

# **EXHIBIT D**

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS  
EASTERN DIVISION**

DAN MCCONCHIE, in his official capacity as  
Minority Leader of the Illinois Senate and individually  
as a registered voter, JIM DURKIN, in his official  
capacity as Minority Leader of the Illinois House of  
Representatives and individually as a registered voter,  
the REPUBLICAN CAUCUS OF THE ILLINOIS  
SENATE, the REPUBLICAN CAUCUS OF THE  
ILLINOIS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, and  
the ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN PARTY,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

CHARLES W. SCHOLZ, IAN K. LINNABARY,  
WILLIAM M. MCGUFFAGE, WILLIAM J.  
CADIGAN, KATHERINE S. O'BRIEN, LAURA K.  
DONAHUE, CASANDRA B. WATSON, and  
WILLIAM R. HAINE, in their official capacities as  
members of the Illinois State Board of Elections,  
EMANUEL CHRISTOPHER WELCH, in his official  
capacity as Speaker of the Illinois House of  
Representatives, the OFFICE OF SPEAKER OF THE  
ILLINOIS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DON  
HARMON, in his official capacity as President of the  
Illinois Senate, and the OFFICE OF THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE ILLINOIS SENATE,

Defendants.

Case No. 1:21-cv-03091

Circuit Judge Michael B. Brennan  
Chief District Judge Jon E. DeGuilio  
District Judge Robert M. Dow, Jr.

Three-Judge Court  
Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 2284(a)

**EXPERT REPORT OF CHARLES A. GALLAGHER, Ph.D.**

## **Executive Summary**

Senate Factor One in Section 2 Voting Rights Act cases considers the history and extent that official discrimination against minorities touched upon their right to vote or otherwise participate in the democratic process. Senate Factor Five in Section 2 Voting Rights Act cases considers “the extent to which minority group members bear the effects of past discrimination in areas such as education, employment and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process.” Decades of social science research make clear two undeniable conclusions related to these Senate Factors as explained in this report. The first is that the research record has established that Blacks and Latinos have, and continue to be, subject to discrimination, both official and otherwise. Research shows that Blacks and Latinos are socially disadvantaged in areas of employment, health outcomes, educational attainment and almost every other quality of life indicator. The socio-economic variables and racial disparities that social scientists have demonstrated are linked to lower voter registration and turnout include median family income, rates of poverty, educational attainment, owning a home or renting, wealth accumulation, rates of employment, language acquisition, health disparities and a political climate that encourages rather than hinders access to voting.

Secondly, the research record has clearly demonstrated that the socio-economic disparities faced by Blacks and Latinos hinder their ability to vote and participate fully in the political process. The numerous and sometimes overwhelming social and economic challenges and obstacles that Blacks and Latinos must navigate on a daily basis result in a depressed level of participation in the political process.

These conditions have existed, and continue to exist, in Illinois, including Cook County, Aurora and East St. Louis. Accordingly, and in the context of Senate Factors One and Five, it is my opinion that the historical and present effects of both official and de facto discrimination experienced by Latinos and Blacks in the Cook County area, Aurora and East St. Louis have hindered, and continue to hinder, their ability to participate effectively in the political process.

### **1. Assignment, Qualifications and Materials Reviewed**

1. I am a tenured full professor and until June 1, 2021 was Chair of the Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice at La Salle University for 13 years. Prior to that I was a tenured associate professor of sociology at Georgia State University in Atlanta, Georgia. I have taught classes on U.S race relations at both the graduate level (Georgia State University) and undergraduate level (La Salle University, Colorado College and Temple University). I have been a professor for 27 years. In that time, I have edited 12 books or journals, published 16 academic book chapters, authored 7 peer-reviewed journal articles, had my articles reprinted 13 times in other edited books, serve on 4 editorial boards, and have given 33 invited talks in the United States and six in the UK when I was a visiting Fulbright Scholar, presented over 50 professional talks in the United States and been interviewed about matters of race and inequality over 100 times in the media. My race and ethnicity reader, *Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity* (Sage), is now in its 7<sup>th</sup> edition (2022) I have served as reviewer for the National Science Foundation and the Fulbright U.S. Scholar’s Program. I have received numerous awards for my

research and teaching. I have been elected to several offices in the American Sociological Society. I have testified as an expert witness in federal cases involving the role race may have played in the treatment of racial minorities in various institutions and by government actors. My current CV, which includes a list of all of my publications over the past ten years and the cases I have testified in or been deposed in over the last four years, is attached as Exhibit 1. I reviewed the materials cited in this report and the Plaintiffs' Second Amended Complaint.

## **2. Assignment**

2. I have been retained by attorneys for the Plaintiffs in this case which challenges the map of Illinois Senate and House Districts in the legislative redistricting plan passed by the Illinois General Assembly in late August, 2021 and signed by the Governor on September 24, 2021 (the "September Map"). I am being compensated at the rate of \$300 per hour. The fact that I am being compensated has not altered the facts or opinions that I have given or will give in this case. The September Map was drawn using 2020 US Decennial Census population counts that was released by the Census Bureau on August 12, 2021. Plaintiffs charge that the September Map unconstitutionally dilutes the vote of Latino and Black voters and violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. Plaintiffs argue that the September Map was drawn in such a way as to "pack" Latino voters into particular House districts, thus diluting Latino's overall political strength, by cramming them into fewer districts. Plaintiffs also argue that the September Map "cracks" Latino voters by separating them into other House Districts. The result is the September Map discriminates against Latino voters by diluting their voting power specifically in Southwest Cook County, Northwest Cook County and Aurora. The September Map discriminates against Black voters, specifically in the East Louis area, by separating and dispersing a compact majority Black community (cracking) into non-Black majority CVAP (citizen voting age population) districts.

3. I researched and analyzed the materials related to this case to determine whether social science scholarship in my area of expertise on social inequality and racial discrimination, and a history of official discrimination, helps to understand the implications of how, and the extent to which, members of a minority group in the state or political subdivision bear the effects of discrimination in such areas as education, employment and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process. The socio-economic variables and racial disparities that social scientists have demonstrated are linked to lower voter registration and turnout include median family income, rates of poverty, educational attainment, owning a home or renting, wealth accumulation, rates of employment, language acquisition, health disparities and a political climate that encourages rather than hinders access to voting.

4. Presented below are statistics of the racial disparities of Blacks and Latinos in Illinois compared to Whites and to national averages, and information regarding official discrimination. What is plainly and painfully clear is that Blacks and Latinos are socially disadvantaged and have been subjected to discrimination for decades. That discrimination continues today. Blacks and Latinos have been and remain discriminated and socially disadvantaged in areas of employment, health outcomes, educational attainment and almost every other quality of life indicator. While these disparities have been documented for decades by social scientists and government agencies, the responsiveness of elected officials has been so inadequate

that these disparities have remained unchanged and in some case the disparities have actually widened. To take just one example, a 2021 report by the Chicago's Department of Public Health found that "Overall life expectancy among Blacks is decreasing, and the gap between the life expectancy of Blacks and non-Blacks is widening" (*The State of Black Health for Blacks in Chicago 2021*, p. 7).

5. The research also demonstrates that these social disadvantages have a pernicious effect on political participation. The cumulative effects of poverty, lower levels of education, health concerns, residential and occupational segregation, the mistrust of the government, and a lack of responsiveness by politicians to the needs of the Black and Latino community create obstacles to effectively participating in the political process.

### **3. Past-In-Present Discrimination**

6. In their seminal 1980 research article Feagin and Eckberg elaborated on the concept of past-in-present discrimination. The concept does much to explain the extensive racial inequalities in home ownership, wealth accumulation, college graduation rates and numerous quality of life indicators that vary by race and are intergenerational. The theory is rather straightforward; racist institutionalized discriminatory practices that were in place for multiple decades (or centuries) cause socio-economic harm and blocked opportunities today. It may be that redlining, restrictive covenants and racial steering in the real estate market are now illegal but the decades long effects of those discriminatory practices have effects today as demonstrated by continued residential segregation and rates of home ownership that vary significantly by race and ethnicity. Today, among large cities Chicago has the second highest black-white segregated index in the United States (Menendian, Samir and Gailles, *Twenty-First Century Racial Residential Segregation in the United*, June 21, 2021). Similarly, the Index of Dissimilarity between white and Hispanic populations in Cook County was 60.2%. This is a measure of segregation. An index over 60% is considered a high level of residential segregation (*Place Matters for Health in Cook County: Ensuring Opportunities for Good Health for All*. July 2012).

7. The legally sanctioned housing discrimination Blacks and Latinos were subject to through the majority of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, while now illegal, causes present harm today and explain why neighborhoods are racially segregated today. The authors explain that:

Past-in-present discrimination involves apparently neutral present practices whose negative effects derive from prior intentional discriminatory practices. One variant involves penalizing minorities now because they lack an ability or qualification they were prevented from acquiring in the past. The use of age restrictions and cumulative employment records in employment screening exemplifies past-in-present discrimination. Where employers or unions have intentionally discriminated against minority persons in the past, but no longer do, the present routine enforcement of age ceilings screens out minority persons who are now too old but who would not have been hired when they were younger because of intentional discrimination. Those who faced blatant discrimination in the past are now disproportionately subject to layoffs during periods of economic recession

because of a lack of seniority (see US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission 1974) (Feagin and Eckberg p. 12-13, 1980).

8. If past-in-present discrimination explains how state sponsored discriminatory actions of yesterday shape the life chances of minorities today, institutional racism explains how these racial inequalities are perpetuated. Stanford Professor Matthew Clair explains how even in the absence of overt racial animus racial groups can be subject to discrimination. He argues that:

Institutional racism refers to particular and general instances of racial discrimination, inequality, exploitation, and domination in organizational or institutional contexts, such as the labor market or the nation-state. While institutional racism can be overt (e.g., a firm with a formal policy of excluding applicants of a particular race), it is more often used to explain cases of disparate impact, where organizations or societies distribute more resources to one group than another without overtly racist intent (e.g., a firm with an informal policy of excluding applicants from a low income, minority neighborhood due to its reputation for gangs). The rules, processes, and opportunity structures that enable such disparate impacts are what constitute institutional racism (and variants such as ‘structural racism’, ‘systemic racism’, etc.) (Clair and Dennis, 2015 p. 860).

9. The racial and ethnic disparities we see today in Illinois, and in particular in Chicago and the Cook County area, and East St. Louis, reflect a long history of political and economic exclusion directed at racial and ethnic minorities. The 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the migration of millions of African American from the rural South to Northern cities. The increase in the size of the African American population moving to Illinois saw concomitant rise in formal government policies and informal practices that were implemented to segregate a growing Black population from the White majority. While the 1919 Chicago race riots are a stark reminder of racialized violence directed by whites at the black community what was also occurring was the implementation of policies that would shape race relations and racial inequality for decades. Red lining, exclusionary zoning laws, racial steering, real estate covenants and the threat of violence would result in Blacks being geographically isolated for decades to come. The segregation that created in Chicago’s Black Belt is evident in the segregation we see in Chicago today. Chicago is one of the most segregated large cities in the United States. The majority of Blacks in Chicago (80%) live in just 23 of 77 community areas of Chicago (*State of Health for Blacks in Chicago*, 2021).

10. The United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has an index called Racially Concentrated Areas of Poverty (RCAP). This measure looks at which groups live in high poverty areas that are also majority minority. “Cook County has the highest poverty rate in the region and therefore the most census tracts with exceedingly high concentrated poverty. 18 RCAP tracts are over 90 percent Hispanic.” (*Fair Housing and Equity Assessment: Metropolitan Chicago*, p. 35, 2013). Latinos in Cook County are disproportionately poor and live in communities that are ethnically segregated.

11. Segregation in labor markets meant that black, and later Latino workers, would be relegated to low wage, typically non-union, menial labor. Racism in housing and labor markets are examples of past-in-present discrimination and institutional racism. A lack of occupational mobility, the inability to create wealth through home ownership, the lack of access to quality public education for one's children and the denial of basic civil rights for most of the twentieth century to Blacks and Latinos is understood by social scientists as the reasons we see such racial inequities between whites and racial minorities today.

#### **4. Socio-Economic Disparity**

12. What is abundantly clear in a review of the standard quality of life indicators is that Blacks and Latinos in Illinois, including Chicago and East St. Louis, lag significantly behind Whites in almost all socioeconomic measures. The social variables I describe below are in no way exhaustive. These quality of life measures were selected because they represent those variables which have enormous importance on one's life chances, that is, the relative social mobility one will experience in their life given the opportunities society affords and the structural barriers they will encounter.

##### **A. The Growing Latino Presence in Chicago and Cook County**

13. As the quality of life measurers above indicate, Latino's lag behind whites on most socio-economic characteristics. It is worth noting that many of the challenges are linked to the large and rapid growth of the Latino population through birth and immigration. According to the US Census the Latino population in Chicago grew from 753,000 in 2000 to 820,000 in 2020 making them the second largest ethnic or racial group in Chicago.

14. In Cook County, the Latino population grew by 79 percent with an additional 550,568 Latino residents. (*Fair Housing and Equity Assessment: Metropolitan Chicago*, p. 12 2013). Latinos in Cook County now account for 25.6% of the total population (US Census Bureau 2019, Cook County). However, the increase in the Latino population in Cook County has also been accompanied by high rates of inequality for this group. A report released in 2018 found that

Cook County is highly racially and economically segregated, resulting in economic and resource disparities between communities and regions. This segregation fosters inequity for residents and adds to the economic disparities that exist throughout the County. Overall, Cook County has a poverty rate of 15.0 percent, which is slightly higher than the national poverty rate of 12.3 percent. When broken down by race, the poverty rate is dramatically higher for black and Latinx populations than for white populations. *Cook County Policy Road Map: Five Year Strategic Plan*, p. 6.

15. Low educational attainment and high rates of poverty also result in living in "food deserts," areas where affordable good quality fresh food is unavailable. "Most of the census tracts with low educational attainment and low food access are located in the southern portion of Cook County, which has a high concentration of minority communities. The overall pattern suggests that



socioeconomic conditions in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty, which are predominantly African American and Latino, make it more difficult for people in these communities to live healthy lives.” (*Place Matters for Health in Cook County: Ensuring Opportunities for Good Health for All A Report on Health Inequities in Cook County, Illinois*, P. 2)

16. Cook County was also found to be one of the top ten most disadvantaged counties in Illinois. The Illinois Department of Public Health created a Concentrated Disadvantage index consisting of five variables that signal a county’s lack of well-being. The five variables are: percent of individuals living in poverty, unemployment rate, percent of households receiving public assistance, percent of households that are female-headed, and percent of individuals that are under 18 years old. According to this study, Cook County also has a very high Gini Coefficient relative to the US or Illinois. A Gini coefficient is a single number that measures economic inequality. These numbers were 0.474 Illinois Overall: 0.482 Cook County: 0.510. Measures over .50 on the Gini coefficient mean severe income inequality. (Healthy Illinois 2021, *Health Indicators: Core Data, Illinois Department of Public Health 2021*, p.18).

17. Affordable housing has also been a challenge in Cook County. A study on food access and housing found

In Cook County, the housing cost burden in 2009 was moderate to severe (between 30% and 49.9% of income) for over one in five (21.7%) households, and was severe (more than 50% of income) in another 17.0% of households.<sup>39</sup> Cook County’s housing cost burden exceeded that of Illinois (19.1% and 12.5% of households respectively experienced moderate or severe cost burden) and the United States (18.4% and 12.0% of households, respectively, experienced moderate or severe cost burden). Severe overcrowding (an average of more than 1.5 persons per room) affected 4.2% of Cook County households, compared with 2.4% of Illinois households and 2.8% of U.S. households. Only 54.9% of housing units in Cook County were occupied by those who owned and held financial stake in the property, compared with 63.9% in Illinois and 60.7% nationally. (*Food Access and Health in Cook County Illinois, Center on Human Needs Virginia Commonwealth University Richmond, Virginia*, 2012 p. 16)

18. Residential segregation and poverty in Cook County also shape life expectancy among Black and Latino communities. The Collaborative for Health Equity-Cook County documented a 14-year difference in life expectancy between residents living in areas with a median income greater than \$53,000 per year and people living in neighborhoods with a median income below \$25,000. The long history of high levels of racial residential segregation in metropolitan Chicago reflects structural racism and remains uninterrupted. Less than 10% of poor children who are white live in high-poverty neighborhoods. In contrast, 75% of poor children who are black and 45% of poor children who are Latino are subjected to the toxic consequences of concentrated poverty (*The Collaborative for Health Equity-Cook County, National Collaborative for Health Equity*, 2014).



19. UIC's Institute for Public Policy and Research report *A Tale of Three Cities: The State of Racial Justice* found that within Chicago's Latino community:

- Almost 25% of Latino families live below the poverty line
- The rate for unemployment in the city is 10% compared to 20% for Blacks and around 5% for whites
- Black and Latino households are more likely to secure mortgages that have high interest rates, ballooning payment schedules, and numerous extra fees.
- Nearly 90% of all Latino students attend school where 75% of the student body are eligible for free or reduced lunches.
- Latinos are uninsured at twice the rate of their black and white counterparts

**B. Racial and Ethnic Disparities - Health**

20. The disparity between Whites and Blacks and Latinos is well-documented and stark, as evident from the information that follows.

**1. COVID-19**

Racial and Ethnic Characteristics of Chicagoans' death due to COVID-19 as of October, 2021 as a percent of Total Deaths by Race and Ethnicity

Asian 4.5 %  
Black 40.6%  
Latinx 32.6%  
White 21.7%

*City of Chicago (chicago.gov)*

The Cook County Health Department found that "Hispanics were 40% more likely to be hospitalized due to a COVID-19 infection in comparison to non-Hispanic Blacks and whites....and A large majority of the Hispanic patient population impacted by COVID-19 also serve as essential frontline workers.

The rapid and disproportionate increase in COVID-19 hospitalizations among Hispanics after the shelter-in-place mandate indicates that public health strategies were inadequate in protecting this population," said Dr. Bill Trick, study principal investigator and associate chair of research at Cook County Health. "These individuals were unable to shelter in place because their employment (or employers) did not allow for remote work.

*Cook County Health Release, August 10, 2021*

**2. Infant Mortality in Illinois (“IMR”) (death of an infant before their first year of birth)**

Deaths per 1000 live births

Asian 3.1  
Black 12.9  
Latino 6.2  
White 4.7

Black/African American infants have an IMR over two times as high as that of White, Hispanic, and Asian infants in Illinois. Latinos have an IMR rate twice that of Asians and over thirty percent higher than Whites. (*Report to the General Assembly: Illinois Task Force on Infant and Maternal Mortality Among African Americans, 2020*)

**3. Infant Mortality Rate, East St. Louis**

Infant mortality: During 2007-2009, the infant mortality rate in St. Clair County was 8.1 per 1,000 live births, compared with 6.9 statewide. (Illinois Kids Count 2014). According to the 2019 Census Blacks comprise approximately 30.6% of the population of St. Clair County. (*US Census, Quick Counts 2019*)

**4. Maternal Mortality (death to the mother during pregnancy or up to one year after the end of pregnancy (per 100,00 births))**

Latina 34.3  
White 17

Latina maternal mortality in Chicago is over two times that of Whites.

**C. Racial and Ethnic Disparities - Income**

**1. Child Poverty**

Poverty among both children and adults continues to show disparities by race and ethnicity. Children of color generally fare worse in terms of poverty than White children. Black children live below the poverty level at the highest rate among children in racial groups (**Black 35.4%**), almost 1.6 times that of the next racial group down at 22.3%. **White (11.6%)** and **Asian (9.1%)** children have among the lowest rates of poverty. Latinx children (**21%**) of any race are below the poverty level at a rate more than 2.2 times that of White children who are not Latinx.

(*Illinois Kids Count Report 2021*, p. 13)

**2. Median Family Income, Chicago Metro Area**

Asians \$87,469  
Whites \$79,865  
All \$66,020  
Latino \$52,730  
Blacks \$37,258

*(Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (ACS Survey, 2016))*

**3. Median Family Income, Illinois**

Asians \$118,700  
Whites \$107,400  
All \$86,600  
Latino \$55,800  
Blacks \$39,700

*(Kids Count, 2019)*

**D. Racial and Ethnic Disparities - Educational Attainment, Illinois: 25 or older with a Bachelor's Degree or Higher (2018)**

Asian 36%  
Whites 22%  
Blacks 12%  
Latinos 9%

*(Illinois Bureau of Higher Education, Addressing Equity in Higher Education, September 15, 2020.)*

Nationally, white families tend to be wealthier and white students tend to perform at a higher-grade level than their Hispanic counterparts. In the city of Chicago, this gap is dramatic. White students are performing, on average, 1.4 grade levels above their actual grade, whereas Hispanic students are performing one grade level below their actual grade. (*Chicago Department of Public Health: Healthy Chicago 2025*, 2019, p. 171)

**E. Racial and Ethnic Disparities – Employment**

**1. Unemployment, Illinois 2020**

Whites 8.5%  
Blacks 14.4%  
Latino 12.0%

*U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020*

In Illinois, as well as in the nation, the unemployment rate increased in 2020 for all racial groups. In Illinois, the unemployment rate was 14.4% for African Americans, 12.0% for Hispanics, and 8.5% for whites. In both Illinois and the U.S., African Americans historically have had the highest unemployment rate among all major racial and ethnic groups. (*Women and Minorities in the Illinois Workforce: Focus on Unemployment 2021*, p. 3)

**2. Unemployment, Chicago**

Black 18.8%  
Latino 9.3%  
Whites 4.1%

**3. Unemployment of individuals with a Bachelor's Degree**

Black 8.5%  
Latino 4.5%  
White 3.4%

“Between 1980 and 2017, Latinx unemployment has been double or worse than white unemployment.” (*Chicago Department of Public Health: Healthy Chicago 2025, 2019*, p. 127)

**4. Unemployment By Age and Race in Chicago; 20-24 year olds, 2013-2017**

White 7%  
Latino 19.5%

**F. Racial and Ethnic Disparities - Wealth**

**1. Home Ownership Rates**

White 54%  
Latinos 43%

**2. Cost-Burdened Renters by Race in Chicago (pay more than 30% of their income on rent)**

Latino 56%  
White 42%

**3. Household with Zero Net Worth, Chicago**

Latino 27%  
White 15%

*The Racial Wealth Divide in Chicago, 2017.*

#### **4. Savings by Race**

Percent of Households in Chicago that do NOT enough savings to live above the poverty level for three months:

Latinos 71%  
All Households 49%

*(State and Local Approaches to Chicago's Region Racial and Ethnic Wealth Inequality, Urban Institute 2019.)*

#### **G. Firearm Homicide Victims**

21. In Illinois, 90% of firearm homicide victims are male and Black males are disproportionately impacted. Black males aged 15-34 have a firearm homicide rate nearly 63 times higher than White males of the same age group. *(Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics. WONDER Online Database, 1999-2019).*

22. In Illinois, African Americans are 34 times more likely to die by gun homicide as white people, compared to 10 times nationwide. *(Homicide source: CDC, Fatal Injury Reports, five-year average: 2014-2018. Homicide includes shootings by law enforcement.)*

23. Gun violence has reached such epidemic proportions in Chicago and Illinois it now discussed as a public health issue, one that disproportionately effects communities of color. In November of 2021 Governor Pritzker issued an executive order to address this social problem. Among other concerns he noted that:

The State of Illinois recognizes that firearm violence has a disproportionate impact on Black, Latinx, and other communities of color as a result of systemic racism; ...exposure to violence disrupts youth development, harms mental and physical health, and increases the likelihood of risky behaviors, including future violence.

*(Executive Order 2021-29: Implementing a Comprehensive Approach to Reducing Firearm Violence in Illinois)*

#### **H. East St. Louis as a Case Study**

24. East St. Louis comprises a large portion of the Metro East area and provides a unique example of how past racial inequalities and government policies shape the state of racial disparities today. Two years prior to the race riots that would consume Chicago and other American cities East St. Louis had its own race riot in 1917 that left 9 whites and an estimated 100 African Americans dead. The riot was started when hundreds of Black workers were hired as strikebreakers when white workers at the Aluminum Ore company went on strike (Allison Keyes,

Smithsonian Magazine, 6/30/ 2021). The residential and occupational segregation, deindustrialization, white flight and disinvestment that took place throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century in East St. Louis created a set of racialized institutional obstacles that define the city's current situation. Today East St. Louis is poorest and most violent city in Illinois. In 1950 East St. Louis was the fourth largest city in Illinois with a population over 82,000. At that time the city was about 75% white. Between 1970 and 2000 the city lost 55% of its population and 70% of its businesses. The city is now 96% Black. Deindustrialization and the white flight that would alter the demographics and fortunes of this city are a stark example of how past discriminatory actions resonate today. The Wall Street Journal selected East St. Louis as the "worst" city to live in Illinois explaining that their rating reflected that "There were 1,190 violent crimes reported in the city for every 100,000 residents compared to just 404 for every 100,000 people across Illinois. The city's poverty rate of 37.8% is nearly three times higher than the 13.1% statewide poverty rate. The area's high crime rate is also likely depressing real estate values. Most homes in East St. Louis are worth less than \$53,000, less than a third of the median home value of \$187,200 across Illinois" (*WSJ, Special Report*, Samuel Stebbins, May 25, 2021). Per capita income is \$16,987 in East St. Louis and \$36,038 in Illinois. The unemployment rate is 16%, nearly double the national average (Census Reporter 2019). The Belleville News Democratic found that "The national homicide rate is around 5 murders for 100,000 people; in East St. Louis, it's 96 murders per 100,000, topping cities like Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit and Washington, D.C. Yet only 25 percent of the murders are charged in criminal court, compared to a national average of 60 percent" (April 24, 2019).

### **I. Socioeconomic Disparity – Summary**

25. As seen from the information above, Latinos and African Americans throughout Illinois have significantly less wealth, income and education than Whites, and suffer from increased health risks compared to Whites. As the literature demonstrates, these factors correlate with lower voter participation.

### **5. The Nexus between Socio-Economic Factors and Voting**

26. The social science literature makes clear that voting participation is strongly correlated with income and education and as the quality of life measures above demonstrate, income and education vary by race. Public Policy professor Randall Akee at UCLA found that voter participation increases with family income noting that there was a clear positive association between family income and participation in voting. The 48 percent voting participation rate for families in the lowest income category in 2016 was a bit more than half of the 86 percent rate for families in the highest income category. The ratio of differences across income groups is qualitatively similar in other election years as well (Ecofacts, Akee, February 2019). The Washington Center for Equitable Growth found the same income-voting pattern: higher-income citizens are more likely to vote than low-income individuals. They found that the income "disparity is exacerbated because low income Americans are less likely to get paid time off from work, more regularly move their places of residence, are incarcerated at higher rates and are more likely to face unstable transportation and child arrangements" (*The Consequences of Political Inequality and Voter Suppression for U.S. Inequality and Growth*, Washington Center for Equitable Growth, February, 2021).

27. Education is also linked to voter participation. Drawing on the link between education and income, researchers at Washington University in St. Louis found that “The 2017 median annual income of households in the United States was \$59,039. In the 2014 election, less than 25% of voters came from households with annual income under \$10,000, but 56.6% came from households with incomes over \$150,000. Education has also been found to play a role. The turnout rate was 23.7% among voters with less than a ninth-grade education, 53.2% among voters with a bachelor’s degree, and 62.0% among voters with an advanced degree” (*Incomplete Democracy: The Relationship of Race, Income, and Education to Voter Participation*, Washington University in St. Louis, CSD Research Brief 18-41, October 2018).

28. Columbia University Professor of Social Work Paul Hartley found that a connection to voting participation, poverty, access to transportation and illness. Using state level self-reporting data on voter turnout Professor Hartley found that “relative to the rest of the population, lower-income Americans are more likely than those at higher incomes to not vote because of issues like transportation problems or illness/disability, and less likely relative to higher income Americans to not vote because of time conflicts, general busyness, or travel” (Hartley 2020, p 14 in *Changing the Political Landscape*).

29. There is a large and long-established social science record on racial disparities, racial discrimination, prejudice and racism in the United States. As the descriptive statistics I outlined demonstrate, racial and ethnic minorities have, and continue to be, socially and economically disadvantaged in the United States. It is undeniable that racial minorities “bear the effects of discrimination” and this discrimination “may hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process.” Census data from 1968 to 2020 shows the extent to which black voting turnout has lagged in comparison to whites (US Census, *Historical Reported Voting Rates*).

30. Given the research record on racial and ethnic inequality and socio-economic disparities in the United States, and as a sociologist who has studied race relations for almost three decades, it is clear that the numerous and sometimes overwhelming social and economic challenges and obstacles that racial and ethnic minorities must navigate on a daily basis hinder their ability to vote or participate in the political process. If we look at the totality of factors in play that help or hinder individuals from participating in the political process many Black and Latino voters, because of their socio-economic situation, simply are not in the same position to be involved politically then those groups who do not share their hardships.

## **6. The Census Undercount and the Political Disenfranchisement of Racial Minorities**

31. The 2020 US Decennial Census undercounted communities that have larger shares of certain groups: Blacks, Latinos, and populations with higher shares of young children. The groups with a higher undercount would be deprived of resources relative to groups that are more likely be accurately or overcounted in other communities (older, white non-Latino residents). The US Census has been very forthcoming that the decennial census is more likely to miss, that is not count some populations, than others (differential undercount). In a 2012 release the Census Bureau



explained “Because racial and ethnic minorities disproportionately live in hard to count circumstances they too were undercounted relative to the majority population” Census Bureau Releases Estimates of Undercount and Overcount Populations in 2010, May 22, 2012).

32. The US Census Bureau has numerous documents analyzing who is at risk and measures to address overcoming these enumeration challenges. The hard-to reach/locate population has been extensively researched by scholars and opined by journalist in the mainstream press. According the Census Bureau those living in poverty, renters, children and racial minorities are often undercounted. The US Census also makes note that those with “limited English proficiency, cultural and linguistic minorities, persons who are angry at and/or distrust the government, undocumented, persons living in non-traditional housing or hidden housing and persons less likely to use the internet” are populations that tend to be missed in the decennial census.

33. A recent study in collaboration with the Great Cities Institute at UIC and the Census Bureau (2021) provides a window into how racial minorities in Illinois would be particularly hurt if they are undercounted. The study found that as a whole the state of Illinois’ census count was quite successful, ranking first in the most populous states and seventh among all states for population self-response rates. That said, the state of Illinois, like most states in the US, had challenges counting hard-to-reach populations.

34. The study notes that Illinois census tracts that “are majority African American had the lowest self-response rates compared to tracts that are majority White (non-Latino), majority Asian, or majority Latino. Majority African American tracts consistently trended below the national average. As of October 28, the median self-response for Illinois tracts that are majority African American were 13 percentage points lower than the national average” (p. .(p. 24) In addition, the self-response rate for Illinois tracts that are majority Latino was 4 percentage points higher than that of African Americans. (p. 24, Figure 2).

35. The study found that “the 2020 Census Barriers, Attitudes, and Motivators Study (CBAMS) in 2019 found that certain characteristics such as low educational attainment, low income, and racial or ethnic identity were related to “low levels of intent” to participate in the census, thereby identifying them as hard-to-count populations (p.16). The city of Chicago “had the lowest self-response rate of the 12 Illinois Census Regions (60.9%) (p. 10). Over all the study found “the self-response rate among tracts that were majority White (non-Latino) averaged roughly 20 percentage points higher than among tracts that were majority people of color” (p.23). The self-response rates for the 2020 census were 75.7% for Whites, 54% for Blacks, 58.6% for Latinos and 57.6% for Asians (p. 24).

36. These census population undercounts translate into federal assistance dollars that will bypass these hard-to-reach communities, which are disproportionately Black and Latino. The *Making It Count* study found that in 2015 Illinois received \$19.7 billion dollars in federal assistance or about \$1,535 (p.1) and that “even a one-percent undercount would result in an annual loss of \$19,557,435 over the next ten years, resulting in a total loss of \$195,574,350 directly impacting all residents of Illinois, especially its most vulnerable” (p.5). The Urban Institute

analysis of the 2020 census found that Black and Latino populations “could be undercounted nationally by 3.68 percent and 3.57%, respectively” (*Assessing Miscounts in the 2020 Census*, 2019 p. 2).

37. Undercounting racial and ethnic minorities results in the loss of federal and state funds to communities that are undercounted. In this scenario, federal and state resources would be siphoned away from communities of color and disproportionately redirected to those communities that were not undercounted. Using population estimates that are flawed to draw redistricting maps will result in in-need and at-risk populations being subject to discriminatory outcomes that will create additional socio-economic challenges for these communities. If a redistricting map is constructed with greater undercount differentials of Illinois’ racial minorities population, the political voices of these groups would be stifled and these communities would be deprived much need federal and state funding.

## **7. Discrimination by State Actors**

38. Senate Factor One considers “the extent of any history of official discrimination” in the jurisdiction that “touched the right of the members of the minority group to register, to vote, or otherwise to participate in the democratic process.” Racial and ethnic minorities have been, and continue to be, subject to state sponsored discrimination in Illinois. Official discrimination includes overt government acts, as in housing discrimination by HOLC (Home Owners Loan Corporation, the precursor to HUD, Department of Housing and Urban Development) and redlining of minority neighborhoods by government actors, and racial profiling by the police. Official discrimination also includes the lack of, or selective enforcement of, civil rights laws put in place to address and stop ongoing discrimination against racial minorities. As this report highlights, the effect of residential segregation on racial minorities creates intergenerational, long term socio-economic disadvantages for these groups. As explained in this report, the social science research demonstrates that poverty, lower levels of educational attainment, health care disparities and other socio-economic obstacles all are thought to contribute to lower levels of voter turnout by these groups. The result of these obstacles is that racial minorities are unable to fully engage in the political process.

39. According to housing scholars Latinos have, and continue be, discriminated in Illinois and the Chicago region housing market because of a lack of government enforcement of federal housing policies. In their review of the literature researchers found that “Latinos, in particular, face housing discrimination on the basis of their ethnicity, familial, and immigration statuses. Historically, eligible Latinos have been underrepresented in public housing primarily because they are unaware of such housing. According to the Chicago Tribune, “While Latinos make up 25 percent of the population eligible for public housing in Chicago, they occupy just over 2 percent of the authority’s units in use” (McRoberts 1995). As shown below, both the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) have failed to conduct sufficient outreach in the Latino community to inform qualified individuals about the available services, programs, housing units, and job opportunities.

40. For instance, in 1994, Latinos United, a housing advocacy organization, sued the CHA after years of negotiation because of the lack of Latino representation and access to housing opportunities. As a result, CHA agreed to include eligible Latino families on waiting lists for various housing programs, provide remediation vouchers, and develop specialized community outreach programs in the Latino community (Latinos United. 2006. “The Latino consent decree 10 years later: Increasing Latino access to Chicago Housing Authority Programs”. Briefing paper. Chicago: Latinos United: A Latino Action Research Network. 2006); *Latinos United v. CHA et al.*, No. 94-C-1229 (N.D. Ill.); *A Call for Fairness: The Historical and Continuing Exclusion of Latinos from Public Housing in Chicago*, La Raza Law Journal, Vol. 9, p. 155 (1997).

41. The U.S. Fair Housing Act of 1968 has had mixed results, but ultimately has not succeeded in creating racial balance and integration in every city as it originally set out to do. The act was amended in 1988 to prohibit discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, disability, familial status, or national origin in housing, but to this day its enforcement by the federal government, that is, the U.S. Department of Justice and HUD, is questionable (National Fair Housing Alliance 2004). The Fair Housing Act has not done enough to dispel segregation and discrimination from the fabric of U.S. society” (Latinos and their Housing Experiences in Metropolitan Chicago: Challenges and Recommendations by Madeline Troche-Rodríguez, *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy*, Volume 21, 2008–2009 p. 19). A study by HUD found that 43% of all Illinois discrimination related complaints were race based and of those 61% involved discrimination towards Latinos (*Latinos Main Target of National Origin Housing Discrimination in Illinois*, May 9, 2012).

42. The American Bar Association defines racial profiling as “the police practice of stopping black and brown drivers in disproportionate numbers for traffic infractions, in attempts to investigate other crimes for which the police had no evidence” (“Racial Profiling: Past and Present and Future?”, *Criminal Justice*, Winter 2020, Volume 34, Issue 4.) A recent study by the ACLU of Illinois found that minority drivers in Illinois were stopped more often than white drivers and subject to increased levels of intrusive policing during traffic stops. In the summary of their report the ACLU found “In 2017, minority drivers were stopped about 1.5 times more often than white drivers. This rate has increased each year since 2015.4 Among drivers who were stopped, Black drivers were searched about 1.8 times more often than white drivers, and Latinx drivers were searched 1.4 times more often. Black drivers were asked to consent to searches during traffic stops about 1.7 times more often than white drivers, and Latinx drivers about 1.3 times more often. Yet, white drivers were found with contraband during a consent search about 1.3 times more often than both Black drivers and Latinx drivers. In other words, Black and Latinx drivers were more likely to be asked to consent to searches, but less likely to be found with contraband. The Illinois State Police conducted the highest number of “dog sniff” searches of all of the reporting agencies, and it disproportionately targeted Latinx drivers for such searches. The annual number of traffic stops in Illinois was between 2 and 2.2 million throughout 2015-2017.” *Racism in the Rear-View Mirror: Illinois Traffic Stop Data 2015-2017*, ACLU, 2019, P. 2

43. Legal scholars have also found that “four decades after the enactment of the Voting Rights Act, racial discrimination in voting is far from over.” In Illinois, instances of official

discrimination include diluting the strength of minority voting. Katz found such evidence in “The state legislature’s retention and defense in a 1983 lawsuit of its districting plan for the state legislature, which diluted minority voting strength in order to protect two incumbent white senators in Chicago.” Thus, the state redistricting commission’s drawing of district lines with “the immediate purpose...to preserve the incumbencies of two white state Senators... was so intimately intertwined with, and dependent on, racial discrimination and dilution of minority voting strength that purposeful dilution has been clearly demonstrated in the construction of Commission senate districts 14, 17 and 18” (*Documenting Discrimination in Voting: Judicial Findings Under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act Since 1982*, Ellen Katz with Margaret Aisenbrey, Anna Baldwin, Emma Cheuse, and Anna Weisbrodt December 2005, p 28.) (Citing *Rybicki v. State Bd. of Elections*, 574 F.Supp. 1082 (1982)).

44. Another example of state action that diminished a minority group’s ability to participate fully in the political process occurred in Cicero, Illinois. Between 1990 and 2000 the Latino population in Cicero grew by 175% (On the Road to Political Incorporation: The Status of Hispanics in the Town of Cicero, Illinois Mitzi Ramos, *Critique*, Spring 2004.). Cicero put in place an 18-month candidate residency requirement for city office. The Ordinance was struck down as violative of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. It was widely acknowledged that the actions by city officials was to prevent Latino voters from having the opportunity to vote for the candidate of their choosing (On the Road to Political Incorporation: The Status of Hispanics in the Town of Cicero, Illinois Mitzi Ramos, *Critique*, Spring 2004.).

45. Racial discrimination by state actors, in this instance the Illinois Legislative Redistricting Commission, was found in how redistricting maps were drawn using 1980 census data. The court found “this process was so intimately intertwined with, and dependent on, racial discrimination and dilution of minority voting strength that purposeful discrimination has clearly been demonstrated...” *Rybicki v. State Bd. of Elections*, 574 F.Supp. 1082, 1110 (1982).

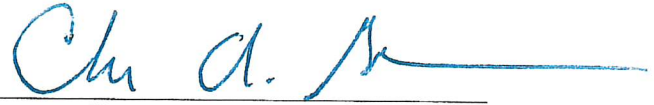
46. These voting challenges in the Latino community are evident in the disproportionately low number of Latinos that hold elected public office. While there are now almost 60 million Latinos, making up about 18% of the US total population (2020) they account for just 1.2% of local, state and federal elected official (USA Today, May 23, 2020). Commenting on this disparity the Brennan Center suggests that “The result of this discriminatory gerrymandering is the near complete exclusion of Latinos from public office” (Brennan Center, November 4, 2021).

47. The state of Illinois has also recognized that their record on hiring Latinos for state government employment is low relative to the number of Latinos in the state. Illinois Department of Central Management found that “The Illinois Hispanic/ Latinx population is 17.5%. The latest State employment insights show that the percentage of total Hispanic/Latinx employees in Illinois State government has increased slightly from FY19 to FY20, from 6.5% (2,940) to about 7% (3,193). When comparing that to white employees at the State, the disparity is apparent. White employees still make up the majority of the state employees at 69% (*HISPANIC/LATINX FY2020 Employment Plan Report, Department of Central Management Services*, p. 6).

48. The role government policies that have historically harmed communities of color and the lack or selective enforcement of civil rights laws in areas such as housing, employment or law enforcement ultimately create barriers for these groups to participate fully in the democratic process.

### **Conclusion**

The racial and ethnic discrimination that Latinos and African Americans have been subjected to, both official and unofficial, in the past explains the economic deprivations and socially inequality we see today, as outlined in the disparity statistics in this report. African Americans and Latinos lag in life expectancy and access to health care, have lower levels of educational attainment, are more likely to be unemployed and to live in poverty. These socio-economic obstacles and challenges have contributed to lower Black and Latino voter turnout (see The Brennan's Center report *Large Racial Turnout Gap Persisted in the 2020 Election*) and hinder Black and Latino's ability to effectively participate in the political process. Illinois, and in particular Cook County and East St. Louis, are no exceptions. The hard-to-reach status of these communities also means these groups are more likely to be undercounted in the census. When redistricting maps are drawn in such a way that these groups are politically "cracked and packed," as they were in the September redistricting map, the disparities that result in a hindrance or diminished ability to fully and effectively participate in the political process are magnified, exacerbated and perpetuated. Social science research demonstrates social disadvantages experienced by Blacks and Latinos has the effect of hindering and depressing political participation. The cumulative effects of poverty, lower levels of education, health concerns, residential and occupational segregation, the mistrust of the government, and a lack of responsiveness by politicians to the needs of the Black and Latino community means that these groups' ability to be involved and participate fully in the political process is seriously compromised.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Ch. A. M.", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

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Charles A. Gallagher, Ph.D.

**EXHIBIT 1**

**Vita**



February 2021

**CHARLES A. GALLAGHER**

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***Academic Positions***

Professor of Sociology, La Salle University, 2008-present  
Senior Fellow, Yale Urban Ethnography Project, Yale University Department of Sociology, 2014-present  
Visiting Fulbright Professor of Sociology, University of Birmingham, UK 2016-17  
Associate Professor, Georgia State University 2004-2008  
Assistant Professor, Georgia State University 1997-2004  
Visiting Assistant Professor, The Colorado College 1996-1997  
Visiting Assistant Professor, Franklin and Marshall College 1996

***University Administrative Positions***

Chair of the Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice, La Salle University, 2008-  
La Salle University Faculty Senate President 2018-2020  
La Salle University Public Health Advisory Board, 2014-2017  
American Studies, Affiliated Faculty, La Salle University, 2014-2018  
Faculty Fellow, Center for Neighborhood and Metropolitan Studies, Georgia State University, 2003-08  
Race and Urban Concentration Chair, Georgia State University, 1997-2008  
Women Studies, Affiliated Faculty, Georgia State University, 2002-2006

***Education***

Ph.D.	1997	Temple University, Philadelphia	(Sociology)
M.A.	1989	Temple University, Philadelphia	(Sociology)
B.S.	1985	Drexel University, Philadelphia	(Economics)

***Research and Teaching Areas***

Race and Ethnic Relations, Urban Sociology, Immigration, Stratification and Social Inequality, Qualitative Methods

***Honors and Awards***

2018-19	The Faculty Distinguished Research Award, La Salle University
2016-17	Selected as a Fulbright US-UK Research Scholar, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, England.
2016	Marsico Visiting Scholar, University of Denver School of Law and Sociology Department, April 17 to 20 <sup>th</sup> , 2016
2013-14	Grant from The Pew Charitable Trust for urban research project “Whites, Blacks and New Immigrants in Four Philadelphia Neighborhoods (Olney, Kensington/Fishtown, Mayfair and Passyunk Square): Attitudes, Perceptions and Changing Urban Spaces” \$15,000.
2012	Golden Key International Honour Society Keynote Speaker and Inducted Honorary member, La Salle University.

## February 2021

- 2010 Doctor Roland Holroyd Award for Outstanding Achievement as Teacher and Mentor, Sigma Phi Lambda, La Salle University.
- 2008 President's Outstanding Faculty Award for Community Service and Social Action, Georgia State University.
- 2005 Martin Luther King, Jr. Torch of Peace Award for Intercultural Relations, 22<sup>nd</sup> Annual Martin Luther King, Jr. Convocation, Georgia State University.
- 2005 Douglas and Marion Attaway Distinguished Faculty Fellowship in Civic Culture, Centenary College, January 23–29, Shreveport, Louisiana.
- 2002 Michael Harrington Distinguished Teaching Award, National Forum on Poverty and Inequality, Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP).
- 2001 Outstanding Teacher of the Year, College of Arts and Sciences, Georgia State University.
- 1999 Nominated Honors Program Teaching Award, Georgia State University.
- 1997 Lloyd E. Warner Outstanding Teacher of the Year, The Colorado College.
- 1997 Community Service Award, Pikes Peak Urban League, Colorado Springs.
- 1995 Candace Rogers Award for best graduate student paper, "White Reconstruction in the University," Eastern Sociological Society; Award Chair and Presenter, Professor Mary Waters, Department of Sociology, Harvard University.
- 1995 Race and Ethnicity Section Award, First Prize, Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP), "White Folks Can't Count: The Meaning of Racial Innumeracy."
- 1993-94 Dissertation Fellowship Completion Award, Temple University.
- 1993 Outstanding Graduate Student Teaching Award, College of Arts and Science, Temple University.
- 1992-89 Dean's Fellowship, College of Arts and Sciences, Temple University.

## **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND POSITIONS**

### **EDITORIAL AND ADVISORY POSITIONS:**

Russell Sage and Carnegie Corporation Advisory Board Member, Research Project Title: *Immigrant-Native Relations in 21st-Century America: Intergroup Contact, Trust, and Civic Engagement in Atlanta and Philadelphia*, 2012-2015

Editorial Board, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2012- Current

Editorial Advisory Board, *Social Problems*, 2006-Current

Editorial Board, *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 2013-Current

February 2021

Editorial Board, *Genealogy*, 2015 -

**COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIPS:**

Society for the Study of Social Problems, C. Wright Mills Book Award 2018-19

Chair, American Sociological Section of Racial and Ethnic Minorities section Oliver Cromwell Cox Book Award 2018

Committee on Committees American Sociological Society 2015-17

Charles V. Willie Minority Scholarship Award, Eastern Sociological Society, Committee Member, 2013-2016

Vice President, Pennsylvania Sociological Society, 2010-2012

Chair, American Sociological Society Section on Race and Ethnic Minorities, 2006-07

Chair, Southern Sociological Society Committee on Racial and Ethnic Minorities, 2005-2007.

Chair, Undergraduate Student Paper Competition, Pennsylvania Sociological Society, October 2010.

Chair, American Sociological Society Section on Race and Ethnic Minorities, 2006-07

Chair, Southern Sociological Society Committee on Racial and Ethnic Minorities, 2005-2007.

Committee Member, Eastern Sociological Association Nominating Committee, 2004-2005.

Committee Member, ASA Section on Racial and Ethnic Minorities (SREM) 2003-2006.

Committee Member, Southern Sociological Society Committee on Racial and Ethnic Minorities, 2004-2007.

ASA DuBois, Johnson, Frazier Award Selection Committee 2003.

Chair, ASA DuBois, Johnson, Frazier Award Selection Committee 2004.

Chair, SSSP/Poverty Forum, Michael Harrington Distinguished Teaching Award Selection, 2003.

Chair, Joe R. Feagin Distinguished Undergraduate Student Paper Award, Section on Racial and Ethnic Minorities, 2004.

**Current Book Project**

Book Title: *The Institutionalization of Colorblindness and The Rise of Racial Inequality*. The book examines how colorblindness gets used in various social settings and institutions, how these colorblind frames serve specific ideological, political and economic purposes and how these self-reinforcing narratives of colorblindness maintain and reproduce racial inequality. Advanced book contract with Routledge.

**Books and Edited Volumes**

February 2021

*Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity* edited by Charles A. Gallagher, Sage Publishing, Sixth edition, August 2019.

*Race and Racism in the United States: An Encyclopedia of the American Mosaic: Four Volume Set* edited by Charles A. Gallagher and Cameron Lippard, Greenwood Press, 1464 pages, 2014.

*Rethinking Race and Whiteness in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Changes and Challenges*, Charles A. Gallagher and France Winddance Twine, Routledge Publishers, 2012.

*Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity*, Charles A. Gallagher, Editor, McGraw-Hill Publishers, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition, 2012, 480 pages; Fourth Edition, 2009; Third Edition, 2007; Second edition, 2004; First edition 1999, Mayfield Publishers.

*Being Brown in Dixie: Race, Ethnicity and Immigration in the New South*, Cameron Lippard and Charles Gallagher, editors, Lynn Rienner Publishers, 2011, 389 pages.

*New Directions in Race Research* edited by Charles A. Gallagher, Social Forces Press, 2008, 350 pages.

*Ethnic and Racial Studies* Special Issue “Whiteness and White Identities” edited by France Winddance Twine and Charles A. Gallagher, Volume 31, Number 1, January 2008.

*Social Forces* “New Directions in Race Research” Special Section edited by Charles A. Gallagher, Volume 86, Number 2, December 2007.

#### ***Published Articles and Book Chapters***

Institutional Racism Revisited: How Institutions Perpetuate and Promote Racism Through Colorblindness in *Whitelash: White Resistance to Racial Equality in the Era of Trump Era* edited by Cameron Lippard, j. Scott and David Embrick, University of Georgia Press, Forthcoming October 2020..

“Re-Whitening” Non-White Spaces Through Colorblind Narratives” in *The Routledge International Handbook of Contemporary Racism* edited by John Solomos, 2020.

“From Wave to Tsunami: the Growth of Third Wave Whiteness” by Charles A. Gallagher and France Winddance Twine” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 40 Issue 9 July 2017, pp 1598-1608.

“Persecuted Whites and the Myth of Discrimination Parity” *Al Jazeera Magazine*, January 2015, 1-14.

“Colorblind Egalitarianism as the New Racial Norm” forthcoming, Cambridge University Press, in *Theories of Race and Ethnicity* edited by Karim Murji and John Solomos, January 2015, pp. 40-56.

“Immigrants in Philadelphia: What Longtime Residents Think about Their Foreign-Born Neighbors” A report from The Pew Charitable Trusts” researched and written by Charles A. Gallagher, October, 2014, pp. 1-15.

“Blacks, Jews, Gays and Immigrants Are Taking Over”: How the Use of Polling Data Can Distort Reality and Perpetuate Inequality Among Immigrants” *Ethnic and Racial Studies Review* March, 2014, pp. 731-738.

“Immigration, The New South and the Color of Backlash” (pp. 1-25) and “Southern Location, Nation

February 2021

Implications” (pp. 313-336) by Cameron Lippard and Charles A. Gallagher in *Being Brown in Dixie: Race Ethnicity and Immigration in the New South*, Cameron Lippard and Charles Gallagher, editors, Lynne Reiner Press, 2011, pp. 1-25.

“In-Between Racial Status, Mobility and the Promise of Assimilation: Irish, Italians Yesterday, Latinos and Asians Today” in *Multiracial Americans and Social Class: The Influence of Social Class on Racial Identity* edited by Kathleen Korgen, Routledge Press, 2010. Pp. 10-21.

“Black, White and Browning: How Latino Migration is Transforming Atlanta” in *The City of Atlanta: Recent Trends and Future Prospects* edited by David Sjoquist, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2010. Pp. 205-219.

“Racism in Post-Race America: New Theories, New Directions” by Charles A. Gallagher, in *New Directions in Race Research* edited by Charles A. Gallagher, Social Forces Press, 2008 pp. 2-15.

“The End of Racism” as the New Doxa: New Strategies for Researching Race” in *White Logic, White Methods: Racism and Methodology* edited by Eduardo Bonilla-Silva and Tukufu Zuberi, Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2008. Pp. 163-179.

“The Future of Whiteness: A Map of the Third Wave” by France Winddance Twine and Charles A. Gallagher, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 31, Number 1, January 2008 pp. 4-24.

Reprinted in: *Race in an Era of Change: A Reader*, eds. Heather Dalmage and Barbara Katz Rothman (New York, Oxford University Press, 2011).

“Color-blinded America or How the Media and Politics Have Made Racism and Racial Inequality Yesterday’s Social Problem” in *The Matrix Reader: Examining the Dynamics of Oppression and Privilege* edited by Abby Ferber, McGraw-Hill Press, 2008.

“New Directions in Race Research” *Social Forces*, Volume 86, Number 2, December 2007, pp. 553-561.

“White” in *Handbook of the Sociology of Racial and Ethnic Relations*, edited by Joe Feagin and Hernan Vera, Kluwer Press, 2007, pp. 9-16.

“The Challenge to Public Sociology: Neo-Liberalism’s Illusion of Inclusion” in *Public Sociologies* edited by Judith Blau and Keri Iyall Smith, Roman and Littlefield, 2006, pp. 293-304.

“Color Blindness: An Obstacle to Racial Justice?” in *Mixed Messages: Multiracial Identities in the “Color-blind Era”* edited by David L. Brunsma, Lynne Rienner Publishes, 2006, pp. 103-116.

“Immigration, Racism and the American Dream” in *Church and Society*, March/April 2005, Volume 95, Number 4, pp. 16-24.

“Transforming Racial Identity Through Affirmative Action” in *Race and Ethnicity: Across Time, Space and Discipline* edited by Rodney Coates, Brill Publishers, 2004, pp.153-170.

“Miscounting Race: Explaining Misperceptions in Racial Group Size”, *Sociological Perspectives*, Volume 46, No. 3, Fall 2003, pp. 381-396.

“Color-blind Privilege: The Social and Political Functions of Erasing the Color Line in Post-Race America” *Race, Gender and Class*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 2003, pp. 22-37.

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Reprinted in:

*Intersections: Readings in Sociology*, 4/e, Pearson Publishers, 2008, 2016

Updated and rewritten as “Color Blinded: How and Why Race Has Disappeared in America” in *Readings in Introductory Sociology* McGraw-Hill, 2007.

*Race and Ethnicity in Society: The Changing Landscape*, edited by Elizabeth Higginbotham and Margaret L. Anderson, Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2006, 2009, 2014, 2020

*Understanding Society*, second edition by Margaret L. Andersen, Kim A. Logio and Howard Taylor, Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2005.

Reprinted in *Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity*, edited by Charles A. Gallagher, McGraw Hill Publishing, 2004, 2007.

“Racial Redistricting: Expanding the Boundaries of Whiteness” in *The Multiracial Movement: The Politics of Color* edited by Heather Dalmage, State University of New York Press, 2004, pp. 59-76.

Reprinted in *Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in Race and Ethnicity* edited by Raymond D’Angelo and Herb Douglas, Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, seventh edition, 2008.

“Ten Simple Things You Can Do to Improve Race Relations” in *Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity*, edited by Charles A. Gallagher, McGraw-Hill, second edition, 2004, 2007, pp. 582-586.

“Interracial Practices, Interracial Posturing: Myths and Trends” in the *Sex Matters: The Sexuality Reader*, edited by Mindy Stomblor, Dawn Baunach, Denise Donnelly, Elisabeth Burgess and Wendy Simonds, Allyn and Bacon, 2004, pp. 280-283.

“Playing the Ethnic Card: Using Ethnic Identity to Negate Contemporary Racism” in *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism* edited by Ashley Doane and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, Routledge Publishers, 2003, pp. 145-158.

“Would but Don’t: Reconciling Expressed Willingness to Intergroup Marriage with National Trends” in *The Quality and Quantity of Contact: African Americans and Whites on College Campuses*, edited by Robert Moore, University Press of America, 2002, pp. 240-254.

“White Like Me?: Methods, Meaning and Manipulation in the Field of White Studies” in *Race-ing Research, Researching Race: Methodological and Ethical Dilemmas in Field Research*, edited by France Winddance Twine and Jonathan Warren, New York University Press, 2000, pp. 67-92.

Reprinted in *The Qualitative Research in Education Reader* edited by Wendy Luttrell, New York University Press, 2009.

Reprinted in *Approaches to Qualitative Research: A Reader in Theory and Practice* edited by Patricia Leavy, Oxford University Press, 2004.

Reprinted in *The Review of Education, Pedagogy and Culture*, Volume 21, No. 2, 1999, pp. 165-191.

February 2021

"White Racial Formation: Into the 21st Century" in *Critical White Studies: Looking Behind the Mirror*, edited by Richard Delgado, Temple University Press, 1997, pp. 6-11.

Reprinted in *Race and Ethnic Conflict: Contending Views on Prejudice, Discrimination, and Violence* edited by Fred L. Pincus and Howard J. Ehrlich, Westview Press, 1999.

Reprinted in *Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity*, edited by Charles A. Gallagher, Mayfield Publishing, 1999.

"Redefining Racial Privilege in the United States" *Transformations*, Volume 8, Number 1, Spring 1997, pp. 28-40.

"White Reconstruction in the University" *Socialist Review*, #94, 1&2, (special issue "Arranging Identities: International Constructions of Race, Ethnicity and Nationality), April, 1995, pp. 165-187.

Reprinted in *Privilege and Power* edited by Abby Ferber and Michael Kimmel, Westview Press, 2003.

Reprinted in *The Social Construction of Race in the United States* edited by Joan Ferrante, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1998.

#### **OP-ED Publications**

"Thinking About Trayvon Martin: Privileged Responses and Media Discourse" in *Color Lines and Racial Angles* edited by Doug Hartmann and Chris Uggen, W.W. Norton, 2014.

*Moral Issue Still Remains*, Op-Ed in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 11, 2013.

Bill O'Reilly is wrong: The "white establishment" is not a minority, Op-Ed in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. November 19<sup>th</sup>.

*Living in Fictional Land of Color-Blind*, Op-Ed in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* March 3, 2011.

#### **Book Reviews**

Book Symposium on *Seizing Freedom: Slave Emancipation and Liberty for All* by David Roediger, Verso Press, forthcoming November 2015, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

*After Civil Rights: Race Relations in the New American Workplace* by John Skrenty, Princeton University Press, *American Sociological Review*, January 2015.

*The Rise and Fall of the Caucasian Race: A Political History of Racial Identity* by Bruce Baum, New York University Press, *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*, April 2007.

*Shades of White: White Kids and Racial Identities in High School* by Pamela Perry, Duke University Press, *Social Forces* June 2003.

*Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past* by David R. Roediger, University of California Press, *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*, July 2003, 32, 4.

*The Atlanta Paradox* edited by David L. Sjoquist, Russell Sage Foundation, 2000, *Social Forces* Volume 79: Number 4, 2001 pp. 1543-1544.



*Race In the Hood: Violence and Urban Youth* by Howard Pinderhughes, Minnesota Press, *Humanity and Society*, March 2000.

*White Men Falling: Race, Gender and White Supremacy* by Abby Ferber, Rowman and Littlefield, *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*, September, Vol. 25, Number 5. 1999.

"*Becoming American, Becoming Ethnic: College Students Explore Their Roots*" by Thomas Dublin in *Humanity and Society*, January 1997.

"*Black Wealth/White Wealth*" by Melvin Oliver and Thomas Shapiro in *Humanity and Society*, December 1997.

### **LEGAL CONSULTANT**

2018-19 Expert Race Witness, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), et al. v. City of Myrtle Beach

2015-16 Expert Race Witness, Thomas J. Holmes, et.al v. City of Racine, Wisconsin

2012 Expert Race Witness, Board of County Commissioners v. Cooper, et. al. Memphis School District Redistricting

2009 Expert Witness, Wrongful Dismissal Case, University of Wisconsin System.

2005-6 Expert Race Witness, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), et al. v. City of Myrtle Beach.

2005-6 Expert Race Witness, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, et al. v. Paar. Inc (Damon's Restaurants).

2005-6 Expert Race Witness, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, et al. v. Greg Norman's Inc.

### **GRANTS**

2012-13 La Salle University, Faculty Research Sabbatical

2010 La Salle University Faculty Research Grant \$5400

2003 GSU Freshman Learning Community Program Faculty Development Grant, \$2000.

2002 GSU Freshman Learning Community Program Faculty Development Grant, \$2000.

2001 GSU Freshman Learning Community Program Faculty Development Grant, \$2000.

2000 Summer Writing Grant, Georgia State University, \$4200.

1998 Strategic Initiative in African-American Studies, Georgia State University, \$2500.

1998 Research Initiation Grant, White Racial Identity: The View From Georgia, Georgia State

University, \$5000.

1998 Summer Writing Grant, Georgia State University, \$4000.

1997-98 Learn and Serve America Faculty Fellow, Clark-Atlanta University, \$3000.

1997 Georgia State University, Department of Sociology Research Support, \$2000.

### ***INVITED TALKS***

“Intuition Colorblindness”, Rice University, Race and Racial Experiences Lab, March 6-7, 2019

"Professor, Do white people drink Hennessy?": How Race Experts in Legal Cases Make Race and Racism Visible in an Era of Colorblindness"; College of Arts and Sciences and The Law School, University of Denver, April 18th

Hidden Bias in Everyday Life: How Perceptions Shape Reality, University of Pennsylvania, Graduate School of Nursing, February 4th

Social Justice, Patient Care and Community Relationship Building, Temple University Medical School, January 18th

Session Organizer, American Sociological Association, *Racism and Anti-Racism*, Chicago, August 2015.

Author Meets Critic Organizer and Discussant, *The White Savior Film* by Matthew Hughey, Eastern Sociological Society, New York City, February 26-March 1, 2015.

Author Meets Critic: *Fire in the Heart: How White Activists Embrace Racial Justice* by Mark Warren, Harvard University, Eastern Sociological Society, Philadelphia, February 2011

Plenary Speaker, “Re-positioning Race Through Prophetic Research, Teaching and Service”, Association of Black Sociologists, Atlanta Georgia August 11-14, 2010.

Race in America: Restructuring Inequality National Conference, The White Way: Discussing Racial Privilege and White Advantage, University of Pittsburgh School of Social Work, June 3-6, 2010.

The MultiCultural Forum, Guest Presenter, The Myth of Color Blind America, March 17, 2010, Minneapolis.

Opus College of Business, University of St. Thomas, The Social Construction of Diversity, Minneapolis, 2010.

Presidential Panel, American Sociological Society, “The End of Ideology, Again: Barack Obama, Identity Politics and the Future of Race Relations in a Post Race, Post Civil Rights, Color Blind America” August 2009, San Francisco

Amherst College, “Imaging a Colorblind Nation: Supreme Court Rulings, Media Fiction and the Construction of a Post Race America” for The Constitution and the Imaging of America Culture: A Continuing Constitutional Dilemma, April 24-25, 2009.

St. Mary’s University, “White Reconstruction in the University”, November 2008.

New Media, New Markets, New Rights Symposium, Georgia State Law School, “Race, the Media and

Manipulation” May 2, 2008.

Keynote Speaker, National Association for Ethnic Studies, Incidental Racism: A New Theory for Changing Times, April 3, 2008, Westin Plaza, Atlanta.

Texas A&M, College Station, Texas, Institutional Racism Made Visible: The Role of Sociology. February 4, 2008.

University of Illinois – Chicago, "Protect our Fine Resort City": White Spaces, Institutional Racism and Strategies for Change, October 22, 2007.

Loyola University, "What Minority Underrepresentation?": Racial Ideology, Perceptions of Mobility and the Classroom", October 23, 2007.

Rice University, Houston Texas, “Controlling For Race: When Evidence Matters”, October 11-13, 2007.

University of California – Riverside, “Marinating the Color Line in an Era of Color Blindness”, May 9-11, 2007.

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Invited Plenary Panelist, “Racism, White Privilege and the Politics of Evidence,” May 2-5, 2007.

Radford College, Radford Virginia, “Everything But Race”: Hiding Racism in a Beach Community”, Spring 2007.

University of Georgia, Athens GA, QUIG (Qualitative Interest Group) “Researching Whiteness: Tales from the Field”, January 7, 2007

Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio, “New Directions in Race: Neo-Liberalism as Race Theory” February 22-23, 2006.

Vanderbilt University, Nashville North Carolina, “Race Doesn’t Matter: Post-Race America as the New Racial Norm”, March 24, 2004.

Swarthmore College, Swarthmore Pennsylvania, "Race, Perception and Power: Color Blindness as the New Common Sense of Race Relations, February 9, 2004.

Centenary College, Shreveport, Louisiana, “Race as Biology: DNA and the New Racism”, January 29-30, 2004.

University of Georgia, Athens Georgia, “Culture, Color Blindness and the Politics of Race, October 23, 2003.

Bard College, “Race Relations According to the Dominant Group”, October 8-10, 2003.

Duke University, Jensen Speaker, Series on Race and Inequality, "Refashioning Race Relations: Color Blind Obstacles to Social Justice." September 25-27, 2003.

Keynote Speaker, Plenary Session, Pennsylvania Sociological Society, Ethnic Identity, Community and the New Millennium, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, PA October, 2000.

### ***PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS***

Institutional Colorblindness: How Institutions Maintain Racial Inequality through False Narratives of Equality, American Sociological Society Philadelphia August, 2018

Level Playing Fields: White Views of Racial Justice in the United States. Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans, April 2018

Perceptions on Immigration: Fact and Fiction, Eastern Sociological Society, Baltimore February 20<sup>th</sup> 2014.

Immigrant America: Demographic Changes and the Challenge to Lasallian Institutions, Huether Lasallian Conference, New Orleans, Nov 21-23 2013.

“United Kingdom and the United States: Converging Attitudes on Immigration” American Sociological Association, Denver, August 2012.

“What White Privilege: Colorblind Egalitarianism as the New Racial Norm” American Sociological Association, Las Vegas, August 2011

But We have a Black President: Teaching Race in the Age of Colorblindness, Eastern Sociological Association, Philadelphia, February 24, 2011

“When White Are the Minority: Race and the Rhetoric of White Privilege” American Sociological Society, Atlanta Georgia, August 16, 2010.

“The Obama Effect: Incidental By-the-Way Racism as the New Norm, American Sociological Association, San Francisco, August 9, 2009.

“Fostering Active Citizenship Through Teaching Sociology, Eastern Sociological Society, Baltimore MD, March 19-22, 2009.

“Racing” Space in an Era of Colorblindness, Thematic Session, The New Politics of Race and Racialization, American Sociological Society, New York City August 2, 2007.

Racist Practices in an Era of Color Blindness: A Case Study, Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, April 2007.

Anything But Race: A “Natural Experiment” of Racism in a Beach Community, Eastern Sociological Society, Philadelphia, March 2007.

Organizer and Discussant, Transgressing Boundaries: Hurricane Katrina as a Metaphor for America’s Racial Divide, American Sociological Association, Montreal, August 2006.

Organizer, Hurricane Katrina: Racism and the Effects of Historical Neglect, American Sociological Association, Montreal, August 2006.

White Delusions and the Obstacles to Racial Justice in the Classroom, Association of Black Sociologists, Philadelphia, August 2005.

New Racisms Require New Theories: The Implications of a Colorblind-Perspective on Race Research, American Sociological Society, Philadelphia, August 2005.

Professional Workshop, “Teaching as a Calling: Developing the Materials, Skills and Confidence to be a Master Teacher,” Invited Workshop, American Sociological Society, Philadelphia August 2005.

Discussant, (Mis)Interpreting the Significance of Race: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges for the Studies of Race and Inequality, American Sociological Society, Philadelphia August 2005.

Discussant, "Race and Ethnicity: Interracial/Interethnic Interaction" American Sociological Society, Philadelphia August 2005.

Author Meets Critic, The Hidden Cost of Being African American: How Wealth Perpetuates Inequality by Thomas Shapiro, Southern Sociological Society, Charlotte, April 2005.

Organizer/Discussant, Race, Power and Perception, Southern Sociological Society, Charlotte, April 2005.

Forced in the Racial Hierarchy: Affirming Whiteness Through Affirmative Action, Race and Education: Pedagogy and Whiteness session, American Sociological Society, San Francisco, August 2004.

Presider and Discussant, Racism and Anti-Racism, American Sociological Society, San Francisco, August 2004.

Author Meets Critic Session, Organizer, Deirdre Royster's *Race and the Invisible Hand: How White Networks Exclude Black Men from Blue Collar Jobs*, Southern Sociological Meetings, Atlanta, April 2004.

Author Meets Critic Session, critic, George Yancey's *Who Is White: Latinos, Asians and the New Black/Non-Black Divide*, Critic, Southern Sociological Meetings, Atlanta, April 2004.

Organizer, Inventing A Post Race America: The Social Implications of Color Blind Racial Politics, Eastern Sociological Society, New York City, February 19-22, 2004.

Discussant, Color Blindness as the New Common Sense: From Perception to Policy, Eastern Sociological Society, New York City, February 19-22, 2004.

Discussant, Multiracial Classification in the United States, American Sociological Society, Atlanta, August 2003.

Author Meets Critic, *Inside Organized Racism* by Kathleen Blee, invited critic, American Sociological Society, Atlanta, August 2003.

Critical Race Theory Session Organizer, American Sociological Association, Atlanta, August 2003.

Distance, Dating and the Future of Diversity: The Implications of Shifting Racial Categories, Eastern Sociological Association, Philadelphia, February 2003.

Tiger, Eminem and Jet Li: The Shift to Color Blindness as the Dominant Political Narrative of Race Relations, Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans March 2003.

Disrupting Race, Disrupting Color Blindness: New Challenges for Racial Equality, Southern Sociological Society, Organizer, March 2003.

Seeing Color in Color Blind America: Some Implications for the Multiracial Movement, American Sociological Association, Chicago, August 2002.

"I Never Look at Anyone as a Color": The Functions of Erasing the Color Line, Southern Sociological Society, Baltimore, April, 2002.

Race and Health, Presider, Southern Sociological Society, Baltimore, April 2002.

Presenter, Playing the White Ethnic Card: Using Ethnic Identity to Negate Contemporary Racism, Southern Sociological Society, April 2001, Atlanta.

Co-Organizer (with Tom Shapiro) and Presenter, Reproducing Racism in Research: Tales From the Field, American Sociological Association, Washington D. C., August 2000.

Organizer and Presenter, Special Session, White Stories: Race Relations According to the Dominant Group, American Sociological Association, Washington D.C., August 2000.

Roundtable Discussion, Social Exclusion, Race and Housing in the US, American Sociological Association, Washington D.C., August 2000.

Discussant, A Typology of Service Learning Communities: a Tale of Four Institutions Georgia Campus Community Service Association, November, 1999, Dalton State College.

Discussant, Regular Session, Racism in the US and Abroad, American Sociological Association, Chicago, August 1999

Discussant, Regular Session, Qualitative Methodology, American Sociological Association, Chicago, August 1999.

Why We Need to be Critical of White Studies: Questions of Access, Racism and Essentialism, American Sociological Association and the Society For the Study of Social Problems, San Francisco, August 1998.

"American" As Ethnic Identity of Choice For White and Blacks: Cultural Convergence or Racially Distinct?, Association of Black Sociologists, San Francisco, August 1998.

Inciting Discord Through Academic Dialogue: How Sociology Has Failed Race Relations, Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, April 1998.

Panel Discussant on Inequality, Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, April 1998.  
White, Black or American: Assimilation, the Loss of Ethnic Identity and Census Categories, Eastern Sociological Association, Philadelphia, March 1998, invited panelist.

"Man, How Can You Teach This Class?": Being White and Teaching Race in an Integrated Classroom, Georgia Sociological Society, November 1997.

The Declining Significance of Ethnicity: From Immigrant to Mutt to White, Invited Panelist, Social Science History Association, Washington D.C., October 1997.

"Black Jesus...Black Miss America...You Were Not a Slave": Affirmative Action or How Young Whites Came to View Themselves as Victims of Their Race" regular session, American Sociological Association, Toronto, August 1997.

"Feeling White": From White Invisibility to "Raced" White, regular session, American Sociological Association, Toronto, August 1997.

Interracial Attraction: Fact and Fantasy, regular session, Eastern Sociological Society, Boston, March 1996.

Presider, Representations of Race and Ethnicity, Eastern Sociological Society, Boston, March 1996.

From White Ethnic to White: The Politics of Race in the 1990's, regular session, presented at the American Studies Association, Pittsburgh, November 1995.

Right Makes White: The Changing Politics of White Identity, regular session, American Sociological Association, Washington D.C. August 1995.

### ***LA SALLE UNIVERSITY TALKS***

Celebrating Martin Luther King's Call to Service: Obligations and responsibility for La Salle's Young Student Leaders, January 29, 2014

Explorer Café "Are We Colorblind? Perceiving Race on Campus" Explorer Café January 29, 2014

Explorer Café "Race on Campus" February 18, 2014

The Changing Nature of Diversity: Implication for La Salle's Student Body, Talk to Administrators and Staff, Dean of Student's Office March 20, 2013.

La Salle Day at Central High School, Three Lectures on Immigration in the United States: Demography, Challenges and Opportunities, February 21, 2013.

Fifty Years Since the Dream: Miles To Go..., Talk for Dean of Student's to Emerging Leaders on the event of MLK Day January 30, 2013.

MLK: How the Arc of Justice Should Bend, Talk for Dean of Student's to Emerging Leaders on the event of MLK Day January 12, 2012.

MLK and The Quest for Economic Justice, Talk for Dean of Student's to Emerging Leaders on the event of MLK Day, January 17<sup>th</sup>, 2011.

Talking About Teaching: Some Difficult Topics in Sociology, Reading Across the Curriculum Talk, Core Curriculum Committee, October 22, 2010.

Keynote Speaker, National Association of Collegiate Scholars Induction Ceremony, Beyond a High GPA: Obligation and Leadership, September 29<sup>th</sup> 2010, Union Ball Room.

Academic Enrichment Program Lecture, "What Professors Want: Mock Lecture on Gentrification" August 20, 2010 Rodden Theater.

Essential Question Lecture for Incoming Freshman: Examining Social Inequality, August 27, 2010.

Explorer Café or Your Dorm Room: Getting Student Involved in Campus Life, Gola Auditorium, August 27, 2010.

"Philadelphia; City of (Gentrifying) Neighborhoods" University Panel Discussion, April 24, 2010.

"From City to Suburb and Back Again: The Social Costs and Benefits of Gentrification in Philadelphia" Explore Café, February 3, 2010.

"Color, Class and Consciousness: The Social Construction of Reality", Town Hall Meeting to All Student Athletes



and Staff. February 18<sup>th</sup>, 2010.

“UGG Nation: Or Why Students Think Everyone is Middle Class and Anyone Can Become President” , Student Affairs Future Leaders, February 2010.

“Leadership and Vision: Witness and Learning”, Talk for Dean of Student’s to Emerging Leaders on the event of MLK Day, January 19<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

“I am [     ], and I am La Salle”: Race Relations and Perceptions of Race on Campus” Campus Talk, Rodden Theater, November 20, 2009.

“Biking While Black in a Colorblind Community: The Rhetoric of Race in a White Beach Resort” Connections Faculty Talk, November 12, 2009.

“Race, Gender and Sexuality on Campus: Notes For Staff and Administrators”, Talk for Athletic Directors and Staff, November 10, 2009.

“Diversity and the Dorms: What RAs Should Think About”, Presentation to New RA for Dean of Students, August 31, 2009

“High-Impact Writing, Low-Impact Grading”, Faculty Institute Presentation Wednesday May 20, 2009.

“Students’ Perception of Race on Campus”, Division of Student Affairs, Professional Development Day, De La Salle Chapel, January 13, 2009.

***University Service: La Salle University***

***Committee Appointments:***

Faculty Senate 2014-2017  
Academic Faculty Affairs Committee 2014-  
Admissions and Student Retention Committee 2011 -2014  
Institutional Review Board member, 2009-2012  
Autism Committee 2009-2011  
City as Region Advisory Board 2009-  
Justice Project Committee Member 2009-2011  
Faculty Service Learning Course Development Committee 2009-  
Core Curriculum Committee 2009-  
School Review Committee for Teaching Load Reduction 2009-2013

***REVEIWER FOR:***

*American Sociological Review*  
*Sociological Perspectives*  
*Social Problems*  
*Sociological Forum*  
*Sociological Theory*  
*Journal of American Ethnic History*  
*Race Gender and Class*  
*Social Psychology Quarterly*  
*Humanity and Society*  
National Science Foundation (2007, 2009, 2010)

**PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS**

American Sociological Association  
Eastern Sociological Society  
Society for the Study of Social Problems  
Southern Sociological Society

**MEDIA INTERVIEWS**

2018-19: Three interviews on Philly Fox29, NPR on race and the census, two appearances on KYW's Flashpoint, Inverse News on race and fertility, CBS10News on gentrification and race.

Past Media Contacts:

- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *Philadelphia Daily News* story on women who are taking out loans for hair weaves. (5/29)
- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in an *Orlando Sentinel* story about how the word “thug” is applied to black people in place of the “n-word.” (5/11)
- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was interviewed by CBS3—TV (Channel 3) for a story dealing with hate speech. (5/4)
- Charles Gallagher, Chair of the Sociology department, was interviewed on WPHT's *Chris Stigall Show* about the riots in Baltimore. (4/28)
- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher appeared on the *Dr. Phil Show* discussing the recent racial incident involving Oklahoma college students. (3/16)
- Sociology and Criminal Justice Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *Christian Science Monitor* article on the recent violence and shootings in Ferguson. (3/12)
- Sociology and Criminal Justice Chair Charles Gallagher was interviewed on Channel 29 about race relations. (2/1)
- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was interviewed on KYW Newsradio about how America is struggling with its discussions of race. (12/16)
- Gallagher was also interviewed by the BBC's Spanish Web page about a “new” civil rights era starting in the United States in the wake of Ferguson. (12/13)
- Gallagher was also interviewed by WPHT's Anthony Mazzaelli discussing racial attitudes in America. (12/10)
- Gallagher was also interviewed on KCBS radio in San Francisco discussing a CBS poll on racial attitudes in the United States. (12/10)

- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was interviewed on WPHT's "Rich Zeoli Show" about race relations. (12/5)
- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher and Communication professor Mark Lashley were quoted in a *Philadelphia Inquirer* story about social media shaping social protests. (12/4)
- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was interviewed on KYW Newsradio about racial dynamics following the Ferguson riots. (11/28)
- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *CNN.com* story about race relations following the Ferguson shooting case. (11/27)
- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in an Associated Press story about the residual anger from the non-indictment in the Michael Brown case. The story appeared in more than 80 newspapers and websites nationally and internationally, including the *Detroit Free Press*, the *St. Paul (MN) Pioneer-Press*, the *Columbia Missourian*, the *Lakeland (FL) Ledger*, the *Sacramento (CA) Bee*, the *Lubbock (TX) Avalanche-Journal*, the *(Sydney) Australian*, and the *Japan Times*. (11/26)
- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was interviewed on WPHT's *Gary R'nel Show* discussing the grand jury decision in the Ferguson shooting case. (11/24)
- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *CNN.com* story on What Role Has Race Played in the Gun Control Debate. (10/10)
- *Mintpressnews.com* quoted sociology chair Charles Gallagher about how schools dis-proportionately discipline blacks leading to a large black population in prison. (9/22)
- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher and Donna Tonrey, Director of the Marriage and Family therapy program at La Salle, were quoted in an *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* story on how corporal punishment is common across race and cultures. (9/21) This story also appeared in the *Rocky Mount (NC) Telegraph* and *(St. Paul, MN) Pioneer-Press*.
- The *Christian Science Monitor* quoted Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher for a story about events in Ferguson, MO and Civil Rights.
- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *Christian Science Monitor* article on President Obama's drop in approval ratings in California. (9/2)
- Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in each segment of a three-part Voice of America feature on Chinese Americans.

Sociology Professor Charles Gallagher was quoted by John Timpane, Taking Social Protests from Tweets to Street, *Philadelphia Inquirer* (12/4/14)

Sociology Professor Charles Gallagher was quoted by John Timpane, Social Media Speak To Power, *Philadelphia Inquirer* (12/2/14)

Sociology Professor Charles Gallagher was interviewed on KWY 1060 radio on the social and economic conditions that gave rise to the rioting in Ferguson (9/29/14)

Sociology Professor Charles Gallagher was quoted by John Blake in CNN.com story on race and urban inequality in the Ferguson case (9/27/14)

Sociology Professor Charles Gallagher was interviewed for an AP story about the root causes of civil unrest in Ferguson. Article carried over 80 newspapers and websites.

Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *CNN.com* story on What Role Has Race Played in the Gun Control Debate (9/23/14)

*Mintpressnews.com* quoted sociology chair Charles Gallagher about how schools dis-proportionately discipline blacks leading to a large black population in prison (9/10/14)

Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher quoted in an *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* story on how corporal punishment is common across race and cultures. This story also appeared in the *Rocky Mount (NC) Telegraph* and *(St. Paul, MN) Pioneer-Press*. (9/14)

CNN.com quoted Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher for a story about the future of race relations in America. (8/23)

Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was interviewed on WTXF (Channel 29) about the racial unrest in Ferguson, Missouri. (8/21)

Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *Christian Science Monitor* article on President Obama's drop in approval ratings in California.

Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in each segment of a three-part *Voice of America* feature on Chinese Americans (June-Sept/2014)

Gallagher was also quoted in a *Philadelphia Inquirer* story about Ferguson. (8/20)

Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *Christian Science Monitor* story about a small town police chief who used a racial slur when referring to President Obama. (5/16)

Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was quoted in a *Christian Science Monitor* story about NBA owner Donald Sterling's 'apology' about his racist comments. (5/13)

A *Christian Science Monitor* story quoted Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher about how one person "can make a difference." This story also appeared in *The Las Vegas Sun*, and was posted on the *Alaska Dispatch.com* and *Yahoonews.com*. (5/2)

Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher was interviewed on the PBS radio show "Background Briefing with Ian Masters" discussing racism in American. (4/30)

The *Christian Science Monitor* quoted Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher in a story about the state of racism in America. (4/29)

*CNN.com* quoted Sociology Chair Charles Gallagher in a story about how the U.S. Supreme Court could strike down key provisions of the 1964 Civil

Interracial Marriage in America, Katie Couric Show, ABC, Thursday January 9, 2014.

Coming to a Victim's Aid, Fox 29, November 5<sup>th</sup>, 2013

Trayvon Martin, Race and Language, CNN, Don Lemon Show, July 2013

Race in America, Sightings of the Confederate Flag in Philadelphia, Fox 29, Wednesday September 24, 2013.

Race in America, Color, Obama and Racial Stereotypes; Reflections on "Lincoln", Fox 29, Thursday November 29<sup>th</sup>, 2012

Race in America, Affirmative Action in the Context of Fisher v. Texas, Fox News 29, Philadelphia PA October 18, 2012.

Race in America, Violence, Poverty and Race, Fox News 29, Philadelphia PA October 5, 2012  
Fox News 29, Philadelphia PA

Race in America, Trends in Interracial Dating, Fox News 29, Philadelphia PA September 21, 2012.

Race in America, The "Most" Racist Cities in the US, Fox News 29, Philadelphia PA September 7, 2012.

Race in America Series, White Discrimination, Fox News 29, Philadelphia PA, May 19, 2011

Back Ground Briefings with Ian Masters, syndicated to 160 radio stations, On Fairness and Trayvon Martin, July 21, 2013.

WPHAT 1210, Michael Shemconish, nationally syndicated, Whites as A Minority, November 20<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

WCHB Radio One Detroit "On the Black Brain Drain" August 30<sup>th</sup> 2011

NPR Pittsburgh Affiliate, Race and the Politics of resentment, Saturday June 5<sup>th</sup>, 2010.

Martin Luther King: Would He be Happy Regarding Race Relations, Bucks County Courier Times by James McGuinnis, January 28, 2014

Immigrant Cafes Open in Houston, Houston Chronicle, October 31 2013

Corey Booker and the Politics of Race, South Jersey Courier Post, October 19, 2013

Trayvon Martin Case: Polls Reveal Depth of Racial Divide, July 23, 2013, by Harry Bruinius, Christian Science Monitor

By Any Measure,(The Irish Are) Faring Well, March 18, 2013, by Jeff Gammage, Philadelphia Inquirer

For The Very Wealthy, Path To Citizenship Has Shortcuts, April 13, 2013, by Fredrick Reese, MintPress News

Louisiana Divided: Jindal's Voucher Law Dragged into Court, November 29, 2012, Suzi Parker, Yahoo News.

Great Recession Created a Historic Racial Wealth Gap, July 26, 2012, Sheryl Nance-Nash, AOL News.

African Immigration and Immigration, The Philadelphia Inquirer, March 13, 2012.

Black Actors in Hollywood, The Arizona Republic, February 24, 2012.

Race and the Oscars, Christian Science Monitor, February 28, 2012.

American Dream Becoming Smaller for A Larger Segment of the Population by Dennis Sadoski, The Catholic Review, September 18, 2011.

Housing Authority Takes Note of Georgia's Success by Amanda Casanova, Galveston Daily News, September 4, 2011

Are Schools Suffering from an African-American Brain Drain by Jan Thomas in The Grio MSNBC.com August 29, 2011.

Ahora son blancos los que se sienten discriminados en EE.UU. by David Alandete, El Pais de Espana August 23, 2011 (Largest daily paper in Spain)

Black Owned Car Dealerships Hurt by Recession in The Automotive News, June 1 2011

The Recessions Biggest Victims: The Great Recession Could be Known as the "Black Mancession" by Eve Tahmincioglu on MSNBC May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2011.

Lee v. Perry On Race and Making Movies by Jenice Armstrong, Philadelphia Daily News April 27, 2011

As Demographics Shift, So Do Race Politics by Michael Schreconish, The Philadelphia Inquirer, April 1, 2011

Are White Racially Oppressed by John Blake, CNN News, March 4, 2011

What Would MLK Say Today by Elaine Ayala, San Antonia Express News, January 14, 2011

Hair Together: The Beauty Salon, One of the Last Segregated Places, Has Become More Welcoming to Blacks and Whites by Elizabeth Wellington, The Philadelphia Inquirer, November 3, 2010.

Glen Beck Rally on Saturday: Whose Honor is being Restored by Gloria Goodale, Christian Science Monitor, August 27, 2010.

Racist Acts on UC San Diego Underscore Deeper Tension on Campus by Daniel Wood, Christian Science Monitor, March 2, 2010.

Connect With Kids, Nationally Syndicated Educational News, *Working Your Way Through College*, July 2006

TBS Story Line, *Social Class and Job Selection*, June 10, 2006

Fox News, The O'Reilly Factor, *Whiteness Studies on Campus*, June 26, 2003.

MS-NBC, *White or Wrong: Whiteness Studies*, Lester Holt Show, June 19, 2003.

CNN National, Class and race Segregation, March 2003

CNN Live Today, Interview with William Frey, Blacks Migrate to South in Growing Numbers, May 31, 2001.

WGLC-TV Clear News, September 11 attacks, October 4, 2001.

WGCL-TV Clear News, Chain letter hoaxes and e-mails, October 2, 2001

WFAA-TV, New Old South, June 17, 2001.

WGCL-TV, Metro Atlanta is Becoming a Melting Pot

CNN Newsroom, The Meaning of US Immigration, October 2000.

CNN Webcast Series, Navigating the Color Line, February 2000.

CNN Newsroom, Mexican Migration to Atlanta, September 1999.

Essence Magazine Fuels a Stereotype by Janice Armstrong, Philadelphia Daily News, January 27, 2010.

“The Princess and the Frog” at the Bridge by Annette John-Hall, Philadelphia Inquirer, December 15, 2009.

Parity Pause: Recession Making it Tough for San Joaquin Companies to Maintain Their Workplace Diversity, Record Staff Reporter by Jennifer Torres, October 5, 2009.

“Infected by Racism, Criticism of Obama Obscures the Issues, The Philadelphia Inquirer, by Annette John-Hall, September 20, 2009.

“Gray Area: Colorblindness”, The Philadelphia Inquirer by Lini Kadaba, August 19, 2009.

“Beer is Great, But Real Talk Clears the Air”, Sun Sentinel by Darryl E. Owens, August 1, 2009.

“Orland Police Sponsor GED Classes to Break Crime, Poverty”, Orlando Sentinel by Willoughby Mariano, July 30, 2009.

“Case Reopens Debate Over Racial Divide”, Boston Herald by Jessica Van Sack, July 23, 2009.

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WPHT 1310/ABC Affiliate, Dom Girdano Show, “The Henry Louis Gates Jr. Controversy”, July 23, 2009.

KYW Philadelphia, The Role of Race in Obama’ Election, December 12, 2008.

WSB, Growth and Demographic Changes in the Southeast, Atlanta GA, Monday, April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2007.

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WATL Chris Askew Show, Race and the Color Line, December 2002

Guest Host, Minnesota Public Radio, Midmorning Show, Racially Motivated Killings in Chicago, July 7, 1999.

## **UNIVERSITY AND DEPARTMENTAL SERVICE**

### **Georgia State University**

#### **Committee Membership**

GSU Institutional Review Board (IRB), 2005-2008

Faculty Senate 2002-4

Athletics, Commencement, Diversity Committees 2002-2003

Planning and Development, Enrollment, Traffic Safety, 2003-04

Campus Climate Study – Gay Attitudes on Campus 2003-2004

Chair, Cultural Diversity Subcommittee 2002

Student Life and Development Committee 2002-2004

Provost’s Community Service Learning Initiative, 2001-2002

CAS Freshman Learning Proposal Review Committee, 2001, 2002

Race and Urban Studies Concentration Director, 2000-2002

Georgia State University Educational Diversity Advisory Board, 1997- 2000

Executive Committee, 1997- 1998, 1998-1999, 2001-2002

Chair, Ph. D. Theory Exam Committee, 1998, 2000-2001, 2006-

Recruitment Committee, 1998-1999, 2000-2001, 2003-2004, 2006-

Teaching and Learning Committee, 1998-2001

Diversity Education Program Advisory Board Member

Chair, Policy and Codes Committee, Diversity Education Program

## **TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

Graduate Classes:

Urban Sociology  
Contemporary Social Theory  
Seminar in US Race Relations  
Sociology of Racialized Identities  
Social Inequality  
Global Racism  
Graduate Pro-seminar

**Undergraduate Classes:**

Racial and Cultural Minorities	Sociology of Law
Sociology of Race and Racism	Intro to Sociology - Large
Racial Inequality	Intro to Social Statistics
American Ethnicity	Sociology of Whiteness
Urban Sociology	Wealth, Power and Inequality

**DIRECTION OF INDIVIDUAL STUDENT WORK (Georgia State University)**

**Chair:**

**PhDs Completed:**

Francesca Coin, The Food Chain, Wal-Mart and the Farm Labor Movement in the US and Mexico After Nafta, PhD. *completed*, May, 2007.

Cameron Lippert, Hiring Practices of Black, White and Latino Contractors, PhD. *completed*, June 2006.

Phil Luck, Meat as Ideology: It's What's for Dinner, Ph.D. *completed*, May 2003.

Nandi Crosby, The Souls of Black Men: Male Discourse and Its Critical Implications for Rethinking Black Feminist Thought, Ph.D. *completed*, July 1999.

**MA's Completed**

Alexis Bender, "I have been in the Chair for Three Years, but I have been Black my Whole Life" MA *completed*, May 2006.

Cameron Lippard, Racial Attitudes of Black Business Owners in Atlanta, M.A. *completed*, December 2003.

Polly Silvia: Where We Draw the Line: The Allocation of Amenities within Four Neighborhoods in and Around Atlanta, *completed* 2001.

Carri Lundquist, Gendered Poverty: Policy and Research and Two Opposing Forces, *completed* December 2001.

Jeffrey Williams, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in West Africa, M.A., *completed* May 2001.

Becky Johnson, White Progressives at Work: Racial and Political identity, M.A. *completed* August 2000.

**PhDs In Progress**

Doretha Carter, Education, Race and Outcomes, PhD. expected completion, 2008.

Melinda Mills, How Mixed Race Individuals Negotiate Dating Choices, PhD. expected completion, December 2007.

Caroline Wood, Asylum Seekers, Immigration and Citizenship in Great Britain, PhD. expected completion 2007.

#### **MA's in Progress**

Christopher Little, "Obstacle to Mobility in the Black Community: Culture and Conflict" MA completion expected December 2007.

Jessica Hand, "Persuasive Language: The Dissemination of Color-Blind Ideologies in the Media" MA completion expected December 2007.

Monique Terry, "The Sociology of Volunteerism in a Non-Profit Organization" MA completion expected 2006.

Tanya Walker, Midtown Atlanta as a Growth Machine, expected M.A completion 2006.

Valerie Alexander, Specialty Project, Poverty and Color, *completed* 2005.

#### **PhD/ MA Committee Member:**

Wei Li, "Ethnic Relations, State Power and the Modernization of Late Qing China" (Ph.D.) May 2008

Kristen Wilson, "Infertility and Family Choices" (Ph.D.) May 2008

Amanda Jungles, "Process Evaluation of a John's School, (MA) *Completed* July, 2007

Regina Curry, Grandmothers and Aunts as Parental Care Givers *Completed* May 2006 (PhD).

Cindy Singha, Second Generation Indians and Assimilation *Completed* Dec. 2005 (MA).

Fiona Pearson, Educational Outcomes of TANF Recipients *Completed* May 2006 (PhD).

Quinn Kemp, Reducing Risk in the Rough: An Ethnographic Analysis of How Poor African American Women Who Smoke Crack Reduce their Chances for HIV/Aids, *Completed* May 2003 (PhD)

Memo Konrad, The Urban and the Mundane: Cities and Movement in Review, specialty project, *Completed*, January 2005 (PhD).

Regina Curry, Specialty Project, *Completed*, August 2004.

Elizabeth Ruddiman, Protecting Greenspace in Georgia: Part of the Pro-Growth, Anti-Growth or Smart-Growth Machine, Ph.D. Specialty Project, *Completed* 2002.

Sandra Barnes, "It's Not What You Know, It's Who You Know: Towards An Understanding of Structure and Agency and Urban Employment Search," *Completed* August 1999 (PhD)

Regina Curry, "Understanding Mate Selection Among Gays and Lesbians," *Completed*, August 2000 (MA).

Laura Salazar, "Preventing Violence Against Women Through Social Change," Department of Community Psychology, *Completed* October 2000 (PhD).

Ned Rinalducci, "Authenticity Movements and the Religious Revivalism," *Completed* August 2000 (PhD).

Anand Balachadran, "The Emergence of Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka," *Completed* May 1998 (MA).

Erik Morgan, "A Marxist Critique of a Proposed High School Sociology Curriculum," *Completed* Spring 1999 (MA)