

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR  
THE DISTRICT OF MARYLAND  
GREENBELT DIVISION**

MS.PATRICIA FLETCHER, )  
*et al.*, )  
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 )  
 Plaintiffs, )  
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 )  
 v. )  
 )  
 )  
 LINDA LAMONE in her official )  
 capacity as State Administrator of )  
 Elections for the state of Maryland; )  
 And ROBERT L. WALKER in his )  
 official capacity as Chairman of the )  
 State Board of Elections, )  
 )  
 Defendants. )  
\_\_\_\_\_)

Civ. Action No.: RWT-11-3220

DECLARATION AND EXPERT REPORT OF RONALD KEITH GADDIE, Ph.D.

## DECLARATION OF RONALD KEITH GADDIE

I, Ronald Keith Gaddie, being competent to testify, hereby affirm on my personal knowledge as follows:

1. My name is Ronald Keith Gaddie. I reside at 3801 Chamberlyne Way, Norman, Oklahoma, 73072. I have been retained as an expert to provide analysis of the Maryland congressional districts by counsel for the Fannie Lou Hamer Coalition. I am being compensated at a rate of \$300.00 per hour. I am a tenured professor of political science at the University of Oklahoma. I teach courses on electoral politics, research methods, and southern politics at the undergraduate and graduate level. I am also the general editor (with Kelly Damphousse) of the journal *Social Science Quarterly*. I am the author or coauthor of several books, journal articles, law review articles, and book chapters and papers on aspects of elections, including most recently *The Triumph of Voting Rights in the South*. In the last decade I have worked on redistricting cases in several states, and I provided previous expert testimony on voting rights, redistricting, and statistical issues. I have also testified in trials or provided expertise to defendants, plaintiffs, intervenors, and jurisdictions in California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, New Mexico, New York, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming, and appeared as an expert witness before committees of the U.S. House, the U.S. Senate, and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. A complete list of my cases and retentions appears along with my academic background and list of publications in my attached vita (Exhibit A).

2. This report describes (1) the compactness of districts in the recently-adopted Maryland congressional district map and plaintiff's map; (2) levels of voter turnout by racial and ethnic group for 2002-2010; and (3) racial polarization in Maryland elections featuring black versus white candidates. I also offer some response to the November 30, 2011 report of Professor Bruce Cain.

3. In preparing this report, I have relied on demographic data from the 2010 US Census and elections data for the state of Maryland. Election and demographic data used for this report were provided by counsel and prepared by Magellan Strategies. Unless otherwise indicated, all data analyses are generated at my direction or run on SPSS release 18.0 and *Ei*.

4. COMPACTNESS:

4.1 Traditional redistricting principles hold that more compact districts are preferable to less-compact districts, because more-compact districts are related to higher levels of participation and increase the ability of candidates to contact voters,<sup>1</sup> which increases efficacy and contributes to

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<sup>1</sup>Richard N. Engstrom (2000). "Electoral District Compactness and Voters." *American Review of Politics* 21: 383 - 396.

the health of representative Democracy.<sup>2</sup> The courts observed that redistricting is an activity where looks matter – and ‘looks’ refers to compactness.<sup>3</sup>

4.2 A variety of statistical measures have evolved to measure compactness, though they usually reduce down to two: indicators of circular shape, and indicators of circular filling.<sup>4</sup> The two most widely used measures of compactness applied to districts are the Perimeter-to-Area measure and the Smallest Circle score. These measures were regularly offered in post-*Shaw* litigation of the 1990s. And, traditionally, districting plans are assessed in the context of total (average) plan compactness, though the compactness of individual districts is advanced when attempting to lend context to the design of particular districts (illustrations of both measures are in Figure 1.)

The Perimeter-to-Area (PTA) measure compares the relative length of the perimeter of a district to its area. It represents the area of the district as the proportion of the area of a circle with the same perimeter. The score ranges from 0 to 1, with a value of 1 indicating perfect compactness. This score is achieved if a district is a circle. Most redistricting software generates this measure as the Polsby-Popper statistic.

Smallest Circle (SC) scores measure the space occupied by the district as a proportion of the space of the smallest encompassing circle, with values ranging from 0 to 1. A value of 1 indicates perfect compactness and is achieved if a district is a circle. This statistic is often termed the Reock measure by redistricting applications.<sup>5</sup>

4.3 Computed compactness scores for the plan used during the last decade (‘baseline’ or plan used from 2002 through 2010), the governor’s initial plan (GRAC), the recently adopted plan (SB-1), and the Fannie Lou Hamer Coalition plaintiff’s plan (FLHC) appear in Table 1.

4.4 The FLHC map is more compact than the state’s baseline map or SB-1 on both conventional measures, the perimeter-to-area score (PTA) and the smallest circumscribing circle (SC) and it is these measures that are included in this report.

4.5 The state map, SB-1, has the same average SC score, as the baseline map (.27 in both), but reduces the PTA score from .14 to .11 (making it less compact). The perimeter to area score is more sensitive to irregularities of district shape – especially concave shapes that ‘core out’ portions of a district -- and they are also sensitive to the relative smoothness of district lines.

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<sup>2</sup>See, for example, Peter Weilhouwer and Brad Lockerbie, 1994. “Party Contacting and Political Participation.” *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 211-229.

<sup>3</sup> See Justice Sandra Day O’Connor’s opinion in *Shaw v. Reno*, 509 U.S. 630 (1993).

<sup>4</sup>Richard G. Niemi, Bernard Grofman, Carl Carlucci, and Thomas Hofeller. 1990. “Measuring Compactness and the Role of Compactness Standard in a Test for Partisan and Racial Gerrymandering.” *Journal of Politics* 52: 1155-1181; see also H. P. Young. 1988. “Measuring the Compactness of Legislative Districts.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 13: 105-115.

<sup>5</sup>Ernest C. Reock, Jr. 1961. “A Note: Measuring Compactness as a Requirement of Legislative Apportionment.” *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 5: 70-74.

Adding a small amount to the perimeter of a district while capturing the same area within the district can substantially lower its perimeter score while leaving the smallest circle score unchanged. Suppose we had a district with a 100 square mile area, 20 miles long, 5 miles wide, with a 50 mile perimeter and a 20.615 mile longest axis. If we were to maintain the long axis of the district and also keep the internal area of the district constant, but manipulate the shape of the district, the perimeter grows longer and, consequently, the size of the comparative circle of the same perimeter grows much larger. Figures 2 and 3 illustrates this phenomenon:

District A has a perimeter of 50 miles and an area of 100 square miles. The area of the smallest circumscribing circle is 333.714 square miles; the area of the circle with the same perimeter (50 miles) is 198.981 square miles. The rectangular district that has a SC score of  $100/333.714 = .30$ . The PTA score is  $100/198.981 = .503$ .

In District B, we keep the same area (100 square miles) and the same longest axis (20.615 miles), but manipulate the district boundary to add 14.14 miles of perimeter. The SC score remains unchanged, .30. But, change is afoot in the perimeter-to-area score. The perimeter of the comparative circle for the perimeter-to-area score has grown by 28%, and the area of the comparative circle grows from 198.981 miles to 327.440 miles, an increase of 65% in the denominator for the PTA score. The PTA drops to .305.

In District C, we again keep the same area (100 square miles) and the same longest axis (20.615 miles), but manipulates the district boundary to add 47.44 miles of perimeter compared to District A. Again, the SC score remains unchanged, .30. But the perimeter of the comparative circle for the PTA score is 92% larger than for District A, and the area of the comparative circle grows from 198.981 square miles to 755.695 square miles, a 279.7% increase in the denominator for the PTA score. The PTA drops to .132.

The lowest PTA score in SB-1 is .03, which means that if you crafted a circle of the same perimeter and measured the area within the circle, district 3 would occupy just 3% of the area. Six districts in the SB-1 plan score less than .1 with District 2 scoring .06, Districts 6 and 8 score .08 and Districts 4 and 7 score at .09 on the PTA measure. The area within these districts is equal to less than a tenth of the area of a circle of identical perimeter.

4.6 If we compare the most compact majority-minority district in the state map (District 7, with a PTA of .09 and a SC of .36), it is less compact than the most compact majority-minority district in the FLHC map (District 7, PTA = .47, SC = .64). If we then pair the second-most-compact majority minority district in the state map (District 4, PTA = .09, SC = .25) with the next-most-compact majority minority district in the FLHC map (District 4, PTA = .20, SC = .35), the plaintiff district is more compact. SB-1 has no third majority- minority district to compare with FLHC District 5 which is the third majority-minority district, a district that is more compact on the perimeter-to-area test (.20) than seven of eight districts in the state's map.

All three majority-minority districts in the FLHC map are more compact than the state's majority-minority districts on the perimeter-to-area score, and the average compactness of the three FLHC districts on smallest circle score (.39) is higher than the average for the two majority-minority districts in the state plan (.31) or for the top three districts of any demographic composition in the state's map (.35 for the top three districts in the state).

The extent of non-compactness in the Maryland congressional map is impressive. The least compact district in the state map is, on the PTA score, less compact than over 95% of the congressional districts drawn for the 1992 elections,<sup>6</sup> and the average overall scores for compactness are lower than the compactness of some of the least compact individual districts crafted in the United States in the last 20 years. The non-compactness of the maps is driven by both the two majority-black districts and also four of the six majority white congressional districts. Congressional districts 2, 5, 6, and 8 all have PTA scores less than .10, which make them less compact than demonstrative District C in Figures 2 and 3.

These districts are also less compact than several other districts criticized or challenged as non-compact, such as the North Carolina 1<sup>st</sup> district of the 1990s; the Virginia 3<sup>rd</sup> district, which uses water contiguity to hold together parts of the district; Florida's 18<sup>th</sup> district; Florida's 23<sup>rd</sup> district; all of the Texas majority Hispanic districts from the 2000s and the coalitional Texas 9<sup>th</sup> district; and Alabama's 6<sup>th</sup> District. Also included in my illustrative is the former Georgia 13<sup>th</sup> district, crafted by the legislature with a perimeter to area score of .03 (see also Map Set 1).

4.7 There was confusion regarding one FLHC compactness score as noted in Professor Cain's affidavit. Professor Cain correctly notes a discrepancy between the compactness scores attached to the FLHC map and the scores he computes. Counsel informs me that this discrepancy arises because the wrong score table was attached to the map. The correct scores appear in Table 1, and indicate that the correct smallest circle and perimeter-to-area scores for District 5 in the FLHC map are .20 and .17, respectively, rather than .15 and .12 as reported by Professor Cain. Professor Cain reports the correct scores for another district (6) in the FLHC plan. He is correct that the wrong score was reported with the maps; he is incorrect in his reported scores. Examining Table 1 shows that the District 5 in the FLHC map is less compact on both compactness scores than the average for the rest of the FLHC districts. But, FLHC district 5 is also more compact on the perimeter-to-area score than six of eight districts in the state's baseline map and seven of eight districts in adopted SB-1, including both majority-black districts adopted in the state map.

## 5. Racial Polarization in Voting and Voter Turnout

There are three methods used to determine the presence and extent of racially-polarized voting: homogenous precinct analysis, ecological regression (sometimes termed Goodman's technique), and ecological inference (Ei, also sometimes references as the King technique). A description of these techniques is attached to the end of this report (Appendix 1), from my book with Charles S. Bullock, *The Triumph of Voting Rights in the South*. Ecological regression and Ei are more commonly used for the past decade, and these techniques make greater use of all of the information available in election results to ascertain the extent of racially polarized voting. I report the results of all three techniques where data were sufficient to apply the technique. Ecological regression estimates appear in Table 2; homogenous precinct results in Table 3; and Ei estimates appear in Table 4. This analysis considers only single-member district and first-across the post contests for legislative and statewide contests, as these are most analogous to congressional elections. A total of nine elections for Democratic party primaries and general

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<sup>6</sup> Charles S. Bullock III. 2010. *Redistricting: The Most Political Activity In America*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, p.93.

elections involving Democratic African American candidates for statewide,<sup>7</sup> congressional, and state legislative office, and also for the Democratic Party presidential preference primary in 2008 and the 2008 presidential election in Maryland.<sup>8</sup>

#### 5.1 2010 Senate District 23 Primary

This is a Senate district in Prince George's County. The district had dramatic demographic change during the decade. It was drawn with a 47% black population in 2002, now has a 61% African American voting age population, 28% non-Hispanic white VAP as of 2010. The contest featured three African American challengers and incumbent Anglo white Douglas J.J. Peters. Ecological regression estimates in Table 2 indicate that among African American voters, Peters pulled and estimated 47.7% of the African American vote, followed by African American candidate Bobby Henry, Jr. with 43.2% (Henry was seeking the seat for the third time). The remaining two African American candidates garnered and estimated 5.0% and 4.1%. Among Anglo whites, an estimated 89.2% voted for the white incumbent. (The Hispanic vote estimates are highly unrealistic but indicate the vote going overwhelmingly to Henry, while a majority of the estimated remaining minority vote was cast for Peters.) Ecological inference estimates are consistent with the results of the ecological regression (see Table 4). Henry takes an estimated 43.7% of the African American vote but Peters takes 93.6% of the non-African American vote along with a narrow plurality of the black vote, 44.1%.

#### 5.2 2008 Democratic Presidential Preference Primary

The 2008 presidential primary in Maryland featured eight candidates on the ballot, including African American Senator Barack Obama (D-Ill.) and Hispanic Governor Bill Richardson (D-N.M.). Ecological regression estimates indicate that Obama won 88.8% of the African American vote, while Senator Hillary Clinton took an estimated 56.3% of the Anglo white vote. Vote estimates for Hispanics produced unrealistic results, and the other minority vote is estimated at 59.8% for Obama. Exit poll data for the primary indicate that Obama took 42% of the white Anglo vote (ecological regression indicated 38.9%) and 84% of the African American vote. Homogenous precinct analysis (Table 3) and Ei estimates (Table 4) confirm the ecological regression results. Obama received 85.5% of the votes cast in precincts with over 90% African

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<sup>7</sup>The current lieutenant governor of Maryland, Anthony Brown (D) is an African American. He was elected in 2006, on a ticket with Governor Martin O'Malley, and is the second African American to ever hold statewide elected office in Maryland. The first was his predecessor in office, Michael Steele (R), who was elected in 2002 on a ticket with Governor Robert Ehrlich. Maryland is one of twenty states to nominate and elect the governor and lieutenant governor on a single ticket. These ticket contests are not analyzed.

<sup>8</sup>Two congressional primaries featuring biracial contests are not examined. In 2006, congressional district 3 came open with the decision of Ben Cardin to run for the US Senate. The son of retiring US Senator Paul Sarbanes, John P. Sarbanes, sought the Democratic nomination in a crowded field that included one minor African American candidate who finished last in the predominantly white district. In Congressional District 4 in 2004 (a 70% black district), the white candidate who challenged U.S. Rep. Al Wynn was a perennial candidate who reported spending less than \$600 to the Federal Election Commission and asserted he received only six hits on his website while the incumbent, Al Wynn spent over \$300,000.

American VAP, but 46.1% of the vote in precincts over 90% non-African American VAP and 41.2% in precincts over 90% Anglo white VAP. Ei estimates the African American vote for Obama at 88.7%, the non-African American vote at 42.2%. Ei estimates for Clinton were 54.2% of non-African American vote, 11.0% of the African American vote.

Ecological inference estimates were broken out for the three most populous and heavily minority counties in Maryland: Baltimore City, Montgomery County, and Prince George's County (Table 5). In the presidential primary in 2008, the African American vote is estimated to be solidly for Obama across all three counties. There is no estimated majority non-African American preference in Baltimore City (49.1% Clinton, 48.3% Obama); Obama is an estimated majority preference among other voters in Montgomery County (52.7%); and Clinton is the choice of non-African Americans in Prince George's (61.2%).

### 5.3 2008 Presidential General Election

Six candidates appeared on the presidential ballot in Maryland, including African American candidates Barack Obama (D-Ill.) and Cynthia McKinney (G-Ga.). Ecological regression estimates indicate that Obama took all of the African American vote (100.8%), the other minority vote (123.4%), both unrealistic estimates, while John McCain took 61.7% of the Anglo white vote and an unrealistic share of the Hispanic vote (316.5%). Maryland exit polls from CNN show McCain with 49% of the white vote compared to 47% for Obama, and Obama receiving over 94% of the African American vote. Homogenous precinct analysis (Table 3) and Ei estimates (Table 4) were similar to the ecological regression results. Obama received 98.2% of the votes cast in precincts with over 90% African American VAP, but 45.4% of the vote in precincts over 90% non-African American VAP and 36.0% in precincts over 90% Anglo white VAP. McCain took 53.0% of the vote in 90%+ non-African American precincts and 62.1% of the vote in 90%+ white Anglo precincts. Ei estimates the African American vote for Obama at 98.8%, the non-African American vote at 49.3%. Homogenous precinct estimates for McCain were 53.0% of non-African American vote, 1.4% of the African American vote.

Ecological inference estimates were broken out for the three most populous and heavily minority counties in Maryland: Baltimore City, Montgomery County, and Prince George's County (Table 5). Those results reveal Obama to be the overwhelming preference of African American voters in all three counties. The estimated non-African American vote is also solidly estimated for Obama.

### 5.4 2006 United States Senate Primary

The Democratic primary for the United States Senate featured 18 candidates, including front-running candidates U.S. Rep. Ben Cardin (an Anglo white and winner of the primary) and U.S. Rep. Kweisi Mfume (an African American). Together, these candidates combined for over 84% of the vote. Third place candidate Josh Rales, and Anglo white, took 5.2%; none of the remaining 14 candidates captured over 1.9% of the vote. Ecological regression estimates of the statewide primary vote indicate that Mfume took an estimated 86.4% of the African American vote but just 9.1% of the Anglo white vote. Cardin, the primary winner, captured an estimated 67.8% of the Anglo white vote but just an estimated 7.6% of the African American vote. Ecological regression estimates of the Hispanic vote produce unrealistic results, but indicate Hispanic support went to Mfume, while other minority voters cast an estimated 80.8% of ballots for Cardin. Homogenous precinct analysis (Table 3) and Ei estimates (Table 4) confirm the ecological regression results. Mfume received 84.0% of the votes cast in precincts with over

90% African American VAP, but just 16.9% of the vote in precincts over 90% non-African American VAP and 14.8% in precincts over 90% Anglo white VAP. Ei estimates the African American vote for Mfume at 83.3%, the non-African American vote at 12.5%. Separate Ei estimates for Cardin were 66.7% of non-African American vote, 9.3% of the African American vote.

Ecological inference estimates were broken out for the three most populous and heavily minority counties in Maryland: Baltimore City, Montgomery County, and Prince George's County (Table 5). In the US Senate primary in 2006, the African American vote is estimated to be solidly for Mfume (86.0% in Baltimore City, 94.2% in Montgomery County, 83.9% in Prince George's County) while the non-African American vote went solidly to Cardin (69.4% in Baltimore City, 60.2% in Montgomery County, 66.7% in Prince George's County).

#### 5.5 2006 Maryland Attorney General Primary

The Democratic primary for attorney general featured two candidates – Anglo white Doug Gansler, who prevailed with 55.7% of the vote, and African American candidate Stuart Simms who took 44.3% of the vote. At the time Gansler was state attorney for Montgomery County and Simms was former state attorney for City of Baltimore. Ecological regression estimates of the race indicate that Simms received an estimated 68.8% of the African American vote while Gansler took an estimated 64.4% of the Anglo white vote. Hispanic voters estimates were unrealistic but indicated a preference for Simms, while other minority voters cast an estimated 95.1% of their votes for Gansler. Homogenous precinct analysis (Table 3) and Ei estimates (Table 4) confirm the ecological regression results. Simms received 71.6% of the votes cast in precincts with over 90% African American VAP, but just 34.6% of the vote in precincts over 90% non-African American VAP and 36.5% in precincts over 90% Anglo white VAP. Ei estimates the African American vote for Simms at 61.5%, the non-African American vote at 32.5%. Ei estimates for Gansler were 67.5% of non-African American vote, 38.5% of the African American vote.

Ecological inference estimates were broken out for the three most populous and heavily minority counties in Maryland: Baltimore City, Montgomery County, and Prince George's County (Table 5). In the Attorney General primary in 2006, the African American vote is estimated to be solidly for Simms in Baltimore City (84.5%), and Montgomery County (89.2%), while it is estimated narrowly for Gansler in Prince George's (52.0%). The estimated non-African American vote went for Cardin in all three counties, though the result in Baltimore City is within estimation error.

#### 5.6 2006 Senate District 23 Democratic Primary

This is a Senate district in Prince George's County. The district was drawn with a 47% black population in 2002, has an estimated 61% African American voting age population, 28% non-Hispanic white VAP as of 2010. The contest featured two African American candidates, and Anglo white candidate Douglas J.J. Peters. Ecological regression estimates indicate that among African American voters, Henry captured 53.0% of the African American vote, Peters 25.4%, and Greg Holmes took an estimated 21.6%. Among Anglo whites, an estimated 86.3% voted for the white candidate, Peters, while Hispanics estimates were unrealistic and the other minority fragmented. Ecological inference (Ei) estimates of the race indicate that Henry took an estimated 58.9% of the African American vote to 22.01% for Anglo white Peters, while Peters garnered an estimated 84.3% of the non-African American vote to just 13.5% for Henry.

#### 5.7 2002 Senate District 23 Democratic Primary

This is a Senate district in Prince George's County. The district was drawn with a 47% black population in 2002 (43.5% African American VAP). The contest featured two candidates, African American Bobby Henry Jr. and an incumbent, Anglo white Leo E. Green. Ecological regression estimates indicate that Henry pulled 65.3% among African American voters, and Green took an estimated 88.0% of the Anglo white vote. Green also received unrealistic estimates of majority support from Hispanics and Henry took an estimated 65.3% of other minority voters. Ecological inference estimates show Henry receiving 63.5% of the African-American vote while 80.3% of non-African American votes went for Green.

#### 5.8 2002 Senate District 27

This is a Senate district in Prince George's and Calvert Counties. The 2000 Census reported the district to be 38.05 African American in voting age population. The contest featured three candidates, African Americans Minerva Sanders and Juanita Miller (a former state delegate), and incumbent Anglo white Thomas 'Mike' Miller. Ecological regression estimates indicate that Thomas 'Mike' Miller captured an estimated 52.1% of the African American vote, 95.3% of the Anglo white vote, and 61.8% of the estimated Hispanic vote. (The other minority vote estimates are highly unrealistic but indicate the vote going overwhelmingly to Thomas 'Mike' Miller.) Juanita Miller garnered an estimated 46.4% of the African American vote. Ecological inference analysis confirms the ecological regression result – Thomas 'Mike' Miller received an estimated 51.1% of the African American vote and 85.5% of the non-African American vote.

#### 5.9 2002 Senate District 41

This is a Senate district in the City of Baltimore. The district was 69.7% African American voting age population according to the 2000 Census. The contest featured three candidates: Delegate Lisa A. Gladden (an African American); former state Delegate Frank Boston (an African American); and Anglo white senator Barbara A. Hoffman. Ecological regression estimates indicate that Gladden captured 74.5% of the African American vote, while Hoffman carried 99.6% of the white vote. Estimates of the Hispanic vote show it is fragmented, while the other minority vote is estimated to have gone for Hoffman. Ei estimates for the contest are quite similar, with Gladden pulling an estimated 74.8% of the African American vote but just 3.7% of the other vote.

#### 5.10. Turnout

There are substantial differences in the rates of registration and voter participation across the major racial and ethnic groups in Maryland. Table 6 presents Census Bureau estimates for self-reported voter registration and turnout among non-Hispanic whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asian Americans from 2002 through 2010. Self-reported registration rates are consistently highest among non-Hispanic whites, then African Americans. Hispanic and Asian American registration rates are anywhere from one-third to one-half that of the non-Hispanic whites and African Americans, though the net registration rate for Asians and Hispanics increased over the course of the decade and peaked in 2008.

Voter turnout rates show a similar pattern. Non-Hispanic whites are consistently the highest self-reported turnout group in Maryland, having the top rate in four of five general elections (all but 2008). African American turnout rates are routinely between 80 and 87% that

of Anglo whites, and they exceed white rates in 2008. Hispanic and Asian American turnout rates are consistently between half and a quarter that of the whites and blacks.

Table 7 presents ecological inference estimates of African American and non-African American voter turnout in the nine elections examined in section 5, and also for the 2010 Democratic primary and the 2002, 2004, 2008, and 2010 general elections. In the ten Democratic primary elections examined in Table 7, estimated African American participation rates exceeded that of other voters in seven contests – all but the 2002 primaries for Senate districts 23 and 41. Estimated African American participation rates ranged from 1.5 to 13 points higher than that of other voters – this differential is largely explained by the popularity of the Republican primary among white Marylanders.  $E_i$  estimates of African American voter turnout consistently lag non-African American turnout in the four general elections examined.

### 5.11 Summary

Nine contests featuring competition between black and white candidates have been analyzed. In seven of these contests the candidate favored by most black voters was rejected by most non-Hispanic white voters, according to estimates generated with ecological regression. In four contests (the 2006 Democratic primaries for U.S. Senate and attorney general and the 2002 and 2006 Democratic primaries in Senate District 23) the black-preferred candidate lost. In Senate District 41 in 2002 the black preference won, which was not surprising since that district's VAP was almost 70% African American. In essence, the success of the black-preferred candidate in Senate District 41 coupled with the loss in Senate District 23 in the same year demonstrate the need for a majority-black district if the African-American voters are to have a reasonable opportunity to elect their candidates of choice. Two of the elections in which the black-preferred candidate succeeded despite losing the majority of the non-Hispanic white (ecological regression) or non-black ( $E_i$ ) vote involve Barack Obama in the Democratic presidential preference primary and the general election. The applicability of these elections to the issue in this case is questionable in light of the unprecedented fund-raising and organizing of the Obama campaign. Excluding the Obama campaigns, five of the seven contests support a Section 2 claim using data from the ecological regression estimates. The frequency and nature of the racial polarization in Democratic primaries resembles that historically observed in a southern states in the 1980s and 1990s.

African American political success in Maryland is largely tied to majority-minority constituencies. The most recent state senate and House of Delegates illustrate the relationship. African Americans are 9 of 47 (19.1%) of senators and 34 of 141 (24.1%) of the delegates. Estimates of the 2005-2009 ACS indicate that 28.2% of the single race black citizen voting age population of Maryland is African American alone (28.6% if one includes multiracial identifiers), and before the most recent reapportionment, roughly 75% of black Marylanders lived in either a African American majority legislative district (62.57%) or a combined majority-minority legislative district (13.85%).

Of the 34 African American delegates, 28 are elected from majority African American districts; four are elected from districts where Anglo whites are in the minority; and two are elected from majority-white multimember districts. All nine African American senators are elected from majority African American districts (see also Table 8). Three Hispanic lawmakers and one South Asian lawmaker are also elected from majority white Anglo districts, though all of these districts have populations over 40% minority.

In 2010, from the 35 delegate seats in majority African American legislative districts, 28 African American delegates were elected. Of the remaining seven seats, one was won by a Hispanic delegate and six were won by Anglo whites (17.14% of those seats). In the combined majority-minority delegate districts and subdistricts (18 seats total, in seven districts), four African Americans were elected. Of the 88 delegate seats elected from majority white constituencies, two are filled by African Americans (2.3% of seats).

Of the eleven majority African American senate seats, nine elect African American senators and one elects a Hispanic lawmaker (Ramirez, 47). The last seat elects an Anglo Democratic lawmaker. Of the remaining 36 senate seats, 30 (64.7%) were majority Anglo white and six are combined majority minority. In the Anglo white majority seats, 18 elect white Democrats, the rest elect Republicans. Of the six combined majority-minority seats, all elect Anglo white Democrats to the senate.

African American candidates can win legislative office in non-majority African American constituencies, but it is an exceptional outcome. In three of the four instances where African American candidates won in combined majority-minority districts in 2010, it was in 'pure' multimember districts. Only one black Maryland lawmaker is currently elected from a coalitional, single member district to the House of Delegates or the Senate. The proposition that African American candidates can prevail on districts that Professor Cain declares to be "coalitional" districts where minority voters have a chance of is not borne out by the history of elections and racially polarized voting patterns in Maryland.

## 6. Summary

### 6.1 Compactness

The FLHC map is more compact than the state's baseline map or SB-1 on both conventional measures, including the two most-commonly used measures, the perimeter-to-area score (PTA) and the smallest circumscribing circle (SC). The three majority-minority congressional districts in the FLHC map are more compact than the state's two majority-minority districts on the perimeter-to-area score, and the average compactness of the three FLHC districts on smallest circle score (.39) is higher than the average for the two majority-minority districts in the state plan (.31) or for the top three districts of any demographic composition in the state's map (.35 for the top three districts in the state). The least compact district in the state map is less compact than over 95% of the congressional districts drawn for the 1992 elections, and the average overall scores for compactness are lower than the compactness of some of the least compact congressional districts crafted in the United States in the last 20 years.

### 6.2 Turnout

There are substantial differences in the rates of registration and voter participation across the major racial and ethnic groups in Maryland. Non-Hispanic whites are consistently the highest self-reported turnout group in Maryland, having the top rate in four of five general elections (all but 2008). African American turnout rates are routinely between 80 and 87% that of Anglo whites, and they exceed white rates in 2008.

### 6.3 Racial Polarization and the Election of African American Candidates

Nine contests featuring competition between black and white candidates have been analyzed. In seven of these contests the candidate favored by most black voters was rejected by most non-Hispanic white voters, according to estimates generated with ecological regression. The two elections where this defeat of the black candidate of choice did not occur was the 2008 Democratic Presidential primary and the 2008 general election for President. The frequency and nature of the racial polarization in Democratic primaries resembles that historically observed in southern states in the 1980s and 1990s.

African American political success in Maryland is largely tied to majority-minority constituencies. The success of the black-preferred candidate in heavily-black districts coupled with the losses so-called "coalitional" districts demonstrates the importance of majority-black districts if the African-American voters are to have a reasonable opportunity to elect their candidates of choice. Of the 34 African American delegates, 28 are elected from majority African American districts; four are elected from districts where Anglo whites are in the minority; and two are elected from majority-white multimember districts. All nine African American senators are elected from majority African American districts. African American candidates can win legislative office in non-majority African American constituencies, but it is an exceptional outcome. The proposition that African American candidates can prevail on districts that Professor Cain declares to be "coalitional" districts where minority voters have a chance of is not borne out by the history of elections and racially polarized voting patterns in Maryland.

I declare under the penalty of perjury that the forgoing is true and correct.

Signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "R-K Gaddie". The signature is stylized and somewhat cursive.

---

Ronald Keith Gaddie  
Executed December 6, 2011

Appendix 1: Estimation Techniques<sup>9</sup>

## APPENDIX A

### *Analytic Methods for Estimating Racial Voting Patterns*

Three techniques are used by voting scholars and expert witnesses to estimate racial voting patterns: homogenous precinct analysis, ecological regression, and ecological inference (the King technique). The latter two are used in this study, though explanation of all three is included here to provide a proper evolutionary description of the techniques.

*Homogenous precinct analysis* entails identifying voter precincts that are largely homogenous; the standard definition of homogenous is that 90 percent or more of the voting-age population (VAP) in the constituency or district is of one ethnic or racial group. The vote shares for candidates in these precincts are then computed, under the assumption that most of the votes for the prevailing candidate come from the overwhelming ethnic or racial majority in those districts.

*Bivariate ecological regression* (BERA, or Goodman's regression technique) is the most common technique used since the 1980s. And, when dealing with voting by more than one minority group, the multiple-regression technique (MERA) is applied. In such an analysis, the dependent variable—proportion of the voting-age population casting ballots for some candidate "A"—is regressed onto an independent predictor (or predictors): the proportion of the voting-age population for each respective minority

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<sup>9</sup> Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2009. *The Triumph of Voting Rights in the South*. Norman, Okla.: The University of Oklahoma Press, 375-77, 416.

population of interest, such as the proportion that is black and proportion that is Hispanic, respectively. Often the regression is weighted by the number of voters in each precinct, to give greater consideration in the analysis to cases where there are more voters in ascertaining minority preferences. To ascertain the level of support for some candidate A among a particular ethnic or racial group, the following computation is performed: Assume that the ethnic/racial populations controlled for as independent variables in the regression analysis are percent black VAP and percent Hispanic VAP. This makes percent Anglo + VAP (Anglo plus any other ethnic category, such as Asians) the null or control category. It therefore follows that level of voter turnout for candidate A among Anglo voters is the intercept for the regression equation, assuming 0 percent Hispanic VAP and 0 percent Black VAP. Those zeroes, multiplied by the values of the slope coefficients for black VAP and Hispanic VAP respectively, result in an estimated value of the dependent variable at 100 percent Anglo. To estimate the level of turnout for that candidate A among black voters, multiply the value of the coefficient for black VAP by 100 (for 100 percent black VAP), the coefficient for Hispanic VAP by 0 (0 percent Hispanic VAP), and then add the products to the value of the intercept. The result is the expected turnout among black VAP for candidate A. The value for turnout for the candidate among Hispanic VAP is similarly computed, but in this instance the value of the Hispanic coefficient is multiplied by 100 and the value of the coefficient of black VAP is multiplied by 0, then the product is added to the intercept. The estimated levels of turnout for each candidate in each population are summed to produce a total level of turnout for the population. The level of turnout for each candidate within a group is then divided by the total level of turnout for that group. The product is the estimated share of the racial or ethnic group vote cast for the candidate in question. Comparison of these estimates across different groups is the basis for identifying cohesion (voting together) across ethnic and racial groups.

The *ecological inference (EI)* technique estimates the relationship between minority population concentrations and voter participation and voter preferences in aggregated units, such as precincts, in order to determine the extent of group participation and voter polarization among groups. In so doing, it extends beyond the ecological regression method to consider

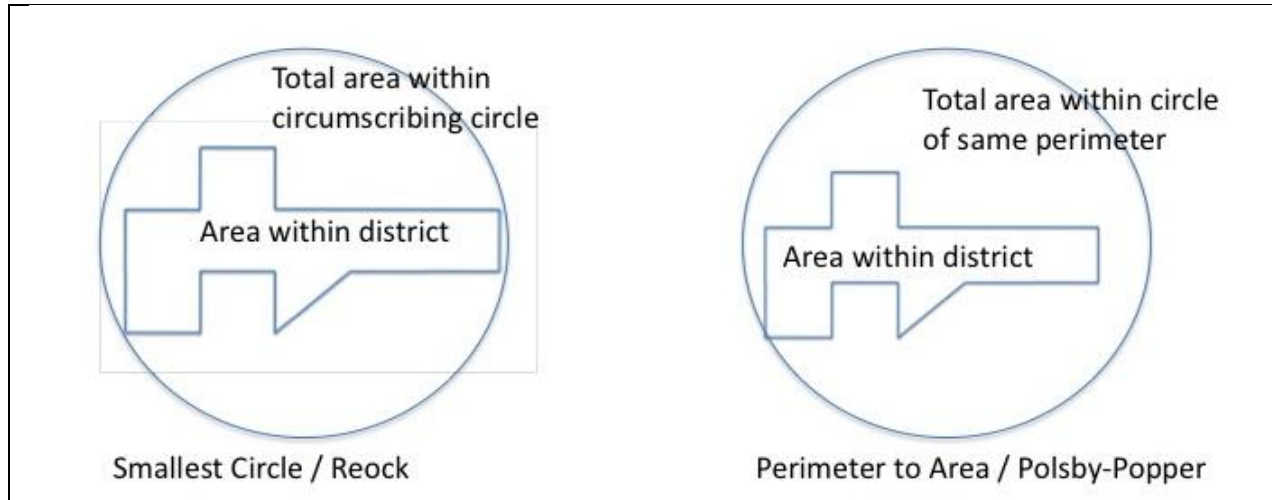
the potential, realistic bounds on the range of preference within a group. The EI method extends beyond linear regression techniques to correct for potential errors arising from the use of the linear regression.<sup>1</sup> Specifically, King's EI technique considers the relative weight of number of individuals aggregated into a data point (such as potential voters within a precinct), and also the bounds of possible, realistic outcomes. For example, linear regression can produce logically impossible estimates of voter participation for a group, such as turnout less than 0 percent, or support for a candidate in excess of 100 percent within a given group. King's EI estimations control for these logical bounds in order to produce estimates of turnout and candidate support that yield non-impossible results. A practical approach to this method was advanced by Harvard's Gary King and is described in detail in his 1997 book, *A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem*.<sup>2</sup>

#### APPENDIX A: ANALYTIC METHODS FOR ESTIMATING RACIAL VOTING PATTERNS

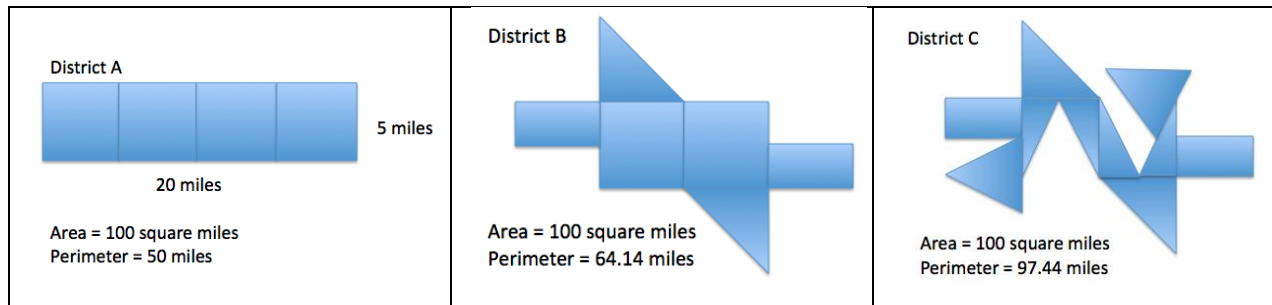
1. Goodman's ecological regression method, a linear regression technique, is commonly accepted in the federal courts. See *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 (1986); see also Allan Lichtman, "Correlation, Regression, and the Ecological Fallacy: A Critique," *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 104 (1974): 622-633.

2. Gary King, *A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997).

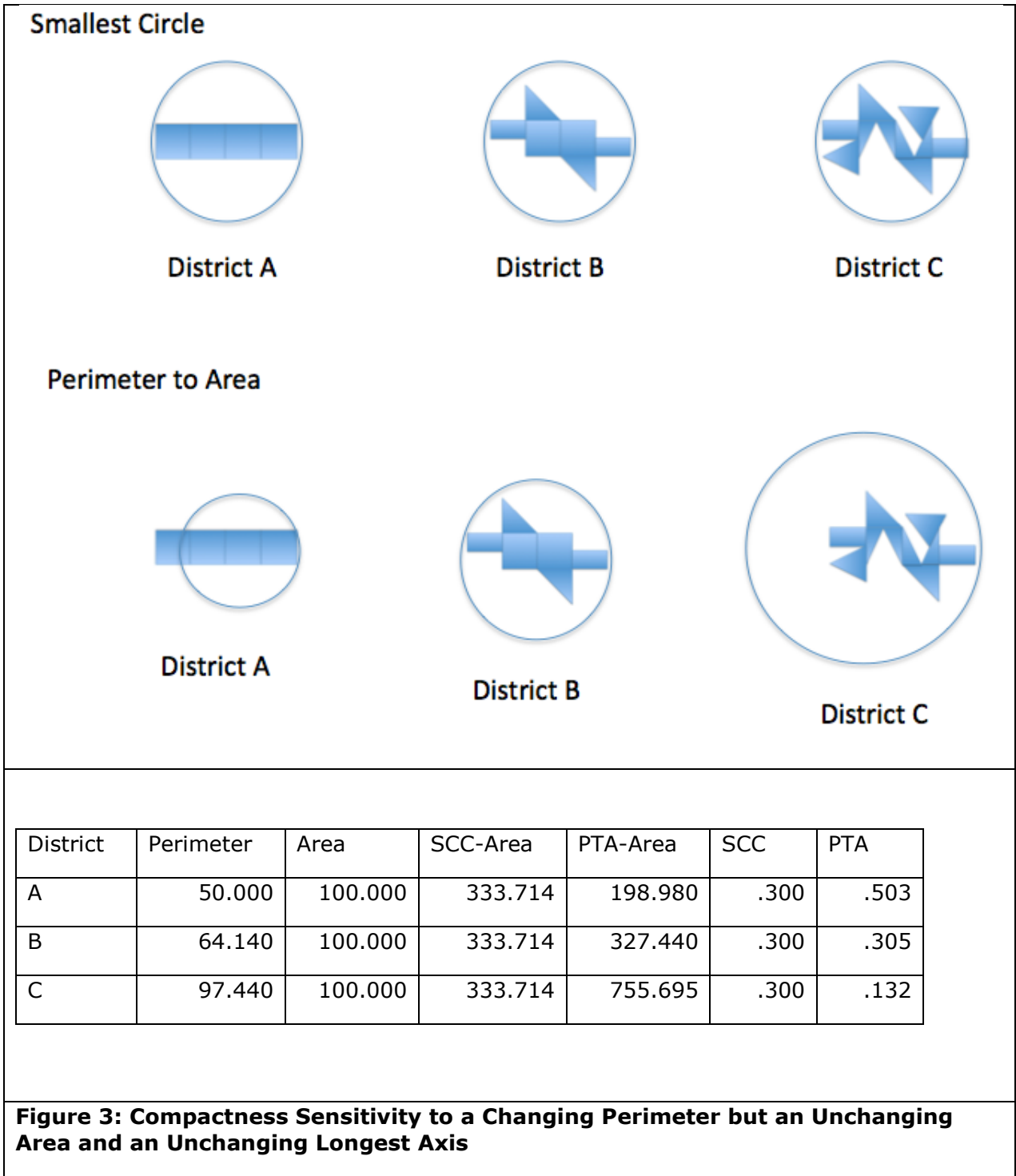
Appendix 2: Tables and Figures



**Figure 1: Compactness, illustrated**



**Figure 2: A Changing Perimeter but an Unchanging Area and an Unchanging Longest Axis**

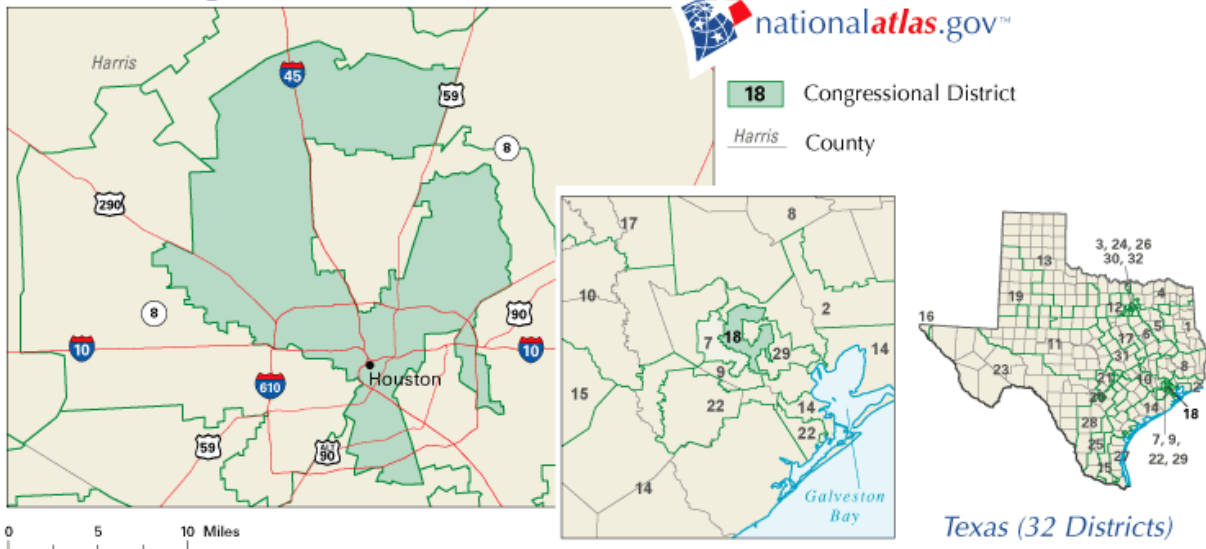


**Table 1: Compactness Measures**

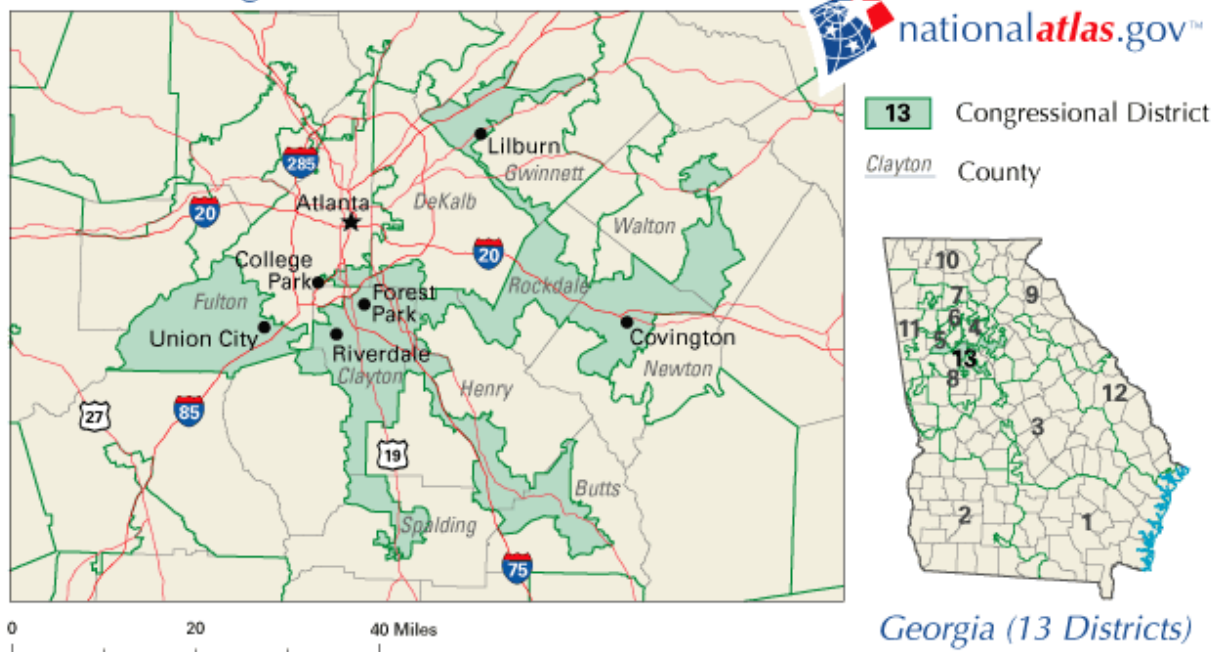
	District	Baseline	GRAC	SB-1	FLH
Smallest Circumscribing Circle (Reock)	1	.37	.27	.27	.34
	2	.28	.26	.25	.28
	3	.19	.23	.22	.24
	4	.20	.25	.25	.35
	5	.34	.36	.36	.20
	6	.12	.14	.14	.15
	7	.34	.36	.36	.64
	8	.31	.34	.33	.50
	Mean (s.d.)	.27 (.09)	.27 (.07)	.27 (.08)	<b>.34</b> (.16)
	Range	.12-.37	.14-.36	.14-.36	.15-.64
Perimeter to Area (Polsby-Popper)	District	Baseline	GRAC	SB-1	FLH
	1	.20	.16	.16	.36
	2	.06	.07	.06	.15
	3	.04	.03	.03	.30
	4	.08	.09	.09	.20
	5	.29	.31	.31	.17
	6	.11	.08	.08	.12
	7	.16	.09	.09	.47
	8	.19	.10	.08	.39
	Mean	.14 (.09)	.12 (.09)	.11 (.09)	<b>.27</b> (.13)
Range	.04-.29	.03-.31	.03-.31	.12-.47	

### Map Set 1: Illustrative Congressional Districts of Low Compactness in the 2002-2010 Cycle

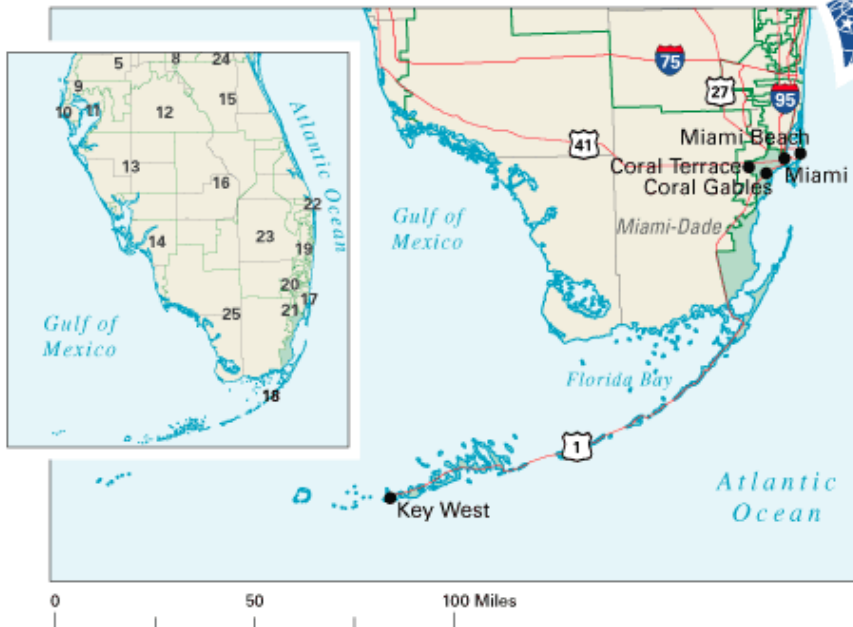
#### Congressional District 18



#### Congressional District 13



### Congressional District 18



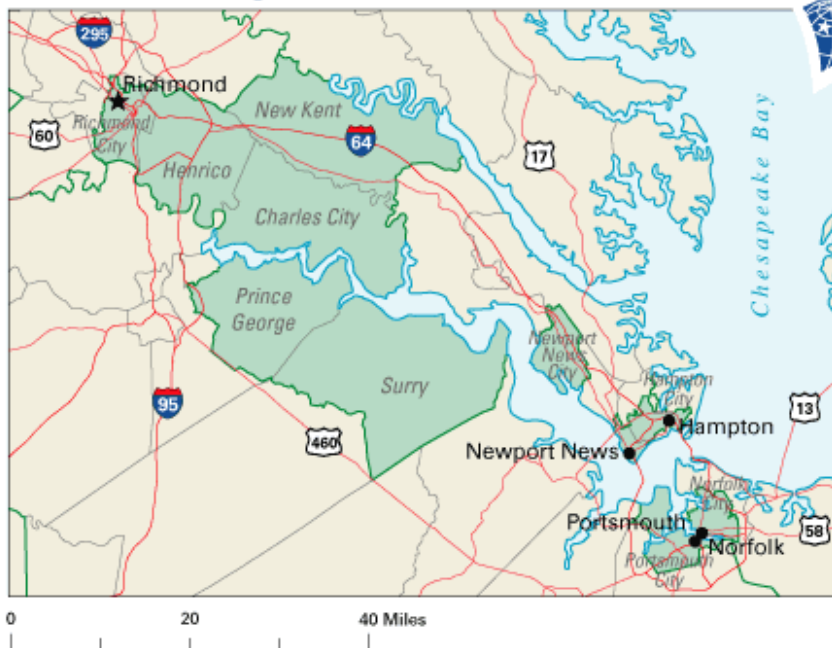
**18** Congressional District

*Miami-Dade* County



*Florida (25 Districts)*

### Congressional District 3



**3** Congressional District

*Surry* County



*Virginia (11 Districts)*

**Table 2: Ecological Regression Estimates**

<b>Senate District 23 Dem. Pmy. 2010</b>				
	Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White	Non-Hispanic Black	Others
<b>Bobby G. Henry, Jr.</b>	<b>11.429</b>	0.077	0.432	0.321
<b>Darrell Carrington</b>	-4.286	0.008	0.050	0.016
Douglas J. J. Peters	-0.857	<b>0.892</b>	0.477	0.588
<b>Mike Anderson</b>	-5.286	0.023	0.041	0.075
<b>US Senate Dem. Pmy. 2006</b>				
	Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White	Non-Hispanic Black	Others
Ben Cardin	0.333	<b>0.678</b>	0.076	<b>0.808</b>
<b>Kweisi Mfume</b>	<b>1.778</b>	0.091	<b>0.864</b>	0.238
Josh Rales	-0.278	0.074	0.015	0.031
15 others	-0.833	0.157	0.045	-0.077
<b>State Att'y General Dem. Pmy. 2006</b>				
	Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White	Non-Hispanic Black	Others
Doug Gansler	-1.087	<b>0.644</b>	0.312	<b>0.951</b>
<b>Stuart Simms</b>	<b>2.087</b>	0.356	<b>0.688</b>	0.049
<b>Senate District 23 Dem. Pmy. 2006</b>				
	Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White	Non-Hispanic Black	Others
<b>Bobby G. Henry, Jr.</b>	1.000	0.057	<b>0.530</b>	0.260
Greg Holmes	0.458	0.080	0.216	0.358
Douglas J. J. Peters	-0.458	<b>0.863</b>	0.254	0.382
<b>Democratic Presidential Primary 2008</b>				
	Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White	Non-Hispanic Black	Others
Joe Biden	0.000	0.007	0.000	-0.006
Hillary Clinton	-1.606	<b>0.563</b>	0.106	0.425
Christopher J. Dodd	0.000	0.007	0.004	0.000

John Edwards	0.000	0.021	0.000	-0.016
Mike Gravel	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Dennis J. Kucinich	-0.055	0.007	0.004	0.000
<b>Barack Obama</b>	<b>2.657</b>	0.389	<b>0.888</b>	<b>0.598</b>
Bill Richardson	0.003	0.007	0.000	0.000

<b>President of the United States 2008</b>	Hispanic	Non- Hispanic White	Non- Hispanic Black	Others
<b>Barack Obama-D</b>	-1.934	0.363	<b>1.008</b>	1.234
John McCain-R	3.165	<b>0.617</b>	-0.013	-0.239
<b>Cynthia McKinney-G</b>	-0.059	0.003	0.002	0.002
Bob Barr-L	0.000	0.006	0.000	0.003
Ralph Nader-I	-0.114	0.007	0.003	0.000
Chuck Baldwin-C	-0.059	0.003	0.000	0.000

<b>Senate District 23 Dem. Pmy. 2002</b>	Hispanic	Non- Hispanic White	Non- Hispanic Black	Others
Leo E. Green	<b>-3.114</b>	<b>0.880</b>	0.347	0.371
<b>Bobby G. Henry, Jr.</b>	4.114	0.120	<b>0.653</b>	<b>0.629</b>

<b>Senate District 27 Dem. Pmy. 2002</b>	Hispanic	Non- Hispanic White	Non- Hispanic Black	Others
<b>Miller, Jaunita</b>	0.317	0.035	0.464	0.482
Miller, Thomas Mike	<b>0.618</b>	<b>0.953</b>	<b>0.521</b>	<b>1.964</b>
<b>Sanders, Minerva</b>	0.065	0.012	0.014	-1.446

<b>Senate District 41 Dem. Pmy. 2002</b>	Hispanic	Non- Hispanic White	Non- Hispanic Black	Others
<b>Frank D. Boston, Jr.</b>	0.180	0.004	0.111	0.031
<b>Lisa A. Gladden</b>	0.465	0.000	<b>0.745</b>	0.199
Barbara A. Hoffman	0.355	<b>0.996</b>	0.144	<b>0.771</b>

**Bold** = African-American candidates

**Bold Italic** = Estimated preferred candidate in group

*Italic* = Estimated leading candidate in group with no majority preference

**Table 3: Homogeneous Precincts\* for Statewide Contests**

	≥90% Black		≥90% Non-Black		≥90% White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
U. S. Senate, Democratic Primary 2006						
Cardin	5,392	10.1	135,258	<b>63.0</b>	46,472	<b>60.9</b>
<b>Mfume</b>	44,739	<b>84.0</b>	36,344	16.9	11,288	14.8
Others	3,106	5.8	43,013	20.0	18,525	24.3
Attorney General, Democratic Primary 2006						
Gansler	13,615	28.4	122,157	<b>65.4</b>	40,983	<b>63.5</b>
<b>Simms</b>	34,353	<b>71.6</b>	64,532	34.6	23,593	36.5
Democratic Presidential Primary 2008						
<b>Obama</b>	64,800	<b>85.5</b>	135,805	46.1	40,959	41.2
Clinton	10,369	13.7	148,898	<b>50.5</b>	53,786	<b>54.0</b>
Others	581	0.8	10,069	3.4	4,777	4.8
President, General 2008						
<b>Obama</b>	155,686	<b>98.2</b>	503,521	45.4	166,489	36.0
McCain	2,173	1.4	588,084	<b>53.0</b>	286,776	<b>62.1</b>
Others	635	0.4	18,336	1.7	8,596	1.9

**Bold** = African-American candidates

**Bold Italic** = Estimated preferred candidate in group

*Italic* = Estimated leading candidate in group with no majority preference

\*Homogeneous precincts are those in which at least 90 percent of the voting age population belongs to the group analyzed.

**Table 4: Ecological Inference (EI) Estimates**

	African American Vote	Others' Vote
Senate District 23, Democratic Primary 2002		
Green	0.365	<b>0.803</b>
<b>Henry</b>	<b>0.635</b>	0.197
Turnout	0.160	0.187
Senate District 27, Democratic Primary 2002		
Thomas Miller	<b>0.511</b>	<b>0.855</b>
<b>Juanita Miller</b>	0.448	0.090
<b>Sanders</b>	0.041	0.055
Turnout	0.222	0.091
Senate District 41, Democratic Primary 2002		
<b>Gladden</b>	<b>0.748</b>	0.037
Others	0.252	<b>0.963</b>
Turnout	0.234	0.277
U.S. Senate, Democratic Primary 2006		
Cardin	0.093	<b>0.667</b>
<b>Mfume</b>	<b>0.833</b>	0.125
Others	0.075	0.208
Turnout	0.189	0.111
Attorney General, Democratic Primary 2006		
Gansler	0.385	<b>0.675</b>
<b>Simms</b>	<b>0.615</b>	0.325
Turnout	0.169	0.096
Senate District 23, Democratic Primary 2006		
Peters	0.220	<b>0.843</b>

<b>Henry</b>	<b>0.589</b>	0.135
<b>Others</b>	0.191	0.021
Turnout	0.186	0.155
Democratic Presidential Primary 2008		
<b>Obama</b>	<b>0.887</b>	0.422
Clinton	0.110	<b>0.542</b>
Others	0.003	0.036
Turnout	0.290	0.159
President, General 2008		
<b>Obama</b>	<b>0.989</b>	<b>0.793</b>
Others	0.011	0.207
Turnout	0.547	0.611
Senate District 23, Democratic Primary 2010		
Peters	0.441	<b>0.936</b>
<b>Henry</b>	<i>0.437</i>	0.015
<b>Others</b>	0.122	0.049
Turnout	0.166	0.084

**Bold** = African-American candidates

**Bold Italic** = Estimated preferred candidate in group

*Italic* = Estimated leading candidate in group with no majority preference

**Table 5: Ecological Inference (EI) Estimates**

	African American Vote	Others' Vote	African American Vote	Others' Vote	African American Vote	Others' Vote
<i>US Senate Democratic Primary 2006</i>	<i>Baltimore City</i>		<i>Montgomery County</i>		<i>Prince George's County</i>	
Cardin	0.128	<b>0.694</b>	0.011	<b>0.602</b>	0.065	<b>0.667</b>
<b>Mfume</b>	<b>0.860</b>	0.130	<b>0.942</b>	0.228	<b>0.839</b>	0.156
Others	0.012	0.176	0.047	0.171	0.096	0.177
Turnout	0.172	0.156	0.067	0.157	0.207	0.087
<i>Attorney General, Democratic Primary 2006</i>						
Gansler	0.155	<b>0.503</b>	0.108	<b>0.756</b>	<b>0.520</b>	<b>0.812</b>
<b>Simms</b>	<b>0.845</b>	0.497	<b>0.892</b>	0.244	0.481	0.188
Turnout	0.173	0.112	0.056	0.147	0.183	0.077
<i>Democratic Presidential Primary 2008</i>						
<b>Obama</b>	<b>0.860</b>	0.483	<b>0.996</b>	<b>0.527</b>	<b>0.877</b>	0.348
Clinton	0.131	<i>0.491</i>	0.005	0.457	0.120	<b>0.612</b>
Others	0.009	0.027	0.000	0.016	0.003	0.040
Turnout	0.255	0.164	0.083	0.256	0.348	0.111
<i>President, General 2008</i>						
<b>Obama</b>	<b>0.996</b>	<b>0.618</b>	<b>0.987</b>	<b>0.707</b>	<b>0.990</b>	<b>0.601</b>
Others	0.004	0.382	0.013	0.293	0.010	0.399
Turnout	0.564	0.411	0.156	0.675	0.675	0.389

**Bold** =African-American candidates**Bold Italic** = Estimated preferred candidate in group*Italic* = Estimated leading candidate in group with no majority preference

**Table 6: Census Bureau Estimates of Voter Registration and Turnout, by Race and Ethnicity (from Table 4b, "Voting and Registration – Detail Tables" at [www.census.gov](http://www.census.gov))**

	<b>2002</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2010</b>
<b>Registered</b>					
White, Non-Hisp.	67.3	74.6	73.1	71.1	66.2
Black	56.7	62.4	64.4	70.6	56.3
Hispanic	21.3	20.6	26.3	34.5	26.8
Asian	27.7	30.7	20.9	36.2	29.7
<b>Voted</b>					
White, Non-Hisp.	53.0	67.5	58.0	65.2	48.1
Black	42.7	55.9	50.3	66.9	41.5
Hispanic	13.8	19.0	22.5	34.0	16.3
Asian	19.6	29.8	14.4	28.2	16.9
<b>Proportion to White (Registered)</b>					
Black	.842	.836	.881	.993	.850
Hispanic	.316	.276	.360	.485	.405
Asian	.412	.412	.286	.509	.449
<b>Proportion to White (Voting)</b>					
Black	.806	.828	.867	<b>1.026</b>	.863
Hispanic	.260	.281	.388	.521	.339
Asian	.370	.441	.248	.433	.351

**Table 7: Ecological Inference Estimates of VAP Turnout in Maryland**

	African-Americans	Others
2002 Senate District 23, Democratic Primary	.1601	<b>.1870</b>
2002 Senate District 27, Democratic Primary	<b>.2219</b>	.0907
2002 Senate District 41, Democratic Primary	.2340	<b>.2774</b>
2006 U.S. Senate, Democratic Primary	<b>.1890</b>	.1110
2006 Attorney General, Democratic Primary	<b>.1689</b>	.0957
2006 Senate District 23, Democratic Primary	<b>.1857</b>	.1547
2010 Senate District 23, Democratic Primary	<b>.1662</b>	.0837
2008 Democratic Presidential Primary	<b>.2895</b>	.1593
2004 Democratic Presidential Primary	<b>.1190</b>	.1042
2010 Democratic Primary	<b>.1515</b>	.0859
2010 General Election	.3146	<b>.4607</b>
2008 General Election	.5472	<b>.6106</b>
2004 General Election	.4433	<b>.5772</b>
2002 General Election	.2825	<b>.4199</b>

**Bold indicates group with higher turnout rate.**

**Table 8: non-White Population of Districts Electing African Americans, 2011**

<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>District</b>	<b>Total Pop. (2010 Census)</b>	<b>Total non- White Pop.</b>	<b>% non- White pop</b>	
Donna Edwards	CD-4	714319	509012	71.26%	
Elijah Cummings	CD-7	659776	429760	65.14%	
Emmett Burns	HD-10	123939	95169	76.79%	MMD(3)
Adrienne Jones	HD-10	123939	95169	76.79%	MMD(3)
Shirley Nathan-Pulliam	HD-10	123939	95169	76.79%	MMD(3)
Frank Turner	HD-13A	131784	51180	38.84%	MMD(3)
Alfred Carr	HD-18	119790	43342	36.18%	MMD(3)
Joseline Peña-Melnyk	HD-21	130048	69168	53.19%	MMD(3)
Tawanna Gaines	HD-22	118054	81060	68.66%	MMD(3)
Marvin Holmes	HD-23B	44910	35567	79.20%	
Tiffany Alston	HD-24	107460	101276	94.25%	MMD(3)
Carolyn Howard	HD-24	107460	101276	94.25%	MMD(3)
Michael Vaughn	HD-24	107460	101276	94.25%	MMD(3)
Aisha Braveboy	HD-25	110022	99531	90.46%	MMD(3)
Derek Davis	HD-25	110022	99531	90.46%	MMD(3)
Melony Griffith	HD-25	110022	99531	90.46%	MMD(3)
Veronica Turner	HD-26	110580	98444	89.03%	MMD(3)
Jay Walker	HD-26	110580	98444	89.03%	MMD(3)
James Proctor	HD-27A	90039	62251	69.14%	MMD(2)
CT Wilson	HD-28	143185	66734	46.61%	MMD(3)
Rudolph Crane	HD-37A	42585	22607	53.09%	
Frank Conway	HD-40	101128	73498	72.68%	MMD(3)

Barabara Robinson	HD-40	101128	73498	72.68%	MMD(3)
Shawn Tarrant	HD-40	101128	73498	72.68%	MMD(3)
Jill Carter	HD-41	105582	75239	71.26%	MMD(3)
Nathaniel Oaks	HD-41	105582	75239	71.26%	MMD(3)
Curt Anderson	HD-43	102267	73959	72.32%	MMD(3)
Joan Carter-Conway	HD-43	102267	73959	72.32%	MMD(3)
Mary Washington	HD-43	102267	73959	72.32%	MMD(3)
Keith Haynes	HD-44	95890	74749	77.95%	MMD(3)
Keiffer Mitchell	HD-44	95890	74749	77.95%	MMD(3)
Melvin Stokes	HD-44	95890	74749	77.95%	MMD(3)
Talmadge Branch	HD-45	101362	81003	79.91%	MMD(3)
Cheryl Glenn	HD-45	101362	81003	79.91%	MMD(3)
Hattie Harrison	HD-45	101362	81003	79.91%	MMD(3)
Jolene Ivey	HD-47	111477	86704	77.78%	MMD(3)
Michael Summers	HD-47	111477	86704	77.78%	MMD(3)
Delores Kelley	SD-10	123939	95169	76.79%	
Joanne C. Benson	SD-24	107460	101276	94.25%	
Ulysses Currie	SD-25	110022	99531	90.46%	
Anthony Muse	SD-26	110580	98444	89.03%	
Catherine Pugh	SD-40	101128	73498	72.68%	
Lisa Gladden	SD-41	105582	75239	71.26%	
Verna Jones-Rodwell	SD-44	95890	74749	77.95%	
Nathaniel McFadden	SD-45	101362	81003	79.91%	

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## **EDUCATION**

Ph.D., Political Science, The University of Georgia, June 1993  
M.A., Political Science, The University of Georgia, December 1989  
B.S., Political Science, History, The Florida State University, August 1987  
A.A., Liberal Arts, The Florida State University, December 1986

## **ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE**

Professor of Political Science, The University of Oklahoma (July 2003- )

Associate Professor (July 1999-June 2003)

Assistant Professor (August 1996-June 1999)

Faculty Fellow, Science and Public Policy Program, Sarkeys Energy Center, the University of Oklahoma (2002- 2004)

Editor (with Kelly R. Damphousse), *Social Science Quarterly*, July 2010-present

Research Assistant Professor of Environmental Health Sciences, Tulane University School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine (September 1994-August 1996); also adjunct Assistant Professor of Political Science, Tulane University (September 1994-August 1996)

*Freeport-McMoRan* Environmental Policy Postdoctoral Fellow, Tulane University School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine (January 1993-September 1994)

Teaching and Research Assistant, Department of Political Science, The University of Georgia (September 1987-December 1992)

## **AWARDS, GRANTS, & HONORS**

*Freeport-McMoRan Post-Doctoral Fellowship*, Tulane University, 1993-1994

*Coca-Cola Foundation Summer Scholar* Faculty Mentor, Tulane University, 1995, 1996

University of Oklahoma Research Council Junior Faculty Research Award (\$6,000), 1997

Junior Faculty Development Fund Research Award (\$540), The University of Oklahoma, 1997

"Guest Coach", University of Oklahoma Football Team, 1997

College of Arts and Sciences Teaching and Research Award (\$875), The University of Oklahoma, 1997-1998

College of Arts and Sciences Summer Research Fellowship (\$6,000), The University of Oklahoma, 1998

*Pi Sigma Alpha Best Paper Award*, Southwestern Political Science Association Meeting, 1998, 2006

Oklahoma Honors College Undergraduate Research Mentor, Spring 1999

*Daily Oklahoman Poll*, Co-Principal Investigator with Gary W. Copeland, (\$82,000), 1999-2001

*Jewell Prestage Award*, for the Best Paper on Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and Political Behavior, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2003

*The Order of Kentucky Colonels*, conferred August 16 2006

"Guest Coach", University of Oklahoma Women's Basketball Team, 2007

President-Elect, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2006-07

President, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2007-08

Society for Professional Journalists (Oklahoma PRO Chapter) award for "Best Radio Talk Program," 2008, 2009, 2010

*Julian J. Rothbaum Award* for the outstanding book published by the University of Oklahoma Press, 2009, for *The Triumph of Voting Rights in the South*.

*V. O. Key Jr. Award* for the outstanding book on Southern Politics (2011) for *The Triumph of Voting Rights in the South*.

## **PROFESSIONAL CONSULTING AND PARTNERSHIPS**

Managing Partner, Intelligent Robotic Solutions LLC, (Oklahoma City, OK) January 2010-present

Consulting Senior Vice-President, Shapard Research LLC (Oklahoma City, OK), January 2009-present

Partner, TVPoll.com PC (Oklahoma City), September 2006-present (consulting expert, June-September 2006)

Partner, Soonerpolitics.com, September 2006-2008 (sole proprietor, May 2004-September 2006)

Consulting expert, Phoenix Consulting (Oklahoma City, OK) September 2005-2007

Consulting expert (*of Counsel*), Wilson Research Strategies (Washington DC, Austin, & Oklahoma City), OK, 2004-2006

Adjunct Professor of Management, Central Michigan University, March 1995-July 1996

Electoral/Demographics, June 1988-December 1992 (Programmer and analyst)

Legislative Aide, Rep. John F. Cosgrove, Florida House of Representatives, April-July 1987

## TEACHING

### ***The University of Oklahoma (1996-)***

#### Graduate Courses:

Analysis for Political and Public Administration  
Data  
Congress in the Political System  
Environmental Policy and Administration  
Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations  
Games, Decisions, and Policy  
Intermediate Data Analysis  
Legislative Politics  
Mass Politics and Realignment  
Mediating Political Institutions  
Problems in Implementation  
Problems in Political Behavior  
Public Budgeting and Finance  
Public Policy Analysis  
Public Policy Problems  
Southern Politics  
Problems in the Law and Constitution: Voting Rights

#### Ph.D. Dissertations:

Scott E. Buchanan. 1999. *Perspectives on the Racial Threat Hypothesis: Testing a Theory of Southern Politics*. Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma.  
Joshua Stockley. 2005. *State Party Organizations as Campaign Service Providers: A Three-State Study of Candidate and Party Perceptions*. Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma.

### ***Tulane University (1993-1996)***

#### Graduate:

Seminar in Quantitative Research Methods  
Environmental Policy and Management

### ***The University of Georgia (1987-1992)***

#### Undergraduate:

American Federal Government

#### Undergraduate:

American Federal Government  
American Federal Government (Honors)  
American Political Processes  
Environmental Policy and Administration  
Freshman Seminar: The Presidential Campaign  
Freshman Seminar: Hollywood Politics  
Measurement and Analysis for Public Administration  
Politics in America: Generational Politics  
Politics in Film  
Practical Political Analysis  
Public Opinion  
Capstone Seminar: American Politics in Film & Literature  
Southern Politics  
Voters and Campaigns

#### Other Supervision:

Approximately sixty-five M.P.A. projects, M.A. project papers, or M.A. theses supervised since 1997. Service on approximately forty Ph.D. committees, including six in communications, seven in economics, one in sociology, four in organizational leadership.

#### Undergraduate:

American Politics (Honors)  
Environmental Politics  
Global Environmental Politics (Honors)

Political Science Research Methods

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### ***Books***

Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2010. *Georgia Politics in a State of Change*. New York: Pearson/Longman.

--2d edition, 2012.

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Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2004. *Born to Run: Origins of the Political Career*. Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III. 2000. *Elections to Open Seats In The U.S. House: Where the Action Is*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and James L. Regens. 2000. *Regulating Wetlands Protection: Environmental Federalism and the States*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Gary W. Copeland, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Craig A. Williams. 1998. *The Almanac of Oklahoma Politics 1998*. Stillwater, Oklahoma: OPSA Press. Also published as *Oklahoma Politics: Special Issue*, 6 [1997].

--2d edition, 1999. *The Almanac of Oklahoma Politics 2000*. Edmond, OK, OPSA Press.

--3d edition, 2001. *The Almanac of Oklahoma Politics 2002*. Norman, OK: The Carl Albert Center for Congressional Studies.

James L. Regens and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1995. *The Economic Realities of Political Reform: Elections and the U.S. Senate*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

--Paperback edition, 2005.

### ***Edited Volumes***

Donald P. Haider-Markel, general editor; Michael Card, Ronald Keith Gaddie, Gary Moncrief, Kenneth Palmer, regional editors. 2008. *The Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.

John C. Kuzenski, Charles S. Bullock, III and Ronald Keith Gaddie (editors). 1995. *David Duke and the Politics of Race in the South*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

### ***Academic Books In Progress***

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock III. *DeLayed Democracy: The Texas Redistricting War 2001-2006*. Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press (under contract).

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Bill Shapard. *Red State Rising: The New Oklahoma Politics*. Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press (under contract).

Thomas R. Dye and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2013. *Politics in America, 10<sup>th</sup> edition*. New York: Pearson (under contract).

### ***Trade and Popular Books***

- Scott Cooper & Keith Gaddie. 2011. *OU Football IQ*. Jacksonville, FL.: Black Mesa Publishing.
- Keith Gaddie. 2010. *Ghosts on Vintners Landing: A Novel*. Jacksonville, FL.: Black Mesa Publishing.
- Keith Gaddie & Kim Gaddie. 2009. *Georgia Football IQ*. Jacksonville, FL.: Black Mesa Publishing.
- David Horne - Daniel Brush - Marc CB Maxwell & Keith Gaddie. 2008. *University of Georgia Football*. New York: Savas Beatie.

### ***Articles***

- Ronald Keith Gaddie, Justin J. Wert, and Charles S. Bullock, III. Forthcoming. Seats, Votes, Citizens, and History in the One-Person, One-Vote Problem. *Stanford Law and Policy Review* 23 (Spring 2012).
- Charles S. Bullock III, Justin J. Wert, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2011. 'Of Benedick and Beatrice': *Citizens United* and the Rein of the Laggard Court. *Cornell Journal of Law and Public Policy* 20(3): 719-737.
- Charles S. Bullock III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Justin J. Wert. 2009. Electoral College Reform and Voting Rights. *Faulkner Law Review* 1 (1): 89-134.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III. 2007. From *Ashcroft* To *Larios*: Recent Redistricting Lessons from Georgia. *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 34 (April): 997-1048.
- Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2007. Voting Rights Progress in Georgia. *New York University Journal of Legislation and Public Policy* 10 (Spring): 1-49.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock III. 2007. Campaign Finance Reform as the New Political Thicket of the Supreme Court. *NeXus: A Journal of Opinion* 12: 43-55.
- Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2007. Good Intentions and Bad Social Science Meet in the Renewal of the Voting Rights Act. *Georgetown Journal of Law & Public Policy* 5 (Winter): 1-27.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock III. 2006. (Pre)clarifying the Muddy Red Waters of the Texas Redistricting War. *Engage: The Journal of the Federalist Society's Practice Groups*. 7 (2, October): 98-104.
- Charles S. Bullock, III, Donna R. Hoffman, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. Regional Variations in the Realignment of American Politics, 1944-2004. *Social Science Quarterly* 87 (September): 494-518.
- Jocelyn Jones Evans, Lynsey Morris, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. Wallace and the 1972 Florida Democratic Presidential Primary: Examining Racial Threat with Individual-Level and Aggregate-Level Data. *Florida Political Chronicle* 17 (Spring): 1-11.
- Charles S. Bullock, III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Ben Smith. 2005. White Voters, Black Representative, and Candidates of Choice. *American Review of Politics* 26 (Fall): 267-289.
- Charles S. Bullock III, Donna R. Hoffman, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2005. The Consolidation of the Southern White Vote. *Political Research Quarterly* 58 (June): 231-243.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2004. The Texas Redistricting, Measure for Measure. *Extensions: A Journal of the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center* (Fall 2004): 19-24.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2004. Restoring the U.S. House of Representatives: A Skeptical Look at Current Proposals. *Cato Policy Analysis* 510 (February 17): 1-14.
- Charles S. Bullock, III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Anders Ferrington. 2002. System Structure, Campaign Stimuli, and Voter Falloff in Runoff Primaries. *The Journal of Politics* 64 (4, November): 1210-1224.
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- Outcomes: A Longitudinal Look Through the Open Seats. *Women & Politics* 23 (1 & 2): 37-58.; appears in Karen O'Connor, ed. 2002. *Women and Congress: Running, Winning, and Ruling*. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press.
- James W. Douglas and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2002. State Rainy Day Funds and Fiscal Crises: Rainy Day Funds and the 1990-1991 Recession Revisited. *Public Budgeting and Finance* 22 (Winter): 19-30.
- Charles S. Bullock, III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Anders Ferrington. 2001. When Experience Fails: The Experience Factor in Congressional Runoffs. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 26 (February): 31-43.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Lesli E. McCollum. 2000. An Applied Surge-slump Technique for Estimating the Incumbency Advantage. *The American Review of Politics* 21 (Fall & Winter): 273-297.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie, Kim U. Hoffman, and Carrie Palmer. 2000. Congressional Elections Beyond the Year of the Woman: A Research Update. *Social Science Quarterly* 81 (September): 879-884.
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- Ronald Keith Gaddie, Charles S. Bullock, III, and Scott E. Buchanan (with the assistance of Andrew Hicks). 1999. What Is So Special About Special Elections? *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 24 (February): 103-112.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Jonathan D. Mott. 1998. The 1996 Open Seat Congressional Elections. *Social Science Quarterly* 79 (June): 445-455.
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- Charles S. Bullock, III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1997. Contestation and Turnout in Multi-Member and Single-Member Districts. *Southeastern Political Review* 25 (4):1-16.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Scott E. Buchanan. 1997. Shifting Partisan Alignments in Oklahoma. *Oklahoma Politics: Special Issue* 6 (October): 25-32; appears in Gary W. Copeland, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Craig A. Williams (General Editors). 1997. *The Almanac of Oklahoma Politics 1997-1998*. Stillwater, OK: OPSA Press.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1997. Congressional Seat Swings: Revisiting Exposure in House Elections. *Political Research Quarterly* 50 (September): 675-686.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III. 1997. Structural and Elite Features in Open Seat and Special Elections: Is There a Sexual Bias? *Political Research Quarterly* 50 (June): 457-466.
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- Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1995. Negating the Democratic Party Advantage in Open Seat Elections -- A Research Update. *Social Science Quarterly* 76 (September): 673-680.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1995. Investing in the Future: Economic Political Action Committee Contributions to Open Seat House Candidates. *American Politics Quarterly* 23 (July): 339-354.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1995. Is There an Inherent Democratic Party Advantage in U.S. House Elections?

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James L. Regens, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Euel Elliott. 1994. Corporate Campaign Contributions and Rent Provision in Senate Elections. *Social Science Quarterly* 75 (March): 152-165.

Charles S. Bullock, III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1993. Changing from Multi-Member to Single-Member Districts: Partisan, Racial, and Gender Impacts. *State and Local Government Review* 25 (Fall): 155- 163.

James L. Regens, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Euel Elliott. 1993. Member Attributes and Corporate Contributions to U.S. Senators: Do Environmental Compliance Costs Matter? *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 26 (June): 331-341.

James L. Regens, Euel W. Elliott, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1991. Regulatory Costs, Committee Jurisdiction, and Corporate PAC Contributions, *Social Science Quarterly*, 72 (December): 751-760.

### **Chapters**

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2011. Realignment. In Charles S. Bullock III and Mark J. Rozell, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Southern Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Justin Wert. 2011. Before KKV, V.O. Key: *Southern Politics* and Social Science Methodology. In Todd G. Shields, ed., *Unlocking V. O. Key's Southern Politics*. Little Rock: University of Arkansas Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and John William Shapard. 2010. Oklahoma: Red State Rising. In Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark Rozell (eds.) *The New Politics of the Old South (4th)*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2010. The Democratic Party of Oklahoma. In *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society.

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2010. The Republican Party of Oklahoma. In *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Michael D. Jones. 2009. Tennessee: Cracker Barrel Realignment. In Branwell DuBose Kapeluck, Lawrence W. Moreland, and Robert P. Steed, eds., *A Paler Shade of Red: The 2008 Presidential Election in the South*. Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2008. The South. In Donald P. Haider-Markel, editor, *Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Michael D. Jones. 2008. New South? Diverse Politics in States of Dynamic Change. In Todd G. Shields and Shannon G. Davis, eds., *New Voices of the Old South: How Women and Minorities Influence Southern Politics*. Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University John Scott Daily Florida Institute of Government

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Michael D. Jones. 2008. Tennessee: A Quiet Sort of Inequality. In Todd G. Shields and Shannon G. Davis, eds., *New Voices of the Old South: How Women and Minorities Influence Southern Politics*. Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University John Scott Daily Florida Institute of Government.

Gary W. Copeland, Rebecca J. Cruise, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. Oklahoma: Evangelicals and the Secular Realignment. In Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark Rozell (eds.) *The New Politics of the Old South (3d)*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Press.

Charles S. Bullock III, Rebecca J. Cruise, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2005. Sessions versus Frost in the Texas 32d District. In Robert Dewhirst and Sunil Ahuja, eds., *The Roads to Congress 2004*. Boca Raton, FL: Nova University Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie, with Jennifer Christol, Charles Mullin, Katherine Thorne, and Benjamin Wilson. 2005. Issue Advocacy in the 2004 Oklahoma Senate Election. In David Magelby, J. Quin Monson, and Kelly D. Patterson, eds., *Dancing Without Partners: How Candidates, Parties and Interest Groups Interact in the New Campaign Finance Environment*. Provo: Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III. 2003. Bob Barr and John Linder (versus Tom Murphy) in Georgia's 7<sup>th</sup> District. In Sunil Ahuja and Robert Dewhirst (eds.) *The Road to Congress 2002*. Chicago: Wadsworth Publishers.

Robert Dewhirst and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2003. The 2000 Congressional Elections: Tradition Meets Competition in the New Age. In Robert P. Watson and Colton C. Campbell, Eds., *Campaigns & Elections: Issues, Concepts, and Cases*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Gary W. Copeland. 2003. Oklahoma: God and the Grassroots. In Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark Rozell (eds.) *The New Politics of the Old South (2d)*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Press.

Melody Huckaby and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2001. Carson Defeats Ewing in Oklahoma's 2d District. In Sunil Ahuja and Robert Dewhirst (eds.) *The Road to Congress 2000*. Chicago: Wadsworth Publishers.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Gary W. Copeland. 2001. Partisan Trends in Oklahoma. In Gary W. Copeland, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Craig A. Williams (General Editors), *The Almanac of Oklahoma Politics 2002*. Norman, OK: Carl Albert Center for Congressional Studies and Research.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Donna R. Hoffman. 2001. Critical Events in Contemporary Southern Politics: Dynamic Growth and Partisan Percolations. In John C. Kuzenski, Laurence W. Moreland and Robert P. Steed (eds.). *Eye of The Storm: The South And Congress in an Era of Change*. Westport, CT: Praeger Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Lesli McCollum. 2000. Money and the Incumbency Advantage in US House Elections. In Joseph Zimmerman and Wilma Rule (eds.) *This U.S. House of Representatives: Renovate or Rebuild?* Westport, CT: Praeger Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1999. Nickles, Defeats Carroll in Oklahoma. In Robert Dewhirst and Sunil Ahuja (eds.) *The Road to Congress 1998*. Chicago: Wadsworth Publishers.

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1999. Party Building and Republican Growth in Oklahoma. In Gary W. Copeland, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Craig A. Williams (General Editors). 1999. *The Almanac of Oklahoma Politics 2000*. Edmond, OK: OPSA Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Scott E. Buchanan. 1998. Oklahoma: Realignment in the Buckle of the Bible Belt. In Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark Rozell (eds.) *The New Politics of the Old South: An Introduction to Southern Politics*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III. 1997. Voter Turnout and Candidate Participation Effects of Affirmative-Action Districting. In Robert Steed, Laurence Moreland, and Tod Baker, eds., *Southern Parties and Elections: Studies in Regional Change*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie, David Barnhill, and James L. Regens. 1997. J. Horace McFarland. In Richard Harmond and G. A. Cevasco, eds., *American Environmentalists: A Selective Autobiographical Encyclopedia, 1850-1990*. New York: Scarecrow Press.

David Barnhill, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and James L. Regens. 1997. Joseph Grinnell. In Richard Harmond and G. A. Cevasco, eds., *American Environmentalists: A Selective Autobiographical Encyclopedia, 1850-1990*. New York: Scarecrow Press.

David Barnhill, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and James L. Regens. 1997. Clarence Dutton. In Richard Harmond and G. A. Cevasco, eds., *American Environmentalists: A Selective Autobiographical Encyclopedia, 1850-1990*. New York: Scarecrow Press.

Charles S. Bullock, III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and John C. Kuzenski. 1995. The Candidacy of David Duke as a Stimulus to Black Voting. In John C. Kuzenski, Charles S. Bullock, III and Ronald Keith Gaddie (editors), *David Duke and the Politics of Race in the South*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Susan A. MacManus and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1993. Florida. In Leroy Hardy, Alan Heslop, and George S. Blair, eds., *Redistricting in the 1980s: A 50-State Survey*. Claremont, CA: The Rose Institute of State and Local Government.

Charles S. Bullock, III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1993. Georgia. In Leroy Hardy, Alan Heslop, and George S. Blair, eds., *Redistricting in the 1980s: A 50-State Survey*. Claremont, CA: The Rose Institute of State and Local Government.

Charles S. Bullock, III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1991. Changing from Multi-Member to Single-Member Districts: The Florida Case. In Susan A. MacManus, ed., *Reapportionment and Representation in Florida: A Historical Collection*. Tampa: Intrabay Innovation Institute.

Susan A. MacManus and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1991. Reapportionment in Florida: The Stakes Keep Getting Higher. In Susan A. MacManus, ed., *Reapportionment and Representation in Florida: A Historical Collection*. Tampa: Intrabay Innovation Institute.

### ***Monographs***

Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. *An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Alabama*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Policy Series.

Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. *An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Arizona*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Policy Series.

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Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. *An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Mississippi*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Policy Series.

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Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. *An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress: Alaska, Michigan, New Hampshire, South Dakota*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Policy Series.

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### **Reviews & Communications**

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### **TECHNICAL & EXPERT REPORTS**

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Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2003. *Affidavit of Ronald Keith Gaddie*. In *Cottier et al. v. City of Martin*, South Dakota. (United States Federal Court, District of South Dakota, Western Division, civ.02-5021). Prepared for the City of Martin, South Dakota, September 30, 2003, in support of a Daubert challenge.

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## CONFERENCE PAPERS & PRESENTATIONS

Justin J. Wert, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Charles S. Bullock III. 2011. "Citizens United and the Rein of the Laggard Court" To be presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January 2011.

Scott E. Buchanan and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2010. The Shifting Vote in the Hill Country South, 1992-2008. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, January 2010.

Ronald Keith Gaddie, Justin J. Wert, and Charles S. Bullock III, 2010. Before KKV and APD, V.O. Key: *Southern Politics* and Social Science Methodology, Part II. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, January 2010.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Justin Wert. 2009. Before KKV, V.O. Key: *Southern Politics* and Social Science Methodology. Prepared for presentation at the Unlocking V. O. Key Conference at the Diane D. Blair Center of Southern Politics and Society at the University of Arkansas, April 1-3 2009.

Justin Wert, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Charles S. Bullock III. 2009. Sunset Amendments: Is the Voting Rights Act an 'Unenumerated Right'? Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January.

Charles S. Bullock III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Justin Wert. 2008. Electoral College Reform And Voting Rights. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Las Vegas, NV, March.

Ronald Keith Gaddie, Michael D. Jones, and Charles S. Bullock III. 2008. Elections to Open Seats in the US House, 1996-2006. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Las Vegas, NV, March.

Ronald F. Peters, Jr., Matthew Field, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2008. The Hastert Rules: Majority Party Governance in the U.S. House of Representatives. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January.

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2007. "Ambition's Edge." The 2007 Lou Watkins Lecture, East Central University, Ada, Oklahoma, October 9 2007.

Rebecca JoAnn Cruise and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2007. War Votes and War Voters, 2002-2006: The Evolution of the Electoral Consequences of Voting to Declare War. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January.

- Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. A Comparative Analysis of the Impact of the Voting Rights Act. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, San Antonio, TX, April (Won *Pi Sigma Alpha Best Paper Award*).
- Michael D. Jones and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. Morality and Populism as Narrative and Structure in the 2004 Southern Senate Delegation. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, January.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. Perspective from the Project for Fair Representation on “Preclearance: Is Section 5 Still Needed?” at the John Hope Franklin Center’s Conference “W(h)ither the Voting Rights Act? Agreements and Contestations in the Debate over its Renewal.” April 7, 2006, John Hope Franklin Center, Duke University, Durham, GA (Invited presentation).
- Rebecca JoAnn Cruise and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2005. War Votes and War Voters: A Further Examination of the Electoral Consequences of Voting to Declare War. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September.
- Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2005. The Political Consequences of an Uncontrolled Redistricting. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock III. 2004. Redistricting Principles and Litigation Strategies. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock III. 2003. Bridging the Loss of Institutional Memory in the Term-Limited legislature: Institution-Building in the Maine Legislature. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August.
- Charles S. Bullock, III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Ben Smith. 2003. White Voters, Black Representatives. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, San Antonio, TX, April. (Won the *Jewell Prestage Award* for Best Paper on Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and Political Behavior).
- Charles S. Bullock, III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Donna R. Hoffman. 2002. White Southern Voters Who Bring Their Congressional Preferences Into Compliance with Their Presidential Preferences. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August.
- Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2002. The Political Impact of the 2002 Reapportionment. Presented to the First Annual Meeting of the Republican National Lawyers Association, San Antonio, TX, August 16-17.
- Charles S. Bullock, III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Donna R. Hoffman. 2002. Regional Variations in the Realignment of American Politics, 1944-2000. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, March.
- Kimberly C. Gaddie, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Aleisha Karjala. 2001. Video Style in Open Seat Elections: An Examination of Female-Male Races. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, November.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie, Charles S. Bullock, III, and Craig A. Williams. 2001. Accuracy of Early Versus Late Predictions of Outcomes in Open House Seats. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, November.
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- Thomas Langston and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2001. Regional Culture and Voting for Force: Do Southerners Just Like to Fight? Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Fort Worth,

TX, March 2001.

Gary W. Copeland, Ronald Keith Gaddie, Katie Kimberling, and Aleisha Karjala. 2001. Some Fundamental Perspectives on the Application of the Death Penalty. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Fort Worth, TX, March 2001.

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2000. A Look Into the 2000 Oklahoma Electorate: Evidence from the OU/Daily Oklahoman Polls. Presented at the annual meeting of the Oklahoma Political Science Association, Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City, OK, November 17.

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2000. Testing Some Key Hypotheses of Voter Turnout. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, November 2000.

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Charles S. Bullock, III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Donna R. Hoffman. 2000. Regional Realignment Revisited. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 2000.

James W. Douglas and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2000. Do State Rainy Day Funds Ease Fiscal Stress? Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Ill, April 2000.

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Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III. 1999. What If The Incumbents Went Away? A Look at The Underlying Competitiveness of American Congressional Elections. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Political Science Association, El Reno, Oklahoma, November 11-12.

Ronald Keith Gaddie, Kim U. Hoffman, and Carrie Palmer. 1999. The Role of Gender in Open-Seat Elections. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Political Science Association, El Reno, Oklahoma, November 11-12.

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Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1999. "The Hopes Which Lie In The Hearts of Young Men" Part 1: The Pursuit of Political Ambition. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, San Antonio, Texas, March 1999.

Ronald Keith Gaddie, Shad D. Satterthwaite, and Jonathan D. Mott. 1998. Partisan Dimensions of the Corporate Realignment in Congressional Campaign Financing. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 1998.

Charles S. Bullock, III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, Scott E. Buchanan, and Donna R. Hoffman. 1998. The Lost Sixth: Disappearing White Democrats in Southern Congressional Elections. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 1998.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Lesli McCollum. 1998. Estimating the Incumbency Advantage: A New Approach To An Old Problem. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Corpus Christi, TX March 18-20 (Won *Pi Sigma Alpha Best Paper Award*).

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Donna R. Hoffman. 1998. Cry "Realignment!" and Let Slip the Hounds of Social Science: Partisan Percolations, Dynamic Growth, and Critical Events in Southern Politics. Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, Charleston, South Carolina, March 1998.

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Ronald Keith Gaddie and Jonathan D. Mott. 1997. Realignment or Redux? The 1996 Open Seat Congressional Elections. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, New Orleans, March 1997 (Nominated for *Pi Sigma Alpha Best Paper Award*).

Ronald Keith Gaddie, Charles S. Bullock, III, and Scott E. Buchanan. 1996. The Antecedent Effects of Retirement and Redistricting on Southern House Elections, 1992-1996. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia, November 1996.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and John C. Kuzenski. 1996. Financing Open Seat Congressional Elections, 1980-1994: The Rise and Decline of the Bipartisan Strategy Among Private-Sector Interests. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Houston, Texas, March 1996.

Rick Travis and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1996. And the Winner Is . . . : The Politics of Choice in Defense Allocation. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Houston, Texas, March 1996.

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Charles S. Bullock, III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1995. The Experience Factor in Congressional Runoffs. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Tampa, Florida, November 1995.

Russell Keith Johnson, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and John K. Wildgen. 1995. Can Geographic Information Systems Find a Role in Risk Assessment and Environmental Policy Formulation? Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Tampa, Florida, November 1995.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and John C. Kuzenski. 1995. Slick Willie, Waylon, and Me: Thematic Adultery Songs in the Career of Bill Clinton. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Dallas, Texas, March 1995.

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1995. Open Seats: Understanding Republican Frustration and Success in the South, 1982-1994. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Dallas, Texas,

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Ronald Keith Gaddie, James L. Regens, and Eileen Jones. 1994. State Assumption of Environmental Regulation: Lessons from 404 Wetlands Permitting. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia, November 1994.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III. 1994. Structural and Elite Influences on Female Congressional Candidate Emergence. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia, November 1994.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and John C. Kuzenski. 1994. Political Shirking and Legislative Specialization in the U.S. Senate. Presented at the annual meetings of the Southwestern Political Science Association meeting, San Antonio, Texas, March 1994.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and James L. Regens. 1994. Interest Group Allocations in Open Seat Senate Elections: Is There a Political Futures Market? Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, San Antonio, Texas, March 1994.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III. 1994. Voter Turnout and Candidate Participation Effects of Affirmative-Action Districting. Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, Charleston, South Carolina, March 1994

Ronald Keith Gaddie and James L. Regens. 1994. Transactional Relationships of Interest Groups and Legislators: An Empirical Test of Madison's Model. Presented at the Murphy Institute Conference on Constitutions and Constitutionalism, New Orleans, Louisiana, February 1994.

John C. Kuzenski and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1993. Indicators of Legislative Activity in the United States Senate. Presented at the annual meetings of the Southern Political Science Association meeting, Savannah, Georgia, November 1993.

Charles S. Bullock, III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1993. Candidate Recruitment, Turnover and Turnout. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C. September 1993.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and James L. Regens. 1993. Cyclical Fundraising By U.S. Senate Incumbents. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, March 1993.

Charles S. Bullock, III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1992. Runoffs in Jesse Jackson's Backyard. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia, November 1992.

James L. Regens and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1992. Party Money, PAC Money and Efficient Rent-Seeking by Senate Incumbents. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 1992.

Charles S. Bullock, III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and John C. Kuzenski. 1992. The Candidacy of David Duke as a Stimulus to Black Voting. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Austin, Texas, March 1992.

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1992. Only When Lightning Strikes? Challenger Quality and the Election of Republican Senators in the South. Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, Charleston, South Carolina, March 1992.

Charles S. Bullock, III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1991. Partisan Challenges in Multi-member and Single-member Districts. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Tampa, Florida, November 1991.

James L. Regens, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Euel Elliott. 1991. Corporate Campaign Contributions and Rent Seeking in Senate Elections. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association,

Washington, D.C., September 1991.

Charles S. Bullock, III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1991. Changing from Multi-Member to Single-Member Districts. Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 1991.

James L. Regens, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Euel Elliott. 1990. Senate Member Attributes, Regulatory Compliance Costs and Corporate PAC Contributions. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia, November 1990.

James L. Regens, Euel W. Elliott, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1990. Corporate PAC Contribution Strategies and House Member Attributes. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Fort Worth, Texas, March 1990.

James L. Regens, Euel W. Elliott, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1990. Modeling the Influence of Regulatory Costs on Congressional Campaign Finance. Presented at the Public Choice meeting, Tucson, Arizona, March 1990.

Euel W. Elliott, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Gerard Gryski. 1989. Economic and Political Explanations of Republican Southern State Legislative Support: The Short-Term Dynamics 1976-1984. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Memphis, Tennessee, November 1989.

## THESIS & DISSERTATION

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1993. *Southern Myth: Candidates, Money, and Congressional Elections in the 1980s*, doctoral dissertation written under the direction of Charles S. Bullock, III. Reading committee: John Clark, Robert Grafstein, Brad Lockerbie, Edward Kellough.

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1989. *Southern Democratic Party Factionalism: A Factor Contributing to Republican Success in the Two-Party South*, M.A. thesis written under the direction of Charles S. Bullock, III. Reading committee: Loch K. Johnson, Euel Elliott.

## MEDIA COMMENTARY AND INTERVIEWS

### *Electronic*

BBC International Radio  
Bloomberg Financial Television's *Money & Politics*.  
Business Radio Network (Syndicated)  
Christian Science Monitor's "Monitor Radio International"  
CNN's *Capital Gang*  
Louisiana Weekly Radio (Syndicated)  
Louisiana Radio Network  
KGOU-FM/KROU-FM (Norman, OK)  
KJRH (Tulsa)  
KOCO-TV (Oklahoma City)  
KOKH-TV (Oklahoma City)  
KOKI-TV (Tulsa)  
KOSU-FM (Stillwater)  
KOTV (Tulsa)  
KRMG-FM (Tulsa)  
KTIX-FM (Thibodeaux)

KTOK-AM 1000 (Oklahoma City)  
KWTV-TV (Oklahoma City)  
MS-NBC's "America's Talking"  
NPR "Weekend Edition"  
OETA Television (PBS)  
--*Stateline*  
--*Legislative Week*  
--*Oklahoma Forum*  
--*Oklahoma News Report*  
PBS "NewsHour"  
Voice of America Radio  
WDSU-TV 6 (New Orleans);  
Wire 48  
WKY-930AM(Oklahoma City)  
WWL-870 AM (New Orleans)  
WODT-AM (New Orleans)  
WQUE-93.3 FM/1280AM (New Orleans)  
WSB-TV 2 (Atlanta)

**Print**

Associated Press  
*Atlanta Journal-Constitution*  
*The Buffalo (NY) Evening News*  
*The Chicago Tribune*  
*Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*  
*The Daily Oklahoman*  
*The Economist*  
*The Financial Times* (London)  
*Fort Worth Star-Telegram*  
*Gambit Magazine*  
Gannett Syndicate  
*The Hill Newspaper*  
*The Huffington Report*  
*The Kiplinger Business Letter*  
*Los Angeles Times*  
*The McCarville Report*  
*The Montreal Gazette*

*National Catholic Reporter*  
*National Journal Hotline*  
*New Orleans Times-Picayune*  
*The New York Times*  
*The Norman Transcript*  
*The Oklahoma Daily*  
*The Oklahoma City Journal Record*  
*Oklahoma Gazette*  
*Pew Center for the States*  
*Politico.com*  
*Roll Call*  
*Salon.com Magazine*  
*San Francisco Chronicle*  
*Southern Political Report*  
*The Tulanian Magazine*  
*Tulsa World*  
*USAToday*  
*The Washington Post*  
*Washington Times*

**Special Contributions, Popular or Editorial Publications**

Special contribution to *Roll Call*, “Myths, Realities of Norwood’s VRA Amendment” July 13 2006.  
Special contribution to *SouthNow* magazine: “Oklahoma: The Republican Realignment Continues” Winter 2004/2005.  
Research profile in *USAToday Magazine*, “What if terrorists wipe out congress?” April, 2004.

**Regular Contributions, Popular or Editorial Publications and Broadcasts**

News contributor and analyst, KWTW-9 (CBS), October 2006-present  
News contributor, KGOU-106.3 FM (NPR), Norman, June 2006-present / three-time SPJ award winner for long-format radio (2008, 2009, 2010)  
Co-Host, “Tailgate Political Hour with Kyle and Keith”, KTLR 890AM, Oklahoma City, September 2006-June 2007  
Contributing editor, *The McCarville Report*, ([www.tmrcon.blogspot.com](http://www.tmrcon.blogspot.com)), December 2006-December 2007.  
Columnist, the *Oklahoma Gazette* (progressive weekly), October 2005-present  
News contributor/permanent guest host, WKY-930 AM (Citadel Broadcasting), Oklahoma City, July 2004-January 2006  
Weekly commentator, KTOK-1000 AM/ KTOK.com (Clear Channel), Oklahoma City, April-November 2004  
Webmaster and editor, *SoonerPolitics.com* (May 2004-May 2007)  
Columnist, *Southern Political Report/ InsiderAdvantage*, November 2005-January 2007

**PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES AND PUBLIC PRESENTATIONS**

**Editorial Boards**

Editorial Board, *Social Science Quarterly*, 1999-2010; editor (with Kelly R. Damphousse), 2010-present  
Editorial Board, *American Review of Politics*, 2002-  
Faculty Advisory Board, The University of Oklahoma Press, 2007-present

***Manuscript Reviewer***

*American Journal of Political Science; American Political Science Review, American Politics Quarterly; American Politics Research; American Review of Politics; Electoral Studies, Journal of Politics; Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, Legislative Studies Quarterly; Policy Studies Journal; Political Research Quarterly; Polity; Public Administration Review, Publius; Social Science Quarterly; Southeastern Political Review; Southern Economic Journal; State and Local Government Review; Western Political Quarterly; Women & Politics; Cambridge University Press; University Presses of Florida; State University of New York Press; MicroCase Publishers; University of Oklahoma Press; Addison Wesley Longman Press.*

***Program committees***

Southwestern Political Science Association, 1997, 2002  
Southern Political Science Association, 2000  
Southwestern Social Science Association, 1997-2000

***Panel Chair***

Midwest Political Science Association, 2000  
Oklahoma Political Science Association, 1999, 2000  
Southwestern Political Science Association, 1993, 1995, 2001, 2007  
Southern Political Science Association Meeting, 1995, 1998, 2001, 2005  
Conference on Women Transforming Congress, Carl Albert Center for Congressional Studies, 2000  
Moderator, McMahon Symposium, Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication, the University of Oklahoma, 2003

***Panel Discussant***

Southern Political Science Association, 2001, 2005, 2006  
Southwestern Political Science Association, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2007, 2008  
Citadel Symposium, 1994  
Midwestern Political Science Association, 2002, 2003, 2005  
American Political Science Association, 2002

***Roundtable participant***

Southwestern Political Science Association, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2007  
Southern Political Science Association Meeting, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2005

***Committee and Council Work***

President, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2007-2008  
President-Elect, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2006-2007  
Executive Council, Southwestern Social Science Association, 2007-2008, 2010-present  
Executive Committee, Southwestern Social Science Association, 2010-present  
Executive Council, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2001-2003  
Nominations Committee, Southwestern Social Science Association, 2001-2003

**Best Graduate Paper Award Committees:**

Southwestern Political Science Association, 1999-2000 (Chair), 2000-2001 (Chair)  
Southern Political Science Association (Malcolm Jewell Award) 1996-1997, 1999-2000 (Chair)  
Best Undergraduate Paper Award Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2007-08  
*V. O. Key Book Award Committee*, Southern Political Science Association, 2002, 2004, 2011  
*Pi Sigma Alpha Award Committee*, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2002  
Membership Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 1998-2001

Membership Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1998-present  
Allen Saxe Award Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2004 (Chair)  
Workshop Leader, Southwestern Social Science Association, 1998.

## **COMMUNITY SERVICE**

Oklahoma Intercollegiate Legislature Foundation, board member, 2010-  
PTA Volunteer, Roosevelt Elementary School, Norman, OK.  
Donor representative, Charles S. Bullock III Foundation Fund, University of Georgia, 1998-  
Habitat for Humanity Volunteer (August 1994-96)  
Irish Channel Neighborhood Watch; block captain (June 1993-June 1995)  
Riverside Homeowners Association (June 1993-June 1995)

## **UNIVERSITY SERVICE**

### ***University***

Faculty Advisor, university chapter of the Oklahoma Intercollegiate Legislature, 2010-  
Faculty Advisor, OU Bass Fishing Team (OU Anglers), 2007-2009  
Faculty Advisory Board, The University of Oklahoma Press, 2007-present  
University Athletics Council, University of Oklahoma, 2004-2006  
    Council Vice-Chair, 2005-2006  
    Chair, Committee on Gender Equity & Compliance, 2005-2006  
Campus Faculty Appeals Committee, 2004-  
Campus Tenure Committee, University of Oklahoma, 2003-2004, 2007-10 (chair, 2008-2010)  
Campus Disciplinary Council, University of Oklahoma, 1997- 2003  
Faculty Senate Committee on Committees, University of Oklahoma, 2003-2006  
Campus Departmental Review Panel, Office of the Provost, University of Oklahoma, 2003-2004  
Freshman Faculty Mentor, The University of Oklahoma, 1999-2000  
"Adopt-a-faculty" program, Jones House/ Sooner Center, University of Oklahoma, 1997-1998  
University Conflict of Interest Advisory Committee, University of Oklahoma, 1997-99, 2001-03

### ***College***

College of Arts and Sciences Academic Misconduct Board, 1998-2000, 2001-

### ***Department/Unit***

Committee 'A' (departmental executive committee), 2010-2012  
Chair, Special Committee for Promotion and Tenure Criteria, 2008-2009  
ICPSR Representative, July 2000-May 2002, January 2003-  
Faculty advisor, University of Oklahoma Public Opinion Learning Laboratory, August 1999-July 2004  
Graduate Studies Committee, Department of Political Science, University of Oklahoma 1997-  
Chair, Graduate Placement Committee, Department of Political Science, 1997- 2002  
Chair, Departmental Computerization Task Force, Department of Political Science, 1996-1997  
Cortez A.M. Ewing Fellowship selection committee, Department of Political Science University of Oklahoma,  
    1996-1997, 1998-1999, 1999-2000  
Undergraduate Studies Committee, Department of Political Science, University of Oklahoma 1996-1997.  
Writing Team Head, Savannah River Site Minority Risk Perception Project, Consortium for Environmental Risk  
    Evaluation, February 1995-April 1996.  
Faculty Liaison, Consortium for Environmental Risk Evaluation, Tulane University Medical Center, November

1994-June 1996.

Resident Graduate Assistant (Football), University of Georgia Athletic Department, 1989-1990  
Tutor, Student Mentor, Georgia Athletic Association, University of Georgia, 1991-1992

## **CONSULTING**

Strickland, Brockington and Lewis LLP, for the state of Georgia, July 2011-present  
Lee Slater Law Office (Oklahoma City) for the Oklahoma State Senate, July 2011-present  
Holtzman Vogel PLLC (Washington DC) for the Louisiana House of Representatives, April 2011-present  
Mayer Brown & Associates (Chicago) for the Illinois Congressional Republicans, January 2011-present  
Michael, Best & Friedrich LLP (Madison) for the Wisconsin General Assembly & Senate, April 2011-present  
Gulf County, Florida, March-June 2011.  
Schirott, Luetkehans & Garner, P.C., for the Illinois Senate Republicans, June 2010-present  
Tripp Scott Attorneys at Law, on behalf of the Florida Senate, July 2010-January 2011  
Gray Robinson P.A. on behalf of the Florida House of Representatives, July 2010-January 2011  
Lynn Tollitson Pinker Cox LLP, for plaintiffs in *Lepak et al. v. City of Irving, Texas*, June 2010-present.  
Strickland, Brockington and Lewis LLP, for the state of Georgia, August 2007  
Piscionere & Nemarow, P.C., on behalf of Village of Port Chester, New York, December 2006-June 2007  
Mountain States Legal Foundation, on behalf of Fremont County, Wyoming, October 2006- February 2007  
L'Abbate, Balkan, Colavita & Contini LLP on behalf of Osceola County and the City of Kissimmee, November 2005-July 2006  
Office of the Attorney General of Oklahoma (pro bono consultation), September 2005  
The Blum-Thernstrom Project on Fair Representation, through the National Research Initiative at the American Enterprise Institute, July 2005-present  
Gunderson, Palmer, Goodsell, & Nelson, LLP, for Charles Mix County, South Dakota, March 2005-present; for the City of Martin, SD, September 2003-July 2004  
US Representative Ernest Istook, Oklahoma's 5<sup>th</sup> District, July 2004  
Speaker Pro Tempore of the Georgia Senate and Georgia State Republican Party, September 2003-January 2004  
Office of the Attorney General, State of Texas, June 2003-January 2004  
Office of the Attorney General, the Commonwealth of Virginia, April 2002-August 2003  
Kankakee County, Ill., County Commission, September 2002-December 2002  
Bexar County (TX) Republican Party, June 2002-December 2002  
Speaker, Oklahoma House of Representatives and President Pro Temp, Oklahoma Senate, February-June 2002  
Wisconsin General Assembly and Senate Minority Caucus, January-May 2002  
Office of Governor Gary Johnson, New Mexico, November 2001-January 2002  
Texas Republican Congressional Delegation, July 2001-November 2001  
Oklahoma Indigent Defense System, July 1999-October 1999  
Mayor Marc Morial's Transition Task Force on the Environment, City of New Orleans, March-May 1994  
The Atlanta *Journal-Constitution*, April 1992-December 1992 (Statistical consultant)  
The Pardue for Congress Committee, April-July 1992 (Strategist/pollster) Democratic candidate for Georgia congressional district 10

## **Expert Testimony**

*Lepak et al. v. City of Irving, Texas*, 3:10-cv-0277-P (Northern District of Texas), June 7 2010  
*U.S. v. Village of Port Chester, NY* No. 06 Civ. 15173 (Southern District of New York). February 22, 2007  
*Large et. al v. Fremont County, Wyoming*, No. 05-CV-270J (D.Wy.) February 8, 2007.  
*United States v. Osceola County, Florida*, (6:05-cv-1053-ORL-3,1 United States Federal Court for the Middle District of Florida, June 22 2006).  
*Hearings of the US Senate Judiciary Committee, on the Renewal of the Section 5 Voting Rights Act*, Washington,

DC, May 16 2006.

*Hearings of the US House of Representatives Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on the Constitution, on the Renewal of the Section 5 Voting Rights Act*, Washington, DC, October 25 2005.

*Briefing of the US Commission on Civil Rights on the Renewal of the Voting Rights Act*, Washington, DC, October 7 2005.

*Larios v. Cox* (1:03-CV-0693 United States Federal Court for the Northern District of Georgia, January 2004).

*Sessions v. Perry* (2:03-CV-354, United States Federal Court for the Eastern District of Texas, 2003, by deposition admitted as direct testimony, December 2003).

Public hearing of the Committee on Jurisprudence, Texas Senate, Austin Texas, July 24, 2003.

*Armstrong v. Taylor et al.*, (State Court of Oklahoma for Oklahoma County, 2002)

*Jensen & Panzer v. State Election Board* (Case No. 01-C-121 United States Federal Court for the Eastern District of Wisconsin, 2002)

*Michael Jepsen, et al., v. Rebecca Vigil-Jiron, et al.* (CV-2001-2177, Second Judicial District Court, County of Bernalillo, State of New Mexico, 2001-2002, Congressional and State House phases)

*Balderas, et al v. Perry et al.* (6:01-CV-158, United States Federal District Court for the Eastern District of Texas, 2001)

*Del Rio v. Perry* (GN003665 353d Judicial Circuit of Texas, 2001)

## REFERENCES

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