IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

COMMON CAUSE, *et al.*,	)	
	)	
Plaintiffs,	)	
	)	
v.	)	
	)	CIVIL ACTION
ROBERT A. RUCHO, in his official	)	NO. 1:16-CV-1026-WO-JEP
capacity as Chairman of the North	)	
Carolina Senate Redistricting Committee	)	THREE-JUDGE COURT
for the 2016 Extra Session and Co-	)	
Chairman of the Joint Select Committee	)	
on Congressional Redistricting, *et al.*,	)	
	)	
Defendants.	)	

League of Women Voters of North	)	
Carolina, *et al.,*	)	
	)	
Plaintiffs,	)	
	)	
v.	)	
	)	CIVIL ACTION
Robert A. Rucho, in his official capacity	)	NO. 1:16-CV-1164-WO-JEP
as Chairman of the North Carolina	)	
Senate Redistricting Committee for the	)	THREE-JUDGE COURT
2016 Extra Session and Co-Chairman of	)	
the 2016 Joint Select Committee on	)	
Congressional Redistricting, *et al.*,	)	
	)	
Defendants.	)	
	)	

James G. Gimpel, under penalty of perjury, makes the following declaration:

Expert Report of

James G. Gimpel, Ph.D.

I am a Professor of Political Science in the Department of Government at the University of Maryland, College Park.   I received a Ph.D. in political science at the University of Chicago in 1990. My areas of specialization include political behavior, political geography, geographic information systems (GIS), state politics, population mobility and immigration.   Publications include papers in well-regarded peer reviewed political science journals (*AJPS, APSR, JoP, QJPS*), journals in other social science fields, as well as several books relating to the same topics.

Focus of Research and Overview

On March 9, I was asked by the defendants in this case to respond to expert reports by the plaintiffs dated March 1, on North Carolina's present congressional redistricting plan, passed into law by the North Carolina legislature in 2016, and under which the 2016 congressional elections were carried out.   I begin by reviewing the values and redistricting criteria commonly used by state legislatures to draw legislative districts.   These criteria commonly conflict with each other, creating challenges for any would-be mapmaker. There is no perfect map that optimizes the value of all of the measures now incorporated into the redistricting process. Automated map drawing might reveal redistricting options much more quickly than a well-trained professional can use GIS software to draw the maps one-at-a-time, assessing each one *seriatim*, but the automated tools still fail to produce a problem-free map, insulated from credible legal challenge (Browdy 1990; Cho and Liu 2016). Those charged with the task of drawing, then approving, district boundaries inevitably weigh some priorities more heavily than others, some criteria must take precedence, and these decisions are inherently value laden and political, not within the capacity of technical expertise to decide.   Technical experts can readily proliferate the

number of plans to consider, but nothing about their expertise leads inexorably to the conclusion that one map is best.

The expert reports by the plaintiffs use a variety of measures to show that the North Carolina 2016 districts have a Republican tilt, though this could be argued to be an incumbency protection plan, rather than a "Republican" plan, per se.   In showing a Republican advantage, the plaintiffs' experts have gone to considerable effort to confirm what is quite obvious to visual inspection and a few minutes of data analysis.   Present GOP officeholders are advantaged somewhat by the 2016 map, though the sitting Democrats are as well. Legislators involved in *drawing* the maps, along with allied Republican observers called upon to comment, have admitted in various forums that the 2016 map exhibits a partisan tilt specifically designed to protect current members (Tomsic and Rumsey 2016; Savage 2016; Myrick 2017). Although maps with a less partisan tilt could have been drawn, as the plaintiff's experts have shown, it is just as easy to show that maps with an equal or greater partisan bias could also have been drawn, depending on what other redistricting criteria are prioritized.

Finally, I show that when attempting to provide for the likely election of two African American candidates by grouping African American voters into districts, it becomes considerably more difficult to design a redistricting plan that is evenly competitive between the two major parties in the remaining districts.   Some partisan tilt in a Republican direction is going to be the result of a redistricting plan that ensures descriptive representation for the state's racial/ethnic minorities in two of the thirteen districts Finally, on the way to reaching these conclusions, I also raise questions about some of the ambiguities present in the plaintiff's expert reports, such as the definition of "reasonable maps," as well as raising other questions about the measures used, and the example maps that are presented.

Redistricting Principles in Conflict

By now it is no secret that the goals of redistricting frequently run counter to one another, creating trade-offs that are impossible to resolve in the absence of a consensus on priorities (Butler and Cain 1992, Chap 4; Niemi and Deegan 1978). The desirable features of congressional districts encompass both geographic (and geometric) features, as well as those thought to achieve the goal of fairness. Among the familiar geographic aspects are: contiguity and compactness, which need little explanation. To these is frequently added consistency or congruity with past districts, certainly to the extent possible. One would not switch a district from one side of the state to the other, or from a dense core city, to a sparsely settled rural area. In the redistricting process, new map drawing almost always begins with the implicit restrictions imposed by the boundaries of the previous map, not by throwing it out and starting from scratch. This desire for continuity is an important constraint, even if it is "understood" rather than expressly identified in legislated language. In many cases the demand to have districts consistent with past mappings is also in the service of the related aspiration to preserve "territorial community" (Stephanopoulos 2012) or ensuring that a map recognizes and preserves communities of shared interest (Forest 2004).

Among the fairness criteria are very well established principles such as equality of numbers, or certainly *near* equality. Under redistricting cases since the 1960s, this fairness doctrine has been interpreted consistent with Section 2 of the 14th Amendment to mean equality across the *whole* number of persons; not just those of voting age, those who are registered to vote, or those who identify with a political party. For practical reasons it is sometimes difficult to come by exact equality, but large deviations from equality are not desirable, except in cases in which several small states receive a singular representative in the U.S. House in spite of having considerably fewer people than the average House district elsewhere.

Other fairness criteria include minority descriptive representation, proportionality of seats with votes, and competitiveness of individual elections – presumably assured by drawing districts that encompass approximately even shares of identifiers with the two major political parties. The fairness goals are commonly in conflict with each other, and also with the geometric criteria.

Minority descriptive representation is understood to mean that minority, mainly African American and Latino, populations, should have a reasonably sure chance to elect someone from their own racial/ethnic group. Minorities should not be spread so thinly across districts that they have no opportunity to elect one of their own though bloc voting. Ensuring that African Americans and Latinos have an ability to elect an African American or Latino candidate, under circumstances of racially polarized voting, has been deemed necessary to achieving this end by assorted judgments under the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended in 1982. The challenge in some states, however, is to place ethnic minority voters in sufficiently concentrated pockets to further descriptive representation, without hindering the achievement of other important goals.

Given the close association of race and ethnicity with party identification, when African Americans and Latinos are grouped into geographic blocs within districts they are removed from having influence on the outcome of elections in the adjacent districts. The benefit of the majority-minority districts is descriptive representation for black and Latino voters. The cost is that other nearby districts are likely to be less politically competitive without the presence of those voters to support Democratic candidates. With a sufficiently large minority population share, coupled with multiple districts promoting descriptive representation, the remaining seats could well become safe, or at least *safer*, for the opposing party, distancing the seat share from the vote share. This is the sense in which the goals of descriptive representation and efficiency come into direct conflict.

Fairness criteria also regularly conflict with the requirement to hold together communities of interest that have formed over the course of state history. There is no universal agreement on what

makes a community-of-interest, probably because these vary with the unique histories of states. These communities of interest are sometimes conceived of as smaller official jurisdictions with well-defined boundaries such as counties or municipalities. In North Carolina for drawing the 2016 map, communities of interest were defined as counties, with the goal of keeping counties whole within congressional districts. This makes sense as counties are governing bodies in their own right, with elected commissioners (ranging from 3 to 9 in membership), a sheriff, a register of deeds and a clerk of court. Counties have taxing power, and other public boards are organized on a countywide basis, including those that supervise elections, alcoholic beverages, social services and schools. Importantly, North Carolina counties also fund public schools. Moreover, North Carolinians are known to identify with their counties as places they originate from and dwell. They are not arbitrary lines drawn on a map, but have come to constitute discrete locations with well-recognized qualities, social attachments and affiliations.

Preventing county splits is not the only possible way to measure the preservation of communities of interest. A state legislature is certainly entitled to look at other notions. Many communities of interest have an economic thrust, such as ports, military installations, or commercial hubs. Indian reservations and other areas of racial, ethnic and cultural importance may make reasonable claims to having a common interest. These places are frequently without official boundary lines, but are well-known to local residents and officeholders who carry about a unique local expertise an insular map drawer will lack. A powerful argument in favor of state legislative involvement in the redistricting process is the impressive amount of local knowledge legislators amass in living out their lives in a particular place, running for office, and serving a particular geographic constituency over a period of time. A high level of local knowledge is required to develop the kind of following that insulates a legislator from adverse electoral swings. But this same kind of knowledge is what uniquely enables legislators to draw maps encompassing interests known to belong together, as a territorial

community, rather than woodenly applying principles that would divide them, hampering the expression

of common goals.

This kind of familiarity recognizes important community-level details unknown and often

unknowable to the redistricting consultant; how neighborhoods relate to one another, how roadways

and waterways separate communities psychologically not just physically, and other delimiters that

distinguish interests that cannot be easily mapped relying on available boundary files.   Typically, a

redistricting consultant will gloss over communities of interest, not having the local expertise about

what to include and what to discount.   A state legislator, however, is apt to know every strip mall;

ethnic restaurant; road construction project; pipeline; water tower; neighborhood association; grain

elevator; intersection; power plant, and garbage dump.   Not all of these features are going to be

relevant to drawing boundaries, and clearly not everywhere, which is why a GIS specialist would not be

inclined to collect this information on a statewide basis.   Drawing upon local knowledge, however, on a

district-by-district basis, this kind of information can identify a community of interest invisible to

outsiders, but obvious to everyone occupying local ground.

Race-based districts aside, it takes little imagination to understand how achieving

competitiveness is frequently at odds with the goal of preserving communities of interest.   The

mountain region of Western North Carolina bordering Tennessee is well recognized as a historical and

cultural region distinctive from the rest of the state.   The region is sufficiently unique that longstanding

residents even have a characteristic accent with accompanying expressions not heard elsewhere.   Given

that the politics of the inhabitants of this region has developed hand-in-hand with their other cultural

attributes, it is extremely difficult, if current party allegiances endure, to create a competitive

congressional district west of Mecklenburg County (Charlotte) that doesn't encircle major parts of

Charlotte itself.   This difficulty also arises in other parts of the state given the way political party loyalty

is expressed in present day settlement.

Finally, fairness criteria are often in conflict with the goal of maintaining stability and continuity in representation.   Sometimes this value is also known as incumbency protection, and cynically characterized as allowing politicians to pick their voters, but there are principled arguments for wanting to draw districts favorable to the reelection of officeholders.   Among them is the desire for continuity in a state's congressional delegation, perhaps because a state is well served by the accruing seniority of its delegation in the U.S. House of Representatives.   A state, through its legislature and governor, is in an authoritative position to decide if the promotion of incumbency through the redistricting process better serves state interests than having seats that can potentially change hands with even tiny shifts in public opinion.   Redistricting maps that take the partisan tilt of districts into consideration are usually aimed at the goal of incumbency protection, though it is also unclear from existing research just how much redistricting contributes to promoting incumbency given that incumbents also have other advantages (McCarty, Poole and Rosenthal 2009; Abramowitz, Alexander and Gunning 2006).

On the 2016 Map Having a Partisan Tilt

The plaintiff's experts go to considerable effort to show that in comparison to other possible maps, the 2016 map adopted by the North Carolina legislature is the result of a partisan gerrymander. From one point of view, this is not really worth disputing, and not worth the cost of their reports. From another point of view, one has to ask, "partisan compared with what?" Have all of the reasonable possible maps been considered in the set utilized as their baselines for comparison?   Arguing both of these points, first one, then the other, is not a contradiction given the precedent set by previous rounds of redistricting in North Carolina and other states.

First, in response to the goal of incumbency protection, Republicans and Democrats now and in the past have insisted that this is a reasonable goal of redistricting and perfectly within the law. Longstanding practice dating to the founding period shows support for the goal of incumbency

protection as a value in the redistricting process.   Whether a legislature seeks primarily to protect the seniority and institutional power of its officeholders in Congress, or seeks to maintain a strong bond between incumbents and constituents, these are legitimate choices states are entitled to make.   Maps designed consistent with these choices are, or should be considered, "reasonable" maps.   So too should maps that produce a partisan tilt inadvertently in the pursuit of other goals, such as the likely election of African American candidates, or the desire to maintain communities of interest.   After all, partisan advantage can be an inadvertent result of the straightforward adoption of redistricting criteria that maximize other goals.   In the creation of majority-minority districts, for example, the concentration of black voters to create something like a 40 to 50 percent majority population in one or a few districts, will exclude those populations from casting votes in adjacent districts which may go more Republican as a result of the present relationship between party identification and race.   But ensuring the election of black and Latino representatives may be judged to be well worth tilting neighboring districts in a direction disadvantageous to one party or the other.   Maps that accomplished the goal of ensuring black descriptive representation, as many state maps did in the 1990, 2000 and 2010 rounds of redistricting, were certainly not considered unreasonable maps at the time they were adopted, nor are they considered unreasonable in the states where they exist now.

Critics of incumbency protection as a redistricting goal suggest that by protecting incumbents map drawers are undermining accountability, thwarting the election process, and heightening polarization (Issacharoff 2002).   These charges have been met by studies showing that such negative effects have been hard to detect (Persily 2002).   In the particular cycles where competition for House seats did ebb, redistricting was not the culprit; challengers find it hard to unseat incumbents independently of how districts are drawn (Abramowitz, Alexander and Gunning 2006; Poole, McCarty and Rosenthal 2009).   Moreover, even long-term incumbents behave as though their electoral fortunes are insecure, and with no evidence of slack or lethargy being offered as evidence of a supposed

life of ease.   As for claims that redistricting for incumbency protection enhances polarization, the claim

has been investigated and found to be lacking, probably because the sources of polarization lie at the

institutional level more than in the Congressional constituency (McCarty, Poole and Rosenthal 2009).

Incumbency may be of momentous value to a state or constituency therein for the greater

institutional power and influence it conveys.   Incumbency buys, among other goods, confidence in

advocating for state and constituency causes; familiarity with institutional processes; seniority within a

party caucus and on congressional committees; relationships with other legislators and influencers;

comprehension of other institutions of national government; expertise in working with the bureaucracy;

awareness of constituency interests; and the amassing of other formal and informal resources for

accomplishing constituency-oriented goals.

It was surely in the service of incumbency protection concerns that the Democratic state

legislature enacted a redistricting plan in 1991 that secured the seats of a number of incumbents in the

subsequent elections. Not only did the legislature create a new safe seat in the highly litigated 12th

District, but also sought to protect six other Democrats holding seats at the time, as the delegation was

divided 8D to 4R (1991-93) and remained 8D to 4R after redistricting (1993-95).   The territory

encompassed by the new 1st Congressional District is an area of traditional African American settlement

dating to the antebellum era. This district was drawn so single-party Democratic, it awarded Bill Clinton

61 percent of the vote in 1992, in a three-way race.

In the 2001 round of redistricting, a Democratic legislature again controlled the redistricting

process, maintaining the 12th District in the hands of incumbent Mel Watt, and succeeding in 2002 in

protecting four other Democrats, electing a new Democratic candidate to the 1st District replacing a

retiree, and electing a Democrat to the newly created 13th District.   Notably, all seven Republican

incumbents running in 2002 also won reelection.   In 2004, all incumbents running were reelected, and

the two Republican seats where members retired were held by Republicans.   In 2006, a year in which

Democratic tides ran strong, all incumbents were reelected save one, a Republican in the 11th District, defeated by a four point margin.   As noted above, there are alternative explanations for high incumbency reelection rates aside from redistricting, but nothing in the districts that were drawn for 2002 did anything to submerge incumbency protection as a value.

The 2002 redistricting map and its redistricting-related properties are set forth in Figure 1 and the accompanying Table 1.   For comparison purposes, throughout, I rely on averaging the Republican percentage of the vote for elections running from 2004 to 2010 across a number of statewide offices as well as the 2004 and 2008 presidential elections.   There is no bright-line cutoff for when a district becomes safe for either party, but highlighted in boldface in the table are those districts that meet or exceed an average of 53 percent of the vote for Republicans.   Though it's a somewhat arbitrary delineation, districts falling between 47 and 53 percent of the vote are understood as competitive between the parties.   To make easier comparisons with the 2012 and 2016 maps, I also use 2010 data for the white and black populations in Table 1.

In summary, the results show that the 2002 districts in Figure 1 produced five safe Republican districts, six safe Democratic districts, and three competitive seats. There are two seats with African American populations between 40 and 50 percent, sufficient to ensure that black candidates can get elected in Districts 1 and 12, even under circumstances of low turnout.

The 2012 Map is substantially continuous with the 2002 version (see Figure 2; Table 2) as one would expect it to be given the tendency of state legislatures to respect previous boundaries.   The 2012 map maintained, for example, Districts 1 and 12, as majority or nearly-majority black.   District 4 changed so as to protect the Democratic incumbent even further there.   The ten remaining seats
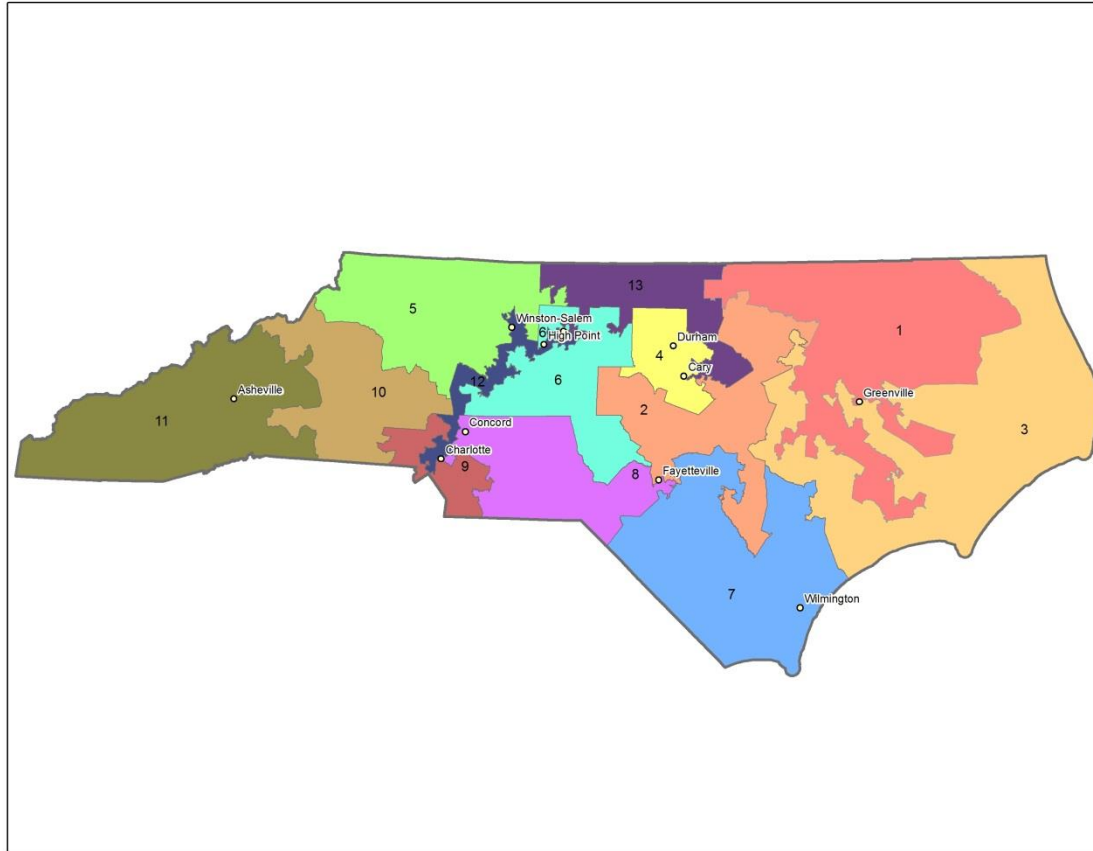
Figure 1 NC Congressional District Map 2002

Table 1. 2002 District Characteristics					
District	**% White**	**% Black**	**% Hispanic**	**% BlackVAP**	**% Rep**
1	44.2	**50.6**	5.2	**48.0**	34.6
2	60.8	29.1	12.6	27.4	46.9
3	75.5	17.9	7.4	15.9	**58.0**
4	66.9	20.3	9.1	19.0	41.4
5	85.2	8.8	6.7	7.7	**59.8**
6	82.5	10.9	6.8	9.7	**62.5**
7	63.5	22.9	7.0	20.9	48.2
8	58.3	29.9	11.6	27.2	46.5
9	75.6	16.1	8.2	14.2	**58.1**
10	84.7	9.6	5.5	8.4	**61.0**
11	89.1	4.8	5.6	3.9	50.9
12	42.5	**45.4**	12.2	**42.9**	31.9
13	60.3	29.8	10.6	27.4	42.3
% Black is 'Any Part Black' in the redistricting data for 2010. VAP indicates Voting Age Population.					

Compactness	.11
Pop. Mean Dev.	6.16
County Splits	32
Efficiency Gap (pct)	14.8
Efficiency Gap	1.9
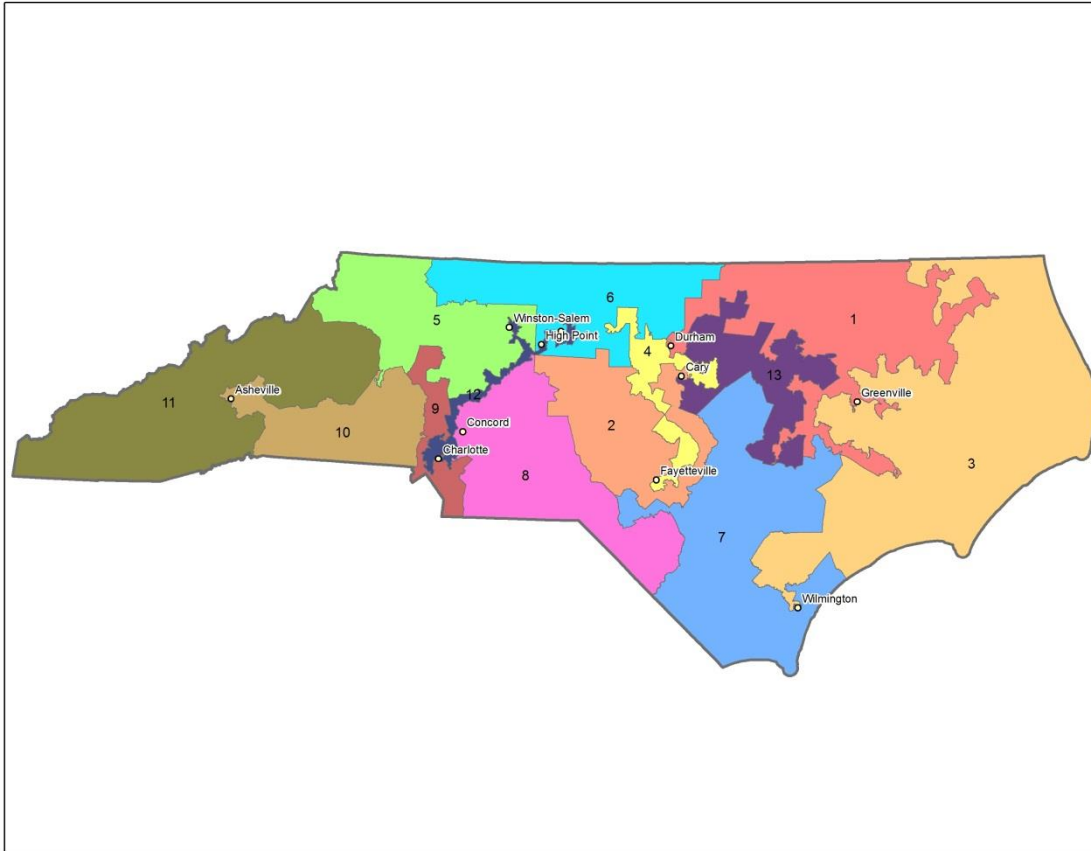
Figure 2 NC Congressional District Map 2012

Table 2. 2012 District Characteristics					
District	**% White**	**% Black**	**% Hispanic**	**% BlackVAP**	**% Rep**
1	38.2	**54.0**	8.0	**51.3**	28.3
2	71.3	17.8	10.6	15.9	**55.5**
3	73.5	20.7	6.4	18.5	**53.0**
4	53.1	34.0	11.6	30.7	30.9
5	79.3	13.3	8.2	11.8	**57.2**
6	78.4	15.5	5.7	14.3	**55.3**
7	72.2	18.3	9.3	17.0	**54.1**
8	65.9	19.7	8.4	18.0	**54.7**
9	78.1	13.4	7.6	11.9	**58.2**
10	82.2	12.5	5.6	10.8	**55.7**
11	90.0	3.7	5.4	3.0	**56.1**
12	33.6	**52.5**	14.2	**49.6**	24.3
13	73.9	18.3	8.0	16.9	**55.5**
% Black is 'Any Part Black' in the redistricting data for 2010. VAP indicates Voting Age Population.					

Compactness	.08
Pop. Mean Dev.	.27
County Splits	50
Efficiency Gap (pct)	16.3
Efficiency Gap	2.1

either leaned or were safely Republican, favoring incumbency protection but also in response to the challenge of producing competitive districts when a large share of African American voters are grouped together to promote descriptive representation.

The alterations that produced the 2016 Map (see Figure 3; Table 3) lowered the share of the African American population in Districts 1, 4 and 12.   The African American population was more widely distributed across the remaining North Carolina districts, having the most notable effect of making Districts 7 and 13 more evenly divided by political party preference.

There are no surprises to be revealed in any of these three maps.   They have been studied extensively and their plusses and minuses are well understood.   What has been summarized here is a straightforward description of the facts plainly evident from ordinary inspection.   No elaborate and decorative calculations are necessary to show what these maps plainly show.

In summary, these plans are a reflection of the traditional legislative priority given to continuity with past districts, incumbency protection and descriptive representation, above other values.   The 2016 map does the best job balancing continuity, incumbency protection, descriptive representation with a demand for competitiveness.   When considering other redistricting criteria, such as protecting communities of interest as gauged by county splits, the 2016 map is clearly superior to the previous two, dividing only 13 counties.   The 2016 Map also has a lower efficiency gap (% popular vote - % seats), of course depending upon the standard used to identify party preference.   Using 2008 measures of party preference from the hard fought statewide elections that year, the 2016 map "wastes" fewer votes than either the 2012 or 2002 plans, providing a better balance between votes cast and seats held.   Even so, the efficiency gap is highly questionable as an indicator of political distortion, since "wasted votes" can result from many sources, not just artful boundary drawing.   If an evaluation hangs on using this measure, however, 2016's map performs admirably compared to the others.
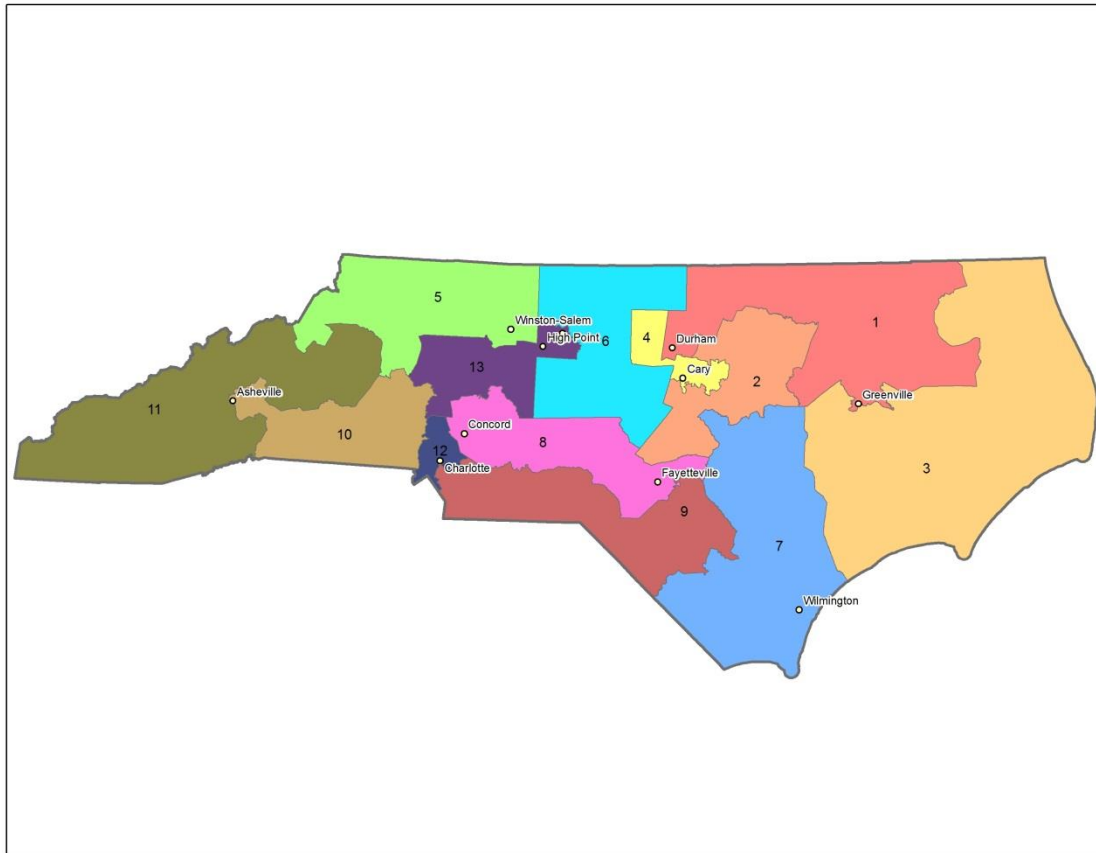
Figure 3 NC Congressional Districts 2016

	Table 3. 2016 District Characteristics				
District	**% White**	**% Black**	**% Hispanic**	**% BlackVAP**	**% Rep**
1	45.4	**46.5**	8.0	**43.8**	32.0
2	71.7	20.3	8.8	19.2	**55.2**
3	71.4	22.7	6.5	20.7	**53.4**
4	62.1	24.1	10.3	21.7	38.2
5	77.3	15.0	8.8	13.6	**54.7**
6	71.5	20.8	9.2	19.4	**53.0**
7	70.3	21.5	8.9	19.9	51.6
8	67.1	24.2	9.0	21.7	**53.7**
9	64.5	20.4	7.1	19.1	**53.7**
10	81.8	12.9	5.6	11.3	**56.0**
11	89.7	3.8	5.6	3.0	**55.0**
12	47.8	**38.4**	14.0	**35.3**	36.0
13	69.5	22.5	7.1	20.6	51.9

% Black is 'Any Part Black' in the redistricting data for 2010.
VAP indicates Voting Age Population.

Compactness	.26
Pop. Mean Dev.	.15
County Splits	13
Efficiency Gap (pct)	7.6
Efficiency Gap	1.0

In fact, the 2016 map seems to do a better job along several dimensions than the Judges' map, discussed in Professor Mattingly's report for the plaintiffs. This map and an accompanying table of descriptive statistics is shown in Figure 4, below. The result in terms of partisan leaning suggests the likelihood of four Republican seats, four safe Democratic seats, and perhaps five evenly competitive seats. This is certainly a reasonable map if competitiveness is the preeminent goal of redistricting. Notably, though, the Judges' map does not do as well as the 2016 map at balancing seats and votes gauged by the efficiency gap. More importantly, the Judges' map clearly sacrifices descriptive representation in the effort to heighten competition. The largest African American bloc in any district drops to 43 percent. A Charlotte-centered district (9) is created with a 35 percent African American share. Black voters could easily lose voice in low turnout, off-year elections, quite aside from persistently low-turnout Democratic primaries.

Maps that produce competitive districts are not difficult to draw. The more difficult challenge is to incorporate other important goals in drawing them. In the appendix to this report, Figures A1-A4 display example maps all focused on producing competitive districts. Like the Judges' map, they do so first and foremost by sacrificing descriptive representation, distributing African American voters across other districts in order to erode any Republican edge. Example Map 3, in Figure A1, leaves three Republican districts, four Democratic districts, and six competitive districts. At the same time, this map does poorly on the efficiency gap measure, like the Judges' map. It also splits many counties, doing poorly on this admittedly simplistic operationalization of the communities of interest concept.

Example Map 5, shown in Figure A2, also predicts competitive outcomes, with three Republican seats, four Democratic seats, and six districts evenly divided. Though this map does well to avoid splitting counties, dropping the number to just 22, it does very poorly on the efficiency gap measure. This map also allows the African American population to rise above 30 percent in only one district, District 8 (where District 1 is presently), endangering the goal of descriptive representation.
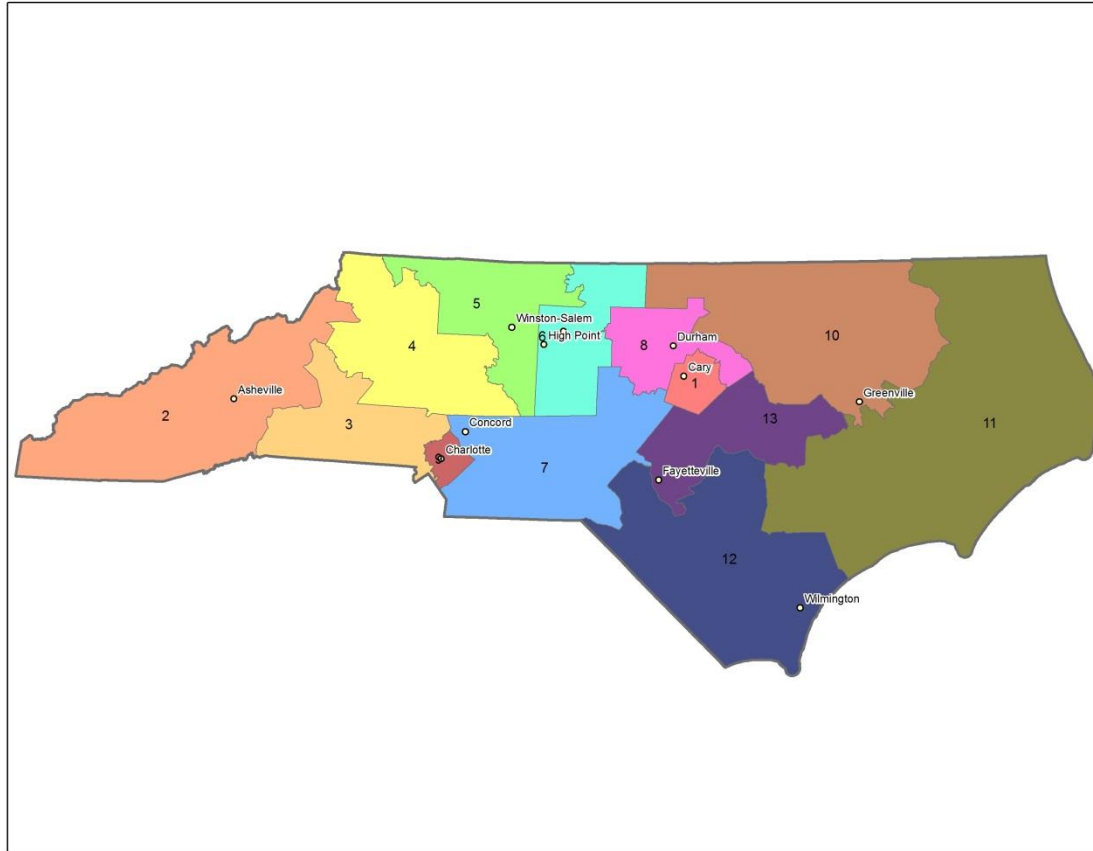
Figure 4. NC Congressional Districts as Proposed by Judges' Map

Table 4. Judges District Characteristics					
District	**% White**	**% Black**	**% Hispanic**	**% BlackVAP**	**% Rep**
1	65.8	21.8	9.8	19.9	45.2
2	89.9	4.1	5.5	3.3	51.5
3	78.2	15.4	6.5	13.7	**57.1**
4	83.8	9.9	6.6	8.8	**61.7**
5	74.8	17.1	9.3	15.7	**54.9**
6	65.0	26.9	7.4	24.8	48.6
7	73.6	18.1	9.5	16.7	**57.4**
8	61.6	26.7	11.2	24.8	38.0
9	52.1	34.9	12.5	32.0	40.7
10	51.8	**42.9**	5.4	**40.6**	40.6
11	70.7	22.8	7.5	20.9	52.8
12	62.9	22.2	7.2	20.3	47.7
13	60.1	30.5	10.8	28.1	49.6
% Black is 'Any Part Black' in the redistricting data for 2010. VAP indicates Voting Age Population.					

Compactness	.35
Pop. Mean Dev.	.07
County Splits	12
Efficiency Gap (pct)	16.2
Efficiency Gap	2.1

Example Map 8 (Figure A3) produces four Republican seats, three Democratic seats, and six evenly divided by partisan preference.   The district does boost the African American percentages in three districts above 30 percent, but they are each barely over that threshold.   This map does a better job minimizing wasted votes as measured by the efficiency gap, but it also splits 42 counties, largely failing to preserve communities of interest.

Finally, Map 9 (Figure A4) is the best plan of all in creating the largest number of competitive districts.   Seven districts lie in the competitive interval between 47 and 53 percent.   Two Republican-tilted districts reach or exceed 55 percent.   The final four of these districts lean in a Democratic direction.   Predictably, however, these results come with a clear threat to descriptive representation for African Americans.   This map is also the worst of the four in that it splits 42 counties, and also exhibits a high efficiency gap.

Trade-offs – these maps are about the thorny trade-offs involved in redistricting.   Not even mentioned in this part of the discussion is the reasonable goal of stability and continuity in representation and how these maps threaten the seniority and status of North Carolina's congressional delegation.   Nor has there been an investigation of how the Judges' map, or these other example maps, may divide communities of interest at a meaningful level of granularity well below the scale of counties.

Any college freshman with a few software tools can proliferate maps, tens-of-thousands of them.   Contemporary computing technology makes district drawing a mass production enterprise.   But who should be charged with evaluating the alternative plans for their 'goodness'?   That's not a judgment experts are capable of making because technological tools can't establish the priority of values (Cho and Liu 2016).   Historically, people have set value priorities in redistricting through their elected representatives.

Map Drawing with Removal of African American Population Centers

So far, this effort has focused on showing that the Judges' map, and maps like it, might do very well at producing competitive districts, but do less well at fulfilling other redistricting goals. One way to reinforce this point is to make an effort to draw competitive districts dropping out voter tabulation districts with African American populations that are included in majority-minority districts, or districts where minorities closely approach a majority. Since time is short for producing this report, one might accomplish this quickly by removing from the map Districts 1 and 12 (from 2012) from the effort to draw new districts. Looking first at 2012 is a reasonable place to start since it was with the 2012 plan that the North Carolina General Assembly had to begin from in creating the 2016 plan. Knowing that they had to uphold the value of descriptive representation, and valuing continuity with previous plans, it is reasonable to expect legislators to have separated large parts of Districts 1 and 12 from their efforts to redraw the rest of the state's districts. As I have already implied above, this was not an easy task, even if the measurement of concepts like competitiveness and party preference go unquestioned.

Just as it has been shown above how the goal of drawing competitive districts puts descriptive representation at risk, when we remove the two traditionally African American districts from the map completely, the remaining districts exhibit a decidedly more Republican tilt. The reports by Professors Mattingly and Chen boast of how they can draw competitive maps when they are free to manipulate the geography of African American settlement, distributing and redistributing these voters as they please, as if dealing out randomly shuffled cards. But hold those African American districts intact, consistent with past boundaries, and it becomes much more challenging to produce eleven competitive districts in the rest of the state.

To illustrate with the Judges' map Table 5 tabulates the district characteristics for this plan after removing all of the VTDs that comprised Districts 1 and 12 from the 2012 map. Once the VTDs that constituted Districts 1 and 12 (from 2012) are removed, Republicans have a solid margin in seven

districts on the Judges' map, a slight edge in two more, and Democrats have only one safe seat, with one

that leans their way. The two remaining seats are more even by party preference.   Elections under

such a plan could easily produce ten or eleven Republicans across thirteen districts; or nine Republicans

across eleven   -- either way the remaining seats after extracting the turf encompassed by Districts 1 and

12 become less competitive.   This quick exercise was only for purposes of illustrating the trade-off that

Table 5. Judges District Characteristics Removing 2012 Districts 1 and 12					
District	% White	% Black	% Hispanic	% BlackVAP	% Rep
1	65.8	21.8	9.8	19.9	45.2
2	89.9	4.1	5.5	3.3	51.5
3	79.4	14.6	6.2	12.8	**57.8**
4	85.1	8.7	6.4	7.7	**62.4**
5	79.5	12.9	8.5	11.5	**58.1**
6	78.6	14.6	6.3	13.4	**57.5**
7	73.5	18.1	9.6	16.7	**57.4**
8	69.9	19.5	9.6	17.8	43.1
9	74.7	15.7	8.0	13.7	**54.6**
10	67.4	27.1	5.8	25.1	52.5
11	75.4	17.7	8.0	16.0	**56.6**
12	62.9	22.2	7.2	20.3	47.7
13	61.7	28.8	10.9	26.4	50.8
% Black is 'Any Part Black' in the redistricting data for 2010. VAP indicates Voting Age Population.					

the plaintiffs' reports disregard.   Eliminating two entire districts worth of voters does not produce an

acceptable plan in anyone's world.   But the point is that when you accommodate the goal of ensuring

descriptive representation using a template something like Districts 1 and 12 of the 2012 plan as the

background, this makes it far more difficult to produce any sizable number of competitive seats in the

rest of North Carolina.

This is exactly the position where the North Carolina General Assembly found itself in response

to the challenge to the 2012 map.   The General Assembly was assuredly not in the position of

Professors Mattingly and Chen, free to consider a plan unshackled from previous plans and longstanding habits of thought and practice. Constrained by the need to consider the African American population as a political bloc tied to a particular geography, they were required to modify the 2012 map restricted to modest alterations while still achieving an acceptable outcome. From that standpoint, the number of reasonable alternative maps was much smaller than what can be produced using minimal criteria and an automated redistricting program.

To be sure, there are alternative plans to the Judges' map. In choosing to manipulate the Judges' map for the illustration in Table 5, the point was not to single it out, in particular. Any of the competitive maps in the Appendix are expressive of the same conflict of interest. Remove the VTDs from the concentrated African American locations encircled by Districts 1 and 12, and it becomes far more challenging to produce six, seven or eight competitive districts in the rest of the state. Moreover, an investigator need not remove the VTDs from Districts 1 and 12, in particular, as was done here just for the sake of convenience. Remove clusters of contiguous high African American VTDs from around the state sufficient to produce two majority-minority districts and the remaining VTDs are much harder to amalgamate into any sizable number of politically competitive districts for U.S. House seats. North Carolina is not unique. Levitt (2016, 2) makes the same point about Arizona's congressional districts; competitive seats are hard to create if map drawers also care about minority representation.

To cloud matters even further, just what makes for a partisan map is confusing and unclear (Alexander and Prakash 2008). Surely partisanship and competitiveness cannot be judged simply by measuring the balance of party registration or voting in a district, as has been presented here and in other reports. The present understandings that rely on vote percentages for the major parties fail to offer any local baseline for what an acceptable distribution of partisanship should be. For a party decisively in the minority in a region, creating one or two competitive districts itself will require a highly

partisan effort. Some districts would rarely be competitive given the underlying concentration of the population settled there (Levitt 2016).

To borrow the earlier example, to create a competitive district in the mountain region surrounding Asheville might require meandering out to the Charlotte area to find the necessary Democratic identifiers to even out the balance of partisans further west.   These "more competitive" maps can be drawn, but they could be easily taken as suggestive evidence of highly partisan motivations at work, not evidence of the desire to create better government, or the desire to make legislators more responsive or responsible.   Given the current distribution of partisans in the westernmost part of the state, the districts there probably should not be highly competitive.   A competitive map would instead reveal evidence of the ugliest kind of partisan map drawing at work, turning the usual indicators for partisan bias and competition on their heads. We should not forget that it is always the minority party that wants more competitive districts.

On Partisan Gerrymandering and Reasonable Maps

The notion that a proper assessment of existing plans should require comparison to a reasonable baseline of alternative maps is a point carefully and persuasively made by Professor Mattingly.   By this standard, one does not judge the 2012 or 2016 map against any possible collection of maps, much less a complete enumeration, but against a much narrower subset of "reasonable" or "plausible" maps that might have been drawn using redistricting criteria.   In Professor Mattingly's report, the baseline is a comparison against 24,000 alternative maps.   In Professor Chen's report, the baseline measure is derived from 1,000 possible maps.

Some restriction on what constitutes a reasonable baseline for comparison makes sense because we would not want the baseline to be a random collection of maps, and a complete enumeration of possible maps is not feasible for states the size of North Carolina given current

computing capacity.   A baseline developed from a random draw of even a large set of possible maps is

also undesirable.   After all, no legislature would be considering a random map as a starting point.

Human settlement over a landscape is never random.   A comparison based on randomness would make

even the most trivial patterns of clustering stand out as statistically noteworthy.   But the same problem

of false discovery is true if a baseline is constructed that is not sufficiently attentive to the precedent

established by previous plans, almost always a starting point for a state legislative body or redistricting

commission.   Baseline comparisons also need to take into account other plan criteria, including

geometric and fairness guidelines.

There is ample room to question whether the baselines used in the plaintiff's reports consider

the full range of plausible maps, or properly exclude the implausible ones.   Professor Chen's report

includes only the bare minimum of characteristics that figure into redistricting, presumably producing

1,000 maps that are reflective of those criteria, but do not encompass the precedent set by previous

North Carolina maps and their existing boundaries.   This baseline also fails to consider maps that are

drawn under the commonly sensed pressure to support incumbents, something commonly implied in

the redistricting process even if not articulated explicitly.

Starting from the boundaries of the 2012 map, quite a number of reasonable maps might have

been drawn with the settlement of party identifiers as a priority consideration.   An important caveat

here is that a large number of non-competitive pro-Republican districts will be difficult to draw so long

as the need for descriptive representation is ignored and the reliably Democratic African American

population is scattered.

Figure 5 represents one of many possible pro-Republican maps but this time with no certain

majority minority districts carved out.   About the best thing this map accomplishes from a Republican

point of view is the minimization of the number of non-competitive Democratic seats (Districts 6, 8 and

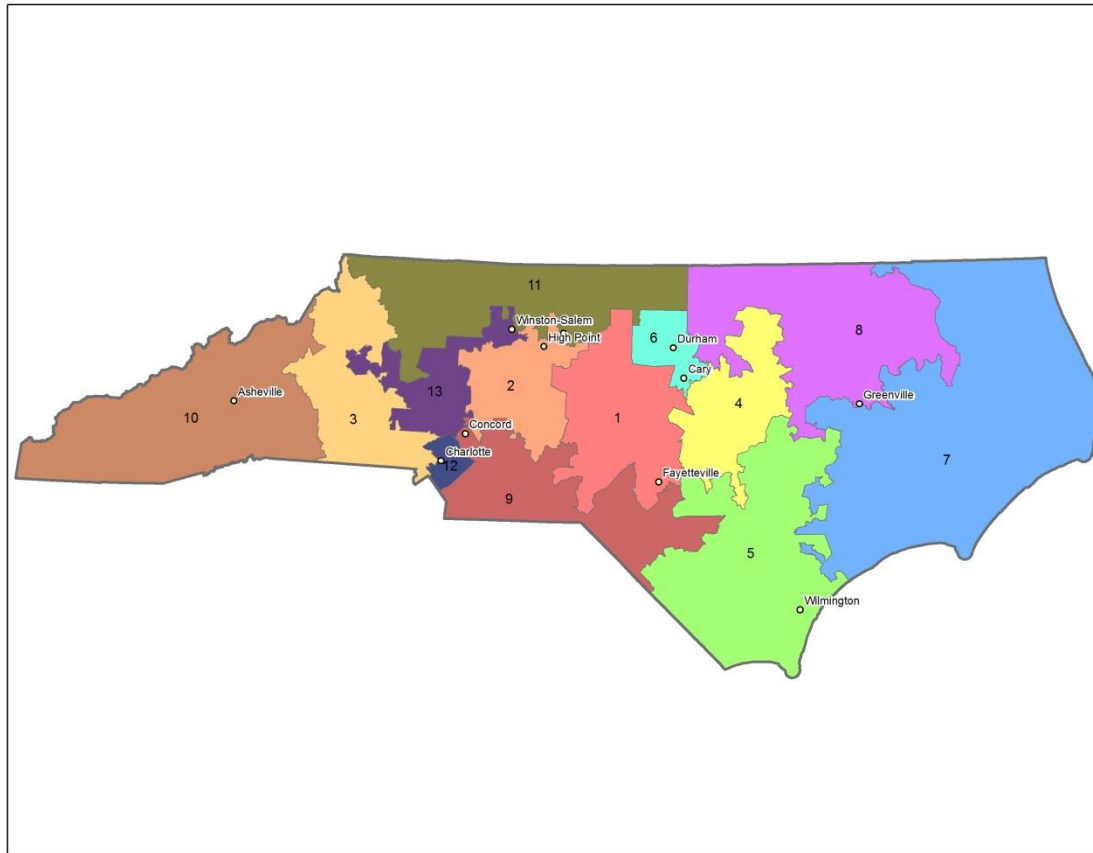12).   The remaining 9 are either evenly competitive (6) or tip toward Republicans (4).   The results in

Figure 5. North Carolina Congressional Districts in an Example Map

Table 6. District Characteristics from Figure 5 Map					
District	**% White**	**% Black**	**% Hispanic**	**% BlackVAP**	**% Rep**
1	65.7	27.9	11.6	25.5	49.6
2	71.6	18.8	7.4	16.9	**54.8**
3	77.3	23.9	6.1	22.4	**55.4**
4	63.3	18.1	12.0	16.7	49.1
5	68.1	4.4	8.0	3.5	49.7
6	63.3	27.7	9.9	25.1	37.2
7	71.9	19.1	6.2	17.6	**53.0**
8	53.2	23.2	5.8	20.7	41.6
9	62.2	30.3	8.8	28.1	52.7
10	89.2	7.2	5.5	6.3	51.7
11	73.1	**40.2**	6.6	**38.1**	52.2
12	53.7	31.9	12.8	29.9	41.8
13	77.8	20.5	8.5	18.9	**57.6**
% Black is 'Any Part Black' in the redistricting data for 2010. VAP indicates Voting Age Population.					

Compactness	.17
Pop. Mean Dev.	.14
County Splits	55
Efficiency Gap (pct)	16.5
Efficiency Gap	2.1

Table 6 reinforce the idea that competitive districts emerge much more naturally in a map-drawing exercise in which descriptive representation is sacrificed.   This map also exemplifies how a Republican-oriented plan and a competitive plan may be largely consistent with one another if majority-minority districts are scrapped and little attention is given to shoring up incumbency. Apparently a map with the features in Figure 5 is quite pleasing to a majority party in a state legislature because it is a common partisan strategy to maximize the number of seats the party can win, even at some reduction in electoral security (Ryan and Lyons 2015, 253; Gopoian and West 1984).   Presumably a large number of GOP partisans would prefer to create a few safe seats for the opposition in exchange for a larger number of marginal seats.   A map with only four safe Democrats is still a pretty Republican map, even if the remaining 9 districts are divided between safe Republicans and seats both parties can regularly contest.   Not surprisingly, the map in Figure 5 does not meet the goal of achieving a low efficiency gap, doing slightly worse than the Judges' map in that respect.

In summary, the 2016 map is a reasonable response to the multiple and contradictory demands of the redistricting process, including that of descriptive representation.   Toss out descriptive representation and it is considerably easier to even out the balance of party identifiers across North Carolina's congressional districts (Levitt 2016; Nakao 2011). Certainly 2016 ought to be included within the realm of "reasonable" or "plausible" maps as understood by the plaintiff's experts when reconsidering the history from which the North Carolina General Assembly was drawing. The 2002 and 2012 ought to be considered within the subset of reasonable maps as well.   There is no justification for excluding them from reasonableness criteria given the unsettled nature of redistricting law. Conversely, a great many of the maps from simulations based only on two, three or a few redistricting principles would be ruled out as *unreasonable* for excluding the full set of criteria understood as shaping redistricting work. The 2016 map stands out from the distribution of "reasonable maps" in the plaintiff's reports mainly because their definition of reasonable maps ignores what has sometimes been called the

set of "reasonably imperfect plans" that satisfy enough of the redistricting criteria so that they are acceptable to relevant and important stakeholders (Cain 2012). Plans drawn by experts fulfilling only minimal requirements of contiguity, population equality and compactness but that are not realistic from the standpoint of involved interest groups and parties, should not be included among the set of reasonably imperfect plans (Cho and Liu 2016, 355).

Ground-Truthing Redistricting Plans

There has not been time in writing this response to adequately discuss the importance of *ground truthing* a redistricting plan to ensure communities of interest have been preserved. The term ground truthing originates from geography and geology meaning to validate mapped representations with close-up, onsite field investigation that will reveal features and details that those representations fail to capture. In the redistricting context this means that any boundary drawing approval process should spend some time in close inspection of the locations boundaries divide and unify. I indicated above that state legislators are in an ideal position to offer such knowledge and expertise, perhaps almost uniquely qualified to do so.

Solutions imposed from "30,000 feet" multiply errors. Maps are abstractions from reality, and it is surprisingly easy to place a boundary a mile or more from where it should be drawn, or miss a new housing development that has added hundreds of voters to a VTD. Data sources are sometimes dated and statistical processes can be inaccurate, or more regularly, are only accurate to a level of precision that is not entirely known. Map drawing by experts is no substitute for local expertise, but complementary to it. Many redistricting specialists complete their plans and proclaim them finished without ever leaving their desks. With no ground-truthing process in place, map drawing is naïve empiricism. Excluding the local knowledge of state legislators that has historically informed redistricting does not make a plan unbiased – quite the opposite.

Concluding Remarks

Redistricting plans have to satisfy many goals, and they always do this imperfectly because the goals are in conflict.   A district that preserves a territorial community quite well is likely to be politically lopsided on a number of other measures because they promote homogeneity of interest.   Conversely, competitive districts could well be disruptive of communities if they have to go out of their way to incorporate diverse interests.

Responsiveness, or "efficiency," is not the preeminent goal of redistricting any more than other values that could be elevated.   Just as there are reasonable arguments for creating more competitive districts, there are equally reasonable arguments for desiring lower turnover in leadership.   Some argue quite reasonably for representatives who will ignore the short-run impulses and protests of constituents in favor of policy that will serve the longer-term interests of the state.   Expertise and seniority in Congress are also valuable resources in exercising oversight, and advocating on behalf of a state's voters.   From this standpoint, having new and inexperienced leaders trading office in every election is not better than having a stable group of representatives in place to address the long-term interests of North Carolina on Capitol Hill.   Some would even insist that the U.S. House of Representatives is, by design, supposed to be a continuing and highly stable body, not subject to the whims of each new administration.

All maps are imperfect, objectionable to someone.   Representational gaps abound.   Minority parties, independent voters, women, Catholics, Asian Americans, and many other identity groups fail to find representation in the legislature proportional to their voting presence in elections.   Some popularly elected legislative body has to be awarded the authority to adjudicate among these contending claims and priorities.   These state legislators may well try to advantage themselves by drawing districts favorable to their reelection, but those legislators can also be defeated because voters come to

disapprove of this practice. Voters, in the end, have control over whether there are competitive
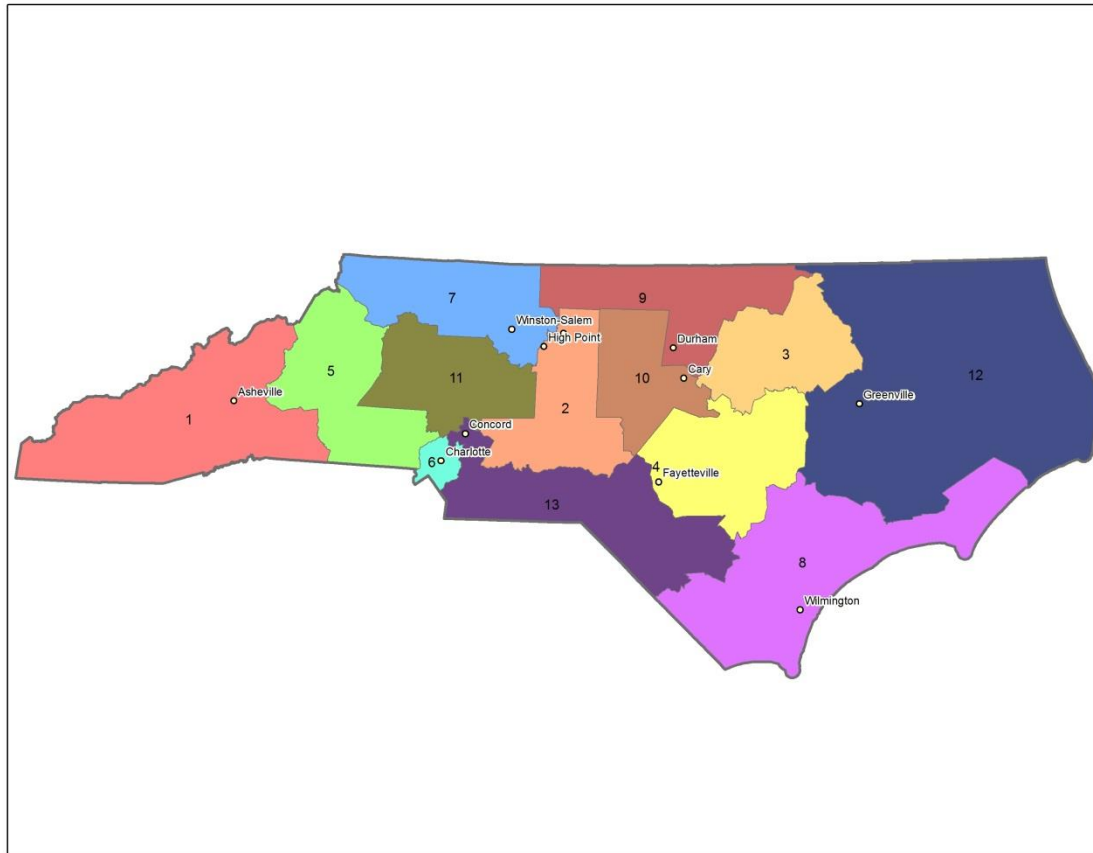
elections.

Appendix Follows

Figure A1. Example Map 3 Illustrating Tradeoffs

Table A1. Map 3 District Characteristics					
District	% White	% Black	% Hispanic	% BlackVAP	% Rep
1	89.0	5.0	5.5	4.0	51.0
2	65.8	26.0	7.8	23.8	49.5
3	54.5	36.2	10.1	33.8	41.1
4	59.4	30.7	11.0	28.3	49.3
5	83.8	11.2	5.0	9.8	**58.9**
6	51.0	35.7	13.4	32.7	39.8
7	75.6	16.3	9.1	14.9	**55.5**
8	76.0	17.4	7.0	15.4	52.9
9	60.4	30.4	8.6	28.5	40.5
10	73.2	14.7	10.0	13.6	48.3
11	82.1	11.2	7.0	10.1	**61.6**
12	61.0	34.0	5.3	31.8	46.0
13	60.9	23.0	8.7	21.5	51.3
% Black is 'Any Part Black' in the redistricting data for 2010. VAP indicates Voting Age Population.					

Compactness	.24
Pop. Mean Dev.	12.77
County Splits	174
Efficiency Gap (pct)	10.5
Efficiency Gap*	1.2
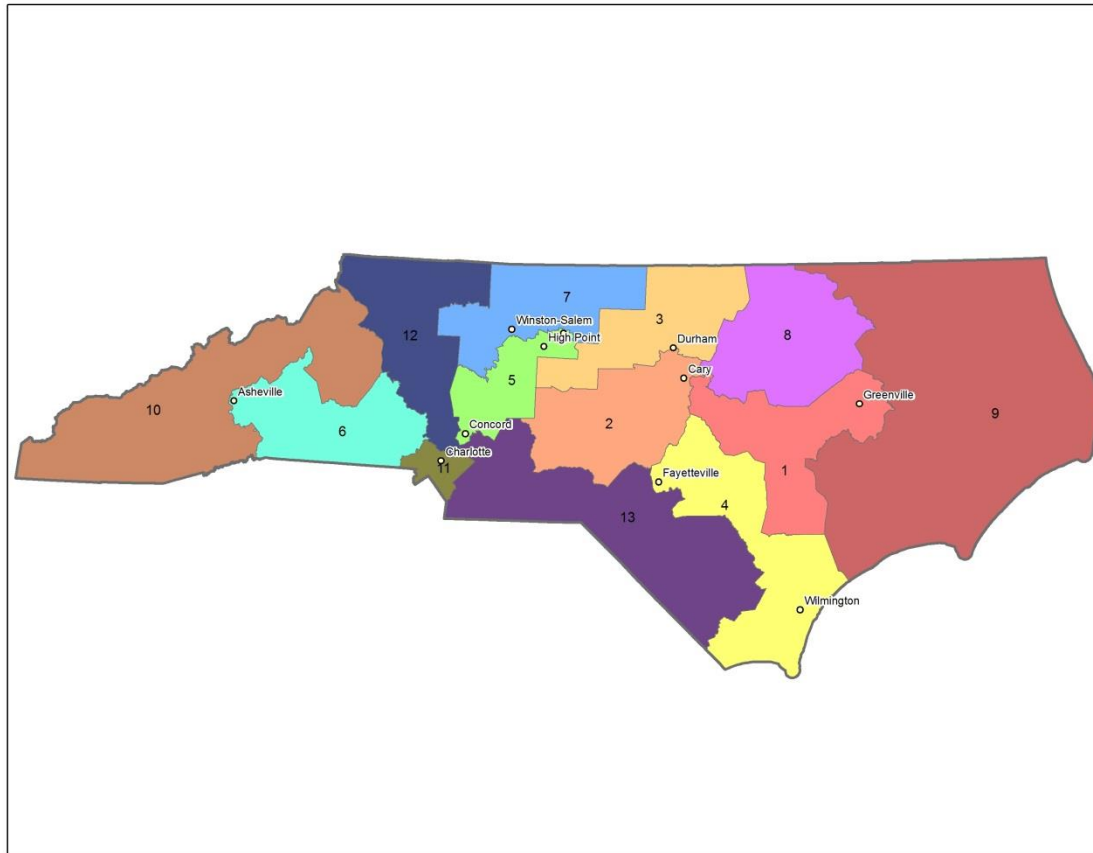
Figure A2. Example Map 5 Illustrating Tradeoffs

Table A2. Map 5 District Characteristics					
District	% White	% Black	% Hispanic	% BlackVAP	% Rep
1	63.5	26.9	10.6	25.1	49.1
2	70.3	17.8	9.4	16.6	47.2
3	67.0	23.4	10.0	21.8	45.2
4	66.5	25.8	8.1	23.0	48.4
5	66.9	24.4	8.5	22.4	50.7
6	82.0	12.8	5.9	11.1	**54.5**
7	69.3	23.1	8.1	21.3	51.8
8	54.8	36.7	9.3	34.6	43.0
9	68.1	26.7	5.8	24.7	50.0
10	90.2	3.5	5.3	2.8	**55.2**
11	59.6	28.4	11.8	26.0	46.5
12	73.1	18.4	8.3	16.6	**54.2**
13	59.5	24.8	8.0	23.2	49.8
% Black is 'Any Part Black' in the redistricting data for 2010. VAP indicates Voting Age Population.					

Compactness	.31
Pop. Mean Dev.	1.07
County Splits	22
Efficiency Gap (pct)	16.2
Efficiency Gap*	2.1
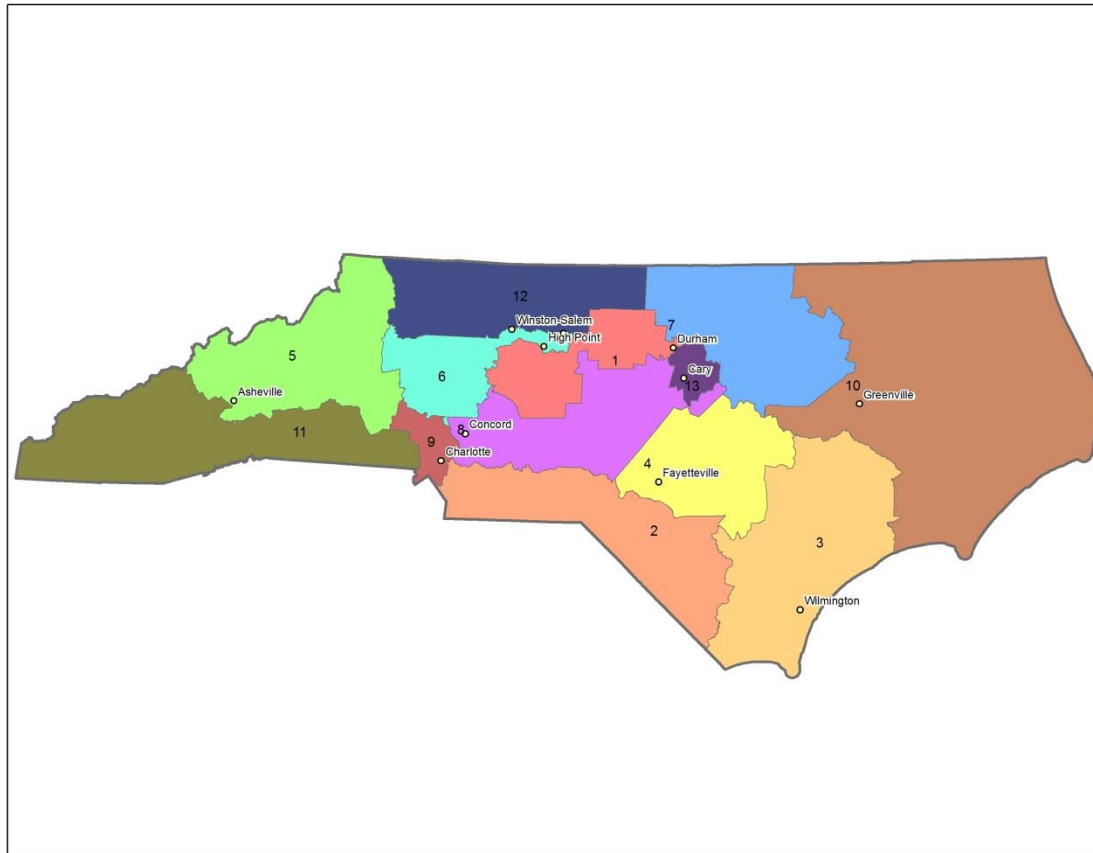
Figure A3. Example Map 8 Illustrating Tradeoffs

Table A3. Map 8 District Characteristics					
District	**% White**	**% Black**	**% Hispanic**	**% BlackVAP**	**% Rep**
1	71.5	18.4	10.3	17.0	49.4
2	59.5	23.6	8.9	22.3	49.9
3	72.5	20.3	8.1	18.2	51.6
4	58.5	31.4	11.3	28.9	48.3
5	87.7	6.5	5.9	5.4	**53.2**
6	65.6	25.5	8.8	23.8	50.2
7	59.3	33.8	7.4	32.2	46.2
8	73.6	17.8	9.9	16.0	**53.7**
9	55.7	32.6	11.4	29.9	42.4
10	64.3	31.1	4.7	28.9	48.0
11	84.6	9.5	5.3	8.1	**56.6**
12	75.6	17.7	7.1	16.2	**53.9**
13	61.5	25.2	10.2	23.1	41.4
% Black is 'Any Part Black' in the redistricting data for 2010. VAP indicates Voting Age Population.					

Compactness	.32
Pop. Mean Dev.	.29
County Splits	42
Efficiency Gap (pct)	7.9
Efficiency Gap	1.0
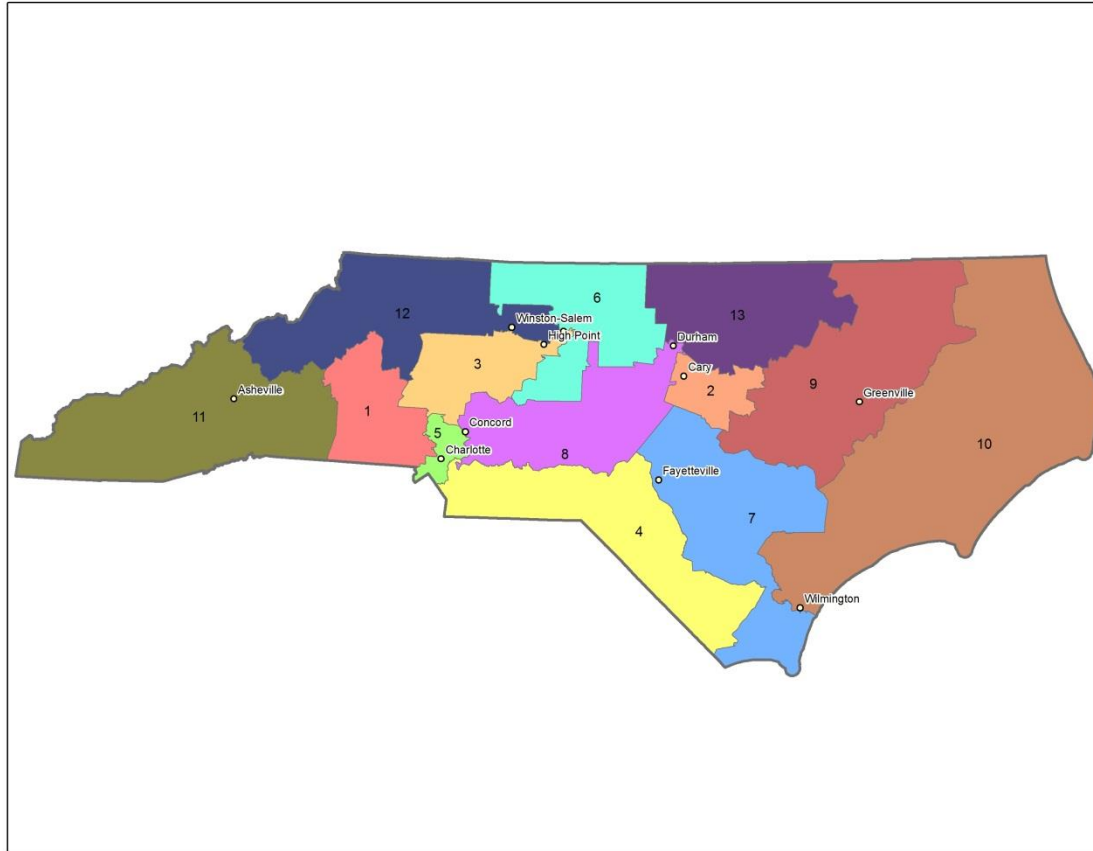
Figure A4. Example Map 9 Illustrating Tradeoffs

Table A4. Map 9 District Characteristics					
District	**% White**	**% Black**	**% Hispanic**	**% BlackVAP**	**% Rep**
1	77.3	16.2	6.5	14.2	**57.4**
2	65.6	22.2	10.2	20.5	46.5
3	69.2	22.4	8.1	20.7	52.6
4	59.7	23.5	8.8	22.1	49.9
5	55.2	32.3	12.2	29.7	42.0
6	73.9	18.9	7.6	17.3	52.1
7	62.4	28.2	10.0	25.5	48.1
8	70.0	19.8	10.7	18.2	48.2
9	54.5	**39.2**	7.1	**36.9**	44.7
10	74.5	19.8	6.4	17.7	52.7
11	88.9	5.1	5.5	4.2	51.4
12	78.1	14.6	7.9	13.3	**54.5**
13	60.6	31.2	8.2	29.4	44.6
% Black is 'Any Part Black' in the redistricting data for 2010. VAP indicates Voting Age Population.					

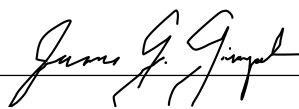|	
Compactness	.31
Pop. Mean Dev.	.73
County Splits	42
Efficiency Gap (pct)	16.6
Efficiency Gap	2.2

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<u>DECLARATION</u>

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Executed on April 3, 2017.

                                    _____

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►   *Patchwork Nation: Sectionalism and Political Change in American Politics* (University of Michigan Press,
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►   *Separate Destinations: Migration, Immigration and the Politics of Places* (University of Michigan Press,
    1999).

►   *The Congressional Politics of Immigration Reform* (Allyn and Bacon, 1999) with James R. Edwards, Jr.

►   *National Elections and the Autonomy of American State Party Systems* (University of Pittsburgh Press).

    Fulfilling the Contract: The First 100 Days (Allyn and Bacon, 1996). Published in hardcover under the title:
►   *Legislating the Revolution: The Contract with America in its First 100 Days.*

Articles in Peer Reviewed Journals:

► "Inadvertent and Intentional Partisan Residential Sorting." with Iris Hui. *Annals of Regional Science* (2016) 1-28.

► "Seeking Compatible Neighbors: Partisan Composition, Neighborhood Selection and Residential Sorting." with Iris Hui. *Political Geography*. 48: 4: (2015) 130-142.

► "Business Interests and the Party Coalitions: Industry Sector Contributions to U.S. Congressional Campaigns." with Frances E. Lee and Michael Parrott. *American Politics Research* 42: 6: (2014) 1034-1076.

► "Voter Migration and the Geographic Sorting of the American Electorate." with Wendy K. Cho and Iris Hui. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 103: 4: (2013) 856-870.

► "The Distributive Politics of the Federal Stimulus: The Geography of the ARRA of 2009." with Frances E. Lee and Rebecca U. Thorpe. *Political Science Quarterly* 127: 4: (2012) 567-596.

► "Do Robotic Calls from Credible Sources Influence Voter Turnout or Vote Choice? Evidence from a Randomized Field Experiment." with Daron R. Shaw, Alan Gerber and Donald P. Green. *Journal of Political Marketing* 11: 4: (2012) 241-249.

► "The Tea Party Movement and the Geography of Collective Action." with Wendy K. Cho and Daron R. Shaw. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 7: 2: (2012) 105-133.

► "GIS and the Spatial Dimensions of American Politics." with Wendy K. Cho. *Annual Review of Political Science.* 15: (2012) 443-460*.*

► "What if We Randomized the Governor's Schedule? Evidence on Campaign Appearance Effects from a Texas Experiment." with Daron R. Shaw. *Political Communication* 29: 2: (2012) 137-159.

► "When War Hits Home: The Geography of Military Losses and Support for War in Time and Space." with Scott L. Althaus and Brittany H. Bramlett. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 56: 3: (2012) 382-412.

► "Ecologies of Unease: Geographic Context and National Economic Evaluations." with Andrew Reeves. *Political Behavior*. 34: 3: (2012): 392-420.

► "How Large and Long-lasting Are the Persuasive Effects of Televised Campaign Ads? Results from a Randomized Field Experiment." with Alan S. Gerber, Donald P. Green and Daron R. Shaw. *American Political Science Review* 105: 1: (2012) 135-150.

► "The Political Ecology of Opinion in Big-Donor Neighborhoods." with Brittany H. Bramlett and Frances E. Lee. *Political Behavior*. 33: 4: (2011) 565-600.

► "Rough Terrain: Spatial Variation in Contributions of Time and Money to an Election Campaign." with Wendy K. Cho. *American Journal of Political Science*. 54: 1: (2010) 74-89.

► "Media Supply, Audience Demand and the Geography of News Consumption in the United States." with Scott L. Althaus and Anne M. Cizmar. *Political Communication*. 26: 3: (2009) 249-277.

► "Political Socialization and Reactions to Immigration-Related Diversity in Rural America." with J. Celeste Lay. *Rural Sociology*. 73: 2: (2008) 180-204.

► "The Check is in the Mail: Interdistrict Funding Flows in Congressional Elections." with Frances E. Lee and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. *American Journal of Political Science* 52: 2: (2008) 373-394

► "Distance-Decay in the Political Geography of Friends-and-Neighbors Voting." with Kimberly Karnes, John McTague and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. *Political Geography* 27: 2 (2008) 231-252.

Articles in Peer Reviewed Journals (cont'd.):

► "The Battleground vs. the Blackout States: Behavioral Implications of Modern Presidential Campaigns." with Karen M. Kaufmann and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. *Journal of Politics* 69: 3 (2007) 786-797.

► "Prospecting for (Campaign) Gold." with Wendy K. Cho. *American Journal of Political Science* 51: 2 (2007) 255-268.

► "Spatial Surges in Arab American Voter Registration." with Wendy K. Cho and Tony Wu. *Political Geography* 26: 3 (2007) 330-351.

► "Election Year Stimuli and the Timing of Voter Registration." with Joshua J. Dyck and Daron R. Shaw. *Party Politics* 13: 3 (2007) 347-370.

► "Clarifying the Role of Socioeconomic Status in Political Participation: Policy Threat and Arab American Mobilization." with Wendy K. Cho and Tony Wu. *Journal of Politics* 68: 4 (2006) 977-991.

► "The Political Geography of Campaign Contributions in American Politics." with Frances E. Lee and Joshua Kaminski. *Journal of Politics* 68: 3 (2006) 626-639.

► "Residential Concentration, Political Socialization and Voter Turnout." with Wendy K. Cho and Joshua J. Dyck. *Journal of Politics* 68: 1 (2006) 156-167.

► "Location, Knowledge and Time Pressures in the Spatial Structure of Convenience Voting." with Joshua J. Dyck and Daron R. Shaw. *Electoral Studies* 25: 1 (2006) 35-58.

► "Distance, Turnout and the Convenience of Voting." with Joshua J. Dyck. *Social Science Quarterly* 86: 3 (2005) 531-548.

► "Registrants, Voters and Turnout Variability Across Neighborhoods." with Joshua J. Dyck and Daron R. Shaw. *Political Behavior* 26:4 (2004) 343-375.

► "The Persistence of White Ethnicity in New England Politics," with Wendy K. Cho. *Political Geography* 23: 8 (2004) 821-832.

► "Turnout and the Local Age Distribution: Examining Political Participation Across Space and Time." with Irwin L. Morris and David R. Armstrong. *Political Geography* 23:1 (2004) 71-95

► "Political Participation and the Accessibility of the Ballot Box." with Jason E. Schuknecht. *Political Geography* 22: 4 (2003) 471-488.

► "A Promise Fulfilled? Open Primaries and Representation." with Karen M. Kaufmann and Adam Hoffman. *Journal of Politics* 65: 2 (2003) 457-476.

► "Reconsidering Regionalism in American State Politics." with Jason E. Schuknecht. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 2: 4 (2002) 325-352.

► "Political and Demographic Foundations for Sectionalism in State Politics: the Connecticut Case." with Jason E. Schuknecht. *American Politics Research* 30: 2 (2002) 193-213.

► "Interstate Migration and Electoral Politics," with Jason E. Schuknecht. *Journal of Politics* 62:1 (2001) 207-231.

► "Prejudice, Economic Insecurity, and Immigration Policy," with Peter F. Burns. *Political Science Quarterly* 115: 2 (2000) 201-225.

Articles in Peer Reviewed Journals (cont'd.):

► "Contemplating Congruence in State Party Systems," an author-meets-critic exchange focusing on my 1996 book on state elections. *American Politics Quarterly* 27: 1 (1999) 133-140.

► "Self-Interest, Symbolic Politics and Attitudes Toward Gun Control," with Robin M. Wolpert. *Political Behavior* 20:3 (1998) 241-262.

► "Packing Heat at the Polls: Gun Ownership as a Politically Salient Trait in State and National Elections," *Social Science Quarterly* 79:3 (1998) 634-648.

► "Information, Recall and Accountability: The Electorate's Response to the Clarence Thomas Nomination," with Robin M. Wolpert. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 22:4 (1997) 515-525.

► "Candidate Character vs. the Economy in the 1992 Election," with Kathryn M. Doherty. *Political Behavior* 19:3 (1997) 213-222.

► "Forecasts and Preferences in the 1992 Presidential Election," with Diane Hollern Harvey. *Political Behavior* 19:2 (1997) 157-175.

► "Opinion-Holding and Public Attitudes Toward Controversial Supreme Court Nominees." with Robin M. Wolpert. *Political Research Quarterly* 49: 1 (1996) 163-176.

► "Rationalizing Support and Opposition to Supreme Court Nominations: The Role of Credentials." with Robin M. Wolpert. *Polity* 28: 1 (1995) 67-82.

► "Understanding Court Nominee Evaluation and Approval: Mass Opinion in the Bork and Thomas Cases." With Lewis S. Ringel. *Political Behavior* 17: 1 (1995) 135-153.

► "District Conditions and Primary Divisiveness in Congressional Elections." with Paul S. Herrnson. *Political Research Quarterly* 48: 1 (1995) 117-134.

► "Reform-Resistant and Reform-Adopting Machines: The Electoral Foundations of Urban Politics 1910-1930," *Political Research Quarterly* 46: 2 (1993) 371-382.

Chapters in Edited Books:

► "Sampling for Studying Context: Traditional Surveys and New Directions." in R. Michael Alvarez and Lonna Atkeson, eds. *Oxford Handbook of Polling and Polling Methods*. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016).

► "State Politics and Political Culture." in Joshua J. Dyck and Richard G. Niemi, eds. *Guide to State Politics and Policy*. (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2013)

► "Political Socialization and Religion." with Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. in Corwin Smidt, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

► "Policies for Civic Engagement Beyond the Schoolyard." With Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. in Peter Levine and James Youniss, eds. *Engaging Young People in Civic Life.* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2009).

► "Accounting for the Urban-Rural Gap in American Electoral Politics." With Kimberly A. Karnes. in Laura Olson and John C. Green, eds. *Beyond Red State, Blue State: Voting Gaps in American Politics* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2007).

Chapters in Edited Books (cont'd.):

► "The Geography of Electioneering: Campaigning for Votes and Campaigning for Money." with Frances E. Lee. in John Samples and Michael McDonald, eds. *The Marketplace of Democracy: Electoral Competition and American Politics* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2006).

► "Political Environments and the Acquisition of Partisanship." with J. Celeste Lay. in Alan Zuckerman, ed. *The Social Logic of Politics* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2005).

► "The Politics of Election Reform in Maryland." with Joshua J. Dyck, in Daniel Palazzolo and James W. Ceasar, eds. *Election Reform: Politics and Policy* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004).

► "The Structure of Public Support for Gun Control: The 1988 Battle Over Question 3 in Maryland," with Robin M. Wolpert. in John Bruce and Clyde Wilcox (eds.) *The Changing Politics of Gun Control* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998).

► "Equilibrium Cycles in Grassroots Mobilization and Access," in Paul S. Herrnson, Ronald Shaiko and Clyde Wilcox (eds.) *The Interest Group Connection* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1998).

► "The Rise and Demise of a Lead PAC," in Robert Biersack, Paul S. Herrnson and Clyde Wilcox (eds.) *Risky Business: PAC Decisionmaking and Strategy in 1992.* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1994). 56-62.

► "Congress and the Coordination of Public Assistance," in Edward T. Jennings and Neal Zank (eds.) *Welfare System Reform*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993). 33-42.

Grants and Awards:

► Hoover Institution, National Fellowship 2012-2013.

► Knight Foundation Grant, 2007-2011, $60,000 (by contract via D. Chinni).

► CIRCLE via The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2004-2005, $35,000.

► CIRCLE via The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2002-2003, $33,000.

► Ahmanson Community Trust Foundation, 2001-2003, $100,000.

► William T. Grant Foundation Research Grant, 2001-2003, $102,000.

► John M. Olin Foundation Policy Studies Grant, 1998, $30,000.

► Visiting Fellow, Congress Assessment Project, Washington, DC, 1995, $7,000.

► Summer Research Award, Graduate Research Board, University of Maryland, 1995, $4,500.

► University of Chicago Graduate Fellowship 1986-1990.

Magazine Articles, Opinion Editorials, Book Reviews:

- "Where are the Working Class Republicans and Is There Something the Matter with Them?" *Extensions*: A Journal of the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center. 2015 (Winter): 6-11.

- "The 12 States of America." with Dante Chinni. *The Atlantic Monthly*. 307: 3 (April 2011): 70-81.

- "Presidential Voting and the Local Variability of Economic Hardship." with Wendy K. Cho. *The Forum*. 7: 1: 1-24.

- "A Political Powerhouse in Search of a Home." with Wendy K. Cho. *Asian American Policy Review*. 17: (2008) 155-161.

- "Etats-Unis Election Présidentielle: Le Dessous des Cartes," *Alternatives Internationionales*. December 2007. 10-14.

- "Pay Attention to Asian American Voters." with Wendy K. Cho. *Politico*. May 28, 2007 Opinion-Editorial posted on-line at http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0507/4213.html

- "The Rural Side of the Urban-Rural Gap." with Kimberly A. Karnes. *P.S.: Political Science & Politics* 39: 3 (2006) 467-472.

- "The Federalism Flip-Flop: Democrats Now Argue for States' Rights." Opinion Editorial in the *Boston Globe*. Sunday, December 19, 2004, Political Play.

- "Getting out the Asian-Pacific American Vote." with Wendy K. Cho. *Campaigns & Elections*. (July 2004) 44-45.

- "Computer Technology and Getting Out the Vote: New Targeting Tools." *Campaigns & Elections*. (August 2003) 39-40.

- Review of Donald Green, Bradley Palmquist and Eric Schickler. Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters. In APSR's *Perspectives on Politics.* (September 2003) 606-607.

- "Setting Different Courses: Along the Potomac, A Political and Philosophical Divide," with Jason E. Schuknecht. Opinion Editorial in *The Washington Post*. Sunday, January 21, 2001, Outlook Section.

- "We Shall Finally Overcome, By Exposure," with Jason E. Schuknecht. Opinion Editorial in *The Baltimore Sun* Wednesday, September 6, 2000, p. 17A.

- Review of George Borjas' Heaven's Door: Immigration Policy and the American Economy. *Political Science Quarterly* 115: 1: (Spring 2000) 145-146.

- "Maryland's Topsy-Turvy Politics: A Step Up for a Party Coming Back to Life," Opinion Editorial in *The Washington Post*. Sunday, October 17, 1998, Outlook Section.

- Review of John Bader's Taking the Initiative. *Political Science Quarterly* 112:4: (Winter 1997-98) 692-693.

- Review of Philip Klinkner's The Losing Parties. *Journal of Politics* 58: (1996) 245-246.

- Review of Ralph Goldman's The National Party Chairmen and Committees. *American Political Science Review* 86: (1992) 237-238.

Magazine Articles, Opinion Editorials, Book Reviews (cont'd.)

◦ Review of Mark Bisnow's In the Shadow of the Dome. *American Political Science Review* 85: (1991) 630-631.

◦ "Congressional Oversight of Welfare and Work." *Public Welfare* 49: (1991) 8-11.

Research in Progress or Under Review:

◦ Gimpel, James G. and Iris Hui. 2016. "Discerning Neighborhood Partisanship from a Mere Look Around" Submitted for Review.

Conference Participation (recent):

◦ "The Variable Development of Partisanship within the South, 1940-1966." with Nathan Lovin. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1-4, 2016, Philadelphia, PA.

◦ "Recruiting the Best Candidate for the Job: Candidate Dyads and Congressional Election Outcomes." with Kristina Miler and Charles Hunt. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 8-10, 2016, Chicago, IL.

◦ "Racial Context as a Stimulus to Campaign Contributing." with James Glenn. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 8-10, 2016, Chicago, IL.

◦ "Political Implications of Residential Mobility and Stasis on the Partisan Balance of Locales." with Wendy Cho and Caroline Carlson. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 28-September 1, 2014, Washington, DC.

◦ "Political Evaluations of Neighborhoods and their Desirability: Experimental Evidence." with Iris Hui. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 30-September 1, 2013. Chicago, Illinois.

◦ "Business Interests and the Party Coalitions: Industry Sector Contributions to U.S. Congressional Campaigns," with Frances Lee and Mike Parrott. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 12-15, 2012. Chicago, Illinois.

◦ "Local Age Distributions and Ideological Extremism in American Politics," with Brittany Bramlett. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1-4, 2011. Seattle, Washington.

◦ "The Geography of Tea: Strategic Activism or Expressive Protest?" with Wendy K. Cho and Daron R. Shaw. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, March 30-April 3, 2011. Chicago, Illinois.

◦ "The Distributive Politics of the Federal Stimulus: The Geography of the ARRA of 2009," with Frances E. Lee and Rebecca Thorpe. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1-4, 2010. Washington, DC.

◦ "Migration Decisions and Destinations: Evidence for Political Sorting and Mixing," with Iris Hui. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 22-22, 2010. Chicago, Illinois.

◦ "Ecologies of Unease: Geographic Context and National Economic Evaluations." with Andrew Reeves and Wendy Cho. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3-6, 2009. Toronto, Ontario.

Conference Participation cont'd. (recent):

◦ "When War Hits Home: The Geography of Military Losses and Support for War in Time and Space." with Scott L. Althaus and Brittany H. Bramlett. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3-6, 2009. Toronto, Ontario.

◦ "The Political Ecology of Opinion in Big-Donor Neighborhoods." with Brittany H. Bramlett and Frances E. Lee. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2-4, 2009. Chicago, IL.

◦ "Regional Migration Flows and the Partisan Sorting of the American Electorate." with Wendy K. Cho and Iris Hui. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2-4, 2009. Chicago, IL.

Ph.D. Dissertation:

◦ Field: American Government. Subfield: Political Behavior

◦ Title: "Competition Without Cohesion: Studies in the Electoral Differentiation of State and National Party Systems."

   Committee: Mark Hansen, Henry E. Brady, Gary Orfield, and J. David Greenstone (deceased)

Teaching:

◦ Courses: Campaigns and Elections; American Voting Behavior; Immigrants and Immigration Policy; State Politics; Public Opinion; Statistics; Linear Models; GIS for Social Science Research; Intermediate GIS for Social Science Research; Spatial Statistics.

◦ Awards: University Excellence in Mentorship and Teaching Award, 1999.
   Panhellenic Association Outstanding Teacher Award, 1994.

Ph.D. Students and Placements

   Michael Parrott, member (APSA Congressional Fellow, 2016)
   Stephen Yoder, chair (Government Accountability Office, 2014)
   Heather Creek, chair (Pew Research Center, 2013)
   Daniel Biggers, member (Yale Post-Doc 2012; moved to tt UC-Riverside, 2014)
   Brittany Bramlett, chair (tt Albright College, 2012, moved to non tt Georgia 2014)
   Rebecca Thorpe, member (tt University of Washington, 2010)
   Kimberly Karnes, chair (tt Old Dominion, 2010)
   Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz, member (tt University of Rhode Island, 2009, tenured)
   Laurence O'Rourke, chair (ICF Research 2008)
   Joshua Dyck, chair (tt University of Buffalo, 2006 tenured, moved to UM, Lowell)
   Laura Hussey, chair (tt University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 2006 tenured)
   Richard Longoria, chair (tt Cameron University, 2006, moved to Texas A&M Brownsville 2014)
   Adam Hoffman, member (tt Salisbury University, 2005, tenured)
   Regina Gray, member (Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2005)
   J. Celeste Lay, chair (tt Tulane University, 2004, tenured)
   Atiya Stokes, member (tt Florida State University, 2004, moved to Bucknell, tenured)

Ph.D. Students and Placements (cont'd).

Thomas Ellington, member (tt Wesleyan College, 2004, tenured)
Timothy Meinke, member (tt Lynchburg College, 2002, tenured)
Jason Schuknecht, chair (Westat research consulting, 2001)
Constance Hill, member (Birmingham Southern College, 2000)
Peter Francia, member (tt East Carolina University, 2000, tenured)
Peter Burns, member (tt Loyola University, New Orleans 1999, tenured)
David Cantor, member (Lake, Snell, Perry research consulting, 1999)
Richard Conley, member (tt University of Florida, 1998, tenured)
Susan Baer, member (tt San Diego State, 1998)
and six others prior to 1998.

Advanced Training:

○ Statistical Horizons Workshop on Big Data and Data Mining. University of Pennsylvania Wharton Business School, Philadelphia, PA, April 2013.

○ Summer Workshop on Frontiers of Spatial Regression Analysis. Spatial Analysis Laboratory, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, June 2007.

○ Summer Workshop on Point Pattern Analysis, Department of Geography, University of California, Santa Barbara, June 2004.

○ Summer Workshop on Distance and Accessibility, Department of Geography, Ohio State University, July 2002.

○ Summer Statistics Program, ICPSR, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 1994.

Service to the Discipline:

○ Journal Editor, *American Politics Research*, 2003-2011. During this time, submissions doubled from ~110 per year to over 220 per year; journal submission and operations moved on-line; journal content expanded by 30%; and review times dropped to a mean of 45 total days (sd=17 days).

○ Elections and Voting Section Committee to Name Emerging Scholar in American Politics, 2003 and 2007.

○ Chair, APSA William Anderson Award Committee to Name the Best Ph.D. Dissertation in State and Local Politics, Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, 2010.

○ Manuscript Reviewer**:** *American Political Science Review; American Journal of Political Science; Journal of Politics; Political Geography; Political Research Quarterly*; *Public Opinion Quarterly*; *Political Psychology*; *American Politics Research; Political Behavior; Urban Affairs Quarterly*; *Social Forces*; Cambridge University Press, Brookings Institution Press, Johns Hopkins University Press; St. Martin's Press; HarperCollins Publishing; Pearson-Longman Publishing; Greenwood Press; University of Pittsburgh Press; SUNY Press; University of Michigan Press.

○ *PRQ* Outstanding Reviewer Award, 2009-2010

Departmental Committee Service:

◦ 2003-2010 Promotion and Tenure Committees (Karen Kaufmann, Frances E. Lee (twice), Geoffrey Layman, Linda Faye Williams and Irwin Morris)

◦ 2001-2009 Faculty Supervisor, Maryland State Government Internship Program.

◦ 2003-2004, 2001-2002; 1998-1999 Faculty Search Committees

◦ Service includes: Executive Committee; Undergraduate Studies Committee; Graduate Studies Committee; Salary Committee; Conley-Dillon Award Committee; Promotion & Tenure Working Group.

University and College Service:

2015-ongoing Advisor to UMD BSOS Dean on College Fundraising and Development
2015-ongoing Advisor to UMD Office of Government Relations
2015-ongoing Advisor to UMD Office of Institutional Research, Planning and Assessment
2014-ongoing Advisor to University Relations Office of Prospect Management and Research
2011-2012 Dean's Committee on GIS and Spatial Analysis in the Social Sciences
2007-2008 Joint Asian American Studies/Public Policy Faculty Search Committee.
2005-2007 Department Representative on UM Faculty Senate
2004-2006 Department Representative on College Promotion and Tenure Committee.
2000-2005 Chair, Behavioral and Social Sciences Curriculum Committee
1999-2001 Behavioral and Social Sciences Academic Council
1997-2000 Faculty Senate Campus Parking Advisory Committee

Research Consulting and Government Work Experience (selected):

◦ *Head Start XXI Resource Center, Hammond, Indiana.*   GIS and Statistical Consultant to this Head Start Program Serving 1,200 clients in Lake and Porter Counties. October 2003-March 2004.

◦ *Naugatuck Valley Economic Development Commission*. Adviser to this Connecticut economic development agency drafting an EDA report on the local economic impact of defense downsizing and industrial restructuring in the Northeast. January 1998-May 1998.

◦ *U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development*. Office of Policy Development and Research. Policy analyst working in the economics division under Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research, John Weicher. June 1991-January 1992.

Official Expert Testimony (selected):

◦ U.S. House of Representatives, Government Reform Subcommittee on Federalism and the Census, Testimony on Immigration-Induced Reapportionment, December 6, 2005.

◦ U.S. House of Representatives, Small Business Committee, Testimony on Population Mobility and the Rural Economy, May 20, 1997.

◦ Maryland Commission to Revise the Election Code, Testimony on Third-Party Voting and Registration, November 1996.

Invited Talks and Speaking Engagements (selected):

- Presentation at Washington University, St. Louis. Department of Political Science. "Incidental and Intentional Partisan Residential Sorting." December 1, 2016.

- Presentation at The Maret School, Washington, DC. "Our Patchwork Nation and the 2016 Election." November 9, 2016.

- Presentation at Bowdoin College, Brunswick, ME. "Big Data and the Political Campaign." February 16, 2016.

- Presentation at American University, National Capital Area Political Science Association Workshop. "Business Interests and the Party Coalitions: Industry Sector Contributions to U.S. Congressional Campaigns." January 7, 2013.

- Conference Participant at Hoover Institution, Legal Immigration Policy Roundtable.   Stanford University. Palo Alto, California. October 4-5, 2012.

- Presentation at the University of Maryland Libraries, Speaking of Books Series. "Our Patchwork Nation." College Park, Maryland. October 19, 2011.

- Presentation at University of Iowa, Department of Political Science. "Voter Migration and the Geographic Sorting of the American Electorate." Iowa City, IA. September 30, 2011.

- Keynote Address delivered to the Annual Great Plains Political Science Association Convention. "Economic and Political Socialization: Lessons from Rural America for the Rest of the Nation." Brookings, SD. September 24, 2011.

- Presentation at Stanford University, Hoover Institution. "The Geography of Tea: Strategic Activism or Expressive Protest?" May 19, 2011.

- Presentation at the University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Geography. "New Directions in the Geographic Analysis of Contemporary U.S. Politics." April 22, 2011.

- Presentation at the University of Maryland, School of Public Policy. Tuesday Forum. "Economic and Political Socialization across *Our Patchwork Nation*." November 30, 2010.

- Presentation at University of Kentucky, Department of Political Science. "Voter Migration and the Geographic Sorting of the American Electorate." Lexington, KY. December 3, 2010.

- Presentation at Georgetown University, American Politics Workshop. "The Distributive Politics of the Federal Stimulus."   Washington, DC. September 24, 2010.

- Presentation at Christopher Newport University, Conference on Civic Education and the Future of American Citizenship. "Political Socialization Inside and Outside the Classroom." Newport News, VA. February 4, 2010.

- Presentation at the Brookings Institution. "Remarks on Joint Brookings/Kenan Center Immigration Roundtable Proposals and Recommendations." Washington, DC. October 6, 2009.

- Presentation at the University at Buffalo, Department of Political Science Seminar Series.   "Regional Migration Flows and Partisan Sorting of the American Electorate." Buffalo, NY. April 17, 2009.

- Presentation at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, American Politics Workshop.   "Rough Terrain: Spatial Variation in Political Participation." Madison, WI. March 23, 2009.

Invited Talks and Speaking Engagements cont'd (selected):

○ Presentation at the University of Texas, Austin, Department of Government.   "Immigration and Diversity Attitudes in Rural America."   Austin, TX. February 26-27, 2009.

○ Presentation at the University of Paris 8, St. Denis.   "Political Socialization and Diversity Attitudes."   Conference on Immigration and Spatial Concentration in Three Countries. Paris, France. January 15-16, 2009.