

Expert Report on North Carolina's Enacted Congressional and General Assembly Districts

Christopher A. Cooper

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Introduction

My name is Christopher A. Cooper. I have been asked to provide an analysis of the partisan characteristics of North Carolina's congressional and General Assembly maps, enacted on November 4, 2021. I am conducting this analysis as a private citizen and am not speaking for my employer, nor am I conducting this work on university time, or using university resources.

I am the Robert Lee Madison Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Public Affairs at Western Carolina University, where I have been a tenured or tenure-track professor since 2002. I hold a PhD and MA in Political Science from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville and a BA in Political Science and Sociology from Winthrop University. My academic research focuses on state politics and policy, elections, and southern politics—with particular application to North Carolina. To date, I have published over 50 academic journal articles and book chapters, co-edited one book focused on North Carolina (*The New Politics of The Old North State*), and co-authored one book related to politics in the South, including North Carolina (both books with the University of North Carolina Press). I teach courses on state and local politics, political parties, campaigns, and elections, southern politics, research methods, and election administration. In 2013, I was named the North Carolina Professor of the Year by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and I have received Western Carolina University's highest honors in teaching (Board of Governors Teaching Award), and scholarship (University Scholar). My current curriculum vitae is attached as Attachment A.

Much of my academic and applied research relates to North Carolina politics and policy and I am a frequent source for news media seeking comments about politics in the Old North State. My quotes have appeared in national and international outlets including *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, Politico, BBC, NPR's *All Things Considered*, and *The New Yorker*, as well as in North Carolina-based outlets including *The News and Observer*, *The Charlotte Observer*, *Asheville-Citizen Times*, *Carolina Journal*, *Spectrum News*, and NPR affiliates in Chapel Hill, Charlotte, and Asheville. I have written over 100 op-eds on North Carolina, southern and national elections and politics, including pieces in *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, NBC.com, *The News and Observer*, *The Charlotte Observer*, and *Asheville Citizen-Times*, and I regularly give talks about North Carolina politics, North Carolina elections, and the redistricting process to groups throughout the state. I previously served as an expert witness in *Common Cause v. Lewis*, 18-CVS-014001 (N.C. Super. Ct. Sep. 3, 2019).

I am being compensated at a rate of \$300 per hour.

North Carolina is a state defined by competitive two-party politics in terms of its citizens and in its elections for statewide elective offices. Its congressional and state legislative delegations, by contrast, have defied this evidence of competitiveness and moderation and have leaned heavily towards the party in control of the General Assembly, despite the fact that Democrats and Republicans garner similar numbers of statewide votes.

This difference cannot be explained away as a result of where Democrats and Republicans happen to live. As Stanford political geographer Jonathan Rodden demonstrated, North Carolina does not show as much evidence of “natural clustering” as other states. “Due to the presence of a sprawling knowledge-economy corridor, a series of smaller automobile cities with relative low partisan gradients, and the distribution of rural African Americans, Democrats are relatively efficiently distributed in North Carolina at the scale of congressional districts.”¹ Looking across all 50 states, Political Scientists Alex Keena, Michael Latner, Anthony J. McGann, and Charles Anthony Smith come to a similar conclusion at the state legislative level: “It is clear that geographical considerations such as the urban concentration of Democrats cannot explain away partisan gerrymandering. There is strong evidence that it is indeed possible to draw unbiased (or almost unbiased) districting plans, even in states with large and densely clustered city dwellers.”²

As I demonstrate in the analysis that follows, the available evidence indicates that this gap in representation is due to partisan gerrymandering, drawing lines to benefit one party at the expense of the other. While a small deviation from established political patterns is not necessarily evidence of gerrymandering, the differences observed in North Carolina’s political outcomes are large and sustained.

Gerrymandering is generally accepted as a threat to democracy in North Carolina and across the nation. This statement is true regardless of partisanship. For example, a 2018 Elon Poll found that just 10% of registered voters in North Carolina believe the current redistricting system is “mostly fair.”³ A more recent poll found that 72% of North Carolinians believe gerrymandering is “a very serious problem” or “a somewhat serious problem” while only 6% believe it is “not a problem.” The same poll (which, it should be noted, includes question wording that references both Democratic and Republican gerrymandering) found that 74% of North Carolinians “support efforts by the courts to ensure maps are fair and constitutional.”⁴ Yet another recent poll found that 89% of North Carolina voters “oppose drawing voting districts to help one political party or certain politicians win an election.”⁵ A recent op-ed in *The News and Observer* by Republican Carter Wrenn and Democrat Gary Pearce illustrates bi-partisan agreement on the evils of gerrymandering in clear terms. They explain, “We agree that gerrymandering is a major problem that undermines the foundations of our democracy. We agree that districts shouldn’t be drawn to help one political party,

¹ Rodden, Jonathan, *Why Cities Lose* (New York: Basic Books, 2019), 173.

² Keena, Alex, Michael Latner, Anthony J. McGann, and Charles Anthony Smith, *Gerrymandering in the States: Partisanship, Race and the Transformation of American Federalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 86.

³ Elon Poll, “The State of Political Knowledge in North Carolina,” February 12-15, 2018, *available at* <https://www.elon.edu/u/elon-poll/wp-content/uploads/sites/819/2019/02/Elon-Poll-Report-022318.pdf>.

⁴ Public Policy Polling, “North Carolina Survey Results,” December 6-7, 2021, *available at* <https://progressncaction.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/NorthCarolinaResults.pdf>.

⁵ RepresentUs, “North Carolina Polling: Voters See Gerrymandering as a Major Problem, Want Reform,” August 9, 2021, *available at* <https://represent.us/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Rep-US-Polling-Memo-North-Carolina-0821.pdf>.

no more than college basketball games should be rigged to favor one team.”⁶ The preference for fair maps—those not gerrymandered to achieve a partisan advantage—is not a partisan one.

Summary of Key Findings

- North Carolina is, by virtually any measure, a “purple state” with healthy two-party competition at the statewide level. The North Carolina Governor is a Democrat, while the U.S. Senators are Republicans. There are more registered Democrats than Republicans in the state, and in the 2020 election, the two-party vote share difference between Donald Trump and Joe Biden was the smallest of any state that Trump won.
- North Carolina has a history of gerrymandering for partisan gain.⁷ North Carolina’s maps since 2011, in particular, have demonstrated clear partisan bias⁸ that has implications for democracy. Immediately after the 2011 redistricting cycle, North Carolina’s democracy weakened considerably, according to one scholar, moving from a democracy score that placed the Old North State roughly in the middle of the pack to one near the bottom of the country.⁹
- As a result of the 2020 census, North Carolina earned an additional congressional seat because of population growth that occurred mostly in urban areas, which tend to favor Democrats: according to an analysis of U.S. census data by *The News and Observer*, more than 78% of North Carolina’s population growth over the last decade came from the Triangle area and the Charlotte metro area.¹⁰ Despite that fact, the number of anticipated Democratic seats actually *decreases* in the current congressional map, as compared to the last map enacted in late 2019 and used in the 2020 elections. The last map produced 5 Democratic wins and 8 Republican wins; this map is expected to produce 3 Democratic wins, 10 Republican wins and 1 competitive seat.
- In the congressional map, Democratic strongholds Mecklenburg, Guilford, and Wake counties are each divided across three districts, despite the fact that there is no population-based reason to divide them this many times. In the previous congressional map, Mecklenburg was divided into two districts, Wake into two districts, and Guilford fell completely in one district. The strategic splits in the enacted map ensure that large numbers of voters will have no chance of being represented by a member of their own party. These splits will also lead to voter confusion and fractured representational linkages.

⁶ Gary Pearce and Carter Wrenn, “We’re usually on opposite sides of political battles. But we agree on NC voting maps.” *The News and Observer*, October 21, 2021, available at <https://www.newsobserver.com/opinion/article255145572.html>.

⁷ Bitzer, J. Michael, *Redistricting and Gerrymandering in North Carolina: Battlelines in the Tar Heel State* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).

⁸ See, e.g., Keena, Alex, Michael Latner Anthony J. McGann, and Charles Anthony Smith, *Gerrymandering in the States: Partisanship, Race and the Transformation of American Federalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 86.

⁹ Grumbach, Jacob M. “Laboratories of Democratic Backsliding.” (Unpublished Manuscript: University of Washington, 2021), available at <https://sites.google.com/view/jakegrumbach/working-papers>. Insights from this manuscript are forthcoming in *Laboratories Against Democracy*, Princeton University Press (<https://press.princeton.edu/books/hardcover/9780691218458/laboratories-against-democracy>).

¹⁰ David Raynor, Tyler Dukes, and Gavin Off, “From population to diversity, see for yourself how NC changed over 10 years.” *The News and Observer*, October 18, 2021, available at <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/article253546964.html>.

- The enacted congressional map produces geographic contortions that combine counties in ways that, in some circumstances, have never existed before.
- The double-bunking that occurs in the enacted congressional map advantages the Republican Party. A Republican (Virginia Foxx) and a Democrat (Kathy Manning) are both drawn into in an overwhelmingly Republican district (congressional district 11), thus virtually guaranteeing that the Democrat (Manning) will lose her seat. There are no cases where two Republican incumbents seeking re-election are double-bunked. The map also produces at least one district with no incumbents, but that district (congressional district 4) overwhelmingly favors the Republican Party.
- Despite the application of the *Stephenson v. Bartlett* county clustering rule, the mapmakers had considerable leeway in drawing the vast majority of North Carolina House and Senate districts. The enacted district lines “pack” Democratic leaning voters into a small number of districts, thus producing a few Democratic districts with large electoral margins. The district lines “crack” the remaining Democratic voters across the remaining districts, so that Democratic voters cannot comprise a majority of any of those districts. Conversely, the maps distribute Republican VTDs more efficiently, to translate those Republican votes into a greater number of anticipated seats. These practices ultimately result in large Republican seat advantages in the General Assembly—advantages that far outweigh the Republicans’ share of the aggregate vote between the two parties. These maps are likely to lead to a General Assembly that will not represent the will of the people of the state.
- Neutral, third-party observers have been uniform in their negative assessment of the enacted maps. For example, The Princeton Gerrymandering Project assessed a grade of “F” in partisan fairness and “C” in competitiveness for all three maps. Dave’s Redistricting App (DRA) assesses the congressional map as “very bad” in proportionality and “bad” in terms of competitiveness. While the House and Senate maps fare slightly better in terms of proportionality according to DRA, DRA assesses both maps to be “bad” in terms of competitiveness. Both The Princeton Gerrymandering Project and DRA are nonpartisan and have given similar grades to Democratic gerrymanders in other states.

North Carolina's Partisan Competitiveness

North Carolina has long been known for political moderation and competitive two-party politics. In 1960, Political Scientist V.O. Key noted North Carolina's distinctiveness from the rest of the South, owing to its comparatively competitive two-party politics.¹¹ North Carolina journalist Rob Christensen and Wake Forest University Political Scientist Jack Fleer noted more recently that the state enjoys “two strong and competitive parties.”¹² Work by contemporary observers reinforces the notion that North Carolina is a competitive two-party state where statewide offices are winnable for either major political party.¹³

Two-Party Competition in Election Results

As I have written previously, one way to gauge the state's relative moderation and two-party competitiveness is simply to look at electoral results from races where gerrymandering is not possible—races where people are elected at the state level, rather than by districts that are subject to gerrymandering. The most prominent example of such an election, of course, is the U.S. presidential election.

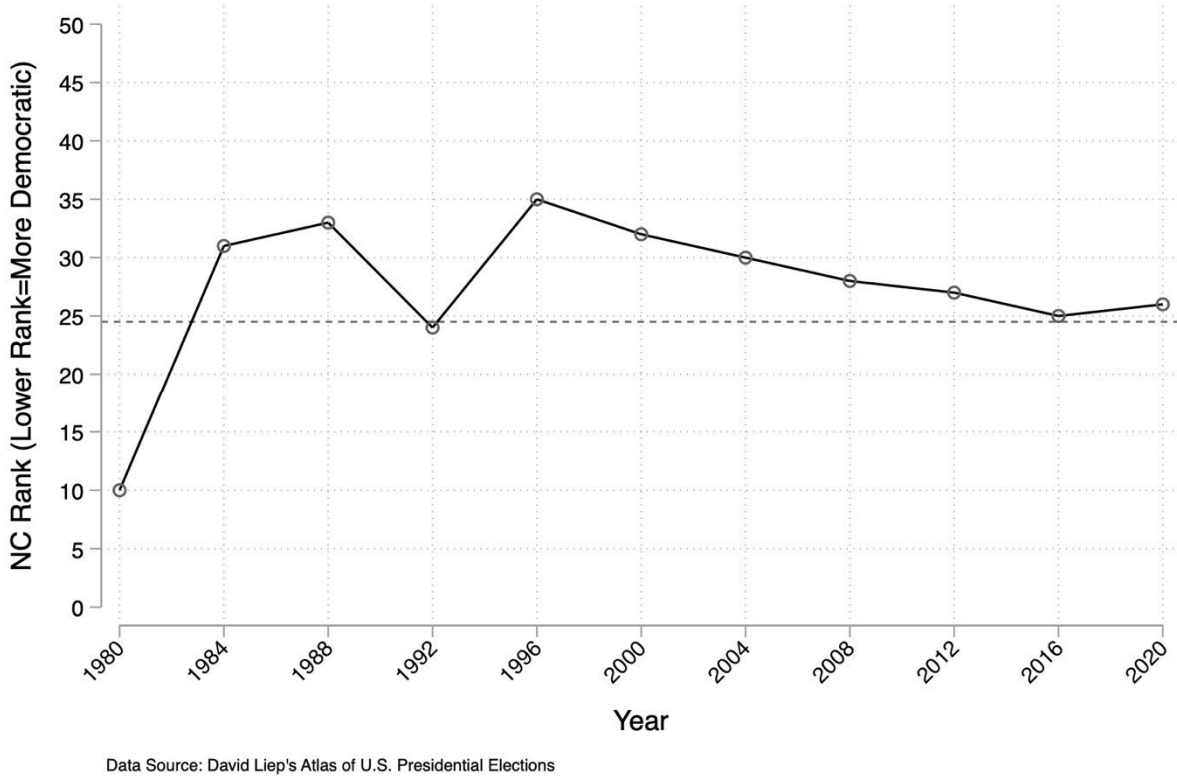
The figure below plots North Carolina's presidential election results as ranked alongside those from other states, ranging from the state where the Democratic candidate received the largest vote share (1) to the state where the Democratic candidate receive the smallest vote share (50). Here, we see that North Carolina is best described as a competitive two-party state that sits roughly in the middle of the country in terms of partisan voting patterns. In 2000, North Carolina had the 32nd highest vote share for the Democratic candidate for president. In 2004, Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry received his 30th highest vote share in North Carolina. In 2008, then-presidential candidate Barack Obama's vote share in North Carolina was 28th highest in the country. In 2012, incumbent President Obama's vote share in North Carolina was 27th highest in the country. In 2016, North Carolina had the 26th highest Democratic vote share in the country and in 2020, it was the 27th highest.

¹¹ See Key, V.O., Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1960).

¹² Christensen, Rob, and Jack D. Fleer, “North Carolina: Between Helms and Hunt No Majority Emerges,” in Alexander P. Lamis, ed. *Southern Politics in the 1990s* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999), 106.

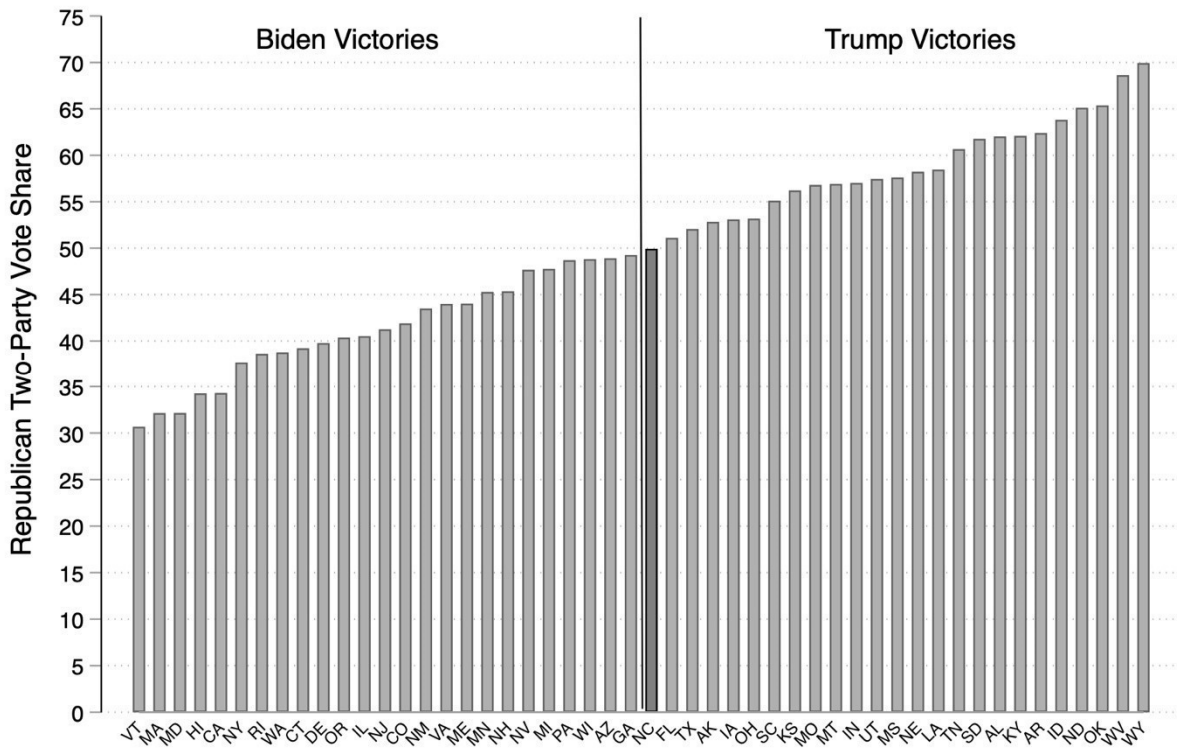
¹³ Bitzer, J. Michael, and Charles Prysby, “North Carolina,” in Charles S. Bullock III, and Mark J. Rozell, eds., *The New Politics of the Old South*, 7th Edition (Rowman and Littlefield, 2021).

Figure 1. North Carolina Rank in Democratic Vote Share for President Among the 50 States



In the 2020 election, North Carolina was perched on the razor's edge between Republican and Democrat—Donald Trump's two-party vote share was the smallest in North Carolina of any state he won in 2020. If any state can be described as “purple” or “competitive” in modern American politics, it is North Carolina.

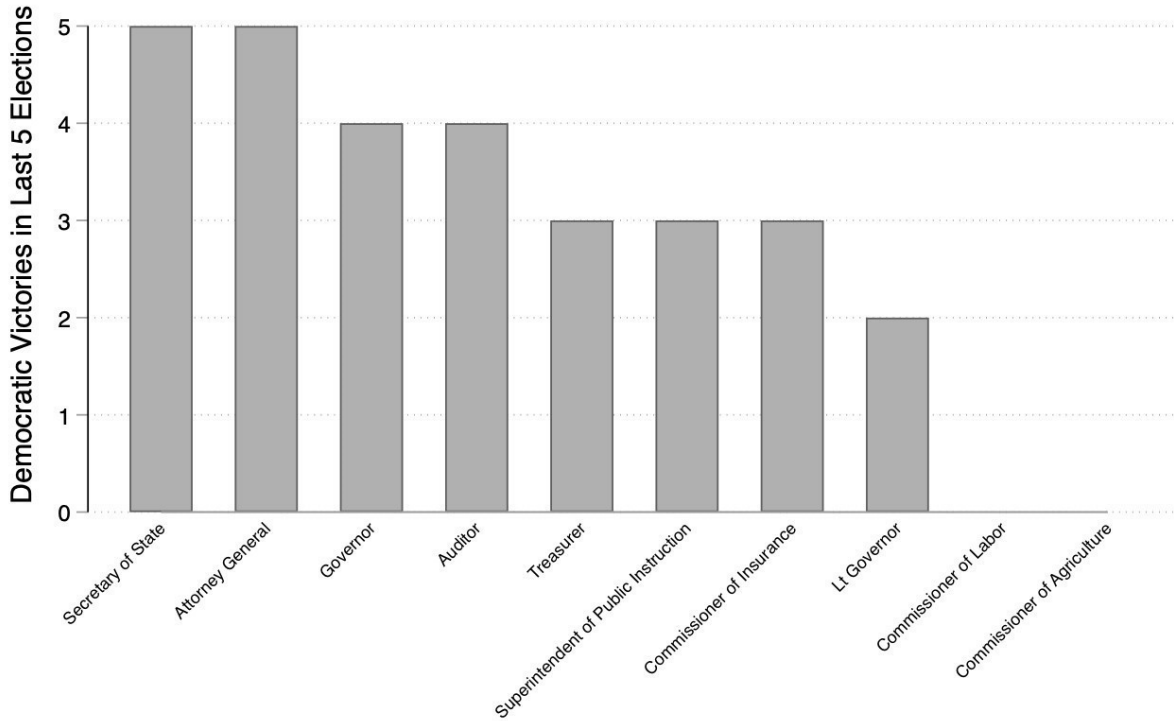
Figure 2. Two-Party Vote Share in the 2020 Presidential Election



Another way to understand North Carolina’s competitiveness is to examine election results at the Council of State—ten members of the Executive branch who vary in prominence but are all elected in partisan quadrennial elections. These include the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, State Auditor, State Treasurer, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Attorney General, Commissioner of Agriculture, Commissioner of Labor, and Commissioner of Insurance.

The result of these elections over the past five election cycles demonstrates once again that North Carolina enjoys significant partisan competition. Democrats have won 29 out of 50 Council of State elections since 2004.

Figure 3. Results of The Last Five Council of State Elections

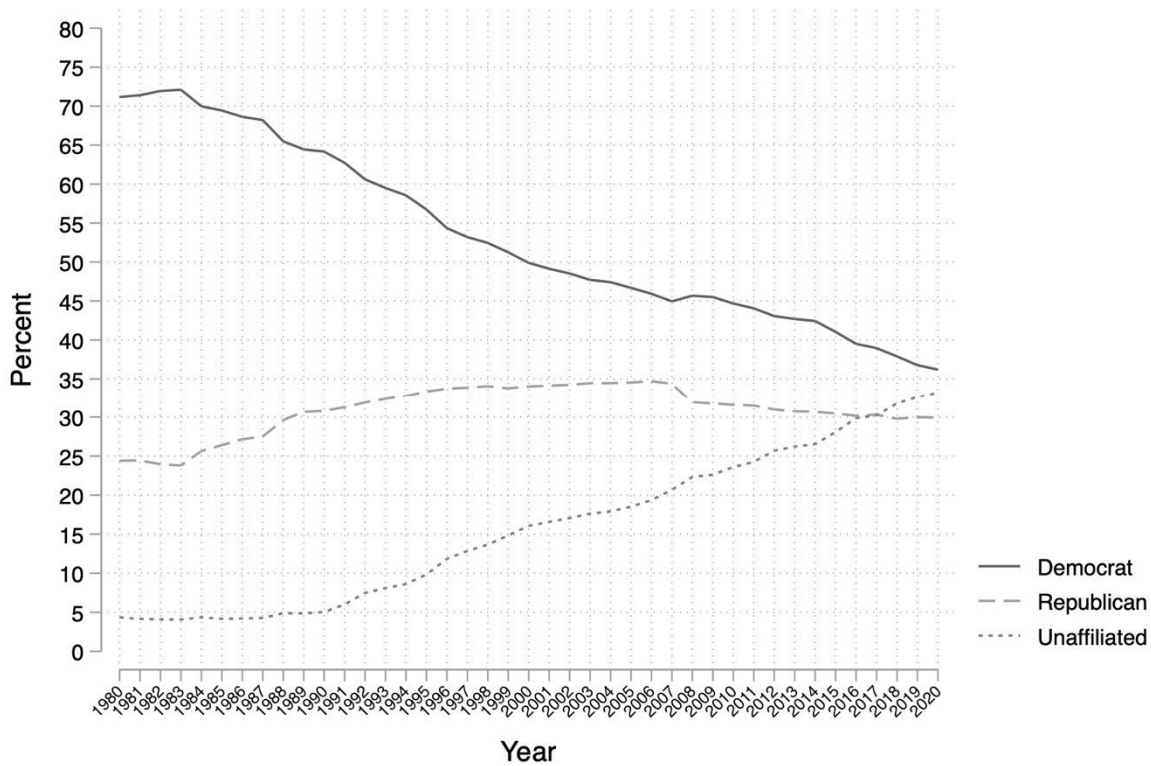


Note: Calculated from NC State Board of Elections data. Council of State elections take place every four years.

Two-Party Competition and Moderation in the Electorate

North Carolina has considerable two-party competition in terms of voter registration. As the figure below indicates, Republican Party identification has never exceeded Democratic Party identification in the history of the state. While this is certainly not a sign of a liberal, Democratic state, it similarly belies any contention that North Carolina is a conservative, Republican state.

Figure 4. Voter Registration in North Carolina



Partisan identification is, of course, just one indicator of the political lean of a state’s citizens. And, given the rise in Unaffiliated voters in North Carolina, it is an increasingly noisy indicator.¹⁴ Existing measures of statewide public opinion, however, come to the same conclusion: North Carolina does not lean heavily towards one party or ideology. One measure of state-level public opinion finds that North Carolina falls near the middle of the distribution of state-level political ideology as the 24th most liberal state in the country.¹⁵ Another widely accepted measure finds that North Carolina is the 25th most liberal state in the country.¹⁶

Legislative Votes and Seats in the Aggregate

Historically, North Carolina’s legislative delegation has not reflected these patterns of two-party competition and moderation. As the following three graphs demonstrate, North Carolinians consistently give about half of their two-party vote share to each party, yet the Republicans dominate in terms of legislative representation. This suggests that the representational linkage between voters and North Carolina’s legislative representatives is weaker than between the voters and various other elected offices.

¹⁴ Although using partisan identification as an indicator of voter preference can be problematic given that people generally change their voting pattern before changing partisan identification, North Carolina’s party registration data is consistent with its moderate statewide voting patterns, as illustrated by the other measures included in this report.
¹⁵ Berry, William D., Evan J. Ringquist, Richard C. Fording, and Russell L. Hanson, “Measuring Citizen and Government Ideology in the American States, 1960-93.” *American Journal of Political Science* 42(1998): 327-48. Raw data are available at <https://rcfording.com/state-ideology-data/>
¹⁶ Tausanovitch, Chris, and Christopher Warshaw, “Measuring Constituent Policy Preference in Congress, State Legislatures, and Cities.” *The Journal of Politics* 75(2013): 330-342. See <http://www.americanideologyproject.com> for data.

Figure 5. Comparing Votes and Seats in North Carolina’s Congressional Delegation, 2012-2020

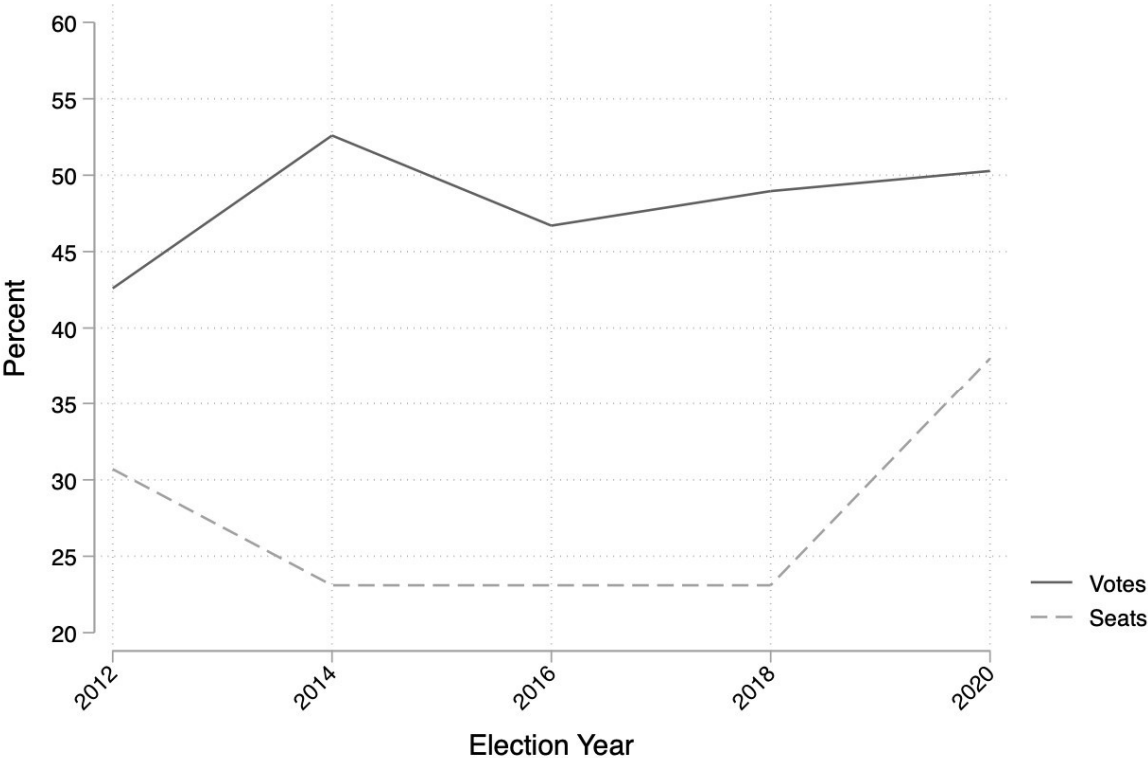


Figure 6. Comparing Votes and Seats in the North Carolina Senate, 2012-2020

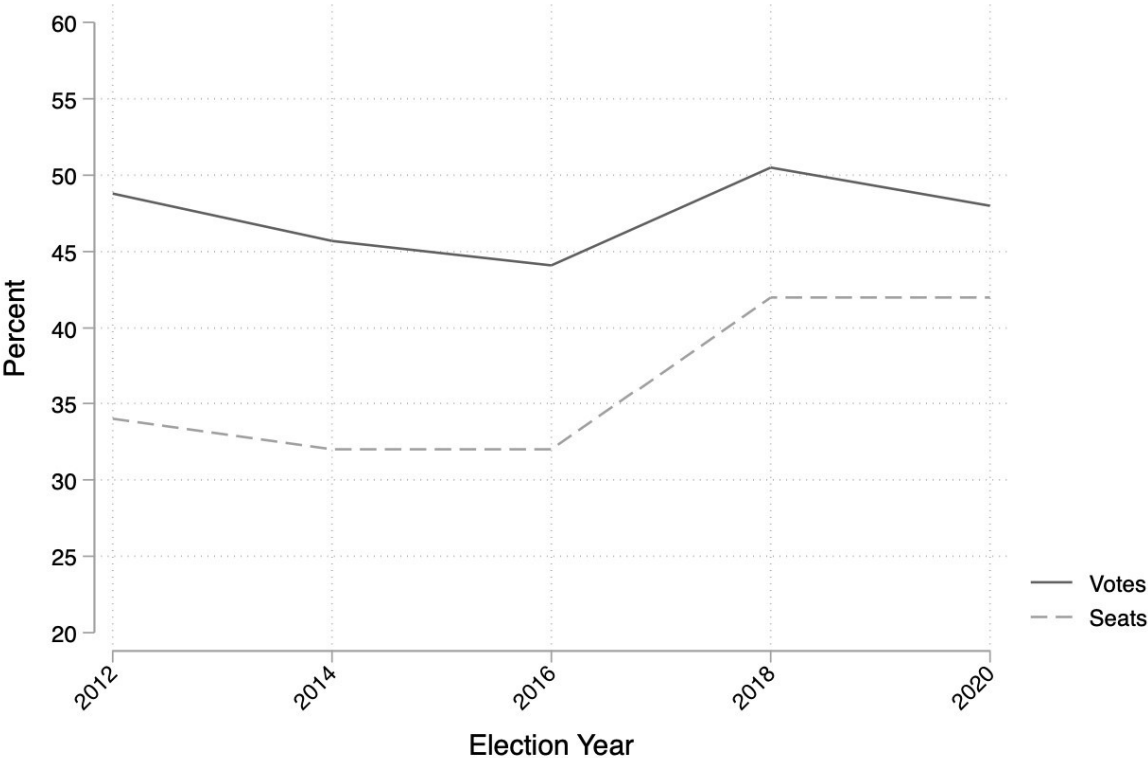
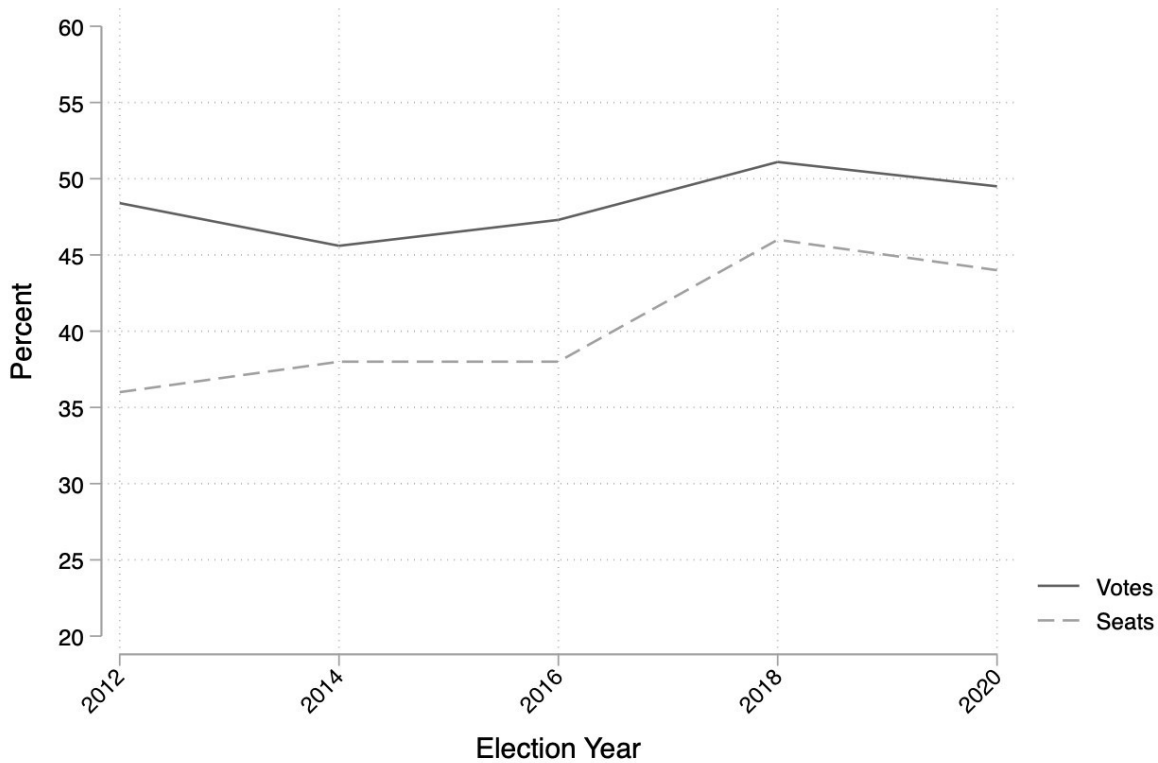


Figure 7. Comparing Votes and Seats in the North Carolina House, 2012-2020



Policy Outcomes

While North Carolina’s statewide electoral outcomes, public opinion estimates, and party registration data all suggest a state that falls near the middle of the ideological and partisan spectrum in terms of citizen policy preferences, the partisanship of North Carolina’s congressional and General Assembly delegations run counter to these measures. Further, available evidence suggests that the policy behavior and ideology of state legislators and members of Congress in North Carolina are at odds with statewide measures of two-party competition and ideological moderation. Estimates of voting patterns at the General Assembly¹⁷ and congressional¹⁸ levels reinforce that both delegations have moved in an increasingly conservative direction, while the aggregate public opinion of the citizenry has remained relatively constant. *See* figures 8 and 9 below.

¹⁷ Data are from Schor, Boris, and Nolan McCarty. 2020. American Legislatures Project, *available at* <https://americanlegislatures.com>.

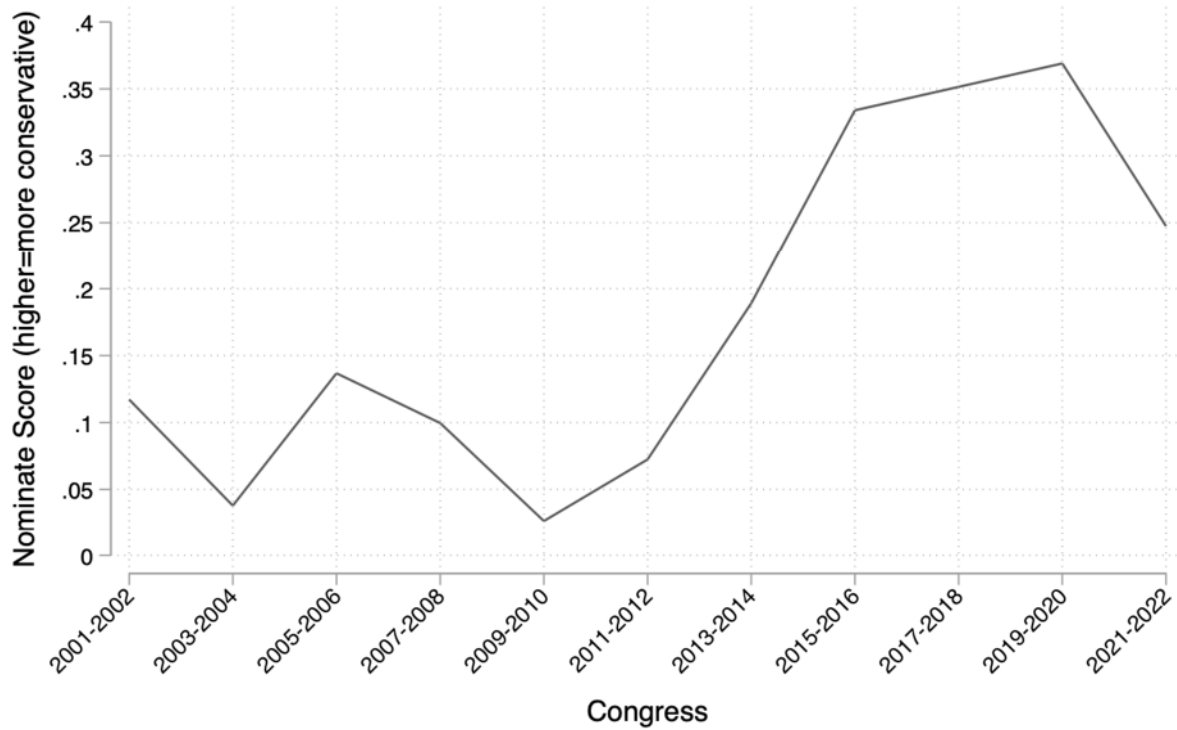
¹⁸ Lewis, Jeffrey B., Keith Poole, Howard Rosenthal, Adam Boche, Aaron Rudkin, and Luke Sonnet (2021). *Voterview: Congressional Roll-Call Votes Database*. <https://voteview.com/>.

Figure 8. Chamber Estimates of North Carolina General Assembly Ideology, 1995-2018



Source: American Legislatures Project (Schor and McCarty 2020)

Figure 9. Nominate scores of North Carolina’s congressional delegation, 2001-2002 Congress through 2021-2022 Congress



Source: Lewis et al. (2021)

In a forthcoming book, Political Scientist Jacob Grumbach finds that North Carolina experienced significant democratic backsliding in recent years—“among the most democratic states in the year 2000, but by 2018, they are close to the bottom.”¹⁹ It is important to note that Grumbach’s measure is one of “small d” democratic backsliding—he does not measure partisanship, but rather a state’s propensity to adhere to basic norms of democracy.

Taken together, these complementary measures of North Carolina voters’ behaviors, ideological preferences, and partisanship indicate that North Carolina is a politically moderate state that enjoys two-party competition for the vast majority of elected offices. Beginning in 2011, however, North Carolina’s congressional and General Assembly delegations have run counter to this trend, both in terms of partisanship and expressed policy preferences.

¹⁹ Grumbach, Jacob M., “Laboratories of Democratic Backsliding,” (Unpublished Manuscript: University of Washington, 2021), available at <https://sites.google.com/view/jakegrumbach/working-papers>. See a graph focusing on North Carolina’s democratic backsliding on pg. 13. Insights from this manuscript are forthcoming in *Laboratories Against Democracy*, Princeton University Press (<https://press.princeton.edu/books/hardcover/9780691218458/laboratories-against-democracy>).

District Analysis

The remainder of this report is devoted to examinations of specific districts (in the case of Congress) and county “clusters” (in the case of the General Assembly). In the text that follows, I refer to the “current” maps as the maps that were used in the 2020 election and the “enacted” maps as the maps that have been approved by the North Carolina General Assembly for use in the 2022 elections. While I conducted all of the analysis that follows and wrote all of the verbiage, the shaded red-and-blue maps were produced by John Holden, a geographic information system (GIS) expert, using a “CCSC” measure of partisanship that I selected and describe below. Mr. Holden also produced the other maps in the following pages that show the effect of the district lines on certain municipalities.

I use a few different metrics in the analysis that follows. The first is the Cook Political Report’s Partisan Voter Index (PVI), a standard metric of the expected “lean” of a congressional district using a composite of past elections. The second is the Civitas Political Index (CPI), a measure of partisan district lean for state legislative districts derived from prior Council of State votes. The CPI places each district on a scale from D+1 (a district that has a slight Democratic tilt) to D+36 (a district with an overwhelming Democratic tilt), with mirrored results on the Republican side indicated with an “R” instead of a “D.” The third is a metric created for this analysis that combines the results of the 2020 Secretary of Labor and Attorney General races, the two closest Council of State races in North Carolina that year, into one measure, which I term the Competitive Council of State Composite (CCSC).²⁰ This measure allows for the use of relatively low-profile elections to get a sense of the “true partisanship” of the district. It is presented below as the raw difference in votes and is used in the shaded red-and-blue maps that follow. From time to time, I mention the percent of the electorate that voted for Donald Trump in the 2020 election to give yet another sense of the partisan lean of the district, county, or cluster.

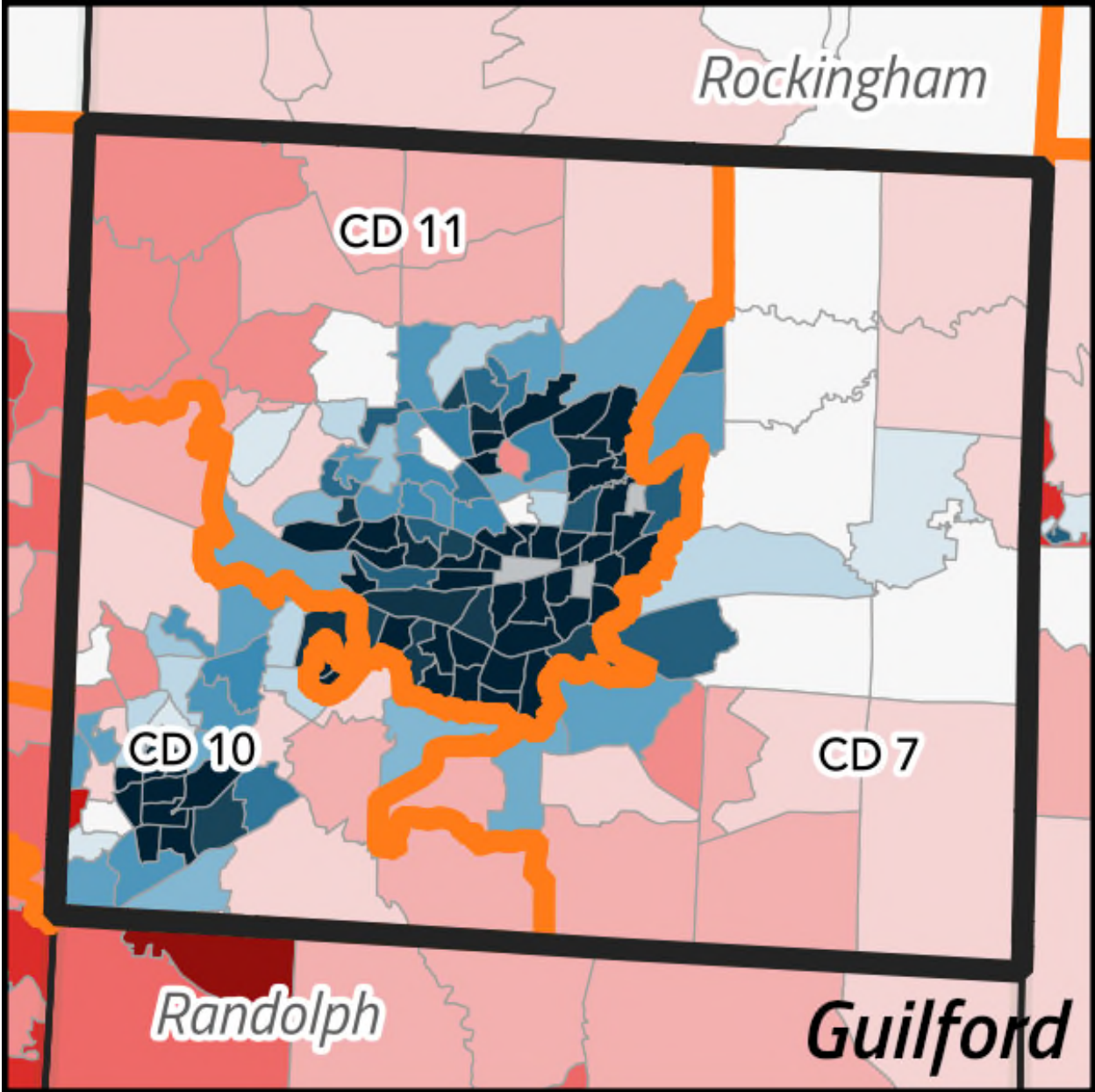
Congressional District Analysis

I begin by showing shaded red-and-blue maps demonstrating the trisection of Wake County, Mecklenburg County, and Guilford County by the congressional district lines (maps 1, 2, and 3 below). These maps show county lines in black, VTD lines in gray, and district lines in orange. The red-and-blue shading represents the relative vote margin using my CCSC—the composite results of the Secretary of Labor and Attorney General races in 2020—in each VTD, with darker blue shading representing larger Democratic vote margins and darker red shading indicating larger Republican vote margins (both normalized by acreage).

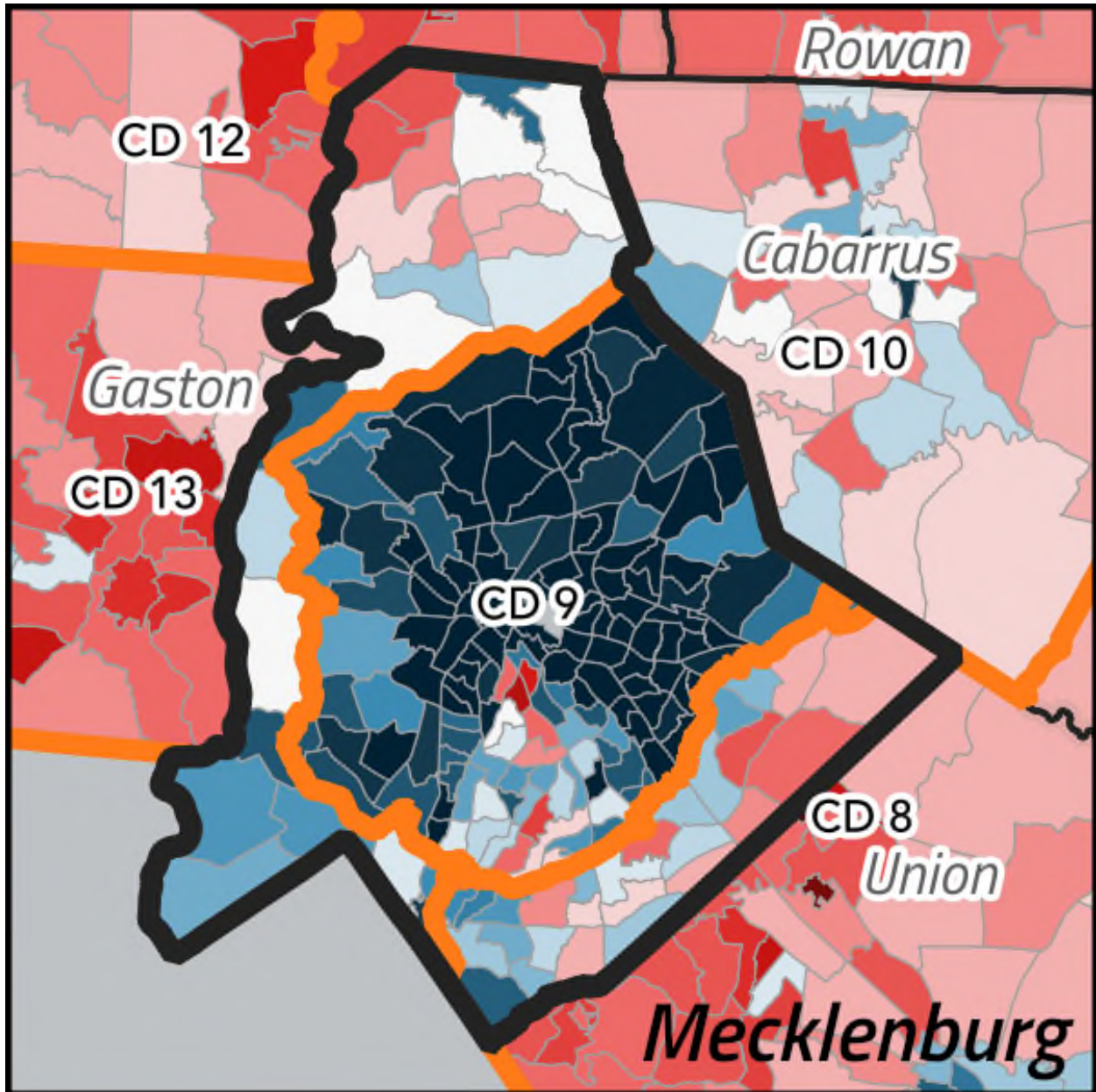
While district-by-district analysis is important, the congressional map is best understood as a single organism, rather than 14 separate entities—as one district moves in one direction, another must respond. This means that the unnecessary division of Mecklenburg, Guilford, and Wake counties across multiple congressional districts, achieved by the cracking and packing of Democratic voters in those counties, has ripple effects throughout the map. Map 4 shows the entirety of the congressional map with red-and-blue CCSC shading.

²⁰ The election data utilized for the CCSC metric, including to generate the red-and-blue shading on the maps that follow, was obtained from the North Carolina State Board of Elections website. See <https://www.ncsbe.gov/results-data/election-results/historical-election-results-data>.

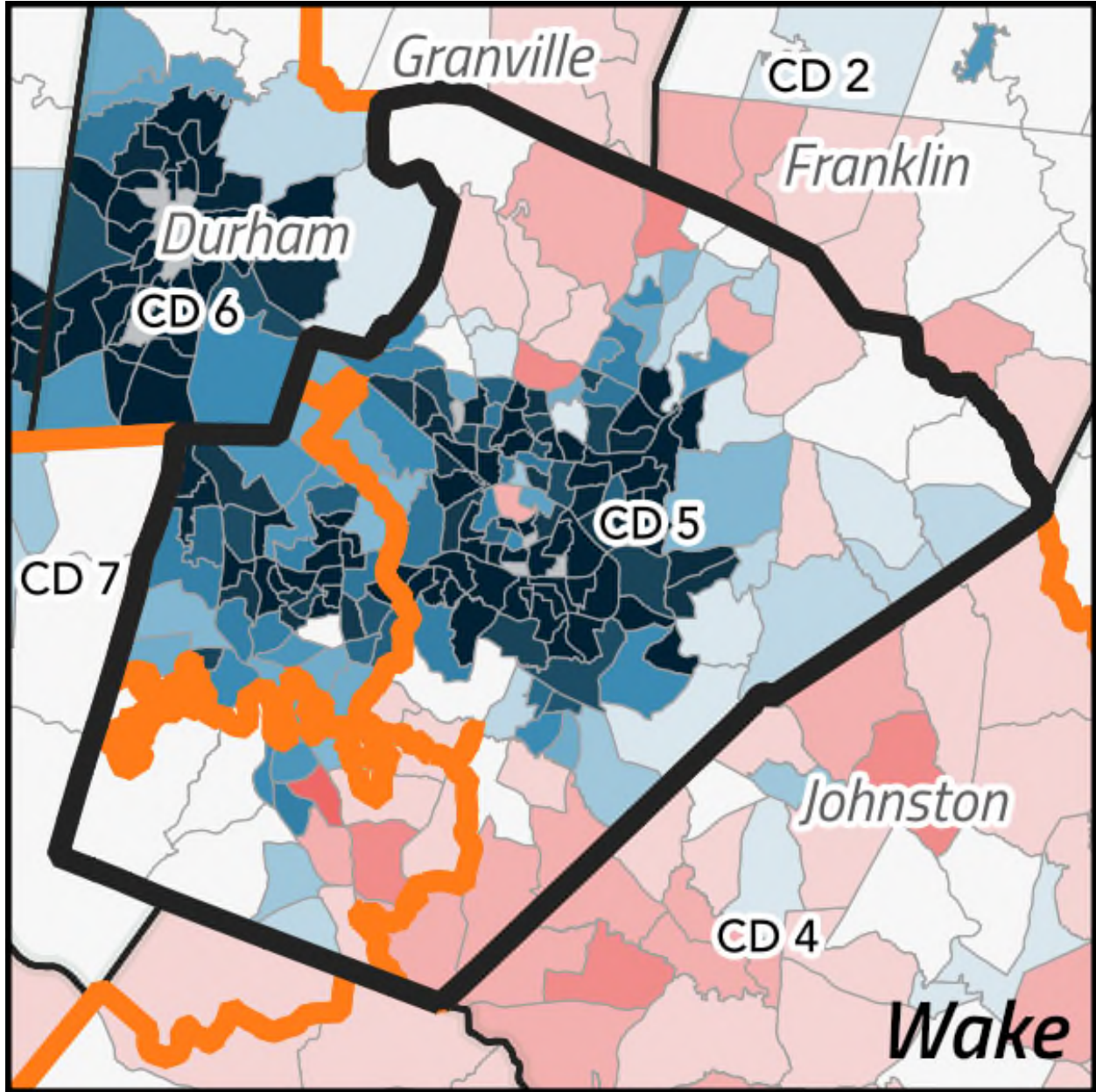
Map 1. Close-up of Guilford County VTD CCSC, split across three districts



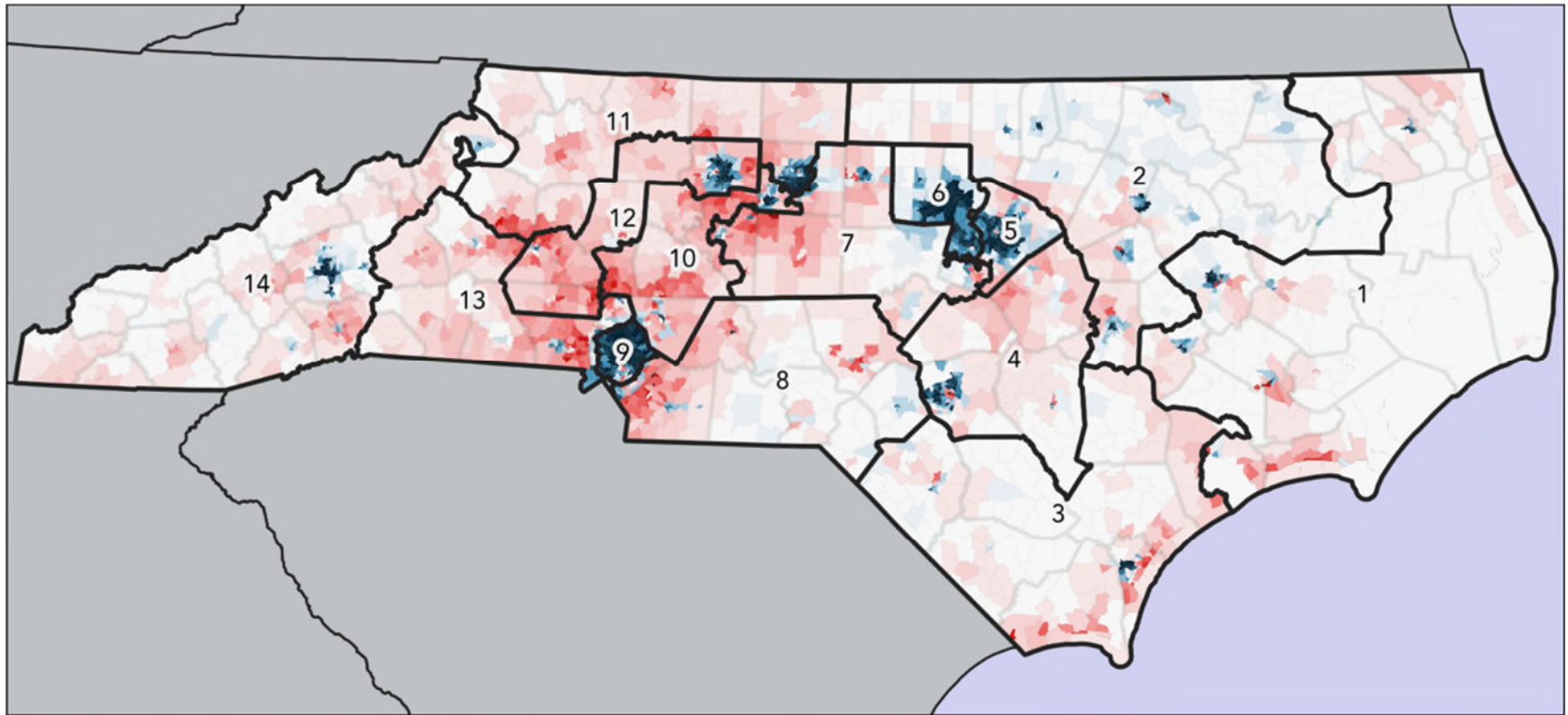
Map 2. Close-up of Mecklenburg County VTD CCSC, split across three districts



Map 3. Close-up of Wake County VTD CCSC, split across three districts



Map 4. Statewide overview of the enacted congressional map



As the table below shows, the PVI, CCSC, and Trump Percentage all tell a similar story: the enacted map will produce 10 Republican seats, 3 Democratic seats, and 1 competitive seat. At most, the enacted map could be expected to elect four Democrats to office in 2022—fewer than in the current map and far below what one would expect based on Democratic representation statewide or the results of other recent statewide elections.

Table 1. Summary Data for Each Enacted Congressional District

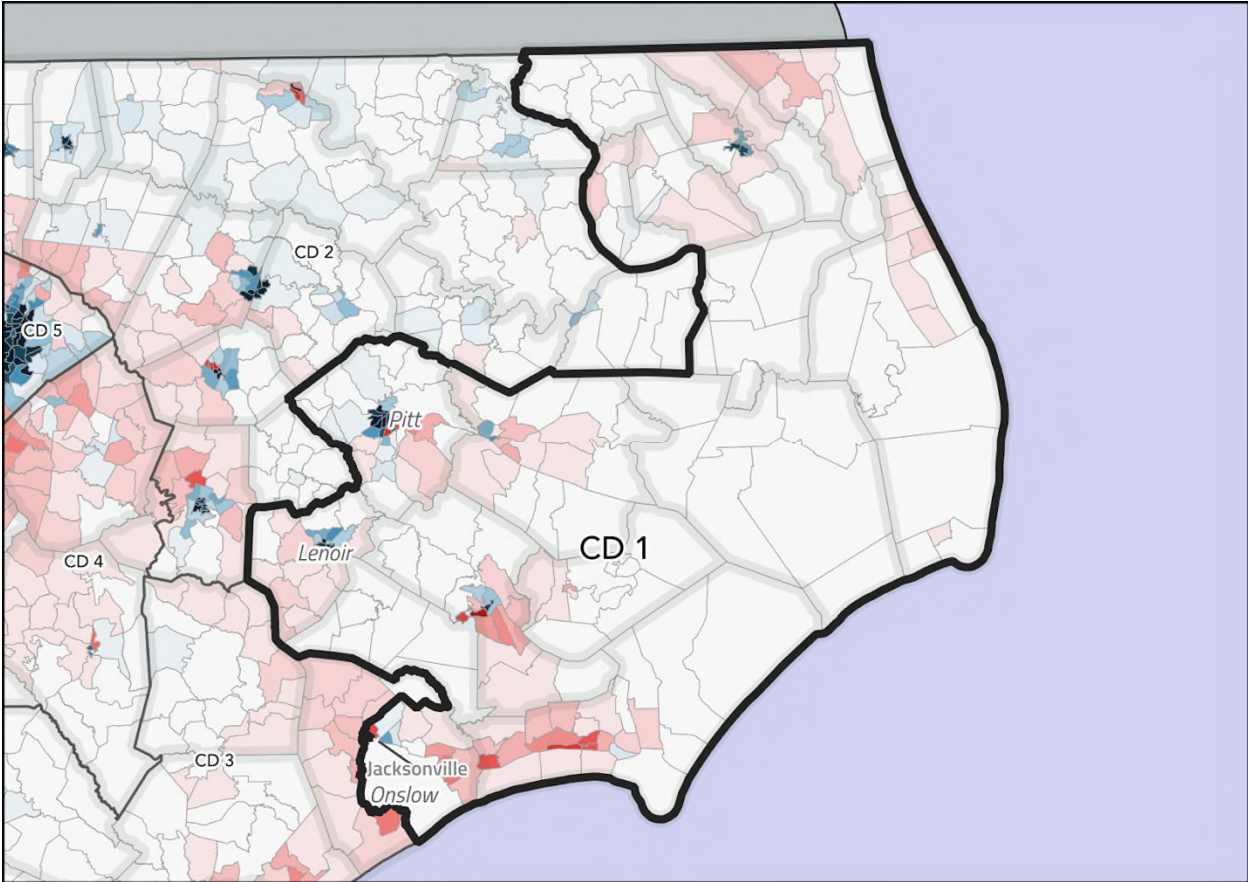
District	PVI	CCSC	Trump Perc
1	R+10	R +98,969	57%
2	Even	D +40,396	48%
3	R+10	R +111,451	58%
4	R+5	R +28,045	53%
5	D+12	D +227,327	34%
6	D+22	D +374,786	25%
7	R+11	R +115,682	57%
8	R+11	R +125,842	57%
9	D+23	D +325,717	25%
10	R+14	R +156,833	60%
11	R+9	R +94,407	57%
12	R+9	R +102,404	56%
13	R+13	R +150,187	60%
14	R+7	R +58,387	53%

NC-1

The enacted 1st congressional district is mostly comprised of the current NC-3, but also includes part of the current NC-1. Most potential congressional districts in this part of North Carolina would likely lean towards the Republican Party, but to create extra advantage for the Republican Party in other parts of the map, the current map brings the Democratic-leaning areas of Pitt County into NC-1, thus removing them from NC-2 and allowing NC-2 to become much more competitive for the Republican Party.

Despite moving the district line westward to include the Democratic portion of Pitt County, the enacted district remains virtually a guaranteed Republican victory with a PVI of R+10 (the current NC-3 is R+14). No Democratic member of Congress in the country represents a district that leans this far towards the Republican Party.

Map 5. VTD CCSC for NC-1



NC-2

The enacted 2nd congressional district includes the core of the current NC-1, along with portions of the current NC-4 and NC-13. The area that largely comprises the new NC-2 is currently represented by Democrat G.K. Butterfield and is considered a D+12 district by the Cook Political Report, making it a safe Democratic seat. Butterfield has the longest uninterrupted tenure of any member of North Carolina's congressional delegation. Under the enacted map, however, Butterfield's district changes radically, loses many of its Democratic strongholds (including the aforementioned loss of the Democratic areas in Pitt County) and now picks up enough Republican voters to move the district to "even," according to the Cook Political Report. For example, NC-2 picks up Caswell County, which does not include a single Democratic-leaning VTD, according to the 2020 Attorney General/Secretary of Labor CCSC in the map shown below. The 2020 Presidential vote share and CCSC score reinforce that this is an extremely competitive district. This is an enormous shift for what was formerly a Democratic stronghold.

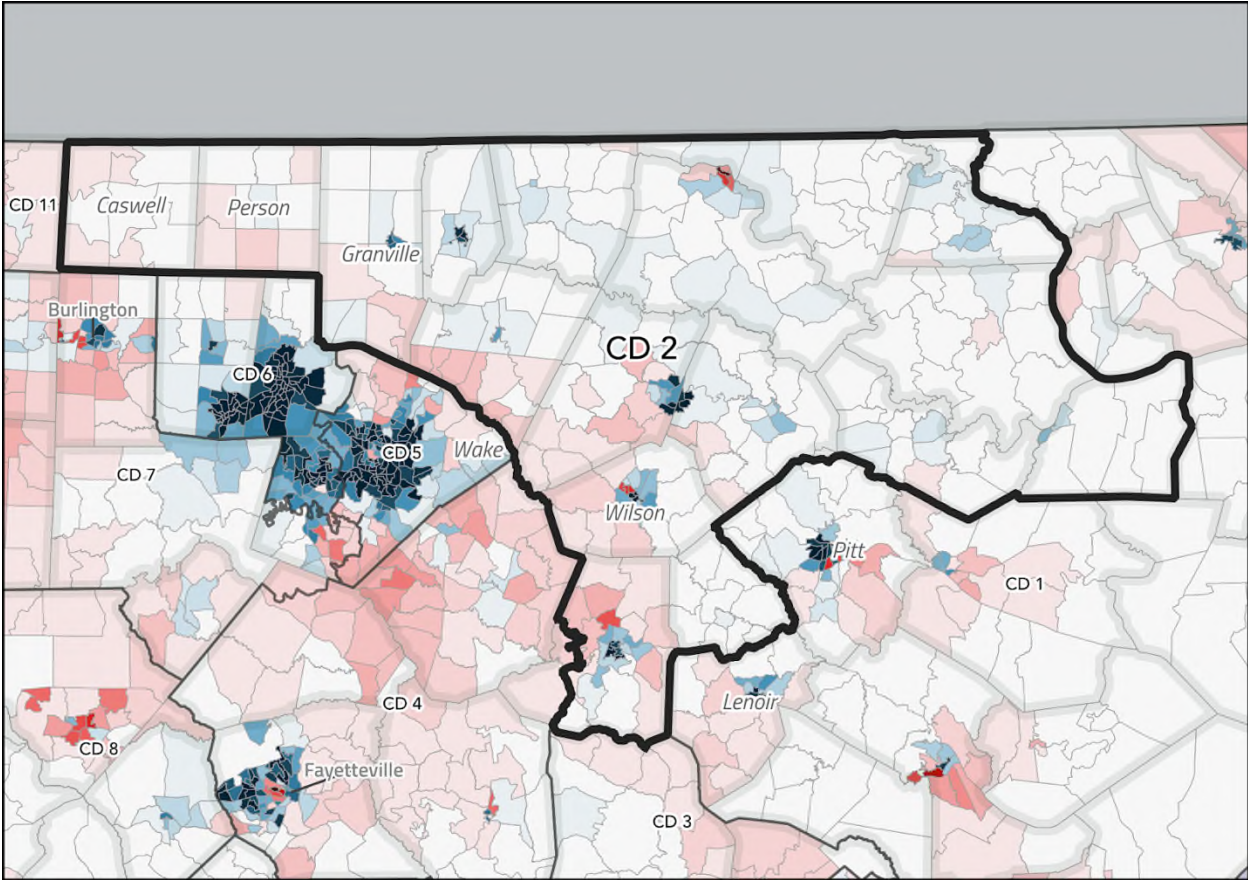
In addition to producing a clear partisan shift, the district is difficult to understand from a communities of interest perspective. The enacted district no longer includes any of Pitt County, nor does it include the campus of East Carolina University, which provided much of the economic engine of the district. The district now stretches from the Albemarle Sound to the Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill metropolitan area and eventually terminates in Caswell County, just northeast of Greensboro. Notably, Washington County and Caswell County have never been paired together in a congressional map in the history of North Carolina, further illustrating how little these counties have in common.

At a micro-level, the changes will split communities in important ways. For example, the cut-out in Wayne County, just west of Goldsboro, splits the students and families in Westwood Elementary School (which is located in NC-2) into two separate districts (NC-2 and NC-4). At one point, NC-2 passes through a narrow cut-off between the Neuse River to Old Smithfield Road that is less than one-third of a mile wide.

After the maps were enacted, G.K. Butterfield announced that he will not seek re-election,²¹ making the district even more likely to shift to the Republican Party. If the Republicans take over this seat, it will be the first time that this part of North Carolina has been represented by a Republican since the late 19th Century.

²¹ Bryan Anderson, "Democrat Rep. Butterfield to Retire, New District is a Toss-Up," *Associate Press News*, available at <https://apnews.com/article/elections-voting-north-carolina-voting-rights-redistricting-e221c0732f457b2273f54ef102424eca>.

Map 6. VTD CCSC for NC-2



NC-3

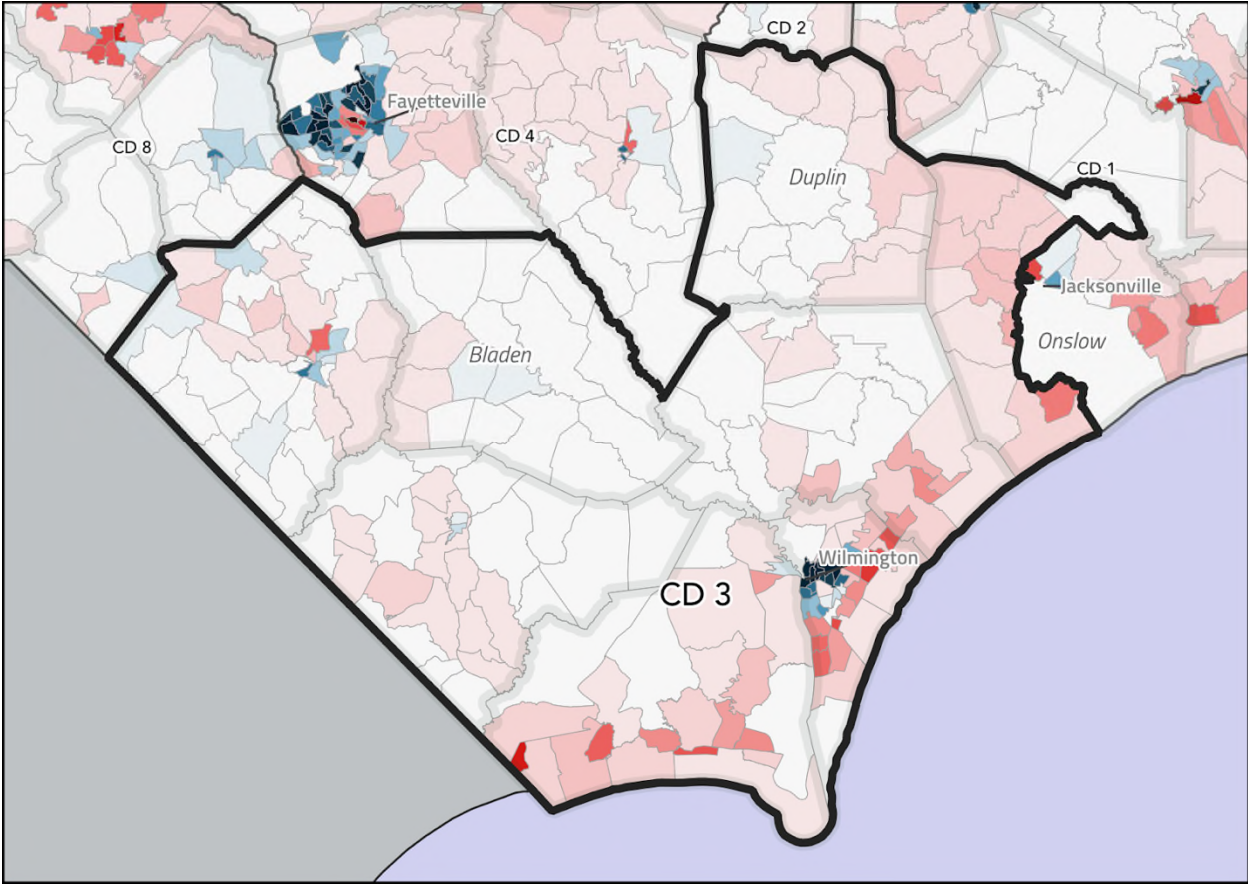
The enacted 3rd congressional district is mostly carved out of the current 7th congressional district, but also includes portions of the current 3rd and 9th districts. The current 7th district is considered R+11 by the Cook Political Report.

As enacted, this district once again denies North Carolina's Sandhills a consistent district of their own, despite repeated calls during the redistricting process,²² and instead places portions of the Sandhills with the coastal enclave in and around Wilmington. The enacted map also creates an odd appendage in Onslow County that, as described in the section on NC-1, makes little sense from a communities of interest perspective.

The enacted district will almost certainly elect a Republican. It is slightly less Republican than the current NC-7 but still is considered R+10 by the Cook Political Report. It favored the Republicans by over 110,000 votes in the 2020 Attorney General/Secretary of Labor CCSC, and Donald Trump won the district with 58% of the vote. It is currently represented by Republican David Rouzer and is expected to remain in Republican hands.

²² See, e.g., Dreilinger, Danielle, "1 woman, 1 North Carolina address, 5 congressional districts. As North Carolina prepares to add a 14th congressional seat, Sandhills residents asked: why can't it be theirs? *Fayetteville Observer*. November 5, 2021.

Map 7. VTD CCSC for NC-3



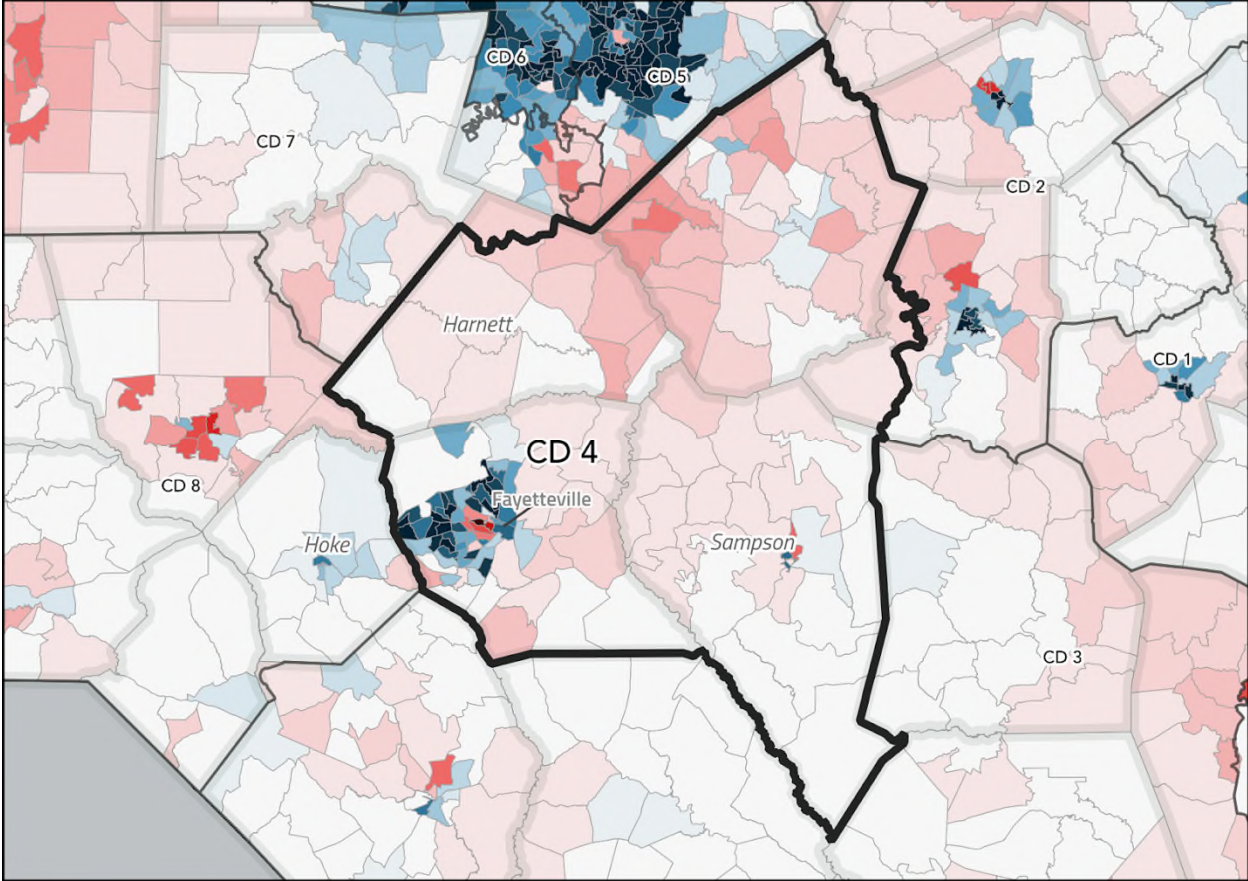
NC-4

The enacted 4th congressional district is carved out of a pocket of North Carolina that includes Johnston County and a portion of Harnett County, both of which are adjacent to Wake County, as well as portions of the Sandhills. The district is pieced together out of leftover portions from current districts 7 and 8, which were R+11 and R+6, respectively. It combines the Democratic-leaning area of Fayetteville with those areas to create a Republican-leaning district.

In addition to the carve out of Republican-leaning VTDs in Wayne County referenced above, this district takes a series of confusing jogs in the northwest part of Harnett County. A citizen driving southwest on Cokesbury Road would begin in NC-7, then rest on the line between NC-7 and NC-4, then into NC-4, then back on the line between the two, just before Cokesbury turns into Kipling Road whereupon the driver would move back into NC-4.

This district, which has no incumbent, is considered an R+5 district by the Cook Political Report, gave 53% of its vote share to Donald Trump in 2020, and gave an advantage to Republicans of about 28,000 votes in the 2020 Attorney General/Secretary of Labor CCSC.

Map 8. VTD CCSC for NC-4

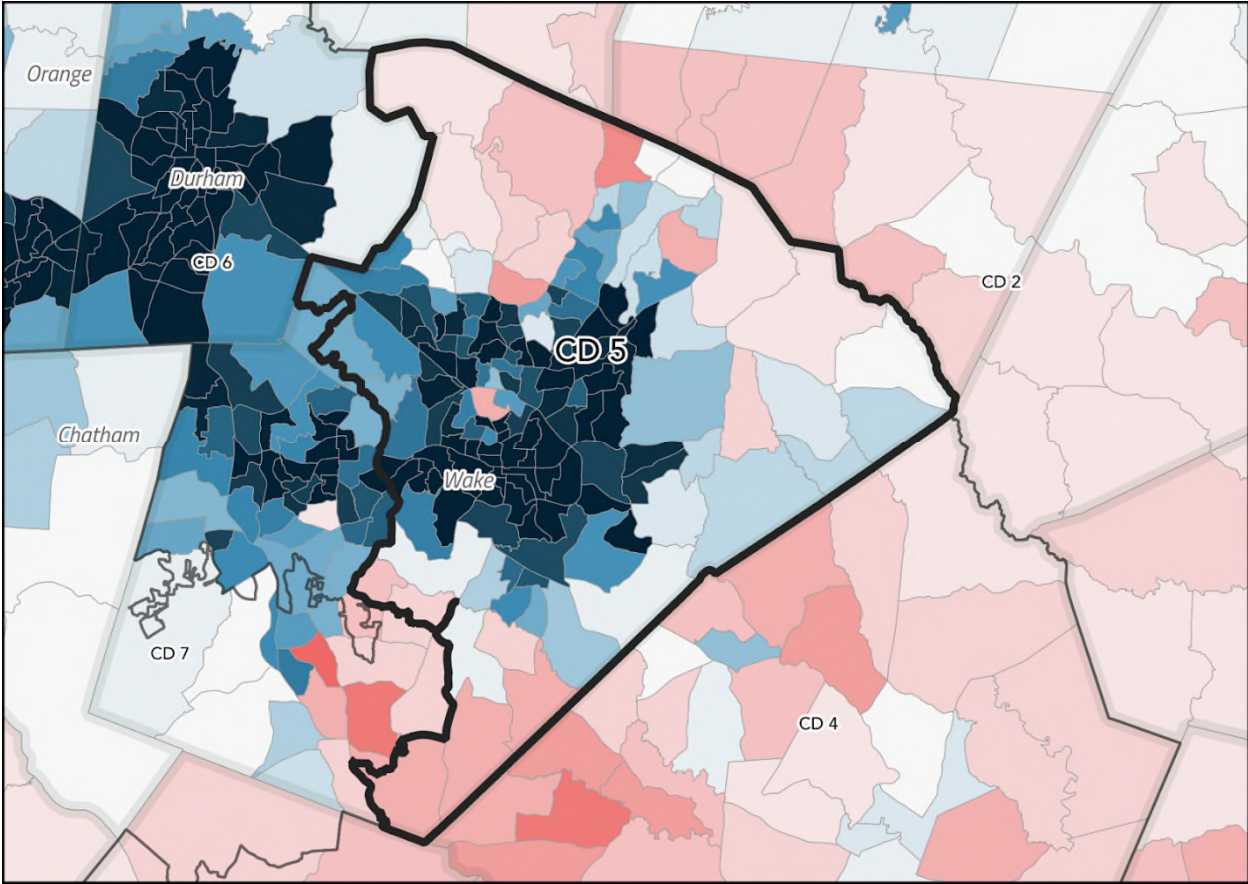


NC-5

The enacted map cracks Democrats in Wake County into three districts (NC-5, NC-6, and NC-7). Unlike NC-6 and NC-7, NC-5 is situated completely within Wake County and is made up of portions of current NC-2 and NC-4, districts that were D+12 and D+16. The effects of this are to pack Democratic voters into one district, thus increasing the probability that Republicans can win at least one of the adjacent districts. The enacted district is rated by the Cook Political Report as D+12, the CCSC shows a Democratic advantage of over 227,000 votes, and Donald Trump won just 34% of the vote.

This map clearly splits communities of interest. In one particularly egregious example, a small vein runs up Fayetteville Road by McCullers Crossroads in Fuquay-Varina, where the vein itself is in NC-7 and the areas on either side of it are in NC-5.

Map 9. VTD CCSC for NC-5

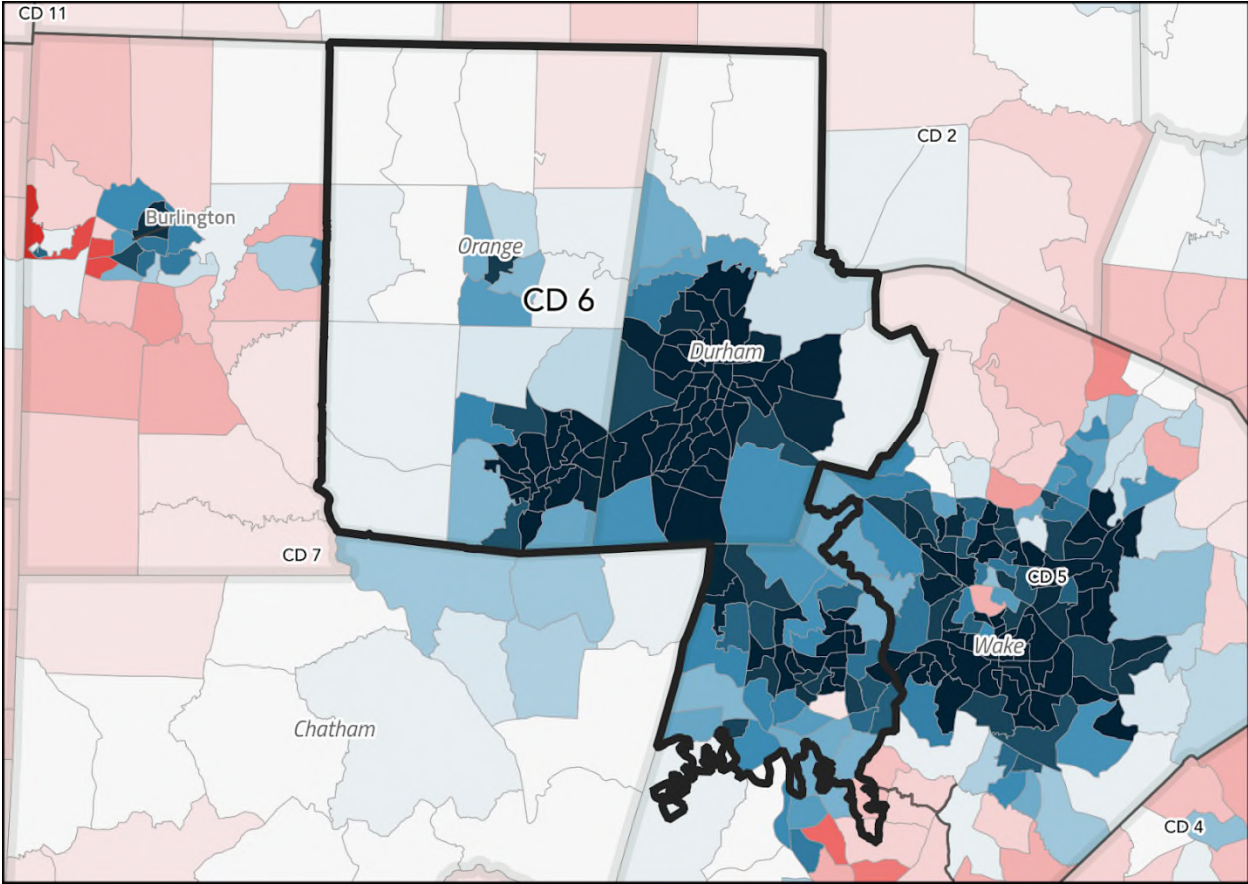


NC-6

The 6th district packs all of Orange and Durham counties and part of Wake County together into one overwhelmingly Democratic district, which is created out of portions of the current NC-4 and NC-2 (D+16 and D+12, respectively). As the map below demonstrates, the enacted NC-6 only includes four marginally Republican VTDs, according to the 2020 Attorney General/Secretary of Labor CCSC. Cook Political Report estimates this to be a D+22 district, Democrats had more than a 374,000 vote advantage in the CCSC and Donald Trump won only 25% of the vote in 2020. This district packs a greater proportion of Democratic voters in a single district than any district from the previous map. This district, like NC-5, includes Wake County, which is divided across three districts in the enacted map. The packing of Democrats in this district enables adjacent districts, in particular NC-7, to be drawn in ways that make it easier for Republican candidates to win.

The contours of this district bordering NC-7, on the southern end, split communities of interest in almost comical ways. In one example, a person traveling south on New Hill Olive Chapel Road would, in a matter of a few miles, move from NC-7 to the line between NC-6 and NC-7, back into NC-7, through NC-6, back into NC-7, back to the border between the two, back into NC-7, back to the border between the two, then back into NC-7. The contours of these lines are confusing to voters, and, as the map demonstrates, serve to pack as many Democratic precincts as possible into NC-6.

Map 10. VTD CCSC for NC-6

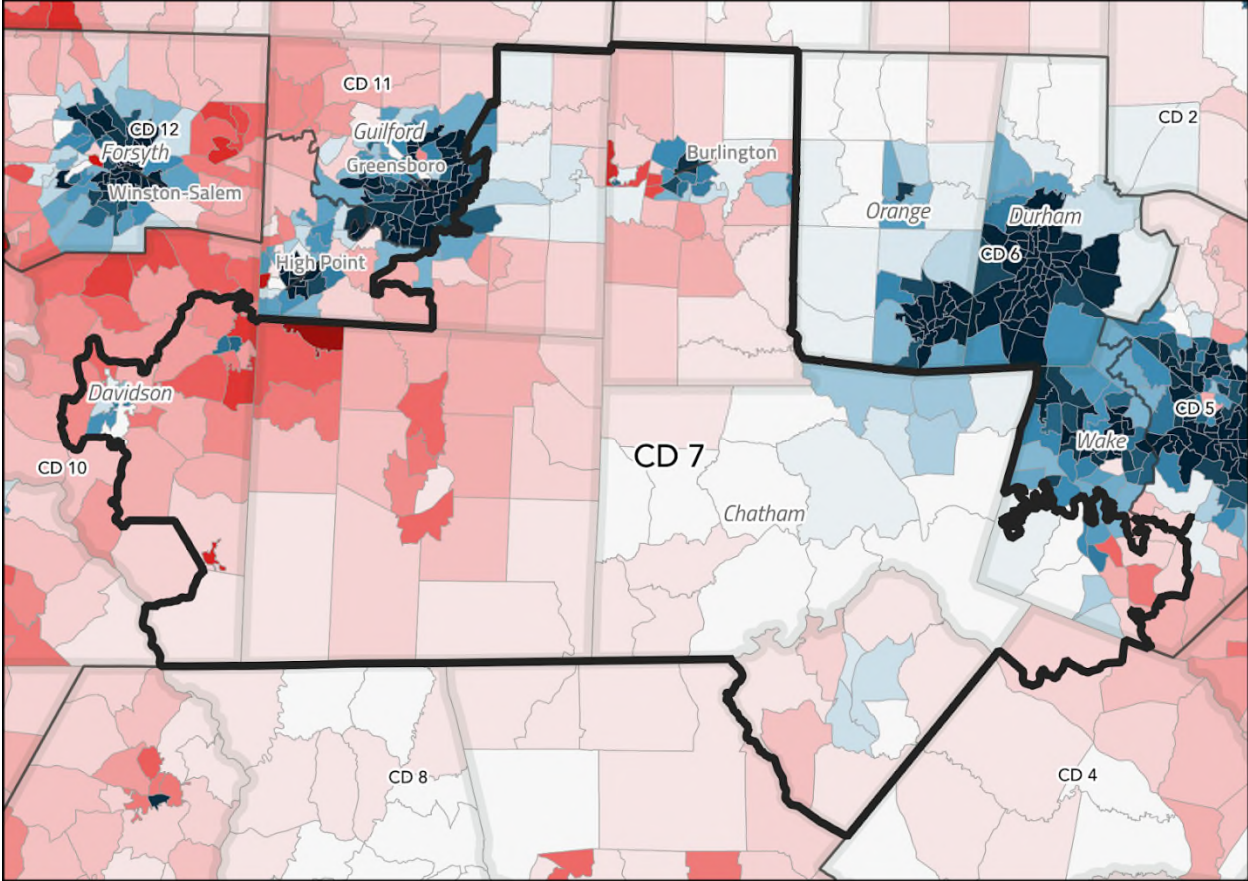


NC-7

The enacted 7th district includes the Republican-leaning Randolph, Alamance, Chatham, and Lee counties as well as portions of Guilford, Wake, and Davidson counties. It is carved out of current districts 13, 6, 4, and 2. As it is drawn, NC-7 splits both Guilford and Wake counties (each of which is divided three times in the map as a whole). Despite including portions of two of the most Democratic counties in North Carolina, the district studiously avoids the Democratic-leaning areas of both counties. The eastern portion of the district in Wake County, near Apex, takes the unusual and confusing contours described in the description of NC-6 above.

The enacted NC-7 is considered R + 11 by the Cook Political Report, it gave Republicans a 115,682 vote advantage in the CCSC, and Donald Trump won 57% of the vote in this district. A Democratic candidate has virtually no chance of victory in the enacted 7th.

Map 11. VTD CCSC for NC-7

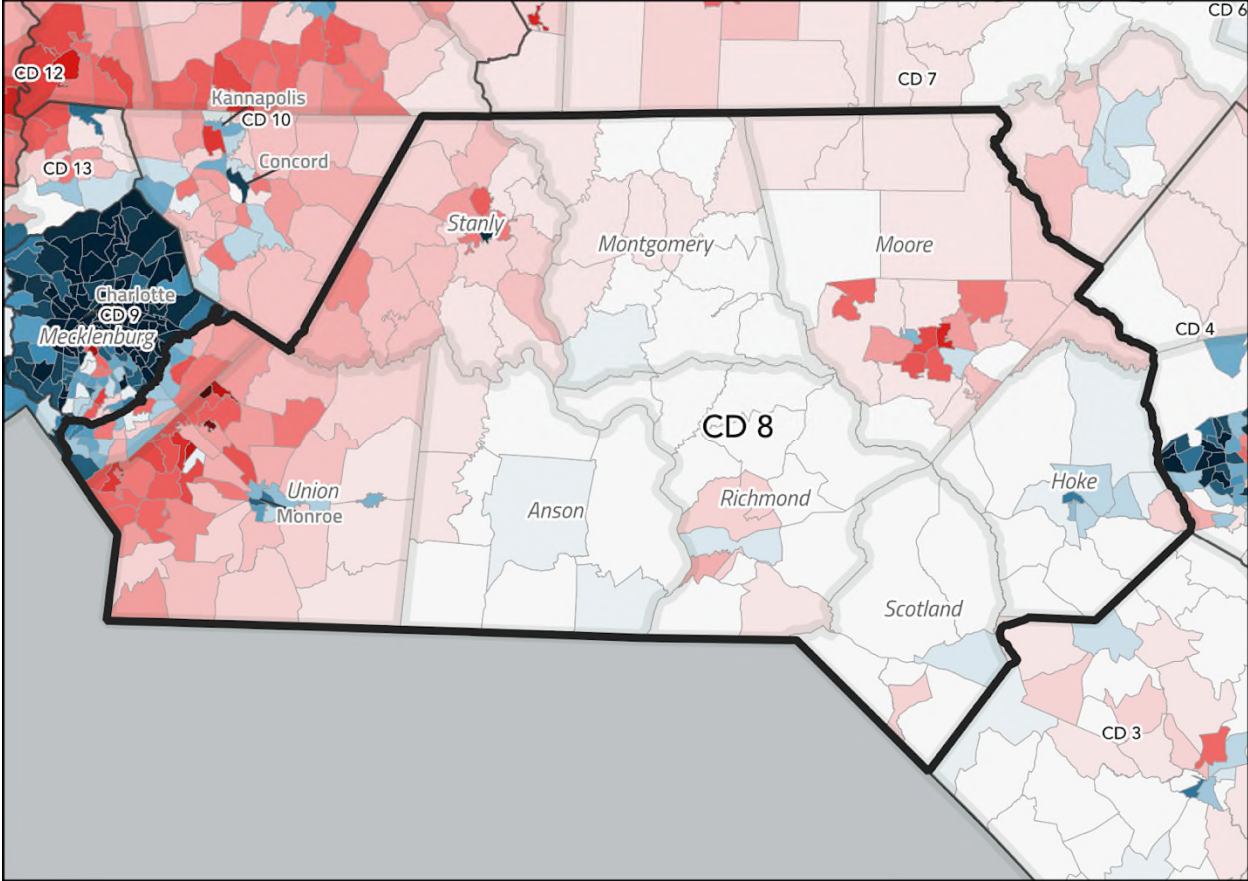


NC-8

The 8th district stretches from the Sandhills into Mecklenburg County and includes portions of the current 9th, 12th, and 8th districts. The core of the district comes from the current 9th district, which is R+6. The enacted NC-8 includes the entirety of Scotland, Hoke, Moore, Montgomery, Richmond, Anson, Union, and Stanley counties as well as the southern and eastern edge of Mecklenburg County. Although it includes portions of Mecklenburg County, one of the most Democratic-leaning areas in the state, as well as Democratic municipalities in Union, Anson, and Hoke, the 8th district is unlikely to elect a Democrat under any reasonable scenario. The enacted map stops just shy of the some of the darkest blue VTDs in Mecklenburg County.

The Cook Political Report calls the enacted NC-8 an R+11 district, the CCSC shows that the Republican candidate garnered over 115,000 more votes than the Democratic candidates for the two closest Council of State races, and Donald Trump won approximately 57% of the vote in the 2020 election.

Map 12. VTD CCSC for NC-8



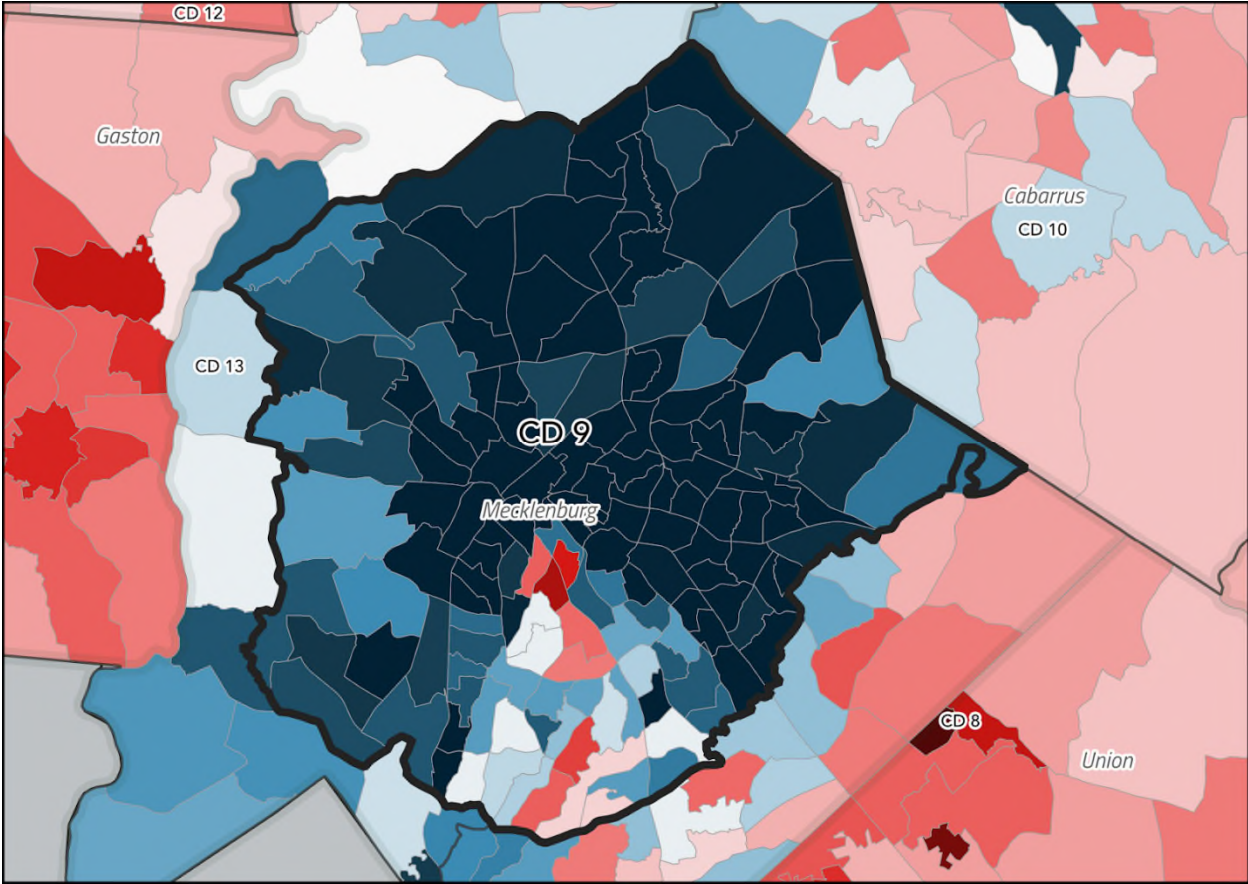
NC-9

The core of the enacted 9th congressional district comes from the current NC-12, but it also includes portions of the current NC-9. The result is the most packed district in the enacted map. The Cook Political Report rates the enacted NC-9 as a D+23 district, meaning that it leans more heavily towards the Democratic Party than any district in the last map. Donald Trump won just 25% of the vote in this district in the 2020 Presidential election and the CCSC indicates that the Democrats won over 325,000 more votes than the Republicans in the two closest Council of State races in 2020.

As with all examples of packing, the key to understanding this district is its effects on the surrounding districts. By ensuring that the Democratic candidate in NC-9 wins by an overwhelming margin, Republican voters will be more efficiently distributed across other districts, where they can have a greater affect on the outcome than they would otherwise. This ensures that neighboring NC-8, for example, will not be competitive. This also has the effect of ensuring that Republican voters in NC-9 have no chance of securing representation from a member of their own party.

The geographic contortions of this district are most apparent on its western edge, where a mere eight miles separates the western edge of NC-9 and the Mecklenburg County line.

Map 13. VTD CCSC for NC-9

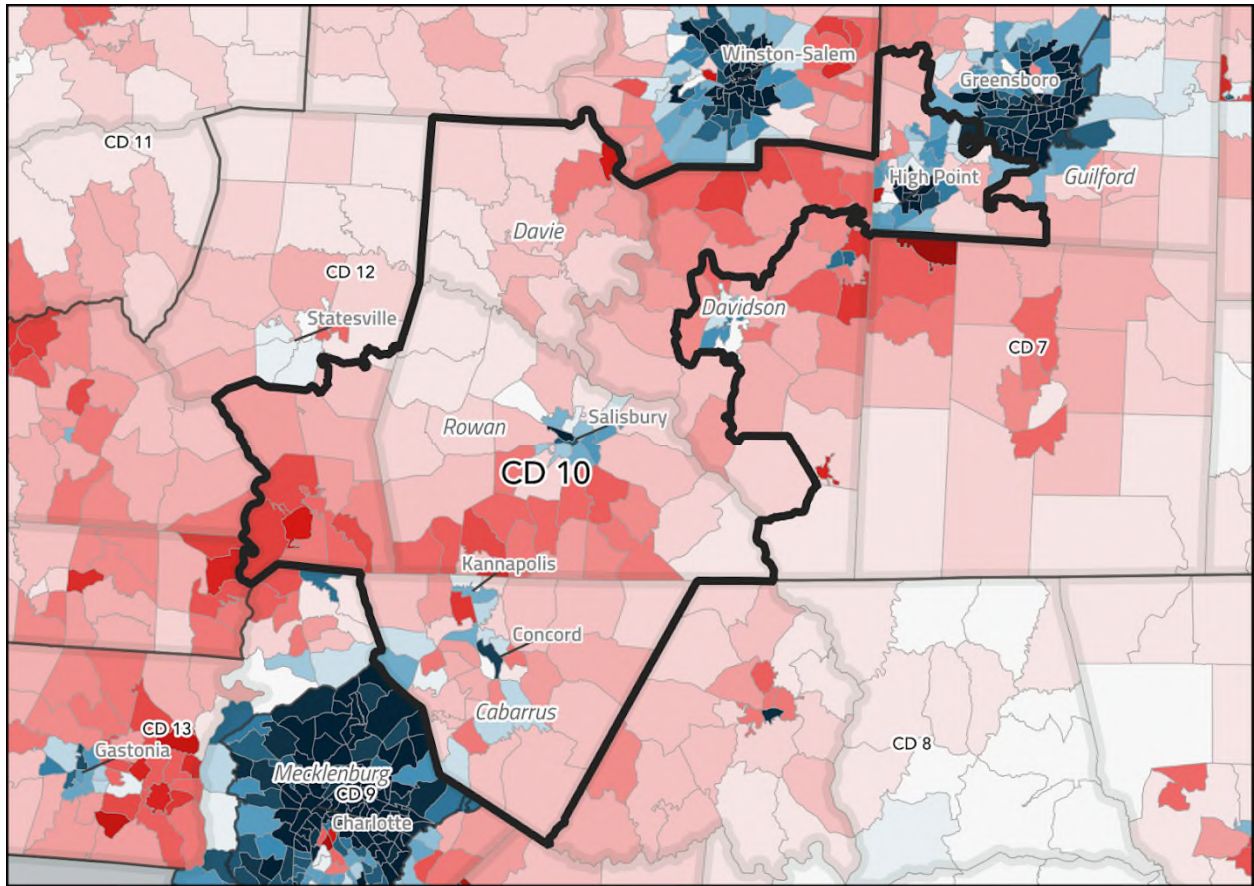


NC-10

The enacted NC-10 includes all of Rowan, Cabarrus, and Davie counties and parts of Iredell, Davidson, and Guilford counties. It is drawn out of portions of the current 10th, 9th, 6th, and 13th districts. Despite the inclusion of carefully curated portions of Democratic Guilford County, this district is a safe Republican seat and effectively removes any possibility that Democratic voters in High Point, Salisbury, Kannapolis, Concord, and elsewhere in Cabarrus can elect a member of their own political party. The Cook Political Report rates this district as R+14, the CCSC indicates that Republicans won more than 156,000 additional votes in the two key council of state races, and Donald Trump won over 60% of the Presidential vote in the enacted district.

NC-10 includes High Point, while NC-11 includes most of Greensboro and NC-12 contains Winston-Salem, meaning that the enacted map splits all three points of North Carolina's Piedmont Triad into separate congressional districts that favor Republicans. In the current map, this community of interest is together in NC-6, represented by Democrat Kathy Manning.

Map 14. VTD CCSC for NC-10



NC-11

The enacted 11th congressional district is carved out of the current 5th, 10th, and 6th districts. This map places a portion of Guilford County, including the City of Greensboro, in a district with Rockingham, Stokes, Surry, Alleghany, Ashe, Wilkes, Caldwell, and Alexander counties as well as a tiny boot-shaped sliver of Watauga County.

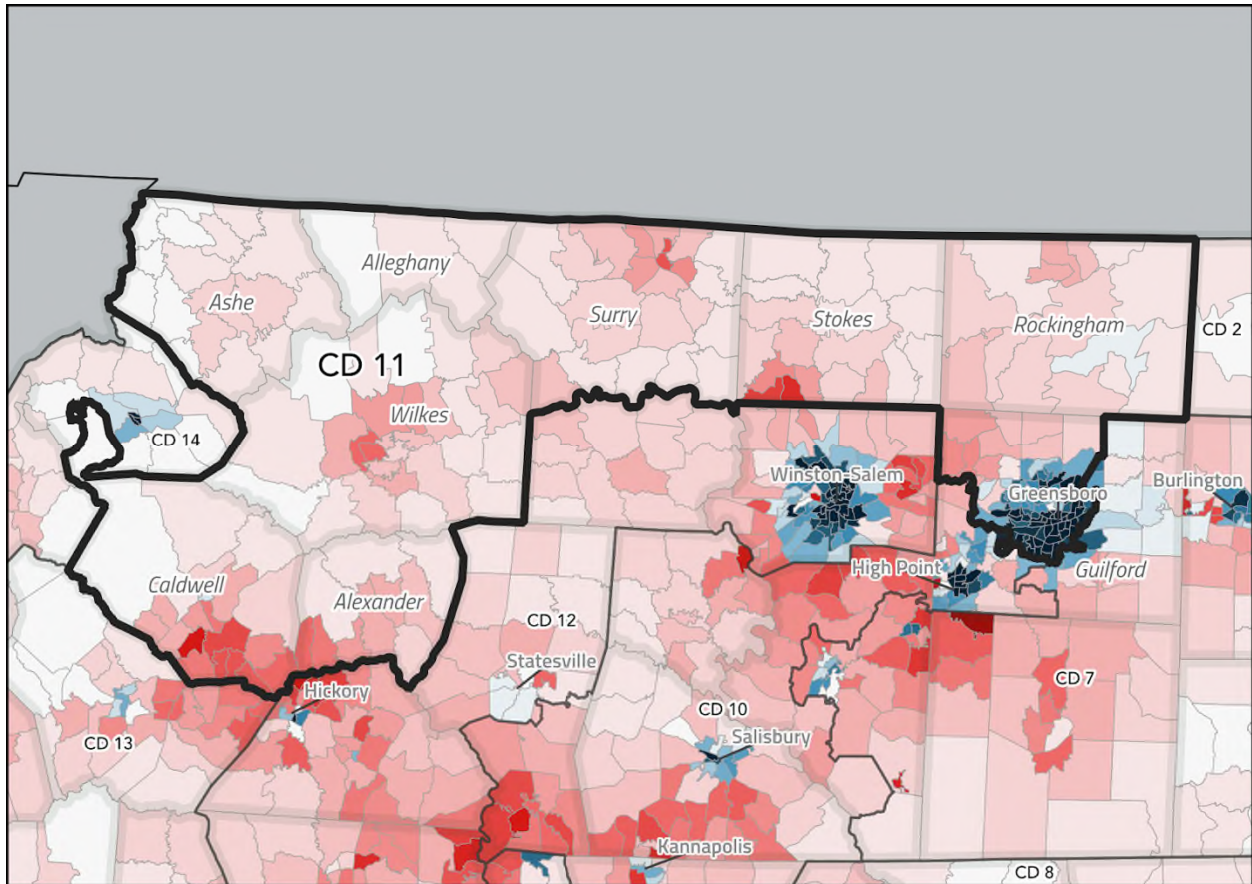
As discussed elsewhere, the enacted map splits Guilford County across three districts (the 10th, 11th, and 7th) and puts all three points of the Piedmont Triad in separate districts. By placing most of Greensboro in this overwhelmingly Republican district, the map ensures that the City of Greensboro, among the most Democratic and racially diverse cities in the state of North Carolina, will not be represented by a Democrat.

The enacted district is rated by Cook as R+9, 57% of the district voted for Donald Trump in the 2020 election, and Republicans held a 94,000 vote lead in the two closest Council of State elections. No Democrat in the current Congress represents a district that leans this heavily Republican.

It is difficult to imagine any sense in which some of the locations in this district have shared community interests. Geographically, NC-11 spans radically different parts of the state. Greensboro is firmly in the Piedmont, resting at under 900 feet elevation. Watauga and Ashe counties, by comparison, reside in the high country, with elevations that consistently run above 5,500 feet. The corners of the district have different area codes, are served by different media markets, and share virtually no characteristics in common other than the fact that they are both within North Carolina. In the history of North Carolina, Caldwell and Rockingham counties have never shared a congressional representative.

In addition to its geographic span, the enacted district stands out for its double-bunking of Republican Virginia Foxx and Democrat Kathy Manning. To shoe-horn Foxx into the new district, the mapmakers carved out a tiny sliver of Watauga County to allow her house to fall into the redrawn district. This passage is so narrow, in fact, that it is connected by a stretch of land that is roughly three miles wide and requires a traverse of the Daniel Boone Scout Trail.

Map 15. VTD CCSC for NC-11

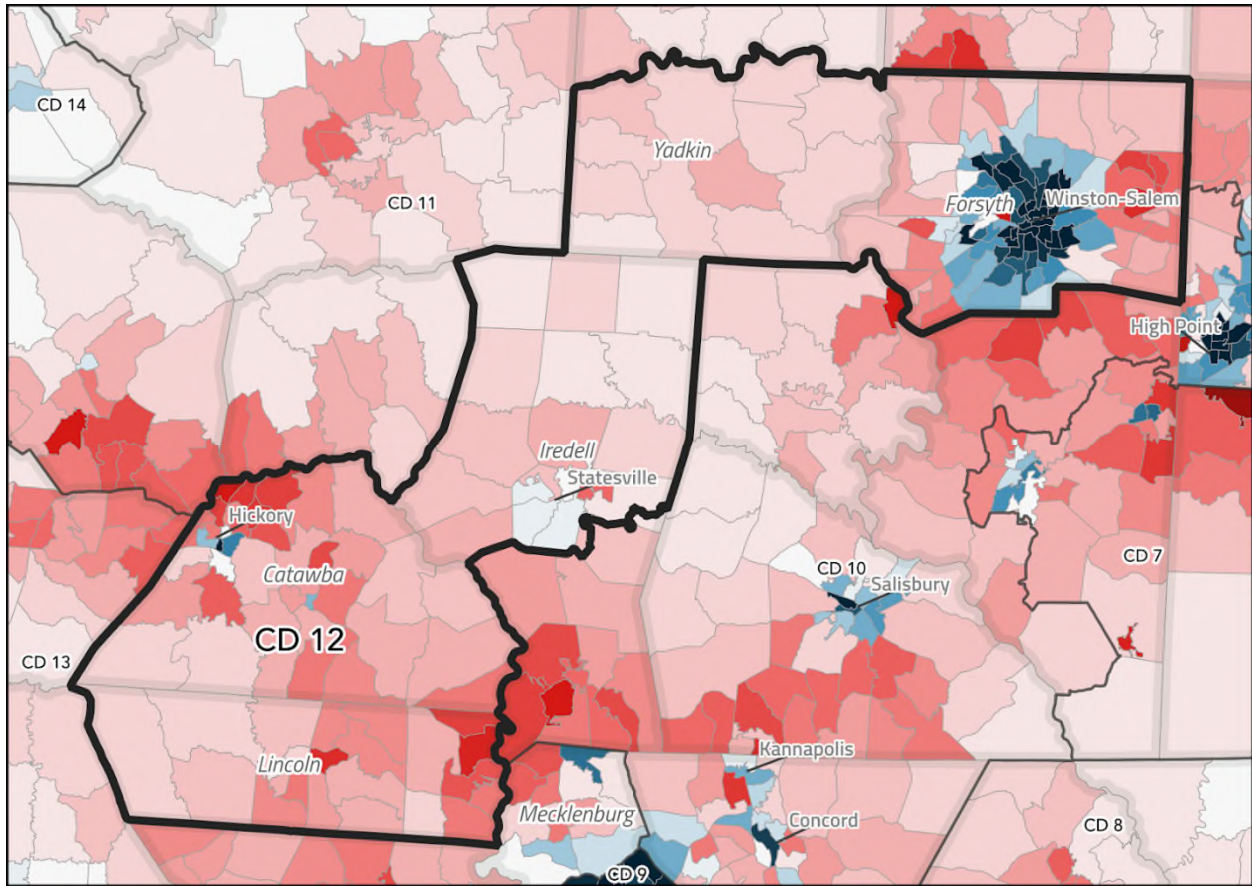


NC-12

The 12th congressional district stretches from Lincoln County at the southwestern corner, through Catawba, the northern part of Iredell, Yadkin, and Forsyth counties. As the map below makes clear, by including Winston-Salem with this overwhelmingly red swath of geography and walling it off from Democratic voters in High Point, the enacted map ensures that Republican Congressman Patrick McHenry, who lives at the southeast corner of this district, will maintain his seat and the Democratic voters in Winston-Salem will have virtually no chance to elect a member of their own party.

The Cook Political Report rates this district as R+9, Republicans had over a 100,000 vote margin in the two closest Council of State races, and Donald Trump won over 56% of the vote in this district.

Map 16. VTD CCSC for NC-12



NC-13

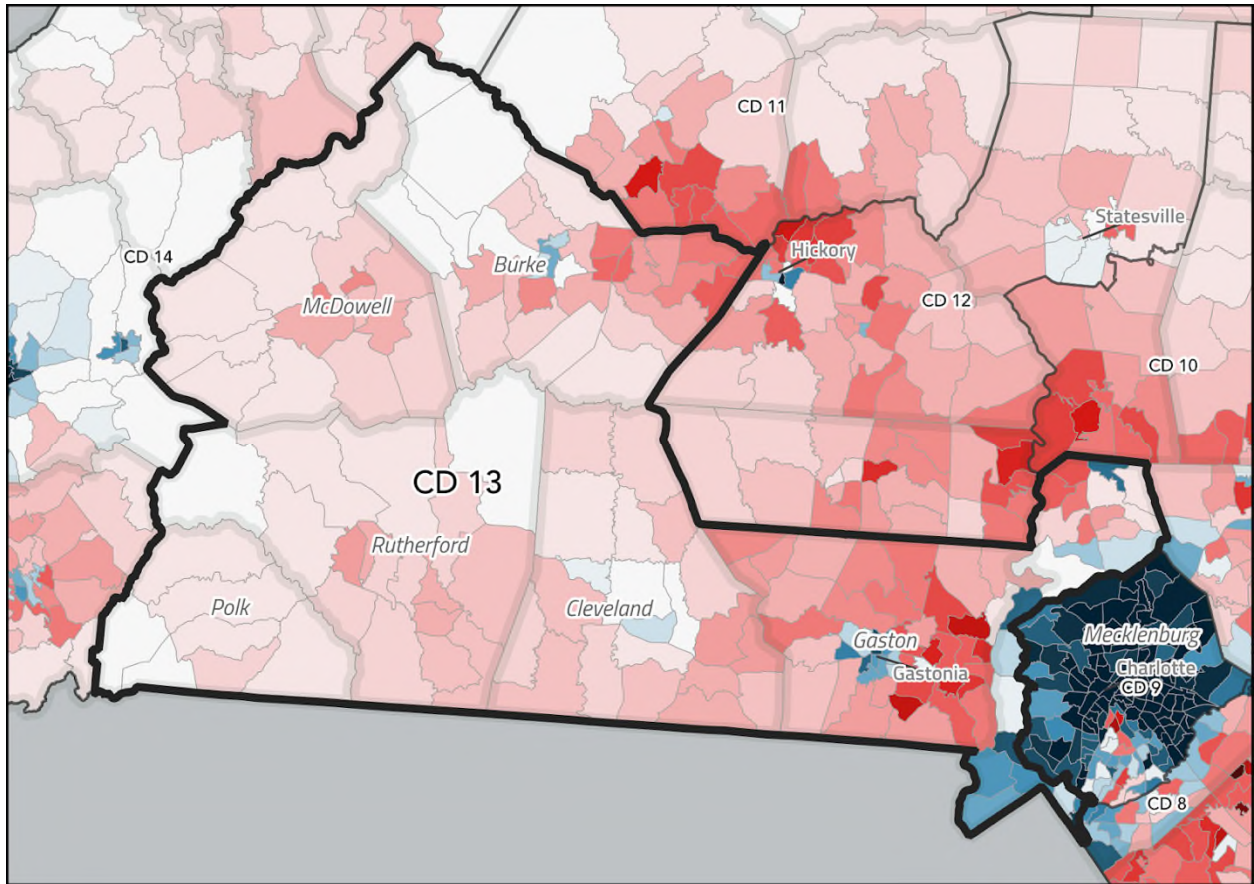
The 13th congressional district is carved out of portions of the current 11th, 5th, 12th, and 10th districts. As the map that follows demonstrates, the district includes Polk, Rutherford, McDowell, Burke, Cleveland, and Gaston counties, as well as part of Mecklenburg County.

The district was generally understood to be created for Republican Speaker of the House Tim Moore who lives in Cleveland County—*The Raleigh News and Observer and Charlotte Observer's* editorial board even referred to it as “Moore’s designer district.”²³ Republican Madison Cawthorn recently announced that he will run in the 13th, and Moore soon noted that he would stay in the General Assembly. While the specifics of the candidates have changed, the fact that this is a Republican district that will elect a Republican candidate has not. This district was rated by the Cook Political Report as R+13, has a CCSC of R+150,187 votes, and gave 60% of its votes to Donald Trump in 2020.

As mentioned in the discussion of NC-9, the narrow passageway that is necessary to squeeze NC-13 into Mecklenburg County only consists of a few miles at one point—stretching from a Food Lion to the Mecklenburg County line. The enacted district also creates unusual pairings of counties that share little in common. For example, Polk and Mecklenburg counties have never resided in the same district.

²³ “Try not to Laugh at What Madison Cawthorn Just Did to NC Republicans,” *Charlotte Observer*, November 13, 2021, <https://www.charlotteobserver.com/opinion/article255769626.html>.

Map 17. VTD CCSC for NC-13

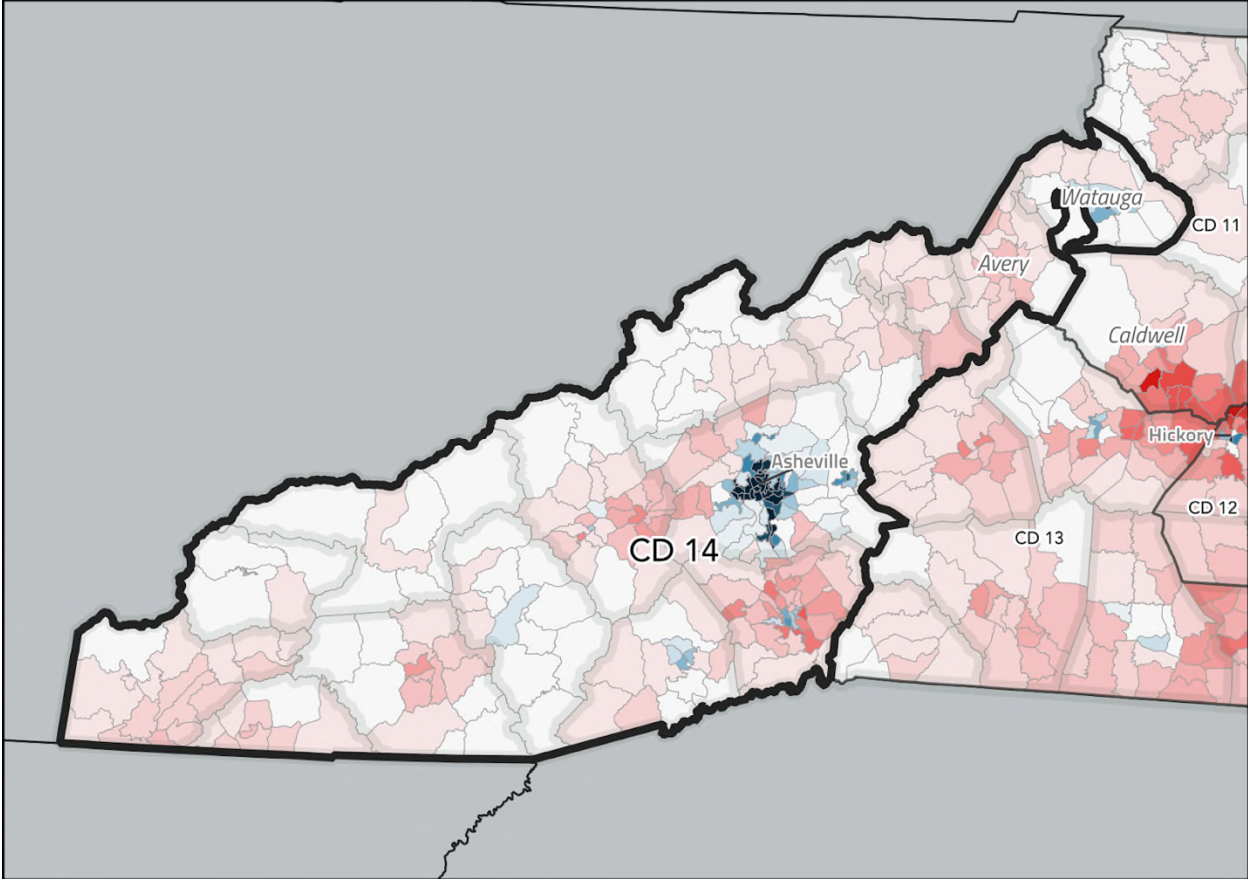


NC-14

The enacted 14th district includes most of the current 11th district as well as part of Watauga County, which previously sat in the 5th district. The current 11th district also lost the Republican strongholds of Polk and McDowell counties, as well as part of Rutherford County, which are now in the 13th district. These changes shifted the enacted NC-14 slightly in the Democratic direction (from a PVI of R+9 to R+7), although not enough to give a Democratic candidate a reasonable chance of victory. No Democrat in Congress represents a district that has a PVI score that leans this heavily towards the Republican Party. As a result, the 14th is expected to stay squarely in Republican hands.

Geographically, the 14th is a sprawling district that includes three media markets. Traversing the district from its western end in Murphy to its northeastern corner in Stony Fork would take approximately four hours. Perhaps because of the geographic incompatibility, Watauga County has not been in a district with the western end of the state since 1871—before Graham and Swain counties were even in existence. Adequately representing this massive swath of geography would be difficult for any member of Congress—Republican or Democrat.

Map 18. VTD CCSC for NC-14



General Assembly District Maps

Unlike the Congressional maps, the North Carolina House and Senate maps are minimally constrained by the *Stephenson* county clustering rule. This requires that in order to ensure relative population equality, “all counties get assigned to a distinct ‘group’ or ‘cluster,’ which can consist of either a single county or a number of adjacent counties.”²⁴ Some districts, therefore, are contained in single district clusters that cannot be altered. For the remaining districts, however, mapmakers may have one or more types of discretion. There were four different groupings of counties where mapmakers were left to choose between more than one optimal cluster in the Senate map (yielding a total of 16 different potential county cluster maps) and three such county groupings in the House map (yielding a total of eight different potential county cluster maps).²⁵ And in all clusters where the population allowed for more than one district, the mapmakers had discretion over how to draw lines *within* the cluster.

In all, the General Assembly district maps benefit the Republican Party.

²⁴ Blake Esselstyn, “A ‘Stephenson’ explainer,” September 2019, *available at* <https://frontwater.maps.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=a408ed66ea0944308e85fe60e6e940aa>.

²⁵ *See* Christopher Cooper, Blake Esselstyn, Gregory Herschlag, Jonathan Mattingly, and Rebecca Tippet, “NC General Assembly County Clusterings from the 2020 Census,” *available at* <https://sites.duke.edu/quantifyinggerrymandering/files/2021/08/countyClusters2020.pdf>.

Senate Districts

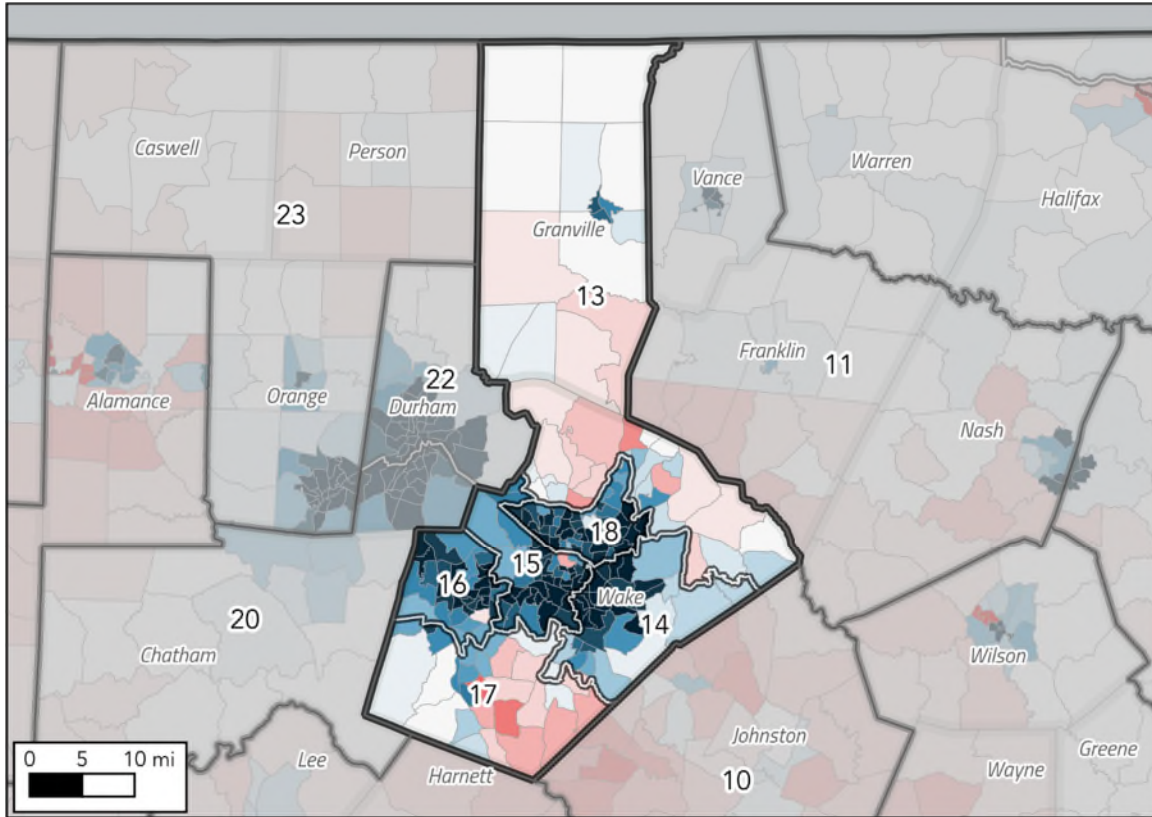
SDs 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18: Granville and Wake County Cluster

Senate districts 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18 are located in a cluster with Wake and Granville counties. Wake County gave 63.5% of its two-party vote share to Joe Biden in 2020. Wake County voters also supported the Democratic candidate for every statewide office and there are no Republicans on the Wake County Commission. On the other hand, Granville County is one of the most purple counties in North Carolina, supporting Donald Trump for President and Democrat Roy Cooper for Governor in 2020.

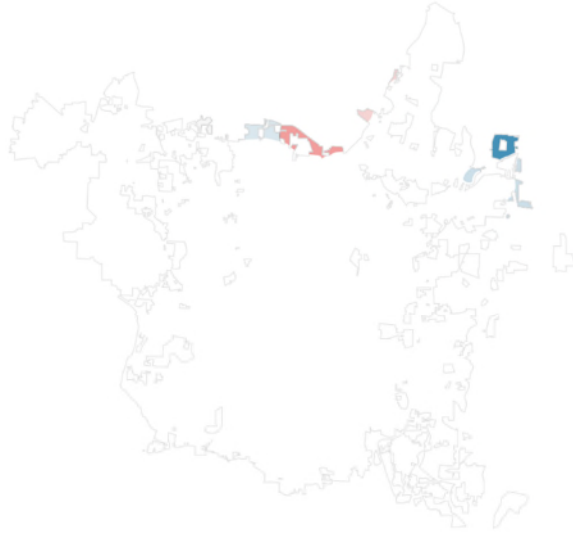
The enacted map packs Democratic VTDs in SDs 14, 15, 16, and 18 (according to the CPI, D+24, D+19, D+16, and D+15, with CCSC scores of D+93,699, D+81,915, D+59,594, and D+68,225, respectively), creating an artificially competitive SD-17 and SD-13 (both of which have a CPI score of 0, indicating no lean and a CCSC score of D+ 3,574 and R+3,686 votes, respectively). SD-13 is created by including all of Granville County and pairing it with Republican VTDs on the northern and northeastern portions of Wake County, avoiding the blue VTDs in North Raleigh, which are left in SD-18 by creating a horn-shaped section that juts up into SD-13.

The second map in this series (Map 20) demonstrates the ways in which the City of Raleigh is strategically divided across four Senate districts.

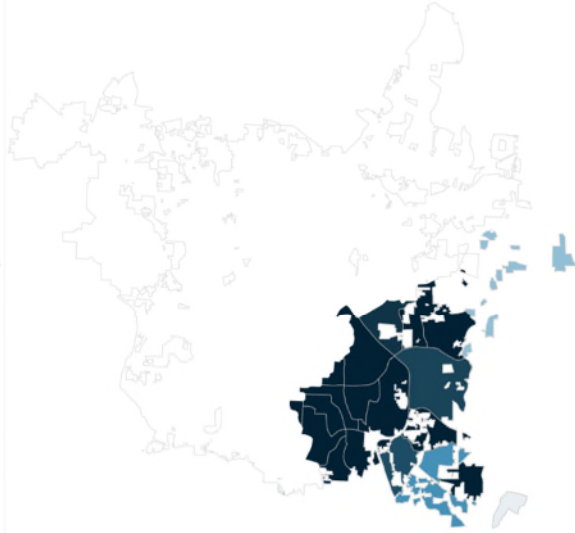
Map 19. VTD CCSC for the Granville and Wake County Cluster



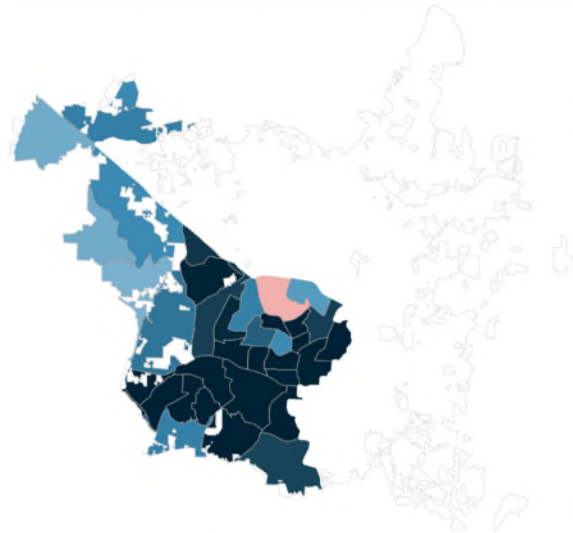
Map 20. Map of Raleigh Municipal Splits



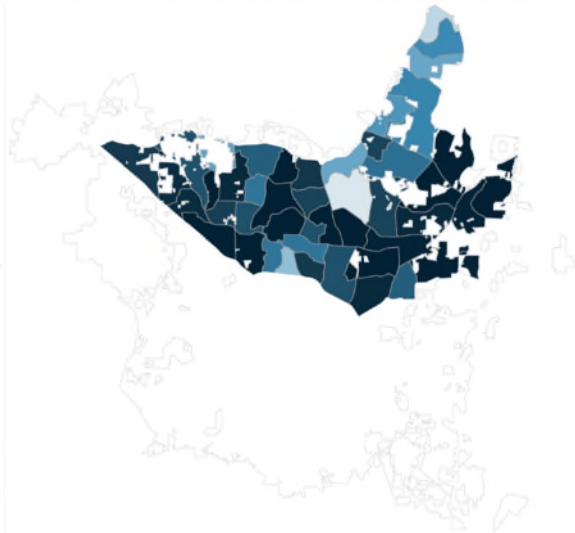
Portions of Raleigh City Limits (Shaded)
in Senate District 13



Portions of Raleigh City Limits (Shaded)
in Senate District 14



Portions of Raleigh City Limits (Shaded)
in Senate District 15



Portions of Raleigh City Limits (Shaded)
in Senate District 18

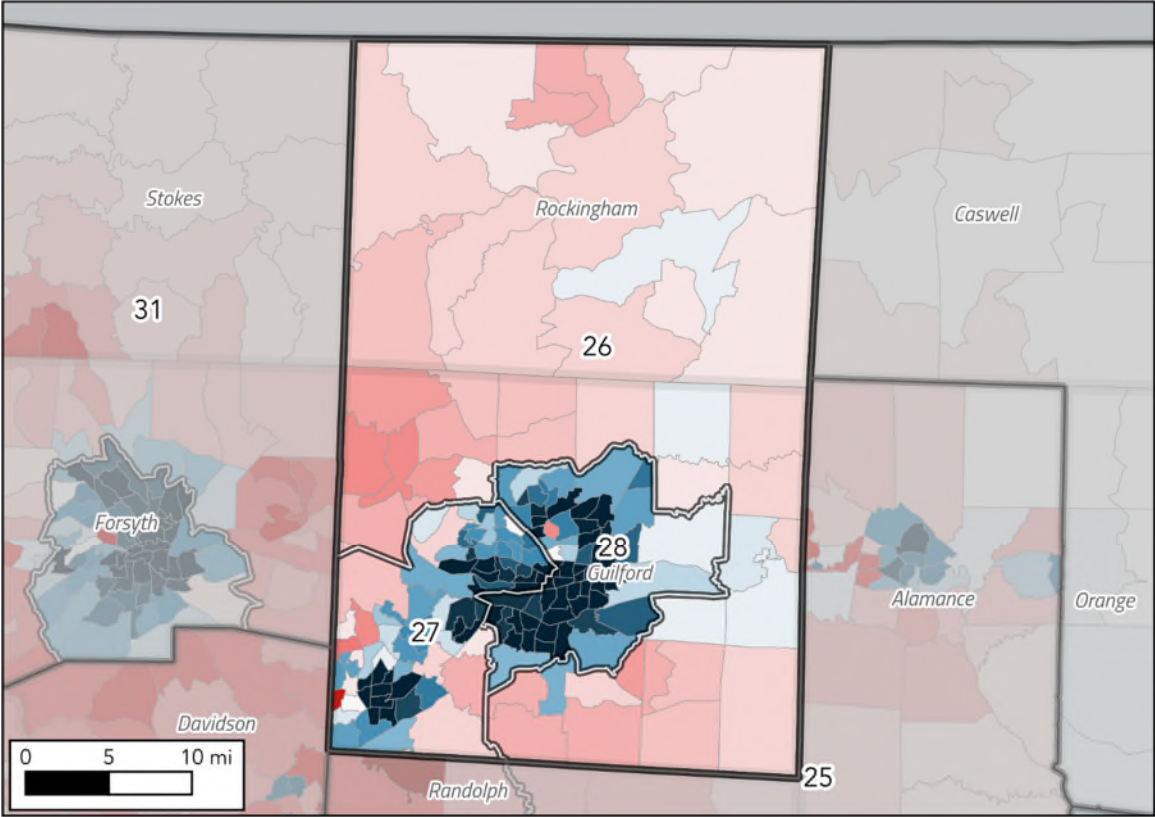
Very small portions of west and northwest Raleigh have been assigned to SD 16, 17, 20 and 22 (not shown)

SDs 26, 27, and 28: Guilford and Rockingham County Cluster

Senate districts 26, 27, and 28 are located in a county cluster with Rockingham and Guilford counties. Rockingham County leans heavily towards the Republican Party whereas Guilford is among the most Democratic counties in North Carolina. In 2020, Guilford gave 61.7% of its vote share for President to Joe Biden, the 8th highest in the state. Guilford voters also voted for the Democratic candidate by overwhelming margins in every race decided at the county level in 2020.

The enacted map packs Democrats in SD-27 and SD-28. SD-27 is estimated to be D+12 by the CPI and has a D+50,846 CCSC score; whereas SD-28 is D+27 and has a D+104,632 advantage according to the CCSC. SD-26, on the other hand, includes all of Rockingham County and then extends southwest into Guilford County until it meets the Piedmont Triad International Airport, and east and south until it meets the eastern and southern borders of the county. SD-26's sprawling C-shape allows for a safe Republican (R+11, R+54,396) district by connecting the northern and southern portions of this cluster together.

Map 21. VTD CCSC for the Guilford and Rockingham County Cluster

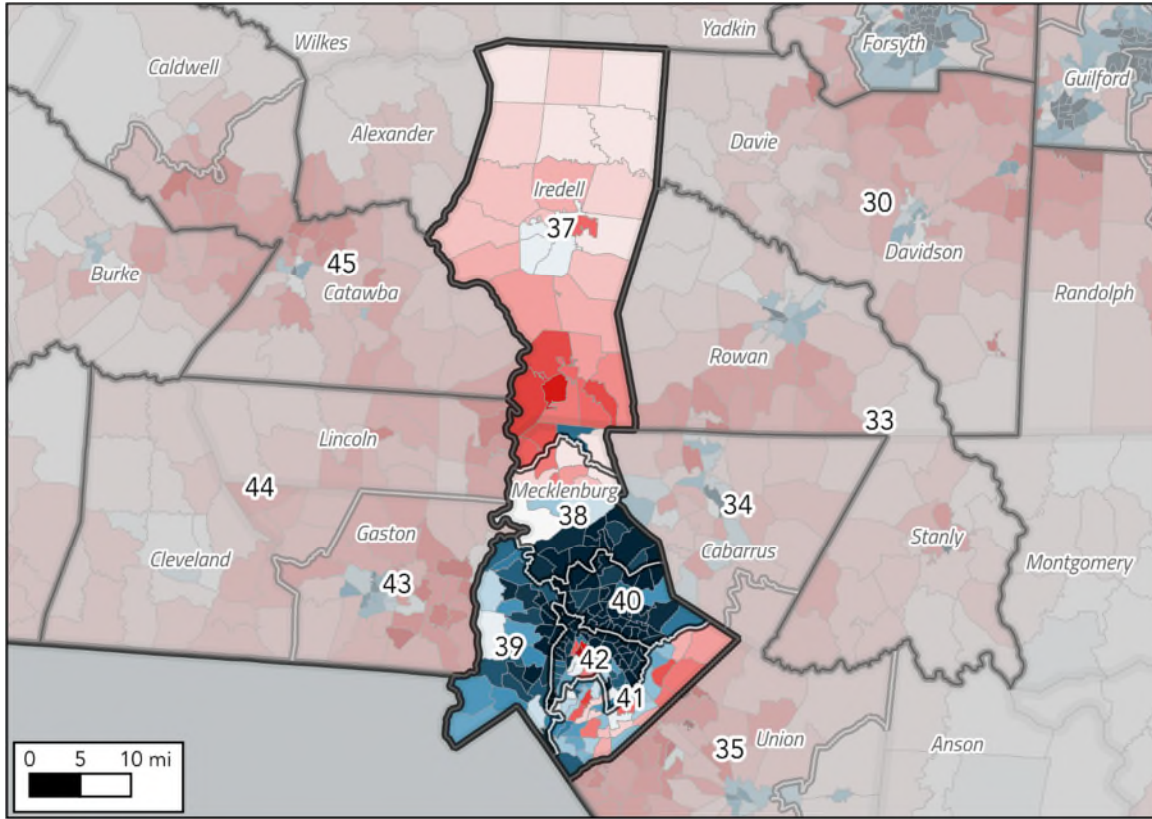


SDs 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, and 42: Iredell and Mecklenburg County Cluster

Senate districts 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, and 42 are located in a grouping that includes Iredell and Mecklenburg counties. Mecklenburg County is the second most populous and among the most Democratic counties in North Carolina. In the 2020 Presidential election, only two other North Carolina counties gave a larger proportion of their two-party vote share to Joe Biden. Every member of Mecklenburg's current state legislative delegation is a Democrat, all nine county commissioners are Democrats, and Democratic candidates received the plurality of the votes in every county-wide contest. It is clearly a Democratic stronghold, and is trending even more so in that direction.

As you can see below, the enacted map packs Democratic voters into SDs 39 and 40; neither includes a single Republican VTD and they are heavily Democratic based on CPI (D+23 and D+33, respectively) and the CCSC scores (D+71,497 and D+90,354, respectively). SDs 38 and 42 are also considered "Safe Democratic" seats (D+17, D+71,597 and D+15, D+65,179, respectively). SD-41, however, is considered a "Toss-up" seat (D+1, D+5,474) and SD-37 is a "Safe Republican" seat (R+13, 64,380). By packing Mecklenburg's Democratic voters in SDs 38, 39, 40, and 42, the mapmakers allowed for SD-41, in the south of Mecklenburg County, to be artificially competitive, while still ensuring that SD-37 remains a safely Republican district. SD-37 is also notable because it double-bunks Democrat Natasha Marcus and Republican Vickie Sawyer into the same district; Marcus' home rests approximately one mile from the border with SD-38.

Map 22. VTD CCSC for the Iredell and Mecklenburg County Cluster

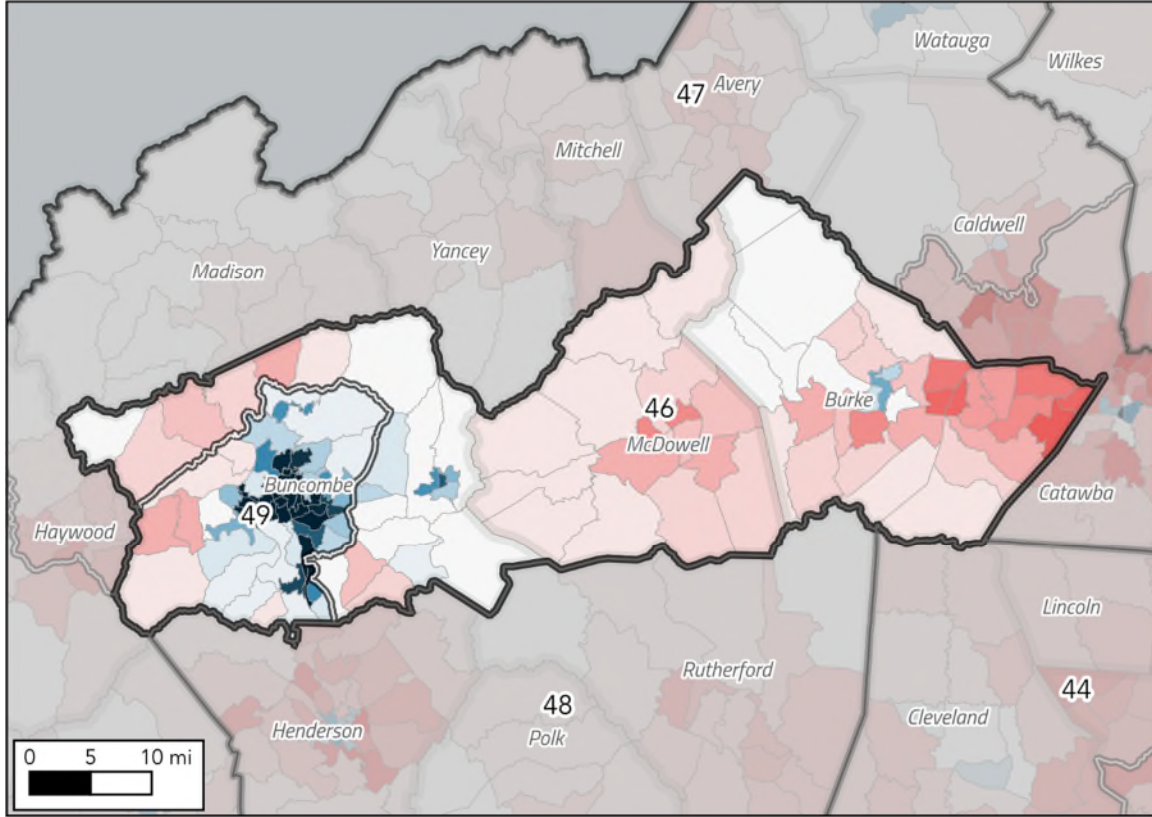


SDs 46 and 49: Buncombe, Burke, and McDowell County Cluster

Senate districts 46 and 49 are located in a county cluster with Buncombe, Burke, and McDowell counties. The map-drawers had considerable discretion here, however, as they could have instead paired Buncombe County with Henderson County, a much more natural fit since northern Henderson County, in particular, has become a bedroom community of Asheville (in Buncombe), and has considerable shared natural interests. Instead, Buncombe is paired with McDowell and Burke counties. It would take someone an hour and 45 minutes to pass from Sandy Mush on the west side this cluster to Hickory on the east side, and would almost certainly necessitate driving through both Senate districts. The enacted map also separates Asheville from the Asheville Watershed.

The effect of this choice is to pack Democratic voters in SD-49 (D+16), leaving the geographically expansive SD-46 to favor the Republican Party (R+13). By pairing Henderson with Polk and Rutherford counties in the cluster to the south, the map also creates a district heavily favored for the Republican Party in that cluster, SD-48. After the maps were enacted, incumbent Republican Chuck Edwards (currently in the Senate district covering Buncombe, Henderson, and Transylvania counties) announced he would be running for Congress and Republican State House Representative Tim Moffitt (whose current House district is in Henderson County) announced he would be running for Edwards' vacated Senate seat.

Map 23. VTD CCSC for the Buncombe, Burke, and McDowell County Cluster

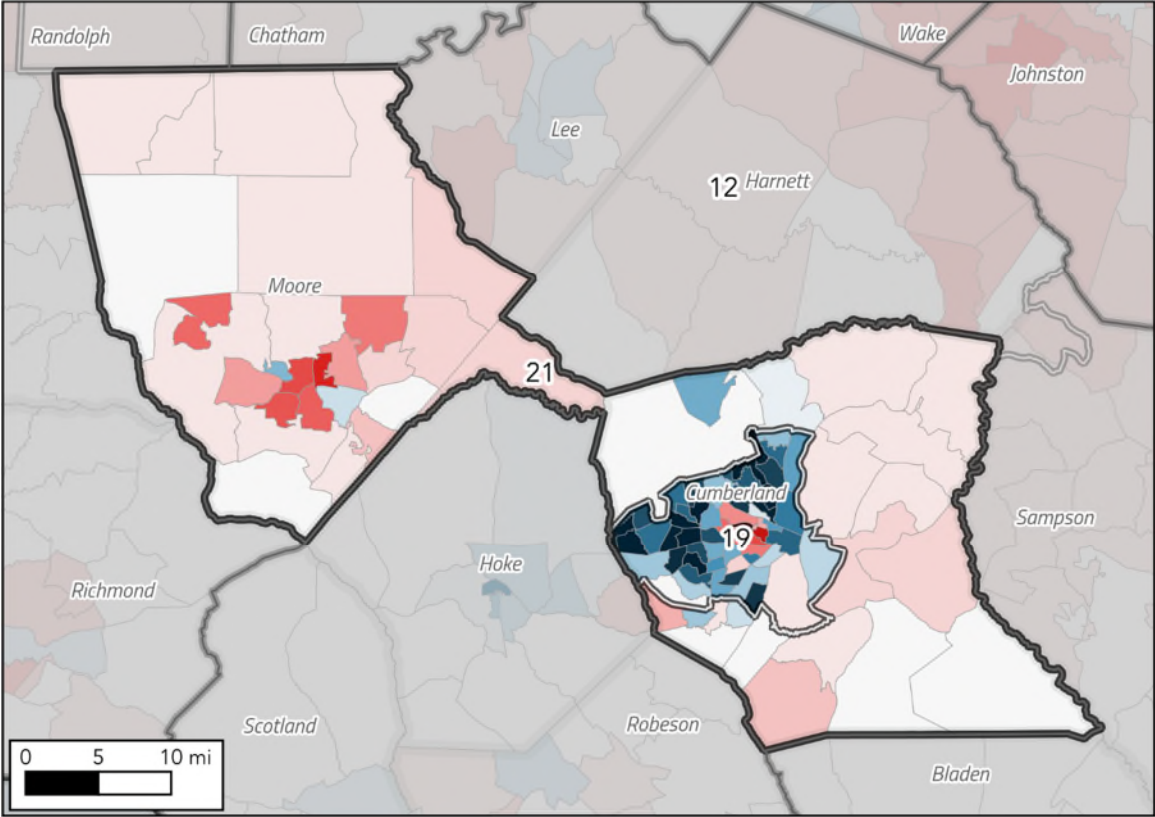


SDs 19 and 21: Cumberland and Moore County Cluster

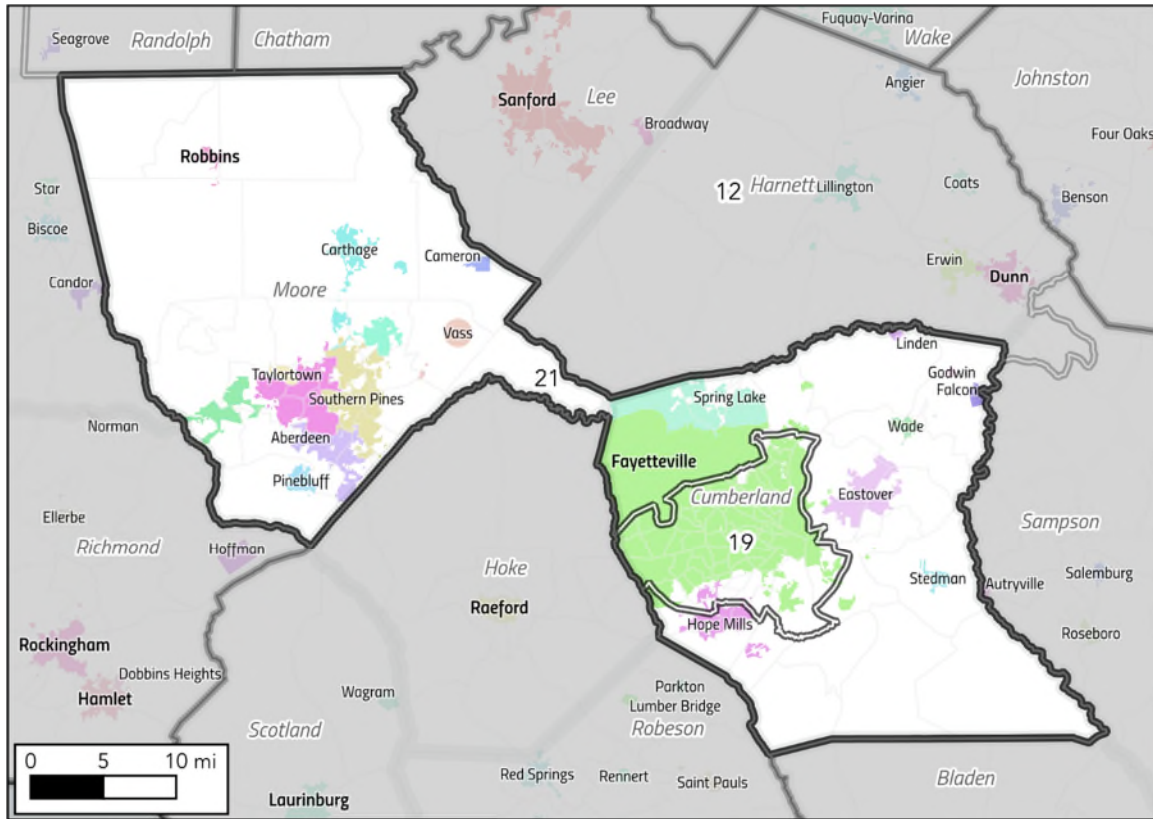
Senate districts 19 and 21 are located in a county cluster with Cumberland and Moore counties. The enacted map packs Democratic voters in and around Fayetteville into SD-19, a district that is rated D+17 by the CPI and advantaged the Democratic Party by 64,539 votes in the CCSC. SD-21 is then left to favor the Republican Party by R+9 and 41,391 votes.

As demonstrated in Map 25, the enacted map splits Fayetteville and Hope Mills across two districts and, as Map 24's red-and-blue shading displays, the district boundaries are careful to separate off Democratic voters and VTDs in SD-19 from adjacent Republican VTDs.

Map 24. VTD CCSC for the Cumberland and Moore County Cluster



Map 25. Municipal Splits for the Cumberland and Moore County Cluster



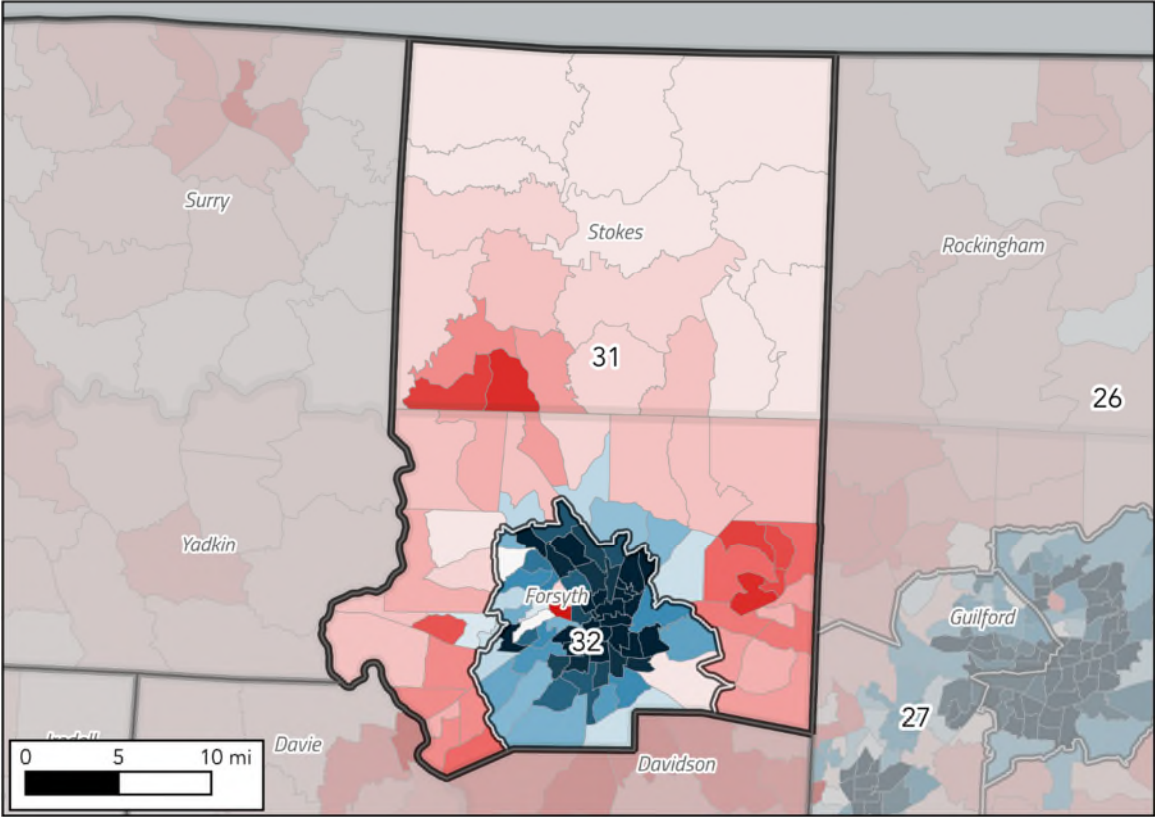
SDs 31 and 32: Forsyth and Stokes County Cluster

Senate districts 31 and 32 are located in a county cluster with Forsyth and Stokes counties. A few choices created the partisan effects of this cluster. First was the choice of the cluster, itself. The mapmakers had a choice about whether to pair Forsyth with Stokes or with Yadkin to the west. Yadkin has a lower Republican vote advantage per the CCSC. Therefore the decision to pair Forsyth with Stokes, instead, helped tip the scales towards a Republican advantage. The decisions made within the cluster reinforced that advantage.

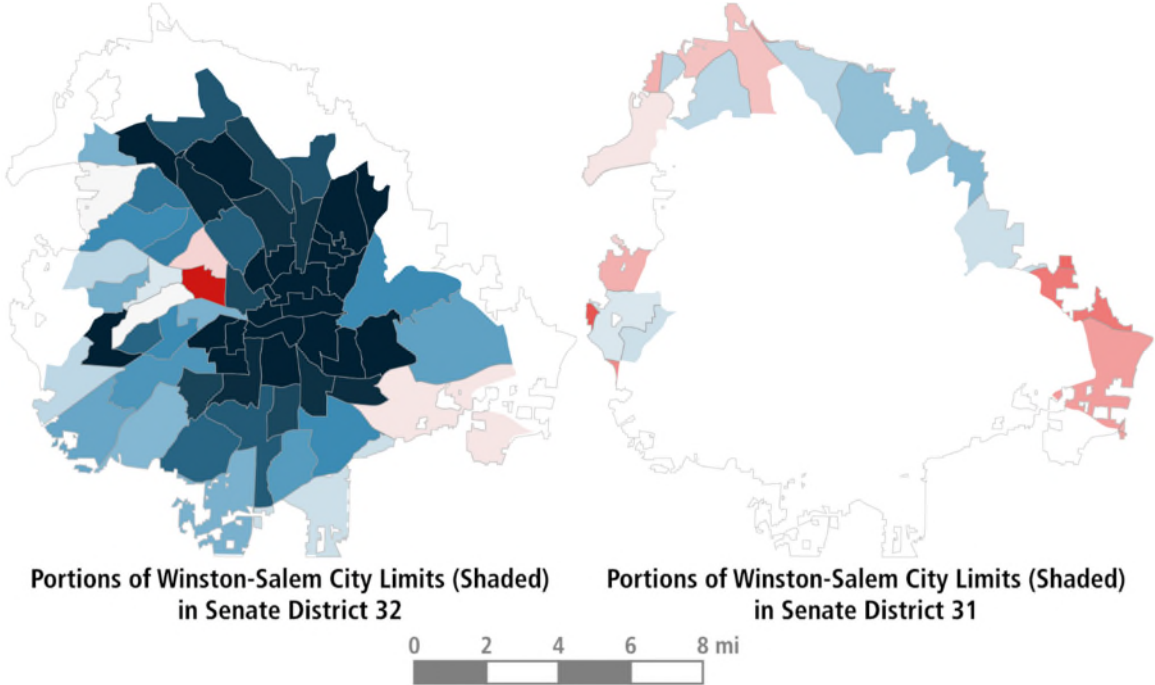
In a now familiar pattern, the enacted map packs Democratic voters in SD-32 (D+20, D+77,058) and leaves the remaining district in the cluster squarely in Republican hands. SD-31 favors the Republican Party by R+11; the CCSC favors the Republican Party by 58,073 votes.

Map 27 displays the strategic split in Winston-Salem with the most Democratic VTDs in that city packed into SD-32 while Republican SD-31 captures the more Republican VTDs on the city's edges.

Map 26. VTD CCSC for the Forsyth and Stokes County Cluster



Map 27. Map of Winston-Salem Municipal Splits

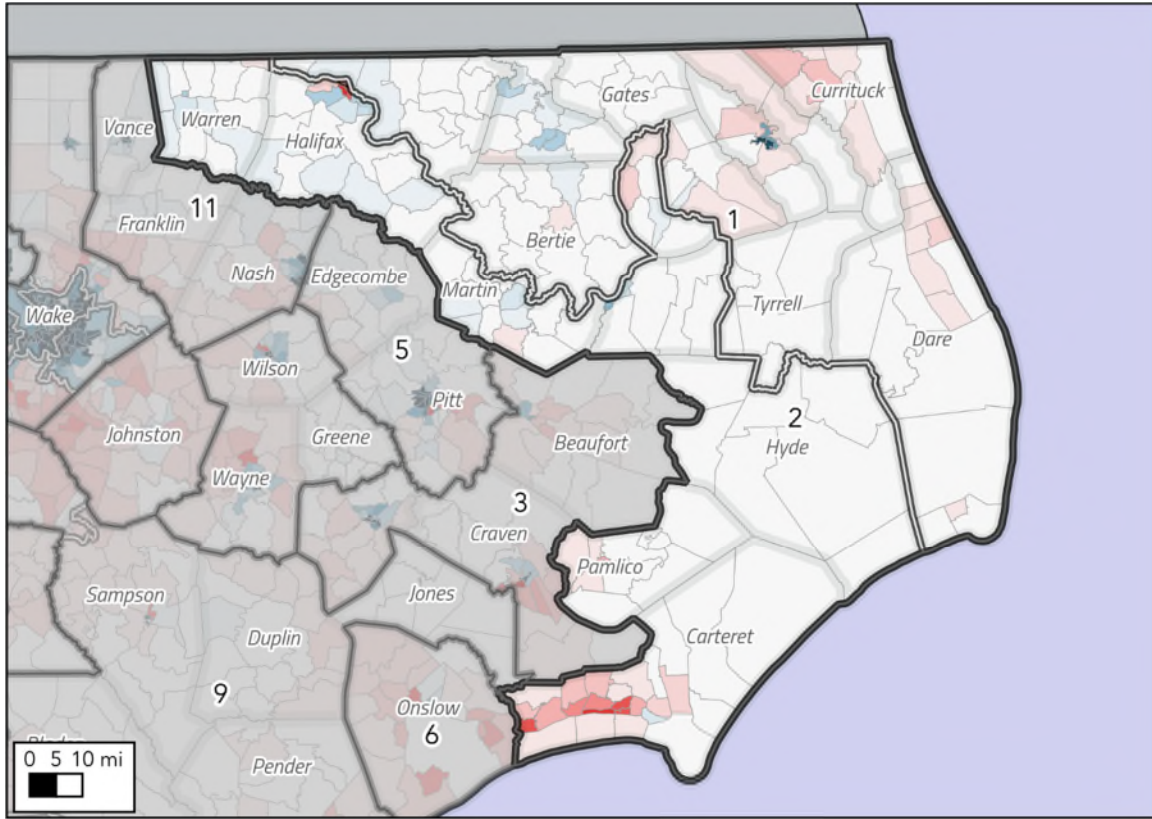


SDs 1 and 2: Northeastern County Clusters

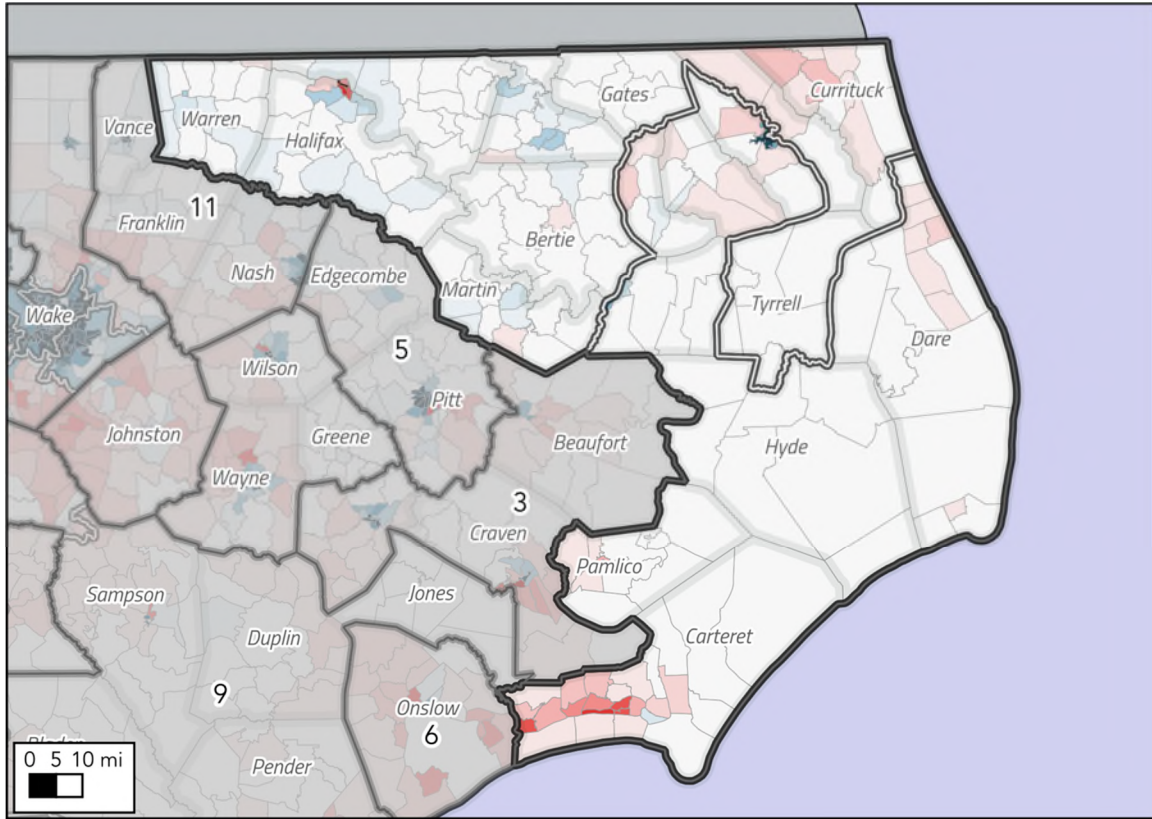
Senate districts 1 and 2 are located in two adjacent county clusters that contain Bertie, Halifax, Hertford, Northampton, and Warren counties. Many of these counties are among the most racially diverse in the state.

The mapmakers had one consequential choice to make here—the choice of which counties would be included within each cluster (the size of each cluster is such that the clusters can contain only one district, each). The choice of cluster helped tilt the scales in the direction of the Republican Party, as evidenced in Maps 28 and 29 below. If the map-drawers had chosen the alternative county cluster configuration (Map 29), the result would have been much more likely to favor the Democratic Party in one district (with a projected CCSC score of D+10,270) and the Republican Party in the other district (with a projected CCSC score of R+49,916). Instead, the enacted map pairs more Republican voters together resulting in two districts that lean towards the Republican Party (SD-1: R+2, R+16,350; SD-2: R+4, R+23,296), despite the competitiveness of most of the VTDS in this cluster.

Map 28. VTD CCSC for the Northeastern County Clusters



Map 29. Potential Northeastern County Clusters That Were Not Selected



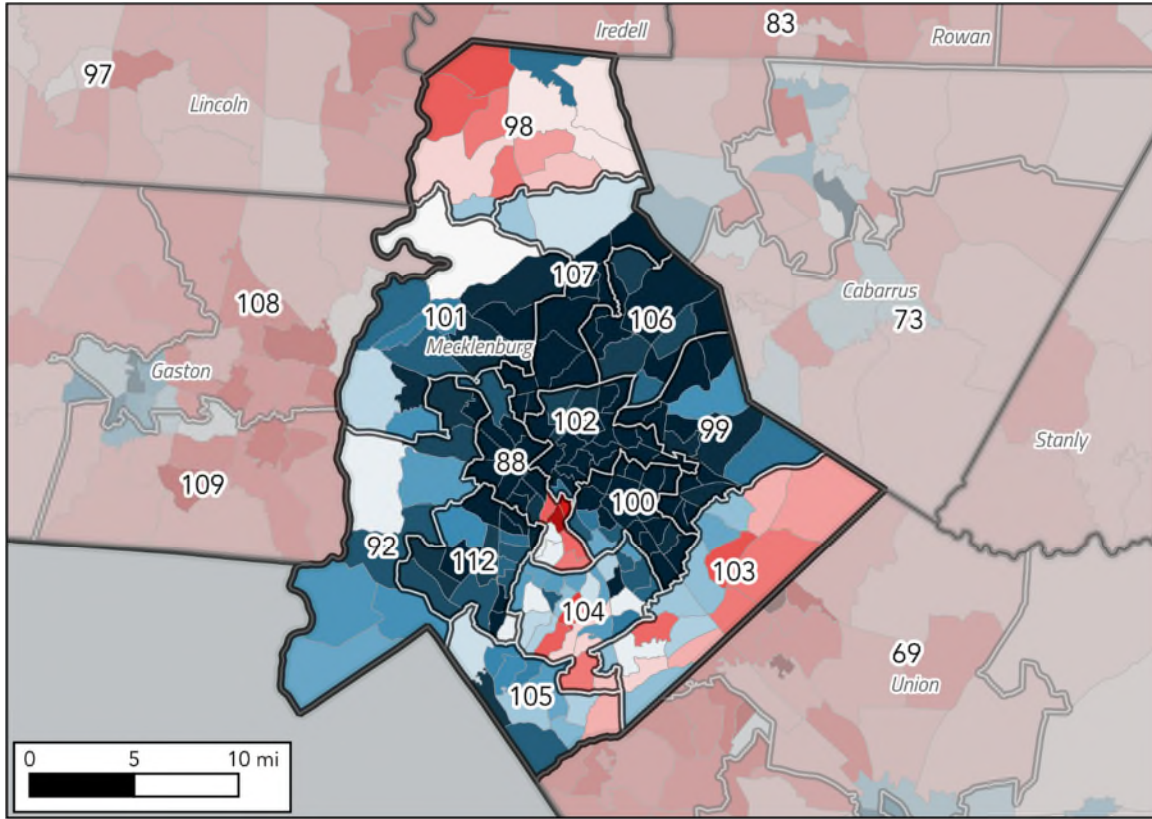
House Districts

HDs 88, 92, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, and 112: Mecklenburg County Cluster

Mecklenburg County is the home of Charlotte as well as six other municipalities. As noted above, Mecklenburg County is dominated by Democratic voters and is becoming even more so as the county continues to grow in population.

The enacted map places no Republican VTDs in HDs 92, 99, 100, 101, 102, 106, 107, and 112, leaving every Republican-leaning VTD in HDs 88, 103, 104, and 105. This arrangement provides Republican candidates the greatest probability of victory possible in this sea of blue. In particular, HDs 98 and 103 are carved out of the pockets of Republican voters in the north and southeast portions of the county so as to be particularly favorable to Republicans. HD-98 is rated by CPI as R+5 and HD-103 is rated as even, with CCSC scores of R+4,359 and R+2,645, respectively.

Map 30. VTD CCSC for the Mecklenburg County Cluster



HDs 11, 21, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, and 49: Wake County Cluster

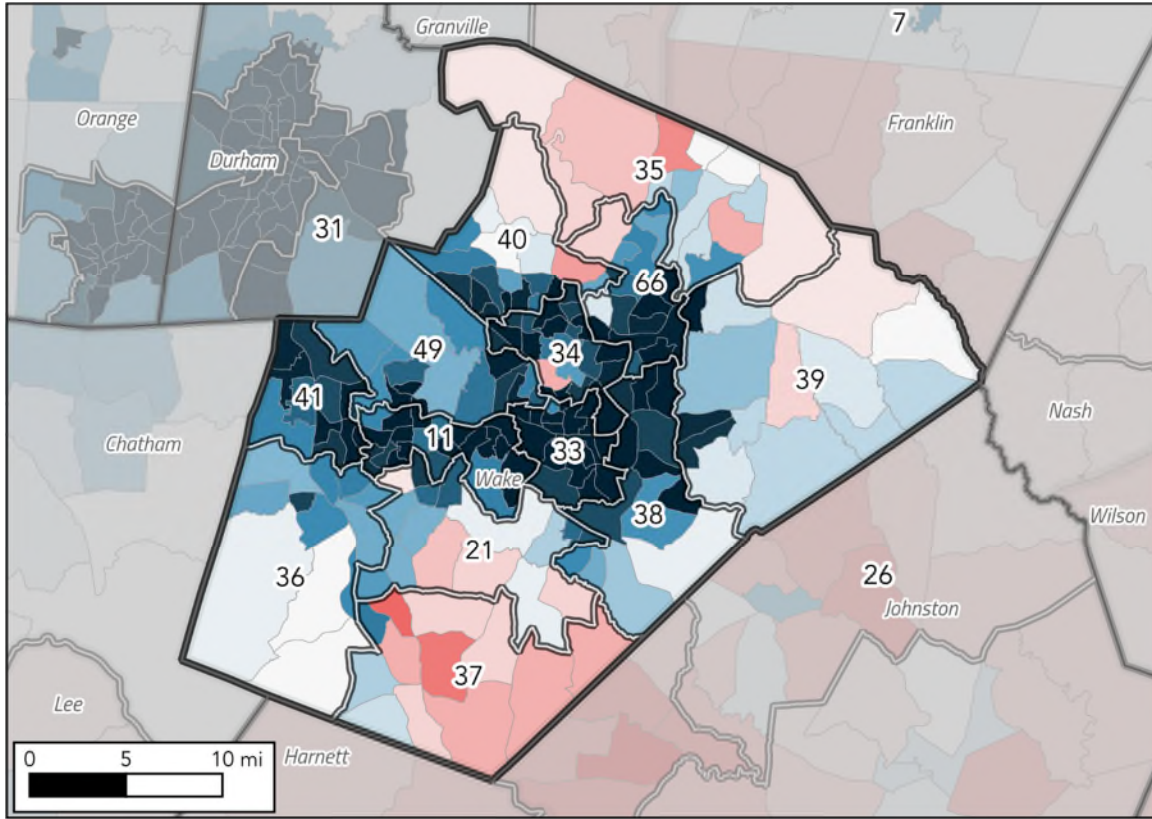
House districts 11, 21, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, and 49 are located in the Democratic stronghold of Wake County, which includes Raleigh and 11 other municipalities. As noted above, Wake County gave 63.5% of its two-party vote share to Joe Biden in 2020 and supported Democratic candidates for every statewide office. There are no Republicans on the county commission.

The enacted map packs Democrats into as few districts as possible, creating contorted districts that, in the case of HDs 11, 33, 36, 38, 41, and 49, include no Republican VTDs. This leaves HD-37 as a Republican leaning district, which will benefit the Republican candidate Erin Pare, who narrowly defeated a Democrat in the last election. These district boundaries also increase the probability that a Republican can defeat the Democratic incumbent Terence Everitt in HD-35, in the northern portion of Wake County. HD-37 is rated as R+3 by the CPI and has a R+6,400 score; HD-35 is rate as R+1 by the CPI and has a R+2,264 CCSC score.

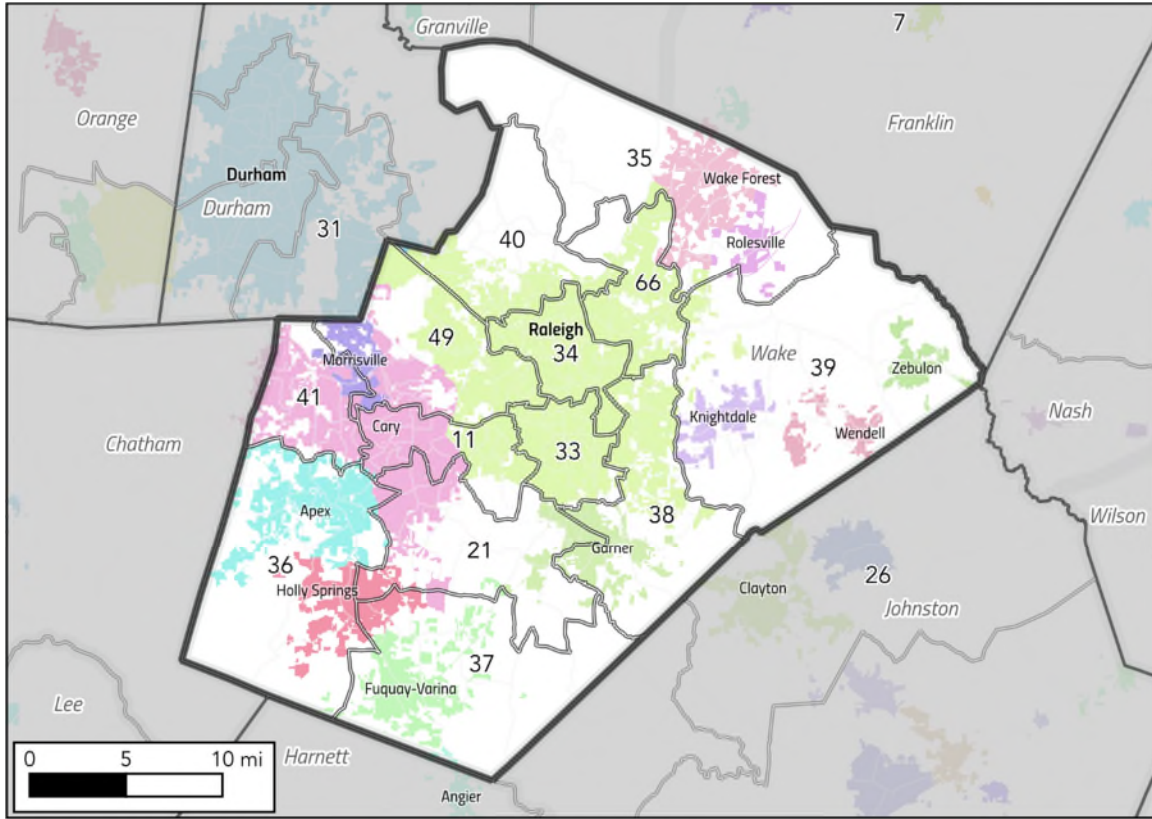
The partisan effects of small decisions are particularly apparent in the spike that juts up from HD-66 into HD-35, keeping the Democratic VTDs in that spike fenced off from the more Republican-leaning VTDs in HD-35. If the district lines took a slightly different jog here, it would increase the probability of Everitt securing re-election.

As Map 32 indicates, the enacted map also splits a number of cities both large (Raleigh, shaded in light green, split across nine districts; Cary, shaded in pink, split across four districts) and small (Garner, Fuquay-Varina, Apex, Holly Springs, and Morrisville). The district boundaries appear calculated to provide a partisan advantage for Republican candidates rather than adhere to any municipal boundaries.

Map 31. VTD CCSC for the Wake County Cluster



Map 32. Municipal Splits in the Wake County Cluster

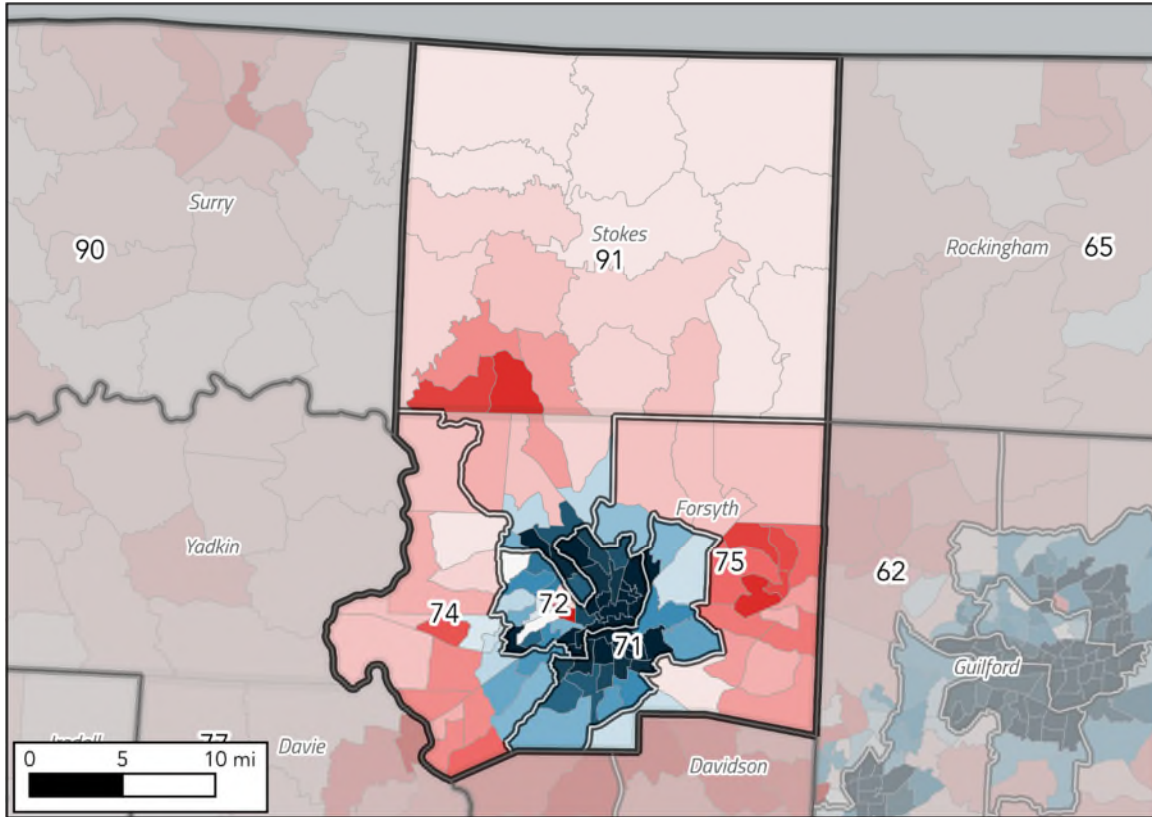


HDs 71, 72, 74, 75, and 91: Forsyth and Stokes County Cluster

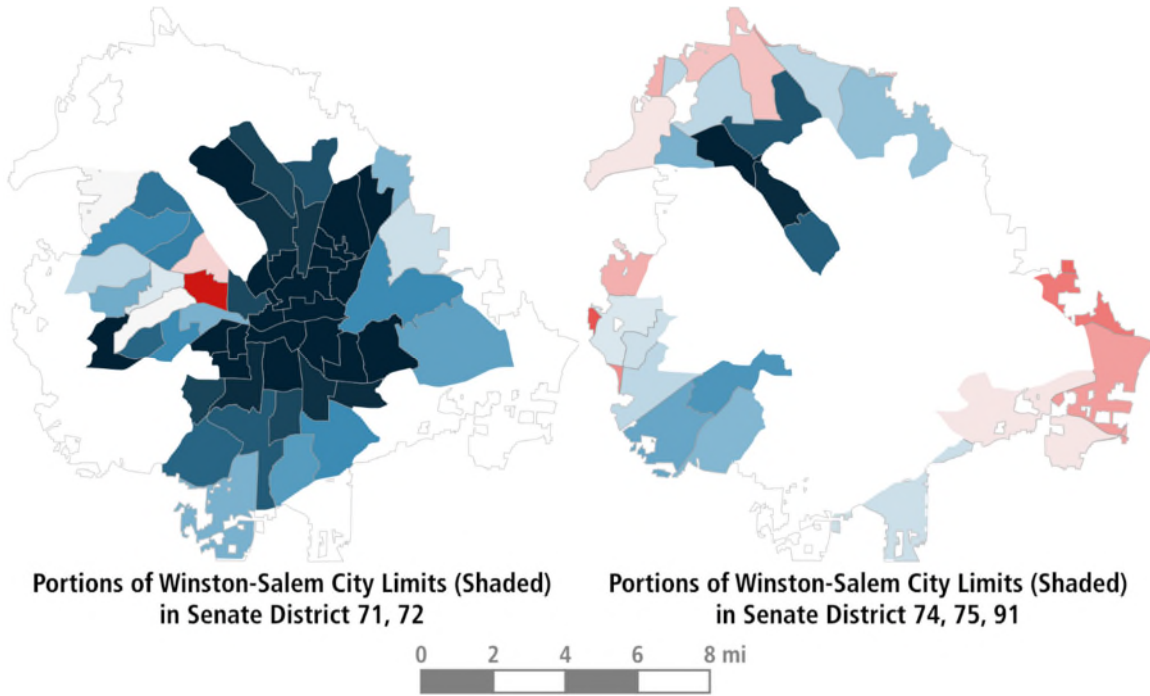
House districts 71, 72, 74, 75, and 91 are located in Forsyth and Stokes counties. The enacted map splits Winston-Salem across all five districts in this cluster and packs Democratic voters into HDs 71 and 72 (HD-71 does not include a single Republican VTD), leaving HD-75 and HD-91 almost certain to elect a Republican and HD-74 as a Republican leaning district (with a CPI score of R+3 and a CCSC score of R+7,846).

The splits of Winston-Salem do not make sense without reference to the anticipated voting behavior of the VTDs arranged into each district. For example, HD-91 includes all of Republican-leaning Stokes County, but instead of joining Stokes with a broader expanse of northern Forsyth County to create a more compact district, HD-91 juts down into the center of Winston-Salem, picking up some of the most Democratic VTDs in the cluster (which include Bethabara Moravian Church, Arts Council Theatre, and Mision Hispana VTDs—43.8% of the population in the latter VTD identifies as black and 29.5% identifies as Hispanic), ensuring that Democratic voters in the core of Winston-Salem have essentially no chance at electing a member of their own party, and dividing a major North Carolina city unnecessarily. But this arrangement does allow HD-74, to the west, and HD-75, to the east, to lean in favor of Republican candidates, despite their proximity to the deep pocket of Democratic voters in the city that those districts overlap with on their outer edges.

Map 33. VTD CCSC for the Forsyth and Stokes County Cluster



Map 34. Detail of Winston-Salem Splits



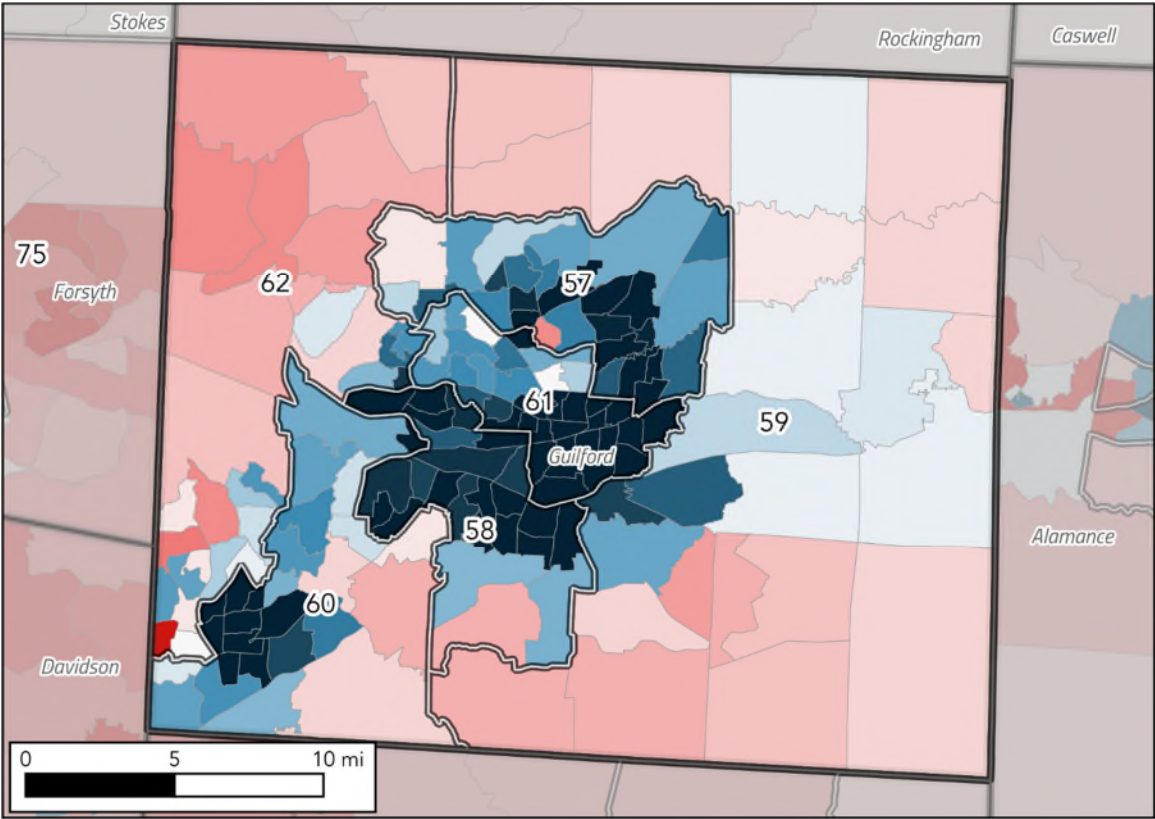
HDs 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, and 62: Guilford County Cluster

HDs 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, and 62 are all contained within the Democratic stronghold of Guilford County, which contains Greensboro and High Point. As noted above, Guilford County voters have provided Democratic candidates large margins of victory in recent state- and county-wide elections.

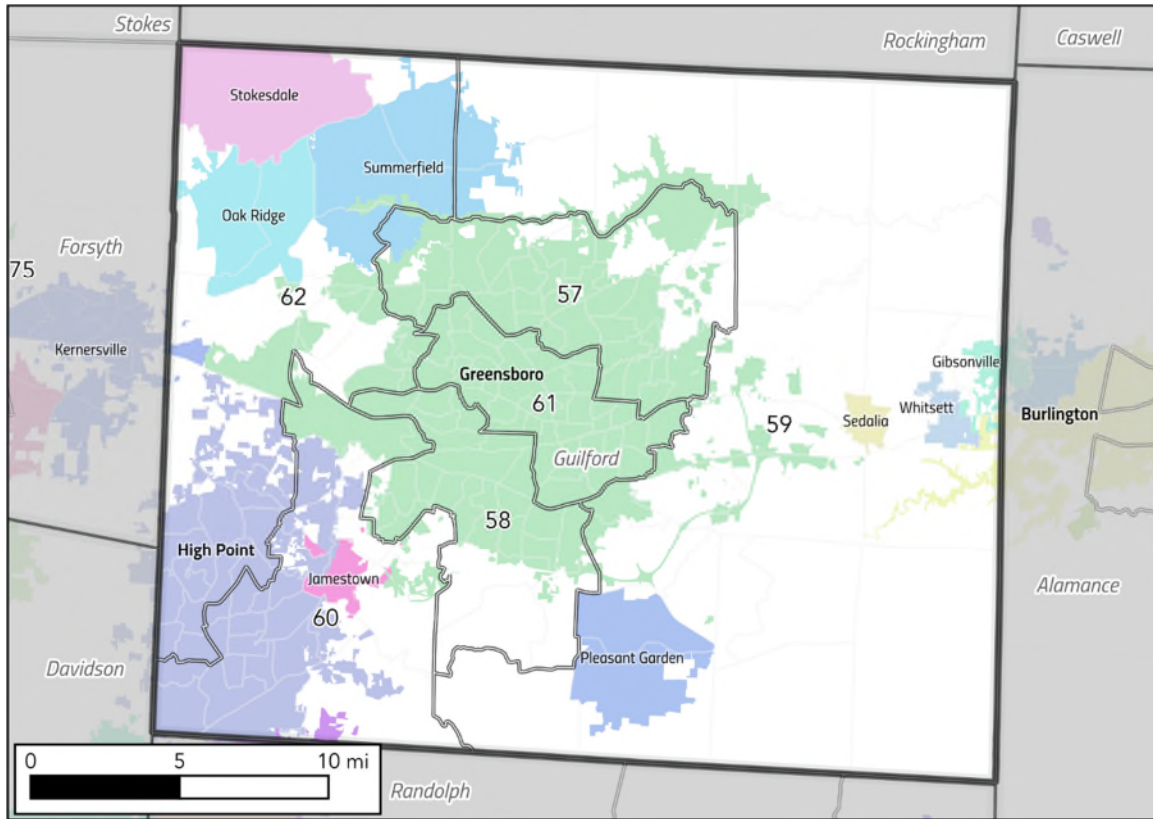
The enacted map packs Democratic voters into HDs 57, 58, 60, and 61. By studiously avoiding the Democratic leaning VTDs in the center of the county, HD-59 creates a reverse C shape that pieces together the southern and northern VTDs in an arrangement that creates district rated as R+2 by CPI, with a R+4,794 CCSC score. Meanwhile, HD-62 rests on the western edge of the county and includes pieces of both Greensboro and High Point, while avoiding the most Democratic areas of these cities. HD-62 is rated by the CPI as R+5 and has a CCSC score of R+11,030.

The enacted map splits Greensboro across all six districts and splits the city of High Point across two districts and Summerfield across three districts (*see* Map 36).

Map 35. VTD CCSC for the Guilford County Cluster



Map 36. Municipal Splits in the Guilford County Cluster



HDs 114, 115, and 116: Buncombe County Cluster

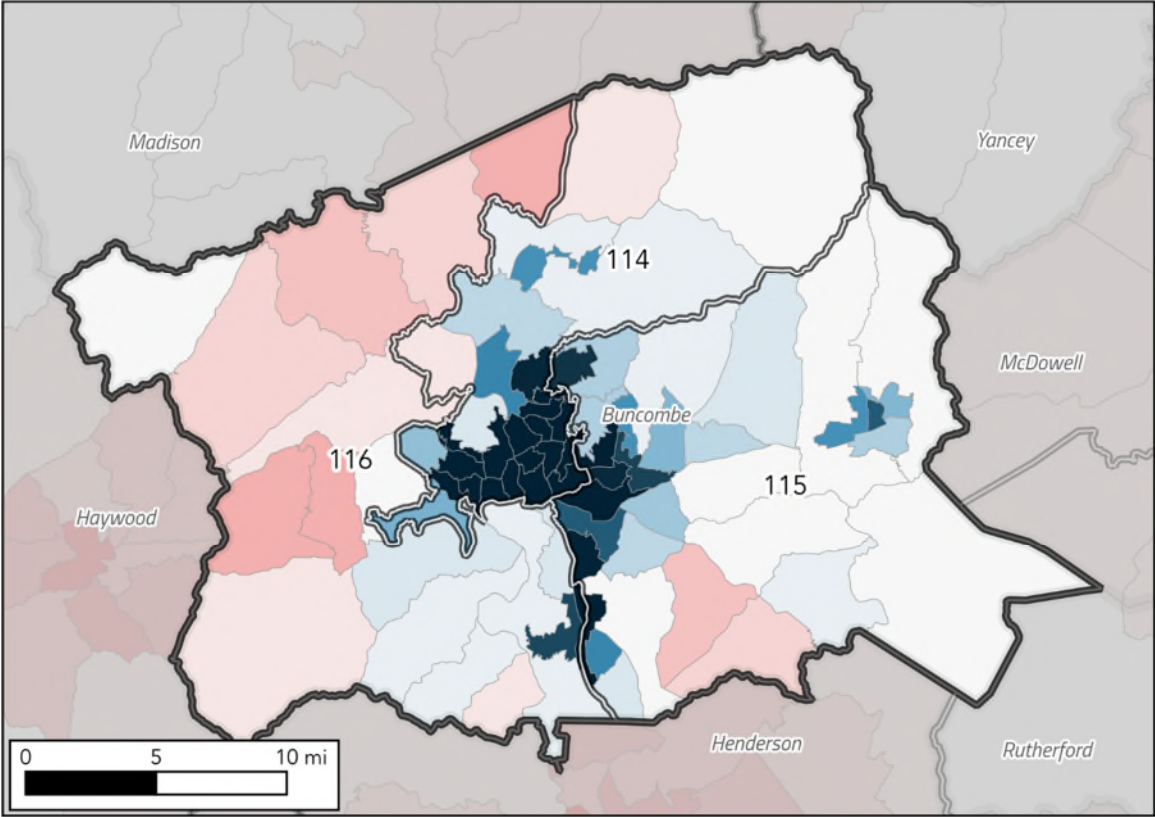
Buncombe County is located in Western North Carolina. It is anchored by Asheville, but also includes five other municipalities—Montreat, Biltmore Forest, Black Mountain, Woodfin, and Weaverville. Due to the *Stephenson* rule, Buncombe County is a single county cluster that must include three districts. Within the county, however, there were a number of choices the map-drawers had before them.

Buncombe is an overwhelmingly Democratic county and has been trending more Democratic each year. In 2020, 60.7% of the county's two-party vote share went to Joe Biden, the 10th highest in the state. Buncombe voters voted for the Democratic candidate in every county-wide contest in 2021 and Buncombe's county commission includes only one Republican.

In both the current map and the enacted map, Buncombe County includes HDs 114, 115, and 116. All three districts are currently represented by Democrats, with Susan Fisher in HD-114, John Ager in HD-115, and Brian Turner in HD-116. By shifting the current district lines where the districts meet in Asheville, however, the enacted map packs as many Democrats as possible into HD-114, while HD-115 stays relatively constant in terms of predicted vote share. The C-shaped HD-116 now includes most of the Republican-leaning VTDs in Buncombe, transforming it from a safely Democratic district into a district that leans towards the Republican Party (HD-116 is rated by CPI as R+3 and has a CCSC score of R+5,800).

The enacted map also places the pocket of overwhelmingly white voters of Biltmore Forest in the competitive HD-116, while the traditionally African American community of Shiloh to the east is left in HD-115. Soon after the maps were passed, all three Democratic incumbents announced that they would be retiring and not running for office in these newly drawn districts.

Map 37. VTD CCSC for the Buncombe County Cluster

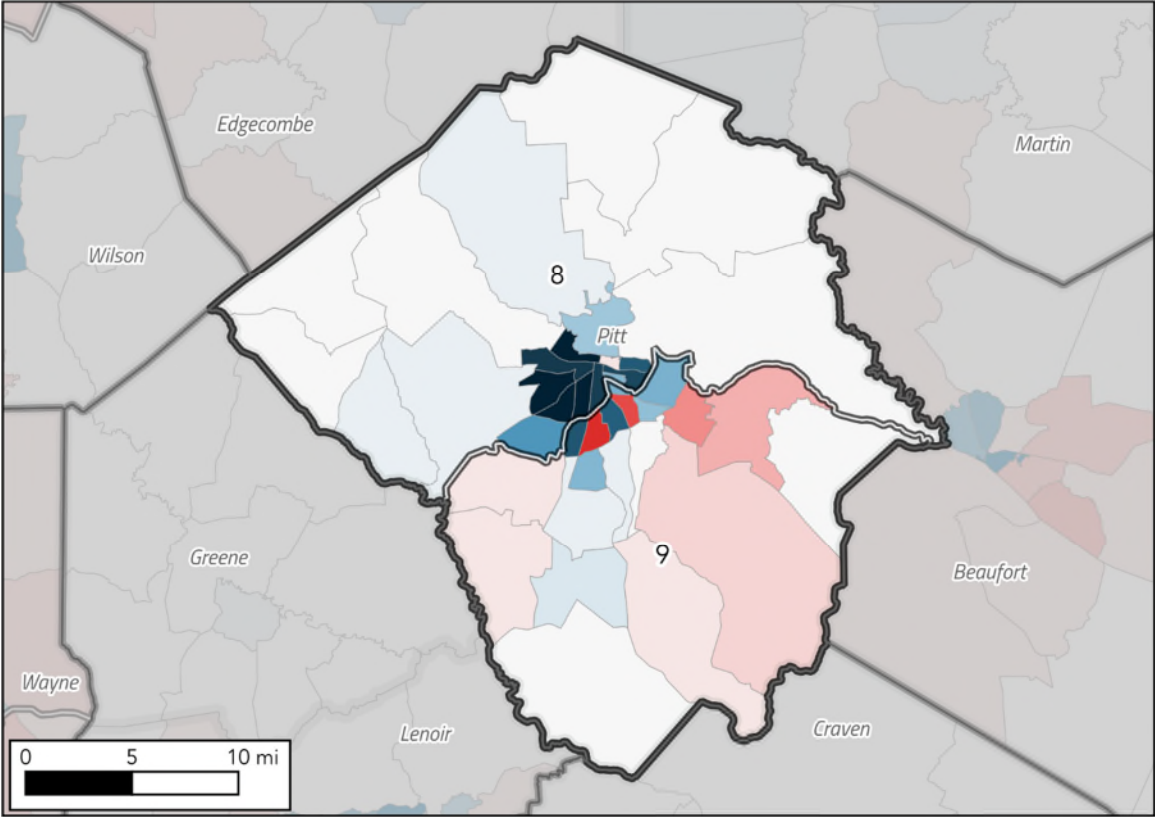


HDs 8 and 9: Pitt County Cluster

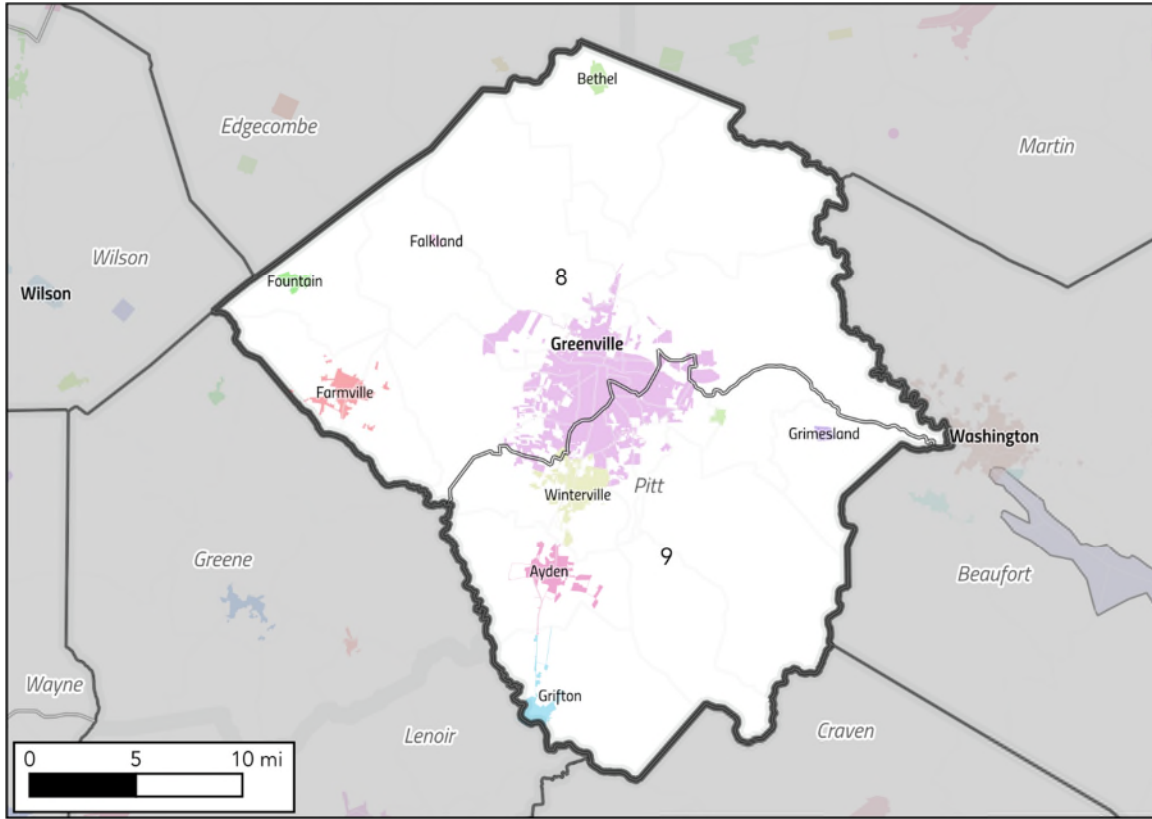
HD 8 and 9 are located in Pitt County, a county that gave 55% of its vote share to Joe Biden in the 2020 election, making it the 19th most Democratic county in the state according to this metric. The county is currently represented by two Democrats: Kandie Smith in HD-8 and Brian Farkas in HD-9.

By splitting Greenville at a particularly consequential location, the enacted map packs most Democrats in that city into HD-8 and fences them off from two Republican-leaning VTDs in HD-9. This particular division of Greenville makes HD-8 a much safer seat for Democrats and allows for a Republican-leaning district in Farkas' HD-9, which is rated by the CPI as R+3 and has a CCSC score of R+4,503. These district boundaries are difficult to explain with reference to communities of interest or natural geography. For example, students in East Carolina University's College of Health and Human Performance would take classes in HD-9, while their residence halls would be in HD-8. Similarly, as students walked from the ECU Hill District to Dowdy-Ficklen Stadium on Saturdays to watch the Pirates, they would be entering not only a sea of purple-clad football fans, but a different House district as well.

Map 38. VTD CCSC for the Pitt County Cluster



Map 39. Municipal Splits in the Pitt County Cluster

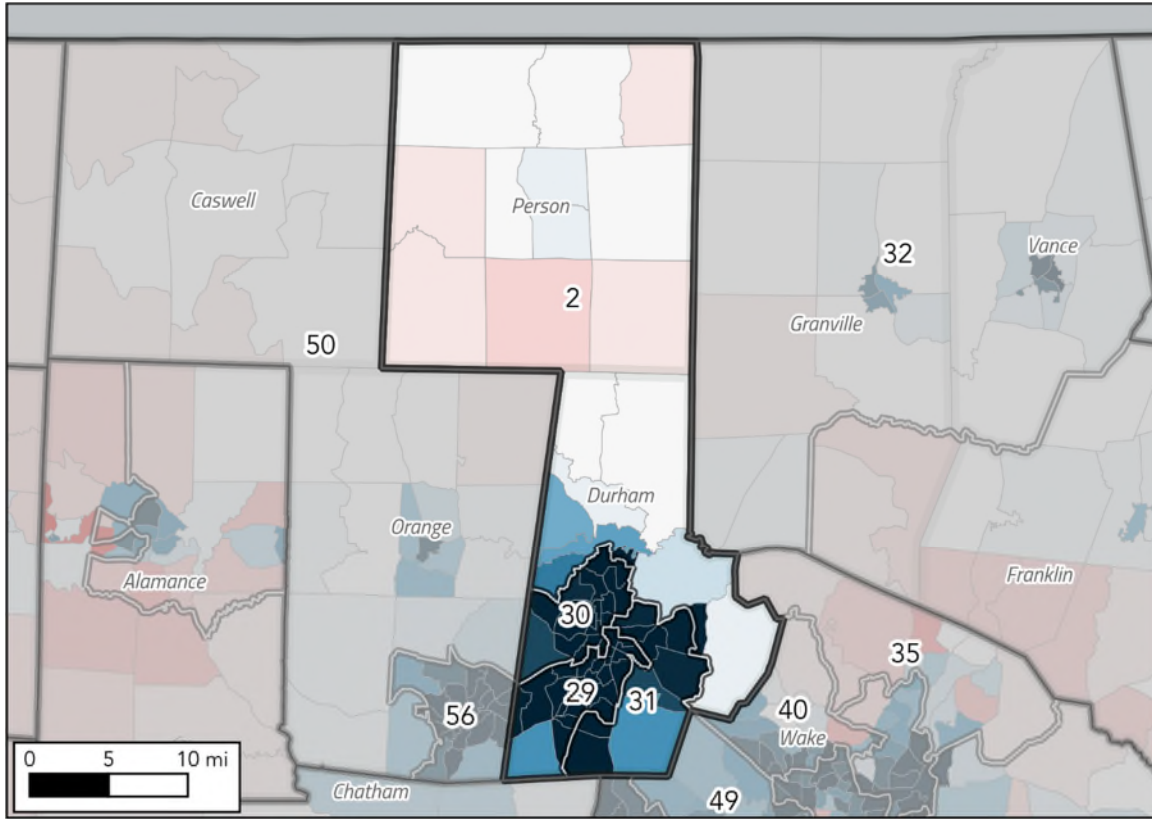


HDs 2, 29, 30, and 31: Durham and Person County Cluster

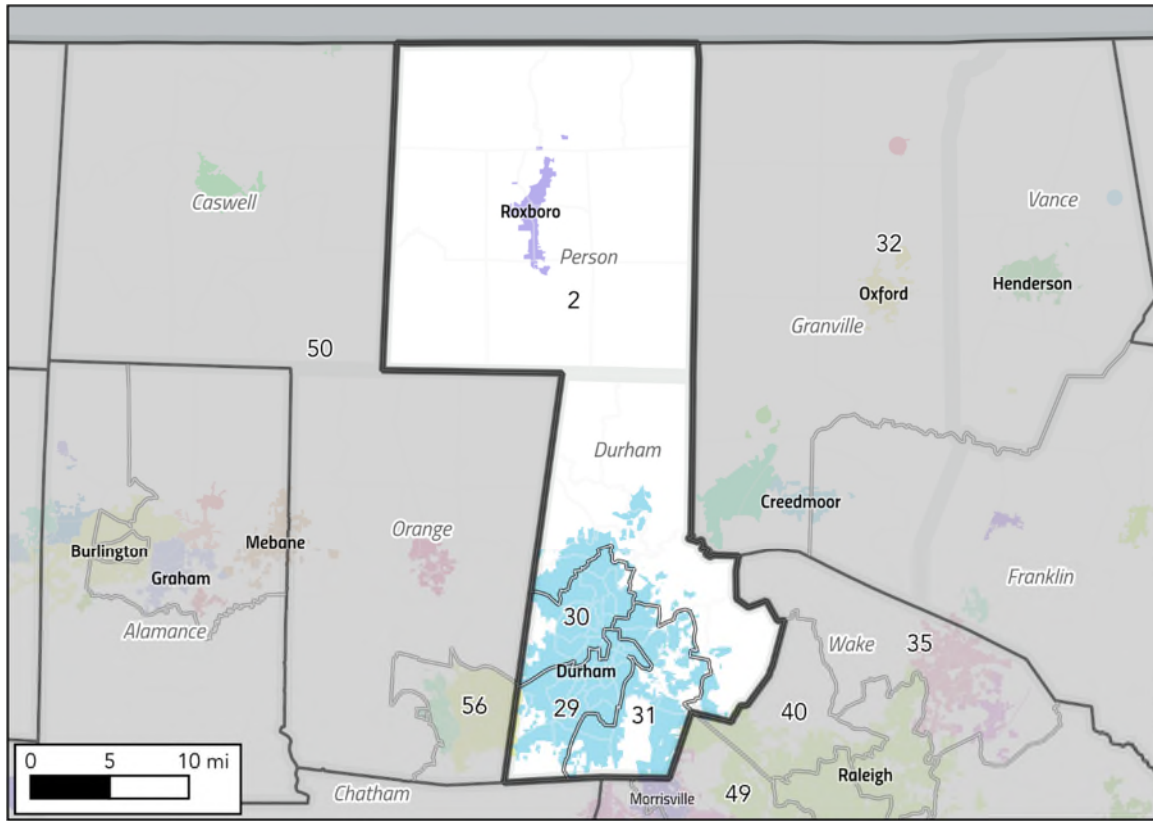
House districts 2, 29, 30, and 31 are located in a cluster with Durham and Person counties. While Person County leans towards the Republican Party, Durham County is the most Democratic county in the state, by almost any metric. Durham County gave 81.6% of its two-party vote share to Joe Biden in the 2020 election and voted overwhelmingly for Democratic candidates in every county-wide election.

The enacted map splits the City of Durham across all four districts but packs Democratic voters in HDs 29, 30, and 31; there is not a single Republican or competitive VTD in those districts. Meanwhile, HD-2 grabs all of the less Democratic and more competitive VTDs within Durham County, studiously avoiding the darkest blue VTDs in the northern end of the City of Durham. The result of these district boundaries that pack Democratic voters in the three districts in the south of Durham County is a claw-shaped appendage that allows HD-2 to be as competitive for the Republican Party as possible, giving the Republican incumbent a chance in this largely blue cluster.

Map 40. VTD CCSC for the Durham and Person County Cluster



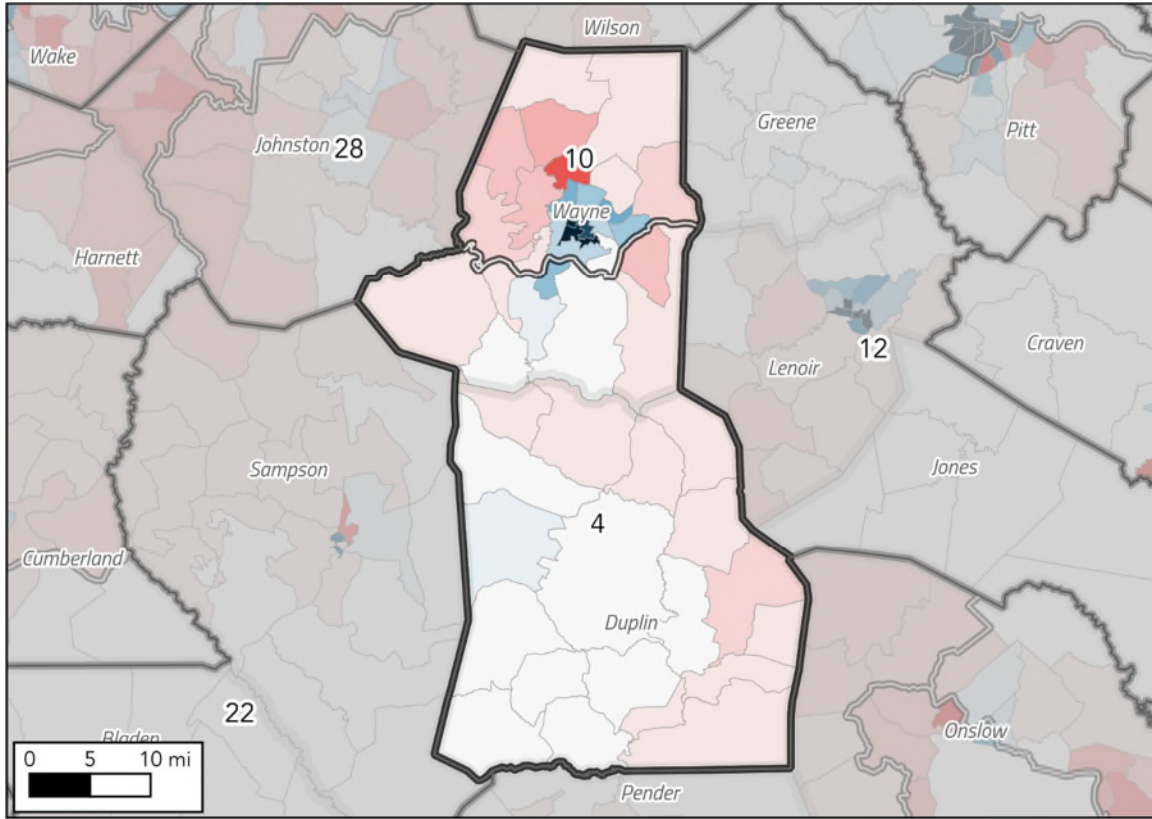
Map 41. Municipal Splits in the Durham and Person County Cluster



HDs 4 and 10: Duplin and Wayne County Cluster

House districts 4 and 10 are located in Duplin and Wayne counties, southeast of Wake County. The district boundary that runs through Wayne County ensures that there will be two Republican districts. HD-4 is rated R+8 by the CPI and advantages the Republican Party by 14,079 votes, according to the CCSC. HD-10 is rated R+3 by the CPI, with a R+4,951 CCSC advantage.

Map 42. VTD CCSC for the Duplin and Wayne County Cluster

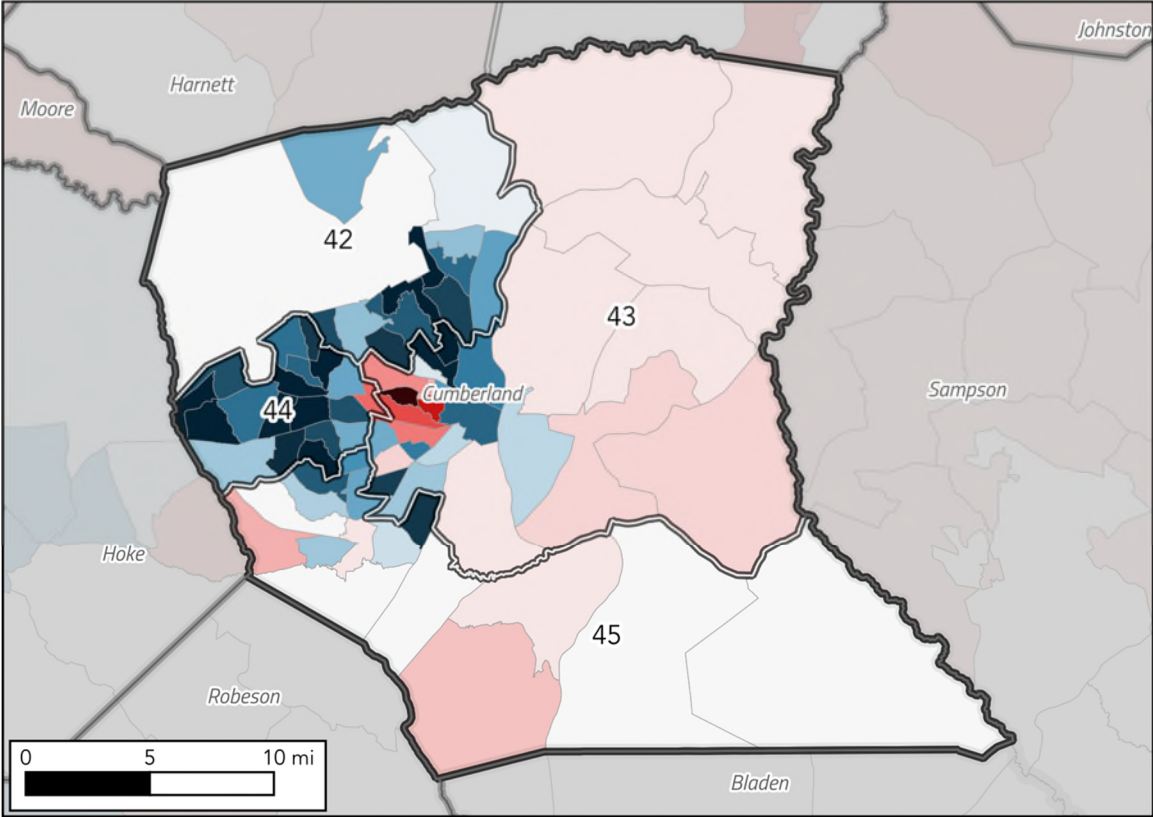


HDs 42, 43, 44, and 45: Cumberland County Cluster

Cumberland County is a heavily Democratic county, home to Fayetteville. Cumberland gave 58% of its two-party vote share to Joe Biden in 2020 and has not given the plurality of its votes for President to a Republican since 2004.

The enacted map creates two extremely competitive districts, HD-43 and HD-45 (with CCSC scores of D+1,334 and D+663, respectively) by splitting the Democratic-leaning City of Fayetteville into all four districts in the cluster. HD-43 picks up the most Republican VTDs in Fayetteville in a pattern that has partisan implications, making that district more competitive for first-term incumbent Republican Diane Wheatley. The district boundaries are also potentially confusing to voters. A citizen driving north on The All American Freeway would, in the span of about 3.5 miles, move from HD-43 to HD-44, then split the border between HD-43 and HD-44, then back into HD-44, form the border between HD-44 and HD-42, then move fully into HD-42. HD-45 includes the Republican and competitive VTDs on the south side of the county and moves into Fayetteville, but narrowly avoids the most Democratic-leaning VTDs in the city.

Map 43. VTD CCSC for the Cumberland County Cluster

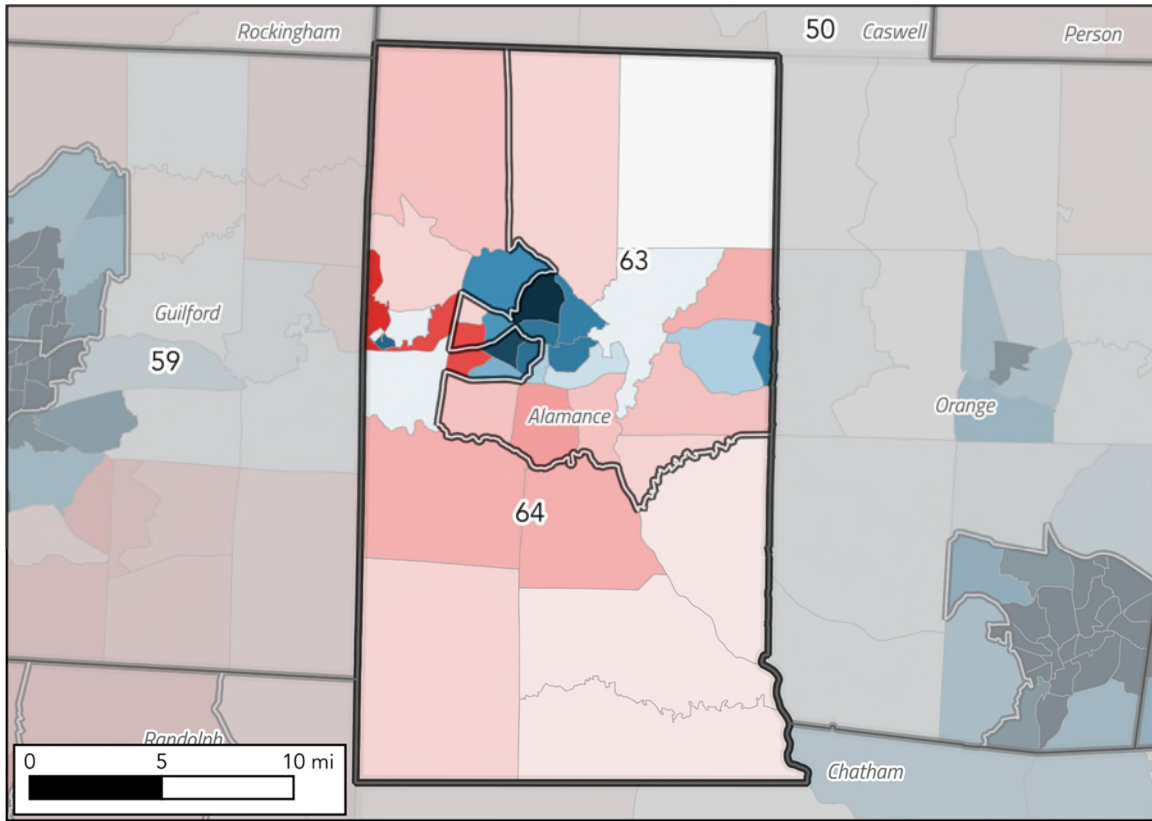


HDs 63 and 63: Alamance County Cluster

Alamance County is located between Guilford and Orange counties and includes the municipalities of Burlington, Graham, Mebane, Elon, Gibsonville, Green Level, Haw River, Ossipec, Swepsonville, and Alamance. The enacted map creates a heavily Republican HD-64 (R+8, R+13,572) and a competitive HD-63 (D+1, D+1,877) that could be challenging for the re-election of Democrat Ricky Hurtado, the only Latino legislator in North Carolina's General Assembly.

The enacted map takes a series of odd jogs around the City of Burlington in which three heavily Democratic VTDs are drawn into the heavily Republican HD-64, thus reducing the influence of those voters and leaving them walled off from HD-63 where they would be more likely to make a difference in the electoral outcome in a close district. This dovetail pattern does not follow municipal boundaries or other traditional communities of interest. At one point, the gap created between HD-63 and HD-64 is a mere three blocks wide.

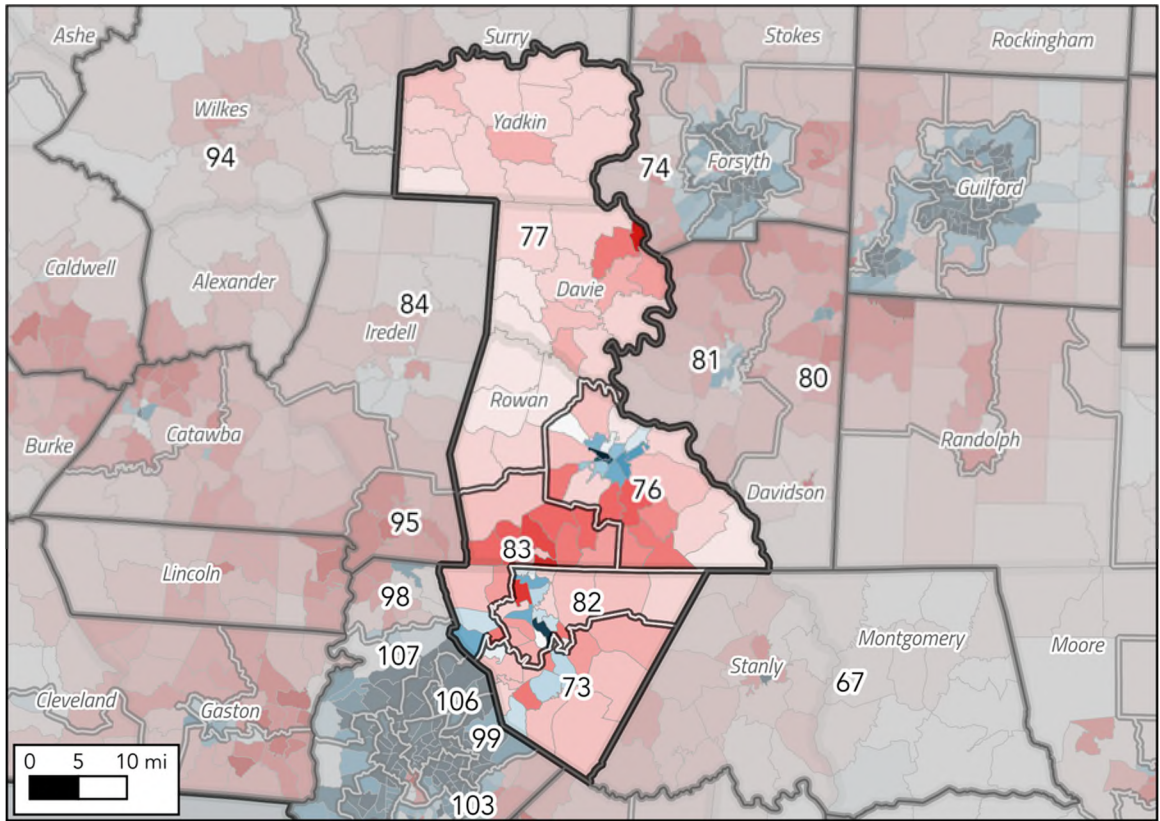
Map 44. VTD CCSC for the Alamance County Cluster



HDs 73, 76, 77, 82, and 83: Cabarrus, Davie, Rowan, and Yadkin County Cluster

This cluster is located northeast of Mecklenburg County. While the composition of these counties suggests that Republicans are likely to have an advantage in some of the potential districts in this cluster, the enacted map creates five Republican districts, ranging from a CPI of R+3 and CCSC score of R+5,578 to a CPI of R+25 and CCSC score of R+51,128. HD-82, which includes Concord and Kannapolis and is the most competitive district in the cluster as drawn, conspicuously excludes Democratic VTDs near the northeastern border of Mecklenburg County, which are placed in HDs 83 and 73.

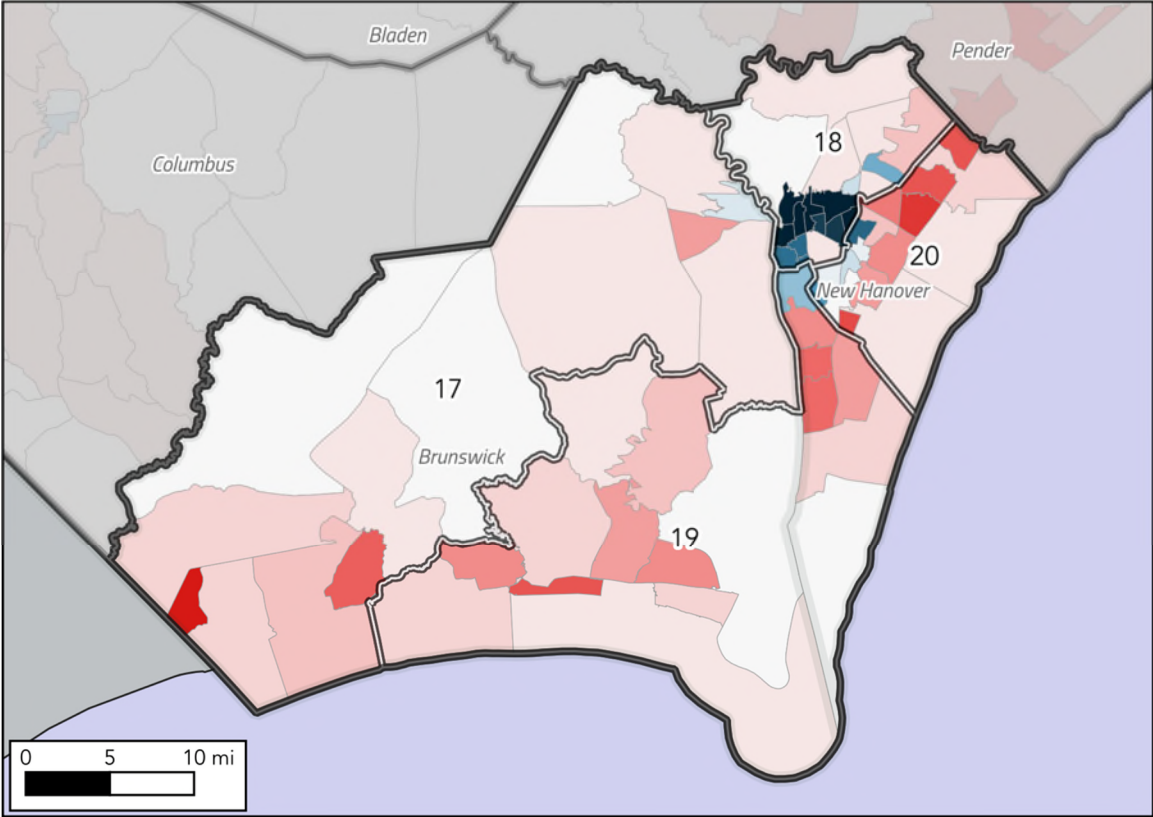
Map 45. VTD CCSC for the Cabarrus, Davie, Rowan, and Yadkin County Cluster



HDs 17, 18, 19, and 20: Brunswick and New Hanover County Cluster

The Brunswick-New Hanover cluster is located in eastern North Carolina and includes four House districts. Three of the four (HD-17, HD-19, and HD-20) lean towards the Republican Party, while HD-18 (D+11, D+20,338) packs Democratic voters in and around Wilmington, making the adjacent HD-20 (R+3, R+7,728) more competitive. The heavily Republican HD-19 also ensnares a Democratic-leaning VTD south of Wilmington, which keeps that VTD out of competitive HD-20.

Map 46. VTD CCSC for the Brunswick and New Hanover County Cluster



Conclusion

After analyzing the characteristics of all three maps as a whole, as well as the characteristics of each district in isolation, it is clear that the enacted maps will increase the number of Republicans in Congress and in the General Assembly, while decreasing the number of Democrats. Democratic voters in the vast majority of the congressional districts will have no chance at representation from a member of their own party and Republican voters in the congressional districts that pack Democrats will have no chance of representation from a member of their own party. Democratic voters are similarly disadvantaged in the Senate and House county clusters addressed above. This is not a result of natural packing or geographic clustering, but rather because the map-makers drew district lines in ways that, taken together, benefit the Republican Party. Not only do the enacted maps artificially create a substantial partisan advantage for which there is no apparent explanation other than gerrymandering, but the enacted maps also unnecessarily split communities of interest and will alter representational linkages in ways that, in some cases, have never been seen in North Carolina's history.



Christopher A. Cooper

Attachment A

Christopher A. Cooper

EDUCATION

Ph.D., University of Tennessee, Political Science (2002)

M.A., University of Tennessee, Political Science (1999)

B.A., Winthrop University, Political Science and Sociology (1997)

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Madison Distinguished Professor (July 2019-Present)

Professor of Political Science and Public Affairs, Western Carolina University (2014-Present)

Associate Professor of Political Science and Public Affairs, Western Carolina University (2008-2014)

Associate Professor of Psychology (by Courtesy), Western Carolina University (2011-present)

Faculty Fellow, Institute for the Economy and the Future Western Carolina University (2002-2006)

Assistant Professor of Political Science and Public Affairs, Western Carolina University (2002-2008)

ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

Director, Public Policy Institute, Western Carolina University (July 2008-July 2011; July 2021-present)

Department Head, Department of Political Science and Public Affairs, Western Carolina University (July 2012-July 2021; Interim from July 2011-June 2012)

Director, Master of Public Affairs (M.P.A.) Program, Western Carolina University (2005-2010)

INTERNATIONAL TEACHING

Guest Lecturer, Ludwigsburg University of Education, Ludwigsburg, Germany (May, 2018)

Guest Lecturer, Middelburg Center for Transatlantic Studies, Middelburg, the Netherlands (December, 2009; June 2012)

AWARDS

North Carolina Professor of the Year, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (2013)

Board of Governors Teaching Award, WCU (2013)

University Scholar, WCU (2011)

Chancellor's Award for Engaged Teaching, WCU (2007)

Teaching-Research Award, WCU (2006)

Outstanding Achievement—Teaching, Service Learning Department (2005)

Oral Parks Award for the best faculty paper presented at the 2003 meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association.

Artinian Professional Development Grant, Southern Political Science Association (2004; 2006)

Provost's Citation for Extraordinary Professional Promise, University of Tennessee (2002)

ADDITIONAL TRAINING

Social Network Analysis course through the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, Chapel Hill, NC (2010)

Spit Camp, Salimetrics, Inc, State College, PA (2010)

Deliberative Polling Institute, Stanford University (2008)

Hierarchical Linear Model course through the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, Amherst, MA (2005)

Summer Institute in Experimental Methods, Yale University (2003)

CATI and Ci3 training (2003)

Summer Institute in Political Psychology, Ohio State University (1999)

RESEARCH

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"Cooper, Christopher A., Scott Huffmon, and, H. Gibbs Knotts. "The Politics of Southern Identity" Presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Southern Studies Forum. Odense, Denmark. April, 2019

"Heritage v. Hate: Assessing Opinions in Debate Over Confederate Monuments and Memorials." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the South Carolina Political Science Association. February, 2019 (with Scott H. Huffmon, H. Gibbs Knotts, and Seth McKee).

"Still Fighting the Civil War? Southern Opinions on the Confederate Legacy?" Presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. March, 2018 (with M.V. Hood III, Scott H. Huffmon, Quentin Kidd, H. Gibbs Knotts, and Seth C. McKee).

"Leaving the (Political) Party in the South: Unaffiliated Voters and the Future of the Southern Electorate." Presented at the Auburn University Montgomery Southern Studies Conference. February, 2018.

“The Resilience of Southern Identity.” Presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Southern American Studies Association. March, 2017 (with H. Gibbs Knotts).

“The Five Factor Model, Public Service Motivation, and Person-Organization Fit.” Presented at the Northeastern Conference for Public Administration. Harrisburg, PA. November, 2016.

“Furling the Flag: Examining the Legislative Vote to Remove the Confederate Flag from the Statehouse Grounds in South Carolina.” Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. March, 2016 (with Latasha Chaffin and H. Gibbs Knotts).

“Tuition vs. Fees: Breaking Down the Ballooning Costs of Attendance in America’s Public Colleges.” Presented at the Northeastern Conference for Public Administration. Arlington, VA. November, 2015 (with Tyler Reinagel).

“Charter Reform in City Government: The Case of Columbia, SC.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Conference for Public Administration. Charleston, SC. October, 2015 (with James Bourne and H. Gibbs Knotts).

“The Bluest Red State in America: North Carolina as a Swing State.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago, IL. April, 2015 (with H. Gibbs Knotts)

“Personality Predictors of Job Satisfaction in Public Administrators.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Psychological Association. Hilton Head, SC. March, 2015 (with John Luke McCord).

Kaysing, Nicole, Erin Leonard, Adam Keath, Justin Menickelli and Christopher A. Cooper.

“Perceived Sexual Orientation of Women in Sports and Non-Sport Contexts. 2015 SHAPE America National Convention and Expo. Seattle, WA March, 2015.

Menickelli, Justin, Maridy Trom, Tom Watterson, Christopher A. Cooper and Dan Grube. “Activity Monitor Accuracy in Assessing Caloric Expenditures in Obese Adults.” 2015 SHAPE America National Convention and Expo. Seattle, WA March, 2015.

“The Resilience of Southern Identity.” Presented at the AUM Southern Studies Conference 2015. February 2015 (with Gibbs Knotts).

“Personality and Nonprofit Management.” Presented at the Northeastern Conference on Public Administration. October, 2014.

“What Do Wilbur Zelinsky and the Beatles Have in Common?” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers. Tampa, FL. April 2014 (with Gibbs Knotts)

“Blue Beacon in the South, or the New South Carolina? North Carolina Politics in the 21st Century” Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC. February, 2014 (with Gibbs Knotts)

“A ‘Court’ of Public Opinion Influence on Judicial Decision-Making in the U.S. Supreme Court.” Presented at the Public Choice Society Conference. March, 2014 (with Todd Collins).

“Appointed Senators: Treadmill to Oblivion or Stairway to Success?” Presented at the Southern Political Science Association. Orlando, FL. January, 2014 (with Gibbs Knotts)

“Unpacking Southern Identity.” Presented at the Southern American Studies Association Meeting. Charleston, SC. February, 2013 (with Gibbs Knotts)

“Southern Identity Revisited.” Presented at the Southern Political Science Association. Orlando, FL. January, 2013 (with Gibbs Knotts)

“Reassessing Case Salience.” To be presented at the American Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA. August, 2012 (with Todd Collins). [Conference was cancelled due to Hurricane]

“The Southern Focus Poll Revisited.” Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC. February, 2012 (with Gibbs Knotts).

Menickelli, J., Smith, J., Claxton, D, Troy, M., Cooper, C., & Grube, D. (2012, March). Validity of the Walk4Life MVP Pedometer for Measuring Steps and Moderate-to-Vigorous Physical Activity. Presented at the AAHPERD Convention, Boston.

Menickelli, J., Tuten, C., Cooper, C., Grube, D., Claxton, D., Barney, D. & Lyksett, J. (2012, March). Disc Golf and Walking Benefits: A Pedometer-Based Exercise Assessment. Presented at the AAHPERD Convention, Boston.

“In Search of Meaning in Southern And Dixie Business Names.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association. Charlotte, NC. February, 2011 (with Gibbs Knotts and Hope Alwine#).

“Media Coverage of the Burger Court.” Presented at Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA. January, 2011 (with Todd A. Collins).

“Measuring Legal Salience.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago, IL. April, 2010 (with Todd A. Collins).

“Love ‘Em or Hate ‘Em: Opinions of Southerners between 1964 and 2008.” Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, March, 2010 (with Gibbs Knotts).

“The Geography of Social Identity in Appalachia.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association. Durham, NC. February, 2010 (with Gibbs Knotts and Katy Elders).

“Methodological Tools in SoTL” Presented at the International Society for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning. Bloomington, IN. October, 2009 (with John Habel, Mary Jean Herzog, and Kathleen Brennan).

“Guided by Voices: Understanding Student Learning.” Presented at the International Society for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning. Edmonton, AL. October, 2008 (with Anna McPhadden, Chesney Reich, Glenn Bowen, Laura Cruz, and Carol Burton).

“Two Approaches to Place and Civic Engagement.” Presented at the American Democracy Project. Snowbird, UT. June, 2008 (with Sean O’Connell).

- “Overlapping Identifies: Investigating the Causes and Consequences of Social Identify in the South.” Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, March, 2008 (with Gibbs Knotts, presenter).
- “The Importance of Voter Files for State Politics Research.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA. January, 2008 (with Gibbs Knotts and Moshe Haspel).
- “Beyond Racial Threat.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Chicago, IL. September, 2007 (with Gibbs Knotts and Moshe Haspel).
- “News Media and the State Policy Process: Perspectives from Legislators and Political Professionals.” Presented at the 7th Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy. Austin, TX. February, 2007 (with Martin Johnson).
- “Politics and the Press Corps: Reporters, State Legislative Institutions and Context.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Philadelphia, PA. August, 2006 (with Martin Johnson).
- “Politics and the Press Corps: Reporters, State Legislative Institutions and Context.” Presented at the 6th Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy. Lubbock, TX. May, 2006 (with Lilliard Richardson).
- “The Impact of Multi-Member Districts on Descriptive Representation in U.S. State Legislatures, 1975-2002.” Presented at the 6th Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy. Lubbock, TX. May, 2006 (with Lilliard Richardson).
- “Trust in Government, Citizen Competence and Public Opinion on Zoning.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association. High Point, NC. March, 2006 (with Gibbs Knotts and Kathleen Brennan).
- “Casework in U.S. State Legislatures.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta, GA. January, 2006 (with Lilliard Richardson).
- “Voice of the People: Letters to the Editor in America’s Newspapers.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Washington, DC. August, 2005 (with H. Gibbs Knotts).
- “Newsgathering in America’s Statehouses.” Presented at the 5th Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy. East Lansing, MI. May, 2005 (with Martin Johnson).
- “Media Coverage of Scandal and Declining Trust in Government: An Experimental Analysis of 9/11 Commission Testimony.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago, IL. April, 2005 (with Anthony Nownes).
- “Beyond Dixie: Race, Region, and Support for the South Carolina Confederate Flag.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association. Pembroke, NC. March, 2005 (with H. Gibbs Knotts).
- “Media Bias and American Statehouse Reporting.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA. January, 2005 (with Martin Johnson).

“The Impact of Institutional Design on State Legislative Representation.” Presented at the 4th Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy. Kent, OH. April, 2004 (with Lilliard Richardson).

“Defining Dixie: Searching for a Better Measure of the Modern Political South.” Presented at the 2004 Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. March, 2004 (with H. Gibbs Knotts).

[Also presented at the Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association. Elon University. March, 2004.]

“Negotiating Newsworthiness: Organized Interests and Journalists in the States.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA. January, 2004 (with Anthony J. Nownes).

“State Legislators in the Internet Age.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Philadelphia, PA. August, 2003. (with Lilliard Richardson).

“Descriptive Representation in Multi-Member Districts, 1975-2002.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago, IL. April, 2003 (with Lilliard Richardson).

“The Consequences of Multi-Member Districts in the State Legislature.” Presented at the 3rd Annual Meeting of the Conference on State Politics and Policy. Tucson, AZ. March, 2003 (with Lilliard Richardson).

“I Learned it From Jay Leno: Entertainment Media in the 2000 Election.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the South Carolina Political Science Association. Rock Hill, SC. February 2003 (with Mandi Bates). Also presented at the Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association. Elon, NC.

“Do Advertorials Work?” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Savannah, GA. November 2002 (with Anthony Nownes).

“Legislative Representation in the Face of Direct Democracy.” Presented at the 2nd Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy. Milwaukee, WI. May, 2002 (with Lilliard E. Richardson).

“Local Citizen Groups.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association. Long Beach, CA. March 2002 (with Anthony J. Nownes).

“Internet Use in the State Legislature.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association. Las Vegas, NV. March, 2001.

“Media Consumption in the State Legislature.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association. Las Vegas, NV. March 2001.

“Media and the State Legislature.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Washington, DC. September, 2000.

“Depictions of Public Service in Children’s Literature.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology. Seattle, WA (with Marc Schwerdt). July, 2000.

“Former State Legislators in the U.S. Congress During the 1990’s.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Atlanta, GA. (with Lilliard E. Richardson). August, 1999.

INVITED TALKS AND COMMUNITY SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS

**Virtual*

“State and Local Government in NC,” Leadership Asheville. December, 2021.

“The Resilience of Southern Identity.” West Forum, Winthrop University. November, 2021 (with Gibbs Knotts).

“Running Elections in NC—an Insider’s Perspective.” Panel for Carolina Public Press. November, 2021.*

“North Carolina Politics Primer.” Presented to Leadership Asheville Seniors. November, 2021.*

Co-host and Co-Moderator for Sylva Town Commission Debate. October, 2021*

“Redistricting.” Presented to Politica. October, 2021*

“The Swain County Electorate.” Presented to Indivisible, Swain County.*

“The Jackson County Electorate.” Presented to the Jackson County NC Democratic Women.

“Introduction to North Carolina Government.” Presented at the Science Policy Bootcamp and NC STEM Policy Fellowship Orientation. Sigma Chi.* June, 2021.

“The Landscape of North Carolina Politics.” Presented to the NC League of Municipalities Conference, April, 2021.*

“Politics 2021” Presented to the Hendersonville Rotary. February, 2021.*

“Election Recap.” Presented to NC Association of City and County Managers.” February, 2021.*

“State and Local Government in North Carolina.” Presented to Leadership Asheville, January 2021.*

“Election 2020: In the Rear View Mirror.” Presented to Leadership Asheville Foundation. November, 2020.*

“Election 2020: In the Rear View Mirror.” Presented to Sylva Rotary. November, 2020.*

“Election 2020.” Presented to Leadership Asheville Seniors. October, 2020.*

“North Carolina Politics.” Presented to University of Chicago Harris School Alumni Association. October 2020. *

“Election Data.” Guest Lecture for Gerry Cohen’s Election Law Class at the Duke University Sanford School of Public Policy. October, 2020. *

“Election 2020.” City of Burlington, NC. October 2020. *

“Election 2020” Haywood Sunrise Rotary Club. October, 2020. *

Election 2020 from the Bottom Up.” Asheville Chamber of Commerce Executive Committee. September 2020. *

“Election 2020.” Policy on Tap. Asheville Chamber of Commerce. September 2020.

“North Carolina Elections 2020.” Folkmoot. Waynesville, NC. September, 2020. *

“Measuring, Mapping and Interpreting Southern Identity.” Guest Lecture for Derek Alderman’s Geography of the South class. University of Tennessee, Knoxville. *

“Thoughts on Election 2020.” Leadership Asheville Buzz Breakfast. August, 2020). *

“Local, Regional, and State Political Climate.” Asheville Rotary Club. July, *

“Political Polarization: Causes and Consequences.” Givens Estate. May, 2020; *

“Gerrymandering.” Hinton Rural Life Center. February, 2020.

“Elections 2020.” Hendersonville Rotary Club.

Moderator, 11th Congressional District Democratic Forum. Jackson County Library. February, 2020.

“State and Local Elections 2020.” Presented at the Leadership Asheville Foundation. January, 2020.

“North Carolina Redistricting.” Presented at the Asheville Chamber of Commerce. December, 2019.

“State and Local Government.” Presented at Leadership Asheville. December, 2019.

“Politics 2020.” Roundable on NC Spin (UNC-TV)

“A User’s Guide to the 2020 Election.” Presented at Life@WCU (two presentations). November, 2019.

“The Resilience of Southern Identity.” Presented at Clemson University’s Osher Lifelong Learning Institute. (with Gibbs Knotts). November 8, 2019.

“The Resilience of Southern Identity.” Presented at the West Forum, Winthrop University. November, 2018.

“2018 Elections.” Presented to the Foundation Board of Blue Ridge Public Radio. November, 2018.

“2018 Elections.” Roundtable on NC Spin (UNC-TV).

“The Future of the Two-Party System.” Presented at Leadership Asheville Foundation. October, 2018

“The 2018 Election” Presented at the Beth HaTePhelia Congregation Brotherhood Luncheon. October, 2018

“The 2018 Constitutional Amendments.” Presented at the Cathedral of All Souls. Asheville, NC. October, 2018.

“Elections and North Carolina Politics in 2018.” Presented at the NC Local Government Budget Officers Association Annual Summer Meeting. Atlantic Beach, NC. July 2018.

“State and Local Government in North Carolina.” Leadership Asheville. December, 2018.

“Politics 2017.” Presented at Life@WCU (two presentations). November, 2018.

Moderated 11th Congressional District Democratic Primary Debate. Canton, NC. April, 2018.

“The Resilience of Southern Identity.” Madstone Café and Books. September, 2017.

Moderated Asheville City Council Debate. Givens Estate. August, 2017.

“Politics in Western North Carolina.” Presented at the Hinton Rural Life Center. June, 2017.

“Redistricting.” Presented at the FairVote Forum, Haywood Community College. June, 2017.

“Redistricting.” Presented to the Asheville Chamber of Commerce. May, 2017.

“Man is, by Nature, a Political Animal.” Presented at the Science Café. Sylva, NC. March, 2017.

“State of State Politics.” Presented to Leadership Asheville Foundation Luncheon. March, 2017.

“Raising Your Voice: Contacting Your Representatives in a Polarized Age.” Presented at the Haywood County Library. March, 2017.

“Politics 2017.” Presented to the NC City/County Manager’s Association in Durham, NC. February 2017.

“Election 2016.” Presented at the WCU Alumni Association Meeting in Charlotte, NC. October, 2016.

Speaker and Moderator for Buncombe County Commissioner Debate. October, 2016.

“Election 2016.” Presented at the WCU Alumni Association Meeting in Atlanta, NC. October, 2016.

“Election 2016.” Presented at the South Asheville Rotary Club. October, 2016.

“Election 2016.” Presented at the Buncombe County Rotary Club. October, 2016.

“Election 2016.” Presented at the Sylva Rotary Club. October, 2016.

“Election 2016.” Presented at Beth Hatephelia Brotherhood Lunch. October, 2016.

“Politics 2016.” Presented at Life@WCU. Cullowhee and Asheville. October 2016.

“Political Polarization.” Presented to the Buncombe County League of Women Voters. June 2016.

“Congress Today.” Presented at Life@WCU. Cullowhee, and Asheville. November, 2015.

“Politics 2015.” Presented at the Highlands Leadership Series. Highlands, NC. July, 2015.

“Politics in North Carolina.” Presentation to the Nonprofit Pathways Policy Conference. January, 2015.

“Polarization in Politics.” Presented at the Givens Estate, Asheville, NC. June 2015.

“Politics Today in North Carolina.” Presented at Leadership Asheville. Asheville, NC. February, 2015.

“North Carolina For Nonprofits.” Presented at the Nonprofit Pathways Public Policy Briefing. January 2015.

“Regional Outlook Report.” Presented at Lead WNC, Cullowhee, NC. November, 2014.

“North Carolina Politics.” Presented at Leadership Asheville, Asheville, NC. November, 2014.

“Election 2014.” Presented at Beth Hatephelia Synagogue. Asheville, NC. October 2014.

“Electoral Politics in the United States.” Presented to the Finance Directors for America’s Motor Speedways. October, 2013.

“The Current State of American Civics.” 2nd Annual Social Work Conference: Citizenship and Civility: Working Together for Practical Advocacy in a Polarized Era. May, 2013.

“Election 2012.” Presented at Sylva Rotary Club. Sylva, NC, October, 2012.

“Election 2012.” Presented at Leadership Asheville. Asheville, NC, October, 2012.

“Election 2012.” Keynote address to the Motor Speedway Finance Officers. September, 2012.

“Election 2012 in North Carolina.” Keynote address to the North Carolina Association of Electrical Cooperatives. September, 2012.

“Election 2012.” Keynote address to the North Carolina City/County Manager’s Association Summer Meeting. June, 2012.

“What Do The Data Tell Us About Hunger?” Presented at Leadership Asheville. Asheville NC, April, 2012.

“Public Opinion on Second Home Development.” Presented at the Symposium on Second Home Development. Asheville, NC April, 2011.

“North Carolina Politics” (with Gibbs Knotts). Presented to the Association of North Carolina Budget Officers. Grove Park Inn, Asheville, NC. 2010.

“Engaged Scholarship and the Public Policy Institute.” Presented to the Morehead State Leadership Institute, 2009.

“Progressivism in North Carolina Politics” (with Gibbs Knotts). Presented at the John Locke Foundation. Raleigh, NC, June, 2008.

“Political Change in Western North Carolina.” Presented at the Economic Forecast Forum, sponsored by the NC Association of Bankers and the NC Chamber of Commerce. Raleigh, NC, January, 2008.

“Multi-Member Districts.” Electoral Reform: 2006 and Beyond Conference. Columbus, OH, January, 2007.

“Rhetoric on Representation.” University of California, Riverside, November, 2006.

“The Importance of Undergraduate Research.” Presentation to the Winthrop University Undergraduate Research Expo. February, 2006.

“Perspectives on Economic Development Research.” Presentation to Business Librarians in North Carolina. August, 2005.

“The Importance of a Political Science Education.” Presentation to Winthrop University Pi Sigma Alpha Chapter Keynote speaker, Pi Sigma Alpha initiation, Winthrop University, February 2003.

CONTRACTS AND GRANTS

“Policymaking in the Shadows: Collaborative Governance, University Governing Boards and the New Politics of Higher Education.” Graduate School and Research. \$5000.

“Opt-In Survey.” 2013. \$8,896.

“Public Opinion on the Town Square Property in Black Mountain, NC.” 2010. \$6,000.

“French Broad River Congestion Management Plan.” 2010. Subcontract from The Louis Berger Group. \$5000.

“Evaluating Health Risk in Yancey County Schools.” 2010. \$500.

“Know Your Region.” A Contract with the US Economic Development Administration. 2009. Co-PI with John Hensley. \$50,000.

“American Youth Congress.” 2009. NC Civic Education Consortium/Z Smith Reynolds. \$6000.

“Voter Education Initiative.” 2008. NC Campus Compact. \$500.

“Citizen Satisfaction in Buncombe County.” 2007. \$16,577.

“Evaluating Health Risk in Yancey County Schools.” 2007. \$500.

“Regional Outlook Report.” 2007. Internal Contract with the Institute for the Economy and the Future. \$6,500.

WCU Summer Research Fellowship. 2007. \$1500.

Co-Principal Investigator (with H. Gibbs Knotts). Sponsored contract with the city of Asheville, NC to consult about the design of a citizen satisfaction survey. \$3,000.

WCU Summer Research Grant, 2001. \$5000.

Yates Dissertation Fellowship, UTK, 2001. \$5000.

Undergraduate Education Improvement Grant, UTK Department of Political Science, 2001. \$1000.

Dissertation Fellowship, UTK Department of Political Science, 2001. \$700.

TEACHING

COURSES TAUGHT

Election Administration (Graduate)
State and Local Governance (Graduate)
Political Analysis (Undergraduate)
State and Local Government (Undergraduate, Traditional and Distance Education)
Political Parties, Campaigns and Elections (Undergraduate)
Research Methods for Public Affairs (Graduate)
Southern Politics (Undergraduate)
Public Policy Analysis (Graduate)
Public Affairs Capstone Experience (Graduate)
Public Affairs Administration (Graduate)
Simulation in American Politics (Undergraduate)
Election 2012 (Undergraduate)
Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of Politics (Undergraduate, Freshman Seminar)
Introduction to American Government (Undergraduate)
Mass Media and American Politics (Undergraduate)
Civic Engagement (Undergraduate)
The University Experience (Undergraduate)
Advanced Writing in Political Science (Undergraduate)
Public Administration (Undergraduate)
Internship in Political Science (Undergraduate)
Co-op in Political Science (Undergraduate)
MPA Internship Experience (Graduate)
Metropolitan Government (Graduate)
Capstone in Public Affairs (Graduate)
A variety of independent studies on state politics and elections

THESIS & DISSERTATION COMMITTEES

Christopher Franklin (EdD, 2016)
John Luke McCord (MA, Psychology, 2016, Chair)
Amy Jones (EdD, 2014)
Whitney Bridges-Campbell (MA, Psychology, 2013)
Kimberlee Cooper (MA, Psychology, 2013)
David Solomon (MA, Psychology 2012)
Christopher Holden (MA, Psychology, 2012)
Jenny Smith (MA, HHP, 2011)
Benjamin Locklair (MA, Psychology, 2011)

Brandon Rice (MA, English, 2010)
 Andrew Johnson (MA, Psychology, 2010)
 Heidi Turlington (MA HHP, 2009)
 Joe Hurley (MA, History 2006)

SERVICE

SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION

External Reviewer for Tenure and/or Promotion Cases at:

Furman University
 University of Minnesota, Duluth

External Program Reviewer for:

Missouri State University Political Science, MPA, and International Studies
 Tennessee Tech University Political Science
 University of West Florida Political Science
 Western Carolina University Higher Education Student Affairs MA Program
 Western Carolina University International Programs and Services
 Western Carolina University Mountain Heritage Center

Editorial Boards, Disciplinary Committees, and Section Chair Duties at Conferences

Editorial Board, Journal of Election Administration Research and Practice (2021-)
 Editorial Board, Social Science Journal (2021-)
 Executive Committee Member, North Carolina Political Science Association (2021-)
 Chair, State Politics and Policy Quarterly Best Paper Award Committee (2021-2022)
 Chair, Student Paper Committee, North Carolina Political Science Association (2021-)
 Consultant, Greensboro History Museum Project Democracy 20/20 Exhibit (2021)
 Section Chair for State and Local Politics Section of the Southern Political Science Association (2008)

Reviewer for [since 2010]:

American Journal of Political Science
American Political Science Review
American Politics Research
American Review of Politics
American Review of Public Administration
American Sociological Review
Association of American Geographers
Congress and the Presidency
European Journal of Personality
Geography Compass
Group Processes and Intergroup Relations
International Journal of Health Policy and Management
International Journal for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning
International Public Management Journal
International Review of Public Administration
Journal of Appalachian Studies
Journal of Food Science Education
Journal of Hate Studies
Journal of Information Technology and Politics

Journal of Political Science
Journal of Political Science Education
Journal of Politics
Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs
Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory
Journal of Public Affairs Education
Justice System Journal
Landscape Research
Legislative Studies Quarterly
Personality and Individual Differences
 PLOS ONE
Political Behavior
Political Communication
Political Research Quarterly
Politics and Policy
PS: Political Science and Politics
Public Administration Review
Public Opinion Quarterly
Public Budgeting and Finance
Public Management Review
Public Personnel Management
Public Performance and Management Review
Review of Public Personnel Administration
Social Science Journal
Social Science Quarterly
Social Forces
Southeastern Geographer
State and Local Government Review
State Politics and Policy Quarterly
Social Problems
Social Science and Medicine
Social Science Journal
Southeastern Geographer
Southern Cultures
Urban Affairs Review
 Oxford University Press
 University of South Carolina Press
 Routledge
 Rowman and Littlefield
 Palgrave McMillan
 CQ Press
 Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching
 National Science Foundation

Discussant and Panel Chair Duties at Conferences

Discussant for panel on “Congressional Politics.” Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. March, 2020.

Discussant for panel on “Electoral Reform in North Carolina.” North Carolina Political Science Association. February, 2011.

Chair for panel on “Economic Development Policies.” North Carolina Political Science Association. Durham, NC. February, 2010.

Chair for panel on “The Future of State Politics.” Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA. January, 2008.

Discussant for panel on “Electoral Reform.” American Political Science Association. Chicago, IL. September, 2007.

Discussant for panel on “Disaster: Politics and Policy.” Policy History Conference. Charlottesville, VA. June, 2006.

Chair and Discussant for panel on “Issues in Electoral Politics.” North Carolina Political Science Association. High Point, NC. March, 2006.

Discussant for panel on “Issues in American Politics.” North Carolina Political Science Association. High Point, NC. March, 2006.

Discussant for panel on “North Carolina Politics.” Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC. February, 2006.

Chair and discussant for panel on “State Policy.” American Political Science Association. Washington, DC. September, 2005.

Discussant for panel on state politics. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago, IL. April, 2005.

Chair and Discussant for panel on “Electoral Politics.” Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association. Cullowhee, NC. March, 2004.

Discussant, “State Legislative Elections.” Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA. January, 2004.

Discussant and Chair, “Highlighting Student Research.” Annual Meeting of the South Carolina Political Science Association. Rock Hill, SC. February 2003.

Discussant and Chair, “Media Coverage of Elections and Representation.” Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. November, 2002.

UNIVERSITY, COLLEGE & DEPARTMENT SERVICE

Current and Continuing

- Dept. of Political Science, Tenure, Promotion and Reappointment Committee (2008-present)
- MPA Committee (2002-present)
- Coulter Faculty Commons Advisory Board (2016-)
- University Collegial Review Committee (2020-)
- Congressional Internship Selection Committee (2018-)
- Committee on National and International Scholarships and Awards (2020-)
- Chair, Search Committee to hire Government Affairs Liaison/Deputy Chief of Staff

Previous Service

- Pathfinders Task Force to Select New Learning Management System (2020)
- Provost Search Committee (2020)
- Bookstore Director Search Committee (2020)
- Student Assessment of Instruction Task Force (2018-2019)
- Task Force to Select New Assessment Software (2018-2019)
- Regional Conference Planning Committee (2012-2016)
- Editor, Faculty Forum (2016-2019)
- COACHE survey task force (2015-2016)
- Facilitator, Leadership Summit (2015)
- Faculty Senate (2009-2015)
- SAI Standardization Task Force (2015)
- Academic Policy Review Council (2013-2015)
- Arts and Sciences Tenure, Promotion and Reappointment Committee (2008-2014)
- Chair, Search Committee for Public Administration Faculty (2015)
- Book Store Task Force (2014)
- Search Committee for Public Administration Faculty (2014)
- Search Committee to hire an Assistant Professor in Public Administration (2012-2013)
- Chair, search committee to hire a visiting assistant professor in International Relations
- Chair, search committee to hire a lecturer in American Politics and Global Issues
- Search Committee for Research Development Specialist (2014)
- Search Committee for Human Geography (2014)
- Chair, Search Committee to hire Comparative Politics Faculty (2013)
- Chair, Faculty Affairs Caucus (2010-2011; 2012-2013)
- Dean of Arts and Sciences Search Committee (2012-2013)
- Faculty Affairs Caucus (2009-2014)
- Faculty Senate Planning Team (2010-2011; 2012-2013)
- Chair, 2020 Commission Subcommittee on Community Partnerships (2012)
- Chair, Search Committee to hire an Administrative Support Associate in the Department of Political Science and Public Affairs (2012)
- Chair, Search Committee to hire a Research Support Associate in the Coulter Faculty Center (2011)
- Search Committee to hire an Assistant Professor in Parks and Recreation Management (2012)
- Search Committee to hire an Assistant Professor in Public Administration (2012)
- Search Committee to hire a Visiting Assistant Professor in Public Administration (2012)
- College of Business Research Award Committee (2012)
- Institutional Review Board (2005-2011)
- Mountain Heritage Center Program Assessment Team (2011)
- Chair, American Democracy Project (2010-2011)
- Arts and Sciences Program Prioritization Task Force (2011)
- Cullowhee Revitalization Task Force (2010)
- Chair, Department Graduate Recruitment Committee
- Chair, Department Graduate Comps Committee
- Chair, Department Graduate Internship Committee
- International Relations Search Committee (2010)

- WCU/Dillsboro Partnership Task Force (2009-2010)
- QEP Assessment Committee (2007-2010)
- Arts and Sciences Teaching Award Committee (2009-2010)
- Co-Chair Social Science Research Forum (2007-2010)
- Chair, MPA Director Search Committee (2009-2010)
- Public Administration Search Committee (2009-2010)
- Chair, MPA Director Search Committee (2008-2009)
- Public Administration Search Committee (2008-2009)
- International Relations Search Committee (2008-2009)
- Chair, Graduate Research Grant subcommittee of the Research Council (2008)
- College Restructuring Task Force (2008-2009)
- Athletics Committee (2006-2009)
- Graduate Council (2006-2009)
- Research Council (2005-2008)
- Chair, Graduate Research Grant subcommittee of the Research Council (2008)
- Co-chair, Integration of Learning Award subcommittee of the Student Learning Committee (2008)
- Outreach and Engagement Committee for UNC-Tomorrow (2008)
- Humphrey Fellows Steering Committee (2007-2008)
- Chair, Public Administration Search Committee (2007-2008)
- Chair, Institutional Review Board (2005-2007)
- Chair, Public Administration Visiting Search Committee (2007)
- Public Law visiting assistant professor search committee (2006)
- International Relations visiting instructor search committee (2006)
- Congress to Campus Coordinator (2006)
- President, University Club (2006-2007)
- Arts and Sciences Strategic Planning Committee (2005-2007)
- Arts and Sciences Dean's Advisory Board (2006-2007)
- Committee Chair, National Youth Congress (April, 2005)
- Scholarship of Teaching and Learning Committee (2005-2006)
- Committee on Student Learning (2005-2008)
- ICPSR Representative for WCU (2004-2007)
- Created and Directed WCU faculty Quantitative Research Forum (2004-2005)
- Congress to Campus Coordinator (2004)
- Center for Regional Development Director Search Committee (2003)
- Public Administration Search Committee (2003)
- Co-op and Internship Coordinator, Dept. of Political Science, WCU (2002-2006)
- Webmaster, WCU Department of Political Science (2002-2007)

MEDIA APPEARANCES, ON-CAMPUS AND COMMUNITY SPEAKING

**Virtual*

- Quoted thousands of times in such media outlets including BBC (TV and Radio), CNN, Fox News, *New York Times*, *National Public Radio (All Things Considered, Weekend All Things Considered, Morning Edition)*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Vox*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times*, *ESPN.com*, *USA Today*, *Detroit Free Press*, *Raleigh News and Observer*, *Boston Herald*, *Business Insider*, *Asheville-Citizen*

Times, Charlotte Observer, Winston Salem Journal, National Journal, Rock Hill Herald, Smoky Mountain News, Hendersonville Times, Sylva Herald, Mountain Express, Yahoo Singapore News, Carolina Journal, Blue Ridge Public Radio, WUNC, WFAE, Roll Call, Waynesville Mountaineer, Voice of America, Zoomer Radio (Toronto, Canada), WLOS TV (Asheville, NC), WATV, WRAL (Raleigh, NC), WCNC (Charlotte, NC), WFSC, WJLA (Washington DC) and KISS FM, Spectrum News and many more.