STATE 1

EXPERT REPORT OF JOHN R. ALFORD, Ph.D.

Scope of Inquiry

I have been retained by Office of the Attorney General of the State of Louisiana on behalf of the Secretary of State of Louisiana, as an expert to provide analysis related to the evidence of racially polarized voting in the joined cases *Robinson, et al v. Ardoin*, and *Galmon, Sr., et al v. Ardoin*, challenging the most recently adopted Congressional maps for Louisiana. I have examined the reports provided by plaintiffs' experts Dr. Lisa Handley and Dr. Maxwell Palmer in this case. My rate of compensation in this matter is $500 per hour.

Qualifications

I am a tenured full professor of political science at Rice University. In my over thirty years at Rice I have taught courses on redistricting, elections, political representation, voting behavior and statistical methods at both the undergraduate and graduate level. I am the author of numerous scholarly works on political behavior. These works have appeared in academic journals such as the *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *Science*, *Annual Review of Political Science*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *Political Psychology*, and *Political Research Quarterly*.

Over the last thirty years, I have worked with numerous local governments on districting plans and on Voting Rights Act issues. I have previously provided expert reports and/or testified as an expert witness in voting rights and statistical issues in a variety of court cases in Louisiana,

State Exhibit 1

New Mexico, Mississippi, Wisconsin, Florida, Georgia, Michigan, New York, Arkansas, Pennsylvania and Alabama. The details of my academic background, including all publications in the last ten years, and work as an expert, including all cases in which I have testified by deposition or at trial in the last four years, are covered in the attached CV (Appendix 1).

Data and Sources

In preparing my report, I have reviewed the reports filed by the plaintiffs' experts Dr. Lisa Handley and Dr. Maxwell Palmer. I have also relied for my report on the analysis, the associate documentation, and the data provided to date by Drs. Handley and Palmer, as well as Louisiana election data publicly available on the elections website of the Louisiana Secretary of State.

Election Analysis

I began my analysis with an attempt to replicate selected results of the Ecological Inference (EI) analysis provided by Dr. Handley and Dr. Palmer in their reports in this case. To do so I relied on the data they in producing their Ecological Inference estimates for the elections included in their reports. The replication results for selected elections matched very closely the estimates reported by Dr. Handley and Dr. Palmer, with only the slight variation that one would expect given the inherent variation associated with Ecological Inference estimations. Further, a comparison of the reported EI results for the substantial set of elections that were included by both Dr. Handley and Dr. Palmer, also show only slight variations that do not alter the substantive conclusions one might draw from any of the elections analyzed. Given that there were no substantive differences

across the reported results or the replication results, and to make it clear that where I disagree with Dr. Handley or Dr. Palmer it is not on the basis of any difference in the numerical results of our analysis, I have relied for this report entirely on the Ecological Inference estimates provided by Dr. Handley and Dr. Palmer in their reports.

Presidential Elections

In Table 1 below, I report the results for the three presidential elections covered in Dr. Palmer's report and extracted from his Table 2 on page 9 of his report, with the EI estimates reported by Dr. Handley for 2020 (the only presidential election covered in her report) in Appendix A of her report added in. For an overview of voter polarization, November presidential elections are a good place to start. These elections are typically competitive, the same two candidates compete in every precinct, and the analysis is not affected by local voting effects where votes for one candidate might be boosted by 'friends and neighbors voting'.

Table 1: Presidential Election EI Results

				RxC est. Black Voters		RxC est. white Voters	
Year	Office	Candidate		Palmer	Handley Black	Palmer	Handley White
2012	U.S. President	Obama (D)	B	**91.6%** (86.5, 95.0)		**14.9%** (13.3, 17.3)	
		Romney (R)	W	7.5% (4.2, 12.4)		84.2% (81.8, 85.7)	
2016	U.S. President	Clinton (D)	W	**97.5%** (95.0, 98.5)		**13.1%** (12.7, 14.1)	
		Trump (R)	W	1.6% (0.8, 3.6)		85.1% (84.2, 85.5)	
2020	U.S. President	Biden (D)	W/B	**89.3%** (84.8, 92.4)	**86.6%** (72.0, 92.9)	**17.1%** (15.4, 19.5)	**18.4%** (14.8, 26.7)
		Trump (R)	W/W	9.3% (6.3, 13.7)	12% (5.9, 26.2)	82.2% (79.8, 84.0)	80.9% (72.5, 84.5)

The general pattern of voter support in these three contests is very similar to what the remaining two-party contested elections in Dr. Palmer's Table 2 and Dr. Handley's Appendix B show, with Black voters providing an estimated level of support for the Democratic candidate in the low to mid 90% range, while White voters provide an estimated level of support for the

Democratic candidate in the teens to low 20% range. Both Dr. Handley and Dr. Palmer treat results of this sort as clear evidence of racially polarized voting, but these three contests provide clear insight into whether the reported results show anything more than partisan polarization.

The 2012 contest features a Black Democrat running against a White Republican. The 2020 contest represents an intermediate type, which Dr. Handley includes in her analysis of racially contested elections because, while the presidential candidates are both White, the Democratic vice presidential candidate, Kamala Harris, is Black. The 2016 contest completes the pattern, with a White Democrat running against a White Republican. If the race of candidates is a focus for Black voters then we would expect a clear ordering with Black voter support highest for the 2012 Obama/Biden ticket, lowest for the 2016 Clinton/Kaine ticket, and somewhere in between for the 2020 Biden/Harris ticket. Similarly, if the race of candidates is a focus for White voters, then we would expect White voter support to follow the reverse ordering with White support for the 2016 Clinton/Kaine ticket the highest and White support for 2012 Obama/Biden ticket the lowest.

Looking first at the estimates for Black voters we can see that while in all three elections the Democratic ticket gets a similarly high level of support, there some modest variation. However, the variation is not in the expected pattern. Instead, the highest estimate for Black support at 97.5% is for the all-White ticket of Clinton/Kaine, with Black support for Obama/Biden at 91.6 and for Biden/Harris at 89.3%. Turning to White voters, the lowest estimated support at 13.1% is for the all-White 2016 Clinton/Kaine ticket, followed by 14.9% for the 2012 Obama/Biden ticket, and the highest estimate of White support for the Democratic ticket is 17.1% for the 2020 Biden/Harris ticket. In short, Black and White voters do appear to offer very different

levels of support to Democratic and Republican candidates, but these levels of support do not appear to be a function of the race of the candidate in these two-party contested presidential elections.

Republican versus Republican Contests

A second set of elections that provides direct insight into the roles of race and party in Louisiana elections are the three contests in which both candidates are Republicans. The voting patterns in these contests is highly distinct relative to the two-party contested presidential contests in Table 1, and the remaining statewide contests that are also two-party contested. Dr. Palmer summarizes the more typical pattern nicely when he states that "across the 18 Black candidates of choice, the average candidate received an estimated 91.4% of the vote from Black voters, and 20.8% of the vote from White voters" (page 4). Similarly, Dr. Handley summarizes the typical pattern as one "with Black voters' support averaging 93.5% for the Black-preferred candidates" compared to White voter support at "14.1% when contests with only two candidates are considered" (page 8).

Table 2: Republican versus Republican Statewide Elections

				RxC est. Black Voters	RxC est. white Voters
Year	Office	Candidate		Palmer	Palmer
2015	Attorney General	Caldwell (R)	W	58.9% (58.5, 59.4)	36.5% (36.2, 36.8)
		Landry (R)	W	41.1% (40.6, 41.5)	63.5% (63.2, 63.8)
2015	Treasurer	Kennedy (R)	W	74.5% (74.2, 74.8)	83.2% (82.9, 83.4)
		Treadway (R)	W	25.5% (25.2, 25.8)	16.8% (16.6, 17.1)
2019	Comm. Insurance	Donelon (R)	W	53.7% (53.3, 54.2)	54.5% (54.2, 54.8)
		Temple (R)	W	46.3% (45.8, 46.7)	45.5% (45.2, 45.8)

As a glance at Table 2 clearly shows, the typical pattern of 90% plus Black support for one candidate, contrasted with 20% or less White support for the same candidate is not evident in these elections at all. Once there is not a Democratic candidate, the pattern of racial differences in voting largely disappears. In the 2019 Commissioner of Insurance contest both Black and White voters are almost evenly divided, with a slight majority favoring the winning candidate Donelon by almost identical margins (53.7 versus 54.5). In the 2015 Treasurer's contest the result is more lopsided in favor of the winning candidate Kennedy, but again the levels of support for Kennedy among Black and White voters is very similar (74.5% versus 83.3%). In the remaining Republican versus Republican contest for Attorney General in 2015 the voting patterns are again very different from the typical pattern, but here the modest preference of Black voters is Caldwell at 58.9% while the preference of White voters is Landry at 63.5%. Even this modest difference is likely related to party. Caldwell was first elected to the office as a Democrat. He switched to the Republican Party in 2011 and was elected that same year as a Republican in an unopposed contest. In 2015, with a Republican opponent that had been a Republican throughout his political career, Caldwell was defeated in the runoff despite being the incumbent.

Other Statewide Elections

EI estimates of racial voting patterns for nine election contests are included in both Dr. Handley's report and Dr. Palmer's report. This is a subset of the full set of elections in Dr. Palmer's report, because Dr. Handley restricts her analysis to only racially contested elections, but the fact that the contests are in both reports provides an opportunity to assess the impact, if any, of differences in data and analysis techniques between these independent looks at voting patterns in these elections. Looking down the columns of estimates for both Black and White voters it is clear

that while there are very modest differences in the point estimates, the results are very similar and can be used interchangeably to reach the same conclusions.

Table 3: Statewide Elections in both the Handley and Palmer Reports

				RxC est. Black Voters		RxC est. white Voters	
Year	Office	Candidate		Palmer	Handley	Palmer	Handley
2015	Lt. Governor*	Holden (D)	B	96.1% (95.9, 96.4)	96.2%	20.4% (20.2, 20.7)	20.5%
		Nungesser (R)	W	3.9% (3.6, 4.1)	3.8%	79.6% (79.3, 79.8)	79.5%
2015	Sec. State	Tyson (D)	B	93.5% (93.2, 93.8)	93.5%	14.1% (14.0, 14.3)	14.2%
		Schedler (R)	W	6.5% (6.2, 6.8)	6.5%	85.9% (85.7, 86.0)	85.8%
2017	Treasurer*	Edwards (D)	B	98.4% (98.2, 98.6)	98.5%	18.7% (18.5, 18.8)	18.7%
		Schroder (R)	W	1.6% (1.4, 1.8)	1.5%	81.3% (81.2, 81.5)	81.3%
2018	Sec. State*	Collins-Greenup (D)	B	96.8% (96.6, 97.0)	96.8%	14.0% (13.8, 14.1)	14.0%
		Ardoin (R)	W	3.2% (3.0, 3.4)	3.2%	86.0% (85.9, 86.2)	86.0%
2019	Attorney General	Jackson (D)	B	90.5% (90.2, 90.8)	90.6%	9.4% (9.3, 9.5)	9.4%
		Landry (R)	W	9.5% (9.2, 9.8)	9.4%	90.6% (90.5, 90.7)	90.6%
2019	Lt. Governor	Jones (D)	B	88.4% (88.1, 88.7)	88.6%	7.6% (7.5, 7.7)	7.6%
		Nungesser (R)	W	11.6% (11.3, 11.9)	11.5%	92.4% (92.3, 92.5)	92.4%
2019	Sec. State*	Collins-Greenup (D)	B	96.1% (95.8, 96.3)	96.1%	12.9% (12.7, 13.0)	12.9%
		Ardoin (R)	W	3.9% (3.7, 4.2)	3.9%	87.1% (87.0, 87.3)	87.1%
2019	Treasurer	Edwards (D)	B	94.7% (94.5, 95.0)	94.6%	11.0% (10.8, 11.2)	11.2%
		Schroder (R)	W	1.9% (1.7, 2.1)	2.1%	84.9% (84.8, 85.0)	84.7%
2020	U.S. Senator	Edwards (D)	B	29.4% (29.1, 29.7)	30.0%	1.9% (1.8, 2.0)	2.0%
		Perkins (D)	B	48.7% (48.4, 49.1)	49.8%	6.8% (6.6, 7.1)	6.9%
		Combined Dem.	B	78.1%	79.8%	8.7%	8.9%
		Cassidy (R)	W	4.4% (4.2, 4.7)	4.7%	85.8% (85.7, 85.9)	87.0%

While all nine of the contests in Table 3 feature a Black candidate(s) that is also a Democrat, there are an additional seven statewide two-party contested elections that do not include a Black candidate and that were included in Dr. Palmer's more inclusive set of statewide election reported in his Table 2 (page 9). These contests provide a highly useful comparison to the racially contested elections from both reports included above in Table 3 as these elections retain the characteristic of being two-part contested, but are not racially contested.

Table 4: Statewide Election included only in Dr. Palmer's Report

				RxC est. Black Voters	RxC est. white Voters
Year	Office	Candidate		Palmer	Palmer
2014	U.S. Senator*	Landrieu (D)	W	99.3% (99.2, 99.4)	16.8% (16 7, 17 0)
		Cassidy (R)	W	0 7% (0.6, 0.8)	83.2% (83 0, 83 3)
2015	Comm. Agriculture	Greer (D)	W	82.2% (81.9, 82.5)	10.0% (9.8, 10.2)
		Strain (R)	W	12.0% (11.7, 12.3)	77.7% (77 6, 77 8)
2015	Comm. Insurance	Hodge (D)	W	34.9% (34.5, 35.2)	4.8% (4.6, 5.0)
		McGehee (D)	W	48.9% (48.6, 49.3)	6.5% (6.3, 6.6)
		Donelon (R)	W	13.9% (13.6, 14.2)	69.8% (69 6, 70 0)
		Parker (R)	W	2 3% (2.2, 2.4)	18.9% (18 8, 19 0)
		Combined Dem.	W	83.8%	11.3%
		Combined Rep.	W	16.2%	88.7%
2015	Governor*	Edwards (D)	W	99.2% (99.1, 99.3)	34.8% (34 7, 34.9)
		Vitter (R)	W	0 8% (0.7, 0.9)	65.2% (65.1, 65 3)
2016	U.S. Senator*	Campbell (D)	W	98.8% (98.7, 99.0)	13.8% (13 7, 13.9)
		Kennedy (R)	W	1 2% (1.0, 1.3)	86.2% (86.1, 86 3)
2019	Comm. Agriculture	Green (D)	W	51.4% (51.1, 51.8)	5.8% (5.6, 5.9)
		Strain (R)	W	6 8% (6.5, 7.1)	78.0% (77 8, 78.1)
2019	Governor*	Edwards (D)	W	99.3% (99.2, 99.4)	26.5% (26.4, 26 7)
		Rispone (R)	W	0 7% (0.6, 0.8)	73.5% (73 3, 73 6)

The overall pattern in the election contests in Table 4 are remarkable similar to the pattern in the election contests in Table 3. That is, taken together the two Tables illustrate that the tendency of Black voters to vote at high levels for Democratic candidates is not dependent on those Democratic candidates themselves being Black or White, only that they are Democrats. Similarly, the tendency of White voters to vote at low levels for Democratic candidates is not dependent on those Democratic candidates themselves being Black or White, only that they are Democrats.

Congressional Elections

In Appendix B of her report Dr. Handley also provides EI estimates for voting patterns in endogenous congressional elections in CD 2, CD 3, CD 4, CD 5, and CD 6. Outside of CD 2, the

broad patterns are similar to those for statewide elections with Black voters supporting Democratic candidates and White voters supporting Republican candidates. In CD 2, Black voters again support the Democratic candidate(s), while White voters are more evenly divided between the Democratic and Republican candidates.

Summary Conclusions

White Democratic candidates draw cohesive support from Black voters just as Black Democratic candidates do. Likewise, Black Democratic candidates draw little support from White voters, just as White Democratic candidates do. The voting may be correlated with race, but whatever accounts for the correlation, the differential response of voters of different races to the race of the candidate is not the cause. As noted above, it appears that political party cohesion among Black voters in Louisiana is high for Democratic Party candidates, and remains high regardless of whether the candidate is White or Black. Similarly, party cohesion among White voters in Louisiana is high for Republican Party candidates, and remains high regardless of whether the Democratic candidate is White or Black.

April 29, 2020

John R. Alford, Ph.D.

Appendix 1

John R. Alford

Curriculum Vitae
April, 2022

Dept. of Political Science
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Employment:

Full Professor, Rice University, 2015 to present.
Associate Professor, Rice University, 1985-2015.
Assistant Professor, University of Georgia, 1981-1985.
Instructor, Oakland University, 1980-1981.
Teaching-Research Fellow, University of Iowa, 1977-1980.
Research Associate, Institute for Urban Studies, Houston, Texas, 1976-1977.

Education:

Ph.D., University of Iowa, Political Science, 1981.
M.A., University of Iowa, Political Science, 1980.
M.P.A., University of Houston, Public Administration, 1977.
B.S., University of Houston, Political Science, 1975.

Books:

Predisposed: Liberals, Conservatives, and the Biology of Political Differences. New York: Routledge, 2013. Co-authors, John R. Hibbing and Kevin B. Smith.

Articles:

"Political Orientations Vary with Detection of Androstenone," with Amanda Friesen, Michael Gruszczynski, and Kevin B. Smith. **Politics and the Life Sciences**. (Spring, 2020).

"Intuitive ethics and political orientations: Testing moral foundations as a theory of political ideology." with Kevin Smith, John Hibbing, Nicholas Martin, and Peter Hatemi. **American Journal of Political Science**. (April, 2017).

"The Genetic and Environmental Foundations of Political, Psychological, Social, and Economic Behaviors: A Panel Study of Twins and Families." with Peter Hatemi, Kevin Smith, and John Hibbing. **Twin Research and Human Genetics**. (May, 2015.)

"Liberals and conservatives: Non-convertible currencies." with John R. Hibbing and Kevin B. Smith. **Behavioral and Brain Sciences** (January, 2015).

"Non-Political Images Evoke Neural Predictors Of Political Ideology." with Woo-Young Ahn, Kenneth T. Kishida, Xiaosi Gu, Terry Lohrenz, Ann Harvey, Kevin Smith, Gideon Yaffe, John Hibbing, Peter Dayan, P. Read Montague. **Current Biology**. (November, 2014).

"Cortisol and Politics: Variance in Voting Behavior is Predicted by Baseline Cortisol Levels." with Jeffrey French, Kevin Smith, Adam Guck, Andrew Birnie, and John Hibbing. **Physiology & Behavior**. (June, 2014).

"Differences in Negativity Bias Underlie Variations in Political Ideology." with Kevin B. Smith and John R. Hibbing. **Behavioral and Brain Sciences**. (June, 2014).

"Negativity bias and political preferences: A response to commentators Response." with Kevin B. Smith and John R. Hibbing. **Behavioral and Brain Sciences**. (June, 2014).

"Genetic and Environmental Transmission of Political Orientations." with Carolyn L. Funk, Matthew Hibbing, Kevin B. Smith, Nicholas R. Eaton, Robert F. Krueger, Lindon J. Eaves, John R. Hibbing. **Political Psychology**, (December, 2013).

"Biology, Ideology, and Epistemology: How Do We Know Political Attitudes Are Inherited and Why Should We Care?" with Kevin Smith, Peter K. Hatemi, Lindon J. Eaves, Carolyn Funk, and John R. Hibbing. **American Journal of Political Science**. (January, 2012)

"Disgust Sensitivity and the Neurophysiology of Left-Right Political Orientations." with Kevin Smith, John Hibbing, Douglas Oxley, and Matthew Hibbing, **PlosONE**, (October, 2011).

"Linking Genetics and Political Attitudes: Re-Conceptualizing Political Ideology." with Kevin Smith, John Hibbing, Douglas Oxley, and Matthew Hibbing, **Political Psychology**, (June, 2011).

"The Politics of Mate Choice." with Peter Hatemi, John R. Hibbing, Nicholas Martin and Lindon Eaves, **Journal of Politics**, (March, 2011).

"Not by Twins Alone: Using the Extended Twin Family Design to Investigate the Genetic Basis of Political Beliefs" with Peter Hatemi, John Hibbing, Sarah Medland, Matthew Keller, Kevin Smith, Nicholas Martin, and Lindon Eaves, **American Journal of Political Science**, (July, 2010).

"The Ultimate Source of Political Opinions: Genes and the Environment" with John R. Hibbing in **Understanding Public Opinion**, 3rd Edition eds. Barbara Norrander and Clyde Wilcox, Washington D.C.: CQ Press, (2010).

"Is There a 'Party' in your Genes" with Peter Hatemi, John R. Hibbing, Nicholas Martin and Lindon Eaves, **Political Research Quarterly**, (September, 2009).

"Twin Studies, Molecular Genetics, Politics, and Tolerance: A Response to Beckwith and Morris" with John R. Hibbing and Cary Funk, **Perspectives on Politics**, (December, 2008). This is a solicited response to a critique of our 2005 APSR article "Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?"

"Political Attitudes Vary with Physiological Traits" with Douglas R. Oxley, Kevin B. Smith, Matthew V. Hibbing, Jennifer L. Miller, Mario Scalora, Peter K. Hatemi, and John R. Hibbing, **Science**, (September 19, 2008).

"The New Empirical Biopolitics" with John R. Hibbing, **Annual Review of Political Science**, (June, 2008).

"Beyond Liberals and Conservatives to Political Genotypes and Phenotypes" with John R. Hibbing and Cary Funk, **Perspectives on Politics**, (June, 2008). This is a solicited response to a critique of our 2005 APSR article "Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?"

"Personal, Interpersonal, and Political Temperaments" with John R. Hibbing, **Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science**, (November, 2007).

"Is Politics in our Genes?" with John R. Hibbing, **Tidsskriftet Politik**, (February, 2007).

"Biology and Rational Choice" with John R. Hibbing, **The Political Economist**, (Fall, 2005)

"Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?" with John R. Hibbing and Carolyn Funk, **American Political Science Review**, (May, 2005). (The main findings table from this article has been reprinted in two college level text books - Psychology, 9th ed. and Invitation to Psychology 4th ed. both by Wade and Tavris, Prentice Hall, 2007).

"The Origin of Politics: An Evolutionary Theory of Political Behavior" with John R. Hibbing, **Perspectives on Politics**, (December, 2004).

"Accepting Authoritative Decisions: Humans as Wary Cooperators" with John R. Hibbing, **American Journal of Political Science**, (January, 2004).

"Electoral Convergence of the Two Houses of Congress" with John R. Hibbing, in **The Exceptional Senate**, ed. Bruce Oppenheimer, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, (2002).

"We're All in this Together: The Decline of Trust in Government, 1958-1996." in **What is it About Government that Americans Dislike?**, eds. John Hibbing and Beth Theiss-Morse, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (2001).

"The 2000 Census and the New Redistricting," **Texas State Bar Association School Law Section Newsletter**, (July, 2000).

"Overdraft: The Political Cost of Congressional Malfeasance" with Holly Teeters, Dan Ward, and Rick Wilson, **Journal of Politics** (August, 1994).

"Personal and Partisan Advantage in U.S. Congressional Elections, 1846-1990" with David W. Brady, in **Congress Reconsidered** 5th edition, eds. Larry Dodd and Bruce Oppenheimer, CQ Press, (1993).

"The 1990 Congressional Election Results and the Fallacy that They Embodied an Anti-Incumbent Mood" with John R. Hibbing, **PS** 25 (June, 1992).

"Constituency Population and Representation in the United States Senate" with John R. Hibbing. **Legislative Studies Quarterly**, (November, 1990).

"Editors' Introduction: Electing the U.S. Senate" with Bruce I. Oppenheimer. **Legislative Studies Quarterly**, (November, 1990).

"Personal and Partisan Advantage in U.S. Congressional Elections, 1846-1990" with David W. Brady, in **Congress Reconsidered** 4th edition, eds. Larry Dodd and Bruce Oppenheimer, CQ Press, (1988). Reprinted in The Congress of the United States, 1789-1989, ed. Joel Silby, Carlson Publishing Inc., (1991), and in The Quest for Office, eds. Wayne and Wilcox, St. Martins Press, (1991).

"Can Government Regulate Fertility? An Assessment of Pro-natalist Policy in Eastern Europe" with Jerome Legge. **The Western Political Quarterly** (December, 1986).

"Partisanship and Voting" with James Campbell, Mary Munro, and Bruce Campbell, in **Research in Micropolitics. Volume 1 - Voting Behavior**. Samuel Long, ed. JAI Press, (1986).

"Economic Conditions and Individual Vote in the Federal Republic of Germany" with Jerome S. Legge. **Journal of Politics** (November, 1984).

"Television Markets and Congressional Elections" with James Campbell and Keith Henry. **Legislative Studies Quarterly** (November, 1984).

"Economic Conditions and the Forgotten Side of Congress: A Foray into U.S. Senate Elections" with John R. Hibbing, **British Journal of Political Science** (October, 1982).

"Increased Incumbency Advantage in the House" with John R. Hibbing, **Journal of Politics** (November, 1981). Reprinted in The Congress of the United States, 1789-1989, Carlson Publishing Inc., (1991).

"The Electoral Impact of Economic Conditions: Who is Held Responsible?" with John R. Hibbing, **American Journal of Political Science** (August, 1981).

"Comment on Increased Incumbency Advantage" with John R. Hibbing, Refereed communication: **American Political Science Review** (March, 1981).

"Can Government Regulate Safety? The Coal Mine Example" with Michael Lewis-Beck, **American Political Science Review** (September, 1980).

Awards and Honors:

CQ Press Award - 1988, honoring the outstanding paper in legislative politics presented at the 1987 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Awarded for "The Demise of the Upper House and the Rise of the Senate: Electoral Responsiveness in the United States Senate" with John Hibbing.

Research Grants:

National Science Foundation, 2009-2011, "Identifying the Biological Influences on Political Temperaments", with John Hibbing, Kevin Smith, Kim Espy, Nicolas Martin and Read Montague. This is a collaborative project involving Rice, University of Nebraska, Baylor College of Medicine, and Queensland Institute for Medical Research.

National Science Foundation, 2007-2010, "Genes and Politics: Providing the Necessary Data", with John Hibbing, Kevin Smith, and Lindon Eaves. This is a collaborative project involving Rice, University of Nebraska, Virginia Commonwealth University, and the University of Minnesota.

National Science Foundation, 2007-2010, "Investigating the Genetic Basis of Economic Behavior", with John Hibbing and Kevin Smith. This is a collaborative project involving Rice, University of Nebraska, Virginia Commonwealth University, and the Queensland Institute of Medical Research.

Rice University Faculty Initiatives Fund, 2007-2009, "The Biological Substrates of Political Behavior". This is in assistance of a collaborative project involving Rice, Baylor College of Medicine, Queensland Institute of Medical Research, University of Nebraska, Virginia Commonwealth University, and the University of Minnesota.

National Science Foundation, 2004-2006, "Decision-Making on Behalf of Others", with John Hibbing. This is a collaborative project involving Rice and the University of Nebraska.

National Science Foundation, 2001-2002, dissertation grant for Kevin Arceneaux, "Doctoral Dissertation Research in Political Science: Voting Behavior in the Context of U.S. Federalism."

National Science Foundation, 2000-2001, dissertation grant for Stacy Ulbig, "Doctoral Dissertation Research in Political Science: Sub-national Contextual Influences on Political Trust."

National Science Foundation, 1999-2000, dissertation grant for Richard Engstrom, "Doctoral Dissertation Research in Political Science: Electoral District Structure and Political Behavior."

Rice University Research Grant, 1985, Recent Trends in British Parliamentary Elections.

Faculty Research Grants Program, University of Georgia, Summer, 1982. Impact of Media Structure on Congressional Elections, with James Campbell.

Papers Presented:

"The Physiological Basis of Political Temperaments" 6th European Consortium for Political Research General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland (2011), with Kevin Smith, and John Hibbing.

"Identifying the Biological Influences on Political Temperaments" National Science Foundation Annual Human Social Dynamics Meeting (2010), with John Hibbing, Kimberly Espy, Nicholas Martin, Read Montague, and Kevin B. Smith.

"Political Orientations May Be Related to Detection of the Odor of Androstenone" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2010), with Kevin Smith, Amanda Balzer, Michael Gruszczynski, Carly M. Jacobs, and John Hibbing.

"Toward a Modern View of Political Man: Genetic and Environmental Transmission of Political Orientations from Attitude Intensity to Political Participation" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC (2010), with Carolyn Funk, Kevin Smith, and John Hibbing.

"Genetic and Environmental Transmission of Political Involvement from Attitude Intensity to Political Participation" Annual meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, San Francisco, CA (2010), with Carolyn Funk, Kevin Smith, and John Hibbing.

"Are Violations of the EEA Relevant to Political Attitudes and Behaviors?" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2010), with Kevin Smith, and John Hibbing.

"The Neural Basis of Representation" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada (2009), with John Hibbing.

"Genetic and Environmental Transmission of Value Orientations" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada (2009), with Carolyn Funk, Kevin Smith, Matthew Hibbing, Pete Hatemi, Robert Krueger, Lindon Eaves, and John Hibbing.

"The Genetic Heritability of Political Orientations: A New Twin Study of Political Attitudes" Annual Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Dublin, Ireland (2009), with John Hibbing, Cary Funk, Kevin Smith, and Peter K Hatemi.

"The Heritability of Value Orientations" Annual meeting of the Behavior Genetics Association, Minneapolis, MN (2009), with Kevin Smith, John Hibbing, Carolyn Funk, Robert Krueger, Peter Hatemi, and Lindon Eaves.

"The Ick Factor: Disgust Sensitivity as a Predictor of Political Attitudes" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2009), with Kevin Smith, Douglas Oxley Matthew Hibbing, and John Hibbing.

"The Ideological Animal: The Origins and Implications of Ideology" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA (2008), with Kevin Smith, Matthew Hibbing, Douglas Oxley, and John Hibbing.

"The Physiological Differences of Liberals and Conservatives" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2008), with Kevin Smith, Douglas Oxley, and John Hibbing.

"Looking for Political Genes: The Influence of Serotonin on Political and Social Values" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2008), with Peter Hatemi, Sarah Medland, John Hibbing, and Nicholas Martin.

"Not by Twins Alone: Using the Extended Twin Family Design to Investigate the Genetic Basis of Political Beliefs" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2007), with Peter Hatemi, John Hibbing, Matthew Keller, Nicholas Martin, Sarah Medland, and Lindon Eaves.

"Factorial Association: A generalization of the Fulker between-within model to the multivariate case" Annual meeting of the Behavior Genetics Association, Amsterdam, The Netherlands (2007), with Sarah Medland, Peter Hatemi, John Hibbing, William Coventry, Nicholas Martin, and Michael Neale.

"Not by Twins Alone: Using the Extended Twin Family Design to Investigate the Genetic Basis of Political Beliefs" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2007), with Peter Hatemi, John Hibbing, Nicholas Martin, and Lindon Eaves.

"Getting from Genes to Politics: The Connecting Role of Emotion-Reading Capability" Annual Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Portland, OR, (2007.), with John Hibbing.

"The Neurological Basis of Representative Democracy." Hendricks Conference on Political Behavior, Lincoln, NE (2006), with John Hibbing.

"The Neural Basis of Representative Democracy" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA (2006), with John Hibbing.

"How are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted? A Research Agenda" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago Illinois (2006), with John Hibbing.

"The Politics of Mate Choice" Annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA (2006), with John Hibbing.

"The Challenge Evolutionary Biology Poses for Rational Choice" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC (2005), with John Hibbing and Kevin Smith.

"Decision Making on Behalf of Others" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC (2005), with John Hibbing.

"The Source of Political Attitudes and Behavior: Assessing Genetic and Environmental Contributions" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago Illinois (2005), with John Hibbing and Carolyn Funk.

"The Source of Political Attitudes and Behavior: Assessing Genetic and Environmental Contributions" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago Illinois (2004), with John Hibbing and Carolyn Funk.

"Accepting Authoritative Decisions: Humans as Wary Cooperators" Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois (2002), with John Hibbing

"Can We Trust the NES Trust Measure?" Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois (2001), with Stacy Ulbig.

"The Impact of Organizational Structure on the Production of Social Capital Among Group Members" Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia (2000), with Allison Rinden.

"Isolating the Origins of Incumbency Advantage: An Analysis of House Primaries, 1956-1998" Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia (2000), with Kevin Arceneaux.

"The Electorally Indistinct Senate," Norman Thomas Conference on Senate Exceptionalism, Vanderbilt University; Nashville, Tennessee; October (1999), with John R. Hibbing.

"Interest Group Participation and Social Capital" Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois (1999), with Allison Rinden.

"We're All in this Together: The Decline of Trust in Government, 1958-1996." The Hendricks Symposium, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. (1998)

"Constituency Population and Representation in the United States Senate," Electing the Senate; Houston, Texas; December (1989), with John R. Hibbing.

"The Disparate Electoral Security of House and Senate Incumbents," American Political Science Association Annual Meetings; Atlanta, Georgia; September (1989), with John R. Hibbing.

"Partisan and Incumbent Advantage in House Elections," Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association (1987), with David W. Brady.

"Personal and Party Advantage in U.S. House Elections, 1846-1986" with David W. Brady, 1987 Social Science History Association Meetings.

"The Demise of the Upper House and the Rise of the Senate: Electoral Responsiveness in the United States Senate" with John Hibbing, 1987 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

"A Comparative Analysis of Economic Voting" with Jerome Legge, 1985 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

"An Analysis of Economic Conditions and the Individual Vote in Great Britain, 1964-1979" with Jerome Legge, 1985 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association.

"Can Government Regulate Fertility? An Assessment of Pro-natalist Policy in Eastern Europe" with Jerome Legge, 1985 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association.

"Economic Conditions and the Individual Vote in the Federal Republic of Germany" with Jerome S. Legge, 1984 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

"The Conditions Required for Economic Issue Voting" with John R. Hibbing, 1984 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

"Incumbency Advantage in Senate Elections," 1983 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

"Television Markets and Congressional Elections: The Impact of Market/District Congruence" with James Campbell and Keith Henry, 1982 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

"Economic Conditions and Senate Elections" with John R. Hibbing, 1982 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. "Pocketbook Voting: Economic Conditions and Individual Level Voting," 1982 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

"Increased Incumbency Advantage in the House," with John R. Hibbing, 1981 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Other Conference Participation:

Roundtable Participant – Closing Round-table on Biopolitics; 2016 UC Merced Conference on Bio-Politics and Political Psychology, Merced, CA.

Roundtable Participant "Genes, Brains, and Core Political Orientations" 2008 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Las Vegas.

Roundtable Participant "Politics in the Laboratory" 2007 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans.

Short Course Lecturer, "What Neuroscience has to Offer Political Science" 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Panel chair and discussant, "Neuro-scientific Advances in the Study of Political Science" 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Presentation, "The Twin Study Approach to Assessing Genetic Influences on Political Behavior" Rice Conference on New Methods for Understanding Political Behavior, 2005.

Panel discussant, "The Political Consequences of Redistricting," 2002 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Panel discussant, "Race and Redistricting," 1999 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Invited participant, "Roundtable on Public Dissatisfaction with American Political Institutions", 1998 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association.

Presentation, "Redistricting in the '90s," Texas Economic and Demographic Association, 1997.

Panel chair, "Congressional Elections," 1992 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

Panel discussant, "Incumbency and Congressional Elections," 1992 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Panel chair, "Issues in Legislative Elections," 1991 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Panel chair, "Economic Attitudes and Public Policy in Europe," 1990 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association

Panel discussant, "Retrospective Voting in U.S. Elections," 1990 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Co-convener, with Bruce Oppenheimer, of Electing the Senate, a national conference on the NES 1988 Senate Election Study. Funded by the Rice Institute for Policy Analysis, the University of Houston Center for Public Policy, and the National Science Foundation, Houston, Texas, December, 1989.

Invited participant, Understanding Congress: A Bicentennial Research Conference, Washington, D.C., February, 1989.

Invited participant--Hendricks Symposium on the United States Senate, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, October, 1988

Invited participant--Conference on the History of Congress, Stanford University, Stanford, California, June, 1988.

Invited participant, "Roundtable on Partisan Realignment in the 1980's", 1987 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

Professional Activities:

Other Universities:

Invited Speaker, Annual Lecture, Psi Kappa -the Psychology Club at Houston Community College, 2018.

Invited Speaker, Annual Allman Family Lecture, Dedman College Interdisciplinary Institute, Southern Methodist University, 2016.

Invited Speaker, Annual Lecture, Psi Sigma Alpha – Political Science Dept., Oklahoma State University, 2015.

Invited Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, 2014.

Invited Speaker, Annual Lecture, Psi Kappa -the Psychology Club at Houston Community College, 2014.

Invited Speaker, Graduate Student Colloquium, Department of Political Science, University of New Mexico, 2013.

Invited Keynote Speaker, Political Science Alumni Evening, University of Houston, 2013.

Invited Lecturer, Biology and Politics Masters Seminar (John Geer and David Bader), Department of Political Science and Biology Department, Vanderbilt University, 2010.

Invited Lecturer, Biology and Politics Senior Seminar (John Geer and David Bader), Department of Political Science and Biology Department, Vanderbilt University, 2008.

Visiting Fellow, the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2007.

Invited Speaker, Joint Political Psychology Graduate Seminar, University of Minnesota, 2007.

Invited Speaker, Department of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, 2006.

Member:

Editorial Board, Journal of Politics, 2007-2008.

Planning Committee for the National Election Studies' Senate Election Study, 1990-92.

Nominations Committee, Social Science History Association, 1988

Reviewer for:

American Journal of Political Science
American Political Science Review
American Politics Research
American Politics Quarterly
American Psychologist
American Sociological Review
Canadian Journal of Political Science
Comparative Politics
Electoral Studies
Evolution and Human Behavior
International Studies Quarterly

Journal of Politics
Journal of Urban Affairs
Legislative Studies Quarterly
National Science Foundation
PLoS ONE
Policy Studies Review
Political Behavior
Political Communication
Political Psychology
Political Research Quarterly
Public Opinion Quarterly
Science
Security Studies
Social Forces
Social Science Quarterly
Western Political Quarterly

University Service:

Member, University Senate, 2021-2023.

Member, University Parking Committee, 2016-2022.

Member, University Benefits Committee, 2013-2016.

Internship Director for the Department of Political Science, 2004-2018.

Member, University Council, 2012-2013.

Invited Speaker, Rice Classroom Connect, 2016.

Invited Speaker, Glasscock School, 2016.

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, Austin, 2016.

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, New York City, 2016.

Invited Speaker, Rice TEDxRiceU , 2013.

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, Atlanta, 2011.

Lecturer, Advanced Topics in AP Psychology, Rice University AP Summer Institute, 2009.

Scientia Lecture Series: "Politics in Our Genes: The Biology of Ideology" 2008

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles, 2008.

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, Austin, Chicago and Washington, DC, 2006.

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, Dallas and New York, 2005.

Director: Rice University Behavioral Research Lab and Social Science Computing Lab, 2005-2006.

University Official Representative to the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, 1989-2012.

Director: Rice University Social Science Computing Lab, 1989-2004.

Member, Rice University Information Technology Access and Security Committee, 2001-2002

Rice University Committee on Computers, Member, 1988-1992, 1995-1996; Chair, 1996-1998, Co-chair, 1999.

Acting Chairman, Rice Institute for Policy Analysis, 1991-1992.

Divisional Member of the John W. Gardner Dissertation Award Selection Committee, 1998

Social Science Representative to the Educational Sub-committee of the Computer Planning Committee, 1989-1990.

Director of Graduate Admissions, Department of Political Science, Rice University, 1986-1988.

Co-director, Mellon Workshop: Southern Politics, May, 1988.

Guest Lecturer, Mellon Workshop: The U.S. Congress in Historical Perspective, May, 1987 and 1988.

Faculty Associate, Hanszen College, Rice University, 1987-1990.

Director, Political Data Analysis Center, University of Georgia, 1982-1985.

External Consulting:

Expert Witness, Johnson v. Wisconsin Elections Commission, 2022.

Expert Witness, Grant v. Raffensperger, challenge Georgia congressional map, 2022

Expert Witness, Brooks et al. v. Abbot, challenge to State Senate District 10, 2022.

Consultant, Lancaster ISD – redrawing of all school board member election districts including demographic analysis and redrawing of election districts, 2021.

Consultant, City of Baytown – redrawing of all city council member election districts including demographic analysis and redrawing of election districts, 2021.

Consultant, Goose Creek ISD – redrawing of all board member election districts including demographic analysis and redrawing of election districts, 2021.

Expert Witness, Christian Ministerial Alliance et al v. Arkansas, racially polarized voting analysis, 2020.

Expert Witness, Bruni et al. v. State of Texas, straight ticket voting analysis, 2020.

Consulting Expert, Sarasota County, VRA challenge to district map, 2020.

Expert Witness, Kumar v. Frisco ISD, TX, racially polarized voting analysis, 2019.

Expert Witness, Vaughan v. Lewisville ISD, TX, racially polarized voting analysis, 2019.

Expert Witness, Johnson v. Ardoin, (Louisiana), racially polarized voting analysis, 2019.

Expert Witness, Flores et al. v. Town of Islip, NY, racially polarized voting analysis, 2018.

Expert Witness, Tyson v. Richardson ISD, racially polarized voting analysis, 2018.

Expert Witness, Dwight v. State of Georgia, racially polarized voting analysis, 2018.

Expert Witness, NAACP v. East Ramapo Central School District, racially polarized voting analysis, 2018.

Expert Witness, Georgia NAACP v. State of Georgia, racially polarized voting analysis, 2018.

Expert Witness, United States v. City of Eastpoint, racially polarized voting analysis, 2017.

Expert Witness, Georgia NAACP v. Gwinnett County, racially polarized voting analysis, 2017.

Expert Witness for the State of Texas, Lopez, et al v. Abbott, a challenge to the current system of statewide at-large elections for the Texas Supreme Court and the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals, including election analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis, 2017.

Expert witness for the State of Texas, Perez, et al v State of Texas (and consolidated cases), challenge to adopted Texas election districts for the US Congress and the Texas House of Representatives, 2011-2017.