoral Systems, Washington, DC (Nov. 2014).
- Presenter, U.S. Redistricting, in Texas and Beyond, Workshop Derecho Electoral Comparado, Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación, Mexico City, Mexico (Sept. 2014).
- Panelist, *<u>The End of Political Gerrymandering?</u>*, Nat'l Constitution Center, Philadelphia, PA (May 2014).
- Presenter, *Democracy Held Captive: Felon Voting Rights and Prison-Based Gerrymandering*, 44th Annual Cal State Fullerton Philosophy Symposium, <u>*Rethinking Mass Incarceration: Gender, Race, and the Prison Industrial Complex,* Cal. State University, Fullerton, CA (Apr. 2014).</u>
- Presenter. *The Partisanship Spectrum*, <u>*The Jurisprudence of Voting Rights*</u>, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (Apr. 2014).
- Panelist, <u>Voting Rights Post-Shelby: A Perspective One Year Out</u>, American Constitution Society, Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, DC (Apr. 2014).
- Panelist, <u>Voting Rights: Challenges and Opportunities for Cause Lawyers in the 21st Century</u>, 2014 La Verne Law Review Symposium, Brown v. Board of Education at 60: Cause Lawyering for a New Generation, University of La Verne College of Law, La Verne, CA (Feb. 2014).
- Panelist, <u>Has the United States Supreme Court Killed California's Initiative Process or Helped</u> <u>Check Its Abuses?</u>, Federalist Society 2014 Annual Western Chapters Conference, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, CA (Jan. 2014).

- Panelist, <u>What's at Stake for Immigrant Communities and Other Communities of Color in the New</u> <u>Battle Over Voting Rights</u>, 2013 Advancing Justice Conf., Los Angeles, CA (Nov. 2013).
- Panelist, Shelby County v. Holder: *Election Law's Impact on the Asian Pacific American Community*, U.C. Irvine School of Law, Irvine, CA (Nov. 2013).
- Presenter, *The Future of Voting Rights after* Shelby County v. Holder, Public Policy Lecture Series, Reed College, Portland, OR (Oct. 2013).
- Panelist, <u>Long Voting Lines Causes and Cures and Precinct Management</u>, National Ass'n of State Election Directors Summer Meeting, Anchorage, AK (July 2013).
- Panelist, *<u>How to Fix That: Modernizing Our Elections</u>*, Netroots Nation 2013, San Jose, CA (June 2013).
- Panelist, *Campaign Finance After* Citizens United, Federalist Society, Yale Law School, New Haven, CT (Apr. 2013).
- Panelist, *Politics, Disease Prevention, and the Polling Place: Lessons from Vote & Vax*, Clinton Global Initiative U., Washington University in St. Louis, St. Louis, MO (Apr. 2013).
- Presenter, *Gerrymandering, Voter Suppression, and the Voting Rights Act*, Rogers School of Law, Tucson, AZ (Mar. 2013).
- Panelist, The Future of the Voting Rights Act, Yale Law School, New Haven, CT (Mar. 2013).
- Panelist, Voting Rights at Large and at Small: Perspectives on Local Election Administration and How People Really Vote, RebLaw 2013, Yale Law School, New Haven, CT (Feb. 2013).
- Presenter, *The California Voting Rights Act*, City of Anaheim, Citizens Advisory Committee on Elections and Community Involvement, Anaheim, CA (Dec. 2012) (video).
- Panelist, *Law and Democracy: A Symposium on the Law Governing Our Democratic Process*, George Washington University School of Law, Washington, DC (Nov. 2012).
- Presenter, *The Initiative Process and Constitutional Change*, U. Minnesota School of Law, Minneapolis, MN (Sept. 2012).
- Panelist, <u>Are We Ready to Run Our Elections?</u>, Bipartisan Policy Center / Humphrey School of Public Policy, Washington, DC (Sept. 2012).
- Panelist, <u>Foxes, Henhouses, and Commissions</u>: Assessing the Nonpartisan Model in Election Administration, Redistricting, and Campaign Finance, U.C. Irvine School of Law, Irvine, CA (Sept. 2012).
- Moderator, *From Austin to Albany: Redistricting in Texas and New York in 2010* and *Redistricting 2012 Legal Panel*, 2012 NCSL Legislative Summit, Chicago, IL (Aug. 2012).

- Moderator, *What's at Stake: Examining Voting Rights in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, 2012 ACS National Convention: Democracy at Stake, Washington, DC (June 2012).
- Panelist, *Redistricting Litigation*, Federalist Society Civil Rights Practice Group Podcast (Apr. 2012).
- Presenter, *Municipal Redistricting and Minority Representation: Democracy Outside the Box*, The Politics of Race and Place Workshop, U.C. San Diego (Feb. 2012).
- Panelist, Blocking the Vote: Voter Suppression Tactics and Responses on the Eve of the 2012 Elections, NAACP LDF Civil Rights Training Institute, Airlie Conference Center, Warrenton, VA (Oct. 2011).
- Panelist, <u>A Brave New World? California's Redistricting Experiment</u>, Institute of Governmental Studies, U.C. Berkeley, Berkeley, CA (Sept. 2011).
- Panelist, *Redistricting Roundtable: Law and Politics in the New Decade*, 2011 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Seattle, WA (Sept. 2011).
- Presenter, *<u>Redistricting 101: What You Need to Know to Get Involved</u>, Arizona State University, Phoenix, AZ (Apr. 2011).*
- Kickoff Speaker, <u>*Redistricting Basics and Terminology*</u>, NCSL National Redistricting Seminar, National Harbor, MD (Jan. 2011).
- Presenter, *Redistricting 101: Legal Concepts That Apply to the Work of California's Citizens Redistricting Commission*, California State Auditor, Sacramento, CA (Dec. 2010).
- Panelist, *Redistricting Decisions of the Last Decade*, NCSL National Redistricting Seminar, Providence, RI (Sept. 2010).
- Panelist, *Helping America Vote: The Past, Present, and Future of Election Administration*, NYU Journal of Legislation and Public Policy, NYU School of Law, New York, NY (Mar. 2010).
- Presenter, <u>*Redistricting: Embracing Lines in the Public Interest*</u>, Women in Government, 16<sup>th</sup> Annual State Directors' Conference, Dana Point, CA (Jan. 2010).
- Presenter, <u>Hot Voting Rights Topics for Municipalities: Pre-litigation Use of Alternative Voting</u> <u>Systems and Redistricting Consequences of Incarceration</u>, Int'l Municipal Lawyers Ass'n, Columbia, SC (Dec. 2009).
- Presenter, <u>Census 2010: Be Counted, Be Heard</u>, National Latino/a Law Students' Conf., Chicago, IL (Sept. 2009).
- Presenter, *<u>Redistricting and the Census</u>*, National Civic Summit, Minneapolis, MN (July 2009).
- Presenter, *Youth Voter Mobilization and Civic Engagement*, American Democracy Institute, Philadelphia, PA (Feb. 2006).

# SELECTED MEDIA APPEARANCES

Uncivil War: U.S. Elections Under Siege, Bertelsmann Foundation (2020).

*Slay the Dragon*, Participant Media (2019).

Gerrymandering: A New Documentary Film, Green Film Company (2010).

*Election Resolution*, NBC Nightly News (Nov. 2020).

Lessons Learned from the 2000 Election, CBS News (Nov. 2020).

California Allows GOP Ballot Boxes with Safeguards, America's News HQ, Fox News (Oct. 2020).

Citizenship Question: Political Power Shift?, CNN (Jan. 2018).

Supreme Court civil rights decisions, PBS (June 2013).

Election 2020: Lawyers vs. More Lawyers, Post Reports Podcast, WASH. POST (Oct. 2020).

<u>Challenges To State Voting Rules Could End Up Before The Supreme Court</u>, Morning Edition, NPR (Oct. 2020).

Supreme Court Rules Partisan Gerrymandering Is Beyond The Reach Of Federal Courts, All Things Considered, NPR (June 2019).

Pennsylvania Gerrymandering, BBC Radio 5 (Feb. 2018).

The Gerrymandering Project: California, FIVETHIRTYEIGHT POLITICS (Jan. 2018).

*<u>The Political Lines That Divide Us</u>*, Innovation Hub, WGBH (Oct. 2017).

*The Political Thicket*, More Perfect, RADIOLAB/WNYC (Sept. 2017).

Gerrymandering: America's Most Dangerous Maps?, 1A, NPR (Apr. 2017).

Cited as election law expert by hundreds of publications, TV and radio stations, and news services, including ABC, CBS, CNN, Fox News, MSNBC, NBC, NPR and its local affiliates, the Associated Press, Reuters, Bloomberg, Politifact, New York Times, Wall St. Journal, Washington Post, New Yorker, USA Today, Huffington Post, The Hill, The Nation, The Atlantic, Politico, Vox, Salon, Slate, Time, Los Angeles Times, Sacramento Bee, Miami Herald, Houston Chronicle, Chicago Tribune, Palm Beach Post, Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, Minneapolis Star-Tribune, and Atlanta Journal-Constitution.

Also cited as election expert by Samantha Bee, Stephen Colbert, Seth Meyers, and John Oliver.

# **SELECTED OPINION**

Clarity of the Record Should Bring Clarity of Purpose, SCOTUSBLOG, Feb. 11, 2019.

*Reliving the 2000 Election — and Learning the Wrong Lessons*, HARV. L. REV. BLOG, Nov. 20, 2018.

*For Progressives, There's a Bright Side to Brett Kavanaugh's Supreme Court Nomination*, USA TODAY, July 10, 2018.

The Fight to End Partisan Gerrymandering is Far From Over, WASH. POST, June 19, 2018.

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Occasional contributions to <u>Summary Judgments</u>, the <u>Election Law Blog</u>, and the <u>Brennan Center for Justice blog</u>.

# SELECTED PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Series Editor, Elgar Studies in Law and Politics (on hiatus)

Former Board of Directors, Fair Elections Center

Former Advisory Board, Access Democracy / All Voting is Local

Former Advisory Committee, Los Angeles County Voting Systems Assessment Project

Former Board of Advisors, VoteRiders

- Counsel, Voting Rights Scholars, <u>Amicus Brief</u>, *Brnovich v. DNC*, Case No. 19-1257 (U.S. Jan. 20, 2021).
- Counsel, John R. Dunne et al., <u>Amicus Brief</u>, *Dep't of Commerce v. New York*, Case No. 18-966 (U.S. Apr. 1, 2019).
- Counsel, NAACP LDF et al., <u>Amicus Brief</u>, *Rucho v. Common Cause / Lamone v. Benisek*, Case Nos. 18-422, 18-726 (U.S. Mar. 8, 2019).
- Counsel, Scholars and Historians of Congressional Redistricting, <u>Amicus Brief</u>, *Ariz. State Legis.* v. *Ariz. Ind. Redistricting Comm'n*, Case No. 13-1314 (U.S. Jan. 23, 2015).
- Counsel, Current and Former Election Officials, Amicus Brief, Arcia v. Detzner, Case No. 12-15738-EE (11th Cir. 2012).

Peer Reviewer, Election Law Journal; Politics and Governance Journal

# **BAR ADMISSIONS**

California State Bar

New York State Bar

Washington, DC Bar (Inactive)

U.S. District Court for the Central District of California

- U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit
- U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit
- U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit

Supreme Court of the United States