

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION**

AUSTIN THOMPSON, an individual;  
WAYNE SWANSON, an individual;  
DARRYL PAYTON, an individual;  
AUDRA CUNNINGHAM, an  
individual; SABRINA MCKENZIE, an  
individual; JAMIDA ORANGE, an  
individual; AUDREA SNOW, an  
individual; SAMMY ARREY-MBI; an  
individual; LYNNE ANDERSON, an  
individual; and CORETTA JACKSON,  
an individual,

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRIAN KEMP, in his official capacity as  
Secretary of State of the State of  
Georgia,

Defendant.

Civil Action No.  
1:17-cv-01427

**REPORT OF 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 serve as a member of dissertation committees for the Departments of Political Science at both Duke and the University of North Carolina.

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 Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, as amended by Congress in 1982. 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 2014 I have testified at trial and/or been deposed in the following cases: *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), *Patino v. City of Pasadena* (S.D. Tex. 2016), *Texas Latino Redistricting Task Force v. Perry* (W.D. Tex. 2017), *Terrebonne Parish Branch NAACP v. Jindal* (M.D. La. 2017), and *Georgia State Conference of the NAACP v. Gwinnett County Board of Registrations and Elections* (N.D. Ga. 2017, 2018).

5. I have reviewed Rule 702 of the Federal Rules of Evidence. As I understand that rule, I am an expert in racial voting patterns, 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.

## ELECTIONS ANALYZED

6. The attorneys for the Plaintiffs in this matter have asked me to analyze the extent to which, if any, voting has been “racially polarized”<sup>1</sup> in recent elections within the Atlanta metropolitan area.<sup>2</sup> To undertake this analysis I examine general elections in which voters were presented with a choice between or among African American and non-African American candidates. Elections with this type of candidate pool are generally considered the most probative for assessing racially polarized voting.<sup>3</sup>

7. Elections analyzed for this purpose are both endogenous elections, which are elections to the office at issue in the litigation, i.e., elections to seats in the Georgia House of Representatives, and exogenous elections, which are elections to other offices. The House elections are partisan elections held in single member districts. The most closely related exogenous elections are the other state legislative elections, those for seats in the other chamber of that state legislature, the Georgia Senate. These elections, like those to the House, are also partisan elections held in single member districts. They are held at the same time as the House elections,

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<sup>1</sup> The United States Supreme Court has defined racially polarized voting as “‘a consistent relationship between [the] race of the voter and the way in which the voter votes,’ ... or to put it differently, where ‘black voters and white voters vote differently’” (*Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30, 1986, at 54 n.21). The reference to white voters specifically is a function of the data specific to that case. The State of North Carolina at that time recorded voters as either “white” or “non-white,” with the latter group labeled as “black” in the case itself. Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act however is concerned with the ability of a protected minority group to elect representatives of their choice compared to the “other members of the electorate.” The analyses of racially polarized voting below therefore will compare voting between the protected class at issue, African Americans, and the other members of the electorate, the non-African Americans.

<sup>2</sup> The Atlanta metropolitan area is defined by Plaintiffs as a 10-county area consisting of Cherokee, Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, Douglas, Fayette, Fulton, Gwinnett, Henry, and Rockdale Counties (see First Amended Complaint, at ¶ 108).

<sup>3</sup> See e.g., *Nipper v. Smith*, 39 F. 3d 1494, 1540-1541 (11<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1994), and *Davis v. Chiles*, 139 F. 3d 1414, 1417 n. 5 (11<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1998). The Supreme Court considered only such elections in *Thornburg v. Gingles* 478 U.S. 30 (1986) (hereinafter *Gingles*) (see Appendix A to Opinion of Brennan, J., at 80-82).

and are listed on the same ballot as the House elections. The analyses of both the House and Senate elections will concern the last three general elections, those for 2016, 2014, and 2012.<sup>4</sup>

8. The legislative elections examined are the House and Senate elections in that time period that were held in districts entirely within the 10-county area identified by the Plaintiffs as the Atlanta metropolitan area, and which also contained a biracial pool of candidates for voters to choose from. This is the area in which the Plaintiffs claim that one or more majority-African American House districts could be, and should be, created.<sup>5</sup> These are, to my knowledge, all such elections during the time period.

9. Additional exogenous elections are analyzed to examine the extent to which, if any, racially polarized voting has occurred across the 10-county metropolitan area as a whole. Statewide elections are used for this purpose so that the candidate choices in the elections are the same in each of the counties. These statewide elections are the last three general elections, those held in November in 2016, 2014, and 2012, as well as the last election preceding the 2010 redistricting cycle, the election in November 2010.

10. All of these statewide elections also presented voters with a choice between African American candidates and non-African American candidates, and are, to my knowledge, all such elections. They are also held on the same day and listed on the same ballots as the state

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<sup>4</sup> The Supreme Court in *Gingles* relied on the last three elections for legislative seats in North Carolina to conclude that racially polarized voting was present in the districts found to violate section 2 of the Voting Rights Act (see Appendix A to Opinion of Brennan, J., at 80).

<sup>5</sup> First Amended Complaint, at ¶ 108.

legislative elections, and are also partisan elections.<sup>6</sup> While these elections were held statewide, only the votes cast within the 10-county Atlanta metropolitan area are included in these analyses.

11. The racially polarized voting inquiry addresses what the Supreme Court identified in *Gingles* as prongs 2 and 3, which the Court held were “necessary preconditions” that Plaintiffs must demonstrate in order to prevail in a vote dilution case under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act.<sup>7</sup> Prong 2 concerns whether the African American voters are “politically cohesive” in these elections,<sup>8</sup> and prong 3 concerns whether the candidates preferred by African American voters are “usually defeated” as a result of the votes cast by the other voters.<sup>9</sup>

#### DATA AND METHODS

12. The data used to derive statistical estimates of the candidate preferences of African American and non-African American voters in these elections include the number of people receiving ballots in each voting precinct in each of these elections, the number that were African Americans, and the number of votes received by each of the candidates in each of the voting precincts. Voters are requested to self identify their race when they register to vote.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> While state Supreme Court and state Court of Appeals elections are also statewide, those elections are not held at the same time and do not appear on the same ballots as House elections. They are also not partisan elections. These elections are therefore not included in the exogenous election analyses.

<sup>7</sup> *Gingles*, at 50.

<sup>8</sup> The Supreme Court stated, in *Gingles* at 56, that “A showing that a significant number of minority group members usually vote for the same candidates is one way of proving the political cohesiveness necessary to a vote dilution claim.” This is known as the second *Gingles* precondition.

<sup>9</sup> The third *Gingles* precondition asks “whether [non-African Americans] vote significantly as a bloc usually to defeat the minority’s preferred candidates” (at 56).

<sup>10</sup> The votes for the candidates were obtained from the Georgia Secretary of State office, [sos.ga.gov/index.php/Elections/current\\_and\\_past\\_elections\\_results](https://sos.ga.gov/index.php/Elections/current_and_past_elections_results). The demographic data for the turnout by groups were taken from [sos.ga.gov/index.php/Elections/voter\\_turn\\_out\\_by\\_demographics](https://sos.ga.gov/index.php/Elections/voter_turn_out_by_demographics). Voters residing in a precinct split between or among legislative districts are allocated to their proper district by consulting county specific Voter Participation files and Elector Lists. These were provided by the Georgia Secretary of State’s office in response to a discovery request.

13. A statistical procedure known as Ecological Inference (hereinafter EI) was employed to derive, through these data, estimates of the relative candidate preferences of African American and non-African American voters in the elections examined below. EI was developed by Professor Gary King of Harvard University.<sup>11</sup> The procedure is implemented in R through the software package ‘ei’ (lower case), created by Dr. King and Molly Roberts. The specific version of *ei* employed is 1.3-3.<sup>12</sup>

14. The EI procedure provides a point estimate of a group’s support for a particular candidate, e.g., 75 percent of a group’s members who cast a vote in a particular election voted for

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<sup>11</sup> 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 both ecological regression and 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, it “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. Recently a federal court in Georgia stated that there is “no dispute that the EI method is currently the ‘gold standard’ for use in racial bloc voting analyses.” *Wright v. Sumter County Board of Elections and Registration*, 301 F. Supp. 3d 1297, 1305 (M.D. Ga. 2018).

<sup>12</sup> A recent study compared various statistical procedures used by expert witnesses in Voting Rights Act cases to estimate the extent to which, if any, racially polarized voting occurs in elections. These were ecological regression, ecological regression-truncated, the neighborhood model, EI implemented through the *ei* software, as used in the analyses below, and the hierarchical Bayesian Multinomial-Dirichlet model implemented through *eiPack* software. Given the secret ballot, it is not possible to compare how estimates of the candidate preferences of a particular group compare to the votes a group actually cast for various candidates. The study therefore employed individual-level data about the party registration and the race of individuals, and compared the differences between the actual party registration for the racial groups and the estimates of the same, relying on precinct level data. The estimated values that were the closest to the actual values for African Americans and non-African Americans in the study were those derived through using *ei*. The author of the study concluded that EI (which he implemented through *ei* software) “is able to recover estimates that are quite close to the true parameters,” and that the “mean absolute error in estimation is lower across all five [states] than every other method assessed.” Justin de Benedictis-Kessner, “Evidence in Voting Rights Act Litigation: Producing Accurate Estimates of Racial Voting Patterns,” *Election Law Journal*, 14 (Dec. 2015), 12, 13.

candidate X. It also provides a confidence interval for that estimate. These intervals are reported in the tables 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 the candidate falls within, e.g., 70 percent and 80 percent. 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. When the confidence intervals for different groups do not overlap, the difference in the point estimates for those groups is considered statistically significant.

## RESULTS

15. The results of the EI analyses of the House elections are reported in Table 1, those for the Senate elections in Table 2, and for the statewide elections in Table 3. These tables are found at the end of the text of this Report. On the left of each table the year of the election is identified, along with the district or statewide office sought, and the name of the African American candidate seeking the seat or office at issue. The second column from the left identifies the estimated percentage, the point estimate, of the African Americans voting in that election who voted for the identified candidate. The third column provides the same for the non-African American voters. The parentheses below the point estimates in the second and third columns contain the range of values for the 95-percent confidence interval for each of the point estimates.

### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ELECTIONS

16. There were 13 biracial House elections over the time period examined. These include four in 2016, four in 2014, and five in 2012. The EI results for these elections contained in Table 1 reveal that voting in 12 of these 13 was racially polarized, as that concept is defined in the *Gingles* decision. There is a clear racial pattern in candidate preferences in the results, which



is that African American voters have been politically cohesive in their support for African American candidates, and that this preference is not shared by the non-African American voters. The pattern is stark, with African American support for the African American candidate in 12 of these 13 elections falling below 90 percentage points only once, and in that case it was 71.7 percent. That preference was not shared by non-African American voters in any of these 12 elections, however, with their support for the non-African American candidates ranging from 67.3 percent to 82.2 percent.<sup>13</sup> Despite the impressive cohesion among African American voters for the African American candidates, those candidates were defeated in nine of the 12 elections. The three exceptions were the elections of African Americans in majority-African American voting age population districts.<sup>14</sup>

17. The exception to this pattern was the 2012 election in HD 86. This was the only biracial House election in which the Republican candidate was an African American. That candidate was Lisa Kinnemore.<sup>15</sup> Ms. Kinnemore was not the preferred candidate of either the African American voters or the non-African American voters. The estimate of her vote among

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<sup>13</sup> All of the legislative elections analyzed were two-candidate contests. Therefore the estimate of the non-African American support for the non-African American candidate in an election can be derived by subtracting the estimate of the non-African American vote for the African American candidate from 100. For example, for the first election in Table 1, the estimated vote of the non-African American voters for the non-African candidate in HD 40 in 2016 is 69.0 percent (100 – 31.0).

<sup>14</sup> These were the elections of Demetrius M. Douglas in HD 78 in 2014, a district that was 57.9 percent African American in voting age population (hereinafter VAP); the election of Karen L. Bennett in HD 94 in 2014, a district that was 66.1 percent in African American VAP; and the election of Dar' Kendrick in HD 93 in 2012, a district that was 65.1 percent in African American VAP. The African American VAP figures are for people identifying in the census as any part African American. The sources for the African American district VAP figures are <http://www.legis.ga.gov:80/Joint/reapportionment/Documents/HOUSE12re/PACKET-House12re.pdf>, and [file:///C:/Users/rle9/Downloads/GA\\_State\\_House\\_2015\\_Plan%20\(4\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/rle9/Downloads/GA_State_House_2015_Plan%20(4).pdf).

<sup>15</sup> The district was 61.7 percent African American in VAP, based on people identifying in the census as any part African American. The source for the voters district VAP figure is <http://www.legis.ga.gov:80/Joint/reapportionment/Documents/HOUSE12re/PACKET-House12re.pdf>.

African Americans is just 1.0 percent, while the estimate of her vote among the non-African Americans is 47.5 percent.<sup>16</sup> This is the lowest estimated vote by far among the non-African American voters for a Republican candidate. The other 12 Republican candidates were estimated, as noted above, to have received from 67.3 percent to 82.2 percent of the non-African American vote.

#### SENATE ELECTIONS

18. There were six biracial Senate elections over the time period examined. These include two in 2016, and four in 2014. The EI results for these elections contained in Table 2 reveal that voting in five of these six was racially polarized. The results for these elections also reveal a clear racial pattern in candidate preferences, which is again that African American voters have been politically cohesive in their support for African American candidates, and that this preference is not shared by the non-African American voters. The pattern is again stark, with the estimated African American support for the African American candidate in all six of these elections exceeding 90 percentage points. That preference was only shared once by non-African American voters. This occurred in SD 39 in 2014, a majority-African American district in which the incumbent, Vincent Fort, received an estimated 58.4 percent of their vote.<sup>17</sup> In the other five Senate elections the non-African American support for the African American candidate ranged from 25.5 percent to 35.8 percent. Despite the impressive cohesion among African American voters for the other African American candidates, those candidates were defeated in four of the

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<sup>16</sup> The upper bound of the confidence interval for her estimate remains below a majority, at 48.1 percent.

<sup>17</sup> This district was 61.0 percent African American in VAP, based on people identifying in the census as any part African American. The source for this number is <http://www.legis.ga.gov/Joint/reapportionment/Documents/SENTATE%202014/Senate14-packet.pdf>.

five remaining Senate elections. The exception was the election of another African American incumbent Senator, Donzella James, in a majority-African American district, SD 35 in 2014.<sup>18</sup>

#### STATEWIDE ELECTIONS

19. There were also six statewide elections that presented voters with a biracial choice of candidates over the last three elections.<sup>19</sup> Five of them were for statewide offices in Georgia in 2014, the other was the general election for President of the United States in 2012. There were no such elections in 2016. As noted above, the analyses of these elections concern only the voters in the 10-county area identified as the Atlanta metropolitan area. The EI results for these elections are contained in Table 3. In all six of them voting in this area was racially polarized. Once again, the same pattern in candidate preferences is revealed, which is African American voters being strongly cohesive in their support for African American candidates, while non-African American voters did not share this preference. The estimated African American support for the African American candidate in each of these elections exceeds 98 percentage points. That preference was not shared by the non-African American voters in these elections. The range in their estimated support for the African American candidates is 26.5 percent to 31.0 percent. Voting in the 10-county metropolitan area in all six of these elections was clearly racially polarized.

20. The racially polarized voting in that area revealed above was present before the post-2010 redistricting cycle as well and was the context in which that redistricting occurred. There were three biracial statewide general elections in 2010, those for a Georgia seat in the United

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<sup>18</sup> This district was 60.2 percent African American in VAP, based on people identifying in the census as any part African American. The source for this number is <http://www.legis.ga.gov/Joint/reapportionment/Documents/SENTATE%202014/Senate14-packet.pdf>.

<sup>19</sup> There were four Libertarian candidates in the statewide elections analyzed, one in 2012 and three in 2010. The statewide votes received by these candidates ranged from 1.2 percent to 4.2 percent, and therefore they are not included in the analyses.

States Senate, and two for Georgia offices, the Secretary of State and the Commissioner of Labor. The EI results for all three of these elections, found in Table 4, are very similar to those for the post-2010 elections.

21. In all three contests voting in the 10-county metro area was racially polarized. Once again, the same pattern in candidate preferences is revealed, which is African American voters being strongly cohesive in their support for African American candidates, while non-African American voters did not share this preference. The estimated African American support for the African American candidate in each of these elections exceeds 99 percentage points. That preference was not shared by the non-African American voters in any of these elections. The range in their estimated support for the African American candidates is 21.8 percent to 25.9 percent.

#### CONCLUSION

22. Racially polarized voting is acute in state House elections, state Senate elections, and statewide elections in the 10-county metro Atlanta area. As noted consistently above, African American voters in that area have been strongly cohesive in their support for the African American candidates in these elections. There is only one exception to this among the 28 elections examined. Likewise, non-African American voters have not shared this preference. Again, there is only one election where that is not the case. When African American and non-African American candidates have competed for the same legislative seat in this area, the African American candidates have won only when the district was a majority-African American district.<sup>20</sup> When districts do not reach that status, the African American candidate always, in this analysis, loses to the non-African American candidate preferred by the non-African American voters. This happened all nine times

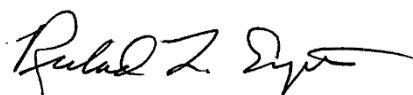
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<sup>20</sup> There is one instance of African American voters electing their choice of candidates, a non-African American, in House District 86 in 2012, which was 61.7 percent African American in VAP.

in the House elections in districts that were not majority- African American and all four times in the Senate elections in such districts.

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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 August 6, 2018 in Durham, NC.



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Richard L. Engstrom

**Table 1: Racially Polarized Voting Analysis****House of Representative Elections****Votes for African American Candidates**

	<u>% of African American Votes</u>	<u>% of non-African American Votes</u>
<b>2016</b>		
<u>House District 40</u>		
<b>Allen</b>	99.0 (98.2 – 99.5)	31.0 (30.0 – 32.5)
<u>House District 102</u>		
<b>Ridgeway</b>	98.9 (97.7 – 99.6)	30.5 (30.4 – 30.8)
<u>House District 105</u>		
<b>McLeod</b>	99.3 (98.8 – 99.7)	25.2 (25.0 – 25.4)
<u>House District 111</u>		
<b>Payton</b>	99.3 (98.8 – 99.8)	17.8 (17.5 – 18.1)
<b>2014</b>		
<u>House District 40</u>		
<b>Allen</b>	71.7 (47.8 – 92.1)	31.5 (26.1 – 37.8)
<u>House District 78</u>		
<b>Douglas</b>	99.0 (98.2 – 99.5)	30.1 (30.0 – 32.5)

House District 94

<b>Bennett</b>	99.1 (98.3 – 99.6)	32.7 (31.5 – 34.4)
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House District 105

<b>Hamilton</b>	97.9 (93.3 – 99.6)	19.2 (18.2 – 21.7)
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**2012**

House District 54

<b>McKinney</b>	97.1 (90.4 – 99.6)	29.4 (29.1 – 30.1)
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House District 86

<b>Kinnemore</b>	1.0 (0.5 – 1.7)	47.5 (46.7 – 48.1)
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House District 93

<b>Kendrick</b>	99.3 (98.8 – 99.7)	28.9 (28.1 – 29.9)
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House District 105

<b>Hamilton</b>	99.0 (97.9 – 99.6)	21.4 (21.1 – 22.0)
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House District 111

**Blackmon**

98.4  
(94.1 – 99.8)

18.0  
(17.2 – 20.4)



**Table 2: Racially Polarized Voting Analysis****Senate Elections****Votes for African American Candidates**

	<u>% of African American Votes</u>	<u>% of non-African American Votes</u>
<b>2016</b>		
<u>Senate District 6</u>		
<b>Howard</b>	99.5 (99.1 – 99.6)	34.2 (34.1 – 34.3)
<u>Senate District 40</u>		
<b>Johnson-Shealey</b>	98.1 (94.0 – 99.6)	35.8 (35.6 – 36.5)
<b>2014</b>		
<u>Senate District 6</u>		
<b>Johnson</b>	98.9 (97.4 – 99.4)	25.5 (25.4 – 25.9)
<u>Senate District 35</u>		
<b>James</b>	99.3 (98.9 – 99.5)	32.0 (31.5 – 32.6)
<u>Senate District 39</u>		
<b>Fort</b>	99.5 (99.2 – 99.7)	58.4 (58.0 – 58.8)
<u>Senate District 40</u>		
<b>Johnson</b>	96.8 (88.1 – 99.5)	30.2 (29.9 – 31.5)

**Table 3: Racially Polarized Voting Analysis****Statewide Elections of 2014 and 2012****Votes for African American Candidates**

	<u>% of African American Votes</u>	<u>% of non-African American Votes</u>
<b>2014</b>		
<u>Lieutenant Governor</u>		
<b>Stokes</b>	98.3 (98.2 – 98.5)	26.5 (26.4 – 26.6)
<u>Secretary of State</u>		
<b>Carter</b>	98.8 (98.7 – 98.9)	27.1 (27.1 – 27.2)
<u>Insurance Commissioner</u>		
<b>Johnson</b>	98.6 (98.5 – 98.7)	28.1 (28.0 – 28.2)
<u>School Superintendant</u>		
<b>Wilson</b>	98.4 (98.3 – 98.5)	31.9 (30.9 – 31.1)
<u>Labor Commissioner</u>		
<b>Shipp</b>	98.6 (98.4 – 98.7)	28.0 (27.9 – 28.0)
<b>2012</b>		
<u>President</u>		
<b>Obama</b>	100 (100 – 100)	31.0 (31.0 – 31.0)

**Table 4: Racially Polarized Voting Analysis****Statewide Elections in 2010****Votes for African American Candidates**

	<u>% of African American Votes</u>	<u>% of non-African American Votes</u>
<u>U.S. Senator</u>		
<b>Thurmond</b>	99.8 (99.7 – 99.8)	21.8 (21.8 – 21.8)
<u>Secretary of State</u>		
<b>Sinkfield</b>	99.1 (99.0 – 99.2)	23.6 (23.5 – 23.7)
<u>Labor Commissioner</u>		
<b>Hicks</b>	99.0 (98.8 – 99.0)	25.9 (25.7 – 26.0)

APPENDIX

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

July 2018

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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.

Visiting Research Fellow, Social Science Research Institute, Duke University, 2015 – present. Research Associate, Center for the Study of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Social Sciences (REGSS), Duke University, 2013 – 2015. Visiting Research Fellow, REGSS, 2008 - 2012. Visiting Professor of Political Science, Duke University 2009-2010.

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, 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, 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).

“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 Clynch 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).

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