

EXHIBIT 5

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA

PENNSYLVANIA DEMOCRATIC PARTY,
et al.,

Petitioners,

v.

KATHY BOOCKVAR, et al.,

Respondents.

No. 133 MM 2020

AFFIDAVIT OF PAUL GRONKE, PH.D.

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I. Background and Qualifications

1. I am a Professor of Political Science at Reed College and Director of the Early Voting Information Center. I received a BA in Political Science from the University of Chicago, a Master's Degree in Western European Politics from the University of Essex, Colchester UK, and a PhD in Political Science from the University of Michigan. I have written scientific research publications on voting by mail, early voting, voter turnout, and election administration that have appeared in peer-reviewed journals and university press edited volumes. I have written and collaborated on policy reports on public opinion and the opinions of local election officials (LEOs) about elections and election administration. The principal focus of my research and writing since 2006 has been early voting, election administration, local election officials, and public opinion about elections, election reform, and electoral integrity.

2. I created the Early Voting Information Center (EVIC) in 2006 as a non-partisan center for the study of non-precinct place voting in the United States. EVIC has attracted more than \$1,000,000 in funding from public charities, non-profits, state governments, and federal agencies. As the Director of EVIC, I regularly consult with election officials at the local and state level to help them anticipate and plan for the changes wrought by the growth in early in-person, no-excuse absentee, and vote by mail voting. I worked as a contractor and subcontractor in 2006 and 2008 for the

United States Election Assistance Commission, helping to oversee the collection, analysis, and reporting of election administration data pertaining to the National Voter Registration Act, the Uniformed Overseas and Citizens Abroad Voting Act, and the Election Administration and Voting Survey. I helped develop the section of the Election Assistance Commission's Election Administration and Voting Survey (EAVS) that asks for information about early in-person and absentee ballots. I designed the survey questions for early voting used by two highly regarded academic election surveys, the Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) and the American National Election Study.

3. I have published a number of articles that contain statistical analyses of national, regional, and state trends in voting by mail, early voting, and the demographic and attitudinal characteristics of individual early in-person and no-excuse absentee voters. These publications include peer-reviewed articles in *American Politics Research* (2012), the *Annual Review of Political Science* (2008), the *Journal of Social Issues* (2008), and *PS: Political Science and Politics* (2007). Other published works that discuss the legal and administrative changes to early voting and the public response include a 2015 *Electoral Studies* article, a 2014 chapter in *Measure of American Elections*, a 2008 *William and Mary Law Review* article, a 2008 chapter in *Democracy in the States*, and 2019, 2016, and 2008 chapters in editions of *America Votes! A Guide to Election Law and Voting Rights*.

A complete list of my publications is included in my curriculum vitae, attached to this affidavit as Appendix A.

4. In light of my scientific expertise on early voting, election administration, election reform, and electoral integrity, I was retained to provide an expert report and give expert testimony in *Democracy North Carolina v. Board of Elections* (Civil Action No. 1:20-CV-457, Summer 2020), provide an expert report in *North Carolina Democratic Party v. State of North Carolina* (Civil Action 19-CV-014688, Spring 2020), provide an expert report and give expert testimony in *League of Women Voters v. State of North Carolina* (Civil Action No. 1:13-CV-660, 2014-2015), and provide an expert report in *Ohio State Conference of the NAACP, et al. vs. John Husted et al.* (Case No. 2:14-cv-00404, Summer 2014).

5. I have been retained by Common Cause Pennsylvania, League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania, Black Political Empowerment Project, Make the Road Pennsylvania, Patricia DeMarco, Kathleen Wise, and Danielle Graham Robinson to bring my scientific expertise to bear on the use of drop boxes for the return of vote-by-mail / absentee ballots in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania during the November 3, 2020, general election. Specifically, I have been asked to opine on (1) the impact of voting by mail generally on voter turnout and among particular subgroups; (2) the impact of allowing drop boxes on voter turnout; (3) how and why drop boxes are important for a well-functioning vote by mail system;

and (4) how drop boxes can assist in providing a safe and secure voting experience during the COVID-19 pandemic.

II. Summary of Opinions

6. Based on my scientific expertise and the empirical evidence, my expert opinion is that drop boxes should be provided in every jurisdiction that has significant (20% or more) percentages of voters casting a ballot by mail, which includes Pennsylvania for the November 3, 2020 election.

7. Drop boxes are recommended by a number of national commissions and experts on voting by mail, and election officials report that they improve administration and voter access. Scientific research shows that drop boxes raise voter turnout and enhance voter confidence in the elections process. Voters utilize drop boxes heavily—forty to seventy percent of voters in vote by mail states and twenty-five percent or more in no-excuse absentee states.

8. Drop boxes have been in use for years all over the country and are secure. I am not aware of any reports that drop boxes are a source for voter fraud.

9. Drop boxes are especially important for a November 3, 2020 election that will be conducted under the cloud of the COVID-19 pandemic, and for a state like Pennsylvania that is going to experience an enormous increase in the number of by-mail ballots cast by the citizenry of the state.

10. Drop boxes will reduce the chance that voters will be disenfranchised due to unexpected delays in postal delivery, and will help the United States Postal Service (“USPS”) handle the load for those voters that do choose to return their ballots by mail.

11. Drop boxes allow voters to wait until they have received all campaign information, if they choose to do so. Finally, drop boxes are a “no-touch” ballot return method that benefits everyone: voters, election workers, and election administrators.

12. In summary, in my expert opinion, there is absolutely no reason not to deploy drop boxes in Pennsylvania for use by vote by mail balloting during the November 2020 general election.

III. Background Regarding Voting by Mail

A. Emergence of Voting by Mail and Trends in Usage

13. Voting by mail is a method of voting in which a ballot and other balloting materials are produced by a local election official and are transmitted to an eligible voter using the United States Postal Service (in most cases¹). The eligible citizen completes the ballot and provides additional validating information (in most

¹ The Federal Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act (MOVE) requires states to provide blank absentee ballots to UOCAVA (Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act) voters in at least one electronic format – email, fax, or an online delivery system – at least 45 days before an election. See <https://www.fvap.gov/uploads/FVAP/Policies/moveact.pdf>.

cases, a signature, although 12 states ordinarily require additional or alternate verifying information, such as a notary or witness signature, or copy of a valid identification²); and the ballot is returned using the United States Postal Service, returned to a local elections office, dropped off at a designated drop box, or dropped off at a local polling place or voting center.

14. Absentee voting was first made available in nineteen of twenty-five states during the 1864 election so that Union soldiers in the field would not be disenfranchised.³ By the end of World War II, most states provided for some sort of civilian access to an absentee ballot for business travelers, railroad workers, and citizens who were sick and infirm. The ratification of the 26th Amendment added many college students to the voting rolls, and in response, many states extended absentee balloting rights to students. The passage of the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act (Pub. L. No. 94-203, 89 Stat. 1142 (1976)) extended absentee balloting to citizens living overseas. In all of these cases, a voter was required to have a legally specified reason for being “absent” on Election Day.

15. Thirty-four states and the District of Columbia do not require an excuse to request an absentee ballot, a method most commonly referred to as “no-excuse

² State requirements for verifying absentee ballots are documented by the National Conference of State Legislatures. <https://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/verification-of-absentee-ballots.aspx>.

³ Fortier, John C. 2006. *Absentee and Early Voting: Trends, Promises, and Perils*. Washington, D.C.: AEI Press.

absentee voting.” No-excuse absentee voting started in California in 1978, which was followed by additional states in the following decades. Pennsylvania passed no-excuse absentee voting in October 2019, with the passage and signing of Act 77.⁴

16. Five states among the thirty-four “no excuse” states are “fully vote by mail,” also referred to as “universal ballot delivery” states. This method was first passed by citizen initiative in Oregon in 1998 and implemented in 2000. Full vote by mail is also used Colorado, Hawaii, Utah, and Washington. In a fully vote by mail system, every registered voter on the registration rolls is sent a ballot without the need to file a request. These fully vote by mail states do not operate precinct polling places, although states continue to provide in-person voting services at county offices and, in some cases, designated voting centers in addition to county offices.

17. As of the time of this affidavit, sixteen states require an excuse for requesting an absentee ballot. The National Conference on State Legislatures categorizes the required excuses as: out of country on Election Day, illness or disability, being older than a certain age, working shift during all voting hours, student living outside of county, election workers or poll workers, religious beliefs

⁴ “Governor Wolf signs historic election reform bill including new mail-in voting.” Press release from the Office of Governor Tom Wolf, October 31, 2019. See <https://www.governor.pa.gov/newsroom/governor-wolf-signs-election-reform-bill-including-new-mail-in-voting/>.

or practices, address confidentiality participant, incarcerated but eligible, and jury duty.⁵

18. In response to the dangers of the COVID-19 pandemic and to ensure a safe, secure, and accessible election, ten of those sixteen states (Alabama, Arizona, Connecticut, Delaware, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, and West Virginia) explicitly allow a fear of COVID-19 to serve as an excuse to cast an absentee ballot in November 2020.⁶

19. In response to the dangers of the COVID-19 pandemic and to ensure a safe, secure, and accessible election, four of the no-excuse absentee states (California, Nevada, New Jersey, and Vermont) and the District of Columbia will send ballot materials to all registered voters for the November 3, 2020 election, thus becoming “all vote by mail” for the November election.

20. The following figure, reproduced from the National Conference of State Legislatures,⁷ provides a visual representation of these three different “voting

⁵ “Excuses to Vote Absentee / By Mailed Ballot”, Table 2 of “Voting Outside the Polling Place: Absentee, All-Mail and other Voting at Home Options”, National Conference of State Legislatures, July 10, 2020. <https://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/absentee-and-early-voting.aspx> accessed August 17, 2020.

⁶ Kate Rabinowitz and Brittany Renee Mayes. August 14, 2020. “At least 77% of American voters can cast ballots by mail this fall.” Washington Post. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/politics/vote-by-mail-states/> Accessed August 17, 2020.

⁷ Source: <https://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/absentee-and-early-voting.aspx>.

No Excuse Required to Vote Absentee (or by Mail)

Legend

- No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
- All-mail elections

*Rhode Island lists a number of excuses to vote absentee, including "no specific reason necessary."

State	Category
AK	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
ME	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
VT	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
NH	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
MA	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
RI*	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
CT	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
NY	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
PA	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
DE	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
DC	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
MD	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
VA	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
NC	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
SC	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
GA	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
FL	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
MI	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
WI	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
MN	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
ND	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
MT	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
WA	All-mail elections
OR	All-mail elections
CO	All-mail elections
UT	All-mail elections
WY	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
ID	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
SD	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
IA	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
IL	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
IN	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
OH	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
PA	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
NJ	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
CT	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
DE	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
MD	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
VA	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
NC	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
SC	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
GA	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
FL	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
TX	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
LA	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
MS	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
AL	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
NC	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
VA	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
WV	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
KY	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
MO	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
NE	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
KS	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
OK	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
NM	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
AZ	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
CA	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
NV	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
HI	All-mail elections
AS	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
GU	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
MP	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
PR	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
VI	No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting

21. For the purposes of this affidavit, I will rely on the umbrella term “voting by mail” to refer to the no-excuse absentee election administration system that is currently in place in thirty-four states and in the District of Columbia, including Pennsylvania. When I refer to a citizen “voting by mail,” I am referring to the individual act of casting a mail or absentee ballot, regardless of the state in which they live and regardless of how the voter returns the ballot.

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federal election years since 1964.⁸ The CPS is a large random sample survey that is an authoritative source to compare registration and voting in the United States. The following figure displays the percentage of respondents who report voting on Election Day, voting early in-person, and voting by mail from 1996-2018 (prior to these years, the CPS did not ask about when the ballot was cast). As shown in the figure, Election Day voting comprised more than 90% of ballot cast in 1996, and vote by mail totaled just over 5% of ballots. Two decades later, in the 2016 presidential election, over 20% of ballots nationally were cast by-mail, and nearly 25% were cast by mail in 2018.

⁸ <https://www.census.gov/topics/public-sector/voting.html>.

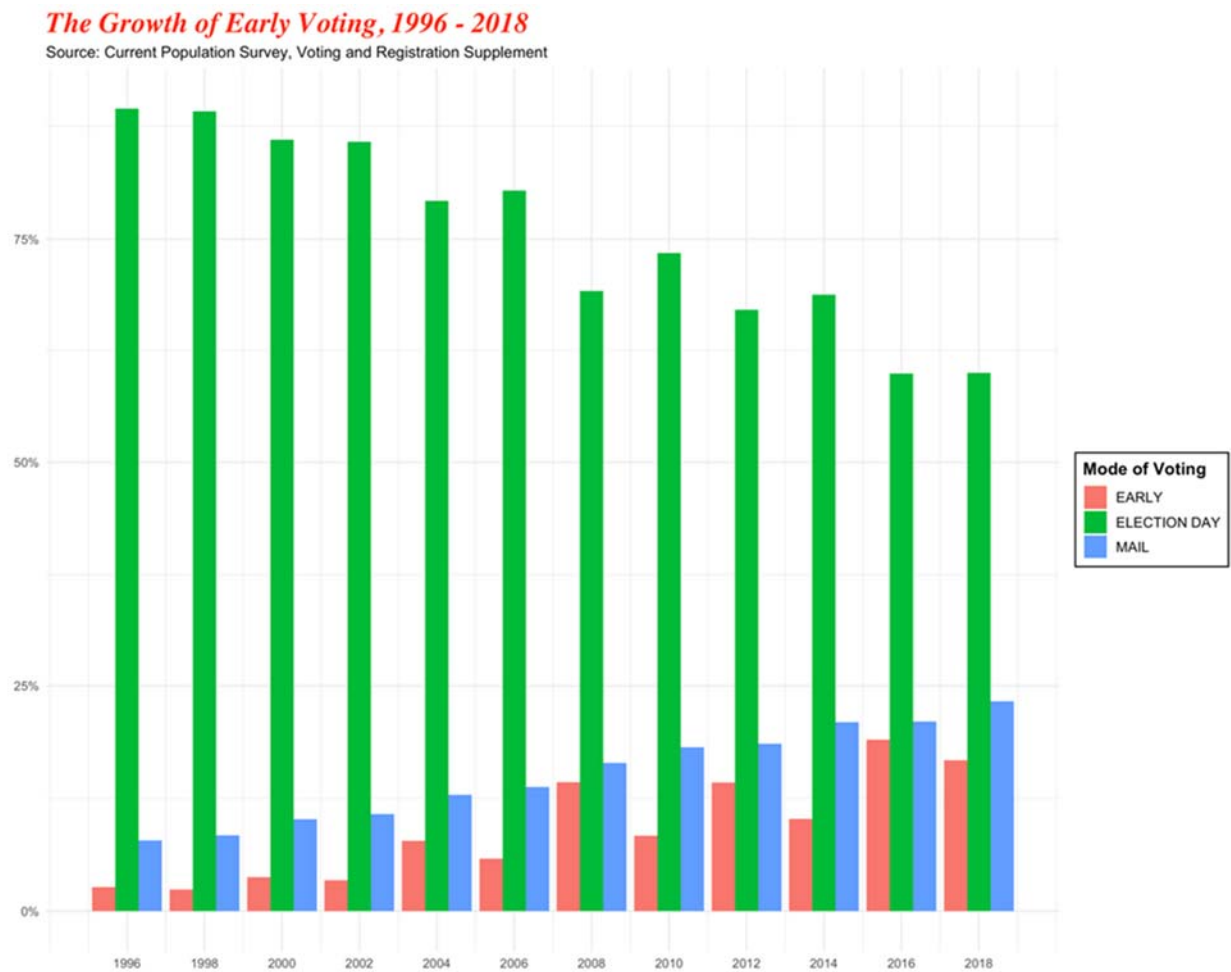


Figure 2: Election Day, Early In Person, and Voting by Mail from 1996-2018

B. Turnout Effects of Vote by Mail

23. There are four primary influences on voter turnout: individual resources (mainly demographics and attitudes toward participation), social resources (connectedness to social and organizational networks), organizational actions (political parties, candidates, and other mobilization organizations), and election

laws and rules.⁹ Scientific research shows that voter turnout responds in predictable ways to changes in the costs and the benefits of voting.¹⁰ Two of the main changes in election laws that have increased voter participation, eased access to the ballot box, and provide more opportunity and convenience for voting are the adoption of early in-person voting and no-excuse absentee voting. Providing more opportunities to vote (e.g., the number of days, hours, or sites at which to vote) increases voter participation.

24. The costs of voting refers to factors that can hinder participation in elections, or require citizens to expend more time and effort to cast their ballot. Among these costs are the time and distance required to travel to cast the ballot. The 2018 Current Population Survey's Voting and Registration Supplement asked a sample of U.S. citizens why they did not vote in the 2018 midterm election. The most common response (27%) was "too busy, conflicting schedule," another 3.3% cited an "inconvenient polling place," and 2.9% said they faced "transportation problems."¹¹ There are substantial differences in how these barriers impact

⁹ Rosenstone, Steven, and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Macmillan.

¹⁰ Aldrich, John H., 1993, "Rational Choice and Turnout," *American Journal of Political Science* 37(1): 246–78. Riker, William H., and Peter C. Ordeshook, 1968, "A Theory of the Calculus of Voting," *American Political Science Review* 62(1): 25–42.

¹¹ All data in this paragraph is drawn from the 2018 Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Supplement, Table 10, <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/voting-and-registration/p20-583.html>, accessed February 26, 2020.

subgroups of the voting population. As shown in Table 1, only 6% of the oldest voters (65 and older) said that “conflicting schedules” were a reason that they did not vote, compared to 35.4% of voters aged 25 to 44. Younger voters (18 to 24) were most impacted by an “inconvenient polling place,” over three times as much as the oldest voters. Other obstacles to voting that can reduce turnout are waiting in long lines to vote and less accessible voting locations that require longer distances to travel to and have limited parking.¹² Early in-person voting and voting by mail were developed at least partially to reduce the costs of voting by allowing the voter to choose the day and time to vote.

	Too Busy, Conflicting Schedule	Transportation Problems	Inconvenient Polling Place
Overall	26.9	2.9	3.3
18 to 24 years	31.0	1.1	4.3
25 to 44 years	35.4	2.0	3.5
45 to 64 years	25.3	3.1	3.7
65 years and over	6.0	6.3	1.2

Table 1: Reasons for Not Voting, 2018 CPS

25. Scientific research has shown modestly positive impact of no-excuse absentee voting and full voting by mail on turnout. The most comprehensive study of the impact of no-excuse absentee voting is by Jan E. Leighley and Jonathan Nagler, who estimate a 1.4% increase in turnout as a result of states adopting no-

¹² Stein, Robert M, and Greg Vonnahme. 2008. “Engaging the Unengaged Voter: Vote Centers and Voter Turnout.” *The Journal of Politics* 70(02): 487–97.

excuse absentee voting.¹³ Fully vote by mail is estimated to have a roughly two percentage point positive impact on voter turnout, as estimated in studies of the roll-out of vote by mail in Washington State¹⁴ and in a second study of California, Utah, and Washington.¹⁵

26. The turnout increase in Pennsylvania, if we take the lower-end estimate of a 1.4% increase in turnout, would have been 122,399 additional votes cast in the 2016 presidential election. If we take the higher estimate of a 2% increase for the full vote by mail system, 174,737 additional ballots would have been cast.¹⁶

¹³ P. 107-109 of Jan E. Leighley and Jonathan Nagler. 2014. *Who Votes Now?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

¹⁴ Gerber, A. S., Huber, G. A., & Hill, S. J. (2013). "Identifying the Effect of All-Mail Elections on Turnout: Staggered Reform in the Evergreen State." *Political Science Research and Methods*, 1(01), 91–116.

¹⁵ Thompson, D. M., Wu, J., Yoder, J., & Hall, A. B. April, 2020.. *The Neutral Partisan Effects of Vote-by-Mail: Evidence from County-Level Roll-Outs*. Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research Working Paper No. 20-015.
<https://siepr.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/publications/20-015.pdf>

¹⁶ The figures were calculated from the turnout and registered voter totals reported by the Pennsylvania Department of State.
<https://www.dos.pa.gov/VotingElections/OtherServicesEvents/VotingElectionStatistics/Pages/VotingElectionStatistics.aspx>.

27. There is limited scientific research on what kinds of voters use no-excuse voting, but research indicates that no-excuse absentee voting benefits voters older than 65¹⁷ and voters with disabilities.¹⁸

IV. Drop Boxes in the Voting by Mail System

A. Drop Boxes: Construction and Security

28. Drop boxes are secure locations provided for voters to deposit an absentee or mail-in ballot if they choose not to use the postal service or if they choose to vote close enough to Election Day that they are unable to return the ballot using the Postal Service and have it arrive on time, among other reasons.

29. Drop boxes are typically of two types. The most common type of drop box is a secure metal container that has been specially designed to accept only elections materials (i.e., the opening is for envelopes only). The boxes are secure, sealed, and tamper-proof. A company that makes drop boxes for ten states describes many of the features that make drop boxes for elections mail even more secure than regular postal “blue boxes.” These include “ADA compliance (drive up and walk up options), 3/16 to 1/2 inch steel; no grip points for forced entry; doors resist impact

¹⁷ Meredith, M., & Endter, Z. May 14, 2016. Aging into Absentee Voting: Evidence from Texas. Working Paper. <https://www.sas.upenn.edu/~marcmere/workingpapers/AgingIntoAbsentee.pdf>; Ashok, V., Feder, D., McGrath, M., & Hersh, E. (2016). The Dynamic Election: Patterns of Early Voting Across Time, State, Party, and Age. *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy*, 15(2), 115-128.

¹⁸ Miller, P., & Powell, S. (2016). Overcoming Voting Obstacles: The Use of Convenience Voting by Voters With Disabilities. *American Politics Research*, 44(1), 28–55.

and prying; lock body is never exposed outside the box thereby protecting against tampering.”¹⁹

30. These anchored, tamper-proof drop boxes are placed outside of county elections offices and in other locations convenient for voters. Some are monitored with 24-hour surveillance cameras.

31. A second type of drop box is an adapted plastic storage bin with zip ties to secure the top and a slot in the top to deposit ballots. This type of drop box is only used in staffed, indoor locations.

32. Drop boxes are a safe and secure direct extension of the county or local jurisdiction elections office. Once the voter deposits the ballot into the drop box, the ballot is for all intents and purposes in the custody of the elections office. With respect to chain of custody, drop boxes eliminate one link in the chain (i.e., further handling by the Postal Service), and by implication provide a more secure method of returning mail ballots than by using the mail.

33. Nineteen states currently use drop boxes: Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, and

¹⁹ VoteArmor product page from Laserfabusa.com. <http://votearmor.laserfabusa.com/>.

Washington,²⁰ recently joined by Michigan,²¹ Pennsylvania,²² Georgia,²³ Wisconsin,²⁴ Connecticut, Georgia, Minnesota, and Hawaii.²⁵ As many as 34 states this year will use drop boxes in one or more counties in the state, according to a recent report.²⁶ Of the top 10 states in terms of vote by mail ballot usage in 2016, eight use drop boxes. Every state with more than 40% vote by mail usage in 2016 used drop boxes as an additional method for returning ballots.²⁷

34. Pennsylvania will be an outlier if it fails to use drop boxes, given the projected rate of vote by mail in November.

²⁰ National Conference of State Legislatures “Voting Outside the Polling Place: Absentee, All-Mail, and Other Voting at Home Options,” <https://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/absentee-and-early-voting.aspx>.

²¹ https://www.michigan.gov/documents/sos/Ballot_Dropbox_Locations_697191_7.pdf.

²² VotesPA.Com: <https://www.votespa.com/Voting-in-PA/Documents/2020Primary-County-DropLocations.pdf>.

²³ Mark Niese, June 4, 2020, “Absentee ballot drop boxes set up for Georgia’s June 9 primary”, Atlanta Journal and Constitution, <https://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/where-find-ballot-drop-boxes-metro-atlanta/eNbdSawjWjqXTppWxhzq6J/>.

²⁴ “Absentee Ballot Return Options – COVID-19”. <https://elections.wi.gov/node/6798>

²⁵ Bree Baccaglini et al., “Rehearsal for November: An Analysis of Sixteen State Elections,” August, 25, 2020, https://healthyelections.org/sites/default/files/2020-08/august_primaries_memo.pdf.

²⁶ Hufford, A. (2020, August 27). “The Rise of Ballot Drop Boxes Due to the Coronavirus.” Lawfare. <https://www.lawfareblog.com/rise-ballot-drop-boxes-due-coronavirus>.

²⁷ Absentee ballot rates calculated from Table 2, pg.23-25, of the 2016 Election Administration and Voting Survey.

B. Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, an Agency of the Department of Homeland Security, Identifies Drop Boxes as a Vote by Mail Best Practice

35. The Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA) is an agency of the Federal Department of Homeland Security. The CISA Elections Infrastructure Government Coordinating Council and Sector Coordinating Council’s Joint COVID Working Group defines drop boxes as: “a secure and convenient means for voters to return their mail ballot. A drop box is a secure, locked structure operated by election officials where voters may deliver their ballots from the time they receive them in the mail up to the time polls close on Election Day. Ballot drop boxes can be staffed or unstaffed, temporary or permanent.”²⁸

36. Drop boxes are a best practice because, according to CISA, they improve access and empower voters: “[b]allot drop boxes and drop-off locations allow voters to deliver their ballots in person. More importantly, the availability of ballot drop boxes and drop-off locations ensures that even voters who wait until the last minute to vote or who receive their requested ballot in the mail at the last minute will be able to return their ballots in time to be counted.”²⁹

²⁸ Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA) Elections Infrastructure Government Coordinating Council and Sector Coordinating Council’s Joint COVID Working Group. “Ballot Drop Box”. Available at https://www.eac.gov/sites/default/files/electionofficials/vbm/Ballot_Drop_Box.pdf.

²⁹ CISA Task Force, op cit. p. 1.

37. CISA also identifies drop boxes as a method to minimize COVID-19 risk for by-mail voting and for in-person voting, both early and on Election Day: “[s]etting up ballot drop boxes and educating voters to use them mitigates a number of COVID-19-related risks associated with in-person voting. It also minimizes the number of people that will need to access voting locations, thereby providing more space for those who are engaged in in-person voting.”³⁰

38. Drop boxes can reduce the burden on the United States Postal Service, an important consideration given controversies over USPS capacity and the enormous projected increase in the use of mail balloting. Drop boxes can also save local jurisdictions, or voters, money since there is no need for return postage.

39. I am not aware of any evidence of voter fraud that results from using drop boxes as way of returning absentee ballots.³¹

³⁰ CISA Task Force, op cit. p. 2.

³¹ In Pennsylvania, it is impermissible to return a mail ballot on behalf of another person (with exceptions for disabled voters). For a person to return two ballots to a drop-box might violate that restriction, but I would not consider it “voter fraud” unless it was done for an improper purpose. For example, I would not consider a person who returned their spouse’s ballot to a drop-box to have committed an act of voter fraud (assuming the spouse’s candidate selection was accurately reflected on the ballot and that the spouse was entitled to vote in that district).

C. Drop Boxes: Voter Preferences and Voter Turnout

40. Election officials report that voters “love” drop boxes and that they are “absolutely safe.”³² The Wisconsin Elections Commission described the expanded use of drop boxes in the state for the November election as “about avoiding confusion among voters who try to drop their ballots at the polls...also as a way to alleviate growing fears that a mailed ballot may not be received on time.”³³

41. The empirical evidence from voter behavior is that voters do, in fact, love drop boxes. Substantial numbers of voters choose to return their mail ballots in person, either to a county office, a polling location, or to a designated drop box. In Colorado, Oregon, and Washington, between forty and seventy percent of voters opt to return their ballots in-person, and twenty-five percent of ballots in “no-excuse” absentee states are returned in person.³⁴ In Oregon’s May primary, the state provided

³² Lissandra Villa, August 20, 2020. “Ballot Drop Boxes Are Emerging as a Vote-By-Mail Alternative—But They Have Critics, Too”. Time. <https://time.com/5881310/ballot-drop-boxes-usps/>.

³³ Scott Bauer, August 19, 2020, “Milwaukee adding drop boxes to help protect absentee voting.” Associated Press. https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/govt-and-politics/milwaukee-adding-drop-boxes-to-help-protect-absentee-voting/article_0237af44-b8b5-53ad-b8a2-553842de2275.html.

³⁴ Pew Charitable Trusts, “Vote-by-Mail Rates More than Double since 2000.” <https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2015/4/29/vote-by-mail-practices-more-than-double-since-2000>.

paid-postage for ballots for the first time, and still 50% of the ballots were returned using drop boxes.³⁵

42. Scientific research supports the claims of CISA and the quoted election officials: using drop boxes improves voter access and increases voter turnout by reducing the costs of voting.³⁶ There is a substantial body of research that finds that geographic proximity to voting locations is positively related to overall turnout. Much of this research focuses on early in-person voting, and the findings consistently show that more early voting locations, and more convenient locations, are positively related to both the usage rates of early in-person voting and to overall turnout.^{37,38,39} An especially pertinent national study showed that the number of locations to vote early is positively associated with turnout gains, and these gains are higher among African-American, Hispanic, and younger voters.⁴⁰

³⁵ Personal communication with the author for the Oregon Secretary of State, Division of Elections, August 17, 2020.

³⁶ William McGuire, Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien, Katherine Baird, Benjamin Corbett, and Loren Collingwood. (undated). "Evaluating the Impact of Drop Boxes on Voter Turnout." MIT Election Data and Science Lab, http://electionlab.mit.edu/sites/default/files/2019-01/mcguire_et_al_2017summary.pdf.

³⁷ Richardson, Lilliard E., and Grant W. Neeley. 1996. "The Impact of Early Voting on Turnout: The 1994 Elections in Tennessee." *State and Local Government Review* 28(3), p. 177.

³⁸ Stein, Robert M., and Patricia A. García-Monet. 1997. "Voting Early but Not Often." *Social Science Quarterly* 78(3): 657–71.

³⁹ Losco, J., Scheele, R., & Hall, S. R. 2010. "The impact of vote centers on early voting in Indiana." Paper prepared for delivery at the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA.

⁴⁰ Fullmer, Elliott B. 2015. "Early Voting: Do More Sites Lead to Higher Turnout?" *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 14(2): 81–96.

43. Scientific research has also examined how the need to travel a longer distance to cast a ballot can discourage voting. Gimpel and Schuknecht (2003), in a study of three Maryland counties, looked at the impact of distance and of “impedance” (anything that stands in the way of getting from point A to point B) on turnout in the 2000 presidential election. They found that the geographic accessibility of polling places has a significant and independent effect on the likelihood that individuals will vote: “even after controlling for variables that account for the motivation, information and resource levels of local precinct populations, we find that accessibility does make a significant difference to turnout” (2003, 471).⁴¹ These results have been replicated in studies in an Atlanta mayoral election,⁴² and in a study that evaluated the impact of precinct consolidation in Los Angeles County.⁴³

44. The research cited focused on early voting, but has been extended to demonstrate the positive turnout effects of drop boxes, including how convenient drop boxes are for voters. Research conducted in King County, WA shows that proximity of an elections drop box has a positive and statistically significant

⁴¹ Gimpel, J.G., and J.E. Schuknecht. 2003. “Political Participation and the Accessibility of the Ballot Box.” *Political Geography* 22(5): 471–88.

⁴² Haspel, Moshe, and H. Gibbs Knotts. 2005. “Location, Location, Location: Precinct Placement and the Costs of Voting.” *Journal of Politics* 67(2): 560–73.

⁴³ pg. 116 of 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): 115–34.

relationship to the probability that a registered voter will cast a ballot.⁴⁴ This research result has been replicated in Pierce County, WA. Many voters express higher levels of confidence and trust that their ballots will be counted as cast when they deposit them into a drop box.

45. Finally, voters who opt for drop boxes do so if they are less trusting in the United States Postal Service and if they show a preference to wait until the end of campaigning to make their voting decision.⁴⁵ Improving trust in the confidence that a ballot is cast is another way that drop boxes reduce “costs” of voting.

V. The Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Administering Elections

46. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) has issued interim guidance for election polling locations to reduce the spread of the novel coronavirus that causes COVID-19. The recommendations include: encouraging mail-in voting, encouraging early voting, relocating polling places from locations that would put certain populations at risk (e.g., nursing homes and senior living

⁴⁴ Collingwood, L., McGuire, W., Gonzalez O’Brien, B., Baird, K., & Hampson, S. (2018). Do Drop Boxes Improve Voter Turnout? Evidence from King County, Washington. *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy*, 17(1), 58–72.

⁴⁵ Menger, A., & Stein, R. M. (2019). Choosing the Less Convenient Way to Vote: An Anomaly in Vote by Mail Elections: *Political Research Quarterly*.

residences), and adding social distancing measures to protect individuals during voting.⁴⁶

47. COVID-19 has slowed some mail delivery by the USPS, a special concern for mail-in voting. The USPS recently warned that delayed mail-in ballots could potentially disenfranchise tens of millions of Americans, because of both an “avalanche” of absentee ballots and COVID-19 service delays.⁴⁷ The Congressional Research Service also warns of USPS delays as a “potential challenge for mail voting in 2020.”⁴⁸

48. An April 2020 poll conducted by the Pew Research Center reported that two-thirds of Americans expect some disruption of the November 2020 election due to the pandemic. Seventy percent of the respondents favor allowing any voter to vote by mail if the voters wants to do so.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Centers for Disease Control, “Recommendations for Election Polling Locations.” March 27, 2020. <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/community/election-polling-locations.html> Accessed May 21, 2020.

⁴⁷ Cox, E., Viebeck, E., Bogage, J., & Ingraham, C. (n.d.). Postal Service warns 46 states their voters could be disenfranchised by delayed mail-in ballots. Washington Post. Retrieved August 20, 2020, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/md-politics/usps-states-delayed-mail-in-ballots/2020/08/14/64bf3c3c-dcc7-11ea-8051-d5f887d73381_story.html.

⁴⁸ Shanton, K. L., & Eckman, S. J. (April 23, 2020). Mail Voting and COVID-19: Developments and Potential Challenges. Congressional Research Service. <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IN/IN11356>.

⁴⁹ Carroll Doherty, Jocelyn Kiley, and Nida Ascher. April, 2020. “Two-Thirds of Americans Expect Presidential Election Will Be Disrupted by COVID-19.” Report of the Pew Research Center, Washington DC. <https://www.people-press.org/2020/04/28/two-thirds-of-americans-expect-presidential-election-will-be-disrupted-by-covid-19/>.

49. A May 2020 national poll conducted by a university consortium found that 60% of respondents supported making voting by mail easier, and 36% said that they would be more likely to vote if they had the option to vote by mail. However, 44% of respondents under 25 said they were not confident that they understood the process of voting by mail, and 40% of respondents aged 25 to 44 also said they were not confident about the mail voting process.⁵⁰ This survey also indicates that a significant number of respondents will vote using the in-person method.

50. Pennsylvania held a primary on June 2, 2020. Thirty-six counties announced changes to voting locations⁵¹ due in significant part to poll worker shortages.⁵² As a result, seven counties closed more than half of their polling places, including dramatic closure rates of 85% (Allegheny County), 77% (Philadelphia County), and 60% (Montgomery County).⁵³ A lack of poll workers was felt throughout the state and resulted in emergency guidelines to reduce the number of

⁵⁰ Covidstates.org. May 22, 2020, “The State of the Nation: A 50-State COVID-19 Survey: Report.”

⁵¹ Emily Previti and Katie Meyer, May 23, 2020, “With PA’s Polling Place Changes, Voters Might Get Conflicting Information on Where to Go June 2.” PA Post. <https://papost.org/2020/05/23/with-pa-s-polling-place-changes-voters-might-get-conflicting-information-on-where-to-go-june-2/>.

⁵² Michael Tanenbaum, May 13, 2020. “Philly plans sharp reduction of polling places for June 2 election.” Philly Voice. <https://www.phillyvoice.com/philly-polling-places-primary-election-june-2-2020-poll-workers-mail-in-absentee-ballot/>.

⁵³ Jerry Yan, Nicole Collins, Bill Wermuth, Jeffrey Rodriguez, Marco Massey, Sarah Maung, and Sreya Guha, June 25, 2020, “The 2020 Pennsylvania Primary Election,” Healthyelections.org, https://live-healthy-elections.pantheonsite.io/sites/default/files/2020-06/pennsylvania_pre-_and_post-mortem_memo.pdf.

poll workers required at each voting location.⁵⁴ Long lines were reported in a number of counties,⁵⁵ and many counties had to consolidate precincts due to poll worker shortages. A post-primary survey of 1,000 Pennsylvania voters found that “I was worried about the COVID-19 virus” was the most common reason for not voting, and was the most common reason voters had voted by mail.⁵⁶

51. Nearly 100,000 mail-in ballots in Pennsylvania were received too late to be counted in the June primary, over 60,000 of which were received in the three days following the primary.⁵⁷ Drop boxes provide a method to reduce the number of ballots not delivered to local elections offices on time.

52. In the June 2020 primary, nearly 1.5 million mail ballots were cast—17 times the number that were cast by mail in 2016.⁵⁸ In my opinion, Pennsylvania

⁵⁴ Lai, J. (May 7, 2020). Pennsylvania allows big reduction in poll workers for 2020 primary election to help counties during pandemic. <https://www.inquirer.com>. Retrieved August 20, 2020, from <https://www.inquirer.com/politics/election/pennsylvania-2020-primary-poll-worker-reduction-20200507.html>.

⁵⁵ Jerry Yan, et al., op cit. p. 12.

⁵⁶ Cao, et al. (August 20, 2020), “Pennsylvania Election Analysis” at 24, 28. See <https://healthyelections.org/sites/default/files/2020-08/Pennsylvania%20Memo.pdf> (last accessed September 6, 2020).

⁵⁷ Data is available on the Pennsylvania government website. See *2020 Primary Election Mail Ballot Requests Department of State*, OPEN DATA PENN., <https://data.pa.gov/Government-Efficiency-Citizen-Engagement/2020-Primary-Election-Mail-Ballot-Requests-Departm/853w-ecfz/data> (last visited Sept. 5, 2020).

⁵⁸ Kathy Boockvar, June 22, 2020. “Historic primary paves way for successful general election in Pennsylvania.” Brookings Institute Blog. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2020/06/22/historic-primary-paves-way-for-successful-general-election-in-pennsylvania/>.

needs to prepare for a similarly high rate of mail-in ballot usage in November, and in an election that is forecast to have historically high turnout.

VI. Conclusions

53. My opinion is that the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania should continue to provide drop boxes as a way for voters to return vote by mail ballots. A review of the scientific evidence shows that drop boxes are a safe and secure method of returning a vote by mail ballot, and provide a “no-touch” method of return that is especially important for an election conducted in the midst of a pandemic. Drop boxes are used in almost every state that has significant numbers of vote by mail ballots. Drop boxes are the most preferred method of ballot return in the full vote by mail states. Scientific research shows that drop boxes can increase turnout and increase public confidence in the safety and security of the elections system.

I hereby certify that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of my own personal knowledge, information, and belief. This verification is made subject to the penalties of 18 Pa.C.S. § 4904 relating to unsworn falsification to authorities.

Executed this ____ day of September, 2020 in _____.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Paul Gronke", is written over a horizontal line.

Paul Gronke, PhD

APPENDIX A

Paul Gronke

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

EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN Ann Arbor, MI
Doctor of Philosophy, Political Science December 1993

UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX Essex, UK
Master of Arts, Western European Politics June 1984

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO Chicago, IL
Bachelor of Arts, Political Science, with honors June 1982

EMPLOYMENT

REED COLLEGE Portland, OR
Professor of Political Science January 2001 – Present

- Teach introductory and upper-level classes focusing on American politics, including elections, political behavior, political institutions and political research methods.
- Publish peer-reviewed articles, book chapters, and research reports.
- Research support from foundations, contracts, consultancies and internal competitive grants.
- Granted tenure in 2004; promoted to full professor in 2008.

APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY Boone, NC
Daniel B. German Endowed Visiting Professor of Political Science August 2014-May 2016

- Inaugural holder of endowed visiting professorship.
- Teach research courses on elections, elections research, U.S. Congress, research methods.
- Lead departmental symposia and sponsor visiting lectures.

THE DEMOCRACY FUND Washington, DC
Strategic Consultant, Elections Program September 2015 – ongoing

- Engaged in systems mapping and strategic planning for multiyear grant making and research initiative.
- Provide scientific and methodological evaluations of grantee requests and report.
- Connect the program to a network of academics with interests in election administration and reform.

PEW CHARITABLE TRUSTS Washington, DC
Consultant, Elections Initiatives of the Pew Center on the States September 2007 – November 2011

- Provided empirical analysis and write reports for ongoing projects pertaining to election integrity and equity.
- Consulted on strategic initiatives, review grant proposals, provide methodological and substantive quality control review.
- Helped organize gatherings and conferences, manage inquiries from media and other stakeholders.

DUKE UNIVERSITY Durham, NC
Assistant Professor of Political Science September 1991 – December 2000

- Taught undergraduate and graduate classes focusing on American politics, including public opinion, legislative behavior, political parties, and graduate statistical methods (first course). Received campus-wide teaching award in 1996.
- Published a university press book, peer-reviewed articles, and book chapters.

- Received research support from the National Science Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and internal grants.
- Instructor from September 1991-August 1993; Assistant Professor from September 1993-December 2000.

ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR

Reed College

Early Voting Information Center

2005-present

- Established a non-partisan center conducting research into and disseminating information about early in-person and absentee balloting.
- Manage public outreach, recruit and supervise 2-4 staff members (undergraduate and post-baccalaureate researchers), manage budgets, work to attract continuing external support.
- Raised more than \$750,000 in external support since 2005.

Co-EDITOR

Co-Editor, PS: Political Science and Politics

August 2014-present

- Appointed interim co-editor of flagship journal of the American Political Science Association, the world's largest scholarly society for political scientists.
- Tasked with modernizing content, determining new content delivery methods, engaging readership via social media, along with soliciting articles and conducting all other editorial duties.
- Helped to hire, train, and supervise a new managing editor.
- Reappointed by the APSA Council to a second four year term from 2018-2021.

EDITOR

Election Law Journal

2010-2017

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

DEPARTMENT CHAIR

Reed College

Department of Political Science

2001-2004; 2005-2007; 2009-2010, 2012-2014

- Responsible for curricular planning, committee assignments, student progress toward degree, staff hiring and supervision, and other departmental governance for a five-member department and 30-40 majors (juniors and seniors).
- Successfully expanded faculty from 4 to 7 members; worked with department and college to update and reform department requirements and curriculum; doubled departmental majors and expanded class enrollments.
- Budgetary planning and management of a \$23,000 department budget and seven endowed funds with annual income exceeding \$70,000.
- With Economics Department, responsible for campus-wide student-faculty summer research program, 3-5 awards each summer.

DIRECTOR

Reed College

Public Policy Lecture Series

2001-2006, 2008-2011, 2012-14, Fall 2016

- Created a campus wide lecture series to bring nationally and internationally recognized speakers on domestic and international affairs to campus. Identify important areas of public and campus concern; identify potential speakers; and collaborate on public outreach.
- Empowered students by creating a student coordinating committee; continue to work with student committee to manage series; create student-run events with each speaker.

- Manage \$20,000 annual lecture series budget; hire and manage part-time lecture coordinator.

DIRECTOR

Reed College

Public Policy Workshop

2001-02, 2005-present

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

OTHER GOVERNANCE ACTIVITIES

Co-CHAIR

2017-2018

Ad Hoc Committee on Governance

- Lead an effort to improve faculty meetings, propose changes to faculty elections, evaluate the structure of the Dean's Office and reform major governance committees in order to reinvigorate faculty governance.
- Appointed by the President of the College.

MEMBER

Foundational Curriculum Working Group, Reed College Strategic Planning

2013-2014

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

MEMBER

Dean of the College Search Committee, Reed College

2009-2010

- Responsible for working with President and committee to write a job description, identify candidates, evaluate nominations, and build consensus among the President, Committee on Advancement and Tenure, and the campus community to select a candidate.
- Selected as committee secretary.
- Chosen for membership by Committee on Advancement and Tenure and President of the College.

MEMBER

Committee on Academic Policy and Planning, Reed College

2006-2007

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

MEMBER

Ad Hoc Committee on Environmental Studies, Reed College

2004-2006

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

GRANTS, CONTRACTS, AND CONSULTANCIES

EXTERNAL COMPETITIVE GRANTS

National Science Foundation. Award #1727458 "Election Sciences Workshop." June 15, 2017-November 30, 2018.
Awarded in collaboration with Portland State University (#1727461). Total award: \$49,783.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONSULTANT AND CONTRACT WORK

State of Oregon, Division of Elections, PO-16500-405. "Oregon Elections Performance Audit." \$50,000. With Dr. R. Michael Alvarez, California Institute of Technology.

The Democracy Fund, Elections Program. Scientific Consultant to the Elections Team. September 2015-ongoing.

Federal Voting Assistance Program. "Survey Validation Study Contract HHSP233201200040C." Subcontractor for SBG Technology Solutions. January-August 2013.

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

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

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

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

Pew Charitable Trusts. Quality Control and Validation Process. Reed Institute and EVIC. June 2009–August 2009. \$36,900.

Pew Charitable Trusts. Consultant and Policy Advisor to the Elections Initiative of the Pew Center on the States. Awarded to the Reed Institute and the Early Voting Information Center. September 2007–August 2009. \$206,000.

Election Assistance Commission. The 2008 election administration and voting survey. EVIC was a subcontractor to the Research Triangle Institute. \$32,500.

Election Assistance Commission. The 2006 election administration and voting survey data." Contract No. 1406-04-07-PO-67699. May–September 2007. \$186,825 total award; subcontract to Paul Gronke/EVIC for \$40,000.

EXPERT WITNESS WORK

League of Women Voters vs. The State of North Carolina, Civil Action No. 1:13-CV-660, 2014-2015
Ohio State Conference of the NAACP, et al. vs. John Husted, et al., Case No. 2:14-cv-00404, Summer 2014
State of Florida vs. The United States of America et al. Civil Action No. 11-1428. Summer 2012.

INTERNAL COMPETITIVE GRANTS

Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. “The Noisy Reaction: How Reductions in Early Voting Opportunities Impacts Citizen Enfranchisement.” With Jacob Canter, Summer 2013.

Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. “American Anti-Muslim Attitudes.” With Rebecca Traber, Summer 2011.

Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. “The Data for Democracy Report.” With Bailey Schreiber, Summer 2008 (\$10,000).

Michael and Carole Levine Foundation. “Early Voting Reforms in America.” \$10,500. 2007-08.

Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. “Trust but Verify collaborative writing project.” With Avery Ucker, Summer 2006 (\$10,000).

Michael Levine Fund for Faculty Research, \$8,000 (2003-4).

Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. “Voting Early, Voting Smart? America’s Experience with Early Voting.” With Peter Miller. Summer 2004 (\$10,000).

Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant: “Building a Cross-Sectional Time Series Dataset for Presidential Approval Research.” With Joshua Simon. Summer 2003 (\$10,000).

Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. “Disdaining the News: Changing Public Attitudes Towards the News Media.” With Aaron Rabirotff. Summer 2002 (\$9,000).

Stillman-Drake Summer Research Grant. “Presidential Honeymoons: A Motivational Approach.” Summer 2001 (\$1,200).

Center for Instructional Technology Course Development Grant, Spring 2000. “The Internet, Public Policy, and Political Participation.” \$2,000. Awarded for web based course development for a series of public policy and political science undergraduate courses.

Instrumentation Grant, 1998-9 (\$6000).

Arts and Sciences Research Council Grant, 1999-2000 (\$2,000), 1998-9 (\$2,000). 1997-8 (\$2,500). Additional Council grants awarded in 1994, 1995, 1996.

HONORS, AWARDS, AND FELLOWSHIPS

Daniel B. German Visiting Endowed Professorship, Department of Government and Justice Studies, Appalachian State University, 2014 and 2015 academic years.

Competitive Paid Leave Award, Reed College, Spring 2008 (leave for one semester)

Competitive Paid Leave Award, Reed College, Fall 2004 (leave for one semester)

Nominee, Eliza and Joan Gardner Howard Fellowship, 2003-4

Fellow, Joan Shorenstein Center for Press and Politics, Harvard University, Spring 2001 (declined)

Richard K. Lublin Distinguished Award for Teaching Excellence, 1995-6

Nominee, Duke University Alumni Distinguished Teaching Award, 1999

Nominee, Rowman-Littlefield Award for Innovative Teaching, 1996-7, 1997-8

Horace H. Rackham Dissertation Fellowship, 1990

Gerald R. Ford Dissertation Fellowship, 1989-1990

Horace H. Rackham Predoctoral Dissertation Fellowship, 1988-1989

National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship, 1983-1986

Phi Beta Kappa

BOARD MEMBERSHIP

Advisory Board Member, MIT Election Data and Science Lab. 2016 - present.

National Advisory Board Member, Vote @ Home Institute. 2018 - present.

Advisory Council Member, Oregon Values and Beliefs Center, 2019 - present.

PUBLICATIONS

Books

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

ARTICLES IN REFEREED JOURNALS

Gronke, P. , Hicks, W. D., McKee, S. C., Stewart, C. and Dunham, J. 2019. "Voter ID Laws: A View from the Public." *Social Science Quarterly*. 100: 215-232.

Bowler, Shaun, Thomas Brunell, Todd Donovan, and Paul Gronke. 2015. "Election Administration and Perceptions of Fair Elections." *Electoral Studies*. 38(2015): 1-9.

Gronke, Paul and Peter Miller. 2012. "Voting by Mail and Turnout in Oregon: Revisiting Southwell and Burchett." *American Politics Research*. 40(6): 976-997.

Gronke, Paul. 2012. "When and How to Teach Election Law in the Undergraduate Classroom." *St. Louis Law Review* 56(3): 735-746.

Gronke, Paul and Darius Rejali. 2010. "U.S. Public Opinion on Torture, 2001-2009." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 43:437-444.

Gronke, Paul. 2008. "Early Voting Reforms and American Elections." *William and Mary Law Review*. 17(2): 423-451.

Gronke, Paul, Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum and Peter Miller. 2008. "Convenience Voting." *Annual Review of Political Science*. Volume 11: 437-455.

Gronke, Paul and Daniel Krantz Toffey. 2008. "The Psychological and Institutional Determinants of Early Voting." *Journal of Social Issues*. 64(3): 503-524.

Gronke, Paul, Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum, and Peter Miller. 2007. "Early Voting and Turnout." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 40(4): 639-645.

Gronke, Paul and Timothy E. Cook. 2007. "Disdaining the Media? Americans' Changing Attitudes Toward the News." *Political Communication*. 24(3): 259-281.

Cook, Timothy E. and Paul Gronke. 2005. "The Skeptical American: Revisiting the Meanings of Trust in Government and Confidence in Institutions." *Journal of Politics*. 67(3).

Gronke, Paul and Brian Newman. 2003. "From FDR to Clinton, from Mueller to ?? A Field Essay on Presidential Approval." *Political Research Quarterly*. 56(4): 501-12.

Gronke, Paul, Jeffrey Koch, and J. Matthew Wilson. 2003. "Follow the Leader? Presidential Approval, Perceived Presidential Support, and Representatives' Electoral Fortunes." *Journal of Politics* 65(3): 785-808.

Gronke, Paul and John Brehm. 2002. "History, Heterogeneity, and Presidential Approval." *Electoral Studies* 21:425-452

J. Matthew Wilson and Paul Gronke. 2000. "Concordance and Projection of Representative's Roll Call Votes." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. XXV: 445-67.

Gronke, Paul and J. Matthew Wilson. 1999. "Competing Redistricting Plans as Evidence of Political Motives: The

- North Carolina Case." *American Politics Quarterly*, 27: 2 (April) 147-176.
- Alvarez, R. Michael and Paul Gronke. 1996. "Constituents and Legislators: Learning About the Gulf War Resolution." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, February, 1996: p. 105-128.
- Gronke, Paul. 1992. "Overreporting the Vote in the 1988 Senate Election Study: A Response to Wright." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, February, 1992: p. 113-129.
- Kinder, D.R., G. Adams, and P. Gronke. 1989. "Economics and Politics in 1984." *American Journal of Political Science*, 33: 491-515.
- Page, B.I., R.Y. Shapiro, P. Gronke, and R. Rosenberg. 1985. "Constituency, Party, and Representation in Congress." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 48: 741-756.

BOOK CHAPTERS

- Gronke, Paul and Peter Miller. 2019. "Early Voting in America: Public Usage and Public Support". In Ben Griffith (ed), *America Votes! 4th Ed.* Cleveland OH, Lachina Publishing.
- Gronke, Paul and Jacob Canter. 2016. "Convenience Voting and American Election Law." In Ben Griffith (ed), *America Votes! A Guide to Election Law and Voting Rights 2nd Ed.* Cleveland OH, Lachina Publishing.
- Gronke, Paul. 2015. "Voter Confidence as a Metric of Election Performance." In Barry Burden and Charles Stewart III (eds), *Measure of American Elections*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gronke, Paul. 2014. "Early Voting After *Bush v. Gore*." In R. Michael Alvarez and Bernard Grofman (ed), *Election Administration in the United States A Decade After Bush v. Gore*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, Peter, Paul Gronke, and Darius Rejali. 2014. "Torture and Public Opinion: The Partisan Dimension." In Tracy Lightcap and James Pfiffner (eds), *Examining Torture: Empirical Studies of State Repression*. New York: Palgrave.
- Gronke, Paul. 2012. "Early Voting: The Quiet Revolution in American Elections." In Matthew Streb (ed), *Law and Election Politics: The Rules of the Game*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Gronke, Paul, James Hicks, and Timothy E. Cook. 2009. "Trust in Government and in Social Institutions." In Norrander and Wilcox (eds), *Understanding Public Opinion*. Washington DC: CQ Press.
- Gronke, Paul and Brian Newman. 2009. "Public Evaluations of Presidents." In George Edwards III and William Howell (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency*, pp. 232-253. New York: Oxford University Press.
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- Gronke, Paul. 2003. "The Election Campaign." In *World Book Encyclopedia*. Chicago, IL: World Book Publishing.
- Gronke, Paul and Peter D. Feaver. 2001. "Uncertain Confidence: Civilian and Military Attitudes about Civil-Military Relations." In Richard Kohn and Peter D. Feaver, *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

POLICY REPORTS (PRIMARY AUTHOR OR CO-AUTHOR)

- “Stewards of Democracy: The Views of American Local Election Officials.” June 2019. With Natalie Adona, Paul Manson and Sarah Cole. Democracy Fund, Washington DC. Report URL: <https://www.democracyfund.org/publications/stewards-of-democracy>
- “Understanding the Voter Experience: The Public’s View of Election Administration and Reform.” October 2018. With Natalie Adona. Democracy Fund, Washington DC. Report URL: <https://www.democracyfund.org/publications/understanding-the-voter-experience-the-publics-view-of-elections>
- “Who Votes with Automatic Voter Registration? Impact Analysis of Oregon’s First-In-The-Nation Program.” June, 2017. With Rob Griffin, Tova Wang, and Liz Kennedy. The Center for American Progress, Washington D.C. Report URL: <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/democracy/reports/2017/06/07/433677/votes-automatic-voter-registration/>
- “Survey Validation Study.” August 15, 2013. With Lonna Atkeson and Michael McDonald. Report prepared for the Federal Voting Assistance Program, Washington DC.
- “Residual Voting in Florida.” October 2010. Washington, DC: The Pew Charitable Trusts. Available online at http://www.pewcenteronthestates.org/uploadedFiles/Florida_Residual_Vote_report.pdf?n=3568.
- “Data For Democracy: Improving Elections Through Metrics and Measurements.” November, 2008. Washington, DC: The Pew Charitable Trusts. Available online at http://www.pewcenteronthestates.org/report_detail.aspx?id=46600. Organize conference that preceded this report; Oversaw editing and production of report.
- “The 2006 Election Day Survey.” November 2007. With Kimball Brace and Clark Bensen, submitted to the Election Assistance Commission.
- “Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act: UOCAVA. Survey report findings.” September 2007. With Kimball Brace and Clark Bensen, submitted to the Election Assistance Commission.
- “The Impact of the National Voter Registration Act: A Report to the 110th Congress.” June 30, 2007. With Kimball Brace and Clark Bensen, submitted to the Election Assistance Commission.
- “Ballot Integrity under Oregon’s Vote by Mail System.” June 15, 2005. Prepared for the Commission on Federal Election Reform, co-chaired by President Jimmy Carter and the Honorable James S. Baker III.

POLICY REPORTS: CONTRIBUTED MATERIALS, RESEARCH, AND WRITING

- “Maryland Voting Systems Study.” December 2010. Prepared by Research Triangle International for the Maryland Department of Legislative Services.
- “Findings and Recommendations for Integrating GIS into the Oregon Central Voter Registration System.” May 2010. With Bryce Gartrell, Ben McLeod, Anthony Iaccarino, and Tim Flez. Submitted to the Division of Elections, State of Oregon.
- “The 2008 Election Day Survey.” 2009. Coauthored as part of a subcontract with the Research Triangle Institute and the EAC.
- “Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act: UOCAVA Survey Report Findings.” 2009. Coauthored as part of a subcontract to the Research Triangle Institute and the EAC.
- “The Impact of the National Voting Registration Act: A Report to the 111th Congress.” 2009. Coauthored as part of a subcontract to the Research Triangle Institute and the EAC.

ADDITIONAL WRITINGS AND RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

BLOGS

“Election Security and the 2016 Voter Experience.” December 2, 2016.

<http://www.democracyfund.org/blog/entry/election-security-and-the-2016-voter-experience>

“Americans have become much less confident that we count votes accurately.” August 10, 2016.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/08/10/are-u-s-voters-confident-in-their-electoral-system-yes-and-no/>

“More states are registering voting automatically. Here’s how that affects voting.” June 16, 2016.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/06/16/more-states-are-registering-voters-automatically-heres-how-that-affects-voting/>

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

OP-EDS, TEXTBOOKS, OTHER WRITING

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WORKING AND CONFERENCE PAPERS (PREVIOUS 10 YEARS)

2020. With Jay Lee. “The Problems of Minimal Support: Considerations for an Establishment Survey of Local Election Officials.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, PR.

2020. With Paul Manson and Natalie Adona. “Staffing the Stewards of Democracy: the Demographic and Professional Profile of America’s Local Election Officials.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, PR.

2019. With Ellen Seljan and Matthew Yancheff. “Happy Birthday! You Get To Vote!” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.

2019. With Christopher Mann and Natalie Adona. “Framing Automatic Voter Registration: Partisanship and Public Understanding of Automatic Voter Registration.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.

2019. With Evan Crawford and Paul Manson. “Surveying Local Election Officials in the United States: Methodological Considerations.” Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Southern Political Science Association, Austin, TX.

2018. With Robert Griffin, Eric McGhee, and Mindy Romero. “AVR, Voter Registration, and Voter Turnout in Oregon.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.

2018. With Jack Santucci. “Can We Bolster Voter Confidence through Election Administration?” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.

2017. With Robert Griffin, Eric McGhee, and Mindy Romero. “Voter Registration and Turnout under ‘Oregon Motor Voter’: A Second Look.” Paper presented at the Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration Conference,

Portland OR, July 2017. Revised version presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 2017.

2017. With Bryant, Lisa. "A First Look at Voter Confidence and Trust in American Elections in 2016." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL.
2015. With Phillip Ardoin and Martha Kropf. "Town vs. Gown: College Students and Voting in College Towns." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL.
2015. With William D. Hicks, Seth C. McKee, Charles Stewart, and James Dunham. "Voter ID Laws: A View from the Public." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL.
2013. "Are we confident in voter confidence? Observations on perceptual measures of electoral integrity." Paper presented at Workshop of the Electoral Integrity Project, Cambridge, MA, June 3, 2013.
2013. With Charles Stewart III. "Early Voting in Florida." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.
2012. With Jacob Canter. "Voter Confidence and the Quality of the Vote Count." Paper presented at the Measuring Democracy Conference, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston MA, June 2012.
2011. With Kambiz GhaneaBassiri. September, 2011. "Explaining American Anti Muslim Opinion." Paper presented at the "Muslims in the US and Europe: Islamophobia, Integration, Attitudes, and Rights." Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.
2011. With Darius Rejali and James Hicks. "Explaining American Support for the use of Torture." Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the International Society for Political Psychology. Istanbul, Turkey.
2011. With James Hicks. "Bush v. Gore: A Critical Juncture in Early Voting?" Paper presented at "Bush v. Gore: Ten Years After." Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine, April 16-17, 2011.
2009. With James Hicks. "Early Voting: The Rhetoric and The Reality of Election Reform." Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
2009. With Peter Miller. "Voting by Mail in Washington and Turnout." Working paper.

SYMPOSIA, COLLOQUIA, NOTABLE SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS

MEDIA AND OTHER PUBLIC APPEARANCES

Election night analyst, KATU-TV, May 17-18, 2016.

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

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

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

Thousands of appearances in press outlets as an expert on early voting, election reform, and elections.

Television appearances include regular appearances on "Your Voice: Your Vote" (KATU-TV, Portland OR); 2012 and 2010 election night commentary (KGW-TV, Portland OR), and numerous on camera interviews on local and national outlets, including KGW, KATU, NBC Today Show, the O'Reilly "Factor", and other local and regional newscasts.

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

ELECTION REFORM AND ADMINISTRATION ACTIVITIES

Invited Speaker, Auburn Symposium on Election Administration, Auburn, AL. Oct. 14-16, 2019.

Invited Speaker, California Association of Clerks, Records, and Elections Officials, San Francisco, CA, July 25, 2019.

Invited Speaker, Western States Elections Conference, Stevenson, WA, July 7th, 2019.

Invited Panel Participant, Election Assistance Commission's Election Data Summit, Washington D.C., June 27, 2019.

Invited Speaker and Breakout Group Leader, Expanding Voting Options Conference, Washington D.C., June 20th, 2019.

Invited Speaker, "How Data and Academic Research Can Improve Election Administration." Oregon County Clerk Winter Meeting, February 2018.

Invited Speaker, "Increasing Voter Turnout –the Academic Perspective." NASED, August 24, 2017.

Invited speaker, Election Policy Summit, Pennsylvania Department of State. "Early Voting/No Excuse Absentee Voting." April 19, 2017.

Invited speaker and participant, U.S. Election Assistance Commission Election Data Summit, August 12-13, 2015.

Panelist and Moderator, "Oregon's Automatic Voter Registration and Other Registration Initiatives," National Conference of State Legislature Legislative Summit, Seattle, WA, August 3, 2015.

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

Invited speaker, Pew Center on the States' Election Initiatives "Voting in America 2012 Post-Election Summit," Washington DC, Dec. 10-11, 2012.

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

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

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

Invited speaker, Pew Center on the States Journalists' briefing for the 2010 election, San Francisco, CA. October 2010.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ELECTION MONITORING

With the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights:

Russia Presidential Election, Spring 2018

Ukraine Presidential Election, Summer 2014

Albania Parliamentary Elections, June 2013

Kyrgyzstan Presidential Elections, October 2011

OTHER ACADEMIC CONFERENCES AND INVITED LECTURES

Co-Organizer and Convener, Inaugural Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration Conference. July 27-29, 2017.
Portland State University and Reed College. <https://blogs.reed.edu/election-science/>

Organizer, Election Sciences Working Group for the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting,
Philadelphia, PA, 2016.

Invited presenter, "Measures of American Elections Conference," Massachusetts of Technology, June 18-19, 2012.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

COLLEGE AND DEPARTMENTAL LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Co-Chair, Ad Hoc Committee on Governance, 2017-18.

Chair, Reed College Institutional Review Board, 2016-17.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OTHER INSTITUTIONAL AND DEPARTMENTAL ACTIVITIES

Campus wide lectures:

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

Alumni Affairs and College Development:

Reed Reunions 2017:

Class of '67 Salon: "What Happened? And What Happens Next?"

Public Lecture: "Perspectives on the 2016 Election and Beyond"

Presentation and Discussion, "Collaborative Learning in the Age of Big Data"

Forum for Advancing Reed Lunch Speaker, September 17, 2016.

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

Major gifts outreach visit, Redmond WA, June 2011

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

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

Reed alumni board national meeting, invited speaker, Fall 2004

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

Trustee events:

Participant on a roundtable discussion with Board of Trustees, "Impacts of the new administration on the academy", February 2017

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

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

Student Affairs / Student Life:

Organizer and Emcee, "How to Change the World (and Get Paid Doing It), Reed Student and Alumni Career Development

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

Faculty in Residence, Pegram Dormitory (1995-98)

Committee membership (Reed College)

Institutional Research Board Co-Chair (2016-17); Facilities (2013-14); Staff/Faculty Benefits (2011-13);

Emergency Planning (2010-11); Ad Hoc Committee to Establish an Environmental Studies Program at Reed

College (2004-2006); Computing Policy Committee (2001-2004); Art Management (2001-2004); Ad Hoc

One-Card (2001-02).

Committee membership (Duke University)

University-wide Teaching Award (1998-2000); Department Undergraduate Affairs (1992-94, 1999-2000).

DISCIPLINARY AND SCHOLARLY LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Professional Associations

American Political Science Association.

Chair, Committee for the John Sullivan Award for Best Paper, 2016 Annual Meeting, Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Organized Section
Parliamentarian, 2016 All-Members Meeting
Member, Executive Council of the American Political Science Association, 2011-13
Member, Audit Committee, 2011-2013
Member, Ad Hoc Committee on the Public Understanding of Political Science, 2010-11
Member, Trust and Development Committee, 2005-2006

Western Political Science Association.

Council Member, 2005-2008.

Organized Section on Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior (APSA)

Communications Director and Council Member, 2003-2006

Conferences

International Joint Conference on Electronic Voting (E-VOTE-ID).

Program Committee, 2016 and 2015.

Section head

Teaching and Learning, 2014 Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting

Communications and the Media, 2007 Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting

Elections, 2004 Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting.

Tenure and promotion reviews

Tufts University; Stetson University; University of North Carolina, Charlotte; John Jay College; Bucknell College;
University of Vermont; University of Utah; Randolph Macon College; Colorado College; Grinnell College

REFERENCES

Available upon request.

Last Updated November 11, 2019

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

Materials Reviewed

2018 Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Supplement, Table 10, <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/voting-and-registration/p20-583.html>, accessed February 26, 2020.

Aldrich, John H., 1993, “Rational Choice and Turnout.” *American Journal of Political Science* 37(1).

Ashok, V., Feder, D., McGrath, M., & Hersh, E. (2016). The Dynamic Election: Patterns of Early Voting Across Time, State, Party, and Age. *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy*, 15(2).

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).

Bree Baccaglini et al., “Rehearsal for November: An Analysis of Sixteen State Elections,” August, 25, 2020, https://healthyelections.org/sites/default/files/2020-08/august_primaries_memo.pdf.

Cao, et al. (August 20, 2020), “Pennsylvania Election Analysis” at 24, 28. See <https://healthyelections.org/sites/default/files/2020-08/Pennsylvania%20Memo.pdf>, accessed September 6, 2020.

Carroll Doherty, Jocelyn Kiley, and Nida Ascher. April, 2020. “Two-Thirds of Americans Expect Presidential Election Will Be Disrupted by COVID-19.” Report of the Pew Research Center, Washington DC, <https://www.people-press.org/2020/04/28/two-thirds-of-americans-expect-presidential-election-will-be-disrupted-by-covid-19>.

Centers for Disease Control, “Recommendations for Election Polling Locations.” March 27, 2020; <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/community/election-polling-locations.html>, accessed May 21, 2020.

Collingwood, L., McGuire, W., Gonzalez O’Brien, B., Baird, K., & Hampson, S. (2018). Do Drop Boxes Improve Voter Turnout? Evidence from King County, Washington. *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy*, 17(1).

Covidstates.org. May 22, 2020, “The State of the Nation: A 50-State COVID-19 Survey: Report.”

Cox, E., Viebeck, E., Bogage, J., & Ingraham, C. (n.d.). “Postal Service warns 46 states their voters could be disenfranchised by delayed mail-in ballots.” Washington Post. Retrieved August 20, 2020, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/md-politics/usps-states-delayed-mail-in-ballots/2020/08/14/64bf3c3c-dcc7-11ea-8051-d5f887d73381_story.html.

Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA) Elections Infrastructure Government Coordinating Council and Sector Coordinating Council’s Joint COVID Working Group. “Ballot Drop Box”. Available at https://www.eac.gov/sites/default/files/electionofficials/vbm/Ballot_Drop_Box.pdf.

Election Assistance Commission, “The Election Administration and Voting Survey, 2016 Comprehensive Report.” (2016) https://www.eac.gov/sites/default/files/eac_assets/1/6/2016_EAVS_Comprehensive_Report.pdf.

Emily Previti and Katie Meyer, May 23, 2020, “With PA’s Polling Place Changes, Voters Might Get Conflicting Information on Where to Go June 2.” PA Post; <https://papost.org/2020/05/23/with-pa-s-polling-place-changes-voters-might-get-conflicting-information-on-where-to-go-june-2/>.

“Excuses to Vote Absentee / By Mailed Ballot”, Table 2 of “Voting Outside the Polling Place: Absentee, All-Mail and other Voting at Home Options”, National Conference of State Legislatures, July 10, 2020; <https://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/absentee-and-early-voting.aspx/>, accessed August 17, 2020.

Federal Voting Assistance Programs, “Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act.” See <https://www.fvap.gov/uploads/FVAP/Policies/moveact.pdf>.

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Fullmer, Elliott B. 2015. “Early Voting: Do More Sites Lead to Higher Turnout?” *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 14(2).

Gerber, A. S., Huber, G. A., & Hill, S. J. (2013). “Identifying the Effect of All-Mail Elections on Turnout: Staggered Reform in the Evergreen State.” *Political Science Research and Methods*, 1(01).

Gimpel, J. G., and J. E. Schuknecht. 2003. “Political Participation and the Accessibility of the Ballot Box.” *Political Geography* 22(5).

“Governor Wolf signs historic election reform bill including new mail-in voting.” Press release from the Office of Governor Tom Wolf, October 31, 2019. See <https://www.governor.pa.gov/newsroom/governor-wolf-signs-election-reform-bill-including-new-mail-in-voting/>.

Haspel, Moshe, and H. Gibbs Knotts. 2005. “Location, Location, Location: Precinct Placement and the Costs of Voting.” *Journal of Politics* 67(2).

Hufford, A. (2020, August 27). “The Rise of Ballot Drop Boxes Due to the Coronavirus.” *Lawfare*. <https://www.lawfareblog.com/rise-ballot-drop-boxes-due-coronavirus/>.

Jan E. Leighley and Jonathan Nagler. 2014. *Who Votes Now?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Jerry Yan, Nicole Collins, Bill Wermuth, Jeffrey Rodriguez, Marco Massey, Sarah Maung, and Sreya Guha, June 25, 2020, “The 2020 Pennsylvania Primary Election,” *Healthyelections.org*, https://live-healthy-elections.pantheonsite.io/sites/default/files/2020-06/pennsylvania_pre_and_post-mortem_memo.pdf.

Kate Rabinowitz and Brittany Renee Mayes. August 14, 2020. “At least 77% of American voters can cast ballots by mail this fall.” *Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/politics/vote-by-mail-states/> Accessed August 17, 2020.

Kathy Boockvar, June 22, 2020. “Historic primary paves way for successful general election in Pennsylvania.” *Brookings Institute Blog*. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2020/06/22/historic-primary-paves-way-for-successful-general-election-in-pennsylvania/>.

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Lissandra Villa, August 20, 2020. “Ballot Drop Boxes Are Emerging as a Vote-By-Mail Alternative—But They Have Critics, Too”. Time magazine <https://time.com/5881310/ballot-drop-boxes-usps>.

Losco, J., Scheele, R., & Hall, S. R. 2010. “The impact of vote centers on early voting in Indiana.” Paper prepared for delivery at the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA.

Mark Niese, June 4, 2020, “Absentee ballot drop boxes set up for Georgia’s June 9 primary”, Atlanta Journal and Constitution, <https://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/where-find-ballot-drop-boxes-metro-atlanta/eNbdsawjWjqXTppWxhzq6J/>.

Megan Wolfe, “Absentee Ballot Return Options – COVID-19”. March 31, 2020. <https://elections.wi.gov/node/6798>.

Menger, A., & Stein, R. M. (2019). Choosing the Less Convenient Way to Vote: An Anomaly in Vote by Mail Elections: Political Research Quarterly.

Meredith, M., & Endter, Z. May 14, 2016. Aging into Absentee Voting: Evidence from Texas. Working Paper. <https://www.sas.upenn.edu/~marcmere/workingpapers/AgingIntoAbsentee.pdf>.

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