

**IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF JACKSON COUNTY, MISSOURI
AT KANSAS CITY**

TERRENCE WISE, *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

**Case No. 2516-CV29597
Division 15**

STATE BOARD OF MISSOURI, *et al.*,

Defendants.

ELIZABETH HEALEY, *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

**Case No. 2516-CV31273
Division 15**

STATE BOARD OF MISSOURI, *et al.*,

Defendants.

EXPERT REPORT OF M.V. HOOD III

I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

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

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

I have been tendered as an expert in a number of cases involving questions of district compactness in both federal and state courts. Some of the cases in which I have offered expert testimony on this specific topic include: *Cross v. Illinois State Board of Elections*, 113840 (Illinois Supreme Court); *Bethune-Hill v. Virginia State Board of Elections* (3:14-cv-00852-REP-GBL-BMK); *Vesilind v. Virginia State Board of Elections*, CL15003886-00 (Richmond Circuit Court); *Common Cause v. Rucho*, 1:16-CV-1026 (M.D. N.C.), *Ohio A. Philip Randolph Institute v. Ryan Smith*, 1:18-cv-357 (S.D. Ohio); *Common Cause v. Lewis*, 18-CVS-014001 (Wake County Superior Court); and *Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians v. Jaeger*, 3:22-cv-00022 (E.D. ND).

I am receiving \$450 an hour for my work in this case and \$450 an hour for any testimony associated with this work. In reaching my conclusions, I have drawn on my training, experience, and knowledge as a social scientist who has specifically conducted research in the area of redistricting. My compensation in this case is not dependent upon the outcome of the litigation or the substance of my opinions.

II. SCOPE AND OVERVIEW

I have been asked by counsel for the Missouri Republican State Committee to provide an assessment of Missouri's congressional districting plan passed in 2025 (HB 1). My report is organized as follows. In Section III I provide a brief background on the districting plan under challenge. Section IV analyzes the 2025 congressional plan on a number of traditional redistricting principles: compactness and contiguity, population, maintaining communities of interest, and core retention. The final section of my report (V) provides a synopsis of my overall conclusions in this case.

Note: Throughout this report I refer to different congressional plans. The plan challenged in this matter is referred to as the 2025 plan (labeled by others as HB 1 or the *Missouri First Map*). Previous congressional districting plans include those implemented following the 2010 Census (the 2012 plan) and the 2020 Census (the 2022 plan).

III. CASE BACKGROUND

In August of 2025 the Missouri General Assembly convened in a special session and passed legislation (HB 1) which reconfigured the state's eight congressional districts. On September 28, 2025 Governor Kehoe signed HB 1 into law.¹ The plaintiffs in this action allege that three of Missouri's congressional districts violate the compactness standard as set forth in the State Constitution. Article III, § 45 of the Missouri Constitution states the following in reference to drawing congressional district boundaries within the state:

When the number of representatives to which the state is entitled in the House of the Congress of the United States under the census of 1950 and each census thereafter is certified to the governor, the general assembly shall by law divide the state into districts corresponding with the number of representatives to which it is entitled, which districts shall be composed of contiguous territory as compact and as nearly equal in population as may be.

More specifically, plaintiffs allege that CD 4, CD 5, and CD 6 in the 2025 congressional districting plan are not sufficiently compact under the provision of the Missouri Constitution cited above.

¹Source: <https://governor.mo.gov/press-releases/archive/governor-kehoe-signs-missouri-first-map-law>.

IV. PLAN COMPARISONS²

In this section I compare the 2025 congressional plan to the 2012 and 2022 plans on various redistricting criteria.

A. District Compactness and Contiguity

Before discussing district compactness, I will note that the eight congressional districts from the 2025 plan are contiguous.

Specifically, the compactness of Districts 4, 5, and 6 in Missouri's 2025 congressional plan is the primary issue being challenged by the plaintiffs in this matter. The various measures of compactness provide a non-normative, numerical means to compare districts on this criterion. There is, however, no consensus on which of the numerous compactness measures should be considered superior.³ Nor is there any consensus on what might constitute an objective cut-point whereby a district might be considered to be non-compact. It is certainly possible, however, to compare districts (or whole plans) in order to make a determination that a comparison set is more or less compact. In devising such comparisons some thought needs to be given to what should be compared to what. In this section I will be comparing the challenged districts from the 2025 plan to the remaining five districts not under challenge. In addition, I will also draw comparisons with districts from the 2012 and 2022 congressional plans.

In this report I make use of three commonly used measures of compactness, namely Reock, Polsby-Popper, and Schwartzberg.⁴ These compactness measures have been used extensively in court cases involving redistricting. The Reock measure is also denoted as the smallest circle score in that it compares the area of the district to the area of a circle. More formally the Reock measure is the *ratio of the district area to the area of the minimum circumscribing circle*.⁵ The Polsby-Popper measure, a perimeter-to-area comparison, calculates the *ratio of the district area to the area of a circle with the same perimeter*.⁶ The Schwartzberg measure is a ratio that compares the perimeter of a district to the *perimeter of a circle of equal area*.⁷ The Reock and Polsby-Popper measures range between 0 and 1, with one an indication of perfect compactness. For both measures a district analogous to a circle would score a value of 1. A circle would also score a value of one on the Schwartzberg index and less compact shapes are represented by values greater than one. Unlike Reock or Polsby-Popper, lower values on the Schwartzberg measure denote increasing compactness.

²Compactness scores, unless denoted otherwise, were generated using Maptitude software.

³Of course, as previously indicated, compactness measures are based on calculations that employ different metrics. For this reason, most analysts examine compactness using more than one measure.

⁴More specifically I am using the *Alternative Schwartzberg* as reported by Maptitude.

⁵Richard G. Niemi, Bernard Grofman, Carl Calucci, and Thomas Hofeller. 1990. "Measuring Compactness and the Role of a Compactness Standard in a Test for Partisan and Racial Gerrymandering." *Journal of Politics* 52: 1155-1181.

⁶David Polsby and Robert D. Popper. 1991. "The Third Criterion: Compactness as a Procedural Safeguard against Partisan Gerrymandering." *Yale Law and Policy Review* 9:301-335.

⁷Joseph E. Schwartzberg. 1966. "Reapportionment, Gerrymanders, and the Notion of Compactness." *Minnesota Law Review* 50:443-452.

Table 1 examines the Reock compactness score for the 2012, 2022, and 2025 Missouri congressional plans. The districts under challenge in this matter are shaded gray. Again, for the Reock measure higher values are an indication of increasing compactness. Comparing the plans as a whole, the average Reock score across the 2012, 2022, and 2025 congressional plans ranges from .44 to .47, respectively. The 2025 plan as a whole sees a slight improvement in average compactness levels over the 2022 plan, moving from .45 to .47. Reock scores for the districts in the 2022 plan ranged from .30 to .53, while the 2025 plan ranged from a low of .35 to a high of .59. Of note is fact that District 6 under the 2022 plan is less compact than any of the districts in the 2025 plan. One of the districts under challenge in 2025 (District 6) becomes more compact from 2022 to 2025, moving from .30 to .36. Five of the eight districts in the 2025 plan have the same or higher Reock scores in 2025 as compared to the previous plan. The Reock scores for Districts 4 and 5 do decrease across these two plans. The score for District 4 decreases .10 (from .53 to .43), while the Reock score for District 5 drops .02 (from .37 to .35). It should be noted that increasing the compactness of some districts within a geographically bounded area, in this case the State of Missouri, may cause a diminishment in the compactness scores of surrounding districts.⁸

Table 1. Reock Compactness Comparisons

CD	2012	2022	2025
1	0.48	0.53	0.51
2	0.50	0.48	0.59
3	0.36	0.37	0.44
4	0.43	0.53	0.43
5	0.33	0.37	0.35
6	0.29	0.30	0.36
7	0.53	0.53	0.53
8	0.58	0.52	0.52
Mean	.44	.45	.47
Standard Deviation	.10	.09	.09

As noted, the Reock scores presented in Table 1 were generated using the Maptitude software program.⁹ The Reock measure can be especially sensitive to the underlying projection employed.¹⁰ In Table 2, my analysis is replicated using Reock scores generated using Dave's Redistricting Application. In the case of Maptitude and Dave's Redistricting Application, Reock scores may vary because these two programs rely on different projections. As some of the plaintiff experts like Professor Cervas use Reock scores generated from Dave's Redistricting Application, I will repeat my analysis using these scores which are located in Table 2. Reock scores for the 2025 plan range from a low of .28 to a high of .57. The range for the challenged

⁸In a Missouri Supreme Court decision, it is noted that "the district boundaries for every district are interrelated and that some districts must be drawn less compactly because of the shape of neighboring districts." *Pearson v. Koster*, 367 S.W.3d 36, 15 (2012).

⁹The reported Maptitude scores comport with those in Professor Stern's expert report which also relies on Maptitude.

¹⁰See for example: Moon Duchin and Bridget Eileen Tenner. 2024. "Discrete Geometry for Electoral Geography." *Political Geography* (<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2023.103040>).

districts is .28 to .39. Compactness for challenged District 6 actually increases by .03, from .25 to .28. Compactness scores for six of eight districts increased or stayed constant from 2022 to 2025. The remaining two districts did see a drop in their Reock score. The Reock score for District 4 decreased from .51 to .39 and the score for District 5 decreased from .42 to .29.

Table 2. Reock Compactness Comparisons (Alternative Scores)

CD	2012	2022	2025
1	0.54	0.57	0.57
2	0.46	0.41	0.54
3	0.30	0.30	0.36
4	0.41	0.51	0.39
5	0.26	0.42	0.29
6	0.24	0.25	0.28
7	0.51	0.45	0.45
8	0.46	0.42	0.42
Mean	.40	.42	.41
Standard Deviation	.11	.10	.10

Table 3 examines how districts stack up on a second measure of compactness—the Polsby-Popper score. Here, one may note the 2025 plan as a whole is more compact than the 2012 or 2022 plans as indicated by the mean values at the bottom of the table. Polsby-Popper scores for the 2025 plan range from a low of .20 to a high of .53. Polsby-Popper scores for the challenged districts range from .20 (District 5) to .36 (District 6). District 8 (not under challenge) has a lower Polsby-Popper value than both Districts 4 and 6 (under challenge). Districts 4 and 6 also became increasingly compact from 2022 to 2025. The Polsby-Popper score for District 4 increased by .03 (.30 versus .33) and for District 6 by .06 (.30 versus .36). In fact, seven of eight districts in the 2025 plan had equivalent or higher Polsby-Popper scores as compared to the 2022 plan. The one exception, District 5, saw its score drop from .38 to .20.

Table 3. Polsby-Popper Compactness Comparisons

CD	2012	2022	2025
1	0.27	0.31	0.46
2	0.20	0.29	0.40
3	0.22	0.16	0.37
4	0.23	0.30	0.33
5	0.19	0.38	0.20
6	0.24	0.30	0.36
7	0.45	0.53	0.53
8	0.35	0.27	0.27
Mean	.27	.32	.37
Standard Deviation	.09	.11	.10

Table 4 below details Schwartzberg compactness scores (higher values denote decreasing compactness) for various Missouri congressional plans. For the 2025 plan scores range from a low of 1.38 to a high of 2.22. As denoted by the falling mean values from 2012 to 2025, the congressional plans become more compact over time based on the Schwartzberg measure. Seven of eight districts under the 2025 plan had an equivalent or lower Schwartzberg score compared to the 2022 plan, indicating comparable or increased levels of compactness. District 8 (not under challenge) in the 2025 plan has a Schwartzberg value of 1.93—higher than that of challenged districts 4 and 6. Also of note is the fact that CD 4 and CD 6 under the 2025 plan became more compact from 2022 to 2025. Among the challenged districts only CD 5 becomes less compact. Two districts from the 2012 plan, CDs 2 and 5, have higher compactness scores than the challenged district (CD 5) from the 2025 plan with the highest Schwartzberg score.

Table 4. Schwartzberg-Alternative Compactness Comparisons

CD	2012	2022	2025
1	1.92	1.80	1.48
2	2.24	1.85	1.59
3	2.11	2.52	1.65
4	2.08	1.82	1.74
5	2.27	1.62	2.22
6	2.06	1.82	1.68
7	1.49	1.38	1.38
8	1.69	1.94	1.93
Mean	1.98	1.84	1.71
Standard Deviation	.27	.32	.26

Given that this is a case involving a state constitutional challenge, an analysis of compactness should include consideration of what, if anything, Missouri state courts have ruled may constitute an unconstitutionally compact district. Regarding this matter there is a fairly recent decision that touched upon the issue of compactness for congressional districts under the previously cited state constitutional provision. In this case, the Missouri Supreme Court upheld a Circuit Court ruling regarding the constitutionality of districts under the 2012 congressional plan. Plaintiffs in this matter had specifically challenged Districts 3, 5, and 6. These districts, and the plan as a whole, were ruled to be sufficiently compact under the Missouri Constitution.¹¹ While the Court does not establish a bright-line test using compactness measures, it can still be instructive to examine compactness scores for districts that have specifically passed constitutional muster. I will use the scores for the least compact districts from the 2012 plan to serve as a comparison point for the 2025 plan.¹²

Looking back at Table 1, the lowest Reock value for the 2012 plan, at .29, was associated with District 6. I have bracketed this value in the table, along with the lowest Reock values for the 2022 and 2025 plans. District 6 in the 2022 plan had a Reock score of .30, higher by .01 than the

¹¹*Pearson v. Koster*, 367 S.W.3d 36. (Mo. Banc 2012).

¹²In carrying out this exercise I am not arguing that a district below this threshold level is unconstitutionally compact or, conversely, that a district above the threshold is necessarily constitutional as related to compactness.

baseline district in the 2012 plan. In the 2025 plan all three of the challenged districts have Reock scores that exceed .29. District 5 with the lowest Reock value of .35 exceeds the 2012 baseline by .06. Using the alternative Reock scores reported in Table 2, the lowest value from the 2012 plan is the bracketed value .24 associated with District 6. None of the scores from the 2025 plan fall below this baseline value. District 6 in the 2025 plan comes closest but still exceeds this value by .04.

Using Table 3, the same exercise can be repeated using the Polsby-Popper measure of compactness. In this case, District 5 has the lowest Polsby-Popper score from the 2012 plan at .19. District 3 from the 2022 plan, which was not subject to a legal challenge, has a Polsby-Popper value, at .16, below the 2012 baseline value. None of the districts in the 2025 plan have Polsby-Popper measures that fall below .19. District 5 with a score of .20 comes closest, exceeding the 2012 threshold by .01.

As a reminder, higher values on the alternative Schwartzberg measure denote decreasing compactness. So, in this case we will use the largest Schwartzberg value from the 2012 plan to act as ceiling as opposed to a floor. In 2012, District 5 had a Swartzberg score of 2.27. None of the districts from the 2025 plan have a Schwartzberg value that exceeds 2.27. District 5, at 2.22, comes the closest but still falls below the 2012 threshold value by .05. It is interesting to note that District 3 in the 2022 plan exceeds the 2012 value by .25.

There is also at least one academic article of note that suggests a cutoff point by which a district may be judged to be non-compact. In their article Pildes and Niemi analyze U.S. House districts nationwide in the aftermath of the *Shaw v. Reno* decision.¹³ In this case the U.S. Supreme Court judged a congressional district in North Carolina (NC 12) a racial gerrymander, in part, based on its *bizarre* appearance.¹⁴ On two measures of compactness, Reock and Polsby-Popper, these scholars suggest numerical values whereby a district might be judged to be non-compact. For the Reock measure this value is less than .16 and for the Polsby-Popper measure this value is less than .06.¹⁵ These researchers also propose summing the Reock and Polsby-Popper scores to create a composite compactness score. For this composite score the cutoff is .22. If these metrics are applied to the three challenged congressional districts specifically, none breaches any of these limits (see again Tables 1 and 3). Using these specific metrics there is no evidence to categorize the challenged congressional districts as being non-compact.

As an addendum to my analysis on compactness, I have created three figures which compare the compactness levels of the challenged districts to the remaining districts from the 2025 plan, as well as districts from the 2022 and 2012 plans. In these figures the challenged districts from the 2025 plan are represented by red squares. The remaining districts are represented as blue circles [a blue triangle indicates there are multiple districts with the exact same compactness score stacked on top of one another]. In addition, I have drawn a black rectangle around the group of districts which are under challenge from the 2025 plan. I will refer to the area bounded within this rectangle as the zone of similarity. Figures 1-3 are located at the end of this section.

¹³Richard H. Pildes and Richard G. Niemi. 1993. "Expressive Harms, 'Bizarre Districts,' and Voting Rights: Evaluating Election-District Appearances After *Shaw v. Reno*." *Michigan Law Review* 92(3): 483-587.

¹⁴See *Shaw v. Reno* 113 S. Ct. 2816 (1993).

¹⁵For purposes of comparison, NC 12 had a Reock score of .05 and a Polsby-Popper score of .01.

Figure 1 plots compactness scores based on the Reock measure. The zone of similarity encompassing the challenged districts extends from .35 to .43. The remaining five districts from the 2025 plan are located above the rectangle. Two districts in the 2022 plan fall inside the rectangle and one district (CD 6) is located below the rectangle indicating it is less compact than the three 2025 districts under challenge. Two districts from the 2012 plan are analogous to the 2025 challenged districts (falling inside the rectangle), while an additional two districts are located below the rectangle. Stated otherwise, half (50%) of the districts in the 2012 plan had Reock scores equal to or below those of the 2025 challenged districts. Again, districts in the 2012 plan were judged to be sufficiently compact from a constitutional perspective by the Missouri Supreme Court.

Figure 2 repeats the process using the Polsby-Popper measure for compactness. Here the rectangular zone encompassing the challenged districts extends from .20 to .36. As denoted by the figure, District 8 from the 2025 plan which is not being challenged, is actually located within the rectangle. Half (50%) of the districts from the 2025 plan have scores that exceed the highest value amongst the challenged districts. Looking at the 2022 plan, five districts are housed within the rectangle and one district is actually located below the rectangle, an indication it is less compact than any of the three challenged districts from the 2025 plan. In the case of the 2012 plan six districts have comparable scores to that of the challenged districts and one district falls below the .20 threshold (the lowest Polsby-Popper score among the three challenged districts). In summary, 75% of the districts from the 2022 plan and 88% of the districts from the 2012 plan have Polsby-Popper scores equal to or less than those for the three 2025 challenged districts.

A comparison of Schwartzberg scores is provided in Figure 3. The figure is based on the alternative Schwartzberg measure referenced earlier where lower values are indicative of increasing compactness. Looking at the 2025 plan, District 8 (not under challenge) falls within rectangle containing the challenged districts. The remaining four districts are located below the zone of similarity, indicating that they are more compact in comparison to the challenged districts. In the 2022 plan a total of five districts (63%) fall within the zone of similarity with the challenged districts and one district is located above this area, an indication it is less compact than the challenged districts. Using the Schwartzberg measure 75% of the districts from the 2022 plan are equivalent to or less compact than the 2025 challenged districts. The 2012 plan reveals a similar pattern with five districts (63%) located within the zone of similarity and two districts (25%) above this area. Altogether, 88% of districts from the 2012 plan are synonymous with or less compact compared to the 2025 challenged districts.

Figure 1. Reock Scores

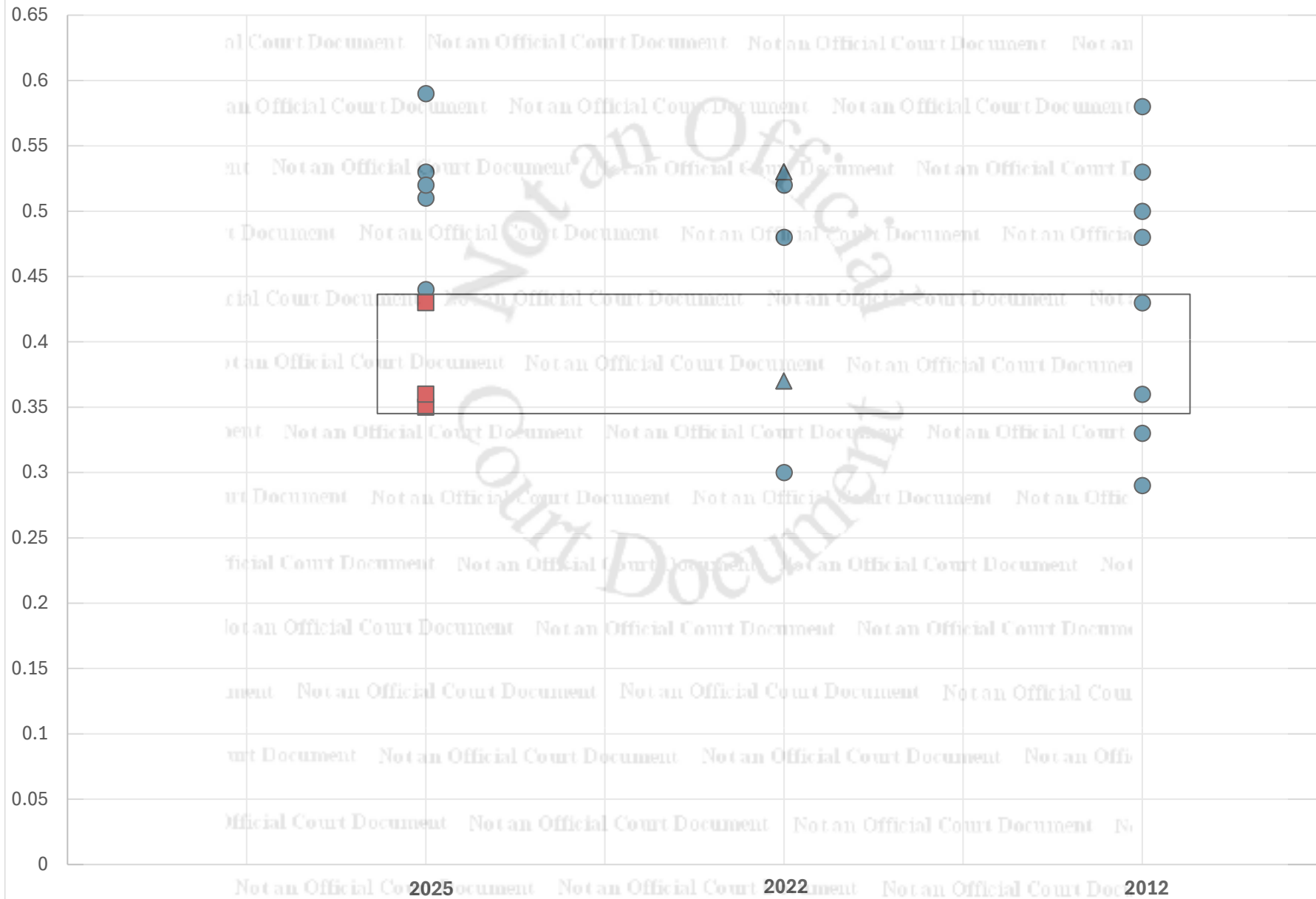


Figure 2. Polsby-Popper Scores

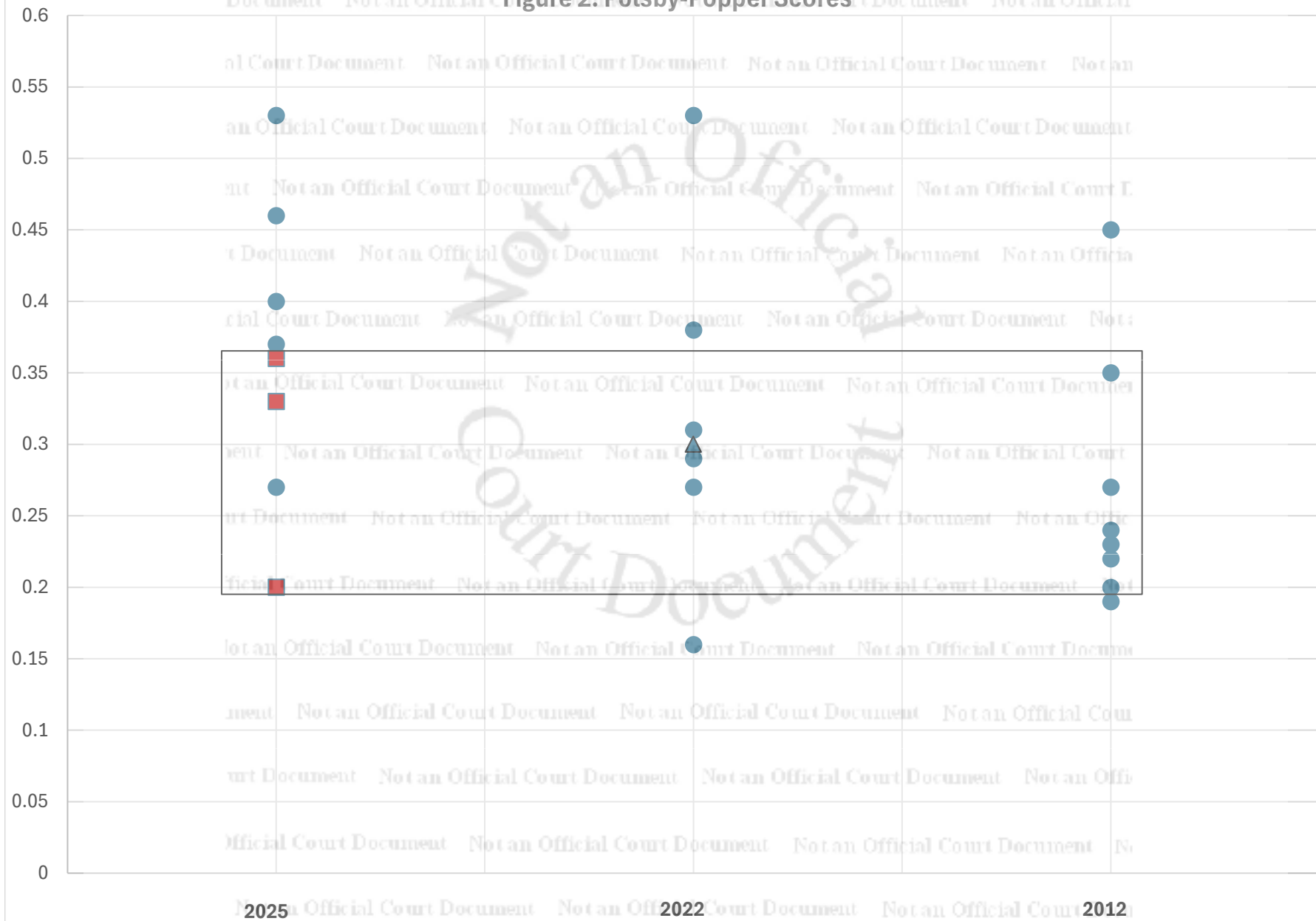
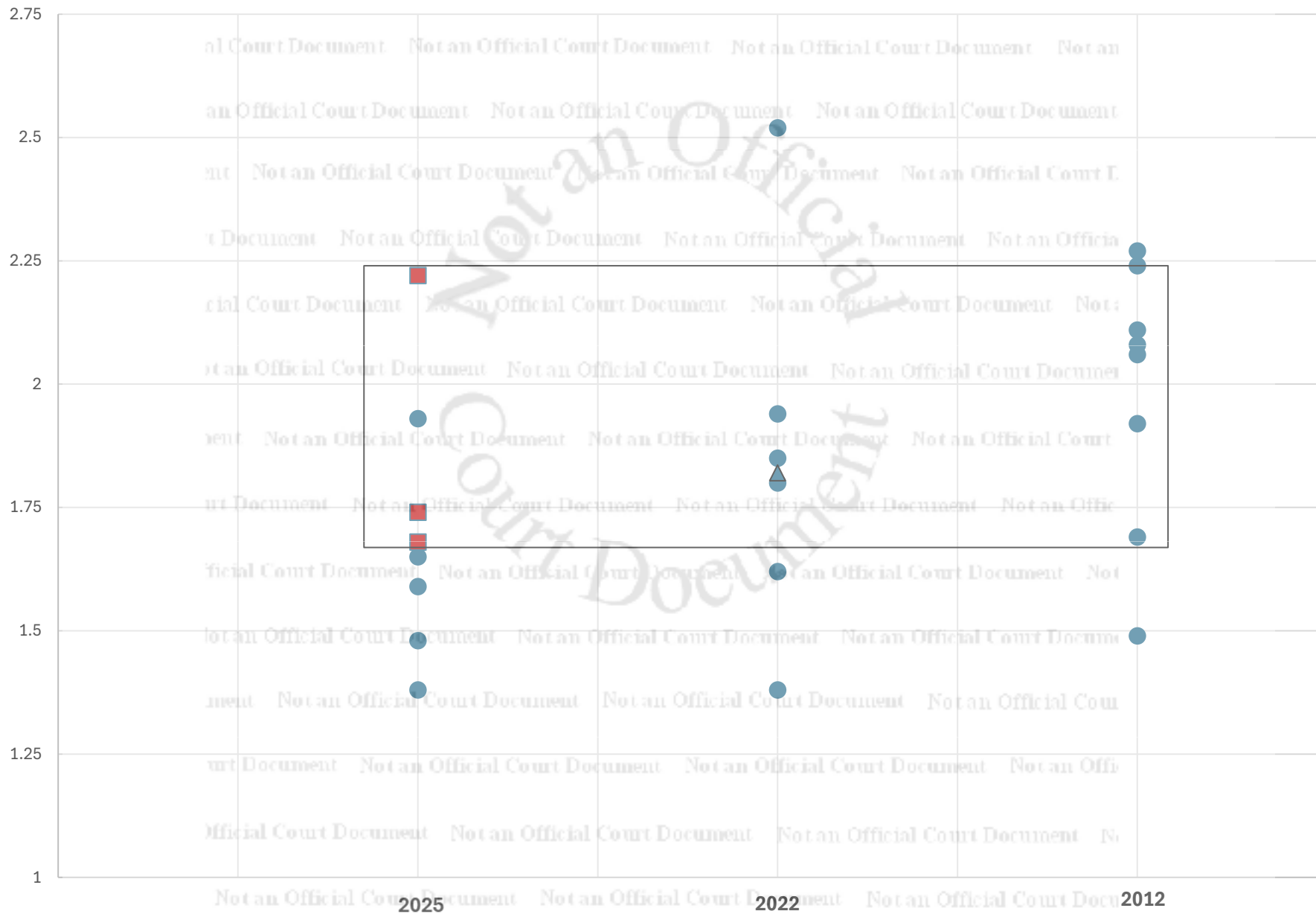


Figure 3. Schwartzberg Scores



B. Population Deviation

The principal goal of any redistricting plan is to ensure that districts have equal population counts. Following the 2020 Census the total population of Missouri was 6,154,913. With 8 congressional districts this makes the ideal district size 769,364. Table 5 below examines population deviation across Missouri's congressional districts. As shown in the table, the enacted plan is a zero-deviation plan. All eight districts contain exactly 769,364 (the ideal district size) with the exception of District 7 which contains one more person (769,365). The 2025 redistricting plan meets the first and most overriding goal of any redistricting plan, namely ensuring population equality across election districts.

Table 5. District Population, 2025 Congressional Plan

District	2020 Population	Deviation
1	769,364	0.00%
2	769,364	0.00%
3	769,364	0.00%
4	769,364	0.00%
5	769,364	0.00%
6	769,364	0.00%
7	769,365	0.00%
8	769,364	0.00%

C. Communities of Interest

Another traditional districting principle involves an effort, where possible, to respect existing political boundaries such as counties. In Missouri, the City of St. Louis is an independent city with equivalence to that of a county. The City of St. Louis, therefore, is included in the following analysis of county splits. The table below (Table 6) compares the 2022 Missouri congressional plan to the 2025 plan in reference to the number of counties that are split across districts.¹⁶ The 2025 plan represents a slight improvement on this metric with only 4.3% of the state's counties split. For the 2022 plan 7.8% of counties are split across congressional districts. Stated otherwise, the 2025 plan keeps almost 96% of Missouri's counties wholly contained within one of the state's eight congressional districts.¹⁷

¹⁶For the analyses presented on county, municipal, and VTD splits, geographic units split across districts where population is wholly contained within one segment are not counted as being split.

¹⁷The 2012 plan split eight counties (7.0% of the total).

Table 6. County Splits by Congressional Plan

	2022 Plan	2025 Plan
Counties Split	7.8% [9]	4.3% [5]
Not Split	92.2% [106]	95.7% [110]
Total	115	115

Panel A of Table 7 examines the number of municipalities split across the 2022 and 2025 congressional plans. This calculation includes (1) municipalities that are located in more than one county and that are split across congressional districts, as well as (2) municipalities that are wholly contained within a single county that are split across congressional districts. As with the analysis of county splits, the 2025 plan improves upon the previous 2022 plan in terms of the number of municipalities that are divided across congressional districts. In the 2022 plan 3.3% of Missouri's municipalities were split, as compared to only 1.4% in the 2025 plan.

Panel B of Table 7 examines municipal splits only in the case where a municipality is entirely encompassed within a single county. The logic behind this calculation is related to an established hierarchy whereby the effort to keep counties whole supersedes other geographic units (e.g. municipalities). In the case where a municipality is located in more than one county, it is possible that the municipality may be split across districts in order that the respective counties in which it is located are kept intact. In this case 2.3% of municipalities are split in the 2022 plan, compared to 0.2% of municipalities under the 2025 plan. Based on either calculation, the 2025 plan contains fewer municipalities split across congressional districts than the 2022 plan.

Table 7. Municipality Splits by Congressional Plan

Panel A	2022 Plan	2025 Plan
Municipalities Split	3.3% [31]	1.4% [13]
Not Split	96.7% [907]	98.6% [925]
Total	938	938
Panel B		
Municipalities Split	2.3% [22]	0.2% [2]
Not Split	97.7% [916]	99.8% [936]
Total	938	938

Another area to examine involves the number of voting tabulation districts (VTDs) that were split between congressional districts. On this metric I compare the 2022 plan to the current plan (2025). The results are summarized in Table 8 below. In the preceding plan there were 46 VTDs split between legislative districts. All told, 99.0% of the VTDs in the previous plan were not split (or were unaffected in population terms) between legislative districts. Looking at the current plan, the number of split VTDs decreases to 42. The percentage of VTDs not split or unaffected in the 2025 plan is 99.1%, representing a very slight improvement over the 2022 plan. Of course, with 99% of VTDs kept whole in the 2022 plan there is little room left for improvement.

Table 8. VTD Splits by Congressional Plan

	2022 Plan	2025 Plan
Split VTDs	1.0% [46]	0.9% [42]
Not Split	99.0% [4,588]	99.1% [4,562]
Total VTDs	4,604	4,604

E. District Congruity Analysis

District core retention is another method available to compare two districting plans.¹⁸ In Table 1, core retention for the various plans is measured as the percentage of the population in a new district carried over from the corresponding 2022 district. As such, district core retention is a measure that ranges from 0 to 100. The higher the percentage, the more a district is representative of its former self. For example, CD 1 in the 2025 plan has a core retention score of 93.9%, an indication that this district is almost wholly comprised of population from CD 1 in the 2022 plan. Table 9 also presents mean (average) core retention values for the 2025 plan along with the standard deviation and range.

Table 9. District Core Retention, 2025 Plan

District	Total Population	Voting Age Population
1	93.9%	93.8%
2	77.3%	77.2%
3	60.4%	61.3%
4	61.9%	60.9%
5	42.7%	42.7%
6	79.3%	79.3%
7	100%	100%
8	100%	100%
Mean	76.9	76.9
S.D.	19.5	19.5
Range	57.3	57.3

Core retention scores for the 2025 plan range from a low of 43% in District 5 to a high of 100% for Districts 7 and 8. With the exception of District 5, at least three-fifths of a district's population in the 2025 plan was carried over from the 2022 district. The mean (average) core retention score across all districts in the 2025 plan is 77%.

V. OVERALL OPINION

The plaintiffs in this action allege that three of Missouri's congressional districts associated with the 2025 plan violate the compactness standard set forth in Missouri's Constitution. Redistricting plans are not created in a vacuum. As well, individual districts are themselves components of an overall plan. Given these realities I undertook an analysis of the 2025 plan on a number of metrics, making comparisons back to the previous plans in 2012 and 2022. Where germane, I also compare the challenged districts to the remaining districts within the current congressional plan.

¹⁸The presence of a district core is closely linked to incumbent electoral success and, as such, is an important element related to protecting incumbents across a redistricting cycle.

Having examined the 2025 congressional plan on a variety of traditional redistricting principles I find that the enacted plan meets a number of stated goals. Among these are population equality and district contiguity which are required under the Missouri Constitution. Further, the 2025 plan is an improvement over the previous plan in terms of maintaining communities of interest in that fewer counties, municipalities, and VTDs are split across congressional districts. In addition, core retention levels for the 2025 plan point to the maintenance of district congruity across plans. With the exception of one district, anywhere from 60% to 100% of a member's constituents were carried over from the 2022-cycle to their new district under the 2025 plan.

As to the question of district compactness more specifically, the 2025 congressional districting plan is overall more compact than the previous plan enacted in 2022 under all three measures of compactness employed. As well, the 2025 plan is also more compact than the 2012 plan. On most measures of compactness challenged Districts 4 and 6 actually became more, not less, compact from 2022 to 2025.¹⁹ Further, using any of the three measures of compactness employed, none of the challenged districts could be considered less compact than the least compact district from the 2012 plan (which, again, passed constitutional muster on this question). Finally, the graphical comparisons demonstrate that the 2025 challenged districts are not extreme outliers in terms of compactness. Instead, there is a great deal of congruence across the 2012, 2022, and 2025 congressional plans in terms of the range of compactness scores across districts. In fact, both the 2012 and 2022 plans contain districts less compact than the 2025 challenged districts (under all three measures). Viewed from this perspective the challenged districts are not extreme outliers in reference to their level of compactness.

Regarding district compactness, again I note it is of importance as to what is being compared to what. Two experts for the plaintiffs, Professor Cervas and Professor Stern, created sets of hypothetical congressional plans. These alternative plans were never introduced in the special legislative session where HB 1 was passed. From this vantage point they are simply counterfactual plans that could have been offered for consideration but were not. Nevertheless, these plans have been proffered as proof that compactness for districts in the congressional plan could be increased over the 2025 plan. It is certainly possible to create a hypothetical congressional districting plan for Missouri where the districts are more compact than those in the 2025 plan. But could such a hypothetical plan take into account all of the criteria considered by the Missouri General Assembly? The answer is almost certainly no. In my opinion only the General Assembly itself is equipped to know what, when, and how criteria that, for example, may fall under communities of interest should be considered in balance with other factors such as population, compactness, and contiguity.²⁰ Absent detailed interactions with legislators, it is simply not possible for an outsider, like the proponent of a hypothetical alternative plan, to be able to discern the will of the General Assembly as to the exact application of all possible redistricting factors.²¹

¹⁹The one exception to this statement is the Reock score for CD 4.

²⁰Other considerations such as the Federal Voting Rights Act or incumbency protection may also come into play.

²¹The expert reports of Professor Cervas and Professor Stern do not include any interviews with legislators nor any examination of the legislative record regarding the 2025 congressional redistricting.

VI. DECLARATION

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Executed on January 7, 2026.

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Academic Positions:

University of Georgia

Director, SPIA Survey Research Center, 2016-present

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Ph.D.	Political Science	Texas Tech University	1997
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M.A.	Political Science	Baylor University	1993
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B.S.	Political Science	Texas A&M University	1991
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Peer-Reviewed Books:

Rural Republican Realignment in the Modern South: The Untold Story. 2022.

Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).

[Reviewed in *Public Opinion Quarterly* 87(2): 462-465]

[2025 V.O. Key Award for Best Book in Southern Politics]

The Rational Southerner: Black Mobilization, Republican Growth, and the Partisan

Transformation of the American South. 2012. New York: Oxford University Press.

(Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris, co-authors).

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Peer-Reviewed Publications:

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- “The Geography of Hispanic Political Behavior in Texas, 2012–2022.” 2024. *Social Science Quarterly* 105(4): 1092-1106. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
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- “Packin’ in the Hood?: Examining Assumptions Underlying Concealed-Handgun Research.” 2000. *Social Science Quarterly* 81:523-537. (Grant Neeley, co-author).
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“Penny Pinching or Politics? The Line-Item Veto and Military Construction Appropriations.” 1999. *Political Research Quarterly* 52:753-766. (Irwin Morris and Grant Neeley, co-authors).

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“Bugs in the NRC’s Doctoral Program Evaluation Data: From Mites to Hissing Cockroaches.” 1998. *PS* 31:829-835. (Nelson Dometrius, Quentin Kidd, and Kurt Shirkey, co-authors).

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Book Chapters:

“The Primary that Wasn’t: The 2024 Presidential Nomination Process.” 2025. In *The 2024 Presidential Election in the South*, eds. Branwell DuBose Kapeluck and Scott E. Buchanan. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. (Aaron A. Hitefield, co-author).

“Texas: Republican Resilience.” 2025. In *The New Politics of the Old South*, 8th ed., Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark J. Rozell, editors. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).

“The 2020 Presidential Nomination Process.” 2021. In *The 2020 Presidential Election in the South*, eds. Branwell DuBose Kapeluck and Scott E. Buchanan. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. (Aaron A. Hitefield, co-author).

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[Reprint of 2004 *APR* article with Epilogue containing updated analysis and other original material.]

“The Texas Governors.” 1997. In *Texas Policy and Politics*, Mark Somma, editor. Needham Heights, MA: Simon & Schuster.

Book Reviews:

The Resilience of Southern Identity: Why the South Still Matters in the Minds of Its People. 2018.
Reviewed for *The Journal of Southern History* 84(1): 233-234.

Other Publications:

“Provisionally Admitted College Students: Do They Belong in a Research University?” 1998. In *Developmental Education: Preparing Successful College Students*, Jeanne Higbee and Patricia L. Dwinell, editors. Columbia, SC: National Resource Center for the First-Year Experience & Students in Transition (Don Garnett, co-author).

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

Grant-funded Research (UGA):

Principal Investigator. “Tracking Peach State Voter Sentiment in 2024.” Budget: \$25,000. 2024. Funded by the Yankelovich Center, UC-San Diego.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Curriculum Grants (UGA):

Learning Technology Grant: “Converting Ideas Into Effective Action: An Interactive Computer and Classroom Simulation for the Teaching of American Politics.” \$40,000. January-December 2004. (with Loch Johnson). Funded by the Office of Instructional Support and Technology, University of Georgia.

Dissertation:

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

Chair: Professor Sue Tolleson-Rinehart

Papers and Activities at Professional Meetings:

“Who Registers Unaffiliated? Evidence from Florida and North Carolina.” 2024. (with Seth C. McKee, Enrijeta Shino, and Daniel A. Smith). Biennial Meeting of the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

“Settlement Patterns and Partisanship in the Georgia Electorate.” 2024. (with Seth C. McKee). Annual meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association. Asheville, NC.

“The Changing South in Presidential Elections.” 2024. (with Robert N. Lupton, Seth C. McKee, Enrijeta Shino, and Daniel A. Smith). Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago, IL.

“The State Giveth and the State Taketh Away: Comparing Voter Behavior in Counties with and Without Early In-Person Voting.” 2024. (Chris Cooper and Seth C. McKee). Annual Meeting of the Election Science, Reform, and Administration Society. Los Angeles, CA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- “The Impact of the Texas Concealed Weapons Law on Crime Rates: A Policy Analysis for the City of Dallas, 1992-1997.” 1998. (With Grant W. Neeley). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “Analyzing Anglo Voting on Proposition 187: Does Racial/Ethnic Context Really Matter?” 1997. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Norfolk.
- “Capturing Bubba's Heart and Mind: Group Consciousness and the Political Identification of Southern White Males, 1972-1994.” 1997. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “Of Byrds[s] and Bumpers: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Study of the Roll-Call Voting Behavior of Democratic Senators from the South, 1960-1995.” 1996. (With Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta.
- “Pest Control: Southern Politics and the Eradication of the Boll Weevil.” 1996. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. San Francisco.
- “Fit for the Greater Functions of Politics: Gender, Participation, and Political Knowledge.” 1996. (With Terry Gilmour, Kurt Shirkey, and Sue Tolleson-Rinehart). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “¿Amigo o Enemigo?: Racial Context, Attitudes, and White Public Opinion on Immigration.” 1996. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago.
- “¡Quedate o Vente!: Uncovering the Determinants of Hispanic Public Opinion Towards Immigration.” 1996. (With Irwin Morris and Kurt Shirkey). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association. Houston.
- “Downs Meets the Boll Weevil: When Southern Democrats Turn Left.” 1995. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Tampa.
- “¿Amigo o Enemigo?: Ideological Dispositions of Whites Residing in Heavily Hispanic Areas.” 1995. (With Irwin Morris). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Tampa.
- Chair. Panel titled “Congress and Interest Groups in Institutional Settings.” 1995. Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association. Dallas.
- “Death of the Boll Weevil?: The Decline of Conservative Democrats in the House.” 1995. (With Kurt Shirkey). Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association. Dallas.

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

Areas of Teaching Competence:

American Politics: Behavior and Institutions

Public Policy

Scope, Methods, Techniques

Teaching Experience:

University of Georgia, 1999-present.

Graduate Faculty, 2003-present.

Provisional Graduate Faculty, 2000-2003.

Distance Education Faculty, 2000-present.

Texas Tech University, 1993-1999.

Visiting Faculty, 1997-1999.

Graduate Faculty, 1998-1999.

Extended Studies Faculty, 1997-1999.

Teaching Assistant, 1993-1997.

Courses Taught:

Undergraduate:

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

Graduate:

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

Editorial Boards:

Social Science Quarterly. Member. 2011-present.

Election Law Journal. Member. 2013-present.

Other Professional Service:

Member. ESRA (Election Science, Reform, & Administration) Steering Committee. 2023-
present.

Listed expert. MIT Election Data and Science Lab.

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

Institutional Service (University-Level):

University Information Technology Committee, 2022-present.

University Promotion and Tenure Committee, 2019-2022.

University Program Review Committee, 2009-2011.

Chair, 2010-2011

Vice-Chair, 2009-2010.

Graduate Council, 2005-2008.

Program Committee, 2005-2008.

Chair, Program Committee, 2007-2008.

University Libraries Committee, 2004-2014.

Search Committee for University Librarian and Associate Provost, 2014.