

**IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL CIRCUIT  
IN AND FOR LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA**

RENE ROMO, et al.	)	
Plaintiffs	)	CASE NO.: 2012 CA 412
vs.	)	
	)	
KENNETH W. DETZNER, in his official	)	
capacity as Florida Secretary of State, et al.,	)	
	)	
Defendants.	)	
	)	
	)	
THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS	)	
OF FLORIDA, et al.,	)	
Plaintiffs,	)	
	)	
vs.	)	CASE NO.: 2012 CA 490
	)	
KENNETH W. DETZNER, in his official	)	
capacity as Florida Secretary of State, et al.,	)	
	)	
Defendants.	)	
	)	

**ANALYSIS OF INTENT TO FAVOR POLITICAL PARTIES  
AND INCUMBENTS IN C9047 BY DR. DANIEL A. SMITH**

## **I. Background and Qualifications**

I am Dr. Daniel A. Smith, Professor of Political Science and University of Florida Research Professor (2010-2012). I am also President of ElectionSmith, Inc. I received my Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1994, and my B.A. in History from Penn State University in 1988 (*cum laude; Phi Beta Kappa*). For five years (2007-2011), I served as the Director of the University of Florida's Political Campaigning Program.

For nearly two decades, I have conducted empirical research on electoral politics in the American states, focusing on the disparate effect of political institutions on political behavior. I have written extensively on the electoral process in the American states, publishing more than 50 articles and book chapters, including many that have appeared in the discipline's top peer-reviewed journals, such as the *American Political Science Review*. I have also published two academic books on the political process in the American states, and I am the coauthor of a leading textbook on state and local politics, which is now in its 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. I have taught graduate seminars on American Political Parties, The Politics of Direct Democracy, The Politics of Campaign Finance, and The Politics of Reform (which includes a section on redistricting in the American states). I also regularly teach an undergraduate course, State and Local Politics, which has a substantial focus on politics and government in Florida. I am a former Senior Fulbright Scholar, and I have testified before the U.S. Senate and the Florida Legislature on voting and election legislation issues in Florida. I have received numerous grants and awards for my work on campaigns and elections, including from the U.S. Department of State and the American Political Science Association. I have served as an expert witness in election-related litigation in several states, including Florida, and have served as an expert to defend Florida's election law. In 2010, I was the lead author of the "Direct Democracy Scholars" *amicus brief* in *Doe v. Reed*, which was successfully argued by the Attorney General of the state of

Washington before the US Supreme Court. Finally, I have been interviewed by hundreds of Florida-based, national, and international journalists over the past decade on Florida politics and the electoral process, and I have been quoted in numerous media outlets, including *The Economist*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today*, *The Washington Post*, *National Public Radio*, *Voice of America*, and various other national and local media.

My curriculum vita, attached at Appendix B, provides more detailed information about my experience and qualifications. I am being paid \$250 an hour for my work in this case, plus expenses.

## **II. Findings**

I have been asked by counsel for the League of Women Voters, the National Council of LaRaza, and Common Cause Florida (together, “the Coalition”) to evaluate the state Legislature’s adopted congressional redistricting plan, C9047. ***It is my opinion that the 2012 congressional redistricting plan adopted by the Florida state Legislature for the state’s 27 congressional seats is a Republican gerrymander, designed with the purpose to protect the Republican Party and incumbent legislators.***

To reach this conclusion, I evaluated C9047 for objective indicators of incumbent and partisan favoritism. These indicators include the similarity of the districts to the benchmark districts in the 2002 map (called “district continuity”) and the partisan consequences of population shifts in districts from the 2002 benchmark map to the Legislature’s enacted plan (called “selective shedding”). I looked into what population was cut out of particular districts, and how removing certain pockets of voters from districts will affect how those districts will perform for the two political parties. Additionally, I analyzed the changes that were made to proposed maps and the process by which the Legislature arrived at its final plan to determine

whether those changes effectuated any partisan advantage or incumbent favoritism. *The combined results of this analysis lead me to conclude that this map overall, as well as particular districts within this map were designed to maximize incumbent and Republican advantage.* Overall, C9047 strategically groups voters into districts based on their voting behavior (whether they vote for Republicans or Democrats) in order to reinforce or improve the chances that certain incumbents will be reelected. In addition, C9047 is designed to ensure that Republicans will continue to hold an overwhelming majority of congressional seats under the 2012 plan (just as they did under the 2002 plan).

I also evaluated the Coalition's alternative congressional plan to assess whether it was possible to draw congressional districts in a manner that does not favor incumbents or the Republican Party. In my opinion, the plan submitted by the Coalition is much more likely to foster the fair representation of both Republicans and Democrats in the state of Florida.

### **III. Analysis of District Continuity in C9047**

As the Florida Supreme Court discussed in its recent opinion invalidating the Legislature's state senate plan, one method for evaluating incumbent favoritism is to measure how much of an old district continues to be part of an incumbent's new district, or more simply put, how similar the new plan is to the benchmark plan. The similarity between old and new districts contributes to the likelihood that an incumbent will win reelection -- voters are familiar with the incumbent, and this contributes to increased chances of electoral success. We can evaluate the degree to which a plan or a district favors an incumbent by determining how large a percentage of the incumbent's former constituents are carried over into an incumbent's new district.

Overall, I found that despite the increase of congressional seats from 25 to 27, C9047 largely preserves the 2002 districts. In my opinion, this evidence shows that C9047 was designed for maximum incumbent protection. The 25 congressional incumbents retain, on average, nearly three-quarters (73.1%) of their 2002 districts in the 2012 districts.<sup>1</sup>

As further evidence that C9047 was designed for maximum incumbent protection, on the whole, the incumbents whose districts change the most under C9047 are placed in districts that will *actually improve* their reelection chances. Thus, I found that for these Republican incumbents, C9047 selectively shed more Democratic performing portions of their districts to make the 2012 districts perform better for Republican incumbents.

To reach this conclusion, I analyzed the election returns for statewide elections and overlaid those results on the C9047 districts that were the most changed from their 2002 versions. I used two recent elections, the 2008 Presidential election, and the 2010 Gubernatorial election, and averaged the results for the districts drawn in 2002 and those drawn in C9047. The chart below shows the average Democratic vote based on the average of those elections for the four least continuous districts. A higher average indicates the seat leans more Democratic.

<b>Incumbents with under 55% continuous population under C9047</b>							
Name	Party	Race/ Ethnicity	New Dist.	Continuous Pop.	2002 Sink/ Obama average	C9047 Sink/ Obama average	Change in Dem. Performance
Dennis Ross	R	White	15	37.2%	48.2%	46.6%	-1.6%
Daniel Webster	R	White	10	48.7%	52.0%	47.4%	-4.6%
Sandra Adams	R	White	7	50.6%	48.4%	49.2%	0.8%

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<sup>1</sup> This analysis does not depend on where an incumbent member's "official" home address may be located because there is no legal requirement that a member of Congress be a resident of the district he or she represents.

Mario Diaz-Balart	R	Hispanic	25	52.1%	50.9%	45.1%	-5.8%
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As is evident from the chart, under C9047 only two incumbents, Representatives Ross and Webster, have less than 50% continuous population carried over from their benchmark districts. Ross has only 37.2% continuous population, but that is largely a function of having to shed nearly 150,000 constituents, as his existing benchmark district was 21% over the ideal population according to the 2010 Census. In shedding the excess population, however, I found that C9047 selectively shed Democratic portions of Ross's district, making the district more solidly Republican. The district drops from being a highly competitive district at 48.2% Democratic performance, to a much safer Republican district, at 46.6% Democratic performance.

I find the same pattern with respect to Representative Webster. Although Webster's new district carries over only 48.7% of his former district, Representative Webster's benchmark district was also overpopulated and needed to shed more than 100,000 constituents. In my opinion, Democratic performing portions of Webster's old district were selectively shed under C9047. His 2002 benchmark district was trending Democratic, with a 52.0% Democratic performance, but under C9047 his new district drops a full 4.6% points to make it a more solidly Republican seat at 47.4% Democratic performance.

Similarly, Representative Diaz-Balart's new district is quite different from his old district, retaining only 50.9% of his old population. But his new district under C9047 is the most changed in terms of partisanship: he was in a district that had become highly competitive, demonstrating an average of 50.9% Democratic performance in the 2008 Presidential and 2010 Gubernatorial elections. However, his new district becomes a solid Republican seat with only 45.1% Democratic performance under the same metric. Moreover, although Representative Diaz-Balart's former congressional seat actually lost population according to the 2010 Census,

his new seat under C9047 gained population. In fact, my analysis shows that Diaz-Balart's new congressional district now contains a large percentage of constituents he previously represented during his time in the State Legislature.

Representative Sandy Adams likewise has a much-changed district, retaining just 50.6% of her former district. However, despite the population shifts, the partisan performance of the district remains approximately the same.

Overall, this analysis demonstrates that C9047 was designed for maximum incumbent protection. On average, the 25 current incumbents retain 73% of their former districts, which provides a significant advantage to these incumbents. Moreover, three of the four incumbents whose districts changed the most under C9047 are Republicans who were actually significantly advantaged by the changes. C9047 selectively shed Democratic performing parts of these three districts to make them more solidly Republican performing. In my opinion, this analysis shows that C9047 was designed by the Legislature to favor incumbents and members of the Republican Party.

#### **IV. Analysis of Proposed Congressional Maps**

Looking at the process by which the Legislature arrived at C9047, it is clear that the Legislature chose the plan that most advantaged the Republican Party and incumbents. In looking at the various versions of the congressional plan that the Legislature proposed, advanced, and amended, I was able to isolate the effect of particular, targeted changes to the shape of various districts both in terms of how these changes affected partisan performance, and how they improve incumbents' reelection chances. By my analysis of these changes, it is apparent that C9047 is a partisan gerrymander and favors incumbents.

My analysis takes a prior iteration of the congressional map and compares it to the version that immediately followed in order to understand why particular changes were made and how the Legislature arrived at C9047. To do this, I first had to identify which plans were those that the Legislature advanced and amended. The House originally introduced seven proposed Congressional maps on December 6, 2011. It moved forward with one of these maps – C9011 – which was later amended by C9043 and eventually became the final map, C9047. Thus, for this analysis, I focused my analysis on the three maps that were selected and amended to eventually become the final map: C9011, C9043, and C9047. By analyzing the characteristics of the first map, C9011, the amendments to that plan that resulted in C9043, and the changes to that plan that resulted in C9047, we can gain an understanding of what the Legislature’s redistricting goals were.

My findings confirm that during the redistricting process, whenever the Legislature was presented with a choice that affected a plan or district’s political performance, the Legislature opted for the choice that would benefit the Republican Party. Additionally, as compared to all congressional plans that had been proposed throughout the legislative process, I found that C9011, C9043, and C9047 were the *only ones* in which the average party strength in districts with Republican incumbents actually became stronger as compared to the 2002 benchmark plan.

**a. C9011, C9043, and C9047**

In December 2011, the House Redistricting Committee proposed seven different congressional plans. Of those seven proposals, the Committee selected C9011 to advance. Of all seven plans, C9011 was the only one in which the average Democratic performance across the districts worsened compared to the benchmark plan. The other six proposals all performed



slightly better for Democrats. C9011 instead performed slightly better for Republicans when looking at vote shares in previous statewide elections.

In January, three plans were proposed by the Legislature: C9041, C9043, and C9045. Of those three, the Committee advanced C9043, which was nearly identical to the previously adopted plan, C9011. The other two maps had considerable variation in the district populations and were not advanced by the Committee. Of those three maps under consideration in January 2012, C9043 was the one that performed best for Republicans with respect to previous elections.

Later that month, nearly 5% of C9043 was amended by the Legislature when it advanced as C9047. What is most notable is that C9047 had the highest average continuous population for Republican incumbents of all the plans that had advanced (C9011 and C9043). It was particularly interesting that 5% of C9043 changed late in January to become C9047, given that there had been very little change between C9011 and C9043 just a couple of weeks before. I analyzed these last minute changes and found that they had the effect of shoring up incumbents' districts either by removing population that performed adversely for the incumbent, or by returning population that had been part of the incumbent's 2002 benchmark district.

The following table shows the change in the continuous populations for all incumbents' districts from C9043 to C9047, where overall, nearly 5% of the proposed plan was altered.

Name	Party	2002 District	C9047 District	Change in Continuous Population from C9043 to C9047
Frederica Wilson	Dem.	17	24	-5.2%
D. Wasserman Schultz	Dem.	20	23	-2.6%
Ted Deutch	Dem.	19	21	0.0%
Alcee L. Hastings	Dem.	23	20	0.0%
Corrine Brown	Dem.	3	5	1.7%
Katherine Castor	Dem.	11	14	3.5%
Dennis Ross	Rep.	12	15	-3.9%
John L. Mica	Rep.	7	6	-1.4%
Tom Rooney	Rep.	16	18	-1.0%
Allen West	Rep.	22	22	-0.9%
Mario Diaz-Balart	Rep.	21	25	-0.6%
Ander Crenshaw	Rep.	4	4	-0.1%
Cliff Stearns	Rep.	6	3	0.0%
Jeff Miller	Rep.	1	1	0.0%
Steve Southerland	Rep.	2	2	0.0%
Richard Nugent	Rep.	5	11	0.0%
Vernon Buchanan	Rep.	13	16	0.0%
Connie Mack	Rep.	14	19	0.0%
Ileana Ros-Lehtinen	Rep.	18	27	0.0%
David Rivera	Rep.	25	26	0.0%
Bill Posey	Rep.	15	8	0.0%
Gus Bilirakis	Rep.	9	12	1.6%
C. W. Bill Young	Rep.	10	13	5.3%
Sandra Adams	Rep.	24	7	6.9%
Daniel Webster	Rep.	8	10	10.8%

This analysis shows that the late change from C9043 to C9047 restored significant sections of their respective 2002 benchmark districts to Representatives Young, Adams, and Webster. All three of these Republican incumbents gained back large portions of their 2002 benchmark populations. Representative Webster regained nearly 11% of his old population with the amendment. After part of his old population was restored to his new district under C9047, the Democratic performance of Representative Webster's new district dropped appreciably.<sup>2</sup>

Representative Adams regained 6.9% of her old population that C9011 and C9043 had removed from her district. Additionally, under C9047, 37.1% of Tom Rooney's current CD16 is contained in CD17, more than the 36.3% under C9043. Moreover, the political performance of his district moved slightly in his favor. The Democratic strength of Representative Rooney's new district under C9047 is 42.7%; under C9043, it had been 43.4%.

Overall, I find that during the legislative process that resulted in the adoption of C9047, every time the Legislature was presented with a choice as to which plan to adopt, the Legislature chose the plan with districts that had the highest Republican performance. Moreover, the last-minute amendments to C9047 significantly advantaged Representatives Young, Adams, and Webster, thus further demonstrating the partisan and incumbent favoritism in C9047.

#### **b. The House's C9047 and the Senate's C9002**

Given that C9047 was so different from C9043 and arrived so late in the legislative process, I conducted an analysis to determine whether the newly contoured district lines in C9047 might have been based on any other previously proposed plans. After comparing early

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<sup>2</sup> Under the 2002 benchmark district, Representative Webster's district had a Democratic performance of 52.04% based on an average of the 2008 presidential and 2010 gubernatorial elections. Under C9047, his new district demonstrates only 47.43% Democratic performance based on the same metric.

versions of the congressional plan proposed by the Senate, I have concluded that the final district lines under C9047 may very well have been based on the Senate's original Congressional plan, S00C9002, which was introduced by the Senate on November 28, 2011. As the table below demonstrates, approximately 90.4% of the population within the proposed district lines in C9002 aligns with the population within the proposed district lines in C9047, and the partisan effect between the two maps is virtually the same. In fact, my analysis shows that the percentage of continuous population averaged across the originally proposed districts in C9002 that align with C9047 is remarkably high, especially considering that the House and Senate congressional maps were purportedly drawn independently of one another by their respective staff. Indeed, the continuous population of C9002 when compared with C9047 is actually *higher* than the continuous population averaged across the seven congressional plans originally introduced in the House, which was only 90.1%.

<b>Comparing C9002 to C9047</b>	
Average continuous %	0.90383875
Average Democrat party strength change	-0.0010758
Average Republican party strength change	-0.0013386

Looking closer at C9002, I discovered specific district-by-district similarities that further support my conclusion that the House's C9047 may very well have been based on the Senate's original plan, C9002. Specifically, Districts 1 and 2 (where Representatives Miller and Southerland will likely run) are identical under C9047 and C9002, even though both districts are slightly different from their respective 2002 benchmark districts. Similarities between these two plans, which again, were purportedly drawn independently of one another in the House and

Senate, are not limited to the Panhandle districts. The Senate's districts under C9002 that are currently held by Representatives Brown, Crenshaw, Posey, Stearns, and Mica all have at least 99% of the same population as those districts drawn in C9047. There are 12 additional districts (those held by Representatives Castor, Wasserman Schultz, Wilson, Adams, Young, Mack, West, Hastings, Buchanan, Diaz-Balart, Deutch, Rooney) under C9002 that share at least 90% of the identical district population under C9047. For the six Democratic incumbents, there was virtually no difference in the boundaries of the districts originally proposed by the Senate under C9002 compared with those that were ultimately adopted under C9047. The populations of Representative Nugent and Representative Webster's districts are each 67% identical under C9002 and C9047. Representatives Ross, Ros-Lehtinen, and Rivera's districts all have roughly 88% the same populations under both maps.

Even the two new congressional districts, Districts 26 and 27, were drawn virtually identically in the two plans, the Senate's original C9002 and the adopted C9047. The new District 11 under C9047 (which is District 26 under the Senate's C9002) and the new District 9 under C9047 (which is District 27 under C9002), are remarkably similar, sharing 75% and 88%, respectively, of the identical population under the two maps. Theoretically, these districts could have been drawn anywhere in the state, so it is particularly interesting that they overlap so substantially between C9002 and C9047.

I therefore conclude that although C9047 originated in the House, it effectively aligns with the congressional plan originally drawn by and introduced in the Senate, C9002.

## **V. Vote-Share Analysis of Legislature's and Coalition's Plans**

Finally, using the standard method in political science for whether determining partisan bias is present in a redistricting plan, I have concluded that there is significant partisan bias in the

Legislature's 2012 congressional plan. By packing Democratic voters into as few districts as possible, the Legislature has guaranteed that the partisan skew in Florida's congressional delegation would continue under the 2012 plan.

Practitioners and scholars alike have refined their methodologies to visually assess the partisan effects of proposed redistricting maps, as I have done below.<sup>3</sup> Using statewide, two-party election returns to calculate the partisan strength or biases of adopted (or proposed) districts can be graphically displayed in charts several ways with respect to seats-to-votes ratios, and in the appendix that follows, I have included some of these graphs and charts. These graphs and charts can assist us to visualize the partisan leanings of C9047.<sup>4</sup>

The method I used to calculate these district partisan measures is simple and straightforward. First, 2010 census block data was merged with Department of Justice .doj files posted by the state Senate as well as election returns data provided by Florida Secretary of State via the Plaintiff's attorneys, Jenner & Block, LLP. The average statewide two-party (Republican and Democratic) results across four general elections (2010 governor; 2008 president; 2006 governor; 2004 president) were calculated for each adopted (and proposed) congressional district.<sup>5</sup> By using the average statewide vote (calculated as the Democratic Party's share of the two-party vote), any aberrant campaign effects, uncontested congressional elections, incumbent

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Bernard Grofman and Gary King, "The Future of Partisan Symmetry as a Judicial Test for Partisan Gerrymandering after *LULAC v. Perry*," *Election Law Journal*, 2007: 6(1): 2-35; Keith Gaddie in *LULAC v. Perry*, 126 S. Ct. 2594 (2006); Gary King in *Voinovich v. Quilter*, 507 U.S. 146 (1993); Jonathan Katz in *O'Lear v. Miller* No. 222 F. Supp. 2d 850 (E.D. Mich. - 2002); Allan Lichtman in *Vieth v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 188 F. Supp. 2d 532 (MD Pa. 2002); Michael McDonald in *In Re 2001 Redistricting Cases* (Case No. S-10504).

<sup>4</sup> Donald E. Stokes, "Legislative Redistricting by the New Jersey Plan." New Brunswick, New Jersey: Fund for New Jersey, 1993.

<sup>5</sup> Edward R. Tufte, "The Relationship between Seats and Votes in Two-Party Systems." *The American Political Science Review*, 1973: 67(2): 540-54.

advantages, or uneven turnout rates in particular districts that could affect the two-party vote share are removed from consideration.<sup>6</sup>

First, I present a “seats-to-votes” ratio, which is a standard political science tool for determining whether partisan gerrymandering is present.<sup>7</sup> In Florida, statewide Democratic candidates in the past four general elections (2010 governor; 2008 president; 2006 governor; 2004 president) have won an average 49.5% of the vote, as a share of the two major party candidates’ vote within the proposed 27 congressional districts. Yet, as Figure 1 (in Appendix A) reveals, in a hypothetical general election in which a statewide Democratic candidate wins 49.5% of the two-party vote, Democratic candidates are likely to win just 29.6% of the 27 congressional districts under the Legislature’s adopted plan, the equivalent of just 8 seats. Conversely, Republicans would win 19 seats—an extreme divergence from voters’ true preferences. This demonstrates the packing of Democrats into the fewest districts possible. It is not until a Democratic statewide candidate wins 54.5% of the two-party statewide vote averaged over the past four general elections that the corresponding percentage of Democratic candidates likely will win a majority of the total seats.

In contrast, the Coalition’s proposed congressional redistricting plan is far less biased in terms of the seats-to-votes ratio. As Figure 2 (See Appendix A) reveals, using the four-election average (as discussed above), in a hypothetical general election in which a statewide Democratic candidate wins 49.5% of the two-party vote, Democratic congressional candidates would be

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<sup>6</sup> In the words of Dr. Donald Stokes, it is critical to use the “average of the parties’ vote share of the popular vote calculated district by district across the state, rather than the parties’ share of the vote pooled across districts of the state.” See Stokes, “Legislative Redistricting by the New Jersey Plan,” 1993, p. 16. See also, Grofman and King, “The Future of Partisan Symmetry as a Judicial Test for Partisan Gerrymandering after *LULAC v. Perry*.”

<sup>7</sup> Bernard Grofman and Gary King. 2007. “The Future of Partisan Symmetry as a Judicial Test for Partisan Gerrymandering after *LULAC v. Perry*.” *Election Law Journal* 6(1): 11.

expected to win 44.4% of the 27 congressional seats in the Coalition’s plan, or 12 seats. If the statewide Democratic candidate were to win 50.5% of the two-party vote, Democratic congressional candidates would in turn likely win 48.1% of the seats, or 13 seats, under the Coalition’s proposed plan. In contrast to the Legislature’s partisan gerrymander, if a Democratic statewide candidate won 51.5% of the statewide vote (based on data from the previous four statewide elections), Democratic congressional candidates would win a majority of the 27 seats.

In my opinion, based on these empirical models, it is clearly possible to draw congressional districts that are less gerrymandered to favor one political party and its candidates and that do not burden the representational rights of voters in the state of Florida.

Second, I present in Figure 3 a seats-to-votes density curve to display the partisan bias of the Legislature’s proposed congressional plan. Figure 4 presents the same for the Coalition’s proposed congressional plan.<sup>8</sup> These depictions likewise show the packing of Democratic voters into as few districts as possible. The “Democratic Vote Share” that runs along the bottom horizontal axis of Figure 3 and Figure 4 is the two-party Democratic vote share averaged across the four statewide elections (2004-2010), which was discussed previously. The density curves represent a smoothed version of how densely packed the hash marks are at any point (each hash mark represents a congressional seat). If the curve is “higher,” it indicates that a lot of districts fall in that Democratic vote share range; if the curve is “lower,” it indicates that fewer districts fall in that Democratic vote share range.

The contour of each density curve provides some interesting information about the projected elections under the Legislature’s adopted plan compared to the Coalition’s proposed

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<sup>8</sup> If one were to assume a partisan-blind system of redistricting, with a random distribution of voters across the state, a seats-to-votes curve would be symmetric and would peak at the mean party strength of the state as a whole.



plan. It is clear that there are fewer non-competitive seats in the Coalition's plan as compared to the Legislature's adopted plan. The magnitude of the curves near the horizontal extremes of 0 and 100 represents the number of non-competitive or wholly uncontested seats. The tail end of the curve near the left side of each plot measures how many seats are expected to be weakly contested by Democrats, and the tail end of the curve on the right side of each plot measures seats that are expected to be weakly contested or uncontested by Republicans. It is clear that the plan adopted by the Legislature (Figure 3) packs Democrats into more safe Democratic seats that are likely to be uncompetitive, when compared to the Coalition's proposed plan.

What is more interesting, in my opinion, is slight hump in the density curve in Figure 3 on the right side of the 50% Democratic vote share, and the absence of any hump on the left-hand side of the 50% Democratic vote share. This slight hump on the right hand side (around 60% of the averaged Democratic vote share) indicates that the Legislature's plan attempts to lump Democratic-leaning voters into reliably safe (if not altogether uncompetitive) Democratic performing seats. (The large hump on the extreme right-hand side of the density curve indicates safe majority-minority Democratic performing districts.) In contrast, the complete absence of any humps on the left hand side of the 50% Democratic vote share indicates that the Legislature has distributed Republican-leaning seats close to the margin, so that they, on average, perform slightly better for Republican congressional candidates. Simply put, this maximizes the number of seats that Republicans stand to win, and confines Democratic wins to a few densely packed districts.

There is a clear is a clear difference, in my opinion, between the Legislature's map and the Coalition's proposed map with respect to the overall distribution of projected Republican and Democratic seats. I conclude that the Coalition's map does not dis-favorably pack any one party

into a minimal number of districts; rather, the Coalition’s plan creates truly competitive seats, which will permit voters’ preferences to truly dictate the breakdown of Florida’s congressional delegation. The peak in the density curve for the Coalition’s plan is much closer to the 50% Democratic vote share, and the proportion of the density curve at or near the 50% mark is much “flatter.” In other words, there are likely to be more “marginal” seats—i.e., competitive races between Republicans and Democrats—under the Coalition’s plan than under the adopted map, C9047.

Third and finally, Figure 5 and Figure 6 provide contrasting histograms displaying the partisan seats-to-votes distribution of the Legislature’s adopted congressional plan and the Coalition’s proposed congressional plan, respectively. Each bar in the two histograms represents a range of 2% of the Democratic vote share in a district based on the average of the four previous statewide elections. Again, in my opinion it is clear from this visual representation of the likely number of congressional seats the Republican Party will win under the Legislature’s adopted plan (Figure 5) is disproportionately large (i.e., the bulk of seats are clustered slightly less than the 50% of the Democratic vote share), especially when compared to the Coalition’s proposed plan (Figure 6). In short, the few congressional districts expected to be won by Democrats perform much more heavily Democratic than is required. In contrast, congressional districts expected to be won by Republicans only lean slightly Republican, which maximizes electoral opportunities for Republicans statewide by spreading Republican voters across as many districts as possible.

## **VI. Conclusion**

In my opinion, based on my independent analyses of the adopted congressional redistricting plan (C9047), the Florida Legislature has tried to gerrymander the state’s 27

congressional seats to protect incumbents and to advantage the Republican Party and Republican candidates running for office. The Legislature's proposed districts appear to strategically and intentionally cluster voters within the designated congressional districts based on their political orientation so as to favor the Republican Party. Democrats are packed into districts in higher numbers than necessary, but Republican influence is spread throughout the state's remaining districts. Additionally, C9047's districts largely replicate the 2002 districts, and as such, favor incumbents. And, the districts that are least similar to their 2002 districts in fact acquire new territory so as to bolster Republican incumbents. Finally, although C9047 was proposed by the House, it appears to be largely based on C9002, a map that was drawn by and originally proposed by the Senate.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Dated: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Daniel A. Smith, Ph.D.

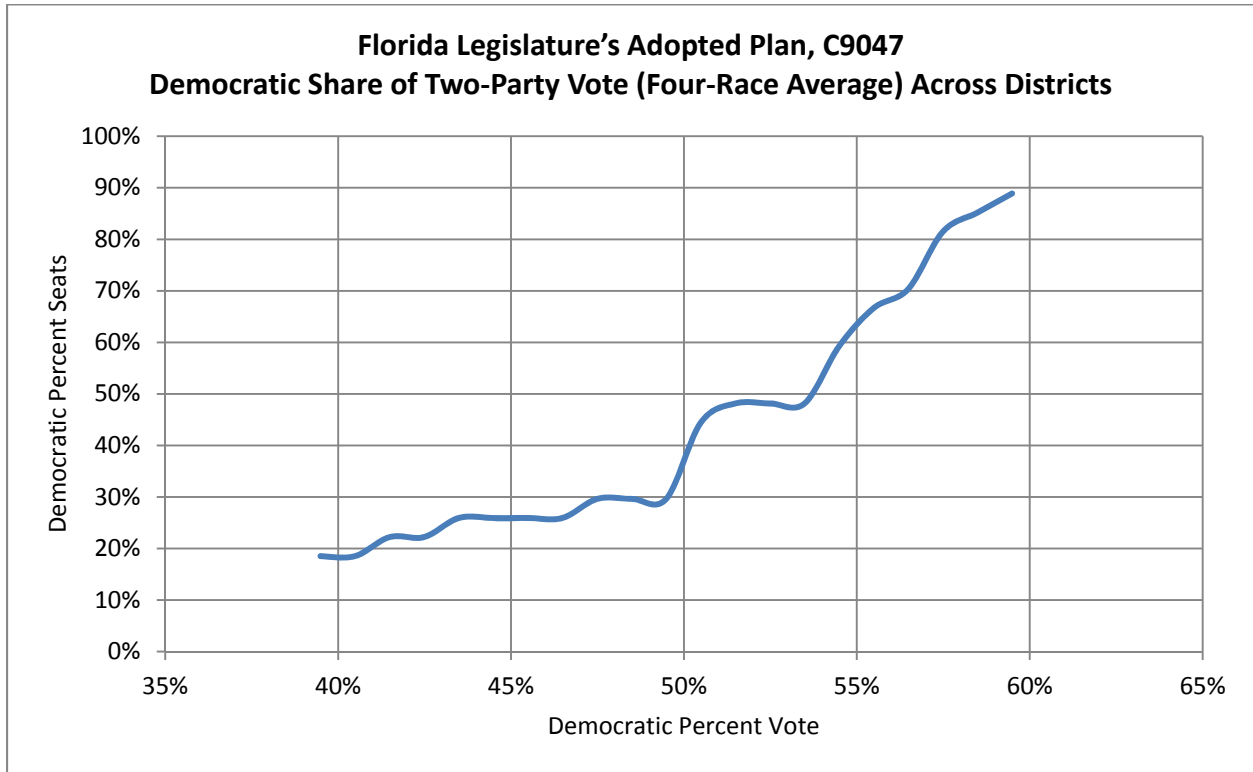
Subscribed to and sworn before me this \_\_\_\_ day of March, 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Notary Public

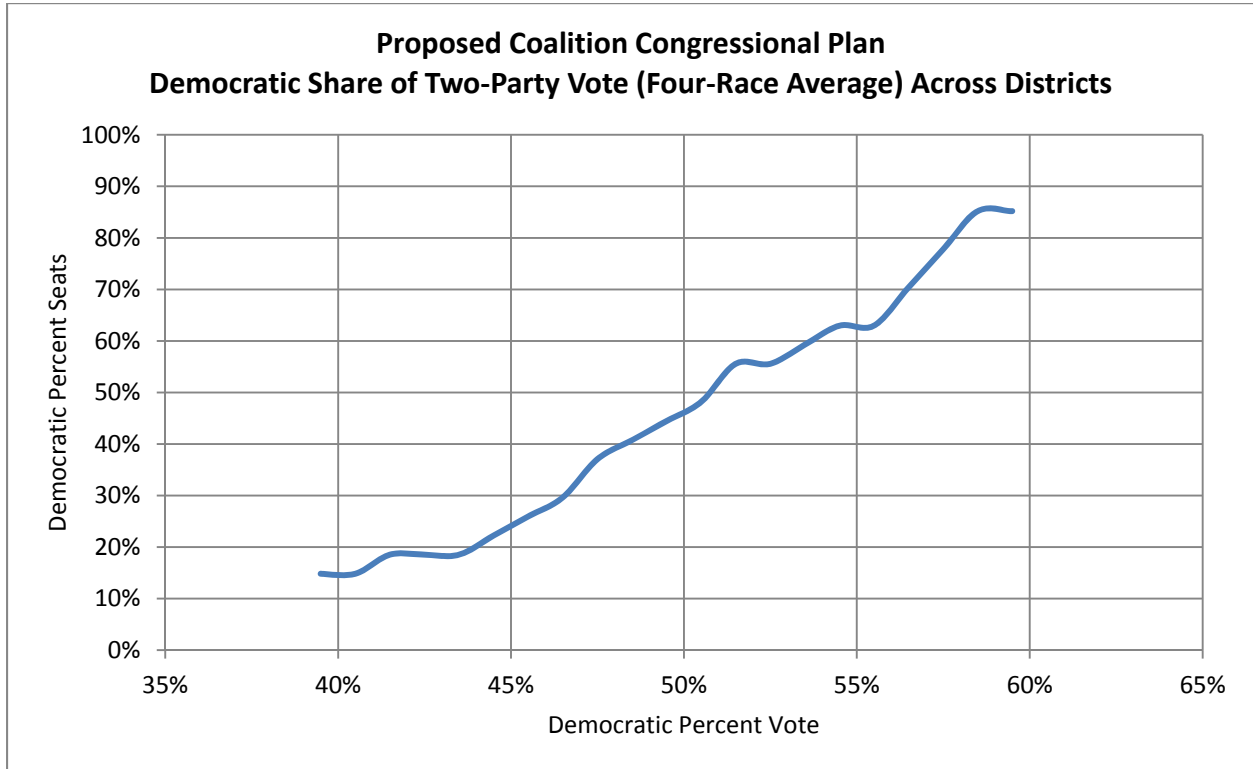
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My Commission

## **Appendix A**

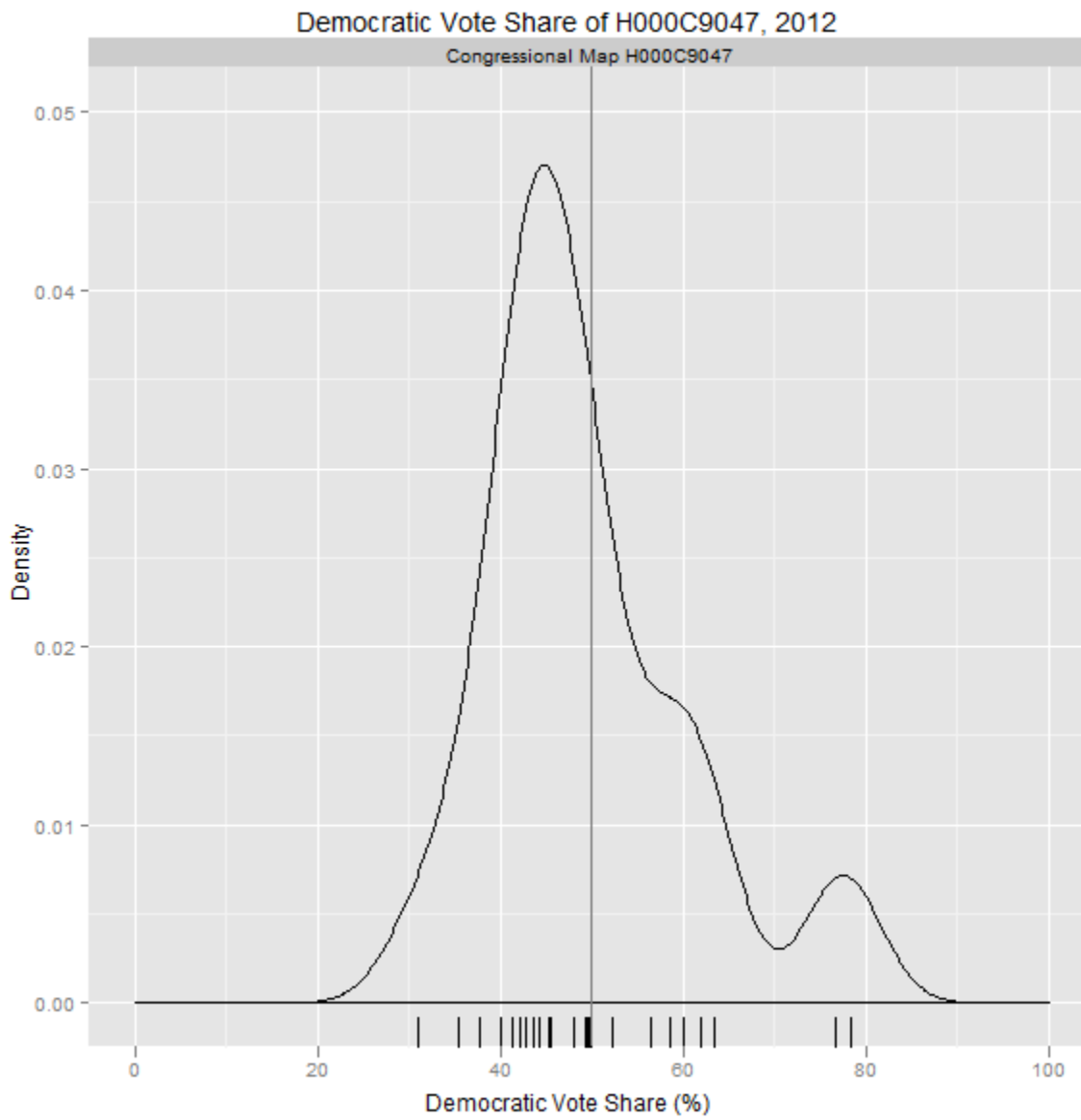
**Figure 1**



**Figure 2**

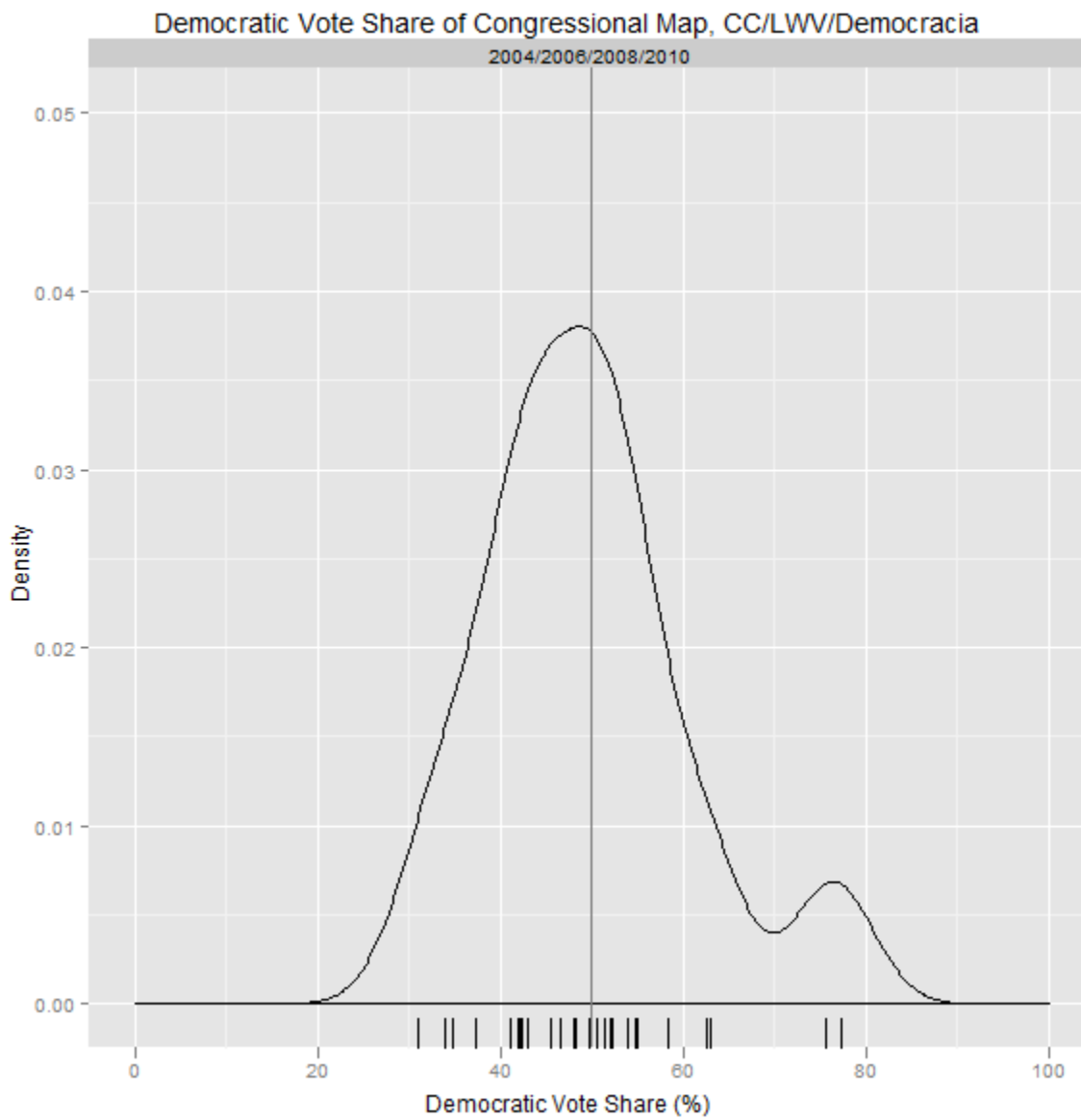


**Figure 3**

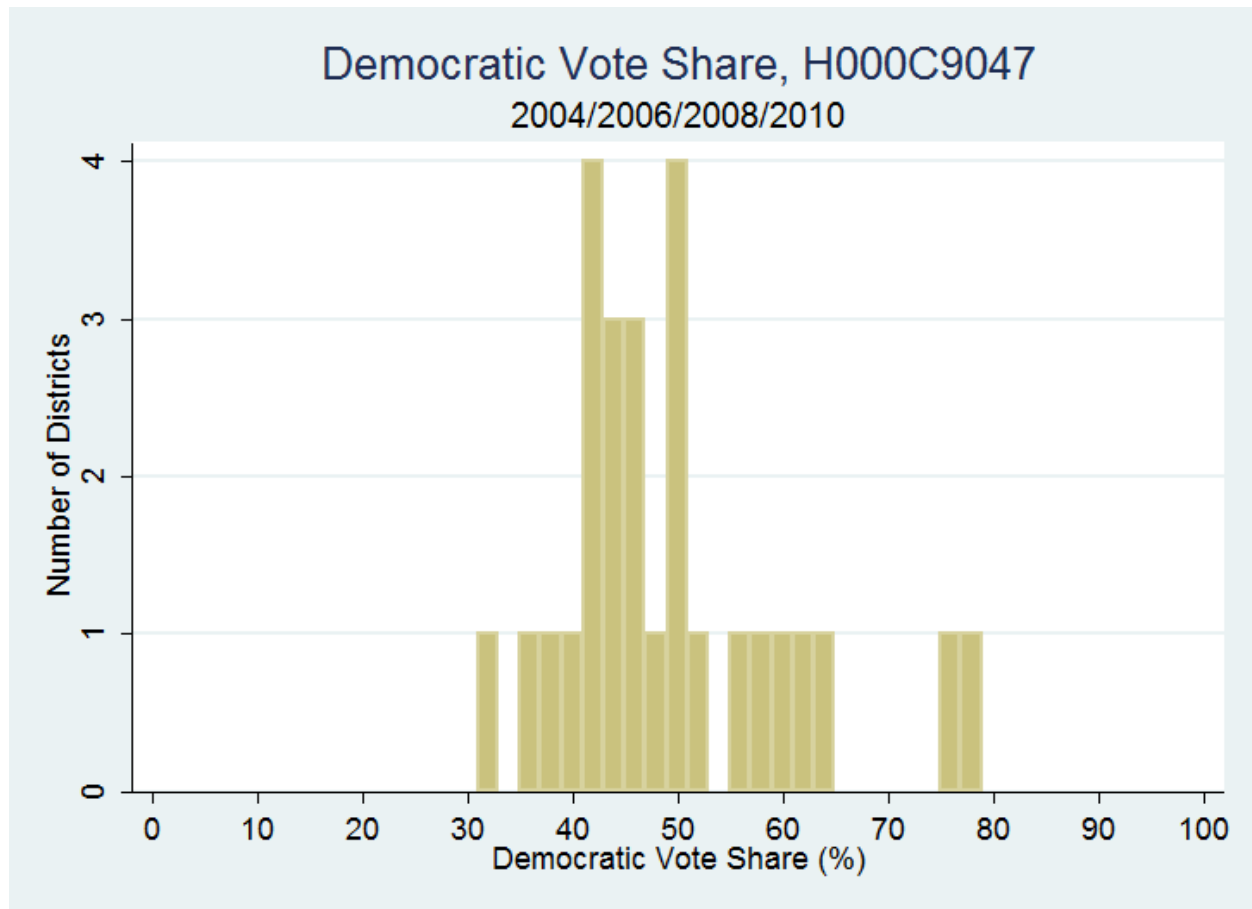




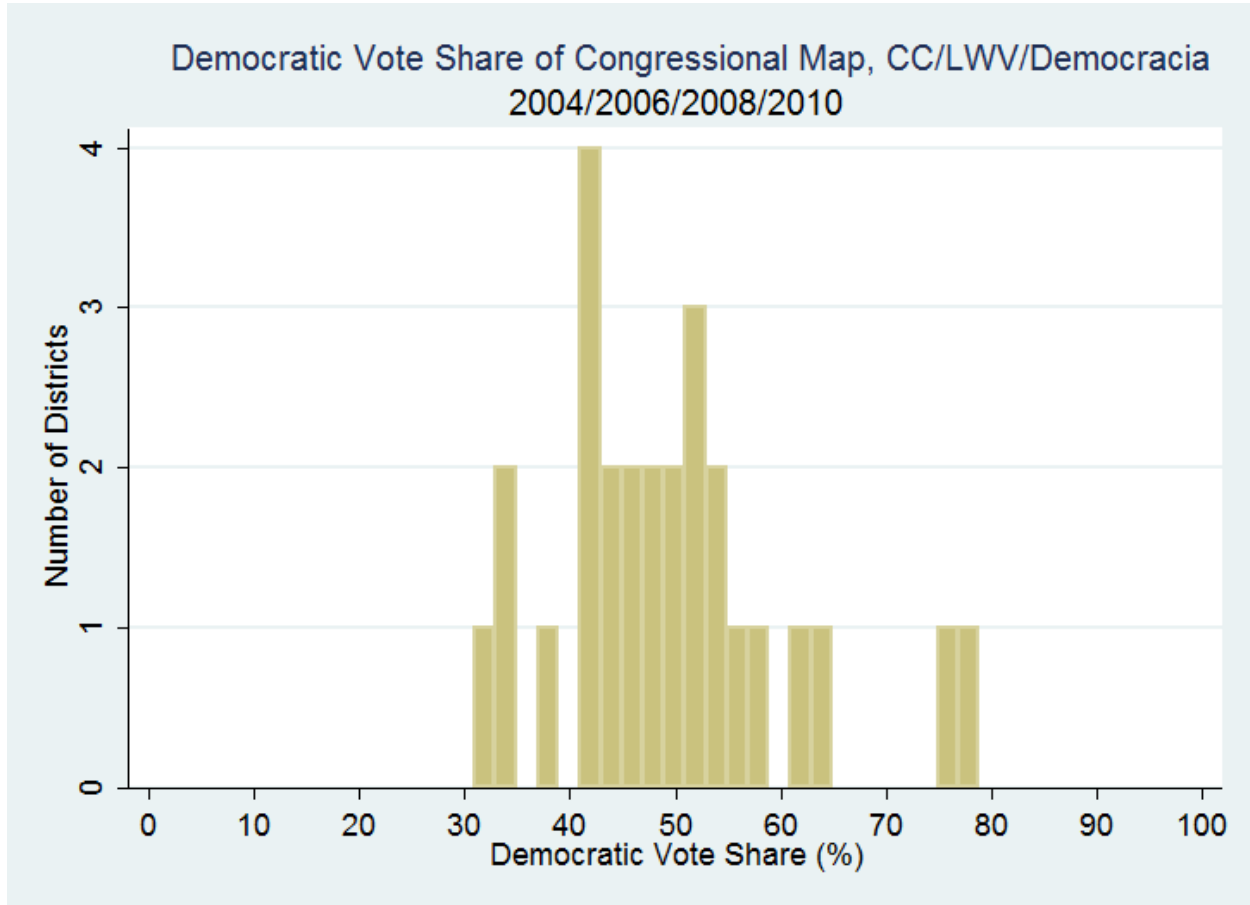
**Figure 4**



**Figure 5**



**Figure 6**



## **Appendix B**

24 March 2012

**DANIEL A. SMITH**

**Curriculum Vitae**

**Mailing Address**

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Twitter: <http://twitter.com/electionsmith>

**EDUCATION**

*University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Ph.D., Political Science, 1994

Major Fields: American Politics, Political Theory, and Public Policy

Minor Fields: Industrial Relations and Political Sociology

Dissertation: *Insular Democracy: Labor-Management Councils in the American States*.

Committee: Peter K. Eisinger (Chair); Charles O. Jones; Graham K. Wilson

M.A., Political Science, 1989

*The Pennsylvania State University*

B.A., Political Science (Foreign Affairs) & B.A., History (*cum laude*), 1988

University Scholars Program (University Honors)

*Phi Beta Kappa*

*Phi Alpha Theta*

Macro Economics Program, *Westminster College, Oxford University*, Summer, 1987

**ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT**

*University of Florida, Gainesville*

Professor, Department of Political Science, 2010-

University of Florida Research Foundation Professor, 2010-2012

Director, Graduate Program in Political Campaigning, 2007-2011

Affiliate Professor, Center for African Studies, 2010-

Internship Coordinator, Department of Political Science, 2005-

Associate Professor (with tenure), Department of Political Science, 2003-2010

Affiliate Associate Professor, Center for African Studies, 2008-09

*University of Denver*

Associate Professor (with tenure), Department of Political Science, 2000-2003

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 1994-2000

Director, *University of Denver/University of Ghana* Study Abroad Program, 1995-2002

*University of Ghana at Legon*

Senior Fulbright Scholar, Department of Political Science, 2000-01

*West Virginia University*

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 1993-1994

*Beloit College*

Visiting Lecturer, *Warner Mills Teaching Fellow*, Department of Government, 1992-1993

*University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Teaching Assistant, Department of Political Science, 1988; 1990-1991

Research Assistant, Center on Wisconsin Strategy, 1989-1991

Project Assistant, Department of Political Science, 1989-1990

#### **RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS**

Research Associate, *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana, Fall 2011.

University of Florida Research Foundation (UFRF) Professor, 2010-2012.

Visiting Scholar, Bill Lane Center for the Study of the North American West, Stanford University, Spring 2007.

Senior Research Scholar, Ballot Initiative Strategy Center, Washington, D.C., Spring 2006.

Senior Fulbright Scholar (Ghana), United States Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, 2000-01.

Research Associate, *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana, 2000-01

#### **AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION**

State and Local Politics (Ballot Initiatives and the Politics and Processes of Direct Democracy)

American Institutions (Political Parties and Interest Groups)

Voting and Elections, Political Campaigns, Campaign Finance, Redistricting

Politics and Elections of Ghana

#### **SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS**

##### **BOOKS**

8) Daniel A. Smith. *Dilemmas of Direct Democracy*. NY: Cambridge University Press. (advanced contract).

7) Todd Donovan, Christopher Z. Mooney, and Daniel A. Smith. 2012. *State and Local Politics: Institutions and Reform*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Boston (MA): Cengage Learning Wadsworth.

6) Todd Donovan, Christopher Z. Mooney, and Daniel A. Smith. 2011. *State and Local Politics: Institutions and Reform*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Essentials edition. Boston (MA): Cengage Learning Wadsworth.

5) Todd Donovan, Christopher Z. Mooney, and Daniel A. Smith. 2010. *State and Local Politics: Institutions and Reform*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Boston (MA): Cengage Learning Wadsworth.

4) Todd Donovan, Christopher Z. Mooney, and Daniel A. Smith. 2009. *State and Local Politics: Institutions and Reform*. Essentials 1<sup>st</sup> edition. Belmont (CA): Cengage Learning Wadsworth.

3) Todd Donovan, Christopher Z. Mooney, and Daniel A. Smith. 2008. *State and Local Politics: Institutions and Reform*. 1<sup>st</sup> edition. Belmont (CA): Cengage Learning Wadsworth.

2) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline J. Tolbert. 2004. *Educated by Initiative: The Effects of Direct Democracy on Citizens and Political Organizations in the American States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

1) Daniel A. Smith. 1998. *Tax Crusaders and the Politics of Direct Democracy*. NY: Routledge.

##### **JOURNAL ARTICLES**

38) Michael Herron and Daniel A. Smith. 2012. "Getting Your Souls to the Polls: Truncating Early Voting in Florida," *Election Law Journal* (accepted; forthcoming in Summer).

37) Janine Parry, Daniel A. Smith, and Shayne Henry. 2011. "The Impact of Petition Signing on Voter Turnout," *Political Behavior* (forthcoming; Online First: <http://www.springerlink.com/content/02wu6488370u382j/>)

36) Stephanie Slade and Daniel A. Smith. 2011. "Obama to Blame? African American Surge Voters and the Ban on Same-Sex Marriage in Florida," *The Forum* 9(2), Article 6. Available: <http://www.bepress.com/forum/vol9/iss2/art6>.

- 35) Daniel A. Smith. 2011. "Generating Scholarship from Public Service: Media Outreach, Nonprofit Foundation Service, and Legal Expert Consulting," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44: 255-9.
- 34) Josh Huder, Jordan Ragusa, and Daniel A. Smith. 2011. "The Initiative to Shirk? The Effects of Ballot Measures on Congressional Voting Behavior," *American Politics Research* 39 (3): 582-610.
- 33) Daniel A. Smith, Caroline J. Tolbert, and Amanda Keller. 2010. "Electoral and Structural Losers and Support for a National Referendum in the U.S." *Electoral Studies* 29: 509-520.
- 32) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline J. Tolbert. 2010. "Direct Democracy, Public Opinion, and Candidate Choice," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 74: 85-108.
- 31) Caroline Tolbert, Daniel A. Smith, and John Green. 2009. "Mass Support for Redistricting Reform: District and Statewide Representational Winners and Losers." *Political Research Quarterly* 62: 92-109.
- 30) Todd Donovan, Caroline J. Tolbert, and Daniel A. Smith. 2009. "Political Engagement, Mobilization, and Direct Democracy," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 73: 98-118.
- 29) Daniel A. Smith. 2009. "An Americanist in Africa," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42 (4): 827-33.
- 28) Beatrix Allah-Mensa, Kevin S. Fridy, Daniel A. Smith, and Ukoha Ukiwo. "2009 APSA Workshop on African Elections and Democracy," *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 42 (4): 827-33. [Editor of a Special Symposium on the 2009 APSA Workshop in Ghana].
- 27) Todd Donovan, Caroline Tolbert, and Daniel A. Smith. 2008. "Priming Presidential Votes by Direct Democracy," *Journal of Politics* 70: 1217-31.
- 26) Daniel A. Smith and Dustin Fridkin. 2008. "Delegating Direct Democracy: Interparty Legislative Competition and the Adoption of the Initiative in the American States," *American Political Science Review* 102: 333-50.
- 25) Eric Heberlig, Bruce Larson, Daniel A. Smith, and Kristen Soltis. 2008. "Look Who's Coming to Dinner: Direct versus Brokered Member Campaign Contributions to the NRCC." *American Politics Research* 36 433-450.
- 24) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline J. Tolbert. 2007. "The Instrumental and Educative Effects of Ballot Measures: Research on Direct Democracy in the American States." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 4: 417-446.
- 23) Daniel A. Smith. 2007. "Representation and the Spatial Bias of Direct Democracy," *University of Colorado Law Review* 78 (4): 1395-1434.
- 22) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline J. Tolbert, and Daniel Bowen. 2007. "The Educative Effects of Direct Democracy: A Research Primer for Legal Scholars," *University of Colorado Law Review* 78 (4): 1371-94.
- 21) Daniel A. Smith, Matthew DeSantis, and Jason Kassel. 2006. "Same-Sex Marriage Ballot Measures and the 2004 Presidential Election," *State and Local Government Review* 38 (2): 78-91.
- 20) Caroline J. Tolbert and Daniel A. Smith. 2006. "Representation and Direct Democracy in the United States." *Representation: The Journal of Representative Democracy* 42 (1): 25-44.
- 19) Elizabeth Garrett and Daniel A. Smith. 2005. "Veiled Political Actors and Campaign Disclosure Laws in Direct Democracy." *Election Law Journal* 4 (4) 295-328.
- 18) Caroline J. Tolbert and Daniel A. Smith. 2005. "The Educative Effects of Ballot Initiatives on Voter Turnout." *American Politics Research* 33 (2): 283-309.
- 17) Daniel A. Smith. 2004. "Peeling Away the Populist Rhetoric: Toward a Taxonomy of Anti-Tax Ballot Initiatives." *Journal of Public Budgeting and Finance* 24 (4): 88-110.
- 16) Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "Overturning Term Limits: The Legislature's Own Private Idaho?" *PS: Political Science & Politics* 36 (2): 215-220.
- 15) Caroline J. Tolbert, Ramona McNeal, and Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "Enhancing Civic Engagement: The Effect of Direct Democracy on Political Participation and Knowledge." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 3 (1): 23-41.
- 14) Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "Distorted by Outside Money: National Parties and the Race for Colorado's Seventh Congressional District," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 36 (3) PSONline E-Symposium  
<<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?aid=164256>>.

- 13) Daniel A. Smith and Joseph Lubinski. 2002. "Direct Democracy during the Progressive Era: A Crack in the Populist Veneer?" *Journal of Policy History* 14 (4): 349-83.
- 12) Jonathan Temin and Daniel A. Smith. 2002. "Media Matters: Evaluating the Role of the Media in Ghana's 2000 Elections." *African Affairs* 101: 585-605.
- 11) Daniel A. Smith. 2002. "Consolidating Democracy? The Structural Underpinnings of Ghana's 2000 Elections." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 40 (4): 1-30.
- 10) Daniel A. Smith. 2002. "Ghana's 2000 Elections: Consolidating Multi-Party Democracy." *Electoral Studies* 21 (3): 519-26.
- 9) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline Tolbert. 2001. "The Initiative to Party: Partisanship and Ballot Initiatives in California." *Party Politics* 7 (6): 781-99.
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- 6) Daniel A. Smith and Robert J. Herrington. 2000. "The Process of Direct Democracy: Colorado's 1996 Parental Rights Amendment." *Social Science Journal* 37 (2): 179-94.
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#### **BOOK CHAPTERS**

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- 20) Joseph Eagleton and Daniel A. Smith. "Public opinion on Florida Redistricting – The Passage of Amendments 5 and 6," in Seth C. McKee, ed., *Jigsaw Puzzle Politics in the Sunshine State*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida (under contract).
- 19) Daniel A. Smith. 2012. "Direct Democracy," in *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, Michael T. Gibbons, ed. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell (forthcoming in Fall).
- 18) Daniel A. Smith. 2012. "Direct Democracy: Regulating the 'Will of the People,'" in Matthew J. Streb, ed., *Law and Election Politics: The Rules of the Game*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Routledge (in press; forthcoming in Fall).
- 17) Daniel A. Smith. 2011. "Direct Democracy in Colorado: A Historical Perspective," in Courtenay Daum, Robert Duffy, and John Straayer, eds., *State of Change: Colorado Politics in the Twenty-first Century*. Boulder: University of Colorado Press..
- 16) Daniel A. Smith. 2010. "Direct Democracy and Candidate Elections," in Stephen C. Craig and David Hill, *The Electoral Challenge: Theory Meets Practice*, 2nd edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- 15) Daniel A. Smith. 2010. "Financing Ballot Measures in the U.S.," in Karin Gilland-Lutz and Simon Hug, eds., *Financing Referendum Campaigns*. New York: Palgrave.
- 14) Daniel A. Smith. 2008. "Direct Democracy and Campaigns," in Shaun Bowler and Amihai Glazer, eds., *Direct Democracy's Impact on American Political Institutions*. New York: Palgrave.



- 13) Todd Donovan and Daniel A. Smith. 2008. "Identifying and Preventing Signature Fraud on Ballot Measure Petitions," in Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall, and Susan D. Hyde, eds., *Election Fraud: Detecting and Detering Electoral Manipulation*. Washington, DC: Brookings.
- 12) Daniel A. Smith. 2008. "Direct Democracy and Election and Ethics Laws," in Bruce Cain, Todd Donovan, and Caroline Tolbert, eds., *Democracy in the States: Experiments in Elections Reform*. Washington, DC: Brookings.
- 11) Raymond J. La Raja, Susan E. Orr, and Daniel A. Smith. 2006. "Surviving BCRA: State Party Finance in 2004," in John Green and Daniel Coffey, eds., *The State of the Parties* (5<sup>th</sup> edition). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- 10) Daniel A. Smith. 2006. "Initiatives and Referendums: The Effects of Direct Democracy on Candidate Elections," in Steven Craig, ed., *The Electoral Challenge: Theory Meets Practice*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- 9) Daniel A. Smith (with Sure Log). 2005. "Orange Crush: Mobilization of Bias, Ballot Initiatives, and the Politics of Professional Sports Stadia," in David McCuan and Stephen Stambough, eds., *Initiative-Centered Politics*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- 8) Daniel A. Smith. 2005. "The Initiative to Party: The Role of Parties in State Ballot Initiatives," in David McCuan and Stephen Stambough, eds., *Initiative-Centered Politics*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- 7) Daniel A. Smith. 2004. "Strings Attached: Outside Money in Colorado's Seventh Congressional District," in David Magleby and Quin Monson, eds., *The Last Hurrah?* Washington, D.C.: Brookings.
- 6) Daniel A. Smith. 2002. "Direct Democracy and Its Critics," in Peter Woolley and Albert Papa, eds., *American Politics: Core Argument/Current Controversy*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- 5) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "Campaign Financing of Ballot Initiatives in the American States," in Larry Sabato, Bruce Larson, and Howard Ernst, eds., *Dangerous Democracy? The Battle Over Ballot Initiatives in America*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- 4) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "Special Interests and Direct Democracy: An Historical Glance," in M. Dane Waters, ed., *The Battle Over Citizen Lawmaking*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- 3) Daniel A. Smith and Jonathan Temin. 2001. "The Media and Ghana's 2000 Elections," in Joseph Ayee, ed., *Deepening Democracy in Ghana: Politics of the 2000 Elections*, Volume 1 ("Thematic Studies"). Accra: Freedom Publications Ltd.
- 2) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "The Politics of Upper East and the 2000 Ghanaian Elections," in Joseph Ayee, ed., *Deepening Democracy in Ghana: Politics of the 2000 Elections*, Volume 2 ("Constituency Studies"). Accra: Freedom Publications Ltd.
- 1) Daniel A. Smith. 1998. "Unmasking the Tax Crusaders," in Bruce Stinebrickner, ed., *Annual Editions: State & Local Government*. 9th ed. Guilford, CT: Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, 83-85 [Reprinted].

#### **TECHNICAL REPORTS & OTHER SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS**

- 24) Daniel A. Smith, "The Re-demarcation and Reapportionment of Parliamentary Constituencies in Ghana," *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-GHANA)*, Vol. 10 (2): October, 2011. Available: <http://www.cddghana.org/documents/Vol.%2010,%20No.%202.pdf>
- 23) Daniel A. Smith. 2010. "Educative Effects of Direct Democracy: Evidence from the US States," Memorandum requested by the British House of Lords, Constitution Committee, January 4. Available: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200910/ldselect/ldconst/99/99we14.htm>.
- 22) Daniel A. Smith. 2007. "Ballot Initiatives," in Gary Anderson and Kathryn Herr, eds., *Encyclopedia of Activism and Social Justice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- 21) Daniel A. Smith. 2006. "Money Talks: Ballot Initiative Spending in 2004." *Ballot Initiative Strategy Center*, June. Available: <http://ballot.org>.
- 20) Daniel A. Smith. 2006. "Ballot Initiatives, Tax Issues," in Larry Sabato and Howard Ernst, eds., *Encyclopedia of American Political Parties and Elections*. New York: Facts on File.

- 19) Daniel A. Smith. 2004. "Direct Democracy," in David Wishart, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- 18) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline J. Tolbert, "Educated by Initiative," *Campaigns and Elections*, August 2003, 31.
- 17) Elizabeth Garrett, and Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "Veiled Political Actors: The Real Threat to Campaign Disclosure Statutes" (July 22). USC Law and Public Policy Research Paper No. 03-13  
<<http://ssrn.com/abstract=424603>>.
- 16) Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "Ballot Initiatives and the (Sub)Urban/Rural Divide in Colorado," in Daphne T. Greenwood, ed., *Colorado's Future: Meeting the Needs of a Changing State*. Colorado Springs: Center for Colorado Policy Studies.
- 15) Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "The Colorado 7<sup>th</sup> Congressional District," in David B. Magleby and Quin Monson, eds., *The Last Hurrah?* Provo, UT: Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy.
- 14) Stan Elofson, Daniel A. Smith, Jennifer Berg, and Joseph Lubinski. 2002. "A Listing of Statewide Initiated and Referred Ballot Proposals in Colorado, 1912-2001." Issue Brief No. 02-02. (March 5) *Colorado Legislative Council*, Colorado General Assembly, Denver. [Revised Edition].
- 13) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "Howard Jarvis' Legacy? An Assessment of Antitax Initiatives in the American States." *State Tax Notes* 22: 10 (December): 753-764.
- 12) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "The Structural Underpinnings of Ghana's December 2000 Elections." Critical Perspectives, No. 6. *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana.
- 11) Daniel A. Smith, Jonathan Temin, and Kwaku Nuamah. 2001. "Media Coverage of the 2000 Election: A Report on the Media Coverage of Election 2000 (May 2000-January 2001)." Research Paper, No. 8. *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana.
- 10) Daniel A. Smith. 2000. "Election 2000: Debating the Issues?" Briefing Paper, Volume 2, Number 4, *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana.
- 9) Daniel A. Smith. 2000. "Growth and Transportation Ballot Measures in Colorado," in Floyd Ciruli, ed., *Moving Visions: Next Steps Toward Growing Smart*. Denver: Gates Family Foundation.
- 8) Stan Elofson, Daniel A. Smith, Jennifer Berg, and Joseph Lubinski. 2000. "A Listing of Statewide Initiated and Referred Ballot Proposals in Colorado, 1912-2000." Issue Brief No. 8. (December) *Colorado Legislative Council*, Colorado General Assembly, Denver. [updated 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008]
- 7) Daniel A. Smith. 2000. "Progressives and the Initiative Process: A Call to Arms." *Ballot Initiative Strategy Center (BISC)*.
- 6) Daniel A. Smith and Joseph Lubinski. 2000. "Sponsoring 'Counter-Majoritarian' Bills in Colorado." *Ag Journal*. (September): 12-13.
- 5) Daniel A. Smith. 1998. "Unmasking the Tax Crusaders." *State Government News*. 41:2 (March): 18-21.
- 4) Daniel A. Smith. 1997. "Howard Jarvis, Populist Entrepreneur," Working Paper, 97-8, Institute of Governmental Studies, *University of California - Berkeley*.
- 3) Daniel A. Smith. 1995. "The West Virginia Labor-Management Advisory Council," *The West Virginia Public Affairs Reporter*. 12:4 (Winter): 1-11.
- 2) Daniel A. Smith. 1992. "A Tale of Five Cities," *The La Follette Policy Report*. 5 (Fall): 18-21.
- 1) Daniel A. Smith. 1991. "Emerging Skill Needs in the Wisconsin Non-Automotive Engines Industry," Commissioned by the Wisconsin Board of Vocational, Technical, and Adult Education, Working Paper, *Center on Wisconsin Strategy*, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

#### **BOOK REVIEWS & REVIEW ESSAYS**

- 9) Daniel A. Smith. Review of Dorothy Holland, Donald M. Nonini, Catherine Lutz, Lesley Bartlett, Marla Frederick-McGlathery, Thaddeus C. Guldbradsen, and Enrique G. Murillo, Jr., Local Democracy Under Siege: Activism, Public Interests, and Private Politics, *Perspectives on Politics* 6: 386-86.

- 8) Daniel A. Smith. 2006. Review of Stephen Nicholson, Voting the Agenda: Candidates, Elections, and Ballot Propositions, *Political Science Quarterly* 120: 695-697.
- 7) Daniel A. Smith. 2005. Review of John Matsusaka, For the Many or the Few? The Initiative, Public Policy, and American Democracy, *Perspectives on Politics* 3: 646-47.
- 6) Daniel A. Smith. 2000. Review of Shaun Bowler and Todd Donovan, Demanding Choices: Opinion, Voting, and Direct Democracy, *Social Science Quarterly* 81: 1104-1106.
- 5) Daniel A. Smith. 1999. Review of Shaun Bowler, Todd Donovan, Caroline Tolbert, eds., Citizens as Legislators, *American Political Science Review* 93: 446-447.
- 4) Daniel A. Smith. 1998. Review of David Ryden, Representation in Crisis, *Politics and Policy* 26: 514-515.
- 3) Daniel A. Smith. 1998. Review of Grant Reeher and Joseph Cammarano, eds., Education for Citizenship, H-Pol, H-Net. (February).
- 2) Daniel A. Smith. 1997. Review Essay of William S. K. Reno, Corruption and State Politics in Sierra Leone, and Sahr John Kpundeh, Politics and Corruption in Africa, *Africa Today* 44: 362-365.
- 1) Daniel A. Smith. 1996. Review of Stephen Lowe, The Kid on the Sandlot: Congress and Professional Sports, 1910-1992, *Sport History Review* 27: 90-92.

#### **MANUSCRIPTS UNDER REVIEW OR IN PROGRESS**

Daniel A. Smith, Caroline Tolbert, and Amanda Keller. "The Focusing Effects of Direct Democracy on Political Interest and Participation: A Panel Study of the 2008 Election."

Matthew Harrigan and Daniel A. Smith, "Pledging Democracy: Congressional Support for a National Advisory Initiative and Referendum."

Joshua Broadbeck, Matthew Harrigan, and Daniel A. Smith. "Citizen and Lobbyist Access to Members of Congress: Who Gets and Who Gives?"

Daniel Cicenía and Daniel A. Smith, "Delegating War Powers to Citizens? Congressional Support for the 1938 Ludlow Amendment."

Daniel A. Smith, Diana Forster, and Brian Amos. "Engaging Potential Voters? The Collection of Valid Signatures on Ballot Petitions."

Daniel A. Smith. "The Legislative Regulation of the Initiative." (Turned down offer to revise and resubmit to *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*.)

Diana Forester and Daniel A. Smith. "Direct Democracy and Climate Change," in U.S. Climate Change Policy and the Role of Civic Society, Yael Wolinsky-Nahmias, ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Joseph Eagleton and Daniel A. Smith. "Public Opinion on Florida Redistricting – The Passage of Amendments 5 and 6," in Seth C. McKee, ed., *Jigsaw Puzzle Politics in the Sunshine State*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Caroline Tolbert, Daniel Bowen, and Daniel A. Smith, "Trusting Direct Democracy."

William Hicks and Daniel A. Smith. "Divided Government and Legislative Productivity in the American States."

Daniel A. Smith, Todd Donovan, and Caroline Tolbert. "Partisanship, Ballot Propositions, and Candidate Voting." Submitted to *Democratization*.

#### **RESEARCH GRANTS, HONORS, AND AWARDS**

Co-Principal Investigator, "Trans-Saharan Professionals Program," United States Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, S-ECAPPE-10-GR-231 (DT) (\$648,573), September 2010-August 2012.

University of Florida Research Foundation (UFRF) Professor, 2010-2012 (annual salary supplement and research funding)

Co-Principal Investigator, *American Political Science Association Workshop on Elections and Democracy*, University of Ghana at Legon, Ghana, Summer 2009, funded by Mellon Foundation.

Best Paper Award presented in 2006 by the APSA Organized Section on State Politics and Policy: "Do State-Level Ballot Measures Affect Presidential Elections?" American Political Science Association Conference, Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 2005 (with Caroline Tolbert and Todd Donovan).

Research Grant, "Did Gay Marriage Re-Elect George W. Bush?" University of Florida, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences, Summer 2005.

University Scholars Program Grant (with Kirsten Soltis), University of Florida, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences, **"Money and the Member: An Analysis of Fundraising in Congressional Politics in the Post-Campaign Finance Reform Era,"** Fall 2005.

Research Grant, "Mobilization Effects of Ballot Measures in Colorado, Florida, Ohio, and Nevada," Ballot Initiative Strategy Center, Fall 2004.

Research Grant, "Mobilization Effects of Gay Marriage Ban in Ohio," Ballot Initiative Strategy Center, Fall 2004.

Research and Travel Grant, *Pew Charitable Trusts*, "Veiled Political Actors," Daniel Lowenstein, Kim Alexander, Robert Stern, Tracy Western, and Joseph Doherty, Principle Investigators, Fall 2003.

Travel Grant, *College of Liberal Arts and Sciences*, University of Florida, "Initiative and Referendum Campaigns," Fall 2003.

Research Grant, *Pew Charitable Trusts*, "Outside Money: Colorado's 7<sup>th</sup> Congressional District," David Magleby, Principal Investigator, Fall 2002.

Faculty Research Fund, "Ballot Initiatives during the Progressive Era," *University of Denver*, Fall 2002.

Research Grant, *American Political Science Association*, "Ballot Initiatives during the Progressive Era: Evidence from California, 1912-1920," Summer 2002.

Research Grant, *Colorado Endowment for the Humanities*, "The 'Golden Era' of Direct Democracy? Colorado's Election of 1912," (R017-0300-010) (with Joseph Lubinski), Spring 2000.

Partners in Scholarship: 2000 Winter Quarter Project Proposal, "The 'Golden Era' of Direct Democracy? Evidence from the Colorado Election of 1912," *University of Denver*, with Joseph Lubinski).

Rosenberry Fund, "Direct Democracy in Colorado," *University of Denver*, Spring 1999.

Best Paper, Charles Redd Politics of the American West, "Howard Jarvis, Populist Entrepreneur: Reevaluating Causes of Proposition 13," *Western Political Science Association*, Los Angeles, March 20, 1998.

Faculty Research Fund, "Ballot Warriors: Citizen Initiatives in the 1990s," *University of Denver*, Fall 1997.

Partners in Scholarship: 1997 Winter Quarter Project Proposal, "The Process of Direct Democracy: Parental Rights Amendment," *University of Denver*, with Robert Herrington, Winter 1997.

Faculty Research Fund, "Faux Populism: Populist Entrepreneurs and Populist Moments," *University of Denver*, Fall 1996.

International Small Grants, "Election Monitor: Ghana Presidential and Parliamentary 1996 Elections," Office of Internationalization, *University of Denver*, Fall 1996.

Faculty Research Fund, "Populist Prophets and the Mass Appeal of Direct Democracy," Program Support Services, *University of Denver*, Spring 1995.

Research Grant, Institute for Public Affairs, *West Virginia University*, Summer 1994.

Senate Research Travel Grant, Faculty Development Fund, *West Virginia University*, Fall 1994.

Research Travel Grant, Robert LaFollette Institute of Public Affairs, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*, Fall 1992.

## **CONSULTANT/EXPERT WITNESS**

### ***Domestic***

Consultant, *League of Women Voters v. Browning*, United States Federal District Court, Tallahassee, FL, Winter 2011.

Board of Advisors, "Howard Jarvis and the Birth of the Tax Revolt," Documentary Film by Jason Cohn, Bread and Butter Films.

Expert Witness, *Worley v. Roberts*, United States Federal District Court, Tallahassee, FL, Spring 2011.

Expert Witness, PPE Casino Resorts Maryland, LLC, *et al. v. Anne Arundel County Board of Supervisors of Elections, et al.*, Court of Appeals of Maryland, Spring 2010.

Expert Witness, The Independence Institute, *et. al. v. Bernie Buescher*, Office of the Colorado Attorney General, United States Court of Appeals, Tenth Circuit, Spring 2010.

Lead Author, "Direct Democracy Scholars" Amicus Brief in Support of Respondents, *John Doe #1, et al. Petitioners v. Sam Reed*, *et al.*, Respondents, Supreme Court of the United States, Spring 2010.

Expert Witness, *Dallman, et al. v. William Ritter and Rich L. Gonzales and Daniel Ritchie, et al.*, Plaintiffs, Colorado Supreme Court, Fall 2009.

Expert Witness, *Sampson v. Coffman (Buescher)*, Office of the Colorado Attorney General, United States Court of Appeals, Tenth Circuit, Winter 2007-08.

Consultant, *Trust the Voters*, Tallahassee, Fall 2006.

Consultant, *The Washington State Patrol Troopers Association*, Summer 2006.

Expert Witness, *The City of Winter Springs, FL v. Seminole County*, City of Winter Springs, Fall 2004.

Expert Witness Product, "An Analysis of Veiled Political Actors in Ballot Measure Campaigns," *California Pro-Life Council, Inc. v. Karen Getman, et al.*, Office of the California Attorney General, United States Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit, Summer 2004.

Expert Witness Report, "An Analysis of State-Level Broadcasted Television and Direct Mail Ads in Colorado, 1999-2003," *Colorado Right to Life Committee, Inc. v. Donetta Davidson*, Office of the Colorado Attorney General, Fall 2004.

Expert Witness, Ballot Initiative Reform, Florida Legislature, 2002; 2003-05.

Expert Witness, Ballot Initiative Reform, Colorado Legislature, 1999-2000.

Consultant, *Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Health Care*, Denver, CO, 1998-2000.

## International

Expert Witness, *British House of Lords*, Constitution Committee (Direct Democracy), 2010.

Consultant, *Institute of International Education (IIE)*, New York, 2002-04.

Consultant, *Coalition of Domestic Elections Observers (CODEO)*, Accra, Ghana, 2000-01.

Consultant, *International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES)*, Washington, DC, 1999-2001.

Consultant, *International Student Exchange Program (ISEP)*, Washington, DC, 1995-97.

## COURSES TAUGHT

Intro to American Politics (Undergrad)	State and Local Government (Undergrad)
Interest Group Politics (Undergrad)	Political Parties (Grad & Undergrad)
Direct Democracy (Grad & Undergrad)	Politics of Campaign Finance (Grad & Undergrad)
Urban Politics (Undergrad)	Problems of Markets and Governments (Undergrad)
Politics of Reform (Grad)	Intro to Politics (Foundations of Political Thought)

## TEACHING GRANTS, HONORS, AND AWARDS

Political Science Board of Advisors, "Outstanding Professor Award," *University of Florida*, Spring 2008.

Center for Teaching and Learning Technology Grant, "Introduction to American Politics: Web-Based Interactive Learning," *University of Denver*, Spring, 1997.

Faculty Appreciation Award, Learning Effectiveness Program, *University of Denver*, April 1997.

Curriculum Diversity Grant, "A Theater History: The Racial and Class Politics of US Drama from Colonization Forward," *University of Denver*, Winter, 1997.

CORE Development Grant, "Drama of Politics/Politics of Drama," *University of Denver*, Summer, 1996.

International Small Grants, "Summer Student Study Abroad Program: University of Ghana at Legon," Office of Internationalization, *University of Denver*, Spring, 1995.

International Small Grants, "Ghana Study Abroad Program," Office of Internationalization, *University of Denver*, Spring, 1995.

#### **NEWSPAPER OP-EDS & LETTERS TO THE EDITOR**

Op-Ed, "Voters need to push back against corporate cash," *St. Petersburg Times*, July 13, 2010.

Op-Ed, "A chance for Floridians to redraw rigged districts," *St. Petersburg Times*, November 25, 2009.

Op-Ed, "Lawmakers don't trust voters with the constitution," *Gainesville Sun*, October 21, 2006.

Op-Ed, "Jeb Bush's secret-squirrel hunt? Rocky, that's just a bunch of Bullwinkle," *Orlando Sentinel*, February 23, 2006.

Op-Ed, "Colorado: Independent of Whom?" Ballot Initiative Strategy Center, *Ballot Blog*, August 29, 2005.

Op-Ed, "Stop Political Fund-Raising Arm," *Gainesville Sun*, April 25, 2004 (with Nicole M. James).

Op-Ed, "Committees Hold the Secret to Campaign Financing," *St. Petersburg Times*, April 10, 2004 (with Nicole M. James).

Letter, "Reform Ballot Initiative and Preserve the People's Power," *Miami Herald*, February 29, 2004.

Op-Ed, "No: The Rich Have Taken Over," *Denver Post*, December 1, 2002.

Op-Ed, "The Millionaire's Club: Why Leave Ballot Initiatives to the Rich?" *Denver Post*, August 18, 2002.

Op-Ed, "The Political Consequence of 'Praying for Peace,'" *The Crusading Guide* [Accra, Ghana], 12-18 October, 2000.

Letter, "Book's [*Democracy Derailed* by David Broder] premise is problematic," *Denver Post*, May 28, 2000.

Letter, "Initiative process ignores rural voices," *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, March 15, 2000.

Op-Ed, "Progressives need to show initiative on ballot signatures," *Denver Post*, January 13, 2000.

Op-Ed, "Colorado should put campaign finance data on the Internet," *Denver Post*, November 4, 1998 (with Richard Braunstein).

Letter, "Follow the Money," *Washington Post*, October 12, 1998.

Op-Ed, "Voters behind rule," *Denver Post*, June 21, 1998.

Op-Ed, "Founders crafted safeguards against popular excesses," *Denver Post*, May 21, 1995.

#### **CONFERENCE PAPER PRESENTATIONS**

"The Participatory Impact of Truncating Early Voting in Florida," State Politics and Policy Quarterly 12<sup>th</sup> annual conference, Rice University, Houston, TX, February 16 – February 18 (with Michael Herron).

"Pledging Democracy: Congressional Support for a National Advisory Initiative and Referendum," Southern Political Science Association, January 5-8, 2011, New Orleans (presented by Matthew Harrigan).

"Engaging Potential Voters? The Collection of Valid Signatures on Ballot Petitions," State Politics and Policy Quarterly 11<sup>th</sup> annual conference, Dartmouth University, June 4-6, 2011 (with Diana Forster).

"Pledging Democracy: Congressional Support for a National Advisory Initiative and Referendum," Southern Political Science Association, January 5-8, 2011, New Orleans (presented by Matthew Harrigan).

"We Know What You Did Last Summer: The Impact of Petition Signing on Voter Turnout," State Politics and Policy Quarterly 10<sup>th</sup> annual conference, University of Illinois, Springfield, June 5-6, 2010 (with Janine Parry & Shayne Henry).

*"Reassessing Direct Democracy and Civic Engagement: A Panel Study of the 2008 Election,"* State Politics and Policy Quarterly 10<sup>th</sup> annual conference, University of Illinois, Springfield, June 5-6, 2010 (with Caroline J. Tolbert and Amanda Frost).

*"Generating Scholarship from Public Service: Media Work, Nonprofit Foundation Service, and Legal Expert Consulting,"* State Politics and Policy Quarterly 10<sup>th</sup> annual conference, University of Illinois, Springfield, June 5-6, 2010.

*"Obama to Blame: Minority Surge Voters and the Ban on Same-Sex Marriage in Florida,"* American Political Science Association Conference, Toronto, September 2-5, 2009 (with Stephanie Slade).

*"State Context and Support for a National Referendum in the U.S."* State Politics and Policy Quarterly 9<sup>th</sup> annual conference, UNC Chapel Hill/Duke University, May 22-23, 2009 (with Caroline J. Tolbert and Amanda Frost).

*"Direct Democracy, Opinion Formation, and Candidate Choice,"* American Political Science Association Conference, Boston, August 2008 (with Caroline J. Tolbert).

*"The Legislative Regulation of the Initiative,"* State Politics and Policy Quarterly 8<sup>th</sup> annual conference, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, May 30-31, 2008.

*"The Initiative to Shirk? The Effects of Ballot Measures on Congressional Voting Behavior,"* State Politics and Policy Quarterly 8<sup>th</sup> annual conference, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, May 30-31, 2008 (with Josh Huder and Jordan Ragusa).

*"Participatory-Based Trust? Political Trust and Direct Democracy,"* American Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, August 2007 (with Caroline J. Tolbert and Daniel Bowen).

*"Giving Power to the People: The Adoption of Direct Democracy in the American States,"* Western Political Science Association Conference, Las Vegas, NV, March 7-9, 2007 (with Dustin Fridkin).

*"Mass Support for Redistricting Reform: District and Statewide Representational Winners and Losers,"* State Politics and Policy Quarterly 7<sup>th</sup> annual conference, Austin, TX, February 22-24, 2007 (with Caroline J. Tolbert and John C. Green).

*"Mass Support for Redistricting Reform: Partisanship and Representational Winners and Losers,"* American Political Science Association Conference, Philadelphia, August 2006 (with Caroline J. Tolbert and John C. Green).

*"Gaming the System: The Effect of BCRA on State Party Finance Activities." The State of the Parties: 2004 & Beyond.* Ray C. Bliss Institute for Applied Politics, Akron, OH, October 2005 (with Susan Orr).

*"Do State-Level Ballot Measures Affect Presidential Elections?" American Political Science Association Conference,* Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 2005 (with Caroline Tolbert and Todd Donovan).

*"Did Gay Marriage Elect George W. Bush?" Fifth Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy,* Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI, May 13-14, 2005 (with Todd Donovan, Caroline Tolbert, and Janine Parry).

*"Was Rove Right? Evangelicals and the Impact of Gay Marriage in the 2004 Election." Fifth Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy,* Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI, May 13-14, 2005 (with Matt DeSantis and Jason Kassel).

*"Partisanship, Direct Democracy, and Candidate Choice," Midwest Political Science Association Conference,* Chicago, IL, April 7-10, 2005 (with Caroline Tolbert and Todd Donovan).

*"Did Gay Marriage Elect the President? Mobilizing Effects of Ballot Measures in the 2004 Election," Western Political Science Association Conference,* Oakland, CA, March 17-19, 2005 (with Todd Donovan and Caroline Tolbert).

*"Initiatives and Referendums: The Effects of Direct Democracy on Candidate Elections," Conference on What We Know and Don't Know about Campaigns and Elections, Graduate Program in Political Campaigning,* University of Florida, Gainesville, FL, February 24-5, 2005.

"Was Rove Right? The Partisan Wedge and Turnout Effects of Issue 1, Ohio's 2004 Ballot Initiative to Ban Gay Marriage," *University of California Center for the Study of Democracy/USC-Caltech Center for the Study of Law and Politics/Initiative and Referendum Institute Conference*, Newport Beach, CA, January 14-15, 2005.

"The Educative Effects of Direct Democracy on Voter Turnout," *American Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, IL, September 1-5, 2004 (with Caroline Tolbert).

"Turning On and Turning Out: Assessing the Indirect Effects of Ballot Measures on Voter Participation," *Fourth Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy*, Kent State University, Kent, OH, April 30-May 2, 2004 (with Todd Donovan).

"Veiled Political Actors: The Real Threat to Campaign Finance Disclosure Statutes?" *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, April 14-18, 2004 (with Elizabeth Garrett).

"Elephants, Umbrellas, and Quarrelling Cocks: Disaggregating Party Identification in Ghana's Fourth Republic," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Portland, OR, March 11-13, 2004 (with Kevin Fridy).

"Gaming the System: State Party Finance Activities in Colorado and Florida," *Southern Political Science Association Conference*, New Orleans, January 7-10, 2004.

"The Educative Effects of Direct Democracy: Ballot Campaigns and Civic Engagement in the American States," *Societa Italiana di Studi Elettorali (SISE) VIIIth International Conference on Electoral Campaigns (Initiative and Referendum)*, Venice, Italy, December 18-20, 2003.

"In the Wake of Prop. 13," *American Political Science Association Conference*, Philadelphia, PA, August 27-31, 2003.

"Soft Money and Issue Advocacy in the 2002 Colorado 7<sup>th</sup> Congressional District Election," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Denver, CO, March 26-30, 2003.

"Educated by Initiative: Direct Democracy and Civic Engagement in the American States," *Third Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy*, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ, March 14-15, 2003 (with Caroline Tolbert).

"Ballot Initiatives and the (Sub)Urban/Rural Divide in Colorado," *Colorado's Future: How Can We Meet the Needs of a Changing State?* University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, September 27, 2002.

"Representation and the Spatial Dimension of Direct Democracy," *American Political Science Association Conference*, Boston, MA, August 29-September 1, 2002.

"Representation and the Spatial Bias of Direct Democracy," *Second Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy*, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milwaukee, WI, May 24-25, 2002.

"Minority Rights and the Spatial Bias of Direct Democracy," *Southwestern Political Science Association Conference*, New Orleans, LA, March 27-30, 2002.

"Representation and the Urban Bias of Direct Democracy," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Long Beach, CA, March 21-24 2002.

"Ghost Busters: The Structural Underpinnings and Politics of Ghana's 2000 Elections," *African Studies Association Conference*, Houston, TX, November 15-18, 2001.

"The Effect of Ballot Initiatives on Voter Turnout," *American Political Science Association Conference*, Washington, DC, August 31-September 3, 2000 (with Caroline Tolbert and John Grummel).

"Campaign Finance of Ballot Initiatives," *National Direct Democracy Conference*, University of Virginia's Center for Governmental Studies, Charlottesville, VA, June 8-9, 2000.

"Meet the Authors Roundtable: Recent Books on Direct Democracy in the States," *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, April 27-30, 2000.

"Counter-Majoritarian Bills and Legislative Response of State Ballot Initiatives," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, San Jose, March 24-26, 2000.

"The Gun Behind the Door Fires Blanks," *Pacific Northwest Political Science Association Conference*, Eugene, OR, October 14-16, 1999.

"Orange Crush: Mobilization of Bias, Ballot Initiatives, and the Politics of Professional Sports Stadia," *American Political Science Association Conference*, Atlanta, September 2-5, 1999 (with Sure Log).



- "Direct Democracy in Colorado: Limited Information, Tough Choices," A Century of Citizen Lawmaking: Initiative and Referendum in America, *Initiative and Referendum Institute*, Washington, D.C., May 6-8, 1999.
- "The Initiative to Party: The Role of Political Parties in State Ballot Measures," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Seattle, March 25-28, 1999.
- "Direct Democracy in the Late 20th Century: The Legacy(ies) of Prop. 13," Roundtable, *American Political Science Association Conference*, Boston, September 3-6, 1998.
- "The Legacy of Howard Jarvis and Proposition 13? Tax Limitation Initiatives in 1996," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Los Angeles, March 19-21, 1998.
- "Special Interests and the Initiative Process in Colorado: The Case of the Parental Rights Amendment" (with Robert Herrington), Poster Session, *American Political Science Association Conference*, Washington, D.C., August 28-31, 1997.
- "Howard Jarvis, Populist Entrepreneur: Reevaluating Causes of Proposition 13," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Tucson, March 13-15, 1997.
- "Guided Immersion: A Non-Traditional Study Abroad Program at the University of Ghana at Legon," *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, April 10-12, 1997.
- "Exploring the Political Dimension of Privatization: A Tale of Two Cities" (with Kevin Leyden), *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, April 18-20, 1996.
- "Populist Entrepreneur: Douglas Bruce and the Tax Limitation Movement in Colorado," *20th Annual Interdisciplinary Symposium of the Politics and Culture of the Great Plains*, Lincoln, April 11-13, 1996.
- "Faux Populism: Douglas Bruce and the Anti-Tax Moment in Colorado, 1986-1992," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, San Francisco, March 14-16, 1996.
- "Insular Democracy: Advisory Councils and Task Forces in the American States," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Portland, March 1995.
- "Supporting Labor-Management Initiatives at the State Level: The Case of the West Virginia Labor-Management Advisory Council," *Southern Industrial Relations and Human Resource Conference*, Morgantown, WV, October 1994.
- "State Autonomy, Capacity, and Coherence: Labor-Management Councils in the American States," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Albuquerque, March 1994.
- "Removing the Pluralist Blinders: Labor-Management Councils and Industrial Policy in the American States," *American Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, September 1992.
- "You Can't Live with Them...The Emerging Role of Organized Labor in Industrial Policy in the American States," *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, April 1992.
- "It Can Happen Here: Apprenticeship, Workplace-based Learning, and the Affirmative Role of Unions" (with Eric Parker), *Southwestern Political Science Association Conference*, Austin, TX, March 1992.
- "The Affirmative Role of U.S. Unions in Restructuring" (with Eric Parker), *American Sociological Association Conference*, Indianapolis, IN, August 1991.
- "Economic Development Strategy and the Problem of Skills: The Case of Wisconsin's Advanced Metalworking Sector" (with Eric Parker), *American Society for Public Administration Conference*, Cleveland, OH, October 1990.

#### **INVITED TALKS AND OTHER PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS**

- Invited Presentation, "Voting and Elections in the United States," US Embassy, Accra, Ghana, live satellite talk to US Embassy, Ivory Coast, October 3, 2011.
- Invited Public Lecture, "Ghana's National Electoral Commission and the 2012 Elections: The Malapportionment of Parliamentary Constituencies, Rejected Ballots, and Questions of Representation," Department of Political

Science International Lecture Series, University of Ghana, Accra, Ghana, November 17, 2011. [Q&A followed by several media interviews, including RadioUniverse, Ghana Television Broadcasting and TV3].

Invited Public Lecture, "Assessing the Credibility of Public Opinion Polls," Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), Accra, Ghana, November 23, 2011. [Taped broadcast by TV3 and several FM stations].

Invited Talk, "Obama to Blame?" Penn State University, February 26, 2010.

Invited Talk, "Shirking the Initiative?" Rutgers University, November 6-7, 2008.

Invited Talk, "Granting Power to the People: The Adoption of Direct Democracy in the American States," Bose Series Lecturer, University of Iowa, Iowa City, November 7-10, 2007.

Invited Talk, "Instrumental Effects of the Initiative in the American States," The Voice of the Crowd—Colorado's Initiative, Byron R. White Center for the Study of American Constitutional Law, University of Colorado, Boulder, Old Supreme Court Chambers, Colorado State Capitol, Denver, January 26, 2007.

Invited Paper/Presentation, "Initiating Reform: The Effects of Ballot Measures on State Election and Ethics Policy," 2008 and Beyond: The Future of Election and Ethics Reform in the States, Ohio State Capital Building, Kent State University, January 16, 2007.

Invited Paper/Presentation, "Financing Ballot Measures in the American States," Financing Referendum Campaigns Conference, University of Zurich, Switzerland, October 27-29, 2006.

Invited Talk, "Pressure at the Polls/Ballot Initiatives," Capitol Beat Conference, Columbus, OH, August, 2006.

Invited Talk, "Turnout and Priming Effects of Ballot Initiatives," Ballot Initiative Strategy Center Spring Briefing, National Education Association, Washington, DC, May 11, 2006.

Invited Talk, "The People as Legislators: The Influence of Direct Democracy," Moritz College of Law, Ohio State University. Columbus, OH, March 3, 2006.

Invited Public Debate, "Initiative Reform in Florida," *Orlando Regional Chamber of Commerce*, Orlando, FL, February 23, 2006.

Invited Talk, "Direct Democracy: The Battle over Citizen Lawmaking," *Minnesota Council of Nonprofits, Public Policy Day 2006: Nonprofits as a Force for Change*, Minneapolis, MN, January 26, 2006.

Keynote Speaker, "Taking the Initiative in Florida," *National Conference of Editorial Writers* Regional Conference, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL, October 16, 2005.

Panelist, "The Educative Effects of Direct Democracy," *Direct Democracy: Historical Roots and Political Realities*, The Bill Lane Center for the Study of the North American West, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, April 14-15, 2005.

Panelist, "The Initiative and Referendum Process," *The 2004 Election: What Does it Mean for Campaigns and Governance?* University of Southern California Law School, Los Angeles, CA, October 8, 2004.

Invited Talk, "Florida's Initiative Process," Oak Hammock, Gainesville, FL, October 21, 2004.

Invited Talk, "Educated by Initiative," Oak Hammock, Gainesville, FL, October 6, 2004.

Invited Talk, "Are Initiatives Good or Bad for Business," *National Chamber of Commerce Federation*, Boca Raton, FL, February 22, 2004.

Panelist, "Roundtable on Florida Politics," *UF-FSU Colloquium*, Gainesville, FL, November 10, 2003.

Panelist, "Initiatives and Referenda: Implications for Public Administration and Governance," *National Academy of Public Administration*, Washington, DC, October 22, 2003.

Panelist, "Initiatives and Referenda: Direct Democracy or Government for Sale?" *New York Bar Association*, New York City, May 8, 2003.

Keynote Speaker, "Direct Democracy in Colorado: The (Sub)Urban-Rural Divide," *Colorado Water Congress Annual Meeting*, Denver, November 8, 2002.

Invited Talk, "Prospects for a Universal Health Care Ballot Initiative in Florida," Alachua County Labor Party, Gainesville, FL, January 25, 2002.

Invited Talk, "The 2000 Ghana Elections: Lessons for the Future," The Center for African Studies, *University of Florida*, Gainesville, August 28, 2001.

Panelist, "Graduate Studies in Canada and U.S.," *University of Ghana at Legon*, Accra, Ghana, March 14, 2001.

Invited Talk, "Media Coverage of the 2000 [Ghanaian] Elections," *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana, March 2, 2001.

Invited Talk, "Ghana's 2000 Elections: The 'Politics of Absence,'" *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana, February, 20, 2001.

Panelist, "Special Forum on U.S. Presidential Elections 2000," *University of Ghana at Legon*, Accra, Ghana, November 21, 2000.

Invited Talk, "The Role of The Media in US Elections," *Public Affairs Section, United States Embassy*, Accra, Ghana, October 31, 2000.

Facilitator, "Three's A Crowd? The Fate of Third Parties in America," *Humanities Institute Salon*, Denver, May 4, 11, & 18, 2000.

Chair and Discussant, "Factors Affecting the Success of Initiatives," *Western Political Science Association Conference*, San Jose, March 24-26, 2000.

Invited Talk, "The Progressive Myth: Direct Democracy in Colorado, 1912," *Willamette University*, February 3, 2000.

Invited Talk, "The Initiative to Party: The Partisan - Ballot Initiative Nexus," *Willamette University*, February 3, 2000.

Invited Talk, "Taking the Initiative into the 21st Century," *Colorado Water Congress Annual Meeting*, Broomfield, January 27, 2000.

Invited Talk, "Foundations of the American Political System," *Zhejiang University*, Zhejiang, China, October 13, 1999.

Invited Talk, "Trade, Taiwan, Tiananmen, and Theft: Partisanship in US-China Relations," *Fudan University*, Shanghai, China, October 11, 1999.

Invited Talk, "Republicans, Democrats, and US-China Relations," *The People's University*, Beijing, China, October 9, 1999.

Invited Talk, "US-China Relations and the 2000 Presidential Election," *China Institute of Contemporary International Relations*, Beijing, China, October 7, 1999.

Invited Talk, "Taking the Initiative: The Role of Money in Ballot Initiatives in the US," *Aspen Community & Institute Committee*, Aspen, August 10, 1999.

Facilitator, "Taking the Initiative: The Politics of Direct Democracy in Colorado," *Humanities Institute Salon*, May 20, May 27, & June 3, 1999.

Invited Talk, "The State of Direct Democracy in Colorado," American Center Series, *University of Colorado at Boulder*, April 9, 1999.

Participant, "TABOR: Today & Tomorrow," Graduate School of Public Affairs, *University of Colorado at Denver*, January 20-21, 1999.

Keynote Speaker, *Colorado Water Congress Annual Meeting*, "The Initiative Process: What You Need to Know," November 10, 1998.

Invited Talk, "The Political Economy of the Bronco's New Stadium Proposal," George Washington High School, *Reach Out DU*, October 15, 1998.

Invited Talk, "The Political Economy of the Bronco's New Stadium Proposal," Cherry Creek High School, *Reach Out DU*, October 15, 1998.

Invited Talk, "Tax Crusaders and the Politics of Direct Democracy," Tattered Cover Bookstore, Denver, August 20, 1998.

Academic Session Leader, "The Politics of Building a New Broncos Stadium," West High School VIP Program, *University of Denver*, April 17, 1998.

Participant, "Proposition 13 and its Progeny: Is California Suffering from an Excess of Democracy?" Institute of Governmental Studies, *University of California, Berkeley*, April 1-2, 1998.

Moderator, "Politics 101," Student Forum, *University of Denver*, March 3, 1998.

Panelist, "Ways to use Technology in Teaching," Dean's Luncheon on Teaching and Learning, *University of Denver*, February 20, 1998.

Panelist, "The End of Empire in Ghana, 1957," The End of Empire: 50 Years of British Withdrawal, Center for Teaching International Relations, *University of Denver*, February 7, 1998.

Moderator, "1996 Candidate Forum," DU Programs Board, *University of Denver*, October 28, 1996.

Invited Talk, "Election 1996," KARIS Community, Denver, October 24, 1996.

Invited Talk, "Faux Populism: Douglas Bruce, Populist Entrepreneur, and the Anti-Tax Moment in Colorado," Humanities Institute, *University of Denver*, October 17, 1996.

Panelist, "The Federal Budget Battle," Sponsored by Omicron Delta Epsilon and Pi Sigma Alpha, *University of Denver*, October 2, 1995.

Invited Talk, "US Energy Policy," Highlands Ranch High School, *Reach Out DU*, November 10, 1995.

Panelist, "Study Abroad," Second Annual University Conference: Internationalization at the University of Denver, *University of Denver*, April, 1994.

Chair and Panelist, "African Studies," Second Annual University Conference: Internationalization at the University of Denver, *University of Denver*, April, 1994.

Panelist, "Public Policy and Work Force Participation: Making the School-to-Work Transition," Public Policy and Work Force Participation Seminar, *University of Pittsburgh*, September 15, 1993.

Rapporteur, "City\$Money Conference," The La Follette Institute for Public Affairs, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*, February 4-6, 1992.

#### **EDITORIAL/ADVISORY BOARDS**

Review Board, *American Political Science Association (APSA) Small Research Grant Program*, 2004-05.

Review Board, *Fulbright/ American Political Science Association (APSA) Congressional Fellowship Program*, 2002-2005.

Academic Advisory Board, *Annual Editions, State & Local Government* (Brown & Benchmark), 1995-.

Sub-Field Editor, *State Politics, FirstResearch*, 1999-2001.

Editorial Board, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 1999-2005.

#### **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS**

American Political Science Association  
     Member of State Politics and Policy Section  
     Member of Political Organizations and Parties Section

Florida Political Science Association  
     Section Chair, State Politics, 2004 Annual Conference (Gainesville)

Midwest Political Science Association

Southern Political Science Association

Western Political Science Association  
     Local Co-Host, Annual Meeting (Denver), 2003  
     Chair, Committee on Membership, Attendance, and Registration, 1998-2000  
     Section Chair, State Politics and Policy, 1999 Annual Conference (Seattle)  
     Member, Charles Redd Politics of the American West Award Committee, 1999  
     Chair, Best Dissertation Award Committee, 1999-2001

State Politics and Policy

Editorial Board, 2000-2007  
Executive Council, 2010-2012

### **PROFESSIONAL APPOINTMENTS**

Research Associate, *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana, 2011.  
University of Florida Research Foundation (UFRF) Professor, 2010-2012.  
Research Scholar, *Bill Lane Center for the Study of the American West*, Stanford University, 2007.  
Senior Research Scholar, *Ballot Initiative Strategy Center Foundation (BISCF)*, Nonprofit 501 (c)(3),  
Washington, DC, ([www.ballot.org](http://www.ballot.org)), 2006.  
Board of Directors, *Ballot Initiative Strategy Center Foundation (BISCF)*, Nonprofit 501 (c)(3), Washington,  
DC, 2000-.  
Board of Scholars, *Initiative & Referendum Institute*, USC Law School, University of Southern California,  
2004-.  
Senior Research Fellow, *Initiative & Referendum Institute*, Washington, DC, 1998-2003.  
Research Associate, *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana, 2000-01.  
President & Co-Founder, *Citizens Institute for Voter Information in Colorado (CIVIC)*, Denver, CO, 1998-  
2001.

### **SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION**

#### **External Tenure Reviewer**

External Reviewer for Tenure for University of Connecticut, 2008  
External Reviewer for Tenure for Claremont McKenna College, 2008  
External Reviewer for Tenure for University of Denver, 2009  
External Reviewer for Tenure for University of Alabama, 2009  
External Reviewer for Tenure for Akron University, 2010

#### **Manuscript Reviewer**

##### **Books**

*Addison, Wesley*  
*Cambridge University Press*  
*Dushkin/McGraw-Hill Publishers*  
*Harcourt, Brace Publishers*  
*Longman*  
*Oxford University Press*  
*Penn State University Press*  
*Routledge*  
*Sage Publications*  
*University Press of Kansas*  
*Westview Press*

##### **Journals**

*American Journal of Political Science*  
*American Politics Research*  
*American Political Science Review*  
*British Journal of Political Science*  
*Government and Policy*

*Journal of Politics*  
*Journal of Public Finance and Management*  
*Party Politics*  
*Political Research Quarterly*  
*Politics & Policy*  
*Policy Studies Review*  
*Political Behavior*  
*Polity*  
*Public Budgeting & Finance*  
*Public Opinion Quarterly*  
*Publius—The Journal of Federalism*  
*Social Science History*  
*Social Science Quarterly*  
*State and Local Government Review*  
*State Politics and Policy Quarterly*  
*Urban Affairs Review*

## **UNIVERSITY SERVICE**

### **University of Florida**

#### **College/University**

Appointed Member, 20<sup>th</sup> Century American History Search Committee (History), 2008-09  
 Appointed Member, Latino Studies Search Committee (LAS), 2006-07  
 Departmental Representative, United Faculty of Florida, 2003-  
 Alternate Senator, United Faculty of Florida, 2005-  
 State Delegate, Florida Education Association, 2006-  
 Elected Member, College of Arts and Sciences, Nominating Committee, 2004-06  
 Appointed Member, University of Florida Fulbright Committee, 2003-07

#### **Department**

Elected Member, Chair's Advisory Committee, 2004-05; 2006-07 (Chair); 2007-08 (Chair); 2010-11; 2012-  
 Elected Member, Chair Search Committee, 2009  
 Appointed Member, Tenure Review Committee (Research), Daniel O'Neill, 2008  
 Appointed Faculty Mentor, State Senator Mike Haridopolos, 2008-09  
 Appointed Member, Strategic Planning Committee, 2008-09  
 Appointed Interim Director, Graduate Program in Political Campaigning, 2007-11  
 Appointed Member, Ad-Hoc Committee to establish Undergraduate Certificate in Political Campaigning, 2007  
 Elected Member, Market Equity Committee, 2006-07 (Chair); 2007-08; 2008-09 (Chair)  
 Appointed Internship Coordinator, 2005-  
 Elected Member, Merit Committee, 2004-05; 2005-06; 2006-07 (Chair)  
 Appointed Faculty Mentor, Marcus Hendershot, 2006-  
 Appointed Faculty Mentor, Helena Rodriques, 2005-06  
 Appointed Member, Ad-Hoc Graduate Teaching Committee, 2005-06  
 Appointed Member (Chair), Latino Politics Search Committee, 2004-05  
 Appointed Member, Tenure and Promotion Committee (Samuel Barkin), 2004.  
 Appointed Member, Mid-Career and Mentoring Task Force, 2004-05  
 Appointed Member, Speakers Committee, 2003-05 (Chair)

Appointed Member, Tenure and Promotion Committee (Richard Conley), 2003.  
Appointed Member, Political Science Best Undergraduate Paper Award Committee, 2003-04

### ***University of Denver***

Social Science Promotion and Tenure Committee, 1999-2000  
Joint Ph.D. Program in Religious and Theological Studies, (with *Iliff School of Theology*), 1999-2002  
AH/SOCS Grade Appeals Committee, 1999-2001  
*Phi Beta Kappa* Selection Committee, *Gamma* of Colorado, 1998-2002  
Partners in Scholarship (PINS) Committee, 1997-2000  
AH/SOCS Elected Faculty Committee, 1996-98  
Post-Tenure Review Committee, 1996-98  
SOAR (Summer Orientation), 1997-2000  
Faculty Senate Representative, 1995-1996  
Study Abroad Faculty Advisory Committee, 1995-2000  
Study Abroad Travel Scholarships Committee, 1995-2000  
Faculty Member, Culture and Critical Studies Program, 1995-2000  
Faculty Mentor, 1995-2000  
Reach-Out DU, 1995-2000  
Faculty Advisor, Young Democrats, 1995-1999  
Advisor, Department of Political Science Honors Program, 1995-1996

### ***MEDIA INTERVIEWS***

Quoted more than 500 times by the media (newspaper, radio, television) on various political issues, including the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today*, *Economist*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, *CBS News*, *Fox News*, *National Public Radio*, *St. Pete (Tampa) Times*, *Miami Herald*, *Jacksonville Times-Union*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Boston Globe*, *Gainesville Sun*.

### **REFERENCES**

Provided upon request.