

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF NORTH DAKOTA**

CHARLES WALEN, an individual; and PAUL
HENDERSON, an individual.

Plaintiffs,

v.

DOUG BURGUM, in his official capacity as
Governor of the State of North Dakota;
ALVIN JAEGER in his official capacity as
Secretary of State of the State of North Dakota,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 1:22-cv-0031-CRH

EXPERT REPORT OF M.V. HOOD III

I, M.V. Hood III, affirm the conclusions I express in this report are provided to a reasonable degree of professional certainty. In addition, I do hereby declare the following:

EXHIBIT

J

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.

During the preceding five years, I have offered expert testimony (through deposition or at trial) in ten cases around the United States: *Ohio A. Philip Randolph Institute v. Ryan Smith*, 1:18-cv-357 (S.D. Ohio), *Libertarian Party of Arkansas v. Thurston*, 4:19-cv-00214 (E.D. Ark.); *Chestnut v. Merrill*, 2:18-cv-907 (N.D. Ala.), *Common Cause v. Lewis*, 18-CVS-014001 (Wake County Superior Court); *Nielsen v. DeSantis*, 4:20-cv-236 (N.D. Fla.); *Western Native Voice v. Stapleton*, DV-56-2020-377 (Montana Thirteenth Judicial District Court); *Driscoll v. Stapleton*, DV-20-0408 (Montana Thirteenth Judicial District Court); *North Carolina v. Holmes*, 18-CVS-15292 (Wake County Superior Court); *Caster v. Merrill*, 2:21-cv-1536 (S.D. Ala); and *Robinson v. Ardoin*, 3:22-cv-00211 (M.D. La.).

I am receiving \$400 an hour for my work on this case and \$400 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 defendant to provide a functional analysis for LD 9 and LD 4 in the North Dakota legislative districting plan as enacted following the 2020 apportionment.

III. FUNCTIONALITY ANALYSIS

In *Alabama Legislative Black Caucus v. Alabama* the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that, in relation to the use of race in redistricting, the pertinent question was to be found in Section 2, not Section 5, of the Voting Rights Act. Specifically, the issue is not *how to maintain the present minority percentages in majority-minority districts*, instead the issue is *the extent to which [the State] must preserve existing minority percentages in order to maintain the minority's present ability to elect the candidate of its choice*.¹ With this guidance I have undertaken an analysis using the three prongs of the standard *Gingles*² test in order to answer the following question: if said district is not constituted as a majority-minority district, would the preferred candidate of the Native American community in an open seat scenario most likely be defeated? In order to answer this question, I rely on what is known as a district functionality analysis. Such an analysis can be used to gain insight into how a proposed or enacted district would perform electorally.

The functionality analyses presented in this expert report consist of several components which are then combined in a final step. First, one needs to estimate the manner in which various racial groups are voting. Here, I rely on precinct-level vote returns and racial voting age population data to estimate how various groups are casting ballots. The next step in the process involves producing turnout estimates by race. The final piece of requisite information concerns the racial population (VAP) breakdown of the district to be analyzed. One can then take these voting age population figures and combine them with the aforementioned turnout estimates to create an estimate of the number of white, Native American, and *other* minority voters participating in a given election. Finally, one can combine these turnout numbers with the estimated vote percentages by race to obtain vote share estimates. Aggregating these estimates, one can then determine the estimated vote share for each candidate in a given race. In the case of a general election, the process would terminate with a vote estimate for each political party in the race being analyzed. For example, a calculation of the overall estimated Democratic (Republican) vote share in said district.

IV. ANALYSIS OF LD 9

A. Can a Majority-Minority District Be Created?

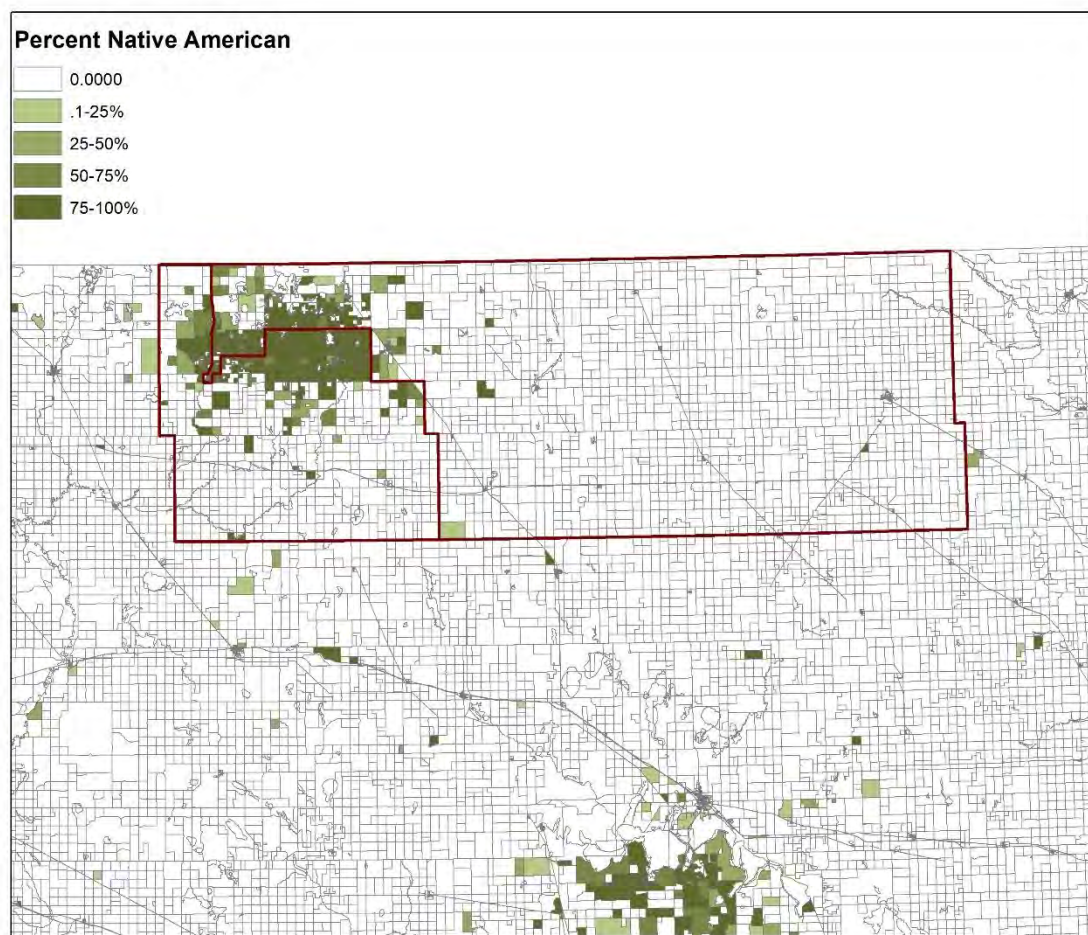
Prong 1 of the *Gingles* test reads as follows: The minority group must be of sufficient size and geographically compact enough to allow for the creation of a single-member district for the group in question.

¹See *Alabama Legislative Black Caucus v. Alabama*, 575 U.S. ____ (2015). Page 4. Alabama was a Section 5 covered jurisdiction prior to *Shelby County v. Holder*, 570 U.S. 529 (2013). The quoted passage relating to Section 2 and its applicability to redistricting, however, pertains to any jurisdiction engaged in drawing new districts as Section 2 has nationwide coverage.

²See M.V. Hood III, Peter A. Morrison, and Thomas M. Bryan. 2017. "From Legal Theory to Practical Application: A How-To for Performing Vote Dilution Analyses." *Social Science Quarterly* for a discussion of how to conduct a Section 2 vote dilution analysis.

LD 9 in the enacted legislative plan³ is comprised of 51.7% Native American voting age population.⁴ As such, under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act it would be described as a minority, opportunity-to-elect district.⁵ LD 9 is also subdivided into LD 9A and LD 9B, where each subdistrict serves as a single-member district for the purpose of electing members to the North Dakota House. Subdistrict 9A is 77.0% Native American VAP and LD 9B is 29.4% Native American VAP. Given LD 9 is majority Native American in terms of voting age, per prong 1 it is certainly possible to create a district where the minority group in question to comprises a majority of the district's population. Figure 1 below displays enacted LD 9 along with its subdistricts. The Native American population at the Census block-level is also presented for reference.

Figure 1. Enacted LD 9 (with subdistricts) and Block-Level Native American Population



³Throughout this report the enacted plan refers to the legislative districting plan passed by the North Dakota Legislature following the 2020 Census that was in place for the 2022 election-cycle.

⁴Measured as single-race Native Americans of voting age population from the 2020 decennial Census. North Dakota 2022 Legislative Plan Statistics (<https://www.ndlegis.gov/assembly/67-2021/session-interim/2021-legislative-redistricting-maps>).

⁵See *Bartlett v. Strickland*, 556 U.S. 1 (2009).

B. Is racially polarized voting present in the geographic area under study?

Prong 2 of the *Gingles* test seeks to determine if racially polarized voting is present in the geographic area under study. In order to determine if this is the case, one needs to estimate the manner in which various racial groups are voting. Here, I rely on precinct-level vote returns and racial voting age population data to estimate how whites, Native Americans, and *other* minorities are casting ballots. More specifically, I analyze six recent state-level contests: the 2020 presidential election, the 2020 U.S. House election, the 2020 gubernatorial election, the 2018 U.S. Senate election, the 2018 U.S. House election, and the 2018 Attorney General election.

For each election analyzed, precinct vote returns are collected for the precincts that that make up enacted LD 9. In the case where a precinct is split between LD 9 and another legislative district, the precinct was retained for purposes of estimating vote shares by race.⁶ Block-level racial data from the 2020 Census was then aggregated to the precinct-level to be used for analysis. The three demographic groups analyzed are non-Hispanic whites, Native Americans, and *other* minorities.⁷

Ecological Inference is a statistical method that allows one to use aggregate-level data (precincts in this case) to make extrapolations concerning individual-level behavior. Using this technique one can estimate the percentages of each racial group that voted for a particular candidate.⁸ Sometimes this step is referred to as a racially polarized voting (or racial bloc voting) analysis.

Table 1 details racial voting estimates for enacted LD 9 along with 95% confidence intervals. For all six elections analyzed, there is a clear candidate of choice for Native American voters in LD 9, with the candidate of choice being the Democratic candidate in each of these contests. On the other side, white voters consistently support the Republican candidate in all six races. Racially polarized voting would then appear to be the norm in LD 9.

⁶There were not enough precincts to produce estimates for the two subdistricts: LD 9A and LD 9B.

⁷Outside of Native Americans, all other minorities are grouped into a category labeled *Other*.

⁸For more information on EI see: Gary King. 1997. *A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. For more information on the specific variant of EI I use in this report see: Ori Rosen, Wenxin Jiang, Gary King, and Martin A. Tanner. 2001. "Bayesian and Frequentist Inference for Ecological Inference: The R x C Case." *Statistica Neerlandica* 55: 134-156. EI estimates for this report are estimated using the eiPack procedure in the statistical program R.

Table 1. Racial Voting Estimates, LD 9

Election	White		Native American	
	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
2020 Presidential	71.9 [66.0, 77.4]	27.0 [21.5, 32.8]	10.1 [2.0, 20.1]	89.3 [79.3, 97.4]
2020 U.S. House	75.7 [69.8, 81.1]	23.1 [17.7, 29.0]	12.7 [3.5, 23.1]	85.7 [75.3, 94.9]
2020 Governor	78.0 [72.0, 83.4]	20.4 [15.0, 26.4]	18.9 [8.9, 29.1]	80.0 [69.8, 90.0]
2018 U.S. Senate	56.3 [50.2, 62.2]	43.7 [37.8, 49.8]	5.0 [0.6, 11.0]	95.0 [89.0, 99.4]
2018 U.S. House	67.7 [55.7, 67.4]	35.6 [30.0, 41.6]	11.2 [4.7, 17.9]	83.8 [77.1, 90.2]
2018 Attorney General	71.2 [64.6, 77.3]	28.8 [22.7, 35.4]	12.6 [5.4, 20.1]	87.3 [79.9, 94.6]

Notes: Entries are estimates of vote share by race and party with 95% confidence estimates in parentheses.

C. Is the Native American Candidate of Choice Typically Defeated?

For each of the six elections analyzed there is a clear candidate of choice for Native American voters in LD 9. In each of these case that candidate of choice is the Democrat. The question now becomes is the Native American candidate of choice typically defeated by the white voting bloc.

In order to answer this question, I produce turnout estimates for whites, Native Americans, and *others*. Because racial turnout data are not available in North Dakota, I again rely on ecological inference to estimate turnout by race using precinct-level data. In this case I use voting age counts by racial group and turnout measured as the number of ballots cast in a specific election (with the number of nonvoters calculated as ballots cast subtracted from the total voting age population).

The estimated turnout rates by race are then used to partition the voting age population into the electorate for a given race. For example, if there are 1,000 whites of voting age and the estimated turnout rate for this group is 45%, then it would be estimated that there would be 450 whites in the electorate. This process is repeated for Native Americans and the *other* minority category.

The next step would be to decompose these voters by candidate choice. To continue the present hypothetical example, one would divide these 450 white voters into categories based on vote choice. If the white vote was estimated to have split 60% Republican and 40% Democratic, there would be 270 white votes for the Republican candidate and 180 white votes for the Democratic candidate. The same process would then be repeated for the other two racial categories under analysis. Finally, votes by party across racial groups would be summed and then divided by the

total number of estimated votes. The end product would then be an estimate of the Democratic and Republican vote in enacted LD 9 for the election contest under study.⁹ With this accomplished, it is then possible to determine which party would have won the election within the geographic boundaries of enacted LD 9 (and LD 9A and LD 9B).

The predicted vote share by party for the six election contests analyzed for LD 9 is presented in Table 2 below. The table also contains an analysis of the predicted vote for LD 9A and LD 9B. Looking at Table 2, the estimates produced indicate that the Native American preferred candidate of choice, the Democratic candidate in each case, would have prevailed in LD 9 in four of the six elections analyzed, or 67% of the time. In LD 9A, the Native American preferred candidate would win six of six elections analyzed, or 100% of the time. In LD 9B, the Native American preferred candidate would win two of six races, or 33% of the time.

Table 2. LD 9-Predicted Vote by Party

Election	LD 9		LD 9A		LD 9B	
	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.
2020 Presidential	51.2	47.2	68.8	29.8	39.6	58.8
2020 U.S. House	47.2	50.6	64.8	32.8	35.6	62.3
2020 Governor	44.1	53.7	60.9	37.0	32.9	64.9
2018 U.S. Senate	69.1	30.9	82.6	17.4	58.0	42.0
2018 U.S. House	58.9	36.3	71.7	23.0	48.5	47.2
2018 Attorney General	58.1	41.9	73.5	26.5	45.5	54.5
Average	54.8	43.4	70.4	27.8	43.4	55.0

Note: Democratic and Republican vote percentages may not sum to 100% due to the presence of a third-party candidate.

D. Summary and Conclusion

Racially polarized voting is present within the boundaries of enacted LD 9 and, in fact, appears to be the prevailing pattern. At present, LD 9 contains a majority of Native American voting age population, as does LD 9A. LD 9, therefore, is a Section 2 minority opportunity-to-elect district for Native Americans. Under its present configuration, LD 9 and LD 9A demonstrate an ability to consistently elect a Native American candidate of choice. Given the presence of racially polarized voting in the district, it is unlikely that the Native American candidate of choice would be regularly elected if the district did not contain a majority Native American voting age population.

⁹If a third-party candidate were present in the race the estimated vote share for this individual would also be calculated.

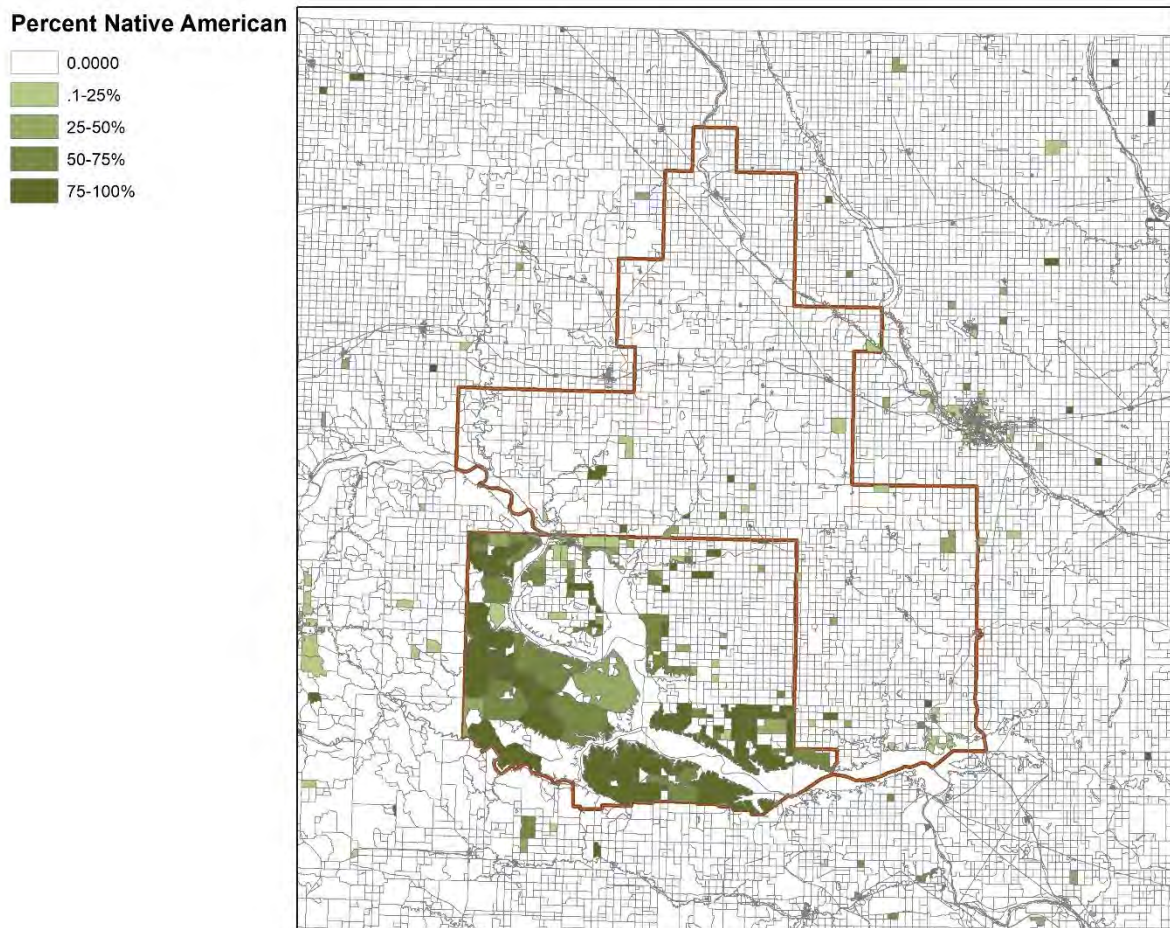
V. ANALYSIS OF LD 4

In this section, I repeat the same process utilized for the functional analysis carried out on LD 9 in Section IV.

A. Can a Majority-Minority District Be Created?

LD 4 in the enacted legislative plan contains a 31.0% Native American voting age population.¹⁰ LD 4 is also subdivided into LD 4A and LD 4B where each subdistrict serves as a single-member district for the purpose of electing members to the North Dakota House. Subdistrict 4A is 62.1% Native American VAP and LD 4B is 2.3% Native American VAP. LD 4 is not majority Native American in terms of voting age population. LD 4A is, however, majority Native American and for the purposes of electing a member to the North Dakota State House can serve as a minority opportunity-to-elect district. In the case of LD 4A, the first prong of the *Gingles* test is met. Figure 2 below displays enacted LD 4 along with its subdistricts. The Native American population at the Census block-level is also presented for reference.

Figure 1. Enacted LD 4 (with subdistricts) and Block-Level Native American Population



¹⁰Measured as single-race Native Americans of voting age population from the 2020 decennial Census. North Dakota 2022 Legislative Plan Statistics (<https://www.ndlegis.gov/assembly/67-2021/session-interim/2021-legislative-redistricting-maps>).

B. Is racially polarized voting present in the geographic area under study?

Table 3 details racial voting estimates for enacted LD 4 along with 95% confidence intervals for the same six elections used for the analysis of LD 9. For all six elections analyzed, there is a clear candidate of choice for Native American voters in LD 4, with the candidate of choice being the Democratic candidate in each of these contests. On the other side, white voters consistently support the Republican candidate in all six races. For the six elections analyzed, racially polarized voting is present 100% of the time.

Table 3. Racial Voting Estimates, LD 4

Election	White		Native American	
	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
2020 Presidential	82.8 [80.3, 85.2]	16.4 [14.0, 18.7]	9.7 [2.6, 21.5]	88.7 [77.0, 96.1]
2020 U.S. House	83.7 [81.3, 86.1]	15.2 [12.7, 17.4]	12.3 [3.7, 25.3]	84.2 [71.5, 93.3]
2020 Governor	79.5 [76.8, 82.2]	15.9 [13.1, 18.4]	17.6 [7.0, 31.1]	79.7 [66.3, 90.4]
2018 U.S. Senate	71.9 [68.9, 75.0]	28.1 [25.0, 31.1]	7.0 [1.1, 18.0]	93.0 [82.0, 98.9]
2018 U.S. House	77.1 [74.4, 79.7]	20.9 [18.2, 23.4]	9.9 [2.5, 21.6]	88.0 [76.4, 95.8]
2018 Attorney General	81.2 [78.2, 84.3]	18.8 [15.7, 21.8]	9.7 [2.0, 22.5]	90.3 [77.5, 98.0]

Notes: Entries are estimates of vote share by race and party with 95% confidence estimates in parentheses.

C. Is the Native American Candidate of Choice Typically Defeated?

The predicted vote share by party for the six election contests analyzed for LD 4 is presented in Table 4 below. The table also contains an analysis of the predicted vote for LD 4A and LD 4B. Looking at Table 4, the estimates produced indicate that the Native American preferred candidate of choice, the Democratic candidate in each case, would be defeated in LD 4 six out of the six elections analyzed, or 100% of the time. In LD 4A, the Native American preferred candidate would win five of six elections analyzed, or 83% of the time. In LD 4B, the Native American preferred candidate would lose all six races, or 100% of the time.

Table 4. LD 4-Predicted Vote by Party

Election	LD 4		LD 4A		LD 4B	
	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.
2020 Presidential	29.8	68.4	51.3	46.0	18.1	80.7
2020 U.S. House	27.7	69.5	48.1	47.4	16.7	81.6
2020 Governor	27.5	67.4	46.3	48.4	17.3	77.7
2018 U.S. Senate	40.8	59.2	60.8	39.2	30.0	70.1
2018 U.S. House	32.9	63.5	52.4	42.5	22.2	75.0
2018 Attorney General	32.7	67.3	54.6	45.4	20.8	79.2
Average	31.9	65.9	52.3	44.8	20.9	77.4

Note: Democratic and Republican vote percentages may not sum to 100% due to the presence of a third-party candidate.

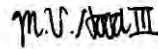
D. Summary and Conclusion

LD 4 in the enacted plan is, without exception, characterized by the presence of racially polarized voting. The Native American candidate of choice in LD 4 and LD 4B would be defeated 100% of the time. Again, LD 4 and LD 4B are majority white voting age population. LD 4A on the other hand contains a majority Native American voting age population. In the case of LD 4A, the Native American candidate of choice would be elected more than a majority of the time (83%). With the exception of LD 4A, it is highly unlikely that a Native American preferred candidate of choice would be elected within the geographic boundaries of LD 4 as a whole.

VI. DECLARATION

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

Executed on January 17, 2023.



M.V. (Trey) Hood III

Department of Political Science
School of Public and International Affairs
180 Baldwin Hall
University of Georgia
Athens, GA 30602
Phone: (706) 583-0554
FAX: (706) 542-4421
E-mail: th@uga.edu

Appendix: Reliance Materials

North Dakota 2022 Enacted Legislative Plan Shapefile (<https://www.ndlegis.gov/assembly/67-2021/special/approved-legislative-redistricting-maps>).

North Dakota 2022 Enacted Legislative Plan Statistics (<https://www.ndlegis.gov/assembly/67-2021/session-interim/2021-legislative-redistricting-maps>).

North Dakota Precinct Shapefiles. North Dakota Secretary of State.

Precinct Election Returns. North Dakota Secretary of State. (<https://sos.nd.gov/elections.html>).

U.S. Census Bureau. 2020 P.L. 94-171 Data for North Dakota (<https://data.census.gov/table>).

U.S. Census Tiger/Line Shapefiles (<https://www.census.gov/geographies/mapping-files/time-series/geo/tiger-line-file.html>).

Curriculum Vitae
(January 2023)

M.V. (Trey) Hood III

Contact Information:

Department of Political Science
School of Public and International Affairs
180 Baldwin Hall
The University of Georgia
Athens, GA 30602

Office Phone: (706) 583-0554
Dept. Phone: (706) 542-2057
Dept. FAX: (706) 542-4421
E-mail: th@uga.edu

Academic Positions:

University of Georgia

Director, SPIA Survey Research Center, 2016-present

Director of Graduate Studies, 2011-2016

Professor, 2013-present

Associate Professor, 2005-2013

Assistant Professor, 1999-2005

Texas Tech University

Visiting Assistant Professor, 1997-1999

Education:

Ph.D.	Political Science	Texas Tech University	1997
M.A.	Political Science	Baylor University	1993
B.S.	Political Science	Texas A&M University	1991

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).

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).
[Softcover version in 2014 with new Epilogue]

Peer-Reviewed Publications:

“The Hardest Path to Reelection: Dueling Incumbent House Primaries in 2022.” 2022 (Online First). *The Forum*. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).

“Postal Voting in the 2020 Election.” 2022. *Journal of Election Administration, Research, and Practice* 1(1): 19-29. (Lonna Rae Atkeson, Colin Jones, Mason Reece, and Robert M. Stein, co-authors).

- “Partisan Schism in America’s Newest Swing State.” 2022 (Online First). *Party Politics*. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- “Getting the Message: Opinion Polarization over Election Law.” 2022. *Election Law Journal* 21(2): 124-134. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- “Tracking Hispanic Political Emergence in Georgia: An Update.” 2021. *Social Science Quarterly* 102(1): 259-268. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- “Switching Sides but Still Fighting the Civil War in Southern Politics.” 2020. *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 10(1): 100-116. (Christopher Cooper, Scott H. Huffmon, Quentin Kidd, Gibbs Knotts, Seth C. McKee, co-authors).
- “The Election of African American State Legislators in the Modern South.” 2020. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 45(4): 581-608. (Charles S. Bullock, III, William Hicks, Seth C. McKee, Adam S. Myers, and Daniel A. Smith, co-authors).
- “What’s in a Name? Gauging the Effect of Labels on Third Party Vote Shares.” 2022. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties* 32(3): 542-555. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- “Why Georgia, Why? Peach State Residents’ Perceptions of Voting-Related Improprieties and their Impact on the 2018 Gubernatorial Election.” 2019. *Social Science Quarterly* 100(5): 1828-1847. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- “Palmetto Postmortem: Examining the Effects of the South Carolina Voter Identification Statute.” 2019. *Political Research Quarterly* 73(2): 492-505. (Scott E. Buchanan, co-author).
- “Contagious Republicanism in Louisiana, 1966-2008.” 2018. *Political Geography* 66(Sept): 1-13. (Jamie Monogan, co-author).
- “The Comeback Kid: Donald Trump on Election Day in 2016.” 2019. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 52(2): 239-242. (Seth C. McKee and Daniel A. Smith, co-authors).
- “Election Daze: Mode of Voting and Voter Preferences in the 2016 Presidential Election.” 2017-2018. *Florida Political Chronicle* 25(2): 123-141. (Seth C. McKee and Daniel A. Smith, co-authors).
- “Out of Step and Out of Touch: The Matter with Kansas in the 2014 Midterm.” 2017. *The Forum* 15(2): 291-312. (Seth C. McKee and Ian Ostrander, co-authors).
- “From Legal Theory to Practical Application: A How-To for Performing Vote Dilution Analyses.” 2018. *Social Science Quarterly* 99(2): 536-552. (Peter A. Morrison and Thomas M. Bryan, co-authors).
- “Race, Class, Religion and the Southern Party System: A Field Report from Dixie.” 2016. *The Forum* 14(1): 83-96.

- "*Black Votes Count: The 2014 Republican Senate Nomination in Mississippi.*" 2017. *Social Science Quarterly* 98(1): 89-106. (Seth C. McKee, coauthor).
- "Sunshine State Dilemma: Voting for the 2014 Governor of Florida." 2015. *Electoral Studies* 40: 293-299. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- "Tea Leaves and Southern Politics: Explaining Tea Party Support Among Southern Republicans." 2015. *Social Science Quarterly* 96(4): 923-940. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris, co-authors).
- "True Colors: White Conservative Support for Minority Republican Candidates." 2015. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 79(1): 28-52. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- "Race and the Tea Party in the Old Dominion: Split-Ticket Voting in the 2013 Virginia Elections." 2015. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 48(1):107-114. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris, co-authors).
- "The Damnedest Mess: An Empirical Evaluation of the 1966 Georgia Gubernatorial Election." 2014. *Social Science Quarterly* 96(1):104-118. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- "Candidates, Competition, and the Partisan Press: Congressional Elections in the Early Antebellum Era." 2014. *American Politics Research* 42(5):670-783. (Jamie L. Carson, co-author).
[Winner of the 2014 Hahn-Sigelman Prize]
- "Strategic Voting in a U.S. Senate Election." 2013. *Political Behavior* 35(4):729-751. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- "Unwelcome Constituents: Redistricting and Countervailing Partisan Tides." 2013. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 13(2):203-224. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- "The Tea Party, Sarah Palin, and the 2010 Congressional Elections: The Aftermath of the Election of Barack Obama." 2012. *Social Science Quarterly* 93(5):1424-1435. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- "Much Ado About Nothing?: An Empirical Assessment of the Georgia Voter Identification Statute." 2012. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 12(4):394-314. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- "Achieving Validation: Barack Obama and Black Turnout in 2008." 2012. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 12:3-22. (Seth C. McKee and David Hill, co-authors).
- "They Just Don't Vote Like They Used To: A Methodology to Empirically Assess Election Fraud." 2012. *Social Science Quarterly* 93:76-94. (William Gillespie, co-author).

- “An Examination of Efforts to Encourage the Incidence of Early In-Person Voting in Georgia, 2008.” 2011. *Election Law Journal* 10:103-113. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- “What Made Carolina Blue? In-migration and the 2008 North Carolina Presidential Vote.” 2010. *American Politics Research* 38:266-302. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- “Stranger Danger: Redistricting, Incumbent Recognition, and Vote Choice.” 2010. *Social Science Quarterly* 91:344-358. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- “Trying to Thread the Needle: The Effects of Redistricting in a Georgia Congressional District.” 2009. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 42:679-687. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- “Citizen, Defend Thyself: An Individual-Level Analysis of Concealed-Weapon Permit Holders.” 2009. *Criminal Justice Studies* 22:73-89. (Grant W. Neeley, co-author).
- “Two Sides of the Same Coin?: Employing Granger Causality Tests in a Time Series Cross-Section Framework.” 2008. *Political Analysis* 16:324-344. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris, co-authors).
- “Worth a Thousand Words? : An Analysis of Georgia’s Voter Identification Statute.” 2008. *American Politics Research* 36:555-579. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- “Gerrymandering on Georgia’s Mind: The Effects of Redistricting on Vote Choice in the 2006 Midterm Election.” 2008. *Social Science Quarterly* 89:60-77 (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- “Examining Methods for Identifying Latino Voters.” 2007. *Election Law Journal* 6:202-208. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- “A Mile-Wide Gap: The Evolution of Hispanic Political Emergence in the Deep South.” 2006. *Social Science Quarterly* 87:1117-1135. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- “Punch Cards, Jim Crow, and Al Gore: Explaining Voter Trust in the Electoral System in Georgia, 2000.” 2005. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 5:283-294. (Charles S. Bullock, III and Richard Clark, co-authors).
- “When Southern Symbolism Meets the Pork Barrel: Opportunity for Executive Leadership.” 2005. *Social Science Quarterly* 86:69-86. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- “Race and the Ideological Transformation of the Democratic Party: Evidence from the Bayou State.” 2005. *American Review of Politics* 25:67-78.
- “The Reintroduction of the *Elephas maximus* to the Southern United States: The Rise of Republican State Parties, 1960-2000.” 2004. *American Politics Research* 31:68-101. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris, co-authors).

- “One Person, [No Vote; One Vote; Two Votes...]: Voting Methods, Ballot Types, and Undervote Frequency in the 2000 Presidential Election.” 2002. *Social Science Quarterly* 83:981-993. (Charles S. Bullock, III, co-author).
- “On the Prospect of Linking Religious Right Identification with Political Behavior: Panacea or Snipe Hunt?” 2002. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41:697-710. (Mark C. Smith, co-author).
- “The Key Issue: Constituency Effects and Southern Senators’ Roll-Call Voting on Civil Rights.” 2001. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 26: 599-621. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris, co-authors).
- “Packin’ in the Hood?: Examining Assumptions Underlying Concealed-Handgun Research.” 2000. *Social Science Quarterly* 81:523-537. (Grant Neeley, co-author).
- “Brother, Can You Spare a Dime? Racial/Ethnic Context and the Anglo Vote on Proposition 187.” 2000. *Social Science Quarterly* 81:194-206. (Irwin Morris, co-author).
- “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).
- “Of Byrds[s] and Bumpers: Using Democratic Senators to Analyze Political Change in the South, 1960-1995.” 1999. *American Journal of Political Science* 43:465-487. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris, co-authors).
- “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).
- “Boll Weevils and Roll-Call Voting: A Study in Time and Space.” 1998. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 23:245-269. (Irwin Morris, co-author).
- “Give Us Your Tired, Your Poor,...But Make Sure They Have a Green Card: The Effects of Documented and Undocumented Migrant Context on Anglo Opinion Towards Immigration.” 1998. *Political Behavior* 20:1-16. (Irwin Morris, co-author).
- “¡Quedate o Vente!: Uncovering the Determinants of Hispanic Public Opinion Towards Immigration.” 1997. *Political Research Quarterly* 50:627-647. (Irwin Morris and Kurt Shirkey, co-authors).
- “¿Amigo o Enemigo?: Context, Attitudes, and Anglo Public Opinion toward Immigration.” 1997. *Social Science Quarterly* 78: 309-323. (Irwin Morris, co-author).

Book Chapters:

- “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).
- “Texas: A Shifting Republican Terrain.” 2021. In *The New Politics of the Old South*, 7th ed., Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark J. Rozell, editors. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- “Texas: Big Red Rides On.” 2018. In *The New Politics of the Old South*, 6th ed., Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark J. Rozell, editors. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- “The Participatory Consequences of Florida Redistricting.” 2015. In *Jigsaw Puzzle Politics in the Sunshine State*, Seth C. McKee, editor. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press. (Danny Hayes and Seth C. McKee, co-authors).
- “Texas: Political Change by the Numbers.” 2014. In *The New Politics of the Old South*, 5th ed., Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark J. Rozell, editors. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. (Seth C. McKee, co-author).
- “The Republican Party in the South.” 2012. In *Oxford Handbook of Southern Politics*, Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark J. Rozell, editors. New York: Oxford University Press. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris, co-authors).
- “The Reintroduction of the *Elephas maximus* to the Southern United States: The Rise of Republican State Parties, 1960-2000.” 2010. In *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 5th ed., David Kimball, Richard G. Niemi, and Herbert F. Weisberg, editors. Washington, DC: CQ Press. (Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris, co-authors).
[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*.

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):

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 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:

“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. Huffman, 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.

“The Behavioral Implications of Racial Resentment in the South: The Intervening Influence of Party.” (with Quentin Kidd and Irwin L. Morris). 2016. Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC.

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.

“Race and the Tea Party in the Old Dominion: Down-Ticket Voting and Roll-Off in the 2013 Virginia Elections.” (with Irwin L. Morris and Quentin Kidd). 2014. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA.

“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 Crespín). 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

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:

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.