

**JUSTIN LEVITT**

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<http://ssrn.com/author=698321>

**TEACHING**

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**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

Excellence in Teaching Award, 2013-14, 2019-20, 2023-24

Founder, [Practitioner Appellate Moot Program](#)

Faculty Advisor, [Loyola Law Review](#), 2014-15; [American Constitution Society](#)

[Dean's Search Committee](#) (co-chair), Provost Search Committee, Appointments Committee,

Strategic Planning Committee, Speech Policy Committee, Dean's Advisory Committee,

[Faculty Workshops](#) (co-chair)

**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**

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**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).

## OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

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**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

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[\*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).

[\*Democracy on the High Wire: Citizen Commission Implementation of the Voting Rights Act\*](#), 46 U.C. DAVIS L. REV. 1041 (2013).

[\*Resolving Election Error: The Dynamic Assessment of Materiality\*](#), 54 WM. & MARY L. REV. 83 (2012) (also [edited for inclusion in LEGAL WORKSHOP](#), 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).

## SELECTED ESSAYS AND SHORTER SCHOLARSHIP

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

[\*Nonsense: 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).

[\*The Role of State Attorneys General in Federal and State Redistricting in 2020\*](#) (2017) (co-authored).

[\*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).

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

## ESSAYS AND SHORTER SCHOLARSHIP (continued)

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[\*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).

[\*Seeing Double Voting: An Extension of the Birthday Problem\*](#), 7 ELECTION L.J. 111 (2008) (co-authored).

*Developments in the Law—International Criminal Law* (pt. 2): [\*The Promises of International Prosecution\*](#), 114 HARV. L. REV. 1957 (2001).

## SELECTED MONOGRAPHS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

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[\*The Census\*](#), OXFORD HANDBOOK OF ELECTION LAW (Oxford Univ. Press, 2024).

[\*LULAC v. Perry: The Frumious Gerry-Mander, Rampant\*](#), in ELECTION LAW STORIES (Foundation Press, 2016).

*Novel (and Not-so-Novel) Alternatives to Legislative Redistricting*, in [AMERICA VOTES! A GUIDE TO MODERN ELECTION LAW AND VOTING RIGHTS](#) (Benjamin E. Griffith ed., 2d ed. 2012).

*Redistricting and the West: The Legal Context*, in [REDISTRICTING AND REAPPORTIONMENT IN THE WEST](#) (Gary F. Moncrief ed., 2011).

[A CITIZEN’S GUIDE TO REDISTRICTING](#) (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).

[A CITIZEN’S GUIDE TO REDISTRICTING](#) (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).

## MULTIMEDIA RESEARCH

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[\*All About Redistricting\*](#), a comprehensive website tracking the process of decennial redistricting.

*Shaw v. Reno*, Voting Rights: A Video Casebook, CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN BLACK AND WHITE

## TESTIMONY AND REGULATORY COMMENT

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**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:** [Comment](#) on Proposed Information Collection, 2020 Census, Aug. 7, 2018, response to 83 Fed. Reg. 26,643 (June 8, 2018).

**U.S. Census Bureau:** [Comment](#) 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](#))

**Ill. Senate:** *Proposals for Changing the Current Redistricting Process in Illinois: Hearing Before the S. Redistricting Comm.*, 96th Leg. (Ill. 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:** [Report on the Legal Standards Pertaining to the Los Angeles County Redistricting Process](#); *Hearing Before the L.A. Cnty. Bd. of Supervisors* (L.A. Cnty. Aug. 9, 2011) ([video](#)).

**City of Dallas:** [Hearing](#) *Before the Dallas Charter Review Comm'n re Redistricting* (Dallas, Mar. 25, 2014) ([video](#)).

## SELECTED PRESENTATIONS

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- Panelist, *Litigating Voting Rights in the Trump Era*, ABA Litigation Section Ann. Conf. (May 2025).
- Speaker, *High Fructose Democracy: Bush v. Gore, 25 Years On*, Northwestern Law School Public Law Colloquium (Apr. 2025).
- Speaker, *Preparing for 2030*, Cal. Independent Citizens Redistricting Comm'n (Mar. 2025).
- Moderator, *Redistricting and Election Reforms*, U. Penn. Carey Law School (Mar. 2025).
- Panelist, *Remedies in Election Cases / Constitutional Questions Concerning the Electoral College*, Bush v. Gore 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary, Florida St. U. College of Law (Mar. 2025).
- Panelist, *The Issues That Matter at Election Time*, 2025 CDCA Judicial Conference (Feb. 2025).
- Discussant, *The Consequences of Electoral Design: Race, Representation, and Governance*, Guinier Project Research Roundtable, Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race & Justice, Harvard Law School (Jan. 2025).
- Panelist, [\*From Election Day to Inauguration: Securing a Peaceful Transfer of Power\*](#), Rappaport Center, Boston College Law School (Oct. 2024).
- Panelist, *The Future of the Supreme Court*, [State of America Summit](#), 92NY (Sept. 2024).
- Roundtable Organizer, *Law of Democracy Scholars' Workshop*, Multiracial Democracy Project, George Washington Univ. (Sept. 2024).
- Speaker, *Nevada Election Law and Practice*, National Judicial College (Sept. 2024).
- Panelist, [\*Under the Gavel: The U.S. Supreme Court's Most Recent Term in Review\*](#), Safeguarding Democracy Project at UCLA Law, Hammer Museum (July 2024).
- Panelist, *Safeguarding Democracy: The Latest in Election Law and Administration*, 2024 NDCA Judicial Conf. (Apr. 2024).
- Panelist, *A History of the Voting Rights Act and Gerrymandering*, [\*Allen v. Milligan: The Intersectionality of Race, Elections, and Democracy\*](#), U. Alabama School of Law (Feb. 2024).
- Panelist, *Increasing Voter Turnout*, 2023 Council on Gov't Ethics Laws Conf. (Dec. 2023).
- Panelist, *History of Electoral Reform as a Remedial Tool in Voting Rights Litigation*, [Race, Reform, and Multiracial Democracy](#), Harvard Law School (Sept. 2023).
- Moderator, [\*Entrenched: The Fight for Meaningful Representation in the Shadow of Merrill and Moore\*](#), ACS Nat'l Convention (May 2023).
- Panelist, [\*Lessons Learned from the 2020 and 2022 Elections\*](#), Summit on American Democracy, Center for Election Innovation and Research (May 2023).



**SELECTED PRESENTATIONS** (continued)

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Moderator, [\*Election Law and Democracy\*](#), AALS Conf. 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\*](#) (Sept. 2022).

Keynote Speaker, [\*Democracy for All\*](#), Future of Cal. Elections Conf. (July 2022).

Keynote Speaker, [\*The Work of Democracy\*](#), Enlund Scholar-in-Residence, DePaul Law (Apr. 2022).

Presenter, *The Voting Rights Act and Other Criteria*, L.A. Cnty. Redistricting Comm'n (Mar. 2021).

Presenter, *Failed Elections and the Legislative Selection of Electors*, Wash. U. School of Law (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, [\*Voting Rights Act Litigation\*](#), Cal. Citizens' Redistricting Comm'n (Nov. 2020).

Panelist, [\*What Happens When America Votes? Legal Remedies for Election Litigation\*](#), Nat'l Center for State Courts (Oct. 2020).

Panelist, [\*Access to the Vote: The Ballot and the Mailbox\*](#), 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\*](#), Comm. on Nat'l Statistics, Nat'l Academy of Sciences (Dec. 2019).

Panelist, *Impeaching the President*, UCLA School of Law (Nov. 2019).

Presenter, *Uses of 2020 Census Redistricting Data*, Formal Privacy Methods for the 2020 Census, JASON Conf. (June 2019).

Presenter, *Citizenship and the Census*, Harvard Law School (Apr. 2019).



**SELECTED PRESENTATIONS** (continued)

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Presenter, [\*The Need for Redistricting Reform\*](#), U. Arizona Conf. on Redistricting (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 (Mar. 2018).

Moderator, *At Our Whit(ford)'s End With Gerrymandering?*, Unrig the System Summit (Feb. 2018).

Presenter, *A Republic, If You Can Keep It*, [\*In Defense of Voting Rights\*](#), Colloquium on the Constitution and the Imagining of America, Amherst College (Nov. 2017).

Panelist, *Race and Redistricting 2021*, [\*Redistricting Reform Conference at Harvard\*](#), Harvard Kennedy School / Harvard Law School (Nov. 2017).

Panelist, Voting Rights Institute, [\*ACS 2017 Nat'l Convention\*](#) (June 2017).

Keynote Speaker, [\*Legislatures, Courts and Voting Rights\*](#), U. Pittsburgh School of Law (Apr. 2017).

Keynote Speaker, [\*The Future of National Election and Political Reform Efforts\*](#), The Future of Democracy, Election Law@Boalt, Berkeley Law School (Apr. 2017).

Participant, *Political Parties and Republican Government*, Liberty Fund Colloquium, Cato Institute (Apr. 2017).

Panelist, *The Supreme Court and 2020 Round*, William & Mary Law Review 2020 Redistricting Symposium, William & Mary Law School (Feb. 2017).

Presenter, *Vote As If Your Life Depends on It*, [\*NDRN 2016 P&A/CAP Annual Conf.\*](#) (June 2016).

Opening Remarks, [\*Summit on Language Access in Elections\*](#), Election Assistance Comm'n (June 2016).

Panelist, *Government Plenary*, [\*ABA Section of Labor and Employment Law, National Conference on Equal Employment Opportunity Law\*](#) (Mar. 2016).

Opening Remarks, [\*Securing the Election in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century\*](#), Election Verification Network Conf. (Mar. 2016).

Panelist, *Protecting Voters and Best Practices for State, County, and Local Officials*, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, George Washington U. School of Law (Dec. 2015).

Panelist, Closing Plenary, [\*Looking Forward to an Expanded Electorate\*](#), [\*Future of California Elections 2015 Conf.\*](#) (Feb. 2015).

Panelist, [\*Got ID? Recent Trends in Voter Identification Requirements\*](#), 2014 U.S. Election Program, Int'l Foundation for Electoral Systems (Nov. 2014).

**SELECTED PRESENTATIONS** (continued)

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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, [\*The End of Political Gerrymandering?\*](#), Nat'l Constitution Center (May 2014).

Presenter, *Democracy Held Captive: Felon Voting Rights and Prison-Based Gerrymandering*, 44th Annual Cal State Fullerton Philosophy Symposium, [\*Rethinking Mass Incarceration: Gender, Race, and the Prison Industrial Complex\*](#), Cal. State U., Fullerton (Apr. 2014).

Presenter. *The Partisanship Spectrum*, [\*The Jurisprudence of Voting Rights\*](#), Midwest Political Science Ass'n (Apr. 2014).

Panelist, [\*Voting Rights Post-Shelby: A Perspective One Year Out\*](#), American Constitution Society, Georgetown U. Law Center (Apr. 2014).

Panelist, [\*Has the United States Supreme Court Killed California's Initiative Process or Helped Check Its Abuses?\*](#), Federalist Society 2014 Annual Western Chapters Conference, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library (Jan. 2014).

Panelist, *Shelby County v. Holder: Election Law's Impact on the Asian Pacific American Community*, U.C. Irvine School of Law (Nov. 2013).

Presenter, [\*The Future of Voting Rights after Shelby County v. Holder\*](#), Public Policy Lecture Series, Reed College (Oct. 2013).

Panelist, [\*Long Voting Lines - Causes and Cures and Precinct Management\*](#), NASED Summer Meeting (July 2013).

Panelist, [\*How to Fix That: Modernizing Our Elections\*](#), Netroots Nation 2013 (June 2013).

Panelist, *Campaign Finance After Citizens United*, Federalist Society, Yale Law School (Apr. 2013).

Panelist, *Politics, Disease Prevention, and the Polling Place*, Clinton Global Initiative U., Washington U. in St. Louis (Apr. 2013).

Presenter, *Gerrymandering, Voter Suppression, and the Voting Rights Act*, U. Arizona College of Law (Mar. 2013).

Panelist, *The Future of the Voting Rights Act*, Yale Law School (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 (Feb. 2013).

Panelist, [\*Law and Democracy\*](#), George Washington U. School of Law (Nov. 2012).

Presenter, *The Initiative Process and Constitutional Change*, U. Minnesota School of Law (Sept. 2012).

**SELECTED PRESENTATIONS** (continued)

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- Panelist, [\*Are We Ready to Run Our Elections?\*](#), Bipartisan Policy Center / Humphrey School of Public Policy (Sept. 2012).
- Panelist, [\*Foxes, Henhouses, and Commissions\*](#), U.C. Irvine School of Law (Sept. 2012).
- Moderator, [\*From Austin to Albany: Redistricting in Texas and New York in 2010\*](#) and [\*Redistricting 2012 Legal Panel\*](#), 2012 NCSL Legislative Summit (Aug. 2012).
- Moderator, [\*What's at Stake: Examining Voting Rights in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century\*](#), 2012 ACS Nat'l Convention: Democracy at Stake (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*, NAACP LDF Civil Rights Training Institute, Airlie Conference Center (Oct. 2011).
- Panelist, [\*A Brave New World? California's Redistricting Experiment\*](#), Inst. of Governmental Studies, U.C. Berkeley (Sept. 2011).
- Panelist, *Redistricting Roundtable: Law and Politics in the New Decade*, 2011 American Political Science Ass'n Annual Meeting (Sept. 2011).
- Kickoff Speaker, [\*Redistricting Basics and Terminology\*](#), NCSL Nat'l Redistricting Seminar (Jan. 2011).
- Presenter, [\*Redistricting 101: Legal Concepts That Apply to the Work of California's Citizens Redistricting Commission\*](#), California State Auditor (Dec. 2010).
- Panelist, *Helping America Vote: The Past, Present, and Future of Election Administration*, NYU Journal of Legislation and Public Policy, NYU School of Law (Mar. 2010).
- Presenter, [\*Redistricting: Embracing Lines in the Public Interest\*](#), Women in Government, 16<sup>th</sup> Annual State Directors' Conference (Jan. 2010).
- Presenter, [\*Hot Voting Rights Topics for Municipalities\*](#), Int'l Municipal Lawyers Ass'n (Dec. 2009).
- Presenter, [\*Census 2010: Be Counted, Be Heard\*](#), Nat'l Latino/a Law Students' Conf. (Sept. 2009).
- Presenter, [\*Redistricting and the Census\*](#), Nat'l Civic Summit (July 2009).
- Presenter, *Youth Voter Mobilization and Civic Engagement*, American Democracy Inst. (Feb. 2006).

## SELECTED MEDIA APPEARANCES

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[\*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).

[\*Tulsi Gabbard declared her residency in Texas. Then she voted in Hawaii\*](#), CNN (Apr. 2025).

[\*Does Trump Have Legal Authority to Require Proof of Citizenship for Voting?\*](#), PBS (Apr. 2025).

[\*Federal judge demands details from Trump team about deportation flights\*](#), Fox/Sinclair (Mar. 2025).

[\*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).

[\*An organization has novel way to get members to vote. But is it legal?\*](#), Morning Edition, NPR (Oct. 2024).

[\*Election 2020: Lawyers vs. More Lawyers\*](#), Post Reports Podcast, WASH. POST (Oct. 2020).

[\*Pennsylvania Gerrymandering\*](#), BBC Radio 5 (Feb. 2018).

[\*The Gerrymandering Project: California\*](#), FIVETHIRTYEIGHT POLITICS (Jan. 2018).

[\*The Political Lines That Divide Us\*](#), Innovation Hub, WGBH (Oct. 2017).

[\*The Political Thicket\*](#), More Perfect, RADIOLAB/WNYC (Sept. 2017).

Cited as election law expert by hundreds of publications, TV and radio stations, and news services, including ABC, CBS, NBC, MSNBC, PBS, CNN, Fox News, NPR and its local affiliates, the Associated Press, Reuters, UPI, Bloomberg, McClatchy, States Newsroom, Sinclair, Politifact, New York Times, Wall St. Journal, Washington Post, ProPublica, New Yorker, USA Today, Votebeat, Bolts, Slate, Politico, Vox, Salon, TPM, The Hill, Roll Call, The Guardian, The Nation, The Atlantic, Huffington Post, Time, Los Angeles Times, Orange County Register, Texas Tribune, Sacramento Bee, Miami Herald, Houston Chronicle, Chicago Tribune, Boston Globe, 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**

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[\*The Myth of Voter Fraud\*](#), WASH. POST, Mar. 29, 2007 (with Michael Waldman).

Occasional contributions to the [Election Law Blog](#), [Summary Judgments](#), and the [Brennan Center for Justice blog](#).

## SELECTED PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

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Elected Member, American Law Institute (Adviser, Restatement of the Law: Election Litigation)

Secretary, Board of Directors, All Voting is Local

Former Board of Directors, Fair Elections Center

Former Advisory Committee, Los Angeles County Voting Systems Assessment Project

Former Board of Advisors, VoteRiders

Counsel, Brief of Independent State Redistricting Commissioners, [Amicus Brief](#), *Louisiana v. Callais*, Case Nos. 24-109, 24-110 (U.S. Dec. 26, 2024).

Counsel and Amicus, *Mi Familia Vota v. Fontes*, Case Nos. 24-3188, 24-3559, 24-4029 (9th Cir. Aug. 19, 2024).

Counsel, Voting Rights Scholars, [Amicus Brief](#), *Brnovich v. DNC*, Case No. 19-1257 (U.S. Jan. 20, 2021).

Counsel, John R. Dunne et al., [Amicus Brief](#), *Dep't of Commerce v. New York*, Case No. 18-966 (U.S. Apr. 1, 2019).

Counsel, NAACP LDF et al., [Amicus Brief](#), *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, [Amicus Brief](#), *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).

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## BAR ADMISSIONS

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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