

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA**

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF NORTH
CAROLINA, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, et al.,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 1:13-CV-660

**AMENDED RULE 26(A)(2)(B)
EXPERT REPORT &
DECLARATION OF
PAUL GRONKE, PhD**

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I. Introduction

1. I am Paul W. Gronke, Professor of Political Science at Reed College and Director of the Early Voting Information Center. I received a BA in Political Science from the University of Chicago; a Master's Degree in Western European Politics from the University of Essex, Colchester, UK; and a PhD in Political Science from the University of Michigan. I have published scientific research on early voting, early voting and election administration, and voting behavior, along with other topics, in peer-reviewed scientific journals, university press books, edited volumes, college textbooks, and policy reports. I serve as the primary editor of the *Election Law Journal*, the only interdisciplinary journal dedicated to the study of election law, policy, and politics. I am the only political scientist to have served in this role. The principal focus of my research and writing since 2006 has been early voting. My curriculum vitae is attached as Exhibit Twenty-One (attached at the end of this report).
2. I created the Early Voting Information Center (EVIC) in 2006 as a non-partisan center for the study of non-precinct place voting in the United States. EVIC has attracted more than \$500,000 in funding from public charities, non-profits, state governments, and federal agencies. As the Director of EVIC, I study early voting, but I do not advocate for early voting. Rather, EVIC searches for common sense, non-partisan solutions to identified problems with election administration that are backed by solid empirical evidence and tailored to the conditions of the time and jurisdiction, which may or may not include the administration of early voting. I have helped local jurisdictions, states, and the federal government better understand the changes wrought by the growth in early in-person voting, no-excuse absentee voting, and voting by mail.
3. Relevant to the subject of this report, I have published a number of articles that contain statistical analyses of national trends and regional trends in early voting and the demographic and attitudinal characteristics of individual early in-person and no-excuse absentee voters. These publications include a 2014 chapter in a book published by Cambridge University Press and peer-reviewed articles in *American Politics Research*, *Annual Reviews of Political Science* (2008), *The Journal of Social Issues* (2008), and *PS: Political Science and Politics* (2007). Other published work that discusses the legal and administrative changes to early voting include a 2012 chapter in a book published by Lynn Reiner, a 2008 *William and Mary Law Review* piece, a 2008 chapter in *Democracy in the States*, and a 2008 chapter in *America Votes! A Guide to Election Law and Voting Rights*.

4. I worked as a contractor and subcontractor in 2006 and 2008 for the Federal Election Assistance Commission, helping to oversee the collection, analysis, and reporting of election administration data pertaining to the National Voter Registration Act, the Uniformed Overseas and Citizens Abroad Voting Act, and the Election Day and Voting Administration Survey. I designed the survey questions for early voting used by the American National Election Study (University of Michigan), the nation's most comprehensive academic survey of voting behavior, starting in 2008. I helped rework the section of the Election Assistance Commission's 2008 Election Administration and Voting Survey that inquired about early in-person and absentee ballots. Most recently, I was asked to provide a report on early voting to the bipartisan Presidential Commission on Election Reform and testified on this topic in front of the Commission in Denver, CO on August 8, 2013.¹ In its report, the Commission recommended that states that do not currently offer early in-person voting consider doing so; my testimony and research are cited in part as the basis of these recommendations.²
5. In 2012, I served as an expert witness in *Florida v. United States*, 885 F. Supp. 2d 299 (D.D.C. 2012), examining the differential use of early in-person voting across racial groups. My testimony was cited approvingly in the court's opinion in that case.³
6. I have been retained to bring my scientific expertise: first, to look at overall early in-person voting usage and same-day registration (SDR) usage during the early voting period (in which voters are permitted to register to vote and cast a ballot at the same time) in the State of North Carolina; second, to evaluate the likely effect of these changes to early voting and same-day registration generally; and third, to look at what effect, if any, these changes may have on African-American voters. Specifically, I have been asked to analyze early in-person voting turnout data from the North Carolina voter history and voter registration Statewide Elections Information Management System (SEIMS) files and give my opinions about what the data indicate regarding the likely impact of the reduction of early voting by seven days; and the end of same-day registration during early in-person voting. I have been asked to provide counts of the level of early in-

¹ My testimony is available at <https://www.supportthevoter.gov/files/2013/08/Paul-Gronke-PCEA-Testimony.pdf>.

² Presidential Commission on Election Reform, "The American Voting Experience: Report and Recommendations of the Presidential Commission on Election Administration," Jan. 2014, available at <http://www.supportthevoter.gov/>. See pgs. 3 & 54-57 of the Report.

³ See 885 F. Supp. 2d at 322-27.

person voting statewide in the 2006, 2008, 2010, and 2012 statewide federal primary and federal general elections. That information appears in this report as Exhibits Nine and Ten. I was asked to provide counts of early in-person voting during the first seven days of early voting, calculated statewide. These data appear in the report as Exhibits Twelve and Thirteen. I was asked to provide a count of the use of same-day registrations. These appear as Exhibits Fourteen, Fifteen, and Sixteen.

7. I am being compensated for my work at the rate of \$225 per hour, the normal schedule that I use for when I am employed as a contractor, subcontractor, or consultant.

II. Early Voting

Background on Early Voting

8. “Early voting” is a term often used to encompass at least three distinct forms of election administration and balloting: early in-person voting, no-excuse absentee voting, and full vote by mail. While there are differences in how these systems are administered,⁴ they are often referred to generically as “early voting” because they all allow the citizen to cast a ballot prior to Election Day. In the context of this report, however, I will follow the practice of the scientific community and distinguish between “early in-person” and “absentee by-mail”⁵ voting because these constitute two separate administrative regimes, and are popular in different regions and among distinct segments of the population.
9. For the purposes of this report, I will also refer to “one-stop” voting. In North Carolina, early in-person voting is sometimes referred to as a type of absentee voting; the terms “absentee one-stop voting” and “one-stop no-excuse voting” are administrative terms used to describe early in-person voting. The procedure is, for all intents and purposes, identical to early in-person voting in other states: the voter shows up in person at an early voting location (county elections offices, but also community centers, fire stations, and even in some cases mobile units), certifies that he or she is a registered voter, and fills out and casts a ballot.⁶ The

⁴ For a description of the administrative differences, see Paul Gronke, Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum, Peter A. Miller, and Daniel Toffey, “Convenience Voting,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (2008): 437-455.

⁵ Sometimes called “voting by mail” or “no-excuse absentee” voting.

⁶ National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), “Absentee and Early Voting,” Feb. 26, 2014, <http://www.ncsl.org/legislatures-elections/elections/absentee-and-early->

reason for the term is historical: although early in-person voting in North Carolina (which became available in 2000) predates the availability of no-excuse absentee voting (which became available in 2002), the two administrative practices have developed together, as citizens could cast “no-excuse” absentee ballots by mail, but were also allowed to request and cast them in-person at county offices. Eventually, North Carolina standardized the rules and procedures statewide and created the current “one-stop” system.⁷

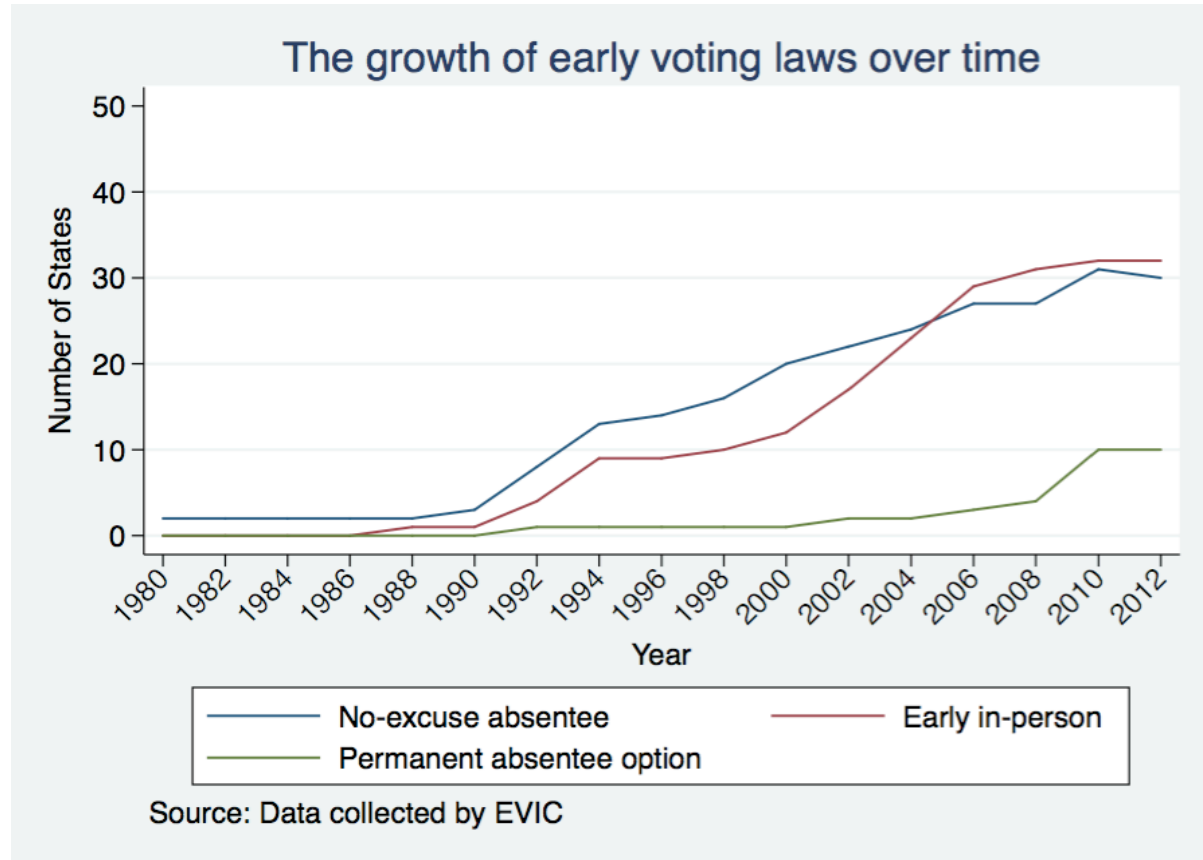
10. As shown in Exhibit One, the number of states offering early voting has grown rapidly in the United States over the past thirty-five years. Many states have changed their laws to remove requirements for an excuse to vote by absentee ballot and provided for early in-person voting. In 1978, only a handful of states allowed no-excuse absentee voting, while today, thirty-three states and the District of Columbia allow either early in-person voting or no-excuse absentee voting, or both.

[voting.aspx](#), accessed March 23, 2014. North Carolina describes its system as “absentee one-stop” and places information about one-stop voting on a webpage dedicated to absentee voting. The NCSL, however, categorizes North Carolina as having an “in-person early voting” system that is distinct from 13 other states that the NCSL describes as not having “Early Voting in the traditional sense” but that allow the citizen to “apply in person for an absentee ballot . . . and cast that ballot in one trip.” I share the usage of the NCSL and describe North Carolina’s “one-stop” system as early in-person voting.

⁷ According to the North Carolina State Board of Elections (NC SBOE), “one-stop” is used as a term because it refers to the “opportunity to request, receive and vote (the) ballot all at one time.” NC SBOE, Absentee Voting Guide, <http://www.ncsbe.gov/ncsbe/Voting/Voter-Guide/voter-guide-absentee-voting>, accessed March 23, 2014. The term “ABS-1STOP” first appears in the state data files in an election dated September 10, 2002. Prior to that year, ballot types did not include the “1STOP” designation.

Exhibit One: Growth in Early Voting Laws Nationwide

Source: Data collected by EVIC



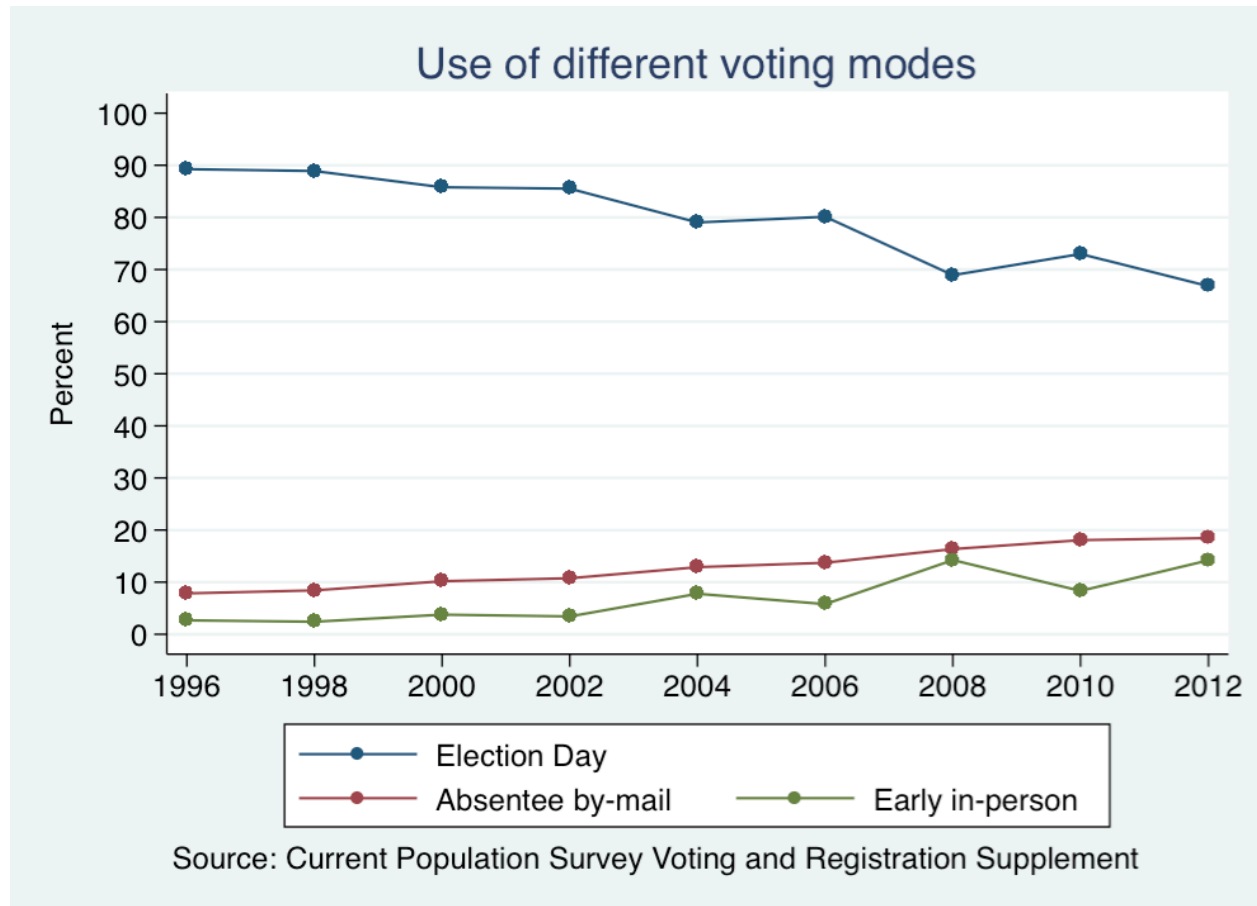
11. The public has rendered its verdict: as shown in Exhibit Two, the number of Americans casting early in-person votes has grown substantially. Nearly 90% of all respondents to the Current Population Survey's Voting and Registration Supplement said they voted on Election Day in the 1996 Presidential election, whereas only 69% said they did so in the 2012 Presidential election, a relative decline in Election Day voting of 23%. The Associated Press's Elections Unit, which collects election results in counties and states nationwide, reports slightly higher figures. In the 2000 Presidential election, the AP estimated that 16.29%, almost 17 million ballots were cast "in advance" (early and absentee), while in 2012, the AP estimated that over 40 million ballots, or 31%, were cast in advance of Election Day.⁸ Professor Michael McDonald reports that almost 31% of ballots

⁸ The AP Elections Unit collects turnout information as part of their political reporting. EVIC obtained the Elections Unit's post-election turnout spreadsheet as part of work

were cast early in 2012.⁹

Exhibit Two: Use of Polling Place, Early In-Person, and Absentee/By Mail Voting Nationwide

Source: Current Population Survey (CPS). All data have been corrected using scientifically validated response correction weights for the CPS.¹⁰



unrelated to this expert declaration. The AP does not have early voting information prior to the 2000 Presidential election.

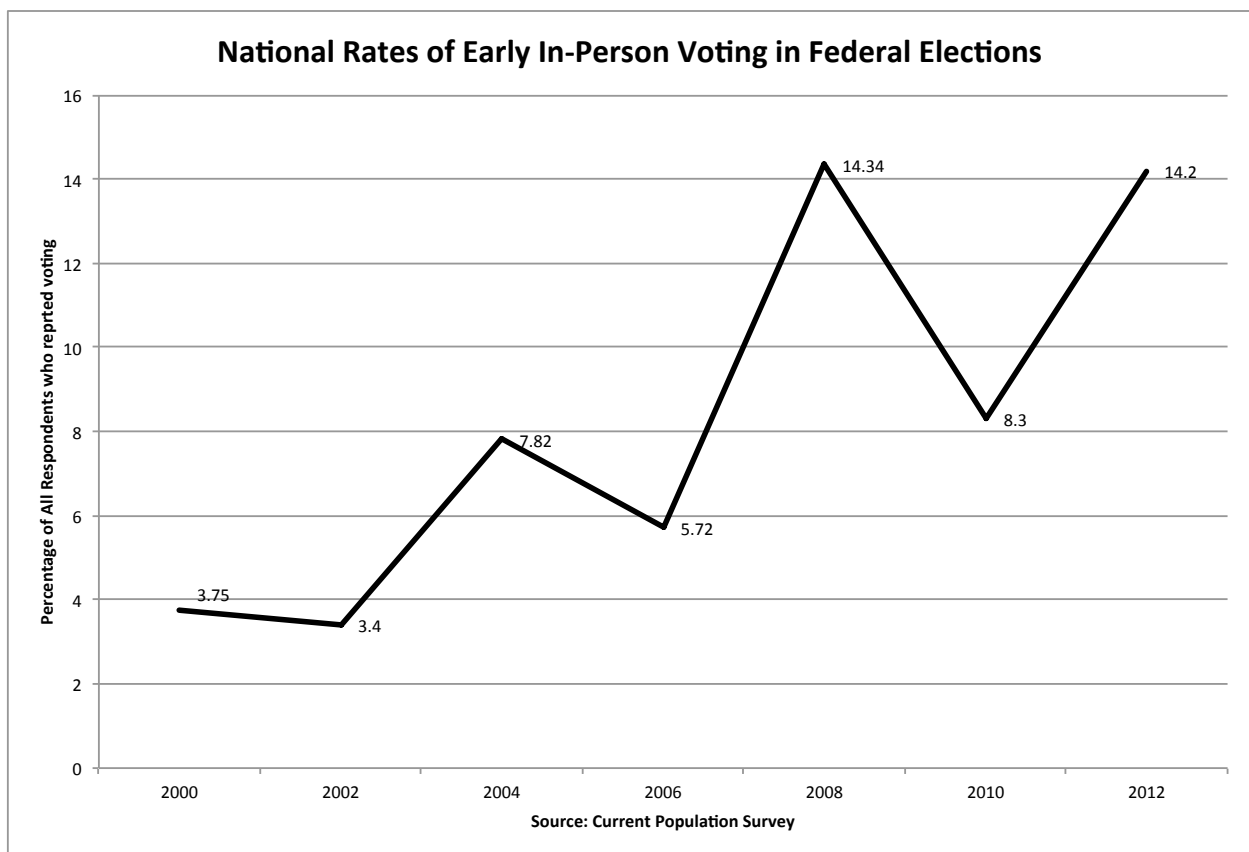
⁹ United States Elections Project, "2012 Early Voting Statistics," Nov. 6, 2012, http://elections.gmu.edu/early_vote_2012.html.

¹⁰ Aram Hur and Christopher H. Achen, "Coding Turnout Responses in the Current Population Survey," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 77, no. 4 (2013): 985-993. The weight variable is recalculated using as the numerator data from the "VEP (Voting Eligible Population) Highest Office Turnout Rate" as estimated by Michael McDonald, available at <https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B0bHdAFS4MgqWmdKdEdWTHRzbUE/> and data for the denominator from the state-level turnout rate estimated by the Current Population Survey.

12. In summary, early in-person voting grew particularly rapidly between 1996 and 2012, as more states provided for this method of voting (Exhibit One). As shown in Exhibit Three, over the past four Presidential cycles, early in-person voting has more than tripled, from 3.75% nationwide in 2000 to 14.2% today.

Exhibit Three: Growth of Early In-Person Voting Since 2000

Source: Current Population Survey



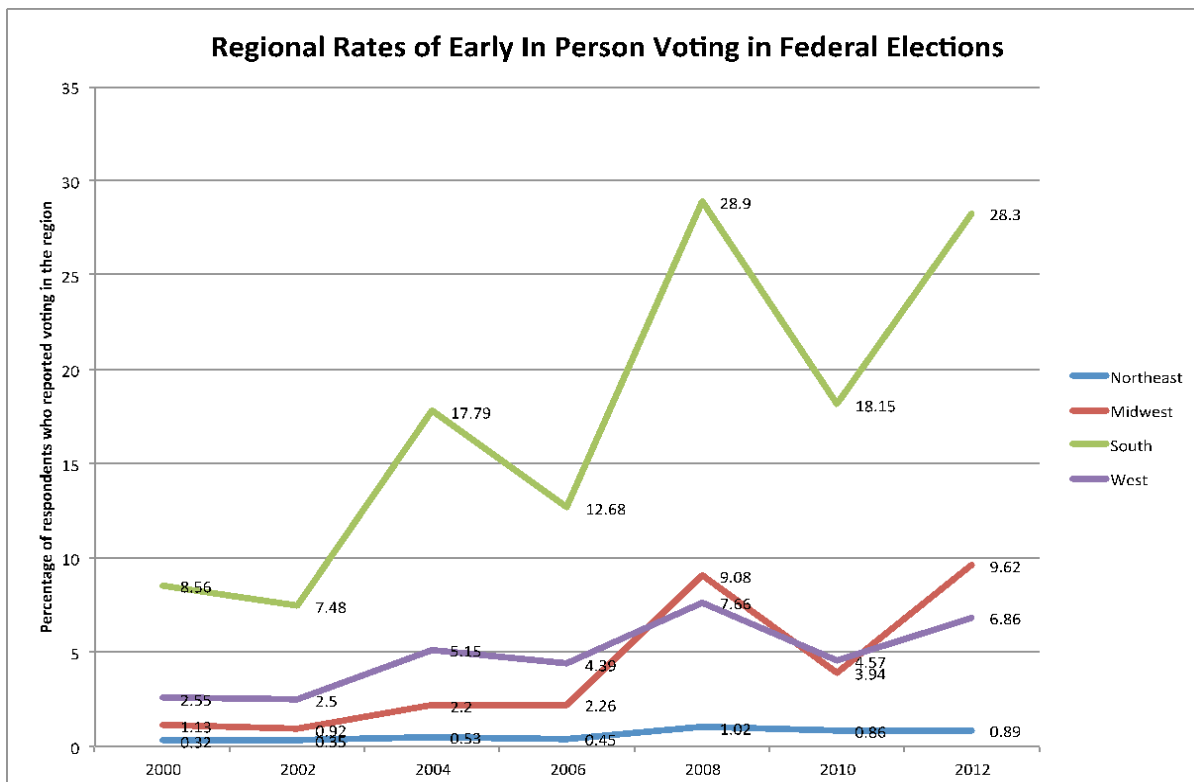
13. Early voting has not spread evenly, however. Exhibit Four shows the usage rates of early in-person voting by region. Most relevant to this report, early in-person voting has proved most popular in the South. Exhibit Four shows that 28.3% of Southern respondents to the CPS said they voted in person and before Election Day in 2012, compared to 18.15% who said they voted that way in 2010, and 28.9% who said they did in 2008. Only 8.56% voted early in-person in 2000. Exhibit Four also demonstrates that overall usage of early in-person voting shows the familiar “saw tooth” pattern witnessed in most American elections;

usage rates of early in-person voting are higher in Presidential contests than in midterm contests. The overall rate of adoption, however, has been clearly trending upwards in the South since 2000.¹¹

Exhibit Four: Early In-Person Voting by Region

Source: Current Population Survey

All data have been corrected using scientifically validated response correction weights for the CPS.



14. Early in-person voting and other election reforms such as mail-in voting were put in place by many states in the hopes that voter turnout would increase substantially, but the early results were mixed. In the case of voting by mail, the results were initially less than some of the very optimistic estimates.¹² Studies

¹¹ Early in-person voting is most popular in the South, contrasted to the West where more than half of the ballots are cast absentee by mail. See Paul Gronke, “Early Voting After Bush v. Gore,” in *Election Administration in the United States: The State of Reform After Bush v. Gore*, ed. R. Michael Alvarez and Bernard Grofman (New York: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2014).

¹² For example, Oregon secretaries of state regularly claimed that if states adopted Oregon’s vote by mail system, their turnout would be boosted by 8-10%. See, e.g., Bill

reported that early in-person voting reforms have increased turnout modestly, when examined from the 1990s through early 2000s.¹³ The reasons provided are that voting, politics, and political participation are not central to the lives of many Americans.¹⁴ Politics competes with other demands in our busy lives, leading Professors Robert Stein and Greg Vonnahme to describe voting as a “rivalrous” activity.¹⁵ Furthermore, research has shown that citizens who work, regularly attend religious services, and have higher levels of education and income are more integrated into the political system and are more likely to be mobilized by political organizations.¹⁶ The result is that, based on all the scholarly research up to approximately 2008, the early voter was typically described as: “conservative, middle- to upper-class, generally interested in politics, and Republican.”¹⁷ Minority use of early voting tended to be quite low, a finding that I and many other scholars attributed to the comparative lower levels of income and educational attainment among minority populations.¹⁸

Bradbury, “Vote-By-Mail: The Real Winner is Democracy,” *Washington Post*, Jan. 1, 2005, available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A40032-2004Dec31.html>; Priscilla L. Southwell and Justin I. Burchett, “The Effect of All-Mail Elections on Voter Turnout,” *American Politics Research* 28, no. 1 (Jan. 2000): 72-79. Compare to Paul Gronke and Peter Miller, “Voting by Mail and Turnout in Oregon: Revisiting Southwell and Burchett,” *American Politics Research* 40, no. 6 (Nov. 2012): 976-997. Of course, all of these articles deal with voting by mail, not early in-person voting.

¹³ See Lilliard E. Richardson, Jr. and Grant W. Neeley, “The Impact of Early Voting on Turnout: The 1994 Elections in Tennessee,” *State and Local Government Review* 28, no. 3 (Autumn 1996): 173-179; Grant W. Neeley and Lilliard E. Richardson Jr., “Who is early voting? An individual level examination,” *The Social Science Journal* 38, no. 3 (2001): 381-392.

¹⁴ See Michael J. Hanmer, *Discount Voting: Voter Registration Reforms and their Effects* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); William Lyons and John M. Scheb, II, “Early Voting and the Timing of the Vote: Unanticipated Consequences of Electoral Reform,” *State & Local Government Review* 31, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 147-152.

¹⁵ Robert M. Stein and Greg Vonnahme, “Engaging the Unengaged Voter: Vote Centers and Voting Turnout,” *Journal of Politics* 70, no. 2 (Apr. 2008): 487-497.

¹⁶ See Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady, *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995); Steven J. Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America* (New York: MacMillan, 1993).

¹⁷ Gronke et al. 2008, *supra* note 3, at pg. 443.

¹⁸ See Jeffrey A. Karp and Susan A. Banducci, “Going Postal: How All-Mail Elections Influence Turnout,” *Political Behavior* 22, no. 3 (2000): 223-239; Paul Gronke, Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum, and Peter A. Miller, “Early Voting and Turnout,” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 40, no. 4 (Oct. 2007): 639-645; Adam J. Berinsky, “The Perverse Consequences of Electoral Reform in the United States,” *American Politics Research*

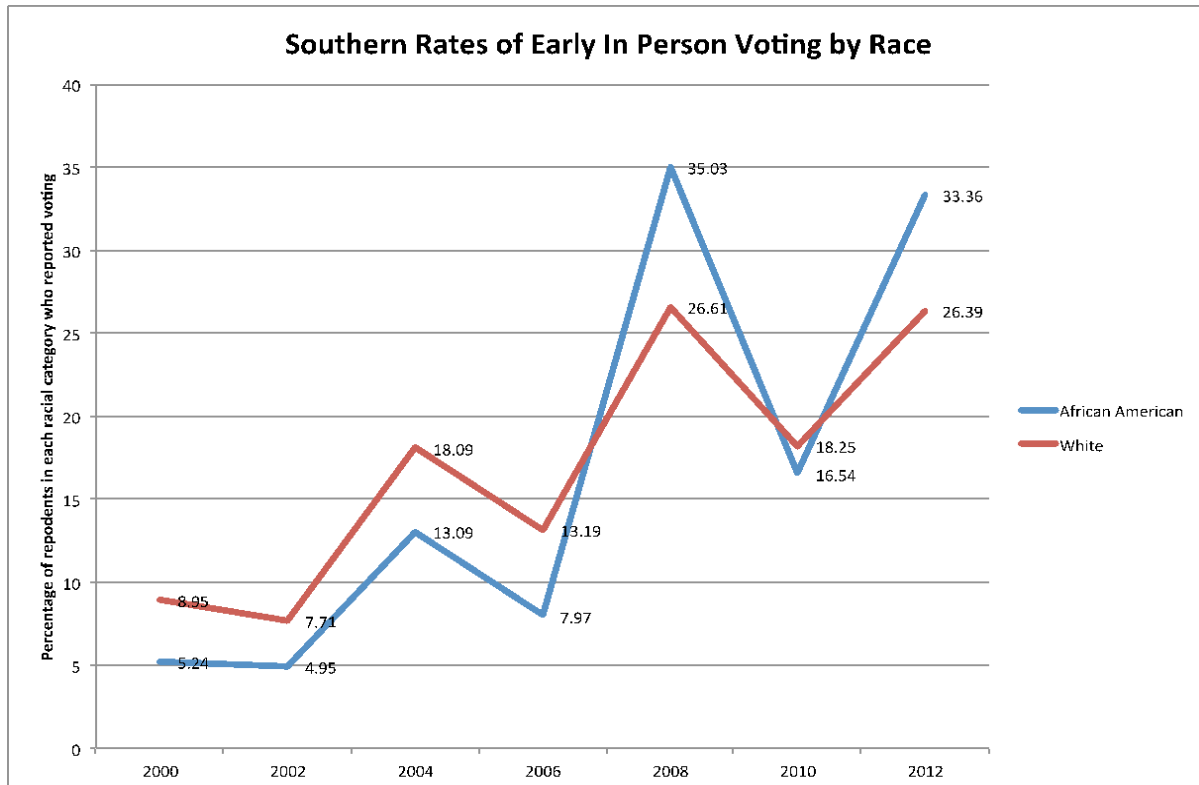
15. The 2008 Presidential and subsequent elections overturned the conventional wisdom concerning the modest use of early voting. First, as shown in Exhibit Three, early in-person voting rates almost doubled from 2004 to 2008, from 7.8% to 14.3%, and the national rates were driven primarily by the enormous growth in the South, shown in Exhibit Four. Use of early in-person voting in the South increased by 11 percentage points from 2004 to 2008, rising from 18% to 29%. The high rate of usage continued in 2012 (28.3%).

16. Even more enormous changes occurred among African-American voters, as shown in Exhibit Five. The pre-2008 conventional wisdom is reflected in usage rates in 2000, when just 5.24% of African Americans reported casting an early in-person ballot, and this rate was still just 13% in 2004, one-third below the White rate. In 2008, however, 35% of African-American respondents told the CPS that they voted early in-person, a growth rate of over 668% compared to 2000, and a 267% growth rate compared to 2004. White usage of early in-person voting increased as well, from 18.1% to 26.6% (a more modest growth rate of 47%) from 2004 to 2008—but the Black rate in 2008 was 31.6% higher than the White rate that year. African-American early in-person voting in the 2010 midterm elections was twice as high as in the 2006 midterm election, and was slightly below the White rate that year, but African-American use of early in-person voting returned to previous levels in 2012, at 33.6%, and 26.4% higher than the White rate.

Exhibit Five: Early In-Person Voting in the South, by Race

Source: Current Population Survey

All data have been corrected using scientifically validated response correction weights for the CPS.



17. These are absolutely stunning changes in the balloting choices used by voters, and have not escaped scholarly notice, leading many to reconsider previous claims about demographic patterns of early in-person voting, and to evaluate the impact of early in-person and no-excuse absentee voting and other voting reforms at the state level and even lower levels, rather than relying on national estimates. A recent scholarly study of the 2008 Presidential election found that, primarily in Southern states, African-American racial identity was associated with a statistically significant increase in choosing to vote early in-person when compared to voting absentee or on Election Day.¹⁹ Another study compared

¹⁹ R. Michael Alvarez, Ines Levin, and J. Andrew Sinclair, "Making Voting Easier: Convenience Voting in the 2008 Presidential Election," *Political Research Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (2012): 248-262. The non-Southern states where African-American identity is statistically associated with a higher probability of voting early in-person are Utah and

racial differences in early in-person, absentee by-mail, and Election Day voting in North Carolina, Georgia, and Florida in 2004, 2006, and 2008, and found rapid growth in the use of early in-person voting among African Americans, and continued higher usage among African-American voters during a 2008 Senate runoff election that was conducted in December 2008.²⁰

18. Two recent articles on the racial impact of voting law changes in Florida, one published in the *Election Law Journal (ELJ)*²¹ and the second published in *Political Research Quarterly* are particularly pertinent to this report. In the first, the authors examined the impact of a new Florida law passed in 2011 that truncated the state's early voting period and eliminated voting on the last Sunday before Election Day. The authors reported that "Democratic, African American, Hispanic, younger, and first-time voters were disproportionately likely to vote early in 2008 . . . We expect these types of voters to be disproportionately affected by the recent changes to Florida's voting laws."²² The second article followed up on the initial research conducted in the *ELJ* article. In this second piece, the authors examine the racial and ethnic composition of the early in-person electorate in Florida using voter registration and voter history files. They show that Black early-in person participation dropped by four percentage points as a consequence of the cutback in early voting, while White early in-person participation dropped less than a percentage point. This difference is not due to changing composition of the electorate.²³

19. In summary, throughout the South, the rate of early in-person voting among African Americans increased substantially in the 2008 Presidential election and seems likely to continue. African-American voters are using early voting at much higher rates than we would have predicted based on their income or educational levels, given early academic research on early voting patterns. In Florida

Ohio.

²⁰ Peter A. Miller and Neilan S. Chaturvedi, "Get Out the Early Vote: Minority Use of Convenience Voting in 2008," paper presented at the 2010 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.

²¹ I served as co-editor of the Journal from 2010-2012 and currently serve as sole editor. All articles, including the article cited here, are subject to double-blinded peer review.

²² Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith, "Souls to the Polls: Early Voting in Florida in the Shadow of House Bill 1355," *Election Law Journal* 11, no. 3 (2012): 331.

²³ See Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith, "Race, Party, and the Consequences of Restricting Early Voting in Florida in the 2012 General Election," *Political Research Quarterly* (published online Feb. 24, 2014),

<http://prq.sagepub.com/content/early/2014/02/21/1065912914524831>, at Tables 2 & 3.

specifically, attempts to shorten the early in-person voting period disproportionately impacted African-American citizens, which is discussed in more detail below.

20. Before turning to North Carolina, I note that there are two articles that offer views that are different from most other findings. First, an article by Burden *et al.* (2014) argues that early voting has a slightly negative impact on turnout, but only when implemented in the absence of other reforms (most notably for this case, same-day registration).²⁴ The Burden *et al.* findings, however, treat “early voting” as a single administrative procedure and voting method, not discriminating between no-excuse absentee or early in-person voting, contrary to the practice of every other scholar with which I am familiar. Given that most other scholars have found substantially different impacts of early in-person and by-mail systems, across states and across elections, its findings are difficult to evaluate with respect to early in-person voting specifically. The findings also do not address whether different demographic or racial groups may be affected differently by early voting reforms, and have been questioned on that basis.²⁵ And while the findings attempt to study the effect of adding early voting opportunities, they do not purport to address the effect of eliminating voting opportunities, as North Carolina has done here. It is notable, however, that Burden et al. found that early voting plus same-day registration—comparable to North Carolina—was associated with higher turnout.²⁶ Second, Larocca and Klemanski (2011), relying on CPS data (like Burden et al.) but coding election methods into separate variables, estimate a negative impact of early in-person voting laws on the probability of turnout, averaged across the states.²⁷ While there are only two articles that find negative effects, set against the many that find positive impacts, it is important to acknowledge their findings.

²⁴ Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, Kenneth R. Mayer, and Donald P. Moynihan, “Election Laws, Mobilization, and Turnout: The Unanticipated Consequences of Election Reform,” *American Journal of Political Science* 58, no. 1 (Jan. 2014): 95-109.

²⁵ One recent working paper takes issue with Burden, *et al.* on this basis, and concludes, based on more recent data (from the 2012 election), that early voting has been used to successfully mobilize turnout among groups that are historically lower-participation. See Vivekinan Ashok, Daniel Feder, Mary McGrath, and Eitan Hersh, “Dynamic Voting in a Dynamic Campaign: Three Models of Early Voting” (Feb. 26, 2014), *available at* http://www.bu.edu/polisci/files/2010/10/early_vote_v2.6.pdf.

²⁶ *Id.* at 103.

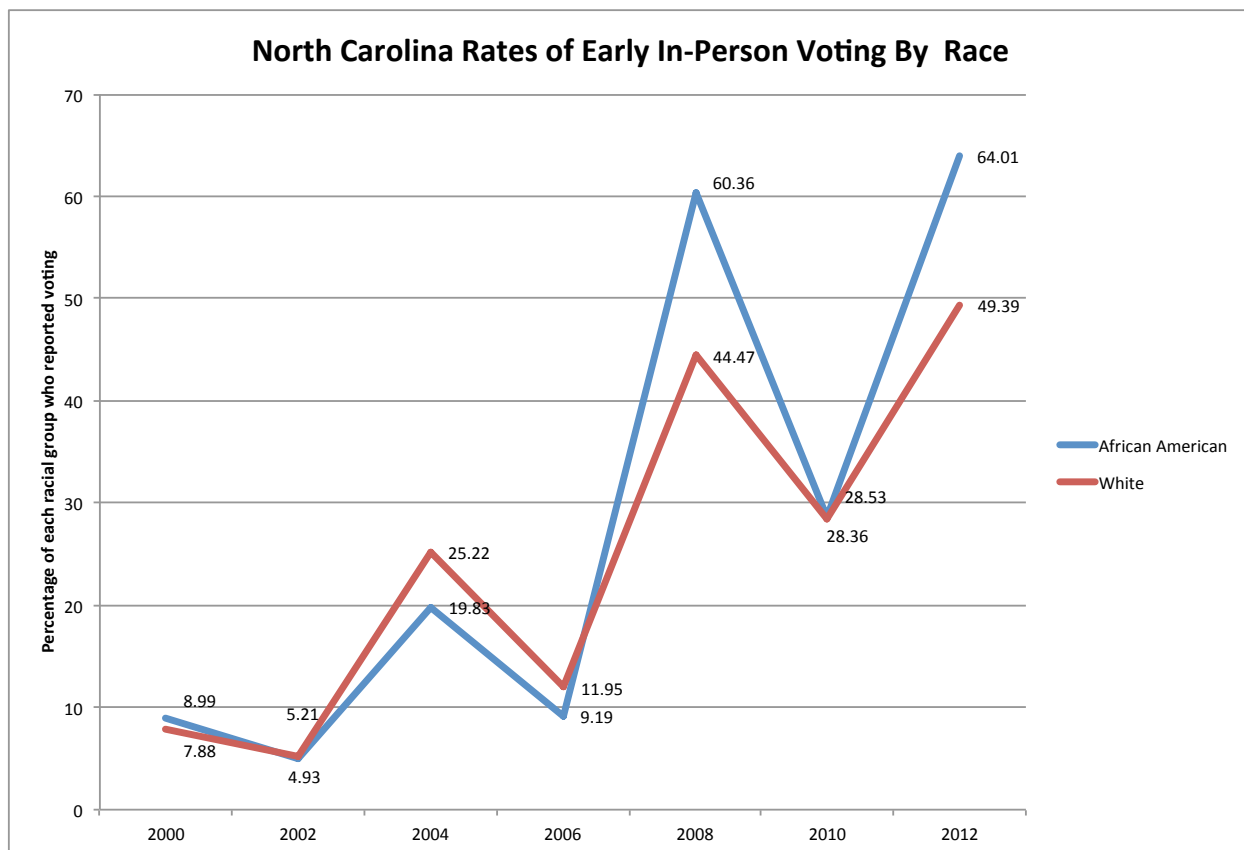
²⁷ Roger Larocca and John S. Klemanski, “U.S. State Election Reform and Turnout in Presidential Elections,” *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 11, no. 1 (Mar. 2011): 76-101.

21. To turn directly to North Carolina, African-American rates of early in-person voting have grown more quickly in North Carolina than in the South as a whole. Exhibit Six displays CPS data concerning early voting rates among African-American and White respondents to the Voting and Registration Supplement since 2000. African Americans and Whites in North Carolina used early in-person voting at roughly comparable rates in 2000 and 2002, and White rates exceeded Black rates by just over 5 percentage points in 2004 and just over 2 percentage points in 2006. However, African-American use of early in-person voting grew at an explosive rate in 2008—more than three times as large as the early in-person voting rate in 2004 and just shy of seven times as the rate in 2000. White rates increased as well, but at a much more modest rate. African Americans responding to the CPS reported using early in-person voting at rates roughly comparable to Whites in 2010, and at a rate 15 percentage points higher than Whites in 2012. As noted, these figures are derived from the CPS, which is Census Bureau survey data; as explained below, the actual elections data from the State of North Carolina indicates that African-American early in-person voting usage rates are even higher, and that disparities between Whites and African Americans are generally even more significant.

Exhibit Six: Early In-Person Voting in North Carolina, by Race

Source: Current Population Survey

All data have been corrected using scientifically validated response correction weights for the CPS.



22. Exhibit Seven displays CPS information on the use of all three balloting modes—one-stop, polling place, and absentee by-mail—in North Carolina among African Americans. As was seen the research examining the State of Florida, African Americans in North Carolina show a stronger preference than White voters for early in-person voting since 2008, and unlike Florida, Black usage rates of early in-person voting were approximately as high as the White rates as far back as the 2004 and 2000 elections. Black voters, in other words, have been habituated to expect to be able to vote early in-person for a longer time and have done so at a higher rate. That is, just as we know that an individual voting once makes it much more likely that they will vote a second time, it is reasonable to expect the same habit-forming behavior with respect to the mode of voting. This is evident among citizens living in certain Western states that provided for no-excuse absentee by mail voting in the late 1970s; now, few citizens in those states can

imagine voting any other way.²⁸ Similarly, citizens of North Carolina and African Americans in North Carolina specifically have habituated to one-stop early in-person voting. Note that absentee mail voting usage by African Americans is comparatively small. Exhibit Eight displays analogous information on the use of all three balloting modes—one-stop, polling place, and absentee by-mail—in North Carolina among white voters.

²⁸ Priscilla Southwell, “Five Years Later: A Re-assessment of Oregon’s Vote By Mail Electoral Process,” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 37(1): 89-93.

Exhibit Seven: Use of Three Modes of Voting by African Americans in North Carolina

Source: Current Population Survey

All data have been corrected using scientifically validated response correction weights for the CPS.

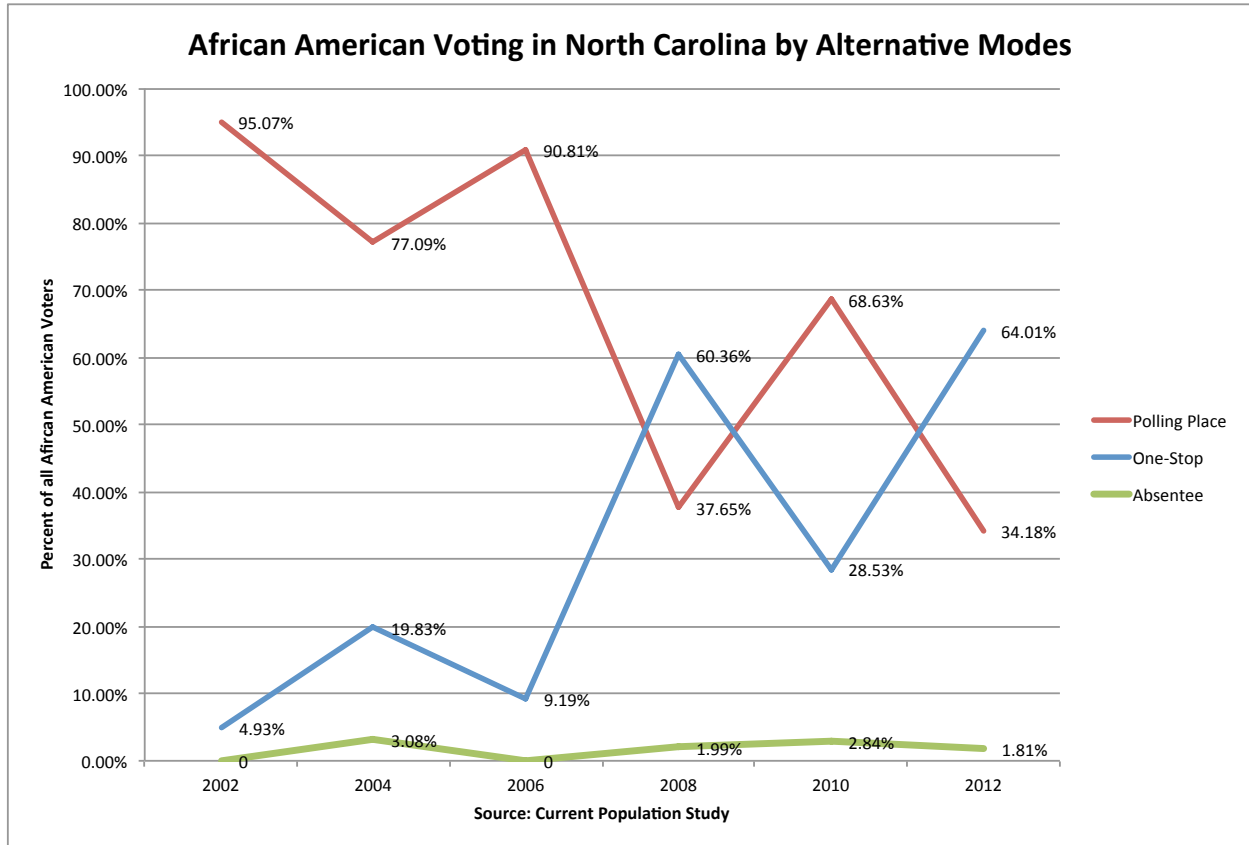
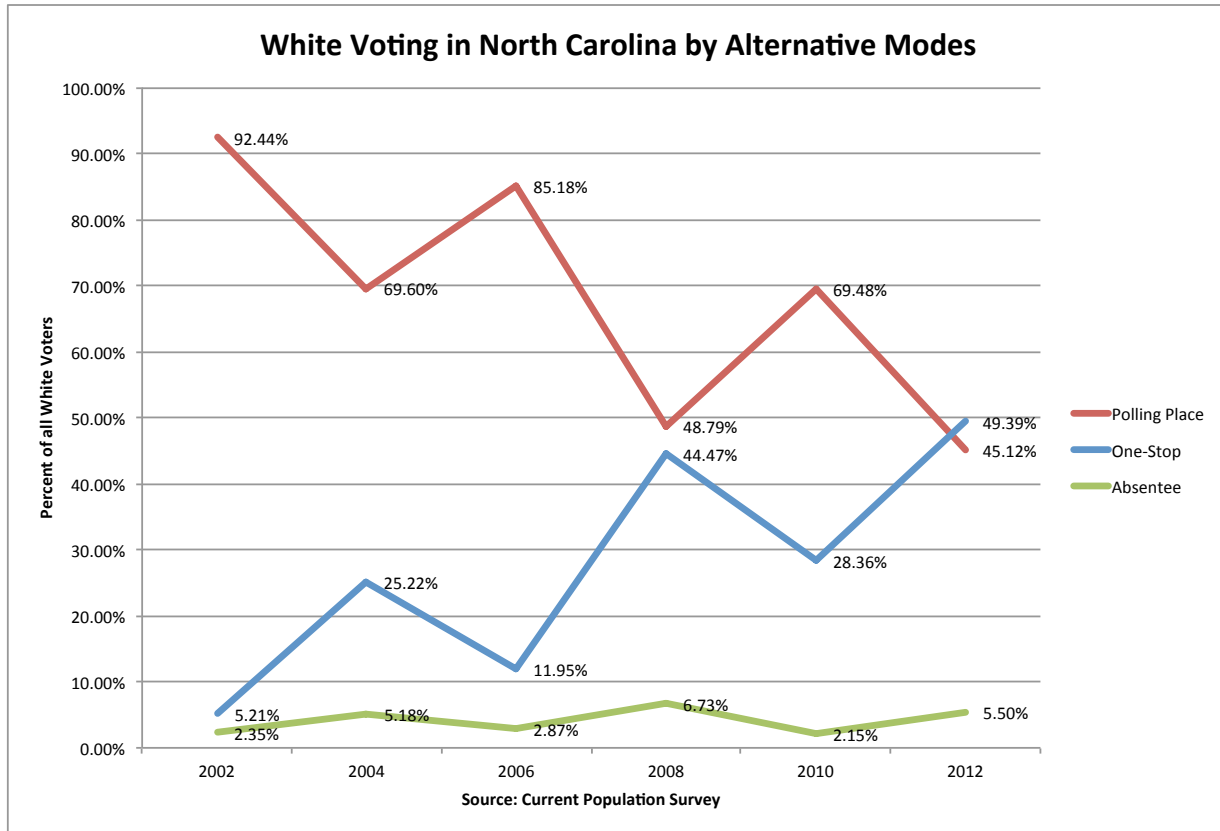


Exhibit Eight: Use of Three Modes of Voting by Whites in North Carolina

Source: Current Population Survey

All data have been corrected using scientifically validated response correction weights for the CPS.



Analysis of Early Voting Data from the State of North Carolina

23. The data used in the rest of this report was provided to me by the Plaintiffs, and was requested from and produced by the State of North Carolina, or was downloaded from the official online FTP archive maintained by the state. Data files were provided for voter “snapshots,” or “close of book” registration records (meaning those actually used by the state in an election), and I used the most recent “snapshot” file in order to determine the racial identity of registered voters. An election “lookup” file was used to determine the precise date for each election, since each county in North Carolina assigns a separate “election id” to designate individual elections. A separate “voter history” file was used to determine whether or not a particular citizen cast a ballot, as well as what kind of

ballot they cast (in person, absentee by mail, one-stop absentee, and other balloting modes) and in what election(s) they cast a ballot. The voter registration file (containing the race information of voters) and the voter history file were matched as described in the Data Acquisition Appendix, included as Exhibit Twenty (attached at the end of this report). In order to analyze the rate of one-stop voting during the first week of early voting, I had to download absentee ballot files for each election under consideration, because the State of North Carolina did not include the date that the one-stop ballot was accepted in the voter history file that was supplied to the Plaintiffs. The absentee ballot files downloaded from the FTP site already included the race of the voter, so it was not necessary to match them with the “snapshot” file. All of the data processing steps are described in detail in Exhibit Twenty.²⁹

24. Exhibit Nine sets forth the total use of one-stop voting in North Carolina, in terms of both the absolute number of one-stop ballots cast, and as a percentage of the electorate (calculated by dividing the number of one-stop ballots cast by the total number of all ballots cast). As the table below demonstrates, one-stop absentee voting has been widely used in the State of North Carolina. In the 2008 and 2012 general elections, approximately 2.5 million ballots in the state were cast using the one-stop method, well over half of all ballots cast in the state. During the midterms, where turnout is generally lower, usage of the one-stop option was still very high, 33% and 20% of the ballots during 2010 and 2006 respectively.

²⁹ As explained in the data acquisition report (Exhibit Twenty), for the purposes of this report, I focused on elections from the 2006 General forward. The reason for this was that in the May 2006 primary election and in earlier elections, the one-stop totals obtained from the voter history file produced by the state did not agree, even within a 1-2% margin, with data files obtained from the state’s official website.

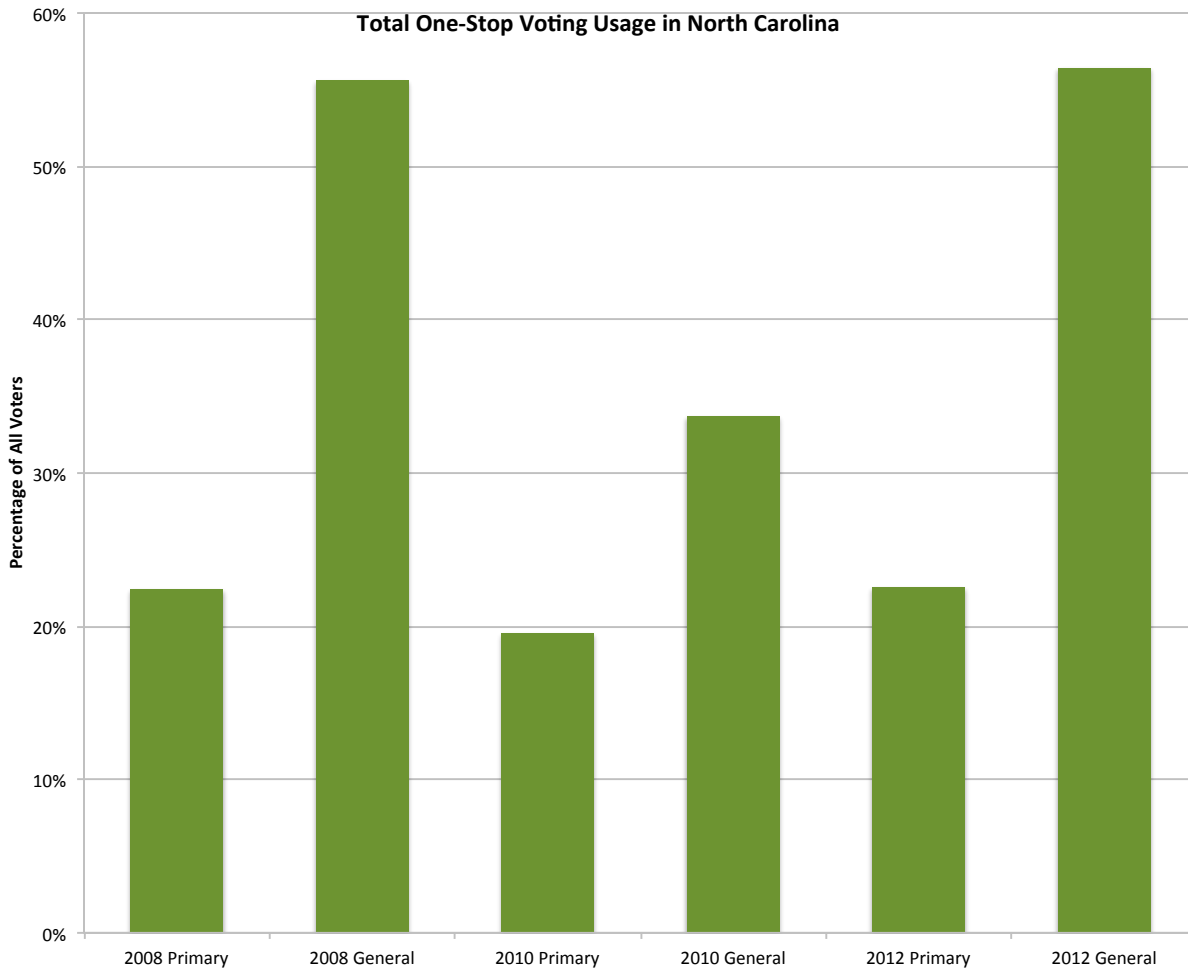
Exhibit Nine: One-Stop Voting in North Carolina in Federal Primary and General Elections, 2006-2012

Source: State of North Carolina statewide voter registration system (SEIMS) voter history and voter registration files.³⁰

Early Voting In North Carolina, 2006-2012

	2006 General	2008 Primary	2008 General		
One-Stop Voters	387,985	477,587	2,421,206		
One-Stop Percent	19.16%	22.43%	55.52%		
	2010 Primary	2010 General	2012 Primary	2012 General	
One-Stop Voters	172,092	906,494	492,743	2,553,803	
One-Stop Percent	19.52%	33.54%	22.57%	56.31%	

Source: North Carolina Voter History Files



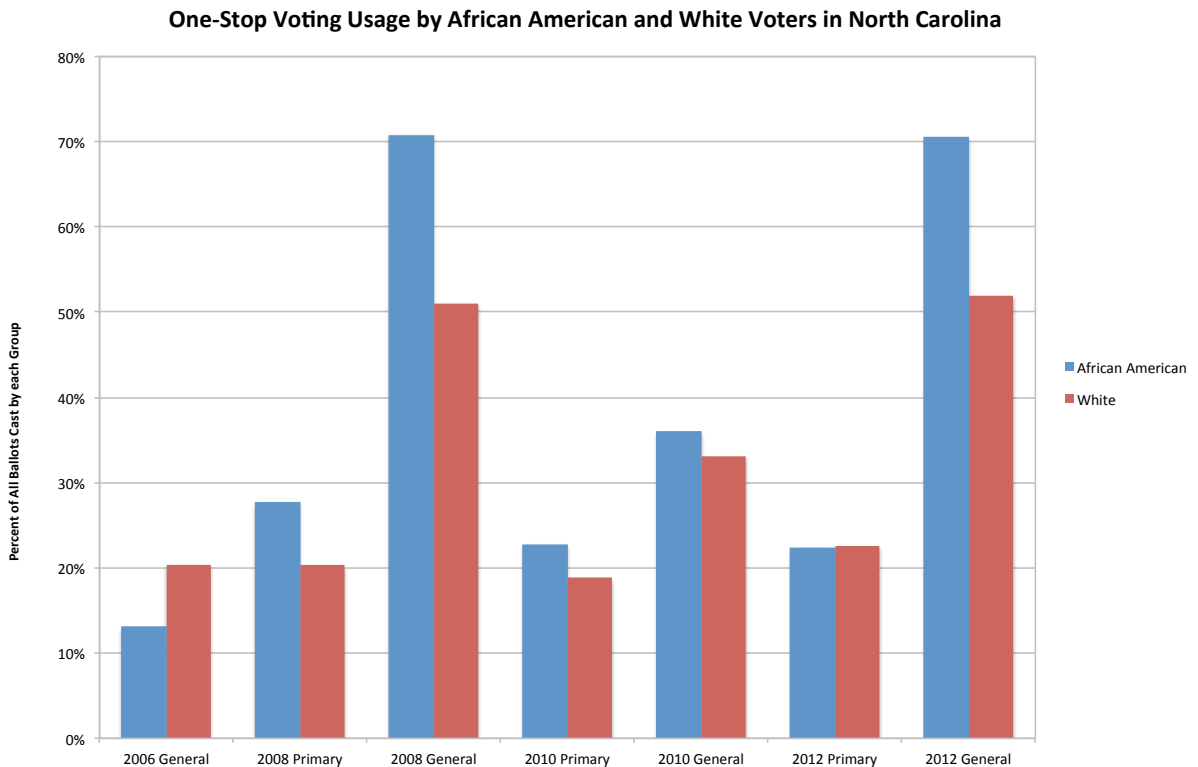
³⁰ Files were acquired and analyzed as described in the “Data Acquisition” section of this report (Exhibit Twenty). All calculations were made using Stata 12 and graphics were produced in Excel.

25. Exhibit Nine provides a graphical illustration of the growing rate of one-stop voting from the 2006 general election through the 2012 general election. It is important to compare apples to apples in this graphic—Presidential years to Presidential years and midterm years to midterm years. When examined in this way, there is a linear growth in the rate of one-stop voting, even in the lowest turnout contests. Off year usage grew 14 percentage points in the midterm elections. The usage rate in the Presidential years (2008 and 2012) was 55% and 56% respectively. My conclusion is that the State of North Carolina decided, in its election laws and procedures, to encourage one-stop voting, and the citizens responded by opting for the one-stop method at increasing rates in each subsequent election.
26. In order to examine the likely impact of the changes to early voting on minority voters, I calculated the relative rates of one-stop voting by race (again, calculated by dividing the number of one-stop ballots cast by the total number of ballots cast). Exhibit Ten compares the one-stop voting usage by African-American and White voters in the state (other races are displayed in the data table as well). Overall, both races migrated heavily toward one-stop voting from 2006 to 2012, but African Americans showed a significantly higher usage rate in every election under examination except for the 2006 general and the 2012 primary. If we consider just those elections from 2008 forward, the African-American usage rate of one-stop voting significantly exceeded the White usage rate in five of the six elections under examination. The differences exceed the conventional 95% confidence level that indicates a statistically significant difference. My calculations for statistical significance for these and other figures described in this report are set forth in Exhibit Nineteen, attached to the end of this report.

Exhibit Ten: One-Stop Voting in North Carolina by Racial/Ethnic Groups in Federal Primary and General Elections, 2006-2012

Source: State of North Carolina statewide voter registration system (SEIMS) voter history and voter registration files.³¹

Election Date / Type	One-Stop Votes		One-Stop Percent	
	African American	White	African American	White
2006 General	41,568	339,577	13.06%	20.43%
2008 Primary	163,641	298,153	27.79%	20.26%
2008 General	691,157	1,626,057	70.86%	50.95%
2010 Primary	34,578	133,216	22.81%	18.81%
2010 General	195,663	687,263	35.99%	33.12%
2012 Primary	77,730	397,571	22.35%	22.59%
2012 General	737,658	1,680,658	70.49%	51.87%



³¹ Files were acquired and analyzed as described in the “Data Acquisition” section of this report (Exhibit Twenty). All calculations were made using Stata 12 and graphics were produced in Excel.

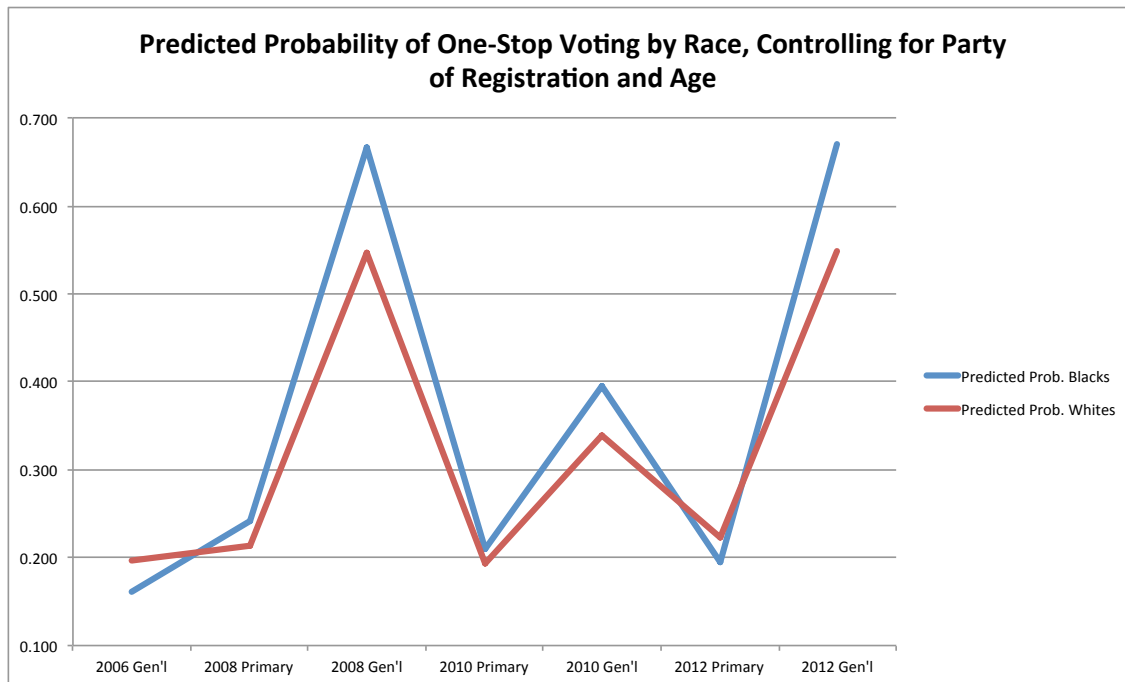
27. It is also notable that African-American usage of one-stop voting exceeded White usage in all three of the last general (non-primary) elections. The biggest disparities were during the highest turnout elections: over 70% of African Americans utilized early in-person voting in the two most recent Presidential elections, a rate that is 140% of the White rate. While the racial disparity was not as high during the 2010 midterm election, African-American usage skyrocketed compared to the previous midterm election, nearly tripling from 13.06% in 2006 to 35.99% in 2010, an increase of 176%. That growth rate is approximately three times as high as the White growth rate in early in-person voting during the same period (from 20.43% to 33.12%, or a growth rate of 62%).
28. The racial differences are robust even when controlling for other characteristics such as party affiliation and age. As described in Exhibit 10-B below, I ran a multivariate statistical model that controls for the age and party of registration of the voters. Multivariate models are useful to test whether or not there are other variables that may be correlated with the outcome of interest—in this case, voting early in-person—and are also correlated with a predictor variable—in this case, race. Past research has shown strong party differences with respect to the usage of early in-person voting as well as some indications of age differences, and African Americans in North Carolina are much more likely to be registered Democrats than are Whites. The results of a logistic regression model³² show that these differences are not spurious, and are robust even when controlling for age and party. As shown in Exhibit Ten-B, in five of the seven elections under examination, African American usage of one-stop voting was higher than White usage, even when controlling for party and age.

³² Logistic regression is used when the dependent variable is a dichotomous variable, such as voting one-stop (1) versus voting but not one-stop (0). The independent (predictor) variables in the logistic model are Black racial identification (dummy variable), White racial identification (dummy variable), age, Democratic party registration (dummy variable), and Republican party registration (dummy variable). Estimation was performed in Stata 13. The probability estimates were produced using the margins command in Stata, which reports the marginal effect of Black (and or White) racial identification on the probability of voting one-stop, holding all other variables at their means. All models were tested for robustness by also including dummy variable indicators for every county (excluding the first county) and running a multi-level logit model with random effects for each county (meologit procedure in Stata).

Exhibit Ten-B: Logistic Regression Analysis of One-Stop Voting in North Carolina by Racial/Ethnic Groups

Logistic Regression Models of Early Voting Usage in North Carolina

	2006 Gen'l	2008 Primary	2008 Gen'l	2010 Primary	2010 Gen'l	2012 Primary	2012 Gen'l
Black	0.782	1.161	1.832	1.125	1.392	0.008	1.797
White	1.296	0.827	0.867	0.946	1.076	0.898	0.804
Democrat	0.737	8.397	1.192	2.202	0.931	1.295	1.138
Republican	0.677	5.078	0.842	1.894	1.003	1.051	1.009
Age	1.021	1.013	1.011	1.005	1.022	1.012	1.013
Constant	0.072	0.020	0.668	0.089	0.135	0.146	0.669
N of Cases	2,025,037	2,129,361	4,360,672	881,509	2,702,685	2,182,981	4,535,193
Predicted Prob. Blacks	0.161	0.242	0.667	0.211	0.395	0.195	0.670
Predicted Prob. Whites	0.197	0.213	0.547	0.193	0.339	0.222	0.549



Analysis of Early Voting Reductions

29. Next, I turn to evaluating the impact of the proposed reductions in the length of time allowed for one-stop voting in North Carolina. As detailed in the law, one-stop voting will be reduced by seven days. It previously started on the “third Thursday before Election Day and r[an] through 1:00 pm the last Saturday before

an election,” and allowing local election officials to extend hours until 5:00 pm on the last Saturday.³³ The new law specifies that one-stop voting begins on the second Thursday before Election Day, runs through 1:00 pm the last Saturday, and does not allow local options to extend the hours until 5:00 pm.³⁴

30. As background for this analysis, I refer to a working paper that I co-authored with Professor Charles Stewart that examined in detail the likely impact of shortening the period of early in-person voting in Florida on African-American voters.³⁵ In that paper, we examined voter registration files and voter history reports, analogous to what I do in this expert report. African-American usage rates of early in-person voting had grown in Florida, as they had in North Carolina (see Exhibit Six, discussed above), declined somewhat in 2010, and then returned to a high rate in 2012. We discovered that, as in North Carolina, African-American preference for early in-person voting is not just a mask for partisanship. We wrote that the result “[lends] credence to the notion that, at least as far as presidential elections are concerned, early voting is a mode preferred by *African Americans* and not just partisans who happen to also be African American.”³⁶

31. Furthermore, reducing the period of time for early in-person voting in Florida did have an impact, and that impact was negative overall and hit African-American voters harder than White voters, as explained below.

32. First, the reduction in the number of days available for early voting may have contributed to high levels of congestion at early-voting locations and very long lines. Early in-person voters in the Sunshine State in 2012 reported line lengths that were 50-100% higher than line lengths reported for corresponding days in 2008.³⁷ We wrote at the time: “These voters who faced greater congestion, and presumably longer lines and greater [in]convenience, were disproportionately African American.”³⁸ Our findings in this regard are supported by other academic

³³ Kara McGraw, Erika Churchill, and Kelly Quick, Committee Counsel, “House Bill 589: VIVA/Election Reform,” July 29, 2013, prepared for the North Carolina Legislature, at Page 8, <http://dconc.gov/modules/showdocument.aspx?documentid=8316>.

³⁴ *Id.*

³⁵ Paul Gronke and Charles Stewart III, “Early Voting in Florida,” paper presented at the 2013 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.

³⁶ *Id.* at 18.

³⁷ *Id.* at 26.

³⁸ *Id.* The information on line lengths during early voting in Florida come from the Survey of the Performance of American Elections, conducted in 2008 and 2012, by the CalTech/MIT Voting Information Project in partnership with the Pew Center on the States.

work analyzing early voting data from the Florida 2012 election,³⁹ as well as the Presidential Commission on Election Administration, and New York University's Brennan Center for Justice, both of which noted, based on interviews with election officials, that early in-person voting is generally associated with shorter lines.⁴⁰

33. More importantly, our research indicated that, after Florida reduced its early voting period, the raw number of individuals who voted early in Florida dropped from 2,663,995 in 2008 to 2,380,196 in 2012, a decline of 10.7%.⁴¹

34. African-American and white voters appear to have responded differently to Florida's early voting reductions. In Figure 11 of the paper, reproduced as Exhibit Eleven of this report, we compared the ratio of Black to White voters at each day of early voting during the 2008 and 2012 elections. The solid line represents this ratio during each day of early voting during the 2008 election; the dotted line represents the same during the 2012 election. As one would expect, there is a higher ratio of White to Black voters during each day of the Early Voting period, due to the simple fact that 78.3% of the residents of Florida are White and 16.6% are Black or African-American.⁴² Declines in the ratio, however, indicate a higher rate of Blacks, compared to Whites, voting on each day of the early voting period. In other words, as the lines on the graph move downwards, it indicates that the African-American early voting rate on a particular day has increased relative to the White early voting rate.

³⁹ See Herron and Smith 2014, *supra* note 23, at pg. 11 ("The excessive lines reported to have affected early voting locations on Saturday, November 3, 2012, would by necessity have affected minority voters disproportionately more than White voters.").

⁴⁰ See "The American Voting Experience: Report and Recommendations," *supra* note 2, at pg. 56; Diana Kasdan, Brennan Center for Justice, *Early Voting: What Works* (Oct. 31, 2013), at pgs. 5-6, <http://www.brennancenter.org/publication/early-voting-what-works>.

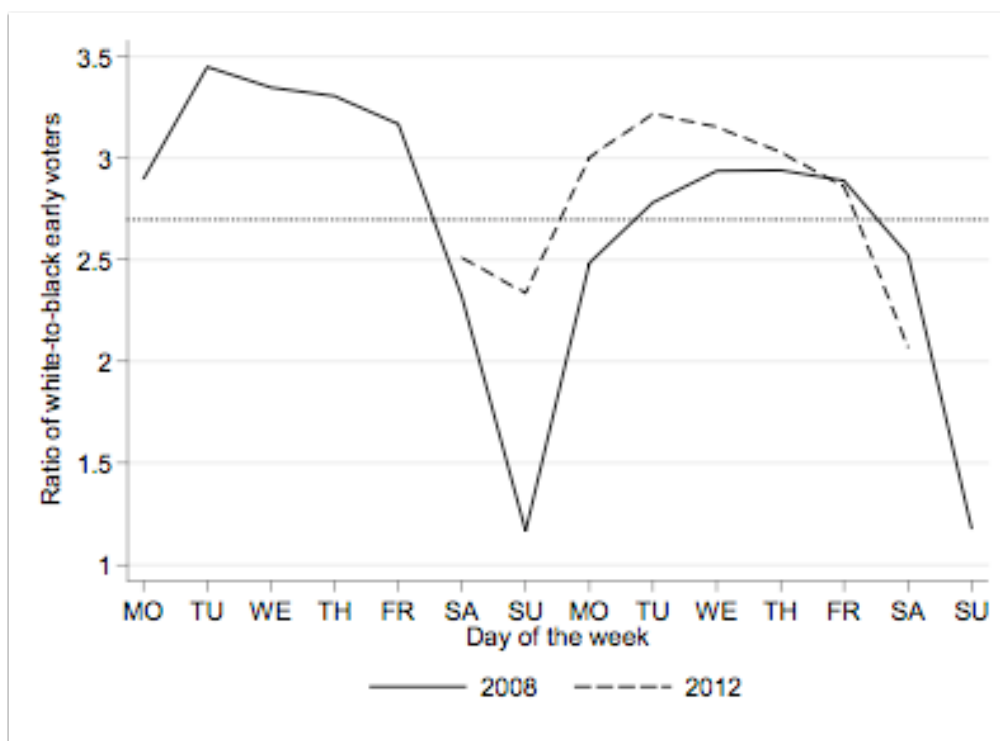
⁴¹ Gronke and Stewart 2013, *supra* note 31, at pg. 21.

⁴² United States Census Quickfacts: Florida, <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/12000.html>.

Exhibit Eleven: Changing Ratio of White to Black Voters in Florida, 2008 and 2012

Source: Gronke and Stewart 2013, *supra* note 31.

Figure 11. Comparison of “souls to the polls” efforts in 2008 and 2012:



35. Most notable from the figure are two things. First, Blacks voted at a far higher rate on both Saturdays and Sundays of the early voting period in 2008 than did Whites (the ratio approached 1:1 on the Sundays, meaning that almost as many Black voters cast ballots on Sundays as did White voters, despite the fact that Black residents made up less than one-fifth of Florida’s population). I note that North Carolina has eliminated a full weekend of early voting and has also shortened the hours of early voting available on the final Saturday of the one-stop voting period.
36. Second, Exhibit Eleven also demonstrates that, even though Florida argued that the reduced number of days would only “compress” early voting but not restrict access, Black voters appear to have been disproportionately affected by Florida’s early voting cutbacks. Comparing 2012 (after the cutbacks) to 2008 (before the cutbacks), we see that, in 2012, Black voters comprised a lower percentage of

early voters for seven of the eight early voting days that remained during the 2012 elections. Exhibit Eleven demonstrates that the ratio of White to Black voters was higher on each day of the early in-person voting period in 2012 than it was in 2008, except for the final Saturday (voting on the final Sunday, as noted, was eliminated). In other words, after Florida reduced the early voting period, Black voters comprised a smaller proportion of early voters during the 2012 election on seven of the eight days of the early voting period, as compared to 2008. Our findings in this regard are confirmed by Herron and Smith (2014), whose analysis of the same data found that “the Black early voting participation rate dropped more than four percentage points,” between 2008 and 2012, as compared to “the White early voting participation rate [which] dropped less than one percentage point” during the same period.⁴³ In essence, after Florida cut back on early voting, its population of early voters became less Black, and more White.

37. It is important to realize that even though Florida did not require that counties keep the same number of early in-person voting hours (96) as required under previous law,⁴⁴ most did so anyway, as indicated in Exhibit Seventeen (attached at the end of this report). As Exhibit Seventeen shows, counties that maintained the maximum of 96 hours collectively contained approximately 84% of the state’s population. This is highly relevant because Florida, *de facto* if not *de jure*, implemented the same changes that North Carolina has proposed—“compressing” the early in-person vote into fewer days but the same number of hours—and this “compression” significantly reduced African-American access to the ballot box in Florida when compared to White voters. Put another way, Florida experienced these effects—including greater congestion at the polls and declines in early voting turnout, particularly among African Americans relative to Whites—after reducing its early voting period, despite the fact that 84% of Floridians reside in counties where the total number of early voting hours remained constant.

38. Turning back to North Carolina, in order to isolate the differential impact of the elimination of the first seven days of early voting, I calculated differential rates of voting on those particular dates among one-stop voters (calculated by dividing the number of one-stop ballots cast on those seven days, by the total number of all one-stop ballots cast). The patterns of voting in the first week of one-stop voting in North Carolina follow the same pattern as overall early in-person voting usage in the state. As shown in Exhibit Twelve, African-American one-stop

⁴³ See Herron and Smith 2014, *supra* note 23, at pg. 5.

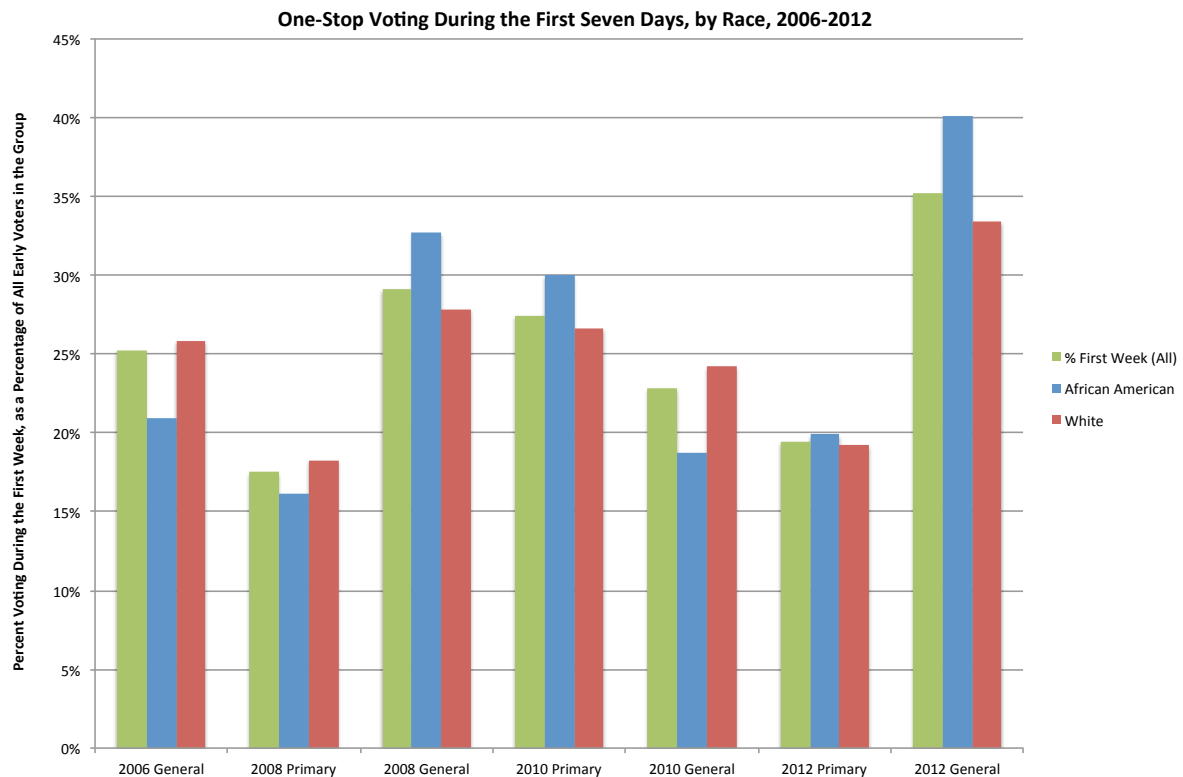
⁴⁴ See Herron and Smith 2012, *supra* note 22, at pg. 332.

voters took advantage of the first week of voting at significantly higher rates than White one-stop voters in five of the seven elections held since 2006 and four of six elections since 2008. In other words, among early in-person voters, African Americans display a preference for what we could call “*early* early-in person voting,” *i.e.*, precisely the early voting days that North Carolina has eliminated. Again, these differences far exceed the conventional 95% confidence level that indicates a statistically significant difference.

Exhibit Twelve: One-Stop Voting in North Carolina During the First Seven Days of One-Stop Voting Among One-Stop Voters, by Racial/Ethnic Groups, 2008-2012

Source: State of North Carolina Absentee Voter Files.⁴⁵

Election Date / Type	All First Week Ballots	One-Stop Votes: First Week			Other Races	% First Week of Early Vote	One-Stop Percent: First Week		
		African American	White	Other Races			African American	White	Other Races
2006 General	93,955	8,058	84,586	1,311		25.26%	20.94%	25.85%	1.40%
2008 Primary	83,056	26,160	54,213	2,683		17.53%	16.19%	18.28%	3.23%
2008 General	702,474	223,976	451,294	27,204		29.13%	32.69%	27.85%	3.87%
2010 Primary	47,173	10,341	35,404	1,428		27.46%	30.01%	26.62%	3.03%
2010 General	207,049	36,394	166,160	4,495		22.87%	18.71%	24.23%	2.17%
2012 Primary	95,903	15,461	76,357	4,085		19.47%	19.91%	19.21%	4.26%
2012 General	899,083	296,093	561,653	41,337		35.17%	40.09%	33.39%	4.60%



39. The largest disparities occur on weekends, and HB 589 eliminates one weekend of early voting. While the legislation purportedly requires that the total early voting hours remain the same, there is no requirement that the lost weekend hours be replaced with other weekend hours, even though the evidence here, and from Florida, is that African-American voters show a higher voting rate on the weekend. Moreover, I note that HB 589 also permits waivers for counties to

⁴⁵ Files were downloaded from the North Carolina Board of Elections website (<http://www.ncsbe.gov/ncsbe/absentee-data>). These datasets included the date that the one-stop ballot was “accepted” (cast). The SEIMS voter history files did not include this data element.

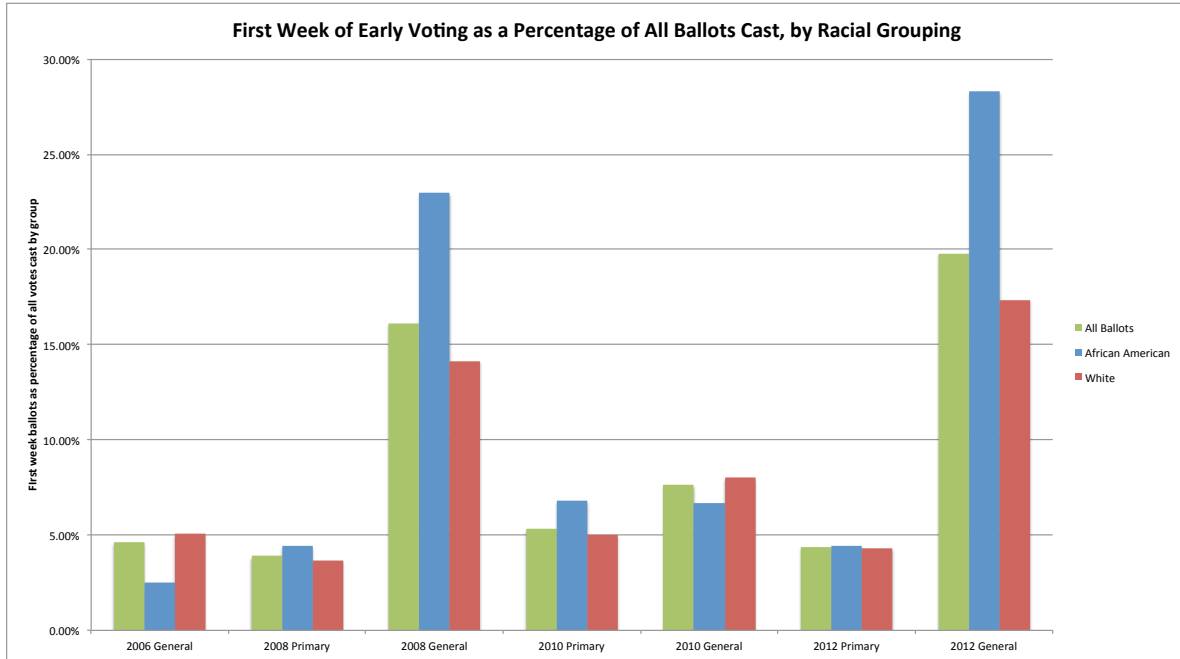
reduce total early hours under some circumstances, with approximately 40 counties (containing almost two million people, or approximately 19% of the state's population) requesting such waivers in the upcoming November election, as set forth in Exhibit Eighteen, attached to the end of this report.

40. I note that racial disparities during the first week of one-stop voting persist regardless of whether measured as a percentage of all voters, or as a percentage of one-stop voters. That is, in Exhibit Twelve, I calculate the percentage voting in the first week as a proportion of all one-stop voters in each racial group, and find that African-American one-stop voters utilize the first week of one-stop voting at a higher rate than do white one-stop voters. This calculation assumes that voters first make the choice of whether to vote early or on Election Day, and then choose when to vote early.
41. In Exhibit Thirteen, I relax this assumption and compare the percentage voting in the first week as a proportion of all voters in each racial group (calculated by dividing the number of one-stop ballots cast on those seven days by the total number of all ballots cast). This relaxed assumption should reduce group differences, since it mixes Election Day and one-stop voters in the denominator, even though evidence shows significantly different preferences for these voting modes across the races. Exhibit Thirteen demonstrates that, even under this more relaxed set of assumptions, African Americans show a stronger usage rate of one-stop voting in five of seven elections since 2006, and five of six elections since 2008. Again, these differences far exceed the conventional 95% confidence level that indicates a statistically significant difference. The choice of denominator, in short, makes no difference in the conclusions.

Exhibit Thirteen: One-Stop Voting in North Carolina During the First Seven Days of One-Stop Voting Among All Voters, by Racial/Ethnic Groups, 2008-2012

Source: State of North Carolina Absentee Voter Files and North Carolina Voter History File.⁴⁶

Election Date / Type	One-Stop Votes: First Week				All Ballots Cast			One-Stop First Week as Percentage of All Votes		
	All First Week Ballots	African American	White	Other Races	All Ballots	African American	White	All Ballots	African American	White
2006 General	93,955	8,058	84,586	1,311	2,025,942	318,271	1,662,424	4.64%	2.53%	5.09%
2008 Primary	83,056	26,160	54,213	2,683	2,130,535	588,918	1,471,398	3.90%	4.44%	3.68%
2008 General	702,474	223,976	451,294	27,204	4,360,672	975,413	3,191,314	16.11%	22.96%	14.14%
2010 Primary	47,173	10,341	35,404	1,428	881,827	151,608	708,049	5.35%	6.82%	5.00%
2010 General	207,049	36,394	166,160	4,495	2,703,967	543,590	2,075,138	7.66%	6.70%	8.01%
2012 Primary	95,903	15,461	76,357	4,085	2,183,914	347,780	1,760,320	4.39%	4.45%	4.34%
2012 General	899,083	296,093	561,653	41,337	4,545,180	1,046,424	3,240,324	19.78%	28.30%	17.33%



III. Same-Day Registration During the Early Voting Period

Background on Same-Day Registration

42. The elimination of same-day registration (for newregistrations) during one-stop voting is another major change to the North Carolina one-stop absentee voting

⁴⁶ Absentee ballot files were downloaded from the North Carolina Board of Elections website (<http://www.ncsbe.gov/ncsbe/absentee-data>). Total voter turnout was calculated from the SEIMS files provided by the state.

election system. Above, I referred to a scholarly consensus that early in-person voting resulted in a small but statistically significant increase in voter turnout, with a few dissenting articles. For same-day or Election Day registration, there are essentially no dissents; there is essentially universal agreement among scholars that this is an election reform that has a substantially positive impact on voter turnout.

43. The scholarly consensus on the positive impacts of same-day registration is extensive and long standing. Highton (1997) was among the first to note the substantial impact of same day registration, with turnout 10 percentage points higher than states without EDR.⁴⁷ Hanmer (2009), in an extensive review and analysis of the impact of same-day registration on turnout, compares states that adopted this method as a means to enhance participation and those that adopted it somewhat grudgingly in order to exempt themselves from the National Voter Registration Act. While he discovers the turnout boost is lower among the latter states, it remains statistically significant in all cases.⁴⁸ Larocca and Klemanski (2011) find that EDR has a positive effect on turnout among citizens who recently moved,⁴⁹ and McDonald (2008) similarly finds a 2.4 percentage point increase in turnout associated with EDR among recent movers.⁵⁰ Neiheisel and Burden (2012), in a recent study of Wisconsin, discovered strong and positive effects of EDR on turnout in the state.⁵¹ Brians and Grofman, drawing on national CPS data, estimated a 7 percentage point increase in turnout associated with EDR, with the largest impacts among middle-income citizens with high school education, but with nearly as large an impact among less-educated and poorer citizens.⁵² Notably for this report, Brians and Grofman found a large and positive effect on turnout among African Americans, when compared to Whites, and after controlling for education, income, and employment status.⁵³ Finally, and perhaps most pertinent of all to this report, the Burden et al. (2014) article described

⁴⁷ Benjamin Highton, "Easy Registration and Voter Turnout," *Journal of Politics* 59, no. 2 (May 1997): 565-575; See also Benjamin Highton, "Voter Registration and Turnout in the United States," *Perspectives on Politics* 2, no. 3 (Sept. 2004): 507-515.

⁴⁸ Hanmer 2009, *supra* note 14.

⁴⁹ Larocca and Klemanski 2011, *supra* note 27.

⁵⁰ Michael McDonald, "Portable Voter Registration," *Political Behavior* 30, no. 4 (Dec. 2008): 491-501.

⁵¹ Jacob R. Neiheisel and Barry C. Burden, "The Impact of Election Day Registration on Voter Turnout and Election Outcomes," *American Politics Research* 40, no. 4 (2012): 636-664.

⁵² Craig Leonard Brians and Bernard Grofman, "Election Day Registration's Effect on US Voter Turnout," *Social Science Quarterly* 82, no. 1 (2001): 170-183.

⁵³ *Id.* at Table 1.

above that found a negative impact of early voting on turnout, found a positive effect when early voting was offered in conjunction with EDR,⁵⁴ as was the case in North Carolina prior to recent election law changes.

Analysis of Same-Day Registration Data from North Carolina

44. Exhibits Fourteen, Fifteen, and Sixteen set forth the use of same-day registration, considering all same-day registrations (Exhibit Fourteen), new registrations (Exhibit Fifteen), and changed registrations (Exhibit Sixteen) during one-stop voting, among all one-stop voters, and African-American, White, and voters of other races.
45. Exhibit Fourteen demonstrates how important same-day registration is to North Carolina voters. Same-day registration during one-stop voting is not an unusual activity engaged in by a small number of voters; it constituted more than 10% of the total early in-person vote in 2012 (246,895 ballots), and over the last six elections, averaged 11.77% of African-American one-stop ballots and 19.37%—nearly one-fifth!—of ballots cast by registrants of “other” minority races.
46. The racial differences are substantial and consistent. In five of the last six federal elections,⁵⁵ African Americans were significantly more likely to use same-day registration overall during early in-person voting than were White voters. In three elections (the May 2008 primary, the May 2010 primary, and the November 2010 general election), African-American same-day registration rates were approximately double that of white voters. Overall, the differences in rates range from a low of 1.90 percentage point higher usage in the May 2012 primary to a high of 6.83 percentage point higher usage in the May 2008 primary. The average difference is a 4.91 percentage point higher usage among African Americans.

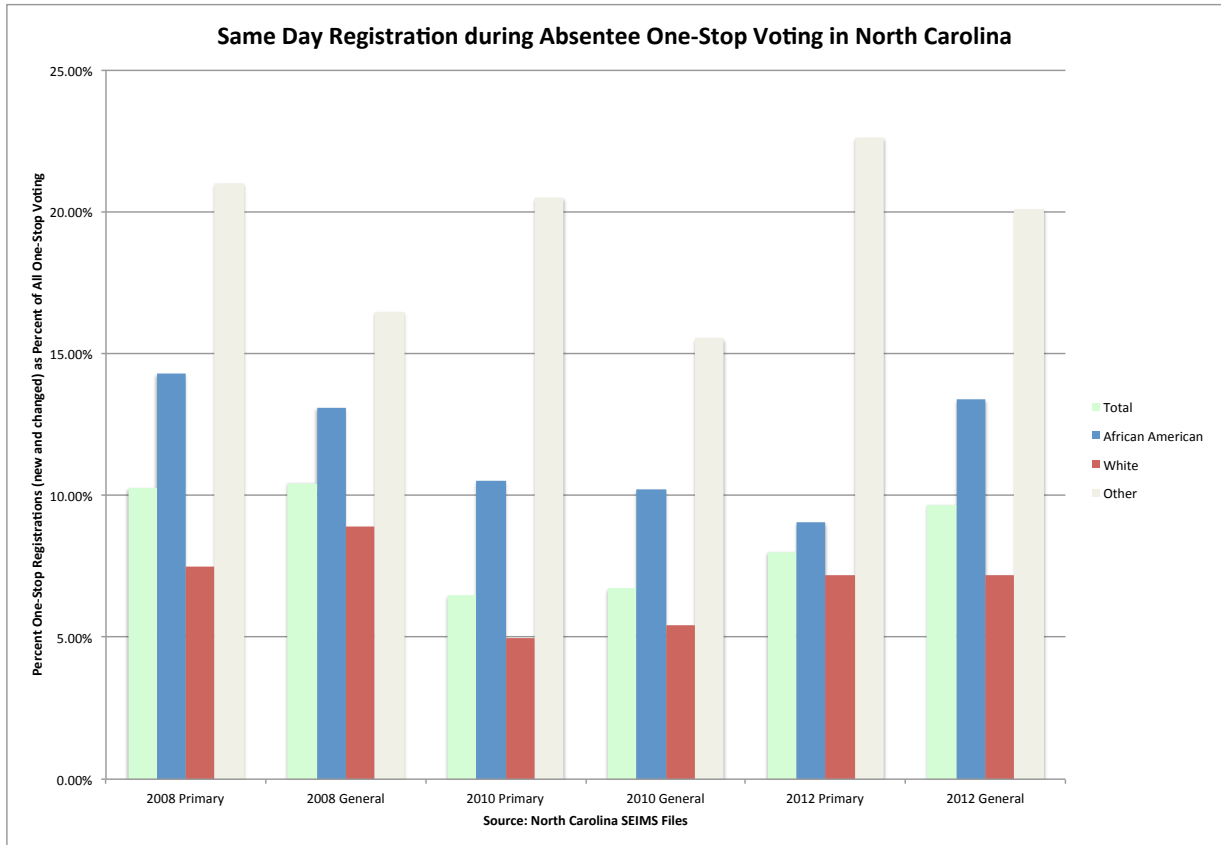
⁵⁴ Burden et al. 2014, *supra* note 25.

⁵⁵ Same-day registration was not available in North Carolina prior to 2008.

Exhibit Fourteen: Use of Same-Day Registration (New and Changed Registrations) in North Carolina, by Racial/Ethnic Groups, 2008-2012

Source: North Carolina Voter Registration, Voter History, and One-Stop Registration Files.

Election	EV - No SDR				EV - SDR				EV-Percentages			
	Total	African American	White	Other	Total	African American	White	Other	Total	African American	White	Other
2008 Primary	428,615	140,247	275,891	12,477	48,972	23,394	22,262	3,316	10.25%	14.30%	7.47%	21.00%
2008 General	2,168,522	600,554	1,481,119	86,849	252,684	90,603	144,938	17,143	10.44%	13.11%	8.91%	16.48%
2010 Primary	160,972	30,942	126,613	3,417	11,120	3,636	6,603	881	6.46%	10.52%	4.96%	20.50%
2010 General	845,576	175,650	650,020	19,906	60,918	20,013	37,243	3,662	6.72%	10.23%	5.42%	15.54%
2012 Primary	453,249	70,681	369,070	13,498	39,494	7,049	28,501	3,944	8.02%	9.07%	7.17%	22.61%
2012 General	2,306,908	638,957	1,559,669	108,282	246,895	98,701	120,989	27,205	9.67%	13.38%	7.20%	20.08%



47. There are even higher usage rates among individuals whose race is designated as “other.” Minority voters other than African Americans collectively utilized same-day registration at rates exceeding those of whites in each of the previous six federal elections, and at more than double the white rate in five of those elections. The largest differences were during the most recent midterm elections in 2010, in which other minority voters used same-day registration at three to five times the rate of white voters (20.5% to 4.96% during the 2010 primary; 15.54% to 5.42% during the general election).
48. Usage rates for new registrations during the one-stop voting period, shown in Exhibit Fifteen, are lower overall, but still significant, with over 90,000 voters taking advantage of this opportunity during each of the last two presidential general elections, and over 20,000 during the last midterm general election. Moreover, the same racial differences persist. African Americans registered as new voters during the one-stop period at rates higher than Whites in six of the seven elections under examination, and the differences range from 2.3 percentage points to .82 percentage points.
49. The picture changes dramatically when we examine changed registrations, shown in Exhibit Sixteen. African Americans took advantage of the option to change their registration at the same time they cast a ballot at 150% to 225% the rate of White voters. There are many possible reasons why African-American voters rely more on the option to change registration at the same time they cast a one-stop ballot, most likely a consequence of differences in mobility, occupational status, and income.
50. Given the sheer numbers, it is clear that tens of thousands of North Carolinians, and in particularly African Americans, will be substantially and negatively impacted if same-day registration is reduced or eliminated.

Exhibit Fifteen: Use of Same-Day Registration (New Registrations Only) in North Carolina, by Racial/Ethnic Groups, 2008-2012

Source: North Carolina Voter Registration, Voter History, and One-Stop Registration Files.

Election	EV - No SDR				EV - SDR (new)				EV-New SDR-Percentages			
	Total	African American	White	Other	Total	African American	White	Other	Total	African American	White	Other
2008 Primary	456,890	154,573	288,518	13,799	20,697	9,068	9,635	1,994	4.33%	5.54%	3.23%	12.63%
2008 General	2,316,819	654,133	1,568,519	94,167	104,387	37,024	57,538	9,825	4.31%	5.36%	3.54%	9.45%
2010 Primary	168,188	33,479	130,915	3,794	3,904	1,099	2,301	504	2.27%	3.18%	1.73%	11.73%
2010 General	885,244	190,149	673,514	21,581	21,250	5,514	13,749	1,987	2.34%	2.82%	2.00%	8.43%
2012 Primary	474,675	75,263	384,309	15,103	18,068	2,467	13,262	2,339	3.67%	3.17%	3.34%	13.41%
2012 General	2,459,147	707,373	1,632,506	119,268	94,656	30,285	48,152	16,219	3.71%	4.11%	2.87%	11.97%

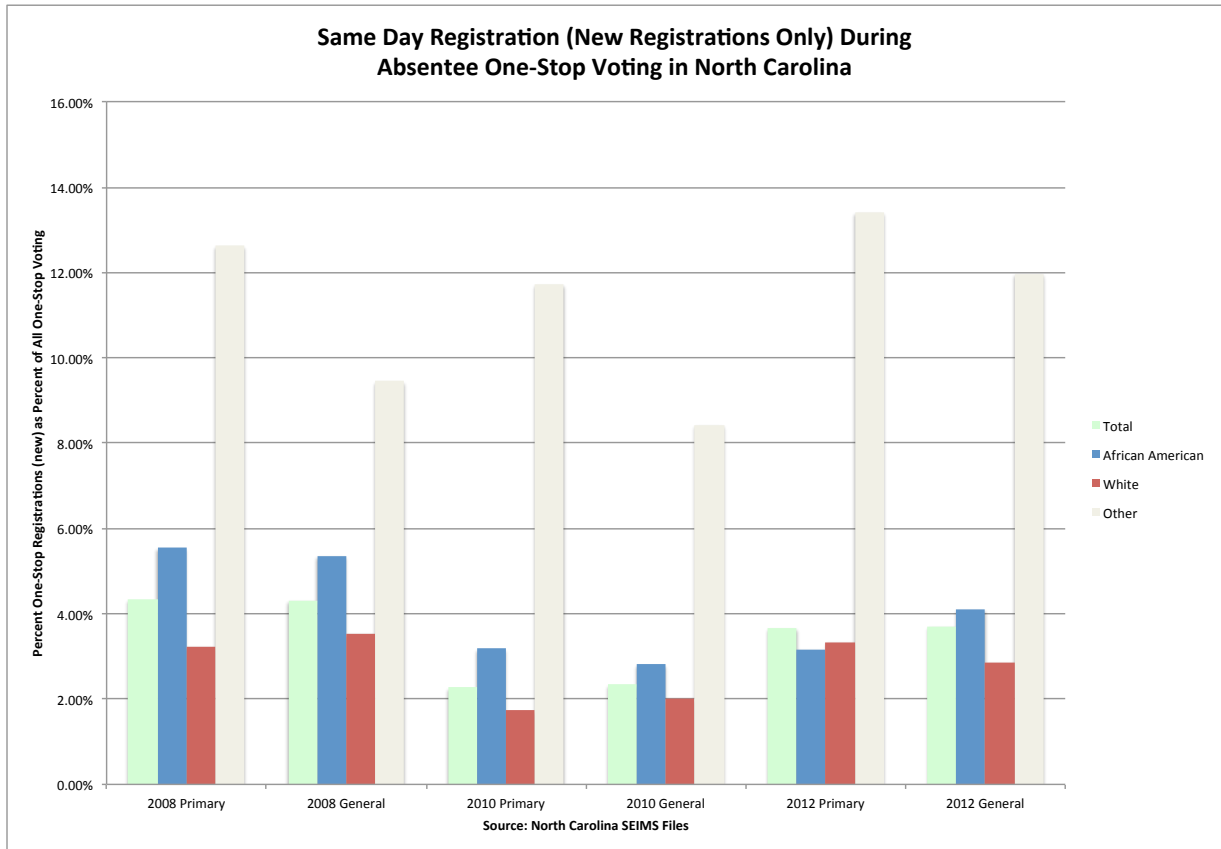
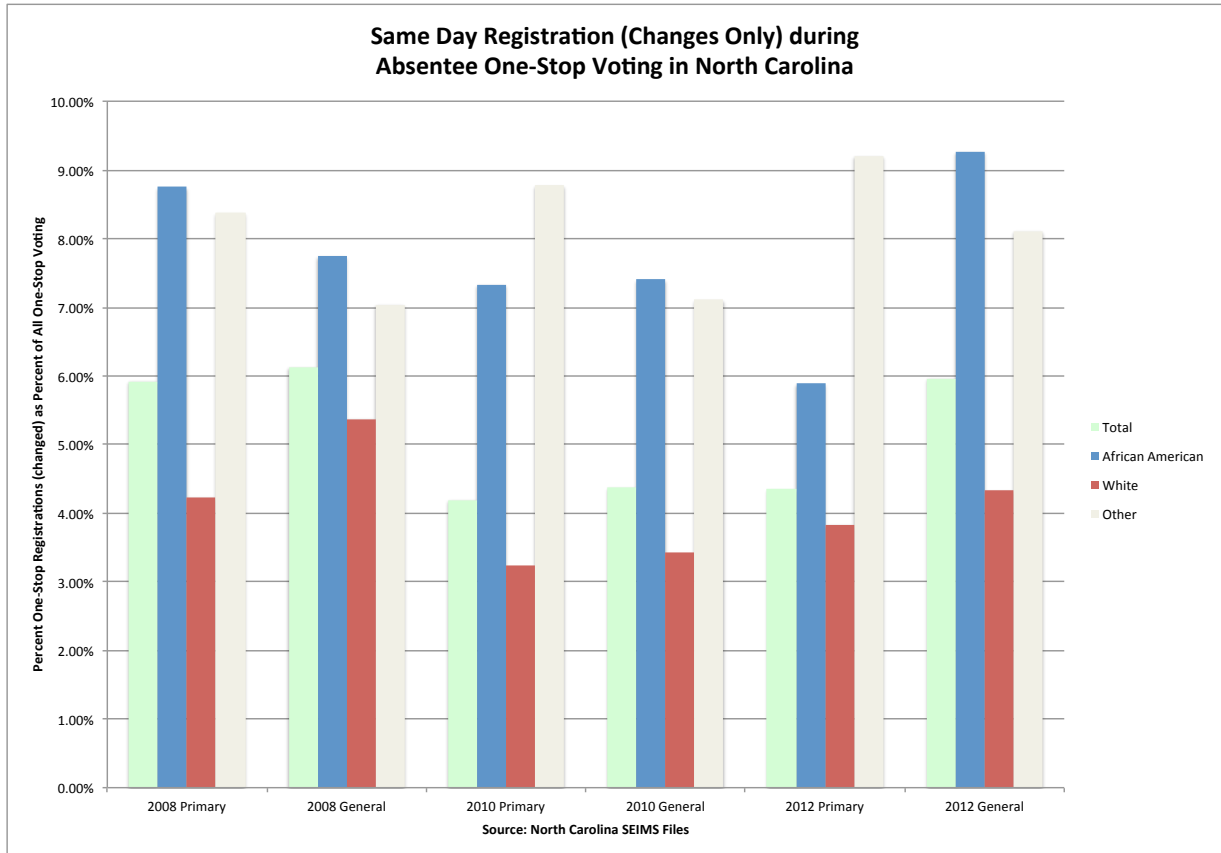


Exhibit Sixteen: Use of Same-Day Registration (Changed Registrations Only) in North Carolina, by Racial/Ethnic Groups, 2008-2012

Source: North Carolina Voter Registration, Voter History, and One-Stop Registration Files.

Election	EV - No SDR				EV - SDR (Changed Registration)				EV-Percentages			
	Total	African American	White	Other	Total	African American	White	Other	Total	African American	White	Other
2008 Primary	449,312	149,315	285,526	14,471	28,275	14,326	12,627	1,322	5.92%	8.75%	4.24%	8.37%
2008 General	2,272,909	637,578	1538657	96,674	148,297	53,579	87,400	7,318	6.12%	7.75%	5.37%	7.04%
2010 Primary	164,876	32,041	128,914	3,921	7,216	2,537	4,302	377	4.19%	7.34%	3.23%	8.77%
2010 General	866,826	181,164	663,769	21,893	39,668	14,499	23,494	1,675	4.38%	7.41%	3.42%	7.11%
2012 Primary	471,317	73,148	382,332	15,837	21,426	4,582	15,239	1,605	4.35%	5.89%	3.83%	9.20%
2012 General	2,401,564	669,242	1607821	124,501	152,239	68,416	72,837	10,986	5.96%	9.27%	4.33%	8.11%



IV. Conclusions

51. There is strong and consistent evidence that African-American voters in North Carolina prefer to cast an early in-person ballot at higher rates than White voters. The pattern is consistent across elections, and is stronger in Presidential elections than in midterm elections. My expert opinion is that the patterns that have been observed since 2006, and that were strengthened in 2008, have and will continue to persist. African Americans show a higher preference for one-stop absentee voting, and show a higher preference for voting during the first week of early voting, when compared to White voters. They have habituated to this mode of balloting. There is no reason not to expect these patterns to continue in the future.
52. I conclude from the analyses in this report that the changes to early in-person voting that I have reviewed—eliminating the first seven days of one-stop early voting—will have a differential and negative impact on the ability of African Americans to cast a ballot in North Carolina. I know of no empirical argument by which one could conclude that African-American voters—or any voters for that matter—will successfully adjust to 40% fewer early voting days, regardless of the possibility of longer hours on those days.
53. With respect to same-day registration during the early voting period, there is similarly strong evidence that minority voters show a higher preference for same-day registration when compared to White voters. There is no reason not to expect these patterns to continue in the future.
54. I conclude from the analysis in this report that, because same-day voter registration has been shown to be a strong and consistent predictor of higher turnout, the elimination of same-day registration during the election process, whether during one-stop voting or on Election Day, will lower turnout overall. In particular, I conclude that eliminating same-day registration will have a disparate impact on African-American voters because they take advantage of same-day registration at a significantly higher rate.
55. I reserve the right to amend or supplement my opinions if additional information or materials become available.

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

DATED this 14th Day of April, 2014

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Paul Gronke", written in a cursive style.

Paul Gronke, PhD

Additional Exhibits

Exhibit Seventeen: List and Combined Population of Florida Counties Maintaining Maximum Number of Early Voting Hours During the 2012 Election

County	Total Hours	2012 Population
Alachua	96	251,417
Bay	96	171,903
Broward	96	1,815,137
Charlotte	96	162,449
Citrus	96	139,360
Collier	96	332,427
Columbia	96	67,966
Duval	96	879,602
Escambia	96	302,715
Hardee	96	27,514
Hendry	96	37,447
Hillsborough	96	1,277,746
Lake	96	303,186
Lee	96	645,293
Leon	96	283,769
Miami-Dade	96	2,591,035
Monroe	96	74,809
Nassau	96	74,629
Okaloosa	96	190,083
Orange	96	1,202,234
Palm Beach	96	1,356,545
Pasco	96	470,391
Pinellas	96	921,319
Polk	96	616,158
Santa Rosa	96	158,512
Sarasota	96	386,147

Seminole	96	430,838
St. Johns	96	202,188
St. Lucie	96	283,866
Sumter	96	101,620
Volusia	96	496,950
Total 2012 population of counties maintaining 96 hours		16,255,255
Total 2012 Florida population		19,320,749
Percentage of state population living in counties maintaining 96 early voting hours		84.13%
<p>List of counties maintaining maximum early voting hours derived from Notice of County Early Voting Plans, Brown v. Detzner, No. 3:12-cv-00852 (M.D. Fla. Sept. 14, 2012), ECF No. 33.</p> <p>Population figures from Census QuickFacts, http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/12000.html.</p>		

Exhibit Eighteen: List and Combined Population of North Carolina Counties Requesting Reduced Number of Early Voting Hours

County	Required Hours	Hours Requested	% Reduced	Hours Granted By SBOE	2012 Population
Alleghany	113	103	8.85%	103	10,927
Bladen	305	272	10.82%	272	34,915
Brunswick	439.5	360	18.09%	360	112,257
Buncombe	848	566	33.25%	566	244,490
Caldwell	270	231	14.44%	231	81,930
Camden	113	82	27.43%	82	10,090
Cherokee	112	98	12.50%	98	26,992
Chowan	106.5	75.5	29.11%	75.5	14,772
Clay	125	91	27.20%	91	10,618
Craven	452	407	9.96%	407	104,770
Currituck	113	82	27.43%	82	24,077
Duplin	113	74	34.51%	74	60,033
Graham	104	85	18.27%	85	8,700
Granville	213	187.5	11.97%	187.5	60,436
Greene	113	80	29.20%	80	21,429
Henderson	411.5	366.5	10.94%	366.5	108,266
Hertford	106.5	90	15.49%		24,438
Hoke	191	94	50.79%	N/A	50,536
Hyde	110	95	13.64%		5,859
Jones	113	74	34.51%		10,275
Lee	226	186	17.70%		59,715
Martin	113	89.5	20.80%	89.5	23,961
McDowell	226	156	30.97%	156	44,998

Mitchell	230	168	26.96%	168	15,368
Onslow	113	75	33.63%	75	183,263
Pamlico	113	71	37.17%	74	13,074
Pasquotank	113	89	21.24%	89	40,591
Perquimans	113	75	33.63%	75	13,563
Sampson	141	96	31.91%	96	63,949
Stokes	182.5	140	23.29%	140	46,783
Surry	221.25	176	20.45%	176	73,561
Swain	226	172	23.89%	N/A	14,141
Swain (resubmit)	226	162	28.32%		
Tyrrell	100	74	26.00%	74	4,338
Vance	238	153	35.71%	N/A	45,132
Vance (resubmit)	238	153	35.71%		
Warren	205.5	101.5	50.61%	101.5	20,576
Washington	106.5	86	19.25%	86	12,736
Wilkes	154	71.5	53.57%	71.5	69,306
Yadkin	113	110	2.65%	110	38,084
Yancey	106.5	87.5	17.84%	87.5	17,630
Total population of counties requesting reduced early voting hours					1,826,579
Total 2012 North Carolina population					9,748,364
Percentage of North Carolina population living in counties requesting reduced early voting hours					18.74%
<p style="text-align: center;">Population figures from Census QuickFacts, http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/37000.html.</p>					
<p style="text-align: center;">All other figures from North Carolina State Board of Elections FTP site, ftp://www.app.sboe.state.nc.us/</p>					

Exhibit Nineteen: Statistical Significance Calculations

Exhibit 10

Election	Black One Stop		White One Stop		Z-Statistic	P-value
	Voters	All Black Voters	Voters	All White Voters		
2006 General	41,568	318,271	339,577	1,662,424	-96.5759	P<.01
2008 Primary	163,641	588,918	298,153	1,471,398	117.0023	P<.01
2008 General	691,157	975,413	1,626,057	3,191,314	346.2848	P<.01
2010 Primary	34,578	151,608	133,216	708,049	35.6084	P<.01
2010 General	195,663	543,590	687,263	2,075,138	39.924	P<.01
2012 Primary	77,730	347,780	397,571	1,760,320	-3.0281	P<.01
2012 General	737,658	1,046,424	1,680,658	3,240,324	334.0737	P<.01

Note: Z-statistic is calculated at a 0.01 significance level and with a two-tailed hypothesis.

Exhibit 12

Election	First Week Black	All Black Early	First Week White	All White Early	Z-Statistic	P-value
	One Stop Voters	Voters	One Stop Voters	Voters		
2006 General	8,058	38,482	84,586	327,207	-20.9538	P<.01
2008 Primary	26,160	161,611	54,213	296,598	-17.7849	P<.01
2008 General	223,976	685,195	451,294	1,620,288	73.7292	P<.01
2010 Primary	10,341	34,459	35,404	132,988	12.5768	P<.01
2010 General	36,394	194,530	166,160	685,637	-51.1034	P<.01
2012 Primary	15,461	77,650	76,357	397,384	4.4937	P<.01
2012 General	296,093	738,521	561,653	1,682,063	100.3758	P<.01

Note: Z-statistic is calculated at a 0.01 significance level and with a two-tailed hypothesis.

Exhibit 13

Election	First Week Black	All Black Voters	First Week White	All White Voters	Z-Statistic	P-value
	One Stop Voters		One Stop Voters			
2006 General	8,058	318,271	84,586	1,662,424	-62.5714	P<.01
2008 Primary	26,160	588,918	54,213	1,471,398	25.3753	P<.01
2008 General	223,976	975,413	451,294	3,191,314	206.8925	P<.01
2010 Primary	10,341	151,608	35,404	708,049	28.6632	P<.01
2010 General	36,394	543,590	166,160	2,075,138	-32.2347	P<.01
2012 Primary	15,461	347,780	76,357	1,760,320	2.8502	P=.00438
2012 General	296,093	1,046,424	561,653	3,240,324	243.7008	P<.01

Note: The Z-statistic is calculated at a 0.01 significance level and with a two-tailed hypothesis.

Exhibit Twenty: Data Acquisition Report

Data Acquisition and Preparation

The data used in the expert witness report were provided by the State Board of Elections of the State of North Carolina and by absentee voting data downloaded from the State of North Carolina Board of Elections website (<http://www.ncsbe.gov/ncsbe/absentee-data>). The reason for relying on a second source of data from the state is because the original data provided by the state was incomplete; the voter history file produced by the state did not include the date that the “one-stop” ballot was cast.

Preparing the Data for Statistical Analysis

The data files obtained from the SBOE were numerous and some were very large. For the analysis in this expert report, a number of different types of files were used. All files were “tab delimited” files and the files used in this report were examined for and did not display serious anomalous features such as stray carriage returns or end of line characters that could otherwise introduce errors.

1. Lookup Files

A number of files began with the string “lk_” and inspection of these files indicated that these were “lookup tables” extracted from a SQL database and that would allow a user to match data codes to data values.

For example, lk_race.txt is a file that contains the following information, repeated for all 100 North Carolina counties:

ID	Label	Description
1	B	BLACK or AFRICAN AMERICAN
2	I	INDIAN AMERICAN or ALASKA NATIVE
3	O	OTHER
4	W	WHITE
5	U	UNDESIGNATED
6	A	ASIAN
7	M	TWO or MORE RACES

This file displays a “label” that is included in the SBOE statewide voter registration system (SEIMS) that indicates the racial identification of the registrant. In the SEIMS file (see below), this data field is indicated as “race,” and the longer description is indicated by “race_desc.”

The most important lookup table used by this expert was “lk_vh_election.txt,” a file that associated County IDs and Election IDs with specific election dates. The voter history file (see below) does not include election dates. The “election id” variable included in the voter history file is not unique across each election, but uniquely identifies election/county matches. Thus, for example, if Wake County, NC holds 10 elections in a year and Cabarrus County, NC holds only 5, then Wake County’s “election_id” variable will be incremented 10 times that year while Cabarrus’s will be incremented only 5 times.

2. Voter Snapshots

The voter snapshots correspond to the “close of book” status of the statewide voter registration system immediately prior to an election. This file contains information about which citizens were eligible to vote (“active”) in an election and which citizens had been ruled inactive or ineligible, or were for some reason removed from the rolls.

These files contain date identifiers in the name. For example, “voter_snapshot_20121106.txt” is the SEIMS voter snapshot corresponding to the November 6, 2012 federal election.

The voter snapshots are used to obtain racial, ethnic, and age information for each voter.

The voter snapshots are linked to the voter history files by two “key” values: “county_id” and “voter_reg_num.” According to the NC SBOE, voter registration numbers (voter_reg_num) are not issued statewide, but are unique within each county, and are not recycled.

It is possible for an individual voter to have two voter registration numbers, if for example a voter got married, changed their last name, and re-registered to vote. It should not be possible for a voter to have two registration numbers in the same election, however.

3. Voter History

The NC SBOE included a voter history file that provides information on citizen voting behavior, including whether they voted in an election and by what method or mode they voted.

The key identifiers to match SEIMS (voter registration) to this file are “county_id” and “voter_reg_num.”

The key identifiers to match the date of the election to this file are “county_id” and “election_id” (as noted above, “election_id” in this file corresponds to “id” in the “lk_vh_election.txt” file).

File Processing Steps

First, LK_VH_ELECTION.TXT was read into a statistical program (Stata 13) as a tab delimited file. There were 2,860 records in this file.

Second, VOTER_HISTORY_20140127.TXT was read into a statistical program as a tab delimited file. The total number of records reported by Stata was 57,195,193.

Third, VOTER_SNAPSHOT_20121106 was read into a statistical program, but due to the size of the file, it was read in four parts. The final file had 11,352,661 records.

Because of the large size of these files, and to validate the accuracy of the file analysis, the two large files were also evaluated in three additional ways.

Each file was analyzed using a command line utility, “wc,” that counts the number of lines in a file. The precise command is:

```
wc -l FILENAME
```

Each data file included variable names in line 1; therefore, the result from the “wc” command should be equal to the number of cases imported into Stata plus 1.

Second, each file was opened in a text editor called VIM that can open files of nearly any size. The line count was obtained from VIM.

Third, each file was read into a MySQL database using a program called Navicat. MySQL is a program that is used to manage large relational databases such as the SEIMS (and in fact, the data dumps provided by the state were created using MySQL, as documented in “Data Dictionary SEIMS.xlsx” and “DMV Research - Lewis Req - 1.sql”).

The number of cases matched precisely the number of cases reported by Stata, assuring me that Stata is an appropriate program with which to analyze these data. Initial analyses (e.g., number of valid ballots in each election, by race) were replicated using MySQL.

Fourth, the Voter History file was matched with the LH_VH_Election file by the keys “election_id”=“id” and “county_id”=“id”. There were 57,195,793 successful matches and 525 failed matches. All failed matches came from the LH_VH_Election file, and resulted from “Legacy” records in the file—mainly blank records that did not correspond to any real elections. This procedure added correct election dates to the voter history file.

This step was validated in MySQL using the following query:

```
SELECT *
FROM lk_vh_election, voter_history_20140127
WHERE
    lk_vh_election.countyid=voter_history_20140127.countyid
AND lk_vh_election.id=voter_history_20140127.election_id;
```

and the number of matches was identical to that reported by Stata.

Fifth, because we were interested in examining recent elections, and to make the data file more manageable; all records with an election date prior to 1/1/2004 were dropped. This constituted 28,808,801 records removed, and the resulting dataset has 28,387,087 records. This file was matched with the Voter Snapshot file using the keys “county_id”=“county_id” and “voter_reg_num”=“voter_reg_num.” The results of the matching procedure is reported below:

Match Results for Voter History Post Jan 1, 2004	
Match Result	Number of Observations
Successful matches	28,351,003
Not matched: voter registration record but no voter history record	4,784,207
Not matched: voter history record but no voter registration record	36,514

There were 28,351,003 matches. The second row, listing non-matched records, represents citizens with a voter registration record but who did not vote in one of the elections in the voter history file. This is not unusual.

There were 36,514 records that did have a voter history but did not match the snapshot. No voter who cast a ballot (and thus has an entry in the voter history file) should fail to have a valid voter registration record. These may be a result of a data entry error for the combined values of county_id and voter_reg_num, but regardless, they constitute just over 1/100th of a percent (0.127% or .00127) of the voter history records, such that this anomaly does not affect the substance of the analysis in this report.

There is a higher proportion of failed matches (9,986 of 4,545,180 records, or 0.22%) for the 2012 general election data than in previous elections, where the percentage of failed matches averages .0005 or .05%. Further examination of these 2012 non-matches shows they fall into the following categories:

Failed Matches in for the November 2012 Voter History Records

Ballot type	ABS-1STOP	ABS-MAIL	ABSE NTEE	CURBS IDE	IN-PERSON	PROV	TRANSFER
N of non-matches	4,915	250	0	10	1,466	3,330	15
N of matches	2,553,803	218,344	8	9,101	1,721,519	19,959	12,460

One-stop and provisional ballots constituted 83% of the non-matches. It is not clear why there is a higher error rate in 2012 than in previous years with these records. It is likely that the “snapshot” file does not reflect final changes to the voter registration system that may have been made during the 2012 election period, but does reflect some post-election data cleaning that occurred after the previous elections. There are no other patterns apparent in the failed matches.

Once again, this procedure was replicated in MySQL and the number of successful and unsuccessful matches was identical.

Finally, for the purposes of this report, I focused only on elections from the 2006 General forward. The reason for this was that in the May 2006 primary election and in earlier elections, the one-stop totals obtained from the voter history file were not reliable and did not agree, even within a 1-2% margin, with data files obtained from the state’s official website.

For example, in the May 2006 election, results from the voter history file indicated that there were 3,394 one-stop ballots cast, a total that would constitute just 0.26% of all ballots cast. The May 2006 absentee ballot file, downloaded from the state’s FTP website, showed 68,686 one-stop ballots that same election. Additional gross disparities appeared between the voter history file and the FTP files from the SBOE website in the November and May 2004 elections.

Data Sources to Analyze One-Stop Voting During the First Seven Days

The analysis of voting patterns during the first week of one-stop voting relies on a dataset downloaded from the SBOE website. Even though the date that the one-stop ballot was cast is captured by voting machines (and in the case of by-mail ballots, by ballot scanners), this information was not included in the voter history file produced by the state. It is, however, included on files stored at the SBOE website (<http://www.ncsbe.gov/ncsbe/absentee-data>), which is why I relied on this dataset for this portion of my analysis.

These data are formatted in the same fashion as the files described above, and the file include all the pertinent information (the date of election, the county ID, the voter's registration number, the voter's race, the type of ballot cast, whether the ballot was accepted or not, the date the ballot was requested, and the date the ballot was returned.

One-stop votes were identified by a ballot type of "ONE-STOP" or "ONE STOP," depending on the year.

Only ballots with a final status of "ACCEPTED" were analyzed. A data check confirmed that for all one-stop ballots, the date that the ballot was "requested" and the date the ballot was "returned" were identical, as would be expected for one-stop in-person votes.

Numerous data checks were conducted to confirm that the voting totals produced from these files did not deviate significantly from the voting totals produced from the voter history files produced by the state. There were small deviations that are inexplicable, given that the files were presumably produced from the same SEIMS database.

However, the deviations were extremely small. The table below compares the reported number of absentee one-stop voters in Alamance and Wake Counties, and statewide, for the 2012 election from three sources.

The first source, the "FTP Absentee Files" are the absentee ballot files downloaded from the source listed above. The second source, the "FTP Data Voter History File," is a file described as a "statewide voter history file" that can be downloaded from the state's website (<ftp://alt.ncsbe.gov/data/>) (The race of the voter was not included in this file, and I chose not to match it with the voter registration file contained on the FTP site because this would have created a whole new set of matching anomalies.) The third is the voter history file provided to me on an encrypted drive. All three sources vary in small degrees as the total number of one-stop voters. In no case do the deviations between these sources exceed $1/10^{\text{th}}$ of one percent.

Deviations in 2012 One-Stop Totals Calculated Using Different NC Data Sources

		FTP Absentee Voter File	FTP Voter History File	SEIMS Voter History Data
Alamance County	All	35,260	35,341	35,307
	African-American	9,184	(NA)	9,093
	White	24,454	(NA)	24,276
Wake County	All	260,726	260,697	261,238
	African-American	69,728	(NA)	69,700
	White	162,002	(NA)	161,913
Full State	All	2,556,228	2,556,154	2,558,718
	African-American	738,521	(NA)	737,658
	White	1,682,063	(NA)	1,680,658

In all circumstances but one, comparisons were made within a single data source. For example, when calculating the rate of voting during the first week of early voting, the percentages calculated were created by dividing the number of one-stop ballots cast in the first week by the total number of one-stop ballots, reported in the FTP absentee voter file.

The one case in which this report uses numbers from two different sources is in Exhibit Thirteen. In this Exhibit, I calculated the percent of ballots cast during the first week as a percentage of all ballots cast. The denominator for this calculation (total turnout) had to be taken from the SEIMS files because this number was not contained in the absentee ballot FTP files.

Data Sources to Analyze Same-Day Registration During One-Stop Voting

The analysis of same-day registrations during one-stop voting relied on a file provided by the State of North Carolina SBOE titled “voter_history_one_stop.txt.” Visual inspection of this file revealed that it only contained records of same-day registrations during one-stop voting. All records included the type of same-day registration, the election id, the county id, and the voter registration number.

Using these keys, this file was first matched with the election date lookup file (lk_vh_election) to associate election dates with election_id and county_id. All records were successfully matched (688,651 records). The resultant file was then matched with the voter history file using the two keys county_id and voter_reg_num, and 685,570 records, or 99.55% of the total records, were successfully matched, allowing same-day registrations to be counted for all one-stop voters and broken down by race.

Exhibit Twenty-One: Curriculum Vitae

[INSERT HERE]

Paul Gronke

3203 SE Woodstock, Blvd., Eliot 424
Portland, OR 97202
(503) 517-7393
gronke@reed.edu

EDUCATION

- UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN** Ann Arbor, MI
Doctorate of Philosophy, Political Science December 1993
- UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX** Essex, UK
Master of Arts, Western European Politics June 1984
- UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO** Chicago, IL
Bachelor of Arts, Political Science, with honors June 1982

EMPLOYMENT

- REED COLLEGE** Portland, OR
Professor of Political Science January 2001 – Present
- Teach introductory and upper-level classes focusing on American politics, including political behavior, political institutions and political research methods.
 - Publish peer-reviewed articles, book chapters, and research reports including pieces in the *Journal of Politics*, *Annual Review of Political Science*, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, and *Legislative Studies Quarterly*.
 - Research support from foundations, contracts, consultancies and internal competitive grants.
 - Granted tenure in 2004; promoted to full professor in 2008.

- PEW CHARITABLE TRUSTS** Portland, OR
Consultant, Elections Initiatives of the Pew Center on the States September 2007 – November 2011
- Provided empirical analysis and write reports for ongoing projects pertaining to election integrity and equity.
 - Consulted on strategic initiatives, review grant proposals, provide methodological and substantive quality control review.
 - Helped organize gatherings and conferences, manage inquiries from media and other stakeholders.

- DUKE UNIVERSITY** Durham, NC
Assistant Professor of Political Science September 1991 – December 2000
- Taught undergraduate and graduate classes focusing on American politics, including public opinion, legislative behavior, political parties, and graduate statistical methods (first course). Received campus-wide teaching award in 1996.
 - Published a university press book, peer-reviewed articles, and book chapters.
 - Received research support from the National Science Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and internal grants.
 - Instructor from September 1991-August 1993; Assistant Professor from September 1993-December 2000.

ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

- DEPARTMENT CHAIR** Reed College
Department of Political Science 2001-2004; 2005-2007; 2009-2010, 2012-2014
- Responsible for curricular planning, committee assignments, student progress toward degree, staff hiring and supervision, and other departmental governance for a five-member department and 30-40 majors (juniors and seniors).
 - Successfully expanded faculty from 4 to 7 members; worked with department and college to update and reform department requirements and curriculum; doubled departmental majors and expanded class enrollments.

- Budgetary planning and management of a \$23,000 department budget and seven endowed funds with annual income exceeding \$70,000.
- With Economics Department, responsible for campus-wide student-faculty summer research program, 3-5 awards each summer.

FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR

Reed College

Early Voting Information Center

2005-present

- Established a non-partisan center conducting research into and disseminating information about early in-person and absentee balloting.
- Manage public outreach, recruit and supervise 2-4 staff members (undergraduate and post-baccalaureate researchers), manage budgets, work to attract continuing external support.
- Received \$530,000 in external support since 2005.

EDITOR

Election Law Journal

2010-present

- Responsible for reviewing incoming articles, hire and supervise an editorial assistant to assign reviewers and meet deadlines, and evaluating reviews and articles for acceptance or rejection.
- First social scientist chosen to co-edit the only peer-reviewed interdisciplinary journal covering election law, election administration, and election policy.
- Co-editor 2010-2013, primary editor 2014-present.

DIRECTOR

Reed College

Public Policy Lecture Series

2001-2006, 2008-2011, 2012-14

- Created a campus wide lecture series to bring nationally and internationally recognized speakers on domestic and international affairs to campus. Identify important areas of public and campus concern; identify potential speakers; and collaborate on public outreach.
- Empowered students by creating a student coordinating committee; continue to work with student committee to manage series; create student-run events with each speaker.
- Manage \$20,000 annual lecture series budget; hire and manage part-time lecture coordinator.

DIRECTOR

Reed College

Public Policy Workshop

2001-02, 2005-present

- Maintain a divisional student research and thesis writing workspace (6 workstations, group meeting space, computer projection).
- Responsible for hiring and supervising part-time facility manager, coordinating with divisional members to assure identifying new computational and statistical needs for students and faculty, and assuring continuing support from the College.

OTHER GOVERNANCE ACTIVITIES

MEMBER

Foundation Curriculum Working Group, Reed College Strategic Planning

2013-2014

- Responsible for analyzing materials, soliciting community feedback, and writing a working group report about Reed's first year curriculum as part of the College wide strategic planning process.
- Selected by Dean of the Faculty.

MEMBER

Dean of the College Search Committee, Reed College

2009-2010

- Responsible for working with President and committee to write a job description, identify candidates, evaluate nominations, and build consensus among the President, Committee on Advancement and Tenure, and the campus community to select a candidate.

- Selected as committee secretary.
- Chosen for membership by Committee on Advancement and Tenure and President of the College.

MEMBER

Committee on Academic Policy and Planning, Reed College 2006-2007

- Elected as member of the primary faculty governance committee.
- Responsible for long-range strategic planning, reviewing major college curricular initiatives and monitoring ongoing curricular matters, overseeing and reviewing departmental self-evaluations, and allocating tenure track and visiting faculty positions.

MEMBER

Ad Hoc Committee on Environmental Studies, Reed College 2004-2006

- Responsible for evaluating the feasibility of a major new interdisciplinary program.
- Worked with external review committee to evaluate program proposal and review recommendations.
- Helped build campus consensus for a new program, which successfully passed faculty in 2008.

GRANTS, CONTRACTS, AND CONSULTANCIES

EXTERNAL COMPETITIVE GRANTS

Federal Voting Assistance Program. "Trend Analysis in UOCAVA Voting." September 2012-August 2013. \$90,000.

Pew Charitable Trusts. "Diagnosing Residual Voting: A Comprehensive Approach." October 2007-August 2009. \$137,000. With Kimball Brace and Charles Stewart.

Carnegie Foundation of New York. "Extending the Election Day Survey." June-December, 2006. \$17,000. (Matching funds from AEI/Brookings Election Reform Project: \$4000).

Mellon Foundation, Summer Faculty Research Grant, "The Early Voting Information Center." Summer 2005. \$8000.

Mellon Foundation: Summer Teaching Conference "Integrating Quantitative Methods in Social Science Classes." Summer 2005. \$12,000.

National Science Foundation Research Experiences for Undergraduates (REU) Program Award, \$5000, July 1999-June 2000.

National Science Foundation. "Consensus, Volatility, and Uncertainty in Presidential Approval." May 1, 1998-April 20, 2000. \$20,000.

"Governing a Volatile Public." Howard Foundation Fellowship (December, 1996). Awarded honorable mention.

Ford Foundation Course Development Grant, "The Internet and Political Participation," Spring 2000 (\$5000).

Ford Foundation Grants for Undergraduate Mentoring in Political Science (1998-2000, \$3000, with Carrie Liken; 1996-1998, \$3000, with Kelly Jade Davis)

CONSULTANT AND CONTRACT WORK

Federal Voting Assistance Program. "Survey Validation Study Contract HHSP233201200040C." Subcontractor for SBG Technology Solutions.

Expert Witness on Early Voting in *State of Florida vs. The United States of America et al.* Civil Action No. 11-1428. Summer 2012.

Pew Center on the States, Elections Initiatives. "WEVOTE: A Web-Based Early Voting Optimization Tool." Awarded to Reed College and EVIC. Oct. 2010-March 2011. \$84,000.

Maryland Department of Legislative Services. Maryland Voting Systems Study. Subcontractor to the Research Triangle Institute. August 2010-December 2010. \$6500.

Pew Center on the States, Election Initiatives. Academic Consultant and Policy Advisor. Awarded to the Reed Institute and EVIC. September 2009-August 2010. \$130,290.

State of Oregon, Division of Elections. Implementation of Redistricting Utilizing the Oregon Centralized Voter Registration System (RFP #165-1045-09). Paul Gronke and EVIC were academic consultants to the Gartrell Group, Inc. (Primary contractor). October 2009-June 2010. \$25,000.

- Pew Charitable Trusts. Quality Control and Validation Process. Reed Institute and EVIC. June 2009–August 2009. \$36,900.
- Pew Charitable Trusts. Consultant and Policy Advisor to the Elections Initiative of the Pew Center on the States. Awarded to the Reed Institute and the Early Voting Information Center. September 2007–August 2009. \$206,000.
- Election Assistance Commission. The 2008 election administration and voting survey. EVIC was a subcontractor to the Research Triangle Institute. \$32,500.
- Election Assistance Commission. The 2006 election administration and voting survey data.” Contract No. 1406-04-07-PO-67699. May–September 2007. \$186,825 total award; subcontract to Paul Gronke/EVIC for \$40,000.

INTERNAL COMPETITIVE GRANTS

- Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. “The Noisy Reaction: How Reductions in Early Voting Opportunities Impacts Citizen Enfranchisement.” With Jacob Canter, Summer 2013.
- Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. “American Anti-Muslim Attitudes.” With Rebecca Traber, Summer 2011.
- Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. “The Data for Democracy Report.” With Bailey Schreiber, Summer 2008 (\$10,000).
- Michael and Carole Levine Foundation. “Early Voting Reforms in America.” \$10,500. 2007-08.
- Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. “Trust but Verify collaborative writing project.” With Avery Ucker, Summer 2006 (\$10,000).
- Michael Levine Fund for Faculty Research, \$8,000 (2003-4).
- Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. “Voting Early, Voting Smart? America’s Experience with Early Voting.” With Peter Miller. Summer 2004 (\$10,000).
- Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant: “Building a Cross-Sectional Time Series Dataset for Presidential Approval Research.” With Joshua Simon. Summer 2003 (\$10,000).
- Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. “Disdaining the News: Changing Public Attitudes Towards the News Media.” With Aaron Rabiuff. Summer 2002 (\$9,000).
- Stillman-Drake Summer Research Grant. “Presidential Honeymoons: A Motivational Approach.” Summer 2001 (\$1,200).
- Center for Instructional Technology Course Development Grant, Spring 2000. “The Internet, Public Policy, and Political Participation.” \$2,000. Awarded for web based course development for a series of public policy and political science undergraduate courses.
- Instrumentation Grant, 1998-9 (\$6000).
- Arts and Sciences Research Council Grant, 1999-2000 (\$2,000), 1998-9 (\$2,000). 1997-8 (\$2,500). Additional Council grants awarded in 1994, 1995, 1996.

HONORS, AWARDS, AND FELLOWSHIPS

- Competitive Paid Leave Award, Reed College, Spring 2008 (leave for one semester)
- Competitive Paid Leave Award, Reed College, Fall 2004 (leave for one semester)
- Nominee, Eliza and Joan Gardner Howard Fellowship, 2003-4
- Fellow, Joan Shorenstein Center for Press and Politics, Harvard University, Spring 2001 (declined)
- Richard K. Lublin Distinguished Award for Teaching Excellence, 1995-6
- Nominee, Duke University Alumni Distinguished Teaching Award, 1999
- Nominee, Rowman-Littlefield Award for Innovative Teaching, 1996-7, 1997-8
- Horace H. Rackham Dissertation Fellowship, 1990
- Gerald R. Ford Dissertation Fellowship, 1989-1990

Horace H. Rackham Predoctoral Dissertation Fellowship, 1988-1989
National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship, 1983-1986
Phi Beta Kappa

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

Gronke, Paul. 2000. *Settings, Campaigns, Institutions, and the Vote: A Unified Approach to House and Senate Elections*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

ARTICLES IN REFEREED JOURNALS

- Gronke, Paul and Peter Miller. 2012. "Voting by Mail and Turnout in Oregon: Revisiting Southwell and Burchett." *American Politics Research*. 40(6): 976-997.
- Gronke, Paul. 2012. "When and How to Teach Election Law in the Undergraduate Classroom." *St. Louis Law Review* 56(3): 735-746.
- Gronke, Paul and Darius Rejali. 2010. "U.S. Public Opinion on Torture, 2001-2009." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 43:437-444.
- Gronke, Paul. 2008. "Early Voting Reforms and American Elections." *William and Mary Law Review*. 17(2): 423-451.
- Gronke, Paul, Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum and Peter Miller. 2008. "Convenience Voting." *Annual Review of Political Science*. Volume 11: 437-455.
- Gronke, Paul and Daniel Krantz Toffey. 2008. "The Psychological and Institutional Determinants of Early Voting." *Journal of Social Issues*. 64(3): 503-524.
- Gronke, Paul, Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum, and Peter Miller. 2007. "Early Voting and Turnout." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 40(4): 639-645.
- Gronke, Paul and Timothy E. Cook. 2007. "Disdaining the Media? Americans' Changing Attitudes Toward the News." *Political Communication*. 24(3): 259-281.
- Cook, Timothy E. and Paul Gronke. 2005. "The Skeptical American: Revisiting the Meanings of Trust in Government and Confidence in Institutions." *Journal of Politics*. 67(3).
- Gronke, Paul and Brian Newman. 2003. "From FDR to Clinton, from Mueller to ?? A Field Essay on Presidential Approval." *Political Research Quarterly*. 56(4): 501-12.
- Gronke, Paul, Jeffrey Koch, and J. Matthew Wilson. 2003. "Follow the Leader? Presidential Approval, Perceived Presidential Support, and Representatives' Electoral Fortunes." *Journal of Politics* 65(3): 785-808.
- Gronke, Paul and John Brehm. 2002. "History, Heterogeneity, and Presidential Approval." *Electoral Studies* 21:425-452
- J. Matthew Wilson and Paul Gronke. 2000. "Concordance and Projection of Representative's Roll Call Votes." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. XXV: 445-67.
- Gronke, Paul and J. Matthew Wilson. 1999. "Competing Redistricting Plans as Evidence of Political Motives: The North Carolina Case." *American Politics Quarterly*, 27: 2 (April) 147-176.
- Alvarez, R. Michael and Paul Gronke. 1996. "Constituents and Legislators: Learning About the Gulf War Resolution." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, February, 1996: p. 105-128.
- Gronke, Paul. 1992. "Overreporting the Vote in the 1988 Senate Election Study: A Response to Wright." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, February, 1992: p. 113-129.
- Kinder, D.R., G. Adams, and P. Gronke. 1989. "Economics and Politics in 1984." *American Journal of Political Science*, 33: 491-515.
- Page, B.I., R.Y. Shapiro, P. Gronke, and R. Rosenberg. 1985. "Constituency, Party, and Representation in Congress." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 48: 741-756.

BOOK CHAPTERS

- Gronke, Paul. 2014. "Voter Confidence as a Metric of Election Performance." In Barry Burden and Charles Stewart III (eds), *Measure of American Elections*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Forthcoming.
- Gronke, Paul. 2014. "Early Voting After *Bush v. Gore*." In R. Michael Alvarez and Bernard Grofman (ed), *Election*

Administration in the United States A Decade After Bush v. Gore. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Gronke, Paul. 2012. "Early Voting: The Quiet Revolution in American Elections." In Matthew Streb (ed), *Law and Election Politics: The Rules of the Game*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Gronke, Paul, James Hicks, and Timothy E. Cook. 2009. "Trust in Government and in Social Institutions." In Norrander and Wilcox (eds), *Understanding Public Opinion*. Washington DC: CQ Press.
- Gronke, Paul and Brian Newman. 2009. "Public Evaluations of Presidents." In George Edwards III and William Howell (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency*, pp. 232-253. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gronke, Paul, Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum, and Peter A. Miller. 2008. "From Ballot Box to Mail Box: Early Voting and Turnout." In Cain, Tolbert, and Donovan (eds), *Democracy in the States: Experiments in Elections Reform*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institute Press.
- Gronke, Paul and Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum. 2008. "The Growth of Early and Non-Precinct Place Balloting: When, Why, and Prospects for the Future." In Ben Griffith (ed), *America Votes! A Guide to Election Law and Voting Rights*. Cleveland, OH: Lachina Publishing.
- Gronke, Paul. 2006. "Public Opinion" and "The Election Campaign." In *World Book Encyclopedia*. Chicago, IL: World Book Publishing.
- Feaver, Peter D., Paul Gronke, and David Filer. 2004. "The Reserves and The Guard: Standing in the Civil-Military Gap Before and After 9/11." In *Reserve Component Contributions to the All Volunteer Army*. Washington, DC: National Defense University.
- Gronke, Paul. 2003. "Politics." In Bigdoli, Hossein (ed), *The Internet Encyclopedia*. New York: John Wiley. (Peer reviewed contribution)
- Gronke, Paul. 2003. "The Election Campaign." In *World Book Encyclopedia*. Chicago, IL: World Book Publishing.
- Gronke, Paul and Peter D. Feaver. 2001. "Uncertain Confidence: Civilian and Military Attitudes about Civil-Military Relations." In Richard Kohn and Peter D. Feaver, *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

POLICY REPORTS (PRIMARY AUTHOR OR CO-AUTHOR)

- "Survey Validation Study." August 15, 2013. With Lonna Atkeson and Michael McDonald. Report prepared for the Federal Voting Assistance Program, Washington DC.
- "Residual Voting in Florida." October 2010. Washington, DC: The Pew Charitable Trusts. Available online at http://www.pewcenteronthestates.org/uploadedFiles/Florida_Residual_Vote_report.pdf?n=3568.
- "Data For Democracy: Improving Elections Through Metrics and Measurements." November, 2008. Washington, DC: The Pew Charitable Trusts. Available online at http://www.pewcenteronthestates.org/report_detail.aspx?id=46600. Organize conference that preceded this report; Oversaw editing and production of report.
- "The 2006 Election Day Survey." November 2007. With Kimball Brace and Clark Bensen, submitted to the Election Assistance Commission.
- "Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act: UOCAVA. Survey report findings." September 2007. With Kimball Brace and Clark Bensen, submitted to the Election Assistance Commission.
- "The Impact of the National Voter Registration Act: A Report to the 110th Congress." June 30, 2007. With Kimball Brace and Clark Bensen, submitted to the Election Assistance Commission.
- "Ballot Integrity under Oregon's Vote by Mail System." June 15, 2005. Prepared for the Commission on Federal Election Reform, co-chaired by President Jimmy Carter and the Honorable James S. Baker III.

POLICY REPORTS: CONTRIBUTED MATERIALS, RESEARCH, AND WRITING

- "Maryland Voting Systems Study." December 2010. Prepared by Research Triangle International for the Maryland Department of Legislative Services.
- "Findings and Recommendations for Integrating GIS into the Oregon Central Voter Registration System." May 2010. With Bryce Gartrell, Ben McLeod, Anthony Iaccarino, and Tim Flez. Submitted to the Division of Elections, State of Oregon.

- “The 2008 Election Day Survey.” 2009. Coauthored as part of a subcontract with the Research Triangle Institute and the EAC.
- “Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act: UOCAVA Survey Report Findings.” 2009. Coauthored as part of a subcontract to the Research Triangle Institute and the EAC.
- “The Impact of the National Voting Registration Act: A Report to the 111th Congress.” 2009. Coauthored as part of a subcontract to the Research Triangle Institute and the EAC.

ADDITIONAL WRITINGS AND RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

PAPERS UNDER REVIEW

With Timothy Cook. “The Institutions-Incumbent Gap. Political Support for American Government, 1992 and 2002.”

With Peter Miller. “Early Voting and Turnout in Washington.”

BLOGS, OP-EDS, TEXTBOOK WRITING

Blogger, <http://earlyvoting.net>. Ongoing.

Textbook essays, “Applying the Principles: Politics in the News.” Sixteen essays analyzing news stories for the 10th edition of Lowi, Ginsberg, and Shepsle *American Government*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2007.

Book Review. Dennis Thompson, *Just Elections. Congress and the Presidency*.

Textbook essays, “Applying the Five Principles of Politics” Sixteen analytical essays for the 9th edition of Lowi, Ginsberg, and Shepsle, *American Government*. New York: W.W. Norton. Summer 2005.

Textbook essays, “Behind the Lines: Understanding the News.” Sixteen essays analyzing news stories for the 9th edition of Lowi, Ginsberg, and Shepsle, *American Government*. New York: W.W. Norton. Summer 2005.

OpEd, “Electing to Change How We Vote; Use of mail-in ballots -- however cheap and convenient they might be -- could erode democratic choice.” *Los Angeles Times*, Editorial, October 16, 2003.

Textbook essays, “Applying the Five Principles of Politics” and “Behind the Lines: Understanding the News.” Sixteen analytical essays and sixteen newspaper case studies for the 8th edition of Lowi, Ginsberg, and Shepsle, *American Government*. New York: WW Norton. Summer 2003.

Book Review, Bartels, Larry and Lynn Vavreck (eds). *Campaign Reform*. In *American Political Science Review* 95(December 2001).

Book Review, Krasno, John. *Challengers, Competition, and Reelection*. In *Congress and the Presidency* 1996 (Fall).

WORKING AND CONFERENCE PAPERS (PAST FIVE YEARS)

2013. “Are we confident in voter confidence? Observations on perceptual measures of electoral integrity.” Paper presented at Workshop of the Electoral Integrity Project, Cambridge, MA, June 3, 2013.

2013. With Charles Stewart III. “Early Voting in Florida” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.

2012. With Jacob Canter. “Voter Confidence and the Quality of the Vote Count.” Paper presented at the Measuring Democracy Conference, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston MA, June 2012.

2011. With Kambiz GhaneaBassiri. September, 2011. “Explaining American Anti Muslim Opinion.” Paper presented at the “Muslims in the US and Europe: Islamophobia, Integration, Attitudes, and Rights.” Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.

2011. With Darius Rejali and James Hicks. “Explaining American Support for the use of Torture.” Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the International Society for Political Psychology. Istanbul, Turkey.

2011. With James Hicks. “Bush v. Gore: A Critical Juncture in Early Voting?” Paper presented at “Bush v. Gore: Ten Years After.” Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine, April 16-17, 2011.

2009. With James Hicks. “Early Voting: The Rhetoric and The Reality of Election Reform.” Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

2009. With Peter Miller. "Voting by Mail in Washington and Turnout." Working paper.
2008. With Peter Miller. "Voting By Mail in Oregon and Turnout." Working paper.
2008. With J. Matthew Wilson. "Patterns in Citizen 'Knowledge' of Congressional Roll-call Voting: Assessing Projection Effects." Paper prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, January 10-12, 2008, New Orleans, Louisiana.
2007. With Peter Miller. "Voting by Mail and Turnout: A Replication and Extension." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.
2007. With Daniel Krantz Toffey. "The Psychological and Institutional Determinants of Early Voting." Versions presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA, and the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.
2006. With Barry Levitt. "Delegative Democracy and Stealth Democrats in Latin America." Paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Barcelona, Spain.
2005. With Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum. "Getting out the *Early* Vote: Lessons for Progressives." Paper presented at the Progressive Targeting Conference, Center for American Progress, Washington, DC.
2005. With Benjamin Bishin, Daniel Stevens, and Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum. "Early Voting in Florida, 2004." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.
2005. With Barry Levitt. "Delegative Democrats, Stealth Democrats. The Individual and Institutional Foundations of Confidence in Government in Latin America." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
2005. With Timothy E. Cook. "The Institutions-Incumbents Gap: A Reassessment of Institutional Support and Approval for Members of Institutions in American Government." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans LA.

SYMPOSIA, COLLOQUIA, NOTABLE SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS

MEDIA AND OTHER PUBLIC APPEARANCES

Invited panelist, Portland City Club Event "The Supreme Court Speaks on Marriage Equality". June 28, 2013

Moderator, Portland City Club Debate for Metro Council President. October 2010.

Invited to speak in opposition, City Club Debate on Measure 65 (Top Two Primary), October 2008.

Hundreds of appearances in press outlets as an expert on early voting, election reform, and elections. List available upon request.

Television appearances include 2010 election night commentator (KGW Portland, OR), numerous on camera interviews on local and national outlets, including NBC Today Show, the O'Reilly "Factor", and local and regional newscasts.

Radio commentary on Oregon Public Radio's "Think Out Loud," interviews on NPR national and regional news programs (All Things Considered, Weekend Edition, etc.), and many other regional and national outlets

ELECTION REFORM ACTIVITIES

Expert Witness, Presidential Commission on Election Administration, Denver, CO, August 8, 2013

Election Monitor, OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights: Albanian Parliamentary Elections, June 2013, Kyrgyzstani Presidential Elections, October 2011.

Invited speaker, National Association of County Officials annual meeting, Portland, OR July 2011.

Invited speaker, National Association of Clerks, Records, and County Officials annual meeting, Portland, OR July 2011.

Witness, DC City Council Subcommittee on Government Operations and the Environment, Hearing on the election readiness for the April 26, 2011 special election. January 19, 2011.

Invited speaker, Journalists' briefing for the 2010 election, San Francisco, CA. October 2010.

Invited participant, DEMOS Planning Conference, Washington DC. September 4, 2010.

Invited participant and steering committee member, “Performance Index of Elections,” an initiative of the Pew Center on the States, Providence, RI, July 2010-ongoing.

Invited participant, DEMOS Conference on Election Day Registration, Chicago, IL. April 2010.

Organizer and Host, “Time Shifting the Vote: The Early Voting Revolution in America.” Conference organized by the Early Voting Information Center at Reed College under the auspices of the Pew Center on the States. The conference brought thirty-five academic experts, election officials, and policy makers together to present research and craft policy recommendations. October 9-10, 2009.

Invited Speaker, Maryland Association of Election Officials. Rocky Gap, MD. June 7-9 2009.

Discussion Leader, AEI/Brookings Election Reform Project Conference on Election Reform. June 2, 2009.

Committee member, 2008/2009 Study Group on the Future of Elections in Kansas. Office of the Kansas Secretary of State.

Invited speaker, 2009 winter meeting of the National Association of Secretaries of State, Washington DC.

Plenary speaker, panel leader, and panel organizer, “Voting in America: The Road Ahead.” Conference organized by the Pew Charitable Trusts’ Make Voting Work project. Washington, DC. December 8-10, 2008.

Invited Speaker, “Making Elections Work: The Law and the Process After November.” December 4, 2008 conference co-sponsored by the AEI/Brookings Election Reform project, the *Election Law Journal*, and the University of California Washington Center.

Invited Speaker, Journalists Briefing in Preparation for the 2008 General Election. Democratic and Republican National Conventions. August and September 2008.

Organizer, “Data for Democracy Conference.” Conference sponsored by the Pew Center on the States. Washington, DC. May 2008.

Invited Speaker, Journalists’ Briefing in Preparation for the 2008 Primaries. Pew Charitable Trusts and electionline.org, San Francisco, CA. December 2007.

Invited participant and presenter. “The Growth of Early Voting: When, Why, and Prospects for the Future.” Legislatures and Election Reform Institute, Aspen, CO. November 14-16, 2007.

Invited speaker, 2007 Summer Meeting of the National Association of Secretaries of State, Portland, OR.

Invited participant, Biannual Meeting of the Northwest Association of County Election Officials, Portland, OR. May 2006.

ACADEMIC CONFERENCES

Invited participant and presenter. “Political Science in the Liberal Arts.” AALAC Workshop, Amherst College, Amherst MA, November 11-12, 2011.

Invited participant and presenter. “Muslims as Enemy? Explaining American Anti-Muslim Attitudes.” Paper presented at the Islam in the Public Sphere Conference, WISER Center at the University of Washington, Seattle, WA. June 2011.

Invited participant and presenter. “Bush v. Gore: Ten Years After.” Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine. April 16-17, 2011.

Invited participant and presenter. “Democracy Index Conference.” Moritz School of Law, Columbus, OH. September 28-29, 2007.

Invited participant and presenter. “Academic Conference on Elections Research.” AEI/Brookings Election Reform Project, Washington DC. May 18, 2007.

Invited participant and presenter. “Early Voting and Technology.” Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project Vendor’s Conference, Pasadena CA. March 13, 2007.

Invited participant. “Conference on Election Reform.” Conference sponsored by the AEI/Brookings Election Reform Project, Washington DC. May 23, 2006.

Paper presenter and participant. “Early Voting and Progressive Mobilization.” Presented at the Progressive Targeting Conference, sponsored by the Center for American Progress, Washington DC.

Panel chair and discussant. "Innovations in Electoral Institutions." Midwest Political Science Association. 2004.

Invited participant. "Vote by Mail: The Academic Perspective." Pew Conference on Vote by Mail and Campaign Conduct, Portland OR, November 2003.

Panel chair and discussant. "Research on Congressional Elections." Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. 2003.

Panel chair and discussant. "Authors Meet the Critics: Hibbing and Theiss-Morse, *Stealth Democracy*." Midwest Political Science Association meeting. 2003.

Invited Lecture. "Disdaining the Media: Changing American Attitudes Toward the News." University of Washington, April 2001.

Participant. Cantigny Conference on Civil-Military Relations, Naperville IL. April 2000.

ALL COLLEGE AND DEPARTMENTAL LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Member. Dean's Search Committee. 2009-10.

Chair. Department of Political Science, Reed College. September 2001-August 2004; January 2005-August 2007; July 2009-2010

Member (campus-wide elective position). Committee on Academic Planning and Policy. 2006-2007.

Chair. tenure track Environmental Politics Search 2009-10; visiting American Politics Search 2006-7; tenure track IR/Comparative Search, 2005-6; visiting searches (various fields) 2009-10, 2005-6, 2003-4.

Director. Reed Public Policy Workshop. 2001-2002; 2005-present

Organizer and coordinator. Ducey and Munk-Darling International Affairs lecture series. 2002-2007 (http://web.reed.edu/public_policy_series), 2009-present

Official Representative. Inter University Consortium for Political and Social Research. 2001-present.

Elected member. Duke University Arts and Sciences Council. 1998-9.

OTHER INSTITUTIONAL AND DEPARTMENTAL ACTIVITIES

Campus wide lectures:

Post Election Roundtable for Parent/Family Weekend, November 2010 and November 2008.

Alumni events:

Reed Alumni Travel-Study Group Leader: LBJ and the Hill Country, April 2013 and April 2014

Major gifts outreach visit, Redmond WA, June 2011

Foster-Scholz Lecturer for the Foster-Scholz Club (Reed alumni living in Portland), 2004

"Reed on the Road" Alumni speakers series, Fall 2004 in Chicago and Washington DC

Reed alumni board national meeting, invited speaker, fall 2004

Lecturer on American Politics and Campaigns, Duke University Alumni Program (1995-1999).

Trustee events:

Moderator for a 2012 Spring Trustee Dinner Roundtable: Running for Office, with Mark Weiner '04 and Suzan Delbene '83

Amanda Reed Lecture, Annual Trustee and CAT/CAPP Dinner. "Finding Snow White Among the Many Dwarves: The Modern Presidential Nomination System." October 5, 2007.

Student Affairs / Student Life:

Organized Renn Fayre political science softball team (2003-13, champions in 2008, 2012, 2013)

Faculty Associate, Kilgo Quad (1998-1999), Trent Hall Dormitory (1999-2000)

Faculty in Residence, Pegram Dormitory (1995-98)

Committee membership (Reed College): Facilities Committee (2013-14); Staff/Faculty Benefits Committee (2011-13); Emergency Planning Committee (2010-11); Ad Hoc Committee to Establish an Environmental Studies Program

at Reed College (2004-2006); Computing Policy Committee (2001-2004); Art Management Committee (2001-2004); Ad Hoc One-Card Committee (2001-02).
Committee membership (Duke University): Duke University Teaching Awards Committee (1998-2000); Undergraduate Affairs Committee (1992-94, 1999-2000).

DISCIPLINARY AND SCHOLARLY LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Member, Executive Council of the American Political Science Association, 2011-13 (two year term).
Auditing Committee (2011-13).
Member, American Political Science Association Ad Hoc Committee on the Public Understanding of Political Science, 2010-11
Council member, Western Political Science Association, 2008-2010
Member, Trust and Development Committee, American Political Science Association, 2005-2008
Communications Director and Council Member, Organized Section on Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior, American Political Science Association, 2003-2006
Section head, Teaching and Learning, 2014 Southern Political Science Association; Communications and the Media, 2007 Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting; Elections, 2004 Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting.
Tenure and promotion reviews: University of North Carolina, Charlotte; John Jay College; Bucknell College; University of Vermont; University of Utah;

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