

Racial Inequality, Racial Politics and the Implications of Recent Voting Restrictions in Ohio: Analyses of Senate Factors One, Two, Three, Five, Six and Seven of the Voting Rights Act

Expert Report Submitted on Behalf of Plaintiffs in *NAACP v. Husted*

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I.

A. Introduction

This report provides an overview of the historical and contemporary status of racial/ethnic minorities in the state of Ohio for the purpose of assessing the implications of recent restrictions in voting as put forth by the Ohio Legislature and the Ohio Secretary of State. These restrictions have included the elimination of Sunday voting, the elimination of evening voting after 5pm, the elimination of the Monday before Election Day and the removal of the first week of early voting (the so-called “Golden Week), wherein Ohioans can both register to vote and cast an in-person absentee ballot.

I was retained to analyze these issues as they pertain to Senate Factors One, Two, Three, Five, Six and Seven, which are probative of a violation of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. Senate Factor Five in particular calls for attention to “the extent to which minority group members bear the effects of discrimination in areas such as education, employment, and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process.” My analyses in these regards, in Section II of this report, reveal stark and persistent racial inequalities in the state of Ohio across four fundamental institutional domains—work, housing, education and health—as well as the roots of these inequalities in both historical and contemporary discriminatory practices. In and of themselves, the inequalities highlighted in my analyses create unique and compelling resource, transportation, time and informational disadvantages when it comes to voting. Recently instituted voting restrictions will have a further disparate, negative impact on minority but also poorer, working class, and aging populations in Ohio and their capacities to vote. I specify in this report how and why.

Section III of this report addresses five other Senate factors. Senate Factors One and Three call for attention to “the history of official voting-related discrimination in the state” and “the extent to which the state . . . has used voting practices or procedures that tend to enhance the opportunity for discrimination against the minority group.” Senate Factors Two, Six and Seven consider whether voting in the jurisdiction remains or is “racially polarized,” whether there continue to be “overt or subtle racial appeals” in the electoral process, and “the extent to which members of the minority group have been elected to public office.” Racial appeals are consequential in that they can lead to racial voting polarization, but also a loss of efficacy and overall trust among minority communities. Racial voting polarization and minority electoral representation offer important barometers of the extent to which race/ethnicity continue to matter in the political process.

B. Professional Background

I am a Distinguished Professor of Arts & Sciences in Sociology at The Ohio State University. I earned my Ph.D. at North Carolina State University in 1996, and have been at Ohio State since that time. I was promoted from Assistant Professor to Associate Professor with tenure in 5 years, due to my research and teaching record. Four years later, in 2005, I was promoted to Full Professor. In 2012, I was given a Distinguished Scholar Award by the University for the national and international impact of my research on inequality and discrimination, and was given the title of

Distinguished Professor of Arts & Sciences in Sociology. During 2007-2009, I was nominated and elected by the American Sociological Association to be editor of the *American Sociological Review*, the most visible and prestigious national and international journal in the field. In 2009-2010 I served as President of the Southern Sociological Society, the largest regional society of professional sociologists in the country. Currently, I am editor of a new and broad social science journal, *Social Currents*. A copy of my curriculum vitae is attached. I am being compensated \$150 per hour for my expertise in this case. I have never served as an expert witness, nor have I ever been deposed.

My substantive expertise as a researcher surrounds social inequality, its persistence within and across a host of institutional domains, and the mechanisms underlying it including discrimination. Much of my work over the last decade has focused specifically on contemporary educational and workplace inequality, with a particular emphasis on race/ethnic inequality, although I have also focused on the topic of housing segregation and discrimination. I am also a historical sociologist who has undertaken quantitative and qualitative analyses of racial/ethnic inequality, and a political sociologist with a long-standing research interest and teaching background on questions of power, political stability and representation, and democratic process. I am methodologically diverse on these fronts, engaging in rigorous statistical analyses (of aggregate inequalities) as well as historical and contemporary, in-depth, qualitative analyses (of the mechanisms generating inequalities). While much of my work pertains to race/ethnic inequalities on the national level, I have also undertaken significant scholarship over the last decade on workplace and housing discrimination specific to Ohio. This work draws on analyses of quantitative data and in-depth qualitative studies of tens of thousands of discrimination cases filed with the Ohio Civil Rights Commission.

I have written two books, *The Face of Discrimination: How Race and Gender Impact Home and Work Lives* (2007) and *The Voice of Southern Labor* (2004). I have also published 65+ scholarly peer-reviewed articles in journals such as *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review*, *Sociology of Education*, *Work & Occupations*, *Work, Employment & Society*, *Academy of Management Review*, *Human Relations* and the *American Behavioral Scientist*. I have been recognized with outstanding contribution awards by five distinct sections of the American Sociological Association. Some of my research has been supported by grants from the National Science Foundation. I am an active member in the American Sociological Association, serving currently as an elected member of its Publications Committee, and in the Southern Sociological Society, where I recently served as President and Executive Committee Member.

C. The Voting Rights Act, and the Implications of Recent Voting Restrictions

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 prohibits voting restrictions that “result in a denial or abridgment of the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color,” and provides that the law would be violated if the “totality of the circumstances indicate that minorities do not have the same opportunities to participate in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice.” It is my understanding that the Senate Judiciary Report specifies several “Senate Factors” that courts may consider when assessing the “totality of circumstances.” Whether taken independently or together, analyses of these Factors suggest that recent voting restrictions in Ohio will have a significant, disparate and negative impact on minority voters and voting.

II.

A. Senate Factor Five: Persistent Racial Inequalities, Discrimination & Institutional Disadvantage

Senate Factor Five of the Voting Rights Act prompts broad consideration of “the extent to which members of the minority group bear the effects of discrimination in such areas as education, employment, and health which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process.” For the sake of this report, I focus on African Americans,¹ the largest racial/ethnic minority group in the state by far (approximately 12.4% of the population), and the extent and roots of contemporary inequality across key and pertinent institutional domains.²

1). Racial Employment Disparities and Occupational Segregation in Ohio

African Americans in the state of Ohio face entrenched, persistent and quite profound disadvantages when it comes to employment and returns to employment. To be sure, contemporary inequalities in employment and employment returns are partially explained by a long history of racial exclusion, educational segregation, and their consequences for what sociologists and economists refer to as “human capital” (e.g., skills, credentials, experience, etc.). Contemporary research makes very clear, however, that workplace racial inequalities also continue to be driven by segregation,³ the relegation of minority employees to lower return and more precarious jobs⁴ and ongoing minority vulnerability to discrimination in hiring, firing, promotion, demotion and harassment.⁵

¹ The *American Communities Survey* and U.S. Census now allow individuals to select more than one racial categorization. For the sake of clarity in the statistics reported here, I constrain comparison to those who singularly identify as either White or African American. This results in a conservative estimate of African American population size.

² The percent of the state population that is Hispanic or Asian is approximately 2% and 1.8%, respectively. Since many of the comparisons across a host of inequality indicators in this report are derived from the Ohio subsample of the 2012 *American Communities Survey* of the U.S. Census, comparison of larger groups within these data (namely African American and Whites) provide more accurate estimates. My comparisons draw from the Ohio subsample of the *American Communities Survey*, which is a 1 in 20 household sample. For Ohio, this equates to over 450,000 households, approximately 12% (consistent with population representation) of which identifies as African American.

³ Kevin Stainback and Donald Tomaskovic-Devey (2012), *Documenting Desegregation: Race and Gender Segregation in Private-Sector Employment Since the Civil Rights Act* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation); Toby Parcel and Charles W. Mueller (1983), *Ascription in Labor Markets: Race and Sex Differences in Earnings* (New York: Academic Press); Robert L. Kaufman (2010), *Race, Gender and the Labor Market: Inequalities at Work* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers); David J. Maume (1999), “Glass Ceilings and Glass Escalators: Occupational Segregation and Race and Sex Differences in Managerial Promotions,” *Work & Occupations* 26:483-509; Jomills H. Braddock and James M. McPartland (1987), “How Minorities Continue to Be Excluded from Equal Employment Opportunities: Research on Labor Market and Institutional Barriers,” *Journal of Social Issues* 43:5-39.

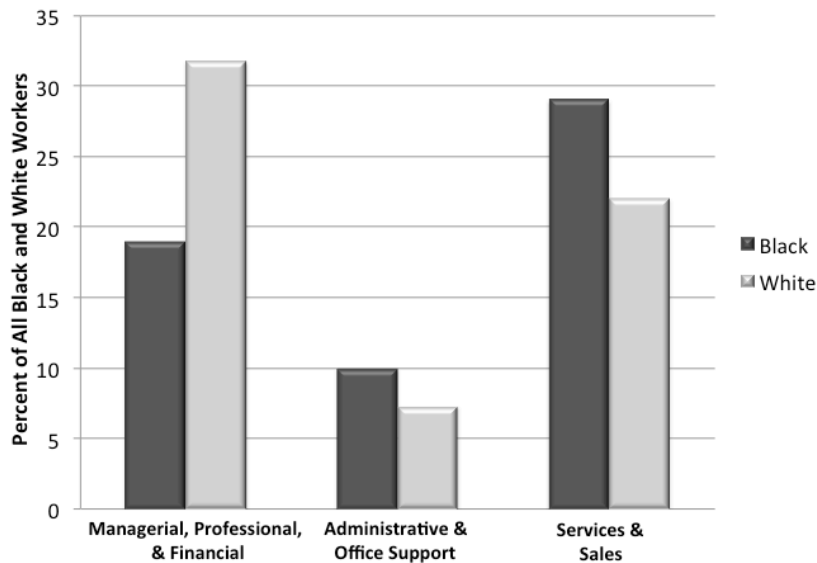
⁴ Arne L. Kalleberg (2013), *Good Jobs, Bad Jobs: The Rise of Polarized and Precarious Employment Systems in the United States, 1970s to 2000s* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation); Ryan A. Smith (1997), “Race, Income, and Authority at Work: A Cross-Temporal Analysis of Black and White Men, 1972-1994,” *Social Problems* 44:701-719; George Wilson (1997), “Pathways to Power: Racial Differences in the Determinants of Job Authority,” *Social Problems* 44:801-817; Sharon Collins (1997), “Black Mobility in White Corporations: Up the Ladder but Out On a Limb,” *Social Problems* 44:55-67.

⁵ Vincent J. Roscigno (2007), *The Face of Discrimination: How Race and Gender Impact Work and Home Lives* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield); George Wilson (2009), “Race and Exits From White Collar Jobs: Differences in Downward Mobility Processes Among African American, Latino, and White Males,” *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 27:143-156; Devah Pager (2003), “The Mark of a Criminal Record,” *American Journal of Sociology* 108:937-975;

Workplace and occupational segregation—segregation that has been demonstrated within social science research as still consequential for inequality and that is driven by both historical and contemporary discriminatory practices—is especially important. In a recent book, for instance, *Documenting Desegregation: Racial and Gender Segregation in Private-Sector Employment Since the Civil Rights Act* (2012), Kevin Stainback and Donald Tomaskovic-Devey track EEOC race-specific private sector firm and occupational data from the 1960s through 2005. They show that African Americans made significant occupational gains nationally in the late 1960s and 1970s. Progress stagnated, however, from about 1980 on, leaving substantial occupational inequalities. Recent analyses of public sector employment, where African American gains and opportunities for mobility have been historically higher, show not only a similar stagnation, but also a reversal of historical gains and a corresponding increase in racial inequality from the 1990s onward.⁶

Race-specific occupational data from the Ohio subsample of the nationally representative *American Communities Survey* reveals substantial and lingering inequalities in who holds both upper and lower tier occupational positions (see Figure 1). More specifically, Whites (32%) are significantly overrepresented relative to African Americans (19%) in upper-tier positions in the professional, managerial and financial occupational ranks, where job security, flexibility, benefits and rewards are significantly higher. Conversely, African Americans (29%) are more likely than Whites (22%) to work in service and sales related occupations and, to a lesser extent, in administrative and office support positions.

Figure 1. Black and White Occupational Inequalities in Ohio According to the ACS.



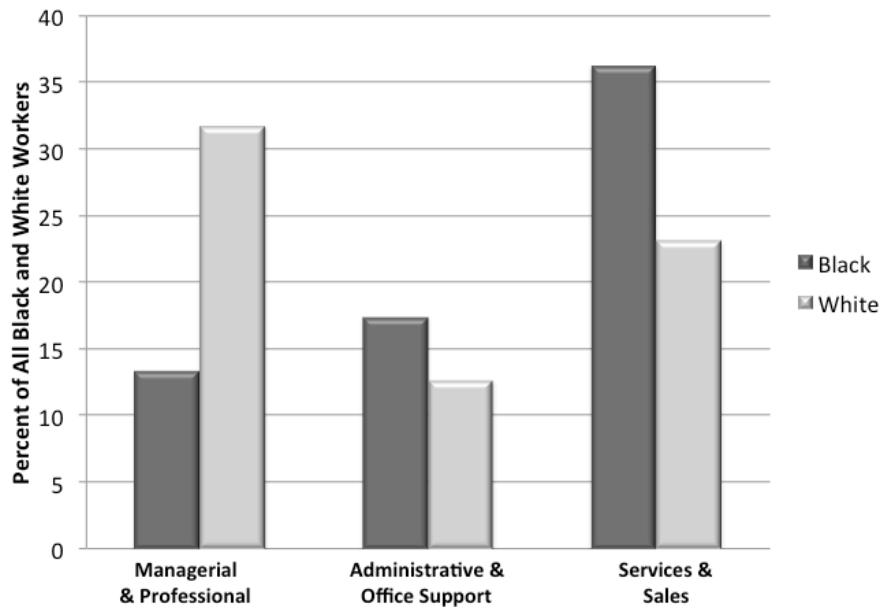
Source: 2012 American Communities Survey, U.S. Census

Alexandra Kalev (2014), “How You Downsize is Who You Downsize: Biased Formalization, Accountability and Managerial Diversity,” *American Sociological Review* 79:109-135; Phillip Moss and Chris Tilly (2001), *Stories Employers Tell: Race, Skill and Hiring in America* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation).

⁶ George Wilson, Vincent J. Roscigno and Matt Huffman (2013), “Public Sector Transformation, Racial Inequality and Downward Occupational Mobility,” *Social Forces* 91:975-1006; Vincent J. Roscigno and George Wilson (2014), “Privatization and Racial Inequality,” *Contexts* 13:72-74.

Somewhat parallel data⁷ from 2012 reports from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission,⁸ reported below in Figure 2, demonstrate similar and ongoing occupational segregation by race. According to this data, which is derived from private sector EEO-1 reports on all private sector establishments of 50+ individuals in Ohio, approximately 31.7% of White Ohioans held top positions in the upper echelons of the occupational hierarchy (executives, managers and professionals) compared to only about 13% of African Americans. Conversely, 36.2% of African Americans versus 23.1% of whites occupationally resided in lower-rung service and sales work positions—positions with significantly lower earnings and benefits, less autonomy and scheduling flexibility, more likely to pay hourly wages rather than a salary, and with more volatility in terms of job security.⁹

Figure 2. Black and White Occupational Inequalities in Ohio, Private Sector, According to EEOC.



Source: 2012 EEO-1 Aggregate Report

a. Discrimination as a Root Cause of Employment Disparities in Ohio

Substantial bodies of social science research, mostly in sociology, economics and psychology, investigate the root causes of the aforementioned occupational inequalities, often concluding that contemporary institutional practices and discrimination play a significant role, especially when the disparities are as large as they are in Ohio.¹⁰ Large-scale quantitative analyses, for instance,

⁷ EEOC occupational data is nearly parallel inasmuch as it is generally nationally representative, and reveals a similar pattern as the ACS data for Ohio, with significant racial inequalities at the high end (advantaging whites) and at the low end (disadvantaging African Americans). However, the overall universe of organizations from which the EEOC data is derived is larger businesses (50+ employees) covered under EEOC law and oversight.

⁸ <http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/employment/jobpat-eeo1/index.cfm>

⁹ Arne Kalleberg (2013); William J. Wilson (1990), *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, The Underclass and Public Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press); María E. Enchautegui (2013), *Nonstandard Work Schedules and the Well-Being of Low-Income Families* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute)

¹⁰ Comparing national averages obtained from the ACS data to the subsample specifically from Ohio, one finds similar occupational inequalities in lower status jobs (i.e., sales and service, and in administrative support) but higher levels of

demarcate broad patterns of minority segregation and funneling into more menial, lower reward, and lower status job tasks.¹¹ Such analyses typically statistically control for important background attributes such as education, experience and skill levels in order to capture the extent to which explicitly racialized processes are likely occurring. One of the core conclusions is that there continues to be significant “minority vulnerability” in the course of employer decisionmaking—vulnerability that impacts the likelihood of minority hiring, promotion, demotion, and firing in significant ways.¹²

More direct evidence of the contemporary relevance and prevalence of discrimination is derived from experimental and audit studies of bias as well as qualitative analyses of large bodies of contemporary discrimination suits brought against employers. This work has been crucial for highlighting, in a way that more standard quantitative data perhaps cannot, persistent attitudinal biases, employer discriminatory decisionmaking, and the forms discrimination takes in contemporary workplaces.

Experimental research utilizes experimental conditions and controls, and gauges the extent to which research subjects differentially evaluate minority targets (sometimes presented as equally qualified, fictitious, job candidates). The aim is to assess whether there is racial bias in evaluation, and the extent to which that bias may be implicit or explicit. Racial biases, in this work, are shown to exist in assessments of individuals, both outside and within the context of employment and hiring, and can be, though need not be, explicit or conscious on the part of evaluators.¹³ For instance, in one audit study, resumes were sent to hundreds of employers, randomly varying only the names in a manner implying it was a white (“Greg”) or black (“Jamal”) candidate. Notably, black candidates were about half as likely to receive a call back despite equivalent qualifications.¹⁴ In related research, Pager¹⁵ sent matched pairs of black and white applicants with similar credentials to apply for jobs in person. Approximately 34% of whites versus 14% of blacks received a callback from the employer. These racially discriminatory patterns persisted even when

racial inequality in upper tier occupations (manager, professional and financial) in Ohio compared to the U.S. as a whole.

¹¹ Falcon and Melendez (2001), “The Social Context of Job Searching for Racial Groups in Urban Centers,” in O’Connor, Tilly, C., Bobo, L. (Eds.), *Urban Inequality: Evidence from Four Cities* (New York: Sage); William T. Bielby (2012), “Minority Vulnerability in Privileged Occupations: Why Do African American Financial Advisors Earn Less Than Whites in a Large Financial Services Firm?” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 639:12-32; George Wilson (200), “Race and Loss of Privilege: African American/White Differences in the Sources of Job Layoffs.” *Sociological Forum*.20: 301-321;

¹² William T. Bielby (2012); George Wilson (2009); Alexandra Kalev (2013); George Wilson and Debra B. McBrier (2005), “Race and Loss of Privilege: African American/White Differences in the Sources of Job Layoffs,” *Sociological Forum* 20: 301-321; Kevin Stainback and Donald Tomaskovic-Devey (2009), “Intersections of Power and Privilege: Long-Term Trends in Managerial Representation,” *American Sociological Review* 74:800-820;”

¹³ Patricia G. Divine, E.A. Plant, David M. Amodio, Eddie Harmon-Jones and Stephanie L. Vance. (2002), “The Regulation of Explicit and Implicit Race Bias: The Role of Motivations to Respond Without Prejudice,” *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology* 82:835-847; Anthony G. Greenwald and Linda H. Krieger (2006), “Implicit Bias: Scientific Foundations,” *California Law Review* 94: 945-968; Linda H. Krieger and Susan T. Fiske (2006), “Behavioral Realism in Employment Discrimination Law: Implicit Bias and Disparate Treatment,” *California Law Review* 94:997; J.C. Ziegert and P.J. Hanges (2005), “Employment Discrimination: The Role of Implicit Attitudes, Motivation, and a Climate for Racial Bias,” *Journal of Applied Psychology* 90:553-562; Douglas Massey (2007), *Categorically Unequal: The American Stratification System* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation).

¹⁴ Bertrand, Marianne and Sendhil Mullainathan (2004), “Are Emily and Greg More Employable Than Lakisha and Jamal? A Field Experiment on Labor Market Discrimination,” *American Economic Review* 94:991-1013.

¹⁵ Pager (2003); Pager (2009), *Marked: Race, Crime and Finding Work in an Era of Mass Incarceration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

black and white job candidates were given fictitious criminal background (17% callback for whites; 5% for blacks).¹⁶ Remarkably, white applicants *with* criminal backgrounds received a higher callback rate (17%) than black applicants *without* criminal backgrounds (14%).

Employment discrimination remains a pressing and significant problem in Ohio, despite protections enshrined in the 1964 Civil Rights Act and as often communicated in the equal opportunity statements of employers. Discrimination is, in fact, hardly an exceptional or rare phenomenon.¹⁷ Data and case filings with the Ohio Civil Rights Commission (OCRC) over the last decade bear this out. Approximately 30,000 cases of race/ethnic discrimination in employment were filed with the OCRC between 1988 and 2003 – an average of about 1,875 cases a year¹⁸ – with a steady and unabated pattern of approximately 1600 to 2400 cases filed every year thereafter.¹⁹ Importantly, case filings do not include countless other cases that go unrealized or unreported every year given the significant burden surrounding proof, time, and resources that charging parties must bear when and if they recognize action as discriminatory and wish to file a charge.²⁰

The consistency in such a large number of case filings in Ohio every year, combined with the fact that nearly 25% of cases are eventually resolved in a probable cause determination, or in a settlement or conciliation satisfactory to the charging party,²¹ suggests that race discrimination continues to play a fundamental role in the workplace experiences and opportunities available to African Americans in the state. Closer inspection of case materials also highlights a diversity of potential discriminatory workplace experiences in hiring, firing, promotion, demotion and hostile racial environment including explicit harassment.²² Thus, while some occupational and income inequalities are explained by historical disadvantages in education, skill, etc. and by the ongoing disparate location of African Americans in low wage labor markets, contemporary forms of

¹⁶ A generally parallel finding is replicated in Devah Pager, Bruce Western and Bart Bonikowski (2009), “Discrimination in a Low-Wage Labor Market: A Field Experiment.” *American Sociological Review* 74:777-799.

¹⁷ Devah Pager and Hana Shepherd (2008), “The Sociology of Discrimination: Racial Discrimination in Employment, Housing, Credit, and Consumer Markets,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 31:181-209. Kevin Stainback and Donald Tomaskovic-Devey (2012); Phillip Moss and Christopher Tilly (2001); Joe R. Feagin and Karyn D. McKinney (2003), *The Many Costs of Racism* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield); Sherry Mong and Vincent J. Roscigno (2010), “African American Men and the Experience of Employment Discrimination,” *Qualitative Sociology* 33:1-21.

¹⁸ Roscigno (2007).

¹⁹ <http://crc.ohio.gov/PublicAffairs/AnnualReports.aspx>

²⁰ Amy Myrick, Robert L. Nelson and Laura Beth Nielsen (2012), “Race and Representation: Racial Disparities in Legal Representation for Employment Civil Rights Plaintiffs,” *New York University Journal of Legislation and Social Policy* 15:705-759; Catherine Albiston (2005), “Bargaining in the Shadow of Social Institutions: Competing Discourses and Social Change in Workplace Mobilization of Civil Rights,” *Law & Society Review* 39:11-50; Mary B. Edsall and Thomas D. Edsall (1991), *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton); William L.F. Felstiner, Rick L. Abel, and Austin Sarat (1981), “The Emergence and Transformation of Disputes: Naming, Blaming, and Claiming,” *Law & Society Review* 16:631-54.

²¹ That 75% percent of such cases never reach a settlement or probable cause finding should not be interpreted to mean that discrimination did not occur. Rather, many such cases are eventually dropped by charging parties because they lack evidentiary backing, because they lack resources for an attorney, or because time has passed and they have moved on to alternative employment. The legal, resource and time burden is largely on the charging party.

²² Vincent J. Roscigno (2007); Vincent J. Roscigno, Donna Bobbit-Zeher and Lisette Garcia (2007), “Social Closure and Processes of Race/Sex Discrimination in Employment,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 609:16-46; Vincent J. Roscigno, Lisa Williams and Reginald Byron (2012), “Workplace Racial Discrimination and Middle Class Vulnerability,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 56:696-710.

workplace discrimination remain pertinent to the occupational inequalities reported above and, according to some research, account for as much as one-third of contemporary racial pay gaps.²³

b. Consequences of Occupational Inequalities

Racial occupational inequalities are easily linked to racial disparities in, for instance, family income and poverty status as well as residential and schooling options and racial health disparities (discussed below). As I denote later, income and poverty differentials, residential and educational segregation, and differences in health status across racial/ethnic groups in Ohio themselves reflect obstacles for minority voters, altering cost calculations when it comes to voting and the barriers to voting. In these ways, the occupational and workplace inequalities reported in the earlier figures indirectly impact political participation. The impact of occupational inequalities, however, is also direct through job scheduling and flexibility—something that I discuss in more detail in Section II.3.

2). Racial Housing Segregation in Ohio

The latest U.S. Census reveals that African Americans continue to experience relatively high levels of residential segregation. According to Charles' overview,²⁴ black-white segregation remains extreme in 29 of the 50 largest metropolitan areas of the U.S., while remaining areas have seen little to no change over the last two decades.²⁵ In the case of Ohio, there exists substantial residential segregation, particularly in the largest urban areas of the state. In fact, Cleveland, Cincinnati and Columbus are among the most segregated cities in the nation. Figure 3 displays the relative racial distributions and densities of these three cities, drawn from the U.S. Census data at the tract level. The darker the tract shading, the more heavily concentrated are African Americans.

Each of the three cities has a calculated numerical value pertaining to the *Index of Dissimilarity*, derived from the work of John Logan and Brian Stults.²⁶ The Index of Dissimilarity is a commonly used measure of segregation and inequality within social science research. It is a demographic measure of the evenness with which two groups are distributed across a given geographic area, and captures, in this case, the percentage of either blacks or whites that would have to move in order to produce an even or more racially equitable distribution across geographic

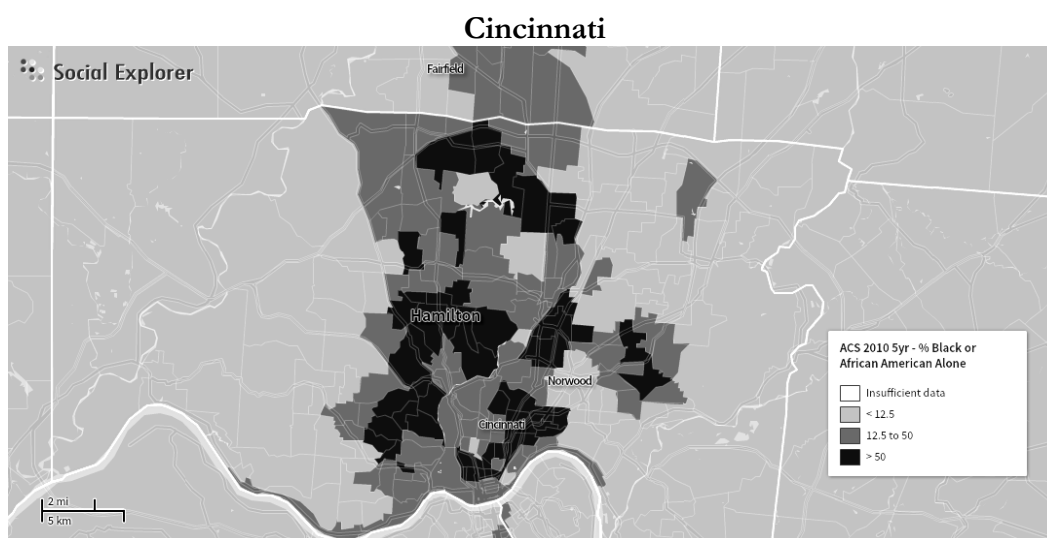
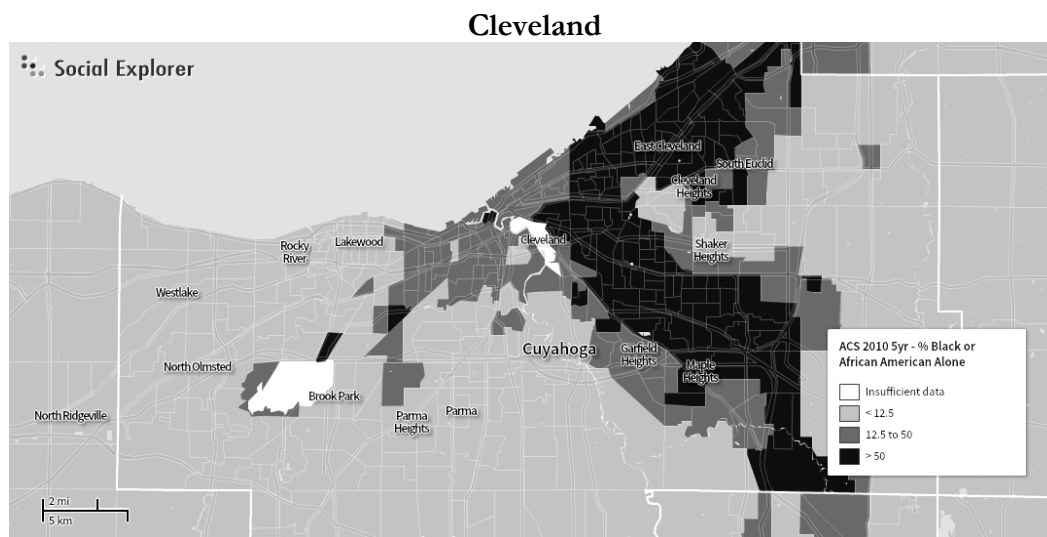
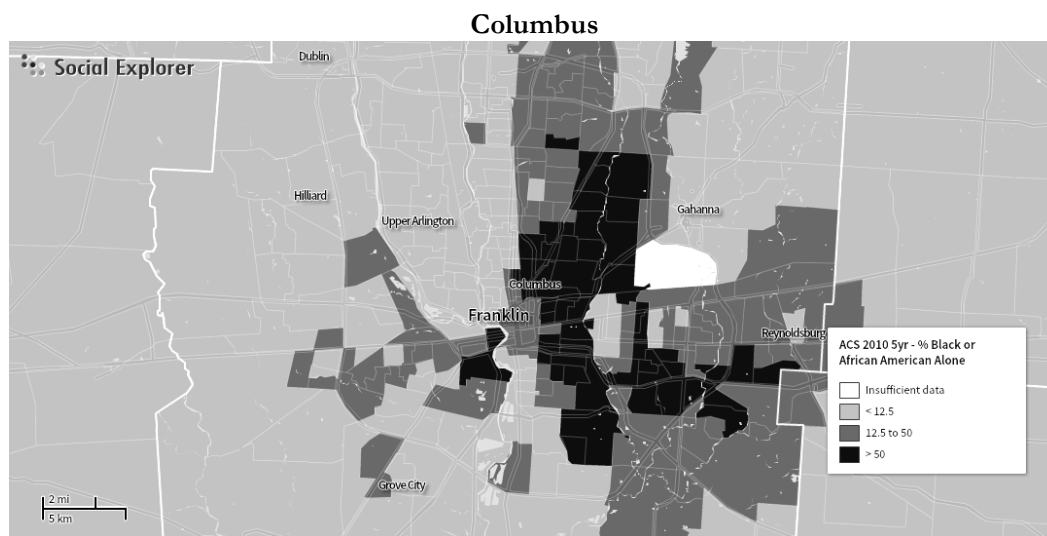
²³ Roland G. Freyer, Jr., Devah Pager, and Jorg L. Spenkuch (2011), "Racial Disparities in Job Finding and Offered Wages." Working Paper 17462, National Bureau of Economic Research.

²⁴ Camille Z. Charles (2003). "The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation," *Annual Review of Sociology* 29:167-207.

²⁵ John Iceland (2004), "Beyond Black and White: Residential Segregation in Multiethnic America," *Social Science Research* 33: 248-271; Camille Z. Charles (2003).

²⁶ John R. Logan and Brian J. Stults (2011), The Persistence of Segregation in the Metropolis: New Findings from the 2010 Census (Census Brief Prepared for Project US2010), available at: <http://www.s4.brown.edu/us2010/Data/Report/report2.pdf>

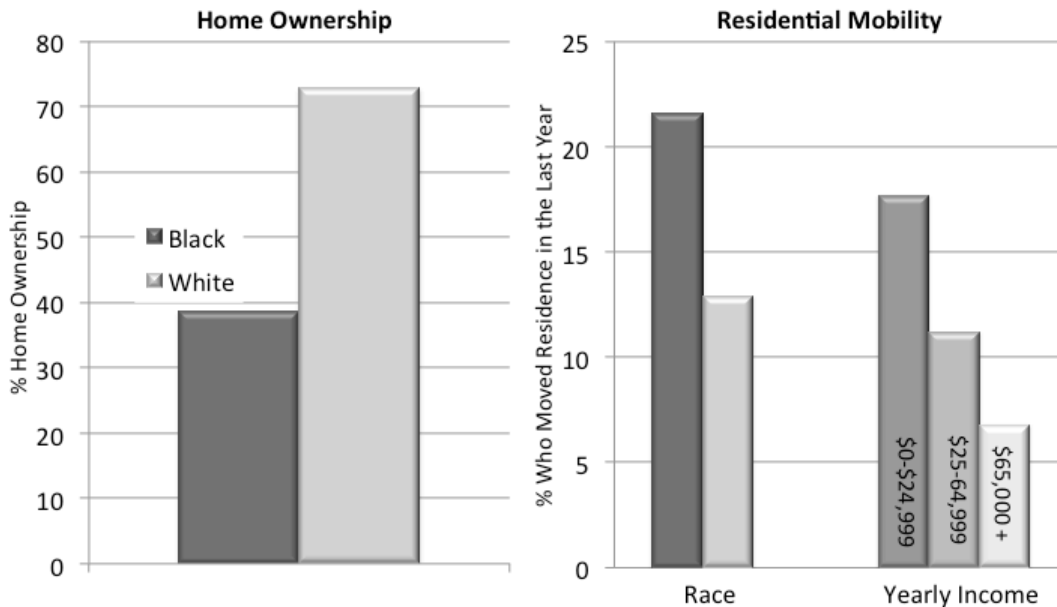
Figure 3. Racial Segregation Across Census Tracts for Columbus, Cleveland and Cincinnati, 2010.



space. The Index of Dissimilarity ranges theoretically from 0 to 100. A value of 60 or higher is considered very high segregation. Values of 59.9 for Columbus, 72.6 for Cleveland, and 66.9 for Cincinnati thus denote very high levels of segregation by race.²⁷ In fact, these values place Columbus 21st, Cincinnati 12th, and Cleveland 8th among the most segregated cities in the United States.²⁸

Notable as well, and along with experiencing relatively high levels of residential racial segregation, African Americans in Ohio are also less likely than Whites to be homeowners, more likely to be renters, and more likely to live in the most impoverished urban locales in the state. *American Communities Survey* data bear this out, revealing that white households in Ohio (72.8%) are about twice as likely as African American households (38.5%) to be homeowners rather than renters.²⁹ It is within low-end rental markets than one finds high levels of residential mobility and instability.³⁰ Indeed, if one examines residential mobility within Ohio, this is precisely what one finds: a much greater likelihood of residential moves over the prior year for African Americans (21.6%) relative to whites (12.9%), nearly three-quarters of which occurs within the same county. Racial disparities in home ownership and residential moves are reported below in Figure 4. By way of comparison, I also include in the right figure residential moves by low, medium and high income categories given the well-established relationship between race and socioeconomic status.

Figure 4. Black and White Rates of Homeownership (left figure) and Residential Mobility In the Last Year by Race and Socioeconomic Status (right figure) in Ohio.



Source: 2012 American Communities Survey, U.S. Census

²⁷ Rebecca Baird-Remba and Gus Lubin (2013).

²⁸ John Logan and Biran Stults (2011).

²⁹ See also Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University (2013), *The State of the Nation's Housing 2013* (Cambridge: Harvard University).

³⁰ G. Thomas Kingsley, Audrey Jordan, and William Traynor (2012), "Addressing Residential Instability: Options for Cities and Community Initiatives," *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research* 14:161-183.

a. Discrimination as a Root Cause

How does one make sense of high and persistent segregation levels and housing inequalities in Ohio's cities? Inequalities in employment, noted previously, along with their implications for income and poverty, are partially implicated given the higher costs of living in more affluent, typically overwhelmingly white, suburban areas. Furthermore, research on residential attitudes clearly denotes among African Americans a preference for adequately integrated (rather than overwhelmingly segregated) neighborhoods.³¹ Thus, residential segregation is not primarily caused by any desire to "self-segregate."

More compelling evidence, derived from case analyses of residential turnover and contemporary audit designs, points to historical and contemporary patterns of housing discrimination as being responsible. Credited with bringing racial residential segregation to the forefront of scholarly debates surrounding the plight of the black urban underclass with their publication *American Apartheid*, Massey and Denton³² concur that various forms of discriminatory action are to blame. They describe the maintenance of highly concentrated black neighborhoods through purposeful discrimination towards blacks by individuals, organizations, public policy, the real estate industry, and various lending institutions.³³ Analyses of housing discrimination in Ohio specifically point to particular vulnerabilities in these aforementioned regards and especially in rental markets.³⁴ Contemporary housing audits offer further evidence.

Housing audit (or racial testing) studies have been used for some time by fair housing groups as a systematic means of uncovering actual discrimination. Characterized by two, racially distinct, though similarly situated, individuals (one minority and one white), testers are sent into similar circumstances in the housing market. With efforts to control for social and human capital characteristics, such tests have served as an effective way to uncover discrimination and, thus, violations of the law. Although the intent is typically to provide a legal foundation for discrimination suits, audits can provide excellent quantitative and qualitative information on discriminatory practices—practices that are, by their nature, difficult to observe.³⁵

³¹ Lawrence Bobo and Camille Z. Zubrinsky (1996), "Attitudes on Residential Integration: Perceived Status Differences, Mere In-Group Preference, or Racial Prejudice?" *Social Forces* 74:883-909; Maria Krysan (2002), "Community Undesirability in Black and White: Examining Racial Residential Preferences through Community Perceptions," *Social Problems* 49:521-543;

³² Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton (1998), *American Apartheid and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press).

³³ See also Reynolds Farley and William H. Frey (1994), "Changes in the Segregation of Whites from Blacks during the 1980s: Small Steps Toward a More Integrated Society," *American Sociological Review* 59:23-49; Kevin F. Gotham (2002), "Beyond Invasion and Succession: School Segregation, Real Estate Blockbusting, and the Political Economy of Neighborhood Transition," *City & Community* 1:83-11; Edward W. Orser (1994), *Blockbusting in Baltimore: The Edmondson Village Story* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press); Arnold R. Hirsch (1998), *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago 1940-1960* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

³⁴ Vincent J. Roscigno, Diana Karafin and Griff Tester (2009), "The Complexities and Processes of Racial Housing Discrimination," *Social Problems* 56:49-69.

³⁵ John M. Yinger (1986), "Measuring Discrimination with Fair Housing Audits: Caught in the Act," *American Economic Review* 76:881-893; John M. Yinger (1995), *Closed Doors, Opportunities Lost: The Continuing Costs of Housing Discrimination* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation); National Commission on Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity (2008), *The Future of Fair Housing* (Washington, DC.)

Beginning in 1977, HUD launched the *Housing Market Practices Survey* (HMPS), which conducted 3,264 tests in 40 metropolitan areas, including Akron, Canton, Cincinnati, Columbus and Dayton. The study provided evidence of significant discrimination against blacks in both sales and rental markets.³⁶ The results of HMPS played a role in the passage of the 1988 amendment to the Fair Housing Act and demonstrated the need for a second national study (*The Housing Discrimination Study*), launched in 1989 and that covered fewer (25) metropolitan areas, with only Dayton represented from the state of Ohio. Not much change occurred between 1977 and 1989.³⁷ Moreover, analyses from the more recent nation-wide HUD audit in 2000 show that “black and Hispanic homeseekers experience significant levels of adverse treatment, relative to comparable white homeseekers.”³⁸

Numerous other housing market audit studies have been conducted in specific cities.³⁹ Like national studies, these studies reveal that many African Americans encounter discrimination revolving around housing availability and access to the housing sales and rental markets.⁴⁰ Similar evidence is reported from analyses of rental inquiries by phone,⁴¹ and interactions with mortgage lenders and homeowner’s insurance agents.⁴²

Similar discriminatory patterns have been found in more specific and contemporary fair housing audits conducted in Ohio. In a pooled series of audits conducted between 2008 and 2013, for instance, the Heights Community Congress,⁴³ a fair housing organization that has received grant funding from the Fair Housing Initiative Program of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, found that within the Cleveland suburban housing market, African American compared to white testers: were 3.1% more likely to be denied service; had to make 5.3% more phone calls to get service; were shown 16.5% fewer homes (27.3% fewer if black and white testers were served by the same agent); were 11.5% more likely to be asked if they had prior loan

³⁶ Frederick J. Eggers., Clifford E. Reid, John C. Simonson and Ronald E. Wienk (1979), *Measuring Racial Discrimination in American Housing Markets: The Housing Market Practices Survey* (Washington DC: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development).

³⁷ Stephan L. Ross and Margery A. Turner (2005), “Housing Discrimination in Metropolitan America: Explaining Changes between 1989 and 2000,” *Social Problems* 52:152-180.

³⁸ Margery A. Turner, Stephan L. Ross, George Galster and John Yonger (2002), *Discrimination in Metropolitan Housing Markets: National Results from Phase I HDS 2000 (Final Report)*, (Washington DC: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development).

³⁹ John M. Yinger (1998), “Housing Discrimination is Still Worth Worrying About,” *Housing Policy Debate* 9:823-827; George C. Galster (1990), “Racial Discrimination in Housing Markets During the 1980s: A Review of the Audit Evidence,” *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 9:165-175; George C. Galster (1990), “Racial Steering by Real Estate Agents: Mechanisms and Motives,” *Review of Black Political Economy* 19:39-63.

⁴⁰ Jan Ondrich, Alex Stricker and John Yinger (1999), “Do Landlords Discriminate? The Incidence and Causes of Racial Discrimination in Rental Housing Markets,” *Journal of Housing Economics* 8:185-204; John M. Yinger (1991); John M. Yinger (1995), *Closed Doors, Opportunity Lost: The Continuing Costs of Housing Discrimination* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation).

⁴¹ Douglas Massey and Garvey Lundy (2001), “Use of Black English and Racial Discrimination in Urban Housing Markets: New Methods and Findings,” *Urban Affairs Review* 36:452-469.

⁴² Gregory D. Squires (2003), “Racial Profiling, Insurance Style: Insurance Redlining and Uneven Development of Metropolitan American,” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 24:391-410; Shanna L. Smith and Cathy Cloud (1996), “The Role of Private, Non-Profit Fair Housing Enforcement Organizations in Lending Testing,” in *Mortgage Lending, Racial Discrimination and Federal Policy* (eds. J. Goering and R. Wienk, Wahsington, DC: Urban Institute); Gregory Squires and William Velez (1988), “Insurance Redlining and the Process of Discrimination,” *Review of Black Political Economy* 16:63-75.

⁴³ Heights Community Congress (2013), *Racial Disparities in the Cleveland Suburban Housing Market* (Cleveland Heights, Ohio).

approval; and were 6.3% more likely to be asked the amount of their available down payment. Capturing such discriminatory processes even more broadly, thousands of racial discrimination in housing cases have been filed by individuals and fair housing groups with the Ohio Civil Rights Commission over the past decade. These cases range in content from realtor steering, to discriminatory exclusion and differential treatment by landlords, to unequal terms and conditions, to discriminatory practices in lending, mortgage terms, and insurance coverage.⁴⁴

b. Consequences of Housing Discrimination and Segregation

Residential racial discrimination and segregation are meaningful and detrimental in a host of ways that have been clearly demonstrated by substantial bodies of research, including:

- limiting access to gainful employment—employment that has, over the last three decades, increasingly located to suburban peripheries where (owing to limited personal or public transportation) African Americans have limited access.⁴⁵
- magnifying the extent of racially segregated schools in the urban core of many cities, with limited resources, role models and security issues, and a decreasing local tax base which impacts educational expenditure.⁴⁶
- neighborhood instability, limited institutional supports, heightened criminal victimization and declines in overall trust in neighbors, institutions and politics, especially when coinciding with concentrated poverty.⁴⁷

Along with segregation, and as noted earlier, African Americans in Ohio are also less likely than whites to be homeowners, more likely to be renters,⁴⁸ and more likely to live in the most impoverished urban locales in the state. It is in such locales that one finds the greatest levels of

⁴⁴ Vincent J. Roscigno, Diana Karafin and Griff Tester (2009).

⁴⁵ e.g., William J. Wilson (2010), *More Than Just Race: Being Poor and Black in the Inner City* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company); Roberto Fernandez (2008), "Race, Spatial Mismatch and Job Accessibility: Evidence from a Plant Relocation," *Social Science Research* 37:953-975; see also Robert Aponte (1998), "Urban Employment and the Mismatch Dilemma: Accounting for the Immigrant Exception," *Social Problems* 43:268-283; Michael B. Tietz and Karen Chapple (1998), "The Causes of Inner City Poverty: Eight Hypotheses in Search of Reality," *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research* 3:33-70; John Kasarda (1983), "Entry-Level Jobs, Mobility and Urban Minority Unemployment," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 19:21-40.

⁴⁶ e.g., Greg J. Duncan and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn (1999), *Consequences of Growing Up Poor* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation); Gary Orfield and Chungmei Lee (2005), "Why Segregation Matters: Poverty and Educational Inequality," *A Report of the Civil Rights Project, Harvard University* (available at <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED489186.pdf>); James W. Ainsworth (2002), "Why Does it Take a Village: The Mediation of Neighborhood Effects on Educational Achievement," *Social Forces* 81:117-152; Vincent J. Roscigno, Donald Tomaskovic-Devey and Martha Crowley (1996), "Education and the Inequalities of Place," *Social Forces* 8:2020-2145.

⁴⁷ e.g., Allen E. Liska and Paul E. Bellair (1995) "Violent-Crime Rates and Racial Composition: Convergence Over Time," *American Journal of Sociology* 101: 578-610; Ruth Peterson and Lauren Krivo (1999), "Racial Segregation, The Concentration of Disadvantage and Black and White Homicide Victimization," *Sociological Forum* 14:465-493; Robert Sampson (2009), "Racial Stratification and the Durable Tangle of Neighborhood Inequality," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 621: 260-280.

⁴⁸ Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University (2013).

residential mobility and instability within low-end rental markets⁴⁹—a fact that complicates the voting process through the need to more frequently update voter registration, ID and residency requirements, and possibly also through the very location of polling places outside of the areas where African American populations are concentrated. Such inequalities are further compounded by limited personal transportation and reliance on public transportation (discussed momentarily). Combined, the dynamics of residential segregation, discrimination, and much higher rates of rental status put Ohio’s African American community at a disadvantage relative to the location as well as the historical resourcing⁵⁰ of polling places.

3). Impact of Employment and Housing Inequalities on Voting

The consequences of the employment and housing inequalities, segregation and discriminatory processes discussed thus far are significant and far-reaching. They reduce minority access to: often higher paying, more stable jobs and labor markets that are increasingly located in suburban peripheries,⁵¹ better-resourced schools with more experienced teachers,⁵² and better resourced community services and infrastructures. Conversely, racial residential segregation intensifies concentrated disadvantage with implications for crime⁵³ and the likelihood of segregated and overcrowded schools.⁵⁴

Importantly, these inequalities also have specific and direct consequences for voting. First, as already discussed, they result in disparate rates of vehicle ownership and access to transportation generally. According to the *American Communities Survey*, African Americans in Ohio report 1.2 vehicles per household, on average, compared to 2.2 vehicles for whites. No less important, African Americans in Ohio are about three times as likely to have to rely on public transportation or walk to work and are about four times less likely to own their own car, both of which imply immediate travel financial costs but also substantially more time costs to voting. Such resource differentials in terms of motor vehicle ownership and reliance on public transportation (see Figure 5, below) speak to the heightened costs of voting for minority and poorer communities in Ohio—communities who, if they are to vote, must overcome barriers that are much less of an obstacle for white voters who are, on average, more affluent and with greater job flexibility.

⁴⁹ G. Thomas Kingsley, Audrey Jordan, and William Traynor (2012).

⁵⁰ As I discuss later in this report, the 2004 elections in Ohio witnessed extraordinarily long lines at polling places in locations with concentrated African American populations, owing to under-resourcing and machine failure in these largely urban areas.

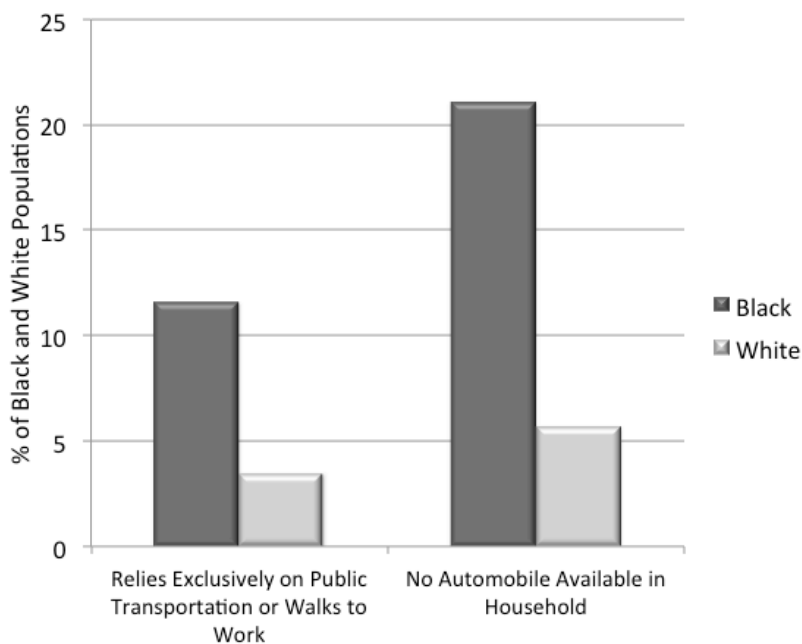
⁵¹ John D. Kasarda (1989), “Urban Industrial Transition and the Underclass,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 501:26-47; William J. Wilson (1997), *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (New York: Vintage).

⁵² Vincent J. Roscigno, Donald Tomaskovic-Devey and Martha Crowley (1996); Gary Orfield and Susan Eaton (1997), *Dismantling Desegregation The Quiet Reversal of Brown v. Board of Education* (New York: New Press); Jonathan Kozol (2012), *Savage Inequalities: Children in America’s Schools* (New York: Broadway Books).

⁵³ Lauren J. Krivo, Ruth D. Peterson and Danielle C. Kuhl (2009), “Segregation, Racial Structure and Neighborhood Violent Crime,” *American Journal of Sociology* 6:1765-1802; Robert J. Sampson, Stephen Raudenbush and Felton Earls (1997), “Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy,” *Science* 277:918-924.

⁵⁴ Thomas Nechyba (2003), “School Finance, Spatial Income Segregation, and the Nature of Communities,” *Journal of Urban Economics* 54:61-88; Vincent J. Roscigno, Donald Tomaskovic-Devey and Marth Crowley (2006); Russell Rumburger and Gregory Pallardy (2005), “Does Segregation Still Matter? The Impact of Student Composition on Academic Achievement in High School,” *Teachers College Record* 107:1999-2045.

Figure 5. Black and White Disparities in Public Transportation Reliance/Walking to Work and Lack of Automobile Ownership in Ohio.



Sources: 2012 and 2005 American Communities Survey, U.S. Census

Simply put, it is significantly more difficult for African Americans in Ohio to get to the one polling location available during early voting when compared to whites. Transportation barriers disparately impacting African American, poorer and elderly communities, prior to current voting restrictions, were partially addressed through carpooling via “Souls to the Polls,” coordinated by black churches across the state. “Souls to the Polls” allowed for easier transportation to polling locations for African-American, poorer, and elderly voters, and on Sundays when city parking was more plentiful.⁵⁵ Although efforts were made in 2012 to limit Sunday voting, thus tempering African American voter turnout via “Souls to the Polls,” the 6th Circuit Court concluded that “The public interest... favors permitting as many qualified voters to vote as possible.”⁵⁶ Such coordination for inclusivity and participation was consequently preserved in 2012, but then eliminated outright with the removal of Sunday and evening voting in 2014 by the Ohio Legislature and Secretary of State Husted.

Second, African Americans in Ohio are disparately located in non-salaried, lower-paying jobs where it is much more difficult to take time off to vote during regular business hours. Occupational position is related to job autonomy and flexibility—autonomy and flexibility when it comes to job scheduling and being able to take time off of work. Analyses of Bureau of Labor Statistics data,⁵⁷ in fact, show this to be the case. Minority workers generally, and workers in especially low wage service sector jobs and administrative and support service positions experience

⁵⁵ Ed O’Keefe (2012), “Souls to the Polls’ Aims to Turn Out Early Voters in Ohio,” *Washington Post*, November 4.

⁵⁶ Patrik Jonnson (2012), “In Blow to Romney, Court Says Ohio Can’t Restrict Souls to the Polls Voting by Blacks,” *Christian Science Monitor*, October 6th.

⁵⁷ Lonnie Golden (2001), “Flexible Work Schedules: What are We Trading Off to Get Them?” *Monthly Labor Review*, March.

significantly less work schedule flexibility than whites and those occupying higher managerial and professional occupational positions.⁵⁸ Less flexibility means less time and ability to vote.

Third, the inequalities shown thus far make it harder for African Americans to arrange for child care during the day—childcare that is often costly, particular for those of lower incomes. This difficulty is compounded even further by the fact that African American adults in Ohio are more than twice as likely to be single parents compared to their White counterparts. According to the *American Communities Survey* subsample for Ohio, 72% African American households in Ohio are single parent families with at least one child under eighteen years old compared to 25% of White households. Furthermore, inequalities in poverty exist even among black and white single parent households with children (see Figure 6, next page). Racial disparities in both the prevalence of single-headed families and poverty create especially disparate burdens and difficult choices for African American parents wishing to cast an in-person ballot—choices about arranging for childcare, deciding whether one should leave one’s children alone, paying for childcare and/or contemplating whether to bring children to the polling booth. Each represents a cost of voting that African American parents in the state sustain at much higher levels relative to their white counterparts.

Fourth, these difficulties—difficulties securing transportation, having to take time off of work during regular business hours to vote, and arranging for childcare—will be exacerbated, and disproportionately so, for African Americans in the face of current early voting cutbacks by the Ohio Legislature. The “calculus of voting” framework, shown to be empirically accurate in much social science research, would certainly make this prediction and there is little counterfactual evidence in Ohio to suggest otherwise. The “calculus of voting” framework has empirically established that individuals and groups engage in calculations of “costs” surrounding voting.⁵⁹ Such costs might entail, for instance, garnering information about candidates, about registering, and about how and where to vote. They also include, however, more tangible time costs, the ability to take time away from work or family, and difficulties surrounding transportation to voting locations.⁶⁰ Importantly, such costs and their impacts on voter turnout have been shown to be higher for poorer and minority populations given enduring and persistent educational, residential and economic inequalities.⁶¹

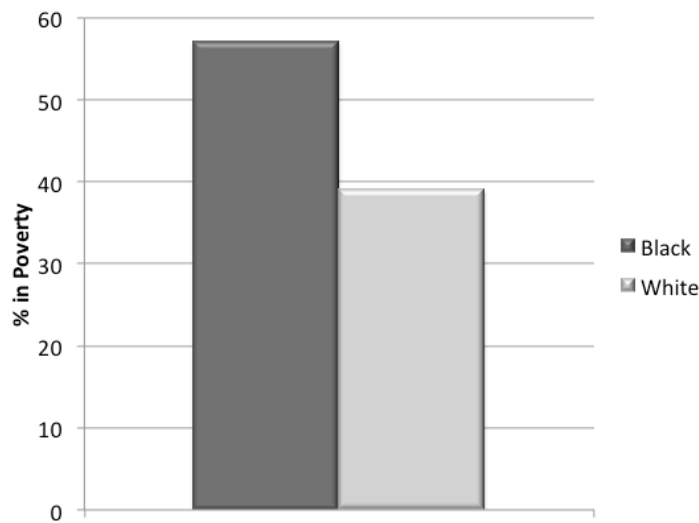
⁵⁸ Bureau of Labor Statistics Data show that approximately 32% of whites versus 21% of African Americans have flexibility in their work schedules. Moreover, approximately 38% of those in professional and managerial positions report flexibility in work scheduling versus 28.5% and 25.7% of those in office/administrative support and service positions, respectively. In these regards, see especially Terrence M. McMenamin (2007), “A Time to Work: Recent Trends in Shift Work and Flexible Schedules,” *Monthly Labor Review*, December, 3-15; Lonnie Golden (2001); Harriet B. Presser (2003), “Race-Ethnic and Gender Differences in Non-Standard Work Shifts,” *Work & Occupations* 30:412-449.

⁵⁹ Anthony Downs (1957), *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Harper and Row; John H. Aldrich (1993), “Rational Choice and Turnout.” *American Journal of Political Science* 37:246-78; M.E. Kropf (2012), “Does Early Voting Change the Socio-Economic Composition of the Electorate?” *Poverty & Public Policy* 4; W.H. Riker and P.C. Ordeshook (1968), “A Theory of the Calculus of Voting.” *American Political Science Review* 62:25-42.

⁶⁰ Henry E. Brady and John E. McNulty (2011), “Turnout Out to Vote: The Costs of Finding and Getting to the Polling Place.” *American Political Science Review* 105:1-20; John E. McNulty, Conor M. Dowling and Margaret H. Ariotti (2009), “Driving Saints to Sin: How Increasing the Difficulty of Voting Dissuades Even the Most Motivated Voters.” *Political Analysis* 17:435-55.

⁶¹ Benjamin Highton (1997), “Early Registration and Voter Turnout.” *Journal of Politics* 59:565-75; Raymond E. Wolfinger, Benjamin Highton and Megan Mullin (2005), “How Postregistration Laws Affect the Turnout of Citizens Registered to Vote.” *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 5:1-23.

Figure 6. Black and White Household Poverty Rates for Single Parent Households with Children Under 18 Years Old in Ohio.



Source: 2012 American Communities Survey, U.S. Census

Applying the “calculus of voting” framework to the recent early voting cutbacks is straightforward:

- 1) African Americans already have greater difficulty securing transportation and allowing enough time to travel to the one early voting site in the county. Current cutbacks will disproportionately exacerbate this difficulty by restricting the times that are available for them to make the trip and by decreasing the probability of carpooling options, since voting hour options have been increasingly restricted in the direction of “normal” working hours.
- 2) African Americans already have greater difficulty taking time off of work (usually unpaid) to vote, owing to occupational inequalities. The cutbacks will exacerbate that difficulty by eliminating evening hours and Sundays—times that were previously available if the voter was unable to take time off of work during the day.
- 3) African Americans are significantly more likely to be single parents and, owing to lower incomes and higher rates of poverty, experience a disparate burden in arranging for childcare in order to vote. The cutbacks exacerbate this difficulty by reducing flexibility and making it harder for such voters to perhaps find friends or relatives available to look after their children in times that are available and convenient to potential, alternative caregivers, such as evenings and Sundays.
- 4) Lastly, and layered on top of these impacts, patterns of work and residential inequality and discrimination have been shown to lead to a sense of powerlessness when it comes to political participation, efficacy and voice.⁶² That is, the inequalities about which I am

⁶² Michael Hughes and David Demo (1989), “Self Perceptions of Black Americans: Self Esteem and Personal Efficacy,” *American Journal of Sociology* 95:132-159; Wendy M. Rahn and Thomas J. Rudolph (2005), “A Tale of Political Trust in American Cities,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 69:530-560; James M. Avery (2006), “The Sources and Consequences of Political Mistrust Among African Americans,” *American Politics Research* 34:563-682.

speaking create a diminished sense of political efficacy and sense of possibility for poorer and minority voters.

As should be clear, the impact of socioeconomic disparities in Ohio is multi-layered when it comes to voting. The recent and more restrictive changes to voting opportunities in Ohio will create significant, additional burdens for historically excluded portions of the prospective voting public and diminish even more so the extent to which there is equal opportunity to participate in the electoral process. This disparate burden and impact, in concert with current inequalities in income, education and health (discussed below) and histories of exclusion, minority underrepresentation, racial appeals and voting polarization, etc., discussed in Section III of this report, should be considered as part and parcel of the “totality of circumstances” covered under Voting Rights Act protections.

5). Income/Poverty, Education and Health Inequalities

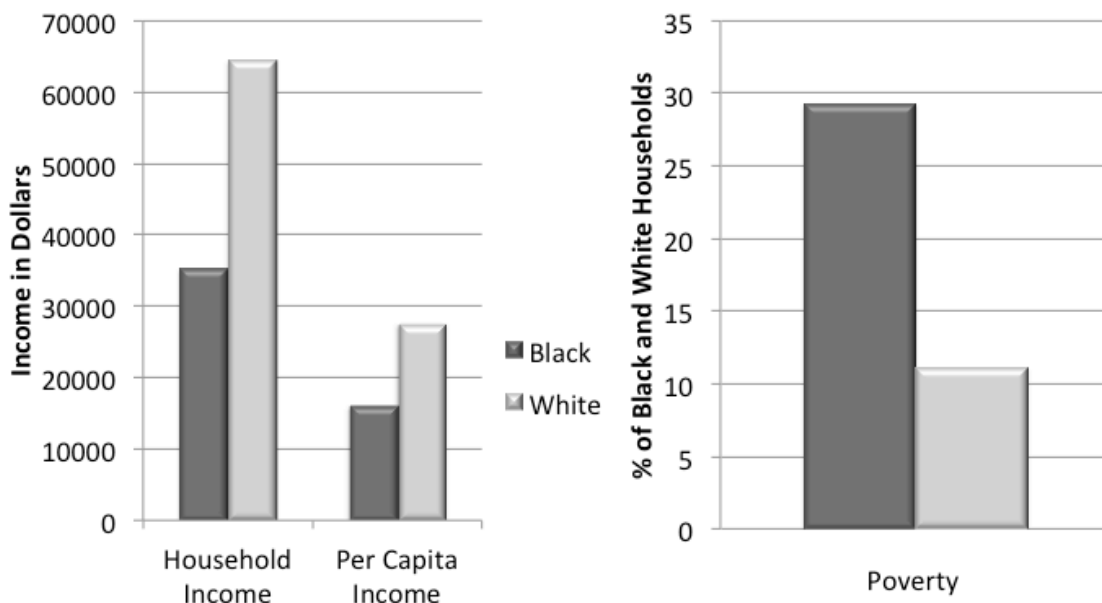
Although the impact of socioeconomic disparities on voting should be clear, for the sake of completeness I also discuss racial inequalities in income/poverty, education and health, all of which persist in Ohio. These inequalities are caused by, and inextricably intertwined with, the aforementioned disparities in housing and employment and similarly pose a burden and depress voter turnout by heightening costs to minority and working class voters across the state.

a. Income/Poverty Gaps and Impact on Voting

Patterns of occupational and residential racial disadvantage manifest in stark racial inequalities in family income and poverty, reported in Figure 7. Whether measured at the family or per capita (i.e., individual) level, African American income in Ohio is approximately 60% of that for whites. Even more pronounced is the African American family poverty rate, which is nearly 3 times that of whites.

Such profound differences in income and poverty have clear-cut implications for other institutional inequalities, such as those pertaining to education and health (discussed below), but also for tangible resources (e.g., transportation, child-care, etc.) that have a direct bearing on opportunities to vote, as discussed above.

Figure 7. Black and White Household Income Inequalities and Poverty Rates in Ohio.



Source: 2012 American Communities Survey, U.S. Census

b. Educational Inequalities and Impact on Voting

Education and educational opportunities in Ohio reflect the racial inequalities observed in employment, housing and income/poverty. The degree of de facto school racial segregation, for instance, is patterned by racial gaps in income and poverty and their consequences for residential concentrations in the increasingly poorest and concentrated urban areas of the state.

Ohio, like other U.S. states, was mandated by virtue of the 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* to do away with systematic segregation and implement plans to achieve integration. Progress in this regard, however, was slow moving. Many of Ohio's urban locales refused to comply or delayed the implementation of busing and integration plans until as late as the 1970s and 1980s, and only after local pressures and legal suits forced such compliance. For instance, it was not until 1976, with the decision in *Reed v. Rhodes*, that Cleveland was legally forced to integrate its schools after a U.S. District Court judge found that the state of Ohio and Cleveland Public Schools intentionally maintained a segregated system.

In a similar vein, it was not until 1978-1979 and following the decision in *Penick v. Columbus Board of Education* that a busing plan for desegregation was finally set in motion. The effect was moderately racially integrated schools in the 1980s and early 1990s, but even here the gains were not long lasting. In the face of declining enrollments, especially due to white flight to Ohio's more advantaged suburban fringes between 1980 and 2000 and legal actions aimed to overturning prior integration plans for the sake of "neighborhood school" choices, Columbus, Cleveland and many

other urban districts across Ohio were released from court jurisdiction by late 1990s and busing plans were dismantled.⁶³ Levels of school racial segregation rose immediately and persist to this day. Indeed, Ohio now boasts 3 of the top one hundred most segregated public school districts in the United States: Cleveland, Youngstown and Cincinnati.⁶⁴

Table 1 below reports, relative to black-white public school segregation, Index of Dissimilarity scores for the largest urban areas in the state of Ohio. Recall that Index of Dissimilarity scores range theoretically from 0 (perfect integration) to 100 (perfect segregation), and reflect the percent of either the black or white population that would have to move to achieve a more equitable distribution. Also recall that social scientists consider a value of 60 or above to be a relatively high level of segregation. I also include in this table the poverty rate⁶⁵ for the average school that white and black children attend within the district. This captures conjoined inequalities surrounding racial segregation and social class disadvantages.

Table 1. Dissimilarity Scores (Degree of Segregation Between Black and White Students) and Student Poverty Composition for Urban Locales in Ohio, 2010-2011.⁶⁶

City Name	Dissimilarity Score	Poverty of Student Body for Schools Attended by White Students	Poverty of Student Body for Schools Attended by Black Students
Akron	66.7	39.0%	79.4%
Canton-Massillon	62.7	46.8%	77.6%
Cincinnati-Middletown	71.7	36.1%	66.2%
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor	80.5	33.4%	74.7%
Columbus	67.5	35.6%	69.1%
Dayton	71.2	38.2%	74.4%
Lima	61.7	44.2%	74.1%
Mansfield	61.8	58.0%	82.1%
Sandusky	69.2	44.3%	78.7%
Springfield	61.4	55.3%	78.4%
Toledo	69.4	42.6%	82.3%
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman	77.5	47.0%	82.1%

⁶³ Gary Orfield and S.E. Eaton (1996); G.S. Jacobs (1998), *Getting Around Brown: Desegregation, Development and the Columbus Public Schools* (Columbus: OSU Press); Vincent J. Roscigno and Dennis Condron (2003), "When Bussing Ends: Resegregation and Inequality in an Urban School District," in Carl Bankston and Stephan Caldas (Eds), *The End of Segregation?* (Nova Science Publishers).

⁶⁴ Nancy McArdle, Theresa Osypuk and Delores Acevedo-Garcia (2010), *Segregation and Exposure to High Poverty Schools in Large Metropolitan Areas: 2008-09* (Special Report: DiversityData.Org)

⁶⁵ Measured by the percentage of the student body qualifying for free or reduced-price lunch.

⁶⁶ Source: National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data: Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey; also available though DiversityData.Org.

The degree of school racial segregation and its association with the concentration of poverty are important in several ways. Prior research, for instance, suggests that the higher the concentration of poverty in a school, the more negative overall implications for peer associations and aspirations, school and classroom climate, extracurricular programming, school physical quality, safety and resources, curriculum availability, spending per pupil, and teacher quality and experience, all of which hold consequences for race specific gaps in educational attainment and achievement.⁶⁷ Thus, African American children in the state of Ohio are not only educationally disadvantaged relative to familial resources, which have arguably the greatest overall impact on learning and matriculation through the educational process,⁶⁸ but they are significantly hampered by persistent, contemporary school segregation and the resource and social inequalities that emanate from that.

The patterning of educational disadvantage about which I speak is reflected in core indicators surrounding, and racial inequalities in, educational attainment at the low and high ends within Ohio's African American and white populations. Figure 8 reports the high school dropout rate⁶⁹ alongside rates of college completion⁷⁰ within the state, derived from the 2012 *American Communities Survey*. African Americans are significantly disadvantaged at the lower end of the educational distribution, with dropout rates nearly 7 percentage points higher than they are for whites. Such inequality is even more pronounced at the upper tail of the educational distribution and with regard to college completion. Here, over a quarter of white adults in Ohio have earned a baccalaureate degree or higher, compared to only approximately 15% of African American adults in the state.

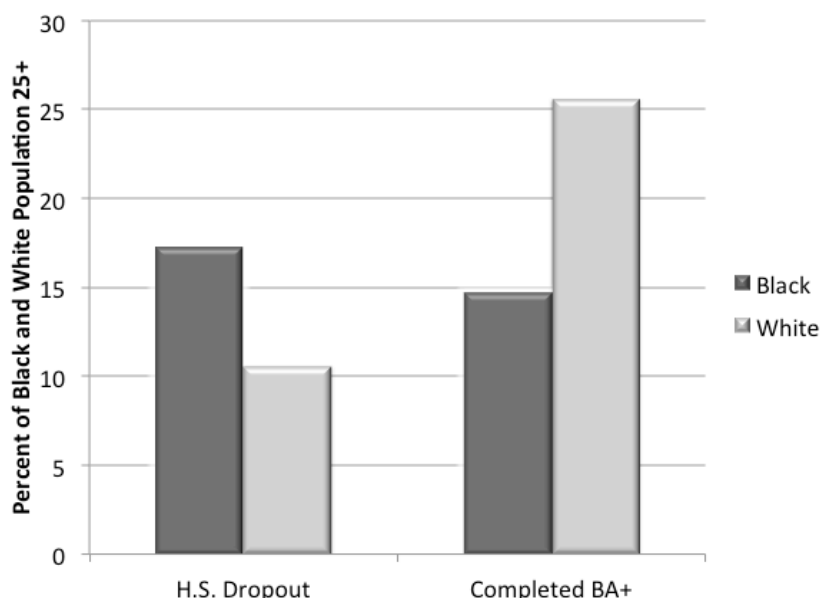
⁶⁷ See, for instance, Vincent J. Roscigno (1998), "Race and the Reproduction of Educational Disadvantage," *Social Forces* 76:1033-1060; Vincent J. Roscigno, Donald Tomaskovic-Devey and Martha Crowley (2006); Dennis Condron and Vincent J. Roscigno (2003), "Disparities Within: Unequal Spending and Achievement in an Urban School District," *Sociology of Education* 76:18-36..

⁶⁸ See, for instance, Douglas B. Downey, Paul von Hippel, and Beckett Broh (2004), "Are Schools the Great Equalizer? Cognitive Inequality During the Summer Months and the School Year," *American Sociological Review* 69:613-635; Annette Lareau (2000), *Home Advantage: Social Class and Parental Intervention in Elementary Education* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield); J. Teachman and K. Paasch (1998), "The Family and Educational Aspirations," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 60:704-714; Toby Parcel and Elizabeth Menaghan (1994), *Parents' Jobs and Children's Lives* (NY: Aldine de Gruyter).

⁶⁹ Calculated as the percent the 25+ population not completing either high school or GED equivalent.

⁷⁰ Calculated as baccalaureate degree or higher, because recent research shows that the economic benefit to baccalaureate completion or higher is substantially different than a high school or a two-year Associates degree.

Figure 8. Black and White Educational Outcome Inequalities in Ohio.



Source: 2012 American Communities Survey, U.S. Census

Educational inequalities such as these diminish labor market and residential opportunities further and pose very real resources disadvantages for African Americans—resources disadvantages in, for instance, job options, flexibility and autonomy, each of which poses a distinct barrier or cost to voting. Education, in and of itself, also acts more directly as a driving force in voting.⁷¹ This is because education imparts skills that allow one to understand and negotiate political institutions, rules and bureaucratic procedures,⁷² and increases one’s sense of efficacy, interest in and knowledge of politics.⁷³ African Americans in Ohio, by virtue of educational segregation and inequalities across educational outcomes, are disadvantaged in these very regards and must surmount informational, efficacy and resource barriers compared to whites when it comes to political engagement. Those with less education are also less likely to register, understand voter registration requirements, such as registration deadlines, and update registration whenever they move.⁷⁴ To restrict voting periods, days and hours further will only magnify these barriers about which I speak.

⁷¹ Rachel Milstein Sondheimer and Donald P. Green (2010), “Using Experiments to Estimate the Effects of Education on Voter Turnout.” *American Journal of Political Science* 54:174-189.

⁷² Raymond E. Wolfinger and Steven J. Rosenstone (1980), *Who Votes?* (New Haven: Yale University Press); Kevin Milligan, Enrico Moretti and Philip Oreopoulos (2004), “Does Education Improve Citizenship: Evidence from the U.S. and the U.K.,” National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER Working Paper 9584, Washington, DC).

⁷³ Michael Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter (1996), *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters* (New Haven: Yale University Press); Herbert Hyman, Charles Wright, and John Reed (1975), *The Enduring Effects of Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press); Rachel M. Sondheimer (2006), *The Education-Participation Nexus: Rethinking Conventional Wisdom with Randomized and Natural Experiments* (New Haven: Yale University Press); P.R. Abramson and J.H. Aldrich (1982), “The Decline of Electoral Participation in America,” *American Political Science Review* 76: 502-521.

⁷⁴ Such patterns are evident in the persistent educational gaps in voter registration by educational level over time. See for instance, historical data on voter registration by educational level (available at <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/socdemo/voting/publications/historical/index.html>)

c. Racial Health Disparities in Ohio and Implications for Voting

Alongside and partly related to substantial inequalities in the domains of work, housing and education are clear-cut racial gaps in health outcomes in the state of Ohio. Health inequalities are partially driven by the disparately lower socioeconomic status of blacks relative to whites. Moreover, recent national research has demonstrated that discrimination and perceptions of discrimination contribute in important ways to levels of stress, depression and self-reported health and well being for African Americans.⁷⁵

Recent estimates and reports, derived from the 2008 Ohio Family Health Survey⁷⁶ and the even more recent data from the Ohio Department of Health,⁷⁷ denote significant racial health inequalities across the state. Specifically, and for adults, the data show that:

- 36.8% of African Americans versus 28.6% of whites in Ohio are obese, a condition related to a host of other medical and mobility issues;
- 37.5% of African versus 26.2% of whites in Ohio are diagnosed with high blood pressure;
- 12.3% of African Americans versus 9.2% of whites in Ohio have been diagnosed with diabetes;
- 3.4% of African Americans versus 2.1% of whites in Ohio have experienced a stroke;
- 27.6% of African Americans versus 17% of whites are uninsured
- The life expectancy of African Americans in Ohio is 73.9 years versus 78.1 years for whites.⁷⁸
- 19.3% of African Americans versus 15.6% of whites in Ohio 18 years and older suffer from some kind of disability.⁷⁹

Sadly, inequalities in health outcomes are also observed among African American children⁸⁰ in Ohio, where:

- African American babies are twice as likely to be born of low birth weight;
- African American infant mortality rates are 2.5 times higher than those for white infants;

⁷⁵ Louisa N. Borrell, Catarina L. Kiefe, Anna V. Diez-Roux, David R. Williams, and Penny Gordon-Larsen (2013), "Racial Discrimination, Racial/Ethnic Segregation and Health Behaviors in the CARDIA Study," *Ethnicity and Health* 18:227-243; David R. Williams, Harold W. Neighbors and James S. Jackson (2003), "Racial/Ethnic Discrimination and Health: Findings from Community Studies," *American Journal of Public Health* 93:200-208; Eric A. Grollman (2012), "Multiple Forms of Perceived Discrimination and Health among Adolescents and Young Adults," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 53:199-214.

⁷⁶ Health Policy Institute of Ohio (2010), *Unhealthy Differences: Health Disparities Between Racial and Ethnic Groups in Ohio* (Columbus, Ohio)

⁷⁷ <http://www.odh.ohio.gov/healthstats/dataandstats.aspx>

⁷⁸ Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation (2014), *State Health Facts: Life Expectancy at Birth (in Years), by Race/Ethnicity*, available at <http://kff.org/other/state-indicator/life-expectancy-by-re/>; see also Nazleen Bharmal, Chi-Hong Tseng, Robert Kaplan, and Mitchell D. Wong (2012), "State-Level Variations in Racial Disparities in Life Expectancy." *Health Services Research* 47:544-555.

⁷⁹ Derived from ACS 2012 five-year estimate of the non-institutionalized population.

⁸⁰ Children's Defense Fund of Ohio (2009), *Issue Brief: The Face of Health Disparities Among Children in Ohio* (Columbus, Ohio); see also Ohio Department of Health, Data and Statistics: <http://www.odh.ohio.gov/healthstats/dataandstats.aspx>

- 19.5% of African American children are diagnosed with asthma compared to 12.2% of white children;
- 39.3% of African American children are considered overweight versus 28.5% of white children;
- 12.1% of African American children do not receive preventative dental care versus 4.3% of white children;
- Of those African American children diagnosed with mental health needs, 60% never receive needed care, versus 30% of white children with such needs.⁸¹

Health disparities among African American adults and children in Ohio, driven at least partially from systemic labor market disadvantages, discriminatory exclusions, and educational and residential disparities noted previously, generate significant stressors along with resource, time and mobility burdens. Such health-related inequalities raise further the costs of voting for minority populations, and early voting cutbacks will magnify related difficulties disproportionately.

III.

A. Senate Factors One and Three: Voting-Related Discriminatory Processes, Historically and Contemporarily

Senate Factor One examines “the history of official voting-related discrimination,” while Senate Factor Three draws attention to “the extent to which the state or political subdivision has used voting practices or procedures that tend to enhance the opportunity for discrimination against the minority group.” Because these factors overlap, I consider them together.

1). History of Official Voting-Related Discrimination

Official voting-related discrimination against racial/ethnic minorities was a cornerstone in Ohio from the very outset of its establishment as a state. The state constitution itself, formed and ratified in 1802, established Ohio as a non-slave holding state but also one that *explicitly limited voting rights to only white males*. While arguably progressive in its anti-slavery stance and in citizen access to the courts and education, the state constitution makes clear that voting rights would be reserved to “all while male inhabitants above the age of twenty-one years, having resided in the State one year next preceding the election, and who have paid or are charged with a State or county tax” (Article IV, Section 1).⁸²

African American exclusion from voting and other citizenship rights and freedoms was seen as initially important owing to concerns that freed slaves would migrate in mass to the state of Ohio. Such concern was evident in the acceleration and extension of further racial exclusions and

⁸¹ Ohio Department of Mental Health (2008), *2008 Family Health Survey: Special Population Report* (Columbus, Ohio).

⁸² Ohio Constitution (1802), available at <http://ww2.ohiohistory.org/onlinedoc/ohgovernment/constitution/cnst1802.html>

controls with the passage of “Black Codes” and “Black Laws” by the Ohio legislature between 1804 and 1807.⁸³ These codes entailed the following:

- a court certificate validating the actual freedom of “black or mulatto persons.”
- registration with the county clerks office of any “black or mulatto” adult and their children at the cost of 12.5 cents per name.
- penalties for employers who employed “black or mulatto” persons without such certification.
- penalties for any individual harboring a “black or mulatto person.”
- a requirement of at least two people who would guarantee a surety of five hundred dollars for a “black or mulatto” person’s good behavior.
- restrictions on “black or mulatto” interracial marriage and gun ownership.

These laws lasted for approximately four decades and were eventually repealed by the Ohio State Legislature in 1849. The exclusion of African Americans from the vote, as denoted in the state constitution, however, remained intact, even in the face of Ohio barely (19 to 18 in the Senate; 57 to 55 in the House) ratifying the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1870. Moreover, just two years earlier in 1868, the Ohio General Assembly passed an amendment to the *Act to Preserve the Purity in Elections*—an amendment that granted election clerks and judges immunity from suit in situations where they rejected the vote of any person with “a visible admixture of African blood.” The amendment went even further by granting election officials the right to question under oath:

- the ancestry of anyone who appeared even partially of African descent;
- whether the prospective voter resided in a township with “schools for colored children,” and;
- whether the potential voter was “classified and recognized as a white or colored person” and whether they “associate with white or colored persons?”⁸⁴

The Ohio Supreme Court quickly ruled the amendment unconstitutional, noting potential difficulties in determining one’s race lineage. The court’s position overall, however, remained vague and left decisionmaking up to the discretion, perception and desires of local election officials by concluding that those having “a visible admixture of African blood, but in whom the white blood predominates, are white male citizens within the meaning of the Ohio Constitution and... have the same right to vote as citizens of pure white blood.”⁸⁵

The Court’s decision, combined with the ongoing and clear pronouncement in the Ohio Constitution of the white male vote as the only legitimate vote, exemplify both ongoing exclusion and ambiguity in African American voting rights in Ohio. Although various efforts were made to remove it,⁸⁶ a state amendment to remove the race-based voting restriction was defeated by state referendum in 1912. It was not until 1923, with the passage of the 19th Amendment that

⁸³ http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Black_Laws_of_1807?rec=1505; see also Yale Law School, *The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy*: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/sl004.asp.

⁸⁴ Frederick Gittes (2004), “Paper Promises: Race and Law in Ohio After 1860,” in *The History of Ohio Law*, edited by Michael Benedict and John Winkler (Athens: Ohio University Press).

⁸⁵ *Monroe v. Collins* (1867); see also Gittes (2004).

⁸⁶ Barbara A. Terzian (1999), *Effusions of Folly and Fanaticism: Race, Gender and Constitution-Making in Ohio, 1802-1923* (Ohio State University, PhD Dissertation).

guaranteed female suffrage, that “white” and “male” were removed from the Ohio Constitution’s restrictions and allowances surrounding voter eligibility.

Relatively small but concentrated African American populations across the state, along with the non-proportional representation especially in Ohio’s largest urban locales where many African Americans resided, insured virtually no representation of black political officials for most of the 1900s. Then, in 1962, the Supreme Court of the United States in *Baker v Carr* mandated that states adopt congressional redistricting plans that accurately reflect the presence and concentration of voters, including African American voters. Ohio’s state constitution was consequently amended in 1967 and in a manner insuring clearer proportional representation across districts. Two years later, in 1969, Lewis Stokes was elected as the first African American from Ohio in the U.S. House of Representatives, representing the 21st District of Cleveland’s East side. As my later discussion of Senate Factor Seven notes, however, African American representation, particularly in highly visible state elected positions, has been and remains extraordinarily low to this day.

2). More Recent Voting Practices That Suppress Minority Political Participation

Along with historical exclusions, there are other and much more recent voting practices and changes with implications for discrimination against minority voters in the state.

a. Poll Watchers

Political parties, of course, have a legal right to ensure fairness in voting procedure during elections, and thus representatives of each party are commonly granted status as poll watchers. Poll watching, however, has a pernicious racial history—a history associated with intimidation and disenfranchisement. This was rekindled to some degree for Ohio’s African American population in 2012 when independent citizen groups affiliated with the Tea Party’s *True the Vote* were granted permission to serve as independent poll watchers in various voting precincts in the state. This included the highly contested Hamilton County. *True the Vote* was banned in certain other precincts, however, including Columbus, owing to improper application, the possibility of falsification of names, and complaints and reports that the group trained volunteers “to use cameras to intimidate voters when they enter the polling place, record their names on tablet computers and attempt to stop questionably qualified voters before they could get to a voting machine...”⁸⁷

Arguably intended to combat voter fraud, *True the Vote* provided software to local citizen groups or “integrity projects” aiming to monitor prospective voters and their eligibility prior and during the 2012 election. African Americans and college students—perhaps owing to the focus of these poll watchers on certain, high minority concentrated areas and greater residential mobility or non-clarity regarding permanent addresses—seem to have been disparately targeted. In Hamilton County, for instance, 1,077 challenges were received, although most were eventually thrown out. Some received mailings that reported: “You are hereby notified that your right to vote has been challenged by a qualified elector under RC 3503.243505.19.” Given the history of voting exclusion, such communication understandably causes consternation for minority voters who might become

⁸⁷ See Ed O’Keefe (2012), “Tea Party-Linked Poll Watchers Rejected in Ohio County,” *Washington Post*, November 6.

confused about their right to vote or feel intimidated, particularly when the preponderance of poll watchers on election day, even in majority African American areas, were and are white.⁸⁸

b. Changes to Voting Days/Hours

As a consequence of well documented⁸⁹ problems pertaining to voter access to polling places and uncertainty regarding vote counting that plagued the 2004 election—problems that, again, seem to have disparately impacted poorer and minority voters throughout the state—Ohio expanded voting opportunities by allowing for early voting and extending voting days and voting hours for the 2008 election. Earlier problems, as reported in the Ohio and national media at the time, centered on inadequate allocation of voting machines and polling places, especially in urban areas with concentrated populations of African American and college students, and malfunctioning machines. This led to extraordinarily long lines and the need to wait for as long as ten hours to vote.⁹⁰ Indeed, one survey of the 2004 election estimated that 3% of Ohio’s total electorate – about 130,000 voters – left the polling place eventually without voting.⁹¹

The state of Ohio responded by offering a remedy of expanding in-person early voting, including Sunday voting, for the next election cycle. As I explained earlier in Section II, expanding early and Sunday voting increases opportunities for poorer and minority communities—communities who, owing to less job flexibility and autonomy to take time off work, limited resources including transportation disadvantages, and disparities when it comes to education and knowledge of political procedure and process, bear a heavier burden and greater costs when it comes to voting.⁹²

Enhanced voting opportunities in 2008 paid dividends in terms of overall inclusiveness and minority participation. A statistical analysis of voter participation in Cuyahoga County in 2008,⁹³ for instance, demonstrated that for the first time African American turnout was equivalent to, if not slightly exceeding, that of whites. Perhaps even more pertinent, 22 percent of African American voters made use of early in-person voting compared to only 1 percent of whites; a stark contrast that underscores the fact that the widening of voting opportunities enhances access to participation generally, but particularly for historically excluded groups—groups that continue to

⁸⁸ Dan Harris and Melia Partia (2012), “Is True the Vote Intimidating Minority Voters From Going to the Polls?” *ABC NEWS, Nightline*, November 2. Available at : <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/true-vote-intimidating-minority-voters-polls/story?id=17618823>.

⁸⁹ E.g., Ari Berman (2012), “Ohio Early Voting Cutbacks Disenfranchise Minority Voters,” *The Nation*, August 8th; Adam Liptak (2004), “Voting Problems in Ohio Set Off An Alarm,” *New York Times*, November 7th; Adam Cohen (2008), “One Should Not Have to Stand in Line 10 Hours to Vote,” *New York Times*, August 25th.

⁹⁰ Adam Cohen (2008), “No One Should Have to Stand in Line for 10 Hours to Vote,” *New York Times*, August 25; Adam Liptak (2004), “Voting Problems in Ohio Set Off An Alarm,” *New York Times*, November 7; Benjamin Highton (2006), “Long Lines, Voting Machine Availability, and Turnout: The Case of Franklin County, Ohio in the 2004 Presidential Election,” *Political Science and Politics*, January 65-68; Darryl Fears (2004), “DNC To Investigate Ohio Voting Irregularities,” *Washington Post*, December 7.

⁹¹ Ari Berman (2013), “Ohio GOP Resurrects Voter Suppression Efforts,” *The Nation*, December 4.

⁹² Henry E. Brady and John E. McNulty (2011); John E. McNulty, Connor M. Dowling and Margaret H. Ariotti (2009).

⁹³ Russell Weaver and Sonia Gill (2012), *Early Voting Patterns by Race in Cuyahoga County, Ohio: A Statistical Analysis of the 2008 General Election* (A Voting Brief, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights). Available at http://www.lawyerscommittee.org/admin/site/documents/files/EarlyVoting_Cuyahoga_Report.pdf

bear the brunt of contemporary inequality across a host of domains as denoted in Section II of this report.

Following the 2008 election, Ohio retrenched in its earlier actions by introducing legislation to restrict voting. This included cuts to early voting and in-person voting before the 2012 election (HB 194)—cuts that were eventually forestalled owing to a suit filed against the state of Ohio by the Obama campaign. Efforts to restrict voting, however, commenced in 2014 with the passage of bills effectively eliminating evening voting hours, the first week of early voting and Sunday voting. Although passed under the logic of formalizing and standardizing voting periods across districts, it is important to recognize that these changes are restrictive to the overall electorate rather than more inclusive in nature.

c. Voter ID Laws

In 2006, Ohio passed a law requiring that every voter announce his or her full name and current address, and provide proof of their identity.⁹⁴ This is notwithstanding the fact that residential mobility especially among poorer segments of Ohio’s voting population creates a greater burden in establishing proof of residence.

Recent analyses demonstrate through statistical analyses that states such as Ohio passing restrictive voter ID laws over the last 6 to 7 years are those that: (1) have higher minority population representation, and (2) that had higher minority and low-income voter turnout in 2008.⁹⁵ Such findings, which also consider the wider adoption of recent and restrictive voting laws, “are consistent with the scenario in which the targeted demobilization of minority voters and African Americans is a central driver of recent legislative developments.”⁹⁶

d. Implications for Voter Registration and Turnout

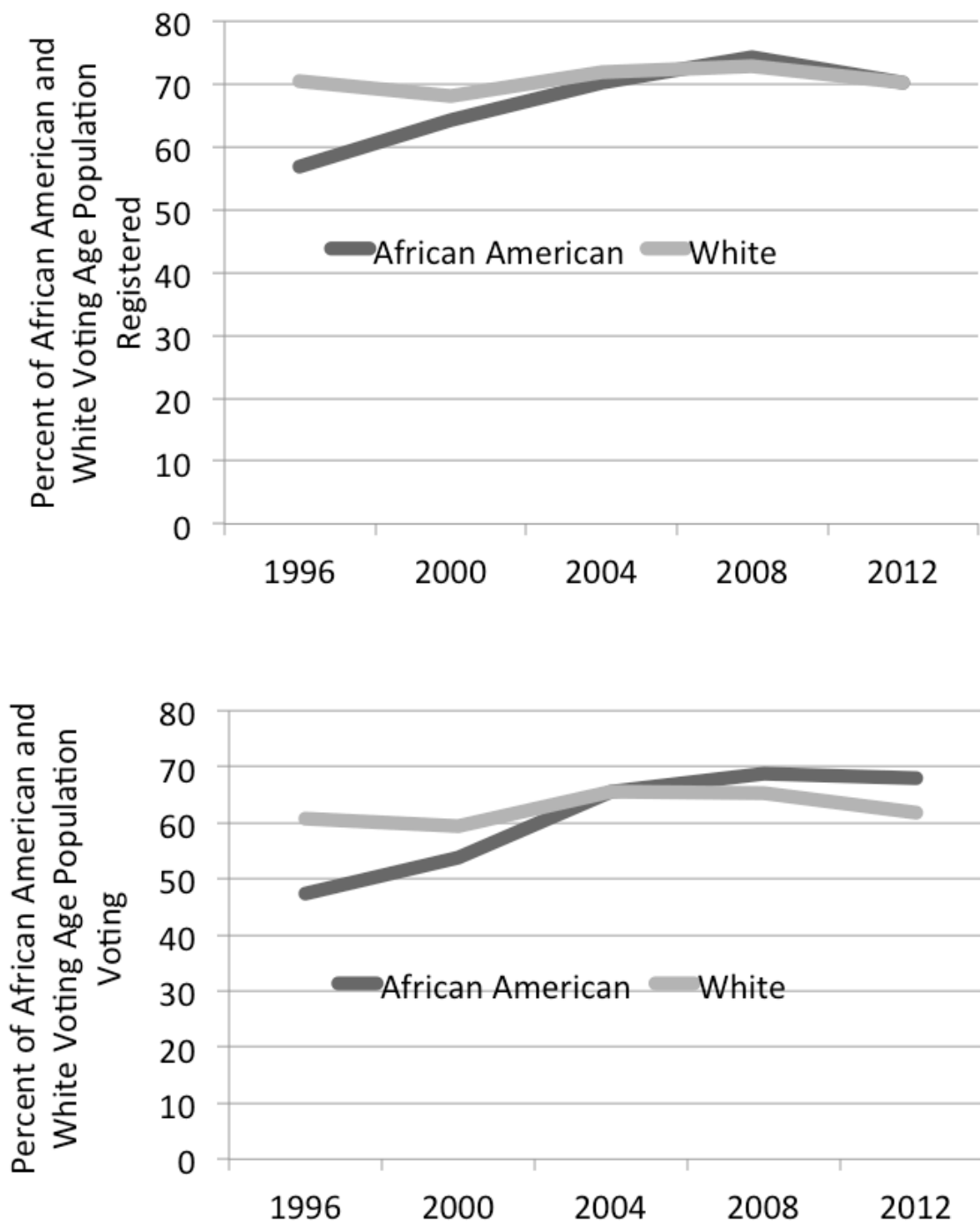
Historical exclusions and persistent institutional inequalities noted above insured somewhat higher levels of voter registration and voter turnout for whites relative to African Americans up through the 1990s and into the early 2000s. Figure 9, reported below, which draw on the *Current Population Survey Voting Supplement*, shows this to indeed be the case. No less notable is the fact that disparities in registration and voter turnout were rectified for the first time in Ohio’s history with the expansion of voting opportunities, days and hours beginning in the mid 2000s. Current restrictions, if indeed implemented by the Ohio Legislature and Secretary of State, will (based on various institutional inequalities, barriers and costs disparately bore by Ohio’s African American population, as denoted in Section II of this report) undoubtedly threaten these recent gains and reverse the relative historical equity witnessed in the last two presidential election cycles.

⁹⁴ see <http://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/elections/voters/FAQ/ID.aspx>

⁹⁵ Keith Bentele and Erin O’Brien (2013), “States with Higher Black Turnout Are More Likely to Restrict Voting,” *Washington Post*, December 17th. Also see Keith Bentele and Erin O’Brien (2013), “Jim Crow 2.0? Why States Consider and Adopt Restrictive Voter Access Policies,” *Perspectives on Politics* 11: 1088-1116; Andrew Cohen (2012), “How Voter ID Laws are Being Used to Disenfranchise Minorities and the Poor,” *The Atlantic*, March 16th.

⁹⁶ Keith Bentele and Erin O’Brien (2013: 1088); In this regard, see also Matthew S. Mendez and Christian R. Grose (2014), “Revealing Discriminatory Intent: Legislator Preferences, Voter Identification and Responsiveness Bias,” Unpublished Manuscript, University of Southern California.

Figure 9. African American Versus White Voter Registration and Voter Turnout in Ohio During Presidential Election Years, 1992-2012



Source: Current Population Survey Voting Supplement

B. Senate Factor Two: Racially Polarized Voting

Senate Factor Two considers the extent to which voting has been or continues to be “racially polarized.” The Supreme Court, in 1986 (in *Thornburg v Gingles*), defined racial polarization as “a consistent relationship between race of the voter and the way that the voter votes.” Since voting is a confidential act, social scientists must rely on exit poll data⁹⁷ in assessing voter preferences and the degree to which there are clear if not statistically significant differences across racial groups.

In the case of Ohio, exit poll data from the 2012 presidential election suggest *significant and substantial* patterns of racially polarized voting. Approximately 41% of the white voting population reported voting for Barack Obama over Mitt Romney versus 96% of the African American voting population.⁹⁸ This difference by race—a difference of 55%—is enormous by almost any standard. A similar and substantial difference was witnessed in 2008,⁹⁹ with 46% of white Ohio voters reporting voting for Obama versus 97% of African American votes (a difference of 51% overall).¹⁰⁰

One might interpret such racial polarization in voting as a being driven by the simple fact that one of the nominees in both 2008 and 2012 happened to be African American. Such an interpretation, however, must be tempered by the fact that there is substantial racial voting polarization in earlier presidential contests where neither candidate was African American. Take, for instance, the 2004 presidential election. In that case, approximately 44% of the white voting population voted for Democratic Party nominee John Kerry versus 84% of African Americans (a racial difference of approximately 40%).¹⁰¹ Figure 10 summarizes these racially polarized voting patterns and gaps in 2004, 2008, and 2012.

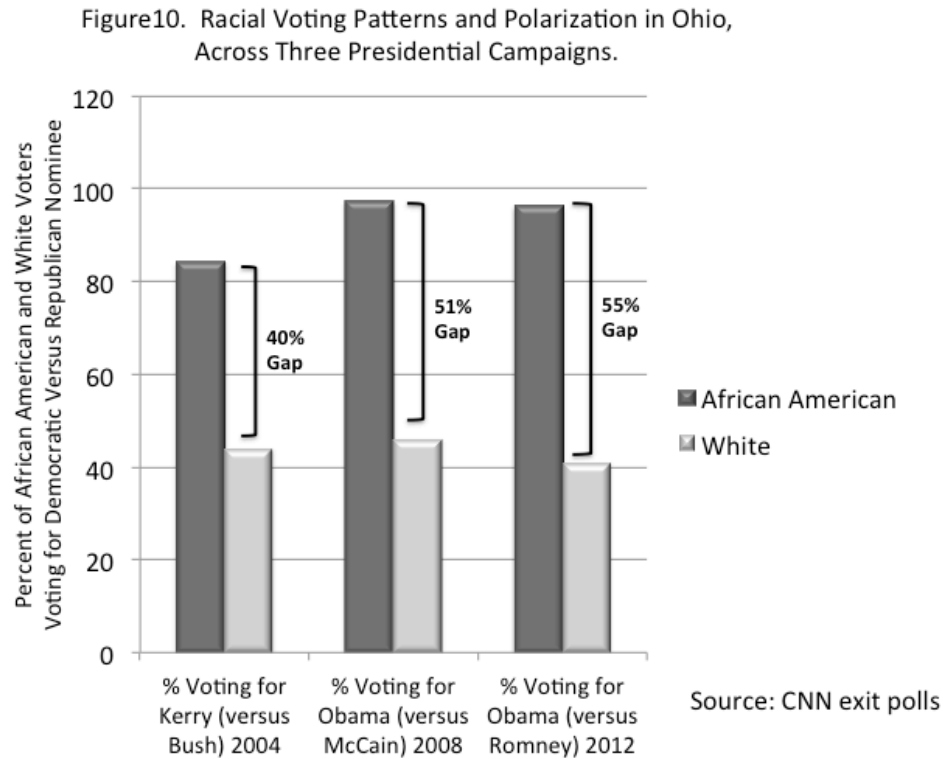
⁹⁷ Polling entails asking a relatively random and representative sample of exiting voters how they voted in a given campaign. Although such data is hardly perfect, and assuming the sampling is constructed and weighted properly, polling data can provide a relatively reasonable estimate of variation in voting behavior across distinct segments of the population. For strengths and limitations of voting polls, see Ronald J. Busch and Joel A. Lieske (1985), “Does Time of Voting Effect Exit Poll Results,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 49:94-104; Fritz J. Scheuren and Wendy Alvey (2008), *Elections and Exit Polling* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.); Matt A. Barreto, Fernando Guerra, Mara Marx, Stephen A. Nuno and Nathan D. Woods (2006), “Controversies in Exit Polling: Implementing a Racially Stratified Homogenous Precinct Approach,” *Political Science & Politics* 4:477-483. The quality and accuracy of a poll generally depends on quality and representativeness of the sample obtained. Potential error is usually built into the estimates of the “margin of error.” In the case of presidential election exit polls, such as those reported here, the margin of error is typically +/- 3%.

⁹⁸ <http://www.cnn.com/election/2012/results/state/OH/president>.

⁹⁹ <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/polls/#val=OHP00p1>

¹⁰⁰ Latino and Asian populations in Ohio were too small to generate reliable estimates from exit polls in these cases.

¹⁰¹ <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2004/pages/results/states/OH/P/00/epolls.0.html>



Racially polarized voting, as noted above, is not merely a function of having an African American candidate. Neither is it a simple consequence of race-based political party alignments. Indeed, polarized racial voting patterns are observed similarly within Democratic Primary elections. In the case of the 2008 Ohio Democratic Primary contest between Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton,¹⁰² for instance, approximately 38% of white voters reported voting for Obama versus 89% of African American voters.¹⁰³ This equates to a 51% difference in the way in which white and African American voters of the same political party affiliation casted their votes in Ohio. Such substantial differences, in both general elections and primary elections, establish quite clearly the enduring relevance and noteworthy magnitude of racially polarized voting.

Such polarization and its impact are also found in more local elections. For instance, in 2006, in *United States v City of Euclid* Ohio, the investigation found that not a single African American city councilperson has ever been elected, despite African Americans comprising approximately 30% of the population. The investigation also found that, although African Americans voted relatively cohesively, white voters voted consistently and sufficiently as a bloc to defeat the African American voters' candidates of choice.

Exit poll data from statewide elections likewise reveals a similar pattern of racially polarized voting, whether or not the candidate is African American. For instance:

¹⁰² No such data for the 2012 Ohio Democratic Primary is available as Barack Obama ran unopposed.

¹⁰³ <http://politics.nytimes.com/election-guide/2008/results/vote-polls/OH.html>

- In the 2010 Ohio election for Governor, exit poll data reveals that 8% of African American voters compared to 58% of white voters chose Republican candidate and eventual victor John Kasich (a polarization gap of 50%).¹⁰⁴
- In the 2010 Ohio election for Senate, exit poll data reveals that 9% of African American voters compared to 67% of white voters chose Republican candidate and eventual victor Rob Portman (a polarization gap of 58%).¹⁰⁵
- In the 2012 Ohio election for Senate, exit poll data reveals that 95% of African American voters compared to 43% of white voters chose Democratic candidate and eventual victor Sherrod Brown (a polarization gap of 52%).¹⁰⁶

C. Senate Factor Six: Racialized Appeals and Politics

Senate Factor Six of the Voting Rights Act prompts consideration of “whether political campaigns have been characterized by overt or subtle racial appeals.” Such appeals or “race codings” are important in the political process, in calculations about whether to be involved and, arguably, in shaping one’s ultimate choice in candidates. The impact of racialized appeals, in fact, can work both ways: discouraging or dissuading minority voters and prospective candidates by reinforcing the message that they simply do not belong in the political process and/or by mobilizing white voters in a particular direction by playing on insidious, sometimes explicit and sometimes implicit, stereotypes.¹⁰⁷

Racial appeals themselves may be explicit when concrete racial distinctions are drawn between majority and minority candidates and/or voters, or when candidates allude directly to the fact that they are campaigning or fighting on behalf of, or even seeking to protect, white constituents. Such was more commonly the case prior to the 1970s and the dismantling of racial exclusionary laws and institutionally proscribed racial segregation. More common in the contemporary era are more subtle, race-laden messages—messages that draw on more general stereotypes (e.g., minority criminality or welfare dependency) in an effort to motivate white voters in a particular direction. The now infamous “Willy Horton” ad of the 1988 presidential campaign is a classic example.

Recent research has elaborated on such processes and analyzed them using large samples of content coded campaign materials and advertisements, noting how seemingly neutral campaigns can and often do use “coded” language that plays into prevalent stereotypes. Work by Princeton political scientist Tali Mendelberg¹⁰⁸ as well as Martin Gilens,¹⁰⁹ for instance, demonstrates how contemporary campaigns invoke issues and fears surrounding crime, welfare and immigration in

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2010/results/polls/#val=OHG00p1>

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2010/results/polls/#val=OHS01p1>

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.cnn.com/election/2012/results/state/OH/senate#exit-polls>

¹⁰⁷ Tali Mendelberg (2001), *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and The Norm of Equality* (Princeton University Press); Charlton D. McIlwain and Stephen M. Caliendo (2011), *Race Appeal: How Candidates Invoke Race in U.S. Political Campaigns* (Temple University Press).

¹⁰⁸ Tali Mendelberg (2001).

¹⁰⁹ Martin Gilens (1996), “Race Coding” Opposition to Welfare,” *American Political Science Review* 90:593; see also Thomas Burne Edsall and Mary D. Edsall (1991), *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights and Taxes on American Politics* (NY: W.W. Norton and Company).

an effort to play on white racial stereotypes and to fuel animosity and mobilization. Doing so allows for racial appeal without the explicit appearance of race baiting.¹¹⁰

Ohio's political history is replete with explicit and implicit racial appeals. During the 2010 contest for State Treasurer, an ad by the Josh Mandel campaign portrayed his competition Kevin Boyce, who is African American, as not only corrupt but connected rather explicitly to Muslim mosques and those of Arab descent.¹¹¹ The ad identified Boyce's Middle-Eastern "lobbyist friend" by full name and image. Although he goes by Noure Alo, the advertisement emphasized his full name, *Mohammed* Noure Alo. With Middle-Eastern-style music playing in the background, the ad suggested that Boyce was both corrupt and a Muslim. The ad alleged that Boyce "gave [Alo's] wife a sensitive job in the treasurer's office – a job Boyce admitted they only made available at their mosque."¹¹² At the end of the ad, Mandel is pictured in his military uniform while serving in the Middle East. Mandel pulled the ad eventually, but without apology, and he won the election.

During the course of the election and re-election of President Barack Obama, explicitly racial appeals and motivations similarly became apparent among at least some portion of the white electorate. Figure 11, below, displays a shirt worn by an attendee at a rally for Mitt Romney in Lancaster Ohio during the prior electoral season.¹¹³

Figure 11. Explicitly Racial Message at Romney Rally.



Even more recent was a highly tweeted website link from "Joe the Plumber," a nationally vocal and visible resident of Holland, Ohio, who posted an article by one of his website followers in

¹¹⁰ Charlton D. McIlwain and Stephen M. Caliendo (2011).

¹¹¹ Alan Johnson (2010), "Religious, Racial Bias Alleged," *Columbus Dispatch*, July 3; Joe Guillen (2010), "Josh Mandel to Stop Airing Controversial Television Ad with Reference to a Mosque," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 8.

¹¹² Elliot, *The (Latest) Muslim-Baiting Ad of the Season*, Salon (Oct. 5, 2010) http://www.salon.com/2010/10/05/ohio_mosque_ad_josh_mandel/.

¹¹³ Obtained from <http://vote.colorofchange.org/shareable/put-the-white-back-in-the-white-house/>

October 2013. The article was titled, “America Needs a White Republican President,” and suggests to the reader to “Admit it. You want a white Republican president again. Wanting a white Republican president doesn’t make you racist, it just makes you American.”¹¹⁴ Although a shirt worn at a rally or a blog post, for that matter, hardly equate to systematic racial appeals by political parties specifically, they (along with lack of explicit political response) suggest a political climate in Ohio that remains somewhat tolerant of explicit race politics.

Even more common, as noted by contemporary research on the topic, are more neutral-appearing appeals that play upon subtle but ever-present racial/ethnic stereotypes. One of the more infamous (see Figure 12), produced by the *Tea Party Victory Fund* and that was aired during the prior presidential campaign, displayed a shouting African American woman in inner city Cleveland alongside mostly other African Americans, claiming that Obama gave her a phone.¹¹⁵ The commercial continues by appealing to anti-welfare (and arguably anti-black) sentiment in claiming that Obama will take care of those on food stamps, social security, disability, etc. While the use of race is not explicit, the imagery within the commercial along with the stereotypical portrayal of poor, lazy and dependent African Americans is clearly present, and serves as a polarization catalyst for white citizens who are either unsure or inclined to believe stereotypical racial depictions.

Figure 12. “Obama Phone Lady” Television Ad



While explicitly or implicitly racial appeals may have the effect of polarizing or even mobilizing the white vote in particular, it is also the case that racial political messages may dissuade, discourage or otherwise alienate minority voters from the political process by communicating, more or less effectively, who belongs and who does not. In this regard, I again draw from the recent presidential election as it played out in Ohio and specifically what minority communities and some media outlets came to view as outright intimidation especially of the African American and

¹¹⁴ <http://joeformerica.com/2013/10/america-needs-white-republican-president/>

¹¹⁵ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y2yckDpGnoQ>

Hispanic vote through the placement of 30 “Voter Fraud” Billboards in Cleveland and 30 in Columbus.¹¹⁶

Figure 13. Voter Fraud Billboards Placed in Poorer African American and Hispanic Communities.



Stan Donaldson, The Plain Dealer

There are three noteworthy if not striking facts relative to the billboards that were placed. First, they were erected within a few weeks of the presidential election via anonymous funders. Secondly, while engaging in voter fraud is indeed a punishable crime, there was little to no evidence that voter fraud in the state of Ohio was (or is, for that matter¹¹⁷) taking place. And third, and perhaps most compelling, these billboards were not randomly geographically placed within the cities of Cleveland or Columbus. Rather, they were disproportionately placed in African and poorer neighborhoods of Columbus, such as Linden, and in predominantly African American and Latino neighborhoods in Cleveland, including within eyeshot of four large public housing communities.¹¹⁸

In August 2012, Doug Preisse, the Republican Party Chairman of Franklin County, in a campaign supporting cutbacks to Ohio’s early voting program, stated publicly “I guess I really actually feel we shouldn’t contort the voting process to accommodate the urban—read African-American—

¹¹⁶ Josh Harkinson (2012), “Voter Fraud Billboards in Ohio Target Minorities,” Mother Jones (<http://www.motherjones.com/mojo/2012/10/voter-fraud-billboards-minorities-ohio>); Trymaine Lee (2012), “Voter Fraud” Billboards in Ohio Meant to Intimidate, Advocates Say,” Huffington Post (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/10/12/voter-fraud-billboards-ohio_n_1962617.html); Pam Fessley (2012), Swing-State Billboards Warning Against Voter Fraud Stir Backlash,” National Public Radio (<http://www.npr.org/blogs/itsallpolitics/2012/10/18/163158185/swing-state-billboards-warning-against-voter-fraud-stir-backlash>).

¹¹⁷ After extensive investigation by the Secretary of State, only 135 cases of *potential* fraud were discovered out of approximately 5.63 million votes cast in the state of Ohio during the last presidential election. This equates to .002397 percent. See Joe Varden (2013), “Fraud Just a Tiny Blip of the 2012 Vote,” *Columbus Dispatch*, May 24th.

¹¹⁸ Stan Donaldson (2012), “Politicians Say Advertisement in Ward 5 Discriminates Against Minorities and Felons,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, October 4; see also http://realneo.us/system/files/billboards-mapweb2_1.jpg

voter turnout machine.” Notably, this comment was not made via an accidental slip of the tongue, but was actually written in an e-mail to a reporter.¹¹⁹ While not made in the course of a formal campaign, his willingness to admit to the need to suppress African-American votes in a written e-mail again illustrates the tolerance for racial appeals in Ohio.

And more recently, during a House Policy and Legislative Oversight Committee discussion about early voting in February 2014, State Representative Matt Huffman stated, “There’s that group of people who say, ‘I’m only voting if someone drives me down after church on Sunday.’ . . . Really? Is that the person we need to cater to when we’re making public policy about elections?”¹²⁰ Voters sensitive to the dog whistle of subtle racial appeals are likely to understand his reference to “that group of people,” particularly because Huffman’s suggests with his “cater to” comment that such a group is lazy.

Racial appeals, be they explicit or implicit, are pernicious in their effects on voting and the democratic process. They can sway white voters in racially polarized ways. They can also, however, dissuade or discourage minority political participation through veiled threats and by raising the emotional and intellectual costs of voting.

D. Senate Factor Seven: Minority Representation

Senate Factor Seven of the Voting Rights Act calls for consideration of the extent to which members of a minority group have been elected to public office in the jurisdiction. Given the particular jurisdiction (state-level) in this case and the fact that more localized data on minority representation at county and city levels is difficult to obtain, I focus here on state-and federal level minority representation in elected political positions.

Ohio has made significant progress when it comes to minority representation at state and federal levels historically, and especially since the 1960s. The numbers indeed suggest significant progress toward generally proportional racial representation in the U.S. Congress and in Ohio’s State House of Representatives and Senate—representation that should be protected and that is only bolstered by minority voter turnout.

In terms of U.S. congressional representation (16 seats in the House and 2 in the Senate), Ohio currently has 2 African American representatives in total. This equates to 11.1%, a small underrepresentation relative to the percent of Ohio’s current African American population (approximately 12.4%). Similarly, African American elected officeholders represent 15 of 132 (or 11.4%) of those currently serving in the Ohio Legislature. Again, and relative to an overall population representation of 12.4%, this represents an underrepresentation of African Americans, although by only a relatively small margin.

More notable at the state level is the relative invisibility or disparately low appearance of African Americans, both historically and contemporarily, in the most important, visible and influential

¹¹⁹ Darrel Rowland, “Fight Over Poll Hours Isn’t Just Political,” *The Columbus Dispatch*, Aug. 19, 2012, <http://www.dispatch.com/content/stories/local/2012/08/19/fight-over-poll-hours-isnt-just-political.html>

¹²⁰ Sharon Coolidge, “Early Voting Eliminated on Sundays across Ohio,” *Cincinnati.com*, Feb. 25, 2014, <http://www.cincinnati.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/201402252302/NEWS010602/302250052>.

elected state posts, including Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Auditor, Secretary of State, and State Treasurer. Table 2, below, reports the state position, how many individuals have historically served in that position in Ohio's history, and the number of African Americans ever holding that post. As these statistics reveal, election into key and visible elected state positions in Ohio has been non-existent or, at the very least, elusive for African Americans. An African American holds not one of these positions currently.

Table 2. Key State Elected Positions, Number of Times the Position Has Been Filled Historically, Number of African Americans Elected into that Position, and Percentage of the Position Openings in Which an African American was Ever Elected.

Elected Position	Number of Times Position Filled Historically	Number of African Americans Serving in that Position	Percentage of Position Openings in which an African American was Elected
Governor	63	0	0%
Lieut. Governor	65	1	1.5%
Attorney General	50	0	0%
State Auditor	32	0	0%
Secretary of State	50	1	2.0%
State Treasurer	48	3	6.3%

One observes a relatively similar pattern in looking at other key elected posts in the state. Take, for instance, election onto the Ohio Supreme Court. Since 1803 when the State Supreme Court was formulated, it has witnessed the election of 156 Supreme Court justices. Of the 156, 3 (or only approximately 1.9%) were ever African American. Currently, none of the 7 active justices on the State Supreme Court are African American. In a similar vein, there are currently 19 members of the State Board of Education (11 are elected and 8 are appointed by the current Governor). Of the 19, 1 (5.3%) is African American. And, until last year when Governor Kasich (under pressure from the Black Congressional Caucus) appointed Michael Colbert to head the Department of Job and Family Services, the Governor's 26 person cabinet was exclusively white—the first exclusively white cabinet in 60 years.¹²¹

Although gains have certainly been made since the 1960s in terms of African elected representation at federal and state congressional levels, African Americans remain moderately underrepresented. Even more obvious is the relative invisibility and significant underrepresentation of African Americans, both historically and contemporarily, in key and

¹²¹ Associated Press (2011), "Minorities Want Kasich to Change All-White Cabinet," *Sandusky Register*, January 28; Aaron Marshall (2011), "Governor Kasich Makes First Minority Appointment to His Cabinet," *The Plain Dealer*, February 2.

powerful elected posts at the state level, including Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, State Auditor, Secretary of State and State Treasurer, but also State Supreme Court, State Board of Education, and cabinet post positions. More restrictive voting measures will very likely allow such disparities to persist. Even worse, they will lead to a retrenchment and backsliding of small but significant gains that have been made.

IV.

Concluding Comments

It is my understanding that the Senate Factors noted above were intended to serve as guideposts by which to evaluate voting practices, contexts, and inequalities relative to the protections set forth in the Voting Rights Act. Senate Factor Five calls for broad legal attention to the historical and contemporary effects of discrimination in areas such as education, housing, employment, and health, which hinder one's ability to participate effectively in the political process. Senate Factors One and Three denote whether there is track record of voting-related discrimination and/or potentially discriminatory voting practices within a given jurisdiction. Senate Factor Two draws attention to potential and ongoing racial voting polarization. Senate Factors Six and Seven call, respectively, for consideration of the degree to which there are overt or subtle racial appeals in political campaigns and minority representation in elected offices.

This report has addressed each, noting in Section II's discussion of Senate Factor Five deep-seated and persistent inequalities in work, education, housing, and health that are driven, at least in part, by contemporary discrimination. Such inequalities hold clear-cut implications for voting and the cost calculations individuals engage in. Most directly, occupational disparities equate to racial differentials in job autonomy and flexibility to go vote, but also inequality in tangible things, like owning one's own means of transportation or having to rely on public transportation systems. Similarly, persistent patterns of housing discrimination and segregation can have very real consequences for proximity and access to polling places. The joint impact of occupational and residential racial inequalities also have notable implications for other socioeconomic outcomes such as lower income and higher poverty, educational segregation and depressed attainment, and health disadvantages for African Americans in Ohio—each of which represents a barrier to voting. Such barriers are magnified even further by new voting restrictions—restrictions that will place a disparate and more costly burden on prospective minority and disadvantaged voters in the state.

My analyses also highlighted historical and contemporary manifestations of voting-related discrimination, racial appeals and polarization and, consequently, limited minority representation. Although explicit racial appeals in politics are mostly a thing of the past, they have certainly reared their ugly heads in recent political campaigns. So have more insidious “race codings” in political commercials and billboards—race codings that are not explicitly about race, per se, but through visuals and language feed into broader stereotypical depictions racial/ethnic minorities as criminal or as the core beneficiaries of social welfare programs. If anything, such racial appeals have the dual effect of polarizing the white voting public and/or dissuading or intimidating minority voters. Relative to minority political representation, gains have been made at federal and state legislative levels, but elected representation to key state political positions remains elusive for African

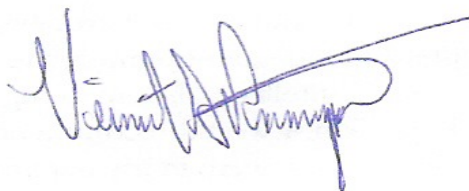
Americans in Ohio. This is quite likely due, in part, to ongoing racial polarization in voting but also voting practices that have differential effects across groups.

It is by virtue of significant and enduring inequalities, institutional barriers and discrimination documented in this report, along with ongoing patterns of racial polarization, racial appeals, limited minority political representation, etc., that African Americans already bear a heavier burden when it comes to voting in the state of Ohio. Simply, the “costs of voting” are higher given African Americans’ lower occupational, residential, educational and health status as well as the tangible (e.g., transportation), informational (e.g., education), and time costs (e.g., less autonomous jobs) that result. Given such patterns, current restrictions and constrictions to voting days and hours will have disparate and negative impact on minority and working class populations across the state and their capacity to actively play a part in the democratic process.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Dated: June 20, 2014

Signed:

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Vincent J. Roscigno", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Vincent J. Roscigno

V.

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EDUCATION

Ph.D.	North Carolina State University	1996
M.S.	North Carolina State University	1991
B.A.	The University of Arizona	1989

EMPLOYMENT

2011-present	Distinguished Professor of Arts & Sciences in Sociology
2005-2011	Professor, The Ohio State University
2001-2005	Associate Professor, The Ohio State University
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PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS

Teaching: Social Stratification
Historical Sociology
Sociology of Education
Sociological Theory
Politics & Social Movements
Race & Ethnic Relations

Research: Sociology of Work & Labor
Educational Stratification
Collective Behavior and Social Movements
Sociology of Culture
Local Political Economy and Deprivation
Power, Political Process and Elites

HONORS AND AWARDS

2012 Distinguished Professor of Arts & Sciences in Sociology, The Ohio State University
2012 Distinguished University Scholar Award, The Ohio State University
2011 President, Southern Sociological Society (President Elect, 2009-2010; President 2010-11)
2011 Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Award (w/S. Lopez and R. Hodson), Midwest Sociological Society.
2007 Joan Huber Faculty Fellow for Research Excellence, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Ohio State University, 2007-2009.

- 2005 American Sociological Association, Organizations, Occupations & Work Section -- *W. Richard Scott Distinguished Article Award*.
- 2004 Sociological Research Association, *Nominated and Elected to Membership*.
- 2004 American Sociological Association, Labor Section – *Best Published Article Award, Honorable Mention*.
- 2002 American Sociological Association, Sociology of Culture Section – *Best Published Article Award*.
- 2002 American Sociological Association, Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section – *Best Published Article Award, Honorable Mention*.
- 2002 Department of Sociology, The Ohio State University – *Outstanding Faculty Person Award*
- 2000 Colleges of Arts and Sciences, The Ohio State University – *Nominee and Finalist, Outstanding Teaching Award*
- 1996 American Sociological Association, Sociology of Education Section -- *Best Graduate Student Paper Award*.
- 1994 American Sociological Association, Organizations, Occupations & Work Section -- *James D. Thompson Award for Best Graduate Student Paper*.
- 1994 Southern Sociological Society -- *Howard W. Odum Award for Best Graduate Student Paper*.
- 1994 North Carolina State University -- *Outstanding Teaching Assistant Award*.
- 1994 North Carolina State University -- *Gamma Sigma Delta Honorary*, inductee.
- 1993 North Carolina State University Chapter, *Sigma Xi Research Honorary*, inductee.

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- 2003 Lichter, Daniel T., Vincent J. Roscigno, and Dennis J. Condrón. "Rural Children and Youth at Risk." Pp. 97-108 in *Challenges for Rural America in the Twenty First Century*, edited by Louis E. Swanson and David L. Brown. State College: Penn State University Press.
- 2003 Bruce, Marino A. and Vincent J. Roscigno. "Race Effects and Conceptual Ambiguity in Violence Research: Bringing Inequality Back In." Pp. 238-253 in Darnell Hawkins, ed., *Interpersonal Violence: The Ethnicity, Race, and Class Nexus*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 1998 Roscigno, Vincent J. and James W. Ainsworth-Darnell. "Tracking Matters," Pp. 158-165 in Robert P. McNamara, ed., *Perspectives in Social Problems*. Boulder, CO: Coursewise.

BOOK REVIEWS

- 2010 *Inventing Equal Opportunity*, by Frank Dobbin (Princeton University Press). *Contemporary Sociology*.
- 2006 "If the Workers Took a Notion": *The Right to Strike and American Political Development*, by Josiah Bartlett Lambert (ILR/Cornell University Press). *Mobilization*.
- 2003 *Methods of Social Movement Research*, edited by Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg (University of Minnesota Press). *Contemporary Sociology*.
- 2001 *Battling for American Labor: Wobblies, Craft Workers, and the Making of the Union Movement*, by Howard Kimeldorf (University of California Press). *Social Forces* 79:1535-1537.
- 2001 *Collaboration, Reputation, and Ethics in American Academic Life: Hans H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills*, by Guy Oakes and Arthur J. Vidich (University of Illinois Press). *Contemporary Sociology* 30:328-329.

- 2001 *Deadhead Social Science: You Ain't Gonna Learn What You Don't Want To Know*, Edited by Rebecca G. Adams and Robert Sardiello (Altamira Press). ***Qualitative Sociology*** 25:175-177.
- 1999 *From School to Work: A Comparative Study of Educational Qualifications and Occupational Destinations*, by Yossi Shavit and Walter Müller (Oxford University Press). ***Contemporary Sociology*** 28:294-295.
- 1998 *The Challenge of Interracial Unionism: Alabama Coal Miners, 1878-1921*, by Daniel Letwin (University of North Carolina Press). ***Work and Occupations*** 25:384-385.
- 1996 *Poverty and Power: The Political Representation of Poor Americans*, by Douglas R. Imig (University of Nebraska Press). ***Mobilization*** 1:228-229.
- 1996 *Managers vs. Owners: The Struggle for Corporate Control in American Democracy*, by Allen Kaufman, Lawrence Zacharias, and Marvin Karson (Oxford University Press). ***Contemporary Sociology*** 25:542-543.

INVITED COLLOQUIA

- 2014 -Department of Sociology, Duke University, April 22-23.
- 2013 -Department of Sociology, North Carolina State University, November 15.
 -Pension Planning and Socio-Economic Security Program, Tel Aviv University, October 13-14.
 -Department of Sociology, Wake Forest University, February, 22.
 -Center for the Study of Wealth and Inequality, Columbia University, March 9.
- 2012 -Keynote address at conference on “(Re)Thinking Diversity: 2nd International Conference on Narrative and Innovation,” Karloshochschule International University, Karlsruhe Germany, September.
 -Oklahoma State University and Oklahoma State University Department of Sociology, March 8 and 9
- 2011 -Undergraduate Introduction to Sociology and Sociology of Culture, University of International Business & Economics, Beijing China, Summer
 -Workshop on Ageing and Employment, Tel Aviv University, May
 -Mini Course on “Publishing Using Multi Methods,” Department of Sociology, Tel Aviv University, January.
- 2010 -Culture & Society Workshop, Department of Sociology, Northwestern University, September
 -Department of Sociology, UCLA, May
- 2009 -Department of Sociology, Skidmore College, October.
 -Department of Sociology, Kent State University
 -Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, March.
 -Department of Sociology, University of Arizona, March.
- 2008 -Communities, Families & Work Program, Brandeis University, October.
 -Department of Sociology, Florida State University, October.
 -Department of Sociology, University of Cincinnati, April 25.
- 2007 -Dept. of Sociology and Crime, Law and Justice Program, Penn State University, November 9.
 -Department of Sociology, University of Georgia, March 23.
 -Department of Sociology, Duke University, February 18.
 -Department of Sociology, University of Illinois at Chicago, January 27.
- 2006 -Department of Sociology, UC Irvine, February 25.
- 2004 -Institute of American Studies, Emory University, March 24.
 -Department of Sociology, Emory University, March 25.
 -Department of Sociology and Anthropology, North Carolina State University, March 19.

- 2002 -Department of Sociology, Northwestern University, November 14.
- Department of Sociology, University of California at Santa Barbara, October 23.
- Center for Child and Family Policy, Duke University, April 25.
- 2000 -Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, November 18.
- Department of Sociology, University of Arizona, October 23.
- Department of Sociology, Georgia State University, November 8.

PAPER PRESENTATIONS

- 2013 "Racial Inequality and the Public Sector." (with G. Wilson and M. Huffman). Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, New York, August.
- 2012 "Author Meets Critics Session. Reds, Whites, and Blues: Social Movements, Folk Music, and Race in the United States (Princeton Press, 2011) by William Roy. American Sociological Association Meetings, Denver, August.
- 2012 "Against the Rules: Synthesizing Types and Processes of Bureaucratic Rule-breaking." (with Martin, Hodson and Lopez). Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Denver, August.
- 2012 "Culture in Movements and Movements in Culture: Lessons, Intersections, and Remaining Gaps." Invited panelist for thematic session at the Annual Meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans, March.
- 2012 "Bureaucracy and the Legitimation of Discrimination." Paper presentation at the Annual Meetings of the Society for the Advancement of Socioeconomics, MIT, Cambridge MA, June.
- 2010 "Power, Revisited." Presidential Address at the Annual Meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, March, Jacksonville, FL.
- 2010 "Racial Inequality and Public Sector Reform" (w/George Wilson). Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, March, Jacksonville, FL.
- 2010 "Race/Ethnic Violence, Legitimation and the Massacre at Wounded Knee" (w/J. Cantzler and S. Resifo). Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, August, Atlanta.
- 2010 "The Organizational Context of Sex Discrimination: Sex Composition, Workplace Culture, and Relative Power." (w/K. Stainback and T. Ratliff). Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of The American Sociological Association, August, Atlanta.
- 2010 "Legitimation and Race-, Sex-, and Age-Blind Justifications for Employment Discrimination" (w/L. Williams). Paper presented at the Meetings of the Research Committee on Social Stratification, International Sociological Association, May, Haifa Israel.
- 2009 "Segmented Assimilation, Split Labor Markets, and Race/Ethnic Stratification: The Case of Early Twentieth Century New York" (w/S. Restifo and Z. Qian). Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, August, San Francisco.
- 2009 "Racial Discrimination and Interpretation at Work" (w/Ryan Light) Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Law and Society Association, March, Denver.
- 2008 "The Micro-Politics of Power, Structure, and Abuse on the Shop Floor." Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Boston, August.
- 2006 "Discrimination, Women, and Work: Patterns and Variations by Race and Social Class (w/S. Ortiz). Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Montreal, August.
- 2006 "The Myth of Meritocracy? SAT Preparation and College Enrollment in the U.S." (w/C. Buchmann and D. Condron.) Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Montreal, August.

- 2006 “Racial Discrimination at Work: Its Occurrences, Dimensions & Consequences.” (w/L. Garcia, S. Mong, and R. Byron). Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans, March.
- 2005 Author Meets Critics session for *The Voice of Southern Labor*. Annual Meetings of the Social Science History Association, Portland, Oregon, November.
- 2005 “Spatial and Political Dimensions of Educational Achievement.” Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Philadelphia, August.
- 2005 “Racial Discrimination and Interpretation at Work: The Alternative Realities of Workers and Bosses.” (with R. Light). Presented at the Annual Meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, Charlotte, N.C., April.
- 2005 “The Face of Housing Discrimination.” (with D. Karafin and G. Tester). Presented at the Annual Meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, Charlotte, N.C., April.
- 2004 “White Supremacists, Interpretational Framing, and the World Wide Web.” (with J. Adams). Presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, August.
- 2004 “Stratification, School-Work Links, and Vocational Education.” (with J. Ainsworth). Presented at the Annual Meetings of the Southern Sociological Association. Atlanta, April.
- 2003 “The Organizational and Interpersonal Foundations of Worker Resistance.” (with R. Hodson). Presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Atlanta, August.
- 2003 “Structural-Cultural Strain and Women’s Protest in the Textile South.” (with V. Taylor and W. Danaher). Presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Atlanta, August.
- 2003 “Oppositional Culture from the Ground Up: Music and Protest in the Textile South.” (with W. Danaher). Presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Atlanta, August.
- 2003 “Shadow Education, Class Reproduction, and College Attendance in the U.S.” (with C. Buchmann). Presented at the Meetings of the Research Committee on Social Stratification (R28), International Sociological Association, New York, August.
- 2002 “Disparities Within: Spending Inequality and Achievement in an Urban School District.” (with D. Condrón). Presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, August.
- 2002 “Status, Networks, and Social Movement Participation: The Case of Striking Workers.” (with Marc Dixon). Presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, August.
- 2002 “Union Presence, Solidarity Dynamics, and Strike Occurrence.” (with M. Dixon and Randy Hodson). Presented at the Annual Meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, Baltimore, April
- 2001 “Music, Culture, and Social Movements: The Role of Song in Southern Textile Worker Mobilization.” (with W.F. Danaher and E. Summers-Effler). Presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Anaheim, CA, August.
- 2001 “Poor Kids, Vocational Tracks, and Educational/Occupational Trajectories.” (with J. Ainsworth-Darnell). Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, April.
- 2001 “Who Crosses the Line? The Case of the CWA Strike at Ohio State.” (with M. Dixon). Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, April.
- 2000 “Media and Mobilization: The Case of Radio and Southern Textile Worker Insurgency, 1929-1934.” (with W. Danaher). Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Washington, DC, August.
- 2000 “Inner City/Rural Disadvantage, Educational Process, and Achievement/Attainment.” (with D. Tomaskovic-Devey and M. Crowley). Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Washington, DC, August.
- 2000 “Farm Concentration, Political-Economic Process, and Stratification in the North Central U.S.” (with M. Crowley). Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Washington, DC, August. U.S.”

- 2000 "Making Sense of the Minority Achievement Gap: A Systematic Review of the Evidence." Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, April.
- 1999 "Rurality, Institutional Disadvantage, and Achievement/Attainment." (with M. Crowley). Paper presented in a joint panel session at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association and the Rural Sociological Society, Chicago, August.
- 1999 "Social Movement Culture and Media: The Case of Radio and Southern Textile Worker Insurgency, 1929-1934." (with W. Danaher). Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, August.
- 1998 "Local Labor Market Opportunity, Resource/Attachment Processes, and Adolescent Delinquency." (with P. Bellair) Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Society of Criminology, Washington, D.C., November.
- 1998 "Song of the South: Radio, Music, and Textile Worker Insurgency, 1927-1934." Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, April.
- 1997 "Racial Educational Disadvantage, Institutional Linkages, and the Importance of Place." Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Toronto, August.
- 1997 "Race, Cultural Capital, and Educational Success: Persistent Inequalities and Disparate Returns." (with J. Ainsworth-Darnell) Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Toronto, August.
- 1997 "Language Minority Achievement, Family Background, and the Impact of Bilingual Education." (with M. Velez and J. Ainsworth-Darnell) Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, Toronto, August.
- 1997 "Mediating Tendencies and Achievement Disparities: Why Tracking Matters." (with M. Febbo-Hunt). Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans, LA, April.
- 1997 "Educational Achievement, Race/Class Inequality, and Variation in the U.S. South: Toward a Focus on Local Political Economy." (with D. Tomaskovic-Devey). Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans, LA, April.
- 1996 "Race, Place, and the Reproduction of Educational Disadvantage: The Black-White Gap and the Influence of Local Context." Paper presented at the meetings of the *American Sociological Association*, New York, NY, August.
- 1996 "Racial Inequality and Homicide: U.S. Urban Context and the Black-White Differential." (with M. Bruce). Paper presented at the meetings of the *American Sociological Association*, New York, NY, August.
- 1995 "Subordination and Struggle: Social Movement Dynamics and Processes of Inequality." (with C. Anderson). Paper presented at the meetings of the *American Sociological Association*, Washington, DC, August.
- 1995 "The Persistence of Poverty in the Black-Belt South: Rurality or Political Economy?" (with D. Tomaskovic-Devey). Paper presented at the meetings of the *American Sociological Association*, Washington, DC, August.
- 1994 "The Social Embeddedness of Racial Educational Inequality: Toward a Recognition of Racial and Political-Economic Contexts." Paper presented at the meetings of the *American Sociological Association*, Los Angeles, CA, August.
- 1994 "Elite Power, Race, and the Persistence of Low Unionization in the South." (with M. Kimble). Paper presented at the meetings of the *American Sociological Association*, Los Angeles, CA, August.
- 1994 "Racial Inequality and Social Control: Historical and Contemporary Patterns in the U.S. South." (with M. Bruce). Paper presented at the meetings of the *Society for the Study of Social Problems*, Los Angeles, CA, August.
- 1993 "Racial Economic Subordination and White Gain in the U.S. South: A Test of Racial Competition and Elite Exploitation Arguments." (with D. Tomaskovic-Devey). Paper presented at the meetings of the Research Committee on Social Stratification, *International Sociological Association*, Durham, NC, August.
- 1993 "Elite Concentration, Racial Competition, and Uneven Development: Economic Development and Inequality in the U.S. South." (with D. Tomaskovic-Devey). Paper presented at the meetings of the *American Sociological Association*, Miami, FL, August.
- 1993 "The Political-Economic and Racial Context of Unionization in the South: North Carolina as an Empirical Example." (with M. Kimble). Paper presented at the meetings of the *Southern Sociological Society*, Chattanooga, TN, April.

1992 “Elite Structure and Racial Politics: An Extension of the Competition Model.” Paper presented at the meetings of the *American Sociological Association*, Pittsburgh, PA, August.

GRANTS

Funded:

2010-2011 *ASA Fund for the Advancement of the Discipline* – “Political Legitimation and the Subordination of Indigenous Communities: The Trail of Tears and Wounded Knee Massacre. \$7,000.

2002-2004 *National Science Foundation* -- “Media and Mobilization: The Case of Radio Southern Textile Worker Mobilization, 1929-1934.” PIs - Vincent J. Roscigno and William F. Danaher. \$90,000.

2000-2001 *Small Grant, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, The Ohio State University* – -for project on “Textile Worker Insurgency in the U.S. South.” PI - Vincent J. Roscigno. \$1,000.

1999-2000 *Committee on Urban Affairs Grant, The Ohio State University* -- for project on “Urban Places, Institutional Resource and Investment Processes and Achievement/Attainment.” PI - Vincent J. Roscigno -- for summer salary support and two quarters of support for graduate research associate. \$16,404

1998-1999 *Small Grant, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, The Ohio State University* – for project on “Labor Insurgency in the South, 1929-1934.” PI - Vincent J. Roscigno. \$1,000.

1998-1999 *University Seed Grant, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, The Ohio State University* -- for "Local Labor Market Context, Family/School Resources, and Educational Success." PI - Vincent J. Roscigno. College of Social and Behavioral Sciences -- for year of support for graduate research associate. \$13,451.

1998 *Summer Grant, Center for Human Resource Research, The Ohio State University* -- for summer quarter support and analyses utilizing NLSY school component survey, and for support of graduate research associate. \$12,000.

1997 *Summer Grant, Center for Human Resource Research, The Ohio State University* -- for summer quarter support and analyses utilizing NLSY school component survey. \$9,000.

1997 *Special Grant, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, The Ohio State University* -- for quarter of support for graduate research associate. \$4,500.

1995-1996 *American Educational Research Association Dissertation Grant, 1995-1996 academic year.* Jointly sponsored by the National Science Foundation and the National Center for Education Statistics. PI - Vincent J. Roscigno. \$10,000.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Meetings:

2013 Discussant, Session on Educational and Inequality at the Annual Meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, March, Atlanta.

2013 Organizer, Labor Section Session on “Neoliberalism and Hard Times in the Public Sector” at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, New York, August.

2013 Organizer, Presidential Plenary Session on “Relational Inequality and Work” at the Annual Meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, April.

2012 Co-Organizer, Mini Conference on “Relational Inequality and Work” (5 sessions), at the Meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans, March.

2012 Organizer: Session on “Capturing Power and Inequality with Mixed Methods” at the Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Denver, August.

2011 Organizer: Session on “Conflict at Work” at the meetings of the American Sociological Association, Las Vegas, August.

2010 Organizer: Session on “Democracy at Work” at the meetings of the American Sociological Association, Atlanta, August.

2009 Organizer: Session on “Politics at Work” at the meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans, April.

2006 Organizer: Session on “The Labor Process and Inequality” at the meetings of the Southern

- Sociological Society, New Orleans, March.
- 2006 Organizer: Session on “Labor Power and Mobilization” at the meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans, March.
- 2005 Organizer; Session on “Labor Markets and Opportunity” at the meetings of the American Sociological Association, Philadelphia, August.
- 2003 Organizer: Session on “The Revitalization of Labor” at the meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans, March.
- 1999 Panelist: Session on “Balancing Teaching and Research Expectations in the Early Faculty Career” at the meetings of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, August.
- 1997 Organizer: Race and Ethnic Refereed Round Table Sessions at the meetings of the *American Sociological Association*, Toronto, August.
- 1997 Organizer: Panel session on “Race, Labor Markets, and Work” at the meetings of the *American Sociological Association*, Toronto, August.
- 1996 Organizer: Race and Ethnic Refereed Round Table Sessions at the meetings of the *American Sociological Association*, New York, NY, August.
- 1995 Organizer: Session on “Race, Class, and Political Mobilization” at the meetings of the *Southern Sociological Society*, Atlanta, GA, April.
- 1995 Organizer: Session on “Work and Inequality” at the meetings of the *Southern Sociological Society*, Atlanta, GA, April.
- 1994 Organizer and Moderator: Session on “Inequality and Polarization in the 1990s” at the meetings of the *Association for Humanist Sociology*, Raleigh, NC, October.
- 1994 Organizer: Informal discussion session on “Race, Gender, and Class Inequality and Subordinate Group Insurgency” at the meetings of the *Association for Humanist Sociology*, Raleigh, NC, October.
- 1994 Organizer: Political Sociology Refereed Round Table Sessions at the meetings of the *American Sociological Association*, Los Angeles, CA, August.
- 1994 Organizer and Presider: Session on “Race and Politics” at the meetings of the *Southern Sociological Society*, Raleigh, NC, April.
- 1994 Organizer: Session on “Critical Issues in Race and Ethnicity” at the meetings of the *Southern Sociological Society*, Raleigh, NC, April.
- 1993 Discussant and Presider: Session on “Work and Poverty” at the meetings of the *Society for the Study of Social Problems*, Miami, FL, August.

Journal Article Reviewer:

Periodic Reviewer for *American Sociological Review*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Social Forces*, *Social Problems*, *Sociological Forum*, *Social Science Research*, *Sociological Perspectives*, *Sociology of Education*, *Sociological Focus*, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *Research in Social Stratification & Mobility*, *Southeastern Sociological Review*, *Southern Spaces*, *Educational Researcher*.

External Tenure/Promotion Reviewer:

- 2014 Department of Sociology, University of Texas at Dallas
Department of Sociology, University of Miami
Department of Sociology, Indiana University Northwest
- 2013 Department of Sociology, Indiana University
Department of Sociology, Northeastern University
Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin
Department of Sociology, UCLA
- 2012 Department of Sociology, UMass, Amherst
- 2011 Department of Sociology, University of Maryland
Department of Sociology, Texas A & M University
Department of Sociology, North Carolina State University
- 2010 Department of Sociology, University of California at Santa Barbara
Department of Sociology, University of California at Los Angeles
Department of Sociology, University of Memphis
Department of Sociology, Miami University (Ohio)

- 2009 Department of Sociology, University of Miami (Florida)
 Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
 Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina at Charlotte
 Department of Sociology, University of Texas at Austin
 Department of Sociology, Vanderbilt University
- 2008 Department of Sociology, Duke University
 School of Economic, Political, & Policy Studies, University of Texas at Dallas
 Department of Sociology, Notre Dame University
- 2007 Department of Sociology, Duke University
- 2006 Department of Sociology, University of Iowa
 Department of Social Policy, Cornell University
 Department of Sociology, Notre Dame University
 Department of Sociology, Oklahoma State University
- 2005 Department of Sociology, Georgia State University
 Department of Sociology, University of California, Santa Barbara
- 2003 Department of Sociology, University of Memphis
 Department of Sociology, University of California at Irvine
- 2002 Department of Sociology, University of New Hampshire

Grant Reviewer: National Science Foundation – 2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2011, 2013
 Israeli Science Foundation – 2010

Committee/Council Membership:

- 2013-2014 Program Committee, American Sociological Society Meetings (2014)
- 2012-2014 Publications Committee, American Sociological Association
- 2011-2014 Executive Committee, Southern Sociological Society
- 2004-2007 Dissertation Award Committee, *American Sociological Association*.
- 2006 Outstanding Graduate Paper Award Committee, *Organizations, Occupations, and Work Section of the American Sociological Association*.
- 2004-2007 Member, Committee on the Profession, *Southern Sociological Society*
- 2003 Outstanding Graduate Paper Award Committee, *Sociology of Education Section of the American Sociological Association*
- 2003 Outstanding Article Award Committee, *Sociology of Culture Section of the American Sociological Association*
- 2001-2004 Member, Committee on the Status of Women, *Southern Sociological Society*
- 1999 Member, Minority Scholarship Fund Committee, *Society for the Study of Social Problems*
- 1995-1996 Membership Committee, Organizations, Occupations, & Work Section of the *American Sociological Association*
- 1994-1995 Council Member, Organizations, Occupations, & Work Section of the *American Sociological Association* (graduate rep.)

Editor/Editorial Board Membership

- 2013-2016 Co-Editor, *Social Currents*
- 2012-2015 Editorial Board, *Sociological Forum*
- 2012-2013 Special Issue(s) Editor (with G. Wilson), *American Behavioral Scientist*
- 2007-2009 Co-Editor, *American Sociological Review*
- 2005-2007 Editorial Board, *Social Problems*
- 2005-2012 Editorial Board, *Southern Spaces*
- 2004-2008 Editorial Board, *Social Forces*
- 2006-2007 Co-Editor (with Joya Misra and Gay Seidman), Pine Forge/Sage Book Series “Sociology for a New Century.”
- 2004-2006 Co-Editor (with York Bradshaw and Joya Misra), Pine Forge/Sage Book Series “Sociology for a New Century.”

2002-2005 Editorial Board, *Social Problems*
2002-2004 Editorial Board, *Contemporary Sociology*
1998-2000 Editorial Board, *Contemporary Sociology*

DEPARTMENTAL SERVICE

2013-2014 Department Salary/Workload Committee, Faculty Recruitment Committee
2012-2013 Departmental Brownbag Committee; Department Executive Committee, Faculty Recruitment
2010-2011 Departmental Brownbag Committee
2009-2010 Graduate Admissions & Recruitment; Departmental Ombudsman
2008-2009 Graduate Admissions & Recruitment
2007-2008 Graduate Admissions & Recruitment
2006-2007 Chair, Graduate Admissions & Recruitment
2005-2006 Member, Departmental Executive Committee; Chair, Grad. Admissions & Recruitment
2004-2005 Member, Departmental Executive Committee; Member, Graduate Studies Committee
2003-2004 Chair, Junior Recruitment Committee; Departmental Salary/Workload Committee, Faculty Coordinator of Graduate Research Practicum
2002-2003 Chair, Junior Recruitment Committee; Coordinator, GRWI Area
2001-2002 Junior Recruitment Committee; Coordinator, GRWI Area; Spring Banquet Organizer
2000-2001 Chair, Graduate Placement Committee
1999-2000 Chair, Graduate Placement Committee
1998-1999 Chair, Graduate Placement Committee; Junior Faculty Recruitment Committee
1997-1998 Junior Faculty Recruitment Committee; Brown-Bag Organizer
1996-1997 Graduate Admissions Committee

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

2012-2014 University Distinguished Scholar Selection Committee
2013-2015 SBS CHRR Oversight Committee
2012-2014 Harlan Hatcher Distinguished Faculty Award Committee, College of Arts & Sciences, Ohio State University
2012-2013 Search Committee, Mershon Center for International Affairs
2005-2008 College Investigation Committee, Social & Behavioral Sciences
2006-2008 College Promotion & Tenure Committee, Social & Behavioral Sciences
2005-2006 University Senate (Alternate)
2007-2008 University Senate
2004-2008 Council on Research and Graduate Studies, Member (Alternate)

GRADUATE STUDENTS ADVISED

M.A. Thesis Advisor (completed): (1) Tanya Upthegrove, (2) Steven Perry, (3) Martha Crowley, (4) Craig Cruse, (5) Marc Dixon, (6) Dennis Condron, (7) Casey Paragin, (8) Scott Hohnstein, (9) Kirsten Olsen, (10) Josh Adams, (11) Marie Mika, (12) Susan Ortiz (co-chair), (13) Reginald Byron, (14) Sherry Mong, (15) Theresa Schmidt (co-chair), (16) Salvatore Restifo, (17) Lisa Williams, (18) James Davis, (19) Lora Lassus (co-chair)

M.A. Committee Member (completed): (1) Laura Bickel, (2) Shana Pribesh, (3) Shad McKnight, (4) Sandra Marquart-Pyatt, (5) Beckett Broh, (6) Caroline Davis, (7) Paula Arriagada, (8) Rhonda Berg, (9) Amy Meier, (10) Rumi Morishima Tosaka, (11) David Lipsetz, (12) Arthur Jaynes, (13) Griff Tester, (14) Clayton Peoples, (15) William Brislen, (16) Lindsey Chamberlain, (17) Melanie Hughes, (18) Donald McGrath,

(19) Amanda Kennedy, (20) Jill Harrison, (21) Ryan Light, (22) Paul Malackany, (23) Priyank Shah, (24) Alexa Trumpy, (25) Thomas Maher, (26) Jill Yavorsky, (27) Robert Armendariz

Ph.D. Advisor (complete and in progress): (1) Marc Dixon – Dartmouth, (2) Anne Haas – Kent State University, (3) Martha Crowley – N.C. State University, (4) Lisa Garoutte – Loras College, (5) Griff Tester – Georgia State University, (6) Josh Adams – SUNY Fredonia, (7) Donna Bobbitt-Zeher (co-chair) – Ohio State, Marion, (8) Julia Miller Cantzler – University of San Diego, (9), Lisette Garcia (co-chair) NYU PostDoc, (10) Darby Southgate – Los Angeles Valley College, (11) Reginald Byron – Southwestern University, (12) Ryan Light – University of Oregon, (13) Tom Maher (co-chair), (14) Salvatore Restifo – UT Pan American, (15) James Davis, (16) Lisa Williams (co-chair), (17) Jill Yavorsky (co-chair)

Ph.D. Committee Member (complete and in progress): (1) Dennis Condron – Oakland University, (2) James Ainsworth – Georgia State University, (3) Elizabeth Kaminski – Central Connecticut State University, (4) Beckett Broh – Wittenberg University, (5) Jessica Maguire, (6) Diana Karafin – Rutgers University, (7) Paul Malackany, (8) Dan Tope – Florida State University, (9) Heather Boughton, (10) Susan Ortiz, (11) Sherry Mong, (12) Jill Harrison – University of Oregon, (13) Mathew Painter – University of Wyoming, (14) Alexa Trumpy, (14) Ervin Mathew – University of Cincinnati

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP

American Sociological Association:

Labor Section, Culture Section, Organizations, Occupations, & Work Section,
Sociology of Education Section, Collective Behavior & Social Movements Section

Society for the Study of Social Problems

Southern Sociological Society

Sociological Research Association

Law & Society Association

Society for the Advancement of Socioeconomics