# NICHOLAS O. STEPHANOPOULOS

Kirkland & Ellis Professor of Law, Harvard Law School Areeda Hall 230, 1545 Massachusetts Ave, Cambridge, MA 02138 (781) 248-8145 | <u>nstephanopoulos@law.harvard.edu</u>

### **EMPLOYMENT**

### HARVARD LAW SCHOOL, Cambridge, MA

Kirkland & Ellis Professor of Law, 2021-Present Director of Strategy, Election Law Clinic, 2021-Present Professor of Law, 2020-2021 Austin Wakeman Scott Visiting Professor of Law, Fall 2018

Research interests include election law, constitutional law, legislation, administrative law, and comparative law. Classes taught include Election Law; Constitutional Law; The Future of Voting Rights; Law and Politics Workshop; Voting Rights Litigation and Advocacy Workshop; and Election Law Clinic. Committees include Entry-Level Appointments (Chair) and Admissions. Affiliated faculty member with the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, the Bloomberg Center for Cities, and the Inequality and Social Policy Program.

### UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LAW SCHOOL, Chicago, IL

Professor of Law and Herbert and Marjorie Fried Research Scholar, 2017-2019 Assistant Professor of Law, 2012-2017

Classes taught included Election Law; Constitutional Law; Administrative Law; The Future of Voting Rights; Canonical Ideas; The Comparative Law of Democracy; Public Opinion, Public Policy, and the Law; and Public Law & Legal Theory Workshop.

#### COLUMBIA LAW SCHOOL, New York, NY

### Associate-in-Law, 2010-2012

Taught Legal Practice Workshop to first-year law students. Coordinated weekly Associates' and Fellows' Workshop. Contributed to DrawCongress.org redistricting project.

#### JENNER & BLOCK LLP, Washington, DC

#### Associate, 2007-2010

Practice focused on complex federal litigation, appellate advocacy, and election law. Drafted sections of ten Supreme Court briefs, on subjects including Voting Rights Act, Establishment Clause, and criminal procedure. Election law work included redistricting and campaign finance matters.

### HON. RAYMOND C. FISHER, NINTH CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS, Pasadena, CA

### Law Clerk, 2006-2007

Wrote bench memoranda addressing all aspects of federal appellate cases. Worked with judge on draft majority opinions, concurrences, and dissents. Assisted judge with preparations for oral argument.

### **EDUCATION**

#### YALE LAW SCHOOL, J.D., 2006

HONORS: Jewell Prize for best second-year student contribution to a law journal Morris Tyler Moot Court: Harlan Fiske Stone Prize Finalist; Moot Court Board

Thomas Swan Barristers' Union: John Currier Gallagher Prize Finalist Yale Journal of International Law: Editor-in-Chief (Vol. 31); Articles Editor (Vol. 30) Yale Law Journal: Projects Editor (Vol. 115); Editor (Vol. 114) Yale Daily News: Author of biweekly "Post and Riposte" column	
BRIDGE (PEMBROKE COLLEGE), M.Phil in European Studies, 2002	
Cambridge Overseas Trust Fellowship	
Riley Declamation Prize for best speech on a European topic	
"The European Union's Record in the Balkan Crises of the 1990s"	
Cambridge Student: Columnist	
Cambridge Union: Debater	
HARVARD UNIVERSITY, A.B. in Government, summa cum laude, 2001	
Phi Beta Kappa academic honor society	
John Harvard Scholarship (all eight semesters)	
Kate and Max Greenman Prize for debate	
"Swinging the Sword of Justice: An Exploration of the Factors Motivating	
American Humanitarian Intervention in the Post-Cold War Era"	
Intercollegiate Model United Nations: Director	
International Relations Council: Vice President	
Harvard Independent: Columnist; Commentary Section Editor	

## ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

### Books:

ALIGNING ELECTION LAW (Oxford University Press, 2024) (winner of the AALS Distinguished Scholarship in Election Law honorable mention)

ELECTION LAW: CASES AND MATERIALS (Carolina Academic Press, 7th ed. 2021) (with Richard L. Hasen, Daniel H. Lowenstein, and Daniel P. Tokaji)

### Journal Articles:

Election Law for the New Electorate, 17 J. LEGAL ANALYSIS (forthcoming 2025)

The New Vote Dilution, 96 N.Y.U. L. REV. 1179 (2021)

Democracy's Denominator, 109 CALIF. L. REV. 1011 (2021) (with Jowei Chen)

The Sweep of the Electoral Power, 36 CONST. COMMENT. 1 (2021)

The Race-Blind Future of Voting Rights, 130 YALE L.J. 862 (2021) (with Jowei Chen)

Quasi Campaign Finance, 70 DUKE L.J. 333 (2020)

The Anti-Carolene Court, 2019 SUP. CT. REV. 111

Disparate Impact, Unified Law, 128 YALE L.J. 1566 (2019) (winner of the AALS Distinguished Scholarship in Election Law prize)

The Measure of a Metric: The Debate Over Quantifying Partisan Gerrymandering, 70 STAN. L. REV. 1503 (2018)

(with Eric M. McGhee)

Accountability Claims in Constitutional Law, 112 NW. U. L. REV. 989 (2018)

Race, Place, and Power, 68 STAN. L. REV. 1323 (2016)

Civil Rights in a Desegregating America, 83 U. CHI. L. REV. 1329 (2016)

Political Powerlessness, 90 N.Y.U. L. REV. 1527 (2015)

*Aligning Campaign Finance Law*, 101 VA. L. REV. 1425 (2015) (also published in abridged form as a book chapter in DEMOCRACY BY THE PEOPLE: REFORMING CAMPAIGN FINANCE IN AMERICA (Eugene D. Mazo & Timothy K. Kuhner eds. 2018)

Partisan Gerrymandering and the Efficiency Gap, 82 U. CHI. L. REV. 831 (2015) (with Eric M. McGhee)

The Realities of Electoral Reform, 68 VAND. L. REV. 761 (2015) (with Eric M. McGhee and Steven Rogers)

Elections and Alignment, 114 COLUM. L. REV. 283 (2014)

The South After Shelby County, 2013 SUP. CT. REV. 55

Our Electoral Exceptionalism, 80 U. CHI. L. REV. 769 (2013)

Spatial Diversity, 125 HARV. L. REV. 1903 (2012)

Redistricting and the Territorial Community, 160 U. PA. L. REV. 1379 (2012)

Reforming Redistricting: Why Popular Initiatives to Establish Redistricting Commissions Succeed or Fail, 23 J.L. & POL. 331 (2007) (also published in abridged form as an American Constitution Society Issue Brief)

The Case for the Legislative Override, 10 UCLA J. INT'L L. & FOREIGN AFF. 250 (2005) (winner of Yale Law School's Jewell Prize)

### <u>Shorter Works:</u>

*Give Young Adults the Vote*, 99 NOTRE DAME L. REV. (forthcoming 2025) (responding to Joshua Kleinfeld & Stephen Sachs, *Give Parents the Vote*, 99 NOTRE DAME L. REV. (forthcoming 2025))

*Campaign Finance and "Real" Corruption, in* CAMPAIGN FINANCE AND THE FIRST AMENDMENT (Lee C. Bollinger & Geoffrey R. Stone eds., forthcoming 2025) (book chapter)

Finding Condorcet, 81 WASH. & LEE L. REV. 981 (2024) (symposium contribution)

*Voting Rights Federalism*, 72 EMORY L.J. 299 (2023) (with Ruth M. Greenwood) (symposium contribution)

Non-Retrogression Without Law, 2023 U. CHI. LEGAL F. 267 (with Eric McGhee and Christopher Warshaw) (symposium contribution)

*Partisan Gerrymandering, in* OXFORD HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN ELECTION LAW (Eugene Mazo ed., forthcoming 2023) (book chapter)

The New Pro-Majoritarian Powers, 109 CALIF. L. REV. 2357 (2021) (responding to Pamela S. Karlan, The New Countermajoritarian Difficulty, 109 CALIF. L. REV. 2323 (2021))

Depoliticizing Redistricting, in COMPARATIVE ELECTION LAW (James A. Gardner ed., 2021) (book chapter)

Election Litigation in the Time of the Pandemic, 87 U. CHI. L. REV. ONLINE (2020) (symposium contribution)

The Impact of Partisan Gerrymandering on Political Parties, 45 LEGIS. STUD. Q. 609 (2020) (with Christopher Warshaw)

The Dance of Partisanship and Districting, 13 HARV. L. & POL'Y REV. 507 (2019) (symposium contribution)

The Causes and Consequences of Gerrymandering, 59 WM. & MARY L. REV. 2115 (2018) (symposium contribution)

The Concepts of Law, 84 U. CHI. L. REV. 147 (2017) (with Tom Ginsburg) (symposium contribution)

Quadratic Election Law, 172 PUB. CHOICE 265 (2017) (with Eric A. Posner) (symposium contribution)

Lessons from Litigating for Reform, 16 ELECTION L.J. 230 (2017) (symposium contribution)

The Relegation of Polarization, 83 U. CHI. L. REV. ONLINE 160 (2017) (responding to Christopher S. Elmendorf et al., Racially Polarized Voting, 83 U. CHI. L. REV. 587 (2016))

Liable Lies, 8 CONST. CT. REV. 1 (2016) (symposium contribution)

The Contours of Constitutional Approval, 94 WASH. U. L. REV. 113 (2016) (with Mila Versteeg)

Arizona and Anti-Reform, 2015 U. CHI. LEGAL F. 477 (symposium contribution)

Teaching Election Law, 13 ELECTION L.J. 447 (2014) (book review)

The Consequences of Consequentialist Criteria, 3 U.C. IRVINE L. REV. 669 (2013) (symposium contribution)

Forecasting the Flashpoints, 125 HARV. L. REV. F. 246 (2012)

*Communities and the California Commission*, 23 STAN. L. & POL'Y REV. 281 (2012) (symposium contribution)

Recent Development, Israel's Legal Obligations to Gaza After the Pullout, 31 YALE J. INT'L L. 524 (2006)

Policy Comment, Solving the Due Process Problem with Military Commissions, 114 YALE L.J. 921 (2005)

Case Note, Stand by Your First Amendment Values, Not Your Ad, 23 YALE L. & POL'Y REV. 369 (2005)

Book Review, "Terrorism, Freedom, and Security" by Philip B. Heymann, 29 YALE J. INT'L L. 583 (2004)

Book Review, "Distant Proximities" by James N. Rosenau, 29 YALE J. INT'L L. 266 (2004)

### **POPULAR PUBLICATIONS**

Surprise! America Is Less Polarized than It Used to Be, WASH. POST, Dec. 9, 2024

America Is Less Polarized Than It Seems. Politicians Need Better Data, THE HILL, Sept. 26, 2024

Proportional Representation and the Voting Rights Act, PROTECT DEMOCRACY, Aug. 2024

Three Reasons Why NJ Should Cut the 'County Line' from Ballots, NJ SPOTLIGHT NEWS, Mar. 20, 2024 (with Tyler Simko)

Proportional Representation—Brooding and Omnipresent to the End, BALKINIZATION, Dec. 23, 2022

The Partisan Implications of the ISL Theory, DEMOCRACY DOCKET, Aug. 29, 2022

How Congress Can Preempt the Most Dangerous Possible Ruling of the Next Supreme Court Term, SLATE, July 7, 2022

The Novel Strategy Blue States Can Use to Solve Partisan Gerrymandering by 2024, SLATE, May 6, 2022 (with Aaron Goldzimer)

The Grim Fate of the Voting Rights Act in the Hands of the Supreme Court, WASH. POST, Feb. 9, 2022

Pay People to Vote, THE ATLANTIC (ONLINE), Aug. 10, 2021 (with Jonathan S. Gould)

The Supreme Court Showcased Its 'Textualist' Double Standard on Voting Rights, WASH. POST, July 1, 2021

The For the People Act's Missing Piece, DEMOCRACY DOCKET, May 10, 2021

Next Front in Gerrymandering Wars Will Be Whom to Count, WASH. POST, Feb. 24, 2021 (with Jowei Chen)

Congress's Forgotten Electoral Power, DEMOCRACY DOCKET, Feb. 1, 2021

The Supreme Court Shouldn't Decide Voting Cases. It Keeps Getting Them Wrong, WASH. POST, Oct. 29, 2020

Freeing Purcell from the Shadows, TAKE CARE, Sept. 27, 2020

Conservative Groups Sue to Make Pandemic Voting Even Harder, SLATE, July 6, 2020

Democrats Can't Be Afraid to Gerrymander Now, SLATE, July 3, 2019 (with Aaron Goldzimer)

Kagan Wants Proof Gerrymandering Harms Both Parties. Here It Is., SLATE, Feb. 28, 2019

The Validity of Stopping Voter Suppression, TAKE CARE, Nov. 14, 2018

Redistricting Reform in a Democratic House, HARV. L. REV. BLOG, Nov. 13, 2018

In Pennsylvania Gerrymander Case, Experts Can't Defend the Indefensible, PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, Dec. 7, 2017

What Virginia Tells Us, and Doesn't Tell Us, About Gerrymandering, L.A. TIMES, Nov. 10, 2017

The Justices Have Questions About How to Fix Partisan Gerrymandering, SLATE, Oct. 4, 2017

The Case Against Partisan Gerrymandering, SLATE, Sept. 25, 2017

The Research that Convinced SCOTUS to Take the Wisconsin Gerrymandering Case, Explained, VOX, July 11, 2017

Beyond Ballots, NEW RAMBLER REVIEW, Nov. 11, 2015

A Feasible Roadmap to Compulsory Voting, THE ATLANTIC (ONLINE), Nov. 2, 2015

Redistricting Could Have the Most Disparate Effect, N.Y. TIMES, Aug. 5, 2015

The False Promise of Black Political Representation, THE ATLANTIC (ONLINE), June 11, 2015

California Fixed Redistricting; Will the Supreme Court Break It Again?, LOS ANGELES TIMES, Feb. 22, 2015

Here's How We Can End Gerrymandering Once and for All, NEW REPUBLIC (ONLINE), July 2, 2014

The Voting Rights Amendment Act of 2014: A Constitutional Response to Shelby County, American Constitution Society Issue Brief, May 2014 (with Samuel Bagenstos, Gabriel Chin, Gilda Daniels, and William Yoemans)

The Future of the Voting Rights Act, SLATE, Oct. 23, 2013

Time to Get the Foxes (Illinois Politicians) out of the Henhouse (Legislative Redistricting), CHICAGO TRIBUNE, July 18, 2013

Dear Justice Kennedy, SLATE, Apr. 1, 2013

Don't Worry About the Voting Rights Act, SLATE, Nov. 20, 2012 (with Eric Posner)

Why the Supreme Court May Soon Strike Down a Key Section of the Voting Rights Act, NEW REPUBLIC (ONLINE), Sept. 10, 2012

Can Someone Put a Stop to the Insanity of Political Redistricting?, NEW REPUBLIC (ONLINE), Apr. 4, 2012

The Answer to the Gerrymander, BALTIMORE SUN, Jan. 9, 2012

Fox Can't Guard District Henhouse, SOUTH FLORIDA SUN-SENTINEL, Apr. 9, 2011

How to Halt Gerrymandering, NEW REPUBLIC (ONLINE), Apr. 1, 2011

Rank the Vote, NEW REPUBLIC (ONLINE), Oct. 1, 2010

Don't Water Down Hope for Fair Districts, TALLAHASSEE DEMOCRAT, Apr. 25, 2010 (with Gerald Hebert and Leon Russell)

Veil Thine Eyes, NEW REPUBLIC (ONLINE), Dec. 14, 2009

Britain's New Supreme Court, NATIONAL LAW JOURNAL, Dec. 14, 2009

Building a Bigger House, BALTIMORE SUN, Nov. 15, 2009 (with Martina Vandenberg)

Conservative Unease with Common Law, PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, July 24, 2009

Keep Protecting the Rights of Minority Voters, HOUSTON CHRONICLE, July 20, 2009 (with Paul Smith)

Resurrecting Bush v. Gore, DISSENT (ONLINE), June 1, 2009

What Jefferson Said, NEW REPUBLIC (ONLINE), Dec. 1, 2008

A Fighting Chance for Redistricting, LOS ANGELES TIMES, Sept. 27, 2008

Four Out of Nine Ain't Bad, NEW REPUBLIC (ONLINE), June 25, 2008

Not Too Hot to Handle, LEGAL TIMES, Mar. 3, 2008 (with Matthew Jacobs and Lorelie Masters)

Contributor to Huffington Post, Talking Points Memo Café, Election Law Blog, Take Care, Harvard Law Review Blog, American Constitution Society Blog, and I-CONnect

# ACADEMIC PRESENTATIONS

"Aligning Election Law," Harvard Law Society of Illinois, Dec. 2024

"AI, the Law, and the 2024 Election," Harvard Law School, Panelist, Nov. 2024

"Election Law for the New Electorate," USC Gould School of Law, Faculty Workshop, Nov. 2024

"Thoughts on the 2024 Election," Harvard Law School, Panel on Election Insights and Analysis, Nov. 2024

"Finding Condorcet," Emory University School of Law, Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, Nov. 2024

"Synopsis of Redistricting Litigation," International Foundation for Electoral Systems, U.S. Election Program, Nov. 2024

"Give Young Adults the Vote," Cambridge University, Children's Voting Colloquium, Oct. 2024

"Aligning Election Law," Harvard Law School, Equal Democracy Project Book Talk, Oct. 2024

"Aligning Election Law," Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Book Talk, Oct. 2024

"Election Law for the New Electorate," Harvard Law School, Kirkland & Ellis Chair Lecture, Oct. 2024

"Aligning Election Law," Princeton Program in Law and Public Policy, Frontiers of Law Seminar Series, Oct. 2024

"Ranked-List Proportional Representation," University of Wisconsin Law School, Symposium on State Law and Federal Elections, Sept. 2024

"Election Law and the 2024 Election," Harvard Law School, American Constitution Society Event, Sept. 2024

"TrueViews and Improving Representation," Harvard Kennedy School, Event on Improving Voter-Centered Representation in Local Government, Sept. 2024

Panelist, Harvard Law School, Conversation on AI and Elections, Apr. 2024

"Policing Gerrymandering Through State Constitutions," Harvard Law School, Faculty Ideas Workshop, Mar. 2024

"Finding Condorcet," Washington and Lee University School of Law, Symposium on Voting Rights in a Politically Polarized Era, Feb. 2024

"Toward Aligned Constitutionalism," Yale Law School, Workshop on the Future of Constitutionalism, Jan. 2024

"Elections That Align: A Theory of the Law of Democracy," University of Athens, Seminar on American Constitutional Theory, Jan. 2024

"Federal Policy Misalignment and Potential Reforms," American Association of Law Schools Annual Conference, Panel on Legislation, Governance, and Democratic Fragility, Jan. 2024

"The Landscape of Electoral Reform," University of California San Diego, Election Timing Convening, Dec. 2023

"Alignment: A Theory of the Law of Democracy," Harvard Law School Association Speaker Series, Nov. 2023

"Racial Vote Dilution Under the Constitution and the VRA," Suffolk Law School, Race and the Law Series, Oct. 2023

"Non-Retrogression Without Law," University of Chicago Law School, Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, Oct. 2023

Moderator, Panel on Election Law and Electoral System Reform, Harvard Law School, Conference on Race, Reform, and Multiracial Democracy, Sept. 2023

"Voting Rights Federalism," Emory University School of Law, Annual Symposium on Ethics and Professionalism, Sept. 2023

"Voting Rights Federalism," Harvard Law School, Faculty Workshop, Sept. 2023

"Allen v. Milligan," Harvard Law School, SCOTUS Lunch Series, Aug. 2023

"Voting Rights Federalism," Princeton University, Electoral Innovation Lab Speaker Series, Aug. 2023

"Voting Rights After Milligan," Cambridge, MA, Racial and Social Justice Breakfast Gathering, June 2023

"Voting Rights Federalism," University of Wisconsin Law School, Public Law in the States Conference, June 2023

Panelist, American Bar Association, Civil Disagreements Debate About the Independent State Legislature Doctrine, May 2023

"Aligning Election Law," Harvard Law School, Faculty Workshop, Mar. 2023

"Aligning Election Law," Cornell Law School, Faculty Workshop, Mar. 2023

"Non-Retrogression Without Law," Center for American Political Studies at Harvard University, CAPS Seminar Series, Feb. 2023

Moderator, Panel on Approaches to Proportional Representation, Harvard Kennedy School, Conference on Beyond Winner Take All Elections, Feb. 2023

"The Supreme Court and Democracy," Northeastern University, Seminar on Understanding the Modern Supreme Court, Jan. 2023

"Aligning Election Law," University of Wisconsin Law School, State Democracy Research Initiative Academic Roundtable on States and Democracy, Jan. 2023

Panelist, FixUS Thought Leaders Group, Session on the Effectiveness of Political Reforms, Jan. 2023

"Aligning Election Law," University of Michigan, Osher Lifelong Learning Institute Lecture Series, Dec. 2022

Panelist, Harvard Law School, Equal Democracy Project Event on the Independent State Legislature Doctrine, Nov. 2022

"Non-Retrogression Without Law," University of Chicago Law School, Legal Forum Symposium on Borders and Boundaries, Nov. 2022

Panelist, Columbia Law School, Center for Voting Rights Event on Redistricting, Oct. 2022

Panelist, University of Texas School of Law, LevinsonFest 2022 Roundtable on Voting Rights, Oct. 2022

Panelist, University of Kentucky College of Law, Symposium on Drawing the Lines: Redistricting After the 2020 Census, Oct. 2022

"PlanScore Uses and Improvements," Stanford Law School, 2022 Redistricting and Data Convening, Sept. 2022

"Partisan Gerrymandering," Oxford Handbook of American Election Law Workshop, Aug. 2022

Moderator, Harvard Law School, Democracy Speaker Series Panel on Redistricting, Apr. 2022

"The Laundering of Racial Intent in Redistricting," University of Alabama School of Law, Symposium on The End of Animus, Mar. 2022

"The Race-Blind Future of the Voting Rights Act," Harvard Law School, Faculty Ideas Workshop, Feb. 2022

Panelist, Stanford Law School, Symposium on Safeguarding the Fundamental Right to Vote, Feb. 2022

Panelist, Carter Center, Panel on How Can We Take Partisanship Out of Election Administration, Jan. 2022

"Aligning Election Law," American Association of Law Schools Annual Conference, Panel on Critical Perspectives on Congress, Jan. 2022

Moderator, Harvard Kennedy School, Panel on The State of Redistricting and the 2022 Elections, Nov. 2021

Panelist, New York University School of Law, American Constitution Society Event on Redistricting, Nov. 2021

"Election Subversion," Harvard Law School, Faculty Ideas Workshop, Nov. 2021

Panelist, Harvard Law School, Event on the Art of Law Teaching, Nov. 2021

"Aligning Election Law," George Washington University Law School, Constitutional Law Colloquium, Nov. 2021

"Aligning Election Law," Harvard Law School, Law & Economics Workshop, Oct. 2021

"Aligning Election Law," Harvard Institute for Learning in Retirement, Oct. 2021

Panelist, Harvard Law School, American Constitution Society Event on Redistricting, Oct. 2021

"Democracy's Denominator," American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Oct. 2021

Moderator, Harvard Law School, Democracy Speaker Series Panel on Democracy in Peril, Sept. 2021

"Race and Representation," Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Seminar on Redistricting Algorithms, Law, and Policy, Sept. 2021

Panelist, William & Mary Law School, Event on Brnovich v. DNC, Apr. 2021

Panelist, Harvard Law School, ACLU Event on the Next Redistricting Cycle, Apr. 2021

Panelist, Chicago Federalist Society, Event on the Future of Redistricting, Apr. 2021

Panelist, Stanford University, Conference on The Electoral Reform Agenda: A Deep Dive into H.R. 1, Feb. 2021

"The Sweep of the Electoral Power," University of Pittsburgh School of Law, Faculty Workshop, Jan. 2021

Commentator, UC Berkeley School of Law, Brennan Center Jorde Symposium, Nov. 2020

Panelist, Harvard Law School, Election 2020 Debrief, Nov. 2020

"Reflections on the 2020 Election," Harvard University, Nieman Foundation Seminar, Nov. 2020

"Election Litigation in the Time of the Pandemic," Circle of Hellenic Academics in Boston, Oct. 2020

"Election Litigation in the Time of the Pandemic," Harvard Law School, Elections Primer, Oct. 2020

Panelist, Harvard University, Workshop on COVID-19: Science, History, and Policy, Oct. 2020

Panelist, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Conference on Gender, Citizenship, and the Long 19th Amendment, Oct. 2020

"The Race-Blind Future of Voting Rights," Vanderbilt Law School, Faculty Workshop, Oct. 2020

"Democracy's Denominator," University of Connecticut School of Law, Connecticut Law Review Symposium on Political Questions, Separation of Powers, and Judicial Legitimacy, Oct. 2020

Moderator, New York University School of Law, Panel on Building a More Inclusive Democracy, Oct. 2020

"The Race-Blind Future of Voting Rights," Harvard Law School, Faculty Workshop, Oct. 2020

"Inequality in Voting and Political Engagement," Harvard University, Inequality and Social Policy Seminar, Oct. 2020

"Election Litigation in the Time of the Pandemic," Harvard Law School, COVID-19 and the Law Colloquium, Sept. 2020

Moderator, University of Chicago Hong Kong Campus, Lecture Series on Broken Democracy: Election Challenges and Consequences During COVID-19, Sept. 2020

"Election Litigation in the Time of the Pandemic," Harvard Law School, Faculty Ideas Workshop, Sept. 2020

"The Race-Blind Future of Voting Rights," Yale Law School, Yale Law Journal Author Series, Sept. 2020

Panelist, University of South Dakota School of Law, South Dakota Law Review Symposium on Election and Voting Law, Sept. 2020

"The Race-Blind Future of Voting Rights," UC Berkeley School of Law, Law, Accounting & Business

Workshop, Sept. 2020

"Democracy's Denominator," UC Berkeley School of Law, California Law Review Symposium on Democracy Reform for the 21st Century, Sept. 2020

"The Race-Blind Future of Voting Rights," Princeton University, Princeton Gerrymandering Project Workshop Series, June 2020

"The 2020 Election and the Future of Election Law," Harvard University, Advanced Leadership Initiative Workshop Series, May 2020

"The Race-Blind Future of Voting Rights," Harvard Law School, Law and Economics Workshop, Mar. 2020

"The Race-Blind Future of Voting Rights," University of Miami School, Symposium on What Swings the Vote, Feb. 2020

Panelist, University of Chicago Law School, American Constitution Society Event on Electoral Reform, Nov. 2019

"The Contested Right to Vote," University of Chicago Laboratory Schools, American History Lecture, Nov. 2019

Presenter, Midwestern Legislative Conference, Legislative Service Agency and Research Directors Group Session on Redistricting, Nov. 2019

"The Anti-Carolene Court," Loyola University Chicago School of Law, Philip H. Corboy Lecture, Oct. 2019

Panelist, Federalist Society Texas Chapters Conference, Election Issues Roundtable, Sept. 2019

"The Impact of Partisan Gerrymandering on Political Parties," American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Sept. 2019

Discussant, Illinois State Bar Association, Panel on Voting Rights, June 2019

Discussant, University of Chicago Law School, Federalist Society Event on Partisan Gerrymandering, Apr. 2019

"The Race-Blind Future of Voting Rights," Loyola University Chicago School of Law, Symposium on Democracy in America, Apr. 2019

"The Impact of Partisan Gerrymandering on Political Parties," Wayne State University Law School, Symposium on The Power of Boundaries, Mar. 2019

"The World After Whitford," Seventh Circuit Bar Association, Symposium on Revitalizing Article I, Mar. 2019

Discussant, American Constitution Society, Webinar on Partisan Gerrymandering Cases, Mar. 2019

"The Race-Blind Future of Voting Rights," Works-in-Progress Workshop, Mar. 2019

"A Redistricting Research Agenda," University of Maryland, Strategic Partnerships for Applied Redistricting Knowledge Conference, Mar. 2019

"The World After Whitford," Australian National University, Seminar on Contemporary Issues in

Constitutional Law, Feb. 2019

"Non-Campaign Finance Law," Notre Dame Law School, Symposium on Campaign Finance Reform for the 21st Century, Feb. 2019

"The World After Whitford," The Casino Club, Speaker Series, Jan. 2019

Discussant, University of Southern California, Terminate Gerrymandering Summit, Jan. 2019

"Disparate Impact, Unified Law," Washington and Lee University School of Law, Faculty Workshop, Nov. 2018

"Disparate Impact, Unified Law," Harvard Law School, Faculty Workshop, Nov. 2018

"The World After Whitford," Harvard Law School, Symposium on Electoral Redistricting, Keynote Lecture, Oct. 2018

"Empirical Evidence in Redistricting Litigation," Tufts University, Metric Geometry and Gerrymandering Group Presentation, July 2018

"The Fight Against Gerrymandering," League of Women Voters, Annual Convention, June 2018

Discussant, University of Chicago, Conference on Race and Place, May 2018

"The Fight Against Gerrymandering," University of Chicago, American Civil Liberties Union Undergraduate Chapter State of the Supreme Court Address, May 2018

"Short-Circuiting Democracy and the Constitution," Hellenic Link – Midwest, Lecture Series, May 2018

Discussant, University of Chicago, Institute of Politics Event on Partisan Gerrymandering in American Politics, May 2018

"Hyperpartisan Election Law," University of Chicago Law School, Works-in-Progress Workshop, May 2018

"The Fight Against Gerrymandering," Circle of Hellenic Academics in Boston, Annual Banquet, May 2018

"The Injury of Gerrymandering," American Philosophical Society, Annual Meeting, May 2018

"The Fight Against Gerrymandering," University of Chicago Law School, Chicago's Best Ideas Series, Apr. 2018

"The Fight Against Gerrymandering," Notre Dame Law School, American Constitution Society Lecture Series, Apr. 2018

"The Measure of a Metric," Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Apr. 2018

"The Fight Against Gerrymandering," Ethical Humanist Society of Chicago, Apr. 2018

"Hyperpartisan Election Law," University of Chicago, Harper Lecture Series, Mar. 2018

"The Fight Against Gerrymandering," Chicago Lawyer Chapter, American Constitution Society Talk, Feb. 2018

"Hyperpartisan Election Law," University of Georgia School of Law, Symposium on Modern

Gerrymandering and Partisanship, Keynote Address, Feb. 2018

"The Measure of a Metric," Dartmouth College, Quantitative Social Science Seminar Series, Jan. 2018

Discussant, League of Women Voters of Illinois, Forum on Voting Rights, Jan. 2018

Discussant, American Association of Law Schools Annual Conference, Panel on the Legacy of *Shaw v. Reno*, Jan. 2018

Discussant, University of Sydney United States Studies Centre, Panel on Partisan Gerrymandering, Dec. 2017

Discussant, National Constitution Center, Program on Gerrymandering and the Future of American Democracy, Dec. 2017

Discussant, Minnesota DFL Lawyers Committee, Panel on Redistricting, Nov. 2017

Discussant, Maurer School of Law, White House Wednesday Event on Gill v. Whitford, Nov. 2017

"The Empirics of Partisan Gerrymandering Claims," Seventh Circuit Bar Association, Panel on Racial and Partisan Gerrymandering, Oct. 2017

"The Measure of a Metric," University of Chicago Law School, Works-in-Progress Workshop, Oct. 2017

"The Fight Against Gerrymandering," Tulane University Law School, American Constitution Society Lecture Series, Sept. 2017

Discussant, Federalist Society, Teleforum on the Limits of Political Redistricting, Sept. 2017

"The Sources and Magnitude of Partisan Bias in U.S. Federal Elections," American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Sept. 2017

"Real Redistricting Reform," University of Chicago, Conference on Electoral Reform, June 2017

"The Causes and Consequences of Gerrymandering," USC Gould School of Law, Political Economy and Public Law Conference, June 2017

"The Fight Against Gerrymandering," Stanford Law School, American Constitution Society Lunch Talk Series, May 2017

Discussant, University of Chicago Law School, Federalist Society Event on the Electoral College, Mar. 2017

"The Fight Against Gerrymandering," Columbia Law School, American Constitution Society Lunch Talk Series, Mar. 2017

"The Causes and Consequences of Gerrymandering," Duke University, Conference on Redistricting Reform, Mar. 2017

"A Cure for Partisan Gerrymandering?," University of Chicago Law School, American Constitution Society Lunch Talk Series, Feb. 2017

Discussant, University of Chicago, Chicago Society Debate on the Electoral College, Feb. 2017

"The Causes and Consequences of Gerrymandering," William & Mary Law School, Symposium on Redistricting, Feb. 2017 "The Causes and Consequences of Gerrymandering," Michigan State University College of Law, Faculty Workshop, Feb. 2017

Discussant, DePaul University College of Law, Panel on Election Law and Voting Rights, Jan. 2017

"Whitford and Beyond," Northwestern Pritzker School of Law, Public Law Workshop, Jan. 2017

Discussant, University of Chicago Law School, Federalist Society Event on State Court Elections, Jan. 2017

"Liable Lies," University of Johannesburg, Constitutional Court Review Conference, Dec. 2016

"The Fight Against Gerrymandering," Constitutional Rights Foundation Chicago Annual Conference, Keynote Address, Oct. 2016

Discussant, University of Chicago Law School, Federalist Society Event on the Seventeenth Amendment, Oct. 2016

"Discounting Accountability," New York University School of Law, Colloquium on Constitutional Theory, Oct. 2016

"Discounting Accountability," Northwestern Pritzker School of Law, Constitutional Law Colloquium, Sept. 2016

Panelist, University of Chicago Law School, First Monday Luncheon Series, Chicago, New York, and Washington, DC, Sept.-Oct. 2016

Panelist, Harvard University Center for Governmental and International Studies, Voting Rights Conference, Sept. 2016

"Discounting Accountability," University of Chicago Law School, Works-in-Progress Workshop, Aug. 2016

"Discounting Accountability," University of Oklahoma College of Law, Junior Faculty Workshop, July 2016

"A New Kind of Gerrymandering Challenge," Brennan Center for Justice, Convening on Partisan Gerrymandering, June 2016

Discussant, Northwestern Pritzker School of Law, Conference on The U.S. Constitution and Comparative Constitutional Law, May 2016

"The Concepts of Law," University of Chicago Law School, Symposium on Best Practices in Legal Analysis, May 2016

Discussant, University of Chicago Law School, American Constitution Society Event on Ballot Battles, May 2016

Discussant, University of Chicago Law School, Law School Democrats Event on Independent Maps Amendment, Apr. 2016

"Race, Place, and Power," Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Apr. 2016

Discussant, Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Panel on Minority Turnout and Political Participation After *Shelby County*, Apr. 2016

"Quadratic Election Law," University of Chicago, Conference on Quadratic Voting and the Public Good, Apr. 2016

"Race, Place, and Power," University of Wisconsin Law School, Conference on Democracy and Law in Action, Apr. 2016

"Discounting Accountability," University of Kentucky College of Law, Election Law Symposium, Mar. 2016

"Quadratic Election Law," Washburn University School of Law, Symposium on Election Law, Today and Beyond, Feb. 2016

"Race, Place, and Power," Stanford Law School, Symposium on the Law of Democracy, Feb. 2016

"Primary Perspectives," University of Chicago Law School, Midway Dinner Address, Feb. 2016

Discussant, University of Chicago Law School, BLSA Event on the Voting Rights Act, Feb. 2016

Discussant, University of Chicago Law School, Federalist Society Event on Racial Gerrymandering, Feb. 2016

Discussant, Brennan Center for Justice, Political Equality Roundtable, Jan. 2016

Discussant, University of Chicago Law School, Federalist Society Event on Campaign Finance Law, Dec. 2015

"Race, Place, and Power," Ohio State University Moritz College of Law, Symposium on the History and Future of Election Law, Nov. 2015

Panelist, University of Chicago, Event on Big Money in Politics, Oct. 2015

Panelist, University of Chicago Law School, Event on Dynamic Changes in the Election Law Landscape, Oct. 2015

Commentator, University of Virginia School of Law, Montpelier Comparative Constitutional Law Roundtable, Oct. 2015

"Litigating to End Partisan Gerrymandering," George Washington University Law School, Common Cause Redistricting Reform Symposium, Oct. 2015

"Civil Rights in a Desegregating America," University of Chicago Law School, Works-in-Progress Workshop, Sept. 2015

"Election Law in Comparative Perspective," Leiden University, Comparative Constitutional Law Lecture Series, May 2015

Commentator, University of Chicago Law School, Conference on How Do Constitutions Succeed? Defining and Assessing Constitutional Performance, Apr. 2015

"Political Powerlessness," University of Sydney United States Studies Centre, Academic Seminar Series, Apr. 2015

"Political Powerlessness," FSU College of Law, Election Law Symposium, Mar. 2015

"Partisan Gerrymandering and the Efficiency Gap," University of Chicago, Undergraduate Law Review Issue Launch, Mar. 2015

Commentator, George Washington University Law School, Comparative Constitutional Law Roundtable, Mar. 2015

Discussant, University of Chicago Law School, Federalist Society Event on Ideological Diversity in Academia, Mar. 2015

"Political Powerlessness," Columbia Law School, Public Law Workshop Series, Feb. 2015

"Political Powerlessness," LSU Law Center, Voting Rights Act Symposium, Jan. 2015

"Election Law in America and Australia," Australian Government Solicitor Office, Special Event Series, Dec. 2014

"Political Powerlessness," Israeli Knesset, Conference on Legisprudence and the Legislative Process, Dec. 2014

"Political Powerlessness," Bar-Ilan University Faculty of Law, Faculty Workshop Series, Dec. 2014

"Arizona and Anti-Reform," University of Chicago Law School, Legal Forum Symposium on Election Law, Nov. 2014

"Partisan Gerrymandering and the Efficiency Gap," Northwestern University Law School, Faculty Workshop Series, Nov. 2014

Moderator, University of Chicago, Institute of Politics Event on The Price of Democracy, Oct. 2014

"Aligning Campaign Finance Law," Washington University School of Law, Midwest Junior Faculty Workshop, Sept. 2014

"Aligning Campaign Finance Law," University of Chicago Law School, Works-in-Progress Workshop, Sept. 2014

"Aligning Campaign Finance Law," University of Chicago Law School, Chicago Junior Faculty Workshop, Aug. 2014

"The Realities of Electoral Reform," American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Aug. 2014

"Partisan Gerrymandering and the Efficiency Gap," Citizen Advocacy Center, Summer Workshop Series, July 2014

"Partisan Gerrymandering and the Efficiency Gap," Conference on Districts and Political Representation: Reforms for 2020 and Beyond, June 2014

Discussant, University of Chicago Law School, American Constitution Society Event on Parties and Partisanship in Today's America, May 2014

Discussant, Brennan Center for Justice, Conference on Money in Politics 2030: Toward a New Jurisprudence, Panel on Alternative Approaches to Political Cases, May 2014

"The South After Shelby County," Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Apr. 2014

"The Alignment Interest for Campaign Finance Reform," Valparaiso University Law School, Symposium on Money in Politics, Apr. 2014

Panelist, DePaul Law School, Illinois Campaign for Political Reform Event on How Redistricting and

the Voting Rights Act Impact Communities of Interest, Mar. 2014

Commentator, George Washington University Law School, Comparative Constitutional Law Roundtable, Mar. 2014

"The South After Shelby County," University of Chicago Law School, Works-in-Progress Workshop, Mar. 2014

"Our Electoral Exceptionalism," Stanford University, Workshop on Electoral System Reform, Mar. 2014

Panelist, University of Chicago, Institute of Politics Event on How to Draw the Maps: Redistricting Reform in American Politics, Feb. 2014

"The South After Shelby County," Valparaiso University Law School, Chicago Junior Faculty Workshop, Feb. 2014

"Redistricting in Comparative Perspective," Open Society Foundations Conference on Redistricting 2020: Preparing for Action, Dec. 2013

"Redistricting Commissions in America and Abroad," Stevenson Center on Democracy Event on Redistricting Local, State, and National Boundaries, Nov. 2013

"The South After *Shelby County*," University of Chicago Law School, Chicago's Best Ideas Series, Nov. 2013

Discussant, University of Chicago Law School, Federalist Society Event on The Constitutional Challenge to Obamacare, Nov. 2013

"Elections and Alignment," University of New South Wales Law School, Gilbert & Tobin Centre of Public Law Seminar Series, Oct. 2013

"The South After *Shelby County*," University of Chicago Law School, First Monday Luncheon Series, Chicago, New York, and Washington, DC, Sept.-Oct. 2013

"The South After *Shelby County*," University of Kentucky College of Law, Brown Bag Presentation Series, Sept. 2013

Discussant, Ohio State University Moritz College of Law, Symposium on Primaries and Polarization, Sept. 2013

"Elections and Alignment," UC Irvine School of Law, Seminar on Election Law, Sept. 2013

"Elections and Alignment," DePaul University College of Law, Chicago Junior Faculty Workshop, Aug. 2013

"Do Redistricting Reforms Work? Evaluating Independent Commissions and New Line-Drawing Criteria," National Conference of State Legislatures, 2013 Legislative Summit, Aug. 2013

"Elections and Alignment," University of Chicago Law School, Works-in-Progress Workshop, July 2013

"The Garden State Model? Redistricting Commissions and the New Jersey Experience," Paul Simon Public Policy Institute, Redistricting Symposium, Apr. 2013

"Redistricting and the Territorial Community," University of Chicago Law School, Sidebar Workshop

Series, Apr. 2013

Discussant, New York University School of Law, Symposium on the Law of Deliberative Democracy, Panel on "Theory and Practice," Apr. 2013

"The Consequences of Consequentialist Criteria," George Washington University Law School, Comparative Constitutional Law Roundtable, Mar. 2013

"Elections and Alignment," University of Oklahoma College of Law, Symposium on Election Law, Feb. 2013

"The Consequences of Consequentialist Criteria," Griffith Law School, Electoral Regulation Research Network Seminar, Dec. 2012

"The Consequences of Consequentialist Criteria," Melbourne Law School, Electoral Regulation Research Network Seminar, Dec. 2012

"The 2012 Election and the Future of Election Law," Aristotelian Society of Boston, Nov. 2012

"The 2012 Election and the Future of Election Law," University of Chicago Law School, American Constitution Society Lunch Talk Series, Oct. 2012

"Our Electoral Exceptionalism," American Society of Comparative Law, Younger Comparativists' Panel, Oct. 2012

"Our Electoral Exceptionalism," University of Chicago Law School, Works-in-Progress Workshop, Oct. 2012

"Our Electoral Exceptionalism," UC Irvine School of Law, Symposium on Election Law, Sept. 2012

"Redistricting Around the World," Bar Association of San Francisco, Panel on Developments in Election Law, July 2012

"Our Electoral Exceptionalism," Columbia Law School, Associates' and Fellows' Workshop, May 2012

"Forecasting the Flashpoints," Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Apr. 2012

"The Geography of Districting," Yale Law School, Yale Law Journal Reading Group, Feb. 2012

"Communities and the California Commission," Stanford Law School, Symposium on Redrawing the Maps: Redistricting, Race, and Representation in the Next Decade, Jan. 2012

"Spatial Diversity," University of Pennsylvania Law School, Jan. 2012

"Spatial Diversity," George Washington University Law School, Dec. 2011

"Spatial Diversity," University of Chicago Law School, Dec. 2011

"Spatial Diversity," University of Illinois College of Law, Nov. 2011

"Spatial Diversity," UCLA School of Law, Nov. 2011

"Spatial Diversity," UC Irvine School of Law, Nov. 2011

"Spatial Diversity," UC Davis School of Law, Nov. 2011

"Spatial Diversity," UC Hastings College of the Law, Nov. 2011

"Spatial Diversity," Cornell Law School, Nov. 2011

"Spatial Diversity," University of Michigan Law School, Nov. 2011

"Spatial Diversity," University of Maryland School of Law, Oct. 2011

"Spatial Diversity," Columbia Law School, Associates' and Fellows' Workshop, Aug. 2011

"Redistricting and the Territorial Community," Law and Society Association Annual Meeting, June 2011

"Racial and Political Gerrymandering in the 2010s," University of Michigan Law School, Michigan Election Law Project Panel, Apr. 2011

"Redistricting and the Territorial Community," Columbia Law School, Associates' and Fellows' Workshop, Jan. 2011

# OTHER

Commentator on CNN ("Smerconish"), NPR ("All Things Considered"), BBC ("Newshour," "World News," 2024 election coverage), C-SPAN ("Washington Journal"), CBS News, CBC ("The National"), Australian Broadcasting Corporation ("RN Drive"), Channel Four News, WTTW Chicago ("Chicago Tonight"), WBEZ Chicago ("Morning Shift"), Chicago Access Network Television ("Public Affairs"), WHYY Philadelphia ("Radio Times"), WNTN Boston ("Grecian Echoes"), WLRN Miami ("Regionally Speaking"), KOA Denver ("The Ross Kaminsky Show"), WXXM Madison ("Devil's Advocates"), WPKN Bridgeport ("Between the Lines"), NHPR New Hampshire ("The Exchange"), KPFA Berkeley ("Countdown"), KZYX Mendocino County ("Politics: A Love Story"), KSL Salt Lake City ("Inside Sources"), CNBC-TV18 ("Global Eye"), Bloomberg Law Radio, Wisconsin Public Radio, Economist's "The Intelligence" and "Checks and Balance" podcasts, National Constitution Center's "We the People" podcast, Strict Scrutiny podcast, ABA's Law School podcast, Supreme Myths podcast, Lawrence Lessig's podcast, The Scholar's Circle podcast, and Legal Talk Network's "Lawyer 2 Lawyer" podcast (2012-25)

Referee for American Economic Review, American Political Science Review, Columbia Law Review, Election Law Journal, Harvard Law Review, Journal of Law and Economics, Journal of Legal Studies, Political Geography, Research and Politics, Stanford Law Review, University of Chicago Law Review, and Yale Law Journal (2012-25)

Member of Campaign Legal Center's Litigation Strategy Council aimed at developing strategies for changing campaign finance and redistricting doctrine (2016-25)

Co-founder of PlanScore website that provides historical data on partisan gerrymandering and allows users to upload plans and learn about their partisan effects (2017-25)

International Board of Advisers, Federal Law Review (2019-25)

Director of Strategy, Harvard Law School Election Law Clinic (2021-25)

Member of Organizing Committee for the Reimagining Democracy Project (2021-25)

Member of the American Law Institute (2022-25)

Co-founder of TrueViews website that provides data on people's opinions on policy issues at all

geographic levels (2024-25)

Author of Supreme Court amicus brief in Alexander v. South Carolina State Conf. of the NAACP (2023)

Author of Supreme Court amicus brief in Merrill v. Milligan (2022)

Author of Supreme Court amicus brief in West Virginia v. EPA (2021)

Faculty Convenor, Radcliffe Institute Seminar on Redistricting Algorithms, Law, and Policy (2021)

Witness in U.S. House Judiciary Committee Hearing on the Implications of *Brnovich v. Democratic* National Committee and Potential Legislative Responses (2021)

Author of Supreme Court amicus brief in Brnovich v. Democratic National Committee (2020)

Adviser on election law issues to Senator Elizabeth Warren's presidential campaign (2019-20)

Attorney in North Carolina and Wisconsin lawsuits based on *Partisan Gerrymandering and the Efficiency Gap* and first in thirty years to result in favorable rulings for plaintiffs (2015-19)

Member of Committee for the Study of Digital Platforms (2018-19)

Author of Supreme Court amicus brief in Benisek v. Lamone (2018)

Guest editor of Election Law Journal symposium on Partisan Gerrymandering and the Efficiency Gap (2016-17)

Adviser to FairVote on potential electoral and legislative reforms (2015-17)

Named to The Politico 50 list (2017)

Recipient of Independent Voters of Illinois Legal Eagle Award (2017)

Author of Supreme Court amicus brief in *Parrott v. Lamone* (2016)

Adviser to CHANGE Illinois and Independent Maps on redistricting initiatives (2012-16)

Author of Supreme Court amicus brief in Harris v. Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission (2015)

Named to National Law Journal's "Chicago's 40 Under 40" (2013)

Redistricting adviser for Alabama, Arizona, Connecticut, Maryland, and New York (2011-12)

Board of Directors, American Constitution Society, D.C. Chapter (2009-10)

Advisory Board, Yale Journal of International Law (2008-09)

Volunteer attorney for Obama for America (2007-08)

Admitted to New York Bar (2008), District of Columbia Bar (2009), Supreme Court Bar (2017), and Massachusetts Bar (2022)