

# Jonathan Robert Cervas

## Curriculum Vitae

*Revised September 2025*

Carnegie Mellon University  
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Google Scholar: Jonathan Cervas

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## Employment

### Carnegie Mellon University

- *Assistant Teaching Professor* — 2024–Present
- *Post-Doctoral Fellow* — 2020–2024

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## 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

### 2025

- *Partisan Gerrymandering*. Eds., R.M. Jong-A-Pin. *Elgar Encyclopedia of Public Choice*. Read Online (coming soon)]

### 2024

- *Statistical Fallacies in Claims about ‘Massive and Widespread Fraud’ in the 2020 Presidential Election*. Bernard Grofman and **Jonathan Cervas**. *Statistics and Public Policy*, 11(1). Read Online
- *Partisan Gerrymandering Cases in State Supreme Courts in the 2020s Redistricting Round*. **Jonathan Cervas**, Bernard Grofman, Scott Matsuda, and Justine Kawa. *Albany Law Review* (forthcoming). Read Online

### 2023

- *The Role of State Courts In Constraining Partisan Gerrymandering in Congressional Elections*. **Jonathan Cervas**, Bernard Grofman, and Scott Matsuda. *University of New Hampshire Law Review*, 21:2, 421. Read Online

### 2022

- *Using Folded Seats-Votes Curves to Compare Partisan Bias in the 2020 Presidential Election with Other 21st Century Elections*. **Jonathan Cervas** and Bernard Grofman. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. Read Online
- *Turning Communities of Interest into a Rigorous Standard for Fair Districting*. Wang, Chen, Ober, Grofman, Barnes, and **Cervas**. *Stanford J. of Civil Rights & Civil Liberties*, 18, 101. Read Online
- *Why Donald Trump Should be a Fervent Advocate of Using Rank-Choice Voting in 2024*. **Jonathan Cervas** and Bernard Grofman. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 55(1). Read Online

### 2021

- *A Systems Framework for Remedying Distortions in U.S. Democracy*. Wang, **Cervas**, Grofman, and Lipsitz. *PNAS*, 118(50), e2102154118. Read Online
- *The Unanticipated Effect of Covid-19 on House Apportionments*. **Jonathan Cervas** and Bernard Grofman. *Social Science Quarterly*, 102(5), 2432-2434. Read Online

### 2020

- *ZIP Codes as Geographic Bases of Representation*. Grofman and **Cervas**. *Election Law Journal*. Read Online
- *Legal, Political Science and Economics Approaches to Measuring Malapportionment*. **Jonathan Cervas** and Grofman. *Social Science Quarterly*, 101(6), 2238-2256. Read Online
- *Tools for Identifying Partisan Gerrymandering: Pennsylvania Case Study*. **Jonathan Cervas** and Grofman. *Political Geography*, 76: 102069. Read Online

## 2019

- *Are Presidential Inversions Inevitable?* **Jonathan Cervas** and Grofman. *Social Science Quarterly*, 100(4), 1322-1342. Read Online

## 2018

- *Can State Courts Cure Partisan Gerrymandering? Lessons from League of Women Voters v. Pennsylvania.* Grofman and **Cervas**. *Election Law Journal*, 17(4), 264–285. Read Online

## 2017

- *Why Noncompetitive States Matter: The Electoral College 1868–2016.* **Jonathan Cervas** and Grofman. *Public Choice*, 173(3–4), 251–265. Read Online

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## Other Publications

### ### 2025

## 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

- *Memo in Support of Grofman/Cervas/Griggy Remedial Proposals.* U.S. 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**. *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**. *The Washington Post*. [Read Online]

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## Work Experience

### Special Master

- *Harkenrider v. Hochul* (2022), New York Congressional and Senate Districts. Court Opinion

### Court/Legislative Consultant

- Wisconsin Supreme Court (*Clarke v. Wisconsin Elections Commission*), 2023–2024.
- Pennsylvania Reapportionment Commission, 2021–2022.

### Assistant to the Special Master

- *Wright v. Sumter County Board of Elections*, 2019–2020. Court Opinion
- *Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Board of Elections*, 2018–2019. Court Opinion
- *Navajo Nation v. San Juan County, UT*, 2017. Court Opinion

### Expert Witness

- *New York Communities for Change v. County of Nassau* (2024).
- *Moore v. Lee*, Tennessee Chancery Court (2022). Reports 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

### Consultant

- Town of Newburgh, NY (2024)
  - Town of Cheektowaga, NY (2024)
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## Invited Talks

### 2025

- **What’s the Story with Redistricting?** - Heinz School of Public Policy, Policy and Politics Group, September 24, 2025.

- *Mid-decade Redistricting* — New York Law School, Hosted by Jeff Wice, September 17, 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, KY, 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.
- *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 Women 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

- Democracy Day, Co-Chair (2025)
  - Faculty Senate, CMIST Representative (2025)
  - Democracy Day, Committee Member (2024)
  - *Bridging the Divide: Understanding and Addressing Political Polarization in America* (2024). Website
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## Service to the Discipline

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

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## References

**Bernard Grofman**, UC Irvine

Distinguished Professor of Political Science

Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Email: bgrofman@uci.edu

**Mark Nordenberg**, University of Pittsburgh

Chancellor Emeritus, University of Pittsburgh

Dean Emeritus, Pitt Law School

Email: norden@pitt.edu

**Carole Jean Uhlaner**, UC Irvine

Professor of Political Science

Email: cuhlaner@uci.edu

**Richard L. Hasen**, UCLA Law School

Chancellor's Professor of Law and Political Science

Email: rhasen@uci.edu

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