

Exhibit 9

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA**

SHAUNA WILLIAMS, et al.

Plaintiffs,

v.

REPRESENTATIVE DESTIN HALL, in his
official capacity as Chair of the House
Standing Committee on Redistricting, et al.

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1057

NORTH CAROLINA STATE
CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

PHILIP BERGER, in his official capacity as
the President Pro Tempore of the North
Carolina Senate, et al.,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 23 CV 1104

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

November 14, 2025

I have been retained by counsel for Legislative Defendants, as an expert to provide analysis related to *Gingles* prongs 2 and 3, and racially polarized voting as related to the challenge to the Congressional, State Senate, and State House maps for the State of North Carolina that were enacted in October of 2023. I have now been asked to provide analyses related to racially polarized voting as it relates to the challenge to the Congressional map, as adopted in Senate Bill 249, on October 22, 2025.

I submitted an initial report dated September 26, 2024, and was subsequently asked by counsel to examine the results of the 2024 elections in North Carolina and submitted a supplemental report on the 2024 elections dated March 17, 2025. I then submitted a supplemental rebuttal report on March 31, 2025, responding to the March 17, 2025, supplemental reports of Dr. Oskooii and Dr. Palmer.

This report supplements my previous reports by addressing the redrawn Congressional Districts 1 and 3 in the 2025 map. I am responding here to the supplemental reports in this case filed on October 31, 2025, by plaintiffs' experts Dr. Maxwell Palmer and Dr. Kassra Oskooii. As in my previous reports, I am relying on data provided in the reports and disclosures of Dr. Palmer and Dr. Oskooii, as well as election data available from the North Carolina Board of Elections. My methodology in this report is the same approach detailed in my earlier reports in this case. My rate of compensation in this matter is \$600 per hour, and my compensation does not depend on the outcome of this lawsuit.

I began my analysis with an attempt to replicate the results of the Ecological Inference (EI) RxC analysis provided by Dr. Palmer and Dr. Oskooii in their most recent reports in this

case.¹ My replication results are very similar to those reported by Dr. Palmer and Dr. Oskooii, and none of the differences in our results impact in any way my conclusions. To avoid confusion over whether my conclusions detailed below depend in any way on methodological or data differences, I will confine my analysis to the various numerical EI RxC results produced by Dr. Palmer and Dr. Oskooii in their reports and appendices. The only exception to this is the 2016 Supreme Court contest that Dr. Palmer excluded from his analysis. To have the full set of all 64 statewide elections from 2016 to 2024, I have added my own estimation of the EI RxC results for that one non-partisan election contest to the table for the 2016 election.

Dr. Palmer's Report

Dr. Palmer's report provides an RPV election analysis that includes all statewide elections from 2016 to 2024, with the exception of one 2016 Supreme Court contest, yielding a total of 63 contests. Dr. Palmer provides the results of his RPV analysis for these 63 statewide general elections in three geographies – Congressional District 1 (in his Table 2), Congressional District 3 (in his Table 3), and the combined geographies of these two districts (in his Table 1).

Tables 1 through 5 below provide Dr. Palmer's results from his Tables 1, 2, and 3 for Black and White voters, broken out by election years. In each table the asterisk following the contest label is taken from Dr. Palmer's tables and is his indication that the Democratic candidate in that contest was Black. Table 1 includes my estimates for the 2016 Supreme Court contest that Dr. Palmer excluded from his analysis. Table 5 (2024) separates the 2024 Governor's contest.²

¹ The EI analysis provided here was conducted by my Rice colleague Prof. Randy Stevenson under my direction and control.

² The 2024 Governor's contest was distinct as it featured a Black Republican against a white Democrat. That contest is discussed at length in part B of my previous March 17, 2025, Supplemental Report.

Table 1 – EI RxC for 2016 Elections in Palmer’s Tables 1-3 and 2016 Supreme Court

		Estimated Vote Share					
		CD1 + CD 3		CD 1		CD 3	
	White Democratic Candidates	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
2016	US President	97.9%	18.4%	97.8%	20.3%	97.6%	16.7%
2016	US Senate	97.6%	18.0%	97.0%	20.1%	97.5%	15.6%
2016	Governor	97.3%	20.2%	96.8%	22.5%	97.1%	17.8%
2016	Attorney General	98.0%	22.0%	97.6%	23.9%	97.5%	20.2%
2016	Secretary State	98.2%	27.6%	97.9%	29.4%	97.5%	26.2%
2016	Auditor	98.2%	25.7%	98.0%	27.7%	97.6%	24.0%
2016	Comm. Agriculture	97.3%	17.8%	96.8%	20.0%	97.3%	15.6%
2016	Comm. Insurance	98.1%	23.4%	97.9%	25.9%	97.6%	20.5%
2016	Comm. Labor	97.8%	17.8%	97.5%	20.1%	97.5%	15.4%
2016	Super. Public Inst.	98.1%	24.2%	97.8%	26.3%	97.5%	22.2%
2016	NC Ct. App. (Geer)	98.2%	20.3%	97.7%	22.9%	98.0%	18.1%
2016	NC Ct. App. (Stephens)	98.1%	22.8%	97.6%	25.1%	97.7%	20.6%
	Mean White Dem. Candidates	97.9%	21.5%	97.5%	23.7%	97.5%	19.4%
	Black Democratic Candidates						
2016	Lieutenant Governor*	97.8%	18.5%	97.4%	20.7%	97.5%	16.1%
2016	Treasurer*	98.0%	20.0%	97.6%	22.1%	97.7%	18.0%
2016	NC Ct. App. (Dietz)*	98.0%	18.9%	97.7%	20.9%	97.7%	17.2%
2016	NC Ct. App. (Hunter)*	97.8%	17.4%	97.5%	19.2%	97.4%	15.3%
2016	NC Ct. App. (Zachary)*	97.9%	18.2%	97.5%	20.4%	97.5%	15.9%
	Mean Black Dem. Candidates	97.9%	18.6%	97.5%	20.7%	97.6%	16.5%
	Black/White Candidate Difference	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%	3.0%	0.0%	2.9%
2016	Sup. Ct. Seat 2 (Edmunds) White	26.3%	54.7%	25.8%	54.9%	26.5%	53.2%
2016	Sup. Ct. Seat 2 (Morgan) Black	73.7%	45.3%	74.2%	45.1%	73.5%	46.8%

Table 2 – EI RxC for 2018 Elections in Palmer’s Tables 1-3

		Estimated Vote Share					
		Comb 1 3		CD 1		CD 3	
	White Democratic Candidates	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
2018	NC Ct. App. Seat 1	98.1%	21.1%	97.4%	23.5%	97.6%	18.8%
2018	NC Ct. App. Seat 2	97.9%	18.6%	97.3%	20.8%	97.6%	16.5%
2018	NC Ct. App. Seat 3	98.1%	21.3%	97.6%	23.6%	97.7%	19.1%
	Mean White Dem. Candidates	98.0%	20.3%	97.4%	22.6%	97.6%	18.1%
	Black Democratic Candidates						
2018	Sup. Ct. Seat 1*	98.0%	19.4%	97.7%	21.5%	97.4%	17.6%
	Black/White Candidate Difference	0.0%	0.9%	-0.3%	1.1%	0.2%	0.5%

Table 3 – EI RxC for 2020 Elections in Palmer’s Tables 1-3

		Estimated Vote Share					
		Comb 1 3		CD 1		CD 3	
	White Democratic Candidates	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
2020	US President	96.1%	15.5%	95.2%	18.4%	97.4%	12.0%
2020	US Senate	96.7%	16.1%	95.8%	18.8%	97.4%	13.1%
2020	Governor	97.2%	18.9%	96.4%	21.9%	97.8%	16.3%
2020	Attorney General	97.0%	17.6%	96.1%	20.2%	97.5%	14.6%
2020	Secretary State	97.4%	19.8%	96.3%	22.4%	97.6%	17.2%
2020	Treasurer	96.0%	16.0%	94.8%	18.1%	96.5%	12.6%
2020	Auditor	97.3%	21.5%	96.5%	24.5%	97.4%	18.0%
2020	Comm. Agriculture	96.1%	13.3%	95.1%	16.1%	97.1%	9.9%
2020	Comm. Insurance	96.5%	15.9%	95.8%	18.7%	97.5%	12.2%
2020	Super. Public Inst.	96.4%	15.6%	95.8%	18.6%	97.1%	12.8%
2020	Sup. Ct. Seat 2	96.5%	16.2%	95.6%	19.4%	97.1%	13.0%
2020	Sup. Ct. Seat 4	96.8%	17.2%	96.0%	19.6%	97.6%	14.1%
2020	NC Ct. App. Seat 4	96.4%	15.2%	95.4%	18.0%	97.2%	11.7%
2020	NC Ct. App. Seat 6	96.5%	14.8%	95.5%	17.6%	97.4%	11.6%
2020	NC Ct. App. Seat 13	96.6%	15.7%	95.5%	18.5%	97.3%	12.5%
	Mean White Dem. Candidates	96.6%	16.6%	95.7%	19.4%	97.3%	13.4%
	Black Democratic Candidates						
2020	Lieutenant Governor*	96.2%	14.6%	95.1%	17.6%	97.2%	11.4%
2020	Comm. Labor*	96.6%	16.7%	95.4%	19.6%	97.2%	13.8%
2020	Sup. Ct. Seat 1*	96.7%	17.3%	96.0%	20.1%	97.3%	14.7%
2020	NC Ct. App. Seat 5*	96.5%	15.7%	95.6%	18.5%	97.3%	12.4%
2020	NC Ct. App. Seat 7*	96.6%	15.2%	95.6%	18.1%	97.3%	11.9%
	Mean Black Dem. Candidates	96.5%	15.9%	95.5%	18.8%	97.3%	12.8%
	Black/White Candidate Difference	0.1%	0.7%	0.2%	0.6%	0.1%	0.6%

Table 4 – EI RxC for 2022 Elections in Palmer’s Tables 1-3

		Estimated Vote Share					
		Comb 1 3		CD 1		CD 3	
	White Democratic Candidates	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
2022	Sup. Ct. Seat 3	97.3%	16.6%	96.4%	19.3%	97.2%	14.0%
2022	Sup. Ct. Seat 5	97.0%	17.3%	96.0%	19.8%	97.2%	14.4%
2022	NC Ct. App. Seat 9	97.1%	14.8%	96.1%	17.5%	97.1%	11.8%
2022	NC Ct. App. Seat 11	97.3%	16.4%	96.2%	19.1%	97.6%	13.6%
	Mean White Dem. Candidates	97.2%	16.3%	96.2%	18.9%	97.3%	13.5%
	Black Democratic Candidates						
2022	US Senate*	97.4%	17.3%	96.3%	20.2%	97.7%	14.6%
2022	NC Ct. App. Seat 8*	97.4%	16.9%	96.7%	19.7%	97.7%	14.2%
2022	NC Ct. App. Seat 10*	97.2%	16.3%	96.1%	19.1%	97.5%	13.5%
	Mean Black Dem. Candidates	97.3%	16.8%	96.4%	19.7%	97.6%	14.1%
	Black/White Candidate Difference	-0.2%	-0.6%	-0.2%	-0.7%	-0.4%	-0.6%

Table 5 – EI RxC for 2024 Elections in Palmer’s Tables 1-3

		Estimated Vote Share					
		Comb 1 3		CD 1		CD 3	
	White Democratic Candidates	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
2024	Lieutenant Governor	97.4%	18.8%	96.5%	21.8%	97.7%	15.9%
2024	Attorney General	97.4%	19.8%	96.8%	22.4%	97.5%	16.6%
2024	Secretary State	97.5%	21.0%	97.1%	23.4%	97.5%	18.0%
2024	Treasurer	97.2%	15.2%	95.9%	18.3%	97.5%	11.5%
2024	Comm. Agriculture	96.9%	13.1%	95.6%	16.4%	97.7%	9.3%
2024	Comm. Insurance	97.0%	15.5%	95.8%	18.5%	97.7%	11.6%
2024	Sup. Ct. Seat 6	97.0%	18.0%	96.4%	21.0%	97.6%	14.8%
2024	NC Ct. App. Seat 14	97.0%	15.3%	96.1%	18.3%	97.5%	11.2%
	Mean White Dem. Candidates	97.2%	17.1%	96.3%	20.0%	97.6%	13.6%
	Black Democratic Candidates						
2024	US President*	96.7%	15.3%	95.6%	18.8%	97.3%	11.2%
2024	Auditor*	97.4%	16.6%	96.3%	19.5%	97.8%	12.8%
2024	Comm. Labor*	97.0%	14.5%	95.7%	17.3%	97.6%	10.5%
2024	Super. Public Inst.*	97.3%	20.3%	96.4%	22.8%	97.5%	17.8%
2024	NC Ct. App. Seat 12*	97.0%	16.4%	95.8%	19.3%	97.4%	12.1%
2024	NC Ct. App. Seat 15*	96.8%	15.5%	95.6%	18.6%	97.4%	11.3%
	Mean Black Dem. Candidates	97.0%	16.4%	95.9%	19.4%	97.5%	12.6%
	Black/White Candidate Difference	0.1%	0.7%	0.4%	0.6%	0.1%	1.0%
2024	Governor	97.3%	26.9%	96.6%	28.7%	97.4%	25.3%

For Dr. Palmer's analysis, the broad pattern is similar to what I reported in each of my earlier reports in this case. In contrast to the strong impact of candidate party affiliation, the race of the candidates does not appear to have a polarizing impact on voters' behavior. The difference in Black voters' support for Black Democratic candidates compared to their support for White Democratic candidates typically differs by less than a single percentage point. Similarly, the difference in White voters' crossover support for White Democratic candidates compared to their support for Black Democratic candidates differs by a single percentage point or less in elections from 2018 forward (note that differences like these that are within the range of the credible intervals cannot be treated as meaningful).³

The final Supreme Court contest in 2016 continues to be instructive. This was the last election for the Court that did not have an official partisan structure, although the candidates themselves could express a party preference. Absent a party indication on the ballot, that Black voter support for the Black candidate (Democrat Michael Morgan) is at about 74% in Congressional District 1, significantly lower than Black support for either White or Black Democratic candidates in the succeeding partisan election contests. White support for the White candidate (Republican incumbent Justice Edmunds) is much lower than in the partisan elections, and with White crossover vote of over 45% in Congressional District 1 for Morgan, it is clear that White voters were not voting cohesively to defeat the Black candidate of choice.

³ As explained in my September 26, 2024 report, the 2016 contests are the only ones that show any consistent tendency for White voters to crossover at lower levels for Black Democratic candidates, but even here the magnitude of the effect is only 3 percentage points at most, and this slight difference disappears after 2018 and is not evident in any subsequent year.

Dr. Oskooii's Report

Dr. Oskooii provides Racially Polarized Voting (RPV) analyses only for the two most recent election years (2022 and 2024) and only for Congressional Districts 1 and 3 taken separately. Table 6 below collects Dr. Oskooii's RxC EI results from his Figure A8 (for EI RxC 2024 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CD1), Figure A10 (for EI RxC 2024 General election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CD3), Figure A12 (for EI RxC 2022 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CD1), and Figure A14 (for EI RxC 2022 General Election RPV Results for 2025 Enacted CD 3). Again, as was the case with Dr. Palmer's RPV analysis, the difference in Black voters' support for Black Democratic candidates compared to their support for White Democratic candidates differs by less than a single percentage point. Similarly, the difference in White voters' crossover support for White Democratic candidates compared to their support for Black Democratic candidates differs by less than a single percentage point. Differences like these that are within the range of the credible intervals cannot be treated as meaningful, nor are they substantively meaningful.

Table 6 – EI RxC for 2022 and 2024 Elections in Oskooii’s Figures A8, A10, A12, and A14

		Estimated Vote Share			
		CD 1		CD 3	
		Black	White	Black	White
	White Democratic Candidates				
2022	Sup. Ct. Seat 3	97.1%	18.1%	97.3%	13.3%
2022	Sup. Ct. Seat 5	97.1%	18.8%	97.5%	13.8%
2022	NC Ct. App. Seat 9	96.8%	16.5%	97.1%	11.3%
2022	NC Ct. App. Seat 11	97.2%	17.9%	97.9%	13.0%
2024	Lieutenant Governor	97.7%	19.5%	97.6%	14.8%
2024	Attorney General	97.4%	20.4%	97.4%	15.3%
2024	Secretary State	97.4%	22.0%	97.3%	16.5%
2024	Treasurer	97.7%	16.4%	97.7%	10.2%
2024	Comm. Agriculture	97.3%	13.9%	97.6%	8.2%
2024	Comm. Insurance	97.3%	16.7%	97.5%	10.4%
2024	Sup. Ct. Seat 6	97.3%	19.1%	97.6%	13.0%
2024	NC Ct. App. Seat 14	97.5%	16.3%	97.6%	9.9%
	Mean White Dem. Candidates	97.3%	18.0%	97.5%	12.5%
	Black Democratic Candidates				
2022	US Senate*	97.6%	18.7%	97.7%	14.0%
2022	NC Ct. App. Seat 8*	97.2%	18.6%	97.7%	13.6%
2022	NC Ct. App. Seat 10*	96.7%	18.0%	97.8%	12.9%
2024	US President*	97.4%	16.2%	97.3%	10.0%
2024	Auditor*	97.6%	17.7%	98.0%	11.8%
2024	Comm. Labor*	97.6%	15.8%	97.6%	9.6%
2024	Super. Public Inst.*	97.3%	21.4%	97.5%	16.1%
2024	NC Ct. App. Seat 12*	97.6%	17.5%	97.6%	11.2%
2024	NC Ct. App. Seat 15*	97.3%	16.4%	97.5%	9.8%
	Mean Black Dem. Candidates	97.4%	17.8%	97.6%	12.1%
	Black/White Candidate Difference	0.0%	0.2%	-0.1%	0.4%
2024	Governor	96.9%	27.4%	97.2%	23.7%

District Performance

Both Dr. Oskooii and Dr. Palmer comment on the altered performance of Congressional Districts 1 and 3 in the adopted plan. As noted above, all of the Black-preferred candidates are also the Democratic candidates in the general elections. As such, the assessment of the election performance of a district is simply the expected Democratic share of the general election vote in the district. The district performance metrics provided by Dr. Palmer and Dr. Oskooii indicate that the adopted plan reduces the Democratic performance of District 1 while improving the

Democratic performance in District 3, yielding two Republican districts. But note that in the 2023 plan, District 1 was already a Republican leaning district, as Dr. Oskooii's Figure A1 shows with the Republican candidate in statewide contests carrying 9 of the 15 2024 contests, and District 3 was solidly Republican with Republicans carrying all 15 of the 2024 contests. In the newly adopted plan District 1 tilts even more Republican, while District 3 tilts less solidly Republican. As Dr. Oskooii's Figures A1 and A2 show, in the 2024 election, Donald Trump carried District 1 in the 2023 plan with 51.6% of the vote and District 3 in the 2023 plan with 61% of the vote. In the newly adopted plan, Trump's performance in District 1 improved to 55.9% but decreased in District 3 with 56.9%.

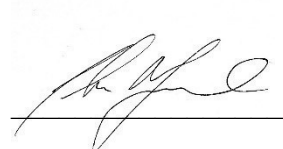
Conclusion

The analysis here for the recent changes to Congressional Districts 1 and 3, whether that provided by Dr Palmer or Dr. Oskooii, is entirely compatible with my overall conclusion to my initial report in this case dated September 26, 2024 (at page 35):

Both Dr. Palmer's and Dr. Oskooii's reports provided a limited analysis that fails to consider nonracial causes of voting preferences. The RPV analysis in these reports shows only that Black voters cohesively support Democratic candidates and that those candidates do not receive support from the majority of White voters who provide majority support to Republican candidates. Considering the EI estimations provided by both Dr. Palmer and Dr. Oskooii in light of information on the party affiliation and race of candidates, the election analysis clearly demonstrates that the party affiliation of the candidates best explains the divergent voting preferences of Black and White voters in North Carolina elections.

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

November 14, 2025

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'John R. Alford', is written over a horizontal line.

John R. Alford, Ph.D

John R. Alford
Curriculum Vitae
May 2025

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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. 2nd Edition 2024.

Articles:

“Political Attitudes Vary with Detection of Androstenone.” With Kevin Smith, Amanda Friesen, and Mike Gruszczynski. **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).

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“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 Tavis, 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, Politics and the Life Sciences, 2025.

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:

Department - Interim Director of Undergraduate Studies 2025

Member, University Senate, 2021-2023.

Member, University Parking Committee, 2016-2023.

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.

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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:

Expert Witness, Hazleton ISD, 2025.

Expert Witness, Angleton ISD, 2025.

Expert Witness, Humble ISD, 2024.

Expert Witness, City of Miami, 2023.

Expert Witness, State of North Carolina, 2023.

Expert Witness, State of Mississippi, 2023.

Expert Witness, State of Florida, 2023.

Expert Witness, LULAC et al v. City of Houston, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, Shafer et al v. Pearland ISD, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, Johnson v. Wisconsin Elections Commission, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, Palmer v. Hobbs, State of Washington redistricting, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, 10 consolidated cases challenging Texas redistricting, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, Suttlar, et al v. State of Arkansas, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, Elizondo v. Spring Branch ISD, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, United States v. Galveston County, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, Dixon v. Lewisville ISD, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, Pendergrass v. State of Georgia, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, Rivera, et al v. State of Kansas, racially polarized voting analysis, 2022.

Expert Witness, Robinson v. Ardoyn, (Louisiana), racially polarized voting analysis, 2022.

Expert Witness, Christian Ministerial Alliance et al v. State of Arkansas, racially polarized voting analysis, 2021.