STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE GENERAL COURT OF JUSTICE

COUNTY OF WAKE

SUPERIOR COURT DIVISION 11 CVS 16896 11 CVS 16940

MARGARET DICKSON, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

٧.

ROBERT RUCHO, in his official capacity only as the Chairman of the North Carolina Senate Redistricting Committee, et al.,

Defendants.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CONFERENCE OF BRANCHES OF THE NAACP $\it et al.,$

Plaintiffs,

v,

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA et al.,

Defendants.

Consolidated Cases

AFFIDAVIT OF ALLAN J. LICHTMAN, Ph.D.

- I, Allan J. Lichtman, being first duly sworn, depose and say:
- 1. I am over 18 years of age, legally competent to give this affidavit and have personal knowledge of the facts set forth in this affidavit.
- 2. I am a Distinguished Professor of History at American University in Washington, DC and formerly Associate Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and Chair of the Department of

History, I received my BA in History from Brandeis University in 1967 and my Ph.D. in History from Harvard University in 1973, with a specialty in the mathematical analysis of historical data. My areas of expertise include political history, electoral analysis, and historical and quantitative methodology. 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, International Journal of Forecasting, and Social Science History. In addition, I have coauthored Ecological Inference with Dr. Laura Langbein, a standard text on the analysis of social science data, including political information. I have published articles on the application of social science analysis to civil rights issues. This work includes articles in such journals as Journal of Law and Politics, La Raza Law Journal, Evaluation Review, Journal of Legal Studies, and National Law Journal. My scholarship also includes the use of quantitative and qualitative techniques to conduct contemporary and historical studies, published in such academic journals as The Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, The American Historical Review, Forecast, and The Journal of Social History, Quantitative and historical analyses also ground my books, <u>Prejudice and the Old</u> Politics: The Presidential Election of 1928, The Thirteen Keys to the Presidency (co-authored with Ken DeCell), The Keys to the White House, and White Protestant Nation: The Rise of the American Conservative Movement. My most recent book, White Protestant Nation, was one of five finalists for the National Book Critics Circle Award for the best general nonfiction book published in America.

3. I have worked as a consultant or expert witness for both plaintiffs and defendants in some eighty voting and civil rights cases. These include several cases in the state of North Carolina. In late 2011, I was the expert witness in Illinois for the prevailing state parties in

separate litigation challenging both the adopted state plan for the State House and for Congress. My work includes more than a dozen cases for the United States Department of Justice and cases for many civil rights organizations. I have also worked as a consultant or expert witness in defending enacted plans from voting rights challenges. A copy of my resume and a table of cases are attached as Appendix I of this report.

- 4. I have been asked to consider the African-American voting age population needed for State House, State Senate, and Congressional Districts in North Carolina that provide African Americans the ability to elect candidates of their choice. In particular I have been asked to consider whether it is necessary to create such districts that are 50 percent or more African American in their voting age population.
- 5. My expected fee in this matter is \$400 per hour. I have enclosed an updated CV and a table of cases in which I have provided written or oral testimony.

Data and Methods

6. The voting analysis in this report relies on standard data utilized in social science: precinct by precinct election returns for each candidate in election studied, with candidates identified by race and precinct by precinct breakdowns of voting age African Americans and whites, which includes a small number of Asians and members of other races. The election and demographic data and the racial identification of candidates were obtained from the NC State Board of Elections via counsel. To estimate the voting of African Americans and whites, the analysis utilizes the standard methodology of ecological regression that I have employed in some

¹ The State House litigation in Illinois was Radogno v. Illinois State Bd. of Elections, 2011 WL 5025251, *8 (N.D. Ill. Oct. 21, 2011) and the Congressional litigation was Committee For A Fair and Balanced Map, et al., v. Illinois State Board of Elections 2011 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 144302, (N. D. Ill. December 15, 2011).

80 previous cases and applied to the analysis of many thousands of elections and the study of numerous redistricting plans. The ecological regression procedure estimates the voting behavior of demographic groups such as African Americans and whites by comparing the racial composition of voting precincts to the division of the vote among competing candidates in each precinct. It produces an equation that estimates both the turnout and voting for each candidate by each voter group. The procedure was accepted by the Supreme Court in *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 (1986), and applied by the Court to single-member districts plans in *Quilter v. Voinovich*, 113 S. Ct 1149 (1993). My analysis based on these methods was cited authoritatively several times by the United States Supreme Court in the Congressional redistricting case, *League of United Latin Am. Citizens (LULAC) v. Perry*, 548 U.S. 399 (2006).²

7. This report also follows standard practice in the field by using the results of past elections and voting patterns by minority and white voters to assess prospects for minority voters in newly crafted districts. This method is utilized on a standard basis when there is population growth and shifts in population that require the redrawing of districts in which the electorate will not be precisely the same as in previous districts. In this case, moreover, the analysis is highly reliable in that it covers a large number of districts that will include most of the electorate included in newly drawn districts. The electoral analysis is also specific to State House, State Senate, and Congressional elections.

Results of Analysis

² For a scholarly analysis of ecological regression and why it works well in the context of analyzing the voting of racial groups, see, Allan J. Lichtman, "Passing the Test: Ecological Regression in the Garza Case and Beyond," Evaluation Review 15 (1991). Bernard Grofman, the expert witness in the Gingles case, and myself were co-coriginators of the specific statistical methodology used here, see, Bernard Grofman, Lisa Handley, Richard G. Niemi, Minority Representation and the Quest for Voting Equality (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 102, 146.

- 8. The results of analysis apply to the two most recent elections years of 2008 and 2010 and cover all existing State House, State Senate, and Congressional Districts that are 40 percent or more African-American in their voting age populations, either as created under the 2000 Census or as currently constituted under the 2010 Census. The study examined Democratic primary elections, given that African Americans are overwhelmingly Democratic in North Carolina and general elections.
- 9. With respect first to State House Districts, the results of analysis demonstrate that of twenty-one 40%+ black voting age population districts studied, African-American candidates prevailed in all elections in 18 districts and a white candidate of choice of African-American voters prevailed in one election in another district (HD 27). There were only two exceptions to this near universal pattern. In House District 8 a white candidate who was not the primary election candidate of choice of African-American voters was elected in 2008 and 2010. However, House District 8 is a 50%+ black voting age population district and the white candidate won with more than 60 percent of the vote. The white candidate would have won even if this district were 60 percent black in voting age population. The only other 40%+ black voting age population State House district in which a white candidate who was not the candidate of choice of African-American voters prevailed was in House District 102. In one election, the 2010 Democratic primary contest, the white incumbent Becky Carney, who was not the candidate of choice of African-American voters prevailed. This was also a very low turnout election in which less than 5 percent of whites or blacks of voting age participated. Thus, in 40%+ black voting age population State House Districts relevant to this litigation, black candidates or a white candidate of choice of black voters prevailed in all elections in 19 out of 21 districts, for a win rate of 90 percent.

- 10. With respect to State Senate Districts, the results of analyzing 40%+ black voting age population districts demonstrate that of eight districts studied, African-American candidates prevailed in all elections in six districts and a white candidate of choice of African-American voters prevailed in all elections in another district. The lone exception to this pattern is Senate District 3 in which a white candidate who was not the candidate of choice of African-American voters was elected in 2008 and 2010. Thus, in 40%+ black voting age population districts relevant to this litigation, African-American candidates or the candidates of choice of African-American voters prevailed in all elections in 7 of 8 districts, for a win rate of 88 percent.
 - 11. With respect to Congressional Districts, the results of analysis demonstrate that of two districts studied, African-American candidates prevailed in all elections in both districts.

 Thus, in 40%+ congressional districts, candidates or the candidates of choice of African-American voters prevailed in all elections in 2 of 2 districts, for a win rate of 100 percent.
 - 12. The results of combining the analysis of elections for State House, State Senate, and Congress in relevant parts of the state demonstrate that either African-American candidates or candidates of choice of African-American voters prevailed in all elections in 28 of 31 40%+ black voting age population districts studied for a win rate of 90 percent. Thus, it is not necessary in North Carolina to create effective African-American opportunity districts with African-American voting age populations of 50 percent or more. The result of creating such districts is to waste African-American votes that could expand the ability of African Americans to influence the political process in other districts.
 - 13. Tables 4 to 5, show the results of creating 50%+ African-American districts for State House and State Senate districts. As compared to the benchmark existing plan, the state-passed

proposed plan for State House needlessly packs African Americans into Districts greater than 50 percent black in their voting age population. The result is to diminish substantially the influence of African-American voters in other House districts. As indicated in Table 4, the existing benchmark State House plan has 32 districts that are 30% or more black in their voting age population, compared to 26 in the state-passed proposed State House plan. As indicated in Table 5, the existing benchmark State Senate plan has 15 districts that are 30% or more black in their voting age population, compared to 10 in the state-passed proposed State Senate plan.

14. In sum, Analysis of recent elections in North Carolina demonstrates that it is not necessary to create African-American opportunity districts with African-American voting age populations greater than 50 percent. Rather the result of creating such districts is to unnecessarily pack African Americans in districts with the result that in other districts the influence of African Americans in North Carolina elections is diminished. These opinions are consistent with the findings of Dr. Theodore Arrington who wrote the following in his affidavit:

These statistics indicate that a primary purpose of precinct splitting was to segregate the races into separate districts. Black voters were placed in packed districts with far higher concentrations than are necessary to give them a reasonable opportunity to elect representatives of their choice or their ability to elect such representatives. I know that these concentrations are excessive based on my extensive study of voting in North Carolina including work on Section 5 preclearance for the Department of Justice and various voting rights cases beginning with my work on the Gingles case.³

³ Affidavit of Theodore S. Arrington, p. 11-12.

Electoral Analysis of Current State House Districts With 40%+ Black Voting Age Population *

)	% Black VAP 2000 Census	% Black VAP 2010 Census	Result: 2008 Democratic Primary BLACK	Result: 2008 General Election BLACK	Democratic Primary NONE: BLACK	Result: 2010 General Election BLACK
HD 5:	49.0%	48.9%		BLACK	NONE: BLACK	BLACK
	56.0%	60,8%	BLACK	WHITE:	WHITE: NOT	WHITE:
HD 8	50.4%	50.2%	WHITE: NOT	CHOICE	CHOICE	CHOICE
1100			CHOICE	BLACK	NONE: BLACK	BLACK
HD 12	47.5%	46.5%	NONE: BLACK	BLACK	NONE: BLACK	BLACK
HD 21	48.4%	46.3%	NONE: BLACK	BLACK	NONE: BLACK	BLACK
HD 24	54.8%	56.1%	NONE: BLACK	NONE: WHITE	NONE: WHITE	NONE: WHITE
HD	52.9%	54.0%	NONE: WHITE	NOINE, WITTE		BLACK
27**		40.0%	NONE: BLACK	BLACK	NONE: BLACK	BLACK
HD 29	44.7%		NONE: BLACK	BLACK	NONE: BLACK	BLACK
HD 31	44.7%	47.2%	NONE: BLACK	BLACK	BLACK	
HD 33	50.0%	51.7%	NONE: BLACK	BLACK	NONE: BLACK	BLACK
HD 42	45.1%	47.9%	BLACK	BLACK	BLACK	BLACK
HD 43	48.7%	54.7%	NONE: BLACK	BLACK	NONE; BLACK	BLACK
HD 48	45.5%	45.6%	NONE: BLACK		BLACK	BLACK
HD 58	53.4%	53.4%	NONE: BLACK		BLACK	BLACK
HD 60	50.6%	54.4%	NONE: BLACK		NONE: BLACK	BLACK
HD 71	51.6%	51.1%	NONE: BLACK		BLACK	BLACK
HD 72	43.4%	45.4%	BLACK	BLACK	BLACK	BLACK
HD 99	28.3%	41.3%	NONE: BLACK		BLACK	BLACK
HD 101	50.6%	55.7%	NONE: WHITE		WHITE: NOT	WHITE:
HD 102		42.7%	MOIAE: AALULA	CHOICE	CHOICE	CHOICE
HD 107		47.1%	BLACK	BLACK	NONE: BLACK	BLACK

^{*} Analysis of contested elections conducted through ecological regression analysis of precinct-level data.

^{**} White candidate Michael Wray was elected without primary or general election opposition in HD 27 In 2008 and 2010. In 2006, he was the candidate of choice of black voters in a primary election victory against black opponents.

Table 2
Electoral Analysis of Current State Senate Districts With 40%+ Black Voting Age
Population *

Result: 2010 General Election WHITE: CHOICE	Result: 2010 Democratic Primary WHITE: NOT	Result: 2008 General Election WHITE:	Result: 2008 Democratic Primary	% Black VAP 2010 Census	% Black VAP 2000 Census	District
BLACK	CHOICE BLACK	CHOICE	WHITE: NOT CHOICE	46.9%	47.0%	SD 3:
BLACK	NONE:	BLACK	NONE: BLACK	49.7%	49.1%	SD 4
BLACK	BLACK NONE:	BLACK	BLACK	42.6%	41.0%	SD 14
BLACK	BLACK	BLACK	BLACK	44.6%	44.6%	SD 20
BLACK	BLACK BLACK	BLACK BLACK	BLACK	44.9%	41.0%	SD 21
WHITE: CHOIC	WHITE: CHOICE	WHITE:	BLACK NONE:	47.2%	44.2%	SD 28
BLACK	NONE:	CHOICE BLACK	WHITE NONE:		41.4%	SD 32
	BLACK		BLACK	47.0%	47.7%	SD 38

^{*} Analysis of contested elections conducted through ecological regression analysis of precinct-level data.

Table 3

Electoral Analysis of Current Congressional Districts With 40%+ Black Voting Age
Population *

District	% Black VAP 2000 Census	% Black VAP 2010 Census	Result: 2008 Democratic Primary	Result: 2008 General Election	Result: 2010 Democratic Primary	Result: 2010 General Election
		48.6%	NONE: BLACK	BLACK	BLACK	BLACK
CD 1:	48.1%	43.8%	NONE: BLACK		NONE: BLACK	DEACK

^{*} Analysis of contested elections conducted through ecological regression analysis of precinct-level data.

Table 4

Comparison of State House Districts 30%+ Black Voting Age Population, Existing Districts and State Proposed Districts

Count	Existing District	% Black VAP 2010 Census	State Proposed District	% Black VAP 2010 Census
	<u> </u>		24	57.33%
1	7	60.77%	99	54.65%
2	24	56.07%	5	54.17%
3	101	55.73%	27	53.71%
4	43	54.69%	102	53.53%
5	60	54.36%	42	52.56%
6	27	53.95%	107	52.52%
7	58	53.43%	21	51.90%
8	33	51.74%	23	51.83%
9	71	51.09%	31	51.81%
10	8	50.23%	43	51.45%
11	5	48.87%	33	51.42%
12	42	47.94%	38	51.37%
13	31	47.23%	60	51.36%
14	107	47.14%	29	51.34%
15	12	46.45%	101	51.31%
16	21	46.25%	48	51.27%
17	48	45.56%	106	51.12%
18	72	45.40%	58	51.11%
19	102	42.74%	57	50.69%
20	99	41.26%	7	50.67%
21	29	39.99%	12	50,60%
22	100	37.39%	32	50.45%
23	23	36.90%	71	45.49%
24	32	35.88%	72	45.02%
25	39	34.91%	100	32.01%
26	55	32.98%	100	
27	44	32.57%		
28	69	31.74%		
29	63	30.66%		
30	45	30.40%		
31	25	30.30%		
32	59	30.15%		

Table 5
Comparison of State Senate Districts 30%+ Black Voting Age Population, Existing
Districts and State Proposed Districts

Count	Existing District	% Black VAP 2010 Census	State Proposed District	% Black VAP 2010 Census
			28	56.49%
1	4	49.70%	4	52.75%
2	28	47.20%	38	52.51%
3	38	46.97%	3	52.43%
4	3	46.93%	5	51.97%
5	21	44.93%	40	51.84%
6	20	44.64%	21	51.53%
7	14	42.62%	14	51.28%
8	32	42.52%		51.04%
9	7	37.36%	20	42.53%
10	11	37.27%	32	
11	40	35.43%		
12	27	31.11%		
13	10	31.09%		
14	5	30.99%		
15	37	30.18%		

allaf. Licht Allan J. Cichtran	
[name of AFFIANT]	
STATE OF <u>District of Columbia</u> COUNTY OF	Uistrict of Collumbras: 00 Subscribed and sworn to before me, this Deavoid and Sworn
I, Lindsay R Michael, a Notary P certify that Allan J Lichtman foregoing affidavit, personally appeared before r deposes and says that the facts set forth in the ab	personally known to me to be the arriant in the
Witness my hand and official seal this the	Bhelle Notary Public
LINDSAY B. NOTARY PUBLIC DISTR My Commission Expli	ICT OF COLUMBIA

CV and Table of Cases

Curriculum Vitae

Allan J. Lichtman 9219 Villa Dr. Bethesda, MD 20817

(301) 530-8262 h (202) 885-2411 o

Jan. 2012

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, 1977-1978

Professor of History, American University, 1979 -

Distinguished Professor of History, American University, 2011 -

Expert witness in more than 75 redistricting, voting rights and civil rights cases (see Table of Cases attached)

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

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

Regular political analyst for CNN Headline News, 2003-2006

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

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

McDonnell Foundation, Prediction of Complex Systems (\$50,000, three years), 2003-2005

Organization of American Historians, Distinguished Lecturer, 2004 -

Selected by the Teaching Company as one of America's Super Star Teachers."

Associate Editor, International Journal of Operations Research and Information Systems, 2008 -

Keynote Speaker, International Forecasting Summit, 2007 and 2008

Cited authoritatively by United States Supreme Court in statewide Texas Congressional redistricting case LULAC v. Perry (2006)

Finalist for the 2008 National Book Critics Circle Award in general nonfiction for WHITE PROTESTANT NATION: THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT, Interviews nominated by the Associated Press for the Edward R. Murrow Award for broadcasting excellence.

Elected Member, PEN American Center, 2009

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 (Lanham, MD: 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 Valeric French)

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

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, Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Press, 1979, , with Joan Challinor)

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)

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, POST-2004 EDITION (Lanham: Lexington Books Edition, 2005)

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 2008 EDITION (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008)

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 2012 EDITION (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012)

WHITE PROTESTANT NATION: THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT (New York: Grove/Atlantic Press, 2008)

FDR AND THE JEWS, Accepted for publication, Harvard University Press, with Richard Breitman.

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 2012 EDITION (Forthcoming, in press, Lanham:

Rowman & Littlefield)

Monograph:

"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

B. Scholarly Articles

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

"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) REF

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

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

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

"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) REF

"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) REF

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

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

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

"Geography as Destiny," REVIEWS IN AMERICAN HISTORY (September 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) REF

"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) REF

"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) REF

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). REF

"Adjusting Census Data for Reapportionment: The Independent Role of the States," JOURNAL OF LITIGATION (December 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)

"The Keys to the White House 2000," NATIONAL FORUM (Winter 2000)

"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

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

"The Keys to Election 2004," SOCIAL EDUCATION (January 2004)

"History: Social Science Applications," ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL MEASUREMENT (Elseveir, 2006)

"The Keys to the White House: Forecast for 2008," SPECIAL FEATURE, FORESIGHT: THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF APPLIED FORECASTING 3 (February 2006), 5-9 with response: J. Scott Armstrong and Alfred G. Cuzan, "Index Methods for Forecasting: An Application to the American Presidential Elections."

"The Keys to the White House: Updated Forecast for 2008," FORESIGHT; THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF APPLIED FORECASTING 7 (Fall 2007)

"The Keys to the White House: Prediction for 2008," SOCIAL EDUCATION (January 2008)

"The Keys to the White House: An Index Forecast for 2008," INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF FORECASTING 4 (April-June 2008) REF

"The Updated Version of the Keys," SOCIAL EDUCATION (October 2008)

"Extreme Events in Socio-Economic and Political Complex Systems, Predictability of," ENCYCLOPEDIA OF COMPLEXITY AND SYSTEMS SCIENCE (Springer, 2009, with

Vladimir Keilis-Borok & Alexandre Soloviev)

"The Keys to the White House: A Preliminary Forecast for 2012" INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF INFORMATION SYSTEMS & SOCIAL CHANGE (Jan.-March 2010) REF

"The Keys to the White House: Forecast for 2012," FORESIGHT: THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF APPLIED FORECASTING (Summer 2010)

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

"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) REF

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

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

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

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

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

"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. Selected Popular Articles

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

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

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

"Which Party Really Wants to 'Get Government Off Our Backs'?" CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Opinion Page (December 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 (February 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 (February 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, (December 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 (December 7, 1994)

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

"A Ballot on Democracy," WASHINGTON POST Op Ed (November 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)

"Why is George Bush President?" NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER (Dec. 19, 2003)

"In Plain Sight: With the Public Distracted, George W. Bush is Building a Big Government of the Right," NEWSDAY, (August 7, 2005)

"Why Obama is Colorblind and McCain is Ageless," JEWISH DAILY FORWARD (June 26,

2008)

"Splintered Conservatives McCain," POLITICO (June 24, 2008)

"Will Obama be a Smith or a Kennedy," NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPOTER (October 17,

2008)

"What Obama Should Do Now," POLITICO (Jan. 22, 2010)

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

Election-year column, REUTERS NEWS SERVICE 1996 & 2000

D. Video Publication

"Great American Presidents," The Teaching Company, 2000.

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), Historians and the Living Past for Honors Students, 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, What Is America?, Honors Seminar on FDR, Jews, and the Holocaust.

TELEVISION APPEARANCES

More than 1,000 instances of political commentary on NBC, CBS, ABC, CNN, C-SPAN, FOX,

MSNBC, BBC, CBC, CTV, NPR, VOA, and numerous other broadcasting outlets internationally, including Japanese, Russian, Chinese, German, French, Irish, Austrian, Australian, Russian, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, and Middle Eastern television.

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.

Regular political commentary for CNN, Headline News

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

CBS New Consultant, 1998 and 1999

Featured appearances on several History Channel specials including *The Nuclear Football* and *The President's Book of Secrets*.

RADIO SHOWS

I have participated in more than 2000 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 many hundreds of times on public affairs in the leading newspapers and magazines worldwide. 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, Time, Newsweek, Business Week, Le Monde, Globe and Mail, Yomuiri Shimbun, Die Welt, El Mundo, and South China Post, among others.

SELECTED CONFERENCES, PRESENTATIONS, & LECTURES: UNITED STATES

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

"Critical Election Theory and the Presidential Election of 1928," Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, December 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, October 1975

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

Chair, The Smithsonian Institution and the American University Conference on Techniques for Studying Historical and Contemporary Families, June 1976

Panel Chair, 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, October 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, November 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, November 1979

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

"Crisis at the Archives: The Acquisition, Preservation, and Dissemination of Public Documents," Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, November 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, November 1981

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

"Critical Elections in Historical Perspective: the 1890s and the 1930s," Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, November 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, November 1983

Local Arrangements Chair, Annual Convention of the Social Science History Association, October 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 October 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 Chair, "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 Chair, 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

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, Predicting The Next Presidential Election, Freedom's Foundation Seminar on the American Presidency, August 1996

Feature Presentation, Predicting 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

Testimony Presented Before the Texas State Senate Redistricting Committee, Congressional Redistricting, July 2003

Testimony Presented Before the Texas State House Redistricting Committee, Congressional Redistricting, July 2003

American University Honors Program Tea Talk on the Election, September 2004

Feature Presentation, The Keys to the White House, International Symposium on Forecasting, June 2006.

Feature Presentation, The Keys to the White House, International Symposium on Forecasting, New York, June 2007.

Keynote Speaker, Hubert Humphrey Fellows, Arlington, Virginia, 2007-2008

Feature Presentation, Forecasting 2008, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 2007

Keynote Speaker, International Forecasting Summit, Orlando, Florida, February 2008.

Feature Presentation on the Keys to the White House, Senior Executive's Service, Washington, DC, June 2008

Feature Presentation, American Political History, Rockford Illinois School District, July 2008

American University Honors Program Tea Talk on the Election, September 2008

Featured Lecture, Keys to the White House, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, DC, September 2008

Keynote Speaker, International Forecasting Summit, Boston, September 2008

Keynote Lecture, Hubert Humphrey Fellows, Arlington, Virginia October 2008

Featured Lectures, Keys to the White, Oklahoma Central and East Central Universities, October 2008

Bishop C. C. McCabe Lecture, "Seven Days until Tomorrow" American University, October 28, 2008

Featured Lecture, WHITE PROTESTANT NATION, Eisenhower Institute, December 2008

American University Faculty on the Road Lecture, "Election 2008: What Happened and Why?" Boston, February 2009

Critic Meets Author Session on WHITE PROTESTANT NATION, Social Science History Association, November 2009

American University Faculty on the Road Lecture, "The Keys for 2012" Chicago, April 2010

Keynote Speaker, Hubert Humphrey Fellows, Arlington, Virginia October, 2010

Panel Participant, Search for Common Ground, Washington, DC, April 2011

SELECTED CONFERENCES, PRESENTATIONS, & LECTURES: INTERNATIONAL

Featured Speaker, World Conference on Disarmament, Moscow, Russia, November 1986

Delegation Head, Delegation of Washington Area Scholars to Taiwan, Presented Paper on the

promotion of democracy based on the American experience, July 1993

Lecture Series, American History, Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan, December 2000

Lectures and Political Consultation, Nairobi, Kenya, for RFK Memorial Institute, October 2002

Featured Lectures, US Department of State, Scotland and England, including Oxford University, University of Edinburg, and Chatham House, June 2004

Keynote Speech, American University in Cairo, October 2004

Feature Presentation on the Keys to the White House, University of Munich, June 2008

Featured Lectures, US Department of State, Russia, Ukraine, Slovenia, Austria, and Romania, 2008-2010

Paper Presentation, Fourth International Conference on Interdisciplinary Social Science, Athens, Greece, July 2009

DEPARTMENTAL AND UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Department of History Council 1973 -

Undergraduate Committee, Department of History 1973-1977

Chair Undergraduate Committee, Department of History 1984-1985

Graduate Committee, Department of History, 1978-1984

Freshman Advisor, 1973-1979

First Year Module in Human Communications, 1977-1979

University Committee on Fellowships and Awards 1976-1978

University Senate 1978-1979, 1984-1985

University Senate Parliamentarian and Executive Board 1978-1979

Founding Director, American University Honors Program, 1977-1979

Chair, College of Arts and Sciences Budget Committee 1977-1978, 1982-1984

University Grievance Committee, 1984-1985

Member, University Honors Committee 1981-1982

College of Arts and Sciences Curriculum Committee 1981-1982

Jewish Studies Advisory Board, 1982-1984

Mellon Grant Executive Board, College of Arts & Sciences, 1982-1983

Chair, College of Arts and Sciences Faculty Colloquium, 1983

Chair, College of Arts and Sciences Task Force on the Department of Performing Arts, 1984-1985

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

Chair, Rank & Tenure Committee of the Department of History, 1981-1982, 1984-1985

Board Member, Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, The American University, 1988-1989

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

Chair, Distinguished Professor Search Committee 1991

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

Board Member, The American University Press, 1991-1995

Chair, Subcommittee on Demographic Change, The American University Committee on Middle States Accreditation Review 1992-1994

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, 1994-1995

Vice-Chair, College of Arts & Sciences Educational Policy Committee, 1994-1995

Elected Member, University Provost Search Committee, 1995-1996

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

Department Chair, 1999-2001

CAS Research Committee, 2006-2007

University Budget and Benefits Committee, 2008

Chair, Personnel Committee, Department of History, 2010-

Chair, Term Faculty Search Committee, Department of History, 2011-

OTHER POSITIONS

Director of Forensics, Brandeis University, 1968-71

Director of Forensics, Harvard University, 1971-72

Chair, 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 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."

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.

Consultant to the New York City Charter Revision Commission, 2000-2006

I analyzed the implications of non-partisan elections for voting rights issues for the Charter Revision Commissions appointed by mayors Rudy Giuliani and Michael Bloomberg.

ALLAN J. LICHTMAN, CASES (DATES APPROXIMATE) DEPOSITION, AFFIDAVIT, OR ORAL TESTIMONY

Committee for a Fair and Balanced Map v. Illinois State Bd. (U. S. District Court, Illinois) 2011

Radogno v. Illinois State Bd. of Elections (U. S. District Court, Illinois) 2011

Perez, et al. v. Perry, et al. (U. S. District Court, Texas) 2011

United States vs. Demario James Atwater (U. S. District Court, North Carolina) 2010

Boddie v. Cleveland School Board, Mississippi (U.S. District Court, Mississippi) 2010

Esther V. Madera Unified School District (Superior Court, California) 2008

Negron v. Bethlehem Area School District (U.S. District Court, Pennsylvania) 2008

Farley v. City of Hattiesburg (U.S. District Court, Mississippi) 2008

Jamison v. City of Tupelo (U.S. District Court, Mississippi) 2005

Session v. Perry (U.S. District Court, Texas) 2003

Rodriguez v. Pataki (U.S. District Court, New York) 2003

Boddie v. Cleveland, Mississippi (U.S. District Court, Mississippi) 2003

Levy v. Miami-Dade County (U.S. District Court, Florida) 2002

Martinez v. Bush (U.S. District Court, Florida) 2002

Curry v. Glendening (Maryland, State Court) 2002

O'Lear v. Miller (U.S. District Court, Michigan) 2002

Campuzano v. Illinois Board of Election (U.S. District Court, Illinois) 2002

Vieth v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (U.S. District Court, Pennsylvania) 2002

Leroux v. Miller (Michigan, State Supreme Court) 2002

Balderas v. State of Texas (U.S. District Court, Texas) 2001

Del Rio v. Perry (Texas, State Court) 2001

Page V. Bartels (U.S. District Court, New Jersey) 2001

West v. Gilmore (Virginia, State Court), 2001

U.S. v. City of Santa Paula (California, U.S. District Court) 2001

NAACP v. Fordice (Mississippi, U.S. District Court) 2000

Voting Integrity Project v. Marc Fleisher (Arizona, U.S. District Court) 2000

Packingham v. Metropolitan Dade County (U.S. District Court, Florida) 1999

Houston v. Lafayette County (U.S. District Court, Northern District of Mississippi, Western District) 1991, 1998

<u>Citizens to Establish a Reform Party in Arkansas v. Sharon Priest</u> (U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Arkansas) 1996

National Coalition v. Glendening (U.S. District Court, Maryland) 1996

Vecinos de Barrio Uno v. Holyoke (U.S. District Court, Massachusetts), 1996

Scott v. Florida Senate (U.S. District Court, Middle District of Florida) 1995

King v. Board of Elections (U.S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois) 1995

Vera v. Richards (U.S. District Court, Southern District of Texas) 1994

United States v. Jones (U.S. District Court, Southern District of Alabama) 1994

Johnson v. Miller (U.S. District Court, Southern District of Georgia, Augusta Division) 1994

Hays v. Louisiana (U.S. District Court, Western District of Louisiana, Shreveport Division) 1993

<u>People Who Care v. Rockford Board of Education</u> (U.S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division) 1993

Republican Party of North Carolina v. Hunt (U.S. District Court, Eastern District of North Carolina, Raleigh District) 1993

Shaw v. Hunt (U.S. District Court, Eastern District of North Carolina, Raleigh District) 1993

Neff v. Austin (State of Michigan, Supreme Court) 1992

Terrazas v. Slagle (U.S. District Court, Western District of Texas, Austin Division) 1992

Gonzalez v. Monterey County (U.S. District Court, Northern District of California) 1992

<u>DeGrandy v. Wetherell</u> (U.S. District Court, Northern District of Florida, Tallahassee Division) 1992

NAACP v. Austin (U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Michigan, Eastern Division) 1992

Good v. Austin (U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Michigan, Southern Division) 1992

Ortiz v. City of Philadelphia (U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Pennsylvania) 1991-1993

FAIR v. Weprin (U.S. District Court, Northern District, of New York) 1992

Davis v. Chiles (U.S. District Court, Northern District of Florida) 1991

McDaniels v. Mehfoud (U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Virginia) 1991

Rollins v. Dallas County Commission (U.S. District Court, Southern District of Alabama) 1991-1992

Ward v. Columbus County (U.S. District Court, Eastern District of North Carolina) 1991

Republican Party State Committee v. Michael J. Connolly (U.S. District Court, Massachusetts)

Jenkins v. Red Clay Consolidated School District (U.S. District Court, District of Delaware)

Watkins v. Mabus (U.S. District Court, Southern District of Mississippi) 1991

Mena v. Richards (Hidalgo County Texas District Court) 1991

Republican Party of Virginia v. Wilder (U.S. District Court, Western District of Virginia) 1991

Nipper v. Chiles (U.S. District Court, Middle District of Florida) 1991-1994

Smith v. Board of Superivsors of Brunswick County (U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Virginia) 1991-1992

New Alliance Party v. Hand (U.S. District Court, Alabama) 1990

Concerned Citizens v. Hardee County (U.S. District Court, Florida) 1990

United Parents Association v. NYC Board of Elections (U.S. District Court, New York) 1990

Garza v. County of Los Angeles (U.S. District Court, California) 1990

<u>Person v. Moore County</u> (U.S. District Court, Middle District of North Carolina, Rockingham Division) 1989

Ewing v. Monroe County (U.S. District Court, Northern District of Mississippi) 1989

White v. Daniel (U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Virginia) 1989

Gunn v. Chickasaw County (U.S. District Court, Mississippi) 1989

SCLC v. State of Alabama (U.S. District Court, Middle District of Alabama, Northern Division) 1989-1995

Bradford County NAACP v. City of Starke (U.S. District Court, Middle District of Florida) 1988

PUSH v. Allain (U.S. District Court, Mississippi) 1988

Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc. v. C.F. Sauers (U.S. District Court, Maryland) 1988

United States v. Wicomico County (U.S. District Court, Maryland) 1988

Metropolitan Pittsburgh Crusade v. City of Pittsburgh (U.S. District Court, Western District of Pennsylvania) 1987

McNeil v. City of Springfield (U.S. District Court, Central District of Illinois) 1987

Harper v. City of Chicago Heights (U.S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois) 1987-1993

Robinson v. City of Cleveland (U.S. District Court, Delta District of Mississippi) 1987

Martin v. Allain (U.S. District Court, Southern District of Mississippi) 1987

Smith v. Clinton (U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Arkansas) 1987

Burrell v. Allain (U.S. District Court, Southern District, of Mississippi) 1986

United States v. Dallas County (U.S. District Court, Southern District of Alabama) 1986

United States v. Marengo County (U.S. District Court, Southern District of Alabama) 1986

Jordan v. City of Greenwood (U.S. District Court, Mississippi) 1984

<u>Johnson v. Halifax County</u> (U.S. District Court, Eastern District of North Carolina) 1984 <u>Anderson v. Celebreeze</u> (U.S. District Court, Ohio) 1980