

FRANITA TOLSON

Interim Dean
George T. and Harriet E. Pfleger Chair in Law
University of Southern California
Gould School of Law
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ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

GOULD SCHOOL OF LAW

Interim Dean

Los Angeles, CA

July 2023-Present

Co-Dean

April 2023-July 2023

George T. and Harriet E. Pfleger Chair in Law

April 2022-Present

Professor of Political Science and International Relations (courtesy appointment)

April 2021-Present

Vice Dean for Faculty and Academic Affairs

July 2019-June 2022

Professor of Law

June 2017-Present

Visiting Professor of Law

February 2016

- **Courses:** Constitutional Law I & II; Election Law; Law and Politics: Electing A President (undergraduate course); Law and Politics: Voting Rights (undergraduate course)
- **Service:** Faculty Advisor – Southeast Asian Law Students Association (2019-Present); Co-Chair, Race and the Law Academic Affairs Subcommittee (2020-2021); Academic Affairs (2018-2019); Admissions (2018-2019); Appointments (2017-2018); Experiential Readiness Committee (2017-2018)
- **Reviewer:** NYU PRESS; ELECTION LAW JOURNAL; PUBLIUS; CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS; ROUTLEDGE
- **Podcast:** Co-Host, *Free and Fair with Franita and Foley*
- **Blog:** Co-Blogger, *Election Law Blog*

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LAW SCHOOL

Walter V. Schaefer Visiting Professor of Law

Chicago, IL

Spring 2021

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF LAW

Betty T. Ferguson Professor of Voting Rights

Tallahassee, FL

2012 – 2017

Associate Professor (with tenure)

2014 – 2017

Assistant Professor

2009 – 2014

- **Courses:** Constitutional Law II; Election Law; Employment Discrimination; First Amendment; Legislation and Regulation; Race and the Law.
- **Committees:** Appointments (2016-2017 (Chair), 2014-2015, 2012-2013); Member, FSU Provost Search Committee (2015); Faculty Enrichment (2014-2015 (Chair), 2010-2011); Faculty Senate (2010-2015); Admissions (2016-2017, 2013-2014); Judicial Clerkships (2009-2012).

- **Honors/Awards:** Nominee, FSU University Teaching Award (2016, 2014); Summer Research Grant Recipient (Summer 2009, 2011- 2016); First Year Assistant Professor Research Grant Recipient (Summer 2010).
- **Symposium (organizer):** “The Law of Democracy at a Crossroads: Reflecting on Fifty Years of Voting Rights and the Judicial Regulation of the Political Thicket” (March 2015).
- **Blogs:** Huffington Post, available at <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/franita-tolson/>.
 - Guest blogger at the Faculty Lounge, available at <http://www.thefacultylounge.org/> (June 2011), and Prawfsblawg, available at <http://prawfsblawg.blogs.com/> (August 2011, February 2012, November 2012, December 2014, October 2016).

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW

Chicago, IL

Visiting Assistant Professor

2008 – 2009

- **Courses:** Election Law; The Legal History of Race.

OTHER EMPLOYMENT

FACEBOOK

Voting Rights Expert

Menlo Park, CA

May 2020 – April 2022

CNN

Election Law Analyst

Atlanta, GA

September 2020 – December 2020

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY

Senior Fellow

Washington, D.C.

October 2017 – December 2018

NON-ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

**HON. ANN CLAIRE WILLIAMS, UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FOR THE SEVENTH CIRCUIT**

Law Clerk

Chicago, IL

2007- 2008

**HON. RUBEN CASTILLO, UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS**

Law Clerk

Chicago, IL

2005 - 2007

SIDLEY AUSTIN LLP

Summer Associate, Law Clerk

Chicago, IL

2004 - 2005

- Contributor, *Class Certification Issues for Non-Federal Question Class Actions – Defense Perspective*, 728 PLI/Lit 221 (2005)

EDUCATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LAW SCHOOL

J.D., 2005

- Member, *The University of Chicago Law Review*
- Recipient, Thomas Mulroy Prize for Oral Advocacy, Hinton Moot Court Competition (2004-2005)
- Research Assistant, Professor Cass Sunstein (2003-2004)

TRUMAN STATE UNIVERSITY - Kirksville, Missouri

B.A./B.S., History, 2001

Cum Laude

- **Awards:** President's Honorary Full Tuition Scholarship · Departmental Honors in History · Truman State University Dean's List · Truman State University Student Excellence Award · National Dean's List · Ronald E. McNair Scholar · Member, Phi Alpha Theta History Honor Society
- **Study Abroad:** University of Liverpool - Liverpool, England (Summer 2001) · Erasmus University - Rotterdam, the Netherlands (Summer 2001) · University of Burgundy - Dijon, France (Summer 2000)

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS:

- IN CONGRESS WE TRUST?: ENFORCING VOTING RIGHTS FROM THE FOUNDING TO THE JIM CROW ERA (under contract, Cambridge University Press) (forthcoming 2024).
 - Originally Titled, A PROMISE UNFULFILLED: SECTION 2 OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT AND THE FUTURE OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE
- THE LAW OF DEMOCRACY (Foundation Press) (6th ed. 2022) (with Samuel Issacharoff, Pamela Karlan, Richard Pildes, and Nathaniel Persily).

BOOK CHAPTERS:

- *Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965: A Eulogy and A Path Forward*, in Eugene Mazo, ed., OXFORD HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN ELECTION LAW (Oxford University Press) (forthcoming 2023).
- *Republicanism Redefined: The Constitutional Status of Political Parties after the Ratification of the Twelfth Amendment*, in Mark Tushnet and Dmitry Kochenov, eds., RESEARCH HANDBOOK ON THE POLITICS OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW (Edward Elgar) (forthcoming 2023).

- *The Equal Sovereignty Principle as Federalism Sub-Doctrine: A Reassessment of Shelby County v. Holder*, in CHRISTOPHER P. BANKS, ED., *CONTROVERSIES IN AMERICAN FEDERALISM AND PUBLIC POLICY* (Routledge) (2018).
- *Offering a New Vision for Equal Protection: The Story of Harper v. Virginia State Board of Elections*, in JOSHUA A. DOUGLAS AND EUGENE MAZO, EDS., *ELECTION LAW STORIES* (Foundation Press) (2016).

ARTICLES:

- *The Spectrum of Congressional Authority over Elections*, 99 *BOSTON UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW* 317 (2019).
 - Selected as the “Download of the Week” and made the list of “Top Ten Downloads of 2019” on Larry Solum’s *Legal Theory Blog*
 - Reprinted in *CIVIL RIGHTS LITIGATION AND ATTORNEY FEES ANNUAL HANDBOOK* (2019)
- *Election Law “Federalism” and the Limits of the Anti-Discrimination Framework*, 59 *WILLIAM & MARY LAW REVIEW* 2211 (2018).
- *What is Abridgment? A Critique of Two Section Twos*, 67 *ALABAMA LAW REVIEW* 433 (2016).
- *Protecting Political Participation through the Voter Qualifications Clause of Article I*, 56 *BOSTON COLLEGE LAW REVIEW* 159 (2015).
- *The Constitutional Structure of Voting Rights Enforcement*, 89 *WASHINGTON LAW REVIEW* 379 (2014).
- *Benign Partisanship*, 88 *NOTRE DAME LAW REVIEW* 395 (2012).
- *Reinventing Sovereignty?: Federalism as a Constraint on the Voting Rights Act*, 65 *VANDERBILT LAW REVIEW* 1195 (2012).
- *Partisan Gerrymandering as a Safeguard of Federalism*, 2010 *UTAH LAW REVIEW* 859 (2010).
- *The Boundaries of Litigating Unconscious Discrimination: Firm-Based Remedies in Response to a Hostile Judiciary*, 33 *DELAWARE JOURNAL OF CORPORATE LAW* 347 (2008).

ESSAYS:

- *The “Independent” State Legislature in Republican Theory*, ____ *TEXAS A&M LAW REVIEW* ____ (forthcoming 2023) (invited submission).
 - Selected as the “Download of the Week” on Larry Solum’s *Legal Theory Blog*
- *Parchment Rights*, 135 *HARVARD LAW REVIEW FORUM* 525 (2022) (invited submission).
- *Enforcing the Political Constitution*, 74 *STANFORD LAW REVIEW ONLINE* 88 (2022) (invited submission).
- *Countering the Real Countermajoritarian Difficulty*, 109 *CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW* 2381 (2021) (response to Pamela Karlan, *The New Countermajoritarian Difficulty* (Jorde Lecture)).
- *“In Whom is the Right of Suffrage?”: The Reconstruction Acts as Sources of Constitutional Meaning*, 169 *UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LAW REVIEW* 211 (2021).
 - Selected as the “Download of the Week” and made the list of “Top Ten Downloads of 2021” on Larry Solum’s *Legal Theory Blog*
- *What is “Appropriate” Legislation?: McCulloch v. Maryland and the Redundancy of the Reconstruction Amendments*, 73 *ARKANSAS LAW REVIEW* 111 (2020) (Review of DAVID

SCHWARTZ, *THE SPIRIT OF THE CONSTITUTION; JOHN MARSHALL AND THE 200-YEAR ODYSSEY OF McCULLOCH V. MARYLAND* (2019)).

- *Levinson and Balkin are Both Right?: Article V, the Constitution of Conversation, and the Cost of Political Dysfunction*, 68 DRAKE LAW REVIEW 237 (2020) (Review of Sanford Levinson and Jack M. Balkin, *DEMOCRACY AND DYSFUNCTION* (2019)) (invited submission).
- *The Elections Clause and the Underenforcement of Federal Law*, 129 YALE LAW JOURNAL FORUM 171 (2019) (invited submission).
- *Practical Equality and the Limits of Second Best Strategies for Justice*, 34 CONSTITUTIONAL COMMENTARY 477 (2019) (Review of Robert Tsai, *PRACTICAL EQUALITY: FORGING JUSTICE IN A DIVIDED NATION* (2019)) (invited submission).
- *The Federalism Implications of Campaign Finance Regulation*, 164 UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LAW REVIEW ONLINE 247 (2016) (invited submission).
- *The Law of Democracy at a Crossroads: Reflecting on Fifty Years of Voting Rights and the Judicial Regulation of the Political Thicket*, 43 FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 345 (2016) (symposium introduction).
- *Congressional Authority to Protect Voting Rights After Shelby County and Arizona Inter Tribal*, 13 ELECTION LAW JOURNAL 322 (2014) (invited submission) (peer reviewed).
- *The Union as a Safeguard Against Faction: Congressional Gridlock as State Empowerment*, 88 NOTRE DAME LAW REVIEW 2267 (2013) (invited submission).
- *Second Order Diverse in Name Only?: Sovereign Authority in Disaggregated Institutions*, 48 TULSA LAW REVIEW 455 (2013) (invited submission).
- *Increasing the Quantity and the Quality of the African-American Vote: Lessons for 2008 and Beyond*, 10 BERKELEY JOURNAL OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN LAW & POLICY 313 (2008).

OTHER WRITINGS

- *Why the Mob Thought Attacking the Capitol was their 1776 Moment*, THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, Jan. 21, 2021, available at <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2021-01-21/insurrection-capitol-attack-patriotism-1776>.
- *What America Should Learn from the 2020 Election*, THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, Nov. 6, 2020, available at <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2020-11-06/joe-biden-donald-trump-election-lessons>.
- *In the Messiest Contested Election, One Man Saved the System From Itself*, THE NEW YORK TIMES, Nov. 3, 2020, available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/03/us/samuel-randall-1876-election.html>.
- *Tuesday Has Come and Gone: Renewing My Plea on Behalf of Voters*, ELECTION LAW BLOG, Nov. 1, 2020, available at <https://electionlawblog.org/?p=118392>.
- *Worried About Tuesday's Election? Not Me*, ELECTION LAW BLOG, Nov. 1, 2020, available at <https://electionlawblog.org/?p=117980>.
- *Legal Analysis of Right to Vote Amendment*, prepared for Senators Elizabeth Warren and Richard Durbin, July 29, 2020.

- *Democracy as Slogan*, ACS BLOG, May 30, 2020, available at <https://www.acslaw.org/expertforum/democracy-as-a-slogan/>.
- *The Default of American Politics: The Perpetual and Never-ending Prospect of an Election Meltdown*, A Review of Richard L. Hasen, ELECTION MELTDOWN: DIRTY TRICKS, DISTRUST, AND THE THREAT TO AMERICAN DEMOCRACY (2020), BALKINIZATION, Mar. 2, 2020, available at <https://balkin.blogspot.com/2020/03/the-default-of-american-politics.html>.
- *The Rise of Stealth Canons?: A Review of Anita Krishnakumar*, Passive Avoidance, JOTWELL, July 8, 2019, available at <https://conlaw.jotwell.com/the-rise-of-stealth-canons/>.
- *Taking the Elections Clause Seriously after Rucho v. Common Cause*, ELECTION LAW BLOG, July 2, 2019, available at <https://electionlawblog.org/?p=105963>.
- Op-Ed, *Why Won't Judicial Nominees Affirm Brown v. Board of Education?*, May 16, 2018, LAW 360, available at <https://www.law360.com/articles/1044140/why-won-t-judicial-nominees-affirm-brown-v-board-of-ed->
- Op-Ed, *Fairness Demands the Protection of the Administrative State*, THE HILL, Apr. 2, 2018, available at <https://thehill.com/opinion/judiciary/381200-fairness-demands-the-protection-of-the-administrative-state>.
- Op-Ed, *A Second Bite at the Apple? State Constitutions and the Ethos of Fairness in Elections*, THE HILL, Jan. 20, 2018, available at <https://thehill.com/opinion/campaign/369706-a-second-bite-at-the-apple-state-constitutions-and-the-ethos-of-fairness-in>.
- Husted, Arizona Inter Tribal, and Lessons from the Constitutional Structure, ACS BLOG, Aug. 17, 2017, available at <https://www.acslaw.org/acsblog/all/franita-tolson>.
- *Setting a Voting Rights Agenda in an Era of "Legal" Disenfranchisement*, ACS: WHAT'S THE BIG IDEA? (issue brief) (October 2016).
- *Ordering State-Federal Relations through the Elections Clause*, THE INTERACTIVE CONSTITUTION, National Constitution Center, available at <http://constitutioncenter.org/interactive-constitution/articles/article-i/ordering-state-federal-relations-through-the-elections-clause-tolson/clause/23> (May 2016).
- *How Should We Celebrate 50 Years of Voting Rights? By Anticipating and Preempting Future Challenges*, ACS BLOG, Aug. 14, 2015, available at <https://www.acslaw.org/acsblog/how-should-we-celebrate-50-years-of-voting-rights-by-anticipating-and-preempting-future>.
- *Life after Shelby County: Revisiting Title I of the Civil Rights Act of 1964*, ACS BLOG, July 24, 2014, available at <https://www.acslaw.org/acsblog/all/franita-tolson>.
- *Shelby County One Year Later: Good for Voting Rights?*, THE HUFFINGTON POST, June 24, 2014, available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/franita-tolson/shelby-county-one-year-voting-rights_b_5525469.html.
- Op-Ed, *Voting Rights at a Crossroads*, TALLAHASSEE DEMOCRAT, June 2, 2013, available at <http://www.tallahassee.com/story/opinion/columnists/2014/06/02/franita-tolson-voting-rights-crossroads/9787859/>.
- *What About the Voters? Requiring Proof of Citizenship to Register to Vote in Federal Elections*, THE HUFFINGTON POST, Mar. 24, 2014, available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/franita-tolson/what-about-the-voters-req_b_5021393.html.

- *The Importance of Tunnel Vision in Fixing the VRA's Coverage Formula*, THE HUFFINGTON POST, Jan. 23, 2014, available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/franita-tolson/voting-rights-act-preclearance_b_4653095.html.
- *Affirmative Action Lives to Fight Another Day*, NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION MAGAZINE (Fall 2013/Winter 2014).
- *The Perils of Two-Tier Voter Registration Systems*, JUSTICE WATCH, Oct. 13, 2013, available at <http://www.afj.org/blog/the-perils-of-two-tiered-voter-registration-systems>.
- *Does Congress have authority to set voter qualifications for federal elections?*, JUSTICE WATCH, June 18, 2013, available at <http://afjjusticewatch.blogspot.com/2013/06/guest-blog-does-congress-have-authority.html>.
- *Defending the NVRA from the Ever-Present and Persistent Specter of State Sovereignty*, JUSTICE WATCH, Mar. 21, 2013, available at <http://afjjusticewatch.blogspot.com/2013/03/defending-nvra-from-ever-present-and.html>.
- *Scrapping Section 4(b) of the Voting Rights Act: Not the Compromise that We Want*, JUSTICE WATCH, Feb. 27, 2013, available at <http://afjjusticewatch.blogspot.com/2013/02/scrapping-section-4b-of-voting-rights.html>.
- Op-Ed, *What of Congressional Power over Voting?*, REUTERS, Feb. 12, 2013, available at <http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2013/02/12/what-of-congressional-power-over-voting/>.
- Op-Ed, *Affordable Care Act Should Survive if Court Follows Precedent*, THE PALM BEACH POST, Mar. 23, 2012, available at <http://www.palmbeachpost.com/opinion/commentary/commentary-affordable-care-act-should-survive-if-court-2257713.html>.
- *Litigating Under the Voting Rights Act after The Texas Redistricting Cases*, THE FEDERAL LAWYER MAGAZINE (June 2012).
- *Civil Rights or Social Wrongs?: A Comparative Analysis of Discriminatory Laws Against Jews in Nazi Germany and Against Blacks in the State of Indiana*, THE MCNAIR SCHOLARLY REVIEW OF TRUMAN STATE UNIVERSITY, Vol. 8 (Spring 2002).
- *A Byproduct of Industrialization: The East St. Louis Race Riot of 1917*, THE MCNAIR SCHOLARLY REVIEW OF TRUMAN STATE UNIVERSITY, Vol. 7 (Spring 2001).

WORKS IN PROGRESS

- IN THE PEOPLE WE TRUST?: EXPANDING VOTING RIGHTS FROM THE PROGRESSIVE ERA TO THE PRESENT

CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS ATTENDED

- Faculty Workshop, Cornell Law School (forthcoming April 2023) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, Georgetown University Law Center (forthcoming April 2023)(invited).
- Panelist, Organization of American Historians Conference (OAH) (forthcoming March 2023).

- Faculty Workshop, University of Michigan Law School (March 2023) (invited)
- Faculty Workshop, Washington University School of Law (February 2023) (invited).
- Workshop, Northwestern University Law School Public Law Colloquium (February 2023) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, University of Houston School of Law (February 2023) (invited).
- Presenter, American Society of Legal History Conference (ASLH) (November 2022).
- Faculty Workshop, Wayne State University Law School (November 2022) (invited).
- Democracy's Futures Workshop, Columbia Law School (October 2022) (invited).
- Panelist, Law and Society Annual Meeting (July 2022).
- Faculty Workshop, UCLA Law School (April 2022) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, University of Oklahoma College of Law (April 2022) (invited).
- Public Law Workshop, Columbia Law School (March 2022) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, UCI Law (March 2022) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, University of Richmond Law School (March 2022) (invited).
- Symposium, *Guns, Violence, and Democracy*, Harvard Law School (March 2022) (invited).
- Symposium, *Safeguarding the Fundamental Right to Vote*, Stanford Law School (February 2022) (invited).
- Panelist, AALS Conference on Rebuilding Democracy and the Rule of Law (May 2021) (invited).
- Panelist, Law and Society Annual Meeting (May 2021).
- Faculty Workshop, Yale ISP (April 2021) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, Loyola University Chicago School of Law (February 2021) (invited).
- Harvard Law & Politics Workshop (February 2021) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, Fordham Law School (February 2021) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, The Ohio State University Mortiz College of Law (February 2021) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, St. John's Law School (January 2021) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, University of Pennsylvania Carey School of Law Legal History Workshop (January 2021) (invited).
- Commentator, Brennan Center Jorde Symposium, UC Berkeley School of Law (November 2020) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, University of Colorado Law School (October 2020) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, Pepperdine Law School (October 2020) (invited)
- Panelist, William & Mary Law School Supreme Court Preview (September 2020) (invited).
- American Political Science Association Annual Meeting (September 2020)
 - Chair, *Bush v. Gore 2.0*
 - Discussant, Electoral College Reform
- Panelist, *How to Protect the Health of Our Democracy*, ACS National Convention (June 2020) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, Washington and Lee University School of Law (February 2020) (invited).
- *How Long Must Women Wait for Liberty?: Women's Suffrage and Women's Citizenship in the Long History of the 19th Amendment*, Universite de Lille & Universite Paris-Est Marne-la-Vallee (January 2020).
- Faculty Workshop, St. Louis University School of Law (November 2019) (invited).

- Symposium, *The Electoral College: Open Questions, Paths Forward*, Harvard Law School (October 2019) (invited).
- Conference on Sanford Levinson and Jack Balkin's *Democracy and Dysfunction*, Drake University Constitutional Law Center (September 2019) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, University of Alabama School of Law (invited) (September 2019).
- Presenter/Organizer, *Election Law: Looking Back at 2018 and Looking Ahead to 2020*, SEALS Conference (July 2019).
- "Author Meets Reader" Roundtable on Robert Tsai, *Practical Equality*, Law and Society Conference (May 2019).
- Faculty Workshop, University of Washington School of Law (forthcoming May 2019) (invited).
- "Author Meets Reader" Roundtable, Franita Tolson, *A Promise Unfulfilled*, National People of Color Conference (March 2019).
- Faculty Workshop, University of Denver School of Law (March 2019) (invited).
- Symposium on Reconstruction, Duke Law School (March 2019) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, University of Chicago Law School (November 2018) (invited).
- Presenter, Annual Meeting of the American Society of Legal History (November 2018).
- Participant, Constitution Day Supreme Court Review, Rehnquist Center at the University of Arizona James E. Rogers College of Law (September 2018) (invited).
- Commentator, Lutie Lytle Conference, SMU Dedman School of Law (July 2018).
- Presenter/Organizer, *The Fourteenth Amendment at 150*, Law and Society Conference (June 2018).
- Presenter, *The Constitution and Political Parties*, Stanford Law School (May 2018) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, University of San Diego School of Law (May 2018) (invited).
- Symposium, *Federalism: Past, Present, and Future*, Pepperdine Law School (March 2018) (invited).
- Presenter, National Conference of Constitutional Law Scholars (March 2018) (invited).
- Symposium, *Walking the Line: Modern Gerrymandering and Partisanship*, University of Georgia School of Law (February 2018) (invited).
- Panelist, *A New Battle in the Fight for Voting Rights*, ACS National Convention (June 2017) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, Saint Louis University School of Law (January 2017) (invited).
- AALS Annual Meeting (January 2017).
 - Panelist, *Lessons from the 2016 Elections (and Implications for the Future)*
 - Panelist, *Presidential Politics and the Future of the Supreme Court: Post-Election Reflections and Forecasts for the 'Post-Racial' Post-Obama White House*
- Faculty Workshop, Antonin Scalia Law School at George Mason University (November 2016) (invited).
- Constitutional Law Colloquium, Loyola University Chicago School of Law (November 2016).
- Culp Colloquium, Duke Law School Center on Law, Race, and Politics (May 2016) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, University of Notre Dame Law School (April 2016) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, University of Illinois College of Law (April 2016) (invited).
- Symposium, *Elective Perspective: Judicial Regulation of Politics in an Election Year*, University of Kentucky School of Law (March 2016) (invited).
- Constitutional Law Schmooze, University of Maryland Francis King Carey School of Law (February 2016) (invited).

- Faculty Workshop, University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill (February 2016) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, Duke Law School (February 2016) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, USC Gould School of Law (February 2016) (invited).
- Panelist, *Drawing Lines: The Limits to a State's Redistricting Powers*, ACS National Convention (June 2015) (invited).
- Symposium on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Voting Rights Act, University of Alabama School of Law (February 2015) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, Emory University School of Law (January 2015).
- Panelist, Campaign Finance Hot Topics Panel, AALS Annual Meeting (January 2015).
- Symposium on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Voting Rights Act, LSU Law Center (January 2015) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, William & Mary Law School (November 2014).
- Constitutional Law Colloquium, Loyola University Chicago School of Law (November 2014).
- Culp Colloquium, Duke Law School Center on Law, Race, and Politics (May 2014) (invited).
- Constitutional Law Schmooze, University of Maryland Francis King Carey School of Law (February 2014) (invited).
- Panelist, *The Right to Vote: From Reynolds v. Sims to Shelby County and Beyond*, AALS Annual Meeting (January 2014) (invited).
- Constitutional Law Colloquium, Loyola University Chicago School of Law (November 2013).
- Legal Scholarship Workshop, University of Chicago Law School (November 2013) (invited).
- Constitutional Law and Theory Colloquium, Cornell Law School (October 2013) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, University of Utah S.J. Quinney College of Law (September 2013) (invited).
- Panelist, *The Future of the Voting Rights Act after the Shelby County Case*, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting (August 2013) (invited).
- Panelist, *Judicial Decision Making and Election Administration: The Role of the Courts in the 2012 Election*, Southeastern Association of Law Schools Annual Meeting (August 2013).
- Rising Stars Panel, *Fresh Perspectives and the Future of Federalism*, ACS National Convention (June 2013) (invited).
- Constitutional Interpretation Schmooze, ACS National Convention (June 2013) (invited).
- Culp Colloquium, Duke Law School Center on Law, Race, and Politics (May 2013) (invited).
- Panelist, *Social Equality: Looking Forward/Looking Back after the 2012 Presidential Election*, Indiana University Maurer School of Law (April 2013) (invited).
- Panelist, *Mapping the Ballot Box*, University of California-Berkeley School of Law (March 2013) (invited).
- Symposium, *Congressional Gridlock*, Notre Dame Law School (November 2012) (invited).
- Legal Scholarship Workshop, Northwestern University School of Law (November 2012) (invited).
- Legal Scholarship Workshop, University of Chicago Law School (November 2012) (invited).
- Loyola University Chicago School of Law Constitutional Law Colloquium (November 2012).
- Faculty Workshop, Washington University School of Law (October 2012) (invited).
- Symposium in Honor of Heather Gerken, University of Tulsa School of Law (September 2012) (invited).
- Workshop, "Assessing the U.S. Constitution: Twenty First Century Responses to Eighteenth-Century Assumptions," Stanford Law School (July 2012).

- Culp Colloquium, Duke Law School Center on Law, Race, and Politics (May 2012) (invited).
- Federalism Theory Colloquium, Vanderbilt University Law School (April 2012) (invited).
- Faculty Workshop, Florida International University School of Law (March 2012) (invited).
- Prawfsfest!, Loyola Law School Los Angeles (December 2011).
- Symposium, *Major Developments in Redistricting*, The Baldy Center for Law and Policy at the University of Buffalo School of Law (October 2011) (invited).
- Loyola University Chicago School of Law Constitutional Law Colloquium (October 2011).
- Southeastern Law Schools Junior/Senior Faculty Workshop – Wake Forest University School of Law (October 2011).
- Law and Society Meeting (June 2011).
- Critical Race Theory Conference, UCLA (March 2011).
- *Federalism and its Future*, University of Texas at Austin School of Law (February 2011).
- Southeast Association of Law Schools Annual Meeting (July 2010).
- Law and Society Meeting (May 2010).
- Indiana Law Review Election Law Symposium, Indiana University - Indianapolis School of Law (April 2010) (invited).
- AALS Annual Meeting (January 2010).
- Legal Scholarship Workshop, University of Chicago Law School (October 2009) (invited).
- Big Ten Aspiring Scholars Conference (August 2009).
- Law and Society Meeting (May 2009).
- Midwest Political Science Association Meeting (April 2009).
- Northwestern University School of Law, Employment Law Colloquium (February 2009) (invited).
- *Do We Still Need Affirmative Action?*, Northwestern University School of Law (January 2009).
- Legal Scholarship Workshop, University of Chicago Law School (December 2008) (invited).
- Workshop on Conducting Empirical Legal Scholarship: the Advanced Course (October 2008).
- The Midwest Law and Economics Association Conference (October 2008).
- Workshop on Conducting Empirical Legal Scholarship (July 2008).
- *Setting the Agenda: Examining the Critical Legal Issues Facing African-Americans and Minority Communities in the 2008 Election*, University of California-Berkeley School of Law (November 2007).

SELECT SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS

- Testimony on SB 90, Florida Advisory Committee, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, April 29, 2022.
- HRI Legal Humanities Lecture, UIUC (October 2021).
- Testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on the Constitution, “Restoring the Voting Rights Act: Combating Discriminatory Abuses,” September 22, 2021.
- Testimony before the U.S. House Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties, “The Need to Enhance the Voting Rights Act: Practice-Based Coverage,” July 27, 2021.

- Testimony before the U.S. House Committee on House Administration, “The Elections Clause: Constitutional Interpretation and Congressional Exercise,” July 12, 2021.
- Panelist, Debate Defends Democracy: Is a Politics Free SCOTUS possible? (w/ Emily Bazelon, Alicia Bannon, and Aaron Tang), Federal Hall, May 18, 2021.
- *Constitutionalizing Our Democratic Expectations*, Keynote, Symposium: “Widening the Lens of Racial Justice: Unmasking the Layers of Racial and Social Inequality,” Southwestern Law School (February 2021).
- Panelist, Debate Defends Democracy: Presidential Power & Presidential Transition (w/ David Frum, Michael Waldman and John Avlon), Federal Hall, Jan 12, 2021.
- *The Inevitability of American Democracy*, Keynote, University of Kansas School of Law (November 2020) (invited).
- *The Ghost of Bull Connor: Understanding the "New" Era of Voter Suppression*, Allman Lecture, Southern Methodist University (October 2020) (invited).
- Panelist, *Faithless Electors and the Will of the People*, Hammer Museum, available at <https://hammer.ucla.edu/programs-events/2020/faithless-electors-forum> (August 2020).
- *Past is Prologue? The Fight for the Right to Vote in the Twenty-First Century*, Summer Teacher Institute, National Constitution Center (July 2020).
- Constitutional Happy Hour, Hammer Museum, available at <https://hammer.ucla.edu/programs-events/2020/constitution-happy-hour-2020> (February 2020)
- *Defining the Political Community of the Nineteenth Amendment*, Brendan Brown Lecture, Loyola University New Orleans College of Law (February 2020).
- “Democracy and Federalism: Friends or Foes?,” Panel Discussion with Guy Charles, Josh Douglas, and Adam Winkler (January 2020), available at <https://www.c-span.org/video/?467829-1/law-professors-voting-rights>.
- Testimony before the U.S. House Committee on the Judiciary, Sub-Committee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties, “Congressional Authority to Protect Voting Rights after *Shelby County v. Holder*,” Sept. 24, 2019, video available at: <https://judiciary.house.gov/legislation/hearings/congressional-authority-protect-voting-rights-after-shelby-county-v-holder>.
- *Understanding the Rule of Law Through the Lens of the Elections Clause*, Rule of Law Summer Teacher Institute, National Constitution Center (July 2018).
- *Creating An Affirmative Vision for the Right to Vote in the Wake of the 2016 Elections*, Frank J. Battisti Lecture, Case Western Reserve School of Law (October 2016).
- *Developing A Voting Rights Agenda in the Age of Post-Racial Politics*, Tallahassee Women Lawyers (September 2016).
- Panelist, *Freedom Summer Remembered: Emerging Issues, Policy Paradigms and Civic Behavior*, Clark Atlanta University, Atlanta, GA (November 2014).
- Panelist, *Overview of Post-Shelby County Issues and Pending Voting Rights Litigation*, ACS Voting Rights Litigation Training, Atlanta, GA (October 2014).
- Speaker, *The 50th Anniversary of the Civil Rights Act – What Progress Has Been Made, What Ground Has Been Lost, and What the Future Holds*, National Association of Appellate Court Attorneys Annual Conference, Savannah, GA (July 2014).
- Speaker, *The March Ongoing: Voting Rights in the 21st Century*, Jewish Council for Public Affairs Plenum, Atlanta, GA (March 2014).
- Debate with Hans Von Spakovsky over *Shelby County v. Holder*, FSU College of Law

(September 2013).

- Speaker, Continuing Legal Education Workshop, NAACP National Meeting (July 2013).
- Testimony on the Equal Rights Amendment before the Florida House of Representatives, Committee on Local and Federal Affairs (April 2013).
- Speaker, Tallahassee Women Lawyers Association, “Assessing the New Florida Election Law and its Impact on Election 2012” (June 2012).
- Speaker, Truman State University, “On Being A Responsible Citizen” (March 2012).
- Speaker, University of Chicago Law School, American Civil Liberties Union, “The Dawning of the Age of Obama: Reassessing Campaign Finance, Politics, and Race in the Wake of the 2008 Election” (November 2008).

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

ADVANCEMENT PROJECT 2022 - Present

- Member, Board of Directors

AMERICAN CONSTITUTION SOCIETY 2018 - Present

- Member, Board of Directors

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN LAW SCHOOLS 2010 - Present

- Founding Member, Section on Election Law
 - Chair (2017-2018)
 - Chair-Elect (2016-2017)
 - Treasurer (2014-2015)
- Member, AALS Standing Committee on Sections (2017-2019)
- Member, Section on Constitutional Law
- Member, Section on Civil Rights
- Member, Section on Minority Groups

FLORIDA BAR ASSOCIATION 2009 - 2011

- Member, Equal Employment Opportunities Law Section

OTHER

- Member, American Law Institute
- Member of the Illinois Bar (inactive)
- Member of the United States Supreme Court Bar