

Exhibit B

John R. Alford **Expert Report**

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF NEW YORK

Michael Williams, et al.

Petitioners,

-against-

Board of Elections of the State of New York,
et al.

Respondents.

Index No.: 164002/2025

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

December 8, 2025

Scope of Inquiry

I have been retained by counsel for Respondents Peter S. Kosinski, in his official capacity as Co-Chair and Commissioner of the Board of Elections of the State of New York (“BOE”), Anthony J. Casale, in his official capacity as a Commissioner of the BOE, and Raymond J. Riley, III, in his official capacity as Co-Executive Director of the BOE (collectively, “Respondents”), as an expert to provide analysis related to the challenge to the 2024 version of the 11th Congressional District map for the State of New York. I have been asked by counsel to examine and respond primarily to the expert report provided by the petitioners’ expert, Dr. Maxwell Palmer, and the associated data and materials provided in his disclosures. My rate of compensation in this matter is \$800 per hour, and my compensation does not depend on the outcome of this lawsuit.

Qualifications

I am a tenured Full Professor of Political Science at Rice University. In my forty years at Rice University, I have taught courses on redistricting, elections, political representation, voting behavior, and statistical methods at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. I am the author of numerous scholarly works on political behavior. These works have appeared in academic journals such as the *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *Science*, *Annual Review of Political Science*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *Political Psychology*, and *Political Research Quarterly*, and my research has been funded by granting institutions including The Nation Science Foundation.

Over the last thirty-five years, I have worked with numerous local governments on districting plans and on Voting Rights Act issues. I have previously provided expert reports and/or testified as an expert witness in voting rights and statistical issues in a variety of court cases in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, New Mexico, New York, Pennsylvania, Washington, and Wisconsin. The details of my academic background, including all publications in the last ten years, and my work as an expert, including all cases in

which I have testified by deposition or at trial in the last four years, are covered in the attached CV (Appendix A).

Data and Sources

In preparing my report, I have reviewed the reports filed by the petitioners' experts Dr. Maxwell Palmer and Mr. William Cooper. In addition, I have relied on the various data and materials Dr. Palmer disclosed, and like Mr. Cooper have utilized Dave's Redistricting.

Methods

Dr. Palmer and I utilize the statistical technique of Ecological Inference (EI), developed originally by Professor Gary King.¹ EI is a more efficient technique intended specifically to improve on ecological regression (ER), the analysis technique previously used in VRA lawsuits to assess voter cohesion and polarization. In a nutshell, traditional ecological regression is a mathematical technique for estimating the single best-fitting straight line that could be drawn to describe the relationship between two variables in a scatter plot. Applied to voting rights cases, the logic of ecological regression analysis is to determine to what degree, if any, the vote for a candidate increases in a linear fashion as the concentration of voters of a given ethnicity in the precincts increases. In contrast, King's EI procedure utilizes a method of bounds analysis, combined with a more traditional statistical method, to improve on standard ecological regression. While the details are mathematically complex, the differences mostly center on utilizing deterministic bounds information contained in individual precinct results that would not be exploited in ecological regression. In addition, EI relaxes the linear constraint that a traditional ecological regression analysis would impose on the pattern across precincts. This combination in EI of relaxing some assumptions and utilizing more information typically yields a more efficient estimation of cohesion and polarization when compared to standard ecological regression,

¹ King, Gary. (1997). *A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem*. Princeton Univ. Press.

although in many cases the results from EI are not substantively different than ER results for the same election data.

In its original form, King's EI could only be used to estimate voter support when there were two racial groups (e.g., White and Black) and two candidates; hence, the label "2 x 2 EI" often applied to the original form. Often there are more than two racial groups (e.g., White, Black, and Latino), or more than two possible vote choices. To accommodate these situations, one would have to run an independent 2 x 2 EI analysis for each race of interest and for each candidate of interest (and for the no voting category), an approach suggested by King and labeled the 'iterative' approach to "R x C" (Rows by Columns) estimation.

Shortly after suggesting the iterative method, King published a more advanced theoretical approach to R x C estimation using a Multinomial-Dirichlet Bayesian technique. A fully Bayesian implementation of this approach was viewed by King and his coauthors as computationally impractical, given that it could take as long as a week or more to run a single model on the computers available at that time, and they provided instead an implementation that relied on nonlinear least-squares.² Finally, in 2007 Lau and colleagues, taking advantage of advancements in computing technology, implemented the fully Bayesian estimation procedure outlined by King, et al., and provided a software module called "eiPack" that included the module 'ei.MD.bayes' that allowed for the estimation of the true Bayesian approach.³ This is the implementation of EI R x C that I have relied on here.⁴ Dr. Palmer relies on the same implementation of EI RxC that I used.

² See Rosen, Jiang, King, and Tanner., *Bayesian and Frequentist Inference for Ecological Inference: The R x C Case*, 55 STATISTICA NEERLANDICA 134 (2001).

³ See Lau, Olivia, Ryan T. Moore, and Michael Kellermann. "eiPack: Ecological Inference and Higher-Dimension Data Management," R News, vol.7, no. 2 (October 2007).

⁴ The EI analysis provided here was conducted by my Rice University colleague Prof. Randy Stevenson under my direction and control.

Introductory Discussion

My report will proceed with the assumption that the standard empirical analysis that I have presented in numerous voting rights cases over the last several decades relevant to the Gingles factors and the totality of the circumstances should also be useful here. Like many of the previous cases where I have provided an expert report and testimony, this case involves a challenge to a U.S. congressional district map, and my report here will prove analysis similar to that I provide previously in congressional cases. This ensures that the standard empirical analysis will be available for the Court to evaluate if the Court finds it applicable.

Background

The 11th New York Congressional District is an Anglo majority district being challenged by Black and Latino petitioners despite its relatively small minority population. Table 1 below reproduces the demographics for CD 11, and the adjacent CD 10, provided by Mr. Cooper in his report in this case. As the added ‘Total’ column makes clear, these are not entirely accurate numbers, as they should add to 100, but the substantive point is clear. The Black adult citizen population is below ten percent in both the existing 2024 district and the proposed illustrative district. Likewise, the Latino adult citizen population is only slightly over fifteen percent in both the existing 2024 district and the proposed illustrative district. Even combined the Black and Latino adult citizen population is less than a quarter of the district in either configuration. What is also apparent from Mr. Cooper’s numbers is the fact that the illustrative district does not derive any asserted improvement in minority performance from an increase in minority population relative to the Anglo population. The increase in the combined Black and Latino population, at two percentage points, is very slight, and actually smaller than the increase in the Anglo share of the population.

Table 1: Existing and Illustrative CD 10 and 11 Comparison from Cooper

	District	CVAP From Cooper Figure 2 and 9					Total
		NH AP Black	Latino CVAP	NH AP Black + Latino	NH SR Asian	NH White	
2024	11	7.36%	15.35%	22.70%	16.38%	59.76%	98.85%
2024	10	7.65%	17.10%	24.76%	16.70%	56.75%	98.20%
Illustrative	11	8.42%	16.30%	24.71%	13.70%	62.31%	100.73%
Illustrative	10	6.39%	16.11%	22.50%	22.40%	53.30%	98.20%
Change in D11		1.06%	0.95%	2.01%	-2.68%	2.55%	

Dr. Palmer's Report

Dr. Palmer's report provides a Racial Polarized Voting (RPV) election analysis for CD 11 from 2017 to 2024 that includes 18 contested exogenous elections, as well as 2 CD 11 contests. Dr. Palmer also provides the results of his RPV analysis for the same 18 exogenous general elections in the geography of the illustrative 11th District. Dr. Palmer's Table 1 provides his EI estimates for the existing CD 11, and his Table 2 provides his EI estimates for the illustrative CD 11. Although Dr. Palmer does not provide any party labels, in every case in both tables, the preferred candidate of minority voters is the Democrat. Table 2 below reproduces the EI estimates from Dr. Palmer's Table 1 for the existing CD 11, and Table 3 below reproduces the EI estimates from Dr. Palmer's Table 2 for the illustrative CD 11. Comparing the two tables provides some insight into what the changes are between these two forms of CD 11.

Table 2: Existing CD 11 from Palmer Table 1

Year	Office	Black	White	Hispanic	Asian
2017	City Comptroller	91.1%	34.8%	87.1%	50.9%
2017	Mayor	89.1%	13.5%	79.8%	51.0%
2017	Public Advocate	88.8%	26.9%	83.0%	47.5%
2018	Attorney General	94.1%	35.9%	92.6%	79.2%
2018	Governor	93.5%	36.9%	92.0%	77.5%
2018	State Comptroller	94.7%	39.7%	93.6%	80.6%
2018	U.S. Senate	94.5%	39.7%	92.2%	74.8%
2019	Public Advocate	90.2%	18.7%	86.9%	65.1%
2020	President	93.1%	27.0%	90.0%	73.5%
2021	City Comptroller	86.5%	23.7%	77.8%	34.0%
2021	Mayor	87.3%	20.5%	82.1%	43.5%
2021	Public Advocate	88.2%	21.0%	81.9%	40.7%
2022	Attorney General	90.5%	22.8%	89.9%	60.4%
2022	Governor	89.8%	22.0%	89.3%	53.2%
2022	State Comptroller	89.5%	25.6%	90.4%	65.5%
2022	U.S. House	90.4%	24.1%	89.1%	57.5%
2022	U.S. Senate	91.0%	26.4%	92.9%	64.3%
2024	President	88.7%	22.2%	88.1%	49.0%
2024	U.S. House	88.7%	20.0%	87.7%	51.6%
2024	U.S. Senate	89.8%	25.4%	88.4%	58.8%
Average		90.5%	26.3%	87.7%	58.9%

Table 3: Illustrative CD 11 from Palmer Table 2

Year	Office	Black	White	Hispanic	Asian
2017	City Comptroller	89.5%	44.3%	87.1%	80.8%
2017	Mayor	87.8%	24.5%	79.3%	68.5%
2017	Public Advocate	86.9%	37.9%	80.1%	74.2%
2018	Attorney General	93.5%	51.2%	90.5%	88.3%
2018	Governor	92.1%	51.2%	90.4%	87.0%
2018	State Comptroller	93.4%	53.6%	92.0%	88.2%
2018	U.S. Senate	93.5%	55.3%	88.8%	89.1%
2019	Public Advocate	89.5%	37.7%	83.5%	78.4%
2020	President	90.3%	43.5%	83.3%	86.2%
2021	City Comptroller	83.7%	35.5%	71.7%	69.4%
2021	Mayor	79.7%	32.4%	80.4%	72.1%
2021	Public Advocate	85.9%	32.8%	77.1%	71.3%
2022	Attorney General	86.3%	41.1%	83.1%	77.3%
2022	Governor	84.5%	39.6%	82.5%	81.1%
2022	State Comptroller	85.9%	43.1%	82.5%	80.4%
2022	U.S. Senate	87.3%	44.3%	87.3%	80.2%
2024	President	84.6%	41.2%	77.7%	73.8%
2024	U.S. Senate	88.3%	42.8%	78.6%	79.8%
Average		87.9%	41.8%	83.1%	79.2%
Average Existing CD 11 (without U.S. House)		90.6%	26.8%	87.7%	59.4%
Difference Illustrative minus Existing		-2.6%	15.0%	-4.6%	19.8%

If we compute the average vote share for each of the racial/ethnic voter groups in the 18 areawide contests in his Table 1 we can see that Black voters in existing CD 11 gave an average of 90.6% of their vote to their preferred candidate, compared to an average support among Black voters of 87.9% for the illustrative district in Table 2. Similarly, we can see that Hispanic voters in existing CD 11 gave an average of 87.7% of their vote to their preferred candidate, compared to an average support among Hispanic voters of 83.1% for the illustrative district in Table 2. In other words, the slight increase in the number of Black and Hispanic voters in the illustrative district is at least partially offset by the decline in cohesion among Black and Hispanic voters in the illustrative district. What then accounts for the improved performance for minority preferred candidates (Democrats) that Dr. Palmer reports in the illustrative district, especially as the proportion of White voters is actually higher in the illustrative district? Based on Dr. Palmer's Table 1, White voters in existing CD 11 gave an average of 23.8% of their vote to the Democratic candidate, compared to an average support among White voters of 41.8% for the Democratic candidates in the illustrative district in Table 2. In other words, the improved performance for minority preferred candidates that Dr. Palmer reports in the illustrative district comes largely from swapping White voters between District 11 and District 10 to net more Democratic leaning voters in the illustrative District 11, and to a lesser extent from making a similar swap of Asian voters.

Party Versus Race

Dr. Palmer describes his tables as reporting the estimated levels of support provided by racial and ethnic voter groups for the Black and Hispanic preferred candidate in each contest. While the tables do not indicate the party or the name of these candidates, in every one of his 20 contests the preferred candidate of Black and Hispanic votes is the Democratic candidate, by very wide margins. Similarly, the preferred candidate of White voters is typically the Republican candidate, although here, there is a substantial level of White crossover vote for the Democratic candidate.

I began my analysis with an attempt to replicate the results of the Ecological Inference (EI) RxC analysis provided by Dr. Palmer in this case using the materials Dr. Palmer provided in his disclosure. The replication results do not differ substantively from those reported by Dr. Palmer. To avoid confusion over whether my conclusions detailed below depend in any way on methodological or data differences, I am basing my comments below on Dr. Palmer's results.

Table 4 below reproduces Dr. Palmer's EI results from his Table 1 for CD 11, but groups the contests into the six contests where the Democratic candidate was Black and the 13 Contests where the Democratic candidate was a non-Hispanic White. In a single contest at the bottom of the table the Democratic candidate was Asian. Looking first at the estimated vote shares of Black voters, Black voter support of Black Democratic candidates, at 89.6%, is very similar to Black voter support of non-Hispanic White Democratic candidates at 90.9%. Turning to the estimated vote shares of Hispanic voters, Hispanic voter support of Black Democratic candidates, at 86.3%, is very similar to Hispanic voter support of non-Hispanic White Democratic candidates at 88.5%. Likewise, White voter support of Black Democratic candidates, at 24.9%, is very similar to White voter support of non-Hispanic White Democratic candidates at 27.6%. All three voter groups show very slightly higher support for White Democratic candidates than they do for Black Democratic candidates but given the credible intervals for these estimates are typically two or more percentage points, these differences are not of any substantive importance.

Table 4: Palmer's Table 1 EI Estimates Organized by Race of Candidate

Year	Office	Race of Dem. Candidate	EI Estimate of Vote Share by Voter Race/Ethnicity				
			Black	White	Hispanic	Asian	Other
2017	Public Advocate	Black	88.8%	26.9%	83.0%	47.5%	67.0%
2018	Attorney General	Black	94.1%	35.9%	92.6%	79.2%	75.3%
2021	Mayor	Black	87.3%	20.5%	82.1%	43.5%	54.6%
2021	Public Advocate	Black	88.2%	21.0%	81.9%	40.7%	48.2%
2022	Attorney General	Black	90.5%	22.8%	89.9%	60.4%	75.7%
2024	President	Black	88.7%	22.2%	88.1%	49.0%	65.3%
	Average for Black Democratic Candidates		89.6%	24.9%	86.3%	53.4%	64.4%
2017	City Comptroller	White	91.1%	34.8%	87.1%	50.9%	67.5%
2017	Mayor	White	89.1%	13.5%	79.8%	51.0%	61.0%
2018	Governor	White	93.5%	36.9%	92.0%	77.5%	73.3%
2018	State Comptroller	White	94.7%	39.7%	93.6%	80.6%	77.4%
2018	U.S. Senate	White	94.5%	39.7%	92.2%	74.8%	83.0%
2020	President	White	93.1%	27.0%	90.0%	73.5%	73.4%
2021	City Comptroller	White	86.5%	23.7%	77.8%	34.0%	49.2%
2022	Governor	White	89.8%	22.0%	89.3%	53.2%	77.5%
2022	State Comptroller	White	89.5%	25.6%	90.4%	65.5%	73.6%
2022	U.S. House	White	90.4%	24.1%	89.1%	57.5%	78.8%
2022	U.S. Senate	White	91.0%	26.4%	92.9%	64.3%	75.3%
2024	U.S. House	White	88.7%	20.0%	87.7%	51.6%	60.0%
2024	U.S. Senate	White	89.8%	25.4%	88.4%	58.8%	66.3%
	Average for White Democratic Candidates		90.9%	27.6%	88.5%	61.0%	70.5%
	Difference		1.3%	2.7%	2.2%	7.6%	6.1%
2019	Public Advocate	Asian	90.2%	18.7%	86.9%	65.1%	70.8%

In all of the contests, Black voters are highly supportive of the Democratic candidate and White voters are typically giving majority support to the Republican candidate. This is consistent with a polarized response to the party affiliation of the candidates as indicated on the ballot. In contrast to the strong impact of candidate party affiliation, the race of the candidates does not appear to have a polarizing impact on vote choice. With vote shares around 90% Black voters are indeed showing a very one-sided preference, but this preference is for Democratic candidates, not candidates of a particular race. Similarly, with vote shares in the high 80% range, Hispanic voters are indeed showing a very one-sided preference, but this preference is again for Democratic candidates, not candidates of a particular race. And again, with vote shares in the mid 70% range, White voters are indeed showing a clear preference, but this preference is for Republican candidates, not candidates of a particular race. Across these elections we see a pattern of polarized

voting with Blacks and Hispanic favoring Democratic candidates and White voters preferring their Republican opponents, but no indication of any significant difference in voter behavior based on the race of the Democratic candidate.

District Performance

Dr. Palmer comments on the performance of various adopted and demonstration districts. As noted above, all of the candidates preferred by Black and Hispanic voters are also the Democratic candidates in the general elections. As such, the assessment of the election performance of a district is simply the expected Democratic share of the general election vote in the district. As such, as Dr. Palmer's Table 3 indicates, in its current form CD 11 leans Republican, but in a good year for Democrats, like President Trump's midterm in 2018, Democrats can carry the district as they did in all four of the statewide contests. Illustrative CD 11 leans Democratic, but in a good year for Republicans, like 2021, Republicans can carry the district, as they did in all three districtwide contests.

The other impact of the fact that it is the party of the candidates, and not their race or ethnicity, that is associated with their levels of support, is that the number of minority candidates that are elected will not depend simply on the demographics of the voters. Instead, the number of minority candidates elected in a district will vary depending on the party affiliation of the minority candidates in interaction with the majority vote direction. Table 5 below illustrates this for existing CD 11 and illustrative CD 11 using the performance calculations from Dr. Palmer's Table 3.

Table 5: District Performance from Palmer's Table 3 with Candidate Race/Ethnicity

Year	Office	Democratic Vote Share			
		Existing CD 11		Illustrative CD 11	
2017	City Comptroller	45.70%	R-Black	55.80%	D-White
2017	Mayor	28.10%	R-Hisp	39.80%	R-Hisp
2017	Public Advocate	39.50%	R-Hisp	50.40%	D-Black
2018	Attorney General	52.50%	D-Black	64.50%	D-Black
2018	Governor	52.80%	D-White	64.20%	D-White
2018	State Comptroller	55.00%	D-White	66.00%	D-White
2018	U.S. Senator	55.40%	D-White	67.60%	D-White
2019	Public Advocate	38.50%	R-White	52.70%	D-Black
2020	President	46.10%	R-White	58.60%	D-White
2021	City Comptroller	34.10%	R-Hisp	46.10%	R-Hisp
2021	Mayor	31.50%	R-White	44.00%	R-White
2021	Public Advocate	32.50%	R-Asian	44.40%	R-Asian
2022	Attorney General	37.50%	R-White	51.90%	D-Black
2022	Congress	38.20%	R-Hisp	—	
2022	Governor	36.30%	R-White	51.20%	D-White
2022	State Comptroller	39.50%	R-Hisp	53.30%	D-White
2022	U.S. Senator	39.90%	R-Black	54.40%	D-White
2024	Congress	36.00%	R-Hisp	—	
2024	President	37.60%	R-White	52.70%	D-Black
2024	U.S. Senator	40.90%	R-White	54.40%	D-White
Number of winners by Race/Ethnicity		Black	3	Black	5
		Hisp	6	Hisp	2
		Asian	1	Asian	1

As Table 5 indicates, the result of the reconstructed election results that Dr. Palmer provides in his Table 3 in the existing CD 11 would be three Black and six Hispanic candidates elected. In illustrative CD 11, the result would be five Black and two Hispanic candidates elected. This in part reflects the fact that of the 17 minority major party candidates in these 20 election contests 10 have been Republicans (3 Black, 6 Hispanic, and 1 Asian), and 7 have been Democrats (7 Black).

Summary Conclusions

This is an unusual case. Petitioners do not claim that it is possible to create a combined Black and Hispanic majority district, or that the configuration of the 11th District divides any larger, even if sub-majority, natural community of Black and Hispanic voters. As discussed above the illustrative district does not alter the relative minority share of the district population, as the slight increase Black and Hispanic share of the district is actually smaller than the slight increase in the

Anglo population. Instead, the illustrative district shifts the political balance from leaning Republican to leaning Democrat by swapping out Republican voters for Democratic voters in the Anglo and Asian population.

This focus on party voting patterns is no accident. Black and Hispanic voters in the 11th District prefer Democratic candidates. Anglo voters in the 11th District prefer Republican candidates. The partisan nature of this polarization clarifies the context for the attempt in the illustrative district to alter the configuration of the district to achieve a Democratic majority despite actually increasing the Anglo CVAP share of the district population.

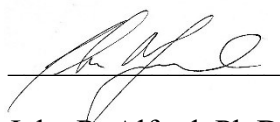
This case is also unusual in that the existing 11th district is a part of a statewide plan that appears to provide substantial minority representation both in the New York City area and in the state as a whole. The New York City area currently includes 17 congressional districts. The 13 congressional districts (the 3rd through the 10th and the 12th through 16th) at the center are mostly securely Democratic districts, all of which are currently represented by Democrats. At the edges are four majority Anglo districts that are currently represented by a Republican - the 1st and 2nd, at the east end of Long Island, the 11th to the south, anchored by Staten Island, and the 17th, to the north in the lower Hudson Valley, that leans Democratic but is currently represented by a Republican. Taken together, roughly 75% of these 17 congressional districts are represented by Democrats and the 17 districts have a citizen voting age population that is about 40% combined Black and Hispanic. Of the remaining 9 congressional districts in the state, 6 (67%) are represented by Democrats and have a total citizen age population that is below 15% combined Black and Hispanic. As such, the current configuration of congressional districts in the New York City area, and in the state as a whole, provides a more than proportional number of districts that can usually elect the preferred candidate of Black and Hispanic voters.

The case is also unusual in that the challenged district is not itself a non-compact gerrymander, nor does the statewide plan appear problematic. In fact, the Princeton Gerrymandering Project gives the map an 'A' overall, and a 'A' for partisan fairness and

geographic features including compactness and county splits.⁵ The current 11th District is a compact district with a combined Black and Hispanic CVAP of less than 25% that leans Republican and currently is represented by a Hispanic Republican. The illustrative 11th District detailed in Mr. Cooper's report is a less compact district that would also have a combined Black and Hispanic CVAP of less than 25%, but that would lean Democratic because Anglo voters in the existing 11th voted roughly 75% Republican, compared to a less than 60% Republican vote share for Anglo voters in the illustrative 11th.

Note that the existing 11th is not unique, with no lower bound on the proportion of minority voters needed, any Republican leaning district with any minority population, which is effectively any Republican district, is subject to the same legal liability. For example, the Black or Hispanic voters in the 1st and 2nd districts could sue to compel both districts to be reconfigured to achieve a pro-Democratic lean by reaching further west into more Democratic voting areas, and the 17th could be forced to be reconfigured to reach down the Hudson River to incorporate more Democratic voters to the south.

December 8, 2025.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John R. Alford", written over a horizontal line.

John R. Alford, Ph.D.

⁵ Princeton Gerrymandering Project found at <https://gerrymander.princeton.edu/>

Appendix A

John R. Alford

Curriculum Vitae

December 2025

Dept. of Political Science
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Employment:

Full Professor, Rice University, 2015 to present.
Associate Professor, Rice University, 1985-2015.
Assistant Professor, University of Georgia, 1981-1985.
Instructor, Oakland University, 1980-1981.
Teaching-Research Fellow, University of Iowa, 1977-1980.
Research Associate, Institute for Urban Studies, Houston, Texas, 1976-1977.

Education:

Ph.D., University of Iowa, Political Science, 1981.
M.A., University of Iowa, Political Science, 1980.
M.P.A., University of Houston, Public Administration, 1977.
B.S., University of Houston, Political Science, 1975.

Books:

Predisposed: Liberals, Conservatives, and the Biology of Political Differences. New York: Routledge, 2013. Co-authors, John R. Hibbing and Kevin B. Smith. 2nd Edition 2024.

Articles:

“Political Attitudes Vary with Detection of Androstenone.” With Kevin Smith, Amanda Friesen, and Mike Gruszczynski. **Politics and the Life Sciences**. (Spring, 2020).

“Intuitive ethics and political orientations: Testing moral foundations as a theory of political ideology.” with Kevin Smith, John Hibbing, Nicholas Martin, and Peter Hatemi. **American Journal of Political Science**. (April, 2017).

“The Genetic and Environmental Foundations of Political, Psychological, Social, and Economic Behaviors: A Panel Study of Twins and Families.” with Peter Hatemi, Kevin Smith, and John Hibbing. **Twin Research and Human Genetics**. (May, 2015.)

“Liberals and conservatives: Non-convertible currencies.” With John R. Hibbing and Kevin B. Smith. **Behavioral and Brain Sciences** (January, 2015).

“Non-Political Images Evoke Neural Predictors Of Political Ideology.” with Woo-Young Ahn, Kenneth T. Kishida, Xiaosi Gu, Terry Lohrenz, Ann Harvey, Kevin Smith, Gideon Yaffe, John Hibbing, Peter Dayan, P. Read Montague. **Current Biology**. (November, 2014).

“Cortisol and Politics: Variance in Voting Behavior is Predicted by Baseline Cortisol Levels.” with Jeffrey French, Kevin Smith, Adam Guck, Andrew Birnie, and John Hibbing. **Physiology & Behavior**. (June, 2014).

“Differences in Negativity Bias Underlie Variations in Political Ideology.” with Kevin B. Smith and John R. Hibbing. **Behavioral and Brain Sciences**. (June, 2014).

“Negativity bias and political preferences: A response to commentators Response.” with Kevin B. Smith and John R. Hibbing. **Behavioral and Brain Sciences**. (June, 2014).

“Genetic and Environmental Transmission of Political Orientations.” with Carolyn L. Funk, Matthew Hibbing, Kevin B. Smith, Nicholas R. Eaton, Robert F. Krueger, Lindon J. Eaves, John R. Hibbing. **Political Psychology**, (December, 2013).

“Biology, Ideology, and Epistemology: How Do We Know Political Attitudes Are Inherited and Why Should We Care?” with Kevin Smith, Peter K. Hatemi, Lindon J. Eaves, Carolyn Funk, and John R. Hibbing. **American Journal of Political Science**. (January, 2012)

“Disgust Sensitivity and the Neurophysiology of Left-Right Political Orientations.” with Kevin Smith, John Hibbing, Douglas Oxley, and Matthew Hibbing, **PlosONE**, (October, 2011).

“Linking Genetics and Political Attitudes: Re-Conceptualizing Political Ideology.” with Kevin Smith, John Hibbing, Douglas Oxley, and Matthew Hibbing, **Political Psychology**, (June, 2011).

“The Politics of Mate Choice.” with Peter Hatemi, John R. Hibbing, Nicholas Martin and Lindon Eaves, **Journal of Politics**, (March, 2011).

“Not by Twins Alone: Using the Extended Twin Family Design to Investigate the Genetic Basis of Political Beliefs” with Peter Hatemi, John Hibbing, Sarah Medland, Matthew Keller, Kevin Smith, Nicholas Martin, and Lindon Eaves, **American Journal of Political Science**, (July, 2010).

“The Ultimate Source of Political Opinions: Genes and the Environment” with John R. Hibbing in **Understanding Public Opinion**, 3rd Edition eds. Barbara Norrander and Clyde Wilcox, Washington D.C.: CQ Press, (2010).

“Is There a ‘Party’ in your Genes” with Peter Hatemi, John R. Hibbing, Nicholas Martin and Lindon Eaves, **Political Research Quarterly**, (September, 2009).

“Twin Studies, Molecular Genetics, Politics, and Tolerance: A Response to Beckwith and Morris” with John R. Hibbing and Cary Funk, **Perspectives on Politics**, (December, 2008). This is a solicited response to a critique of our 2005 APSR article “Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?”

“Political Attitudes Vary with Physiological Traits” with Douglas R. Oxley, Kevin B. Smith, Matthew V. Hibbing, Jennifer L. Miller, Mario Scalora, Peter K. Hatemi, and John R. Hibbing, **Science**, (September 19, 2008).

“The New Empirical Biopolitics” with John R. Hibbing, **Annual Review of Political Science**, (June, 2008).

“Beyond Liberals and Conservatives to Political Genotypes and Phenotypes” with John R. Hibbing and Cary Funk, **Perspectives on Politics**, (June, 2008). This is a solicited response to a critique of our 2005 APSR article “Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?”

"Personal, Interpersonal, and Political Temperaments" with John R. Hibbing, **Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science**, (November, 2007).

"Is Politics in our Genes?" with John R. Hibbing, **Tidsskriftet Politik**, (February, 2007).

"Biology and Rational Choice" with John R. Hibbing, **The Political Economist**, (Fall, 2005)

"Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?" with John R. Hibbing and Carolyn Funk, **American Political Science Review**, (May, 2005). (The main findings table from this article has been reprinted in two college level text books - Psychology, 9th ed. and Invitation to Psychology 4th ed. both by Wade and Tavris, Prentice Hall, 2007).

"The Origin of Politics: An Evolutionary Theory of Political Behavior" with John R. Hibbing, **Perspectives on Politics**, (December, 2004).

"Accepting Authoritative Decisions: Humans as Wary Cooperators" with John R. Hibbing, **American Journal of Political Science**, (January, 2004).

"Electoral Convergence of the Two Houses of Congress" with John R. Hibbing, in **The Exceptional Senate**, ed. Bruce Oppenheimer, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, (2002).

"We're All in this Together: The Decline of Trust in Government, 1958-1996." in **What is it About Government that Americans Dislike?**, eds. John Hibbing and Beth Theiss-Morse, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (2001).

"The 2000 Census and the New Redistricting," **Texas State Bar Association School Law Section Newsletter**, (July, 2000).

"Overdraft: The Political Cost of Congressional Malfeasance" with Holly Teeters, Dan Ward, and Rick Wilson, **Journal of Politics** (August, 1994).

"Personal and Partisan Advantage in U.S. Congressional Elections, 1846-1990" with David W. Brady, in **Congress Reconsidered** 5th edition, eds. Larry Dodd and Bruce Oppenheimer, CQ Press, (1993).

"The 1990 Congressional Election Results and the Fallacy that They Embodied an Anti-Incumbent Mood" with John R. Hibbing, **PS** 25 (June, 1992).

"Constituency Population and Representation in the United States Senate" with John R. Hibbing. **Legislative Studies Quarterly**, (November, 1990).

"Editors' Introduction: Electing the U.S. Senate" with Bruce I. Oppenheimer. **Legislative Studies Quarterly**, (November, 1990).

"Personal and Partisan Advantage in U.S. Congressional Elections, 1846-1990" with David W. Brady, in **Congress Reconsidered** 4th edition, eds. Larry Dodd and Bruce Oppenheimer, CQ Press, (1988). Reprinted in *The Congress of the United States, 1789-1989*, ed. Joel Silby, Carlson Publishing Inc., (1991), and in *The Quest for Office*, eds. Wayne and Wilcox, St. Martins Press, (1991).

"Can Government Regulate Fertility? An Assessment of Pro-natalist Policy in Eastern Europe" with Jerome Legge. **The Western Political Quarterly** (December, 1986).

"Partisanship and Voting" with James Campbell, Mary Munro, and Bruce Campbell, in **Research in Micropolitics. Volume 1 - Voting Behavior**. Samuel Long, ed. JAI Press, (1986).

"Economic Conditions and Individual Vote in the Federal Republic of Germany" with Jerome S. Legge. **Journal of Politics** (November, 1984).

"Television Markets and Congressional Elections" with James Campbell and Keith Henry. **Legislative Studies Quarterly** (November, 1984).

"Economic Conditions and the Forgotten Side of Congress: A Foray into U.S. Senate Elections" with John R. Hibbing, **British Journal of Political Science** (October, 1982).

"Increased Incumbency Advantage in the House" with John R. Hibbing, **Journal of Politics** (November, 1981). Reprinted in *The Congress of the United States, 1789-1989*, Carlson Publishing Inc., (1991).

"The Electoral Impact of Economic Conditions: Who is Held Responsible?" with John R. Hibbing, **American Journal of Political Science** (August, 1981).

"Comment on Increased Incumbency Advantage" with John R. Hibbing, Refereed communication: **American Political Science Review** (March, 1981).

"Can Government Regulate Safety? The Coal Mine Example" with Michael Lewis-Beck, **American Political Science Review** (September, 1980).

Awards and Honors:

CQ Press Award - 1988, honoring the outstanding paper in legislative politics presented at the 1987 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Awarded for "The Demise of the Upper House and the Rise of the Senate: Electoral Responsiveness in the United States Senate" with John Hibbing.

Research Grants:

National Science Foundation, 2009-2011, "Identifying the Biological Influences on Political Temperaments", with John Hibbing, Kevin Smith, Kim Espy, Nicolas Martin and Read Montague. This is a collaborative project involving Rice, University of Nebraska, Baylor College of Medicine, and Queensland Institute for Medical Research.

National Science Foundation, 2007-2010, "Genes and Politics: Providing the Necessary Data", with John Hibbing, Kevin Smith, and Lindon Eaves. This is a collaborative project involving Rice, University of Nebraska, Virginia Commonwealth University, and the University of Minnesota.

National Science Foundation, 2007-2010, "Investigating the Genetic Basis of Economic Behavior", with John Hibbing and Kevin Smith. This is a collaborative project involving Rice, University of Nebraska, Virginia Commonwealth University, and the Queensland Institute of Medical Research.

Rice University Faculty Initiatives Fund, 2007-2009, "The Biological Substrates of Political Behavior". This is in assistance of a collaborative project involving Rice, Baylor College of Medicine, Queensland Institute of Medical Research, University of Nebraska, Virginia Commonwealth University, and the University of Minnesota.

National Science Foundation, 2004-2006, "Decision-Making on Behalf of Others", with John Hibbing. This is a collaborative project involving Rice and the University of Nebraska.

National Science Foundation, 2001-2002, dissertation grant for Kevin Arceneaux, "Doctoral Dissertation Research in Political Science: Voting Behavior in the Context of U.S. Federalism."

National Science Foundation, 2000-2001, dissertation grant for Stacy Ulbig, "Doctoral Dissertation Research in Political Science: Sub-national Contextual Influences on Political Trust."

National Science Foundation, 1999-2000, dissertation grant for Richard Engstrom, "Doctoral Dissertation Research in Political Science: Electoral District Structure and Political Behavior."

Rice University Research Grant, 1985, Recent Trends in British Parliamentary Elections.

Faculty Research Grants Program, University of Georgia, Summer, 1982. Impact of Media Structure on Congressional Elections, with James Campbell.

Papers Presented:

"The Physiological Basis of Political Temperaments" 6th European Consortium for Political Research General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland (2011), with Kevin Smith, and John Hibbing.

"Identifying the Biological Influences on Political Temperaments" National Science Foundation Annual Human Social Dynamics Meeting (2010), with John Hibbing, Kimberly Espy, Nicholas Martin, Read Montague, and Kevin B. Smith.

"Political Orientations May Be Related to Detection of the Odor of Androstenone" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2010), with Kevin Smith, Amanda Balzer, Michael Gruszczynski, Carly M. Jacobs, and John Hibbing.

"Toward a Modern View of Political Man: Genetic and Environmental Transmission of Political Orientations from Attitude Intensity to Political Participation" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC (2010), with Carolyn Funk, Kevin Smith, and John Hibbing.

"Genetic and Environmental Transmission of Political Involvement from Attitude Intensity to Political Participation" Annual meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, San Francisco, CA (2010), with Carolyn Funk, Kevin Smith, and John Hibbing.

"Are Violations of the EEA Relevant to Political Attitudes and Behaviors?" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2010), with Kevin Smith, and John Hibbing.

"The Neural Basis of Representation" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada (2009), with John Hibbing.

"Genetic and Environmental Transmission of Value Orientations" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada (2009), with Carolyn Funk, Kevin Smith, Matthew Hibbing, Pete Hatemi, Robert Krueger, Lindon Eaves, and John Hibbing.

"The Genetic Heritability of Political Orientations: A New Twin Study of Political Attitudes" Annual Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Dublin, Ireland (2009), with John Hibbing, Cary Funk, Kevin Smith, and Peter K Hatemi.

"The Heritability of Value Orientations" Annual meeting of the Behavior Genetics Association, Minneapolis, MN (2009), with Kevin Smith, John Hibbing, Carolyn Funk, Robert Krueger, Peter Hatemi, and Lindon Eaves.

"The Ick Factor: Disgust Sensitivity as a Predictor of Political Attitudes" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2009), with Kevin Smith, Douglas Oxley, Matthew Hibbing, and John Hibbing.

"The Ideological Animal: The Origins and Implications of Ideology" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA (2008), with Kevin Smith, Matthew Hibbing, Douglas Oxley, and John Hibbing.

"The Physiological Differences of Liberals and Conservatives" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2008), with Kevin Smith, Douglas Oxley, and John Hibbing.

"Looking for Political Genes: The Influence of Serotonin on Political and Social Values" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2008), with Peter Hatemi, Sarah Medland, John Hibbing, and Nicholas Martin.

"Not by Twins Alone: Using the Extended Twin Family Design to Investigate the Genetic Basis of Political Beliefs" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2007), with Peter Hatemi, John Hibbing, Matthew Keller, Nicholas Martin, Sarah Medland, and Lindon Eaves.

"Factorial Association: A generalization of the Fulker between-within model to the multivariate case" Annual meeting of the Behavior Genetics Association, Amsterdam, The Netherlands (2007), with Sarah Medland, Peter Hatemi, John Hibbing, William Coventry, Nicholas Martin, and Michael Neale.

"Not by Twins Alone: Using the Extended Twin Family Design to Investigate the Genetic Basis of Political Beliefs" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2007), with Peter Hatemi, John Hibbing, Nicholas Martin, and Lindon Eaves.

"Getting from Genes to Politics: The Connecting Role of Emotion-Reading Capability" Annual Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Portland, OR, (2007.), with John Hibbing.

"The Neurological Basis of Representative Democracy." Hendricks Conference on Political Behavior, Lincoln, NE (2006), with John Hibbing.

"The Neural Basis of Representative Democracy" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA (2006), with John Hibbing.

"How are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted? A Research Agenda" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago Illinois (2006), with John Hibbing.

"The Politics of Mate Choice" Annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA (2006), with John Hibbing.

"The Challenge Evolutionary Biology Poses for Rational Choice" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC (2005), with John Hibbing and Kevin Smith.

"Decision Making on Behalf of Others" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC (2005), with John Hibbing.

"The Source of Political Attitudes and Behavior: Assessing Genetic and Environmental Contributions" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago Illinois (2005), with John Hibbing and Carolyn Funk.

"The Source of Political Attitudes and Behavior: Assessing Genetic and Environmental Contributions" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago Illinois (2004), with John Hibbing and Carolyn Funk.

"Accepting Authoritative Decisions: Humans as Wary Cooperators" Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois (2002), with John Hibbing

"Can We Trust the NES Trust Measure?" Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois (2001), with Stacy Ulbig.

"The Impact of Organizational Structure on the Production of Social Capital Among Group Members" Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia (2000), with Allison Rinden.

"Isolating the Origins of Incumbency Advantage: An Analysis of House Primaries, 1956-1998" Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia (2000), with Kevin Arceneaux.

"The Electorally Indistinct Senate," Norman Thomas Conference on Senate Exceptionalism, Vanderbilt University; Nashville, Tennessee; October (1999), with John R. Hibbing.

"Interest Group Participation and Social Capital" Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois (1999), with Allison Rinden.

"We're All in this Together: The Decline of Trust in Government, 1958-1996." The Hendricks Symposium, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. (1998)

"Constituency Population and Representation in the United States Senate," Electing the Senate; Houston, Texas; December (1989), with John R. Hibbing.

"The Disparate Electoral Security of House and Senate Incumbents," American Political Science Association Annual Meetings; Atlanta, Georgia; September (1989), with John R. Hibbing.

"Partisan and Incumbent Advantage in House Elections," Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association (1987), with David W. Brady.

"Personal and Party Advantage in U.S. House Elections, 1846-1986" with David W. Brady, 1987 Social Science History Association Meetings.

"The Demise of the Upper House and the Rise of the Senate: Electoral Responsiveness in the United States Senate" with John Hibbing, 1987 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

"A Comparative Analysis of Economic Voting" with Jerome Legge, 1985 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

"An Analysis of Economic Conditions and the Individual Vote in Great Britain, 1964-1979" with Jerome Legge, 1985 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association.

"Can Government Regulate Fertility? An Assessment of Pro-natalist Policy in Eastern Europe" with Jerome Legge, 1985 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association.

"Economic Conditions and the Individual Vote in the Federal Republic of Germany" with Jerome S. Legge, 1984 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

"The Conditions Required for Economic Issue Voting" with John R. Hibbing, 1984 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

"Incumbency Advantage in Senate Elections," 1983 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

"Television Markets and Congressional Elections: The Impact of Market/District Congruence" with James Campbell and Keith Henry, 1982 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

"Economic Conditions and Senate Elections" with John R. Hibbing, 1982 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. "Pocketbook Voting: Economic Conditions and Individual Level Voting," 1982 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

"Increased Incumbency Advantage in the House," with John R. Hibbing, 1981 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Other Conference Participation:

Roundtable Participant – Closing Round-table on Biopolitics; 2016 UC Merced Conference on Bio-Politics and Political Psychology, Merced, CA.

Roundtable Participant "Genes, Brains, and Core Political Orientations" 2008 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Las Vegas.

Roundtable Participant "Politics in the Laboratory" 2007 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans.

Short Course Lecturer, "What Neuroscience has to Offer Political Science" 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Panel chair and discussant, "Neuro-scientific Advances in the Study of Political Science" 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Presentation, "The Twin Study Approach to Assessing Genetic Influences on Political Behavior" Rice Conference on New Methods for Understanding Political Behavior, 2005.

Panel discussant, "The Political Consequences of Redistricting," 2002 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Panel discussant, "Race and Redistricting," 1999 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Invited participant, "Roundtable on Public Dissatisfaction with American Political Institutions", 1998 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association.

Presentation, "Redistricting in the '90s," Texas Economic and Demographic Association, 1997.

Panel chair, "Congressional Elections," 1992 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

Panel discussant, "Incumbency and Congressional Elections," 1992 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Panel chair, "Issues in Legislative Elections," 1991 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Panel chair, "Economic Attitudes and Public Policy in Europe," 1990 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association

Panel discussant, "Retrospective Voting in U.S. Elections," 1990 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Co-convener, with Bruce Oppenheimer, of Electing the Senate, a national conference on the NES 1988 Senate Election Study. Funded by the Rice Institute for Policy Analysis, the University of Houston Center for Public Policy, and the National Science Foundation, Houston, Texas, December, 1989.

Invited participant, Understanding Congress: A Bicentennial Research Conference, Washington, D.C., February, 1989.

Invited participant--Hendricks Symposium on the United States Senate, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, October, 1988

Invited participant--Conference on the History of Congress, Stanford University, Stanford, California, June, 1988.

Invited participant, "Roundtable on Partisan Realignment in the 1980's", 1987 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

Professional Activities:

Other Universities:

Invited Speaker, Annual Lecture, Psi Kappa -the Psychology Club at Houston Community College, 2018.

Invited Speaker, Annual Allman Family Lecture, Dedman College Interdisciplinary Institute, Southern Methodist University, 2016.

Invited Speaker, Annual Lecture, Psi Sigma Alpha – Political Science Dept., Oklahoma State University, 2015.

Invited Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, 2014.

Invited Speaker, Annual Lecture, Psi Kappa -the Psychology Club at Houston Community College, 2014.

Invited Speaker, Graduate Student Colloquium, Department of Political Science, University of New Mexico, 2013.

Invited Keynote Speaker, Political Science Alumni Evening, University of Houston, 2013.

Invited Lecturer, Biology and Politics Masters Seminar (John Geer and David Bader), Department of Political Science and Biology Department, Vanderbilt University, 2010.

Invited Lecturer, Biology and Politics Senior Seminar (John Geer and David Bader), Department of Political Science and Biology Department, Vanderbilt University, 2008.

Visiting Fellow, the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2007.

Invited Speaker, Joint Political Psychology Graduate Seminar, University of Minnesota, 2007.

Invited Speaker, Department of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, 2006.

Member:

Editorial Board, Politics and the Life Sciences, 2025.

Editorial Board, Journal of Politics, 2007-2008.

Planning Committee for the National Election Studies' Senate Election Study, 1990-92.

Nominations Committee, Social Science History Association, 1988

Reviewer for:

American Journal of Political Science

American Political Science Review

American Politics Research

American Politics Quarterly

American Psychologist

American Sociological Review

Canadian Journal of Political Science

Comparative Politics

Electoral Studies

Evolution and Human Behavior
International Studies Quarterly
Journal of Politics
Journal of Urban Affairs
Legislative Studies Quarterly
National Science Foundation
PLoS ONE
Policy Studies Review
Political Behavior
Political Communication
Political Psychology
Political Research Quarterly
Public Opinion Quarterly
Science
Security Studies
Social Forces
Social Science Quarterly
Western Political Quarterly

University Service:

Department - Interim Director of Undergraduate Studies 2025

Member, University Senate, 2021-2023.

Member, University Parking Committee, 2016-2023.

Member, University Benefits Committee, 2013-2016.

Internship Director for the Department of Political Science, 2004-2018.

Member, University Council, 2012-2013.

Invited Speaker, Rice Classroom Connect, 2016.

Invited Speaker, Glasscock School, 2016.

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, Austin, 2016.

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, New York City, 2016.

Invited Speaker, Rice TEDxRiceU , 2013.

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, Atlanta, 2011.

Lecturer, Advanced Topics in AP Psychology, Rice University AP Summer Institute, 2009.

Scientia Lecture Series: "Politics in Our Genes: The Biology of Ideology" 2008

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles, 2008.

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, Austin, Chicago and Washington, DC, 2006.

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, Dallas and New York, 2005.

Director: Rice University Behavioral Research Lab and Social Science Computing Lab, 2005-2006.

University Official Representative to the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, 1989-2012.

Director: Rice University Social Science Computing Lab, 1989-2004.

Member, Rice University Information Technology Access and Security Committee, 2001-2002

Rice University Committee on Computers, Member, 1988-1992, 1995-1996; Chair, 1996-1998, Co-chair, 1999.

Acting Chairman, Rice Institute for Policy Analysis, 1991-1992.

Divisional Member of the John W. Gardner Dissertation Award Selection Committee, 1998

Social Science Representative to the Educational Sub-committee of the Computer Planning Committee, 1989-1990.

Director of Graduate Admissions, Department of Political Science, Rice University, 1986-1988.

Co-director, Mellon Workshop: Southern Politics, May, 1988.

Guest Lecturer, Mellon Workshop: The U.S. Congress in Historical Perspective, May, 1987 and 1988.

Faculty Associate, Hanszen College, Rice University, 1987-1990.

Director, Political Data Analysis Center, University of Georgia, 1982-1985.

External:

Expert Witness, Hazleton ISD, 2025.

Expert Witness, Angleton ISD, 2025.

Expert Witness, Humble ISD, 2024.

Expert Witness, City of Miami, 2023.

Expert Witness, State of North Carolina, 2023.

Expert Witness, State of Mississippi, 2023.

Expert Witness, State of Florida, 2023.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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