

# EXHIBIT A

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA  
TALLAHASSEE DIVISION

CONGRESSWOMAN CORRINE BROWN,  
JOHNNY BROWN, THEODORE BROWN,  
MARY LAWSON BROWN, MARY L. GEORGE,  
CRYSTAL R. BROWN, JUSTIN CAMPBELL,  
FERRILL HILL, MARGIE KELLY CODY,  
JOSEPHINE HALL, SANDRA JACKSON,  
MAMIE JACKSON, WILFRED W. REDDICK,  
JR., SHANTEZ ROBINSON, CARRIE DAVIS,  
JEAN REDDICK, ALVIN SHEPARD, CURTIS  
WALKER, PHYLLIS JOHNSON, JEROME  
BROWN, JOANN M. BROWN, HAZEL D. GILLIS,  
ANTONIA G. BRYANT, EULIE B. JOHNSON,  
LAVONNE P. MITCHELL, DARRYL MACK,  
ANTHONY MACK, DORETHA MACK, CONSTANCE  
S. HALL, SHAKUR ALI, MICHAEL ASHLEY,  
LAWRENCE AVERBECK, ANITA BAILEY, LEON  
BERRIER, DANIEL L. COLE, JASMINE CROMWELL,  
TRICIA DUNLAP, LA' DAISHA EVANS, JAMES  
FREEMAN, RUSSELL T. GASKIN, CLARETHA S.  
HICKS, TEVIN HENDERSON, MITZI HUTCHINSON,  
ANGELIQUE MATTHEWS, ANNA MCLAUGHLIN,  
EDWIN MERRITT, LILLIE P. POWELL, TAURICE  
RICKS, DEVIN ROBERTS, CARY P. ROBINSON,  
ALEXANDRA SAFFICE, SHAKA SHABAZZ, FELICIA  
SMITH, RICHARD ALAN SPAULDING, WILLIE  
THOMAS, TEAONNDA THOMPSON, RODERIC  
TURNER, MARY S. ADAMS, JOY GREGORY, WILBERT  
GREGORY, CARLOTTA L. GUYTON, LUELLA  
MCQUEEN, DOROTHY M. OLIVER, JACOBY  
PITTMAN, BARON RIVERS, KIMBERLY RIVERS,  
ANMENIA SHAHAB, NEEMA YA NATHIERI,  
MELVIN A. PHILPOT, VELMA WILLIAMS,  
BEVERLYE COLSON NEAL, TYRONE FIELDS,  
GLORIA R. GREEN, MAXINE S. HIXON, REBECCA  
JOHNSON, NEVA SPANN-KIRKLAND, SUSIE L.  
JOHNSON HARRIS, EDDIE L. JAMES, BENTLEY  
M. CAREY, DWYCE L. ROSS, KENNETH WALKER,  
TIFFANY WARE, VANESSA WILLIAMS, CHARITA FINCH,  
LAVENIA MAY, DR. ROLOUS A. FRAZIER, JR., DOROTHY  
FLUITT, SHEILA B. SMITH, CLARISE REDDICK, DAISY  
BALES, CONSTANCE BANGO, DELORIS R. SHEPHERD,

Case No.: 4:15-cv-00398-MW-CAS

VERNON MCQUEEN, HERBERT WILLIAMS JR.,  
ROD ZEIGLER, ROYCE FLAGLER, MABLE BUTLER,  
JEAN CAMPBELL, WILLIE CAMPBELL, ELLA MAE  
CAMPBELL, KALEIGH CAMPBELL, MIA CAMPBELL,  
WALTER DULES WILLIAMS, LULA COOKS WILLIAMS,  
ROBERTA WILLIAMS, DANIEL J. WILLIAMS, IDA M.  
CARSON, JUANITA SANDERS, CHERYLL DANIELS, EDDIE  
A. BENN, RICH SLEET, MARIA T. BARNES, ALLEN WIGGINS,  
HENRIETTA J. TICE, JASMINE MCKAY, LATOYA DAVIS,  
AND LULA DAVIS,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

KEN DETZNER, in his official capacity as  
Secretary of State of the State of Florida,  
THE FLORIDA SENATE and THE  
FLORIDA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Defendants.

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### **DECLARATION**

RICHARD L. ENGSTROM, Ph.D.

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 report.

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 U.S. 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), and *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). 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 case.

6. Attorneys for the Plaintiffs in this matter have asked me to report the results of my racially polarized voting (hereinafter RPV) and diminishment analyses for two specific configurations of Congressional District 5 included in my Report for the *Romo v. Detzner* case in the Circuit Court for the Second Judicial Circuit In And For Leon County, Florida in 2013. In this affidavit these two configurations will be referred to as the North-South version and East-West version. These were referred to in my *Romo* report as the “Current CD 5” and the “Romo A CD 5,” respectively.

#### RACIALLY POLARIZED VOTING

7. I have been asked to analyze the extent to which, if any, the candidate preferences of African American, Latino, white, and other voters have differed when they have been

presented with a choice between or among African American and non-African American candidates, within the North-South and East-West configurations of CD 5. Elections with this type of candidate pool are generally considered the most probative for assessing racially polarized voting (hereinafter RPV).<sup>1</sup> Statewide elections are employed for this purpose in order to compare the preferences of the voters in the different configurations in elections having identical sets of candidates. with identical sets of candidates. The RPV analyses reported below are based on the voting behavior of only the voters in the precincts comprising the district configurations under analysis. The elections analyzed within these configurations include the 2008 and 2012 general elections for President, and the 2010 general election for U.S. Senator.

8. The major candidates in the 2008 general election for President involved an African American, Barak Obama, who was the Democratic Party nominee, and a white candidate, John McCain, who was the Republican Party nominee. Obama was again the Democratic Party nominee in 2012, as well as the incumbent President. His Republican opponent was white, Mitt Romney.

9. Among the major candidates in the senatorial election in 2010 was Kendrick B. Meek, an African American with the Democratic Party nomination.<sup>2</sup> His two major opponents were in the election were Marco Rubio, a Hispanic candidate and nominee of the Republican Party, the other was a white candidate, former Republican Governor of Florida Charles Crist who ran without a party affiliation. The winner of this statewide election was Mr. Rubio, who won with a plurality of the vote, 48.9 percent, followed by Mr. Crist with 29.7 percent and Mr. Meek with 20.2 percent.

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<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., *Black Political Task Force v. Galvin*, 300 F. Supp. 2d 291, 304, (D.C. Mass. 2004), and cases cited therein.

<sup>2</sup> There was a second African American candidate in this election, Lewis Jerome Armstrong, who ran without party affiliation and received 0.1 percent of the vote.

### *Data and Methods*

10. The data used in the analyses of the candidate preferences of African American, Latino, white, and other voters entail information about the numbers of such people within each group in each precinct receiving ballots in the elections, and the number of votes received by candidates in these respective precincts. The data for the statewide elections identifying the voters in this way, as well as the candidates' votes, were provided for my *Romo* Report by the Office of Information Technology at the Florida House of Representatives.

11. The estimates of the candidate preferences of the different groups of voters are derived through Gary King's Ecological Inference (EI) procedure, accessible through R software. This version of EI not only provides a specific, or point, estimate of a group's support for a particular candidate, but also confidence intervals for that estimate. This interval identifies 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, and estimates within the range of a confidence interval are less likely to be the true value the further they are from the point estimate.<sup>3</sup>

### *Results*

12. The specific results of the analyses of elections within these configurations are reported in Tables 1 through 3 at the end of the text of this Report. These tables contain the

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<sup>3</sup> This procedure is detailed in Gary King, *A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem: Reconstructing Individual Behavior from Aggregate Data* (Princeton University Press, 1997), and is now used widely by expert witnesses in assessing racially polarized voting in voting rights cases. On the superiority of EI over ecological regression for assessing differences in the candidate preferences between or among groups of voters, which had been relied upon by the Supreme Court about 30 years ago in 1986 in *Gingles*, 478 U.S. at 52-53, see King, *A Solution*, at 15-16, and Justin de Benedictis-Kessner, "Evidence in Voting Rights Act Litigation: Producing Accurate Estimates of Racial Voting Patterns," *Election Law Journal*, forthcoming 2015. EI was developed subsequent to the *Gingles* case for the explicit purpose of improving these estimates. See also D. Stephen 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 (EI "is unparalleled when applied to the actual sort of data needed for analyzing important social issues such as racial voting patterns").

estimates derived through the EI analyses of the levels of support for the African American candidates among African American, Latino, white, and other votes. Identified in the titles of the tables are the elections at issue. The left column of the Table identifies the configuration to which the analysis applies. The subsequent columns contain the estimates of the levels of support provided to the African American candidate by the respective groups. Reported in the columns are the point estimates of the level of support by the particular groups, and the values of the 95 percent confidence interval for that estimate are provided in parentheses below the point estimate. The best estimates of the voting choices of each group, the point estimates, are reported in the text.

13. Table 1 reveals that African Americans, Latinos and other voters were highly cohesive in their support for Mr. Obama in the 2008 general election for President in both configurations. All of the estimates of the levels of support provided by these groups exceeded 90 percent. White voters, however, did not share this preference. Their support for Obama was estimated to be below 30 percentage points in both configurations. Obama received somewhat less support from whites in the East-West configuration than the North-South, an estimated 25.8 percent compared to 29.2. The results for the 2012 presidential election, reported in Table 2, were basically a repeat of those for 2008. Once again, Obama is estimated to have received over 90.0 percent of the votes cast by African Americans, Latinos, and others. And again, white voters did not share that preference. Their vote for Obama was estimated to be less than 26.0 percent in both configurations, with virtually no difference between them.

14. The results of the 2010 Senate election are reported in Table 3. As noted above there were three major candidates in this contest, which included Mr. Meek, an African American. The results for this election were not a repeat of those for the presidential elections.



The African American support for Mr. Meek was again highly cohesive in the North-South configuration, the estimate of the level of his support from them is 90.3 percent. He also had strong support in the East-West configuration, although somewhat reduced to an estimated 85.7. Mr. Meek is estimated to have received a majority of the votes cast by Latinos in the North-South configuration, 52.8 percent. The estimate in the East-West configuration is, in comparison, only 36.7 percent, but given the confidence intervals this figure is not well estimated. The white level of support for Mr. Meek is estimated to be much lower than those for Obama in the presidential elections, less than 10 percentage points, with a difference of about 5.0 more support in the North-South configuration than the East-West. The residual category of other voters did not prefer Mr. Meek in either configuration, although the point estimate for his support among the other voters is higher in the East-West configuration, but again the confidence interval for that estimate indicates that the figure is not well estimated.

15. The analysis above reveals that racially polarized voting is present within both the North-South and East-West configurations. The differences in the candidate preferences of African American voters and white voters are acute. This makes the opportunity of African Americans to elect representatives of their choice in District 5 highly dependent on the relative presence of African Americans in the district, and the relative turnout rates between African American and white voters within the district.

#### DIMINISHMENT OF AFRICAN AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY TO ELECT

16. The African American voting age population within the North-South configuration of the district is a majority of 50.1 percent, while in the East-West configuration it is a plurality of 45.1. This theoretically provides those African Americans residing in the North-South version with a better opportunity to elect representatives of their choice than those residing

in the East-West version. It is important, however, to assess the relative turnout rates for the groups in the district to see if participation differences diminish that advantage.

17. The comparison of these opportunities will be based on the percentages of voters receiving ballots within these districts in these elections that was African American and the percentages of votes cast that were received by the African American candidates that were the candidates of choice of African American voters within these districts. These percentages are not based on estimates, but rather the actual counts of voters receiving ballots and the votes cast for candidates.

18. Tables 4, 5, and 6 provide the results of the diminishment analysis for the respective elections. The first column in each table identifies the configuration of District 5 to which the numbers in that row refer. The second contains the percentage of the people receiving ballots in each configuration that was African American. The third reports the difference in that percentage and the corresponding percentage of whites among those receiving ballots. Whites are chosen for this comparison because they are the group with candidate preferences that are consistently in opposition to those preferred by African Americans. This is expressed as the percentage point difference when the African American percentage is subtracted from the white percentage. (The white percentage itself can be obtained by adding or subtracting that difference from the African American figure in column 2, e.g., for the North-South configuration in Table 4 the white percentage is 39.3 ( $49.2 - 9.9$ ), while for the East-West configuration the white percentage is 47.1 ( $45.5 + 1.6$ ). Reported in the fourth column are the percentages of the votes in the district that were received by Mr. Obama or Mr. Meek.

19. A fifth column has been added to Table 6 to identify the margin of victory, expressed as the percentage point difference when Mr. Rubio's percentage of the vote is

subtracted from that for Mr. Meek. Positive numbers reflect how much Meek's vote was above that for Rubio, and negative numbers how much Meek's vote was below that for Rubio. The comparison is made to Mr. Rubio's vote because he finished either first overall or second to Meek within all of these districts.

20. Table 4 contains the results of the analysis for the 2008 general election. Mr. Obama was the candidate preferred by African American voters in both of the configurations, as documented in the racially polarized voting analysis above. As revealed in Table 4, African Americans constituted a plurality, and almost a majority, of the people receiving ballots for this election in the North-South version of the district, whereas they did not receive even a plurality in the East-West version. African Americans exceeded the whites in turnout by 9.9 percentage points in the North-South version, but whites exceeded the African Americans in turnout in the East-West version by 1.6 percentage points. Obama won the most votes in both versions, receiving 71.0 percent and 64.0 percent respectively of the two-party vote.

21. The results of the analysis for the 2012 general election are reported in Table 5. Mr. Obama was the candidate preferred by African American voters in both of the configurations, as documented in the racially polarized voting analysis above. As revealed in Table 5, African Americans constituted a majority of the voters in the North-South version of the district, whereas in the East-West version they did not constitute even a plurality. African Americans exceeded the whites in turnout by 12.9 percentage points in the North-South version, but only by 0.5 percentage points in the East-West version. Obama again won the most votes in both versions, receiving 71.4 percent and 64.3 percent of the two-party vote respectively.

22. The African American in the 2010 general election for a seat in the Senate, Mr. Meek, was a four-term member of the U.S. House of Representatives. He was, like Mr. Obama,

the preferred candidate of African American voters in both of the configurations of District 5, as documented in the racially polarized voting analysis. As revealed in Table 6, African Americans constituted a plurality of the voters in this election in the North-South version. Their percentage of the voters was 46.3, and they exceeded white turnout by 0.7 percentage points. In the East-West version however whites constituted a majority of the voters. In that version the percentage of white voters exceeded that for African Americans by 10.7 percentage points. Mr. Meek won a plurality of the votes cast in both configurations, but his plurality was 7.8 percentage points higher in the North-South version. His margin over Mr. Rubio was 10.5 percentage points greater in that configuration than in the East-West version, 15.4 percent compared to just 4.9 percent.

#### CONCLUSION

23. The analysis above documents that voting in both the North-South and East-West configurations of District 5 was racially polarized in all three elections. In addition, all three elections reveal that the ability of the African Americans to elect the representatives of their choice in District 5 would be diminished by using the East-West version of the district rather than the North-South version. The differences in voter turnout in these elections add to the diminishment in the opportunity to elect representatives of their choice already resulting from the difference in the African American voting age population within them.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the forgoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge. Executed on April 8, 2013 in Durham, NC.

Richard L. Engstrom

**Table 1: Racially Polarized Voting Analysis****U.S. President, General Election 2008****African American Candidate = Barack H. Obama****Congressional District 5**

	% of African	% of	% of	% of
<u>Configuration</u>	<u>American Votes</u>	<u>Latino Votes</u>	<u>White Votes</u>	<u>Other Votes</u>
North-South	99.3	99.1	29.2	94.1
	(98.5 – 99.8)	(98.0 – 99.5)	(26.1 – 33.0)	(70.8 – 99.4)
East-West	99.9	98.1	25.8	99.3
	(99.8 – 99.9)	(91.3 – 99.4)	(23.8 – 27.7)	(98.5 – 99.6)

**Table 2: Racially Polarized Voting Analysis****U.S. President, General Election 2012****African American Candidate = Barack H. Obama****Congressional District 5**

	% of African	% of	% of	% of
<u>Configuration</u>	<u>American Votes</u>	<u>Latino Votes</u>	<u>White Votes</u>	<u>Other Votes</u>
North-South	99.7	98.7	25.5	96.6
	(99.2 – 99.9)	(97.1 – 99.4)	(22.8 – 29.0)	(81.1 – 99.4)
East-West	99.9	94.2	25.2	98.9
	(99.7 – 99.9)	(65.1 – 99.2)	(23.1 – 27.7)	(97.4 – 99.5)

**Table 3: Racially Polarized Voting Analysis****U.S. Senate, General Election 2010****African American Candidate = Kendrick B. Meek****Congressional District 5**

<u>Configuration</u>	<u>% of African American Votes</u>	<u>% of Latino Votes</u>	<u>% of White Votes</u>	<u>% of Other Votes</u>
North-South	90.3 (89.1 – 91.3)	52.8 (38.4 – 65.3)	9.6 (8.3 – 11.0)	17.4 (2.1 – 42.2)
East-West	85.7 (84.1 – 87.3)	36.7 (2.6 – 84.5)	4.7 (2.6 – 6.3)	38.5 (3.3 – 78.7)

**Table 4: Diminishment Analysis****U.S. President 2008 General Election****Congressional District 5**

	Af Amn	Diff. in Turnout	Af Amn Cand.
<u>Configuration</u>	<u>% Turnout</u>	<u>White% - Af Amn%</u>	<u>% of 2-PartyVote</u>
North-South	49.2*.	-9.9	71.0
East-West	45.5	1.6*	64.0

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\*Indicates in column 2 that African Americans constitute a plurality but not a majority of the turnout, in column 3 that whites constitute a plurality but not a majority.

**Table 5: Diminishment Analysis****U.S. President 2012 General Election****Congressional District 5**

	Af Amn	Diff. in Turnout	Af Amn Cand.
<u>Configuration</u>	<u>% Turnout</u>	<u>White% - Af Amn%</u>	<u>% of 2-PartyVote</u>
North-South	50.6	-12.9	71.4
East-West	46.6*	-0.5	64.3

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\*Indicates in column 2 that African Americans constitute a plurality but not a majority of the turnout.

**Table 6: Diminishment Analysis**  
**U.S. Senate 2010 General Election**  
**Congressional District 2**

	Af Amn	Diff. in Turnout	Af Amn Cand.	% Pt Margin
<u>Configuration</u>	<u>% Turnout</u>	<u>White% - Af Amn%</u>	<u>% of Votes</u>	<u>to Rubio</u>
North-South	46.3*	-0.7	48.2*	15.4
East-West	42.0	10.7#	40.4*	4.9

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\*Indicates in column 2 that African Americans constitute a plurality but not a majority of the turnout, and in column 4 that Meek wins a plurality of the vote. #Indicates in column 3 that whites constitute a majority of the turnout.





**VITA**  
**RICHARD L. ENGSTROM**

December 2015

OFFICE

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and Gender in the Social Sciences  
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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, Academic 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, Sangamon 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.

Scheduled

Roundtable/Convening on Modified At-Large Election Systems, Joyce Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and State Infrastructure Fund, January 2016.

"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.

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, Academia 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](mailto: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](mailto:cdhadley@gmail.com).

Dr. Kerry L. Haynie, Department of Political Science, Duke University, Durham, NC 27708, 919-660-4366, [klhaynie@duke.edu](mailto: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](mailto:baodong.liu@utah.edu).

Dr. Michael D. McDonald, Department of Political Science, University of Binghamton, Binghamton, NY 13901 607-777-4563, [mdmcd@binghamton.edu](mailto: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).

"Precleance Politics in Mississippi," paper to be included in a symposium on the Voting Rights Act in *Cumberland Law Review* (2006).

Preparation of paper on redistricting for a Redistricting Conference, University of Texas at Dallas, May 2016 (topic to be determined).

"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.

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