

# CURRICULUM VITAE

## J. MORGAN KOUSSER

### GENERAL INFORMATION

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Place of Birth: Lewisburg, Tennessee

### EDUCATION AND HONORS

Ph.D., Yale University, 1971, History  
M.Phil., Yale University, 1968, History  
M.A., Oxford University, 1984 (honorary)  
A.B., Princeton University, 1965 (*summa cum laude*, Phi Beta Kappa), History  
Woodrow Wilson Fellow, 1965-66

### EMPLOYMENT

#### California Institute of Technology

Professor of History and Social Science, 1980-  
Professor of History, 1979-80  
Associate Professor of History, 1974-79  
Assistant Professor of History, 1971-74  
Instructor in History, 1969-71

#### Visiting and Adjunct Appointments:

University of Michigan  
Visiting Instructor, summer, 1980  
Harvard University  
Visiting Professor, fall, 1981  
Oxford University  
Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth Professor of American History, 1984-85  
Claremont Graduate School  
Adjunct Professor of History, 1993

## PUBLICATIONS

### Books

*Colorblind Injustice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction* (University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

*Dead End: The Development of Litigation on Racial Discrimination in Schools in 19<sup>th</sup> Century America* (Fair Lawn, N.J.: Oxford University Press, 1986).

*Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), co-edited with James M. McPherson.

*The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910* (Yale University Press, 1974; Paperback, 1976).

### Articles

“Do the Facts of Voting Rights Support Chief Justice Roberts’s Opinion in *Shelby County*?” *Trans-Atlantica* (forthcoming 2015), available at [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2592829](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2592829).

“*Strange Career* and the Need for a Second Reconstruction of the History of Race Relations,” in Raymond Arsenault and Vernon Burton, eds., *Dixie Redux: Essays in Honor of Sheldon Hackney* (New South Books, 2013), 423-53.

“Why Were You Editor for 12 Years?,” *Historical Methods*, 46 (2013), 1-4.

“The Strange, Ironic Career of Section Five of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-2007” *Texas Law Review*, 86 (2008), 667-775 and “Prof. Kousser Responds to Prof. Bickerstaff’s Comments,” *Texas Law Review*, 86 (2008), in *See Also: An Online Companion to the Texas Law Review*, at <http://www.texasrev.com/seealso/volume-86/issue-4/prof.-kousser-responds-to-prof.-bickerstaffs-comments.html>.

“Has California Gone Colorblind?,” in Frederick Douzet, Thad Kousser, and Kenneth P. Miller, eds., *The New Political Geography of California* (Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, 2008), 267-90.

- “‘The Onward March of Right Principles’: State Legislative Actions on Racial Discrimination in Schools in 19<sup>th</sup> Century America,” *Historical Methods* 35 (2002), 177-204.
- “Introduction” to special issue on “Evaluating Ecological Inference” and paper, “Ecological Inference from Goodman to King,” *Historical Methods* 34 (2001), 100-126.
- “Injustice and Scholarship” and “Responses to Commentaries,” in *Social Science History* 24 (2000), 415-21, 443-50. (symposium on *Colorblind Injustice*)
- “What Light Does the Civil Rights Act of 1875 Shed on the Civil Rights Act of 1964?” in Bernard Grofman, ed., *Legacies of the 1964 Civil Rights Act* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 33-40.
- “Reapportionment Wars: Party, Race, and Redistricting in California, 1971-1992,” in Bernard Grofman, ed., *Race and Redistricting in the 1990's* (New York: Agathon Press, 1998), 134-90.
- “Ironies of California Redistricting, 1971-2001,” in Jerry Lubenow and Bruce E. Cain, *Governing the Golden State: Politics, Government, and Public Policy in California* (Berkeley, CA: IGS Press, 1997), 137-55.
- “Estimating the Partisan Consequences of Redistricting Plans -- Simply,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 21 (1996), 521-41.
- “*Shaw v. Reno* and the Real World of Redistricting and Representation,” in *Rutgers Law Journal* 26 (1995), 625-710.
- Comments, in “The Supreme Court, Racial Politics, and the Right to Vote: *Shaw v. Reno* and the Future of the Voting Rights Act,” *American University Law Review*, 44 (1994), 1, at 36-38, 50-51, 60-63.
- “Ignoble Intentions and Noble Dreams: On Relativism and History with a Purpose,” in *The Public Historian* 15 (Summer, 1993), 15-28.
- “Beyond *Gingles*: Influence Districts and the Pragmatic Tradition in Voting Rights Law,” in *University of San Francisco Law Review*, 27 (Spring, 1993), 551-92.
- “Common Sense or Commonwealth? The Fence Laws and Institutional Change in the Postbellum South” and “Two Visions of History,” (both with Shawn Kantor) *Journal of Southern History*, 59 (May, 1993), 201-42, 259-66.
- “The Voting Rights Act and the Two Reconstructions,” in Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman, eds., *Controversies in Minority Voting: A Twenty-Five Year Perspective on the Voting Rights Act of 1965* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1992), 135-76.

- “How to Determine Intent: Lessons from L.A.,” *Journal of Law & Politics*, 7 (1991), 591-732.
- “Toward ‘Total Political History’: A Rational Choice Research Program,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 20 (Spring, 1990), 521-60.
- “Before *Plessy*, Before *Brown*: The Development of the Law of Racial Integration in Louisiana and Kansas,” in Paul Finkelman and Stephen C. Gottlieb, eds., *Toward A Usable Past: Liberty Under State Governments* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 213-70.
- “The State of Social Science History in the Late 1980s,” *Historical Methods*, 22 (1989), 13-20. Shorter version in *OAH Newsletter*, 17:4 (November, 1989), 4-5.
- “Expert Witnesses, Rational Choice, and the Search for Intent,” *Constitutional Commentary*, 5 (1988), 349-73. Reprinted in Jack N. Raklove, ed., *Interpreting the Constitution: The Debate Over Original Intent* (Boston: Northeastern Univ. Press, 1990), 313-35.
- “‘The Supremacy of Equal Rights’: The Struggle Against Racial Discrimination in Antebellum Massachusetts and The Foundations of The Fourteenth Amendment,” *Northwestern University Law Review*, 82 (1988), 941-1010. Reprinted in Paul Finkelman, ed., *Race, Law, and American History, 1700-1900* (Hamden, CT: Garland, 1992).
- “Specification or Speculation? A Note on Flanigan and Zingale,” *Social Science History*, 10 (1986), 71-84.
- “Must Historians Regress? An Answer to Lee Benson,” *Historical Methods*, 19 (1986), 62-81.
- “Origins of the Run-Off Primary,” *The Black Scholar*, 15 (September/October, 1984), 23-26.
- “Are Political Acts Unnatural?,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 15 (1985), 467-80.
- “Are Expert Witnesses Whores?,” *The Public Historian*, 6 (1984), 5-19. Reprinted in Theodore J. Karamanski, ed., *Ethics & Public History: An Anthology* (Malabar, FL: Krieger, 1990), 31-44.
- “The Revivalism of Narrative: A Response to Recent Criticisms of Quantitative History,” *Social Science History*, 8 (1984), 133-49.
- “‘New Political History:’ Some Statistical Questions Answered,” (with Allan J. Lichtman), *Social Science History*, 7 (1983), 321-44.
- “Log-Linear Analysis of Contingency Tables: An Introduction for Historians” (with Gary W. Cox and David W. Galenson), *Historical Methods*, 15 (1982), 152-69.

- “C. Vann Woodward: An Assessment of His Work and Influence” (with James M. McPherson), in Kousser and McPherson, eds., *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, xv-xxxix.
- “The Undermining of the First Reconstruction: Lessons for the Second,” in *Extension of the Voting Rights Act: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 97th Cong., 1 Sess.* (Washington: G.P.O., 1982), 2009-2022. Revised version published in Chandler Davidson, ed., *Minority Vote Dilution* (Washington, D. C.: Howard University Press, 1984), 27-46.
- “Restoring Politics to Political History” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 12 (Spring 1982), 569-95, reprinted in Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *Politics and Political Change* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001), 19-46.
- “History as Past Sociology in the Work of Samuel P. Hays: A Review Essay,” *Historical Methods*, 14 (Fall, 1981), 181-86.
- “Turnout and Rural Corruption: New York as a Test Case,” (with Gary W. Cox), *American Journal of Political Science*, 25 (November 1981), 646-63.
- “History QUASSHed, 1957-1980,” *American Behavioral Scientist*, 23 (1980), 885-904.
- “Making Separate Equal: The Integration of Black and White School Funds in Kentucky,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 10 (1979), 399-428 and *ibid.*, 12 (1982), 509-13.
- “Quantitative Social Scientific History,” in Michael Kammen, ed., *The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the U.S.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), 433-56.
- “Progressivism for Middle-Class Whites Only: The Distribution of Taxation and Expenditures for Education in North Carolina, 1880-1910,” *Journal of Southern History*, 46 (1980), 169-94.
- “Separate But *Not* Equal: The First Supreme Court Case on Racial Discrimination in Education,” *Journal of Southern History*, 46 (1980), 17-44. Reprinted in Kermit L. Hall, *Civil Rights in American History* (Garland Pub. Co., 1989); in Paul Finkelman, *Race, Law, and American History, 1700-1900* (Hamden, CT: Garland, 1992)..
- “The Agenda for ‘Social Science History’,” *Social Science History*, 1 (1977), 383-91.
- “The ‘New Political History’: A Methodological Critique,” *Reviews in American History*, 4 (March 1976), 1-14.

“A Black Protest in the ‘Era of Accommodation,’” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 34 (1975), 149-178.

“Post-Reconstruction Suffrage Restrictions in Tennessee: A New Look at the V. O. Key Thesis,” *Political Science Quarterly*, 88:4 (December 1973), 655-683. Reprinted in Paul Finkelman, ed., *Race, Law, and American History, 1700-1900* (Garland Pub. Co., 1992), and Robert F. Himmelberg, *Business and Government in America Since 1870* (Garland Pub. Co.).

“Ecological Regression and the Analysis of Past Politics,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 4:2 (Autumn 1973), 237-262.

### **Contributions to Reference Works**

“Election Law,” in Donald T. Critchlow and Phil Vandermeer, eds., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of American Political and Legal History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012)

“Voting Rights,” in Paul J. Quirk and William Cunion, eds., *Governing America: Major Policies and Decisions of Federal, State, and Local Government* (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2011), III: 1010-25.

“Race and Politics, 1860-1933,” in *Princeton Encyclopedia of U.S. Political History* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2009), 635-43.

“Disfranchisement,” “Election Laws,” “Grandfather Clause,” “Jim Crow,” “*Plessy v. Ferguson*,” “*Reitman v. Mulkey*,” “Voter Registration,” “Voter Residency Requirements,” and “Voting,” in *New Dictionary of American History* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, , 2002)

“Enclosure/Fence Laws,” in *Encyclopedia of Appalachia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006).

“Voting Districts and Minority Representation,” in *Encarta Africana* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Microsoft Corp., 2000).

“Reapportionment” and “Voting Rights,” in *Encyclopedia of the American Constitution*, Supplement II (New York: Macmillan, 2000).

“Reconstruction,” in *The Oxford Companion to United States History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

“Poll Tax,” in *The International Encyclopedia of Elections* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1999), 208-09.

“*Cumming v. Richmond County*,” “Grandfather Clause,” and “*Guinn v. U.S.*,” in *Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

“Voting” in *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 1179-81.

“Suffrage,” in Jack P. Greene, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Political History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984), III, 1236-58.

“Disfranchisement,” “Grandfather Clause,” and “*Williams v. Mississippi*,” in David C. Roller and Robert W. Twyman, eds., *Encyclopedia of Southern History* (Baton Rouge: L.S.U. Press, 1979).

## **Reviews and Review Essays**

Gavin Wright, *Sharing the Prize: The Economics of the Civil Rights Revolution in the American South*, in *Journal of Southern History*, 80 (2014), 768-70.

Angie Maxwell and Todd G. Shields, *Unlocking V.O. Key, Jr.: Southern Politics for the Twenty-First Century*, in *Journal of American History*, 99 (2012), 970-71.

“The Immutability of Categories and the Reshaping of Southern Politics,” *Annual Reviews of Political Science* (online at <http://arjournals.annualreviews.org/eprint/NUV9MahREcFAzpPdT172/full/10.1146/annurev.polisci.033008.091519>) 13 (2010), 365-83.

Simon Topping, *Lincoln's Lost Legacy: The Republican Party and the African American Vote, 1928-1952*, in *American Review of Politics*, 29 (Fall and Winter, 2008-2009), 400-02.

- Brian K. Landsberg, *Free at Last to Vote: The Alabama Origins of the 1965 Voting Rights Act*, in *Law and Politics Book Review*, available at:  
<http://www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/lpbr/subpages/reviews/landsberg0108.htm>.
- Ron Hayduk. *Democracy for All: Restoring Immigrant Voting Rights in the United States*, in *Political Science Quarterly* 121(2006-07), 724-26.
- Jeff Manza and Christopher Uggen. *Locked Out: Felon Disenfranchisement and American Democracy*, and Sasha Abramsky, *Conned: How Millions Went to Prison, Lost the Vote, and Helped Send George W. Bush to the White House*, in *Election Law Journal*, 6 (2007), 104-12.
- Peter F. Lau, Editor, *From the Grassroots to the Supreme Court: Brown v. Board of Education and American Democracy*, in *American Historical Review* 111 (2006), 231-32.
- Glenn Feldman, *The Disfranchisement Myth: Poor Whites and Suffrage Restriction in Alabama*, in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 37 (2007), 646-47.
- John B. Boles and Bethany L. Johnson, eds., *Origins of the New South Fifty Years Later: The Continuing Influence of a Historical Classic*, in *The Historian*, 67 (2005), 307-09.
- Charles H. Feinstein and Mark Thomas, *Making History Count: A primer in quantitative methods for historians*, in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 35 (2005), 622-23.
- John D. Skrentny, *The Minority Rights Revolution*, in *Journal of American History* 90 (2004), 1546-47.
- Jane Dailey, Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, and Bryant Simon, eds., *Jumpin' Jim Crow: Southern Politics from Civil War to Civil Rights*, in *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 87 (2003), 427-48.
- Laughlin McDonald, *A Voting Rights Odyssey: Black Enfranchisement in Georgia*, in *Election Law Journal* 3 (2003), 53-62.
- Michael Perman, *Struggle for Mastery: Disfranchisement in the South, 1888-1908*, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 34 (2003), 109-10.



- Robert M. Goldman, *Reconstruction and Black Suffrage: Losing the Vote in Reese and Cruikshank*,” on H-POL, H-NET Reviews, March, 2003. URL: <<http://www2.h-net.msu.edu/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=179141046324369>>
- Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* and Mark Lawrence Kornbluh, *Why America Stopped Voting: The Decline of Participatory Democracy and the Emergence of Modern American Politics*, *Journal of American History* 88 (2001), 1044-46.
- Miles Fairburn, *Social History: Problems, Strategies and Methods*, in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31 (2000), 247-48.
- Kenneth C. Barnes, *Who Killed John Clayton? Political Violence and the Emergence of the New South, 1861-1893*, on H-Pol, H-Net Reviews, July, 1999. URL:<http://www.h-net.msu.edu/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=31368931374241>.
- Lee J. Alston and Joseph P. Ferrie, *Southern Paternalism and the American Welfare State: Economics, Politics, and Institutions in the South, 1865-1965*, in *The Independent Review*, 4 (Winter, 2000).
- Keith J. Bybee, *Mistaken Identity: The Supreme Court and the Politics of Minority Representation*, in *American Political Science Review* 93 (1999), 968-69.
- Ward M. McAfee, *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction: The Public School in the Politics of the 1870s*, in *American Historical Review* 104 (1999), 1677-78.
- Samuel L. Webb, *Two-Party Politics in the One-Party South: Alabama’s Hill Country, 1874-1920*, in *Journal of Economic History*, 59 (1999), 234-35.
- Stewart E. Tolnay and E.M. Beck, *A Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynchings, 1882-1930*, in *Historical Methods* 31 (1998), 171-75.
- Alex Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South* in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28 (1998), 484-85.
- Stephen Cresswell, *Multi-Party Politics in Mississippi, 1877-1902*, in *Journal of American*

- History*, 83 (1996), 642-43.
- Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan*, in *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 32 (1996), 229-32.
- Daniel I. Greenstein, *A Historian's Guide to Computing*, in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 27 (1996), 103-05.
- Howard N. Rabinowitz, *Race, Ethnicity and Urbanization*, in *Slavery and Abolition* 16 (1995), 267-69.
- Michael C. Dawson, *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*, in *North Carolina Historical Review* 72 (1995), 376-77.
- James Goodman, *Stories of Scottsboro*, in *Princeton Alumni Weekly* 95, #9 (Feb. 8, 1995), 20-21.
- Robert R. Dykstra, *Bright Radical Star: Black Freedom and White Supremacy on the Hawkeye Frontier*, in *Reviews in American History*, 22 (1994), 442-48.
- Robert C. McMath, Jr., *American Populism: A Social History, 1877-1898*, in *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 77 (1993), 634-6.
- Michael F. Holt, *Political Parties and American Political Development from the Age of Jackson to the Age of Lincoln*, in *Reviews in American History* 21 (1993), 207-12.
- William Cohen, *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861-1915*, in *Slavery & Abolition* 13 (1992), 239-41.
- Loren Haskins and Kirk Jeffrey, *Understanding Quantitative History*, and Konrad H. Jarausch and Kenneth A. Hardy, *Quantitative Methods for Historians*, in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23 (1992), 139-40.
- Donald G. Nieman, *Promises to Keep: African-Americans and the Constitutional Order, 1776 to the Present*, in *Journal of Southern History* 58 (1992), 704-05.

- William E. Nelson, *The Fourteenth Amendment: From Political Principle to Judicial Doctrine*, in *Slavery and Abolition* 11 (1990), 414-16.
- Kermit L. Hall and James W. Ely, Jr., *An Uncertain Tradition: Constitutionalism and the History of the South*, in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 73 (1989), 843-44.
- James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860 - 1935*, in *Slavery and Abolition* 10 (1989), 144-6.
- Lacy K. Ford, Jr., *Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry, 1800 - 1860*, in *Journal of Economic History*, 49 (1989), 767-9.
- Peter Wallenstein, *From Slave South to New South: Public Policy in 19th Century Georgia*, in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 83 (1988), 184-85.
- Charles A. Lofgren, *The Plessy Case: A Legal-Historical Interpretation*, in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 71 (1987), 742-4.
- Richard L. McCormick, *The Party Period and Public Policy*, in *Journal of American History*, 74 (1987), 169-70.
- Gail Williams O'Brien, *The Legal Fraternity and The Making of a New South Community, 1843-1882*, in *North Carolina Historical Review*, 64 (1987), 219-20.
- Theodore M. Porter, *The Rise of Statistical Thinking, 1820-1900*; Stephen M. Stigler, *The History of Statistics: The Measurement of Uncertainty Before 1900*, in *Wilson Quarterly*, XI (Spring 1987) 2, 161-62.
- C. Vann Woodward, *Thinking Back: The Perils of Writing History*, in *Journal of Economic History*, 48 (June 1987), 591-92.
- Dan T. Carter, *When The War Was Over: The Failure of Self-Reconstruction in the South, 1865-1867*; Ted Tunnell, *Crucible of Reconstruction: War, Radicalism, and Race in Louisiana, 1862-1877*, in *Slavery and Abolition*, 7 (1986), 290-98.

- Olivier Zunz, ed., *Reliving the Past: The Worlds of Social History*, in *Reviews in American History*, 14 (1986), 342-47.
- Robert F. Durden, *The Self-Inflicted Wound: Southern Politics in the 19th Century*, in *Journal of American History*, 73 (1986), 189-90.
- Alexander M. Bickel and Benno C. Schmidt, Jr., *History of the Supreme Court*, Vol. X, in *Journal of Southern History*, 52 (1986), 479-81.
- Eric Foner, *Nothing But Freedom*, in *Slavery and Abolition*, 7 (1986), 77-79.
- Alexander P. Lamis, *A Two-Party South*, in *Times Literary Supplement* (October 10, 1985).
- Steven F. Lawson, *In Pursuit of Power*, in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 69 (1985), 441-43.
- David B. Davis, *Progress and Human Slavery*, in *Times Literary Supplement* (1 February 1985), 123-24.
- Michael Perman, *The Road to Redemption: Southern Politics, 1869-1879*, in *Political Science Quarterly*, 100 (1985), 350-51.
- Catherine A. Barnes, *Journey From Jim Crow: The Desegregation of Southern Transit in Constitutional Commentary*, 2 (1984), 197-202.
- Raymond Arsenault, *The Wild Ass of the Ozarks: Jeff Davis and the Social Bases of Southern Politics*, in *American Historical Review*, 90 (1985), 228-29.
- Walter J. Fraser, Jr. and Winfred B. Moore, Jr., *The Southern Enigma: Essays on Race, Class, and Folk Culture*, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 92 (1984), 475-76.
- Stephen Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism*, in *American Historical Review*, 89 (1984), 854-55.
- Paul Kleppner, *Who Voted?* and W. Dean Burnham, *The Current Crisis in American Politics*, in

- Social Science History*, 9 (1985), 215-28.
- Patricia C. Cohen, *A Calculating People: The Spread of Numeracy in Early America*, in *American Historical Review*, 89 (1984), 203-04.
- John W. Cell, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy*, in *Journal of American History*, 70 (September, 1983), 424-25.
- David L. Kirp, *Just Schools: The Idea of Racial Equality in American Education*, in *The Public Historian*, 5, #3 (1983), 119-22.
- Anthony P. Dunbar, *Against the Grain: Southern Radicals and Prophets 1929-1959*, in *Business History Review*, 54 (1982), 608-09.
- Jody Carlson, *George C. Wallace and the Politics of Powerlessness*, in *American Historical Review*, 87 (1982), 884.
- Eric Anderson, *Race and Politics in North Carolina, 1872-1901: The Black Second*, in *Journal of Southern History*, 48 (1982), 123-25.
- William Gillette, *Retreat From Reconstruction, 1869-1879*, in *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, 79 (1981), 191-94; and 80 (1982), 214-16.
- Bruce A. Campbell and Richard J. Trilling, eds., *Realignment in American Politics*, in *Reviews in American History*, 9 (1981), 23-28.
- Paul Kleppner, *The Third Electoral Era*, in *Journal of American History* (December 1979), 670-1.
- Jonathan M. Wiener, *Social Origins of the New South: Alabama, 1865-1885* in *American Historical Review* (December 1979), 1482-3.
- Joel Silbey et al., *The History of American Electoral Behavior* in *Reviews in American History*, 7 (1979), 157-62.

Jack Bass and Walter DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics*, in *American Historical Review* (December, 1978), 1368-69.

Michael P. Johnson, *Toward a Patriarchal Republic: The Secession of Georgia* in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 9 (Autumn, 1978), 374-76.

Michael Schwartz, *Radical Protest and Social Structure: The Southern Farmers' Alliance and Cotton Tenancy, 1880-1890*, in *Journal of American History* (December 1977), 811-812.

Hugh D. Graham and Numan V. Bartley, *Southern Politics and the Second Reconstruction*, in *American Historical Review* 82 (1977), 217.

Lawrence Grossman, *The Democratic Party and The Negro: Northern and National Politics, 1868-92*, in *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 4 (1977), 114-117.

John Shelton Reed, *The Enduring South*, in *Red River Valley Historical Review*, 4 (1979), 98-99.

Louis Galambos, *The Public Image of Big Business in America, 1880-1940* in *Journal of American History* (September 1975), 437-38.

Monroe Lee Billington, *The Political South in the Twentieth Century*, in *Political Science Quarterly*, 90 (1975), 561-562.

Roger L. Hart, *Redeemers, Bourbons, and Populists: Tennessee, 1870-1896*, in *Journal of American History* (March 1976), 1005-06.

James B. Murphy, L.Q.C. Lamar: Pragmatic Patriot, in *Mississippi Quarterly*, 27 (1974-75), 109-114.

Charles M. Dollar and Richard J. Jensen, *Historian's Guide to Statistics: Quantitative Analysis and Historical Research*, in *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 67 (1972), 493.

## **Unpublished Works**

"Tennessee Politics and The Negro, 1948-1964" (A.B. thesis, Princeton University, 1965).

## **POST-DOCTORAL GRANTS AND AWARDS**

National Endowment for the Humanities Grant #R-9980-140, "Political Outputs in the South: Who Got What, When, Where, and Why?" January 1, 1974--May 31, 1975, \$23,641.

Graves Foundation Award, Summer, 1976

Howard Foundation Fellowship, 1979-80

National Endowment for the Humanities Grant #RO-20225-82, 1981-83, "Separate But Not Equal: A Social History of School Racial Discrimination Law in the Nineteenth Century," \$74,860.

Guggenheim Fellowship, 1985-86

Woodrow Wilson Center Fellowship, 1985-86

Haynes Foundation Grant, 1989-90

Lillian Smith Award, Southern Regional Council, 1999 (co-winner)

Ralph J. Bunche Award, American Political Science Assn., 2000 (co-winner)

Richard P. Feynman Prize for Excellence in Teaching, Caltech, 2011

Associated Students of Caltech Teaching Award, 1988-89, 2012-13

## **TEACHING**

### **Undergraduate**

U.S. History, Colonial - Present (many courses)

Why Were We in Vietnam?

Nuclear Weapons Policy and Star Wars

The Supreme Court

Race Relations in History and Social Science

### **Graduate**

American Electoral Behavior

American Political Development

Race Relations in U.S. History

Social Science History

Topics in Econometrics

Writing for Social Scientists

### **Ph.D. Theses Directed**

Gary W. Cox, "Party and Constituency in Victorian Britain" (1982)

Shawn Everett Kantor, "Politics and Property Rights: The Closing of the Open Range in the Postbellum South" (1991)

Micah Altman, "Districting Principles and Democratic Representation" (1998)

## **PAPERS AND LECTURES**

### **Popular Writings:**

"Voting Rights: Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_ Maybe \_\_\_ Obstructionists Threaten to Undo 16 Years of Effort," *Los Angeles Times*, February 7, 1982.

"Jim Crow in the Voting Booth," *Los Angeles Times*, June 24, 1984.



“The District that Stretched Almost Anywhere but East,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 12, 1990.

“The Open Primary Will Ruin California Politics,” *Public Affairs Report*, May 1996, 7.  
(Institute of Governmental Studies, UCB)

“Charges of bias way off target,” *Sacramento Bee*, Oct. 9, 1998, B9.

“How the Supreme Court Feeds a Rumor,” *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 10, 1999, M2.

“Revamping the Doctrine of Separate and Equal,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 26, 2000, M2.

Remarks at Lillian Smith Award Ceremony, *Southern Changes* 21, #4 (Winter, 1999), 8-11.

“The Duties of Historians,” debate on review of *Colorblind Injustice*, H-POL.

“The Supreme Court and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction,” *National Forum*, 80, # 2  
(Spring, 2000), 25-31.

“Proposition 77: How It Would Really Work,” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, Oct. 31, 2005, p. B7.

“Are we better off redistricting by citizen panel?” *San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov. 13, 2011.

“The Strong Case for Keeping Section 5,” <http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2013/02/15/the-strong-case-for-keeping-section-5/>

“Gutting the landmark civil rights legislation”, <http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2013/06/26/gutting-the-landmark-civil-rights-legislation/>

## **INVITED LECTURES**

### **Universities (American):**

University of Pennsylvania (1976)

California State University at Los Angeles (1977)  
Harvard University (1978)  
Duke University Law School (1979)  
Michigan State University (1980)  
University of California, Santa Barbara (1980, 1984)  
University of Chicago (1980, 1984)  
University of Michigan (1980)  
University of California, Irvine (1981)  
University of Alabama at Birmingham (1981)  
Brandeis University (1981)  
California State University, Fullerton (1982)  
University of California, Los Angeles (1981, 1983, 1988, 1993)  
University of Miami (1983)  
Claremont-McKenna College (1984)  
University of Maryland, College Park (1985)  
University of Maryland, Baltimore County (1985)  
New School for Social Research (1986)  
University of Dayton (1986)  
Ohio State University (1987)  
Albany Law School (1988)  
University of Texas, Austin (1988)  
Stanford University (1990, 1999)  
Univ. of CA, Berkeley (1991, 1999)  
Univ. of CA, San Diego (1991, 2000)  
Claremont Graduate School (1993)  
Northwestern University Law School (1993)  
Rutgers Law School, Camden (1993)  
Georgetown Law Center (1994)  
C. Vann Woodward Lecture, Henderson State College (1994)  
Yale University (1994)  
American U. Law School (1994)  
Univ. of Michigan Law School (1996, 1998)

Univ. of Southern California Law School (1996)  
Univ. of CA, Los Angeles School of Law (1994, 1996, 1999)  
CA State Univ., San Bernardino (1999)  
Harvard Univ., Du Bois Center (1999, 2000, 2001)  
Augusta State University (1999)  
Paine College (1999)  
University of LaVerne (2000)  
University of Montana (2004)  
University of Texas, Austin, Law School (2004)  
University of Texas, San Antonio (2004, 2005)  
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Law School (2006)  
University of Texas, Austin (2006)  
Duke University (2006)  
Whittier Law School (2006)  
Indiana University School of Law (2009)  
U.C.L.A. School of Law (2010)

**Universities (English):**

Oxford University (1984, 1985)  
Cambridge University (1984, 2009)  
University of Leeds (1985)  
University of East Anglia (1985)  
East Anglia University (1985)  
Southampton University (1985)  
Warwick (1985)  
Sussex, Keele (1985)

**CONVENTIONS:**

**Papers Delivered:**

American Historical Association (1974, 1976, 1988, 2015)  
Social Science History Association (1976, 1978, 1980, 1981, 1983, 1987,

1989, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 2000, 2004)  
Southern Historical Association (1978, 1980, 1992, 2005, 2012)  
Organization of American Historians (1981, 1984, 1986, 1990)  
International Conference on Quantitative History (1982)  
Association of American Law Schools (1983)  
Joint Center for Political Studies Forum on Run-Off Primaries (1984)  
16th International Congress of Historical Sciences, Stuttgart, Germany (1985)  
Brookings Institution Conference on the 25th Anniversary of the Voting  
Rights Act (1990)  
Continuing Legal Education Conference, Los Angeles (1990)  
Voting Rights Symposium, University of San Francisco Law School (1992)  
California Studies Association Convention (1994)  
Midwest Political Science Association (1997, 2004)  
USC/Caltech Conference, “Election Reform: 2000 and Beyond” (2001)  
NAACP/MALDEF/APLAC Conference, “Making Our Communities Count: United for a Fair  
Redistricting Process” (2001)  
AALS/APSA Conference on Constitutional Law (2002)  
“The Future of the Voting Rights Act” (Columbia University Law School, 2003)  
American Society of Legal History (2003)  
American Political Science Association (2004)  
“Who Draws the Lines: The Consequences of Redistricting Reform for Minority Voters”  
(University of North Carolina, 2006)  
“Whither the Voting Rights Act? Agreements and Contestations in the Debate over its Renewal”  
(Duke University, 2006)

**Discussant on Convention Panels:**

American Historical Association (1983, 1989)  
American Political Science Association (1977, 1988, 1989, 1995, 2000, 2007)  
Pomona College Conference on Voting Rights (1983)

California Institute of Technology Conference on Political Institutions (1984)  
Organization of American Historians (1988, 2002)  
Conference on The Future of African-American State Universities (1990)  
UCLA Conference on American Politics in Historical Perspective (1990)  
Federal Judicial Center, Conference on Civil Rights Act of 1964 (1994)  
American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch (1996)  
Southern Historical Association (1997, 2000, 2002)  
Social Science History Assn. (1998, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2011)  
Southern Sociological Society (1999, 2007)  
Western Political Science Assn. (2001, 2002, 2004)  
The Historical Society (2010)

**Other:**

Rand Corporation (1978)  
Town Hall of Los Angeles (1979)  
Severance Club of Los Angeles (1979)  
NAACP Legal Defense Fund Conference on Voting Rights, New Orleans (1982)  
Constitutional Rights Foundation of L.A. (1990)  
Caltech, Martin Luther King Day Speaker (1990, 1992, 1999, 2010)  
All Saints Church Issues Forum (1992)  
Church of the Good Shepherd Issues Forum (1995)  
Pasadena Jewish Temple (1996)  
The Field Institute, San Francisco (1997)  
“Beyond 2007: Voting Rights in the 20th Century,” (Washington D.C., 1997)  
Augusta-Richmond County Museum (1999)  
Princeton University Reunion Forum, “Fifty Years of the Voting Rights Act” (2015)

## **ORGANIZATIONS AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

### **Committees**

Chairman, Methodology Network, Social Science History Association, 1976-80

Program Committee, Social Science History Assn., 1981, 1983

Membership Committee, Southern Historical Association, 1976-77, 1983, 1991-2

American Historical Association Committee on Quantitative Methods, 1983-86

Anglo-American Historical Committee, 1984-85

Committee on Harmsworth Professorship, American Historical Assn., 1985-88

Executive Committee, Social Science History Assn., 1989-1993

### **Editorial Boards**

*Journal of American History*, 1977-1980

*Historical Methods*, 1983-86

*Social Science History*, 1987-92

*Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 1989-

Co-Editor, *Historical Methods*, 2000-05

Editor, *Historical Methods*, 2005-13

## **EXPERT WITNESS TESTIMONY**

*Hunter v. Underwood*, 471 U.S. 222 (1985).

*Mobile v. Bolden*, 542 F. Supp. 1050 (S.D.Ala. 1982).

*Moore v. Brown*, 542 F. Supp. 1078 (S.D.Ala. 1982).

*United States v. Dallas County Commission*, 548 F. Supp. 875 (S.D.Ala. 1981).

*Taylor v. Haywood County, Tenn. Commission*, 544 F. Supp. 1122 (W.D.Tenn. 1982).

*Sumter County Council v. U.S.*, 444 F. Supp. 694 (D.D.C. 1983).

*Brown v. Board of Commissioners of the City of Chattanooga, Tenn.* 722 F. Supp. 380 (E.D. Tenn., 1989).

*Garza v. Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors*, 756 F. Supp. 1298 (C.D. Cal., 1990), aff'd, 918 F.2d 763 (9th Cir. 1990), cert. denied, 111 S. Ct. 681(1991).

*Brooks v. Harris* (N.D. GA., Civ. Action No. 1: 90-CV-1001-RCF, July, 1990), preliminary injunction refused to plaintiffs.

*U.S. v. City of Memphis* (W.D. Tenn., 1991).

*Gonzales v. Monterey County, CA* (N.D. Cal., Civ. No. C-91 20736 WAI (DVT), 1992).

*Members of the California Democratic Congressional Delegation v. Eu*, summary judgment granted to defendants.

*DeBaca v. San Diego County Board of Supervisors* (S.D. Cal., Civ. No. 91-1282-R(M), May 11, 1992), summary judgment granted to defendants.

*Cousin v. McWherter* (E.D. Tenn., 1993), No. CIV-I-90-339 (Jan. 19, 1994).

*Rural West Tennessee African-American Affairs Council v. McWherter* 836 F. Supp. 453 (W.D. Tenn. 1993), *cert. denied*, --S.Ct.--(1995).

*Shaw v. Hunt*, 861 F.Supp. 408 (E.D. N.C. 1994).

*Vera v. Richards*, 861 F.Supp. 1304 (S.D. Tx. 1994).

*Georgia v. Reno*, 881 F. Supp. 7 (D.D.C. 1995).

*Lopez v. Monterey County*.

*In Re 2001 Redistricting Cases v. Redistricting Board* (Alaska, 2002).

*Cano v. Davis*, 191 F.Supp. 2d 1135 (C.D. Cal. 2002)

*Sessions v. Perry*, 298 F.Supp. 2d 451 (2004).

*Farrahkan v. Locke*, (Federal District Court, Washington State, D.C. No. CV-96-0076-RHW (2005); reversed by 9<sup>th</sup> Cir. Ct. of Appeals, No. 06-35669 (Jan. 5, 2010)).

*U.S. v. Osceola County, FL*, 475 F.Supp. 2d 1220 (2006), later proceedings at 474 F. Supp. 2d 1254 (2006).

*American Civil Rights Foundation v. Los Angeles Unified School District* (Los Angeles County Super. Ct. No. BC341363) summary judgment granted to defendants and affirmed by Court of Appeal, Second Appellate District, Division 5, in B205943.

*Sanchez v. City of Modesto*, settled before trial.

*Gomez v. Hanford Joint Union School District*, settled before trial.



*Avitia v. Tulare County Local Healthcare District*, settled before trial.

*Gonzalez v. City of Compton, CA*. (Case No. BC 450494, Superior Court, Los Angeles County), settled before trial.

*Perez v. Perry*, 835 F. Supp. 2d 209 (W.D.Tx., San Antonio Div. 2012).

*Texas v. U.S.*, (C.A. No. 1:11-cv-01303, D.D.C.), decided Aug. 28, 2012.

*Texas v. Holder*, (C.A. No. 1:12-cv-00128-RMC-DST-RLW, D.D.C.), decided Aug. 30, 2012.

*Jauregui v. City of Palmdale, California* (Case No. BC483039), decided July 23, 2013.

*Soliz v. City of Santa Clarita* (LASC Case No. BC512735), settled before trial.

*Soliz v. Santa Clarita Community College District* (LASC Case No. BC512736), settled before trial.

*Banales v. City of Santa Barbara* (Case No. 1468167, Superior Court, Santa Barbara County), settled before trial.

*League of Women Voters v. North Carolina*, pending.

## **Testimony at Hearings**

Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, *Extension of the Voting Rights Act*, 97 Cong, 1<sup>st</sup> Sess. (1981), pp. 2005-28.

California State Assembly, District Representation Committee, April 14, 2005.

California State Assembly, Elections and Redistricting Committee and Senate, Reapportionment and Constitutional Amendments Committee, Sept. 26, 2005.

National Commission on the Voting Rights Act, Los Angeles, Sept. 27, 2005.

National Commission on Voting Rights, San Francisco, Jan. 30, 2014

## CONSULTING

Philadelphia Social History Project, for The National Endowment for the Humanities, 1976.

History Review Panel, Research Grants Division, National Endowment for the Humanities, Spring, 1978, Winter, 1979.

U.S. Department of Justice, *U.S. v. South Carolina*, U.S. District Court, South Carolina, 1980 (State Senate; case withdrawn).

Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights, *Harris v. Hopewell*, U.S. District Court, 1982 (CA 82-0036-R, Eastern District of Virginia), settled before trial.

U. S. Department of Justice, *Bladen County, North Carolina v. United States*, No. 87-2974 (D.D.C., 1988), settled before trial.

NAACP, *NAACP v. City of Tulsa*, Oklahoma, 1990: (N.D. OK.), settled before trial.

Alabama State University, *Knight v. James*, No. CV83-M-1676-S (N.D.Ala. 1991).

City of Santa Monica, California, Charter Revision Commission, 1992.

MALDEF, *Bonilla v. Chicago Board of Election Commissioners*, 1993.

Private Plaintiffs, *Reyes v. City of Dinuba, Ca.*, 1993, settled before trial.

MALDEF, *Valadez v. City of Santa Maria*, 1994.

MALDEF, 2001 California redistricting.

City of Salinas, California, 2001 redistricting of County Board of Supervisors.

City of Chino, California, California Voting Rights Act, 2003.

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, on Hanford Unified School District and Modesto City Council, 2004

Democratic State Central Committee of California, Comment for the U.S. Department of Justice on scheduling of election in State Senate District 15, 2010

City of Lancaster, California, California Voting Rights Act, 2014

## **CURRENT RESEARCH**

*Separate But Not Equal: The Cumming Case and Race Relations in America* (University of Kansas Press, under contract)

*“The Supremacy of Equal Rights”*: *School Desegregation in Nineteenth Century America* (Cambridge University Press, under contract), a collection of three of my revised essays.

*“The Onward March of Right Principles”*: *School Segregation and Race Relations in the 19th Century United States* (book) is an investigation of late nineteenth century state and federal court cases and the adoption of state laws on racial discrimination in schools in 22 states. The purposes are to throw new light upon black political power and the black social structure; to discover the identities and motivations of white supporters and opponents of black civil rights; to illuminate the murky history of the lower courts; and to integrate legislative and judicial history into a broader socio-political history.

*Politics and the Distribution of Public Goods* (book) is a primarily quantitative study of the effect

of changes in institutional political rules on the incidence of taxation and the distribution of public schooling in the South from 1880 to 1910.

June 2015