

DECLARATION

RICHARD L. ENGSTROM, Ph.D.

October 14, 2016

RICHARD L. ENGSTROM, acting in accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, Fed. R. Civ. P. 26(a)(2)(B), and Fed. R. Evid. 702 and 703, does hereby declare and say:

1. My name is Richard L. Engstrom and I am a resident of Chapel Hill, North Carolina. I am a Visiting Research Fellow at the Social Science Research Institute at Duke University and also a member of the Graduate Faculty in political science at Duke.

2. I started my work at Duke in 2008. Prior to that, from August of 2006 through 2007, I was employed as a consultant at the Center for Civil Rights at the School of Law, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. I am a former Research Professor of Political Science and Endowed Professor of Africana Studies at the University of New Orleans, where I was employed from August 1971 to May 2006. I have served two terms as the Chairperson of the Representation and Electoral Systems Section of the American Political Science Association (1993-1995, 1995-1997) and served as a member of the Executive Council for that section from 1993 to 2007. A copy of my curriculum vitae is attached as an Appendix to this declaration.

3. I have done extensive research into the relationship between election systems and the ability of minority voters to participate fully in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice. The results of my research on this topic have been published in the *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *Western Political Quarterly*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Social Science Quarterly*, *Journal of Law and Politics*, *St. Louis University Public Law Review*, *Electoral Studies*, *Representation*, *Publius*, *National Political*

Science Review, and other journals and books. Three articles authored or co-authored by me were cited with approval in *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 (1986), the United States Supreme Court decision interpreting amended Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. *See* 478 U.S. at 46 n.11, 48 n.15, 53 n.20, 55, 71. I am the co-author, with Mark A. Rush, of *Fair and Effective Representation? Debating Electoral Reform and Minority Rights* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2001). The attached curriculum vitae contains a list of my publications.

4. I also have testified as an expert witness in numerous cases in federal and state courts across the United States. Since 2009, inclusive, I have testified at trial and/or been deposed in the following cases: *Benavidez v. Irving Independent School District* (N.D. Tex. 2009), *United States v. Euclid City School District Board of Education* (N.D. Ohio 2009), *Texas Latino Redistricting Task Force v. Perry* (W.D. Tex. 2011), *Committee for a Fair and Balanced Map v. Illinois State Board of Elections* (N.D. Ill. 2011), *Egolf v. Duran* (N.M. 1st Judicial Dist. Ct. Santa Fe Cnty. 2011), *Texas v. United States* (D.D.C. 2012), *Fabela v. City of Farmers Branch* (N.D. Tex. 2012), *Romo v. Detzner* (Fla. 2d Judicial Cir. Leon Cnty. 2013), *Montes v. City of Yakima* (E.D. Wash. 2014), *Benavidez v. Irving Independent School District* (N.D. Tex. 2014), *Rodriguez v. Grand Prairie Independent School District* (N.D. Tex. 2014), *Texas Latino Redistricting Task Force v. Perry* (W.D. Tex. 2014), *Hall v. State of Louisiana* (M.D. La. 2014), *Missouri State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People v. Ferguson-Florissant School District and St Louis County Board of Election Commissioners* (E.D. Mo. 2015), and *Patino v. City of Pasadena* (S.D. Tex. 2016). I have also testified by deposition as a fact witness in *Backus v. South Carolina* (D.S.C. 2012).

5. I have reviewed Rule 702 of the Federal Rules of Evidence. As I understand that rule, I am an expert in election systems and their impact on minority voters. I am being compensated at a rate of \$400 an hour for my work on this matter.

6. Plaintiff's attorneys in this case have asked me to analyze the extent to which, if any, the candidate preferences of Latino voters and the other voters in the City of Pasco electorate, as revealed in their voting behavior in elections to the City Council, have been characterized by "racially polarized voting" ("RPV"). The Supreme Court has defined this term, in *Thornburg v. Gingles*, to refer to "a consistent relationship between [the] race of the voter and the way in which the voter votes," or alternatively, when the voters within a protected minority group vote differently than the other voters.¹ The city council elections analyzed for this purpose are the last three such endogenous elections to the council that presented voters with a choice between or among Latino and non-Latino candidates.² These elections were held in 2005, 2009, and 2015. Three such elections were the number of elections relied upon by the United States Supreme Court in finding RPV in the multi-member districts at issue in *Gingles*.³ Elections with this type of candidate pool are generally considered the most probative for assessing RPV when Latinos are the minority at issue in a case.⁴

¹ *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30, 54 n.21 (1986), (hereinafter *Gingles*).

² "Endogenous" elections are elections to the office at issue in a Section 2 case.

³ *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 80-82.

⁴ Elections presenting a choice between or among African American candidates and non-African American candidates were the only elections relied upon by the Supreme Court in *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 80-82. On the relative probative value for assessing racially polarized voting in elections with biracial candidate pools, *see, e.g., Missouri State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People v. Ferguson-Florissant School District*, No. 4:14-cv-2077, 2016 WL 4429695, at *44 (E.D. Mo. Aug. 22, 2016); *Black Political Task Force v. Galvin*, 300 F. Supp. 2d 291, 304 (D. Mass. 2004) (cites additional cases). *See also Magnolia Bar Ass'n, Inc. v. Lee*, 994 F.2d 1143, 1149 (5th Cir. 1993); *Bone Shirt v. Hazeltine*, 336 F. Supp. 2d 976, 1011-12 (D.S.D. 2004).

7. Pasco has a seven-member city council, all members of which are elected at-large. Nonpartisan primaries and general elections are employed. The seven seats are divided into seven positions, identified by numbers from 1 through 7, with all of the positions elected separately. This is known as a place system. Candidates for Positions 6 and 7 must be registered voters in the city and may reside anywhere in the city. They file separately, however, for either Position 6 or 7, and then compete only with the other candidates filing for the same position as them. Any registered voter residing in the city may vote for one of the candidates for Position 6 and one of the candidates for Position 7. This applies to both the primary and general elections. The top two candidates in votes in the primary proceed to the general election, in which all registered voters in the city may again vote. Given that there are only two choices in the decisive election, the general election, a majority of the votes is required for election.

8. There are geographical residency districts for the other five positions on the council, those identified as Positions 1 through 5. The geography of these residency districts is mutually exclusive and covers the entire city. In a primary election, only candidates who reside in that geographical area may compete for the particular position, and only voters residing in that area may vote in the primary. The top two candidates in votes proceed to the general election, and as with Position 6 and 7, all registered voters in the city may vote in that election. The decisive elections are at-large elections held during the general election. A “top 2” primary system is employed to select the candidates that compete in the general elections. The two candidates receiving the most votes in a primary for a specified position advance to the general election for that position. The primaries for Positions 6 and 7 are held citywide, while those for Positions 1 through 5 are held within residency districts. Only candidates residing in the residence district for a position may file to be a candidate for that position, and only voters

residing in the residency district may vote in that primary for that position. The general elections however are all at-large contests, in which voters throughout the city may cast votes.

9. Plaintiff's attorneys have also asked me to identify how this place system, in which all seven at-large seats on the city council are elected separately, in combination with the majority vote rule for general elections that results from the "top two" primary, enhance the ability of the other voters in the city to control the outcome of the decisive at-large elections. This system is widely recognized as enhancing the potential dilutive effect on minority voters of an at-large system. The third factor among the "Senate Factors" for the courts to address when assessing the "totality of circumstances" in a vote dilution section 2 case is:

The extent to which the state or political subdivision has used unusually large election districts, majority vote requirements, anti-single shot provisions, or other voting practices or procedures that may enhance the opportunity for discrimination against the minority group.⁵

10. As explained in paragraphs 26-27 below, the place system in Pasco reduces voters to casting only one vote, if any, in the decisive at-large election for each seat on the city council. Voters therefore may not engage in bullet voting (also known as single-shot voting). The primary system, as noted above, reduces the number of candidates in the general election to two, which results in a majority vote requirement. Hence two features of the at-large arrangement enhance the ability of a majority of voters to dilute the votes of the Latino minority in Pasco.

RACIALLY POLARIZED VOTING

⁵ S. Report. No. 97-417, 97th Cong., 2d Sess. (1982), at 28 (quoted in *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 37). See, e.g., *Fabela v. City of Farmers Branch, Tex.*, 2012 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 108086, at *59-60 (N.D. Tex., August 2, 2012); see also, e.g., Richard L. Engstrom and Michael D. McDonald, "'Enhancing' Factors in At-Large Plurality and Majority Systems: A Reconsideration," *Electoral Studies* 12, at 385-401 (Dec. 1993).

DATA AND METHODS

11. The data used to derive estimates of the candidate preferences of Latino and non-Latino voters include the number of people receiving ballots in each voting precinct in each of these elections, the number of such people with Spanish surnames, and the votes received by each of the candidates in each of the voting precincts.

12. William Cooper, another expert for Plaintiff in this matter, identified the number of people receiving ballots and the number of them with Spanish surnames in each precinct in the elections analyzed. He derived these data from Franklin County's lists of people receiving ballots in the examined elections and from a Spanish surname analysis he performed on the surnames of those people. In the analyses below, those with Spanish surnames are considered Latino voters, and those without Spanish surnames are considered non-Latino voters.

13. This method of identifying the relative presence of Latinos among those voting in the precincts is preferred over relying on Spanish surnames among registered voters, or on the decennial census counts of Latino self-identifiers among the voting age population, or on the census estimates of Latino self-identifiers among self-identified citizens of voting age population provided by the American Community Surveys, because it provides a more accurate record of the relative group composition of the voters in each precinct. Spanish surname matching is a procedure relied upon by courts for this purpose, and was relied upon by the United States District Court in the Yakima, Washington city council case.⁶

⁶ *Montes v. City of Yakima*, 40 F. Supp. 3d 1377 (E.D. Wash. 2014); see Khanna Declaration Ex. 2, Report of Richard L. Engstrom, Ph.D., Feb. 1, 2013, *Montes v. City of Yakima*, ECF No. 66-1, at 6 (E.D. Wash. July 1, 2014).

14. The data identifying the votes for the candidates in each precinct in each election examined are taken from the vote tabulations in the Franklin County, WA website.⁷

15. The estimates of the extent to which the candidate preferences of the Latino voters differed from those of the non-Latino voters in the elections analyzed have been derived through a statistical procedure, Gary King's Ecological Inference (EI), accessible through R software. This version not only provides a specific, or point, estimate of a group's support for a particular candidate, but also a confidence interval for that estimate. These intervals are reported in the table below and identify the range of estimates within which we can be 95 percent confident, statistically, that the true value of a group's support for a candidate falls. The point estimate is the best estimate, in that it is the value most likely to be the true value. Estimates within the range of a confidence interval are less likely to be the true value the further they are from the point estimate.⁸ When the confidence intervals for the different group estimates do not overlap, the difference in the point estimates between the groups is considered statistically significant.

RESULTS

⁷ [wei.sos.wa.gov/county/franklin/en/Elections/Election Research/Pages/Archived Elections.aspx](http://wei.sos.wa.gov/county/franklin/en/Elections/Election%20Research/Pages/Archived%20Elections.aspx).

⁸ EI is the subject of Professor King's book, *A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem: Reconstructing Individual Behavior from Aggregate Data* (Princeton University Press, 1997). It is widely recognized as an estimation procedure for assessing racially polarized voting that is superior to ecological regression or homogeneous precinct analyses, which had been relied upon by the United States Supreme Court in 1986 in *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 52-53. EI was developed subsequent to that case for the explicit purpose of improving these estimates. According to D. Stephen Voss, EI "is unparalleled when applied to the actual sort of data needed for analyzing important social issues such as racial voting patterns." Voss, "Using Ecological Inference for Contextual Research," in Gary King, Ori Rosen, and Martin Tanner (eds.), *Ecological Inference: New Methodological Strategies* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), at 93. See also Justin de Benedictis-Kessner, "Evidence in Voting Rights Act Litigation: Producing Accurate Estimates of Racial Voting Patterns," *Election Law Journal*, 14 (Dec. 2015), 361- 81.

16. The results of the EI analyses of the city council elections are reported in the Table found at the end of the text of this Declaration. The left column in the table identifies the year of the election, the position on the council contested, and whether the contest was a primary or a general election. If more than one Latino candidate sought the position, the number of Latino candidates in the primary is identified, and below that the surname of the candidate that received a plurality of the Latino vote is provided. The second column identifies the percentage of the Latinos voting in that election who voted for one of the Latino candidates, or for the candidate with the specified surname. The third column does the same for the non-Latino voters. Within the second and third columns, the first number is the point estimate of the group's vote for the Latino candidates combined or for the particular candidate with the identified surname. Below this number, in parentheses, is the range of estimates within the 95-percent confidence interval.

17. These results reveal racially polarized voting in both of the two most recent elections cycles that provided voters with a choice between or among Latino and non-Latino candidates, with the polarization being the most pronounced in the latest, held just last year. Latino voters show a preference in these most recent elections to be represented by Latino candidates. It is also clear from the analyses that this preference was not shared by non-Latino voters.

18. In the 2015 primary election, 86.0 percent of the Latino voters are estimated to have supported a Latino candidate for Position 1 and 74.8 percent for Position 6. However, only 10.1 percent of the non-Latino voters are estimated to have supported a Latino candidate in the primary for Position 1 and 39.5 percent for Position 6. In the Position 6 primary, voters across the entire city could cast a vote. The difference in the support levels for the Latino candidates

between the Latino and non-Latino voters in the Position 6 contest is statistically significant. Despite the difference in Latino and non-Latino support for the Latino candidates in the Position 1 primary being even larger than in the Position 6 primary, this difference is not statistically significant. This is no doubt due to the fact that the Position 1 primary was held in a residency district in which votes were recorded in only five precincts,⁹ whereas the Position 6 primary was a citywide primary in which votes were recorded in 65 precincts.¹⁰ This difference explains why the sizes of the confidence intervals are larger for the Position 1 primary.

19. The two candidates who received a plurality of the Latino votes in those two primaries in 2015, Bertha Alicia Coria and Bertha Aranda Glatt, were Latinas. Ms. Coria finished second in her primary, receiving 17.5 percent of the votes, and therefore qualified for the general election. She trailed the first place candidate, Al Yenny, by 44.4 percentage points however. Ms. Glatt also finished second in her primary, receiving 21.8 percent of the votes, and advanced to the general election. She likewise trailed the first place candidate, Mr. Matt Watkins, by a large margin, 35.4 percentage points.

20. Both Ms. Coria and Ms. Glatt were defeated decisively in the subsequent citywide general election. Each received strong support from Latino voters in that election. Indeed, the point estimates indicate that each received more than 80 percent of votes cast by Latinos, 81.6 and 84.4, respectively. However, both received much less support from non-Latino voters. The estimate of Ms. Coria's non-Latino support is estimated to have been 18.6 percent, while that for Ms. Glatt is 26.6 percent. In both cases, the difference in their support from the two groups is

⁹ Precincts numbered 13 and 159 in the residency district have been combined in the election returns and therefore counted as a single precinct.

¹⁰ Precincts numbered 16 and 102 in the residency district have been combined in the election returns and therefore counted as a single precinct.

statistically significant. The margin of defeat for Ms. Coria was 45.2 percentage points, while that for Ms. Glatt was 31.6 percentage points.

21. In the 2009 primary for Position 7, the previous time that voters were presented with a choice between or among Latino and non-Latino candidates, Latino voters cast an estimated majority of their votes, 58.3 percent, for the Latino candidate, Tony Maya, while non-Latino support for him is estimated to have been only 7.1 percent. This is a statistically significant difference. Mr. Maya finished last among the four candidates with 13.1 percent of the total vote and therefore did not advance to the general election.

22. There were elections for two seats on the city council in 2005 in which voters in Pasco were presented with Latino and non-Latino candidates. Mr. Maya was the Latino candidate for Position 2 in the three-candidate primary for this seat.¹¹ He is estimated to have received only 22.8 percent of the votes cast by Latino voters in that primary, and even less, 20.5 percent, of those by non-Latino voters. He finished third overall with 17.2 percent of the primary vote, just a single vote behind the second place candidate, and therefore did not qualify for the general election. Mike Garrison, the remaining candidate, received 65.1 percent of the overall vote in the primary.

23. The other contest in 2005 was for Position 7. Joe Cruz was the Latino in the three-candidate primary for this seat on the council. He received an estimated 48.2 percent of the votes cast by Latinos in this primary, which was a plurality of the Latino vote. His non-Latino vote was an estimated 33.7 percent. He finished second overall with 33.9 percent of the votes, and therefore advanced to the general election, along with Tom Larsen, the leading candidate in the primary, with 45.3 percent of the overall vote. The general election was very close, with Mr.

¹¹ The 2005 primaries were held in September rather than August.

Cruz receiving an estimated 40.7 percent of the Latino votes and an estimated 49.7 percent of the non-Latino votes. Larsen won the general election with an overall 50.4 percent of the votes.

24. Racially polarized voting was not present in the 2005 council elections but it was in those of 2009 and 2015. Mr. Cruz came close to winning Position 7 in 2005. But since then racially polarized voting has been present in both of the elections in which voters had a choice between or among Latino and non-Latino candidates. Latinos cast a majority of their votes for Mr. Maya in the 2009 elections, when competing against three non-Latino candidates, but he received only an estimated 7.1 percent of those of the non-Latino voters. This was a statistically significant difference. Latino voters provided even more support for the Latino candidates contesting primaries in the latest election, that in 2015, with 86.0 percent of them voting for the Latino candidates in Position 1 and 74.8 for the Latino candidates in Position 6, and then an estimated 81.6 percent and 84.4 percent for the Latino candidates who advanced to the general elections for those positions. Latinos have demonstrated cohesive support for Latino candidates in both 2009 and 2015, but the level of non-Latino support for them in each case precluded them from serving on the council.

ENHANCING FACTORS

25. As noted above, the only way to be elected to the Pasco city council is through a city-wide, at-large election. But the system is not a “pure at-large” system in which all candidates for the council compete with each other and voters get as many votes to cast as there are seats to be filled. In such a pure at-large system voters may cast one vote apiece for as many candidates as there are seats. Under that arrangement, voters may employ a single shot or bullet voting strategy. Minority voters may take advantage of that strategy to increase the opportunity they have to elect their preferred candidate.

26. Single shot voting entails a group of voters casting one vote, if they wish, for the candidate favored by the group, and not casting any of their remaining votes for any other candidate. By withholding their remaining votes from the candidates competing with their preferred choice, that choice has a better chance to finish among the top N candidates and win one of the N seats. The place system in Pasco, in contrast, reduces the number of candidates who can win to one in every place, and allocates every voter one vote, thereby precluding the use of this strategy by Latinos in Pasco.

27. Not only does the place system utilized in Pasco preclude single shot or bullet voting, the at-large system utilized there permits a majority group to control the outcome of the election in each place. The top-two primary arrangement limits the general election to only two candidates per place. This in effect requires the winning candidates in each and every position on the council to receive a majority of the votes. Given the racially polarized voting in city council elections revealed above, and the minority status quantitatively of the voting age population of Latinos in Pasco (32 percent), it is not surprising to find no Latinos serving on the city council as a result of a contested election.

CONCLUSION


28. The racially polarized voting analysis reported above reveals that Latinos have demonstrated, through their voting behavior, cohesive support for Latino candidates in both of the council contests on the ballot in 2015, the most recent council elections in which the city's voters had a choice between or among Latino and non-Latino candidates. This was also the case in the most recent council election in which the same type of candidate pool was present, that in 2009. In all of these elections the low level of non-Latino support for the preferred Latino candidates precluded them from serving on the council. This happened to both of the Latino

candidates preferred by Latino voters in the general elections held in 2015. The third most recent Latino candidate preferred by Latino voters, was eliminated in the primary in 2009.

29. The analysis of the fourth and fifth oldest elections presenting the choice of Latino or non-Latino candidates, back in 2005, did not reveal racially polarized voting at that time. The voting in Pasco council elections however, was found to be polarized in 2009 and more so in the two elections held in 2015.

30. The analysis reported above shows that, post-2005, due to racially polarized voting Latinos candidates preferred by Latino voters competing with a non-Latino candidate are unable to win an at-large election in Pasco.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge. Executed on October 14, 2016 in Durham, NC.



Richard L. Engstrom

Table**Racially Polarized Voting Analysis****Elections to Pasco City Council****EI Estimates of the Votes for Latino Candidates****2015 Primary Election****Position 1**

| | % of Latino Voters | % of non-Latino Voters |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| The three Latino Candidates | 86.0 (7.6 – 96.8) | 10.1 (1.4 – 55.0) |
| Coria | 38.5 pl (11.4 -- 47.1) | 3.9 (1.3 -- 16.6) |

Position 6

| | % of Latino Voters | % of non-Latino Voters |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| The three Latino Candidates | 74.8 (54.5 – 93.3) | 39.5 (35.1 – 44.0) |
| Glatt | 41.1 pl (18.6 -- 61.2) | 19.6 (16.0 -- 23.1) |

2015 General Election**Position 1**

| | % of Latino Voters | % of non-Latino Voters |
|--------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Coria | 81.6 (69.4 -- 95.0) | 18.6 (15.8-- 21.6) |

Position 6

| | % of Latino Voters | % of non-Latino Voters |
|--------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Glatt | 84.4 (75.7 -- 94.2) | 26.6 (23.8 -- 29.3) |

2009 Primary Election**Position 7**

| | % of Latino Voters | % of non-Latino Voters |
|--|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Maya (v. three non-Latinos) | 58.3 (36.2 -- 77.2) | 7.1 (4.9 -- 9.8) |

2005 Primary Election**Position 2**

| | % of Latino Voters | % of non-Latino Voters |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Maya (v. two non-Latinos) | 22.8 (5.9 -- 44.2) | 20.5 (12.2 -- 36.9) |

Position 7

| | % of Latino Voters | % of non-Latino Voters |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Cruz (v. two non-Latinos) | 48.2 pl (15.0 -- 74.1) | 33.7 (27.1 -- 40.7) |

2005 General Election**Position 7**

| | % of Latino Voters | % of non-Latino Voters |
|-------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Cruz | 40.7 (4.1 -- 72.6) | 49.7 (43.3 -- 56.5) |

Exhibit A

VITA
RICHARD L. ENGSTROM

October 2016

OFFICE

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HOME

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PERSONAL AND EMPLOYMENT INFORMATION

Born May 23, 1946. Married to former Carol L. Verheek. Four children: Richard Neal, born 3/10/70; Mark Andrew, born 1/14/73; Brad Alan, born 3/31/77; and Amy Min, born 8/18/84.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of New Orleans, 1971-74; Associate Professor, 1974-1979; Professor, 1979-2006; Research Professor, 1987-2006, Endowed Professor of Africana Studies, 2003-2005.

Chairperson, Department of Political Science, University of New Orleans, 1976-1979. Coordinator of Graduate Studies, 1990-1992, 1993-2006.

Consultant, Center for Civil Rights, School of Law, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2006-2007.

Research Associate, Center for the Study of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Social Sciences (REGSS), Duke University, 2013 – present. Visiting Research Fellow, REGSS, 2008 - 2012. Visiting Professor of Political Science, Duke University 2008 - present.

Fulbright-Hays Professor, National Taiwan University and National Chengchi University, and Visiting Research Fellow, Institute of American Culture, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C., 1981-82.

Fulbright-Hays Professor, University College, Galway, Ireland, 1985-86.

Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Irish Studies, the Queen's University of Belfast, 1990.

David Bruce Fellow, Bruce Centre for American Studies, University of Keele, England, 1993.

Visiting Fellow, School of Politics, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, Australia, 1998.

Program Visitor, Political Science Program, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia, June-July, 2005.

Recipient, UNO Alumni Association's Career Distinction Award for Excellence in Research, December 1985.

Recipient, George W. Lucas Community Service Award, New Orleans NAACP, 1993.

Recipient, Emmitt J. Douglass Memorial Award, Louisiana NAACP, 2013.

FORMAL EDUCATION

Ph.D., University of Kentucky, 1971

M.A., University of Kentucky, 1969

A.B., Hope College (Holland, Michigan), 1968.
(recipient of Class of '65 Political Science Award, 1968.

PRIMARY TEACHING FIELDS

Election Systems, Urban and Minority Politics, Legislative Process, American Politics.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Member, Election Review Committee, American Political Science Association, 2003-2004.

Chair, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association, 1993-95, 95-97. Section Board, 1993-present.

Book review editor, American Review of Politics, 1995-present.

Lecture tour, under sponsorship of United States Information Agency, of Tanzania, Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, and Liberia, January, 1994. Topics include, among others, comparative election systems, legislatures within democratic regimes, and race and gender in contemporary politics.

Associate Member, Centre for the Study of Irish Elections, University College Galway.

Member, Board of Editors, Public Administration Quarterly 1977- present.

Member, Editorial Board, Journal of Politics, 1988-1993.

Member, Board of Editors, State and Local Government Review, 1988- 1990.

Member, Committee on the Status of Blacks, Southern Political Science Association, 1991-1996.

Treasurer, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1981 (position resigned during term due to Fulbright Lectureship).

Chair, Harold D. Lasswell Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 1995-1996 (best dissertation in public policy).

Chair, Ted Robinson Award Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1995-1996 (best research project in minority politics by a graduate student).

Member, Nominating Committees, Southern Political Science Association, 1980; Louisiana Political Science Association, 1981, Study Group on Comparative Representation and Electoral Systems, International Political Science Association, 1988, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association, 1999.

Member, Chastain Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 1978. V.O. Key Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 1990. Ted Robinson Memorial Award Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1995, 1996 (chair). Hallett Award Committee, Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, American Political Science Association, 1999, 2000.

Member, Program Committee (Urban Politics Section), 1976 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Program Committee (Urban Politics Section), 1992 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Program Committee (Representation and Electoral Systems Section), 1994 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Program Committee (Representation and Electoral Systems Section), 2002 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Member, Membership Committee, Southwestern Social Science Association, 1973-74.

Presented papers at meetings of the American Political Science Association, International Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association, Southwestern Political Science Association, Louisiana Political Science Association, Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, International Society of Political Psychology, Harvard University Computer Graphics Week, Australian-New

Zealand Academy for the Advancement of Science. Formal papers also presented at programs at Tulane University, Sagamon State University, University of Keele (England), Rice University, and Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy, University of California School of Law.

Chaired panels at meetings of the American Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Southwestern Political Science Association, and International Political Science Association.

Served as discussant for panels at meetings of the American Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association; Southwestern Social Science Association; Louisiana Political Science Association; Institute of American Culture, Academic Sinica (Taiwan), and International Political Science Association.

Reviewed manuscripts for the American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Political Research Quarterly, Polity, Social Science Quarterly, Legislative Studies Quarterly, American Politics Quarterly, Urban Affairs Review, Electoral Studies, Election Law Journal, Political Analysis, National Political Science Review, Women and Politics, Southeastern Political Review, State and Local Government Review, Public Administration Review, Public Administration Quarterly, American Review of Politics, Presidential Studies Quarterly, Law and Policy, Journal of Policy History, Public Administration and Management, Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy, Du Bois Review, Howard University Press, Stanford University Press, and Northern Illinois University Press.

Recipient of grant from Pacific Cultural Foundation, Taipei, Taiwan to support project entitled "The Legislative Yuan: A Study of Legislative Adaptation" (1982).

Recipient of grant from private sources, New Orleans, to support a study of mayoral tenure in large American cities (1983).

Recipient of grant from Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, to conduct exit poll of cumulative voting election in Chilton County, Alabama (1992).

Recipient of grants from Louisiana Education Quality Support Fund, Fellowship Funding for Superior Graduate Students, 1992 (1993-1997) \$48,000; 1996 (1997-2001) \$64,000; 1997 (1998-2002) \$48,000; 1998 (1999-2003) \$56,000.

Reviewed grant proposals for National Science Foundation programs in Political Science and Law and Social Sciences, and National Science Foundation graduate fellowship applications for the National Research Council.

Served as mentor in Southern Regional Council's Voting Rights Fellowship Program to Jason F. Kirksey, 1992-1993, and Dr. Olethia Davis, 1993-1994.

United Nations Consultant on Election Systems and Constituency Delimitation, National Election Commission of Liberia, UN Mission in Liberia, 2004.

COMMUNITY AND UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Consultant, Charter Task Force Committee, New Orleans, 2000. Preparation of Term Limits: A Report to the Charter Task Force Committee, February, 2000.

Interviewed on term limits issue on “Crescent City Close Up,” public affairs program on three radio stations, WNOE, KKND, and KUMX, March 19, 2000.

Participant, Roundtable on At-Large Elections for the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), sponsored by Common Cause, the Center for Democracy and Technology, and the Markle Foundation, at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, February 9, 2000.

Member, Board of Directors, Concern International Charities, 1998-2003.

Chairperson, Taskforce on Civil Service, Mayor-Elect Ernest Morial's Transition Office (New Orleans), 1977-78.

Member, Chachere Subcommittee of UNO Diversity Cabinet, 2003-2004.

Member, Graduate Council, UNO, 1975-76, 1994-95, 2006.

Member, Research Council, UNO, 1995-97, 2005.

Member, International Student Recruitment Committee, UNO, 1993-96.

Chairperson, Search Committee for Vice Chancellor for Research and Graduate Studies and Dean of the Graduate School, UNO, 1987-88.

Chairperson, Search Committee for Graduate Dean, UNO, 1978-79.

Member, University Budget Committee, UNO, 1983-84.

Member, Liberal Arts Advisory Committee, UNO, 1975-76, 1982-84.

Member, Academic Planning Committee, UNO, 1982-1988.

Member, Faculty Council Committee on Faculty Honors, UNO, 1985-1990.

Member, Committee on Research, UNO Self-Study, 1972-73; 1982-83.

Member, Dean's Advisory Committee on Academic Planning, College of Liberal Arts, UNO, 1983-84.

Member, University Senate, UNO, 1975-77; 1980-81; 83-85; 87-91.

Member, Steering Committee, Legal Division, New Orleans Chapter, American Foundation for Negro Affairs, 1977-79.

Service as expert witness in numerous vote dilution cases in federal courts. Employed by the United States Department of Justice, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Center for Constitutional Rights, Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund; Native American Rights Fund, and other organizations. Served as court-appointed expert for the remedial portion of Williams v. City of Dallas, United States District Court for the Northern District of Texas, Dallas Division, 1991. Service as Special Master for the remedial portion of Harper v. City of Chicago Heights, United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division, 2002-2004.

INVITED LECTURES / PRESENTATIONS (Since 1986)

1986: McGee College, University of Ulster - "The Reagan Elections: Realignment or Dealignment?" and "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue in American Politics"

The Queen's University of Belfast - "The Reagan Elections: Realignment or Dealignment?" and "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue in American Politics"

University of Keele - "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue in American Politics"

University College Dublin - "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue in American Politics" (4/30/86).

University College Galway - "The Reagan Elections: Realignment or Dealignment?"

1987: Southern University - "The Equal Protection Clause and Electoral Reapportionment" (4/8/87).

APSA Summer Institute for Black Students, Louisiana State University - "The Political Scientist as Expert Witness" (7/26/87).

NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Conference on Voting Rights, San Antonio, Texas - "Cumulative and Limited Voting as Remedies for Minority Vote Dilution."

1988: College of William and Mary - "The Contemporary Voting Rights Issue" and "The Role of Social Scientists in Voting Rights Litigation"

University of Queensland - "One Vote, One Value: The U.S. Experience After 25 Years" (5/24/88).

Griffith University (Brisbane) - "One Vote, One Value: The U.S. Experience After 25 Years" (5/25/88).

1989: Tulane University - "Frontiers of Voting Rights: Vote Dilution in Judicial Elections" (3/9/89).

Lamar University - "Voting Rights: A Retrospective" (10/30/89).

Oklahoma State University - "Frontiers of Voting Rights" (November/10/89).

Prairie View A and M University - "Reapportionment and Black Political Power" (11/16/89).

1990: The Queen's University of Belfast-Institute of Irish Studies, "The Irish Election System: Manipulation and Reform" (3/13/90); Department of Politics, "The Reagan Presidency: An Assessment" (3/8/90).

Brookings Institution - "Social Scientists and the Voting Rights Act" (10/19/90).

Lyndon Baines Johnson Library (Austin, Texas) - "The Evolution of the Voting Rights Act of 1965" (10/29/90).

1991: University of Texas at Dallas - "Redistricting the Dallas City Council" (3/8/91).

United States Department of Justice, Voting Section - "Alternative Election Systems" (3/15/91).

Stetson University School of Law - "Alternative Election Systems as Remedies for Minority Vote Dilution" (4/27/91).

Norfolk State University - "Election Analyses in Voting Rights Litigation" (6/15/91).

1992: University of Colorado, Summer Workshop in Urban Politics - "Race and Voting in Judicial Elections: New Orleans as a Case Study Setting" (7/9/91).

Harold Washington College, Chicago - "Political Science Research and Testimony in the Miami-Dade County Core" (9/5/92 - not presented to illness).

Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia - "Exit Polls and Voting Rights Litigation" (10/2/92).

1994: Lecture tour of Tanzania, Ethiopia, Malawi, and Liberia for United States Information Agency, January, 1994.

National Conference of State Legislators, Annual Meeting, New Orleans - "Redistricting and the Courts" (7/26/94)

1995: Department of International Politics, Peking University, "Constitutional Law, Comparative Electoral Systems, and the Politics of Race and Gender" (10/17/95).

1997: John D. Lees Memorial Lecture, Keynote Address, 1997 Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, (United Kingdom) Political Science Association, Keele, England, "Affirmative Action: The Election and the Election System" (1/3/97).

Alumni College, College of Liberal Arts, University of New Orleans, "Racial Gerrymandering in the 1990s: The Issues and the Alternatives" (2/1/97).

Commission on Governmental Reorganization, City of New Orleans, "Principles for Governmental Organization" (9/23/97).

Civil Rights Training Institute (Airlie Conference), NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, "Alternative Election Systems in the Post-Shaw Era" (11/8/97).

1998

School of Politics, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, "Racial Gerrymandering in the United States" (4/1/98) and "Election Systems and Minority Representation in the United States: Racial Gerrymandering and Its Aftermath" (5/29/98).

School of Political Science, University of New South Wales, Sydney, "Election Systems and Minority Representation in the United States: Racial Gerrymandering and Its Aftermath" (4/8/98).

Illinois Secretary of State's Commission on Redistricting, Chicago, IL, "Computer Generated Districting Plans: Necessary Conditions and Tie Breaking Criteria" (12/16/98).

2001

Carinthian Institute of Minority Affairs, Villach, Austria, "Spiders, Earmuffs, and the Mark of Zorro: Creating Electoral Opportunities for Minorities in America's Single Member District System" (5/5/01).

Bureau of Governmental Research, New Orleans, LA, "The Mayor: How Many Terms?" (10/10/01).

2002

Pomona College, Claremont, CA, "Spiders, Earmuffs, and the Mark of Zorro: There Must be a Better Way" (3/13/02).

Utah State University, "The Redistricting Thicket: Are There Alternatives?" Bennion Teachers' Workshop (8/9/02).

Utah State University, "Missing the Target: Priorities among Districting Constraints," Redistricting in the New Millennium: A Lecture Series, (11/26/02).

2003

Florida State University, "Missing the Target: Priorities among Districting Constraints," (1/21/03).

2004

Cleveland City Club/Cleveland State University, "Metro Reform and Minority Voting Rights," (2/25/04).

Liberian National Election Commission Consultative Assembly, Monrovia, Liberia, "Constituency Boundary Redemarcation: Concepts and Timeframes," (6/7/04).

2005

Subcommittee on the Constitution, Committee on the Judiciary, United States House of Representatives, written and oral testimony, hearing on Extension of the Preclearance Provision of the Voting Rights Act, (10/25/05).

William C. Velasquez Institute, San Antonio, TX, "Influence Districts," (11/19/05)

2006

University of West Georgia, "The Gerrymandering Problem: Lessons from Australia?" (4/3/06).

Duke University, "Racially Polarized Voting: Pervasive and Persistent in the American South," Conference on "W(h)ithering the Voting Rights Act?" (4/7/06).

International Political Science Association, Fukuoka, Japan. Roundtable on Electronic Voting. "E Voting in the U.S.," (7/13/06).

Brennan Center for Justice, New York University School of Law, "The Gerrymandering Problem: Lessons from Australia?," (8/7/06).

Short Course on The National Popular Vote Plan to Revamp the Electoral College, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, "Potential Impact of the National Popular Vote Plan on Presidential Elections and Other Electoral Reforms," (8/30/06).

American Bar Association, Administrative Law Section, "Redistricting Reform: Lessons from Australia," Washington, D.C. (10/26/06).

2008

Morehouse College, “The Gerrymandering Problem in the United States: Judicial Protection or Redistricting Commissions or Alternative Election Systems,” Voting Analysis in Mathematics and Politics: Interdisciplinary Research and Education Seminar (VAMPIRES) (4/18/08).

2009

Duke University, “Response to Thomas Brunell, ‘Why Competitive Elections are Bad for America’,” Duke University Political Science Students’ Association (2/10/09).

Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Race, Ethnicity, and Diversity, University of California at Berkeley School of Law, presenter, panel on “The Redistricting Experience: Tales from the Field,” conference on Redistricting Reform and Voting Rights: Identifying Common Ground and Challenges, UC Washington Center, (11/11/09).

2010

Center for the Study of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Social Sciences, Duke University Presentation on “Race and Redistricting” at the conference “Counting Race: Racial Classifications and the 2010 Census,” Duke University (3/19/10).

St. Louis University Law School, Presentation on “Cumulative and Limited Voting as Remedies for Dilutive Election Systems,” at the symposium on “Voting 45 Years after the Voting Rights Act,” (3/26/10).

Demos, Presentation on “Issues in the Post-2010 Round of Redistricting” and Discussion Leader for Session on Redistricting, “An In-Depth Discussion with Demos,” Washington, DC (9/4/10).

NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Presentation on “Prongs II and III: Necessary Preconditions under *Thornburg v. Gingles*,” at the Voting Rights and Redistricting Training Institute, Airlie Conference, Warrenton, VA (10/9/10).

Center for Democratic Performance, Binghamton University, “Influence Districts and the Courts: A Concept in Need of Clarity,” (10/28/10).

Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Short presentation on “Racially Polarized Voting Analyses,” National Redistricting Convening, San Antonio, TX (12/9/10).

2011

Columbia University, “IRCs in Comparative Perspective: Lessons from Australia?,” Conference on Do Independent Redistricting Commissions Affect Minority Representation?, New York City (12/9/11).

2012

Duke University, “Minorities and the New Round of Redistricting: Native Americans, Latinos, and African Americans, Plus (of course) The Great State of Texas,” Center for the Study of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender Colloquium, (3/22/12).

Georgia Perimeter College, Clarkston Campus, “Minority-Majority Districts: Their Adoption and Consequences,” (10/4/12).

2013

National Bar Association and Louisiana Judicial Conference, Baton Rouge, LA, “Judicial Subdistricts: Where Do We Go from Here?”, Baton Rouge, LA (2/16/13).

University of North Carolina Greensboro, “Controversies over Election Reform in North Carolina,” panel at the Twenty-Fourth Annual MPA Alumni Reunion, (11/1/13).

2015

National Bar Association and Louisiana Judicial Conference, Baton Rouge, LA (2/16/13). “Judicial Subdistricts: Where Do We Go From Here?”, (2/16/13).

U.S. Grant Presidential Library, Mississippi University, “Symposium: The Fifteenth Amendment from U.S. Grant to Lyndon B. Johnson’s Voting Rights Act, “Preclearance Politics in Mississippi,” (9/25/15), with Tommie Cardin.

2016

“Alternative Election Systems,” priming presentation 1/28/16, Roundtable on Voting Rights and Fair Representation Systems, Joyce Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and State Infrastructure Fund, January 28-29, 2016, Airlie Conference Center, Airlie, VA..

“Can We Get the Politics Out of Redistricting? Different Approaches to Minimizing Gerrymandering, with Lessons from Australia.” Speakers Series 2015-2016. Southern University Law Center, April 9, 2016.

“Racially Polarized Voting Analyses in Section 2 Cases,” Conference call introducing NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys in the New York and Washington, D.C. offices to racially polarized voting analyses in Section 2 Voting Rights Act cases. October 7, 2016.

Numerous other presentations before groups such as the Louisiana Municipal Association; New Orleans League of Women Voters; Public Policy Forums at Southern University in Baton Rouge; Louisiana Municipal Clerks Institute; (La.) Black Legislative Caucus Institute; Robert A. Taft Institute of Government Seminars, Southern University; Special Committee on Elective Law and Voter Participation, American Bar Association;

Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Law, United States House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary; Institute of American Culture, Academic Sinica (Taiwan), Foundation for Scholarly Exchange (Taiwan), and Tulane University, Department of Political Science and College of Law.

REFERENCES

Dr. Christine L. Day, former Chair, Department of Political Science, University of New Orleans, New Orleans, LA 70148, 504-280-6266, clday@uno.edu.

Dr. Charles D. Hadley, former Chair, Department of Political Science, University of New Orleans, New Orleans, LA 70148, 504-810-3087, cdhadley@gmail.com.

Dr. Kerry L. Haynie, Department of Political Science, Duke University, Durham, NC 27708, 919-660-4366, klhaynie@duke.edu.

Dr. Baodong Liu, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT 84112, 801-581-6473, baodong.liu@utah.edu.

Dr. Michael D. McDonald, Department of Political Science, University of Binghamton, Binghamton, NY 13901 607-777-4563, mdmcd@binghamton.edu.

Dr. Henry Flores, Distinguished Professor of Political Science, St. Marty's University, San Antonio, TX.

CURRENT RESEARCH

“Districting by Independent Commissions: Lessons from Australia?” paper to be presented at the Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in January 2016, and to be included in a Mini-Symposium on Redistricting in *Social Science Quarterly* (2006).

“Native Americans and Redistricting Issues: State Legislative Redistricting in New Mexico,” an invited submission to the *Justice Systems Journal*,

Analysis of Instance Runoff Voting Elections in North Carolina (with Michael Cobb).

LATEST CONFERENCE PAPERS

“Influence District and the Courts: A Concept in Need of Clarity.” Initially presented at the Conference on “Lessons from the Past, Prospects for the Future: Honoring the Fortieth Anniversary of the Voting Rights Act of 1965,” Center for the Study of American Politics, Yale University, April 21-23, 2005. Expanded version forthcoming in volume edited by Daniel McCool, The Most Fundamental Right: The 2006 Reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act.

“Racially Polarized Voting: Pervasive and Persistent in the American South,” Conference on “W(h)ithering the Voting Rights Act?” John Hope Franklin Center, Duke University, April 7, 2006.

“Majority Vote Rule and Runoff Elections,” presented at a conference on “Plurality and Multi-Round Elections,” University of Montreal, June, 2006 (co-authored with Richard N. Engstrom), Montreal, June 17-18, 2006. Expanded version selected for inclusion in mini-symposium in Electoral Studies, edited by Bernard Grofman, 27 (September 2008) 407-416.

“Cumulative and Limited Voting: Remedies for Dilutive Election Systems and More,” presented at the symposium on *Voting 45 Years after the Voting Rights Act*, St. Louis University School of Law, March 26, 2010; published in the Fall 2010 edition of the St. Louis University Public Law Review.

“Political Scientists as Expert Witness,” Annual Meeting of the State Politics and Policy Association, Springfield, IL, June, 2010), with Michael P. McDonald. (Presented by Michael P. McDonald). Published in PS 44 (April 2011), 285-289.

“Social Science Expert Witness Testimony in Voting Rights Cases,” Eighth International Conference on Interdisciplinary Social Sciences, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic, July, 2013, with Daniel McCool, Jorge Chapa, and Gerald Webster.

“The Elephant in the Room: *NAMUDNO*, *Shelby County*, and Racially Polarized Voting,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2013, Chicago, IL

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

Fair and Effective Representation? Debating Electoral Reform and Minority Rights (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001) (with Mark A. Rush).

MONOGRAPHS

Home Rule for Louisiana Parishes (Baton Rouge: Police Jury Association of Louisiana and Governmental Services Institute, Louisiana State University, 1974).

Municipal Home Rule in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Municipal Association and Governmental Services Institute, Louisiana State University, 1974).

Municipal Government Within the 1974 Louisiana Constitution: A Reference Guide for Municipal Officials (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Municipal Association and Governmental Services Institute, Louisiana State University, 1975).

Louisiana Mayor's Handbook (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Municipal Association and Governmental Services Institute, Louisiana State University, 1977), (with Edward Clynych and Konrad Kressley).

Mayoral Tenure in Large American Cities (New Orleans: School of Urban and Regional Studies, University of New Orleans, 1983).

ARTICLES, RESEARCH NOTES, AND BOOK CHAPTERS

"Statutory Restraints on Administrative Lobbying -- 'Legal Fiction'", Journal of Public Law, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1970), 90-103 (with Thomas G. Walker). Reprinted in Dennis Ippolito and Thomas Walker (eds.), Reform and Responsiveness: Readings in American Politics (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1972), pp. 428-438.

"Race and Compliance: Differential Political Socialization," Polity, 3 (Fall 1970), 100-111. Reprinted in Charles S. Bullock, III, and Harrell Rogers, Jr. (eds.), Black Political Attitudes: Implications for Political Support (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 33-44.

"Political Ambitions and the Prosecutorial Office," Journal of Politics, 33 (February 1971), 190-194.

"Life-Style and Fringe Attitudes Toward the Political Integration of Urban Governments," Midwest Journal of Political Science 15 (August 1971), 475-494 (with W.E. Lyons).

"Expectations and Images: A Note on Diffuse Support for Legal Institutions," Law and Society Review, 6 (May 1972), 631-636 (with Michael W. Giles).

"Black Control or Consolidation: The Fringe Response," Social Science Quarterly, 53 (June 1972), 161-167 (with W.E. Lyons).

"Life-Style and Fringe Attitudes Toward the Political Integration of Urban Governments: A Comparison of Survey Findings," American Journal of Political Science, 17 (February 1973), 182-188 (with W. W. E. Lyons).

"Racial Gerrymandering and Southern State Legislative Redistricting: Attorney General Determinations Under the Voting Rights Act," Journal of Public Law, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1973), 37-66 (with Stanley A. Halpin, Jr.).

"Socio-Political Cross Pressures and Attitudes Toward Political Integration of Urban Governments," Journal of Politics, 35 (August 1973), 682-711 (with W.E. Lyons).

"Candidate Attraction to the Politicized Councilmanic Office: A Note on New Orleans," Social Science Quarterly, 55 (March 1975), 975-982 (with James N. Pezant).

"Home Rule in Louisiana -- Could This Be The Promised Land?," Louisiana History, 17 (Fall 1976), 431-455.

"Judicial Activism and the Problem of Gerrymandering," in Randall B. Ripley and Grace A. Franklin (eds.), National Government and Public Policy in the United States (Itasca, IL: Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1977), pp. 239-244.

"The Supreme Court and Equi-Populous Gerrymandering: A Remaining Obstacle in the Quest for Fair and Effective Representation," Arizona State Law Journal, Vol. 1976, No. 2 (1977), 277-319. Cited in Karcher v. Daggett, 462 U.S. 725 (1983) (by J. Stevens, concurring, at 750 n. 8, 752 n. 10, 753 n. 11, and 758 n. 16, and J. White, dissenting, at 776 n. 12).

"State Centralization Versus Home Rule: A Note on Ambition Theory's Powers Proposition," Western Political Quarterly 30 (June 1977), 288-294 (with Patrick F. O'Connor).

"Pruning Thorns from the Thicket: An Empirical Test of the Existence of Racial Gerrymandering," Legislative Studies Quarterly, 2 (November 1977) 465-479 (with John K. Wildgen). Cited extensively in Thornburg v. Gingles, _____ U.S. _____ (1986) (by J. Brennan).

"Racial Vote Dilution: Supreme Court Interpretations of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act," Southern University Law Review, 4 (Spring 1978), 139-164.

"The Political Behavior of Lawyers in the Louisiana House of Representatives," Louisiana Law Review 39 (Fall 1978), 43-79 (with Patrick F. O'Connor, Justin J. Green, and Chong Lim Kim).

"Restructuring the Regime: Support for Change Within the Louisiana Constitutional Convention," Polity 11 (Spring 1979), 440-451 with Patrick F. O'Connor).

"The Hale Boggs Gerrymander: Congressional Redistricting, 1969," Louisiana History, 21 (Winter 1980), 59-66.

"Lawyer-Legislators and Support for State Legislative Reform," Journal of Politics, 42 (February 1980), 267-276 (with Patrick F. O'Connor).

"Racial Discrimination in the Electoral Process: The Voting Rights Act and the Vote Dilution Issue," in Robert P. Steed, Lawrence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker, (eds.), Party Politics in the South (New York: Praeger Publishing, 1980), pp. 197-213.

"Spatial Distribution of Partisan Support and the Seats/Votes Relationship," Legislative Studies Quarterly, 5 (August 1980), 423- 435 (with John K. Wildgen).

"Computer Graphics and Political Cartography: ASPEX of Gerrymandering," in Computer Mapping Applications in Urban, State, and Federal Government, Plus Computer Graphics in Education, Vol. 16, Harvard Library of Computer Graphics, 1981 Mapping Collection (Cambridge, Mass.: Laboratory for Computer Graphics and Spatial Analysis, Harvard University, 1981), pp. 51-57 (with John K. Wildgen).

"The Election of Blacks to City Councils: Clarifying the Impact of Electoral Arrangements on the Seats/Population Relationship," American Political Science Review, 75 (June 1981), 344-354 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Post-Census Representational Districting: The Supreme Court, 'One Person, One Vote,' and the Gerrymandering Issue," Southern University Law Review, 7 (Spring 1981), 173-226.

"Municipal Government," in James Bolner (ed.), Louisiana Politics: Festival in a Labyrinth (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), pp. 181-219.

"The 1980 Election and the Realignment Thesis: A Note of Caution," American Studies (Mei-kuo-Yen-chiu), 12 (June 1982), 107-132.

"Racial Vote Dilution and the 'New' Equal Protection Clause: City of Mobile v. Bolden," American Studies (Mei-kuo-Yen-chiu) 12 (September 1982), 25-72.

"The Underrepresentation of Blacks on City Councils: Comparing the Structural and Socioeconomic Explanations for South/Non-South Differences," Journal of Politics, 44 (November 1982), 1088-1099 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"The Impact of the 1980 Supplementary Election on Nationalist China's Legislative Yuan," Asian Survey, 24 (April 1984), 447-458 (with Chu Chi-hung).

"The Marginality Hypothesis and the State Legislative Salary Issue," Southeastern Political Review, 13 (Spring 1985), 169-182 (with Patrick F. O'Connor).

"Racial Vote Dilution: The Concept and the Court," in Lorn Foster (ed.), The Voting Rights Act: Consequences and Implications (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1985), pp. 13-43.

"Quantitative Evidence in Vote Dilution Litigation: Political Participation and Polarized Voting," The Urban Lawyer, 17 (Summer 1985), 369-377 (with Michael D. McDonald). Cited in Thornburg v. Gingles, _____ U.S. _____ (1986) (by J. Brennan).

"The Reincarnation of the Intent Standard: Federal Judges and At- Large Election Cases," Howard Law Journal 28 (No 2, 1985), 495-513. Cited in Thornburg v. Gingles, _____ U.S. _____ (1986) (by J. Brennan). Abbreviated version appeared in Focus (June, 1985). (Focus is a monthly publication of the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, D.C.).

"The Effect of At-Large Versus District Elections on Racial Representation in U.S. Municipalities," in Bernard Grofman and Arend Lijphart (eds.), Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences (New York: Agathon Press, Inc., 1986), pp. 203-225 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Repairing the Crack in New Orleans' Black Vote: VRA's Results Test Nullifies 'Gerryduck'," Publius 16 (Fall 1986), 109-121. Reprinted in Charles Vincent (ed.), The African American Experience in Louisiana: From Jim Crow to Civil Rights (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies).

"Quantitative Evidence in Vote Dilution Litigation, Part II: Minority Coalitions and Multivariate Analysis," Urban Lawyer 19 (Winter 1987), 65-75 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"District Magnitudes and the Election of Women to the Irish Dail," Electoral Studies, 6 (August 1987), 123-132.

"The Election of Blacks to Southern City Councils: The Dominant Impact of Electoral Arrangements," in Robert P. Steed, Laurence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker (eds.) Blacks in Southern Politics (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1987), pp. 245-258 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Race, Referendums, and Rolloff," Journal of Politics 49 (November 1987), 1081-1092 (with Jim M. Vanderleeuw).

"Definitions, Measurements, and Statistics: Weeding Wildgen's Thicket," Urban Lawyer 20 (Winter 1988), 175-191 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"The Desirability Hypotheses and the Election of Women to City Councils: A Research Note," State and Local Government Review 20 (Winter 1988), 38-40 (with Michael D. McDonald and Bih-Er Chou).

"Black Politics and the Voting Rights Act(s): 1965-1982," in James Lea (ed.), Contemporary Southern Politics: Continuity and Change (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), pp. 83-106.

"Race and Representational Districting: Protections Against Delineational and Institutional Gerrymandering," Comparative State Politics Newsletter 9 (October 1988), 15-24.

"Cumulative Voting as a Remedy for Minority Vote Dilution: The Case of Alamogordo, New Mexico," Journal of Law and Politics 5 (Spring 1989), 469-497 (with Delbert A. Taebel and Richard L. Cole). Reprinted in Roger L. Kemp, (ed.), Local Government Election Practices: A Handbook for Public Officials and Citizens (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1999), 372-391.

"When Blacks Run for Judge: Racial Divisions in the Candidate Preferences of Louisiana Voters," Judicature 73 (August-September 1989), 87-89.

"Detecting Gerrymandering," in Bernard Grofman (ed.), Political Gerrymandering and the Courts (New York: Agathon Press, Inc., 1990), pp. 178-202 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Cumulative Voting in a Municipal Election: A Note on Voter Reactions and Electoral Consequences," Western Political Quarterly, 43 (March 1990), 191-199 (with Richard L. Cole and Delbert A. Taebel).

"Alternative Electoral Systems as Remedies for Minority Vote Dilution," Hamline Journal of Public Law and Policy 11 (Spring 1990), 19-29 (with Delbert A. Taebel and Richard L. Cole). Cited in Holder v. Hall, _____ U.S. _____ (1994), (by J. Thomas, concurring).

"Cincinnati's 1988 Proportional Representation Initiative," Electoral Studies 9 (September 1990), 217-225.

"Getting the Numbers Right: A Response to Wildgen," Urban Lawyer 22 (Summer 1990), 495-502.

"Native Americans and Cumulative Voting: The Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux," Social Science Quarterly 72 (June 1991), 388-393 (with Charles J. Barrilleaux).

"Proportional Representation Considered in Cincinnati," Representation 30 (Spring 1991), 3-5.

"Voting for Judges: Race and Roll-Off in Judicial Elections," in William Crotty (ed.), Political Participation and Democratic Politics (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), pp. 171-191 (with Victoria M. Caridas).

"Minority Representation and Councilmanic Election Systems: A Black and Hispanic Comparison," in Anthony Messina, Laurie Rhodebeck, Frederick Wright, and Luis R. Fraga, (eds.), Ethnic and Racial Minorities in Advanced Industrial Democracies, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), pp. 127-142 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Alternative Judicial Election Systems: Solving the Minority Vote Dilution Problem," in Wilma Rule and Joseph F. Zimmerman (eds.), United States Electoral Systems: Their Impact on Women and Minorities (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), pp. 129-139.

"Modified Multi-Seat Election Systems as Remedies for Minority Vote Dilution," Stetson Law Review 21 (Summer 1992), 743-770.

"Councilmanic Redistricting Conflicts: The Dallas Experience," Urban News 6 (Fall 1992), 1, 4-8.

"The Single Transferable Vote: An Alternative Remedy for Minority Vote Dilution," University of San Francisco Law Review 27 (Summer, 1993), 781-813. Excerpt reprinted in Voting and Democracy Report, 1993 (Washington, D.C.: Center for Voting and Democracy, 1993).

"'Enhancing' Factors in At-Large Plurality and Majority Systems: A Reconsideration," Electoral Studies 12 (December 1993), 385-401 (with Michael D. McDonald).

"Louisiana," in Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman (eds.), The Quiet Revolution: Minority Voting Rights and Representation in the South (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 103-135, 413-417 (with Stanley A. Halpin, Jean A. Hill, and Victoria M. Caridas-Butterworth).

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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on October 15, 2016, I caused the foregoing document to be:

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