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EMPLOYMENT

2020-Present **Carnegie Mellon University**

Post-Doctoral Fellow, Institute for Politics and Strategy – cervas@cmu.edu

2021-Present **Pennsylvania Reapportionment Committee**

*Redistricting consultant to the commission –
jonathan.cervas@redistricting.state.pa.us*

EDUCATION

University of California, Irvine

Ph.D., *Political Science*, **August 2020**
- ★ Dissertation Committee: Bernard Grofman (Chair), Michael Tesler, Carole Uhlaner
- ★ Dissertation: "A Quantitative Assessment of the U.S. Electoral College, 1790-2020"
- ★ Fields: American Politics, Political Methodology, Comparative Politics

M.A., *Political Science*, **December 2018**

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

B.A., *Political Science*, **2007**

ADDITIONAL TRAINING

Workshop on Research Design for Causal Inference, **Northwestern University**, 2017

Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), **University of Michigan**, 2016

PUBLICATIONS

Forthcoming **12 -** The Role Of State Courts In Constraining Partisan Gerrymandering In Congressional Elections. **Jonathan Cervas,** Bernard Grofman, and Scott Matsuda. Forthcoming. *University of New Hampshire Law Review*. [READ ONLINE]

2022 **11 -** Using Folded Seats-Votes Curves to Compare Partisan Bias in the 2020 Presidential Election with Partisan Bias in the Five Other Presidential Elections in the 21st Century. **Jonathan Cervas** and Bernard Grofman. 2022. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, June. [READ ONLINE]

10 - Turning Communities of Interest Into a Rigorous Standard for Fair Districting. Samuel S.-H Wang, Sandra J. Chen, Richard F. Ober, Jr., Bernard Grofman, Kyle T. Barnes, and **Jonathan Cervas**. 2022. *Stanford Journal of Civil Rights & Civil Liberties*, 18, 101. [READ ONLINE]

9 - Why Donald Trump Should be a Fervent Advocate of Using Rank-Choice Voting in 2024. **Jonathan Cervas** and Bernard Grofman. 2022. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 55(1), 1-6. [READ ONLINE]

2021 **8 -** A Systems Framework for Remedying Distortions in U.S. Democracy. Sam Wang, **Jonathan Cervas,** Bernard Grofman, and Keena Lipsitz. 2021. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, 118(50), e2102154118. [READ ONLINE]

7 - The Unanticipated Effect of Covid-19 on House Apportionments. **Jonathan Cervas** and Bernard Grofman. 2021. *Social Science Quarterly*, 102(5) 2432-2434. [READ ONLINE]

2020 **6 -** ZIP Codes as Geographic Bases of Representation. Bernard Grofman and **Jonathan Cervas.** 2020. *Election Law Journal.* [READ ONLINE]

5 - Legal, political science and economics approaches to measuring malapportionment. **Jonathan Cervas** and Bernard Grofman. 2020. *Social Science Quarterly,* 101(6): 2238-2256. [READ ONLINE]

4 - Tools for identifying partisan gerrymandering with an application to congressional districting in Pennsylvania. **Jonathan Cervas** and Bernard Grofman. 2020. *Political Geography*, 76: 102069. [READ ONLINE]

2019 **3 -** Are Presidential Inversions Inevitable? Comparing Eight Counterfactual Rules for Electing the U.S. President*. **Jonathan Cervas** and Bernard Grofman. 2019. *Social Science Quarterly*, 100(4): 1322-1342. [READ ONLINE]

2018 **2 -** Can State Courts Cure Partisan Gerrymandering: Lessons from League of Women Voters v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (2018). Bernard Grofman and **Jonathan Cervas**. 2018. *Election Law Journal*, 17(4): 264–285. [READ ONLINE]

2017 **1 -** Why noncompetitive states are so important for understanding the outcomes of competitive elections: The Electoral College 1868–2016. **Jonathan Cervas** and Bernard Grofman. 2017. Public Choice, 173(3–4): 251-265. [READ ONLINE]

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

2022 Report of the Special Master (Harkinrider v. Hochel). **Jonathan Cervas** [READ ONLINE]

2021 Fracking: A Contiguity-Related Redistricting Metric. **Jonathan Cervas** and Bernard Grofman. *Election Law Blog* [READ ONLINE]

Trump the wrestler and the 2024 grudge match. Bernard Grofman and **Jonathan Cervas.** [READ ONLINE]

The GOP scared Latinos from the census. Now that may cost the party red seats. Sam Wang and **Jonathan Cervas**. Washington Post [READ ONLINE]

Great Lobster and a More Equitable Voting System Exists in Maine. Anjali Akula, **Jonathan Cervas,** and Elsie Goren. *Medium.com "3Streams"* [READ ONLINE]

2020 Amicus Curiae with Princeton Electoral Innovation Lab [READ ONLINE]

How Likely is Trump to Lose the Popular Vote but Win the Electoral College? **Jonathan Cervas** and Bernard Grofman. *Medium.com "3Streams"* [READ ONLINE]

These Are the Political Consequences of Excluding Undocumented Immigrants from Apportionment. Angela Ocampo and **Jonathan Cervas.** 2020. *Medium.com "3Streams"* [READ ONLINE]

2018 Pennsylvania has to draw new congressional districts but getting rid of gerrymandering will be harder than you think. Bernard Grofman and **Jonathan Cervas**. 2018. *The Washington Post*. [READ ONLINE]

IN PROGRESS

* **"Can State Courts Constrain Partisan Gerrymandering in Congressional Elections?"** (accepted, New Hampshire Law Review) [READ ONLINE]

* **"Recent Approaches to the Definition and Measurement of Compactness"** (under review, Political Geography) [READ DRAFT ONLINE]

* **"Fracking: A Contiguity-Related Redistricting Metric"** [READ DRAFT ONLINE]

* **"Fallacies in Statistically-Based Claims about Massive Election Fraud in 2020"** (encouraged to revise and resubmit, Statistics and Public Policy) [READ DRAFT ONLINE]

* **"The Terminology of Districting**." (with Bernard Grofman) [READ DRAFT ONLINE]

* "**The Paradox of Malapportionment**."

* "**Is the Electoral College Biased in Favor of Republicans? YES and NO**." (with Bernard Grofman)

* "**An Experiment on Optimal Campaigning Using a Simplified Seven-State Electoral College**." (with Bernard Grofman and Scott Feld)

* "**Location, Isolation, and Influence**."

* "**Population-Dependence of Cabinet Sizes**." (with Rein Taagepera and Brian Kaiser) [READ DRAFT ONLINE]

* "**Representation of Non-Eligible Resident Populations in Legislative Bodies**." (with Angela X. Ocampo)

* "**Apportionment without non-citizens**."

* "**Distinguishing Between the Legacy of Slavery, Racial Threat, and Density in the American South**."

* "**Nationalized Campaigns and Midterm Dropoff**."

* "**Habitual Voting and the Hidden Suppression of Gerrymandering**."

WORK EXPERIENCE

SPECIAL MASTER

Harkenrider v. Hochul (2022), New York Congressional and State Senate Districts [court opinion]

CONSULTANT

Pennsylvania Reapportionment Commission

ASSISTANT TO THE SPECIAL MASTER

2019-2020   *Wright v. Sumter County Board of Elections and Registration*. U.S. District Court, Middle District of Georgia (2020) [court opinion]

2018-2019   *Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Board of Elections*. U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia (2019) [court opinion]

2017   *Navajo Nation v. San Juan County, UT*. United States District Court for the District of Utah (2018) [court opinion]

EXPERT WITNESS

Moore v. Lee, Case No. 22-0287-IV (2022). Chancery Court of Tennessee [reports filed; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5]

INVITED TALKS

2022   "Representation, Race, Redistricting," CUNY Graduate School, Hosted by Keena Lipsitz and John Mollenkopf, November 17, 2022.

"Voting Rights and Redistricting: Reshaping American Democracy," New York Law School., Hosted by Jeff Wice, October 20, 2022.

"Democracy Threatened: Will Your Vote Count?," Great Issues Forum at Redeemer, October 12, 2022.

"Contempory Issues in Election Law," New Hampshire Law School., Hosted by Kyle Kopko, October 7, 2022 [website]

"Voting Rights and Election Law," Hofstra Law School., Hosted by Judge Phil Solages, September 12, 2022

"Measuring Compactness," Pennsylvania Redistricting with Geographers: Communities of Interest Criteria and Beyond, American Association of Geographers [Slides]

2021	"Voting Rights and Elections," University of Texas at Austin, Hosted by Beto O'Rourke. Spring 2021
	"Tools for Identifying a Partisan Gerrymander," Princeton University Wintersession.
2019	"2019 NCSL Capitol Forum (Legislative Options for Redistricting Post-conference)," National Conference of State Legislatures.
	"Redrawing the Virginia legislative map: the Bethune-Hill racial gerrymandering case," Princeton University.
2018	"Triple Play: Election 2018, Census 2020 and Redistricting 2021," University of Houston, Hobby School.
2016	"Representation of Non-Eligible Resident Populations in Legislative Bodies," Center for the Study of Democracy Graduate Student Conference, UC Irvine.
2015	"Asymmetry in State Grant Distribution: Why Proximity to the State Capital Matters," Western Political Science Association, San Diego, California.

SERVICE TO THE DISCIPLINE

Referee: American Journal of Political Science, Political Geography, Election Law Journal, Public Choice, Political Research Quarterly

REFERENCES

Bernard Grofman, University of California Irvine
Distinguished Professor of Political Science
Fellow - American Academy of Arts and Sciences
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Mark Nordenberg, University of Pittsburgh
Chancellor Emeritus, University of Pittsburgh
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