

# JONATHAN ROBERT CERVAS

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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](#)]
- 2022      **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](#)]
- 2022      **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

- 2023 “Voting Rights and Election Law,” Touro Law School., Hosted by Judge Phil Solages, May 4, 2023
- “Remapping Democracy: Redistricting, Race, and Fair Elections in a Changing Legal Environment,” Government Law Review at Albany Law School, March 6, 2023 [[website](#)]
- 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.
- “Contemporary 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  
[bgrofman@uci.edu](mailto:bgrofman@uci.edu)

**Mark Nordenberg**, University of Pittsburgh  
Chancellor Emeritus, University of Pittsburgh  
Dean emeritus, University of Pittsburgh Law School  
[norden@pitt.edu](mailto:norden@pitt.edu)

**Carole Jean Uhlaner**, University of California Irvine  
Professor of Political Science  
[cuhlaner@uci.edu](mailto:cuhlaner@uci.edu)

**Richard L. Hasen**, University of California Los Angeles Law School  
Chancellor’s Professor of Law and Political Science  
[rhasen.uci.edu](mailto:rhasen.uci.edu)