

# EXHIBIT C

## Expert Report of Brad Lockerbie, Ph.D.

2024-07-09

### *I. Purpose of Engagement*

1. I have been asked to review the plaintiffs' report regarding the Town of Newburgh, New York.
2. In my review, I examined Matt A. Barreto's Ph.D. report.

### *II. Qualifications*

3. I am a professor of political science at East Carolina University in Greenville, North Carolina. I have taught at East Carolina University since 2007. From 1988 to 2007, I was an assistant and associate professor of political science at the University of Georgia.
4. I have received sub-contracts on two National Science Foundation grants.
5. I have reviewed several statistics texts for Sage Press.
6. I have published over 30 peer-reviewed articles on elections and public opinion in political science journals and interdisciplinary journals, including the *American Journal of Political Science*, *P.S.: Political Science and Politics*, *Social Science Quarterly*, *Public Choice*. I authored *Do Voters Look to the Future? Economics and Elections* published by SUNY Press. I have published several book chapters, including two with Cambridge University Press. My CV is attached.
7. Most recently, I served as a consultant in the United States District Court of Western District Michigan Southern Division *Agee et al. v. Benson et al.*, Case No. 1:22-cv-00272 redistricting case, *Nielsen v. DeSantis* (N.D. Fla.) regarding SB 90 and how it changes election law to return to pre-Covid rules and expand some access to voting. I served as a consultant in *Donald J. Trump for President, Inc., et al., v. Kathy Boockvar et al.* (W.D. Pa.), where the Trump campaign was arguing against the requirement of additional drop boxes and the canceling of signature matching assessment. I served as a consultant in *North Carolina Alliance for Retired Persons v. North Carolina State Board of Elections* (Wake Cty. Sup. Ct) where I reviewed proposed changes to ballot deadlines.
8. I am being paid \$600/hour (including travel time) and expenses for my time in this case. My pay is not dependent on the content, the interpretation of the analysis performed, or the outcome of this proceeding.

### *III. Barreto Report*

9. I have reviewed the report of Matt A. Barreto, Ph.D., dated June 28, 2024.

10. In addition to reviewing his report, I made use of data made available by Orange County.<sup>1</sup>
11. I examined elections in the Town of Newburgh to determine whether minorities have a reasonable opportunity to elect candidates of their choice—that is, are minority-candidates usually defeated? Regardless of whether minority-preferred candidates are defeated, are the races competitive?
12. I have also examined the data to see if the Town of Newburgh is likely to vote for the candidate favored by minorities. I have employed the same assumption as Barreto, that the candidate favored by minorities is the Democratic candidate, as we know that African Americans typically vote for the Democratic candidate.
13. I have included those elections where one Democrat and one Republican contested the office.
14. I excluded contests where the voter was allowed to vote for more than one candidate because such contests are not one-on-one. Thus, it is difficult, if not impossible, to match up two candidates as opposing each other. For example, is the first-place candidate running against the top-losing candidate or the bottom-losing candidate? We cannot make that determination when voters are allowed to vote for multiple candidates for the same position.
15. Looking at the 2021 Newburgh Town Council Election, the two Republicans easily won.<sup>2</sup> In 2019, there were three candidates for these two positions.<sup>3</sup> In 2013, there were two Democrats and two Republicans, and the two Republicans won.<sup>4</sup> In 2011, the same results held.<sup>5</sup> One should note in the 2011 election, Barreto included MacEntee, who did not have a major party nomination.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Election Results*, Orange County, New York,  
<https://www.orangecountygov.com/DocumentCenter/Index/293>.

<sup>2</sup> *2021 Orange County General Election Official Election Results*, N.Y. Vote Reporting (Dec. 2, 2021),  
<https://ny.votereporting.com/ORA/149/Summary/>.

<sup>3</sup> *2019 General Election – Orange County Official Results*, N.Y. Vote Reporting (Nov. 27, 2019),  
<https://ny.votereporting.com/ORA/78/Summary/>.

<sup>4</sup> *2013 General – Town of Newburgh, Election Results*, Orange County, New York,  
<https://www.orangecountygov.com/DocumentCenter/View/5131/2013-General---Town-of-Newburgh-PDF>.

<sup>5</sup> *Newburgh Town, Election Results*, Orange County, New York,  
<https://www.orangecountygov.com/DocumentCenter/View/5245/Newburgh-Town-PDF>.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*

16. Gary Jacobson argues that safe House seats are won with 60% or more of the vote.<sup>7</sup> He uses this higher threshold as the swings from one election year to the next have increased.
17. Looking at the votes cast in the Town of Newburgh, in the below table,<sup>8</sup> one can see that they are competitive. In over 70% of the cases, the winner received less than 60% of the vote.
18. If we use the more demanding 55% threshold, one can see that over 40% of the below races are competitive. *See* Carson and Roberts (2013) and Carson, Sievert, and Williamson (2020) for examples of academics using this definition.<sup>9</sup>
19. Looking at all the races below, minority-favored candidates have won 34% of the time. In even years, the minority-favored candidates win almost 50% of the time.
20. One should also note that in the most recent even-numbered years for which we have data, the elections are more competitive than in earlier years. In fact, the 2020 Town Council race was won by less than a percentage point.<sup>10</sup> Lobiondo, the Republican candidate, received 50.43% of the two-party vote.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, Biden, the Democratic presidential candidate, received 53.89% of the two-party vote. Both of these elections were highly competitive.<sup>12</sup>

Year	Office	Democratic %	Republican %
2022	AG	46.94	53.06
	Comptroller	48.66	51.34

<sup>7</sup> Gary C. Jacobson, *The Marginals Never Vanished: Incumbency and Competition in Elections to the U.S. House of Representatives, 1952-82*, 31(1) *American Journal of Political Science* 126-141 (1987). In fact, he argues that victors with over 60% are not as safe as they used to be.

<sup>8</sup> *See Election Results*, Orange County, New York, <https://www.orangecountygov.com/DocumentCenter/Index/293>.

<sup>9</sup> Jamie L. Carson and Jason Matthew Roberts, *Ambition, Competition, and Electoral Reform: The Politics of Congressional Elections Across Time*, University of Michigan Press (2013); Jamie L. Carson, Joel Sievert, & Ryan D. Williamson, *Nationalization and the Incumbency Advantage*, 73(1) *Political Research Quarterly* 156-168 (2020).

<sup>10</sup> *GE20 Newburgh Town Councilman*, 2020 General Election Results, Orange County, New York, <https://www.orangecountygov.com/DocumentCenter/View/20655/GE20-Newburgh-Town-Councilman-TFV-PDF>.

<sup>11</sup> *Id.*

<sup>12</sup> *GE20 Presidential*, 2020 General Election Results, Orange County, New York, <https://www.orangecountygov.com/DocumentCenter/View/20657/GE20-Presidential-PDF>.

Year	Office	Democratic %	Republican %
	Governor	45.43	54.57
	Sheriff	43.75	56.25
	US H 18	47.20	52.80
	St. Sen 39	46.41	53.59
	US Sen	47.82	52.18
2021	County Clerk	37.69	62.31
	Leg 16	30.12	69.88
	Leg 4	49.85	50.15
	Leg 6	44.23	55.77
2020	Assembly 104	53.58	46.42
	US H 18	56.70	43.30
	St Sen 39	54.54	45.46
	County Ct. Judge	46.73	53.27
	Family Ct.	52.60	47.40
	Town Council	49.57	50.43
	US President	53.89	46.11
2019	Clerk	45.96	54.04
2018	AG	51.86	48.14
	Comptroller	55.16	44.84
	Governor	47.50	52.50
	US Sen	55.08	44.92
	Assembly 104	45.76	54.24
	US H 18	55.76	44.24
	St. Sen 39	52.02	47.98
2017	St. Sup	30.88	69.12
	County Clerk	43.87	56.13
	County Exec.	40.63	59.37
	County DA	39.51	60.49
	4th D	46.95	53.05

Year	Office	Democratic %	Republican %
2016	Assembly 104	75.23	24.77
	County Ct. Judge	44.63	55.37
	US President	48.22	51.78
	St. Sen. 39	43.64	56.36
	US H 18	56.97	43.03
	US Sen	61.25	38.75
2015	St. Sup. Ct.	41.93	58.07
2014	Family Ct. judge	42.81	57.19
	Assembly 104	52.54	47.46
	St. Sen 39	22.83	77.17
	AG	47.90	52.10
	Comptroller	50.70	49.30
	Governor	44.48	55.52
	US H 18	50.45	49.55
	9 St. Sup Ct.	42.67	57.33
2013	Supervisor	36.93	63.07
	Receiver	29.58	70.42
	County Clerk	40.23	59.77
	DA	34.95	65.05
	Leg 4	26.50	73.50
	Leg 6	54.38	45.62
	Leg 16	36.74	63.26
2012	US H 18	53.09	46.91
	St. Sen 39	46.80	53.20
	Assembly 104	57.37	42.63
	US President	52.37	47.63
	US Sen	64.60	35.40
2011	Supervisor	41.01	58.99
2010	Assembly 100	38.21	61.79

Year	Office	Democratic %	Republican %
	US H 22	47.29	52.71
	St Sen 39	35.22	64.78
	Governor	55.40	44.60
	AG	44.48	55.52
	US Sen (Full)	53.85	46.15
	US Sen(Unexpired)	52.07	47.93
2009	County Exec	37.26	62.74
	Leg 16	34.03	65.97
	Leg 17	42.61	57.39
	Leg 6	11.72	88.28
	Supervisor	41.91	58.09
	Receiver	29.18	70.82
2008	Leg 100	37.45	62.55
	US H 22	60.22	39.78
	St. Sen 39	34.47	65.53
	US President	52.12	47.88
	Surrogate Ct. Judge	46.86	53.14

19. Barreto states that there is racially polarized voting in the Town of Newburgh. He makes use of the Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding (BISG) technique to assess the racial makeup of those who voted in the Town of Newburgh.<sup>13</sup> The BISG methodology relies on census information.<sup>14</sup> Although Barreto and others have published articles on the BISG technique, we should note that it is by no means 100% accurate.

20. For example, Imai, Olivella, and Rosenman, propose using the fBISG methodology rather than the BISG methodology because of two errors: “First, the census often contains zero counts for minority groups in the locations where members of those groups reside. Second, many surnames—especially those of minorities—are missing

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<sup>13</sup> See, e.g., Barreto, Matt A., Expert Report Submitted on Behalf of Plaintiff in *Plaintiffs v. Town of Newburgh* Barreto, ¶ 8 (June 28, 2024).

<sup>14</sup> Kosuke Imai, Santiago Olivella, & Evan T. Rosenman, *Addressing Census Data Problems in Race Imputation via Fully Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding and Name Supplements*, 8(49) Science Advances (2022), available at: <https://www.science.org/doi/10.1126/sciadv.adc9824>.

from the census data.”<sup>15</sup> Looking at Table 5 of their article, we can see that there is an overall error rate of 13.20%. For Whites, the false negative rate is 8.71% and the false positive rate is 23.00%. For Blacks, the false negative rate is 22.70% and the false positive rate is 8.06%. For Hispanics, the false negative rate is 24.06% and the false positive rate 2.15%. For Asians, the false negative rate is 41.44% and the false positive 0.46%. For other, the false negative rate is 95.33% and the false positive rate is 0.18%. If he used only surnames, the error rate is even higher, with an overall error rate of 16.70%.<sup>16</sup> However, even the fBISG methodology may be inaccurate where the underlying race and ethnicity have been estimated with error.

21. Overall, the error rate indicates a high level of accuracy, but one should note that the errors are not randomly distributed.

#### IV. Conclusion

22. Barreto argues that racial polarization has precluded the minority candidates of choice from being victorious. I did not see in his report where he assesses the likelihood of victory of these candidates. Looking at the election returns for the Town of Newburgh, one can see that the elections are competitive and minority preferred candidates often win.
23. We can also note that minority favored candidates, while not winning a majority of the races, have won 33% of the time. In even-numbered years, the win rate for minority favored candidates is even higher—just shy of 50%.



Brad Lockerbie

Professor of Political Science

East Carolina University

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<sup>15</sup> *Id.*

<sup>16</sup> *Id.*



SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK  
COUNTY OF ORANGE

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ORAL CLARKE, ROMANCE REED, GRACE  
PEREZ, PETER RAMON, ERNEST TIRADO,  
and DOROTHY FLOURNOY,

Index No.: EF002460-2024

Plaintiffs,

v.

TOWN OF NEWBURGH and TOWN BOARD  
OF THE TOWN OF NEWBURGH,

Defendants.

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**VERIFICATION**

Brad Lockerbie, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I over 18 years of age and am not a party to this case.
2. I swear under penalty of perjury to the faithfulness of the opinions expressed in the foregoing Expert Rebuttal Report of Brad Lockerbie, Ph.D., and, to the best of my knowledge, to the truth and accuracy of the factual statements made therein.
3. If asked to testify on these matters, I could and would testify to under oath to their contents, under penalty of perjury.
4. I affirm this 26th day of July, 2024, under the penalties of perjury under the laws of New York, which may include a fine or imprisonment, that the foregoing is true, and I understand that this document may be filed in an action or proceeding in a court of law.



Name: Dr. Brad Lockerbie

**BRAD LOCKERBIE***Curriculum Vitae*

Office: Department of Political Science  
East Carolina University  
Greenville, NC 27858  
252-328-1066 (Office)  
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252-864-8622 (Personal)

**EDUCATION**

Ph.D., University of Iowa, 1988  
A.B., University of Georgia, 1984

**ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS**

Professor, East Carolina University, 2014 -  
Professor and Chair, East Carolina University, 2007-2014  
Associate Professor, University of Georgia, 1994-2007  
Assistant Professor, University of Georgia, 1988-1994  
Instructor, University of Georgia, Spring 1988  
Instructor, University of Iowa, Fall 1987  
Teaching Assistant, University of Iowa, 1985-1987

**SCHOLASTIC AWARDS AND HONORS**

Phi Kappa Phi, 2010-  
Omicron Delta Kappa, 2010-  
Exemplary Service Medal, Thomas Harriot College of Arts and Sciences, East Carolina University, 2009  
Dean Thomas P. Lauth Award for Teaching Excellence, 2007  
Delta Upsilon Chapter of Gamma Phi Beta Recognition of Contributions to Academic Excellence at the University of Georgia, 1999  
Delta Upsilon Chapter of Gamma Phi Beta Recognition of Contributions of Academic Excellence at the University of Georgia, 1998  
Selected to participate in the Institute for Behavioral Research Faculty Mentoring program, 1990  
Departmental nominee for Conference of Southern Graduate Schools Annual Achievement Award for New Scholars, 1989

## BOOK

*Do Voters Look to the Future? Economics and Elections.* 2008. SUNY Press: Albany, NY.

## ARTICLES

- "Economic Pessimism and the 2022 Election: A Postmortem.", 2023, *Polity*, 55: 629-633.
- "Economic Pessimism and Political Punishment in 2020," 2021, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 54:67-69.
- "Maybe it is More than a Joke: Satire, Mobilization, and Political Participation," (with Jody C. Baumgartner), 2018, *Social Science Quarterly*, 99:1060-1074.
- "The Economic Pessimism Model," 2017, *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 50:335.
- "Economic Pessimism and Political Punishment," 2016, *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 49:673-676.
- "Race and Religion: Voting Behavior and Political Attitudes," 2013, *Social Science Quarterly*. 94:1145-1158.
- "Economic Expectations and Election Outcomes," 2013, *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 46:42.
- "Economic Expectations and Election Outcomes: The Presidency and the House in 2012," 2012, *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 45:644-647.
- "A Retrospective on the Prospective Model: Economic Expectations and Election Outcomes," 2009, *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 42:22-23.
- "Election Forecasting: The Future of the Presidency and the House," 2008, *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 41:713-71.
- "Framing Effects on Public Opinion During Prewar and Major Combat Phases of the U.S. Wars with Iraq," (with Stephen A. Borrelli), 2008, *Social Science Quarterly*, 89:502-522.
- "Economic and Politics: Egocentric or Sociotropic?," 2007, *American Review of Politics*, 27:191-208.
- "After the Vote: Evaluating a Prospective Forecasting Model of Presidential Elections," 2005, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 28:39-40.
- "A Comparison of Incumbency Across Institutions: A Look at the House, Senate, and Governorships," 2004, *American Review of Politics*, 25:287-304.
- "A Look to the Future: Forecasting the 2004 Presidential Election," 2004, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 37:741-745.
- "Georgia: Partisan Parity in the Peach State," (with John A. Clark, Audrey A. Haynes, and Jason M. Seitz.) 2003, *American Review of Politics*, 24:35-52.
- "Party Identification: Constancy and Change," 2002, *American Politics Research*, 30:384-405.
- "Forecast 2000: An Afterthought," 2001, *American Politics Research*, 29:307-313.
- "The Partisan Component to the Incumbency Advantage: 1956-1996," 1999, *Political Research Quarterly*, 52:631-646.
- "An Integrative Approach to Modeling Presidential Success in Congress," (with Stephen Borrelli and Scott Hedger), 1998, *Political Research Quarterly*, 51:155-172.
- "The Electoral Consequences of Voting to Declare War," (with James L. Regens and Ronald Keith Gaddie), 1995, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 39:168-182.
- "The Sophomore Surge: Conversion, Mobilization, or Abstention," 1994, *Political Research Quarterly*, 47:961-968.

- "Party Contacting and Political Participation, 1952-1990," (with Peter W. Wielhouwer), 1994, *American Journal of Political Science*, 38:211-229.
- "Economic Dissatisfaction and Political Alienation in Western Europe," 1993, *European Journal of Political Research*, 23:281-293.
- "Making Choices About Choice: House Support for Abortion Funding," (with James L. Regens), 1993, *Social Science Research*, 22:24-32.
- "Election Marginality, District Homogeneity, and Policy Responsiveness," 1992, *Midsouth Journal of Political Science*, 13:341-354.
- "Elections and the Responsiveness of Incumbents: A Response to Bernstein," 1992, *Midsouth Journal of Political Science*, 13:361-362.
- "Prospective Voting in Presidential Elections: 1956-1988," 1992, *American Politics Quarterly*, 20:308-325.
- "The Influence of Levels of Information on the Use of Prospective Evaluations," 1991, *Political Behavior*, 13:223-235.
- "Prospective Economic Voting in House Elections, 1956-1988," 1991, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 16:239-262.
- "The Temporal Pattern of Economic Evaluations and Vote Choice in Senate Elections," 1991, *Public Choice*, 69:279-294.
- "Question Wording and Support for Contra Aid, 1983-1986," (with Stephen A. Borrelli), 1990, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 54:195-208. [Reprinted in *Questionnaires*, edited by Martin Bulmer, 2004, Sage Publications.]
- "Change in Party Identification: The Role of Prospective Economic Evaluations," 1989, *American Politics Quarterly*, 17:291-311.
- "Economics, Votes, Protests: West European Cases," (with Michael S. Lewis-Beck), 1989, *Comparative Political Studies*, 22:155-177.
- "Getting Inside the Beltway: Perceptions of Presidential Skill and Success," (with Stephen A. Borrelli), 1989, *British Journal of Political Science*, 19:97-106.
- "Why the Democratic-Republican Partisanship Gap Varies From Poll to Poll," (with Richard Niemi and Stephen Borrelli), 1987, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 51:115-119.

### BOOK CHAPTERS

- Introduction," (with Laurence C. Moreland and Robert Steed), 2002, in Robert P. Steed and Laurence C. Moreland, editors, *The 2000 Presidential Election in the South*, Westport, CT: Praeger Press.
- "Election Forecasting: A Look to The Future," 2000, in James C. Garand and James E. Campbell, eds., *Before the Vote*, 133-144, Beverly Hills: Sage Press.
- "Split Partisan Identification," (with John A. Clark), 1998, in Charles D. Hadley and Lewis Bowman, editors, *Political Party Activists in Southern Politics: Mirrors and Makers of Change*, 111-128, Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press.
- "Campaign Activities," (with John A. Clark and Peter W. Wielhouwer), 1998, in Robert P. Steed, John A. Clark, Lewis Bowman, and Charles D. Hadley, editors, *Party Organization and Activism in the American South*, Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press.
- "Georgia: Two-Party Political Reality!" (with John A. Clark), 1997, in Laurence W. Moreland

- and Robert P. Steed , editors, *The 1996 Presidential Election in the South: Southern Party Systems in the 1990s*, 65-76, Westport Connecticut: Praeger Press.
- "Georgia: Two-Party Political Reality?," (with John A. Clark), 1995, in Charles D. Hadley and Lewis Bowman, editors, *Southern State Party Organizations and Activists*, 127-144, Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Press.
- "Georgia: A State in Transition," (with John A. Clark), 1994, in Robert P. Steed, Laurence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker, editors, *The 1992 Presidential Election in the South*, 39-50, Westport Connecticut: Praeger Press.
- "United States of America," (with Arthur H. Miller), 1992, in Mark Franklin, Tom Mackie, and Henry Valen, editors, *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*, 362-382, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- "Electoral change and social change," (with Mark Franklin, Tom Mackie, Henry Valen, et al.), 1992, in Mark Franklin, Tom Mackie, Henry Valen, editors, *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*, 33-60, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

### BOOK REVIEW

Ragsdale, Lyn and Jerrold G. Rusk. *The American Nonvoter*. NY: New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. 315 pages

### GRANTS

Southern Grassroots Party Activists Project  
NSF Grant SES-9009846  
Southern Grassroots Party Activists Project II  
NSF Grant SES-9986501

### WORKS IN PROGRESS

Religion and Voting Behavior in American Politics is currently under review at *Political Research Quarterly*.

Ethnicity, Religion and Political Engagement

Multiracial Churches: Are their Black and White Parishioners different?

### PAPERS

- "Economic Expectations and Election Forecasting: Presidential and House Models," on the Forecasting the 2024 US Elections: Presidential and Congressional Models of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, 2024.
- "Race and Religion," presentation on the Race, Ethnicity, and Politics section at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 2022.
- "Multiracial Churches: Are their Black and White Parishioners different?" presented at the Annual Meeting of the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2019.
- "Ethnicity, Religion, and Political Engagement" presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, 2016.

- "Economics and Election Outcomes: The Presidency and the House" presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2013.
- "Actions, Attitudes, and Affiliations: Race, Religion, and Voting Behavior" presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 2009.
- "Election Forecasting: The Future of the Presidency and the House" presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2013.
- "Religion and Voting Behavior: A Question of Black and White" presented The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, January 2007.
- "A Question of War: Question Wording and Support for War in Iraq" (with Stephen A. Borrelli) presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 2005.
- "Voting in the States: Incumbency and Economics in the 1990s" presented at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November, 2001.
- "Economics and Politics: Egocentric or Sociotropic?" presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 27-30, 2000.
- "Party Identification: A Dynamic Model" presented at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November, 1999.
- "Forecasting Legislative Elections: A Look to the Future," presented at The Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association, March, 1999.
- "The Partisan Component to the Incumbency Advantage: an extension," presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 23-25, 1998.
- "The Partisan Component to the Incumbency Advantage," presented at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 7-9, 1996.
- "Race and Voting Behavior in Presidential Elections: 1952-1992," presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 18-20, 1996.
- "The Incumbency Advantage and Economic Voting in Gubernatorial and Senate Elections: A Comparison at the Individual Level," presented at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 1-4, 1995.
- "Election Forecasting: A Look to the Future," presented at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31- September 3, 1995.
- "Economic Accountability and Multiparty Government in Western Europe, 1973-1989," (with Kevin M. Leyden, Terry J. Royed, and Stephen A. Borrelli) presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 6-8, 1995.
- "Hidden Honeymoons? Agendas and the Dynamics of Presidential Influence in Congress," (with Stephen A. Borrelli) presented at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 2-5, 1994.
- "The Presidential Honeymoon: Is It Overrated?" (with Stephen A. Borrelli) presented at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 14-16, 1994.
- "Ideological Dispersion and the Composition of Party Systems," (with James L. Regens) presented at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2-5, 1993.
- "Party Integration in Southern Local Parties," (with John A. Clark) presented at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2-5, 1993.
- "Ideological Dispersion and the Number of Parties in Western Democracies," (with James L. Regens) presented at the Meetings of The Public Choice Society in conjunction with The

- Economic Science Association, March 17-20, 1993.
- "The Incumbency Advantage: A Micro- and Macro-level Phenomenon," (with Charles S. Bullock, III) presented at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 5-8, 1992.
- "The Influence of Party Contact, Economics and Attitudes on Political Participation, 1952-1990," (with Peter W. Wielhouwer) presented at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3-6, 1992.
- "Split Partisanship Among Grassroots Party Activists," (with John A. Clark) presented at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3-6, 1992.
- "Party Activists in Georgia," (with John A. Clark), presented at The 1992 Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, March 5-6, 1992.
- "The Incumbency Advantage: Conversion, Mobilization, or Abstention," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 7-9, 1991.
- "The Craven Politician: Congressional Vote Choice and the Budget Deficit," (with James L. Regens), presented at the Meetings of The Public Choice Society in conjunction with The Economic Science Association, March 15-17, 1991.
- "Economic Dissatisfaction and Political Alienation in Western Europe," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 8-10, 1990.
- "Prospective Voting in Presidential Elections: 1956-1988," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 4-7, 1990.
- "Marginality and Policy Responsiveness," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 2-4, 1989.
- "The Impact of Levels of Information on the Use of Prospective Evaluations," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31-September 3, 1989.
- "Prospective Voting and Political Trust," presented the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 13-15, 1989.
- "Prospective Economic Voting and Casework in House Elections, 1952-1986," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 3-6, 1988.
- "Prospective Voting in Senate Elections, 1952-1986," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 4-7, 1987.
- "Party Identification: Prospective or Retrospective," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3-6, 1987.
- "Economics, Culture, and Participation: West European Cases," (with Michael S. Lewis-Beck), presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3-6, 1987.
- "Getting Inside the Beltway: A New Approach to Presidential Skill and Success," (with Stephen A. Borrelli), presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 9-11, 1987.
- "Marginality-Homogeneity and Responsiveness Revisited," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 5-8, 1986.

### **OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES**

Discussant on the Forecasting the 2024 US Elections: Presidential and Congressional Models

panel of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, 2024.

Discussant on Elections panel at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2013.

Discussant on Elections panel at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, 2010.

Participant on the Forecasting the 2008 Election roundtable at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August, 2008.

Participant on the Forecasting the 2004 Election roundtable at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 2004.

Chair/Discussant on the Dynamics of Partisanship panel at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November, 2001.

Discussant on the Issue Ownership and Policy Voting panel at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 2001.

Participant on the Forecasting the 2000 Election roundtable at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 2000.

Discussant on the Vote choice Panel at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 27-30, 2000.

Chair of the Vote Choice Strategies Panel at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2-5, 1999.

Chair of the Policy Balancing and Split Ticket Voting in National and Subnational Elections Panel at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 15-17, 1999.

Discussant on the Presidential Influence in Congress Panel at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 15-17, 1999.

Chair of Issues of Representation in National and State Legislatures Panel at The Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association, March, 1999.

Discussant on the Individual Decision Processes Panel at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, October 28-31, 1998.

Discussant on the Economic and Ideological Effects and Partisanship on the Vote Panel at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 26-30, 1998.

Discussant on the Voting Behavior panel at the Biannual Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, March, 1998.

Discussant on the Presidential Success in Congress Panel at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 7-9, 1997.

Discussant on the Elections and the Economy Panel at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 28-31, 1997.

Chair/Discussant on the Issues, Preferences, and Electoral Choices panel at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 10-12, 1997.

Discussant on the Partisan Dynamics of Elections panel at The Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 7-9, 1996.

Participant on the Forecasting the 1996 Election roundtable at The Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 29-September 1, 1996

Chair of the Distributive Politics in State and Federal Legislatures panel at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 18-20, 1996.

Discussant on the Issue Preferences and Voter Choice panel at The Annual Meeting of the



Southern Political Science Association, November 1-4, 1995.

Discussant on the Mobilizing Participation panel at The Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 6-8, 1995.

Delivered the Plenary Address "The 1994 Midterm Elections and the American Political System" at the Annual Meeting of the Georgia Political Science Association, February 24-25, 1995.

Discussant on the Economic Conditions and Political Behavior from a Comparative Perspective panel at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 3-6, 1993.

Participant on Roundtable on the 1992 U.S. Elections at The Annual Meeting of the Georgia Political Science Association Meeting, February 25-27, 1993.

Discussant on the Congressional Elections panel of the Public Opinion and Elections Section at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, November 5-8, 1992.

Presentation on turnout at the Symposium on "Public and Private Cooperation for Argentinian Counsel for Coca Cola.

Discussant on the Age and Political Socialization panel of the Political Attitudes, Behavior, and Psychology Section at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 5-7, 1990.

Organized and chaired The Changing Nature of Elections panel at the Annual Meeting of Georgia Political Science Association, February 2-3, 1990.

Staff member, Robert A. Taft Institute of Government Seminar, University of Georgia Department of Social Science Education and Institute of Government, July 9-21, 1989, July 9-20, 1990, July 8-19, 1991, June 23-July 6, 1993.

Discussant on the Economics of Electoral Choice panel of the Elections, Voting, and Media Section at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 13-15, 1989.

Discussant on the Primaries panel of the Elections, Voting, and the Media Section at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 14-16, 1988.

### **MANUSCRIPT REVIEWER**

National Science Foundation - Political Science Division  
National Science Foundation - Economics Division  
American Political Science Review  
American Journal of Political Science  
Journal of Politics  
Western Political Quarterly  
Political Research Quarterly  
Social Science Quarterly  
Legislative Studies Quarterly  
American Politics Quarterly  
Political Behavior  
Comparative Politics  
Southeastern Political Review  
State and Local Government Review

Pearson Publishing  
Thomson Publishing  
Pennsylvania State Press  
West Publishing Company  
McGraw Hill Publishing  
Sage Publications

**CONSULTING**

Michigan Voting Rights Foundation  
Kansas  
Arkansas  
North Carolina  
Pennsylvania  
Florida  
Michigan  
Gainesville, GA  
Georgia Trial Lawyers Association  
John Knox  
Lumber City, Georgia  
University of Iowa Social Science Institute