



Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration

Summer Conference 2017



Sponsors

The Summer 2017 Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration is hosted by [Reed College](#) and [Portland State University](#).

It is co-sponsored by the [National Science Foundation](#), the [Early Voting Information Center at Reed College](#) and the [Election Data and Science Lab at MIT](#). Our conference dinner has been generously supported by the [Democracy Fund](#).



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Welcome Information

An Introduction and Welcome from Program Chairs Bernard Fraga and Lonna Atkeson

Welcome to the 2017 Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration (ESRA) summer conference, co-hosted by Reed College and Portland State University and co-sponsored by the Early Voting Information Center at Reed College, the Election Data and Science Lab at MIT, and the National Science Foundation.

The last fifteen years have seen a series of challenges to the integrity of the American election system. For example, in 2016, voter confidence that ballots would be counted as cast was at a 16 year low. Moreover, according to some observers, confidence in democracy itself as a legitimate system of government is under threat throughout the world, but particularly in advanced western democracies. The anxieties of democracy that we see today raise important questions for researchers, elected officials, and citizens alike.

Election sciences is an emerging field of scholarship that focuses on the systematic study of election administration and election conduct to identify problems and performance metrics to assess and reform the election ecosystems at the local, state, national and international level with the goals of helping to ensure the highest levels of both election integrity and voter access. Election sciences is deeply involved in evaluating and recommending appropriate policy outcomes, and therefore election scientists often engage with policy makers to help evaluate and improve the current legal, administrative, and technological aspects of elections. Our conference reflects this academic and practitioner synergy by including presentations and roundtables by stakeholders as well as academics and includes both an academic and a practitioner discussant for each academic paper.

Our hope is that this conference and the broader initiative will spark growth in elections as a field of study and related research in public policy and public administration. Finally, and most importantly, building a national network of election scientists provides a resource for election officials throughout the nation to evaluate and improve elections. Ultimately, these efforts will raise public trust and confidence in election outcomes, identify avenues to expand participation, and support and sustain American democracy.

We would like to thank the following individuals for making this event a reality. This includes Paul Gronke, conference host, as well as Laura Swann and Paul Manson who were responsible for the

larger organizational tasks surrounding the conference. We also want to thank Chris Mann who identified the practitioner discussants.

We look forward to interacting with all of you over the course of the conference and hope your visit to Portland will be a summer highlight.

Lonna Atkeson and Bernard Fraga

A Few Words from the Program Organizers Paul Gronke and Phil Keisling

On behalf of Reed College and its [Early Voting Information Center](#), and Portland State University's Center for Public Service, it's our honor to welcome this distinguished group of scholars, election administration practitioners, students, and other experts. We're especially proud to have been selected to host the first of what we hope will be a regular summer conference on Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration.

For the last 13 years, Reed College's Early Voting Information Center (EVIC) has been a center of excellence for non-partisan research and policy recommendations regarding non-precinct place voting methods. Most recently, we partnered with the Center for American Progress to issue a major report on the inaugural year of Oregon's first-in-the-nation automatic voter registration system.

The mission of PSU's Center for Public Service's mirrors that of this gathering: to connect and apply the resources and expertise of faculty and students with the real world challenges faced by practitioners. The Center's "Who Votes for Mayor?" project, in partnership with PSU's Population Research Center, geocoded more than 20 million individual voting records. Our team then overlaid these maps with key Census data to document the enormous geographic and generational differences in civic participation for these key elections.

We'd also like to acknowledge the generous support of the MIT Election and Data Science Lab (MEDSL); the Mildred Twohy Fund and Political Science Department at Reed College; and the National Science Foundation and Democracy Fund for making this conference a reality.

Finally, amidst the many thought-provoking conversations we'll enjoy in the next few days about elections, voting, and the very nature of democracy itself, we hope you'll also have the chance to enjoy and explore Portland's vibrant streets and Oregon's remarkable landscapes, too.

Paul Gronke and Phil Keisling

A Welcome to Portland from Organizer Paul Manson

Welcome to Portland and to Portland State University, you've made it to the end of the Oregon Trail! This week promises to be an outstanding exchange of ideas and research. Outside of our meeting we hope you will have a chance to explore Portland and maybe a little further afield. I'd like to take a moment and share a little on the unique history and setting for our first Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration conference. Oregon holds many firsts for the nation and the West. Just upstream along the Willamette is Oregon City, which in 1849 held the sole Federal court west of the Rockies. The City of San Francisco filed its original plat in Oregon City. Early in its development, Portland was known as Stumptown for the clearing of the forests around the present day city. However, our more famous recent accomplishments in Oregon are firsts in land use and environmental policy. In 1973, Senate Bill 100 created our comprehensive statewide land use rules including the establishments of urban growth boundaries around cities.

These boundaries both protect farm and forest land from development, and help organize more efficient city development through compact form. Portland, and its regionally elected land use planning body, have led the nation in smart growth policies including extensive public transit development, new urban infill projects, and growing bicycle and pedestrian infrastructure. Portland State University has proudly been at the center of this since its birth as a GI Bill college after World War II. Over the past sixty years, PSU has grown from a small college on the banks of the Columbia River in North Portland to one of the largest universities in Oregon. Our schools of planning and government have both played a key role in our state and region's history. We are excited to continue this role by hosting you. And there is also an opportunity to enjoy the fruits of our land use and environmental policy. As the second largest producer of hops in the US, we also have many craft breweries. The Oregon Brewers Festival is the weekend after our conference – so I hope you can raise a pint to the accomplishments of the week and enjoy some uniquely Oregon beer. Enjoy your visit, and feel free to find me if you have any questions or need any recommendations!

Paul Manson

Conference Agenda

Day 1 – Thursday, July 27, 2017

- 7:00am – 8:30am **Breakfast @ Lincoln Station Grill, University Place Hotel**
- 8:30am – 8:50am **Welcome Remarks and Opening Comments**
Paul Gronke *Reed College*
Phil Keisling *Portland State University*
 Former Oregon Secretary of State
- 9:00am – 10:00am **Session 1: Administering Elections, Evaluating Capacity**
- Election Administration Capacity in the United States**
Holly Ann Garnett *McGill University*
- Waiting to Vote in the 2016 Presidential Election: Evidence from a Multi-Campus Study**
Robert Stein *Rice University*
Charles Stewart *MIT*
- Discussant:** David Kimball *University of Missouri-St. Louis*
Chair: Bernard Fraga *Indiana University*
- 10:15am – 11:15am **Session 2: Voter Registration Records and Data Administration**
- Panel Attrition in Voter Files: An Argument for Keeping Dropped Voters**
Bernard Fraga *Indiana University*
Bradley Spahn *Stanford University*
Alan Yan *University of California, Berkeley*
- Moved Out, Moved On: Assessing the Effectiveness of Voter Registration List Maintenance**
Stephen Pettigrew *Harvard University*
Charles Stewart *MIT*
- Discussant:** John McNulty *Binghamton University*
Chair: Lonna Atkeson *University of New Mexico*
- 11:15am – 11:30am **Question and Answer Session on “Who Votes for Mayor Study”**
Paul Gronke *Reed College*
Phil Keisling *Portland State University*
- 11:30am – 12:30pm **Lunch**
-

12:30pm – 1:50pm Session 3: Voter Identification Laws and Elections

A Butterfly Effect: Voter ID Laws, Voter Registration and Voter Turnout

Robert Stein *Rice University*

Carolina Tchintian *Rice University*

Assessing the Impact of the Virginia Voter ID Law Using Individual-Level Administrative Data

Bradley Spahn *Stanford University*

Jonathan Rodden *Stanford University*

Who Does Voter ID Bar from Voting? Evidence from the 2016 Election in Texas

Michael G. Miller *Barnard College*

Discussant: Todd Donovan *Western Washington University*

Chair: Ellen Seljan *Lewis and Clark*

2:00pm – 3:20pm Session 4: New Approaches to Voter Registration and Turnout

Electoral Reforms to Promote Turnout Among Young Voters

Sunshine Hillygus *Duke University*

John Holbein *Duke University*

Automatic Voter Registration and Voter Turnout

Eric McGhee *Public Policy Institute of California*

Paul Gronke *Reed College*

Brian Hamel *UCLA*

Mindy Romero *UC Davis*

An Assessment of Online Voter Registration in Georgia

Trey Hood *University of Georgia*

Greg Hawrelak *University of Georgia*

Colin Phillips *University of Georgia*

Discussant: Chris Mann *Skidmore College*

Judd Choate *Director, Colorado State Elections*

Chair: Michael G. Miller *Barnard College*

- 3:30pm – 4:30pm Session 5: Evaluating Elections Under Pressure**
- E-Democracy’s Effect on Voter Turnout in the 2012 Presidential Election**
Marty Jordan *Michigan State University*
William Isaac *Michigan State University*
- Learning from Recounts**
Barry Burden *University of Wisconsin*
Stephen Ansolabehere *Harvard University*
Kenneth R. Mayer *University of Wisconsin*
Charles Stewart *MIT*
- Discussant:** Martha Kropf *University of North Carolina, Charlotte*
Chair: Brady Baybeck *Wayne State University*
- 4:30pm – 4:45pm Wrap Up and Closing Comments**
- 4:45pm – 5:50pm Free Time**
- 5:50pm Meet in University Place Lobby**
- 6:00pm Travel to Dinner - Paragon Restaurant & Bar**
- 6:30pm – 9:00pm Reception and Dinner**
- Welcome To Oregon**
Steve Trout *Director of Elections, State of Oregon*
Christine Walker *Jackson County Clerk, Oregon*

Day 2 – Friday, July 28, 2017

- 7:00am – 8:30am Breakfast**
- 8:25am Welcome Back**
Paul Gronke *Reed College*
- 8:30am – 9:30am Session 6: Election Administration Professionalization**
- Election Official Professionalization Programs and State Performance**
Katy Owens Hubler *Democracy Research, LLC*
- The Contributors to and Influence of Administrative Professionalism on Elections**
Mitchell Brown *Auburn University*
Kathleen Hale *Auburn University*
- Discussant:** Doug Chapin *University of Minnesota*
Chair: Barry Burden *University of Wisconsin*
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- 9:45am – 11:45am Election Administration Plenary Session 1:
Modernizing Voter Registration (OVR and AVR)**
- Panel Discussion: Where We Are Now (30 mins)**
 Chair: Phil Keisling – Portland State University
 Kim Alexander – President and Founder, California Voter Foundation
 Shane Hamlin – Exec. Director, Electronic Registration Information Center
 Steve Trout – Director, Oregon State Elections
 Christine Walker – Jackson County Clerk, Oregon
- Breakout Session: What Happens Next? (30 mins)**
 Three Concurrent Sessions Led by Facilitators –
 Trey Hood and Steve Trout
 Bernard Fraga and Shane Hamlin
 Todd Donovan, Christine Walker, and Kim Alexander
- Plenary Session: How Do We Get There from Here? (60 Mins)**
- 11:45am – 1:15pm Lunch Discussion:
Intersection of Election Administration, Nonprofits, and Advocates**
 Chair: Chris Mann – Skidmore College
 Natalie Adona – Democracy Fund
 Sean Greene – US Election Assistance Commission
 Tova Wang – Center for Secure and Modern Elections/Demos
- 1:15pm – 3:15pm Election Administration Plenary Session 2:
Alternative Polling Places of the Future (Vote by Mail and VCC)**
- Panel Discussion: Where We Are Now (30 mins)**
 Chair: Paul Gronke – Reed College
 Judd Choate – Director, Colorado State Elections
 Amber McReynolds – Director of Elections, City and County of Denver
 Mindy Romero, UC Davis and California Civic Education Project
 James Sauber - Chief of Staff, National Association of Letter Carriers
 Tim Scott – Director of Elections, Multnomah County, Oregon
- Breakout Session: What Happens Next? (30 mins)**
 Three Concurrent Sessions Led by Facilitators –
 Lonna Atkeson, Judd Choate, and James Sauber
 Martha Kropf and Tim Scott
 Robert Stein, Amber McReynolds, and Mindy Romero
- Plenary Session: How Do We Get There from Here? (60 Mins)**
- 3:15pm – 3:45pm Closing Comments**

Chair Biographies



Lonna Rae Atkeson is a Professor, Regents' Lecturer and Director of the Center for the Study of Voting, Elections and Democracy in the Political Science Department at the University of New Mexico and the Institute for Social Research. She is an internationally recognized expert in the area of election sciences, survey methodology, voting rights, election administration, public opinion, political behavior, gender, and race and ethnicity and has written over 50 articles and book chapters, and dozens of technical reports, monographs, amicus curiae briefs and other work on these topics. Her work has been supported by federal, state, and local agencies, including the National Science Foundation, and a variety of foundations. She advocates for a data

driven, applied social science, approach to public policy that encourages academics and practitioners to join together to exchange expertise to create an efficient, well managed, transparent, and a citizen focused public sector.



Bernard L. Fraga is an assistant professor of political science at Indiana University. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 2013, and for 2017-2018, will be a visiting scholar with the Institute for Democracy and Higher Education at Tufts University. His research examines American elections and racial and ethnic politics. Broadly, he investigates how group identities and electoral contexts impact political behavior through the analysis of voter registration records and election results. He also conducts research on election law and electoral institutions. Two of his most recent projects seek to explain racial/ethnic differences

in voter turnout and to understand the impact of election laws on voter turnout by college students.

Organizers Biographies



Paul Gronke (PhD Michigan, '93, MA University of Essex '84, BA Chicago '82) is a professor of Political Science at Reed College in Portland, OR. Paul is editor of the *Election Law Journal*, an interdisciplinary journal of election law, administration, and politics, and co-editor of *PS: Political Science and Politics*, one of three flagship journals of the American Political Science Association. In 2004, Gronke founded the Early Voting Information Center (earlyvoting.net), an interdisciplinary research and policy center focused on disseminating data, making policy recommendations, and establishing best practices with respect to alternative methods of voting.



Phil Keisling has served as the director of the [Center of Public Service](#) at Portland State University since 2010. The Center's primary goal is to connect the programs and expertise of faculty and graduate students in PSU's Mark O. Hatfield School of Government with the needs of public service professionals and organizations in the local, state, federal and tribal government and non-profit sectors.

Keisling's public service career also includes work as a campaign aide to former Oregon Governor Tom McCall (1978); seven years as a journalist for Portland's *Willamette Week* (1978-82) newspaper and the *Washington Monthly* magazine in Washington D.C. (1982-84); and three years as a legislative staff assistant to then-Oregon House Speaker Vera Katz (1985-88).

Keisling was elected to the Oregon House of Representatives in 1988 and 1990. From 1991 to 1999 he served as Oregon Secretary of State. His duties as Oregon's second-ranking elected official included oversight of the Elections and Audits functions, and he spearheaded a number of election-related reforms including the successful initiative campaign to make Oregon the nation's first state to institute "Universal Vote by Mail" elections.

From 2000 to 2009, Keisling worked in the private sector as an Executive Vice President with CorSource Technology group, a Beaverton, Oregon-based software services company. He graduated in 1977 from Yale University with a B.A. in American Studies.



Christopher B Mann is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Skidmore College in Saratoga Springs, NY. His research has been published in the *Journal of Politics*, *Political Analysis*, *Political Behavior*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, and other journals. Dr. Mann's research explores the decision to participate in elections and how participation can be increased. He was a co-investigator of the 2016 Polling Place Lines Project with Charles Stewart III and Michael Herron. He is especially interested in substantial differences between voting by mail (a.k.a. no excuse absentee voting), early in person voting, all-mail voting (a.k.a. postal voting) and Election Day voting.



Paul Manson is a Senior Research Assistant with the Portland State University Center for Public Service. His research has focused on new tools for the representation and assessment of public input and engagement. Most recently he has been studying the expansion of participatory geographical information systems into policy processes in Oregon. Paul also supports the CPS program to understand the impact of shifting demographics and voting with Phil Keisling. He focuses on quantitative analysis tools to understand these shifts, and in particular to explore impacts on local elections as new tools for registration and voting are deployed. Paul also manages a suite of disaster resilience research projects with CPS. These include the producing planning tools to assess social and community vulnerability to large natural and technological hazards. Paul has a BA in Anthropology from Reed College, and an MPA from Portland State University. He is currently a PhD candidate in the Public Affairs and Policy program at Portland State University. Paul is also an NSF Integrative Graduate Education and Research Traineeship (IGERT) fellow.

Attendee Biographies

Attendees are listed in alphabetical order by surname.



Kim Alexander is president and founder of the California Voter Foundation (CVF), a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization established in 1994 and dedicated to improving the voting process to better serve voters, online at www.calvoter.org. CVF is a longtime leader in advancing the responsible use of technology in the democratic process, by pioneering online voter education, online campaign finance disclosure, and voter-verified paper ballot records and auditing requirements for computerized voting systems. Current priorities include: promoting greater consistency and equal opportunities in California voters' experiences in order to expand participation, reduce confusion and minimize disenfranchisement; increasing funding for election administration; and advancing voting system security in California and nationwide.



Brady Baybeck is an Associate Professor and Director of the Graduate Program in Public Administration at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan. His area of teaching and research include urban policy, public finance, political geography, and election administration. Recent work has examined the size disparity in election administration (with David Kimball) and the impacts of city institutions on decision making (with Jeff Grynawiski and others). Baybeck has also been active in working with local officials in a variety for international, national, and local contexts. For example, he has been to Russia multiple times to share the story of Detroit's bankruptcy and revival with local economic development officials at the Moscow School of Management Skolkovo. Baybeck also serves as a precinct chairperson for elections in the City of Ann Arbor, Michigan.



Mitchell Brown, Ph.D., is a Professor in the Department of Political Science at Auburn University, serves as the Director of their PhD Program in Public Administration and Public Policy. Her broader research agenda focuses on the empowerment efforts of marginalized communities, which she pursues through applied research and currently with a focus on election administration. She is the recipient of numerous awards, including the Auburn University Student Government Outstanding Faculty Award for the College of Liberal Arts for 2016 and 2013.



Barry Burden is Professor of [Political Science](#), Director of the [Elections Research Center](#), and the Lyons Family Chair in Electoral Politics at the [University of Wisconsin-Madison](#). Burden's research and teaching focus on U.S. elections, public opinion, representation, and the U.S. Congress. His recent research has centered on aspects of election administration and voter participation. Burden earned his Ph.D. at *The Ohio State University* and was a faculty member at Harvard University before joining UW-Madison in 2006. He is co-founder of the [Election Administration Project](#). He is also affiliated with the [La Follette School of Public Affairs](#) and the [Center for Demography of Health and Aging](#). Burden is part of the host committee for the [2017 meeting of the Society for Political Methodology](#).



Dr. Judd Choate is the state election director for Colorado and the President of the National Association of State Election Directors (NASSED). Judd has a J.D. from the University of Colorado Law School and a Ph.D. in political science from Purdue University. He was formerly a professor of political science at the University of Nebraska and is the author of a book and several peer-reviewed articles on political behavior. In a previous life, Judd was a scout for the Kansas City Royals.

Amy Cohen is the Director of Government Outreach for Democracy Works. Previously, she spent four years with the Pew Charitable Trusts, where she managed the Voting Information Project (VIP), guided national research projects, and forged relationships throughout the corporate and nonprofit sector. Most recently, she co-founded and served as the Director of Operations for the Center for Election Innovation & Research (CEIR), which works to improve the security of elections and increase efficiencies in election administration for both administrators and voters.



Todd Donovan is a professor of political science at Western Washington University, in Bellingham, Washington. He is co-author or co-editor of several books on elections and representation, and is past president of the Pacific Northwest Political Science Association. His research areas include public opinion, elections, electoral rules, representation, and direct democracy. He studies elections in the US, UK, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, and has worked as an expert witness on election matters in state and federal courts in Alaska, California, Montana, Tennessee, and Washington. In 2014 Donovan was elected to serve on a County Charter Review Commission in Washington state, and he was elected as a County Councilmember in 2015. His most recent edited volume is *Changing How America Votes* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2018).



Holly Ann Garnett is a SSHRC Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of British Columbia. She completed her PhD in the Department of Political Science at McGill University, where she was a student member of the Centre for the Study of Democratic Citizenship. Her research examines how electoral integrity can be strengthened throughout the electoral cycle. She has studied the role of election management bodies, voter registration, civic literacy, convenience voting measures, and election technologies. She is a co-convenor of the Electoral Management Network, and contributes to Electoral Integrity Project, where she was a visiting researcher in Sydney, Australia in 2014. She will be returning to Australia in July 2017 as an Endeavour

Research Fellow at the Australian National University in Canberra.



Sean Greene is a Director of Research at the U.S. Election Assistance Commission (EAC). He oversees the research of the EAC including the Election Administration and Voting Survey, the agency's biennial survey which collects the most comprehensive nationwide data about election administration in the United States. Prior to joining the EAC in June of 2016, Greene was a project director at the Pew Charitable Trusts, managing the research of their Election Initiatives program. He received a bachelor's degree in government from Colby College and a master's degree in international affairs from George Washington University.



Shane Hamlin is Executive Director of the Electronic Registration Information Center, a non-profit organization with the sole mission of assisting states to improve the accuracy of America's voter rolls and increase access to voter registration for all eligible citizens. Prior to his appointment on June 19, 2017, Shane served as Co-Director of Elections for the Washington Secretary of State. Hamlin also served as the first chairman of the ERIC Board of Directors while working for the Secretary of State's Office. He received his MPA from the University of Washington Evans School of Public Affairs, and his BA in Government from Eastern Washington University.



John Holbein is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Brigham Young University. He studies political participation, democratic accountability, political representation, and education policy. His work has been published in the *American Political Science Review*, the *American Journal of Political Science*, and the *Economics of Education Review*. His current book project explores ways to increase perpetually low rates of civic participation among young people. His work has been covered by outlets such as the [Washington Post](#), the [Boston Globe](#), [NPR](#), [Bloomberg](#), [Politico](#), [Fast Company](#), [Business Insider](#), and [FiveThirtyEight](#).



M.V. (Trey) Hood III is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Georgia and is currently serving as the Director of the SPIA Survey Research Center. He has been conducting research in American politics and policy at UGA since 1999, primarily in the areas of Election Sciences and Southern Politics.



Marty P. Jordan is a Ph.D. candidate in political science and a University Enrichment Fellow at Michigan State University. Starting in the fall of 2017, he will be the Managing Editor of the *American Journal of Political Science* and a Visiting Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at MSU. His research broadly focuses on explaining variation in public policymaking and political institutions within and across the American states, with a particular emphasis on voting, morality, tax, economic development, and disaster policies.



David C. Kimball, Ph.D. is a Professor and Graduate Director of Political Science at UM-St. Louis. His Ph.D. is from Ohio State University. Professor Kimball teaches courses in American government, political behavior, parties and elections, interest groups, and research methodology. His research interests include voting behavior, election administration, public opinion, and interest group lobbying. He has participated as an expert in several court cases on election administration, voting rights, and redistricting. He is the co-author of three books: [*Helping America Vote*](#), [*Lobbying and Policy Change*](#), and [*Why Americans Split Their Tickets*](#). He is co-editor of [*Controversies in Voting Behavior*](#).



Martha Kropf is the Interim Director of UNC Charlotte's Interdisciplinary Public Policy Ph.D. program. She is also Professor of Political Science & Public Administration at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. Her Ph.D. is from American University in Washington, DC in Political Science (fields: American Politics, Public Policy and Public Economics). She worked two years at the University of Maryland Survey Research Center (Project Coordinator) and taught at the University of Missouri-Kansas City before coming to UNC Charlotte. Her areas of research include the study of elections and election reform, voting and political mobilization.



Eric McGhee is a research fellow at the Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC), where he focuses on elections, legislative behavior, political reform, and surveys and polling. His research on elections and electoral reform has appeared in numerous academic journals, and his work has been profiled on National Public Radio, the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, and *The Economist*. He is an occasional contributor to the *Washington Post's* Monkey Cage blog on politics. Before joining PPIC, he was assistant professor of political science at the University of Oregon and served as a Congressional Fellow through the American Political Science Association. He holds a PhD in political science from the University of California, Berkeley.



John McNulty has taught at Binghamton University, SUNY Cortland, and the University of Alabama at Birmingham. He has published on voter turnout, election administration, voting technology, political methodology, and other topics; and has appeared in the *American Political Science Review*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Analysis*, and *American Politics Quarterly*. He received a National Science Foundation grant in 2006, and has been awarded the Gosnell Prize in Political Methodology and the Pi Sigma Alpha award for best paper at the Western Political Science Association annual conference.



Amber McReynolds is the Director of Elections for the City and County of Denver, Colorado. Amber has administered elections in Denver for 12 years and has worked in public policy and administration for over 16 years.. In Denver, Amber is focused on continual process improvement which includes implementing innovative solutions to improve the voter's experience. In addition, the Denver Elections Division has released other innovative solutions including the Denver Votes mobile application, enhanced contextual and behavioral marketing strategies to encourage civic engagement, interactive customer service platforms, and implemented a new voting system in 2015. Amber currently serves on the Council of State Government's Overseas Voting Initiative's Technology Committee, Advisory Committee of the MIT Election and Data Science Lab, and

various statewide and national committees and working groups.



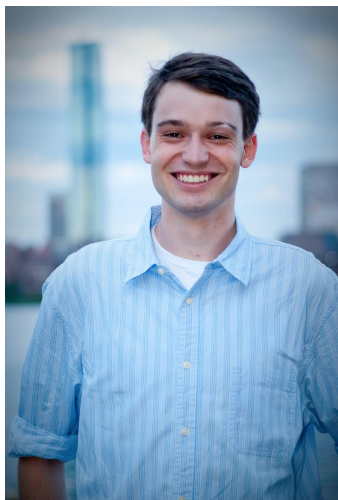
Michael G. Miller is an assistant professor of political science at Barnard College. He is also a fellow at the Brennan Center for Justice in the NYU School of Law, and a statistical consultant for the Fox News decision team. Professor Miller's work engages questions in American elections and political behavior. His research is particularly focused on four broad themes: How people respond to changes in rules governing elections (particularly campaign finance), how the behavior of elites differs from the mass public, how gender drives political behavior, and the effects of political scandal. Professor Miller is the author or coauthor of two books and more than a dozen peer-reviewed articles. His research has been utilized as empirical evidence in arguments before the United States Supreme Court, as

well as in committee testimony before the United States Senate and a number of state legislatures.



Katy Owens Hubler is a consultant specializing in election administration policy, and especially issues related to election technology. She is a former member of the elections team at the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) where she conducted research and convened meetings to support the work of state legislatures nationwide. Previous to joining NCSL she worked for the Denver Elections Division and in the Carter Center's Democracy Program. Owens Hubler's recent consulting projects include a continuation of work with NCSL; supporting the Voting Equipment Selection Committee (VESC) on behalf of the Utah Lieutenant

Governor's Office; the development of an online election observation training course for The Carter Center and the League of Women Voters; and assisting with the continued development of a common data format for election systems. Owens Hubler has BA in International Affairs from Lewis and Clark College and an MA in Political Science from the University of Colorado – Denver, where she wrote a thesis on election management bodies in transitioning democracies.



Stephen Pettigrew is a research and data consultant for the MIT Election Data and Science Lab. He received a PhD in political science and a masters in statistics from Harvard. His research focuses on understanding the causes and consequences of logistical challenges of running elections in the United States. His work has been featured in Science, Electoral Studies, and Political Science Quarterly. In addition to political science, he studies sports analytics and has written for FiveThirtyEight, Deadspin, and the Wall Street Journal. Stephen received his bachelor's degree from the University of Georgia and is a huge Bulldog fan.



Mindy Romero is the founder and director of the California Civic Engagement Project (CCEP) at the UC Davis Center for Regional Change. Romero is a political sociologist and holds a Ph.D. in sociology from UC Davis. Her scholarly work focuses on the intersection of political behavior and race/ethnicity. Romero has been invited to speak about civic engagement and political rights in numerous venues, and has recently provided testimony to the National Commission on Voting Rights and the California Legislature. Her research has been cited in numerous major news outlets, including the Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, San Francisco

Chronicle, Politico and the Huffington Post. A native of California's Central Valley, Romero is also active in community leadership. She currently serves as President of the Board of Mutual Housing California, and is a board member of the National Center for Learning and Civic Engagement.



James Sauber is the Chief of Staff at the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC), a position he has held since 2006. He is responsible for coordinating the research, collective bargaining, public policy and legislative activities of the union at the direction of NALC President Fred Rolando and on behalf of the union's 275,000 members. He joined the staff of the NALC as an economist in 1985 and served as the union's research director from 1990 to 2006. He has participated in seven rounds of collective bargaining with the United States Postal Service. He currently serves as the Vice Chairman of the Employee Thrift Advisory Council and represents the NALC as an executive committee member of UNI

Global Union (UNI), a Swiss-based global trade union federation comprised of hundreds of affiliated postal unions representing four million postal workers around the world. He has a bachelor's degree from the University of Michigan (1982) and a master's degree from Johns Hopkins University (1992).



Tim Scott is the Director of Elections for Multnomah County, Oregon since 2008. He helped guide the County through the implementation of online registration, interstate data matching and Oregon's new, automatic voter registration process, Oregon Motor Voter. He has also implemented innovative technology solutions with the goal of improving efficiency and voters' confidence in the elections process through 100% transparency in the handling and counting of ballots. Starting in 2015, Scott worked with County leadership to secure and maintain funding for a growing voter outreach and education program through which he and his team strive to remove barriers and make the voter registration and voting process inclusive and equitable for all voters. Scott has a

Bachelor's of Science in Computer Science from George Mason University, is a Certified Election and Registration Administrator through the Election Center and Auburn University, and is a Certified Elections Administrator through the Oregon Association of County Clerks.

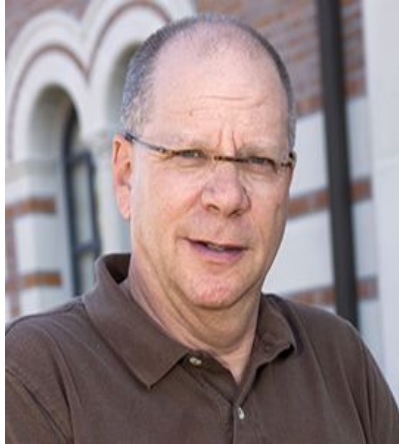


Ellen Seljan is an assistant professor at Lewis and Clark College. She teaches courses on American politics, Congress, parties and interest groups, public policy, and research methods. Her research examines trends in public finance at the state and local levels of government. Her ongoing work analyzes the effects of fiscal institutions on state and local finances, as well as municipal tax capacity. She has published articles in *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* and the *National Tax Journal*. She previously taught at the University of South Carolina.



Bradley Spahn is a Ph.D. Candidate in Stanford's Department of Political Science, where he studies American Politics and Political Methodology. His research uses voter file data to describe structural features of the American Electorate and improve survey methodology. His current book project, "Before The American Voter," draws on 60 years of voter file data from the California Great Registers, covering the period 1908 to 1968. The book follows the partisan dynamics of millions of individual California voters over time, exploring political behavior before the advent of political surveys. It shows that fundamental features of American political behavior like partisan stability and differentiated partisanship on the basis of class and ethnicity are historically

contingent, emerging out of the New Deal Realignment.



Robert Stein is a professor of political science at Rice University. He is co-author of *Perpetuating the Pork Barrel: Policy Subsystems and American Democracy* (1995, Cambridge University Press), and author of *Urban Alternatives: Public and Private Markets in the Provision of Local Services* (1990, Pittsburgh Press). His work has also appeared in a wide range of scholarly journals. Dr. Stein's current research has been supported by the National Science Foundation and examines the impact of the federal aid system on the electoral trajectories of office holders at both the subnational and congressional levels. Other research examines collective action among metropolitan area governments and voting behavior.



Charles Stewart III is the Kenan Sahin Distinguished Professor of Political Science at MIT, where he has taught since 1985, and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His research and teaching areas include congressional politics, elections, and American political development. His current research about Congress touches on the historical development of committees, origins of partisan polarization, and Senate elections. His recent books of congressional research include *Electing the Senate* (2014, with Wendy J. Schiller), *Fighting for the Speakership* (2012, with Jeffery A. Jenkins), and *Analyzing Congress* (2nd ed., 2011).



Carolina Tchintian is a Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science at Rice University studying comparative politics and Latin American politics. Her research focuses on electoral systems and the effect of ballot design and voting laws on electoral outcomes. She has a Master's in public policy from the Universidad Torcuato Di Tella and a B.A. in Political Science, with Honors, from the Universidad de Buenos Aires, both in Argentina. In 2011, she was awarded a Fulbright scholarship. Her dissertation is currently supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation.



Steve Trout is Director of Elections for the Oregon Secretary of State. Prior to that, Steve served as Director of Election Innovation for the Clear Ballot Group. Steve is responsible for ensuring the uniform interpretation and application of Oregon's election laws. Steve has more than 20 years of state and local government election experience, both in the public and private sectors. He earned a JD and BS in Managerial Economics and a BA in Political Science-Public Service all from the University of California-Davis. Steve treasures his family, especially when they sing Schoolhouse Rock songs, and he looks forward to March Madness every year.



Chris Walker was appointed as Jackson County Clerk on February 1, 2008, and on November 4th 2008 elected by the voters to serve as Jackson County Clerk. Chris was re-elected as County Clerk in 2010 and 2014 for terms of 4 years.

Chris is active in many professional organizations including Oregon Association of County Clerk's (OACC), Vice President and legislative and bylaws committee member also earning her Certified County Clerk designation in 2014; International Association of Government Officials (IGO), 2nd Vice President and Oregon delegation director 2010-15; Property Records Industry Association (PRIA), government sector Board Member; National Notary; Elections Center; Holly Theatre Restoration Committee member; Children's Advocacy Center

Board of Directors and Medford Rotary member.



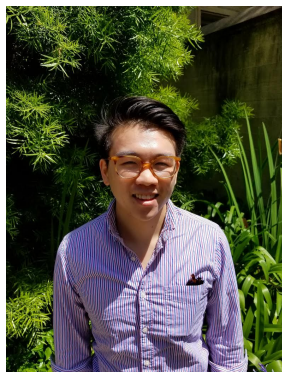
Tova Wang is Director of Research and Policy for the Center for Secure and Modern Elections and Senior Democracy Fellow at Demos. She has 20 years of experience working on improving democracy. Tova has focused on issues related to greater political inclusion in the United States, including major studies on increasing voter participation rates among low income people, communities of color, naturalized immigrants, women and Native Americans. Her critically acclaimed book, *The Politics of Voter Suppression: Defending and Expanding Americans' Right to Vote*, was published in 2012 by Cornell University Press. She also consults international organizations on voting rights

and election reform in countries around the world. Her commentary on voting and participation has appeared in numerous print media outlets, including the New York Times, the Washington Post, The Hill and Politico, and she has appeared on numerous national television and radio news shows.



Cameron Wimpy is a political scientist currently serving as the Research Director in the Elections and Data Science Lab (MEDSL) at MIT. His political science specialties are comparative politics, elections and voting, political economy, and research methods. His work has been published in journals such as *Political Science Research and Methods*, *Electoral Studies*, and *Social Science Quarterly*. He has conducted qualitative and survey fieldwork across the U.S., Africa, and the Middle East, and he has presented at professional conferences around the world. Previously, Dr. Wimpy was a Senior Researcher at Fors Marsh Group in Arlington, VA where he

designed and managed social science research projects for various government and nonprofit agencies.



Alan Yan is a third-year undergraduate student at UC Berkeley, majoring in Political Science. He is broadly interested in political behavior and American politics. Most of his research experience has been assisting Professor Gabe Lenz. Currently, he is working on developing emails as a new tool for survey experiments and investigating how physical features may disadvantage candidates based on their gender.

Presented Papers

Papers are listed in the order of presentation.

Day One Papers

Election Administration Capacity in the United States

Holly Ann Garnett McGill University

American election administration has been under increased scrutiny since the challenges of the 2000 Presidential election, when the failure of election administration was linked to the controversial results. Since then, these administrative challenges have been in the public spotlight with every election. While topics like election laws, convenience voting and identification laws have received considerable attention, there remains a gap in the literature on the public administration of elections concerning the broader structure, design and performance of state election administration agencies, and their potential influence on the quality of elections. Many scholars have shied away from tackling these questions in the American context, because of the diversity of election management between and within states, and a lack of state-level data on key public administration indicators. This project therefore extends current international research on election administration capacity to the American context through a coding of state election management websites, and a small-scale experiment on state election administrators' responsiveness to citizen inquiries. This research will assist scholars and practitioners in better understanding state capacity for election administration and fill an important gap in the very relevant study of American election administration.

Waiting to Vote in the 2016 Presidential Election: Evidence from a Multi-Campus Study

Robert Stein Rice University
Charles Stewart MIT

This paper is the result of a nationwide study of polling place dynamics in the 2016 presidential election. Research teams, recruited from local colleges and universities and located in 20 election jurisdictions across the U.S., observed and timed voters as they entered the queue at their respective polling places and then voted. We report results about four specific polling place operations and practices: the length of the check-in line; the number of voters leaving the check-in line once they have joined it; the time for a voter to check in to vote (i.e., verify voter's identification and obtain a ballot); and the time to complete a ballot.

Panel Attrition in Voter Files: An Argument for Keeping Dropped Voters

Bernard Fraga Indiana University
Bradley Spahn Stanford University
Alan Yan University of California, Berkeley

Voter files are an essential tool for election science, but relatively little work has been devoted to developing best practices for these data. One particularly useful aspect of voter files is that they provide turnout data going back in time, providing a panel structure well-suited to micro-targeting models, understanding habitual voting and measuring the ongoing effects of experimental treatments. However, when voters are dropped from the rolls, inducing panel attrition, the composition of the electorate as listed on the file will diverge from the true composition of past electorates. We find that when state election administrators or commercial vendors preserve the turnout histories of dropped voters, the percentage of past votes not reflected on the voter file is small and increases by only a half-percentage point per year. But when the turnout histories of dropped voters are not preserved, this divergence increases substantially. Going back in time, each Presidential election cycle forces an average of 12 percent of voters off the files. These divergences are likely greater for minorities and young people, who are more likely to be dropped due to residential mobility and lower rates of participation. We suggest users of historical turnout data use voter files that preserve the vote histories of dropped voters, and urge political scientists to systematically collect voter file data, so that future research is not burdened by this attrition bias.

Moved Out, Moved On: Assessing the Effectiveness of Voter Registration List Maintenance

Stephen Pettigrew Harvard University
Charles Stewart MIT

The quality of voter registration lists has been at the center of debates about election administration in the United States for over a decade. Lists with excessive numbers of ineligible registrants, whether due to death, mobility, or other reasons, complicate the logistical task of running elections and an easy target for those concerned with the electoral integrity or voter fraud. This paper seeks to answer two questions regarding the accuracy of voter lists. First, how well do the registration cancellation rates line up with the rates we would expect to see given demographic trends? Second, when in an electoral should we expect that voter lists will be the most reflective of the population of registered and eligible voters. Using administrative and demographic data over four two-year election cycles, we find very strong evidence that voter lists are almost entirely absent of deceased registrants. On the other hand, the data suggest that election officials have a much more difficult time removing registration records of those who have

moved out of the jurisdiction. We supplement these findings with data from Florida and Virginia which allow us to explore temporal variation in removal rates. We find that the states employ two different paradigms for registration list cleaning.

A Butterfly Effect: Voter ID Laws, Voter Registration and Voter Turnout

Robert Stein Rice University
Carolina Tchantian Rice University

In this paper we show that previous efforts to link restrictive voter identification laws with lower voter turnout has overlooked the role of registration as the first and necessary step to casting a vote. Previous research has exclusively focused on the direct relationship between voter participation and restrictive voter identification laws, but less attention has given to the fact that there are several actions, including registering to vote, which a person has to complete in order to cast a vote. Based on this idea, we argue that voter ID laws have a first effect on voter registration, and in turn, voter registration conditions the relationship between voter identification requirements and voter participation or turnout. We find that restrictive voter identification requirements has a negative effect on new voter registrations, and that this effect is larger in jurisdictions with larger African-American and Hispanic citizen voting age persons (CVAP). We also find voter turnout increases among persons registered under the most restrictive voter identification requirements. Again, this finding is more pronounced for counties with higher proportions of African-American and Hispanic CVAP.

Assessing the Impact of the Virginia Voter ID Law Using Individual-Level Administrative Data

Bradley Spahn Stanford University
Jonathan Rodden Stanford University

Laws requiring voters to show identification before casting a ballot have become a favored policy of many Republican legislatures seeking to decrease voter fraud. Detractors counter that these laws are actually a way to keep minority voters, the vast majority of whom are Democrats, from voting. Past studies evaluating these claims using data from surveys or aggregate statistics fail to identify the precise individuals that lack identification and suffer from poor statistical power. Using complete and uncensored longitudinal data from the Virginia DMV and voter files, we are able to uniquely identify which voters have state-issued identification. We find that just before the law was passed, roughly 18 percent of African American registered voters lacked identification, 16 percent of Hispanics, and 13 percent of whites. As the list of registered voters has been updated over time, by 2015 these rates fell to 7 percent for Hispanics, 6.5 percent for African Americans, and 5 percent for whites. These racial differences are robust to the inclusion of adjustments for people likely to have military and college ID cards. Using a

differences-in-differences approach, we also explore the effects of the law on turnout for different racial and age groups.

Who Does Voter ID Bar from Voting? Evidence from the 2016 Election in Texas

Michael G. Miller

Barnard College

A number of states have recently passed strict “voter ID” laws. Proponents see them as a fraud deterrent, but critics argue that they are likely to disenfranchise certain voters—in particular, those who are poorer, older, Democratic-leaning, and/or racial minorities. Yet, evidence for suppression of voters generally (and minorities specifically) has been elusive. In particular, obtaining individual-level data has proven difficult, outside of a handful of studies relying on self-reported voting behavior.

In 2011, Texas passed one of the strictest voter ID laws in the United States. In 2016, the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals held that the law was discriminatory. A subsequent District Court ruling ordered a unique remedy: While Texas was allowed to require identification from voters, those who lacked ID could vote if they filed a reasonable impediment declaration (RID) stating the reason why. I exploit this decision in this paper.

I obtained more than 14,000 petitions from all Texas counties, and coded them with the name of the voter and the reason cited for not having ID. I also obtained Hispanic-surname lists and voting turnout. Together, these data support county-level inference about both the number of people supposedly deterred from voting in the 2016 election and difference-in-differences between Hispanic and non-Hispanic turnout (2012 to 2016). They also allow individual-level analysis of the relationship between Hispanic surname and cited impediment.

In preliminary analysis I find no relationship between Hispanic surname and number of RIDs. I find that Hispanics are less likely to report a “hardship” reason for not having ID. My findings will contribute to academic literature and substantive policy debates.

Electoral Reforms to Promote Turnout Among Young Voters

Sunshine Hillygus

Duke University

John Holbein

Duke University

This paper will build on our previous research (Holbein and Hillygus 2016) evaluating the effectiveness of preregistration laws--which allow voters as young as sixteen to complete their voter registration—for increasing youth turnout. Using both a difference-in-difference approach and regression discontinuity approach, we found such laws significantly increased turnout rates among young voters. The observed patterns in our data seem to suggest that preregistration is effective because it removes the registration barrier during the heightened political interest of

presidential campaigns and when reinforced by school activities. With this perspective, the proposed paper will extend our analysis of preregistration, will respond to subsequent methodological criticisms to our previous analysis, and will evaluate a broader set of policy reforms to better understand why some electoral reforms work to mobilize young citizens, while others fall short. It is our expectation that the most effective electoral reforms are those that, like preregistration, reduce voting barriers at the right time—namely, when young citizens are paying attention to politics. This work is part of a larger book project considering electoral and education reforms to help promote the development of civic engagement among America's youth.

Automatic Voter Registration and Voter Turnout

Eric McGhee	Public Policy Institute of California
Paul Gronke	Reed College
Mindy Romero	UC Davis

The new mantra in voter registration is “automated systems” that move the decision point for registering and updating to government and away from individual citizens. Automatic systems should broaden the scope and increase the equity of registration, while likely increasing some forms of accuracy and reducing cost. But the literature suggests most “automatic” registrants probably will not vote. At the same time, automation loses mobilization from registration drives, and risks registering ineligible residents by accident. Are the benefits worth the costs?

This paper provides a first evaluation of Oregon's automatic registration system (named "Oregon Motor Voter" or OMV), the first fully automatic voter registration system in the United States. The system was created in 2015 and implemented in 2016 for the presidential primary and November elections.

We first evaluate the key implementation decisions made by the state about record matching, outreach, and the like. These are important questions for states that may be considering a move to automatic voter registration.

Second, we look at the turnout effects of OMV in 2016. We break down participation by race, ethnicity, and geography. We also explore the causal impact of the reform by placing Oregon in national context through difference-in-differences and synthetic control group research designs.

With California poised to move to automatic registration starting in 2017, and this reform being pushed nationwide by a number of advocacy organizations, this is an ideal time to provide a careful empirical analysis of this new and innovative election reform.

An Assessment of Online Voter Registration in Georgia

Trey Hood	University of Georgia
Greg Hawrelak	University of Georgia
Colin Phillips	University of Georgia

Georgia recently joined a growing list of states offering citizens an online option for voter registration. While this option is becoming increasingly popular, we know relatively little about who's using online registration or its potential effects. Using data from the Georgia Secretary of State related to method of registration, we will create a demographic and geographic profile of the average registrant by method (online, mail, NVRA). In reference to online registration specifically, we will also be able to distinguish between citizens who are first-time registrants versus those simply making a change to their record. Finally, using data from the 2016 presidential election we will be able to compare turnout rates by method of registration. Such a comparison should offer some insight into the potential relationship between increased convenience and higher rates of participation.

E-Democracy's Effect on Voter Turnout in the 2012 Presidential Election

Marty Jordan	Michigan State University
William Isaac	Michigan State University

Pundits, interest groups, and political parties have debated the potential impact of e-democracy in U.S. elections. Yet it is unclear what influence allowing internet-based voting might have on voter turnout. We offer clarity on this debate by employing a quasi-experiment to study the effect of New Jersey's use of voting by email and fax on turnout during the 2012 presidential election. Following the destruction of Hurricane Sandy in late October 2012, New York and New Jersey issued directives liberalizing how and where affected voters could cast their ballots in the November general election. New York permitted victims to vote at any polling location in the county, while New Jersey allowed victims to vote at any polling center, by fax, or by email. To assess the effects of this unfortunate, but unique opportunity, we rely on a dataset of 1.2 million individual voter records to compare turnout in the "treatment" state of New Jersey (allowing email and fax convenience voting measures) with turnout in the imputed "control" state of New York. Moreover, with prior voter history, block-level demographic information, street-level geo-coding, and using propensity score matching techniques, we are able to identify the type of registered voters (e.g., low to high propensity voters, racial and ethnic minorities, young people, those least affected by disaster) that might have taken advantage of these convenience-voting mechanisms. The results have important implications for electoral institutions, political behavior, public policy, and American politics.

Learning from Recounts

Barry Burden	University of Wisconsin
Stephen Ansolabehere	Harvard University
Kenneth R. Mayer	University of Wisconsin
Charles Stewart	MIT

We compare the results of two recent statewide recounts in Wisconsin – the 2011 Supreme Court election and the 2016 presidential election. We argue that recounts provide a valuable window into the accuracy of initial vote counts. We further argue recount accuracy is best measured in terms of the absolute deviation between initial vote counts and recounted vote counts. In addition, we show that the accuracy of this assessment declines as the level of aggregation in comparing vote counts increases. In the case of Wisconsin in 2011 and 2016, we find that (1) simply comparing the recounted victory margin with the election night victory margin significantly understates the degree to which counting errors occurred in the original vote count, (2) aggregated reporting vote totals understate the number of errors made in the original count of ballots, (3) recounts reveal far more errors in counting ballots of minor-party and write-in candidates than for major-party candidates, and (4) ballots originally counted by computerized means appear to be at least as accurate as ballots originally counted by hand.

Day 2 Papers

Election Official Professionalization Programs and State Performance

Katy Owens Hubler Democracy Research, LLC

This purpose of this study is to explore a possible correlation between the existence of professional training opportunities for election officials, and a state's ranking on the Election Performance Index. The study will look at the types of state-level trainings that are available, including in-person trainings conducted by local election official associations at their annual meetings; certification programs required by the state; online courses offered by the state election department; and other professional training opportunities open to local election officials through national organizations such as the Election Center. It will provide a 50-state view of what training and certification options are offered or required at the state level. Further, it will delve into more detailed case studies of state experiences in implementing a certification program for election officials. The study seeks to provide baseline information on professionalization programs that already exist, and look for correlations between the existence of these types of programs and a state's election administration performance.

The Contributors to and Influence of Administrative Professionalism on Elections

Mitchell Brown Auburn University
Kathleen Hale Auburn University

The professionalization of a field typically brings an increase in knowledge, standardization of practices, systems improvement, and increased information sharing (Berman 1999; Berman 2006; Berman and Wang 2000; Rainey and Steinbauer 1994). Professionalization in turn produces gives administrators greater influence in shaping practice and future policy (Hale 2011). Election administration as a field has become increasingly professionalized starting in the 1970s, and these efforts gained significant speed following the 2000 election (Fischer and Coleman 2008; Hale and Brown 2016; Hale, Montjoy and Brown 2015). In this paper, we extend our work on election professionalization (Hale and Brown 2013) to create a professionalization index that includes formal training, state incentives, and state association strength. We then examine the relationship between professionalization and state level factors that influence it, as well as professionalization and election outcomes. We identify state level variations in administrative professionalization, policy, practice, and outcomes.
