

EXHIBIT 10

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA DIVISION

GEORGIA COALITION FOR THE
PEOPLES' AGENDA, INC., as an
organization; et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

BRIAN KEMP, in his official capacity as
Secretary of State for the State of
Georgia,

Defendant.

Civil Action No.
1:18-cv-04727-ELR

DECLARATION OF MICHAEL MCDONALD

My name is Michael P. McDonald. I am Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Florida. I am widely regarded as a leading expert on United States elections. I have published extensively on elections in peer-reviewed journals and I produce what many consider to be the most reliable turnout rates of the nation and the states.¹ I have specifically published peer-reviewed articles on

¹ Michael P. McDonald and Samuel Popkin. 2001. "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter." *American Political Science Review* 95(4): 963-974

the reliability of voter registration files² and matching algorithms as applied to voter registration files.³ In the course of my election work, I have consulted for the United States Election Assistance Commission, the Department of Defense's Federal Voting Assistance Program, the media's National Exit Poll organization, the Associated Press, ABC News, and NBC News. In 2016, I was an expert witness for plaintiffs challenging the Georgia Secretary of State's exact match policy.⁴ I was an expert witness for plaintiffs challenging the Kansas requirement for documentary proof of citizenship.⁵ I have been an expert witness in other litigation specifically involving voter registration in Florida⁶ and Washington.⁷ Plaintiffs prevailed in whole or in part in all four of these cases related to voter registration. I also have an extensive publishing record and experience testifying in

² Michael P. McDonald. 2007. "The True Electorate: A Cross-Validation of Voter File and Election Poll Demographics." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 71(4): 588-602.

³ Michael P. McDonald and Justin Levitt. 2008. "Seeing Double Voting: An Extension of the Birthday Problem." *Election Law Journal* 7(2): 111-22.

⁴ *Georgia State Conf. of the NAACP, et al. v. Brian Kemp*. No. 2:16-cv-00219-WCO (N.D. Ga.).

⁵ *Fish v. Kobach*. Case No. 2:16-cv-02105 (D. Kan.).

⁶ *League of Women Voters of Florida v. Browning* (08-21243-CV-ALTONAGA/BROWN)

⁷ *Washington Association of Churches v. Reed* (CV06-0726).

redistricting and other election-related cases. Please see my curriculum vitae for more information.

Summary

I identify 3,143 Georgians who, as of July 5, 2018 and pursuant to H.B. 268, must provide documentary proof of citizenship to a deputy registrar on Election Day or to the board of registrars shortly thereafter in order to cast a valid ballot. I find these individuals tend to be more often a person of color and younger, compared with all contemporaneous persons registered to vote in Georgia. For those unable to meet the H.B. 268 requirements, these individuals will not only be unable to vote in an immediate election they attempt to participate in, but will tend to have a lifetime of lower levels of participation because they could not establish a healthy habit of voting.

Data Sources

It is my understanding that Georgia follows the practice of placing registrants with questions regarding their registration application into what is referred to as a pending state. Plaintiffs' counsel provided me with a list of Georgia registrants whose applications were in a pending status as of July 5, 2018. I understand that this list was acquired from the Georgia Secretary of State's office.

I also analyze a voter registration file that Plaintiff's counsel provided to me that I understand was obtained from the Georgia Secretary of State's office. This file contains a list of all Georgians registered to vote, with a file creation date of June 22, 2018.

Identifying Georgia Registrants Required to Provide Documentary Proof of Citizenship

My analysis of the July 5, 2018 pending list reveals there are two fields that may identify registrants who must provide documentary proof of citizenship to a deputy registrar on Election Day or to the board of registrars before they are permitted to vote. A field called "Status Reason" contains a description of reasons why registrants are in pending status, including 3,133 whose Status Reason is identified as "Citizenship Verification". In addition a field called "Status Reason Code" has three-letter codes that appear to correspond loosely with Status Reason.

I provide the frequency of Status Reason Codes for registrants whose Status Reason is "Citizenship Verification" in Table 1. I infer from the high frequency of the Status Reason Code "CIZ" that this piece of information may also identify registrants who must provide documentary proof of citizenship.

Status Reason Code	Number of Registrants
CIZ	1,962
DDS	62
DDS,CIZ	5
PVR	1
SSN	301
<Blank>	802
TOTAL	3,133

Table 1. Frequency of Status Reason Codes among Registrants with a Status Reason “Citizenship Verification”

In total, there are 1,972 registrants with a Status Reason Code “CIZ”, which is 10 more than the 1,962 registrants with a Status Reason identified as “Citizenship Verification”. I provide the distribution of Status Reasons for registrants with a “CIZ” Status Reason Code in Table 2.

Status Reason	Number of Registrants
Citizenship verification	1,962
DDS verification	1
Incomplete Address	4
<Blank>	5
TOTAL	1,972

Table 2. Frequency of Status Reasons among Registrants with a Status Reason Code “CIZ”

I infer from these two pieces of information that registrants may be in a pending status for multiple reasons. In the analysis that follows, I assume that

registrants required to provide documentary proof of citizenship, in addition to any other information they may be required to provide, are identified as those whose Status Reason is identified as “Citizenship Verification” or whose Status Reason Code is “CIZ”. There are 3,133 registrants whose Status Reason is “Citizenship Verification”, and 10 registrants whose Status Reason Code is “CIZ” but their Status Reason is something other than “Citizenship Verification”, for a total of 3,143 registrants that may need to provide documentary proof of citizenship.

The documentary proof of citizenship requirement went into effect on July 1, 2017. Of the 3,143 registrants currently flagged as a potential non-citizen, there are 1,943 registrants whose initial voter registration date is prior to July 1, 2017, the effective date of H.B. 268. Meanwhile, the other 1,200 registrants have a registration date listed as being on or following July 1, 2017. This may indicate that persons with an existing registration are subject to H.B. 268 in the course of diligently updating their voter registration records.

Who Are Georgians Required to Provide Documentary Proof of Citizenship?

To understand who is affected by Georgia’s documentary proof of citizenship requirement, I compare the race and age distribution of the 3,143 registrants who are required to provide documentary proof of citizenship with

those on the June 22, 2018 voter registration file. These comparisons reveal that registrants required to provide documentary proof of citizenship tend to be more often persons of color and younger than all persons on the voter registration file.

In Table 3 and Table 4, I present simple frequencies of the number of registrants who must provide documentary proof of citizenship and all registrants on the voter registration file, respectively. Georgia requests registrants identify themselves on their voter registration application as American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, Black not of Hispanic Origin, Hispanic, Other, or White not of Hispanic Origin. Registrants who do not select one of these racial categories are listed as an Unknown race.

Comparing Table 3 with Table 4, a striking difference is that only 13.7% of registrants required to provide documentary proof of citizenship identify themselves as White not of Hispanic Origin whereas 54.0% of all registered voters do so. The greater share of persons of color that are required to provide documentary proof of citizenship is located predominantly among Asian or Pacific Islanders, who comprise 27.0% of registrants required to provide documentary proof of citizenship, but comprise only 2.1% of all registered voters, and Hispanics, who comprise 17.0% of registrants required to provide documentary proof of citizenship, but comprise only 2.8% of all registered voters.

Race or Ethnicity	Number of Registrants	Percentage of Total
American Indian or Alaskan Native	29	0.9%
Asian or Pacific Islander	850	27.0%
Black not of Hispanic Origin	966	30.7%
Hispanic	535	17.0%
Other	151	4.8%
Unknown	182	5.8%
White not of Hispanic Origin	430	13.7%
TOTAL	3,143	

Table 3. Race of Registrants Required to Provide Documentary Proof of Citizenship

Race or Ethnicity	Number of Registrants	Percentage of Total
American Indian or Alaskan Native	7,334	0.1%
Asian or Pacific Islander	137,770	2.1%
Black not of Hispanic Origin	2,011,567	30.0%
Hispanic	185,068	2.8%
Other	83,422	1.2%
Unknown	661,864	9.9%
White not of Hispanic Origin	3,629,065	54.0%
Total	6,716,090	

Table 4. Race of All Registrants

The pending list and voter registration file record registrants' year of birth. From this information, I construct registrants' age by subtracting the year of birth from the current year, 2018. I then group registrants into four age ranges, 18-29,

30-44, 45-59, and 60 or older. I report in Table 5 and Table 6 the frequencies for registrants required to provide documentary proof of citizenship and for all registrants on the voter registration file, respectively.

Age	Number of Registrants	Percentage of Total
18-29	868	27.6%
30-44	1,229	39.1%
45-59	701	22.3%
60+	345	11.0%
TOTAL	3,143	

Table 5. Age of Registrants Required to Provide Documentary Proof of Citizenship

Age	Number of Registrants	Percentage of Total
18-29	1,347,957	20.1%
30-44	1,738,396	25.9%
45-59	1,795,489	26.7%
60+	1,834,248	27.3%
TOTAL	6,716,090	

Table 6. Age of All Registrants

Comparing Table 5 with Table 6, the most striking difference is that registrants required to provide documentary proof of citizenship are younger, on average, than registrants on the voter registration file. Persons age 60 or older constitute only 11.0 percent of registrants required to provide documentary proof of citizenship whereas persons age sixty or older constitute 27.3 percent of all registered voters. Conversely, persons age 18-29 constitute 27.6% of registrants

required to provide documentary proof of citizenship whereas persons age 18-29 constitute 20.1 percent of all registered voters. Likewise, persons age 30-44 constitute 39.1 percent of registrants required to provide documentary proof of citizenship whereas persons age 30-44 constitute 25.9 percent of all registered voters.

Effect on Voter Participation

Registrants who are citizens but inaccurately flagged as non-citizens, and then are unable to provide documentary proof of citizenship to a deputy registrar on Election Day or to the board of registrars shortly thereafter, are obviously unable to vote in an election. Furthermore, their long-term voting propensities may suffer because they are unable to establish a voting habit.

Registering to vote is a strong signal by an individual that they wish to participate in American democracy. A seminal scholarly article on the subject is aptly entitled, “Why Do People Vote? Because They Are Registered.”⁸ While registration being a necessary condition for an individual to vote may be, in the words of this author, “all too obvious”,⁹ not only does denying registrants their

⁸ Robert S. Erikson. 1981. “Why Do People Vote? Because They Are Registered.” *American Politics Quarterly* 9(3): 259-76.

⁹ Ibid, p.259.

right to vote prevent their participation in a particular election, there is scholarly consensus that voting in one election increases the propensity of a registrant to participate in subsequent elections. Thus, denying individuals their right to vote has an immediate and long-term harm on their voting propensities.

Survey researchers have long understood that past voting participation predicts future voting participation. As early as 1960, the venerable Gallup survey asked survey respondents their past voting history in order to predict voting in an upcoming election.¹⁰ Another highly respected polling organization, Pew Survey Research, uses similar questions in their likely voter models.¹¹ In recent years, survey researchers have supplemented their surveys with direct measures of past voting history available from voter registration files, and they find that election officials' records of registrants' past voting ably predicts future voting propensities.¹² Probing deeper as to why past voting predicts future voting,

¹⁰ Perry, Paul. 1960. "Election Survey Procedures of the Gallup Poll." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 24:531-42.

¹¹ Pew Research Center. 2016. "Can Likely Voter Models Be Improved? Evidence from the 2014 U.S. House Elections." Available at http://www.pewresearch.org/files/2016/01/PM_2016-01-07_likely-voters_FINAL.pdf.

¹² Todd Rogers and Masahiko Aida. 2013. "Vote Self-Prediction Hardly Predicts Who Will Vote, and Is (Misleadingly) Unbiased." *American Politics Research*, 503-528.

scholars find voting is habitual and as such, "...turnout in a given presidential election is a powerful determinant of turnout in the subsequent presidential contest."¹³

A large body of scholarly research that finds increasing the cost of voter registration decreases voter turnout rates.¹⁴ These costs tend to affect lower propensity voters, such as persons of color and young people. As a pair of scholars write, imposing additional voting costs leads "younger people [to be] more

¹³ Donald P. Green and Ron Shachar. 2000. "Habit Formation and Political Behavior: Evidence of Consuetude in Voter Turnout." *British Journal of Political Science* 30(4): 561-73. See also, Eric Plutzer. 2002. "Becoming a Habitual Voter: Inertia, Resources, and Growth in Young Adulthood" *American Political Science Review* 96(1): 41-56; and Alan S. Gerber, Donald P. Green, and Ron Shachar. 2003. "Voting May Be Habit-Forming: Evidence from a Randomized Field Experiment," *American Journal of Political Science* 47(3): 540-50.

¹⁴ See, for example, Steven J. Rosenstone and Raymond E. Wolfinger. 1978. *Who Votes?* New Haven: Yale University Press; Rhine, Staci L. 1992. "An Analysis of the Impact of Registration Factors on Turnout in 1992." *Political Behavior* 18(2): 171-85; Mitchell, Glenn E. and Christopher Wlezien. 1995. "The Impact of Legal Constraints on Voter Registration, Turnout, and the Composition of the American Electorate." *Political Behavior* 17(2): 179-202; Benjamin Highton. 1997. "Easy Registration and Turnout." *The Journal of Politics* 59(2): 565-75; Jan E. Leighley and Jonathan Nagler. 2013. *Who Votes Now? Demographics, Issues, Inequality, and Turnout in the United States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. My contributions to this extensive literature include: Michael P. McDonald. 2008. "Portable Voter Registration." *Political Behavior* 30(4): 491-501; and Michael P. McDonald and Matthew Thornburg. 2010. "Registering the Youth: Preregistration Programs." *New York University Journal of Legislation and Public Policy* 13(3): 551-72.

inclined to simply not vote at all.”¹⁵ From the preponderance of social science research, I conclude that the Georgia’s practice of denying a voting opportunity to registrants who fail to provide required citizenship documentation has both an immediate and a long-term harm on these registrants’ participation in America’s democracy. Furthermore, harms will be disproportionately be borne by persons of color and young people.

I declare that the foregoing is true and correct under penalty of perjury. Executed this 17TH day of October, 2018, in Gainesville, Florida

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Michael McDonald", written in dark ink on a white background.

Michael McDonald

¹⁵ See Henry E. Brady and John E. McNulty. 2011. “Turnout Out to Vote: The Costs of Finding and Getting to the Polling Place.” *American Political Science Review* 105(1): 115-134, pp. 128.

Dr. Michael P. McDonald

Associate Professor, University of Florida
Department of Political Science
222 Anderson Hall
P.O. Box 117325
Gainesville, FL 32611

Office: 352-273-2371
Fax: 352-392-8127
Email: michael.mcdonald@ufl.edu

Education

Post-Doctoral Fellow. Harvard University. August 1998 – August 1999.
Ph.D. Political Science. University of California, San Diego. February, 1999.
BS Economics. California Institute of Technology. June, 1989.

Awards

Brown Democracy Medal, McCourtney Institute for Democracy at Penn State University. 2018.
Positive impact on democracy for the Public Mapping Project.

Tides Pizzigati Prize. 2013. Public interest software for DistrictBuilder.

Strata Innovation Award. 2012. Data Used for Social Impact for DistrictBuilder.

American Political Science Association, Information and Technology Politics Section. 2012.
Software of the Year for DistrictBuilder.

Politico. 2011. Top Ten Political Innovations for DistrictBuilder.

GovFresh. 2011. 2nd Place, Best Use of Open Source for DistrictBuilder.

Virginia Senate. 2010. Commendation for Virginia Redistricting Competition.

American Political Science Association, Information and Technology Politics Section. 2009.
Software of the Year for BARD.

Publications

Books

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Michael P. McDonald and Micah Altman. 2018. *The Public Mapping Project: How Public Participation Can Revolutionize Redistricting*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

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- Richard Engstrom and Michael P. McDonald. 2011. "The Political Scientist as Expert Witness." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44(2): 285-89.
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- David Lublin and Michael P. McDonald. 2006. "Is It Time to Draw the Line? The Impact of Redistricting on Competition in State House Elections." *Election Law Journal* 5(2): 144-57.
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Michael P. McDonald. 2004. "2001: A Redistricting Odyssey." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 4(4): 369-370.

Micah Altman and Michael P. McDonald. 1999. "Resources for Testing and Enhancement of Statistical Software" in *The Political Methodologist* 9(1).

Michael P. McDonald. 1999. "Representational Theories of the Polarization of the House of Representatives" in *Legislative Studies Section Newsletter, Extension of Remarks* 22(2): 8-10.

Michael P. McDonald. 2003. "California Recall Voting: Nuggets of California Gold for Political Behavior." *The Forum* (1) 4.

Reports

Michael P. McDonald. 2009. "Voter Preregistration Programs." Fairfax, VA: George Mason University.

Michael P. McDonald. 2009. *Midwest Mapping Project*. Fairfax, VA: George Mason University.

Michael P. McDonald and Matthew Thornburg. 2008. "The 2008 Virginia Election Administration Survey." Fairfax, VA: George Mason University.

Kimball Brace and Michael P. McDonald. 2005. "Report to the Election Assistance Commission on the Election Day Survey." Sept. 27, 2005.

Opinion Editorials

Michael P. McDonald. 2018. "I agree with Donald Trump, we should have voter ID. Here's how and why." *USA Today*. Jan. 15, 2018.

Michael P. McDonald. 2017. "The Russians are hacking. Luckily the Trump voter fraud commission isn't in charge." *USA Today*. Sept. 23, 2017.

Michael P. McDonald. 2016. "Better Hope the Election is Not Close." *USA Today*. Nov. 2, 2016.

Michael P. McDonald. 2016. "Blame Government for Voting Crisis." *USA Today*. March 24, 2016.

Michael P. McDonald, Peter Licari and Lia Merivaki. 2015. "The Big Cost of Using Big Data in Elections." *The Washington Post*. Oct. 18, 2015.

Michael P. McDonald. 2013. "Truths and Uncertainties that Surround the 2014 Midterms." *The Hill*. November 5, 2013.

Michael P. McDonald. 2011. "The Shape of Things to Come: New Software May Help the Public Have a Crucial Redrawing of Voting Districts." *Sojourners*. April 2011: 11-12.

Micah Altman and Michael P. McDonald. 2011. "Computers: Redistricting Super Hero or Evil Mastermind?" *Campaigns and Elections Magazine*. January 2011.

Michael P. McDonald. 2010. "Who Voted in 2010, and Why It Matters for 2012." *AOL News*. Nov. 4, 2010.

Michael P. McDonald and Seth McKee. "The Revenge of the Moderates." *The Politico*. Oct. 10, 2010.

Michael P. McDonald and Micah Altman. 2010. "Pulling Back the Curtain on Redistricting." *The Washington Post*. July 9, 2010.

Michael P. McDonald. 2008. "This May Be the Election of the Century." *The Politico*. Sept. 9, 2008.

Michael P. McDonald. 2008. "Super Tuesday Turned into a Super Flop." *Roll Call*. Feb. 11, 2008.

Michael P. McDonald. 2006. "5 Myths About Turning Out the Vote." *The Washington Post*. Oct. 29, 2006, p. B3.

Michael P. McDonald. 2006. "Supreme Court Lets the Politicians Run Wild." *Roll Call*. June 29, 2006.

Michael P. McDonald. 2006. "Re-Redistricting Redux." *The American Prospect*. March 6, 2006.

Michael P. McDonald and Kimball Brace. "EAC Survey Sheds Light on Election Administration." *Roll Call*. Oct. 27, 2005.

Michael P. McDonald. 2004. "The Numbers Prove that 2004 May Signal More Voter Interest." *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*. Milwaukee, WI.

Michael P. McDonald. 2004. "Democracy in America?" *La Vanguardia*. Barcelona, Spain.

Michael P. McDonald. 2003. "Enhancing Democracy in Virginia." *Connection Newspapers*. March 24.

Michael P. McDonald. 2001. "Piecing Together the Illinois Redistricting Puzzle." *Illinois Issues*. March, 2001.

Samuel Popkin and Michael P. McDonald. 2000. "Turnout's Not as Bad as You Think." *The Washington Post*. Nov. 5: B-1.

Samuel Popkin and Michael P. McDonald. 1998. "Who Votes? A Comparison of NES, CPS, and VNS Polls." *Democratic Leadership Council Bluebook*. Sept., 1998.

Software Packages

Micah Altman, Michael P. McDonald, and Azavea. 2012. "DistrictBuilder." Open source software to enable public participation in redistricting. Source code available at Github. Project website, <http://www.districtbuilder.org>.

Micah Altman and Michael P. McDonald. 2007. "BARD: Better Automated Redistricting." R package available through CRAN. Source code available at Sourceforge.

Micah Altman, Jeff Gill, and Michael P. McDonald. 2004. "Accuracy: Tools for testing and improving accuracy of statistical results." R package available through CRAN.

Grants and Contracts

Pilot Study for Election Data Administrative Data Research Facility. (\$125,000) Sloan Foundation grant to collect precinct election results and boundary data and to upgrade DistrictBuilder software.

Improving Integrity of Voter File Addresses. (\$20,000) Colorado Secretary of State support to develop methods to improve voter file addresses.

Fabricating Precinct Boundaries. (\$17,000). MIT Election Science and Data Lab support to explore fabricating precinct boundaries from geocoded voter files.

UF Informatics Post-Doc Top-Off Award. 2017. (\$16,000). Funding from the UF Informatics Institute to provide additional post-doc funding in support of Hewlett Foundation grant.

U.S. Election Project. 2016. (\$50,000). Hewlett Foundation support for U.S. Election Project Activities.

UF Informatics Institute Seed Fund Award. 2016. (\$48,000). Project funded by the UF Informatics Institute to explore the reliability of Florida's voter registration file.

Election Forum. 2016. (\$20,000). Project funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts for an election forum held at the University of Florida.

Survey of Voter File Accessibility. 2016. (\$1,650). Contract from the Institute for Money in State Politics to survey costs and accessibility of states' voter files.

Florida Election Reform. 2015. (\$13,000). Project funded by Democracy Fund for an election reform forum held in Tallahassee, FL. Pew Charitable Trusts independently provided travel support for some speakers.

New York Redistricting. 2011. (\$379,000). Project funded by the Sloan Foundation to provide for public redistricting in New York and continued software development.

Citizen Redistricting Education, Software Supplemental. 2011. (\$50,000). Project funded by Joyce Foundation to provide continued redistricting software development for use by advocacy groups in six Midwestern states.

National Redistricting Reform Coordination. 2009-10. (\$100,000). With Thomas Mann and Norman Ornstein. Project funded by Joyce Foundation to support coordination of national redistricting reform efforts by the Brookings Institution and the American Enterprise Institute.

Citizen Mapping Project. 2009-10. (\$124,000 & \$98,000). With Micah Altman, Thomas Mann, and Norman Ornstein. Project funded by the Sloan Foundation. An award to George Mason University enables development of software that, essentially, permits on-line redistricting through commonly used internet mapping programs. A second award to the Brookings Institution and American Enterprise Institute provides organizational support, including the convening of an advisory board.

Citizen Redistricting Education. 2010. (\$104,000). Project funded by the Joyce Foundation. Provides for redistricting education forums in five Midwestern state capitals in 2010 and other continuing education efforts.

Pre-Registration Programs. 2008-9. (\$86,000). Project funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts' Make Voting Work Initiative to examine pre-registration programs (voter registration for persons under age 18) in Florida and Hawaii.

Sound Redistricting Reform. 2006-9. (\$405,000). Project funded by the Joyce Foundation, conducted jointly with the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU to investigate impacts of redistricting reform in Midwestern states.

Electoral Competition Project. 2005-6. (\$200,000) Project funded by The Armstrong Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the JEHT Foundation, The Joyce Foundation, The Kerr Foundation, Inc., and anonymous donors. Jointly conducted by the Brookings Institution and Cato Institute to investigate the state of electoral competition in the United States.

George Mason University Provost Summer Research Grant. 2004. (\$5,000).

ICPSR Data Document Initiative. 1999. Awarded beta test grant. Member, advisory committee on creation of electronic codebook standards.

Academic Experience

Courses Taught: Public Opinion and Voting Behavior, Parties and Campaigns, Comparative Electoral Institutions, Intro to American Politics, American Politics Graduate Field Seminar, Congress, Legislative Politics, Research Methods (undergraduate), Advanced Research Methods (graduate), Freshman Seminar: Topics in Race and Gender Policies, and Legislative Staff Internship Program.

University of Florida

- Associate Professor. August 2014- Present.

George Mason University

- Associate Professor. May 2007 – May, 2014.

- Assistant Professor. Aug 2002 – May, 2007.

The Brookings Institution

- Non-Resident Senior Fellow. January 2006 – June 2016.
- Visiting Fellow. June 2004 – December 2006.

University of Illinois, Springfield. Assistant Professor. Aug 2000 – June 2002.

Joint appointment in Political Studies Department and Legislative Studies Center.

Vanderbilt University. Assistant Professor. Aug 1999 – Aug 2000.

Harvard-MIT Data Center. Post-Doctoral Research Fellow. Sept. 1998 – Aug 1999.

Developed Virtual Data Center, a web-based data sharing system for academics. Maintained Record of American Democracy (U.S. precinct-level election data).

University of California-San Diego

- Assistant to the Director for University of California, Washington DC program. Sept 1997 – June 1998.
- Instructor for research methods seminar for UCSD Washington interns.
- Visiting Assistant Professor. Spring Quarter 1997.
- Visiting Assistant Professor. Summer Session, Aug 1996 and Aug 1997.
- Teaching Assistant/Grader. Aug 1991 – March 1997.

Professional Service

Election Sciences Conference-in-a-conference at the 207 Southern Political Science Association Conference. Organizer. 2016.

State Politics and Policy Quarterly, Editorial Board Member 2004-2011

State Politics and Policy Quarterly, Guest Editor. Dec 2004 issue.

Non-Profit Voter Engagement Network, Member, Advisory Board. 2007 – present.

Overseas Vote Foundation, Member, Advisory Board. 2005 – 2013.

National Capital Area Political Science Association, Member, Council, 2010 – 2012.

Virginia Public Access Project, Member, Board of Directors. 2004 – 2006.

Fairfax County School Board Adult and Community Education Advisory Committee, Member. 2004 – 2005.

Related Professional Experience

Media Consultant

- Associated Press. Nov. 2016 and Nov. 2010. Worked “Decision Desk.”
- Edison Media Research/Mitofsky International. Nov. 2018; Nov. 2004; Nov. 2006; Feb. 2008; Nov. 2008. Worked national exit polling organization's “Decision Desk.”

- ABC News. Nov. 2002. Worked “Decision Desk.”
- NBC News. Aug 1996. Analyzed polls during the Republican National Convention.

Redistricting/Elections Consultant.

- Expert Witness. 2018. *Common Cause Indiana v. Lawson*. Case No. 1:17-cv-3936-TWP-MPB (Indiana).
- Expert Witness. 2017-18. *Benisek v. Lamone*. Case No. 13-cv-3233 (Maryland).
- Expert Witness. 2016-2017. *Vesilind v. Virginia State Board of Elections*. Case No. CL15003886 (Virginia).
- Expert Witness. 2016-2017. *Fish v. Kobach*. Case No. 2:16-cv-02105 (Kansas).
- Expert Witness. 2016. *Arizona Libertarian Party v. Reagan*. Case No.: 2:16-cv-01019-DGC (Arizona).
- Expert Witness. 2016. *Georgia State Conf. of the NAACP, et al. v. Brian Kemp*. Cas No. 2:16-cv-00219-WCO (Georgia).
- Consultant. Federal Voting Assistance Program. 2014-2015. Analyzed voting experience of military and overseas voters.
- Expert Witness. 2013-2014. *Page v. Virginia State Board of Elections*. No. 3:13-cv-678 (E.D.VA).
- Expert Witness. 2013-2014. *Delgado v. Galvin*. (D. MA).
- Beaumont Independent School District. 2013. Prepared response to DOJ data request.
- Federal Voting Assistance Program. 2012-13. Analyzed voting experience of military and overseas voters.
- Gerson Lehrman Group. 2012. Provided election analysis to corporate clients.
- Expert Witness. 2011-2012. *Backus v. South Carolina*. No. 3:11-cv-03120 (D.S.C.).
- Expert Witness. 2012. *Wilson v. Kasich*. No. 2012-0019 (Ohio Sup. Ct.).
- Consulting Expert. 2011-2012. Bondurant, Mixson, and Elmore, LLP. (Review of Georgia's state legislative and congressional redistricting Section 5 submission).
- Consultant. 2012. New Jersey Congressional Redistricting Commission.
- Expert Witness. 2011. *Perez v. Texas*. No. 5:11-cv-00360 (W.D. Tex.).
- Expert Witness. 2011. *Wilson v. Fallin*. No. O-109652 (Okla. Sup. Ct.).
- Consultant. 2011. United States Federal Voting Assistance Program.
- Consultant. 2011. Virginia Governor’s Independent Bipartisan Advisory Redistricting Commission.
- Consultant. 2011. New Jersey State Legislative Redistricting Commission.
- Expert Witness. 2010. *Healey v. State, et al.* C.A. No. 10-316--S (USDC-RI).
- Research Triangle Institute. 2008-2009. Consultant for Election Assistance Commission, 2008 Election Day Survey.
- U.S. State Department. 2008. Briefed visiting foreign nationals on U.S. elections.
- Expert Witness. 2008. *League of Women Voters of Florida v. Browning* (08-21243-CV-ALTONAGA/BROWN)
- Pew Center for the States. 2007. Consultant for Trends to Watch project.
- Expert Witness. 2007. *Washington Association of Churches v. Reed* (CV06-0726).
- Electoral Assistance Commission. 2005. Analyzed election administration surveys.

- Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission. 2001-2003. Consultant.
- Expert Witness. 2003. *Minority Coalition for Fair Redistricting, et al. v. Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission* CV2002-004380 (2003).
- Expert Witness. 2003. *Rodriguez v. Pataki* 308 F. Supp. 2d 346 (S.D.N.Y. 2004).
- Consulting Expert. 2002. *O'Lear v. Miller* No. 222 F. Supp. 2d 850 (E.D. Mich.).
- Expert Witness. 2001-2002. *In Re 2001 Redistricting Cases* (Case No. S-10504).
- Expert Witness. 2001. *United States v. Upper San Gabriel Valley Municipal Water District* (C.D. Cal. 2000).
- California State Assembly. 1991. Consultant.
- Pactech Data and Research. Research Associate. Aug 1989 - June 1991.

Campaign/Political Consultant.

- Ron Christian for Virginia State Senate. June – November, 2003.
- Theresa Martinez for Virginia House of Delegates. May, 2003.
- Senior Consultant. California State Assembly. Nov. – Dec 1998.
- California Assembly Democrats. June – November 1998.
- Susan Davis & Howard Wayne for CA State Assembly '96. 1996.
- Intern. June – Sept 1995. UC-San Diego, Science and Technology Policy and Projects.

Polling Consultant.

- Hickman-Brown. July, 2000. Analyzed national and state level exit and CPS polls for use in various campaigns. Analyzed surveys for congressional, state, and local political campaigns.
- Decision Research. Aug 1994 – Dec 1994. Conducted and analyzes surveys for congressional and statewide campaigns.
- Speaker Jose de Venecia of the Philippines. Feb, 1997.
- Joong-Ang Ilbo/RAND. Oct, 1996. Analyzed survey of Korean attitudes on national security issues.
- UCSD. Nov. 1991. Conducted and analyzed survey of student attitudes.