EXHIBIT D

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA

ATLANTA DIVISION

ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY INC., et al.; *Plaintiffs*, vs. BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, in his official capacity as Secretary of State of Georgia. *Defendant*.	Case No. 1:21-cv-05337-SCJ

EXPERT REPORT OF DR. TRACI BURCH

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BACKGROUND AND QUALIFICATIONS

My name is Traci Burch. I am Associate Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University and Research Professor at the American Bar Foundation. I received my Ph.D. in Government and Social Policy from Harvard University in 2007.

Over the past 15 years, I have led several large, long-term quantitative and qualitative research projects on political participation in the United States. I have participated in and coauthored several book chapters and articles that examine race, political participation, and inequality. For instance, I have worked with Professors Kay Schlozman, Sidney Verba, and Henry Brady on book chapters and articles related to the causes and consequences of inequality in political participation. I also collected data on congressional hearings and interest group activities for that book. For my coauthored article with Jennifer Hochschild and our book with Vesla Weaver, I analyzed the legislative history of several racial policies, including the 1965 Hart-Cellar Act. We also explore political participation and attitudes in our book as well.

I am widely regarded as an expert on political behavior, barriers to voting, and political participation. My work has been widely cited and replicated and has won several awards. My dissertation on the effects of felony disenfranchisement on voting in North Carolina, Georgia, and other states, "Punishment and Participation: How Criminal Convictions Threaten American Democracy" won the Robert Noxon Toppan Prize for the Best Dissertation on a Subject of Political Science at Harvard in 2007. I also achieved national recognition for this work; the dissertation was also awarded the E.E. Schattschneider Award from the American Political Science Association for the best dissertation in American Government, and the William Anderson Award for the best dissertation in federalism, intergovernmental relations, and state and local politics. Several articles from this dissertation, including work evaluating voting patterns among people with felony convictions in North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Missouri, and Michigan, have been published in leading peer-reviewed journals. In particular, my articles "Did Disfranchisement Laws Help Elect President Bush? New Evidence on the Turnout and Party Registration of Florida's Ex-Felons" and "Turnout and Party Registration among Criminal Offenders in the 2008 General Election," which appeared in the peer-reviewed journals *Law and Society Review* and *Political Behavior*, respectively, included my calculations of felony disenfranchisement.

My academic book on the community-level effects of criminal convictions on political participation, *Trading Democracy for Justice*, was published by the University of Chicago Press and also won multiple national awards from the American Political Science Association and its sections, including the Ralph J. Bunche Award for the best scholarly work that explores the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural pluralism and best book awards from the law and politics and urban politics sections. *Trading Democracy for Justice*, as well as the articles "The Effects of Imprisonment and Community Supervision on Political Participation," "Did Disenfranchisement Laws Help Elect President Bush?," "Skin Color and the Criminal Justice System," and "Turnout and Party Registration among Criminal Offenders in the 2008 General Election" rely on the analysis of data from Georgia.

I have testified before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights about the collateral consequences of felony convictions with respect to voting and other issues. I have received

several grants for my work, including a grant from the Stanford University Center on Poverty and Inequality. I also serve as co-Principal Investigator on a National Science Foundation grant that supports graduate and postdoctoral fellowships at the American Bar Foundation. I have served on the editorial boards of leading journals including *Political Behavior* and *Law and Social Inquiry*. Currently, I am on the Board of Overseers for the General Social Survey, a longstanding national public opinion survey run by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. I routinely review the work of my peers for tenure, scholarly journals, university presses, and grants and have served as a reviewer for the *American Political Science Review*, *The American Journal of Political Science*, *The Journal of Politics*, *Political Behavior*, the National Science Foundation, Cambridge University Press, Princeton University Press, the University of Chicago Press, Oxford University Press, and many other entities. I also am a member of the Executive Council of the Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Section of the American Political Science Association.

My curriculum vitae is provided in the Appendix. I am being compensated $350 per hour for work in this case, plus expenses. My compensation is not contingent on the analysis and opinions offered or on the outcome of this litigation. This is my sixth engagement as an expert witness. I previously testified at trial and in a deposition in a case in federal district court in Florida, (*Jones vs. DeSantis*, Consolidated Case No. 4:19-cv-300), at trial and in a deposition in a case in Wake County Superior Court in North Carolina (*Community Success Initiative, et al. v. Moore*, No. 19-cv-15941), and at trial and in a deposition in federal district court in Alabama (*People First of Alabama*, *v. Merrill*, No. 2:20-cv-00619-AKK). The trial courts relied on my expert testimony and I was cited in the courts' opinions in both *Jones v. DeSantis* and in *People First of Alabama v. Merrill*. No opinion in *Community Success Initiative v. Moore* has yet been issued. Recently, I was deposed in a case in federal district court in Florida (*Florida State Conference of the NAACP v. Lee*, No. 4:21-cv-00187-MW-MAF) and in a consolidated case in federal district court in the Western District of Wisconsin (*One Wisconsin Institute Inc. v. Jacobs*, No. 15-CV-324-JDP and *Luft v. Evers*, No. 20-CV-768-JDP).

SCOPE OF THE REPORT

I was asked by the attorneys for the plaintiffs in this case to provide information relevant for evaluating Senate Factor 5, or "the extent to which minority group members bear the effects of discrimination in areas such as education, employment, and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process," particularly with respect to Black Georgians. I was also asked to discuss an additional factor, "whether there is a lack of responsiveness on the part of elected officials to the particularized needs of minority group members."

In formulating my opinions, I relied on my analysis of standard sources for political scientists such as the reviews of scholarly literature and the analysis of demographic data, government reports, and public opinion surveys where noted.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

Based on my analyses and review of the scholarly literature, I offer the following opinions:

- Socioeconomic factors affect political participation. The persistent effects of discrimination in Georgia are substantially demonstrated in the significant racial disparities in socioeconomic outcomes between White and Black Georgia residents. These outcomes are caused, in part, by historical and contemporary state policies that perpetuate racial segregation in education and housing, and that fail to address adequately discrimination in housing and employment markets. Disproportionate involvement with the criminal justice system also affects the racial disparity in socioeconomic outcomes.
- Racial residential segregation also affects political participation, and racial residential segregation is a persistent factor shaping the lives of Georgians. Racial residential segregation leads to lower socioeconomic status, worse health, and greater encounters with the criminal justice system. Racial residential segregation in Georgia is the result of both historical and contemporary policies at the local and state levels.
- Political participation also is shaped by health status. Black Georgians are worse off with respect to a number of health outcomes than White Georgians. Black Georgians fare worse in terms of infant mortality, hypertension, diabetes, obesity, and overall mortality rates than White Georgians.
- Contact with the criminal justice system directly affects the political behavior of people with felony convictions, and also has been shown to decrease voter turnout at the neighborhood level. Here too, Black Georgians also face worse outcomes in the criminal justice system, which studies have shown result partly from historical and contemporary discrimination in arrest and sentencing. In addition, felony disenfranchisement directly prevents a disproportionate share of Black Georgians from voting.
- Persistent racial gaps in outcomes with respect to socioeconomic indicators, health status, and criminal justice involvement demonstrate a lack of responsiveness by public officials to the needs of Black Georgians. Racial gaps in satisfaction with outcomes, political figures, and public services demonstrate that Black Georgians perceive a lack of responsiveness of governmental officials to their needs.

DISCUSSION

Evidence of Racial Discrimination in Education, Health, and Other Areas of Life

In the following discussion, I highlight racial disparities in socioeconomic indicators such as education, income, poverty, and employment; residency location and stability; health status and disease incidence; and criminal justice involvement using census, survey, and other administrative data from agencies such as the Centers for Disease Control and the Georgia Department of Corrections. For each arena, I review the scholarly literature to show how historical and current racial discrimination and state actions contribute to racial disparities among Georgians today. Also, I discuss how each arena affects politics, particularly voting behavior.

The Effects of Socioeconomic Status on Political Participation

Socioeconomic status predicts voting. Rational choice theory provides one way of thinking about the decision to engage in political activity. Rational choice theory posits that individuals choose to participate in or abstain from politics based on whether they believe the benefits they receive from participation will outweigh the associated costs of activity (Downs 1957). Most acts of participation are costly in that the tasks of acquiring political information, attending meetings, registering, or donating to campaigns require time and money (Downs 1957; Verba and Nie 1972; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995a). Because the likelihood that one individual will make a difference in the electoral outcome is small, calculations based solely on this expected benefit mean that no one would ever participate (Downs 1957). However, social, economic, emotional, and other institutional factors also can enter the calculus and make the decision to participate more or less rational for a given individual. Such factors tend to have the effect of increasing or decreasing the benefits and costs of political activity (Uhlaner 1995).

Verba, Schlozman, and Brady argue that the relationship between socioeconomic status and voting exists because people with greater income and education also tend to have more of the resources such as time, money, and civic skills that affect the calculus of participation (1995: 282). In other words, people with greater resources are better able to bear the costs of participation (Downs 1957).

Different aspects of socioeconomic status influence participation in particular ways. Educational attainment is one of the most fundamental explanatory variables with respect to political participation (Almond and Verba 1963; Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995; Burden 2009; Campbell et al. 1980; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995b). Voters with higher educational attainment are more likely to vote. Verba, Schlozman, and Brady argue that education makes it easier for individuals to navigate the costs of voting such as acquiring information about the candidates and issues or learning how to register and vote (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995b).

Financial considerations also affect voting. People with higher incomes are more likely to vote (Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995; Campbell et al. 1980; Franko, Kelly, and Witko 2016; Leighley and Nagler 1992). This relationship may be caused by many factors. For instance, higher income people may face lower opportunity costs of taking time off work to vote and to acquire political information. Transportation to and from the polls also may be easier for higher income voters. For instance, Figure 1 shows that among Georgians, access to vehicles varies by race: data from the 2019 American Community Survey show that Black Georgia households are more than twice as likely as White households to lack access to a car.

Figure 1: Percent of Georgia Households without a Vehicle, by Race

Employment also may affect voter turnout. First, white collar occupations may give employees a greater opportunity to develop civic skills that can be useful in navigating electoral bureaucracies (Almond and Verba 1963; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995b). Salaried workers also may have greater freedom to take time off work without risking their pay. Rosenstone and Hansen argue that work is an important site for recruitment into politics, which also increases voter turnout (Rosenstone and Hansen 1993).

In Georgia, voter turnout varies by race. As shown in Table 1, based on the 2020 Current Population Survey Voting Supplement, voter turnout among White Georgians was 66.6%, while voter turnout among Black Georgians was 60.9%. Table 1 also shows voter turnout by race and educational attainment for the 2020 election, and it is clear from the evidence that differences in socioeconomic status by race help explain this disparity. Georgia follows the pattern described in the political science literature: voter turnout increases with socioeconomic status, with the highest turnout occurring among the people with the most education. However, looking within educational attainment levels, Black Georgians often vote at higher rates than White Georgians. Thus, the higher voter turnout among White Georgians may be explained in part by their greater socioeconomic status, which, as I show below, results from racial discrimination.

Table 1: Voter Turnout by Race and Educational Attainment in 2020 General Election. Data from November 2020 Current Population Survey Voting Supplement.

	White	Black
LT High School	28.7%	36.2%
High School	57.8%	47.4%
Some College	76.4%	66.3%
Bachelors Degree	73.1%	78.6%
Graduate	85.9%	91.8%
Overall	66.6%	60.9%

Contemporary and Historical Racial Discrimination in Socioeconomic Status

Racial discrimination has affected the economic well-being of racial and ethnic minorities, particularly Black people, in Georgia and continues to do so today. Like many southern states, Georgia maintained a system of Jim Crow racial discrimination and segregation that affected all aspects of life, including education and housing, for generations. Georgia authorities continued to fight desegregation even after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that segregation in public schools was unconstitutional in 1954. A report of the Georgia Senate Research Office characterized the 1956 senate session as focused on upholding segregation, stating:

> The legislators of 1956 were so determined and desperate to maintain segregation that they were willing to abandon Georgia's public schools to avoid integration. They also supported a vast array of legislation which maintained segregated state parks, golf courses, swimming pools, and recreation facilities as well as intrastate transportation facilities. And in case any police officer became "confused" about enforcing segregation laws, the General Assembly passed a law revoking the retirement benefits of any law enforcement officer who failed or refused to enforce any segregation law. These legislators, who supported the self-destructive segregation plans in defiance of the U.S. Supreme Court's Brown decision, also gave their support to changing the state flag to incorporate the Confederate battle flag (Azarian and Fesshazion 2000: 19).

With respect to the educational system, Georgia operated a system of separate and unequal public schools for Black and White students until well into the 1970s. Even though the U.S. Supreme Court ruled segregated public schools unconstitutional in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, Georgia, like many southern states, adopted the policy of massive resistance to school integration. After the Court decided *Brown* in 1954, Georgia voters approved a constitutional amendment that would disband public schools and instead provide parents with vouchers that could be used to send their children to segregated private schools (Azarian and Fesshazion 2000). The political leadership of Georgia fought integration as well; Governor Griffin vowed to fight desegregation in public schools:

> There will be no mixing of the races in the public schools and college classrooms of Georgia anywhere or at any time as long as I am governor....All attempts to mix the races, whether they be in the classrooms, on the playgrounds, in public conveyances or in any other area of close personal contact on terms of equity, peril the mores of the South (Azarian and Fesshazion 2000: 9).

Segregation also reigned at the University of Georgia, which was integrated in 1961 only after a federal judge ordered the university to admit Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes (2021a).

The resistance of Georgia officials to desegregation meant that Georgia students still attended segregated schools in most counties well into the 1970s. As of 2007, 109 of Georgia's 180 school districts had been involved in litigation involving school desegregation (2007). The United States brought a school desegregation case against the State of Georgia and 81 school districts in 1969 (2017). In 1972, Atlanta's school district was the first to achieve unitary status, which meant that the district had "made the transition" from a segregated to a desegregated system (2007: 3). However, even with the achievement of unitary status, 103 of Atlanta's 150

schools were still segregated (Hornsby Jr 1991: 35).[1] Since then, dozens of Georgia school districts have achieved unitary status, but a majority of those subject to the 1974 consent decree still have not received that designation (2007).

The persistence of *de jure* segregation in Georgia into the 1970s affects socioeconomic equality, and thus political equality, in Georgia to this day. The earliest school age children in 1970, when most of Georgia's schools were still segregated by law, are only 55 years old today. Adults age 55 and older currently make up 36.1% of Georgia's active registered voters (2021m). In other words, more than one-third of Georgia's current electorate was of school age when Georgia still enforced segregation in public schools.[2] Among Black Georgians, adults age 55 and older are 30.8% of active registered voters (2021m).

Figure 2: Percent of Georgians with a Bachelor's Degree or Higher, By Race

[1] School segregation in Atlanta was sustained because of white flight, or the mass exodus of White families from the city and its public schools. As I discuss in the next section, white flight was made possible by a series of federal, state, and local policy decisions about transportation and infrastructure investments, lending, and zoning. In a study of school desegregation in Atlanta, Hornsby, Jr. found, "Since 1960, for example, twenty-four schools had gone from all-white to desegregated to all-black. Whites seemed simply intolerable of any school which became thirty percent or more black. When that 'turning point' was reached, almost all, if not all, whites fled. The school system had no choice but to admit defeat in the face of this phenomenon" (Hornsby Jr 1991: 38). Recognizing the reality that "[t]here 'simply were not enough whites' left 'to go around'", civil rights groups agreed to the Atlanta Compromise of 1973 in which "[t]hey also decided to abandon the idea of mandatory cross-town or cross-jurisdictional busing" (Hornsby Jr 1991: 40).

[2] According to the 2019 American Community Survey, 54.4% of Georgia residents were born in Georgia (2020h).

Educational inequality also poses problems for current students. Currently, out of 181 districts, 8 districts in Georgia are more than 90 percent White, while 12 districts are more than 90 percent non-White (2021e). Twenty-five districts are more than 80 percent non-White (2021e). Such segregation can detrimentally affect the academic performance of minority students: Black and Latino students who grew up under conditions of segregation were less academically prepared for college and had been exposed to more violence and social disorder than those coming from "majority-dominant settings." (Massey and Fischer 2006).

Despite the persistence of segregation, there have been gains in educational attainment, though racial gaps persist. Figure 2 shows data from the 2019 1-Year Estimates from American Community Survey on the percentage of Georgians over the age of 25 who have earned a Bachelor's degree or higher, by race. The data show that White and Asian Georgia adults are far more likely than Black and Latino adults to have earned a Bachelor's or postgraduate degree. Racial inequality exists at the elementary and secondary school levels as well. The average reading score for White Georgia public school 8th graders was 272, while the average score for Black Georgia public school 8th graders was 249 (2019b). The racial gap in reading proficiency is 25 percentage points: 43 percent of White public school 8th graders were proficient in reading, while only 18 percent of Black students were proficient (2019b). The gap was not statistically different from that in 1998 (2019b). With respect to mathematics, the racial gap between White and Black Georgia public school 8th graders is 30 points; 43 percent of White 8th graders are proficient in math, while only 14 percent of black 8th graders are proficient (2019a). Black students in Georgia also face harsher discipline at school: Black K-12 students are 65.7 percent of students with one or more out-of-school suspensions (2018). At the preschool level, 60 percent of students who received out-of-school suspensions were Black (2018). School suspensions have been shown to increase subsequent arrests and other anti-social behavior in youth (Mowen and Brent 2016; Hemphill et al. 2006).

Figure 3: Percent of Georgians Unemployed, by Race

There are racial gaps in income, poverty, and employment among Georgians as well. As depicted in Figure 3, data from the 2019 American Community Survey show there are persistent racial gaps in unemployment, with Black Georgians nearly twice as likely to be unemployed than White Georgians. The American Community Survey further shows that gaps in poverty rates, shown in Figure 4, also are large and persist over time: Black and Latino poverty are 2.5 times as high as White poverty in Georgia. The median income for Black Georgia households is about $25,000 less than that of White Georgia households (Figure 5).

Figure 4: Percent of Georgia Families in Poverty, by Race

Figure 5: Median Income for Georgia Households, by Race

Some income and employment inequality is related to educational inequality (Long 2010), which, as discussed above, results from historical and contemporary racial discrimination. Racial discrimination can lead to income inequality through other pathways as well. Prisoners in Georgia, who are disproportionately Black, have high rates of unemployment post-release (Looney and Turner 2018). There is also evidence that people of color in Georgia face racial discrimination in employment even in the absence of a criminal background. My analysis of the 2014 Behavioral Risk Factors Surveillance System data (a survey conducted by the Centers for Disease Control)[3] found that 11.9% of Black Georgians reported that they were treated "worse than other races" within the past 12 months at work, compared with 2.5 percent of White and 7.9 percent of Latino Georgians. Research support backs up these claims: audit studies, which hold constant potentially confounding factors in order to isolate the causal effect of race, have consistently found that employers discriminate against racial minorities in hiring (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004; Pager and Quillian 2005; Quillian et al. 2017). Some of this racial discrimination interacts with criminal background (Pager and Quillian 2005). Data on discrimination filings with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission show that 21,464 charges of race-based employment discrimination were filed in Georgia between 2010 and 2019 (2020d).

To conclude, socioeconomic factors such as education, income, poverty, and employment have been shown to affect voting. Significant disparities exist between Black and White Georgians along each of these dimensions of economic well-being. Because, as shown by existing research, historical and contemporary discrimination by state and market actors

[3] https://www.cdc.gov/brfss/annual_data/annual_2014.html

contributes to these racial disparities in socioeconomic status, such discrimination also has downstream effects on voting.

Race and Residence in Georgia

Residence, or where an individual lives, matters for political participation for several reasons. First, residency requirements have been shown to reduce voter registration and turnout, largely because residential mobility increases the administrative burden of maintaining registration (Highton 2000). Second, neighborhood context matters for political mobilization and political outcomes (Burbank 1997; Burch 2013; Cohen and Dawson 1993; Huckfeldt, Plutzer, and Sprague 1993; Huckfeldt 1979; Tam Cho and Rudolph 2008). One particular contextual factor, racial residential segregation, has important effects on politics. Segregation decreases the ability of Black residents to elect representatives who vote in favor of legislation that is favored by them (Ananat and Washington 2009). Segregation has been shown to decrease Black voter turnout; researchers argue that segregated Black areas have less access to public goods such as polling places or transportation that might matter for voting (Zingher and Moore 2019). Segregated localities also are more politically polarized (Trounstine 2016).

Figure 6: Percent of Georgians who Lived in a Different House in the Previous Year, by Race

There are racial gaps in residential mobility in Georgia. As shown in Figure 6, Black Georgians are more likely to move in any given year than White Georgians. Renters are more likely to move than homeowners. As Figure 7 shows, based on the 2019 American Community Survey, Black Georgia households are more than twice as likely as White Georgia households to be renters rather than homeowners. Latino householders are almost twice as likely to be renters than White householders. Linking back to the previous section, homeownership also has important effects on wealth accumulation (Grinstein-Weiss et al. 2013; Turner and Luea 2009).

Figure 7: Percent of Georgia Households Occupied by Renters, by Race

Residential mobility often is involuntary and due to factors such as evictions and foreclosures. 56,963 evictions took place in Georgia in 2016 (2021f). Research shows that in Fulton County, Georgia, for example, Black or African-American tenants were more likely to experience eviction (Raymond et al. 2018). Foreclosure rates were higher in majority Black and segregated Black neighborhoods in metro Atlanta (Pooley 2015). Forced mobility is a product of racial discrimination: predatory lenders focused subprime mortgage products on minority neighborhoods, and racial residential segregation contributed to the foreclosure crisis (Rugh, Albright, and Massey 2015; Hyra et al. 2013; Rugh and Massey 2010; Wyly et al. 2006).

With respect to neighborhood context, racial residential segregation is an important component of economic and health outcomes. Racial residential segregation increases Black poverty rates, lowers Black educational attainment, and increases income inequality between Black and White residents (Ananat 2011); research attributes these effects to isolation from quality schools and jobs (Kruse 2013; Massey and Fischer 2006; Wilson 1996). Racial residential segregation contributes to the test score gap between Black and White students (Reardon, Kalogrides, and Shores 2019). Racial residential segregation also contributes to inequalities in the provision of public goods and lowers public goods expenditures (Trounstine 2016). Racial residential segregation also has been shown to lead to worse health outcomes and greater exposure to environmental toxins (Ard 2016; Kramer and Hogue 2009).

Racial residential segregation is a persistent feature of several Georgia cities and metropolitan areas. The Othering and Belonging Institute at Berkeley characterized the city of Atlanta as a high segregation city in 2019 (2021h). All of the top 5 metro areas in Georgia--Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, Savannah, Macon, Columbus, and Augusta-Richmond County--were characterized as high segregation metro areas as well (2021i).

Visually, the residential segregation of Black residents is clear. For example, Figures 8 and 9 depict data from the Decennial Census on the racial composition of census tracts in two

metro Atlanta counties that I understand are relevant to this case—Clayton, and Henry, respectively. It is clear from these maps that Black people tend to live in neighborhoods with high concentrations of other Black people. Maps of Richmond (Figure 10), and Dougherty (Figure 11) Counties (Augusta and Albany, respectively) also show the racial segregation of Black residents.

Figure 8: Clayton County Census Tracts by Racial Composition

Figure 9: Henry County Census Tracts by Racial Composition

Figure 10: Richmond County Census Tracts by Racial Composition

Figure 11: Dougherty County Census Tracts by Racial Composition

Contemporary patterns of racial residential segregation reflect Georgia's long history of racial discrimination in housing. Of course, racial neighborhood lines were maintained with violence throughout Georgia's history (Kruse 2013: 44-58; 2016). However, racial residential segregation in Georgia also is the result of federal, state, and local policies.

The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) was created in 1934. Its primary task was to "insure lenders against any loss on loans made for purchasing homes" (Kimble 2007: 402). The FHA, in this role, "could dictate the range of acceptable, insurable terms and conditions of home lending" (Kimble 2007: 403). Race was the most important criterion that the FHA used to evaluate "the trajectory of a city and its neighborhoods" (Kimble 2007: 403). Black and racially mixed areas were deemed hazardous for lending; the FHA "instructed financial institutions not to lend to households in integrated or predominantly African American areas" (Kimble 2007: 405). The FHA also encouraged the use of racially restrictive covenants and racial zoning to uphold racial residential segregation (Kimble 2007). The FHA did not officially abandon this policy until 1949 (Kimble 2007).

In order to prevent lending to places where Black people lived, the FHA relied on Residential Security Maps that were produced by the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC). These maps "color-coded neighborhoods using racial composition as a primary indicator of their acceptability as candidates for mortgage investment" (Kimble 2007: 405). The maps assigned grades to neighborhoods based on racial composition, "with "A" being most desirable and a "D" grade ensuring rejection" (Kimble 2007: 405). For example, the HOLC maps for Atlanta and Augusta are shown in Figures 12 and 13, respectively. In the maps, hazardous areas are shown in red.

Figure 12: Home Owners Loan Corporation Residential Security Map of Atlanta, GA

Figure 13: Home Owners Loan Corporation Residential Security Map of Augusta, GA

The effects of segregationist policies and disinvestment in segregated minority communities persist today in Georgia. As discussed earlier in this report, the cities shown in these HOLC maps are still highly segregated today. Moreover, as the "Not Even Past" project at the Digital Scholarship Lab at the University of Richmond shows, many of the areas marked "Hazardous" by the HOLC in those Georgia cities still exhibit high levels of social vulnerability, as measured by the CDC/ATSDR Social Vulnerability Index.[4] In Augusta, for example, *all*

[4] According to the CDC, "Social vulnerability refers to the potential negative effects on communities caused by external stresses on human health. Such stresses include natural or human-caused disasters, or disease outbreaks. Reducing social vulnerability can decrease both human suffering and economic loss. The CDC/ATSDR Social Vulnerability Index (CDC/ATSDR SVI) uses 15 U.S. census variables to help local officials identify communities that may need support before, during, or after disasters" (2020c).

areas marked hazardous in the 1938 maps have high social vulnerability scores today (2021j). In Atlanta, a majority of areas marked hazardous in the HOLC maps still have high social vulnerability scores today (2021j).

The persistence of racial residential segregation over time in Georgia stems from local and state resistance to desegregation. Attempts to integrate parks, pools, and schools in Atlanta led to white flight and disinvestment in these public accommodations (Kruse 2013). Government tax and transportation policies favored suburbanization, helping to facilitate white flight in response to racial integration (Kruse 2013). For instance, Kruse argues that despite growing traffic congestion, White suburban Atlanta metro voters have consistently rejected the expansion of MARTA, the city's rapid transit system, into their communities because of their desire to maintain racial separation (Kruse 2013: 249). Discrimination in access to capital also shaped residential housing patterns (Thurston 2018). Local land use policies continue to shape racial residential segregation (Trounstine 2020, 2021).

In sum, where a person lives has been shown by researchers to affect voting participation. The evidence shows that racial disparities in residence, particularly related to tenure and segregation, persist in Georgia. The scholarly literature shows that such disparities have been, and continue to be, shaped by public policies that drive public and private investment in neighborhoods and infrastructure. By extension, then, these discriminatory policies also shape voting participation.

Race and Health in Georgia

Health status also may affect the ability of individuals to overcome the costs of voting (Pacheco and Fletcher 2015. It takes time and money to manage failing health, resources that would not be available for political participation {Pacheco, 2015 #1427). Health conditions also may impair cognitive functioning, especially in old age, and may be a key explanatory factor in the curvilinear relationship between age and voter turnout (Pacheco and Fletcher 2015). Studies have associated poor health with lower voter turnout (Blakely, Kennedy, and Kawachi 2001; Lyon 2021; Pacheco and Fletcher 2015). People with disabilities also are less likely to vote; problems with polling place accessibility partly explain this gap (Schur, Ameri, and Adya 2017; Schur et al. 2002).

Health outcomes vary by race in Georgia, with racial minorities experiencing worse outcomes than White Georgians on a number of dimensions. As shown in Figure 14, in 2019, Black Georgians were more likely to suffer from obesity, high blood pressure, and diabetes than White Georgians (2020b). Infant mortality for Black Georgians, at 11.2 per 100,000 births, is more than twice as high as that for White Georgians, which is 4.9 per 100,000 births (2020e). Death rates overall are higher for Black Georgians (848.0 per 100,000) than White Georgians (782.4 per 100,000) (2020f). The average life expectancy for White Georgians is higher than for Black Georgians: White women are expected to live 1.7 years longer on average than Black women, and White men are expected to live about 3 years longer than Black men, on average (Kaufman, Riddell, and Harper 2019).

Figure 14: Racial Differences in Chronic Disease in Georgia

Lack of access to health care, which also can lead to worse outcomes, varies by race in Georgia. In Georgia, 15.5% of Black respondents to a Kaiser Family Foundation survey said that they did not see a doctor because of cost concerns in 2020 compared with 11.2% of White respondents (2020a). Among Georgians, health insurance coverage varies by race, such that, according to the 2019 American Community Survey, 13.2% of Black Georgians report that they have no health coverage, compared with only 10.2% of White Georgians (Figure 15).

Figure 15: Percent of Georgians who Lack Health Insurance, By Race

Discrimination contributes to racial health disparities. The experience of discrimination is associated with poor health in Black adolescents in rural counties in Georgia (Brody, Yu, and Beach 2016; Brody et al. 2018). Also, racial residential segregation, which as discussed previously affects several Georgia metropolitan statistical areas, particularly has been shown to lead to worse health outcomes for Black Americans. Several studies have demonstrated that racial residential segregation contributes to racial gaps in cancer outcomes (Landrine et al. 2017; Blanco et al. 2021; Poulson et al. 2021). In particular, researchers have shown that neighborhood racial context and racial residential segregation contribute to worse cancer outcomes for Black Georgians relative to White Georgians (Russell et al. 2011; Johnson et al. 2016). Racial residential segregation in Atlanta and other cities also have been associated with food deserts, which have been shown to lead to worse health outcomes (ROSS and WINDERS 2018; Havewala 2021; Fong et al. 2021). Racial residential segregation also may make it more difficult for Black Americans to access primary care physicians and other doctors (Gaskin et al. 2012; Anderson 2018).

Race and Criminal Justice in Georgia

Several studies (including my own work) have shown that, for individuals, contact with the criminal justice system, from police stops, to arrest, to incarceration, directly decreases voter turnout (Burch 2011b; Lerman and Weaver 2014; Weaver and Lerman 2010). Primarily, criminal justice contact decreases turnout through "the combined forces of stigma, punishment and exclusion" which impose "barriers to most avenues of influence" and diminish "factors such as civic capacity, governmental trust, individual efficacy, and social connectedness that encourage activity" (Burch 2007: 12). Another important pathway by which criminal justice contact can decrease voter turnout, at least for people with felony convictions, is through felony disenfranchisement laws (Burch 2007).

Contact with the criminal justice system also varies by race in Georgia. Black Georgians make up a disproportionate share of the people incarcerated or on community supervision for felonies. According to the 2019 American Community Survey, 32.9% of Georgia's population identified as Black, but, as shown in Figures 16 and 17, 60% of Georgia's prisoners and 51.8 percent of Georgia's community supervisees are Black (2021c; 2021b). Black Georgians are 50.8% of Georgia's arrestees (2021d).

Figure 16: Prisoners in Georgia, by Race

Figure 17: Community Supervision in Georgia, by Race

The disproportionate impact of Georgia's criminal justice system on Black Georgians has roots in the Reconstruction era. After the Civil War ended, the Georgia Legislature passed Black codes, which were designed to penalize newly freed slaves and control their labor through enticement laws, vagrancy laws, and other schemes (Roback 1984; Cohen 1976). However, Georgia's prison was destroyed during the War, and the state turned to a system of convict leasing to punish wrongdoing (Muller 2018; Mancini 1978). Before the end of the War, very few of Georgia's prisoners were Black (Muller 2018). However, due to legal changes enshrined in the Black Codes, nearly all of Georgia's prisoners were Black by the end of Reconstruction (Muller 2018; Adamson 1983). These prisoners were sentenced to work camps for rail, lumber, and turpentine companies, as well as to chain gangs to build county roads (Mancini 1978; Lichtenstein 1993). Because of the relationship between racially discriminatory laws and the

color of the convict leasing system, this system is "inextricably bound to systemic racial oppression and social and economic disparities between Blacks and Whites" (Whitehouse 2017: 93).

Racial discrimination still is an important contributor to the disproportionate representation of Black Georgians relative to White Georgians in the criminal justice system today. Black Georgians make up a disproportionate share of arrestees (2021d). These racial disparities in arrest are caused partially by factors that make it more likely that police will stop or search Black people, such as spatially differentiated policing, racial residential segregation, and discrimination (Beckett, Nyrop, and Pfingst 2006; Gelman, Fagan, and Kiss 2007; Ousey and Lee 2008; Pierson et al. 2020). Racial disparities also exist in bail decisions (Arnold, Dobbie, and Yang 2018) and in sentencing (Bushway and Piehl 2001; Mitchell 2005; Steffensmeier and Demuth 2000; Steffensmeier, Ulmer, and Kramer 1998). Studies have shown that racial sentencing disparities are associated with capital sentencing and sentencing for other types of cases in Georgia state courts (1987; Burch 2015).

In Georgia, people who are serving an active sentence in prison or in the community (i.e., on parole or probation) for a felony conviction cannot vote (Uggen et al. 2020). Because of the disproportionate involvement of Black Georgians with the criminal justice system, Black Georgians are more likely to have lost their voting rights because of a felony conviction relative to White Georgians (Burch 2011a). An estimated 6.27% of Georgia's Black voting age population cannot vote due to a felony conviction, compared with 3.79% of Georgia's population overall (Uggen et al. 2020). This figure translates to 145,601 disenfranchised Black Georgians who were not able to vote in 2020 (Uggen et al. 2020).

Racial disparities in incarceration also affect the voting participation of the broader community. Because incarcerated individuals tend to come from a relatively small number neighborhoods in Georgia, certain racially segregated areas in the state may have extremely high local incarceration and disenfranchisement rates (Burch 2013). In the highest incarceration block groups in Georgia, imprisonment rates reached a maximum of 14.3% of residents (Burch 2013: 50). Mapping imprisonment to block groups by race in Atlanta shows that a majority of prisoners from Atlanta come predominantly from Black neighborhoods (Burch 2013: 58).

Living in high incarceration neighborhoods can affect individual voter turnout through many mechanisms, even among people who are not convicted and disenfranchised themselves. First, because "children and newcomers learn the community's participatory values as they observe ample instances of engagement among their family members and peers," neighborhoods that have fewer voters as role models may fail to transmit norms of participation effectively even to enfranchised residents and future voters (Campbell et al. 1960; Tam-Cho, Gimpel, and Dyck 2006). Second, spouses of convicted offenders also miss out on the participatory effects of having a partner that votes (Campbell et al. 1960; Straits 1990).

There are other political effects: in communities with disenfranchisement laws, convictions reduce the number of voters, which can reduce the political power of a community. This reduction happens first by removing the disenfranchised from the voter rolls. Concentrated incarceration also damages the formal and informal mechanisms of voter mobilization. Political parties tend to concentrate their efforts in places where mobilization is more effective and often fail to mobilize communities with fewer voters (Huckfeldt and Sprague 1992; Rosenstone and Hansen 1993). There are fewer voters available to serve as discussion partners in high-conviction neighborhoods,

a factor that also influences turnout (Huckfeldt and Sprague 1987). In other words, living in high incarceration neighborhoods can decrease voter participation through several mechanisms even for people who have not been convicted of crimes themselves.

Responsiveness of Elected Officials

Under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, courts may consider additional factors, such as whether there is a lack of responsiveness on the part of elected officials to the particularized needs of minority group members. The longstanding and persistent gaps in socioeconomic status, incarceration, and health discussed throughout this report demonstrate the lack of responsiveness of public officials to the needs of Georgia's minority communities. Research has shown that public policies are important for creating and sustaining racial disparities. For instance, as described earlier in this report, persistent test score gaps and educational segregation continue to pose problems for Georgia students; however, Georgia ranks 43rd in per pupil expenditures for public elementary and secondary schools (2021l). Black Georgians have worse health outcomes, are less likely to have health insurance, and are more likely to avoid care because of costs, and yet Georgia has not accepted the federal Medicaid expansion (2021k). Felony disenfranchisement disproportionately prevents voting among Black Georgians, yet Republicans decided not to consider changing the law ever after a bipartisan Georgia Senate panel studied the possibility of reinstating some voting rights (Prabhu 2021).

Consistent with these policy choices, public opinion reflects the fact that Georgia's racial minorities do not believe that public officials in Georgia are governing in ways that suit their needs. Black Georgians are less satisfied with their public officials, the direction of the state, and the quality of services they receive than are White Georgians. There is a large racial gap in overall evaluations of Georgia's government and public officials. A survey conducted by the Atlanta Journal-Constitution in January of 2020 found that among White Georgians, 74.9% were very or somewhat satisfied "with the way things are going in Georgia," compared with only 44.4% of Black Georgians and 51.6% of people from other racial groups (2020g). That same survey found a 37.6 percentage point gap in approval of Governor Brian Kemp between White and Black Georgians and a 16.1 percentage point gap in approval of the Georgia General Assembly between White and Black Georgians (2020g). Black respondents to the 2018 Cooperative Congressional Election Survey from Georgia also report lower satisfaction with the quality of local services they receive: on a scale of 1 (excellent) to 5 (poor), Black Georgians rate their police and roads worse on average (police mean score=2.87; roads mean score = 3.12) than White Georgians (police mean score = 2.44; roads mean score = 2.93). Public officials also frequently pass legislation of which Black Georgia voters disapprove. For instance, 65% of Black Georgians disapproved of the passage of SB 202, which enacted several changes to voting laws in Georgia (2021g). Two-thirds of Black Georgia voters said that the law would somewhat (20%) or greatly (47%) decrease their confidence in Georgia's election system (2021g). Seventy percent of Black Georgians believed that the law was passed to make it more difficult for certain groups to vote, rather than to increase voter confidence (2021g).

The Black Belt in Georgia

Additionally, I was asked by the attorneys in this case to discuss the meaning of the term "Black Belt" as discussed by social scientists._The term "Black belt" is commonly used in political science to refer to political units "in which Negroes constitute a substantial proportion of the population" (Key 1949: 5). Typically, with respect to the American South, the Black Belt refers to a swath of counties across southeastern states in which more than 50% of the population is Black (Webster and Bowman 2008). Historically, these counties have been associated with antebellum slavery and plantation agriculture (Acharya, Blackwell, and Sen 2016: 622). The local prevalence of slavery in the antebellum period still is correlated with high concentrations of Black population today (Acharya, Blackwell, and Sen 2016: 628). Figure 18 shows a map of enslaved population prevalence in southeastern counties from 1860. Figure 19 shows a map of the Black proportion of the population in southeastern counties in 1940. Figure 20 shows a map of the Black proportion of the population in Georgia counties from the 2020 decennial census. In all the maps, Georgia historically has a swath of majority Black counties running diagonally across the middle of the state from Northeast to Southwest.[5]

[5] Based on the 2020 decennial census counts, there are 21 Georgia counties in which more than 50% of the population identifies as Black: Dougherty, Clayton, Hancock, Calhoun, Terrell, Randolph, Macon, Warren, Rockdale, Clay, Richmond, Bibb, Talbot, Washington, Taliaferro, Early, Sumter, DeKalb, Jefferson, Dooley, and Henry.

Figure 18: Proportion Slave in 1860 by County. Reproduced from (Acharya, Blackwell, and Sen 2016: 623).

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Figure 1. Estimated proportion slave in 1860 by county

Figure 19: Counties with at least 50% Black Population in 1940. Reproduced from (Key 1949: 5).

FIGURE 1

Bedrock of Southern Solidarity: Counties of the South with 50 Per Cent or More Negro Population, 1940

Figure 20: Racial Composition of Georgia Counties. Source: author's calculations from 2020 decennial census.

Politically, Black belts are distinctive because, according to V.O. Key, in them politics is characterized by the fundamental governance problem posed by "a small white minority" trying to control a majority Black population. In studying the politics of the American South, Key found that "Everywhere the plantation counties were most intense in their opposition to Negro voting; they raised a deafening hue and cry about the dangers to white supremacy implicit in a Negro balance of power" (Key 1949: 8). Key and other observers have found that attitudes of racial domination are distinctive among White people who live in Black belt areas (Glaser 1994; Key 1949). Contemporary analyses continue to find that living in Black belt areas with these legacies of slavery predict white partisan identification and racial attitudes (Acharya, Blackwell, and Sen 2016).

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

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Traci Burch

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Trounstine, Jessica. 2020. "The geography of inequality: How land use regulation produces segregation." *American Political Science Review* 114 (2):443-455.

Trounstine, Jessica. 2021. "You Won't be My Neighbor: Opposition to High Density Development." *Urban Affairs Review*:10780874211065776.

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Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry Brady. 1995a. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

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Webster, Gerald R, and Jerrod Bowman. 2008. "Quantitatively delineating the Black Belt geographic region." *Southeastern Geographer* 48 (1):3-18.

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Wyly, Elvin K, Mona Atia, Holly Foxcroft, Daniel J Hamme, and Kelly Phillips-Watts. 2006. "American home: Predatory mortgage capital and neighbourhood spaces of race and class exploitation in the United States." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 88 (1):105-132.

Zingher, Joshua N, and Eric M Moore. 2019. "The Power of Place? Testing the Geographic Determinants of African-American and White Voter Turnout." *Social Science Quarterly* 100 (4):1056-1071.

APPENDIX

Traci Burch

Employment

- Associate Professor, Northwestern University Department of Political Science (2014-Present)

- Research Professor, American Bar Foundation (2007- Present)

- Assistant Professor, Northwestern University Department of Political Science (2007-2014)

Education

- *Harvard University*

Ph.D. in Government and Social Policy

Dissertation: *Punishment and Participation: How Criminal Convictions Threaten American Democracy*

Committee: Jennifer Hochschild (Chair), Sidney Verba, and Gary King

- *Princeton University*

A.B. in Politics, *magna cum laude*

Publications

- Burch, Traci. 2021. "Not All Black Lives Matter: Officer-Involved Deaths and the Role of Victim Characteristics in Shaping Political Interest and Voter Turnout." *Perspectives on Politics*.

- Kay Lehman Schlozman, Philip Edward Jones, Hye Young You, Traci Burch, Sidney Verba, Henry E. Brady. 2018. "Organizations and the Democratic Representation of Interests: What Happens When Those Organizations Have No Members?" *Perspectives on Politics*.

- Burch, Traci. 2016. "Political Equality and the Criminal Justice System." In Resources, Engagement, and Recruitment. Casey Klofstad, ed. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

- Burch, Traci. 2016. "Review of The First Civil Right by Naomi Murakawa." *The Forum.*

- Kay Lehman Schlozman, Philip Edward Jones, Hye Young You, Traci Burch, Sidney Verba, Henry E. Brady. 2015. "Louder Chorus – Same Accent: The Representation of Interests in Pressure Politics, 1981-2011." In Darren Halpin, David Lowery, Virginia Gray, eds. The Organization Ecology of Interest Communities. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Burch, Traci. 2015. "Skin Color and the Criminal Justice System: Beyond Black-White Disparities in Criminal Sentencing." *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 12(3): 395-420.

- Burch, Traci. 2014. "The Old Jim Crow: Racial Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Imprisonment." *Law & Policy* 36(3) 223-255.

- Burch, Traci. 2014. "The Effects of Imprisonment and Community Supervision on Political Participation." Detaining Democracy Special Issue. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 651 (1) 184-201.

- Burch, Traci. 2013. Trading Democracy for Justice: Criminal Convictions and the Decline of Neighborhood Political Participation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Hochschild, Jennifer, Vesla Weaver, and Traci Burch. 2012. Transforming the American Racial Order. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, Henry Brady, Traci Burch, and Phillip Jones. 2012. "Who Sings in the Heavenly Chorus? The Shape of the Organized Interest System." In Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, and Henry Brady, The Unheavenly Chorus, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, Henry Brady, Phillip Jones, and Traci Burch. 2012. "Political Voice through Organized Interest Activity." In Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, and Henry Brady, The Unheavenly Chorus, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Burch, Traci. 2012. "Did Disfranchisement Laws Help Elect President Bush? New Evidence on the Turnout and Party Registration of Florida's Ex-Felons." *Political Behavior* 34 (1); 1-26.

- Burch, Traci. 2011. "Turnout and Party Registration among Criminal Offenders in the 2008 General Election." *Law and Society Review* 45(3): 699-730.

- Burch, Traci. 2011. "Fixing the Broken System of Financial Sanctions." *Criminology and Public Policy* 10(3).

- Hochschild, Jennifer; Vesla Weaver, and Traci Burch. 2011. "Destabilizing the American Racial Order." *Daedalus* 140; 151-165.

- Burch, Traci. 2009. "Can the New Commander-In-Chief Sustain His All Volunteer Standing Army?" *The Dubois Review on Race* 6(1).

- Burch, Traci. 2009. "Review of *Imprisoning Communities,* by Todd Clear." *Law and Society Review* 43(3) 716-18.

- Burch, Traci. 2009. "American Politics and the Not-So-Benign Neglect of Criminal Justice," in The Future of American Politics, ed. Gary King, Kay Schlozman, and Norman Nie. (New York: Routledge).

- Schlozman, Kay Lehman and Traci Burch. 2009. "Political Voice in an Age of Inequality," in America at Risk: Threats to Liberal Self-Government in an Age of Uncertainty, ed. Robert Faulkner and Susan Shell (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).

- Hochschild, Jennifer and Traci Burch. 2007. "Contingent Public Policies and the Stability of Racial Hierarchy: Lessons from Immigration and Census Policy," in Political Contingency: Studying the Unexpected, the Accidental, and the Unforseen, ed. Ian Shapiro and Sonu Bedi (New York: NYU Press).

Grants

- Co-Principal Investigator. "Fellowship and Mentoring Program on Law and Inequality." September 1, 2020 to August 31, 2023. $349, 313. National Science Foundation.

Honors and Fellowships

- American Political Science Association 2014 Ralph J. Bunche Award (for Trading Democracy for Justice).

- American Political Science Association Urban Section 2014 Best Book Award (for Trading Democracy for Justice).

- American Political Science Association Law and Courts Section 2014 C. Herman Pritchett Award (for Trading Democracy for Justice).

- Research grant, Stanford University Center for Poverty and Inequality (2012).

- American Political Science Association E. E. Schattschneider Award for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of American Government (2009)

- American Political Science Association William Anderson Award for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of state and local politics, federalism, or intergovernmental relations (2008)

- American Political Science Association Urban Section Best Dissertation in Urban Politics Award (2008)

- Harvard University Robert Noxon Toppan Prize for the best dissertation in political science (2007)

- Institute for Quantitative Social Sciences Research Fellowship (2006-07)
- *European Network on Inequality* Fellowship (2005)
- Research Fellowship, The Sentencing Project (2005)
- Doctoral Fellow, Malcolm Weiner Center for Inequality and Social Policy (2004-07)

Professional Service

- APSA Law and Courts Section Best Paper Award Committee (2020-2021)
- APSA Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Executive Committee (2020-2023)
- General Social Survey Board of Overseers (2020-2025)
- APSA Kammerer Prize Committee (2017)
- Associate Editor, *Political Behavior* (2015-2019)
- APSA Law and Courts Section, Lifetime Achievement Award Prize Committee (2014-2015)
- Law and Society Association, Kalven Prize Committee (2013-2014)
- American Political Science Association, Urban Politics Section Dissertation Prize Committee (2012-13)
- American Political Science Association, Urban Politics Section Executive Committee (2012-13)
- Law and Society Association Diversity Committee, (2012-2013)
- American Political Science Association, Urban Politics Section Program Co-Chair (2011)
- Associate Editor, *Law and Social Inquiry*
- American Political Science Association, Urban Politics Section Book Prize Committee (2009)
- Reviewer for *The American Political Science Review, Public Opinion Quarterly, American Politics Research, and Time-Sharing Experiments in the Social Sciences.*

Presentations and Invited Talks

- University of Pennsylvania. Virtual. "Voice and Representation in American Politics." April 2021.

- University of Michigan. Virtual. "Which Lives Matter? Factors Affecting Mobilization in Response to Officer-Involved Killings." February 2021.

- University of Pittsburgh. Virtual. "Policing and Participation." November 2020.

- Hamilton College Constitution Day Seminar. Virtual. "Racial Protests and the Constitution." September 2020.

- New York Fellows of the American Bar Foundation. New York, NY. "Police Shootings and Political Participation." March 2020.

- Pennsylvania State University, State College, PA. "Effect of Officer Involved Killings on Protest. November 2019.

- Princeton University. Princeton NJ. "Effects of Police Shootings on Protest among Young Blacks." November 2019.

- Missouri Fellows of the American Bar Foundation. Branson, MO. Police Shootings and Political Participation in Chicago. September 2019.

- Northwestern University. "Police Shootings and Political Participation." November, 2018.

- Princeton University. Princeton, NJ. "Police Shootings and Political Participation." September, 2018.

- University of California at Los Angeles. Los Angeles, CA. "Police Shootings and Political Participation." August, 2018.

- American Bar Association Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL. "Police Shootings and Political Participation." August 2018.

- American Bar Endowment Annual Meeting. Lexington, KY. "Effects of Police Shooting in Chicago on Political Participation." June 2018.

- Vanderbilt University. "Effects of Police Shootings in Chicago on Political Participation." April 2018.

- Washington University in St. Louis. "Effects of Pedestrian and Auto Stops on Voter Turnout in St. Louis." February 2018.

- Fellows of the American Bar Foundation, Los Angeles. "Assaulting Democracy." January

2018.

- Northwestern University Reviving American Democracy Conference. Panel presentation. "Barriers to Voting." January 2018.

- University of Illinois at Chicago. "Effects of Police Shootings in Chicago on Political Participation." October, 2017.

- Chico State University. "Constitution Day Address: Policing and Political Participation." September, 2017.

- Fellows of the American Bar Foundation, Atlanta, Georgia. "Policing in Georgia." May 2017.

- United States Commission on Civil Rights. Testimony. "Collateral Consequences of Mass Incarceration." May 2017.

- Northwestern University Pritzker School of Law. "Effects of Police Stops of Cars and Pedestrians on Voter Turnout in St. Louis." April 2017.

- University of California at Los Angeles. Race and Ethnic Politics Workshop. "Effects of Police Stops of Cars and Pedestrians on Voter Turnout in St. Louis." March 2017.

- University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. American Politics Workshop. "Effects of Police Stops of Cars and Pedestrians on Voter Turnout in St. Louis." February 2017.

- National Bar Association, St. Louis MO. "Political Effects of Mass Incarceration." July 2016.

- Harvard University, Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. Inequalities/Equalities in Cities Workshop. April 2016.

- American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. September 2015. "Responsibility for Racial Justice." Discussant.

- St. Olaf College. April 2015. "The Collateral Consequences of Mass Incarceration."

- Northwestern University. Institute for Policy Research. February 2015. "The Civic ~~Culture~~ Structure."

- Texas A&M University. Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Workshop. September 2014. "Trading Democracy for Justice."

- Columbia University Teachers College. The Suburban Promise of Brown Conference.

May 2014. "Can We All Get Along, Revisited: Racial Attitudes, the Tolerance for Diversity, and the Prospects for Integration in the 21st Century."

- University of Kentucky. Reversing Trajectories: Incarceration, Violence, and Political Consequences Conference. April 2014. "Trading Democracy for Justice."

- University of Chicago. American Politics Workshop. March 2014. "How Geographic Differences in Neighborhood Civic Capacity Affect Voter Turnout."

- Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. February 2014. "Trading Democracy for Justice.

- University of Michigan. American Politics Workshop. December 2013. "Trading Democracy for Justice."

- Yale University. American Politics and Public Policy Workshop. September 2013. "Trading Democracy for Justice."

- American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. August 2013. "The Heavenly Chorus Is Even Louder: The Growth and Changing Composition of the Washington Pressure System." With Kay Lehman Schlozman, Sidney Verba, Henry Brady, and Phillip Jones.

- National Bar Association, Miami Florida, July 2013. "The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment."

- Loyola University. American Politics Workshop. December 2012. "Mass Imprisonment and Neighborhood Voter Turnout."

- Marquette University School of Law. November 2012. "The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment."

- Yale University. Detaining Democracy Conference. November 2012. "The Effects of Imprisonment and Community Supervision on Political Participation."

- Brown University. American Politics Workshop. October 2012. "Mass Imprisonment and Neighborhood Voter Turnout."

- American Bar Association National Meeting, August 2012. "Mass Imprisonment: Consequences for Society and Politics."

- University of Madison-Wisconsin. American Politics Workshop. March 2012. "The Spatial Concentration of Imprisonment and Racial Political Inequality."

- American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. 2011. "Theme Panel: How Can Political Science Help Us Understand the Politics of Decarceration?"

- University of Pennsylvania. Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism Conference. April, 2011. "Vicarious Imprisonment and Neighborhood Political Inequality."

- University of Chicago School of Law. Public Laws Colloquium. Chicago, IL. November, 2010. ""The Effects of Neighborhood Incarceration Rates on Individual Political Efficacy and Perceptions of Discrimination."

- Pomona College. November, 2010. "Incarceration Nation."

- University of Washington. Surveying Social Marginality Workshop. October 2010. "Using Government Data to Study Current and Former Felons."

- American Bar Foundation, Chicago, IL, September 2010. "The Effects of Neighborhood Incarceration Rates on Individual Political Attitudes."

- Northwestern University. Chicago Area Behavior Conference. May 2010. "Trading Democracy for Justice: The Spillover Effects of Incarceration on Voter Turnout in Charlotte and Atlanta."

- Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, Chicago, IL, May 2010. "Neighborhood Criminal Justice Involvement and Voter Turnout in the 2008 General Election."

- Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, January 2010. "The Art and Science of Voter Mobilization: Grassroots Perspectives on Registration and GOTV from Charlotte, Atlanta, and Chicago."

- University of Illinois at Chicago. Institute for Government and Public Affairs. November 2009. "Turnout and Party Registration among Convicted Offenders during the 2008 Presidential Election."

- Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, September 2009. "'I Wanted to Vote for History:' Turnout and Party Registration among Convicted Offenders during the 2008 Presidential Election."

- Harris School of Public Policy, University of Chicago. American Politics Workshop. December 2008. "Trading Democracy for Justice? The Spillover Effects of Imprisonment on Neighborhood Voter Participation."

- Northwestern University School of Law. Law and Political Economy Colloquium. November 2008. "Did Disfranchisement Laws Help Elect President Bush? New Evidence on the Turnout Rates and Candidate Preferences of Florida's Ex-Felons."

- University of California, Berkeley. Center for the Study of Law and Society. October 2008. "Trading Democracy for Justice? The Spillover Effects of Imprisonment on Neighborhood Voter Participation."

- Law and Society Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, Canada, May 2008. "Did Disfranchisement Laws Help Elect President Bush? New Evidence on the Turnout Rates and Candidate Preferences of Florida's Ex-Felons."

- Law and Society Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, Canada, May 2008. "Trading Democracy for Justice? The Spillover Effects of Imprisonment on Neighborhood Voter Participation."

- Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, IL, April 2007. Paper: "Concentrated Incarceration: How Neighborhood Incarceration Decreases Voter Registration."

Working Papers

- "Which Lives Matter? Factors Affecting Public Attention and Protest In Response to Officer-Involved Killings"

- "Not All Black Lives Matter: The Role of Victim Characteristics in Shaping Political Interest and Voter Turnout"

- "Explaining Protests of Officer-Involved Killings"

- "Introduction" (with Jenn Jackson and Periloux Peay) in *Freedom Dreams: A Symposium on Abolition*. Eds. Jenn Jackson, Periloux Peay, and Traci Burch. Social Science Quarterly.

- "The Effects of Community Police Performance on Protest in Chicago" (For Symposium Honoring John Hagan)

- "How Police Departments Frame Low-Threat Victims of Officer-Involved Killings"

Additional Activities

- Expert witness in *Kelvin Jones vs. Ron DeSantis, etc. et al.* (U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Florida Consolidated Case No. 4:19-cv-00).

- Expert witness in *Community Success Initiative, et al., Plaintiffs v. Timothy K. Moore* (Superior Court, Wake County, NC Case No. 19-cv-15941).

- Expert witness in *People First of Alabama v. Merrill* (U.S. District Court in Birmingham, Alabama, Case No. 2: 20-cv-00619-AKK)

- Expert witness in *Florida State Conference of the NAACP v. Lee* (U.S. District Court in the Northern District of Florida, Case No. 4:21-cv-00187-MW-MAF)

- Expert witness in *One Wisconsin Institute Inc. v. Jacobs* (U.S. District Court in the Western District of Wisconsin, Case No. 15-CV-324-JDP).