# Fall 2022

### James G. Gimpel

Department of Government and Politics
University of Maryland
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#### Personal:

Current residence: Columbia, Maryland.

#### **Current Position:**

University of Maryland - College Park.

Full Professor, August 2001-present.
Editor, American Politics Research, 2003-2011 (eight years)

Associate Professor with tenure, August 1997-August 2001. Assistant Professor, January 1992-August 1997.

### **Education:**

University of Chicago. Ph.D. Political Science, 1990. University of Toronto. M.A. Political Science, 1985. Drake University. B.A. with honors. Political Science, 1984.

# Books:

- Dante Chinni and James G. Gimpel. 2010. *Our Patchwork Nation: The Twelve Community Types that Make Up Our Nation* (New York, NY: Gotham, a Penguin imprint).
- James G. Gimpel, J. Celeste Lay and Jason E. Schuknecht. 2003. *Cultivating Democracy: Civic Environments and Political Socialization in America* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press).
- James G. Gimpel and Jason E. Schuknecht. 2003. *Patchwork Nation: Sectionalism and Political Change in American Politics* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press).
- James G. Gimpel. 1999. *Separate Destinations: Migration, Immigration and the Politics of Places* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press).
- James G. Gimpel and James R. Edwards, Jr. 1999. *The Congressional Politics of Immigration Reform* (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon).
- James G. Gimpel. 1996. *National Elections and the Autonomy of American State Party Systems* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press).
- James G. Gimpel. 1996. Fulfilling the Contract: The First 100 Days (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon). Published in hardcover under the title: Legislating the Revolution: The Contract with America in its First 100 Days.

#### **Articles in Peer Reviewed Journals:**

- James G. Gimpel, Andrew Reeves and Sean Trende. 2022. "Reconsidering Bellwether Locations in U.S. Presidential Elections." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. 52: 3: 1-26.
- James G. Gimpel, Tristan Hightower and Patrick Wohlfarth. 2021. "The Geography of Law: Understanding the Origin of State and Federal Redistricting Cases." *Political Research Quarterly*. 74: 4: 779-794.
- SoRelle Wyckoff Gaynor and James G. Gimpel. 2021. "Small Donor Contributions in Response to Email

  Outreach by a Political Campaign." *Journal of Political Marketing*. DOI: 10.1080/15377857.2021,1910611
- SoRelle Wyckoff Gaynor and James G. Gimpel. 2021. "Reapportioning the U.S. Congress: The Shifting Geography of Political Influence." *Political Geography*. 86: 102365.
- James G. Gimpel. 2021. "Citizen Contacting in Response to Crisis: Voicing Grievances to the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau." *American Politics Research*. 49: 2: 198-214.
- James G. Gimpel and Laurel Harbridge-Yong. 2020. "Conflicting Goals of Redistricting: Do Districts that

  Maximize Competition Reckon with Communities of Interest?" *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy.* 19: 4: 451-471.
- James G. Gimpel, Nathan Lovin, Bryant Moy and Andrew Reeves. 2020. "The Urban-Rural Gulf in American Political Behavior. *Political Behavior*. 42: 4: 1343-1368.
- Caroline Carlson and James G. Gimpel. 2019. "Political Implications of Residential Mobility and Stasis on the Partisan Balance of Locales." *Political Geography*. 71: 3: 103-114.
- Wendy K. Cho, James G. Gimpel and Iris Hui. 2019. "Migration as an Opportunity to Register Changing Party Loyalty in the U.S." *Population, Space and Place.* 25: 4: 1-12.
- James G. Gimpel and James H. Glenn. 2019. "Racial Proximity and Campaign Contributing." *Electoral Studies*. 57: 1: 79-89.
- James G. Gimpel and Iris Hui. 2018. "Political Fit as a Component of Neighborhood Preference and Satisfaction." *City and Community*. 17: 3: 883-905.
- James G. Gimpel and Iris Hui. 2017. "Inadvertent and Intentional Partisan Residential Sorting." *Annals of Regional Science* 58: 3: 441-468.
- James G. Gimpel and Iris Hui. 2015. "Seeking Compatible Neighbors: Partisan Composition, Neighborhood Selection and Residential Sorting." *Political Geography* 48: 4: 130-142.
  - James G. Gimpel, Frances E. Lee and Michael Parrott. 2014. "Business Interests and the Party Coalitions: Industry Sector Contributions to U.S. Congressional Campaigns." *American Politics Research* 42: 6: 1034-
- 45 Industry Sector Contributions to U.S. Congressional Campaigns." American Politics Research 42: 6: 1034-1076.
- Wendy K. Cho, James G. Gimpel and Iris Hui. 2013. "Voter Migration and the Geographic Sorting of the American Electorate." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 103: 4: 856-870.
- James G. Gimpel, Frances E. Lee and Rebecca U. Thorpe. 2012. "The Distributive Politics of the Federal Stimulus: The Geography of the ARRA of 2009." *Political Science Quarterly* 127: 4: 567-596.
- Daron R. Shaw, Alan Gerber, James G. Gimpel and Donald P. Green. 2012. "Do Robotic Calls from Credible Sources Influence Voter Turnout or Vote Choice? Evidence from a Randomized Field Experiment." *Journal of Political Marketing* 11: 4: 241-249.
- Wendy K. Cho, James G. Gimpel and Daron R. Shaw. 2012. "The Tea Party Movement and the Geography of Collective Action." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 7: 2: 105-133.
- Wendy K. Cho and James G. Gimpel. 2012. "GIS and the Spatial Dimensions of American Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15: 443-460.
- Daron R. Shaw and James G. Gimpel. 2012. "What if We Randomized the Governor's Schedule? Evidence on Campaign Appearance Effects from a Texas Experiment." *Political Communication* 29: 2: 137-159.

#### Articles in Peer Reviewed Journals (cont'd.):

- Scott L. Althaus, Brittany J. Bramlett and James G. Gimpel. 2012. "When War Hits Home: The Geography of Military Losses and Support for War in Time and Space." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56: 3: 382-412.
- Andrew Reeves and James. G. Gimpel 2012. "Ecologies of Unease: Geographic Context and National Economic Evaluations." with Andrew Reeves. *Political Behavior* 34: 3: 392-420.
- Alan Gerber, James G. Gimpel, Donald P. Green and Daron R. Shaw. 2012. "How Large and Long-lasting Are the Persuasive Effects of Televised Campaign Ads? Results from a Randomized Field Experiment."

  American Political Science Review 105: 1: 135-150.
- 35 Brittany H. Bramlett, James G. Gimpel and Frances E. Lee. 2011. "The Political Ecology of Opinion in Big-Donor Neighborhoods." *Political Behavior* 33: 4: 565-600.
- Wendy K. Cho and James G. Gimpel. 2010. "Rough Terrain: Spatial Variation in Contributions of Time and Money to an Election Campaign." *American Journal of Political Science* 54: 1: 74-89.
- Scott L. Althaus, Anne M. Cizmar and James G. Gimpel. 2009. "Media Supply, Audience Demand and the Geography of News Consumption in the United States." *Political Communication* 26: 3: 249-277.
- James G. Gimpel and J. Celeste Lay. 2008. "Political Socialization and Reactions to Immigration-Related Diversity in Rural America." Rural Sociology 73: 2:180-204.
- James G. Gimpel, Frances E. Lee and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. 2008. "The Check is in the Mail:
  Interdistrict Funding Flows in Congressional Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 52: 2: 373-394
- James G. Gimpel, Kimberly Karnes, John McTague and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. 2008. "Distance-Decay in the Political Geography of Friends-and-Neighbors Voting." *Political Geography* 27: 2: 231-252.
- James G. Gimpel, Karen M. Kaufmann and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. 2007. "The Battleground vs. the Blackout States: Behavioral Implications of Modern Presidential Campaigns." *Journal of Politics* 69: 3: 786-797
- Wendy K. Cho and James G. Gimpel. 2007. "Prospecting for (Campaign) Gold." *American Journal of Political Science* 51: 2: 255-268.
- Wendy K. Cho, James G. Gimpel and Tony Wu. 2007. "Spatial Surges in Arab American Voter Registration." Political Geography 26: 3: 330-351.
- James G. Gimpel, Joshua J. Dyck and Daron R. Shaw. 2007. "Election Year Stimuli and the Timing of Voter Registration." *Party Politics* 13: 3: 347-370.
- Wendy K. Cho, James G. Gimpel and Tony Wu. 2006. "Clarifying the Role of Socioeconomic Status in Political Participation: Policy Threat and Arab American Mobilization." *Journal of Politics* 68: 4: 977-991.
- James G. Gimpel, Frances E. Lee and Joshua Kaminski. 2006. "The Political Geography of Campaign Contributions in American Politics." *Journal of Politics* 68: 3: 626-639.
- Wendy K. Cho, James G. Gimpel and Joshua J. Dyck. 2006. "Residential Concentration, Political Socialization and Voter Turnout." *Journal of Politics* 68: 1: 156-167.
- James G. Gimpel, Joshua J. Dyck and Daron R. Shaw. 2006. "Location, Knowledge and Time Pressures in the Spatial Structure of Convenience Voting." *Electoral Studies* 25: 1: 35-58.

### Articles in Peer Reviewed Journals (cont'd.):

- James G. Gimpel and Joshua J. Dyck. 2005. "Distance, Turnout and the Convenience of Voting." Social Science Quarterly 86: 3: 531-548.
- James G. Gimpel, Joshua J. Dyck and Daron R. Shaw. 2004. "Registrants, Voters and Turnout Variability Across Neighborhoods." *Political Behavior* 26:4: 343-375.
- Wendy K. Cho and James G. Gimpel. 2004. "The Persistence of White Ethnicity in New England Politics," Political Geography 23: 8: 821-832.
- James G. Gimpel, Irwin L. Morris and David R. Armstrong. 2004. "Turnout and the Local Age Distribution: Examining Political Participation Across Space and Time." *Political Geography* 23:1: 71-95
- James G. Gimpel and Jason E. Schuknecht. 2003. "Political Participation and the Accessibility of the Ballot Box." *Political Geography* 22: 4: 471-488.
- 16 Karen M. Kaufmann, James G. Gimpel and Adam Hoffmann. 2003. "A Promise Fulfilled? Open Primaries and Representation." *Journal of Politics* 65: 2: 457-476.
- James G. Gimpel and Jason E. Schuknecht. 2002. "Reconsidering Regionalism in American State Politics." State Politics and Policy Quarterly 2: 4: 325-352.
- James G. Gimpel and Jason E. Schuknecht 2002. "Political and Demographic Foundations for Sectionalism in State Politics: the Connecticut Case." *American Politics Research* 30: 2: 193-213.
- James G. Gimpel and Jason E. Schuknecht 2001. "Interstate Migration and Electoral Politics," *Journal of Politics* 62:1: 207-231.
- Peter F. Burns and James G. Gimpel. 2000. "Prejudice, Economic Insecurity, and Immigration Policy," *Political Science Quarterly* 115: 2 (2000) 201-225
- James G. Gimpel. "Contemplating Congruence in State Party Systems," 1999. *American Politics Quarterly* 27: 1 (1999) 133-140.
- James G. Gimpel and Robin M. Wolpert. 1998. "Self-Interest, Symbolic Politics and Attitudes Toward Gun Control," *Political Behavior* 20:3: 241-262.
- James G. Gimpel. 1998. "Packing Heat at the Polls: Gun Ownership as a Politically Salient Trait in State and National Elections," Social Science Quarterly 79:3: 634-648.
- James G. Gimpel and Robin M. Wolpert. 1997. "Information, Recall and Accountability: The Electorate's Response to the Clarence Thomas Nomination," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 22:4: 515-525.
- 7 Kathryn M. Doherty and James G. Gimpel. 1997. "Candidate Character vs. the Economy in the 1992 Election," *Political Behavior* 19:3: 213-222.
- James G. Gimpel and Diane Hollern Harvey. 1997. "Forecasts and Preferences in the 1992 Presidential Election," *Political Behavior* 19:2: 157-175.
- James G. Gimpel and Robin M. Wolpert. 1996. "Opinion-Holding and Public Attitudes Toward Controversial Supreme Court Nominees." *Political Research Quarterly* 49: 1: 163-176.
- James G. Gimpel and Robin M. Wolpert. 1995. "Rationalizing Support and Opposition to Supreme Court Nominations: The Role of Credentials." *Polity* 28: 1: 67-82.

#### Articles in Peer Reviewed Journals (cont'd.):

- James G. Gimpel and Lewis S. Ringel. 1995. "Understanding Court Nominee Evaluation and Approval: Mass Opinion in the Bork and Thomas Cases." *Political Behavior* 17: 1: 135-153.
- Paul S. Herrnson and James G. Gimpel. 1995. "District Conditions and Primary Divisiveness in Congressional Elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 48: 1: 117-134.
- James G. Gimpel. 1993. "Reform-Resistant and Reform-Adopting Machines: The Electoral Foundations of Urban Politics 1910-1930," *Political Research Quarterly* 46: 2: 371-382.

#### **Chapters in Edited Books:**

9

8

- James. G. Gimpel and Andrew Reeves. 2022. "Electoral Geography, Political Behavior and Public Opinion." In Thomas J. Rudoph, ed. Handbook on Politics and Public Opinion. (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc.) Chapter 16.
- James G. Gimpel. 2018. "Sampling for Studying Context: Traditional Surveys and New Directions." in R.

  Michael Alvarez and Lonna Atkeson, eds. Oxford Handbook of Polling and Polling Methods. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press).
- James G. Gimpel. 2013. "State Politics and Political Culture." in Joshua J. Dyck and Richard G. Niemi, eds. Guide to State Politics and Policy. (Washington, DC: CQ Press)
- James G. Gimpel and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. 2009. "Political Socialization and Religion." in Corwin Smidt, ed. *Oxford Handbook of Religion and Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press).
  - James G. Gimpel and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. 2009. "Policies for Civic Engagement Beyond the Schoolyard." in Peter Levine and James Youniss, eds. *Engaging Young People in Civic Life*. (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press).
  - James G. Gimpel and Kimberly A. Karnes. 2007. "The Rural-Urban Gap in American Electoral Politics." in Laura Olson and John C. Green, eds. Beyond Red State, Blue State: Voting Gaps in American Politics (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall).
- James G. Gimpel and Frances E. Lee. 2006. "The Geography of Electioneering: Campaigning for Votes and Campaigning for Money." in John Samples and Michael McDonald, eds. *The Marketplace of Democracy: Electoral Competition and American Politics* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press).
- James G. Gimpel and J. Celeste Lay. 2005. "Political Environments and the Acquisition of Partisanship." in Alan Zuckerman, ed. *The Social Logic of Politics* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press).
- James G. Gimpel and Joshua J. Dyck. 2004. "The Politics of Election Reform in Maryland." in Daniel Palazzolo and James W. Ceasar, eds. *Election Reform: Politics and Policy* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books).
- James G. Gimpel and Robin M. Wolpert. 1998. "The Structure of Public Support for Gun Control: The 1988
  Battle Over Question 3 in Maryland," in John Bruce and Clyde Wilcox (eds.) *The Changing Politics of Gun Control* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield).
- James G. Gimpel. 1998. "Equilibrium Cycles in Grassroots Mobilization and Access," in Paul S. Herrnson, Ronald Shaiko and Clyde Wilcox (eds.) *The Interest Group Connection* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House).
- James G. Gimpel. 1994. "The Rise and Demise of a Lead PAC," in Robert Biersack, Paul S. Herrnson and Clyde Wilcox (eds.) Risky Business: PAC Decisionmaking and Strategy in 1992. (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe).
- 2 Clyde Wilcox (eds.) *Risky Business: PAC Decisionmaking and Strategy in 1992.* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe) 56-62.
- James G. Gimpel. 1993. "Congress and the Coordination of Public Assistance," in Edward T. Jennings and Neal Zank (eds.) Welfare System Reform. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press). 33-42.

#### **Honors and Grants:**

- ► Hoover Institution, National Fellowship 2012-2013.
- ► Knight Foundation Grant, 2007-2011, \$60,000 (by contract via D. Chinni).
- CIRCLE via The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2004-2005, \$35,000.
- CIRCLE via The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2002-2003, \$33,000.
- Ahmanson Community Trust Foundation, 2001-2003, \$100,000.
- ▶ William T. Grant Foundation Research Grant, 2001-2003, \$102,000.
- John M. Olin Foundation Policy Studies Grant, 1998, \$30,000.
- Visiting Fellow, Congress Assessment Project, Washington, DC, 1995, \$7,000.
- Summer Research Award, Graduate Research Board, University of Maryland, 1995, \$4,500.
- University of Chicago Graduate Fellowship, 1986-1990.

### Magazine Articles, Opinion Editorials, Book Reviews:

- James G. Gimpel. 2019. "From Wedge Issue to Partisan Divide: The Development of Immigration Policy Opinion after 2016." *The Forum.* 17: 3: 467-486.
- James G. Gimpel. 2017. "Immigration Policy Opinion and the 2016 Presidential Vote." Washington, DC: Center for Immigration Studies.
- James G. Gimpel. 2016. "Immigration Opinion and the Rise of Donald Trump." Washington, DC: Center for Immigration Studies.
- James G. Gimpel. 2015. "Where are the Working Class Republicans and Is There Something the Matter with Them?" Extensions: A Journal of the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center (Winter): 6-11.
- James G. Gimpel. 2014. "Immigration's Impact on Republican Political Prospects, 1980 to 2012." Washington DC: Center for Immigration Studies.
- Dante Chinni and James G. Gimpel. 2011. "The 12 States of America." The Atlantic Monthly. 307: 3 (April): 70-81.
- James G. Gimpel. 2010. "Immigration, Political Realignment, and the Demise of Republican Political Prospects". Washington, DC: Center for Immigration Studies.
- Wendy K. Cho and James G. Gimpel. 2009. "Presidential Voting and the Local Variability of Economic Hardship." *The Forum*. 7: 1: 1-24.
- Wendy K. Cho and James G. Gimpel. 2008. "A Political Powerhouse in Search of a Home." with Wendy K. Cho. Asian American Policy Review. 17: 155-161.
- James G. Gimpel. 2007. "Etats-Unis Election Présidentielle: Le Dessous des Cartes," Alternatives Internationionales. December. 10-14.
- Wendy K. Cho and James G. Gimpel. "Pay Attention to Asian American Voters." *Politico*. May 28, 2007 Opinion-Editorial posted on-line at http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0507/4213.html
- James G. Gimpel and Kimberly A. Karnes. 2006. "The Rural Side of the Urban-Rural Gap." P.S.: Political Science & Politics 39: 3: 467-472.

### Magazine Articles, Opinion Editorials, Book Reviews (cont'd):

- James G. Gimpel "The Federalism Flip-Flop: Democrats Now Argue for States' Rights." Opinion Editorial in the *Boston Globe*. Sunday, December 19, 2004, <u>Political Play</u>.
- Wendy K. Cho and James G. Gimpel. 2004. "Getting out the Asian-Pacific American Vote." Campaigns & Elections. (July): 44-45.
- James G. Gimpel. 2003. "Computer Technology and Getting Out the Vote: New Targeting Tools." Campaigns & Elections (August): 39-40.
- James G. Gimpel. 2003. Review of Donald Green, Bradley Palmquist and Eric Schickler. Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters. In APSR's Perspectives on Politics. (September):606-607.
- James G. Gimpel and Jason E. Schuknecht. 2001. "Setting Different Courses: Along the Potomac, A Political and Philosophical Divide," Opinion Editorial in *The Washington Post*. Sunday, January 21, <u>Outlook Section.</u>
- James G. Gimpel and Jason E. Schuknecht. 2000. "We Shall Finally Overcome, By Exposure," Opinion Editorial in *The Baltimore Sun* Wednesday, September 6. p. 17A.
- James G. Gimpel. 2000. Review of George Borjas' *Heaven's Door: Immigration Policy and the American Economy*. In *Political Science Quarterly* 115: 1: (Spring): 145-146.
- James G. Gimpel. 1998. "Maryland's Topsy-Turvy Politics: A Step Up for a Party Coming Back to Life," Opinion Editorial in The Washington Post. Sunday, October 17. <u>Outlook Section</u>.
- James G. Gimpel. 1997-98. Review of John Bader's *Taking the Initiative*. In *Political Science Quarterly* 112:4: 692-693.
- James G. Gimpel. 1996. Review of Philip Klinkner's The Losing Parties. In Journal of Politics 58: 245-246.
- James G. Gimpel. 1992. Review of Ralph Goldman's *The National Party Chairmen and Committees*. In *American Political Science Review* 86: 237-238.
- James G. Gimpel. 1991. Review of Mark Bisnow's *In the Shadow of the Dome*. In *American Political Science Review* 85: 630-631.
- James G. Gimpel. 1991. "Congressional Oversight of Welfare and Work." Public Welfare 49: 8-11.

### Conference Participation (recent):

- James G. Gimpel and Andrew Reeves. 2022. "Place Attachment and Urban Discontent as a Foundation for Progressive Politics." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 16-18, Montreal, QC.
- Sorelle Gaynor and James G. Gimpel. 2022. "Expanding Grassroots Support Through Social Media Outreach in a Political Campaign." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 7-10, Chicago, IL.
- James G. Gimpel, Andrew Reeves and Sean Trende. 2022. "Reconsidering Bellwether Locations in U.S. Presidential Elections." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 7-10, Chicago, IL.

### Conference Participation (recent, cont'd):

- James G. Gimpel, Tristan Hightower, Patrick Wohlfarth, and Victoria Worley. 2022. "Interest Group Activism and Redistricting Litigation in the United States." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 7-10, Chicago, IL.
- SoRelle Gaynor and James G. Gimpel. 2019. "Reapportionment, Redistricting and the Geographic Redistribution of Political Influence." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 29-September 1, Washington, DC.
- James G. Gimpel and Nathan Lovin. 2019. "The Rise of the Urban South and the Evolution of Two-Party Politics, 1940-1998" Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 4-7, Chicago, IL.
- James G. Gimpel and Laurel Harbridge-Yong. 2019. "Does Competitive Redistricting Reckon with Communities of Interest?" Paper presented at the SPARK Big-10 Conference on Redistricting, March 4-5, College Park, Maryland.
- James G. Gimpel, Nathan Lovin, Bryant Moy and Andrew Reeves. 2018. "The Emergent Urban-Rural Gulf in American Political Behavior." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 7-9, Chicago, IL.
- James G. Gimpel and Nathan Lovin. 2016. "The Variable Development of Partisanship within the South, 1940-1966." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1-4, Philadelphia, PA.
- Kristina Miler, Charles R. Hunt and James G. Gimpel. 2016. "Recruiting the Best Candidate for the Job: Candidate Dyads and Congressional Election Outcomes." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 8-10, Chicago, IL.
- James G. Gimpel and James Glenn. 2016. "Racial Context as a Stimulus to Campaign Contributing." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 8-10, Chicago, IL.
- Caroline Carlson, Wendy K. Cho and James G. Gimpel. 2014. "Political Implications of Residential Mobility and Stasis on the Partisan Balance of Locales." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 28-September 1, Washington, DC.
- James G. Gimpel and Iris Huí. 2013. "Political Evaluations of Neighborhoods and their Desirability: Experimental Evidence." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 30-September 1. Chicago, IL.
- James G. Gimpel, Frances E. Lee and Michael Parrott. 2012. "Business Interests and the Party Coalitions: Industry Sector Contributions to U.S. Congressional Campaigns," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 12-15. Chicago, IL.
- Brittany Bramlett and James G. Gimpel. 2011. "Local Age Distributions and Ideological Extremism in American Politics," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1-4. Seattle, WA.
- Wendy K. Cho, James G. Gimpel and Daron R. Shaw. 2011. "The Geography of Tea: Strategic Activism or Expressive Protest?" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, March 30-April 3. Chicago, IL.
- James G. Gimpel, Frances E. Lee and Rebecca U. Thorpe. 2010. "The Distributive Politics of the Federal Stimulus: The Geography of the ARRA of 2009," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1-4. Washington, DC.

### Ph.D. Dissertation:

- Field: American Government. Subfield: Political Behavior
- Title: "Competition Without Cohesion: Studies in the Electoral Differentiation of State and National Party Systems."

Committee: Mark Hansen, Henry E. Brady, Gary Orfield, and J. David Greenstone (deceased)

### Teaching:

Courses: Campaigns and Elections; American Voting Behavior; Immigrants and Immigration Policy; State Politics; U.S. Congress; Public Opinion; Statistics; Linear Models; GIS for Social Science Research; Intermediate GIS for Social Science Research; GIS for Redistricting; Spatial Statistics.

Awards: University Excellence in Mentorship and Teaching Award, 1999. Panhellenic Association Outstanding Teacher Award, 1994.

#### Ph.D. Students and Placements:

Robert Campana, chair (2022)

Charles Hunt, member (tt Boise State University 2019)

Michael Parrott, member (APSA Congressional Fellow, 2016; Columbia University non tt 2019)

Stephen Yoder, chair (Government Accountability Office, 2014)

Heather Creek, chair (Pew Research Center, 2013)

Daniel Biggers, member (Yale Post-Doc 2012; moved to tt UC-Riverside, 2014 tenured)

Brittany Bramlett, chair (tt Albright College, 2012, moved to non tt Georgia 2014)

Rebecca Thorpe, member (tt University of Washington, 2010 tenured)

Kimberly Karnes, chair (tt Old Dominion, 2010)

Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz, member (tt University of Rhode Island, 2009, moved to Maryland Policy 2021, tenured)

Laurence O'Rourke, chair (ICF Research 2008)

Joshua Dyck, chair (tt University of Buffalo, 2006 tenured, moved to UM, Lowell, tenured)

Laura Hussey, chair (tt University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 2006 tenured)

Richard Longoria, chair (tt Cameron University, 2006, moved to Texas A&M Brownsville 2014)

Adam Hoffman, member (tt Salisbury University, 2005, tenured)

Regina Gray, member (Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2005)

J. Celeste Lay, chair (tt Tulane University, 2004, tenured)

Atiya Stokes, member (tt Florida State University, 2004, moved to Bucknell 2010, tenured)

Thomas Ellington, member (tt Wesleyan College, 2004, tenured)

Timothy Meinke, member (tt Lynchburg College, 2002, tenured)

Jason Schuknecht, chair (Westat research consulting, 2001)

Constance Hill, member (Birmingham Southern College, 2000)

Peter Francia, member (tt East Carolina University, 2000, tenured)

Peter Burns, member (tt Loyola University, New Orleans 1999, tenured)

David Cantor, member (Lake, Snell, Perry research consulting, 1999)

Richard Conley, member (tt University of Florida, 1998, tenured)

Susan Baer, member (tt San Diego State, 1998), and six others prior to 1998.

# **Advanced Training:**

- Statistical Horizons Workshop on Big Data and Data Mining. University of Pennsylvania Wharton Business School, Philadelphia, PA, April 2013.
- Summer Workshop on Frontiers of Spatial Regression Analysis. Spatial Analysis Laboratory, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, June 2007.
- Summer Workshop on Point Pattern Analysis, Department of Geography, University of California, Santa Barbara, June 2004.
- Summer Workshop on Distance and Accessibility, Department of Geography, Ohio State University, July 2002.

#### Service to the Discipline:

- Journal Editor, American Politics Research, 2003-2011. During this time, submissions doubled from ~110 per year to over 220 per year; journal submission and operations moved on-line; journal content expanded by 30%; and review times dropped to a mean of 45 total days (sd=17 days).
- Editorial Board: Political Geography, American Politics Research.
- Elections and Voting Section Committee to Name Emerging Scholar in American Politics, 2003 and 2007.
- Chair, APSA William Anderson Award Committee to Name the Best Ph.D. Dissertation in State and Local Politics, Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, 2010.

### Manuscript Reviewer:

American Political Science Review; American Journal of Political Science; Journal of Politics; British Journal of Political Science; Political Science Quarterly; Political Geography; Political Research Quarterly; Public Opinion Quarterly; Political Psychology; American Politics Research; Political Behavior; Urban Affairs Quarterly; Social Forces; Electoral Studies; German Politics; Cambridge University Press, Brookings Institution Press, Johns Hopkins University Press; St. Martin's Press; HarperCollins Publishing; Pearson-Longman Publishing; Greenwood Press; University of Pittsburgh Press; SUNY Press; University of Michigan Press.

PRQ Outstanding Reviewer Award, 2009-2010

#### **Departmental Committee Service:**

- 2003-2010 Promotion and Tenure Committees (Karen Kaufmann, Frances E. Lee (three times), Geoffrey Layman, Linda Faye Williams and Irwin Morris)
- 2001-2009 Faculty Supervisor, Maryland State Government Internship Program.
- 2003-2004, 2001-2002; 1998-1999 Faculty Search Committees
- Service includes: Executive Committee; Undergraduate Studies Committee; Graduate Studies

  Committee; Salary Committee; Conley-Dillon Award Committee; Promotion & Tenure Working
  Group; Emeritus Promotion Committee.

### **University and College Service:**

2015-2017 Advisor to UMD BSOS Dean on College Fundraising and Development

2015-2017 Advisor to UMD Office of Government Relations

2015-2017 Advisor to UMD Office of Institutional Research, Planning and Assessment

2014-2016 Advisor to University Relations Office of Prospect Management and Research

2011-2012 Dean's Committee on GIS and Spatial Analysis in the Social Sciences

2007-2008 Joint Asian American Studies/Public Policy Faculty Search Committee.

2005-2007 Department Representative on UM Faculty Senate

2004-2006 Department Representative on College Promotion and Tenure Committee.

2000-2005 Chair, Behavioral and Social Sciences Curriculum Committee

1999-2001 Behavioral and Social Sciences Academic Council

1997-2000 Faculty Senate Campus Parking Advisory Committee

# Research Consulting and Government Work Experience (selected):

- Head Start XXI Resource Center, Hammond, Indiana. GIS and Statistical Consultant to this Head Start Program Serving 1,200 clients in Lake and Porter Counties. October 2003-March 2004.
- Naugatuck Valley Economic Development Commission. Adviser to this Connecticut economic development agency drafting an EDA report on the local economic impact of defense downsizing and industrial restructuring in the Northeast. January 1998-May 1998.
- U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Office of Policy Development and Research. Policy analyst working in the economics division under Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research, John Weicher. June 1991-January 1992.

### Litigation Consultation, Reports and Testimony (selected):

- Baltimore County Branch of the NAACP v. Baltimore County Council; February 2022. U.S. District Court of Maryland, Northern Division.
- Detroit Caucus v. Independent Citizens Redistricting Commission; February 2022. Supreme Court of Michigan.
- Johnson v. Wisconsin Elections Commission; January 2022. Supreme Court of Wisconsin.
- Wattson v. Simon; January 2022. Supreme Court of Minnesota.
- Pascua Yaqui Tribe v. F. Ann Rodriguez; October 2020. U.S. District Court of Arizona.
- Gilby v. Hughs; March 2020. U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas.
- Allen v. Waller County; September 2019. U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas.
- Whitford v. Gill; July 2019. U.S. District Court for the Western District of Wisconsin.
- ° Baber v. Dunlap; December 2018. U.S. District Court for the District of Maine.
- League of Women Voters v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; December 2017. Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.
- ° Agre v. Wolf; December 2017. U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.
- Common Cause v. Rucho; and League of Women Voters v. Rucho; consolidated cases; April 2017. U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina.

### Litigation Consultation, Reports and Testimony (selected, cont'd):

- Juan Juaregui vs. City of Palmdale, California; May 2013. Los Angeles County Superior Court.
- U.S. House of Representatives, Government Reform Subcommittee on Federalism and the Census, Testimony on Immigration-Induced Reapportionment, December 6, 2005.
- U.S. House of Representatives, Small Business Committee, Testimony on Population Mobility and the Rural Economy, May 20, 1997.
- Maryland Commission to Revise the Election Code, Testimony on Third-Party Voting and Registration, November 1996.

### Invited Talks and Speaking Engagements (recent):

- Invited Guest, Kansas University GIS Day, Department of Geography, Lawrence, KS. "The Urban-Rural Gulf in American Political Behavior." November 17, 2021.
- Invited Guest, Niskanen Center, Washington, DC. "The Urban-Rural Divide in American Politics." May 14, 2019.
- Invited Guest, Parkdale High School, Riverdale Park, Maryland; AP Government Lecture on Campaigns and Elections. November 30, 2017.
- Invited Panelist, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC. "Opinion Diversity in the Academy." May 11, 2017.
- Presentation at Washington University, St. Louis. Department of Political Science. "Incidental and Intentional Partisan Residential Sorting." December 1, 2016.
- Presentation at The Maret School, Washington, DC. "Our Patchwork Nation and the 2016 Election." November 9, 2016.
- Presentation at Bowdoin College, Brunswick, ME. "Big Data and the Political Campaign." February 16, 2016.
- Presentation at American University, National Capital Area Political Science Association Workshop. "Business Interests and the Party Coalitions: Industry Sector Contributions to U.S. Congressional Campaigns." January 7, 2013.
- Conference Participant at Hoover Institution, Legal Immigration Policy Roundtable. Stanford University. Palo Alto, California. October 4-5, 2012.
- Presentation at the University of Maryland Libraries, Speaking of Books Series. "Our Patchwork Nation." College Park, Maryland. October 19, 2011.
- Presentation at University of Iowa, Department of Political Science. "Voter Migration and the Geographic Sorting of the American Electorate." Iowa City, IA. September 30, 2011.
- Keynote Address delivered to the Annual Great Plains Political Science Association Convention. "Economic and Political Socialization: Lessons from Rural America for the Rest of the Nation." Brookings, SD. September 24, 2011.
- Presentation at Stanford University, Hoover Institution. "The Geography of Tea: Strategic Activism or Expressive Protest?" May 19, 2011.

# Invited Talks and Speaking Engagements (recent):

- Presentation at the University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Geography. "New Directions in the Geographic Analysis of Contemporary U.S. Polítics." April 22, 2011.
- Presentation at the University of Maryland, School of Public Policy. Tuesday Forum. "Economic and Political Socialization across Our Patchwork Nation." College Park, MD. November 30, 2010.
- Presentation at University of Kentucky, Department of Political Science. "Voter Migration and the Geographic Sorting of the American Electorate." Lexington, KY. December 3, 2010.
- Presentation at Georgetown University, American Politics Workshop. "The Distributive Politics of the Federal Stimulus." Washington, DC. September 24, 2010.
- Presentation at Christopher Newport University, Conference on Civic Education and the Future of American Citizenship. "Political Socialization Inside and Outside the Classroom." Newport News, VA. February 4, 2010.

### **Nassau County Legislative Redistricting Criteria**

The proposed plan (hereafter "Plan 5") is mindful of the redistricting criteria set forth in the County Charter and in state law. New York's Municipal Home Rule Law (MHRL), Sections 10 and 34 specifically deal with County Redistricting rules. These sections of State Law were amended since the last redistricting. In order of importance, the criteria are as follows:

- 1. Equal population. No more than a 5% total population deviation is allowed
- 2. Districts may not have the intent or result of diminishing racial or language minorities participation in elections
- 3. Districts must be contiguous and compact
- 4. Districts shall not be drawn to discourage competition, or favor or disfavor incumbents, candidates, or political parties
- 5. Cores of existing districts, cities, villages, and towns should be maintained
- 6. Districts should promote efficient administration of elections

# **Restoring Population Equality**

Plan 5 conforms the Nassau County Legislative Districts to the constitutional and Charter requirements for population equality. The plan restores the population balance now necessary to remedy malapportionment produced by population shifts made apparent by the 2020 census, reducing deviation across districts to .09%.

When rebalancing the population, the map maker cannot move individual people from one district to another, but instead must move them in small geographic units (e.g., census blocks). This can result in some small deviations from strict equality, when also accounting for other redistricting criteria. Even so, Plan 5 minimizes deviation, and is superior in this respect to both the existing plan, and the alternative plan set forth by the Legislative Minority. The Democratic plan has a calculated deviation of

Although this level of deviation is allowable under the law, courts have also specified the desire to achieve perfect equality when possible. Across Nassau County, it is possible to draw County Legislative districts with very low deviation.

# **Majority Black Districts**

Plan 5 creates one majority black district (District 1) in compliance with Voting Rights Act requirements. Notably, it does not "crowd" or "pack" a super majority of black voters into this district, the voting age black population of District 1 is 51.9%. This was judged to be sufficiently high to ensure minority representation, without diluting the influence of black voters in other districts.

There are no majority black districts in the Democratic plan. District 1 is the largest plurality black district in that plan, at 42.4%. This is a concern from the perspective of minority representation. This percentage may not be high enough to ensure black representation in the County Legislature, particularly if contested Democratic primary elections feature challengers from multiple ethnic/racial backgrounds.

# **Contiguity and Compactness**

Plan 5 maintains contiguity and compactness standards to the extent the patterns of population settlement and the County's unique geography permit it. Jagged coastlines and islands along the Long Island Sound, the Great South Bay, and the Atlantic Ocean, obviously attenuate the level of compactness and contiguity.

Population settlement inexorably follows road and commuter rail lines, which are themselves stringlike and not compact. Long Islanders have a very early history of highway development and automobile use but are also dependent on over 700 miles of rail on various branches of the Long Island Railroad, stretching from Montauk to Penn Station (120 miles). Long Island settlements are dotted along these elongated East-West pathways.

The Democratic plan achieves higher compactness scores but does so at the cost of dismissing established district boundaries and shifting large constituencies into unfamiliar districts in which their officeholders will be unknown. Plan 5 shows somewhat less compactness to remain faithful to the natural settlement patterns of the county and to preserve continuity in legislative representation.

### **Use of Partisan Data**

Plan 5 does not place emphasis on the present partisan leaning of districts and was not created by accentuating party enrollment or election data. Although local officials do run under party labels in New York, it is not entirely clear how informative traditional partisan labels are in elections, or what party labels predict in terms of practical policymaking outcomes. Even if voters have less information about local candidates than they do federal ones, and cast straight party ballots, it remains unclear how these party labels translate to the issues and policy challenges of County governance.

Moreover, partisan preferences have been known to change dramatically in Long Island elections across short spans of time. Under the existing districts, the membership of the Nassau County Legislature has shifted just since 2013. Republicans held the County Legislative majority after the 2017 and 2021 elections, but partisan preference in County Legislative elections has shown fluctuation. This is also very much in evidence in the area's state legislative and congressional seats. Finally, the use of party enrollment or election data in redistricting is controversial from a legal standpoint. Courts, including the U.S. Supreme Court, have questioned whether consideration of partisan balance implicates any justiciable and cognizable rights. In *Rucho v. Common Cause*, 139 S.Ct. 2484 (2019), the U.S. Supreme Court concluded that partisan gerrymandering claims were non-justiciable.

### **Maintaining Relationships between Voters and Legislators**

Importantly, Plan 5 does not begin with a blank slate, as if the Nassau County Legislature was newly created and convening for the very first time in 2023. Established districts that have formed the essential character of legislative representation have existed since 2013. The citizens of Nassau County

are broadly familiar with the district layout, and how the members of the legislature have come to represent them.

Gauging continuity with the established districts is the primary measure to use as a guideline as district boundaries are adjusted to retore equality. Comparing the similarity of the geographic boundaries of the new plan and the previous plan is a first step. But to meet the equal population requirement, the appropriate measure is one of continuity that captures the similarity or intersection of the population encompassed by the old and new boundaries. When rebalancing the County's Legislative districts after ten years of change, the goal is not to throw-in any 73,000 people when redrawing a boundary, but to encompass as many of the same constituents among those 73,000 as possible from the previous co-located district. This is known as "core retention" and is measured as an estimate of the percentage of people who lived in the previous district that still live in the newly proposed district. Estimates from plan 5 show that core retention rates average 91% (ranging from no change, or 100%, in District 12, to 74% in District 7 and 75% in District 2). Plan 5 displaces very few

The Democratic plan is apparently unconcerned with core retention, and it shows through its aggressive displacement of existing Nassau County voters. On average, in this plan, only 53 percent of previous district constituents are carried over into newly created districts. This ranges from very low retention in the aggressively altered Districts 18, 16, 4 and 2, to a high of 80 percent retention in District 5. In their most continuous district (District 5), an estimated 20% of the population is still moved to other districts. In Plan 5, by contrast, the vast majority of all constituents remain in familiar districts.

Dividing communities constituted as incorporated municipalities or villages is discouraged in redistricting, because the preference is to maintain the representation of communities of interest, including local entities with their own governments. To meet other redistricting requirements, however, sometimes divisions are made, for instance, when a town or village is large in size relative to

the ideal size of districts. Practical necessity sometimes requires a division to ensure equality or to achieve other redistricting goals. Plan 5 improves on the existing plan in reducing the number of divisions in Nassau's Villages, though the more populous communities of Hempstead, Freeport and Valley Stream remain divided. The differences between the plans on this measure are minimal. The Democratic plan unifies Hempstead, while Freeport and Valley Stream remain divided. Experts agree that minimizing city and village divisions is not the only possible way to measure the preservation of communities of interest. County redistricting authorities are entitled to consider other understandings that go to social and economic composition, and other factors.

# Conclusion

Every redistricting map involves trade-offs among both complimentary and competing values.

Redistricting plans have to satisfy many goals, and they always do this imperfectly because the goals are not perfectly congruent in what they demand. In turn, there are reasonable arguments for emphasizing each of the goals. The Nassau County Temporary Redistricting Committee has put forward a plan that restores equality, while seeking continuity in representation and complying with other mandates of state and national redistricting law.