

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

TURTLE MOUNTAIN BAND OF
CHIPPEWA INDIANS, *et al.*

Plaintiffs,

v.

ALVIN JAEGER, in his official capacity as
Secretary of State for North Dakota,

Defendant.

Civil Action No. 3:22-cv-00022-PDW-ARS

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 41

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

Plaintiffs in this matter are alleging North Dakota's current legislative districting plan violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act by diluting the voting strength of Native Americans in LD 9 and LD 15. The relief sought involves the creation of a new LD 9 which incorporates both the Spirit Lake Reservation and the Turtle Mountain Reservation into a single district.¹ In this report, I am responding to Professor Collingwood's Expert Report of November 30, 2022 and also providing my expert opinion relating to other matters present in this case.

¹Complaint in *Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, et. al. v. Alvin Jaeger* [3:22-cv-00022]. February 7, 2022.

III. THE GINGLES TEST

In order to substantiate a claim of racial vote dilution, plaintiffs must rely on the now long-established *Gingles* test, which contains three prongs.² The three prongs are as follows:

1. 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.
2. It must be demonstrated that the minority group is politically cohesive.
3. It must further be demonstrated that the candidate of choice for the minority group is typically defeated by the majority voting bloc.

To prevail on a vote dilution claim, evidence must be provided that all three *Gingles* preconditions have been met. In addition to the *Gingles* preconditions, evidence of the lingering effects of discrimination, known as the *totality-of-the-circumstances test*, can also be used by the Court in making a determination of whether vote dilution is present.

IV. ANALYSIS OF LD 9

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.

As related to Prong 2 of the *Gingles* analysis Professor Collingwood analyzes a total of 38 elections configured to the present boundaries of LD 9. Of these, he reports the presence of racially polarized voting in 36 of 38 races analyzed. Stated differently, a clear candidate of choice for Native Americans can be identified in almost all the elections he analyzes. Conversely, this also means that the white community has a different preferred candidate of choice.

Professor Collingwood then conducts what he terms a performance analysis in order to determine if the Native American candidate of choice is typically defeated for those races where racially polarized voting is present. From Professor Collingwood's report I have compiled the results of his analyses in Table 1 below. The results presented include all of the races he

²Established in *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 (1986).

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).

analyzed across LD 9, LD 9A, and LD 9B. The key takeaway from the table is that although almost all the races analyzed by Professor Collingwood contain a clear candidate of choice for the Native American community in LD 9, the Native American candidate of choice is not typically defeated by the white voting bloc in the district. As summarized in Table 1, of the races analyzed by Professor Collingwood, the preferred Native American candidate loses less than a majority (38%) of the time. Thus, prong 3 of the *Gingles* test is not met. Perhaps this is not a surprise given the fact that LD 9 is already a Native American opportunity-to-elect district as defined by *Bartlett v. Strickland*. As such, it appears that Professor Collingwood's own analysis confirms that LD 9 is functioning as a district where the Native American community can typically elect its candidates of choice.

Table 1. Summary of Races Analyzed by Professor Collingwood (LD 9, LD 9A, LD 9B)

Contests	Number	Percent
Number of races analyzed	110	----
No clear Native American candidate of choice	2 ⁶	1.8%
Clear Native American candidate of choice	108	98.2%
Native American candidate wins	66	60.0%
Native American candidate defeated	42	38.2%

I have also compiled Professor Collingwood's results based solely on his analysis of LD 9, sans the LD 9A and LD 9B subdistricts (see Table 2 below). Looking at Table 2, the same pattern is revealed. Although almost all (95%) of races Professor Collingwood analyzes contain a clear Native American candidate of choice, more often than not these candidates are not defeated by the white voting bloc. Of the 38 races Professor Collingwood analyzes, the Native American preferred candidate is defeated only about a third of the time (34%). For the other cases, there was either no clearly defined Native American preferred candidate of choice (5%) or the Native American preferred candidate of choice prevailed (61%).

Table 2. Summary of Races Analyzed by Professor Collingwood (LD 9)

Contests	Number	Percent
Number of races analyzed	38	----
No clear Native American candidate of choice	2	5.3%
Clear Native American candidate of choice	36	94.7%
Native American candidate wins	23	60.5%
Native American candidate defeated	13	34.2%

Having examined the evidence proffered by Professor Collingwood on prongs 2 and 3 of the *Gingles* test, what conclusions can one draw? Hood, Morrison, and Bryan (2017) provide guidance on the manner in which one may determine if the second and third prongs have been substantiated in a particular matter.

The *Gingles* test established by the Court makes clear that plaintiffs must show a *pattern* of vote dilution. What constitutes a pattern? The language used by the Court adds the qualifier *typically*—meaning the minority candidate of choice is *typically*

⁶Professor Collingwood reports that two of the races he analyzed did not exhibit racially polarized voting.

defeated by the majority voting bloc. Operationally, one can define typically as meaning “more often than not.” Accordingly, a plaintiff’s expert must demonstrate that both prongs two and three are sustained in a numerical majority of cases considered for a vote dilution claim to have any merit.⁷

With these conditions in mind, it is clear that Professor Collingwood’s analysis of LD 9 as currently configured does not meet the requirement for prong 3. While evidence of racially polarized voting is present in a majority of cases he analyzes, it is not the case that a majority of Native American candidates of choice are defeated by the white voting bloc in the district. Thus, there appears to be a decided lack of evidence by which prong 3 might be substantiated in LD 9.

V. ANALYSIS OF LD 15

Professor Collingwood also analyzes voting patterns in LD 15 in the enacted plan. The first prong of the *Gingles* inquiry, however, asks if the minority group is of sufficient size and geographically compact enough to allow for the creation of a majority-minority district for the racial group in question. In the case of LD 15, there is a geographic concentration of Native Americans located in and around the Spirit Lake Reservation. Outside of this concentration, there is little Native American population found within LD 15 (see Figure 1). From the 2020 Census, Native Americans of voting age make up 20.4% of the total VAP for enacted LD 15.⁸ As related to *Gingles* prong 1, Native Americans within LD 15 then do not comprise a majority of the voting age population.

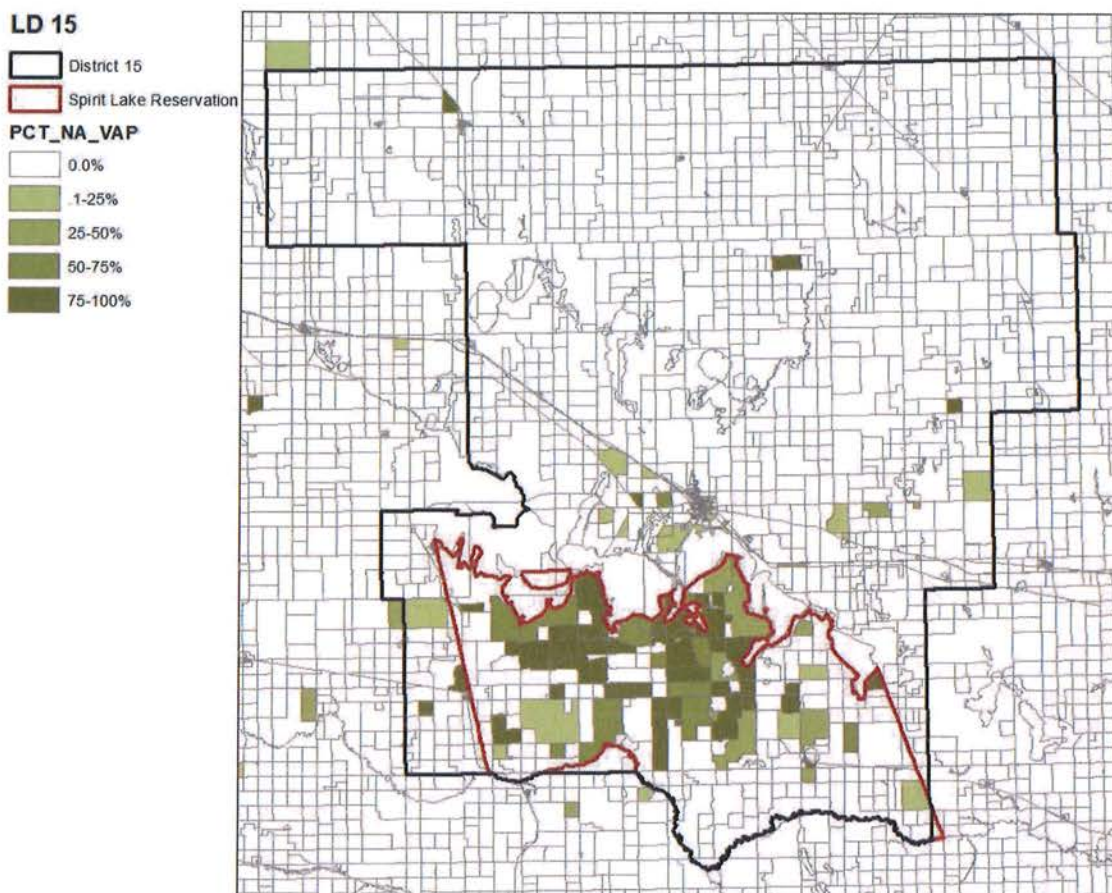
In his report Professor Collingwood concludes that racially polarized voting exists in 30 of 32 races analyzed for this district. He further concludes that the Native American candidate of choice would win only one of the thirty election contests analyzed where racially polarized voting is present in the current LD 15. Based on this analysis, prongs 2 and 3 of the *Gingles* test would appear to be met. However, in order for a vote dilution claim to be substantiated in part, there must be evidence to substantiate all three prongs, not one or two.

While racially polarized voting may, in fact, exist in LD 15; it is not possible for the State of North Dakota to create a minority opportunity-to-elect district in the vicinity of the Spirit Lake Reservation. Therefore, prong 1 of the *Gingles* test is not substantiated in the case of LD 15. With all three preconditions being requisite to proving a vote dilution claim, analysis need not proceed to the second and third *Gingles* prongs.

⁷Quoted material from page 545. 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* 99(2): 536-552.

⁸Even if LD 15 was partitioned, the Native American voting age population would not constitute a majority in either subdistrict.

Figure 1. Legislative District 15—Block-Level Native American Voting Age Population



VI. ILLUSTRATIVE DISTRICTS

Professor Collingwood examines two demonstrative districts created by the plaintiffs. Both these demonstrative districts represent newly created incarnations of LD 9. Below, I will discuss both of these illustrative districts in the context of a number of traditional redistricting criteria. It has long been recognized that when considering prong one of the *Gingles* test that traditional redistricting criteria cannot be ignored when creating a minority-majority district. For example, irregularly shaped and/or non-compact districts may raise questions concerning whether race was the predominant factor in the drawing of district lines.

In a report issued by the North Dakota Redistricting Committee, the committee was charged by the Legislative Assembly to develop a legislative districting plan and, in doing so, to ensure

traditional redistricting criteria were followed. For example, the committee's plan should include districts which are compact, contiguous, and meet the legal requirement for population equality. Further, in developing the legislative districting plan the committee also considered other factors such as not splitting political subdivisions (e.g. counties and reservations) across legislative districts; preserving district cores; protecting incumbents; and respecting other communities of interest.⁹

A. Demonstrative District 1

Plaintiff's demonstrative District 1 (abbreviated D-D1) uses a land bridge to link Native American population clusters centered around the Turtle Mountain Reservation (currently in LD 9) and the Spirit Lake Reservation (currently in LD15). In fact, part of the boundary for the Spirit Lake Reservation is contiguous with a portion of the D-D1 boundary.

i. Population Deviation

The ideal district size of North Dakota legislative districts from the 2020 Census is 16,576 persons.¹⁰ LD 9 under the enacted plan contains 16,158 people, producing a deviation of -2.52%. LD 9 under D-D1 would contain a population of 17,096, 3.14% over the ideal district size.

ii. Compactness

There are myriad measures of compactness to analyze legislative districts. For this report, I make use of three of the most commonly employed compactness scores: Reock, Polsby-Popper, and Schwartzberg. The Reock measure is also denoted as the smallest circle score in that it compares the area of the district to the area of a circle. More formally the Reock measure is the *ratio of the district area to the area of the minimum circumscribing circle*.¹¹ The Polsby-Popper measure, a perimeter-to-area comparison, calculates the *ratio of the district area to the area of a circle with the same perimeter*.¹² The Schwartzberg measure is a ratio that compares the perimeter of a district to the *perimeter of a circle of equal area*.¹³

The Reock and Polsby-Popper measures range between 0 and 1, with one an indication of perfect compactness. For both measures a district analogous to a circle would score a value of 1. A circle would also score a value of one on the Schwartzberg index and less compact shapes would be represented by values greater than one. I modified the standard Schwartzberg measure in order that it would range from 0 to 1, with higher scores an indication of greater compactness.¹⁴ The

⁹Interim Redistricting Committee Report, pp. 19-30. Found at: <https://ndlegis.gov/files/resource/67-2021/legislative-management-final-reports/2021ssfinalreport.pdf>.

¹⁰Based on total population.

¹¹Quoted material from page 1160. Richard G. Niemi, Bernard Grofman, Carl Calucci, and Thomas Hofeller. 1990. "Measuring Compactness and the Role of a Compactness Standard in a Test for Partisan and Racial Gerrymandering." *Journal of Politics* 52: 1155-1181.

¹²Quoted material from page 1160. Richard G. Niemi, Bernard Grofman, Carl Calucci, and Thomas Hofeller. 1990. "Measuring Compactness and the Role of a Compactness Standard in a Test for Partisan and Racial Gerrymandering." *Journal of Politics* 52: 1155-1181.

¹³Quoted material from page 44. Joseph E. Schwartzberg. "Reapportionment, Gerrymanders, and the Notion of 'Compactness.'" *Minnesota Law Review* 50:443-452.

¹⁴Adjusted Score = (1/Schwartzberg Score)². This adjustment has been previously suggested in the academic literature. For example, see Daniel D. Polsby and Robert D. Popper. 1991. "The Third Criterion: Compactness as a Procedural Safeguard against Partisan Gerrymandering." *Yale Law and Policy Review* 9: 301-335 and Christopher P.

adjusted Schwartzberg scores presented below are now scaled in the same manner as the Reock and Polsby-Popper measures.

Table 3 compares Reock, Polsby-Popper, and Schwartzberg (adjusted) measures for LD 9 in the plaintiff Demonstrative Plan-1 and under the enacted plan. Using the Reock, Polsby-Popper, or adjusted Schwartzberg compactness measures, LD 9 in Demonstrative Plan-1 is less compact as compared to LD 9 in the enacted plan. The Reock score difference is .14, for the Polsby-Popper score it is .37, and the Schwartzberg score it is .31. For the Reock metric there is a 36% decrease in compactness between the two districts; for the Polsby-Popper measure there is a 63% decrease; and for the Schwartzberg measure the decrease is over half (53%).

Within Demonstrative Plan-1 as a whole, LD 9 ranks 45th out of forty-seven districts using the Reock measure.¹⁵ Using the Polsby-Popper measure, LD 9 ranks 44th in terms of compactness and for the Schwartzberg measure it ranks 45th in terms of compactness. For the enacted plan, LD 9 ranks 33rd in terms of compactness using the Reock measure; 5th using the Polsby-Popper measure; and 6th using the Schwartzberg measure. To summarize, using any of the three compactness measures deployed, LD 9 under plaintiff Demonstrative Plan-1 is less compact as compared to LD 9 under the enacted plan.

Table 3. Compactness Score Comparisons

Plan/District	Reock	Polsby-Popper	Schwartzberg-Adjusted
Demonstrative-1			
LD 9	.25	.22	.28
Rank	(45 th)	(44 th)	(45 th)
Enacted			
LD 9	.39	.59	.59
Rank	(33 rd)	(5 th)	(6 th)
Difference	.14	.37	.31

Note: A higher ranking indicates a less compact district. A ranking of one would be indicative of the most compact district and a ranking of 47th the least compact district.

iii. Communities of Interest

As a recognized traditional redistricting criteria, counties are important political subdivisions and, to the extent possible, should not be split across districts. On this metric the enacted plan splits 20 counties (38%), while Plan D-D1 splits 21 (40%). In the enacted plan, LD 9 splits only Towner County, while in plaintiff's D-D1 LD 9 splits three counties: Eddy, Pierce, and Rolette.

Chambers and Alan D. Miller. 2010. "A Measure of Bizarreness." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 5(1): 27-44.

¹⁵For these comparisons lower rankings are indicative of higher compactness. For example, a district ranking first would be the most compact district and a ranking of 47th would mean the district was the least compact.

iv. Core Retention

District core retention is another factor that can be considered under traditional redistricting criteria.¹⁶ Core retention for the various plans is measured as the percentage of the population in a new district carried over from the corresponding 2011 (benchmark) district. As such, district core retention is a measure that ranges from 0% to 100%.¹⁷ The higher the percentage, the more a district is representative of its former self. Under the enacted plan, district core retention for LD-9 was 75% using total population and 72% using voting age population. Under plaintiff's Plan D-D1, the core retention for LD 9 is 63% using total population and 63% using voting age population. In summary, core retention for LD 9 under D-D1 is lower than core retention for LD 9 under the enacted plan.

B. Demonstrative District 2

Plaintiff's demonstrative District 2 (abbreviated D-D2) is geographically similar to D-D1 in that it also links Native American population clusters centered around the Turtle Mountain Reservation (currently in LD 9) and the Spirit Lake Reservation (currently in LD15).

i. Population Deviation

Under the enacted plan LD 9 contains 16,158 people, producing a deviation of -2.52% from the ideal district size. D-D2 under plaintiff's illustrative plan would contain a population of 17,327, making it 4.53% over the ideal district size.

ii. Compactness

In this section I analyze compactness for D-D2 using the Reock, Polsby-Popper, and Schwartzberg measures (see Table 4). D-D2 has a Reock score of .20 compared to enacted LD 9 with a score of .39, producing a difference of .19. This equates to a drop of 49% in compactness. For the enacted plan, LD 9 ranks 33rd on compactness using the Reock score, while D-D2 ranks 45th on compactness using this measure (Again, a higher ranking equates with lower compactness). Looking at the Polsby-Popper measure LD 9 under D-D2 scores a .19, compared to enacted LD 9 at .59, for a difference of .40 (a 68% drop in compactness). LD 9 in the plaintiff illustrative plan ranks 46 out of 47 districts in terms of compactness (For reference, LD 9 in the enacted plan is the 5th most compact district on this measure). Finally, on the Schwartzberg measure, LD 9 under D-D2 has a value of .24, compared with .59 for LD-9 under the enacted plan, for a difference of .35. This equates to a decline of 59% in compactness. In comparison to the rest of plaintiff Illustrative Plan 2, D-D2 ranks 46th on the basis of the Schwartzberg measure, while LD 9 under the enacted plan ranks 6th.

¹⁶The presence of a district core is closely linked to incumbent electoral success and, as such, is an important element related to protecting incumbents across a redistricting cycle.

¹⁷District core retention is calculated using both total population and voting age population.

Table 4. Compactness Score Comparisons

Plan/District	Reock	Polsby-Popper	Schwartzberg-Adjusted
Demonstrative-2			
LD 9	.20	.19	.24
Rank	(45 th)	(46 th)	(46 th)
Enacted			
LD 9	.39	.59	.59
Rank	(33 rd)	(5 th)	(6 th)
Difference	.19	.40	.35

Note: A higher ranking indicates a less compact district. A ranking of one would be indicative of the most compact district and a ranking of 47th the least compact district.

iii. Communities of Interest

Under D-D2, a total of 20 counties are split across legislative districts, which is the same number of counties split under the state's enacted plan. However, where only Towner County is split under LD 9 in the enacted plan, LD 9 under D-D2 splits a total of three counties: Benson, Eddy, and Pierce.

iv. Core Retention

Under plaintiff's Demonstrative Plan D-D2, core retention for LD-9 is 70% using total population or 71% using voting age population. This represents some decline from that of enacted LD-9 which had core retention scores of 75% (Total Population) and 72% (Voting Age Population).

VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

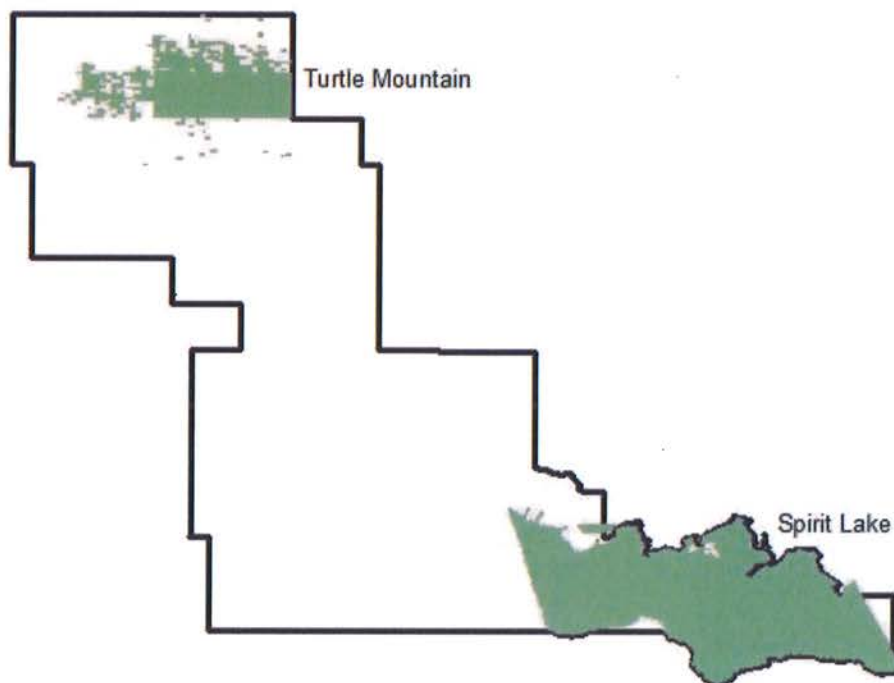
In his expert report Professor Loren Collingwood has performed an analysis of *Gingles* prongs 2 and 3 for LD 9 and LD 15 under the state's enacted legislative districting plan. In the case of LD 9, it appears that Professor Collingwood's own analysis demonstrates that Native American-preferred candidates are not typically defeated by a white voting bloc. Thus, prong three of the *Gingles* test is not substantiated. Turning to LD 15, *Native Americans* comprise a substantial minority of the district's population. As such, the *Gingles* analysis fails on prong one in the case of LD 15. A successful vote dilution claim requires one to verify all three *Gingles* prongs, not one or two. In my opinion, this bar has not been met by the plaintiffs as it relates to LD 9 and LD 15 under the state's enacted plan.

Plaintiffs have drawn two illustrative districts that create a reconfigured LD 9. Both these illustrative districts encompass the Spirit Lake and Turtle Mountain Reservations. Additionally, territory from enacted LD 9 (which contains the Turtle Lake Reservation) and enacted LD 15 (which contains the Spirit Lake Reservation) is connected via a land bridge (see Figures 2 and 3 for maps of these illustrative districts). Both these plans produce a newly drawn LD 9 that performs worse on some traditional redistricting criteria as compared to LD 9 under the enacted plan. For example, using any of the three measures of compactness employed in this report, LD 9 under either illustrative plan is less compact than LD 9 under the enacted plan. In addition,

population deviation, core retention, and respect for communities of interest also appears diminished under the plaintiff's demonstrative plans for LD 9.

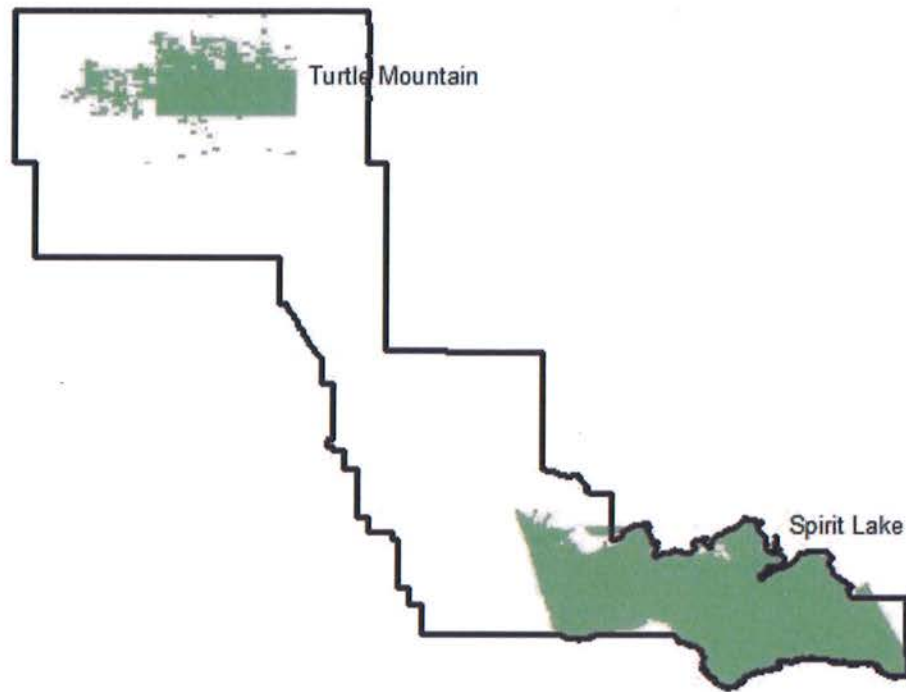
A degradation of traditional redistricting criteria, coupled with the fact that plaintiffs have drawn a district that specifically joins two Indian reservations along with pockets of surrounding Native American population via use of a land bridge, can certainly raise the question of whether the creation of LD 9 under the plaintiff demonstrative plans results in a racial gerrymander.¹⁸

Figure 2. Plaintiff Demonstrative District 1 (LD 9)



¹⁸Centroid to centroid the distance between the two reservations is 77 miles.

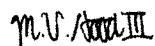
Figure 3. Plaintiff Demonstrative District 2 (LD9)



VIII. 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

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Appendix: Reliance Materials

Expert Report of Professor Loren Collingwood. *Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, et. al. v. Alvin Jaeger* [3:22-cv-00022]. November 30, 2022.

Plaintiff Illustrative Plan 1 Shapefile.

Plaintiff Illustrative Plan 2 Shapefile.

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>).

Interim Redistricting Committee Report (<https://ndlegis.gov/files/resource/67-2021/legislative-management-final-reports/2021ssfinalreport.pdf>).

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)

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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).
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- “¡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.