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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**
Map 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

- 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. [\[READ ONLINE\]](#)

- 2019 **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.” (with Bernard Grofman)
- * “Nationalized Campaigns and Midterm Dropoff.”
- * “Habitual Voting Under Conditions of Gerrymandering.”

WORK EXPERIENCE

SPECIAL MASTER

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

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

INVITED TALKS

- 2021 “Measuring Compactness” Pennsylvania Redistricting with Geographers: Communities of Interest Criteria and Beyond, American Association of Geographers [[Slides](#)]
- 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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