

EXHIBIT A

Expert Report

ALABAMA COALITION FOR IMMIGRANT JUSTICE, et al. v.
ALLEN, et al., Case No.: 2:24-cv-1254-AMM

Daniel A. Smith, Ph.D.*

October 9, 2024



Daniel A. Smith

*Professor of Political Science, University of Florida (for identification purposes only), and President, ElectionSmith.

Contents

I Purpose of engagement	4
II Summary of Findings	4
III Qualifications	5
IV Alabama’s Purge Program is unreliable and methodologically unsound	7
IV.I Alabama’s Purge Program uses unreliable data	8
IV.II Alabama’s Purge Program is methodologically unsound	11
V Alabama’s Purge Program lacks transparency	16
VI Alabama’s Purge Program matching exercise is <i>ad hoc</i>	19
VII Alabama’s Purge Program identifying ‘noncitizens’ was not vetted	27
VIII Alabama’s Purge Program copies Florida’s failed purge program	36
IX Alabama’s Purge Program disparately impacts non-White naturalized U.S. citizens	39
IX.I Analysis of race/ethnicity data from the Purge Program	39
IX.I.1 Data from ALEA	39
IX.I.2 Data from ADOL	40
IX.II DHS Office of Homeland Security Statistics Persons Naturalized data	43
IX.III Florida <i>Arcia</i> litigation data	44
X Public statements by Alabama officials raise the cost of voting for naturalized U.S. citizens	45
X.I Confusing language raises the cost of registering to vote	47

X.II Threatening language raises the cost of registering to vote	50
XI Conclusion	53
A Appendix	59
A.I Curriculum vitae of Daniel A. Smith	59

I Purpose of engagement

1 Counsel for the Plaintiffs in *ALABAMA COALITION FOR IMMIGRANT JUSTICE, et al. v. ALLEN, et al.* have engaged me to form expert opinions on the impact of the program implemented by Alabama Secretary of State Wes Allen (hereafter, “Purge Program”) that seeks to purge registered Alabama voters previously issued noncitizen identification numbers by the Department of Homeland Security.

2 In informing my opinions, I have read press releases issued by Alabama Secretary of State Allen, comments posted on X (formerly Twitter) by Alabama Attorney General Marshall, announcements issued on the Secretary of State’s website including press releases, media reports, data from the Department of Homeland Security, relevant scholarly articles, comparative data from Florida’s previous effort to remove “potential noncitizens” from its voter rolls circa 2011/2012, exhibits produced in this litigation, and administrative data provided to me by counsel from the Alabama Secretary of State and other Alabama administrative agencies.

II Summary of Findings

3 My report reaches the following conclusions. In its effort to match individuals on Alabama’s voter rolls with other state administrative data in an attempt to identify alleged noncitizens:

- Alabama’s Purge Program violates several established methodological standards which result in false positives, that is, wrongly identifying U.S. citizens as noncitizens;

- Alabama’s Purge Program plan lacks transparency, its matching exercise is *ad hoc*, and the list of names that Secretary of State Allen made public were not properly vetted;
- Alabama’s Purge Program copies Florida’s failed effort which resulted in naturalized U.S. citizens being wrongly targeted with removal from the state’s voter rolls;
- Alabama’s Purge Program disproportionately targets non-White naturalized U.S. citizens for removal from the state’s voter rolls;
- Alabama elected state officials touting the state’s Purge Program create confusion and invoke fear among naturalized U.S. citizens wrongly identified in its flawed matching program, as well as among other naturalized U.S. citizens planning on registering to vote but who may fear that they too will be targets of criminal prosecution.

III Qualifications

4 I am a Professor and former Chair of the Department of Political Science at the University of Florida. I received my doctorate in Political Science from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1994 and undergraduate degrees in Political Science and History at Penn State University in 1988. I am also President of ElectionSmith, an S-Corp registered in Florida.

5 For over 30 years I have conducted empirical research on electoral politics in the American states, focusing on the effect of political institutions on political behavior. I have written extensively on election administration in the American states, including the effects of changes of election laws and rules on voter participation and turnout. I have published more than 100 articles and book chapters, including many appearing in the discipline’s top

peer-reviewed journals. My research has been cited nearly 5,000 times according to Google Scholar. In addition, I have published two academic books on electoral politics in the American states and am the coauthor of a widely used college textbook, *State and Local Politics: Institutions and Reform*, which includes several discussions of state voting laws, election administration, and voter participation and turnout, including in Alabama. I have taught an array of undergraduate and graduate courses focusing on American political institutions, voting and election administration, and political behavior in the American states, including in Alabama.

6 I have testified before the U.S. Senate and state legislatures on voting and election issues. A former Senior Fulbright Scholar, I have received numerous grants and awards for my work on campaigns and elections, including from the U.S. Department of State and the American Political Science Association (“APSA”). I am a past-President of the State Politics and Policy Section of the APSA. In 2010, I was the lead author of the “Direct Democracy Scholars” *amicus* brief in *Doe v. Reed*, which was successfully argued by the Attorney General of the State of Washington before the U.S. Supreme Court, and my scholarship has been cited in an opinion of the U.S. Supreme Court. As a scholar, I have written extensively about election procedures, including voter registration, for more than two decades. My methods are reliable and appropriate in the discipline of political science, and my opinions result from applying these methods to answer questions addressed in this litigation.

7 I have served as an expert in election-related litigation in numerous states, including in Alabama in cases heard in this court, and have worked for both plaintiffs and defendants (including serving as an expert for the State of Florida, the State of Colorado, and the State of California to defend their election laws). All of these cases relate to aspects

of voting rights and election administration. Most relevant to this case, I served as an expert in 2012 for the plaintiffs in *Arcia, et al. v. Detzner*, 1:12-cv-22282-WJZ (US District Court for the Southern District of Florida), where I conducted empirical analyses of the Florida Department of State’s various lists of “potential noncitizens.”¹ I am well-versed on this topic and my opinions and testimony have been cited and found to be reliable by federal courts.

8 I am being paid at a rate of \$500/hour for work in this litigation. My compensation is contingent neither on the results of the analyses described herein nor on the contents of my report. A list of my publications and my testimony are included in my curriculum vitae, attached as Appendix A.I.

IV Alabama’s Purge Program is unreliable and methodologically unsound

9 Scholars have long found that efforts to purge voters using matching techniques are at best imperfect and at worst severely flawed (Stuart 2004; Minnite 2010; Hasen 2012; Scher 2015; Wang 2017). The effort to match administrative voter registration records with other administrative databases creates the possibility of multiple sources of error (McDonald and Levitt 2008). Administrative data, including statewide voter registration lists, are

¹I have served as an expert in numerous cases in the 11th Circuit, including in Alabama: *Thompson et al. v. Merrill*, Case No. 2:16-cv-783 (US District Court for the Middle District of Alabama), *Florida State Conference of NAACP v. Lee*, 4:21-cv-187-MW-MAF, *Florida Rising Together v. Lee*, 4:21-cv-201-MW-MJF, *Jones v. Ron DeSantis, etc. et al.* (Consolidated Case No. 4:19-cv-300, N.D. Fla.), *American Civil Rights Union v. Snipes* (Case No. 16-cv-61474, S.D. Fla.), *Fair Fight Action v. Crittenden* (Case No. 1:18-cv-05391, N.D. Ga.), *DNC Services Corporation et al. v. Lee et al.* (Case No. 4:18-cv-520 (RH/MJF, N.D. Fla.), *Rivera v. Detzner* (Case No. 1:18-cv-00152, N.D. Fla.), *Florida Democratic Party v. Scott* (Case No. 4:16-cv-00626, N.D. Fla.), *Florida Democratic Party v. Detzner* (Case No. 4:16-cv-00607, N.D. Fla.), and *League of Women Voters of Florida v. Detzner* (Case No. 4:18-cv-00251, N.D. Fla.).

known to have numerous clerical errors and are continuously being updated with voters' information, making matching efforts with other administrative databases particularly perilous.(McDonald 2007; Ansolabehere and Hersh 2014; Berent, Krosnick and Lupia 2016; Burden 2014; Shino et al. 2020). Efforts to match across databases on indicators such as first and last name and date of birth can not infrequently identify different people as the same individual (McDonald 2007; Shino et al. 2020).

10 In my opinion, the Alabama Secretary of State's Purge Program matching effort, as has been publicly articulated and which is sketched out in documents from the Alabama Secretary of State provided in discovery, uses unreliable data and is irreparably flawed methodologically, falling well short of accepted scholarly standards and practices.

IV.I Alabama's Purge Program uses unreliable data

11 In my opinion, Alabama's Purge Program is poorly designed, grounded in unreliable data. As a result of the poor design, Secretary of State Allen's Purge Program has wrongly targeted thousands of U.S. citizens who are legally registered to vote. Specifically, Alabama's Purge Program targets individuals on the state's voter rolls who at one time were issued a noncitizen identification number by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS), Office of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS).

12 Having at one time been issued a noncitizen identification number by USCIS *does not* determine one's U.S. citizenship. Thousands of individuals residing in Alabama who have been issued a noncitizen registration number have become U.S. citizens. In Alabama and across the country, many of these naturalized U.S. citizens subsequently register to vote.(Bass

and Casper 2001; Li and Jones 2020)

13 To my knowledge, the Secretary of State does not independently collect information as to whether registered voters in the state were ever issued a noncitizen identification number. This is because individuals do not provide this information when they register to vote in Alabama.²

14 My review of documents provided in discovery indicate that the Alabama Secretary of State has obtained noncitizen registration numbers, as well as additional information, from two Alabama administrative agencies—the Alabama Law Enforcement Agency (ALEA) and the Alabama Department of Labor (ADOL). Both of these agencies, separately and for their own purposes, collect a wealth of information on individuals with whom they interface, including if they have been issued a noncitizen identification number by USCIS. Secretary of State Allen’s Purge Program attempts to leverage data obtained from ALEA and ADOL to determine if individuals who were issued a noncitizen identification number are registered voters in the state.

15 Even if such a matching effort were methodologically sound, which I address below in Subsection IV.II, reliance on noncitizen identification numbers is unreliable in establishing the eligibility to register to vote in Alabama. Thousands of Alabama residents who obtained a noncitizen identification number have become naturalized U.S. citizens. Prior to becoming U.S. citizens, many interfaced with ALEA and ADOL.

²“State of Alabama Voter Registration Form” (NVRA-2), available <https://www.sos.alabama.gov/sites/default/files/voter-pdfs/nvra-2.pdf>.

16 Permanent residents and other legal noncitizens residing in Alabama are eligible to apply for an Alabama driver's license issued by the ALEA (called a "foreign national license" or a "FN") if they provide proof of authorized presence in the United States. Similarly, permanent residents and other legal noncitizens employed in Alabama are permitted to file claims for unemployment compensation with the ADOL. It is clear from data collected and made public by the DHS Office of Homeland Security Statistics that thousands of Alabama residents legally become U.S. citizens through the naturalization process every year.³ It is my understanding that ALEA and ADOL may retain noncitizen identification numbers in their databases although neither of these agencies necessarily collect or update information concerning an individual's current U.S. citizenship status.

17 For example, it is my understanding that individuals who are issued a foreign national driver's license in Alabama and who later become naturalized U.S. citizens are not required under state law to update their driver's license when they become citizens, nor are they required to do so when they subsequently register to vote. Indeed, an Alabama driver's license is valid for four years before it expires.⁴ Thus, it is nearly certain that the Alabama Purge Program will incorrectly identify individuals on the voter rolls who were previously issued a foreign national driver's license, but who subsequently become naturalized U.S. citizens and registered to vote within the past four years. The staleness of data maintained by ALEA will inevitably result in false positives when data from the agency is matched to Secretary of State's statewide voter file.

³See, "Profiles on Naturalized Citizens," DHS, Office of Homeland Security Statistics, available <https://ohss.dhs.gov/topics/immigration/naturalizations/profiles-naturalized-citizens-000>.

⁴See Ala. Code § 32-6-1(b), available <https://alison.legislature.state.al.us/code-of-alabama>.

18 In short, databases maintained by Alabama administrative agencies, including ALEA and ADOL, are not designed to have real-time information on the current U.S. citizenship status of individuals who have used their services. Use of noncitizen identification numbers in the databases of these administrative agencies to determine the U.S. citizenship status of registered voters is unreliable.

IV.II Alabama's Purge Program is methodologically unsound

19 More broadly, even if databases maintained by ADOL and ALEA were designed to have up-to-the-minute information on an Alabama resident's citizenship status, Alabama's Purge Program identifying purported noncitizens on the voter rolls in the state relies on a flawed intra-agency database matching methodology. Inter-agency database matching exercises, including the Alabama Secretary of State's effort to match ALEA and ADOL administrative data to its own voter registration database, are prone to methodological errors resulting from any of the following:

- **Data Staleness:** Administrative data are not necessarily updated, or updated frequently, by state agencies. This may lead to discrepancies between more recent (and more accurate), and older (and more outdated) administrative records. Timeliness issues can result in errors when attempting to match records, with older data potentially containing information that is no longer accurate.
- **Data Integrity:** Administrative data retained by some state agencies may not be prioritized by other state officials. As such, some of the information retained by a state agency that is being sought through a matching exercise by another agency may not be central to the duties of the agency being asked to provide data. This may lead to a successful "match," but one that does not contain accurate information due to administrative data becoming corrupted or compromised, as well as information not being entered into an agency's database, or information not being entered into an agency's database correctly.
- **Data Inconsistency:** Administrative data retained by state agencies may not follow the same formatting structures or standards (such as naming conventions and formatting). This may lead to discrepancies when trying to match cross-agency administrative

records.

20 Alabama's Purge Program, which attempts to match currently registered voters in the state with ALEA and ADOL databases, is beset by data staleness, data integrity issues, and data inconsistency. Each of these issues can lead to what is known as a "false positive," that is, when an apparent "matched" record is incorrect, misidentifying the presence of a condition or attribute that actually does not exist.

21 It is clear from the documents I have reviewed from the Alabama Secretary of State in discovery that Alabama's Purge Program has incorrectly identified thousands of individuals who are in fact naturalized U.S. citizens and who are legally registered to vote in the state. These individuals are casualties of Alabama's methodologically unsound matching effort.

22 In my opinion, given what is publicly known about Alabama's Purge Program and my own analysis of the data files provided to me in discovery, the Alabama Secretary of State's matching exercise is riddled with false positives: individuals who are U.S. citizens and who are legally registered to vote in Alabama have been incorrectly identified by the Alabama Secretary of State's Purge Program as noncitizens. This is most likely due to one or more of the errors identified above.

23 The reason for this is simple: Alabama has thousands of residents who at one time were not U.S. citizens and who were issued a noncitizen identification number by USCIS. Many of these individuals eventually became naturalized U.S. citizens and subsequently legally registered to vote in Alabama. However, it is clear that the databases maintained

by ALEA or ADOL have stale information, lack integrity, or are inconsistent with the voter registration database maintained by the Alabama Secretary of State. When the Alabama Secretary of State conducted its matching exercise, it identified individuals who were previously noncitizens when they interacted with ALEA or ADOL, but who subsequently became U.S. citizens and are legally registered to vote in Alabama.

24 There are also U.S.-born citizens who have never been issued a noncitizen identification number by USCIS who are on Alabama’s list of noncitizens. Some of these individuals may have at one time or another interfaced with ALEA or ADOL. When they did so, it is possible that the databases maintained by ALEA or ADOL lacked integrity, contained incorrect information, or were inconsistent with the voter registration database maintained by the Alabama Secretary of State.

25 For example, James Stroop, a U.S.-born citizen from Marshall County who is an Individual Plaintiff in this case, appears on a list with 25 other registered voters identified by the Purge Program. They were ensnared in its flawed matching exercise. Secretary of State Director of Communications, Laney Rawls, emailed the list to Fitzgerald Washington, Alabama Secretary of Labor, noting that these individuals have made complaints because they have received notices from their county Board of Registrars that they have been identified as noncitizens.⁵ It is not surprising that Mr. Stroop and other U.S.-born citizens ended up on the list generated by Alabama’s Purge Program, given the apparent lack of data integrity and incorrect information maintained by ADOL (what the Secretary of State is calling “claimant error,”⁶ and the failure of the Alabama Secretary of State to conduct its

⁵See “Additional Enclosures Part 3,” pp. 49-51 (Ala00000553).

⁶See Email from Laney Rawls, Secretary of State, to Fitzgerald Washington, Secretary, Alabama Department of Labor, August 29, 2024, “Additional Enclosures Part 3,”p. 46

Purge Program following even the most basic standard procedures in list matching.

26 For example, on the list of Alabama registered voters that the Secretary of State identified as not being U.S. citizens and that was forwarded to ADOL after these citizens complained to the Secretary of State, there are three Social Security numbers (last 4 digits) that are clearly incorrect (e.g., 0.0074, 0.632, and 0.0055), and one that is completely missing from the spreadsheet.⁷ The lack of data included for one of the individuals (Charles Cooper) named on the list that was sent to DOL is particularly telling. Not only is Mr. Cooper's Social Security number (last 4 digits) not included, neither is his date of birth or his county of residence. It is difficult to understand how the lack of this basic information could have been used by Alabama's Purge Program in the first place, much less resulted in a "match" with DOL's database to identify noncitizens on the Alabama voter rolls. A quick query of the Alabama's August 12, 2024 statewide voter file of more than 3.8 million registered voters reveals that there are no fewer than 56 "Charles Coopers" registered to vote in Alabama, including several pairs of "Charles Coopers" (a Jr. and a Sr.) who reside at the same address.⁸ These are textbook examples of false positives due to a lack of data integrity or data inconsistency.

27 As is clear from the documents provided in discovery, when the Alabama Secretary of State conducted its matching exercise, it produced "matches" of individuals who once were issued a noncitizen identification number, as well as those who have always been U.S. citizens, and who are legally registered to vote in Alabama. However, since the time these individuals interacted with ALEA or ADOL, the information entered into those databases

(Ala00000552)

⁷See, "Additional Enclosures Part 3," pp. 49-51 (Ala00000553).

⁸See data file "Ala00000762 VR list as of 8.12.24.txt"

has become out-of-date, as these individuals have become naturalized citizens, or, the data entered into their databases incorrectly identified them as noncitizens. Naturalized U.S. citizens as well as U.S.-born citizens who are registered to vote in the state but who the Alabama Secretary of State has misidentified as being noncitizens due to false positive matches from inter-agency data have been ensnared by Alabama's misguided Purge Program.

28 The above criticisms are not meant to cast aspersions against ALEA or ADOL. As with any state bureaucracy, these ALEA and ADOL administrative databases were not designed with the foremost purpose of later identifying who might be ineligible to vote in Alabama. It is apparent that their databases are not optimized for cross-administrative agency matching purposes.⁹

29 In my opinion, from what has been disclosed by the Alabama Secretary of State, Alabama's Purge Program is methodologically flawed. The inter-agency matching exercise to identify individuals who once were issued a noncitizen identification number by USCIS will indubitably misidentify naturalized U.S. citizens as well as U.S.-born citizens who are legally registered to vote in Alabama. Indeed, as Michael L. Jones, Jr., General Counsel, Alabama Secretary of State, wrote to R. Tamar Hagler, Chief, Voting Section, Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice, on September 19, 2024, the Secretary of State has already identified more than 700 individuals who have been wrongly identified as noncitizens by the state's Purge Program, as they provided the requisite information confirming that they are U.S. citizens and eligible to be registered to vote in Alabama.¹⁰ That number has

⁹I note here that it appears that ALEA contracted with an outside vendor to do its database matching. See email from Holley Cook, Director, Driver License Division, Alabama Law Enforcement Agency, to Clay Helms, Chief of Staff, Secretary of State, June 5, 2024. "Additional Enclosures Part 2," p. 108 (Ala00000483).

¹⁰Michael L. Jones, Jr., General Counsel, Alabama Secretary of State, in a Letter to R. Tamar Hagler, Chief, Voting Section, Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice, September

likely only increased over the past several weeks.

V Alabama’s Purge Program lacks transparency

30 I have combed through all the discovery documents and have processed and analyzed the data provided to me by counsel provided by the Alabama Secretary of State. Unfortunately, there are no documents detailing how Alabama’s Purge Program was designed, no blueprint on how its systematic matching exercise was conducted or by whom, and no protocol on how the Alabama Secretary of State vetted the resulting inter-agency “matches” to ensure there were no false positives, that is, individuals identified by the matching efforts of ALEA and ADOL who are in fact U.S. citizens. In my opinion, after reviewing the documents and analyzing the data provided in discovery, there is clear evidence that Alabama’s database matching Purge Program was designed to fail.

31 In my review of the documents provided in discovery by counsel, I have found scant evidence of any decision making process by the Alabama Secretary of State that helped to shape Alabama’s effort to remove alleged noncitizens from the state’s voter rolls. At a minimum, an administrative agency embarking on a major policy program must consider whether it is methodologically sound, well-informed by existing policy research, compliant with state and federal laws, and will likely be executed effectively to achieve its goals (Kettl 2015, 2016).

19, 2024 (Document 48-1, Exhibit 20).

32 Other than correspondence with federal officials produced in discovery, the materials provided by counsel fail to indicate that Alabama's Purge Program was carefully planned, clearly structured, effectively executed, or achieved the Secretary of State's goal of removing noncitizens from Alabama's voter rolls. In my review of the materials, I have uncovered:

- no documents suggesting that the Secretary of State staff reviewed existing laws or relevant judicial rulings concerning similar systemic voter roll purging efforts attempted in other states.
- no documents indicating that the Secretary of State staff received feedback on the methodology to be employed in its Purge Program, no concerns raised by staff about potential issues with the agency's scheme, and no considerations by staff that the Purge Program might generate false positives.
- no documents indicating that the Secretary of State staff consulted academic studies or policy reports that might have guided the agency's matching scheme, and no mention of alternative policy solutions or methods that were considered that could have achieved their goals.
- no evidence of Secretary of State documents with internal policies or guidelines governing the implementation of Alabama's Purge Program other than a few emails regarding inter-agency coordination regarding shared responsibilities in carrying out the matching scheme.
- no evidence of Secretary of State documents with any consideration of the legal, ethical, or political ramifications of falsely identifying U.S. citizens—naturalized and U.S.-born—of not being eligible to vote in Alabama.
- no evidence of the Secretary of State documents establishing the agency's plans for an ongoing evaluation and monitoring of its Purge Program, including performance metrics, and no documents concerning how the agency plans to assess the program's successes or failures or areas for improvement.

33 It is important to note that I am not able to replicate the Secretary of State's Purge Program database matching scheme that resulted in more than 3,200 individuals on the state's voter rolls being identified as noncitizens. This is because key databases were not included by the Secretary of State in discovery. Not included in discovery are the raw data

files that the Secretary of State received back from ALEA and ADOL after the two agencies conducted their own internal matching exercises.

34 What I can determine from my analysis of the data files produced in discovery is that the Secretary of State appended data from its statewide voter registration system to the lists of ‘matched’ individuals once it received the data from the two state agencies. The Secretary of State also appended vote history data maintained by county Boards of Registrars.

35 Furthermore, the Secretary of State provided no programming code to replicate their matching exercise as part of discovery. But even if I had Secretary of State’s programming code, I still would not be able replicate their matching protocol, as I did not receive the underlying databases maintained by ALEA or ADOL which they queried to conduct their internal matching efforts. I am also unaware of any materials produced in discovery by the Secretary of State that contain any database matching procedures that ALEA or ADOL used to carry out queries on their internal database systems after agreeing to do so. As such, I am not able to replicate either agency’s internal matching process.

36 Finally, even though the Secretary of State provided in discovery two statewide snapshots from its statewide voter file (from August 24 and October 1), it is impossible that data from either snapshot were provided to either ALEA or ADOL to conduct their matching exercises on their internal databases, as August 24 comes well after the two agencies ran their internal matching. In addition, the two statewide voter files are incomplete, as they do not include several key fields that the Secretary of State had shared with the two agencies: a voter’s security number (part 1, part 2, and part 3) and a voter’s driver’s licence or state

identification number.

37 The documents and data produced in discovery that do shed some light on Alabama’s matching protocol are incomplete. For example, on August 1, 2024, at least six months *after* Clay Helms, Secretary of State Chief of Staff was in discussion with Holley Cook, Director, Driver License Division, ALEA, about how to ALEA should conduct its agency’s internal matching scheme,¹¹ Adam Alexander, Division Director (Programmer Analyst IV) for the Secretary of State, wrote to Helms informing his boss that he placed a folder (“FN_Round1”) containing several documents in the Elections Division network folder.

38 These documents included “A ReadMe file describing the files and matching criteria,” “A spreadsheet with all non-matching records,” and “A spreadsheet with the first ten non-matching records.”¹² The “FN_Round1” folder, the ReadMe text document describing the files and matching criteria, and neither either spreadsheet, do not appear to be included in any of the discovery documents from the Secretary of State that were provided to counsel.

VI Alabama’s Purge Program matching exercise is *ad hoc*

39 I found no documents from counsel that were provided by the Secretary of State as part of the discovery process explaining how its systematic matching exercise was con-

¹¹See Email from Holley Cook, Director, Driver License Division, Alabama Law Enforcement Agency, to Clay Helms, Chief of Staff, Alabama Secretary of State, January 26, 2024, “Additional Enclosures Part 2,” p. 111 (Ala00000486).

¹²See email from Adam Alexander to Clay Helms, August 1, 2024, “Additional Enclosures Part 2,” p. 124 (Ala00000499).

ducted or by whom. Based on the limited materials included in discovery, the best I can determine is that the Secretary of State asked ADEA and ADOL to conduct their own internal database matching exercises with little guidance or oversight by the Secretary of State. My understanding is that the Secretary of State simply provided each agency with a handful of fields (e.g., columns) pulled from a snapshot of the Alabama statewide voter file. What each agency’s matching protocol actually entailed remains hazy, just as is whether the Secretary of State provided all 3.8 million records of registered voters to the two agencies for them to conduct their matching efforts. It appears to me from the email correspondences produced in discovery, that after the Secretary of State received data files back from ALEA and ADOL, because it did not include a voter’s unique Voter ID number (“text_voter_id”), the Secretary of State had to conduct its own internal matching process to link back to its statewide voter file any ‘matched’ information received from the two agencies about individuals who were once issued a noncitizen identification number.

40 Most of what I can glean about the Secretary of State’s matching exercise provided in the documents provided in discovery is contained in a half-page email sent on February 28, 2024, from ALEA’s Cook to Helms. In it, Cook writes, “We will only require the following fields which may be used in our matching logic. Any additional fields required to assist you with matching to your voter role is acceptable to be included as well, but we will only perform matching logic on names, SSN, DOB, and DL/ID#.” In her email, Cook lists the following 11 fields, fields provided to her by the Secretary of State that were selected from the statewide voter file:

- cde_name_title
- text_name_first
- text_name_middle
- text_name_last

- cde_name_suffix
- text_ssn_pt1
- text_ssn_pt2
- text_ssn_pt3
- cde_gender
- text_dl_or_id_number
- date_of_birth

Cook concludes her email by informing Helms that Alexander should “drop the file on our SFTP, and make sure he lets Nona know when he does that.” From my reading of the discovery documents, there is no indication that the Secretary of State added any additional fields for ALEA’s database query, or when Alexander uploaded the presumed statewide voter file to ALEA’s SFTP.¹³

41 A similar inter-agency email exchange occurred on August 23, 2024, between Alexander and ALEA’s Nona Short, IT Project Manager, in which Short asked for “the new registrant file process in which we will return the fields that match for registrants that have a foreign national designation in our db along with the FN document number.”¹⁴

42 It is important to note one of the fields that the Secretary of State neglected to include in its initial request to ALEA (and presumably to ADOL) to inform their internal queries of their databases. Absent from the 11 fields in its request to ALEA (and

¹³See Email from Holley Cook, Director, Driver License Division, Alabama Law Enforcement Agency, to Clay Helms, Chief of Staff, Alabama Secretary of State, February 28, 2024, “Additional Enclosures Part 2,” p. 110 (Ala00000485).

¹⁴See Email from Nona Short, Information Technology - Project Manager, Alabama Law Enforcement Agency, to Adam Alexander, Alabama Secretary of State, August 23, 2024, “Additional Enclosures Part 2,” p. 116 (Ala00000491).

presumably to ADOL) is *the one field* that is unique to all registered voters on Alabama's voter registration system: field "text_voter_id", a voter's unique Voter ID. This 8 or 9 digit integer uniquely identifies every registered voter in Alabama. While this information is not relevant to ALEA (or ADOL) for the purposes of their internal database queries that are central to Secretary of State's Purge Program, an individual's unique voter ID is essential for the Secretary of State to minimize false positives when matching the returned data from the other state agencies to its statewide voter file.

43 Without the unique Voter ID field, when the Secretary of State received back from the two state agencies their 'matched' data, I can only presume that the Secretary of State had to conduct its own matching exercise to link all the identified individuals back to the statewide voter file. As discussed earlier in Section IV.II, efforts to match across agencies without a unique identifier that exists in both databases can introduce errors.

44 I have analyzed three separate data files provided in discovery that appear to have been created by the Secretary of State from data received from ALEA resulting from its internal database matching effort. Sometime between March 1 and July 29, 2024, ALEA appears to have relied on the data fields selected by Secretary of State, and presumably a snapshot (the date of which is unknown to me) of the entire statewide voter file, to conduct its internal matching.

45 Of the three data files provided in discovery that appear to stem from ALEA's matching exercise and appear to have been subsequently cleaned by the Secretary of State,

all contain 1,241 rows, which reflects Alexander's email to Helms.¹⁵

46 Three other data files provided by the Secretary of State in discovery are all similar in their structure and formatting. They appear to originate from ADOL's matching exercise, and then cleaned by Secretary of State. Emails suggest that they were received by the Secretary of State immediately before Secretary of State Allen's public announcement, providing no time for the Secretary of State staff to process the data and match it back to the statewide voter file.

47 Just one day before Secretary of State Allen's public announcement of his Purge Program, in an email from Alexander to Helms, Alexander reports that "[T]he total number of matches from the Labor FN [Foreign National] file was 2,010."¹⁶ Then, *two days after* Secretary of State Allen's public announcement of the Purge Program, Alexander asked Helms in an email, "Are we clear to start adding the extra fields for the matches from Labor, or is there anything else that needs to change first?"

48 This correspondence indicates that prior to Secretary of State Allen announcing his Purge Program to the public, the Secretary of State staff had yet to even link the DOL's 'matched' data file back to its own statewide registered voter database, much less check

¹⁵See "Ala00000754 ALEASOS_ForeignNationals_County_New-FINAL.xlsx". According to the file's 'Origin' metadata found in the 'Details' tab, it was created on October 5, 2024 (no author is identified); "Ala00000755ALEASOS_Noncitizen Data with Current Status as of 9-16-24 - 09.18.24". According to the file's 'Origin' metadata found in the 'Details' tab, it was created on October 5, 2024 (no author is identified); and "Ala00000761 SOS_ForeignMatches_with Voting History08.14.2024.xlsx". According to the file's 'Origin' metadata found in the 'Details' tab, it was last saved on August 14, 2024, by Venkata Laxmi Pathi, a Programmer Analyst II in the Secretary of State.

¹⁶See email from Adam Alexander to Clay Helms, August 12, 2024, "Additional Enclosures Part 2," p. 120 (Ala00000495).

whether the data file from ADOL contained any false positives due to data staleness, data integrity issues, or data inconsistencies.¹⁷ It is further unclear what Alexander thought Helms might have wanted his staff “to change” in the data that he had received from ADOL before “adding the extra fields for the matches from Labor.”

49 No code and no data were produced in discovery to shed light on this matter. At a minimum, I would need to be able to analyze the raw data ADOL provided to the Secretary of State to determine if Alexander and his staff subsequently cleaned the ADOL data. All the three files produced by the Secretary of State contain 2,010 rows, which comports with the email referenced earlier from Alexander to Helms on August 12, 2024.¹⁸ Still, there is no way to determine if any of the fields from ADOL, or any of the data provided by ADOL as part of its database matching effort, were subsequently altered by Secretary of State.

50 Leaving aside additional database matching failures by the Secretary of State, which I further detail below, it is clear that Secretary of State Allen failed the simple task of having his staff vet the data that Secretary of State Allen announced on August 13, 2024 when he announced Alabama’s Purge Program. In that announcement, the Secretary of State stated that, “Secretary Allen has identified 3,251 individuals who are registered to vote in Alabama who have been issued noncitizen identification numbers by the Department of

¹⁷See email from Adam Alexander to Clay Helms, August 15, 2024, “Additional Enclosures Part 2,” p. 117 (Ala00000492).

¹⁸See “Ala0000076LABOR-SOS_Noncitizen Data with Current Status as of 9-16-24, - 9.18.24.xlsx”. According to the file’s ‘Origin’ metadata found in the ‘Details’ tab, it was created and last saved on October 5, 2024 (no author is identified); “Ala00000759 VR_Labor_Matches_Alien -County-Final”. According to the file’s ‘Origin’ metadata found in the ‘Details’ tab, it was created and last saved on October 5, 2024 (no author is identified); and “Ala00000760 Labor_VRMatches_County with Voting History.xlsx”. According to the file’s ‘Origin’ metadata found in the ‘Details’ tab, it was last saved on August 16, 2024, by Venkata Laxmi Pathi, a Programmer Analyst II in the Secretary of State.

Homeland Security.”¹⁹

51 On first blush, the referenced 3,251 individuals appears to be the sum total of the 1,241 rows the Secretary of State cleaned from ALEA’s matching exercise and the 2,010 rows the Secretary of State cleaned from ADOL’s matching exercise. But according to the data files provided by the Secretary of State in discovery, this publicly announced number of “individuals who are registered to vote in Alabama who have been issued noncitizen identification numbers” is not even correct.

52 When I loaded all three of the files that appear to have stemmed from ALEA’s matching exercise, it obtains one less row, as identical information for one individual identified on the Secretary of State’s list of 1,241 is duplicated. That it is just one (of 1,241) rows that contains duplicated information may seem trivial; after all, it is less than one-tenth of a percent. But if we were to extrapolate the same simple database management error to Alabama’s statewide voter file of more than 3.84 million registered voters (as of October 1, 2024), such an error would add more than 3,000 additional rows to the statewide voter file.

53 Including a unique identifier, such as a Voter ID number, is critical when attempting to do matching exercises, including linking individuals across large administrative databases. Unique identifiers provide a precise way to match records to and from different datasets. Without a unique identifier, the matching process relies on less precise data points (e.g., first or last names or dates of birth), which can lead to incorrect matches due to

¹⁹“Secretary of State Wes Allen Implements Process to Remove Noncitizens Registered to Vote in Alabama,” *Press Release*, August 13, 2024, available <https://www.sos.alabama.gov/newsroom/secretary-state-wes-allen-implements-process-remove-noncitizens-registered-vote-alabama>.

common values or human error. A unique identifier also helps to avoid duplicate matches if both datasets contain multiple entries with similar information, as it is easy to accidentally match the wrong rows. A unique identifier ensures that every link between the two datasets corresponds to one distinct entry in each, preventing duplicate or incorrect links.

54 Including a unique identifier in database matching exercises is crucial if databases are continually being updated, as is the case with the Alabama statewide voter file. To provide a sense of the scale of how frequently the more than 311 million data points included in the Alabama statewide voter file change, in a period of less than 2 months—between the two snapshots of the statewide voter file the Secretary of State provided in discovery—of the 3,803,250 registered voters who were listed in both the August 24 and the October 1 statewide data files, there were more than 1.4 million data entry changes across 82 different fields. This includes changes of more than 5,600 last names, 2,200 first names, and 436 birthdays. Trying to match records received from ALEA and ADOL to the statewide voter file without having included a unique identifier is an invitation to generating false positives.

55 In sum, from the documents provided by the Secretary of State in discovery, Alabama’s Purge Program was designed on the fly. The Secretary of State’s matching endeavor is methodologically *ad hoc* and unsound. It is clear from my analysis of the documents and data produced in discovery that there are severe problems with how the Secretary of State carried out its matching exercise in partnership with ALEA and ADOL. Most notably, there are missing data points and duplicate records that should never occur if the matching process was following standard methodological practices. Such errors can lead to false positives, incorrectly identifying individuals from ALEA’s and ADOL’s databases when matched back to the Secretary of State statewide voter file. Most notably, it appears—incredibly—that the

Secretary of State did not provide its unique Voter ID number to ALEA and ADOL when those agencies conducted their own internal database queries.

VII Alabama’s Purge Program identifying ‘noncitizens’ was not vetted

56 It is clear from the documents and data that were provided by Secretary of State in the discovery process that the Secretary of State failed to vet the resulting inter-agency “matches” to ensure there were no false positives, that is, individuals identified by the matching efforts of ALEA and ADOL who are in fact U.S. citizens.

57 In my opinion, Alabama’s Purge Program is a flawed methodological scheme. To my knowledge, there is nothing in the discovery documents provided to me by counsel that identifies who in the Secretary of State may have culled individuals ‘matched’ by the ALEA, what criteria were used to winnow down the ‘matched’ lists, or how many individuals were ultimately removed prior to the public announcement by Secretary of State Allen of the 3,251 [sic] “individuals who are registered to vote in Alabama who have been issued noncitizen identification numbers” But it is clear that the Secretary of State removed some individuals from consideration before Secretary of State Allen made his public announcement and the Secretary of State sent information about registered voters to the county Boards of Registrars to commence the removal of these alleged noncitizens from the voter rolls.

58 From what I can ascertain after analyzing the data files that were provided in discovery, the six data files are generally similar. All of them appear to have been ‘cleaned’ by the Secretary of State. I am also relatively certain that the six data files provided in

discovery are *not* the raw data files that ADOL and DOL provided to the Secretary of State but rather data that was subsequently manipulated by the Secretary of State as part of its own database matching exercise.

59 Indeed, the correspondence of Chief of Staff Helms with Secretary of State staff in late July/early August, 2024, is telling. On Monday July 29, ALEA’s Holley Cook had uploaded a data file (“SOS Request Document 07-29-2024.ods”) on the “SFTP” for the Secretary of State to download.²⁰ Within two hours, Alexander informed Helms via email that the file on the SFTP that ALEA’s Cook had uploaded contained “1810 records.”²¹ The ALEA’s datafile, “SOS Request Document 07-29-2024.ods” is not included in the discovery materials produced by the Secretary of State.

60 It remains unclear why a week later, on August 7—just a week before Secretary of State Allen publicly announced the state’s Purge Program—Alexander informed Helms that the FN (Foreign National) “matches” generated by the data received from ALEA and matched back to individuals on the statewide voter rolls contained 1,241 “Total Matches,” which included 21 “Matches with Document Type ‘Not Found’.”²²

61 Based on this email correspondence, it appears that the Secretary of State staff at some point—between July 29 and August 7—culled 569 records (1,810 minus 1,241) of ‘matched’ individuals that ALEA originally identified via its database matching exercise and

²⁰See email from Holley Cook to Clay Helms, July 29, 2024, “Additional Enclosures Part 2,” p. 125 (Ala00000500).

²¹See email from Adam Alexander to Clay Helms, July 29, 2024, “Additional Enclosures Part 2,” p. 125 (Ala00000500).

²²See email from Adam Alexander to Clay Helms, August 7, 2024, “Additional Enclosures Part 2,” p. 122 (Ala00000497).

then provided to the Secretary of State.²³.

62 This chain of events raises the following questions: Why did the Secretary of State remove individuals on the list ALEA identified as having been issued a noncitizen identity card? What were the reasons and the protocol for the Secretary of State doing so, and based on what criteria? And who were the individuals ALEA initially identified through their internal matching scheme that the Secretary of State determined should not be provided to the county Boards of Registrars to be removed from the voter rolls because they had been issued noncitizen identification numbers?

63 Answers to these questions are difficult to come by, given the limited data and lack of documentation produced in discovery by the Secretary of State. I have no documentation on what internal cleaning rules and procedures the Secretary of State used to link voters back to the statewide voter file nor how they eliminated individuals on the matched lists it received back from ALEA and DOL.

64 However, Exhibit G (Ala00000043) provided by the Secretary of State in discovery may provide some clues. Exhibit G appears to be a table listing the counts of different identification codes in the field, "MatchType". There is no documentation accompanying this list, but it appears to be an attachment to the email sent by Alexander to Helms, Meridith Blackburn, and Mike Jones on September 12, 2024, which indicates it was generated by ALEA "when comparing voter registration data that SOS provided them against their records regarding foreign nationals." The Secretary of State did not provide in discovery

²³It is unclear if Secretary of State also culled records received from ADOL; I have not discovered any documents produced in discovery on this point

the list of records that it had provided to ALEA to get a breakdown of the “Match_Type” that were associated with ALEA’s matching process, but this vetting process occurred nearly a month after Secretary of State Allen publicly announced his Purge Program.

65 Relying on the data that was provided in discovery, I was able to replicate Exhibit G using data files associated with ALEA’s database matching effort, including data file “Ala00000754 ALEA-SOS_ForeignNationals_County_New-FINAL”. Besides the headers, the only difference between the table in Exhibit G and Table 1 which I created and is shown below, is that my table removes the one duplicate in the Secretary of State’s file, resulting in 272, rather than 273 individuals that ALEA presumably identified as having been issued a noncitizen identification number.²⁴ For these 272 registered voters, ALEA was purportedly able to match across four of the 11 fields the Secretary of State provided the agency: “SSN (Last 4), Last Name, First Name, DOB”. Other registered voters who the ALEA was able to ‘match’ in their database did not have nearly as many common data points. For example, ALEA included in the data it returned to Secretary of State four individuals who only ‘matched’ a DLN (Driver’s License Number) and DOB (date of birth); 9 were included on ALEA’s list who ‘matched’ their DOB and Last Name; 87 ‘matched’ on DOB, Last Name, First Name; and so on.

66 Such thin ‘matches’ in large databases are prone to false positives. When matching across administrative databases, a thin match refers to a situation where the match between two records is based on limited or weak identifying information. This type of match often relies on fewer variables or fields, with less certainty about the accuracy of the match

²⁴I am not able to validate this, as the Secretary of State did not include in discovery the fields for a voter’s Social Security number or a voter’s driver’s license/state identification number in the two statewide voter files I received from counsel.

Table 1: Match Type Distribution

Match Type	Count
DLN, DOB	4
DLN, DOB, First Name	19
DLN, DOB, Last Name	15
DLN, DOB, Last Name, First Name	122
DLN, First Name	1
DLN, Last Name, First Name	2
DLN, SSN (Last 4), DOB	9
DLN, SSN (Last 4), DOB, First Name	114
DLN, SSN (Last 4), DOB, Last Name	32
DLN, SSN (Last 4), DOB, Last Name, First Name	465
DLN, SSN (Last 4), First Name	2
DLN, SSN (Last 4), Last Name	13
DOB, Last Name	9
DOB, Last Name, First Name	87
SSN (Last 4), DOB	8
SSN (Last 4), DOB, First Name	25
SSN (Last 4), Last Name, DOB	33
SSN (Last 4), Last Name, First Name	8
SSN (Last 4), Last Name, First Name, DOB	272

due to the lack of robust or highly specific identifiers. A classic thin match, which is known as the birthday problem McDonald and Levitt (2008), might rely on a minimal set of variables, such as just the name or partial name, of an individual and a birth date. Since such thin matches are not based on highly precise or multiple variables, there is greater ambiguity in determining whether two records refer to the same individual, especially when dealing with common names or larger populations.

67 For instance, I ran a query using the data from the August 24, 2024, statewide voter file to determine how many of the 3.8 million registered voters in Alabama share the exact same information in the Secretary of State’s database fields, “text_name_last”, “text_name_first”, and “date_of_birth”. A classic example of the “birthday problem,” the result produced 2,772 observations: 2,764 pairs of registered voters in Alabama who share

the same last name, first name, and birthday (including two Daniel Smith “twins”), and eight sets of “triplets,” that is, three registered voters who share the same last name, first name, and birthday. Such a matching exercise using non-unique data points will undoubtedly result in false positives.

68 I can only speculate, but as I discuss above, it is possible that ALEA provided even more names to Secretary of State that ‘matched’ that included even more suspect data point pairings (or even ‘matches’ on a single data point). In short, it could be that there were many more false positives resulting from faulty matching procedures and a failure to vet the data by the Secretary of State. It certainly appears as though the Secretary of State staff cleaned the data it received from ALEA, culling more than 500 of the 1,810 rows that it originally received from the state agency.²⁵ Unfortunately, the data file ALEA originally sent to Secretary of State, “SOS Request Document 07-29-2024.ods”, is not included in the discovery materials produced by the Secretary of State.

69 In Table 2, I process the same data file, “Ala00000754 ALEA-SOS_ForeignNationals_County_New-FINAL”, linking it with unique voter ID numbers to the August statewide voter file. This time I show the distribution of the document ALEA had on file for each of 1,240 individuals it returned to Secretary of State in August. What is striking is that ALEA confirmed that five of the 1,240 individuals had a “Certificate of Citizenship” on file; 46 had a Certificate of Naturalization on file; and 54 had a “Passport” on file. Yet even with this proof of U.S. citizenship in hand, these 105 registered voters were included in Secretary of State’s Purge Program. Another 21 individuals who had no

²⁵See email from Adam Alexander to Clay Helms, July 29, 2024, “Additional Enclosures Part 2,” p. 125 (Ala00000500).

document on file with ALEA verifying that they were a noncitizen were also included in Secretary of State's Purge Program.

Table 2: Document Type Distribution

Document Type	Count
Certificate of Citizenship	5
Certificate of Naturalization	46
DS2019 Certificate of Eligibility for Exchange Visitor (J-1) Status	1
I-20 Certificate of Eligibility for Nonimmigrant (F-1) Student Status	3
I-551 Permanent Resident Card	442
I-766 Employment Authorization Card	59
I-94 Arrival/Departure Record	15
I-94 Arrival/Departure Record in Unexpired Foreign Passport	2
L - Alien	561
L - Passport	54
Not Found	21
Other DHS Document with Alien Number	1
Temporary I-551 Stamp (on passport or I-94)	1
Unexpired Foreign Passport	29

70 In Table 3, I again process the same data file, “Ala00000754 ALEA-SOS_ForeignNationals_County_New-FINAL”, linking it with unique voter ID numbers to the August statewide voter file. The table shows the document type on file with ALEA and the voter's registration status as of the August 24, 2024 voter file. Recall that August 24, the date the statewide voter file was generated by Secretary of State falls 10 days after the announcement of its Purge Program. What is striking is that although ALEA confirmed 46 individuals had a “Certificate of Citizenship” on file, four were still on file with the Secretary of State as being “Inactive,” and of the 54 who had a “Passport” on file with ALEA, 21 were still classified as being “Inactive” by Secretary of State.

Table 3: Document Type and Voter Status Summary, ALEA and August voter file

Document Type	Status	Count	Percent
Certificate of Citizenship	A	5	100.00
Certificate of Naturalization	A	42	91.30
Certificate of Naturalization	I	4	8.70
DS2019 Certificate of Eligibility for Exchange Visitor (J-1) Status	A	1	100.00
I-20 Certificate of Eligibility for Nonimmigrant (F-1) Student Status	A	3	100.00
I-551 Permanent Resident Card	A	368	83.45
I-551 Permanent Resident Card	I	73	16.55
I-766 Employment Authorization Card	A	50	84.75
I-766 Employment Authorization Card	I	9	15.25
I-94 Arrival/Departure Record	A	14	93.33
I-94 Arrival/Departure Record	I	1	6.67
I-94 Arrival/Departure Record in Unexpired Foreign Passport	A	2	100.00
L - Alien	A	398	71.20
L - Alien	I	161	28.80
L - Passport	A	33	61.11
L - Passport	I	21	38.89
Not Found	A	15	71.43
Not Found	I	6	28.57
Other DHS Document with Alien Number	A	1	100.00
Temporary I-551 Stamp (on passport or I-94)	I	1	100.00
Unexpired Foreign Passport	A	22	75.86
Unexpired Foreign Passport	I	7	24.14
Total	-	1,237	

71 Turning to ADOL data, in Table 3, I process a data file that ADOL purportedly matched for possible noncitizens and was then cleaned by Secretary of State, “Ala0000076LABOR-SOS_Noncitizen Data with Current Status as of 9-16-24, - 9.18.24”. I matched it to the August statewide voter file, which resulted in 2009 observations.²⁶ Of the 2,009 individuals on ADOL’s list and who were registered to vote as of August 24, 2024, ADOL was unable to find on its internal database an “Authorized Alien Num” for 64 individuals that it referred to Secretary of State and who were on Secretary of State Allen’s list of ‘noncitizens’ registered to vote in Alabama. Of these 64 individuals who ADOL had no

²⁶The one individual on the ADOL generated file who is not on the August 24, 2024 voter file appears on the October 1, 2024 voter file.

Authorized Alien Number on file, 57 were listed by the Secretary of State as being Active and seven were listed as being Inactive.

Table 4: Document Type and Voter Status Summary, ADOL and August voter file

AuthorizedAlienNum	Status	Count	Percent
	A	57	89.06
	I	7	10.94
Total	-	64	100.00

72 In Table 5, I compare the same ADOL data file of individuals they ‘matched’ who are on the August 24, 2024 voter file, but this time query for individuals who ADOL was unable to find on its internal database an “Alien Identification Card” According to ADOL’s records, of the 2010 individuals they sent to Secretary of State after conducting their internal database match, 1,846 did not have an Alien Card Number on file. And of these 1,846 individuals who did not have an Alien Card Number on file with ADOL, and who ADOL referred back to the Secretary of State, 63 of these registered voters also did not have an Authorized Alien Number on file.²⁷ Remarkably, despite not having *any* information on their internal database to verify these individuals’ citizenship (at least it was not conveyed to Secretary of State), these individuals were placed on Secretary of State Allen’s list of suspected noncitizens as part of his Purge Program.

Table 5: Document Type and Voter Status Summary, ADOL and August voter file

AlienCardNumber	Status	Count	Percent
	A	1,692	91.66
	I	154	8.34
Total	-	1,846	100.00

²⁷The one individual who was not registered to vote in August but was by October 1, 2024, is also one of these individuals who the ADOL has no record of noncitizenship on file.

73 In short, given what we know about Secretary of State’s matching scheme and how it utilized inter-agency data, it does not surprise me that its Purge Program generated so many false positives. Given the absence of a matching protocol, the absence of established criteria to be used by ALEA and ADOL to carry out their matching exercise, and the lack of vetting of the data after the two state agencies returned data files to the Secretary of State and its staff presumably conducted its own matching exercise to the statewide voter rolls. As I’ve already discussed, efforts to match large administrative data files to other large administrative data files without a unique identifier presents several challenges, including data staleness, lack of data integrity, and data inconsistency. In my opinion, after reviewing the documents and analyzing the data provided in discovery, there is clear evidence that Alabama’s database matching Purge Program, which appears to have been designed to fail, achieved that goal.

VIII Alabama’s Purge Program copies Florida’s failed purge program

74 Alabama Secretary of State Allen’s Purge Program takes a page out of Florida’s discredited and fundamentally flawed effort a decade ago that incorrectly identified U.S. citizens as “potential noncitizens” targeted for removal from the state’s voter rolls.

75 Circa 2011/2012, the Florida Secretary of State launched an effort to purge what it referred to as “potential noncitizens” from Florida’s voter rolls using a discredited database matching effort. The Florida Division of Elections (FDOE) initially identified some 180,506 “potential noncitizens” that it supposedly generated by matching information in the FDOE’s statewide Florida voter registration system (FVRS) to information in the Florida Depart-

ment of Highway Safety and Motor Vehicles' (DHSMV) DRIVER AND VEHICLE INFORMATION DATABASE (DAVID). After initial criticism, in April 2012 the FDOE sent the records of 2,625 "potential noncitizens" to Florida's 67 Supervisors of Elections (SOEs) to proceed with removals from the voter rolls.

76 As I highlighted in my Expert Report in the *Arcia* litigation,²⁸ Florida's initial attempt to verify the citizenship status of naturalized U.S. citizens was seriously flawed. The Florida DHSMV lacked up-to-date information concerning individuals' U.S. citizenship status that the FDOE matched against the state's voter rolls.

77 At the time, then-Florida Secretary of State Ken Detzner admitted to the DHS Director Janet Napolitano that the Florida DHSMV's DAVID database that it used to identify individuals who had obtained a state driver license or identification card was not reliable concerning their U.S. citizenship. As Secretary Detzner acknowledged in a June 19, 2012 letter to Secretary Napolitano, "FDOS soon recognized that the most significant limitation in its process was outdated citizenship-status information contained in a person's DAVID record, which is only as current as the person's last interaction with DHSMV."²⁹ This meant that the FDOE's list of "potential noncitizens" would inevitably be over-inclusive and rife with false positives.³⁰ After a series of legal challenges, Florida suspended its flawed

²⁸The case was eventually heard by the 11th Circuit, *Arcia v. Florida Secretary of State*, 772 F.3d 1335, 1343-48 (11th Circuit 2014).

²⁹Ken Detzner, Secretary of State, Florida Department of State, "Letter to The Honorable Janet Napolitano, U.S. Department of Homeland Security," June 19, 2012.

³⁰Florida Secretary of State Detzner's predecessor, Kurt Browning, was aware that the state's list of more than 180,000 "potential noncitizens" on the voter rolls was incorrect, the result of incorrect, outdated, and incomplete citizenship data retrieved from the state's DHSMV driver's license database. "I didn't feel comfortable rolling this initiative out," Browning said after he resigned, as "[w]e didn't have our I's dotted and T's crossed when I was there."³¹

database matching effort to identify and purge noncitizens from the voter rolls.³²

78 By construction, the flawed matching effort by FDOE to identify registered voters as “potential noncitizens” against the DHSMV’s DAVID database included old and outdated information regarding an individual’s current citizenship status. Specifically, the matched list misidentified many registered voters as noncitizens; in fact, these registered voters had become citizens *after* their last interaction with the DHSMV.

79 Clearly, this is nearly identical to the problem facing Alabama’s Purge Program. The state of Alabama is using stale, outdated records maintained by ALEA and ADOL, that when matched with the Secretary of State’s database, creates false positives. These legally registered voters may not have been U.S. citizens when they received their Alabama driver’s license or state identification, or when they applied for unemployment benefits, but they became naturalized U.S. citizens and subsequently registered to vote in the state.

80 Florida Secretary of State Detzner, and his predecessor, Secretary of State Browning, knew that the FDOE’s list of “potential noncitizens” was inaccurate. Yet, Secretary of State Detzner, just like Secretary of State Allen is doing in Alabama with his Purge Program, nevertheless forged ahead with the state’s faulty matching exercise that attempted to purge naturalized U.S. citizens from the state’s voter rolls.

³²“Florida suspends non-citizen voter purge efforts,” *Miami Herald*, March 27, 2014, available www.miamiherald.com/2012/06/13/v-fullstory/2847062/floridas-noncitizen-voter-purge.html.

IX Alabama’s Purge Program disparately impacts non-White naturalized U.S. citizens

81 Data provided by the Secretary of State in discovery, as well as data from two other sources—recent DHS Office of Homeland Security Statistics data on noncitizens and data from Florida’s failed noncitizen purge effort circa 2011/2012—indicates that Alabama’s Purge Program disproportionately impacts non-White naturalized U.S. citizens who are registered voters in the state.

IX.I Analysis of race/ethnicity data from the Purge Program

82 Despite the limited data and accompanying documentation provided by Secretary of State in discovery, I conducted empirical analyses determining the race/ethnicity of the registered voters in Alabama who are the target of Secretary of State Allen’s Purge Program. Becasue they provided different types of data regarding the citizenship status in their own databases, I analyze data from ALEA and ADOL separately. Both analyses reveal the same finding: non-White registered voters who ALEA and ADOL identified as possibly being noncitizens were disproportionately swept up in the Secretary of State’s Purge Program.

IX.I.1 Data from ALEA

83 Processing the same data file as above, “Ala00000754 ALEA-SOS_ForeignNationals_County_New-FINAL”, which was cleaned by the Secretary of State, and linking it by a voter’s unique voter ID number to the August 24, 2024 statewide voter file, I am able to determine the racial/ethnic distribution of the individuals identified by Secretary of State Allen’s Purge Program that originally came from ALEA. Broken down

by whether the registered voter is White or non-White, Table 6 provides the distribution by the type of citizenship documentation ALEA provided to the Secretary of State. The table contains information on 1,217 individuals, as these individuals have race/ethnicity indicators on the Secretary of State's August statewide voter file.

84 As can be determined by summing the White and non-White figures in the Count column in Table 6, excluding the 20 registered voters without a race/ethnicity code, there are only 193 (15.9%) White registered voters on the Secretary of State's Purge Program list derived from ALEA's matching exercise, compared to 1,024 (84.1%) non-White registered voters flagged by Secretary of State Allen's Purge Program.

85 As Table 6 reveals, across every category of "Document Type", which comes from ALEA's code in its internal database, non-White individuals who are registered to vote as of August 2024 account for a super-majority of those identified by Secretary of State Allen's Purge Program who were matched against the ALEA database. This even includes 18 (85.7%) of the 21 individuals who did not have a Document Type on file with ALEA, but who the Secretary of State nevertheless concluded had 'matched' ALEA's database as possibly being a noncitizen.

IX.I.2 Data from ADOL

86 Turning to the data the Secretary of State received from the ADOL, I process the same data file as above in Section VII, "Ala0000076LABOR-SOS_Noncitizen Data with Current Status as of 9-16-24, - 9.18.24", which was cleaned by the Secretary of State. I link it by a voter's unique voter ID number to the August 24, 2024 statewide voter file. In doing so, I am able to determine the racial/ethnic distribution of the individuals identified

Table 6: Document Type and Voter Race (White/Non-White) Summary, ALEA and August voter file

Document Type	Race	Count	Percent
Certificate of Citizenship	Non-White	3	60.00
Certificate of Citizenship	White	2	40.00
Certificate of Naturalization	Non-White	38	82.60
Certificate of Naturalization	White	8	17.40
DS2019 Certificate of Eligibility for Exchange Visitor (J-1)	Non-White	1	100.00
I-20 Certificate of Eligibility for Nonimmigrant (F-1) Student	Non-White	3	100.00
I-551 Permanent Resident Card	Non-White	352	81.90
I-551 Permanent Resident Card	White	78	18.10
I-766 Employment Authorization Card	Non-White	58	98.30
I-766 Employment Authorization Card	White	1	1.70
I-94 Arrival/Departure Record	Non-White	11	84.60
I-94 Arrival/Departure Record	White	2	15.40
I-94 Arrival/Departure Record in Unexpired Foreign Passport	Non-White	2	100.00
L - Alien	Non-White	467	83.80
L - Alien	White	90	16.20
L - Passport	Non-White	46	90.20
L - Passport	White	5	9.80
Not Found	Non-White	18	85.70
Not Found	White	3	14.30
Other DHS Document with Alien Number	Non-White	1	100.00
Temporary I-551 Stamp (on passport or I-94)	Non-White	1	100.00
Unexpired Foreign Passport	Non-White	23	85.20
Unexpired Foreign Passport	White	4	14.80
Total		1,217	

by Secretary of State Allen's Purge Program that originally came from ADOL. Broken down by whether the registered voter is White or non-White, Table 7 provides the distribution by the type of citizenship documentation ADOL provided to the Secretary of State. The table contains information on 2,003 individuals, as these individuals have race/ethnicity indicators on the Secretary of State's August statewide voter file.

87 As can be determined by summing the White and non-White figures in the Count column in Table 7, excluding the registered voters without a race/ethnicity code, there are

only 631 (31.5%) White registered voters on the Secretary of State’s Purge Program list derived from ADOL’s matching exercise, compared to 1,372 (68.5%) non-White registered voters flagged by Secretary of State Allen’s Purge Program.

88 As Table 7 shows, across both categories (Exists and Missing) of “AlienNumber”, which comes from ADOL’s code in its internal database, non-White individuals who are registered to vote as of August 2024 account for a super-majority of those identified by Secretary of State Allen’s Purge Program after being matched against the ALEA database. This even includes 51 (79.7%) of the 264 individuals who did not have a Alien Number on file with ADOL, but who the Secretary of State nevertheless concluded had ‘matched’ ADOL’s database as possibly being a noncitizen.

Table 7: Document Type and Voter Race (White/Non-White) Summary, ADOL and August voter file

AlienNumber	Race	Count	Percent
Exists	Non-White	1,321	68.10
Exists	White	618	31.90
Missing	Non-White	51	79.70
Missing	White	13	20.30
Total		2,003	

89 It is clear, after analyzing the data provided in discovery by Secretary of State, that registered voters in Alabama, identified by both ALEA and ADOL, and who were swept up by Secretary of State Allen’s Purge Program that had little or no vetting of the lists of names they received from the two state agencies, were disproportionately more likely to be non-White and threatened with criminal prosecution.

IX.II DHS Office of Homeland Security Statistics Persons Naturalized data

90 The harm from the confusing and hostile language from the Alabama Secretary of State and Attorney General pertaining to Alabama’s Purge Program is likely to be most pronounced among racial and ethnic minorities. Racial and ethnic minorities account for most of the naturalized U.S. citizens residing in Alabama. Hostile political rhetoric about “noncitizens” on the voter rolls—even if debunked as unfounded—is not without consequence. Being targeted for removal from the voter rolls can negatively influence voters’ political attitudes and willingness to participate electorally, including naturalized U.S. citizens.

91 Thousands of Alabama residents legally become U.S. citizens through the naturalization process every year. According to DHS Office of Homeland Security Statistics, between 2017 and 2022, 12,084 Alabama residents became naturalized U.S. citizens. In 2022 alone, 3,998 Alabama residents became naturalized U.S. citizens.³³

92 In 2022, of the 3,998 Alabama residents who became naturalized U.S. citizens, well over half were racial or ethnic minorities: most prominently, 14.5% were previously citizens of Mexico, and over one-quarter of all those who naturalized that year in Alabama were previously citizens of Central and South America countries. Another 10.4% of those who naturalized in 2022 in Alabama were previously citizens of India, 7.9% were previously citizens of Vietnam, 6.1% were previously citizens of Philippines, and 4.8% were previously

³³See, “Profiles on Naturalized Citizens,” DHS, Office of Homeland Security Statistics, available <https://ohss.dhs.gov/topics/immigration/naturalizations/profiles-naturalized-citizens-000>.

citizens of South Korea.³⁴

93 By targeting individuals who have been issued a noncitizen identification number, Alabama’s Purge Program disproportionately affects racial and ethnic minorities who are naturalized U.S. citizens and who are legally registered to vote in the state. By its construction, the state’s systematic Purge Program disproportionately threatens these naturalized U.S. citizens with criminal prosecution.

IX.III Florida *Arcia* litigation data

94 As discussed above in Section VIII, prior to the 2012 General Election, the Florida Secretary of State launched a similar program to Alabama Secretary of State Allen’s Purge Program. As an expert for the plaintiffs in the *Arcia* case, I analyzed election administration data provided in discovery by the Florida Division of Elections (FDOE). My analysis showed clearly that racial and ethnic minorities were disproportionately targeted by Florida’s flawed effort to match DHSMV data with FDOE voter registrations to identify noncitizens on the voter rolls in the state (Biggers and Smith 2018).

95 In Florida, both the 180,000 initially identified “potential noncitizens” and the final list of 2,625 registered voters targeted by the Florida Secretary of State were disproportionately more likely to be racial and ethnic minorities. Although in late 2011 when the initial matched list was generated by FDOE, only 13% of registered voters in Florida were Black; yet nearly 18% of the more than 180,000 “potential noncitizens” were Black and nearly

³⁴Over half (55.3%) is likely a conservative number, as the denominator includes over 1,182 individuals who became naturalized U.S. citizens in 2022 in Alabama but whose “leading countries of birth” are not itemized by DHS Office of Immigration Statistics.

14% of the final list of 2,625 “potential noncitizens” sent to the county SOEs were Black.

96 The figures were even more skewed against Hispanic and Asian/Pacific Islander registered voters: In late 2011, only 13% of registered voters in Florida were Hispanic; yet over 50% of the more than 180,000 “potential noncitizens” were Hispanic, and over 56% of the 2,625 “potential noncitizens” sent to the SOEs for removal from the voter rolls were Hispanic. Asian/ Pacific Islander registered voters comprised less than 1.5% of Florida’s registered voters in late 2011; but over 9% of the more than 180,000 “potential noncitizens” were of Asian/Pacific Islander heritage, and 9% of the final list of 2,625 “potential noncitizens” sent to the SOEs for removal from the voter rolls were of Asian/Pacific Islander heritage.

X Public statements by Alabama officials raise the cost of voting for naturalized U.S. citizens

97 Conflicting public statements made by Alabama Secretary of State Allen and Alabama Attorney General Marshall, who have alleged there are thousands of noncitizens on the state’s voter rolls, create confusion and threaten naturalized U.S. citizens who have been wrongly identified by the state for removal from the voter rolls. Specifically, contradictory information about the registration process and threats made against individuals identified by Alabama’s Purge Program raise the cost of voting for naturalized U.S. citizens in the state.

98 Alabama’s Purge Program is appears to be permanent. Secretary of State Allen announced on August 13, 2024, that his office’s Purge Program “is not a one-time review of our voter file” and that the Office of the Secretary of State will “continue to conduct such

reviews.”³⁵ “We’re going to keep pushing and we’re not going to slow down,” Secretary of State Allen said to media outlets when he announced Alabama’s Purge Program, indicating that his office had plans to extend his noncitizen matching effort to other state agencies.³⁶ But the August 13, 2024 press release announcing Alabama’s Purge Program also stated that “Allen says it is possible that some of the individuals who were issued noncitizen identification numbers have, since receiving them, become naturalized citizens and are, therefore, eligible to vote.”³⁷

99 Attorney General Marshall publicly endorsed Secretary of State Allen’s Purge Program on X (formerly Twitter), using threatening language. He wrote, “Alabama knows how to run elections. Well done by @alasecofstate Wes Allen. BE ADVISED: Violations of state election laws will be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.”³⁸

100 Such conflicting and threatening language from state officials harm voter registration efforts because they create confusion and stoke fear particularly among naturalized U.S. citizens. In addition, naturalized U.S. citizens registered to vote in Alabama and who have been identified by Alabama’s Purge Program have been informed by their local registrars that they need to “immediately be removed from the voter list and become compliant

³⁵“Secretary of State Wes Allen Implements Process to Remove Noncitizens Registered to Vote in Alabama,” *Press Release*, August 13, 2024, available <https://www.sos.alabama.gov/newsroom/secretary-state-wes-allen-implements-process-remove-noncitizens-registered-vote-alabama>.

³⁶“Alabama Purging 3,251 Noncitizens From Voting Rolls,” *WVTM 13*, August 14, 2024) available <https://www.wvtm13.com/article/alabama-purging-non-citizens-voting-rolls-election/61881112>.

³⁷“Secretary of State Wes Allen Implements Process to Remove Noncitizens Registered to Vote in Alabama,” *Press Release*, August 13, 2024, available <https://www.sos.alabama.gov/newsroom/secretary-state-wes-allen-implements-process-remove-noncitizens-registered-vote-alabama>.

³⁸@AGSteveMarshall, X, August 14, 2024, 7:33AM, available <https://x.com/AGSteveMarshall/status/1823699430081704083>.

with state and federal law requirements,”³⁹, but in a follow-up letter, some of these registered voters have been informed that by their local registrars that “your voter record has been made ‘Inactive’ and you will be placed on a path to be removed from the voter list in four years.”⁴⁰ Such confusing and threatening language can have the effect of limiting voter registration of eligible naturalized U.S. citizens not currently registered to vote, as well as those who are planning to register to vote in Alabama in the near future.

101 It is worth noting that public statements differ from information conveyed in letters from the Alabama Secretary of State to the Department of Justice, Voting Section, Civil Rights Division, concerning registered voters who the state has identified as noncitizens and who are being instructed to fill out a NVRA-25 form to “self-remove” themselves from the voter rolls. If they want to vote, naturalized U.S. citizens would then have to submit a new voter registration form, undergoing a new round of verification, or face a criminal investigation and potential legal penalties.⁴¹

X.I Confusing language raises the cost of registering to vote

102 Voter registration is the first and foremost hurdle when it comes to casting a ballot in nearly every jurisdiction in the United States (Erikson 1981). The Alabama Purge Program conjures previous efforts in Alabama to discourage eligible individuals from registering to vote (Keyssar 2009). The confusing and threatening language from state

³⁹Template Letter, Alabama Secretary of State. Document 48-1, Exhibit 17.

⁴⁰Template Letter, Alabama Secretary of State. Document 48-1, Exhibit 19.

⁴¹See Michael L. Jones, Jr., General Counsel, Alabama Secretary of State, Letter to R. Tamar Hagler, Chief, Voting Section, Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice, September 6, 2024. Document 48-8; and, Michael L. Jones, Jr., General Counsel, Alabama Secretary of State, Letter to R. Tamar Hagler, Chief, Voting Section, Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice, September 19, 2024 (Document 48-1, Exhibit 20).

officials about the registration process may raise the cost of voting (Downs 1957) for some naturalized U.S. citizens, reducing their incentive to register (or re-register) to vote.

103 Registration requirements are known to contribute to a socioeconomic bias among registered voters, as the costs of registration are not equally borne by all individuals eligible to register to vote (Rosenstone and Wolfinger 1978; Highton 1997). Understanding the requirements necessary to register to vote can be a confusing process. There is often conflicting information that prospective voters must be able to navigate in order to successfully register to vote (Waisanen, Jarvis and Gordon 2023).

104 Secretary Allen’s public comments about the state’s Purge Program are confusing. My understanding is that Alabama’s county Boards of Registrars received the list of registered voters to be removed from the voter rolls from the Secretary of State, and that the counties have sent out two sets of notice letters to these individuals instructing them to complete a voter registration form to reactivate their Alabama voter registration. But the letters also direct these registered voters to complete a voter removal request form to “become compliant with state and federal law requirements.”⁴²

105 In August, Jeff Elrod, Director of Elections, Alabama Secretary of State, emailed the state’s 67 Boards of Registrars information about the state’s Purge Program and directing them to mail a “template letter” to the Alabama registered voters in their county who “have been issued a non-citizen identification number by the Department of Homeland Security.” The template letter to be mailed by Boards of Registers to naturalized

⁴²“Alabama Purging 3,251 Noncitizens from Voting Rolls, *WVTM 13*, August 14, 2024 available <https://www.wvtm13.com/article/alabama-purging-non-citizens-voting-rolls-election/61881112>.

U.S. citizens registered to vote in Alabama informs these voters that their “voter record has been made inactive and you have been placed on a path for removal from the statewide voter list.” It instructs them to “complete and submit the enclosed Voter Removal Request form to immediately be removed from the voter list and become compliant with state and federal law requirements,” and to return a State of Alabama Voter Registration Form (NVRA-2) if the respondent is “a citizen of the United States, and are otherwise eligible to register to vote in Alabama.”⁴³ The August template letter makes no mention to the recipients of any dates by which these directives are to be completed.

106 Then, a month later in September, Director Elrod instructed the state’s 67 Boards of Registrars to mail a second “template letter” to the Alabama registered voters in their county who had yet to respond to the first letter. This template letter to be mailed by Boards of Registers to naturalized U.S. citizens registered to vote in Alabama informs these voters that if “you are a noncitizen of the United States or if you have moved out of state, please submit the enclosed Voter Removal Request form to immediately be removed from the voter list.” It makes no mention that Alabama residents who may be temporarily living outside of the state (e.g., UOCAVA voters), be they naturalized or U.S.-born, are legally permitted to remain registered to vote in the state.⁴⁴ Unlike the August template letter, the September template letter mailed to naturalized U.S. citizens instructs provides them with “three options to ensure you can vote in the upcoming General Election on November 5, 2024”: 1) completing and submitting the enclosed State of Alabama Voter Registration or the Federal Voter Registration Form and having it postmarked by October 21, 2024; 2)

⁴³Email from Jeff Elrod, Director of Elections, Alabama Secretary of State. August 13, 2024. Document 48-1, Exhibit 15; Template Letter, Alabama Secretary of State. Document 48-1, Exhibit 17.

⁴⁴See, “Military & Overseas Absentee Voting,” Alabama Secretary of State, available <https://www.sos.alabama.gov/alabama-votes/voter/military-overseas-voting>.

registering to vote online at AlabamaVotes.gov by midnight on October 21, 2024; or 3) turn out to vote at their assigned polling place on Election Day and fill out an update form before voting. None of these alternatives, or dates, are provided in the August template letter that Boards of Registrars were instructed by Director Elrod to mail to naturalized U.S. citizens.

107 This contradictory information mailed by local election officials to the naturalized U.S. citizens identified by Alabama’s Purge Program causes confusion, increasing the cost of voting to these registered voters. Scholars have consistently identified how confusing or contradictory information can raised the cost of voting, such as when state or local election officials change the location or reduce the number of polling locations (Haspel and Knotts 2005; Brady and McNulty 2011; Amos, Smith and Ste. Claire 2017) close to Election Day.

X.II Threatening language raises the cost of registering to vote

108 In addition to being confusing, the threatening language from Secretary Allen and Attorney General Mitchell concerning those who might run afoul of the state’s Purge Program are particularly harmful to naturalized U.S. citizens. Their rhetoric engenders fear among naturalized U.S. citizens who are currently registered to vote or who may plan to register to vote. Secretary Allen has stated that he has referred all individuals identified by Alabama’s Purge Program to the Attorney General for criminal investigation and potential prosecution.

109 Attorney General Marshall’s rhetoric has been particularly severe. On Twitter, he announced that “Alabama Secretary of State Finds 3K Potential Noncitizens Registered

To Vote,” parroting the language used by Florida Secretary of State Detzner in Florida’s fatally flawed effort to purge lawful U.S. citizens from the voter rolls.⁴⁵

110 Fear is an emotional response that is triggered by a perceived external threat when individuals feel as though they have limited ability to control the situation. Scholars have shown how fear is associated with increased sensitivity to external threats and behavior avoidance (Huddy, Feldman and Weber 2007), and how victimization undermines perceptions of individual agency (Janoff-Bulman and Frieze 1983). These feelings can lead to a decreased sense of efficacy, which underpins individual decision-making to participate in politics.

111 Naturalized U.S. citizens already have lower rates of political participation than native-born citizens. Across a host of electoral behaviors, scholars have shown that naturalized U.S. citizens are generally less likely to identify with a political party, have lower levels of political information, and are less likely to be politically active (Hajnal, Lajevardi and Nielson 2017; Phan and Garcia 2009; Wong et al. 2011; Ramakrishnan and Espenshade 2001), though exceptions exist (Conway, Wong et al. 2004). This has been particularly true among naturalized Latino Americans (DeSipio 1996), but other naturalized U.S. citizens are not becoming incorporated into U.S. politics as quickly as previous generations of naturalized U.S. citizens (DeSipio 1998). In their study of political mobilization of naturalized Latinos which draws on a three-state survey of citizen attitudes, Pantoja, Ramirez and Segura (2001) find that naturalized Latinos who do not reside in a politically empowered environment behave differently from naturalized Latino citizens who live in locations with a critical mass of support (as in California).

⁴⁵@AGSteveMarshall, X, August. 14, 2024, 7:33AM, available <https://x.com/AGSteveMarshall/status/1823699430081704083>.

112 More recent research on emotional responses to politics examines how different kinds of emotions translate to political participation. For example, drawing on a national survey, Phoenix (2019, p 90.) finds that Black voters do not leverage “the political capital of anger to nearly the same degree” as White voters when it comes to political mobilization. This pattern also exists for Latinos and Asian Americans when it comes to feelings of anxiety; “no minority group comes close to matching whites’ frequency of fear expressions,” the study by Phoenix (2019, p 209.) finds, meaning that being anxious about a political situation does not easily translate into the ability to better navigate the political landscape or stimulate political participation. This could certainly help to explain why some naturalized U.S. citizens targeted by Alabama’s Purge Program may just accede to the unclear dictates of the policy, removing themselves from the voter rolls but failing to re-register to vote.

113 In short, in my opinion, the public statements of Secretary of State Allen and Attorney General Marshall, as well as the directives to local Boards of Registrars by Director of Elections Elrod in the template letters to be mailed to naturalized U.S. citizens concerning the state’s Purge Program, are not only confusing and contradictory, they are also threatening to naturalized U.S. citizens currently registered to vote in Alabama, as well as to those who plan to register to vote. The resulting confusion, compounded by the threatening language of these state officials, increases the perceived costs of voting for eligible naturalized U.S. citizens, reducing their motivation to register to vote and to turn out to vote. Furthermore, in my opinion, the increased information cost of voting due to the confusion and the fear stemming from Alabama’s Purge Program is likely to fall most heavily on racial and ethnic minorities in the state who are naturalized U.S. citizens and who are legally registered to vote, as well as those who intend to register to vote.

XI Conclusion

114 In my opinion, Alabama’s Purge Program is fatally flawed.

115 Alabama’s Purge Program relies on a failed matching methodology that generates false positives, and as a result, wrongly identifies U.S. citizens as noncitizens, requiring them to de-register and submit a new voter registration form or risk being removed from the voter rolls and face criminal prosecution.

116 Alabama’s Purge Program violates several established methodological standards, resulting in false positives, lacks transparency, was carried out in an *ad hoc* fashion, and the resulting data used to identify “noncitizens” were not properly vetted by the Secretary of State.

117 Alabama’s Purge Program copies Florida’s failed effort which resulted in naturalized U.S. citizens being wrongly targeted with removal from the state’s voter rolls. Florida’s experience rolling out a similar flawed program more than a decade ago was a disaster, wrongly identify U.S. citizens as “potential noncitizens,” and serves as a cautionary tale. Florida’s program led to thousands of U.S. citizens who were legally registered to vote in the state to be wrongly targeted by the Florida Secretary of State.

118 Alabama’s Purge Program disproportionately targets non-White naturalized U.S. citizens for removal from the state’s voter rolls. The Secretary of State’s matching effort incorrectly and disproportionately identifies racial and ethnic minorities who are naturalized U.S. citizens to de-register and re-register to vote.

119 Alabama's Purge Program raises the cost of voting for thousands of legally registered voters in Alabama. The failed matching methodology used by Secretary of State makes it questionable as to whether these individuals will participate in the November 5, 2024 General Election, after they have been falsely accused of being noncitizens. The Alabama state officials, including Secretary of State Allen, who have touted the state's Purge Program, are creating confusion and invoking fear among naturalized U.S. citizens who have been wrongly identified in the Secretary of State's flawed matching program, as have other naturalized U.S. citizens who were planning to register to vote in the state but who, too, fear that they will be targets of criminal prosecution.

120 I ask to reserve the right to continue to supplement my declaration in light of additional facts, data, or testimony.

References

- Amos, Brian, Daniel A. Smith and Casey Ste. Claire. 2017. “Reprecincting and Voting Behavior.” *Political Behavior* 39(1):133–156.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen and Eitan Hersh. 2014. Voter registration: The process and quality of lists. In *The measure of American elections*, ed. Barry C. Burden, and Charles Stewart III. Cambridge University Press pp. 61–90.
- Bass, Loretta E and Lynne M Casper. 2001. “Impacting the political landscape: who registers and votes among naturalized Americans?” *Political Behavior* 23:103–130.
- Berent, Matthew K, Jon A Krosnick and Arthur Lupia. 2016. “Measuring voter registration and turnout in surveys: Do official government records yield more accurate assessments?” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80(3):597–621.
- Biggers, Daniel R. and Daniel A. Smith. 2018. “Does threatening their franchise make registered voters more likely to participate? Evidence from an aborted voter purge.” *British Journal of Political Science* p. 1–22.
- Brady, Henry E. and John E. McNulty. 2011. “Turning out to vote: The costs of finding and getting to the polling place.” *American Political Science Review* 105(01):115–134.
- Burden, Barry C. 2014. Registration and voting: A view from the top. In *The Measure of American Elections*, ed. Barry C. Burden, and Charles Stewart III. New York: Cambridge University Press pp. 40–60.
- Conway, M Margaret, Janelle Wong et al. 2004. *The politics of Asian Americans: Diversity and community*. Routledge.
- DeSipio, Louis. 1996. “Making citizens or good citizens? Naturalization as a predictor of organizational and electoral behavior among Latino immigrants.” *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 18(2):194–213.
- DeSipio, Louis. 1998. *Counting on the Latino Vote: Latinos as a New Electorate*. Char-

- lottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Erikson, Robert S. 1981. "Why Do People Vote? Because They Are Registered." *American Politics Quarterly* 9(3):259–76.
- Hajnal, Zoltan, Nazita Lajevardi and Lindsay Nielson. 2017. "Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes." *The Journal of Politics* 79(2):363–379.
- Hasen, Richard L. 2012. *The Voting Wars: From Florida 2000 to the Next Election Meltdown*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Haspel, Moshe and H Gibbs Knotts. 2005. "Location, location, location: Precinct placement and the costs of voting." *The Journal of Politics* 67(2):560–573.
- Highton, Benjamin. 1997. "Easy registration and voter turnout." *The Journal of Politics* 59(2):565–575.
- Huddy, Leonie, Stanley Feldman and Christopher Weber. 2007. "The Political Consequences of Perceived Threat and Felt Insecurity." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 614(1):131–153.
- Janoff-Bulman, Ronnie and Irene Hanson Frieze. 1983. "A theoretical perspective for understanding reactions to victimization." *Journal of social issues* 39(2):1–17.
- Kettl, Donald F. 2015. *The transformation of governance: Public administration for the twenty-first century*. John Hopkins University Press.
- Kettl, Donald F. 2016. *Politics of the administrative process*. CQ Press.
- Keyssar, Alexander. 2009. *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Li, Ruoxi and Bradley M Jones. 2020. "Why do immigrants participate in politics less than native-born citizens? A formative years explanation." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 5(1):62–91.
- McDonald, Michael P. 2007. "The true electorate: A cross-validation of voter registration

- files and election survey demographics.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 71(4):588–602.
- McDonald, Michael P. and Justin Levitt. 2008. “Seeing double voting: an extension of the birthday problem.” *Election Law Journal* 7:111–122.
- Minnite, Lorraine C. 2010. *The Myth of Voter Fraud*. Cornell University Press.
- Pantoja, Adrian D, Ricardo Ramirez and Gary M Segura. 2001. “Citizens by choice, voters by necessity: Patterns in political mobilization by naturalized Latinos.” *Political Research Quarterly* 54(4):729–750.
- Phan, Ngoc and John A Garcia. 2009. “Asian-Pacific-American Partisanship: Dynamics of Partisan and Nonpartisan Identities.” *Social science quarterly* 90(4):886–910.
- Phoenix, Davin L. 2019. *The anger gap: How race shapes emotion in politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ramakrishnan, S Karthick and Thomas J Espenshade. 2001. “Immigrant incorporation and political participation in the United States 1.” *International Migration Review* 35(3):870–909.
- Rosenstone, Steven J. and Raymond E. Wolfinger. 1978. “The effect of registration laws on voter turnout.” *American Political Science Review* 72(1):22–45.
- Scher, Richard K. 2015. *The Politics of Disenfranchisement: Why is it So Hard to Vote in America?* Routledge.
- Shino, Enrijeta, Michael D. Martinez, Michael P. McDonald and Daniel A. Smith. 2020. “Verifying Voter Registration Records.” *American Politics Research* p. 1532673X20920261.
- Stuart, Guy. 2004. “Databases, felons, and voting: Bias and partisanship of the Florida felons list in the 2000 elections.” *Pol. Sci. Q.* 119:453.
- Waisanen, Don, Sonia R Jarvis and Nicole A Gordon. 2023. *States of Confusion: How Our Voter ID Laws Fail Democracy and What to Do About It*. NYU Press.
- Wang, Tova Andrea. 2017. *The politics of voter suppression: Defending and expanding Americans’ right to vote*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Wong, Janelle S, S Karthick Ramakrishnan, Taeku Lee, Jane Junn and Janelle Wong. 2011.
Asian American political participation: Emerging constituents and their political identities.
Russell Sage Foundation.

A Appendix

A.I Curriculum vitae of Daniel A. Smith

1 September 2024

DANIEL A. SMITH **Curriculum Vitae**

Mailing Address

Department of Political Science
234 Anderson Hall
PO Box 117325
University of Florida
Gainesville, FL 32611-7325

Contact

Office: 303 Anderson Hall
Phone: 352.273.2346
Email: electionsmith@gmail.com dasmith@ufl.edu
Homepage: people.clas.ufl.edu/dasmith/
[Google Scholar](#) / [ORCID](#)

EDUCATION

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Ph.D., Political Science, 1994

M.A., Political Science, 1989

The Pennsylvania State University

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

University Scholars Program (University Honors)

Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Alpha Theta

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

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

University of Florida, Gainesville

Professor, Department of Political Science, 2010-

Chair, 2017-2024

Graduate Coordinator, 2014-2016

Associate Chair, 2013-2014

Director, Graduate Program in Political Campaigning, 2007-2011

Affiliate Professor, Center for African Studies, 2010-

Affiliate Professor, The Bob Graham Center for Public Service, 2013-

Internship Coordinator, Department of Political Science, 2005-

Associate Professor (with tenure), Department of Political Science, 2003-2009

University of Denver

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

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 1994-2000

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

University of Ghana

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

West Virginia University

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

Beloit College

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

University of Wisconsin-Madison

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

Research Assistant, Center on Wisconsin Strategy, 1989-1991

Project Assistant, Department of Political Science, 1989-1990

RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS

Visiting Scholar, Department of Political Science, Aarhus University (Denmark), 2022-23

University of Florida Term Professor, 2016-2018

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

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

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

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

Senior Fulbright Scholar (Ghana), United States Department of State, 2000-01

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

59

AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION

American State Politics

Voting and Elections (Voting Rights, Election Administration, Redistricting, Political Campaigns)

Direct Democracy (History, Campaigns, and Financing of Ballot Initiatives and Referendums)

American Institutions (Political Parties and Interest Groups)

COURSES TAUGHT

Intro to American Politics (Undergrad)
 Interest Group Politics (Undergrad)
 Direct Democracy (Grad & Undergrad)
 Politics of Reform (Grad)

State and Local Government (Grad & Undergrad)
 Political Parties (Grad & Undergrad)
 Politics of Campaign Finance (Grad & Undergrad)
 Problems of Markets and Governments (Undergrad)

SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS**BOOKS**

- 3) Todd Donovan, Daniel A. Smith, Tracy Osborne, and Christopher Z. Mooney. 2015. *State and Local Politics: Institutions and Reform*. 4th edition. Boston: Cengage Learning/Wadsworth.
- 2) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline J. Tolbert. 2004. *Educated by Initiative: The Effects of Direct Democracy on Citizens and Political Organizations in the American States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- 1) Daniel A. Smith. 1998. *Tax Crusaders and the Politics of Direct Democracy*. NY: Routledge.

JOURNAL ARTICLES (current PhD students **bold**; former PhD students *italics*; undergrad students *italics*)

- 83) Michael Morse, Michael C. Herron, Marc Meredith, Daniel A. Smith, and Michael Martinez. 2025. "Election Administration Harms and Ballot Design: A Study of Florida's 2018 United States Senate," *American Journal of Political Science* (forthcoming).
- 82) Michael Martinez and Daniel A. Smith. 2024. "A Blue Primary in a Reddish State: How Preferences are Shaped by Expectations, Issues, and Sexism," *Florida Political Chronicle*, 31(1).
- 81) Seth C. McKee, MV Hood, III, Robert N. Lupton, *Enrijeta Shino*, and Daniel A. Smith. 2024. "The Changing South in presidential elections," *Party Politics*, online first: <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688241284091>.
- 80) Michael P. McDonald, *Enrijeta Shino*, Daniel Smith, **Payton Lussier**, and **Danielle Dietz**. 2024. "Campus Voting During the COVID-19 Pandemic," *American Politics Research* 52(3): 225-238.
- 79) *Enrijeta Shino*, Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2024. "The Fall of Trump: Mobilization and Vote Switching in the 2020 Presidential Election," *Political Science Research and Methods* 12: 229-248.
- 78) **Sara Loving** and Daniel A. Smith. 2024. "Riot in the Party? Voter Registrations in the Aftermath of the January 6, 2021 Capitol Insurrection," *Party Politics* 30(2): 209-222.
- 77) Michael P. McDonald, **Juliana Mucci**, *Enrijeta Shino*, and Daniel A. Smith. 2024. "Mail Voting and Voter Turnout," *Election Law Journal* 23(1): 1-18.
- 76) *Enrijeta Shino*, Daniel A. Smith, and **LaRaven Temoney**. 2023. "The Effects of Election Administration Changes on Voters of Color in Florida," *Journal of Election Administration Research & Practice* 2(1): 38-54.
- 75) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith. 2022. "The Racial Politics of Early In-Person Voting in Georgia," *Journal of Election Administration Research & Practice* 1(2): 27-46.
- 74) *Enrijeta Shino*, Daniel A. Smith, and **Laura Uribe**. 2022. "Lying for Trump? Elite Cue-Taking and Expressive Responding on Vote Method," *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 86 (4): 837-861.
- 73) Seth C. McKee, Daniel A. Smith, and *Enrijeta Shino*. 2022. "Redrawn, Withdrawn: The Effects of Redistricting on the Representative-Constituent Relationship," *Election Law Journal* 21 (4): 280-295.
- 72) **William Zelin** and Daniel A. Smith. 2022. "Weather to Vote: How Natural Disasters Shape Turnout Decisions," *Political Research Quarterly* 76(2): 553-64.
- 71) David Cottrell, Michael Herron, and Daniel A. Smith. 2021. "Vote-by-mail Ballot Rejection and Experience with Mail-in Voting," *American Politics Research* 49(6): 577-590.
- 70) David Cottrell, Felix Herron, Michael Herron, and Daniel A. Smith. 2021. "Auditing the 2020 General Election in Georgia: Residual vote rates and a confusing ballot format," *Election Law Journal* 20(3): 1-18.
- 69) **Anna Baringer**, **Justin Eichermuller**, **William Zelin**, *Enrijeta Shino*, and Daniel A. Smith. 2022. "Election Administration and Public Records Responsiveness," *Public Integrity* 24(3): 280-291.
- 68) *Enrijeta Shino* and Daniel A. Smith. 2021. "Pandemic Politics: COVID-19, health concerns, and vote choice in the 2020 General Election," *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*. 31: 191-205.
- 67) *Enrijeta Shino*, Mara Suttman-Lea, and Daniel A. Smith. 2022. "Determinants of Rejected Mail Ballots in Georgia's 2018 General Election," *Political Research Quarterly* 75(1): 231-243.
- 66) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith. 2021. "Postal Delivery Disruptions and the Fragility of Voting by Mail: Lessons from Maine," *Research & Politics* (January-March): 1-12.
- 65) David Cottrell, Michael C. Herron, and Daniel A. Smith. 2021. "Voting Lines, Equal Treatment, and Early Voting Check-in Times in Florida," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 21(2): 109-138.
- 64) **William D. Hicks**, Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2021. "Contemporary Views of Liberal Democracy and the 2016 Presidential Election." *PS: Political Science* 54(1): 33-40.
- 63) *Enrijeta Shino* and Daniel A. Smith. 2020. "Political Knowledge and Convenience Voting," *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 32(2): 408-428.
- 62) **Anna Baringer**, Michael Herron, and Daniel A. Smith. 2020. "Voting by Mail and Ballot Rejection: Lessons from Florida for Elections in the Age of the Coronavirus," *Election Law Journal* 19(3): 289-320.

- 61) Enrijeta Shino and Daniel A. Smith. 2020. "Mobilizing the Youth Vote? Early Voting on College Campuses." [*Election Law Journal* 19\(4\): 524-541.](#)
- 60) Enrijeta Shino, Michael Martinez, Michael P. McDonald, and Daniel A. Smith. 2020. "Verifying Voter Registration Records," [*American Politics Review* 48\(6\): 677-681.](#)
- 59) Charles Bullock, William D. Hicks, M.V. Hood III, Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2020. "The Election of African American State Legislators in the Modern South." [*Legislative Studies Quarterly* 45\(4\): 581-608.](#)
- 58) Thessalia Merivaki and Daniel A. Smith. 2019. "A Failsafe for Voters? Cast and Rejected Provisional Ballots in North Carolina," [*Political Research Quarterly* 73\(1\): 65-78.](#)
- 57) Seth C. McKee, Daniel A. Smith, and M.V. Hood III. 2018. "The Comeback Kid: Donald Trump on Election Day in 2016." [*PS: Political Science* 52 \(2\): 239-242.](#)
- 56) Hannah L. Walker, Michael C. Herron, and Daniel A. Smith. 2019. "North Carolina voter turnout and early voting hours in the 2016 General Election." [*Political Behavior* 41: 841-69.](#)
- 55) Daniel Biggers and Daniel A. Smith. 2020. "Does Threatening their Franchise Make Registered Voters More Likely to Participate? Evidence from an Aborted Voter Purge." [*British Journal of Political Science* 50\(3\): 933-954.](#)
- 54) Brian Amos, Diana Forster, and Daniel A. Smith. 2018. "Who Signs? Ballot Petition Signatures as Political Participation," [*American Review of Politics* 36\(2\): 19-37.](#)
- 53) David Cottrell, Michael C. Herron, Javier M. Rodriguez, and Daniel A. Smith. 2019. "Mortality, Incarceration, and African-American Disenfranchisement in the Contemporary United States," [*American Politics Research* 47\(2\) 195-237.](#)
- 52) Daniel A. Smith, Seth C. McKee, and M.V. (Trey) Hood, III. 2018. "Election Daze: Voting Modes and Voter Preferences in the 2016 Presidential Election," [*Florida Political Chronicle* 25\(2\): 123-141.](#)
- 51) Enrijeta Shino and Daniel A. Smith. 2018. "Timing the Habit: Voter Registration and Turnout in the American States." [*Electoral Studies* 51: 72-82.](#)
- 50) William D. Hicks, Carl E. Klarner, Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2018. "Revisiting Majority-Minority Districts and Black Representation," [*Political Research Quarterly* 71\(2\): 408-23.](#)
- 49) Brian Amos, Daniel A. Smith, and Casey Ste. Claire. 2017. "Reprecincting and Voting Behavior," [*Political Behavior* 39\(1\): 133-156.](#)
- 48) William D. Hicks, Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2016. "A Bipartisan Election Reform? Explaining Support for Online Voter Registration in the American States," [*American Politics Research* 44\(6\): 1008-1036.](#)
- 47) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith. 2016. "Race, Shelby County, and the Voter Information Verification Act in North Carolina," [*Florida State University Law Review* 43: 465-506.](#)
- 46) William D. Hicks, Seth C. McKee, and Daniel A. Smith. 2016. "The Determinants of State Legislator Support for Restrictive Voter ID Laws," [*State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 16\(4\): 411-431.](#)
- 45) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith. 2016. "Precinct Resources and Voter Wait Times," [*Electoral Studies* 42: 249-63.](#)
- 44) Thessalia Merivaki and Daniel A. Smith. 2016. "Casting and Verifying Provisional Ballots in Florida," [*Social Science Quarterly* 97\(3\): 729-47.](#)
- 43) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith. 2015. "Precinct Closing Times in Florida during the 2012 General Election," [*Election Law Journal* 14: 220-38.](#)
- 42) William D. Hicks, Seth C. McKee, Mitchell Sellers, and Daniel A. Smith. 2015. "A Principle or a Strategy? Voter Identification Laws and Partisan Competition in the American States," [*Political Research Quarterly* 68: 18-33.](#)
- 41) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith. 2014. "Race, Party, and the Consequences of Restricting Early Voting in Florida in the 2012 General Election," [*Political Research Quarterly* 67: 646-65.](#)
- 40) Josh Brodbeck, Matthew T. Harrigan, and Daniel A. Smith. 2013. "Citizen and lobbyist access to Members of Congress: Who gets and who gives?" [*Interest Groups and Advocacy* 2: 323-42.](#)
- 39) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith. 2013. "The Effects of House Bill 1355 on Voter Registration in Florida," [*State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 13: 279-305.](#)
- 38) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith. 2012. "Souls to the Polls: Early Voting in Florida in the Shadow of House Bill 1355," [*Election Law Journal* 11: 331-47.](#)
[Winner of the 2013 APSA State Politics and Policy Section's *Best Paper Award*]
- 37) Janine Parry, Daniel A. Smith, and Shayne Henry. 2011. "The Impact of Petition Signing on Voter Turnout," [*Political Behavior* 34: 117-36.](#)
- 36) Stephanie Slade and Daniel A. Smith. 2011. "Obama to Blame? African American Surge Voters and the Ban on Same-Sex Marriage in Florida," [*The Forum* 9\(2\), Article 6.](#)
- 35) Daniel A. Smith. 2011. "Generating Scholarship from Public Service: Media Outreach, Nonprofit Foundation Service, and Legal Expert Consulting," [*PS: Political Science & Politics* 44: 255-9.](#)
- 34) Josh Huder, Jordan Ragusa, and Daniel A. Smith. 2011. "Shirking the Initiative? The Effects of Statewide Ballot Measures on Congressional Roll Call Behavior," [*American Politics Research* 39 \(3\): 582-610.](#)

- 33) Daniel A. Smith, Caroline J. Tolbert, and Amanda Keller. 2010. "Electoral and Structural Losers and Support for a National Referendum in the U.S." *Electoral Studies* 29: 509-520.
- 32) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline J. Tolbert. 2010. "Direct Democracy, Public Opinion, and Candidate Choice," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 74: 85-108.
- 31) Caroline Tolbert, Daniel A. Smith, and John Green. 2009. "Strategic Voting and Legislative Redistricting Reform: District and Statewide Representational Winners and Losers," *Political Research Quarterly* 62: 92-109.
- 30) Todd Donovan, Caroline J. Tolbert, and Daniel A. Smith. 2009. "Political Engagement, Mobilization, and Direct Democracy," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 73: 98-118.
- 29) Daniel A. Smith. 2009. "An Americanist in Africa," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42 (4): 827-33.
- 28) Beatrix Allah-Mensa, Kevin S. Fridy, Daniel A. Smith, and Ukoha Ukiwo. "2009 APSA Workshop on African Elections and Democracy," *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 42 (4): 827-33. [Editors of a Special Symposium on the 2009 APSA Workshop in Ghana].
- 27) Todd Donovan, Caroline Tolbert, and Daniel A. Smith. 2008. "Priming Presidential Votes by Direct Democracy," *Journal of Politics* 70: 1217-31.
- 26) Daniel A. Smith and **Dustin Fridkin**. 2008. "Delegating Direct Democracy: Interparty Legislative Competition and the Adoption of the Initiative in the American States," *American Political Science Review* 102: 333-50.
- 25) Eric Heberlig, Bruce Larson, Daniel A. Smith, and **Kristen Soltis**. 2008. "Look Who's Coming to Dinner: Direct versus Brokered Member Campaign Contributions to the NRCC." *American Politics Research* 36 433-450.
- 24) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline J. Tolbert. 2007. "The Instrumental and Educative Effects of Ballot Measures: Research on Direct Democracy in the American States." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 4: 417-446.
- 23) Daniel A. Smith. 2007. "Representation and the Spatial Bias of Direct Democracy," *University of Colorado Law Review* 78 (4): 1395-1434.
- 22) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline J. Tolbert, and Daniel Bowen. 2007. "The Educative Effects of Direct Democracy: A Research Primer for Legal Scholars," *University of Colorado Law Review* 78 (4): 1371-94.
- 21) Daniel A. Smith, **Matthew DeSantis**, and **Jason Kassel**. 2006. "Same-Sex Marriage Ballot Measures and the 2004 Presidential Election," *State and Local Government Review* 38 (2): 78-91.
- 20) Caroline J. Tolbert and Daniel A. Smith. 2006. "Representation and Direct Democracy in the United States." *Representation: The Journal of Representative Democracy* 42 (1): 25-44.
- 19) Elizabeth Garrett and Daniel A. Smith. 2005. "Veiled Political Actors and Campaign Disclosure Laws in Direct Democracy." *Election Law Journal* 4 (4) 295-328.
- 18) Caroline J. Tolbert and Daniel A. Smith. 2005. "The Educative Effects of Ballot Initiatives on Voter Turnout." *American Politics Research* 33 (2): 283-309.
- 17) Daniel A. Smith. 2004. "Peeling Away the Populist Rhetoric: Toward a Taxonomy of Anti-Tax Ballot Initiatives." *Journal of Public Budgeting and Finance* 24 (4): 88-110.
- 16) Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "Overturning Term Limits: The Legislature's Own Private Idaho?" *PS: Political Science & Politics* 36 (2): 215-220.
- 15) Caroline J. Tolbert, Ramona McNeal, and Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "Enhancing Civic Engagement: The Effect of Direct Democracy on Political Participation and Knowledge." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 3 (1): 23-41.
- 14) Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "Distorted by Outside Money: National Parties and the Race for Colorado's Seventh Congressional District," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 36 (3) [PSOnline E-Symposium](#)
- 13) Daniel A. Smith and **Joseph Lubinski**. 2002. "Direct Democracy during the Progressive Era: A Crack in the Populist Veneer?" *Journal of Policy History* 14 (4): 349-83.
- 12) Jonathan Temin and Daniel A. Smith. 2002. "Media Matters: Evaluating the Role of the Media in Ghana's 2000 Elections." *African Affairs* 101: 585-605.
- 11) Daniel A. Smith. 2002. "Consolidating Democracy? The Structural Underpinnings of Ghana's 2000 Elections." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 40 (4): 1-30.
- 10) Daniel A. Smith. 2002. "Ghana's 2000 Elections: Consolidating Multi-Party Democracy." *Electoral Studies* 21 (3): 519-26.
- 9) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline Tolbert. 2001. "The Initiative to Party: Partisanship and Ballot Initiatives in California." *Party Politics* 7 (6): 781-99.
- 8) Caroline Tolbert, John Grummel, and Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "The Effect of Ballot Initiatives on Voter Turnout in the American States." *American Politics Research* 29 (6): 625-48.
- 7) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "Homeward Bound? Micro-Level Legislative Responsiveness to Ballot Initiatives." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 1 (1): 50-61.
- 6) Daniel A. Smith and **Robert J. Herrington**. 2000. "The Process of Direct Democracy: Colorado's 1996 Parental Rights Amendment." *Social Science Journal* 37 (2): 179-94.
- 5) Daniel A. Smith. 1999. "Reevaluating the Causes of Proposition 13." *Social Science History* 23 (2): 173-210.
- 4) Daniel A. Smith and **Nathaniel Golich**. 1998. "Some Unintended Consequences of TABOR." *Comparative State Politics* 19 (6): 33-40.

- 3) Daniel A. Smith, Kevin M. Leyden, and Stephen A. Borrelli. 1998. "Predicting the Outcomes of Presidential Commissions: Evidence from the Johnson and Nixon Years," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 28 (2): 269-85.
- 2) Daniel A. Smith. 1996. "Populist Entrepreneur: Douglas Bruce and the Tax and Government Limitation Moment in Colorado, 1986-1992," *Great Plains Research* 6 (2): 269-94.
- 1) Daniel A. Smith. 1993. "Removing the Pluralist Blinders: Labor-Management Councils and Industrial Policy in the American States," *Economic Development Quarterly* 7 (4): 373-89.

WORKS IN PROGRESS (current PhD students **bold**; former PhD students *italics*; undergrad students *italics*)

- 1) Enrijeta Shino and Daniel A. Smith, "Vote Method and Confidence in Elections" (R&R, *Political Research Quarterly*)
- 2) M.V. (Trey) Hood III, Seth McKee, Enrijeta Shino, and Daniel A. Smith, "Not a Teammate and Not a Fan: Probing the Identities of Unaffiliated Registered Voters" (R&R, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*)
- 3) David Cottrell, Michael C. Herron, and Daniel A. Smith, "Identifying Turnout Effects of Additional Days of Early Voting" (under review, *American Politics Research*)
- 4) M.V. (Trey) Hood III, Seth C. McKee, Enrijeta Shino, and Daniel A. Smith, "Treating a Friend to Voter Registration in a Divided America" (under review, *Political Behavior*)
- 5) Maxwell Clarke, Michael P. McDonald, and Daniel A. Smith, "Florida's Democracy Deserts" (under review, *Election Law Journal*)
- 6) Michael C. Herron, and Daniel A. Smith, "Curing the Vote: Who Corrects Rejected Mail Ballots?"
- 7) Daniel A. Smith, "Scrubbing the Rolls? Voter List Maintenance in Florida"
- 8) John Cho, Michael C. Herron, and Daniel A. Smith, "Stand by Me: Voting lines and political polarization"
- 9) Seth C. McKee, Enrijeta Shino, and Daniel A. Smith, "Partisan Motivated Behavior: Who *Really* Votes by Mail."
- 10) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith, "Disabling the Vote."
- 11) Michael C. Herron, Daniel A. Smith, and Andy Jarrin, "Ghost in the Machine: Support for Candidates on the Ballot in Name Only"
- 12) Daniel A. Smith, "Restricting Registration: Regulating Third Party Voter Registration Organizations"
- 13) Angela Gutierrez, Michael P. McDonald, Daniel A. Smith, Brian Amos, Matt Barreto, "Shared Language, Distinct Politics: A Deeper Look at Hispanic Vote Cohesion in South and Central Florida"

BOOK CHAPTERS (current PhD students **bold**; former PhD students *italics*; undergrad students *italics*)

- 31) Enrijeta Shino and Daniel A. Smith. 2024. "[Vote Choice During a Pandemic: How Health Concerns Shaped the 2020 Presidential Election](#)," in *Lessons Learned from the 2020 U.S. Presidential Election: Hindsight is 2020*, Joseph Coll and Joseph Anthony, eds. Berlin: Springer (139-159).
- 30) Todd Donovan and Daniel A. Smith. 2020. "Direct Democracy and Political Speech in the United States," in *Direkte Demokratie: Festschrift für Otmar Jung, Hermann K. Heußner, Arne Pautsch, and Fabian Wittreck*, eds. Berlin: Richard Boorberg Verlag (479-488).
- 29) Thessalia Merivaki and Daniel A. Smith. 2019. "Challenges in Voter Registration," in *The Future of Election Administration*, Mitchell Brown, Kathleen Hale, and Bridgett A. King, eds. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan.
- 28) Seth C. McKee and Daniel A. Smith. 2019. "Trump Territory," in *Florida and the 2016 Election of Donald J. Trump*, Matthew Corrigan and Michael Binder, eds. Gainesville: University of Florida Press (49-75).
- 27) Daniel A. Smith, Brian Amos, Daniel Maxwell, and **Tyler Richards**. 2019. "Rigged? Assessing Election Administration in Florida's 2016 General Election," in *Florida and the 2016 Election of Donald J. Trump*, Matthew Corrigan and Michael Binder, eds. Gainesville: University of Florida Press (pp. 154-74).
- 26) Daniel A. Smith, **Dillon Boatner**, **Caitlin Ostroff**, **Pedro Otálora**, and **Laura Uribe**. 2019. "Early Bird Special: Convenience Voting in Florida's 2016 General Election," in *Florida and the 2016 Election of Donald J. Trump*, Matthew Corrigan and Michael Binder, eds. Gainesville: University of Florida Press (pp.134-53).
- 25) Michael C. Herron, Daniel A. Smith, **Wendy Serra**, and Joseph Bafumi. 2017. "Wait Times and Voter Confidence: A Study of the 2014 General Election in Miami-Dade County," in *The American Election 2014: Contexts and Consequences*, Tauna Sisco, Christopher Galdieri, and Jennifer Lucas, eds. Akron, OH: University of Akron Press (pp. 107-122).
- 24) **Joseph T. Eagleton** and Daniel A. Smith. 2015. "Drawing the Line: Public Support for Amendments 5 and 6," in *Jigsaw Puzzle Politics in the Sunshine State*, Seth C. McKee, ed. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida (pp. 109-25).
- 23) **Diana Forster** and Daniel A. Smith. 2014. "A Climate for Change? Environmental Ballot Measures," in *U.S. Climate Change Policy and Civic Society*, Yael Wolinsky-Nahmias, ed. Washington, DC: C.Q. Press.
- 22) Daniel A. Smith. 2014. "Direct Democracy," in *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, Michael T. Gibbons, ed. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- 21) **William Hicks** and Daniel A. Smith. 2013. "State Campaigns and Elections," in *The Oxford Handbook of State and Local Government*, Donald Haider-Markel, ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

- 20) Daniel A. Smith. 2012. "Direct Democracy: Regulating the 'Will of the People,'" in Matthew J. Streb, ed., *Law and Election Politics: The Rules of the Game*, 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- 19) Daniel A. Smith. 2011. "Direct Democracy in Colorado: A Historical Perspective," in Courtenay Daum, Robert Duffy, and John Straayer, eds., *State of Change: Colorado Politics in the Twenty-first Century*. Boulder: University of Colorado Press.
- 18) Daniel A. Smith. 2010. "Direct Democracy and Candidate Elections," in Stephen C. Craig and David Hill, *The Electoral Challenge: Theory Meets Practice*, 2nd edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- 17) Daniel A. Smith. 2010. "Financing Ballot Measures in the U.S.," in Karin Gilland-Lutz and Simon Hug, eds., *Financing Referendum Campaigns*. New York: Palgrave.
- 16) Daniel A. Smith. 2008. "Direct Democracy and Campaigns," in Shaun Bowler and Amihai Glazer, eds., *Direct Democracy's Impact on American Political Institutions*. New York: Palgrave.
- 15) Todd Donovan and Daniel A. Smith. 2008. "Identifying and Preventing Signature Fraud on Ballot Measure Petitions," in Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall, and Susan D. Hyde, eds., *Election Fraud: Detecting and Deterring Electoral Manipulation*. Washington, DC: Brookings.
- 14) Daniel A. Smith. 2008. "Direct Democracy and Election and Ethics Laws," in Bruce Cain, Todd Donovan, and Caroline Tolbert, eds., *Democracy in the States: Experiments in Elections Reform*. Washington, DC: Brookings.
- 13) Daniel A. Smith. 2007. "Ballot Initiatives," in Gary Anderson and Kathryn Herr, eds., *Encyclopedia of Activism and Social Justice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- 12) Raymond J. La Raja, **Susan E. Orr**, and Daniel A. Smith. 2006. "Surviving BCRA: State Party Finance in 2004," in John Green and Daniel Coffey, eds., *The State of the Parties* (5th edition). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- 11) Daniel A. Smith. 2006. "Initiatives and Referendums: The Effects of Direct Democracy on Candidate Elections," in Steven Craig, ed., *The Electoral Challenge: Theory Meets Practice*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- 10) Daniel A. Smith (with **Sure Log**). 2005. "Orange Crush: Mobilization of Bias, Ballot Initiatives, and the Politics of Professional Sports Stadia," in David McCuan and Stephen Stambough, eds., *Initiative-Centered Politics*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- 9) Daniel A. Smith. 2005. "The Initiative to Party: The Role of Parties in State Ballot Initiatives," in David McCuan and Stephen Stambough, eds., *Initiative-Centered Politics*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- 8) Daniel A. Smith. 2004. "Strings Attached: Outside Money in Colorado's Seventh Congressional District," in David Magleby and Quin Monson, eds., *The Last Hurrah?* Washington, D.C.: Brookings.
- 7) Daniel A. Smith. 2004. "Direct Democracy," in David Wishart, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- 6) Daniel A. Smith. 2002. "Direct Democracy and Its Critics," in Peter Woolley and Albert Papa, eds., *American Politics: Core Argument/Current Controversy*. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- 5) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "Campaign Financing of Ballot Initiatives in the American States," in Larry Sabato, Bruce Larson, and Howard Ernst, eds., *Dangerous Democracy? The Battle Over Ballot Initiatives in America*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- 4) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "Special Interests and Direct Democracy: An Historical Glance," in M. Dane Waters, ed., *The Battle Over Citizen Lawmaking*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- 3) Daniel A. Smith and Jonathan Temin. 2001. "The Media and Ghana's 2000 Elections," in Joseph Ayee, ed., *Deepening Democracy in Ghana: Politics of the 2000 Elections*, Volume 1 (Thematic Studies). Accra: Freedom Publications.
- 2) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "The Politics of Upper East and the 2000 Ghanaian Elections," in Joseph Ayee, ed., *Deepening Democracy in Ghana: Politics of the 2000 Elections*, Volume 2 (Constituency Studies). Accra: Freedom Publications.
- 1) Daniel A. Smith. 1998. "Unmasking the Tax Crusaders," in Bruce Stinebrickner, ed., *Annual Editions: State & Local Government*. 9th ed. Guilford, CT: Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, 83-85 [Reprinted].

RESEARCH GRANTS, HONORS, AND AWARDS

- 39) University Scholars Program Grant (advising **Danielle Dietz**), University of Florida, "Moving Out: Household Transmission of Party Registration among Young Voters." Spring 2022/Fall 2022.
- 38) Investigator, "Does Institutional Change Influence Constituents' Intergroup Attitudes?" National Science Foundation (NSF) RAPID Grant, PIs Kate Ratliff and Jackie Chen, (\$125,796), March 2022.
- 37) David King Defender of Democracy Award, League of Women Voters of Florida, January 2022.
- 36) Science Defender Award, Union of Concerned Scientists, December 2021.
- 35) University Scholars Program Grant (advising **Sara Loving**), University of Florida, "Movers and Political Polarization." Spring 2021/Fall 2021.
- 34) University Scholars Program Grant (advising **Emily Boykin** and **Jenna Tingum**), University of Florida, "Spanish Language Materials, Administrative Compliance, and Hispanic Voting in Florida." Fall 2019/Spring 2020.

- 33) CLAS Scholars Program Grant (advising **William Zelin**), University of Florida, "The Effect of Natural Disasters on Voter Turnout." Fall 2019/Spring 2020.
- 32) PI, Gill Foundation Grant, "LGBT Issues in Florida," Spring 2018, Co-PI, Michael Martinez (\$75,000).
- 31) University of Florida Term Professorship, 2017-2019.
- 30) University Scholars Program Grant (advising **Pedro Otálora**), University of Florida, "Political Participation of Native-Born and Naturalized Citizens in Miami-Dade." Summer/Fall 2017.
- 29) Ruben Askew Scholar Award (advising **Wendy Serra**), Bob Graham Center, University of Florida, Summer 2016.
- 28) Emerging Scholars Program (advising **Anthony Rychkov**), University of Florida, "The Timing of Voter Registration and Turnout," Spring/Summer 2016.
- 27) University Scholars Program Grant (advising **Casey Ste. Claire**), University of Florida, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences, "Reprecincting and Voter Turnout," Fall 2015/Spring 2016.
- 26) University Scholars Program Grant (advising **Frances Chapman**), University of Florida, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences, "Truing or Suppressing the Vote? Private Voter Challenges in Florida," Fall 2013/Spring 2014.
- 25) Best Paper Award presented in 2012 by the APSA Organized Section on State Politics and Policy: "Souls to the Polls: Early Voting in Florida in the Shadow of House Bill 1355," 2013 (with Michael Herron).
- 24) University Scholars Program Grant (advising **Bryce Freeman**), University of Florida, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences, "Impact of Voter Suppression on Political Participation," Spring 2013.
- 23) PI, "Trans-Saharan Professionals Program." United States Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, S-ECAPPE-10-GR-231 (DT), September 2010-August 2012, Co-PI Leo Villalon (\$800,000).
- 22) University of Florida Research Foundation (UFRF) Professor, 2010-2012 (annual salary supplement and research funding).
- 21) PI, *American Political Science Association* Workshop on Elections and Democracy, University of Ghana at Legon, Ghana, Summer 2009, funded by Mellon Foundation, \$200,000.
- 20) Best Paper Award presented in 2006 by the APSA Organized Section on State Politics and Policy: "Do State-Level Ballot Measures Affect Presidential Elections?" (with Caroline Tolbert and Todd Donovan).
- 19) Research Grant, "Did Gay Marriage Re-Elect George W. Bush?" University of Florida, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences, Summer 2005.
- 18) University Scholars Program Grant (advising **Kirsten Soltis**), University of Florida, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences, "Money and the Member: An Analysis of Fundraising in Congressional Politics in the Post-Campaign Finance Reform Era," Fall 2005.
- 17) Research and Travel Grant, *Pew Charitable Trusts*, "Veiled Political Actors," Daniel Lowenstein, Kim Alexander, Robert Stern, Tracy Western, and Joseph Doherty, Principal Investigators, Fall 2003.
- 16) Travel Grant, *College of Liberal Arts and Sciences*, University of Florida, "Initiative and Referendum Campaigns," Fall 2003.
- 15) Research Grant, *Pew Charitable Trusts*, "Outside Money: Colorado's 7th Congressional District," PI David Magleby, Fall 2002.
- 14) Faculty Research Fund, "Ballot Initiatives during the Progressive Era," *University of Denver*, Fall 2002.
- 13) Research Grant, *American Political Science Association*, "Ballot Initiatives during the Progressive Era: Evidence from California, 1912-1920," Summer 2002.
- 12) Research Grant, *Colorado Endowment for the Humanities*, "The 'Golden Era' of Direct Democracy? Colorado's Election of 1912," (R017-0300-010) (with **Joseph Lubinski**), Spring 2000.
- 11) Partners in Scholarship: 2000 Winter Quarter Project Proposal, "The 'Golden Era' of Direct Democracy? Evidence from the Colorado Election of 1912," *University of Denver*, with **Joseph Lubinski**.
- 10) Rosenberry Fund, "Direct Democracy in Colorado," *University of Denver*, Spring 1999.
- 9) Best Paper, Charles Redd Politics of the American West, "Howard Jarvis, Populist Entrepreneur: Reevaluating Causes of Proposition 13," *Western Political Science Association*, Los Angeles, March 20, 1998.
- 8) Faculty Research Fund, "Ballot Warriors: Citizen Initiatives in the 1990s," *University of Denver*, Fall 1997.
- 7) Partners in Scholarship: 1997 Winter Quarter Project Proposal, "The Process of Direct Democracy: Parental Rights Amendment," *University of Denver*, with **Robert Herrington**, Winter 1997.
- 6) Faculty Research Fund, "Faux Populism: Populist Entrepreneurs and Populist Moments," *University of Denver*, Fall 1996.
- 5) International Small Grants, "Election Monitor: Ghana Presidential and Parliamentary 1996 Elections," Office of Internationalization, *University of Denver*, Fall 1996.
- 4) Faculty Research Fund, "Populist Prophets and the Mass Appeal of Direct Democracy," Program Support Services, *University of Denver*, Spring 1995.
- 3) Research Grant, Institute for Public Affairs, *West Virginia University*, Summer 1994.
- 2) Senate Research Travel Grant, Faculty Development Fund, *West Virginia University*, Fall 1994.
- 1) Research Travel Grant, Robert LaFollette Institute of Public Affairs, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*, Fall 1992.

TECHNICAL REPORTS, WORK PRODUCTS, & OTHER SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS

- 31) Daniel A. Smith, "Casting, Rejecting, and Curing Vote-by-Mail Ballots in Florida's 2020 General Election," [*All Voting is Local*](#), March 2021.
- 30) Daniel A. Smith and *Anna Baringer*, "ACLU Florida: Report on Vote-by-Mail Ballots in the 2018 General Election," A Report Commissioned by [*ACLU Florida*](#), April 2020.
- 39) Michael P. McDonald and Daniel A. Smith, "Audit of Assignment of Registered Voters to New, Court-Ordered House of Delegates Districts," Virginia Secretary of State, Spring 2019.
- 28) Daniel A. Smith, "Vote-by-Mail Ballots Cast in Florida," A Report Commissioned by [*ACLU Florida*](#), August 2018.
- 27) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith, "Congestion at the Polls: A Study of Florida Precincts in the 2012 General Election," A Report Commissioned by [*Advancement Project*](#), Washington, DC, June 24, 2013.
- 26) Michael C. Herron and Daniel A. Smith, "Florida's 2012 General Election under HB 1355: Early Voting, Provisional Ballots, and Absentee Ballots," *League of Women Voters Florida*, January 2013.
- 25) Daniel A. Smith, "Popular Support and Conditions for the Passage of Ballot Measures," *The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation*, June 2013.
- 24) Daniel A. Smith, "The Re-demarcation and Reapportionment of Parliamentary Constituencies in Ghana," [*Ghana Center for Democratic Development \(CDD-GHANA\)*](#), Vol. 10 (2): October 2011.
- 23) Daniel A. Smith. 2010. "Educative Effects of Direct Democracy: Evidence from the US States," Memorandum requested by the [*British House of Lords*](#), Constitution Committee, January 4.
- 22) Daniel A. Smith. 2006. "Money Talks: Ballot Initiative Spending in 2004," [*Ballot Initiative Strategy Center*](#), June.
- 21) Daniel A. Smith. 2006. "Ballot Initiatives, Tax Issues," in Larry Sabato and Howard Ernst, eds., *Encyclopedia of American Political Parties and Elections*. New York: Facts on File.
- 20) Daniel A. Smith, "Mobilization Effects of Ballot Measures in Colorado, Florida, Ohio, and Nevada," Ballot Initiative Strategy Center, Fall 2004.
- 19) Daniel A. Smith, "Mobilization Effects of Gay Marriage Ban in Ohio," Ballot Initiative Strategy Center, Fall 2004.
- 18) Daniel A. Smith and Caroline J. Tolbert. 2003. "Educated by Initiative," *Campaigns and Elections*, August, p. 31.
- 17) Elizabeth Garrett, and Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "Veiled Political Actors: The Real Threat to Campaign Disclosure Statutes" (July 22). USC Law and Public Policy Research Paper No. 03-13 <http://ssrn.com/abstract=424603>.
- 16) Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "Ballot Initiatives and the (Sub)Urban/Rural Divide in Colorado," in Daphne T. Greenwood, ed., *Colorado's Future: Meeting the Needs of a Changing State*. Colorado Springs: Center for Colorado Policy Studies.
- 15) Daniel A. Smith. 2003. "The Colorado 7th Congressional District," in David B. Magleby and Quin Monson, eds., *The Last Hurrah?* Provo, UT: Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy.
- 14) Stan Elofson, Daniel A. Smith, Jennifer Berg, and Joseph Lubinski. 2002. "A Listing of Statewide Initiated and Referred Ballot Proposals in Colorado, 1912-2001." Issue Brief No. 02-02. (March 5) *Colorado Legislative Council*, Colorado General Assembly, Denver. [Revised Edition].
- 13) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "Howard Jarvis' Legacy? An Assessment of Antitax Initiatives in the American States." *State Tax Notes* 22: 10 (December): 753-764.
- 12) Daniel A. Smith. 2001. "The Structural Underpinnings of Ghana's December 2000 Elections." Critical Perspectives, No. 6. *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana.
- 11) Daniel A. Smith, Jonathan Temin, and Kwaku Nuamah. 2001. "Media Coverage of the 2000 Election: A Report on the Media Coverage of Election 2000 (May 2000-January 2001)." Research Paper, No. 8. *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana.
- 10) Daniel A. Smith. 2000. "Election 2000: Debating the Issues?" Briefing Paper, Volume 2, Number 4, *Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)*, Accra, Ghana.
- 9) Daniel A. Smith. 2000. "Growth and Transportation Ballot Measures in Colorado," in Floyd Ciruli, ed., *Moving Visions: Next Steps Toward Growing Smart*. Denver: Gates Family Foundation.
- 8) Stan Elofson, Daniel A. Smith, Jennifer Berg, and Joseph Lubinski. 2000. "A Listing of Statewide Initiated and Referred Ballot Proposals in Colorado, 1912-2000." Issue Brief No. 8. (December) *Colorado Legislative Council*, Colorado General Assembly, Denver. [updated 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008]
- 7) Daniel A. Smith. 2000. "Progressives and the Initiative Process: A Call to Arms." *Ballot Initiative Strategy Center (BISC)*.
- 6) Daniel A. Smith and Joseph Lubinski. 2000. "Sponsoring 'Counter-Majoritarian' Bills in Colorado." *Ag Journal*. (September): 12-13.
- 5) Daniel A. Smith. 1998. "Unmasking the Tax Crusaders." *State Government News*. 41:2 (March): 18-21.
- 4) Daniel A. Smith. 1997. "Howard Jarvis, Populist Entrepreneur," Working Paper, 97-8, Institute of Governmental Studies, *University of California - Berkeley*.

- 3) Daniel A. Smith. 1995. "The West Virginia Labor-Management Advisory Council," *The West Virginia Public Affairs Reporter*. 12:4 (Winter): 1-11.
- 2) Daniel A. Smith. 1992. "A Tale of Five Cities," *The La Follette Policy Report*. 5 (Fall): 18-21.
- 1) Daniel A. Smith. 1991. "Emerging Skill Needs in the Wisconsin Non-Automotive Engines Industry," Commissioned by the Wisconsin Board of Vocational, Technical, and Adult Education, Working Paper, *Center on Wisconsin Strategy*, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

OUTSIDE ACTIVITIES: BOARDS / EXPERT WITNESS / INVITED TESTIMONY / MISCELLANEOUS

Boards

President, ElectionSmith, Inc. www.electionsmith.com (S-Corp) 2006-
 Advisory Board Member, Common Cause Florida <https://www.commoncause.org/florida/> 2014-
 Board Member, Ballot Initiative Strategy Center (BISC) www.ballot.org 1999-2019.
 Board President, 300 Club <https://300clubswimandtennis.com/> 2018-2020.

Domestic Consulting

Expert (written declaration), *Florida Rising Together v. Byrd*. Case 6:24-cv-01682 (US District Court for the Middle District of Florida) [Provided background analysis for plaintiffs analyzing exact-match registration data in Florida], 2024.

Expert (written declaration and testimony), *Hispanic Federation v. Byrd*. Case 4:23-cv-00218-AW-MAF (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida) [Provided written report for plaintiffs analyzing effects of SB 7050 in Florida], 2023.

Expert (written declaration and testimony), *Houston Justice, et al. v. Abbott*. Case 5:21-cv-00848-XR (US District Court for the Western Division of Texas) [Provided written report for plaintiffs analyzing effects of SB 1 in Texas; testified at trial], 2021-23.

Expert (written declaration), *Eva Jacqueline Espinosa v. Osceola County Canvassing Board, et al.* Case 2022-CA-2363 (Circuit Court of the Ninth Judicial Circuit) [Provided written report of vote totals for candidates in a contested county commission race], 2022.

Expert (written declaration and testimony), *Florida State Conference of NAACP v. Lee*. Case 4:21-cv-187-MW-MAF and *Florida Rising Together v. Lee*, 4:21-cv-201-MW-MJF (US District Court for the Northern Division of Florida) [Provided written reports for plaintiffs analyzing effects of SB 90 in Florida; testified at trial], 2021-22.

Co-author, "Brief of Direct Democracy Scholars, et al. Supporting Petitioners," *Thompson et al. v. DeWine, et al.* [Contributed empirical evidence on ballot measures and freedom of speech], March 2021.

Co-author, "Brief of Amici Curiae Empirical Elections Scholars in Support of Respondents," *Brnovich v. Democratic National Committee* [Contributed empirical evidence of lack of fraud in American elections], January 2021.

Consultant, All Voting is Local [Provided analysis of Rejected and Cured Vote by Mail ballots in Florida], 2020.

Expert (written declaration), *1199SEIU United Healthcare Workers East v. Louis DeJoy and the USPS*. Case 1:20-cv-24069-RNS (US District Court for the Southern Division of Florida). [Provided written report for plaintiffs analyzing absentee ballot return rates in Florida], 2020.

Expert (written declaration), *Texas League of United Latin American Citizens, et al. v. Abbott, et al.* Case 1:20-cv-1006 (US District Court for the Western Division of Texas). [Provided written report for plaintiffs analyzing absentee ballot drop-off locations in Texas], 2020.

Expert (written declaration), *Dream Defenders, et al. v. DeSantis, et al.* Case 4:20-cv-00067-RH-GRJ (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida). [Provided written report for plaintiffs analyzing vote by mail records in Florida], 2020.

Expert (written declaration), *Lewis, et al. v. Hughs*, Case 5:20-cv-00577 (US District Court for the Western District of Texas). [Provided written report for plaintiffs analyzing vote by mail records in Texas], 2020.

Consulting Expert, *Nielsen, et al. v. DeSantis, et al.* Case 4:20-cv-00236-MW-MJF (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida). [Provided confidential work product for plaintiffs on voting patterns in Florida], 2020.

Expert (written declarations), *Gruver, et al. v. Barton, et al.* Case 1:19-cv-00121-MW-GRJ (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida). [Provided written reports for plaintiffs analyzing records on the impact of SB7066 on Florida residents with felony convictions and outstanding LFOs; testified at trial], 2019-20.

Consultant, Andrew Goodman Foundation [Analysis of on-campus early voting in Florida], 2019.

Consultant, ACLU-Florida [Data analysis of Ex-Felons in Florida], 2019-.

Expert (written declaration), *DNC Services Corporation et al. v. Lee et al.* Case 4:18-cv-00524-MW-CAS (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida) [Provided written report for plaintiffs on Vote by Mail ballots in Florida], 2019-.

- Expert (written declaration), *MOVE Texas Civic Fund, et. al. v. Whitley, et. al.* Case 3:19-cv-00041 (US District Court for the Southern District of Texas) [Provided written reports for plaintiffs on number of naturalized citizens in Texas], 2019.
- Expert (written declarations), *Fair Fight Action v. Crittenden*, Case No. 1:18-cv-05391 (US District Court for the Northern District of Georgia) [Provided written reports for plaintiffs related to Georgia's election laws], 2018-.
- Expert, *The Democratic Party of Georgia v. Crittenden*, Case No. 1:18-cv-05443 (US District Court for the Northern District of Georgia) [Retained by plaintiffs to analyze data related to the 2018 gubernatorial election], 2018.
- Consultant, ACLU-Florida [Provided analysis of Vote by Mail ballots in Florida], 2018.
- Expert, *Judicial Watch, Inc., Election Integrity Project California, Inc., et al. v. Dean C. Logan, et al.* Case No. 2:17-cv-08948-R-SK (US District Court for the Central District of California, Western Division). [Retained by defendants (California Department of Justice) to analyze data concerning inactive voters], 2018.
- Expert (written declaration), *Rivera v. Detzner*, Case 1:18-cv-61474 (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida) [Provided written report for plaintiffs on Puerto Rican population and registered voters in Florida], 2018.
- Expert, *Thompson et al. v. Merrill*, Case No. 2: 16-cv-783 (US District Court for the Middle District of Alabama) [Retained by plaintiffs to analyze data related to the discriminatory impact of Alabama's felony disenfranchisement scheme over time], 2018-.
- Expert (written affidavit), *League of Women Voters of Florida, Inc., et al. v. Detzner*, Case No. 4:18-cv-00251-MW-CAS (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida) [Provided written report for plaintiffs (LWV) to extend early voting in Florida], 2018.
- Expert (written affidavit and testimony), *Ohio A. Philip Randolph Institute, et al. v. Secretary of State, Jon Husted*, Case 2:16-cv-00303 (US District Court for the Southern District of Ohio, Eastern Division) [Provided written report and deposed for plaintiffs (APRI, ACLU OH, Demos) to reinstate registered voters removed by Ohio's "Supplemental Process"], 2017. [Decision, *Husted v. APRI*, by SCOTUS, July 11, 2018].
- Expert (written affidavits and testimony), *Bellitto & ACRU v. Snipes*, Case 4:16-cv-61474 (US District Court for the Southern District of Florida, Ft. Lauderdale Division) [Provided written expert reports and deposed for defendant intervenors (SEIU, Project Vote, Demos) to defend NVRA compliance by Broward Supervisor of Elections, 2017; testified at trial].
- Consultant, ACLU, Georgia [Provided analysis of CVAP, VAP, and registered voters in Irwin County, Georgia], 2017.
- Consultant, ACLU, Georgia [Provided analysis of proposed redistricting changes to the Georgia House of Representatives by the Georgia state legislature], 2017.
- Expert (written affidavit), *Florida Democratic Party v. Scott*, Case 4:16-cv-00626 (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida) [Provided written expert report for plaintiff-intervenors (Mi Familia Vota Education Fund) to extend voter registration deadline in Florida due to Hurricane Matthew], 2016.
- Consultant, ACLU, Georgia [Provided analysis of registration deadline in Georgia due to Hurricane Matthew], 2016.
- Expert (written affidavit), *Florida Democratic Party v. Detzner*, Case 4:16-cv-00607 (US District Court for the Northern District of Florida) [Provided written empirical analysis for plaintiff on vote-by-mail ballots cast in Florida], 2016.
- Advisor, "Mad As Hell: Howard Jarvis and the Birth of the Tax Revolt," Documentary Film by Jason Cohn, Bread and Butter Films [Academic Advisor on Jarvis and antecedents of Prop. 13], 2011-16.
- Advisor, "Rigged," Documentary Film by Natasha del Torro, Fusion TV (Naked Truth), 2016. [Winner of the Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award for Best Documentary]. Available: <http://tv.fusion.net/story/352548/naked-truth-rigged-elections-documentary/>.
- Advisor, "Voting: Last Week Tonight with John Oliver," HBO, February 14, 2016. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rHFOwIMCdto>.
- Expert (written affidavit), *Frank v. Walker*, Case 16-3003, 16-3052 (US Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit) [Provided written empirical analysis for plaintiffs (ACLU) on voter ID and turnout], 2015.
- Expert (consultant), *Greater Birmingham Ministries v. Alabama*, Case 2:15-cv-02193-LSC (US District Court for the Northern District of Alabama, Southern Division) [Provided oral empirical analysis for plaintiffs (NAACP LDEF) on use of absentee ballots], 2015.
- Consultant, America Votes [Provided demographic shift of registered voters analysis for state of Florida], 2015.
- Expert (written affidavits), *NAACP, et al. v. Husted, et al.*, 2:14 cv-00404 (US District Court for the Southern District of Ohio) [Provided written empirical analysis and deposed for plaintiffs (ACLU) on early in-person absentee voting in Ohio], 2014.
- Expert (written affidavit), *John Sullivan, et al. v. Marni Lin Sawiki, et al.*, 2013-CA-003122 (20th Judicial Circuit (Lee County, FL) [Provided written empirical analysis and deposed on early, absentee, and Election Day vote totals in the November 5, 2013, Cape Coral mayoral election], 2014.

Expert (written affidavit), *Gateway Retail Center, LLC v. City of Jacksonville, Florida*, 3:13-cv1040-J-TJC-JRK (US District Court for the Middle District of Florida) [Provided empirical analysis for Gateway Retail Center's attorneys of African American voting during early voting in Duval County in the 2012 General Election], 2013.

Expert (written affidavits), *Arcia, et al. v. Detzner*, 1:12-cv-22282-WJZ (US District Court for the Southern District of Florida) [Provided empirical analysis for Arcia's attorneys of the Florida Department of State's various lists of "potential non-citizens"], 2012. [*Arcia, et al. v. Florida Secretary of State* (Defendant-Appellee) and *Garcia, et al.* (Intervenor Defendants), 12-15738 (Appealed in 11th Circuit, from the United States District Court for the Southern District of Florida), 2014.

Elections Analyst, WUFT (TV and Radio), Election Night Coverage, November 6, 2012.

Advisor, "Voters in America: Who Counts?" CNN Documentary Investigation, October 14, 2012.
<http://cnnpressroom.blogs.cnn.com/2012/10/19/voters-in-america-who-counts-joejohnscnn-investigates-voter-suppression-voter-fraud/>

Expert (written affidavit), *Brown v. Detzner* 3:12-cv-00852 (US District Court for the Middle District of Florida) [Provided empirical analysis for Brown's attorneys of minority early voting in Duval County during the 2008 and 2010 general elections and the 2011 Jacksonville mayoral race], 2012.

Expert (written affidavits), *Romo v. Scott*, No. 2012-CA-000412 (Fla. Cir. Ct., Leon County). [Provided empirical analyses and deposed for Coalition's attorneys of new Congressional redistricting maps submitted and adopted by the Florida legislature as well as alternative maps submitted by the The League of Women Voters of Florida, the National Council of La Raza, and Common Cause Florida], 2012-14.

Consultant (*Pro Bono*) (written work product), *League of Women Voters of FL v. Browning*, N.D. Fla. (4:11-cv-00628). [Provided empirical analysis for LWV's attorneys (Brennan Center, New York University), assessing the impact of Florida's "third party organization" voter registration requirements], 2012.

Consultant (*Pro Bono*) (written work product), Hillsborough Hispanic Coalition, Tampa, Florida, 2012. [Provided empirical analysis of the likely racial/ethnic impact of the redistricting maps adopted by the Hillsborough County Commission and provided alternative maps to be submitted by the Hillsborough Hispanic Coalition, in anticipation of federal litigation], 2012.

Member, 2012 Citizen Election District Review Committee, City of Gainesville, 2012 (Appointed by Mayor Craig Lowe).

Invited Testimony, U.S. Senate, Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights and Human Rights, "New State Voting Laws II: Protecting the Right to Vote in the Sunshine State," January 2012.

Expert (written affidavit), *Worley v. Detzner*, U.S. District Court, N.D. Fla (4:10-cv-00423-RH-WCS). [Provided expert opinion to Florida Secretary of State to help defend Election code provisions concerning the reporting, registration, and disclosure requirements applicable to political committees (ballot issues)], 2010.

Expert (written affidavit), *Citizens Against Slots v. PPE Casino*, 999 A.2nd 181 (2010) 415 Md. 117. [Provided empirical analysis of the validity rates of the signatures submitted by Citizens Against Slots for a county popular referendum], 2010.

Expert (written affidavit), *The Independence Institute, et. al. v. Bernie Buescher* 1:2010-cv-00609. (US 10th Circuit) [Provided empirical analysis for the Office of the Colorado Attorney General to defend Secretary of State's enforcement of public disclosure laws for ballot issue committees], 2009-2010.

Lead Author, "Direct Democracy Scholars" Amicus Brief, *Doe v. Reed*, 132 S. Ct. 449. [Provided empirical evidence that public disclosure of signatures on ballot measures serves sufficiently important governmental interests in order to prevent fraudulent signature gathering activities, to limit the deceptive solicitation of signatures, and to provide information to voters about ballot measures], 2010.

Expert (written affidavit), *Dallman, et al. v. William Ritter and Rich L. Gonzales and Daniel Ritchie, et al.* 09SA224 (Colorado Supreme Court) [Provided empirical analysis for Ritter, Gonzales, and Ritchie of analysis of campaign financing of ballot measures], 2009-10.

Expert (written affidavit), *Sampson v. Buescher*, 08-1389, 08-1415 (US 10th Circuit) [Provided empirical analysis refuting claims of barriers to participation in ballot issue campaigns for Office of the Colorado Attorney General, defending Secretary of State's enforcement of disclosure laws], 2007-10.

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

Consultant, *The Washington State Patrol Troopers Association* [Conducted empirical analysis for State Patrol Troopers of the validity of signatures collected on ballot issue campaign], 2006.

Expert (written affidavit), *The City of Winter Springs, FL v. Seminole County*, City of Winter Springs, 2004.

Expert (written affidavit), *California Pro-Life Council, Inc. v. Karen Getman, et al.* 328 F.3d 1088, 1101 (US 9th Cir) [Provided empirical analysis for the Office of the California Attorney General on veiled political actors in California ballot measure campaigns], 2004-05.

Expert (written affidavit), *Colorado Right to Life Committee, Inc. v. Donetta Davidson* 395 F.Supp.2d 1001 (US 10th Circuit) [Provided empirical analysis of broadcasted television and direct mail ads in Colorado between 1999-2003 for the Office of the Colorado Attorney General], 2004-05.

Invited Testimony, Ballot Initiative Reform, Florida Legislature, 2002; 2003-05.

Invited Testimony Witness, Ballot Initiative Reform, Colorado Legislature, 1999-2000.
Consultant (*pro bono*), *Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Health Care*, Denver, CO, 1998-2000.

International Consulting

External Evaluator (Chair), School of Political Science and Sociology, *University of Galway* (Ireland), Core Statutory Quality Assurance (QA) Guidelines and internal Policies and Procedures, March 2023.
Consultant, National Democratic Institute (NDI), Ghana, 2013.
Invited Written Testimony, *British House of Lords*, Constitution Committee (Direct Democracy), 2010.
Consultant, *Institute of International Education (IIE)*, New York, 2002-04.
Consultant, *Coalition of Domestic Elections Observers (CODEO)*, Accra, Ghana, 2000-01.
Consultant, *International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES)*, Washington, DC, 1999-2001.
Consultant, *International Student Exchange Program (ISEP)*, Washington, DC, 1995-97.

BOOK REVIEWS & REVIEW ESSAYS

- 9) Daniel A. Smith. 2008. Review of Dorothy Holland, Donald M. Nonini, Catherine Lutz, Lesley Bartlett, Marla Frederick-McGlathe, Thaddeus C. Guldbradsen, and Enrique G. Murillo, Jr., Local Democracy Under Siege: Activism, Public Interests, and Private Politics, *Perspectives on Politics* 6: 386-86.
- 8) Daniel A. Smith. 2006. Review of Stephen Nicholson, Voting the Agenda: Candidates, Elections, and Ballot Propositions, *Political Science Quarterly* 120: 695-697.
- 7) Daniel A. Smith. 2005. Review of John Matsusaka, For the Many or the Few? The Initiative, Public Policy, and American Democracy, *Perspectives on Politics* 3: 646-47.
- 6) Daniel A. Smith. 2000. Review of Shaun Bowler and Todd Donovan, Demanding Choices: Opinion, Voting, and Direct Democracy, *Social Science Quarterly* 81: 1104-1106.
- 5) Daniel A. Smith. 1999. Review of Shaun Bowler, Todd Donovan, Caroline Tolbert, eds., Citizens as Legislators, *American Political Science Review* 93: 446-447.
- 4) Daniel A. Smith. 1998. Review of David Ryden, Representation in Crisis, *Politics and Policy* 26: 514-515.
- 3) Daniel A. Smith. 1998. Review of Grant Reeher and Joseph Cammarano, eds., Education for Citizenship, *H-Pol, H-Net*. (February).
- 2) Daniel A. Smith. 1997. Review Essay of William S. K. Reno, Corruption and State Politics in Sierra Leone, and Sahr John Kpundeh, Politics and Corruption in Africa, *Africa Today* 44: 362-365.
- 1) Daniel A. Smith. 1996. Review of Stephen Lowe, The Kid on the Sandlot: Congress and Professional Sports, 1910-1992, *Sport History Review* 27: 90-92.

TEACHING GRANTS, HONORS, AND AWARDS

David King Defender of Democracy Award, League of Women Voters of Florida, January 2022.
Science Defender Award, Union of Concerned Scientists, December 2021.
Anderson Scholar Award, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Florida, 2011; 2015; 2016; 2017 ; 2021.
Political Science Board of Advisors, "Outstanding Professor Award," *University of Florida*, Spring 2008.
Center for Teaching and Learning Technology Grant, "Introduction to American Politics: Web-Based Interactive Learning," *University of Denver*, Spring, 1997.
Faculty Appreciation Award, Learning Effectiveness Program, *University of Denver*, April 1997.
Curriculum Diversity Grant, "A Theater History: The Racial and Class Politics of US Drama from Colonization Forward," *University of Denver*, Winter, 1997.
CORE Development Grant, "Drama of Politics/Politics of Drama," *University of Denver*, Summer, 1996.
International Small Grants, "Summer Student Study Abroad Program: University of Ghana at Legon," Office of Internationalization, *University of Denver*, Spring, 1995.
International Small Grants, "Ghana Study Abroad Program," Office of Internationalization, *University of Denver*, Spring, 1995.

NEWSPAPER OP-EDS, INVITED BLOG POSTS & LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

- Op-Ed, "We work for the people of Florida. That's why we can't let the University of Florida silence us on a voting rights law," *The Washington Post*, November 3, 2021 (with Sharon Austin and Michael McDonald).
Op-Ed, "What is the Florida Legislature hiding on redistricting?" *Tampa Bay Times*, October 7, 2021 (with Michael P. McDonald).
Op-Ed, "Election integrity requires transparency," *Tampa Bay Times*, February 9, 2021 (with Danielle Dietz and Gabriella Zwolfer).
Op-Ed, "All counties should offer secure, 24/7 drop boxes for mail ballots," *Tampa Bay Times*, October 12, 2020 (with Jose Vazquez).
Op-Ed, "Do you usually vote by mail? A lot of Republicans who don't say so," *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), October 9, 2020 (with Enrijeta Shino).

- Op-Ed, "[Minor postal delays could disenfranchise thousands of Florida vote-by-mail voters](#)," *Tampa Bay Times*, August 14, 2020 (with Michael Herron).
- Op-Ed, "[Here's the problem with mail-in ballots: They might not be counted](#)," *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), May 21, 2020 (with Enrijeta Shino and Mara Suttman-Lea).
- Op-Ed, "[Your voting habits may depend on when you registered to vote](#)," *Salon*, September 24, 2019. [Originally appeared in *the Conversation*] (with Enrijeta Shino).
- Invited Blog Post, "[Who Votes Provisionally and Why? A Look at North Carolina's 2016 General Election](#)," MIT Election Science Data Lab, May 2, 2018. (with Lia Merivaki).
- Op-Ed, "[Do we have a right not to vote? The Supreme Court suggests we don't](#)," *NY Daily News*, June 12, 2018 (with Michael C. Herron).
- Op-Ed, "[If more states start using Ohio's system, how many voters will be purged?](#)" *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage), June 17, 2018 (with Michael C. Herron).
- Op-Ed, "[2-to-1 Registration Advantage for Democrats among 440K New Hispanic Voters In Florida](#)," *Huffington Post*, October 7, 2016.
- Op-Ed, "[The Battle Over 'One Person, One Vote,' Has Just Begun](#)," *The American Prospect*, April 18, 2016. (with Carl Klarner).
- Invited Blog Post, "[Party competition is the primary driver of the recent increase in restrictive voter ID laws in the American states](#)," London School of Economics, U.S. Politics and Policy, November 12, 2014 (with William Hicks and Seth McKee).
- Op-Ed, "Rejected Ballots in Florida," *Florida Voices*, November 4, 2012 (with Michael Herron).
- Op-Ed, "High ballot rejection rates should worry Florida voters," *Tampa Bay Times*, October 28, 2012 (with Michael Herron).
- Op-Ed, "Voters need to push back against corporate cash," *St. Petersburg Times*, July 13, 2010.
- Op-Ed, "A chance for Floridians to redraw rigged districts," *St. Petersburg Times*, November 25, 2009.
- Op-Ed, "Lawmakers don't trust voters with the constitution," *Gainesville Sun*, October 21, 2006.
- Op-Ed, "Jeb Bush's secret-squirrel hunt? Rocky, that's just a bunch of Bullwinkle," *Orlando Sentinel*, February 23, 2006.
- Op-Ed, "Colorado: Independent of Whom?" Ballot Initiative Strategy Center, *Ballot Blog*, August 29, 2005.
- Op-Ed, "Stop Political Fund-Raising Arm," *Gainesville Sun*, April 25, 2004 (with Nicole M. James).
- Op-Ed, "Committees Hold the Secret to Campaign Financing," *St. Petersburg Times*, April 10, 2004 (with **Nicole M. James**).
- Letter, "Reform Ballot Initiative and Preserve the People's Power," *Miami Herald*, February 29, 2004.
- Op-Ed, "No: The Rich Have Taken Over," *Denver Post*, December 1, 2002.
- Op-Ed, "The Millionaire's Club: Why Leave Ballot Initiatives to the Rich?" *Denver Post*, August 18, 2002.
- Op-Ed, "The Political Consequence of 'Praying for Peace,'" *The Crusading Guide* [Accra, Ghana], 12-18 October 2000.
- Letter, "Book's [*Democracy Derailed* by David Broder] premise is problematic," *Denver Post*, May 28, 2000.
- Letter, "Initiative process ignores rural voices," *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, March 15, 2000.
- Op-Ed, "Progressives need to show initiative on ballot signatures," *Denver Post*, January 13, 2000.
- Op-Ed, "Colorado should put campaign finance data on the Internet," *Denver Post*, November 4, 1998 (with Richard Braunstein).
- Letter, "Follow the Money," *Washington Post*, October 12, 1998.
- Op-Ed, "Voters behind rule," *Denver Post*, June 21, 1998.
- Op-Ed, "Founders crafted safeguards against popular excesses," *Denver Post*, May 21, 1995.

INVITED TALKS AND PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS

- Invited Panelists, "Florida Politics Roundtable," *Florida Political Science Association Annual Meeting*, Gainesville, FL, February 10, 2024.
- Invited Participant, "Building Inclusivity: Chair's Conference," Washington University in St. Louis, March 4-5, 2024.
- Invited Panelist, "How to NOT Speak Like a Lawyer: Political Science and Expert Witness Work," Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, January 11-14, 2024, New Orleans.
- Invited Talk, "Restricting Registration," *The Risks and Opportunities of the 2024 Election*, University of Iowa, November 2-4, 2024.
- Invited Talk, "Vote Method and Confidence in Elections," Department of Political Science, Aarhus University, March 17 2023.
- Invited Talk, "Riot in the Party? Voter Registrations in the Aftermath of January 6," Department of Political Science, University of Lund, Sweden, February 28, 2023.
- Keynote Speaker, "Challenges to Academic Freedom and Freedom of Speech in the US," European Sociology Association/Political Sociology Network, University of Lausanne, Switzerland, November 11, 2022.

Keynote Speaker, Alachua County Democratic Party, “The Democratic Dilemma facing Democrats,” Gainesville, FL, May 13, 2022.

Invited Panelist, “Briefing on Voting Rights in Florida,” Testimony before the Florida Advisory Committee to the [U.S. Commission on Civil Rights](#), March 28, 2022 [virtual].

Keynote Speaker, “The Threats to Faculty Free Speech in Florida,” *Phi Sigma Alpha* Address, Southern Political Science Association, January 12, 2022 (with Sharon Austin and Michael McDonald) [virtual].

Invited Panelist, “Election Shifts in 2020 and Beyond: Vote by Mail Organizing and Research Efforts,” The Funders’ Committee for Civic Participation, September 14, 2021 [virtual].

Invited Talk, “Voting in the Time of COVID-19,” UF Retired Faculty, October 14, 2020 [virtual].

Invited Panelist, “Implications of Amendment 4 and SB 7066 on voting rights in Florida,” Federal Bar Association (South Florida Chapter), September 3, 2020 [virtual].

Invited Panelist, “Hispanic Voting Rights,” UF Hispanic Student Association [virtual], July 17, 2020.

Invited Talk, “Voting Rights in Florida,” Marin County (CA) League of Women Voters [virtual], August 3, 2020.

Invited Panelist, “Voting Rights in Florida,” All Voting is Local & The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, August 13, 2020 [virtual].

Invited Talk, “Ballot Design, Undervoting, and Pivotality: A Forensic Analysis of Florida’s 2018 US Senate Race,” Center for Voting and Parties, University of Copenhagen, Denmark, December 3, 2019.

Keynote Speaker, “6 Things Every Democrat Should Know about Florida Elections,” Democratic Women’s Club of Florida, 63rd Annual Convention, Orlando, September 14, 2019.

Invited Talk, “5 Things Every Floridian Should Know about Florida Elections,” *Stetson University*, April 25, 2019.

Invited Talk, “The 2018 Mid-Term Elections,” Graham Center, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, November 13, 2018.

Invited Talk, “Is a Blue Wave Coming? The 2018 General Election,” FedCon, National Association of Retired Federal Employees Association, Jacksonville, Florida, August 28, 2018.

Invited Talk, “Voting Rights Litigation,” ACLU of Florida, 2018 Lawyers Conference, Delray Beach, Florida, September 7, 2018.

Invited Panelist, “The Black Vote: Is it being taken for Granted?” *Collaboratively Woke and The Virginia Leadership Institute*, Downtown Alachua Public Library, Gainesville, Florida, June 23, 2018.

Invited Talk, “Public Records Requests and Analyzing Elections in Florida,” The Bob Graham Center for Public Service, University of Florida, Gainesville, Civic Scholar Lecture, February 14, 2018.

Invited Talk, “Voting in Florida,” Voter Suppression Forum, The Bob Graham Center for Public Service, University of Florida, Gainesville, November 13, 2017.

Invited Talk, “Journalist-Scholar Big Data Partnerships,” Investigative Reporters and Editors, The National Institute for Computer-Assisted Reporting, Annual Conference, Jacksonville, FL, March 2, 2016.

Invited Talk, “Florida’s Constitutional Revision Commission and Game Theory,” Future of Florida Summit, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, February 18, 2016.

Invited Talk, “Explaining Trump’s Win in Florida: 10 Election Myths and Realities,” Graham Center, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, November 14, 2016.

Invited Response, Michael Kang (Emory School of Law) “Law and Politics of Judging Election Cases,” University of Florida School of Law, Gainesville, Florida, November 4, 2016.

Invited Talk, “Patterns of Political Participation in Florida,” Women, Race, and the U.S. Presidency, The Center for The Study of Race and Race Relations & The Center for Gender, Sexualities, and Women’s Studies Research, University of Florida, Gainesville, October 13, 2016.

Invited Talk, “The Structural Pathologies of the American Electoral System,” US Fulbright Association (UF International Center), Gainesville, September 27, 2016.

Invited Talk, “Registered Voters and Turnout in Alachua County,” Gainesville Area Chamber of Commerce’s Leadership Gainesville 43 Government and Policy Day, September 8, 2016.

Invited Talk, “The Politics of Voter Suppression in Florida,” Santa Fe College, American Democracy Project, February 9, 2016.

Invited Talk, “The Contributions and Conundrums of Technology: EAVS Data Reporting Consistency,” at The Evolution of Election Administration since the VRA, Auburn University, September 15, 2015 (with Lia Merivaki).

Invited Talk, “2014 Election Wrap-Up,” Graham Center, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, November 6, 2014.

Roundtable Participant, “I Am A Millennial: The Importance of the Youth and Minority Vote,” Graham Center, University of Florida, October 23, 2014.

Invited Talk, “Voting Rights in North Carolina,” Emory University, Atlanta, April 8, 2014.

Keynote Speaker, “Anticipating 2014: The State of Voting Rights in Florida,” Gainesville Labor Council, Gainesville, Florida, December 9, 2013.

- Invited Talk, "Biometric registration and verification: Deterring voter fraud or inviting voter disenfranchisement? Corruption, Accountability, and Governance in Africa, Council on African Studies, Yale University, February 28, 2013.
- Invited Talk, "Design Fail: The Attack on Voting Rights in Florida," University of Florida Retired Faculty, Harn Museum, University of Florida, February 22, 2013.
- Keynote Speaker, "The Attack on Voting Rights in Florida," Gainesville Labor Council, Gainesville, Florida, December 10, 2012.
- "Moved by the Spirit? Atmospherics and Ballot Measure Vote Choice," Initiatives and Referendums in the Elections of 2012, University of Southern California, November 16, 2012 (with Charles Dahan).
- Invited Talk, "Design #Fail: Voting Rights in Florida," Graham Center's Election Wrap Up: Decision 2012, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, November 13, 2012.
- Invited Talk, "Consolidating Representation in Ghana? Parliamentary Malapportionment and Rejected Ballots," *Stability Amidst Chaos: Reflections on Two Decades of Ghanaian Democracy*, Program of African Studies, Northwestern University, Chicago, Illinois, October 12, 2012.
- Keynote Speaker, "Curtailling Voting Rights in Florida," *Civic Dialogues and the 2012 Election in the United States*, College of Central Florida, Ocala, Florida, October 22, 2012.
- Keynote Speaker, "The Return of Jim Crow? Voting Rights Under Florida's House Bill 1355," League of Women Voters, Annual Fall Luncheon, Gainesville, Florida, September 11, 2012.
- Invited Talk, "Litigating Voting Rights in Florida," 8th Judicial Circuit Florida Bar Association, Continuing Legal Education, Gainesville, Florida, September 21, 2012.
- Invited Presentation, "The Impact of HB 1355 on Florida's Hispanics," Gator Academic Outreach Symposium, co-hosted by Hispanic Alumni Association and Miami-Dade College, Miami, FL, May 11, 2012.
- Invited Talk, "Voting and Elections in the United States," US Embassy, Accra, Ghana, live satellite talk to US Embassy, Ivory Coast, October 3, 2011.
- Invited Public Lecture, "Ghana's National Electoral Commission and the 2012 Elections: The Malapportionment of Parliamentary Constituencies, Rejected Ballots, and Questions of Representation," Department of Political Science International Lecture Series, University of Ghana, Accra, Ghana, November 17, 2011. [Q&A followed by several media interviews, including RadioUniverse, Ghana Television Broadcasting and TV3].
- Invited Public Lecture, "Assessing the Credibility of Public Opinion Polls," Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), Accra, Ghana, November 23, 2011. [Taped broadcast by TV3 and several FM stations].
- Invited Talk, "Obama to Blame?" Penn State University, February 26, 2010.
- Invited Talk, "Shirking the Initiative?" Rutgers University, November 6-7, 2008.
- Invited Talk, "Granting Power to the People: The Adoption of Direct Democracy in the American States," Bose Series Lecturer, University of Iowa, Iowa City, November 7-10, 2007.
- Invited Talk, "Instrumental Effects of the Initiative in the American States," The Voice of the Crowd—Colorado's Initiative, Byron R. White Center for the Study of American Constitutional Law, University of Colorado, Boulder, Old Supreme Court Chambers, Colorado State Capitol, Denver, January 26, 2007.
- Invited Paper/Presentation, "Initiating Reform: The Effects of Ballot Measures on State Election and Ethics Policy," 2008 and Beyond: The Future of Election and Ethics Reform in the States, Ohio State Capital Building, Kent State University, January 16, 2007.
- Invited Paper/Presentation, "Financing Ballot Measures in the American States," Financing Referendum Campaigns Conference, University of Zurich, Switzerland, October 27-29, 2006.
- Invited Talk, "Pressure at the Polls/Ballot Initiatives," Capitol Beat Conference, Columbus, OH, August 2006.
- Invited Talk, "Turnout and Priming Effects of Ballot Initiatives," Ballot Initiative Strategy Center Spring Briefing, National Education Association, Washington, DC, May 11, 2006.
- Invited Talk, "The People as Legislators: The Influence of Direct Democracy," Moritz College of Law, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH, March 3, 2006.
- Invited Public Debate, "Initiative Reform in Florida," *Orlando Regional Chamber of Commerce*, Orlando, FL, February 23, 2006.
- Invited Talk, "Direct Democracy: The Battle over Citizen Lawmaking," *Minnesota Council of Nonprofits, Public Policy Day 2006: Nonprofits as a Force for Change*, Minneapolis, MN, January 26, 2006.
- Keynote Speaker, "Taking the Initiative in Florida," *National Conference of Editorial Writers Regional Conference*, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL, October 16, 2005.
- Panelist, "The Educative Effects of Direct Democracy," *Direct Democracy: Historical Roots and Political Realities*, The Bill Lane Center for the Study of the North American West, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, April 14-15, 2005.
- Panelist, "The Initiative and Referendum Process," *The 2004 Election: What Does it Mean for Campaigns and Governance?* University of Southern California Law School, Los Angeles, CA, October 8, 2004.
- Invited Talk, "Florida's Initiative Process," Oak Hammock, Gainesville, FL, October 21, 2004.
- Invited Talk, "Educated by Initiative," Oak Hammock, Gainesville, FL, October 6, 2004.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONFERENCE PAPER PRESENTATIONS

"Curing the Vote: Who Corrects Rejected Mail Ballots?" European Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Cologne, Germany, July 4-6, 2024 (with Michael C. Herron)

"Getting Rolled: Who Gets Removed from the Voters Lists in Florida, and Why," State Politics and Policy Conference, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, June 7-9, 2024.

"Restricting Registration: Regulating Third Party Voter Registration Organizations," *North Carolina Political Science/Public Administration Annual Meetings*, Asheville, NC, March 22-23, 2024.

"A Blue Primary in a Reddish State: How Preferences are Shaped by Expectations, Issues, and Sexism," *Florida Political Science Association Annual Meeting*, Gainesville, FL, March 10, 2024 (with Michael Martinez).

"Democracy Deserts in Local Elections," *Florida Political Science Association Annual Meeting*, Gainesville, FL, March 10, 2024 (with Maxwell Clark and Michael McDonald).

"Not a Teammate and Not a Fan: Probing the Identities of Unaffiliated Registered Voters," *2024 Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics*, Charleston, SC, March 8, 2024 (with M.V. (Trey) Hood, Seth C. McKee, and Enrijeta Shino).

"Scrubbing the Rolls? Voter List Maintenance in Florida," *Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior (EPOVB) Conference*, Florida State University, February 29-March 2, 2024 (with Robert Rice).

"Democracy Deserts in Local Elections," Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, January 11-14, 2024, New Orleans (with Maxwell Clark and Michael McDonald).

"Disabling the Vote," American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, August 30-September 3, 2023, (with Michael C. Herron).

"Voter Registration Choices in a Polarized America," American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, August 30-September 3, 2023, (with M.V. (Trey) Hood, Seth C. McKee, and Enrijeta Shino).

"Gender and Sexism in Primary Elections," American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, August 30-September 3, 2023, (with Michael Martinez).

"Vote Method and Election Confidence," European Political Science Association Annual Meeting, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, June 21-24, 2023 (with Enrijeta Shino)

"Vote Method and Confidence in Elections," Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Semi-Annual Meeting, Florida State University, March 2-4, 2023 (with Enrijeta Shino)

"Vote Method and Confidence in Elections," Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, January 12-15, 2022, St. Pete (with Enrijeta Shino).

"A Blue Primary in a Reddish State: How Preferences are Shaped by Expectations, Issues, and Sexism," Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, January 12-15, 2022, St. Pete (with Michael Martinez).

"Shared Language, Distinct Politics: A Deeper Look at Hispanic Vote Cohesion in South and Central Florida," Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, January 12-15, 2022, St. Pete (with Brian Amos, Matt Barreto, Maxwell Clarke, Angela Gutierrez, Andy Jarrin, and Mike McDonald).

"Voting During a Pandemic: Convenience Voting and Youth Turnout," Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, January 12-15, 2022, St. Pete (with Danielle Dietz, Payton Lussier, Mike McDonald, Enrijeta Shino).

"Shared Language, Distinct Politics: A Deeper Look at Hispanic Vote Cohesion in South and Central Florida," American Political Science Association, Montreal, Canada, September 15-18, 2021 (with Angela Gutierrez, Matt Barreto, Mike McDonald, and Brian Amos).

- “Mail Voting and Voter Turnout,” Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration, University of North Carolina, Charlotte, July 27-30, 2022 (with Michael P. McDonald, Enrijeta Shino, and Juliana Mucci).
- “Jews for Trump: An Analysis of Voting and Vote Choice in Florida” Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting, Chicago, March 7-10, 2022 (with Payton Lussier).
- “Riot in the Party: Party Registration Switching in the Aftermath of the January 6, 2021, Capitol Insurrection,” Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting, Chicago, March 7-10, 2022 (with Sara Loving).
- “Who Stands Next to Whom? Voting Lines and Political Polarization,” Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting, Chicago, March 7-10, 2022 (with John Cho and Michael Herron).
- “Gauging Public Opinion Toward Accessory Dwelling Units (ADUs),” *Florida Political Science Association* annual meeting, Bethune-Cookman University, Daytona, March 26, 2022 (with William Bullen, Danielle Dietz, Colson Douglas, Payton Lussier, and Gaby Zwolfer).
- “The Changing South in Presidential Elections, 2008-2020,” Symposium on Southern Politics, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, March 4-5, 2022 (with Trey Hood, Robert Lupton, and Seth McKee).
- “Did Ballot Design Oust a US Senator? A Study of the 2018 Election in Florida,” Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, University of Toronto Law School, Toronto, Canada, March 18-19, 2022 (with Michael C. Herron, Marc Meredith, Michael Morse, & Michael Martinez).
- “The Expansion of Mail Voting and the Impact on Voter Turnout in the 2020 General Election,” Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, January 12-15, 2022, San Antonio (with Juliana Mucci, Michael P. McDonald, and Enrijeta Shino).
- “Riot in the Party: Voter Registrations in the Aftermath of the January 6, 2021, Capitol Insurrection,” State of the Parties: 2020 and Beyond Virtual Conference, Ray C. Bliss Institute for Applied Politics, Akron, OH, November 5, 2021 (with Sara Loving).
- “The Disparate Impact of Voting Restrictions on Persons of Color in Florida,” American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September 29-October 2, 2021 (with Brandi Martinez, Enrijeta Shino, and LaRaven Temoney).
- “The Racial Politics of Early In-Person Voting and Ballot Access in Georgia,” American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September 29-October 2, 2021 (with Michael C. Herron and Enrijeta Shino).
- “The Behavioral Effects of Redistricting,” Florida Political Science Association Annual Meeting, March 27, 2021 [virtual] (with Brian Amos, Enrijeta Shino, and Seth McKee).
- “The Electoral Landscape after a Natural Disaster: Hurricane Michael’s Effect on Turnout in Florida,” Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, January 8-11, 2020, San Juan, Puerto Rico (with William A. Zelin).
- “The Turnout Effects of Spanish Language Voting Materials,” Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, January 8-11, 2020, San Juan, Puerto Rico (with Emily Boykin and Jenna Tingu).
- “Voter Registration after Parkland and Early Voting on College Campuses,” American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-September 1, 2019 (with Enrijeta Shino).
- “Did Ballot Design Oust a US Senator? A Study of the 2018 Election in Florida,” American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-September 1, 2019 (with Michael C. Herron & Michael Martinez).
- “Barriers to Registering Returning Citizens in Florida,” American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-September 1, 2019.
- “Ballot Design, Voter Intentions, and Representation: A Study of the 2018 Midterm Election in Florida,” Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration, University of Pennsylvania, July 10-12, 201 (with Michael C. Herron & Michael Martinez).
- “Mobilizing the Youth Vote? Early Voting on College Campuses in Florida,” 19th State Politics and Policy Conference at the University of Maryland, May 30-June 1, 2019 (with Enrijeta Shino).
- “Did Ballot-Design Oust an Incumbent Senator? A Study of the 2018 Midterm Election in Florida,” Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 4-7, 2019, Chicago (with Michael Herron and Michael Martinez).
- “Election Administration and Public Records Responsiveness,” Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 4-7, 2019, Chicago (with Enrijeta Shino, Anna Baringer, Justin Eichermuller, and William Zelin).
- “Voter Registration after Parkland and Early Voting on College Campuses,” American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-September 1, 2019 (with Enrijeta Shino).
- “Did Ballot Design Oust a US Senator? A Study of the 2018 Election in Florida,” American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-September 1, 2019 (with Michael C. Herron & Michael Martinez).
- “Barriers to Registering Returning Citizens in Florida,” American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-September 1, 2019.

- “Ballot Design, Voter Intentions, and Representation: A Study of the 2018 Midterm Election in Florida,” Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration, University of Pennsylvania, July 10-12, 2019 (with Michael C. Herron & Michael Martinez).
- “Mobilizing the Youth Vote? Early Voting on College Campuses in Florida,” 19th State Politics and Policy Conference at the University of Maryland, May 30-June 1, 2019 (with Enrijeta Shino).
- “Did Ballot-Design Outs an Incumbent Senator? A Study of the 2018 Midterm Election in Florida,” Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 4-7, 2019, Chicago (with Michael Herron and Michael Martinez).
- “Election Administration and Public Records Responsiveness,” Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 4-7, 2019, Chicago (with Enrijeta Shino, Anna Baringer, Justin Eichermuller, and William Zelin).
- “Estimating the Differential Effects of Purging Inactive Registered Voters,” American Political Science Association, Boston MA, August 28-September 1, 2018 (with Michael C. Herron).
- “Estimating the Differential Effects of Purging Inactive Registered Voters,” Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration, University of Wisconsin-Madison, July 26-27, 2018 (with Michael C. Herron).
- “Exact-Match Voter List Verification and Turnout,” 18th State Politics and Policy Conference at Penn State, June 7-9, 2018 (with Michael P. McDonald, Pedro Otálora, and Enrijeta Shino).
- “Estimating the Differential Effects of Purging Inactive Registered Voters,” at the 18th State Politics and Policy Conference at Penn State, June 7-9, 2018 (with Michael C. Herron).
- “Who are Provisional Voters? Evidence from North Carolina,” Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 5-8, 2018, Chicago (with Lia Merivaki).
- “A History and Analysis of Black Representation in Southern State Legislatures,” Symposium on Southern Politics, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, March 1-2, 2018 (with Charles S. Bullock III, William D. Hicks, M. V. (Trey) Hood III, Seth C. McKee, and Adam Myers).
- “Who are Provisional Voters? Evidence from North Carolina,” Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, January 4-7, 2018, New Orleans (with Lia Merivaki).
- “Naturalizing the Party: Party Registration and Voter Turnout of Foreign-Born Citizens,” State of the Party: 2016 & Beyond, November 10, 2017, Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, University of Akron, Ohio (with Lidia Kurganova).
- “The Erosion of Liberal Democracy: Dissensus and Ideology in America,” American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 31-September 3, 2017 (with William D. Hicks and Seth C. McKee).
- “Early Voting Availability and Turnout in Florida and North Carolina,” American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 31-September 3, 2017 (with David Cottrell and Michael C. Herron).
- “Determinants of County Level Voter Turnout, 1970-2016,” American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 31-September 3, 2017 (with Carl Klarner, Brian Amos, and Michael P. McDonald).
- “Waiting to Vote: Using EViD Data to Assess the Electoral Consequences of Long Voting Lines,” Midwest Political Science Association annual meetings, April 6-9, 2017, Chicago (with David Cottrell and Michael C. Herron).
- “Timing the Habit: Voter Registration and Turnout in the American States,” American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, September 1-4, 2016 (with Enrijeta Shino).
- “Revisiting Majority-Minority Districts and Black Representation,” American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, September 1-4, 2016 (with Seth C. McKee, William D. Hicks; Carl E. Klarner).
- “Defending Democracy: How Political Scientists Are Engaging in the Fight over Voting Rights (and Why You and Your Dept. Should too),” APSA Roundtable with Theda Skocpol, Presented by the Scholars Strategy Network, American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, September 1-4, 2016.
- “Timing the Habit: Voter Registration and Turnout in the American States,” State Politics and Policy Conference, University of Texas at Dallas, May 19-21, 2016 (with Enrijeta Shino).
- “Revisiting Majority-Minority Districts and Descriptive Representation,” State Politics and Policy Conference, University of Texas at Dallas, May 19-21, 2016 (with Seth C. McKee, William D. Hicks; Carl E. Klarner).
- “Purging Participation? Eligibility Challenges, Psychological Reactance, and the Decision to Vote,” Midwest Political Science Association annual meetings, April 7-10, 2016, Chicago (with Daniel Biggers and Bryce Freeman).
- “Missing Black Men and Representation in American Political Institutions,” Midwest Political Science Association annual meetings, April 7-10, 2016, Chicago (with David Cottrell, Michael Herron, and Javier Rodriguez).
- “Early Voting Effects on Pre-Election Poll Estimates,” Southern Political Science Association, January 7-10, 2016, San Juan, Puerto Rico (with Michael P. McDonald, Michael D. Martinez, and Chris McCarty).
- “Your Ballot’s in the Mail: The Effects of Unsolicited Absentee Ballots,” American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 1-4, 2015 (with Michael Martinez).
- “A Reassessment of the Turnout Effects in of Election Reforms in the United States,” American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 1-4, 2015 (with Michael P. McDonald and Enrijeta Shino).

- “Reprecincting and Voting Behavior,” American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 1-4, 2015 (with Brian Amos and Casey Ste. Claire)
- “Looks Can Be Deceiving: Explaining Support for Online Voter Registration in the American States,” State Politics and Policy Conference, California State University, Sacramento, May 28-30, 2015 (with William Hicks and Seth McKee).
- “Public Opinion on Statewide Ballot Measures,” State Politics and Policy Conference, California State University, Sacramento, May 28-30, 2015 (with Diana Forster).
- “Early Voting Effects on Pre-Election Poll Estimates,” American Association for Public Opinion Research Annual Conference, May 14-17, 2015, Hollywood, Florida (with Michael P. McDonald, Michael D. Martinez, and Chris McCarty).
- “Dumbing Down the Electorate? Assessing the Political Knowledge of Early Voters,” Midwest Political Science Association annual meetings, April 15-19, 2015, Chicago (with Enrijeta Shino).
- “Race, Shelby County, and the Voter Information Verification Act in North Carolina,” American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 27-31, 2014 (with Michael C. Herron).
- “Who Signs? Ballot Petition Signatures as Political Participation,” American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 27-31, 2014 (with Diana Forster and Brian Amos).
- “Race, Shelby County, and the Voter Information Verification Act in North Carolina,” State Politics and Policy Conference, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, May 15-17, 2014 (with Michael C. Herron).
- “The Effects of Spatial Proximity on Voting,” State Politics and Policy Conference, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, May 15-17, 2014 (with Kenton Ngo).
- “Race, Shelby County, and the Voter Information Verification Act in North Carolina,” Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, April 3-6, 2014 (with Michael C. Herron).
- “Beyond Regulatory Interpretation: The Demand and Supply of Provisional Ballots in Florida,” Symposium on Regulation in the U.S. States, DeVoe Center, Florida State University, Tallahassee, February 21, 2014 (with Lia Merivaki).
- “Evolution of an Issue: Voter ID Laws in the American States,” American Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, August 28-September 2, 2013 (with Seth McKee, William Hicks, and Mitch Sellers).
- “Closing the Door on Democracy”: Early Voting and Participation in Florida,” American Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, August 28-September 2, 2013 (with Michael Herron).
- “Evolution of an Issue: Voter ID Laws in the American States,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 13th annual conference, University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA, May 23-25, 2013 (with Seth McKee, William Hicks, and Mitch Sellers).
- “Early Voting in Florida in the Aftermath of House Bill 1355,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 13th annual conference, University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA, May 23-25, 2013 (with Michael Herron).
- “Racial Disparities in Provisional Ballot Rejection Rates,” Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, April 11-14, 2013 (with Michael Herron).
- “Who Registers? The Differential Impact of Florida’s House Bill 1355 on Voter Registration,” American Political Science Association Conference, New Orleans, August 30-September 2, 2012 (with Michael Herron).
- “The Effect of Polling Locations Upon Vote Choice: A Natural Experiment,” Southern Political Science Association Conference, Orlando, January 3-5, 2013 (with Charles Dahan).
- “Casting and Verifying Provisional Ballots in Florida,” Southern Political Science Association Conference, Orlando, January 3-5, 2013 (with Lia Merivaki).
- “Who Registers? The Differential Impact of Florida’s House Bill 1355 on Voter Registration,” American Political Science Association Conference, New Orleans, August 30-September 2, 2012 (with Michael Herron).
- “The Participatory Impact of Truncating Early Voting in Florida,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 12th annual conference, Rice University, Houston, TX, February 16 – February 18, 2012 (with Michael Herron).
- “Engaging Potential Voters? The Collection of Valid Signatures on Ballot Petitions,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 11th annual conference, Dartmouth University, June 4-6, 2011 (with Diana Forster).
- “Pledging Democracy: Congressional Support for a National Advisory Initiative and Referendum,” Southern Political Science Association, January 5-8, 2011, New Orleans (presented by Matthew Harrigan).
- “We Know What You Did Last Summer: The Impact of Petition Signing on Voter Turnout,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 10th annual conference, University of Illinois, Springfield, June 5-6, 2010 (with Janine Parry and Shayne Henry).
- “Reassessing Direct Democracy and Civic Engagement: A Panel Study of the 2008 Election,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 10th annual conference, University of Illinois, Springfield, June 5-6, 2010 (with Caroline J. Tolbert and Amanda Frost).
- “Generating Scholarship from Public Service: Media Work, Nonprofit Foundation Service, and Legal Expert Consulting,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 10th annual conference, University of Illinois, Springfield, June 5-6, 2010.
- “Obama to Blame: Minority Surge Voters and the Ban on Same-Sex Marriage in Florida,” American Political Science Association Conference, Toronto, September 2-5, 2009 (with Stephanie Slade).

- “State Context and Support for a National Referendum in the U.S.” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 9th annual conference, UNC Chapel Hill/Duke University, May 22-23, 2009 (with Caroline J. Tolbert and Amanda Frost).
- “Direct Democracy, Opinion Formation, and Candidate Choice,” American Political Science Association Conference, Boston, August 2008 (with Caroline J. Tolbert).
- “The Legislative Regulation of the Initiative,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 8th annual conference, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, May 30-31, 2008.
- “The Initiative to Shirk? The Effects of Ballot Measures on Congressional Voting Behavior,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 8th annual conference, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, May 30-31, 2008 (with Josh Huder and Jordan Ragusa).
- “Participatory-Based Trust? Political Trust and Direct Democracy,” American Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, August 2007 (with Caroline J. Tolbert and Daniel Bowen).
- “Giving Power to the People: The Adoption of Direct Democracy in the American States,” Western Political Science Association Conference, Las Vegas, NV, March 7-9, 2007 (with Dustin Fridkin).
- “Mass Support for Redistricting Reform: District and Statewide Representational Winners and Losers,” State Politics and Policy Quarterly 7th annual conference, Austin, TX, February 22-24, 2007 (with Caroline J. Tolbert and John C. Green).
- “Mass Support for Redistricting Reform: Partisanship and Representational Winners and Losers,” American Political Science Association Conference, Philadelphia, August 2006 (with Caroline J. Tolbert and John C. Green).
- “Gaming the System: The Effect of BCRA on State Party Finance Activities.” *The State of the Parties: 2004 & Beyond*. Ray C. Bliss Institute for Applied Politics, Akron, OH, October 2005 (with Susan Orr).
- “Do State-Level Ballot Measures Affect Presidential Elections?” *American Political Science Association Conference*, Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 2005 (with Caroline Tolbert and Todd Donovan).
- “Did Gay Marriage Elect George W. Bush?” *Fifth Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy*, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI, May 13-14, 2005 (with Todd Donovan, Caroline Tolbert, and Janine Parry).
- “Was Rove Right? Evangelicals and the Impact of Gay Marriage in the 2004 Election.” *Fifth Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy*, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI, May 13-14, 2005 (with Matt DeSantis and Jason Kassel).
- “Partisanship, Direct Democracy, and Candidate Choice,” *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, IL, April 7-10, 2005 (with Caroline Tolbert and Todd Donovan).
- “Did Gay Marriage Elect the President? Mobilizing Effects of Ballot Measures in the 2004 Election,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Oakland, CA, March 17-19, 2005 (with Todd Donovan and Caroline Tolbert).
- “Initiatives and Referendums: The Effects of Direct Democracy on Candidate Elections,” Conference on *What We Know and Don’t Know about Campaigns and Elections*, Graduate Program in Political Campaigning, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL, February 24-5, 2005.
- “Was Rove Right? The Partisan Wedge and Turnout Effects of Issue 1, Ohio’s 2004 Ballot Initiative to Ban Gay Marriage,” *University of California Center for the Study of Democracy/USC-Caltech Center for the Study of Law and Politics/Initiative and Referendum Institute Conference*, Newport Beach, CA, January 14-15, 2005.
- “The Educative Effects of Direct Democracy on Voter Turnout,” *American Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, IL, September 1-5, 2004 (with Caroline Tolbert).
- “Turning On and Turning Out: Assessing the Indirect Effects of Ballot Measures on Voter Participation,” *Fourth Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy*, Kent State University, Kent, OH, April 30-May 2, 2004 (with Todd Donovan).
- “Veiled Political Actors: The Real Threat to Campaign Finance Disclosure Statutes?” *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, April 14-18, 2004 (with Elizabeth Garrett).
- “Elephants, Umbrellas, and Quarrelling Cocks: Disaggregating Party Identification in Ghana’s Fourth Republic,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Portland, OR, March 11-13, 2004 (with Kevin Fridy).
- “Gaming the System: State Party Finance Activities in Colorado and Florida,” Southern Political Science Association Conference, New Orleans, January 7-10, 2004.
- “The Educative Effects of Direct Democracy: Ballot Campaigns and Civic Engagement in the American States,” Societa Italiana di Studi Elettorali (SISE) VIIIth International Conference on Electoral Campaigns (Initiative and Referendum), Venice, Italy, December 18-20, 2003.
- “In the Wake of Prop. 13,” *American Political Science Association Conference*, Philadelphia, PA, August 27-31, 2003.
- “Soft Money and Issue Advocacy in the 2002 Colorado 7th Congressional District Election,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Denver, CO, March 26-30, 2003.

- “Educated by Initiative: Direct Democracy and Civic Engagement in the American States,” *Third Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy*, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ, March 14-15, 2003 (with Caroline Tolbert).
- “Ballot Initiatives and the (Sub)Urban/Rural Divide in Colorado,” *Colorado’s Future: How Can We Meet the Needs of a Changing State?* University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, September 27, 2002.
- “Representation and the Spatial Dimension of Direct Democracy,” *American Political Science Association Conference*, Boston, MA, August 29-September 1, 2002.
- “Representation and the Spatial Bias of Direct Democracy,” *Second Annual Conference on State Politics and Policy*, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milwaukee, WI, May 24-25, 2002.
- “Minority Rights and the Spatial Bias of Direct Democracy,” *Southwestern Political Science Association Conference*, New Orleans, LA, March 27-30, 2002.
- “Representation and the Urban Bias of Direct Democracy,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Long Beach, CA, March 21-24 2002.
- “Ghost Busters: The Structural Underpinnings and Politics of Ghana’s 2000 Elections,” *African Studies Association Conference*, Houston, TX, November 15-18, 2001.
- “The Effect of Ballot Initiatives on Voter Turnout,” *American Political Science Association Conference*, Washington, DC, August 31-September 3, 2000 (with Caroline Tolbert and John Grummel).
- “Campaign Finance of Ballot Initiatives,” *National Direct Democracy Conference*, University of Virginia’s Center for Governmental Studies, Charlottesville, VA, June 8-9, 2000.
- “Meet the Authors Roundtable: Recent Books on Direct Democracy in the States,” *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, April 27-30, 2000.
- “Counter-Majoritarian Bills and Legislative Response of State Ballot Initiatives,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, San Jose, March 24-26, 2000.
- “The Gun Behind the Door Fires Blanks,” *Pacific Northwest Political Science Association Conference*, Eugene, OR, October 14-16, 1999.
- “Orange Crush: Mobilization of Bias, Ballot Initiatives, and the Politics of Professional Sports Stadia,” *American Political Science Association Conference*, Atlanta, September 2-5, 1999 (with Sure Log).
- “Direct Democracy in Colorado: Limited Information, Tough Choices,” *A Century of Citizen Lawmaking: Initiative and Referendum in America*, *Initiative and Referendum Institute*, Washington, D.C., May 6-8, 1999.
- “The Initiative to Party: The Role of Political Parties in State Ballot Measures,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Seattle, March 25-28, 1999.
- “Direct Democracy in the Late 20th Century: The Legacy(ies) of Prop. 13,” Roundtable, *American Political Science Association Conference*, Boston, September 3-6, 1998.
- “The Legacy of Howard Jarvis and Proposition 13? Tax Limitation Initiatives in 1996,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Los Angeles, March 19-21, 1998.
- “Special Interests and the Initiative Process in Colorado: The Case of the Parental Rights Amendment” (with Robert Herrington), Poster Session, *American Political Science Association Conference*, Washington, D.C., August 28-31, 1997.
- “Howard Jarvis, Populist Entrepreneur: Reevaluating Causes of Proposition 13,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Tucson, March 13-15, 1997.
- “Guided Immersion: A Non-Traditional Study Abroad Program at the University of Ghana at Legon,” *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, April 10-12, 1997.
- “Exploring the Political Dimension of Privatization: A Tale of Two Cities” (with Kevin Leyden), *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, April 18-20, 1996.
- “Populist Entrepreneur: Douglas Bruce and the Tax Limitation Movement in Colorado,” *20th Annual Interdisciplinary Symposium of the Politics and Culture of the Great Plains*, Lincoln, April 11-13, 1996.
- “Faux Populism: Douglas Bruce and the Anti-Tax Moment in Colorado, 1986-1992,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, San Francisco, March 14-16, 1996.
- “Insular Democracy: Advisory Councils and Task Forces in the American States,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Portland, March 1995.
- “Supporting Labor-Management Initiatives at the State Level: The Case of the West Virginia Labor-Management Advisory Council,” *Southern Industrial Relations and Human Resource Conference*, Morgantown, WV, October 1994.
- “State Autonomy, Capacity, and Coherence: Labor-Management Councils in the American States,” *Western Political Science Association Conference*, Albuquerque, March 1994.
- “Removing the Pluralist Blinders: Labor-Management Councils and Industrial Policy in the American States,” *American Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, September 1992.
- “You Can’t Live with Them...The Emerging Role of Organized Labor in Industrial Policy in the American States,” *Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, April 1992.
- “It Can Happen Here: Apprenticeship, Workplace-based Learning, and the Affirmative Role of Unions” (with Eric Parker), *Southwestern Political Science Association Conference*, Austin, TX, March 1992.

“The Affirmative Role of U.S. Unions in Restructuring” (with Eric Parker), *American Sociological Association Conference*, Indianapolis, IN, August 1991.

“Economic Development Strategy and the Problem of Skills: The Case of Wisconsin’s Advanced Metalworking Sector” (with Eric Parker), *American Society for Public Administration Conference*, Cleveland, OH, October 1990.

EDITORIAL/ADVISORY BOARDS/REVIEWER

Review Board, National Science Foundation, Accountable Institutions and Behavior, 2016; 2020-2022

Editorial Board, *Journal of Election Administration Research and Practice*, 2021–

Editorial Board, *State Politics and Policy*, 1999-2007; 2014-2016

Editorial Board, *Election Law Journal*, 2012-2016.

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

Review Board, *Fulbright/APSA Congressional Fellowship Program*, 2002-2005.

Academic Advisory Board, *Annual Editions, State & Local Government*, 1995-2015.

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

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Political Science Association, 1990-

State Politics and Policy Section, 2000-

President, 2013-2015

Executive Council, 2010-2012

Political Organizations and Parties Section, 2000-

Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior, 2000-

Chair, EPOVB Emerging Scholar Award, 2022

Midwest Political Science Association, 1990-

Southern Political Science Association, 2001-

Western Political Science Association, 1994-

Local Co-Host, Annual Meeting (Denver), 2003

Chair, Committee on Membership, Attendance, and Registration, 1998-2000

Section Chair, State Politics and Policy, 1999 Annual Conference (Seattle)

Member, Charles Redd Politics of the American West Award Committee, 1999

Chair, Best Dissertation Award Committee, 1999-2001

Florida Political Science Association (1994-)

Chair, State Politics, 2004 Annual Conference (Gainesville)

PROFESSIONAL APPOINTMENTS

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

Research Scholar, *Bill Lane Center for the Study of the American West*, Stanford University, 2007.

Senior Research Scholar, *Ballot Initiative Strategy Center Foundation (BISCF)*, Nonprofit 501 (c)(3), Washington, DC, (www.ballot.org), 2006.

Board of Directors, *Ballot Initiative Strategy Center Foundation (BISCF)*, Nonprofit 501 (c)(3), Washington, DC, 2000-2019.

Board of Scholars, *Initiative & Referendum Institute*, USC Law School, University of Southern California, 2004-.

Senior Research Fellow, *Initiative & Referendum Institute*, Washington, DC, 1998-2003.

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

President & Co-Founder, *Citizens Institute for Voter Information in Colorado (CIVIC)*, Denver, CO, 1998-2001.

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

University of Florida

College/University

Appointed Member, History Department Chair Search, 2023-24

Appointed Member, Linguistics Department Chair Search, 2020-21

Appointed Member, Latin American Studies Search Committee (Latino Studies), 2014-15

Appointed Member, Political Science/African Studies Search Committee, 2013-14

Appointed Member, 20th Century American History Search Committee (History), 2008-09

Appointed Member, Latino Studies Search Committee (LAS), 2006-07

Departmental Representative, United Faculty of Florida, 2005-2008

Alternate Senator, United Faculty of Florida, 2005-06

State Delegate, Florida Education Association, 2005-06

Elected Member, College of Arts and Sciences, Nominating Committee, 2004-06

Appointed Member, University of Florida Fulbright Committee, 2003-07

Department

Chair, 2017-
 Graduate Coordinator, 2014-2016
 Associate Chair, 2013-2014
 Appointed Member, Informatics Search Committee (Departmental Representative), 2013-14
 Appointed Member, Promotion (Full) Review Committee (Service), Leonardo Villalon, 2011
 Appointed Member, Promotion (Full) Review Committee (Research), Badredine Arfi, 2010
 Elected Member, Chair's Advisory Committee, 2004-05; 2006-07 (Chair); 2007-08 (Chair); 2010-11; 2012-13
 Elected Member, Chair Search Committee, 2004; 2009
 Appointed Member, Tenure Review Committee (Research), Daniel O'Neill, 2008
 Appointed Faculty Mentor, State Senator Mike Haridopolos, 2008-09
 Appointed Member, Strategic Planning Committee, 2008-09
 Appointed Director, Graduate Program in Political Campaigning, 2007-11
 Appointed Member, Committee to establish Undergraduate Certificate in Political Campaigning, 2007
 Elected Member, Market Equity Committee, 2006-07 (Chair); 2007-08; 2008-09 (Chair)
 Appointed Internship Coordinator, 2005-
 Elected Member, Merit Committee, 2004-05; 2005-06; 2006-07 (Chair)
 Appointed Faculty Mentor, Marcus Hendershot, 2006-
 Appointed Faculty Mentor, Helena Rodriques, 2005-06
 Appointed Member, Ad-Hoc Graduate Teaching Committee, 2005-06
 Appointed Member (Chair), Latino Politics Search Committee, 2004-05
 Appointed Member, Tenure and Promotion Committee (Samuel Barkin), 2004.
 Appointed Member, Mid-Career and Mentoring Task Force, 2004-05
 Appointed Member, Speakers Committee (Chair), 2003-05.
 Appointed Member, Tenure and Promotion Committee (Richard Conley), 2003.

University of Denver

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

MEDIA INTERVIEWS

Quoted more than 1,000 times by the media (newspaper, radio, television) on various political issues, including the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *USA Today*, *Bloomberg*, *The Economist*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, *CNN*, *CBS News*, *Fox News*, *National Public Radio*, *Tampa Bay Times*, *Miami Herald*, *Florida Times-Union*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Boston Globe*, etc.