

**REPORT OF ALLAN J. LICHTMAN
THE VOTING RIGHTS IMPLICATIONS OF NONPARTISAN CITYWIDE, BOROUGH
PRESIDENT, AND CITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS AND NONPARTISAN SUCCESSION
ELECTIONS FOR MAYOR IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

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INTRODUCTION

I have been asked by the 2003 New York City Charter Revision Commission to review my work for the 2002 Charter Revision Commission analyzing whether changing from partisan to nonpartisan elections of citywide officials, borough presidents, and city council members would likely violate the Voting Rights Act by restricting the ability of minority voters to elect candidates of their choice and to participate fully in the political process. This analysis does not consider the broader question of whether such changes are justified on policy grounds. Rather, the analysis is narrowly focused on the voting rights implications of such a change in electoral procedures.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

As described below in detail, my study of nonpartisan elections for citywide contests reaches the following conclusions:

- The analysis of election results and electoral systems in the nation's 100 largest cities indicates that nonpartisan elections are not an impediment to the election of mayors from members of minority demographic groups.
- The analysis of citywide elections and voting within New York City shows that standard explanations for how partisan elections help minority voters elect candidates of their choice do not apply to citywide elections in New York.
- A change from partisan to nonpartisan elections of citywide officials in New York might well enhance the prospects for minority candidates of choice of minority voters to compete successfully in primary and general elections for citywide offices.
- These findings for citywide elections are confirmed by the analysis of borough president and city council positions.

BACKGROUND

I am a Professor of History at American University in Washington, D.C. Formerly, I served as Chair of the History Department and Associate Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at American University. I received my BA in History from Brandeis University in 1967 and my PhD in History from Harvard University in 1973, with a specialty in the mathematical analysis of historical data. My areas of expertise include political history, voting analysis, and historical and quantitative methodology. A copy of my curriculum vitae, which accurately sets forth my professional qualifications and experience, is attached as Appendix II of this detailed report.

I am the author of numerous scholarly works on quantitative methodology in social science.

This scholarship includes articles in such academic journals as Political Methodology, Journal of Interdisciplinary History, and Social Science History. I have also coauthored with Dr. Laura Langbein Ecological Inference, a standard text on the subject of inferring the behavior of population groups from data collected for political units. In addition, I have published articles on the application of social science analysis to the Voting Rights Act. This work includes articles in such journals as Journal of Law and Politics, La Raza Law Journal, Evaluation Review, and National Law Journal.

My scholarship also includes the use of quantitative and qualitative techniques to perform political and historical studies of voting, published in such academic journals as The Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, The American Historical Review, and The Journal of Social History. Quantitative and historical analyses also ground my books, Prejudice and the Old Politics: The Presidential Election of 1928, The Thirteen Keys to the Presidency (co-authored with Ken DeCell), and The Keys to the White House.

I have worked as a consultant or expert witness for both plaintiffs and defendants in more than sixty federal voting rights and redistricting cases. I have been admitted as an expert witness in voting rights, political history, political systems, statistical methodology, quantitative analysis of voting, and socioeconomic analysis, among other matters, in more than fifty federal court cases in which I have presented oral or written testimony. I have worked on more than a dozen cases for the United States Department of Justice and have also worked for such civil rights organizations as the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Puerto-Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, the NAACP, the LDF, the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the ACLU, and the Southern Poverty Law Center.

METHODOLOGY AND DATA

The database for this study consists of information internal to New York City as well as data on the results of mayoral elections for the nation's 100 largest cities. For citywide elections from 1989 to 1997, the New York City data includes returns at the Assembly District level. For citywide elections in 2001 the data includes returns at the voter tabulation district (VTD) level. The data also includes returns at the VTD level for city council elections and for borough president elections held in 1997 and 2001. In addition, the New York City data also includes the racial composition of Assembly districts and VTDs and exit poll findings. The 2001 exit polls covered all primary, runoff, and general elections for citywide offices. For earlier years the exit polls covered all citywide general elections as well as the 1989 mayoral primary.¹ Exit polls for 2001 and prior years also included the party identification of voters. External data included information on whether cities elected their mayors through partisan or nonpartisan elections, the

¹ Exit poll data was not available for non-mayoral primaries in 1989 or the primaries of 1993 and 1997.

racial composition of the city, and the racial identity of the mayors. I utilized for this study standard statistical methods to analyze the aggregate election returns in order to assess the candidate choices made by Anglo and minority voters as well as the turnout in elections of Anglo and minority voters. The analysis follows procedures recognized by the Supreme Court in Thornburg v. Gingles, 478 U.S. 30 (1986).

The voting behavior of whites, blacks, and Hispanics is estimated by comparing the racial composition of the various voting precincts to the division of the vote among competing candidates in each precinct. Ecological regression, the standard method for inferring the behavior of population groups from data collected for aggregate units, was used to estimate the voting behavior of blacks and whites. The ecological regression procedure is based on a comparison of the racial composition of each Assembly District or VTD within New York City and the votes cast for competing candidates. The regression procedure generates a prediction equation that indicates how changes in voting across Assembly Districts or VTDs respond to changes in the racial composition of each Assembly District. The parameters of that equation are then used to measure the voting of each racial group on average for all Assembly Districts. Given the presence of several distinct racial groups in New York City, I employed a multivariate regression model that included in the regression equation the percentage of both voting age Hispanics and blacks in each Assembly District or VTD in New York City.²

The ecological regression procedure for analyzing the behavior of voter groups is set forth in my book, Ecological Inference (Sage Series on Quantitative Applications in Social Science, 1978: with Laura Irwin Langbein) and analyzed, in depth, in my December, 1991 article in Evaluation Review.

White and minority voting can also be examined through a technique termed extreme case analysis that examines the actual choices of voters in the most heavily white, black and Hispanic Assembly Districts or VTDs. For purposes of the analysis reported here, a cutoff of 80 percent was used for the extreme case analysis for each demographic group. The extreme case results will not correspond exactly with the results of ecological regression analysis, given that it does not include all Assembly Districts or VTDs and the chosen districts are not completely homogeneous. Unlike ecological regression, extreme case analysis involves no inferential procedures. It simply tallies the votes actually cast for candidates in the heavily white, black and Hispanic precincts.

² Asian-Americans were not sufficiently concentrated in assembly districts to provide a separate estimate of voting for this demographic group. For the aggregate-level statistical analysis, therefore, the category "white" includes Asians and others. In some cases, however, exit polls measured separately the voting of Asians and of other races.

PARTISAN VERSUS NONPARTISAN ELECTIONS

The main voting rights concern raised by the adoption of nonpartisan elections is that such elections might deprive minority voters of electoral advantages built into the system of partisan primaries and general elections. In principle, partisan elections are alleged to facilitate the election of candidates of choice of minority voters through the following process:

1. A minority group, even though it constitutes less than a majority of all voters, overwhelmingly affiliates with the Democratic Party.
2. Whites are divided between Democrats and Republicans.
3. The minority group constitutes a majority of voters in the Democratic Party and selects a nominee of its choice, presumably a member of the minority group.
4. The minority candidate prevails in the general election through virtually unanimous support from minority voters and sufficient votes from white Democrats, who place partisanship above race in their voting decisions.

There is support for this model in the experience of legislative districts in the south and east which have elected minority representatives with substantial, but less than majority, black populations. However, for citywide municipal elections, the model is neither supported by the analysis of partisan versus nonpartisan city elections nationwide nor by the analysis of citywide elections in New York City. Indeed, analysis of citywide elections in New York indicates that nonpartisan elections may well enhance the opportunities for minority voters to elect candidates of their choice to citywide positions.

EXPERIENCE OF CITIES NATIONWIDE WITH PARTISAN AND NONPARTISAN ELECTIONS

If New York City were to switch from partisan to nonpartisan elections for citywide officials it would join with the great majority of large cities that currently elect their mayors through nonpartisan elections. According to data provided in 2002 by the National League of Cities, updated by municipal web sites, 83 percent of the nation's 100 largest cities currently elect their mayor through nonpartisan elections.³ Of the nation's 10 largest cities, only New York and Philadelphia continue to use partisan systems for electing their mayor. Chicago recently switched to nonpartisan elections and held its first nonpartisan election for mayor in 1999, reelecting white incumbent mayor Richard Daley.

³ Virtually all of these major cities have a mayor/council form of government in which the mayor is the key executive official.

A comparison of the cities using partisan and nonpartisan systems fails to demonstrate that the use of a partisan system facilitates the election of a minority mayor. To the contrary, there is a negative, although not a statistically significant, relationship between maintaining a partisan election system and electing a minority mayor among the nation's 100 largest cities. As indicated in Table 1, the 17 cities with partisan election of the mayor include 14 Anglo and 3 minority mayors (all black), for a minority percentage of 18 percent. Table 1 also shows that the 83 cities with nonpartisan election of the mayor include 59 Anglo and 24 minority mayors (both black and Hispanic), for a minority percentage of 29 percent.

This negative relationship between partisan elections and the election of a minority mayor holds when examining only cities with a non-Hispanic white majority population according to the Census of 2000.⁴ As indicated in Table 2, the 11 white-majority cities that elect their mayors through partisan elections include 11 Anglo mayors and no minority mayors. Thus

TABLE 1			
RACE OF MAYOR & ELECTION TYPE, 100 LARGEST U. S. CITIES, 2000 CENSUS*			
PARTISAN ELECTION OF MAYOR			
ALL CITIES	CITIES WITH ANGL0 MAYORS	CITIES WITH MINORITY MAYORS	% OF CITIES WITH MINORITY MAYORS
17	14	3	18%
NONPARTISAN ELECTION OF MAYOR			
ALL CITIES	CITIES WITH ANGL0 MAYORS	CITIES WITH MINORITY MAYORS	% OF CITIES WITH MINORITY MAYORS
83	59	24	29%
* SOURCE: NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES, UPDATED WITH MUNICIPAL WEB SITES. ALL MINORITY MAYORS CURRENTLY ELECTED IN THE 100 LARGEST US CITIES ARE EITHER AFRICAN-AMERICAN OR HISPANIC.			

⁴ In this case, the negative relationship between partisan election systems and the election of a minority mayor is statistically significant.

TABLE 2
RACE OF MAYOR AND ELECTION TYPE, 100 LARGEST U. S. CITIES
CITIES WITH NON-HISPANIC WHITE POPULATION MAJORITY ONLY
2000 CENSUS

PARTISAN ELECTION OF MAYOR			
ALL CITIES	CITIES WITH ANGLO MAYORS	CITIES WITH MINORITY MAYORS	% OF CITIES WITH MINORITY MAYORS
11	11	0	0%
NONPARTISAN ELECTION OF MAYOR			
ALL CITIES	CITIES WITH ANGLO MAYORS	CITIES WITH MINORITY MAYORS	% OF CITIES WITH MINORITY MAYORS
45	37	8	18%

all three of the cities with partisan election systems and a minority mayor are majority-minority in their population. These cities include Philadelphia, Washington, DC, and Rochester. Table 2 also shows that the 45 white-majority cities without a black or Hispanic or other-race majority and nonpartisan election of the mayor include 37 Anglo and 8 minority mayors for a minority percentage of 18 percent.

Likewise, a negative, but not statistically significant, relationship between partisan elections and the election of a minority mayor emerges when examining equations that statistically control for the minority percentage of cities. Equations that predict the race of the mayor (white versus minority) based on the minority percentage of the city and whether the city elects the mayor through partisan or nonpartisan elections, yield negative, but not statistically significant coefficients for the variable measuring partisan elections.⁵

Thus, the examination of America's 100 largest cities reveals a negative, not a positive, relationship between partisan elections and the election of a minority mayor. The analysis does not demonstrate with a high degree of confidence that partisan system election systems impede the election of minority mayors. However, the analysis provides no support for the contrary proposition that conversion from a partisan to a nonpartisan system would impede the opportunity for minority voters in a city to elect minority candidates of their choice.

THE NEW YORK CITY EXPERIENCE

For several reasons the standard model of how partisan elections allegedly benefit minority voters does not apply to New York City.

- First, whites, not minorities, are the strongest voting bloc in Democratic primary elections.
- Second, the current voting strength of minorities is similar in Democratic primaries and general elections.
- Third, distinct minorities in New York City do not necessarily vote together cohesively.
- Fourth, a minority candidate nominated in a Democratic primary will not necessarily win enough white votes to carry the general election.

⁵ The analysis examined equations that combined minority groups and considered groups separately. All equations included a variable that took on a value of 1 for partisan elections and 0 for non-partisan elections. The racial composition of a jurisdiction is the most important determinant of whether the jurisdiction elects minorities to office.

I. WHITES ARE THE STRONGEST VOTING BLOC IN DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES

As indicated in Table 3, the 2000 Census discloses that minorities of voting age are a larger percentage of New York City's population than whites of voting age. However, unlike legislative districts in the south there is no dominant minority group in New York City. Black and Hispanics each constitute about a quarter of the voting-age population, with Asians accounting for about 10 percent of the voting-age population. Whites are the plurality group by a significant margin with 39 percent of the city's voting-age population. Whites combined with Asians and others constitute about 52 percent of the voting-age population.

As revealed by the 2001 Exit Poll data presented in Tables 4 and 5, blacks and Hispanics are more Democratic in their party affiliation than whites. Asians and others are about

% WHITE	% BLACK	% HISPANIC	% ASIAN	% OTHER
39%	23%	25%	10%	3%

**TABLE 4
PARTY IDENTIFICATION OF RACIAL GROUPS, RACIAL COMPOSITION OF
PARTIES, NEW YORK CITY, EXIT POLL, 2001 GENERAL ELECTION***

PARTY IDENTIFICATION BY RACE					
	WHITES	BLACKS	HISPANICS	ASIANS	OTHERS
DEMOCRATS	55%	85%	74%	50%	53%
REPUBLICANS	26%	6%	14%	29%	21%
OTHERS	18%	9%	12%	21%	26%
RACIAL COMPOSITION OF PARTIES					
	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	OTHERS		
WHITES	44%	71%	62%		
BLACKS	30%	8%	13%		
HISPANICS	20%	13%	14%		
ASIANS	3%	5%	5%		
OTHERS	3%	4%	6%		
* EXIT POLLS CONDUCTED BY EDISON MEDIA RESEARCH OF SOMMERSVILLE, MASSACHUSETTS, WITH 1458 INTERVIEWS FOR THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, 1665 FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RUNOFF, AND 2036 FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION.					

**TABLE 5
RACIAL COMPOSITION OF VOTERS, 2001 CITYWIDE
DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES & GENERAL ELECTION, EXIT POLLS**

	FIRST DEM. PRIMARY	DEMOCRATIC PRIM. RUNOFF	GENERAL ELECTION
WHITES	48%	47%	52%
BLACKS	24%	23%	23%
HISPANICS	23%	24%	18%
ASIANS	2%	1%	3%
OTHERS	3%	4%	3%

equal to whites in their Democratic Party affiliation. As a result, for voters in the 2001 New York City general election, the percentage of whites among Democrats is 44 percent, lower than the white percentage of 52 percent for all general election voters. Still, by a significant margin, whites are the plurality group within the Democratic Party, with blacks second at 30 percent of Democrats and Hispanics third with 20 percent of Democrats.

Among voters participating in 2001 Democratic primary elections for citywide office, Whites are likewise the plurality group. According to Table 5, in the 2001 Democratic primary elections for citywide positions, whites comprised 48 percent of voters, blacks 24 percent, Hispanics 23 percent, Asians 2 percent and others 3 percent.

II. MINORITY VOTING STRENGTH IS NOT MARKEDLY GREATER IN NEW YORK CITY DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES THAN GENERAL ELECTIONS

As a result of the lack of substantial Republican Party affiliation among any of New York City's demographic groups, primary voters from all groups participate mainly in Democratic primaries for citywide offices. Thus, minority versus white voting strength in Democratic primaries is not markedly greater than in general elections. The comprehensive Exit Polls of 2001 that cover the citywide Democratic primaries as well as the citywide general election provide a comparison of white and minority voting strength in Democratic primaries and general elections, based on the current demography of New York City. According to results reported in Table 5, whites constituted 48 percent of citywide voters in the first Democratic primary in 2001, 47 percent of citywide voters in the Democratic runoff, and 52 percent of citywide voters in the general election.

III. BLACKS AND HISPANICS IN NEW YORK CITY DO NOT NECESSARILY VOTE TOGETHER AS A BLOC IN CITYWIDE ELECTIONS

Voting is usually, but by no means universally, racially polarized in New York City: white voters usually prefer to vote for white candidates in citywide primary and general elections and black and Hispanic voters usually prefer to vote for candidates from their racial groups. There have not been any politically significant citywide Asian candidates or candidates from another minority group. If minority voters within New York City united as a bloc for a single minority candidate, they could nominate that candidate in a Democratic primary despite concerted opposition from whites. However, black and Hispanic voters in citywide primary elections do not exhibit such cohesive behavior. Appendix I of this report provides detailed analyses of all white versus minority citywide primary and general elections from 1989 to 2001. The analysis of mayoral Democratic primary elections from 1989 to 1997 (Table 1 of Appendix I) discloses significant disparities in black and Hispanic voting. For example, in the 1989 Democratic primary for mayor, 90 percent or more of black voters voted for black candidate Dinkins, compared to about 55 to 60 percent of Hispanic voters. Even in the relatively uncontested 1993 Democratic

primary for mayor, a minor Hispanic candidate challenged Dinkins and garnered about 20 percent of the Hispanic vote, but virtually none of the black vote. In the 1997 Democratic primary for mayor, blacks voted overwhelmingly for the two black candidates (mainly Sharpton), whereas less than a third of Hispanic voters supported the black candidates. Hispanic voters in the 1997 primaries actually preferred white candidate Messinger to either of the black candidates or even the Hispanic candidate (Melendez). In the 2001 first Democratic primary for mayor, according to Appendix I Table 2, about 70 percent or more of Hispanic voters supported Ferrer -- the only minority candidate competing with 4 white candidates -- compared to 44 to 52 percent of black voters. Moreover, Asian and Other voters cast the great majority of their votes for white candidates, with Ferrer winning only 21 percent of the Asian vote and 27 percent of the Other vote. Even in the 2001 Democratic runoff primary, with a choice between a single white candidate (Green) and a single minority candidate (Ferrer), Appendix I Table 2 shows that Hispanic support for Ferrer (77 percent to 100 percent) was substantially higher than black support for Ferrer (65 percent to 71 percent). Asian voters favored Green over Ferrer by 58 percent to 42 percent and Other voters favored Green over Ferrer by 59 percent to 41 percent.

Similar disparities in the preferences of voters from different minority groups emerged in the several minority versus white primary elections for citywide offices other than Mayor. Appendix I Table 3 shows that in the 1989 primary for Council President, black voters surprisingly gave majority support to the Hispanic candidate Mendez, whereas Hispanic voters preferred the white candidate Stein. In the 1993 primary for Comptroller, Appendix I Table 3 reveals that Hispanic voters supported the Hispanic candidate Badillo, whereas black voters supported the white candidate Holtzman and provided just token support for Badillo. In the 1993 primary for Public Advocate, Appendix I Table 3 shows that black voters preferred black candidate Patterson and also provided significant support to white candidate Green, but virtually no support for Hispanic candidate Ramirez. Hispanic voters in this primary preferred Ramirez, who, in turn, received virtually no support from black voters. In the 1997 primary for Public Advocate, all voter groups favored white candidate M. Green over black candidate R. Green, according to Appendix I Table 3.

In 2001 there were multiracial primaries for both Public Advocate and Comptroller. In the First Democratic primary for Public Advocate, Appendix I Table 4 reveals that Hispanic candidate Colon -- the only minority candidate competing against 6 white candidates -- finished clearly in first place among Hispanic voters, while finishing in fourth place among black voters. Colon, who failed to advance to the Democratic runoff primary, received none of the Asian vote and 22 percent of the Other vote. In the First Democratic primary for Comptroller, Appendix I Table 4 reveals that black candidate Thompson -- competing against a single white candidate -- received majority support from all minority groups. However, Thompson, who won the primary and advanced to the general election, won much greater support from black voters (more than 80 percent) than from Hispanic voters (52 percent to 66 percent), Asian voters (61 percent), or Other voters (72 percent).

Although minorities have comprised the majority of New York City's population and voting-age population for more than a decade, only two minority candidates from 1989 to 2001 have won the Democratic nomination for a citywide office: Dinkins for mayor in 1989 and 1993 and Thompson for Comptroller in 2001.

IV. A MINORITY DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE WILL NOT NECESSARILY WIN THE WHITE VOTES NEEDED TO CARRY A CITYWIDE GENERAL ELECTION

White voters in New York City, despite their Democratic proclivities, may still not provide sufficient support for a minority Democratic nominee to win a general election. This may hold even if the minority candidate gains considerable white support. In 1989, despite overwhelming support from blacks and strong support from Hispanics, Dinkins barely carried the general election, winning only 21 to 26 percent of the white vote. In 1993, although he continued to gain overwhelming black and strong support from Hispanics, he lost the general election as his support among whites slipped to 20 to 21 percent. Thus, in both of these elections, the Republican candidate won the overwhelming majority of the white vote, even though only about 25 percent of white voters were Republicans. In 2001, black nominee Thompson for Comptroller faced only token opposition in the general election and easily prevailed with the overwhelmingly majority of the votes cast. Since Dinkins' victory in 1989, Thompson is the only minority elected to a citywide position in New York.

POTENTIAL ADVANTAGES OF NONPARTISAN CITY ELECTIONS FOR MINORITY VOTERS IN CITYWIDE ELECTIONS

It should be noted that a nonpartisan system of electing citywide officials might increase the prospects for minority candidates of choice of minority voters to compete in general elections or runoff elections. Given that whites in New York City are only 39 percent of the voting-age population, the white percentage of voters in a nonpartisan primary election, although greater than the white percentage of voters in a partisan Democratic primary, will not be nearly large enough for whites to control the nomination of two candidates. As indicated in Table 5 above, the 2001 percentage of white voters in the general election where all voters participate is about 52 percent. Even assuming highly polarized voting between whites and minorities, this percentage would be generally sufficient for whites to control the nomination of only a single candidate. Moreover, this white percentage is not great enough to ensure that a white candidate wins a majority of a nonpartisan general election, given political divisions among whites. Not only are there political divisions in New York City between white Democrats, Republicans, independents, and members of other parties, but white Democrats are divided as well. As demonstrated in Appendix I, whites in Democratic primaries often split their vote among two or more candidates. Thus openings may be created for a minority candidate to win sufficient votes to be one of the top two finishers in a nonpartisan primary and even to prevail in a nonpartisan general election.

The experience of other cities with a white voting-age population plurality and divided minority groups demonstrates that minority candidates have the potential to prevail in a nonpartisan runoff or nonpartisan general election against a single white opponent. In the most recent election in San Jose, for example, Hispanic candidate Ron Gonzales beat a white opponent one-on-one as did black candidate Lee Brown in Houston. San Jose is 4 percent black, 30 percent Hispanic, and 27 percent Asian. Houston is 25 percent black, 37 percent Hispanic, and 5 percent Asian. In San Francisco, the current African-American mayor Willie Brown defeated the previous white incumbent Frank Jordan in a one-on-one contest. San Francisco is 8 percent black, 14 percent Hispanic, and 31 percent Asian. In the 3 cities with partisan elections and minority mayors, all the mayors are black. One was elected in Washington D.C., where blacks are the majority group, and two were elected in majority-minority cities where blacks are the predominant minority group (Philadelphia which is 43 percent black and Rochester which is 39 percent black).

Some have argued that any potential advantages of nonpartisan elections could be negated by a decline in voter turnout, especially for minorities, which might come with the abrogation of party labels. Examination of the experience with cities that use partisan and nonpartisan election systems provides no support for the proposition that nonpartisan elections depress turnout. I was able to ascertain turnout data for recent mayoral elections in 81 of the nation's 100 largest cities. There is no systematic relationship in these cities between turnout and election systems, with turnout about equally low in cities with nonpartisan and partisan elections for mayor. In 66 cities with nonpartisan elections, the turnout averaged about 25 percent of the voting age population, as compared to 26 percent in 15 cities with partisan elections. Likewise there is no statistically significant relationship between turnout and partisan elections when estimating turnout from an equation that controls for the racial composition of a city and the percentage of its population that is of voting age.

CONFIRMATION OF CITYWIDE FINDINGS IN BOROUGH PRESIDENT AND CITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS

The findings detailed above for citywide elections are confirmed by the analysis of borough president and city council elections.

1. BOROUGH PRESIDENT ELECTIONS

As indicated in Table 6, 4 of 5 boroughs (all but Staten Island) in New York City are 50 percent or more minority in their voting-age populations according to the 2000 Census. Only 3 out of these four boroughs have minority Borough Presidents (Bronx, Manhattan, and Queens). Thus, partisan elections to this point in New York City have not produced minority Borough Presidents in all boroughs with substantial concentrations of minority populations. Thus, there is

**TABLE 6
RACIAL COMPOSITION OF BOROUGHES AND RACE OF CURRENT
BOROUGH PRESIDENT**

	RACIAL COMPOSITION OF BOROUGH					RACE OF BOROUGH PRES
	% NH WHITE	% BLACK	% HISP	% ASIAN	% OTHER	
MANHATTAN	50%	14%	24%	10%	2%	BLACK
BRONX	18%	31%	45%	3%	3%	HISPANIC
BROOKLYN	37%	33%	18%	8%	4%	WHITE
QUEENS	36%	18%	23%	17%	6%	BLACK
STATEN ISLAND	74%	8%	11%	6%	1%	WHITE

**TABLE 7
PARTY AFFILIATIONS, REGISTRATION AND EXIT POLL IDENTIFICATION, NYC BOROUGHES**

	PARTY REGISTRATION			2001 EXIT POLL SELF ID			2001 PRIMARY VOTING		
	% DEM	% REP	% OTH	% DEM	% REP	% OTH	% DEM	% REP	% OTH
MANHATTAN	68%	12%	21%	63%	16%	21%	92%	8%	NA
BRONX	75%	8%	17%	78%	12%	9%	96%	4%	NA
BROOKLYN	71%	10%	19%	69%	18%	13%	94%	6%	NA
QUEENS	64%	15%	21%	NA	NA	NA	89%	11%	NA
STATEN ISLAND	46%	31%	23%	NA	NA	NA	68%	32%	NA

only a limited basis for any diminution of minority voter opportunities to elect Borough Presidents of their choice through a change from partisan to nonpartisan elections. As indicated in Table 7, in the four boroughs that are 50 percent or more minority in their voting-age populations, there is minimal representation of Republicans, measured by party registration, the self-identification of voters participating in the 2001 general elections, and participation in the 2001 primary elections. In addition, there have not been any seriously contested general elections in the four majority-minority boroughs, as election in the Democratic primary is tantamount to election. Thus, as with citywide elections, standard arguments about distinctions between Democratic primaries and general elections do not apply to elections for Borough President in the four boroughs that are 50 percent or more minority in their voting-age populations.

Tables 8 and 9 provide detailed analysis of contested white versus minority Borough President elections during the past decade. There were no such elections in 1993, one in 1997 (Democratic primary, Manhattan), and three in 2001 (Democratic primary, Bronx, Brooklyn, and Queens). In the 1997 Manhattan election, black candidate Fields easily prevailed over a racially large and diverse group of candidates, with overwhelming support from blacks and some support from the other demographic groups. In the 2001 election in the Bronx, where whites are less than 20 percent of the voting-age population, Hispanic candidate Carrion prevailed with strong support from blacks and Hispanics. In Queens, where whites are less than 40 percent of the voting-age population, black candidate Marshall prevailed with overwhelming support from blacks and Hispanics and significant support from whites. In Brooklyn, where whites are likewise less than

TABLE 8 ESTIMATES OF VOTER BEHAVIOR IN NYC BOROUGH PRESIDENT ELECTIONS, ECOLOGICAL REGRESSION, EXTREME CASE ANALYSIS DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES, 1997 MINORITY V. WHITE *						
	% OF WHT VOTERS		% OF BLK VOTERS		% OF HISP VOTERS	
	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE
1997 PRIMARY MANHATTAN						
FIELDS (B)	31%	32%	77%	78%	12%	34%
POWELL (B/H)**	1%	4%	17%	14%	51%	39%
PAGAN (H)	7%	7%	1%	1%	23%	15%
FAGER (W) GLICK (W) SPITZ (W)	61%	57%	5%	7%	14%	13%
* GIVEN LOW TURNOUT, IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO ESTIMATE SEPARATELY ASIAN-AMERICAN VOTING IN THIS ELECTION						
** POWELL HAS BLACK & HISPANIC ANCESTRY						

**TABLE 9
ESTIMATES OF VOTER BEHAVIOR IN BOROUGH PRES IDENT ELECTIONS,
ECOLOGICAL REGRESSION, EXTREME CASE ANALYSIS DEMOCRATIC
PRIMARIES 2001 ELECTIONS, MINORITY V. WHITE**

	% OF WHT VOTERS		% OF BLK VOTERS		% OF HISP VOTERS		% OF ASIAN VOTERS	
	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE
BROOKLYN								
GADSDEN (B)	9%	13%	54%	51%	41%	27%	NA	NA
FISHER (W)	91%	87%	46%	49%	59%	73%	NA	NA
MARKOWITZ (W)								
BRONX								
CARRION (H)	6%	25%	80%	85%	100%	93%	NA	NA
ESPADA (H)								
EISLAND (W)	94%	25%	20%	15%	0%	7%	NA	NA
QUEENS								
MARSHALL (B)	32%	35%	75%	76%	100%	72%	0%	NA
LEFFLER (W)	68%	65%	25%	24%	0%	28%	100%	NA
GRESSER (W)								

40 percent of the voting-age population, black candidate Gadsden lost to white candidate Markowitz. Gadsden, was the candidate of choice of African-Americans, with slightly more than a majority of the vote, and won substantial, but not majority support from Hispanics. He was much less successful with other demographic groups in Brooklyn. However, under a nonpartisan system of elections, it is extremely likely that black candidate Gadsden would have qualified for a general election in competition with Markowitz, giving African-Americans a second opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice.

2. CITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS

As indicated in Table 10, 25 of 51 City Council districts have white voting-age populations of less than 30 percent white and correspondingly have combined minority voting-age populations of greater than 70 percent. Likewise 26 of 51 districts have white voting-age populations that are greater than 30 percent and correspondingly have combined minority voting-age populations of less than 70 percent. As indicated in Table 10 and the accompanying bar graph, minority city council members have almost exclusively been elected from the districts that are greater than 70 percent minority. Specifically, 24 of 25 of 70%+ minority districts have a minority city council member in 2002, compared to just 1 of 26 districts with less than a 70 percent minority voting-age population. Given that minority members are currently elected only when minorities are overwhelmingly dominant in a Council district, there is virtually no basis in the current partisan elections of City Council elections for retrogression of minority voter opportunities to elect candidates of their choice to City Council positions. Also, there is minimal

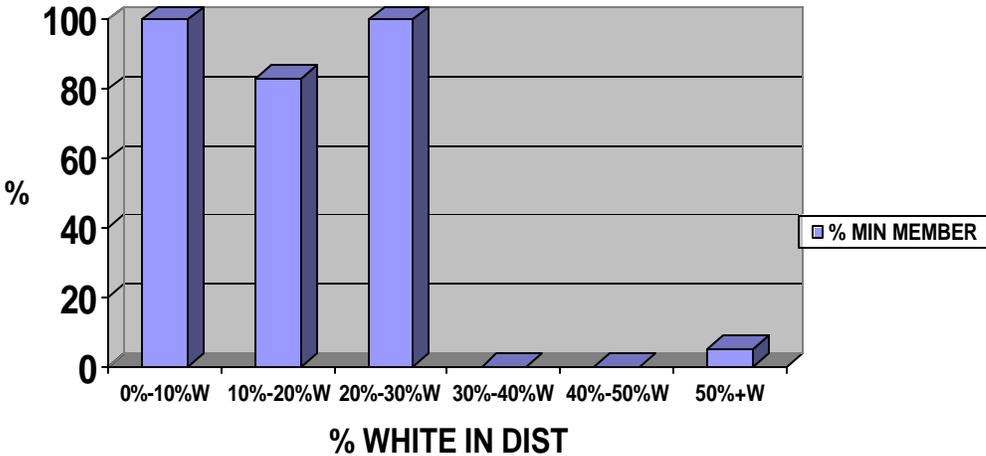
TABLE 10: CITY COUNCIL DISTRICTS, VOTING-AGE POPULATION, RACE OF 2002 MEMBER

	DIST	PWHITE	PBLACK	PHISP	PASIAN	RACE
1	16	1.3	45.5	49.9	.8	black
2	36	1.3	84.6	10.1	.9	black
3	41	1.6	85.9	9.2	.6	black
4	17	1.8	31.3	64.3	.9	hisp
5	42	2.4	75.2	18.6	.9	black
6	27	3.5	78.5	8.3	3.7	black
7	28	4.2	54.7	19.1	9.5	black
8	37	4.2	28.3	56.8	5.2	black
9	14	4.3	25.3	64.3	3.4	hisp
10	40	5.5	73.8	13.1	3.4	black
11	18	5.6	28.6	58.2	4.0	hisp
12	15	6.2	26.4	62.0	2.5	hisp
13	45	7.3	80.2	7.1	2.0	black
14	10	8.3	6.4	82.1	1.8	hisp
15	21	8.3	10.3	66.1	12.7	hisp
16	12	9.3	66.7	18.9	1.5	black
17	34	10.2	21.8	61.3	4.1	hisp
18	31	12.5	68.2	13.3	1.6	black
19	7	17.1	33.0	44.3	3.0	black
20	35	17.6	62.3	13.2	3.2	black
21	8	18.2	24.5	51.0	3.9	black
22	25	20.0	6.6	36.2	33.4	white
23	9	23.4	54.7	14.5	4.5	black
24	38	23.9	8.5	50.7	13.3	hisp
25	20	28.8	3.8	17.1	47.1	asian

TABLE 10 CONTINUED, CITY COUNCIL DISTRICTS

	DIST	PWHITE	PBLACK	PHISP	PASIAN	RACE
26.00	26	38.0	6.2	31.3	20.3	white
27.00	1	39.1	4.5	12.5	41.3	white
28.00	24	43.5	10.6	16.6	23.8	white
29.00	11	44.9	15.7	29.8	6.3	white
30.00	23	47.9	12.0	11.9	22.4	white
31.00	22	49.1	8.2	23.7	11.6	white
32.00	46	51.0	33.7	7.7	5.0	white
33.00	32	52.0	5.0	22.8	10.6	white
34.00	49	54.9	19.0	17.1	6.1	white
35.00	13	57.0	8.8	26.2	5.1	white
36.00	30	58.3	1.7	28.8	7.5	white
37.00	39	60.6	4.3	13.5	17.0	white
38.00	29	61.1	2.9	15.0	16.9	white
39.00	2	61.4	6.3	18.9	10.9	hisp
40.00	47	67.0	8.6	10.7	11.0	white
41.00	19	68.1	1.5	10.6	18.0	white
42.00	33	70.5	6.2	14.4	4.2	white
43.00	3	70.7	5.3	12.9	8.4	white
44.00	43	71.0	.5	9.0	15.5	white
45.00	44	72.6	2.3	8.0	14.0	white
46.00	6	75.6	5.9	10.3	6.3	white
47.00	48	75.8	3.3	6.3	12.3	white
48.00	50	77.4	1.9	8.2	10.6	white
49.00	4	81.2	3.1	5.9	8.2	white
50.00	5	82.7	3.0	5.5	7.1	white
51.00	51	88.0	1.0	5.8	4.4	white

% MINORITY COUNCIL MEMBERS & % WHITE IN DIST



Republican representation in the heavily minority City Council districts in New York City.

Detailed electoral analysis of city council elections reported in Appendix II of this report indicates that there have been very few significantly contested white versus minority elections from 1993 through 2001. Specifically, there were three such elections in 1993, four in 1997, and six in 2001. Although Asian-Americans represent only 10 percent of New York City's voting-age population, Asian-American candidates were the main source of opposition to white candidates in 6 of these 13 elections (46 percent). Despite heavily contesting City Council elections, an Asian-American candidate has been elected only in City Council 23, which is greater than 70 percent combined minority in its voting-age population and nearly half Asian-American in its voting-age population. As indicated by the analysis reported in Appendix II, Asian-American candidates have usually garnered overwhelming support from Asian-American voters, but only limited support from other voter groups.

Hispanics have contested more of the remaining elections reported in Appendix II and have been successful in overwhelmingly minority District 38 (76 percent voting-age minority) and in District 2, which is majority white and is the one exception to the pattern of minority candidates prevailing only in districts that are 70 percent or more minority in their voting-age populations. In the few contested elections involving African-American candidates, an African-American has prevailed only in overwhelmingly minority District 7 (83 percent voting-age minority).

CONCLUSIONS: BOROUGH PRESIDENT AND CITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS

Assessment of nonpartisan elections for Borough President and City Council does not differ fundamentally from the assessment for citywide elections in New York. Given the racial demography and partisan breakdowns of New York City Boroughs and City Council Districts, current patterns of success and failure for minority candidates of choice of minority voters, and divisions among minority groups in their choices of candidates, analysis indicates that a shift from partisan to nonpartisan elections of Borough Presidents and City Council members would produce the retrogression of minority voter opportunities.

OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

In sum, neither the analysis of the broad electoral experience of America's major cities nor of elections and voting within New York City sustains the proposition that a change from partisan to non-partisan elections would impede the opportunity for minority voters to participate fully in the political process and elect candidates of their choice to citywide offices. To the contrary, both external and internal evidence indicates that a system in which two non-partisan candidates advance to a non-partisan general election might well enhanced the prospects for minority candidates of choice of minority voters to compete successfully for public office in New York.

**APPENDIX I: DETAILED ANALYSIS OF MINORITY V. WHITE CITYWIDE
ELECTIONS**

**APPENDIX I, TABLE 1
ESTIMATES OF VOTER BEHAVIOR IN NYC MAYORAL ELECTIONS, ECOLOGICAL
REGRESSION, EXTREME CASE ANALYSIS, EXIT POLLS, 1989-1997
MINORITY VERSUS WHITE ELECTIONS
DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES AND GENERAL ELECTIONS**

	% OF WHITE VOTERS			% OF BLACK VOTERS			% OF HISP VOTERS		
	REG	EXT CASE	EXIT POLL	REG	EXT CASE	EXIT POLL	REG	EXT CASE	EXIT POLL
1989 PRIMARY MAYOR									
DINKINS (B)	21%	20%	29%	92%	89%	93%	58%	61%	NA
KOCH (W)	70%	71%	61%	4%	7%	3%	30%	35%	NA
OTHERS (W)	8%	9%	10%	4%	2%	4%	11%	10%	NA
1989 GENERAL MAYOR									
DINKINS (B)	23%	21%	26%	97%	95%	91%	93%	73%	64%
GIULIANI (W)	75%	77%	71%	2%	5%	7%	6%	26%	35%
OTHERS (W)	8%	9%	10%	1%	0%	2%	1%	1%	1%
1993 PRIMARY MAYOR									
DINKINS (B) INNIS (B)	94%	92%	NA	100%	97%	NA	77%	87%	NA
MELENDEZ (H)	6%	8%	61%	0%	3%	NA	23%	13%	NA
1993 GENERAL MAYOR									
DINKINS (B)	20%	20%	21%	100%	93%	95%	94%	72%	60%
GIULIANI (W)	78%	71%	77%	0%	6%	5%	25%	27%	37%
OTHERS (W)	3%	9%	2%	0%	1%	0%	6%	1%	3%

APPENDIX I, TABLE 1, CONTINUED									
	% OF WHITE VOTERS			% OF BLACK VOTERS			% OF HISP VOTERS		
	REG	EXT CASE	EXIT POLL	REG	EXT CASE	EXIT POLL	REG	EXT CASE	EXIT POLL
1997 PRIMARY MAYOR									
SHARPTON (B) ROGERS (B)	4%	9%	NA	75%	71%	NA	23%	32%	NA
ALBANESE (W)	46%	45%	NA	3%	5%	NA	5%	9%	NA
MESSINGER (W)	50%	45%	NA	21%	22%	NA	55%	46%	NA
MELENDEZ (H)	1%	2%	NA	2%	2%	NA	17%	12%	NA
1997 GENERAL MAYOR									
MESSINGER (W)	18%	19%	21%	87%	79%	79%	80%	59%	57%
GIULIANI (W)	80%	79%	76%	12%	20%	20%	20%	40%	43%
OTHERS (W)	2%	2%	3%	1%	0%	2%	1%	1%	1%

**APPENDIX I, TABLE 2
ESTIMATES OF VOTER BEHAVIOR IN NYC MAYORAL ELECTIONS, ECOLOGICAL
REGRESSION, EXTREME CASE ANALYSIS, EXIT POLLS, 2001
MINORITY VERSUS WHITE ELECTIONS ***

	% OF WHITE VOTERS			% OF BLACK VOTERS			% OF HISPANIC VOTERS			% OF ASIAN VOTERS			% OF OTHER VOTERS		
	REG	EXT CSE	EXIT	REG	EXT CSE	EXIT	REG	EXT CSE	EXIT	REG	EXT CSE	EXIT	REG	EXT CSE	EXIT
2001 PRIMARY MAYOR															
FERRER (H)	0%	11%	7%	44%	44%	52%	90%	69%	72%	NA	NA	21%	NA	NA	27%
GREEN (W)	41%	38%	40%	39%	40%	34%	2%	18%	12%	NA	NA	33%	NA	NA	39%
HEVESI (W)	23%	21%	20%	7%	6%	9%	0%	3%	5%	NA	NA	13%	NA	NA	8%
VALLONE (W)	35%	28%	31%	8%	9%	4%	7%	9%	12%	NA	NA	27%	NA	NA	18%
SPITZ (W)	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	NA	NA	0%	NA	NA	3%
2001 RUNOFF MAYOR															
FERRER (H)	0%	19%	17%	65%	65%	71%	100%	77%	84%	NA	NA	42%	NA	NA	41%
GREEN (W)	100%	81%	83%	35%	35%	29%	0%	23%	16%	NA	NA	58%	NA	NA	59%

* IN THE 2001 GENERAL ELECTION WHITE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE GREEN COMPETED AGAINST WHITE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE BLOOMBERG.

APPENDIX I, TABLE 3
ESTIMATES OF VOTER BEHAVIOR IN NYC OTHER CITYWIDE ELECTIONS,
ECOLOGICAL REGRESSION, EXTREME CASE ANALYSIS, EXIT POLLS, 1989-1997
WHITE V. MINORITY ELECTIONS
DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES AND GENERAL ELECTIONS

	% OF WHITE VOTERS			% OF BLACK VOTERS			% OF HISP VOTERS		
	REG	EXT CASE	EXIT POLL	REG	EXT CASE	EXIT POLL	REG	EXT CASE	EXIT POLL
1989 PRIMARY COUN PRES									
STEIN (W)	66%	62%	NA	47%	38%	NA	68%	51%	NA
MENDEZ (H)	34%	38%	NA	53%	62%	NA	32%	49%	NA
1993 PRIMARY COMPTROLLER									
BADILLO (H)	29%	36%	NA	8%	15%	NA	82%	54%	NA
HEVESI (W)	50%	42%	NA	28%	22%	NA	0%	15%	NA
HOLTZMAN (W)	21%	22%	NA	63%	63%	NA	18%	31%	NA
1993 PRIMARY PUBLIC ADV									
ALTER (W)	20%	19%	NA	8%	11%	NA	0%	7%	NA
GREEN (W)	64%	57%	NA	31%	33%	NA	11%	26%	NA
PATTERSON (B)	1%	3%	NA	50%	43%	NA	11%	17%	NA
RAMIREZ (H)	0%	3%	NA	5%	7%	NA	79%	44%	NA
OTHERS (W)	15%	17%	NA	6%	6%	NA	0%	5%	NA
1993 GENERAL COMPTROLLER									
HEVESI (D, W)	42%	40%	42%	98%	90%	91%	56%	59%	43%
BADILLO (R & L, W)	56%	58%	56%	2%	9%	5%	42%	39%	55%
OTHERS (W)	2%	2%	2%	1%	1%	3%	2%	2%	1%

APPENDIX I, TABLE 3, CONTINUED

	% OF WHITE VOTERS			% OF BLACK VOTERS			% OF HISP VOTERS		
	REG	EXT CASE	EXIT POLL	REG	EXT CASE	EXIT POLL	REG	EXT CASE	EXIT POLL
1997 PRIMARY PUBLIC ADV									
M. GREEN (W)	89%	87%	NA	71%	70%	NA	72%	73%	NA
R. GREEN (B)	11%	13%	NA	29%	30%	NA	28%	27%	NA
1997 GENERAL COMPTROLLER									
HEVESI (D, W)	71%	69%	70%	95%	91%	90%	95%	84%	86%
MCAVOY (R & L, W)	28%	33%	31%	3%	7%	8%	0%	13%	11%
TORRES (I, H)	31%	4%	2%	2%	2%	2%	5%	3%	3%

**APPENDIX I, TABLE 4
ESTIMATES OF VOTER BEHAVIOR IN NYC OTHER CITYWIDE ELECTIONS, ECOLOGICAL
REGRESSION, EXTREME CASE ANALYSIS, EXIT POLLS, 2001
WHITE V. MINORITY ELECTIONS
DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES**

	% OF WHITE VOTERS			% OF BLACK VOTERS			% OF HISPANIC VOTERS			% OF ASIAN VOTERS			% OF OTHER VOTERS		
	REG	EXT CSE	EXIT	REG	EXT CSE	EXIT	REG	EXT CSE	EXIT	REG	EXT CSE	EXIT	REG	EXT CSE	EXIT
2001 PRIMARY PUBLIC ADVOCATE															
COLON (H)	1%	4%	3%	10%	12%	14%	60%	37%	50%	NA	NA	0%	NA	NA	22%
DIBRIENZA (W)	20%	16%	17%	11%	12%	11%	3%	5%	10%	NA	NA	21%	NA	NA	15%
FLAXMAN (W)	2%	2%	3%	5%	6%	4%	4%	3%	4%	NA	NA	5%	NA	NA	2%
FREED (W)	12%	10%	8%	8%	9%	7%	6%	7%	5%	NA	NA	16%	NA	NA	7%
GOTBAUM (W)	33%	32%	33%	25%	24%	24%	1%	17%	14%	NA	NA	23%	NA	NA	17%
SIEGEL (W)	14%	15%	17%	26%	24%	22%	11%	14%	11%	NA	NA	19%	NA	NA	31%
STRINGER (W)	19%	20%	18%	14%	13%	19%	15%	18%	6%	NA	NA	16%	NA	NA	5%
2001 PRIMARY COMPT															
THOMPSON (B)	34%	39%	36%	80%	80%	81%	66%	57%	52%	NA	NA	61%	NA	NA	72%
BERMAN (W)	66%	61%	64%	20%	20%	19%	34%	43%	48%	NA	NA	39%	NA	NA	28%

* THERE WERE NO SIGNIFICANTLY CONTESTED WHITE V. MINORITY RUNOFFS OR GENERAL ELECTIONS IN 2001.

**APPENDIX II: DETAILED ANALYSIS OF MINORITY V. WHITE CITYWIDE
ELECTIONS**

**APPENDIX II: TABLE 1
ESTIMATES OF VOTER BEHAVIOR IN NYC CITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS,
ECOLOGICAL REGRESSION, EXTREME CASE ANALYSIS
DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES, 1993-97 MINORITY V. WHITE**

1993 DEM PRIM ELECTIONS	% OF WHT VOTERS		% OF BLK VOTERS		% OF HISP VOTERS		% OF ASIAN VOTERS	
	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE
DISTRICT 1 MANHATTAN								
CHIN (A)	8%	10%	5%	NA	47%	NA	100%	72%
FREED (W) JOICE (W)	92%	90%	95%	NA	53%	NA	0%	28%
DISTRICT 2 MANHATTAN								
PAGAN (H)	45%	50%	17%	NA	82%	NA	NA	NA
FRIEDLANDER (W) FRIEDMAN (W)	55%	50%	83%	NA	18%	NA	NA	NA
DISTRICT 38 BROOKLYN								
RIVERA (H)	0%	14%	65%	NA	71%	68%	0%	NA
MCCABE (W) O'HARA (W)	100%	86%	35%	NA	29%	32%	100%	NA

APPENDIX II: TABLE 1, CONTINUED
ESTIMATES OF VOTER BEHAVIOR IN NYC CITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS

	% OF WHT VOTERS		% OF BLK VOTERS		% OF HISP VOTERS		% OF ASIAN VOTERS	
	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE
1997 DEM PRIM ELECTIONS								
DISTRICT 1 MANHATTAN								
LIM (A)	15%	15%	6%	NA	57%	NA	94%	65%
DORTMUTH (W) FREED (W)	85%	85%	94%	NA	43%	NA	6%	35%
DISTRICT 2 MANHATTAN								
LOPEZ (H)	23%	34%	41%	NA	64%	NA	100%	NA
FABOZZI (W) RAPFOGEL (W)	77%	66%	59%	NA	36%	NA	0%	NA
DISTRICT 20 QUEENS								
CHU (A) LIU (A)	32%	NA	23%	NA	NA	NA	52%	49%
HARRISON (W) MARKELL (W)	68%	NA	77%	NA	NA	NA	48%	51%
DISTRICT 38 BROOKLYN								
CASTELL (H) HAGGERTY (H) RODRIGUEZ (H)	31%	NA	84%	NA	94%	83%	NA	NA
LOEB (W) MCDERMOTT (W)	69%	NA	16%	NA	6%	17%	NA	NA

APPENDIX II: TABLE 1, CONTINUED
ESTIMATES OF VOTER BEHAVIOR IN NYC CITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS,

	% OF WHT VOTERS		% OF BLK VOTERS		% OF HISP VOTERS		% OF ASIAN VOTERS	
	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE
2001 DEM PRIM ELECTIONS								
DISTRICT 1 MANHATTAN								
CHIN M (A) CHIN R (A) HUI (A)	13%	18%	76%	NA	47%	NA	100%	81%
FRATTA (W) GERSON (W) HOLYMAN (W) POSNER (W)	87%	82%	24%	16%	53%	NA	0%	19%
DISTRICT 2 MANHATTAN								
LOPEZ (H)	75%	78%	NA	NA	92%	NA	NA	NA
WILSON (W)	25%	22%	NA	NA	8%	NA	NA	NA

APPENDIX II: TABLE 1, CONTINUED
ESTIMATES OF VOTER BEHAVIOR IN NYC CITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS,

	% OF WHT VOTERS		% OF BLK VOTERS		% OF HISP VOTERS		% OF ASIAN VOTERS	
	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE
2001 DEM PRIM ELECTIONS								
DISTRICT 7 MANHATTAN								
ADAMS (B) BLOODSAW (B) DOTSON (B) JACKSON (B) SPENCER (B)	51%	NA	90%	67%	14%	21%	NA	NA
BERNACE (H) MORILLA (H) TORRES (H)	2%	NA	5%	16%	71%	58%	NA	NA
LEVINE (W)	47%	NA	5%	17%	15%	20%	NA	NA
DISTRICT 20 QUEENS								
CHEN (A) LIU (A) PARK (A)	80%	NA	61%	NA	NA	NA	98%	96%
JANNAccio (W)	20%	NA	39%	NA	NA	NA	2%	4%

APPENDIX II: TABLE 1, CONTINUED
ESTIMATES OF VOTER BEHAVIOR IN NYC CITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS,

	% OF WHT VOTERS		% OF BLK VOTERS		% OF HISP VOTERS		% OF ASIAN VOTERS	
	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE	REG	EXT CSE
2001 DEM PRIM ELECTIONS								
DISTRICT 23 QUEENS								
THAKRAL (A)	7%	6%	78%	NA	NA	NA	0%	NA
WEPRIN (W)	93%	94%	22%	NA	NA	NA	100%	NA
DISTRICT 49 STATEN ISLAND								
ROSE (B)	5%	9%	92%	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
DEL GIOMO (W) MCMAHON (W)	95%	91%	8%	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

APPENDIX III: CV

Curriculum Vitae

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May 2003

EDUCATION

BA, Brandeis University, Phi Beta Kappa, Magna Cum Laude, 1967

PhD, Harvard University, Graduate Prize Fellow, 1973

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Teaching Fellow, American History, Harvard University, 1969-73

Instructor, Brandeis University, 1970, quantitative history.

Assistant Professor of History, American University, 1973-1977

Associate Professor of History, American University, 1977-78

Professor of History, American University, 1978 -

Associate Dean for Faculty and Curricular Development, College of Arts & Sciences, The American University 1985 - 1987

Chair, Department of History, American University, 1997- 2001

Editor, Lexington Books Series, Studies in Modern American History

HONORS AND AWARDS

Outstanding Teacher, College of Arts and Sciences, 1975-76

Outstanding Scholar, College of Arts and Sciences, 1978-79

Outstanding Scholar, The American University, 1982-83

Outstanding Scholar/Teacher, The American University, 1992-93 (Highest University faculty award)

Sherman Fairchild Distinguished Visiting Scholar, California Institute of Technology, 1980-81

American University summer research grant, 1978 & 1982

Chamber of Commerce, Outstanding Young Men of America 1979-80

Graduate Student Council, American University, Faculty Award, 1982

Top Speaker Award, National Convention of the International Platform Association, 1983, 1984, 1987

National Age Group Champion (30 - 34) 3000 meter steeplechase 1979

Eastern Region Age Group Champion (30 - 34) 1500 meter run 1979

Defeated twenty opponents on nationally syndicated quiz show, TIC TAC DOUGH, 1981

Biographical Listing in Marquis, WHO'S WHO IN THE AMERICA AND WHO'S WHO IN THE WORLD

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SCHOLARSHIP

A. Books

PREJUDICE AND THE OLD POLITICS: THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1928 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979)

PREJUDICE AND THE OLD POLITICS: THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1928 (Lexington Books, 2000), reprint of 1979 edition with new introduction.

HISTORIANS AND THE LIVING PAST: THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF HISTORICAL STUDY (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1978; with Valerie French)

ECOLOGICAL INFERENCE (with Laura Irwin Langbein, Sage Series in Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, 1978)

YOUR FAMILY HISTORY: HOW TO USE ORAL HISTORY, PERSONAL FAMILY ARCHIVES, AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS TO DISCOVER YOUR HERITAGE (New York: Random House, 1978)

KIN AND COMMUNITIES: FAMILIES IN AMERICA (edited, with Joan Challinor, Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Press, 1979)

THE THIRTEEN KEYS TO THE PRESIDENCY (Lanham: Madison Books, 1990, with Ken DeCell)

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 1996 EDITION (Lanham: Madison Books, 1996)

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, (Lanham: Lexington Books Edition, 2000)

WHITE PROTESTANT AMERICA: THE RISE OF THE MODERN AMERICAN RIGHT, under contract, Grove/Atlantic Press

B. Scholarly Articles

"The Federal Assault Against Voting Discrimination in the Deep South, 1957-1967," JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY (Oct. 1969)

"Executive Enforcement of Voting Rights, 1957-60," in Terrence Goggin and John Seidel, eds., POLITICS AMERICAN STYLE (1971)

"Correlation, Regression, and the Ecological Fallacy: A Critique," JOURNAL OF INTERDISCIPLINARY HISTORY (Winter 1974)

"Critical Election Theory and the Reality of American Presidential Politics, 1916-1940," AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (April 1976)

"Across the Great Divide: Inferring Individual Behavior From Aggregate Data," POLITICAL METHODOLOGY (with Laura Irwin, Fall 1976)

"Regression vs. Homogeneous Units: A Specification Analysis," SOCIAL SCIENCE HISTORY (Winter 1978)

"Language Games, Social Science, and Public Policy: The Case of the Family," in Harold Wallach, ed., APPROACHES TO CHILD AND FAMILY POLICY (Washington, D. C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1981)

"Pattern Recognition Applied to Presidential Elections in the United States, 1860-1980: The Role of Integral Social, Economic, and Political Traits," PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCE (with V. I. Keilis-Borok, November 1981)

"The End of Realignment Theory? Toward a New Research Program for American Political History," HISTORICAL METHODS (Fall 1982)

"Kinship and Family in American History," in National Council for Social Studies Bulletin, UNITED STATES HISTORY IN THE 1980s (1982)

"Modeling the Past: The Specification of Functional Form," JOURNAL OF INTERDISCIPLINARY HISTORY (with Ivy Broder, Winter 1983)

"Political Realignment and `Ethnocultural` Voting in Late Nineteenth Century America," JOURNAL OF SOCIAL HISTORY (March 1983)

"The `New Political History:` Some Statistical Questions Answered," SOCIAL SCIENCE HISTORY (with J. Morgan Kousser, August 1983)

"Personal Family History: A Bridge to the Past," PROLOGUE (Spring 1984)

"Geography as Destiny," REVIEWS IN AMERICAN HISTORY (Sept., 1985)

"Civil Rights Law: High Court Decision on Voting Act Helps to Remove Minority Barriers," NATIONAL LAW JOURNAL (with Gerald Hebert, November 10, 1986).

"Tommy The Cork: The Secret World of Washington`s First Modern Lobbyist," WASHINGTON MONTHLY (February, 1987).

"Discriminatory Election Systems and the Political Cohesion Doctrine," NATIONAL LAW JOURNAL (with Gerald Hebert, Oct. 5, 1987)

"Aggregate-Level Analysis of American Midterm Senatorial Election Results, 1974-1986," PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES (Dec. 1989, with Volodia Keilis-Borok)

"Black/White Voter Registration Disparities in Mississippi: Legal and Methodological Issues in Challenging Bureau of Census Data," JOURNAL OF LAW AND POLITICS (Spring, 1991, with Samuel Issacharoff)

"Adjusting Census Data for Reapportionment: The Independent Role of the States," NATIONAL BLACK LAW JOURNAL (1991)

"Passing the Test: Ecological Regression in the Los Angeles County Case and Beyond," EVALUATION REVIEW (December, 1991)

Understanding and Prediction of Large Unstable Systems in the Absence of Basic Equations," PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON CONCEPTUAL TOOLS FOR UNDERSTANDING NATURE (with V. I. Keilis-Borok, Trieste, Italy, 1991).

"The Self-Organization of American Society in Presidential and Senatorial Elections," in Yu. Krautsov, ed., THE LIMITS OF PREDICTABILITY (with V.I. Keilis-Borok, Nauka, Moscow, 1992).

"'They Endured:' The Democratic Party in the 1920s," in Ira Foreman, ed., DEMOCRATS AND THE AMERICAN IDEA: A BICENTENNIAL APPRAISAL (1992).

"A General Theory of Vote Dilution," LA RAZA (with Gerald Hebert) 6 (1993).

"Adjusting Census Data for Reapportionment: The Independent Role of the States," JOURNAL OF LITIGATION (Dec. 1993, with Samuel Issacharoff)

"The Keys to the White House: Who Will be the Next American President?," SOCIAL EDUCATION 60 (1996)

"The Rise of Big Government: Not As Simple As It Seems," REVIEWS IN AMERICAN HISTORY 26 (1998)

"The Keys to Election 2000," SOCIAL EDUCATION (Nov/Dec. 1999), pp. 422-424

"The Keys to the White House 2000," NATIONAL FORUM (Winter, 2000), pp. 13-16.

"Report on the Implications for Minority Voter Opportunities if Corrected census Data Had Been Used for the Post-1990 Redistricting: States With The Largest Numerical Undercount," UNITED STATES CENSUS MONITORING BOARD, January 2001

"Report on the Racial Impact of the Rejection of Ballots Cast in the 2000 Presidential Election in the State of Florida," and "Supplemental Report," in VOTING IRREGULARITIES IN FLORIDA DURING THE 2000 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, United States Commission on Civil Rights, June 2001

"What Really Happened in Florida's 2000 Presidential Election," JOURNAL OF LEGAL STUDIES (January 2003)

"The Alternative-Justification Affirmative: A New Case Form," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (with Charles Garvin and Jerome Corsi, Fall 1973)

"The Alternative-Justification Case Revisited: A Critique of Goodnight, Balthrop and Parsons, `The Substance of Inherency,`" JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (with Jerome Corsi, Spring 1975)

"A General Theory of the Counterplan," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (with Daniel Rohrer, Fall 1975)

"The Logic of Policy Dispute," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (with Daniel Rohrer, Spring 1980)

"Policy Dispute and Paradigm Evaluation," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (with Daniel Rohrer, Fall 1982)

"New Paradigms For Academic Debate," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (Fall, 1985)

"Competing Models of the Debate Process," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (Winter 1986)

"The Role of the Criteria Case in the Conceptual Framework of Academic Debate," in Donald Terry, ed., MODERN DEBATE CASE TECHNIQUES (with Daniel Rohrer, 1970)

"Decision Rules for Policy Debate," and "Debate as a Comparison of Policy Systems," in Robert 2, ed., THE NEW DEBATE: READINGS IN CONTEMPORARY DEBATE THEORY (with Daniel Rohrer, 1975)

"A Systems Approach to Presumption and Burden of Proof;" "The Role of Empirical Evidence in Debate;" and "A General Theory of the Counterplan," in

David Thomas, ed., ADVANCED DEBATE: READINGS IN THEORY, PRACTICE, AND TEACHING
(with Daniel Rohrer, 1975)

"Decision Rules in Policy Debate;" "The Debate Resolution;" "Affirmative Case Approaches;" "A General Theory of the Counterplan;" "The Role of Empirical Evidence in Debate;" and "Policy Systems Analysis in Debate," in David Thomas, ed., ADVANCED DEBATE (revised edition, with Daniel Rohrer and Jerome Corsi, 1979)

C. Popular Articles

"Presidency By The Book," POLITICS TODAY (Nov. 1979) Reprinted:
LOS ANGELES TIMES

"The Grand Old Ploys," NEW YORK TIMES
Op Ed (July 18, 1980)

"The New Prohibitionism," THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY (Oct. 29, 1980)

"Which Party Really Wants to `Get Government Off Our Backs`?" CHRISTIAN
SCIENCE MONITOR Opinion Page (Dec. 2, 1980)

"Do Americans Really Want `Coolidge Prosperity` Again?" CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
MONITOR Opinion Page (August 19, 1981)

"Chipping Away at Civil Rights," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Opinion Page (Feb.
17, 1982)

"How to Bet in 1984. A Presidential Election Guide," WASHINGTONIAN MAGAZINE
(April 1982) Reprinted: THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

"The Mirage of Efficiency," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Opinion Page (October 6,
1982)

"For RIFs, It Should Be RIP," LOS ANGELES TIMES Opinion Page (January 25,
1983)

"The Patronage Monster, Con` t." WASHINGTON POST Free For All Page (March 16,
1983)

"A Strong Rights Unit," NEW YORK TIMES Op Ed Page (June 19, 1983)

"Abusing the Public Till," LOS ANGELES TIMES Opinion Page (July 26, 1983)

The First Gender Gap," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Opinion Page (August 16,
1983)

"Is Reagan A Sure Thing?" FT. LAUDERDALE NEWS Outlook Section (Feb. 5, 1984)

"The Keys to the American Presidency: Predicting the Next Election," TALENT

(Summer 1984)

"GOP: Winning the Political Battle for '88," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Opinion Page, (Dec. 27, 1984)

"The Return of 'Benign Neglect'," WASHINGTON POST, Free For All, (May 25, 1985)

"Selma Revisited: A Quiet Revolution," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Opinion Page, (April 1, 1986)

"Democrats Take Over the Senate" THE WASHINGTONIAN (November 1986; article by Ken DeCell on Lichtman's advance predictions that the Democrats would recapture the Senate in 1986)

"Welcome War?" THE BALTIMORE EVENING SUN, Opinion Page, (July 15, 1987)

"How to Bet in 1988," WASHINGTONIAN (May 1988; advance prediction of George Bush's 1988 victory)

"President Bill?," WASHINGTONIAN (October 1992; advance prediction of Bill Clinton's 1992 victory)

"Don't be Talked Out of Boldness," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Opinion Page (with Jesse Jackson, November 9, 1992)

"Defending the Second Reconstruction," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Opinion Page (April 8, 1994)

"Quotas Aren't The Issue," NEW YORK TIMES, Op Ed Page (Dec. 7, 1994)

"History According to Newt," WASHINGTON MONTHLY (May, 1995)

"A Ballot on Democracy," WASHINGTON POST Op Ed (Nov. 1, 1998)

"The Theory of Counting Heads vs. One, Two, Three," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Op Ed (June 22, 1999)

"Race Was Big Factor in Ballot Rejection," BALTIMORE SUN Op Ed (March 5, 2002)

Bi-weekly column, THE MONTGOMERY JOURNAL, GAZETTE 1990 - present

Election-year column, REUTERS NEWS SERVICE 1996 & 2000

D. Reviews

Robert W. Fogel and Stanley Engerman, TIME ON THE CROSS: THE ECONOMICS OF SLAVERY, THE NEW REPUBLIC (July 6, 1974)

Burl Noggle, INTO THE TWENTIES, AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (1976)

Jerome Clubb, William Flanigan, and Nancy Zingale: PARTISAN REALIGNMENT, AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (1982)

Paul M. Kleppner, WHO VOTED?, JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY (1983)

Stanley Kelley, INTERPRETING ELECTIONS, JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY (1984)

Paula Eldot, AL SMITH AS GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (1984)

Paul Kleppner, THE THIRD ELECTORAL SYSTEM, JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY (1988)

Arno Mayer, WHY THE HEAVENS DID NOT DARKEN, WASHINGTON POST (1989)

TEACHING

Ongoing Courses

The History of the U. S. I & II, The Emergence of Modern America, The U. S. in the Twentieth Century, United States Economic History, Historiography, Major Seminar in History, Graduate Research Seminar, Colloquium in U. S. History Since 1865, The American Dream, The Urban-Technological Era, Senior Seminar in American Studies, Seminar in Human Communication.

New Courses: Taught for the first time at The American University

Quantification in History, Women in Twentieth Century American Politics, Women in Twentieth Century America, Historians and the Living Past (a course designed to introduce students to the excitement and relevance of historical study), How to Think: Critical Analysis in the Social Sciences, Pivotal Years of American Politics, Government and the Citizen (Honors Program), Introduction to Historical Quantification, Public Policy in U. S. History, Honors Seminar in U.S. Presidential Elections, America's Presidential Elections.

TELEVISION APPEARANCES

Political commentary on NBC, CBS, ABC, CNN, C-SPAN, CNN, FOX, MSNBC, BBC, PBS, and numerous other broadcasting outlets internationally

Regular political commentary for NBC News Nightside.

Regular political commentary for Voice of America and USIA.

Regular political commentary for America's Talking Cable Network.

Regular political commentary for the Canadian Broadcasting System.

Appearances on numerous foreign television networks.

Consultant and on-air commentator for NBC special productions video project on the history of the American presidency.

CBS New Consulant, 1998 and 1999

RADIO SHOWS

I have participated in more than 1500 radio interview and talk shows broadcast nationwide, in foreign nations, and in cities such as Washington, D. C., New York, Atlanta, Chicago, Los Angeles and Detroit. My appearances include the Voice of America, National Public Radio, and well as all major commercial radio networks.

PRESS CITATIONS

I have been cited hundreds of times on public affairs in the nation's leading newspapers. These include, among many others,

New York Times, Washington Post, USA Today, Los Angeles Times, Wall Street Journal, Miami Herald, Washington Times, St. Louis Post Dispatch, Christian Science Monitor, Philadelphia Inquirer.

CONFERENCES AND LECTURES

Invited participant and speaker, Bostick Conference on Fogel and Engerman's TIME ON THE CROSS, University of South Carolina, Nov. 1-2, 1974

"Critical Election Theory and the Presidential Election of 1928," Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Dec. 1974

"A Psychological Model of American Nativism," Bloomsberg State Historical Conference, April 1975

"Methodology for Aggregating Data in Education Research," National Institute of Education, Symposium on Methodology, July 1975 (with Laura Irwin)

Featured Speaker, The Joint Washington State Bicentennial Conference on Family History, Oct. 1975

Featured Speaker, The Santa Barbara Conference on Family History, May 1976

Chairman, The Smithsonian Institution and the American University Conference

on Techniques for Studying Historical and Contemporary Families, June 1976

Panel Chairman, Sixth International Smithsonian Symposium on Kin and Communities in America, June 1977

"The uses of History for Policy Analysis," invited lecture, Federal Interagency Panel on Early Childhood Research, Oct. 1977

Invited participant, Conference on "Child Development within the Family - Evolving New Research Approaches," Interagency Panel of the Federal Government for Research and Development on Adolescence, June 1978

Commentator on papers in argumentation, Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, Nov. 1978

Commentator on papers on family policy, Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Jan. 1979

"Phenomenology, History, and Social Science," Graduate Colloquium of the Department of Philosophy, The American University, March 1979

"Comparing Tests for Aggregation Bias: Party Realignments of the 1930`s," Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association March 1979, with Laura Irwin Langbein

"Party Loyalty and Progressive Politics: Quantitative Analysis of the Vote for President in 1912," Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April 1979, with Jack Lord II

"Policy Systems Debate: A Reaffirmation," Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, Nov. 1979

"Personal Family History: Toward a Unified Approach," Invited Paper, World Conference on Records, Salt Lake City, Aug. 1980

"Crisis at the Archives: The Acquisition, Preservation, and Dissemination of Public Documents," Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, Nov. 1980

"Recruitment, Conversion, and Political Realignment in America: 1888- 1940," Social Science Seminar, California Institute of Technology, April 1980

"Toward a Situational Logic of American Presidential Elections," Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, Nov. 1981

"Political Realignment in American History," Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, Oct. 1981

"Critical Elections in Historical Perspective: the 1890s and the 1930s,"
Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, Nov. 1982

Commentator for Papers on the use of Census data for historical research,
Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April 1983

"Thirteen Keys to the Presidency: How to Predict the Next Election," Featured
Presentation, Annual Conference of the International Platform Association,
August 1983, Received a Top Speaker Award

"Paradigms for Academic Debate," Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication
Association, Nov. 1983

Local Arrangements Chairman, Annual Convention of the Social Science History
Association Oct. 1983

"Forecasting the Next Election," Featured Speaker, Annual Convention of the
American Feed Manufacturers Association (May 1984)

Featured Speaker, "The Ferraro Nomination," Annual Convention of The
International Platform Association, August 1984, Top Speaker Award

"Forecasting the 1984 Election," Annual Convention of the
Social Science History Association Oct. 1984,

Featured Speaker, "The Keys to the Presidency," Meeting of
Women in Government Relations Oct. 1984

Featured Speaker, "The Presidential Election of 1988," Convention
of the American Association of Political Consultants, December, 1986

Featured Speaker, "The Presidential Election of 1988," Convention of the
Senior Executive Service of the United States, July 1987

Commentary on Papers on Voting Rights, Annual Meeting of the American
Political Science Association, September 1987.

Commentary on Papers on Ecological Inference, Annual Meeting of
the Social Science History Association, November 1987.

Featured Speaker: "Expert Witnesses in Federal Voting Rights Cases," National
Conference on Voting Rights, November 1987.

Featured Speaker: "The Quantitative Analysis of Electoral Data," NAACP
National Conference on Voting Rights and School Desegregation, July 1988.

Panel Chairman, "Quantitative Analysis of the New Deal Realignment," Annual
Meeting of the Social Science History Association, Nov. 1989.

Keynote Speaker, Convocation of Lake Forest College, Nov. 1989.

Featured Speaker, The American University-Smithsonian Institution Conference on the Voting Rights Act, April 1990

Panel Speaker, Voting Rights Conference of the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, April 1990

Panel Speaker, Voting Rights Conference of the NAACP, July 1990

Panel Speaker, Voting Rights Conference of Stetson University, April 1991

Panel Chairman, Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April, 1992

Panel Speaker, Symposium on "Lessons from 200 Years of Democratic Party History, Center for National Policy, May 1992

Olin Memorial Lecture, U.S. Naval Academy, October 1992

Commentator, Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April, 1993

Panel presentation, Conference on Indian Law, National Bar Association, April 1993

Feature Presentation, Black Political Science Association, Norfolk State University, June 1993

Delegation Head, Delegation of Washington Area Scholars to Taiwan, Presented Paper on the promotion of democracy based on the American experience, July 1993

Feature Presentation, Southern Regional Council Conference, Atlanta Georgia, November, 1994

Master of Ceremonies and Speaker, State of the County Brunch, Montgomery County, February, 1996

Feature Presentation, APredicting The Next Presidential Election,@ Freedom Foundation Seminar on the American Presidency, August 1996

Feature Presentation, APredicting The Next Presidential Election,@ Salisbury State College, October 1996

Feature Presentation on the Keys to the White House, Dirksen Center, Peoria, Illinois, August, 2000

Feature Presentation on American Political History, Regional Conference of the Organization of American Historians, August 2000

Testimony Presented Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights Regarding Voting Systems and Voting Rights, January 2001

Testimony Presented Before the United States House of Representatives, Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on the Constitution, February 2001

Testimony Presented Before the United States Senate, Government Operations Committee, Regarding Racial Differentials in Ballot Rejection Rates in the Florida Presidential Election, June 2001

DEPARTMENTAL AND UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Department of History Council 1973 -

Undergraduate Committee, Department of History 1973-77

Chairman Undergraduate Committee, Department of History 1984-85

Graduate Committee, Department of History, 1978-84

Freshman Advisor, 1973-1979

First Year Module in Human Communications, 1977-79

University Committee on Fellowships and Awards 1976-78

University Senate 1978-79, 1984-85

University Senate Parliamentarian and Executive Board 1978-79

Founding Director, The American University Honors Program, 1977-79

Chairman, College of Arts and Sciences Budget Committee 1977-78, 1982-84

University Grievance Committee, 1984-85

Member, University Honors Committee 1981-82

College of Arts and Sciences Curriculum Committee 1981-82

Jewish Studies Advisory Board, 1982-1984

Mellon Grant Executive Board, College of Arts & Sciences, 1982-83

Chairman, College of Arts and Sciences Faculty Colloquium, 1983

Chairman, College of Arts and Sciences Task Force on the Department of Performing Arts, 1984-85

Local Arrangements Chairman, National Convention of the Social Science History Association, 1983

Chairman, Rank & Tenure Committee of the Department of History, 1981-82, 1984-85

Board Member, Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, The American University, 1988-89

Chairman, Graduate Committee, Department of History, 1989 - 1991

Chairman, Distinguished Professor Search Committee 1991

Member, College of Arts & Sciences Associate Dean Search Committee, 1991

Board Member, The American University Press, 1991-95

Chair, Subcommittee on Demographic Change, The American University Committee on Middle States Accreditation Review 1992-94

Member, Dean's Committee on Curriculum Change, College of Arts and Sciences 1992 - 1993

Member, Dean's Committee on Teaching, College of Arts and Sciences 1992 -

Co-Chair, Department of History Graduate Committee, 1994-95

Vice-Chair, College of Arts & Sciences Educational Policy Committee, 1994-95

Elected Member, University Provost Search Committee, 1995-96

Chair, Search Committee for British and European Historian, Department of History, 1996

OTHER POSITIONS

Director of Forensics, Brandeis University, 1968-71

Director of Forensics, Harvard University, 1971-72

Chairman, New York-New England Debate Committee, 1970-71

Historical consultant to the Kin and Communities Program of the Smithsonian Institution 1974-1979

Along with general advisory duties, this position has involved the following activities:

1. directing a national conference on techniques for studying historical and contemporary families held at the Smithsonian in June 1976.
2. chairing a public session at the Smithsonian on how to do the history of one's own family.
3. helping to direct the Sixth International Smithsonian Symposium on Kin and Communities in America (June 1977).
4. editing the volume of essays from the symposium.

Consultant, Expert Witness and Analyst of Third Parties in the United States.

1. Consultant to John Anderson campaign for president, 1980.

I researched and wrote a study on "Restrictive Ballot Laws and Third-Force Presidential Candidates." This document was a major component of Anderson's legal arguments against restrictive ballot laws that ultimately prevailed in the Supreme Court (Anderson v. Celebreeze 1983). According to Anderson's attorney: "the basis for the majority's decision echoes the themes you incorporated in your original historical piece we filed in the District Court."

2. Expert Witness for New Alliance Party Ballot Access in State of Alabama, 1990 (New Alliance Party v. Hand)

I analyzed the state of Alabama's system for third-party ballot access to demonstrate that the state's early filing deadline for third parties imposed an undue burden on such parties, without justification by a compelling state interest for the ballot restrictions. My analysis was accepted by the federal district court (in which I was recognized as an expert on third parties) in a decision that was upheld by the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals.

3. Expert Witness for Reform Party Ballot Access in State of Arkansas, 1996 (Citizens to Establish a Reform Party in Arkansas v. Priest)

I analyzed the state of Arkansas system for third-party ballot access to demonstrate that the combination of an early filing deadline and relatively high signature requirements for third parties imposed an undue burden on such parties, without justification by a compelling state interest for the ballot restrictions. I also analyzed the burdens placed on third-parties by the disparity between third-party and independent signature requirements and by the lack of a cure provision for ballot signatures, which is available for initiative and referendum petitions. My analysis was accepted by the federal district court in which I was again recognized as an expert on third parties.

4. Books and articles dealing with third parties in the United States.

These include PREJUDICE AND THE OLD POLITICS: THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1928, THE THIRTEEN KEYS TO THE PRESIDENCY, THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 1996, "Critical Election Theory and the Reality of American Presidential Politics, 1916-1940," AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (April 1976), "Political Realignment and `Ethnocultural` Voting in Late Nineteenth Century America," JOURNAL OF SOCIAL HISTORY (March 1983), "'They Endured:' The Democratic Party

in the 1920s," in Ira Foreman, ed., DEMOCRATS AND THE AMERICAN IDEA: A BICENTENNIAL APPRAISAL (1992).

5. Media Citations and appearances.

These include quotations in newspaper articles dealing with third parties, analyses of the role of third parties in popular articles (e.g., "President Bill?" WASHINGTONIAN (Oct., 1992), an appearance as a third-party expert on C-SPAN's Washington Journal program on third parties (03/20/96), appearances on United States Information Agency's Worldnet television on the American party system, an appearance on National Public Radio Talk of the Nation as an expert on third parties, and a speech to foreign correspondents at the National Press Club on third parties.

Statistical Consultant to the George Washington University Program of Policy Studies in Science and Technology, 1983

I advised researchers at the Policy Studies Program on the application of pattern recognition techniques to their work on the recovery of communities from the effects of such natural disasters as earthquakes and floods.

Expert Witness-on Quantitative Analysis, Political Systems, Political History, and Voting Behavior for the Lawyers, Committee for Civil Rights Under Law 1983-

I have analyzed racial bloc voting, turnout, and registration; socioeconomic conditions; political systems; and methodological issues for voting rights cases involving the following jurisdictions: Petersburg, Virginia; Boston Massachusetts; Holyoke Massachusetts; Hinds County Mississippi; the state of Mississippi (voter registration); the state of Mississippi (judicial elections); Springfield, Illinois, Pittsburgh Pennsylvania; Anchorage, Alaska; Holyoke, Massachusetts; Crittenden County, Arkansas; Red Clay School District, Delaware; the state of Florida (judicial elections). I have also analyzed statistical information on promotion practices for probation officers within the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas.

I prepared written reports for each of the three of the Mississippi cases, the Pittsburgh case, the Red Clay School District case, the Philadelphia case, and the Florida judges case. I presented in-court testimony for the judicial and registration cases in Mississippi, two judicial cases in Florida, and for the cases involving Springfield, Illinois; Holyoke Massachusetts; Crittenden County, Arkansas; and Red Clay School District.

Expert Witness on Quantitative Analysis, Political Systems, Political History, and Voter Behavior for the United States Department of Justice 1983 -

I have analyzed racial bloc voting; turnout and registration; socioeconomic conditions; political systems; methodological issues for voting rights cases in the following jurisdictions: Greenwood, Mississippi; Halifax County, North Carolina; Valdosta, Georgia; Bessemer, Alabama; Marengo County, Alabama;

Dallas County, Alabama; Selma, Alabama; Cambridge, Maryland; Darlington County, South Carolina; Lee County, Mississippi; Passaic, New Jersey; Lawrence, Massachusetts; Santa Paula, California; the state of North Carolina (judicial elections); Augusta, Georgia; Wicomico County, Maryland; the state of Mississippi; Los Angeles, California; the state of Georgia (judicial elections, majority vote requirement, and Shaw v. Reno type challenge); the state of Florida (statewide legislative plans); the state of Texas (judicial elections, Edwards Aquifer governing plans); the city of Chicago (Shaw v. Reno type challenge to Hispanic congressional district).

I prepared written reports for the cases in Greenwood, Halifax County, Marengo County, Dallas County, Selma, Cambridge, Wicomico County, Los Angeles County, Lee County, Passaic, Lawrence, Santa Paula, Georgia, Florida, and Texas, and Chicago. I presented in-court testimony for the cases in Dallas, Marengo, Wicomico, and Los Angeles Counties, and the states of Florida, Georgia (judicial elections, Shaw v. Reno challenge), and Chicago.

Expert Witness on Quantitative Analysis, Political Systems, Demography, and Voter Behavior for State, Municipal and County Jurisdictions, 1986-

I have analyzed matters such as racial and party bloc voting, turnout and registration, annexations, racial demography, political systems, and methodological issues for various state, municipal and county jurisdictions: Claiborne County, Mississippi; Dade County, Florida; Grenada County, Mississippi; Spartansburg, South Carolina; Maywood School District, Illinois; Crete-Monee School District and Rockford School District, Illinois; the city of New York (Charter Revision Commission); the state of North Carolina (judges and redistricting); the state of Virginia; the state of Maryland; the state of Texas; the state of Connecticut; the state of Pennsylvania (non-partisan commission); the state of New York (Assembly); the state of New Jersey (non-partisan commission); the state of Louisiana; the State of Texas (Speaker of the House), the state of Illinois (Speaker of the House), the city of New York (Charter Revision Commission), and Indianapolis, Indiana.

I prepared written reports for Claiborne, Grenada, and Dade Counties, Crete-Monee School District, and the states of Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, New Jersey, North Carolina, New York, Texas, and Virginia. I presented oral testimony on behalf of Claiborne County, Crete-Monee School District, Dade County, the state of Texas, the state of New Jersey, the state of Illinois, the state of North Carolina, the state of Louisiana, and the state of Maryland. For the states of Louisiana, Texas, and North Carolina I have provided testimony related to issues posed in the Supreme Court case, Shaw v Reno.

Expert Witness on Quantitative Analysis, Political Systems, Political History, and Voter Behavior for Private Attorneys: 1986-

I analyzed matters such as racial bloc voting, turnout and registration,

political systems, political history, annexations, and methodological issues for private attorneys in voting rights cases taking place in Boyle, Mississippi; Cleveland, Mississippi; Mississippi statewide (on behalf of minority voters, legislative plan and Supreme Court Districts); City of Starke and Hardee County, Florida; Peoria Illinois; Chicago Heights, Illinois; Jefferson County, Alabama; Chickasaw, Lafayette, Monroe, Newton, Simpson, and Yalobusha counties, Mississippi; Columbus County, North Carolina; Kent County, Michigan; Florida statewide (on behalf of minority plaintiffs), Massachusetts statewide (on behalf of Republican party, legislative plan), Michigan statewide (on behalf of Democratic party, legislative and congressional plans), Pennsylvania statewide (Democratic congressional caucus) New Jersey statewide (on behalf of the Democratic party), Texas Statewide (on behalf of IMPAC 2000), and Virginia statewide (on behalf of the Democratic party). I have analyzed statistical results of employment decisions by employers for an employment discrimination case, analyzed the history of peremptory strikes of black and white jurors in Hinds County for a death penalty case, and ballot access by third parties in Jefferson County, Alabama. I have analyzed the influence of voting system technology on voting in Florida during the 2000 presidential election.

I prepared written reports for all cases except Peoria and Jefferson County and have presented oral testimony in the jury selection case; Starke County; Hardee County; Jefferson County; Chicago Heights, Monroe County; Chickasaw County; Lafayette County; Newton County, Columbus County; the statewide Michigan cases; the statewide Mississippi redistricting case; and the Florida voting systems case.

Expert Witness on Quantitative Analysis, Political Systems, Political History, and Voter Behavior for the ACLU. 1987 -

I analyzed racially polarized voting, the socioeconomic standing of racial groups, and black political opportunities for Henrico and Brunswick Counties, Virginia; and Southern Pines and Moore County, North Carolina. I prepared a written report for the Henrico case and the Southern Pines case. I presented in-court testimony for the Henrico, Brunswick, and Southern Pines cases.

Expert Witness on Quantitative Analysis, Political Systems, Political History, and Voter Behavior for the Southern Poverty Law Center. 1990 -

I analyzed racially polarized voting, the socioeconomic conditions, and black political opportunities for judicial circuits in Alabama. I prepared a written report and presented oral testimony.

Expert Witness for the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund, 1991 -

I analyzed the impact of the Census undercount on the state legislative plan in Texas, including oral testimony in state court. I analyzed racially polarized voting in the city of Chicago and its implications for aldermanic elections.

Expert Witness on Quantitative Analysis, Political Systems, Political History,
and Voter Behavior for the NAACP, 1993-

I prepared a written report and presented in-court testimony for the NAACP's
challenge to the State House and Senate plan in Michigan.

Expert Witness on voter purging for the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and
Education Fund 1991 -

I prepared a written report and presented in-court testimony for PRLDEF's
challenge to voter purging in Philadelphia.