EXHIBIT B

DECLARATION OF MATTHEW A. BARRETO

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF MARYLAND
(Northern Division)

BALTIMORE COUNTY BRANCH	)	
OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION	)	
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF	)	
COLORED PEOPLE, *et al.*,	)	
	)	
Plaintiffs,	)	
	)	
v.	)	Civil Action No. LKG-21-03232
	)	
BALTIMORE COUNTY, MARYLAND,	)	
et al.,	)	
	)	
Defendants.	)	

<u>DECLARATION OF MATT BARRETO, PH. D.</u>

1.   I, Matt Barreto, am over 18 years of age and am competent to testify.

2.   I am a Professor of Political Science and Chicana/o Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. I was appointed Full Professor with tenure at UCLA in 2015. Prior to that, I was a tenured professor of Political Science at the University of Washington from 2005 to 2014. At UCLA, I am the faculty director of the Voting Rights Project in the Luskin School of Public Affairs and teach a year-long course on the Voting Rights Act (VRA), focusing specifically on social science statistical analysis, demographics, and voting patterns that are relevant in VRA expert reports. I have written expert reports and been qualified as an expert witness more than three-dozen times in federal and state voting rights and civil rights cases. I have published peer-reviewed, social science articles specifically about minority voting patterns and racially polarized voting and have co-authored a software package specifically for use in understanding racial voting patterns in VRA cases. I have been retained as an expert consultant by counties and states across the country in 2021 to advise them on racial voting patterns as they relate to VRA compliance during redistricting, including for the State of Maryland. As an expert witness in VRA lawsuits, my testimony has been relied on by courts to find in favor of both plaintiffs and defendants. I have attached my CV as Appendix B.

3.   In this matter, I worked with Dr. Kassra Oskooii, tenured professor of Political Science at the University of Delaware. Dr. Oskooii and I have worked on previous voting rights analysis together, and we have co-authored peer-reviewed social science articles about racially polarized voting analysis.

4.   In this matter, I was retained by plaintiffs' attorneys to assess voting patterns in Baltimore County, Maryland. I examined whether elections in Baltimore County that featured a minority candidate of choice were characterized by racially polarized voting (RPV).

5.   I obtained election results by precincts from the Maryland State Board of Elections Data Files (https://elections.maryland.gov) and Redistricting Data Hub (https://redistrictingdatahub.org). Prior to the 2020 election, the Maryland State Board of Elections was unable to assign early, provisional, and absentee votes to individual voting precincts. For the 2018 statewide election data, the Redistricting Data Hub apportioned such votes to precincts by candidates in the same share that the election day votes were split among precincts within each county. This type of apportionment is not available for countywide elections. All election data were then merged with voting age population demographics by race/ethnicity to create a standard dataset for analyzing voting patterns. Racial/Ethnic demographics data by precincts were obtained from the U.S. Census 2020 DEC PL-94 Redistricting files.

I.   Population Growth and Enacted Map Characteristics

6.   Baltimore County's population grew by more than 6% from 2010 to 2020, with the largest growth coming from African Americans. The Black population grew by 45,811 over 10 years, from 206,913 to 252,724, and now constitutes 30% of Baltimore County's population. In contrast, the White, non-Hispanic population declined by 61,293. While Baltimore County was 73% White in 2000 and 63% White in 2010, by 2020 it was only 52% and is projected to be a majority-minority county within a few years.

Table 1: Baltimore County Population Change 2010 to 2020 by race/ethnicity

	2010	2020	Change	Pct
Countywide Total	805,029	854,535	49,506	6%
Black	206,913	252,724	45,811	22%
White, non-Hispanic	504,556	443,263	-61,293	-12%
Hispanic	33,735	61,492	27,757	82%
Asian	39,865	54,701	14,836	37%
All other/multi-racial	19,960	42,355	22,395	112%

7.   From a population perspective, the Black population is more than sufficient to draw two County council districts that are majority Black. Using the 2020 Census data, each County council district is approximately 122,076 in total population and the Black population is over double that at 252,724.

8.   However, the map adopted by Baltimore County consists of only one majority-Black district (D4) and cracks the Black population into minority status in multiple other districts

across the county. Moreover, the map adopted by Baltimore County packs Black voters into this single district with the result that the district's voting age population is nearly 75% Black while no other district's voting age population is more than 32% Black. In every district except D4, the white voting age population outnumbers the Black voting age population by at least 19 percentage points. This has the effect of diluting the Black vote by keeping it below majority status in a second district where Black voters could elect a candidate of choice in both the primary and general election. As drawn, the adopted map is likely to elect six White candidates out of seven seats – 86% of the seats – in a county that was only 52% White population in 2020 (and is likely less so as of 2022).

II.   Racially Polarized Voting Analysis in Baltimore County

9.   I next examine whether voters of different racial/ethnic backgrounds tend to prefer different or similar candidates when a Black candidate of choice emerges. The phenomenon called *racially polarized voting* (RPV) is defined as voters of different racial or ethnic groups exhibiting different candidate preferences in an election. It means simply that voters of different groups are voting in <u>polar</u> opposite directions, rather than in a coalition. Voters may vote for their candidates of choice for a variety of reasons, and RPV statistical analysis is not concerned with *why* voters make decisions, instead RPV simply reports *how* voters are voting. It measures the outcomes of voting patterns and determines whether patterns track with the race/ethnicity demographics of neighborhoods, cities, and voting precincts.

10.   It is important to acknowledge that not every election contest contains a minority-preferred candidate. In some elections, voters are more or less agnostic about the candidates, while in other elections voters have deep preferences for their candidates of choice. For African American voters in Baltimore County, I focus on elections in which Black candidates ran competitive elections against White candidates.

11.   In recent elections I analyzed, Black voters demonstrated strong cohesion, voting in strong support for Black candidates. This trend was apparent in both primary and general election contests among voters in Baltimore County. White voters voted as a bloc *against* Black-preferred candidates.

12.   Several methods are available to assess the *Gingles* preconditions of minority cohesion and White bloc voting.[1] Ecological Inference (EI) "has been the benchmark in evaluating racial polarization in voting rights lawsuits and has been used widely in comparative politics research on group and ethnic voting patterns."[2] Two variations of EI that have emerged

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[1] For an approachable overview of this material, see Bruce M. Clarke & Robert Timothy Reagan, Federal Judicial Center, *Redistricting Litigation: An Overview Of Legal, Statistical, and Case-Management Issues* (2002).

[2] Loren Collingwood, Kassra Oskooii, Sergio Garcia Rios, and Matt Barreto, *eiCompare Comparing Ecological Inference Estimates across El and EI:R x C*, 8 R. J., 93 (2016); *see also* Abrajano et al., *Using Experiments to Estimate Racially Polarized Voting*, UC Davis Legal

are referred to as King's EI and EI: RxC. The two methods are closely related, and Professor Gary King, the creator of King's EI,[3] was a co-author and collaborator on the RxC method.[4] Generally speaking, both methods take ecological data in the aggregate —such as precinct vote totals and racial demographics—and use Bayesian statistical methods to find voting patterns by regressing candidate choice against racial demographics within the aggregate precinct. Kings EI is sometimes referred to as the iterative approach, in that it runs an analysis of each candidate and each racial group in iterations, whereas the RxC method allows multiple rows (candidates) and multiple columns (racial groups) to be estimated simultaneously in one model. In essence, both versions of EI operate as described above: by compiling data on the percentage of each racial group in a precinct and merging that with precinct-level vote choice from relevant election results. One popular software program, *eiCompare*, imports data and runs both King's EI and RxC models and offers comparison diagnostics.[5] Collingwood, et al. (2016) have concluded that both EI and RxC produce similarly reliable regression estimates of vote choice. The EI models are agnostic on what type of input data political scientists use for racial demographics. It can be Voting Age Population (VAP) data from the U.S. Census, it can be a Spanish surname analysis of registered voters, or it can be a BISG estimate of race of the voter file. The models will perform the same statistical analysis and produce inferences about voter preference by race.

13.   For every voting precinct in Baltimore County, we have the election day votes[6] cast for each candidate, and we also have the total VAP that is either Black or White. Thus, we

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Studies Research Paper No. 419 (2015) ("ecological inference (EI)...[is] the standard statistical tool of vote-dilution litigation). Despite the method's prominence, researchers have identified certain limitations on EI's ability to reveal race-correlated voting patterns in jurisdictions with more than two racial groups and non-trivial residential integration. *See* D. James Greiner, *Re-Solidifying Racial Bloc Voting: Empirics and Legal Doctrine in the Melting Pot*, 86 Indiana L. J. 447–497 (2011); D. James Greiner & Kevin M Quinn, *Exit Polling and Racial Bloc Voting: Combining Individual Level and Ecological Data*, 4 Annals Applied Statistics, 1774–1796 (2010). Strategic calculations by potential candidates as well as interest groups and donors also skew EI data. Abrajano, Marisa A., Christopher S. Elmendorf, and Kevin M. Quinn, *Racially Polarized Voting* (2015); D. James Greiner, *Causal Inference in Civil Rights Litigation*, 122 Harv. L. Rev. 533, 533–598 (2008).

[3] *See* Gary King, A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem Reconstructing Individual Behavior from Aggregate Data, Princeton University Press (1997).

[4] *See* Ori Rosen, Wenxin Jiang, Gary King, and Martin Tanner, Bayesian and frequentist inference for ecological inference: the R x C case, Statistica Neerlandica, vol. 55 at 134-46 (2001).
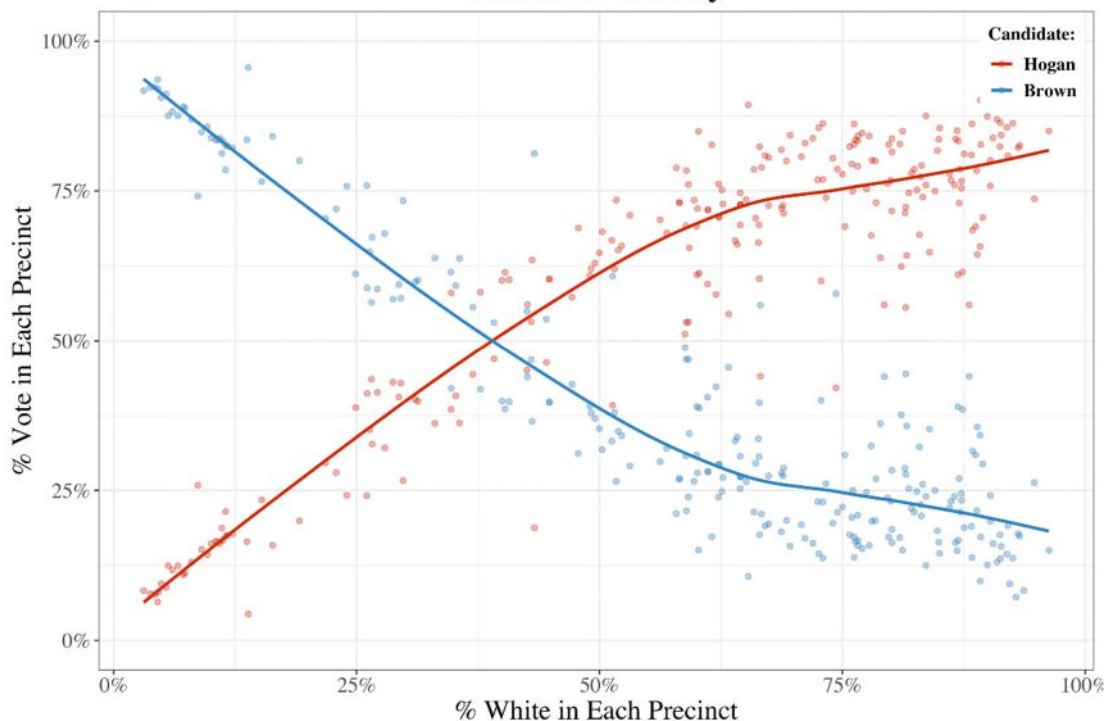
[5] Loren Collingwood, Kassra Oskooii, Sergio Garcia Rios, and Matt Barreto, *eiCompare Comparing Ecological Inference Estimates across El and EI:R x C*, 8 R J., 93 (2016).

[6] From 2010 to 2020, the state of Maryland only collected and reported precinct-level data for election-day votes. Early and absentee votes were reported countywide, but not at the precinct

can assess if increases of decreases in candidate vote choice are correlated with the Black or White voting population to determine if voting patterns in Baltimore County are racially polarized. Our analysis relies on ecological inference using eiCompare software and can produce a series of tables, charts, and graphs to depict voting patterns.
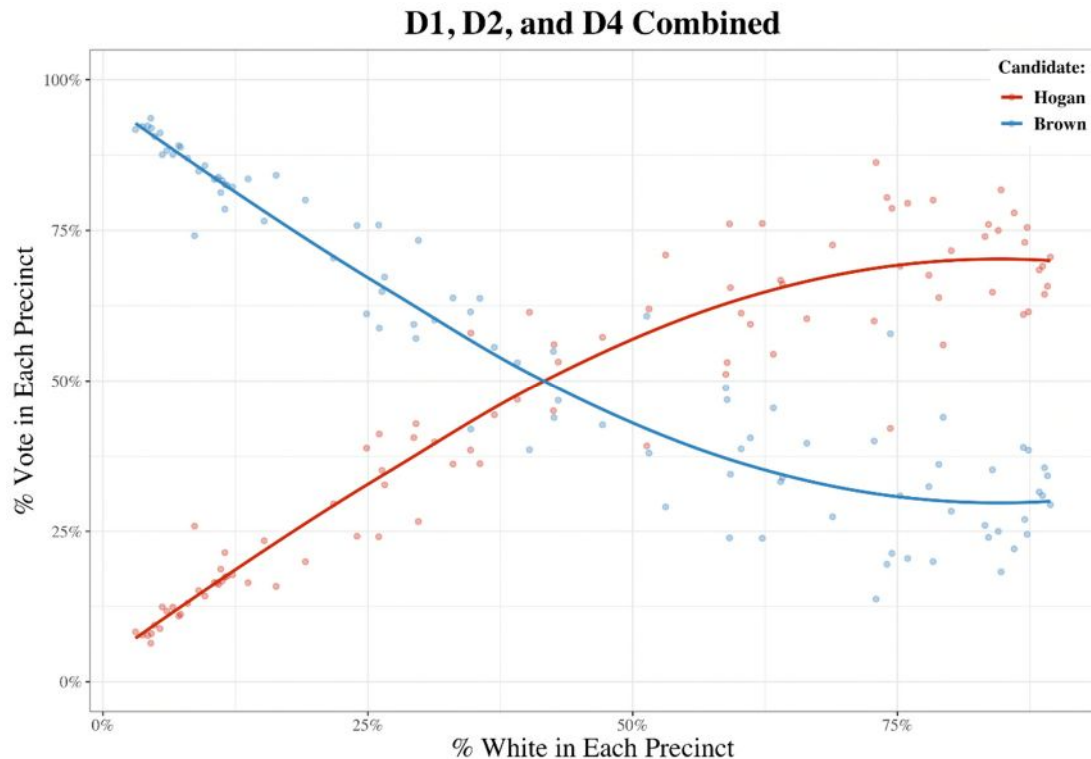
14.   This relationship is easily demonstrated in the graphs below which plots the vote a candidate received in each precinct on the vertical Y-axis against the percent White within each precinct on the horizontal X-axis. Figures 1A and 1B below demonstrate that across Baltimore County Whites and minorities voted in opposite directions in the 2014 gubernatorial election. On the left-hand side of the graph, precincts that are heavily minority, in this case mostly made up of Black voters, provided strong support for Anthony Brown. In contrast, Whites voted heavily in support of Larry Hogan. Figure 1A reports these results countywide for all precincts in Baltimore County.

Figure 1A: Vote Choice in the 2014 Gubernatorial Election Countywide
Baltimore County

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level. In 2020 Maryland started to report total votes by precinct for early, absentee, and election-day voting.

Figure 1B: Vote Choice in the 2014 Gubernatorial Election in West-side Districts

15. While districts on the western side of Baltimore County are thought of being more Democratic, the same pattern emerges there in the 2014 general election. When faced with a Black candidate on the ticket, White voters within Districts 1, 2, and 4 provided majority support to Hogan, while Black voters overwhelmingly favored Brown. This pattern emerges clearly in Figure 1B.

16. In 2018 Maryland residents once again voted in a contest for Governor that featured a Black candidate of choice, Benjamin Jealous, and a White candidate, Larry Hogan. Although 2018 was otherwise characterized as a "good year" for Democrats in elections in which they regained the House of Representatives, in Baltimore County, White voters provided very strong support for Hogan and block-voted against Jealous. In contrast, African American voters continued to demonstrate strong cohesiveness for their candidate of choice, Jealous. The precinct data are portrayed in Figure 2A for Baltimore County as a whole.

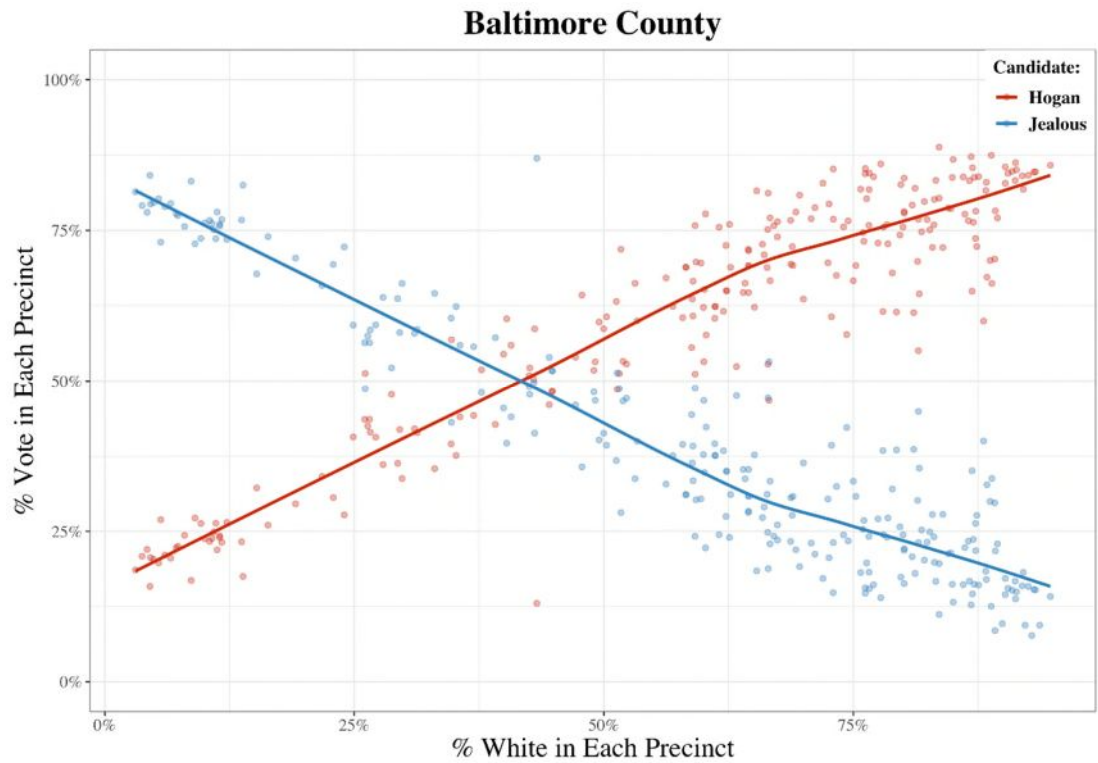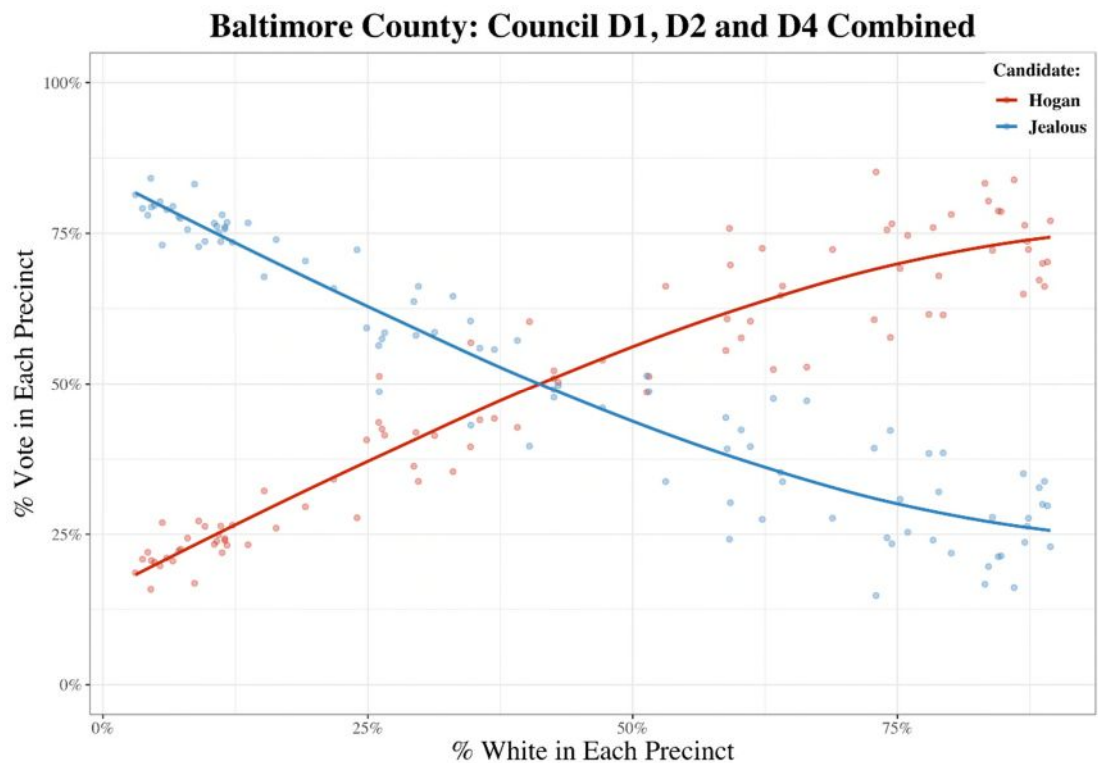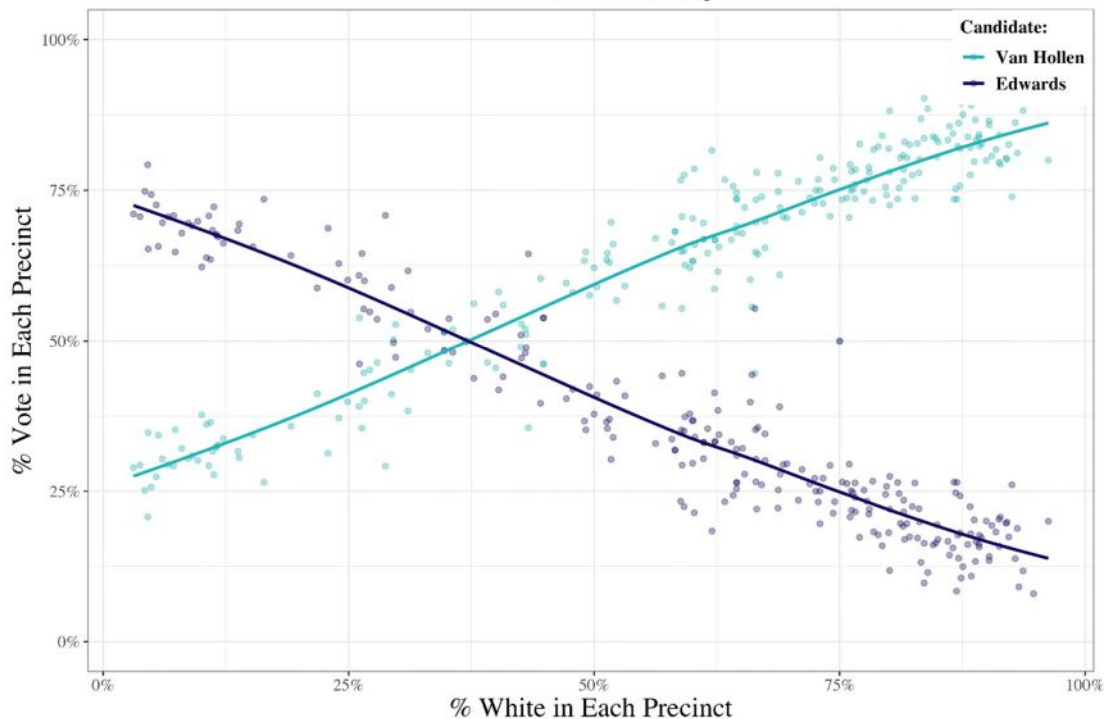**Figure 2A: Vote Choice in the 2018 Gubernatorial Election Countywide**

Baltimore County

Figure 2B: Vote Choice in the 2018 Gubernatorial Election in West-side Districts

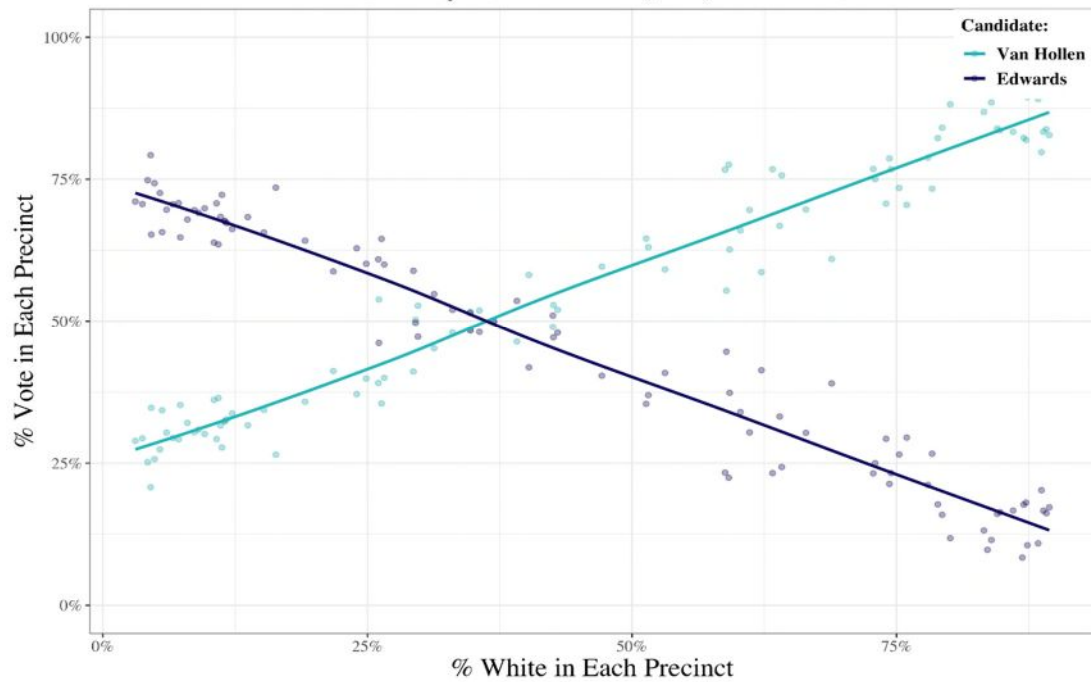Baltimore County: Council D1, D2 and D4 Combined

17.   Once again, when we restrict the analysis to the western portion of the county and focus on Districts 1, 2, and 4 the finding of racially polarized voting holds. White voters in the western part of the county voted heavily against the Black candidate Jealous in the 2018 Governor's election.

18.   In addition to these general elections, clear patterns of racially polarized voting emerge with respect to the Democratic primary for U.S. Senate in 2016 among voters in Baltimore County. In 2016 Congresswoman Donna Edwards faced off against Congressman Chris Van Hollen among eight other candidates with far less experience or name recognition. This election is important because independent of partisanship, it tells us whether Black and White voters have the same or opposite candidate preferences within Democratic primaries. Figure 3A reports the precinct results by race for Baltimore countywide and shows a very clear pattern in which Black voters strongly preferred Edwards while White voters strongly preferred Van Hollen. This same trend emerges with respect to the western portion of the county in Districts 1, 2, and 4, where Whites bloc vote against Edwards, the Black candidate of choice (Figure 3B).

Figure 3A: Vote Choice in the 2016 Senate Democratic Primary Election Countywide

Baltimore County

Figure 3B: Vote Choice in 2016 Senate Democratic Primary Election in West-side Districts

Baltimore County: Council D1, D2, and D4 Combined

19.   The scatter plots in Figures 1–3 portray the full range of data for all precincts, sorted by candidate vote and race and are a clear portrait of racially polarized voting. In addition, EI analysis can produce specific vote choice estimates by race, which I summarize in Table 2.

20.   When looking to White and Black voters in Baltimore County as a whole (Table 2) the ecological inference analysis reports White voters, on average, give less than 15% of their vote to Black candidates. In 2014 Brown won an estimated 14.3% of the White vote; in 2018 Jealous won an estimated 13.2% of the White vote; and in the 2016 Democratic primary White voters gave Edwards an estimated 8.0% of the vote. In contrast, we find Black voters are strongly cohesive for these Black candidates providing 75% to 85% to over 90% support.

Table 2: Ecological inference analysis of vote choice by race Baltimore County

	White	Black	Other
Brown	14.3	94.3	41.1
Hogan	85.7	5.7	58.9
Jealous	13.2	86.4	57.9
Hogan	86.9	13.6	43.1
Edwards	8.0	74.6	71.6
Van Hollen	92.0	25.4	28.4

21.   Likewise, when I restrict the analysis to just focusing on Districts 1, 2 and 4 we find White voter are overwhelmingly cohesive and bloc-vote against Black candidates of choice and voting in favor of White candidates at rates of 78.5%, 80.3% and 94.9%. Black voters in this part of Baltimore County are also quite cohesive in registering strong support for candidates of choice at rates of 74.4%, 85.7% and 97.3% across the years.

Table 3: Ecological inference analysis of vote choice by race in Districts 1, 2, 4

	White	Black	Other
Brown	21.5	97.3	45.9
Hogan	78.5	2.7	54.1
Jealous	19.7	85.7	57.7
Hogan	80.3	14.3	42.3
Edwards	5.1	74.4	75.4
Van Hollen	94.9	25.6	24.6

22.   This report is intended to provide an initial summary of demographics and voting patterns in Baltimore County. As additional election data becomes available or relevant, I will provide additional data analysis as requested by the Court and counsel.

23.   I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief.

Matt A. Barreto

Matt Barreto
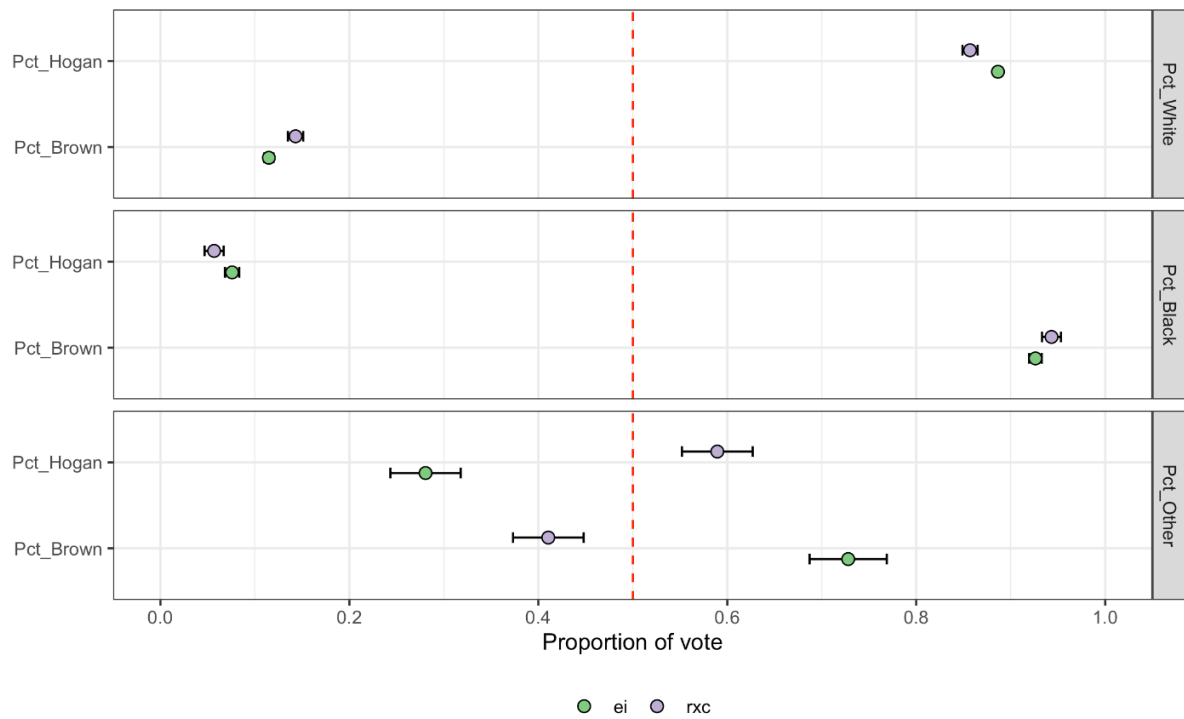Agoura Hills, California

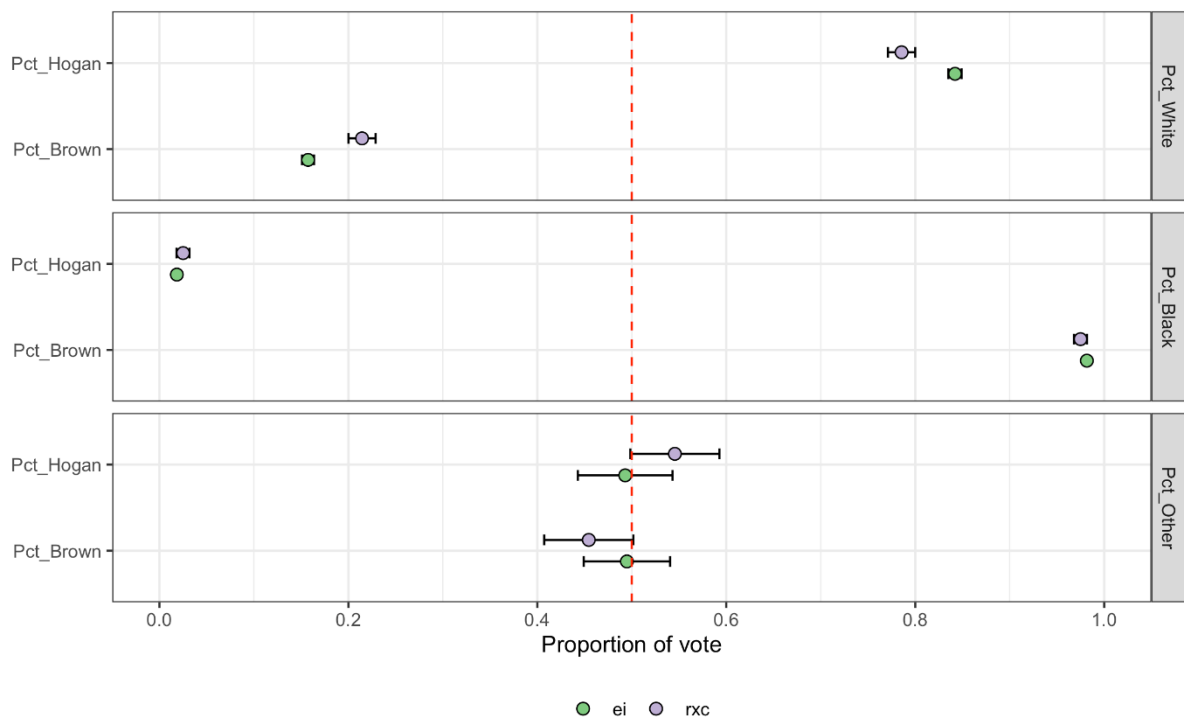Executed on January 18, 2022

BARRETO DECLARATION

APPENDIX A

Appendix A – Racially Polarized Voting Additional Plots
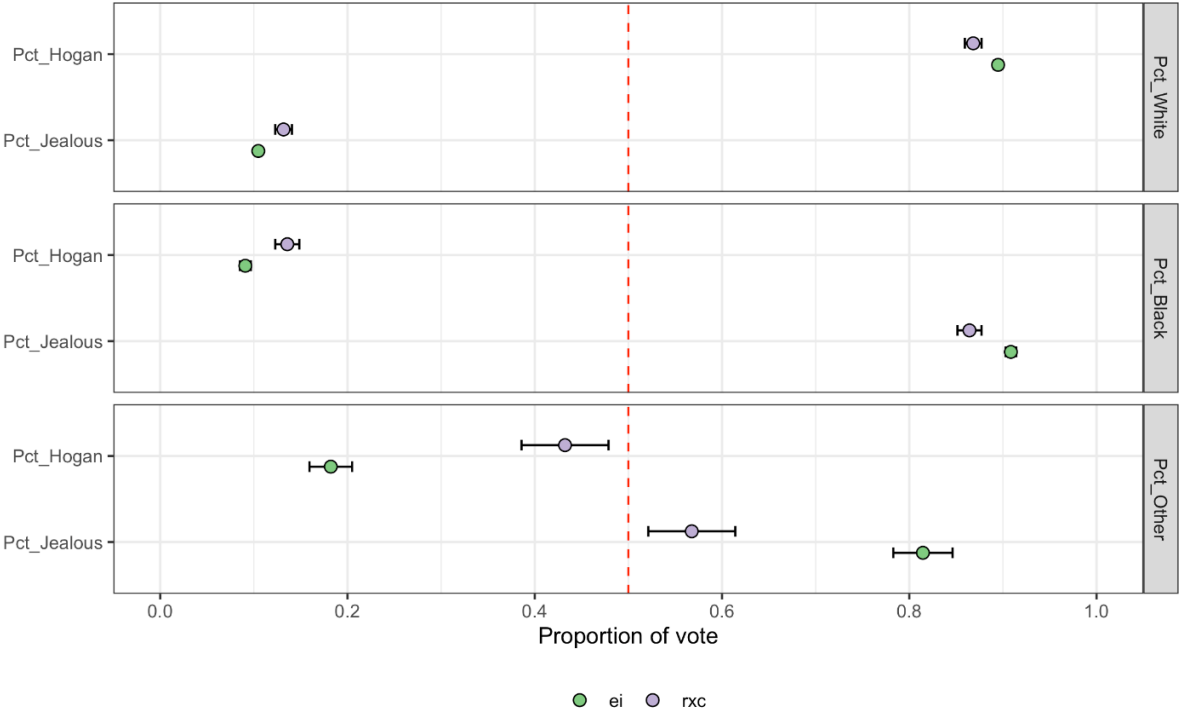
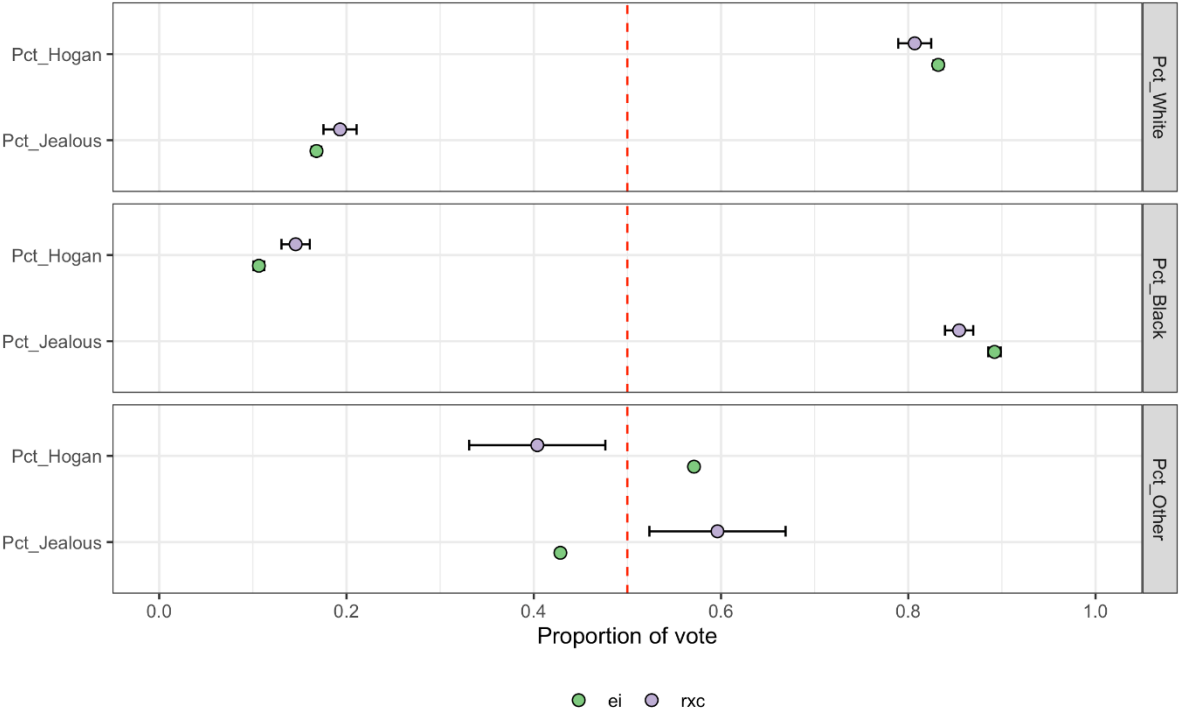## Baltimore Countywide, 2014 Governor
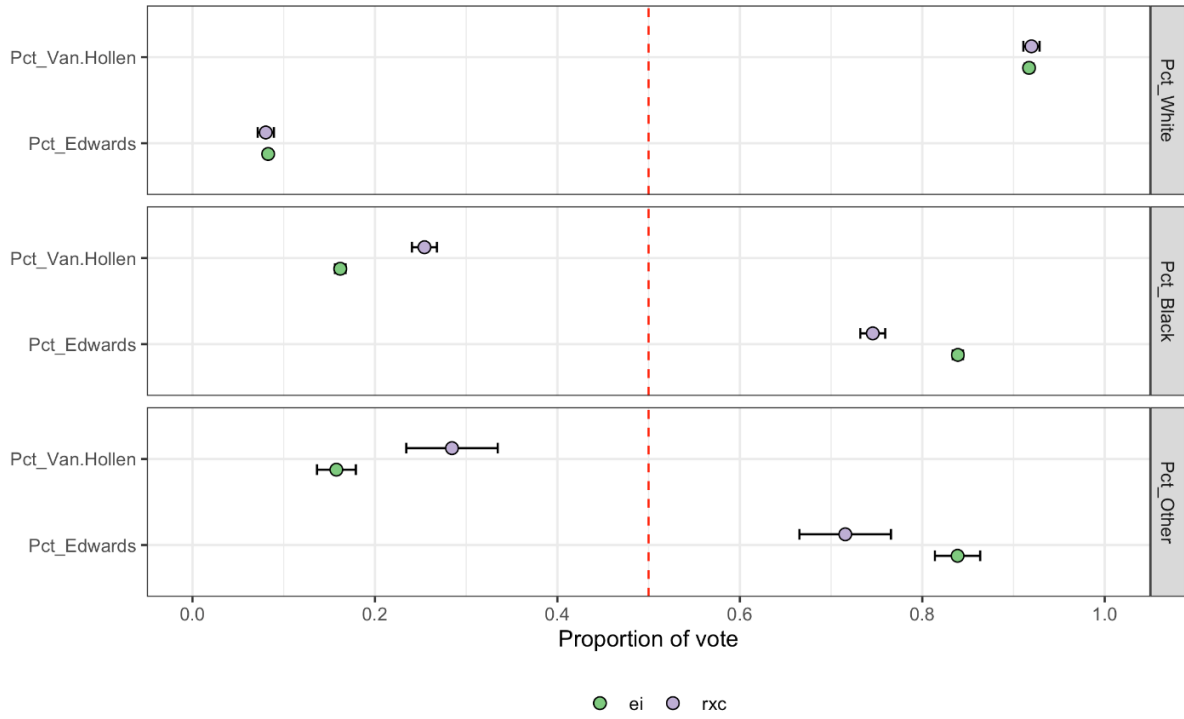

West-side Districts, 2014 Governor
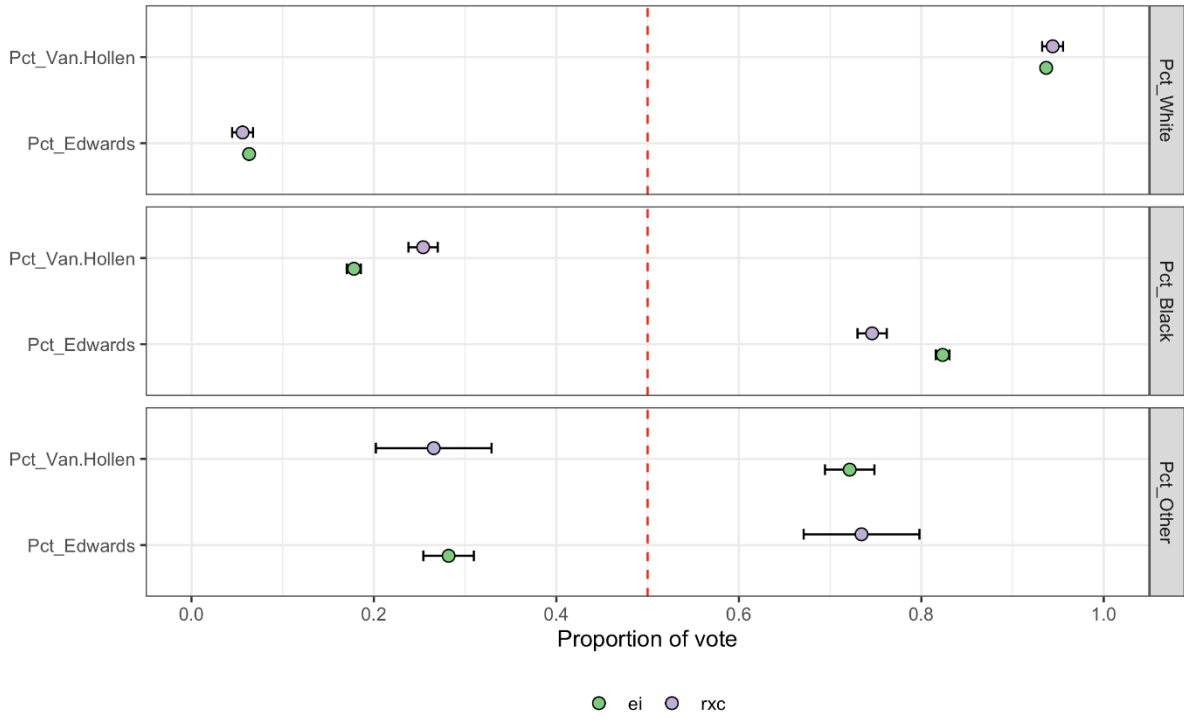
Baltimore Countywide, 2018 Governor

West-side Districts, 2014 Governor

Baltimore Countywide, 2016 US Senate Primary

West-side Districts, 2016 US Senate Primary

BARRETO DECLARATION

APPENDIX B

MATT A. BARRETO – BARRETOM@UCLA.EDU
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES, 3345 BUNCHE HALL, LOS ANGELES CA 90095 / 909.489.2955

EMPLOYMENT:	**Professor**, Political Science, University of California Los Angeles (2015 – present)
	Professor, Chicana/o Studies, University of California Los Angeles (2015 – present)
	Co-Founder & Faculty Director, Latino Policy & Politics Initiative (LPPI)
	Co-Founder & Faculty Director, UCLA Voting Rights Project (VRP)
	Dept. Political Science, University of Washington
	Professor (2014 – 2015)
	Associate Professor (2009 – 2014)
	Assistant Professor (2005 – 2009)
	Co-Founder & Director, Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race
	Founding Director, Center for Democracy and Voting Rights, UW School of Law
	Affiliated Research Centers
	Latino Policy & Politics Initiative (LPPI), University of California, Los Angeles
	Chicano Studies Research Center (CSRC), University of California, Los Angeles
	Center for the Study of Los Angeles (CSLA), Loyola Marymount University
PERSONAL:	Born: June 6, 1976
	San Juan, Puerto Rico
	High School: 1994, Washburn Rural HS, Topeka, KS
EDUCATION:	**Ph.D., Political Science, June 2005**
	University of California – Irvine
	Sub Fields: American Politics / Race, Ethnicity and Politics / Methodology
	Thesis: <u>Ethnic Cues: The Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Participation</u>
	Thesis Committee: Bernard Grofman (chair), Louis DeSipio, Katherine Tate, Carole Uhlaner
	Thesis Awards: *Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities, 04-05*
	University of California President's Dissertation Fellowship, 04-05
	University of California Institute for Mexico & the U.S. Dissertation Grant, 04-05
	Master of Science, Social Science, March 2003
	University of California – Irvine
	Bachelor of Science, Political Science, May 1998
	Eastern New Mexico University, Portales, NM
	Minor: English. Cumulative GPA: 3.9, *Summa Cum Laude*

PUBLICATION RECORD

Google Scholar citation indices: Cites: 4,768   h-index: 35   i10-index: 60   i100-index: 12   Cites/year: 280

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76. B Gomez-Aguinaga, GR Sanchez, MA Barreto. 2021. "Importance of State and Local Variation in Black–Brown Attitudes: How Latinos View Blacks and How Blacks Affect Their Views" *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 6 (1), 214-252

75. H Walker, M Roman, MA Barreto. 2020. "The Ripple Effect: The Political Consequences of Proximal Contact with Immigration Enforcement" *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics* 5 (3), 537-572.

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43. Garcia-Castañon, Marcela, Allison Rank and Matt Barreto. 2011 "Plugged in or tuned out? Youth, Race, and Internet Usage in the 2008 Election." *Journal of Political Marketing.* 10:2 115-138.

42. Barreto, Matt, Victoria DeFrancesco, and Jennifer Merolla. 2011 "Multiple Dimensions of Mobilization: The Impact of Direct Contact and Political Ads on Latino Turnout in the 2000 Presidential Election." *Journal of Political Marketing.* 10:1

41. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, and Sylvia Manzano. 2010. "Measuring Latino Political Influence in National Elections" *Political Research Quarterly*. 63:4 (Dec)

40. Barreto, Matt, and Francisco Pedraza. 2009. "The Renewal and Persistence of Group Identification in American Politics." *Electoral Studies*. 28 (Dec) 595-605

39. Barreto, Matt and Dino Bozonelos. 2009. "Democrat, Republican, or None of the Above? Religiosity and the Partisan Identification of Muslim Americans" *Politics & Religion* 2 (Aug). 1-31

38. Barreto, Matt, Sylvia Manzano, Ricardo Ramírez and Kathy Rim. 2009. "Immigrant Social Movement Participation: Understanding Involvement in the 2006 Immigration Protest Rallies." *Urban Affairs Review*. 44: (5) 736-764

37. Grofman, Bernard and Matt Barreto. 2009. "A Reply to Zax's (2002) Critique of Grofman and Migalski (1988): Double Equation Approaches to Ecological Inferences." *Sociological Methods and Research.* 37 (May)

36. Barreto, Matt, Stephen Nuño and Gabriel Sanchez. 2009. "The Disproportionate Impact of Voter-ID Requirements on the Electorate – New Evidence from Indiana." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 42 (Jan)

35. Barreto, Matt, Luis Fraga, Sylvia Manzano, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and Gary Segura. 2008. "Should they dance with the one who brung 'em? Latinos and the 2008 Presidential election" *PS: Political Science & Politics.* 41 (Oct).

34. Barreto, Matt, Mara Marks and Nathan Woods. 2008. "Are All Precincts Created Equal? The Prevalence of Low- Quality Precincts in Low-Income and Minority Communities." *Political Research Quarterly.* 62

33. Barreto, Matt. 2007. "*Sí Se Puede!* Latino Candidates and the Mobilization of Latino Voters." *American Political Science Review*. 101 (August): 425-441.

32. Barreto, Matt and David Leal. 2007. "Latinos, Military Service, and Support for Bush and Kerry in 2004." *American Politics Research.* 35 (March): 224-251.

31. Barreto, Matt, Mara Marks and Nathan Woods. 2007. "Homeownership: Southern California's New Political Fault Line?" *Urban Affairs Review.* 42 (January). 315-341.

30. Barreto, Matt, Matt Streb, Fernando Guerra, and Mara Marks. 2006. "Do Absentee Voters Differ From Polling Place Voters? New Evidence From California." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 70 (Summer): 224-34.

29. Barreto, Matt, Fernando Guerra, Mara Marks, Stephen Nuño, and Nathan Woods. 2006. "Controversies in Exit Polling: Implementing a racially stratified homogenous precinct approach." *PS: Political Science & Politics.* 39 (July) 477-83.

28. Barreto, Matt, Ricardo Ramírez, and Nathan Woods. 2005. "Are Naturalized Voters Driving the California Latino Electorate? Measuring the Impact of IRCA Citizens on Latino Voting." *Social Science Quarterly.* 86 (December): 792-811.

27. Barreto, Matt. 2005. "Latino Immigrants at the Polls: Foreign-born Voter Turnout in the 2002 Election." *Political Research Quarterly.* 58 (March): 79-86.

26. Barreto, Matt, Mario Villarreal and Nathan Woods. 2005. "Metropolitan Latino Political Behavior: Turnout and Candidate Preference in Los Angeles." *Journal of Urban Affairs*. 27(February): 71-91.

25. Leal, David, Matt Barreto, Jongho Lee and Rodolfo de la Garza. 2005. "The Latino Vote in the 2004 Election." *PS: Political Science & Politics.* 38 (January): 41-49.

24. Marks, Mara, Matt Barreto and Nathan Woods. 2004. "Harmony and Bliss in LA? Race and Racial Attitudes a Decade After the 1992 Riots." *Urban Affairs Review.* 40 (September): 3-18.

23. Barreto, Matt, Gary Segura and Nathan Woods. 2004. "The Effects of Overlapping Majority-Minority Districts on Latino Turnout." *American Political Science Review.* 98 (February): 65-75.

22. Barreto, Matt and Ricardo Ramírez. 2004. "Minority Participation and the California Recall: Latino, Black, and Asian Voting Trends 1990 – 2003." *PS: Political Science & Politics.* 37 (January): 11-14.

21. Barreto, Matt and José Muñoz. 2003. "Reexamining the 'politics of in-between': political participation among Mexican immigrants in the United States." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*. 25 (November): 427-447.

20. Barreto, Matt. 2003. "National Origin (Mis)Identification Among Latinos in the 2000 Census: The Growth of the "Other Hispanic or Latino" Category." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy.* 15 (June): 39-63.

Edited Volume Book Chapters

19. Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura. 2020. "Latino Reaction and Resistance to Trump: Lessons learned from Pete Wilson and 1994." In Raul Hinojosa and Edward Telles (eds.) Equitable Globalization: Expanding Bridges, Overcoming Walls. Oakland: University of California Press.

18. Barreto, Matt, Albert Morales and Gary Segura. 2019. "The Brown Tide and the Blue Wave in 2018" In Larry Sabato, Kyle Kondik, Geoffrey Skelley (eds.) The Blue Wave. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

17. Gutierrez, Angela, Angela Ocampo and Matt Barreto. 2018. "Obama's Latino Legacy: From Unknown to Never Forgotten" In Andrew Rudalevige and Bert Rockman (eds.) The Obama Legacy. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press.

16. Barreto, Matt, Thomas Schaller and Gary Segura. 2017. "Latinos and the 2016 Election: How Trump Lost Latinos on Day 1" In Larry Sabato, Kyle Kondik, Geoffrey Skelley (eds.) Trumped: The 2016 Election that Broke All the Rules. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

15. Walker, Hannah, Gabriel Sanchez, Stephen Nuño, Matt Barreto 2017. "Race and the Right to Vote: The Modern Barrier of Voter ID Laws" In Todd Donovan (ed.) Election Rules and Reforms. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

14. Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. 2015. "Public Opinion and Reactionary Movements: From the Klan to the Tea Party" In Adam Berinsky (ed.) New Directions in Public Opinion. 2nd edition. New York: Routledge Press.

13. Barreto, Matt and Gabriel Sanchez. 2014. "A 'Southern Exception' in Black-Latino Attitudes?." In Anthony Affigne, Evelyn Hu-Dehart, Marion Orr (eds.) Latino Politics en Ciencia Política. New York: New York University Press.

12. Barreto, Matt, Ben Gonzalez, and Gabriel Sanchez. 2014. "Rainbow Coalition in the Golden State? Exposing Myths, Uncovering New Realities in Latino Attitudes Towards Blacks." In Josh Kun and Laura Pulido (eds.) Black and Brown in Los Angeles: Beyond Conflict and Coalition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

11. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, Ben Gonzalez, and Christopher Parker. 2011. "Tea Party Politics in a Blue State: Dino Rossi and the 2010 Washington Senate Election" In William Miller and Jeremy Walling (eds.) Stuck in the Middle to Lose: Tea Party Effects on 2010 U.S. Senate Elections. Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group.

10. Jason Morin, Gabriel Sanchez and Matt Barreto. 2011. "Perceptions of Competition Between Latinos and Blacks: The Development of a Relative Measure of Inter-Group Competition." In Edward Telles, Gaspar Rivera-Salgado and Mark Sawyer (eds.) Just Neighbors? Research on African American and Latino Relations in the US. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

9. Grofman, Bernard, Frank Wayman and Matt Barreto. 2009. "Rethinking partisanship: Some thoughts on a unified theory." In John Bartle and Paolo Bellucci (eds.) <u>Political Parties and Partisanship: Social identity and individual attitudes</u>. New York: Routledge Press.

8. Barreto, Matt, Ricardo Ramírez, Luis Fraga and Fernando Guerra. 2009. "Why California Matters: How California Latinos Influence the Presidential Election." In Rodolfo de la Garza, Louis DeSipio and David Leal (eds.) <u>Beyond the Barrio: Latinos in the 2004 Elections</u>. South Bend, ID: University of Notre Dame Press.

7. Francisco Pedraza and Matt Barreto. 2008. "Exit Polls and Ethnic Diversity: How to Improve Estimates and Reduce Bias Among Minority Voters." In Wendy Alvey and Fritz Scheuren (eds.) <u>Elections and Exit Polling</u>. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley and Sons.

6. Adrian Pantoja, Matt Barreto and Richard Anderson. 2008. "Politics *y la Iglesia*: Attitudes Toward the Role of Religion in Politics Among Latino Catholics" In Michael Genovese, Kristin Hayer and Mark J. Rozell (eds.) <u>Catholics and Politics</u>. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press..

5. Barreto, Matt. 2007. "The Role of Latino Candidates in Mobilizing Latino Voters: Revisiting Latino Vote Choice." In Rodolfo Espino, David Leal and Kenneth Meier (eds.) <u>Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization, and Representation</u>. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

4. Abosch, Yishaiya, Matt Barreto and Nathan Woods. 2007. "An Assessment of Racially Polarized Voting For and Against Latinos Candidates in California." In Ana Henderson (ed.) <u>Voting Rights Act Reauthorization of 2006: Perspectives on Democracy, Participation, and Power:</u>. Berkeley, CA: UC Berkeley Public Policy Press.

3. Barreto, Matt and Ricardo Ramírez. 2005. "The Race Card and California Politics: Minority Voters and Racial Cues in the 2003 Recall Election." In Shaun Bowler and Bruce Cain (eds.) <u>Clicker Politics: Essays on the California Recall</u>. Englewood-Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

2. Barreto, Matt and Nathan Woods. 2005. "The Anti-Latino Political Context and its Impact on GOP Detachment and Increasing Latino Voter Turnout in Los Angeles County." In Gary Segura and Shawn Bowler (eds.) <u>Diversity in Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States</u>. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

1. Pachon, Harry, Matt Barreto and Frances Marquez. 2004. "Latino Politics Comes of Age in the Golden State." In Rodolfo de la Garza and Louis DeSipio (eds.) <u>Muted Voices: Latino Politics in the 2000 Election</u>. New York: Rowman & Littlefield

RESEARCH AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

June 2020	WK Kellogg Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$2,500,000 – 24 months*
June 2020	Casey Family Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$900,000 – 18 months*
Aug 2018	Provost Initiative for Voting Rights Research UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Chad Dunn]	*$90,000 – 24 months*
April 2018	Democracy Fund & Wellspring Philanthropic UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$200,000 – 18 months*
March 2018	AltaMed California UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$250,000 – 12 months*
Dec 2017	California Community Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$100,000 – 12 months*
July 2013	Ford Foundation UW Center for Democracy and Voting Rights	*$200,000 – 12 months*
April 2012	American Values Institute [With Ben Gonzalez] Racial Narratives and Public Response to Racialized Moments	*$40,000 – 3 months*
Jan 2012	American Civil Liberties Union Foundation [With Gabriel Sanchez] Voter Identification Laws in Wisconsin	*$60,000 – 6 months*
June 2011	State of California Citizens Redistricting Commission An Analysis of Racial Bloc Voting in California Elections	*$60,000 – 3 months*
Apr 2011	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) [With Karam Dana] Muslim and American? A national conference on the political and social incorporation of American Muslims	*$50,000 – 18 months*
Jan 2011	impreMedia [With Gary Segura] Latino public opinion tracking poll of voter attitudes in 2011	*$30,000 – 6 months*
Oct 2010	National Council of La Raza (NCLR) [With Gary Segura] Measuring Latino Influence in the 2010 Elections	*$128,000 – 6 months*
Oct 2010	We Are America Alliance (WAAA) [With Gary Segura] Latino and Asian American Immigrant Community Voter Study	*$79,000 – 3 months*
May 2010	National Council of La Raza (NCLR) [With Gary Segura] A Study of Latino Views Towards Arizona SB1070	*$25,000 – 3 months*
Apr 2010	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) [With Karam Dana] Muslim and American? The influence of religiosity in Muslim political incorporation	*$50,000 – 18 months*
Oct 2009	American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) [With Gary Segura] Health care reform and Latino public opinion	*$25,000 – 3 months*
Nov 2008	impreMedia & National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) [With Gary Segura] 2008 National Latino Post-Election Survey, Presidential Election	*$46,000 – 3 months*

RESEARCH GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS CONTINUED...

July 2008	National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) [With Gary Segura] Latino voter outreach survey – an evaluation of Obama and McCain	*$72,000 – 3 months*
June 2008	The Pew Charitable Trusts, Make Voting Work Project [with Karin MacDonald and Bonnie Glaser] Evaluating Online Voter Registration (OVR) Systems in Arizona and Washington	*$220,000 – 10 months*
April 2008	National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) & National Council of La Raza (NCLR), 2008 Latino voter messaging survey	*$95,000 – 6 months*
Dec. 2007	Research Royalty Fund, University of Washington 2008 Latino national post-election survey	*$39,000 – 12 months*
Oct. 2007	Brenan Center for Justice, New York University [with Stephen Nuño and Gabriel Sanchez Indiana Voter Identification Study	*$40,000 – 6 months*
June 2007	National Science Foundation, Political Science Division [with Gary Segura] American National Election Study – Spanish translation and Latino oversample	*$750,000 – 24 months*
Oct. 2006	University of Washington, Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education Absentee voter study during the November 2006 election in King County, WA	*$12,000 – 6 months*
Mar. 2006	Latino Policy Coalition Public Opinion Research Grant [with Gary Segura] Awarded to the Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race	*$40,000 – 18 months*
2005 – 2006	University of Washington, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Research Grant	*$8,000 – 12 months*
Mar. 2005	Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation Grant [with Fernando Guerra] Conduct Exit Poll during Los Angeles Mayoral Election, Mar. 8 & May 17, 2005 Awarded to the Center for the Study of Los Angeles	*$30,000 – 6 months*
2004 – 2005	Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities	*$21,000 – 12 months*
2004 – 2005	University of California President's Dissertation Fellowship	*$14,700 – 9 months*
2004 – 2005	University of California Mexico-US (UC MEXUS) Dissertation Grant	*$12,000 – 9 months*
Apr – 2004	UC Regents pre-dissertation fellowship, University of California, Irvine,	*$4,700 – 3 months*
2003 – 2004	Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation Grant [with Fernando Guerra] Awarded to the Center for the Study of Los Angeles	*$20,000 – 12 months*
2002 – 2003	Ford Foundation Grant on Institutional Inequality [with Harry Pachon] Conducted longitudinal study of Prop 209 on Latino and Black college admittance Awarded to Tomás Rivera Policy Institute	*$150,000 – 12 months*
2002 – 2003	Haynes Foundation Grant on Economic Development [with Louis Tornatzky] Knowledge Economy in the Inland Empire region of Southern California Awarded to Tomás Rivera Policy Institute	*$150,000 – 18 months*
2001 – 2002	William F Podlich Graduate Fellowship, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine	*$24,000 – 9 months*

RESEARCH UNDER REVIEW/WORKING PAPERS:

Barreto, Matt, and Christopher Parker. The Great White Hope: Donald Trump, Race, and the Crisis of American Politics.
Under Contract, University of Chicago Press, *expected 2020*

Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. "The Great White Hope: Existential Threat and Demographic Anxiety in the Age of Trump." Revise and Resubmit.

Barreto, Matt, Natalie Masuoka, Gabe Sanchez and Stephen El-Khatib. "Religiosity, Discrimination and Group Identity Among Muslim Americans" Revise and Resubmit

Barreto, Matt, Gabe Sanchez and Barbara Gomez. "Latinos, Blacks, and Black Latinos: Competition, Cooperation, or Indifference?" Revise and Resubmit

Walker, Hannah, Matt Barreto, Stephen Nuño, and Gabriel Sanchez. "A comprehensive review of access to valid photo ID and the right to vote in America" [Under review]

Gutierrez, Angela, Angela Ocampo, Matt Barreto and Gary Segura. "From Proposition 187 to Donald Trump: New Evidence that Anti-Immigrant Threat Mobilizes Latino Voters." [Under Review]

Collins, Jonathan, Matt Barreto, Gregory Leslie and Tye Rush. "Racial Efficacy and Voter Enthusiasm Among African Americans Post-Obama" [Under Review]

Oskooii, Kassra, Matt Barreto, and Karam Dana. "No Sharia, No Mosque: Orientalist Notions of Islam and Intolerance Toward Muslims in the United States" [Under Review]

Barreto, Matt, David Redlawsk and Caroline Tolbert. "Framing Barack Obama: Muslim, Christian or Black?" [Working paper]

CONSULTING EXPERT:

- Pennsylvania, 2020, Boockvar v. Trump, Expert for Intervenors, (Perkins Coie) related to voter intimidation

- Missouri, 2020, Missouri NAACP vs. State of Missouri, Expert for plaintiffs related to vote by mail

- Georgia, 2020, Black Voters Matter vs. Raffensperger, Expert for plaintiffs related to vote by mail

- New York, 2019, Expert for NYAG New York v. U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement 1:19-cv-08876

- North Carolina, 2019, Expert for Plaintiffs in North Carolina voter ID lawsuit, NAACP v. Cooper

- East Ramapo CSD, 2019, Expert for Plaintiffs in Section 2 VRA lawsuit, assessed polarized voting

- New York, 2018, Expert for Plaintiffs in Census Citizenship Lawsuit, New York v. U.S. Dept of Commerce (also an expert related cases: *California v. Ross* and *Kravitz v. Dept of Commerce*)

- Dallas County, TX, 2017, Expert for Defense in Section 2 VRA lawsuit, Harding v. Dallas County

- Kansas, 2016, Expert for Plaintiffs in Kansas voter registration lawsuit, Fish v. Kobach 2:16-cv-02105-JAR

- North Dakota, 2015, Expert for Plaintiffs in North Dakota voter ID lawsuit, Brakebill v. Jaeger 1:16-cv-00008-CSM

- Alabama, 2015, Expert for Plaintiffs in Alabama voter ID lawsuit, Birmingham Ministries v. State of Alabama 2:15-cv-02193-LSC

- Texas, 2014, Testifying Expert for Plaintiffs in Texas voter ID lawsuit, Veasey v. Perry 2:13-cv-00193

- Galveston County, TX Redistricting, 2013, Expert report for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, vote dilution analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit Galveston County JP/Constable districting

- Pasadena, TX Redistricting, 2013, Expert report for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit within Pasadena School District

- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Testifying Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit within Harris County

- Pennsylvania, 2012, Testifying Expert for ACLU Foundation of Pennsylvania in voter ID lawsuit, Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania No. 330 MD 2012

- Milwaukee County, WI, 2012, Testifying Expert for ACLU Foundation of Wisconsin in voter ID lawsuit, Frank v. Walker 2:11-cv-01128(LA)

- Orange County, FL, 2012, Consulting Expert for Latino Justice/PRLDEF, Racially polarized voting analysis in Orange County, Florida

- Anaheim, CA, 2012, Consulting Expert for Goldstein, Demchak & Baller Legal, Racially polarized voting analysis for CVRA redistricting case Anaheim, CA

- Los Angeles County, CA, 2011, Consulting Expert for Goldstein, Demchak & Baller Legal, Racially polarized voting analysis for three redistricting cases in L.A.: Cerritos Community College Board; ABC Unified Schools; City of West Covina

- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, for Section 5 objection within Harris County

- Monterey County, CA Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for City of Salinas, Demographic analysis, creation of alternative maps, and racially polarized Voting analysis within Monterey County

- Los Angeles County Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert for Supervisor Gloria Molina, Racially Polarized voting analysis within L.A. County

- State of California, Citizens Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert, Racially Polarized Voting analysis throughout state of California

- Asian Pacific American Legal Center, 2011, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Asian American candidates in Los Angeles for APALC redistricting brief

- Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and Arnold & Porter, LLP, 2010-12, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino and Asian candidates in San Mateo County, concerning San Mateo County Board of Supervisors

- ACLU of Washington, 2010-11, preliminary analysis of Latino population patterns in Yakima, Washington, to assess ability to draw majority Latino council districts

- State of Washington, 2010-11, provided expert analysis and research for *State of Washington v. MacLean* in case regarding election misconduct and voting patterns

- Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association, 2008-10, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino candidates in L.A. County for VRA case, concerning L.A. County Board of Supervisors redistricting (6 reports issued 08-10)

- Brennan Center for Justice and Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson LLP, 2009-10 Amicus Brief submitted to Indiana Supreme Court, *League of Women Voters v. Rokita*, regarding access to voter identification among minority and lower resource citizens

- State of New Mexico, consulting expert for state in *AAPD v. New Mexico*, 2008,

- District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS), statistical consultant for survey methodology of opinion survey of parents in DCPS district (for pending suit), 2008,

- Brennan Center for Justice, 2007-08, Amicus Brief submitted to U.S. Supreme Court, and cited in Supreme Court decision, *Crawford v. Marion County*, regarding access to voter identification among minority and lower-resource citizens

- Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association, 2002-07, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino candidates in L.A. County for VRA case, concerning L.A. County Board of Supervisors redistricting (12 + reports issued during 5 years)

- Monterrey County School Board, 2007, demographic and population analysis for VRA case

- Sweetwater Union School District, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis, and demographic and population analysis for VRA case

- Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis for Latino candidates, for City of Whittier city council races, for VRA case

- ACLU of Washington, 2008, preliminary analysis of voting patterns in Eastern Washington, related to electability of Latino candidates

- Nielsen Media Research, 2005-08, with Willie C. Velasquez Institute, assessed the methodology of Latino household recruitment in Nielsen sample

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:	UCLA & UW	2005 – Present

- Minority Political Behavior (Grad Seminar)
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S. (Grad Seminar)
- Introduction to Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Advanced Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Qualitative Research Methods (Grad Seminar)
- Political Participation & Elections (Grad Seminar)
- The Voting Rights Act (Law School seminar)
- Research methodology II (Law School Ph.D. program seminar)
- U.S. Latino Politics
- Racial and Ethnic Politics in the U.S.
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S.
- Introduction to American Government
- Public Opinion Research
- Campaigns and Elections in the U.S.
- Presidential Primary Elections

Teaching Assistant
University of California, Irvine   2002 – 2005

- Intro to American Politics (K. Tate)
- Intro to Minority Politics (L. DeSipio)
  Recognized as Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Winter 2002
- Statistics and Research Methods (B. Grofman)
  Recognized as Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Winter 2003

BOARD & RESEARCH APPOINTMENTS	**Founding Partner** Barreto Segura Partners (BSP) Research, LLC	2021 - Present

Founding Partner
Latino Decisions   2007 – 2020

Board of Advisors
American National Election Study, University of Michigan   2010 – 2017

Advisory Board
States of Change: Demographics & Democracy Project   2014 – Present
CAP, AEI, Brookings Collaborative Project

Research Advisor
American Values Institute / Perception Institute   2009 – 2014

Expert Consultant
State of California, Citizens Redistricting Committee   2011 – 2012

Senior Scholar & Advisory Council
Latino Policy Coalition, San Francisco, CA   2006 – 2008

Board of Directors
CASA Latina, Seattle, WA   2006 – 2009

Faculty Research Scholar
Tomás Rivera Policy Institute, University of Southern California 1999 – 2009

PHD STUDENTS UCLA & UW

Committee Chair or Co-Chair
- Francisco I. Pedraza – University of California, Riverside (UW Ph.D. 2009)
- Loren Collingwood – University of California, Riverside (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Betsy Cooper – Public Religion Research Institute, Washington DC (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Sergio I. Garcia-Rios – Cornell University (UW Ph.D. 2015)
- Hannah Walker – Rutgers University (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Kassra Oskooii – University of Delaware (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Angela Ocampo – Arizona State University (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Ayobami Laniyonu – University of Toronto (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta – Facebook Analytics (UCLA 2019)
- Tyler Reny – Claremont Graduate University (UCLA 2020)
- Adria Tinin – Environmental Policy Analyst (UCLA Ph.D. 2020)
- Angie Gutierrez – University of Texas (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Vivien Leung – Bucknell University (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Marcel Roman – University of Texas (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Shakari Byerly-Nelson – *in progress* (UCLA)

Committee Member
- Jessica Stewart – Emory University (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Jonathan Collins – Brown University (UCLA Ph.D., 2017)
- Lisa Sanchez – University of Arizona (UNM Ph.D., 2016)
- Nazita Lajevardi – Michigan State University (UC San Diego Ph.D., 2016)
- Kiku Huckle – Pace University (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Patrick Rock (Social Psychology) – (UCLA Ph.D. 2016)
- Raynee Gutting – Loyola Marymount University (Stony Brook Ph.D. 2015)
- Christopher Towler – Sacramento State University (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Benjamin F. Gonzalez – San Diego State University (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Marcela Garcia-Castañon – San Francisco State University (UW Ph.D. 2013)
- Justin Reedy (Communications) – University of Oklahoma (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Dino Bozonelos – Cal State San Marcos (UC Riverside Ph.D. 2012)
- Brandon Bosch – University of Nebraska (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Karam Dana (Middle East Studies) – UW Bothell (UW Ph.D. 2010)
- Joy Wilke – *in progress* (UCLA ABD)
- Erik Hanson – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Christine Slaughter – Princeton (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Lauren Goldstein (Social Psychology) – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga – University of Nebraska (UNM Ph.D. 2020)
- Bang Quan Zheng – Florida International University (UCLA Ph.D. 2020)