

# JONATHAN ROBERT CERVAS

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## ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

### CARNEGIE MELLON UNIVERSITY

*Assistant Teaching Professor, 2024-  
Post-Doctoral Fellow, 2020–2024*

## EDUCATION

### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE

- **Ph.D., Political Science, 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**

Major: Political Science  
Confer: 05/12/2007  
Degree GPA: 3.277

### 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

## RESEARCH INTERESTS

American Politics, Elections, Voting Rights, Public Opinion & Representation, Methodology.

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

### COURSES

- *Representation and Voting Rights* - 84-352/652 - (Spring 2021, Spring 2022, Spring 2023, Spring 2024, Spring 2026)

- Dietrich General Education, *Perspectives on Justice and Injustice*
- *Introduction to US Constitutional Law* - 84-120 - (Spring 2026)
  - Dietrich General Education, *Humanities*
- *American Political Divides and Great Debates* - 84-309/609 - (Fall 2024, Fall 2025)
  - Dietrich General Education, *Perspectives on Justice and Injustice*
  - Eberly Center Consultation on Course Design and Early Semester Feedback (Patrick Welsh, 2024, 2025)
- Democracy's Data: Analytics and Insights into American Elections\* - 84-355/655 - (Fall 2024, Fall 2025)
  - Dietrich General Education, *Contextual Thinking*
- *Regression Analysis for Political Science II* - 84-702 - (Spring 2023, Spring 2024)
  - Dietrich General Education, *Scientific Inquiry*
- *American Politics Graduate Seminar/Advanced Topics in American Politics* - 84-421/721 - (Fall 2020, Fall 2021, Fall 2022, Fall 2023)

#### GRANTS

- *Generative AI Teaching as Research Initiative: GAITAR@Scale* - American Political Divides and Great Debates (April 2025) - \$3,000

#### RESEARCH

##### PUBLICATIONS

##### Peer Reviewed Articles

11. “Statistical Fallacies in Claims about ‘Massive and Widespread Fraud’ in the 2020 Presidential Election”. 2023. *Statistics and Public Policy*, 11(1). (with Bernard Grofman)
10. “Using Folded Seats-Votes Curves to Compare Partisan Bias in the 2020 Presidential Election with Other 21st Century Elections”. 2022. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. (with Bernard Grofman)
9. “Why Donald Trump Should Be a Fervent Advocate of Using Rank-Choice Voting in 2024”. 2022. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 55(1). (with Bernard Grofman)
8. “A Systems Framework for Remedying Distortions in U.S. Democracy”. 2021. *PNAS*, 118(50), e2102154118. (with Sam Wang, Bernard Grofman, and Lipsitz)
7. “The Unanticipated Effect of Covid-19 on House Apportionments”. 2021. *Social Science Quarterly*, 102(5): 2432–2434. (with Bernard Grofman)
6. “ZIP Codes as Geographic Bases of Representation”. 2021. *Election Law Journal*. (with Bernard Grofman)
5. “Legal, Political Science and Economics Approaches to Measuring Malapportionment”. 2020. *Social Science Quarterly*, 101(6): 2238–2256. (with Bernard Grofman)
4. “Tools for Identifying Partisan Gerrymandering: Pennsylvania Case Study”. 2020. *Political Geography*, 76: 102069. (with Bernard Grofman)
3. “Are Presidential Inversions Inevitable?”. 2019. *Social Science Quarterly*, 100(4): 1322–1342. (with Bernard Grofman)
2. “Can State Courts Cure Partisan Gerrymandering? Lessons from *League of Women Voters v. Pennsylvania*”. 2018. *Election Law Journal*, 17(4): 264–285. (with Bernard Grofman)
1. “Why Noncompetitive States Matter: The Electoral College 1868–2016”. 2017. *Public Choice*, 173(3–4): 251–265. (with Bernard Grofman)

### Editor Reviewed Articles in Journals and Law Reviews

4. "Partisan Gerrymandering". 2025. In *Elgar Encyclopedia of Public Choice*. (with Bernard Grofman; edited by Richard Jong-A-Pin & Christian Bjørnskov)
3. "Partisan Gerrymandering Cases in State Supreme Courts in the 2020s Redistricting Round". 2024. *Albany Law Review*, 87(4). (with Bernard Grofman, Scott Matsuda, and Justine Kawa)
2. "The Role of State Courts in Constraining Partisan Gerrymandering in Congressional Elections". 2023. *University of New Hampshire Law Review*, 21(2): 421. (with Bernard Grofman and Scott Matsuda)
1. "Turning Communities of Interest into a Rigorous Standard for Fair Districting". 2022. *Stanford Journal of Civil Rights & Civil Liberties*, 18: 101. (with Sam Wang, Sandra Chen, Richard Ober, Bernard Grofman, and Kyle Barnes)

### Other Publications

- *The Effects of Mid-Decade Redistricting on Electoral Outcomes* **Jonathan Cervas**.
- *Report of the Court-Appointed Co-Consultants in re Clarke v. Wisconsin Elections Commission*. (Case Number 2023Ap1399-Oa, 2023 Wi 79).
- *Memo in Support of Grofman/Cervas/Griggy Remedial Proposals*. U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama, Southern Division.
- *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.
- *Report of the Special Master (Harkinrider v. Hochel)*. **Jonathan Cervas**.  
– Special Master Report
- *Fracking: A Contiguity-Related Redistricting Metric*. **Jonathan Cervas** and Bernard Grofman. *Election Law Blog*.
- *Trump the Wrestler and the 2024 Grudge Match*. Bernard Grofman and **Jonathan Cervas**.
- *The GOP Scared Latinos from the Census. Now That May Cost the Party Red Seats*. Sam Wang and **Jonathan Cervas**. *Washington Post*.
- *Great Lobster and a More Equitable Voting System Exists in Maine*. Anjali Akula, **Jonathan Cervas**, and Elsie Goren. *Medium.com "3Streams"*.
- *Amicus Curiae with Princeton Electoral Innovation Lab*.
- *How Likely is Trump to Lose the Popular Vote but Win the Electoral College?* **Jonathan Cervas** and Bernard Grofman. *Medium.com "3Streams"*.
- *These Are the Political Consequences of Excluding Undocumented Immigrants from Apportionment*. Angela Ocampo and **Jonathan Cervas**. *Medium.com "3Streams"*.
- *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*.

### Working Papers/Pipeline

- A Simple Algorithm for Good Government Districting: So Easy You Can Apply it by Hand
- A typology for forms of redistricting commissions w/ Hayden Goldberg
- Consequences of Choice of House Apportionment Method in 2020
- Constituency Diversity and Electoral Competitiveness In House and Senate Elections w/ Brunell
- Controversies and Complexities in Implementing "Good Government" Criteria for Redistricting in the 2020 Redistricting Round
- Determinants of Swing Ratio

- District Diversity and Electoral Competitiveness In House and Senate Elections, 1962-202x - w/ Brunell
- Does Partisan Bias In The Electoral College Doom The Democrats In 2024
- Drop-off of Voters in the 2014 Midterm Election: Orphan States and Minority Withdrawal from the Electorate
- Estimating the Extent to which there is White Backlash to a Growing Hispanic Population that Generates Greater White Voter Support for Republican Candidates
- Examining Expert Witness Testimony in Redistricting Litigation - w/ Hayden Goldberg
- An Experiment on Optimal Campaigning Using a Simplified Seven State Electoral College
- Folded Seats-Votes Curves (was Simple Graphical Tool to Display Seats-Votes Relationship)w/ Nagle & Lederman
- Fracking: A Contiguity-Related Redistricting Metric (Splitting Geographies in the Context of Redistricting)
- How Certain was it that the Democrats would Lose Control of the House of Representatives in 2022? (renamed)
- Is the Electoral College Biased in Favor of Republicans? Yes and No and Maybe
- Optimal Partisan Gerrymandering Revisited - w/ Krieg
- Paths to Victory in Presidential Campaigns
- Political Polarization (Clarifying Concepts related to polarization)
- Population-Dependence of Cabinet Sizes - w/ Taagepera, Kaiser, (maybe Atsusaka)
- Predictable Elections, Ideological Constraint, and Stability in the 21st Century
- Predicting Divergence between the Popular Vote Winner and the Electoral College Winner, 1868-2016: The Dogs that Didn't Bite
- Presidential Primaries and the Collective Action Coordination Problem
- Recent Approaches to the Definition and Measurement of Compactness - w/ Hayden Goldberg
- Relative Ideology: Why Context Matters for a person's ideological ID
- Representation of Non-Eligible Resident Populations in Legislative Bodies - w/ Ocampo
- State Competitiveness and Pivotality in the U.S. Electoral College - w/ Zora Mihaley
- The Terminology Of Districting (this is long complete but never found a home)
- The Political Legacy of American Slavery Revisited
- Trump the wrestler and the 2024 grudge match
- Waiting For Godez

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- Special Master
  - Harkenrider v. Hochul (2022), New York Congressional and Senate Districts.
- 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.
  - Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Board of Elections, 2018–2019.
  - Navajo Nation v. San Juan County, UT, 2017.
- Expert Witness
  - Sherman v. Hargett 26-cv-616
  - Driver v. Houston County Civil Action No. 5:25-cv-25.
    - Expert Report
    - Rebuttal Report
  - Wise v. State of Missouri (2026) Case No. 2516-CV29597.
    - Expert Report
    - Rebuttal Report

- *New York Communities for Change v. County of Nassau* (2025).
  - [Expert Report](#)
  - [Reply Report](#)
- *Moore v. Lee*, Tennessee Chancery Court (2022).
  - Reports [1](#), [2](#), [3](#), [4](#), [5](#).
- Consultant
  - New York State Board of Elections, Language Assistance (2025-2026)
  - Town of Newburgh, NY (2024)
  - Town of Cheektowaga, NY (2024)

## TALKS (INVITED AND CONFERENCE)

- *Reshaping Government: Possibilities and Perils. Congressional Redistricting Frenzy* - University of Pittsburgh, The Dick Thornburgh Forum for Law & Public Policy. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. June 4, 2026.
- *Redistricting: Drawing the Maps, Presentation and demonstration of how redistricting maps are drawn, including the data and inputs that go into making maps.* - National Conference of State Legislatures. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. May 29, 2026.
- *Racial Equality after Callais: Strategies for Implementing Electoral Systems Reform* - Harvard Law School (Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race & Justice). Cambridge, Massachusetts. April 16 - 17, 2026.
- *An Experiment on Optimal Campaigning Using a Simplified Seven State Electoral College* - Public Choice Society Annual Conference, San Antonio, Texas. March 14, 2026.
- *Mid-Decade Redistricting* - New York Law School, Hosted by Judge Michelle Childs. February 3, 2026.
- *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](#)
- *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.
- *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.
- *Did a Libertarian Cost Trump the Election? A Q&A with Jonathan Cervas* - American Enterprise Institute. December 29, 2022. [Website](#).
- *Remapping Democracy: Redistricting, Race, and Fair Elections in a Changing Legal Environment* — Government Law Review at Albany Law School, March 6, 2023. [Website](#)
- *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.
- *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 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.
- *Triple Play: Election 2018, Census 2020, and Redistricting 2021* — University of Houston, Hobby School.
- *Representation of Non-Eligible Resident Populations in Legislative Bodies* — Center for the Study of Democracy Graduate Student Conference, UC Irvine.
- *Asymmetry in State Grant Distribution: Why Proximity to the State Capital Matters* — Western Political Science Association, San Diego, California.

## SERVICE TO THE UNIVERSITY

- Constitution Day, Committee Member (2025-Present)
- Democracy Day, Co-Chair (2025)
- Faculty Senate, CMIST Representative (2025)
- Democracy Day, Committee Member (2024-Present)
- Deeper Conversations, Speaker (2024): *Bridging the Divide: Understanding and Addressing Political Polarization in America* [Website](#)

## SERVICE TO THE DISCIPLINE

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

## **REFERENCES**

### **BERNARD GROFMAN, UC IRVINE**

Distinguished Professor of Political Science  
Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences  
Email: [bgrofman@uci.edu](mailto:bgrofman@uci.edu)

### **MARK NORDENBERG, UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH**

Chancellor Emeritus, University of Pittsburgh  
Dean Emeritus, Pitt Law School  
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### **CAROLE JEAN UHLANER, UC IRVINE**

Professor of Political Science  
Email: [cuhlaner@uci.edu](mailto:cuhlaner@uci.edu)

### **RICHARD L. HASEN, UCLA LAW SCHOOL**

Chancellor's Professor of Law and Political Science  
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