

CURRICULUM VITAE – May 2021
THEODORE S. ARRINGTON

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Residing in Albuquerque, NM

EDUCATION

The University of New Mexico, B.A. *Magna Cum Laude*, Senior Honors Thesis titled *Bernalillo County in Statewide Elections in New Mexico*, September 1963-June 1967.

The University of Arizona, M.A. Thesis titled *Grass Roots Organization: A Study of Precinct Committeemen*, September 1967-December 1968.

The University of Arizona, Ph.D. Dissertation titled *Belief Systems in Political Party Stratarchies*, January 1971-August 1973.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

The University of New Mexico, Teaching Assistant, Department of Political Science, September 1966-June 1967.

Research Assistant to Professor Harry Stumpf, Director of a study of the Office of Economic Opportunity Legal Services Program in the San Francisco Bay Area of California, June 1967-August 1967.

The United States Army, SGT-E5, Military Police, February 1969-January 1971.

The University of Arizona, Graduate Associate, Department of Government, June 1973-July 1973.

The University of North Carolina at Charlotte:

Assistant Professor of Political Science, July 1973-June 1978

Associate Professor of Political Science, July 1978-June 1985

Professor of Political Science, July 1985-June 2010

Professor of Political Science, Emeritus, July 2010

The University of North Carolina at Charlotte, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Coordinator of Internships, October 1974-August 1977.

President of the Faculty of The University of North Carolina at Charlotte, July 1983-June 1984.

Delegate to The University of North Carolina Faculty Assembly, July 1984-June 1989.

Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor for Faculty Affairs at The University of North Carolina at Charlotte, August 1986-July 1987.

Chair of the Department of Political Science at The University of North Carolina at Charlotte, July 1987-June 1995, May 1997-June 2007.

Co-Chair, Self-Study of The University of North Carolina at Charlotte for reaccreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, January 1990-August 1992.

BOOKS

Applied Political Inquiry (with Terrell Rhodes and Robert Mundt), Washington: University Press of America, 1983.

Elections, Parties, and Politics in Mecklenburg County (with William B.A. Culp, Jr. and Gerald Ingalls), Charlotte: Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Elections, Department of Geography and Earth Sciences and the Urban Institute at The University of North Carolina at Charlotte, 1988.

Who Votes and Why: A Review of American Electoral Behavior (with Schley R. Lyons) New York: The Robert A. Taft Institute for Two-Party Government, 1988.

JOURNAL AND INTERNET ARTICLES

Comment on David Nexon's "Asymmetry in the Political System: Occasional Activists in the Republican and Democratic Parties: 1956-1964," *The American Political Science Review* 66 (March, 1972) 183-184.

Some Aspects of Political Experience on Issue Consciousness and Issue Partisanship Among Tucson Political Activists, *The American Journal of Political Science* 19 (November, 1975) 695-702.

Amateurs and Professionals Among Tucson Party Activists, *Georgia Political Science Association Journal* 4 (Fall, 1976) 79-89.

Comment on Christopher H. Achen's "Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response," *The American Political Science Review* 70 (December, 1976) 1230-1231.

Equal Rights Amendment Activists in North Carolina (with Patricia Kyle), *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 3 (Spring, 1978) 666-680.

Machiavellianism of Political Activists, *Georgia Political Science Association Journal* 6 (Spring, 1978) 99-109.

Partisan Campaigns, Ballots, and Voting Patterns: The Case of Charlotte, *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 14 (December, 1978) 253-261.

Some Paradoxes of Campaign Finance Reform, *Commonsense: A Republican Journal of Thought and Opinion* 2 (Fall, 1979) 56-72.

The Advantages of a Plurality Election of the President (with Saul Brenner), *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 10 (Summer, 1980) 476-482.

Some Effects of Ideology and Threat Upon the Size of Opinion Coalitions on the United States Supreme Court (with Saul Brenner), *Journal of Political Science* 8 (Fall, 1980) 49-58.

Comment on Richard F. Bensen's "Creating the Statutory State: The Implications of the Rule of Law Standard in American Politics" *The American Political Science Review* 75 (June, 1981) 460-461.

Financing Local Election Campaigns (with Gerald Ingalls), in Warren Jake Wicker (ed.) *Urban Growth and Urban Life, 1981 Proceedings: The Third Annual Urban Affairs Conference of The University of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: Urban Studies Council, 1981) 387-397.

Political Socialization of the Deaf (with Andrew Conrad), *Journal of the North Carolina Political Science Association* 2 (Winter, 1981-2) 91-95.

Willingness to Pay Per Capita Costs as a Measure of Support for Urban Services (with David Jordan), *Public Administration Review* 42 (March/April, 1982) 168-170.

William O. Douglas: Consistent Civil Libertarian or Parabolic Supporter? (with Saul Brenner), *The Journal of Politics* 45 (May, 1983) 490-496.

Effects of Campaign Spending on Different Types of Local Elections: The Charlotte Case" (with Gerald Ingalls), *American Politics Quarterly* 12 (January, 1984) 117-127.

Age, Race and Voter Mobilization in White Charlotte Neighborhoods, *Politics and Policy* 4 (Spring, 1984) 81-85.

Should the Electoral College be Replaced by the Direct Election of the President? A Debate (with Saul Brenner), *PS* 17 (Spring, 1984) 237-250.

Another Look at Approval Voting (with Saul Brenner), *Polity* 17 (Fall, 1984) 118-144.

Race and Local Campaign Finance in Charlotte, N.C. (with Gerald Ingalls), *Western Political Quarterly* 37 (December, 1984) 578-583.

CONGRESS Takes You On a Presidential Quest, *Rainbow Magazine* 4 (June, 1985) 195-196.

Advanced and Full-Featured, CMODEM Is a Comparable Terminal Program, *Rainbow Magazine* 4 (July, 1985) 196-198.

How to Predict Election Turnouts, *Campaigns and Elections* 7 (May-June, 1986) 11-14.

Unanimous Decision-making on the United States Supreme Court: The Role of Case Stimuli and Judicial Attitudes (with Saul Brenner), *Political Behavior* 9 (Number 1, 1987) 75-86. Reprinted in Harold J. Spaeth and Saul Brenner (eds.) *Studies in U.S. Supreme Court Behavior* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1990) 207-220.

The Role of Gender in Local Campaign Financing: The Case of Charlotte, North Carolina (with Gerald Ingalls), *Women and Politics* 11 (Number 2, 1991) 61-90.

The Election of Blacks to School Boards in North Carolina (with Thomas Watts), *Western Political Quarterly* 44 (December, 1991), 1099-1105.

Outreach Programs and Voter Registration in North Carolina (with Timothy D. Mead), *State and Local Government Review* 24 (Number 3, Fall 1992) 113-116.

When Money Doesn't Matter: Campaign Spending for Minor Statewide Judicial and Executive Offices in North Carolina, *The Justice System Journal* 18 (Number 3, Summer 1996) 257-266.

The Limited Vote Alternative to Affirmative Districting (with Gerald Ingalls), *Political Geography* 17 (Number 6, August 1998) 701-728.

Party Registration Choices as a Function of the Geographic Distribution of Partisanship: A Model of 'Hidden partisanship' and an Illustrative Test (with Bernard Grofman), *Political Geography* 18 (Number 2, February 1999) 173-185.

Ideological Voting on the U.S. Supreme Court: Comparing the Conference Vote and the Final Vote with the Segal/Cover Scores (with Saul Brenner), *Jurimetrics* 41 (Summer, 2001) 505-512.

Measuring Saliency on the Supreme Court (with Saul Brenner), *Jurimetrics* 43 (Fall, 2002) 99-113.

Strategic Voting for Damage Control on the Supreme Court (with Saul Brenner), *Political Research Quarterly* 57 (December, 2004) 565-573.

Testing Murphy's Strategic Model: Assigning the Majority Opinion to the Marginal Justice in the Conference Coalition on the U.S. Supreme Court (with Saul Brenner), *American Politics Research* 36 (May, 2008) 416-432.

Response to "Predicting and Dissecting the Seat-Vote Curve in the 2006 U.S. House Election." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 41 (July, 2008) 473-4.

Affirmative Districting and Four Decades of Redistricting: The Seats/Votes Relationship 1972-2008, *Politics and Policy* 38 (Number 2, 2010) 223-253.

Redistricting in the U.S.: A Review of Scholarship and Plan for Future Research, *The Forum* 8 (Number 2, Article 7, 2010). DOI: 10.2202/1540-8884.1351.

Response to Symposium: "Pracademics": Mixing an Academic Career with Practical Politics, *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44 (July 2011) 499.

The Republicans' Built-in House Advantage, *Sabato's Crystal Ball*, "The Politics of the Shutdown" XI (Issue 38), 3 October 2013.

Gerrymandering the House, 1972-2014, *Sabato's Crystal Ball*, XIII (Issue 22), 4 July 2015.

A Practical Procedure for Detecting a Partisan Gerrymander, *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 15 (Number 4, December, 2016) 385-402. This paper won third place in the second Common Cause "Gerrymander Standard" writing contest in 2015-6.

Gerrymandering the House, 1972-2016: The High Bar Democrats Need to Clear in Order to Win Back the Majority, *Sabato's Crystal Ball*, XV (Issue 4), 26 January 2017.

The Seats/Votes Relationship and the Efficiency Gap: U.S. House Elections 1972-2016, *Sabato's Crystal Ball*, XVI (Issue 13), 29 March 2018.

The Seats/Votes Relationship in the U.S. House 1972-2018, *Sabato's Crystal Ball*, XVII, (Issue 4), 31 January 2019.

The Seats/Votes Relationship in the U.S. House 1972-2020, *Sabato's Crystal Ball*, XIX, (Issue 6), 4 February 2021.

BOOK CHAPTERS

Proportional Representation: Advance of Democracy" in John T. Rourke, *You Decide!* 2006. New York: Pearson Education, Inc. 2007, Chapter 23. [Also in earlier editions]

BOOK REVIEWS

Jack Fleer, *North Carolina Government and Politics*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994 for *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 25 (Number 1, Winter 1995) 126-127.

Maurice T. Cunningham, *Maximization, Whatever the Cost: Race, Redistricting, and the Department of Justice*, Westport: Praeger, 2001 for *American Review of Politics*, 22 (Spring & Summer 2001) 129-131.

William W. Lammers and Michael A. Genovese, *The Presidency and Domestic Policy: Comparing Leadership Styles, FDR to Clinton*, Washington: CQ Press, 2000 for *Politics and Policy*, 31 (Number 3, 2003) 561-562.

SELECTED PAPERS

Equal Rights Amendment Activists in North Carolina (with Patricia Kyle), Panel on Women and Public Policy, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, 1-6 Sep 1975.

The Size Principle and Supreme Court Decision-Making (with Saul Brenner), Panel on Supreme Court Behavior, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Nashville, Tennessee, 6-8 November 1975.

Interdependence in the Third World: A Study of Bloc Voting Cohesion in the U.N. General Assembly, 1965-1976 (with Patricia Kyle), International Studies Association Convention, St. Louis, Missouri, 19 March 1977.

Participation in Elections: A Study of Voter Mobilization in Charlotte, N.C., Panel on North Carolina Electoral Behavior, Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 30-31 March 1979.

Financing Local Level Election Campaigns (with Gerald Ingalls), Panel on Citizen Participation, Third Annual Urban Affairs Conference of The University of North Carolina titled "Perspectives on Urban Growth and Urban Life," Charlotte, N.C., 1-3 April 1981.

Financing Local Elections: Who Gives What to Whom? (with Gerald Ingalls), Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Division of the Association of American Geographers, Atlanta, Georgia, 22-24 November 1981.

Financing Local Election Campaigns: Does Neighboring Help Raise Money? Does Money Win Elections? (with Gerald Ingalls), National Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, San Antonio, Texas, 26-28 April 1982.

A Method for Predicting Voter Turnout in Elections, Annual meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association, Mars Hill, N.C., 18-19 April 1986.

A Teaching Model of a Responsible Two-Party System, Annual meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association, Mars Hill, N.C., 18-19 April 1986.

Urbanization, Management Capacity and the Impact of the 1965 Voting Rights Act (with Timothy D. Mead), Annual meeting of the Urban Affairs Association, Akron, Ohio, 22-25 April 1987.

Is Campaigning at the Polls Effective? A Quasi Experiment Using the 1989 Charlotte Mayoral Election, Annual meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association, Cullowhee, 20 March 1992.

Alternatives to Affirmative Gerrymandering: Limited Voting as One Option (with Gerald Ingalls), Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Division of the Association of American Geographers, Virginia Beach, 20-22 November 1994.

The Use of Limited Voting in the United States: Potential and Practice (with Gerald Ingalls), Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Chicago, Illinois, 18 March 1995.

Is Mandatory HMO Enrollment for Dependent Populations Acceptable? Public Opinion and Its Evolution Since the Backlash Against Managed Care (with William P. Brandon and Nancy Schoeps), Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 1997.

Public Opinion About Mandatory HMO Enrollment Under Medicaid, Medicare, Veterans, and Employer Payment Programs (with William P. Brandon and Nancy Schoeps), Annual Meeting of the American Public Health Association, Indianapolis, November 1997.

Affirmative Districting and the Partisan Seats/Votes Relationship: 1972-2002, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, September 2003.

The Rational Losing Litigant Model and Measuring Ideology of the U.S. Supreme Court (with Saul Brenner), Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2005.

Affirmative Districting and Four Decades of Redistricting: the Seats/Votes Relationship 1972-2008, The 38th Annual Conference of The North Carolina Political Science Association, Greensboro, North Carolina, 27 February 2009.

A Practical Procedure for Detecting a Partisan Gerrymander, Redistricting Reform: Mapping Our Future, Duke University Sanford School of Public Policy, 2-3 March 2017.

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS

Chairman of the panel Toward Explaining Women's Political Patterns, Annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia, 4-6 November 1976.

Discussant on the panel on Evaluation of the Carter Administration, Annual meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association, Greensboro, N.C., 6-8 April 1978.

Chairman of the panel on American Politics, Annual meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association, Asheville, N.C., 18-19 April 1980.

Chairman of the Seventh Annual Undergraduate Awards Competition, Annual meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association, Asheville, N.C., 18-19 April 1980.

Chairman of the Thirteenth Annual Undergraduate Awards Competition, Annual meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association, Mars Hill, N.C., 18-19 April 1986.

Participant in the Roundtable on North Carolina Elections, Annual meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association, Greensboro, North Carolina, 8-9 April 1988.

Discussant at the panel on The Politics of Governing, Annual meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association, Salisbury, North Carolina, 30-31 March 1990.

Change for Whom? Three Decades of Electoral Change and Continuity in North Carolina Elections (with Gerald Ingalls), a presentation at the Conference on Empowering Political and Economic Transformation, sponsored by the University of Colorado and the Political Geography Specialty Group of the American Association of American Geographers, Boulder Colorado, 15-18 April 1992.

Discussant on the panel on North Carolina and the 1992 Elections, Annual meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association, Durham, North Carolina, 2-3 April 1993.

Discussant on the panel on Congressional politics, Annual meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association, Charlotte, North Carolina, 18-19 March 1994.

Discussant on the Symposium on Redistricting in Theory and Practice After Shaw Versus Reno, Annual Meeting of the American Association of Geographers, Charlotte, North Carolina, 12 April 1996.

Invited presentation for The Kenelm Foundation-Campbell University Series at the Weymouth Center in Southern Pines, N.C. Two workshops on redistricting titled "From Gingles to Shaw -- The Role of North Carolina in the Formation of Districting Principles in the United States." One workshop for the public and one for honors students. September 1996.

Invited presentation in the series "The American Presidents and the American Presidency" sponsored by the Caldwell Community College and Technical Institute at the J.E. Broyhill Civic Center in Lenoir, N.C. Presentation titled "Clinton or Dole -- Choosing the Lesser of Two Evils or the Evil of Two Lessers." October 1996.

Chairman and discussant on the panel American National Politics, Annual meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association, Boone, 3-4 April 1998.

Discussant on the Roundtable on Declining Enrollments in Political Science, Annual meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association, Boone, 3-4 April 1998.

Testimony before the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Committee on the Judiciary, United States House of Representatives. Hearing on H.R. 1173, the "States' Choice of Voting Systems Act" Thursday, 23 September 1999, 2:00 p.m. in 22267 Rayburn House Office Building.

Member, Roundtable on Redistricting, Representation, and American Political Institutions, 100th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, 28-31 August 2003.

Written Testimony on the Reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act before the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States House of Representatives, 2 November 2005.

CONSULTING

Gingles vs. Edmisten, 590 F. SUPP. 345 (E.D.N.C.) 1984. Employed by plaintiff intervenors, courtroom and affidavit testimony that the use of multimember districts for the N.C. General Assembly impedes the election of blacks and Republicans. Affirmed by the United States Supreme Court *Thornburg vs. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 (1986).

Alexander vs. Martin, Civil Action No. 86-1048-CIV-5 (E.D.N.C.) 1987. Employed by plaintiffs. Affidavit testimony that the use of multimember districts and statewide elections for Superior Court Judges in North Carolina impedes the elections of black candidates.

Republican Party of North Carolina vs. Hunt, Civil Action No. 88-263-CIV-5 (E.D.N.C.) 1988-1996. Employed by plaintiffs. Affidavit and deposition testimony that the procedure of statewide elections of Superior Court judges dilutes the votes of Republicans consistently degrading the votes of Republican voters and also degrades their influence on the political process as a whole in violation of constitutional rights.

Person vs. Moore County, Civil Action No. C-89-135-R (M.D.N.C.) 1990. Employed by defendants. Affidavit and deposition testimony supported the contention that the local governing bodies in this county were in compliance with the Voting Rights Act.

Ward vs. Columbus County, Civil Action No. 90-20-CIV-7-BR (E.D.N.C.) 1990. Retained by defendants. Affidavit, courtroom, and deposition testimony that black and American Indian voters were not cohesive in their voting patterns in this county.

Lake vs. State Board of Elections of North Carolina, Civil Action No. 2:91CV00254 (M.D.N.C.) 1991. Employed by the plaintiffs. Affidavit testimony on aspects of holding a special election in two counties to remedy irregularities in election for Associate Justice of N.C. Supreme Court in 1990.

Stafford vs. Burnick, Civil Action No. 2:91CV00542 (M.D.N.C.) 1991. Employed by the plaintiffs. Affidavit testimony about whether the options proposed in a referendum to be held in Guilford County North Carolina concerning consolidation of the school boards there would violate the Voting Rights Act.

Consultant for a coalition of groups objecting to preclearance of General Assembly and Congressional redistricting for North Carolina in 1991. Affidavit testimony to the United States Justice Department that the proposed districts reduced the ability of minority voters to elect candidates of their choice.

Consultant for a coalition of groups objecting to preclearance of General Assembly and Congressional redistricting for Georgia in 1991. Affidavit testimony to the United States Justice Department that the proposed districts would reduce the ability of minority voters to elect candidates of their choice. This work was related to *Jones vs. Miller*, Civil Action No. 1-92-CV-330-JOF (N.D.GA) in which I would have been an expert witness for plaintiffs if that case had gone to trial.

Burton vs. Sheheen, Civil Action No. 3-91-2983-1 (The South Carolina Senate Defendant-Intervenors); *South Carolina Reapportionment Advisory Committee vs. Campbell*, Civil Action No. 3-91-3310-1; and *Blanton vs. Sheheen*, Civil Action No. 2-91-3635-1 (D.C.S.C. Columbia Division). Employed by plaintiffs in 1991-2. Affidavit and courtroom testimony that election for Congress and state legislature in South Carolina are racially polarized, that timely known and agreed to districts are important to minority candidates election, that the 1982 districts in the state are malapportioned, and comparison of proposed plans for redistricting.

Re MacKinnon and Government of Prince Edward Island (1993). Before the Supreme Court of Prince Edward Island, Canada. In the Matter of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and in the matter of sections 147-151 of the *Elections Act*, R.S.P.E.I. 1988 Chapter E-1. 101 D.L.R.(4th) 362. Written and courtroom testimony for petitioner (City of Charlottetown) that it is practical and desirable to draw districts for the Legislative Assembly of the Province of P.E.I. that have a low population deviation. Included construction of districts with a total deviation of 4.9%, and presentation of those districts to the court.

Hines vs. Callis, Civil Action No. 89-62-CIV-2-BO (E.D.N.C.) 1992. Courtroom testimony that the town council election scheme offered by the Town of Ahoskie N.C. is a reasonable remedy for the admitted deficiencies in their system of at-large elections and would be sufficient to meet the requirements of the Voting Rights Act. Also see *Hines vs. Mayor and Town Council of Ahoskie* (Fourth Circuit United States Court of Appeals #92-2593) 15 July 1993.

Degrandy vs. Wetherell, Civil Action No. 92-40015-WS (N.D.FL) and *Florida State Conference of NAACP Branches vs. Chiles*, Civil Action No. 92-40131-WS (N.D.FL) 1992. Consultant for Common Cause of Florida, *amicus curiae* in the case. Affidavit and courtroom testimony before the Special Master appointed by the Court to aid in the construction of legislative and Congressional districts for the State of Florida.

Appointed in 1992 as the expert to aid Special Master Frederick B. Lacey in drawing Congressional districts for the State of New York. Lacey was appointed by the Court

considering the case of *Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. and Corchardo vs. Gantt*, CV-92-1521(SJ) (E.D.N.Y.) and *Waring vs. Gantt*, CV-92-1776(SJ) (E.D.N.Y.). Testified by report and at trial.

Appointed in 1992 as the expert to aid Special Master Frederick B. Lacey in drawing state legislative districts for New York. Also retained to directly advise the Court on methodological questions. The cases were: *The Fund for Accurate and Informed Representation, Inc. vs. Weprin*, 92-CV-283 (N.D.N.Y.); *Norman vs. Cuomo*, 92-CV-720 (N.D.N.Y.); and *Scaringe vs. Marino*, 92-CV-0593.

Willis vs. Town of Trenton, North Carolina, 92-CIV-4-H (E.D.N.C.) 1993. Retained by defendants to outline for the Court the evidence plaintiffs must present to prove their claim that the town election procedures impede the election of blacks. Testified by report to the Court.

Retained by plaintiff National NAACP in the combined cases of *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, et al. vs. Schaefer, et al.* (S-92-1409) and *Marylanders for Fair Representation vs. Schaefer, et al.* (S-92-510) in the Federal District Court for Maryland, 1993. Report, deposition, and courtroom testimony that the voting for General Assembly in Maryland is racially polarized, the minority community is politically cohesive, and the districts drawn by the State of Maryland provide less of an opportunity for minority citizens to participate in the political process than the districts drawn by plaintiffs.

Cane, et al. vs. Worcester County, Maryland, et al., Y-92-3226 (United States District Court, Maryland District 874 F. Supp 687) 1993. Retained by plaintiffs. Testified by report, deposition, and in court that the elections in Worcester County are racially polarized and that minority candidates of choice cannot win in the at-large elections for County Commission even if the minority community is strongly cohesive in their voting patterns. Also see Fourth Circuit United States Court of Appeals (35F.3d 921) 1994.

In 1992, consultant to the Cleveland County (N.C.) Board of Commissioners to formulate a plan to move from at-large to a mixed at-large district system in order to increase minority participation. Newly elected commissioners decided not to submit the new plan to the U.S. Justice Department for preclearance. This resulted in legal action: *Campbell and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People vs. Cleveland County Board of Commissioners et al.*, 4:94-CV-11 (W.D.N.C., Shelby Division) in 1994. Testified by affidavit, but not as expert retained by any party to the legal action.

In 1992, Co-Chair of the Blue Ribbon County Governance committee, appointed by the Mecklenburg County (N.C.) Commission to study possible changes in election procedures for the county commission. Proposed a new expanded Commission and new set of districts. Co-chair of the District Proposal Election Committee, which

campaigned for the new proposal, which was adopted by the voters in November 1992. In 1993 the North Carolina General Assembly revised those districts and mandated that the revised districts be used for school board elections. In *Daly et al. vs. Hunt et al.* 3:93CV371-MU (W.D.N.C. Charlotte Division) during 1994 the state districts were challenged on one-person-one vote grounds. Testified, in a joint affidavit with Gerry F. Cohen of the N.C. General Assembly staff, about both sets of districts.

United States of America vs. Anson County Board of Education et al. 3:93CV210-P (W.D.N.C.) 1994. Retained by the United States Department of Justice. Testified by declaration that elections in Anson County are racially polarized, the African-American community is politically cohesive, and any at-large seats on the school board would dilute the vote of minority citizens because whites vote as a bloc to prevent minority candidates from winning election.

Charles T. Sutherland vs. Everett H. Hyde et al. 3:94CV00451 (M.D.N.C.) 1995. Retained by plaintiff to testify by affidavit about the effects of the ballot order of names in primaries on the results of elections. Ballot order does affect the outcome of some primary elections in North Carolina. This case became *Charles T. Sutherland, Jr. vs. James Hunt, et al.* 1:97-CV-1123 (M.D.N.C.).

Thurman Gause et al. vs. Brunswick County, North Carolina et al. CA-93-80-7-D (E.D.N.C.). Retained by defendants (Brunswick County) in 1994 to testify about polarized voting and the dispersal of minority citizens within the county. While I did not testify, I was deposed by plaintiff's attorneys. Also see Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals (No. 95-3028) 13 August 1996.

Consultant on election systems and redistricting for Albemarle, N.C. City School District (1988); Hickory, N.C. City School District (1991); City of Hickory (1991); Winston-Salem/Forsyth, N.C. School District (1991); Moore County, N.C. Commission (1991); Mecklenburg County, N.C. Commission (1991-2); Reidsville, N.C. City Council (1992); Rowan-Salisbury N.C. Board of Education (1992); plaintiffs bringing legal action against Mt. Olive, North Carolina (1993); plaintiffs bringing legal action against Launenburg N.C. (1993); and Albemarle N.C. County Commission (1993).

City of Charlottetown et al. and The Government of Prince Edward Island. (1996) Court File GSC-14198 before the Supreme Court of Prince Edward Island, Canada. In the matter of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and in the matter of Sections 2, 3, 4, 5, 17(2) and the Schedule of the *Election Boundaries Act*, (S.P.E.I. 1994, Cap. 13, Bill No. 100). As a result of *MacKinnon vs. Government of Prince Edward Island* (see above), the Provincial legislature was forced to redistrict itself. The City of Charlottetown argued that the Province did not fully comply with that decision, and they brought suit to change the districts. Retained by City of

Charlottetown, testified by report and at trial that the districts were a rural gerrymander.

Wayne Cook, et al. vs. Marshall County, Mississippi, et al. and United States of America Defendant Intervenor. (1996) CA 3:05 CV 155-D-A (N.D.MS.). Retained by the United States Department of Justice to prepare testimony on polarized voting, minority cohesion, the effects of low socio-economic status on political participation, and traditional districting practices. In this case the Justice Department defended the districts used to elect county supervisors against a challenge by white plaintiffs. Testified by declaration.

Cleveland County Association for Government by the People, et al. vs. Cleveland County Board of Commissioners, et al. (1997) CA 96-1447-SSS (U.S. District Court for D.C.). Retained by plaintiffs to testify about possible districting arrangements. Testified by affidavit that it is not possible to draw a majority minority district in a five district plan for Cleveland County, N.C. that would be considered “geographically compact” as defined by the Supreme Court in *Shaw vs. Hunt* given the size and dispersion of the African-American population in that jurisdiction.

The United States of America vs. New Roads Louisiana (1997) CA 96-7315-B-M2 (M.D.LA). Retained by the United States Department of Justice to prepare testimony on polarized voting, minority cohesion, and the effects of low socio-economic status on the political participation of minority citizens in New Roads Louisiana. Testified by declaration.

Consultant in 1999 to the United States Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, Voting Section on various aspects of *Cromartie et al. vs. James B. Hunt, et al.* 99-1864 (E.D.N.C.) and *Smallwood et al. vs. Cromartie et al.* 99-1865 (E.D.N.C.). The United States elected not to intervene in these cases.

Dean Butch Wilson et al. vs. John W. Jones Jr. et al. (1999) CA 96-1052-BH-M. in the United States District Court, Southern District of Alabama, Northern Division. Retained by the United States Department of Justice to prepare a four district plan for Dallas County (Selma), Alabama. Testified by declaration, at trial, and at a meeting of Commissioners about the principles used to draw the plan.

Randy Royal, et al. vs. The State of North Carolina and the North Carolina Board of Elections 99 CV 13020 (2000), in the General Court of Justice, Superior Court Division, County of Wake, State of North Carolina. Retained by Plaintiffs to examine the effects of campaign spending on General Assembly elections. Testified in writing.

The United States of America vs. Blaine County Montana (2000) CV 99-122-GF-DWM (MT), in the United States District Court for the State of Montana. Retained by the United States Department of Justice to prepare written testimony on polarized voting, minority cohesion, and the effects of low socio-economic status on the

political participation of minority (American Indian) citizens in Blaine County Montana. Also drew a three single-member district plan for election of commissioners to show that Indians are numerous enough and geographically concentrated enough to form a majority in one of the districts. Testified by declaration, deposition and at trial.

The United States of America vs. Charleston County Council (2001) CA 2-01-0155-11 (SC), in the United States District Court for the State of South Carolina. Retained by the United States Department of Justice to prepare testimony on polarized voting, minority cohesion, the effects of low socio-economic status on the political participation of minority (African-American) citizens in Charleston, South Carolina and drew single-member districts to show minority numerosity and geographic concentration. Testified by declaration, deposition, and at trial during July 2002.

During the 2001 cycle of reapportionment I was consultant for the minority caucus of the Connecticut State Senate. I also drew Charlotte City Council Districts for the Alliance for a Better Charlotte and presented those districts to the City Council Redistricting Committee. My districts for the Charlotte/Mecklenburg Board of Education and Mecklenburg County Commissioners, drawn in my capacity as consultant to these bodies, were adopted.

Retained to advise the Minority Caucus of the Illinois House of Representatives and the Majority Caucus of the Illinois Senate. This resulted in several reports or declarations, including written and oral testimony before the Illinois State Redistricting Commission on 20 September 2001. The Commission enacted districts were challenged in *Campuzano, et al. vs. Illinois State Board of Elections et al.* in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois, Western Division, Civil Action No. 01-C-50376. I was expert witness for plaintiffs in that case, and presented the districts for the Illinois General Assembly that I drew with Dr. Richard Engstrom in a declaration and at trial.

Retained by the Speaker of the South Carolina House of Representatives and the Majority Leader of the South Carolina Senate to advise them on redistricting. Since there was a deadlock between the General Assembly and the Governor of that state, the case went directly to Federal Court. The cases are *Colleton County Council et al. vs. Glenn F. McConnell, et al. (Civil Action No. 3:01-3581-10)*; *Leatherman et al. vs Glenn F. McConnell, et al. (Civil Action No. 3:01-3609-10)*; and *Marcharia, et al. vs. James H. Hodges et al. (Civil Action No. 3:01-3892-10)* all in the United States District Court for the District of South Carolina Columbia Division. In the legal action I was retained by plaintiffs and testified by declaration, deposition, and at trial.

I was retained at various times during the year to advise the North Carolina Republican Party on developing redistricting issues, and wrote to the General Assembly Redistricting Committee and the United States Department of Justice about certain aspects of Congressional redistricting in North Carolina. The

Congressional redistricting was challenged in The United States District Court for the Eastern District of North Carolina, Eastern Division in the case of *Foreman, et al. vs. Bartlett et al.* (Civil Action No. 4:01-CV-166-B0(4)). I was retained by plaintiffs in that case, and testified by declaration.

The Louisiana House of Representatives, et al. vs. John Ashcroft, Attorney General of the United States (Civil Action No. 1:02CV00062) in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia. In 2002 I was retained by the Department of Justice to examine whether the proposed districting plan for the Louisiana House of Representatives reduced the ability of minority voters to elect candidates of their choice. Prepared written and deposition testimony including proposed districts for Orleans and Baton Rouge parishes.

Working Families Party, et al. vs. New York City Board of Elections, et al. (Civil Action No. 03-3701) in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York. Retained by the Brennan Center at New York University, representing plaintiffs. Testified that votes in New York City, especially those of minority citizens, are lost because the New York City Board of Elections disabled or failed to reactivate the sensor latch on the 7,000 lever voting machines used in the city. Testified by report.

State of North Carolina vs. John Ashcroft, et al. (Civil Action No. 1:03 CV 02477 [RBW MG RCL]) in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia. In 2004 I was retained as consultant and then as potential expert witness for the Department of Justice to examine whether the proposed plans for the North Carolina General Assembly reduced the ability of minority voters to elect candidates of their choice. Prepared a report for the Department.

United States of America vs. Osceola County, Florida (Civil Action No. 6:05-cv-01053-GAP-DAB) in the United States District Court for the Middle District of Florida. Retained as an expert witness by the Department of Justice to examine whether the at-large voting for County Commissioners violated §2 of the Voting Rights act by denying Hispanic citizens an equal opportunity to elect representatives of their choice and participate equally in the political process. Testified by declaration, deposition, and at trial.

United States of America vs. Ike Brown, et al. (Civil Action No. 4:05-CV-33) in the United States District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi. I was retained as an expert witness by the Department of Justice to examine whether various election practices, contrary to State and Federal law, in Noxubee County, Mississippi violate §2 of the Voting Rights Act by denying white citizens an equal opportunity to elect representatives of their choice and participate equally in the political process. Testified by declaration and at trial.

Anne Marie Calabria v. North Carolina Board of Elections, 2006. Retained by Judge Calabria to determine whether the campaign expenditures by the "527" group

FAIRJUDGES.NET changed the outcome of the 2006 election between Judge Calabria and Judge Hudson for Associate Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court.

Amici Curiae in Support of Neither Party, Gary Bartlett, et al. v. Dwight Strickland, et al. in the Supreme Court of the United States. (556 U.S.1 [2009]) 17 June 2008. (with Nathaniel Persily, Bernard Grofman, Bruce Cain, and Lisa Handley).

In Re 2011 Redistricting Cases in the Superior Court for the State of Alaska, Fourth Judicial District at Fairbanks (Civil Case No: 4FA-11-2209CI [console-dated]). Retained by plaintiffs to testify about redistricting plans for the Alaska House of Representatives and Senate in terms of satisfaction of § 5 of the Voting Rights Act and the Alaska Constitution. 2011-12. Testified by report, deposition, and at trial.

The State of Texas v. The United States of America in The United States District Court for the District of Columbia (Civil Action No: 1:11-cv-01303-RMC). Retained by the U.S. Department of Justice to testify about whether the Congressional and Texas House of Representatives plans submitted to the court for pre-clearance under § 5 of the Voting Rights Act were intentionally drawn to discriminate against minority voters. 2011-12. Testified by declaration, deposition, and at trial.

Egolf et al. v. Duran et al. (Civil Action No: D-101-CV-2011-02942 [Consolidated cases]). State of New Mexico, County of Santa Fe, First Judicial District Court. Retained by Egolf plaintiffs to compare the various redistricting plans for the Congress and State House and Senate in terms of traditional districting principles and impact on Latino voting rights. Testified at all three trials. 2011-12.

North Carolina State Conference of Branches of the NAACP, et al. v. State of North Carolina et al. State of North Carolina, County of Wake, in the General Court of Justice, Superior Court Division (Civil Action No: 11-CV-01640). Retained by the Southern Coalition for Social Justice to determine how the proposed redistricting plans for North Carolina Congressional Districts, and State House and Senate used split VTDs (precincts) and whether such splits indicate any racial bias. Testified by affidavit and deposition. 2011-12.

Nueces County, Texas v. The United States of America, In the United States District Court for the District of Columbia (Civil Action No 1:11-CV-01748). Retained by the U.S. Department of Justice to testify about whether the county commission district plan submitted to the court for pre-clearance under § 5 of the Voting Rights Act had the effect and/or intent to discriminate against Hispanic voters. Prepared a report for the Department. The case was settled with a compromise plan after my analysis.

State of South Carolina v. United States if America, in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia (Civil Action No 12-00203). Retained by the U.S. Department of Justice to testify about whether South Carolina had the intent to discriminate against minority voters or to retrogress in the adoption of a photo identification requirement for voting. Testified by declaration, deposition, and at trial.

Zoraida Rios-Andino, Ney Rivera Garcia, Jasmine Guadalupe, Rosario Martinez v. Orange County, in the United States District Court for the Middle District of Florida (Civil Action No 6:12-cv-1188-ORL-22-KRS). Retained by Latino Justice PRLDEF to determine whether Latinos are numerous enough and geographically concentrated enough to form a majority in one of the six single member districts for Orange County Commission.

Amici Curiae in Support of Respondents, *Shelby County, Alabama v. Eric H. Holder, Jr. Attorney General of the United States, et al.* in the Supreme Court of the United States. (No. 12-96, February 2013). (with Richard L. Engstrom and David T. Cannon).

Retained by the North Forest Independent School District (Texas) to determine whether the closure of the district and its assimilation into the Houston Independent School District was retrogressive under § 5 of the Voting Rights Act. Declaration on the effect and intent or purpose of the closure order submitted to the U.S. Attorney General, May 2013. I submitted a slightly revised declaration for *North Forest Independent School District, et al. v. Texas Educational Agency et al.* in the United States District Court for the Southern District of Texas, Houston Division, Case No. 4:13-cv-01786.

Alabama Legislative Black Caucus, et al. v. The State of Alabama, et al. Case No. 2:12-CV-691 and *Demetrius Newton, et al. v. The State of Alabama, et al.* Case No. 2:12-CV-1081, combined cases in The United States District Court for the Middle District of Alabama, Northern Division. Retained by plaintiffs to determine whether the redistricting for the state legislature had the effect of diminishing the ability of minority voters to participate in the political process and elect representatives of their choice, and whether such an effect was intentional, May 2013.

Shannon Perez, et al. v. Rick Perry, et al. Case No. 5:11-cv-360, in The United States District Court for the Western District of Texas. Retained by the Department of Justice to summarize the history of voting rights litigation and Section 5 enforcement in Texas and to summarize my testimony in *Texas v. United States*, focusing on evidence that discrimination against minority voters in Texas is intentional, February 2014.

Consultant to the North Slope Borough (Alaska) Election District Review Committee. The Committee formulated a proposal to expand the number of districts and members of the Borough Assembly and School Board from four districts and seven members to six districts and eleven members. Presented the proposal to the Assembly. August/September 2014.

Sandra Little Covington, et al. v. The State of North Carolina et al. Case No. 1:15-cv-00399 in the United States District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina. Retained by the Southern Coalition for Racial Justice to testify about how the 2011 redistricting plans for the North Carolina General Assembly split precincts and what that reveals about the way in which the plans were drawn and their purpose. Testified in court, April 2016. My written testimony and deposition in the case of

North Carolina State Conference of Branches of the NAACP, et al. v. State of North Carolina et al. (cited above) was the basis of this testimony.

Coalition for Equity and Excellence in Maryland Higher Education, et al. v. Maryland Higher Education Commission, et al. Case No. CCB-06-cv-2773 in the United States District Court for the District of Maryland. Retained by the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (Plaintiff's attorneys) to prepare rebuttal testimony about the use of multivariate regression by defendant's expert during the remedy phase. Deposed in December 2016 and trial testimony in February 2017.

Chanmony Huot, et al. v. City of Lowell, MA, et al. Case No. 1:17-cv-10895 in the United States District Court for the District of Massachusetts. Retained by the City of Lowell to advise them on the statistical and political science aspects of voting right litigation under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act.

Kelly Alexander, Jr., et al. vs North Carolina State Board of Elections, et al. Case No. 19 CVS 11321 in the General Court of Justice, Superior Court Division, Wake County North Carolina. Retained by Plaintiffs to determine whether the North Carolina General Assembly would need to draw minority-majority subdistricts for the District Court Judges in Mecklenburg County to avoid Section 2 liability under the Voting Rights Act, and whether the subdistricts the General Assembly drew have the effect of sorting the voters by race.

AFFILIATIONS

The Scholars Strategy Network at Harvard University, 2015-present
The American Political Science Association, 1966-present
Pi Sigma Alpha, 1967-present
The Southern Political Science Association, 1974-present
North Carolina Political Science Association, 1974-2012
Vox Pop (parties and interest group studies group), 1981-2010
Representation and Electoral Systems Studies Group, 1984-present
Phi Kappa Phi, 1991-present

SELECTED GRANTS AND AWARDS

National Defense Education Act Title IV Fellowship awarded by the Department of Political Science, The University of Arizona, September 1967-December 1968 and renewed for January 1971-August 1972, \$7,200.

Dissertation year research grant awarded by the Department of Political Science, The University of Arizona, September 1972-August 1973, \$2,400.

Summer research grant awarded upon recommendation of the Faculty Grants Committee from funds established for research by the Foundation of The University

of North Carolina at Charlotte and the North Carolina General Assembly, to pursue a study of ticket splitting behavior, Summer 1978, \$1,000.

Summer research grant awarded upon recommendation of the Faculty Grants Committee from funds established for research by the Foundation of The University of North Carolina at Charlotte and the North Carolina General Assembly, to pursue a study of campaign finance, Summer 1980, \$1,000.

Summer research grant awarded upon recommendation of the Faculty Grants Committee from funds established for research by the Foundation of The University of North Carolina at Charlotte and the North Carolina General Assembly, to pursue a study of attitudes among elite African-Americans, Summer 1996, \$8,196.

Faculty Service Award Recipient for 2000 from the UNC Charlotte Alumni Association for career accomplishments and service to the community.

Third Place in the Common Cause "Gerrymander Standard" Writing Contest, 2016, \$2,000 and expense paid to attend a forum to discuss the ideas outlined in my entry, December 2016 or January 2017.

Secretary of the North Carolina Political Science Association, 2007-2008

Vice President of the North Carolina Political Science Association, 2008-09.

President Elect of the North Carolina Political Science Association, 2009-10.

President of the North Carolina Political Science Association, 2010-2011.

PARTISAN POLITICAL ACTIVITY 1963-1991

President, Teen-Age Republicans, Bernalillo County, N.M., 1963-64

Vice President, Young Republicans, Bernalillo County, 1963-64

President, Young Republicans, University of New Mexico, 1964-65

Republican Precinct Chair, Bernalillo County, 1966

Precinct election official, Pima County, Arizona, 1968 and 1972

Republican Precinct Chair, Mecklenburg County, N.C., 1974-76

Precinct Supervisor, Mecklenburg County Republican Party, 1975-76

Vice Chair, Mecklenburg County Republican Party, 1976-77

Republican Nominee, Charlotte City Council, 1977

Information Chair, Mecklenburg County Republican Party, 1977-79

I Ceased work for the Republican Party to assume a position on the Mecklenburg County Board of Elections: Member, July 1979-July 1991, Chair of the Board, July

1985-July 1991. The political parties nominate the board members. I was nominated six times by the Mecklenburg County Republican Party.

CURRENT POLITICAL AFFILIATION 1991-PRESENT

After leaving the Board of Elections, I became a registered unaffiliated voter (that is, an independent) in Cabarrus County, North Carolina. When I moved to New Mexico I registered to vote in the Democratic primary, since independents can't vote in either primary and the Democrats are dominant in New Mexico.

MEDIA PRESENTATIONS AND MEDIA CONSULTING

Articles, appearances, and background consulting for television, radio, and print media: These include over one hundred different media including: *The Advocate*, *Albuquerque Journal*, American Broadcasting Network News, *Asheville Citizen-Times*, Associated Press, *Atlanta Constitution*, Bloomberg News Service (NY), Boston Globe, British Broadcasting Corporation World News Service and News America, *Burlington (NC) Times-News*, *Business Journal (Charlotte)*, *Business Week Magazine*, CBS Television ("Today" and "60 Minutes"), Cable News Network, C-Span Network, *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*, *Capitol Reporter*, Catholic Radio News on Sirius, *Charlotte Observer*, *Charlotte Post*, *Charlotte Weekly*, *Chicago Tribune*, Christian Broadcasting Network News, *Christian Science Monitor*, *City Journal (NY City)*, *Congressional Quarterly*, Copley News Service, *The County News (NC)*, Cox Newspaper Chain, *Creative Loafing (NC)*, *Dailey News (Washington, DC)*, *Dallas Morning News*, *Danville Virginia Register and Bee*, *Detroit Free Press*, *Durham Herald-Sun*, *The Economist (London)*, *Fayetteville (NC) Observer*, Fox News Network, Fox News (Charlotte), Freedom Newspaper Chain, Gannett News Service, *The Gaston Gazette*, *Greensboro News and Record*, *Greenville News (S.C.)*, Hearst Newspaper chain, *The Herald Tribune (S.E. Florida)*, *Hickory Daily Record (NC)*, *The Hill Newspaper*, *Houston Chronicle*, *The Independent (London)*, *The Independent (Durham)*, *The Independent Tribune (Concord, NC)*, *Inside Congress*, *The Irish Times (Dublin)*, *Keene Sentinel (NH)*, *Keplinger Newsletter*, *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Mecklenburg (NC) Times*, *Mint Hill (NC) Times*, MSNBC Network, Media General Newspaper Chain, *The Nation Magazine*, *National Journal*, National Public Radio All Things Considered, *New Orleans Times Picayune*, *New York Daily News*, *New York Times*, *New York Times Magazine*, Newhouse News Service, *Newsday (New York)*, *Newsweek*, North Carolina Public Radio, *People Magazine*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Philadelphia Tribune*, *Raleigh News and Observer*, *Record and Landmark (Statesville, NC)*, *Richmond Times*, *Roll Call News*, *Sacramento Bee*, *San Diego Union Tribune*, *Scholastic News*, Serius Catholic News Radio, *Shelby Star (NC)*, Southan News of Canada, *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, *St. Petersburg Times*, Stateline.org, *Statesville (NC) Record and Landmark*, State Government Radio Network (NC), Thompson Newspaper Chain, *Tampa Tribune*, Time-Warner Cable, *Time Magazine*, *Toledo Blade*, *Union Weekly Newspaper (NC)*, *USA Today*, *Virginia Pilot*, *Washington*

Post, Washington Times, Wall Street Journal, Wilson Daily Times (NC), Winston-Salem Journal, UNC Television Network, United Press International, U.S. News and World Report, Washington Post, Washington Times, Winston-Salem Journal, Women's Voice, WBT Radio, WBTV, WCNC-TV, WDYT, WFAE, WTVI.