

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA  
(SOUTHERN DIVISION)**

BOBBY SINGLETON, *et al.*,

*Plaintiffs,*

v.

WES ALLEN, in his official capacity as  
Alabama Secretary of State, et al.,

*Defendants.*

**Civil Action No. 2:21-cv-1291-AMM**

**THREE-JUDGE COURT**

EVAN MILLIGAN, *et al.*,

*Plaintiffs,*

v.

WES ALLEN, in his official capacity as  
Alabama Secretary of State, et al.,

*Defendants.*

**Civil Action No. 2:21-cv-01530-AMM**

**THREE-JUDGE COURT**

MARCUS CASTER, *et al.*,

*Plaintiffs,*

v.

WES ALLEN, in his official capacity as  
Alabama Secretary of State, et al.,

*Defendants.*

**Civil Action No. 2:21-cv-01536-AMM**

**EXPERT REPORT OF M.V. HOOD III**

I, M.V. Hood III, affirm the conclusions I express in this report are provided to a reasonable degree of professional certainty. In addition, I do hereby declare the following:

## **I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND**

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

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

During the preceding five years, I have offered expert testimony (through deposition or in court [including remotely]) in the following cases around the United States: *Ohio A. Philip Randolph Institute v. Ryan Smith*, 1:18-cv-357 (S.D. Ohio), *Libertarian Party of Arkansas v. Thurston*, 4:19-cv-00214 (E.D. Ark.); *Chestnut v. Merrill*, 2:18-cv-907 (N.D. Ala.), *Common Cause v. Lewis*, 18-CVS-014001 (Wake County Superior Court); *Nielsen v. DeSantis*, 4:20-cv-236 (N.D. Fla.); *Western Native Voice v. Stapleton*, DV-56-2020-377 (Montana Thirteenth Judicial District Court); *Driscoll v. Stapleton*, DV-20-0408 (Montana Thirteenth Judicial District Court); *North Carolina v. Holmes*, 18-CVS-15292 (Wake County Superior Court); *Singleton v. Merrill*, 2:21-cv-01291 (N.D. Ala.); *Milligan v. Merrill*, 2:21-cv-01530 (N.D. Ala.); *Caster v. Merrill*, 2:21-cv-1536 (N.D. Ala.); *Robinson v. Ardoin*, 3:22-cv-00211 (M.D. La.); *Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians v. Jaeger*, 3:22-cv-00022 (E.D. ND); and *Stone v. Allen*, 2:21-cv-01531-AMM (N.D. Ala).

I am receiving \$400 an hour for my work on this case and \$400 an hour for any testimony associated with this work. In reaching my conclusions, I have drawn on my training, experience, and knowledge as a social scientist who has specifically conducted research in the area of redistricting. My compensation in this case is not dependent upon the outcome of the litigation or the substance of my opinions.

## **II. SCOPE AND OVERVIEW**

I have been asked by counsel for the Defendants to provide an expert report to answer the following questions:

1. How do black voting patterns in Alabama compare to other states? (III)
2. Are racial disparities on various sociodemographic factors present outside of Alabama? (IV)
3. How does 2016 Republican presidential primary candidate Ben Carson's vote share compare across states? (V)
4. Do white voters support minority Republican candidates? (VI)
5. How have black political metrics changed over time in Alabama? (VII)

### **III. BLACK VOTING PATTERNS**

In this section, I compare black voting patterns in Alabama to Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. These states were selected because, according to the most recent decennial Census, they each had a black population of 10% or greater.<sup>1</sup> For each of these states I have recorded the percentage of the black electorate casting ballots for the Democratic candidate in the following statewide contests: U.S. President, U.S. Senate, and Governor. In addition, I also collected some data for U.S. House elections using the pooled statewide vote for all Democratic candidates.<sup>2</sup> My analysis spans eight election-cycles, from 2008 through 2022.

In the absence of survey data, it would be necessary to produce statistical estimates of black voting behavior. In this matter, however, we can rely on survey data from which such estimates can be derived. I make use of two well-known surveys, the National Exit Polls<sup>3</sup> and the Cooperative Election Studies (CES) (see also Appendix B). Both are large-scale surveys designed to provide representative samples of voters at the state-level.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the CES undergoes a vote validation process following each election-cycle. The vote estimates produced for this report from the CES are restricted to those cases that had a validated record of turnout for each of the elections analyzed.

A summary of results for the set of comparison states using National Exit Poll data is found in Table 1 (Appendix B, Tables A-P display detailed election data collected from the National Exit Poll and the CES). These results exhibit very high levels of black support for Democratic candidates across elective offices from 2008 through 2022. For example, average black support for Democratic presidential candidates was 93.1%; for Democratic gubernatorial candidates average support was 88.7%; and for Democratic U.S. Senate candidates it was 90.1%. Across all contests analyzed, the average black Democratic vote was 90.8%. The exit poll data provides five elections to analyze from Alabama during this time period (see Table 2). The average black Democratic vote for these three contests was 92.4%.

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<sup>1</sup>Source: Table P2. 2020 PL 94-171 (Redistricting Data).

<sup>2</sup>All elections used for analysis, including U.S. Congress, are two-party contested.

<sup>3</sup>Note: In a given election-cycle, an exit poll is not necessarily conducted in every state.

<sup>4</sup>For the CES, in order for a state to be included in my analysis I set a minimum threshold of thirty unweighted respondents. Using this data source, I was also able to calculate a 95% confidence interval around each estimate.

Table 1. Black Voting Patterns in Comparison States, 2008-2022

<b>Year</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>
2008	95.6%	94.0%	91.2%
2010		91.2%	89.4%
2012	95.1%	88.5%	91.5%
2014		87.8%	92.2%
2016	89.1%	90.0%	86.2%
2018		87.8%	89.6%
2020	90.7%	92.0%	89.3%
2022		85.5%	90.0%
2008-2022	93.1%	88.7%	90.1%
<b>All Races</b>	<b>90.8%</b>		
<i>N</i>	165		

Note: Entries are the average Democratic vote share by office.

Source: National Exit Polls.

Table 2. Black Voting Patterns in Alabama, 2008-2022

<b>Year</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>
2008	98%		90%
2010			
2012	95%		
2014			
2016			
2018			
2020	89%		90%
2022			
2008-2022	94.0%		90.0%
<b>All Races</b>	<b>92.4%</b>		

Note: Entries are the Democratic vote share by office.

Source: National Exit Polls.

Table 3 displays results for the twenty comparison states using data from the CES, from 2008 to 2022. Once again, these results indicate black voters are highly likely to support Democratic candidates. For President, Democratic support averaged 94.5%. Comparable figures for other offices include 88.4% for Governor, 91.7% for U.S. Senate, and 90.6% for U.S. House. The average Democratic support across all offices was 91.4%.

From the CES there are a total of twenty contests available to analyze for Alabama (see Table 4). In Alabama, average Democratic support for President stood at 98.2% among black voters. The comparable figures for other offices were as follows: Governor 94.6 %, U.S. Senate 94.1%, and U.S. House 91.0%. Average Democratic support from black voters across these twelve elections stood at 93.9%.

Table 3. Black Voting Patterns in Comparison States, 2008-2022

<b>Year</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>House</b>
2008	96.9%	96.8%	97.1%	94.7%
2010		90.7%	91.1%	91.9%
2012	95.9%	95.6%	95.5%	92.6%
2014		87.6%	93.0%	91.8%
2016	93.5%	90.9%	89.7%	87.7%
2018		90.8%	93.1%	93.2%
2020	91.2%	85.6%	90.3%	88.3%
2022		82.5%	85.9%	86.5%
2008-2022	94.5%	88.4%	91.7%	90.6%
<b>All Races</b>	<b>91.4%</b>			
<i>N</i>	338			

Source: CES.

Table 4. Black Voting Patterns in Alabama, 2008-2022

<b>Year</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>House</b>
2008	98.7%			
2010		94.0%	84.5%	74.0%
2012	99.8%			96.0%
2014		100%		100%
2016	96.3%		99.3%	97.3%
2018		93.4%	94.3%	93.0%
2020	97.9%		95.1%	85.4%
2022		90.8%	97.2%	91.1%
2008-2022	98.2%	94.6%	94.1%	91.0%
<b>All Races</b>	<b>93.9%</b>			

Source: CES.

### Overall Summary

The analysis in this section reveals that Democratic support among black voters, on average, exceeds 90%. This fact is true both for Alabama and a group of twenty comparison states that have a black population of 10% or greater. Of the 528 races analyzed from the National Exit Polls and the CES combined (including Alabama), there was not a single instance where the estimate for black support of Democratic candidates ever fell below a majority. In regard to the CES analysis where it was possible to compute a 95% confidence interval for the derived vote estimates, there were three cases (0.8%) of the 358 analyzed where the lower bound on the confidence interval dipped below 50% Democratic support. For all other elections analyzed (99.2%), one can be confident from a statistical perspective that the Democratic candidate received a majority of the black vote. This pattern transcends both geographic region (South versus non-South) as well as party control (Democratic versus Republican) at the state-level. In

summary, black support for Democratic candidates across these jurisdictions could be characterized as being close to monolithic.

#### **IV. RACIAL COMPARISONS**

I was asked by counsel for the Defendants to determine if racial disparities present in Alabama also exist in other states. In this section I analyze racial disparity rates between white and black residents in Alabama on a number of commonly referenced criteria. I also provide these same comparisons for the twenty states listed in Section III of this report. In analyzing disparity rates, I collected data from government agencies on a number of socio-demographic measures including educational attainment, food stamps, median household income, per capita income, the poverty rate, home ownership rates, unemployment rates, infant mortality rates, vehicle ownership, health insurance, internet access, and incarceration rates. For each of these measures I calculate a difference measure in order to determine if a disparity rate between whites and blacks is present (see Appendix A for a list of data sources). Data on Alabama are also provided for each measure as a point of comparison. From these tables it is possible to determine if disparity rates in Alabama are higher or lower than the comparison states and, second, is there a pattern in white-black disparity rates across states.

##### **A. Education**

Table 5 below compares educational attainment rates for whites and blacks on two metrics: the percentage of the population with at least a high school degree (or equivalent) and the percentage of the population with a college degree or higher. The table also provides the arithmetic difference between the white and black percentages, with a positive difference evidence of a racial disparity on that measure. For example, in Alabama 89.8% of whites have a high school degree compared to 85.0% of blacks—a difference of 4.8. The remainder of the table lists these same values for the twenty comparison states. There is a positive disparity on this measure for all twenty of the comparison states. The mean difference (excluding Alabama) in the disparity measure is 5.5 points.

The second part of Table 5 examines differences based on the percentage of the whites and blacks who have obtained a bachelor's degree. In Alabama there is a 10.9-point difference between the white and black populations on this measure. The mean difference measure for the comparison states is 14.1.

In summary, for both levels of educational achievement analyzed there is a positive disparity difference for all twenty states, as well as Alabama.

Table 5. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Educational Achievement Rates, 2022

State	High School or Equivalent			B.S. or Higher		
	White	Black	Difference	White	Black	Difference
Alabama	89.8%	85.0%	4.8	30.1%	19.2%	10.9
Arkansas	90.7%	86.9%	3.8	26.6%	18.1%	8.5
Connecticut	95.2%	87.9%	7.3	46.5%	25.4%	21.1
Delaware	94.0%	91.0%	3.1	37.0%	25.3%	11.7
Florida	93.8%	85.0%	8.8	35.9%	21.8%	14.1
Georgia	91.9%	88.7%	3.2	37.2%	26.6%	10.6
Illinois	94.8%	87.9%	7.0	40.8%	23.9%	16.9
Louisiana	90.0%	82.4%	7.7	30.1%	17.4%	12.7
Maryland	94.6%	91.4%	3.2	47.4%	32.7%	14.7
Michigan	93.4%	87.7%	5.7	32.3%	18.7%	13.7
Mississippi	89.6%	81.9%	7.6	27.7%	17.5%	10.1
Missouri	92.3%	88.4%	3.9	32.2%	20.3%	12.0
New Jersey	95.2%	89.6%	5.6	46.9%	27.1%	19.8
New York	93.9%	84.9%	8.9	45.4%	25.9%	19.5
North Carolina	92.7%	88.0%	4.7	37.6%	23.7%	14.0
Ohio	92.7%	87.2%	5.5	31.5%	19.3%	12.2
Pennsylvania	93.7%	88.4%	5.3	35.3%	21.0%	14.3
South Carolina	92.2%	85.0%	7.3	35.4%	18.2%	17.2
Tennessee	90.8%	88.1%	2.7	31.1%	22.3%	8.8
Texas	94.8%	91.1%	3.7	41.0%	27.7%	13.3
Virginia	93.8%	88.4%	5.5	44.2%	26.6%	17.6
Average	93.0%	87.5%	5.5	37.1%	23.0%	14.1

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2022 ACS (5-year)



**B. Food Stamps**

The next table (Table 6) displays the proportion of a state's population, by race, that is receiving food stamps. In this case a negative difference measure is indicative of a lower percentage of whites on food stamps compared to blacks. In Alabama, 8.1% of whites receive food stamps versus 26.7% of blacks, producing a difference of -18.6. The difference measures for the group of twenty comparison states are also negative. The mean difference measure is -17.4.

Table 6. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Households Receiving Food Stamps, 2022

<b>State</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Alabama	8.1%	26.7%	-18.6
Arkansas	8.3%	24.4%	-16.0
Connecticut	6.4%	24.1%	-17.6
Delaware	6.9%	20.2%	-13.3
Florida	7.2%	26.1%	-18.9
Georgia	6.9%	22.2%	-15.4
Illinois	8.1%	32.8%	-24.7
Louisiana	9.3%	30.2%	-20.9
Maryland	6.3%	18.9%	-12.6
Michigan	9.1%	32.7%	-23.6
Mississippi	7.1%	24.8%	-17.6
Missouri	7.9%	24.8%	-17.0
New Jersey	4.1%	18.0%	-13.9
New York	8.5%	26.7%	-18.2
North Carolina	7.7%	25.2%	-17.4
Ohio	9.4%	28.1%	-18.8
Pennsylvania	9.7%	33.0%	-23.4
South Carolina	6.0%	22.4%	-16.4
Tennessee	9.1%	23.4%	-14.2
Texas	5.6%	20.0%	-14.4
Virginia	5.6%	18.2%	-12.6
<b>Average</b>	<b>7.4%</b>	<b>24.8%</b>	<b>-17.4</b>

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2022 ACS (5-year)

### C. Median Household Income

Table 7 displays median household income (MHHI) levels by race. For this table, a positive value in the difference column indicates that the median household income value for whites is greater than that for blacks. In Alabama, the median household income for whites is \$69,303 compared to \$40,661 for blacks, producing a difference of \$28,642. For all twenty comparison states there is a positive difference measure, indicating that white MHHI is greater than black MHHI. The mean difference for these states is \$31,168.

Table 7. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Median Household Income Levels, 2022

State	White	Black	Difference
Alabama	\$69,303	\$40,661	\$28,642
Arkansas	\$60,932	\$37,395	\$23,537
Connecticut	\$102,023	\$59,728	\$42,295
Delaware	\$87,027	\$58,385	\$28,642
Florida	\$74,121	\$51,249	\$22,872
Georgia	\$82,329	\$55,010	\$27,319
Illinois	\$86,254	\$46,717	\$39,537
Louisiana	\$70,652	\$37,015	\$33,637
Maryland	\$110,044	\$79,161	\$30,883
Michigan	\$73,276	\$42,171	\$31,105
Mississippi	\$65,751	\$36,263	\$29,488
Missouri	\$69,746	\$44,293	\$25,453
New Jersey	\$109,096	\$65,351	\$43,745
New York	\$92,218	\$58,805	\$33,413
North Carolina	\$74,488	\$47,088	\$27,400
Ohio	\$72,111	\$40,499	\$31,612
Pennsylvania	\$78,481	\$45,944	\$32,537
South Carolina	\$73,611	\$42,672	\$30,939
Tennessee	\$68,793	\$46,708	\$22,085
Texas	\$88,575	\$55,459	\$33,116
Virginia	\$93,942	\$60,201	\$33,741
Average	\$81,674	\$50,506	\$31,168

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2022 ACS (5-year)

**D. Per Capita Income**

Table 8 examines per capita income (PCI). For this analysis, a positive difference measure is an indication that white per capita income is greater than black per capita income. In Alabama, black PCI lags behind that of whites, with the difference being just under \$15,000. The same general pattern is evident when examining the twenty states being used for comparison—a positive difference measure. The average difference figure for these comparison states is \$19,417.

Table 8. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Per Capita Income, 2022

<b>State</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Alabama	\$38,479	\$23,722	\$14,757
Arkansas	\$35,771	\$21,388	\$14,383
Connecticut	\$62,193	\$33,759	\$28,434
Delaware	\$48,743	\$32,390	\$16,353
Florida	\$47,905	\$25,347	\$22,558
Georgia	\$46,410	\$28,566	\$17,844
Illinois	\$51,660	\$27,904	\$23,756
Louisiana	\$40,130	\$21,652	\$18,478
Maryland	\$61,021	\$39,971	\$21,050
Michigan	\$41,536	\$24,972	\$16,564
Mississippi	\$35,781	\$20,635	\$15,146
Missouri	\$39,533	\$25,435	\$14,098
New Jersey	\$62,009	\$34,568	\$27,441
New York	\$57,916	\$32,376	\$25,540
North Carolina	\$44,360	\$27,102	\$17,258
Ohio	\$40,903	\$24,910	\$15,993
Pennsylvania	\$45,539	\$26,303	\$19,236
South Carolina	\$42,658	\$24,282	\$18,376
Tennessee	\$39,561	\$26,283	\$13,278
Texas	\$52,081	\$29,861	\$22,220
Virginia	\$53,959	\$33,634	\$20,325
Average	\$47,483	\$28,067	\$19,417

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2022 ACS (5-year)

### E. Poverty Rate

A comparison of the percentage of the population falling below the poverty level is found in Table 9. In Alabama, the Census estimates that 11.1% of the white population is below the poverty line, compared with 25.3% of the black population. The negative difference calculation is an indication that a greater percentage of blacks in Alabama are living in poverty compared to whites. This same finding is also evident for the twenty comparison states, each of which has a negative difference measure. The mean difference for this group of states is -12.7.

Table 9. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Poverty Rates, 2022

State	White	Black	Difference
Alabama	11.1%	25.3%	-14.3
Arkansas	12.9%	28.9%	-16.0
Connecticut	6.3%	17.3%	-11.1
Delaware	7.6%	17.2%	-9.7
Florida	9.6%	20.0%	-10.4
Georgia	9.4%	19.0%	-9.5
Illinois	8.2%	24.8%	-16.6
Louisiana	12.2%	29.8%	-17.7
Maryland	6.3%	13.0%	-6.7
Michigan	10.3%	26.1%	-15.8
Mississippi	11.7%	30.0%	-18.3
Missouri	10.7%	23.8%	-13.1
New Jersey	6.2%	16.1%	-9.9
New York	9.4%	20.5%	-11.1
North Carolina	9.4%	20.5%	-11.1
Ohio	10.3%	27.3%	-17.0
Pennsylvania	8.5%	24.5%	-16.0
South Carolina	9.8%	23.6%	-13.8
Tennessee	11.2%	22.8%	-11.6
Texas	8.3%	18.8%	-10.5
Virginia	7.8%	16.5%	-8.8
Average	9.3%	22.0%	-12.7

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2022 ACS (5-year)

## F. Home Ownership

Rates of home ownership, by race, are compared in Table 10. For Alabama, 77.7% of the white population are homeowners, compared with 51.3% of blacks. The positive difference measure of 26.4 indicates that the rate of home ownership for whites is greater than the rate of home ownership for blacks. This difference measure is also positive for the twenty comparison states, evidence of racial disparity in home ownership rates. The mean difference across the comparison states is 30.4.

Table 10. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Home Ownership Rates, 2022

State	White	Black	Difference
Alabama	77.7%	51.3%	26.4
Arkansas	72.4%	44.2%	28.2
Connecticut	75.8%	40.7%	35.1
Delaware	81.3%	51.5%	29.7
Florida	76.0%	47.6%	28.4
Georgia	75.6%	49.0%	26.6
Illinois	74.8%	40.2%	34.6
Louisiana	77.6%	48.9%	28.6
Maryland	77.5%	52.5%	25.0
Michigan	78.7%	43.3%	35.5
Mississippi	79.1%	54.4%	24.7
Missouri	72.8%	39.3%	33.5
New Jersey	76.4%	39.7%	36.7
New York	66.8%	32.7%	34.1
North Carolina	74.4%	46.3%	28.1
Ohio	73.1%	36.1%	36.9
Pennsylvania	75.0%	43.4%	31.6
South Carolina	78.9%	53.5%	25.4
Tennessee	73.6%	43.6%	30.0
Texas	70.7%	41.3%	29.3
Virginia	73.8%	48.6%	25.2
Average	75.2%	44.8%	30.4

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2022 ACS (5-year)

**G. Unemployment Rates**

Unemployment rates by state and racial category are provided in Table 11. In Alabama, the 2022 unemployment rate for whites was 2.1%, compared to 3.9% for blacks. In this case, the difference between these two figures is -1.8, an indication that the black unemployment rate is higher than the white unemployment rate. For the twenty states used as comparisons to Alabama, the difference measure is also negative. The average difference across the comparison states is -3.1.

Table 11. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Unemployment Rates, 2022

<b>State</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Alabama	2.1%	3.9%	-1.8
Arkansas	3.4%	5.0%	-1.6
Connecticut	3.8%	5.9%	-2.1
Delaware	3.5%	7.2%	-3.7
Florida	2.5%	4.3%	-1.8
Georgia	2.1%	5.1%	-3.0
Illinois	3.5%	10.9%	-7.4
Louisiana	2.7%	5.8%	-3.1
Maryland	2.8%	4.5%	-1.7
Michigan	3.6%	7.4%	-3.8
Mississippi	2.6%	6.0%	-3.4
Missouri	2.5%	4.0%	-1.5
New Jersey	3.3%	6.4%	-3.1
New York	3.5%	8.7%	-5.2
North Carolina	2.9%	6.5%	-3.6
Ohio	3.4%	7.1%	-3.7
Pennsylvania	3.7%	7.4%	-3.7
South Carolina	2.8%	5.2%	-2.4
Tennessee	3.0%	6.0%	-3.0
Texas	3.5%	5.4%	-1.9
Virginia	2.4%	4.6%	-2.2
Average	3.1%	6.2%	-3.1

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics.

**H. Infant Mortality**

Table 12 presents data on infant mortality by race of mother which is calculated as infant deaths per 1,000 births. In Alabama, the infant mortality rate for white mothers is 6.13. The infant mortality rate for black mothers is 11.14. The difference between these two rates is -5.01, an indication that the infant mortality rate is higher among black mothers as compared to white mothers. For the twenty comparison states, the difference measures are all negative as well. The mean difference for this group of states is -6.44.

Table 12. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Infant Mortality Rates, 2021

<b>State</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Alabama	6.13	11.14	-5.01
Arkansas	7.44	15.01	-7.57
Connecticut	3.29	9.87	-6.58
Delaware	2.78	9.22	-6.44
Florida	4.42	10.89	-6.47
Georgia	4.83	9.02	-4.19
Illinois	3.86	12.27	-8.41
Louisiana	5.15	10.93	-5.78
Maryland	4.54	9.19	-4.65
Michigan	4.30	13.40	-9.10
Mississippi	6.85	13.00	-6.15
Missouri	4.83	11.86	-7.03
New Jersey	2.39	8.42	-6.03
New York	2.93	9.26	-6.33
North Carolina	5.30	11.32	-6.02
Ohio	5.49	13.64	-8.15
Pennsylvania	4.12	9.79	-5.67
South Carolina	5.18	12.87	-7.69
Tennessee	5.10	10.26	-5.16
Texas	4.13	9.73	-5.60
Virginia	4.47	10.28	-5.81
Average	4.57	11.01	-6.44

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: Centers for Disease Control.

**I. Vehicle Ownership**

Table 13 presents data on vehicle ownership rates by race. In Alabama, 3.6% of white households do not own a vehicle, compared to 5.6% of black households. The difference between these two figures is -2.0, which indicates that black households are more likely not to own a vehicle compared to white households. For all twenty comparison states there is also a negative difference measure, with an overall mean for this group of -2.7.

Table 13. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Vehicle Ownership Rates, 2021

<b>State</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Alabama	3.6%	5.6%	-2.0
Arkansas	4.6%	5.9%	-1.4
Connecticut	5.4%	8.5%	-3.0
Delaware	4.1%	5.9%	-1.7
Florida	4.6%	6.0%	-1.4
Georgia	3.4%	6.1%	-2.6
Illinois	7.8%	10.7%	-2.9
Louisiana	4.7%	8.3%	-3.6
Maryland	5.3%	8.7%	-3.4
Michigan	5.3%	7.3%	-1.9
Mississippi	3.6%	6.2%	-2.6
Missouri	4.9%	6.5%	-1.6
New Jersey	6.6%	11.3%	-4.7
New York	18.9%	28.9%	-9.9
North Carolina	3.6%	5.5%	-1.9
Ohio	5.6%	7.5%	-1.9
Pennsylvania	7.4%	10.6%	-3.2
South Carolina	3.6%	5.8%	-2.2
Tennessee	4.1%	5.4%	-1.3
Texas	3.6%	5.2%	-1.6
Virginia	4.3%	6.0%	-1.7
Average	5.6%	8.3%	-2.7

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2021 ACS (5-year)



**J. Health Insurance**

Table 14 presents data on health insurance coverage, specifically the percentage of the population 19 to 64 years of age that lacks health insurance. The Census Bureau data estimates that 12.5% of white Alabamians and 16.7% of black Alabamians have no health insurance coverage. The difference between whites and blacks, at -4.2, indicates that there is a racial disparity on this measure. This same pattern is present for all twenty comparison states with an overall average difference of -4.3.

Table 14. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Health Insurance Coverage, 2021

<b>State</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Alabama	12.5%	16.7%	-4.2
Arkansas	10.0%	12.6%	-2.5
Connecticut	4.4%	8.4%	-4.0
Delaware	6.2%	7.8%	-1.7
Florida	14.7%	20.7%	-6.0
Georgia	14.2%	18.7%	-4.4
Illinois	6.2%	11.6%	-5.4
Louisiana	9.5%	12.6%	-3.2
Maryland	4.2%	7.6%	-3.4
Michigan	6.7%	9.5%	-2.8
Mississippi	15.1%	20.7%	-5.6
Missouri	12.0%	18.2%	-6.2
New Jersey	5.3%	11.4%	-6.1
New York	4.6%	8.2%	-3.6
North Carolina	11.7%	16.0%	-4.3
Ohio	7.6%	11.3%	-3.6
Pennsylvania	6.2%	9.9%	-3.7
South Carolina	12.7%	16.9%	-4.2
Tennessee	12.1%	16.4%	-4.3
Texas	14.0%	20.5%	-6.5
Virginia	7.7%	12.2%	-4.5
Average	9.3%	13.6%	-4.3

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2021 ACS (5-year)

**K. Internet Access**

Table 15 presents data on the percentage of households lacking internet access. The American Community Survey estimates that 12.7% of white households in Alabama lack internet access, compared to 20.9% of black households in the state. This is reflected in the difference measure of -8.3. For the twenty comparison states, there is also a negative difference figure. Such is an indication that more black households lack internet access compared to white households. The average difference measure for the comparison states is -5.8.

Table 15. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Internet Access, 2021

<b>State</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Alabama	12.7%	20.9%	-8.3
Arkansas	15.3%	21.3%	-6.0
Connecticut	8.0%	11.9%	-3.9
Delaware	7.8%	9.7%	-1.9
Florida	8.0%	15.2%	-7.1
Georgia	9.6%	14.3%	-4.7
Illinois	9.5%	16.0%	-6.5
Louisiana	12.9%	23.0%	-10.1
Maryland	7.3%	10.0%	-2.7
Michigan	10.1%	16.4%	-6.3
Mississippi	15.8%	23.5%	-7.7
Missouri	11.4%	15.8%	-4.4
New Jersey	7.7%	12.7%	-4.9
New York	9.7%	14.3%	-4.6
North Carolina	10.5%	17.1%	-6.6
Ohio	10.5%	16.2%	-5.7
Pennsylvania	11.5%	15.0%	-3.5
South Carolina	10.1%	22.0%	-11.9
Tennessee	12.6%	18.2%	-5.7
Texas	7.5%	13.6%	-6.1
Virginia	9.3%	14.9%	-5.6
Average	10.3%	16.1%	-5.8

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2021 ACS (5-year)

**L. Incarceration Rates**

Table 16 presents data on incarceration rates by race measured as the number of persons incarcerated per 100,000. For each racial group, this statistic is calculated as:  $[\text{Number Incarcerated}/\text{Population 18 and older}] * 100,000$ . In Alabama, there are 471 whites incarcerated per 100,000 residents and 1,387 blacks incarcerated per 100,000 residents. The difference of -916 indicates that the black incarceration rate exceeds the white incarceration rate. The same pattern, noted by a negative difference measure, is present for all twenty of the comparison states in Table 16. Across these states, the average difference is -1,044.

Table 16. Comparison of non-Hispanic White and Black Incarceration Rates, 2022

<b>State</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Alabama	471	1,387	-916
Arkansas	586	2,068	-1,482
Connecticut	158	1,471	-1,313
Delaware	324	1,813	-1,490
Florida	354	1,585	-1,231
Georgia	408	1,122	-714
Illinois	155	1,184	-1,029
Louisiana	442	1,639	-1,197
Maryland	140	779	-639
Michigan	221	1,537	-1,316
Mississippi	592	1,433	-842
Missouri	396	1,502	-1,106
New Jersey	71	825	-753
New York	79	651	-572
North Carolina	232	873	-641
Ohio	305	1,825	-1,520
Pennsylvania	248	1,687	-1,439
South Carolina	240	933	-692
Tennessee	330	1,157	-827
Texas	497	1,699	-1,202
Virginia	275	1,144	-869
Average	303	1346	-1,044

Notes: Averages exclude Alabama.

Source: U.S. Department of Justice. Bureau of Justice Statistics.

### Summary of Findings

For the thirteen measures analyzed, there is evidence of a racial disparity in Alabama between whites and blacks. This same pattern of disparity also exists for the twenty states used for the purpose of comparison. For the 260 total cases analyzed for this group of states, the same pattern of disparity between blacks and whites is also present. Again, it should be noted that this pattern of racial disparity is present across a diverse group of states, both politically and geographically. In sum, neither in Alabama nor any of the twenty comparison states is there a single instance where black residents fare better than white residents on the metrics surveyed. For ten of the thirteen measures analyzed (77%), the disparity rate for Alabama is below the average disparity rate calculated for the comparison states. Additionally, for none of the thirteen measures does the disparity rate for Alabama constitute the maximum value among the states analyzed.

### V. CARSON VOTE

In this section I have gathered vote return data for candidate Ben Carson, who is black, during 2016 Republican presidential primary race (see Table 17 below). Vote returns were compiled from the first primary contest, the Iowa caucus, through the primaries held on Super Tuesday.<sup>5</sup> Carson dropped out of the GOP presidential primary after Super Tuesday.<sup>6</sup> In all, Carson participated in 15 primaries and caucuses, including the primary election held in Alabama. Carson's vote totals ranged from a low of 2.6% in Massachusetts to a high of 10.8% in Alaska. Carson earned his second highest vote total, at 10.2%, in Alabama. The difference between Carson's vote share in Alaska and his vote share in Alabama is 0.6 points.

Table 17. Carson Vote in the 2016 Republican Presidential Primary

Date	State	Vote Share
Feb. 1	Iowa	9.30%
Feb. 9	New Hampshire	2.31%
Feb. 20	South Carolina	7.23%
Feb. 23	Nevada	4.81%
March 1	<b>Alabama</b>	<b>10.24%</b>
March 1	Alaska	10.83%
March 1	Arkansas	5.72%
March 1	Georgia	6.23%
March 1	Massachusetts	2.57%
March 1	Minnesota	7.37%
March 1	Oklahoma	6.22%
March 1	Tennessee	7.59%
March 1	Texas	4.16%
March 1	Virginia	5.87%
March 1	Vermont	4.18%

<sup>5</sup>The Super Tuesday contests were held on March 1, 2016. Source for vote returns: *CQ Voting and Elections Collection* (<https://library.cqpress.com/elections>).

<sup>6</sup>David Jackson and Erin Kelly. "Ben Carson Drops Out of GOP Presidential Race." *USA Today*. March 4, 2016. Accessed at <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2016/03/04/ben-carson-republican-presidential-race/80047678>.

## **VI. WHITE SUPPORT FOR MINORITY REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES**

Are white voters willing to vote for minority Republican candidates? This was a research question that I analyzed in a peer-reviewed journal article. In this article, a co-author and I examined the voting behavior of white voters as it related to support for minority GOP candidates in U.S. Senate and gubernatorial elections in 2006, 2010, and 2012.<sup>7</sup> In short, we found that white conservatives support minority Republican candidates at the same rates or at significantly higher rates than Anglo (non-Hispanic white) GOP nominees. In our study, voting on the part of white conservatives is shown to be colorblind—the primary explanatory factor appears to be ideological congruence between the voter and the candidate. Stated succinctly, ideology trumps race in the case of white Republicans and their support for minority GOP nominees.

Other peer-reviewed research has also examined the question of white support for minority Republican candidates. Looking at congressional races from 1996 and 1998, one study examined white support for both black Democrats and black Republicans. The author found no empirical backing for the hypothesis that white voters discriminate against black candidates of either party.<sup>8</sup>

Two studies examined elections from South Carolina in 2014. The first examined the two U.S. Senate races in South Carolina in 2014, with one race featuring black Republican Tim Scott and the other white Republican Lindsey Graham. The analysis in the article found that “the results of the current research demonstrate that black Republican candidates are not disadvantaged due to anti-black sentiment among white voters.”<sup>9</sup> The second study, using another data source, examined the two Senate races along with the Governor’s race featuring minority Republican candidate Nikki Haley. The study found high levels of support for Haley and Scott among white Republicans, equal to or greater than white Republican support for Graham. Rather than a candidate’s race, the authors conclude that “the most important litmus test seems to be ideological purity” when it comes to an individual’s calculus for determining how to cast their ballot.<sup>10</sup>

In Alabama specifically, Republican State Representative Kenneth Paschal (HD 73) is one example of white voters electing a minority candidate. Paschal is an African American who ran in a Shelby County district that is 84.1% white VAP.<sup>11</sup> Given the racial composition of HD 73, no candidate can win elective office without the support of white voters. In order to fill a vacancy for HD 73, a special Republican Primary was held on March 30, 2021 in which five candidates participated. In this contest Paschal came in second to Leigh Hulsey, a white candidate.<sup>12</sup> With no candidate in the primary having received a majority of the vote, Paschal and Hulsey were forced into a runoff. In the April 27<sup>th</sup> runoff, Paschal defeated Hulsey 51.1% to 48.9%.<sup>13</sup> Finally, Paschal faced a white Democrat, Sheridan Black, in the Special General Election held on July 13, 2021. In this contest, Paschal won with 74.7% of the vote to 25.1% for Black.<sup>14</sup> In 2022, Representative Paschal was unopposed and reelected to serve as the representative for House District 73.<sup>15</sup>

## **VII. COMPARISONS ACROSS TIME**

I was also asked, to the extent possible, to compile some comparison data for black Alabamians at approximately the time that the Voting Rights Act was initially signed into law (1965), the reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act in 1982, and present-day.

Table 18 below details the percentage of black legislators elected to each chamber of the Alabama Legislature for the three time periods of interest.<sup>16</sup> In 1965, there were no black legislators in either chamber. Sixteen years later, 8.6% of State Senate seats and 12.4% of State House seats were held by black legislators. Today (2024), 20.0% of State Senate seats and 24.8% of State House seats are held by black legislators.

Table 18. Black State Legislators in Alabama

Year	Senate	House
1965	0.0% [0]	0.0% [0]
1981	8.6% [3]	12.4% [13]
2024	20.0% [7]	24.8% [26]
Total	35	105

Notes: Entries represent the proportion of total seats in each Chamber held by black legislators. Number of seats in brackets.

<sup>7</sup>M.V. Hood III and Seth C. McKee. 2015. “True Colors: White Conservative Support for Minority Republican Candidates.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 79(1): 28-52.

<sup>8</sup>Benjamin Highton. 2004. “White Voters and African American Candidates for Congress.” *Political Behavior* 26(1): 1-25.

<sup>9</sup>Paul White, Jr. and Robert W. Oldendick. 2016. “Can Partisanship Trump Racism? White Support for Black Republican Candidates.” *The Journal of Political Science* 44: 135-156. Quoted material from page 148.

<sup>10</sup>Scott H. Huffmon, H. Gibbs Knotts, and Seth C. McKee. 2016. “Similarities and Differences in Support of Minority and White Republican Candidates.” *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 1(1): 91-116. Quoted material from page 111.

<sup>11</sup>Howard Koplowitz. “Kenneth Paschal Wins Alabama House Seat.” *AL.com*. July 14, 2021. *Alabama Legislative Black Caucus v. Alabama* (2:12-cv-00691). Document 337-1. Page 25.

<sup>12</sup>Source: Alabama Secretary of State (<https://www.sos.alabama.gov/sites/default/files/election-2021/Certification%20of%20Primary%20Results.pdf>).

<sup>13</sup>Source: Alabama Secretary of State ([https://www.sos.alabama.gov/sites/default/files/election-2021/HD73\\_Republican\\_Party-Certification\\_of\\_Results-Special\\_Primary\\_Runoff\\_Election.pdf](https://www.sos.alabama.gov/sites/default/files/election-2021/HD73_Republican_Party-Certification_of_Results-Special_Primary_Runoff_Election.pdf))

<sup>14</sup>Source: Alabama Secretary of State (<https://www.sos.alabama.gov/sites/default/files/election-2021/Canvass%20of%20HD73%20Results.PD>).

<sup>15</sup>Source: Alabama Secretary of State. (<https://www.sos.alabama.gov/sites/default/files/election-data/2022-11/Final%20Canvass%20of%20Results%20%28canvassed%20by%20state%20canvassing%20board%2011-28-2022%29.pdf>).

<sup>16</sup>Sources: 1965 and 1981: Table 2.2 in Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2009. *The Triumph of the Voting Rights Act in the South*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press; 2024: The Alabama Legislature (<https://alison.legislature.state.al.us>).

Table 19 examines black voter registration rates over time in Alabama. Percent black registered is calculated as the number of blacks registered to vote over the black voting age population.<sup>17</sup> In 1965, black registration was 23.5%. By 1982, black registration had increased 34-points to 57.7%. Today, most blacks (95%) in Alabama are registered to vote.

Table 19. Black Voter Registration

Year	% Black Registered
1965	23.5%
1982	57.7%
2024	95.2%

Obtaining consistent data across a sixty-year timeframe does limit the metrics available for analysis. On at least two measures for which longitudinal data are available, representation in the Legislature and voter registration, there have been significant gains for black Alabamians across the last six decades.

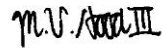
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<sup>17</sup>Sources: 1965: *VEP [Voter Education Project] News*. Vol. 3, No. 12 (December 1969); 1982: *The Triumph of the Voting Rights Act in the South*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press. Table B.1; 2024: Alabama Secretary of State (<https://www.sos.alabama.gov/alabama-votes/voter/election-data>) and the U.S. Census Bureau. Note: CVAP is not consistently available across this time series.

**IX. DECLARATION**

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 June 28, 2024.*



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## Appendix A: Data Sources

### Voting Data:

National Exit Polls, 2008-2022.

2008: [www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/polls/](http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/polls/)  
2010: [www.nytimes.com/elections/2010/results/senate.html](http://www.nytimes.com/elections/2010/results/senate.html)  
2012: [www.cnn.com/election/2012/results/race/president/](http://www.cnn.com/election/2012/results/race/president/)  
2014: [www.cnn.com/election/2014/results/exit-polls](http://www.cnn.com/election/2014/results/exit-polls)  
2016: [www.cnn.com/election/2016/results/exit-polls](http://www.cnn.com/election/2016/results/exit-polls)  
2018: [www.cnn.com/election/2018/exit-polls](http://www.cnn.com/election/2018/exit-polls)

Cooperative Congressional Election Studies, 2008-2018

<https://CES.gov.harvard.edu/>

### Socio-Economic Comparisons:

Educational Attainment

U.S. Census Bureau. 2022 American Community Survey (5-yr.). Table C15002.

Food Stamps

U.S. Census Bureau. 2022 American Community Survey (5-yr.). Table B22005.

Median Household Income.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2022 American Community Survey (5-yr.). Table B19013.

Per Capita Income

U.S. Census Bureau. 2022 American Community Survey (5-yr.). Table B19301.

Poverty Rate

U.S. Census Bureau. 2022 American Community Survey (5-yr.). Table B17001.

Home Ownership

U.S. Census Bureau. 2022 American Community Survey (5-yr.). Table B25003.

Unemployment Rates

Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2022. "Table 14. Employment Status of the Civilian Noninstitutional Population, by Gender, Age, Race, Hispanic or Latino Ethnicity, and Marital Status, 2022." (<https://www.bls.gov/opub/geographic-profile/home.htm>).

Infant Mortality

Centers for Disease Control. CDC Wonder Database (<https://wonder.cdc.gov/>).

Vehicle Ownership

U.S. Census Bureau. 2021 American Community Survey (5-yr.). Table B25004.

Health Insurance Coverage

U.S. Census Bureau. 2021 American Community Survey (5-yr.). Table B27011.

Internet Access

U.S. Census Bureau. 2021 American Community Survey (5-yr.). Table B28002.

Incarceration Rates

U.S. Department of Justice. Bureau of Justice Statistics. "Prisoners in 2022-Statistical Tables." Appendix Table 1. (<https://bjs.ojp.gov/document/p22st.pdf>).

**Appendix B: Detailed Vote Data**

Table A. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2008

<b>State</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>Senate</b>
Alabama	98%		90%	
Arkansas	95%			
Connecticut	93%			
Delaware	99%	97%	97%	
Florida	96%			
Georgia	98%		93%	
Illinois	96%		95%	
Louisiana	94%		96%	
Maryland	94%			
Michigan	97%		94%	
Mississippi	98%		94%	92% <sup>18</sup>
Missouri	93%	90%		
New Jersey	92%		87%	
New York	100%			
North Carolina	95%	95%	96%	
Ohio	97%			
Pennsylvania	95%			
South Carolina	96%		87%	
Tennessee	94%		72%	
Texas	98%		89%	
Virginia	92%		93%	
<b>Average-All Races</b>	<b>93.9%</b>			

Source: 2008 National Exit Poll

<sup>18</sup>Special Election.

Table B. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2010

<b>State</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>
Alabama		
Arkansas		
Connecticut		
Delaware		93%
Florida	92%	76%
Georgia		
Illinois	90%	94%
Louisiana		
Maryland		
Michigan		
Mississippi		
Missouri		92%
New Jersey		
New York	93%	94%
North Carolina		
Ohio	90%	85%
Pennsylvania	91%	92%
South Carolina		
Tennessee		
Texas		
Virginia		
<b>Average-All Races</b>	<b>90.2%</b>	

Source: 2010 National Exit Poll

Table C. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2012

<b>State</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>
Alabama	95%		
Arkansas			
Connecticut	93%		88%
Delaware			
Florida	95%		90%
Georgia			
Illinois	96%		
Louisiana			
Maryland	97%		
Michigan	97%		87%
Mississippi	96%		88%
Missouri	94%	92%	94%
New Jersey	96%		96%
New York	94%		94%
North Carolina	96%	85%	
Ohio	96%		95%
Pennsylvania	93%		91%
South Carolina			
Tennessee			
Texas			
Virginia	93%		92%
<b>Average-All Races</b>	<b>93.2%</b>		

Source: 2012 National Exit Poll

Table D. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2014

<b>State</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>
Alabama		
Arkansas	90%	97%
Connecticut		
Delaware		
Florida	85%	
Georgia		92%
Illinois	93%	95%
Louisiana		94%
Maryland		
Michigan	89%	90%
Mississippi		92%
Missouri		
New Jersey		
New York		
North Carolina		96%
Ohio	69%	
Pennsylvania	92%	
South Carolina	92%	89%
Tennessee		
Texas	92%	87%
Virginia		90%
<b>Average-All Races</b>	<b>90.2%</b>	

Source: 2014 National Exit Poll

Table E. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2016

<b>State</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>
Alabama			
Arkansas			
Connecticut			
Delaware			
Florida	84%		80%
Georgia	89%		79%
Illinois	87%		87%
Louisiana			
Maryland			
Michigan	92%		
Mississippi			
Missouri	90%	92%	90%
New Jersey	89%		
New York	92%		91%
North Carolina	89%	88%	90%
Ohio	88%		79%
Pennsylvania	92%		90%
South Carolina	94%		90%
Tennessee			
Texas	84%		
Virginia	88%		
<b>Average-All Races</b>	<b>88.1%</b>		

Source: 2016 National Exit Poll

Table F. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2018

<b>State</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>Senate</b>
Alabama			
Arkansas			
Connecticut			
Delaware			
Florida	86%	90%	
Georgia	93%		
Illinois			
Louisiana			
Maryland			
Michigan	90%	90%	
Mississippi		88%	91% <sup>19</sup>
Missouri		91%	
New Jersey		90%	
New York	91%	90%	
North Carolina			
Ohio	84%	89%	
Pennsylvania	91%	91%	
South Carolina			
Tennessee	85%	85%	
Texas	82%	89%	
Virginia		91%	
<b>Average-All Races</b>	<b>88.9%</b>		

Source: 2018 National Exit Poll

<sup>19</sup>Special Election.

Table G. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2020

<b>State</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>Senate</b>
Alabama	89%		90%		
Arkansas					
Connecticut					
Delaware					
Florida	89%				
Georgia	88%		87%	83% <sup>20</sup>	93% <sup>21</sup>
Illinois					
Louisiana					
Maryland					
Michigan	92%		90%		
Mississippi					
Missouri					
New Jersey					
New York	94%				
North Carolina	92%	92%	88%		
Ohio	91%				
Pennsylvania	92%				
South Carolina	90%		93%		
Tennessee					
Texas	90%		87%		
Virginia	89%		93%		
<b>Average-All Races</b>	<b>90.1%</b>				

Source: 2020 National Exit Poll

<sup>20</sup>Special Election.<sup>21</sup>Runoff.



Table H. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2022

<b>State</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>
Alabama		
Arkansas		
Connecticut		
Delaware		
Florida	86%	90%
Georgia	90%	90%
Illinois		
Louisiana		
Maryland		
Michigan	94%	
Mississippi		
Missouri		
New Jersey		
New York		
North Carolina		93%
Ohio	67%	86%
Pennsylvania	92%	91%
South Carolina		
Tennessee		
Texas	84%	
Virginia		
<b>Average-All Races</b>	<b>87.5</b>	

Source: 2022 National Exit Poll

Table I. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2008

<b>State</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>House</b>
Alabama	98.7%			
Arkansas	97.5%			
Connecticut	99.5%			
Delaware	97.8%			
Florida	92.3%			93.5%
Georgia	96.2%		96.8%	89.4%
Illinois	98.9%		98.8%	97.5%
Louisiana	89.6%			
Maryland	97.2%			98.7%
Michigan	97.7%		96.7%	92.7%
Mississippi	100.0%			
Missouri	94.3%			
New Jersey	98.5%		98.3%	96.2%
New York	97.7%			97.2%
North Carolina	98.3%	96.8%	98.0%	94.3%
Ohio	95.6%			92.2%
Pennsylvania	97.9%			95.8%
South Carolina	96.8%			
Tennessee	99.1%			
Texas	97.8%		94.0%	93.8%
Virginia	94.5%			
<b>Average-All Races</b>	<b>96.3%</b>			

Source: CES.

Table J. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2010

<b>State</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>House</b>
Alabama	94.0%	84.5%	74.0%
Arkansas			
Connecticut			
Delaware			
Florida	90.9%	88.9%	84.0%
Georgia	91.5%	90.2%	85.5%
Illinois	96.3%	95.6%	98.4%
Louisiana		90.2%	82.1%
Maryland	90.5%	90.8%	91.8%
Michigan	94.3%	95.4%	96.4%
Mississippi			98.3%
Missouri			94.9%
New Jersey			97.1%
New York	96.5%	95.0%	93.4%
North Carolina		92.9%	93.9%
Ohio	86.8%	85.9%	95.2%
Pennsylvania	88.2%	96.9%	96.1%
South Carolina	84.2%	80.0%	79.7%
Tennessee	87.2%		94.6%
Texas	91.3%		88.5%
Virginia			
<b>Average-All Races</b>	<b>90.8%</b>		

Source: CES.

Table K. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2012

<b>State</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>House</b>
Alabama	99.8%			96.0%
Arkansas	97.4%			
Connecticut	92.4%			
Delaware	100%			
Florida	93.8%		89.4%	90.2%
Georgia	97.3%			95.3%
Illinois	98.8%			95.5%
Louisiana	93.4%			61.0%
Maryland	96.1%		100%	99.7%
Michigan	96.7%		98.2%	94.2%
Mississippi	90.2%		91.2%	97.4%
Missouri	96.1%	98.3%	99.5%	98.3%
New Jersey	96.9%	92.8%	97.4%	99.0%
New York	96.6%		98.8%	94.9%
North Carolina	93.7%			94.5%
Ohio	92.8%		97.5%	88.5%
Pennsylvania	98.4%		98.4%	97.3%
South Carolina	98.6%			90.3%
Tennessee	98.0%		93.9%	94.4%
Texas	96.4%		86.7%	94.0%
Virginia	94.1%		94.4%	89.7%
<b>Average-All Races</b>	<b>94.8%</b>			

Source: CES.

Table L. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2014

<b>State</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>House</b>
Alabama	100%		100%
Arkansas			
Connecticut			
Delaware			
Florida	95.5%		89.0%
Georgia	92.9%	96.4%	97.8%
Illinois	91.9%	97.6%	97.1%
Louisiana		100%	
Maryland	81.4%		90.5%
Michigan	87.2%	97.9%	98.3%
Mississippi			
Missouri			82.7%
New Jersey		96.1%	94.0%
New York	87.9%		97.3%
North Carolina		94.8%	88.6%
Ohio	67.1%		79.4%
Pennsylvania	97.5%		96.2%
South Carolina	90.5%	89.4%	96.9%
Tennessee	81.9%	86.7%	91.1%
Texas	89.5%	80.5%	90.3%
Virginia		90.7%	88.4%
<b>Average-All Races</b>	<b>91.3%</b>		

Source: CES.

Table M. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2016

<b>State</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>House</b>
Alabama	96.3%		99.3%	97.3%
Arkansas	93.7%			
Connecticut	94.0%			
Delaware	92.3%			
Florida	92.9%		91.8%	94.4%
Georgia	94.0%		91.5%	81.3%
Illinois	93.7%		98.9%	92.7%
Louisiana	93.0%			
Maryland	94.2%		95.0%	84.5%
Michigan	96.6%			93.2%
Mississippi	89.7%			72.4%
Missouri	95.0%	97.0%	98.8%	93.0%
New Jersey	89.4%			94.6%
New York	95.7%		98.6%	91.6%
North Carolina	90.6%	84.8%	87.7%	90.9%
Ohio	90.0%		81.7%	85.1%
Pennsylvania	96.1%		93.0%	96.3%
South Carolina	92.9%		60.0%	64.8%
Tennessee	99.5%			91.8%
Texas	92.1%			85.4%
Virginia	93.8%			90.8%
<b>Average-All Races</b>	<b>91.1%</b>			

Source: CES.

Table N. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2018

<b>State</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>House</b>
Alabama	93.4%	94.3%	93.0%
Arkansas			
Connecticut			
Delaware			
Florida	95.1%	93.9%	94.9%
Georgia	92.2%		86.9%
Illinois	97.7%		97.1%
Louisiana			90.6%
Maryland	73.2%	94.7%	98.1%
Michigan	99.4%	96.7%	97.0%
Mississippi		89.3%	89.9%
Missouri		90.6%	96.1%
New Jersey		95.1%	95.1%
New York	95.1%	97.2%	99.2%
North Carolina			89.4%
Ohio	89.4%	93.1%	93.9%
Pennsylvania	98.9%	98.4%	96.9%
South Carolina	98.4%	97.8%	97.2%
Tennessee	73.6%	77.7%	75.6%
Texas	86.0%	92.3%	90.8%
Virginia		93.0%	96.0%
<b>Average-All Races</b>	<b>92.6</b>		

Source: CES.

Table O. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2020

<b>State</b>	<b>President</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>House</b>
Alabama	97.9%		95.1%	85.4%
Arkansas				
Connecticut				
Delaware				
Florida	89.8%			90.8%
Georgia	90.3%		82.1%	81.3%
Illinois	95.2%		99.2%	96.0%
Louisiana	96.2%		89.3%	93.1%
Maryland	95.6%			95.1%
Michigan	85.8%		85.6%	82.3%
Mississippi	90.9%		95.2%	76.8%
Missouri	80.4%	80.0%		78.0%
New Jersey	94.4%		96.2%	95.6%
New York	93.5%			95.9%
North Carolina	90.5%	91.2%	84.0%	90.6%
Ohio	93.6%			91.2%
Pennsylvania	97.2%			96.1%
South Carolina	90.7%		89.2%	83.5%
Tennessee	89.9%		89.0%	80.4%
Texas	88.3%		89.0%	89.1%
Virginia	88.8%		94.1%	84.8%
<b>Average-All Races</b>	<b>89.9%</b>			

Source: CES.



Table P. Black Support for Democratic Candidates, 2022

<b>State</b>	<b>Governor</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>House</b>
Alabama	90.8%	97.2%	91.1%
Arkansas			
Connecticut			
Delaware			
Florida	66.1%	75.5%	74.7%
Georgia	88.0%	91.9%	91.7%
Illinois	85.0%	93.3%	96.0%
Louisiana		70.6%	74.6%
Maryland	99.1%	99.1%	98.5%
Michigan	91.3%		92.3%
Mississippi			90.9%
Missouri		87.6%	90.8%
New Jersey			84.4%
New York	88.7%	91.9%	89.5%
North Carolina		79.2%	82.0%
Ohio	58.5%	78.8%	76.5%
Pennsylvania	86.1%	84.8%	83.4%
South Carolina	90.0%	91.7%	92.7%
Tennessee	78.7%		87.9%
Texas	76.0%		77.9%
Virginia			86.7%
<b>Average-All Races</b>	<b>85.8</b>		

Source: CES.

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**Peer-Reviewed Books:**

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**Other Publications:**

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NES Technical Report No. 52. 1994. “The Reliability, Validity, and Scalability of the Indicators of Gender Role Beliefs and Feminism in the 1992 American National Election Study: A Report to the ANES Board of Overseers.” (Sue Tolleson-Rinehart, Douglas R. Davenport, Terry L. Gilmour, William R. Moore, Kurt Shirkey, co-authors).

**Grant-funded Research (UGA):**

Principal Investigator. “Gauging the Effects of SB 202 on Non-Precinct Voting in Georgia.” Budget: \$57,193. 2022. Funded by the MIT Election Data and Science Lab.

Co-Principal Investigator. “Georgia Absentee Ballot Signature Verification Study.” Budget: \$36,950. 2021. (with Audrey Haynes and Charles Stewart III). Funded by the Georgia Secretary of State.

Co-Principal Investigator. “The Integrity of Mail Voting in the 2020 Election.” Budget: \$177,080. (with Lonna Atkeson and Robert Stein). Funded by the National Science Foundation.

Co-Principal Investigator. “Georgia Voter Verification Study.” Budget: \$52,060. 2020. (with Audrey Haynes). Funded by Center for Election Innovation and Research.

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

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

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

**Curriculum Grants (UGA):**

Learning Technology Grant: “Converting Ideas Into Effective Action: An Interactive Computer and Classroom Simulation for the Teaching of American Politics.” \$40,000. January-December



2004. (with Loch Johnson). Funded by the Office of Instructional Support and Technology, University of Georgia.

**Dissertation:**

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

Chair: Professor Sue Tolleson-Rinehart

**Papers and Activities at Professional Meetings:**

Roundtable Participant. Panel: Polling is not Dead: Responses to Modern Day Polling Challenges. 2023. Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. St. Petersburg, FL.

“Where Do Things Stand Now? Assessing the State of the Georgia Electorate Post-2022.” 2023. (with Seth C. McKee). Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. St. Petersburg, FL.

“Local-Level Implementation of SB 202 in Georgia.” 2023. (with Seth C. McKee). Presented at the annual meeting of the Election Science, Reform & Administration Conference. Athens, GA.

“The Geography of Hispanic Political Behavior in Texas, 2012-2022.” 2023. (with Seth C. McKee). Presented at the annual meeting of the Florida Political Science Association. Stetson University.

“Voter Registration Choices in a Polarized America.” 2023. (with Seth C. McKee, Enrijeta Shino, and Daniel A. Smith). Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

“The Changing South in Presidential Elections.” 2022. (with M.V. Hood III, Robert N. Lupton, and Daniel A. Smith). Presented at the biennial meeting of the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“Was There a Secret Ballot in the 2020 Election?” 2022. (with Lonna Atkeson, Robert Stein, Braeden McNulty, Colin Jones, Mason Reece, and Eli McKown-Dawson). Presented at the Annual Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration Conference. Charlotte, NC.

“Rural Voters in Southern U.S. House Elections.” 2021. (with Seth C. McKee). Presented at the Virtual American Political History Conference. University of Georgia. Athens, GA.

“Mail It In: An Analysis of the Peach State’s Response to the Coronavirus Pandemic.” 2020. (with Audrey Haynes). Presented at the Election Science, Reform, and Administrative Conference. Gainesville, FL. [Virtually Presented].

“Presidential Republicanism and Democratic Darn Near Everything Else.” 2020. (with Seth C. McKee). Presented at the Citadel Southern Politics Symposium. Charleston, SC.

“Why Georgia, Why? Peach State Residents’ Perceptions of Voting-Related Improprieties and their Impact on the 2018 Gubernatorial Election.” 2019. (with Seth C. McKee). Presented at the Election Science, Reform, and Administrative Conference. Philadelphia, PA.

“The Demise of White Class Polarization and the Newest American Politics.” 2019. (with Seth C. McKee). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Austin, TX.

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

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

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

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

“Still Fighting the Civil War?: Southern Opinions on the Confederate Legacy.” 2018. (with Christopher A. Cooper, Scott H. Huffman, Quentin Kidd, H. Gibbs Knotts, and Seth C. McKee). The Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“Tracking Hispanic Growth in the American South.” 2018. (with Seth C. McKee). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.

“An Assessment of Online Voter Registration in Georgia.” 2017. (with Greg Hawrelak and Colin Phillips). Presented at the Annual Meeting of Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration. Portland, Oregon.

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

“Election Daze: Time of Vote, Mode of Voting, and Voter Preferences in the 2016 Presidential Election.” 2017. (with Seth C. McKee and Dan Smith). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the State Politics and Policy Conference. St. Louis, MO.

“Palmetto Postmortem: Examining the Effects of the South Carolina Voter Identification Statute.” 2017. (with Scott E. Buchanan). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.

Panel Chair and Presenter. Panel titled “Assessing the 2016 Presidential Election.” 2017. UGA Elections Conference. Athens, GA.

Roundtable Discussant. Panel titled “Author Meets Critics: Robert Mickey's Paths Out of Dixie.” 2017. The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.

“Out of Step and Out of Touch: The Matter with Kansas in the 2014 Midterm Election.” (with Seth C. McKee and Ian Ostrander). 2016. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. San Juan, Puerto Rico.

“Contagious Republicanism in North Carolina and Louisiana, 1966-2008.” (with Jamie Monogan). 2016. Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“The Behavioral Implications of Racial Resentment in the South: The Intervening Influence of Party.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2016. Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

Discussant. Panel titled “Partisan Realignment in the South.” 2016. The Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“Electoral Implications of Racial Resentment in the South: The Influence of Party.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2016. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Philadelphia, PA.

“Racial Resentment and the Tea Party: Taking Regional Differences Seriously.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2015. Poster presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. San Francisco, CA.

“Race and the Tea Party in the Palmetto State: Tim Scott, Nikki Haley, Bakari Sellers and the 2014 Elections in South Carolina.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2015. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.

Participant. Roundtable on the 2014 Midterm Elections in the Deep South. Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.

“Race and the Tea Party in the Old Dominion: Split-Ticket Voting in the 2013 Virginia Elections.” (with Irwin L. Morris and Quentin Kidd). 2014. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“Race and the Tea Party in the Old Dominion: Down-Ticket Voting and Roll-Off in the 2013 Virginia Elections.” (with Irwin L. Morris and Quentin Kidd). 2014. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.

“Tea Leaves and Southern Politics: Explaining Tea Party Support Among Southern Republicans.” (with Irwin L. Morris and Quentin Kidd). 2013. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Orlando, FL.

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

- “Black Mobilization and Republican Growth in the American South: The More Things Change the More They Stay the Same?” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2010. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta, GA.
- “The Impact of Efforts to Increase Early Voting in Georgia, 2008.” (With Charles S. Bullock, III). 2009. Presentation made at the Annual Meeting of the Georgia Political Science Association. Callaway Gardens, GA.
- “Encouraging Non-Precinct Voting in Georgia, 2008.” (With Charles S. Bullock, III). 2009. Presentation made at the Time-Shifting The Vote Conference. Reed College, Portland, OR.
- “What Made Carolina Blue? In-migration and the 2008 North Carolina Presidential Vote.” (with Seth C. McKee). 2009. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Political Science Association. Orlando, FL.
- “Swimming with the Tide: Redistricting and Voter Choice in the 2006 Midterm.” (with Seth C. McKee). 2009. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “The Effect of the Partisan Press on U.S. House Elections, 1800-1820.” (with Jamie Carson). 2008. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the History of Congress Conference. Washington, D.C.
- “Backward Mapping: Exploring Questions of Representation via Spatial Analysis of Historical Congressional Districts.” (Michael Crespin). 2008. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the History of Congress Conference. Washington, D.C.
- “The Effect of the Partisan Press on U.S. House Elections, 1800-1820.” (with Jamie Carson). 2008. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “The Rational Southerner: The Local Logic of Partisan Transformation in the South.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2008. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.
- “Stranger Danger: The Influence of Redistricting on Candidate Recognition and Vote Choice.” (with Seth C. McKee). 2008. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans.
- “Backward Mapping: Exploring Questions of Representation via Spatial Analysis of Historical Congressional Districts.” (with Michael Crespin). 2007. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “Worth a Thousand Words? : An Analysis of Georgia’s Voter Identification Statute.” (with Charles S. Bullock, III). 2007. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association. Albuquerque.

- “Gerrymandering on Georgia’s Mind: The Effects of Redistricting on Vote Choice in the 2006 Midterm Election.” (with Seth C. McKee). 2007. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of The Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans.
- “Personalismo Politics: Partisanship, Presidential Popularity and 21st Century Southern Politics.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2006. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Philadelphia.
- “Explaining Soft Money Transfers in State Gubernatorial Elections.” (with William Gillespie and Troy Gibson). 2006. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “Two Sides of the Same Coin?: A Panel Granger Analysis of Black Electoral Mobilization and GOP Growth in the South, 1960-2004.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2006. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.
- “Hispanic Political Emergence in the Deep South, 2000-2004.” (With Charles S. Bullock, III). 2006. Paper presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston.
- “Black Mobilization and the Growth of Southern Republicanism: Two Sides of the Same Coin?” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2006. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.
- “Exploring the Linkage Between Black Turnout and Down-Ticket Challenges to Black Incumbents.” (With Troy M. Gibson). 2006. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.
- “Race and the Ideological Transformation of the Democratic Party: Evidence from the Bayou State.” 2004. Paper presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Citadel Southern Politics Symposium. Charleston.
- “Tracing the Evolution of Hispanic Political Emergence in the Deep South.” 2004. (Charles S. Bullock, III). Paper presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Citadel Southern Politics Symposium. Charleston.
- “Much Ado about Something? Religious Right Status in American Politics.” 2003. (With Mark C. Smith). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “Tracking the Flow of Non-Federal Dollars in U. S. Senate Campaigns, 1992-2000.” 2003. (With Janna Deitz and William Gillespie). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “PAC Cash and Votes: Can Money Rent a Vote?” 2002. (With William Gillespie). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Savannah.



- “What Can Gubernatorial Elections Teach Us About American Politics?: Exploiting and Underutilized Resource.” 2002. (With Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Boston.
- “I Know I Voted, But I’m Not Sure It Got Counted.” 2002. (With Charles S. Bullock, III and Richard Clark). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association. New Orleans.
- “Race and Southern Gubernatorial Elections: A 50-Year Assessment.” 2002. (With Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris). Paper presented at the Biennial Southern Politics Symposium. Charleston, SC.
- “Top-Down or Bottom-Up?: An Integrated Explanation of Two-Party Development in the South, 1960-2000.” 2001. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.
- “Cash, Congress, and Trade: Did Campaign Contributions Influence Congressional Support for Most Favored Nation Status in China?” 2001. (With William Gillespie). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association. Fort Worth.
- “Key 50 Years Later: Understanding the Racial Dynamics of 21<sup>st</sup> Century Southern Politics” 2001. (With Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.
- “The VRA and Beyond: The Political Mobilization of African Americans in the Modern South.” 2001. (With Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. San Francisco.
- “Payola Justice or Just Plain ‘Ole Politics Texas Style?: Campaign Finance and the Texas Supreme Court.” 2001. (With Craig Emmert). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “The VRA and Beyond: The Political Mobilization of African Americans in the Modern South.” 2000. (With Irwin Morris and Quentin Kidd). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.
- “Where Have All the Republicans Gone? A State-Level Study of Southern Republicanism.” 1999. (With Irwin Morris and Quentin Kidd). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Savannah.
- “Elephants in Dixie: A State-Level Analysis of the Rise of the Republican Party in the Modern South.” 1999. (With Irwin Morris and Quentin Kidd). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Atlanta.
- “Stimulant to Turnout or Merely a Convenience?: Developing an Early Voter Profile.” 1998. (With Quentin Kidd and Grant Neeley). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.

“The Impact of the Texas Concealed Weapons Law on Crime Rates: A Policy Analysis for the City of Dallas, 1992-1997.” 1998. (With Grant W. Neeley). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.

“Analyzing Anglo Voting on Proposition 187: Does Racial/Ethnic Context Really Matter?” 1997. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Norfolk.

“Capturing Bubba's Heart and Mind: Group Consciousness and the Political Identification of Southern White Males, 1972-1994.” 1997. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.

“Of Byrds[s] and Bumpers: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Study of the Roll-Call Voting Behavior of Democratic Senators from the South, 1960-1995.” 1996. (With Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.

“Pest Control: Southern Politics and the Eradication of the Boll Weevil.” 1996. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. San Francisco.

“Fit for the Greater Functions of Politics: Gender, Participation, and Political Knowledge.” 1996. (With Terry Gilmour, Kurt Shirkey, and Sue Tolleson-Rinehart). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.

“¿Amigo o Enemigo?: Racial Context, Attitudes, and White Public Opinion on Immigration.” 1996. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.

“¡Quedate o Vente!: Uncovering the Determinants of Hispanic Public Opinion Towards Immigration.” 1996. (With Irwin Morris and Kurt Shirkey). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association. Houston.

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

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

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

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



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

**Areas of Teaching Competence:**

American Politics: Behavior and Institutions

Public Policy

Scope, Methods, Techniques

**Teaching Experience:**

University of Georgia, 1999-present.

Graduate Faculty, 2003-present.

Provisional Graduate Faculty, 2000-2003.

Distance Education Faculty, 2000-present.

Texas Tech University, 1993-1999.

Visiting Faculty, 1997-1999.

Graduate Faculty, 1998-1999.

Extended Studies Faculty, 1997-1999.

Teaching Assistant, 1993-1997.

Courses Taught:

Undergraduate:

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

Graduate:

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

**Editorial Boards:**

*Social Science Quarterly*. Member. 2011-present.

*Election Law Journal*. Member. 2013-present.

**Other Professional Service:**

Listed expert. MIT Election Data and Science Lab.

Keynote Address. 2020 Symposium on Southern Politics. The Citadel. Charleston, SC.

**Institutional Service (University-Level):**

University Information Technology Committee, 2022-present.

University Promotion and Tenure Committee, 2019-2022.

University Program Review Committee, 2009-2011.

Chair, 2010-2011

Vice-Chair, 2009-2010.

Graduate Council, 2005-2008.

Program Committee, 2005-2008.

Chair, Program Committee, 2007-2008.

University Libraries Committee, 2004-2014.

Search Committee for University Librarian and Associate Provost, 2014.