

# JONATHAN ROBERT CERVAS

---

Carnegie Mellon University  
5000 Forbes Avenue  
Posner Hall 374  
Pittsburgh, PA 15213

Email: cervas@cmu.edu  
Website: jonathancervas.com  
Twitter: @cervasj  
Github: jcervas  
Google Scholar: Jonathan R. Cervas

*Revised August 2024*

## EMPLOYMENT

### Carnegie Mellon University

*Assistant Teaching Professor – 2024- Present*

*Post-Doctoral Fellow – 2020-2024*

## 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

- 2024    **14** - Statistical Fallacies in Claims about ‘Massive and Widespread Fraud’ in the 2020 Presidential Election: Examining Claims Based on Aggregate Election Results. Bernard Grofman and **Jonathan Cervas**. 2024. *Statistics and Public Policy*. 11(1). [\[READ ONLINE\]](#)
- 2023    **13** - Partisan Gerrymandering Cases in State Supreme Courts in the 2020s Redistricting Round. **Jonathan Cervas**, Bernard Grofman, Scott Matsuda, and Justine Kawa. Forthcoming. *Albany Law Review*. [\[READ ONLINE\]](#)
- 2023    **12** - The Role of State Courts In Constraining Partisan Gerrymandering In Congressional Elections. **Jonathan Cervas**, Bernard Grofman, and Scott Matsuda. 2023. *University of New Hampshire Law Review*. 21:2, 421. [\[READ ONLINE\]](#)
- 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

- 2024 Report of the Court-Appointed Co-Consultants in re Clarke V. Wisconsin Elections Commission (Case Number 2023Ap1399-Oa, 2023 Wi 79) [\[READ ONLINE\]](#)
- 2023 “Partisan Gerrymandering.” Eds., R.M. Jong-A-Pin.
- “Memo in Support of Grofman/Cervas/Griggy Remedial Proposals.” In The United States District Court For The Northern District Of Alabama Southern Division. [\[READ ONLINE\]](#)
- “Brief Of Amici Curiae Dr. Jonathan Cervas, Paul Mitchell, Dr. Samuel S.-h. Wang, Roderick Kennedy, Election Reformers Network, Common Cause New Mexico, And League Of Women Voters New Mexico In Support Of Neither Party.” State Of New Mexico County Of Lea Fifth Judicial District Court. **Cervas, Jonathan et al.** [\[READ ONLINE\]](#)
- 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***

- \* **Book Manuscript – Electoral College**
- \* **“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***

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

##### ***COURT/LEGISLATIVE CONSULTANT***

- 2023-2024 Wisconsin Supreme Court (*Clarke v. Wisconsin Elections Commission*) [\[order appointing\]](#)[\[court opinion\]](#)[\[report\]](#)
- 2021-2022 Pennsylvania Reapportionment Commission, [jonathan.cervas@redistricting.state.pa.us](mailto:jonathan.cervas@redistricting.state.pa.us)

##### ***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***

- 2024 *New York Communities for Change v. County of Nassau. Nassau County Supreme Court*
- 2022 *Moore v. Lee*, Case No. 22-0287-IV (2022). Chancery Court of Tennessee [reports filed; [1](#), [2](#), [3](#), [4](#), [5](#)]

### **CONSULTANT**

- 2024 Town of Newburgh, NY  
Town of Cheektowaga, NY

### **INVITED TALKS**

- 2025 “*Disinformation and the Fight for Democracy*” University of Pittsburgh, Hosted by Ralph L. Bangs, July 15, 2025.  
“*Partisan & Racial Gerrymandering and the Voting Rights Act*” New York Law School, Hosted by Jeff Wice, February 19, 2025.  
“*Gerrymandering and the Voting Rights Act: A Threat to Democracy?*,” University of Pittsburgh, Hosted by Ralph L. Bangs, February 11, 2025.  
“Build a 2030 Redistricting Checklist,” National Conference of State Legislatures, NCSL Annual Summit, Louisville, Kentucky, August 7, 2024.  
“NY Redistricting Conference: What Happened and What’s Next?” Keynote Speaker, New York Law School, June 18, 2024 [[website](#)] [[keynote remarks](#)]
- 2024 “When third parties matter,” Niskanen Center, Hosted by Matt Grossman. May 29, 2024. [[website](#)]  
“Elections and Voting,” Sacramento State University, Hosted by Hallee Caron. March 25, 2024.  
“Elections Redistricting and Voting Rights,” New York Law School., Hosted by Jeff Wice. February 21, 2024.  
“The issues shaping attitudes around the election,” New York University School of Journalism, Hosted by Eliza Griswold and SpotlightPA. February 19, 2024.
- 2023 “Redistricting,” Carnegie Mellon University Osher Class, Hosted by Randy Weinberg. October 23, 2023.
- 2023 “Power to the People,” at “A Path Towards Equality,” Hosted by SpotlightPA, October 11, 2023. [[website](#)]  
“Elections Redistricting and Voting Rights,” New York Law School., Hosted by Jeff Wice. October 4, 2023.  
“Federal Appellate Advocacy,” University of Pittsburgh School of Law, Hosted by Hon. D. Michael Fisher, September 26, 2023.  
“Pennsylvania Redistricting: Lessons Learned and Next Steps for Reform,” Hosted by Common Cause PA, League of Woman Voters PA, NAACP PA, Committee of Seventy, FairDistricts PA, and Pennsylvania Voice, May 31, 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 UNIVERSITY

- 2025 Democracy Day, Co-Chair  
 Faculty Senate, CMIST Representative
- 2024 Democracy Day, Committee Member  
*Bridging the Divide: Understanding and Addressing Political Polarization in America*. September 11, 2025. <https://www.heinz.cmu.edu/media/2024/November/cmu-community-engages-on-election-issues-through-deeper-conversations>

### 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)