

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
COUNTY OF WAKE

IN THE GENERAL COURT OF JUSTICE
SUPERIOR COURT DIVISION
Case No. 18 CVS 014001

COMMON CAUSE, *et al.*

Plaintiffs,

v.

DAVID R. LEWIS, *et al.*

Defendants.

Expert Report of Dr. M.V. Hood III.

Pursuant to the North Carolina Rules of Civil Procedure and the Case Management Orders of the Court in the above-captioned matter, I, M.V. (Trey) Hood III, provide the following written report:

I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

My name is M.V. (Trey) Hood III, and I am a tenured professor at the University of Georgia with an appointment in the Department of Political Science. I have been a faculty member at the University of Georgia since 1999. I also serve as the Director of the School of Public and International Affairs Survey Research Center. I am an expert in American politics, specifically in the areas of electoral politics, racial politics, election administration, and Southern politics. I teach courses on American politics, Southern politics, and research methods and have taught graduate seminars on the topics of election administration and Southern politics.

I have received research grants from the National Science Foundation and the Pew Charitable Trust. I have also published peer-reviewed journal articles specifically in the areas of redistricting and vote dilution. My academic publications are detailed in a copy of my vita that is attached to the end of this document. Currently, I serve on the editorial boards for *Social Science Quarterly* and *Election Law Journal*. The latter is a peer-reviewed academic journal focused on the area of election administration.

During the preceding four years, I have offered expert testimony (through deposition or at trial) in fourteen cases around the United States: *United States v. North Carolina*, 1:13-cv-861 (M.D. N.C.), *Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Board of Elections*, 3:14-cv-00852 (E.D. Va.), *The Ohio Democratic Party v. Husted*, 2:15-cv-1802 (S.D. Ohio), *The Northeast Ohio Coalition v. Husted*, 2:06-cv-00896 (S.D. Ohio), *One Wisconsin Institute v. Nichol*, 3:15-cv-324 (W.D. Wis.), *Covington v. North Carolina*, 1:15-cv-00399 (M.D.N.C.), *Green Party of Tennessee v. Hargett*, 3:11-cv-00692 (M.D. Tenn.), *Vesilind v. Virginia State Board of Elections*, CL15003886-00 (Richmond Circuit Court), *Common Cause v. Rucho*, 1:16-cv-1026 (M.D.N.C.), *Greater*

Birmingham Ministries v. Merrill, 2:15-cv-02193 (N.D. Ala), *Anne Harding v. County of Dallas, Texas*, 3:15-cv-00131 (N.D. Tex.), *Feldman v. Arizona Secretary of State's Office*, 2:16-cv-16-01065 (Ari.), *League of Women Voters v. Gardner*, 226-2017-cv-00433 (Hillsborough Superior Court), and *Ohio A. Philip Randolph Institute v. Ryan Smith*, 1:18-cv-357 (S.D. Ohio).

In assisting the Legislative Defendants in analyzing the North Carolina's legislative districts, I am receiving \$350 an hour for this work and \$350 an hour for any testimony associated with this work. In reaching my conclusions, I have drawn on my training, experience, and knowledge as a social scientist who has specifically conducted research in the area of redistricting. My compensation in this case is not dependent upon the outcome of the litigation or the substance of my opinions.

II. STATE LEGISLATIVE REDISTRICTING IN NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina relies on a unique system to draw state legislative districts that is based on multiple rigid criteria. To a large extent, these criteria make drawing state legislative districts in the Tar Heel state a formulaic exercise. The state constitution requires that House and Senate members be elected from districts and that, in the formation of such districts, counties must be kept whole.¹ This mandate has been translated into a system where counties are first grouped together and then districts are drawn within these groups.² In carrying out this mandate, districts should be limited to single counties or the minimum combination of contiguous counties necessary to draw equal-population districts.³ In drawing districts within multi-county groups in 2017, it was only permissible to traverse, or cross, a county boundary line once.⁴ County traversals are only permitted where necessary to comply with district population equalization.⁵ The county group system used by North Carolina acts as constraint on the discretion of line drawers.

Once the county groups have been established, in the case of any group that will contain more than one district, the map drawer is then required to create the requisite number of districts. Each county group comprising more than one district is, at this point, its own self-encapsulated geographic area for the purpose of drawing legislative districts. In other words, districts drawn in one county group are independent of districts in any other county group.

In addition to the county group rules discussed above, in 2017, the General Assembly also imposed other criteria on the drawing of legislative districts. These criteria include population equalization, contiguity, goals for compactness and VTD splits, the consideration of municipal boundaries, and incumbency protection.⁶ Taking into account all the criteria discussed, a map

¹See North Carolina Constitution, Article II, Sections 3 and 5. What is known as the whole county provision has been codified in state court opinions in a number of cases. For example, see *Stephenson v. Bartlett*, 355 N.C. 354 (2002). This provision does not supersede the federal dictate that districts, within a range of +/- 5%, must contain equal population counts.

²In some cases, a county group may be synonymous with a district.

³*Dickson v. Rucho*, 781 N.C. 404 (2015).

⁴2017 House and Senate Plans Criteria (Document Number: LDNC000302).

⁵*Stephenson v. Bartlett*, 355 N.C. 354.

⁶2017 House and Senate Plans Criteria (Document Number: LDNC000302). Partisan data, but not racial data, were considered in the creation of the 2017 House and Senate plans.

drawer creating district boundary lines within a county group is quite constrained as to the amount of discretion they may exercise. This is especially the case in county groups containing only a few districts.

In response to a federal court case, North Carolina was ordered to revise its House and Senate plans prior to the 2018 election-cycle.⁷ The resulting plans are the subject of litigation in the present matter. It should be noted that the plaintiffs in this matter are not challenging the county group mandate nor the current configuration of county groups in the House and Senate plans. In addition, the plaintiffs have only made allegations challenging certain House and Senate districts within the state. In the House, plaintiffs have made allegations challenging a total of 77 districts in eighteen county groups.⁸ In the Senate, they have made allegations challenging a total of 23 districts in seven county groups.

III. TRADITIONAL REDISTRICTING CRITERIA

In this section of my report, I examine the enacted House and Senate plans by analyzing a number of redistricting principles that were highlighted in the 2017 Redistricting Criteria by the General Assembly.

A. VTD Analysis

In this section, I make a number of comparisons concerning VTD splits across districts. According to the redistricting criteria, the 2017 House and Senate plans should make an effort to produce a plan that splits fewer precincts than the 2011 plans.⁹ Table 1 below details the number of VTD splits for the 2017 enacted plans, the 2011 benchmark plans, and Professor Chen's simulated legislative plans.¹⁰

⁷*Covington v. North Carolina*, 267 F. Supp. 3d 664 (M.D.N.C. 2017).

⁸Although House Districts 21, 22, 57, 61, and 62 are located in county groups with other districts about which Plaintiffs have made allegations, Plaintiffs have made no specific allegations challenging these districts,

⁹2017 House and Senate Plans Criteria (Document Number: LDNC000302).

¹⁰North Carolina General Assembly, Redistricting Office and Expert report of Jowei Chen (April 8, 2019), Tables 5 and 6.

Table 1. Comparison of Split Precincts by Plan

Plan	Whole VTDs	Split VTDs	Total VTDs
2017			
House	98.2% [2,644]	1.8% [48]	2,692
Senate	99.8% [2,687]	0.2% [5]	2,692
2011			
House	85.3% [2,297]	14.7% [395]	2,692
Senate	90.5% [2,435]	9.5% [257]	2,692
Chen-Set 1			
House	99.8%-99.3% [2,686-2,674]	0.2%-.07% [6-18]	2,692
Senate	100%-99.9% [2,692-2,689]	0.0%-0.1% [0-3]	2,692
Chen-Set 2			
House	99.7%-99.3% [2,685-2,672]	0.3%-0.7% [7-20]	2,692
Senate	100%-99.9% [2,692-2,689]	0.0%-0.1% [0-3]	2,692

The 2017 enacted House plan split 48 VTDs, or 1.8% of the total number of VTDs. This is a considerable improvement over the benchmark House plan which split 395 VTDs or 14.7% of all VTDs. Looking at the Senate, the 2017 plan split only five VTDs or 0.2% of the total. The previous plan in 2011 split a total of 257 VTDs or 9.5% of all VTDs. Looking at this from another vantage point, more than 98% of VTDs in the House plan and almost 100% of VTDs in the Senate plan were kept wholly intact. Such numbers comply with the stated goal of the redistricting criteria.

Professor Chen’s simulations for the House split between six and 20 VTDs. For the Senate, the number of split VTDs ranges from 0 to 3. While these figures represent slight improvements over the 2017 enacted plans, it should be noted that the redistricting criteria do not call for plans designed to minimize VTD splits as inferred by Professor Chen.¹¹ Again, under the 2017 enacted plans, more than 98% of VTDs were not split.

¹¹Expert report of Jowei Chen (April 8, 2019), Table 16.

When considering the information in Table 1 above, one additional point is relevant: Only those House and Senate districts that a federal court declared unconstitutional and other districts in the same county group as those districts were redrawn in 2017.¹² Thus, there were specific county groups and districts that were carried over from the 2011 plan without any changes. When the 2011 plan was produced, there was no written mandate, as there was 2017, to reduce the number of split VTDs.

Table 2 examines the number of split precincts based on whether the county group was redrawn in 2017. For the House, exactly half of the split VTDs were located in county groups carried over from the previous plan. In terms of redrawn districts, only 24 VTDs were split. For the Senate there are a total of five split VTDs, two of which were in county group which was redrawn. In his statewide simulated maps, Professor Chen had the ability to reduce VTD splits, in part, by redrawing districts within any county group. This fact should be taken into account when comparing VTD splits in his simulated plans to the 2017 enacted plans.

Table 2. Split Precincts by Redrawn County Groups, 2017

Plan	Redrawn County Groups	County Groups Carried Over	Total
House	50.0% [24]	50.0% [24]	48
Senate	40.0% [2]	60.0% [3]	5

B. District Compactness

In this section, I analyze the 2017 enacted plan for the House and Senate using the two most commonly employed compactness scores: Reock and Polsby-Popper. These two measures are both scaled to range from 0 to 1, with movement toward one an indication of increasing compactness.

The 2017 redistricting criteria call for the 2017 House and Senate districts to demonstrate gains over the 2011 plan in terms of district compactness. The criteria also state that the General Assembly should attempt to meet certain minimum thresholds for compactness. Specifically, the criteria state:

The Committees shall make reasonable efforts to draw legislative districts in the 2017 House and Senate plans that improve the compactness of the current districts. In doing so, the Committees may use as a guide the minimum Reock and Polsby-Popper scores identified by Richard H. Pildes and Richard G. Niemi in *Expressive Harms, “Bizarre Districts,” and Voting Rights*.¹³

¹²Some districts were also redrawn where compliance with the *Covington* decision required a county group to be altered. The North Carolina Constitution prohibits mid-decade redistricting to occur (Article II, Section 3(4) and Section 5(4)). This stipulation was, in fact, confirmed in a state court case involving districts being redrawn in Wake County to comply with the *Covington* decision (see North Carolina NAACP v. Lewis [18 CVS 002322]).

¹³2017 House and Senate Plans Criteria (LDNC000302).

In their article, Pildes and Niemi analyze U.S. House districts nationwide in the aftermath of the *Shaw v. Reno* decision.¹⁴ In this case, the U.S. Supreme Court declared a congressional district in North Carolina (NC 12) a racial gerrymander, in part, based on its bizarre appearance.¹⁵ On two measures of compactness, Reock and Polsby-Popper, these scholars suggest numerical values whereby a district might be judged to be non-compact. For the Reock measure, this value is less than .16 and for the Polsby-Popper measure this value is less than .06.¹⁶

Comparing the Benchmark and the Enacted Plans

First, I want to evaluate whether the 2017 plan met the goals stated in the redistricting criteria. To answer this question, I collected data on compactness measures which are found in Table 3 for the House and Table 4 for the Senate.¹⁷ Looking first at Table 3, the mean Reock score for the 2011 plan was .383, compared to .414 for the 2017 plan, an improvement of .03. The mean Polsby-Popper score for the 2011 plan was .238. The mean score for the 2017 plan was .320, an increase of .08. Looking now to the Senate (Table 4), the mean Reock score for the 2011 plan was .379. The 2017 plan saw an increase of .05, to a mean score of .428. The mean Polsby-Popper score also increased from 2011 to 2017, moving from .258 to .348.

Table 3. House of Representatives-Mean Compactness Scores

Plan	Reock	Diff.	Polsby-Popper	Diff.
2017 Plan	.414	----	.320	----
2011 Plan	.383	.03	.238	.08
Chen				
All Districts-Set 1	.444, .474	-.03, -.06	.348, .384	-.03, -.06
All Districts-Set 2	.439, .465	-.03, -.05	.336, .371	-.02, -.05

¹⁴Richard H. Pildes and Richard G. Niemi (1993). “Expressive Harms, ‘Bizarre Districts,’ and Voting Rights: Evaluating Election-District Appearances After *Shaw v. Reno*.” *Michigan Law Review* 92(3): 483-587.

¹⁵See *Shaw v. Reno* 113 S. Ct. 2816 (1993).

¹⁶For purposes of comparison, NC 12 had a Reock score of .05 and a Polsby-Popper score of .01.

¹⁷Source: North Carolina General Assembly, Redistricting Office. The compactness scores reported for the 2017 enacted plan include alterations made to some districts by a special master prior to the 2018 elections.

Table 4. Senate-Mean Compactness Scores

Plan	Reock	Diff.	Polsby-Popper	Diff.
2017 Plan	.428	---	.348	----
2011 Plan	.379	.05	.258	.09
Chen				
All Districts-Set 1	.438, .460	-.01, -.03	.365, .398	-.02, -.05
All Districts-Set 2	.433, .458	-.005, -.03	.357, .389	-.009, -.04

As it relates to the second goal of the criteria concerning compactness, all House and Senate districts in the 2017 plan were above the .16 threshold for Reock and the .06 threshold for Polsby-Popper. In the 2017 plan for the House, the minimum Reock score was .20 and the minimum Polsby-Popper score was .13. For the 2017 Senate plan, the minimum Reock score was .19 and the minimum Polsby-Popper score was .11. Based on the data analyzed, it is my opinion that the 2017 House and Senate plans met the goals for compactness as laid out in the redistricting criteria.

Comparing the Enacted Plan to Professor Chen’s Simulations

The bottom panels in Tables 3 and 4 compare the 2017 enacted House and Senate plans to sets of simulations produced by Professor Chen. In his report, Professor Chen states that his simulations were designed to maximize geographic compactness.¹⁸ As discussed earlier, the stated criteria call for the 2017 plans to see *gains* in compactness over the 2011 plans (and to set certain minimum thresholds). The criteria do not call for the *maximization* of district compactness for the 2017 House and Senate plans.

Professor Chen further states, “By either measure of compactness specified in the 2017 Adopted Criteria (i.e., Reock and Polsby-Popper), the 2017 House Plan is significantly less compact than every single one of the 1,000 simulated House districting plans, and the 2017 Senate Plan is significantly less compact than every single one of the 1,000 simulated Senate districting plans.”¹⁹ Mean compactness scores for his simulated plans (Set 1 and Set 2) are presented as a range by Professor Chen.²⁰

Looking at Table 3 for the House, Reock scores from Set 1 range from .444 to .474. Subtracting the lower score from the 2017 plan mean score yields a difference of -.03 and subtracting the higher score yields a difference of -.06. While the Reock scores from Set 1 are higher, I do not agree with Professor Chen that the 2017 enacted House districts are “significantly less” compact than his simulated districts. Likewise, the differences between the Polsby-Popper

¹⁸Expert report of Jowei Chen (April 8, 2019), pp. 2-3.

¹⁹Expert report of Jowei Chen (April 8, 2019), p.3.

²⁰Expert report of Jowei Chen (April 8, 2019), Tables 5 and 6.

scores for the 2017 enacted plan and simulation Set 1 reveal a difference ranging from -.03 to -.06. Again, the simulated plans have higher Polsby-Popper scores, on average, than the current plan, but not “significantly” so. Comparing Reock scores for the enacted plan to simulation Set 2 reveals an almost identical pattern, with differences ranging from -.03 to -.05. Likewise, differences for the Polsby-Popper measure are -.02 to -.05. Professor Chen’s efforts to maximize House districts were not required under the criteria and the end effect resulted in districts only slightly more compact than the districts produced for the 2017 map.

Turning next to a comparison of Professor Chen’s simulated plans for the Senate a similar pattern emerges showing slight improvements in compactness as compared to the 2017 enacted plan. Simulation Set 1 produced mean Reock scores ranging from .438 to .460 and differences ranging from -.01 to -.03. The differences between the Polsby-Popper scores for the enacted plan and the first simulation set ranged from -.02 to -.05. The compactness differences calculated between Simulation Set 2 and the enacted plan are even smaller, ranging from -.005 to -.03 for the Reock measure and -.09 to -.04 for the Polsby-Popper statistic.

C. Incumbency

The 2017 redistricting criteria also mention incumbency protection as a stated goal. In this case, the criteria specifically call for avoiding the pairing of incumbents of either party. Table 5 examines incumbent pairings in the 2017 House and Senate plans as passed by the General Assembly. A second column for each chamber, labeled 2018 Elections, examines incumbent pairings after a special master made modifications to a number of districts.²¹

Looking first at the House, the 2017 enacted plan left 97% of districts with an unpaired incumbent. One district contained a Republican pairing and another a Republican and Democrat pairing. Not a single district contained two Democrats paired against one another. The plan under which the 2018 elections were held is very similar to the 2017 enacted plan. In that election, 95.0% of districts featured an unpaired incumbent. This plan, unlike the 2017 plan, did contain a district pairing two Democratic incumbents. The total number of Democratic and Republican incumbents paired, at three a piece, was exactly equal (the additional incumbent pairing was the result of changes made by the special master).

In the Senate, the 2017 plan contained 42 districts (84%) with no incumbent pairing. Three districts (6%) saw a Republican paired with another Republican and one district with a Democrat and Republican paired against one another. No district contained a pairing of two Democrats. Again, the plan altered by the special master under which the 2018 election was held is very similar, with 80% of districts featuring no incumbent pairings. In this case, two districts paired a Democrat and Republican incumbent and three districts paired two Republican incumbents. While these plans certainly did not pair the vast majority of incumbents, of those paired, there were a

²¹Data received through counsel. Incumbency reports based on addresses as of November 14, 2017. Paragraph 125 of the Amended Complaint states: “Plaintiffs do not challenge in this case any district materially redrawn by the Special Master that remains in effect.”

greater number of Republican incumbents paired in the Senate plan under which the election was held—a total of eight compared to only two Democrats.

To summarize, in both the House and Senate plans, the goal of limiting the number of incumbent pairings of either party was clearly achieved.

Table 5. Incumbent Pairings. 2018

Pairings	House		Senate	
	2017 Enacted	2018 Elections	2017 Enacted	2018 Elections
D, R	0.8% [1]	0.8% [1]	2.0% [1]	4.0% [2]
D, D	0.0% [0]	0.8% [1]	0.0% [0]	0.0% [0]
R, R	0.8% [1]	0.8% [1]	6.0% [3]	6.0% [3]
Open	1.7% [2]	2.5% [3]	8.0% [4]	10.0% [5]
Unpaired	96.7% [116]	95.0% [114]	84.0% [42]	80.0% [40]
Total Seats	120	120	50	50

D. Summary

The 2017 House and Senate plans met the goals stated in the adopted redistricting criteria. Compared to the 2011 plans, the 2017 plan saw measurable gains in terms of district compactness and reducing VTD splits as compared to the 2011 plans. The simulations prepared by Professor Chen that were designed to maximize these criteria perform only marginally better on these factors. In addition, the goal of protecting incumbents specified in the criteria was also met as very few House and Senate incumbent members, of either party, were paired in 2017. These factors, combined with the successful implementation of the county grouping system and the condition permitting only a single internal traverse, also meant respect for county boundaries was paramount in the plan’s creation. In addition, all House and Senate districts are contiguous and meet the equal population standard as defined by the criteria. These goals, in my opinion, are certainly not partisan in nature. In using a different set of criteria from that adopted by the General Assembly, Professor Chen infers that any deviation from maximization of these factors is an indication of improper partisan motives. In my opinion, imputing motives based on the application of a different set of criteria in no ways proves the General Assembly was engaged in an effort to engage in extreme partisan gerrymander. As indicated in my discussion of the legislative redistricting in North

Carolina, the process is quite constrained, which greatly limits the ability of map drawers to create districts where partisan motives predominate.

IV. THE 2018 ELECTION

In 2017, the GOP held 61.7% of seats in the state House and 70.0% of seats in the state Senate (see Table 6).²² Democrats held 38.3% of House seats and 30.0% of Senate seats.

Table 6. 2017 North Carolina Legislative Seat Distribution

	House		Senate	
	R	D	R	D
Statewide	61.7%	38.3%	70.0%	30.0%
	[74]	[46]	[35]	[15]
	120		50	

The 2018 elections for the House and Senate were held under the districts presently being challenged.²³ The election results are displayed in Table 7. In the House, Democrats picked up a net of nine seats and in the Senate a net of six seats. The Democrats now hold 45.8% of House seats, an increase of nine-points over 2017. In the Senate, Democrats now hold 42.0% of total seats, an increase of 12points compared with 2017. Table 7 also segments the 2018 election results by various categories. In the House, among the districts Plaintiffs are challenging, Democrats won more than a majority (51%) of seats. This includes all 11 seats in Wake County and all 12 seats in Mecklenburg County. Among the districts being challenged in the Senate, Democrats won 56.5% of the seats, including four out of five seats in the Wake-Franklin group and four out of five seats in Mecklenburg County. On the other hand, outside of the challenged districts, Republicans won two-thirds of the House seats and 70% of the Senate seats.

Table 7. 2018 North Carolina Legislative Results

	House		Senate	
	R	D	R	D
Statewide	54.2%	45.8%	58.0%	42.0%
	[65]	[55]	[29]	[21]
Challenged Districts	49.4%	50.6%	43.4%	56.5%
	[38]	[39]	[10]	[13]
Challenged Groups	48.8%	51.2%	----	----
	[40]	[42]		
Non-Challenged Districts	65.8%	34.2%	70.4%	29.6%
	[25]	[13]	[19]	[8]
Total Seats	120		50	

²²National Conference of State Legislatures (http://www.ncsl.org/Portals/1/Documents/Elections/Legis_Control_2017_March_1_9%20am.pdf).

²³Data source: North Carolina State Board of Elections (<https://www.ncsbe.gov/>).

What is perhaps even more compelling evidence of Democratic strength in the 2018 elections is demonstrated in Table 8. This table categorizes House seats in partisan terms using a composite vote index.²⁴ The elections from which the vote index is created all occurred temporally prior to the enactment of the 2017 legislative plans. I calculated the Republican share of the two-party vote from twenty-five statewide races that occurred over five election cycles, from 2008 through 2016. I reaggregated these data, which had been disaggregated to the block-level, into state House and Senate districts.²⁵ Using a vote average also helps to mitigate against election-specific effects that may be tied to a particular candidate or contest. In addition, using statewide contests ensures that, geographically, the entire state is covered by the elections utilized to draw inferences.

I categorize districts based on the GOP vote index previously discussed. Districts below 45% Republican are considered safely Democratic. Districts ranging from 45% to 50% Republican are considered Democratic-leaning, but competitive, while districts in the 50% to 55% range are categorized as Republican-leaning, but competitive. Finally, any district above 55% Republican is denoted as being safely Republican.²⁶

Table 8 classifies 2018 House election outcomes by their partisan vote index score. On the basis of the partisan index alone, one would predict prior to the 2018 elections that Democrats would win 32 of 77 of the challenged districts, or 41.6%. Again, we now know that the Democrats captured an additional seven seats, or 51% of the total challenged districts.

In the challenged districts, the Democrats won all seats categorized as strong Democrat and three-fifths of competitive, but Democratic-leaning seats. The Democrats also made sizable gains in seats classified as Republican, winning a third of competitive Republican seats and 15%

²⁴Data source: North Carolina General Assembly, Redistricting Office.

²⁵The exact formula I used is as follows: [(R) Votes for 2008 Attorney General/Total Votes for 2008 Attorney General + (R) Votes for 2008 Auditor/Total Votes for 2008 Auditor + (R) Votes for 2008 Commissioner of Agriculture/Total Votes for 2008 Commissioner of Agriculture + (R) Votes for 2008 Commissioner of Insurance/Total Votes for 2008 Commissioner of Insurance + (R) Votes for 2008 Commissioner of Labor/Total Votes for 2008 Commissioner of Labor + (R) Votes for 2008 Governor/Total Votes for 2008 Governor + (R) Votes for 2008 Lt. Governor/Total Votes for 2008 Lt. Governor + (R) Votes for 2008 Sup. of Public Instruction/Total Votes for 2008 Sup. of Public Instruction + (R) Votes for 2008 U.S. Senate/Total Votes for 2008 U.S. Senate + (R) Votes for 2010 U.S. Senate/Total Votes for 2010 U.S. Senate + (R) Votes for 2012 Governor /Total Votes for 2012 Governor + (R) Votes for 2012 Lt. Governor /Total Votes for 2012 Lt. Governor + (R) Votes for 2012 Auditor /Total Votes for 2012 Auditor + (R) Votes for 2012 Com. of Agriculture /Total Votes for 2012 Com. of Agriculture + (R) Votes for 2012 Com. of Insurance /Total Votes for 2012 Com. of Insurance + (R) Votes for 2012 Com. of Labor /Total Votes for 2012 Com. of Labor + (R) Votes for 2012 Secretary of State /Total Votes for 2012 Secretary of State + (R) Votes for 2012 Sup. of Public Instruction/Total Votes for 2012 Sup. of Public Instruction + (R) Votes for 2012 Treasurer/Total Votes for 2012 Treasurer + (R) Votes for 2014 U.S. Senate/Total Votes for 2014 U.S. Senate + (R) Votes for 2016 President/Total Votes for 2016 President + (R) Votes for 2016 U.S. Senate/Total Votes for 2016 U.S. Senate + (R) Votes for 2016 Governor /Total Votes for 2016 Governor + (R) Votes for 2016 Lt. Governor /Total Votes for 2016 Lt. Governor + (R) Votes for 2016 Attorney General/Total Votes for 2016 Attorney General] / 25.

²⁶Classifying competitive seats in the +/-5% range is a conservative measure of competition. Some political scientists use an even more stringent definition classifying a race won by less than 60% of the total vote (+/-10%) as being a *marginal* victory and, as such, a very competitive contest. For example, see Gary Jacobson 1987. "The Marginals Never Vanished: Incumbency and Competition in Elections to the U.S. House of Representatives, 1952-82." *American Journal of Political Science* 31(1): 126-141 and Paul S. Herrnson. 2004. *Congressional Elections*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press).

of seats in the strong Republican category. Nine of the thirty-nine seats (23%) won by the Democrats in the challenged districts were seats that a pre-2017 vote index classified as Republican (competitive and safe). This is an important fact if one wants to discuss *the opportunity-to-elect* concept.

Table 8. Challenged House Districts 2018 Election Outcomes by Partisan Vote Index

Party	Strong Democrat	Competitive Democrat	Competitive Republican	Strong Republican
Democrat	100% [27]	60% [3]	33% [4]	15% [5]
Republican	0% [0]	40% [2]	66% [8]	85% [28]
	27	5	12	31

Prior to an election, one can only prognosticate about the ability for a member of a political party to be elected using information about previous elections such as a vote index. If a district were classified as strong Republican, then we would not predict a Democratic victory and, yet, we observe this outcome five times in 2018. Likewise, if one had to make a binary choice, then predicting competitive Republican districts will elect a GOP member, all other things being equal, appears entirely reasonable. But, in 2018, this prediction would have been incorrect four out of twelve or one out of three times. The Republicans in 2018 managed to win two of five seats classified as Democratic-leaning, but competitive. Relying on the PVI produced a situation where eleven of the seventy-five races in the challenged districts, or 15%, were incorrectly classified. Classifying districts and/or making predictions using a partisan vote index does not always correctly translate into the opportunity-to-elect concept that is a critical lynchpin of racial gerrymandering cases. This fact also highlights the importance that candidates, campaigns, and the political environment play in determining election outcomes.

Table 9 undertakes a similar analysis for state Senate election outcomes in 2018 relying on the same partisan vote index previously described. In this case, relying on the PVI alone, one would predict a nine to fourteen Democrat-Republican split. In actuality, Democrats won thirteen of twenty-three (or 57%) of the challenged seats. Based on actual election outcomes, four races, or 17% of the total, were incorrectly classified using a partisan vote index.

Table 9. Challenged Senate Districts 2018 Election Outcomes by Partisan Vote Index

Party	Strong Democrat	Competitive Democrat	Competitive Republican	Strong Republican
Democrat	100% [9]	0% [0]	33% [3]	20% [1]
Republican	0% [0]	0% [0]	66% [6]	80% [4]
	9	0	9	5

In the absence of an actual election, how would one predict the number of seats a party might capture under a particular districting plan? Many in this position would rely on a partisan vote index created from previous elections as being the best approximation of how voters in a particular geographic area will behave in a future election. In fact, this is the method that Professor Chen relies on to classify seats in partisan terms once a simulated map is drawn. A critical point to remember, however, is that in using a partisan vote index of previous elections, one is relying on past behavior to make inferences about future behavior. Such a prediction about future events may or may not be borne out. In this case, we know from the 2018 election that the results in certain House and Senate districts were not correctly predicted based on a partisan vote index. Knowing this, one should certainly exercise caution when examining any proposed or simulated districting plan. The 2016 election of Donald Trump, which was not correctly predicted by most, even with a host of polling data, should give pause to the idea that we can predict future events with total certainty. One possible retort is that a PVI will correctly predict future elections more often than not. I do not necessarily disagree with such a statement. However, we also know that a certain percentage of cases may be incorrectly predicted as well. Depending on the rate of error, which is not known *a priori*, using a partisan vote index to make a determination as to whether a plan may be an outlier may lead to erroneous results.

Examining Seats versus Votes in 2018

In his report, Professor Cooper makes direct reference to the statewide share of the Democratic vote received for the North Carolina House and Senate and the percentage of Democratic seats won in each chamber. For 2018 he notes, “even in the blue wave year of 2018, Democrats won almost nine percentage points more votes in the Senate than they occupied seats. Similarly, in the House, Democrats won over five percentage points more votes than they occupied seats.”²⁷ Professor Cooper is referencing a statistic more formally known as the “seats to votes” ratio. This viewpoint is echoed as well in the complaint in this matter. The plaintiffs clearly state: “In both the state House and state Senate elections in 2018, Democratic candidates won a majority of the statewide vote, but Republicans still won a substantial majority of seats in each chamber. The maps are impervious to the will of the voters.”²⁸

²⁷Expert report of Christopher Cooper, *Common Cause v. Lewis*, Case No. 18 CVS 014001, (April 8, 2019), p. 16.

²⁸Amended Complaint, ¶ 3

The seats to votes ratio (S-V) is a measure of proportionality. A value of one under this ratio means that the percentage of seats won by a party is equal to that party's vote share.²⁹ With this and other potential measures of partisan symmetry (e.g. the efficiency gap, mean-median, etc.) there is a reversion back to the idea that the overall seat distribution in a state should resemble the statewide partisan vote distribution. Stated otherwise, there is the normative idea encapsulated within such exercises that votes and seats should be proportional to one another. Given the winner-take-all single-member district system of elections used to elect members of the North Carolina General Assembly, however, such an expectation is seldom born out.

In previous court cases, I have expressed skepticism that such measures can be used systematically to detect partisan gerrymandering. Given the fact that Professor Cooper has raised this specific issue, however, I have performed my own calculations of seats-to-votes ratios in Table 10 below. Keeping in mind that the plaintiffs in this matter have only challenged certain House and Senate districts, the more germane comparison would be to calculate the S-V ratio for the challenged districts versus those not under legal challenge.

Looking at Table 10, I have calculated the S-V ratio for the House using the percentage of Republican seats and votes for given groups (Republican seat and vote shares are listed below the S-V ratio).³⁰ A value less than one in this case is an indication that the GOP seat share is less than the number of Republican votes received in the area under study. A value of one indicates the share of seats for the Republicans is equivalent to their share of votes. A value greater than one is an indication that the share of GOP seats exceeds the share of Republican votes in a given set of districts.

For the House as a whole, under the 2018 election results, the S-V ratio is 1.11—an indication that Republicans are able to capture more seats statewide than their vote share. When we separate the challenged House districts from those not under challenge a different pattern emerges altogether. The S-V ratio for the challenged districts, at 1.06, indicates the Republican seat share is much closer to its vote share for these districts. I also provide a comparison for all districts (challenged or unchallenged) contained within a county group where there are challenged districts. The S-V ratio for these groups is again 1.05. The S-V ratio for House districts not under challenge is 1.23. It is clear from these results that the S-V ratio statewide is greatly affected by the results in House districts and groups of House districts that the plaintiffs have made no allegations challenging.

²⁹Just to be clear, I am not endorsing this specific measure or any threshold level for this measure.

³⁰These calculations for the House do not include HD 107 which was uncontested in the 2018 election cycle or HD 13 and HD 24 which were not contested by candidates from both the Democratic and Republican parties. Inclusion of these cases does not materially alter any of the figures in Table 10, nor certainly the conclusion I am drawing from these figures.

Table 10. Republican Seats to Votes Ratios, 2018

	House	Senate
Statewide	1.11 (54.2%, 49.0%)	1.17 (58.0%, 49.4%)
Challenged Districts	1.06 (50.0%, 47.0)	0.99 (43.5%, 44.1%)
Challenged Groups	1.05 (49.4%, 46.8%)	----
Non-Challenged Districts	1.23 (66.7%, 54.0%)	1.29 (70.4%, 54.7%)

Table 10 also calculates the S-V ratio for the Senate in 2018. The statewide figure is 1.17. But, among the Senate districts under challenge, the S-V ratio is 0.99. This is an indication that the Republican seat share for this group is less than its share of the votes in these districts. The seats-to-votes ratio for those Senate districts not under challenge is 1.29. As with the House, the larger statewide S-V ratio for the Senate is heavily skewed by the results in districts that are not being challenged by the plaintiffs.

If the plaintiffs would like to rely on some metric of proportionality as a proxy for partisan fairness, then it is in the House and Senate districts challenged by the plaintiffs where we see a much closer congruence between seats and votes. Ironically, it is in the House and Senate districts not under challenge where we see a divergence between votes won and seats accrued.

V. NORTH CAROLINA'S POLITICAL GEOGRAPY

In this section, I discuss the political geography of North Carolina and how this factor interacts with the process of drawing districts in the state.³¹ In order to do so, I created my own partisan index based on recent contested races. More specifically, I calculated the Republican share of the two-party vote from 11 statewide races at the VTD level.³² Using GIS, I was able to categorize and plot these VTDs along with their partisan index score. Since the partisan index is based on the two-party vote share, it can be easily partitioned into four categories: Strong Democrat (0.0%-24.9%); Democrat (25.0%-49.9%); Republican (50.0%-74.9%); and strong Republican

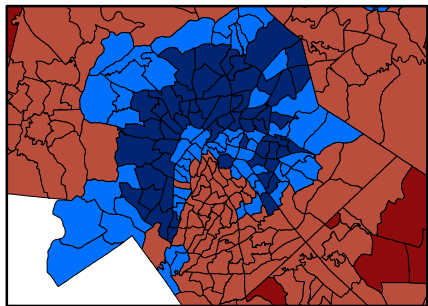
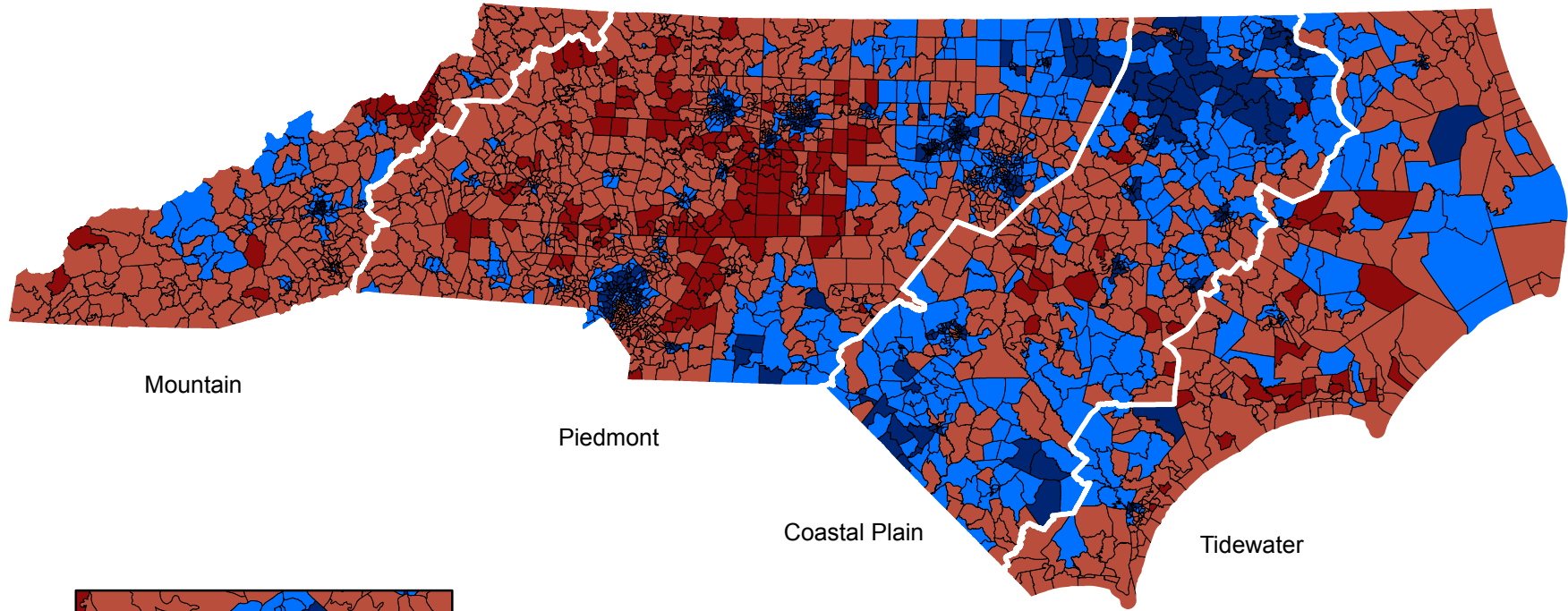
³¹This section of my report is derived from work on an expert report I produced for *Common Cause v. Rucho* [1:16-CV-1026-WO-JEP].

³²The exact formula I used is as follows: [(R) Votes for 2010 U.S. Senate + (R) Votes for 2012 Governor + (R) Votes for 2012 Lt. Governor + (R) Votes for 2012 Auditor + (R) Votes for 2012 Ag. Commissioner + (R) Votes 2012 Insurance Commissioner + (R) Votes 2012 Labor Commissioner + (R) Votes 2012 Secretary of State + (R) Votes 2012 School Superintendent + (R) Votes 2014 U.S. Senate] / (Total Two-Party Vote for 2010 U.S. Senate + Total Two-Party Vote for 2012 Governor + Total Two-Party Vote for 2012 Lt. Governor + Total Two-Party Vote for 2012 Auditor + Total Two-Party Vote for 2012 Ag. Commissioner + Total Two-Party Vote 2012 Insurance Commissioner + Total Two-Party Vote 2012 Labor Commissioner + Total Two-Party Vote 2012 Secretary of State + Total Two-Party Vote 2012 School Superintendent + Total Two-Party Vote 2014 U.S. Senate].

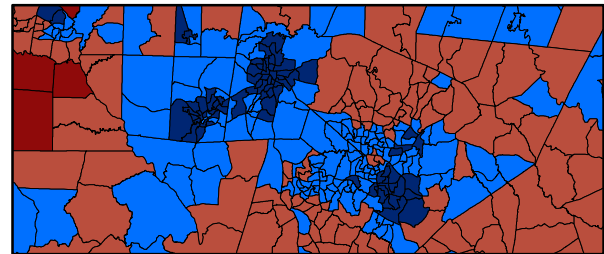
(75.0% to 100%). To visually represent these categories VTDs are shaded dark blue to represent strong Democrat; light blue for Democrat; light red for Republican; and dark red for strong Republican. This map is presented in Figure 1. The purpose of this exercise is to graphically demonstrate the distribution of partisans across North Carolina. In addition, the map also contains white boundary lines which denote subregions within the state. The identified subregions are mountain (highlands), piedmont, coastal plain, and tidewater areas.³³

³³These political subregions for North Carolina are outlined in V.O. Key Jr.'s seminal work *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (1949, Alfred A. Knopf). It is possible, of course, to subdivide the state in a variety of ways. For purpose of illustration I simply rely on Key's identification of subregions as one possibility.

Figure 1. North Carolina Partisan Distribution



Charlotte



Raleigh-Durham

Clustering of partisans can lead to *natural* packing of such groups in the redistricting process. To the extent then that Republican VTDs tend to be geographically located next to one another and Democratic VTDs are spatially proximate, the more likely the redistricting process may be impacted by such geographic considerations.³⁴ Looking at Figure 1 visually, it is easy to pick up on such clustering. Democrats appear to be located in urban areas (e.g. Charlotte, Asheville, Winston-Salem, Greensboro, Durham, and Raleigh) and within the northeastern area of the state running through the coastal plain subregion. On the other hand, Republican partisans are much more geographically dispersed, producing a larger footprint within the state. Republican VTDs occupy large swaths of the mountain, piedmont, and coastal plain subregions. In order to get a clearer picture on the spatial distribution of partisanship in North Carolina, more specific statistics are presented in Table 12.

Table 12. GOP Vote Index by Geographic Region

Area	Percent Republican	Moran's I
State	50.0%	.43*
Mountain	53.7%	.76*
Piedmont	50.0%	.56*
Coastal Plain	44.3%	.39*
Tidewater	56.6%	.31*

*Significant at $p < .01$.

Aggregating the partisan index previously discussed by different geographic areas helps to quantify the visual picture presented in the previous map. Statewide, the index shows a 50/50 split by party. Within North Carolina, however, there is geographic variance as indicated when examining partisanship by subregion. Republicans constitute a majority in the mountain and tidewater areas. The piedmont is evenly split in terms of the partisan vote distribution, while Democrats constitute a majority in the coastal plain subregion.

The second statistic presented in the table is Moran's I. Moran's I ranges from -1 to 1, with positive and statistically significant values an indication of the presence of spatial autocorrelation. In plain English, spatial autocorrelation signals the clustering of geographic units with similar values. For the present exercise, this would mean that VTDs that are spatially proximate have similar values on the partisan vote index. So, Democratic VTDs would tend to be spatially proximate and Republican VTDs would tend to be spatially proximate. Values for Moran's I in Table 12 are all positive and statistically significant, statistical evidence buttressing the claim that partisans are geographically clustered within North Carolina.

The final component of this section examines the relationship between urban areas and Democratic partisanship. As a proxy to denote urban areas, I rely on population density. This measure was

³⁴See for example Nicolas O. Stephanopoulos and Eric M. McGhee. 2015. "Partisan Gerrymandering and the Efficiency Gap." *The University of Chicago Law Review* 82: 831-900; Gary C. Jacobson. 2003. "Terror, Terrain, and Turnout: Explaining the 2002 Midterm Elections." *Political Science Quarterly* 118(1): 1-22; Jowei Chen and Jonathan Rodden. 2013. "Unintentional Gerrymandering: Political Geography and Electoral Bias in Legislatures." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 8: 239-269; and Gary C. Jacobson and Jamie L. Carson. 2016. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 9th ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

created by dividing the voting age population contained within each VTD by the area of the VTD (measured in square miles). I then created a new indicator by subtracting values on the partisan index from one. In this model, higher values indicate increasing Democratic vote strength. In order to test the relationship between population density and Democratic partisanship, I used OLS regression. The results are found in Table 13 below.³⁵

Table 13. Explaining Democratic Partisanship

	Coefficient	Standard Error
Population Density	.00009*	.000003
Constant	.4294*	.0043
R ²	.22	
N	2,692	

*p<.001

As indicated by the results in the table, population density is a significant predictor of Democratic vote strength in North Carolina. As population density increases, so does Democratic partisanship. Stated otherwise, Democrats in the state are more likely to be located in urban areas. Of course, this is just further statistical confirmation of the spatial patterns that were previously discussed.

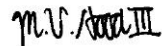
To recap, this section has demonstrated that North Carolina’s political geography can affect the manner in which legislative districts are created. Geographically speaking, Republican areas tend to cluster with other Republican areas and Democratic areas tend to be located alongside other Democratic areas. As well, Democrats are more likely to found in urban areas and Republicans in rural areas. As a consequence of this pattern, Republicans possess a larger geographic footprint in the state than do Democrats. The presence of such spatial patterns can lead to the phenomenon where voters with similar voting patterns are more likely to be placed together in the same district, sometimes referred to as *natural* packing.

³⁵Alternative model specifications using the logged value of population density and weighting observations by VAP revealed the same pattern as that presented in Table 13.

VI. CERTIFICATION

I certify that the statements and opinions provided in this report are true and accurate to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief.

Executed on April 30, 2019.



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Academic Positions

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Director of Graduate Studies, 2011-2016.

Associate Professor, 2005-2013

Assistant Professor, 1999-2005.

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Ph.D.	Political Science	Texas Tech University	1997
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B.S.	Political Science	Texas A&M University	1991

Peer-Reviewed Books

The Rational Southerner: Black Mobilization, Republican Growth, and the Partisan Transformation of the American South. 2012. New York: Oxford University Press.
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[Winner of the 2014 Hahn-Sigelman Prize]
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Grant-funded Research (UGA)

Co-Principal Investigator. “An Examination of Non-Precinct Voting in the State of Georgia.” Budget: \$47,000. October 2008-July 2009. (with Charles S. Bullock, III). Funded by the Pew Charitable Trust.

Co-Principal Investigator. “The Best Judges Money Can Buy?: Campaign Contributions and the Texas Supreme Court.” (SES-0615838) Total Budget: \$166,576; UGA Share: \$69,974. September 2006-August 2008. (with Craig F. Emmert). Funded by the National Science Foundation. REU Supplemental Award (2008-2009): \$6,300.

Principal Investigator. “Payola Justice or Just Plain ‘Ole Politics Texas-Style?: Campaign Finance and the Texas Supreme Court.” \$5,175. January 2000-Januray 2001. Funded by the University of Georgia Research Foundation, Inc.

Curriculum Grants (UGA)

Learning Technology Grant: “Converting Ideas Into Effective Action: An Interactive Computer and Classroom Simulation for the Teaching of American Politics.” \$40,000. January-December 2004. (with Loch Johnson). Funded by the Office of Instructional Support and Technology, University of Georgia.

Dissertation

“Capturing Bubba's Heart and Mind: Group Consciousness and the Political Identification of Southern White Males, 1972-1994.”

Chair: Professor Sue Tolleson-Rinehart

Papers and Activities at Professional Meetings

“The Geography of Latino Growth in the American South.” 2018. (with Seth C. McKee). State Politics and Policy Conference. State College, PA.

“A History and Analysis of Black Representation in Southern State Legislatures.” 2018. (with Charles S. Bullock, III, William D. Hicks, Seth C. McKee, Adam S. Myers, and Daniel A. Smith). Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

Discussant. Panel titled “Southern Distinctiveness?” 2018. The Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

Roundtable Participant. Panel titled “The 2018 Elections.” 2018. The Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

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Moderator. Panel titled “What Happens Next.” 2017. The Annual Meeting of Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration. Portland, Oregon.

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- “Palmetto Postmortem: Examining the Effects of the South Carolina Voter Identification Statute.” 2017. (with Scott E. Buchanan). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.
- Panel Chair and Presenter. Panel titled “Assessing the 2016 Presidential Election.” 2017. UGA Elections Conference. Athens, GA.
- Roundtable Discussant. Panel titled “Author Meets Critics: Robert Mickey's Paths Out of Dixie.” 2017. The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.
- “Out of Step and Out of Touch: The Matter with Kansas in the 2014 Midterm Election.” (with Seth C. McKee and Ian Ostrander). 2016. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. San Juan, Puerto Rico.
- “Contagious Republicanism in North Carolina and Louisiana, 1966-2008.”(with Jamie Monogan). 2016. Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.
- “The Behavioral Implications of Racial Resentment in the South: The Intervening Influence of Party.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2016. Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.
- Discussant. Panel titled “Partisan Realignment in the South.” 2016. The Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.
- “Electoral Implications of Racial Resentment in the South: The Influence of Party.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2016. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Philadelphia, PA.
- “Racial Resentment and the Tea Party: Taking Regional Differences Seriously.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2015. Poster presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. San Francisco, CA.
- “Race and the Tea Party in the Palmetto State: Tim Scott, Nikki Haley, Bakari Sellers and the 2014 Elections in South Carolina.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2015. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.
- Participant. Roundtable on the 2014 Midterm Elections in the Deep South. Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.
- “Race and the Tea Party in the Old Dominion: Split-Ticket Voting in the 2013 Virginia Elections.” (with Irwin L. Morris and Quentin Kidd). 2014. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

- “Race and the Tea Party in the Old Dominion: Down-Ticket Voting and Roll-Off in the 2013 Virginia Elections.” (with Irwin L. Morris and Quentin Kidd). 2014. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.
- “Tea Leaves and Southern Politics: Explaining Tea Party Support Among Southern Republicans.” (with Irwin L. Morris and Quentin Kidd). 2013. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Orlando, FL.
- “The Tea Party and the Southern GOP.” (with Irwin L. Morris and Quentin Kidd). 2012. Research presented at the Effects of the 2012 Elections Conference. Athens, GA.
- “Black Mobilization in the Modern South: When Does Empowerment Matter?” (with Irwin L. Morris and Quentin Kidd). 2012. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.
- “The Legislature Chooses a Governor: Georgia’s 1966 Gubernatorial Election.” (with Charles S. Bullock, III). 2012. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.
- “One-Stop to Victory? North Carolina, Obama, and the 2008 General Election.” (with Justin Bullock, Paul Carlsen, Perry Joiner, and Mark Owens). 2011. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans.
- “Redistricting and Turnout in Black and White.” (with Seth C. McKee and Danny Hayes). 2011. Paper presented the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago, IL.
- “One-Stop to Victory? North Carolina, Obama, and the 2008 General Election.” (with Justin Bullock, Paul Carlsen, Perry Joiner, Jeni McDermott, and Mark Owens). 2011. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association Meeting. Chicago, IL.
- “Strategic Voting in the 2010 Florida Senate Election.” (with Seth C. McKee). 2011. Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Political Science Association. Jupiter, FL.
- “The Republican Bottleneck: Congressional Emergence Patterns in a Changing South.” (with Christian R. Grose and Seth C. McKee). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.
- “Capturing the Obama Effect: Black Turnout in Presidential Elections.” (with David Hill and Seth C. McKee) 2010. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Political Science Association. Jacksonville, FL.
- “The Republican Bottleneck: Congressional Emergence Patterns in a Changing South.” (with Seth C. McKee and Christian R. Grose). 2010. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

- “Black Mobilization and Republican Growth in the American South: The More Things Change the More They Stay the Same?” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2010. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.
- “Unwelcome Constituents: Redistricting and Incumbent Vote Shares.” (with Seth C. McKee). 2010. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta, GA.
- “Black Mobilization and Republican Growth in the American South: The More Things Change the More They Stay the Same?” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2010. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta, GA.
- “The Impact of Efforts to Increase Early Voting in Georgia, 2008.” (With Charles S. Bullock, III). 2009. Presentation made at the Annual Meeting of the Georgia Political Science Association. Callaway Gardens, GA.
- “Encouraging Non-Precinct Voting in Georgia, 2008.” (With Charles S. Bullock, III). 2009. Presentation made at the Time-Shifting The Vote Conference. Reed College, Portland, OR.
- “What Made Carolina Blue? In-migration and the 2008 North Carolina Presidential Vote.” (with Seth C. McKee). 2009. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Political Science Association. Orlando, FL.
- “Swimming with the Tide: Redistricting and Voter Choice in the 2006 Midterm.” (with Seth C. McKee). 2009. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “The Effect of the Partisan Press on U.S. House Elections, 1800-1820.” (with Jamie Carson). 2008. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the History of Congress Conference. Washington, D.C.
- “Backward Mapping: Exploring Questions of Representation via Spatial Analysis of Historical Congressional Districts.” (Michael Crespin). 2008. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the History of Congress Conference. Washington, D.C.
- “The Effect of the Partisan Press on U.S. House Elections, 1800-1820.” (with Jamie Carson). 2008. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “The Rational Southerner: The Local Logic of Partisan Transformation in the South.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2008. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.
- “Stranger Danger: The Influence of Redistricting on Candidate Recognition and Vote Choice.” (with Seth C. McKee). 2008. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political

Science Association. New Orleans.

“Backward Mapping: Exploring Questions of Representation via Spatial Analysis of Historical Congressional Districts.” (with Michael Crespin). 2007. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Chicago.

“Worth a Thousand Words? : An Analysis of Georgia’s Voter Identification Statute.” (with Charles S. Bullock, III). 2007. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association. Albuquerque.

“Gerrymandering on Georgia’s Mind: The Effects of Redistricting on Vote Choice in the 2006 Midterm Election.” (with Seth C. McKee). 2007. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of The Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans.

“Personalismo Politics: Partisanship, Presidential Popularity and 21st Century Southern Politics.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2006. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Philadelphia.

“Explaining Soft Money Transfers in State Gubernatorial Elections.” (with William Gillespie and Troy Gibson). 2006. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.

“Two Sides of the Same Coin?: A Panel Granger Analysis of Black Electoral Mobilization and GOP Growth in the South, 1960-2004.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2006. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“Hispanic Political Emergence in the Deep South, 2000-2004.” (With Charles S. Bullock, III). 2006. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston.

“Black Mobilization and the Growth of Southern Republicanism: Two Sides of the Same Coin?” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2006. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.

“Exploring the Linkage Between Black Turnout and Down-Ticket Challenges to Black Incumbents.” (With Troy M. Gibson). 2006. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.

“Race and the Ideological Transformation of the Democratic Party: Evidence from the Bayou State.” 2004. Paper presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Citadel Southern Politics Symposium. Charleston.

“Tracing the Evolution of Hispanic Political Emergence in the Deep South.” 2004. (Charles S. Bullock, III). Paper presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Citadel Southern Politics Symposium. Charleston.

- “Much Ado about Something? Religious Right Status in American Politics.” 2003. (With Mark C. Smith). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “Tracking the Flow of Non-Federal Dollars in U. S. Senate Campaigns, 1992-2000.” 2003. (With Janna Deitz and William Gillespie). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “PAC Cash and Votes: Can Money Rent a Vote?” 2002. (With William Gillespie). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Savannah.
- “What Can Gubernatorial Elections Teach Us About American Politics?: Exploiting and Underutilized Resource.” 2002. (With Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Boston.
- “I Know I Voted, But I’m Not Sure It Got Counted.” 2002. (With Charles S. Bullock, III and Richard Clark). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association. New Orleans.
- “Race and Southern Gubernatorial Elections: A 50-Year Assessment.” 2002. (With Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris). Paper presented at the Biennial Southern Politics Symposium. Charleston, SC.
- “Top-Down or Bottom-Up?: An Integrated Explanation of Two-Party Development in the South, 1960-2000.” 2001. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.
- “Cash, Congress, and Trade: Did Campaign Contributions Influence Congressional Support for Most Favored Nation Status in China?” 2001. (With William Gillespie). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association. Fort Worth.
- “Key 50 Years Later: Understanding the Racial Dynamics of 21st Century Southern Politics” 2001. (With Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.
- “The VRA and Beyond: The Political Mobilization of African Americans in the Modern South.” 2001. (With Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. San Francisco.
- “Payola Justice or Just Plain ‘Ole Politics Texas Style?: Campaign Finance and the Texas Supreme Court.” 2001. (With Craig Emmert). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “The VRA and Beyond: The Political Mobilization of African Americans in the Modern South.” 2000. (With Irwin Morris and Quentin Kidd). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.

- “Where Have All the Republicans Gone? A State-Level Study of Southern Republicanism.” 1999. (With Irwin Morris and Quentin Kidd). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Savannah.
- “Elephants in Dixie: A State-Level Analysis of the Rise of the Republican Party in the Modern South.” 1999. (With Irwin Morris and Quentin Kidd). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Atlanta.
- “Stimulant to Turnout or Merely a Convenience?: Developing an Early Voter Profile.” 1998. (With Quentin Kidd and Grant Neeley). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.
- “The Impact of the Texas Concealed Weapons Law on Crime Rates: A Policy Analysis for the City of Dallas, 1992-1997.” 1998. (With Grant W. Neeley). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “Analyzing Anglo Voting on Proposition 187: Does Racial/Ethnic Context Really Matter?” 1997. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Norfolk.
- “Capturing Bubba's Heart and Mind: Group Consciousness and the Political Identification of Southern White Males, 1972-1994.” 1997. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “Of Byrds[s] and Bumpers: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Study of the Roll-Call Voting Behavior of Democratic Senators from the South, 1960-1995.” 1996. (With Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.
- “Pest Control: Southern Politics and the Eradication of the Boll Weevil.” 1996. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. San Francisco.
- “Fit for the Greater Functions of Politics: Gender, Participation, and Political Knowledge.” 1996. (With Terry Gilmour, Kurt Shirkey, and Sue Tolleson-Rinehart). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “¿Amigo o Enemigo?: Racial Context, Attitudes, and White Public Opinion on Immigration.” 1996. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “¡Quedate o Vente!: Uncovering the Determinants of Hispanic Public Opinion Towards Immigration.” 1996. (With Irwin Morris and Kurt Shirkey). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association. Houston.

“Downs Meets the Boll Weevil: When Southern Democrats Turn Left.” 1995. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Tampa.

“¿Amigo o Enemigo?: Ideological Dispositions of Whites Residing in Heavily Hispanic Areas.” 1995. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Tampa.

Chair. Panel titled “Congress and Interest Groups in Institutional Settings.” 1995. Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association. Dallas.

“Death of the Boll Weevil?: The Decline of Conservative Democrats in the House.” 1995. (With Kurt Shirkey). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association. Dallas.

“Capturing Bubba’s Heart and Mind: The Political Identification of Southern White Males.” 1994. (With Sue Tolleson-Rinehart). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.

Areas of Teaching Competence

American Politics: Behavior and Institutions
Public Policy
Scope, Methods, Techniques

Teaching Experience

University of Georgia, 1999-present.
Graduate Faculty, 2003-present.
Provisional Graduate Faculty, 2000-2003.
Distance Education Faculty, 2000-present.

Texas Tech University, 1993-1999.
Visiting Faculty, 1997-1999.
Graduate Faculty, 1998-1999.
Extended Studies Faculty, 1997-1999.
Teaching Assistant, 1993-1997.

Courses Taught:

Undergraduate:

American Government and Politics, American Government and Politics (Honors),
Legislative Process, Introduction to Political Analysis, American Public Policy, Political
Psychology, Advanced Simulations in American Politics (Honors), Southern Politics,
Southern Politics (Honors), Survey Research Internship

Graduate:

Election Administration and Related Issues (Election Sciences), Political Parties and Interest Groups, Legislative Process, Seminar in American Politics, Southern Politics; Publishing for Political Science

Editorial Boards

Social Science Quarterly. Member. 2011-present.

Election Law Journal. Member. 2013-present.

Institutional Service (University-Level)

University Program Review Committee, 2009-2011.

Chair, 2010-2011

Vice-Chair, 2009-2010.

Graduate Council, 2005-2008.

Program Committee, 2005-2008.

Chair, Program Committee, 2007-2008.

University Libraries Committee, 2004-2014.

Search Committee for University Librarian and Associate Provost, 2014.